
A folio of the *Ratnakūṭa* (*Kāśyapaparivarta*)
in Khotanese

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Abstract

The Saint Petersburg Khotanese fragments SI M 34+30+36 and the London Khotanese fragments Hardinge 079.2 (Or. 12637/15.1) and Iledong 023 (IOL Khot 169/6) form a complete folio. The text contained in this folio is identified as an Old Khotanese translation of paragraphs 23(2)-25(27) of the Sanskrit *Ratnakūṭa* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*). The article offers an edition of the text with an annotated translation and glossary, as well as facsimiles of the reconstructed folio.

Contents

1. Introduction
 2. *Ratnakūṭa* 23(2)-25(27): combined text of SI M 34+30+36 + Hardinge 079.2 + Iledong 023
 - 2.1 Transcription
 - 2.2 Critical Khotanese text with Sanskrit parallel and translation
 3. Commentary
 4. Glossary
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Keywords

Kāśyapaparivarta; Khotanese language; Khotanese literature; Ratnakūṭa

1. Introduction

The Sanskrit text of the Mahāyāna sūtra once known under the title *Ratnakūṭa* in India and Khotan and now commonly referred to as the *Kāśyapaparivarta* is extant in a nearly complete manuscript (SI P 2 in the Saint Petersburg collection) and several fragments, all presumably originating from Khotan.¹ In the Chinese and the Tibetan canons, the text corresponds to the forty-third sūtra of the so-called *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection and is considered to be part of its core.² The Khotanese title of the text is given as *ratnakūla- dāta-* ‘Ratnakūṭa Dharma’ in fragment Kha. vii.1 of the text itself (see below) and simply as *ratnakūla-* ‘Ratnakūṭa’ in the *Book of Zambasta* (Z 8.38 and 13.42) and the *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* (SI P 49 6v4³), so that it is advisable to use the title *Ratnakūṭa* (Rk) to refer to the Khotanese version.⁴ Giuliana Martini has studied the available evidence for the transmission of the text in Khotan and was able to locate several quotations from the *Ratnakūṭa* that occur in the Old Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* (fifth century) without mention of the source. Two similarly unsourced *Ratnakūṭa* quotations have been traced in the Late Khotanese *Book of Vimalakīrti* (tenth century) by Giuliana Martini and myself.⁵

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¹ For the title *Ratnakūṭa* see Martini 2010: 161-164. It is a pleasure to thank Jonathan A. Silk for having generously made §§ 23-25 from his unpublished edition and translation of the Sanskrit *Kāśyapaparivarta* available to me, and Almuth Degener, Douglas A. Hitch and Prods O. Skjærvø for their suggestions.

² For the Sanskrit see the latest edition with facsimiles by Margarita I. Vorob’eva-Desjatovskaja (KP) and cf. Martini 2010: 165-167 for a survey of the manuscripts and their provenance and origin. See Taishō no. 310(43) (and cf. nos. 350-352) for the Chinese, and Tōhoku no. 87 and Ōtani no. 760(43) for the Tibetan.

³ See Bongard-Levin and Tëmkin 1967: 250 and 1969: 271.

⁴ See Martini 2010: 164 and n. 76 with further references.

⁵ See Martini 2008 and 2010: 139-155 and 157-161 for the quotations in the *Book of Zambasta*, including the unsourced ones, and Maggi 2003: 251 and 253-254 and Martini 2010: 156-157 for the unsourced quotations in the *Book of Vimalakīrti* (not to be confused with the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*). For quotations from other sūtras of

Four fragmentary folios belonging to three manuscripts from Khotan and preserved in London and Saint Petersburg were identified as belonging to an Old Khotanese translation of the *Ratnakūṭa* by Prods O. Skjærvø, who located and republished them with Sanskrit and Tibetan parallels, English translation and facsimiles:

Rk 94.7-95.12: H 144 NS 83 (IOL Khot 163/1) first edited in KT 5.52;

Rk 131.6-134.6: Hardinge 077.2 (Or. 12637/72.10) first edited in KT 5.282;

Rk 141.8-143.2: SI M 10 first edited and translated with facsimiles in SDTV 3.176-77, pl. 166;

Rk 154.9-157.5: Kha. vii.1 (IOL Khot 36/2) first edited in KT 5.182-83.⁶

Further on, Skjærvø identified two other fragments kept in the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften: “I went to Berlin and found two more fragments of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*. One [bi 40] is the left half of the first fragment in my edition [Rk 94.7-95.12] and the other [bi 38] is another fragment containing exactly the same text section!” (letter of 15 June 2003). All these materials belong to manuscripts of four, five and six lines per page.⁷

The five so far unidentified Khotanese fragments SI M 34+30+36 (Sergej E. Malov collection kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg), Hardinge 079.2 (Or. 12637/15.1: London, British Library Oriental collection “found by Sir Aurel Stein at Balawaste & Mazar-tagh”)⁸ and Iledong 023 (IOL Khot 169/6: Aurel Stein collection kept in the

the so-called *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection in the *Book of Zambasta* see Martini 2013, 31-41 and Dhammadinnā 2013.

⁶ See Skjærvø 2003.

⁷ See Martini 2010: 167-168 for a survey of the Khotanese manuscripts and their contents.

⁸ See Catalogue Ixiii.

British Library)⁹ form a complete folio of yet another *Ratnakūṭa* manuscript of seven lines per page. They were published separately as follows:

the three fragments SI M 34+30+36 were joined, edited and translated by Ronald E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja in SDTV 3.219-221 and 223-224 with facsimiles on pls. 173-174;

Hardinge 079.2 was first edited by Harold W. Bailey in KT 5.288 (with no changes in the reprint with corrections) and then re-edited and translated by Skjærvø in Catalogue 124-125 with a revised reading and the correct sequence of the text;¹⁰

Iledong 023 was first edited by Bailey in KT 3.134 (with no changes in the second edition) and then re-edited and translated by Skjærvø in Catalogue 379-380.

As Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja report in a note, Skjærvø had pointed out to them the occurrence of similar wordings in SI M 34+30+36 and Iledong 023 as follows: “For *u ka biśya uṣṭañā abātandā* cf. *u tta biśu uṣṭañā abātandā* Iledong 023 #b5 KT 3.134”.¹¹ I myself came across SI M 34+30+36 and Iledong 023 while surveying the occurrences of the Khotanese word *uṣṭana-* ‘spirit’ for a study on the etymology of Khotanese *aysmua-* ‘mind, thought’.¹² I found the reading SI M 34+30+36 v6 SDTV 3.220 *biśya uṣṭañā* unconvincing and, in order to countercheck the two passages where *uṣṭañā* occurs, I looked at the facsimile and compared it to one of Emmerick’s old photographs of Iledong 023. I was struck by the fact that both fragments shared the same number of lines per page and the same hand. It was clear that they belonged to the same manuscript and

⁹ See Catalogue Iv.

¹⁰ The verso and recto, that can now be determined by means of the folio number in the left margin (in SI M 34), as well as from the content, are Bailey’s sides b and a, whereas Skjærvø has them correctly as sides a and b.

¹¹ SDTV 3.220.

¹² Maggi, forthcoming.

I wondered whether they might even be parts of a single folio. The occurrence of SI M 34+30+36 v5 *tcūryau saṃgrahāvāstyau* ‘the four means of attraction’ prompted me to compare the Sanskrit *Ratnakūṭa* and it soon became apparent that the Khotanese fragments contained a large part of the list of thirty-two qualities of a bodhisattva in paragraphs 23-28. After trying to fit the fragments together, I realised that a not too large part of the folio was still missing between SI M 34+30+36 and Iledong 023. The form of the gap immediately suggested that this could be nicely filled with the fragment Hardinge 079.2 also available to me among Emmerick’s photographs.

The availability of the Sanskrit original and a continuous Khotanese text with virtually no lacunae makes it possible to make a careful interpretation of the well preserved parts of the folio and provides a reliable guide that often enables one to improve confidently on the previous, at times admirable readings of damaged words and akṣaras in the isolated fragments, as can be seen from the apparatus that accompanies my transcription below.

The sequence of the five fragments forming the new complete folio from left to right is: SI M 34+30+36 + Hardinge 079.2 + Iledong 023. A virtual restoration of the folio based on the facsimile in SDTV pls. 173-174 and the two photographs is appended as Figs. 1-5. The entire folio measures 9 × 36.5 cm.¹³ The script is the formal variety termed Early Turkestan Brāhmī, type 2.2 (square ductus), in Lore Sander’s classification (fifth to sixth century).¹⁴ The folio has seven lines per page. The text is written in Old Khotanese orthography, type I (single *g* for both /g/ and /γ/; single *ś* and *ṣ* for both voiceless and voiced sibilants, /ʃ, ʒ/ and /ʂ, ʐ/ respectively).¹⁵

The folio number is written in the left margin of the recto. It is number 10 according to Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja. However,

¹³ The size is estimated on the basis of the measures given in SDTV 3.

¹⁴ See Sander 2005: 135 (table 1) and 137-138 with reference to earlier literature. For the periodisation see Sander 1989: 112-118.

¹⁵ See SDTV 3.17, where “type I” and “type II” have been interchanged by mistake.

the numeral is written below the middle of the margin and there seem to be illegible traces of another numeral for the hundred above it so that the two figures taken together would be vertically centred. This would give a folio number in the hundreds (110, 210 etc.).

The folio contains an Old Khotanese translation of paragraphs 23(2)-25(27) of the Sanskrit *Ratnakūṭa* (*Kāśyapaparivarta*).¹⁶ Since the folio has seven lines per page, it belongs to a manuscript different from those to which the previously identified *Ratnakūṭa* fragments belong. In the Sanskrit text, paragraphs 23-25 describe the thirty-two qualities of a bodhisattva and paragraphs 26-28 repeat the same description in verses. The text portion covered by the Khotanese folio is likely to correspond to paragraphs 23-25 and not to paragraphs 26-28 because it mirrors a mistake in the Sanskrit manuscript SI P 2 which is found in paragraph 23(3) but not in the corresponding verse passage in paragraph 26 (the relevant passages are not preserved in the Sanskrit fragments from other manuscripts).¹⁷ This agreement suggests that the Khotanese translation was done on the basis of the extant almost complete Sanskrit manuscript or a similar manuscript that shared the mistake.

The Khotanese version is characterised by a fair amount of interpretative translations such as 25(20) *pīrmo vidye *adyānaa-pāṣkala-* ‘the invisible realm of superior knowledge’ for Skt. *ārūpyadhātu-* ‘realm of formlessness’, 25(21) *saña-brīcā- daṣṭatāti-* ‘love for expedients (and) skilfulness’ for Skt. *upāya-* ‘expedient(s)’ or 25(23) and 25(24) *biṣu uṣṭaṇṇā abātandā(na aysmūna)* ‘wholly mindful (and) undistracted / with undistracted mind’ for Skt. *satkṛtya* ‘attentive(ly), careful(ly)’,¹⁸ as well as by amplifications and a few variations in syntax compared to the original. It will be noticed that many technical terms are rendered by Khotanese words rather than by Indian loanwords and that only twelve loanwords occur.

