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CONTENTS

I. ARTICLES

1. The Four Levels of *Pratītya-Samutpāda* According to the *Fa-hua hsüan i*, by Carl Bielefeldt 7
2. On the Possibility of a Nonexistent Object of Consciousness: Sarvāstivādin and Dārṣāntika Theories, by Collett Cox 31
3. Magical *Upāya* in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*, by Edward Hamlin 89
4. Buddhist Sanskrit in the *Kālacakra Tantra*, by John Newman 123
5. Two New Fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia, by Richard Saloman and Collett Cox 141
6. Some Reflections on R.S.Y. Chi's *Buddhist Formal Logic*, by Tom J.F. Tillemans 155

II. BOOK REVIEWS

1. *Divine Revelation in Pali Buddhism*, by Peter Mansfield (Charles Hallisey) 173
2. *Studies in the Buddhist Art of South Asia*, ed. A.K. Narain (Robert L. Brown) 175
3. *Traditions of Meditation in Chinese Buddhism*, ed. Peter N. Gregory (Henrik H. Sorensen) 179

- LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS 185

Two New Fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia

By Richard Salomon and Collett Cox

I. Introduction

The two manuscript fragments presented below were reported in Huang 1983, p. 51 and illustrated there in plates XXXVI and XXXVII. They are said there to have been found at the site at Ruòqiang (Charkhlik, ^a), southeast of the Tarim Basin in the Xinjiang-Uighur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. Paleographically these fragments resemble most closely Sander's Gupta alphabet type A,f (Sander 1968, Tafeln 9–20), dating from the 3rd-4th centuries A.D.; note for example the forms of *a* and *sa* in fragment 2, and *ka*, without a curved tail at the bottom, in both fragments. The script of no. 1 may be slightly later than that of no. 2, and in some respects resembles Sander's Gupta B,h (4th-5th centuries A.D.), for instance in the shape of *a* and *sa*. Both fragments may thus be dated around the 4th century A.D.; possibly a little earlier in the case of no. 2, a little later in no. 1.

Both fragments are clearly written and reasonably accurate, though there are some scribal errors such as omission of vowel signs and *visarga*, deletion of one element of a consonant conjunct, confusion of dentals and retroflexes, etc. All of these are more or less obvious and typical of central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts, and have been emended in square brackets with asterisks.

II. Fragment of a Stotra Text

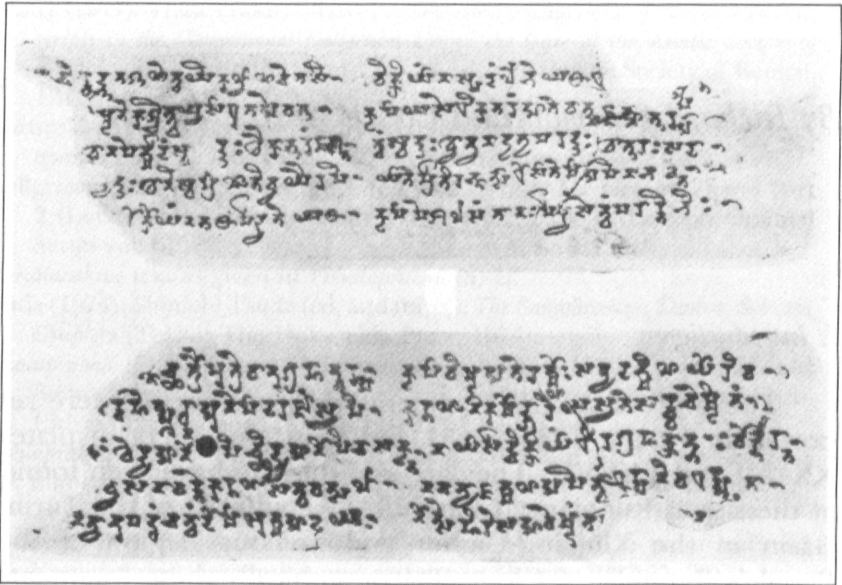


Fig. 1: Fragment of a stotra

Fragment no. 1 (Fig. 1) consists of a single leaf of a paper manuscript, measuring 10 × 2.5 cm. It is mostly intact except for the left edge and a portion broken away at the upper right (recto), so that a few *akṣaras* at the beginning of each line and in the last quarter of the first and last verses are missing. (Missing *akṣaras* are indicated by X; portions of missing *akṣaras* by -. Where possible, conjectural restorations of the missing portions are indicated in the translation.) There are five lines of writing on each side, each line corresponding to a single verse in *anuṣṭubh* (*śloka*) meter, with a space in the middle between hemistichs. The verses, 10 in all, are not numbered.

