MANUSCRIPTS IN THE SCHØYEN COLLECTION



BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS

Volume IV

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THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED TO

KLAUS WILLE

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF HIS GENEROSITY TO HIS COLLEAGUES AND HIS PRODIGIOUS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STUDY OF BUDDHIST MANUSCRIPTS

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Two Mahādeva Fragments

Jonathan A. Silk

Introduction

The *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāsā, an important scholastic work extant only in the Chinese translation of Xuanzang, contains a short though striking story, the tale of Mahādeva. Representing a Sarvāstivādin point of view, it narrates how Mahādeva had a sexual relationship with his mother, killed his father, then an arhat, and then his mother herself, subsequently becoming a Buddhist monk. As a monk, he set forth five heretical theses-the so-called Five Points of Mahādeva (pañcavastūni)—thereby resulting in the fundamental schism of the Buddhist monastic community into the Sthavira and Mahāsāmghika orders. I have argued that the story of the oedipal schismatic Mahādeva known from the Mahāvibhāsā and other sources represents a recasting of an earlier story which, or a relative of which, is preserved in the Dharmarucy-avadāna of the Divvāvadāna.¹ I suggested that some version or versions of the story of Mahādeva must have circulated in India, in Sanskrit, in a form representing something like an intermediate state between the Divyāvadāna's Dharmarucy-avadāna and the Mahādeva story of the Mahāvibhāsā, the form in the Mahāvibhāsā being a sort of summary of a fuller version. That is to say, I was sure that there was some missing link between the detailed Dharmaruci story and the brief tale of Mahādeva, a state of the story which both preserved the sort of details visible in the Divyāvadāna and yet told not the story of Dharmaruci but that of the heretic Mahādeva. The fragments studied here provide our first concrete evidence, I believe, of the existence of precisely such a source.

The Schøyen collection contains two small fragments, catalogued as MS 2380/8 and 2380/20.² The leaves are written in what has been called "Gilgit/Bamiyan,Type I," the local ornate script, in use from approximately the sixth to the seventh centuries. This date of the manuscript itself, of course, is nothing more than a *terminus ante quem* for its contents. I first offer here a transliteration with translation, followed by a discussion contextualizing the materials and a line-by-line treatment of the fragments.

¹See Silk 2008a for the wider context of what follows.

² The fragments were first read by Klaus Wille, the readings subsequently emended by Lore Sander and Jens-Uwe Hartmann. My gratitude goes to these colleagues, as well as to Kazunobu Matsuda who, knowing my interest in Mahādeva, did me the great kindness of asking me to prepare them for publication after he noticed the name in Wille's initial transcript. Harunaga Isaacson made some kind suggestions for improvement. Finally, in preparing this article for publication in the summer and Fall of 2015 (more than five years after it was first submitted), I have profited greatly from a number of suggestions of Paul Harrison.

Transliteration

MS 2380/20, 2380/8; recto

- 2 /// m ākhyāyye tayābhihitam anena svasukhana + + + /// .r[d]dh(a)str[i]yābhihitam putr. [k]. [n]. [ś]. [bh]. + ///
- 3 /// atra vrddhastriyāyāḥ mahādevo bhihitaḥ pu + + /// .ā jānīṣe sa uvāca paraṃ sā te prārtha[y]. ///
- 4 /// [v]āk [s]ambhāṣaḥ karanīyaḥ mā viditāv ubhāv api .. /// /// vāca | yathājñāpayati³ tato sya mātre .. ///
- 5 /// + + ..[e] .. hā [saṃ] .. rṇa .[y]aṃ [na] kathā ..ṃ + + + + + + /// /// + .. + + + + + + ..ṃ + .. ///

verso

- v /// + + + + [n]. [jana]sya [s].agrham \bar{a} [g]. + + + + + ///
- w /// + [k]ṣy. mahādevo mātaram āha | amba [k]ut. [y]. .. + .. /// /// .. ty. [k]t. p. r. l[o]kā akarmadṛśā putr(a)m. ///
- x /// [hā] nirviśamko bhūtvā rati[m] idānīm anubhava | [s]. + + /// ///la r.o tau bhūmau nipapāta | tatas ta [y]. ///
- y /// .. tatonidānam pāpakam nāsti tatonidānam pā[p]. + + + /// /// [kh]. lopamo mātrgrāmaķ tadyathā dud. .. ///
- z /// + .o .e .. .[ā]rtham pakvānnopamo mātrgrāmah + + + /// /// + + + + r[th]. [y]. ..m + + + + + + ///

