

季羨林教授  
八十華誕紀念論文集

(下)

Papers  
in Honour of  
Prof. Dr. Ji Xianlin  
on the Occasion  
of His 80th Birthday ( II )

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# 目 錄

## 上 卷

- 季羨林教授年譜與譯著目錄…………… 李 錚(1)
- 季羨林教授學述 …………… 錢文忠(37)
- 于闐文的蠶字、繭字、絲字 …………… 段 晴(45)
- A Note on the Ancient Indian Oath ( ■ ) …………… Hara, Minoru(51)
- The Verb B *sain-*, A *se-n-*, in Tocharian …………… Hilmarsson, J. (67)
- 梵語文學修辭例釋 …………… 黃寶生(91)
- 梵文《思擇焰經》鈔本影印版…………… 蔣忠新(111)
- A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription From Chang'an …………… 林梅村(119)
- Gāndhāri …………… Norman, K. R. (133)
- Note sur le sens du substantif *ke* du tokharien A …………… Pinault, G-J(145)
- Nochmals zu Dhāraṇis aus Zentralasien …………… von Hinüber, O. (163)
- 《五燈會元》點校獻疑續補一百例…………… 項 楚(175)
- 從詞匯史看《列子》的撰寫時代…………… 張永言(189)
- “V-neg-Vo”與“Vo-neg-V”
- 兩種反復問句在漢語方言里的分布…………… 朱德熙(209)
- “將無”考…………… 朱慶之(225)
- Samuel van de Putte and His Travels to Tibet and China …………… de Jong, J. W. (247)
- 對有關《太平治迹統類》諸問題的新考索…………… 鄧廣銘(253)
- 唐“王言之制”初探
- 讀唐六典札記之一…………… 李錦綉(273)
- 唐代前期和糴政策與政局之關係
- 唐代和糴政策研究之二…………… 盧向前(291)
- 西藏山南地區佛寺調查記
- 西藏佛寺調查之二…………… 宿 白(311)
- 中印文化交流與中印學…………… 譚 中(341)
- “弓月”名義考…………… 王小甫(351)

楊隋氏族問題述要

- 學習陳寅恪先生史學的一些體會…………… 王永興(365)  
從一件婆羅迷字帛書談我國古代的印歐語和印歐人…………… 徐文堪(373)  
論九世紀前半期唐朝的政治  
——兼談永貞改革與牛李黨爭…………… 周一良(405)

論一九四一年美日談判中美國政府的

- 對日妥協傾向與中國問題…………… 丁則勤(415)  
論儒家哲學中的超越性和內在性…………… 湯一介(451)  
迎接新的文化轉型時期…………… 樂黛雲(457)  
圖騰起源略論…………… 趙國華(463)  
“五四”新文化運動的先驅者黃遵憲…………… 鄭子瑜(499)

## 下 卷

Remarks on the Legal Structure of the

- Early Buddhist Saṅgha …………… Bechert, H. (511)  
Sanskrit Texts from Eastern Turkestan …………… Bongard-Levin, G. (525)  
嚴譯與什譯…………… 葛維鈞(533)  
談維吾爾佛典…………… 耿世民(549)  
《梵網經》中的“六十二見”…………… 郭良鑒(555)  
Endangered by Man-eating Witches …………… Hartman, J-U. (563)  
新羅義相法諱考  
——與海東華嚴的歷運相聯…………… 金知見(577)  
《法華經》中的乘(yāna)與智慧(jñāna)  
——大乘佛教中 yāna 概念的起源與發展…………… 辛島靜志  
(Karashima) (607)  
Prāvṛṭṭkālaslokatrayam …………… Lienhard, S. (645)  
Textcritical Notes on Sanskrit Texts …………… Lindtner, CHR. (651)  
論《維摩詰經》與東晉南朝文化之關係…………… 陸揚(661)  
Challenge to Authority  
——Gahapati Citta …………… Nakamura, H. (673)  
F. Staal 著《Agni》書後…………… 饒宗頤(679)

Yogācārabhūmi;

- Sopadhikā and Nirupadhikā Bhūmiḥ ..... Schmithausen, L. (687)  
Dharmakīrti on the Inference of Effect (kārya) ..... Steinkellner, E. (711)  
Das Anschlagen der Gaṇḍī in Buddhistischen Klöstern ..... von Hinüber, H. -Y. Hu(737)  
略論大乘《大般涅槃經》的傳譯..... 王邦維(769)

中國的孝敬與印度的禮施

- 非對稱性禮物饋贈文化的人類學分析..... 閻雲祥(789)  
'Divorzio all' indiana' ..... Wezler, A. (801)  
世間生住滅 此中得思量  
——讀《金七十論》..... 張保勝(825)

