

創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年報

平成25年度
(第17号)

Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University

for the Academic Year 2013

Volume XVII

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
東京・2014・八王子

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University
Tokyo・2014

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**‘Mahāratnakūṭa’ Scriptures in Khotan:
A quotation from the *Samantamukhaparivarta*
in the *Book of Zambasta****

DHAMMADINNĀ (Giuliana MARTINI)

In a previous volume of the *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* (2011), I studied the transmission of the *Ratnakūṭa/Kāśyapaparivarta* in Khotan, on the basis of fragments of the Khotanese translation of this sūtra and of sourced and unsourced citations of the same identified in the mid-fifth century Khotanese composition known as the *Book of Zambasta*.¹ This time I once again follow the thread of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures in Khotan, with a note on a quotation attributed to the *Samantamukhaparivarta* in the fourth chapter of the same *Book of Zambasta*.

The *Samantamukhaparivarta* is no longer extant in its Indian original, but is preserved in Chinese and Tibetan in the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ canonical collections (*Da baoji jing* 大寶積經, T 310; *Dam chos dkon mchog brtsegs pa*, abbreviated *dKon brtsegs*, Derge/Tōhoku 87 etc.), as well as in an earlier, individually transmitted Chinese translation (T 315).

I start with a brief overview of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures featured in the *Book of Zambasta* (I). I then discuss the *Samantamukhaparivarta* citation in more detail (II), and, finally, I make a few observations on the significance of these scriptural threads for the reconstruction of the textual history of early Khotanese Buddhism (III).

I. ‘Mahāratnakūṭa’ scriptures in the *Book of Zambasta*

At least five ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures, in the sense of works that came to be included in the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ collections of the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist canons, appear in the *Book of Zambasta*, in one case as an individual chapter, in the other cases as citations:

- 1) *Bhadramāyākāravvyākaraṇa* (= chapter two);
- 2) *Samantamukhaparivarta* (citation in chapter four);
- 3) *Ratnakūṭa* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*) (citations in chapters eight and thirteen);
- 4) *Vinayaviniścaya-Upāliparipṛcchā* (citation in chapter thirteen);
- 5) *Daśadharmaka-sūtra* (citation in chapter fifteen).

Although not explicitly indicated by title, a Khotanese rendering of the *Bhadramāyākāra-*

* In part this article is a revised version of a chapter of my doctoral dissertation (Martini 2010). I thank Bhikkhu Anālayo, Mauro Maggi, Peter Skilling and Vincent Tournier for their suggestions. In quoting the text from Emmerick’s edition of the *Book of Zambasta* (Emmerick 1968) I have simplified and omitted some information such as stanza numbers given in the manuscript. For all text editions, on occurrence, I have adjusted the sandhi, punctuation, capitalisations etc.

¹ Martini 2011a. A new folio of the Khotanese translation of the *Ratnakūṭa* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*) is identified and studied in Maggi forthcoming b.

surprising, given that the extant manuscripts of the *Book of Zambasta* do not include colophons containing titles or summaries of contents for chapter two (or for any other chapters, with the exception of chapter nineteen) whether at the beginning and end of the chapters or of the work itself. As a result, one cannot be certain that the *Bhadramāyākāravāyākaraṇa* was known to the Khotanese by the Sanskrit title that we know today or by a Khotanese equivalent, although this may well have been the case. Chapter two, first studied in relation to the Tibetan version by K. Régamey (1938),² is a rather free adaptation of the *Bhadramāyākāravāyākaraṇa* as we know it from the Chinese and Tibetan translations belonging to the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ collections.³ The Khotanese version seems to be substantially a paraphrase except for a few stanzas that correspond closely to the Tibetan version (and thereby to its underlying Indian original). Régamey’s pioneering work – which has, inter alia, laid the methodological foundation for subsequent philological studies of Mahāyāna sūtras in general as well as for another ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scripture in particular, the **Ugraparipṛcchā* (Nattier 2003)⁴ – may, seventy-five years after its publication, deserve reconsideration in the light of the multiple model of oral, aural and written formation that in my reading best explains the redaction, transmission, function, features and overall textual and literary patterns of the *Book of Zambasta*. In other words, the adaptive and paraphrasing character of the Khotanese witness vis-à-vis the text preserved in the parallel versions of the *Bhadramāyākāravāyākaraṇa* may be better appreciated when we take into account such a complex model of transmission. Out of twenty-three extant chapters of the *Book of Zambasta*, chapter two is one of only five chapters for which complete sources or parallels have been identified.⁵ Thus, in the light of findings made since the publication of Régamey’s work, a new study would be especially helpful for the evaluation of the mode or modes of incorporation of textual sources into the *Book of Zambasta*.

