Text, History, and Philosophy

Abhidharma across Buddhist Scholastic Traditions

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PART 3
Philosophical Studies

Abhidharmic Elements in Gandhāran Mahāyāna Buddhism: Groups of Four and the *abhedyaprasāda*s in the Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra

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1   Introduction

From the various collections of Gāndhārī manuscripts, an increasing number can be ascribed to the Mahāyāna branch of Buddhism. As of now seven early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s have been identified, supplemented by some scholastic texts, which also appear to bear a Mahāyāna character.

The Gāndhārī Mahāyāna *sūtra*s can be divided into two chronologically – and probably also regionally – different groups.[1] The more recent one is represented by manuscripts which most likely originate from Bamiyan. According to the paleography of their script and the advanced stage of their orthography and language, they can be ascribed to the later period of Gāndhāran literature, i.e. the third, early fourth century CE. This date is also confirmed by radiocarbon dating. This more recent group comprises fragments of Gāndhārī versions of already known Mahāyāna texts:

Skt. *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* (ca. 60 fragments, Schøyen Collection, see Allon and Salomon, 2010: 6f.; Baums, Glass and Matsuda, forthcoming)
Skt. *Bodhisattvapiṭaka-sūtra* (MS17, see Allon and Salomon, 2010: 8)
Skt. *Sarvapuṇyasamuccayasamādhi-sūtra* (MS89, see Allon and Salomon, 2010: 7f.)

The older manuscripts preceding this group were written most likely in the late first, early second century CE. Again this date could be confirmed by radiocarbon dating (for the *Prajñāpāramitā* cf. Falk, 2011: 20). Although two of these early manuscripts contain texts which can also directly be linked to extant versions of Mahāyāna works, two of them seem to represent texts which are hitherto unknown and have not been transmitted in any of the known Buddhist literary traditions. These texts promise new insights into the formative phase

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1   For more details cf. Strauch, forthcoming. See also Allon and Salomon, 2010.

of early Mahāyāna, when texts had yet to be harmonized into authoritative versions. The texts of this second group comprise:

"Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra" (BajC2, see Strauch, 2010; Strauch, forthcoming)

Skt. *Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (G. *prañaparamida*, SplitC5, see Falk, 2011; Falk and Karashima, 2012, 2013)

Skt. **Sucitti-sūtra* (unpublished private collection, see Allon and Salomon, 2010: 11)

Skt. *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhi-sūtra* (unpublished private collection, see Harrison and Hartmann, 2014: xvi, note 19)

At least two of these four early texts – the "Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra" and the *Prajñāpāramitā* – hail, according to reliable records, from the region along the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, in the modern-day districts of Bajaur and Dir, i.e. east of the Hindukush range.[2]

Among these early texts, the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra is of special interest. First, it is by far the largest of these early Mahāyāna texts, and the longest text in Gāndhārī known so far, comprising around six hundred lines on a large composite birch bark scroll of about 2 meters length. Second, it belongs to those texts, for which no parallel in another language is known.

The Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra is part of the Bajaur Collection, which was allegedly discovered in the ruins of a Buddhist monastery near the village Mian Kili at the Dir-Bajaur border. The collection comprises texts of various Buddhist literary genres, such as *āgama*, *vinaya*, *rakṣā* and *stotra* texts. A considerable number of texts belong to the genre of scholastic literature, some of which have a distinctive Mahāyāna tendency.[3] Even non-Buddhist texts such as a *rājanīti* verse anthology and a loan contract could be identified among the birch barks of the Bajaur Collection.[4]

The study of the large Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra is still ongoing. Although the edition still needs some further research regarding certain passages, a more general discussion and summary of its contents will be published soon.[5]

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2   For the origin of the Bajaur Collection cf. Strauch, 2008; for the Split Collection see Falk, 2011.

3   The best preserved texts of this group were edited by Andrea Schlosser in her dissertation "On the Bodhisattva Path in Gandhāra – Edition of Fragment 4 and 11 from the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭhī Manuscripts" (2013, revised version 2016).

4   For a general survey of the collection see Strauch, 2008. Separate texts are dealt with in Strauch, 2011; Strauch, 2014a and 2014b.

5   The editing of the text is carried out by Ingo Strauch and Andrea Schlosser within a cooperation between the Chair of Buddhist Studies at Lausanne University and the project "Early Buddhist Manuscripts from Gandhāra" of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, Munich.

The entire *sūtra* can be divided into two different narratives. The first, frame narrative represents a dialogue between the Buddha and Śāriputra. This dialogue occurs at the Vulture Peak in Rājagṛha. The Bajaur *sūtra* shares this location with other early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, as e.g. the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* and the Gāndhārī *Prajñāpāramitā* (cf. Falk and Karashima, 2012: 28).

The second narrative, which is mainly devoted to the description of the bodhisattva path, reports the dialogue between the Buddha and 84,000 gods (*devaputra*). This part contains many elements which are known from other early Mahāyāna texts, as e.g. the prediction of a future buddha land (*vyākaraṇa*). It is a distinctive feature of the text that this prediction refers to the buddha land Abhirati of the Buddha Akṣobhya. Moreover, the text celebrates *dharmakṣānti*, "endurance towards the [non-arising of the] factors of existence," as the major characteristic of a bodhisattva. As a characteristic passage of the *sūtra*'s approach we cite the following passage:[6]

(*e)[va vuto] bhagava ai[śpa] (*śa)[r](*ip)u(*tro edad oya sarvadharma)[ṇa] śariputra · ṇa aṣi praṇayati · ṇa maje praṇayati · ṇa p(*r)ayoṣaṇo praṇayati ∘ yado ya · śariputra sarvadharma[ṇa] (*ṇa aṣi praña)yati ṇa maje praṇayati [·] ṇa prayoṣaṇo praṇayati · ṇa taṣa śariputra dha(*r)maṣa [haṇi] praña[yati] ṇa ṭhi[di] (*pra)[ñayati ṇa veul](*o)[do pra](*ñayati ∘) yado ya śariputra ◊ sarvadharmaṇa ◊ · ṇa haṇi prañaïdi · ◊ ṇa ṭhidi praṇaya[d]i ◊ ṇa veulodo praṇayadi ◊ ida ta śariputra · pragidie (*acalo aṇalao dha)[rm](*o · ya) [śa]riputra ◊ acalo aṇalao ◊ dharma ◊ ida ta śariputra · imasvi dharmaviṇae ◊ saro (BajC2: 3H.44+1F.33–1F.36)

Thus addressed, the Blessed One said to the Venerable Śāriputra: (*Of all *dharma*s), Śāriputra, a beginning (*ādi*) is not conceived, a middle (*madhya*) is not conceived, an end (*paryavasāna*) is not conceived. And because, Śāriputra, of all *dharma*s a beginning is not conceived, a middle is not conceived, an end is not conceived, of this [single] *dharma*, Śāriputra, a decrease (*hāni*) is not conceived, a stability (*sthiti*) is not conceived, an increase (*vaipulyatā*) is not conceived. And because, Śāriputra,

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6 The quotations and translations in this article are based on the ongoing edition by Ingo Strauch and Andrea Schlosser. The conventions are those of the series *Gandhāran Buddhist Texts*, i.e. [ ] uncertain reading, (*) editorial restoration of lost text, ⟨* ⟩ editorial addition of omitted text, { } editorial deletion of redundant text, ? illegible akṣara, + lost akṣara, /// textual loss at left or right edge of support (cf. <http://gandhari.org/a_dpreface.php>). ◊ signifies an intentional space.

of all *dharma*s a decrease is not conceived, a stability is not conceived, an increase is not conceived, this [single] *dharma*, Śāriputra, is by nature immovable (*acala*) and baseless (*anālaya*). Which *dharma*, Śāriputra, is immovable and baseless, this, Śāriputra, is the essence of this Dharma and discipline (*dharmavinaya*).

Passages like this are not rare in early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, as is, for example, shown by an almost literal parallel from the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (see *Aṣṭa* §2, ed. Vaidya, 1960: 32).

The focus of early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s towards the character of *dharma*s was interpreted by Johannes Bronkhorst as clear evidence for the influence of Gandhāran scholasticism on early Mahāyāna.[7] As Bronkhorst (forthcoming) argues:

> It was in Greater Gandhāra, during this period, that Buddhist scholasticism developed an ontology centered around its lists of dharmas. Lists of dharmas had been drawn up before the scholastic revolution in Greater Gandhāra, and went on being drawn up elsewhere with the goal of preserving the teaching of the Buddha. But the Buddhists of Greater Gandhāra were the first to use these lists of dharmas to construe an ontology, unheard of until then. They looked upon the dharmas as the only really existing things, rejecting the existence of entities that were made up of them. Indeed, these scholiasts may have been the first to call themselves *śūnyavādins*. No effort was spared to systematize the ontological scheme developed in this manner, and the influence exerted by it on more recent forms of Buddhism in the subcontinent and beyond was to be immense. But initially this was a geographically limited phenomenon. It may even be possible to approximately date the beginning of this intellectual revolution. I have argued in a number of publications that various features of the grammarian Patañjali's (Vyākaraṇa-)Mahābhāṣya must be explained in the light of his acquaintance with the fundamentals of the newly developed Abhidharma. This would imply that the intellectual revolution in northwestern Buddhism had begun before the middle of the second century BCE. If it is furthermore correct to think, as I have argued elsewhere, that this intellectual revolution was inspired by the interaction between Buddhists and Indo-Greeks, it may be justified to situate the beginning of the new Abhidharma at a time following the renewed conquest of Gandhāra by the Indo-Greeks; this was in or around

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7 On Sarvāstivāda scholastisicm in the northwest (Gandhāra and Bactria) see Willemen, Dessein and Cox, 1998: 255–285.

> 185 BCE. The foundations for the new Abhidharma may therefore have
> been laid toward the middle of the second century BCE.

Based on this statement, it seems worthwhile to have a closer look at the interrelationship of both literary genres. The present paper will confine the discussion to the evidence of the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra as one of the earliest attested manuscripts of a Gandhāran Mahāyāna text. It will focus on a passage within the introductory portion that is devoted to the description of an ideal disciple of the Buddha (*āryaśrāvaka*) and culminates in a list of Buddhist scholastic terms, which are grouped as four. The list of fours is followed by the discussion of another category of fours, called *abhejaprasada*, Skt. *abhedyaprasāda*. According to the amount of text, which is devoted to this category (ca. 53 out of 121 lines of the introduction), they play a dominant role among the characteristics of an *āryaśrāvaka* as conceived in this text.

The first part of this paper – written by Andrea Schlosser – investigates the relationship of the list of groups of four to Abhidharma and Prajñāpāramitā literature.[8] The second part – written by Ingo Strauch – is particularly devoted to the *abhedyaprasāda*s, which seem to represent the *raison d'être* which caused the inclusion of this list into the text of the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra. Both parts try to establish the position of the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra within the debates of early Abhidharma discourses and to find the mechanisms that accompanied the transition of Abhidharma thinking into a Mahāyāna context.

2   Groups of Four

2.1   *Position in the Text*

Immediately preceding the list consisting of groups of four, Śāriputra enumerates several things, such as *rūpasthiti* or *vedanotpāda*, that are not perceived by a tathāgata. The *bhagavant* approves and says that also his disciple does not perceive anything of it. He goes on to ask:

> *ta ki mañaṣi śariputra ◇ vida⟨*vi⟩di*[9] *te dharma ya ma ? ? + + + + +*
> What do you think, Śāriputra, … these *dharma*s, which …

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9   The meaning of this word is yet uncertain. The *vi* is inserted based on the spelling in the
     preceding passage, where the word occurs twice as *vidavidi*.

FIGURE 1   *Extract from BajC2, part 1 (frame 2).*

Since the end of the line is not preserved any more (1B.14, see fig. 1), the exact wording cannot be established and also the verbal connection to the following passage is unclear, but it should still be spoken by the *bhagavant* and the missing portion should only comprise the end of the rhetorical question addressed to Śāriputra.

2.2   *The List*

The following passage in response to the preceding question contains a long list of items. All of them consist of four members. The reconstruction is as follows (BajC2, 1B.15–17+E.27–28):

(*catvari śpaḍovaṭhaṇa ·)	(*Four establishments of mindfulness),
(*catvari) samapra[saṇa] ·	(*four) right endeavours,
[catvari] irdh[ipada] ·	four bases of [supernormal] power,
catvari jaṇa[10] ·	four [stages of] meditation,
catvari saca ·	four truths,
catvari apramaña ·	four unlimited,
catvare ? + + + + +[11]	four ...,
[catvare] (*pa)disabhida ·	four analytical knowledges,
catvare va[ś]ida ·	four masteries,
ca[tvare veharaja] ·	four self-confidences,

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10   Possibly written with a stroke above the *j* (G. *jāṇa*) as etymologically expected, but the manuscript is folded here, concealing the upper part.

11   Perhaps a term corresponding to the four *ārūpyasamāpattis* or the four *samādhibhāvanās*.

catvare ñaṇamulea dharma ·	four things rooted in knowledge,
catvare so[*davati*](**aga* ·)	four factors of stream entry,
+ + + + + + *? ?* +	…,
catvare taṣamulea dharma (***·)	four things rooted in craving,
catvare paḍi[*va*](**da* ·)	four kinds of progress,
+ + + + + + + + +	…,
+ + + + + + + *? ? ?*	…,
[*catvare*] *? ? ? ?* + +[12]	[four] (**stations of consciousness),
+ + + + + + *? ? ?*	…,
[*ca*]*tvare sakṣigaraṇia dharma*	four things to be realized,
catvari aṣaharia dharma	four unconquerable things.

2.3   *Context and Meaning*

2.3.1   Similar Lists in Buddhist Literature

Parts of the list in the Bajaur manuscript are familiar from other texts, but the whole set is, to my knowledge, not found in any other Indic text source. The first three items are identical with the first three items of the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s, the factors conducive to awakening. These are: four *smṛtyupasthāna*s, four *samyakpradhāna*s, four *ṛddhipāda*s, five *indriya*s, five *bala*s, seven *bodhyaṅga*s, and the eightfold *mārga*. This listing was studied by Johannes Bronkhorst in his article "Dharma and Abhidharma" (1985), where he compares its occurrences throughout Buddhist literature and divides them into four phases of development.[13] The sequence in BajC2 corresponds to Bronkhorst's categories III or **IV with addition of the four *dhyāna*s (II[14]) and the four *apramāṇa*s (III) and possibly also the four *ārūpya*(*samāpatti*)s (**IV[15]), see table 2.1. Since at the crucial point in BajC2 the birch bark is broken off, it cannot be determined if the *ārūpya*s had been included or not, but the remaining traces of the first akṣara do not suggest an *a*, thus speaking against *ārūpya*.

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12   Most probably this is G. *viñaṇaṭhiḍio*, based on the remaining traces of ink and the sequence in two versions of the *Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya*, namely G Cm and T.1.1 (cf. table 3).

13   Cf. also Gethin, 2001, especially pp. 264–283 about the 'seven sets expanded'.

14   Cf. Bronkhorst, 1985: 306, note 8: "It is remarkable that the *Dīrghāgama* preserved in Chinese seems to have only list II, not I". Also a list in another Gāndhārī manuscript (fragment 5 of the Senior Collection) contains this extended list (II) corresponding to the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (see Glass, 2007: 35).

15   This combination is not extant in any text but a "hypothetical construction" (Bronkhorst, 1985: 308).

TABLE 1   *Development of lists based on the* bodhipakṣya-dharmas *after Bronkhorst, 1985.*

I	II	III	*IV
smṛtyupasthāna	smṛtyupasthāna	smṛtyupasthāna	smṛtyupasthāna
samyakpradhāna	samyakpradhāna	samyakpradhāna	samyakpradhāna
ṛddhipāda	ṛddhipāda	ṛddhipāda	ṛddhipāda
	dhyāna	dhyāna	dhyāna
		apramāṇa	apramāṇa
			ārūpya
indriya	indriya	indriya	
bala	bala	bala	
bodhyaṅga	bodhyaṅga	bodhyaṅga	
ārya aṣṭāṅga mārga	ārya aṣṭāṅga mārga	ārya aṣṭāṅga mārga	
bodhipakṣya-dharmas > sūtras and Vinaya	> some canonical sūtras > Ch Dīrghāgama (only II, not I)	> Dhātukathā, Vibhaṅga	groups of four > Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya

The same set of items (III, excluding the *ārūpya*s) also occurs in the *Dhātukathā*[16] or the *Vibhaṅga.* In the latter, the next (and last) group comprising four items are the four *paṭisambhidā*s, quite similar to the BajC2 list: (4) *ariyasaccāni*, (7) *satipaṭṭhānā*, (8) *sammappadhānā*, (9) *iddhipādā*, (12) *jhānāni*, (13) *appamaññāyo*, (15) *paṭisambhidā* (the numbering reflects the chapters, cf. also Frauwallner, 1995: 17f.).[17] Thus, all seven fourfold categories discussed in

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16   Bronkhorst, 1985: 306 (page 1 of the PTS edition, cf. also Narada, 1962: xlviii).