敦煌吐魯番與香藥之路..... 姜伯勤(837)

敦煌文書出處略考..... 林聰明(849)

倫敦藏敦煌寫本《下部讚》原件考察..... 林悟殊(871)

Reflections on the Origins of the Modern Standard

- Mandarin Place-Name "Dunhuang" ..... Mair, V. H. (901)  
敦煌文獻所見晚唐五代宋初的中印文化交往..... 榮新江(955)  
唐末五代宋初西北地區的般次和使次..... 張廣達(969)

Māṃkuya- ..... H. W. Bailey(975)

Tocharisch • Zur Weiteren Erschließung

der Buddhistischen Sanskritliteratur ..... Klaus T. Schmidt(977)

編 後 記..... (987)

# **Endangered by Man-eating Witches:** **a Fragment of the Siṃhalāvadāna from the Turfan Finds\***

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The adventurous life of the merchant Siṃhala, as depicted in the various versions of the Siṃhalāvadāna, has time and again attracted the attention of scholars. The first encounters with the story date back to a time when Buddhist Studies in Europe were still in their infancy, and it appears that once again the famous Eugène Burnouf was the first to study a version preserved in an Indian language<sup>1</sup>. Many others were to follow, among them Professor Ji who, in connexion with his study of the aorist as a means of ascertaining the age of Buddhist texts, touched upon one of the two versions preserved in the *Mahāvastu*<sup>2</sup>. In recent years, two excellent studies have appeared, which focus on representations of the story in art, but also contain surveys of the many different versions<sup>3</sup>. As can be gathered from this great number of versions, the story was popular not only with scholars, but, as will be shown in the following, this tale of a calamitous sea voyage was also enjoyed by people living in the sandy deserts of Central Asia.

As catalogue number 1424 in Volume V of the *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (SHT), a fragment is published, the contents of which are described as the adventures of travelling merchants, and it is tentatively attributed to the Supriya- or the Maitrakanyaka-avadāna<sup>4</sup>. A closer study of this fragment, however, revealed it to belong to a version of the Siṃhalāvadāna<sup>5</sup>. Several parts of the plot — sea voyage, encounter with beautiful maidens — are shared by all three Avadānas, and others — shipwreck, horse as saviour — by at least

two of them, but only in the *Siṃhalāvadāna* do the seductive maidens turn out to be man-eating witches. They strictly forbid the newly stranded merchants to take a certain road leading south to a magic city of iron, where they keep earlier victims stored. These features help to identify the Turfan fragment; line 2 of the verso side evidently contains the beginning of the prohibition, and line 4 a reference to the road leading to the south.

The story to which the fragment belongs is not available in Sanskrit. The translations of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya*, however, preserve two versions closely related to the text of the fragment. The first is found in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*<sup>6</sup>; in the end, the Buddha is identified with the flying horse acting as saviour, and the leader of the merchants is clever (*tshoñ pa mkhas pa'i rañ b'zin can 'zig*), but still nameless. In the second version, contained in the *Vinayavi bhāṅga*<sup>7</sup>, the focus of the story has shifted from the horse to the leader of the merchants, now named *Siṃhala*, who is none other than the *Bodhisatva*. Having been incorporated into the *Divyāvadāna*, the beginning and the latter half of this second version is also preserved in Sanskrit, but the part of the story corresponding to the present fragment is abbreviated with a reference to the *Rākṣasisutra*, a text not available in Sanskrit<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, as an aid in understanding the context of the Turfan fragment and as the basis of its identification, the transcription will be followed by the Tibetan version of both the corresponding passages.

Cat. — No. 1425<sup>9</sup>

recto

- 1 /// + + + + + [va]nt[i] sma | teṣāṃ karmavipāke  
 2 /// + (dar)[ś](a)[n](i)[y](a)[ḥ] pr(ā)sādikās tā evam āhu e[tu]  
 3 /// + | alayanānāṃ layanam advīpanāṃ dvīpa  
 4 /// pānagrḥ(ā)ṇ(i va)stragrḥhāṇi ārāmaramaṇīyā

verso

- 1 /// + + śaṃkhaśilā pravāḍaṃ rajataṃ jātarūpam aśmagarbho mu  
 2 /// + + (krīḍa)ta ramata paricārayata mā vacaḥ kaś cit supra  
 3 /// (paricāra)yanti | teṣāṃ tatra krīḍatāṃ ramatāṃ paricā[ra]

4 /// + + + + + + + [im]āḥ striyaḥ dakṣiṇām pantha[li]

Tibetan text <sup>10</sup> (words also preserved in the Sanskrit fragment are set in italics)