Recto

- 1) X-ac(i)nt(yā?)dbhutagaṇe tvayi kalyāṇacetasi /
vikkriyāṃ nāspadaṃ lebhe yathā dh(i?)XX-mmat(a) /
- 2) XXX-eṣṭate kaścit tvayy asādhu tam eva tu /
kṛpāyasedhikatarāṃ mātevātmajam āturam /
- 3) XXXkhānapekṣidaṃ svaduḥkaikāturam jagat /
tvam svaduḥkhāny anāḍṛtya paraduḥkhāturaḥ sadā /

- 4) XXXYa duḥkhāni svaprānātivayair api /
yā te prītir abhūt sādho sā teṣām api na t[*ā]vat /
- 5) XXXXX(l)okoyaṃ na tathā pīḍyate yathā /
krpāpeśalasaṃtānaḥ pīḍyase tvam parārtibhiḥ /

Verso

- 1) XXXXX(bh)ūc chatrau putre vānugrahā(nt)aram /
krpāviṣṭamater akṣṇoḥ savyadakṣiṇayor iva /
- 2) XXXXr vahen mūrdhnā muner pādarajāṃsy api /
karuṇānikaṣodgāri yasya te sarvvaceṣṭitam /
- 3) XX-ḥ khedyamānopi cchidyamānopi cāsakṛt /
nāyāsīd vikkriyāṃ dhīra grahākkrānta ivoḍurāt [*sic; read -rāt*]/
- 4) XXXvyasanāvarte karuṇā satvavatsalā /
na tatyāja kṣaṇam api tvāṃ dharmān iva dharm(m)atā /
- 5) XXnityānubaddhaṃ ca tvāṃ doṣā akṣamādayaḥ /
notsehire samāveṣṭuṃ taXXXXXXXX /

*Translation**Recto*

- 1) In you, with your holy mind and inconceivably (?; [**ajc(i)nt)ya*]) wondrous virtues, perturbation (read *vikkriyā* for *vikkriyāṃ*?) found no place, like. . .
- 2) [**Even if*] someone does (*fyadyapi *ce|state*) ill to you, you pity him all the more, as a mother does her sick child.
- 3) This world has no care for the sorrows [**of others*] (*[* para-duḥ]khānapekṣi*) and is afflicted by its own; you disregard your own sorrows and are always afflicted by those of others.
- 4) The joy which you (felt), Holy One, in [**dispelling*] the sorrows [**of others*] (*[*pareṣām vyas]ya duḥkhāni*) even at the cost of your own life; even they (the others) did not (feel) so great (a joy).
- 5) This world is not pained [**by its own afflictions*] (*[*svārtibhir eva] loko 'yam*) as much as you, with your tenderly compassionate heart are pained by the afflictions of others.

Verso

- 1) [**For you*] whose mind is filled with compassion, there was no (*[*na te kimcid a](bh)ūc chatrau*) difference in the kindness (shown) to an enemy or to a son, any more than to your left or right eye.
- 2) . . . would carry on the head even the footdust of the Sage, of

you whose every action bespeaks [? *udgāri*] the touchstone of compassion.

- 3) Even when tormented and cut to pieces again and again, [**your body?*] (*[*tvaddeha]h?*) did not undergo perturbation [*vikkriyām*], O Steadfast One, like the moon when obscured by an eclipse.
- 4) In the whirlpool of evil [**of saṃsāra*] (*[*saṃsāra]vyasanāvarte*), (your) compassion, tender to (all) beings, never once abandoned you, any more than the nature of things could abandon the things themselves.
- 5) Faults such as impatience could not affect you, who were. . . and always dedicated . . .