¹⁶ Cf. the Sanskrit text in KP, pp. 16-17 (18r3-19v4).

¹⁷ See the commentary on 23(3) *aysu jsānā ~cu kūṣāmā*.

¹⁸ Cf. SWTF 4.275.

2. *Ratnakūṭa* 23(2)-25(27): combined text of SI M 34+30+36 + Hardinge 079.2 + Iledong 023

In the numbering of the thirty-two qualities of a bodhisattva, I depart from Friedrich's Weller's translation and follow Jonathan Silk's unpublished edition.¹⁹ The following conventions and sigla are used:

Transcription

- italics* letters not clearly visible;
+++ illegible or partially preserved akṣaras for which no reading can be suggested;
– illegible or partially preserved consonant base or vowel mark for which no reading can be suggested;
[+++] akṣaras lost in a lacuna;
[abc] restoration of a lacuna;
{abc} editor's deletion;
○ blank for the string hole;
(123) division of the text (paragraph numbers and items in lists inserted as a link with the critical edition);

Critical edition

- <abc> editor's supplement where the manuscript has no lacuna;
* emendation (the manuscript reading is given in a note);
~ word not completely preserved in manuscript (also used in the Sanskrit parallel);

Apparatus

- B Bailey, KT 3 and 5;
E–VD Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, SDTV 3;
S Skjærvø, Catalogue.

In the apparatus, different conventions used by other scholars have been converted to the ones listed above for the sake of clarity; blank

¹⁹ Cf. Weller 1965 and see the commentary on 23(2) *[u ka ...* '[And if ...']

spaces have been kept or deleted and brackets [] have been added or deleted when required in accordance with the adopted reading; the double arrow ↔ marks joints between fragments published separately.

2.1 Transcription

Folio number in the left margin of the recto: –00 10.

(§ 23) [...] (1) [ka ...] (2) [u ka uysnora ba-]

r1 lysāña avachvaido *bu[e]mano* vahīśātā hā nu usā padīmate . (3) u ku
tta nuvaštāte se aysu jsānā cu kūśāmā u cu mā tceru [ha]ndarāñu ba-
2 lysūñāvūysānu bvāmato ne nyaste : (4) u ka kāḍe nāhalamānā vātā
panye uysnorā baña . (5) u kai aysmū balysūštu varāṣto kāḍe stvīdu
vāstā+ [vā-]

3 tā (6) u ka ne jsīrgyī{.}neina a○ysmūna uysnora [+] yande . (7) u
ka īgāndu rraštāna aysmūna uysnora hayūna mañāte (8) u ka hī[śā-]
4 ḍā o sāne vātā hamam○gu aysmū d[ā]rysd[e] yāva odā kām[u]
balysā na-ro panamāte . (§ 24) (9) khaṇaṇce tcīre jsa paḍā dākṣāṇyau
pāt[ā-]

5 yātā . (10) u crāmī kīrā ba○lysūšte vaska patātsā vaṣtātā ka ne
puvai't[t]ā [.] (11) u ka biśā usynora vātā avāṣkālsto hīśāḍoštu
dārysde u

6 ka nā vātā avāṣkālsto mištu mulṣdu yande . (12) u kai akhijandei
aysmū vātā balysūšte va[ska] . (13) u ka dātā kūśān[ā] vātā u nai
paphīndā pyū'-

7 vemate . u arthi ke'mate . (14) u cu hamatā balysāña paroya
uskuṣde ka tteye ārri kāḍe ga[m]jiso vajāṣde . u cu handara
balysūña[vū-]

v1 ysā balysāña paroya . ārragāḍa hāmāre ka ne nā śārā ysurre jsa ttu
ārru hā cāru yīndā . (15) u ka biśā kīre u panu hāru balysūñīneina
aysmūna yī[ndā] .]

2 (16) u cu horu heḍā kai vīvātu ne ātīmāte . (17) u cu parāhu
parehāte . ka ne tteye pārājsye se ko-n jsa biśuo' śāruo' gatuo'
ysamthu byehu . (18) u kai biśā uysnora vāt[ā]

- 3 avachauda kṣamauttātā vāta . (§ 25) (19) u ○ kai biśānu śārāṇu hā-
rāṇu haṃjsememate kāḍana karīttātā vāta . (20) u cu jāna samāda
vātā ka ne tteye kāḍana
- 4 se ko-n jsa pīrmo vidye ādyā○nai pāṣkali gusco hīsu . (21) u kai
hajuvattātā saña-brīce daṣtatete jsa ārsta vāta u [saña-]b[rīce] da-
ṣtatete jsa
- 5 tcūryau saṃgrahāvāstyau śūstā vā○tā (22) u kai parehandā o vā
avahandā uysnora vārā hamaṃgu hīśāḍostā vāta . (23) u ka biśu
uṣṭañā abātandā
- 6 balysānu dātu pyūṣḍe . (24) u ka biśu uṣṭañā abātandāna aysmūna
ārañānā āste [.] (25) u ka lauvya biśūnya hāra dāta ne bātmdā hāmāte .
(26) u ka arahana[d]o-
- 7 ṇāna o vā pracīyasambuddhoṇāna parrīyu ne kūśātā . u nai āgīmāte .
u ka mahāyāni pharu-padya buljse vajsāṣḍe . (27) u ka dīraṃgāryau
hayūn[y]au pa[th]r[ī]ṣṭā

- r1 [ba]lysaña: E-VD ba/lysa + (in their usage the slash marks restorations of text once
contained on lost contiguous folios). avachvaido: E-VD avandai do. bu[e]mano:
E-VD bu ma no. padimate: E-VD padīmete. ku: E-VD +. nuvaṣṭāte: E-VD
nuva[↔ B = S]ṣṭāte. jsānā cu: B ju[, S ju[(with n. a: “jsā?”) ↔ B = S]lsatetu (B fn.
1: “Is or hys possible”). [ha]ndarāṇu balysūñāvūysānu: B = S + + + + +[↔ E-VD
ba]lysuñāvūysānu.
- r2 bvāmato: E-VD bvāmātā. uysnorā: E-VD br[↔ B = S u]ysnora. kai aysmū: B –ai
[, S klai[š ↔ B] + aysmū, S] k– aysmū. stvīdu vāstā+ [vā]tā: Lore Sander stvī (see
commentary), B sthīdu vāstāte +[(with fn. 2: “du for ru?”), S sthīru vāstāte +[↔
E-VD]tā.
- r3 uysnora [brī] yande: E-VD u + + + y– –e + + –e. īgāndu: E-VD ī[↔ B]+ vña,
S]māñandu. rraṣṭāna aysmūna: B rraṣṭā na a[, S rraṣṭāna a[ysmūna ? ↔ B = S
a]ysmūna. ka hi[śā]dā: B na + +[, S na –ā +[↔ E-VD]dā.
- r4 hamaṃgu: E-VD hamāgu. d[ā]rysd[e]: E-VD + + +. kām[u] balysā na-ro: E-VD
kā[↔ B gya]stā balysāna –ā [, S gya]stā balysā naramdā [. pāt[ā]yātā: B = S pāta ↔
E-VD]yā +.
- r5 crāmī: E-VD crrāmī. patātsā: E-VD pa x ndā. puvaī’t[ā] [.] u ka biśā usynora
vārā: E-VD puva[’na ↔ B]+ + + maka bi[, S]+ rā u ka bi[↔ B = S] + u ṣā
tcūramā –ā.
- r6 va[ska] : B j[s]a[, S j[s]a[↔ B = S] + –ā (no dot). dātā kūśān[ā]: B vānā cu + na, S
vā nā cu na. pyū’vemate: B pyū’[ṣṭe, S pyū’ ↔ E-VD –emate.
- r7arthī: E-VD arthī. ka tteye ārri kāḍe ga[m]jso: E-VD + ↔ B = S ka tteye ā–[(B fn. 1:
“Possibly a–.”) ↔ B patta]rre k[ā]ḍe garkhe, S]rro k[ā]ḍe garkhe. balysūñā[vū]ysā:
B balysūñā[↔ E-VD]ysā.
- v1 ārragāḍa: E-VD ārragāḍa. hā cāru: E-VD hatāru. yīndā: E-VD yī[ndā ↔ B] +
ndā, S] –ndā. biśā: B = S +[↔ B = S biśā. u panu: B = S + paḍa (B fn. 3: “da, not
ḍa”). yī[ndā] : B hī+ [(fn. 4: “h uncertain”; no dot), S yī[(no dot).
- v2 heḍā: E-VD heḍā. ne: E-VD nī. pārajsye: E-VD nā +[↔ B = S]jsye. ko-n jsa

- biśuo'**: B = S ko +[↔ B]+ biśyo', S]jsa biśuo'. **biśā**: B = S biśa. **vā[ā]**: B = S vāta.
- v3 **śārāṇu hārāṇu**: E–VD śārāya haṃ –ā +. **haṃjsememate kāḍana karittātā vāta** ∴ E–VD haṃjse + [↔ B]+ + kāḍana +[, S]+ + kāḍana k–[↔ B = S ka]ritātā vāta (no dot).
- v4 ***gūśco hīsu . u kai**: E–VD gu –ā –ī + + –ai. **hajuvaṭṭātī saña-brīce**: E–VD hajuva ṭ[↔ B]+ dasa u brī[, S]+ dasa u brī –e[↔ B]+, S]gu. **[saña-]b[ri]ce**: B = S [+ + + +].
- v5 **parehandā**: E–VD parehandā. **uysnora vātā hamamgu**: E–VD u +[↔ B]ysāra vānā hame[, S u]ysnora vātā hamā[↔ B = S]gya. **vāta** ∴ B = S vāta (no dot). **ka**: B = S tta.
- v6 **biśu uṣṭāñā**: E–VD biśya uṣṭāñā. **ārañāñā āste [.] u ka lauvya**: E–VD āraṇha +[↔ B]+ āste u kalau ya [, S]+ āste u ka lauvya [↔ B = S]+. **dāta ne bātandā hāmāte** ∴ B = S dāde ne yandā hāmāte (no dot), B (Dict. 158 s.v. dida-) dāde –e–andā hāmāte (with the annotation: “possibly *bitandā*”). **arahan[d]oñāna o**: B rā+ +[, S vara+ +[↔ E–VD buddho]ñāna o.
- v7 **nai**: E–VD ne. **ka mahāyāni**: E–VD kama[↔ B = S ma]hāyāni. **buljse vajsāṣḍe**: B = S buljsa pyūṣḍe. **hayūn[y]au pa[th]ṛ[ṣṭā]**: B = S hayūna y–[.

2.2 Critical Khotanese text with Sanskrit parallel and translation²⁰

23. [...]

(1) [ka ...]

(2) [u ka uysnora ba]lysāña avachvaido *buemato^a ~vahīśātā hā nu ~usā paḍimate .

^a Emended by Maggi for MS *bu[e]-mano.

