



PLATE I (1-11 recto)



PLATE II (9-21 recto)

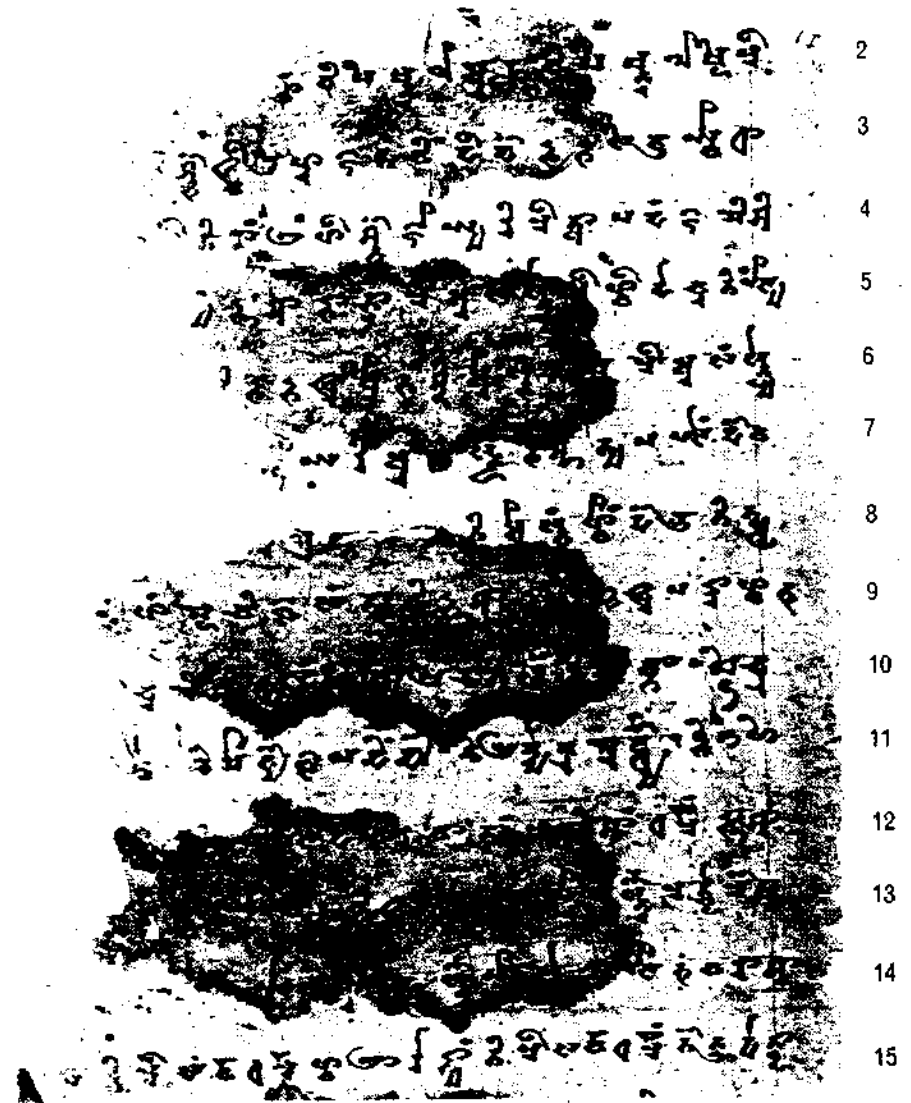


PLATE III (2-15 verso)

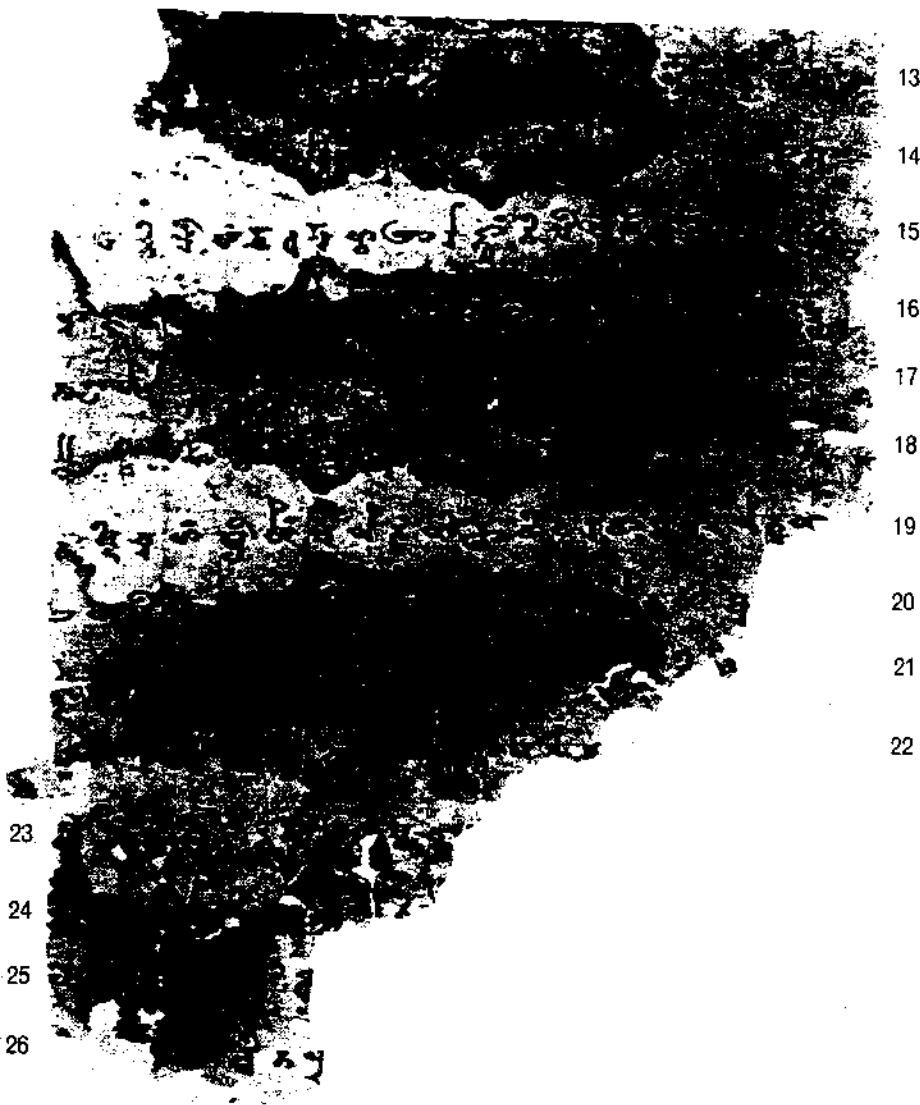


PLATE IV (13-26 verso)

THE KHOTANESE MANUSCRIPT "HUNTINGTON K"

by R. E. EMMERICK

ABBREVIATIONS

- Edg. F. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 2: Dictionary, New Haven 1953.
- KBT H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist texts*, London 1951.
- KT H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese texts*, i-vi, Cambridge 1945-67.
- Mv *Mahāvastu*, ed. É. Senart, vols i-iii, Paris 1882-97.
- Mvy *Mahāvīyūtpatti*, ed. R. Sakaki, Kyoto 1916, repr. Tokyo 1962.
- N E. Leumann, *Buddhistische Literatur, nordarisch und deutsch*: 1. Teil: *Nebensstücke*, (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XV.2), Leipzig 1920, repr. Liechtenstein 1966.
- SGS R. E. Emmerick, *Saka Grammatical Studies*, (London Oriental Series, vol. 20), Oxford 1968.
- Z R. E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta, A Khotanese poem on Buddhism*, (London Oriental Series, vol. 21), Oxford 1968.