*Vinayavibhaṅga*<sup>11</sup>

de dag rgya mtsho'i gru bcag pa na  
so so so so dag nas phoṅs<sup>12</sup> pa'i don  
du chur rkyal pa khyer te 'oṅs pa  
dag la<sup>13</sup> 'zon te 'di lta ste |kha cig gis  
ni 'sal ma la'i<sup>14</sup> spaṅ leb dag la 'zon |  
kha cig gis ni<sup>15</sup> (L 250b) sṅas 'siṅ bal  
can dag la 'zon |kha cig gis ni ku<sup>16</sup> ba'i  
gziṅs dag la 'zon |kha cig gis<sup>17</sup> ni ra  
rkyal dag la 'zon te (D 177a) chu'i  
steṅ na 'phyo'o || *de dag gi las kyi*  
*rnam par smin pas* byaṅ phyogs nas  
rluṅ laṅs nas des de dag lho phyogs  
kyi 'gram<sup>18</sup> du bdas<sup>19</sup> pa daṅ |

zaṅs gliṅ na srin mo khruṅ khruṅ  
g'zon nu ma 'zes bya ba dag 'khod pa  
de dag tshoṅ pa gru chag pa rnam  
la g'tam sṅan pa daṅ dga' ba'i tshul  
gyis slu bar byed do || de dag la  
rgyal mtshan dga' ba'i gnas daṅ  
'thun<sup>22</sup> pa daṅ |phoṅs<sup>23</sup> pa'i gnas daṅ  
'thun<sup>22</sup> pa gṅis yod<sup>24</sup> de | (R 417b) ji  
tsam na dga' ba'i gnas daṅ 'thun<sup>22</sup>  
pa'i rgyal mtshan g'yo bar brtsams  
pa daṅ |de dag gis smras pa |phu nu

*Bhaiṣajyavastu*<sup>20</sup>

gru bo che b'sig pa daṅ | de rnam  
rkyal pa re re la 'zon te chu ji lta ba  
b'zin du khyer te *doṅ<sup>21</sup> ba las* | *de* (D  
235a) *rnam gyi las kyi rnam par*  
*smin par las* byuṅ ba'i rluṅ byaṅ  
phyogs nas laṅs te | des lho phyogs  
kyi 'gram du khyer ba daṅ |

de na bud med gzugs bzaṅ mo<sup>37</sup> |  
*mdzes ma* | blta na (N 432b) sdug  
pa dag yod de | *de dag gis 'di skad*  
*ces smras so* ||

mo dag dga' ba'i gnas dañ 'thun<sup>22</sup> pa'i  
 rgyal (TP 165a) mtshan g'yos pas  
 'dzam bu'i<sup>25</sup> gliñ pa'i tshoñ pa dag gi<sup>26</sup>  
 rgya (N 275a) mtsho'i gru<sup>27</sup> chu srin  
 ña'i rigs kyis<sup>28</sup> bcag<sup>29</sup> ste 'oñ gor ma  
 chag<sup>30</sup> gis<sup>31</sup> btsal lo 'zes de dag gis<sup>32</sup>  
 rgya mtsho'i 'gram du btsal bar  
 brtsams pa dañ | ji tsam na skye bo  
 phal po che'i tshogs chur rkyal ba  
 sna tshogs dag gis rkyal zñ 'oñ ba  
 mthoñ no || mthoñ nas kyañ bdag  
 ñid gzugs bzañ mor mñon par sprul  
 nas rgyan sna tshogs kyis brgyan te |  
 lha'i gos dañ | phreñ<sup>33</sup> ba rgyus  
 klubs<sup>34</sup> nas rgya mtsho'i 'gram nas  
 bod<sup>35</sup> par brtsams<sup>36</sup> pa |

jo bo dag<sup>38</sup> *tshur spyon* | bzin  
 bzañs<sup>39</sup> dag tshur spyon | bdag cag  
 khyim thab ma mchis pa rnams kyi  
 khyim thab mdzod cig | bdag po ma  
 mchis pa rnams kyi bdag po mdzod  
 cig | *gnas ma mchis pa rnams* (L  
 25la) *kyi gnas mdzod cig* | *gliñ ma*  
*mchis pa rnams kyi gliñ mdzod cig* |  
 skyob pa ma mchis pa rnams kyi  
 skyob pa mdzod cig | skyabs ma  
 mchis pa rnams kyi skyabs mdzod  
 cig | dpuñ gñen ma mchis pa rnams  
 kyi dpuñ gñen mdzod cig |

jo bo dag *tshur spyon* | bzin bzañs<sup>40</sup>  
 dag tshur spyon | bdag cag jo bo ma  
 mchis pa rnams kyi jo bo dañ | khy-  
 im thab<sup>41</sup> ma mchis pa rnams kyi  
 khyim thab<sup>41</sup> dañ | *gnas ma mchis*  
*pa rnams kyi gnas dañ*<sup>42</sup> | *gliñ ma*  
*mchis pa rnams kyi gliñ dañ* | mgon  
 ma mchis pa rnams kyi mgon dañ |  
 skyabs ma mchis (R 311b) pa rnams  
 kyi skyabs dañ | rten ma mchis pa  
 rnams kyi rten mdzod cig |