17   The *ārūpya*s have been included under the heading *jhāna*, but this is thought to be a later addition. According to Bronkhorst, 1985: 308, a part of the *Vibhaṅga* (pp. 193–305) is based on the following list: (1) 4 *satipaṭṭhāna*, (2) 4 *sammappadhāna*, (3) 4 *iddhipāda*, (4) 7 *bojjhaṅga*, (5) 8-*aṅgika magga*, (6) 4 *jhāna*, (7) 4 *appamaññā*, (8) 5 *sikkhāpada*, (9) 4 *paṭisambhidā*, thus excluding the 4 *sacca*. The *Vibhaṅga* is believed to "have developed out of an earlier work [before 200 BCE] which also underlay the *Dharma-skandha* of the Sarvāstivādins" (Bronkhorst, 1985: 308). There, the *ārūpya*s as well as the *satya*s are contained (T.26.1537: 453b24–514a10, 阿毘達磨法蘊足論, *Apidamo fayun zu lun*, tr. by Xuanzang 玄奘). However, the sequence of the chapters is different (Frauwallner, 1995: 15f. (= 1964: 73–74)): (2) *srotāpattyaṅgāni*, (3) *avetyaprasādāḥ*, (4) *śrāmaṇyaphalāni*, (5) *pradipadaḥ*, (6) *āryavaṃśāḥ*, (7) *samyakpradhānāni*, (8) *ṛddhipādāḥ*, (9) *smṛtyupasthānāni*, (10) *āryasatyāni*, (11) *dhyānāni*, (12) *apramāṇāni*, (13) *ārūpyāṇi*, (14) *samādhibhāvanāḥ* (only chapter (1) [the 5 *śikṣāpadāni*] and chapter (15) [the 7 *bodhyaṅgāni*] of the first part (–494b29) are not groups of four).

the *Vibhaṅga* are contained within the BajC2 list under the first eight items, leaving no indication for the uncertain item no. 7 though. Nevertheless, one tentative conclusion might be that the listing in BajC2 is based on a list also occurring in the *Vibhaṅga* and *Dhātukathā*, but with the inclusion of the *ārūpya*s or another additional group of four. The *satya*s, however, are positioned not at the beginning but in the middle of two categories pertaining to meditation. Interestingly, they are placed likewise in the Sanskrit version of the *Saṃgītisūtra* ('Skt') and its Chinese commentary (T.26.1536), additionally followed by *saṃjñā* / *xiang* 想, see table 2. The Pāli version ('P') lists *samādhi-bhāvanā* instead, the *satya*s (P. *sacca*) or *saṃjñā*s (P. *saññā*) are not contained at all; in the Gāndhārī commentary and the other Chinese versions they are inserted later (*satya*: G Cm 23., T.1.1: 23., T.1.12: 9.; *saṃjñā*: G Cm 34., T.1.1: 34., T.1.12: –).[18]

TABLE 2 *Sequence of* dhyāna, apramāṇa *and* ārūpya *in the different versions of the Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya.*

G Cm	T.1.1	T.1.12	P	BajC2	Skt	T.26.1536
13.[a] *jaṇa*	14. 禪	04. 禪定	04. *jhānāni*	04. *jaṇa*	04. *dhyānāni*	04. 靜慮
			05. *samādhi-bhāvanā*	05. *saca*	05. *ārya-satyāni*	05. 聖諦
					06. *saṃjñāḥ*	06. 想
15. *apravaṃñā*	15. 梵堂 [b]	05. 無量	06. *appamaññāyo*	06. *apramaña*	07. *apramāṇāni*	07. 無量
16. *arupa* [sa]⟪ma⟫*vatie*	16. 無色定	06. 無色定	07. *arūpā* (v.l. *āruppā*)	07. ?	08. *ārūpyāṇi*	08. 無色

a   G Cm interchanges *idhivaḍa* (14.) and *jaṇa* (13.).
b   ~ *brahmavihāra*.

Thus, G Cm, T.1.2, and T.1.12 seem to represent an older version of this particular sequence, where the first three fourfold items of the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s plus the *dhyāna*s are immediately followed by the 'unlimited'. The list in BajC2 should be more recent than the list preserved in these versions, but older than the one in Skt/T.26.1536, however being part of the same strand of development that included the *satya*s at this position (so far only attested in

18   For references and more information about the different versions of the *Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya* see table 3.

Sarvāstivāda versions of the *Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya*). After the 'unlimited,' all versions of the *Saṃgīti*◦ agree again in listing the 'formless,' but it has to be left open what is to be reconstructed in BajC2.

All other legible groups of four occurring in the Bajaur manuscript are mostly contained in the extant versions of the *Saṃgītisūtra* and its commentaries, even though not in the same sequence, see table 2.3.[19]

The (Gāndhārī) terms only occurring in some versions are:

- *saca*	Skt,	T.26.1536,		T.1.12,	T.1.1,	G Cm.
- (**pa*)*ḍisabhida*				T.1.12,	T.1.1,	G Cm.
- *taṣamulea dharma*	Skt,	T. 26. 1536,	P,	T.1.12.	
- *sakṣigaraṇia dharma*	Skt,	T. 26. 1536,	P,		T.1.1,	G Cm.

No unambiguous pattern can be observed that would show a distinctive affiliation of BajC2 to one or other version of the *Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya*. The list in BajC2 resembles the Skt/T.26.1536/P/T.1.12 versions in that it likewise begins with the *smṛtyupasthāna*s. Among these, it seems somehow connected with T.1.12 in that it includes the (**pa*)*ḍisabhida*s (*wu'aijie* 無礙解), although on the other hand T.1.12 strangely lacks the *sakṣigaraṇia-dharma*s and also adds the *saca*s (*shengdi* 聖諦) at a later position. Regarding the sequence, BajC2 seems most similar to P (though with gaps) but includes, as already said, the *saca*s and the (**pa*)*ḍisabhida*s.

Terms only occurring in BajC2 are:

- *va*[*ś*]*ida*
- [*veharaja*]
- *aṣaharia dharma*

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19   In the Sanskrit *Dīrghāgama* manuscript from Gilgit, the relevant passages of the *Saṃgītisūtra* are too fragmentary to be taken into consideration here. Apparently, only IV.12 and IV.20 are preserved partly (thanks to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for sharing unpublished information). In the table, ~ indicates that the equivalence is uncertain.

TABLE 3   Comparison of the list in BajC2 with the groups of four occurring in the Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya.

BajC2	Skt	T.26.1536	P	T.1.12	T.1.1	G Cm
01. (*catvari śpadovathaṇa ·)	01. smṛtyupasthāna	01. 念住	01. satipaṭṭhānā	01. 念處觀	11. 念處	11. [śpaḍ]ova[tha]ṇa
02. (*catvari) sanapra[ṣaṇa] ·	02. samyakprahāṇa	02. 正斷	02. sammappadhānā	02. 正斷	12. 意斷	12. sammeprasaṇa
03. [catvari] irdh[ipada] ·	03. ṛddhipāda	03. 神足	03. iddhipādā	03. 神足	13. 神足	14. idhivaḍa
04. catvari jaṇa ·	04. dhyāna	04. 靜慮	04. jhānāni	04. 禪定	14. 禪	13. jaṇa
05. catvari saca ·	05. āryasatya	05. 聖諦	–	09. 聖諦	23. 聖諦	23. ariaṣaca
06. catvari apramaña ·	07. apramāṇa	07. 無量	06. appamaññāyo	05. 無量	15. 梵堂	15. apravaṃña
07. catvare ? + + + + +						
08. [catvare] (*pa)ḍisabhida ·	–	–	–	26. 無礙解	27. 辯才	27. paḍisaṃbiḍa
09. catvare va[s]ida ·	–	–	–	–	–	–
10. ca[tvare veharaja] ·	–	–	–	–	–	–
11. catvare ñaṇamulea dharma ·	~13. jñāna	~13. 智	~11. ñāṇāni	~07. 智	~26. 智	~26. ñaṇa
12. catvare so[ḍavati](*aga ·)	12. aṅgaiḥ samanvāgataḥ srotāpannaḥ	12. 證淨	14. sotāpannassa aṅgāni	18. 預流身	20a. 須陀洹支	20a. soḍavatiaga
13. + + + + + ? ? +						
14. catvare taṣamulea dharma (*)	~24. tṛṣṇotpāda	~34. 愛	~20. taṇhuppādā	~30. 愛生	–	–
15. catvare paḍi[va](*da ·)	31. pratipad	21. 行	21. paṭipadā	17. 神通道	22. 道	22. paḍivaḍa
16. + + + + + + + + + + +						
17. + + + + + + ? ? ?						
18. [catvare] ? ? ? ? + + (= viñaṇathiḍio?)	23. vijñānasthiti	33. 識住	18. viññāṇaṭṭhityo	13. 識住	28. 識住處	28. viñaṇaṭhiḍio

TABLE 3 *Comparison of the list in BajC2 with the groups of four occurring in the* Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya *(cont.).*

BajC2	Skt	T.26.1536	P	T.1.12	T.1.1	G Cm
19. + + + + + + ? ? ?						
20. [ca]vare sakṣiqaraṇia dharma	20. sākṣīkaraṇīya dharma	20. 隨證法	30. sacchikaraṇīyā dhammā	–	21. 受證	21. sakṣiṣkatava
21. catvari aṣaharia dharma	–	–	–	–	–	–

G Cm: BL15, ca. 0–100 CE, not published yet (groups of four to be edited by Stefan Baums).
P: *Saṃgītisuttanta*, DN III 221–233.
Skt: *Saṃgītisūtra*, Central Asian manuscripts, ca. 7th c. CE, ed. Stache-Rosen, 1968.
T.1.1: ~ *Saṃgītisuttanta* (眾集經, *Zhongji jing*, DĀ, sūtra no. 5), T.1.1.50b23–51b4, tr. Buddhayaśas, ca. 5th c. CE, tr. in Behrsing, 1930.
T.1.12: ~ *Saṃgītiparyāyasūtra* (大集法門經, *Daji famen jing* = *Mahā-saṃgīti-sūtra*), T.12.1.228b16–230a5, tr. by Dānapāla[a], ca. 1000 CE.
T.26.1536: ~ *Saṃgītiparyāya* (阿毘達磨集異門足論, *Apidamo jyimen zuluu* = *Abhidharma-saṃgīti-paryāya-pāda-śāstra*), T.26.1536.26.391b11–411c11), tr. by Xuanzang, 660–663 CE[b], tr. in Stache-Rosen, 1968.

Skt is closely connected to T.26.1536 (Sarvāstivāda), which is a commentary on it. P (Theravāda) and T.1.12 (affiliation unknown) seem to stand for themselves, although being connected to T.1 (Dharmaguptaka). G Cm is closely connected to Skt/T.26.1536 due to the same beginning. G Cm is closely connected to T.1 (Dharmaguptaka).

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a Also BajC1 (*Gautamisūtra*) has a closely related, though not identical Chinese version that has been translated by Dānapāla (T.1.84, ca. 980–1000 CE, cf. Strauch, 2007/2008:19–21, and Strauch, 2014a:33). He was from Uḍḍiyāna (Swat), his school affiliation is unknown (cf. Strauch, 2014 a: 26 and 35).
b Willemen, Dessein and Cox, 1998:177.

G *va[ś]ida*. The *vaśitā*s ("masteries / powers") are normally classified as being ten[20], but they are different from the ten *bala*s (of a tathāgata or bodhisattva)[21]. So far, it seems that the only Sanskrit texts mentioning only four *vaśitā*s are the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (Msa) and the *Madhyāntavibhāga* (MAV) transmitted by Asaṅga, and Vasubandhu explains them as "the masteries in the absence of conceptual discrimination, in the purification of a field, in awareness, and in action" (*caturdhā vaśitā nirvikalpavaśitā kṣetrapariśuddhivaśitā jñānavaśitā karmavaśitā ca*, tr. D'Amato, 2012: 140, commentary on MAV 2.15, ed. Nagao, 1964: 35; cf. Msa 11.45–46). In the Chinese version of the *Madhyāntavibhāga*, this is rendered as *si zizai* 四自在 (four kinds of unhinderedness / mastery), explained as being the unhinderedness of non-discrimination, *wufenbie zizai* 無分別自在, pure land, *jingtu zizai* 淨土自在, knowledge, *zhi zizai* 智自在, and *karma, ye zizai* 業自在.[22] The four *vaśitā*s (*si zizai* 四自在) seem far more frequent in Chinese than in Sanskrit, but a more detailed study of this group of four has to be postponed.[23]

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20 Dhsgr 74: *āyur-, citta-, pariṣkāra-, dharma-, ṛddhi-, janma-, adhimukti-, praṇidhāna-, karma-, jñāna-°*. A partly different explanation is given in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛttiḥ sphuṭārthā* (AAV, ed. Tripathi, 1977: 3–44) on *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (AA) 8.4: *āyuś-citta-pariṣkāra-karmopapatty-adhimukti-praṇidhāna-ṛddhi-jñāna-dharma-vaśitā iti daśa vaśitāḥ.* See Brunnhölzl, 2011: 114 and also Brunnhölzl, 2010: 659 (chart 12) for a translation. The same list is given e.g. in the PvsP (fol. 532b; ed. Kimura, 2006 [VI–VIII]: 59) and the *Sāratamā* (ed. Jaini, 1979: 176), and – slightly varied – the *Catuḥstavasamāsārtha* (ed. Tucci, 1956: 239).

21 Cf. e.g. Dhsgr 75: *bodhisattvānāṃ daśa balāni / tadyathā // adhimuktibalaṃ pratisaṃ-khyānabalaṃ bhāvabalaṃ kṣāntibalaṃ jñānabalaṃ prahāṇabalaṃ samādhibalaṃ pratibhānabalaṃ puṇyabalaṃ pratipattibalaṃ ceti // 76. tathāgatasya daśa balāni / tadyathā // sthānāsthānajñānabalaṃ karmavipākajñānabalaṃ nānādhātujñānabalaṃ nānādhimuktijñānabalaṃ sattveṃdriyaparāparajñānabalaṃ sarvatragāminīpratipatti-jñānabalaṃ dhyānavimokṣasamādhisamāpattisaṃkleśavyavadānavyutthānajñānabalaṃ pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñānabalaṃ cyutyutpattijñānabalam āsravakṣayajñānabalaṃ ceti.*

22 T.31.1599: 455a7–8 (MAVBh, Paramārtha), T.31.1600: 468b5–6 (MAVBh, Xuanzang); root text: T.31.1601: 478b25, MAV, Xuanzang). Another explanation of the 'four sovereign powers' is: *jie* 戒 the moral law; *shentong* 神通 supernormal powers; *zhi* 智 knowledge; and *hui* 慧 wisdom (Soothill, according to the Digital Dictionary of Buddhism, www.buddhism-dict.net).

23 A worthwile start would be the passages in T.1.13 (*Chang ahan shi bao fa jing* 長阿含十報法經), T.2.125 (*Zengyi ahan jing* 增一阿含經 ~ *Ekottarāgama*), T.9.272 (*Da sazhe niganzi suoshuo jing* 大薩遮尼乾子所説經 ~ *Mahāsatyanirgrantha-sūtra*), T.10.279 (*Dafang-guang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經).

G [*veharaja*]. In the Pāli canon, the four *vesārajja*s are explained as the self-confidences or fearlessnesses of a buddha, because of which he cannot be reproved by an "ascetic or brahmin or deva or Māra or Brahmā or anyone in the world" of (1) not having reached full enlightenment, of (2) not having destroyed all taints, of (3) not having understood the obstructions, of (4) not having taught the correct way to the destruction of suffering.[24] Also, in the *Mahāvastu*, they are enumerated as one of the characteristics of a buddha.[25] They are more often mentioned in Sanskrit texts, most of which are Mahāyāna-related, where they likewise determine characteristics of an awakened being. The four *vaiśāradya*s are also included in similar lists in Prajñāpāramitā texts, but here they are always preceded by the (ten *tathāgata*-) *bala*s and not by *vaśitā*s (cf. table 4).[26] The apparently only text listing the (ten) *vaśitā*s is the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, where they occur adjacent to and precede the (ten) *bala*s (cf. table 4, A).[27] This list is similar to the list in BajC2 in regard to the sequence of the fours, even though some of the groups are not mentioned (*jaṇa* = Skt. *dhyāna*, *saca* = Skt. *satya*, and the uncertain one). It is however different from other lists in Prajñāpāramitā texts (cf. table 4, B).

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24   AN II 9, book of fours, sutta 8 (tr. Bodhi, 2012: 394f.); MN I 7, *Mahasīhanāda-sutta* (tr. Bodhi/Ñāṇamoli, 1995: 167f.). Cf. also AN IV 83, book of sevens, sutta 55 (tr. Bodhi, 2012: 1056f.); here they are listed as the "three things about which he is irreproachable" (the three things are the four *vesārajja* related to the *dhamma*, *sutta*, and *saṃgha*).

25   Cf. Binz, 1980: 81 and 88. The characteristics are: 32 marks (*lakṣaṇa*), 80 secondary marks (*anuvyañjana*), 18 special characteristics (*āveṇikadharma*), 10 powers (*bala*), 4 self-confi-dences (*vaiśāradya*), setting the wheel of Dharma in motion (*dharmacakrapravartana*), and the harmonic leading of the *saṃgha*.

26   Also in a Kharoṣṭhī manuscript of the first century the four *vaiśāradya*s are preceded by the ten *bala*s, cf. BL9 r3: *vriṣavida • daśabalada ca • caduveharajada ca •* "mastery and the state of possessing the ten powers and the state of possessing the four confidences" (Baums, 2009: 329).

