

The *Avadānaśataka* and the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*: What should we be doing now?

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국문초록

19세기 말과 20세기 초에 『아바다나사타까』(*Avadānaśataka*)에 대한 연구는 확고한 문헌학적 토대 위에서 행해졌다. 그렇지만 그후 좀 더 많은 사본들을 이용할 수 있음에 따라, 이 불교 설화모음집의 역사에 관한 의문이 일어나게 되었다. 이 논문은 네팔-독일 사본 보존프로젝트(NGMPP) 사본 E-1554/24와 같은 사본이 이 역사와 이 문헌의 연구에 관련한 다른 이슈들에 관하여 어떠한 새로운 실마리를 던질 수 있는지를 다루고 있다. 논문은 ‘NGMPP E-1554/24가 현대에서 주로 이용하는 편집본의 가장 중요한 증거인 캠브리지 대학 도서관 사본(CUL) Add 1611의 직접적인 자료이다’라는 가설을 입증할 수 있는 근거가 충분하지 않다고 주장한다. 그렇지만 이 논문은 좀 더 넓은 범위의 연속된 질문들, 즉 우리가 사본을 어떻게 다루어야 하고, 이러한 사본들은 어떠한 질문들에 대답할 수 있으며, 불교 설화 문헌에 관심이 있는 학자들이 어떻게 그들의 시간을 가장 잘 활용할 수 있는가에 관여하고 있다. 이 논문은 학자들로 하여금 『아바다나사타까』와 『갈빠드루마바다나말라』(*Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*)와 같은 불교 설화 문헌들에 대한 접근을 좀 더 용이하게 하고, 이 문헌들과 다른 불교 설화 문학작품 사이의 텍스트간 관계성을 확립하는데 좀 더 직접적인 노력을 가하라고 요구하고 있다. 이러한 작업들은 멀지 않은 시기에 앞서 언급한 두 문헌의 완전히 새로운 번역, 다른 불교 설

화 문학작품의 편집과 번역, 그리고 사실상 앞서 언급한 과제의 개념적 재구성을 요구할 것이다.

주제어: 비판적 문헌학, 불교 설화 문학, 산스크리트사본 연구, 『아비다나사타까』, 『갈빠드루마비다나말라』

I. Introduction¹⁾

Léon Feer and Jacob Speyer placed the study of the *Avadānaśataka* upon a firm philological foundation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries with their respective French translation and Sanskrit edition of the work,²⁾ but since their time more manuscripts have become available through the Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP), the Schøyen collection, and a few other manuscript fragments from Central Asia and Northwest China.³⁾ Greater attention has also been paid to the Chinese translation,⁴⁾ thus prompting reconsiderations of the *Avadānaśataka*'s manuscript history and throwing into question both the history of its formation, and the dating of its composition and of its various recensions, both in Sanskrit and Tibetan, as well as Chinese.⁵⁾

1) The presentation on which this article is based was prepared for a special panel entitled "Sanskrit Buddhist Manuscripts: Texts, Techniques, and Traditions," organized for the World Sanskrit Conference in Vancouver, Canada in July, 2018. I want to thank Charles DiSimone, the panel's organizer, for including me on the panel, as well as Adheesh Sathaye, one of the principal conference organizers, for his kind help with putting us into contact. The three anonymous reviewers of the article for the journal gave various comments and suggestions for which I am also grateful.

2) Feer 1891; Speyer 1902-1909.

3) Demoto 2006; Ye 2010. An interesting and possibly related collection of *avadānas* has been edited and translated in Karashima and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2015.

4) For discussion of various topics related to the Chinese translation, see, e.g., Bagchi 1945; Fa Chow 1945; Demoto 2006; Meisig 2010.

5) For the most comprehensive statement to date, see Demoto 2006.

Meanwhile, the *Avadānaśataka* and Buddhist narrative literature in general have been receiving renewed interest from scholars after a dormant period for much of the 20th century.⁶⁾ As interest in these and other Buddhist narratives has grown, so has the need for more accessible and accurate translations, which inevitably leads one back to questions about the reliability of the available editions, as well as to the manuscripts themselves and their provenance.

The present article will mainly address what, if any, new light one of the Nepalese manuscripts from the NGMPP, E-1554/24, sheds upon the question of the manuscript history of the *Avadānaśataka* and other issues related to its study. NGMPP E-1554/24 is an old and incomplete palm-leaf manuscript, which has been dated by Mitsuyo Demoto to the 12th-14th centuries and identified by her as a candidate for being the direct source of Speyer's main witness, Cambridge University Library (CUL) MS Add 1611, a complete and well-preserved paper manuscript dated to the middle part of the 17th century.⁷⁾ I will test Demoto's hypothesis about the relationship between these two manuscripts, based on her call for a more careful comparison of them. To anticipate my conclusion, I will argue that the evidence remains inconclusive for establishing Demoto's hypothesis. At the same time, however, my essay also engages a number of broader questions about how to use manuscripts, what questions those manuscripts can answer, and how scholars interested in Buddhist narrative literature could best spend their time.