The other ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ works attested in the *Book of Zambasta* (nos. 2 to 5 as listed above) are all mentioned by their own titles, including the *Samantamukhparivarta*, which I will discuss in the next section:

- *Samantamukhparivarta: samāntamukha-parivartto*, Z 4.39;
- *Ratnakūṭa* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*): *ratnakūlāna vātā*, Z 8.39; *ratnakūlāna*, Z 13.42;⁶
- *Vinayaviniścaya-Upāliparipṛcchā: vinayaviniścayo sūtro*, Z 13.33;⁷

² Cf. also Leumann 1933–1936: 361–367 and Emmerick 1968: 10–11.

³ In addition to T 310.21, translated by Bodhiruci, there is an early individual translation, T 324, attributed to Dharmarakṣa (竺法護) in the Taishō edition. A translation of T 310.21 is available in Chang 1983: 3–26; see Régamey 1938/1990 for the edition, study and translation of the Tibetan version (corresponding to Derge/Tōhoku 65 etc.).

⁴ Cf. the remarks in Nattier 2003: 203 with note 4.

⁵ The chapters with identified complete parallels are chapters two, three, sixteen, twenty-three and twenty-four. On there being twenty-three instead of twenty-four extant chapters see Maggi and Martini 2014.

⁶ For a detailed study of the sourced (Z 8.38–39, Z 7.29, Z 9.19 and 13.42) and unsourced citations (Z 4.95, Z 8.44 and Z 9.16) of the *Ratnakūṭa* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*) in the *Book of Zambasta*, see Martini 2011a (and cf. also Martini 2008), where I also discuss at length the fact that all extant evidence, in Sanskrit, Khotanese and other languages, points to *Ratnakūṭa* rather than *Kāśyapaparivarta* as the original title of the text transmitted throughout India and Central Asia.

⁷ On the *Vinayaviniścaya-Upāliparipṛcchā* quotation as cited and re-read in the *Book of Zambasta* see Martini 2013.

– *Daśadharmaka-sūtra: sūtrā daśadharmakā vīrā, Z 15.4.*⁸

II. A quotation of the *Samantamukhaparivarta* in the *Book of Zambasta* (Z 4.39)

The title *Samantamukhaparivarta* (*samantamukha-parivartto*) as the source of a seemingly six-stanza long excerpt from this work comes at the end of what appears to be the cited excerpt itself (Z 4.39). No citation markers or any other indication signalling the beginning of the cited passage are employed. The text reads:

- [4.34] *gyastūñi tcei'mañi gyastānu ni biśśā nandanu daindā*
cai vātcu daindā handāri ni biśśā hā tranda hāmāre
- [4.35] *ni ju ye citrarahu . ni pārūṣaku ne ye nanda—*
nu kālste gyastānu aysmya vīpākā samu nā aysmya saittā
- [4.36] *ce ne vīpākā tteye ne saittā . cu aysmūna ne dravyi .*
banhyānu bendā prahoṇe hamo bīnāña gyamāne
- [4.37] *ttēye aysmuī hāvī vipākā cu samu aysmūna diyāri*
kho ye hūña daiyā cu niśti ttāna padīmākā ni nāstā
- [4.38] *hauda gyastānu gyasta-varṇa kho parikalpāte ttrāmā*
avacchoda tsīndi ttaura vaṣṭa vrraṇī nāstā cu bettā .
- [4.39] *ttāna cu samu samñe jsa gyasta hāvī parikalpā ne dravyi*
samantamukha-parivartto balysā vāstarna arthā nijsaṣṭe