27   AA 8.4 *sarvākārāścatasro 'tha śuddhayo vaśitā daśa / balāni daśa catvāri vaiśāradyāny arakṣaṇam*, which is part of a list of the 21 features of a *dharmakāya* (AA 8.2–6, cf. Conze, 1954: 96f.). The *Abhisamayālaṃkārāntaḥ*, AAV and *Sāratamā* refer to this passage and thus contain the *vaśitā* as well.

TABLE 4   *Listings in Prajñāpāramitā texts in comparison to the list in BajC2.*

A.

BajC2	AA 8.2–6 / AAV / *Abhisamayālaṃkārāntaḥ* (ed. Tripathi, 1977: 1–67), the last one is being cited.
01. (*catvari śpaḍovaṭhaṇa ·	(1.) smṛtyupasthānādyārabhya āryāṣṭāṅgamārgaparyantā saptatriṃśad bodhipakṣāḥ,
02. (*catvari) samapra[ṣaṇa] ·	
03. [catvari] irdh[ipada] ·	
04. catvari jaṇa ·	(2.) catvāryapramāṇāni maitryādicaturbrahmavihārāḥ,
05. catvari saca ·	(3.) aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ,
06. catvari apramaña ·	(4.) navasamāpattayaḥ,
07. catvare ? + + + + +	(5.) kṛtsnāyatanāni daśa
	(6.) aṣṭau abhibhvāyatanāni,
	(7.) araṇāsamādhiḥ,
	(8.) praṇidhijñānam,
	(9.) ṣaḍabhijñāḥ,
08. [catvare] (*pa)ḍisabhida ·	(10.) catasraḥ pratisaṃvidaḥ,
09. catvara va[ś]ida ·	(11.) āśrayālambanacittajñānapariśuddhaya iti cataśraḥ śuddhayaḥ,
10. ca[tvare veharaja] ·	(12.) daśa vaśitāḥ,
	(13.) daśa balāni,
	(14.) catvāri vaiśāradyāni,
11. catvare ñaṇamulea dharma ·	(15.) trīṇi arakṣaṇāni,
12. catvare so[ḍavati](*aga ·)	(16.) trīṇi smṛtyupasthānāni,
13. + + + + + + ? ? +	(17.) asammoṣadharmatā,
14. catvare taṣamulea dharma (*·)	(18.) kleśajñeyāvaraṇānuśayarūpabījaprahāṇāt vāsanāsamudghātaḥ,
15. catvare paḍi[va](*da ·)	
16. + + + + + + + + + +	(19.) sakalajanahitāśayatā mahākaruṇā,
17. + + + + + + + ? ? ?	(20.) aṣṭādaśāveṇikā buddhadharmāḥ,
18. [catvare] ? ? ? ? + + (= viñaṇaṭhiḍio?)	(21.) sarvākārajñatāditrisarvajñatā
19. + + + + + + ? ? ?	
20. [ca]tvare sakṣigaraṇia dharma	
21. catvari aṣaharia dharma	

TABLE 4　*Listings in Prajñāpāramitā texts in comparison to the list in BajC2* (cont.).

B.

Aṣṭasāhasrikā, ed. Vaidya 1960: 97	Larger PP (T.8.222) [Lokakṣema, 268 CE]	Larger PP (LPG), ed. Conze 1962, 1974	Larger PP (PvsP), ed. Kimura, 1986–2009	*Śatasāhasrikā,* ed. Kimura, 2009–2010
	(四禪 ~ 4 *dhyāna*)*	*catvāri dhyānāni*	*catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*	*catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*
	(四等心 ~ 4 *apramāṇa*)*	*catvāry apramāṇāni*	*catvāri samyak-prahāṇāni*	*catvāri samyakprahāṇāni*
	(四無色三昧 ~ 4 *arūpya*)*	*catasraḥ ārūpya-samāpattayo*	*catvārariddhipādā*	*catvāra ṛddhipādāḥ*
saptatriṃśad-bodhipakṣyā dharmā			*pañcendriyāṇi*	*pañcendriyāṇi*
*= catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni	四意止 ~ 4 *smṛtyupasthāna*		*pañcabalāni*	*pañcabalāni*
*= catvāri samyakprahāṇāni	四意斷 ~ 4 *samyak-prahāṇa*	*catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*	*saptabodhyaṅgāny*	*saptabodhyaṅgāni*
*= catvārariddhipādā	四神足 ~ 4 *ṛddhipāda*	*catvāri samyakprahāṇāni*	*āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgo*	*āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgaḥ*
*= pañcendriyāṇi	五根 ~ 5 *indriya*	*catvārariddhipādā*		
*= pañcabalāni	五力 ~ 5 *bala*	*pañcendriyāṇi*	*(catvāry āryasatyāni)*	*catvāry āryasatyāni*
*= saptabodhy-aṅgāny	七覺意 ~ 7 *bodhyaṅgāny*	*pañcabalāni saptabodhy-aṅgāny*		
*= āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgo	八由行 ~ 8-*mārgo*	*āryāṣṭāṅgo mārgo*	*catvāry apramāṇāni catvāri dhyānāni*	*catvāri dhyānāni catvāry apramāṇāni*
			catasraḥ ārūpya-samāpattayo	*catasra ārūpya-samāpattayaḥ*
	(triṇi vimokṣa-mukhāni)			
	(aṣṭau vimokṣā)	*(aṣṭau vimokṣā)*		*aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ*
	(navānupūrva-samāpattī)	*(navānupūrva-samāpattī)*		*navānupūrvavihāra-samāpattayaḥ*
	(…)	*(śūnyatānimittāpraṇi-hitavimokṣamukhāni)*		*śūnyatānimittāpraṇi-hitavimokṣamukhāni*
		(abhijñāḥ)		*pañcābhijñāḥ*
		(sarvaśūnyatāḥ)		
		(sarvasamādhayaḥ)		*sarvasamādhayaḥ*
		(sarvadhāraṇī-mukhāni)		*sarvadhāraṇī-mukhāni*

Aṣṭasāhasrikā, ed. Vaidya 1960: 97	Larger PP (T.8.222) [Lokakṣema, 268 CE]	Larger PP (LPG), ed. Conze 1962, 1974	Larger PP (PvsP), ed. Kimura, 1986–2009	*Śatasāhasrikā*, ed. Kimura, 2009–2010
balāni	怛薩阿竭十種力 ~ 10 *tathāgatabala*	*daśatathāgata-balāni*	*daśatathāgatabalāni*	*daśatathāgatabalāni*
vaiśāradyāni	四無所畏 ~ 4 *vaiśāradya*	*catvāri vaiśāradyāni*	*catvāri vaiśāradyāni*	*catvāri vaiśāradyāni*
pratisaṃvido	四分別辯 ~ 4 *pratisaṃvid*	*catasraḥ pratisaṃvido*	*catasraḥ pratisaṃvido*	*catasraḥ pratisaṃvidaḥ*
aṣṭādaśāveṇikā buddhadharmāḥ	十八不共諸佛之法 ~ 18 *aveṇika-buddhadharma*	*mahāmaitrī* * *mahākaruṇā* *	((*mahāmaitrī*)) ((*mahākaruṇā*))	*mahāmaitrī* *mahākaruṇā*
	(大慈 ~ *mahāmaitrī*)* (大悲 ~ *mahākaruṇā*)*	*aṣṭādaśāveṇikā buddhadharmā*	*aṣṭādaśāveṇikā buddhadharmā*	*aṣṭādaśāveṇika-buddhadharmāḥ*

* 154b19–22: without *dhyāna* etc. 153a16–19: with *dhyāna* etc. 149b08–09: with *maitrī/karuṇā*

* placed here or at the end of the list

These lists can be analysed as consisting of several modules (consisting themselves of several terms), the positions of which can change and in between of which additional terms can be added. The most basic list is found in the presumably oldest Prajñāpāramitā text, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (8th chapter, *viśuddhiparivarta*, ed. Vaidya: 97). It consists of the 37 *bodhipakṣyadharma*s, followed by the *bala / vaiśāradya / pratisaṃvid*, and concluded by the 18 *āveṇikabuddhadharma*s.[28] In the earliest Chinese translation of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* by Lokakṣema (268 CE), the same list is found (T.8.222.1.154b19–22), but so is an enlarged version which adds the four

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28   *saptatriṃśad bodhipakṣā dharmā balāni vaiśāradyāni pratisaṃvido aṣṭādaśāveṇikā buddhadharmāḥ*. In other passages (ed. Vaidya: 37, 103, 246) these categories are already combined with other terms (like the *abhijñā*s or the three *vimokṣamukha*s).

*dhyāna*s / *apramāṇa*s / *ārūpya*s at the beginning (T.8.222.1.153a16–19). This list is further expanded by the addition of the *mahāmaitrī* and *mahākaruṇā* (T.8.222.1.149b8–9). In the Gilgit manuscript of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* (LPG), for example, this list was still further expanded by the insertion of several terms between the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s and the *daśatathāgatabala*s. Moreover, the two '*mahā*s' (*maitrī* and *karuṇā*) could change their position with the 18 *āveṇikadharma*s.[29] Furthermore, as for the instance preserved in the Nepalese manuscript of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (PvsP) and in the *Śatasāhasrikā*, the first block (*dhyāna* / *apramāṇa* / *ārūpya*) was moved, so that the list would begin again with the traditional *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s.[30]

Although more details are to be taken into account in studying the development of these lists, it becomes clear that they consisted of several blocks or modules. The list in BajC2 seems to be based on the same module-based system, beginning with the fourfold groups of the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s and adding the fourfold categories related to meditation (up to the 'unlimited' and probably also the 'formless absorptions') plus adding the four 'truths.' Subsequently, three Mahāyāna- or Prajñapāramitā-typical categories that characterize a tathāgata (*pratisaṃvid* / *vaśitā* / *vaiśāradya*) were added, although the (four) *vaśitā*s are replaced by (ten) *bala*s in other texts.

In a passage in the PvsP (ed. Kimura, 2009 [I-2]: 27, also 32) the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s and the *tathāgatabala*s etc. are characterized as *anāsrava-* and *asādhāraṇa-dharma* (together with the three *vimokṣamukha*s), while the *dhyāna*-block is analysed as *sāsrava-* or *sādhāraṇa-dharma* (together with the five *abhijñā*s). Furthermore, the *tathāgatabala*s etc. are called *lokottara-kuśaladharma.* Also, the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s and everything up to the *tathāgatabala*s are *dharma*s of a *śrāvaka* and meant to be practiced, while the *tathāgatabala*s up to the *āveṇikabuddhadharma*s are *dharma*s which are to be

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29   References for the LPG parts edited by Conze: ed. Conze, 1962: 57 (fol. 229b), 142f. (fol. 251a–b), 162 (fol. 255b), 180 (fol. 260a), 185f. (fol. 261b); ed. Conze, 1974: 11 (fol. 268b), 24 (fol. 273a), 29 (fol. 274b), 46 (fol. 279a–b), 80 (fol. 290a), 126 (fol. 305a). Four times the list does not begin with *dhyāna* etc.; thrice these terms are missing, once they are inserted after the 37 *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s (ed. Conze, 1974: 29, fol. 274b). The *mahāmaitrī* etc. can be placed after the *āveṇikadharma*s or before it, but they are – with one exception – always included.

30   The text references for the PvsP are too numerous to list here, one example is ed. Kimura, 1990 [IV]: 13. In some instances, near the beginning and the end of the whole text, also the "old" sequence is given, beginning with *dhyāna* etc. (e.g. ed. Kimura, 2007 [I-1]: 149, and ed. Kimura, 1992 [V]: 151). The same with the *Śatasāhasrikā* (ed. Kimura, 2009–2010, see e.g. Kimura, 2010 [II-3]: 39). In contrast to the LPG and the PvsP, the list in the *Śatasāhasrikā* is stable. Cf. also *Advayaśatikā*, ed. Shakya, 1988: 82–84.

possessed by a tathāgata or by which a tathāgata is distinguished (cf. PvsP, ed. Kimura, 1990 [IV]: 58: [...] *ebhiś ca subhūte dharmais tathāgata iti prabhāvyate*).[31]

It is noteworthy that all groups of four occurring in these Prajñāpāramitā-related-texts are enumerated within the first ten items of the BajC2 list. With the exception of the four *ārūpyasamāpatti*s, there is no group of four left that is not represented in the Gāndhārī manuscript. This could be a further argument in reconstructing this group as item no. 7 in BajC2. However, the *Arthaviniścaya* contains a very similar list (named the *dharmaparyāya*)[32], including additionally the four *samādhibhāvanā*s, which could be another option for the reconstruction, even though the traces of the first akṣara in BajC2 do not suggest a reading of *sa* either. Another supporting fact is that the P *Saṃgītisuttanta* inserts this term between the *jhāna*s and the *appamaññā*s, thus approximately at the same position (the Sanskrit version places it very late at position 33., T.26.1536 at position 23 (*xiuding* 修定); T.1.12 at position 21 (*sanmodi xiang* 三摩地想); T.1.1 and G Cm do not include it).

To conclude, as is often the case in studies of Gāndhārī manuscripts, the intertextual relation to other Buddhist texts in Pāli, Sanskrit or Chinese is not an easy one. What is common to all of them are the first three items (*smṛtyupasthāna, samyakpradhāna, ṛddhipāda*). This is the beginning of the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s, a list that precedes the first schism (Willemen, Dessein and Cox, 1998: 11). This basic list was expanded by terms related to meditation (*dhyāna, apramāṇa*), which served as a basis for Abhidharma texts such as the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Dharmaskandha*, both of which supposedly go back to a common source that predates the splitting of the two schools (Theravāda and Sarvāstivāda). This source is therefore dated earlier than the mission under Aśoka (Willemen, Dessein and Cox, 1998: 69). The beginning of the list of fourfold groups got further expanded by the *ārūpya*(*samāpatti*)s in the *Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya* versions (extant in G Cm, T.1.1 (Dharmaguptaka), and T.1.12). In some of the versions (Skt, T.26.1536 (Sarvāstivāda), and P (Theravāda)) further categories had been inserted before the 'unlimited'. In this respect,

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31 Cf. Migme Chodron, 2001: 1314f.

32 The 27 items (ed. Samtani, 1971: 2) are: 5 *skandhāḥ*, 5 *upadānaskandhāḥ*, 18 *dhātavaḥ*, 12 *āyatanāni*; 12 *pratītyasamutpādaḥ*; 4 **āryasatyāni**, 22 *indriyāṇi*, 4 **dhyānāni**, 4 *ārūpya-samāpattayaḥ*, 4 **brahmavihārāḥ**, 4 *pratipadaḥ*, 4 *samādhibhāvanāḥ*; 4 **smṛtyupasthā-nāni**, 4 **samyakprahāṇāni**, 4 **ṛddhipādāḥ**, 5 *indriyāṇi*, 5 *balāni*, 7 ..., 8 ...; 16 ..., 4 **srota āpattyaṅgāni**, 10 *tathāgatabalāni*, 4 **vaiśāradyāni**, 4 **pratisaṃvidaḥ**, 18 ..., 32 ..., 80 ... (parallel terms are set in bold, possible candidates for reconstruction are set roman). Similarly, the list can be subdivided into semantic modules (cf. Samtani, 2002: xx): First, four traditional lists of terms, then the *pratītyasamutpāda*, then *satya* and meditation, the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s, and finally characterizations of a tathāgata.

BajC2 seems to agree more closely with the Sarvāstivāda and Theravāda versions than the Dharmaguptaka. Between these two, the enumeration in BajC2 shares some features with the Pāli (Theravāda) on account of the sequence. At the same time, however, there are exceptions, where it fits better to the Skt version and T.26.1536 (Sarvāstivāda), and it also contains a category (G. *saca*) not extant in the Pāli version. A special connection is given to T.1.1, T.1.12 and G Cm due to the term (**pa*)*ḍisabhida* (T.1.1: *biancai* 辩才, T.1.12: *wu aijie* 無礙解, G Cm: *paḍisaṃbiḍa*), which only occurs in those versions, although at later positions. Among all versions, the list in BajC2 is perhaps most similar to T.1.12 in representing an intermediate state between the Theravāda / Sarvāstivāda and the Dharmaguptaka versions. A link to Prajñāpāramitā texts is indicated by the four *veharajas* (Skt. *vaiśāradya*), a term that is not known from the *Saṃgītisūtra*. Also the *va*[*ś*]*ida*s (Skt. *vaśitā*) point to an early Mahāyāna affiliated context.

The groups that have been mentioned so far are represented as the first ten items of the list in BajC2, as far as they are characterized as being fourfold. The subsequent ten items are a seemingly random selection of fourfold groups, also known from the *Saṃgītisūtra*. The last of the altogether twenty-one items are the *asaṃhārya-dharma*s, a term peculiar to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, which will be discussed later. The modular composition of the list is summarized in table 5.

2.3.2   Explanation of the groups and its items

The several items of each group are:[33]

1. (**catvari śpaḍovaṭhaṇa*): *smṛtyupasthānāni*; *satipaṭṭhānā*; **establishments of mindfulness.**
   1. body (*kāye kāyānupaśyana*∘),
   2. feeling (*vedanāyāṃ* …),
   3. mind (*citte* …),
   4. mind-objects (*dharmeṣu* …).