6) For the *Avadānaśataka* specifically, see, for instance, Appleton 2013, 2014 and Muldoon-Hules 2017. Demoto 2007, 2008, and 2009 are Japanese translations of several stories of the work, mostly from the fourth chapter. Appleton forthcoming translates the first forty stories minus the fifth. For a couple of my own contributions, both drawing heavily on reading certain stories in the *Avadānaśataka* and other classical Buddhist narratives, see Fiordalis forthcoming a and forthcoming b. The former contains an English translation of the fifth story, which is lost in Sanskrit but extant in Tibetan translation; the latter discusses the ninety-second story within the context of the scholarly debate on the relationship between calm and insight meditation. For a nearly complete English translation of another relatively better-known Buddhist narrative collection, the *Divyāvadāna*, see Rotman 2008, 2017. Hiraoka 2007 is a Japanese translation of the same collection. The above selection is in no way meant to be comprehensive.

7) Demoto 2006, 214-215; see also Formigatti 2016, 106.

For instance, Camillo Formigatti has also recently investigated the manuscript history of the *Avadānaśataka*, alongside that of the *Divyāvadāna* and another Buddhist narrative collection, the *Dvāvīṃśatyavadānakathā*, and he has developed an hypothesis about the role certain scribes may have played in the production of these and other texts, such as the so-called *avadānamālās*. More specifically, Formigatti has suggested that CUL MS Add 1611 may have been produced by Jayamuni, a Newari scribe whose name and reputation have become better known among scholars of Buddhist narrative literature in recent years.⁸⁾ Formigatti is, of course, aware of NGMPP E-1554/24, but he does not include this manuscript directly in his study, as he is mainly focused elsewhere. With respect to the *Avadānaśataka*, he mainly looks at CUL MS Add 1611 in light of the evidence provided by another fragmentary manuscript, CUL MS Add 1680.2.3; both of these manuscripts were available to him through his important work on the Sanskrit Manuscripts Project at the University of Cambridge.⁹⁾ In the conclusion of his article, Formigatti makes the broader claim that perhaps the time has come to reedit the *Avadānaśataka*, and he also points to the need for critical editions of the unpublished *avadānamālās*, such as the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*.¹⁰⁾

So, in the present article I want to continue this conversation by considering Formigatti's hypothesis about the identity of the scribe who copied CUL MS Add 1611 and his suggestion that we should reedit the *Avadānaśataka*, and at the end by raising briefly the question of the broader intertextual relationship between the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*, and other related Buddhist narrative literature, such as the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. Again, to anticipate my conclusions: while I remain uncertain about the identity

8) See Formigatti 2016, 112-114, as well as Tournier 2012.

9) I would like to thank Dr. Formigatti and the other researchers involved in this important project, which has helped to make many of the precious Sanskrit manuscripts of the Cambridge University Library collection available to scholars like myself through the Cambridge Digital Library. For more on this collection, see Cambridge Digital Library: Sanskrit Manuscripts: <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/collections/sanskrit/1>> (Last accessed Jan. 9, 2019).

10) Formigatti 2016, 125.

and qualities of the scribe who copied CUL MS Add 1611, and disagree with Formigatti that we should reedit the *Avadānaśataka*, I do concur with him on the need for editions of the *avadānamālās*, and of the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā*, in particular; more broadly, I call for scholars interested in Buddhist narrative literature to do what is needed to make such works better known and appreciated among a wider audience, a task that will require new translations of works like the *Avadānaśataka*, and editions and translations of other works, including the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā*. We will also need to rethink the nature of the task at hand.

II. Comparative Analysis and Discussion

NGMPP E-1554/24 is one of several NGMPP manuscripts of the *Avadānaśataka* to have come to light in the past few decades. Here is what Demoto has to say about them:

The mss from the Kathmandu valley are now easily accessible through the work of the *Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project*. In the title list we can find 9 mss entitled “*Avadānaśataka*.” They are generally written on paper and are most likely (late) copies of B [Speyer’s main witness, Cambridge MS Add. 1611] or one of its descendants. One of them, however, is written on palm leaf and, because of its antiquity, deserves special attention.¹¹⁾

This palm-leaf manuscript is NGMPP E-1554/24. In her article, Demoto reproduces most of what is written on the title page of the microfilm (See Figure 1), adding only a few remarks on the dating of the manuscript, the number of lines per page, and the available folios and their correspondence to portions in Speyer’s edition.

11) Demoto 2006, 214. The next several quotations are also found on page 214 of her article.

Short Title: *avaalānaśataka*

NEPAL-GERMAN MANUSCRIPT PRESERVATION PROJECT

Place of Deposit: *Kāth* Private: *Svayambhū* MS No.

