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

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The Goods that Cannot Be Stolen:

Mercantile Faith in Kumāralāta’s

Garland of Examples Adorned by

Poetic Fancy

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree

Doctor of Philosophy

in Asian Languages and Cultures

by

Diego Loukota Sanclemente

2019
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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

by

Diego Loukota Sanclemente
Doctor of Philosophy in Asian Languages and Cultures
University of California, Los Angeles, 2019
Professor Gregory Schopen, Co-chair
Professor Stephanie J. Watkins, Co-chair

This dissertation examines the affinity between the urban mercantile classes of ancient India and contemporary Buddhist faith through an examination of the narrative collection Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapaṅkti ("Garland of Examples," henceforth Kumāralāta’s Garland) by the 3rd Century CE Gandhāran monk Kumāralāta. The collection features realistic narratives that portray the religious sensibility of those social classes. I contend that as Kumāralāta’s 3rd Century was one of crisis for cities and for trade in the Indian world, his work reflects an urgent statement of the core values of
Buddhist urban businesspeople. Kumāralāta’s stories emphasize both religious piety and the pursuit of wealth, a concern for social respectability, a strong work ethic, and an emphasis on rational decision-making. These values inform Kumāralāta’s religious vision of poverty and wealth. His vision of religious giving conjugates economic behavior and religious doctrine, and the outcome is a model that confers religious legitimation to the pursuit of wealth but also an economic outlet for religious fervor and a solid financial basis for the monastic establishment, depicted by Kumāralāta in close interdependence with the laity and, most importantly, within the same social class.

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

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

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

Robert E. Buswell

James Benn

Gregory Robert Schopen, Committee Co-chair

Stephanie J. Watkins, Committee Co-chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2019
To the well-wishers

parahitaiṣibhyah

To the well-wishers
# Table of contents

0. A Few Notes on Conventions ................................................................. 2

1. Introduction .......................................................................................... 4

1.1. Urban businesspeople and Buddhism in Kumāralāta’s Garland .............. 4

1.2. Kumāralāta’s *Garland* as a Manifesto of a Social Class ............................. 7

1.3. Conspectus of contents ........................................................................ 8

1.4 The Social Background to the *Garland* ..................................................... 10

1.4.1. Struggling Monastic and Lay Buddhists in the *Garland*: The Urban Parvenus ......................................................................................... 12

1.4.2. Brahmins in the *Garland*: The Rural Gentry ....................................... 22

2. Context, Text, Language ......................................................................... 35

2.1. The Context ......................................................................................... 35

2.1.1. The Narrow Context: The Life of Kumāralāta ...................................... 35

2.1.2. The Broad Historical Context: Gandhāra in the 3rd Century, the City, Trade, and their Decline ................................................................. 51

2.2. The Text ............................................................................................. 63

2.2.1. The Sanskrit text of the *Garland* ...................................................... 65

2.2.1.1. The Kucha Manuscript .................................................................. 66

2.2.1.2. The Khotan Manuscript ................................................................ 72

2.2.1.3. The Turfan Manuscript ................................................................ 73

2.2.1.4 The Four Bāmiyān Manuscripts ....................................................... 73

2.2.1.5. The Archeological Context of the Findspots of the Manuscripts ........ 77

2.2.1.6. The Geographical Distribution of the Manuscript Findspots .......... 83
2.2.1.7. Borrowings in the *Divyāvadāna* and the Various Versions of the Legend of Aśoka ................................................................. 85

2.2.2. The Tibetan Version ......................................................................................................................... 90

2.2.2.1. A Quotation of the *Garland* in the Tibetan Translation of Śamathadeva’s *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyāṭikopayikā* ........................................................................................................ 95

2.2.3. The Chinese Translation of Kumāralāṭa’s *Garland* Attributed to Kumārajīva .......... 116

2.2.4.1. Other Witnesses: Quotations in Medieval Compendia and Dunhuang Excerpts ................................................................................................................................. 117

2.2.4. The *Da zhidu lun* Excerpts ............................................................................................................ 115

2.2.5. The Tangut version .......................................................................................................................... 120

2.3. The *Garland* as a Work of Literature; Language, Style, Literary Fortune, .................... 122

2.3.1. Sanskrit and “Hybrid Sanskrit” .................................................................................................... 122

2.3.2. Fashionable Speech: A Passage in Literary Prakrit from the *Garland* ......................... 131

2.3.3. The *Garland* as Indian Literature .............................................................................................. 141

3. The Faith of Businesspeople .............................................................................................................. 145

3.1.1. The Sources for this Section ....................................................................................................... 145

3.1.2. The Protagonists of the Stories: Śreṣṭhin And Grhapati ......................................................... 146

3.1.3. The Nature of the Wealth of a Grhapati ..................................................................................... 150

3.1.4 The “Prominent Man”-Grhapati as the Male Head the Extended Family ...................... 157

3.1.5. Choosing a Trade ......................................................................................................................... 159

3.1.6. The Poor and the “Poor” ............................................................................................................... 164

3.1.7. The Dignity of a Profession ......................................................................................................... 168

3.1.8. An Urban Middle Class? ............................................................................................................. 172
3.2. Stories to Shape the Moral Sensibility of a Community ........................................ 178
3.2.1. A Rational Mindset for Reasonable People .......................................................... 185
3.2.2. The Ethical Refusal of Easy Gains, Hard Work, and Parsimony: A Buddhist Work
Ethic .................................................................................................................................. 204
3.2.3. The Quest for Respectability: Manners, Discipline, Decorum ............................... 212

4. The Meaning of Wealth .................................................................................................. 222
4.1. The Parallel Paths of Wealth and Merit in the Machine of Requital .......................... 222
4.1.2. Black and White Deeds and Fruits: Isomorphism of Act and Requital ................. 226
4.1.3. Transformations of Wealth through Giving ............................................................ 228
4.1.4. Taking Substance from the Insubstantial ............................................................... 233
4.1.5. The Dangers or Threats to Wealth and in Wealth .................................................. 240
4.1.6. The Gift as a Transfer of Funds to the Afterlife ..................................................... 243
4.2. Cosmodicy: A Justification of Poverty and Misfortune ............................................. 245
4.2.1. Poverty as a Source of Suspicion ............................................................................. 240
4.2.2. Poverty as Social Death ......................................................................................... 244
4.2.3. Hindrances Caused by Poverty ............................................................................. 249
4.3. The Stringent Requirements for Enrichment: A Disciplined Sensibility .................. 258
4.3.1. The Right Emotions for the Right Deeds ................................................................. 258
4.3.2. Favorable Dispositions: Prasāda and Kuśalacitta ..................................................... 262
4.3.3. Failures of Gift-Giving: Lack of Enthusiasm, Lack of Lofty Goals ....................... 275

5. Translations ..................................................................................................................... 287
5.1. IX. An Upāsaka Refuses Easy Monetary Gains ......................................................... 282
5.2. LIX. A Man Learns That Only through Work and Deed Seed Matures into Fruit ..... 300
5.3. XC. A Merchant Returns to His Country Rich; The Buddha Returns to the World

Awakened, ..........................................................................................................................309

6. Recapitulation and Afterthoughts: What Does an Examination of the Garland Offer to
the Study of Indian Buddhism? .....................................................................................316

A1. Appendix 1, Some Āgamic references in the Garland ...........................................322
A1.1. The bowl whose rice changes color ......................................................................322
A1.2 The transmutation of unsubstantial body, life, and wealth into substantial body, life
and wealth. ..........................................................................................................................324
A1.3. The five family members/shareholders of wealth ....................................................325

A2. Appendix 2, 24 Unedited Fragments of the Kucha Manuscript SHT21/131–174
..............................................................................................................................................328

A3. Appendix 3, Some Newly identified Fragments of Kumāralāta’s Garland in the
Schøyen Collection ............................................................................................................341

A4. The Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Garland in Charts ..................................................374

Bibliography .......................................................................................................................384
List of Figures

1. Artistic depiction of story XX of Kumāralāta’s Garland, ca. 6th Century, from Kizil (author’s recreation) .......................................................... 1

2. Map of places connected with Kumāralāta’s life (author’s drawing) ................................. 44

3. Hypothetical recreation of the original shape of the Kucha manuscript (author’s drawing) .......................................................... 69

4. Map of findspots of Sanskrit manuscripts of the Garland (author’s drawing) ............. 85
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Winnipeg, April 2019

xiii
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International Association for Buddhist Studies

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

0.1. Abbreviations

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

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


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

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

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

0.3. Sanskrit orthography

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

0.4. Romanization of Chinese

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

0.5. German and French

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

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

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

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

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

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

\(^{3}\) Please see p. 64 and n. 102 on the title of the work and on the rationale of my choice of translation.

\(^{4}\) On the fortune of Aśvaghoṣa see Young 2015, especially pp. 186–216.

\(^{5}\) See, however, on the challenges that early Indian sources pose for the study of the merchant section 3.1.1.
background must be inferred from their characterization within the text itself. The city instead of
the village is the most frequent location of these stories, and their protagonists are urban folk who
engage in business trips abroad. Kings and their court are portrayed in a very ambivalent fashion,
often outright negative. The rural brahmanical aristocracy is a frequent target of criticism, cast in
a relentlessly bad light: the urban servile class—the cāṇḍālas that the stories often refer to in
enigmatically panegyric terms—are always carefully branded as such. What we are left with is a
group of people that do business in the city and have the financial means to support the Buddhist
monastic assembly through the bestowal of lavish donations.

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

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

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

8 Especially representative of this animosity are stories II, VI, XXIV, XXVII, LXXIV, LXXVII.
it mentions\(^9\) and must predate the paleographical age of the earliest Sanskrit manuscript (300–350 AD);\(^{10}\) the toponyms that the text mentions suggest an origin in western or north-western India.\(^{11}\)

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

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

\(^{10}\) Lüders 1926, 15; Sander 1968, 131–133.

\(^{11}\) See pp. 38–39, 310–311.
society in the Garland, largely free from the literary tropes usually found in Buddhist legends and also from supernatural elements, makes the text especially suitable for analysis from the point of view of social history.

1.2. Kumāralāta’s Garland as a Manifesto of a Social Class

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

I will also contend that the specific moral values advocated in the Garland speak about a particular historical juncture: if we can place the collection in the 3rd Century, this is precisely the time in which a long process of de-urbanization is starting to take place, and one when Indian trade is on its way to a slow demise. This process seems to have catalyzed other transitions, from a variety of Middle Indic written languages to the uniformity of Classical Sanskrit; an incipient hinduism centered around god-worship became assimilated with the older Vedic ritual tradition.
Likewise, the progressive normalization of the gift of land as the quintessential political reward, a process that benefitted both the brahmanical communities that furnished an ideological program to the ruling class and religious institutions like Buddhist monasteries, led to concentration of land ownership and fragmentation of political power. In such a changing world a strong statement of what, in old fashioned Marxist terms, would be called “class consciousness” would be especially vital. I hold that the Garland is concerned precisely with this moment of crisis. As mentioned already, the rural brahmanical gentry is one of the most frequent targets of criticism in the stories of the Garland. Capital tends to migrate towards land ownership whenever deurbanization is taking place: even in the absence of deurbanization, new money is often attracted by the most stable kind of investment—land—and to seek assimilation into the ways of the landed aristocracy. As such, the same circumstances that favored the ascent of brahmanical ideology may have been behind lingering anxieties among the Buddhist community.

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

1.3. Conspectus of contents

By showing how the Garland bears eloquent testimony on a time of transition for Indian society and to an important transitional point in the historical trajectory of Buddhism in India, I hope also to bring the Garland back to the table, so to speak, as scholarly attention on this work has
waned since the early 20th Century when Sylvain Lévi (1896, 1897, 1908, 1927, 1928, 1929), Édouard Huber (1908), Heinrich and Else Lüders (1926, 1930, 1940), Jean Przyluski (1923, 1930, 1932), Entai Tomomatsu (1930), Johannes Nobel (1928) and other highly creative scholars devoted their scholarly energies to studying it. I also provide, then, a number of new textual resources that might make the Garland more accessible to whoever might want to investigate it.

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

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

Chapter III begins by investigating the figure of the grhapati, a label that largely overlaps with the generally affluent, urban, mercantile class that we want to focus on. The chapter moves then towards exploring a few key points in what seems to have been the dominant ideology in this milieu: an emphasis on rational decision, a strong concern for respectability, and a robust work ethic that emphasizes industriousness and thrift.
Chapter IV focuses on the religious vision of wealth and of poverty embodied in the *Garland*. On the one hand, the doctrine of the cosmic requital of deeds necessarily gives a moral dimension to wealth and poverty; on the other, since wealth allows the religious gift that ensures positive requital, it might seem as if the *Garland* would be advocating a purely mechanical model of outward religious munificence. This is not so, because the text argues with equal vehemence that it is only through a path of self-cultivation that the pursuit of wealth can become also the pursuit of salvation.

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

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

1.4 The Social Background to the *Garland*

The vehemence with which the characters of the *Garland* defend their worldview against a society that is largely indifferent and often hostile to the Buddhist message evinces a vein of anxiety that runs through the entire collection. What was at stake in a world that was rapidly changing? Who would have been invested in accelerating those changes? We can at least be certain that the social
mobility that the urban mercantile economy allowed would have been an easily upset balance. We will see what answers for these questions we can obtain from the Garland by providing a vision of some of the central tensions in the collection: urban and rural, the upwardly mobile and the landed rural aristocracy, Śramaṇic religiosity and a nascent Hinduism.

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

The city is the backdrop for most of the stories of the Garland; most of their protagonists are urban folk. I would argue that an urban setting is implied for most of the stories, with the deviations from this pattern being clearly marked in the text itself. The rural village is the subject of a few memorable vignettes (Stories II, XVII, XXIII, XXIV, XXXIV). Wilderness is also the setting of two tales (XI, XII), but, as the reverse of the city, it is a place of great danger and uncertainty. Similarly, there is also is another reverse of the human city: the frightful—but edifying—city of ghosts (pretas) in story XVIII. The stories that depict the internal dynamics of the monastic assembly and the life of the monastery (XIX, XXII, XXVI—with an interesting allusion to the para-judiciary functions of the monastery as a makeshift prison for an arrested thief—XXIX, XL, XLIV, LXI, XXIX) are the most significant exception for there are no hints here at an urban setting; however, this is in accordance with the canonical prescription on the extra-urban location of male monasteries—no nunneries are featured in the Garland. Such a statement that the ideal dwelling place for the Buddha, and by extension for his future followers in asceticism, should be neither too far nor too close to a settlement (śrāvastyā nātidure nātyāsanne/ gāmato n’eva atidūre naccāsanne) occurs at least in the Code (Vinaya) of the Mūlasarvāstivādavin (Śayanāsanavastu, Gnoli 1978a,
18; Saṃghabhedaṇavastu, Gnoli 1978b, 171; Schopen 2014, 35) and in the Pāli Vinaya (Cūlavagga, Oldenberg 1880, 166).12

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

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

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

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

14 This metaphor occurs a few times in the Garland, XXX=T4.201.286b4=Huber 1908, 154; XLIV=T4.201.297b14–15=Huber 1908, 211. For a rich treatment of the metaphor of nirvāṇa as a city in Pāli literature, see Collins 1998, 224–227 and 2010, 88–90.
monastic residences, or at least the ones whose architecture has remained to our days, emerged in the proximity of important urban centers.

Let us take as an example of this Kaṇheri, a complex of rock-cut Buddhist shrines and monastic dwellings that often bear inscriptive records of those who paid for their creation. Most of the donors whose place of residence is specified come from the neighboring Kāliyāṇa/Kalyāṇa,²⁵ two from Sopārā/Śurpāraka,²⁶ and also two from Chemula.²⁷ These toponyms correspond in all likelihood to the modern Kālyāṇa, Sopārā, and Chaul: the first two are each some 40 km. away from Kaṇheri, respectively to the east and to the north, approximately a day’s travel by foot. The third is a bit further away, some 90 km. to the south. What is most interesting here is that these three cities might have been precisely the most important urban trading centers of this area in ancient times: The 1st Century Greek trade guide Periplus of the Erythrean Sea (Periplous tēs Erythraion Thalassēs, or Periplus Maris Erythraei in its customary Latin title) mentions precisely “Kalliena,” “Souppara,” and “Sēmulla” as noteworthy commercial cities (emporia) in its description of this section of the coast of modern Mahārāṣṭra, with the first of these three being the one on which the Periplus’ author expatiates the most.²⁸

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

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²⁵ Lüders 1912, §1013, §1014 (a monastic donor), §986, §998, §1000–1001, §1024, §1032.

²⁶ Lüders 1912, §995, §1005.

²⁷ Lüders 1912, §996, §1033. These two donors are possibly sons of the same father, one Rohāṇimita.

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

有一田夫聰明黠慧 與諸徒伴共來入城 時見一人 容貌端正 莊嚴衣服 種種瓌珞 服乘嚴麗 多將侍從 悉皆嚴飾 瑰瑋可觀 彼聰明者語諸行伴 不好不好 同伴語言 如此之人威德端正 深可愛敬 有何不好 聰明者言 我自不好亦不以彼用為不好 由我前身不造功德致使今者受此賤身自從今以後 勤修施戒定 必使將來生 種姓好眷屬 端正有威德 財富多侍從眾事不可嫌 為世所尊敬

(T4.201. a25–b15)

[sa]hāyair 21 anuyuktaḥ kim
atraḥbhavato na sādhv iti sa prāha na khalu
mayātṛabhavato 'bhihitam
 [...] 

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

- - - " - " - " punar jātasya vā me śato/

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

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

(Hori 2011, 12–14)

[...] came to the city. A certain lord (īśvara), possessed of splendor, charm, wealth, beauty, loveliness, and luster [...] by a great number of people [...] [... with a lovely appearance.” Then the man among those peasants esteemed for being wise, [having] seen that lord [...] was asked by his companions: “What of the distinguished person here present is ‘not good’?” The clever man said: “It is myself the one who has not been good; it was not that man whom I said not to be good.

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

23 The literal meaning of atrabhavat is ‘the one here present’, but what is difficult to convey in translation is that it is an honorific appellation.
Because in a past life I did not make merit,
now I have earned this lowly self.”

[...]

From today on, I will sedulously practice the
giving, the moral training, the concentration./20

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

[...]

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

20 Huber takes the compound shi jie ding 施戒定 to be a single specified object (le commandement qui prescrit
de faire la charité) but I feel that its elements read much more naturally as an enumeration, namely ‘giving, moral
training, concentration,’ which fits well with the three canonical types of meritorious acts (dānamaya, śilāmaya,
bhāvanāmaya), on which see Rhys Davids and Stede 1921–1925, sub puṇṇa and puṇṇakiriyā and Edgerton 1953, i
sub puṇyakriyāvastu. This, however, is unfortunately a red herring. The Sanskrit compound samapradānaniyama
‘calm, generosity, restraint’ does not correspond to this canonical triad and is, as far as I have been able to ascertain,
not used in a specific technical sense (see, however, the following epithet of the Bodhisattva in Āryāśūra’s Jātakamālā:
pradānadamaniyamasauratyādibhir [...] abhivardhamānah, Kern 1893, 41.3=‘forever surpassing himself in
generosity, self-control, restraint, gentleness,’ Khoroch 1989, 47). Evidently, here, the Chinese translator, doing
violence to the original, imposed a doctrinal reading in a passage that had originally no technical doctrinal content.
See 2.2.3. on the idiosyncracies of the Chinese rendering.
There are many elements of interest in this short passage. One is that the reaction of the anonymous peasant to the opulence of the rich urbanite is not one of envy, but instead of introspection and realization that his present disenfranchisement is the result of his own past failure to carry out the Buddhist method of self-cultivation, of which wealth is at least one outcome: wealth is good, poverty is bad. There will be time to deal with this interesting issue in depth later on, but what I would like to highlight at this point is that the polished lifestyle of the urban rich is portrayed here as the consequence and confirmation of a pious path of action, a model to emulate, a source of inspiration.

One of the Pāli Jātakas, the Kaṭāhakajātaka\(^4\) tells a story that in some ways complements the one from the Garland just considered here. Kaṭāhaka, a slave that due to exceptional circumstances has become intimately acquainted with the skills and ways of the high mercantile class (writing, stock-taking,\(^5\) business,\(^6\) polite speech, and perhaps most importantly, insufferable connoisseurship and snobbery regarding food, dress, and perfumes) successfully concocts an elaborate plot that involves faked letters and identity theft, and that allows him to use those very same skills to forge a new life in a frontier town\(^7\) where, on account of his perfect

\(^{24}\) Jātakatthavaṇṇanā no. 125, Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 451–455.

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

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

\(^{27}\) The town is located paccante ‘in the frontier’ (Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 451.21) and its inhabitants are pejoratively referred to as paccantavāsikā ‘petty frontier dwellers’ (Fausbøll 1877–1899, i 452.15).
urban polish, everyone is completely convinced of his alleged identity as the son of the individual who is in truth his owner. Although in the story Kaṭāhaka receives a deserved lesson in modesty, the narrative does not imply a condemnation of his actions; rather, it seems to extol indirectly worldly savoir faire and to have as its secondary message a display of the reach of personal ambition and proper social skills in the world.

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

In story II of the Garland, we are presented with a different mode of interaction between city and countryside: an urban brahmin, called Kauśika, visits his brahmin relatives in a village. Unusual for the Garland, this narrative is philosophically dense. Noteworthy is that Kauśika’s philosophical bent is well matched by the village brahmans; the village bustles with its own brand of intense intellectual activity, albeit the rather wooden forms of brahmanical scholasticism. Kauśika converts to Buddhism after casually reading a Buddhist book that had been destined to become a palimpsest for a brahmanical treatise, and he eventually succeeds in converting the village brahmans to Buddhism; however, one thing that the text implies is that Kauśika’s urban status—outside of the rural sphere where brahmanical orthodoxy rules—makes him more open-minded, more receptive to the message of the Buddha.
The urban brahmin is a slightly problematic figure because brahmanical prescriptive literature generally casts the city in a bad light,\(^\text{28}\) even more so the typically urban occupations of crafts and business. The circa 2\(^{\text{nd}}\) Century Laws of Manu (Māṇavadharmaśāstra), which I will take here as an example of a fully mature exponent of brahmanical prescriptive literature, is especially insistent on the fact that trade (vānijya, vaṇikpatha) should be strictly restricted to the vaiśya caste (1.90, 8.410, 9.326, 11.70, 11.236, ed. Olivelle 2005): the king is urged to keep a tight grip on trade, tax it heavily and appropriate the most profitable monopolies (8.398–403); those who derive their livelihood from various modes of sale (nānāpanyopajīvinaḥ) are the “overt cheats” (tr. Olivelle 2005), almost on par in the scale of debasement with thieves, the “covert cheats” (9.257); good brahmin families are degraded by crafts and business (śilpena vyavahārena, 3.64), and brahmins that engage in trade (vānijikāṃs) are to be treated like śūdras (8.102); trade makes a man an unsuitable recipient for a gift (10.79–80), and gifts to a ‘wretched little merchant’ (vānijake) are pointless (3.181); trade (vānijya), however, can be reluctantly taken up by a brahmin in dire need (4.6; 10.85–89).

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

\(^{28}\) See for example Olivelle 1993, 60ff. for references in the brahmanical prescriptive literature on this injunction and for more on the brahmanical dislike for the city.

\(^{29}\) Āpastambadharmaśātra 1.32.21 (Bühler 1892, 43); Gautamadharmaśātra 16.45 (Stenzler 1876, 21); Māṇavadharmaśāstra 4.107 (Olivelle 2005, 525).
of brahmins engaged in trade, in spite of the ominous threats of the prescriptive literature against this perceived transgression.

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

Kaliyanaṇa nadaśa kamārasa patho deyaḍhaman

(Lüders 1912, §1032)

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

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

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

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

The Pāli jātakas are possibly most informative for en early Sri Lankan—rather than north Indian—context, but with that caveat in mind, we might remark that the young karmāra in the Sūcijāṭaka is himself poor, but desires—and eventually manages—to marry the daughter of the head of a neighboring community of smiths (kammāragāma); his father-in-law to be is described with the verbal cliché for wealth, adīho mahāddhano ‘rich and with great wealth,’ with the interesting addition of rājavallabha ‘dear to the king.’ This specific well-to-do karmāra seems to derive his
Nada was not the wealthiest among the Kaṇheri donors: the “path” that he gave—if that is indeed what patha means here—was probably less expensive than a rock-cut monastic cell or a shrine, and also his inscription is written in a somewhat garbled fashion, which suggests that he was not able to hire the very best scribes and stone-cutters. In any case, he must have had enough of an income to show his devotion by paying for construction work in Kaṇheri and by having his gift recorded. However, the prestige that his religious gift likely awarded him within his community probably meant little for the rural brahmins who compiled the Laws of Manu. A long passage in this work (4.205–224) lists the abhojyas ‘people “whose food one is not permitted to eat” (tr. Olivelle 2005, 134–135)’—“one” is here, of course, the male rural brahmin for whom the Laws of Manu were conceived. Many of the abhojyas seem to be people devoted to urban occupations: prostitutes, musicians, carpenters, moneylenders, physicians, actors, tailors. In 4.215 we have:

\[
\text{karmārasya niśādasya raṅgāvatārakasya ca |} \\
\text{suvarṇakartur veṇasya śastravikrayānaś ṣaṭtā |} \\
\text{“[He must also never eat the following: [...] food given by a [...] ] smith} \\
\text{(karmāra), a niśāda, a theatrical performer, a goldsmith, a basket-weaver, an arms} \\
\text{merchant.” (tr. Olivelle 2005, 135) }
\]

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

32 The Gautamadharmasūtra, which according to Olivelle might date from “the beginning of the third to the middle of the second centuries BCE” (1999, xxxiii-xxxiv) specifies in 17.6–7 that among the bhōjyas, i.e. ‘people whose food a brahmin is permitted to eat’ is counted “also a merchant who is not an artisan (vaṇik cāśilpī).” Interestingly, the much later Law Code of Manu 4.253 recycle the theme and main elements of this sūtra, but fails to mention this exception made for merchants.
Although I am careful not to extrapolate too much from this small bit of information, it seems likely that in early 1st millennium Mahārāṣṭra, Nada’s trade—which in the city would have afforded him an affluent income and the social prominence of a donor—might have granted him only ritual ostracism from the elite of the rigidly stratified rural society.

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

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

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

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\(^{33}\) SHT 21/47 r 3–4, suvaṇṇakāraḥ. The Chinese has here (T4.201.293b8–9) duanjinshi 锻金師, which is slightly ambiguous because jin 金 is primarily ‘gold,’ but also sometimes ‘metal.’ In any case, Huber’s forgeron ‘blacksmith’ (1908, 190) seems to be way off the mark.

\(^{34}\) Brahmanical literature and, in general, non-Buddhist literature from this period, by contrast, mention śramaṇas only marginally; mentions therein to specifically Buddhist śramaṇas are non-existent up to, perhaps, the 3rd or 4th centuries CE, if this is indeed when literary works like the drama Mrçchkaṭikā and the Prakrit lyrical collection
fairly stereotypical narrative climax that embodies the inexorable victory of the Buddha’s religion.\textsuperscript{35} Once again, in this the \textit{Garland} is fully representative of these narrative conventions: The specific manner in which the \textit{cliché} is handled is, however, revealing.

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

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

\textsuperscript{35} Gauging how often this actually did happen is difficult. For some elite Buddhist intellectuals, a brahmanical origin seems plausible: Aśvaghōsa’s cultural conversancy with brahmanical lore has lent credibility to the traditions that depict him as a brahmin, and the same applies to the philosopher Dharmaśīrōti (see Johnston 1936, xviii-xix, xxii). One inscription from Kuḍā (Lüders 1912, §1050) records the gift of a ‘monument-house’ (\textit{cetiyaţhara}) by a brahmin woman (\textit{bamtani}) called Bhayilā, identified as the wife of a brahmin (\textit{bamtman}) lay follower (\textit{upāsaka}), almost certainly Buddhist. One passage in the \textit{Garland} (T4.201. 299.c28–300.a3, Huber 1908, 224) makes the claim—put in the mouth of the barber Upāli—that the followers of the Buddha come mostly from the two upper castes; the exact opposite claim, now spoken by Yaśas, the minister of king Aśoka (who is implied to be a brahmin), occurs in p. 274, a18–21; Huber 1908,91. For this latter the Sanskrit text is not extant: the parallel text in the \textit{Divyāvadāna} has “those little Buddhist novices have gone forth from all the four castes” (\textit{santi hi śākyasṛṇaṁerakāś caturbhyaṁ varṇēbhyaṁ pravrajitā itī}, Cowell and Neill 1886, 382.9).

\textsuperscript{36} The most significant deviation from this pattern is the great city of Mathurā, which is depicted as a stronghold of wealthy urban brahmins in stories I and LXXIV. This is, again, a portrayal that emerges not only from literary depictions of the city, but also from archeological and epigraphic evidence from Mathurā, on which see Srinivasan in Srinivasan 1989, xi-xv.
countryside but upon arrival discovers that his relative is engaged in affairs\textsuperscript{37} and is therefore not home. The narrative does not dwell on a description of the house of this relative, but it says at least that it is endowed with books and that it has a garden suitable for leisurely reading.\textsuperscript{38} The relative returns accompanied by a number of brahmins, presumably the ones with whom he was engaged in “affairs;” these people are, however, perfectly able to leave agrarian administration aside and switch gears to engage in a heated scholastic debate on the merits of the vaiśeṣika and sāṃkhya philosophical systems against the postulates of the Buddhist sūtra that Kauśika has been reading. The picture that emerges is that of an affluent and intellectually active rural gentry, in all likelihood engaged in the administration of the land and people that it owned but also in priestly theological debate.

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

\textsuperscript{37} The Sanskrit text is not extant for this passage. 緣事 yuanshi is ‘affair’, or ‘business.’

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

\textsuperscript{39} These novices might have been at odds defending their position in front of a specialist in monastic discipline instead of a layman not versed in such matters. The Vinayas contain accounts of the property of the Buddha being exceptionally transferred to the monastic assembly, but the property of each of the “three jewels” (buddha, dharma,
A brahmin, a high-caste,

Called Bharadvāja⁴⁰

—honor and dishonor a Buddha does not distinguish—⁴¹

Gave food to the Tathāgata

The Tathāgata did not accept it [saying]

—bharaṇḍa yāṁ dadau sarvadoshrine

a - - - [trai]loke sarva- "- ||

(T4.201.262.a16–19) (Lüders 1926,139)

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

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

⁴¹ This insertion is odd, and although all extant versions of the Chinese text have the verses in this order, an ancient swap is, I believe, likely. Ogihara 1979 sub varṇāvarṇaśabda implies 毀譽 hui-yu ‘honor and dishonor’ as a possible rendering of Skt. varṇāvarṇa. If this is what the Sanskrit text had here, then ‘caste and its absence’ would be too a plausible rendering.
“In the triple world there is not one who can
digest this” /
And threw it into the water
Whence flames immediately arose.

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

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

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

44 Yan te Cunda sūkara-maddavaṃ avasīṭṭhaṃ, taṃ sabbhe nikhaṇṭhi, nāhan taṃ Cunda passāmi sadevake loke samārake sabrahmake sassamaṇa-brāhmaṇiyā pajāya sadeva-manussāya yassa taṃ paribhuttoṃ sammāparināmaṃ gaccheyya aṇāatra Tathāgatassāti. (Mahāparinibbānasutta, Dīghanikāya, Rhys Davids and
the Pāli Collection of Scriptures (Suttanipāta) contains a fuller version of the story that elucidates this baffling vignette. Here, the Buddha reaches the field of the brahmin Kasī-Bharadvāja at the time of sowing, precisely when the latter is engaged in the distribution of food to his workers (parīvesanā). When the Buddha begs for food, Bharadvāja replies: “I, ascetic, plough and sow; having ploughed and sown I eat” (ahāṃ kho, sāmaṇa, kasāmi ca vapāmi ca; kasitvā ca vapitvā ca bhuṅjāmi). This statement should not, of course, be taken to mean that Bharadvāja himself should be imagined as doing all the physical toil: the text mentions that five hundred ploughs were being put to use that very morning (pañcamattāni naṅgalasatāni payuttāni honti). The Buddha explains with a sermon in verse that he does indeed plough and sow, albeit metaphorically—he ploughs with wisdom and other virtues, and so reaps “immortal fruit”—and Bharadvāja is convinced enough by this speech to offer him food. The Buddha, however, refuses it with this verse:

\[
gāthābhigītaṃ me abhojaneyyaṃ \\
sampassataṃ brāhmaṇa n'esa dhammo \\
gāthābhigītaṃ panudanti buddhā \\
dhamme satī brāhmaṇa vutti-ṛ45 esā \\
(Suttanipāta verse 81, Andersen and Smith 1913, 14)
\]

What is chanted with chants I should not eat;
This, brahmin, is not the Law (dhamma) of Those Who See Well.
What is chanted with chants the Awakened Ones (buddhā) reject

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

45 The separation of the epenthetic ṛ is mine.
Within [their] Law, brahmin, this is their livelihood.

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

46 Suttanipāta 3.4.
47 Kasībhāradvājasutta, Samyuttanikāya 7.11, Aggikasutta, Samyuttanikāya 7.8, Sundarikasutta, Samyuttanikāya 7.9.
48 Milindapañha 5.5.9 (Book 4, chapter 5, question 49), Trenckner 1880, 228, English tr. Rhys Davids 1894, ii 31ff.
49 See, for example, Mānavadharmaśāstra 1.88–90, the three upper castes are allowed to recite the Veda (adhyāyana) and offer sacrifices (yajana/ījya) but only the Brahmin is allowed to teach Vedic recitation (adhyāpanam) and to use it for officiating sacrifices (yājana).
50 See Sircar 1969, 6, 23–29, 72–73 for a detailed examination of the brahmadeya or gift of tax-free land to the
A village of brahmins (brāhmaṇa-gāma) like the one where the Pāli Bharadvāja is said to live is the setting for story XXIV. We are told that this village was in the Gangetic plain (zhong Tianzhu 中天竺 = Central India) but that the king had appointed a foreign village headman called Valkalin to it.\(^{51}\) Even the Mānavadharmāśāstra, generally not appreciative of royal power, acknowledges that the village headman (grāmika) is entitled to usufruct the portion of the village produce due as tax to the king (7.116, 118).\(^{52}\) It seems that our foreign headman, living off the agrarian economy of the brahmin village, was in an extremely hazardous position as an outsider and a perceived parasite. In fact, the village brahmins devise a ploy to get him out of the way: By invoking passages of the epics Mahābhārata and Rāmāyana that extol the value of self-immolation as a way to achieve a heavenly rebirth, they convince our headman to burn himself alive in a pyre.\(^{53}\)

The Buddhist character in the story—a monk—thwarts the ruse by exhorting one of the officiating brahmins to jump in to the pyre to attain heaven too. When the latter refuses, the village headman realizes that the brahmins are not sincere in their exhortation, that they “had come to that meeting only for the sake of monetary wealth” (但為錢財來至會所，T4.201. 281a25). Dangerous as it is to trace parallels with the modern period—the accusation of practicing an orientalist brahmins, and Bronkhorst 2010,74–93 for a rich and up-to-date discussion of its the genesis and relevant sources.

\(^{51}\) See on Valkalin also pp. 61, 194ff.

\(^{52}\) On the grāmika see also p. 196, n. 237.

\(^{53}\) This mention is in itself supremely noteworthy, as this would be a very early mention of the two epics side by side. See Martini 2014, 141–143 for a discussion of the polemic role of the epics in Buddhist texts, mostly in Chinese and Khotanese. Martini suggests that at least in this literature, the epics were “identified […] with brahmanical ideology.” Many passages in the epic could be invoked to extol self-immolation, but an especially fitting one is the one that deals with the topic of mahaprasthāna, the ‘great journey’ of voluntary death, in which death in battle, death in fire, and drowning at a sacred place are mentioned as ways to attain heaven in the “Southern recension” of the Anuśāsanaparvan, see Hiltebeitel 2016, 109–110, 116n.16, 79n.12.
doctrine of the immutability of Asia being always looming, and rightfully so—it might be useful to note that in Victorian accounts of the suttee/satī rite there is the suggestion that the ample prospective earnings from officiating at a suttee commonly led brahmins to eagerly encourage the practice,\textsuperscript{54} and what we have here seems to be a similar suggestion. Kumāralāta here presents this instance of Brahmanical ritual, or at least brahmanically sanctioned ritual—perhaps as perplexing in his own time as in ours—as both harmful and unreasonable.\textsuperscript{55} In this he is in agreement with the general Buddhist tradition in its rejection of the brahmanical ritual system.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{56} The evidence presented in Muldoon-Hules 2017, 77–82 suggests that in the early centuries of the common era in the northwestern part of the Indian world brahmins may plausibly have officiated at weddings of Buddhist followers, there being not a specifically Buddhist marriage ceremony. Conversely, funerary rites have been a specialty of the Buddhist tradition throughout most of its history.
asceticism and the related claim that only brahmins were allowed to undertake this practice through the first millennium CE are still poorly understood, the general direction of this trend was discernible. According to Olivelle, “Brāhmanical renunciation had become at least by the eighth century C.E. de facto monasticism” (p.201). Although renunciation in old age facilitated the process of family partition (pp. 115–116; 120–121), in the original āśrama system renunciation was not reserved to the elderly (p. 117). This proposed role of brahmanical asceticism does not at all undermine Olivelle’s statement that in a contemporary brahmanical context, “for the authors of the Dharmasūtras” and “for Manu, marriage and family constitute the central religious institution” (p. 139): Such putative monasticism, just as śramānic monasticism—and, in fact, monasticisms in other cultures as well—provided the opportunity to continue the logic of the family beyond the sphere of the family property by allowing the old and the unmarriageable to take on a new social identity in which they could engage in prestigious, socially sanctioned religious practice.

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


58 See Patañjali’s Mahābhāṣya ad Kātyāyana’s second varttika ad Pāṇini 2.4.12., Kielhorn 1880–1885, i 476.
Basin in what was then—and is now—Chinese-controlled Central Asia, where brahmins in the Indian sense of the word are unlikely to have existed and are never mentioned in the corpus. This absence suggests that the compound simply designates religious professionals in general (i.e. religious professionals of different kinds), and that, from the point of view the state, and perhaps to the great exasperation of the two groups involved, there might have been little difference between them. All the instances of this compound in the Garland appear in speeches made to kings. The following one, although aimed at making a general point about the method to transform wealth into merit, appears in fact in a speech addressed by a minister to the king:

當設何方令此珍寶得至後身 唯有施與沙門婆羅門貧窮乞兒

(T4. 201.273.b2–4)

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

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

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

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

61 T 201.4.c18–21; Huber 1908,125. Thakur 1963,77–78 deals with the practice of religious suicide by jumping off cliffs at auspicious sites: his source is here, however, the late medieval miscellany Kṛtyakalpataru.
ascetic nudity,⁶² penance of the five fires,⁶³ a variety of penances that include extreme heat, cold, and the bed of thorns.

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁴ Another element of this story relevant to this discussion, is that these naked renunciant brahmins, are said to wander in a group against the injunction of the Law Code of Manu 6.42.
versions, all but one of which are fragmentary: in short, context and text, which will be the topic of the next chapter.
2. Context, Text, Language

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

2.1. The Context

2.1.1. The Narrow Context: The Life of Kumāralāta

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

\(^{65}\) The survey in Lüders 1926, 17–36 is excellent and can still be consulted to great profit, but it is outdated after almost a century.
composite picture that emerges from these precious splinters will tell us something new indeed about the remarkable polymath who composed the *Garland*: perhaps travelling monk, poet, grammarian, scholastic philosopher.

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

66 For example, in the first of the twelve texts that integrate the *Uvāmga (=Upānga)* in the Ardhamāgadhī-language canonical cycle of the Śvetāmbara Jains, the *Uvavāya (=Aupapātika)*, there occurs a description of the hundred and eight horses that the king of Campā takes in his pilgrimage to visit the tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra in Pūṇābhadda. One of the many epithets of the horses is *lalantālāmagalāyavarabhūsaṇa* ‘with excellent adornments received (lāya>Old Indo-Aryan *lāta*) [in their] lovely necks (lāmagalā) [and in their] foreheads (lalanta)’ (Leumann
throughout the recorded history of both, the etymology suggested by the Tibetan and Chinese translations should not be dismissed as pure fantasy.

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

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

1883, 56.17–18). This would be a plausible examination of this passage at least if one relies on Ratnacandra 1923, s.v., iv 283, who glosses lāya as grahitā, svīkṛta. Leumann (1883, 115c) relies on the Sanskrit commentary and glosses galalāya as kaṇṭhe nyastah. Lalanta for *lalāta > earlier rarāta is possible but conjectural.
name that meant in origin ‘Gift of the Goddess Isis’ in an apparent contradiction of terms, if ‘Received from the God of War’ is what Kumāralāta once really meant, it may not have anything definite to tell us about our author’s social background.⁶⁷

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

*Hiagala 荔伽羅 is certainly Śakāla, modern Sialkot,⁶⁹ Suvastu (SHT 21/24r2, rendered as

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

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

⁶⁹ Story VIII; T4.201.266a16=Huber 1908, 49, “Che-hia-lo=Çākala.”
*Subata 修婆多* in T4.201.267a5 and *Suwhata* in T4.201.291c27) is modern Swāt, and *Pwaklahuola 博啰呾羅* might conceivably be Vajrapura, i.e. Bajaur.

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

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

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

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

73 Rotman 2008,16. This constitutes the terminus post quem for the earliest portion of the compilation. However, all the extant manuscripts of the Divyāvadāna are late (18th and 19th Centuries), all from Nepal, and so even if its source material is generally old, the Divyāvadāna as a compilation could conceivably be as late as the 17th Century.
adjoining or surrounding monastery, perhaps story XVI in his *Garland*, which deals with the moral horror of decapitation, might be a nod to this local tradition.

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

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

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

75 See fig. 2 below to see Sarikol/Taškurğān in a map.
her retinue in Sarikol where internecine war was raging between factions. The king of Persia sends envoys to rescue his bride, whom they find pregnant. A maid of the princess then reveals that the father of the unborn child is the sun-god himself, who has come to visit the princess every day. The envoys decide to defect, to stay in Sarikol, and to build a castle where the Chinese princess is made queen and is eventually succeeded by her semi-divine son. When Stein visited the main city and ancient capital of Sarikol, the town of Taškurğân, he was told a similar story to account for the remains of a big ruined castle that even today dominates the town. Even then the castle was called by the Turkic appellation Kiz-kurğân, the ‘Rock of the Princess’ (or ‘Daughter’).

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

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

76 Archeological reports on Sarikol and Taškurğân in the main archeological publications in China seem to be incipient and rare. Of remarkable importance (but still posing more questions than answers) have been the discovery of what might be a Zoroastrian fire-altars and a series of glass beads that must come from the west (Shen et al. 2015).
Pamir range, as it is the only settled area within a large stretch of unpopulated mountain passes. On this, Stein says:

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

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

According to Xuanzang, Kumāralāṭa was so famous on account of his erudition that the king of *Kh'atb'anda decided to raid Taxila and capture him. This story, however, has a bit of the

77 On this geographic reference see also p. 311, n. 384.
uncomfortable flavor of a narrative cliché, one that has often had the function of exculpating famous Buddhist masters from their attraction to power. For example, the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka, whom we now know to have lived almost a century after Aśvaghoṣa, was said to have besieged Pāṭaliputra to get hold of the famous playwright and poet, and a bit forward in time and geography, the Qin emperor Fu Jian (337–385 AD) in China is supposed to have sent a military expedition to Kucha to capture the famous scholar and translator Kumārajīva in the mid 4th century; similarly, the Northern Wei and Northern Liang states are supposed to have fought for the possession of the monk Dharmakṣema (Chen 2004). The story about Kumāralāta might have a kernel of truth in it: in the midst the instability that must have accompanied the fall of the “Great Kushans” in the early 3rd century, followed by Sasanian incursions, it does not seem

78 T50.2058.315.b5–13
unlikely that the ruler of a small polity like *Kh'atb'anda may have felt emboldened to attack a major city like Taxila.

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

Author’s map.

As much as Gandhāra does not seem to bear explicit signs of trauma or upheaval, the 3rd century is one of important and profound social changes for the Indian world, and this pivotal moment might therefore be better envisioned as a slow and gradual drift towards new waters rather than a sudden cataclysm. This century marks the beginning of a slow decline in urban life in all of the Indian sub-continent; it is also the century in which a living tradition of Middle Indic literacy starts to fade away and succumb to the Sanskrit language with its associated ideology. Even if the artistic production in Gandhāra does not seem to show a marked decline, there are clear signs of a
shift in taste and sensibility. Behrendt (2003–2004, ii 9) says that “Phase III [=3rd to 5th centuries AD] is the period in which narratives gave way to devotional images of the Buddha and bodhisattvas,” and that “[d]uring the late part of Phase III, monumental image shrines and massive images of the Buddha, some more than 11 m high, appeared in the sacred areas.” One page earlier (p. 8) Behrendt notes: “Without question, the shift to iconic imagery is a reflection of changing ideology.” Precisely what this change in ideology may have entailed is one of the questions I will explore in my examination of Kumāralāta’s Garland.

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

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

\textsuperscript{79} On Qisong and his role as a historian of the Buddhist tradition see Morrison 2010.
composed three ample treatises in the 禪 Chan genre of ‘transmission of the religion’ (chuanfa 傳法) prevalent in the Sinitic world: the *Treatise of the Orthodox Schools of Transmission of the Buddhist Religion* (*Chuanfa zhengzong lun* 傳法正宗, T2080), the ‘Records on the Treatise...’ (*Chuanfa zhengzong lun ji* 傳法正宗論記, T2078), and the ‘Illustrated Treatise... ’ (*Chuanfa zhengzong lun tu* 傳法正宗論圖, T 2079). The second and third contain small biographies of the “patriarchs” that were supposed to form an uninterrupted lineage of religious transmission of the Buddhist religion that linked India with China. Kumāralātā, like other prominent Indian intellectuals of the early 1st millennium, is included in most versions of such lists. The biography in Qisong’s *Records*, although longer, is mostly filled with ecclesiastical detail and a previous-life story; the one in the *Illustrations*, although shorter, has more strictly biographical detail. One would feel tempted to dismiss such notices in the light of the lateness of the work if it was not because some details in it seem congruous with the rest of the picture. In this small biography we are told that Kumāralātā was born in the Kushan empire (*Da Yuezhi guo* 大月氏國) as a brahmin, and that he had then travelled to Gangetic India (*zhong Tianzhu* 中天竺) for his studies (T.2079.771.a2–5). This experience of Gangetic India may have made an impression on Kumāralātā: Not only does his *Garland* seem to be addressed to a pan-Indian audience, but the unexpected inclusion of one verse of poetry in a Gangetic Prakrit, perhaps closest to dramatic Śaurasenī (Lüders 1926, 46) lends, in my opinion, some plausibility to the information contained in this late but plausible source.

As just mentioned, Kumāralātā is often included in lists that in one way or the other group together the great Indian authors of the so-called “Middle Period” of Indian Buddhism. One incarnation of this list may have been current in India itself around the 7th century, since Xuanzang and Yijing 義淨 (635–713) mention different versions of it in their travel accounts along with
other contemporary Chinese scholiasts. This list arranges a number of three to five distinguished authors of “treatises” (*lun* 论) who are compared to the sun itself in radiance (hence the “three,” “four,” or “five suns of India”) and associates each with one of the the cardinal points: Xuanzang’s list locates Aśvaghōṣa in the East, [Ārya]deva in the South, Nāgārjuna in the West, and Kumāralāta in the North (T2087.942.a16–18); Yijing’s succinctly lists only the first three (T2125.229.b14–16); Xuanzang’s pupil Kuijī 窺基 (632–682), in his commentary, the dogmatic treatise *Satyasiddhi* or *Tattvasiddhi* (Chengshi lun 成实论, T1646) mentions the five “suns of India” but names only Kumāralāta as one of them (T1834.274.a). Later, one Zhizhou 知周 (679–723), while commenting on the same treatise, produces a list similar Xuanzang’s, which, however, places Śrīlāta in the West and Nāgārjuna in the Middle (T1833.839.b24–26).

On the surface, it would seem that what these people have in common is their having had been scholastic authors of dogmatic treatises (*śāstra*). It appears now, however, that as much as in the Sinitic world Aśvaghōṣa passes as the author of the popular *Treatise on the Rise of Belief in the Great Vehicle* (Dasheng qixin lun 大乘起信論, T1666), it is highly unlikely that the skilled playwright and poet ever ventured into scholasticism (Johnston 1936,xx). Whether Kumāralāta did or did not is a question that I will address in a moment, but for now let it suffice to say that what these writers have in common is their having had been pioneering Buddhist authors in Classical Sanskrit. Even if many might hesitate to call Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva poets, they wrote their treatises in verse, echoing the convention of contemporary brahmanical *dharmaśāstras*. Furthermore, regardless of whether or not one thinks that Nāgārjuna’s verse is as flavorful as that of Aśvaghōsa, the fact is that they both wrote in Classical Sanskrit verse and that they therefore share—both in language and style—a new and defined set of literary conventions.
As I hinted above, another place where these same people usually meet is in lists of the great Buddhist scholars of the past—“patriarchs,” “venerables.” In a detailed study, Katō Junshō 加藤純章 (Katō 1979–1980), has patiently sifted through the Chinese Buddhist corpus looking for references to Kumāralaṭa.\(^{80}\) He divides his findings into two groups: biographical notices about Kumāralaṭa and quotations attributed to him. While perhaps deliberately omitting the biographies by Qisong that I presented above, the biographical notices he lists include the two passages in Xuanzang’s work and the one in the commentary on the *Tattvasiddhi* by his pupil Kuiji that I have been already referred to. For the rest all he finds is various versions of the lists of patriarchs in which Kumāralaṭa appears. On the basis of these notices, Willemen, Dessein, and Cox (1997) have surmised that Kumāralaṭa may have been the founder of the “School of Examples” (*Dārṣṭāntika*), and that he may have been the teacher of the philosophers Harivarman and Śrīlāta, the second of which is said to have taught the famous Vasubandhu (p. 107). They further venture that the “School of Only-Scripture” (*Sautrāntika*) may be identical with the “School of Examples,” the latter being perhaps a pejorative denomination used by other rival factions when referring to this group (p. 109), and also that the school may have split from the mainstream of the Sarvāstivāda school in opposition to the adoption of the official compendium on scholastic philosophy (*Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā*) on the part of the latter (p. 106). Katō does not believe that Kumāralaṭa is the founder of the school (1979–1980, 530), but regardless of that, and also of whether the proposed teacher-student relationships are those proposed or not, it seems clear that this cluster of

\(^{80}\) Kumāralaṭa’s name occurs also in similar Tibetan lists, as in Tāranātha’s (1575–1634) *History of Buddhism in India* (*Rgya gar chos ‘byung*), where Kumāralaṭa is listed among the ancient “great venerables” (*btsun pa chen po*’i *sde rnams*) (Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970, 14–15).
philosophers held Kumāralāta in high esteem, and Vasubandhu cites him as an authority in his auto-commentary to Abhidharmakośa 1.29a.

A good question to consider at this point is whether Kumāralāta did in fact engage in the writing of scholastic treatises. He may simply have been attributed the authorship of later scholastic works as it seems to have been the case with Aśvaghoṣa. The question therefore asks whether or not there is evidence to prove that he was, in short, a philosopher. The quotations that Katō (1979–1980, 528–529) presents are illuminating in this regard. They show that Kumāralāta was quoted by a wide variety of scholiasts and commentators, but even more interestingly, it turns out that all the quotations attributed to him are metrical. Perhaps the most significant quotation is the panegyric of meditation in forty-three verses that one finds as an introduction to the Scripture on the Absorption of Sitting Contemplation (Zuochan sanmei jing 坐禪三昧經, T614), to which an excerpt of roughly the same size from Aśvaghoṣa’s poem Saundarananda is appended as an epilogue. Now, the only works that can be attributed to Kumāralāta with any certainty are the prosimetric Garland and the grammar Kaumāralāta, studied by Lüders (1930). These metrical quotations that occur in Chinese Buddhist literature do not seem to stem from either work, and this in turn suggests the existence of a lost work, or a lost series of works in the metrical śāstra genre; a misattribution is also a possibility. The only work that seems to be mentioned by name in connection with Kumāralāta is the Garland and it is undoubtedly this work that which Kuiji refers to as “Treatise of the Garland of Examples” (Yuman lun 喻髪論). According to Xuanzang, the number of Kumāralāta’s works was in the order of the double digits (T2087.942.a15), and, furthermore, the fact that the grammar is never mentioned in connection with Kumāralāta makes plausible that his hypothetical dogmatic works may have been lost without having left other traces than quotations.
Moreover, scholastic culture does play an important role in the narratives of the *Garland*. story II features a lengthy scene of scholastic debate that enters into realistic philosophical detail: The triumph of the Buddhist character over his brahmanical adversaries is the outcome of their defeat in argumentation. story XLIV, available only in Chinese, attaches an even stronger—almost apotropaic—value to scholastic skill, wherein a “demonic apparition” (*mohua 魔化*) confounds the monastic assembly by claiming to be an *arhat* and, as in the previous story, the debate ends with a moment of conversion where, notably, the science of *abhidharma* has the power to neutralize the dangerous supernatural entity and is likened to a touchstone “by rubbing [which] one knows what is true and false” (*磨試知是非*, T4.201.297.b10). That Kumāralāta may have been an enthusiastic abhidharmist seems, then, likely at least.

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

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

Before we beginning this survey, a terminological clarification is necessary. Richard Salomon coined the term “Greater Gandhāra” to refer to the cultural area where the Kharoṣṭhī script was in use during the first centuries of the Common Era (2012, 179), and this area spans across the northeastern part of Pakistan and the eastern part of Afghanistan. The Gāndhārī language written with the Kharoṣṭhī script was also widely used in areas where we know that the indigenous language was not Indic, like Bactria, Sogdia, and the Tarim basin across the Pamirs. The original core of this greater area of cultural influence would have been Gandhāra in the strict sense, namely the Peshāwar valley in what is now northeastern Pakistan. Gandhāra as a toponym is commonly
attested in Gāndhārī inscriptions and manuscripts, and so are Kumāralāṭa’s native Taxila and other toponyms in the “Greater Gandhāran” area. Whether there was an endonym for what Salomon calls “Greater Gandhāra,” or even whether the cultural commonalities in language and script that we discern at a distance of millennia were perceived at all as markers of a greater supralocal identity is not certain, but there are some hints to suggest that they might have been. Recent research suggests that the Chinese referred to “Greater Gandhāra,” and not only “Gandhāra proper” as *Keipin 窅宾, which is in all likelihood a Chinese phonetic rendering of Gāndhārī <kaspira>/kaspira/ (Enomoto 1994, 359–369; Palumbo 2013, 22), even though what corresponds etymologically to it in Sanskrit would be kaśmīra, which nowadays designates the Kashmir valley disputed by India and Pakistan. Apparently, the Khotanese too referred to Gāndhārī speakers as kāspiraa and, in quite a few places within the Pāli corpus, the compound

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

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

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

84 At one point in the text, the author of the Khotanese Book of Zambasta (23.5, Emmerick 1968, 343) complains about the fact that the Khotanese seem to deem acceptable the diffusion of the Buddhist religion only “in the Indian language” (hiṃduvau) and not in their native Khotanese tongue, and cites as opposite examples the Chinese (ciṅga) and the Kaspāraas, who learn the Law in their own tongues. Leumann (1936, 290), Emmerick (1968, 343), and Bailey (1985, 44) all translate kaspāraa- as “Kashmirian,” but it seems now unlikely that “Kashmirian” here has
**kasmīragandhāra** occurs as an ethnonym. On whether Kumārala’s Taxila would have been perceived as part of this larger area around this time, it might be useful to remark that at least in the Pāli jātakas, the formula *gandhāraratṭhe takkasilāgare/takkasilāyaṃ* “in the kingdom of Gandhāra, in [the city of] Taxila” is a recurring narrative cliché.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

90 See for example line 10 in the Bactrian Rabatak inscription of Kaniṣka (Sims-Williams 2004, 56), where we have a roster of Iranian deities that are said to have demanded king Kaniṣka to build a temple in their honor. The name of the god Sroṣard has the following interlinear gloss: kidi honduau Maasēn rizdi od Bizag rizdi "who in the Indian language is called Mahāsena, and is [also] called Viṣākha."
religion. In support of this, in story I of the Garland, the scene of a Gandhāran merchant heroically defending the superiority of the Buddha to that of Śiva Maheśvara in front of a host of Mathurān brahmins, and the ensuing panegyric of Gandhāra as “upholder of the world” (from a fanciful etymologization to *gāṃ-dhara “bearer of the cow (=the earth)”) are certainly to be read as a statement of national pride by Kumāralūta; also, perhaps, as an expression of wishful thinking. One of the places where the compounded ethnonym kasmiragandhāra occurs in the Pāli corpus is a passage in the Ceylonese Great Chronicle, Mahāvaṃsa (12.3–28, Geiger 1908, 95–97),\(^9^1\) that narrates how the Buddhist missionary Majjhantika appeased and converted a nāga: the story ends by saying that “since then and even now the kasmiragandhāras have been resplendent with monastic robes and extraordinarily intent on the three things” (tatoppabhuti kasmiragandhārā te idānāpi / āṣuṃ kāśāvapajjotā vatthuttayaparāyanā). Although through his stories Kumāralūta participates in this notion of Gandhāra as a stronghold of Buddhism, the career of the religion may have been shorter and also less firmly rooted than what these portrayals suggest. Callieri (2006) notes that although sporadic Buddhist archeological remains can be found in the Greater Gandhāran area from as early as the 3rd Century BCE, they do not become truly frequent or widespread until mature Kuśāṇa times in the 2nd Century CE. We will return to this issue when discussing the shift in cultural paradigms that appear to have taken place during or around Kumāralūta’s time.