Translation

recto

- 1 ... pleasant ... body ...
- 2 ... told, she said: "by this, self-pleasure ..." ... addressed by the old woman ... son ...
- 3 ... in this regard the old woman spoke to Mahādeva: "s[on] ... you know." He said: "Yes, she⁴ ... request ...
- 4 ... you should make conversation ... do not ... even though both are known ... [S/he] said: As s/he commands. Then to his mother ...

5

verso

- v ... c[ome] [to] his/her/one's own house ...
- w ... Mahādeva spoke to his mother, saying: "Mother! Why ... [other] world ... son ...
- x ... now having removed suspicion, let us enjoy sexual pleasure! ... [he] fell on the ground. Then ...

³ The akṣara looks like *vi*, but it makes more sense to read it as *ti*.

⁴ I do not understand the text here. It is possible that Mahādeva is saying something about the request made by one woman (his mother, unbeknownst to him) to the other (the old procuress). Could *te* be a pronoun: 'to you'?

MAHĀDEVA

- y ... for that reason there will be no sin; for that reason ... sin ... like a mortar, the female sex. Just as ...
- z ... the female sex is like cooked food ...

The Story

Although the fragmentary nature of the sparse text contained on these two small pieces makes them difficult to construe in some respects, the existence of a close parallel aids our interpretation, that parallel being nothing other than the *Divyāvadāna*'s *Dharmarucy-avadāna*. The chief clue to the identity of the fragments is the presence of the name Mahādeva alongside some key vocabulary and expressions.

Let us begin with the *Abhidharma Mahāvibhāsā in order to orient ourselves in the story:5

Long ago there was a merchant in the kingdom of Mathurā. He married while still a youth and soon his wife gave birth to a baby boy. The child, who had a pleasing appearance, was given the name Mahādeva.

Before long, the merchant went on a long journey to another country taking with him rich treasure. Engaging in commercial ventures as he wended his way, a long time passed without his return. The son, meanwhile, had grown up and defiled his mother. Later on, he heard that his father was returning and he became featful at heart. Together with his mother, he contrived a plan whereby he murdered his father.

Thus did he commit his first sin of immediate retribution.

This deed of his gradually came to light, whereupon, taking his mother, he fled to the city of Pāṭaliputra, where they secluded themselves. Later, he encountered a monk-arhat from his native land who had received the support of his family. Again, fearing that his crime would be exposed, he devised a plan whereby he murdered the monk. Thus did he commit his second sin of immediate retribution.

[Mahādeva] became despondent. Later when he saw that his mother was having sexual relations with another, he said to her in raging anger: "Because of this affair, I have committed two serious crimes. Drifting about in an alien land, I am forlorn and ill-at-ease. Now you have abandoned me and fallen in love with another man. How could anyone endure such harlotry as this?" With this excuse he also murdered his mother. He had committed his third sin of immediate retribution.

Inasmuch as he had not entirely cut off the strength of his roots of goodness, [Mahādeva] grew deeply and morosely regretful. Whenever he tried to sleep, he became ill-at-ease. He considered by what means his serious crimes might be eradicated. Later, he heard that the Śākyaputra śramaṇas [Buddhist monks] were in possession of a method for eradicating crimes. So he went to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery. Outside its gate he saw a monk engaged in slow walking practice. The monk was reciting a hymn:

> If someone has committed a serious crime, He can eradicate it by cultivating goodness; He could then illuminate the world, Like the moon coming out from behind a screen of clouds.