Although we have not succeeded in identifying the text with any previously published *stotra*, it closely resembles in both style and content several other Sanskrit poems of this class, such as the *Varṇārḥavarṇa* and *Śatapañcāśatka* or *Adhyardhaśataka* attributed to Mātṛceṭa, which have been published from manuscript fragments found in central Asia (see Schlingloff 1955 and 1968; Shackleton Bailey 1951). The following instances are characteristic:

With R2cd, *kṛpāyasedhikataram mātevātmajam āturam* and V4bc, *karuṇā satvavatsalāl / na tatyāja kṣaṇam api*, compare verse 10cd of the *Rāhulastava* (Schlingloff 1955 p. 90), *karuṇā tvā na tatyāja mātā sutam ivaurasam*.

With R3ab, [**paraduh*] *khānapekṣidaṃ svaduhkai kāturam jagat*, compare *Rāhulastava* 6ab (Schlingloff 1955 p. 89), *parāthe niravekṣasya janasyātmaṃbharer iha*.

With R4, [**pareṣām* *vyas*] *yā duḥkhāni svaprāṇātivyayair api / ya te prītir abhūt sādho sā teṣām api na t[*ā]vat*, compare *Śatapañcāśatka* 17 (Shackleton Bailey 1951 p. 46), *parāthe tyajataḥ prāṇān yā prītir abhavat taval / na sa naṣṭopalabdheṣu prāṇiṣu prāṇinām bhavet ||*.

With V1ab, [**na te kimcid a*] (*bh*) *ūc chatrau putre vānugrahāntaram*, compare *Munayastava* 7ab (Schlingloff 1955 p. 86), *vadhakāpatyayor yasya manas tulyaṃ pravartate*.

With V3b, *cchidyamānopi cāsakṛt*, compare *Śatapañcāśatka* 18b (Shackleton Bailey 1951 p. 47), *cchidyamānasya te 'sakṛt*.

With V5a, . . . *nityānubaddhaṃ ca tvām*, cf. *Śatapañcāśatka* 22c (Shackleton Bailey 1951 p. 50), *na te nityānubaddhasya*.

Further parallels could be cited, but these examples should suf-

frice to demonstrate the close similarity of the new fragment to the known *stotras*. In particular, the closest resemblances seem to be with the anonymous *Rāhulastava* and with Mātṛceṭa's *Śatapañcāśatka* (especially the *Hetustava* portion, verses 10–26). The fragment is thus almost certainly from a *stotra*, previously undiscovered as far as we have been able to determine, of the school of Mātṛceṭa; whether by Mātṛceṭa himself or by an imitator we cannot say for sure, although if the latter it is a good imitation of the master's style.

III. Fragment of an Abhidharma Text

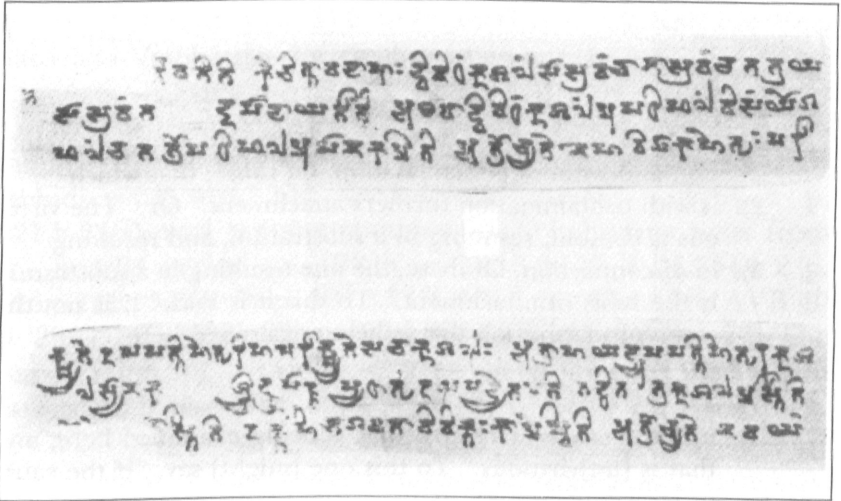


Fig. 2: Fragment of an Abhidharma Text

Fragment no. 2 (Fig. 2), part of an Abhidharma text, is on palm leaf and measures 8.7 by 1.3 cm., with three lines on each side. It is complete except for a break at the upper left (of the recto), with four or five *akṣaras* missing from the beginning of line R1 = V3. In the left margin of the recto is a numerical sign, apparently 40, indicating the number of the folio.