'di dag ni khyed kyi zas kyi gnas dag  
 dañ | *skom gyi gnas dag dañ* | *gos kyi*  
*gnas dag dañ* | gnas mal gyi gnas  
 dag dañ | *kun dga'i*<sup>43</sup> *ra ba dga' bar*  
*'gyur ba dag dañ* | nags tshal dga'  
 bar 'gyur ba (R 418a) dag dañ | rdziñ  
 bu dga' bar 'gyur ba dag dañ |

'dzam bu'i<sup>45</sup> gliñ pa'i rin po che mañ  
 po 'di lta ste | nor bu dag dañ | mu  
 tig dag dañ | bai dū<sup>46</sup> rya (N 275b)  
 dag dañ | (D 177b) *man 'sel dkar po*  
*dag dañ* | *byi*<sup>47</sup> *ru dag dañ* | *dñul*  
*dag dañ* | *gser dag dañ* | *rdo'i sñiñ*  
*po dag dañ* | *spug dag dañ* | dmar  
 po dag dañ | g'yas su 'khyil pa dag  
 lags kyis<sup>48</sup> |

khyed<sup>56</sup> cag tshur spyon bdag cag  
 dañ lhan cig *rtse ba dañ* | *dga'*<sup>57</sup> *ba*  
*dañ* | *dga' mgur spyod par mdzod*  
*cig* | *khyed cag las 'ga' yañ 'sin tu*<sup>58</sup>  
*myos par gyur*<sup>59</sup> kyañ lho lam du 'gro  
 bar mi bya'o zes zer ro ||

bcom ldan 'das kyis dge sloñ dag ñas  
 'di lta ste | skyes pa la bud med kyi  
 gzugs ji ltar chags par 'gyur ba dañ |  
 rgyags par 'gyur ba dañ | 'dod par

'di dag ni khyod<sup>44</sup> kyi zas kyi khañ  
 pa dañ | *skom gyi khañ pa dañ* | *gos*  
*kyi khañ pa dañ* | gnas mal gyi khañ  
 pa dañ | *dga' bar 'gyur ba'i kun dga'*  
*ra ba dañ* | *dga' bar 'gyur ba'i tshal*  
*dañ* | *dga' bar 'gyur ba'i rdziñ dañ* |

'dzam bu'i<sup>49</sup> gliñ gi rin po che rab  
 tu<sup>50</sup> mañ po 'di lta ste | nor bu dañ |  
 mu tig dañ | bai dū<sup>51</sup> rya dañ | *duñ*  
*dañ* | *man 'sel dañ* | *byi*<sup>52</sup> *ru dañ* | *dñul*  
*dañ* | *gser dañ* | *rdo'i sñiñ po dañ* |  
*spug dañ* | pad ma<sup>53</sup> rā ga dañ |  
 duñ<sup>54</sup> g'yas su 'khyil pa dag lags  
 kyis<sup>55</sup>

khyed tshur spyon | bdag cag dañ  
 lhan cig<sup>60</sup> *rtsed mo bgyi* | *dga' bar* (L  
 390a) *bgyi* | *dga' mgur*<sup>61</sup> *spyad par*  
*bgyi'o* | *khyed cag las*<sup>62</sup> *su yañ smyos*  
 kyañ lho phyogs kyi lam du ma bzud  
 cig |

'gyur ba dañ | sdug par 'gyur ba (TP 165b) dañ | byams par 'gyur pa dañ | rñod<sup>63</sup> par 'gyur ba dañ | brgyal<sup>64</sup> bar 'gyur ba dañ | 'chiñ<sup>65</sup> bar 'gyur ba dañ | sgrub par 'gyur ba dañ | kun (L 251b) tu sbyor<sup>66</sup> bar 'gyur ba de lta bu'i gźugs gźan gcig<sup>67</sup> kyañ yañ dag par rjes su ma mthoñ ño zes gsuñs pas |

