CHAPTER - III

Manuscript Remains in Central Asia.

INTRODUCTION

The finds of Buddhist manuscripts in Prakrit, Sanskrit, Uigur, Tokharian, Khotanese, Kuchean, Sogdian and other dialects opened up a new chapter in the history of Buddhism and Buddhist literature in India and its neighbouring countries. Prior to these finds our knowledge about Buddhism and Buddhist literature was confined to the manuscripts in Pāli found in Ceylon, Burma and Siam and those in Sanskrit found in Nepal. A long controversy went on among the early European Scholars of Buddhism about the comparative antiquity of the manuscripts discovered in the Southern regions in Pāli and those in Nepal in Sanskrit.

The finds of fragments of Āgamas corresponding to the Nikāyas in Pāli have led the European Scholars like Hoernle, Winternitz and others come to the conclusion that the Āgamas in Sanskrit or Prakrit (Semi-Sanskrit) and the Nikāyas in Pāli were derived from the common source, probably composed in a Magadhan dialect, identical or allied the dialect used in Asoka's Bhabru edict. The Central Asian fragments of Āgamas have been traced in the Chinese Tripitaka but there are differences between the originals and their translations. In Tibetan Kanjur and Tanjur, there are no collection under the heading "Āgamas" though there are in them translations of a few texts, which belonged to the Āgamas.

I. Hoernle Manuscript Remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan Vol. I, p. XXIX.
II. Winternitz History of Indian literature p. 236.
III. For detailed treatment. See infra.
Apart from the Agamas, in Central Asia have been found a few fragments of the Vinaya texts corresponding to the Vinaya Pitaka in Pali. These fragments have also been traced in the Chinese collection of Vinaya texts. In Tibetan there is a complete translation of the Vinaya Pitaka under the heading "Dulva". The original of the translation is evidently the Vinaya Pitaka in Sanskrit of the Mulasarvastivādins, a substantial portion of which has been found at Gilgit, in Kashmir, about 200 miles south of Central Asia. The Gilgit manuscript was written in a slanting or upright Gupta Script, which is exactly similar to the scripts of the Central Asian manuscripts.

In Chinese, there is an Abhidharma Pitaka corresponding to the Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivādins. There are in substance identical with the contents of the Abhidharma Pitaka in Pali but so far no fragment of this Pitaka has been discovered in Central Asia.

In Central Asia have been found a large number of texts of Mahāyānic and Tantrayānic Buddhism. The originals of many of these have traced in Nepal and Tibet. A few original manuscripts were procured by Otani from Tibet while a good number of Photographic copies were brought by Rahula Sankrityayana and deposited in the Jaysawal Institute of Patna. Some of these Mahāyānic and Tantrayānic texts have already been printed and published in India, Japan and Europe.

The manuscripts of Mahāyāna texts found in Central Asia bear marked differences from their counterparts.
traced in Nepal. On a comparison of these two versions i.e., Central Asian and Nepalese, it appears that the manuscript in Central Asia were earlier than those of Nepal and Tibet. This is clearly apparent from the Saddharmapundarika found in Central Asia and Gilgit and their counterparts in Nepal.

The Central Asian manuscripts may be broadly divided into Hinayana, Mahayana and Tantrayana. The Hinayana texts, being in Sanskrit, are attributed to the Sarvastivadins and perhaps the Dharmaguptas, the two Hinayana sects which attained popularity in Central Asia, with the advent of Mahayana, the manuscripts of this branch of Buddhism represent its earliest form likewise do the Tantrayana texts.

Apart from these original Pitakas texts of Buddhism there are one or two manuscripts which deal with secular matters, such as medicine, charms and spells to avert evils.

The finds at Lou-lan, Niya and Endere are mostly inscriptions on leather pieces and wooden tablets. These finds indicate that the monks of a later period, i.e. during the 3rd or 4th Century A.D. took active part in administration of justice, economic and other secular affairs along with the ecclesiastical functions. In the following chapters will appear a detailed study of the above mentioned topics.

ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF MANUSCRIPTS

The assiduous work of the archaeologists has unearthed from the desert sands of Central Asia remnants

I. See Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol. II.
of valuable original texts, which throw a flood of
light on the evolution of the Buddhist literature. In
the 1890, Col. Bower, a British officer, purchased from
the local Turks an extensive birch bark manuscript which
was dug out from the sands of Qumtura, a site near Kucha.
The manuscript was edited by Hoernle. It is a medical
treatise written in Sanskrit in the North Indian (Gupta)
script of the 4th Century A.D.

A few years later a French traveller Mr. Dutreuil
de Rhins came across two birch bark manuscripts from
Khotan. On examination they are found to be a new Prakrit
version of the Dhammapada. Its script is Kharosthi of
the 2nd Century A.D. similar to that used in the North­
western India of the Kushan period. These two discoveries
drew the attention of the archaeologists all over the
world. The investigations carried on by Sir Aurel Stein,
Von Lecoq, and the famous Sinologist Paul Pelliot yielded
the most epoch-making results from the various sites of
Easter Turkestan, viz., Kucha, Khotan, Turfan, Niya and
Lou-lan. The results of Stein's investigations were
published in a number of volumes entitled Ancient Khotan,
Innermost Asia and Ser-India. In 1890 the famous Russian
Scholar, Klementz headed an expedition to dig in Turfan.
Nor have the Japanese been idle. Count Otani and Tachi­
bana both members of the Japanese Buddhist priesthood
especially brought numbers of artistic and literary
treasures to Japan. Among the finds of manuscripts, the
larger portion is of Mahāyānic and Tantrayānic texts but
the most remarkable discovery is the lost Sanskrit canon.

LOCAL TRANSLATIONS: The literary finds from Central
Asia show that Indian scripts were in use in the
different states of Eastern Turkestan. During the first three centuries of the Christian era Kharosthi was in use in the Southern States from Khotan upto Kroraina (Lou-lan) in the Lobnor region. Besides these there were local languages one was spoken in the north, the other in the south. The northern language is named "Tokhari" and the southern "North Aryan". Profs. Levi and Sten Konow suggested that the centres of the territories in which the northern and southern languages once prevailed were Kucha and Khotan respectively.

In Kuchean or Tokharian there are translations of Buddhist sanskrit texts and there are some bi-lingual fragmentary texts Kuchean or Tokharian and Sanskrit or Chinese or Tibetan. There are fragments of Sarvastivāda Pratimokṣa Sutra. There are also Kuchean translations of Udānavarga, Udānāstotra and Udanaśākara which were very popular with the Buddhists and a very extensive Sanskrit work entitled Karmaviṃśaṅga. Kuchean translations of medical and Tantric texts have also been studied, identified and published. There is a kuchean translation of a medical text entitled Yogaśāataka. It is a work attributed either to Nagarjuna or to Vararuci. Sanskrit names of drugs are not translated but transliterated with phonetic changes necessary for the adoption in local dialects, e.g., arirak (haritaki) asvakanta (āsvagandha).

II. S. Levi Fragments de Textes Koutcheens udānavarga, udānāstotra, udanalamākaraat Karmaviṃśaṅga.
III. J. Filliozat. Fragments de Textes Koutcheens de medicine et de Magie. 1948 p. 31.
Khotanese translations belong to a late period when Hinayāna Buddhism had practically disappeared from Khotan and Mahāyāna had become predominant. The translations therefore are mostly of Mahāyāna texts. There are fragments of the translations of the Suvarnaprabhasa-sutra, Vajracchedikā, Aparimitāyus Sutra, Jātakastava and Maitreya-Samiti nataka, Khotanese translations of two medical texts viz. Siddhasara and Jivakapustaka have been found.

A few Sogdian translations of Buddhist texts have been discovered, e.g., Dirghanakha Sutra, Vessantara Jataka and there are also Tokharian translations of Maitreya-Samiti Naṭaka, Suvarnaprabhāsa Sutra and a few others.

**THE ĀGAMAS.**

Among the finds of manuscripts in Central Asia the fragments of the Āgamas appear to be the oldest. Very likely these Āgamas were carried to Central Asia by monks and traders hailing from Gandhāra and Kāshmīr. It was during Kanishka’s reign, a devout follower and patron of Buddhism that the popularity of the Sarvastivadins reached its climax in the northern and northwestern parts of India. The Sarvāstivādins came into being perhaps in the Pātaliputra sometimes before Asoka’s reign. They made their principal centres at Mathurā where they must have compiled the Buddhavacanas in Sanskrit and named them as Āgamas initiate of Nikāyas adopted by the Southern Schools of Buddhism. They divided their Āgamas like the Nikāyas into five sections Dirgha, Madhyama, Sanyukta, Ekottara and Khuddaka. But the selection of Sutras in the different Āgamas was made by them according to their own light. They also varied, modified and enlarged the

Sutras in their own way. Hence the Āgamas are not exactly the replicas of the Pāli Nikāyas. Unfortunately none of the Sanskrit Āgamas have been found in India or Nepal. In the Chinese translations that we find a complete set of Āgamas which very probably were derived from the Sanskrit Āgamas of the Sarvāstivādins or of the Dharmaguptikas the followers of which went to Central Asia and established their centres there along with the Sarvāstivādins.

Āgama Literature in China: The Japanese scholars Nanjio, Akanuma and Anesaki have made an exhaustive and analytical studies of the Āgamas and the Nikāyas. They have mentioned that there are four Āgamas such as:

1. Dirghāgama
2. Madhyāgama
3. Samyuktāgama
4. Ekottarāgama

In Chinese Dirghāgama there are 30 Sutras as against 34 in Pali. Out of 30, 27 bear the same title as those in Pali, three sutras are wanting in Pali, these Sutras are replaced in Chinese by Ekottara, Trirasi and Lokadhātu. Again the Pāli sutras which are wanting in Chinese collection are No. 6 Mahāli No. 7 Jāliya, No. 10 Subha and No. 32 Aṭṭanātiya.

The Chinese Madhyāgama contains 222 sutras as


II. Akanuma. The comparative catalogue of Chinese Agamas and Pali Nikāyas.

against 152 of the Pali Majjhimanikāya. Many sutras of the Pali Digha, Anguttara and Sāmyuttanikāyas are traceable in Chinese Madhyamagama. Among the 222 sutras in the Chinese Madhyamagama the following different sutras of Pāli Nikāyas and Vinaya are traceable viz.,

- 99 of Majjhima
- 75 of Anguttara
- 9 of Digha
- 8 of Sāmyutta
- 5 of Khuddaka
- 2 of Vinaya
- 1 of Divyavadāna, and the remaining 23 could not be identified with any sutras of Pāli. Again out of 152 Pāli sutras of Majjhima Nikāya 98 sutras are traceable in Chinese Madhyamagama. Beside these 24 sutras of Pāli Majjhima Nikāya are wanting in the Chinese Madhyayama, Ekottara and Sāmyuktāgama.

The Chinese Sayūktāgama is divided into 50 vaggas containing 1502 Sutras while in Pāli the number of Vaggas is only 5 containing as many as 2889 sutras. Most of the Pāli Sutras are found in a scattered way in the 50 sections of the Chinese Āgamas. Anesaki and Akanuma have traced several sutras common in the Pāli and Chinese versions. Anesaki has pointed out that the beginning of the different fasciculi have sub-headings of the Pāli Sāmyuttanikāya have been preserved. These are 1) Stayatana, 2) Nidna, 3) Savaka, 4) Magga. He has further traced the names of a few more Pāli vaggas Khanda, Puggala, Sagatha and Tathagatavagga.

II. Anesaki. Ibid p. 67 ff.
V. Anesaki. Ibid p. 77-140.
The Chinese Ekottaragama was first translated by Dharmanandin who hailed from Tukhara went, Chan-an in 384 A.D. with the assistance of two Chinese monks he completed the translation. In 388 A.D. a monk hailing from Kubha called Sanghadeva revised the translation. Hence, extant Chinese version is attributed to Dharmanandin and Sanghadeva.

The Ekottaragama in Chinese is divided into 51 sections without any numerical arrangements containing 454 sutras while the Anguttaranikaya in Pali is divided into eleven nipatas i.e. sections containing 169 sutras.