Recto

- 1). X X X X rta(?)vatīti kecit tāvad āhuḥ dvididhaṃ kuśalaṃ

- sāsravaṃ cānāsravaṃ ca tatra ya[t*]
 2). sāsravaṃ tad upādāyatīti athavā dvididhaṃ kuśalam [sic]
 upadhiphalaṃ viṣaṃyoga-
 3). phalaṃ ca tatropadhiphalaṃ upā[dā*]nakam iti atrocyate
 neha vipākahetuḥ parī-

Verso

- 1). kṣyate upapattihetur iha parīkṣyate sa ca [a*]kuśalaḥ atrāha
 yady upapattihetur akuśa-
 2). lasyāna [read -laḥ syān na] kaścīd rūpārūpyadhātur up-
 apadyeta iti tad dhi tatra kuśalam astīti
 3). -o-e X X -āstīti uktaṃ hi bhagavatā viviktaḥ kāmēṣv iti at-
 rocyate na vayaṃ

Translation

Recto

- 1). . . . Now, some say, "The virtuous is twofold, with contamina-
 tion and without contamination. Of those, that which
 2). is with contamination furthers attachment." Or, "The virtu-
 ous is twofold, resulting in a substratum, and resulting
 3). in disconnection. Of these, the one resulting in a substratum
 is the basis of attachment." To this it is said, "It is not the
 cause of maturation that is being examined here;

Verso

- 1). it is the cause of rebirth that is being examined here; and
 that is [un]virtuous." To this one [might] say, "If the cause
 of rebirth were unvirtuous,
 2). no realm of form nor formless realm would arise at all; for
 that is virtuous there,
 3). . . .is. . . For the Lord has said, 'One is free from desires.'" To this it is said, "We do not. . . .

Both the style and content of this fragment suggest that it is from a Buddhist Abhidharma commentarial treatise. Though efforts to locate the passage in any extant Sanskrit text or fragment, or any Chinese translation were unsuccessful, there is a marked similarity in style to two fragments discovered at Kucha, which were published by E. Waldschmidt. (Waldschmidt 1965 #15, #18, pp. 9–12) All three fragments are written in the form

of a dialogue in which the views of the proponent are indicated by the phrase *atrocyate*, and those of the opponent(s) by *kecid āhuh*, *atrāha*, etc. Both parties employ argument and scriptural citations as authorities in support of their positions. Further, all three fragments treat a relatively sophisticated point of doctrinal controversy. The dialogical expository style and complexity of doctrinal investigations suggest an Abhidharma text of the middle or later period, that is, contemporaneous with or following the initial compilation of the *Vibhāṣā* compendia (c. 2nd century A.D.) (Lamotte 1958 p. 648; see Kimura 1937 pp. 207ff).

Although neither the specific topic under discussion in this fragment nor the sectarian affiliation of either party is explicitly identified, the following doctrinal issues suggest that the topic is probably *karma*, or possibly *citta*, and at least one statement by the opponent (V. 1–3) is fully consistent with Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika doctrinal positions:

1). R1 The two categories of contaminated, *sāsrava*, and uncontaminated, *anāsrava*, are used to classify all *dharma*s in an early Abhidharma text, the *Śariputrābhidharmaśāstra* (ŚAS 1 p. 527.b.23ff), and become common in Abhidharma texts from the middle period on. (PP 5 p. 711.b.9; JP T.26.1544 2 p. 926.a.11ff; MVB 76 p. 391.c.21ff, VB 7 p. 463.a.19ff; AVB 40 p. 293.b.8ff; MVB 95 p. 490.a.26, AVB 47 p. 360.b.22) The classification of virtuous *dharma*s according to these two categories is also frequent. (MVB 67 p. 346.a.28, AVB 35 p. 258.a.24ff)