(3) u ku tta nuvaštāte se aysu jsāñā ~cu kūśāmā u cu mā tceru ~handarāṇu ~balysūñavūysānu bvāmato ne nyaste :

(4) u ka kāḍe nāhalamāñā vātā

23. ... *dvātriṃśadbhi kāśyapa dharmaiḥ ~samanvāgato bodhi-satvo ity ucyate ...*

(1) ... /

(2) *~sarvajñajñānāvātāraṇatayā*

(3) *kim ahaṃ margāmīti^a pare-ṣāṃ jñānākutsanatā*

^a ‘What am I seeking?’, wrong for *kim aham arghāmīti* ‘What am I worth?’ (cf. ed. *kim ahaṃ argāmīti* with n. 119: “W[rong] r[eading] for *arghāmīti*”). See commentary.

²⁰ The original punctuation is kept in both the Khotanese and the Sanskrit texts. The Sanskrit is given on the basis of the edition by Vorob'eva-Dešjatovskaja (cf. n. 16). In the translation, half brackets [] enclose amplifications that have no counterpart in the Sanskrit.

panye uysnorä baña .

(5) u kai aysmū balysūštu varāṣṭo
kāde stvīdu ~västāco^b ~vātā

^b Supplement by Maggi. This word is not
otherwise attested (see commentary).

(6) u ka ne jsīrgyīneina aysmūna
~uysnora *brya^c ~yande .

^c So restored by Maggi; cf. E-VD [brī].

(7) u ka īgāndu rraṣṭāna aysmūna
uysnora hayūna mañāte

(8) u ka ~hīśādā o sāne vātā ha-
maṃgu aysmū ~dārysde yāva odā
~kāmu balysä na-ro panamāte .

(4) *niradhimānatayā* /

(5) *~dṛḍhādhyāśayatayā* /

(6) *akṣtrimaprematayā* /

(7) *atyantamitratā* /

(8) *mitrāmitreṣu samacittatayā* /

~yāvan ~nirvāṇaparyantatāye /

23. [He who is endowed with the thirty-two qualities is called “bo-
dhisattva”]

(1) [if ...;]

(2) [and if] he makes [beings] penetrate into the unobstructed
knowledge of the Buddha [and produces exertion for them];

(3) and when he so examines: “What am I seeking [and what must I
do]?” (and) he does not despise the knowledge of other bodhisattvas;

(4) and if he has become very humble [in front of every being];

(5) and if he has had [his mind in] a very steadfast determination
[towards awakening];

(6) and if he has [love] [for beings] with no deceptive intention;

(7) and if he[, with a right mind,] always considers beings as friends;

(8) and if, towards friends or enemies, he keeps his mind impartial
until he rises as a buddha;

24.

(9) <u ka ... u>^d khaṇaṃce tcīre jsa
paḍā dākṣānyau ~pātāyātā .

^d Supplement by Maggi.

24.

(9) **sūṇṭavākyatā^b ~smitamu-
khapūrvābhibhāṣaṇatā-*

^b Emended by Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja

(10) u crāmī kīrā balysūšte vaska
~patātsā vaštātā ka ne ~pūvai'ttā ~.

(11) u ka ~bišā usynora ~vātā
avāškālsto hīśādoštu dārysde u ka
nā vātā avāškālsto mištu mulšdu
yande .

(12) u kai akhijandei aysmū vātā
balysūšte ~vaska .

(13) u ka dātā ~kūsānā vātā u nai
paphīndā ~pyū'vemate . u arthi
ke'mate .

(14) u cu hamatā balysāña paroya
uskušde ka tye ārri ~kāde ~gamjso
vajāšde . u cu handara ~balysūñavūysā
balysāña paroya . āragāḍa hāmāre
ka ne nā šārā ysurre jsa ttu ārru hā
cāru yīndā .

(15) u ka bišā kīre ~u panu hāru
balysūñineina aysmūna ~yīndā ~.

(16) u cu horu heḍā kai vīvātu ne
ātīmāte .

(17) u cu parāhu parehāte . ka ne
tye pārājsye se ko-n jsa biśuo'
šāruo' gatuo' ysamthū byehu .

(18) u kai ~bišā uysnora ~vātā a-
vachauda kṣamauttātā vāta .

24.

(9) <and if, with kind words and> a smiling face, he speaks first [to
venerable men];

(10) and, whatever remains to him to relinquish as a deed [for the sake
of awakening], if he is not afraid;

for MS *anṛta*°.

(10) ~ *n-upādatteṣu ~bhāreṣv ~a-
viśadānatayā*

(11) *sarvasatveṣv *aparichinna-
mahākaruṇatā*^c

^c Emended by Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja
for MS *aparicinna*°.

(12) *aparikhinnamānasatayā*

(13) *saddharmaparyeṣṭim ~āra-
bhyātṛpta-śrutārthatayā*^d /

^d Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja reads: (1)
“°tṛ[p](tā)”, i.e. °tṛp[tā], not in
composition (see commentary); (2)
śrru°.

(14) *ātmaskhaliteṣu doṣadarśa-
natayā / paraskhaliteṣv aruṣṭā-
patticodanatayā /*

(15) ~*sarva-īryapatheṣu bodhi-
cittaparikarmatayā /*

(16) *vipākāpratikāṃkṣiṇa-tyāgaḥ*

(17) ~*sarvabhavagatyupapattya-
niḥśritaṃ śīlam*

(18) *sarvasatveṣv apratihatā
kṣāntiḥ*

(11) and if [he holds undifferentiated friendliness] towards all beings [and if] he exercises undifferentiated, great compassion [towards them];

(12) and if he has had an untiring mind [for awakening];

(13) and if he has been seeking the Dharma and has never enough of listening to it and thinking of (its) meaning;

(14) and, when he himself rises up [against the Buddha's command], if he perceives well the flaw [of that fault] and, when other bodhi-sattvas become guilty [against the Buddha's command], if he (lit. that one) does not point out that fault to them with anger;

(15) and if he performs all his deeds and every thing with the thought of awakening;

(16) and, when he gives a gift, if he does not desire its ripening;

(17) and, when he exercises moral restraint, if (he does) not (exercises moral restraint) on this basis: "Would that I may thereby obtain birth in all good states of existence!";

(18) and if, towards all beings, he has had unobstructed forbearance;

25.

(19) u kai biśānu śārāṇu ṭhārāṇu
ṭhamjsememate ṭkāḍana ṭkarittātā
ṭvāta .

(20) u cu jāna samāda vātā ka ne
tṭye kāḍana se ko-n jsa pīrmo
vidye *adyānai^e pāṣkali *gūscō^f
hīsu .

^e Emended by Maggi for MS ādyānai.

^f Emended by Maggi for MS gusco.

(21) u kai ṭhajuvattātā saṇa-brīce
daṣtatete jsa ārsta vāta u
ṭsaṇa-brīce daṣtatete jsa tcūryau
saṃgrahāvāstyau śūstā vātā

(22) u kai parehandā o vā ava-

25.

(19) **sarvakuśalamūlasamudā-*
nanāya^e *vīryaṃ* /

^e Emended by Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja
for MS "samādā[n]a[n]āya", i.e. °*sa-*
mādānanāya.

(20) *ṭārūpyadhātuparikaṣitaṃ*
ṭdhyānaṃ /

(21) *ṭupāyasaṃgrhītā prajñā* /
ṭcatuḥsaṃgrahavastusaṃprayuk-
tā upāya /

(22) *ṭśīlavadduḥśīlādvayatayā*
maitratā /

(23) *satkṛtya dharmasravaṇaṃ* /

(24) *satkṛtyāranyavāsaḥ*

<re>handā^g ~uysnora ~vātā ha-
mamgu hīsāḍostā vāta .

^g Supplement by E–VD for MS avahandā.

(23) u ka biśu uṣṭañā abātandā
balysānu dātu pyūṣḍe .

(24) u ka biśu uṣṭañā abātandāna
aysmūna ~ārañānā āste ~.

(25) u ka lauvya biśūnya hāra dāta
ne ~bātandā hāmāte .

(26) u ka ~arahandoñāna o vā
pracīyasambuddhoñāna parītyu ne
kūśātā . u nai āgīmāte . u ka
mahāyāni pharu-padya buljse
~vajsāṣḍe .

(27) u ka dīramgāryau ~hayūnyau
~pathīstā [...]

(28) [...]

25.

(19) and if he has had energy for the sake of collecting all good things;

(20) and, when he has been in meditation [(and) concentration], if it is not on account of this: “Would that I may thereby come to [the escape of] the invisible realm of superior knowledge!”;

(21) and if he has had wisdom mixed with love for expedients (and) with skilfulness and, together with love for expedients (and) skilfulness, he has become equipped with the four means of attraction;

(22) and if, toward beings who do restrain themselves or do not restrain themselves, he has equally had friendliness;

(23) and if, wholly mindful (and) undistracted, he listens to the Dharma [of the Buddha];

(24) and if, wholly mindful with undistracted mind, he dwells in a forest retreat;

(25) *sarvalokavicitrikeṣv ana-
bhiratiḥ ~kudṛṣṭivigataḥ /*

(26) **hīṇayānāspṛhaṇatā^f / ma-
hāyāne cānuśaṃsasaṃdarśitayā /*

^f Emended by Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja
for MS *hīṇayāna*^o.

(27) *~pāpamitravivarjanatā /
kalyāṇamitrasevanatā /*

(28) ...

(25) and if worldly things of all kinds are seen (and) he does not become distracted;

(26) and if he does not seek deliverance through arhatship or pratyekabuddhaship, nor does he desire it, and if he perceives the [manifold] virtues of the Mahāyāna;

(27) and if he refrains from evildoing friends [and frequents good friends];

(28) [...]

3. Commentary

The following notes concern mainly the readings and a number of previously unattested or otherwise remarkable words or forms. Other details of interpretation can be ascertained from the glossary.

23(2) [*u ka* ... ‘[And if ...’: I restore and supplement *u ka* here and in 24(9) respectively, because the Khotanese translation lists the qualities of a bodhisattva mostly in the form of conditional clauses introduced by *ka* ‘if’ and only once as a clause introduced by *ku* ‘when’ in 23(3). On the other hand, the attendant circumstances of the qualities, when expressed by adverbial clauses, are introduced by the temporal conjunction *cu* ‘when’, as in 24(14) (cf. the glossary). The bodhisattva qualities listed in paragraphs 23-25 seem to be more than the expected thirty-two ones in the Sanskrit original and in the Khotanese version as well. Punctuation in the Sanskrit and Khotanese manuscripts is of no real help in this matter, but the clear articulation of the Khotanese by means of *u (...)* *ka/ku* ... provides a fairly reliable indication. It essentially confirms Silk’s numbering. Only in 24(11), 24(14) and 25(26), *u (...)* *ka* ... occurs twice in connection with single qualities. In 24(11), this depends on what seems to be an amplification in the Khotanese version, while in 24(14) and 25(26) two qualities are described as a combination of complementary attitudes: recognition of one’s own faults and moderation in pointing out the faults of others in 24(14); rejection of Śrāvakayāna and Pratyekabuddhayāna and appreciation of the qualities of the Mahāyāna in 25(26).