In the Chinese version are found several sutras of the Kjihima, Digha, Samyutta, besides the Anguttaranikaya. Anesaki has traced a large number of Pali sutras in the Chinese version. By way of illustration some of them are mentioned here:

D. Mahāparinibbana.

II) Majjhima 7. Satipaṭṭhāna M. 7 Vattupama M. 62

III) Samjutta 22.1 Nakula, S. 21.8 Nanda, S. 3. 2. 10
Aputtaka S. 11. 1. 3 Dhajagga S. 22. 97 Nakhasikha.

IV) Itivuttaka 64-65, 44.

V) Theragāthā V. 279

VI) Mahāvagga 1.6 15-20 and 54

VII) Cullavagga vii 3-4.

The editor of the Pali Anguttaranikāya, Rev. Morris, has drawn attention to the fact that in the different sections of the Anguttara nikāya are given scattered extracts from the sutras of the Digha, Mājjhima and Samyutta nikāyas. The compiler of the original Nikāyas assigned to the different numerical sections of the Anguttara, the topics enumerated in the Digha and other nikāya. The Anguttara or Ekottara, therefore, is to a certain extent a reproduction of the contents of the other three Nikāyas. Rev. Morris has prepared a list of the same in his introduction to the fifth volume of the edition of the Pali Text Society. In this list which is not exhaustive we find the following sutras: Samannaphala, Mahāparinibbana, Sagathapunñabhīsandovagga of Samyutta, Itivuttaka, Mahāvagga and Cullavagga of the Vinayapitaka.

On a comparison of the lists of Anesaki and Morris, it is apparent that the first compiler of the Anguttara or Ekottara compiled the Scattered Buddhavacanas in which he found the enumeration of certain qualities, virtues, meritorious and demeritorious acts, spiritual practices and acquisitions, duties of monks and householders, and so forth and classified them in his numerical sections according to the number of items found in each enumeration. While doing so, he is likely to have included a substantial portion of the Buddhavacanas preceding and following the enumeration. From the Chinese version, it appears that the source was not exact. It appears that

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its source was one of such enlarged compilation while in Pāli version, attention was given primarily to the items enumerated and eliminating as far as possible the introductory and concluding passages. Evidently, the earliest Anguttara compilation was more prolific than the later ones, compiled in Pali or Sanskrit. Anesaki also thinks that the source of the Chinese version was a compilation, not of the Sarvāstivādins but of a sub-sect of the Mahāsāṃghikas, who compiled their Tripiṭaka in a manner different from their rival sects, the Theravāda group. No fragment of the Ekottarāgama has been discovered in Central Asia, but according to the Chinese tradition, the first translator of this āgama was a Tokharian monk, who must have utilised the source, which was in his possession. It is, therefore, likely that in Central Asia existed the original of the Chinese version.

ĀGAMA TRANSLATIONS IN TIBETAN

There is no complete copy of the Āgamas preserved in Tibetan like that of the Chinese, but only a few sutras were translated into Tibetan. These are as follows:-

1) Digha 20 Mahāsamyā Sutra = ḤDus - pa cheu - poḥi mdo.
2) Digha I Brahmajālasutra Tshaṁs - poḥi - Dra - bahi mdo.
3) Digha' 32 Ātānātiya sutra = Lcaṅ - lo - can - gyi pho-bran - gi mdo.
6) Majjhima 121. Mahasunyata sutra
= mdo Chen - po ston - pa ŋid ces - bya ba.

7) Samyutta 56 11-12 Tathāgatena vutta = Chos - Kyi ḡKor - lo Rab - tu - bskar - baḥi mdo.

8) Samyutta 56. 11-12 Dharma Cakra pravartana Sutra = Chos - Kyi ḡKor - loḥi mdo.

9) Samyutta Candima = Zla - baḥi - mdo.

10) Samyutta 2.1.10 Suriyo = รกī - maḥi mdo.


13) Majjhima 86 Angulimale sutra = ḡ phags - pa sor moḥi phren - ba - la - phan - pa shes - bya - ba theg - pa chen poḥi mdo.

14) Samyulta 3.1.1 Daharo = Gshon - nu - dpehi mdo.

15) Anguttara 60. gpuRiri - Riḥi - Kun - ḡdgaḥ - boḥi mdo.

**EARLY AND LATER BUDDHIST SANSKRIT TEXTS**

There are no explicit references to the Agamas in the very early texts like the Mahāvastu and the Lalitavistara. There are, however, in these two texts a few passages of the sutras which bear a close resemblance to the corresponding passages in the Nikayas e.g., Kala sutra, Ratana sutra, Dhāniya sutra, Mahāgovinda sutra, (Ariyaperiyesanā sutra) Dharmacakrapravartana sutra and Mahāpurisa Lakkhana sutra. By way of illustration are given below two extracts one from the Mahāvastu and the other from the Majjhimanikāya.
Mahāvastu - Gambhīra ayam mama dharmaḥ
abhisambuddho nipuno sukhumo duranubodho atarkavacaro
pañḍitavedeniya Sarvaloka vipratyanika. Ālayāremo khalu
punareyam ālayaratō ālayasamudito ālayārāmāyaṃ ca preja-
yam ālayaratāyāṃ ālayasamuditāyāṃ durdasaṃsamam Sthanaṃ
Yadidamhetu idampratya pratityasamutpādaḥ Sarvapadhipa-
ṭirihēsargā purna samaskāra Samathadhēṣma pasechedaḥ
triṇākṣaye vitarāgo nirodho nirvāṇam aham ca na paresāṃ
desayam pare kru me na vibhāvayensuḥ so me syā vidhātaḥ".

Pali Majjhima - "Adhigato kho me ayaṃ dhammo gambhīro
duddaso duranubodho santo santo panito atakkavacaro
nipuno pañḍitavedaniya. Ālayarāmā kho pāṇāyam paja
ālayaratā ālaya sammuditā. Ālayārāmāya kho pana pajaṅa
ālayaratāyā ālaya sammuditāyā duddasām idāṃ thānām
yadidam sabbasaṅkhāra samatho sabbuṭ pahipatinsēgo
taghakkhayo virāgo nirodho nibbānah".

The time of compilation of the Divyāvadāna
following closely that of the Mahāvastu - avadana has
been placed by Prof. P. L. Vaidya between 200 and 350
A.D. while its Chinese translation was made in 265 B.D.
Prof. Winternitz also agrees with the date and prefers
the 4th Century A.D. as its date of final compilation.
In the Divyavadana, there are a few references to the
four agamas in general and to a few texts or suttas in
particular. These are as follows:- Dirghāgama,
Ekottarikagama, udāna, Munigāthā, Śailagāthā, Sthavira-
gāthā, Mahaparnirbana sutra, Mahāsudarśanasutra,

5. Divyavedana p. 33. 6. Ibid. 201 f.
Nagaropamasutra, and Balapanditasutra corresponding to Anguttaranikaya, udana, munisutta of suttanipata, Mahaparinibbana and Mahasudasana of Dighanekaya, Balapandita sutta of Majjhima (III p. 163), Meitasutta (Nagaropama) of Khuddakaṇṭha.

The compiler of the Divyavadana collected his stories mostly from the Vinaya Pitaka of the Mulasarvāstivādins to which we shall refer in due course.

In his sutralamkāra Aśanga (4th Cent. A.D.) has referred to the Āgamas in connection with his criticism of the doctrine of momentariness (Kṣanikavāda) of the Sarvāstivādins in two places (pp. 150, 151), e.g., he writes "agamena ca" yad uktam Bhagavatā. mayopamas he bhikṣo saṃskārā āpāyikās tavātkālikā itvāra praty-upsthāyina iti. In continuation of his reputation of Kṣanikavada, he quotes a line from Ekottaragama, running as follows:— "Yathoktām Bhagavatā cittena ca loko niyate cittena parikṣyate cittosyo pannasyo pannasya vaśe varkate iti". Its Pali version (vide Anguttara Vol.II, p. 177) is as follows:— Cittena kho bhikkhu loke cittena parikissati cittassa uppannaṁ vaśe gacchatiti.

While discussing the absence of soul (Pudgala), Aśanga refers to two sayings of Buddha, thus Dharmoddanesu hi Bhagavatā "Sarve dharmā anātmāna iti desītam" and Paramārthaśunyatāyam "asti Kārmā 'sti

1. Ibid. p. 340.
2. Ibid p. 375
From these few quotations it is evident that in the 4th Century A.D. the authority of the āgāhas was recognised by the writers belonging to the Mahāyānic schools.

Besides the early texts mentioned above, there are two texts of the 7th Century A.D. viz. Śantideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra and Yośāmitra's Abhidharmakosābhasga - Sphutārtha, which contain extracts from the āgamas, evincing thereby that upto the 7th Century A.D. the Sanskrit āgamas were studied closely by the then writers. In the Bodhicaryāvatāra Śantideva like Aśaṅga has utilised the salistambhasutra (vide Bodhicaryāvatāra pp. 386, 576) containing the twelve linked formula of causation (Paṭiccasamuppāda) to establish the non-existence of the phenomenal world, more particularly on the passage "yo bhikṣavaḥ pratityasamutpādaḥ paśyati sa dharmaḥ paśyati. Yo dharmaḥ paśyati sa buddhaḥ paśyati". Likewise to establish non-existence of soul he utilised the passage "ye kecid bhikṣavaḥ śramaṇā vā bṛहmanā vā atmeti samanupasyanataḥ samanupaśyanti imānete pañcopādaṇa - Skandhāniti".

Śantideva (p. 508) has quoted in existence the Pitāputra samāgama - sutra, corresponding to Dhatuvi-dhanga suttam of Majjhima (III, p. 240) and referred

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the page references are to be Levi's edition of the Sutralamkara.
I. Samyutta III. p. 25-26: Pariṇā and Bārahāra.
also to the Paramārthaśunyatāsūtra (See above, p. 508) Aśāṅga and Santideva utilises those passages of the āgamas, which supposed the Mahāyānic views about soul, Karma and Skandhas. Yaśomitra, who was a sarvastivadin, utilised the āgamas, the passage of which supported his views to a large extent. Hence the number of references to the āgamas and extracts therefrom is fairly large. Yośāmitra has specifically referred to the "Caturāgamaḥ" Samyuktāgama (Akv. p. 473, 543), Ekottarīttagama (Akv. p. 188) and ksudraka (p. 33) without the addition of the term āgama. In Yośāmitra's vyākhā, the words "Agamaṁ ānyanti" have been repeatedly mentioned implying thereby the admission of the scriptural authority of the āgamas. Besides Yośāmitra quoted a number of sutras from the Sanskrit āgamas. By way of illustration a list of sutras with their corresponding suttas of the Nikāyas are given below. (see list No.1). As also a list which show divergences in actual passages though the titles are identical or allied (List No.2). Apart from these Yośāmitra refers to a number of sutras which are not traceable in the Pali version (List No.3).

**List No. 1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Āgama</th>
<th>Śutānaśa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abhidarmakosa.</td>
<td>Pali.</td>
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10. Āṅgulimāla sutra

List No. 2.
Abhidharmakosa Vyākhya

1. Upāli sutra p. 379.
2. Satpurisa p. 270.
3. Devadutiya sutra p. 327.
6. Mārasutra p. 277

List No. 3.
Abhidharmakosa Vyākhya

4. Samcetaniya sutra p. 400

The page references are to be Prof. U. Wogihara's Abhidharmakosavyākhya of Yosamitra Vol. I - V.
In Central Asia, a few fragments of the Agamas have been discovered. Here is given a brief account of them.

Dirghāgam:— Samgiti sutra:—

The fragments contain an enumeration of different dharmas in Buddhist technical terms, as divided into ten classes according to the number of items which constitute each dharma. It forms the 33rd sutra of the Dighnikaya (P.T.S. Vol. III p. 207-71). The larger part of the fragments X/29, contains a portion of the third or three fold class, i.e., the class which comprises the dharmas, consisting each of three items. The smaller fragments, no. X/25, similarly contains a portion of the fourth or 'fourfold' class. From the parallel transcripts it will be seen that Sanskrit fragments agree with the

2. Hoernle p. 16.
In the Chinese version Dirghāgama the Sandgiti sutra is the 9th book, translated by Buddhayasas and Dānapāla. 2

Ātānātiya Sutra (ātānāti)

This fragment comprises nearly 45 to 48 syllables and have had a length of about 15 or 16 inches. The folio number has disappeared with the left side. There are on either side, six lines of writing in the slanting Gupta characters, but it is specially on the obverse side.