The famous American geographer Ellsworth Huntington¹ (1876-1947), while on an expedition to Central Asia, in 1905 discovered, among other things, four manuscript fragments, all apparently at Khādalik², a site east of Khotan and south of Dandān Oilik. Huntington gave these manuscript fragments the sigla F, I, J, and K. He published photographs of one side of each of the four in his book *The Pulse of Asia*, London 1907, and Boston and New York 1907. A photograph of the reverse of F appears on the plate opposite p. 204, and photographs of the reverse of I and one side of J and K appear on the plate opposite p. 206. On the plates, F, I, and J are described as "Manuscripts from Khadaluck", but no information is given concerning K. All four are said to have been brought back from Khādalik to America by Huntington in E. Leumann's note "Bibliographische Notizen über zwei nordarische und zwei sanskritische Fragmente" in *ZDMG*, 67, 1913, 679-680. I is a complete folio, recognized by Leumann as folio 214 from the work which I call "The Book of Zambasta" (see Z pp. xii, xix, 120-1). F

¹ See the obituary by S. van Valkenburg, *The Geographical Review*, xxxviii. 1, 1948, 153-5.

² On this site, see M. A. Stein, *Serindia*, i, Oxford 1921, 154-196.

and **J** are Sanskrit fragments. **K** is part of a paper roll, described by Leumann as follows:

“**K** ist ein beidseitig von derselben Hand beschriebenes Stück aus einer Rolle; Höhe 41 cm, Breite 17½ cm. Aus dem Inhalt lässt sich erkennen, dass selbst in den vollständigsten erhaltenen Zeilen links noch je etwa 6 Silben fehlen, so dass die volle Breite der Rolle ungefähr 23½ cm betragen haben dürfte; die volle Höhe mag – nach den in London und Paris vorhandenen Tunhuang-Rollen zu schliessen – eine sehr beträchtliche gewesen sein.

Vorderseite: 19 Zeilen; die ersten drei in grösserer Schrift und mit weiterm Abstand.

Rückseite: 25 Zeilen; in dem genannten Werke Huntington's kann man auf dem eben diese Seite darstellenden Bilde (das umzudrehen ist) von den Zeilen 20–25 fast nichts erkennen, weil das Fragment, ehe es zu mir kam, an der entsprechenden Stelle (Vorderseite oben=Rückseite unten) ganz zerknittert war.

Auf beiden Seiten zeigen sich oben und unten noch geringe Spuren von weitem Zeilen.

Das Vorstehende besagt, dass ‘**K**’ aus dem Werke, welches in der Rolle aufgeschrieben war, bloss zwei weit auseinanderliegende und wegen der Unvollständigkeit aller Zeilen äusserst lückenhafte Zusammenhänge enthält. Ich werde auf diese beiden Zusammenhänge an anderer Stelle zurückkommen.”

As far as I know, Leumann never managed to return to **K** as he had hoped. The first attempt to give a transcription of **K** was that made by H. W. Bailey in *KT* 5.294–5. His designation “Huntington 1” is particularly misleading, as the arabic numeral 1 closely resembles the letter I, which Huntington used for Z fol. 214. Only the facsimile published by Huntington was available to Bailey, and hence his transcription is of only one side of the fragment. Visible in that photograph, however, is the modern siglum I 1, added, presumably by Huntington, in the margin at the bottom left-hand corner (as it appears in *The Pulse of Asia*, where fragment **K** is, as pointed out by Leumann, printed upside down, so that it is properly speaking the top right-hand corner). Huntington may therefore have originally intended this fragment to be referred to by the letter I, but to adopt this now would simply cause further confusion.

As related in Z p. xix, I was able on the 28/2/1968 to visit Yale in person and succeeded through the kind help of S. Insler in finding F, I, J, and **K**. They are preserved in the new Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. It is with the kind permission of Yale University Library that fragment **K** is published here.

It is not clear to me why the top of **K** was not straightened out either by Leumann or by Huntington before publication. Even after all these years it did not prove difficult to do this, even though the fragment had apparently received no special treatment in the interval, as, when I saw it, it was still in the paper wrappers Leumann had used. There was even some danger that the fragment might split in two, as it had been kept folded in half. The top of the fragment, however, recto 1–3 in my system, had in fact come apart at some stage, and someone had effected a repair with transparent adhesive paper. This had come unstuck, and when I saw the fragment, it was again in two pieces. I put it together once more before handing it over to the photographer. The original pieces of adhesive paper had to be left on, and they are visible in the photograph published here. The reconstruction is certainly correct in principle, as the join was perfect and the portions of *rrī* in r 3 gave further confirmation, as did the marks left by the paper used for repair. Portion of the fragment here did apparently slip before photography, as the *akṣara* preceding *rrī* is not satisfactory. It would require further careful examination of the original to determine with certainty how that *akṣara* is to be read. The result of this operation was extremely pleasing on the verso. Leumann could read very little of lines 20–25, and Bailey's attempt, based on the poor photograph published by Huntington, provided only a few syllables and many of those were incorrectly read. Now it is possible not only to read clearly, but to read more lines.

A few additional remarks can be made concerning the fragment. It is in grave danger of disintegration. The white paper becomes thinner at every touch, as pieces of fluff cling to the fingers. At some time it has been affected by water. The photographs published here clearly show six water stains and part of a seventh, all of similar shape. It is difficult to account for the similarity of shape without assuming either that the fragment was at some time folded in small sections, or else that while rolled up, before this piece was torn off, the roll ran over a damp patch of this shape. As there are no other signs of such folding it is probable that it was the latter accident that befell it. If that is so, it would seem likely that our fragment came from near the outside, that is the beginning, of the roll. The references to what precedes (see v 9, 13, 22) indicate that quite a number of lines must have preceded the verso, none of which we have on the recto. It was probably therefore a large roll. Its almost complete loss is greatly to be regretted because we have very little of the corpus of Khotanese Abhidharma literature and because this work evidently used many Khotanese technical terms instead of Sanskrit loanwords.

Recto

THE TEXT³

1]-y- {

³ The apparatus used to present the text follows the system adopted in Z p. xxii.