When [Mahādeva] heard this, he jumped for joy. He knew that by taking refuge in the Buddha's teachings his crimes could certainly be eradicated. Therefore he went to visit the monk. Earnestly and persistently, [Mahādeva] entreated the monk to ordain him. When the monk saw how persistent [Mahādeva's] entreaties were, he ordained him without making an investigation or asking any questions. He allowed him to retain the name Mahādeva and offered him admonitions and instructions.

The corresponding story in the *Dharmarucy-avadāna* is quite long, and as I have published a revised edition of the text with translation (Silk 2008b; see also 2008a: chapter 7), here I only quote

⁵ The translation is that of Mair (1986: 20-21 = 1994: 109–111), which I have modified. The full account is in Xuanzang's T. 1545 (XXVII) 510c24–512a19 (*juan* 99), with the portion quoted found at 510c24–511a16. See Silk 2008a: 17ff.

the portions most relevant to our present fragments, paraphrasing the rest.

The story is told of a boy, born in a merchant family, who, while his father is away for an extended period, is seduced by his lustful mother, although the manner in which she seduces him prevents him from knowing that his lover is indeed his mother. The mother, frustrated by her inability to find a lover whose existence will not be publicly known, engages a procuress (the word in the text is *vrddhayuvati*, which will be of some importance). After the procuress fails to find a suitable man, the mother suggests her own son. The procuress tries to suggest this is a bad idea, but gives in. She arranges for them, mother and son, to meet at her, the procuress's, own house.

tatah sā vrddhayuvatī tasya baņijah putrasyaivāgamya prechati | vatsa taruņo 'si rūpavāms ca | kim pratisthito 'sy atha na | tena tasyā abhihitam | kim etat | tatah sā vrddhā kathayati | bhavān evam abhirūpas ca yuvā cāsmin vayasi taruņayuvatyā sārdham sobhethāh krīdan raman paricārayan | kim evam⁶ kāmabhogaparihīnas tisthasi | vaņigdārakas tam srutvā lajjāvyapatrāpyasamlīnacetās tasyā vrddhāyās tad vacanam nādhivāsayati |

tatah sā vrddhaivam dvir api trir api tasya dārakasya kathayati | taruņayuvatis tavārthe kleśair bādhyate | sa vaņigdārako dvir api trir apy ucyamānas tasyā vrddhāyāh kathayati | amba kim tasyās taruņayuvatyāh mamnimitte kimcid abhihitam | tatah sā vrddhā kathayati | uktam tasyā mayā tvannimittam | tayā mama nimittena pratijnātam | sā ca dārikā hrīvyapatrāpyagrhītā na kimcid vakṣyati | na ca śarīram āvrtam kariṣyati | na tvayā tasyā vācānveṣaņe yatnah karaņīyah | tatas tena vaņigdārakeņa tasyā vrddhāyā abhihitam | kutrāsmākam samgatam bhaviṣyati | tayābhihitam | madīye grhe |

Then the old procuress approached that very same merchant's son and asked: "My dear, you're young and handsome. Are you already pretty well set, or no?" He responded to her: "What do you mean?" So the old woman said: "Sir, handsome and young as you are, now in the prime of your life, you should be happy, playing, making love, and sporting amorously with a young woman. Why should you be deprived of the enjoyment of desires like this?" Hearing that, the merchant's son, shrinking in modesty and bashfulness, did not accept the old woman's suggestion.

Then **the old woman spoke to the boy** repeatedly, saying "A young woman is afflicted by passions on your account." Being repeatedly importuned, the merchant's son spoke to the old woman, saying: "Mother, did you say something to that young woman about me?" **Then the old woman said**, "I spoke to her about you, and she agreed, thanks to my suggestion. Gripped by timidity and bashfulness, that girl won't say anything. She won't reveal her body, **neither should you make an effort to ask her who she is**." So the merchant's son said to the old woman: "Where will our liaison be?" She said: "In **my own house**."