de dag srin mo de dag gis brjod<sup>68</sup> pa na rgya mtsho chen po las brgal<sup>69</sup> te de dag dañ lhan cig rtse bar byed | dga' bar byed | *dga' mgur spyod par byed do* || *de dag de dag dañ lhan cig* (R 418b) *rtse bar byed | dga' bar byed | dga' mgur spyod par byed pa dag la bsten*<sup>70</sup> pa'i rgyu las bu dañ bu mo bag kyunbyun ño ||

de nas ded dpon siñ ga<sup>74</sup> la 'di sñam du sems te | ci'i phyir *bud med 'di dag lho lam* śin tu<sup>75</sup> sruñ bar<sup>76</sup> sems | bdag bud med 'di dañ (N 276a) lhan cig ñal žiñ de gñid log pa dañ mal<sup>77</sup> du žugs par rig nas khad kyis dal bu<sup>78</sup> dal bus mal chen po las babs te | ral gri rnon po mchan du bcug nas lho lam du 'gro 'o sñam mo ||

de dag bud med de rnams dañ lhan cig<sup>71</sup> rtse bar byed | dga' bar byed | *dga' mgur*<sup>72</sup> *spyod par byed de | de dag de rnams dañ lhan cig rtse bar byed | dga' bar byed |* (N 433a) *dga' mgur*<sup>73</sup> *spyod par byed pa las bu pho dañ bu mo dag btsas so* ||

de nas tshoñ pa mkhas pa'i rañ bžin can žig 'di sñam du sems te | ci'i phyir *bud med de dag gis lho phyogs kyi lam* lhag par bsruñ<sup>79</sup> bar sems | ma la bdag gis bud med gañ dañ lhan cig ñal ba de mal du gñid log par rig nas bags kyis dal bu<sup>80</sup> dal bus mal nas babs<sup>81</sup> la lho phyogs kyi lam du 'gro'o sñam nas | de de ltar ñes par byas nas (D 235b) bud med gañ

dañ lhan cig ñal ba de gñid kyis log  
 par rig nas bags kyis dal bu dal (R  
 312a) bus<sup>82</sup> mal nas babs te ral gri  
 rnon po mchan du thogs nas lho  
 phyogs gyi lam du soñ ba dañ |

After the shipwreck, the merchants float on the sea, and, due to the ripening of their former deeds (line 1 of the fragment; restore to *karmavipākena*) are driven southward by a gale from the north. They are washed ashore on the island inhabited by the witches, who appear as beautiful women (line 2)<sup>83</sup> and invite the castaways to come (line 2)<sup>84</sup> and stay with them, since they are without husbands or protectors, helpless and so forth (line 3; correct to *advīpānām* and cf. note 84 for the probable restoration). Besides that, they have other enticements to offer, among them rooms for food, drinks and robes, lovely gardens (line 4; in Tibetan also *śayanagr̥hāṇi* or *śayanūsanagr̥hāṇi* is included after *vastragr̥hāṇi*) and a variety of precious stones (line 1 verso; restore to the *Dīvyāvadāna* cliché cited in note 84). Finally, the merchants are invited to amuse themselves with the women (line 2), and only then are they warned that nobody, even in a state of total drunkenness, is allowed to wander towards the south (line 2)<sup>85</sup>. The merchants do not decline the invitation and duly amuse themselves (line 3). After a certain time of amusement (line 3; restore to *paricārayatām*), the leader of the merchants becomes curious and wonders why these women have forbidden them to take the road to the south (line 4)<sup>86</sup>.

A comparison of the Sanskrit and the Tibetan texts immediately shows that two sections of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* version are absent from the text of the fragment and from the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*. First, the missing part of line 2 recto does not leave room enough to include the description of a certain useful device owned by the Rākṣasīs. According to the *Vinayavibhaṅga*, there are two flags, one of them foreboding luck, the other misfortune. Thus, the fluttering of the former notifies the witches of the nearing arrival of the shipwrecked merchants, and only then are they necessitated to transform their appearance. Equally absent is the long quotation from the word of the Buddha, which in the Tibetan and the Chi-

nese versions follows after the warning against going south. On the other hand, the Turfan fragment in length and wording agrees very well with the version preserved in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu*, where the leader of the merchants is still unnamed. Therefore, with due caution, one should probably label the fragment as belonging to a cycle of stories, of which the *Siṃhālāvādāna* is the best known version. Of course it is tempting to identify the *Rākṣasisūtra*, referred to in the *Dīvyāvādāna*, with the text preserved in the *Madhyamāgama* (cf. note 3), obviously referred to in the Chinese translation of the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* (cf. note 6), and to wonder if the fragment could perhaps be related to this work. However, the title of the *Madhyamāgama* version is “Sūtra about the merchants in search of wealth”, and its wording is close to, but not identical with, the Sanskrit fragment (cf. T 26, vol. 1, p. 642b10–18). Although the story agrees with the fragment in many details, there is no mentioning of *karmavipāka* (line 1 of the fragment), nothing which corresponds to the passage partly preserved in line 3 of the fragment, and no reference to any children being born as a result of the diversions (the continuation of line 3 verso). As long as these differences cannot be ascribed to a (partly purified?) Chinese translation, it remains difficult to accept the *Madhyamāgama* as a possible source of the fragment.