- 2] -- bhūmi haṃ[
 3] bhūmi ha - rri - -ū[
 4 kuśa]la karmapaha dasau bhū[mi
 5 ja]sti ba'ysi byāṃā braṣṭi si kāma jastā ba'[ysa
 6]rdi aṇausi himāñā jasti ba'ysi pyāstau ttai hve si - [
 7] haṣṭūsi piṣkala . tcahauri haṭhe dvāsi aṃga-pratī[tya-samutpāda
 8] padya byātajā-haṃjse . tcahaurā rraṣṭi pyauce . tcahaura re|[dha-
 pāda
 9 paṃjsi] pa'ñā haudī bvāma-aṃga haṣṭi-ysani paṃde .
 ttuśātteti]ai |[śāma
 10] - śāma aṇausā gūsci śāma tcahaurā jāna . tcahaurā
 11] - āpatti . haṣṭi vimūha . nau pacaḍa samāva|[tti
 12]je - kṣa saṃñā . hīya padya . dharmvā bvāma purmāṃ
 13] bvāṣca . samañāme vī bvāṣca . dukhi vī bvā|[ṣca
 14] bvāma . paṃdi vī bvāma jeṃgā vī bvāma .
 15] - draṣṭye vī bvāma . tta khu haṃtsa kā'me haṃtsa
 16] - mā ṣe samāhā . abustye śire bvā|[ma
 17] - . dasau aharina tvāre . haṣṭūsi ttuśātte
 18] tcahaurā prasaṃbe . mistā maittra . mistā muṣḍi .
 19] - vā harbiśā bvākauñā . paṃdi hīvi padī bvākauñā
 20] - - abhijñi . paṃjsi tceṃañā . dvāradi|[rsi lakṣaṇa
 21] - i - [

Verso

- 1] -k- [
 2] rūvi piṣkala arūvi piṣkala ṣi' mī
 3] - niśtā khvī prahujana ciṃdīdā tta tta si drayvā dhā|[tvā
 4] - -i nirāñā hiśtā jāyyari mī tvā padaṃja biśi
 5] -y- ttuśāttā kāma asaṃskrye mī hvīde cu ni ysyā|[re
 6] -i tta tta khu ātaśi' āstaṃna ṣi' mī asaṃskrye
 7] jāyari asaṃskṛta śunya payseṃdā va|[ra
 8] - - -t- - - ni āstaṃ hvāṃdā u ni tsū|[
 9] - haṃba'ci jsa saṃtsāri ttuśāttā tta tta khu paḍā hvata
 10] - cu bisāṃ dharmāṃ hīvyā prara gauttrā ttuśāttā . ṣi' cu
 11] -i nai . ni ṣāvyau jsa paḍimā . ni pratyekabuddhyau . ttina
 hi|[rna
 12] tvī rraṣṭi payseṃdā vara vā kāma bisāṃ dharmāṃ ttuśā|[ttā
 13] - āstaṃnā yāva rūvi khu paḍā hva yāva skauma tce'mā a|[
 14] - āstana yāva aysmū skauyāme ysāṭa varāśā|[
 15] - dharma tti mī sarvadharmā hvañāre ttiyāni mī sarvadharmānā
 kūrye kā|[me jsa
 16] pra]hujana mañāre si tce'mā uysāñe jsa aśti yāva aysmū
 17] na uysāñe butte ttina cu dharma vira jiga ni himīya ku

- 18]jai na ttina hirna mī dharma ttuśā jāyari rraṣṭā payseṃdā vara
 19 ās]tana ṣi' cu haṃthrrisāma lakṣaṇi rūvi var < ā > śāma lakṣaṇa
 20]na haṣkīmāma lakṣaṇi ṣkauji paysāñāma lakṣaṇi a|[
 21] ṣkaujāṃ jsa pacaḍa lakṣaṇi haḷā-khauysāmatījai niṣā|[mā
 22] -i paramārthina ttuśai khu ra paḍā hva pā mi - [
 23] byehāmatīmjai ttuśāttā ṣi' cu [
 24] ṣkaujvā paramār[th]ina pudgalā niś[t]e [
 25] rraṣṭi payseṃdā baudhi[saṭvā
 26] -i [. pa]ramārthina pu[ḍgalā

APPARATUS

Recto 10 tcahaurā for MS. tcarāhau 14 MS. has ṣadi before paṃdi with
 ṣa crossed out. 19 paḍi written below between -vī and bvā-.
 Verso 17 MS. has vī before dharma. 19 varāśāma for MS. vara vā śāma.
 -na in āstana written below.

TRANSLATION

Recto

"... ²bhūmi(s) . . . ³bhūmi(s) . . . ⁴the pure course of action (*kuśalakarmapatha*),
 the ten *bhūmis* . . . ⁵He asked the *deva* Buddha about a problem: "Deva
 Buddha . . . ⁶[how] must one become without desire?" The *deva* Buddha
 spoke and thus he said to him: ". . . ⁷the eighteen elements (*dhātu*), the four
 truths (*satya*), the twelfold chain of causation (*dvādaśāṅgapratītyasamut-
 pāda*) . . . in [three or four] ⁸ways the applications of mindfulness (*smṛtyupa-
 sthāna*), the four right exertions (*samyak-pradhāna*), the four elements of
 supernatural power (*ṛddhipāda*) . . . the [five] ⁹powers (*balā*), the seven
 members of enlightenment (*bodhyaṅga*), the eightfold path (*aṣṭāṅgamārga*),
 the [introduction] to emptiness (*sūnyatā*), ¹⁰the introduction to [lack of
 characteristic (*ānimitta*)], freedom from desire (*apraṇihita*), (these three)
 introductions to salvation (*vimokṣamukha*), the four meditations (*dhyāna*),
 the four . . . ¹¹the eight deliverances (*vimokṣa*), the attainment in nine stages
 (*navānupūrvavāihārasamāpatti*) . . . ¹²the six awarenesses in their own ways
 (*saṃjñā*), the knowledge of the *dharma*s . . . ¹³knowledge, the knowledge of
 limited truth (*saṃvṛti*), the knowledge of woe (*duḥkha*) . . . ¹⁴knowledge, the
 knowledge of the path (*mārga*), the knowledge of destruction (*kṣaya*) . . .
¹⁵the knowledge of the false view [concerning origination], thus as with
 false thought, with . . . ¹⁶meditation (*samādhi* or *samādhāna*), the knowledge
 of goodness unperceived . . . ¹⁷the ten complete transferences (*kṛtsnāyatana*),
 the eighteen emptinesses (*sūnyatā*), . . . ¹⁸the four special knowledges
 (*pratisaṃvid(ā)-*), great love (*maitrā*), great compassion (*kāruṇya*) . . . ¹⁹the
 state of being a knower of all, the state of being a knower of the way of the
 path . . . [the five or six] ²⁰supernatural knowledges (*abhijñā*), the five eyes
 (*pañca-cakṣus*), the thirty-two [(major) marks (*lakṣaṇa*)] . . ."