They meet there and have sex together repeatedly, although the son does not know that his partner is his mother. Eventually the mother tires of this, and wants them to instead be able to continue their activities under their own roof. She resolves to reveal her identity to her son.

iti samcintya tatraiva vrddhāgrhe gatvā ratikrīdām putreņa sārdham anubhūya tathaiva rajanyāh kṣaye satamondhakārakāle tasya dārakasyoparimam prāvaraņam nivasyātmanīyām ca śirottarapattikām tyaktvā svagrham gatā | sa ca dārakah prabhātakāle tām pattikām śirasi mañcasyāvatisthantīm sampaśyaty ātmīyām evopariprāvaraņapontīm alabhamānas tatraiva tām pattikām samlakṣya tyaktvā bhāndāvārīm gatvā yugalam anyam prāvrtya svagrham gatah | tatra ca gatah sampaśyati tam evātmīyam prāvaraņam tasyā mātuh śirasi prāvrtam | drṣtvā ca **tām mātaram prcchati | amba kuto 'yam** tava śirasi prāvaraņo 'bhyāgatah |

yatas tayābhihitam | adyāpy aham tavāmbā | evam cirakālam tava mayā sārdham kāmān paribhuñjato 'dyāpy aham tava saivāmbā | **yataḥ sa vaņigdārakas tathāvidham mātŗvacanam upaśrutya** sammūdho vihvalacetā **bhūmau nipatitaḥ | tatas** tayā sa mātrā ghaṭajalapariṣekenāvasiktaḥ | sa jalapariṣekāvasikto dārakaś cireņa kālena pratyāgataprāṇas tayā mātrā samāśvāsyate | kim evam khedam upāgatas tvam asmadīyam vacanam upaśrutya | dhīramanā bhavasva na te viṣādaḥ karaṇīyaḥ | sa dārakas tasyāḥ kathayati | katham nu aham khedam na smariṣyāmi sammoham vā yena mayā evamvidham pāpakam karma kṛtam | tataḥ sa tayābhihitaḥ | na te manaḥśokam asminn arthe utpādayitavyam | **panthāsamo mātṛgrāmo yenai-**

⁶Emended after the suggestion of Harunaga Isaacson.

MAHĀDEVA

vam hi yathā pitā gacchati putro 'pi tenaiva gacchati | na cāsau panthā putrasyānugacchato doşakārako bhavaty evam eva mātrgrāmaḥ | tīrthasamo 'pi ca mātrgrāmo yatraiva hi tīrthe pitā snāti putro 'pi tasmin snāti na ca tīrthaṃ putrasya snāyato doşakārakaṃ bhavaty evam eva mātrgrāmaḥ | api ca pratyanteṣu janapadeṣu dharmataivaiṣā yasyām eva pitā asaddharmeṇābhigacchati tām eva putro 'py adhigacchati | evam asau vaṇigdārako mātrā bahuvidhair anunayavacanair vinītaśokas tayā mātrā tasmin pātake 'saddharme punaḥ punar atīvasaṃjātarāgaḥ pravṛttaḥ |

So thinking she went right to the house of the old woman, and after having enjoyed sex play with her son, just as she had planned, at the end of the night she went home having put on the boy's upper garment and having left her own head covering. In the early morning time, the boy spied that cloth lying on the top part of the bedstead, and not finding his own upper garment, he recognized that cloth. Getting rid of it, he went to their shop, and dressing in another pair, he went home. When he got there he saw his very own garment being worn on his mother's head. Seeing that **he asked his mother: "Mother, how did this** cloth come to be on your head?"

She responded, "I'm still your mother. It's true that for a long time you've been enjoying sex with me, but I'm still your self-same mother." At that the merchant's son, hearing such words from his mother, dropped to the ground stunned and shaken. Then his mother sprinkled him with water from a jar, and after a long while the boy, having been sprinkled with water, recovered his breath. He was consoled by his mother: "Why are you so depressed like this, hearing my words? Be strong, don't be despondent!" The boy said to her: "How shall I not be mindful of my depression, or my bewilderment, by which I have done such an evil act?" Then she said to him: "Don't distress yourself over this. The female sex is like a road: for that upon which the father goes, the son too goes upon just the same. And this road does no harm to the son who follows it—it is precisely the same with the female sex [who does no harm]. And the female sex is also like a bathing spot, for at just that bathing spot in which the father bathes, the son too bathes, and the bathing spot does no harm to the son who is bathing—it is precisely the same with the female sex. Moreover, in a border country, just this is the normal way things are done: the son also approaches that same woman whom the father approaches for illicit purposes." The merchant's son, with his distress thus removed by his mother through many conciliatory words, was aroused by intense lust and engaged again and again in that illicit sin with his mother.