23(2) *avachvaido* **buemato* (MS *avachvaido* bu[e]mano) ‘into the unobstructed knowledge’: Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja read *avandai do*, but the reading *avachvaido* is clear and, though the first two syllables of **buemato* are damaged and the third one is misspelled *no* in the manuscript, reading and emendation of this word are fairly clear. The phrase *avachaudā- bvāmātā-* ‘unobstructed knowledge’ occurs in the accusative singular in Suv 0.20 *u aysu-m jsa avaśśā avachaudo bvāmato byehīñā* ‘And may I thereby surely obtain unobstructed knowledge’. The two forms *avachvaido* and **buemato* attest for the first time the locative singular palatalising ending *-^lo* of the *ā*-declension of feminine adjectives and nouns respectively. This was regarded by Emmerick as the probable origin of the non-palatalising ending *-o* of the locatives *tcasco* ‘side’ and *diśo* ‘direction’,²¹ to which Rk 25(20) **gūsko* (MS *gusco*) can now be added. In fact, the palatalising effect of the ending *-^lo* may be implicit in *tcasco*, *diśo* and **gūsko*, where palatalisation cannot emerge because the ending is preceded by the consonants *c* and *ś* that are already palatal and accordingly absorb palatalisation.²² *avachvaido* also attests for the first time the palatalised stem of *avachauda-* with *au* palatalised to *vai* as in the infinitive *kṣamvaittā* (with °*ā* for °*e*) ‘to ask forgiveness of’ from *kṣamautta-* + °*e*.²³

23(2) *hā nu* ‘and for them’: as I have shown on the basis of bilingual evidence, the conjunction *hā* ‘and, also’, which needs to be distinguished from the directional particle *hā* ‘thither’, is used in *hā ... (u) hā ...* to mean ‘both ... and ...’ as in e.g. Z 22.312-314 *ce/kye hā puña yande u hā baśdo* (three times) ‘one who performs both merits and evil’ and Z 23.163 *hā hva’ndā hā biśśā gyasta harbiśśī śśaraṇu tsutāndā* ‘Both men and all the gods, all went to him for refuge’,²⁴ but

²¹ SGS 278.

²² Cf. Hitch 1990: 182-183, 186 § 5.4 and 187-188 § 6.5.

²³ See SGS 219 and cf. Hitch 1990: 183 and 189-190 § 8.4.

²⁴ So translated instead of Emmerick’s ‘Forth men, forth all the gods all went to him for refuge’.

can also be used alone as in Sgh 99[16] *mātaru jsataimā hā pātaru* ‘I killed my mother and my father’.²⁵ In the present passage, *vahīśātā hā nu ... padimate* ‘he makes penetrate and produces for them ...’ provides another instance of single *hā* ‘and’. The same explanation applies to *hā nu* in Sgh 26.2 *~uysnaura ~ce mahāyānu vātā vāstātaimā u hā nu nyūtemā*. This was translated ‘The beings whom I established in the Mahāyāna and instructed in it’ by Giotto Canevascini, who suggests that “*hā nu* ought to be a spelling variant of the directional adverb *hā ne*”.²⁶ However, the verb *nyūj-* : *nyūta-* ‘to teach’²⁷ is nowhere else construed with the directional particle *hā*, and *nu* is more likely to be the regular and more original spelling of the enclitic third plural personal pronoun from **-hānām* < Old Iranian **-hānām*.²⁸ The passage, which is unfortunately a Khotanese amplification without Sanskrit counterpart, should be translated ‘The beings whom I established in the Mahāyāna and whom (*nu* lit. ‘them’) I also (*hā*) instructed’.

23(2) *padimate* ‘he produces’ was read *padimete* by Emmerick and Vorob’ëva-Desjatovskaja, who took the rightward flourish of the slightly damaged *ī*-diacritic in *dī* for a damaged *e*-diacritic on *ma*. The verb *padimate* displays a remarkable spelling, in that the ending of the third singular indicative present middle is regularly spelled *-āte* in Old Khotanese. The scribe may have omitted the *ā*-diacritic in error. On the other hand, I see no reason for not regarding *padimate* in this early manuscript as a rare variant spelling which does not record in writing the weakening of unstressed *-a-* > *-ä-* and stands to *padimāte* as e.g. Z 6.43 *bvemate jsa* stands to Z 6.59 *bvemāte jsa* instrumental-ablative singular from *bvāmatā-*. It may be noted that no spelling with *-ä-* is found among the three well preserved occurrences of *āmatā*-nouns in

²⁵ See Maggi in Studies 3.168-169 with references. The two Z passages above may be added to the examples provided there.

²⁶ Sgh, p. 120.

²⁷ SGS 61.

²⁸ See Nicholas Sims-Williams in Studies 2.74-75.

this folio (24(13) *ke'mate*, 24(13) *pyū'vemate*, 23(3) *bvāmato*).

23(3) *nuvaštāte* 'he examines' is the first Old Khotanese perfectly preserved occurrence of the third singular indicative present of the verb *nuvašt-*. Its clear middle ending *-āte*, together with Suv 8.17 Or. ^{*}*nvaštāte* / B ^{*}*nvaštāte* / SI¹ *nvaštā*,²⁹ now allows this verb to be assigned with certainty to type A.³⁰

23(3) *ku* 'when': apart from here, where *ku* 'when (= in the event that)' is used, the text always has *ka* 'if' to introduce the description of bodhisattva qualities.

23(3) *aysu jsānā ~cu* (MS *cu*) *kūśāmā* 'What am I seeking?' mirrors accurately the Sanskrit manuscript reading *kim ahaṃ margāmīti*, which, however, is apparently wrong for *kim ahaṃ arghāmīti* 'What am I worth?', as is suggested by comparison with KP § 26(3) 19v3 *kiṃ nu arghāmi nārghāmy *aha* (ed. for MS *ahaṃ*) 'Am I worth anything? I am certainly not'. For *margāmi* = *mārgāmi*, cf. KP § 125 62r5 and 137 69r1 *margati* (see BHSD 420 and BHSG 25 § 3.34).

23(5) *varāṣto* 'towards' is a Late Khotanese form (OKh. *varālsto*), which stands out in this early Old Khotanese text and manuscript and bears witness to a situation of diglossia in Khotan between the fifth and the sixth centuries, when Late Khotanese must have already been the low variety of everyday use as against Old Khotanese as the high variety reserved for written religious literature and presumably for "the formal speech of the Iranian ruling element of the population".³¹ Late Khotanese forms, that is, colloquial forms, appeared only occasionally at first in manuscripts written in Old Khotanese, as in the

²⁹ In Suv a raised multiplication sign ^{*} precedes a "word not completely preserved in the manuscript" and an asterisk ^{*} precedes "probable, but hypothetical, restoration" (Suv, vol. 1, p. 5).

³⁰ Cf. SGS 59: "*nuvašt-* ... A/B".

³¹ See Emmerick 1987: 42 on an observation by the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang about the name of the kingdom of Khotan that shows how, at the beginning of "the seventh century, even in the spoken language, both the OKh. form *hvatana-* and the LKh. form *hvaṃna-* could be heard".

case of *varāṣṭo*, but surfaced more and more often over time until Old Khotanese was eventually abandoned even in written texts presumably as a consequence of the Tibetan occupation of Khotan, which brought about “some sort of transition ... within the tradition of the Buddhist learning in Khotan during the social and political turmoil from the eighth to the ninth century”.³² By definition, diglossia is the tendentially stable use, by a single language community, of two dialects (or closely related languages) that are reserved for different communication functions. The problem is whether the two dialects usually termed Old and Late Khotanese, which represent the formal and the vernacular varieties in ancient Khotan, are to be regarded as diachronic or diatopic varieties.

23(5) *stvīdu* ~ *vāstāco* (MS *stvīdu vāstā*+) ‘in steadfast determination’. The reading of *stvīdu* is quite certain. The consonant ligature in the first syllable was first read correctly as *stvī* by Lore Sander in her comprehensive and accurate but unfortunately unfinished and unpublished study of the Khotanese formal script. The subscript letters resemble but cannot be *th* because the sign is clearly open to the left, so that it rather results from the ligature of *t* and *v*. Moreover, the consonant in *du*, though partly faded, must be *d*, because the shape of the *u*-diacritic only allows the readings *ku*, *du* or *ru* and what remains of the consonant is compatible with *d* (cf. r3 *īgāndu* and r6 *mulśdu*) but hardly fits *k* and the trace of the *d* rules out *ru* (cf. Skjærvø’s *sthīru*). Since *uī/vī* results from palatalisation of *ū*,³³ *stvīdu* can readily be interpreted as a simplification of **styvīdu*, a locative of *styūda*- ‘firm’ (corresponding to Skt. *dṛḍha*-) with the palatalising ending *-īu*.³⁴ This is attested as a masculine ending in OKh. Z 10.24 *mištu ggūttāro* ‘in a great lineage’,³⁵ but it might be equally expected with feminines in the light of the locative singular Z 3.136 *marīcu* from

³² See Kumamoto 2012: 149.

³³ Cf. SGS 195, 261 and 274 and Hitch 1990: 183 and 189 § 8.3.

³⁴ The entry *sthīdu* ‘steady (?)’ in Dict. 435 is thus superseded.

³⁵ SGS 283.

marīcā- ‘mirage’. This is listed by Emmerick as an example of the ending *-u*³⁶ but, with its already palatal *c*, it could as well conceal an ending *-i* just as the feminine locatives *tcalco*, *diśo* and **gūsko* quoted above may conceal an ending *-i*. The simplification **-yv->-v-* in **styvīdu>stvīdu* is parallel to **-vy->-y-* in **aysmvyā>aysmya*, the locative singular of *aysmua*- ‘mind’. The following defective word *vāstā*+ was read *vāstāte* and interpreted as a third singular perfect of *vaṣṭi*- ‘to remain’ or *viṣṭi*- ‘to place’ by Bailey and Skjærvø, who translated the passage ‘the mind towards bodhi-knowledge remained very steady’ and ‘[my] mind has been placed very firmly toward *bodhi*’ respectively.³⁷ However, the last syllable of what Bailey and Skjærvø read as *vāstāte* is simply no longer there, as the ink has almost completely faded. At any rate, the locative *stvīdu* of the adjective *styūda*- needs to be followed by a trisyllabic masculine or feminine substantive in the locative to correspond with Skt. *adhyāśayatā*-. No suitable substantive is attested, however, and I can only suggest that it is based on the past stem *vistāta*- from *vaṣṭi*- ‘to remain’ or *viṣṭi*- ‘to place’ and must mean ‘determination’. It does not seem that there is enough room for a quadrisyllabic **vistātteta* from **vistāttāti*-. Since the *-ā*- in the second syllable is not palatalised to *-e*-, the substantive is presumably derived by means of a suffix, corresponding to the third, lost syllable, that contains a consonant which can be palatalised (e.g. *n* > *ñ*) or absorbs the palatalisation induced by a locative singular ending (e.g. *c*). A suitable candidate would be an otherwise unattested *kyā/cā*-derivative **vistākyā*- (locative **vistāco*?) from the past stem to be set beside the *āmatā*-derivative *viṣṭāmatā*- ‘placing, establishment’ from the present stem. The two derivatives *viṣṭāmatā*- and *vistākyā*- from *viṣṭi*- : *vistāta*- ‘to place’ would parallel, for instance in the case of the verb *kāṭi*- : *kāṣṭa*- ‘to think’, the derivatives *kāmatā*- ‘thought, view’ from the

³⁶ SGS 277.