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

\(^9^1\) One should note, though, that this is probably a later portion of the Mahāvaṃsa.
2016, 178), and there the Sasanians seem to have installed the vassal dynasty of the so-called Kuşanşahs. According to Skinner (2017, 180), “a text composed on the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt in Naq-e Rostam”—that is, the ancient necropolis of the Achaemenid emperors—“in 270 states that Šāpur I incorporated the Kuşana territory (kuşanşahr) into his empire and invaded as far as Peshâwar (paškabûr).” We have seen before how the Sasanian official Kartîr in the same time period boasted about having persecuted “şamans and bramans” in the newly conquered areas. Kumâralâtâ’s Taxila seems to have remained in Kuşana hands up until the very end of the dynasty under Kipunadha in about 340, but some thirty years after the fall of Bactria in about 230 Kâpîṣa (now Begram) would fall too, and the neighboring Peshâwar valley—“Gandhâra proper”—would become the battlefield for struggles between Kuşânas and Kuşanşahs up until about 340 when the White Huns or Kidarites inaugurated a new order in the region. In this scenario of constant turmoil, it does not seem impossible that what Xuanzang notes in his record was accurate, namely that the ruler of Sarikol in the Pamirs, as a Sasanian ally, may have taken part in a raid against Taxila that would have ended in the capture of Kumâralâtâ.

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

92 See 2.1.1., p. 45.

93 This information has been culled from the chronological chart in Cribb 2018, 28–29.
between the 4th and 6th Centuries. The model of deurbanization proposed by the Indian historian R.S. Sharma in his book *Urban Decay in India* (1987) has found general scholarly acceptance even though some aspects of his formulation have come under criticism, in particular his handling of archeological data or, rather, his making arguments on data taken from less than ideal archeological procedure, on which see Kennet (2013). However, regardless of the specific factors that he sees at its cause, even Sharma’s critics recognize the tenability of his essential observation that cities declined in this era. Sharma notes that the archeological urban layers in this period become increasingly poor in urban residential—rather than monumental—architecture, in evidence of specialized crafts, and also, crucially, in coinage, which by the end of the era had dramatically declined in volume from Kuśāṇa times. Sharma has complemented his archeological argument with epigraphic and literary information, although the evidence afforded by these sources, as some critics have pointed out, is rather sparse (Panja 1990, 442; Stewart 1991, 177). Sharma finds nothing as clear-cut regarding this era as Jerome’s statement, in the early 5th Century, that “the world sinks into ruin [...] and there is no part of earth where Romans are not in exile” (Letter CXXVIII tr. Fremantle 1893, 260), but, at most, prophecies of an impending “Age of Kali” (*kaliyuga*) taking over the world in the purāṇic corpus (1987, 139ff.). Gérard Fussman makes a strong case that one important source, the courtly narratives of the period, should not be taken as good witnesses of the spirit of the times in his review of a book that focuses on the courtly ideology that developed in the succeeding period and yet downplays the role of deurbanization in the formation of such ideology, Ali’s *Courtly Culture and Political Life in Early Medieval India* (2004):

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94 For a rich analysis of the characteristics of the Age of Kali, including descriptions of the decline of cities and of trade as depicted in the 6th Century astrological compendium *Brhatasamhitā* by Varāhamihira see Mandal 2007.
Pour apprécier la distance entre l’Inde idéale et abstraite des sources littéraires et la réalité des cours indiennes, il aurait peut-être aussi fallu se demander pourquoi beaucoup de souverains renoncèrent à émettre une monnaie à leur effigie; pourquoi l’archéologie ne trouve aucune trace des somptueuses capitales bien planifiées que décrivent leurs textes, ni de leurs gigantesques palais; pourquoi aussi les expéditions guerrières, qu’elles soient hindoues ou musulmanes, semblent avoir trouvé plus à piller dans les temples que dans les résidences royales. (Fussman 2005b, 335)

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

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

“Brahmanism came out of its turbulent period a conservative ideology. It preserved forever the memory of the good old days when its services were part of
the structure of the state. This had changed, and the Brahmins did not like it.”

(Bronkhorst 2016, 109)

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

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

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95 For an in-depth treatment of this issue see Bronkhorst 2007, 357–362.
and the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas (p. 149), as well as the Kuśāṇa issues with Śiva/Weš, and the fact that “in the Mahābhārata Śiva is called ‘the God from Gandhāra’” (p. 151). Most fittingly for the purpose of our discussion, and using the terms bhāgavata and pāśupata for what would generally be termed vaiṣṇava and śaiva, he remarks that:

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

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

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

96 Verardi draws in this point mainly from the evidence presented by Tucci (1963, 159–160).
disciple of a bhāgavata temple. The mention of the Sanskrit epics Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa in the Garland is also highly significant because the epics are forceful expressions of this new brahmanical worldview, a blend of the old Vedic ritualism with new theistic cults: Kumāralāṭa mentions the epics by name in story XXIV, and makes them the scriptural authorities that brahmins invoke to justify self-immolation;\(^97\) moreover, the story of Śiva, rather than Indra, as the destroyer of the city of the asuras that the Mathurān brahmins bring up to demonstrate the superiority of Śiva Maheśvara regarding the Buddha is, as far as I know, a form of the myth reported for the very first time in the Mahābhārata.\(^98\)

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

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\(^{97}\) See pp. 29–30, 194ff. on this story.

\(^{98}\) The clearest and most extended reference is perhaps 8.24.

\(^{99}\) On this general topic see also pp. 139–140.
his “Iranian [=Bactrian] language” (ariau, Rabatak inscription, line 3, Sims-Williams 2004, 56) started issues in Bactrian, which remained the norm until the end of the 2nd Century. After that Vāsudeva I (c. 190–230 CE) introduced Brāhmī mint marks. By the time of the second Vāsudeva, who ruled in the last decade of the 3rd Century, Brāhmī had become the general norm, with vestigial accompanying inscriptions in illegible Bactrian that finally vanished in the issues of the last ruler of the dynasty, Kipunadha, in the late 4th Century. As we will see, Kumāralāṭa fully embraced Sanskrit and its associated modes of literary expression. In his Sanskrit grammar, Kaumāralāṭa, he even attempted to implicitly claim that the ancient—and therefore most venerable—register of the Sanskrit language is not Vedic Sanskrit, but rather the hybrid Sanskrit with Middle Indic elements in which the Buddhist scriptures that were known to him were written.

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

### 2.2. The Text

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

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

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100 See for example Strong 1989, 31–32.
Lüders (1926, 17–36) concluded on the basis of the colophons of the Kizil manuscript that the main part of the title of the work was *Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* “Row,” “Series,” or “Garland of Examples.” This core was modified sometimes by the epithet *kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* and sometimes by the epithet *kalpanāmalaṃkṛtikā*, both meaning “adorned (maṇḍitikā, alaṃkṛtikā) by imagination (kalpanā)” (p. 19). Further elaboration on the interpretation of the title was provided by Hahn (1982). I have chosen to translate *paṅkti* as “garland” instead of the more generic “row” or “series” because that is how the Tibetan translators and the Chinese tradition understood it. The title of the complete Chinese translation, *Treatise of the Great Ornament* (*Da zhuangyan lun 大莊嚴論*, T201) is perhaps based on the elements *maṇḍitikā* or *alaṃkṛtikā* “adorned” in the Sanskrit title. This is probably a willful interpretation, but it is clear too that it was a deliberate one and not a later addition because the title occurs in the initial *maṅgala*, and there it is referred to as *zhuangyan lun 莊嚴論* (T4.201.257a15, cfr. Hahn 1982, 321.11 for the Tibetan parallel).

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

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

102 The Tibetan translation, on which see section 2.2.2 below, is called *Dpe’i phreng ba*, with *phreng* being the Tibetan word for “garland.” Likewise, commenting on Kumāralāta, the Tang exegetes Kuiji 窺基 (632–682 CE) and Puguang 普光 (ca. 645–664 CE) both mention the *Garland as yuman lun 喻鬘論* (T43. 1830.274a12; T41.1821.35c5), with *man 髮* being likewise the Chinese word for “garland.” On these two passages see Katō 1979–1980.
translation of Dharmakīrti’s *Jātakamālātiṭkā*. The final *coup de grâce* was given by Prabhākaramitra’s *波羅頗蜜多羅* translation of Asaṅga’s *Mahāyānasūtrālāṃkāra* into Chinese in 630–633 as *Treatise on the Ornament of the Great Vehicle (Dasheng zhuangyan lun 大乘莊嚴論*, T604), which set in stone the equivalence of the phrase *zhuangyan lun* 莊嚴論 with a putative Sanskrit *sūtrālāṃkāra*.

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

2.2.1. The Sanskrit Text of the *Garland*

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

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

\subsection{2.2.1. The Kucha Manuscript}

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

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

\textsuperscript{104} The manuscript can be viewed online in high-resolution on: http://idp.bl.uk/.
the question of the paleographical date of the manuscript and while refuting some of Lüders’ arguments expanded the chronological range to the full span of the 4th Century (p. 133) but rejected the dating to the 5th Century by Dani (1963a, 148). According to the now standard terminology developed by Sander for Indian and Central Asian Brahmi, the script of the manuscript is “Gupta-Alphabet h.” This makes it a relatively old manuscript for the Kucha area, and also in absolute terms within the context of Indic manuscripts.

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

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

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

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

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106 Writing on wood is, as far as I know, attested in the ancient Indian context only in the *lipiphalaka* or learner’s tablet (on which see Falk 1993, 306). The practice of writing on wooden sheets or boards does have a clear precedent in China, and the format of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Kucha, Niya, and Loulan is clearly modeled on the one of official Han dynasty stationery (Guan 2016, §1). The Subaši Lāṅgār *Udānavarga*, one of whose folios can be viewed online in ultra-high resolution on [http://classes.bnf.fr/livre/grand/582.htm](http://classes.bnf.fr/livre/grand/582.htm), mimics the *poṭhī* format, and has one hole for passing rope.
(1926, 2) recognized that the initial and final folios are much narrower in height than the middle ones, and the increase in height is gradual: the resulting shape must have been a cylinder or rather a prism whose oval bases would have been the sides, to the right and left of the reader, of the stack of palm leaves. The hypothetical shape of the original manuscript can be visualized as follows in fig. 3:

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

This format is otherwise unattested, only perhaps other than in this manuscript in the earlier (2nd Century) Dramenhandschrift from Kizil that contains fragments of three plays with Buddhist themes, one of which is Aśvaghoṣa’s Śāriputraprakaraṇa (Lüders 1926, 2). I suggest that this unusual format might have been a transitional form that alluded visually to the earlier scroll book-format that we know with certainty to have been in use in the Gandhāra in the first two centuries AD: The Khotan Dharmapada, and the manuscripts of the British Library and Senior Collections, all of which must date from the 1st and 2nd Centuries, are birch-bark scrolls, whereas later Kharoṣṭhī documents like the ones from the Schøyen and Pelliot collections are poṭhīs written on palm-leaf and either in Sanskrit or
progressively sanskritized Gāndhārī. Furthermore, we know that the Sanskrit word *pustaka*,\textsuperscript{107} the most general term for “book” through the history of the language, and whose Hindī derivative *poṭhī* we use as a technical designation for books made of stacks of loose sheets held together by a passing string, does not necessarily designate only this kind of book. For example, the colophons of the Khotan *Dharmapada* and the Gāndhārī *Perfection of Wisdom* (*Prajñāpāramitā*) from the Split collection refer to the book itself, respectively, as *postaka* (Brough 1962, 119), and *postaṅge* (Falk and Karashima 2012, 25).\textsuperscript{108} There is also good art historical evidence of the scroll as the dominant book-form in Gandhāra in the very early centuries CE (Baums 2014, §5). Kumāralātā, on the other hand, presumably writing in Taxila around a century after the copying of these two books, uses the Sanskrit word *pustaka* to refer to a book (SHT 21/3 r1). In this particular story, the plot makes clear that *pustaka* here designates a palm-leaf *poṭhī*, as the owner of the book declares his “wanting to abrade the writing in order to use [the book] to have a Vaiśeṣika text written on it” (將欲洗却其字，以用書彼毘世師經 T4.201. 259b13–14)—an act which is, of course, only possible on palm leaf. The Kucha Manuscript seems to be itself a palimpsest (Lüders 1926, 3), and this brings us back to the question of whether the manuscript came from India or was written in the Tarim Basin. Sander (2012 [1999], 35) has suggested the possibility that books

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

\textsuperscript{108} Two things are interesting to note here regarding this old manuscript. In the first place, the body of the text references books often, but the form in this context is *postaṅ* (5.3, 4, 24, 29, 33). According to Falk and Karashima (2012, 25), text and colophon are by different scribes. In the second, the colophon of the scroll, which must have contained the first five *parivartas* of the *Large Perfection of Wisdom*, is referred to as *padhamane postaṅge*, the “first book,” and this reference system by scroll and chapter mirrors closely the one that had become dominant in China at the same time.
brought from India to the Tarim Basin may have been erased and that the erased leaves were reused there. Moreover, there is ample evidence from elsewhere that blank stacks of palm leaf were imported as far as China. For example, the 9th Century palm leaf Sanskrit manuscripts in the Mii Temple (Mii-dera 三井寺) of Ōmi in Japan were in all likelihood written in China, as the Sanskrit text is interspread with glosses in Chinese throughout (see Van Gulik 1956, 56–57, figs. 1–2, pp. 155–156).

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

¹⁰⁹ c(e)ṭasi ‘in the mind’ in a1 might match yi 想 ‘mind’ and if perhaps rmam is to be read (dha)rmam in B3, it may match fa ध ‘law, dharma’, but [sa]ṃghasthaviraḥ ‘elder of the monastic community’ in b2 points to a plot element completely different from the one of story XIV in the Chinese translation, where the characters involved are only the king Kaniṣka, his minister *Devadharma and a group of beggars. As, however, the Chinese translation is often not literal, the possibility that a verse of the Sanskrit version was lost in translation should not be ruled out, especially since no other Sanskrit fragment of story XIV is available.
possibility that the fragment represents a lost work by Kumāralāta. Be that as it may, the startling fact is that this fragment was found in the Turfan area (Sander and Waldschmidt in Waldschmidt et al. 1965–2017, v 1), far from Kucha. If indeed this fragment was written by the same scribe as the Kucha Manuscript, then we would have some evidence to postulate a single scribe who worked in the Tarim Basin and either produced several copies of Kumāralāta’s Garland or else may have specialized on works in the prosimetric kāvyā style of our author.

2.2.1.2. The Khotan Manuscript

In chronological order, the Khotan Manuscript comes next. According to Wille in Karashima and Wille 2006–2015, ii 30, n. 52, four extant fragments in the collection of the British Library in London belong together to this manuscript. Three of them (IOL San 761, IOL San 1242, and IOL San 1256) were excavated by Aurel Stein in Khādalik, in the Khotan area, and bear the Stein inventory numbers Kha.i.128 and Kha.i.93a-b that identify them as excavated in shrine I of Khādalik. The fourth fragment (Or.15010/130), which in all likelihood was also excavated from Khādalik, seems to have been procured for Rudolf Hoernle (1841–1918) by his agents in the Tarim Basin (Sims-Williams in Karashima and Wille 2006–2015, II.3 17). There is good evidence to back Wille’s suggestion that the fragments belong together, as they are written in the “Alphabet r” (Early Turkestan Brahmi of the northern branch, on which see Sander 1968, 181–182 and Sander 2005, Table 1), which is extremely rare in the Southern Silk route (Wille 2005, 62). According to Sander (2005, Tables 1 and 2), documents written in “Alphabet r” should be dated between the 5th and 6th Centuries. The manuscript is written on paper, as are almost all the Brahmi manuscripts from the Khotan area. Fragment IOL San 1242 was edited by Wille (2005, 62–64) and Or.15010/130 by Karashima (2006–2015, ii 494–495). IOL San 761 is still unedited, but is
mentioned and tentatively transcribed in Wille (2013, §5.3). IOL San 1256, badly rubbed and torn, has not yet been edited: however, that it belongs with the other three is inferred from the similarities in paper and handwriting rather than from its uncertain content. Wille (2005, 62, n. r3) also mentions one unedited fragment on paper from the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Pelliot Sanscrit Bleu 9)\(^{110}\) that contains one of the verses in IOL San 1242 apparently as a quotation embedded in an unknown compendium of monastic procedure (karmavācanā).

According to my own assessment of the paleography of the fragment on the basis of Sander (1968), the Pelliot fragment is closest to “Alphabet u” (North Turkestan Brahmī, type b), that would put this fragment in the 9th Century at the earliest. As for the contents, Or.15010/130 preserves part of story LXIII (“The jeweler, the monk, and the heron”),\(^{111}\) whereas IOL San 761 and IOL San 1242 contain portions of story XXVII (“Aśoka in poverty”); the contents of IOL San 1256, as stated above, are unclear and possibly irrecoverable.

\subsection{2.2.1.3. The Turfan Manuscript}

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

\footnote{Available online on: \url{http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000198r/f17.image.r=pelliot%20sanscrit%20bleu}.}

\footnote{According to Karashima 2012, 821, n. 14, there is an artistic representation of this story from Gandhāra, described in Foucher 1917.}
paleographically to the 9th Century. It contains a total of 13 fragments that cover portions of 13 stories,112 and, as Lüders remarks, it luckily gives us samples of many stories not represented in the Kucha Manuscript. Intriguingly, though, it was a composite manuscript that in addition to the *Garland* included at least part of Āryaśūra’s Jātakamālā and Mātrceta’s Varṇārhavarna (Lüders 1926, 194–197). Two other fragments, now in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, SI 2Kr/9.4 and SI P/152.2, belong also to the same manuscript according to their modern editor, Hori (2011). The fragments belong, respectively, to the Krotkov and Petrovsky collections, and were presumably acquired in the area of Turfan. SI 2Kr/9.4 contains fragments of story XXX (“The peasant dazzled by city life”) and SI P/152.2 one of story XXXVI (“The teacher and the disciple”). Among the fragments considered here, these Russian fragments are the only ones not publicly available as of 2019, and therefore I have not been able to form an assessment of my own; however, Hori’s remarks on the physical and paleographical characteristics of the fragments make a good case for his hypothesis.

### 2.2.1.4 The Four Bāmiyān Manuscripts

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

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

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


II. Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318+2382.319, Gupta Alphabet Type i. Circa 4th-5th Century. Birchbark stripped of its verso. Contains fragments of story XLIII. Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63 and Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318–19, both in Sander’s Gupta Alphabet Type i might conceivably belong to different scribal hands within the same manuscript, which would bring the manuscript count to three.

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

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{114} I thank Prof. Jens Uwe Hartmann for this information.
of a *genizah*, a Jewish ritual depository of defunct sacred texts.\(^{115}\) Any statements at this point are however premature, and given the lack of proper archeological information regarding the findspot of these manuscripts, gaining new information will be arduous.

### 2.2.1.5. The archeological context of the findspots of the manuscripts

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

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

\(^{116}\) See however Ching (2015), who argues that the manuscripts were not found in the “chamber of the red dome” but instead in a neighboring grotto.
Library scrolls, Salomon (1999, 81–84) has proposed that they were ritually buried texts no longer usable (the “genizah” hypothesis), but that the Senior scrolls were commissioned specifically to become relics, and buried fresh from the hand of the scribe (2009, 29). Strauch (2014, 806–807) has pointed out that small manuscripts have been found in “hands of Buddha statues, in holes in the walls” as “apotropaic amulets” while, contrary to earlier speculation that the Gilgit texts may have been ritually buried inside a stūpa, Fussman (2005a) has argued that there was no book cache in the first place, and that perhaps what happened was only that a roof fell on top of what may have been a cross between between a library, a scriptorium, living quarters, and a shrine for a small contingent of ritual specialists.  

Outside of India, and with regard to the Egyptian site of Oxyrhynchos, Luijendijk (2010) has persuasively argued that many presumably Christian owners of sacred Christian texts were willing to discard them in the dumpster when, for whatever reason, they had become unusable or obsolete, and did so being so in spite of the abundant literary and artistic evidence that points to the fact that at least normatively biblical manuscripts held a sacred status (p. 218). Obviously, the scenarios described above do not necessarily exclude each other, and, as such, the question that here interests me is: in what way and to what extent do texts found together belong together.

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

\[17\] Schopen (2009, 189–219), while generally agreeing with Fussman in that the room was not the inner chamber of a stūpa, argues against Fussman’s theory of the ritual function of the space.
than the Khotan Manuscript of the *Garland*, shrine I in Khādalik yielded mostly single folios of the Mahāyāna sūtras favored in Khotan, both in Sanskrit and Khotanese (on which see Hoernle 1908, 1430–1440).\textsuperscript{118} Other than the manuscript of the *Garland* considered here, two significant texts from this site that do not fit the general characterization of “Mahāyāna sūtra” are an otherwise unknown Sanskrit *Buddhacarita* in kāvya style (Kha.i.183=IOL San 1123–124, 1233–234) and Triratnadāsa’s poetic panegyric of the Buddha, the *Guṇaparyantastotra* (Kha.i.199.b=IOL San 1387). Shrine I in Khādalik was the source of copious amounts of manuscript remains: 2497 fragments in all. Stein understood these scattered book remains to have been originally votive offerings (1921, i 163), and that might indeed be the case for this specific site.\textsuperscript{119}

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

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

\textsuperscript{119} For a brief discussion on manuscripts as votive offerings in China and Central Asia see Galambos and van Schaik 2012, 19 and Hartmann 2009, 102–103 with regard to Bāmiyān.
In the case of the *Rotkuppelraum* in Kizil, the situation seems to be somewhat different. The findspots of manuscripts in the *Rotkuppelraum* complex are apparently two: one is a cache of books in a square hole (the “library” or *Bibliothek*) and the second a “pile of rubble” (*Schutthalde*), and both were excavated during the third and fourth Prussian expeditions to the Tarim Basin. Although the documentation on the Prussian expeditions is copious, the portion relating to the archeological context of the manuscript finds in the *Rotkuppelraum* is very faulty and often contradictory. In Sander’s words, “the question of where were the specific manuscripts found [i.e. whether in the “library” or in the “pile of rubble”] cannot be elucidated with certainty” (*mit Sicherheit läßt sich die Frage, wo die jeweiligen Handschriften gefunden wurden, nicht klären*, 1968, 11). Nevertheless, von Le Coq, writing on the excavations of the “pile of rubble” during the fourth expedition makes clear (1928, 58) that this findspot yielded few manuscript fragments. It seems possible, then, that the majority of the manuscript finds from the *Rotkuppelraum* were united in the book cache.

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

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120 This is my own assessment. As for the other two sites mentioned in this discussion (Khādalik and Toyoq) a comprehensive characterization of the *Rotkuppelraum* in terms of the contents and nature of the texts found there has not been attempted yet as far as I know.
the corpus is the relative scarcity of *sūtra* and *vinaya* material,\textsuperscript{121} most strikingly in the earliest strata as noted by Sander (2012 [1999], 36)—*abhidharma* treatises (e.g. SHT 15) and other technical literature (e.g. medical, astronomical) being actually much better represented. On the other hand, several genres of *belles lettres* are represented: drama (SHT 57), Kumāralāta’s prosimetric *kāvyā*, the *Garland*, but also other collections in the same mixed style (SHT 26, 37), and also poetic commentaries on *sūtras* (SHT 34),\textsuperscript{122} Māṭṛceta’s ornate stotras (SHT 27), and the austere gnomic verse of the canonical *Udānavarga* (which is represented in more copies than any other text in the corpus) and of the *Anavataptaṅgāthā*. Technical genres ancillary to the *belles lettres* are also well represented: The corpus contains fragments of metrical lexica in the manner of Amarasiṃha (SHT 1221), of Kumāralāta’s own grammar *Kaumāralāti* (e.g. SHT 22) and of its derivative grammar *Kātantra* (SHT 64), Sanskrit declension tables (SHT 849), and a treatise on prosody, the *Chandovicīti* (SHT 654). The Tocharian documents show a similar trend, and contain verse in imitation of Indian *kāvyā* as well as a well-crafted narrative commentary to the *Udānavarga*, titled with the Sanskrit appellation *Udānālaṁkāra* ‘Ornament of the Utterances,’ on whose resemblance to the style and the conjectural title *Sūtrālaṁkāra* of Kumāralāta’s collection\textsuperscript{123} Lüders commented at length (1926, 29–34).

\textsuperscript{121} The *vinaya* genre is overwhelmingly represented by *Prātimokṣasūtras*.

\textsuperscript{122} This manuscript contains also a panegyric of Aśvaghoṣa, who is said to be a ‘maker of the day (=sun)’ (āravāgghasindhakrt-) in r1 and an ‘depository of waters (=ocean)’ (āravāgghosodadhim) in r3; perhaps also a ‘lord of rays (=sun) of poetry’ (kāvyakiranta(pati?)) (see Lüders 1926, 33).

\textsuperscript{123} Let us remember, though, that the alternative title *Kalpanālāṁkṛtikā* [Drṣṭāntapāṁkī] is however attested in SHT 21/70 r3.
The pronounced highbrow character of the Rotkuppelraum corpus is not unique within the area of Kucha. For example, the so-called ‘manuscript hole’ (Handschriftenhöhle) in Šorčuq contains a comparable proportion of sophisticated Sanskrit literary texts, like Aśvaghoṣa’s two poems Buddhacarita and Saundarananda. Regarding the use that the inhabitants of Kucha may have had for elegant Sanskrit literature in the early centuries AD, Sander (2012 [1999], 35–36) has suggested that these books may have been in the possession of “missionaries” who “carried in their baggage texts that might appeal to the minds and hearts of the educated people, mainly the nobility.” Sander’s suggestion that the books of the Rotkuppelraum may have been at some point the library of missionaries with a clear cultural agenda brings to mind the composition of, say, the libraries of Jesuit colleges in the early times of the order. Similar to Sander’s hypothesized Buddhist missionaries, we know that the Jesuits did cater to the local elites of those places where they went. According to Connolly’s survey (1960), the typical missionary Jesuit library in the 17th century was only marginally composed of canonical, theological and strictly religious books, but was instead heavily focused on Classical Latin and Greek literature, as well as on the grammar and lexicography of those languages (pp. 250–252). The roster of classical authors in these libraries was headed by Cicero, who must undoubtedly have served as a language and composition model, but it also included authors like Plautus, whose archaic and often risqué comedic style must have had only a purely literary interest. These Jesuit libraries were meant for the use of professionals, on which Connolly remarks that “the bias of the collections was toward supporting a faculty concerned almost exclusively with a course governed by the humanistically inspired interest in the Latin and Greek classics” (p. 252). Further on, he also says:
The common [Jesuit] library was not an open library.\textsuperscript{124} It was locked and accessible only to those to whom the Rector gave the keys. To what extent this official restricted members of his community is very difficult to say with certainty. Students, however, whether lay or clerical, were expected to concentrate almost exclusively on the lectures they heard or upon the particular text with which they were occupied. (p. 245)

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

2.2.1.6. The geographical distribution of the manuscript findspots

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

\textsuperscript{124} On the non-circulation of the books of the monastery in the context of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya see Schopen 2004, 51.
The new manuscripts from Bāmiyān that I have identified alter significantly the picture of the ancient diffusion of the *Garland* by extending it to Bactria. That the two places connected with Kumāralāta’s life, Taxila and Taškurgān, are located midway between Bactria and the Tarim basin, lend corroboration to the narrative of Kumāralāta’s life and place that we have proposed. It is possible that throughout his career Kumāralāta may have looked for audience beyond his own Gandhāran and Indic background; as we saw (2.1.1. pp. 45–46), at least one source attributes to him a sojourn in Gangetic India, which he mentions abundantly in the *Garland*; his references to China (story XLV) and to the Roman Orient (story XC) point to a willingness to engage with an international context that is rare in Indian literature.

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

The following map (fig. 4) shows the findspots of the manuscripts of the *Garland* (Kucha, Turfan, Khotan, Bāmiyān) together with the places connected to his life (Taxila, Taškurgān):
2.2.1.7. Borrowings in the Divyāvadāna and the various versions of the Legend of Aśoka

The publication of the edition of the Sanskrit narrative collection Divyāvadāna by Cowell and Neil in 1886 was an influential event in the modern study of ancient India. Scholars were quick to appreciate the wealth of social and historical information conveyed by the elaborate narratives of this collection. In spite of widespread affection for the collection, an already old line of critical enquiry has suggested that the Divyāvadāna is a compilation of earlier material. There are, for example, good grounds to make a case for the Mūlasarvāstivāda vinaya being a major source for the Divyāvadāna (Lévi 1907; Hiraoka 1998; 2011); Klaus (1983) and Hahn (2007, 1043) have also
postulated that the *Maitrakanyakāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* comes originally from the *Jātakamālā* of Gopadatta. As Rotman points out, some parts of the order of the text that we see in the extant compilations could be as old as the 5th or 6th Centuries of the Gilgit fragments that contain it (Rotman 2008, 16), but that the *Divyāvadāna* is indeed a compilation of earlier material and not an original composition seems more and more clear from recent research.

Huber (1904) noticed that three of the narratives of the *Garland*, XVI, XXVII, and LIV recur in the *Divyāvadāna*: the three are stories that belong in the narrative cycle of Aśoka and Upagupta. The discovery and edition of the Kizil manuscript of the *Garland* confirmed that in fact the wording of the Sanskrit text of the *Garland*, fragmentary as it is in these parallels, matches the *Divyāvadāna*. Although Lévi (1907, 106) had already suggested that the *Garland* could be one of the sources of the *Divyāvadāna*, Lüders (1926, 71–132) made a case for the *Garland* being one of the two sources that he identified as being at the base not only of the Aśoka and Upagupta cycle in the *Divyāvadāna*, but also of the Chinese versions of the legend of Aśoka, the “Life of Aśoka” (*Ayu wang zhuan* 阿育王傳, T2042) translated in the 4th Century, and the “Scripture of Aśoka” (*Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經, T2043), translated a century later. Since his arguments have found little echo in the more recent scholarly conversation,¹²⁵ they can be fruitfully rehearsed here. Lüders’ treatment of the relationships among these texts is very meticulous and highly technical: the case that he makes for the priority of the *Garland* is built upon a finely spun web of comparisons of the wording and structure of parallel passages. As such, his discussion is difficult to abridge or summarize, and it is best illustrated by presenting his view on a few select passages.

¹²⁵ Neither Strong in his monograph on the legend of Aśoka (1989) or on the one on the legend of Upagupta (1992), nor Rotman in his 2008 partial English translation of the *Divyāvadāna* as much as mention Lüders’ theories regarding the derivation of the cycle of Aśoka and Upagupta from Kumāralāta’s *Garland*. 
A good story to illustrate the complex relationships between these texts is the one on the death of king Aśoka in poverty, XXVII in the *Garland* and XXIX in the *Divyāvadāna*. To start with, the text of the *Garland* as preserved in Chinese and, fragmentarily, in Sanskrit, represents only the core of the other versions.

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

**Garland:**

諸臣答言: 唯有大王威德所領, 遍閻浮提言教得行。王說偈言。

(T4.201.283b2–4)

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

**Life:**

諸臣答言: 唯王為主。王說。

(T50.2042.110c10)

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

**Scripture:**
The ministers rose and performed obeisance with cupped hands, saying:

"Only Your Highness\textsuperscript{126} is lord, no other man is." Then king Aśoka shed tears like rain, and said in gāthās

\textit{Divyāvadāna}:

\begin{verbatim}
tato 'mātya utthāyāsanāḥ yena rājā aśokas tenāñjaliṃ praṇamyaṃvāca |
deva prthivyām ṭīvarah |
atha rājā aśokah sāśrudurduinanayanavadano 'mātyāṃ uvāca
\end{verbatim}

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

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

(Cowell and Neill 1886, 430.28–431.2)

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

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

\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Tian} 天 here stands in all likelihood for Indic \textit{deva}, literally ‘god’, but often used as a high honorific quasi-pronominal ("Your Highness" etc.).
Lüders (1926, 108) takes as a deathbed monastic initiation: “after having had his hair shaved, [the king] he wore a dirty cloth, unevenly cut” (剃髮時過，著垢膩衣參差不整, T4.201.284a3, 5.2, kālāṭitaśmaśrur ākulavilambaveṣṭanaḥ, IOL San 761, Wille 2005, §68 r4). Finally, the king orders that the halved myrobalan be given to the Buddhist monastic community.

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

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

(Lüders 1926, 108–109)\(^{127}\)

\(^{127}\)Es zeigt sich deutlich, daß die Legende von Aśokas letzter Gabe in zwei recht verschiedenen Versionen bestand. Die eine, deren älteste literarische Fassung uns in der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā vorliegt, ist die rührende
2.2.2. The Tibetan Version

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

Geschichte von der Vergänglichkeit irdischer Macht: Durch seine Untergebenen der Verfügung über seine Reichtümer beraubt, besitzt der große Aśoka in seiner Sterbestunde nur noch eine halbe Myrobalane, die er dem Orden schenken kann. Die andere Version, die sich ergibt, wenn wir die Erzählung der Kalpanāmanḍitikā wieder aus dem Texte des Divyāvadāna herauslösen, ist nächtischer, mehr ersonnen, um die Freigebigkeit des Königs zur Nacheiferung für kommende Geschlechter zu verherrlichen [...]
rgya gar gyi mkhan po dharmaśrībhadra dang lotshaba bande tshul khrims
yon tan gyis bsgyur cing dge slong rin chen bzung pos bcos nas zhus te gtan la
phab pa

(Hahn 1982, 327)

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

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

The closing title that precedes the colophon is not the initial Dpe’i phreng ba but, instead, the following text: sangs rgyas mchog gi dpe ste dang po rdzogs so, which Hahn ingeniously understands as “the first example/parable [which illustrates] that the Buddha is superior [to brahmanical deities] ends [here]” ([d]as erste Beispiel, [welches illustriert], dass der Buddha vorzüglich[er als die brahmanischen Götternheiten] ist, ist beendet, 1982, 334). Now, we know that the Sanskrit text of the Garland as preserved in the Kizil Manuscript contained the titles of
the stories, but did not attach them to the beginning or end of each story. Rather, they were given under versified “tables of contents”—generally termed *uddāna* but branded as *samgraha* by Kumāralāta—that occurred at the end of each decade (Lüders 1926, 37–38, see SHT 21/38 r3, SHT 21/70 r2). The relationship between the initial and final titles is problematic because it seems to contradict what we know about the Sanskrit text, namely that the titles were not given at the end of each story. Additional information that we can gather from other sources seems to only heighten this uncertainty. The *Dpe’i phreng ba* appears listed in the catalogue *Bstan bcos ’gyur ro ’tshal gyu dkar chag*, which another famous figure in Tibetan Buddhism, Bu ston (1290–1364), wrote in 1355 on the occasion of his revision of the Old Narthang Kanjur.129 The wording of the relevant entry is somewhat disconcerting:

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

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

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

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

129 See Chen 2018, 120.
clearly illustrated by the traditional attribution of the *Garland* to Aśvaghoṣa in China.\(^{130}\) Kumāralāta’s Sanskrit grammar *Kaumāralāta* is, as far as we can tell, extensively rehashed in the *Kātantra* of Durgasimha, but never mentioned in later sources, whereas the quotations that the Chinese tradition attributes to Kumāralāta seem to stem from lost scholastic works. This pattern is similar to that of Aśvaghoṣa’s own posthumous fame wherein there is a strong contrast between the oblivion that fell upon his authentic works and the wealth of apocryphal doctrinal works attributed to him in China and Tibet, with the *Buddhacarita* perhaps being spared because out of all the Indic versions of the life of the Buddha it was the one that came closest to an East Asian notion of a biography. In another relatively early Tibetan bibliographical compendium, the *Bstan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi ’od* by the scholar monk Bcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri (1227–1305) we find for the *Dpe’i phreng ba* an entry that adjusts much better to our expectations:

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

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

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

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\(^{130}\) See 2.1.1.

\(^{131}\) That is, taking *legs* “good” for a corruption or modification of *len* “taken”: *Gzhon nu len* is the usual Tibetan rendering of Kumāralāta, based on the etymological analysis of the name. See on the issue of the name p. 37.
a far-reaching misunderstanding of an earlier source on the part of Bcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri. For the moment, let us remark that Bcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri’s testimony makes clear that at least some in Tibet knew that the *Dpe’i phreng ba* consisted of a partial translation of a work by Kumāralāta.

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

Like most Tibetan translations from the Sanskrit, the *Dpe’i phreng ba* is much more literal in its rendering of the Indic text than most Chinese translations, and, for the investigation at hand,
its value resides in that it allows us to glimpse the kāvyā style of the Garland in a complete story, albeit not in its original language.

2.2.2.1. A quotation of the Garland in the Tibetan Translation of Śamathadeva’s Abhidharmakośabhāṣyāṭikopayikā

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngas ni } & \text{'di yis thar pa yi} \\
\text{sa bon shin tu phra ba dag} \\
\text{'byung khung rdo yi gseb na gser} \\
\text{bag la zha ba lta bur gzigs} \\
\text{bsam gtan shes rab bdag nyid dros} \\
\text{gnyis kyis thar pa thob nas ni} \\
\text{rang gi bya ba khyod kyis ni} \\
\text{mgon du de yis thob par 'gyur}
\end{align*}
\]

132 According to Skilling (1998, 143, n.13), “nothing is known about the date of Śamathadeva,” and so he could be placed anywhere between the composition of the Abhidharmakośa in the 4th or 5th Century and the Tibetan translation in the 9th Century.
spros pa thob kyang las ’di la
’bras bu rtsom pa me par min
rdo yi nang du gnas pa ’i gser
ma bzhus ’byung bar mi ’gyur ro
zhes bcom ldan ’das kyis rab tu byung nas nyin zhag de la dgra bcom pa thob
ces rgyas par ji ltar btsun pa gzhon nu len gyis dpe ’i phreng ba las drug pa dang
becu pa ’i drug pa las stag gi ’jigs pa ’i dpe las las bshad do

(Derge, Mngon, Ju, 5b9–6a2)

““That his seeds of liberation
Are extremely subtle
As in the midst of ore
Gold lies hidden, that is what I see.
I have myself warmed up concentration and wisdom.
Attaining liberation,
I did my work. You
Through those will attain it [too].
Although [your] former deeds have become active,
They are not without the germs of fruit.
The gold inside the ore
Will not appear if not smelted.’

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


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

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

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

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

(T4.201.312a19–23)
I see that his roots of merit
Are extremely subtle,
Like mountain ore
Smelted, produces gold.

[With] concentration and wisdom
Like two bellows
I blew with the force of merit
And wonderful, true gold was sure to appear.

So is this person:
Even a minimal good is like that gold.

We can now take a closer look at what does not match. The last verse in the Chinese version (此人亦復爾 / 微善如彼金 “so is this person: /even a minimal good is like that gold”) is not matched by anything in the Tibetan. Conversely, the brief portion of prose between the end of the verses and the quotation particle ces (“the Blessed One having set him forth with such words, in one day and its evening he attained the state of an arhat”) does not match what the Chinese text has. A misplacement of the quotation particle (ces, iti) could explain some of these mismatches, but it is otherwise unclear what exactly happened here. Moreover, the metaphor of concentration and wisdom as bellows in the Chinese text does not seem to occur at all in the Tibetan, and its mention to having “warmed up concentration and wisdom” is difficult to understand by itself though both would be consistent with the general metaphor of ore-smelting and goldsmithing that permeates the passage. In spite of these difficult divergencies, the identity of the passages would be hard to dispute.
Now, the other interesting discrepancy is that Śamathadeva gives the number of the story as “the sixth [example] of the sixth decade” (\textit{drug pa dang becu pa’i drug pa}), namely as story LVI; however, both the Sanskrit and the Chinese appear to have the story of “The Fear of the Tiger” as LVII. This raises the possibility that the version Śamathadeva knew had the stories arranged in a different order, with LVII in the version we know swapped with LVI. The expression \textit{drug pa dang becu pa’i drug pa} is awkward, and the function of the associative and coordinative particle \textit{dang} seems obscure here (“the sixth of the decade \textit{and} the sixth”?), but at least this formulation has the potential to help us solve a previous conundrum: Śamathadeva’s \textit{drug pa dang becu pa’i drug pa “the sixth of the sixth decade”} seems uncannily similar to Bcom ldan rig pa’i ral gri’s odd mention to the \textit{Garland} being a work “in one hundred and sixty-six” chapters (\textit{le’u brgya becu rtsa drug pa}), and I deem it possible that what the learned bibliographer consigned to his entry on the \textit{Garland} reflects his attempt to make sense of this opaque passage of the \textit{upayikā}.

\textbf{2.2.3. The Chinese translation of Kumāralātā’s \textit{Garland} attributed to Kumārajīva}

Multiple uncertainties—translator, period, source—have cast a shadow of dubiousness on the Chinese translation of Kumāralātā’s \textit{Garland} and yet the Chinese text is the only complete version of Kumāralātā’s text available to us.\footnote{This Chinese version is available in printed and unedited manuscript fragments. On the manuscripts, see 2.2.4.1. below. The extant ancient printed editions in which this version is extant are the following, grouped according to Zacchetti’s division in “lineages” (2005, 92–117): “Kaibao lineage:” Zhaocheng Jin canon (\textit{Zhaocheng Jinzang 趙城金藏}) n. 588, Second Korean canon (\textit{Gaoli/Goryeo 高麗}) n. 587; “Fuzhou-Sixi Lineage:” \textit{Pitu 毘盧} n. 588, Qisha 磚砂 n. 606, Puning 蒲亭 n. 599. Regarding modern editions, the text is number 201 in the Taishō canon \textit{大正一切経} and 637 in the Zhonghua canon \textit{中華}.} The very feasibility of using this Chinese version to inquire into Kumāralātā’s India depends to a considerable extent on an assessment of the degree of fidelity...
with which the Chinese translator has rendered the Sanskrit text. An ancillary question is the date and attribution of the Chinese translation: The Chinese bibliographical tradition assigns the translation to the famous Kuchan monk Kumārajīva (334–413), and this has a bearing on the main question, because, as we will later see, Kumārajīva’s translational corpus went on to garner great admiration on account of achieving accurate but idiomatic renderings of the Indian text, to the point of becoming the de facto standard for later translators.134

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

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

One often quoted (but seldom revisited) anecdote collected in the collection of monastic biographies Lives of Eminent Monks (Gaoseng zhuan 高僧轉) has Kumārajīva and Sengrui reviewing a passage in Dharmarakṣa’s the Lotus Sūtra. The Sanskrit text of the passage in the Nepalese recension (||8.1||-2, vol. ii, p.178 in Wogihara’s 1934 edition) has here devā api manusyān draksyanti, manusya api devān draksyanti ‘the gods will see men and the men too will see the gods.’ In the anecdote in Sengrui’s biography (T2059, 364b2–7), Kumārajīva and his disciple note that Dharmarakṣa has translated the passage literally as ‘the gods see the men, the men see the gods,’ but then Sengrui
As far as I am aware, the only comprehensive treatment of the fidelity of the Chinese text to the Sanskrit text is contained in Lüders’ monograph on Kumāralāta’s *Garland*. Lüders compared his edition of the Sanskrit text with Huber’s French translation of the Chinese version (1926, 56–60), and in spite of the obvious shortcomings of working from a translation of a translation, he was able to articulate a fairly balanced evaluation on the Chinese text against the Sanskrit text available to him. Although his treatment should remain the standard reference on the topic, there are two good reasons to revisit it: first, that Lüders did not himself read Chinese; second, that in a century of research we have come to better understand the translation process of Indic texts in China during the first centuries of the first millennium. His global assessment of the quality of the translation is explicit: Lüders, who assumed the famous Kuchan monk to be the translator of the work, warns that, “one certainly should not believe that Kumārajīva’s intention was to deliver a literal translation (*Man darf freilich nicht glauben, daß es Kumārajīvas Absicht gewesen ist eine wortgetreue Übersetzung zu liefern*)” (p. 56). He proceeds to clarify what he means by that statement by providing a taxonomy of divergences between Sanskrit and Chinese—omissions,.

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

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

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

(Johnston 1936, xiii)

The picture that emerges from these characterizations would be one of capricious translators prone to bowdlerization and keen on tampering with the text at will. However, the research of H.R. van Gulik and, more recently, of Jan Nattier, has added a good deal of understanding and nuance to our knowledge about the process involved in these ancient translations. The first point that we must consider is that, more often than not, Chinese translations
of Buddhist texts were carried out by teams rather than by single individuals.\textsuperscript{135} Van Gulik (1956, 25) describes as follows the essentials of the people involved and their functions:

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{136} Van Gulik translates a passage of the “Record of the Buddhist Patriarchs” (\textit{Fozu tongji} 佛祖統記, T 2035) which describes the activities of the “bureau for the translation of scriptures” (\textit{yijingyuan} 譯經院) established by emperor 太宗 Taizong (976–997) of the Tang 唐. This account, written two centuries after the facts it purports to narrate, describes the complex protocol that the translation teams ideally followed. The team described includes nine members: one “translation master” (\textit{yizhu} 譯主) who technically reads aloud the original Indic text in its original language, two “witnesses [of the fidelity of] the text” (\textit{zhengwen} 證文), one “scribe” (\textit{shuzi} 書字) who writes the Sanskrit text phonetically rendered into Chinese script, a “recorder” (\textit{bishou} 笔受) that adds Chinese glosses to the phonetically rendered Indic words, a “syntactician” (\textit{zhuiwen} 綴文) who strings individual words into sentences, an “assistant translator” (\textit{canyi} 參譯) who compares the original text with the translation, an “editor” (\textit{dingkan} 定刊) that eliminates superfluous material, and a “style polisher” (\textit{runwen} 潤文) in charge of the definitive literary shape of the text. This word-by-word method is evidently idealized and would be highly impractical if enacted, but it at least makes clear that for the Chinese historiographical tradition translation was conceived as a team effort, and one that involved a significant number of people.
variable and especially so for the earliest Chinese translations. For Zürcher, the language of the early Chinese Buddhist translations “largely reflects the vernacular language of the period,” but “with various degrees of wenyan 文言” (i.e. Classical Chinese) “admixtures” (2012 [1991], 278).

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

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

137 Van Gulik, who titled his 1956 monograph An Essay on the History of Sanskrit Studies in China and Japan, admits throughout, but most forcefully in pp. 9–12, that the study of the Sanskrit language never flourished in China, and that the “Chinese Buddhists in general showed but scant interest in India and the sacred language of its scriptures” (p. 11).
paraphrastic becomes less the outcome of the whim—or linguistic incompetence—of the translators and more of a necessary outcome of the translation process itself.

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

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

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138 The Sanskrit text does not mark explicitly the verse passages, relying instead on the customary verse numbering to mark them. Direct speech is introduced by the declarative verbs śāh ‘say’ and [praʃ]-vaca ‘idem’: monologues in verse are introduced by either verb (see SHT 8r.3, SHT, 66r.1, SHT 89v.1, SHT66r.4, SHT 44r.2) but so is too prose dialogue, which accounts for all other occurrences of these verbs. The Chinese text, on the other hand, invariably introduces the verse passages with a phrase containing the word *gat* 傳 ‘[Buddhist] verse’ (>Sk. gāthā ‘verse’ or a cognate form like Gándhārī <gaga>=*ga:zə/>; the closure of the verse portion is also marked by phrases either containing a verb that denotes perception (typically wen 側 ‘hear’) marked with the perfective adverb yi 乙 or,
misunderstanding of such markers would result in an altered distribution of the prosimetric pattern of the source. Another related modification concerns the sequence of the Sanskrit hemistichs \textit{(pada)}, which in some cases seems to have been rearranged (Lüders 1926, 59). If we consider that the literary redactor would in all likelihood have parsed into verse the transcript of the oral paraphrase without consideration for the original verse boundaries, this too is not greatly surprising. Accretions in the Chinese text are often simple explanatory glosses, which would also have been a natural component of the oral paraphrase of a text wherein anything obscure to a Chinese audience would likely have required an explanation. What E. H. Johnston remarked above about the Chinese translation of Aśvaghoṣa’s \textit{Buddhacarita} holds good for much of the corpus of Buddhist Indic texts translated into Chinese, which is that the main point of interest remained Buddhist doctrine rather than the alien cultural background of the text or, even less, its literary aspects. Most of the explanatory glosses concern points of doctrine, as here, where unfamiliar tenets require a fuller explanation:\textsuperscript{139}

\begin{quote}
na śrūtapūrvaṁ yad uktāṁ bhagavatā catvāro daharā nāvajñeyā iti? catvāraś cāmropamāḥ pudgalā iti na tvayā vicāritāṁ? (SHT 21/9r.2)
\end{quote}

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

in faster exchanges, a clause marked with a declarative verb preceded by \textit{fu} 仏, ‘then, once again’, which precedes the verb that denotes the reply.
Is it that you have not heard before what the Blessed One (bhāgavat) said: “There are four young that should not be looked down upon”? Have you not considered the four person-types likened by a simile to mangos?

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

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

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

\[tat kārīṣmi śamapradānaniyamair adya prabhṛtṛ udyat[ah] ...\]/

(Hori 2011, 12–14)

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

自從今以後 勤修施戒定

(T4.201.289b12)

From today onwards, I will sedulously practice the giving, the moral training, the concentration\(^{140}\)

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\(^{140}\) I have spoken about this passage before, on which see p. 16 and n. 20. “Giving, moral training, concentration” are a well-attested scholastic triad, whereas, to my knowledge, “calm, giving, and restraint” are not.
Omissions follow the mirror image of the pattern outlined above: whatever is felt to be merely descriptive is often simplified to its bare essentials, as in this description of the hand of the Buddha:

\[ \text{śata... ...kāśenojvalacakraṁbālamkṛtamadyena} \]
\[ \text{tanutāmravimalajālāvagu(ṇṭhit-)}^{141} \]

(SHT 21/52v.4)

[...] with [its] middle portion, whose extent [...] a hundred [...] was adorned by the disk of a flaming wheel, veiled\(^{142}\) with subtle, copper-colored, spotless membranes.

相好莊嚴右手

(T4.201.300a20)

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

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

\[ ^{141} \text{Lüders reads here -āvaga +, but in my opinion the -u diacritic is clearly visible on the foot of the aksara ga. I would suggest here avagu(ṇṭhit-) ‘veiled’. This word occurs in the passage quoted in the following page.} \]

\[ ^{142} \text{Please see the previous note.} \]
compound itself being mostly epic in usage and exclusively poetic. It is, however, rendered in the Chinese translation in correct—but utterly pedestrian—fashion, as hai 海 ‘sea’.

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

\[
\text{palitavidyotitaśirogaṇḍapāṛśvabhrulomabhīr avaguṇṭhitākṣi-...}
\]

\[
dhanurvakrapṛṣṭhīvaṃśa yaśṭivīṣaktapāṇayāḥ pavanabalapracalitā
\]

(SHT 21/8r.1–2)

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

髮白而面皺

秀眉牙齒落

僂脊而柱杖

(T4.201.261.b11–29)

White hair and wrinkled faces

Florid brows (xiumei 秀眉) and fallen teeth

Their backs bent, clutching a stick

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

\(^{143}\) Generally identified with \textit{Vitex Negundo}.
Chinese readership, at least a Buddhist one. In the following passages, two famous Indian mountains—the legendary Mandara and the actually existing Vindhyā—are both converted into the well-known Mount Meru:

\[ \textit{pipīlikā mandare} \]

(SHT 21/29r.4)

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

汝如蚁封而欲與彼須彌山王比其高下

(T4.201.277c14–15)

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

\[ \text{v}\text{indhyapādā [...]} \] (SHT 21/39v.5)

The foothills of the Vindhyā [range]

猶如蚊子翅扇於須彌山

(T4.201.288.a16)

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

Lüders (1926, 60) devotes a lone paragraph to “minor differences” (kleinere Verschiedenheiten) due to “mere oversights and misunderstandings” (bloßen Versehen und Mißverständnisse); however, the example he chooses to illustrate this point is not particularly apt to prove that simple inability to understand the Sanskrit text accounts for substantial distortions in the translated text: \textit{citrakaro [...] kaṭakābhya(ā)m (svalaṃ)kṛtatanur} (SHT 21/30r.1–2) ‘the painter [...] with his body well adorned with two armbands (kaṭaka)’= 畫師 [...] 著其衣服 (T4.201.279.b13) ‘the painter wore those clothes and ornaments’. The exact determination of what the word kaṭaka would indicate in this context is, at least to me, not easy, though it must designate
an armband or arm-ornament of some sort. What is likely, though, is that *yi-fu* 衣服 in the literary register of the Chinese language should be read as an agglomeration meaning ‘clothes and ornaments’ rather than as a vernacular disyllabic word meaning only the former, which is how Huber (1908, 118) seems to have taken it by translating into French as “*robes.***

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

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

The text is attributed to Kumārajīva in the Chinese catalogues since Fajing’s *Catalogue of the Scriptures (Zhongjing mulu 衆經目錄*, T2146, 141a26), completed in 594 AD, but crucially not (*pace* Demiéville 1953, 416–417) in the records of the best reputed bibliographer.
of early Buddhist translations: Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518 AD). This absence is itself a strong indictment against Kumārajīva’s translatorship, because Fajing writes almost two centuries after the presumed translation would have taken place, whereas Sengyou based his records on first-hand accounts of Kumārajīva’s disciples. Among the scholars who have tackled this issue—all Japanese—some have, however, attempted to account for Sengyou’s supposed omission of this specific text: Mino (1933–1936, 269–270) hypothesizes that the Da zhuangyan lun may have been a very early translation of Kumārajīva from when he first reached China and before he entered Chang’an, and which may then have escaped the attention of Sengyou; Kanno (1998–1999, 79) revisits this conjecture by noting how Sengyou’s notes make explicit that, in spite of the breadth of his survey, some texts were not available to him. Tomomatsu (1931), however, argued at great length that the translation cannot possibly be by Kumārajīva, and his argument is based on historical and linguistic evidence. On the basis of the language and especially of the renderings of proper names, Kanno (1998–1999, 80) notes that the language of the Da zhuangyan lun does not belong with the “ancient translations” (古訳 koyaku) but indeed to the “old translations” (旧訳 kyūyaku, i.e. not from after Kumārajīva) and that, therefore, if the translation is not by Kumārajīva, it must belong to his same period. In the end, Kanno too doubts the attribution to Kumārajīva but does not propose an alternative.

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

\footnote{144 On Sengyou’s work, as well as on why we tend towards lending credit to his assertions, see Nattier 2008, 3–13.}
suggest a strong affinity with the lexicon of a known translator of the time, Zhu Fonian 竺佛念\(^{145}\) whose corpus is, according to Durt, “at the frontier of the archaic translation” (2010, 124) in a characterization that echoes closely Kanno’s assessment of the language of the *Da zhuangyan lun*. My lexical analysis should cover a wider sample, and the results presented here are preliminary,

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

1) yi 師 ‘visit [a superior]’ used as a verb of motion toward a Buddhist monastery (*sengjialan 僧伽藍, sanghārāma*) in 261a21; 629a8, 651a5, 658c6–7 is found in the *Sarvāstivādinayā* (T1428, 665a9, 695a11, 768a13–14, 807b14–15, 813a7, 926b8). The synonymous expression 訪寺 ‘visit a temple’ yields similar results; 2) Tetrasyllabic phrases similar to *yu wu-zhihui 愚無智慧 ‘stupid and lacking in wisdom’ instead of the much more common (and also more colloquial on account of its disyllabic binomes) *yuchi wu-zhi 愚痴無智 that appear in 261b1, 278b7 (*yu wu-zhi-ze 愚無哲者), or in an asymmetrical three-syllable version (*yu wu-zhi 愚無智*) in 345c25, are used in *Dirghāgama* (T01, 141c25, *yu wu-zhijian 愚無知見) and in the Udānavarga Commentary (T212, 665b7, *yu wu-huiming 愚無慧明, 669c20 *yu wu ji-hui 愚無黠慧); 3) huī-yu 銣、Enviar ‘dishonor and honor’ found in 261b7 is also found in the *Dirghāgama* (T1, 52b12, 55a9), in the Dhammapada Commentary (T212, 711b23, 716c26, 752a20, 758a22, 768c9, 771a4), and in the Zaishengwen pusa shi zhu chugou duanjie jing (T309, 969a14, 999a10, 1035c7, 1047a14–15); 4) loujī 僧祇 ‘with a bent back’ (as a stereotypical characteristic of old people), found in 261b14 appears also in the *Dirghāgama* (126b26); 5) huanqing 欢慶 ‘happy and festive’ in 261b15, 267b8 and 279c22 is used also in the *Ekottarāgama* (T125, 61b3–4); in the Udānavarga Commentary (T212, 710c10), and in the Scripture of the Ornaments of the Bodhisattva (T656, 58b2); 6) gaïhui 改悔 ‘reform and repent’ in 261b22 is found also in the in the Udānavarga Commentary (T212, 631b10, 745a23, 751b28) and the *Sarvāstivādinayā* (1428, 689b15, 723b9–10, 830a17, 1001a21); 7) du yiji 獨一己 ‘alone and by himself’ in 261b27, appears too in the Bodhisattva Womb Sūtra (T384, 1044b6). 8) jing-mie 輕蔑 ‘to slight and despise’ in 259b26, is found also in the Udānavarga Commentary (T212, 663a27, 668b8), in the Scripture of the Ornaments of the Bodhisattva (T656, 82c6), and in the Zaishengwen pusa shi zhu chugou duanjie jing (987c21). 9) gianju 犠 (var. 損) ‘to commit fault and transgress’ in 262a6 is also found in the Udānavarga Commentary (T212, 637a16, 18, 640a7, 646b5, 719c24, 729a9–10, 732b12); 10) The phonetic rendering *gimbila 崟毘羅=Kimbhīra, Kumbhīra ‘crocodile, personal and ethnic name’ in 262b12 appears also in the Udānavarga Commentary (T212, 674b25); 11) bandang 彼黨 ‘partner, associate’ in 262b29 appears also in the *Sarvāstivādinayā* (T1428, 595c9, 838a16, 880a7, 908a20–b3, 916a4, 980b17, 970b11, 1007b9, 1012c12) and the *Ekottarāgama* (T1, 11c11, 48a26, 70c29).
but statistically significant: if the translator is not Zhu Fonian, there is good evidence to believe that the translation is linked with his circle and certainly with his time period.

