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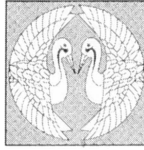
Front cover:

"The Sultan's repose in nature", miniature from 'Abd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's *Dīwān*, manuscript C 1697 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, A. D. 1486/87, fol. 243 b, 7.7×7.7 cm.

Back cover:

"Portrait of some Moghol principal or influential grandee sitting in a chair (throne?) with a falcon on his right arm", miniature from the same manuscript, fol. 1b, 7.3×14.8 cm.

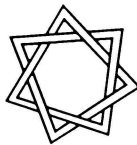
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A SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPT ON BIRCH-BARK FROM BAIRAM-ALI: I. THE *VINAYA* OF THE SARVĀSTIVĀDINS (PART 3)

The present paper is the continuation of the publication of Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali (see *Manuscripta Orientalia*, V/2—3, 1999). The beginning of the text on fol. 75 *recto* which opens this part of the publication follows the last line of the text on fol. 74 *verso* of the preceding publication. An analysis of the text on fol. 75 clearly indicates its compilative nature. One and

the same rule is either repeated in various contexts or is given in different fashion; one must turn to arithmetic to prove the identity of these formulas. All of this confirms the presence of several sources, which were used by the compiler. It also seems that he used these texts not from memory, but actually had before him copies of the *Vinaya* rules.

We now turn to the text.

FOL. [75 r]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *nikṣipitavyaṃ* || *catu[r]-māsa-kalpo yathā saṃstarikena*
[*bhikṣuṇā varṣakāntareṣu ja*]-
2. *napadeṣu aṣṭa-māsā-cchane*¹ *vastavya catvāraṃ ca abhy-*
avakāṣe || [*pañca-māsa-kalpo*] ...
3. *āstīrna kaṭhine āvāse pañca māsā kaṭhinānuśasaḥ* || [*ṣaṭ-*
māsa]-
4. *kalpo ṣaṭmāsāni adhikaraṇaṃ nikṣipitavyaṃ* || *sapta-māsa-*
kalpo [*āstīrne*]

TRANSLATION

- 1—2. One can put off [disputes] on legal questions^[44]. Rule of the four months: during the period of rains, a *bhikṣu* together [with his] sitting rug must remain under cover in those areas where he has lived for [the preceding] eight months, and in the open air for four months^[45]. [Rule of the five months]:
3. During the five months after the distribution of the *kaṭhina* in the place where the community lives, the *kaṭhina* [received by the *bhikṣu* is considered] lawful^[46]. Rule of the
4. [six months]: one can put off [disputes] on legal questions for six months^[47]. Rule of the seven months:

Commentary

^[44] The rule refers the same situation as the preceding rule. The resolution of all legal questions slated for resolution at the gathering — *adhikaraṇa* (see n. 10) — is put off for the rain season, as [disputes] may disturb the peace of the community and lead to a schism. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, III, 11, 5—13.

^[45] In this formulation, the rule includes several elements which are based on various norms of the *Vinaya-vastu*: 1) the “summering period”, the rain period, during which the community must live under a roof, perhaps in the homes of lay-persons who provide shelter, is defined as four months; 2) during this time, it is forbidden to move from place to place; 3) the necessity of bringing one’s sitting rug with one for the period of summer time receives special mention; 4) the necessity of spending only four months beneath a roof is stressed; the remainder of the time one is to live out in the open (or “beneath a tree”, see below). We observe each of these rules separately.

1) The summer period is defined in section four of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Varṣāvāsuvastu*. In the Gilgit manuscripts, this section has been incompletely preserved. According to the text of this section, one may leave for summering at two times: a) the early time — “the day

¹ Instead of *aṣṭa-māsāchane*.

after the full moon of month" (= June — July); b) the late time — "a month after the full moon of month *āsāḍha*". Consequently, summering lasted for four months (as in the manuscript) or, in the second case, for three; see *Mahāvagga*, III, 2.

2) The prohibition on moving from place to place is established in the same section of the *Vinaya-vastu*. In special cases (they are enumerated in the *Vinaya-vastu*), a *bhikṣu* could leave the summering place for seven days; cf. *Mahāvagga*, III, 1; 3; 5; 6; 7. A list of cases in which it was permitted to retreat to a neighboring community is preserved in the *Varṣāvastu* of the Gilgit manuscripts (pp. 142, 143). One of these cases, in particular, is the performance of the ritual *upasampāda* over the *śikṣamāṇa*, *śrāmaṇeraka*, *śrāmaṇerikā*. The formula "must remain ... in those areas where he has lived" is linked to a case described in *Mahāvagga*, III, 4, 2: "No one, o *bhikṣu*, can leave that area [where he lives] because he does not want to begin summering on the appointed day. He who proceeds thus commits a misdeed".

3) The rule which relates to the rug is formulated in section 16 of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Kṣudrakaparivarta* (correspondingly, in the *Vinayakṣudraka* of Mūlasarvāstivādins. Cf. *Cūllavagga*, V, 18: *na bhikkhave satumāsam nisīdanena vipavasitabbam yo vipavaseyya, āpatti dukkaṭassā'ti* ("No one, o *bhikṣu*, must remain for four months without a sitting rug. He who proceeds thus (remains without a rug) commits a misdeed").

4) Among the four injunctions a *bhikṣu* must perform after he has received *upasampāda* initiation, the fourth is to "live [his] entire life beneath a tree" out in the open. See the *Vinaya-vastu*, section 1 — *Śikṣāpada*. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 30, 4: *rukkhamūlasenāsanam nisīyā pabbajjā tatha te yāvajīvam ussāho karaṇiyo. Atirekalabbo vihāro adḍhayaḥo pāsādo hammiyam guhā*. See also the *Vinaya-vastu*, section 4, and *Mahāvagga*, III, 12, 5: "no one, o *bhikṣu*, must remain out in the open for the rain season ..."

[46] The rule is based on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Nihsargikā*, 3 (see n. 41) and on the *Kaṭhinavastu* section of the *Vinaya-vastu*. It should be understood as follows: if a monk has received a *cīvara* as a gift before the official distribution of clothing in the community, then one month after the distribution of clothing he must give up the extra *cīvara*.

The term *kaṭhina* is used in two meanings in *Vinaya* texts: 1) clothing which is produced by the entire community together, with the observance of special rules, from material donated by lay-persons; 2) already made clothing donated by lay-persons either to the entire community or to individual monks which is distributed at a gathering between all members of the community. Both types of clothing were considered "lawful" (*anuśamsah*), that is, obtained at the stipulated time, as opposed to *akāla cīvara* — clothing not acquired at the proper time (see n. 41).