2. (**catvari*) *samapra*[*ṣaṇa*]: *samyakprahāṇāni* (= *samyakpradhānāni*); *sammappadhānā*; **right endeavours.**
   1. for the abandoning of unwholesome mental states that have arisen

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33   The sequence of terms under each point is: »G: Skt; P; E«. Unless otherwise stated, the citations are taken from the reconstructed Sanskrit version given in the edition of Stache-Rosen, 1968. If there are significant differences to the other versions in Pāli or Chinese this is noted.

TABLE 5   *Modular composition of the list in BajC2.*

01. (*catvari śpaḍovaṭhaṇa ·) 02. (*catvari) samapra[ṣaṇa] · 03. [catvari] irdh[ipada] ·	fourfold groups of the bodhipakṣya-dharmas (anāsravā / saṃskṛtā / asādhāraṇā dharmāḥ)	śrāvakadharmas, to be practised
04. catvari jaṇa · 05. catvari saca · 06. catvari apramaña · 07. catvare ? + + + + +	fourfold groups related to meditation (sāsravā / asaṃskṛtā / sādhāraṇā dharmāḥ) + satyas	
08. [catvare] (*pa)disabhida · 09. catvare va[ś]ida · 10. ca[tvare veharaja] ·	fourfold groups characterizing a tathāgata/buddha, related to Prajñāpāramitā or early Mahāyāna texts (anāsravā / asādhāraṇā / lokottarāḥ kuśaladharmāḥ)	buddhadharmas, to be possessed
11. catvare ñaṇamulea dharma · 12. catvare so[ḍavati](*aga ·) 13. + + + + + + ? ? + 14. catvare taṣamulea dharma (*·) 15. catvare paḍi[va](*da ·) 16. + + + + + + + + + + 17. + + + + + + + ? ? ? 18. [catvare] ? ? ? ? + + (= viñaṇaṭhiḍio?) 19. + + + + + + ? ? ? 20. [ca]tvare sakṣigaraṇia dharma	fourfold groups, also occurring in the Saṃgītisūtra, apparently random selection	dharmas to be known
21. catvari aṣaharia dharma	fourfold category, peculiar to the Aṣṭasāhasrikā, synonym to awakening and a characteristic of a tathāgata/buddha	buddhadharmas

(*utpannānāṃ pāpakānām akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇām prahāṇāya* ...),[34]

2. for the non-arising of unwholesome mental states that have not yet
   arisen (*anutpannānām pāpakānām akuśalānāṃ dharmāṇāṃ
   anutpādāya* ...),
3. for the arising of wholesome mental states that have not yet arisen
   (*anutpannānāṃ kuśalānāṃ dharmāṇām utpādāya* ...),
4. for the stabilizing, increase, etc. of wholesome mental states that have
   arisen (*utpannānaṃ kuśalānāṃ dharmāṇām sthitaye* ...).

3. [*catvari*] **irdh**[*ipada*]: *ṛddhipādāḥ*; *iddhipādā*; **bases of [supernormal]
   power.**
   1. ... through will (*chanda*-◦),
   2. ... through energy (*vīrya*-◦),
   3. ... through mind (*citta*-◦),
   4. ... through investigation (*mimāṃsā*-◦ / P *vimāṃsā*-◦).

4. *catvari jaṇa*: *dhyānāni*; *jhānāni*; **[stages of] meditation.**
   1. with initial thought and sustained contemplation, born from detach-
      ment, experiencing joy and happiness (*savitarkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ
      prītisukhaṃ*),
   2. without initial thought and sustained contemplation, born from
      concentration, experiencing joy and happiness (*avitarkam avicāraṃ
      samādhijaṃ prītisukhaṃ*),
   3. characterized by equanimity and mindfulness, not experiencing joy but
      happiness (*upekṣakaḥ smṛtimān sukhaṃ viharatīti niṣprītikaṃ*),
   4. characterized by being purified due to equanimity and mindfulness,
      experiencing neither pain nor happiness (*aduḥkhāsukham
      upekṣāsmṛtipariśuddhaṃ*).

5. *catvari saca*: *āryasatyāni*; *ariyasaccāni*; **[noble] truths.**
   1. suffering (*duḥkha*),
   2. the origin of suffering (*duḥkha-samudaya*),
   3. the cessation of suffering (*duḥkha-nirodha*),
   4. the path that leads to the cessation of suffering (*duḥkha-nirodha-gāminī
      pratipad*).

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34   P interchanges (1.) and (2.).

6. *catvari apramaña*: *apramāṇāni*; *appamaññāyo*; unlimited.[35]
   1. loving-kindness (*maitrī*),
   2. compassion (*karuṇā*),
   3. sympathetic joy (*muditā*),
   4. equanimity (*upekṣā*).

7. *catvare ?* + + + + +
Uncertain. Most probably either the *ārūpyasamāpattis*[36] or the *samādhibhā-vanā*s.[37]

8. [*catvare*] (**pa*)*ḍisabhida*: *pratisaṃvidaḥ*; *paṭisambhidā*; analytical knowledges.[38]
   1. ... of the meaning of things (*artha*°),
   2. ... of the condition of things (*dharma*°),
   3. ... of their linguistic explanation (*nirukti*°),
   4. ... of eloquence/perspicuity (*pratibhāna*°).

This category is only extant in G Cm, T.1.1, and T.1.12:
- G Cm: *catvari paḍisaṃbiḍa: atha, dhaṃma, niruti, parivhaṇa*;
- T.1.1: 謂四辯才。法辯義辯詞辯應辯。 ~ *dhamma, attha, nirutti, paṭibhāna*;
- T.1.12: 復次四無礙解。是佛所說。謂義無礙解。法無礙解。樂說無礙解。辯才無礙解。 ~ *artha, dharma, nirukti, pratibhāna*.
In G Cm, *paḍisaṃbiḍa* goes back to √*vid*,[39] and also in T.1.1, *biancai* 辯才 ("talent for debating") is connected with √*vid* rather than with √*bhid*. T.1.12

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35   In T.1.1 these are called *fantang* 梵堂 (~ *brahmavihāra*).

36   Skt IV.8, T.26.1536 IV.8, P IV.7, T.1.12 IV.6, T.1.1 IV.16, G Cm IV.16.

37   Skt IV.33, T.26.1536 IV.23, P IV.5, T.1.12 IV.21. The four 'concentrative meditations' are characterized by (1) leading to happiness in the present life (*dṛṣṭadharmasukhavihārāya*), (2) obtaining knowledge-and-vision (*jñānadarśanapratilābhāya*), (3) analysis through understanding (*prajñāprabhedāya*) / P mindfulness and clear awareness (*satisampajaññāya*), and (4) the destruction of [all] defilements (*āsravakṣayāya*).

38   Cf. e.g. the explanations in Aung and Davids, 1915: 377–381 (related to the *Kathāvatthu* and the *Vibhaṅga*); Ñāṇamoli, 2011: 436 (related to the *Visuddhimagga*); de La Vallée Poussin / Pruden, 1988–1990: 1151ff. (related to the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*); or, for a Mahāyāna context, see e.g. Migme Chodron, 2001: 1322ff. (related to the MPPś, with a summary of relevant references); Apple, 2009: 164–165; or Brunnhölzl, 2010: 659 (chart 12): 'of dharmas (knowing the individual characteristics of all phenomena), meanings (knowing the classifications of all phenomena), semantics (knowing the languages, terms, etc.), self-confidence (hearing and explaining the dharma without doubts)'.

39   It is explained by *ki pa*[*ḍisaṃ*](**biḍa*) [39] *? aṣa va paḍivijaṇati* (preliminary unpublished transliteration), thus giving the synonym √*jan* for √*vid.*

combines both possibilities by writing *wu aijie* 無礙解 ("unobstructed under-standing/knowledge"). By using (*pa)ḍisabhida*, BajC2 seems to be closer to the P tradition.[40]

9. *catvare va[ś]ida*: *vaśitā*; –; masteries.
It is uncertain what exactly the four *vaśitā*s refer to (see earlier discussion). Looking at the *Saṃgītisūtra*, the *vaśitā*s could be a synonym of the four *bala*s (missing only in G Cm and T.1.1).[41] Since other groups of ten *vaśitā*s and ten *bala*s exist and do not overlap, and since the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* lists both terms side by side (see above), it seems unlikely that they refer to the same group here. Therefore, the four *vaśitā*s mentioned in the Bajaur sūtra can per-haps be related to the ones in the MAV(Bh) and the Msa discussed above: *nirvikalpa-/avikalpa-, kṣetra(pariśuddhi)-, jñāna-, karma-vaśitā* ("mastery in the absence of conceptual discrimination, in the purification of a field, in awareness, and in action").

10. *ca[tvare veharaja]*: *vaiśāradyāḥ*; *vesārajjā*; self-confidences.[42]
    1. regarding supreme awakening (*abhisaṃbodhi*),
    2. ... destruction of [all] defilements (*āsravakṣaya*),
    3. ... [understanding of all] obstructing factors (*antarāyikadharma*),
    4. ... [knowing and teaching the correct] way to salvation (*nairyāṇikapratipada*).

11. *catvare ñaṇamulea dharma*: ~ *jñānāni*; ~ *ñāṇāni*; things rooted in knowledge.[43]
    1. [true] doctrine (*dharma*),
    2. the following (*anvaya*),[44]
    3. other's mind (*paracitta*),
    4. common knowledge (*saṃvṛti*).

40   Cf. PTSD s.v. *paṭisambhidā*: "BSk. *pratisaṃvid* is a new formation resting on confusion between *bhid* & *vid*".

41   Skt IV.15 *śraddhā, vīrya, samādhi, prajñā*; P IV.26 *sati, viriya*, ... There are also four other *bala*s "leading to a Bodhisattva's *cittotpāda*, Bbh 13.22, listed 17.8–9 as *adhyātma-, para-, hetu-, prayoga-bala*" (BHSD s.v. *bala*).

42   Source of explanation: *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (Abhidh-s 98).

43   Due to the different terminology it is not entirely certain that the Gāndhārī refers to the four *jñāna*s as given in the *Saṃgītisūtra*. Another secondary explanation of the four knowledges relates to the four truths (Skt IV.14: *duḥkha, samudaya, nirodha, mārga*; also P IV.12). G Cm seems to mix the two alternative explanations.

44   Cf. the explanation in T.26.1536 (Stache-Rosen, 1968: 100).

12. *catvare so*[*ḍavati*](**aga*): *śrotāpattyaṅgāni*; *srotāpattiyaṅgāni*; **factors of [the state of] stream entry.**[45]

   1. being endowed with perfect / unbreakable[46] faith in the Buddha (*buddhe 'vetya- prasādena saṃpannaḥ*),
   2. … in the Dharma (*dharme …*),
   3. … in the Saṃgha (*saṃghe …*),
   4. … in the ethics estimated by the noble ones (*āryakāntaiḥ śīlaiḥ saṃpannaḥ*).

13. + + + + + + *? ?* +
Uncertain.

14. *catvare taṣamulea dharma*: ~ *tṛṣṇotpādāḥ*; ~ *taṇhuppādā*; **things rooted in craving.**[47]

   1. raiment (*cīvara*),
   2. alms-food (*piṇḍapāta*),
   3. lodging (*śayanāsa*),
   4. existence or non-existence (*bhavavibhava*)[48].

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45   There are two different explanations. The above-mentioned one seems more likely here, since the four *avetyaprasādas* / *abhedyaprasāda*s (G. *abhejapraṣada*) are referred to later in the text, although this is no conclusive evidence. Most versions list both explanations, the first is named Skt. *srotāpattyaṅgaḥ* / T.26.1536 *yuliuzhi* 預流支 / P *sotāpattiyaṅgāni* / T.1.12 – / T.1.1 –; the second one is named Skt. *caturbhir aṅgaiḥ samanvāgataḥ srotāpannaḥ* / T.26.1536 *zhengjing* 證淨 / P *sotāpannassa aṅgāni* / T.1.12 *yuliushen* 預流身 / T.1.1 *xutuo-huanzhi* 須陀洹支. G Cm calls both *soḍavatiaga*, and says that the second explanation is favored "here" (G. *iśa*). The alternative (and probably older) explanation would be: 1. associating with good people (*satpuruṣasaṃseva*); 2. listening to the good doctrine (*saddharmaśravaṇa*); 3. investigating it thoroughly (*yoniśo manasikāra*); correct behaviour according to the doctrine (*dharmānudharmapratipatti*).

46   Skt *avetya◦* / T.26.1536 *zhengjing* 證淨 / P *avecca◦* / G Cm *aveca◦* / T.1.12 *buhuai* 不壞 / T.1.1 *buhuaixin* 無壞信. In the subsequent text of BajC2, the term is spelled *abhejopraṣada* (= *abhedyaprasāda*). In the *Saṃgītisūtra* preserved in the Gilgit *Dīrghāgama* manuscript, the form *avetya◦* is used (thanks to Jens-Uwe Hartmann for the information on this unpublished manuscript portion). For a more comprehensive discussion of the term *abhedyaprasāda* cf. § 3 of this article.

47   Similar to the four *jñānamūlaka-dharma*s (11.), it is uncertain if the *tṛṣṇāmūlaka-dharma*s equate to the *tṛṣṇotpāda*s in the *Saṃgītisūtra* at all, since they denote things that have *tṛṣṇā* as a cause and not as a result. There are however no four *tṛṣṇāmūlaka-dharma*s, but only nine (*taṇhāmūlaka-dhamma*) in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (AN IV 400–401, cf. DN II 58–61), the *Paṭisambhidāmagga* (Ps 130), and the *Vibhaṅga* (Vibh 390).

48   Mss. (Hoernle, Hs. 47/48): *bhavatibhava◦* (cf. Stache-Rosen, 1968: 79, note 133); *bhavā-bhava*, for which Thomas W. Rhys Davids gives "dainty foods" like "oil, honey, ghee, etc."

15. *catvare paḍi*[*va*](**da*)*: pratipadaḥ; paṭipadā;* **kinds of progress.**[49]

1. painful progress with slow comprehension (*duḥkhā pratipad dhandhābhijñā*),
2. painful progress with quick comprehension (*duḥkhā pratipad kṣiprābhijñā*),
3. pleasant progress with slow comprehension (*sukhā pratipad dhandhābhijñā*),
4. pleasant progress with quick comprehension (*sukhā pratipad kṣiprābhijñā*).

16. + + + + + + + + +
Uncertain.

17. + + + + + + + *? ? ?*
Uncertain.

18. [*catvare*] *? ? ? ?* + + (= *viñaṇaṭhiḍio ?*)*; vijñānasthitayaḥ; viññāṇaṭṭhitiyo;*
stations of consciousness.

1. being directed to form (*rūpopagā*[50]),
2. ... to feeling (*vedanopagā*),
3. ... to perception (*saṃjñopagā*),
4. ... to volition (*saṃskāropagā*).

19. + + + + + + *? ? ?*
Uncertain.

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according to the commentary of Buddhaghosa. T.26.1536 explains *bhava* as the five *skandha*s, thus 'existence'.

49   The translation is taken from Walshe, 1995: 492 (P). The Sanskrit and Pāli versions also contain another explanation, that is however not contained in the Chinese versions, which is why the given explanation has been preferred. The alternative would be (Skt IV.32, P IV.22): 1. inability to endure (*akṣamā*), 2. taming / self-control (*damā*), 3. ability to endure (*kṣamā*), 4. appeasement (*chamā*).

50   P has °*upāya* instead of °*upaga*; G Cm has *ruovao | veḍaṇ*[*o*]*vao | saṃñ*[*o*]*ao | saṃkharovao* (preliminary unpublished transliteration), which can be both.

20. [ca]tvare sakṣigaraṇia dharma: sākṣīkaraṇīyā dharmāḥ; sacchikaraṇīyā dhammā; things to be realized.[51]

  1. by the body (*kāyena*), i.e. the eight deliverances (P *vimo(k)kha*[52],
  2. by mindfulness (*smṛtyā*), i.e. former lives (P *pubbenivāsa*),
  3. by the [heavenly] eye (*cakṣuṣā*), i.e. decease and rebirth (P *cutūpapāta*)[53],
  4. by understanding (*prajñayā*), i.e. destruction of intoxicants (P *āsavānaṃ khaya*).

21. catvari aṣaharia dharma: asaṃhāryā dharmāḥ; asaṃhāriyā dharmā; unconquerable/insuperable things.

This term has no parallel in the *Saṃgītisūtra*. The *asaṃhārya-dharma*s are mentioned in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, where they are associated with the attainment of the highest form of awakening:

> May that thought of enlightenment which they have wished for, thought over and taken hold of, bring to fulfillment in them the *dharma*s of a Buddha, and *dharma*s associated with all-knowledge, the *dharma*s of the Self-Existent, the **insuperable *dharma*s [*asaṃhārya-dharmāṇāṃ*]**! (tr. Conze, 1973; xxvi 434, ed. Vaidya: 215).