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

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

114
Some of the texts translated during this period of collaboration with western monks have interesting literary affinities with Kumāralāta’s *Garland of Examples*. For example, the *Collection of *Saṃgharakṣa (Sengqieluocha suoji jing 僧伽羅剎所集經, T 94), translated in 384 CE (T194, 115c2–6) is a prosimetric life of the Buddha in a literary vein, whereas the *Story of the Prince who Damaged his Eyes for the Fulfillment of the Law* (太子法益壞目因緣經, T 2045, on which see Radich 2017), translated in 391 CE (T2045,115c2–6), is a fully metrical (and partially rhymed) poetic *avadāna* which is said by Zhu Fonian himself, in the preface he wrote for the work, to have been translated from a text consisting of three hundred and forty-three Sanskrit ślokas (T2045, 172b14). Both of these works were, it seems, collaborative efforts with western monks, and this seems to be the general pattern for Zhu Fonian’s early period of activity in Chang’an. Then, according to Nattier, there is a gap in the historical record of Zhu Fonian between 387 and 398 CE (p. 233). What happened in northern China during this interval explains this gap in part: the Former Qin dynasty 前秦 fell with the murder, in 385 CE, of emperor Fu Jian 苻堅, who had sponsored Zhu Fonian’s career, and the rulers of the succeeding Later Qin dynasty 後秦 seem not to have been keen on supporting the *protégés* of the earlier dynasty. At the same time, Kumārajīva entered Chang’an in 401 and monopolized imperial patronage and public visibility. Zhu Fonian resurfaces after the turn of the century, and his output is again copious, but much more determined in genre than before with a sole focus on Mahāyāna *sūtras* dealing with the progress of the *bodhisattva*. According to Nattier’s careful analysis (2010, 251–255), Zhu Fonian’s late “translations” are in fact pastiches sewn from bits of of already existing Chinese translations rather than original translations of Indic texts.

If the *Da zhuangyan lun* is indeed a translation by Zhu Fonian, the reason that may have led Sengyou to omit it in his records remains unsolved, but many other traces—affinities in the
linguistic date of the texts, the lexicon, and genre—lend considerable credence to the idea that Zhu Fonian, or someone in his circle, may have been the redactor of the *Da zhuangyan lun* in collaboration with a monk from the west.

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

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

The text circulated in Dunhuang, and we have from there three manuscripts, all of which are now preserved in the British Library: S 6135 (=Giles 1957, §7910), S2322 (=Giles 1957, §1955), and S 6380 (=Giles 1957, §4299), and all from about the Tang era to judge by script and paper. The manuscripts we have, as often the case for Dunhuang texts, are not complete, but copies of individuals scrolls (*juan* 卷), that undoubtedly circulated independently. One of these manuscripts (S 6380) combines the text of the first scroll of the *Garland* with the text of a Mahāyāna *sūtra*, the *Scripture of Unprecedented Causes* (*Weicengyou yinyuan jing* 未曾有因緣経, T754). Moreover, another manuscript (S 1406=Giles 1957, §1526) has on one side the inscription *Da zhuangyan lun di’er juan* 大莊嚴經論第二卷 “second scroll of the Da zhuangyan lun,” but the other side has actually the text of the 509th scroll of Xuanzang’s version of the *Large Sūtra of the Perfection of Wisdom* (T220). It seems also that the *Da zhuangyan lun* was considered valuable enough as literature to become didactic material: one folio in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Pelliot Chinois 3891, has a writing exercise of what seem to be apparently unrelated rare characters,
but the team of researchers at the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences was able to ascertain that the text is a selection of the difficult words occurring in a passage of the *Da zhuangyan lun*, (Zhang 2013, 4). This evidence suggests that the *Da zhuangyan lun* was a moderately popular text, one that appealed especially to educated readers.

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

### 2.2.4. The *Da zhidu Lun* excerpts

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

1) LXI “The Buddha and the Cowherds” (T25.1509.73b19ff.; Lamotte 1944–1980, i 146–152),
2) XXI “The Painter of Puṣkalavatī” (T25.1509.141c18ff.; Lamotte 1944–1980, ii 672–675),
5) LXX “The King of Deer” (T25.1509.77e9ff.; Lamotte 1944–1980, ii 972–975),

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

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

\begin{center}
\textit{palitavidyotitaśirogaṇḍapārśvabhrulomabhir avagunṭhitākṣi ...}  \\
\textit{dhanurvakrapṛṣṭhīvamśā yaṇṭivīṣaktapāṇayaḥ pavanabalapracalitā}
\end{center}

\(^{147}\) See 2.2.1. especially p. 49.

\(^{148}\) See p. 108 above.
Their eyes veiled with brow-hair [hanging down to] the cheeks, flashing white [like their] heads, their backs bent as a bow, hands clutching sticks, [they were] like blossoming bushes of sindhuvārita shaking under the force of the wind.

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

髮白而面皺 秀眉牙齒落
僂脊而柱杖

(T4.201.261.b11–29)

White hair and wrinkled faces

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

Bent and clutching a stick

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

鬚髮白如雪 秀眉垂覆眼
皮皺如波浪 其脊曲如弓
兩手負杖行 次第而受請
舉身皆振掉 行止不自安
譬如白楊樹 隨風而動搖

T 1509, p. 224, b1–c7

Hair white as snow,

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

Wrinkled skin,

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

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

2.2.5. The Tangut Version

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

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149 See 2.2.3.

150 I have used here the facsimile from Grinstead 1971, vi 1236–1239 and followed here the “transcription for lay use” proposed by Miyake (2015): only for the character khīua , not included in Miyake’s list, I have used the conjectural phonetic value proposed in Li 2012.
annihilation of the Tangut empire in 1227, an event that put an end to the imperially sponsored translation of Buddhist texts into Tangut.

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

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

\textsuperscript{151} The distribution of prose and verse in the Tangut matches exactly the one in the Chinese, and wherever I have probed the text I have found a close correspondence with the wording of the Chinese.
anomalous behavior. Here, indeed, the element lun “treatise” of the Chinese title corresponds, at least in its position, to myrma khĩua. I would suggest instead that this compound should be read as something like the “first” or “initial scroll,” and that the reference is to its being a translation of the first scroll of the Chinese version.

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

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

2.3.1. Sanskrit and “Hybrid Sanskrit”

As we have seen, Kumāralātā’s time is one of major transition. The 3rd century saw the decline of the Kuśāṇa dynasty and of trade with the Roman empire, just as it also saw the first signs of a slow process of deurbanization that would affect the entire subcontinent. Furthermore, if one is to judge by Kumāralātā’s stories, it was also a period in which śaiva and vaiṣṇava cults finally made peace
with orthodox Vedic Brahmanism and became, as an incipient form of Hinduism, a new threat to Kumāralāta’s own Buddhist faith. Yet another transition that had the 3rd century as its pivotal point was the one from the great linguistic heterogeneity that characterized the literacy of the earlier period to the pan-Indian triumph of Classical Sanskrit as the language of power and culture. Kumāralāta’s work, both his Garland and his Sanskrit grammar, the Kaumāralāta, are singularly poised to illustrate this transition, because in different ways they involve no less than five languages: Vedic Sanskrit, Classical Sanskrit, the so-called “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit,” Gāndhārī Prakrit, and an unknown literary Prakrit from Central India. I mention here Gāndhārī precisely because it is significant that Kumāralāta does not use it or reference it, even though we can speculate that it must have been his mother tongue and remark that it had been the medium for a vigorous system of vernacular literacy in the period that preceded him. Gāndhārī literacy must have been dying out when Kumāralāta lived, and he is therefore likely the first Gandhāran author that we know for certain to have eschewed the vernacular in favor of Classical Sanskrit. It is precisely in Kumāralāta’s 3rd century that Gāndhārī and its associated Kharoṣṭhī script died out in their homeland only to be replaced by Sanskrit written in the Brāhmī script.

Kumāralāta writes his stories in what Heinrich Lüders calls “the correct Sanskrit of the grammarians” (das korrekte Sanskrit der Grammatiker, 1926, 38) and, as mentioned before, he also composed a grammar of Sanskrit, which likely represents the earliest known system of Sanskrit grammar not modelled after Pāṇini. As Lüders notes, the Kaumāralāta devises a new grammatical terminology, mostly not taken from Pāṇini’s but often inspired, instead, by writing (1930, 50), and in defiant contrast with the brahmanical oral sensibility: Instead of the pāṇinian anusvāra, Kumāralāta uses the term bindu “one dot,” and instead of the pāṇinian visarjanīya he uses the dual bindū “the two dots,” using visual references to the Brāhmī script.
And yet Kumāralāta does include quotations from Buddhist canonical scriptures in what we conventionally call “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit,” namely the mixture of Middle Indic lexicon and morphology with Sanskrit phonology, in both the Garland and the Kaumāralāta grammar. That Kumāralāta was aware of the gap between the language that he wrote and the one he quoted from is clear from the fact that he included rules for this canonical language in his grammar, which he calls ārṣa vidhi, the “rule of the ṛṣis” or “seers.” As Hartmut Scharfe notes, he does so, in this case, by following a pāṇinian procedure (Scharfe 1977, 162). As Pāṇini formulates general rules for the current speech and then makes special rules for the language of the sacred “metrical recitation” (chandas), namely Vedic Sanskrit, just so Kumāralāta formulates special rules for the forms of the “language of the seers.” We could take as an example the following rule from the auto-commentary portion of the Kaumāralāta, formulated to account for the “hybrid” forms khu and kho instead of Sanskrit khalu:

\[
\text{ārṣa eva vidhau khalu ity asya śabdasya lakāro vibhāṣayā lug bhavati sāṭhur}
\]

\[
apy asāṭhur api \quad \text{(SHT 22/4, r2, Lüders 1930, 28, 41, r2)}
\]

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

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

\textsuperscript{152} I thank Richard Salomon for this observation (personal communication, April 19, 2019).
according to Lüders (1930) is mostly a later refashioning of the *Kaumāralāta* without, alas, the *ārṣa* rules.

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

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

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

125
From the vantage point of modern historical linguistics, we can establish clearly the chronological priority of Vedic Sanskrit over Classical Sanskrit, and although the relationship between the two is not one of full genealogical kinship, it is so to an extent sufficient to postulate them as different phases in a diachronic linguistic continuum. However, such genealogical relationships must have seemed far from obvious in the past. For example, in his treatise on the use of the vernaculars in literature, *De Vulgari Eloquientia*, the Tuscan poet Dante Alighieri expressed the view that the Latin language, which he called *gramatica*, was achieved by extrapolating the common features of the vernaculars and regularizing the words and inflections of that composite blend into an unchangeable fixed norm (Book I, 11, Botterill 1996, 20). In India, in spite of the exegetical efforts of the scholiasts, what the term *prākṛta* most immediately suggests is the sense “original” or “natural,” whereas *saṃskṛta* suggests, by contrast, “polished, refined.” As we saw, the passages quoted by Bronkhorst show that at least some grammarians in ancient India held views similar to those of Dante.

For what we can tell, the forms that Kumāralāta labels as belonging to the “language of the seers” in the few fragments of the *Kaumāralāta* that we have are clearly Middle Indic forms: *bheṣyati* for Sanskrit *bhaviṣyati*, *bhāveti* for Sanskrit *bhāvayati*, *khu* and *kho* for Sanskrit *khalu*. Understanding how Kumāralāta deals with the legacy of the Vedic and Epic seers in his narrative work is highly informative, but before we embark on that task, I would first like to contrast his larger scheme of the legacy of the Buddha in the context of the Vedic tradition to the one of Aśvaghoṣa. Aśvaghoṣa is perhaps the earliest Buddhist author to write in classical Sanskrit; according to Johnston he probably lived sometime in the 1st century CE (1936, xvii). In his *Buddhacarita*, Aśvaghoṣa implicitly places the Buddha as next in the line formed by the seers of the Vedic and Epic traditions (I. 40–46), and uses the epithet *mahārṣi* “great seer” indiscriminately.
to refer to either them or to the Buddha\textsuperscript{154} while he also refers to asceticism as the ārṣa mārga “the way of the seers” (1.79). By contrast, Kumāralāta constantly juxtaposes the seers of the Vedic and Epic traditions, identified by name in one passage (T4.201.257c27–28=Huber 1908, 5=Hahn 1982, 324.1–3+331=Huber),\textsuperscript{155} with a singular seer, the Buddha.

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{156} See pp. 28ff.
and these prove ineffective. The genre of the elephant-taming charms is well attested, and so this could be a reference to various texts, but one particularly venerable candidate could be the elephant-taming spell in the *Atharvaveda* (3.22 in the Śaunakīya recension, Roth and Whitney 1886, i. 43–44). This could be thus be a reference to what the brahmins mistakenly claim to be the “language of the seers,” namely the language of the Vedic corpus. The story concludes with the two protagonists discovering the religion of the Buddha and realizing how no spell or incantation can ever assuage the wrath elicited by sexual desire but the Buddha’s recipe for self-control can.

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

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

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157 T22.1428.968b11–27, especially line 25. The passage describes the general divisions of the Dharmaguptaka āgamic collections, and mentions a few texts by name. In its description of the “mixed collection” (zajing 集藏), there is a mention o a “scripture of the gāthās of the sage,” shengji jing 聖偈經 which could correspond to the ārṣa gāthā of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya.
its literary style, which adheres to the ideals of kāvyā literature such as originality of expression and verbal artistry. The Buddha is said in many places to have condemned the work of poets, “consisting of colorful sounds” (cittakkharā), and in fact many Buddhist—and also Jaina—narratives seem to relish their own artlessness and repetitiveness. Kumāralāta therefore represents a sharp departure from the lively, but decidedly unpretentious literary style of, say, the Avadānaśataka. The origins of kāvyā poetry are obscure, but Stephanie Jamison (2007) has postulated a tradition of royal panegyric that would range from the Vedic times to the praśāsti of Rudradāman to the fully formed kāvyā of Aśvaghoṣa. Classical Sanskrit kāvyā, though, seems to take shape when royal power and brahmanical ideology became united in a coherent discourse: according to Pollock, by the 5th century “power in India […] had a Sanskrit voice,” (2006, 122) and the kāvyā courtly poetry acted as the most recognizable means of expression of that new paradigm of power.

As we will see in the next section, perhaps the clearest indicator of Kumāralāta’s allegiance to the new literary ideal is his occasional usage of an unknown Gangetic literary Prakrit close to dramatic Śauraseṇī.158 This passage in Kumāralāta’s Garland is one of the earliest datable attestations of the literary prakrits, and this instance points to the fact that the use in drama of these languages was in all likelihood not an attempt to represent the current vernacular parlance, and suggest instead that they were literary languages since their very first inclusions in the extant literary record, aimed at marking an imagined popular and local register. Had Kumāralāta wanted to include snippets of actual vernacular speech in his stories, he had in his own homeland an excellent model in the vigorous local tradition of vernacular literacy that might have been 158 See 2.3.2 on this passage.
moribund but not entirely extinct by his time. Gāndhārī itself is, of course, a language we know of only through its written register, and many works in Gāndhārī seem to be little less than phonological transpositions of works in other Middle Indic languages, but still the wild orthographical variations within its written tradition speak, to me at least, of a close relationship with the spoken language. The prakrit stanzas of the Garland, in āryā meter, are put in the mouth of the inhabitants of the remote Vaiśālī, in the Gangetic basin. Indeed, although many of the Garland’s stories are set in Gandhāra, these, as far as we can tell, do not contain any prakrit passages.

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

159 The best survey on the passage that would suggest this, found in Pāli and in several Chinese versions, is Brough 1980.
2.3.2. Fashionable Speech: A Passage in Literary Prakrit from the *Garland*

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

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

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160 The Chinese here is *Nǐde* 尼德. The Kizil MS. attests the name only in one place (SHT 21/50r3), where all that is left is the lower portions of the *aṅgaras* n and th. This Lüders edited as *N[i]/th[o]j* on the basis of the Chinese, but remarked that *N[i]/th[o]j* (i.e. Nītha) would be possible too (1926, 69). The name Nītha is, however, attested in two fragments of this story in the Schøyen collection (2379/5r5, 8, v5; 2382/318r5, in Appendix 3) and further confirmed by the transcription 尼陀 *Nīda* in two separate mentions of this story in the *Da zhidu lun* (T25.1509.248a10, T25.1509.310a18).
may have decided to notice him. As other characters do elsewhere in the *Garland*, Nītha decries how his own previous-life actions drove him to a lowly rebirth in the present life and to a state not adequate for an encounter with the Buddha:

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

(T4.201.294b27–c1)

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

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

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

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

163 Compare Huber 1908, 197, *Dans mes existences antérieures (je n’ai pas) accompli de bons karmans; j’étais entraîné par le mal et maintenant je souffre en rétribution cette misère. Je n’aurais maintenant pas la souffrance d’exercer ce métier vil. Tous les hommes peuvent se rendre auprès du Buddha; mais moi, à cause de mon aspect impur, je ne puis pas y aller. A cause de cela la douleur brûle mon cœur; SHT 21/49 r5–v1, ...nyah pūra[ka]rmabhir evaṃ... -m anena nicena ka... sarvasatvābhigamanī[ya]a ... dahyate me [h]ṛdayam “Thus, on account of my former deeds [...] through this lowly occupation (*karmanā) [...] able to be approached by all people [...] my heart burns”; Schøyen 2382/318v1–2, pūrvakarma[maj]bhir evaṃ[ṇ]... -rtum iti dahyate me [h]ṛ[dayam] “Thus, on account of my former deeds [...] thinking [...] my heart burns.”
The story begins with what is in effect a *buddhastotra*, an ornate hymn of praise to the Buddha, set in the mouths of the citizens of Śrāvastī and the Prakrit passage occurs within this *stotra*. Since Lüders, who devoted a section specifically to this passage (1926, 45–46), left the text untranslated and did not have access to the Chinese text, and since, moreover, there have been advances in our understanding of it since Lüders’s time, the passage is presented below anew, with the appropriate philological annotation. Matching portions in the Chinese text are underlined:

[9] yathā cā +

lāvāṇṇapunṇapattaṁ jananayanarasāyanam pa – – | –

– – | – – | – tāṁ vinayasaṁuttejitāsirīraṁ 10

ko nu katatthasa – – | “– jhavijjhapitadosa – – | –


(SHT 21/48v2–3)

(chāyā:

lāvāṇya-pūrṇa-pātraṁ jana-nayana-rasāyanam pa – – | –

– – | – – | – tāṁ vinaya-samuttejita-śrīkaṁ 164 10

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

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

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

A vessel full of delight, elixir to the eyes of the people,
... glorious [on account of those?] aroused by the discipline
Who then [...] purpose achieved [...] flaws extinguished [...] 
[...] the splendor of the mark of accomplishment

善行美妙器 瞻仰無厭足

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

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

167 See p. 133, n.164 above.

168 The portion samāpana-aṅka-śobhā pa – ṭ – – ṭ – – – [11])

The portion samāpana-aṅka-śobhā greatly puzzled Lüders (1926, 46), and I cannot propose here a solution. I will limit myself to suggesting here that “mark” is one of the possible meanings of the Sanskrit word aṅka, and that this seems to match xiang 相 “marks” in the Chinese text.
如飲甘露味 猶如淨滿月
為人所愛樂 妙相以莊嚴
善調伏威德 昙德備足者
誰能具稱歎 諸過惡已壞
(T4.201.294a26–b1)

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

The first interesting thing to note here is that Kumāralātā’s usage of Prakrit in this passage is against what would become mainstream literary practice in later times. To start with, the usage of Prakrit, commonplace as it is in dramatic works, is fairly rare in high Sanskrit narrative art prose. Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta, who seem to have followed the ornate prosimetric style of Kumāralātā did not employ Prakrit in their extant works. Furthermore, Kumāralātā is also not following dramatic conventions here either: in that case, Prakrit is reserved for a clearly circumscribed set of roles like the clown (vidūṣaka), most women, and the poor and uneducated.
In this passage of the Garland, this bit of literary Prakrit is put, in all likelihood, in the mouths of the citizens of Śrāvastī, who up until the previous numbered verse had been speaking Sanskrit. Most surprisingly, Nītha, whom of all people we would have expected to be not conversant with the language, speaks Sanskrit, as is clear from the Sanskrit remnants first passage presented above. Whatever the effect that Kumāralāta is striving for here may have been, it goes against both earlier and later literary conventions and evinces a determined will for stylistic experimentation, to create a personal literary idiom.

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

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

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169 See p. 133 above.
intervocalic stops (\textit{ka\textasciitilde{t}a}>k\textasciitilde{r}ta, \textit{*sir\texttilde{\i}ka}>\textit{\textasciitilde{s}\texttilde{\i}ka}), which in later literary Prakrits become voiced, spirantized, or lost. The epigraphic record suggests, though, that these phonetic changes were under way, albeit sporadically, from the very time of the Asokan inscriptions (Mehendale 1948, §24–26). On the other hand, Pāli has been called “artificial” on account of its sometimes suspiciously archaic phonology evinced in unlikely forms like the outcome of the Old Indo-aryan gerund \textit{dṛṣṭvā} “having seen,” which in Middle Indic should have produced \textit{*dissā} or \textit{*dīṭṭhā}, but not the odd Pāli \textit{disvā} (see von Hinüber 1982). The highly manicured aspect of this “Old Prakrit” contrasts with the staggering orthographic variation encountered in Gāndhārī Prakrit, which bears the unmistakeable signs of a strong link with the spoken language free from the reins of an established prescriptive grammar or literary tradition. Although we might call both of the language varieties considered here “Prakrits,” the two are very different things. “Old Prakrit” was almost certainly a well standardized and non-vernacular literary language by the time of Kumāralāta, a dead—or at least frozen—language like Sanskrit, with which it came, so to speak, in a single package: The alternation of Sanskrit and a variety of literary Prakrits is, as we remarked before, one of the most idiomatic traits of classical Sanskrit drama. Gāndhārī as attested in the extant corpus reflects, by contrast and for what we can tell, a closer relationship to a living spoken language. This is a safe inference from the fact that although we have original literary texts in the language, and some are of considerable artistry and ambition such as a recently published acrostic \textit{buddhastotra} (Melzer 2017), extant secular documents of evident utilitarian import do not show a marked linguistic variance from the former; the dizzying orthographic variation of the language again argues against a strong grammatical prescriptive tradition. The answer to the question posed above might be that however experimental and idiosyncratic his treatment of it may have been,
Kumāralāta may have been toying with an already formed literary idiom, one that employed Classical Sanskrit along with highly fossilized literary Prakrits.

As Falk (2004, 139) notes, the emergence of the use of Sanskrit and of the Brahmī script in Gandhāra has not been sufficiently studied. Throughout the first two centuries of the common era, Gāndhārī Prakrit written in the regional Kharoṣṭhī script was the general norm, used for religious/literary and secular purposes, by kings, commoners, and Buddhist monastics alike. Sanskrit written in the Brahmī script is, as far as the evidence goes, limited in this area to the earliest Kuṣāṇa layer of the Bāmiyān cache finds now in the Schøyen collection, and these seem all to be Buddhist texts. Falk (2004) has gathered a corpus of six early donative inscriptions in Brahmī from Gandhāra from the 2\textsuperscript{nd} and 3\textsuperscript{rd} Centuries. The language oscillates between Sanskrit and a more hybrid gandhārized register, but they are disconcerting in that their contents and purpose are virtually indistinguishable from contemporary inscriptions in Kharoṣṭhī. One particularly fascinating inscription is §5 in Falk’s survey: it features parallel texts in Gāndhārī (Kharoṣṭhī) and Hybrid Sanskrit (Brahmī): \textit{bakagr(e) viharakaravaka} / \textit{bakako vihārakarāvakah}

\textit{“Bakaka, the maker (\textit{karavaka}>*karāpaka=Sk. kāraka, kārayitr) of the monastery.”} The inscription is at the feet of what remains of a boot-wearing figure that presumably represented Bakaka and is unique among other similar statue pedestals from the same site which bear only personal names—two, like Bakaka, probably Iranian and one Indic, Devadasa—in Kharoṣṭhī. Falk explains this situation in the following terms:

The lower ranks were content with Kharoṣṭhī, but the real donor of the monastery thought it worthwhile to include a Brāhmī version. The Brāhmī text comes with correct \textit{sandhi} and final \textit{visarga}: the local language has been changed into Sanskrit. (Falk 2004, 147).
Falk implies, then, that at this time in Gandhāra the usage of Sanskrit and its associated Brāhmī script were a marker of prestige. The “hybrid” element in the Sanskrit of the inscription seems to come directly from the Gāndhārī version: the Gāndhārī form karavaka is turned into the mock-Sanskrit form kāravakah. As unclear as it is what considerations may have determined the choice of Sanskrit or Gāndhārī, the fact is that late Gāndhārī documents show the strong influence of Sanskrit in their orthography, and by the 4th Century the Kharoṣṭhī script was no longer used in Gandhāra and the Gāndhārī vernacular, however influenced by Sanskrit, was no longer recorded. A reasonable assumption to make therefore is that Sanskrit was becoming a prestige language, associated both with the increasingly influential brahmanical class and with growing trends of fashion among royal circles. However, Gandhāran—royal and not—donors of the first two centuries of the common era, just like donors during the same time period in other areas of the Indic world like the Deccan, did not feel the allure of Sanskrit and were content with inscriptions in what must have been a written register of their own spoken vernacular. Conversely in Mathurā, which is consistently depicted in the Garland as the seat of an influential brahmanical community, donors seem to have incorporated aspects of Sanskrit orthography in their inscriptions from very early on. One of the early Brāhmī inscriptions from Gandhāra in Falk’s survey (2004, §1, 139–140)—a rectangular slab dated to the year 32 of the Kuṣāṇa era (159 CE)—was carved on Mathurān red sandstone and was probably made in, and imported from, Mathurā (p. 140). The increase of brahmanical influence that took place in the early centuries of the Common Era has been richly interpreted by Bronkhorst (2016). If his broad and wide-ranging argument can be boiled down into the few essentials that interest us here, these might be that the

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

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

172 See stories I and XXIV.
2.3.3. The *Garland* as Indian literature

One topic that unfortunately will have to be treated briefly here is that of the place of Kumāralāta in Indian literature. We have already seen that Kumāralāta and his work are transitional in many ways, the literary aspect being one of them. Understanding the literary matter and traditions that informed the *Garland*, as well as those that perhaps were informed by it in turn would help us clarify the nature of the pivotal point that it occupies, and although the topic is too vast to be treated here in detail, we can nevertheless survey some important points. Lévi published an important monograph dealing with the sources of the *Garland* (Lévi 1908). Lévi worked from a premise that now seems unlikely, namely that the *Garland* was a work of Aśvaghoṣa meant to clothe material from the canonical *sūtras* to make it available to the “man of the world”

173 under the attractive guise of literature, but he did show how Kumāralāta’s work is deeply rooted in the corpus of canonical scriptures that was known to him. My own examination of the material has led me in the very same direction, and I have identified additional canonical quotations that Lévi did not include in his survey.

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

174

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

174 The story of the encounter between the manure-sweeper Nītha (XLIII), which is probably an original invention of Kumāralāta, is referenced in story LI (T.4.201.306b28–29=Huber 1908, 258.7), and the story of the merchant Koṭikarṇa in the city of ghosts (XVIII) is also referenced obliquely in story IV (T.4.201. 263b21–22=Huber 1908, 34.31–32).
However, some of the stories in the collection are reworkings of well-known tales, like for example the *jātakas* of King Śibi or of the king of the deer. A few other stories have remarkable affinities with a narrative collection that must be earlier than the *Garland* and is preserved only in Chinese translation, the *Gathering of the Six Perfections* (*Liudu ji jing* 六度集經, T152). This collection seems to be a genuine translation by the 3rd Century Sogdian monk Kang Senghui 康僧會 (?-280 CE) (Nattier 2008, 150). Kang Senghui reportedly was born to a family of Sogdian merchants in Jiaozhi 交址, nowadays northern Vietnam (Nattier 2008, 149). The Chinese translation of the *Gathering* is unusual in its very literary idiom, in contrast with the more vernacular style typical of most Chinese Buddhist translations. The *Gathering*, like the *Garland*, consists of ninety stories, and, like the *Jātakamāla* of Āryaśūra, it is supposed to be arranged according to the sequence of the six “perfections” (*pāramitā*). The stories there are all presented in the form of previous birth stories of the historical Buddha Śākyamuni. Stories VII and LXVII of the *Gathering* show a remarkable affinity in plot with, respectively, stories XXV and XV of the *Garland*; a less close resemblance exists also between stories XI, XV, and XXVIII in the *Gathering* and stories LXXI, IV, and LXIX of the *Garland*. Likewise, a couple of stories of the *Garland*, LXVIII “The Final Extinction of Mahāprajāpatī” and XVIII “Kotikarṇa in the city of ghosts” are also found in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, and establishing whether or not this influential text was or not the source for these two stories of the *Garland* is a difficult problem, but one that when properly investigated will be undoubtedly enlightening. Although I believe that some of Kumāralāta’s stories reflect his own narrative creations, his innovations must be seen mostly in his literary style, that eschews repetition and cliché and favors psychological development over crammed plots and supernatural events.
That Kumāralāta was a precedent for the better known Āryaśūra has already noticed by Hahn (2007) and Khoroché (1989, vi); that, in turn, the later jātaKA writers Haribhaṭṭa and Gopadatta took Āryaśūra as their model is also well known, especially since Haribhaṭṭa says so explicitly (Hahn 1989, 13). Khoroché has also suggested that Saṃghadeva, an author known only from a single, unedited jātaKA from a fragmentary manuscript from Kizil from about the 5th Century, also belongs in this literary cluster. The stories of all these authors have in common a template: the stories begin with a moral apophthegm, followed by the formula tadyathānusṛuyate “as it is heard” or “as it is transmitted;” the story in the proper sense is told in a mixture of prose and verse, with the dialogue being often metrical. My examination of the Sanskrit text of the Garland against that of the works of these authors has persuaded me that perhaps the debt of the tradition towards Kumāralāta is heavier than it has been previously assumed. For example, in story III of the Garland, the Buddhist novices disguised as old men are said to be pavanabalapracalitā iva supuspitāh sindhuvāritagulmāh “like blossoming bushes of sindhuvaśīta shaken by the force of the wind.” Āryaśūra, when describing a ship in a storm (14.19+), calls it pavanabalacalitasaśīlavegavaśagā “under the might of the agitation of the waters, shaken by the force of the wind,” Haribhaṭṭa, describing the seven princesses of the eponymous story says that the girls are pavanabalacalitasalilaphenāvalīṁālinya iva saritāh “like rivers whose garlands are the rows of foam of the waters shaken by the force of the wind” (12.36+, Hahn 2007). These comparisons could go further, but for the moment let us remark that as much as these later writers of literary Buddhist jātaKas in Sanskrit may have found inspiration in Kumāralāta’s style and lexical choices, generally the atmosphere of their stories veers towards either the legendary or the idealized, not adhering to the realism and geographical specificity of Kumāralāta’s Garland. This
perhaps explains why Āryaśūra achieved fame whereas Kumāralāta fell into oblivion in the long run, remaining only as a vague memory among scholastic philosophers.

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

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

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

3.1. Ancient Indian businesspeople and the urban middle class.

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

3.1.1. The sources for this section

In order to provide context for what the *Garland* has to say about its characters, I have opted to incorporate here material from two other related collections of Buddhist stories, the two “centuries” (śataka) Avadānaśataka, extant in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese versions, and the *Karmaśataka* (*Las brgya tham pa*), extant only in Tibetan. These two collections share some stories with the *Garland* and seem to be close to it in language (Sanskrit, with only lexical Middle Indic features), style (prose with verse speeches), period (possibly late Kuśāṇa), and geographic origin (north-western India). Moreover, and perhaps most importantly, these collections seem to take the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins as a literary model, and often as a direct source. As the *Vinaya* genre was at least technically restricted to a monastic audience, I have not considered material from it in this section. The two “centuries”
have been said, however, to be derivative from this *Vinaya* (see Schopen 2004, 125–126; Skilling 2001, 139).

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

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{176} III-IV, VI, IX-X, XX, XXIV-XXVI, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLI, LI, LXXI, LXXII-LXXXIII, XCI; in XLVIII and LXXVII as marginal characters.

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

\textsuperscript{178} See Jamison (forthcoming) for a survey of this word in Vedic and later brahmanical literature. The falling out of use of grhapati in brahmanical technical literature may have had to do with the incongruence between it and the term gārhapatyā, that denotes a specific fire in the ‘solemn’ (śrauta) ritual system, which, unlike what its etymology might suggest, indicates a fire to be operated by a cast of professional priests instead of the head of the household.
The term often implies financial means of some sort. Some Buddhist texts list the *grhapati* as one of the seven treasures of the ideal monarch, suggesting a function related to finance—Edgerton renders it as “capitalist” and von Hinüber as “banker”. The term, however, is not contraposed to *pravrajita* ‘ascetic,’ that role being assumed by *grhin* ‘having a house’ and *grhastra* ‘dwelling in a house.’ In Buddhist and Jaina literature *grhapati* often takes the place of the *vaiśya* label in enumerations of the castes. Nattier concludes that “*grhapati* implies not only the social status acquired at birth [...] but a personal degree of occupational status as well.” Also, as the frequent term *grhapatiputra* ‘son of a *grhapati*’ suggests, being the head of the extended family seems to be a factor in the identity of the *grhapati*, but the fact that post-Vedic brahmanical discourse does not make the term a central actor in its rhetoric suggests that its usage in the sense of ‘prominent man’ may have been associated with the sectors of society that supported the śramaṇic religions (Jamison, forthcoming).

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

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180 There is ample evidence to illustrate the frequency with which both terms are associated: see Lüders 1912, §1003 and Kino 1957 for epigraphic occurrences of the phrase *gahapati sethi*. The general Chinese translation of both terms is often the same, i.e. *zhangzhe* 長者 ‘prominent man’.
characters. The case of the *Garland* is different, because Kumāralāta quite clearly strives to be neither explicit nor formulaic. To start with, and in spite of Huber’s French translation, the known Sanskrit fragments do not contain the word śreṣṭhin, only grhapati\(^{181}\) and the Chinese text occasionally labels characters as *jushi 居士* ‘resident, private citizen’ and *zhangže 長者* ‘elder’—both of which are standard translations of Sanskrit grhapati and its Middle Indic cognates but, as mentioned already, also of śreṣṭhin.

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

\(^{181}\) Apparently the Gāndhārī term *śethi (=śreṣṭhin)* is only attested in a literary source (*Khotan Dharmapada*, 117d) and not epigraphically. Although this rather meager as evidence, it might suggest that the usage of this title was not too widespread in the Northwest.
to his family. Similarly, story LXXV makes clear that the cost of feeding the samgha for one full month is equivalent to the market value of two human beings, the old husband and wife who pledge themselves for the sake of this meritorious action. As such, as to the social class of these dānapati, it would seem that though they are not part of the ruling elite, they were quite affluent and capable of large donations.

3.1.3. The nature of the wealth of a grhapati

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

\[
\text{anenāhaṃ kuśalamūlena yatra yatra jāyeya tatra tatroccakulīnaḥ syām}
\]

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

It also occurs often in the *Karmaśataka*:

\[
\text{kye ma dge ba ’i rtsa ba ’dis nas gang dang gang du skye ba de dang der phyug cing}
\]
\[
\text{nor mang la longs spyod che ba ’i rigs su skye bar shog cig (Derge, Mdo, )}
\]

By this root of merit, wherever I may be born, may I there be born in a family that
is rich, with much wealth, of great affluence.\textsuperscript{182}

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

\begin{quote}
adhyo mahādhano mahābhogo vistīrṇaviśālaparigraho vaiśravaṇadhanasamudito
vaiśravanadhanapratispardhī

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

"[He was] rich, with much wealth, of great affluence, with widespread and
extensive property, risen to the wealth of Vaiśravaṇa (=God of Wealth), rival to
the wealth of Vaiśravaṇa”
\end{quote}

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

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{182} It is impossible to tell whether the Indic original of the *Karmaśataka had here the term uccākulīṇa that
was rendered in Tibetan with the usual “wealth cliché,” or if these two versions were originally slight variations of
the same stock phrase. The Pāli uccākulīṇa, a thematicized form of a compound with the *in suffix built on the
adverb uccā ‘high[ly]’ and kula ‘household’—both words with a distinguished Vedic pedigree—is common, as
also the Ardhamāgadhī synonym uccāgota (=*uccāgotra) ‘from a lofty lineage’ seems to be common. Much less
common is the imperfectly Sanskritized form uccakulīṇa, which other than here appears also at least three times in
Kumāralāṭa’s Garland, in fragment SHT 21/94. The phrase uccakulīṇasamvartanīyaṃ karma in r2 and r3 (Lüders
1926, XXX) should be taken to mean ‘action that results in belonging to a prominent family [in a future life]’ and
according to the Chinese translation, the point of the passage is that such uccakulīṇasamvartanīyaṃ karma is just
one possible type of meritorious action among many, and that birth “in a prominent family” is not necessarily
accompanied by wealth.
\end{flushright}
śreṣṭhin, with only a few exceptions. The overlap between this “wealth cliché” and the grhapatis and śreṣṭhins is not only significant because it not only suggests that the real-life counterparts of the people that this literature calls śreṣṭhins and grhapatis may have been in fact wonderfully rich; it suggests that, regardless of whether they were or not rich, they aspired to be rich. While the preoccupation with wealth, and the attribution of this preoccupation to the grhapati/śreṣṭhin is made abundantly clear in these collections, they afford us also occasional glimpses of what such wealth might actually have looked like. In story LXXXVI of the Garland, we see an unnamed king rewarding his skilled physician with an ideal rural estate:

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

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

183 The exceptions are the following: 1) All the legendary Śākya warriors of the past, in the 7th decade of the Avadānaśataka; 2) Brahmins (Avadānaśataka I, LXXIV, *Karmaśataka LXXIV); 3) A caravan-leader (sārthavāha) (Avadānaśataka LXXXV).
source of income. Chakravarti (1987, 65–93) has combed through the copious occurrences of the Pāli term gahapati (i.e. grhapati) in the Theravāda canon, and concludes that in that corpus there is a definite association between this term and the possession of land.\footnote{On a comparative note, the Greek term oiko-despōtēs, literally ‘lord of the house’ at least in the usage of the Christian New Testament, has been rendered in English as ‘householder,’ ‘landowner,’ and ‘employer,’ and “denotes the master or owner of a ‘household,’ i.e. of servants” (Bromiley 1979, ii 773). The Greek term is etymologically redundant, as oikos means ‘house’ and despōtēs on its own is probably to be traced to the Proto-IndoEuropean idiom *dems potis ‘lord of the house.’ In a wonderful testament to the reach of linguistic DNA, the Greek des-pōtēs is in all likelihood a cognate of the archaic Sanskrit dām-pati, of which grhā-pati, semantically identical, should perhaps be seen as a modernization, or, as Jamison (forthcoming) suggests, a vernacular, non-poetic form.} Moreover, there is evidence from the texts considered here to suggest that this might often have been the case in the Garland, although other descriptions of grhapatis in the three collections considered here also imply that the wealth of some of these people might have come from different sources as well. One short passage in story XLI of the Avadānaśataka briefly describes the proto-industrial empire of an unnamed śreṣṭhin:

\begin{quote}
rājagrhe nagare 'nyatarah śreṣṭhī ādhyo mahādhano mahābhogo vistūrṇaviśālaparigraho vaiśravaṇadhanasamudito vaiśravaṇadhanapratispardhī / tasya paṇcamātrāṅkṣuśālaśatāni yatra ceṣṭuḥ pūdyate
\end{quote}

(Speyer 1906–1909, i. 244. 2–3)

[There was] in Rājagrha a śreṣṭhin who was rich, of great wealth, of great affluence, with widespread and extensive property, risen to the wealth of Vaiśravaṇa (=the God of Wealth), rival to the wealth of Vaiśravaṇa. He had five hundred sugarcane mills, where sugarcane was pressed.
The text is careful to tell us that when a Buddhist ascetic comes to the facility to beg for some sugarcane juice, the śreṣṭhin is in the “machine room” (yantraśālā), but that soon afterwards he leaves, entrusting the task of administering the sugarcane juice to the holy man to one of his “hired laborers” (bhṛtapuruṣa). In these two cases, it seems that wealth is explicitly linked to the ownership of the means of production. Some of the passages that will follow suggest yet other possible sources of wealth, some quite unexpected; however, in some form or other, patrimonial property seems to be always lurking in the background of those described as wealthy, and is often presented as the basis to further their economic enterprise.

A thorough description of the assets of a grhapati, or rather of a gāhāvaī—such being the form that the word apparently takes, in spite of what would be puzzling changes in vowel length, in Ardhamāgadhī—comes from a Jain source, the “Decade of the Lay Brothers” (Uvāsagadasāṇa=Upāsakadasā[ka]), which is the seventh item in the Aṅga category of canonical scriptures of the Śvetāmbara school, a collection of stories about wealthy sponsors of the Jain religion that become lay-brothers. The protagonist of the first story, the gāhāvaī Āṇanda, takes on a number of restraints in multiple aspects of his life, including his economic interests, in the process of becoming a laybrother (uvāsaga=upāsaka)—all of which tell of the imaginary of wealth reflected in this collection (§1.17–21, Hoernle 1890, ९-१०). Āṇanda unwittingly lists his various assets as he solemnly refrains from acquiring other property: “Besides [his] four crores of cash in
deposit,\textsuperscript{185} \(n\) four lent on interest, four invested in real estate\textsuperscript{186} (\textit{annattha caúhi hiranakoðihim nihānapaúttahim, caúhi vaḍhipaúttahim, caúhi pavittharapaúttahim}), “four herds, each herd with ten thousand cows” (\textit{caúhi vaehi dasagosāhassaeñam vaeña}), “five hundred ploughs, each plough with a hundred measures of land each”\textsuperscript{187} (\textit{pañcahi halasaehi niyattañaśaïeñam haleña}), “five hundred carts for travel, five hundred carts for freight” (\textit{pañcahi sagadasaāeihim disāyattieihim, pañcahi sagadasaāeihim saṃvāhanieihim}), and “five hundred boats for travel, five hundred boats for freight” (\textit{pañcahi vāhaṇasaāeihim disāyattieihim, pañcahi vāhaṇasāeihim saṃvāhanieihim}).

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

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

\textsuperscript{185} I take here \textit{hirana} (Skt. \textit{hiranya}) to mean ‘coin,’ which is the technical meaning suggested by Olivelle in the context of the \textit{Arthashastra} (2013, 27). Olivelle translates \textit{hiranya} as “money” in §1.4.1 (p. 68) and “cash” in §2.29.2 (p. 162).

\textsuperscript{186} In his English translation of the \textit{Uvāsadasāṇo}, Hoernle renders \textit{pavitthara}, which should correspond to Skt. \textit{pravistara}, as ‘well-stocked estate’ (p. 8) and invokes the following gloss from the Sanskrit commentary: “property consisting of treasure, grain, two-footed animals (incl. servants), four-footed animals, etc” (p.8, n.12). The attested meaning of \textit{pravistara} in Sanskrit is ‘extent, circumference.’ The term in the unusual meaning of ‘property’ might be somewhat related to the compound \textit{vistārnaviśālaparigraha}, ‘with extended and wide property’ that occurs in similarly stereotyped descriptions of wealth in the \textit{Mālasarvāstivādinavāyā} and derived narrative collections, and that might refer to land. In light of this, and of the meaning of derivatives of the lexeme \textit{vi-\textit{ś}t\textit{p}} in modern Indic languages like Shina \textit{bathjoiki} ‘to get a place, find a place, fit into, go through’ and \textit{bxṣroiti} ‘to make room for,’ (Turner 1962–1966, §12005, 12010), I have tentatively translated here \textit{pavitthara} as ‘real estate’. I thank Dr. Tatiana Oranskaia for the references in Turner and for suggesting this rendering (personal communication, March 24, 2018).

\textsuperscript{187} \textit{A nivartana} is a “measure of land, 20 rods or 200 cubits or 40,000 hastas square” (Monier Williams 1872, s.v..)
called for some important decision; in short, on all sorts of business. He was also the main pillar, as it were, of his own family, their authority, support, mainstay and guide. In short he was a cause of prosperity to whatever business he was concerned with. (translation from Hoernle 1890, 7)

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

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

188 The painter earned “thirty ounces of gold (sanshi liang jin 三十兩金). This sum is well above the wages of an unskilled manual worker as portrayed in the Law Code of Manu and the Arthaśāstra as interpreted in Sharma 1980, 205.
This literature abounds in mentions of professional merchants (sārthavāha, vanij) and, as I will show below, commerce is often presented as one of the options available to grhapatis and šreṣṭhins, but sometimes simply as a way to obtain an external source of income to supplement patrimonial revenue. In other words, there does not seem to be a direct correlation between the social identity of grhapatī/šreṣṭhin and the business of buying and selling per se.

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

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

Let one epigraphic occurrence of a “son of a grhapatī” serve here to illustrate these points. The inscription is from the site of Kol, in the Deccan:

1. gahapatiputasasethisa
2. [s]aṃgharakhitasa deyadhamāṃ lena[m]

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

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

The donor has a very Buddhist-sounding name, and is a man of preeminence in his own trade and yet he defines himself not as a grhapatī but as the son of one. Now, here we have the
possibility that *grhapati* is a title\(^{189}\) but that would be at odds with the abundant instances in literature where people are described as sons or daughters of *grhapatis* and in which *grhapati* is evidently a general social label.

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

\[
\text{bhikṣum kho punar uddīśya anyatareśāṁ dvinnāṁ grhapatikasya} \\
gṛhapatinīye ca prayekacīvaracetāpanāni abhisamaṃskṛtāni bhavanti…
\]

(Pachow and Mishra 1952–1953, §9)

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

(English tr. Prebish 1996, 66)

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

\^{189}\) See pp. 175ff. on this topic.
3.1.5. Choosing a trade

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

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

1.

de nas de’i pha mas thabs zlar bab pa las de’i chung ma blangs nas de yang de dang lhan cig tu rtse zhing dga’ la dga’ mgur spyod de / khye’u de bu mo de la shas cher chags nas de med kyi bar du ’dug mi ’dod de / des zong bzhag pa dang tshong khang bor nas de ’ba’ zhig dang lhan cig ’dug go / de nas khyim bdag des bsams pa / ’di ’di la chags na nor zas thams cad zad par ’ong gis ’di ro ’di dang
Then, after [the grhapatiputra’s] parents procured a companion, taking her as his wife, he amused himself together with her and made love. That young man, being so attached to that woman, did not wish to be without her. He, putting aside the merchandise and giving up the shop, stayed in her company. Then the grhapati thought: “In that this one is inordinately attached to that one is going to drain our wealth, it is necessary to separate him from that passion (ro=rāśa/rāga),” after which he said: “What is the use, for a young man, of such passion? If you stay like this and do no work, when you are old you will be poor. Therefore, son, for as long as your constituent elements have their vigor, for so long obtain wealth. Then you will be dear to your wife.” Having so spoken, the grhapati, having prepared the merchandise to be accounted for, sent that young man to a foreign country.

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190 The old meaning of the term le’u glon is apparently ‘answer’. The Old Tibetan dictionary of Btsan lha (1996) glosses le’u glon with the etymologically related lan ‘reply’ (p. 992, sub voce; see Beyer 1991, 11 for the derivation of glon from lan). In the classical language the verb lan can also mean ‘to repay’ (Jäschke 1881, 543 sub voce), and such seems to be also the meaning of the pleonastic phrase lan glon in some Old Tibetan texts: see for example the
Also that young man, having loaded merchandise on camel, donkey, etc. progressed into towns and cities and forest villages and the *countryside.

2.

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

(Derge, Mdo, Am, 90.b3–5)

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

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clause *pha ma’i drin gyi lan glon na* ‘when one has repaid the kindness of mother and father...’ in the manuscript Pelliot Tibétain 1283, line 245 (Lalou 1939–1961, iii, §1).
lineage. Then, after having again made love, a boy was born. Having made birth festivites for him too ([narrate] in detail [here]), [the boy] was given a name suitable to his lineage. Then [the grhapati] thought: “As I live in debt and the growth of my wealth is gone, I will go abroad carrying merchandise.”

3.

pha ma gnyis shi nas las su bya ba thams cad khye’u des tshis byed de / de las gang byed kyang rung / zhing las byed kyang rung / tshong byed kyang rung / gru’i las byed kyang rung / de las byas so cog ’jig cing ’grub par mi ’gyur ro / de nas khyim dbag smongs pa de’i snyam du sems te / dbag gis ’dir las gang byed kyang rung ste / zhing las byed kyang rung / tshong byed kyang rung / gru’i las byed kyang rung / dbag gis las byas so cog ’jig cing ’grub par mi ’gyur na / ’jig rten na mi ’jig pa’i chos gang ’jig bar mi ’gyur ba ’ga’ lta yod dam zhir gu snyam mo /

(Derge, Mdo, A, 95a6–95.b1)

After both parents died, the youth [Karṣaka] evaluated all the trades (las=*karman, *karmānta) he might take up (las su bya ba thams cad): whatever one may do among those, be it doing the business of the fields, or be it doing commerce (overland trade?), or be it doing the business of ships (maritime trade?), whatever one may do among those, failing, will not succeed. Then the grhapati *Karṣaka thought in regard to that: “Whatever I may do here, be it doing the business of the fields, or be it doing commerce (overland trade?), or be it doing the business of ships (maritime trade?); since all the trades I may do, failing, will not succeed, in the world is there perhaps one norm (chos=dharma) in the world an unfailing norm that will not result in failure?”
We might note regarding this last story that in spite of his youth and of the disadvantage that losing his parents represents, *Karṣaka is presented as a grhapatī. And, as the reader might have guessed, the “unfailing norm that will not result in failure” is the Buddhist monastic path. It is further important to point out that this monastic option is presented as a likely career for a young man from *Karṣaka’s milieu, and this underscores the likely appartenance of lay and monastic Buddhists to one social class.

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

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

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

For our purposes, what is most interesting in this passage is the fact that it is not a given that the son will inherit the trade of the father; rather it is one possibility considered among others. Indeed, only after deciding that the trade of a tailor suits an invalid, does the father decide to initiate
his son in learning the trade. The other interesting fact in the story is that we have here a grhapati who is a tailor, not the kind of person that one may have expected to be wealthy.

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

3.1.6. The Poor and the “Poor”

As mentioned before, poverty is one of the most pervasive themes in the Garland, and its metaphorical usage in this collection deserves a separate treatment. For the moment, within our attempt to elucidate the mentions to poverty in the broader narrative genre considered here, we might take a look at the instances in which people are said to be poor. The texts in our corpus present people of all social classes as liable to poverty: King Aśoka himself is presented as poor and destitute at the end of his life.\footnote{T4.201, 283.a29–b1); Lüders 1926, 149.XXVII; Huber 1908, 138.} Brahmins, in spite of their own claim to be at the top of the social ladder, and in spite of the fact that our texts present them as generally affluent, are occasionally presented as poor. So, in story LXXI of the Garland we see a poor brahmin in debt,\footnote{In this story the poor brahmin approaches a pious king with the following words: 我今貧困又多債負，聞王好施，故來乞索用以償債 (T4.201.339.c3–5; Huber 108, 418) “I am now poor and with many debts, and hearing that the king is very generous, I have come here to beg for [the wherewithal] to pay my debts”} in story XXXI of the *Karmaśataka* a brahmin forced to live

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

192 In this story the poor brahmin approaches a pious king with the following words: 我今貧困又多債負，聞王好施，故來乞索用以償債 (T4.201.339.c3–5; Huber 108, 418) “I am now poor and with many debts, and hearing that the king is very generous, I have come here to beg for [the wherewithal] to pay my debts”
by begging, and in stories XLII and LXXXVI of the same collection brahmins who till the land wherein the text makes clear that at least in one of these cases, the brahmin himself had to do the tilling.

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

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

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

195 T4.201.289c6–10; Huber 1908, 171.

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

197 T4.201.267a5–7; b13–14; Huber 1908, 54; 56). Unfortunately the portions that should have corresponded in these compounds are not extant in the Sanskrit text. For the first, perhaps the first aksara is still there, see Lüders 1926, 145.*47.r1=SHT 21/25 v1.
the other hand, the narrative frame of story LIX suggests that its protagonist—a “poor man,” certainly a farmer—must have enjoyed some degree of leisure, since he is able to dedicate himself exclusively to the worship of the gods, and may have owned the land whose cultivation he entrusts to his brother. What this means is that this “poor man” is shown to have full power of decision in regards to the agricultural plan for the family field.198 Once again, the general setting for the stories in the Garland, as also that of the “Centuries,” is urban: story XXXIII, already remarked on, features a farmer dazzled by the splendor of city life and of the urban rich. Perhaps these “poor farmers” are related to the farming grhapatis that seem to be well documented in the Pāli sources, the rural poorer cousins.

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

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

199 Speyer 1906–1909, i.93.6.
The texts present us also with another variety of poor: those who not owning anything at all, have to rely on their labor alone to earn a livelihood. Thus, in story V of the *Karmaśataka* we are told that:

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

(Derge, *Mdo*, Aṃ, 15.b7–16.a1)

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

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

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

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

The story is of course also highly unusual in that it is the experience of listening to music that prompts a conversion to the Buddhist religion.
Then there was an extremely poor woman. She earned with difficulty a piece of cloth-money (paṭaka) in three months.

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

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

(T4.201.342a19–22)

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

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

3.1.7. The Dignity of a Profession

The three grhapatis we just saw, who decide to take up long-distance trade, all have a patrimonial
inheritance on which they can rely, however dwindling it might be. Story XXXV of the Garland features the son of a well-to-do family—the father was a royal minister—who, orphaned, ostracized by his father’s peers, and with his meager inheritance spent, finds himself forced to rely on his own resources:

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

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

(16)
Although my birthplace was affluent
I am now in such distress.
Lowly skills are extremely easy to know
But even so I cannot do them”

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

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

(T4.201.288a28–b3)

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

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

\(^{202}\) This is the reading of the “Song,” “Yuan,” and “Ming” witnesses of the Taishō. The Korean edition has here *ke 客* ‘guest, stranger’, which makes no discernible sense.
“I can only kill sheep: the toil is trifling and the profit good.” Having had this thought he then looked for a chance to do so. The mind of an ordinary person can easily become corrupt, and so he took up this profession, and thereupon, since he associated with slaughterers, they became his close friends.

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

\[
\text{de dga’ ba skyes nas smon lam btab pa / kye ma dge ba’i rtsa ba ’dis bdag}
\text{gang dang gang du skye ba de dang der phyur cig nor mang la longs spyod che}
\text{ba’i shan pa’i rigs su skyes}
\]

(Derge, Mdo, A, 75.a7–b1)

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

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

In this light, it might be useful to revisit here the suggestion that in śramaṇic discourse the label *grhapati* might correspond to what in brahmanical texts is the *vaiśya* caste: Jamison (forthcoming) suggests that the term *vaiśya* may have fallen out of use because its Middle Indic outcome *vessa* was felt to be uncomfortably close to *vessā>*veşyā ‘prostitute’. The Chinese translation contains two enumerations of the four castes according to their classical labels, with
the Buddhist placement of the kṣatriyas above the brāhmaṇas (T4.201.0274a19–20; T4.201.295c25). These enumerations seem, however, to be the work of the Chinese translator because the Sanskrit fragments feature only generic mentions to the ‘four castes’: varṇacatuṣṭhayasya in SHT 21/52.v3 and caturnāṃ varṇānāṃ in r2, Lüders (1926, 161, §146); also caturbhyo varṇebhyoḥ in the Divyāvadāna parallel in Lüders (1926, 146.3). The most systematic discussion of the caste system occurs in story XLVII, in which Upāli, the barber of the Śākya warriors, struggles with his own feelings of inadequacy at the moment of joining his former high-caste employers in monastic life. Tellingly, when Upāli enumerates the castes that participate in the Buddhist monastic order, he mentions only three:

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

(T4.201.300.a4–5)

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

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

3.1.8. An urban middle class?

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

In the preceding section I have attempted to characterize the segment of the population to which the stories in these collections, and particularly in the *Garland*, may have been most relevant, because they essentially portray them by isolating them from the extremes of the social ladder, singling out those who the texts themselves tend to portray as “social others” who do not fully share in the set of values that these stories espouse. As I mentioned above, the term *grhapati* itself does not appear frequently in the *Garland*, but it is a useful heuristic as it designates people
similar to those who bear the title in the other two collections considered here. The evidence regarding this word points in different, and sometimes contradictory directions. One old commentarial passage, in the Pāli Suttavibhaṅga, defines the gahapati simply as a man who lives in the house (Chakravarti 1987, 65–66), and as Jamison (forthcoming) points out, the phonologically aberrant Jaina Ardhamāgadhī word gāhavaī seems to be essentially opposed to the category ‘monastic,’ much as grastha or grhin. Furthermore, other old commentarial passages in the Vibhaṅga of the Mūlasarvāstivādanayā gloss grhapati as a ‘rich man’ (phyug pa) in one place, but simply as a ‘man’ (skyes pa) elsewhere (Schopen 2000, 152 n. III.4). Even within the limits of the narrow corpus considered here, this polysemy stands.