To judge from the occurrence of the word ātānāti (rev. 11 2 & 4), the text would seem to belong to the Ātānātiya sutra, which is the 32nd sutta

3. Hoernle. Ibid. p. 94.
in the Pali Dighaniākāya. But the extant text differs very materially from the Pāli text of the Āṭṭānātiya Suttanta. In the Chinese Dirghāgama the Āṭṭānātiya sutra does not occur at all.

The text of the fragments reads as follows:

**Obv.**

1. (mo'dya mama pādan śira) sā vandi (tv) ā tatr = āiv = āntarh (1) taḥ Udgṛṇī(ḥvam bhikṣa)
2. paryavāṇa ta yāvad eva anabhi (prasām) nānām vyā (dānām) yakṣā (ṇām).
3. XIIX ā vāya i(da) m avocat (Bhaga) vān āpta - manas te bhikṣavo Bhaga (va).
4. XX (ma) h) ārauṇa Indro vaisravano (ya) ma - kuberau Dhṛṣṭirāṣṭrau ca (trā) taraḥ (sā).
5. X ka x (ma) hāyakso (HI) mavamta - kṛtalaya 2 Jayaṁto viṣayaṁta ś ca (Y) ak (ś) as ca.
6. XXXXX r (ṇ) a Mahā (ka) rño jvali (t) o (da)pya na sa (dā) vidya - vīra maṭrayaksa

**Rev.**

1. (Kah) esā (ū) XXXXX (Kaṣṭa) tha yakṣa - Daḍh (T) mukha 5 sātāgirir Hīmaṁva ṣaṁ ca A X
2. X ābhaga (r bha) s tesām Āṭṭānāti mahāyaśaḥ (yakṣe-bhyo = m abhy anujñataḥ putrānām (j) IVI
3. XXX (ṛpi) preṣitāḥ sarve Buddha - Satv āhitas tatha 8 Kumbhāṇḍa rākṣasā ghorā.
4. XXX Sada 9 hṛdayam Āṭṭānātisya Sarva-karma - prasa-danāḥ pravartayi Madhyānāgama (cchong-a a xxxxx)

**Upali Sutra:** This fragment is a comparatively small portion of the original folio, which must have been
three times as large. The text is written in āryā verses and as we have the corresponding Pāli text to restore the full text of the mutilated verses. The text of the fragment belongs to the upāli sutra of the Madhyamāgama, It is the 133rd sutra of the Chinese translation. In the Pāli text it is the 56th sutra of the Majjhima nikāya.

The text reads as follows:

Obv.
1. (pti) - prāptasya vyākaraṇeṣu smṛtimato vipaśyasya anabhina [tə]
2. (sya) aprameyasya gambhirasya mauna - prāptasya - kṣema - karasya vedi.
3. Upāli 4 Māgasya prānta Śayānasya Kṣīnā - Samyocjanasya mu
4. (ka) sya śakrasya Bhagavatas tya Śrāvaka Upāli 5 Samyag - gatasyadhyā.

Rev.
1. Pratipudgala sya atulsya - Śeśgā (tigasya) pada-kasya Bhagavatā.
2. [ru] cirasya niśkāṁkṣasya prabhāsakarasya - māyā rchido by amāyasya ḍha.
3. (pta) sya - Tathāgatasya sugatasya Uttama - pudgalasya amamasya - yaś (0).
4. (Pū) rvaṁ avitarkitam avaded Upāli purato nigrantha - pariṣadaḥ varṇam varṇam.

The relation of the Sanskrit version of our fragment to the Pāli version and the Chinese translation may be seen from the subjoined parallel columns.

1. Nanjeo. floc. 32. No. 542, Col.131.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 a-c</td>
<td>1 a-c</td>
<td>1 a-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 a</td>
<td>2a Obv. I (praptasya)</td>
<td>7a Ariyassa bhavitattassa (pattipattassa) (vayyakaranassa) (rañegu) 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 b</td>
<td>2b (smrtimato) (vipaśyasya) (anabhī-) (anabhinatassa) (no) (apanatassanata).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 c</td>
<td>2c Bhagavatas usrya sravaka Bhagavatotassa savako'ham upāli 2 11 asmi 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 a-c</td>
<td>3a-c apparently missed.</td>
<td>2 a-c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 b</td>
<td>8b Pudgalasya (VI-talobhasya).</td>
<td>10b Ahuneyyassa yakkhasa Uttamapuggalaasa atulasas.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 c</td>
<td>8c Samgātigasa (pada kasya) Bhagavatas savako'ham asmi 11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results of the comparison of the two versions may be summed up as follows. The whole of the third Stanza appears to be missing in the Sanskrit text of the fragment. At the same time the order of these verses differs from that of Pali version but agrees with the Chinese. Thus Sanskrit 2a and 2b are identical with Pali 7a and 7b; similarly Sanskrit 8b and 8c with Pali 10b and 4c.

11) Suka Sutra: (Hoernle ms. no. 149 X/1 and X/2) these two folios are in an excellent state of preservation. They are complete and the consecutive folios measure about 10 2/5 x 2 2/5 inches. In the Pali Majjhima nikaya it corresponds to the 135th sutra of cula - kamma vibhanga.

In the Chinese translation of that Agama it is the 170th sutra. The Śuka sutra explains the doctrine of Karma by way of enumerating a series of good or bad retributive effects, in a future existence, of varieties of human conduct in the present existence. In both respects wording and sequence, the Sanskrit text accords very closely with the Chinese translation. According to Dr. Watanabe there are five Chinese translation of the Sutra.

The Sanskrit text is given below in parallel column with the Pali:

Sanskrit. | Pali.
--- | ---
1. \( \text{Śakyaś Kuśala-} \)  | p. 204 \( \text{Idha mānava-} \)
\( \text{dbhavaḥ ime dasa dharma} \) | \( \text{ekacce itthi va puriso va} \)
\( \text{alpa Śakyanam pudgātanam parī-} \) | \( \text{issamanako hoti, & c; so} \)
\( \text{bhavaḥ ime dasa dharma} \) | \( \text{Kammana evaḥ samattena &} \)
\( \text{alpa-Śakya}. \) | \( \text{c, appesakkho hoti, appe-} \)
\( \text{Sakṣa- śamvattanikā} \) | \( \text{sakāra - samvattanikā} \)
| \( \text{esa; & c.} \)

2. \( \text{Saṃvartaniyāḥ} \)  | p. 205 \( \text{Idhapana} \)
\( \text{Dasā dharmā mahaśakṣa} \) | \( \text{mānava ekacce itthi va} \)
\( \text{Samvartaniyāḥ Katame} \) | \( \text{pariso va anissamanako} \)
\( \text{dasā anirṣyukah parasya} \) | \( \text{hoti para - lābha} \)
\( \text{tūbha - satkāra.} \) | \( \text{sakāra - gurukāra} \)
\( \text{Parasya kirti sālokai} \) | \( \text{mānana - vandana - pūja-} \)
\( \text{ryatra - pradānam} \) | \( \text{nāsu na issati na upadu-} \)
\( \text{bodhicīt śāmyādaḥ.} \) | \( \text{ssati na issam bandhati,} \)
\( \text{So tena kammena evam} \) | \( \text{so tena kammena evam} \)
\( \text{Samattena evaṃ sama-} \) | \( \text{samattena evaṃ sama-} \)
\( \text{diṃjena Kāyasā bheda} \) | \( \text{diṃjena Kāyasā bheda} \)
\( \text{parāṃ morna sugatim saggam} \) | \( \text{parāṃ morna sugatim saggam} \)
\( \text{lokam upajjati; no ce} \) | \( \text{lokam upajjati; no ce} \)
\( \text{Kāyasā bheda param} \) | \( \text{Kāyasā bheda param} \)
\( \text{maranā sugatim saggah} \) | \( \text{maranā sugatim saggah} \)
\( \text{lo-} \) | \( \text{lo-} \)
\( \text{kam paccajāyati mahes-} \) | \( \text{kam paccajāyati mahes-} \)
\( \text{sakkhho hoti;} \) | \( \text{sakkhho hoti;} \)

Samyuktagama (Tsa - han - Kin)

Pravarana Sutra: This is a complete folio in almost perfect condition. It measures 8 x 2 inches. The text of the folio is a portion of the Pravarana sutra, which is one of the sutras of the Pali Samyutta Nikaya in the sutta pitaka. It forms the 7th paragraph of the 8th book called Vangisa theran Samyutta. The Pravarana sutra is found in both Chinese translation of samyukta. The name of the sutra does not occur in these Chinese texts; but in a verse of resume (uddanes) there is the name of the sutra clearly as 婆婆頌。, which is the accustomed Chinese word for the Sanskrit pravaraṇa.

The Sanskrit text of the fragment is given below in parallel columns with the Pali.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Sugata pratibhat(u)</td>
<td>Sugata til patibhātu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te vāgīsā bhagavāvocat atah - śyasmām</td>
<td>tam vangīsati bhagavāvocat atah kho āyasmā vangīsā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vāgīsaṃ tasyāṃ vesāyam gātham ba</td>
<td>bhagavantam sammukhā sarupāhi gāthāhi. abhitthavi 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. bhase 11 Iha pama ca</td>
<td>Ajja pannārase visuddhiyā</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daśī visuddhike samita 1 Pamīcasat</td>
<td>bhikkhua paṇcasata samagata 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āś ca bhiksavah Samyojana - ba -</td>
<td>samyojana ndhana - chidē anīgha khipa punabbhavā ist 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. ndhena 1 ochidāḥ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>serve kṣipā bhaṅga meharsayaḥ 1 suddhā</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upā-sate suddham Vi - pramuktapunar bha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

iii) **Candropama sutra**: This folio is mutilated, about one-third of its length, on the right side, being broken away. In its present condition it measures 2 x 2 2/5 inches. It contains portions of two sutras, one ending on the fifth line of the obverse side, the other which is named the candropama sutra, beginning on that line continuing on the reverse. The candropama sutra is one of the sutras of the samyutta nikāya. In the Pali it is the 3rd sutta of the Kassopa section. In the Chinese Samyukta āgama it occurs in Fasc 41, Nanjio no. 544. As may be seen from the subjoined parallel transcripts, the Sanskrit version of the candropama sutra is much longer than the Pali. The relation of the Sanskrit text to the Pali is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Obv. 1. 5. Evam māyā srutam ekasmin samaye Bhagavām Raja-ghe viharatī Dēvadattām tābhāsetkāra - ślokam.</strong></td>
<td>Savatthiyam Viharati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ārabhy bhikṣ gum āmanaṛayati candropāma bhikṣu viharata nityam navakā īva hremantāḥ kuleṣv aprālgabhā āva kṛṣya kāyam avakṛ.</td>
<td>Candupāma bhikkhave Kulani upasāmakamatha / aprakasse vā kāyam navakā kulesu cīttaṁ niccā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Rev. 1. 1. sya cīttām kutāṇy upasēmkramata / tadyathā caṅṣumām puruso jārōdayam vā nādavangam vā parvata - visamam vā ava kṛṣya kāyam āva kṛṣya cīttām avyālokaṇyad āvam eva candropāma viharata nityam navakā īva hremantah Kule SV aprālgabhā avakṛṣya kāyam avakṛṣya cīttām kulaṁ upasēmkramata 1** | Seyyathāpi bhikkhave puriso jārōṣanām vā alokeyya pabbatavisamām vā madi duggam vā aprakasse vā kāyam aprakasse vā cīttām ā vev a kho bhikkhave candupāma kulaṁ upasamī Kamathā aprakasse vā kāyam aprakasse vā cīttīnicca navakā kulesu appagabhā 1 |

Sakti Sutra: The Sakti sutra deals with friendly heart. It corresponds to the Satti Sutta, which is the fifth of the opamma section of the Samyutta Nikaya (P.T.S. Vol.VI p.265 ff). Nothing can be known of this sutra from Nanjio's catalogue. The Sanskrit version differs from the Pali.

Pali. | Sanskrit.
---|---
clause 57 Evam eva kho bhikkhave yassa kassaci mettā ceto vimutti bhavitā bahulikatā yanikatā vattukatā anuṭhita pericitā susama vaddhā / Tassa ce amāgusso cittaṁ khipitabbam manneya
atha kho svedha amanusso kilamathassa vighatassā bhagi assa I

Sutra 25 of the Nidanāsamyukta:

In the Berlin collection of Sanskrit literary remains from Central Asia there is a manuscript catalogue number S474, which has been identified by Waldschmidt, with the 25 sutras of the Nidanāsamyukta, one of the most important parts of the Sanskrit Samyuktāgama which corresponds to the Nīdanāgama (Pali Samyuttanikāya) in Pali. The greater part of the first 19 leaves of the manuscript has been preserved. The script is of the older Central Asian Brahmi type.