³⁷ Dict. 435 s.v. *sthīdu* and Catalogue 380.

present stem and *kāṣcā-* ‘sorrow, grief’ from the past stem.³⁸

23(6) *~uysnora *brya ~yande* (MS *uysnora [+]* *yande*) ‘he has [love] for beings’: the phrase *bria- yan-* (middle) ‘to have love for’ is so far attested only as *brī yan-* with masculine objects in the singular,³⁹ but it is to be expected that the adjective *bria-* ‘dear’ is regularly inflected in agreement with the object (accusative masculine singular *brī* contracted from **bri-u*, plural *brya* from **bri-a*⁴⁰). In the corresponding intransitive phrase *bria- hām-* ‘to be dear, beloved’, the adjective is of course in the nominative: OKh. Sgh 31.5 *biśśānu uysnorāṇu brī hāmāte* ‘he will be dear to all beings’, LKh. Sum 35(11) *harbiśqāṇā gyastām ba’ysqāṇā brrī hime manāve* ‘he will become beloved (and) delightful to all the Lord Buddhas’. Likewise, the adjective *cira-* is regularly inflected in the phrase *cira- yan-* (active) ‘to make manifest, reveal, point out’ and its intransitive counterpart *cira- hām-* ‘to become visible, appear’, which are both well documented: e.g. 24(14) *cāru yīndā* + accusative singular masculine *ārru* and Z 12.73 *cira yīndā* ‘he makes visible’ + *ggūnā* accusative plural masculine ‘(minor) marks’; Sgh 217.3 *cārā ~hāmāte* ‘became visible’ + nominative singular masculine *baṃhyā* ‘tree’ and 214.2 *cira hāmāta* ‘became visible’ + nominative plural masculine *kulāra* ‘pavilions’.⁴¹

23(7) *īgāṇdu* ‘always’ is a variant spelling of Rk 156.3 *īyāṇdu*, which also translates Skt. *atyanta-*.⁴²

23(8) *hamaṃgu aysmū ~dārysde* (MS *d[ā]rysd[e]*) ‘he keeps his mind impartial’: the uncertain reading of the verb finds confirmation in the occurrence of the same phrase in *Bodhisattva compendium* H 144 NS 44 (IOL Khot 149/1) etc. r3 Catalogue 335 *hamaṃgu aysmū dārysde*.

³⁸ Cf. Degener 1989: 92, 101 and 202.

³⁹ Cf. Emmerick in Studies 1.100-101 and Maggi 1995: 108 for the diathesis.

⁴⁰ See SGS 315 (and 296 for the rules of contraction).

⁴¹ See other examples in KT 6.83-84 and Dict. 102-103.

⁴² See Skjærvø 2003: 419.

24(9) <u ka ... u>: the absence of the usual opening *u ka ...* ‘And if ...’ and of a counterpart of Skt. **sūṇṛta-vākyatā* ‘with kind words’ indicates that a clause was omitted. Cf. above on 23(2) [*u ka ...* ‘[And if ...’].

24(10) *~patātsā* (MS *patātsā*) ‘to relinquish’ is at variance with the transmitted Skt. *upādatta-* ‘taken; accepted, undertaken’ from *upa-ā-dā-* ‘to take, seize; to accept, make use of, practise’⁴³ and seems to render, instead, a Skt. **upadatta-* from *upa-dā-* ‘to give, offer’ (cf. Skt. *upadā-*, *upadāna-* ‘present, offering’ and the Pali noun *upadā-* ‘present’ and adjective *upadāyaka-* ‘giving’).⁴⁴ The verb *patāts-* is commonly translated ‘to give up, abandon’, ‘to leave, give up’, but it often has a connotation of liberality and self-sacrifice and Bailey appropriately gives the additional meaning ‘to give freely’.⁴⁵ The use of *patāts-* in the passage under consideration may be compared with e.g. Z 11.27 *vārsā vātā horā śā kaṣṭe ttarandarā kṣīna paśśāṇa balysūṣṭe vaska bajīyā patātsai ni ju yane hīsu* ‘This gift is included in *vīrya* [energy]: “The body is to be given up. May it be broken for the sake of *bodhi* [awakening]. I abandon (*patāts-*) it. I do not grudge”’.⁴⁶

24(13) *u ka dātā ~kūśānā* (MS *kūśān[ā]*) *vātā u nai paphīndā ~pyū ’vemate* (MS *pyū ’vemate*) . *u arthi ke ’mate* ‘And if he has been seeking the Dharma and has never enough of listening to it and thinking about (its) meaning’: the verb *paphan-* means ‘to gladden’ when it governs the accusative (e.g. Z 21.22-23 *tcarṣuve tēru kari ne paphanīndi tcei ’mañi ... nauni bajāṣṣā karā ni paphanīndi gguva* ‘Bright eyes do not gladden the face at all ... No soft sounds gladden the ears’), but it means ‘to be(come) satisfied with’ when it governs the genitive-dative, as in the phrase *ne paphan-* + genitive-dative ‘not

⁴³ Cf. SWTF 1.405-406.

⁴⁴ See MW 199 s.vv. ¹*upa-dā*, ²*upa-dā*, *upa-dāna* and Cone 2001: 451.

⁴⁵ See SGS 67, Suv, vol. 2, p. 295 and Dict. 205.

⁴⁶ See also Suv, vol. 2, pp. 165 (on 6.2.64), 206-207 (on 12.62) and 295 s.vv. *patāts-*, *patātsānaa-* and *patātsāmātā-*.

to be(come) satisfied with, to have never enough of’ used to translate Skt. *na tṛptim samjñā-* and the like.⁴⁷ The edition of the Sanskrit has *saddharmaparyeṣṭim ārabhyātṛp[tā] śrutārthatayā*, but the restoration is unconvincing, as Almuth Degener pointed out to me. In fact, *atṛp[tā]* is exceptional if it is understood as an adjective in the instrumental agreeing with *śrutārthatayā*, because the Buddhist Sanskrit *ā*-declension instrumental ending *-ā* is essentially confined to verses.⁴⁸ I prefer to restore a compound *atṛp[ta]-śruta-artha-tā-* ‘being insatiable (*atṛpta-*) of what one hears (*śruta-*) and (its) meaning (*artha-*)’ with irregular order of its parts instead of *śruta-artha-atṛpta-tā-*. Both the Khotanese and the Tibetan translations support this restoration and interpretation, including *śruta-artha-* as a copulative compound (cf. Kh. *u* and Tib. *dang* ‘and’).⁴⁹

24(14) *balysāṇa paroya uskuṣḍe* ‘rises up against the Buddha’s command’: the verb *uskuj-* ‘to rise up (against)’ is construed with the postpositions *vīrā* and *bendā* in Z 11.50 *karā nā uskuṣḍe aysmūna balysūñāvūysai vīri* ‘one does not at all rise up against a bodhisattva in his mind’, Z 12.70 *ko ne mamā vīrā uskujāro uysnora* ‘Would that beings may not rise up against me!’, Z 12.79 *kvī vīrā satva uskujāre pharāka* ‘so that many beings rise up against him’ and Z 2.134 *aysu ggaru bendā sumīrā uskujātemā* ‘I attacked Mount Sumeru’. The locative is used with the same value in the case of *balysāṇa paroya* here and in the subsequent *balysāṇa paroya . ārragāḍa* ‘guilty against the Buddha’s command’.

24(14) *ka tṭye ārri ~kāḍe ~gamjso* (MS *kāḍe ga[m]jso*) *vajāṣḍe* ‘if he perceives well the flaw of that fault’: the adverb *kāḍe* mostly modifies adjectives as in 23(4) *kāḍe nāhalamānā* ‘very humble’, but it “can be used in Khotanese with a verb e.g. [Z 2.95] *tārtha kāḍe badru*

⁴⁷ See Sgh, p. 122 and Suv, vol. 2, p. 298.

⁴⁸ See BHSg 65 §§ 9.64-65.

⁴⁹ *thos pa dang don gyis ngoms mi myong ba* (ed. Staël-Holstein 1926: 49, cf. Weller 1965: 82 n. 15).

haspījīndā ‘the heretics greatly urge Bhadra’”.⁵⁰ On the other hand, nouns are, as a rule, modified by the adjectives *pharu* (indeclinable) and *pharāka-* ‘much, many’, though *kāḍe* too seems at times to modify a noun as here (*~kāḍe ~gaṃjso* ‘great flaw’?). However, I am not aware of indisputable examples of such an usage. For instance, Sgh 99[17] *asādu kāḍe yi[dai]* is acceptably translated ‘you have done much [*kāḍe*] evil’ by Giotto Canevascini, but *asādu* is a substantivised adjective and a grammatically more precise translation would be ‘you have done a great evil (← a very evil thing)’. Even Z 12.22 *kāḍe sīravātā kāḍe ṣṣadda praysātā balya vāte tcera u ttu rro pīso vīri*, where *kāḍe* immediately precedes the nouns *sīratātī-* ‘contentment’ and *ṣṣadda-* ‘faith’ and is placed far before *tcera* ‘(is) to be done’, and which Emmerick translated loosely as ‘He should show great [*kāḍe*] content, great [*kāḍe*] faith, devotion toward the Buddhas and also toward his teacher’, should in fact be more strictly understood as ‘Contentment should be greatly shown (*tcera*) (by one), faith (and) devotion (should be) greatly (shown by one) ...’ with both occurrences of *kāḍe* ‘greatly’ referring to *tcera* ‘(is) to be done, shown’ and with *tcera* in turn referring at the same time to *sīravātā*, *ṣṣadda* and *praysātā* ‘devotion’. In the case of *~kāḍe ~gaṃjso vajāṣḍe* ‘he perceives well the flaw’, *~kāḍe* precedes *~gaṃjso* presumably because it is meant to refer to the entire collocation *~gaṃjso vajāṣḍe* formed by the verb preceded by its object, which also occurs in Z 19.19 *brīṭye jsa māstā ne-rn-ne ggaṃjso vajiṣḍe* ‘One intoxicated with passion does not behold their fault’ and Z 22.170 and 200 *saṃsāri ggaṃjso vajiṣḍā/e* ‘He will perceive the fault of *saṃsāra*’. It goes without saying that the intensive value of *kāḍe* can commonly be rendered by ‘very’ when the adverb modifies adjectives, whereas, when it modifies verbs, it needs to be translated by ‘greatly’, ‘well’ and the like in order to fit the contexts.

24(14) *balyaṣāṇa paroya . ārragāḍa*: see above on 24(14) *balyaṣāṇa paroya uskuṣḍe*.

⁵⁰ Emmerick 1993: 61.

24(14) *cāru yīndā* ‘he points out’: see above on 23(6) *~uysnora *brya ~yande*.

24(15) *balysūññeina aysmūna* ‘with the thought of awakening’: that this is a translation of Skt. *bodhi-citta-* was recognised by Bailey.⁵¹

24(17) *byehu* ‘I may obtain’: see below on 25(20) *hīsu*.