Subject: *B. avaalāna* Running No. *E. 30221*

TITLE (acc. to Colophon/Catalogue):
*Folio 264: g+yavaalānaśatake
 navamośalāna -
 gāthā samāpta.*

AUTHOR:

No. of leaves: *43* Incompl. Size in cm: *32.5 x 4.8* Reel No. *E. 1554*

Date of filming: *25 9 83* Script: *Nagari* → *Newari* → Tibetan → Mithili

Remarks: *paper—palm-leaf, damaged by worms—rats—breaking—others:*

Paper: *Nepali—Indian—mill-made, loose—Thyaspahu—bound*

Date: NS VS Shaka LS Colour: Colour Slide No. *24*

Figure 1: Title Page for NGMPP E-1554/24

Regarding the date, Demoto notes that the manuscript is “undated” and has “no available colophon,” but she also adds: “By consulting the plates in Bendall’s Catalogue (Bendall 1883: Appendix) one can see that the script of this ms is similar to that of plates II.3, III.1, and III.2. The first two mss were written in the 12th century, the third in the 14th

century.” I have not checked these plates myself. Regarding the number of lines per page, Demoto states, correctly, that there are five or sometimes six lines per page. She also says, “The first and last lines are generally blurred and very difficult to read. In the upper and lower margins a different text can be found that is written by a different hand. This second text is metrical, it consists of ślokas.” I have not analyzed this second text in the margins, but it does look to be written in a different hand. It is true that the top and bottom lines of the main text are often blurred and quite difficult to read. See, for instance, the following image (Figure 2). Others are far worse.

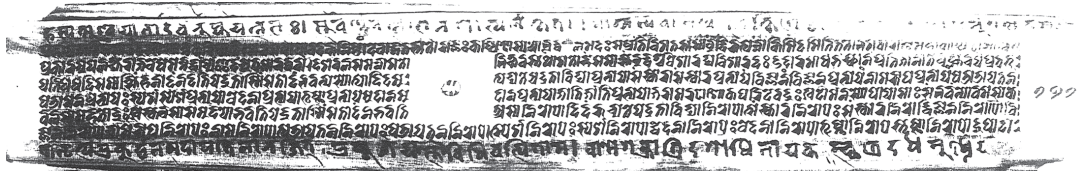


Figure 2: NGMPP E-1554/24 folio 2 verso (= MS folio no. 252). See also Table 1.

Finally, concerning the available folios, Demoto states that the manuscript includes the numbered folios 250-288 and 300-304. “The extant text,” she writes, “corresponds to the following portions in Speyer’s edition: II.101.14 (no. 87 ‘Śobhita’)—170.16 (no. 96 ‘Guptika’), 191.3 (no. 99 ‘Dīrghanakha’)—198.12 (no. 100 ‘Saṃgīti’; only the beginning).” The correspondences with Speyer are accurate, but the numbering of the folios is often difficult to determine. Only one correction can be made: Demoto seemingly repeats the claim made on the title page of the microfilm that the manuscript contains 43 folios, whereas it actually contains 46 folios. This may seem like a minor mistake, and truly it is, but it speaks to the larger problem of relying on reported information when we study the manuscript evidence.

More significantly, Demoto also reports “having compared about one third of this ms [NGMPP E-1554/24] with Speyer’s edition,” from which she “gained the impression that the new manuscript is the direct source of B [Speyer’s main witness, CUL MS Add 1611].” She bases this hypothesis on two criteria: First, “[NGMPP E-1554/24] shares with B many mistakes that were corrected by Speyer;” and second, “It confirms the conjecture by Speyer about the length of line.” Speyer conjectured that the hypothetical original of B, which he calls manuscript A, had approximately 58 akṣaras per line. Demoto notes that NGMPP E-1554/24 typically has about 60 akṣaras per line, apart from the first and last lines which are not interrupted by the string hole and therefore contain about 5 more akṣaras per line. However, the specific line that formed the basis for Speyer’s conjecture is unfortunately not part of the manuscript, a fact she also notes. I would note further that CUL MS Add 1680.2.3, which Demoto claims to belong to a different line of transmission from CUL MS Add 1611,¹²⁾ also contains about five lines per page and about 60 akṣaras per line.¹³⁾ So, even seemingly unrelated palm-leaf manuscripts often have a similar size and shape, and have similarly sized characters written on them,

12) Demoto 2006, 208.

13) This manuscript is available at Cambridge Digital Library, <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01680-00002-00003/1>>. (Last accessed Jan 10, 2019.)

and thus it seems to me that the second criterion used by Demoto to adduce the relationship between CUL MS Add 1611 and NGMPP E-1554/24 remains unconvincing.