1. Bunyiu nanjio. op. cit. no. 544 col. 135.
Some of them, especially the first and the last ones are, however, very fragmentary. The text runs as follows.

**Folio 18.**

(Reverse)

10. \[ \text{ma} \ldots \text{(ra) ya}_1\text{im}_e\text{bhikṣavo} \]

11. \[ \text{dhar} \ldots m \]

\[ \text{trayas} 1 \]

\[ \text{tadyathā vyadhīr - jara maranam} \]

\[ \text{troyo dharma an} \ldots \text{ista a} \]

\[ \ldots \text{is (y) a} \ldots \text{tathaga} \ldots \text{a} \]

**Folio 19.**

(Obverse)

1. \[ \text{utpatsya} \ldots \text{praved i tasya dha} \]

2. \[ \text{tasma tath} \ldots \ldots \text{tath samyukṣambuddhā} \]

3. \[ \text{mām (s) tr ām tadyathā rā)} \]

\[ \text{gadvesamoham = i [ma]} \]

\[ \text{[tama] ms = tr (m) ta dya (thā satkā)} \]

\[ \text{etc.} \]

The sutra 25 of the Nidanasamyukta has a close parallel in sutra 346 of the Tsa - a - han - Ching (\[ \text{ch} \text{x} \text{f2} \] \[ \text{g - 2/1} \]).

the translation of samyuktagama into Chinese by Guna- bhadra of the earlier Sung dynasty.


2. BSOAS. 1957: "Sutra 25" of the Nidana Samyukta.

3. Taisho Issaikyo No. 99 Vol. II p. 95c; Nanjio No. 544.
In view of the evidences cited above, there can be no doubt that the agamas in Sanskrit were in existence and studied in India, Central Asia and China. These agamas were mainly the compilation of the Sarvāstivāda sect which became divided into two branches known as Kāshmir - vaibhāsikas and Bahirdesaka vaibhāsikas or the Gandhāra school of vaibhāsikas. It is very likely the latter branch became predominant in Central Asia and probably in China. In any case, both the branches accepted the same agamas, the difference between them being only in the interpretation of the nature of the objects, which had existence in the past, present and future. The original sarvāstivāda became popular in North India. Asaṅga, Śantideva and Yośamitra must have utilised the agamas of the Sarvāstivādins.

The fifth collection: (Kṣudraka):

There was no fifth agama corresponding to the Khuddaka nikāya in Pāli. In the samskrit texts including the Mahāvyūhāpatti mention is made of "four agamas" only. In his sūtrartha yośa mitra includes Kṣudravastu in the Pravacanas (Kṣudravastuke pravacana-bhāge ye paṭhitā, vide 493). He also refers to a collection called Kṣudrakas (but not Kṣudrakāgama) in which he includes "Arthavargiyāni sutrāni. In Chinese also there is no fifth āgama though the several texts of the Khuddakanikāya were translated and collected in a volume. In Central Asia too we get some fragments of texts corresponding to the texts of the Khuddakanikāya. From this evidences it appears

1. Ibid p. 33. 2. See infra.
that the "caturagamas" only were admitted by all
schools of Buddhism as "Buddhavacanas". All other
texts including the Abhidhammapiṭaka and perhaps the
vinayapiṭaka excepting the Patimokkha sutta were
recognised as subsidiary texts compiled by Buddha’s
disciples but based on his scattered sayings. This
is partially corroborated by the statements of
Buddhaghosa in his introduction to Sumangalavītāsini.
He writes that after the first council the preservation
of the Dīghantākāya was entrusted to Ānada, Majjhima
to Sampattra, Samyutta to Mahākāśyapa and Anguttara
to Āmiruddha for handing them down through their
disciples. Likewise Vinayapiṭaka was entrusted to
Upāli for handing it down to his disciples. Buddhaghosa
does not state that the Khuddakanikāya and Abhidhamma
was entrusted to particular disciple. He names the
collection of the texts Jataka, nidēsā and
Suttanipāta etc. as "Khuddakaganṭha. This collection
according to the Dīghavānakas was assigned to Abhi-
dhammapiṭaka while according to Majjhimavānakas this
collection along with cārīyapiṭaka, avadāna and
Buddhavaṃsa were assigned into the Suttantapiṭaka.

It can therefore be assumed that the idea
of collecting several texts early and late into the
khuddaka nikāya developed long after the collection
of four nikāyas. Anesaki has furnished us with the
tradition preserved by the different sects about the
Khuddaka collection. The Dharmaguptas, Mahāsanghikas
and the Mahīsāsakas included the Khuddaka collection
in the suttapiṭaka. The Mahāsanghika mentions only

the two texts of the Khuddaka namely 1) Itivuttaka and Thera-theri Gathā. The Mahisasakas mentions only the name of Khuddaka while the Dharmaguptas enumerate the following texts in the Khuddaka collection:

1. Jataka.
2. Itivuttika.
3. Nidona.
4. Vaipulya.
5. Abdhuta.
6. Apadāna.
7. Upadesa.
8. Udāna.
10. Fāyana.
12. Āryagathā.

The texts of the Khuddaka nikaya which found in the Chinese translations are as follows:

1. Dharmatāpāyda. 2. Itivuttaka.

Some of the texts of the Khuddaka nikaya are found in the vinayapiṭaka and samyuttaniṅkāya of the Sarvāstivādins and the Dharmaguptas. The original texts of the Sthaviragatha and some Jataka stories are found in the Mūla-sarvāstivāda vinaya (Vide Gilgit Manuscript Vol.III). While the Dharmapada in mixed Sanskrit appears in the different places of Mahavastu and Divyavadana, the text of the


Khuddakanikaya which has been discovered in Central Asia, are as follows:-

Sir A. Stein and Hoernle discovered a portion of the Sanskrit version of Suttanipata. It is contained in fragments of five consecutive folios, certain portions of Atthavagga are "very old", containing as they do "some remnants of primitive Buddhism.

The fragments measure about 6 x 3 inches and are corresponding parts of the middle of their respective folios. The text of that fragment is written in āloka verses; and that enable us by comparing the surviving Sanskrit text with the full Pali text. The surviving Sanskrit version corresponds to four suttas of Atthavagga or the fourth section of the Sutta nipāta.

Frag. I.

Obverse.

1.1. madgibhuto visva

1.2 Prasnam (pr.) stavan
   Mai (thune) hyanu (yukta).

1.3 ttan ajnatarthas ca
   me sravak (a) bhavisya (nt) isutram padam ca.

1.4 (ta) syam vetayam
   idam arthakavargiyam
   sutram bhasate sma Maithu.

1.5 Yo nisevate yanam
   bhr (a) ntam
   yathaloke hena (mahuh) prthagjanam


Frag. I.

Rev.

1.1 Ca sarvbasah sa c - aiva maithune yukto mandava) paridr (syate)

820 Pandito ti samannato eka cariyam adhitthito l athapi methune yutto mando va parikissati l

Frag. II.

Obv.

1.1 tya bud (dha) sara

824 Idh eva suddhi iti vadiyanti nannesa dhammesu visu dhim ahu l yaw nissita tattha subham vadana paccakasaccesu phuthu- nivittha l

1.2 ya .. buddha (agara) (rinam) pravra (j)

1.3 Su visuddhim ahuh yan ni (sr) tas ta tra (su) bham va da (nto) pra (tyekasa)

P.T.S. Edition

Pali.

1.4 Kama pi sado viga (hya)

825 Te vadakama parisam vigayha balam dahanti nithu annamannam l vadenti te anna sita kathojjam pasamsakama kusala vadana l

Frag. II. Rev.

P.T.S. p. 162.

1.1. Bhumir manatinaanam vadate ca mudnah evam hi drstba na vigha (ta).

830 ya unnahi sassa vighata bhumi manatimanam vadate paneso l etam pi disva na vivadayetha na hi tena suddhim kusala vadanti

Frag. III.

Obv.

1.1 na (ma) ja gama

1.2 idam *** (sayyasayita rupam

1.3 Sammyaka Sambuddha Sayyasayi taru pam idam ukte) eka p ar sva

1.4 Kasya patni Magandikam parivrajakam etad avocat ll Raktasya.

1.5 Raktasya hi Syad avakrsta sayya mudhasya Sayya Sahas (a nupi).
1.6 padesu cakkrani sahasrani
sanabhikani sanemika (nl)

Rev.
1.1. Magandikasya parivrajakasya patni tasyam
velayam gatham bha (sate)

1.2 (drisam) padam atha bhag (va) n
utka sanasabdam ak a rsld a (tha)

1.3 ve tayam gatham bha sa $te sma) Rakto
(naro bhavati) hi (gadga) dasavaro (dvi).

1.4 (r) ivrajakah (bhagavantam) ***
* (gacchantam drs tba ca) punah

1.5 bhasate sma 1l (Raktonaro bha)

1.6 (ye) ya l.

Frag. IV. P.T.S. P. 164.

Obv.
1.1 na (ashista)

1.2 (tayam) ***(arthaka)

Vargi (yam) gatham
(bhasita ?) 1

1.3 Atha bhagavan asmin
nidane asmin pra
(Karane) a / nym
arthot p (a)

1.4 bahujanyam prthusrutam
yavad deva manusy
(ebhyah) Samyak
(prar th?)

Rev.
1.1. mando ppaha (m)
Manne - m - aham momuham eva
dhammam dithiya eke
m (o) mu (ha) eva dharm
(dr) stad (i) h
ai ke p (r) (ati)
ya n (t) i

Suddhim.
RV.

1.2 Satyamit (y) e (va) deta (brahma) 843 Saccanti
(mrs eti) va kim
prava (dethake) 

Frag V

1.1 jagams (tadabra)

1.2 (s) ya sa Kramati Atha (v) isu

1.3 tamam vr ksamu (lam) nisrtya

1.4 Pasamhrty aikante nyasidat Eka 

1.5 (samn) hrty aikante nyasidat Eka (m)

1.6 (pr) cchamo bhaventam gante (mam)

Rev.

1.1. nistha na prthannistha na (mu) bhavena

1.2 (na) ra nistham samjana (ti) yaduta

1.3 mah kim mamjasi va (nistha) Mrgasivah

1.4 hi parivra (jako) nistha prapta (h)
Prākṛt Dharmapada: The Dharmapada (Fa-kiu \(\frac{1}{4} 6\)) is a valuable treatise dealing with Buddhist morals in verses. M. Petroffsky and J. L. Dutrenil de Rheins discovered ms. of the Dharmapada in Prākṛt at Khotan. The fragments collected by M. Petroffsky were identified by S. d'Oldenburg, in 1907 while the fragments taken to Paris by Dutrenil de Rheins were notified in Comptes rendus de l'académie des inscriptions (1895) and edited by E. Senart in Journal Asiatique (1898). On the basis of this B. M. Barua and S. N. Mitra published a revised edition in 1921. The ms. though in fragments is regarded by scholars like Senart and Buhler as the earliest Indian ms. So far discovered. The date of the ms. is placed by Buhler and Sten konow in the first century A. D. while by Lüders in the 3rd Century A. D. All of these scholars are of the opinion that the text was composed in north west India in a north western Prākṛt but the ms. was written somewhere near Khotan in Kharoṣṭhī script.