On the origins of the rules for receiving *kaṭhina* as *deya-dharma* and removal of limitations during its distribution, see "Gilgit Manuscripts", *Kaṭhinavastu*, p. 152: *yattvahaṃ bhikṣuṇaṃ sparśavihārēthaṃ dātṛṇṇāṃ ca deya-dharmaparibhogēthaṃ bhikṣuṇāṃ kaṭhinamnujāniyāṃ yasmātpaīcānuśamsāḥ kaṭhināstare. na daśāha paramaṃ na māsaparamaṃ na rātriṇpravāsaḥ sāntarottareṇa cīvarena janapadacārikāprakramaṇaṃ yāvadaṭṭāpam vikalpakacīvaradhāraṇamiti*. Cf. the Pāli, *Mahāvagga*, VII, 1, 3: *anāmantacāro asamādāno cāro gannabhōjanaṃ yāvadattacīvaraṃ yo ca tatha cīvaruppādo so nasam bhavissati*.

On the term *vikalpaka* (*vikalpita*, *vikalpana*) as applied to *cīvara* ("handing over", "handed over", "transfer"), see O. von Hinüber, "Eine Karmavācanā-Sammlung aus Gilgit", *ZDMG*, B. 119, H. 1 (1969), p. 107.

The distribution of *cīvara* within the community was founded on two *paribodha* — the rights of *bhikṣu* to take part in the distribution of *kaṭhina*. The first right is called *āvāsa-paribodha* — "the right [on the basis of living] in the place where the community is located (residence)". *āvāsa* is used here as a technical term to designate territory which a given community considers its own and to which all of its resolutions apply (see *Vinaya-vastu*, section 1; cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 7). According to the *āvāsa-paribodha*, all monks who had spent the rain season on that territory have the right to take part in the distribution of *kaṭhina*, see *Mahāvagga*, VII, 13. The second rule is tied to the condition of the *bhikṣu*'s clothing. In the *Kaṭhinavastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, this provision is absent; there, we find only an enumeration of five types of individuals who do not have a right to *kaṭhina*: *katamaih paṃcabhiḥ avārṣiko varṣacchinnaḥ paścimākāṃ varṣāmupagato 'nyatra varṣositaḥ śikṣadāttakāḥ* ("Gilgit Manuscripts", p. 154). In another context (p. 157), instead of the last category of persons — *śikṣadāttaka* — we find *asammukhibhūtā*, that is, "those who are not present". The distribution of *kaṭhina* was accompanied by special ceremonies, cf. *Mahāvastupatti*, § 265, p. 558, Nos. 8681—8687.

[47] This rule is not attested in texts of the *Vinaya* known to us. In all likelihood, it is chronologically linked to the two preceding rules: after the community has finished summering, performed the ritual of *pravāraṇa*, and prepared and distributed *kaṭhina*, it can undertake the resolution of difficult questions which have accumulated. Clearly, all of the actions enumerated above took on average around six months; hence, the community could not engage in disputes for six months (see n. 39). However, this rule does not fit in with another precept of the *Vinaya* on the two large gatherings of the community with the participation of the *śrāvakas* — *mahāsannipāta*: *kalau dvau samayau śrāvakānāṃ mahāsannipāto bhavati grīṣmānāṃ paścime māse varṣānāṃ paścime māse* ("The large meeting of the *śrāvakas* happens two times — in the last month of summer [and] in the last month of the rain season"). See J. Filiozat, "Fragments du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādins", *JA* (1938), p. 43. The first rule on the resolution of legal questions matches well with this rule — "the resolution of legal questions can be put off for three months" — the three months of the rain season intercede precisely between the two times of the "large gatherings" indicated in the text — *śrāvāna, bhādrapada, aśvayuja*. If the first gathering takes place on the full moon of the last month of summer — *āsāḍha* — and the second on the full moon of the last month of the rain season — *kārttika* — then eight full months should have passed from the second gathering to the first gathering of the next year. The rule of six months can only be accepted if the resolution of legal questions occurred not at general gatherings with the participation of *śrāvakas*, but after it, so that *śrāvakas* would not be witness to conflicts within the community.

FOL. 75 v

TRANSLITERATION

1. *kaṭhine āvāse sapta māsāni akāla cīvara nikṣipitavya || a[ṣṭau]-māsa-ka]-*
2. *lpo yathā samstarikena bhikṣuṇā varṣakāttāreṣu janapadeṣu a...*

3. *abhyavakāśeṣu vastava*¹ *catvāraṃ cacchane* || *nava-māsa-[kalpo nava mā]-*
4. *sa*² *adhikaraṇaṃ nikṣipitavyaṃ* || *daśa-māsa-kalpo nā[sti] || eka-varṣa-ka[-*

TRANSLATION

1. After the *kāṭhina* has been distributed, in seven months *cīvara* not received at the proper time must be given back^[48]. [Rule of eight] months:
2. After the rain season is over, the *bhikṣu* together with his rug must live for eight months out
3. in the open in rural areas, and for four months beneath cover^[49]. [Rule] of the nine months: for nine
4. months one can put off [disputes] on legal questions. There is no rule of ten months. [Rule of one year]:

C o m m e n t a r y

^[48] This rule is linked to the rule of five months (see above) and is founded on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Nihsargika* 3 (cf. notes 41 and 46) and is based on the precepts for the distribution of *kāṭhina*. Clothing donated before the distribution of *kāṭhina* and, evidently, before the rain season, could be kept for five months (one month before the rain season plus four months of the rain season; or: four months of the rain season plus one month). During the distribution of *kāṭhina*, the community could permit a *bhikṣu* to consider this clothing in favor of *kāṭhina*. But after the distribution of clothing was complete, a *bhikṣu* did not have the right to use extra, donated *cīvara*; it was pronounced *akāla cīvara* and had to be returned to the community.

^[49] The rule is linked to the rule of the four months (see above) and together with it encompasses a year: four months of summering plus eight months of life out in the open (see n. 45).

^[50] The rule is not attested in other *Vinaya* texts. If one accepts that legal questions were resolved after the second general gathering with the participation of *śrāvakas* (see n. 47), then it is clear that these questions were resolved twice a year — before and after the rain season (12 months — 3 months of the rain season = 9 months).