They signify a state of mind or knowledge, by which a bodhisattva becomes irreversible (*avinivartanīya*) and can no longer be overcome by disciples or pratyekabuddhas (xviii 341, ed. Vaidya: 170; cf. xxii 401, ed. Vaidya: 199) or others (xx 380, ed. Vaidya: 188), especially not Māra (xvii 329, ed. Vaidya: 164; xvii 332, ed. Vaidya: 165; xvii 337, ed. Vaidya: 168):

> An Arhat, a monk whose outflows are dried up, does not go by someone else whom he puts his trust in, but he has placed the nature of dharma directly before his own eyes, and **Mara has no access to him [*asaṃhāryo bhavati māreṇa*]**. Just so an irreversible [*avinivartanīyo*] Bodhisattva cannot be crushed by persons who belong to the vehicle of the Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, he cannot, by his very nature, backslide into the level of Disciples or Pratyekabuddhas, he is fixed on allknowledge, and

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51   The sequence varies: Skt 1–2–3–4; P 2–3–1–4; T.1.1 3–1–2–4 (cp. Behrsing, 1930: 75–76 note 169); G Cm 3–2–1–4.

52   T.1.1 and G Cm have here "cessation [of perception and feeling]" (G. *ṇiroṣo*; T.1.1 *shenshou mie zheng* 身受滅證 ~ P *vedayita-nirodha*...).

53   T.1.1 and G Cm have here "forms" (~ *rūpa*).

ends up in perfect enlightenment. It is quite certain that a Bodhisattva who stands firmly in the element of irreversibility cannot possibly be led astray by others (tr. Conze, 1973; xvii 329, ed. Vaidya: 164).

This state of irreversibility is closely connected with the realisation of emptiness (ix 205, ed. Vaidya: 102) and the perception of all elements as a dream (*svapnopamāḥ sarvadharmā iti*, xx 380, ed. Vaidya: 188). As a further example, another passage reads:

> He can no longer be led astray by others, and on the stage which is his by right he cannot be crushed. For, as he has stood firm on it, his mind becomes **insuperable**, his cognition becomes **insuperable** (*aparapraṇeyo bhavati, anavamardanīyaś ca bhavati svasyāṃ bhūmau / tatkasya hetoḥ? tathā hi sa sthito 'saṃhāryeṇa cittena asaṃhāryeṇa jñānena samanvāgato bhavati*, tr. Conze, 1973; xvii 337, ed. Vaidya: 168).

Also, a passage in the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* from Gilgit (fol. 253b) circumscribes the practice of the perfection of wisdom as a state, in which

> [one] **cannot be overpowered** by Mara or the deities of his host, or by the persons who belong to the vehicle of the Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, nor can this perfection of wisdom of the Bodhisattva, the great being, be taken away by any heretics or bad spiritual friends. And why? Because all these cannot be apprehended in this perfection of wisdom, on account of the emptiness of own-marks (tr. Conze, 1975: 521, ***asaṃhāryā mārair vā mārakāyikābhir devatābhiḥ śrāvakapratyekabuddhayānikair vā pudgalair yāvan na kaiścid anyatīrthikaiḥ pāpamitrair iyaṃ prajñāpāramitā śakyam ācchetuṃ bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya. tat kasya hetos? tathā hi te sarve 'tra prajñāpāramitāyāṃ nopalabhyante svalakṣaṇaśūnyatām upādāya***, ed. Conze, 1962: 152).[54]

In other words, the list given in BajC2 culminates in the *asaṃhārya-dharma*s, which are synonym to the perfect awakening of a tathāgata, and represent his all-encompassing knowledge. When one is endowed with the *asaṃhārya-dharma*s, one becomes unconquerable. Thus, the succeeding passage (BajC2, 1E.28–32) states:

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54   Similarly LPG fol. 247a (tr. Conze, 1975: 479f.).

[ye]hi caduhi ⟨⟨aṣa⟨*ha⟩r[i]ehi⟩⟩ dhamehi samuṇagada b[o]s[o] ṇa
sahariadi ◊

añatithiecaragaparivayagehi ṇiaṭhapariva(*yag)e[h](*i ṇa
sa)[hariadi]

caduraghimaraṣe[ṇa](*e) ◊ ṇa sahariadi ◊

+ + [dehi] ◊ ṇa sahariaṃti

duhavedaṇehi ◊ ṇa sahariati

adukham asuehi ? ? ? ?⁵⁵ [ṇa sa](*hari)[a]di

triṭhi ṭhaṇehi ◊ ṇa sahariati

+ ? ? ṇa [sahariadi]

aṇuśea ṭhan[ehi] ◊ ṇa pa[ḍi]śe-ṭha[ṇe]hi ◊ [ṇa] sahariati ◊

sa[ṣa]ve[hi] ◊ puṇa bhaviehi ◊ kudha⁵⁶dhaduaïdaṇehi + + + + + + + +⁵⁷
(*ṇa saha)[riati] ◊

yava sarva bosa-pa[kṣia] dha(*rma)

sarva sa[kil](*eś a) [pa]kṣia dha(*r)[ma] ◊

sarva vodaṇa-pakṣia dharma [va

sarva] + + + + + + + + + + ? [ṣ]i ·

[kaṣa] deśati ? ? ? ? dha[rma]⁵⁸ v[i]d[i]da · ◊ pruṭho me [sa]martho ·

An awakened one⁵⁹ who is endowed with these four unconquerable
things (asaṃhārya-dharma) is not conquered.

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55   Reconstruct *vedaṇehi* ?

56   Clearly written *ku*, but perhaps *kaṃ* was intended, like in other Gāndhārī manuscripts
      (next to *kadha* or *k̄adha*).

57   Maybe *pratītyasamutpāda* is to be inserted here, as it follows after *skandhadhātvāyatana*
      (and precedes the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*) in lists in the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* (LPG). Also,
      those lists are concluded and analysed by terms like *saṃkleśa* and *vyavadāna*, just as in
      BajC2 a few words later.

58   Maybe *tasagadadharma* (Skt. *tathāgatadharma*) is to be reconstructed.

59   G. *b[o]s[o]*: Skt. *bodho* (?). Skt. *buddho* is excluded, since it should be written *budho* or
      bodho. Nevertheless, since a translation as "awakening" seems rather unlikely due to the
      associated verbal forms (G. *samuṇagada* = *samanvāgata* and *sahariadi* = *saṃharīyate*), it
      appears to be an unusual *bahuvrīhi* ("possessing awakening"). Alternatively, the transla-
      tion would be "A state of awakening, which is endowed with these four unconquerable
      things is not conquered".

[He] is not conquered by adherents of other sects like the *caraka* mendicants[60] or the *nirgrantha* mendicants[61],

[He] is not conquered by the fourfold army of Māra[62],

[He] is not conquered by ...,

[He] is not conquered by feelings of suffering,

[He] is not conquered by (feelings ?) [such as] non-suffering [or] non-happiness,

[He] is not conquered by states of [wrong] views,

[He] is not conquered by ...,

[He] is not conquered by states of propensity [or] by states of aversion (?)[63],

[He] is not conquered by defiled (*sāsrava*) aggregates, elements, [or] sensory bases (*skandhadhātvāyatana*) leading to rebirth (*punarbhavika*) [...]

[etc.] up to all characteristics (*dharma*) associated with awakening (*bodhipākṣika*),

all characteristics associated with defilement (*saṃkleśapākṣika*),

or all characteristics associated with purification (*vyavadānapākṣika*),

all ...

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60 G. *añatithiecaraǥaparivayagehi*: Skt. *anyatīrthikacarakaparivrājakaiḥ*. It remains unclear whether *carakaparivrājaka* refers to a specific religious group or to non-settled mendicants in general (cf. e.g. BHSD s.v. caraka, SWTF s.v. *nānā-tīrthya-śramaṇa-brāhmaṇa-caraka-parivrājaka*). A contextually similar passage can be found in the *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchā* (ed. Vaidya: 56) or the PvsP (ed. Kimura, 1990: 149), where the bodhisattva also cannot be overcome by Māra and his assembly nor by non-Buddhist mendicants (*Suvikrānta*°: *anyatīrthika, carakaparivrājaka*, PvsP *anyatīrthika, parivrājaka*), because he courses in the perfection of wisdom, i.e. he does not perceive any dharma (*na kaṃcid dharmaṃ samanupaśyati*).

61 G. *ṇiaṭhapariva(*yag)e[h](*i)*: Skt. *nirgranthaparivrājakaiḥ*, usually referring to Jainas.

62 Cf. e.g. Dhsgr 80: *catvāro mārāḥ | tadyathā || skaṃdhamāraḥ kleśamāro devaputramāro mṛtyumāraś ceti*. Interestingly, in BajC2 there is no specific mention of the bodhisattva being insuperable in regard to disciples or pratyekabuddhas (which is the case in the preserved Sanskrit versions of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and LPG), but only in regard to Māra and non-Buddhists. BajC2 thus represents a stage of development, where the opposition to *śrāvaka*s has not been established yet. An observation that holds true throughout the text.

63 G. *aṇuśeaṭhaṇ[ehi] ◊ ṇa pa[ḍi]śeṭha[ṇe]hi ◊ [ṇa] sahariati*. These terms were not found in other texts. They could refer to *anuśaya*°, "propensity," and – based on that – perhaps to *pratiśaya*° in the meaning of *pratigha*°, "aversion" (possibly G. *pa[ḍi]śe*° can also directly be derived from *pratigha*° with *ś < h < gh* in analogy to the development *h < ś* in *veharaja < vaiśāradya*). The position of the first *ṇa* is grammatically odd and it probably has to be elided.

Why has it been shown? [Now] the characteristics (*dharma*) (of a tathā-gata ?) are known. Having been asked, I have answered adequately (*samartha*).

2.3.3   Meaning of the list(s)

The list in BajC2 summarizes the characteristics or constituents (*dharma*) of awakening explained by the *bhagavant* after having been asked about it by Śāriputra. In the *Saṃgītisūtra*, similar groups are listed as items that should be known as the Dharma and Vinaya of the Tathāgata, and the whole text is said to have been recited in order to memorize the teaching that leads to awakening. Generally, such lists function as "succinct compendia of the Dhamma" (Gethin, 1992: 157).

More important to BajC2, however, are the Prajñāpāramitā texts, as they are likewise dealing with the concept of emptiness in general. In the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (ed. Vaidya: 97), the list is used within an enumeration of things that a bodhisattva should not be attached to in order to course in the perfection of understanding (*prajñāpāramitā*).[64] In the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, the listings are summarized as the "gift of the Dharma" (*dharmadāna*, cf. e.g. LPG fol. 279a-b, ed. Conze, 1974: 46, VIII 5,2) or more often as "wholesome *dharmas*" (*kuśala-dharma*, e.g. LPG fol. 20a, ed. Zacchetti, 2005: 214; *kuśalā bodhipakṣā dharmāḥ*, PvsP, ed. Kimura, 2009 [I-2]: 136) that are conducive to awakening and that constitute the path of a bodhisattva to reach omniscience (*sarvajñatā*) (e.g. PvsP, ed. Kimura, 2007 [I-1]: 171; 2009 [I-2]: 115 or 171; 1986 [II–III]: 71 or 168; 2006 [VI–VIII]: 119).

The list in the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra pursues the same purpose: It is used to describe the state of awakening, either by the qualities that are part of this state or that lead thereto. The main difference between the Bajaur list and the lists in Prajñāpāramitā texts is that the latter also include groups of five or seven or more. The restriction to fourfold groups in BajC2 may be explained by the passage that follows them, where the *abhedyaprasāda*s are discussed at length.[65] Thus, it appears that the list of groups of four is merely a rhetorical

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64   […] *evaṃ saptatriṃśad bodhipakṣā dharmā balāni vaiśāradyāni pratisaṃvido aṣṭādaśa-veṇikā buddhadharmāḥ sasaṅgāsaṅgā iti na carati, carati prajñāpāramitāyām* […] (viii 194, cf. tr. Conze, 1973: 146).

65   As the next part of this article will show, it is a peculiar feature of Sarvāstivāda traditions that they consist of four (and not three) items. In this context, it is also worthy to note that the four noble truths apparently had been a prevalent organizational feature in Abhi-dharma texts of the northwest, as has recently been indicated by Collett Cox (2014: 38f.). Thus, the number four might have been important or at least popular in this region, or even specifically among the Sarvāstivādin.

device to introduce the four *abhedyaprasāda*s, while at the same time illustrating the author's knowledge of certain lists and categories, of which he enumerated all those fourfold ones that came to his mind in order to represent the Dharma.

3   The Four *abhedyaprasāda*s

The discourse about the groups of four culminates in a long exposition about the *abhedyaprasāda* "unbreakable confidence/trust". Despite its obviously different etymology this term has to be related to its Pāli equivalent *aveccapasāda* or its Sanskrit representative *avetyaprasāda* which are usually translated as "perfect confidence/trust/faith" or "confidence/trust/faith based on understanding," respectively. As in our text, in canonical literature, these terms describe one of the characteristic features of an *āryaśrāvaka* or *srotāpanna* "stream-enterer". But not only the altered etymology distinguishes our text from these parallels, the inclusion of the *abhedyaprasāda*s/*avetyaprasāda*s among the group of four is similarly remarkable.

Based on the amount of text devoted by the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra to this issue, the *abhedyaprasāda*s played a key role in the concept of an *āryaśrāvaka*. In order to determine the specific role of the *abhedyaprasāda*s in the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra, our exposition will focus on three major points:

3.1 From *aveccapasāda* to *abhedyaprasāda*: shifting etymologies

3.2 The *abhedyaprasāda*s as a group of four

3.3 The reinterpretation of this category in the context of the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra

3.1   *From* aveccapasāda *to* abhedyaprasāda*: Shifting Etymologies*
The etymology of the term in Gāndhārī seems to be quite clear: *abheja* has to be derived from Old Indian *abhedya* "unbreakable". This is also supported by the text's own explanation:

> *yado ṇa samaṇupaśati tado ṇa bhijati ta vucati abhejeṇa praṣadeṇa samuṇagada*
> [And] because he does not perceive [anything], he is not broken. [Therefore] it is said: '[he is] endowed with unbreakable confidence'.

In Pāli texts, the same term regularly occurs as *aveccapasāda*. The etymology of the first member of this compound is doubtful. Modern Pāli dictionaries,

including the Critical Pāli Dictionary, derive *avecca* from the root *ava-(ā)-√i* "to understand, to know". This explanation appears to be based on two aspects.[66]

First, some of the Pāli commentaries paraphrase the initial *avecca* with words meaning "to understand, to know". Thus, Buddhaghosa's commentaries explain *avecca* by *paññāya ajjhogahetvā, paṭivijjhitvā, ñatvā* or *jānitvā* (cf. CPD s.v. *avecca*). Secondly, an etymology based on Skt. *ava-(ā)-√i* is also indicated by the Sanskrit variant of this term, which is usually given as *avetyaprasāda* (cf. BHSD s.v.). Consequently, modern studies on the Buddhist concepts of faith and belief characterize this scholastic category as "confidence/trust/faith based on understanding". Thus, Rupert Gethin writes:

> There is some reason for thinking that *pasāda* is often thought of as denoting a more refined and developed stage of *saddhā*; it is used especially in contexts where this seems appropriate. In this case *pasāda* is especially *aveccapasāda*, that is full-trust, trust that results **from a certain degree of understanding** (Gethin, 2001: 113, my emphasis).

In his monograph on the "Early Buddhist Theory of Knowledge," Kulatissa Nanada Jayatilleke also underlines the fact that the term *prasāda* is specifically associated with the act of intellectual understanding (1963: 386). Consequently, he translates *aveccappasāda* as "faith born of understanding". As Jayatilleke points out, the Pāli commentators give sometimes a different explanation for the initial word *avecca*, using attributes like *acala* "immovable" or *acyuta* "firm, solid". Thus, Buddhaghosa paraphrases *aveccappasāda* repeatedly by *acalappasāda* (see CPD s.v.), not regarding this as contradictory to his alternative explanation. This is, for instance, indicated by his commentary on DN II 93,27 (Sv (II) 544,22): *buddhaguṇānaṁ yathābhūtato ñātattā acalena accutena pasādena.* Here, he combines both possible meanings, "understanding" and "immovable," by explicitly deriving the immovable, solid character of *pasāda* from the true knowledge of the qualities of the Buddha (*yathābhūtato ñātattā*). Based on this alternative explanation given by Buddhaghosa, many modern translators prefer the connotation "unwavering" for *avecca*.

It seems that at a certain point, the origin and background of this term became obscure.[67] This uncertainty probably paved the way for different expla-

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66   Cf. also the detailed note by Samtani in his edition of the *Arthaviniścaya* (1971: 241).

67   During the discussion at the 1st Lausanne Gāndhārī Workshop in June 2013, Harry Falk suggested an alternative etymology of the Pāli word *avecca* based on the root *√vic* "to sift, separate". In this case one would certainly have to distinguish the absolutive *avecca* used in isolated position in a phrase and the gerundive *avecca* used as first member of a

nations and interpretations. One of these alternative interpretations, which is semantically very close to Buddhaghosa's *acala* or *acyuta* is represented by the connotation *abhedya* "unbreakable" attested in our Gāndhārī text. But is this occurrence the only instance for this variant of reinterpretation?

As far as I could ascertain, there are also some other, although very few, Skt. texts which use this very variant. One of them is the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*. In its description of the third *bhūmi*, the Brilliant One (*arciṣmatī*), the text repeatedly refers to the *abhedyaprasāda*s, e.g. *triratnābhedya-prasāda-niṣṭhā-gama-na-tayā* (ed. Vaidya, 1967: 24; ed. Rahder, 1926: 38) "by certainty with regard to the unbreakable confidences in the Three Jewels".