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

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

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

203 See, however, the epithet kassako gahapatiko kārakārako rāśivaddhako “a farmer, of grhapati disposition, who pays taxes, who increases wealth” in the Samaññaphalasutta of the Pāli Dīghanikāya (Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1889–1910, i 61).
engraved;\textsuperscript{204} in the three other roughly coeval occurrences, as the title of the fathers—and once of the brother—of the female donors of the reliquaries.\textsuperscript{205}

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

\begin{footnotesize}

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

\begin{quote}
io ca suanė solite Valiena Makaḍaka putreṇa gamhapatiṇa
\end{quote}

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As hard as it is to pin down the grhapati, we may have identified here a series of overlapping vectors that may aid our inquiries. Although the grhapati seems to be defined primarily by an affluent income, this is not always so, and the reason is perhaps that other than
income alone, a modicum of social prominence, and in particular a role as the head of the extended family are also part of what defines the grhapati. Also, a diversified portfolio of business interests—trade, banking, agriculture—seems to be also a defining trait: business widely understood, as a source of livelihood, rather than one specific business. Having hopefully understood better the protagonists of the stories of the Garland, we might delve into what they can tell us about their concerns and priorities.

3.2. Stories to Shape the Moral Sensibility of a Community

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

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

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206 This holds true for the eighty initial stories of the Garland; the remaining ten are shorter “parables” in which the moral is expressed at the end, although in less emphatically succinct terms.
adopted by some of Kumāralāta’s literary imitators like Āryaśūra, Haribhaṭṭa, and Gopadatta, but the later fortune of this literary device should not distract us from the fact that it must have been an innovation in Kumāralāta’s time, one that subordinates the literary and aesthetic qualities of the work—its value as entertainment—to its moral message. Some of these brief messages do convey moral thoughts that would not seem out of place in the edificatory repertoire of many cultures, the first being an Indian version of the argument of the gospel’s “let him who is without sin cast the first stone”:

復次, 若無過者得譏呵人, 若自有過呵於彼者, 他反蚩笑

(T4.201.276b29–c1)

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

復次, 善觀察者, 見於好色無有欲意, 多生厭惡, 見好色時不起愛瞋

(T4.201.276c22–23)

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

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

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

(T4.201.315a28–29)

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{209} Even the austere Theravāda tradition practices apotropaism under the form of \textit{parīta}-recitation; the \textit{dārāni} spells, which the learned Buddhist tradition itself insists in casting as some sort of mnemonic depositories of doctrine, were in the practice used for apotropaic purposes. This being said, a certain animosity of the Buddhist tradition towards the rituals subsumed under the label of \textit{maṅgala} is evident in the oldest datable documents of the tradition: in his ninth rock edict, emperor Aśoka criticizes a number of \textit{maṅgalas} that include several life-cycle rituals and deems \textit{dhammamangala}, the “ritual of the \textit{dharma}” — the [Buddha’s] \textit{dharma}?— to be superior and preferable to others, which are \textit{niratha}, ‘pointless’.
to the methods, occasions, or objects believed to conjure or propitiate it; also, and tellingly, the word can designate simply a “religious rite.” Although the monk’s speech hinges on the inflexibility of the cosmic law of requital and the consequent inefficacy of any attempts to thwart or alter the mechanical course of the requital of deeds, one cannot help feeling that Kumāralāṭa’s criticism is here aimed at practices that his own tradition was at odds to accommodate or to find a neat slot for, because some of his stories precisely feature occasions in which people associated with the Buddha’s religion are able to bend the laws of the universe through practices that appear to be propitiatory or apotropaic.

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

復次，治身心唯有佛語，是故應勤聽於說法
(T4. 201.297c17–18)

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

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

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

211 Compare Huber 1908, 45. “Et ensuite: Pour guérir les maladies du corps et du cœur, il n’y a que les paroles du Buddha. C’est pourquoi on doit écouter avec zèle, quand on explique la Loi.”
those listening to a recitation of a Buddhist scripture, and the narration strongly implies that the prince was not among the listeners.\textsuperscript{212} Although the \textit{Garland} is remarkably sparing in its narrative use of miracles, the point here seems to be not that apotropaic practices run against the blind mechanics of a deterministic universe—and there is some lip service to this vision of things in the speech against amulets of the monk of story LX—but rather that the truly effective supernatural channels to tweak the course of events are a prerogative of the Buddha’s religion.

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

\begin{quote}
復次，若欲觀察知佛神變，號諸塔寺供養佛塔
\end{quote}

(T4.201.344c6–7)

Now, whoever desires to behold, examine, and sense the supernatural power\textsuperscript{213} of the Buddha must see the \textit{stūpa}-shrines and worship the \textit{stūpas} of the Buddha. (story LXXIX)\textsuperscript{214}

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

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

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

\textsuperscript{214} Compare Huber 1908, 444, “\textit{Et ensuite: Si l’on veut examiner et comprendre les miracles du Buddha, il faut se rendre en personne aux stūpas et aux vihāras pour leur rendre hommage.” I do not take, as Huber does, \textit{tasi 塔寺} as an enumeration (“\textit{stūpas and shrines}”) but as a determinative compound (“shrines of \textit{stūpas}”). Huber’s interpretation gives him a hard time dealing with the \textit{fota 塔} ‘buddha-stūpas’ that occurs immediately after.
aimed specifically at the edification of the Buddhist community. As such, it does not aim so much at formulating ethical principles—understood as absolute guidelines on right behavior—but rather a moral repertoire suited to the internal logic of a well-defined community. The fact that the message of the collection is intended for such a well-defined group is made clear by the initial maxim of story XI:

復次 若有弟子能持戒為人宗仰 一切世人並敬其師.

(T4.201.268c5–6)

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

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

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

復次 應當觀食 世俗亦說正觀於食

(T.201.305b23)

\textsuperscript{215} Compare Huber 1908, 62, “Et ensuite: Le disciple du Buddha qui sait maintenir strictement les commandements religieux est respecté par les hommes, et tout le monde vénérera son maître.”
Now, one must observe one’s eating, [as] the World-Honored also spoke about the right view on eating. (Story LII)\textsuperscript{216}

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

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\textsuperscript{216} Compare Huber 1908, 253, “\textit{Et ensuite : Il faut diriger son attention sur la manière de manger.”}
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\textsuperscript{217} This is the date favored by Olivelle (2005, 25) for the \textit{dharmaśāstra} of Manu, probably the earliest example of the genre.
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\textsuperscript{218} The royally issued copper-plate land grants that started appearing in Gupta times (~4\textsuperscript{th} Century CE) often quote from \textit{Manu} and other \textit{dharmaśāstras} (Sircar 1965, 170ff.) in giving a justification or authority for the gift of land. This may have been a nod to the prestige of brahmanical customary law, but the only body of secular legal documents in an Indic language from Kumāralāta’s period, the so-called Niya corpus from the ancient kingdom of Shanshan in the Tarim Basin evince a system of administration very different from that depicted in the \textit{dharmaśāstras} and more in line with the largely materialistic and \textit{realpolitik}-oriented \textit{Arthaśāstra}. One may argue that Shanshan was so far removed, geographically and culturally, from India as to be hardly representative of the latter, but the case is that the full legal application of, say, Manu’s \textit{dharmaśāstra}, concerned as it is with establishing brahmanical privilege well beyond reasonable limits, would have been awkward. It is hard to imagine an actual Indian king of the time behaving according to Manu’s dictum (2.135): “A 10–year-old brahmin and a 100–year-old king […] stand in respect to each other as a father to a son; but of the two, the brahmin is the father” (tr. Olivelle 2005, 101).
\end{flushright}
The Buddhist tradition had, of course, its own technical codification of monastic behavior in the *Vinaya* literature, but at a moment in which the very economic system that had allowed a Buddhist laity to thrive in the Indian subcontinent was shifting and changing—and only towards deurbanization and demonetization—it may have been important to produce a strong statement of the social customs of the Buddhist community as a whole, one that incorporated both lay and monastic while underlining their reciprocal ties. The Buddhist characters of the *Garland* display, once again, something akin to what modern political theory would call class consciousness: Its protagonists are largely aware of being separate from both rural brahmanical aristocracy and royal power on the one hand, and on the other, from the lower classes or castes, treated with an obsequious condescension that might be indicative of many things, but certainly not of political identification.

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

### 3.2.1. A Rational Mindset for Reasonable People

Much recent scholarship has characterized the notion of Buddhism as a “rational religion”—empirical, materialistic, free from the arbitrary dogmas of Abrahamic monotheisms—more as a willful view of 19th Century western students of Buddhism than as a useful interpretive key to
understanding the role the religion may have played in ancient times in Asia. Just to pick a couple of examples, Colonel H. S. Olcott famously declared that “Buddhism was [...] a philosophy, not a creed” (1895, 675) and the great Indologist Hermann Oldenberg described the logic underlying causal explanations in Buddhist doctrine as a “thoroughly rationalistic mode of thinking” (durcahhs rationalistische Denkweise, Oldenberg 1881, 266). Roughly a century later, Spiro (1982, xii) cast such pronouncements as expressions of a willful vision of ancient Buddhism seen as a “religious equivalent of secular humanism,” that “attracted the religious imagination of many intellectuals of Victorian England and America.” Similarly, for Obeyesekere, the whole idea of Buddhism as a “rational religion” can be described simply as a “popular nineteenth-century Eurocentric prejudice” (2012, 29).

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

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

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

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

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

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

222 Hayashi, the main modern editor of the manuscript, dates it tentatively to the 8th Century (1995, 149).
computation. Similarly, the positional numerical notation that we use today in virtue of its notable versatility of usage was first developed in India between the 5th and 7th Centuries. In his Garland, Kumāralāta makes the Buddha himself an expert in the “science of numbers and calculation” (算數計校論, T4.201. 317a28), and, as we will see, elsewhere in the Garland the merits and demerits accrued by the deeds of humans are depicted as exactly quantifiable, as also is their cosmic requital.

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

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

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

225 See pp. 233ff. for an example.

226 See on this story pp. 240ff.
ledger” (āharāpetvā pahaṭṭho puññapotthakam vācetum lekhakaṁ āha, so tāṁ vācesi potthakam, Mahāvamsa 32.25, Geiger 1908, 259). Brokaw (1991) and Schlieter (2013) have studied the manuals on moral book-keeping from Late Imperial China “in which a man is directed to keep a debtor and creditor account with himself of the acts of each day” (Schlieter 2013, 3–4) and Spiro (1982 :111–112) has described the practice of written merit-books in contemporary Burma. One of Spiro’s informants, echoing the feeling of king Duṭṭhasamhāṇī recounted in the story above, told Spiro that “he examines his merit-book frequently because, when contemplating all his merit, he is happy” (1982, 112).

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

\[\text{\textsuperscript{227}}\] For an English translation of the whole passage that follows, in which an itemized list of the king’s religious gifts (his “merit”) are given see Geiger 1912, 222–223.
poetry “as the bitter medicine is mixed with honey so that it be agreeable to drink” (*pātum tiktam īvaśadham madhuyutam īṛḍyaṃ kathāṃ syād, 18.63d).

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

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\(^{228}\) The compound occurs in a speech that the ascetic Kaunḍinya pronounces upon hearing of the insights found by the Buddha through his enlightenment. According to the Chinese, the point would be the classical image of the Buddha’s method of self-cultivation as a “middle way” between indulgence and self-harm: the wise rejects both, and the passage equates one extreme to snow and another to fire. The Sanskrit text has *prājñō yuktivaśād ihāgni* ...
And yet, in spite of Kumāralātā’s sustained panegyric of the inherent rationality of the Buddha’s Law in many places of the Garland, others show that a dose of rhetorical pose may have been part of Kumāralātā’s narrative strategy, and that presenting the Buddha’s message as essentially rational was more crucial than avoiding contradictions at all costs. So, for example, in one place we are told that the Buddha categorically refrains from preforming miracles, but in another we are shown the Buddha performing them, and similarly, we see a Buddhist bhikṣu refuting on an empirical basis the efficacy of apotropaic practices to a man particularly keen on them, but in other stories we see monastic food leftovers used for miraculous healing and we also see that reciting the formula “Homage to the Buddha!” is advocated for apotropaic purposes. Kumāralātā portrays fortuitous contact with the Buddhist doctrine as sometimes prompting an intellectual awakening, and, other times, a strong emotional reaction. It is opportune to examine in some detail these individual cases and to try to retrieve, albeit more often

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

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

\[ \text{230 See for example the tricks that the Buddha plays on Nītha in story XLIII.} \]

\[ \text{231 This is a topic of story LXXVIII.} \]

\[ \text{232 See story LVII, especially T4.201.312b3–4=Huber 1908, 287.} \]

\[ \text{233 In story XLV the assembly reacts with copious tears to the sermon of a Buddhist preacher, but in stories II, XXVI, and LXXIV casual contact with Buddhist doctrine on the part of non-Buddhists results in an instant intellectual epiphany. Not only in the Garland, but in most of the Buddhist narrative of the period, contact with the Buddhist religion is characteristically portrayed as triggering a reaction termed \text{prasāda, on which see 4.3.2.}} \]
than not through the layer of the Chinese translation, the language and vocabulary through which Kumāralāta depicted the Buddha’s Law as a clever manner to navigate life’s dilemmas and invest one’s resources wisely.

We encountered Story XXIV already, in connection with the portrayal of the rural brahmins in the *Garland*. Let us briefly present the main points of the plot once again: a cohort of brahmins persuades a man to burn himself, and all is thwarted by a Buddhist monk who denounces the practice as not only ineffective, but pernicious. Indian self-immolation has fascinated foreign observers throughout the historical era, from the Indian “naked philosopher” (*gymnosophysistes*) Calanus that—we are told—followed Alexander’s entourage and later immolated himself in Susa, to the Indian-inspired “auto-cremation” that “became a distinct mode of practice in China” (Benn 2007, 11), and finally, to the “suttee” of Aouda in Jules Verne’s *Tour du monde*. This story of Kumāralāta seems to play on the trope of the foreigner seduced by the arcane mores of the Indian heartland. We are first told that the man, a foreigner, had come to Gangetic India (*zhong Tianzhu 中天竺*), where he had been appointed by the king as “village headman” (*juluo zhu 聚落主*), a title that possibly corresponds to Skt. *grāmika* and which according to the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* and the *Arthaśāstra* designated an office in charge of oversight of the village census and of transiting trade, as well as of representing the village in transactions involving other villages.²³⁴

This story mirrors the beginning of story I in its having a foreigner plunging into the brahmanal stronghold that Gangetic India is purported to be. In story I a Gandhāran merchant in Mathurā is faced with a hostile group of brahmins who worship Śiva/Maheśvara and deem the martial exploits of their deity superior to the doctrine of non-harming preached by the Buddha. It seems possible

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then that part of the point of the story is depicting ritual self-immolation as a misguided religious practice alien to Kumāralāta’s native Gandhāra.

The name of the man in story XXIV seems also to have been carefully chosen. The Chinese phonetic rendering of the name, 婆迦利 *Bakali, can almost certainly be reconstructed to Skt. Valkalin because the same transcription appears several times in the Chinese Buddhist corpus as a rendering of the name of a disciple of the Buddha also called Valkalin.235 The story of this other Valkalin is unique in that it features a Buddhist monk, Valkalin, old, sick, and beset by chronic pain at the end of his life, requesting permission from the Buddha to kill himself, receiving it, and then carrying out his design. The story is well attested in the Pāli and Chinese āgamic corpora, and Lamotte (1987) has written about it at length. Naming the protagonist of this story after this controversial figure might evince an effort to expurgate the tradition from an especially uncomfortable legend by suggesting, perhaps, that such ideas were foreign to the mainstream Buddhist mentality.

The brahmins in story XXIV have invoked the authority of “the books Rāmāyaṇa (*Lamayan 羅摩延) and the [Mahā]bhārata” (*Balata 婆羅他) to convince Valkalin to immolate himself as a means to gain heaven. Both epics in their received recensions indeed contain narrative passages that advocate self-immolation with various purposes, like Sitā’s fire ordeal to prove her purity in the Rāmāyaṇa (6. 116–118) or Arjuna’s determination to jump into the pyre if he proves unable to kill Jayadratha by the sunset of that very day in the Mahābhārata (7.51.37). As we have

235 On Valkalin see also 29–30, 61.
seen elsewhere, other passages in the *Mahābhārata* can be seen as structured defenses of self-immolation as a pious religious act that can lead to a heavenly rebirth.²³⁶

Once the preparations for the self-immolation ceremony are under way, we are told the following:

此聚落主與一釋種比丘先共相識，爾時比丘來至其家，見聚落主於其家中種種莊嚴。比丘問言：“欲作何等?”

聚落主言：“我欲生天”

比丘問言：“汝云何去?”

尋即答言：“我投火坑便得生天”

比丘問言：“汝頗知天道不?”

答言：“不知”

比丘問言：“汝若不知，云何得去？汝今行時，從一聚落至一聚落，尚須引導而知途路，況彼天上道路長遠？忉利天上此三百三十六萬里，無人引導，何由能得至彼天上？若天上樂者，彼上座婆羅門，年既老大貧於財物，其婦又老面首醜惡，何所愛樂？何不將去共向天上?”

時彼聚落主既聞語已，作是思惟：“若投火坑得生天者，彼婆羅門應共我去。所以者何？彼婆羅門貧窮、困苦、無可愛戀，應當捨苦就彼天樂，若其不去，徒作欺誑欲殺於我” 作是念已，即便捉上座婆羅門手，欲共投火俱向天上。時婆羅門挌不肯去。何以故？婆羅門等但為錢財來至會所。

(T4.201.281a7–26)

²³⁶ See p. 29, n. 53 above.
This village-headman formerly had acquaintance with a bhikṣu of the Śākya clan. At that time, the bhikṣu came to his [=the headman’s] house, and seeing the headman in the middle of his house, with every kind of adornment, the bhikṣu said: “What do you wish to do?”

The headman said: “I wish to be reborn in the heavens”

The bhikṣu said: “How would you get there?”

The other pondered for a moment and answered: “I will throw myself on to the pyre, and thus attain rebirth in the heavens”

The bhikṣu said: “Do you know well the way to the heavens?”

The other answered: “I do not know it”

The bhikṣu asked then: “If you do not know it, how will you be able to go? Now, when you travel from one village to another village, you need a guide to know the route: how much more for the way up to the heavens, which are far and distant. From here up to the Trāyastriṃśa heaven there are 336.000 leagues (*yojana), and nobody can guide [one there]. On the basis of what would you be able to reach that heaven?

Also, if the heavens are pleasurable, what does then that presiding brahmin, old in years and needy of wealth, his wife also old and ugly in face, have to enjoy here? Why should he not join you to go to the heavens?”

Then, when the headman had heard this, he thought: “If by throwing oneself on to the pyre one obtains rebirth in heaven, that brahmin should go with me. Why?

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237 Interestingly, travelling out to conduct business in representation of the village is precisely one of the duties for the grāmika specified in Arthaśāstra 3.10.16.
That brahmin is poor, troubled, has nothing to love: he must leave suffering and
attain the joys of heaven. If he does not go, then he was only deceiving me, wishing
to kill me.” Having thought this, [Valkalin] pulled him forward by the hand of the
presiding brahmin, so that they could throw themselves together into the fire, to
both be born in heaven. The brahmin fought back and was not willing to go. Why?

The brahmins had come to that assembly only for the sake of monetary wealth. 238

One quite striking trait of this passage is that the Buddha, or Buddhist doctrine branded
specifically as such, are not mentioned at all. The Buddhist recipe for a heavenly birth is presented
later in the narrative; however, here, the Buddhist monk appeals to a rational test of brahmanical
claims that is mainly presented as a charitable act but doubles as a means of proselytisation. The
tone of the monk oscillates between the exact scientific information given on the distance of the
Heaven of the Thirty-Three (trāyastriṃśa), to a general observation that knowledge and method

238 Compare with Huber 1908, 27, “Maintenant ce chef de village avait connu jadis un bhikṣu de la communauté
du Čākya. En ce moment même ce bhikṣu arriva dans la maison du chef de village et le vit au milieu de sa famille,
paré de toutes sortes d’ornements. Le bhikṣu lui demanda: «Que veux-tu faire ?» Le chef de village dit: «Je veux
renaître au ciel ». Le bhikṣu demanda: «De quelle façon vas-tu y aller ?» Il dit : «Je vais me précipiter dans une fosse
de feu, après quoi je renaîtrai dans le ciel». Le bhikṣu lui demanda: «Sais-tu le chemin pour aller au ciel ?» Il dit:
«Je ne le connais pas.» Le bhikṣu lui demanda : «Si tu n’en connais pas le chemin, comment pourras-tu y aller? Si tu
te mets en route pour aller seulement d'un village à un autre village, il te faut déjà un guide qui connaît la route.
Combien plus longue est la route qui mène au ciel! Le ciel des Trayastrīṃcas est éloigné de nous de trois millions
trois cent trente-six li, personne ne peut te servir comme guide. Comment pourras-tu arriver au ciel? Parlons aussi
des joies du ciel : Le chef des brahmanes (que tu vois là) est vieux et dénué de toute richesse. Sa femme est vieille et
a une mine laide. Qu’aimet-il donc? Pourquoi ne veut-il pas aller au ciel ensemble avec toi?» Ayant entendu ces
paroles le chef de village se dit: «Si en se précipitant dans une fosse de feu on obtient de renaître au ciel, il est naturel
que ce brahmane aille avec moi. Pourquoi donc? Ce brahmane est tourmenté par la pauvreté et il n’a rien à quoi son
œur pourrait rester attaché. Il est naturel qu’il quitte cet état de misère pour aller trouver les joies du ciel. Mais s’il
ne veut pas s’en aller, je saurai qu’il m’a trompé et qu’il a comploté ma mort.» Ayant ainsi réfléchi il s’avança, saisit
le chef des brahmanes par la main et s’apprêta à se jeter avec lui dans le feu et à aller avec lui au ciel. Mais le
brahmane se débattait et refusait d’aller. Pourquoi agissait-il ainsi? Parce que les brahmanes n’étaient venus à cette
assemblée que pour ramasser de l’argent.”
are essential to achieving one’s aims, and, finally, to the psychological questioning of the motivations of the brahmins that have encouraged the self-immolation. The revelation of the Buddha’s method to attain heaven comes only after the denunciation of what perhaps would have its closest equivalents in the ideas evoked by the word “superstition,” i.e. unreasonable belief, both unwarranted and harmful.

Story LX, on which we have already remarked, shares a similar plot, if only somewhat less dramatic. As we have seen, a Buddhist monk visits a grhapati for alms and finds him decked with an array of apotropaic devices like a piece of bezoar, a conchshell, and the bilva fruit (=Aegle Marmelos). The argument of the Buddhist monk is effective in its deployment of fairly simple logic: If the bezoar and the conchshell provide supernatural protection, how is it that the bezoar did not protect the ox on which it grew or oyster that lived in the shell? How is it that the bilva could not protect the tree from being shaken for its fruit? The argument here reaches a conclusion that is similar to that of the story of Valkalin: attachment to such practices is not only costly, but pointless and ineffective.

It is only after non-Buddhist religious practices have been shown to be unreasonable that the monks in these two stories proceed to expound the Buddhist alternative. The Buddha’s method as explained in the story of Valkalin is also fairly simple and echoes the five injunctions taken by Buddhist lay-brothers and -sisters:239

一切智說道 廣略之別相，
無害實語等 施及伏諸根。

239 Conventionally these would be refraining from killing, taking what has not been given, engaging in “wrong sexual behavior” (kâmesu mithyācāra, kâmesu micchācāra, dod pa la log par g.yed pa, xieyin 邪淫), false speech, and ingesting intoxicants.
Of the way of the All-Knowing

I will broadly sketch the distinctive features:

Not harming, speaking the truth, and so on,

Giving, and restraining the senses.

This way agrees with the way to the heavens.240

The implicit assumption in this Buddhist recipe for a heavenly rebirth is that these are all actions that accrue merit that ripens in desirable realms of rebirth like heaven. In fact, in the story about the man keen on auspicious objects, the Buddha’s alternative to them is given exactly in terms of the requital of deeds:

福業皆是吉 惡業中無吉，
吉與不吉等 皆從果因緣

Meritorious deeds (*ye 業=karma) are all auspicious,

Among evil deeds there is no auspiciousness

Both auspicious and inauspicious alike

Derive from effects, causes, and conditions.

The doctrine of the requital of deeds hardly strikes our modern sensibility as an empirically verifiable theory, and yet Kumāralāta includes in his collection a story—LXXVIII—that deals

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240 See also Huber 1908, 130, “De ce chemin dont a parlé l’Omniscient /Voici brièvement les différents signes caractéristiques:/ Ne nuire à personne et dire la vérité,/ Donner l’aumône et dompter les sens,/ Voilà le chemin qui conduit au ciel.”
precisely with such an empirical verification of this doctrine. It is extremely telling that he may have decided to compose fiction, in fact historical fiction—indeed, one of the protagonists is the Kuṣāṇa king Huviṣka (floruit late 2nd Century)—because it speaks about the need to present such doctrinal tenet as an empirically verifiable law of the universe. The doctrine of the requital of deeds was not, by Kumāralāta’s time, the common denominator of Indian religious traditions that it would become over time, and the exact mechanics of the retributive universe would have exhibited by then also a great diversity of concurrent and often mutually contradictory formulations.241 Story LXXIII serves to illustrate clearly and forcefully the Buddhist model. The traditional Buddhist jātakas and avadānas rely on narratives that span through several lifetimes in order to make this point, but Kumāralāta seems to have wanted to make a story of the here-and-now where all the cards are on the table and empirical proof is presented as plausible.

In that story we see two of Huviṣka’s ministers, who “had heard many times the [Buddha’s] Law and therefore understood how to debate” (數聞聽法並解議論, T4.201.340c10), disagreeing on a sensitive matter; whereas the more advanced Buddhist practitioner holds that he owes his position at court to the ripening of his own former deeds, the other holds that he owes it to the king. Huviṣka commissions the queen to bestow a number of gifts on the former to see what happens. A short comedy of errors involving alcohol and nasal hemorrhage ensues, and at story’s end the man who held that his advantage was due to the force of his former deeds ends up with the gifts meant for the other. The king is then persuaded of the empirical truth of the requital of deeds, here presented as a distinctive trait of the Buddha’s Law.

241 See p. 224, especially n. 265 where this issue is treated in more detail.
This anecdote on empirical experimentation should not, however, be taken as an indication of a generally speculative or inquisitive attitude towards the world: rather, this episode seems to fit within a larger scheme to present a perfectly mechanistic model of the universe, a clear framework within which practical decision can be made with perfectly predictable outcomes. The doctrine of the requital of deeds might not seem to us significantly more factual than the supernatural protection afforded by amulets, but the point here is that Kumāralāta cloaks it with the mystique of empirical fact by presenting it as empirically verifiable and therefore as a valid logical premise.

As mentioned before, our writer delights in presenting monologues that make explicit the trends of thought that lead his characters to make decisions when faced with difficult problems. Thus, in story XII, two monks are caught in the shipwreck of the merchant vessel on which they are travelling. The younger monk manages to seize a plank, while the older does not. The older monk then requests the plank from the younger, claiming the monastic principle of seniority (yathāvrddha/yathāvuddha, yathāvrddhikā). The younger monk ponders on his own for a while, and concludes that the senior monk’s claim accords with the Buddha’s teaching, thinking “the Tathāgata has indeed [spoken] such words; ‘all advantages pertain first to the one on the higher seat (=the senior)” (如來世尊實有斯語，諸有利樂應先上座, T4.201.270a3–4). But this is an argument according to authority. The young monk then goes on to reason that by relinquishing his means of survival he “accrues unlimited stores of merit” (無量功德聚, T4.201.270a11), and, later on in his mental disquisition, also that “though dead, [his] name will be glorious.” After establishing that self-sacrifice in that context conforms with the rules of the corporate body he belongs to, after ascertaining that doing so is, after all, a profitable investment, and also by taking solace in his posthumous survival in collective social memory, the young monk gives up the
wooden plank—only to be rescued, of course, by the god of the sea, who is astonished by the young monk’s determination.

But this is an extreme case. In general, self-sacrifice should be the very last resource, when all other options have been depleted. In story VII we again encounter the same plot device that we have encountered so often already: a Buddhist upāsaka sees a non-Buddhist ascetic performing penance, and proceeds to convince the man of the irrationality of his acts, using a line of argumentation already familiar: “If on account of being without clothes and food/The nirgranthas (Jains) and others with naked bodies [...] /Should be thought of as ascetics./ Then hungry ghosts, and domestic animals./And those afflicted with poverty./Also should be called ascetics.” And yet the closing lines of his arguments are not an appeal to rationality, but to healthy common sense:

夫欲修道者 當資於此身
以美味飲食 充足於軀命
氣力既充溢 能修戒定慧

(A person wishing to practice the way
Must provide for his body
With delicious food and drink.
Corporeal life is then replenished,
The life-force invigorated.)

242 For the original text and full translation of this passage see p. 253.
Then one can practice the moral training, the concentration, the wisdom.²⁴³

We mentioned above in passing that the Buddha is said to have categorically denied that his doctrine was entirely based on logic and inference, and is also said to have recommended that the deciding factors at the moment of examining a proposition should be neither authority nor logic, but rather considerations of moral consequence and social acceptability. In the words imputed to him, propositions should be rejected if one concludes that,

imedhammā akusalā, ime dhammā sāvajjā, ime dhammā viṃṇugarahitā, ime dhammā samattā samādinnā ahitāya dukkhāya saṃvattanti (Kesamuttisutta, Aṅguttaranikāya, Hardy and Morris 1885–1900 iii 189, §4).

these things are not good, these things are blameworthy, these things are decried by the wise, these things when adopted and carried out lead to what is not beneficial and to suffering.

In other words, social impact seems here to be a deciding factor in the value of knowledge, and in spite of the frequent exaltation of asceticism practiced beyond the conventions of society as the noblest of human pursuits, what these narratives seem to be most concerned with is not disrupting social order but instead affirming or increasing social cohesion. And it would seem as if the aura of Buddhism as a rational faith, as a “religion without superstition,” perhaps as powerful then as it is now, was often subordinate to a strong sense of epistemological pragmatism.

²⁴³ Compare Huber 1908, 46, Celui qui veut pratiquer la Voie / Doit pourvoir aux nécessités du corps;/ Il doit boire et manger de bonnes choses,/ Pour entretenir son corps et sa vie;/ Ainsi la santé et la force s’augmentent,/ Et l’on est apte à pratiquer les défenses et le Dhyāna
3.2.2. The Ethical Refusal of Easy Gains, Hard Work, and Parsimony: A Buddhist Work Ethic

The *Sūtra of the Son of Sujāta* or *Sūtra on the Instruction of Śikhālaka/Sigāla* has been a remarkably influential text, with its popularity in antiquity attested to by versions in Sanskrit, Pāli, and no less than three in Chinese.\(^{244}\) In modernity it has been characterized by Bechert (1966, 13) and Obeyesekere (2002, 181, 388, n.64–66) as a central text in “modernist” Buddhist discourse in South East Asia. The appeal of the text lies perhaps in that it traces a detailed code of behavior for the lay Buddhist. Famously, the commentary *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* attributed to Buddhaghosa calls the text a *gihivinaya*, a “vinaya for the householder.” The technical use of the term *vinaya* here is noteworthy because it typically indicates *monastic* codes of behavior. For the present discussion we should remark that the scripture explains this code of behavior as the metaphorical and truly religious method of performing a domestic ritual—the worship of the six directions—some version of which finds its classical brahmanical formulation in the “five great domestic sacrifices” (*pañcamahāyajña*) of the Law Code of Manu (3.68–121). The text, then, explicitly equates proper social and economic behavior with religious practice.

The *Instruction* enumerates in detail the rules that make a *grhapati* a virtuous lay practitioner of Buddhism, a successful businessman, a respected member of his society, and a prominent donor. Among the features that allow the *grhapati* to increase his wealth are sedulously eschewing the “drains on wealth” (*apāyamukha, suncai ye* 損財業), that include engaging in nightlife, festive

\(^{244}\) The Sanskrit versions are all fragmentary, and those known and edited are in the collections of the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften: SHT 412.22–31, 1244, 1914; one also fragmentary Nepalese version has been edited by Matsuda (1996). The Pāli version (*Sigālovādasutta*) is 31 in the collection *Dīghanikāya*. The Chinese versions are: *Dīrghāgama* 2.16, T1.1.70a20–72c26; *Madhyamāgama* 11.135, T1.26.638c8–642a21; T16; T17. For a comparative overview of the versions known to him, see Premasiri 1950.
music, dance, and story-telling, alcohol consumption, and gambling. At this point we might remark once again that although we have characterized the Buddhist grhapati as typically a member of an urban upper-middle-class, surely not all people in this demographic may have shared the same puritanical approach towards the joys of life. What comes most instantly to mind is, for example, the readership of the perhaps 3rd CE Century Sūtra of Pleasure (Kāmasūtra) of Vatsyāyana which, far from being the sex manual of the modern popular understanding is a complete manual on lifestyle and household economy that, however, constantly emphasizes the pursuit of pleasure as a defining element of status and privilege.245 The man about town of the Sūtra of Pleasure certainly enjoys a sophisticated sex-life and pastimes like table games and quail fights, but is also a reader.246 Another demographic that comes to mind would be the readership of the roughly contemporary Prakrit lyrical collection Sattasaṅ. Kaul (2009) has in fact pointed to “culture and pleasure” as the central and most characteristic pursuits of these urban sophisticates as portrayed in the literature of the early centuries CE. The austere approach to simple sensorial enjoyment in the Instruction of Śikhālaka must have been then, in stark contrast with other cultural trends that were active during of Kumāralātā’s own time: what these different groups of urban people seem to have had in common at this point seems to have been a growing appetite for fine literature written in beautiful Sanskrit. However, Kumāralātā’s must have been a world that had room for both blasé hedonism and puritanical morality existing side by side and expressed in similar language.

245 Second half of the 3rd Century is the dating proposed by Doniger and Kakar 2002, xi.

246 Books are listed as one of the essential elements in the house of a man-about-town in Kāmasūtra 1.4.4.
The *grhapati* of the *Instruction* never finds an excuse not to work by thinking “‘it is too cold’ [...] ‘it is too hot’ [...] ‘it is too early’ [...] ‘it is too late’ [...] ‘I am too rich/sated’ [...] ‘I am too poor/hungry’ [...]” (atisītaṃ ... atiṇham ... atisāyaṃ ... atipāto ... atichāto’smi ... atidhāto’smi; 富樂 ... 貧窮 ... 寒時 ... 熱時 ... 早 ... 晚). And, for the present discussion, one of the most telling details in the *Instruction* is that although it lists duties of employers towards employees and vice versa, the dominant narrative seems to be the one told from the point of view of the employer: the man who officiates the worship of the directions metaphorically ministers to his employees towards the nadir, underneath himself.

The monastic *vinayas* include plenty of narrative detail on administrative procedure and business administration, and to a lesser extent so do collections like the *Avadānaśataka* and the Jaina *Uvāsagadasāṇo* that we have considered before; however, Kumāralāta seems to have considered such matters too prosaic and pedestrian for the artistic aims of his stories. Yet, he has much to say about the attitudes of his characters towards work, business, and the domestic economy. Two stories of the *Garland* deal with procrastination, and although in both cases the procrastination has to do with religious duty, they can be taken as expressive of more general attitudes. Story XIII features two brothers who take up the monastic career. The elder had reached the status of an *arhat*, while the younger had specialized, perhaps like Kumāralāta himself, in scholastic philosophy. The elder brother insists that the younger undertake meditational practice, and when the younger brother replies he would do it later, the elder replies with a chilling rebuke:

\[\text{mṛtyuvyāghrena sahasāvyāghreṇevāvalambitāḥ tat tathā kṛ}..\]

(Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45 v5)

Those caught by the tiger of death, like suddenly caught by a tiger, in that same way...
死虎極暴急 都無有容縱，
一旦卒來到 不待至明日
(T4.201.270b25–26)

The tiger of death, violent and sudden
Completely lacks forbearance
It will come suddenly one morning
And will not wait for tomorrow\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^7\)

The scholastic philosopher winds up in hell, which is definitely an uncommonly harsh narrative fate in the universe of the *Garland*. Story XLIX deals with a favorite of the king fallen from grace and sentenced to death: reaching the end of his life he regrets not having taken his religious duties more seriously. The fate of the former favorite is unknown, but an authorial intervention at the end of the story expresses condemnation in equally stark terms:

何緣故說是？先不善觀察而作死想，臨終驚怖方習禪觀，以不破五欲
故，莫知所至，悔恨驚怖

(T4.201.302c2–4)

For what reason do I tell this? The aforesaid man had not well observed and thought about his death. In his final moments he panicked and set about to practice concentration, but as he had not destroyed the five desires, not knowing whereto he would pass away [from here], he was frightened and remorseful.\(^2\)\(^4\)\(^8\)

\(^{247}\) See Huber 1908, 71, *Le tigre cruel de la mort / N'accorde jamais de merci; Un jour il arrivera vite/ Et n'attendra pas le lendemain.*

\(^{248}\) See Huber (1908, 238): *Pourquoi cela a-t-il été raconté? (Pour montrer) comme cet homme avait commencé par ne pas bien réfléchir et par ne pas songer à la mort. Quand il s’approcha de sa fin, il s’effraya et dirigea ses
The kind of personal discipline that these two characters lack finds many manifestations in the stories of the *Garland*. Stories IX and XXXIV, on which we have already remarked, deal with characters faced with the dilemma of taking unearned wealth. In both cases, the characters find treasures by chance.\(^{249}\) In story IX the character, “a poor upāsaka,” declines to take a treasure hidden in the wall of a ruined house, thus earning the praise of a present monk, who says to the upāsaka: “Although you do not have the garments of the law your heart has already left the house,” a somewhat elaborate way of saying that the upāsaka is a monk in all but the habit. This, once again, equates the holiness of the monastic path with the upāsaka’s behavior towards money. In story XXXIV, instead, the protagonist takes the treasure and is seized by the fiscal department of the king. Certainly, these stories play on the standard Buddhist tenet, usually found as the second precept taken by the lay-brothers and -sisters, to refrain from “taking what has not been given” (*adattādāna, adinnādāna*). Seen more closely from the optic of the ethics of wealth, a further moral of the stories seems to be that the righteous man relies only on the wealth he has been able to earn by himself. The same kind of restraint and disciplined adherence to prescribed codes of conduct is perhaps best displayed by story LXXVI, where a sick man—again, an upāsaka—is prescribed wine by a doctor. Since abstention from intoxicant substances is also one of the five precepts of lay-brothers and -sisters, the protagonist decides to die rather than break the principles of his training. Again, the rationale is that intoxication leads to every manner of infraction and mistaken decision; however it is inevitable to be reminded here of the *Instruction*, where intoxication is characterized primarily as a “drain of wealth.”

\(^{249}\) See a complete translation of the story and with an introduction in 5.1.
In story XX we encounter praise of parsimony and thrift. The man in the story, again an *upāsaka*, is content with what he has, and upon being called “poor” by someone else, replies by saying that his wealth is the favorable disposition towards the religion of the Buddha. It makes his giving, however limited, the kind of immaterial wealth that fructifies in the afterlife. Why or how he is able to say so will be the topic of Chapter IV, but we can remark for the moment that the rationale that the *Garland* sets for the pursuit of wealth is in fact, that wealth allows for the religious gift. One particularly emblematic story, XXXIII, on which we have commented already and will comment on again later, has a peasant visiting the city and being dazzled by the opulence of urban life. Upon realizing that his present poverty is the outcome of his lack of religious cultivation and gift-giving in past lives, he sets his mind upon changing course. As we have seen before, the social mobility allowed by the so-called second urbanization of India may, in fact, have meant a migration towards urban centers and a shift towards urban modes of production. The story of the peasant as told in the *Garland* is no more than a vignette, a narrative embryo, and yet a rather similar story is told in the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya* that describes what the path towards the simultaneous acquisition of a committed religious mindset and of social prominence may have been imagined to look like.\footnote{The story is part of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, and is preserved in Tibetan translation in Derge, 'Dul ba, Ja, 113b3–122a7, but the Sanskrit text is quoted \textit{in toto} in the *Divyāvadāna* as story XXI under the title \textit{Sahasodgatāvadāna}.}

In the story from the *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, the protagonist is not a peasant but the impoverished and orphaned son of a grhapati. After being instructed in a Buddhist monastery on how the religious gift grants rebirth in heaven, our man has a strong motivation to gather the funds to provide one meal to the monastic assembly. He is forced to profit
from the only asset he has left, namely his capacity to do manual work, although the text implies that such a thing was seen as demeaning for someone of his upbringing.

Like our peasant, the son of the grhapati realizes that his present disenfranchisement is the outcome of his lack of merit. We may pause here for a moment to note that this realization seems to have been, for Kumāralāta, a transformational moment, imagined to be one in which, by taking responsibility over their lives, his characters are able to break the vicious circle of mistaken deeds and bad retributions. Besides the story of the peasant, the Garland contains another depiction of this epiphany of a story we have already encountered, LXXV, where an old man decides to pawn himself and his wife into servitude in order to make a religious gift after having had the following thought:

世有良福田 我無善種子
今身若後身 飢窮苦難計
先身不種子 今世極貧窮

(T4.201. 342a8–10)

The world has an excellent field for merit
But I did not sow well seed.
My present self, like my future selves
Is hungry, needy, distressed, worried.
My former self did not sow seed:
So, in this present lifetime [I am] poor\textsuperscript{251}

\textsuperscript{251} See Huber 1908, 420, \textit{Le monde est un excellent champ de mérite,/ Mais je n’ai pas de bonnes semences:/ Dans cette vie et dans l’autre,/ Je souffrirai d’une faim et d’une misère énormes./ Dans une vie antérieure je n’ai pas semé,/ Dans cette vie donc je suis tombé dans une misère extrême.}
The son of the grhapati finds himself working in a team of workers that are lazy and work with “dishonesty” (śāthyena). He attempts to encourage his fellow workers to work diligently with the following words:

\[
\text{vayaṃ tāvat pūrvakena duścaritena daridragheṣūpapannās tadyadi śāthyena karma karisyāma itaścyutāṇāṃ kā gatiḥ bhaviṣyati?}
\]

(Cowell and Neil 1886, 304.22–24)

“Since we through previous bad behavior have been reborn in poor families, if we do our work with dishonesty, what will be our future state when we pass away from here?”

Through honest and diligent work our man is able to gain the favor of his employer and to bring to fruition his original design of providing a meal for the monks. Later on, the man’s generosity ends up generating income for him in unexpected ways: those who have benefitted from him wish to reward him. Upon questioning the Buddha on whether accepting that unforeseen revenue would conflict with a heavenly rebirth, our man is told:

\[
\text{vatsa, puspam etat, phalam anyad bhaviṣyati}
\]

(Cowell and Neil 1886, 309.2–3)

My son, this is the flower, the other will be the fruit

Throughout the rest of the story we see the man attaining the status of a grhapati and climbing the social ladder until he becomes the president of the traders’ guild in the city (śreṣṭhin). The Buddha’s answer is unambiguous: Worldly success is the secondary outcome of business and honest labor conducted to allow the religious gift and it does not conflict with what is technically the primary goal, a favorable rebirth. There is, then, not only no contradiction between success in business and religious piety: in fact, the former is a favorable condition for the latter.
3.2.3. The Quest for Respectability: Manners, Discipline, Decorum

One small verbal cliché that enters in the composition of all the extant monastic codes (vinayas) of the various schools of Indian Buddhism describes the reaction of groups outside the Buddhist monastic order to given actions of monastics:

Mūlasarvāstivāda: [te] ‘vadhyāyanti, kṣipanti, vivācayanti

“They thought little [of the monastics,] reviled [them,] spoke disparagingly [about them]”

Theravāda: [te] ujjhāyanti, khiyyanti, (or khīyanti) vipācenti

“They thought little [of the monastics,] were vexed, spoke disparagingly [about them]”

Mahāsaṃghika: te ... odhyāyanti

“They thought little [of the monastics]”

Mahīśāsaka: 諸...識訶言

“They spoke with criticism, reviling [the monastics]”

Dharmaguptaka: 諸...皆譏嫌言

“They all spoke with criticism, disgusted”

Sarvāstivāda: 諸...譏嫌訶責

“They criticized [the monastics], were disgusted, reviled and blamed [them]”

The grammatical object of the sentence—an individual Buddhist monastic or a group of them—is constant; however, the subject varies widely. In the case of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya it is often a nominal phrase that indicates what could be taken either as a denomination of the notable members of society at large or else, more narrowly, of the influential segment of society most likely to sponsor, at least ideally, the Buddhist monastic order: those brāhmaṇā grhapatayah,
“brahmins and grhapatis.”

However, once a sufficient sample of the huge volume of occurrences of this cliché is considered, we see a wider variety of actors engaged in criticism on Buddhist monastic practices: sometimes, the professional practitioners of non-Buddhist religions; often, Buddhist monastics themselves. The outcome of the social outrage at monastic practices expressed in this small phrase is inevitably the formulation of additional monastic norms on the part of the Buddha, or, less often, on the part of the monastic community itself, as represented by its most senior and authoritative members. In the context of the present discussion, the point that needs to be made is that in the cases where this phrase occurs, social expectations are the main determinant for regulating behavior: What people think about the community is, more than intrinsic considerations on the path of monastic cultivation, what determines regulatory initiatives.

If anything, the frequency of these passages shows that in spite of the abundant injunctions to shun social ties and constraints contained in the more romantic canonical works of the tradition—in fact some of the oldest and most widespread texts like the *Rhinoceros Horn* and the *Chapters on Eights* or *on Truth* (*aṭṭhakavagga, arthavargīya*)—the narrative and normative literature that we deal with here, concerned as it is with reconciling doctrine with the practical concerns of life, placed a central importance precisely on the social expectations of monastic behavior. Although breaking away from the encumbering complexities of social life always remained an element of the mystique of the monastic path, the monastics of the *vinayas* seem not only concerned, but in fact constantly preoccupied with earning the respect of the community that supported them and of society at large.

252 *Grhapati* is a difficult term: please see the previous discussion on some of the meanings that it may have had in 3.1.2–8.
One of the most striking literary features of the *Garland* is an insistent panegyric of the institutional dimension of Buddhist religion; however, either wittingly or unwittingly Kumāralāta gives us clues as to the underlying reasons for the vehemence of his panegyric. Our author has vividly illustrated the extended social prejudices that the Buddhist community may have faced: Kumāralāta’s impassioned praise of the Buddha’s religion goes hand in hand with abundant hints that it may not have been welcomed or well-regarded by many sectors of society during his time.

For example, that ascetics in general and Buddhist monks in particular may have been generally regarded as inauspicious is made clear by the plot of story XXIII,\(^{253}\) in which as soon as a monk enters the house of a brahmin for alms the ritually significant ridgepole (wudong 屋檁, *sthūna*) breaks, shattering in its fall the also ritually significant water pots (shuiweng 水瓮, *udakumbha*). The immediate assumption of the brahmin master of the house is that the presence of the monk has brought bad luck upon his house. He says: “what kind of bad omen (buxiang 不祥) is this? Such is the evil power of the inauspicious person (buji zhi ren 不吉之人) that has come to my house! (斯何不祥? 不吉之人來入吾家, 有此變怪, T4.201. 280b7–10).\(^{254}\) This small vignette is fully consonant with the picture that one would derive from considering other sources from contemporary India and even from modern Sri Lanka.\(^{255}\) The Buddhist insistence on the

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\(^{253}\) On this see Schopen 2014, 446 n.32.

\(^{254}\) Compare Huber 1908, 123, Quel est cet événement de mauvais augure? C’est un porte-malheur qui a mis le pied dans ma maison pour que cet événement extraordinaire soit arrivé.

\(^{255}\) See for example, how in the play *Mrčhakaṭikā* (7.9+, Acharya 2009, 324–325) the mere “sight of a wretched Buddhist monk” is said to be of “bad luck” (anābhyadayikaṃ śramaṇakadarśanam), and that this is not a sign of the moral flaws of the character that speaks this line but rather the expression of a widespread prejudice is made clear by the fact the speaker is the exemplary hero of the play, Carudatta. A very similar statement is also made in a story from a narrative collection that shares much with Kumāralāta’s *Garland*, the *Liudu jijing* 六度集經, only preserved in Chinese translation (T3.152.27–29, French translation in Chavannes 1910–1935, i, 184): here, the one
transience of life seems to have suited rituals related with death more than other life-cycle occasions throughout the history of the tradition. Indeed, there must have been a short distance from the association of Buddhist monks with death to their becoming a bad omen themselves. Kumāralāta subverts this widespread prejudice by having the monk disclose what had actually happened: rather than the calamity having been brought by the monk, it was that a yakṣa had taken possession of the brahmin’s house and had fled in fear of the monk. This is a clever twist on the part of the writer, but one that clearly concedes to the tangible reality that Buddhist monastics may have elicited what at best were ambivalent feelings from among many in society.

Besides being inauspicious, Buddhist monks may have been assumed to be old and not good-looking. In story LXV, we see the wives of the king utterly surprised that a man like one certain *Sāraṇa,257 “young in years, handsome, of unique looks” (年既少、壯容、貌殊特, T4.201.323c13) could be a Buddhist monk. The most immediate inference is that at least for these palace ladies, Buddhist monks may have been generally expected to be neither young nor handsome, but instead old and ugly. Regarding this specific preconceived notion regarding Buddhist monks, the *Garland contains interesting suggestions that it may even have been prevalent among the who refers to the Buddhist monk as an “inauspicious person” (此不祥之人) is a hunter that has previously invited the monk to come for alms. For how even in mostly Buddhist modern Sri Lanka similar beliefs still hold true, on which see Gombrich and Obeyesekere (1988, 265–67); the latter elaborate on the mortuary connotations of Buddhist monks and on why they were traditionally seldom invited to weddings. Such negative stereotypes may have not been exclusive to Buddhist monastics: see Bhalchandra Deo (1956, 397) for an early Jaina story that features these same prejudices.


257 Middle Chinese *Salana 婆羅那. My reconstruction here is tentative, but among the Sanskrit terms that would fit this transcription, Sāraṇa is the only one that I have found attested as a personal name (Monier Williams 1872, s.v.).
Buddhists themselves: Story III is entirely devoted to teaching that younger monks are equally venerable—and equally worthy recipients of gifts and thereby generators of merit—as older monks.

The *Garland* also seems to suggest that Buddhist monks were in general perceived to belong to the lower castes. Stories XVI and LXXVIII illustrate instances of this specific perception, followed narratively not by a refutation of that point, but rather by the usual Buddhist statement that caste is irrelevant. In the first story, the minister Yaśas, who censures king Aśoka’s patronage of the Buddhist order on account of the dubious caste composition of the latter, is taught a lesson in modesty, whereas the second story features two royal princes refusing to eat monastic food leftovers, arguing that such food would be ritually impure because Buddhist monks are of “all sorts of mixed family names” (種種雜姓, T4.201.344a23; Huber 1908, 442.)

That, then, Buddhist monks should have cared about combating all these negative stereotypes should not surprise us, and the recipe for uprooting bad reputation and create a good name outlined for monastics by Kumāralāta is a very straightforward one: “If the disciple can hold steadfastly to the rules of training (jie 戒) he will be respected and admired by people” (若有弟子能堅持戒為人宗仰, T4.201.268c5–6). In other words, strict adherence to the rules of monastic discipline, beyond any consequences that it may have regarding the cultivation of the monastic ideal, is a sure way to earn respect.

The lay people pictured in the *Garland* display equal eagerness for earning respectability and elevating the reputation of their religion. We will consider this point in detail, but first, the story whose initial moral maxim was just quoted in the previous paragraph—XI—deserves some careful consideration because of the remarkable statements contained in it. The story features a group of monks attacked by thieves while traveling. One of the thieves, we are told, had previously
been a monk, and this tells us something about the social background and status of at least some Buddhist monastics in Kumāralā’s time: Slipping from monkhood into crime evidently did not seem an utter impossibility to the audience of the *Garland*. The thief with a monastic background had once been, moreover, a well-trained monk, and he devises a method to restrain the monks that would avoid the unpleasant task of murdering them by taking advantage of the monks’ strict observance of monastic discipline. “Since” the thief argues “the Law of the bhikṣus does not allow them to hurt plants, if we use grass to tie up these bhikṣus, they will fear to harm it and will not be able to go into the four directions to tell on us” (*比丘之法不得傷草，今若以草繫諸比丘，彼畏傷故終不能得四向馳告*, T.201.268c10–11, Huber 1908, 62, lines 17–22). Now, this is in all likelihood an allusion to an item featured in the lists of rules of many Indian monastic schools.

Although the wording is highly opaque and unusual, the rule is unanimously taken to mean, indeed, that monks should not hurt plants, and that if they do, that they incur a penalty. The monks decide to stay where they are and die rather than break a single blade of grass. There is certainly a good deal of narrative hyperbole in this plot twist, but the image evoked here was probably not

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258 “Among the thieves there was one man who had once left the house” (*賊中一人先曾出家*, T.4.201.268c8–9. Compare Huber 1908, 62, “*parmi eux se trouvait un homme qui jadis avait appartenu au clergé*”).

259 This rule is listed under number 11 in the category of “offences causing fall” (*pātayantikā, pācittikā/pāyittikā*) of at least the following four traditions:
- Sarvāstivāda: *bijagrāmahūtagrāmapātanāt pātayantikā*.
- Mūlasarvāstivāda: *bijagrāmahūtagrāmapātanātāpanātāpanātāpāyantikā*.
- Mahāsāṃghika: *bijagrāmahūtagrāmapātāpanake pācattikaṇī*.
- Theravāda: *bijagāmahūtagāmapātavyatāya pācittikā*.

The language of these injunctions is obscure, and as the synoptic presentation in Pachow 1955, 126 shows, it created considerable perplexity among ancient Chinese and Tibetan translators. Nevertheless, as far as the Indic commentarial tradition is concerned, Schmithausen (1991, 5–22), who deals with this rule in *extenso*, shows that the compound *bijagrāmahūtagrāma* was generally understood to refer to plants, although a secondary interpretation of *bhūtagrāma* as ‘village of creatures’ or ‘village of spirits’ seems to have had a certain currency too, alluding to the animals that live in vegetation or else to the spirits that inhabit it.
intended to be comical at all: the monks eventually declare that “the Buddha said that all plants/are a village of spirits”\textsuperscript{260} (佛說諸草木/悉是鬼神村, T4.201.269c3, Huber 1908, 68, line 13) and this resonates with the belief, richly documented for the ancient and modern Indic world, that plants are inhabited by powerful supernatural entities.

Determined to die, the monks utter in chorus one of the grand poetic speeches that Kumāralāṭa reserves for important statements on the religious life:

我等今危厄 必定捨軀命
若當命終後 生天受快樂
若毀犯禁戒 現在惡名聞
為人所輕賤 命終墮惡道
(T4.201.69a24–27)

We are now in danger
And will inevitably relinquish our bodies;
After the end of our present lives
We will be reborn in the heavens and experience pleasure.
But, if we offend against the rules of training
In the present we will have a bad reputation
People will judge us as irrelevant and worthless:

\textsuperscript{260}Please see the previous note on bhūtagrāma as ‘settlement of spirits.’ Huber’s rendering of guīshen cūn 鬼神村 as “\textit{la demeure des esprits}” (1908, 67) is correct, but not too literal: cūn 村 is in its most basic sense a ‘village’ (=grāma).
When our lives end we will fall into evil destinies.\(^{261}\)

Future rebirth in the heavens is mentioned here as an incentive to disciplined behavior, but secondly, after the deterrent of the loss of reputation in the immediate present. Much further on into the long speech, the monks take up again a defense of reputation, but this time with a different argument:

願以持戒死 終不犯戒生
有德及無德 俱共捨壽命
有德慧命存 並復有名稱
無德喪慧命 亦復失名譽

(T4.201.269c9–12)

We vow to die by holding to the rules of training,
Not to survive while offending against the rules.
As for the one with virtues and the one without,
Both must give up their life:
Those with virtues and wisdom keep them as long as they live,
And then they also have renown;
Those who live without qualities and destitute of wisdom
Will moreover likewise lose their good name\(^{262}\)

\(^{261}\) Compare Huber 1908, 65, “Nous sommes maintenant en danger / Et nous sommes décidés à quitter le corps et la vie;/ Car ainsi, après la fin de notre vie,/ Nous renaîtrons au ciel et nous goûterons toutes les joies;/ Mais si nous violions les commandements,/ Nous aurions mauvaise réputation dans ce monde;/ Les hommes nous mépriseraient/ Et après la mort nous tomberions dans une des mauvaises voies.”