FOL. [76 r]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *lpo eka varṣena bhikṣunā kāṭhinamm-astaritavyaṃ*³ || *dvi-varṣa-kalpo duve varṣāni*
2. *śikṣamānikāya*⁴ *upādhyāyika*⁵ *samanubandhayitavyaṃ* || *tri-varṣa-kalpo trīni*
3. *n*⁶ *varṣāntarikāya*⁷ || *catu[r]-varṣa-kalpo catvāri varṣena bhikṣunā niśrayo gr-*
4. *hñitavyaḥ* || *pañca-varṣa-kalpo pañca varṣena bhikṣunā pa[m]-cahi dharmehi sama[nu]-*

TRANSLATION

1. In one year, one must distribute *kāṭhina*^[51]. Rule of two years:
2. a female candidate to become a *bhikṣuṇī* must follow a teacher-*upādhyāya* for two years^[52]. Rule of three year: the candidacy
3. period (may be extended) to three years^[53]. Rule of four years: for four years a *bhikṣu* must receive
4. *niśraya*. Rule of five years: after a *bhikṣu* has mastered the five *dharma*s over the course of five years, he

C o m m e n t a r y

^[51] As most indicated above (see n. 46), the distribution of *kāṭhina* takes place once a year after the rain season. See the *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, *Kāthinavastu*, p. 152: *kārtikanmāsād yāvaphālguna māso 'trāntarādāstrtakāṭhinānam lābha iti viditvā bhikṣuṇā āmanrayate sma*. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, VII, 1, 3.

¹ Instead of *vastavyaṃ*.

² Instead of *māsāni*.

³ Instead of *kāṭhinam-āstaritavyaṃ*.

⁴ Instead of *śikṣamānikāyāḥ?*

⁵ Instead of *upādhyāyikā*.

⁶ *ni* is repeated by mistake.

⁷ Instead of *varṣāntarikāyāḥ?*



Fig. 1

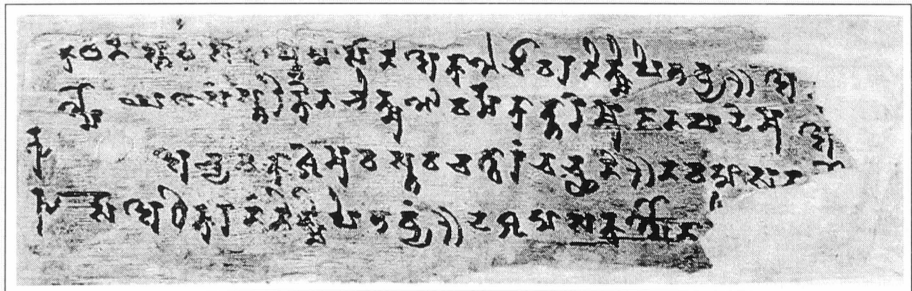


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

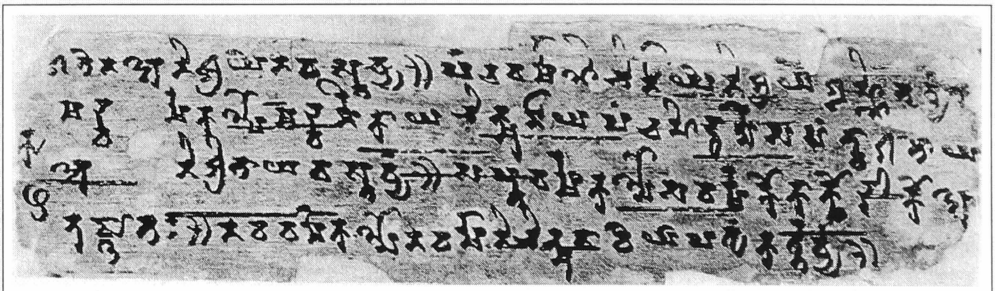


Fig. 4

[52] The candidacy period for *śikṣamānikā* (*śikṣamānā*), women who have undergone the ritual of *pravrajyā* (see n. 43) is set at two years. During those years the candidate must master the “six *dharma*s” (see below) under the direction of a *upādhyāya*. If she manages this successfully, the community must consider the question of accepting the candidate into the *bhikṣuṇī*, that is, the question of *upasampāda*. See *Vinaya-vastu*, pt. 17 — *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya* (correspondingly, *Vinayaśūdraka* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, pt. VI, ch. XXXVII). Cf. *Cūllavagga*, X, 1, 5: *dve vassāni chasu dhammesu sikkhitasikkhāya sikkhamānāya ubhatosamghe upasampāda pariye-sitabbā*. On the candidacy period for nuns, see also *Bhikkhūnī-vanaya-vibhaṅga*, pt. *Pācattiya*, LXIII—LXVII.

[53] The text appears to contain a grammatical error; it should be *trīni varṣāni āntarāyikāyā*. The rule serves as a continuation of the preceding rule. The term *antarikā* which is used in the manuscript means literally “close, neighboring” (f.); it was evidently written in error in place of *āntarāyikā*. This term is attested in *Vinaya* texts in the combination *āntarāyikā dharmā* (“reasons for delay, halting”). Its use applies to persons who commit various types of errors which delay their “initiation”, see “Gilgit Manuscripts”, vol. III, pt. III, p. 30. See also C. M. Ridding, L. La Vallée Poussin, “A fragment of the Sanskrit Vinaya. *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācānā*”, *BSOS*, 1, pt. 3, p. 131. During the performance of the *upasampāda* ritual the future nun reports to the community: “*bhikṣuṇīsamghāte dve varṣe sadsu dharmeṣu ṣaṭ svanudharmeṣu śikṣā śikṣitā*” (“Over two years in the community of nuns I studied six *dharma*s and six *anudharma*s”), after which she asks the community: “*āntarāyikāḥ dharmān*” (“Are there no reasons for delay?”). Cf. also *Mahāvagga* II, 3, 3 and *Cūllavagga* I, 32 (*āntarāyikā dhamma*). The utterance allows one to propose the following translation: “They are delayed for up to three years”, that is, the candidacy period can be extended to three years. See also *Suttavibhaṅga*, *Bhikkhūnīvibhaṅga*, *Pācattiya*, LXIII.

[54] The rule is based on the *Vinaya-vastu*, pt. 1 — *Śikṣapāda*. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 53, 4: “An educated and knowledgeable monk must live in dependence on a *acārya* or *upādhyāya* for five years, an uneducated one, for his entire life” (see n. 36). In the corresponding section of the *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins this rule is developed in greater detail than in *Mahāvagga*, I, 53. In particular, the example is given of a monk who is prepared for independent life in four years rather than five, having mastered the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*. The Sanskrit text of this section has not been preserved, but it exists in Tibetan translation. See *bKa'-'gyur Derge*, pt. ‘*dul-ba*, vol. *ka*, fol. 71b.