Verso

"...²the sphere of form (*rūpadhātu*), the sphere of the formless (*arūpadhātu*), this then...³is not. When they think of him as an individual (*prthagjana*) thus: 'In the three spheres (*dhātu*)...⁴He will come to hell (*niraya*).' Reflect then on this manifestation. All...⁵emptiness. What then is said to be unconditioned (*asaṃskṛta*)? When they are not born...⁶just as beginning with space (*ākāśa*) this then is *asaṃskṛta*...⁷Reflect on the *asaṃskṛtas*. (If) one recognizes as empty there...⁸they spoke and did not go...⁹In total, *samsāra* is emptiness (*sūnyatā*) just as has been said before...¹⁰since the nature, clan (*gotra*) of all *dharma*s is emptiness (*sūnyatā*). This which...¹¹not made by the Śrāvakas, not by the Pratyekabuddhas. For this reason...¹²he recognizes this rightly at once, what is the emptiness (*sūnyatā*) of all the *dharma*s...¹³beginning with... including form (*rūpa*), as has been said before, including touch, eye...¹⁴beginning with... including the mind, born through touch, experience...¹⁵*dharma*s, all the *dharma*s are then spoken of... By the false thought of all these *dharma*s then...¹⁶They regard as individuals (*prthagjana*): 'The eye has a self including a mind...'¹⁷of the self he realizes, because there would not occur destruction concerning the *dharma*s...¹⁸For this reason then the *dharma*s are empty. Reflect rightly: (if) one recognizes there...¹⁹beginning with... this is the mark of oppression; experience (is) the mark of form (*rūpa*)... (is)²⁰the mark of creation... the *samskāras* (are) the mark of recognition...²¹due to the *samskāras* (is) the mark of order, the suppression consisting of violent agitation...²²According to the ultimate truth (*paramārtha*) empty, as has been said before...²³emptiness of attainment. This which...²⁴Among the *samskāras* according to the ultimate truth (*paramārtha*) the individual (*puḍgala*) does not exist...²⁵The Bodhisattva recognizes rightly...²⁶According to the ultimate truth (*paramārtha*) the individual (*puḍgala*)...

COMMENTARY

Recto

2 *ham* may be the beginning of a form of *hambīr-*, cf. Z 3.25 *thatau hambīrindā*... *būmā biśse* "all the *bhūmis* are quickly fulfilled"; Z 10.32 *dasamo hamberāte būmu* "he fulfils the tenth *bhūmi*".

4 Cf. *kuśala karmapaha* Z 13.62. There are ten; see references in Edg. s.v. *karmapatha*.

dasau bhūmi cf. *daso būmā* Z 13.11; *dasau bhūma* P 3513 24r4 KBT 57. Listed *Mvy* 885-895. Listed in Kh.: Z 10 (ten mentioned and characterized but not all named); P 3513 24v1 ff. KBT 57 (eleven (*sic!*) named).

5 *jasti ba'ysi byamā braṣṭi*, cf. *gyastu balysu*... *bitamo braṣṭe* Z 22. 312.

7 *haṣṭūsi piṣkala*=*haṣṭūsā dhātā* P 3513 20v1 KBT 56. *piṣkala*=*aṃga* in Z 5.56;=*dhātu* in Z 6.21 and v 2 below. See further *KT* 6.347-8. List of *aṣṭādaśa-dhātavaḥ* *Mvy* 2041-58.

tcahuri haṭṭhe, cf. *haṭṭhe tcohora* Z 6.29; 10.10; *tcohora haṭṭhe* Z 10.28. For lists see Edg. s.v. *ārya-satya*.

dvādaśāṅga-pratītya-samutpāda- listed *Mvy* 2241-58. *prattitītya-samvatpāda* *Manj* 170 KBT 121. Referred to as *dvāsu pāskala* Z 5.56.

8 *byātajā-hamjse* occurs here only and is conjecturally interpreted. *byātajā-*, older *byātagargyā-* Z, is "memory", rendering Tibetan *dran-pa* in the *Siddhasāra* (see *KT* 6.260). In Z 15.88 the *ḥṣāta*' *byātagargye* are the six *anusmṛtis* listed in *Mvy* 1148-54 (see REE, *AM*, n.s. xii.2, 1966, 158). *-ā* is unexpected, possibly a secondary lengthening such as is found sometimes in compound-juncture (e.g. *samgrahā-vāsta-* Z). The reading *byātajā hamtse* is, however, excluded; cf. *ts* in *hamtsa* l.15 bis. There are either three (*Mvy* 188-190) or four (*Mvy* 953-6) *smṛty-upasthānas*. *smṛtyupasthāna* is "application of mentality, of awareness" Edg., "applications de mémoire" L. de la Vallée Poussin (cited ap. Edg.). Elsewhere we have *tcohora smṛty-upasthāna* Z 6.56; *smṛtyupasthāna tcohora* Z 10.18; *smṛtyupasthāne* Z 24.279; and LKh. *tcahāra stvatty-upasthāna* P 3513 14r3-4 KBT 54. *hamjśā* or *haḥjśā* = *upasthāna*- is thus a new word. *upasthāna* was probably thought of as being basically "approach" and *hamjśā*- may be nothing more than the substantive to *hamjśā*- "to go together". We may however, have in *hamjse* a LKh. development from **hamjsate*, a noun to **ham-jsan*- like *paljsata-* to **paljsan-* "to apply" (*SGS* i.76): **hamjsata-* "application". The latter is near the Tibetan interpretation as *ñe-bar gṣag-pa*.

tcahaurā rraṣṭi pyauce. Again the interpretation given is conjectural. There are many groups of four. The limiting factor is the epithet "right, true". This suits *pratipad-* or *pratipatti-* "good behaviour". The *catvāraḥ pratipadaḥ* (*Mvy* 1244) are listed in *Mvy* 1245-8. But the likelihood that *byātajā-hamjse* refers to the *smṛtyupasthānas* and that *re* at the end of the line is to be supplemented as *redha-pāda* makes it almost certain that the *tcahaurā rraṣṭi pyauce* are the *samyakpradhānas*. In fact, *Mvy* has three successive chapters with lists of the *smṛtyupasthānas* (*Mvy* 952-6), the *prahānas* (*Mvy* 957-961; *prahāna*=*pradhāna*, see Edg. s.vv.), and the *ṛddhipādas* (*Mvy* 966-970). The three groups are associated in the *Abhidharmakośa*, VI.68-9: "Le *smṛtyupasthāna* est *prajñā*; le *vīrya* reçoit le nom de *samyakpradhāna*; les *ṛddhipādas* sont les *samādhis*" (tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin, Paris 1925, p.283). They are found together also in Z 24. 279:

smṛty-upasthāne durna samya-prahāna

pūrnānu bājo ṛddhā-pāta kko hālīte

"The *smṛtyupasthānas* are bows, the *samyakprahānas* like shafts, the *ṛddhipādas* like spears." OKh. has *samai-prahānā* Z 10.13 and *samyakprahāna* Z 24.279. The meaning of *pyaucā-* is thus established as BSkt *pradhāna* "effort, exertion". The word is evidently to be brought into connection with BSogd. *γṣt-* (on which see I. Gershevitch, *A grammar of Manichean Sogdian*, Oxford 1954, § 875 A p.248). For the rendering of