\(^{262}\) Huber 1908, 67, “En observant les commandements nous voulons mourir,/ Jamais nous ne vivrons en les violant./ Ceux qui ont de la vertu et ceux qui n'ent ont pas,/ Tous verront finir leurs jours,/ Mais le vertueux et le sage,
This is to say that even if not considering the retribution attached to breaking the rules, reputation remains an incentive to play by the book. And, in fact, one could argue that a strong concern for reputation evinces an internal sense of insecurity. The grhapatis of the Garland are not vulnerable: they are men well-established in their livelihood and their faith. And yet, as we have seen, the very real possibility of lapsing into poverty elicits deep anxiety in the narratives of the Garland. Reading between the lines, it seems that the message embodied in this and other Buddhist narrative collections may have appealed not only to those who were affluent and well-established, but also, and strongly, to those who may have wished to be so. This is eloquently encompassed in a small passage, originally from the Vinayavibhaṅga of the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya but preserved in Sanskrit only in a quotation in the Divyāvadāna, that describes the “benefits which are alone sufficient to make a wise man who sees it intent upon entering the order” (pañcānuṣāṃsāḥ samanupaśyatā panditenālameva pravrajyādhimuktena bhavitum):

yeṣāmam dāsah presyo nirdeśyo bhujisyo nayena kāmaṅgamas teśāṁ
pūjyaśca bhavisyāmi praśaṃsyaś ca.

(Cowell and Neil 1886, 302.26–28)

“Those for whom I was a slave, a menial, subject, a servant, a bondman, for them I will become an object of worship and esteem”

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tant que dure sa vie,/ Et après sa mort, aura de la gloire;/ L'homme sans vertu a l'esprit aveuglé durant sa vie,/ Et après sa mort il aura mauvaise réputation.”
One way to achieve that esteem would be embracing the monastic path; another would be making it possible for those wishing to embrace the monastic path to do so by becoming a sponsor. And such sponsorship was allowed by wealth, which is the central topic of the next chapter.
4. The Meaning of Wealth

That the pursuit of wealth is positive, because it allows the religious gift, is a proposition that the narratives of the *Garland* fully support. Kumāralāta, however, does not take the cynical position that the religious gift triggers a simple mechanical requital that exculpates any deed undertaken in the pursuit of wealth. On the contrary, Kumāralāta warns against the dangers inherent in wealth and in performing the religious gift without ardor. The pursuit of wealth in the *Garland* is then much more complicated than it would seem at first: on the one hand its cosmic mechanics are highly intricate and, on the other, it is conditioned upon a personal path of personal cultivation.

4.1. The Parallel Paths of Wealth and Merit in the Machine of Requital

The Sanskrit word *karman*—a term not more explicit in its etymology than English ‘deed’ or ‘action’—has, by the early 21st Century, entered the lexicon of many world languages. Statements to the effect that a given personal relationship or circumstance are “one’s *karma*” are part of contemporary modes of expression in the globalized world: *karma* as used in North American English in this time and place typically refers, in only half-humorous manner, to something annoying or vexing that one is however willing to endure out of the understanding that it comes as a punishment for one’s misdeeds. As it often happens with loanwords, there is here a shift in usage from the source languages from which it originated: an implicit assumption in traditional South Asian discourse on the requital of deeds is that the triggering events may have happened in a number of previous lives, an assumption largely absent from the modern, Western usage of the

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263 At least the canonical texts of some Buddhist schools do, however, speak about the requital of an action taking place within the same life: an āgamic source (*Nibbhedikasutta, Aṅguttaranikāya* 6.63=Madhyamāgama 111, T1.599b.08 ff, and an independent version, T1.57.851b27), in its threefold classification of deeds includes the category of *diṭṭhadhammavedaniyakamma*, traditionally taken to mean one whose requital is to be experienced in the present
term. Nevertheless, in this case one could argue that something essential has remained from its usage in the South Asian languages in which it was first used: I have heard people in contemporary India referring to the hardships and misfortunes in their lives as “their karma” with the same sense of inexorability with which people in 19th Century Protestant England and North America may have spoken about bearing the “lot appointed by God, which would be beneficial if man did not thwart it by his own pride.”

The doctrine of the requital of acts seems so inherent to the history of religious thought in South Asia that it is easy to lose sight of the fact that it has had an historical trajectory of its own. Indeed, the attainment of a favorable rebirth over and above the idea of breaking the chain of one’s actions has been, with varying degrees of peripherality in elite intellectual discourse, a religious goal throughout Indian history. Accordingly, many centuries intervened in the process that made the doctrine of the requital of deeds, through a long sequence of rebirths, the perceived common denominator of Indian religious thought that it would eventually become. It is particularly important to remark that the traditions that formally recognize the validity of the Vedic corpus—the same traditions that, lumped together, would be branded as “Hinduism” in modernity—

life; likewise, a common and widespread Buddhist tenet is a list of five offenses of immediate requital (pañcānantarīya, mtshams med lnga, wu wujian 五無間).

On the other hand, according to data of the Pew Research center, in 2008 a 22% of Americans self-identified as Christian (and a 24% of the general public) professed a belief in reincarnation (Pew Research Center 2009); apparently, although karma and reincarnation do have their place in contemporary American life, these two notions do not seem to intersect, and this underscores the fact that whenever they may co-occur, they do not necessarily have to fuse into a unitary concept: Obeyesekere (2002, 2) draws our attention to the fact that the belief in rebirth or metempsychosis is by no means unique to the South Asian cultural sphere, but that its coupling with a belief in the requital of acts is typologically rare in human cultures.

264 This excerpt is taken from the commentary of the Hebraist Stanley Leathes (1830–1900) ad Job 5,6 (1884, vi.13) in Charles John Ellicott’s Old Testament Commentary for English Readers.
assimilated these doctrines relatively late: Seminal textual genres as varied as the Purāṇas, the Sanskrit epics, the prescriptive brahmanical compendia (dharmaśāstras), and classical medical literature, all of which took their definitive shape only in the early centuries CE, show only a hesitant and unsystematic commitment to the full-fledged doctrine of rebirth and the requital of deeds.265

Bronkhorst (2007) has questioned mainstream understandings of the cultural and geographic affiliation of these ideas. In contrast to the conventional narrative that both of these tenets are contained in nuce in the early Vedic tradition,266 Bronkhorst argues that these were elements specific to the culture of Magadha and are initially separate from the ritual brahmanical stock. No matter, however, whether the doctrines of rebirth and the requital of actions stemmed originally from the bosom of the Vedic tradition or not, the first strong and unambiguous statement of these two doctrines, and, most remarkably, of the two incorporated into a unitary system, appears in Buddhist and Jain texts from around the turn of the common era.267 There are of course

265 The scholarly literature on this doctrine is of course vast, and I will not attempt to provide an overview of it here. A good sample-book on this issues as it appears in various textual genres from the time period that interests us here is the volume Karma and Rebirth in Classical Indian Traditions (1980) edited by Wendy Doniger, where the editor herself, as contributor, remarks on how “the theory of rebirth does not appear in the Vedas” (p. 3) and how in the Purāṇas it is “a straw man […] set up to be knocked down;” [J. Bruce] Long hints at how karma is only one of the “causal factors” of human destiny at play in the plot of the Mahābhārata, with divine intervention, fate, nature, time, and death being equally prominent; Rocher (pp. 61–75) details how Manu’s Dharmaśāstra espouses no less than six separate systems of deed-requital; and Weiss speaks about how the medical treatise Carakasamhitā has to reconcile fatalistic premises with a system that does not invalidate the efficacy of medical practice (p. 90).

266 The evolution of the limited Vedic notion of karman as effective ritual action to the all-encompassing mechanism evinced in Buddhist and Jain texts is the subject of at least two monographic treatments: Tull (1989) and Egge (2002), as also of a section devoted to it (pp. 72–144) in Obeyesekere (2002).

267 If the lāghulovāde musāvādāṃ adhigicya bhagavatā budhena bhūsīte (presumably the ‘Speech to Rāhula, in regard to false speech spoken by the Blessed One, the Buddha’) in Aśoka’s ‘Calcutta-Bairāṭ’ (or “Bhabra”) edict is a text closely related with the Ambalatṭhikarāhulovādasutta in the Pāli Majjhimanikāya (sūtra 61) and its many
differences in the scholastic formulations of these doctrines in each of these religious movements: the Jain articulation is rather unique in its considering deeds as a physical, dust-like matter that adheres to the soul,268 and the classical Buddhist characterization distinguishes itself by taking volition or intention into account. The Buddhist models of these doctrines are further complicated by the notion of the absence of a self or soul: the problem of a non-existent doer doing palpable deeds with palpable consequences through a number of iterations has always been a theoretical conundrum for the tradition, one for which several solutions have been proposed.

Nevertheless, stepping down from the universe of subtle distinctions necessary to philosophical discourse and to scholastic elaboration, the way in which these tenets manifest themselves in the abundant narrative didactic literature of both traditions is remarkably similar: What we see here—in spite of a generalized lip-service to the doctrine of the illusory nature of the soul in the case of Buddhism—is de facto a number of embodied souls that become incarnate many times and in various conditions, conditions that depend upon the deeds of former lives. Escape from the chain of cyclical death and rebirth remains always a lofty goal, but more often than not the narrative reward for meritorious action is a favorable rebirth rather than the final and supra-conceptual “snuffing out” of the world that we know, nirvāṇa.

268 For surveys of the Jaina doctrines on the requital of deeds focused, respectively, on the earliest available scriptures and on the later scholastic tradition, see Krishan (1997, 39–53) and Dundas (1992, 97–103).
4.1.2. Black and White Deeds and Fruits: Isomorphism of Act and Requital

Although in the context of Buddhism, the doctrine of requital is often glossed as one of “moral causation,” I will suggest here that this gloss, at least for the Buddhist narrative literature that concerns us here, while not completely inadequate, fails to convey a number of important nuances. In the first place, the Buddhist tradition is not unequivocal in the sense that only moral actions (understood as behavior to be conventionally regarded as good or bad) give rise to a requital. At least one authoritative scholastic point of view holds that morally neutral action has no “ripening” (vipāka), but this does not conflict with the possibility that some morally neutral features of the act can be carried on to its requital. A narrative cliché of the Mulasarvāstivādavinaya and the narrative collections that are based on it specifies that “of only black deeds there is only a black ripening, of only white [deeds] only a white [ripening], and of mixed [deeds] a mixed [ripening]” (ekāntakṛṣṇāṁ karmaṁ ekāntakṛṣṇo vipākah ekāntaśuklānāṁ ekāntaśuklah vyatimīśrānāṁ vyatimīśraḥ, Hiraoka 2002, 168–169). This statement has been commonly taken to mean that bad deeds prompt a bad requital, good ones a good one, and ones that combine good and bad have a requital that combines those qualities. But I would like to draw the reader’s attention to the chromatic metaphor involved here: It seems to imply that something of the original features of the deed translates into its requital. In other words, it is not only the moral dimension of our acts, but also the specific, defining traits of our acts, that determine their requital.

Story LV of Kumālā’s Garland of Examples features an example, otherwise rare in this collection, of a former-life explanation of present events. Here, king Aśoka dialogues with a monk whose breath is perfumed, and the cause of this unusual personal trait lies in the fact that in a

previous life the monk had sung songs of praise for the former Buddha Kāśyapa. It therefore seems essential, in this story, that an action performed with the physical organ of the mouth be rewarded in the same organ and with metaphorical symmetry.

This isomorphism between action and requital is the bread and butter of such collections as the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Karmaśataka* which, unlike Kumāralāta’s *Garland*, are primarily concerned with a self-evident exposition of the fruits of human action through an arc of several lives. In the first story of the *Karmaśataka*, a nun who reprimands her companions in religious devotion and complains about having to feed them as one would feed a dog without receiving any gratitude for it is then reborn as a dog.\(^2\) The moral dimension of her insult is reflected in the undesirable quality of her rebirth, but the specific shape that the requital of her acts takes—birth as a dog—has more to do with our psychological delight in poetic justice than with moral considerations. The protagonist of story IV is born hunchbacked on account of having hurt his twin brother’s back in a former life, and so on. The moral deed determines the severity of the punishment or reward, but not the specific shape that the punishment takes. The latter seems to be determined by a principle of isomorphism with the triggering event. All of this makes for a cogent explanation of the multiplicity of the world in the acephalous universe of Buddhism and Jainism, where a creator god, if present at all, has no say on the administration of the cosmos.\(^2\)

\(^2\) *Avadānaśataka* 4.6., in which the poet speaks about the ‘creator of what exists’ (*bhūtadhātṛ*) with the same rhetorical disengagement with which Baroque poets in early modern Europe would invoke for rhetorical or poetic purposes Greek and Roman gods in a Christian setting.
purposes, it will be useful to note that an inescapable consequence of this model is that moral action expressed through wealth will ripen into wealth.

4.1.3. Transformations of wealth through giving

The previous discussion on the general shape that the doctrine of the requital of deeds takes in middle-period Buddhist narrative literature is a necessary foundation for an examination of one of the most prominent topics in Kumāralāta’s *Garland of Examples*, the significance of the religious gift. A mention of the religious gift occurs invariably in conjunction with a discussion of poverty and wealth: The cautionary tales of the *Garland*, several of which will be excerpted below, highlight the fact that, as we have said, meritorious deeds that are expressed in money will be rewarded in money. As such, the point that these tales make explicit again and again is that the religious gift, given to suitable recipients and given with the right intentions, should be literally considered a transfer of funds to one’s future lives.

Kumāralāta states in clear terms that wealth is the outcome of the religious gift:

若人精誠以財布施，如華獲財業

(T4.201.341c23–24)

If people sincerely make a religious gift out of their wealth, as flowers they obtain wealth and property (*cai-yē 財業* = *paribhoga*). 273

272 On this compound see Karashima 1998, sub *caiye 財業*.

273 Huber 1908, 429, *Si un homme, dans une intention pure, donne en aumône ses biens, il obtient des richesses en abondance. Si l'on sait cela, il faut de tout son cœur pratiquer l'aumône.* The literal meaning of *ru hua 如華* is ‘like flowers’, and although *hua 華* ‘flower, flowery’ can indeed have the meaning ‘splendid, abundant,’ I think Huber has translated it in an excessively metaphorical manner.
The mechanism that explains this causal link is, as we may expect at this point, the universal pervasiveness of the requital of deeds:

一切皆由業
布施得財富
(T4.201.315a22)

Everything has its origin in deeds (ye 業=karman):

The religious gift achieves wealth and riches.\textsuperscript{274}

The mechanism is all-pervasive and inexorable: The rich and the poor participate in the same system and metaphorically receive the same food, whose color varies however according to their previous deeds:

富貴饒財寶
貧者來請求
諸天同器食
飯色各有異
(T.4.201.276a27–28)

The rich abound in riches
The poor come to beg:
The gods eat from the same bowl,

\textsuperscript{274} Huber 1908, 301, Tous sont sujets à la loi des rémunérations./ Par l'aumône on arrive à la richesse. Huber’s translation implies that the subject of the verb in the first clause, yiqie 一切 ‘all’ refers to people, and takes the verb you 由 ‘originate’ to mean ‘be subjected to.’ My rendering is, I believe, more literal and makes less assumptions about the context of the statement; it also seems to fit better in meaning with the next pada.
But the color of the food is different for each.\(^{275}\)

One recurrent metaphor that illustrates the subsequent transformations of the religious gift is that of a treasure that follows the individual from rebirth to rebirth:

施為行寶藏
世世恆隨人

(T4.201, 282a20)

The religious gift makes a treasure hoard

That always follows a person, from lifetime to lifetime.\(^{276}\)

The treasure, although immaterial, translates into material wealth, and whoever is interested in averting the yoke of poverty in a future life can transmit their wealth by giving it away:

若命終時, 欲齎財寶至於後世, 無有是處, 唯除布施作諸功德, 若懼後世得貧窮者, 應修惠施\(^{277}\)

(T4.201.272c17–19)

\(^{275}\) Huber 1908, 101, *Les riches, qui ont des biens en abondance,/ Les pauvres, réduits à la mendicité,/ Et les dieux se servent d'une écuelle identique,/ Mais la qualité du riz diffère pour eux.* See Appendix 1.1. for a rationale of my translation and for the āgamic reference contained in it.

\(^{276}\) Huber 1908, 133, *Faire l’aumône, c’est préparer un trésor/ Qui nous suit dans toutes les existences.*

\(^{277}\) SHT 638v.v2, /// + rthaṃ samkrāmayisyāmīti sa na kasyacīd ātmabhīprāyam a... “Thinking ‘I will transfer wealth (artha)’ he […] to no one […] his own desire…”
When life ends, wishing to hold on to wealth and to make it reach a later life is impossible: only depleting it in religious gifts one makes merit. If one fears poverty in a later life, one must practice generous giving.\textsuperscript{278}

The last excerpt is the stated moral of story XV in the \textit{Garland of Examples}, which is principally devoted to this topic.\textsuperscript{279} Here a clever minister instructs king Nanda, a compulsive miser, on how to convey his wealth to the next life. At this point in the story, the king has experienced a revelation of truth after witnessing how a man, buried with a golden coin in his mouth—both narrative elements being rare instances of burial and of the Greek “obol of Charon” in an Indian setting—\textsuperscript{280} was unable to take even that little piece of wealth to the afterlife:

\begin{quote}

\textsuperscript{278} Huber 1908, 24, \textit{Si arrivé au terme de la vie on désire emporter ses richesses et ses joyaux dans l'autre monde, cela ne se peut pas. Il n'y a qu'en les dépensant en charités qu'on acquiert des mérites. Si on craint de subir la pauvreté dans une autre existence, il faut pratiquer la charité.}

\textsuperscript{279} This story may be considered as Kumāralā’a’s literary recreation of an older story, another version of which can be now found in the \textit{Liudu ji jing} (T 3.152.36b28–c27. A French translation of this story is available in Chavannes 1910–1924, i, 247–250. Lévi in his 1908 study on the sources of the \textit{Garland} did not remark this point.

\textsuperscript{280} In the story king Nanda has gathered all the wealth in the land and prostituted his own daughter; a young prospective john, desperate to find money to pay for her services, is told by his mother: 汝父死時口中有一金錢，汝若發塜可得彼錢以用自通 (T 4.201.273a2–3) “When your father died, he had in his mouth a golden coin; if you dig his grave you can retrieve that coin and use it to achieve [your purposes]” (cfr. also Huber 1980, p. 85, lines 8–9, \textit{Quand ton père est mort, on lui a mis dans la bouche une pièce d’or. Si tu vas dans son tombeau, tu Trouveras peut-être cette pièce, moyennant laquelle tu atteindras l’objet de les désirs})

According to a passage of the \textit{Kṣudrakavastu} of the \textit{Mālasarvāstivādavinaya} (with parallels elsewhere) edited and translated by Schopen 1997, 215–218, burial is one possible mode of disposal of a dead body, a monk’s in this case. Burials in the northwestern area of the Indian world are richly attested for prehistoric times, to the point that some of the ancient cultures that left such burials behind are nowadays mostly known through their funeral goods: see for example Tusa (1977) for the “Gandhāra grave culture” and Kenoyer (1991) for the “Cemetery H culture” in Harappa. Graves surely datable in early historic times to this general area are however rare. The ruins of the Greek colonial city of Aī Khanoum in Bactria (modern Afghanistan) have produced inscribed graves and ossuaries for as late as Kuśāṇa times in spite of the supposed preference of the Iranian indigenous population for Zoroastrian corpse exposure (Boyce and Grenet 1989, 189–192).
若受後身必須財寶，然今珍寶及以象馬，不可齎持至於後世。何以故？
王今此身尚自不能至於後世，況復財寶象馬者乎，當設何方令此珍寶得至後世？
唯有施與沙門婆羅門、貧窮乞兒，福報資人，必至後世

(T4.201, 273a28–b4)

If one is to undergo a subsequent life, one needs wealth, but then those treasures of the here-and-now and so on up to elephants and horses cannot be held on to and made to reach a later life. For what reason? The king cannot even make his present body reach a later life, how much less treasures and so on up to elephants and horses? Where should one invest so that those treasures reach one’s subsequent body? There is only the religious gift to śramaṇas and brahmanas, to the destitute and beggars, the requital of merit endows people with property, which is bound to reach a later life.  

As for “Charon’s obol,” the coin left in the mouth of the deceased to pay for the trip to the netherworld, it seems to be limited as a widespread cultural practice to Greek and Roman antiquity, and to hellenized areas of the Mediterranean and the Middle East, which may include Gandhāra to an extent. I am however not aware of another mention of “Charon’s obol” in Indian sources—see however the previous note—or of any coins ever found in graves in this area.

Stein (1928, ii, p. 646) found Byzantine and Sasanian coins—and imitations of them—in the mouths of human bodies in the Astāna cemetery in Turfan: one belongs to the reign of king Hormizd IV (579–590 CE). The practice of depositing “Charon’s obol” in graves is attested for Sasanian Iran (on which see Bivar 1970), and probably is more closely connected with Sasanian trade than with remote leftovers of Greek influence in Bactria.

281 Huber 1908, 86, [Q]uand on obtient son existence postérieure, il faudrait posséder alors les richesses [qu’on a maintenant]. Mais ses joyaux, ses éléphants et ses chevaux, on ne peut pas les emporter avec soi dans l'autre monde. Pourquoi donc? Le roi ne peut même pas prendre avec lui dans l'autre monde son corps actuel. Combien moins ses trésors, ses éléphants et ses chevaux! Quel moyen y a-t-il pour faire parvenir ces joyaux dans l'autre monde? Seulement celui de faire la charité aux çramaṇas, aux brahmanes, aux pauvres et aux mendiants. Alors la récompense de nos bonnes actions nous suit dans l'autre monde. Zi ren 資人, which Huber leaves untranslated, I take to be a verb with a pleonastic object ‘endow people with property, reward.’
This passage nicely sums up the main elements that we have encountered so far: Wealth is desirable and good, but its tangible nature poses an obstacle to the carrying of this asset through the cycle of rebirth; however, the religious gift is guaranteed to transform it into a specific kind of merit that in due time will materialize again into wealth.

4.1.4. Taking substance from the insubstantial

Elsewhere in the *Garland*, the transformation of wealth is presented through a yet different metaphor. The transformation of wealth through giving involves giving solidity, stability, or substance to the inherently unstable wealth of this world:

若積財寶危難甚多，智人修施是乃堅牢

(T4.201.282a3–4)

If wealth and treasure are hoarded there are many perils, and the wise man practices the religious gift until he makes them [=wealth and treasures] stable.\(^{282}\)

Story XXVII, which deals with an impoverished Aśoka giving his last possession—half a myrobalan fruit—to the Buddhist monastic assembly, features repeated iterations of this metaphor. The king is shown here committed to the endeavor of religious giving to the very end of his life and to the exhaustion of his financial capabilities. The explanation that he provides for his actions is, however, precisely that he is attempting a transmutation of unstable wealth into stable wealth. The reasons as to why in this story Aśoka, a proverbial benefactor of the Buddhist order, may have been condemned to the much-dreaded state of poverty (an outcome that generosity in religious giving should avert) are complex. The ambivalence of Buddhists in general, and Kumāralāṭa in

\(^{282}\) Huber 1908,132, *Si l'on amasse des richesses, les dangers qui les menacent sont nombreux*. Huber has apparently omitted the second clause of this passage. On what “stable means here,” see Appendix 2.2 below.
particular towards kings—sometimes protectors of the Buddhist Law, but also often, and concurrently, lustful and bloodthirsty parasites—might account for this unusual narrative. It is also likely that the aim of the story is to show by hyperbole the extent of Aśoka’s generosity. Aśoka says that “the substance of his merit has been depleted” and therefore “poverty has overtaken” him (我今福德盡/貧窮忽然至, T4.201.283c3). This might be a reference to a widely known story, referenced by Kumāralāta elsewhere in his collection (see §4.1. below) of how Aśoka in a former life as a child gave a handful of dust as a gift to the Buddha. As we will see, the sincerity behind this humble gift may go a long way in multiplying the value of such a gift, but the lesson here seems to be that however much merit one may have stored, its amount is exactly determined, and therefore limited. The fact that Aśoka spent the entirety of his wealth on religious giving, a wealth that presumably arose from his store of merit from previous lives, might be taken, ironically, as the sign of an accomplished task; an unstable, worldly fortune entirely transformed into the kind of para-physical, stable fortune that will “follow man from life to life.” In the following two passages, Aśoka explains how he strove to transform his unstable wealth into stable wealth, and attributes the injunction to do so to the Buddha himself:

I

佛說三不堅
貿易於堅法

283 For this story we have a parallel in the Divyāvadāna, and the word that should correspond to the clause “my merit has been depleted” (我 [... 福德盡) appears as bhrāṣṭāsthāyatana ‘broken the support of [my] stability’ in Cowell and Neil’s 1886 edition (p. 430, line 15) although three manuscripts have the opaque variant bhrāṣṭāchāyatana (?). Vaidya’s 1959 edition amends, without explanation, to bhrāṣṭasvāyatana ‘broken the support of [my] fortune’ (p. 280, line 18). If the Sanskrit text had bhrāṣṭāsthāyatana here, the Chinese rendering might be taken as a paraphrase, or rather a reading “between the lines,” but perhaps not entirely incorrect.
The Buddha said that the three unstable things
Must be traded\(^{284}\) for stable things:
Now with joined fingers and palms,
I am engaged in trade for stable things.
As in smelting a mountain of stones,
One looks for the true gold,
Among the unstable wealth
Night and day, I look for stable things.\(^{285}\)

II

\(^{284}\) The Chinese *maoyi* (lit. ‘barter and exchange’) has been a common term for ‘trade’ since Chinese antiquity: the mercantile metaphor here is clear.

\(^{285}\) Huber 1908, 142, *Maintenant je joins mes mains et je me tourne vers le Buddha./ Mon dernier moment est venu./ Le Buddha a dit que les trois conditions instables./ Il faut les échanger pour la Loi stable./ Maintenant je joins mes doigts et mes mains/ Pour obtenir en échange la Loi solide./ Comme on fend les rochers/ Pour obtenir l’or pur;/ Ainsi des richesses instables/ Il faut jour et nuit extraire la Loi solide.* What I have translated here as “things” is the polysemous *fa* =*dharma/*dharma.*
The Buddha, the Blessed One (*bhagavat = bhágavat) said:

"Change unstable wealth for stable wealth, exchange unstable body for stable body, exchange unstable life for stable life." Donors (*danápati 檀越=Gāndhārī *<danavadi>=*da:nəvəды/, Sk. dānapati), rejoice: to make your unstable wealth accompany you until you have reached a later life, it is fit to constantly practice the religious gift, never stopping.\(^{287}\)

One might wonder if words to this effect were ever considered as having been spoken by the Buddha; if, in other words, this is a canonical formulation. A similar statement is in fact contained at least in one āgamic source, sūtra 21.10 of the Chinese Ekottarikāgama (Zengyi Ahan 增壹阿含, T125). As in the words that Aśoka attributes to the Buddha, three things are said to be “unstable” or “not solid” (bu laoyo 不牢要): body, life, and wealth.\(^{288}\) According to the text, the ways to...

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\(^{286}\) The Sanskrit text of part of this clause is extant: asārakebhya bhogeybhaya sāram āde... The last word must have been ādeyam ‘to be taken, to be extracted’: this is particularly likely if compared with a verse-hemistich of Haribhaṭṭa’s Jātakamālā: asārāt sāram ādeyam ‘from what has no substance substance must be taken’ (Hahn 2007, ||6.19||a). Haribhaṭṭa’s verse refers to the body: almost identical wording, this time with reference to wealth and a different inflection of ā-√dā can be found twice in the Avadānaśataka (yavan aham asārebhyo bhogebhyah sāram ādadyām ‘What if now I should take substance from [these] insubstantial riches?’) on which see Appendix 1.1.

\(^{287}\) Huber 1908, 142, [...] le Buddha Bhagavat a dit: Échangez les richesses périssables pour les richesses durables; échangez le corps périssable pour le corps durable. Que les dānapatis se réjouissent. Leurs richesses périssables les suivent de cette façon dans l’autre monde. Qu’on fasse toujours la charité sans discontinuer. I understand the conjunction yi 以 ‘so that’ that precedes what Huber translates as “[f]leurs richesses périssables les suivent” to make this clause subordinate to the one that follows it.

\(^{288}\) The triad may have been expressed in Sanskrit as kāyajñitabhoga, cfr. Vimālakirtinirdeśa, Potala MS. 23a6–7, 25b6. The second instance listed here is particularly interesting because it provides a formulation of the same
make them “stable” involve various modes of religious behavior that presuppose the isomorphism between deed and requital that I have spoken about before: veneration of those worthy of veneration, being an essentially physical and bodily act, makes the unstable body stable; a stable life is achieved by following the roster of moral injunctions that starts with refraining from taking life; stable wealth is attained by transforming unstable wealth into stable wealth through religious giving. The text says:

若有善男子、善女人, 常念 患施與沙門、婆羅門、諸貧匱者, 須食者與 食, 須漿與漿, 衣被、飲食、床敷臥具、病瘦醫 藥、舍宅、城郭, 所須之具悉皆與之, 如是, 財不牢要求於牢要

(T2.125, 606c7–25)

If there is a good son or a good daughter who constantly bears in mind to give generously to śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas and to mendicants, giving meals to whoever needs meals, giving soup to whoever needs soup, giving all the requisites in regards to robes, food and drink, seats and bedding, medicine for sickness and

idea that occupies us here and because it provides what might have been some of the Indic vocabulary involved in such formulations: asārāt sārādānābhinirṛṭaḥ kāyajīvitabhogapratilambhaḥ ‘the gain of body, life, and wealth is achieved (abhinirṛta) by taking (ādāna) substance from what has no substance.’ The Tibetan version of this passage (Derge, Mdo, Ma, 196b7) adheres closely to the Sanskrit: snying po med pa las snying po len pas mngon par bsgrubs pa’i lus dang | srog dang | longs spyod rnyed pa ‘the gain of body, life, and wealth is achieved through the taking of substance from what has no substance.’ The Chinese versions of Kumārajīva and Xuanzang are at this point either paraphrastic or reflect an Indic original different from the one reflected in the Potala MS. and the Tibetan version: 於身命財起三堅法 (T14, 475.543c19) ‘from body, life, wealth, one achieves three stable elements’; 以不堅實貿易一切堅實行相 引發證得堅身命財 (T14, 476.567a5–6) ‘elements not stable and true are traded for such that are stable and true, so as to achieve the gain of stable body, life and wealth’ (cfr. also Lamotte’s rendering based on Xuanzang and the Tibetan version (1982, 214, §III.72): les gains du corps, de la vie, et des richesses [...] résultant du fait de prendre du solide dans ce qui n’est pas solide [...]).

237
emaciation, house and city, in this way their wealth, which is unstable, attains stability.

There is good evidence to think that this canonical category in particular may not have been a dry piece of doctrinal arithmetic relegated to the depths of the "numerical" canonical collections. Three similar passages from the *Mahīśāsakavinaya illustrate how Buddhist monastics may have employed the discourse on the instability or insubstantiality of wealth in the context of soliciting donations (T22.1425.304b22–28, 323c23–28, 395a28–b4). In all three cases, the brief sermon regarding the instability of wealth is given as a response to an offer of a donation and is aimed at urging donors to carry out their offer as early as possible. It is crucial to clarify here, as only a brief excerpt is given, that the offense that prompts the rule of monastic behavior framed by this narrative has nothing to do with the monk’s sermon and his cajoling techniques. Instead, what happens is that later on in the narrative, the nefarious monks of the “group of six” learn of the donor’s offer and attempt to appropriate the donation, which was originally intended for the whole assembly. This leads the Buddha to formulate a rule against such predatory practices. The monk in the passage below does not incur any improper behavior when reminding his benefactors of their own mortality and of the uncertainty involved in the possession of wealth:

佛在舍衛城, 有一乞食比丘, 時到著入聚落衣, 持鉢入城, 次行乞食。到一家, 有一女人語比丘言: 尊者, 某日我當供養僧并施僧衣。比丘言: 善哉姊妹, 以三不堅法, 易三堅法身命財也, 應疾為之, 財物無常多有諸難

(T22.1425, 323c23–28)

289 The mention of “house and city” (shezhai, chengguo 舍宅、城郭) is extremely unusual and does not make good sense, but the Chinese text is very explicit here.
The Buddha was in Śrāvastī. There was a monk begging for food; when the time came, he wore the robe fit for entering a village and holding his bowl entered the [city] walls, begging for food in proper sequence. He arrived at a house; there was a woman that said to the monk: “Venerable, some day or another I will worship the Assembly and provide monastic robes.” The monk said: “Very good, sister: those three unstable things (fa 法=dharmāḥ) you are exchanging for three stable things, namely body, life, and wealth. You must do this quickly, because material wealth is impermanent and abounds in danger.”

This short sermon presents the imperative to achieve the religious gift quickly and without delay as the necessary conclusion of the consideration of the dangers inherent in wealth. In the story of Aśoka in poverty, the destitute emperor issues a final speech in which he touches upon his own decadence and mortality, as well as the threat that family and friends represent to wealth in one’s final hours:

其家親屬等
若知必死者
己雖有財物
不得自在施
安利獲錢財
值遇福田處
便可速施與
若於身強健
及已病苦時
宜常修布施
If relatives and friends
Know one is about to die,
Although one may have had wealth,
[It] will not be easy to give.
If while in peace and advantage one obtains money and wealth,
And finds a field (=recipient) to make merit,
Then may one quickly give it away.
When the body is strong and healthy
Even up to the time of the sorrows of disease
It is fitting to constantly practice the religious gift.290

4.1.5. The Dangers or Threats to Wealth and in Wealth

Aśoka’s final speech lists “relatives and friends” as a threat to the wealth of the moribund. This topic of the threats to wealth is one that certainly interested Kumāralātā, who elaborates richly on what exactly these threats are in story XXV. This story features another instance of a personal estate largely given away and transformed into a store of merit. Most of the narrative action takes place in the initial scene:

一國王謫罰商賈,而告之言: 汝所有財悉疏示我。估客至家, 思惟先來所施之物, 施諸乞兒一飡之食, 乃至並施鳥獸所有穀草, 悉疏示王。王見

290 Huber 1908, 141, Quand la famille et les parents/ S'aperçoivent que vous allez mourir./ Vous avez beau être riche./ Vous ne pourrez plus faire l'aumône à votre guise./ Les richesses qu'on gagne au temps de la prospérité./ Dès qu'on rencontre un « Champ de Bonheur »/ Il convient de les donner vite en aumône./ Quand vous êtes encore en vigueur/ Et avant que les maladies ne vous assaillent./ Faites la charité continuellement.
A king imposed a fine on a merchant and said: “Disclose to me all the wealth that you have.” The trader went home and considered all he had previously given in gifts: gifts of food to mendicants, meal by meal, up to grains and herbs given to birds and beasts. All this he disclosed to the king. The king, seeing this, said: “Why do you disclose to me such matters?” The trader said: “The king first decreed that I was to disclose all the wealth I have; I have disclosed all the wealth that I have, and this is the document.” Then he said in verse:

“What the five family members will share
Is all here in my household
My document of today
Contains what cannot be stolen.
What is here reported
Kings, thieves and so on, up to fire and water
Cannot take away”\(^{291}\)

The actions of the merchant seem not to be intended as a facetious ploy to elude the king’s demands, and the narrative that follows suggests that the king, either too aware of his own penchant for predatory fiscal practices or too obtuse to grasp even open criticism, does not mind being paired with thieves and natural calamities. By the end of the story, the monarch praises the merchant’s commitment to achieve a stable, permanent wealth such as has been transformed into merit through religious patronage. The merchant’s verse explanation may seem odd at first sight; however, investigation into doctrinal literature makes clear that the “five families” (\(wu \ jia \ 五家\)) are a canonical list of five “threats to wealth” which include the “kings and thieves [...] fire and water” mentioned within the same passage. One āgamic formulation of this list finds a concise exposition in the tiny Bhogasutta of the Pāli Anguttaranikāya (5.227):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pañc’ime bhikkhave ādīnavā bhogesu, katame pañca: aggisādhāraṇā bhogā,} \\
\text{udakasādhāraṇā bhogā, rājasādhāraṇā bhogā, corasādhāraṇā bhogā, appiyehi} \\
\text{dāyādehi sādhāraṇā bhogā (Hardy and Morris 1885–1900, iii 260)}
\end{align*}
\]

These five, monks, are the dangers (ādīnava) in riches: riches are shared (sādhāraṇa) with fire, riches are shared with water, riches are shared with the king, riches are shared with thieves, riches are shared with inimical heirs.

\(^{291}\) Huber 1908, 132, \(Il \ y \ avait \ un \ roi \ qui \ infligea \ une \ amende \ à \ un \ marchand \ et \ il \ lui \ dit: \ « \ Apportez \ moi \ une \ liste \ de \ tous \ les \ biens \ que \ tu \ possèdes. \ » \) Quand le marchand fut rentré chez lui, il songea à tout ce qu’il avait donné en aumône jusqu’alors; toute la nourriture qu’il avait donnée en aumône aux mendiant et jusqu’aux grains et aux herbes donnés aux oiseaux et aux bêtes, il les nota pour le roi. Quand le roi vit cela, il demanda: « Pourquoi me notes-tu cela? » Le marchand répondit: « Le roi a précédemment ordonné : Apportez-moi une liste de tous les biens que tu possèdes! La liste de tous les biens que je possède, la voilà. » Puis il dit en vers: \(Les \ biens \ communs \ de \ ma \ famille /Se trouvent tous chez moi./ Ce que j’ai mis sur ma liste,/ Ce sont (les biens) qui ne peuvent pas m’être dérobés,/ Les biens de cette liste/ Ni le roi, ni les voleurs, ni l’eau ni le feu/ Ne peuvent me les arracher.\)
The Chinese rendering of these five items as the “five families” is odd indeed, but widespread, as it appears several times in the large corpus of Indic Buddhist sūtra texts translated into Chinese in the early centuries CE. In Sanskrit, the Jātakamāla of Āryasūra, whom I would classify as a literary successor of Kumāralāta, also contains several instances of the list.292

The stated moral of the story of the merchant, on which we have already remarked, is that “if wealth and treasure are hoarded there are many perils, and the wise man practices the religious gift until he makes them stable.” Equally fitting would be the didactic point of the story of king Nanda, namely that the religious gift makes possible the thought “I will make wealth reach the next life” (*paralokamaraṁ samkrāmayasyāmīti, 財寶至於後世, T4.201. 272.c17). In sum, the religious gift transforms worldly riches that are inherently fraught with dangers, into immaterial ones that will fructify again as wealth in the future.

4.1.6. The Gift as a Transfer of Funds to the Afterlife

Schlieter (2013) scrutinizes the metaphor of karma as a “heavenly bank account” in modern scholarly literature on Buddhism and concludes that that specific metaphor is not clearly detectable anywhere in the scriptural canon of the Theravāda school. That may well be true; however, if we disregard the fact that a “bank” would certainly be an anachronism in early historic India—guilds or corporations were much more likely depositaries or trustees of money—the case is that in Kumāralāta’s Garland and some of the texts considered here, the implicit metaphor that explains the religious gift is indeed that of an exchange of financial instruments; of, once again, a transfer of funds to the next life. These are, in fact, the exact terms used in a passage, presently only

292 See appendix 1.2 for a survey of instances of this canonical list.
available in Tibetan, from the section on the discipline of nuns, the Bhikṣunīvinayavibhaṅga that is part of the large Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins. Here a grhapati who thinks he is about to die—a situation that may be already familiar to the reader—has donated his entire estate in religious gifts. When the nun Sthūlanandā arrives to ask for her share of the donation, the mortified householder replies:

\[
\text{phags ma khyod ci'i slad du ches sngar ma byon bdag 'gum par 'gyur pa 'dra nas bdag gis thams cad 'jig rten pha rol du bskyas lags so}
\]

(Derge, 'Dul ba, Ta, 123b1)

“Noble One, why did you not come earlier? When it appeared that I was to die I transferred\(^{293}\) everything to the other world.”

Things do not go well for Sthūlanandā: The householder gives her a promissory note, that another man had given to him, and when the debtor is unable to pay it, Sthūlanandā threatens to take him to court; however, the Buddha bans the practice and Sthūlanandā gets nothing. From the point of view of the grhapati, though, being unable to give to an ascetic is both a humiliation and a missed opportunity for merit-making. If we were to extrapolate from this Vinaya passage and see the narratives of the Garland that we have considered here in its logic, the implicit advice of Kumāralāta seems to be that the balance of investments of the merchant—part of his estate in this world and part in the future—is more sensible than the reckless prodigality of Aśoka who, being only a king and inexperienced in careful business administration, perhaps does not know better.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{293} Jäschke 1997 [1881]: sub skya gives “to carry, convey to a place (a quantity of stones, wood, water, etc.).”}\]

244
4.2. Cosmodicy: A Justification of Poverty and Misfortune

4.2.1. Poverty as a Source of Suspicion

At least two prominent historians of early India—Kosambi (1956, 240–294) and Thapar (2002, 209–279)—portray the period “between the empires” as one that was defined, just as Renaissance Germany and Italy, by a volatile political scene contrasted with a robust monetized economy based on trade. In this scene of vigorous commercial boom coupled with the social mobility that it must have entailed, the hyperbolic expression of caste ideology voiced in a text like the Law Code of Manu might seem out of place. By presenting a human universe entirely subordinated to the privileges of hereditary caste, the text reads like a manifesto against social mobility, and, in particular, against a definition of social position based primarily on monetary income instead of genealogical privilege. There are, however, passages where the Code seems to relent in its rhetoric: Once the text strays from its description of ritual prerogatives and ventures into its own vision of the secular order, the clean-cut division between upper and lower castes, paramount in the realm of the ritual, seems secondary to other forms of social privilege. It would appear from the following passage as if the fact of being a male with, presumably, some form of financial assets (if nothing else the bare capacity for labor) should be sufficient grounds to be allowed alternative forms of payment of a royal fine:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kṣatraviśūdrayonis tu daṇḍaṁ dātum aśaknuvan} \\
\text{ānṛṇyaṁ karmaṇā gacched vipro dadyāc chanaiḥ śanaiḥ} \\
\text{stribālonmatvṛddhānāṁ daridrāṇāṁ ca roginām} \\
\text{śiphāvidalarajvādyair vidadhyaṁ nrpatir damam} \\
(Māṇavadharmaśāstra, 9.29–30, Olivelle 2005, 751–752)
\end{align*}
\]
When a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya, or a Śūdra is unable to pay a fine, he should acquit himself of the debt through work; a Brahmin, on the other hand, should pay it off in installments. The king should punish women, children, the insane, the elderly, the poor, those without guardians, and the sick with a lash, a cane, a rope, and the like. (tr. Olivelle 2005, 171)

Presumably, the categories of people listed among those whose fines should a priori be commuted into physical punishment are here implied to without even that last financial asset represented by the labor quota of an adult male. The Code affords a curious treatment to these same categories of people by placing them in a liminal area of legal personhood: the lame and insane cannot bear witness (8.66), and women only regarding other women (8.68). All of the above, either explicitly named or covered under the label of “dependents” or “subservients” (adhīna) are barred from carrying out transactions on their own (8.163). The people listed among those to be punished are, now as then, the most vulnerable members of any given human society, but this characterization may not have been perceived as the most salient feature of the disenfranchised in early India. In light of the widespread assumption that everything derives from a ripening of previous deeds, disadvantage stands out as the very tool with which a blindly even-handed universe punishes and retaliates. Poverty, as these other categories, seems in this passage of the Code to be more of an explicit marker of past faults than a factor of leniency.

Some passages in the Treatise on State Interest, the Arthaśāstra, suggest that, in fact, the secular order of the time might have indeed deliberately targeted precisely the most vulnerable. Section §4.6 of the Arthaśāstra deals with preemptive arrest (abhigraha). The section on “arrest on suspicion” (śaṅkābhigraha) lists a number of people to be arrested as suspicious of a crime on
account of their very situation. Among the people to be targeted by the officials termed in the
treatise “collectors” (samāhartr), the very first two listed are:

kśīnadāyakṣuṭumbam, alpanirveśam

(Kangle 1960, 462)

Someone whose inheritance and family fortune have been depleted,
someone receiving a paltry wage… (tr. Olivelle 2012, 234)

Not much later in the text, the list of people to be arrested “on deeds” (karman) when something
has been stolen from inside a house likewise starts with the following:

puruṣam āśannaṃ vyasanināṃ [...] striyaṃ vā daridrakulām
anyaprāśaktāṃ vā paricārakajanaṃ vā tadvidhācāram

(Kangle 1960, 464)

[A] man close by who has fallen on hard times [...] a woman from a poor
family or enamored of another man; a domestic servant of similar conduct. (236)

These passages suggest that poverty alone may have constituted grounds for criminal
suspicion. Other passages, however, imply that poverty may have been seen as the outcome of
indolence. One verse in the mass of “unrelieved doggerel” of the Dharmasamuccaya, a
compilation of the metrical portions of the massive doctrinal treatise
Saddharmasṃṛtyupasthānasūtra, expresses the thought that the poor are such on account of

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294 This literary judgment is John Brough’s (1962, xxi).

295 The Dharmasamuccaya is of uncertain but likely early date. According to Lamotte (1958, 638), the
Saddharmasṃṛtyupasthānasūtra is an “œuvre du hīnayāna tardif,” which in the hīnayāna-mahāyāna chronological
scheme current in Lamotte’s time denotes in all likelihood the early centuries of the common era. As Lamotte also
points out (p. 698), the fact that the realms of rebirth in this work are five and not six may speak of a relatively early
date for the work. According to Scherrer-Schaub (2015, 16–17), a fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript of the
their sloth. The implicit assumption is that such sloth (kausīḍya) is the fault of a previous life, and that it acts as a cause for present poverty. The compiler of the Dharmasamuccaya, Avalokitasiṃha, prefices the verse in question with the following gloss: mānavānāṃ nirdhanatve kausīḍyaṃ kāraṇam ‘as for the lack of wealth among men, the cause is sloth.’ The verse from the Dharmasamuccaya is more colorful than its gloss in its description of this point:

nirdhanāḥ paśubhis tulyās

te narā duhkhabhāgināḥ

parapiṇḍāsino dīnāḥ

kausīḍyaṃ tatra kāraṇam

(Caube 1993, 201, §20. 25)

Equal to animals are those men without wealth,
Whose lot is suffering (duhkhabhāgināḥ)
Eaters of the morsels of others, needy.
Sloth: there is the cause.

It would seem then that here, as in some brands of contemporary political discourse, poverty is not to be pitied, as it evinces personal wrongdoing and lack of responsibility.

4.2.2. Poverty as Social Death

The evidence of cultural prejudices against the poor evinces a world in which, in spite of some nostalgic reminiscences of an imagined pre-urban order among some, property and income were

Saddharmasmṛtyupasthānasūtra was recently identified in Tibet and is currently being edited; up until now, only the Chinese (T 721+722) and Tibetan (Derge, Mdo, Ya 82a - Śa 229b) versions were known.
key determinants of social status. As such, in this section we will examine a particularly pervasive metaphor that illustrates one’s lack of financial stability: poverty as social death.

Like the Code, the great Sanskrit epic Mahābhārata—the main part of whose redaction, although clearly not its inspiration, is generally thought to have taken place in the early centuries CE—presents us, at least on the surface, with the picture of a world very different from the one that we might gather from other sources. The world of the epics is one of feudal warring clans among whom the militaristic values of honor and loyalty reign supreme. At points, the epic takes a very archaic view of financial disenfranchisement as a non-structural and purely ritual function of social role. In the most dramatic section of the Book of the Assembly (Sabhāparvan), the hero Yudhiṣṭhira ends up betting and losing his brothers, himself and finally his wife Draupadī in a game of dice. Draupadī starts a long legalistic argument between winners and losers by asking whether her husband was allowed to bet her as his property in the first place. The legal injunction adduced by the winning Kauravas is expressed in the following hemistich:

\[ \text{trayaḥ kileme adhanā bhavanti} \]
\[ \text{dāsaḥ āśyaś cāsvatantrā ca nārī} \]

\[(\text{Mahābhārata 2.63.1ab})\]

Three indeed are these who are without property (adhanā)

The slave, the student, and the woman, who is without independence.

The validity of this legal maxim is recognized by both parties, and while initially it seems to provide support for the claim of the winners (the wife of a slave like Yudhiṣṭhira who has bet and lost himself is no longer his property), artful disputation eventually brings a legal victory for the losers that retroactively invalidates the bet itself (he who has bet and lost himself like Yudhiṣṭhira cannot have effectively bet anything else). Draupadī’s contention that she was not her
husband’s property is not, however, the winning argument in this case, and is addressed only to the extent that she is indirectly said to be asvatana, ‘not-independent,’ and therefore not even the owner of her own self. Be that as it may, the view posited in this bit of the imagined chivalric world of the epic is that a lack of financial means is inherent to certain social roles which, in the case of the student and the slave, may even be temporary or at least not definitive.

In other parts, however, the epic is decidedly less nostalgic. In a different episode, the same Yudhiṣṭhira, now in exile in the forest, voices a different opinion on what being financially destitute means. In this case, the statement on poverty comes up casually, embedded among the answers that Yudhiṣṭhira provides to a yakṣa who has poisoned the hero’s brothers and demands a correct answer to a number of riddles as a requisite to bring them back to life. The yakṣa is none other than Yudhiṣṭhira’s own father, the god Law (Dharma), in disguise. This lends especial legal authoritativeness to the exchange:

\[\text{yakṣa uvāca}\]
\[
\text{mṛtaḥ kathaṃ syāt puruṣah katham rāṣṭram mṛtam bhavet}
\]
\[
\text{śrāddhaṃ mṛtam katham ca syāt katham yajño mṛto bhavet}
\]

\[\text{yudhiṣṭhira uvāca}\]
\[
\text{mṛto daridhraḥ puruṣo mṛtam rāṣṭram arājakam}
\]
\[
\text{mṛtam aśrotriyam śrāddhaṃ mṛto yajñas tv adakṣiṇah}
\]

(3.297.58–59ab)

The yakṣa said:

How would be a man dead? How would a kingdom be dead?

How would the ancestral offering (śrāddha) be dead? How would the sacrifice be dead?
Yudhiṣṭhira said:

Dead is the poor man, dead is the kingless kingdom

Dead is the ancestral offering without a brahmin, dead is the sacrifice without a gift for the officiating priest (dakṣiṇa).

Much later on in the epic, Yudhiṣṭhira makes a statement to the very same effect, this time not as an abstract bit of dharmic knowledge but instead as a painful reference to the penury of his own family within a long complaint addressed to Kṛṣṇa:

\[
dhanam āhuḥ paraṁ dharmam dhane sarvaṁ pratiṣṭhitam
\]

\[
jīvanti dhanino loke mṛtā ye tv adhanā narāḥ
\]

(5.70.23 cd)

They say that wealth is the utmost law (dharma):

Everything is based on wealth

They live, those with wealth, in the world,

But dead are those without wealth

The statement seems out of character if we consider the aristocratic and militaristic values that Yudhiṣṭhira embodies, but the “they say” that he premises to his statement speaks about a notion that may have been widespread in the world and which informs the epic: The vibrant monetized India “between the empires,” rather than the legendary pre-urban order from which the epic draws its inspiration.

From the point of view of literary tropes, the equation between poverty and death is pervasive and crosses over texts of many different genres and religious affiliations. In the specific context of Buddhist literature, one particularly blunt statement to this effect appears in the Maitrakanyakāvadāna, a novella that may have been initially part of the Jātakamālā of

251
Gopadatta, but nowadays is known mostly through a version included almost verbatim in the *Divyavadāna*. The story is well known and has many other literary incarnations. Here the eponymous protagonist of the story counters the pleas of his mother to not undertake the dangerous profession of overseas trade with the following statement:

\[
\text{varaṃ naiva tu jāyeraṇ ye jātā nirbhījanā janāḥ}
\]

\[
jātasya yadi duḥkhāni varaṃ mṛtyur na jīvītam
\]

(Cowell and Neil 1886, 498.21–22)

Better had they never been born,

Those people born without wealth.

If the one who is born [is to] have sufferings

Better is death than life.

In his *Garland*, Kumāralaṭa never states that the poor had better never have been born, but occasionally his descriptions paint an equally grim picture of what poverty means. In story V of the *Garland*, a Buddhist upāsaka confronts a brahmanical ascetic and attempts a *reductio ad absurdum* of the idea that bodily mortification should have any merit or religious value:

\[
\text{若以無衣食， 侶形尼乾等}
\]

\[
\text{造作諸勤苦， 以為苦行者}
\]

\[
\text{餓鬼及畜生， 貧窮諸衰惱}
\]

\[
\text{斯等處艱難， 亦應名苦行}
\]

(T4.201.264a3–6)

296 Hahn 1992, 1–16.

297 For a comprehensive survey of these versions see Klaus 1983
If on account of being without clothes and food,
The *nigians 尼乾 (=nirgrantha) and others of naked bodies
Who perform all austerities of exertion
Should be thought of as ascetics,
Then hungry ghosts, and domestic animals,
And those afflicted with poverty,
All of these dwelling in misfortune
Also should be called ascetics.  

The point of greatest interest here is that the sufferings of the poor are equated with those of two non-human realms of rebirth and this sets them apart—it *alienates* them—from the common social frame of reference of the characters of the *Garland*.

### 4.2.3. Hindrances caused by poverty

Beyond the question of what specific literary metaphor expresses the severe hindrance that poverty poses—whether being poor is being dead or on par with animals and ghosts—the question of what exactly is it that poverty hinders is one to which contemporary sources provide a variety of answers. A particularly rich and sustained exploration of the consequences of poverty occurs in an early Sanskrit play that we have now only in two separate derivative revisions, *Poor Cārudatta* (*Daridracārudatta*) and *The Little Clay Cart* (*Mṛchakaṭikā*), whose riotously materialistic

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298 Huber 1908, 37, *Si les Nirgranhas au corps nu/ Et ceux qui s'adonnent aux macérations/ Sont appelés des ascètes./ Alors les démons faméliques et les animaux sauvages,/ Les pauvres et les affligés,/ Eux qui demeurent dans une misère extrême,/ Doivent aussi être appelés des ascètes.* Huber takes the phrase *pinqiong zhu sangnao* 貧窮諸衰惱 as an enumeration (*If*es pauvres et les affligés), but I personally find odd that the pluralizing particle 諸 zhu be attached only to one of the members and interpret the first adjective as attributive of the nominalized second.
narrative contrasts with the more ideologically charged sources that we have considered so far in this section. The literary exploration of the topic of poverty and financial disenfranchisement occupies much of the plot and of the poetic monologues of the eponymous protagonist, but the one topic that emerges once and again is how poverty creates ostracism:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{satyaṃ na me vibhavanāśakṛtāsti cintā} \\
\text{bhāgyakrameṇa hi dhanāni bhavanti yānti} \\
\text{etat tu māṃ dahi naṣṭadhanāśrayasya} \\
\text{yat sauḥrādād api janāḥ śithilībhavanti} \\
\text{(Acharya 2009, 24)}
\end{align*}
\]

I am not really worried by the loss of wealth;
Wealth comes and goes with fortune’s stride.
But it makes me sad that people slacken
Their friendship as soon as wealth is lost.\(^{299}\)

(tr. Acharya 2009, 25)

As we will see, Kumāralāta’s vision of poverty is likewise nuanced, but for the moment let it suffice to point out that Cárudatta, the only character in the play to display a modicum of heartfelt religious piety, elaborates at one point in the narrative on a different downside of poverty—the impediment to performing the religious duties that befit a brahmin householder like himself. In a

\(^{299}\) The Daridrácárudatta version differs in some places but the meaning is essentially identical: \text{satyaṃ na me dhanavināśagatī vicintā / bhāgyakrameṇa hi dhanāni punar bhavanti / etat tu māṃ dahi naṣṭadhanaśriyo me / yat sauḥrādāni sujāne śithilībhavanti} (Esposito 2004, 105).
vasanatilaka couplet that occurs almost without divergence in the two versions of the play\textsuperscript{300} and which is, in fact, the one with which the character is first introduced to the audience, Cārudatta complains on how the quality of the of the food oblations of his household (bali) has significantly worsened:

\begin{verbatim}
yāsāṃ baliḥ sapadi madgrhadehalināṃ
haṃsaiś ca sārasaganaiś ca viluptapūrvaḥ
tāsveva pūrvabalirūḍhayavāṅkurāsu
bījānjalih patati kīṭamukhāvalīḍhaḥ
\end{verbatim}

(Acharya 2009, 22)

Once near the doorsteps of my house the offering that I flung
Was filched by swans and cranes flying down in flocks.
Now on the same—but sward-swaddled—steps,
A handful of dry seeds lies, by worms slowly licked

(Acharya 2009, 22)

Cārudatta’s friend, the Prakrit-speaking brahmin Maitreya, has previously told us that Cārudatta has just come from performing the “divine duties” (devakajja=devakārya) and that when Cārudatta utters this mournful verse he is proceeding to bring the oblation for the household deities (gihađevadānaṃ bali=grhadevataṇāṃ bali). From this brief scene, it is difficult to know for certain what regimen of domestic sacrifices Cārudatta may have been imagined to follow. If his regimen bore any resemblance to the system of the “five great domestic sacrifices” (pañcamahāyajña) that

\textsuperscript{300} The Daridracārudatta couplet is essentially identical, but at the end of pada b, Manuscript C instead of the adjective viluptapūrvaḥ ‘previously stolen [by geese—haṃsa—and cranes],’ which refers to the oblation, it has vibhaktapuspah ‘with its flowers in proper arrangement’ (Esposito 2004, 12n.18).
the *Law Code of Manu* (3.68–121) and other manuals prescribe for the brahmin householder, then after having performed Vedic recitation and the offering to the household fire and the major gods, Čārudatta would have gone out of and around his house offering food oblations (*bali*) to a multifarious range of recipients that begins with the god Indra and ends with worms (*krmi*, 3. 92), passing through other gods, deified features of nature, and animals. In a previously occurring aphorism in 3.70, the food oblation is defined as *bhauta*, i.e. having as its recipients the *bhūtas*, a term that in this context should be understood as a denomination of the living—or those thought to be living—as broad and indefinite as English “beings” or “entities.” The “beings” who receive the food oblation in the *Manu* passage seem to be arranged according to hierarchy, and from this it would follow that poverty has prevented Čārudatta from performing the prescribed domestic oblation for all but the very lowest category of recipients.