FOL. 76 v

TRANSLITERATION

1. *gatena anīśrayena vastavya || pañca varṣāni bhiniye niśraye grhñitavyam ||*
2. *ṣaḍvarṣa-kalpo ṣaḍvarṣikāya bhikṣuṇīya pañcāhi ddharme¹ samamvāgatāya²*
3. *anīśritāya vastavyam || sapta-varṣa-kalpo sa[pta]-varṣako kākodāko a-*
4. *nujñātaḥ || nava-varṣa-kalpo na[va]-varṣāni bhikṣuṇā veyāpatyam karttavyam ||*

TRANSLATION

1. can live without *niśraya*. [For] the preceding five years [he] must receive *niśraya* [55].
2. Rule of six years: in six years, a *bhikṣuṇī* who has mastered the five *dharma*s [56],
3. may live without *niśraya* [57]. Rule of seven years: a seven-year-old boy may chase away crows [58].
4. Rule of nine years: for nine years a monk must serve [a teacher] [59].

Commentary

[55] The rule logically completes the three preceding rules on *niśraya*: “of five days”, “of two months”, “of four years” (see notes 36, 42 and 54).

[56] The term *pañca dharmā* should here be interpreted with reference to the following text of the *Vinaya-vastu*, pt. *Poṣadhavastu* (see “Gilgit Manuscripts”, p. 77): *bhagavānāha. prahāna-pratijāgrako bhikṣuḥ samantavyaḥ. pañcābhīdharmāiḥ samanvāgataḥ prahāna-pratijāgrako bhikṣur asammatō na samantavyaḥ. sammatāścā- vakasyaitavyaḥ. katamāiḥ pañcabhiḥ. na cchandāgacchati na dveṣana-mohan-na bhayād gacchati. jāgrtām jāgrtām prahānam na jānāti. ebhiḥ pañcabhir dharmāiḥ samanvāgataḥ prahāna pratijāgrako bhikṣuḥ sammatāścāvākasayitavyaḥ*. (“Bhagawan said: ‘A diligent, efficient *bhikṣu* who follows the five *dharma*s cannot go unrespected. He who is respected should be advanced [moved forward]’. ‘What are the five [dharma]s?’ ‘[He is] diligent (cf. *acchandagamin*, *BSD*, p. 234 — *M. V.*); lacking [the ability to] hate; not engulfed [by passions]; not [gripped by] fear; [always] in good spirits; does not know fatigue in good spirits. A diligent, efficient *bhikṣu* who follows these five *dharma*s enjoys respect and [he] should be advanced’”).

[57] The rule of the *bhikṣuṇī* was drawn up in analogous fashion to the preceding rule of *bhikṣu*, although the time of receiving *niśraya* has been extended to six years. We were unable to find in any *Vinaya* texts mention of times of *niśraya* for *bhikṣuṇī*.

[58] The term *kākodāka* (“chasing away crows”) is not attested in Sanskrit texts in this phonetic form; cf. the Pāli *kākuṭṭepaka* (Tib. *bya-rog-skrod*). The rule is based on a provision about the *pravrajyā* of a boy aged up to 15; it is given in section I of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Pravrajyāvastu* (the Sanskrit text has not been preserved). See *Mahāvagga*, I, 51, 1: “I permit you, monks, to perform the ritual of

¹ Instead of *dharmehi*.

² Instead of *samanvāgatāya*.

pravrajyā on a boy who chases away crows even if he is not yet fifteen years old". In the Tibetan text of the *Vinaya-vastu*, this rule is cited in a formulation close to that found in the manuscript: "One can perform the ritual of *pravrajyā* on a boy aged seven if he can chase away crows" (*bKa-gyur*, pt. 'Dul-ba, vol. ka, fol. 85b).

^[59] The rule is based on two provisions of the *Vinaya-vastu*: 1) on the obligations of a *bhikṣu* before a *ācārya* and *upādhyāya* (see "Gilgit manuscripts", pt. *Pravrajyāvastu*, pp. 17—8; cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 25, 8—9); 2) on the period of 10 years, after which the *bhikṣu* can himself become a *ācārya* or *upādhyāya*, that is, perform the rituals of *pravrajyā* and *upasampāda*, give *niśraya*, employ the services of a *śrāmaṇerās*, and so forth. See J. Filliozat, Hōryū Kuno, "Fragments du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādins", *JA* (1938), pp. 47—8: *te pi param pravrajyāyisyanti upasampādayisyanti niśrayam dāsyanti śrāmaṇoddeśam upasthāpayisyanti, idaṃ buddho bhagavān anekaparyāyena vighraha bhikṣūn amantrayate sma, tasmāt tarhy adyāgreṇa paṃcabhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgatena dasavarṣeṇa sārḍhavihārī upasampādayutavyaḥ* ("Moreover, it is they who will perform the rituals of *pravrajyā* and *upasampāda*, give *niśraya*, take a *śrāmaṇerās* into service" — thus did Bhagawan order the monks, having taking into consideration many circumstances; for this reason, only he who, following the five *dharmas*, [has lived] for ten years after *upasampāda* with [a teacher] as a charge (lit. "in the capacity of a *sārḍhavihārī*"), can then [manage to do all of this]").

FOL. [77 r]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *daśavarṣa-kalpo daśavarṣakena bhikṣuna pravrajyāpetavya upasampādayitavya*¹
2. *niśrayo dātavya || daśavarṣa-kalpaṃ pi daśavarṣika bhikṣu-nīya grhāvustikāya*
3. *ṣaḥi dḍharmehi*² *ṣaḥi anudharmehi*³ *dve varṣāni śikṣā śikṣitavyaṃ || ekāda-*
4. *śavarṣa-kalpo nāsti || dvādaśavarṣa-kalpa dvādaśa varṣikāya bhikṣuṇī*

TRANSLATION

1. Rule of ten years: a monk with ten years' experience can perform the ritual of *pravrajyā*, can perform the ritual of *upasampāda*,
2. can give *niśraya* ^[60]. [There is one] more rule of ten years: a nun with ten years' experience who lives in village must for two years study the rules relating to
3. the six *dharmas* and six *anudharmas* ^[61]. Of ele-
4. ven years there is no rule. Rule of twelve years: a nun with twelve years' experience

Commentary

^[60] A repetition of what was said above, see n. 59. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 31, 8: *anujānāmi bhikkhave vyattena bhikkhunā paṭibalena dasavassena vā atirekadasavassena vā upasampādetunti* ("I enjoin you, monks, that only he who has been a monk for ten years or more than ten years can perform the ritual of *upasampāda*"). Also, *Mahāvagga*, I, 35, 2: *anujānāmi bhikkhave vyattena bhikkhunā paṭibalena dasavassena vā atireka dasavassena vā nissayaṃ daltunti* ("I enjoin, monks, that only he who has been a monk for ten years or more than ten years can give *niśraya*").