25(20) *pīrmo vidye *adyānai* (MS *ādyānai*) *pāṣkali* ‘the invisible realm of superior knowledge’: the emendation **adyānai* for MS *ādyānai* is confirmed by Rk 94.7 *brīyostā pāṣkalā u dyānai pāṣkalā . u adyānei pāṣkalā* ‘the region of desire and the visible region and the invisible region’.⁵²

25(20) *hīsu* ‘I may come’: while 24(17) *byehu* ‘I may obtain’ has an already palatalised stem and can thus be first singular optative active (ending *-ⁱu*) or injunctive active (ending *-u*), *hīsu* displays no palatalisation of *s > ś* and provides us with the third unambiguous instance of first singular injunctive active besides Z 24.435 *parsu* ‘I may escape’ and, as pointed out to me by Douglas Hitch, Z 2.129 *būṣṣu* ‘may I distribute’.⁵³

25(21) *sañña-brīce* ‘with love for expedients’: *sañña-brīkyā-* was first recognised as a compound by Degener in Z 2.223 and 14.39.⁵⁴

25(23) and 25(24) *uṣṭañā* ‘mindful’: 25(23) *uṣṭañā* was taken as a locative singular from *uṣṭana-* ‘spirit’ and translated ‘in faculty’ by Bailey and ‘in his spirit’ by Skjærvø; 25(24) *uṣṭañā* was regarded as its nominative-accusative plural and translated as ‘all (his) faculties’

⁵¹ Dict. 272 s.v. *balysa-*.

⁵² So Emmerick 1993: 60; cf. Skjærvø 2003: 410.

⁵³ See SGS 206-207, 210 (“One certain example, O.Kh.: *parsu* Z 24.435”) and 103 s.v. *būṣṣ-* (“1 sg. inj., *būṣṣu* Z 2.129”). Apparently, Emmerick hesitated in the case of *būṣṣu*, but *ṣṣ* [s] is neutral to palatalisation, i.e. allows it to move further toward the beginning of the word (see Hitch 1990: 183 and 188 § 7.7), so that non-palatalised *-ū-* (instead of palatalised *uī/vī* required by the optative ending, cf. above on 23(5) *stvīdu*) shows that *būṣṣu* is an injunctive.

⁵⁴ See Degener 1989: 206 and cf. Emmerick 1993: 61-63 for the meaning and a further occurrence.

by Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja. However, *uṣṭañā* is hardly a locative singular of *uṣṭana-*, because the locative ending *-iā* is exceptional in Old Khotanese,⁵⁵ and it certainly cannot be nominative-accusative plural. The context does not require a substantive here, so that *uṣṭañā* is rather nominative singular masculine from the adjective *uṣṭañā-* 'mindful (← spirited)', an *i*-derivative from *uṣṭana-*.⁵⁶ A similar expression occurs in LKh. Hoernle 142, 143 (Or. 8210/S. 9224-9225) 16 Catalogue 38 *ś[au-nauhāna aysmūna bāsā uṣṭañā* 'with concentrated mind, wholly mindful'.⁵⁷

25(25) *bātandā* (MS *bātandā*) 'distracted': that *bātandā* could be read here was first suggested by Bailey.⁵⁸

25(25) *vajsāṣḍe* (MS *vajsāṣḍe*) 'he perceives' was read *pyūṣḍe* by Bailey and Skjærvø, but the word, though partly damaged, can be read clearly enough and the reading is confirmed by the corresponding Skt. *-saṃdarśitayā*.

4. Glossary

Words that have been entirely supplemented are not listed here. Basically, only the meanings found in Rk 23-25 are given, though some of the words listed may, of course, have further meanings and senses in other texts. The abbreviation LW indicates direct Indian loanwords. Etymologies and references are given only if they are not to be found in Skjærvø's glossary to Suv. Grammatical abbreviations: 1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, A accusative, f(.) feminine (noun), GD genitive-dative, IA Instrumental-ablative, L

⁵⁵ In SGS 262 Emmerick describes it as a "LKh. spelling for *-iā* ... influenced by *-ā*" and gives only a Late Khotanese example for the *a*-declension of nouns and none at all for the *a*-declension of adjectives (cf. p. 283).

⁵⁶ Cf. Dict. 41 s.v. *uṣṭana-*, Catalogue 380 and SDTV 3.220.

⁵⁷ Instead of 'all faculties' (Dict. 41), 'all ...' (Catalogue 38).

⁵⁸ See Dict. 158 s.v. *dida-*.

locative, m(.) masculine (noun), N nominative, nt neuter, P plural, S singular. Other abbreviations are self-evident. A small tilde ~ before an occurrence indicates that this is defectively preserved. An arrow ↑ after an occurrence refers to fuller information to be found in the commentary.

akhijandaa- adj. ‘untiring’: NSm *akhijandei* 24(12).

adyānaa- adj. ‘invisible’: GDSm *adyānai* ~25(20)↑.

abātanda- adj. ‘undistracted’ (cf. *bātanda-*): NSm *abātandā* 25(23); IASm *abātandāna* 25(24).

aysu 1S personal pron. ‘I’: N *aysu* 23(3); encl. GD *mā* 23(3).

aysmua- m. ‘mind, thought, intention’: NS *aysmū* 23(5) 24(12); AS *aysmū* 23(8); IAS *aysmūna* 23(6) 23(7) 24(15)↑ 25(24).

arahandoña- m. ‘arhatship’: IAS *arahandoñāna* ~25(26).

artha- m. ‘meaning’, LW: GDS *artha* 24(13).

avachauda- adj. ‘unobstructed’: NSf *avachauda* 24(18); LSf *avachvaido* 23(2)↑.

avarehandaa- adj. ‘not restraining oneself’ (cf. *pareh-*): NAPm *avarehandā* ~25(22).

avāṣkālsta- adj. ‘undifferentiated’: ASf *avāṣkālsto* 24(11) 24(11).

ah- vb. ‘to be’: 3Sm perf. intr. *vātā* 23(4) ~23(5) 24(12) 24(13) 25(20) 25(21); 3Sf perf. intr. *vāta* 24(18) ~25(19) 25(21) 25(22).

āgīm- see *ātīm-*.

ātīm- vb. ‘to desire’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *ātīmāte* 24(16), *āgīmāte* 25(26).

ārra- m. ‘fault’: AS *ārru* 24(14); GDS *ārri* 24(14).

ārragāḍa- adj. ‘guilty’: NAPm *ārragāḍa* 24(14).

ārañāna- m. ‘forest retreat’: LS *ārañānā* ~25(24).

ārīh- : ārsta- tr. vb. ‘to mix with’: ppp. NSf *ārsta* 25(21).

ārsta- see *ārīh-*.

āh- vb. ‘to dwell’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *āste* 25(24).

-ī 3S encl. personal pron. (cf. Emmerick 1998: 96): *-a* + *-ī* > *-ai* in *kai* see *ka*; *-ā* + *-ī* > *-ī* in *crāmī* see *crāma-*; *-e* + *-ī* > *-ai* in *nai* see *ne*.

īgāṇdu adv. ‘always’: 23(7)↑.

u conj. ‘and’: 23(3) 23(3) 23(4) 23(5) 23(6) 23(7) 23(8) 24(10) 24(11) 24(11) 24(12) 24(13) 24(13) 24(13) 24(14) 24(14) ~24(15) 24(15)

- 24(16) 24(17) 24(18) 25(19) 25(20) 25(21) 25(21) 25(22) 25(23)
25(24) 25(25) 25(26) 25(26) 25(26) 25(27).
- uysnora-** m. ‘(living) being’: GDS *uysnorā* 23(4); NAP *usynora* ~23(6)
23(7) 24(11) 24(18) ~25(22).
- uṣṭaṇā-** adj. ‘mindful’: NSm *uṣṭaṇā* 25(23)↑ 25(24)↑.
- usā-** m. ‘exertion’: AS *usā* ~23(2).
- uskuj-** vb. ‘to rise up (against)’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *uskuśde* 24(14)↑.
- o** conj. ‘or’: 23(8); *o vā* ‘or (else)’ 25(22) 25(26).
- odā** prep. ‘until’: *yāva odā kāmu ... na-ro* ‘until’ see *yāva*.
- ka** conj. ‘if’: 23(4) 23(6) 23(7) 23(8) 24(10) 24(11) 24(11) 24(13)
24(14) 24(14) 24(15) 24(17) 25(20) 25(23) 25(24) 25(25) 25(26)
25(26) 25(27); (+ *-ī* encl. 3S pron.) *kai* 23(5) 24(12) 24(16) 24(18)
25(19) 25(21) 25(22).
- karīttāti-** f. ‘energy’: NS *karīttātā* ~25(19).
- kā’matā-** f. ‘thinking, thought’: IAS *ke’mate* 24(13).
- kāmu** conj. ‘as far as’: *kāmu na-ro* ‘until’ in *yāva odā kāmu ... na-ro*
‘until’ see *yāva*.
- kādana** postp. + GD ‘for the sake, on account of’: ~25(19) 25(20).
- kāde** adv. ‘very; well, greatly’: 23(4) 23(5) ~24(14)↑.
- kīra-** m. ‘deed’: NS *kīrā* 24(10); NAP *kīre* 24(15).
- ku** conj. ‘when’: 23(3).
- kūs-** vb. ‘to seek’: 1S indic. pres. act. *kūsāmā* 23(3)↑; 3S indic. pres.
act. *kūsātā* 25(26); pres. part. mid. NSm *kūsānā* ~24(13).
- ko** conj. ‘if (only)’: 24(17) 25(20).
- kṣamauttāti-** f. ‘forbearance’: NS *kṣamauttātā* 24(18).
- khan-** vb. ‘to smile’: pres. part. act. IASf *khanamce* 24(9).
- gaṃjsā-** f. ‘flaw’: *gaṃjso* ~24(14)↑.
- gatā-** f. ‘state of existence’, LW: LP *gatuo* 24(17).
- gūscā-** f. ‘escape’: LS *gūscō* ~25(20).
- cāra-** adj. ‘manifest’: ASm *cāru*. Phrase: *cāra- yan-* act. ‘to make
manifest, point out’ 24(14)↑.
- cu** interr. pron. ‘what’: NS 23(3), AS ~23(3).
- cu** conj. ‘when’: 24(14) 24(14) 24(16) 24(17) 25(20).
- crāma-** relative adj. ‘of what kind’: NSm (*-ā* + *-ī* encl. 3S pron.) *crāmī*
24(10).
- jāna-** m. ‘meditation’, LW: LS *jāna* 25(20).