Demoto concludes her own remarks on NGMPP E-1554/24 with the following statement: “We still have to find more evidence in order to prove that NGMPP [E-1554/24] is identical with Speyer’s hypothetical ms A by comparing both the texts carefully in their available portions.”¹⁴⁾ I assume this means that we should compare this NGMPP manuscript with Speyer’s edition and with his main witness, CUL MS Add 1611. Over the past couple of years, I have been working with a group of scholars to produce a complete English translation of the *Avadānaśataka*, and I have been primarily responsible for translating the last twenty stories. Since this NGMPP manuscript covers a large part of the portion for which I have been responsible, I felt it was important to look at it, even if only to gain another perspective on the text for the purposes of translation. Also, as someone who has been working with the *Avadānaśataka* for some time, primarily using Speyer’s edition, I was interested to evaluate his work with an eye informed by a more direct and up-to-date assessment of at least some of the older manuscripts possibly connected to it. So, answering Demoto’s call, I went through the whole of the NGMPP manuscript in a fair amount of detail as part of my close reading and translation process, comparing it with Speyer’s edition and at certain points also directly with his main witness, CUL MS Add 1611.

To my initial frustration as I began to look at the manuscript, one thing I quickly noted was the fact that pages are out of order on the microfilm. The images from the microfilm do not begin where Demoto says the manuscript starts, and the tenth folio of the microfilm should actually be read as the first folio of the manuscript. In fact, according to the manuscript’s own page numbering, we see that folio one (of the microfilm) is numbered 251, folio two is numbered 252, and the tenth folio is actually numbered 250. (See Table 1

14) Demoto 2006, 215.

below.) Demoto must have recognized this issue, because she tells us that the manuscript starts with number 250 and that it begins at the end of the Śobhita story, which are both correct statements.

Table 1: Ordering the Folios of NGMPP E-1554/24		
Microfilm # = JPG#. Image#	Provisional Folio # with Recto/Verso	Page Numbering Written on MS (with Notes on the Correct Ordering)
1	NGMPP Title Page (See figure 1.)	
2	1 recto	251 (This folio follows from folio 10 below.)
3.1	1 verso	
3.2	2 recto	252 (The gap in the MS between 4.1 and 4.2 should be filled with folio 41 below. See figure 2.)
4.1	2 verso	
4.2	3 recto	(MS continues from folio 41.)
Etc. (MS continues.)		
11.2	10 recto	250 (This folio should go first.)
12.1	10 verso	
Etc. (MS continues.)		
42.2	41 recto	Page number on MS is illegible. (This folio fills the gap between 4.1 and 4.2. See figure 3.)
43.1	41 verso	
43.2	42 recto	(After a gap, the MS picks up in middle of Dīrghanakha story, as indicated by Demoto.)
Etc. (MS continues through folio 46.)		

So, Demoto correctly identifies the extant portions, but she does not tell us that any folios are out of order, and the tenth is actually not the only folio that is out of order. There is another folio out of order: number forty-one of the microfilm's ordering, which should actually be positioned fourth in the manuscript. (See figure 3.) This folio closes an important gap in the text and perfectly links up the second and third folios (according to the order of the microfilm, remembering that the tenth should actually go first).

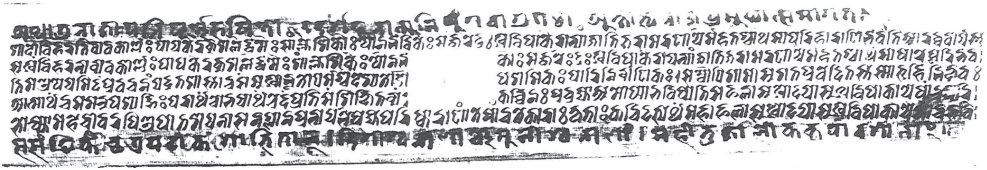


Figure 3: NGMPP E-1554/24 Folio 41 verso.

Again, this level of detail into the trials and tribulations of checking a prior scholar's descriptions against the manuscript evidence may seem unworthy of mention, or only worth relegating to the footnotes of an academic paper. I understand it to be quite common that pages are out of order in the microfilms of the NGMPP, and therefore Demoto probably did not deem this fact worthy of comment. Yet, it still speaks to the actual practice of doing manuscript work.

Far more significant for the current analysis is the fact that there is a sentence beginning on this forty-first folio, which should actually go fourth, the analysis of which can help us to test Demoto's hypothesis that NGMPP E-1554/24 is the direct source of Speyer's main witness, CUL MS Add 1611. For, on this page we find maybe the only significant exception to Demoto's first criterion: the fact that the manuscript appears to contain all the same errors that Speyer notes and corrects in his main witness. This is made clear from a close comparison of the NGMPP manuscript, the CUL manuscript, and Speyer's edition. Actually, the passage on which I want to focus also partially confirms Demoto's first criterion, and thus it is doubly appropriate for testing her hypothesis and for considering whether Speyer's edition is somehow insufficient and if a new edition of the *Avadānaśataka* should be produced. In NGMPP E-1554/24, the relevant sentence in question reads, more or less diplomatically, as follows:

Kaccinaḥpravrajyāamoghābhaviṣyatisaphalāsukhodayāsukhavipākāyeṣāṃcapari[41
v5]bhokṣyāmahecīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsanaglānapratyayabhaiṣajyapariṣkāraṇāṃt
eṣāṃcatekārāḥkṛtāḥkacidatyarthamahāphalāsukhodayāsukhavipākāyesāṃcabhavi
[3r1]ṣyantimahānusamsāmahādyutayomahāvaistārāitievamvobhikṣavaḥśikṣitavyaṃ