BSkt *samyak-* by Kh. *rraṣṭa-*, cf. *Vajr.* 6a2 *KT* 3.21 *rraṣṭā bisā hālā biṣyādā* rendering BSkt *samyaksambuddhena*. With this interpretation it is necessary to reconcile the uses of *pyaucā-* elsewhere. P 2790.133-6 *KT* 3.63 has: *cu hara saṃtsāṛū ge'sā vaska pyauca tvā ma pastāmdā paśāve cu maistye dai pyauca ṣā' cu mista utca cu mistye uca pyauca ṣā' cū bāyśvā' ṣara hauvi cu god'ysā kāṣṭya hīye pyauca ṣā' cu be'ysām dā* "For which reason they have condescended to send here this *pyauca* against the cycle of *samsāra*. The *pyauca* for great fire is great water; the *pyauca* for great water is good power in the arms; the *pyauca* for separation, anxiety is the Buddha-Law". The interpretation as "right exertion" would suit also *dukkhām pyaucamgāra Ratna-dvīpa* 23a 13 *KT* 5.66 "taking right action against woes" and *pyauca* in Ch 00266.364 *KBT* 112 refers to the action to be taken (*tcairai*) against the *klesas*. Here "antidote" (BSkt *agada-*) seems to be the meaning required (cf. É. Lamotte, *L'Enseignement de Vimalakīrti (Vimalakīrtinirdeśa)*, Louvain 1962, p. 339). The meaning "antidote" is clearly required in *Manj* 310 *KBT* 128. The relevant passage there reads:

< h > *ve daittā gūmā paitta krra īda arvyau jsa
gviha rru āsta hāṣṭa pyaucai vahaisai' arvai*

"A skilful man sees him (and) applies the treatment for bile with medicines such as cow fat. He makes him swallow medicines that are an antidote." Cf. in such a situation *pāyayeta ghr̥tam svaccham* in *Suśruta* (ed. Kavirāj Ambikādatta, Benares 1954, p. 573 97). In Kha 0013 c 2 19v4 *KT* 5.123 *pyauca* appears to correspond to BSkt *khila-* in the *Sukkhāvātīvyūha* (ed. F. M. Müller and B. Nanjio, Oxford 1883, p. 8, l.1), but the passage is not yet wholly clear.

re[dha-pāda]. The supplementation is, of course, conjectural, but see the arguments in its favour above. For the *tcahaura redha-pāda*, cf. *tcaura raidha pāda* in P 3513 80v1 *KBT* 64. In OKh. we find *riḍdhā-pāta tcohora* Z 13.123. Listed *Mvy* 966-970.

9 *pa'ñā*. Ordinarily one would supply before this word *dasau* "ten", cf. OKh. *dasau pāta'* Z 7.5, later *dasau pa'* Kha VI 14b1 a14 *KT* 5.180, *dasau pa'ñā Manj* 128 *KBT* 119. The ten powers, *daśa-tathāgata-balāni*, are listed *Mvy* 119-129. But an important consideration makes it probable that *paṃjsi* "five" should be supplied here. The sequence in lines 8-9 parallels closely Z 24.279-281 and again *Mvy* chapters 38-44. Thus the gap may also have contained *paṃjsi indriya*. Z 24.280 has *bala indriya*. The *pañca-balāni* are listed *Mvy* 983-7, the *pañcendriyāni Mvy* 977-81.

haudī bvaṃma-amga "the seven members of enlightenment", *sapta-bodhy-anga-* listed *Mvy* 988-995. OKh. *hoda bodhyānga* Z 24.280.

haṣṭi-ysanī paṃde "the eightfold path" is BSkt *aṣṭāṅga-mārga-* *Mvy* 996. Fuller is OKh. *haṣṭā-ysanī utārā rraṣṭā śśārā paṃde* Z 24.281 "the eightfold, noble, true, good path". The BSkt is kept in *Vajr.* 17a2 *āryā-ṣṭāga-mārginai na'ma'ysa-* "the track of the noble eightfold path". *amga-* for

ysana- in OKh. H. 143 NS 54r1 *KT* 5.39 *haṣṭyau jsa amgyau paṃde* "the path with its eight members (parts)".

9-10 *ttuṣāttetiṣai [sāma]* "the [introduction] to emptiness". The supplement *sāma* is conjectural. It depends on the double occurrence of *sāma* in l.10, where *gūsci sāma* must be a rendering of *vimokṣamukha*. For the three *vimokṣa-mukhas* "entrances to salvation" see *Mvy* 1451-4: *sūnyatā, amittam, apranihitam*. OKh. has *drai padya śśāma parriyā* Z 6.56, *draya parriyānā śśāma* Z 10.19. For *gūch-*=*parriy-* see *KT* 6.73. *śśāma* renders *mukha-* in *dharma-mukha-* "introduction to the Law" (see *KT* 6.127,338): *dāti sāmani Śūr* 135c4 *KBT* 1. The three *vimokṣasmukha* occur together in Z 6.32 as *śśunnyaḥ . . . agūnai . . . anaurṣi*; Z 6.16 *ttuṣāttete agūnainā anau aursi*. LKh. *Manj* 167-8 *KBT* 121: *ttuṣātta . . . agūnai . . . anau'sa*; Ch 00266 305 *KBT* 108 *agunai ttuṣai anau'sa*. *Śūr* 132v2 *KT* 5.86 has *ttuṣau agūnau anaulsu parriyi sāma*. See further H. W. Bailey, *KT* 6.36-7. The gap may have contained *agūnaijai* (cf. *agūnaiḥya tcalca* Kha. 1.56 1b2 *KT* 5.131).

10 *tcahaurā jāna* "the four meditations", BSkt *dhyāna*. List *Mvy* 1478-81. *jāna* is frequent in Z. *tcahaura dhyāna* N 165.39.

11 The traces are compatible with reading *samāpatti* at the beginning of the line, but I have hesitated to read it in view of the occurrence of *samāva[tti]* at the end of the line.

haṣṭi vimūha "the eight deliverances", BSkt *vimokṣa*. List *Mvy* 1510-18. *vimūha* is frequent in Z. *haṣṭa vimaukṣa* N 165.39.

nau pacaḍa samāvatti "the attainment in nine stages", BSkt *navānupūrvavihārasamāpatti Mvy* 1498. *pacaḍa*=*anupūrvavihāra*. ⁰*samāpattā* P 3513 30r1 ff. *KBT* 58.

12 *ḥṣa saṃñā hīya padya* "the six awarenesses in their own ways" - conjectural interpretation. Possibly the perceptions of *rūpa, śabda, gandha, rasa, spraṣṭavya* and *dharma* are meant.