[4.34] Divine [are] the eyes of the gods, [yet] not all see [the city of] Nandana. Further, those other ones who see it cannot all enter it.⁹ [4.35] Nobody indeed has planted Citraratha [Grove], nor Pārūṣakā¹⁰ [Grove], nor [has] anyone [built the city of] Nandana. It is the karmic result in the mind of the gods: it merely appears to them in the mind. [4.36] To him who has no [such a] karmic result, it does not appear. What [appears to the gods] through the mind are not material substances – the garments on trees, goblets, music,¹¹ ointments. [4.37] The things which appear by virtue of the mind alone are the karmic result of that

⁸ The citation of the *Daśadharmaka-sūtra* (T 310.9, translated by Buddhaśānta in A.D. 539 according to T 2154 at T LV 542a₂₆; Derge/Tōhoku 53 etc.) awaits closer inspection. To complete the overview of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures in the *Book of Zambasta*, it may be noted that the meeting of the Buddha’s father with his son, which constitutes the topic of chapter five of the *Book of Zambasta*, is the theme of another ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ work, the **Pitāputrasamāgama-sūtra*, a text that contains an important formulation of the doctrine of the two truths, and is quoted in Kamalaśīla’s *Bhāvanakrāma* I, Śāntideva’s *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Prajñākaramati’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra-pañjikā*, and Candrakīrti’s *Madhyamakāvatāra* (see Lamotte 2000: 46, Yuyama 2001: lix and Yuyama 2002: 199–200). From a cursory reading of the extensive *Yab dang sras mjal ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po’i mdo* (Derge/Tōhoku 60 etc.), its ninth-century Tibetan translation, I have not been able to find any direct parallel to the Khotanese text. The text is also available in Chinese translation, the *Pusa jian shi hui* (菩薩見實會, T 310.16), translated by Narendrayaśas in A.D. 568 (no translations in Western languages are presently available). No Sanskrit manuscript containing a text corresponding to the **Pitāputrasamāgama-sūtra* of the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ has come to light so far, although the two fragments from the Northern Silk Road (Kucha) in the Fond Pelliot containing a passage which is otherwise known from a quotation in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* could in fact belong to a manuscript of this text (see Pauly 1996: esp. 290–291 and Yuyama 2002: 200). At best, the Khotanese could be an extremely abridged and summarised (thereby simply unrecognisable) rendering of such a long and articulated text as the **Pitāputrasamāgama-sūtra*.

⁹ On the translation “cannot all enter it” (*ni biśśā hā tranda hāmāre*) with present potential construction for “have not all been able to enter it” in Emmerick 1968: 83 see Maggi forthcoming a (§ 6).

¹⁰ Since in Old Khotanese the phonological distinction *-u/-ū-* is accurately represented, the form Pārūṣaku can be taken to reflect a variant Pārū° rather than Pāru°, cf. Edgerton 1953: 343, s.v.

¹¹ On *bīnāña* ‘music’ instead of ‘lotuses’ in Emmerick 1968: 83 see Degener 1989: xxxiii.

[specific] mind, just as in a dream one sees what does not [really] exist. Therefore there is no creator of them.^[4.38] There are seven divine classes of gods. They are such as is imagined. Unhindered they go through walls. He [i.e., a god] has no wound which he laments,^[4.39] because gods [exist] only by virtue of perception. They are one's own imaginations, not [made up of] material substance. In the *Samantamukhparivarta* the Buddha has shown the meaning of this in detail.¹²