jsā- vb. ‘to go’: pres. part. mid. used as an aspectual particle NSm
jsānā 23(3).
jsīrgyīnaa- adj. ‘deceptive’: IASm *jsīrgyīneina* 23(6).
tta adv. ‘so’: 23(3).
ttu see *ṣa-*.
tcari- f. ‘face’: IAS *tcīre jsa* 24(9).
tcahora card. num. ‘four’: IAP *tcūryau* 25(21).
tcūryau see *tcahora*.
tcera- part. nec. ‘to be done’: NSnt *tceru* 23(3).
ttye see *ṣa-*.
daśtatāti- f. ‘skilfulness’: IAS *daśtatete jsa* 25(21) 25(21).
dākṣāṇia- adj. ‘venerable’, LW: IAPm *dākṣānyau* 24(9).
dāta- m. ‘the Dharma’: AS *dātu* 25(23); GDS *dātā* 24(13).
dāta- see *dai-*.
dārjs- vb. ‘to hold, keep’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *dārysde* ~23(8)↑ 24(11).
dīraṃgāra- adj. ‘evildoing’: IAPm *dīraṃgāryau* 25(27).
dai- : dāta- vb. ‘to see’: ppp. NAPm *dāta* 25(25).
na-ro adv. ‘not yet’: *yāva odā kāmu ... na-ro* ‘until’ see *yāva*.
nā see *nu*.
nāhalamāna- adj. ‘humble’, LW: NSm *nāhalamānā* 23(4).
nu, nā 3P encl. personal pron.: GD 23(2)↑, *nā* 24(11) 24(14); IA *-n*
jsa ‘thereby’ 24(17) 25(20).
nuvašt- vb. ‘to examine’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *nuvaštāte* 23(3)↑.
ne adv. ‘not’: 23(3) 23(6) 24(10) 24(14) 24(16) 24(17) 25(20) 25(25)
25(26); (+ *-ī* encl. 3S pron.) *nai* 24(13) 25(26).
nyas- vb. ‘to despise’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *nyaste* 23(3).
paḍāa- adj. ‘first’: NSm *paḍā* 24(9).
patāts- vb. ‘to relinquish’: inf. pres. *patātsā* ~24(10)↑.
pathīs- vb. ‘to refrain’: 3S indic. pres. act. *pathīstā* ~25(27).
-padia- see *pharu-padia-*.
padīm- vb. ‘to produce’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *padīmate* 23(2)↑.
pana- adj. ‘every’: ASm *panu* 24(15); GDSm *panye* 23(4).
panam- vb. ‘to rise’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *panamāte* 23(8).
paphan- vb. ‘gladden’ (+ A); to be(come) satisfied (+ GD): 3S indic.
act. *paphīndā* 24(13)↑.
parāha- m. ‘moral restraint’: AS *parāhu* 24(17). Phrase: *parāhu*

pareh- ‘to exercise moral restraint’ 24(17).
parrīya- m. ‘deliverance’: AS *parrīyu* 25(26).
pareh- vb. ‘to restrain oneself’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *parehāte* 24(17);
 pres. part. act. NAPm *parehandā* 25(22). Phrase: *parāhu pareh-*
see parāha-.
parau- m. ‘command’: LS *paroya* 24(14) 24(14).
pārajsaā- f. ‘basis’: GDS *pārajsye* 24(17).
pātāy- vb. ‘to speak’: 3S indic. pres. act. *pātāyātā* ~24(9).
pāṣkala- m. ‘realm’: GDS *pāṣkali* 25(20).
pīrmo indecl. adj. ‘superior’: 25(20).
puva’-d- vb. ‘to be afraid’: 3S indic. pres. act. *puvai’ttā* ~24(10).
pyū’vāmatā- f. ‘listening’: IAS *pyū’vemate* 24(13).
pyūṣ- vb. ‘to listen’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *pyūṣḍe* 25(23).
pracīyasambuddhoṇa- m. ‘pratyekabuddhaship’: IAS *pracīyasambud-*
dhoṇāna 25(26).
pharu-padīa- adj. ‘manifold’: NAPf *pharu-padya* 25(26).
baña postp. + GD ‘in front of’: 23(4).
balysa- m. ‘buddha’: NS *balysā* 23(8).
balysāna- adj. ‘of the Buddha’: ASm *balysānu* 25(23); LSm *balysāña*
 24(14) 24(14); LSf *balysāña* ~23(2).
balysūñavūysaa- m. ‘bodhisattva’: NAP *balysūñavūysā* ~24(14); GDP
balysūñavūysānu ~23(3).
balysūñīnaa- adj. ‘pertaining to awakening’: IASm *balysūñīneina*
 24(15)↑.
balysūsti- f. ‘awakening (*bodhi*)’: AS *balysūstu* 23(5); GDS *balysūste*
 24(10) 24(12).
bātanda- adj. ‘distracted’, ppp. from *bitam-* ‘to doubt’: NSm *bātandā*
 ~25(25)↑.
biśa- adj. ‘all’: NAPm *biśā* ~24(11) 24(15) ~24(18); GDPm *biśānu*
 25(19); LPf *biśuo*’ 24(17).
biśu adv. ‘wholly’: 25(23) 25(24).
biśūnia- adj. ‘of all kinds’: NAPm *biśūnya* 25(25).
buljsaā- f. ‘virtue’: NAP *buljse* 25(26).
bvāmatā- f. ‘knowledge’: AS *bvāmato* 23(3); LS *buemato* ~23(2)↑.
byeh- vb. ‘to obtain’: 1S opt. or inj. act. *byehu* 24(17)↑.
bria- adj. ‘dear’. Phrase: *bria-yan-* mid. ‘to have love for’ ~23(6)↑.

-brīcā- see *sañā-brīcā-*.

mañ- vb. ‘to consider as’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *mañāte* 23(7).

mahāyāna- m. ‘Mahāyāna, Great Vehicle’, LW: GDS *mahāyāni* 25(26).

mā see *aysu*.

mista- adj. ‘great’: ASf *mištu* 24(11).

mulysdi- f. ‘compassion’: AS *mulśdu* 24(11).

yan- vb. ‘to make, do’: 3S indic. pres. act. *yīndā* 24(14) ~24(15); 3S indic. pres. mid. *yande* ~23(6) 24(11). Phrases: *cāra-yan-* act. see *cāra-*; *bria-yan-* mid. see *bria-*.

yāva prep. ‘up to’, LW: *yāva odā kāmu ... na-ro* ‘until’ 23(8).

ysaṃtha- m. ‘birth’: AS *ysaṃthu* 24(17).

ysurri- f. ‘anger’: IAS *ysurre jsa* 24(14).

rraṣṭa- adj. ‘right’: IASm *rraṣṭāna* 23(7).

lauvia- adj. ‘worldly’, LW ← Skt. *laukika-* (Konow 1932: 154): NAPm *lauvya* 25(25).

vajsāṣ- vb. ‘to perceive’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *vajāṣḍe* 24(14), *vajsāṣḍe* ~25(26)↑.

varāṣṭo postp. + A ‘towards’: 23(5)↑.

vaṣṭ- vb. ‘to remain, be’: 3S indic. pres. act. *vaṣṭātā* 24(10).

vaska postp. + GD ‘for the sake of’: 24(10) ~24(12).

vahīś- vb. ‘to make penetrate’: 3S indic. pres. act. *vahīśātā* ~23(2).

vā encl. adversative conj. ‘but’: *o vā* ‘or (else)’ see *o*.

vāta- see *ah-*.

vātā postp. + A/GD ‘towards’: 23(8) ~24(11) 24(11) ~24(18) ~25(22).

vidyā- f. ‘knowledge’, LW ← Skt. *vidyā-*: GDS *vidye* 25(20).

***vāstākyā-** f. ‘determination’: LS *vāstāco* ~23(5)↑.

vīvāta- m. ‘ripening’, LW: AS *vīvātu* 24(16).

śāra- adj. ‘good’: GDPm *śārāṇu* 25(19); LPf *śāruo* 24(17).

śūsta- see *śūh-*.

śūh- : śūsta- vb. ‘to equip’: ppp. NSm *śūstā* 25(21).

ṣa- demonstrative pron. ‘that, this’: ASm *ttu* 24(14); GDSm *ttye* 24(14) 25(20); GDSf *ttye* 24(17).

ṣāra- demonstrative pron. ‘that’: NSm *ṣārā* 24(14).

saṃgrahāvāsta- m. ‘means of attraction’, LW ← Skt. *saṃgrahavastu-* (Konow 1932: 180): IAP *saṃgrahāvāstyau* 25(21).

saña-brīcā- f. ‘love for expedients’: IAS *saña-brīce* 25(21)↑ ~25(21).
samāda- m. ‘concentration’, LW ← Skt. *samādhi*:- LS *samāda* 25(20).
sāna- m. ‘enemy’: NAP *sāne* 23(8).
se particle introducing direct speech: 23(3) 24(17) 25(20).
styūda- adj. ‘steadfast’: LSm/f *stvīdu* ~23(5)↑.
stvīdu see *styūda*-.
hajuvattāti- f. ‘wisdom’: NS *hajuvattātā* ~25(21).
haṃjsemāmatā- f. ‘collecting, collection’: GDS *haṃjsememate* ~25(19).
handara- adj. ‘other’: NAPm *handara* 24(14); GDPm *handarāṇu* ~23(3).
hamaṅga- adj. ‘equal, impartial’: ASm *hamaṅgu* 23(8).
hamaṅgu adv. ‘equally’: 25(22).
hamata- emphatic reflexive pron. ‘oneself’: NSm *hamatā* 24(14).
hayūna- m. ‘friend’: NAP *hayūna* 23(7); *hayūnyau* ~25(27).
hā directional particle ‘thither’: 24(14).
hā conj. ‘and, also’: 23(2)↑.
hām- vb. ‘to be, become’: 3S indic. pres. mid. *hāmāte* 25(25); 3P indic. pres. mid. *hāmāre* 24(14).
hāra- m. ‘thing’: AS *hāru* 24(15); NAP *hāra* 25(25); GDP *hārāṇu* ~25(19).
hīśāḍaa- m. ‘friend’: NAP *hīśāḍā* ~23(8).
hīśāḍosti- f. ‘friendliness’: NS *hīśāḍostā* 25(22); AS *hīśāḍostu* 24(11).
hīs- vb. ‘to come’: 1S inj. pres. act. *hīsu* 25(20)↑.
heḍā see *hor*-.
hor- vb. ‘to give’: 3S indic. pres. act. *heḍā* 24(16).
hora- m. ‘gift’: AS *horu* 24(16).