Although at least one relatively old Pāli collection portrays the Buddha as apparently not opposing this specific mode of food oblations (*bali*) to “beings” (*bhūta*), 301 the Buddhist protagonists of the stories of the *Garland* do not mention these offerings or the impediment to performing them that poverty might entail. Instead, they are shown worried about the way in which poverty hinders them from performing a different religious duty, the gift. Story XXII presents us with a beggar girl whose story we will revisit at length; however, what interests us now is that in the beginning of the story the girl, wishing to give something to a group of Buddhist monks but unable to do so, tells them: “As the ocean, the abode of treasures, men worship you: I alone, poor,

301 *Suttanipīṭa*, v. 225. The *Scripture on Jewels* (*Ratanasutta*) to which this verse belongs is included in what may also be a reasonably old collection, the *Khuddakapāṭha*, on which see von Hinüber (1996, §86–87, §95, §97).
have nothing to give”302 (善哉聖僧，譬如大海眾寶窟宅，眾人供養；我獨貧窮無物用施, T.4.201.279c5–6). Another instance of chagrin regarding the hindrance that poverty poses to performing the enjoined religious gift occurs in story LXXV. Here an old couple in dire poverty is faced with the same dilemma. The husband (the only speaker on behalf of the two throughout the narrative) complains using words similar to those of the girl, but adding a detail that may be already familiar to the reader: The great mishap of poverty is that one, having given nothing in this life, will be destined to a future life in poverty.

此國中人無量百千，皆悉修福供養眾僧，我等貧窮值此寶渚，不持少寶至後世者，我等衰苦則為無窮，我今無福將來苦長

(T.4.201.341c26–29)

“In this country, countless hundreds of thousands of men all practice merit by venerating the monastic assembly, but we have been attached poor to this land of riches not owning even scant treasure to transmit to the next life. Our misery will have no end. Now we have no merit and our future suffering will be long” 303

The opposite of poverty, wealth, allows the plenitude of the religious gift: That wealth is good is clear from a passage of story XXXIII on which we have already commented,304 in which

302 Huber 1908, 120, Comme l’océan est le réceptacle de tous les joyaux, ainsi tout le monde vous fait des offrandes. Moi seule je suis pauvre et je n’ai rien que je puisse vous donner. A fragment of the Sanskrit text is extant in MS I, although, alas, it does not include the most interesting portions. It has: kim ahaṃ saṃghāya dāśyāṁīty utpannai... (SHT 21/30, v3–4) “having given rise to the [thought:] ‘what will I give to the Monastic Assembly?’”

303 Huber 1908, 429–430, Dans ce royaume il y a d’innombrables centaines et milliers de gens, qui tous pratiquent le mérite spirituel et qui font des offrandes aux bhikṣus. Nous sommes dans la pauvreté; et si nés dans ce pays de joyaux, nous ne gagnons même pas une petite perle, nous serons dans une misère sans fin dans notre vie future. Si dans cette vie je n’acquiers pas de mérite, je tomberai dans une longue misère dans l’autre.

304 See pp. 166, 209.
the mere sight of a wealthy man in a city prompts a peasant to formulate the resolution to follow a religious path and engage in religious giving in order to attain wealth and social prominence in a future life. As we will see, moreover, in story XC the enlightened Buddha is likened to the merchant Šaṃkhabhaṭṭa—the protagonist of the story—who has accumulated great wealth in his travels and returns to his native town to great acclaim.\(^{305}\)

4.3. The stringent requirements for enrichment: a disciplined sensibility

4.3.1. The right emotions for the right deeds

One might be inclined to think, then, that Kumāralātā’s stories advocate the accumulation of wealth as long as it is addressed towards the religious gift. However, they seem instead to propose a more complex method of personal cultivation, one in which the accumulation of wealth and the religious gift are certainly important factors, but by no means the only ones.

To begin with, wealth in the world of the *Garland* is fraught with dangers. As we saw above, the material wealth of this world is inherently subject to a number of perils, in particular the five “family members”—kings, thieves, water, fire, and inimical relatives—that have a “share” in it. For the untrained, or, that is, for those who, lacking the guidance that the Buddhist path

\(^{305}\)“Śaṃkhabhaṭṭa obtained wealth, and the townsfolk and relatives came to welcome him. The Buddha is like this, in that when he became a Buddha gods and men, ghosts and dragon-kings and so on came to worship [him]” (稱伽拔吒 為得財物，鄉曲宗眷 設供來迎，佛亦如是，既得成佛，人天 鬼神 諸龍王等 悉來供養，T.4.201.348a21–23). See also Huber (1908, 462): C’est parce que Tch'eng-ki-pa-tch’a avait gagné des richesses que ses parents du village préparèrent des offrandes et vinrent à sa rencontre. Il en est de même du Buddha: quand il fut devenu Buddha, les hommes, les Devas, les Esprits et les rois des Nāgas vinrent tous l’honorer. The merchant’s name is attested once in the Sanskrit, in MSI, SHT 21/98 r.4; in the Chinese version it appears as *Cʰiŋkʰaɿtʰua 稱伽拔sat. Only one word from the Sanskrit text of this passage survives in MS I (SHT 21/98 r.4.) ...*staraṇya iva, which, if it may perhaps be restored to something like *vistaraṇya iva [prāpya], would mean ‘[having] obtained an array of excellences’ and would refer to both Šaṃkhabhaṭṭha and the Buddha.
provides, are easily misled by greed, enduring poverty is certainly a better path than attempting to obtain monetary gain through immoral means. This is the moral teaching of two stories on thieves, stories IV and XXXV. In the first story, the thief steals the pearl that adorns a stūpa and when he is caught is told how his inability to endure his poverty has been his very downfall. The second story is particularly interesting because, as often is the case in Kumāralāta’s stories, a sudden epiphany brings not only an abiding change of heart but also one in fortune: The very moment in which the thief desists from his criminal intent and embraces his poverty is the one that marks a change in his bad luck. The thief of the story is the son of a royal official who has fallen on hard times. After entering the royal palace, our thief, ravenous, picks up a tray of lamp ashes mistaking them for flour and mixes the ashes in water to drink. Finding the unappetizing brew actually drinkable, the thief thinks:

灰猶可食,況其餘物? 我寧食草,何用作賊? 先父以來不為此業

(T.4.201.290b16–18)

“Ashes can be eaten: how much more other things? I would rather eat grass: What is the point in becoming a thief? My ancestors never practiced this trade.”

---

306 “As a man who fearing to be punished through a beating / Ends up condemned to decapitation / [You], fearing the suffering of poverty / Have given rise to this foolish intention / And not comfortable in a small state of deprivation / Will now endure evils without end.” (如人畏杖捶，返受於斬害 / 畏於貧窮苦，興此狂愚意 / 不安少貧乏，長受無窮厄, T4.201.263a12–15) See also Huber 1908, 32, Tu ressembles à un homme qui, pour échapper à des coups de bâton,/ Encourt la peine de la décapitation;/ Pour échapper aux maux de la pauvreté;/ Tu as formé un projet insensé;/ Ne voulant pas souffrir un peu de pauvreté;/ Tu t'es attiré des misères sans fin.

307 Huber 1908, 174–175, Si je puis manger des cendres, je pourrai manger à plus forte raison les autres aliments. Il vaut donc mieux que je mange de l’herbe. A quoi bon faire le voleur? Depuis le temps de mes ancêtres jusqu’à présent (personne de nous) n’a exercé ce métier.
The king eventually notices the thief, and interrogates him on why he would leave the palace empty handed. Having heard the thief’s explanations, the king reinstates him in what had been his father’s post as an official. The most puzzling point in the story is the link between the thief’s change of heart and the change in his luck. The reader might have noticed, though, that at least in theory, luck or fortune should play no role in this universe. The *Garland* addresses this point in the initial moral apothegm that precedes the narrative, which in its no longer extant original Sanskrit may have been expressed in more elegant, or at least less redundant language:

諸欲求利者, 或得或不得, 有真善心者不求自得利實, 無真善心者為得貪利, 故應作真善心

(T.4.201.290a19–21)

Among those who look for profit, some find it, some do not. Those with a genuinely wholesome thought do not seek profit and wealth (*li-shi* 利實), which are achieved by themselves (*zide* 自得); Those without a genuinely good thought, in order to obtain the coveted profits, should first produce a good thought.

We are faced here with a notion that plays an important role in the world of the *Garland* and which complicates the hegemony of acts and their requital s in the mechanics of the narrative universe of the *Garland*: The “good thought” (*shanxin* 善心) of this passage may have corresponded in the

308 If taken as a concatenative compound or an enumeration these meanings for the individual members of *li-shi* 利實 are well attested in the classical language. The phrase or compound seems however to be rare.

309 Huber 1908, 173, Parmi ceux qui cherchent la fortune, il y en a qui la trouvent et il y en a qui ne la trouvent pas. Celui qui a un cœur excellent, trouve le fruit de la fortune sans le chercher. Celui qui n’a pas un cœur excellent, doit acquérir un cœur excellent, s’il veut obtenir la fortune désirée. Huber construes differently the second clause: I find *buqiu zide li-shi* 不求自得利實 a bit awkward as “trouve le fruit de la fortune sans le chercher;” not only because of a syntactic anomaly (a concatenation of verbs with a single object) but because it leaves *zi* 自 ‘[by] oneself’ untranslated, and I would rather read it as “do not seek profit and wealth, which are achieved by themselves.”
Sanskrit to something like *kuśalacitta* ‘good thought’ and conveys a notion widely appealed to in Buddhist discourse of the period. In spite of ample scholastic elaborations on it, the concept remains rather vague; however, it is significant because in spite of its humble appearance it is indicative of a distinctive feature of Buddhist doctrine, identified as such—i.e., distinctive—by both the Buddhist tradition itself and others, namely the emphasis on intention. As much as Buddhist doctrines share with those of Jainism, the role of intention in the accumulation of deeds seems to have been a mutually recognized point of controversy (*kathāvatthu, you suolun* 有所論) between the two traditions as depicted in an āgamic source, the *Speech to [the Householder] Upāli* (*Upālisutta, Majjhīmanīkāya* 56=Youpoli jing 優婆離經, *Madhyamāgama* 11.133). Here, in the course of the discussion between the Buddha and the Jain teacher Nāṭaputta, traditionally identified with the *tīrthamkara* Mahāvīra, the point is made that while for the latter deeds of mind, body, and speech are all independent sources of requital, for the former the last two—deeds of body and of speech—are subordinate to the deeds of the mind. The Jain retort to this position is more vivid than the sober formulation of the Buddha. One passage of the Jain *Sūyagada* (II.26–30) illustrates the Buddhist position with a darkly comical *reductio ad absurdum*: If the intention to kill is the only relevant factor in a killing, then if someone stabs a gourd thinking it is a child, the gourd-stabber would be guilty of murder; conversely, if someone kills and roasts a man having mistaken him for a lump of cakes made from the residue of seeds used in oil-making (*piṇṇāgapiṇḍi*), the

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310 Such would be the the most straightforward understanding of this rare compound if its components are taken to be equivalent to Skt. *piṇyāka* ‘cake of oil-making residual seeds’ and *piṇḍa* ‘lump.’ The epic occurrences of the term *piṇyāka* suggest that the item that it designates must have been used as a very humble source of food, often unfavorably juxtaposed to the still unpressed, oil-rich seeds (*kaṇa*) (*Mahābhārata*, 12.161.34, 12.289.43). The scholastic Jain understanding of the term *piṇṇāgapiṇḍi* is however different, namely “grain silo,” but this reading is entirely dependent on a rather late Sanskrit commentary, on which see Jacobi 1895, 414, n.3, who nevertheless sticks to it in his translation.
resulting meal would be one “fit for buddhas to break their fasting with” (*buddhāṇa tam kappaṁ pāraṇāe*, Bāṃṭhiya 2005,171).

It seems, then, as if the repentance alone of the thief would constitute a basis for “profit and wealth to be achieved by themselves.” One might therefore extrapolate that the “good thought” of the thief constitutes a deed of the mind that can trigger a response from the machine of requital. The case of the thief is, however, slightly atypical in that the object of his “good thought” is an abstract moral consideration; whereas, more often than not, the content or concomitant of “good thoughts” in the *Garland* is a feeling typically expressed in the *Garland*, as elsewhere in Buddhist discourse of this time, with derivatives of the lexeme *pra-*√*sad*, and especially with the noun *prasāda*, whose ample semantic range has been rendered by Schopen with the terms “joy, faith, favorable disposition, gratitude, pious feeling [...]” (2000, 161–162, n. V.18). A necessarily detailed examination of the term follows below.

### 4.3.2. Favorable dispositions: *prasāda* and *kuśalacitta*

The Sanskrit verbal lexeme *pra-*√*sad* and in particular its nominal form *prasāda*, with their Middle Indic cognates, are rich and varied in meaning in the usage of the various Indian Buddhist traditions, on which see Rotman (2009, 65–150) and Schopen, for the past participle *prasanna* (2004, 228–229, 252 n.39). The physical sense of *pra-*√*sad* that may underlie all the succeeding layers of metaphoric usage could be ‘to settle’ or ‘to sediment’—coincidently both English cognates of √*sad*—when referred to water, and therefore ‘to become clear.’ This usage is illustrated in a popular gnomic couplet that appears grafted onto a number of sources, the earliest of which is perhaps the *Law Code of Manu* (6.67):

*phalaṁ katakavrksasya*
yady apy ambuprasādakam

na nāmagrahanād eva
tasya vāri prasīdati

Even if the fruit of the Kataka tree
Has the property of clearing water (ambuprasādaka),
Water does not become clear (prasīdati)
Out of the mere mention of its name

As for the Kataka (Strychnos potatorum ‘Nightshade of Drinkers’), Monier Williams 1872, s.v. tells us that “one of the seeds of this plant being rubbed upon the inside of the water-jars used in Bengal occasions a precipitation of the earthly particles diffused through the water and removes them.” The fruit seems to be still used for this purpose, and in a modern scientific experiment, a solution of Strychnos Potatorum was found to perform as a coagulant for turbid water as properly as the chemical coagulant alum (Deshmukh et al. 2013)—pace Olivelle 2005, 291, n.6.66.

At least in the understanding of the Chinese translator, Kumāralāta’s usage of pra-√sad covers the entire and variegated semantic gamut that one might see in the entries for pra-√sad and prasāda in Monier Williams 1872, s.v.:

1) “be pure, clean, serene”—XLIII, 21/48 r2 śa(śī pra)sannāṃśur ivodi[ta] ‘like the Hare-bearing [moon] risen with pure (prasanna) rays’=嚴淨如秋月 (T.4.201.294a2) ‘Ornate and pure like the autumn moon,’ LXIII, SHT 21/79 v1 [diśa?]ś ca bhṛśam praseduḥ ‘and the directions (=the sky) became eminently clear’=四面皆清明 (T.4.210.323b22) ‘the four directions were clean and pure’ (see, for another occurrence of the same Sanskrit phrase, Kalidāsa, Raghuvamśa, 3.14a);
2) “be satisfied”—XXX, SHT21/38 r1, prasanna=意滿足 ‘having one’s wishes fulfilled’ (T.4.201.286c24);

3) “be pleased”—XXII, SHT21/30 v3 jātaprasādā ‘having given rise to prasāda (joy?)’=心懷歡喜 (T.4.201.279c4) ‘[her] heart, harboring joy,’ LXVII, SHT 21/85 v5 (+AW) mayi prasannah ‘he is [again] prasanna (pleased? well-disposed?) towards me’ (said by the heterodox teacher Purāṇa upon hearing that a former follower has invited him to his house)=還來歸我 (T.4.201.328a9) ‘he has again taken refuge in me’;

4) “be appeased>have mercy, show favor”—XLII, SHT 21/57 v4, b[r]ah[m]acāribhir uktah [prasādaya bhagavantam iti ‘He was addressed by the practitioners of Pure Conduct (brahmacāribhis) [with the words]: ‘Make the Blessed One have mercy (prasādaya)’=同梵行者[…]即欲請佛求哀懺悔 (T.4.201.306a19–20) ‘Then his fellow practitioners of *B‘am-Conduct (brahmacya) […] entreated [him] to beg the Buddha to take mercy on [his] repentance,’ XX, SHT 638x v4, prasāda kuru mayi dayāmm ‘show mercy; do me favor’=愍我願除却 (T.4.201.278c18) ‘take pity on me and remove [this curse from me]’, LXX, 638 dd, Blatt 421 r2, me prasāda ‘take pity on me’=願垂哀憐愍 (CBETA, T04, no. 201, p. 338b15) ‘deign to show your mercy’, ibidem, r3, tvatprasādān na tatrādyā gaccheyam gurvinī satī ‘by your mercy may I not go there [=to the king’s abattoir], being with fawn’ (said by a pregnant doe to the king of deer)=今願救我胎 (T4.201.338b19) ‘Now deign to save my unborn young.’

In at least one occurrence, Kumāralātā might have used prasāda in the mainstream but specialized sense of ‘ceremonial offering of food.’ In the Chinese text of story LXXVII, the god
Brahmā, upon learning that one Śrīgupta is scheming to invite the Buddha for a poisoned meal, says: 願佛不須往 迴還 (T.4.201.329c13) ‘may the Buddha not go [to Śrīgupta’s] and return instead.’ This might roughly correspond to the isolated word prasādavinivartī (SHT 21/87 r1) ‘turning back from the prasāda’ in the Sanskrit fragmentary text.

Also at least in one case, in the initial moral of story XLVI, prasāda must be understood as having a technical doctrinal meaning in the compound avetyaprasāda: SHT 21/51 v3, avetyaprasādāya prayatitavyam ‘effort must be made towards avetyaprasāda’=應勤修四不壞淨 (T.4.201.298b16) ‘one must be diligent in practicing the four undecaying purities.’ The avetyaprasādas are comprehensively treated in Schlosser and Strauch (2016, §3), from which I have extracted the following information. In its general scholastic formulation, the avetyaprasādas are four, with its three initial elements being the “Three Jewels”—Buddha, Law, and Assembly—and the fourth Proper Behavior (śīla, sīla). The initial member of the compound, avetya-, is obscure and might have originally meant either “[attained by] having understood” or “unbreakable”. Although it and its Pāli cognate avecca- have been understood by modern and ancient exegetes as the gerund of the verb ava-(ā)-vī ‘understand,’ these terms are also likely to be reinterpretations of an older word that surfaces in Gāndhārī as abheja (i.e. abhedya ‘unbreakable’), which undoubtedly underlies the Chinese rendering buhuai 不壞 ‘un-decaying’ and is also sporadically attested in its Sanskrit form in Sanskrit texts. In this case, re-etymologization seems to be involved in the divergence of meanings. On the basis of a wide-ranging analysis of scholastic interpretations, Schlosser and Strauch propose the English rendering of “unbreakable confidence” or “unbreakable trust” (p. 78), and it is likely that similar scholastic interpretations of the concept underlie the most common Chinese and Tibetan renderings of the word prasāda, both well attested in the respective versions of Kumāralātā’s Garland: xin 信 ‘trust, belief,’ dad ‘belief, trust, loyalty.’
Although the term *prasāda* does not occur in the Sanskrit fragments of story I, the only one for which we have a Tibetan version, *xin* 信 and *dad [pa]* map onto each other three times in this story: T4.201.257c15–16=Derge, *Spring*, Nge, 144b1, 258b11=145a4–5, 258b20=145a7. In the places where the Chinese text can be compared against the Sanskrit fragments, the word *prasāda* is rendered by *xin* 信 at least four times, but not only by it: XX, SHT 21/5 v2, *prasādahetuh* ‘because of *prasāda*’=故吾今者敬信情篤 (T4.201. 260a12) ‘because of this now I have respect, trust (*xin* 信), and sincere emotion,’ *ibidem*, v4, *[jā?]taprasādā* ‘[having engendered?] *prasāda*’=深信心 (T4.201.279c10) ‘[her] heart, with deep trust (*xin* 信)’ SHT 21/39 r3 , XXXI, *prasādajanitanetramukharāgā* ‘with emotion in the face and eyes engendered by *prasāda*’=信心容顏怡悅 (T4.201.287c24) ‘having engendered even more of a trusting (*xin* 信) heart, his face gleaming with joy,’ L, SHT 21/55 r3 *prasādo*=深生信敬 (T4.201.302c22) ‘having deeply given rise to trust (*xin* 信) and respect.’ In view of this evidence it seems likely that most or all the occurrences of *xin* 信 ‘trust’ in the Chinese version of the *Garland*—some hundred and fifty or so—reflect in fact an underlying *prasāda* in the Sanskrit text.

As for the meaning “trust,” Schopen (2004, 63–64, 145, 167, n. 68) has suggested the meaning “trustworthy” for Tibetan *dad pa can* when attributed to laybrothers entrusted with the care or administration of monastic funds, although the underlying Indic word in these passages might be different from *prasāda* or its derivatives. According to Lokesh Chandra 1959–1961, s.v., *dad pa can* corresponds in the Tibetan translations surveyed by him to either the noun *śraddhā* ‘trust’ or its derivative adjective *śrāddha*.

Although I have invariably followed the principle of rendering the Chinese text as literally as possible and without regard for the Indic terminology that may underlie the Chinese version, I will exceptionally opt here to render *xin* 信 with phrases close to ‘favorable disposition’ or,
attributively, ‘favorably disposed’ which, vague and open ended as they are, leave room for the still unsettled polysemy of Indic prasāda.

As for the term shanxin 善心, literally ‘good heart (or, metaphorically, ‘thought’), an examination of a good sample of its occurrences has convinced me that its use in the Chinese translational corpus is unsystematic and that it has been deployed to render a wide variety of concepts. In the case of the Chinese version of the Garland, it seems that, for once, the most mainstream interpretation of the term may be adequate: Nakamura (1975, 850c) and Hirakawa (1997, 260) tell us that shanxin 善心 corresponds to Skt. kuśalacittā ‘good thought,’ or ‘wholesome thought.’ The term is explained at great length in scholastic literature, but the abstraction necessary to philosophical discourse makes it sometimes difficult to gain a concrete impression of the role this notion may have played. At least once in the Mūlasarvāstivādavīdaṇavaya, a mention is made of someone dying while having a “good thought” (kuśalacittāḥ kālagataḥ) and being immediately born among the gods (Saṃghabhedavastu, Gnoli 1977–78, i.68). In this story of deathbed salvation, the protagonist is the yakṣa Kuṃbhīra, who dies while striving to thwart an assassination attempt directed towards the Buddha. The text goes on to explain that as soon as the son or daughter of a god are born, he—the brusque change in grammatical subject is in the original—starts pondering three questions, namely “from where had [he] passed away, where had [he] been born, [and] on account of what deed ” (kutaś cyutaḥ kutropapanṇaḥ kena karanā). The young god that had previously been Kuṃbhīra sees (paśyati) that, regarding the third question, he “had been favorably disposed towards the Blessed One” (bhagavato ’ntike cittam abhiprasādyā). The passage equates the “good thought” of Kuṃbhīra with the notions alluded by the unendingly vexing lexeme [abhi]-pra-वसad on which we have commented before. In a note rich in insights on these terms, Schopen (2000, 161, n.V.18) has shown that the experience of being “with a mind
deeply moved” (cittam abhiprasādyā) typically occurs in the two contexts of the moment of death and the emotional prelude to a donation to the monastic community brought about by an encounter with a “Buddhist person, action or object” (ibidem). In regard to the Chinese term shanxin 善心 (=kuśalacitta) and the conceptual overlap that I propose with the lexeme pra-√sad, it may be opportune to note that Bareau (1962, 249) has remarked on a passage of the Mahāsāṃghikavinaya where the Buddha is made to say that at the moment of worshipping a stūpa a “good thought” (shanxin 善心) is more important than the gift itself. He says: “a hundred thousand carts of pure gold/ put to use to make a donation,/ are not worth what one good thought/ when worshipping the stūpa with flowers and perfumes” (百千車真金/持用行布施/不如一善心/華香供養塔, T22.1425.497c14–15).

The overlap and virtual equivalence between “good thoughts” and feelings of prasāda in the Garland will appear once and again in the excerpts with which we will deal below. Examples of the kind of donation-inducing prasāda are frequent in the Garland, but not all instances of the word xin 信 ‘trust’, which I have proposed to be equivalent to the lexeme of pra-√sad in the Chinese translation feature a donation. What the occurrences of xin 信/*pra-√sad share is, however, the fact that the object of the feeling designated by these terms is indeed almost always something or someone connected with the Buddhist religion. And yet, conversely, depictions of the act of giving are generally accompanied by a discussion of the role that prasāda plays in it. The emotion that the term evokes is undoubtedly the correct (and required) state to perform the religious gift. All of this becomes less arcane if we consider that one fairly encompassing English rendering of prasāda as used in non-Buddhist sources would be “favor.” Although the English

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311 See, though. pp. 283ff. on a different take on the relationship between donation and prasāda.
word fails to convey the nuances of strong emotion and relish that set the Buddhist usage apart, both the English and the Sanskrit can potentially indicate a) state of approval, support, liking, or preference, b) an act of kindness or generosity, and b) a gift or token of affection (in English, as in the phrase “party favors”) wherein the mood to give and the gift are in the usage of these terms only points of a semantic continuum.

Beyond these functional considerations on the usage of these words, it might be appropriate to underline that, as difficult as it is to pin down, the sentiments that pra-√sad and prasāda designate in the Garland, as also in much of contemporary Buddhist literature, reference an inner state, a mode of emotional reaction. Trainor (1997, 82–84, 175–76) has suggested that, in the context of the Ceylonese Great Chronicle (Mahāvaṃsa), the lexeme [saṃ-]√vij/[saṃ]vega constitutes with pra-√sad/prasāda a dyad of emotional states in which the former is an initial “shock” brought about by a sudden epiphany of truth, whereas the latter would be a state of “serene joy” that follows it. Etymology could be adduced in support of this interpretation: The non-metaphorical meaning of pra-√sad is ‘to settle’, with reference to water; √vij means, by contrast, ‘to shake, to tremble’.312 Although this distinction might work well for the Great Chronicle, other usages of these terms suggest that they were conceptually associated in other ways. In story XVI of the Avadānaśataka king Ajatasatru, having banned his citizens from worshipping the Buddha, sees the gods worshipping the Buddha from the terrace of his palace and suddenly feels first regret (vipratisāra) and then prasāda. The citizens, having witnessed the same event, become “endowed with strong emotion (vega) towards the Law [of the Buddha]” (dharmavegaprāptāḥ) (Speyer

312 See also Schopen 1997,116–17 and 2004, 32–33 for derivatives of saṃ-√vij, with saṃvejanīya as “to be powerfully experienced” and also Coomaraswamy 1943, in which saṃvega is characterized as “aesthetic shock.”
1906–1909, 90. 10–11; French tr. Feer 1891, 73–64). As such, what we have here seems to be an overlap between the meaning of the two terms.

From the entirely different realm of high scholasticism, Vasubandhu in his *Abhidharmakośa* juxtaposes the “strong emotion of prasāda” (*prasādavega*) to “the strong emotion of evil inclinations (*kleśavega*).” In this instance, it seems that *prasāda* can generate or even be equated with strong emotion. Importantly for the present discussion, this passage occurs in the section that Vasubandhu devotes to the doctrine of the requital of deeds: Both of these kinds of strong emotion are in themselves subject to a requital. Also interesting is the example given for the kinds of things that these two kinds of strong emotions prompt one to perform: whereas “the strong emotion of evil inclinations” leads one to “killing, enslaving, and beating” (*vadhabandhanatādana*), the “strong emotion of *prasāda*” leads one to paying homage to *stūpas.*

Story XXXIV shares important elements with the story of the thief: an act of greed, a change of heart, and a change of luck. Here, a peasant hears the Buddha warning Ananda to avoid a poisonous snake and then the peasant approaches to see the poisonous snake by himself, which turns to be so only metaphorically: What the Buddha has seen is an exposed treasure hoard. The

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313 The text of the one extant Sanskrit manuscript from Tibet has here *stavavandana* ‘praise and homage’ in Pradhan’s edition (1967, 210.16): Paramārtha’s Chinese version and the Tibetan agree, though, in having here “paying homage to *stūpas*” (作禮塔, T29.1559.231a24; mchod rt'en la phyag 'tshal ba, Derge, Mgon pa, Ku, 179b1), i.e. *stūpavandana*; Xuanzang’s Chinese has “paying homage to the Buddha(s)” (作禮佛, T29.1558 74a7) and this underscores the functional equivalence between the Buddha and the *stūpa*.

314 One of the unedited fragments of the Kucha Manuscript may be part of this story, see appendix 2, SHT 21/135.
peasant appropriates it, but by doing so raises the suspicions of the fiscal department of the king.\textsuperscript{315} Arrested for not reporting the find and therefore incurring a violation of the tax code, the peasant realizes the metaphorical truth of the Buddha’s words and laments his greed. The king then hears the peasant’s lament and takes it as a sign of his having “now become capable of a favorable disposition (\textit{xin} 信=*\textit{prasāda}) towards the compassionate great sage (=the Buddha)” (今能信敬悲愍之大仙, T4.201.290a8). In the conclusion of the story, the king returns the treasure hoard to the peasant as “a dazzling requital for being now favorably disposed (\textit{xin} 信=*\textit{prasanna})” (信故現得於花報, T4.201.290a17) towards the Buddha. The story is interesting in that it provides a lively illustration of how the royal administration is quite literally one of the “five dangers” or five share-holding “family members” of wealth of which we have spoken before; however, a subtler danger of wealth engaged in this story, especially of such suddenly acquired wealth as here, is the possibility of not knowing how to spend it properly. As we have seen, and will see further below, wealth should be at least partly spent in religious gifts, but our peasant has spent it all in “clothes and food” (\textit{yi-shi} 衣食). One would say that, being unused to wealth, to acquiring it and to spending it, our man has made himself an obvious target for the king’s tax collectors, not to speak of the missed opportunities at merit-making that his hedonistic approach to spending entails. Besides this, though, the point that interests us here is that the experience of a “favorable disposition” (\textit{xin} 信=*\textit{prasāda}) towards the Buddha is here the explicit cause of a requital, and one of a monetary nature.

\textsuperscript{315} Hidden coin hoards are a characteristic feature of South Asian archeology, being especially numerous in the northwestern region of the subcontinent where Kumāralāta may have lived, on which see Boppearchchi 2011. The casual find of these coin hoards must have been common enough for the treatise on governance \textit{Arthaśāstra} to include a whole section (4.1.49–55) with instructions on how to tax it.
Story X of the *Garland* is an eloquent praise of parsimony and thrift: the character that Kumāralatā presents here is simply characterized as an *upāsaka* that “someone derided as very poor” (有人譏呵云最貧窮, T.4.201.267c28). As we have seen before, in the context of the *Garland*, poverty should sometimes be understood as relative to the wealth of its most prosperous characters. Indeed, what this story highlights about this anonymous character is his thrift and his being contented with little. The narrative implies that our man is commendable in his ability to endure poverty with dignity; however, towards the end of the story, the *upāsaka* declares that he does not consider himself poor:

能信三寶者
是名第一富
我今敬三寶
以信為珍玩

(T.201.268a8–9)

Being favorably inspired (*xin* 信=*prasanna*) towards the Three Jewels

Is what is called the foremost wealth

I now worship the Three Jewels

And that favorable disposition is [my] treasure

We have seen before another kind of immaterial wealth, namely the merit accrued from religious giving. The merchant of story XXV lists as his wealth whatever he has spent in religious donations, his assets in this world being shared by the “five family members.” What we see here

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316 See pp. 164ff.

317 Huber 1908, 59, Si l'on a foi dans le Triratna,/ Cela s'appelle être le premier des riches./ Je révère le Triratna,/ Et la foi est mon joyau.
is a different kind of immaterial wealth that seems to stem not from actual religious gifts but from the special emotional mood that is best suited and most conducive to the religious gift. In sum, we could take this statement to mean that this man’s otherworldly treasure is not so much the merit of his giving as that of his emotional drive to do so.

The focus of this story being the ideal disposition to give in isolation from other factors, it is difficult to envision how Kumāralāta may have understood the way in which disposition and action conjugate with each other. In story XIV we find the historical Kuśāṇa emperor Kaniśka distributing alms to a group of beggars. One of his ministers questions what he sees as an act of profligacy on the part of the monarch who explains—as we might expect at this point—that the beggars must have been, like himself, greatly rich in former lives, though they failed to transfer their wealth through a regimen of religious donation. The minister has a sudden realization and, endowed with a new insight, praises the actions of Kaniśka. The minister tells us that Kaniśka has been blessed with a unique combination of favorable factors:

人身極難得
信心亦難生
財寶難可足
福田復難遇
如是一一事
極難得聚會
(T4.201.272b25–27)

A human body is extremely hard to obtain
A favorable inspiration (xin 信 = *prasāda) is likewise hard to engender\footnote{The Chinese sheng 生 could of course be both the transitive ‘to engender’ and the intransitive ‘to arise’, and in the absence of the Sanskrit text it is impossible to formulate a further judgment on how much personal agency is attributed to the process of the arising of prasāda. It is interesting to note that this process is typically referenced through a nominal construction with the terms prasādajāta and jātaprasāda, lit. ‘with prasāda born [within]’: the Mūlasarvāstivādinavāja and its derivative narrative collections favor the former while Kumāralātā and his literary followers Áryaśūra and Haribhaṭṭa the latter, more in line with classical Sanskrit grammar. These two compounds leave us largely in the dark about the extent to which prasāda is a spontaneous reaction or something to be voluntarily nurtured, but another clichéd idiom to refer to this process (cittam abhiprasādyā) involves the causative, and this suggests to me that at least in some cases a significant deal of personal agency was at play.}

Wealth alone is hardly enough;

A field of merit is hard to encounter again.

This is how these things are one by one:

They are even harder to encounter together.\footnote{Huber 1908, 82 : \textit{Il est très difficile d'obtenir un corps d'homme; il est difficile aussi de naître avec un cœur croyant; les richesses, un champ de mérite, il est difficile de les rencontrer. S'il en est ainsi de ces avantages un à un, qu'est-ce donc de les obtenir tous ensemble!}}

Among the four, the first and last are rather conventional in the Buddhist rhetoric of this period. Certainly, all known Buddhist traditions insist on the unique fortune that a human birth represents.\footnote{This could be interestingly juxtaposed to the points of view occasionally met with in the epics, which in this case I will take as representative of some trends of thought current among at least some of the priestly and military aristocracy: in Mahābhārata (1.1.92) we are told about the mysterious wife of king Śaṃtanu, who marries him on the condition that he will never question her actions. Then, over the years, she drowns in the Ganges seven of their eight sons as soon as they are born. Śaṃtanu’s wife turns out to be the goddess Ganges/Gaṅgā incarnated, who mercifully released from the humiliation of a human birth the Vasu gods who had been cursed to that punishment by the sage Vaśiṣṭha.} I would like to draw the reader’s attention, however, to the elements framed by this general encomium of a human birth and its possibilities: Wealth “can hardly be enough” and what
is truly “hard to engender” is the “inspiration” (xin 信心 =*prasāda) to transform that wealth through the religious gift.

### 4.3.3. Failures of Gift-Giving: Lack of Enthusiasm, Lack of Lofty Goals

Kaniṣka enjoys the proper disposition and the means to accomplish it, though Kumāralāta seems to have delighted in exploring the narrative possibilities that different combinations of the thought or disposition to give and the act of giving allows. The story of the poor upāsaka explores the possibility of the right feelings without the means to take them to fruition whereas two other stories present us with donors who, lacking the right intentions or the right feelings, receive the narrative reproach of our author.

In the first of these stories, XXII, the beggar girl that we have previously encountered sees a group of monks celebrating their “feast of the fifth year” (pañcavārśika) and begs for food from them: “having seen that great group of people ready to give, she [became] inspired with favor” (mahājanam ca pradānābhimukham aveksya jātaprasādā, SHT21/30 v3). After this, the beggar girl donates all she has—two copper coins—to the monks. The Elder of the Assembly pronounces some stanzas praising her “thought” or “intention” (yi 意, T.4.201.279c14) and then she proceeds to formulate what has been usually rendered in English as a "vow," or “aspiration,” and which in the Sanskrit text almost certainly was the term pranidhāna. This device is ubiquitous in the Buddhist narratives of this period, and allows the owner of religious merit to direct it towards a

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321 The Chinese has here “having begged for food from the monks, seeing the assembly, her heart was filled with joy” (於會乞食，既覩眾僧心懷歡喜, T4.201.279c4).

322 One 1st Century CE manuscript (British Library Gāndhārī Fragment 16), part of a collection of short avadānas, contains the phrases (*pra)*niṣano upadayadi (=pranidhānam upādayati) (Lenz 2003, v39) ‘he gives rise
desired reward. Such rewards need not, at least in this narrative genre, be particularly lofty or otherworldly: As we have seen before, the “vow” to be reborn in a rich family occurs abundantly in the *Mūlasarvāstivādāvatīnaya* and its literary derivatives. Although these “vows” are relatively infrequent in the *Garland*, and this underscores Kumāralāta’s preference for psychological exploration rather than for the explicit display of the causality of act and requital, the beggar girl’s “vow” follows a similar trend of thought, although with a some rather unique traits:

願我生死中，永離於貧窮，

[...]

由此功德故，速成所願果，
所種微善心，身根願速出

(T4.201.279c21–25)

I vow (*yuan* 頌) that I, within the cycle of birth and death

May I always be free from

[...]

On account of my merit

May the fruit of my vow quickly be achieved;

As for the good thought that I have sown

to a resolution (*prāṇidhāna*) and *purvapraṇisi* (*=purvapraṇidhi*) *vistare yaṣayupamano siyadi* ‘let [his] earlier resolutions be developed in detail according to the model’. It seems, though, that the term *prāṇidhāna* and its Middle Indic cognates are largely unknown to the contemporary donative inscriptions, exactly where one would expect to find them, although, if we take it to be a designation of a genre, it might not be surprising that it does not show up in texts of that genre (modern epitaphs typically do not contain the word “epitaph,” etc.).
I vow that it may sprout (chu 出) in [my] present body.\textsuperscript{323}

The first unusual point of this passage is the request that the reward of her merit should ripen in her present life, a theoretical possibility that is rarely featured in the narrative literature.\textsuperscript{324} For our purposes, the most interesting feature of this passage is that it makes it explicit that it is her inner state of inspiration rather than her very modest gift that will accrue merit for her. The initial moral reflection of the story suggests that it is precisely the combination of the gift with the “inspiration to favor” that accomplishes an incommensurate requital:

夫修施者在勝信心，兩錢布施果報難量 (T4.201,279c1–2)

As for the of the religious gift, when done in a favorable disposition, even from the giving of two coins, the requital is hard to measure.\textsuperscript{325}

The beggar girl’s aspiration fructifies as she desired: the king walks by, and falling in love with her, makes her his queen. The beggar queen arranges a new donation to the monks, this time an exceedingly lavish one; however, the Elder of the Assembly detects that the intensity of her feelings has dwindled, and therefore rejects her gift with the following stern pronouncement:

\[
\text{無戀著心一切能施, 得大名稱現世獲報, 是故應施不應悋著 (T.4.201.279a15–16) “Who, with unflinching heart can give all, obtains the requital of great glory in this life, and for this reason one must give and not be a miser.” See also Huber 1908, 117, “Celui qui est capable de donner sans hesitation tout en aumône, aura une grande gloire et sera récompensé déjà dans ce monde. C’est pourquoi il faut donner l’aumône et il ne faut pas se montrer avaré.”}
\]

\[
\text{Huber 1908, 119, L’exercice de l’aumône est estimé d’après la pureté de l’intention (de celui qui donne). Celle qui n’a donné en aumône que deux pièces de monnaie, a obtenu une rétribution qui n’est pas mesurable.}
\]

\textsuperscript{323} Huber 1908, 121, Puissé-je dans mes existences / Être à jamais délivrée de la pauvreté! [...] Puissé-je pour mon mérite/ Obtenir bientôt le fruit de mon vœu! Ce que j’ai semé d’un cœur excellent, / Puissé-je vite le moissonner sur moi. My understanding of the last pāda is different from Huber’s: although the word yuan願 could be ‘vow’ either in the nominal and verbal usages of the English word, there is nothing in the original that corresponds to the idea of “fruit.” A word by word gloss of the Chinese would have: physical-body+vow+quickly+manifest, which I have opted to construe as above.

\textsuperscript{324} See, however, the moral point of story XXI: 無戀著心一切能施, 得大名稱現世獲報, 是故應施不應悋著 (T.4.201.279a15–16) “Who, with unflinching heart can give all, obtains the requital of great glory in this life, and for this reason one must give and not be a miser.” See also Huber 1908, 117, “Celui qui est capable de donner sans hesitation tout en aumône, aura une grande gloire et sera récompensé déjà dans ce monde. C’est pourquoi il faut donner l’aumône et il ne faut pas se montrer avaré.”

\textsuperscript{325} Huber 1908, 119, L’exercice de l’aumône est estimé d’après la pureté de l’intention (de celui qui donne). Celle qui n’a donné en aumône que deux pièces de monnaie, a obtenu une rétribution qui n’est pas mesurable.
Not on account of much money [given],
Does one obtain a great requital

Only through good thoughts
Does one attain a great requital.\textsuperscript{326}

The last story that we will consider here, XXXVII, gives us a different version of the final part of the beggar queen’s story. A donor invites the monastic assembly for a sumptuous meal, and yet the Elder of the Assembly is able to sense the donor’s intentions: he wants to become rich. The Elder behaves brashly towards the donor, wishing him, with cold sarcasm, no wants or scarcities in his future rebirth in hell. As a coda to this shocking breach of etiquette, the Elder pronounces the following verses:

\begin{quote}
施者所生處，財寶極廣大，

[...]

戒能得生天，施能備眾具，

所作為解脫，必盡於苦際

譬如種藕根，花葉悉具得，

其根亦可食。修行於施戒，

親近解脫林，快樂喻花葉，

根喻於解脫。是故修戒施，
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{326} Huber 1908, 122, \textit{Ce n’est pas pour (avoir offert) beaucoup d’argent / Qu’on obtiendra une rétribution importante; / Seulement ceux qui offrent dans une intention sublime / Obtiendront une rétribution importante.}
必當為解脫，不應為世利

(T4.201.291b8–21)

What motivates (sheng 生) [his] gift

Is a great expansion of wealth

[...]

Through the principles of training (jie 戒) one obtains divine rebirth;

The gift can provide one with all the requisites,

Yet what one does must be for the sake of liberation:

One must deplete the realm of suffering.

After planting a lotus root

It grows whole with leaves and flowers:

Only the root, however, can also be eaten.

When practicing the restraints and the gift,

One approaches the grove of liberation,

The leaves and flowers are a metaphor of enjoyment (kuaile 快樂=*sukha,

*bhoga?);

The root is a metaphor of liberation,

And so when practicing the restraints and the gift

It must be towards liberation,

And not towards any worldly gain.327

327 Huber 1908, 179–180, Le but de la charité qu'il a faite/ (C'est d'acquérir) des richesses immenses [...] En observant les défenses on peut obtenir de naître dans le ciel./ Par la charité on se procure tous les biens;/ Mais on doit la faire en vue de la Délivrance finale./ Et pour échapper au domaine de la Douleur./ De même que dans le cas des racines de lotus/ On peut prendre les fleurs et les feuilles (de ces lotus)./ Mais leur racine aussi est mangeable,
Let us not consider for the moment the incongruousness of this scene of a generous donor being publicly denounced in a work that encourages people to spend their wealth in religious giving. The donor craves wealth, and does what he is supposed to do: give liberally. The words of the Elder not only do not deny, but actually affirm, that future wealth is the necessary outcome of the religious gift. How the aspiration to final emancipation fits into this scheme remains unclear. What the metaphor of the lotus suggests is a highly paradoxical formula which postulates that the concomitants of the effort to disengage oneself from the world are precisely wealth and success.

If we were to judge this state of affairs from the point of view of doctrinal coherence we might be forced to point out a central contradiction: On the one hand, the requital of deeds should go its own way, with inexorable precision; on the other, the right frame of mind and the right emotional education play a role that in this passage seems to override the very inexorability of the requital of acts. In other words, the lavish gift of the beggar queen should produce its requital, and if we were to apply the principles of the doctrinal mainstream, her making her gift while under the influence of the strong emotions evoked by the term prasāda should prompt a positive requital of its own; how, however, the decrease of inner religious fervor can actually invalidate one’s gift is unaccounted for.

Although we do not have them, we know that Kumāralāta authored also works on scholastic philosophy. If we could read them, we might be able to see the theoretical acrobatics by

\[ kāmaṃ [...] puspava [...] mokṣaṃ ca śālīkavat + tasmāc chīlasahāyena mokṣaṃ “desire [...] like flowers [...] liberation [is] like the lotus root [...] therefore, liberation accompanied by discipline…” \]
which he may have reconciled these tensions. He may have argued that dwindling enthusiasm is in itself due to the influence of unwholesome intentions, or otherwise that the greed involved in the expectation of a requital spoils or counteracts the merit accrued from the religious gift.

One verse found in various traditions of *Verses of the Law* (*Dharmapada*), one of whose Sanskrit versions Kumāralāṭa certainly knew as he quoted liberally from it both in his grammatical treatise *Kaumāralāṭa* and in the *Garland*,\(^{328}\) implies that wealth and the search of wealth do not harm those intent upon final emancipation:

\[
\begin{align*}
hananti bhogā dummedham & \quad \text{durmedhasam hanti bhogo} \\
no ve pāragavesino & \quad \text{na tv ihātmagavesinam} \\
bhogataṇhāya dummedho & \quad \text{durmedhā bhogatṛṇābhīr} \\
hanti aññe va attanaṃ & \quad \text{hanty ātmānam atho parān}
\end{align*}
\]

(Mizuno 1981, 232, §355) \hspace{2cm} (Mizuno 1981, 233, § Kāma 16) \hspace{2cm} (T.4.211.603a14–15)

Riches destroy the fool, \hspace{2cm} Wealth destroys the fool, \hspace{2cm} Not the one who looks for the

Not indeed the one who looks \hspace{2cm} Not indeed the one here who \hspace{2cm} Not the one who looks for the

for the other side./ \hspace{2cm} looks for the self./ \hspace{2cm} other shore/>

Through thirst for wealth the \hspace{2cm} The fool through thirsts for \hspace{2cm} Because of greed, which is the

fool/ \hspace{2cm} wealth/ \hspace{2cm} love of wealth/>

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\(^{328}\) See Lüders 1926, 60–65 and 1940, 698ff.

\(^{329}\) The verse occurs, other than here, in three other translations of *Verses of the Law* (T.4.210.571b10–11, T.4.212.630b26–27, T.4.213.778b7–8), but the Chinese translation in these four sources is largely identical and must stem from a single source.
Destroys others and himself. Destroys himself and others. He harms others and also harms himself.

The reason why “riches destroy the fool” should probably be sought in greed. According to the *Garland*, if a man is without desire for wealth, he can safely amass as much wealth as he likes:

夫少欲者不在積財多諸寶物。何以知之? 如頻婆娑羅王富, 有國土、象馬、七珍, 猶名少欲。所以者何? 雖有財寶, 心不貪著, 樂於聖道, 以是之故, 雖復富有七珍盈溢, 心無希求名為少欲。

(T4.201.263c25–264a1)

Whether a man has few desires does not depend on how much his wealth is or his jewels. How do we know this? King Bimbisāra was rich, had his kingdom, elephants and horses, the seven jewels, and he still was called a man of few desires. Why is this so? Although he had wealth, his mind did not covet it, and he rejoiced on the holy path. For this reason, although he was rich and had the seven jewels in plenitude, as his mind did not have the slightest craving he was called [a man of] few desires.\(^{330}\)

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\(^{330}\) Compare Huber 1908, 36–37, “[...] avoir peu de désirs ne dépend pas de la quantité de richesses et de choses précieuses qu’on possède. Comment peut-on comprendre cela? Par exemple le roi Bimbisāra était riche, possédait un royaume, des éléphants, des chevaux et les sept joyaux. Pourtant on l’appelait un homme de peu de désirs. Et pourquoi cela? Bien qu’il possédât des richesses et des joyaux, son cœur ne s’y attachait pas, mais il se réjouissait dans la sainte Voie. Voilà pourquoi, bien qu’il fût riche et qu’il possédât les sept joyaux en abondance, il ne nourrissait pas de désirs dans son cœur et on l’appelait un homme de peu de désirs.” Huber translated you 猶 as *pourtant*, but it also can be used as an adversative conjunction (“in spite of that, yet”), and I think that is the sense here.
Bimbisāra is not a fool because he is not blinded by wealth and has his mind on the path. In the 
*Verse of the Law* quoted above, the exact characterization of those immune to the dangers of wealth 
varies across versions, but both “[one] who seeks the self” (*āmagavesin*) or “[one] who seeks the 
other shore” (*pāragavesin, qiu du bi’an* 求度彼岸) are conventional metaphors for the seeker of 
the final emancipation, *nirvāṇa*.

As in the speech of the Elder, the reason why the quest for emancipation should validate 
the acquisition of wealth is not made explicit. Independently of the how this may have worked in 
the theory, both passages express an admonition to keep in mind a higher goal, an especially 
difficult and abstract goal, that presumably, then as now, did not appeal to the majority and here 
sits uncomfortably at odds with the mechanism of gift, sentiment, and merit so richly depicted 
elsewhere in the *Garland* and other Buddhist narrative collections. In spite of the Elder’s words, 
we should bear in mind that the beggar queen wishes that the requital of her inspiration—not of 
her gift, in her own words—might be simply never to be poor again in any of her “future deaths 
and births.” Similarly, we have also remarked how, in the *Mūlasrāvīśādavinaya* and the 
narrative collections that derive from it, the wish to be reborn in wealth as the result of one’s 
meritorious deed is frequent and no blame or stigma seems to be attached to it.

The theoretical problem stands, and it may indeed have bothered Kumāralāta, a philosopher 
and an intellectual. If for a moment we step out of the realm of didactic narrative and explore what 
the epigraphic record has to say about these points, we would see less tension. In donative 
inscriptions of Gangetic India from around the turn of the common era, the Middle Indic term 
*pasāda* (*prasāda*) occurs instead of the more common *dāna* ‘gift.’ As we have seen before, 
*prasāda* as functionally and semantically equivalent to ‘gift’ is well-attested in Sanskrit, and this 
epigraphic usage blurs the distinction between the feeling conducive to religious giving and the
act of carrying it out—the disposition and gift occupy one single conceptual space. Closer to Kumāralāta in time and space, the famous early 1st Century donative inscription of king Senavarman, king of Oḍi (perhaps in modern Swāt), which we have already studied in connection with the term grhapati, records, on a gold sheet, the repair of a damaged stūpa that the king funded. One passage of the inscription juxtaposes his “giving” (dane=dāna), “religious gift” (devasame=deyadharma), “faith” (ṣadha=śraddhā), and “favor” (prasade=prasāda):

aya me dane devasame aya ca ṣadha ye ca prasade se kimatraye hoto?
[chāyā: idaṃ me dānaṃ deyadharma iyaṃ ca śraddhā yaś ca prasādo sa kimātrāyā bhavatu?]
(Salomon 1986, 265. 11c-d)
This my giving—a religious gift—and this faith, and this favorable disposition (prasāde)—of what measure shall it be?

No knotty theoretical considerations seem to encumber Senavarman’s notion of the meaning of his actions. He has performed his religious duty, the gift, and has done it moved by the right

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331 Given the irregular marking of long vowels in early Brāhmī donative Buddhist inscriptions, the Middle Indic form pasāda (<Skt. prasāda) can often be indistinguishable in writing from pāsāda (>Skt. prāsāda) ‘terrace, upper level of a building’; even when long vowels are marked, if geminate consonants are not written (and this is the case for the most part), the two terms can be rendered identically in writing (pāsāda=passāda (Zweimorengesetz)=<pasāda>). There are, however, cases in which the setting and context of the inscriptions—most compellingly their being inscribed upon railing posts and beams—makes it highly likely that pasāda is being used instead of the much more usual dāna ‘gift’: Tsukamoto (1996–2003, i. 515) has noted that this usage is especially well attested in the site of Pauni (Tsukamoto 1996–2003 i, Pauni §3, 516; §17–18, 519; §22, 520; §27, §30, 521), but also marginally elsewhere (Tsukamoto 1996–2003 i, Sañcī §859, 880; §884, 884, Mathurā §87, 674). In the later Sanskrit inscriptions, prasāda also occurs occasionally in the sense of ‘gift’: in the probably 4th Century Devnī Morī reliquary inscription, the compound sugataprasādakāmo (Tsukamoto 1996–2003 i, Devnī Morī §1, 395, verse 6) may mean “wishing to make a gift to the Well-Gone (=the Buddha).” See however (though see Schopen 2005, 243–244, n. 35).

332 My translation is based on the one of Salomon 1986, 271, with tweaks to his choice of vocabulary for the sake of consistency.
emotions, in the right frame of mind. As such, the requital of these pious deeds is assumed as a certainty, although its full extent (hopefully bountiful) is unknown. For the rest, Senavarman does not formulate other aspirations other than the conventional benefit of his family and of all the creatures of the universe. The end of the cycle of birth and death, although mentioned (l2.c-d), does not seem a clear personal goal.

We would expect that Kumāralāta, as a monastic author, should be invested not only in encouraging the act of religious giving, but also in placing it on a position of moral preeminence beyond reproach. The public criticism (and humiliation) of the beggar queen and of the interested donor for making their religious gift either in a state of lesser enthusiasm than before or interested in utilizing the merit-machine for their own future advantage seem somewhat disconcerting: Kumāralāta does not engage in a full explanation of their wrongs. Both would appear to be following the general Buddhist teachings on the gift, and Kumāralāta’s choice to criticize their behavior so forcefully might conceivably have alienated the support of donors. There are, however, ways of imagining an explanation. The human tendency to harmonize cognitive dissonance, i.e., to reconcile contradictory beliefs or ideas by reconfiguring them, has been a particularly fruitful device in modern psychology. If we were to deploy it here, we could hypothesize that one may not be inflamed with religious sentiment or guided towards particularly lofty goals at the moment of giving, but that if those need to be necessarily the concomitants of the gift, the gift itself may become an explanation. In other words: If I give, it must be because my feelings are right, because my intentions are right.

Less hypothetical is, however, the fact that in these two stories Kumāralāta marks a departure from the body of doctrine and narrative that preceded and informed him. His is an appeal—a very militant one—for the cultivation of an inner sensibility, of a complex of attitudes
and emotions. If my suggestion that the *Garland* represents a strong statement of the values of a social class made during a moment of crisis proves correct, then this would account for the sententious, militant, vaguely puritanical tone. In his *Garland*, Kumāralāta extols the acquisition of wealth and makes it the very expression and outcome of a carefully cultivated emotional disposition.
5. Translations

We have considered so far only excerpts from the stories in the Garland. A real taste of their flavor, though, can be gained only by considering them as a whole, and the preceding discussion has meant to provide a lens to read these stories. Below are included three that provide a good samplebook of the rich repertoire of Kumāralātā’s moral thought. We will see in these stories how a great deal of personal discipline and restraint confer on the layman the same heroic dignity of the monastic (5.1), and how a man learns that it is only through constant work that personal ambition is achieved, in a plot that puns on the various meanings of the Sanskrit word karman (5.2). The last story is a celebration of the worth of the businessman, compared there to the Buddha himself (5.3).

5.1. IX. An Upāsaka Refuses Easy Monetary Gains

The topic of this story—what the upright man is to do when faced with the possibility of enriching himself in a short time—is shared with yet another story from Kumāralātā’s Garland, XXXIV. As we have noted, these two stories are mirror images of each other: the protagonist of the one translated below refuses to take for himself an adventitious treasure cache, whereas the one of story XXXIV discussed above takes the treasure only to be faced with disastrous and immediate consequences—the man is apprehended by the king’s fiscal department, prosecuted, and sentenced to death.

The apparent point in the story is that since treasure hoards belong to the king, they are better left undisturbed. Instead, legal sources of revenue, or, in their absence, dignified poverty,

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333 See p. 290, n. 337 below.
are a preferable path. But the fear of repression is only a side thought here, whereas such fear is a prominent topic of story XXXIV. What Kumāralāta does here, instead, is deliver an encomium of the virtue of *alpecchatā*, “having few desires,” a trait that translates into frugality and an unwillingness to acquire assets not earned through one’s own economic activity. The honest parsimony of the righteous man is presented here as a path of this-worldly asceticism through which the lay can attain the same level of religious achievement as the monk. Indeed, a point of great interest in this story is the explicit equation of the virtuous *upāsaka* with a monk in every way, “even without the outer marks,” (*liṅgagrahaṇam ṛte ṭi̯i*) which the Chinese translator glossed as the “monastic robes” (*fāyi* 法衣). There is probably a rhetorical function in this statement, nonetheless Kumāralāta points here to a blurring of the boundaries between lay and monastic, or at least to a code of behavior shared by both categories of members of the Buddhist community.