Among earlier scholars who have dealt with this passage, S. Konow (1939: 26) was the first to point to the *Samantamukhparivarta* of the 'Mahāratnakūṭa', although without locating the passage in the text. E. Leumann (1933–1936: 57), followed by R.E. Emmerick (1968: 83), remarked that the *Samantamukhparivarta* constituting chapter twenty-four of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* does not contain any content relevant to the passage in chapter four of the *Book of Zambasta* in which the title *Samantamukhparivarta* is quoted. I was then able to locate a parallel to the Khotanese excerpt in the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Samantamukhparivarta* of the 'Mahāratnakūṭa'.¹³ A parallel to the Khotanese passage occurs in the context of a description of the 'samādhi of divine appearance(s)' (天相三昧) or 'divine form(s) samādhi' (*lha'i gzugs ting nge 'dzin*).¹⁴

With this identification, the Khotanese citation now provides evidence for:

(a) the Indian form of the title of this work which – to the best of my knowledge – is otherwise neither attested nor cited in Sanskrit texts; and

(b) the circulation of an Indian (most likely Sanskrit) recension of the *Samantamukhparivarta* in Southern Central Asia from at least the mid-fifth century, as an individual scripture not yet transmitted as part of a larger collection.

As mentioned earlier, two Chinese versions of the *Samantamukhparivarta* are extant: an early translation, the *Pumen pin jing* (普門品經, T 315), carried out by Dharmarakṣa (竺法護) in A.D. 287, and the *Wenshushili pu men hui* (文殊師利普門會, T 310.10), translated by Bodhiruci (d. A.D. 527) and contained in the 'Mahāratnakūṭa' / *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 collection. A detailed comparison of the passages as found in the two Chinese translations and in relation to the Tibetan version falls outside my present concern; suffice it to note that Dharmarakṣa's translation is rather idiosyncratic if the original on which it depends was close to the textual basis of the later Chinese and Tibetan versions.¹⁵ In order to provide the parallel to the Khotanese citation I quote in full the text of the versions included in the 'Mahāratnakūṭa' collections. The Chinese, in verse, reads:

復次文殊師利, 云何名為天相三昧? 即說頌曰:

¹² Ed. Emmerick 1968: 82; translated after *ibid.*: 83 with modifications.

¹³ Martini 2010: 150–155.

¹⁴ The expression **deva-rūpa-samādhi* or other equivalents to it appear to be unattested as the name of a *samādhi* in Sanskrit sources.

¹⁵ T 315 at T XI 772a25–b4: 又告溥首: 何謂菩薩遊於諸天? 諸天嚴淨功德自然, 其意鮮潔, 心淨口淨, 無有瑕穢, 宮殿綺飾無造立者, 心樹妙華亦無種者, 福德自然, 若如幻化, 生無思議, 淨光琉璃, 械度淨了, 亦無尸爽, 虛無成立天為偽體, 自然生形恍惚而現, 勝說平等現諸天像, 是為虛無, 無借外之喻. 案內觀歷三十二天, 宮殿樓閣自然之數, 無有見者, 唯得道人乃知之耳. 是以菩薩深觀內外平等無異, 是為菩薩等遊諸天. In Dharmarakṣa's translation, the name of the *samādhi* in question mentions bodhisattvas journeying through all the heavens, 菩薩遊於諸天.

因清淨信心 及以衆善業
受諸天勝報 端正殊妙身
珍寶諸宮殿 非由造作成
曼陀羅妙花 亦無種植者
如是不思議 皆因業力起
能現種種相 猶若淨琉璃
如是殊妙身 及諸宮殿等
皆從虛妄生 是名天三昧。

[The Buddha said:] “Then, Mañjuśrī, what is the so-called ‘*samādhi* of divine appearances’?” Then, he explained in verse:

“Because of a mind with serene and pure faith
and by way of manyfold wholesome deeds,
one will receive the excellent reward of [birth as] a god:

[that is,] a body of wondrous beauty.

Treasures and various palaces
will be completed without having been constructed.

The coral tree has wonderful blossoms,
yet no one has planted it.

Like this, without being preconceived,
it all arises through the power of karma,
[which] is able to manifest myriad forms,
just as [images appear] in a clear piece of beryl.

In this way, the awesome bodies
as well as all the varieties of palaces,
all arise from what is unreal.