2). R2 The second classification of “the virtuous” according to the two categories of that having substratum as its effect (*upadhīphala*) and that having disconnection as its effect (*viśamyoga-phala*) does not appear in any extant Abhidharma text. It is, in part, clarified by a passage from the *Jñānaprasthānaśāstra* (JP T.26.1543 7 p. 851.b.19ff; T.26.1544 12 p. 979.b.23ff; MVB 123 p. 640.b.24ff) describing the effects of *sāsrava* and *anāsravakarma*. Here, *karma* as a whole, including both *sāsrava* and *anāsrava*, is said to have three possible effects: 1) the effect of uniform outflow (*niṣyandaphala*) and 2) the effect of maturation (*vipākaphala*), which are themselves *sāsrava* and are produced by *sāsravakarma*, and 3) the effect of disconnection

(*viśaṃyogaphala*), which is *anāsrava* and may be produced by either *sāsrava* or *anāsravakarma*. Dharmasrī's *Abhidharmahr̥daya* (T.28.1550 1 p. 815.a.7ff) and Upasānta's *Abhidharmahr̥daya* (T.28.1551 2 p. 843.b.5ff) contain similar descriptions of the threefold effects of *karma*, but the later *Samyuktābhidharmahr̥dayasāstra* (T.28.1552 3 p. 897.b.3ff), after presenting the theory of the threefold effect, adds the two effects—the *puṣākārāphala* and the *adhipatīphala*—which all together constitute the set of five effects characteristic of Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda-Vaiśhāṣika theory. The two recensions of the *Jñānaprasthānasāstra*, and both Dharmasrī's and Upasānta's *Abhidharmahr̥daya* present a theory of three possible effects that predates or rivals the theory of five effects typical of the later Sarvāstivāda-Vaiśhāṣika position (MVB 21 p. 108.c.3ff, 121 p. 629.c.4ff).

The “effect of disconnection” mentioned in these passages and in this fragment clearly correspond. However, the identity of the “effect resulting in substratum” (*upadhiphala*) mentioned in the fragment with the “effect of uniform outflow” (*niśyandaphala*) and the “effect of maturation” (*vipākaphala*) is uncertain. Virtually the only occurrence of the term *upadhi* in the Abhidharma texts is in the terms *sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*, “*nirvāṇa* with a remainder of *upadhi*,” and *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*, “*nirvāṇa* without a remainder of *upadhi*.” (MVB 32 p. 167.14ff, AVB 17 p. 126.a.8ff. See also Schmithausen 1969 pp. 79–81 #2.) The character *yi^b*, can be used to translate *upadhi*, (YBS 50 p. 576.c.27ff) and *yiguo^c*, as in the *Jñānaprasthāna* T.26.1543 (tr. Saṅghadeva), the *Abhidharmahr̥daya* T.28.1550 (tr. Saṅghadeva), T.28.1551 (tr. Narendrayāśas), and the *Samyuktābhidharmahr̥daya* T.28.1552 (tr. Saṅghavarman), could then conceivably be the equivalent of *upadhiphala*. However, we find Saṅghadeva in the *Jñānaprasthāna* (T.26.1543 17 p.851.b.20) using *yiguo* to translate a term for which Xuanzang's translation (T.26.1544 12 p.979.b.25) clearly suggests *niśyandaphala*. Similarly, Buddhavarman in the *Abhidharmavibhāṣā* T.28.1546 (AVB 10 p. 74.c.27) uses the term *yiguo*, where Xuanzang (MVB 18 p. 90.c.1) has clearly translated *niśyandaphala*.) The term *upadhi* appears frequently in Pali *suttas* and Chinese translations of the *āgamas*: 1) as that which provides the basis for suffering (MN #26 vol. 1 p. 162, MA 56 #204 p. 776.a.12), or as one link in a succession of factors that give rise to suffering, old age, and death (SN vol. 2

p. 108, SA 12 #291 p. 82.b.10ff (*upadhi* transliterated); Norman pp. 334–336); 2) as that from which one becomes free in attaining *nirvāna* (MN #16 vol. 1 p. 454, MA 50 #192 p. 743.a.8ff, etc.), and 3) as juxtaposed to attachment, *upādāna* as in *upādhyupādānavinibaddho*. . . (Tripāthī 1962 pp. 45,168; Pali: *upayupādāna*. . . SN vol. 2 p. 17, SA 12 #301 p. 85.c.22ff).