12-15 The sequence *bvāma . . . bvāṣca . . . bvāṣca . . . bvā[ṣca]* . . . *bvāma . . . bvāma . . . bvāma* invites the conjecture that we have here an enumeration of the ten *jñānas*, listed *Mvy* 1233-43. *bvāma* translates *jñāna* in *Vajr.* 24a4. *bvāṣṭyai* in *Si* 126r1 *KT* 1.56 translates Tibetan *ses-pa* (= *jñāna Mvy* 1233-43). The correspondence will be as follows:

<i>dharmvā bvāma</i>	<i>dharma-jñānam</i> 1234
<i>purmām</i> []	<i>para-citta-jñānam</i> 1235
[] <i>bvāṣca</i>	<i>anvaya-jñānam</i> 1236
<i>samañāme vi bvāṣca</i>	<i>samvṛti-jñānam</i> 1237
<i>dukhi vi bvā[ṣca]</i>	<i>duḥkha-jñānam</i> 1238
[] <i>bvāma</i>	?
<i>paṃdī vi bvāma</i>	<i>mārga-jñānam</i> 1241
<i>jengā vi bvāma</i>	? <i>nirodha-jñānam</i> 1240
<i>drasṭye vi bvāma</i>	?

Difficult to place are: *samudaya-jñānam* 1239, *akṣaya-jñānam* 1242, *anutpāda-jñānam* 1243. The divergent *drasṭye vī bhūma* "knowledge of the false view" may have been preceded by specification of the false view, probably as "concerning origination and cessation" (*utpāda-nirodha*). *jemgā vī bhūma* would then be *kṣaya-jñānam*, which is attested for *akṣaya-jñānam* in variant lists (see Edg. s.v. *jñāna*). On the other hand, since we appear to be one short of ten, unless one was lost in the gaps, the almost synonymous *samudaya* and *utpāda* may have been combined. A further difficulty is created by *purmām* in l. 12, if that is the correct reading. Only *purma-* "eastern" (on which see *KT* 6.198) is so far known. For "other" Khotanese has *aña-*, *addra-* and *hamdāra-*. *samañāme* provides a new word, apparently hybrid, based on OInd. *sam-man-* with the Kh. abstract suffix *-āmātā*. Purely Kh. *mañāma* occurs in P 3513 22r2 *KBT* 56.

16 The words are clear, but the meaning at present eludes me.

17 *dasau aharina tvāre* "the ten complete transferences", BSkt *daśa kṛtsnāyatanāni*, listed *Mvy* 1529-40. *tvāre* is a noun < OKh. *ttuvar-* "to bring across" (see *SGS* i.39). In *kṣyām tvārām* Ch LXVIII 001 14-15 *KT* 3.33 H. W. Bailey recognized the *śāḍ-āyatana* (see *KT* 6.111). Edg. explained *kṛtsnāyatana* as "basis of total (fixation of the mind)". OKh. *kṛtsnāyana* Z 13.16.

haṣṭūsi ttuśatte "the eighteen emptinesses", BSkt *ṣūnyatā*. List *Mvy* 933-51. Cf. *haṣṭūsa padya ttuśatte* P 3513 15r4-v1 *KBT* 54.

18 *tcahaurā prrasambe* "the four special knowledges", BSkt *pratisamvid(ā)-*, listed *Mvy* 196-200. Cf. *prrasabā* Ch 0048.65 *KBT* 74; *prrasambvā* Ch 00267.61 *KBT* 148. OKh. *tcohora pratāsambate* Z 13.141; *pratāsambate* . . . *tcahora* Z 22.225.

mistā maitra mistā muṣḍi "great love great compassion". Cf. *mahāmaitra* Z 3.142, 147. Cf. the epithet of Bodhisattvas in *Mvy* 836; *mahāmaitri-mahākaruṇā-samanvāgatah*. OKh. *māste muṣḍe jsa* Z 4.90, *māstā mu'ysdā* Z 11.8, *mulysdi māstā* Z 12.38, etc.

19 *bvākauñā* has not been noted elsewhere. *-auña* abstract to *bvāka-*, nom.ag. < *bud-* "to know, perceive". *harbiśā bvākauñā* "the state of being a knower of all" = *harbaisā padya bvāka hīrāñā* Ch LXVIII 001 255.1 *KT* 3.31.

20 *abhijñi* "supernatural knowledges". List of five in *Dharma-saṅgraha* 20, six in *Mvy* 201-9 (see Edg. s.v. *abhijñā*). *paṃjsa* . . . *abhijñe* Z 23.111. *kṣa abhejñā Manj* 163 *KBT* 121; *kṣa abhaijñā* P 3513.80v1 *KBT* 64 = *kṣi'abi'ña* Ch 1.0021b, b45 *KBT* 154.

paṃjsi tceṃañā "the five eyes", BSkt *pañca-cakṣuḥ*, listed *Mv* i.158. 1 ff. etc. (see Edg. s.v. *cakṣus*). *paṃjsa padya tci'mañā* P 3513 35v3 *KBT* 60. Listed in *Vajr.* 34b1 ff.: *gūstīji* = *māmsa*²; *gyastūñā* = *dīvyā*²; *dātījā* = *dharma*²; *hajvattetījā* = *prajñā*²; *ba'ysūñā* = *buddha*².

dvāradi[rsa lakṣana] "the thirty-two (major) marks", BSkt *dvātriṃsan-mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇāni*, listed *Mvy* 236 ff. OKh. *lakṣaṇai dvāvaredirsā*

Z 22.165. LKh. *dvāradsirsau mahāpuruṣa-lakṣanyau jsa Vajr.* 23a1-2 = *dvāvaredirsā hudihuna gūnā* 23a3 = *dvāradsirsā hudihuna gūnā* 23b1.

Verso

2-3 *rūvi piṣkala arūvi piṣkala* "the sphere of form (*rūpadhātu*), the sphere of the formless (*arūpadhātu*)". These are two of the three *dhātus*, referred to in line 3 *drayvā dhātvā: kāma-dhātu, rūpa-dhātu, arūpya-dhātu*. The *kāma-dhātu* will have been lost in the gap. For *piṣkala* = *dhātu*, see on r 7 above. Cf. *dray-piṣkala* Z 6.21 = BSkt *traidhātuka* (see Edg. s.v.). OKh. Z has *rūva-dāta-* 4.28, 29; *kāma-dāta-* 4.30; *arūva-ddāta-* 7.23, *arūvadāta-* 4.26, *kāma-dā, kāma-dāta* alone *Vajr.* 17a2 17b3. *kāma-dāttu u rūpa-dā arūpya Manj* 44 *KBT* 115. *sarūpa arūpya Manj* 65 *KBT* 116.

3 *prahujana ciṃḍidā*, cf. v 16 *prahujana mañāre. prahujana-* Z 12.32; 13.101. *prahūjana* . . . *nūhvarāre dharma vīra Manj* 146-7 *KBT* 120 "individuals (BSkt *prthagjana*; see *KT* 6.210) long for dharmas".

drayvā dhā[tvā] "in the three spheres"; see on v 2-3 above.