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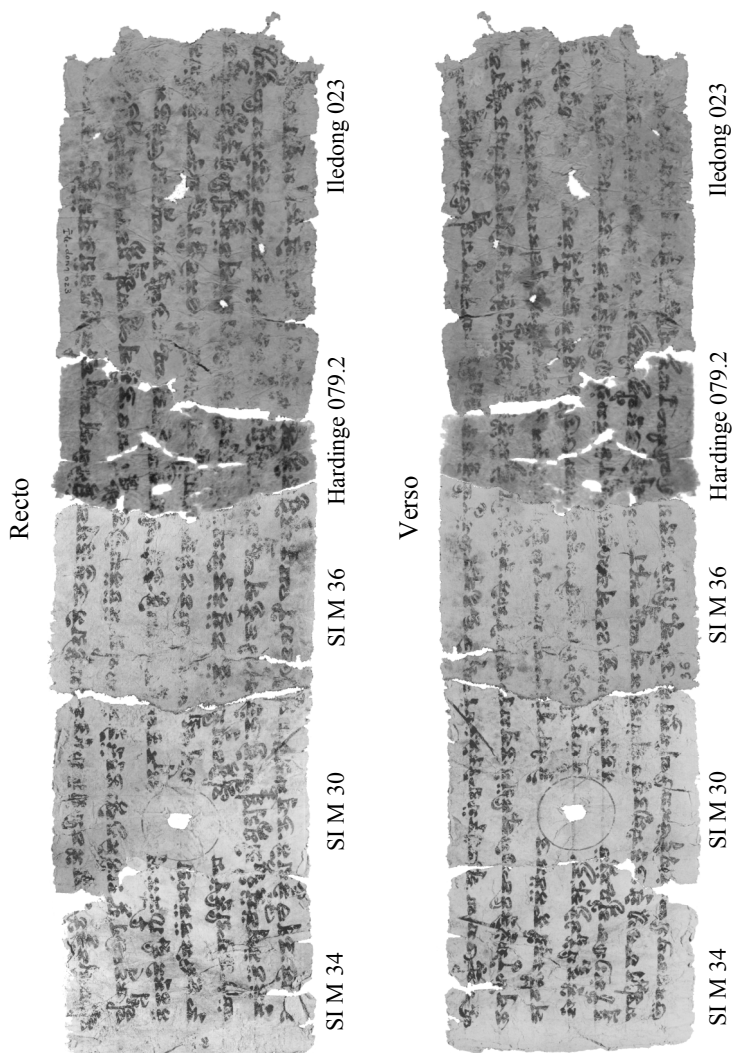


Fig. 1. Khotanese folio reconstructed from fragments SI M 34+30+36 + Hardinge 079.2 + Iledong 023: *Ratnakūṭa* 23(2)-25(27). SI M 34+30+36 (Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Saint Petersburg) reproduced from SDTV 3, pls. 173-174; Hardinge 079.2 and Iledong 023 (The British Library, London) reproduced from Ronald E. Emmerick's photographs.

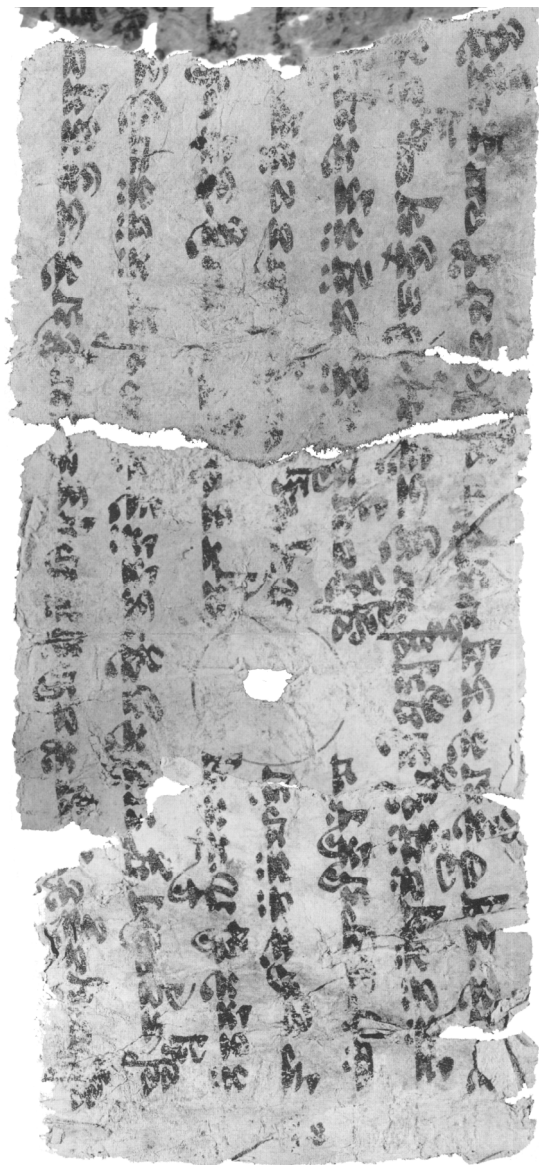


Fig. 2. Recto, left half.

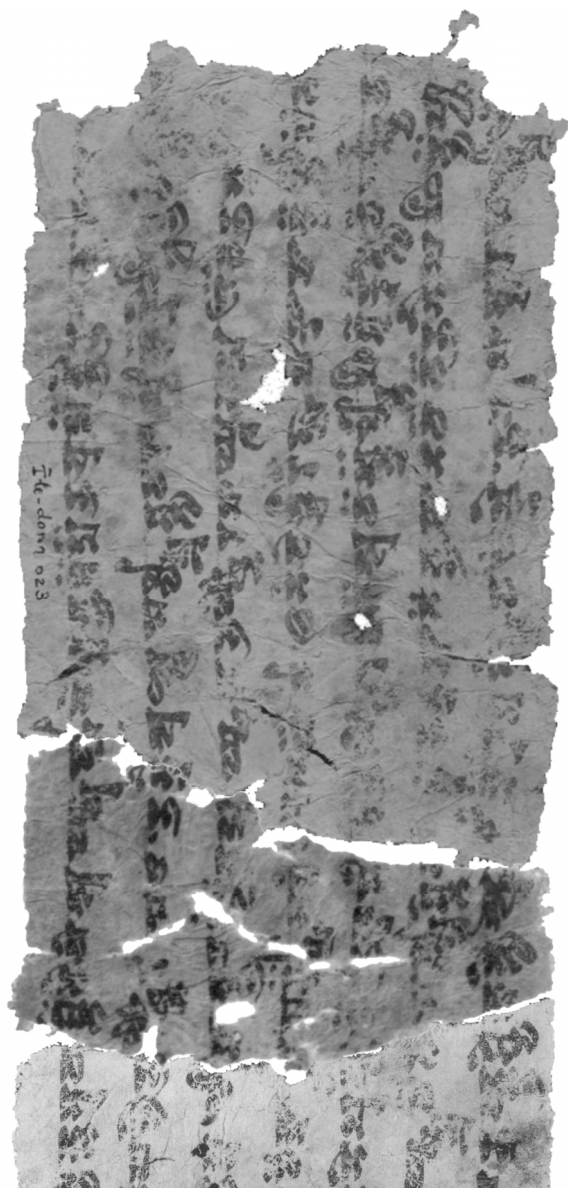


Fig. 3. Recto, right half.

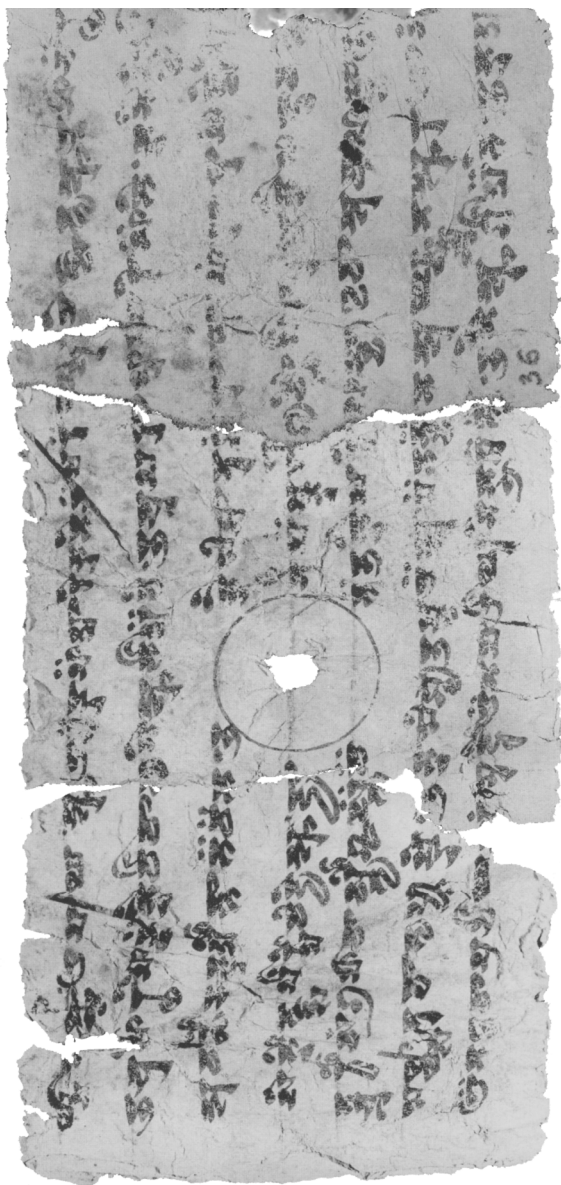


Fig. 4. Verso, left half.

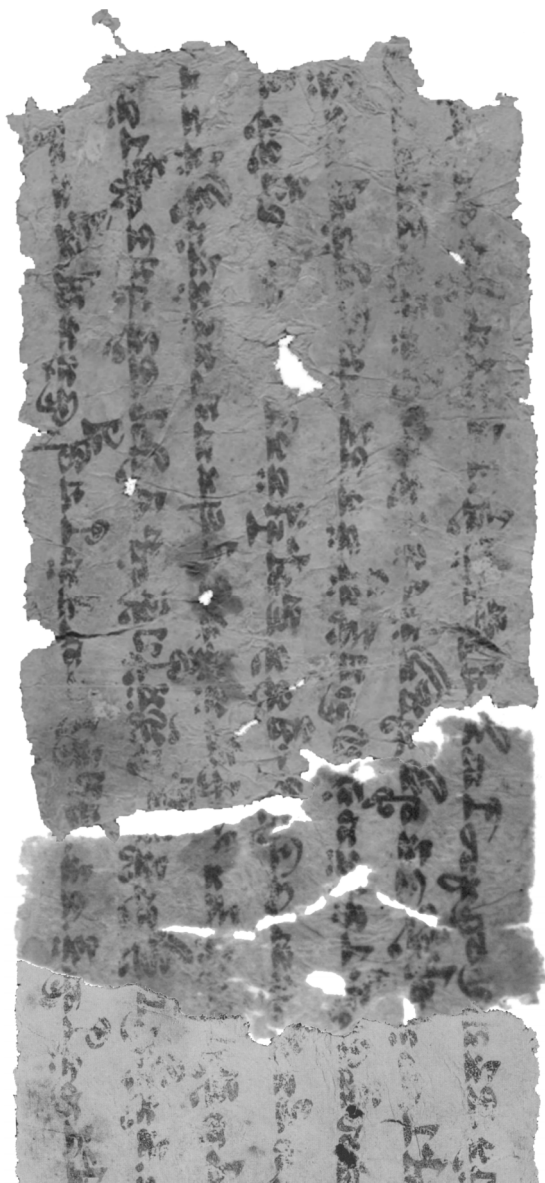


Fig. 5. Verso, right half.

和闐寫本《寶積經》（大迦葉品）殘葉

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摘要：

聖彼得堡和闐文殘卷編號 SI M 34+30+36 與倫敦和闐文殘卷哈挺（Hardinge）079.2（Or. 12637/15.1）以及伊東（Iledong）023（IOL Khot 169/6）合成完整的一葉寫本。這一葉寫本的文字內容與梵語《大寶積經》（=大迦葉品）第 23 段第 2 句到 25 段 27 句的古和闐譯本相當。本文的內容包括這一葉寫本的校刊編輯、譯註與語彙對照，另外也附上這葉重構的寫本的摹本。

關鍵詞：

大迦葉品、和闐語、和闐文獻、寶積經