Later the mother's wife, the boy's father, comes home, and spurred on by his mother the boy kills him. The two, mother and son, escape. In their new land, they meet an arhat who knows them, and kill him too to conceal their secret. Finally the boy kills his mother, and becomes a monk.

It is not possible to speculate on the text to which these fragments belonged. It is not impossible that they formed part of some *Vibhāṣā*, similar to but different from the **Abhidharma Mahāvi-bhāṣā* known to us from its Chinese translation by Xuanzang (the Mahādeva story being missing from the earlier translation of Buddhavarman), but there is no evidence suggesting that this might be the case. While we do know of the existence of such parallel *Vibhāṣā*s, thanks to the work of Enomoto Fumio (1993, 1996), the fact that such works existed is almost all we know. Only further evidence would help to address the question of the original context of these small fragments. Despite the fact that they contain a story used by the Sarvāstivādins in their polemics, there is no particular reason to think that the text to which these fragments belonged was also associated with that school.

As catalogued and read by Wille, the two fragments were arbitrarily assigned A and B sides. Based on my hypothesis regarding their original relation,⁷ I suggest the following (tentative) assignment of recto and verso: 2380/8A = 2380/8v, 2380/8B = 2380/8r, 2380/20A = 2380/20v, 2380/20B = 2380/20r. Moreover, I believe these two fragments belong to the same leaf. Unfortunately, the recto is harder than the verso to understand. The extent of the original leaf of which the

⁷ In this regard I am grateful for the suggestions of Jens-Uwe Hartmann.

Schøyen fragments formed a part is also not known. However, if we are to judge from the *Divyā-vadāna* parallel, some considerable amount of material has been lost on both the right and left sides of the leaf. Since, however, we cannot know the original shape of the story contained in the Schøyen leaf, it is quite possible that the story was not developed in a manner strictly parallel to that in the *Divyāvadāna*. For this reason, we cannot be sure how much text may have been lost.

That said, we can certainly make some sense out of what does remain:

r1 /// nta[na]m [s]ukham śa[rīra] .a [v]a [k]r[t]y. .[y]. + + ///: At the very least, two of the words here are relatively understandable, but their relation to one another, the syntax, remains obscure.

r2 /// $m \bar{a}khy\bar{a}yye tay\bar{a}bhihitam anena svasukhana + + + /// .r[d]dh(a)str[i]y\bar{a}bhihitam putr. k. n. [ś]. [bh]. + ///: Again, the beginning of this line resists sure interpretation. The form <math>\bar{a}khy\bar{a}yye$ must be passive, I suppose. In the second part, we find the expression (v)r[d]dh(a)str[i]y\bar{a}bhihitam putr. k., "addressed by the old woman ... son." Here we find a key term which occurs again in the following line:

r3 /// atra vrddhastriyāyāḥ mahādevo bhihitaḥ pu + + /// .ā jānīṣe sa uvāca paraṃ sā te prārtha[y]. ///: We begin with atra vrddhastriyāyāḥ mahādevo [']bhihitaḥ, "in this regard the old woman said to Mahādeva." The word vrddhastriyā is clearly parallel to the vrddhayuvatī found in the Dharmarucy-avadāna,⁸ but the name Mahādeva makes it clear that our fragment cannot contain the identical story. If the previous line is parallel to the Dharmarucy-avadāna's tataḥ sā vrddhaivaṃ dvir api trir api tasya dārakasya kathayati, "Then the old woman spoke to the boy repeatedly, saying," and this line's expression is parallel to tataḥ sā vrddhā kathayati, "then the old woman said," this would suggest that the text missing between the two preserved expressions may run to some 60 akṣaras or so. However, the divergence in the expressions between the two texts, our fragments and the Dharmarucy-avadāna, suggests that such a calculation is not likely to be helpful. Therefore, even if the two texts generally run as parallel, as I tentatively suggest they do, they are far from being strictly parallel. It is possible that in the expression paraṃ sā te prārtha[y]. we should see the pronoun te, 'to you,' and understand that the speaker addresses someone who was requested by another, for instance "she requested you."