As regards the quotation, although fitting the context, it unnecessarily interrupts the course of the story, the more so, since quotations of this kind do not conform to the literary style of the genre<sup>87</sup>. Most likely it is a later interpolation, as already suspected by Dieter Schlingloff<sup>88</sup>, peculiar to the version on which both the Tibetan and the Chinese translations of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* are based. It should be noted, however, that the passage contained in the Chinese translation is longer<sup>89</sup>. In both cases, the quotation does not reflect on the badness of women, as is suggested. There can hardly be a moral judgement involved — and if so, it would be difficult to restrict it to females — when the Buddha states that he does not perceive any other bodily form as attractive and bewitching for a man as the body of a woman. This observation serves to explain why the merchants climb ashore and start to divert themselves with the women. If the reading *brñod*, “deceived, bewitched”, of the Derge edition is more than a misprint for the graphically very similar *brjod* of the other editions, it might even hint at a possible explanation of the origin of the interpolation, namely a gloss which be-

came incorporated in the text.

The statement itself probably goes back to the Sūtrapiṭaka, as is shown by a close parallel found in the *Āṅguttaranikāya*. There it is reported that a mother and her son, both members of the order, were spending the rainy retreat in Sāvattī (AN III 67ff.). On regularly meeting each other desire arose, which finally resulted in incestuous intercourse. The monks related the events to the Buddha, and he declared:

*Nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekarūpaṃ pi samanupassāmi evaṃ rajanīyaṃ evaṃ kamaniyaṃ evaṃ madanīyaṃ evaṃ bandhanīyaṃ evaṃ mucchanīyaṃ evaṃ antarāyakaraṃ anuttarassa yogakkhemassa adhigamāya, yathayidaṃ bhikkhave itthirūpaṃ* (AN III 68,8–13).

“Monks, I see no other form so enticing, so desirable, so intoxicating, so binding, so distracting, such a hindrance to winning the unsurpassed peace from effort — that is to say, monks, as a woman’s form” (AN (transl.) III 56).

The teaching of the Buddha would not justly be called the Middle Way if this observation remained unbalanced by its pendant, and indeed there is another short *sutta* in the *Āṅguttaranikāya* which contains a similar statement immediately followed by its counterpart: *Nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekarūpaṃ pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ purisassa cittaṃ pariyādāya tiṭṭhati yathayidaṃ bhikkhave itthirūpaṃ* (AN I 1,9–11) against *Nāhaṃ bhikkhave aññaṃ ekarūpaṃ pi samanupassāmi yaṃ evaṃ itthiyā cittaṃ pariyādāya tiṭṭhati yathayidaṃ bhikkhave purisarūpaṃ* (AN I 2,10–12).

If a cutting remark on the nature of women is sought in the story, one has to turn to a later part of the Siṃhalāvādāna version preserved in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* and the *Divyāvādāna*. After his successful escape back to Jambudvīpa, Siṃhala is followed by the Rākṣasi with whom he had been amusing himself. She appears in the form of a young woman claiming to be his deserted wife and is accompanied by a magically conjured child closely resembling Siṃhala. When she fails to win back Siṃhala, she first turns, in a clever attempt at instigating social pressure, to his parents and then to the king of the country, all

of whom attempt to persuade him to take her back. *Sarvā eva striyo rākṣasyaḥ*, “Every woman is a witch”, thus his parents and the king rather unperturbedly observe, when Siṃhala tells them that the striking beauty is in reality nothing but a Rākṣasi in disguise. Upon his refusal, they react quite differently, and this is nicely described in the story: while the old parents immediately lose their interest and turn her out, the king remains less indifferent to the beautiful girl’s fate. Not heeding Siṃhala’s warning, he seizes the opportunity to enrich his harem and soon meets his doom, as is to be expected.

### Notes:

\* Thanks are due to Professor Dieter Schlingloff, München, who stimulated this paper and kindly put his materials at my disposal. — Abbreviations follow the *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien*, ed. Heinz Bechert, Göttingen 1990.