One reference to *upadhi* in the *Majjhimanikāya* (MN #117 vol. 3 p. 72) describing right views (*sammādiṭṭhi*) parallels its use in this fragment: a contaminated right view (*sammādiṭṭhi sāsavā*) connected with meritorious action (*puññabhāgiyā*) has its result in *upadhi* (*upadhivepakkā*), whereas an uncontaminated noble right view (*sammādiṭṭhi ariyā anāsavā*) is the member of the noble path (*maggaṅgā*). *Upadhi*, as the basis for attachment, is associated with suffering and functions as a component in the causal process leading to birth and death. In this sense, *upadhi* and *visaṃyoga*, or disconnection, represent mutually exclusive categories. However, no passage was found that clearly juxtaposes *upadhiphala* and *visaṃyogaphala*.

3). R3–V1 No explicit reference to the pair, *upapattihetu* and *vipākahetu*, or to these two as causes producing *upadhi* was found in any Abhidharma text. However, the canonical use of *upadhi* indicates that it is clearly associated with the process of rebirth. Further, in an explanation of the meaning of *upadhi* in the terms, *sopadhiseṣanirvāna* and *nirupadhiseṣanirvāna*, the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (MVB 32 p. 168.a.1ff, AVB 17 p. 126.a.28–29) distinguishes between the *upadhi* of defilements (*kleśa*) and the *upadhi* of rebirth (*upapatti*). Although the term *vipākahetu*, appears frequently in Abhidharma causal systems of all periods, *upapattihetu* has a much more constricted use. *Upapattihetu* appears paired with *abhinirvṛttihetu*, the cause of proceeding; the former refers to the cause of specific rebirth states, and the latter, to the cause that leads to rebirth in general. (AKB 6.3 p. 333.5ff; YBS 5 p. 301.c.7ff, YB Bhattacharya p. 108). (For the pair *abhinirvṛttisaṃyojana* and *upapattisaṃyojana* and their relation to the intermediate state and the future rebirth state according to Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika theory see AKB 3.41 p. 153.16ff.) Saṅghabhadra in the *Nyāyānusāra* (NAS 49 p. 618.a.13ff) lists *abhinirvṛttihetu* and *upapattihetu* with *vipākahetu* in a group of three causes: *abhinirvṛttihetu* is the cause of not abandoning, or

not surpassing realms and stages; *upapattihetu* is the cause that makes one be reborn; and *vipākahetu* is the cause that makes one receive the maturation of effects after one is reborn. According to Saṅghabhadra, *abhinirvṛtīhetu* and *upapattihetu* differ from *vipākahetu* in that they are causes for the process of rebirth. Though logically one might assume that Saṅghabhadra's threefold division of causes into *abhinirvṛtīhetu*, *upapattihetu* and *vipākahetu* is a refinement of an earlier twofold division into *upapattihetu* and *vipākahetu* attested in this fragment, no textual basis for this hypothesis has been found.

4). V1–2 Given the objection of the opponent in V1–2, “if the cause of rebirth were *unvirtuous*,” the proponent’s statement in V1, *sa ca kuśalaḥ*, should probably be emended to read *sa cākuśalaḥ*, “and that is *un-virtuous*.” With this emendation, the proponent suggests that the cause of rebirth under discussion is *unvirtuous*. The opponent’s subsequent objection (V1–3) provides an important clue concerning both the function of the prior distinction between *upapattihetu* and *vipākahetu*, and the opponent’s identity. The opponent’s first point—if this cause of rebirth were *unvirtuous*, the realm of form and the formless realm would not arise—implies that this cause of rebirth, if *unvirtuous*, would produce an *unvirtuous* effect. In other words, the cause of rebirth functions through a causal relation of similarity producing an effect similar to it, as opposed to the cause of maturation, which functions through a relation of difference (MVB 19 p. 98.b.5ff). An *unvirtuous* cause of rebirth must then produce an *unvirtuous* effect. This *unvirtuous* effect could not occur within the realm of form or the formless realm because, the opponent states, “that is *virtuous* there.” This statement is consistent with the Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda-Vaiḥṣika position that *unvirtuous dharmas* are not found in the two upper realms of the realm of form and the formless realm, and therefore, whatever defilements (*kleśa*) are found there are indeterminate (*avyākṛta*) (MVB 3 p. 14.b.8ff, 38 p. 196.b.12ff, 50 p. 259.c.9ff, 141 p. 724.c.3ff, 144 p. 741.b.4ff; AKV p. 392.32–33). This position opposes the Dārṣṭāntika and Mahāsāṅghika view that all defilements are *unvirtuous* (MVB 38 p. 196.a.15ff, 50 p. 259.c.9; Masuda 1925 p. 27), and therefore, by implication, that defilements of the realm of form and the formless realm must