Describing the ten ways by which the career of a bodhisattva (*bodhisattva-caryā*) is to be considered with regard to his invincibility (*asaṃhāryatā*), the text lists one feature for each of the ten *bhūmi*s. With regard to the *arciṣmatī bhūmi* it says according to Vaidya's edition (1967: 66):

> *arciṣmatyāṃ bodhisattvabhūmau* **buddhabhedyaprasādaikarasataḥ**

There can be little doubt that the text has to be corrected into *buddhābhe-dyaprasād*°[68] and can be translated as:

> On the *arciṣmatī* bodhisattva level [he is invincible] because of the single affection towards the unbreakable confidence in the Buddha.

The same form *abhedya* also occurs in the summarizing verses (*upasaṃhāra-gāthā*) devoted to the fourth *bhūmi* (ed. Vaidya, 1967: 79–80):

> *sahaprāptu arciṣmati bhūmi mahānubhāvaḥ saṃvṛttu śāstu kuli bhūyu vivartiyatve/*
> *abhedya buddharatane tatha dharmasaṃghe udayavyayasthiti nirīhaka prekṣamāṇaḥ // 8 //*

> Immediately at reaching the *arciṣmatī* level, the powerful [*bodhisattva*] becomes member of the Buddhas' family – and does [not] return anymore [from that status].

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compound word. According to this explanation, the meaning of the Gāndhārī variant *abheja* would nearly correspond to the original meaning of the term. In any case, the commentaries of Buddhaghosa as well as the Sanskritized term *avetya* leave no doubt that the etymological origin of this term was no longer understood.

68   This is in fact the reading given in the older edition by Rahder, 1926: 97.

Unbreakable with regard to the Buddha jewel and the Dharma and the Saṃgha, he sees that things are inactive with regard to their production, cessation, and stability.

A closely-related term in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* is *bodhisattvasyābhedyāśayatā*, i.e. "a bodhisattva's unbreakable resolve" (*bhūmi* 6: ed. Vaidya, 1967: 34; ed. Rahder, 1926: 53). According to Rahder's glossary (1928: 18), Skt. *abhedya* is rendered in all these instances in the Tibetan version as *mi phyed pa*, in Śīladharma's Chinese translation as *buhuai* 不壞.[69]

The same coherence between the Sanskrit version and the later translations can be observed in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*.[70] The only preserved Sanskrit manuscript of this text conveys the attributes *dṛḍhavajrādhyāśayābhedyabuddhadharmaprasādapratilabdhaiḥ*, i.e. "who have obtained unbreakable confidence in the Buddha and the Dharma by their diamond-firm resolve" (1.3, ed. Study Group, 2006: 2), and *buddhe 'bhedyaprasādaratiḥ* (3.64, ed. Study Group, 2006: 40) as qualities of bodhisattvas. A synopsis of these two Sanskrit terms and their translations in the Tibetan and Chinese versions[71] yields the following picture:

Skt	*dṛḍhavajrādhyāśay**ābhedyabuddha** dhar-maprasāda**pratilabdhaiḥ*	*buddhe 'bhedyaprasādaratiḥ*
Tib	*hag pa'i bsam pa rdo rje ltar sra bas* **sangs rgyas dang | chos dang | dge 'dun la mi phyed pa'i dad pa** *rnyed pa*	**sangs rgyas la mi phyed par dad cing** *dga' ba dang*
T.14.474	有金剛志得佛聖性	樂於喜不離佛
T.14.475	深信堅固猶若金剛	樂常信佛
T.14.476	於諸佛法得不壞信流	法苑樂者 謂於諸佛不壞淨樂

It is obvious that both the Tibetan and the Chinese translation by Xuanzang 玄奘 (T.14.476) confirm the reading of the Skt. version and use the already mentioned translations for *abhedya* (Tib. *mi phyed pa*, Chin. *buhuai* 不壞). The two earlier Chinese translations are more difficult to evaluate. Whereas T.14.474 at

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69   The glossary's reference "(10M)" for one of the occurrences seems to refer to the Parīndanā section, which corresponds in Rahder's edition to ch. C.

70   The reference to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* I owe to Dan Stuart.

71   The Tibetan translation from the Derge edition of the Kangyur and the Chinese translations T.14.474 by Zhiqian 支謙 (223–228 CE), T.14.475 by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (406 CE) and T.14.476 by Xuanzang 玄奘 (650 CE) can be easily accessed in Jens Braarvig's excellent *Thesaurus Literaturae Buddhicae* (URL: <http://www2.hf.uio.no/polyglotta/index.php?page=volume&vid=37>, accessed 2/11/2105).

least in the second case seems to render *abhedya* by *buli* 不離, the other translations leave the element *abhedya* untranslated or altered its meaning. Thus, *abhedyaprasāda* is represented in T.14.475 either as *changxin* 常信 "eternal faith" or as *shenxin* 深信 "profound faith."[72]

Another text which uses this variant is the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-vyūhasūtra*, the Sanskrit version of which is only partially preserved in two manuscripts from Gilgit.[73] The text describes the effects of a meditation practice called *sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvāvalokana-buddhakṣetra-sandarśana-vyūho nāma samādhiḥ*. One of these effects is described as follows:

> […] *smṛtimantaḥ prajñāvantaḥ buddhe dharme sa(ṃ)ghe (')bhedya-prasādena samanvāgat(ā)ḥ* […] (transliterated from Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, 1995, plates 1751–1752)[74]
> […] being mindful [and] knowledgeable, they [will] be endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṃgha.

Again the reading of the Sanskrit manuscript is confirmed by the Tibetan translation *mi phyed pa* (Dutt, 1984: 53, note 1).[75] It is, however, interesting to note that despite the use of *abhedya*, the text maintains the association of the term with mindfulness and knowledge.

The three texts cited above consistently rendered this term as *abhedya* in the manuscripts and in the corresponding Tibetan translations. It can therefore be assumed that their original versions or at least one or several of their rather early recensions did show this variant.

There is some evidence that the variant *abhedya* could also replace an original *avetya/avecca*. Such a case is probably represented by the Gilgit manuscript of the so-called Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*[76] which replaces the conventional

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72   For this last variant cf. the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, s.v. (<http://www.buddhism-dict.net/>).

73   The facsimiles of both manuscripts are reprinted in Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, 1995: plates 1746–1815 and plates 1816–1837. The passage, which mentions *abhedyaprasāda* is found only in the former.

74   The text given by Dutt is not entirely correct: *smṛtimantaḥ prajñāvantaḥ buddhe dhama saṃghe abhedyaprasādena samanvāgatā* (ed. Dutt, 1984: 53).

75   The late Chinese translations T.19.1022 by Amoghavajra (eighth century CE) and T.19.1023 by Dānapāla (tenth/eleventh century CE) cannot confirm this reading. They use *dingxin* 定信 "firm faith" (T.19.1022A: 710 a23) and *shanxin* 善信 "good faith" (T.19.1023: 715 a19) instead.

76   For a detailed description of the Gilgit version of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* see Zacchetti, 2005: 19–28.

avetyaprasāda found in other manuscripts by the distinct reading *abhedya*[77] (fol. 143 recto, lines 6–8, transliterated from Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra, 1995: plate 453):

> *bhagavā āha. tat kiṃ manyase kauśika kiyantaḫ jāṃbūdvīpakā manuṣyā ye buddhe **abhedyaprasādena** samanvāgatā//s te saṃghe **abhedyaprasādena** samanvāgatā [...]?*
> *śakra āha. alpakās te bhagavaṃ jāṃbūdvīpakā manuṣyā ye buddhe **abhedyaprasādena** samanvāgatāḥ//s te saṃghe **abhedyaprasādena** samanvāgatā*

The Blessed One said: What do you think, Kauśika, how many people of Jambūdvīpa are endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Buddha, [are endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Dharma,] are endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Saṃgha. Śakra said: Few people of Jambūdvīpa, Blessed One, are endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Buddha, [are endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Dharma,] are endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Saṃgha.

According to the majority of later manuscripts[78] and the commentaries, *abhedya* was most likely not the original reading of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* text.

Within their commentaries *ad Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 2.18–19 on *adhimukti* (cf. ed. Stcherbatsky and Obermiller, 1929: 13; tr. Conze, 1954: 37), both Ārya Vimuktasena and Haribhadra quote this same passage from the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā*. According to Sparham's translation of Vimuktisena's commentary, which is based on an unpublished single Nepali manuscript,[79] Vimuktisena seems to quote the text by replacing the *avetya* of the *mūla* text by *abhedya*:

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77   This variant was already indicated by Conze, 1973: 87.

78   See Kimura, 1986: 59 for reference. The text edited by Kimura states: *evam ukte bhagavān śakraṃ devānām indram etad avocat: tat kiṃ manyase kauśika kiyantas te jāmbūdvīpakā manuṣyā ye buddhe 'vetyaprasādena samanvāgatā, ye dharme 'vetyaprasādena samanvāgatā, ye saṃghe 'vetyaprasādena samanvāgatā [...]? atha khalu śakro devānām indro bhagavantam etad avocat: alpakās te bhagavan jāmbūdvīpakā manuṣyā ye buddhe 'vetyaprasādena samanvāgatā ye dharme 'vetyaprasādena samanvāgatā ye saṃghe 'vetyaprasādena samanvāgatā [...].*

79   Sparham's translation is based "on a photocopy of a single manuscript kept in the National Archives in Kathmandu (Ms. No. 5–55, Reel No. A37 / 9)" (Sparham, 2006: vii). For the catalogue entry see <http://catalogue.ngmcp. uni-hamburg.de/wiki/A_37–9_Abhisamay %C4%81la%E1%B9%85k%C4%81ravy%C4%81khy%C4%81> (accessed 2/11/2015).

> There they have 'unbroken faith' [(*abhedyaprasāda*), i.e. 'knowledgeable faith' (*avetyaprasāda*)] when having destroyed doubt, they have faith that a knowable (*avagamya*) good quality is possible […] (Sparham, 2008: 22).

However, the microfilm copy of this manuscript at the Berlin State Library confirms the variant *avetyaprasāda*. This reading is clearly the preferable one since it corresponds to the following explanation of *avetya* as *avagamya*.

Vimuktisena's commentary was taken up by the later commentator Haribhadra,[80] who comments on the same passage in his *ālokā* as follows (ed. Wogihara, 1932: 213):

> *avagamyaguṇasambhāvanāpūrvakaḥ prasādo 'vetyaprasādo vicikitsāprahāṇād ity eke. dṛṣṭatattvasya śraddhā triṣu ratneṣv āryakāntaṃ ca śīlaṃ caturtham avetyaprasāda ity anye*

> Some [say], 'perfect confidence' is confidence accompanied by the realisation of knowable good qualities resulting from giving up doubts. Others say 'perfect confidence' (*avetya-prasāda*) is a confidence in the Three Jewels and fourth, morality pleasing to noble beings, of one who has seen the true reality (modified from Sparham, 2008: 160).

According to the available editions, Haribhadra uses the conventional variant *avetyaprasāda* throughout.[81] Another aspect of interest in Haribhadra's commentary is that the text cites an opinion, which lists four *a°prasādas*[82] including morality (*śīla*). This development of a fourfold list of *a°prasāda*s will be investigated in the next paragraph.

In the selected examples above, we have seen that the term *abhedyaprasāda* was rendered in Tibetan as *mi phyed pa'i dad pa / mi phyed par dad cing* and in some of the Chinese translations as *buhuaixin* 不壞信 or *buhuaijing* 不壞淨. Both translations leave little doubt about the association of the compound's

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80   Haribhadra wrote his commentary on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* "about the year 800 during the reign of Dharmapāla (rg. C. 770–810), the greatest of the Pāla kings" (Sparham, 2006: xv).

81   Once more, Sparham's translation suggests that the commentary used the term *abhedyaprasāda*: One, [i.e. Ārya-Vimuktisena] says, "they have 'unbroken faith' [(*abhedyaprasāda*), i.e. 'knowledgeable faith' (*avetya-prasāda*)]" (Sparham, 2008: 160). However, neither the text edited by Tucci, 1932: 182, nor Wogihara's edition of the AAA (cf. above) refer to this reading.

82   In the following the term *a°prasāda* is used to designate both variants of this term: *avetyaprasāda* and *abhedyaprasāda*.

first member with Skt. *abhedya*. There seems to be some evidence that this variant was far more widely used than our small survey suggests. Thus, the *Mahāvyutpatti* (ed. Sakaki, 1916: 440) lists not only the more common term *avetyaprasāda*, but also adds the variant *abhedyaprasāda*:

> 6823. (562). *śes nas dad pa: avetyaprasādaḥ*
> 6824. (563). *dad pa mi phyed pa: abhedyaprasādaḥ*

The Tibetan *mi phyed pa* (< *'byed ba* "to split, to break") clearly points to Skt. *abhedya*. It seems that the majority of the early Chinese translators up to Paramārtha (563 CE) even preferred this variant. The first element of the compound *a°prasāda* is here usually represented by Chinese *buhuai* 不壞 "indestructible, unbreakable, incorruptible." Thus, we find the form *buhuaixin* 不壞信 in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama* (T.1.1), in the separately translated *Saṃyuktāgama* (T.2.100), in both translations of the Larger *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (T.9.278 and T.10.279), and in several Prajñāpāramitā texts translated by Kumārajīva (e.g. T.8.227, T.25.1509). Only from the late sixth century onwards (and in particular in the translations by Xuanzang) is the first element of the compound usually represented by *zheng* 證 "to realize," which may be related to Skt. *avetya*.[83]

It is hardly probable that in all these aforementioned cases the underlying Indic text really contained the reading *abhedyaprasāda*. But at least in cases where the older variant *buhuai* 不壞 is used by post-6th c. translators (such as some of Xuanzang's translations), there is good reason to argue that the original text contained *abhedya* rather than *avetya*. A systematic investigation of this question is beyond the scale of the present study.

There is some evidence that certain Abhidharma texts are aware of this alternative interpretation of the term. Discussing this issue with Lin Qian, he drew my attention to an important passage from the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (T.27.1545, 534c14–29) and provided the following translation:

> Question: Why [they] are referred to as *avetya-prasāda*? What is the meaning of *avetya-prasāda*?
> Answer: (1) [They are referred to as] 'purities' (*prasāda, jing* 淨) because [they refer to] faith (*śraddhā, xin* 信) and virtue (*śīla, jie* 戒) removed from defilements. Having contemplated, pondered, and apprehended the four noble truths one after another, [one] attains these purities, therefore [they] are referred to as *avetyaprasāda*.

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83   I am most grateful to Lin Qian and Jan Nattier, who kindly provided this evidence for me.

(2) The Venerable Pārśva (*xizunzhe* 脅尊者) says that it should be 'unbreakable purity' (**abhedya-prasāda*, *buhuaijing* 不壞淨). It is referred to as 'unbreakable' (**abhedya*) because it is not to be broken by faithlessness (**aśraddha*, *buxin* 不信) and those false virtues (**duḥśīla*, *ejie* 惡戒). 'Purity' (*prasāda*) means pure faith (*śraddhā*, *xin* 信), because it is the pure characteristic of the mind, and virtue (*śīla*) is the pure characteristic of the great elements (*mahābhūta*, *dazhong* 大種).

(3) The Venerable Vasumitra (*Shiyou* 世友) says thus, they should be referred to as 'uninterrupted purities' (**nitya* or **abhedya*, *buduanjing* 不斷淨), namely, once attained, they are not to be led astray by the power of any śramaṇa, brāhmaṇa, etc., interrupted or destroyed. As it is said in the sūtra, 'This is referred to as faith having [right] view as its root, and associated with the knowledge of comprehension, śramaṇas and brāhmaṇas etc. of this world are not able to lead astray and cause it to be interrupted and destroyed.'

(4) The Bhadanta [Dharmatrāta] says, if [one] cannot contemplate, ponder, and apprehend the Buddha dharmas, the faith and virtue attained can be easily moved like a boat on water. If [one] can carefully contemplate, ponder, and apprehend the Buddha dharmas, the faith and virtue attained are immovable like an **indradhvaja* (*dichuang* 帝幢). Correctly it should be 'immovable-purity' (*budongjing* 不動淨).

(5) The Venerable Ghoṣaka says that these four should be referred to as the 'purities of view' (**dṛṣṭi-prasāda*, *jianjing* 見淨), because these purities are attained after seeing the four noble truths. Or [they] should be referred to as the 'purities of understanding' (**prajñā-prāsāda*, *huijing* 慧淨), because they function together with the noble understanding (**ārya-prajñā*, *shenghui* 聖慧).

It seems that at least two of the five explanations given here, numbers 2 and 3, point to *abhedya* as the underlying form rather than to *avetya*.[84] A slightly different explanation based on the same etymology is given by the *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*:

Question: What is known?
Answer: The four noble truths. It is further said that they are called 'perfect faith': just as the increase of *sūra* (= strength, power, Skt. *śūra*). Furthermore, some say that what is not abandoned because of agitation is called 'perfect faith': just as the increase of confidence (*pratiśaraṇa*).

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84   Dharmatrāta's interpretation (no. 4) recalls Buddhaghosa's *acala*.

> These two kinds of increase both acquire the first path. Māra cannot
> **destroy** or **break** [it]. Each is named by depending on the specific expla-
> nation (Dessein, 1999,1: 681, my emphasis).