The contents of ms. are briefly indicates here with the number of stanzas given figures within brackets: Magavaga (30), Apramavadavaga (25), Citavaga (5), Pusavaga (15), Sohasavaga (17), Panitavaga (10), Balavaga (7), Jaravaga (25), Suhasvaga (20), Tasvaga (7), Bhikhuvaga (40), Bramanavaga (50).
The Dharmapada in its various recensions was very popular in Central Asia and China. There are four separate Chinese translations, three of which were taken to China from Central Asia. There are: 

i) Fa-Kiu-Kin (Fa-hsuan) Dharmapada sutra: This sutra is composed by Dharmatrata and translated by wei-khi-nan, i.e. vighna in A.D. 224.

ii) Dharmapada avadana sutra (Fa-ku phi - yu - kin) compiled by Dharmatrata and translated by Fa-ku together with Fa li A.D. 290-306 of the western tsin dynasty. It includes 39 chapters, 68 Avadanas or parables, illustrating the teaching of the verses. This is the second of four Chinese versions of the Dharmapada.

iii) Avadana sutra: (chu-yao keu) composed by Bodhisattva Dharmatrata and translated by Ku-Fo-nieu (Buddhasmriti) A.D. 398-99 of the latter tsin dynasty. In the preface of this version it is said Dharmatrata, the maternal uncle of vasumitra collected 1000 verses in 33 Chapters and called this collection (Dharmapada sutra). In A.D. 383 there was a samana Sanghabhuti by name who came to Khan-án the capital of former Tsin dynasty. This is the third of the four Chinese versions of the Dharmapada, with a commentary, and the last Chapter is on Fan - K or Brahmakerin.

1. Nanjio Col. 1.
Udānavarga: Stein, Grüwedel and Pelliot mission discovered in Central Asia fragments of manuscripts of a sanskrit text called udānavarga. Fragments of Stein's collection were published by La vallée Poussin (J.R.A.S. 1912 p. 356 377). The whole text of the Pelliot Manuscript was later edited and published by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti (L'udanavarga Sanskrit). Prof. Pischel was the first to edit portions of this manuscript under the title 'Die Turfan Recensionen des Dharmapada'. That this manuscript is of a recension of the Dharmapada of which the Tibetan version has been translated by Rockhill under the name of Udana, Nanjia varga will be evident from the close agreement between the Sanskrit manuscript and the Tibetan versions. In regard to the arrangement of Chapters and the number of verses, as shown in the following table taken from Pischel's edition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SANSKRIT</th>
<th>Tibetan</th>
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<tr>
<td>II 20</td>
<td>II 20</td>
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<td>V 27</td>
<td>V 28</td>
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<td>VIII 15</td>
<td>VIII 15</td>
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<td>XVI 24</td>
<td>XVI 23</td>
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<td>XX 22</td>
<td>XX 21</td>
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<td>XXIX 57 (66, 65)</td>
<td>XXIX 59</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXX 61 (52)</td>
<td>XXX 53</td>
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<td>XXXI 60</td>
<td>XXXI 64</td>
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Nanjio - Col. 1321.
The Udanavarga, written in Sanskrit is similar in contents to the Dharmapada some places the two texts agreeing closely. The collection is attributed to Dharma-rata (ts - ma - to lo \( \frac{3}{4} \text{H} \) \( \frac{2}{4} \text{H} \) ). The text is a famous teacher of the Sarvāstivāda School, who was contemporary with Kanishka (ka-ni-se-ka \( \text{ anda } \) \( \text{ zara } \) \( \text{ mala } \) ) according to Nanjio, it is a compilation of the verses of the Chu-yao kin, third version of Chinese Dharmapada.

Vinaya Pitaka.

In Central Asia though very small portions of the vinaya pitaka have been discovered we can infer from them that there was a vinayapitaka in Central Asia and very likely it was a version either of the Sarvāstivāda or of the Dharmaguptas. In Tibetan there is a liberal translation of the whole of the vinayapitaka of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins. A portion of the Sanskrit original has been discovered at Gilgit. It contains the following sections: 1) Pravrajyavastu, ii) Posadhavastu, iii) Pravaranavastu, iv) vardūvastu, v) Cārvānuvastu (including Srota koṣṭha-kapāmessāna), vi) Bhaisajyavastu, vii) Cīvērevastu, viii) Kaṭhinavastu, ix) Kośāmbakavastu, x) Kārvānuvastu xi) Pabdolhitakavastu, xii) Pudgalavastu, xiii) Parīvāśikavastu, xiv) Posadhasthāponsavastu, xv) Sañcchadavedavastu.

1. For details Dr. A.C. Banerjee - Sarvāstivāda literature p. 79 ff.
2. For details - N. Dutta. Gilgit manuscripts Vol.III.
Dr. A. C. Banerjee has furnished us with the following information about Mula Sarvastivada vinaya in Tibetans— The Tibetan "Dulva" is divided into six parts namely vinayavastu, Pratimoksa sutra, vinaya vibhanga, Bhikkhu Pratimoksa sutra, vinaya kṣudraka vastu and vinaya uttara grantha. The first part vinayavastu is divided into 17 sections namely:


The second part Pratimokṣa sutra contains eight sections and agrees in substantially with Pratimokṣa sutra of Central Asia edited by L. Finet. The third part vinaya vibhaṅga like the sutta vibhaṅga of Pali is an extensive commentary of the 258 rules of Pratimokṣa.

The fourth part Bhikkuni Pratimokṣa sutra agrees substantially with Pali Bhikkuni Pūtimokkha sutta with which there is a close agreement of the Central Asian Bhikkuni Pratimokṣa Sutra of which edited by J. Valle's Poussin and Heldschmidt.

The fifth part vinaya vibhaṅga is a short text being a word for word commentary on the rules of Bhikkuni Pratimokṣa.
The sixth part vinaya ksudrakavesta deals with miscellaneous rules with the daily life of the Bhikkhus may be compared with "Khuddaka Vatthu Khandoaka" of Pali cullavagga. It includes the accounts of first two councils and the Mahāparinirvāṇa sutra and fragment of which has been found in Central Asia.

The last part vinaya uttara grantha corresponding to the Parivārapātha of the Pāli vinaya piṭaka and is of a mnemonic index of the contents of the whole vinaya piṭaka. It contains small treatises.

In Chinese there are translations of the vinayapiṭaka of the five sects namely i) Sarvāstivāda in 65 fasciculi translated in 404 A.D. ii) Mālasarvāstivāda in 40 fasciculi, iii) Dharmaguptas in 60 fasciculi translated in 405 A.D. iv) Nehrīśasakas 30 fasciculi and v) Mahasanghikas in 46 fasciculi.

Both Fa Hien and Itsing were particularly interested in study of the vinayapiṭaka with the object of introducing the vinayapiṭaka rules in the Chinese monasteries for improving the morals and behaviour of the Chinese monks. Fa-Rsien (5th Century A.D.) writes that he found a copy of the Mahasanghika vinaya in the Mahāyāna monastery in Central India, perhaps Pātaliputra. He further writes that each of the eighteen schools had a vinaya of its own which agrees substantially but with minor differences here and there. He procured a copy of the Sarvavastivada vinaya in 6000 or 7000 gāthās. He remarks that this vinaya was followed by the monks of China. He copied

1. Legge. p. 38. For details see Japa.
2. Legge. Records of Buddhist Kingdoms.
3. Takakusu Buddhist practices in India.
out the vinaya texts of the Sarvastivadins.

The mission of I-tsing (7th Century A.D.) was mainly the study of the vinaya rules and the observance of those rules by the Indian monks. His observations on the various aspects of the vinaya code, some of these deal with: i) duties of monks towards the elders, ii) daily life of monks, iii) mutual duties of teacher and students, iv) ordination, v) prohibitory duties imposed on monks vi) the uposatha ceremony, vii) rainy season retreat, viii) Pravarna, ix) forms of worship, x) disposal of the dead monks. I-tsing was very probably followed the vinaya of the Nulasarvastivadins.

Of the far redactions of the vinaya in Chinese it is observed that the Dharmagupta Vinaya translated 410 to 413 A.D. became very popular in China during the northern Wei dynasty. Learned Chinese Scholars of the Tang dynasty not only commented upon the Dharmagupta vinaya but composed many subsidiary texts.

It is very likely that the Dharmagupta vinaya reached China from Central Asia for a fragment of monastic regulations relating begging of food and meal found in Central Asia agrees according to Hoernle very closely with the Chinese version of the Dharmagupta vinaya corresponding to Cullavagga, Patimokkha of Pali vinayapitaka.

1. Takakus. Buddhist practices in India p.Intro.XVIII.
The Pratimokṣa sutra, however, which have been discovered in Central Asia is attributed by L. Finot to Sārvasṭivāda. Hence it may be inferred from these two finds that both the Sārvasṭivāda and Dharmagupta Schools were popular Central Asia. A brief description of the manuscript fragments of the vinaya-pitaka found in Central Asia is given below:

The Vinaya Pitaka - Fragments: 

The vinaya-pitaka of the Sārvasṭivāda is well represented by the fragment of text coming from the northern part of Central Asia. Like other canonical literature vinaya-pitaka was also written in Sanskrit. A complete text of the Pratimokṣa sutra was discovered by the French mission in the ruins of Dulbur Aı̇r at Kucha. The Pratimokṣa sutra edited by L. Finot on the basis of the manuscript fragments discovered in Central Asia by Pelliot, has a fair affinity with the Patimokkha sutta of Pali. But there are divergences too.

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<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>Pali</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parajika 1-4</td>
<td>Parajika 1-4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Samghavasesa 1-13</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>2. 1-13</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Aniyata 1-2</td>
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</table>

The total number being 263 in the Sarvastivāda version and 227 in Pali. The Sanskrit version also agrees with the Chinese translation of Kumārajīva in 404 A.D.

The Bhikṣuni pratimokṣa of the Sarvastivāda School has also been discovered by both French and German mission in Turfan and edited by Waldschmidt.

II. Fragments of Vinaya texts:

Boernle has given a list of vinaya fragments found in Central Asia. These are the following:

1. Monastic regulations: The first fragment contains monastic rules concerning begging of food and meal. These rules agrees with the 10th Chapter of the Dharmagupta vinaya. The fragment may be compared with Cullavagga VIII, 4 clauses 2-5 (vinayapitaka, P.T.S. Vol. II p. 214), the Sutta vibhangas and the

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2. Ibid Boernle p.8.
The second fragment contains regulations regarding bedstead and the carrying of staff and string. It may be compared with Cullavagga V. 24 (Vinayopitaka, vol. ii p. 131-2).

The third fragment deals with the technical terms on initiation.

III. A fragment of the Sanskrit vinaya (Bhikshuni-karmavacana):

The text is interesting as one of the most important parts of the Sanskrit Vinaya. The MS. is incomplete; 25 folios have been preserved 3-7, 9-11, 15-31; the folios 5, 7, 10, 11, 13, 15-19 are numbered, the others are damaged at the right hand.

The writing is old. The MS. is accurately written, corrected and completed in the margin. Some lines are damaged.

Summary of the text:

Fols. 1-2 missing. The text probably began with the request of Mahaprajapati.

Fol. 3. Mahaprajapati prays Bhagavat in order to obtain the admission of women into the order. Negative answer. Ananda and Bhagavat. Admission of women, the eight Gurudharmas - Ananda and Mahaprajapati.

Fol. 8. (missing) Contained the end of Ananda report to Mahaprajapati (the eight Gurudharmas) and a text corresponding to Cullavagga x, i.

Fol. 9. "Mahaprajapati, together with five hundred
Sakya women, was admitted by accepting the Gurudhammas. As concerns the others .... Rules concerning the admission amongst the upasikas. Accepting the Refuges and five rules. Making known to the Samgha the desire of becoming a pravrajita—cutting the hair, bath, robe, ascertaining the sex. Giving the Pravrajya, giving the rules of a Sramanerika.


Fol. 15. "Bendiction" of the cloth and the bowl.


Measuring the Shade (21b-22a); ascertaining the season, etc. (22a) — Teaching the Nisrayas, the eight Pateniyas (23b-23b), the eight Gurudhammas (23b-31a), the four Srananattara-kadharmas (31a), the duties towards the Upadhyayikes.

Folio 32 - Missing.

Fragments of the Mahaperinirvana Sutra:

A very important text called Mahaperinirvana sutra belonging to the Mulasarvastivāda vinaya written in Sanskrit has been discovered by the German mission from the ruins of sercuq near Turfan. A detailed study of the sutra has given by Waldschmidt in his book.

Contents of the fragments:

1. Bhagavan tells Ananda his desire to go to Kusinagara.
2. Mallas while sitting on the council decided to receive him respectfully in due ceremonies.
3. They prepared the suitable way and decorate it.
5. Then he proceeded to Pava.
6. Mallas asked Buddha about the powers of the father and mother of the Tathāgata.
7. Punnabala of Tathāgata.
8. Pranjabala of Tathāgata.

Punnabalā of Tathāgata.