r4 /// $[v]\bar{a}k$ $[s]ambh\bar{a}sah$ karanīyah mā viditāv ubhāv api .. /// vāca | yathājñāpayati tato sya mātre .. ///: I cannot intelligently construe the entirety of this line, the reading of which presents some problems. The first portion is tentatively read: $[v]\bar{a}k$ [s]ambhāsah karanīyah mā viditāv ubhāv api. It is possible that we should understand something like "you should [not] make conversation [with her]; you two [should] both not be known", but it must be admitted that this requires the invention of considerable context. Moreover, it leaves the (very unsure) $[v]\bar{a}k$ unaccounted for. In the second portion we find vāca | yathājñāpayati tato [']sya mātre, which I tentatively translate "[S/he] said: As s/he commands. Then his mother." Is it possible that this has something to do with the Dharmarucy-avadāna's na tvayā tasyā vācānveṣane yatnah karanīyah,

⁸See Silk 2008b: 177–178.

MAHĀDEVA

"neither should you make an effort to ask her who she is"?

r5 /// + + ..[e] .. hā [saṃ] .. rṇa .[y]aṃ [na] kathā ..ṃ + + + + + /// /// + .. + + + + + ..ṃ + .. ///: Here I can make out nothing intelligible. When we come to the verso, however, fortunately things suddenly become much clearer.

vv /// + + + + [n]. *j[ana]sya [s](v)agrham ā[g]*.. + + + + + + + ///: We begin with *j[ana]sya [s]* (*v)agrham ā[g]*.., "c[ome] [to] his/her/one's own house," and while the first word remains to me unclear, the rest I would like to compare to the *Dharmarucy-avadāna*'s *madīye grhe*, "in my own house." The point here is that the go-between, the old woman, is suggesting that mother and son might meet at her own house.

vw /// + [k]syā mahādevo mātaram āha | amba [k]ut. [y]... + ... /// ... ty. .t. p. r. l[o]kā akarmadṛśā putr(a)m. ///: The expression mahādevo mātaram āha | amba [k]ut. [y]. is very clear, "Mahādeva spoke to his mother, saying: 'Mother! Why'," which we have in the Dharmarucyavadāna as tām mātaram pṛcchati | amba kuto 'yam, "he asked his mother: 'Mother, how did this?" However, the remaining p. r. l[o]kā akarmadṛśā putr(a)m is puzzling, and I have no good idea what could be meant here. In particular, the word akarmadṛśā is a mystery to me. If p. r. l[o]kā should be understood as p(a)r(a)l[o]kā, it is conceivable that something here refers to the (unseen?) karmic fate which awaits one in the other world as a result of performing improper actions in this world—but this is little more than speculation.

/// $[h\bar{a}]$ nirviśamko bhūtvā rati[m] idānīm anubhava | [s]. + + ///la r.o tau bhūmau VX nipapāta | tatas ta .. ///: The line begins nirviśamko bhūtvā rati[m] idānīm anubhava, "now having removed suspicion, let us enjoy sexual pleasure!," and continues tau bhūmau nipapāta | tatas, "[he] fell on the ground. Then." To the first part of this expression may be compared a sentence which occurs earlier in the Dharmarucy-avadāna's recounting, when Dharmaruci's mother is trying to figure out how to cope with her unfulfilled sexual passion. She says: tayā samcintyaivam adhyavasitam | evam eva putrah | kāmahetos tathā paricarāmi yathānenaiva me sārdham rāgavinodanam bhavati | naiva svajanasya śankā bhavişyati, "Thinking about it, she resolved the following: 'That's it, my son! In order to fulfill my desire, I'll have sex, and so dispel my lust with him alone. And certainly none of my relatives will have any suspicion." All suspicion of improper activity must be avoided. I believe that in our fragment reference is made to the same idea. Here, however, the setting is not the mother's planning, but her resolution to give up clandestine trysts with her son, revealing her identity to him and inviting him to continue their relations at their own home, secretly. The son's reaction to this suggestion is depicted in the Dharmarucy-avadāna as follows: yatah sa vanigdārakas tathāvidham mātrvacanam upaśrutya sammūdho vihvalacetā bhūmau nipatitaķ | tatas tayā sa mātrā ghatajalaparisekeņāvasiktaķ, "At that the merchant's son, hearing such words from his mother, dropped to the ground stunned and shaken. Then his mother sprinkled him with water from a jar ..."