As Bart Dessein points out, Saṃghavarman's Chinese translation of Dhar-
matrāta's *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* (T.28.1552) uses the Chinese term
buhuaijing 不壞淨 (Skt. *abhedyaprasāda*) throughout (see Dessein, 1999,3:
31, s.v. *avetyaprasāda*). In his note on stanza 169, Dessein argues that this
Chinese rendering *buhuaijing* 不壞淨 is "a wrong translation of the Sanskrit"
(Dessein, 1999,2: 201–202). As stated above, the preference of pre-Xuanzang
translators for this variant cannot prove that the original text contained this
variant. But in light of the explanation given in the text, one might assume
that the variant *abhedya* was not completely unknown to the author of the
Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya.[85]

   Without a doubt, the earliest extant attestation of the term *abhedya* comes
from our manuscript from Gandhāra. Like the examples from the *Mahāvibhāṣā*
and, probably, the *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*, the Gāndhārī text not only
uses this term, but it even tries to explain the specific meaning of the attribute
abhedya as "unbreakable, indivisible," based on its etymology. In addition, the
text uses the simile of space (*ākāśa*), which is described as "indivisible as a hole
pierced by a hundredfold split tip of a hair:"

> [*ṇa sukaro agaśo chidido vi bhidido vi* ◊] (**chidro vi*) [*sakato*] *atamaśo* ◊
> *śadadha chiṇa vi valagrakoḍie* ◊ (BajC2, 2A.4–5)

> It is not easy to split or break the space, (*just like a hole) that was pierced
> by an even hundredfold split tip of a hair.

Is it therefore possible to argue that the new term was introduced in a north-
western environment before it was introduced into other contexts including
the translational practice of early Chinese translators?

   There is no easy way to explain the sound change from Middle Indic *avecca*
to Gāndhārī *abheja*. Such a transformation can only be justified by an inten-
tional reinterpretation of an inherited, but obscure term. This transformation
might be at least partially due to a hypersanskritisation based on the language
of the Indian northwest. Only in the orthography of the northwest is Old Indian
bh- regularly represented by the sign for the labio-dental *v* or its aspirated vari-
ant *vh*. Besides that, the "historical" spelling *bh* is frequently attested (e.g. Skt.

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85 The variant *buhuaijing* 不壞淨 is also used in the other *Hṛdaya* works by Dharmaśreṣṭhin
    and Upatrāta. See footnote 96 below.

prabhā > *prava, pravha, prabha*). Inherited intervocalic *bh* was obviously pronounced as a fricative with or without aspiration, in clear departure from other Middle Indic languages where we observe the change *bh* > *h* (von Hinüber, 2001: §§ 190f.). In a Gāndhārī environment a term *avecca* could easily be misunderstood as a word containing an aspirated labial. The change from *cca* to *j(j)a* is more complicated. It could be explained as an intentional shift from a no longer comprehensible form *aveca / abheca* to a hypersanskritized form *abheja* (Skt. *abhedya*). However, it cannot be completely excluded that this shift also had a phonetical background. That the pronounciation of *c* and *j* was sometimes confused, is demonstrated by some Prakrit grammarians (von Hinüber, 2001: 155, § 177). Moreover, Kenneth R. Norman (1970: 134–135) lists a number of words where this change obviously occurred. The interchangeability of *c* and *j* is also occasionally attested in a Gāndhārī environment, as shown by one of the Senior fragments where OI *añjali* is written as G *acali* (GD, Index s.v. *acali*). Thus, both changes (*v* > *bh*, *c* > *j*) are at least hypothetically within the range of possible phonetical developments of Gāndhārī. Especially the characteristic shift from *v* to *bh* makes a Gāndhārī influence on the emergence of this variant highly probable.

3.2   *The* abhedyaprasādas *as a Group of Four*

The Abhidharma sources and commentaries cited above refer to a tradition which knows four varieties of *a°prasāda*s. According to Haribhadra, the "'perfect faith' (*avetyaprasāda*)" comprises the "perfect faith in the Three Jewels" and, as fourth, the "morality pleasing to noble beings in those who have seen true reality". This fourfold list is in accordance with the text of the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra, which clearly refers to four *abhedyaprasādas* (*cadu-abhejapraṣada*), namely:

1. towards the Buddha
2. towards the Dharma
3. towards the Saṃgha
4. towards the noble virtues

This fourfold list is not attested in the earliest layers of Buddhist literature but appears to belong to a specific scholastic tradition. Usually, the early texts refer only to three such items, namely the three jewels. These three *a°prasāda*s are arranged together with (*ārya*)*śīla* to another fourfold list: that of the *srotāpattyaṅga*s, the constituents of stream entry. As *locus classicus* for the definition of the *a°prasāda*s as a part of the *srotāpattyaṅga*s in canonical literature, I quote a passage from the Pāli *Saṃgītisuttanta* (DN 33 III 227):

*Cattāri sotāpannassa aṅgāni: idhāvuso ariyasāvako buddhe avecca-
ppasādena samannāgato hoti: iti pi so bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho
vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidū anuttaro purisadammasārathī
satthā devamanussānaṃ buddho bhagavā'ti. Dhamme aveccappasādena
samannāgato hoti: svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko
ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhī'ti. Saṅghe avec-
cappasādena samannāgato hoti: supaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho,
ujupaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho, ñāyapaṭipanno bhagavato
sāvakasaṅgho, sāmīcipaṭipanno bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho, yadidaṃ cattāri
purisayugāni, aṭṭha purisapuggalā, esa bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho
āhuṇeyyo pāhuṇeyyā dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇīyo anuttaraṃ puñña-
kkhettaṃ lokassā'ti. Ariyakantehi sīlehi samannāgato hoti akhaṇḍehi
acchiddehi asabalehi akammāsehi bhujissehi viññūppasatthehi aparā-
maṭṭhehi samādhisaṃvattanikehi.*

Four characteristics of a Stream-Winner: Here, the Ariyan disciple (*ariya-
sāvaka*) is possessed of unwavering confidence (*aveccapasāda*) in the
Buddha, thus: 'This Blessed Lord is an Arahant, a fully-enlightened
Buddha, endowed with wisdom and conduct, the Well-Farer, Knower of
the worlds, incomparable Trainer of men to be tamed, Teachers of gods
and humans, enlightened and blessed.' He is possessed of unwavering
confidence in the Dhamma, thus: 'Well-proclaimed by the Lord is the
Dhamma, visible here and now, timeless, inviting inspection, leading
onward, to be comprehended by the wise each one for himself.' He is pos-
sessed of unwavering confidence in the Sangha, thus: 'Well-directed is
the Sangha of the Lord's disciples, of upright conduct, on the right path,
on the perfect path; that is to say the four pairs of persons, the eight kinds
of men. The Sangha of the Lord's disciples is worthy of offerings, worthy
of hospitality, worthy of gifts, worthy of veneration, an unsurpassed field
of merit for the world.' And he is possessed of morality dear to the Noble
Ones, unbroken, without defect, unspotted, without inconsistency, liber-
ating, praised by the wise, uncorrupted, and conducive to concentration
(tr. Walshe, 1995: 490–491).

This fourfold list of *srotāpattyaṅga*s is also part of the Sanskrit, Gāndhārī and
Chinese versions of the *Saṃgītisūtra* and its commentaries (see § 2.3.2). As
seen above, the *srotāpattyaṅga*s (G *so[ḍavati](*aga*)) are also mentioned
among the groups of four listed in the respective section of the Bajaur
Mahāyāna sūtra.

Apparently, this well established and widely known arrangement of *srotā-pattyaṅga*s influenced the list of the *a°prasāda*s and resulted in the inclusion of the additional element 'morality' (*śīla*). It is difficult to ascertain when and in which environment this altered, fourfold, list of *a°prasāda*s originated, but there appears to be good reason to believe that Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma circles were the first to refer to the 'four *avetyaprasāda*s'.

Already the *Dharmaskandha*, according to Frauwallner "the Sarvāstivādin's earliest Abhidharma work after the Saṃgītiparyāya" and composed in the time "before Aśoka's missions" (Frauwallner, 1995: 20),[86] lists the four *a°prasāda*s (T.26.1537: 460 a21–28) in the first part. The *Dharmaskandha* begins its discussion by quoting a *sūtra* passage that corresponds to the 836th *sūtra* of the Chinese *Saṃyuktāgama* (T.2.99: 214 b7–19), which is a parallel to Pāli SN 55.17 (V 365–366).[87] The Chinese version of this *sūtra* clearly speaks of four *a°prasāda*s (T.2.99: 214 b10+12: *si buhuaijing* 四不壞淨). Consequently, the *Dharmaskandha* takes up this Āgama passage and states (T.26.1537: 460 a21–24):

> What are the four **avetyaprasāda*s (*si zhengjing* 四證淨)? They are: *buddha-avetyaprasāda*, *dharma-avetyaprasāda*, *saṅgha-avetyaprasāda*, and the virtue favored by the nobles. Why? The four great elements, namely, the elements of earth, water, fire, and air, are capable of change; those noble disciples who have achieved the four *avetyaprasāda*s definitely will not change (translation: Lin Qian).[88]

It seems therefore that the transformation of the *a°prasāda*s into a group of four was also introduced into the canonical text of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivāda *Saṃyuktāgama*.[89] The original understanding of this *sūtra* was probably a different one, as indicated by the Pāli version that refers instead to the four *sotāpattiyaṅga*s (SN V 365–366). As in the *Saṃgītisuttanta*, the three *aveccapasāda*s are mentioned as the first three. It is therefore possible that the text

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86   But cf. Willemen, Dessein and Cox, 1999: 69. Based on the quotations in the *Saṃgītiparyāya*, they consider the *Dharmaskandha* as "the oldest of the seven *Abhidharma* works".

87   I am once more indebted to Lin Qian, who guided me through the Chinese texts of the *Dharmaskandha* and the SĀ. For more parallels to this *sūtra* see Chung, 2008: 185.

88   Although the Chinese translation of the SĀ (Guṇabhadra, 443 CE) uses the term *buhuaijing* 不壞淨 (Skt. *abhedyaprasāda*), the *Dharmaskandha* (Xuanzang, 659 CE) refers to *zhengjing* 證淨 (Skt. *avetyaprasāda*). This again shows the difficulties in making any conclusions that are solely based on the terminology of early Chinese translations.

89   For the school affiliation of the Chinese SĀ see the discussion by Chung (2008: 11–20).

underlying the Chinese sā had already replaced the reference to the four *srotāpattyaṅga*s by that to the four *a°prasāda*s.

   The character of *a°prasāda*s as a group of four had become firmly established in the later Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma tradition, although the distinction between the first three members of this group and *śīla* as its fourth element had been a matter of discussion. For example, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* discusses this problem in the passage directly preceding the one cited above (T.27.1545: 534c5–10, quoted after Dessein, 1999: 513, note 450):

> Question: How are the four forms of perfect faith established? Is it because of uniqueness or is it because of that which is taken as supporting object? When because of uniqueness, there are only two: faith and restraint. When because of that which is taken as supporting object, there are only three: perfect faith in Buddha, in the doctrine and in the order: because moral precept does not have that which it takes as supporting object. Answer: This statement should be made: it is both by the uniqueness and by that which is taken as supporting object. Of the forms of perfect faith, the one established by uniqueness is perfect faith in moral precept: because moral precept has nothing it takes as supporting object. Produced by that which is taken as supporting object, are the other three forms of perfect faith: because faith takes the three treasures as supporting object.

The same sort of discussion is also found in Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*. In the *kārikā*s we find the following passage (6.73–74):

> *trisatyadarśane śīladharmāvetyaprasādayoḥ*
> *lābho mārgābhisamaye buddhatatsaṃghayor api* (ed. Pradhan, 1975: 386)

The relevant expression in the *kārikā* text, i.e. *śīladharmāvetyaprasādayoḥ*, is not quite clear and did pose certain problems to its later commentators and translators depending on whether the dual *dvandva* compound is dissolved as "morality and the Perfect Confidence in the dharma" or "the two Perfect Confidences in morality and dharma". Thus, Louis de La Vallée Poussin translates (1925: 292):

> Quand on voit trois vérités, on obtient la moralité et l'*avetyaprasāda* relativement au Dharma: quand on comprend le chemin, aussi l'*avetyaprasāda* relativement au Bouddha et à son Saṃgha.

In his note to this passage he remarks (293):

> Hiuan-tsang dit: 'Le Sūtra dit qu'il y a quatre *avetyaprasādas:* à l'endroit
> du Bouddha, du Dharma, du Saṃgha, de l'*āryaśīla.*' On peut dire qu'il y a
> *āvetyaprasāda* en ce qui concerne la moralité, *śīla,* car *prasāda* = pureté
> […]. Mais Paramārtha et le tibétain montrent qu'il ne faut pas entendre
> notre kārikā: 'obtention de l'*avetyaprasāda* relativement à la moralité et
> au Dharma.'

However, the auto-commentary makes quite clear that Vasubandhu indeed
refers to four *prasāda*s without ignoring the fundamental differences between
the first three (in Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha) and the fourth one (in morality).
Thus, the *bhāṣya* commenting upon *kārikā* 74 and 75 states:

> *ta ete śraddhādhiṣṭhānabhedān nāmataś* **catvāro 'vetyaprasādā** *ucyante*
> *dravyatas tu dve śraddhā śīlaṃ ca,*
> *buddhadharmasaṃghāvetyaprasādāḥ śraddhāsvabhāvāḥ,*
> *āryakāntāni ca śīlāni śīlam iti dve dravye bhavataḥ*
> […]
> *avetyaprasādā iti ko'rthaḥ? yathābhūtasatyāny avabudhya sampratyayo*
> *'vetyaprasādaḥ |*
> *yathā ca vyutthitaḥ saṃmukhīkaroti tathaiṣām ānupūrvīm |*
> *kathaṃ vyutthitaḥ saṃmukhīkaroti? samyaksaṃbuddho vata bhagavān,*
> *svākhyāto 'sya dharmavinayaḥ, supratipanno 'sya śrāvakasaṃgha iti;*
> *vaidyabhaiṣajyopasthāpaka-bhūtatvāt |*
> *cittaprasādakṛtaś ca* **śīlaprasāda** *ity ucyate* **caturtha** *uktaḥ |*
> *evaṃ prasannasyaiṣā pratipattir iti;*
> *ārogyabhūtatvād vā, deśikamārgasārthikayānavad vā |* (ed. Pradhan, 1975:
> 387)[90]

> On a donc, vu la variété de l'objet du *prasāda,* **quatre *prasādas*** distingus
> au point de vue des noms.
> Au point de vue des choses, ces quatre sont deux choses, foi et moralité.
> Les *avetyaprasādas* relativement au Bouddha, au Dharma, au Saṃgha,
> sont, de leur nature, foi (*śraddhā*). Les moralités chères aux Āryas, sont de
> leur nature, moralité (*śīla*). Donc deux choses. […]

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90   Cited after the improved text of the *Bibliotheca Polyglotta* (<http://www2.hf.uio.no/poly-
     glotta/index.php?page=fulltext&vid=511&view=fulltext>, access 29.11.2015).

> Quel est le sense de cette expression *avetyaprasāda*? Foi consécutive à la compréhension exacte des vérités. Les *avetyaprasādas* sont rangés dans l'ordre où, en sortant de la contemplation des vérités (*vyutthita*), on se les rend présents (*saṃmukhīkaroti*). – Comment se les rend-on présents en sortant de la contemplation? – "Oh! Bhagavat est parfait Bouddha! Bien prêché son Dharma-Vinaya! Bien en route son Śrāvakasaṃgha !" c'est ainsi qu'on se les rend présents, car le Bouddha, le Dharma et le Saṃgha sont, dans l'ordre, le médicin, le remède, l'infirmier.
>
> Comme **le *prasāda* de la moralité** résulte du *prasāda* de la pensée, il est nommé, **quatrième**, à la fin: c'est quand la pensée est ainsi croyante (*prasanna*) qu'on possède la moralité chère aux Āryas (de La Vallée Poussin, 1925: 294–295).

Although Vasubandhu clearly admits the difference between these two types of *avetyaprasāda*, his commentary leaves no doubt that *āryakāntaśīla-avetyaprasāda* has to be regarded as part of a fourfould list of *avetyaprasāda*s.

For his *Abhidharmakośa* Vasubandhu used "the *Abhidharma* system as it had been systematized by Dharmaśreṣṭhin and revised and enlarged by Upaśānta and Dharmatrāta" (Willemen, Dessein and Cox, 1998: 270). The **Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, written by Dharmaśreṣṭhin/Dharmaśrī from Bactria probably between 220 BCE and 220 CE[91] and translated into Chinese in 391 CE (cf. Willemen, Dessein and Cox, 1998: 255–256) represents the earliest preserved systematic compilation of Sarvāstivāda dogmatics. Dharmaśreṣṭhin's work was the basis of the two Gandhāran *Abhidharmahṛdaya* works by Upaśānta and Dharmatrāta who lived in the third and early fourth centuries (cf. Willemen, Dessein and Cox, 1998: 259 and 261). All these works consistently refer to a fourfould list of *a°prasāda*s.[92]

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91   For a detailed discussion of the different opinions regardings Dharmaśreṣṭhin's disputed life-time cf. Willemen, 1975: v-viii.