Y (ad v) āsiṣṭhā dvipayoḥ Sattvānām punyām tad dvidvī (papate) ś cakreverti n(sh punyesu penidhāye setimān api katam nopsiti) pūrvavad yāv (ad upaniṣada) m api nopsi (ti)l.

Yad vāsiṣṭhās cātur (su dvipesu sattvāhām p punyam tse caturdvī papates cakravartinah punyesu penidhāya āti setimān api katam nopsiti pūrvavad yāvad upaniṣadām (api) nopsiti).

Pranjabalam of Tathāgata.

Yaved) e(va) vāsiṣṭha ādityah pariharanto diso bhāsante vairocanas tāvat sahaśrike loke sahasram can (d) ratnam sahasram suṁerunam parvatarājñam sahasram purvavidehanam sahasram godanīyānam sahasram uttarakurunām sahasram Jambudvipenam sa(sahasram catu) rmaharajikanam trayestri (m) sanem (ya) ma n(a) m tusitanam nirmaneratinaṃ parinirmitavasavartināṃ sahasram
brahmalokanam 1 ayam ucyate (sahasrika) s cyūdiko
lokadhatuh 1

49. "Sarvalokasya ya praджā stha (payi) tva ta
the (ga) tam 1 praджayah sarip (u)
trasya Kālam nārghati ṣeṣāśīm
Sariputrasameir ..
. . . Yaṃ lokah Sadēvakas 1
Tathāgatasya praджāyāḥ Kālam nārghati
ṣoḍ (aśīm) 1

52. Icchatha yuyam vasisthas tathagatasyantikat
tathagatanam arhatam satyakasambuddhan (a)
m rdhibalam śrotum. 2

56. Eka' yam vśisṭhāḥ samayoyo
vairanyā (yōm vi) harami node
rapicumandamūle 1 tena khalu samayena vairanyāgam
durbhikṣam abhūt kṛcchraḥ kāntāro durlabhāḥ pīṇḍāko
yācanakena bhikṣavas (ca) Ühebho (janema) pa
(riklamanti) 1 atha mandgalyāyano bhikṣur yea (a)
hem tenopasam kraṇtah 1 Upetya mem idem avocat.

Yat ta syādhaṭṭāt pārthiveḥ pranīto raisadhātus
tad ūrḍhvaṃ karigāyāmi yad ūrḍhvaṃ tād a (dhaṭṭāt).

1. Ibid. p. 79.
2. Ibid. p. 79.
A comparative study of the Mahaparinirvāṇa sutra with Mahāvagga and Divyāvadāna has given by Waldschmidt.

Central Asian Fragments: Kuḍrśena bhaddantārādhā-balena Samanvagat (a arha) utah Samyak Sambuddhah .. ekō'yaṃ vāśiṣṭhaḥ samayo vairanya (am vi) harami nahe rāpietundavāle, tene khalu samayena vairanyayam durbhikṣam abhut kr cehrah kantarā durlabhah pīṇḍaka yācakena bhikṣaves (ca) lūha bhojanena parikláṃenti.atha mandgalayane bhikṣur yena (ga) ham tenopasamkṛṣṭaḥ. ten enam ev (am vadaśi avasibham) Mandgal (yayana ava) sitam maud (ga) lyayan (a) .. prīth (ivim) perivartayitum.

Pali: Tena Samayena buddha bhagava veramjona yam viharati nalerupucimanda mule .. tena kho pana samayena veraṇāna dubbhikho hoti ... atha kho āyesmā mahāmaggattāno yena bhagavā ten' uposāmkami upasamvolución bhagavatam etad avoca alam mogallāna ma te rucci pathavim parivattetum vipallasam pi satta pati labheyyum ti

It agrees with Mahāvagga and some passages are traceable in the Divyāvadāna and Mahāvastu.

It should be observed that the Mahaparinirvāṇa sutra is an important piece of Pali Suttapitaka. But it included in the Vinayākādraka vestu of the Mūlasarvāstivādins vinaya and samyktavastu of the Chinese vinaya. On a comparison of the contents of the Pali, Tibetan and Chinese version with the Central Asian version it is found that the contents are mostly common.

1. Vinayapitaka Vol.I.
There is no question of the great antiquity and importance of this sutra and its was evidently the choice of the sectarian to place it either in the sutra pitaka or in the vinayapitaka. Findt pointed out in his paper that the account of the two councils originally formed a concluding part of the Mahaparinirvāṇa sutra. He is of the opinion that the Theravādins or perhaps the ceylonese editor separated the concluding portions of the main texts and put it into the cullavagga as a supplement which the Mulasarvāstivādins and Chinese maintained its original form and included the whole text in the vinayapitaka.

No fragments of the Abhidharma pitaka has been discovered in Central Asia so we pass over it. In Chinese there is an Abhidharma texts corresponding to the Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivādins.

Mahāyāna texts:—A list of the Central Asia finds of fragments of the texts of Mahayanic and Tantric Buddhism is given below. A detailed description of which will be given in the second part of this work. There are fragments of 1) vajracchedika belonging to the Paññāpāramitā class. ii) Ratnarasisutra of the Ratnakūta class; iii) Ratnadhyāja, Candrapāla and Candrapāla sutras of the Mahāsannipāta class and iv) Mahaperinirvāṇa of the Nirvāṇa class. Besides these there are fragments of two other major texts of Mahāyāna viz. Suvarnaprabhāsattamasutra and saddharma-puṣṭarika sutra.

Texts on dhāranis or magical formulæ belonging to

1. IHQ. VIII pp. 241-6, 781-4.
Poetical works: Remains of the works of the two great Buddhist poets Āśvaghosa and Matṛceta were discovered amongst the Central Asian finds. Fragments of Āśvaghosa's work were brought by the German mission from Turfan region. Āsvaghosa is well known was a contemporary of King Kanishka and a philosopher, poet and dramatist of the first order. One of his poetical works, Buddhacarita and Saundarananda are known in original and a third, the Sutralāṃkāra is preserved in Chinese translation of Kumārajiva. Besides a philosophical work entitled Sradhatpāda - sastra has also been preserved in Chinese translation which is widely studied in China and Japan.

Central Asian remains throw more light on his other works. A fragment of Buddhacarita brought from Turfan regions shows that the texts was studied by the Buddhist monks of Central Asia. A drama entitled Sāriputra - prakāśana discovered in the same region and not known from other sources is ascribed to Āsvaghosa, only portions of the original work have been found, but they clearly show that it was a remarkable work. It is the oldest Indian drama known to us and presupposes a great development in the dramatic art.

1. Lüders, F. Des Sāriputra prakāśana ein dramas des Āsvaghosa 1911.
Fragment of Buddhacarita:

tapasphalam khalv idam i [-(-] ya

69 [- - - ] ya tad asya manada vyapeksya

vyrdhhi [m] tapasam tapah pri [yam

-- -- -- -- -- narhasi sthira sayah sakkhyan a

ivänvayë gatam 70 prayätum evätha i i---

-- -- -- -- --] mo vayam apy arindama mähurstam
eva pravipalyatäm [v- - - - - - - - ] ya

7 l K rta gnihotrair hi karais
tapa s vinas athaiva yä [I y [o-o-

-- -- -- ] l tram swam ativa gharayams
tapovanaê sthäsyati kevalam tv i [yj2 -- v--

-- -- -- - - - - ] 

tapovanam sthasyati kevalam tv 1 [yj2 -- v--

-- -- -- - - - - ] 

igarhito durjane

samgamañ sadä gunas ihaiko [v-- - - - v-v]
yogaduhkham yad sto na jayate 73

bhavad vidhänäm tu sa [v-- - - - - - - ]
yam ta do - vja am ve V iyo gad [v--

-- -- -- ] 74

atha dvijams tam sehitarjanadvijah sa r a jasutah

[v-- - - - - v-v ] S ca bhasitar padasvivargya

yam ajihlad -- v- -- cai
ta na nasti me.

Surenralokadhigamāya ( Kevalam -- vyu

sämäkam ayam parisramah mäma prayatmas tu bhavappraśäm

[taye -- -- - -- - - ] 8 mamopadestum

ta vi arhatha dutram kam asra y

bha vesu sarvesu na khalv aham rame davagni
diptesu parusv i vandasjah v- -- v- -- aradam

asvamibhy oj ananpirkasa dr stamargam asrauh
tad adhisam

... .......

Yuś ca svargāya vratam iha te

1. Fragments s'un Buddhacarita. M.A. Stein.
Another work of controversial anthrroship was also discovered by the German mission in Turfan region. It is a poetical work in Sanskrit which agrees with the Sutralaṃkāra of Aśvaghosa as known from the Chinese translation of the work by Kumārajīva. But the colophous of the Turfan manuscript ascribe the work to Kumāralāta. The colophon runs thus: iti ārya Kumāralātā yām Kalpa-nalalāṅkārtāyaṃ dṛṣṭāntapāṅktyām. Prof. Lüders who desiphered the manuscript, edited and published it was of opinion that the name of the work was Kalpana manditikā and that its author was Kumaralāta. The Chinese tradition ascribed the work to Aśvaghosa through mistake.

Kumāralata is described in Chinese tradition as "Master of Comparisons" (dṛṣṭānta) and as founder of a "School of comparison" (Dṛṣṭāntika) which was a branch of the Saṃśtrantika School. The principal work of Kumāralata is mentioned in the Chinese texts as yu man tāna - Dṛṣṭānta - mālā (Pāṇkti) śūstra on these grounds Levi, has expressed the opinion that the name of the Turfan text was really Dṛṣṭāntapāṅkti (as found in the colophon) and that Kalpanamanditikā is an adjective to it. The Turfan text is considered by Levi to be a new edition of the Sutralaṃkāra of Aśvaghosa expanded by the addition of moral lessons and apologies in the form of examples (dṛṣṭānta) according to the practice

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of the Dīśantika School. The Turfan text therefore represents partially the Sūrāসmārka of As'vaghosa.

The Hymns of Matṛceta: The fragments of the poems of another poet of great fame have also been brought to light both in Sanskrit original and Tokharian translation. The poet was Matṛceta who is well known from Tibetan and Chinese translations. A full account of the poet and his works is given by Yi-tsing. "In India" he says, "numerous hymns of praise to be sung at worship have been most carefully handed down, for every talented person man of letters has praised in verse whatsoever person he deemed most worthy of worship. Such a man was the venerable Matṛceta who by his great literary talent and virtues, excelled all learned men of his age.

"He composed first a hymn consisting of four hundred slokas and afterwards another of one hundred and fifty. He treats generally of the six Paramitas and expounds all the excellent qualities of the Buddha, the world honoured one. ..... Consequently in India all who compose hymns imitate his style, considering him the father of literature. Even men like the Bodhisattva Asanga and Vasubandhu admired him greatly. Throughout India every one who becomes a monk is taught Matṛceta's two hymns as soon as he can recite the five and ten precepts".

Of the two works of Matṛceta Yi - Tsing while

while in Malanda translated one in 150 verses in Chinese. The Chinese catalogue render the title as Serdhaśtaka Buddha praśāmāgathā but the original Sanskrit title is now known as Śatpancaśatika - Stotra. Manuscripts of the Sanskrit original of the Śatpancaśatika - Stotra have been brought from the various sites in Central Asia such as Jigdalik - Bai, Tunhuang and Khora.

In 1910 there appeared in J.A. a paper by Sylvain Levi entitled "Texts Sanserits de Touen - Hou-ang, of several fragmentary Sanskrit manuscript brought by Paul Pelliot, From Central Asia. Among them was a single paper folio in 'slanting gupta script' bearing on one side portions of seven ākṣaras and on the reverse a colophon of which enough remained to identify the text as belonging to Mātrceta's Hymn of 150 verses. The slokas are numbered 147-53 but actually correspond to vv. 145-51.

In the following year this fragment was reprinted by La Val lique Poussin in the IRAS along with three other folios probably forming a part of a single poṣṭha discovered by Sir A. Stein at Tun-huang.

A third instalment of fragments arrived in 1916 with the publication of A.F.R. Hoernle's Manuscript Remains of Buddhist literature found in Eastern Turkestan in the 18th Section of which (entitled Śatpancaśatika Stotra) he not only printed the three Stein's folios but added two more. Like the Stein folios is written in

'slanting gupta', its place of provenance, however, was not Tun-huang but Jigdalik Bai, the other is a small fragment found at Khore in 'slanting gupta' containing fragments of Vv. 144-8.