^[61] The rule for nuns is not attested in the given formulation in either the Sanskrit or Pālī text. It is evidently based on section 17 of the *Vinaya-vastu* of the Sarvāstivādins on the formation of a community of nuns. The Tibetan text, translated from the Sanskrit, has been preserved; it can be viewed as the basis for this rule. See *Vinayakṣudraka-vastu*, *bKa-gyur Derge*, pt. 'Dul-ba, vol. da, fol. 107b (2)—107b (3): *'phags-ma'i dge-'dun-ma-rnams bdag min-'di žes bgyi-ba khyim-ba gnas-pa lo-bcu-lon-pa'am | gžon-nu-ma lo-dcu-brgyed lon-te | 'phags-ma'i dge-'dun-ma-las lo-gñis-su chos-drug dang rjes-su 'bran-ba'i chos drug gsol-na ...* The text describes the ritual of initiation for nuns: "Nuns from the noble community, [listen]: I, so-and-so, a lay-person, have ten years' experience, a young woman. [I am] eighteen years old, and have studied in a noble community of nuns the six *dharmas* and six *anudharmas* for two years ..." As regards the "six *dharmas* and the six *anudharmas*", see *ibid.*, fol. 108a (4—5): *drug-gang-že-na | gcig-bu grong-du mi-'gro-dang | chu-bo pha-rol mi-rgal-lo | skyes-pa-dag dang reg-mi-bya | skyes-ba dang yang gnas-mi gcig | smyan-du 'gyur-ba mi-'bya-ste | kha-na ma-tho mi-bcab-pa'o | rjes-su 'brang-pa'i chos-drug gang-že-na | gser-la sogs-pa'i mi bzung-ste | gsang-ba'i spu-ni brag mi bya | sa-yang brkos mi-bya-žing | glen-pas rtsva-sngon mi gca-d-do | byin len-ma byas zas mi bžang | gžan-pa-rnams-ni bza-'mi bya |* ("What are the six [*dharmas*]? Do not go to the village alone. Do not swim to the other shore of the river. Do not touch a man. Do not live under the same [roof] with a man. Do not engage in procuring and do not say sinful things. What are the six *anudharmas*? Do not have gold and other [valuables]. Do not shave the hair of the privy parts. Also, do not dig the earth. Do not cut the green grass by accident. If you have not received alms, do not eat. Do not give food to others").

¹ A slip of the pen — instead of *upasampādayitavya*.

² There are some prakritism here and further: instead of *ṣaḍbhi dharmehi*.

³ Again prakritism: instead of *ṣaḍbhi anudharmehi*.

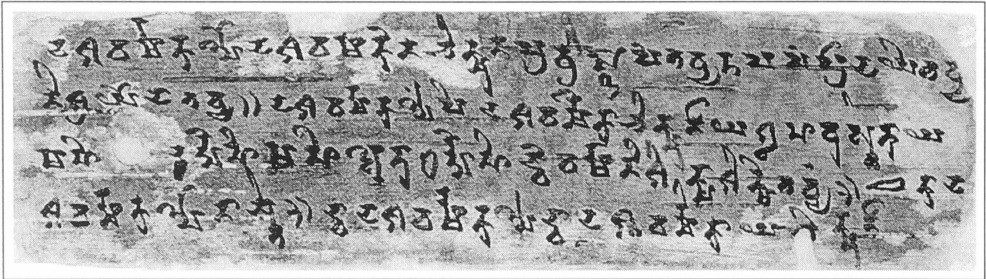


Fig. 5

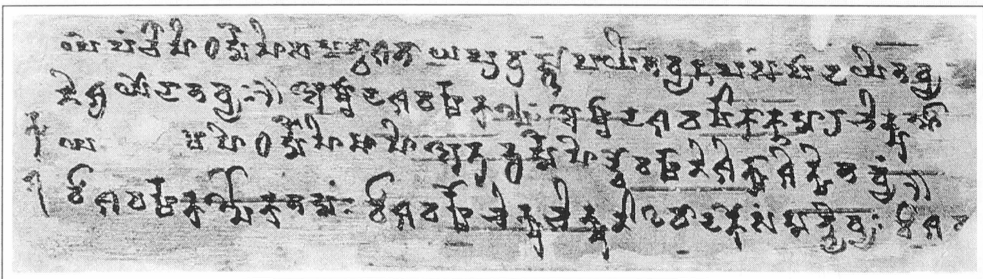


Fig. 6

FOL. 77 v

TRANSLITERATION

1. ye¹ paṃcehi dharmehi² samanvāgatāya pravrajyāpayita-
vya upasampādayitavya
2. niśrayo dātavyaḥ || aṣṭādaśavarṣa-kalpaṃ aṣṭādaśavarṣākā kumāra
bhikṣuṇī-
3. ya śahi dharmehi³ śahi anudharmehi⁴ dvo⁵ varṣāni śikṣā
śikṣitavyaṃ ||
4. viśavarṣa-kalpo⁶ katamaḥ viśa⁷-varṣo bhikṣu bhikṣuṇī va vādako
saṃmānyivyah⁸ viśa⁹-va-

TRANSLATION

1. having studied the five *dharmas*, should receive *pravrajyā*, should receive *upasampāda*, [to her] should be given
2. *niśraya* ^[62]. Rule of the eighteen years: an eighteen-year-old girl
3. should study the six *dharmas* and the six *anudharmas* for nuns for two years ^[63].
4. What is the rule of twenty years? A twenty-year-old monk or nun should announce, a twenty-

C o m m e n t a r y

^[62] The rule which relates to a nun of 12 years' experience is not attested in the given formulation in the Sanskrit texts of the *Vinaya*. It is evidently based on a text which has survived in the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayakṣudraka-vastu*; it contains a list of questions and answers during the performance of the *upasampāda* ritual in relation to a nun: *bud-med kyang lags | bud-med-kyi dbang-po dang yang-ldan | bud-med khyim-na gnas-pa lo-bcu-gñis-sam | gžon-nu-ma lo-ñi-śur yang tshang-ste | 'di-la chos-gos lha dang lhung-bzad-du yang-ldan | dge-slong-ma'i dge-'dun-gyis 'di-la lo-gñis-su chos-drug dang rjes-su 'brang-ba'i chos-drug bslab-pa phog-ste | 'dis lo-gñis-su chos drug dang rjes-su 'brang-ba'i chos drug-gi bslab-pa-la yang bslabs |* ("I am a woman. I have female sex organs. I lived in a house as a lay-person. I have twelve years' experience. [As an] unmarried girl, [I] have attained the age of twenty. I have five *cīvaras* and *pātra*. In the community of nuns, I studied for two years the six *dharmas* and six *anudharmas*. Over two years, I learned the six *dharmas* and six *anudharmas*"). See *ibid.*, vol. *da*, fol. 112b (6)—113a (2).