also be unvirtuous.

Though the opponent seems to represent the Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda-Vaibhāṣika perspective, the identification of the proponent as a Dārṣṭāntika and the fragment as part of a Dārṣṭāntika *śāstra* is highly problematic. Despite Saṅghabhadra's obvious reliance on a written text in his frequent references to the views of the Dārṣṭāntika master Sthavira (Śrīlāta), no fragment of an independent Dārṣṭāntika *śāstra* has yet been found. Instead, the proponent could well represent the view of another branch of the Sarvāstivāda. Or, this fragment could represent a section embedded in a larger text quoting the views of an opponent who presents his position in a dialogue in which he is the proponent. In that case, the proponent and opponent of the fragment and the larger text would be reversed.

5). V3 The opponent concludes his reasons for the impossibility of rebirth in the realm of form or the formless realm with a scriptural citation in V3: "one is free from desires (*viviktaḥ kāmeṣu*)." Though brief, this citation echoes the common formulaic description of the process by which one passes from the realm of desire through the four trance states in the realm of form: "one traverses, attaining the first trance state. . . . that is free of desires, free of evil and unvirtuous *dharmas*." (. . . *viviktaḥ kāmair viviktaḥ pāpakair akuśalair dharmmaiḥ*. . . *prathamam dhyānam upasāṃpadya viharati*. Dietz 1984 p. 62; DS 12 p. 512.c.23ff. See also DN #2 vol. 1 p. 73; MN #13 vol. 1 p. 89, MA 25 #99 p. 586.a.18ff; MVB 80 p. 415.a.23ff, AVB 41 p. 311.b.7ff, VB 10 p. 488.a.2ff). One would normally expect *vivikta* to be construed with the instrumental, as we find in this canonical passage, reflecting the common idiom of the instrumental with verbs of separation (von Hinüber 1968 §.149 p. 162; UV 30.28c-d p. 399 *kamebhir vipramukto* . . .). However, in this fragment, the locative, *kāmeṣu*, is probably not an anomaly but rather is due either to a confusion of the locative for the instrumental (Edgerton 1953 §.7.30 p. 44, §.7.81 p. 47), or reflects another verbal idiom with *kāmeṣu* in the locative. (Sen 1953 p. 410; UV 2.9c p. 114 *kāmeṣu tv apratibaddhacitta*. . . ; UV 18.15c p.245 *atrptam eva kāmeṣu*. . .). Since this scriptural passage states that in attaining the first trance state in the realm of form, there

is freedom not only from desires, but also from unvirtuous *dharmas*, it would provide support for the opponent's suggestion that there is nothing unvirtuous in the realm of form or the formless realm. Remarkably, we find this very scriptural reference used by Saṅghabhadra in the *Nyāyānusāra* (NAS 49 p. 617.a.24ff) in an argument with the Dārṣṭāntika master Sthavira (Śrīlāta) in a context identical to that of this fragment: that is, Saṅghabhadra attempts to refute Sthavira's suggestion that since all defilements are unvirtuous, there are unvirtuous *dharmas* in the realm of form. However, the same caution noted at the end of the previous section concerning the attribution of this fragment to the Dārṣṭāntika must be repeated here.

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Chinese terms

- a. 姑老
- b. 依
- c. 依果
- d. 黄文弼
- e. 新疆考古学报告

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