In 1936 Mr. Rahula Samkrtyayana discovered a complete Mss of the Hymn in the temple territory of the Sasky monastery in Tibet.

Fragments of other work of Matṛceta, the Catuh śataka - stotra also have been discovered from Central Asia. There is no Chinese translation of the text but the Tibetan translation gives the name of the work varṇanārha - varṇāṇaśtrotā. Fragments of Sanskrit manuscript were discovered from Khora (near Karashahr) and Jigdalik (near Bai) Only thirtytwo verses have been discovered from the fragments and it appears from them that the text was divided into 12 chapters. The colophon of the Chapters give the full title of the work as Varnanarha - varme Buddha stotra Catuhśatakam.

**Bower manuscript (Navanītaka) etc:**

The Bower manuscript is a collection of fragments of different manuscripts dealing with medicine, treatment of diseases along with cubomancy and Mahamāyuri vidyārajaṇī, the well known Tantric treatise of charms and spells for curing snake-bites. The collection of fragments was edited by Hoernle in seven parts. These fragments are written on birch bark in early Gupta script of the 4th Century A.D.

In the opening verse of Navanītaka the author states that he was putting together the best known formulas of the medical authorities (maharsis) of his time. He incidentally mentions the earliest famous medical
teacher as Punarvasu, son of Atri. He had six disciples who collected his teachings and arranged them in sections or chapters. A few centuries later these collections in Chapters and sections were converted into Samhitas known as Charaka and Bhedaka Samhitas. In the part entitled Navanītaka (clarified butter i.e. gist) there are copious extracts from the Bheda Samhita, Charaka Samhita and Susruta amhita.

namely Ayorjiya-churna, Rasayanika-ghrita, Madhuyashtika taila, Talisaka-churna, Shadava-churna, Shatpalaghrita, chyavana-prasa-ghrita, Silajatukalpa.

The language of the manuscripts On the basis of the Gupta script the date of the author may be placed at the latest in the 4th Century A.D. The language of the text is a "mixed Sanskrit" i.e. Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit, which was the accepted medium of the early Mahayanic writers.

The fragments dealing with divination, incantation, and magic contain more Prakritism than the other parts.

Contents of the treatise:

In the first part of the Bower manuscript are found miscellaneous topics such as a tract on garlic and stray remarks on the regulations of digestion etc., a few formula on eye-lotion and face plaster.

The second part called "Navanītaka" is the verses.

In the opening stanzas the author states: I shall compile a standard manual by the name of Navanītaka containing the foremost formulas of the Maharshis 2) whatever is beneficial to men and women afflicted with various diseases whatever is also beneficial to children will appear in this book. 3) It should become a favourable
a favourable of those physicians whose minds delight in conciseness, but on account of the multiplicity of its formulas it will also be welcome to those who desire copiousness. 4) The first chapter will give formulas for powders; the second various kinds of medicated or clarified butter; and the third (medicated) oils. The fourth will be a miscellaneous chapter giving formulas for the treatment of various diseases; the fifth will give formulas for enemas followed by one with directions for tonics. The 7th will deal with gruels, the 8th with aphrodisiacs the 9th with collyriums, the 10th with hair-washes the 11th with the modes of using chebulic myrobalan, the 12th with bitumen, the 13th with the plumbago-root, the 14th with the treatment of children; the 15th with the treatment of barren women, and the 16th with the treatment of women who are blessed with children. These sixteen chapters will constitute the Navanitaka.

In the third part there are a few specimens of prescriptions one of which is given hereby way of elle illustration:

Take one karsha each of well-powdered, plumbago root, danti (haliospermum), oleander root m gunja (abrus precatorious), Langalaki (glorioso superba), vrihati (solanum idicum) suvarnapushpi (cassica fistula), ginger (nalika and sulphate of iron and add one kuđava of the milky juice of Arka (calotropis gigantea), with all these drugs mix one prastha of oil in four times as much of water and cows urine. This is a remedy in cases of ..... ringworm keloid tumour and skin diseases also in cases of katri-mala, fistula sores, malignant

sores, poisoned wounds and enlargement of the lymphatic glands.

In the 4th part there are two short manuals; one deals with the art of foretelling a person's fortune by means of cast of dice (pasaka - kevali):

Let the dice fall for the purpose of the present object. Hili, Hili, Let them fall as befits the skill of Kumbhakarika, the Mantaga women.

Let the dice fall openly, svaha, let the truth be seen, etc.

The fifth part is in fragments, and nothing can be made out of them. In sixth and seventh parts contain the Mahamayuri vidya rāṇī which is a well known Dhārani dealing with charms and spells for protection from snake-bites. The Mahamayuri queen of spells, reads e.g., as follows: itti, mitti, tili, mili, mitti, mitti, dumba, tumba, suvachirikasiya, bhinnamedi .................. ananada, may the Deva vouchsafe fresh water (i.e.), seven fold, on every side, so that the land may be abounding with water, overflowing from end to end, haritale, kantale ili, me. May this words of charms be effective.

Buddhist Monastic System as found in the Niya, Blandere and Lou - lan documents.

The manuscripts so far discovered in Central Asia deal mostly with ethical, religious and philosophical principles of early as well as later Buddhism. The few manuscripts which deal with monastic systems are the few fragments of the Vinaya pitaka and the
complete Patimokkha sutta of the Mulasarvasti-vadins. In these fragmentary manuscripts there are no accounts of monastic life as led by the monks of Central Asia.

Inscribed on leather and pieces of wood discovered at Niya, Endere and Lou-lan, there are, however, a large number of Administrative records, in which there are stray references to the monastic life of the monks. Most of these records are dated by Burrow, Stein, Rapson in about 4th Century A.D.

The total number of the documents found in the various ruins of monasteries located at Niya, Endere and Lou-lan is about 782.

The bulk of the documents is found in Niya, the ancient Coṣta which lay on the extreme edge of the Kingdom of Khotan. They are far from Endere (Saca) and 40 miles from Lou-lan area where the ancient capital of the Kingdom of Kroraina was situated. A single document from Endere (661) is written in a Prakrit dialect different from the rest and as it refers to a king of Khotan, it may be taken to represent the Prakrit used in Khotan at that time.

The materials on which these records are inscribed or written are small wooden tablets, leather pieces and silk fragments. In all the structures


3. B.S.O.S VIII, 433 - 34
discovered at Niya, not a scrap of paper with or without writing has been discovered. The manuscript fragments written on hand-made paper about 4th century A.D. are dated by Stein and Hoernle. The use of wooden tablets as writing materials for all documents with exception of a small number on leather pieces is a proof of the considerable antiquity of these records.  

Palaeographic evidence: There is a close agreement in the palaeographic features between the documents discovered in the Niya river site and Kharosthi inscriptions of the Kusana or Indo-scythians who ruled over the Punjab and the Kabul regions during the first two centuries of the Christian era. It is very likely that the Khorosthi script ceased to be used soon after the termination of the Indo-Scythian period. It is remarkable that the Khorosthi script remained in current use in Khotan for a century too more without undergoing perceptible changes. There is an interesting find made in the structure no. vii. A narrow Takhtishaped tablet which bears on one side a single line of Kharosthi and on the other three lines of Brahmi characters, which happens to be the only specimen of this writing found in this site. Such documents of Kharosthi with Brahmi indicate that some of the Niya inscriptions go back to the Indo-scythian period.

1. B. S. O. S. VIII 433-34.
The Niya variety of script is more or less a modified form of the Kushana type of Khorasthi as found in the Wardak vase of the reign of Huviska. (A.D. 109). One of the document found at Endere dated in the tenth year of Avijit Simba, king of Khotan is written in a script and dialect different from the rest. It perhaps represents the administrative language and script of Khotan while those of Niya documents represent the administrative language of the Shan-Shen Kingdom.

Language of the documents:

The documents are written in a variety of Indian Prakrit mixed with foreign words. This seems to be the administrative language of Shan-Shan of Krarainia of about the 3rd Century A.D. The original home of the Indian variety of Prakrit was very likely north-western Indian in the region of Peshwar as it agrees with the Post-Asokan Khorasthi inscriptions of N. Western India and partially with the Prakrit version of Dhammad-pada.

It exhibits also some characteristics in common with the modern Dardic languages.

A few special characteristics of Niya Prakrit are as follows:

1) ri is used for r
2) interchange a with ō & s, e.g. Sasana for Sasana; manuṣa for manusa
3) verbal forms: Sruniti, apruchitti 39.
4) infinitives: anaye, karamanae, deyamnae.
5) use of tv for tm : e.g. atva for atma.
vi) In many cases conjunct consonants are not assimilated, e.g. kartiya, varaa, sardha. 

In the Niya dialect transitive verba are treated alike, confusion is made of surds and sonants. Many of the phonetics peculiarities of the dialect can be traced in the modern Dardic languages.

All the above-mentioned facts indicate that the date of the documents discovered at Niya, Endere and Lou-lan belong to the 3rd or 4th Century A.D. Hence, the Monastic rules found in the documents reveal the monastic life of the Buddhist monks of the 3rd or 4th century A.D. A detailed study of the monastic life of the monks as found in Niya, Lou-lan and Endere documents will be given in the second part of this work. Here is given a short description of the monastic life of monks.

**Buddhist monastic system:**

It appears from the Central Asian records found in Niya, Endere and Lou-lan sites that the Buddhist monks or priests engaged themselves to a large extent in secular activities like buying and selling, money lending, revenue collection and administration of justice.

In the earliest stage of the Buddhist Sangha the monks were forbidden to take part in secular activities particularly in the types as mentioned above.

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1. E. S. O. S. VII. p. 779 ff.
2. E. S. O. S. VIII. p. 419 ff.
In spite of such strict prohibition the monks on account of their residence in monasteries not far away from the towns or villages had to do some secular works for the maintenance and dwelling arrangements of the sangha. The lay-devotees made offerings of food cloth, medicines and other requisites necessary for the daily life of the monks. They also constructed monasteries and supplied materials for construction of the monasteries. Such gifts necessitated the allocations of certain secular functions to the members of the sangha.

In the Vinaya Pitaka it is found that a number of offices was created for rendering secular services to the sangha. The officials were selected after scrutiny of their qualifications and were then formally selected by the sangha in ecclesiastical sittings. The general qualifications required of a monk entrusted with secular duties were that they must not be subject to impulse (or wilfulness (chanda), hatred or displeasure (dosa), delusion or misconception (moha) fear or deridence (bhaya). Besides the above four there were some special qualifications, prescribed according to the nature of duty of the offices. These are as follows:

1. the allocation of beds and seats was to be entrusted to one (senasana paññāpaka) who know how to allot seats and beds (paññattan paññattan ca jāneyya)

1. "Yo na chaudagatim gaccheyya na dosagatim gaccheyya, na mohagatim gaccheyya, na bhaya gatim gaccheyya .. evan ca pana bhikkhave sammannitabbo" Cullavagga Vinaya Pitaka Part II.
ii) the distribution of food was to be entrusted to one who could distinguish proper or improper persons in need of food (udditthamuddittanca janyeya)

iii) A stete keeper (bhaḍagarika) must know how to protect things (guttāguttaanca janyeya)

iv) the receiver of upper rebes (civar apatiggahaka) and their distributor (civarabhājaka) must know what was proper or improper for monks receive (gahitagahitana janyeya)

v) The overseer of workers engaged for the upkeep of the monastery (āramikapesaka) was to be entrusted to one who knew how to engage (pesitāpesita nca janyeya) the workers for the above mentioned purpose.

vi) the distribution of rice gruel, fruits and dry food was to be entrusted to one who knew how to distribute rice gruel (yaṅu bhājaka), fruits (phala bhājaka) and to dry food (khajjabhājaka).

vii) the reciver of under garment (satiyagahapaka) and reciver of bowl (pattagahapaka) must knew what

viii) the superintendent of novice (Sāmanerapesaka) must be one who knew how to keep a novices engaged. (pesitāpesitaanca janyeya)

ix) the distributor of trifling things (appama ttakavissajjakam) was to be entrusted to one who knew how to distribute (vissajjit avissajjitaanca janyeya).