^[63] The rule is based on the text of the *Vinayakṣudraka-vastu* which has survived in Tibetan translation. See *ibid.*, vol. *da*, fol. 107b (2)—107b (6); see also n. 61 on a nun with 10 years' experience.

FOL. [78 r]

TRANSLITERATION

1. rṣa celako upasampādayitavyaḥ viśa¹⁰-varṣa kumāra
bhikṣuṇī upasampādayi[ta]-
2. vyaḥ || eka kalpo ekasyā adhiṣṭhānena posata¹¹ dvikalpo
dvi vidhena bhājanā¹² śala-
3. ka granenapā¹³ mukhaṃ vā pratyaṣaṃna¹⁴ tri kalpo
triṇam janānām tre vācikena posato
4. caru-kalpo¹⁵ caturṇa¹⁶ posataḥ paṃcānām pravāranā ||
ṣaṭkalpo nāsti sapta-ka-

¹ A slip of the pen, instead of *-ya* — prolongation of the previous line — *bhikṣuṇīya*.

² A prakritism — instead of *paṃcabhi dharmebhi*.

³ A prakritism — instead of *ṣaḍbhi dharmebhi*.

⁴ A prakritism — instead of *ṣaḍbhi anudharmebhi*.

⁵ A slip of the pen, instead of *dve*.

⁶ A prakritism — instead of *viṃśatavarṣa-kalpo*.

⁷ A prakritism — instead of *viṃśati*.

⁸ Instead of *samājñayitavyaḥ* (erroneously?).

⁹ See n. 20.

¹⁰ Instead of *viṃśati*.

¹¹ Here and hereafter instead of *uposatha*.

¹² Instead of *bhojanā*.

¹³ Instead of *śalākā grahena pi*.

¹⁴ Instead of *patyaṣaṇaḥ*.

¹⁵ Instead of *caturṣkalpo*.

¹⁶ Instead of *caturṇam*.

TRANSLATION

1. -year-old Buddhist novice should receive *upasampāda*, a twenty-year-old girl-monk should receive *upasam-*
2. *pāda* ^[64]. The rule of the one ^[65]: *uposatha* is arranged for one ^[66]. Rule of the two: food [is distributed] in two ways: by receiving
3. a coupon or by the allotment of a share [immediately] in presence ^[67]. Rule of the three: [given the presence] of three people, the *uposatha* is read with three voices ^[68]
4. Rule of the four: the *uposatha* [is read] by four ^[69], a group of five [may perform] the *pravāraṇa* ^[70]. There is no rule of the six. Rule of the seven:

C o m m e n t a r y

^[64] The meaning of the rule is essentially that of the provision in the *Vinaya* that the ritual of *upasampāda* should not be performed on a person younger than 20. See Filliozat, "Fragments du Vinaya des Sarvāstivādins", pp. 45—6: *idaṃ buddha bhagavān anekaparyāyena vīgarhya bhikṣūn āmantrayate sma. tasmāt tarhy adyāgreṇa na ūnadaśavarṣeṇa sārđhavihārī upasampādayitavyah ya upasampādayet uṣkṛtasyāpatti* ("Generalising many cases, thus did the Buddha Bhagavan enjoin the monks; for this reason, in the future no one should perform the ritual of *upasampāda* on a charge (= *sārđhavihārī*) if he is not yet 20. He who performs the *upasampāda* commits the offence of *uṣkṛta*"). Cf. *Mahāvagga*, I, 49, 6: *na bhikkhave janam-unavisativasso puggalo upasampādetabbo* ("No one, o monks, must perform the ritual of *upasampāda* on a person, knowing that he is not yet 20 years old").

The term *celaka* is attested only in Buddhist Sanskrit in the sense of a "monk who wears linen clothing". In classical Sanskrit, the term *celuka* is used — "Buddhist novice", which seems more appropriate in the given context.

On the *upasampāda* of a nun at the age of 20, see the passage cited above from the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayakṣudraka-vastu*, note 62.

^[65] The rules which follow are formulated in brief and arranged in ascending numerical order beginning with one (a system designed for memorisation).

^[66] The rule is based on section 2 of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Poṣadha-vastu* (vol. III, pt. IV, p. 101): *yasmin bhadanta āvāse eko bhikṣuḥ prativasati. tena tadeva pośadhe pamcadaśayām katham pratipattavyam* ("In this region, o holiest one, lives [only] a single *bhikṣu*. How should one arrange the ceremony of *uposathi* on the 15th [day]?"). It is explained in the Pāli text that if only a single *bhikṣu* remains in the cloister, he still must read the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra* and perform the *parisuddhi-uposatha*. Cf. *Mahāvagga*, II, 26, 8, 9: "If in some cloister, o monks, on the day of the *uposatha*, there lives a single *bhikṣu*, he sweeps the place where the *bhikṣu* usually perform [the *uposatha*], the dining area, or the hall, or the space beneath a tree, he brings [to that place] water and food, prepares the seats, places a lamp and sits down ... If they (other monks who have chanced upon the cloister — *M. V.-D.*) do not come, let him concentrate on the thought: "Today is my *uposatha*".

^[67] The rule is based on the first of four injunctions obligatory for *bhikṣus* after the *upasampāda*. The corresponding Sanskrit text has not come down to us. For the Pāli, see *Mahāvagga*, I, 30, 4: "The life of a monk is supported by those pieces of food offered as alms to [nourish him]. You should try to live your entire life in this fashion. The food which is presented to the community or personally to individual [*bhikṣu*], invitations, food distributed by coupon, fare [in honour of the beginning] of each full moon, on each day of the *uposatha* or on the first day of the bright side of the moon — [this] is all goes beyond that which is decreed".

Śālākāgraha (Pāli *salakagaha*) is an established *Vinaya* term — "taking a coupon" (or "tag, ticket"). It is used in two cases: 1) when a *bhikṣu* is invited for refreshments or instead of alms is given a coupon which allows him food in "alms houses", that is, in places where a wealthy lay-person provides for the distribution of food to monks; 2) during gatherings of the community to decide difficult questions where votes must be counted, or if one must count the number of *bhikṣus* present at a gathering. In such cases, the counter is identified — *śulākāgrahāpaka* (Pāli *salākāgāhapāka*, see *Cūllavagga*, IV, 9).