92   Moreover, all Chinese translations of these *Hṛdaya* treatises use the variant *abhedyaprasāda* (*buhuaijing* 不壞淨 / *buhuaixin* 不壞信). Since these translations belong the pre-Xuanzang phase (cf. for the exact dates Willemen, Dessein and Cox, 1998 : 253–263), the value of this terminological usage is restricted. In Dharmaśreṣṭhin's *Abhidharmahṛdaya* (T.28.1550: 827c) we find the following passage: "Question: The World-Honoured One has expounded **four perfect faiths** (*si buhuaijing* 四不壞淨): perfect faith in the Buddha, perfect faith in the dharma, in the saṃgha, and in noble morality. What about these? Answer: (188) Pure and stainless faith in the qualities of the self-awakened and of the disciple, in deliverance and in the remaining causality, and noble morality have attained certainty. Pure and stainless faith in the qualities of the self-awakened and of the disciple, in deliverance and in the remaining causality: a self-awakened one is a Buddha.

In Dharmatrāta's *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya*, we find a discussion of the list that closely resembles that of the *Mahāvibhāṣā*, without leaving any doubt about the integrity of the group as a whole:

> Question: How many actual entities (*vastu*) do these forms of perfect faith have?
> Answer: 'There are two forms of these actual entities': Faith and moral precept. Faith is awarenesses that are clean; moral precept is the four elements that are clean.
> 'It is said that there is the name of four forms': Because of being established by the actual entities as supporting object, there are four [forms]; because of the difference of being with faith as supporting object, there are three forms (Dessein, 1999,1: 681).

All these references demonstrate that the tradition, which refers to the *a°prasāda*s as a group of four was well established in Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, although the different character of its three original members (Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha) and the later incorporated moral (*śīla*) continued to be discussed.

Vasubandhu, as well as his direct predecessors Upaśānta and Dharmatrāta, lived in Gandhāra. It might, therefore, be hardly surprising that the author of the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra referred in his work to this fourfold list of *a°prasāda*s that had become commonplace at least in the northwestern Abhidharma traditions.

3.3 *The Reinterpretation of this Category in the Context of the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra*

In the "Mainstream Buddhism" traditions the concept of *avetyaprasāda*s is usually based on the intentional reflection on the positive qualities of Buddha,

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That Buddhahood is comprised within the fruit of being without attachment. The qualities of one who has no more training to do are the qualities of a Buddha. When one has pure faith in these qualities, it is called perfect faith in the Buddha. Having taken up the realization of that which is right, one is a disciple. The qualities of one in training and of one who has no more training to do are said to be the qualities of a disciple. When has pure faith in these qualities, it is called perfect faith in the saṃgha. Pure faith in nirvāṇa and faith in the remaining formed dharmas, such as the truth of suffering and the truth of origination, faith in the pure qualities of the bodhisattva, and faith in the qualities of the pratyekabuddha who is in training or who has no more training to do, this is called perfect faith in the dharma. Noble morality is pure morality. This is called perfect faith in morality" (Willemen, 1975: 135–136).

Dharma, Saṃgha and morality. This is obvious from the above quoted passage from the *Saṃgītisuttanta* and it is also evident from the passage extracted from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

The author of the Gāndhārī sūtra chooses a different approach, which is, however, in accordance with the general message of the text, which is based on the notion of emptiness (*śūnyatā*). Usually the notion of emptiness is expressed by the phrase *na samanupaśyati*, "does not perceive". In accordance with this rhetoric, the *abhedyaprasāda*s are defined. For sake of briefness I quote only few characteristic extracts for each of the four items:[93]

Buddha

utamaṭhaṇaṭhido vi tasagado ◊ ṇa samaṇupaśati ◊ paramaṭhaṇaṭhida vi ◊ tasagada ṇa sa(*maṇupaśati ·) (BajC2, 1A3–4) […]
yado ya śariputra ◊ mamo ṣavaga · edehi ca ◊ añehi ca karaṇehi ◊ ṇa samaṇupaśati · tado budho abhejapraṣa(*deṇa samuṇaga)[d]a bho[di] (BajC2, 1.A7–8 + 1CD.18)

He also does not perceive the Tathāgata as being in the highest place (*uttamasthāna-sthita*). He also does not perceive the Tathāgata as being in the supreme place (*paramasthāna-sthita*). […]
And because, Śāriputra, my disciple does not perceive [the Tathāgata (?)] out of these and other reasons, he is endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Buddha.

Dharma

yoda[94] *[vi] dharmaviharam eva ṇa samaṇupaśati ◊ tado vi dharmo ◊ abh[e]jopraṣ{e}deṇa samuṇagado bhodi* (BajC2, 1.A8 + 1CD.18)

And also because he does not perceive a dwelling in the Dharma (*dharmavihāra*), he is endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Dharma.

Saṃgha

ya[ṣa] yeva tu[a] (*śariputra) dharma ṇa samaṇupaśaṣi ◊ yeṇa dharmeṇa samuṇagado raha di vohariaṣi ◊ evam eva śariputra ◊ yeṇa dharmeṇa ◊ mama ṣavaga-sagho ṣavaga(*sa)[gha] saṃkho gachati ◊ ta dharmo aria · ṣavago ◊ yoṇiśo vavarikṣata ◊ · ṇa aṣigachadi ◊ yado ya ṇa aṣigachadi tado ya (*sagho a)[bhejo]praṣadeṇa samu{s}agado bhoti ◊ (BajC2, 1CD.18–21)

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93   Some of these passages are also discussed in Strauch, forthcoming.
94   Read: *yado*.

Just as you, Śāriputra, do not perceive a *dharma* by [lit. "endowed with"] which you are called an arhat, just so, Śāriputra, an *āryaśrāvaka* does not realise (*adhigacchati*) a *dharma* by which my assembly of disciples is called ["reckoned as"] an assembly of disciples, even when thoroughly investigating it. And because he does not realise it, he is endowed with unbreakable confidence (*in the *saṃgha*).

Śīla

*yado ya śariputra ◊ mamo ṣavago ◊ ṇa ājatvo samaṇupaśati ◊ kudo ⟨*bha⟩ hidho · tado ya (*ṇa ājatvasamu)[ṭhi]da śilo samaṇupaśati ṇa bhahidha-samuṭhida śilo samaṇupaśati ◊ ṇa ajatvabhahidhasamuṭhido śilo (*samaṇupaśati ·) [...] (*yavado a)[ria]ṣavago ◊ aribhutehi śilehi samuṇa-gado bhoti · etavado śariputra ◊ caduhi abhejaprasadehi ◊ samuṇagado bhoti* (BajC2, 1CD.21–23; 2B.13)*

And because, Śāriputra, my disciple does not perceive [anything] inter-nal let alone [anything] external, he does not perceive morality having originated (*internally) (*adhyātmasamutthita*), he does not perceive morality having originated externally (*bahidhāsamutthita*), he does not perceive morality having originated both internally and externally (*adhyātmabahidhāsamutthita*). [...] (*The extent to which) the *āryaśrāvaka* is endowed with noble virtues (*āryabhūta śīla*), to this extent, Śāriputra, he is endowed with the four unbreakable confidences.

The whole treatment of the four *abhedyaprasāda*s is concluded by the statement:

*evam eva (*śariputra) [mamo ṣavago] ◊ edehi ca añahi ca karaṇahi ◊ {samuṇagado} budho ṇa samaṇupaśati · dharma sagho ◊ ṇa samaṇupaśati ◊ śilo samasi praña vimuti (*vimutiñaṇadarśaṇa sa)[vado sava] ◊ ṇa samaṇupaśati · yado ṇa samaṇupaśati tado ṇa bhijati ◊ ta vucati ◊ abhejeṇa praṣadeṇa samuṇagada ·* (BajC2, 2.D36–39)

Just so, (*Śāriputra), out of these and other reasons my disciple does not perceive a Buddha, does not perceive a Dharma [or] a Saṃgha. He does not perceive morality (*śīla*), concentration (*samādhi*), understanding (*prajñā*), release (*vimukti*), he does not perceive anything at all. [And] because he does not perceive [anything], he is not broken. [Therefore] it is said: '[he is] endowed with unbreakable confidence'.

It becomes evident that the Bajaur text explicitly links the well-known *śrāvakayāna* concept of the *āryaśrāvaka* and his *a°prasāda*s with a Mahāyāna

type of notions. The confidence in the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṃgha and the *śīla* does not arise out of reflexion upon their positive qualities, but out of their complete non-perception. The entire concept of an *āryaśrāvaka* and his characteristic confidences are, thus, clearly reinterpreted in terms of the theory of emptiness. As in other passages, the text uses well-established categories of Buddhist thinking and re-defines them according to its own ideological needs.

The same attitude towards the *a°prasāda*s can be observed in Nāgārjuna's *Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra*. In its 20th chapter, the *sūtra* quotation (and its commentary) regarding the seventh *bhūmi* lists twenty things a bodhisattva should avoid (*viṃśatidharmā na kartavyāḥ*). Among them are the following four elements (ed. and tr. Lamotte, 1980: 2421–2422):[95]

> 17. *buddhaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśo na kartavyaḥ. tathā hi na buddhadṛṣṭi-niśrayād buddhadarśanam utpadyate.*
> 18. *dharmaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśo na kartavyaḥ. dharmasyādṛṣṭatvāt.*
> 19. *saṃghaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśo na kartavyaḥ. saṃghanimitta-syāsaṃskṛtatvāt aniśrayatvāc ca.*
> 20. *śīlaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśo na kartavyaḥ. āpattyanāpattitām anabhiniveśāt.*

> 17. Ne pas s'attacher à la vue du recours en Buddha. En effet ce n'est pas de cette vue que provient la [vraie] vision des Buddha.
> 18. Ne pas s'attacher à la vue du recours en Dharma. Car le Dharma est invisible.
> 19. Ne pas s'attacher à la vue du recours en Saṃgha. Car le Saṃgha est en soi inconditionné et ne constitue pas un support.
> 20. Ne pas s'attacher à la vue du recours dans les [hautes] moralités. Car le Bodhisattva ne s'attache pas [à distinguer arbitrairement] la culpabilité de l'innocence.

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95 The text of the quotation roughly corresponds to the following passage from the *Pañcaviṃsatiprajñāpāramitā*: *punar aparaṃ subhūte bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya saptamyāṃ bhūmau vartamānasya viṃśatidharmā na bhavanti. katame viṃśatiḥ? yad uta ātmagrāho ʻsya na bhavati sattvagrāho jīvagrāhaḥ pudgalagrāha ucchedagrāhaḥ śāśvatagrāho nimittasaṃjñā hetudṛṣṭiḥ skandhābhiniveśo dhātvabhiniveśaḥ, āyatanam ṛddhis traidhātuke pratiṣṭhānaṃ traidhātukādhyavasānam traidhātuke ālayo buddhaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśo dharmaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśaḥ saṃghaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśaḥ śīlaniśrayadṛṣṭyabhiniveśaḥ śūnyā dharmā iti vivādaḥ śūnyatāvirodhaś cāsya na bhavati, ime subhūte viṃśatidharmā bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya saptamyāṃ bhūmau vartamānasya na bhavanti* (ed. Kimura, 2009: 90).

As Étienne Lamotte rightly remarks, "les articles 17 à 20 sont une critique dis-crète contre le noble disciple animé d'une foi éclairée à l'endroit du Buddha, du Dharma et du Saṃgha, et doué des moralités chères aux saints" (Lamotte, 1980: 2422, note 1). The *sūtra* text and Nāgārjuna explicitly justify these twenty avoid-able things by referring to the notion of emptiness. The same kind of critique against the traditional view of an *āryaśrāvaka* based on the doctrine of empti-ness can certainly be stated for the treatment of the *abhedyaprasāda*s in the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra.

4   Conclusion

Within the introductory passage of the "Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra" (BajC2, Frag-ment 2 of the Bajaur Collection) which is concerned with the emptiness of all *dharma*s, the text stresses two categories: the four *asaṃhārya-dharma*s and the four *abhedyaprasāda*s. Both are explained in longer passages.

The four *asaṃhārya-dharma*s, "unconquerable things," are the last item in a list of altogether twenty-one groups of four. They circumscribe the highest per-fect awakening and omniscience of a tathāgata, which make him invincible in regard to Māra or other adversaries. While the *asaṃhārya-dharma*s are spe-cific to Prajñāpāramitā texts, especially the *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*, all other categories of the list occur in both Abhidharma and/or Prajñāpāramitā texts, where they represent the teaching or the characteristics of a buddha. The first three items of this list are part of the *bodhipakṣya-dharma*s, and the next four are related to meditation and include the four noble truths. Up to here every-thing belongs to the *śrāvakadharma*s and is also known from canonical or Abhidharma texts. The next three items characterize a tathāgata, an awakened being. Elsewhere these items are also called *buddhadharma*s or *lokottara-kuśaladharma*s and they are only known from Mahāyāna texts. This seems to indicate that the original Abhidharma list had been expanded in order to fit into an explict Prajñāpāramitā or rather early Mahāyāna context.

The following ten groups of four (as far as they are preserved on the manu-script) appear to be random selections of terms, which also occur in the *Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya*. None of the different versions of the *Saṃgītisūtra/-paryāya* shows a particular parallel in regard to the sequence, selection or spelling of the terms. However, the Gāndhārī text (BajC2) is in principle closer to the Pāli version of the Theravādin or the Sanskrit version of the Sarvāstivādin rather than to the Chinese and Gāndhārī versions of the Dharmaguptaka.

Despite certain parallels, it was not possible to determine a close connec-tion to any of the Prajñāpāramitā texts. Furthermore, its restriction to groups

of four distinguishes the list of the Bajaur sūtra from all extant parallels. Nevertheless, a common background of the lists occurring in the Prajñāpāramitā literature and the Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra is clearly discernible. This is confirmed by the general diction of the text that uses terms and concepts typical to Prajñāpāramitā. However, the term itself, *prajñāpāramitā*, is not mentioned even once in the preserved portions of the text.

The list of the groups of four leads to a discussion of the four *abhedyaprasāda*s, "unbreakable confidences". The extensive treatment of the *abhedyaprasāda*s appears to be an original trait of the sūtra that cannot be found in other early Mahāyāna texts. The peculiar variant *abhedya* replacing the more common *avecca / avetya* of other traditions as well as the arrangement of the traditional three *a°prasāda*s together with morality (*śīla*) in a group of four can be traced back to early Abhidharma traditions attested for the Sarvāstivādins. While the arrangement as a fourfold group seems to be a pan-Sarvāstivādin feature, the specific interpretation of the *a°prasāda*s as *abhedyaprasāda*s, "unbreakable confidences," could have its origins in the circles of early Gandhāran Abhidharma specialists. From there, however, it seems to have spread out to various traditions including the translational Chinese literature.

The Bajaur Mahāyāna sūtra uses this well-established concept of "Mainstream Buddhism" and reinterprets, or to use an expression by Paul Harrison, "Mahāyāna-ises" it "in terms of the doctrines of Śūnyatā" (1978: 55). It thus follows a strategy that can also be observed in other early Mahāyāna texts.

As Johannes Bronkhorst (forthcoming) correctly noticed, the dogmatic discourses of early Mahāyāna literature presupposed the existence of a well-developed Abhidharma tradition, and there seems to be good evidence that the rich Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, which was particularly influential in the Indian northwest, was one of the main sources for the upcoming Mahāyāna and its terminology and scholarly debates in early Gandhāra.

Abbreviations

AA	*Abhisamayālaṃkāra* (ed. Wogihara, 1932)
AAA	*Abhisamayālaṃkārālokā* of Haribhadra (ed. Wogihara, 1932)
AAV	*Abhisamayālaṃkāravṛtti Sphuṭārthā* of Haribhadra (ed. Tripathi, 1977)
AN	*Aṅguttaranikāya*
BajC	Bajaur Collection, fragment no.
BHSD	*Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (Edgerton, 1953)
BL	British Library Collection, fragment no.
Ch.	Chinese

Cm	Commentary
CPD	Critical Pāli Dictionary (Trenckner et al., 1924–)
DĀ	*Dīrghāgama*
DN	*Dīghanikāya*
Dhsgr	*Dharmasaṃgraha* of Nāgārjuna (ed. Müller and Wenzel, 1885)
G.	Gāndhārī
GD	A Dictionary of Gāndhārī, Stefan Baums and Andrew Glass, eds., <http://gandhari.org/dictionary.php>
LPG	Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* from Gilgit (partly ed. Conze, 1962, 1974, Zacchetti, 2005)
MAV(Bh)	*Madhyāntavibhāga-bhāṣya* (ed. Nagao, 1964)
MPPŚ	*Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* (T.25.1509)
MS	Martin Schøyen Collection, fragment no.
Msa	*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (ed. Lévi, 1907)
MN	*Majjhimanikāya*
P.	Pāli
PP	Prajñāpāramitā
Ps	*Paṭisambhidāmagga* (ed. Taylor, 1905)
PTSD	Dictionary of the Pali Text Society (Rhys Davids and Stede, 1921–1925)
PvsP	*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Ms. Cambridge, ed. Kimura, 1986–2009)
SĀ	*Saṃyuktāgama*
Skt.	Sanskrit
SN	*Saṃyuttanikāya*
SplitC	Split Collection, fragment no.
SWTF	Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule. Begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt. Im Auftrage der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen hrsg. von Heinz Bechert u.a. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
T.	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (ed. Takakusu 高楠, Watanabe 渡邊, and Ono 小野, 1924–1934)
Tib.	Tibetan
Vibh	*Vibhaṅga* (ed. Rhys Davids, 1904)

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