4 *nirāñā* is conjecturally interpreted as LSm < BSkt *niraya-* "hell". The usual word in Kh. is *naria-* with LSm *narya, narya, nari* (see *SGS* i.312 § 132). *nirāñā* appears to resemble in form *dāna* LS < *dāa-* "fire" and thus implies *nirāa-* rather than *niraa-*. Possibly *nārākā-* *Suv.* 63v3 *KT* 5.114 tr. Skt *daṇḍa-* "punishment" has influenced the form.

padamja is rendered here as the equivalent of BSkt *vyūha*. On the meanings of *padamja* see H. W. Bailey, *AM*, n.s. xi.1, 1964, 11.

5 *asamskrye* (ll.5,6), *asamskṛta* (l.7). The ppp. *asamskrya-* is used as an adj., the direct transcription *asamskṛta* as a noun. BSkt *asamskṛta-* is both adj. and noun. The three *asamskṛtas* ("unconditioned things" Edg.) are: *ākāśa, pratisamkhyā-nirodha* (= *nirvāna*), *apratīsamkhyā-nirodha*. Hence, *ātaśi āstamma* 1.6 "beginning with space (*ākāśa*)". *cu ni ysyāre* "when they are not born" alludes to *pratisamkhyā-nirodha* "the suppression (of rebirth) by thorough knowledge".

7 *ṣunya paysemḍā* "recognizes as empty". Otherwise always here *rraṣṭi paysemḍā* v 12.25; *rraṣṭā paysemḍā* v 18 "rightly recognizes". OKh. *rraṣṭu paysendā* Z 5.54; 6.14.49; *rraṣṭo* . . . *paysendā* 2.223; is similarly used. *ttuṣṣā paysendā* Z 16.62.

9 *hamba'ci jsa* "in total". *hamba'ca* is used in documents; see H. W. Bailey, *KT* 4.55 top. *hamba'cā jsa* Ch c.001 775 *KT* 5.249 with numerals. *hamba'ci jsa* P 3513 3v4 *KT* 3.113; Godfrey 2.7 *KT* 2.76.

tta tta khu paḍā hvata "just as has been said before". Less fully expressed below: *khu paḍā hva* v 13, *khu ra paḍā hva* v 22.

10 Cf. *harbaisā dharmā prrara apanava anarrūjya* "the nature of all dharmas is unarisen, undestroyed" *Manj* 348-9 *KBT* 131; *cu beśa dharma prrara rraṣṭa busta ahImya* "when one has rightly perceived the nature of every dharma as unoriginated" *Manj* 302-3 *KBT* 128.

gautrā is not elsewhere found so used in Khotanese to my knowledge. It appears to be BSkt *gotra-* in Edgerton's sense (3) "origin, basis, source, cause, seed".

11 *ttina hi[rna]* supplemented after *ttina hirna* v 18.

12 *vara vā*, cf. MS. reading in v 19. *kāma* here might be a careless writing for *kā'ma* "thought", cf. v 15.

13-15 Reference is here made to the twelve *āyatanas*:

Ādhyātmika	Bāhya
1. <i>caḥṣus</i>	7. <i>rūpa</i>
2. <i>śrottra</i>	8. <i>śabda</i>
3. <i>ghrāṇa</i>	9. <i>gandha</i>
4. <i>jihvā</i>	10. <i>rasa</i>
5. <i>kāya</i>	11. <i>spraṣṭavya</i>
6. <i>manas</i>	12. <i>dharma</i>

Those represented in Khotanese are italicized. The arrangement in the fragmentary Khotanese is not clear.

14 Note here *skauyāme*, *-āmatā* abstract to the presnt stem *skauy-* (SGS i.134), beside *skauma* v 13, the regular LKh. form from OKh. *skaumatā* (on which see H. W. Bailey, *KT* 6.368), made directly from **skav-*.

15 *kūrye kā'[me jsa]*, cf. *kūrye kā'me* P 3513 16v3 *KBT* 55.

16 Cf. P 3513 20v3 *KBT* 56; *satva tceṃ mañāre u tca'maja aysmū*.

19-21 These lines seem to allude to the *pratītya-samutpāda*, but their interpretation at present escapes me.

20 *haṣkīmāma lakṣaṇi*, cf. Z 5.56: *gyaḍina ṣkauje haṣkaunde ne ju gyaḍi aysu mā ne ṣkaugye* "The *samskāras* are fashioned through ignorance. If there is no ignorance: 'I am', there are no *samskāras*."

21 *halq-khauysāmatījai* "consisting of violent agitation". Cf. Hed. 23.22 *halq khaustā* "thoroughly agitated"; *Si* 15315 *KT* 1.100 *hala khau-ṣā'ñq* tr. Tibetan *nan-du chub-par bsgul-zin* (see H. W. Bailey, *KT* 4.132). Possible cognates are cited by H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS*, xxvi.1, 1963, 89.

24, 26 *paramārthina . . . niṣṭe*, cf. *ne vara dahe o vā strīya paramārthina ttatvatā byode* Z 6.42 "man or woman does not really exist there according to the supreme meaning". For the non-existence of the *puḍgala*, cf. Z 5.69: *paṃṣa hāra cu samu hvañāre dravyāna ju hāḍe ne byore nirvānā puḍgalā ātāṣā cu vāte cu na-ro hāmāre* "There are five things which are merely named but do not exist objectively: *nirvāna*, *puḍgala*, *ākāśa*, what has been, what are not yet".

GLOSSARY

For words not explained here, see the Translation and Commentary.

aṃga-pratītya-samutpāda r 7

aṃausa- without desire r 6, 10

abustye GDSf < *a-busta-* unperceived r 16

abhijñi r 20

aysmū mind v 14, 16

arūva- non-form, opposed to *rūva-* q.v. v 2

āsti is v 16

asamskṛtta v 7

asamskṛrye v 5, 6

aharīna- entire, complete r 17

ātaśi' space v 6

-āpatti r 11

āstaṃ v 8

āstana v 14, 19 = *āstaṃna* v 6; *āstaṃna* v 13 postp. +GD beginning with

u and v 8 see also *pyāstau*

uysānaā- self *uysāne* GDS v 17; *uysāne jsa* IAS v 16

karmaṇa r 4

1. *kāma* interr. adj. v 5 *kāma* r 5; v 12

2. *kāma* < OKh. *kā'matā-* thought *kā'me* IASf r 15; v 15

ku where; so that v 17

kuśala r 4

kūrye IASf < *kūra-* false v 15

kṣa six r 12

khu as r 15; v 6, 9, 13, 22

khauys- to move; see *hala-khauysāmatījai*.