Our *upāsaka* is said to be “poor” (*pin* 贫) although his poverty must be understood as relative, since he is also said to preside over a household with “wife, children, relatives, slaves and servants” (*妻、子、眷屬、僮僕、使人*). Perhaps, then, he is to be seen, similar to the much better characterized protagonist of story XLIX, as a land-owning peasant whose household is described in very similar terms, but who is also described as “poor.” Furthermore, as we have already noted (3.1.3, p. 296), the umbrella-term *grhapati* may also have included such people.
復次，欲如肉撲眾鳥競逐，

And now: “Desire is like a lump of flesh\(^{334}\) birds compete to get

有智之人深知財患而不

hold of; the wise know well the afflictions of wealth and do not

貪著。

covet [it].”

(T4.201.267a4–5)

我昔曾聞，修婆多國時有

As I heard once,\(^{335}\) in the kingdom of Suvastu (Swāt) there was a

比丘，於壞垣壁見有伏藏，

bhikṣu. He saw a hidden treasure in a wall; there was a big copper

有大銅瓮滿中金錢，將一

pot full of gold coins. He showed the spot\(^{336}\) to a poor upāsaka,

貧優婆塞而示之處，即語

saying: “You can take this treasure for the necessities of life

之言：可取是寶以為資

(zisheng 資生).” Then the upāsaka asked the bhikṣu: “When did

生。時優婆塞問比丘言：

you see this?” The bhikṣu answered: “I saw it today for the first

何時見此？比丘答言：今

time.” The upāsaka said: “It is not today that I [first] saw this


\(^{334}\) Compare SHT 21/24.r1, māṃsapeś… “A lump of flesh.”

\(^{335}\) This is a literal translation of the Chinese and it may strike the reader as a rendering of the well-known stereotypical opening phrase of Indic Buddhist sūtras: evaṃ mayā śrutam/evaṃ me sutam/eva me śuḍa “thus I have

heard,” or the like. The stereotypical phrase that opens each and every story in Kumāralāta’s Garland in the Sanskrit fragments, although not preserved for this one, is however different: tadyathānusrayate, which would translate literally “as it is heard” or “as it is transmitted.” On the meaning and significance of this phrase see 2.3.3.

\(^{336}\) Compare SHT 21/24 r2, [su]vastuni kila bhikṣunā jīrṇagrhe kuḍyāntargato nidhir upalakṣitas tena sa

“In Swāt, a monk found within an old house, concealed in the wall, a treasure. He… it…” Suvāśtu is the archaic Vedic (and Epic) name of the modern Swāt valley and the etymon of the modern toponym. The region was also known in Buddhist Sanskrit as Oḍḍiyāna or Uḍḍiyāna. Its Gāndhārī cognate Oḍi is attested in the 1st Century CE inscriptions of king Ajitasena (Fussman: 1986, 1) and Senavarman (Salomon 1986, 264, line 1b), and it is also perhaps the partial etymon of the modern toponym Uḍḍ-grām, which has yielded rich archeological finds (see Bagnera 2006). Oḍi was at least during the rule of Senavarman a Kuṣāṇa protectorate (Salomon 1968, 288), but it may have been an independent polity by Kumāralāta’s time. Regarding the choice of the toponym here, it is telling of Kumāralāta’s advocacy for high Sanskrit literary style that he chooses the quaint archaism Suvastu instead of the then more current vernacular toponym Uḍḍiyāna. On Suvastu see also pp. 39, n. 70.
treasure; I saw it a long time ago, but I have no use for it. Now, listen well: I will declare the afflictions of treasures. Taking this treasure one would be known by the king, one could even be executed, or be charged a fine (zhe fa 警罰), or be jailed: such sufferings are uncountable.” And then he said in gāthās:

(T4.201.267a5–13)

我見是寶來 Down to when I saw this treasure
歷年甚久遠 The calendar years go far back;
此寶毒螫害 The sting of the poison of this treasure
劇彼黑毒蛇 Is more terrible than [that of] the black poisonous snake.
是故於此寶 For this reason, regarding this treasure,
都無有貪心 [I] have no thoughts of greed.
観之如毒蛇 Seeing it like a poisonous snake
不生財寶想 The thought of “treasure” does not arise.

337 At least according to the Arthaśāstra, treasure hoards were indeed conceived of as the property of the king, and appropriating them would be a punishable offense; see p. 271, n.315. Section 4.79 of the same treatise deals with ways to detect people with undisclosed sources of income.

338 The motif of the treasure cache as a “poisonous snake” is shared with story XXXIV, already mentioned, although much more prominent (and central to the plot) there. A previously unidentified fragment of the snake passage in story XXXIV might be fragment SHT 21/135, on which see Appendix 2.
繫閉被讁罰
或時至死亡
一切諸災害
皆由是寶生
能招種種苦
為害甚可怖
故我於寶所
不生貪近想
群生迷著寶
謂之為珍玩
寶是危害物
妄生安善想
有如斯過患
何用是寶為

Being jailed, fined,
Or, in time, even being executed,
Are all calamities
That would arise from this treasure.
It can summon all sorts of suffering,
It does frightful harm,
And so, I, in regard to this treasure cache,
Do not harbor the thought of approaching it with greed.
People are lost in their attachment to treasures
And they call them “precious things.”
Treasures are dangerous and harmful things
Foolishly one gives rise to the thought “[it is] good” (妄生安善想).
There being such afflictions

339 Huber (1908, 55.3) renders this hemistich as “en vain y met-on sa confiance,” but this is unlikely: anshan xiang 安善想 (good+thought) as “trust” (confiance) is especially problematic. In Medieval Buddhist Chinese, anshan 安善 typically means “well, in good health,” and a good example of this usage is a passage from an early medieval version of the Śyāmakajātaka, preserved in four different recensions in the Taishō canon (T174+T174a-c). In that passage, a king visits the elderly parents of the protagonist of the story. They welcome the monarch with the following polite banter: “Is the king’s body well (anyin 安隐)? Are the wives at the palace, the princes, the ministers and relatives, and the people all well (anshan 安善)?” (T3.174.437b23–24=T3.175a439b15–16=T3.175b441a29–b1=T3.175c443a18–19). The Mahāvastu contains a quite similar Śyāmakajātaka, in which the corresponding passage is kaccid mahārāja antahpūre kumarāmātyeṣu balavāhanakośakoṣṭhāgāreṣu kṣemaṁ nirītikaṁ nirupadravam paurajānapadā anuvartanti? (Senart 1882–1897 ii 216) which Jones (1949–1956, ii 206) translates as: “Can it be, now, that your citizens and provincials enjoy happy and inviolate peace (kṣema) in your palace, among your princes and ministers, in your army, in your treasure house and granaries?” If, as in the Mahāvastu passage, anshan 安善 mapped here onto Sanskrit kṣema, the semantic range would be considerably broad: Monier Williams 1872, s.v. gives for kṣema used as a noun “abiding at ease, safety, tranquillity, peace, rest, security, any secure, easy or comfortable state, well-being, weal, happiness.”
如是膿污身 | What use is there for treasure?  
趣自支軀命| As much as this body polluted with pus
會當捨敗滅 | Is absorbed in the sustainment of its bodily life (趣自支軀命)
何用珍寶為 | It will certainly (hui dang 會當) be discarded and perish
譬如火投薪 | What use is there for treasure?
無有厭足時 | Like when firewood is thrown in, the fire
人心亦如是 | Never has enough (無有厭足),
希求無厭足 | The human heart is also like this
汝若憐愍我 | It wants and never has enough (無厭足).

340 Compare SHT 21/24v2 …te anarthenārthasamjñena tena me kim prayojanam “… what use do I have for this worthless […] under the concept of ‘profit’”

341 Compare SHT 21/24 v2 dhāryate pūtikāyo 'ya[m]… “This body of filth continues to live […]”

342 Huber’s (1908, 55.7) rendering is evidently tentative guesswork “depuis que nous sommes doués de membres et de vie,” understanding zhi 支 ‘branch, to support’ as a defective spelling for its zhi 肢 ‘limb.’ The opaque phrase qu zizhi 趣自支 can plausibly be understood as “[it] keeps occupied (qu 趣) in its own (zi 自) sustainment (支).” That the compound zizhi 自支 alludes to the maintenance of one’s physiological livelihood is made clear by a passage of the mahāyānic Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra translated by Dharmakṣema (385–433 CE). Here the blacksmith Čuṇḍa, annoyed by the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī’s fastidiousness regarding the Buddha’s last meal retorts: 如來昔日苦行六年, 尚自支持, 態於今日須臾間耶? […]汝今實謂如來正覺受斯食耶? […]如來身者, 即是法身, 非為食身如來身者, 即是法身, 非為食身. (T12.374.374c4–9) “[I]n the olden days the Tathāgata underwent asceticism for six years and yet sustained himself (shang zizhi chi 尚自支持). Why wouldn’t he be able to endure for a few more moments today? […] [A]re you actually saying that the Tathāgatha in his perfect enlightenment will partake of this food? The body of the Tathāgata is none other than a body of dharma and not a body [that is sustained by] food” (tr. Blum 2013, i. 45). Let one further example of the usage of the term suffice here. In a narrative commentary to the Dharmapada/Udānavarga translated in the late 3rd Century, we see two children complaining in private about the household in which they were reborn: among the many things they say, there is 食飲麤惡纔自支身 (T4.211.587c21–22) “[In this house] food and drink are coarse and bad and barely sufficient to sustain our own bodies (cai zizhi shen 纔自支身).” The syntax of the passage is slightly opaque in the verbal force of the compound zizhi 自支, which one would expect to be either a noun (“self-sustainment”) or a verbal phrase (“to sustain oneself”); the sense is however clear.
教我少欲法 If you have mercy on me,
云何以财宝 Teach me the law of having few desires: 
而以见示语 Why did you, by means of this treasure
夫少欲知足 Speak to show it [to me]?
能生大利乐 Having few desires and knowing what is enough
若其多欲者 Can give rise to the bliss of great benefits
諸根恒散乱 If one has many desires
貪求無厭足 One's senses will always be in disarray:
希望增苦惱 Greed never has enough,
然此多欲人 Hope increases suffering.
常生於欲想 So, men of so many desires
貪利無有極 Always give rise to thoughts of desire.
如摩竭魚口 They desire profits without limit,
而彼少欲人 Like the mouth of the makara fish (如摩竭魚口)
無貪求苦故 But as for men with little desires,
心恒懷愉豫 Not having the afflictions of greed,
歡慶同節會 Their heart always harbors joy

343 Compare: SHT 21/24 v3, (a)nukrośa eva vā alpecchatāyāṃ yatnena mān nigṛhyā ki[m] “Or if, being compassionate, you, having with effort restrained me (read mān nigṛhyā) towards having few desires.”

344 Compare SHT 21/25 r: labhat[e] vy[ā]kulendriyāḥ 5 maheccchāh samkalpavra “he whose senses are deranged obtains […] one of great desires […] a vow of determination.”

345 Compare SHT 21/25 r2, [u]paśāntiṃ na labhate janas tv alpeccho yah satatam iha tasyo “Does not attain [p]eace, but the one of few desires who always here […]”
They rejoice as much as in a festival (歡慶同節會) |346

Then as the upāsaka praised the law of having few desires and knowing what is enough, the bhikṣu gave rise to the thought of amazement and praised him saying: “Very good very good! You are really a proper man (丈夫). Although you do not have the garments of the law your heart has already left the house,347 as you comply with the words of the Buddha regarding knowing what is enough; this having few desires is praised by all Buddhas.” The bhikṣu [then] said: “What you said was well thought and then spoken, you cleverly saw that in chiding me I would be ashamed. Since you are now “in the house”—wife, children, relatives, slaves and servants—you should precisely covet the means to provide for yourself (正應貪求以用自營).348 And yet you can follow the words of the Buddha and praise having few desires. Supposing there was a man with iron for tongue (以鐵為舌),349 he would not...

346 Compare Huber (1908, 55.33): “Il jouit du bonheur et du contentement.” Jiehui 節會 in the sense of “festivity, festival, holiday” is clear and well attested: I am uncertain about what guided Huber’s rendering in this case.

347 Compare SHT 21/25 r3, sādhu sādhu satpurusa tvam hi liṅgagrahaṇam rте 'pi bhikṣur ya… “Good, good, good man, in spite of not having taken the external marks [of monkhood] you in fact are a monk, you who…”

348 Compare SHT 21/25 v1, pratyādiṣṭo ’smi bhavatā yas tvam lobhapadasthānam api grham an… “I have been surpassed by you who […] the home, the very seat of greed.”

349 I assume this to be a reference to someone under torture: an “iron tongue” could be most idiomatically be expressed in Chinese as *tieshe 鐵舌; yi tie wei she 以鐵為舌 reads instead more like “having iron for a tongue,” or
be able to speak against paucity of desire and knowing what is
enough. Now, although I have shaven hair and beard and my body
wears the garments of the law and I am in every way similar to a
śramaṇa (相同沙門), in truth I do not know the law of the
śramaṇa and so I taught you the law of many desires,350 and was
not able to narrate the law of having few desires praised by the
king of the law: it is the source of many benefits.

Also in the sūtras of the Buddha it is said that having few desires
is the basis of the śramaṇa:351 “When the Tathāgata begged for
“in the place of the tongue.” The removal of the tongue is prescribed by the Arthaśāstra (4.10.21) for a range of speech
offences—speaking against the king, revealing state secrets, spreading “false” rumors—but the section on
interrogation through torture (8.83) does not mention harming or cutting the tongue. If this is not a reference to torture,
and if the point is that an “iron tongue” is one impervious to lying, the metaphor is, as far as I have been able to
ascertain, not a common one in the literature of this period.

350 Compare SHT 21/25 v2, [alpeccha]āvirahitasya liṅgamātrakena śramaṇabhāvanam pratijāniyā “[I]
claim the state of a monk only to the extent of its outer marks (liṅga), being deprived of [having few desires]”

351 What follows here is likely to be a quotation from an āgamic sūtra. The vignette presented here is identical
with one found in the Chinese Ekottarāgama (18.3=T2.125.587c16–589a8) and Madhyamāgama (8.88=T1.26.569c24–570b24) as well as the Pāli Majjhimaniķīya (1.3). The Sanskrit text corresponding to this section
is woefully broken (see the following three footnotes), but there is enough in it to suggest that this must be an actual
quotation of the text of an āgamic source rather than a literary paraphrase. To begin with, the noun bhakta in the sense
of “meal” is characteristic of Buddhist Sanskrit. Also, the noun rātriṃdiva “a night and a day” has equivalents in the
Pāli version (rattindīva) and the Chinese ones (yezhou 夜眾, yiri yiye 一日一夜). In these parallels, the word is used
to express the idea that it is better to endure some discomfort than engaging in greed: the Pāli text makes the fasting
monk say jighacchādubbalyena evaṃ imaṃ rattindivam viṅūnāmeyya “I will spend a night and day with hunger and
weakness”; in the Chinese Ekottarāgama parallel, he is said to have “spent a day and night in suffering and discomfort”
一日一夜苦而不安隱). The context makes very likely that what we have in the Sanskrit fragment of the Garland,
rātriṃdivam kisareṇa…, was part of a sentence to the effect that “[the monk spent] a night and day with difficulty,”
kisareṇa being the well-attested Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit cognate of Sanskrit kṛcchra “difficult[y], trouble” (see
Edgerton 1953, ii s.v.) instead of the conjectural “kind of sweet-smelling substance” (Art wohlrüechender Stoff) that
Lüders postulated (1926, 43) without explanation. Given that some of the actual wording in the Sanskrit fragments of
and had a hungry look. The Buddha, seeing them, said: ‘I have food leftovers today: would you eat them?’ One bhikṣu said: ‘The Tathāgata, the World-Honored said there is great merit in having few desires; should I today covet this food and swallow it?’ The other bhikṣu said: ‘the food leftovers of the Tathāgata are

this passage does match the wording in the received āgamic/nikāyic versions, and that wording belongs to the lexical repertoire of the so-called “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” which Kumāralāta sedulously avoids in his own writings, but upon which he bestows a particular dignity as the language of the sūtras (see 2.3.1), I believe the case can be made that here Kumāralāta is actually quoting from the Hybrid Sanskrit āgamas known to him. The parallels to this passage were not noticed by Lévi in his important article on the sources of the Garland (Lévi 1908, 100).

352 Compare: SHT 21/25 r3, me bhaktena bhaktakāryam asti ca me piṇḍapā[t]o “And the duty of my meal is [accomplished] with food: my round of alms […].” See also note 354 below.

353 Compare SHT 21/26 r1, …pya tam rātrimdivam kisareṇā… “Having […] that night and day, with difficulty.” See also note 351 above.

354 Compare SHT 21/26 r2, …nāvasēsaṁ rṣeh āy… “The [food] leftovers of the Sage.” See note also note 16. The apparent dichotomy here is whether the food remains of the Buddha are to be treated as a miraculous relic or as regular food that appeals to our physiological instincts, but another story from the Garland makes it seem that this is not the case: story LXXVIII is entirely devoted to the topic of the sacramental consumption of monastic leftovers by laypeople. This scene is echoed in the 9th chapter of the Vimālakīrtinirdeśa, where the eponymous Vimālakīrti requests the “leftovers of consumed food” (bhuktāvaseṣa) from the buddha Sugandhakūṭa as they “will perform the task of a buddha in the Saha world (=this world)” (sahe lokadhātau buddhakṛtyaṁ kariṣyati, Potala MS. 55a6–7). At a later point, Vimālakīrti encourages the assembly to consume those leftovers of the “ambrosial food of the Tathāgata, infused with compassion” (tathāgatāṁṛtaḥbhūjanam mahākāravābhūvam, Potala MS 57a4–5). Likewise, in a passage of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (Derge, 'Dul ba, Nya, 24a1–26a1, also Divyavādāna—Cowell 1886, 177.11–179.20), the intake of the Buddha’s food leftovers (initially supposed to have been Ānanda’s, which underlines the functional equivalence of the Buddha’s leftovers with those of any monk) seems to operate a miraculous change of heart—and of luck—in the protagonist of the episode, Svāgata. Now, an interesting fact is that a couple of nikāyic passages, one in the Pāli Mahāparinibbāṇasutta and one in the little sūtra on the brahmin Bhāradhvāja’s rejected
hard to come by; Brahma and Indra, king of the gods, all put it on
their heads and worship it.\textsuperscript{355} If I eat it I will be full of beauty and
strength, happy and eloquent (當益色力安樂辯才). Such food is
hard to come by: why should I not eat it?” Then the World-
Honored praised the one who would not eat: “Good, bhikṣu, you
are able to put in practice the behavior taught by the Buddha, the
law of having few desires.” The other bhikṣu although he complied
with the words of the Buddha, ate the Buddha's leftovers, and the
Buddha did not praise him.” For this reason, one must know the
law of having few desires. What the Buddha marked with his
offering of food to the Buddha, on both of which see p. 24ff, the food leftovers of the Buddha are said to be undigestible
and actually dangerous: the leftovers of the Buddha’s last meal must be buried; those of the one offered by Bhāradhvāja
sizzle and bubble when thrown in the water. Strong (1992, 49ff.) has treated the general uneasiness displayed by the
Indian Buddhist tradition regarding the disposal of monastic food leftovers, talking about a “sort of taboo” on
“consuming bhikṣus’ leftovers.” To the passages mentioned already, he adds also some from the Theravāda Vinaya
that prescribe that monastic food leftovers be either eaten by other monks or disposed of in places where they cannot
be eaten. If what we have indeed is an earlier stage in which lay consumption of monastic leftovers was generally
tabooed and a more recent one in which it was practiced in a ritual context, story LXXVIII of Kumāralātā’s Garland
provides a clever attempt at a reconciliation of these two contradictory views: in the story, the meal of monastic
leftovers is undigestible only to two princes who question the ritual purity of food touched by a monastic assembly
that includes people from all castes. Here, the eunuch who provides the meal of leftovers and his family and friends
manage, through the strength of their devotion, to eat food that otherwise would be harmful or undigestible. Be that
as it may, the Garland does not seem to dismiss at all the beneficial qualities of the lay consumption of monastic
leftovers: the eunuch of story LXXVIII says: “eating these leftovers, I remove my afflictions” (食彼殘食能破我患,
T4. 201. 344a20–21). What is at stake in this story is by no means a contrast between a superstitious belief in the
supernatural properties of the Buddha’s (or any monk’s) leftovers against the practice of monastic austerity, but rather
the priority of two religious principles that although clashing in this case are both valid.

\textsuperscript{355} Story LXXVIII also alludes to the practice of honoring monastic leftovers by placing them in one’s head
(T4.201.344b1=Huber 1908, 442.22).
authority can be taught as the basis of the precepts (佛所印可教戒之本).” Then he said in gāthās:

欲得法利者 | Whoever wants to obtain the profits of the Law,  
應當解少欲 | Must understand having few desires.  
如此少欲法 | Such law of few desires  
聖莊嚴瓔珞 | Is the splendid ornament of the wise.\(^{356}\)  
今世除重擔 | In this life it removes heavy burdens:  
無憂而快樂 | [Makes one] without worries, and happy.  
乃是大涅槃宅室之初門 | In regards to the great nirvāṇa  
它室之初門 | It is the entrance door of the main house.  
關制魔軍眾 | It keeps at bay and controls the army of Mara  
要防之隘路 | And the strategic roads of the crucial passes (要防之隘路).  
度於魔境界 | It crosses through the realm of Mara,  
無上之印封 | It is a supreme [travel] document.  
持戒如巨海 | The holding of the principles of training is like the great ocean,  
少欲如海潮 | Human desires are like the tide:  
能為眾功德 | For merits  
密緻之覆蓋 | It is a thick cover. (密緻之覆蓋)\(^{357}\)

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\(^{356}\) Compare Huber 1908, *est un collier venerable et éclatant*. Huber understands *sheng* 聖 ‘wise, noble, holy’ as an adjective of *yingluo* 瑛珞 ‘ornament, jewellery.’ I find prosodically atypical a concatenation of a monosyllabic and a disyllabic adjective, and would rather read *sheng* 聖, which usually maps closely into Sanskrit *ārya* and its cognates, nominally (“the wise”).

\(^{357}\) Compare SHT 21/27 r2, …*nadhananidhicchāda* “The cover of a treasure cache...”
For those fatigued by greed\textsuperscript{358}

[It is] a resting place to perch (憩駕止息處).

Approaching having few desires

Is like milking a cow’s milk:

Cheese, butter, curds and so on (酪酥醍醐等)

All originate in it.

Having few desires is also like this

They give rise to all merits

As for those who give with open hands,\textsuperscript{359}

Their hand is called ‘victorious’ (嚴勝).

The recipient can withdraw the hands:

Victorious is also that one.\textsuperscript{360}

If a man says: “[I] give”

The price of these words is hard to measure

[But] if the recipient says: “I have enough”

That too is hard to measure.

If one wants to attain the law,

One must approach having few desires.

\textsuperscript{358} Compare SHT 21/27 r2, \textit{jaṇamater g[ā]traviśrāma} “… of the mind of people […] fatigue of the limbs…”

\textsuperscript{359} Compare SHT 21/26 v1, \textit{pānir grhnīṣveti prasārito} “one hand […] extended [saying]: ‘Take’.”

\textsuperscript{360} Compare SHT 21/26 v2, \textit{…nenaitad vacanāṃ jitaṃ bhavatij} “Its name is ‘Victorious’.”
The One of Ten Powers said having few desires
Is the seminal law of wise.
Few desires that do not include wealth
Enhance the precepts, the obedience (聞), and wisdom.
Such law of having few desires
Is the lawful food of those who have left home.
Although there be love-thirst and so on
In the end it cannot torment us
It buys the joy of the next life
And protects the calm in this one.

(T4.201.267c4–25)

5.2. LIX. A Man Learns That Only through Work and Deeds Seed Matures into Fruit

Story LIX presents us with a “poor” man who wants to be rich. The poverty of this character should perhaps be taken *cum grano salis* and be understood as relative. The decisions the man takes suggest that he would have been the owner of a plot of land and also the head of an extended family: compared to the masses of enslaved, servile, indentured, and sharecropping peasants that made up the bulk of the population in pre-industrial societies our man may have been comparatively well-off. As we remarked before, Chakravarti (1987, 65–93) squarely identified the term *gahapati* in the context of the Pāli texts with a land-owning “agriculturalist;” although this understanding is probably too reductive land, together with the labor and infrastructure needed

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361 See p. 60–61, 166.
to make it fructify, is listed, for example, among the economic assets of the wealthy urban gāhāvaī (=grhapati) Ānanda in the Jaina text Uvāsagadasā. The protagonist of this story may well have belonged to the grhapati class although the people on whom this literary character was based may not have been regarded as equals by the urban business classes.

The story deals with the requital of deeds (karman), and since this is the main concern of vast amounts of avadānas, this would seem to make for fairly unpromising reading, but Kumāralāta manages to treat this rather commonplace topic with an original twist. As usual, Kumāralāta here engages with only the barest narrative account of specific deeds and their requital, being much more interested in the minute description of the climactic moment in which the protagonist has a revelation of truth.

Our man, whose name is not given, beseeches a god that may or not be Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa/Vāsudeva to make him rich. The god sets about to determine the merits of the man’s deeds in his former life to decide whether or not to bestow favor on him. According to other statements made by Kumāralāta in his Garland, on which we have remarked before, the requital of deeds is inherent to the blind mechanics of the cosmos, and presumably divine intervention should have no place in this scenario. The role of the god is therefore as narratively expedient as it is theoretically superfluous. Moreover, this might be yet another instance of the Buddhist strategy to coopt the gods of popular devotion and assimilate them in a way that would not make their cult incompatible with the Buddhist religion. The moribund head of the Vedic pantheon,

362 See p. 154.

363 See also p. 59 on the cult of Vāsudeva in Gandhāra.

364 See 4.1. and 4.2.
Śakra/Indra, was successfully cast in Buddhist narrative as an aid to the administration of cosmic justice and as a keen devotee of the Buddha.\textsuperscript{365} If the “Blessed God” (bhagavān devah) of this story is really Vāsudeva, we would have then a similar case of appropriation, here of an ascending divine figure that was to achieve great prominence.

It is, however, in its treatment of the requital of deeds that Kumāralāta’s literary craft shows itself most vigorously. The story plays with the two senses of the Sanskrit word karman: as a nominal derivative of the verb “to do” (\(\sqrt{kṛ}\), karman is both a “deed” in the religiously imbued sense of an action that prompts a cosmic requital, but also “work” or “task” in the most practical, every-day sense of these two English glosses. The religious deed that generates a good requital in a future life—the financial effort put into the religious gift—is explicitly compared here with the labor one puts into administering wisely one’s financial assets.

Finally, we should remark here that, as repeatedly in his stories, Kumāralāta warns the reader against the expectation of easy financial gains: the increment of wealth that permits the religious gift is to be achieved only through one’s constant effort and work; accordingly, unwillingness to assume that undertaking mars both economic advancement and religious merit.

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復次，眾生造業各受其報。我昔曾聞，有一貧人

作是思惟：當詣天祠求於現世饒益財寶。作是念已語

其弟言：汝可勤作田作好

 \textsuperscript{365} See story LVI of the \textit{Garland} for one narrative example of Indra in this role. There, as the god in this story, Indra disguises himself as a human to test the moral fiber of men.
As I heard once, there was a poor man who thought: “I will visit the temple of the Blessed God and ask for prosperity and wealth in the present life.” After having had this thought, he said to his younger brother: “You can diligently do what needs to be done in the fields to make a livelihood; let there be no shortage in [our] home.” Then he took his brother to the middle of the field, [saying]: “Here you can plant hemp, here you can plant big and small grain (=barley and wheat), there...
you can plant rice, and plant big and small pulses (=peas and lentils). After showing the spots for the crops he went to the temple of the god, became a disciple of the temple and arranged great fasts, worshiped with flowers and perfumes, smeared the ground with perfumed paste, day and night paid homage asking for favor and requesting good fortune, hoping for an increase of wealth and property in his present life. Then the god had this thought: “I will see whether this poor man had in previous lives

370 Such would be a straightforward rendering of the Chinese text. As far as what the Sanskrit text, not extant here, might have had, we must remark that the agricultural crops in the Chinese text seem to correspond roughly to a clichéd list of the “five crops” (wugu 五穀) whose elements are, however, variable. The taxonomy of crops based on distinctions of “big” and “small,” e.g., damai 大麥 “big grain (=barley),” xiaomai 小麥 “small grain (=wheat),” is however, entirely Chinese. The most likely explanation is that the Chinese translator substituted a Chinese stereotyped list of agricultural crops for an Indian one.

371 The Chinese zhaihui 齋會 would generally indicate a typically vegetarian meal offered for the monastic assembly (a “fast” in the sense of the abstention from meat), but the Sanskrit suggests otherwise. Compare SHT 21/68v1, kṣetrāṇi dārśayitvā devakulam pravīsyopavē[sa]m... “having shown see the fields, having entered the temple, [he took up?] fasting.” The Chinese passage that states that our man “became a disciple of the temple” (為天祀弟子) is, in the light of the Sanskrit, a gloss or insertion of the Chinese translator: moreover, Huber’s (1908, 239) rendering of the Chinese text, il se fit prêtre dans le temple du deva, is misleading, as dizi 弟子 is typically the follower or disciple of a teacher or religious movement. A further qualification of this scene is that god-temples may have been during this period a fairly recent innovation generally seen with distrust by many. The foci of orthodox Vedic sacrifice were the home or else ground consecrated and unconsecrated for the occasion, without previsions for permanent buildings. Schopen (2004, 339 and notes) remarks on how the devakulas may have been regarded as dubious places that are best avoided, or resorted to as a shelter only in case of necessity. To the sources that he adduces there, I would add here verse ||64|| (as per the numbering in Weber 1881) of the lyrical collection of Mahārāṣṭrī verse, Sattasaṭṭī, where the empty temple is described as a desolate and melancholy place, fit only for clandestine sexual encounter (reading sīla—sīla—as a pun: “splinter/prostitute” as suggested in Weber (1870, 96 n.2). In a similar vein, the devalaka that has been variously interpreted to be either an “attendant on an idol” (Monier Williams 1872, s.v.) or a “temple priest” (Olivelle 2005, 116) is deemed by the Mānava-dharmaśāstra (3.152) as an “unfit invitee” to an ancestral sacrifice (śrāddha) in a respectable brahmin household.
many foundations (yin-yuan 因緣)\textsuperscript{372} of religious giving and merit or not. If he has even the least grounds, I will arrange (she 設) the means for him to grow prosperous.”\textsuperscript{373}

Having examined that man, [realizing that he] had not performed religious giving and had therefore barely any (shaoxu 少許) foundations, [the god] had this thought: “As that man has no foundations, and now wholeheartedly (jingqin 精勤) beseeches me, it is in vain that he does his penance; he will not have prosperity and will only further enrage me.” Then [the god] transformed into the [man’s] younger brother and came into the temple and then the older brother said: “What did you sow? What are you coming for?”\textsuperscript{374} The [god,] that had transformed himself into the man’s younger brother, said: “I also want to come to ask the god to bring about divine happiness and to request clothes and food. Although I have not sown, through the power of the god, the crops of the field will by themselves become sufficient.”

\textsuperscript{372} yin-yuan 因緣 is an indigenous Chinese term meaning “causes” or “connections”: in translations of Buddhist scholastic texts it can render the compound hetupratyaya “direct and indirect causes” (Karashima 1998, s.v); however, in general, the compound can be simply a “cause” or a “factor.”

\textsuperscript{373} Compare SHT 21/68v2, ...vaṃ dāṣyāmīti — upāyapūrvvakaṃ punar evaṃ vārayi... “I will give [...] having first the means, then (vārayisyāmi, ‘I will bestow’)[upon him?] [...]”

\textsuperscript{374} Compare SHT 21/68v3, ...na ca puruṣenokto yadā tvāṃ mayā karmaṇi nī(yu)ktaś tat kimartham āgato ’s[ī][t][ī] “and he was addressed by [...] the man [with the words:] ‘If I entrusted you to a task (karmaṇī), then why have you come?’” Notice how here the “task” entrusted to the younger brother is expressed with the Sanskrit term karman.
The older brother reproached the younger saying: "Is there a field in which without sowing seed one can look forward to any profit? There is no such thing."

And then he said in verse:

"Within the four seas
Or in any other place
How would it be possible that not sowing seed
One could reap a harvest?"

Then the [god] that had transformed into the younger brother praised his brother saying: "Is it the case that in the world one does not reap a harvest without sowing?" The elder said to the younger: "That only is the truth. Without sowing there is no harvest." Then the god returned to his original form and said in verse:

375 Compare SHT 21/68v4, (dh)ānyāni tānay ayatnād bhavisyaṃti 1 tāc ca vacanam upaśrūya sa puruṣāḥ paramakopakupitaru "those crops will come to be without effort ||1|| Having heard his speech that man (*paramakopakupitaruṣṭah ‘angered and incensed with supreme irritation’?)...

376 Compare SHT 21/68v5, ...nāyām yad bijam aprakārya kṣetrāḥ samāvyaye dhānyam 2 tataḥ sā tasya bhrātṛpṛṣaḥ “in a […] that having not sown seed, crops may be harvested from the field ||2|| Then that [*devatā ‘deity’?] under the form of the brother...”

377 Compare SHT 21/69r1, suniscito bhavān yad bijābhhāvāt phal(ābhāva) [i]ti — [sa u]vāca bādhām suniscito[ṣ] ‘smū[ti] tataḥ sā devat(ā) [s]varū(pan) [...] uvāca || yadi svayam [i]ma(ṃ) “‘...you have well understood that from the absence of seed there is absence of fruit.’ He said: ‘Indeed I have well understood.’ Then that deity [taking up again his?] original form [...] said: ‘If this [...] by itself.’"
即說偈言：

汝今自說言
不種無果實，
先身無施因
云何今獲果？
汝今雖辛苦
斷食供養我
徒自作勤苦
又復惱惱我
何由能使汝
現有饒益事？
若欲得財寶
妻子及眷屬
應當淨身口
而作布施業
不種獲福利
日月及星宿
不應照世界
以照世間故
當知由業緣
天上諸天中
亦各有差別
福多威德盛

“Now you have said yourself
That without sowing there is no harvest.
Lacking the foundations of giving in previous bodies,
How would you today obtain fruit?
Although now you have exerted yourself
Stopping eating and making offerings to me
In vain you have made yourself do penance,
And in doing so have also irked me.
Whence could I make you
Have in the present the state of abundance?
If you wish to attain much wealth,
Wives, children, and family,
You must maintain purity of body and speech
And perform the task (ye 業，*karman) of the religious gift.
As for not sowing and receiving benefit,
Sun, moon, and the constellations of stars
Are not bound to illuminate the world
[But] since they do illuminate the world
One must know it is by reason of their deeds:
In heaven, among the gods,
Each have their differences,
With much merit, they have dazzling splendor
With little merit, they have barely any

Therefore, we know that in the world

Everything comes from deeds.

The religious gift obtains riches;

Upholding the rules of training obtains heavenly rebirth.

If one has not foundations of religious giving,

Splendor is diminished and exhausted.

Concentration and wisdom obtain liberation;

These three kinds of requital

Are the ones spoken by the One of Ten Powers.

What we sow are all foundations.

You must not bother me

And for this you must rather cultivate the deed

In order to seek auspicious fruit.”

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378 Compare SHT 21/69r2–4, ...yam ātmānām upavāsena kliśnāsi tvam a)pārthakam 3 yathā bījād ṛte nāsti dhānyānām phalasambhayavah karmabījād ṛte tadvan naivāsti phalasambha(vah) 4) [...] kaḷatrānām yadi vistaram icchāsi kājyayāvākṣetrayoh śuddḥanāṃ karmabījanāṃ prakīryatām 5 śrīvṛddhi śaknuyah kartuṃ devāḥ karma vinā yadi — ...m avisissā bhavet pra[bb]ā “...have bothered yourself with fasting in vain ||3|| As without seed there is no abundance of fruit in crops, without the seed of deeds in the same way there is no abundance of fruit. ||4|| If you want an increase of wives, pure seed must be sown in the two fields of body and speech ||5|| If the gods were able to achieve both glory and success without deeds ... [their] light would be unremarkable.” Judging by the Sanskrit text, the portion in the Chinese that gives the example of the heavenly bodies as an instance of the luster that the gods achieve through their deeds might be an illustrative gloss added by the Chinese translator.

379 Generally understood to be in the present, in the next birth, and in subsequent rebirths.

380 Compare SHT 21/69v1, ...[sa]dā k[j](m) m[ā](m) vrthā bādha[s]e ... labhya iti “...why do you always pointlessly bother me ... ‘gain’”
5.3. XC. A Merchant Returns to His Country Rich; The Buddha Returns to the World Awakened

The Garland begins and ends with stories of Gandhāran merchants travelling abroad. In this case, the fact that the merchant is a follower of the Buddha’s religion is only a side note. The story begins by presenting the merchant Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa, who built a Buddhist monastery in his city, and Kumāralāta remarks that the monastery still stood in his own time. As such, Kumāralāta locates Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa in a historical, rather than legendary, past. The point of this story is not, as in story I, to highlight the devotion or probity of the protagonist, these qualities being simply hinted at by the casual mention of the construction of the monastery; rather, it is Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa’s skill in business and his triumphant return to his native town—having transformed himself into a rich man—that Kumāralāta explicitly likens to the return of the Buddha to the world after his awakening.

Story XC, the last in the collection, exhibits the features of the last decade of the collection, in which we have a series of short vignettes from which an explicit comparison is drawn at the end. The story makes parallel between the wealth accumulated by Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa in his travels and the enlightenment of the Buddha, postulating that it is on account of these achievements, and not for the sake of their own selves, that the world reveres both of them. In the story, Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa plays a practical joke on his relatives who looked down on him in the times of his poverty. Although some of Kumāralāta’s stories have a clearly humorous bent,381

381 Story XL is, I believe, a narration with a clear humorous purpose: a monk grabs through the crack of the door the hand of a thief that is trying to enter the monastery by night; the monk proceeds to beat the thief’s hand with
it seems unlikely that the facetious note is the main point here because the story is the last one in the collection and because the comparison refers to none other than the Buddha himself. Taken, then, at face value, the parable seems to provide illustration for a curious ramification of the Buddhist doctrine of the insubstantiality of the self: It is not the individual, but its achievements, that count, and in this case the achievement of the *grhapati* in his attainment of prosperity is explicitly equated with the ascetic’s attainment of enlightenment.

Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa, the name of our protagonist, presumably means something like, “He whose lord is the conch,” and it is therefore a name with *vaishnava* overtones on account of the conch being an important iconographic attribute of Viṣṇu. This suggests once again, and as we have remarked elsewhere,\(^{382}\) that the diffusion of the Buddhist religion in Gandhāra was perhaps not as pervasive as we might think. Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa belongs to the *grhapati* class, but the story makes evident how easily bankruptcy could befall the family of a *grhapati*. This fear of impending financial loss underlines what might have been a common—and real—concern for the intended audience of this and other collections of Buddhist narratives. The name of Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa’s town is rendered in Chinese as *Pwaklahuola* 博羅呾羅: this could conceivably be a rendering of *Vajiraūra*, the expected Gāndhārī outcome of the Vajrapura that Dani (1963, 3) suggests as the etymon of the modern toponym Bajaur. Whether or not Bajaur could have

\(^{382}\) See p. 55.
been under the jurisdiction of Taxila—rather than of the more proximate Puṣkalāvatī/Peshāwar—is uncertain, but in the area of Bajaur there are ruins of a Buddhist monastery that, although not yet studied, are apparently the source of an important collection of birch-bark manuscripts and secular documents in Gāndhārī (Strauch 2008, 103).

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復次，我昔曾聞，竺叉尸羅國有博羅吁羅村，有一估客名稱伽拔吒，作僧伽藍，如今現在。稱伽拔吒先是長者子，居室素富，後因衰耗遂至貧窮，其宗親眷屬盡皆輕慢不以為人，心懷憂惱遂棄家去，共諸伴黨至

Again, as I once heard: In the country of Takṣaśilā there is the town of *Vajrapura. There there was a merchant called Śaṅkhabhatṭa who built a *saṃghārāma that still stands today. Śaṅkhabhatṭa was the son of a *grhapati, and his household was at first rich, but as it declined and drifted towards poverty, his blood relatives despised it and did not recognize it [as kin]. Harboring worries, he left his family and went away with some companions to the Greek-speaking west. He won enormous wealth and returned to his native land.

383 That changzhe 長者 ‘important person, notable’ renders grhapati is made clear by the passage SHT 21/81 v2–3=T4.201. 326c4–7, where grhapatiputra is rendered in Chinese with changzhe-zi 長者子.

384 Daqin [guo] 大秦[國] has been since Han times the most common Chinese designation for the Roman empire, which during its moment of greatest extent controlled as far as the deltas of the Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia. Buddhist sources of the early centuries of the Common Era suggest that Daqin was contiguous with Parthia (Anxi 安息) and that would be consistent with that scenario (see, e.g. Da zhidu lun, T25.1509.243a10). As for what the Sanskrit text, not extant here, may have had, it seems though that it could have been the generic yavana. In the list of the scripts mentioned by the young bodhisattva in the classroom, unlike in the extant Sanskrit Lalitavistara, Dharmarakṣa’s 4th Century “Old Lalitavistara” has as its 7th item “the script of Daqin” (daqin shu 大秦書, T3.186.498b5), and the Benxing ji jing 本行集經 (*Abhinīṣkramāṇasūtra?), translated by the Gandhāran Jñānagupta contains the same episode and the same list, but the following text occurs as its seventh item: “The script of *Yam”ini (read [the character] 蘪 as the initial of *mṇay and the final of *bi [=*mvi]): (In the Chinese language this would be
大秦國, 大得財寶還歸本
國。

(T4.201. 347c29–348a5)

時諸宗親聞是事
已, 各設飲食香華妓樂於
路往迎。時稱伽拔吒身著
微服在伴前行, 先以貧賤
年歲又少, 後得財寶其年
轉老, 諸親迎者並皆不
識, 而問之言: 稱伽拔吒
為何所在? 寻即語言: 今
猶在後。至大伴中而復問
言: 稱伽拔吒為何所在?
諸伴語言: 在前去者即是
其人。時宗親往到其所,
而語之言: 汝是稱伽拔
吒, 云何語我乃云在後?

When his blood relatives heard this, each of
them prepared drinks and food, perfumes and flowers, and
dancing and music on the side of the road to welcome him.
Śaṅkhaṭṭa was traveling in disguise (weifu 微服) and
walked ahead of his companions. At the time of his poverty
he had been young; later, acquiring wealth, he had become
old. The relatives that had come to welcome him did not
recognize him and asked him: “Where is Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa?”
He pondered for a moment and then said: “He is to the
rear.” They went to the midst of the caravan and asked:
“Where is Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa?” His companions said to them:
“He is the one who walks ahead.” Then the relatives
walked there where he was and said: “You are
Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa! Why did you say ‘he is to the rear?’”

the script of Daqin)” (耶寐亡毘尼書隋言大秦國書, T3.190.703c13). I think that it is likely that what the seventh item in
the list of the “Old Lalitavistara” quoted by the Abhiniśkramānasūtra was yāvanī, which is an attested Sanskrit name
for the Greek script and occurs, for example, also in a list of scripts in the Mahāvastu (Senart 1882–1897 i 135); it
should be borne in mind that Greek, and not Latin, was the language of the eastern Roman Empire, and so referring
to the Roman Empire as yavana would involve, from the Indian point of view, no inconsistency as it indicated little
else than Greek speakers, and eventually almost any foreigners from the west.

312
稱伽拔吒語諸宗親言: 當伽拔吒非我身是，乃在伴中駝駄駢上。所以然者？我身頃來，宗親輕賤初不與語，聞有財寶乃復見迎，由是之故在後駄上。宗親語言: 汝道何事，不解汝語? 當伽拔吒即答之言: 我貧窮時共汝等語不見酬對，見我今者多諸財寶，乃設供具來迎逆我，乃為財來，不為我身。

(T4.201. 348a5–20)

Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa said to his relatives: “Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa is not this self of mine here: he is on top of the donkeys, camels, and other beasts of burden of the caravan. How is this so? This self of mine now, my relatives despised and could not bring themselves to so much as address with words, but when they heard that I have wealth, they look for me to welcome me. For this reason, I say that [Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa] is on top of the beasts of burden.” The relatives said: “What is it that you are saying? Could you explain?” Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa answered: “When I was poor and spoke to you, you would not deign to even look at me to answer; seeing that now I have much wealth, then you set out all manner of gifts and come to welcome me, and it is for wealth that you come, and not for the sake of my own self.”

In giving this example (yu 喻) we draw an analogy with the World-Honored One: Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa attained great wealth and his relatives in his hometown set out gifts and came to welcome him. Just so [thought] the Buddha:385 “As I became a buddha, men, gods, yakṣas,386

385 Compare SHT 21/98r1 (bha)gavato buddhir up('an)[n](ā) “an idea occurred to the Blessed One.”

386 Although guishen 鬼神 could refer to various supernatural entities, in early Chinese translations it is often a rendering of Skt. yakṣa and its presumed Middle Indic cognates: I have here translated based also in the ubiquitous
養，非來供養我，乃供養作佛功德。我未得道時、無功德時，諸眾生等不共我語，況復供養？是故當知供養功德不供養我，雖復廣得一切諸天人等之所供養亦無增減，以觀察故。

(T4.201. 348a21–27)

the kings of the nāgas and so on came to worship; they did not, though, come to worship me, but to worship the qualities of the Buddha. When I had not yet attained the way, when I had no qualities, the creatures would not even speak to me, how much less worship me? For this reason, one must know that they worship my qualities and do not worship me. In spite of obtaining the general worship of gods, men, and so on, in this there is [for me] neither increase or decrease, because I have observed clearly.”

Skt. list of supernatural beings, devanāgayakṣagandharvāsuraḍaṁakinnaramahoraga, in which yakṣa is in the third place.

387 Compare SHT 21/98r2 ...nmapar(i)vart. [...] [r] (a)p[i] satvair nābhāṣṭaḥ. If ...nmapar(i)vart... could be restored to something like janmaparivartesu, this would give something like “in the cycles of rebirth was not addressed by people/creatures.” It is by no means certain that the abrupt shift to 1st person narration adopted in the Chinese translation of this passage was part of the Sanskrit original. The participle ābhāṣṭa is noteworthy because it is one of the few “Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit” forms that Kumāralāṭa uses: compare with Pāli bhaṭṭha and Edgerton (1953): sub ābhāṣati. It occurs also, though, and apparently only once, in the Mahābhārata (3.126.28).
Men, gods, *asuras*

*Yakṣas* and *gandharvas*

These and other creatures

Have widely set out their worship.\(^{388}\)

But the Buddha harbored no joy

Because he observed well:

“These worship my qualities,
They do not worship me.”

Just as Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa\(^{389}\)

Indicated to his relatives:

“So goes his parable.

\(^{(T4.201.348a28–b4)}\)

\(^{388}\) Compare SHT 21/98r3 ...*tvād ata eva caïtad ucyate || drṣṭvā naṭān sura...* “out of [...] then this is said: Having seen the gods [...] bowing.” Here probably the Chinese translator misinterpreted the poetic *sura* “god” as the very common *asura*.

\(^{389}\) SHT 21/98r4 ...*staragūṇān iva śaṃkhabhaṭṭaḥ.* If ...*staragūṇān* can be restored to something like *vistaragūṇān* this would give “like [the Buddha having attained] the qualities of abundance, Śaṅkhabhaṭṭa...”
6. Recapitulation and Afterthoughts: What Does an Examination of the Garland Offer to the Study of Indian Buddhism?

This dissertation—this disquisition—has taken me in various different directions, and although I feel that its substance lies in the detail, in the temporary departures from the main problem we set out to investigate, it seems appropriate to outline here in broad strokes the main themes that run through the project and to pinpoint what contribution the project makes to the fields of Buddhist studies and of South Asian history. This dissertation’s main goal was to explore the specific elements that characterize the affinity between the mercantile class of early historic India and the Buddhist faith through an examination of the *Garland of Examples* by the 3rd Century Gandhāran monk, poet, philosopher, and grammarian Kumāralāta. Kumāralāta’s eventful 3rd Century was one of transition towards a new phase of Indian history in which trade and a monetized economy would play a much lesser role than they had in previous times. The *Garland*, with its rich portrayal of the religious sentiment of a specific social class, was thus composed at a time of crisis and change. I am attracted to works that capture the poignancy of the end of an era like the *Garland* does; it is this scenario that fascinated me in the first place and the one I set out to investigate.

In order to do so, though, a consideration of the text in all its extant versions, individual manuscripts, and printed incarnations was a necessary first step. The text survives in its original Sanskrit only in fragments of six manuscripts, and so all of those, as well as the single complete version in Chinese (T201), and the various extant fragments and quotations preserved in Chinese, Tibetan, and Tangut had to be considered too.

My philological survey of this sadly fractured text proved, I think, fruitful. My most significant contribution on this front is perhaps my identification and preliminary edition of fragments from three previously unknown manuscripts of the *Garland* from Bāmiyān currently in
the Schøyen collection in Oslo and one currently in the National Museum of Afghanistan in Kabul (Appendix III). These manuscripts are particularly significant because the three previously known manuscripts—Kucha, Khotan, Turfan—all come from the same area, namely the basin of the Tarim river. These new fragments from eastern Afghanistan—the Bactria of antiquity—indicate a far wider diffusion of the work in ancient times. Moreover, my edition of 24 small unedited fragments of the Kucha manuscript (Appendix II) also adds to our comprehension of Kumāralāta’s lexicon and style. I have also proposed a new translator for the Chinese version of the Garland (2.2.3.), elucidated the relationships between several important references to Kumāralāta and his work in Tibetan sources (2.2.2.), and assessed the Tangut partial version of the collection, never before considered in connection with Kumāralāta’s work (2.2.5.). However preliminary, I hope that my philological survey of the Garland can be a useful instrument for future work on the collection. A goal for my own future is an annotated English translation of the Chinese version of the Garland that takes into account the information that can be gained from all the other known versions.

By doing a survey of the text I hope to have fulfilled to some extent what was also from the beginning an ancillary goal of my project: to bring Kumāralāta’s Garland back into the scholarly conversation. The various merits of the collection—its literary quality, the wealth of its historical and doctrinal detail, its transitional position—did not go unnoticed among the scholars of Lévi and Lüders’ generation, but for the last century or so the collection has failed to inspire much interest.

I conceive the philological survey, though, only the preliminary work for an exploration of what the Garland may have meant for its audience in its own time. I have striven then to draw context from a wide range of contemporary sources, both literary and epigraphic, and have also made the point of considering non-Buddhist sources. These, in my opinion, are best able to show
us the position that the community richly described in the *Garland* may have occupied in the larger context of Indian society.

The Buddhist community as portrayed by Kumāralāta in the *Garland* consists of an urban mercantile class, among which the pursuit of wealth was of equal importance to the practice of a course of personal religious cultivation, and my investigation has led me to believe that the two are not only intimately and mutually related, but in fact interdependent. Kumāralāta’s religious vision of wealth is particularly nuanced and has been an important focus of the work presented here; the religious sensibility that his collection emphasizes hard work, thrift, industriousness, practical and rational decision-making and also a somewhat *bourgeois* concern for respectability. If anyone is reminded here of the main theses of Max Weber’s 1904 *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (*Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*) I would not deem such comparison misguided. In view of the criticism of Weber’s ideas that has piled up over more than a century since the publication of the *Protestant Ethic*,\(^{390}\) taking Weber as a direct methodological or theoretical model would be problematic, but Weber’s revolutionary intuition that religious doctrine and economic behavior should be studied in tandem was, though, an inspiration for me. I feel I do not need to cover my bases on this front too much: In his broad historical study on the Theravāda tradition (1988), Gombrich makes comparisons between that tradition and Calvinist Christianity in no less than five passages (78, 81–82, 191, 197). Aware of the limits of the historical parallel, I still believe that in the case of Kumāralāta’s *Garland* Weber’s vision of how the Calvinist notion of predestined salvation and nascent forms of capitalism conjugated in early modern Europe is enlightening.

\(^{390}\) See Lehmann and Roth 1987 for a survey of polemics and criticisms.
However, one more relevant contribution of my work for the field of Buddhist studies is that it complicates the general notion of “Protestant Buddhism” first postulated by Obeyesekere in his influential 1970 article “Religious Symbolism and Political Change in Ceylon” and in subsequent work. Obeyesekere’s formulation of his thesis is well nuanced, but the main force of his argument lies in the observation that the specific brand of Buddhism preached by 19th Century Sri Lankan reformers like Anagārika Dharmapāla (1864–1934), which is at the root of the forms of Buddhism that eventually became popular in the west, was the outcome of the contact of the Theravāda tradition with the Protestant sensibility of the British colonizers. Concepts like religious practice as a personal responsibility, the emphasis on heartfelt inner belief, and the advocacy of meditation as the true religious practice to the detriment of ritual and liturgy would then all be features adapted from Protestant Christianity in the 19th Sri Lankan Buddhist context. These adaptations proved later on crucial to the spread of the religion beyond its original Asian homeland. Although I concur with Obeyesekere’s interpretation, my work points towards the elements in the ancient tradition that perhaps made such adaptations and transformations possible at all, lying dormant in the historical tradition of the Buddhist religion. The religious sensibility espoused in the Garland sets, I believe, an interesting historical precedent for Obeyesekere’s “Protestant Buddhism” and suggests that not all that is “Protestant” in the brand of Buddhism described by Obeyesekere—its good middle-class system of values—is necessarily a western feature imported in modernity.

I have just dealt with an idea that is implicitly in the background of the dissertation and that I suspect the reader may have noticed although I mentioned it only in these final notes; let there be here also a note on something the reader may have expected to find and did not. As recently ancient manuscripts of Mahāyāna sūtras in Gāndhārī have come to light like a 1st Century Perfection of Wisdom (Falk and Karashima 2012, 2013), and since Kumāralāṭa’s time seems to
have been the seminal era of the Mahāyāna, a genre that was in the long run to become remarkably successful in Buddhist Asia, the reader may have expected to find references to the Mahāyāna in my examination of the *Garland*. However, my survey did not lead me at any point to postulate Mahāyāna elements in Kumāralāṭa’s work. In terms of scripture, Kumāralāṭa quotes only from the āgamic corpus, and regarding his relationship with the monastic establishment to which he belonged, although there are in the *Garland* occasional admonitions aimed at it, there is nothing like the virulent diatribes of the Mahāyāna *sūtras*. Rather, the picture that we get from the collection is that of a tightly knit community, bound by faith and social class and articulated in a twofold structure that implies the interdependence of the laity and the monastic assembly. One could read, though, stories like the one of the magician (XXIX) as displaying affinities with certain scenes of shocking miracles in the Mahāyāna texts. In the story of the *Garland* a magician comes in front of a group of monks and conjures up a woman with whom he engages in intercourse; He then savagely destroys his magical creation to the utter shock of the monks. The magician remarks then that the woman, like everything else in the world, was an illusion, and the monks are taught a lesson. This story is a Rohrschach test of sorts on which one can read whatever one may be inclined to read. If this is at all related to a Mahāyāna insistence on the emptiness of things (*śūnyatā*, etc.), though, this story is as far as Kumāralāṭa goes in his engagement with it.

I have aimed in my work on the *Garland* to understand a moment in history and also to explore the work of an author who sought to portray the community to which he belonged in rich detail, an author who evidently understood well what was at stake in the changes that were starting to be wrought upon the Indian world during his time. If my vision is in any way controversial, if it elicits objections or criticism, I will be happy because it will mean that Kumāralāṭa’s *Garland*
will be again part of the conversation, and that his carefully constructed stories will speak once
again and pose us questions. *Vah siddham astu!*
Appendix 1, Some Āgamic references in the Garland

Kumāralāṭa’s Garland is a dense web of quotations from and allusions to the āgamic corpus that was known to him, the lost Sanskrit Buddhist canon of the north that we have now only in fragments. This appendix presents a detailed treatment of some of the scriptural references that occurred in the previous discussion.

A1.1. The bowl whose rice changes color

I have deviated from Huber’s interpretation of the following stanza from story XXV discussed in p. 226:

富貴饒財寶
貧者來請求
諸天罔器食
飯色各有異
(T.4.201.276a27–28)

The rich abound in riches
The poor come to beg.
The gods eat from the same bowl,
But the color of the food is different for each.