vy /// ... tatonidānam pāpakam nāsti tatonidānam pā[p]. + + + /// [kh]. lopamo mātrgrāmah tadyathā dud. ... ///: The mother continues her arguments in the next lines: tatonidānam pāpakam

nāsti tatonidānam pā[p]., the first portion of which at any rate means "for that reason there is no sin," perhaps repeated. There does not appear to be any strict parallel to this in the Dharmarucyavadāna, but its continuity with the tenor of the story is clear. What continues from the same line into the last line again has a close parallel in the Dharmarucy-avadāna. Here we find the expression [kh]. lopamo mātrgrāmah tadvathā ..., "the female sex. Just as." To this we should compare the Dharmarucy-avadāna's panthāsamo mātrgrāmo yenaivam hi yathā pitā gacchati putro 'pi tenaiva gacchati | na cāsau panthā putrasvānugacchato dosakārako bhavaty evam eva mātrgrāmah, or the immediately following tīrthasamo 'pi ca mātrgrāmo yatraiva hi tīrthe pitā snāti putro 'pi tasmin snāti na ca tīrtham putrasya snāyato doşakārakam bhavaty evam eva *mātṛgrāmaḥ*, "The female sex is like a road: for that upon which the father goes, the son too goes upon just the same. And this road does no harm to the son who follows it-it is precisely the same with the female sex [who does no harm]. And the female sex is also like a bathing spot, for at just that bathing spot in which the father bathes, the son too bathes, and the bathing spot does no harm to the son who is bathing-it is precisely the same with the female sex." While this does not give us our key word, in the Abhidharmakośabhāşya ad IV.68d (Pradhan 1975: 241.11–12), we find an expression which may moroever connect with the following line as well, namely: ye cāhur udūkhalapuspaphalapakvānnatīrtha-mārgaprakhvo mātrgrāma iti |, "The female sex resembles a wooden mortar used to pound rice, a flower, fruit, cooked food, a bathing spot, and a road."9

vz /// + .o .e .. . $[\bar{a}]$ *rtham pakvānnopamo mātrgrāma*h + + + /// + + + *r*[th]. [y]. ..m + + + + + + + + + //: This last line contains the expression *pakvānnopamo mātrgrāma*h, "the female sex is like cooked food." See above.

The evidence presented above demonstrates with a great degree of likelihood that these two small fragments from the Schøyen Collection preserve crucial traces of an otherwise lost Sanskrit intermediary between the story of Dharmaruci, known to us now best in the *Dharmarucy-avadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*, and the story of Mahādeva, best known to us in drastically shortened form in the **Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā*. This is in its turn strong support for the hypothesis of just this connection.

⁹ See Silk 2008c: 438–442 for this and other examples. The same is found in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T. 1545 [XXVII] 606a16–21 [*juan* 116]): "There is absolutely no sin in behaving lustfully with one's mother, daughter, elder or younger sister, daughter-in-law or the like. Why? All women-kind are like ripe fruit, **like prepared food and drink** (已辦飲食), a road, a bridge, a boat, a bathing spot, **a mortar** and so on. It is the custom that beings use these in common, and therefore there is no sin in behaving lustfully toward them."

14. Two Mahādeva Fragments

Plate XXXIX



15. Another Fragment of Mātrceța's Prasādapratibhodbhava



verso