khvi < *khu* when + *-i* pron. v 3

gūscā- deliverance, salvation *gūsci* GDSf r 10

gautrā clan v 10

ciṃd- to think (of) *ciṃdīdā* 3 pl pres act v 3

cu when v 5 what v 10, 19, 23 since v 10, 17

jasta- epithet of Buddha, Skt *deva* r 5 (bis), 6

jāna meditation r 10

jāyari 2 pl imper < *jāy-* to meditate, reflect v 7, 18 *jāyyari* v 4

jiga decay, destruction v 17 *jemgā* r 14 OKh *jiṅgā-*

tta thus r 15 *tta tta* v 3, 6, 9 *ttai* (< *tta* + *-i* pron) r 6

tti NPM dem pron these v 15

ttina IASm dem pron this v 11, 17, 18

ttuśaa- empty *ttuśai* NSm v 22 *ttuśā* NAPm v 18

ttuśāttā NSf emptiness v 5, 9, 10, 12, 23 *ttuśātte* NAPf r 17

ttuśāttetījai adj pert to emptiness r 9

ttai see *tta*

tcahaura four r 8 *tcahaurā* r 8, 10 (bis), 18 *tcahauri* r 7

tce'man- eye *tce'mā* NSm v 13, 16 *tceṃqñā* NAPm r 20

ttyāni GDPm dem pron these v 15

tvā ASf dem pron this v 4
tvāre NAP transferences r 17
tvī ASm dem pron this v 12
tsū[probably a form of *tsu-* to go v 8
dasau ten r 4, 17
dukha- woe *dukhi* GDSm r 13
drayvā LPm three v 3
drasṭye GDSf false view r 15
dvāradirsi thirty-two r 20
dvāsi twelve r 7
dharma NAPm v 15, 17, 18 *dharmām* GDPm v 10, 12 *dharmvā* LPm
 (=GDPm LKh) r 12
dhātavā LPm sphere v 3
ni not v 5, 8, 11 (bis), 17
nirāṇā LSm <BSkt *niraya-* hell v 4
niṣṭā is not v 3 *niṣṭe* v 24
niṣā'mā suppression v 21
nau nine r 11
pacada NAPm stage, method r 11; v 21
pa'ñā NAPm power r 9
padā adv before, formerly v 9, 13, 22
padamja ASf manifestation v 4
padia- way, manner *padī* ASm r 19 *padya* NAPm r 8, 12
padimḍā made, created v 11 ppp <*padim-* to make SGS i. 69
paṃsi five [r 9], 20
paṃdi path r 14, 19 *paṃde* r 9
paysānāma recognition v 20
paysemḍā 3 sg pres act <*paysān-* to recognize SGS i. 71 v 7, 12, 18, 25
paramārthina IASm v 22, 24, 26
piṣkala BSkt *dhātu* element r 7 sphere v 2 (bis)
puḍgalā NSm person v 24, 26
purām r 12?
pyāstau r 6 <*pyāste* he spoke 3 sg pf tr m+u and.
pyauce NAPf r 8
pratyekabuddhyau IAPm v 11
prara NSf nature v 10
prrasaṃbe NAPf r 18
prahujana NAPm individual v 3, 16
ba'ysa Buddha r 5 *ba'ysi* r 5, 6
bīsa- all *bīsi* v 4 *bīśām* GDPm v 10, 12
butte 3 sg pres mid <*bud-* to perceive v 17
baudhisatvā v 25
byamaā- doubt, problem *byamā* ASf r 5

byātajā-haṃjse r 8
byehāmatimjai adj pert to attainment v 23
braṣṭi 3 sg pf tr m <*puls-* to ask r 5
bvākauñā NSm the state of being a knower (*bvāka-*) r 19 (bis)
bvāma NSf knowledge r 12, 14 (ter), 15 *bvāma* r 16
bvāma-amga NAPm member of enlightenment r 9
bvāśca NSf knowledge r 13 (bis) *bvāśca* r 13
bhūmi r 2, 3 *bhūmi* r 4
mañāre v 16 3 pl pres mid <*mañ-* to think of, regard as
mistā NSf great r 18 (bis)
mī adv particle thus, then v 2, 4, 5, 6, 15 (bis), 18
muṣḍi NSf compassion r 18
maitra NSf love r 18
yāva prep up to, including v 13 (bis), 14, 16
ysai- to be born SGS i. 114 *ysyāre* 3 pl pres mid v 5 *ysāta* NSm ppp v 14
ra also v 22
rraṣṭa- right *rraṣṭi* NAPf r 8 *rraṣṭi* adv v 12, 25 *rraṣṭā* adv v 18
rūvi form v 2, 13, 19
redha-pāda r 8
lakṣaṇa v 19; [r 20] *lakṣaṇi* v 19, 20, 21 *lakṣaṇi* v 20
vara there v 7, 12, 18
varāśāma experience v 19 *varāśā*[v 14
vā v 12
vimūha NAPm deliverance r 11
vī postpos=*vira* r 13 (bis), 14 (bis), 15
vira postpos concerning v 17
sāma mouth, face; introduction [r 9], 10 *sāma* r 10
śire GDSf <*śirā-* goodness r 16
śunya empty NAPm v 7
śāvaa- Śrāvaka *śāvayau jsa* IAPm v 11
si' NSm dem pron this v 2, 6, 10, 19, 23
ṣe r 16 possibly=*si'*
ṣkaujā- BSkt *saṃskāra-* conditioned state *ṣkaujām jsa* IAPf v 21 *ṣkauji*
 NAPf v 20 *ṣkaujvā* LPf v 24
saṃñā NAPf awareness r 12
saṃtsāri NSm the cycle of existence v 9
samañāme GDSf limited truth r 13
samāvatti NSf attainment, BSkt *samāpatti* r 11
samāhā meditation r 16
sarvadharmā NAPm v 15 *sarvadharmānā* GDPm v 15
si particle introducing oratio recta r 5, 6 v 3, 16
skauṃa NSf touch v 13
skauyāme IASf touch v 14

- haṭhe* NAPf truth r 7
haṁṣa prep + IA with r 15 (bis)
haṁthrrisāma oppression v 19 LKh -*āmatā* abstract to *haṁthris-* to be
 oppressed SGS i. 140
haṁ r 2 perhaps *hambīdā* 3 sg pres act < *hambīr-* to be filled SGS i. 143
haṁba'ci jsa in total v 9
harbiśā all r 19
halq-khauysāmatījai pert to violent agitation v 21
haṣkimāma creation v 20
haṣṭi eight r 11
haṣṭi-ysanī NSm eightfold r 9
haṣṭūsi eighteen r 7, 17
him- to be, become *himāñā* part nec r 6 *himīya* 3 sg opt v 17
hira- thing *ttina hirna* IASm for this reason v 11, 18
hīvia- one's own, *suus hīya* NAPm r 12 *hīvi* ASm r 19 *hīvya* NSf v 10
hīstā 3 sg pres act < *hīs-* to come v 4
haudī seven r 9
hvañ- to be spoken of, ppp *hvata-* SGS i. 156 *hvīde* 3 sg pres mid v 5
hvañāre 3 pl pres mid v 15 ppp *hva* v 13, 22; *hvata* v 9
hvāñ- to speak, ppp *hvata-* SGS i. 156 *hve* 3 sg pf tr m r 6 *hvāmdā* 3 pl
 pf tr v 8