^[68] The Sanskrit text of the rule in the first section of the *Vinaya-vastu* has not survived, see *Mahāvagga*, I, 26, 2, 3: "I enjoin, o monks, that three *bhikṣus* can perform the *pārisuddhi-uposatha*. And [this ritual] should be performed in the following fashion: let an educated, knowledgeable *bhikṣu* make the following announcement to the *bhikṣu*: 'Listen to me, honourable brothers! Today is the *uposatha*, the 15th day. If the honourable brothers are ready, let them perform the *pārisuddhi-uposatha* before each other'.

^[69] The rule is based on the first section of the *Vinaya-vastu*, the Sanskrit text has not come down to us, see *Mahāvagga*, I, 26, 1: "I enjoin, o *bhikṣu*, that a foursome [of *bhikṣu*] can read the *Prātimokṣa*".

The rule can also be explained on the basis of a provision on the legal powers of the community, see *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 199—211, *Karmavastu*: *api tu bhikṣavaḥ pañca saṃghakaramaṇām svamīnaḥ. katame pañca. catvāro bhikṣavaḥ saṃghaḥ. pañcāpi bhikṣavaḥ saṃghaḥ. daśa bhikṣavaḥ saṃghaḥ. viṃśatir-bhikṣavaḥ saṃghaḥ... tatra bhikṣavo yatra catvāro bhikṣavaḥ prativasanti. arhati tatra saṃgho dharmena sarvakarmāṇi kartum. sthāpayitvā pañcānām pravāraṇām daśānām-upasampādām viṃśatīnām cāvarhaṇam* ("And also, *bhikṣu*, five [categories] of the community are empowered to perform official acts: what are [these] five [categories]? A community of four *bhikṣus*. Also a community of five *bhikṣus*. A community of ten *bhikṣus*. A community of twenty *bhikṣus* ... There, monks, where four *bhikṣus* live, in accordance with the *dharmā* the community can perform all official acts except for the *pravāraṇā*, [which only] five [can perform], the *upasampāda*, [which only] ten [can perform], and the *avarhaṇa*, [which only] twenty [can perform]").

^[70] *pravāraṇā* (Pāli *pavāraṇā*) — "ritual of cleansing after the rain season". It is described in the third section of the *Vinaya-vastu* — *Pravāraṇā-vastu* (see "Gilgit Manuscripts", III, pt. IV, pp. 117—30), the text has come down to us in fragmentary form. A description of this ritual has been preserved in full in the *Karmavācānā*, see Hārtel, *Karmavācānā*, pp. 122—3: *adya saṅghasya pravāraṇā. mamāpi adya pravāraṇā. aham itthaṃ-nāmā bhikṣur bhadanta saṅgham pravārayāmi dṛṣṭena śrutena pariśankayā. avavadatu mām saṅgho 'nukampām upādāya. paśyann apāttim yathādharmam pratikariṣyāmi. evaṃ dvir api trir api* ("Today is the [day of] *pravāraṇā* of the community.

Today is also [the day of] my *pravāraṇā*. I, a *bhikṣu* by the name of so-and-so, o honourable ones, perform my *pravāraṇā* before the community. [If someone] has noticed [anything about me], heard, or if [anyone has] a suspicion, tell me, o [members of the] community, without regret. If I see [in this] an offence, I will atone [for it] as is prescribed in accordance with the *dharma*.⁷ Thus [is it repeated] on the second time, and on the third time as well⁸). Cf. *Mahāvagga*, IV, 1, 13, 14. See also *Vinaya-vastu*, section *Karmavastu*, p. 203 (cf. n. 69).

FOL. [78 v]

TRANSLITERATION

1. *lpo sapta cīvarāni trihi dorvvarṇṇa-karanehi¹ dorvvarṇṇi² karttavyaḥ || aṣṭa kalpo ahi³ ja-*
2. *nehi⁴ mahāsamāddhi āddhiṣṭātāvya⁵ || nava kalpo nāsti daśa kalpo daśahi⁶ ja-*
3. *nehi bhikṣu upasampādayitavyaḥ viśahi⁷ āvrahitavyaḥ⁸ || viśahi jane-*
4. *hi bhikṣuṇī upasampādayitavyaḥ catvāriśahi⁹ āvrahitavyaḥ ||*

TRANSLATION

1. Seven *cīvaras* should be brought to an unsightly colour by re-dying them [into one of] three [colours]^[71]. Rule of the 2. eight: eight persons may perform the *mahāsamāddhi*^[72]. There is no rule of the nine. Rule of the ten: 3. the ritual of the *upasampāda* of a *bhikṣu* can be performed [by a community of] ten persons^[73]. Rehabilitation [after punishment] can be performed [by a community of] twenty persons^[74]. The ritual of the *upasampāda* of a 4. nun can be performed [by a community of] twenty persons^[75]. The rehabilitation [of a nun after punishment] can be performed [by a community of] forty persons^[76].

C o m m e n t a r y

[71] The rule is not attested in this formulation in other *Vinaya* texts. It contains two instructions: 1) the possibility of having on hand seven *cīvaras* at the same time; 2) the necessity of rendering them unsightly.

As concerns the first instruction, it was not possible to find confirmation of it in *Vinaya* texts. The *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins (*Cīvaravastu*, “Gilgit Manuscripts”, vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 3—148) speaks of three *cīvaras*: *tasmātarhi bhikṣavo bhikṣubhīschinnam tricīvaram dhārayitavyamiti* (“For this reason, monks, monks should have on hand three *cīvaras* [sewn from] rags, this is the [resolution]”). We find the same instruction in the *Bhikṣukarmavākya*, see A. Ch. Banerjee, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXV (1949), pp. 21—2: *cīvaram samghātim adhiṣṭhāmi cīvaram uttarasamgam adhiṣṭhāmi cīvaram antarvāsam adhiṣṭhāmi* (“I accept the *samghāti-cīvara*. I accept the *uttarasamga-cīvara*, I accept the *antarvāsa-cīvara*”). We also find the same three *cīvaras* in the Pāli *Vinaya*. see *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 20, 2: “I allow you, monks, to have on hand three *cīvaras* without exchanging them; to have clothing for the four rainy months, but to surrender it after this ...”