Besides the above mentioned officers there are special officers who were entrusted with the supervision of the now construction or repair of monasteries.
They are called Navakammikas. They allowed certain concessions in the duties of monks. These concessions were limited for certain periods. As for instance:

"Five or six years for constructing a new monastery or for completing a half build monastery. If these monasteries were of small dimensions, seven or eight years for pinnacled monasteries, ten or twelve years for a large monastery of big barrac."

In Pali Vinaya there are also provisions relating immovable properties belonging to a monastery and to the distribution of the belongings of a deceased monks. Though the monks were individually prohibited from ownership of any property or object there were no restrictions of the sangha as a whole accepting all shorts of properties even coins, articles of furniture, utensils and such other articles. The ownership of the monastic properties vested in the catuddisa sangha i.e. a sangha the members of which are not only the bhikkhus of the four quarters but also those who will be bhikkhus in future. For the maintenance of the monastery there were very likely some provisions for income the cultivable lands. In the inscriptions there are evidences of such provisions of income by donation of villages and other such revenue producing sources.

1) "We being requested by the illustrious Maharaja Balaputradeva, the king of Suvarnadvipa

3. Ibid. p. 166
through a messenger, I have caused to be built a monastery at Malanda granted by this edict toward the income for the Blessed Lord Buddha, the abode of all the leading virtues like the Pranajaparamita, for the offerings, oblations, shelter, garments, alms, beds, the requisites of the sick like medicines, etc., of the assembly of the venerable bhikkhus of the four quarters comprising Bodhisattvas well-versed in the tantras and the eight great holy personages for writing the dharma ratnas or Buddhist texts and for the upkeep and repair of the monastery when damaged."

ii) "I hereby make known to all the assembled devotees offering up prayers for the father and mother of Hariswesmini, the eminent disciple of the wife possessing the asan-siddha or seat of purity in the great and holy vihara of Kankanada aphota that for the prevention of begging in the public reads as alms-house for the indigent and also one dinar, day by day for charitable distribution, and a lamp shining like a jewel in the middle of the enclosure are caused to be provided.

In the ratnagriha also are deposited three diner. With the interest of these three diner in the ratnagriha or treasury of the four Buddhas, day by day three lamps are to be lighted. For the shrines of the four Buddhas also is given a chakra of dinars with the interest of which in the four shrines in like manner the lamps of the four Buddhas are to be kept lighted daily."

In some of the inscriptions of the 3rd Century B.C. to 6th Century A.D. it is found that the donors were making gifts to the sangha of the four corners but with the reservation of the monastery properties were meant for use for particular sect like Mahasanghika, Sarvastivada sects. "(king .... ) commands the officer at Mamada. For the support of the sect of the Mahasanghikas of the mendicant friars dwelling here in these caves of V-luraka, all pervaded with religion, we give as monks' land the village Karajaka here in the Masala district on the northern road. To them I have secured the property of the village of Kajaka as monks' land and to this village of karajaka we grant the immunities belonging to monks' land not to be (by royal officer) and to enjoy (all kinds of) immunity. With all these immunities I invested it. And this village of karajaka and the immunities enjoyed by monks' land I have had registered here. Ordered verbally, written ....... given at the victorious camp .... The deed was executed by sivakhadaguta in the year 14 on the 1st day of the 4th fortnight of the rainy season."  

11) "Success, the year 74, the first (month of) summer, the 15th day, at that moment, a statute of divine sakya muni (was set up) the gift of the monk Kandika in the Mahavihara for the acceptance of the Sarvastivadin teachers, for the welfare and happiness of (donors) parents and of all creatures".

Having described the secular activities of the monks we may now briefly trace the sectarian development and the latitude allowed among the monks. Under the auspices of king Kalasoka at Vaisali that we come to know for the first time that a sharp division took place between the two groups of monks described as eastern and western. According to the tradition recorded in the Vinya Pitaka the difference arose in connection with the ten rules of discipline which the easterners adopted against the protest of westerners. The ten rules are as follows:

1) Storing of salt for use when needed,
2) taking food after mid-day,
3) Over-eating by taking a second forenoon meal in a neighbouring village,
4) observance of uposatha in different places within the same parish (sima)
5) taking sanction for an act from the sangha after it has been done,
6) use of precedents as authority for an act,
7) the use of a seat without a border,
8) drinking of unfermented palm juice,
9) the acceptance of gold and silver,
10) the acceptance of gold and silver,

Once the dissension in the sangha, it began to multiply. The Theravada become gradually divided into eleven sects and Achariyavada into seven. All the eighteen sects were fundamentally Hinayanists; a few sub-sects of the Achariyavada group later on introduced new doctrines which paved the way for Mahayanism. It is apparent that the history of Buddhism after Buddha's death was no longer the history of a single monastic organisation, but of quite a
large number of sects growing independently of one another in different parts of India and outside India. The more influential of them compiled their own sets of Pitakas and claimed these to be the original sayings of the Teacher. The disciplinary rules and regulations of the sects differed from one another. The first three centuries of the Christian era witnessed a widespread spread of Buddhism in a large part of western and Central Asia as far China.

At the end of the fifth century great and small monasteries were increasing in number in the countryside of China. Legal spirit was absent when Buddhism appeared in China and after the translation of four great vinaya, a great Indian influence fell upon the economy of the Chinese monks. The treatises of the Indian disciplines revealed the idea of the permanent wealth, inalienable wealth and common wealth to the Buddhist communities. Naturally permanent wealth was impure but it was sanctified by their belonging to the Three jewels. So, the possession of the wealth was admitted on the part of the community but was interdicted to the religious men according to the disciplinary prescriptions of the Indian treatises.

Monastical institution was established to perform an important function. It held an auction sale of the dresses and fabrics received in offerings of the deceased monks. These Chinese monks had a favored position in the society and strived for the general orientation of the monastical economy, and for this reason, they were incited to divert themselves towards the possession of the wealth of commercial
character and towards the mercantile activities. So the Chinese economy was deeply modified from the 5th to the 10th Century.

In the primitive organ of Buddhism, the mercantile and the other activities were categorically condemned by the vinayas. There are arrangements of commercial and financial usages in Sarvastivadin, Mahasanghikas and Mulasarvastivadin for the practice of the religious communities.

The monks borrowed for the account of their community. As for example the private loans of the monks, they disposed of the tissues and in particular, the linen received in share at the time the auction sale. The rich monks gave an economic pressure upon the peasant class. The monasteries held the various functions such as organisation of the feasts, the official ceremonies private services in favour of the dead. In Tibet also the legal spirit of Buddhism was absent but we find the monks enjoyed many privileges. The monasteries are the repositories of the wealth of Tibet across the centuries. Into them have poured all the gold and precious things, all the artistic and material production of the Tibetans. Much of the monasteries' wealth is in the form of a constantly growing hoard of valuables which cannot be used. Rent from the biggest land-holdings in Tibet trade, money-lending and gifts form the current income of the monasteries. Out of this income the poor monks are fed. They are forbidden marriage, drink
and smoking. Apart from income from land and herds which go to provide for the monastery, the monks of higher rank get presents in money and kind for officiating marriages, births, deaths, festivals and sickness. The monasteries have great prestige and power. The system of government based on the union of monasteries. Dalai Lama is the head of the government. He is highest official and leader of Tibet.

This also happens in Central Asia. The Central Asian records show that the in course of time the monks of Central Asia became financiers and invested the wealth of the sangha in loans. There are some instances of these in inscriptions. The monks were rich enough to give corn and wine as loan (Dec. no. 345, 500, 502). The above mentioned evidence is corroborated by the discovery of certain Chinese records of the 8th Century A.D. from a place Dandanulik in Chinese Turkestan. A detailed account of numerous loan-bonds has given by A. Stein who says that these loan-bonds "relate to money lending transactions of the same monk or possibly some equally business like brethren from the Kukuo convent." (A. Stein Ancient Khotan pp. 276-7). Stein also relates that the monks who were supervising as chief caretakers of the outlying landed property of the Kukuo temple held even offices of the Chief Karmadana, sthavira and vihara-svamin of the temple or vihara. The monks kept themselves busy with the duties of an average householder. Their secular activities are as follows:

As landlords: "This receipt concerning land of the monk yipiya is to be carefully kept by the

Sothamga Ramsotsa. In the 20th year, 5th month
22nd of the reign of his majesty the great king
Jitugha Aragoka, son of heaven, there is a monk
called Yipiya resident in Codata. He arose and
sold land to the Sothamga Ramsotsa twentyfive
Kuthala in the misi land. From the Sothamga Ramsotsa
the monk Yipiya received as price of the land three
horses valued at fifteen.

ii) As State Employees:
The monks used to discharge the duties of
state-scribes (raja divira, no. 575), Vol.II tax-
collectors (no. 706), Vol.II reporters and messengers
appointed to convey information about the army people
(no. 69) Vol.I.

iii) As witness in the court:
The documents under study inform us that not
only the monks but even the Bhiksh Sangha used to appear
as a witness in the court. "In the reign of Jitugha
Amkavaya Budhila and Budhaya two of the sons of
Sramana Athano. They sold a vine-yard to Ananda. It
was well bought (sukrida) and well-sold (saha vikrida).
This was written in the presence of Bhichu Sangha of
Codota - witnesses were Sramana Budharachi, Sramana X
Yipiyo, Sramana Dhammaitra. This was written at the
command of Bhichusanganeya."

"This receipt concerning land of the monk
Yipiya is to be carefully kept by the Sothamga
Ramsotsa ............ ............ From now on in that land

1. Kharosthi inscriptions discovered by Arael Stein in
2. Ibid. Doc. No; 419 Vol.I.
Saaotsa has ownership, to sow, to plough to give as a gift to another, to exchange, to do whatever he likes with it. Witnesses to this are the community of monks of cadota." (Doc. No. 582).

As householders:

The Tantric form of Buddhism came into vogue in Central Asia. The Tantric Sadhakas were allowed to have female company usually a nun for Tantric esoteric practices.

With the popularity of Tantricism the practice of monks living with female companies became a regular feature of monastic life in Central Asia. They had sons and daughters, they purchased and sold lands and domestic animals. There are some instances of those in inscriptions:

1) "In the 36th year of this majesty Jitugha Amgoke, the sramana Budhavama says that sramana Sariputra receives as an adopted child from Denuga .............. The sramana Sariputra gave this daughter to Sramana Budhavama as his wife in lawful marriage. The daughter of that woman Sirasateya, Pumnavatiya by name was given as wife to the sramana Jivalo Athma." (418 dec. no.)


iii) Buddhosa was the son of monk Buddha sira (doc. no. 655) Sramana Budhasira nama putra Buddhosa).

2. T. Burrow. Ibid p.60
iv) A monk Samghapola had sons and daughters
(Doc. no. 474 Vol.II).

v) the daughter of monk Sundara eloped with a porter's son (doc. no. 612 Vol. II).

Monastic rules and regulations as found in the documents:

Besides these secular activities of the monk, there are evidences in the documents regarding the regulations for the community of monks. In the 10th year of his majesty the great king, Jitugha Mahagiri, son of heaven in the 12th month, 10th day the community of monks in the capital laid down regulations for the community in Caudota. It is heard that the notices do not pay attention to an elder, they discover the old monks. Concerning this these regulations have been laid down by his majesty in front of the order of monks. The elders Silaprabha and Purmasena are to be in charge of the monastery (viharavala). They have to administer all the activities of the community are to be examined in accordance with the law. All the activities of the community of monks are to be administered by them (......) so that the community of monks shall be content in mind. Whichever monk does not take part in the activities of the community of monks shall pay a fine of one roll of silk. Whichever monk does not take part in the Uposatha ceremony, his penalty is a fine of one roll of silk. Whichever monk strikes another monk (in case of) a light (blow the fine is) five rolls of silk.

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(in the case of) a moderate (blow) ten rolls of silk, in the case of an excessive (blow) fifteen rolls silk.

Entry into the Sangha:

The opening verse of the doc. no. 511 reverse exhorts the monks to listen with rapt attention (sarvaekamana sarunotha) the essential qualities for entering into the sangha. This document also refers to the following rules and regulations:-

"Sangha does not accept those people who go stray (nasti vivarnacarana upalabhi sanghe). The same was also applied for those who were devoid of any sila or of sense of morality (ye bhonti sila-rabhitate bahirdha sanghe). On the contrary, those who are pious and used to put the high ideals were qualified to enter into Sangha (yo ca visudha manasvina upalabhi sanghe).