In the above rendering, I have underlined the portion of the text that is found only in NGMPP E-1554/24. Otherwise, the NGMPP manuscript reads basically the same as the CUL MS Add 1611. By looking at CUL MS Add 1611, which is among the manuscripts now available for public viewing on the Cambridge Digital Library,¹⁵⁾ one can easily determine that Speyer's edition and notes give us an accurate picture of what is in the manuscript. In Speyer's edition, the same sentence reads as follows:

Kaccinaḥ[#] pravrajyā amoghā bhaviṣyati saphalā sukhodayā sukhavipākā yeṣāṃ
ca paribhokṣyāmahe cīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsanaglānapratyayabhaisajyapariṣkā-^s
[108] rāmsteṣāṃ ca te kārāḥ kṛtāḥ kaccidatyarthamahāphalā bhaviṣyanti
mahānuśamsā mahādyutayo mahāvaistārā[@] ityevaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyam.¹⁶⁾

Speyer's notes on this sentence, which I have indicate here with superscripted symbols, contain the following remarks:

[#] Ex conject.; MS kaccinaḥ (D kaścinaḥ).

^s Ex conject.; MS -pariṣkāṛāṇām, a clerical error, I suppose, the accus. is here indispensable. Cp. Also Majjh. Nikāya I (ed. Trenckner), 33 yeśāhaṃ cīvarapiṇḍapātasenāsanagilānapaccayabhesajjaparikkhāraṃ paribhuñjāmi tesāṃ te kārā mahāphalā assu mahānisamsā.

[@] Sic MS. Though vaistārika (see Index on Dvy. and Index on Mhv.) is good Sanskrit and correctly made, the subst. vaistāra is strange; can it have been sanscritized out of vulgar vetthāro answering to skt. vistārah?¹⁷⁾

15) For the relevant page in CUL MS Add 1611, see the following page available on the Cambridge Digital Library: <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01611/168>>. (Last accessed Jan 13, 2019.)

16) Speyer 1902-1909, vol. 2, part 1, 107-108.

17) Speyer 1902-1909, vol. 2, part 1, 107-108.

We can see that in all three cases, the NGMPP manuscript contains the same reading as CUL MS Add 1611. We can also see that Speyer has correctly reported the readings of CUL MS Add 1611. Speyer's third remark may touch on the question of nonstandard forms, on which see more below, but here we can note that Speyer accurately notes the manuscript's reading. The first two notes indicate emendations made by Speyer to his main witness, and also contain his report of the manuscript's readings, as well as any variants. In the second note, he cites a passage in Pāli that supports his emendation. Regarding the first note, there is a question in my mind about whether the Cambridge manuscript reads *kaccinaḥ* or *kaścinaḥ*, but I think it is the former, as Speyer reports, and this puts the manuscript into agreement with the NGMPP manuscript, which clearly reads *kaccinaḥ*. In either case, Speyer's emendation to *kaccinnaḥ* seems appropriate and it also reflects the Tibetan translation.

Regarding the second of Speyer's emendations, where he changes the genitive of *pariṣkāraṇāṃ* to an accusative, this also seems warranted by the grammar of the sentence, and the citation of the parallel passage from the Pāli Canon helps to support this emendation. So, regarding these three notes and Speyer's emendations, I would say that they are quite typical of the way the NGMPP manuscript contains all or nearly all of the same minor errors and readings as CUL MS Add 1611. This supports Demoto's impression and her first criterion for establishing that NGMPP E-1554/24 is the direct source of CUL MS Add 1611. A careful comparison with Speyer's edition also shows that he faithfully reports almost all of these various readings and emendations, if maybe not every single one. That is why the divergence that we see here between the two manuscripts is especially noteworthy for the purpose of evaluating the relationship between them.

Table 2: Comparing Speyer's edition with NGMPP E-1554/24	
Speyer's edition (w/ Speyer's notes indicated by superscripted letters):	NGMPP E-1554/24, more or less diplomatically rendered w/additional text underlined, convergences noted in bold, and another, minor divergence noted in italics):
Kaccinnaḥ [#] pravrajyā amoghā bhaviṣyati saphalā sukhodayā sukhavipākā yeṣāṃ ca paribhokṣyāmahe cīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsanaglānapratyayabhaisajyapariṣkā- ^s [108] rāṃsteṣāṃ ca te kārāḥ kṛtāḥ kaccidatyarthamahāphalā bhaviṣyanti mahānuśamsā mahādyutayo mahāvaistārā [@] ityevaṃ vo bhikṣavaḥ śikṣitavyaṃ	Kaccinaḥ pravrajyāamoghābhaviṣyati saphalāsukhodayāsukhavipākāyeṣāṃca pari[41v5]bhokṣyāmahecīvarapiṇḍapātaśayanāsanaglānapratyayabhaisajyapariṣkā ṇāṃ teṣāṃcatekārāḥkṛtāḥ <i>kacid</i> atyarthamahāphalāsukhodayāsukhavipākāyeṣāṃcabhavi[3r1]ṣyantimahānuśamsāmahādyutayomahāvaistārāitievamvobhikṣavaḥśikṣitavyaṃ