This is called the ‘*samādhi* of divine [appearances]’”.¹⁶

The meditative instructions in the parallel prose Tibetan version read:

*'jam dpal, de la ji ltar na byang chub sems dpas lha'i gzugs ting nge 'dzin du rtogs par
bya zhe¹⁷ na – rnam rtog dge las byung ba yi las dge'i 'bras bu lha rnams te rab tu dang
ba'i yid kyis na¹⁸ mdzes pa'i lha rnams mngon par grub. gzhal med khang pa nyams dga'
ba, de dag gzhan sus byas pa min. me tog man ta¹⁹ ra ba yang de dag gzhan sus bskyed
pa min. sgyu ma'i las las kun byung bas byung ba rnams kyang bsam du med, bzang
bor²⁰ snang²¹ bai dūrya log pas grub pa rnams kyang brdzun. yang dag min pas kun
bskyed pas lha rnams brdzun par shes pas na ting nge²² 'dzin zhi ba brjod pa ni lha'i²³
gzugs kyis bstan pa yin. 'jam dpal, de ltar na lha'i gzugs ting nge 'dzin du rtogs par
bya'o.*

Therefore, Mañjuśrī, if it is asked how a bodhisattva should understand the divine form *samādhi*, [the answer is:] the gods are the fruit of good karma [that is] born of good

^{16.} *Wenshushili pu men hui* (文殊師利普門會), T 310.11 at T XI 159c27–160a7; translated after Chang 1983: 138 with modifications.

^{17.} Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *zhi*.

^{18.} Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *ni*.

^{19.} Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *dā*.

^{20.} Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *por*.

^{21.} Derge/Tōhoku 54 adds: *ba'i*.

^{22.} Derge/Tōhoku 54 omits: *nge*.

^{23.} Derge/Tōhoku 54 reads: *lha yi*.

thoughts. Handsome gods are created through a mind endowed with serene faith. Charming aerial pavilions [will manifest]: these have not been produced by anybody else. Flowers of the coral trees: these have not been produced by anybody else. Inconceivable objects produced by magic, [such as] beryl of the finest water, are fabricated and false. Being non-existent (*yang dag min pas*, Skt. *abhūta*^o) and entirely [mentally] fabricated, arisen from falsity, the gods are illusory: the detailed explanation of the *samādhi* [practised] through the divine form is expounded. In this way, Mañjuśrī, the divine form *samādhi* should be understood.²⁴

Although the philosophical theme of the passage in the *Book of Zambasta* relates it beyond doubt to the passage(s) of the *Samantamukhaparivarta* in Chinese and Tibetan translated above, on reading the preceding and subsequent Khotanese stanzas against the parallels, the excerpt in the *Book of Zambasta* gives the impression of a loose and at the same time expanded rendering. Moreover, it is not immediately self-evident where the actual scriptural quotation begins and ends. Such a loose and non-verbatim correspondence between the Khotanese stanzas and the verse and prose counterparts in the Chinese and Tibetan versions is partly explained by the seemingly aural formation and composite textuality of the *Book of Zambasta*. However, in the absence of the Sanskrit source(s) which was or were actually used or consulted at the time and place where the passage was translated, it is not fruitful to attempt an evaluation of the faithfulness of the Khotanese rendering by comparing it to parallels translated centuries later in entirely different cultural and intellectual milieux, almost certainly on the basis of different Indian recensions of the text.

The *Samantamukhaparivarta* can be classified, in terms of genre, as a meditation text, and its citation in the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta* fills in a small blank spot in the obscure puzzle that is the Central Asian formation and transmission of a number of visualisation and meditation scriptures.²⁵ It is structured around the description of various kinds of *samādhi* that take up different meditative objects and domains of existence. The meditative instructions are based on the use of visualisations that reveal the ultimately illusory nature of all mind-fabricated phenomena.