Compare with Huber (1908,101): Les riches, qui ont des biens en abondance,/ Les pauvres, réduits à la mendicité,/ Et les dieux se servent d'une écuelle identique,/ Mais la qualité du riz diffère pour eux. Huber interpreted the characters in the first two padas as subjects of the predicate of the third, but I consider that the stanza should be understood as consisting of two independent clauses (i.e. it is only the gods who eat from the bowl) on the basis of an āgamic passages to which this verse
might allude. The cosmological *Shiji jing* 世記經 (*Lokasthānasūtra?*) of the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (T1.1.134a1–17) describes the rebirth among the gods of a meritorious man: the new god is not, strictly speaking, born in heaven, but appears suddenly in the lap of another god, already formed as a “one or two year old boy.” When the boy “becomes aware of hunger, a precious bowl appears, magically filled with pure food with a hundred divine flavors; if his merit is much, the food is white, if his merit is middling, the food is blue-green, if his merit is low, the food is red” (便自覺飢，當其兒前有自然寶器，盛天百味自然淨食，若福多者飯色為白，其福中者飯色為青，其福下者飯色為赤). An allusion to this image can also be found in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, but only, once again, as a term of comparison, in this case for the mahāyānic concept that the ability to see the qualities of a buddha’s world is a function of one’s “purity of mind”:

> tadyātha śāriputra devaputrāṇāṃ ekapātryāṃ bhuṣjānānāṃ yathā punyopacayaviśeṣaṇa sudhādevabhojanam upatiṣṭhataḥ, evam eva śāriputra ekabuddhakṣetropapannā yathā cittaparīṣuddhyā satvā buddhānāṃ buddhakṣetraguṇavāpyuhān paśyanti (Potala MS, 8a4–6)

> “Just as, Śāriputra, when the sons of the gods are eating from one bowl, the ambrosia (sudhā), food of the gods, [appears] to the one standing near [it] (upatiṣṭhataḥ) according to the distinctions in [his] accumulation of merit, just so, Śāriputra, those people (satva) born in one sphere of activity of a buddha see the splendor of the qualities of the sphere of activity of a buddha according to the purity of their minds.”

The Tibetan parallel of this passage (Derge, *Mdo*, Ma, 181a5) seems to have been translated from a text that may have had something different here, since it makes *upa-ṅsthā (nye bar gnas pa)* the predicate of the “ambrosia, food of the gods” (*lha’i zas bdud rtsi*), yielding “the sons of
the gods eat in one precious vessel, but also when eating (za yang), the ambrosia, food of the gods, stands near (or “arises”?—nye bar gnas pa=*upa-ṃśthā) according to the distinctions in the accumulation of merit,” (lha’i bu rnams rin po che’i snod gcig tu za yang bsod nams ji lta bu bsags pa’i bye brag gis lha’i zas bdud rtsi nye bar gnas pa). The Chinese versions of Kumārajīva and Xuanzang, although neither very literal, agree with this sense.

A1.2 The transmutation of unsubstantial body, life, and wealth into substantial body, life and wealth.

The triad of body, life and wealth discussed in pp. 231–236 may have been expressed in Sanskrit as kāyajīvitabhoga, cfr. Vimālakīrtinirdeśa, Potala MS. 23a6–7, 25b6. The second instance listed here is particularly interesting because it provides a formulation of the same idea that occupies us here and because it provides what might have been some of the Indic vocabulary involved in such formulations: asārāt sārādnābhinirhṛtaḥ kāyajīvitabhogapratilambhaḥ ‘the gain of body, life, and wealth is achieved (abhinirhṛta) by taking (ādāna) substance from what has no substance.’ The Tibetan version of this passage (Derge, Mdo, Ma, 196b7) adheres closely to the Sanskrit:

snying po med pa las snying po len pas mngon par bsgrubs pa’i lus dang
srog dang longs spyod rnyed pa

The gain of body, life, and wealth is achieved through the taking of substance from what has no substance.

The Chinese versions of Kumārajīva and Xuanzang are, on this point, either paraphrastic or reflect an Indic original different from the one reflected in the Potala MS. and the Tibetan version: 於身命財起三堅法 (T14, 475.543c19) ‘from body, life, wealth, one achieves three stable elements’; 以不堅實貿易一切堅實行相 引發證得堅身命財 (T14, 476.567a5–6) ‘elements not
stable and true are traded for such that are stable and true, so as to achieve the gain of stable body, life and wealth’ [cfr. also Lamotte’s rendering based on Xuanzang and the Tibetan version (1987, 214, §III.72): les gains du corps, de la vie, et des richesses [...] résultant du fait de prendre du solide dans ce qui n’est pas solide [...]].

A1.3. The five families or shareholders of wealth

In his French translation of the passage discussed in pp. 238ff., Huber reads wu jia 五家 ‘the five families’ as if it were a homophonic variant spelling for wu jia 吾家 ‘my family’ (“ma famille”) (cfr. p. 132 line 19, p. 133 lines 18, 35, p. 135, line 34). An explanation of the term in Chinese occurs in what appears to be a different version of the story that Kumāralāṭa has retold here. This similar story is part of the Liudu ji jing (T3, 152.3b9–c11), whose Chinese translation, once again, can be safely placed in the mid 3rd Century (see p. 140): a French translation of the passage is available in Chavannes (1910–1924, i, 24–27). This story plays with the ambiguity between wu jia 五家 understood literally as ‘five families’ and the technical designation of this canonical list. Notably, in this case the ‘government official’ (guan 官) takes the place of the king, and death, the one of inimical heirs.

Another small sūtra of likely āgamic affiliation, listed as an “old anonymous translation” in the catalogue of Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), the Scripture on the Predispositions for Leaving Home (Chujia yuan jing 出家緣經, T791) has a section that lists the same items as the Pāli sutta, only glossing the “inimical heirs” with “evil wife and children” (e qi-zi 惡妻、子). Most noteworthy in the passage of the Scripture on the Predispositions is that these items are not collectively called here the “five families,” but, instead, we are told that, “as for wealth, there are five things that share it” (cai, wushi gong zhi 財，五事共之 T17. 791.736b22). It is very likely
that the Indic text of the *Scripture on the Predispositions* had here the term *sādhāraṇa* or a cognate, and that makes it highly likely that the odd term “family” (*jia 家*) is only a fanciful rendering of *sādhāraṇa* ‘having a share’ in its implied meaning of “heir, relative,” which would match also the expression *fen 分* ‘[they] share into [it]’ with which the *Liudu ji jing* passage expresses the relationship of the “five families” with worldly wealth.

As for instances of this list in Āryasūra’s *Jātakamālā*, see 3.21a *dānaṃ nāma mahānidhānānugām caurādyasādhāraṇaṃ* (Kern 1891, 18.12) ‘Charity is a great and lasting treasure, immune to theft and to everything else’ (tr. Khoroche 1989, 21); 5.8cd *na dasyubhirnaiva jalānalābhyaṃ na rājabhīḥ samhriyānavittah* (Kern 1891, 24.10) ‘neither kings nor thieves nor fire nor water have deprived you of your fortune’ (tr. Khoroche 1989, 28); 21.1+ *rājacaurodakadahanavipriyāyādāyādasādhāraṇatvād* (Kern 1891, 122.10) ‘[material preoccupations are subject] to the exactions of kings and thieves, to the accidents of fire and water, and to unpleasant relatives’ (tr. Khoroche 1989, 133); 31.32 *dīpah śrutāṃ mohatamahpramāthī caurādyahāryam paramāṃ dhanāṃ ca* (Kern 1891, 214. 13–14 ‘Sacred knowledge is a lamp that scatters the darkness of delusion. It is the best kind of wealth, beyond the reach of theft or anything else’ (tr. Khoroche 1989, 233).

Although Khoroche’s translation is generally faithful to the Sanskrit, it might not be superfluous to remark that the term *sādhāraṇa* ‘having a share’ in the first and third occurrences, variously rendered by him, repeats the vocabulary of the Pāli *sutta* and also, apparently, of the Chinese passages on the five dangers of wealth, on which see the previous note. Further points of comparison might be a cliché that occurs twice in the *Avadānaśataka* and describes the sudden thoughts that assail wealthy *grhapatis* regarding the pressing need to effect hefty donations to the Buddhist monastic assembly:
ime bhogāḥ jalacandrasvabhāvāḥ marīcīsadṛśā anityā adhuvā anāśvāsikā
vipariṇāmadharmāṇaḥ pañcābhir ugradaṇḍaiḥ sādhāraṇāḥ / yanv aham
asārebhyo bhogebhyāḥ sāram ādadyām iti

(Speyer 1906–1909, i.139. 8–10, 144. 7–9)

These riches have the nature of the moon in the water, the same as a mirage, impermanent, unstable, unreliable, with decay as their norm, shared (sādhāraṇa) by the five terrible punishments (ugradanḍa). What if now I should take substance from [these] insubstantial riches?

This also compares to passage in the Pāli Kaṭhajīta that describes the thoughts of the Bodhisattva incarnated as a wealthy donor:

na kho pana sakkā dhanam bhāṇḍikam bandhitvā paralokam netum,
pañcasādhāraṇabhāvena asārassa dhanassa danaṃ sāro

(Faussbøll 1877–1899, iv. 7. 22–24)

Wealth cannot be taken into the next world by packing one’s things: since they are shared by the five, the substance of insubstantial wealth is the religious gift (dāna).

On this, compare the rather free and possibly misleading English translation by W.H Rouse in Cowell 1805-1907 iv. 5: “We cannot tie our wealth in a bundle and take it with us to the next world. Seeing that it is connected with the Five Sins, to distribute in alms this vain wealth is the better part”.

327
Appendix 2, 24 Unedited Fragments of the Kucha Manuscript SHT21/131–40; 161–174.

Fragments SHT 113–174 of the Kucha manuscript were left unedited by Lüders: their small size makes the identification of the stories very difficult. I have edited here 24 of these small fragments, and succeeded in proposing an identification only in one case (SHT 21/135). The fragments, however, contain single words, compounds and verbal forms that can inform our knowledge of Kumāralāṭa’s literary idiom.

SHT 21/131

r
1. [gha]nāi nā -i
2. ca 1 sthā(n)[e]
3. (pre)kṣāsu -ai

v
1. naipuṇ(ya)
2. … kaṇṭhana…
3. -e ketum ārā…

Notes
r1 See ghanāila ‘deep blue’ in Kalidāsa, Rūtamāhāra 3.19a, 4.16c, Kumārasamāhava 7.51.

SHT 21/132

r
1. …ṇā
2. sa paśy(a…) 
3. labhya… 
4. ++ -ī 

v
1. ++ m- + 
2. (tathā)gatacaitya… 
3. …1 || ca -i 
4. [ja]gad i [-i] 

Notes 

v2 tathāgatacaitya or an inflected or compounded form of it is extremely likely; see SHT 21/81 
v2 for another occurrence.

SHT 21/133 
1. (ska)ndhasya 
2. [d]u(m)duḥhi(s) 
3. naiva ś… 

v
1. [-ā/-ī] rājñā 
2. na si… 
3. [v/-c-] ba + 

Notes 

r1 (a)ndhasya or a compounded form of it is also likely
r2 Either \([d]u(m)du\text{-}hi(s)\) or a \(sa\text{-}dhi\) form of it.

**SHT 21/134**

r

1. \(-y- + l- m- \text{-} sr-\)
2. \(niyat(a) +\)
3. \((...)manam \text{-} de\text{-}\)

\[\begin{align*}
&1. + \\
&2. \bigcirc\bigl\| \\
&3. \ (bh)\text{[ü]}t\text{as} tasya ke…
\end{align*}\]

**SHT 21/135**

r

1. \(\text{[āśī]}v[i]sa iti\)
2. \(sa bhak[ś]an-\…\)
3. \(-i\)

\[\begin{align*}
&1. \ldotsgra\ldots \\
&2. t[i/e] prakāśi(t\ldots) \\
&3. l- tu p(r)i…
\end{align*}\]

Notes
r1–2 āśīviṣa ‘poisonous snake’ (or āśiviṣa, on which see Oberlies, Pāli, p. 10) seems very likely here. We might have here bhakṣana for bhakṣaṇa ‘food’ (on which see SHT 21/92 v2) or else a compound form on the archaic or poetic form bhakṣa ‘idem.’ If those possibilities are the case here, at least the recto must contain part of story XXXIV (“The laborer and the hidden treasure”), as shown below:

而作是言: “沙門所言是毒蛇者，乃是好金” 即取此金，還置家中。其人先貧
衣食不供。

(T 201, p. 289c8–10)

Alors il dit: «Ce que les Çramaṇas ont appelé un serpent venimeux est du bon or.» Puis il s'empara de cet or et le porta dans sa maison. Auparavant cet homme était pauvre et il manquait de vêtements et de nourriture.

(Huber 1908, 171)

SHT 21/136

r
1. …danta kim et[a](t)
2. …m ity ato [gh–…]

v
1. t(a)tas tay[ā]
2. …mya bhikṣūṇ(ām)
3. -e
Notes

r1 Read perhaps an archaic/poetic form (Vedic, Purānic) *avadanta*, 3.pl.impf.mid. on √*vad* ‘say’?

SHT 21/137

r

1. [ś]i vikasitamu(kha)
2. (c)it kimcid- v- ā-

v

1. n… kaścid (i)ha
2. [th]āc cāsyotp[ād-]

Notes

r1 *vikasitamukha* ‘with open mouth’?

SHT 21/138

r

1. tārādyahṛta -i
2. -i -e [ṇ-] [bh-]

v

1. [s]t- +
2. (-a)śrusampū[ṛṇ](a)
Notes

v 2 See aśrusampūrṇavādanāṁ ‘with a face full of tears’ (referred to Sitā) in Rāmāyaṇa 5.35.19b.

SHT 21/139

r
1. gacchaṁ[t…]
2. + dhanu

v
1. ++
2. jānanti
3. (j)[ñ](a)s tape(d) [ā…]

SHT 21/140

r
1. śr(o)[tu]kā(m)[e]
2. nā bauddham va

v
1. gamukhapras(+)i
2. [p]ä[b-][v]i

Notes

v1 Perhaps read either (mṛ)gamukha-or (nā)gamukha-?
SHT 21/141

r
1. …n na y[ā]tam saparigra[h-]
2. + …i ++++

v
1. + buddh(ā)n nā[r]has[i] ka(r)tu(m)
2. [m](ū)rkhas[y]a hi yad au…

Notes
r1 This would be an unusual form of yā, with the diacritic springing from the leftward vertical stroke as in ghā instead of from the middle one. I do not see however for the moment another way to understand it.

SHT 21/161

r
1. d[+]m [ya] t 13

v
1. kudyakṣititale +

Notes
v1 For once the reading is reasonably clear, but the compound seems incongruous. Perhaps kṣititala stands here for generic ‘surface,’ thus yielding ‘surface of the wall’?
SHT 21/162

r
1. + + -y + +
2. [c]aṇḍālas tam
3. -i + + -e

v
1. v- p- m- k-
2. (mṛ)davam api saṃ...
3. -e + + -i

v2 mārdavam impossible on account of the lack of superscript -r on the da.

SHT 21/163

r
1. + sadbh[ā]v[ā]d [ā]dhy(o) bh(avati)
2. ś(ra)dhdādhana...

v
1. śraddhāchr...
2. bh- -ā -ā + -e -i

SHT 21/164

r
1. (rū)p(a)v(i)[j]n(āna)
2. ...ṣita[m]

v

1. śaraṇā[ɡ](ata)
2. viśālā

r2 pausal form of m looks like this, see SHT 21/36 r1 (-m yātāṣmi)

SHT 21/165

r

1. + + n 1 +
2. ...hitaḥ kath-
3. -i 1 tatas ta+
4. + -o d- +

v

1. [m] 2 [⟨||○⟩⟨||⟩]
2. ...tha kadācit s-
3. sambhavati t-
4. [y]ā + +

SHT 21/166

r

1. [d]evāvadānaḥ provāca
2. [l-][l-]
v
1. [y-] + + me[ru] -r- t-
2. ş- bho [n/r]o [g/š]-m [ş-] [tl]i

Notes

r1 The correct reading of what appears to be the grammatical subject of provāca would be essential to identify this fragment, but a valid personal name has eluded me. What I have read as na could also be a ka with its lower portion gone. [d]evava(m)dākah?

v2 Perhaps read me[ru](p)r[at](imā)?

SHT 21/167

r
1. + + [ji] + + m-
2. + + +

v
1. tatas t- +

SHT 21/168

r
1. ma + +
2. bhag[ni]

v
1. ta buddh- +
2. + ca 1 y- +

SHT 21/169

r
1. …m ṇ… +
2. [lo]kadha(r)[m]ai(s)

v
1. yan me [n]y
2. uvāca

r2 In all likelihood read lokadharmais or a saṃdhi form of it.

SHT 21/170

r
1. -t- -th- -r-
2. [r dvi]saṃ ca pra…

v
1. (lo)kagurur atra
2. || [y-] + + + +

Notes

r2 See rddi in SHT 21/51 r2 and dvi in SHT 21/88 r4, dveṣa is also possible.
SHT 21/171

r

1. 15 atha +
2. (a)rtham aho b[r]ū[h]i

v

1. …kam bahunā l
2. (ma)dh[u]raślakṣṇo (’tt)rā…
3. [-e] + [-i]

Notes

v1 In spite of the irregular saṃdhi, if find no other sensible way to parse these aksaras.

SHT 21/172

r

1. bhagavatā śa…
2. [ś]īlam ad(r)iś…

v

1. ma taṃ c- r- t- +
2. lokam iti 15

SHT 21/173

r
1. + hā muniḥ +
2. kaiḥ s[ph](u)ṭo g- n-
v
1. . . . m anubhūtavān 1
2. [n/r]- t- p- [bh-] + -m

SHT 21/174

r
1. . . . sitata(n)[u]
2. (rā)gadoṣa[mo](ha)
3. gandha +
v
1. + da na
2. sarvva[j}[n-]
3. (sa)tv(e)ṣu n...

Notes

1. Read perhaps vibhūṣitatu ‘with adorned body’?
Appendix 3. Some Newly identified Fragments of Kumāralāṭa’s Garland in the Schøyen Collection

What follows are the preliminary results of my survey of the photographs of unpublished Brāhmī manuscripts in the Schøyen collection, on the website “Bibliotheca Polyglotta – Thesaurus Litteraturae Buddhicae” (https://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=volume&vid=795). I include these preliminary results with the authorization of Dr. Jens Braarvig, head curator of the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī manuscript holdings of the Schøyen collection.

Among the thirteen fragments considered below, I am persuaded that at least nine bear the text of Kumāralāṭa’s Garland. The fragments, all written on birchbark, have been arranged by estimated paleographical age, and belong to at least four manuscripts:

I. Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63, Gupta Alphabet Type i.

II. Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318+2382.319, Gupta Alphabet Type i.

III. Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.5, Gupta Alphabet k.

IV. Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45, Gilgit/Bāmiyān Type 1.

Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63 and Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318–19, both in Sander’s Gupta Alphabet Type i according to my assessment, might conceivably belong to different scribal hands within the same manuscript, which would bring the manuscript count to three. Both manuscripts share the feature of having their versos stripped of their top layer. What we have here are perhaps the leftovers from the process of splitting birchbark to reuse one side, with the presumably thicker stripped layer having presumably been rewritten and the remaining stripped shavings being what we have here.

Dr. Gudrun Melzer has independently identified another set of fragments of the Garland, and we are working together towards an edition of the fragments.
In what follows I have presented my preliminary readings of the fragments together with overlapping portions of the Kucha and Turfan manuscripts of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, with the corresponding passages in the Chinese version (Taishō 201) and with some minimal commentary. I have accompanied the Chinese quotations with my own English translation, but I have also provided references for Édouard Huber’s French translation (1908). I have yet to undertake a serious examination of the metrical portions.

The fragments range through paleographical time. Although MS I might not represent quite the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* but a compilation that incorporated material from it, MS IV, which contains parts of two stories, in all likelihood represents the collection as known from the Sanskrit manuscripts from the Tarim Basin (Kizil, Toyoq, Khādalik) and from the complete Chinese version. Besides this, MSS II and III bear text from to the same story, XLIII ("The Buddha and the dung-bearer Nītha"), one of the longest and most elaborate pieces in the collection. In light of this situation, I estimate that the collection, or at the very least some of the stories that originally belonged to it, may have been popular in Bāmiyān, and that many more fragments may be present in the collection.

**Gupta Alphabet Type i**

**MS I, Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63A–E**

— Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63A+B (folded edges in A unfolded and fragments repositioned digitally with Photoshop)\(^{391}\) = *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapaṅkti* LXIV ("King Śibi and the Dove")

:\(^{391}\) View from the blank side of the folded frayed edge
Comparanda:

1a) SHT 21/76 (Kizil MS of the Kalpanāmaṇḍītikā Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti), Lüders 1926, 180; §2061.
1 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . (aparyava)sitasaṃka[l]p(o) vaicikitsī kathaṃkathī
acarad=dīrgham=adhvā[n](am)
2¯˘¯¯¯¯¯¯¯˘¯˘¯

¯

¯

¯

¯

(tathāga)tam

1

śrama[ṇ]

.

¯ ¯ ¯ ¯ ˘ ¯ ¯ ¯ ¯ ¯ maṃ paryupāsitum=iti vistaraḥ 2 atha śakrasya

devendrasya viśvakarma[ṇ] . . . . . . . . . . . . . devendra viṣāda

1b) SHT 638w (Toyoq MS of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Dṛṣtāntapaṅkti), Lüders 1926, 204; §V1.
v
[...]
4 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ttra vairāgyapadasthāma bhūtam=iti na manojñadarśanād=viṣīditavyaṃ
tadyath=ās[th]i

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

.

5 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . svakalpanālaṅkṛto=smābhir=evam=abhidhīyamānaḥ
śobheta · tadyath=ānuśrūyate · . . . . . . . . . . .

2) Chinese version, Da zhuangyan lun 大莊嚴, Taishō 201.
復次，佛法難聞，如來往昔為菩薩時，不惜身命以求於法，是故應當勤心聽法。我昔曾聞
鴿緣譬喻，有邪見師為釋提桓因說顛倒法，彼外道師非有真智，自稱為一切智，說言無阿
耨多羅三藐三菩提。爾時帝釋聞是語已，心懷不悅極生憂愁。爾時帝釋見諸世間有苦行者，
盡到其所推求一切智，如帝釋問經中偈說：
我今意欲求， 不能得滿足，
晝夜懷疑惑， 莫識是與非。
我於久遠來， 恒思廣推求，
不知大真濟， 今為何所在？

344


Now, the Law of the Buddha is difficult to study; when in the past the Tathāgata was a bodhisattva, he did not spare his life to search the Law, and for this reason one must intently listen to the law with a diligent heart. As I have heard in the parable of the dove, there were teachers of evil views who preached to Śakra, emperor of the gods, a corrupt Law: those non-Buddhist (外道 waidao) teachers were not omniscient, and called themselves omniscient, and said that there was not such a thing as unexcelled perfect enlightenment. At that time when Śakra heard this, his heart harbored unhappiness, and gave rise to intense worry. At that time Śakra saw that in the world there were ascetics, coming to all the places where they were to look for an omniscient one, as it is said in the Sūtra of the Questions of Indra:

Now the quest of my mind’s desire
Cannot obtain satisfaction
Day and night, I nurture doubt,
And do not know what is and what is not
I am on a long journey
Constantly seeking to broaden my quest
I do not know. The great true savior.

Where is he now?
Viśvakarman said to Śakra: “Dwelling up in the sky you should not worry, in the world the king of the country of *Kuśi (Jushi 俱呂=Kuśinagara) whose name is Śibi, who diligently practices
asceticism looking for perfect enlightenment. The wise have examined him: that king in short will become a Buddha; you should visit him. (=Huber 1908, 330–331)

Commentary

r1 b[r]ā tū st(ā)[g]ra[h](a)[s]t(a)gaja iti:

The fragment SHT 21/76 of the Kizil MS of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā (Lüders 1926, 180; §*206, v1–4, see 1a above), whose text overlaps with the one of this fragment, contains the very end of the preceding story, LXIII, and it corresponds well with the Chinese version. In there the last word of the story ends in -tavān: the last word or words of the preceding story in this fragment, b[r]ā tū st(ā)[g]ra[h](a)[s]t(a)gaja, however read, preclude a reading ending in -tavān. The final element gaja ‘elephant’ is clearly readable, and judging from the Chinese version, this could conceivably represent the end of story XXXII:

修集於正道，是意捉結使，
如象絕靽韁，自恣隨意去。
(Taishō IV.289a20–21)

Practise and gather the right path,
Let this mind seize its defilements and entanglements
Like an elephant breaking the bonds of its reins
And carefree walks away according to wish (=Huber 1908, 168)

How or why, though, the collection would have been rearranged remains a difficult question: we might be dealing here not with a manuscript of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā but instead of a compilation that incorporated some stories from it.
As a rule, the stories of the Kalpanāmaṇḍītikā start with a moral apophthegm followed by the formula tadyathānuśruncate ‘as it has been heard,’ rendered misleadingly in Chinese as wo xi ceng wen 我昔曾闻 ‘[as] I once heard’. This formula introduces the narrative in the proper sense. Lüders remarked that in a few stories this formula does not occur: in LXII we have instead (tadyathā pū)ṛṇikodahāraṇam udāharmanti; in LXVII, tadyathā śrīguptacaritam u(dāharanti); a third occurrence of at least (udā)haram(ti) might have occurred at the beginning of story LXV (Lüders 1926, 47). Since the Chinese version of story LXIV, represented in this fragment, is the only one that has not the usual wo xi ceng wen 我昔曾聞 ‘[as] I once heard’ but instead wo xi ceng wen geyuan piyu 我昔曾聞鴿缘譬喻 ‘I heard once the parable of the dove,’ Lüders speculated that story LXIV must have started with something like *tadyathā kapotodahāraṇam udāharanti. The defaced fourth aksara of this sequence has so far eluded my efforts, and the reading proposed here is tentative, but it would lend support to Lüders’ conjecture if one assumes darśana to be at least functionally equivalent to udāharaṇa. As for the term udāharaṇa, Lenz (2003, 159–160; 90–91) has carefully treated it in connection with the occurrence of its Gāndhārī cognate udaharana in one British Library collection of previous-life stories, noting the striking parallelisms with the usage of the term in the Kalpanāmaṇḍītikā and suggesting that it “alludes to the specific moral that a story is meant to illustrate.” While the diversity of grammatical objects that the verb ud-ā-ḥṛ ‘tell, narrate’ takes in these clichéd expressions remains unexplained, it is interesting to note that all the four known instances of the phrase tadyathā ... udāharanti in the Kalpanāmaṇḍītikā cluster in the sixth decade (LXII, LXIV, LXV, LXVII), which might thus be devoted to reworkings of well-known stories.
The presence of this clause in this fragment seems to settle an old dispute between Lüders and Lévi. The core of the clause is attested also in the Toyoq manuscript of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā (Lüders 1926, 204; §V₁, r₅, see 1b above). The instance in the Toyoq manuscript occurs at the beginning of story XX, which deals with a beautiful woman turned into a skeleton by a Buddhist monk in order to teach her the impermanence of physical beauty. Lüders (1926, 197) had proposed to understand this clause as an authorial insertion meaning “so dürfte zum Beispiel (die Geschichte von dem) Skelett ... die nach eigener Phantasie ausgeschmückt ist, wenn sie in folgender Weise von uns vorgetragen wird, einen guten Eindruck machen” suggesting that it that it bore an echo or reference to the title of the work (Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā=“die mit dichterischen Erfindungen Geschmückte”, p. 26); Lévi (1928, 197) had instead proposed that the clause was specifically meant in relation to the plot of the story: “C’est ainsi qu’une (charpente d’) os ... quand notre imagination l’orne à son goût et que nous lui appliquons telle désignation [de beauté], devient chose charmante.” That the clause yad asmābhiḥ svakalpanāṃkṛtam evam abhidhīyamānaṁ śobheta occurs here, in yet another story, seems to lend support, once again, to Lüders’ conjecture. The reconstructed initial phrase of story LXIV might then be something like *tadyathā kapotasya darśanam udāharanti yad asmābhiḥ svakalpanāṃkṛtam evam abhidhīyamānaṁ śobheta ‘As people narrate the parable of the dove, which adorned with our own fantasy, so told, should seem well, ...’
**r4 sarvajñaḥ pratijñair:**

The reading in the Kizil manuscript, *sarvvajñapratijñair* (v5) is a close match with the Chinese *zi-cheng wei yiqie-zhi* 自稱為一切智, ‘[who] called themselves omniscient’ against the one in the fragment considered here.

**r5 [apa](ryava)sitasaṃkalpo [...] anveṣamāṇa[s ta]thāga(taṃ):**

This is a quotation of an āgamic verse, on which see Lévi 1908, 96–97 and Lüders 1926, 61,

\[\text{apariyositasaṃkappo vicikicchī kathaṃkathī} \]
\[\text{vicarī dīgham addhānaṃ anvesanto tathāgataṃ} \]
\[\text{y’ assu maññāmi samane pavivittaviharino} \]
\[\text{sambuddho iti maññāno gacchāmi te upāsituṃ} \]

*(Sakkapañhhasutta, Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1889–1910, ii 287)*

The fragment has *acaran* in the beginning of the second *pada*, where the Pali Text Society edition of the Pāli has *vicarī*, but is perhaps closest to the Thai edition’s (witness “K”) *vicaram*, against the incongruous *acarad* in the Kizil text (r1). The fragments also add to our knowledge of the Sanskrit text the word *anveṣamāṇas* to match Pāli *anvesanto*.

**r6 ausīnaraṃ śibim=jushi-guo wang ming Shibi 狎尸國王名曰尸毘:** The Indian tradition of Śibi as king of the Uśīnaras is fairly consistent; the Chinese statement of Śibi as king of a country called *Kuśi* probably reflects a fanciful contamination with the well-known Kuśinagara.

——Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63 C=Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapaṅkti LIV (“Māra and Upagupta”)?
Commentary

Fragment C certainly belongs to the same manuscript, but that it does not belong together to the same folio with A is made clear by the overlap that is visible from the backside photograph.

It is uncertain, although unlikely, whether the fragment belongs to story LXIV: if the sequence pāpiya[m]sa represents pāpiyaṃsa, acc.sing. of pāpiyas ‘the Most Evil,’ a frequent epithet of Māra, in all likelihood it does not, but it could belong somewhere in the original version of story LIV, which features Māra prominently and may have at least once referred to Māra as pāpiyas (see Lüders 1926, 168.13).
Commentary

Fragments D and E certainly belong to the same manuscript, but the remaining text, and the laxity of the Chinese translation make it difficult to assign them a place.

MS II

Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318 A–D; Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.319 A–B

——Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318 B=Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapaṅktī XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r

1 /// pūrvakarmamabhir [e]va .. ///
2 /// .. rtum iti dahyate me [h]ṛ(day) ///
3 /// .. i .. .. .. .. ///

v blank

Comparanda

1a) SHT 21/49 (Kizil MS of the Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drṣṭāntapaṅktī), Lüders 1926, 159; §*131.2.

v

[...]

5 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [ṇya]ḥ pūrvva(k)a)r[m]a[bh]ir=evam . . . . . . . m=anena=nīcena
ka . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . [sa]rv(v)asatvābhi[gama]nī(ya) . . . . . . .
1

v1 ............................... dahvate [m]e (h)r[day]am [...]


「我於先世不造福德業，為惡所牽今受此苦。我今不愁斯下賤業，眾人皆得到於佛前，我今見臭穢故不得往。」以是之故懊惱燋心。 (T4.294b27–c1)

“[...] in a *former* life I did not do good *deeds*, and dragged by evils, now I obtain this suffering. I now do not mind this lowly occupation, [but] when people are able to be in front of the Buddha, I now see my foul filth and am not able to go. For this reason my *heart burns*. (=Huber 1908, 197)

**Commentary**

**r1 pūrvakarmamabhīr:**

Read *pūrvakarmabhir* with the Kizil manuscript’s *pūrvva(ka)r[m]a[bh]ir* (v5).

——Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318 A=Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā *Dṛṣṭāntapaṅkti* XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)
Comparanda


*Nītha* saw this and was frightened: “I have just avoided the Buddha, and now I see him again: through where should [I] avoid [him now]?.” In fear and worry he blamed himself, saying: “My merit is shallow. The buddhas are fragrant and clean: how could I, with this extreme foulness, approach the Buddha? If I were to approach him [my] sin would be full and deeply onerous. The evil deeds of former lives have led me to this.” Then he said in *gāthās*:

The gods, use sandal perfume,

Raise *mandāra* flowers,

[And] many kinds of perfect offerings,

And hold them to present them to the World-Honored

When the enters the city,
[They] sprinkle the ground with perfumed water (Huber 1908, 198)

Commentary

r2 Nītham:

The Chinese rendering of this personal name is *Nidej 尼堤, which led Huber to render it as “Nīt’i” (1908, 193ff). The Kizil MS. attests the name only in one place (SHT 21/50, Lüders 1926, 160, 1324, r3), where all that is left are the lower portions of the akṣaras n and th. Lüders edited this as N[i]th[ir] on the basis of the Chinese, but remarked that N[i]th[o] (i.e. Nītha) would be possible too (1926, 69). The name Nītha is confirmed by the transcription 尼陀 *Nida in two separate mentions to this story in the Da zhidu lun 大智度論 (Taishō XXV.1509.248a10; 310a18).

—— Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318C= (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r

1 /// .y. m. .. ///

2 /// .āmy aham akṛtapuṇyaḥ ///

3 /// .. o .i pādābhya. .. naṃ ///

Commentary

r2 aham akṛtapuṇyaḥ

This could perhaps match wo shen bo fu 我甚薄福 ‘I have but shallow merit’ in the Chinese version (T4.201.294c9–10, Huber 1908, 197), in which case one should assume that this fragment belongs to the same folio as A, as the text overlaps.
——Schøyen Brähmi 2382.319 A=Kalpanāmaṇḍitīkā Drṣṭāntapaṅkti XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r

1 /// .v. .y. ///

2 /// [nī]tho buddham abhyāgatem avekṣya lajjāt krānt[a] ///

3 /// .āraṇidharaṇī śṛṇ[ṃ] .. .e + .i + + .. ///

v blank

Comparanda

1) Chinese version, Da zhuangyan lun 大莊嚴, Taishō 201.

既覩佛已惭耻却行

(T4.201.294c28–29)

And when he saw the Buddha, he stepped back from shame and walked away (=Huber 1908, 198)

Commentary

r3 āraṇidharāṇi:

This sequence remains unclear.

——Schøyen Brähmi 2382.319 B=Kalpanāmaṇḍitīkā Drṣṭāntapaṅkti XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

355
Comparanda


「汝今能持一切眾生，願開少處容受我身。」(T4.201.295a18–24)

“You who sustain all the living, may you wish to open some space for my body to pass” (=Huber 1908, 200)

Commentary

*manaḥ sveṣv ivāngeṣv avalīya...*

I have not been able so far to relate this portion convincingly to anything in the Chinese version. The preceding lines a18–19 do contain a metaphor of the Buddha as a physician who examines the patient’s belly and without regard for caste administers medicine (譬如醫診病/看病腹鞕軟/隨
患投下藥/亦不觀種族). The Chinese version might contain a fanciful or culturally influenced rendering of the original Indic figure of speech.

——Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.319 D, unidentified.

r

1 /// .y ///

b /// .ai yasyāmi bhagavāṃ t. ///

c /// .o + .e .āṃ vi .. ///

v blank

Commentary

2382.318D belongs to the same manuscript as the preceding fragments, but once again small remaining text and the laxity of the Chinese translation make it difficult to assign it a place.

Gupta Alphabet Type k

——MS III, Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.5=Kalpanāmanḍitikā Dṛṣṭāntapañkti XLIII (“The Buddha and the Manure-sweeper Nītha”)

r

1 /// .. .. .. [m]ū kā ś[a] mā .. t. n. + .dh. ++ .v ///

2 /// .. saṃv[r]taḥ pravrajitaṃ ca nītham ājñāya śrāvastakā brāhmaṇaḥghapataya kṣ(o)bdh(u) .. ///
3 /// (visar)j(a)yati viṭvālitany asmākaṃ grhāṇi dūṣītāni ca śayanāsanāni yatra śramaṇāḥ ///
4 /// .. kṣobham ājñāya prasenajid rājā nāgarāṇ uvāca gamayaṃtu bhavaṃto yāvad a .. bhagaṃvaṃ
5 /// .īti · sa nīthapraṇrjanajanitāmarśo jetavanaṃ abhigato nīthāś ca śilātal(e) niṣaṇṇa[h] ///
6 /// thok[t]aṃ sūtre : || sāṃtendriya paśyatā īryamāṇaṃ traividyaprāptam asahāryatharmaṃ 
   sa(rv) ///
7 ///.ā [u]dārā brāhmād vimānād u[p]asāṃkramitvā · āhvāyanīyaṃ veda .. ///
   h /// ty abhijānatā sa eva nīthāḥ prokto gaccha tā[v]ad bhagavate mama ///
8 /// gamanaṃ nivedaye .. ///

v

1 /// .. .. .. g .. .t śc. n. v. ///
2 /// t. laṃbhitaṃ samutpātito rājānam uvā[ā][ca] (p)ṛ(a)viśa mahārājetya avavasy[a] .///
3 /// māyaṃ bhi .. .. sy(a)yam īḍrśāḥ prabhāva iti sa [bh]agavaṃtam abhigamyam kṛtāṇja[ī] ///
4 /// ſ. y. d. (a)v(e)kṣya kim ta kathitāṃ tatkāraṇaṃ tiṣṭhantu · śrotuṃ tāvad idaṃ manas tvarati .. .. .
   ///
5 /// yan · sa bhagavatābhihitāṃ eṣa sa nītho nāma kulaputro yasyārthe tvam āgata iti .. ///
6 /// h(a)m [i]ḍrśe mahātmani sthalita iti · sa idānī buddhaśāsanajānita[a.mc]ay(ay)...
7 /// vihago mṛgo vā haimāḥ sa jāyata iti : śrutimātram etat* · sā .. ///
8 /// .ā + .i + vāṇa na vekṣate dehināṃ ārogyāya .. m u[d]yato n. [h]i ///

358
爾時尼提即奉佛教，尋便出家得阿羅漢。時舍衛城中長者婆羅門聞尼提得出家，皆生譏論瞋忿嫌恨，而作是言：「彼尼提者鄙穢下賤今得出家，若設會時尼提來者，污我舍宅床蓐。」舉國紛紜，遂至上徹波斯匿王。時王聞已語諸臣言：「汝等今者勿用紛紜，我今當往詣世尊所啟白如來」更不聽斯下賤者使得出家。時王將侍從往詣祇洹，見一比丘坐大石上縫糞掃衣，有七百梵天在其左右，有合掌禮敬者，有取縷者，有貫針者。如修多羅中廣說，時諸天等說偈讚言：

「觀察諸根寂，容儀威德盛，
得具於三明，利根不退轉，
眾善悉備滿，容納糞掃衣。
七百威德天，上從梵宮來，
歸命來敬禮，度於彼岸者。」

時波斯匿王不識尼提，而語之言：「汝今為我往白世尊，波斯匿王今在門外欲來見佛。」時彼尼提聞已即從石沒，如入於水踊身佛前，而白佛言：「波斯匿王今在門外，欲見世尊。」世尊語言：「還從本道可往喚前。」尼提奉命還從石出喚波斯匿王。時波斯匿王頂禮問訊白世尊言：「向彼比丘是何大德？為諸天供養奉侍左右，又能於石出入無礙。」說偈問言：

「佛智淨無礙，無事不通達，
我欲所問者，佛已先知之，
先事且小住，我欲有所問。
向見一比丘，石上而出入，
如鷗在水中，浮沈得自在。」
Then Nītha, having received the teaching of the Buddha, left the house (=became a monk) and became an ārhat. When the brahmins and notables (zhangzhe 長者=grhapati) of Śrāvastī learned that Nītha had left the house, they all gave rise to critical talk, were angered and spiteful from suspicion, saying: “That Nītha, lowly, filthy, inferior, now has been allowed to leave the house: if at the time of the meeting Nītha comes, he will soil our homes, our bedding and mats.” As the confusion in the kingdom mounted, in time it came to the attention of King Prasenajit. After the king heard this, he said to his subjects: “Be not confused. I will today go visit the World-Honored, interrogate the Tathāgata” And not willing to hear that that inferior person had left the house, then the king with his entourage visited the Jetavana, and saw a bhikṣu stitching the clothes of a manure-sweeper, with seven hundred Brahma-gods to his sides, their hands cupped in veneration: some
took the thread, some threaded the needle. As it is said in the *sūtra*, then the gods uttered *gāthās* of praise saying:

```
See that one, his senses stilled
His countenance full of majestic splendor
Endowed with the triple knowledge,
His senses perfected, not returning.
Perfect in all goods,
Wearing the clothes of a manure-sweeper
Seven hundred splendid gods
Coming from the palace of Brahma
Take refuge and come to venerate
Him who has crossed to the other shore
```

Then King Prasenajit, without recognizing Nītha, said to him: “Go on my behalf to the World-Honored and announce that King Prasenajit is at the door and wishes to see the Buddha.” Then after Nītha heard this, he sunk into the rock as if he had plunged into water he was before the Buddha. He said to the Buddha: “King Prasenajit is at the door and wants to see the World-Honored. The World-Honored said: “Go back the way you came and call him to come forward.” Nītha received this order, appeared again through the rock and called King Prasenajit. King Prasenajit paid homage to the World-Honored with his forehead and asked: “What a man of such great quality is the bhikṣu of earlier? The gods by his sides worship him, and he can come in and out of the rock without obstacle.” Then he said in *gāthās*:

```
The wisdom of the Buddha is pure and without obstacles
There is no issue it cannot penetrate
```
What I desire to ask
The Buddha knows in advance.
Some time ago something made me stop for a moment
And there is something I want to ask
I saw a bhikṣu
Able to come in and out of a stone
Like a gull in the water
Diving at ease

At that time, the World-Honored said to King Prasenajit: “If you want to know about the bhikṣu of a moment ago, he is the person the king doubted about, the ‘lowly and inferior’ Nītha.” When the king heard this, he was despondent and stomped the ground, and spoke with remorse: “I have burned my own self: Why have I given rise to critical talk in regard to a person of such quality?” Seeing this, what he felt in regards to the Law of the Buddha was unprecedented, and he redoubled his *prasāda and venerated the feet of the Buddha, saying:

That mount Sumeru
Is made of all treasures:
Flying birds and walking beasts
Reaching that mountain become golden
Having heard it from long ago
[I] begin only now to be a witness
The Buddha is like mount Sumeru:
A gathering of virtues without measure.
Those who seek refuge in the Buddha

362
All become of noble caste
The Buddha does not observe caste
Wealth or erudition
Like the physician ascertaining an illness
Who also does not observe caste
Only procuring good medicine
To make illness heal. (=Huber 1908, 206–208)

Commentary

r2 śrāvastakā:

This adjectival form is, as far as I can tell, mostly epic, and in any case rare in Buddhist usage; see Mahābhārata 3.193.4ab, jajñe śrāvastako rājā śrāvastī yena nirmitā.

r6–7 śāntendriya [...] āhvayanīyaṃ veda... :

This is again a passage of āgamic verse. A close parallel was quoted, without specification of source, in the Pāli Nettipakaraṇa:

santindriyam passatha ārīyamānam
tevijjappattam apahānadhamaṃ
sabbāni yogāni upātivatto
akiñcano irīyati paṃsukuliko
tam devatā sambahulā ulārā
brahmavimānam upasankamītvā
ajaniyaṃ jātibalanisedham
n-iddha namassanti pasannacittha

(Nettipakarana, Hardy 1902, 151, see also English translation in Ñañamoli 1962, 201)

The readable but linguistically obscure sequence asaharyatharmam (r6) would correspond to the equally obscure Pali apahananadhammam; ahhvayaniyam veda... (r7, -aya- likely to scan monosyllabically) to Pali ajaniyam jati... The element purisa in the Pali, Ñañamoli’s English version of these verses rely too much on the Pali exegesis, and the version quoted here might eventually add to our understanding of it.

Gilgit/Bamiyan Type 1

——MS IV, Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45=Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā Drśtāntapaṅkti XII-XIII (“The Monk and His Disciple at Sea”+“The Brother of the Arhat”)

r
1 /// [du]rrlabham .. .. vācaḥ [p]r[ath](ā)[bh](ā)[gy.] šāstus tat prāpya śākyam a[nu]ra[kṣi]tum . ///
3 /// nda bhavagato vi .. + .. ya bbhraṣṭaḥ syāṃ sugatisukhād bhavakṣayāc ca · ta .. ///
4 /// .. d eva t[ā]y[ā] [sa]lilam . + .yād utthāya sa bhikṣu[r u]tkṣipya sthale nyastaḥ kamalay[a] ///
5 /// .. vratayas tvayīḍṛse ’p[i] .. + krame buddhāyājñām a .. + r. yaśīti · [e]v. ///
6 /// .. naiḥ rak[ś]itaḥ siddhayātra : ev. dh. ra [p]rati jai .i ///
7 /// [t]ā naiva śā .. bhinatte · kṣemastho vā vratiy.///

v
1 /// [h]i dayitā iti · tataḥ sa bhikṣuḥ saha sa .e///
2 /// tavyaṃ · tadyathānuśrūyate dvau bhrāta[r au pravrajit(au) [t]. ///
3 /// vā caiṣa karomitti · sa tenārhatābhīhitaḥ kim. + + tā .. .. t. ū ///
Comparanda


「為順佛語故，奉板遺身命，
若不為難事，終不獲難果。
若不順聖旨，將沒生死海。
若捨佛所教，失於人天利，
及以大涅槃，無上第一樂。」

說是偈已，即便捨板持與上座。既受板已，於時海神感其精誠，即接年少比丘置於岸上。

海神合掌白比丘言：「我今歸依堅持戒者，汝今遭是危難之事能持佛戒。」海神說偈，讚比丘曰：

「汝真是比丘，實是苦行者，
號爾為沙門，汝實稱斯名。
由汝德力故，眾伴及財寶，
得免大艱難，一切安隱出。」
汝言誓堅固，敬順佛所說，
汝是大勝人，能除眾患難。
我今當云何，而不加擁護？
見諦能持戒，斯事未為難，
凡夫不毀禁，此乃名希有。
比丘處安隱，清淨自謹慎，
能不毀禁戒，此亦未為難；
未獲於道跡，處於大怖畏，
捨己所愛命，護持佛教戒，
難為而能為，此最為希有。」

（一三）

復次，若不見道跡，雖復多聞，不能得拔生死之苦，是故智者應求見諦。我昔曾聞，兄弟二人俱共出家，兄得羅漢，弟誦三藏。時彼羅漢語三藏言：「汝可坐禪。」三藏報曰：「我當坐禪。」羅漢比丘復語之言：「汝寧不聞佛之所說，夫行道者如救頭然？」即說偈言：

「今日造此事，未必到明旦，
人命不可保，宜速修善業，
若其命終時，不知從何道？
冥冥隨業緣，莫知路遠近。
命如風中燈，不知滅時節，
汝言明當作，斯言甚虛妄。
死虎極暴急，都無有容縱，

366
一旦卒来到，不待至明日。
死王多残害，汝应生怖畏，
当知身危脆，命速难可保。
应勤观内身，舍弃多闻业，
求离世解脱，超拔生死根。
死若卒至时，悔热无所及，
今若见道迹，后无悔热患。
佛法中坚实，所谓得道迹，
多闻业虚伪，应舍莫爱憍。
虽多闻博达，不获道迹者，
譬如盲执镫，照彼自不覩。
若欲求自利，必须见道迹，
处眾师子吼，言辞善巧妙，
敷演诸法相，分别释疑难。
能令听法众，皆发欢喜心，
又使一切人，悉得于调顺。
虽有如是事，临终心错乱，
堕于恶道中，智者所嗤笑。

(T4.201.270a14–c20)

To comply with the teaching of the Buddha
I offer this plank and relinquish my life
If once cannot achieve difficult deeds
In the end, one cannot obtain the fruit difficult [to obtain].

If I hold on to this plank, I could venture the hardships of the sea

I will now sink in the water and die

Although dead, I will achieve a glorious name

If one abandons the teaching of the Buddha

One loses the advantages of human and divine [birth]

As well as that of nirvāṇa

Unexcelled and foremost joy.

Having said these gāthās, he let go of the plank and gave it to his senior. When that one had received the plank, the god of the sea, reacting to such excellent honesty, took that young bhikṣu and deposited him at the shore. The god of the sea, with cupped hands, said to the bhikṣu: “I today take refuge and will firmly uphold the restraints; you, having today encountered this hardship, have succeeded in upholding the restraints [laid] by the Buddha.” Then the god of the sea spoke these gāthās in praise of the bhikṣu:

You are a true bhikṣu

You are a true ascetic

I call you a śramaṇa

You can truly be called this name

From the power of your qualities

All your companions and their wealth

Were spared the great calamity

They all escaped into peaceful safety
Your proclaimed oath was firm,
In obeisance to what the Buddha said
You are now a superior man
Who was able to avert all hardships
Now, how could I
Not offer my protection?
That, after seeing the Truth one can uphold the restraints,
This is not hard [to come by]
But that a common man, unrestrained [do so]
This is what is called rare

Bhikṣus dwell in peaceful safety,
Pure and cautious in regard to their selves:
That they be able to not break the restraints
Is also not [hard to come by]
That one still unsheltered on the path,
Dwelling in the great fear
Might relinquish his beloved life
To observe the restraints taught by the Buddha
When one can do this, which is hard to do,
This is supremely rare.

[XIII]
Now, if one has not seen the path, in spite of great learning, one cannot rise above the sufferings of birth and death, and for this reason the wise must strive to see the Truth. As I heard once, two
brothers left the house together; the elder became an arhat, the younger recited the Three Baskets.

Once the arhat said to the [reciter of] the Three Baskets: “You should sit in meditation.” The [reciter of] the Three Baskets said: “I will sit in meditation.” The arhat bhikṣu added: “Is it that you truly have not heard what the Buddha said, that a man going on the Path does as if saving one’s head from a burning fire?”

And then he said in gāthās:

Do so today;
It is not certain you will reach tomorrow’s dawn
Human life cannot be protected
Then in all haste practice the good deed
When the great army of death arrives here,
It will be impossible to plead with it to stop
When life be ended,
In the dark one will follow the entanglements of deeds,
Nobody knows if the road is far or short
Life is like a lamp in the wind
One does not know the time or season in which it will be spent
You say you will do it tomorrow
But this talk is absurd
The tiger of death is extremely violent
It does not have any leniency
One morning it will come suddenly
And will not wait for tomorrow
The king of death is very cruel
You should harbor fear
You should know the body is fragile
Life goes fast, it is hard to protect
One must duly inspect the inner body
And give up the work of erudition,
Seek the liberation that leaves behind the world
To surpass and uproot birth and death
If when death comes suddenly
Regret does not attain a thing
If today you see the Path
You will not suffer from regret
Being steadfast in the Law of the Buddha
That is what is called attaining the Path
The work of erudition is empty and false
One must forsake it and not crave it
However erudite and clever,
If one does not observe the Path
As a blindman holding a lamp
Even though it sheds light, one would not see
If one is to seek one’s benefit
One must see the Path
Dwelling among the lion’s roars
With clever and wonderful words
Expounding all things
Discerning and explaining doubts and difficulties
One can make to listen the assembly of the Law
They all feel a joyful heart
Making all men
All become able to obey
Although one might accomplish such a thing
In the end, one is confused and misguided
And falls into an evil path
The wise scorn that. (=Huber 1908, 69–72)

Commentary

v5 vābalanvītāḥ:
Read vāvalambitāḥ.

v6 viṣ[a]ktisārakam:
Conjectural reading. On the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit expressions viṣakti and viṣaktikā see Edgerton 1953 ii, s.v.

v6–6a śrutapara|m|eṇa bhavi[t]...:
This sequence has under it an interlinear annotation. The akṣara śru in the main text is preceded by a small superscript mark, badly defaced. The akṣara śru in the interlinear passage is also
preceded by a mark, which could be a *na* but is a bit too small and could be instead just a small saltire used as a reference mark to match the one in the main text.

The interlinear passage has *śrutasārakāṃ tasmān a*, which should probably be read as *śrutasārakāṃ tasmān na*. If the purpose of the interlinear passage was introducing text skipped in the copying, the amended passage would read *śrutasārakāṃ tasmān na para[m]eṇa bhavi[t]*...
Appendix 4. The Sanskrit Manuscripts of the *Garland* in Charts

A4.1. The Kucha manuscript

The Kucha manuscript (2.2.1.1.), the single most significant source of the Sanskrit text of the *Garland*, is now preserved in the collection of the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin. As of 2019 it is held in the “Morgenländische Handschriften” room of the Haus zu Potsdamer Straße of the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

The biggest and most readable fragments were edited by Lüders (1926, 137–193), and they appear in his edition according to attested or conjectural folio numbers when available or inferrable: this information is mostly not supplied by Lüders in the fragments edited in appendix (“Anhang”). Below I have presented a concordance of shelf numbers (used throughout this dissertation) with folio numbers, the stories contained in each, and occasional notes:

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Shelf number</th>
<th>Folio or reference number</th>
<th>Stories</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<td>*213</td>
<td>LXIV-LXV</td>
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<td>222</td>
<td>LXVI</td>
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<td>SHT 21/82</td>
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<td>LXVI</td>
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<td>*226</td>
<td>LXVI</td>
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<td>*227</td>
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<td>*231</td>
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<td>*233</td>
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<td>298</td>
<td>LXXXV</td>
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<td>SHT 21/96</td>
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<td>*308</td>
<td>XC</td>
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<td>SHT 21/99</td>
<td>Anhang A</td>
<td>II</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHT 21/100</td>
<td>Anhang B</td>
<td>XLVI?</td>
<td></td>
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<td>SHT 21/101</td>
<td>Anhang C</td>
<td>LXVII</td>
<td>Missing</td>
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<td>Anhang D</td>
<td>LXVII</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHT 21/103</td>
<td>Anhang E</td>
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<td>SHT 21/104</td>
<td>Anhang F</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
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<td>Anhang G</td>
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<td>SHT 21/106</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHT 21/107</td>
<td>Anhang I</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>Missing</td>
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<td>SHT 21/108</td>
<td>Anhang K</td>
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<td>Anhang L</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
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</table>
The fragments SHT 21/131–40 and 161–174 have been preliminarily edited in this dissertation (Appendix 2), but the fragments are so small that I have been able to propose an identification with a story only in one case, SHT 21/135. Fragments SHT 21/113-130 and 175-274 remain unedited.

**A4.2. The Khotan Manuscript**

The Khotan Manuscript (see 2.2.1.2.) is currently held in the collection of the British Library in London. The four extant folios are presented below according to shelf number:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelf Number</th>
<th>Edition</th>
<th>Stories</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IOL San 761</td>
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<td>XXVII</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOL San 1242</td>
<td>Wille 2005, 62–64</td>
<td>XXVII</td>
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<tr>
<td>Or.15010/130</td>
<td>Karashima 2006–2015, ii</td>
<td>LXIII</td>
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<td></td>
<td>494–495</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOL San 1256</td>
<td>Unedited, but see Wille 2005, 62–64</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
<td>Very damaged, contents possibly irrecoverable</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

380
A4.3 The Turfan Manuscript

The extant folios of the Turfan Manuscript (2.2.1.3.) are partly held in the collection of the Preußische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin (as the Kucha Manuscript, in the “Morgenländische Handschriften,” room of the Haus zu Potsdamer Straße of the Staatsbibliothek) and partly in the Institute for Oriental Manuscripts in St. Petersburg. The Berlin fragments were edited by Lüders (1926, 201–208). Unlike the fragments of the Kucha Manuscript, Lüders numbered the fragments of the Turfan Manuscript with Roman numerals, indicating extant folio numbers as a secondary reference. In the chart below, arranged by shelf number, extant folio numbers are presented in parentheses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelf number</th>
<th>Reference and folio numbers</th>
<th>Stories</th>
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<tr>
<td>SHT 638s</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHT 638t</td>
<td>II (294)</td>
<td>XI-XII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHT 638u</td>
<td>II (297)</td>
<td>XIII</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHT 638v</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>XIV-XV</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHT 638w</td>
<td>V</td>
<td>XIX-XX</td>
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<tr>
<td>SHT 638x</td>
<td>VI</td>
<td>XX</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHT 638y</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>XXV-XXVI</td>
<td></td>
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<td>SHT 638z</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>LXVII</td>
<td></td>
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<td>IX</td>
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<td>XXX</td>
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<td>SI P/152.2</td>
<td>XXXVI</td>
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</table>

**A4.4. The Four Bāmiyān Manuscripts**

The four Bāmiyān Manuscripts (2.2.1.4) have been tentatively edited in this dissertation (Appendix 3), but a proper edition is under preparation together with Dr. Gudrun Melzer (Munich). They belonged in the early 2000s to the Schøyen Collection in Oslo, Sweden, but fragment Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45 has been since returned to the Afghan National Museum in Kabul, Afghanistan. Tentatively, the manuscripts are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shelf number</th>
<th>Stories</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.63</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.318+2382.319</td>
<td>XLIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schøyen Brāhmī 2379.5</td>
<td>XLIII</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schøyen Brāhmī 2382.45</td>
<td>XII-XIII</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Primary sources in Indic languages by title, in alphabetical order:

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Aṅguttaranikāya=Hardy and Morris 1885–1900
Āpastambadharmasūtra=Bühler 1892
Arthaśāstra (“Treatise on State Interest”)=Kangle 1960
Aṭṭhārva-vaeda=Roth and Whitney 1856
Avadānaśataka=Speyer 1906–1909
Buddhacarita of Aśvaghोṣa=Johnston 1936
Cūlavagga=Oldenberg 1880
Daridracarudatta (“Poor Carudatta”)=Esposito 2004
Dharmasamuccaya=Caube 1993
Dīghanikāya=Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1889–1910
Gautamadharmasūtra=Stenzler 1876
Jātakamālā of Āryaśūra (“Garland of Previous Birth Stories”)=Kern 1893
Jātakamālā of Haribhaṭṭa=Hahn 2007
Jātaka[tthavaṇṇanā]=Fausbøll 1877–1899
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Mahāpariṇirvānasūtra=Waldschmidt 1950-51
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Sattasaī=Weber 1881
Saudarananda of Aśvaghoṣa Johnston 1928
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