First, we can note briefly that NGMPP E-1554/24 reads *kacid*, whereas CUL MS Add 1611 reads *kaccid*. This seems like a minor difference, and the latter reading is to be preferred. Let's concentrate on the other divergence: the presence of an additional phrase in NGMPP E-1554/24; table two correlates Speyer's edition with my fairly diplomatic rendering of the relevant passage from NGMPP E-1554/24. As indicated above, I have underlined the portion of the text that is additional to what is found in the Cambridge manuscript. This portion of text corresponds to the following additional series of characters: *sukhodayāsukhavipākāyeṣāṃca*. When we look closely at the manuscript (see Figure 4), we can see that this additional text is an exact repetition of a phrase in the line directly above it. Only the final two characters of each line are different.

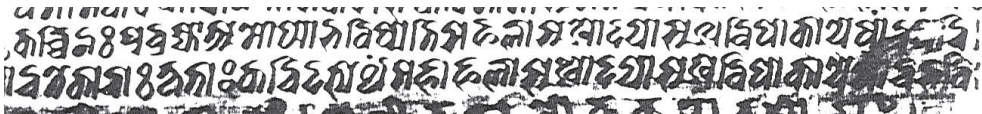


Figure 4: Enlargement of relevant portion of 41 verso (shown in Figure 3) of NGMPP E-1554/24

So, among the questions that we can now consider are the following: How should we account for this divergence between the two manuscripts; and also, what is the correct reading? These are, of course, interconnected questions.

Regarding the second question, I am tempted to delete the additional text in the NGMPP manuscript from the proper reading of the sentence. I base this conclusion upon an assessment of the overall body of evidence, including the basic grammar of the sentence, but I also weigh heavily the evidence of the Tibetan translation. In the Derge edition, the relevant paragraph reads as follows:

dge slong dag de bas na bdag gi don dang | gzhan gyi don dang | gnyi ga'i don yang
dag par mthong ba rnam kyis ni 'di la so so nas legs par bslab par bya ste | ji ltar byas
na bdag cag rab tu byung ba don yod pa dang | 'bras bu dang bcas pa dang | bde ba
skyed pa dang | bde ba'i rnam par smin par 'gyur la | gang dag gi gos dang | zas dang |
mal cha dang | stan dang | nad gsos dang | sman zong rnam bdag cag gis longs spyod
pa de dag gi bkur sti de dag kyang ji ltar byas na 'bras bu shin tu che ba dang | phan
yon che ba dang | byin che ba dang | rgya che bar 'gyur ba zhig gu snyam du dge slong
khyed kyis de ltar bslab par bya 'o¹⁸⁾

As one can see from considering this passage, the Tibetan translation appears to correspond quite closely to the Sanskrit text as edited by Speyer. Most importantly, it does not contain any repetition of the NGMPP manuscript's additional phrase, *sukhodayāsukhavipākāyeṣāṃca*. The first occurrence of this phrase in the sentence would seem to correspond in the Tibetan to the following: *bde ba skyed pa dang | bde ba'i rnam par smin par 'gyur la | gang dag gi*. There is no second occurrence of this phrase in the Tibetan translation. Therefore, it seems best to omit it from a properly critical edition of the Sanskrit text.

18) In the Derge edition, this passage begins on folio 242 (recto), line 2, which is numbered page 483 of the pdf copy available on the website of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center: <https://www.tbrc.org/#library_work_ViewByOutline-O4CZ53694CZ319933%7CW4CZ5369>. (Last accessed January 24, 2019.)

If this is the correct reading of the passage, then there is still the question of how we should account for the divergence between the two manuscripts. If the NGMPP manuscript is the direct source of the Cambridge manuscript, then did the copyist simply pass over the repeated passage by mistake? We've seen that it is found directly beneath the first appearance of the phrase in the sentence, but the last two syllables of each line differ. If it were simply an oversight by the copyist, one might expect the last two syllables to be missing from CUL MS Add 1611, as well. Alternatively, perhaps a deliberate decision was made to eliminate the second occurrence of the passage in order to bring the manuscript into alignment, perhaps, with another manuscript available to the copyist. Or did the copyist consult the Tibetan translation? This last possibility seems unlikely to me, but it is not impossible, and Formigatti (2016: 112) also suggests it as a possibility. If a deliberate emendation was made here, however, then why has the copyist not made other obvious emendations? Why, in other words, does CUL MS Add 1611 reproduce all or nearly all the other erroneous readings that we find in NGMPP E-1554/24, but not this one? If we could identify a mark of deletion somewhere on the manuscript, indicating that the added passage was understood as a scribal error, then the answer would be fairly clear, but unfortunately I cannot find such a mark, at least not on the available microfilm image. This leaves us with the question unanswered.