In my initial study of the *Samantamukhaparivarta* citation, I found it difficult to detect the actual beginning of the excerpt, and I was not able to single out which, if any, of the adjacent stanzas might have originated from a different source, perhaps creatively adapted to illustrate the theme of the relationship between one's *vipāka* (the karmic effect of previous intentional action), *saṃjñā* (the perceptual act of conceptual identification and the deriving consolidated cognition), and *parikalpa* (the process of proliferative and thus faulty imagination). These are all doctrinal topics encountered in different places in the *Book of Zambasta*, and they are certainly dear to a Yogācāra-inspired meditative milieu close in philosophical flavour and

²⁴ 'Phags pa kun nas sgo'i le'u shes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, Peking/Ötani 760.10, *dKon brtsegs, dsi*, 209b₆–210a₂ [= Derge/Tōhoku 54, *dKon brtsegs, kha*, 188a₃–188a₅]; my translation.

²⁵ Cf. esp. Yamabe 1999, Martini 2011b with references, and now Greene 2012. Most notably, the so-called '*Mañjuśrīnairātmayāvātāra-sūtra*' (ms. P 4009), a Late Khotanese original composition based on Old Khotanese sources preserved in a tenth-century manuscript from Dunhuang, comes very close to the genre of visualisation texts, cf. Martini 2011b: 127, note 11.

time to the *Book of Zambasta*.²⁶ Immediately after the description of the heavenly landscape, the statement that such a beautiful realm is visible in dependence on one's perception, and the reference to the *Samantamukhaparivarta*, other examples are given to illustrate the theme of the illusory nature of perception – maintained to be nothing more than a relationship between cause and effect:

[4.40] *catāmahārāya-būma gyasta-bhūma yakṣa-vimāna*
niṣṭā ggarā sūtro tta hvīnde ku va yakṣa-bhavana ne āro

[4.41] *ttānu parikalpe vīpākā ttāna ju mā kīro ni tsīndi*
kho ju hūña saitto ditte kho ye cā'ya-nārmātu daiyā

[4.40] There are dwellings of the Four Great Kings, dwellings of the gods, palaces of the *yakṣas*. There is no mountain – so it is stated in the *sūtra* – so that there are no palaces of the *yakṣas*.^[4.41] Their imaginations are [their own] karmic result. Therefore they have no effect on us. They are just as what seems [to exist] or appears in a dream, [or] as one sees what has been conjured up by magic.²⁷

Now, although this doctrinal elaboration is compatible with the visionary and philosophical content of several passages in the *Samantumkhaparivarta* as well as with that of, broadly speaking, other Yogācāra-inspired meditation texts, I was not able to pin it down to a specific passage in the *Samantamukhaparivarta* nor to any other possible source or parallel.

Fortunately, among the annotations made by the late R.E. Emmerick on his personal copy of the *Book of Zambasta* recently edited by M. Maggi, a reference indicates that the example provided in Z 4.40–41 does not come from the *Samantumkhaparivarta* but from a different source. We learn from Emmerick's note that stanzas Z 4.40–41 were identified by G. Schopen as a loose and in itself cryptic but expanded reference to a passage in the *Sukhāvātīvyūha*.²⁸ In particular, as remarked by Maggi, the identification of the source of the passage “makes clear that the unnamed *ggarā* ‘mountain’ in Z 4.40 is Mount Sumeru and that *sūtro* ‘in the *sūtra*’ refers to the *Sukhāvātīvyūha* and not to the *Samantamukhaparivarta* quoted in Z 4.39”. The passage in the *Sukhāvātīvyūha* takes up the mechanisms of karma and rebirth in the Land of Bliss (*Sukhāvātī*) where, contrary to normal world systems, the cosmographic model lacks a Mount Sumeru on which gods of the lower realms live.²⁹ The

²⁶ Martini 2010: 150–155. The status and validity of perception is taken up in several other places of the *Book of Zambasta*; especially relevant in this respect is the text of the Dharma sermon given by the Buddha to his father at the time of his first return to Kapilavastu, found in chapter five (cf. Martini 2014). The cross-referencing between different chapters and the by and large homogeneity of the philosophical discourse of the *Book of Zambasta* seems to me to be a noteworthy element in support of the hypothesis of the ‘unitary’ redaction of this work, that has been discussed by Maggi 2004 and Martini 2014.

²⁷ Ed. Emmerick 1968: 82; translated after *ibid.*: 83 with modifications.