1. See Siegfried Lienhard, *Die Abenteuer des Kaufmanns Siṃhala*, Berlin 1985 (Veröffentlichungen des Museums für Indische Kunst Berlin 7), p. 9, note 2, where he mentions a handwritten translation of the version contained in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha* made by Burnouf and dated 1837. It is now kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.
2. Hiän-lin Dschi, “Die Verwendung des Aorists als Kriterium für Alter und Ursprung buddhistischer Texte”, *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* 1949, p. 257f. (= Ji Xianlin, *Selected Papers on the Languages of Ancient India*, Beijing 1982, pp. 250–252).
3. S. Lienhard (as note 1); Dieter Schlingloff, *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings*, Delhi 1988, pp. 256ff. (an earlier version of this chapter was published in German: “Erzählung und Bild. Die Darstellung von Handlungsabläufen in der europäischen und indischen Kunst”, in: *Beiträge zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie* 3 [1981], pp. 87–213, especially pp. 161ff.). To the versions discussed there, two more can be added: T 212, vol. 4, pp. 718c ff. (prose commentary of the Chinese translation of the *Udānavarga*), and T 26, vol. 1, pp. 642a–645b (*Madhyamāgama*, sūtra 136), cf. J. W. de Jong, “The Magic Wall of the Fortress of the Ogresses: Apropos of *āsiyati* (Mahāvastu III, 86. 3)”, *Pratidānam. Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies Presented to F. B. J. Kuiper*, The Hague 1968, p. 486. Finally, there is a Central Asian fragment to be published as Cat. — No. 1663 in Volume VII of the *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfan-*

*funden*, which might belong to the same cycle of stories. It is written in a mixture of Sanskrit and Middle Indian and is rather difficult to understand, but evidently preserves the part where a flying being offers to take someone to Jambudvīpa. Contrary to all the other Buddhist versions, the saviour is not a horse, but a yakṣa called Bharuka, which reminds one of the Jaina tradition (cf. Lienhard, op. cit., p. 31).

4. See SHT V, p. 253; "Abenteuer reisender Kaufleute; aus einer Version des Supriya—oder Maitrakanyaka—Avadāna?".
5. Identified by D. Schlingloff in *Ajanta. Handbuch der Wandmalereien*, Graz 1992, Lit. XVII, 30, 1 (forthcoming).
6. Tibetan translation, Peking edition, vol. 41, pp. 208/2/6ff. = vol. *ge*, fols. 220a6ff.; the Chinese translation contains only a reference to the *Madhyamāgama*, cf. T 1448, vol. 24, p. 69b7—9.
7. Peking edition, vol. 43, pp. 207/2/4ff. = *te*, 162b4ff.; T 1442, vol. 23, p. 887a—889a.
8. Divy p. 524, 19—20. A full translation including also this abbreviation is found in Schlingloff, *Studies*, pp. 257—263.
9. For details concerning size, script, etc., of the fragment see SHT V, p. 253. A few misreadings and misprints in the transcription presented there are tacitly corrected here. — The following symbols are used: /// for breakage, [ ] for damaged letters, ( ) for restored letters, and + for missing Akṣaras.
10. To keep footnotes to a minimum, graphical variants like *byedo* for *byed do* and variants concerning the use of the Daṇḍa are not mentioned.
11. Derge edition (D) vol. 8 = *ṅa*, fol. 176b6—177b6; Lhasa edition (L) vol. *ṅa*, fol. 250a6—251b4; Narthang edition (N) vol. 8 = *ṅa*, fol. 274b2—276a2; Peking edition (P) vol. 43, p. 208 = vol. *te*, fol. 164b5—164b4; Tog Palace ms. (R) vol. 7 = *ja*, fol. 417a3—418b3.
12. 'phoṅs R.
13. la deest N.
14. śal ma'i LN.
15. ni deest R.
16. sku NPR.
17. gis deest P.
18. lam LN.
19. 'das N.
20. Derge edition (D) vol. 2 = *kha*, fol. 234b7—235b1; Lhasa edition (L) vol. *kha*, fol. 389b1—390a5; Narthang edition (N) vol. *kha*, fol. 432a6—433a4; Peking edition (P)

vol. 41, p. 208=vol. *ge*, fol. 220b1—8; Tog Palace ms. (R), vol. *kha*, fol. 311a4—312a1.