A nun has the right to use five *cīvaras*, see *Cūllavagga*, X, 1, 2. In the *Mahāvvyutpatti* (§ 271, p. 573, Nos. 8932—8945) 13 terms are indicated for the clothing of monks; among them are five types of *cīvara* which are obligatory for monks and nuns. There are no indications of the times and situations in which one may use the remaining eight types of clothing. It is not out of the question that the rule indicates not the number of *cīvaras* but variations in the material from which they could be made. See, for example, *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 3, 1, 2: “I allow you, monks, six types of clothing: that made of linen, of cotton, of silk, of wool, of coarse fabric, and of hemp”.

The second part of the rule — the necessity of rendering a *cīvara* unsightly in colour — is based on the *Prātimokṣa-sūtra*, *Pāṭayan-tikā*, 59: “If a monk has received a new *cīvara*, he should employ one of three methods to mar its good colour — dyeing it blue, grey, or black. If a monk begins to use the new *cīvara* without treating it with one of these three methods, [he has committed the offence of] *pātayantikā*”.

[72] The rule is not attested in any of the *Vinaya* rules known to us.

[73] The rule is based on a provision on the legal powers of the community, see the *Vinaya-vastu* of Mūlasarvāstivādins, *Karmavastu* (“Gilgit Manuscripts”, vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 199—211): *yatra bhikṣavo daśa prativasanti. arhati tatra samghaḥ sarvakarmāni kartum sthāpayitvā viṃśatīnāmāvarhanam* (“There, monks, where ten (monks) live, the community may perform all official acts except for the *avarhana*, [which] only twenty [can perform]”) (p. 203). See also n. 69.

¹ Instead of *tribhiḥ durvarṇi-karanebhiḥ*.

² Instead of *durvarṇi*.

³ Instead of *aṣṭābhiḥ*.

⁴ Instead of *janebhiḥ* (Skr. *janaiḥ*) here and hereafter.

⁵ Instead of *adhiṣṭātavya*.

⁶ Instead of *daśābhi*.

⁷ Instead of *viṃśatibhiḥ*, here and hereafter.

⁸ Instead of *āvrahitavyaḥ*, here and hereafter.

⁹ Instead of *catvāriśadbhi*.

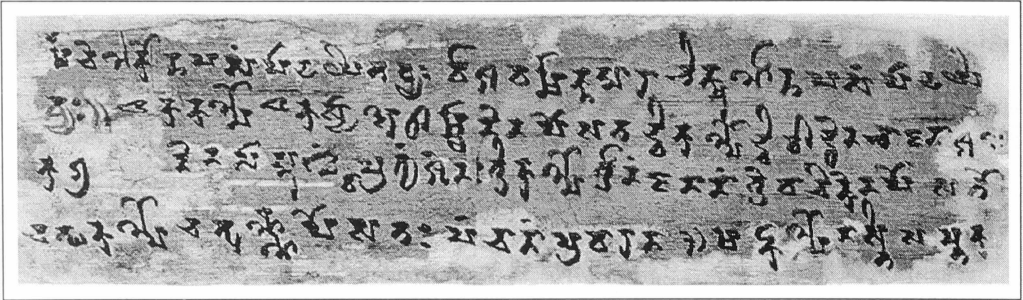


Fig. 7

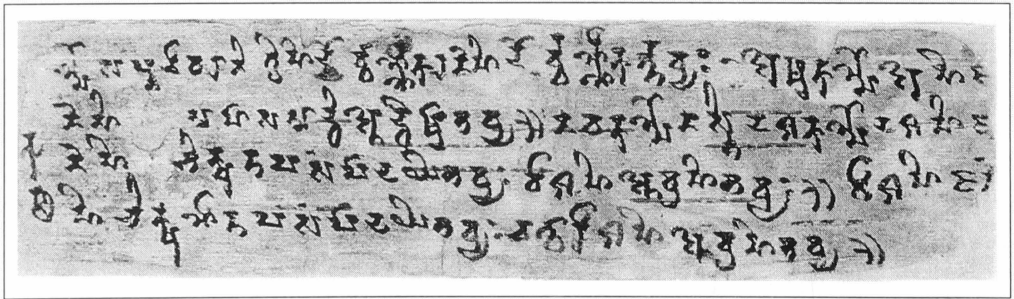


Fig. 8

[74] See previous note, as well as the continuation of the text from the *Karmavastu*, p. 203: *yatra vimśatirbhikṣavaḥ prativasanti uttare ca. arhatai tatra saṃgho dharmena sarvakarmāṇi kartum* (“There where twenty or more monks live, the community, in accordance with the *dharma*, can perform all official acts”). See also n. 69.

On the term *āvarhaṇa* (“rehabilitation”), see n. 18.

[75] The rule is not attested in this formulation in any of the *Vinaya* texts known to us. Its explanation should be sought in the description of the ritual of the *upasampāda* of a nun in *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācānā*, see Ridding, La Vallée Poussin, “A fragment of the Sanskrit *Vinaya*”, p. 133: *śṛṇotu bhadantā ubhayasaṃghaḥ...ubhayasaṃghād upasampādam yāce. upasampādayatu mām bhadantā ubhayasaṃghaḥ ullumpatu mām bhadantā ubhaya-saṃghaḥ, anugrhnātu mām bhadantā ubhayasaṃghaḥ. anukampatu mām bhadantā ubhayasaṃghaḥ* (“Listen, o noble ones, [listen to the] two communities ... I ask both communities for the *upasampāda*! Induct me, noble ones, both communities; ... save me, noble ones, both communities; be merciful to me, noble ones, both communities; be compassionate to me, noble ones, both communities”).

The nun appeals to both communities — to the community of monks, which consists of a minimum of ten members for the *upasampāda* (see n. 73), and to the community of nuns, which must also consist of ten persons to result in a total of twenty.

[76] This rule should evidently be interpreted in the same fashion as the preceding rule: the rehabilitation of a nun was effected by both communities — the community of *bhikṣu*, which must consist for twenty persons for this (see n. 74), and the community of nuns, which must also contain a minimum of twenty persons.

Illustrations

Fig. 1. Sanskrit manuscript SI Merv 1 on birch-bark from Bairam-Ali in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. [75r], 16.1×4.6 cm.

Fig. 2. The same manuscript, fol. 75v, 16.1×4.6 cm.

Fig. 3. The same manuscript, fol. [76r], 18.4×5.0 cm.

Fig. 4. The same manuscript, fol. 76v, 18.4×5.0 cm.

Fig. 5. The same manuscript, fol. [77r], 17.6×5.0 cm.

Fig. 6. The same manuscript, fol. 77v, 17.6×5.0 cm.

Fig. 7. The same manuscript, fol. [78r], 19.0×5.0 cm.

Fig. 8. The same manuscript, fol. 78v, 19.0×5.0 cm.