²⁸ Schopen's letter to Emmerick dated 26 February 1980, in Maggi forthcoming a (note 7). One fragmentary but all important Central Asian folio of an Old Khotanese translation of the *Sukhāvātīvyūha* survives in the British Library collection (ms. Kha 0013c2), preserving, in translation, a Sanskrit original somewhat different from the Nepalese recension, see Maggi 2009: 381–382.

²⁹ Ed. Fujita 2011: 39₇₋₁₅ (= ed. Ashikaga 1965: 33₁₉–34₂ and ed. Kagawa 1984: 202₁₋₉): *evam ukta āyusmān ānando bhagavantam etad avocat: ye punas te bhagavaṃś cāturmahārājakāyikā devāḥ sumeru-pārśvanivāsīnas trāyastriṃśā vā sumerumūrdhni nivāsīnas, te kutra pratiṣṭhitāḥ. bhagavān āha: tat kiṃ manyase, ānanda, ye ta iha sumeroḥ parvatarājasopari ... devāḥ, kutra te pratiṣṭhitā iti. āha: acintyo bhaga-*

yakṣas are absent in the *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, but their imagery fits well with the theme of apparitional visions to which all *dharmas* are classically compared.³⁰ Thus, most of stanza Z 4.41 is “an amplification required to fit the *Sukhāvātīvyūha* example into the context”.

Interestingly, the ‘real’ cosmography of Sukhāvātī – that is, with the ‘real’ non-existence, there, of the very mountain that otherwise serves as the dwelling place of the lower gods – provides a good example of the ‘non-reality’ of mental and meditative experience according to the meditation system of the *Samantamukhaparivarta*. This finding closes the circle while throwing once again into relief the composite and compilative genesis – explanatory, didactic, locally adaptive and inclusive by nature – of the textual material of the *Book of Zambasta*, as exemplified by these passages in chapter four.

III. Position of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures in Khotan

By way of conclusion, I make a few observations on the significance of the study of ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures in the *Book of Zambasta* for the reconstruction of the textual history of early Khotanese Buddhism:

1. By referring to ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ texts featured in different ways in the *Book of Zambasta* ‘as if’ they were extracted from ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures, I do not intend to suggest that the Khotanese compiler(s) had an idea or awareness that these texts belonged to any kind of unitary scriptural entity equivalent to the received Chinese and Tibetan canonical collections. Strictly speaking, to group these scriptures under the heading ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ would only be appropriate in the context of the Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist canons, where the *Mahāratnakūṭa* exists as a scriptural division properly so called, i.e., a macro-unit of textual transmission. The history of the formation of the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection is still too little known to even suggest that the individual ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures cited in the *Book of Zambasta* may have belonged to some sort of unitary corpus in mid-fifth and sixth century Khotan – the probable period of redaction of the *Book of Zambasta*³¹ – and it would not be accurate to treat these texts together in the context in which the *Book of Zambasta* was formed and circulated.

2. However, to collect the existing Khotanese materials that bear on the circulation of such ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ scriptures may prove useful by making relevant evidence available for future studies on the formation and purpose of the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ collection as one of the texts of scriptural ‘equipment’ of Mahāyāna followers active in Central Asia – or, more precisely, in ‘Greater (Buddhist) Serindia’.³² This is especially important from the point of view

van karmāṇām vipākaḥ, karmābhisamkāraḥ (translated in Gómez 1996: 86 [§§ 62–63]).

³⁰ Cf., e.g., the sūtra quotation on the ten similes of apparitional phenomena in the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論, T 1509 at T XXV 101c₈₋₉, translated in Lamotte 1944/1981: 357. Maggi forthcoming a suggests that the mention of the *yakṣas*, absent in the *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, was probably brought about by their being in the service of Vaiśravaṇa, the Great Guardian King of the North especially revered in Khotan (cf., e.g., Filigenzi and Maggi 2008 with references).