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|---|-----------------------|
| 21. rdoñ N.   | 22. mthun DLR.        |
| 23. 'phoñs R.   | 24. yed R.            |
| 25. dzambu'i L, 'dzambu'i N.  | 26. gis LN.           |
| 27. grur N.   | 28. kyi N.            |
| 29. gru bcag LNR.   | 30. bcag N.           |
| 31. cag gi   L.   | 32. gi N.             |
| 33. 'phreñ R.   | 34. bklubs D.         |
| 35. 'bod L.   | 36. brtsabs L.        |
| 37. jo mo N.  | 38. cag NR.           |
| 39. bzañ LN.  | 40. bzañ L.           |
| 41. thabs R.  | 42. dañ deest R.      |
| 43. dga' LNR.   | 44. khyed NR.         |
| 45. dzambu'i LN.  | 46. be du P.          |
| 47. byu R.  | 48. kyi LN.           |
| 49. bu LN.  | 50. rab tu deest N.   |
| 51. dü P, dā R.   | 52. byu R.            |
| 53. padma LNR.  | 54. duñ dañ   D.      |
| 55. kyi LR.   | 56. khyid D.          |
| 57. dka' P.   | 58. du P.             |
| 59. 'gyur P.  | 60. cig tu LNR.       |
| 61. dgur NR.  | 62. la L.             |
| 63. rñon LNR.   | 64. rgyal LNR.        |
| 65. 'chañ R.  | 66. sbyar D.          |
| 67. cig DP, ci R.   | 68. brñod D.          |
| 69. rgal DNPR.  | 70. brten L, sten NR. |
| 71. cig tu LN.  | 72. dgur NR.          |
| 73. dgur NR.  | 74. siñga L.          |
| 75. du P.   | 76. bar deest N.      |
| 77. lam LNR.  | 78. ba N.             |
| 79. sruñ LNR.   | 80. bus DP.           |
| 81. bebs R.   |                       |
| 82. dal bu dal bus deest P, dal bu deest N, dal bus dal bus D.  |                       |
| 83. According to the version found in the <i>Bhaiṣajyavastu</i> to be restored to the common phrase <i>abhirūpā darśanīyāḥ prāsādikās</i> . The version of the <i>Vinayavibhaṅga</i> differs. |                       |



84. See *Kāraṇḍavyūha* ed. Vaidya, pp. 285, and *Mahāvastu* (Mvu) III 68. Closest to the text as preserved in lines 2 recto – 2 verso of the fragment, however, comes a stereotyped passage occurring several times in the story of Supriya, the main difference being that Supriya travels alone (cf. SHT V, p. 254, note 1), cf. Divy 116, 1–9 (also 114, 26 – 115, 5 and 117, 29 – 118, 9 with minor variants) *tā evam āhuḥ | etu mahāsārthavāhaḥ svāgataṃ mahāsārthavāhāsmākam asvāmīnāṃ svāmī bhavāpatināṃ patir alayanānāṃ layano 'dvīpānāṃ 'dvīpo 'saraṇānāṃ 'saraṇo 'trāṇānāṃ trāṇo 'parāyanānāṃ parāyaṇa imāni ca te 'nagrāḥṇī pānagrāḥṇī vastragrāḥṇī 'sayanagrāḥṇī āramaramāṇīyāni vanaramāṇīyāni puṣkariṇīramāṇīyāni ca Jāmbu-dvīpakāni ratnāni tad yathā maṇayo muktā vaiḍūryasāṅkhasilā pravāḍarajatajātarūpam āsmagarbho musāragalvo lohītikā dakṣiṇāvartā etāni ca, tvaṃ cāsmābhiḥ sārthaṃ kṛīḍasva ramaṣva paricārayasva*. The singular *etu* in the Turfan fragment is probably influenced by versions like the one cited above. If the text of the manuscript originally agreed with this passage, the lines can be calculated as containing 45 to 60 akṣaras depending on the punch hole.
85. Correct to *mā vaḥ kaś cit* and probably restore to *supramattaḥ* according to *śin tu myos par gyur* in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* version, cf. Mvu III 71, 1–2 *api tu pramattehi pi āryaputrehi nagarasya dakṣiṇena māreṇa na gantavyaṃ*
86. Restore to *panthalikāṃ*, cf. *Kāraṇḍavyūha* ed. Vaidya, p. 285, 28 *dakṣiṇapanthalikāṃ*, and for the context cf. Mvu III 71, 3–4 *kiṃ nu khalu imā striyo asmākaṃ nagarasya dakṣiṇāto mārgāto vārenti*.
87. There are exceptions; cf. the stanza in the second version of the *Siṃhala* story in the *Mahāvastu* (Mvu III 296, 13–14), which is spoken by the Buddha. Close parallels to this verse focussing on *kodha*, *lobha*, *dosa* and *moha* respectively are found in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (AN IV 96, 22–23) and the *Itivuttaka* (It 84).
88. See *Studies in the Ajanta Paintings*. p. 259, note 154.
89. While the Tibetan text corresponds to T 1442. vol. 23. p. 888b4–5, the quotation continues until b10, including the recommendation of *asubhābhāvanā* as a remedy.