Therefore, perhaps we should conclude that Demoto's hypothesis is incorrect, and that NGMPP E-1554/24 is not the direct source of CUL MS Add 1611. It is possible to imagine various scenarios that could have resulted both in the addition and the elimination of this phrase from the manuscript tradition. If we are to account for the whole problem, then we will need to have explanations for both the addition of this phrase in the NGMPP manuscript and the elimination of it from Speyer's main witness. Regarding the former, it is easy to imagine a scenario in which the phrase could have snuck into the manuscript tradition, as we have seen that it repeats the phrase from the line above perfectly. Regarding the latter side of the problem, I am undecided between the following options: 1) that we posit an additional manuscript (or more)

between this NGMPP manuscript and the CUL MS Add 1611, and conclude that the NGMPP manuscript is not the direct source for the Cambridge manuscript; or 2) that the former is (one of) the direct source(s) for the latter, but that the copyist (deliberately or accidentally) deleted a phrase that was actually already an erroneous interpolation.

In either case, the situation pertaining here does not seem to support some recent descriptions of Jayamuni, if indeed he was the copyist of CUL MS Add 1611, as hypothesized by Formigatti. Formigatti bases his hypothesis on various types of evidence, such as the strong paleographical and codicological similarities between CUL MS Add 1611 and another manuscript ascribed to Jayamuni, CUL MS Add 1586, but he also supports his argument with claims about Jayamuni's scribal practices.¹⁹⁾ Jayamuni has been portrayed as more than simply a scribe, but also an editor, and possibly even an author in his own right. Take, for instance, the following description by Vincent Tournier, which is also cited by Formigatti:

This Jayamuni was not a mere scribe, but an important figure of the religious landscape of his time. …… [H]e was trained in Sanskrit …… he is said to have brought back from India an important textual collection. …… Learned as he was, Jayamuni did not behave as a slavish copyist, but he attempted very often to improve the text …… by correcting obvious copying mistakes …… frequently normalizing the syntax …… and by sanskritizing some of the readings.²⁰⁾

Here, Tournier describes Jayamuni's scribal practice with respect to a manuscript of the *Mahāvastu*, a text with many nonstandard grammatical forms. Formigatti also says about the scribe who produced CUL MS Add 1611:

19) See Formigatti 2016, 112.

20) Tournier 2012, 96-97; quoted in Formigatti 2016, 114.

“Apparently he was rather scrupulous, he wasn’t copying the text without paying attention to its meaning.” And directly after the full citation of the quote from Tournier of which a part is given above, Formigatti has this to say:

Is it merely a chance that also NGMPP E 1554-24 (the antigraph of CUL Add.1611) and CUL Add.1680.2.3 are dated to the 12th-14th century, the same period of the manuscript Sa of the Mahāvastu [the manuscript about which Tournier is speaking]? Is it possible that these manuscripts belonged to Jayamuni’s “important textual collection”? I believe that I have demonstrated that the scribe of CUL Add.1611 did not merely copy his antigraph, but undertook some editorial work, like Jayamuni did for the Mahāvastu manuscript he wrote in 1657 CE.²¹⁾

The dating and provenance of the manuscripts aside, Formigatti seems to assume that NGMPP E-1554/24 is, in fact, the antigraph of CUL MS Add 1611, whereas we have seen that Demoto is somewhat less definitive about her own hypothesis, stating that more evidence was still required. We should also bear in mind that Formigatti does not include NGMPP E-1554/24 directly in his analysis, and that his conclusions are partly based on the analysis of a portion of the work that is not extant in this NGMPP manuscript. While the circumstantial evidence may be strong for attributing the production of CUL MS Add 1611 to Jayamuni, the descriptions of Jayamuni’s scribal practices given above still do not seem to me to fit very well the situation pertaining between NGMPP E-1554/24 and CUL MS Add 1611, if indeed the former is the direct source for the latter, and in fact, Jayamuni was the copyist. Apart from the one unexplained divergence, CUL MS Add 1611 reproduces all or nearly all the errors and misreadings present in NGMPP E-1554/24.

21) Formigatti 2016, 112, 114.

III. Concluding Thoughts:

What broader conclusions can we draw from this comparative study at this point? The evidence, I believe, is inconclusive for establishing or rejecting Demoto's hypothesis that NGMPP E-1554/24 is the direct source for CUL MS Add 1611. As a general principle, it seems quite difficult to establish conclusively that one manuscript is the direct source for another. Yet, from another perspective the situation is not so dire. The questions I've raised here about the divergences between the two manuscripts hardly seem to matter when it comes to understanding or translating the particular passage in question. It doesn't change the broader meaning, really, at all. Moreover, I scarcely found any instances in which NGMPP E-1554/24 altered my understanding or translation of a passage in the work. For other instances, such as the case of the proper placement of a transitional phrase in the 39th story, as discussed by Formigatti, the situation may be a bit different, but we should ask whether the total number of such passages warrants spending time on a new edition of the work at this time.