³¹ The dating of the *Book of Zambasta*, probably the earliest extant original Khotanese text, from about the mid-fifth century, is based on structure and palaeography of the earliest extant folio of the *Book of Zambasta* (Maggi 2004, confirmed by Sander 2009); doctrinal and religio-historical analysis provides strong supportive evidence for this dating (Martini 2010, 2011a, 2011b, 2013 and 2014).

³² For the concept and term ‘Greater (Buddhist) Serindia’ (the addition “Buddhist” is my own), that I now prefer to the expression and extended notion of ‘Greater India’ that I adopted in Martini 2011: 176, I

of the hypothesis of the Central Asian formation of a number of scriptural assemblages, including the ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ itself. Scriptural collections – inherently selective and therefore able to provide foundational frameworks of reference for local communities, functioning like syllabi and compendia – may well have had a major part to play in the transmission of the Dharma across Greater (Buddhist) Serindia, in times of both scriptural abundance and scriptural scarcity.³³

3. In order to better contextualise the Khotanese materials and the significance of the type of philological work they require, it may be useful to take into account the general situation of textuality of fifth/sixth-century Khotanese Buddhism.

3.1 In spite of royal patronage, early Khotanese Buddhism appears to have never undergone a process of canonisation in the sense of a programmed, centrally sponsored and formalised cultural operation of scriptural selection, classification and translation. The Buddhist communities of Khotan certainly possessed their own implicit and explicit awareness of the notions of scriptural canonicity, authenticity and normativity. One of the ways such notions are actualised is the selection of a number of texts that are ideologically and practically adopted as the frame of reference of religious learning and practice. This in itself renders especially important the study of the Indian sources that were received and chosen to serve the purpose of transmission of the Dharma and of the consequent building of religious identity.

3.2 Further, the limited and fragmentary nature of the surviving Khotanese Buddhist corpus makes even ostensibly minor pieces of evidence historically valuable. Thus, one of the possible ways of tracing back the ‘canonical scriptures’ of the Buddhism of Khotan – by reconstructing a theoretical canon of significant and authoritative scriptures – is to pay close attention to its Indian sources, for instance by way of sourced and unsourced citations of Mahāyāna works included in Khotanese Buddhist works.

3.3 Even when scriptural quotations can be traced back to their Indian originals (most often via their Chinese and Tibetan translations), it is in most cases hardly feasible to position these quotations accurately in terms of the Indian textual recension they witness and on which they depend. This is not only explained by the common problems posed by the philology of Mahāyāna scriptures (lack or fragmentary condition of the Indian originals, multiple versions circulating in India, diverse recensions of the same text witnessed by different Sanskrit manuscripts as well as the Central Asian, Chinese and Tibetan translations etc.). Other complicating factors include the notable localising and adaptive tendencies and literary tastes of the Khotanese transmitters, and the stylistic gaps between originals that were

am indebted to Palumbo 2013: 283–323.

³³ Cf. Durt’s remarks (Durt 2006: 53, note 3), with regard to the situation in China: “The production of compilations was related to the fear of disappearance of the Dharma in a future age, as alluded to in the eulogistic verses following the introduction of the *Shijapu* by Sengyou (T. 2040, j. 1, p. 1a29–b4). It was probably also a way of compensation for the obstacles to the circulation of manuscripts resulting from the separation of China into North and South. Moreover, encyclopaedic compilations have a practical utility when manuscripts (or books) become too abundant. This aspect was not limited to Buddhism”. The prophecy of the end of the Dharma contained in chapter twenty-four (= twenty-three, see Maggi and Martini 2014) of the *Book of Zambasta*, which concludes the work, indeed points to a felt awareness and need for preserving the transmission of the Dharma through textual production.

in most cases in prose and their versified Khotanese renderings.

All such complications notwithstanding, investigations of the manner in which Khotanese Buddhist communities made use of the texts that they regarded as authoritative – in the present case, a ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ philosophical and meditative scripture, explained with the aid of the *Sukhāvātīvyūha* – remain particularly important in that several ‘*Mahāratnakūṭa*’ works seem to have been of religious significance in the Mahāyāna communities in which the *Book of Zambasta* circulated from the mid-fifth century onwards.³⁴

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