Regarding the attribution of CUL MS Add 1611 to the Newari scribe, Jayamuni, I am not yet ready to stake a position. To my mind, the strongest evidence Formigatti offers is paleographic and codicological, but questions remain. For one thing, if Jayamuni did copy CUL MS Add 1611, from NGMPPE-1554/24 and/or other manuscripts available to him, then what does this tell us about him or his work as a scribe? The situation does not seem to confirm recent descriptions of him or his scribal practice. In any case, Formigatti concludes his article with a different suggestion that perhaps the time has come to reedit the *Avadānaśataka* (and the *Divyāvadāna*, which to my mind may present a different case). My current opinion on this issue, based on my own comparison of NGMPP E-1554/24 with Speyer's edition and CUL MS Add 1611, is that we do not need a whole new edition of the *Avadānaśataka* at this time. Speyer's edition stands as an excellent piece of scholarship, and

most of the time it provides a reliable basis for reading the text.

At the same time, however, I do agree with Formigatti that “we should look with different eyes at the available editions of works like the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Divyāvadāna*” (125). I agree, that is, especially if one is accustomed simply to rely on the printed editions of the works we read or to take them as given. Modern printed editions may provide a solid basis for reading a text, but they are still interpretations; they are not perfect, as if perfection were possible in this regard, which (in my view) it is not. In other words, modern editions, even excellent ones like Speyer’s edition of the *Avadānaśataka*, do not eliminate the need for scholars and translators to check the edition against the available manuscripts, both newly available manuscript evidence and the sources used for the edition. Also, in the case of the Sanskrit *Avadānaśataka*, consulting the Tibetan translation proves to be absolutely essential, another point on which I concur with Formigatti. I would go even a bit further than he does. Acknowledging the importance of such “textual mediations” – and, indeed, the fact that all we ever really have of a text are such “mediations” and never the “text-in-itself” – ought to encourage in us a different kind of critical reading and editing practice, one more attentive to the ways in which texts are constituted and reconstituted within specific historical contexts, including in this case not only Jayamuni’s, for instance, but also our own.²²⁾ So, new eyes?

22) Pollock 2009 uses the term “vernacular mediations” in a somewhat related sense to speak of “competing claims to knowledge about texts and worlds available in past traditions” (954), but whereas Pollock focuses primarily on interpretations presented in traditional commentaries, I would emphasize that such “mediations” also pertain to the textual practices involved in the constitution of the editions themselves, including the production of the manuscripts. This becomes especially apparent in cases where the lines between copyist, editor, and reader become blurred, as they do in the present circumstances regarding the Nepalese manuscripts ascribed to Jayamuni. This is not, of course, to say that a modern critical edition is equivalent to manuscript evidence – the former is still more secondary and the latter more primary – but that both are interpretations or mediations of one kind or another. The same goes for the Tibetan translation, which is an earlier witness than any of the Nepalese manuscript evidence though it remains secondary in other respects. Although Pollock does not say it precisely in this way, I believe this line of argument to be consistent with his larger theoretical point, and I share his commitment to the idea of “critical philology” as a mode of practice.

Absolutely. A whole new edition? No, or at least not yet. I think our time is better spent in other ways.

How, then, should those of us who are interested in the *Avadānaśataka* and related Buddhist narrative literature spend our precious time? Well, for one thing, I continue to feel that a reliable, accessible, modern English translation of the whole *Avadānaśataka* is long overdue. At this point, however, it is unfortunately still progressing in a piecemeal fashion. An inspired, complete translation would serve a broader audience and help to generate more interest in these old Buddhist stories. I also wholeheartedly agree with Formigatti that we need reliable editions of the *avadānamālās*. Some of them still have no edition whatsoever! One such example is the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā*. While preparing their respective translation and edition of the *Avadānaśataka*, Feer (1891) and Speyer (1902-1909) both consulted certain manuscripts of the *avadānamālās*. In his edition of the *Avadānaśataka*, Speyer also edited one chapter of the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* (chapter ten),²³⁾ he also provided numerous references to passages from other chapters of the work in his footnotes. Since that time, however, while some of the *avadānamālās* and related literature have been studied,²⁴⁾ not much attention has yet been paid to the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* as a whole. Jan Willem de Jong (1979a) provided an edition of another chapter (chapter twenty-five), a large portion of which he believed was incorporated into the Nepalese manuscript tradition of Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.²⁵⁾ Leif Asplund (2013) has provided

23) Froelich 2002 includes an English translation of Speyer's edition of this chapter.

24) See, for instance, Takahata 1954; Gangodawila 2015 translates the first twelve chapters into English. Tatelman 1996 is a critical edition, translation and study of a portion of another Buddhist narrative collection that has been linked to the *avadānamālā* genre. Since 2005, Kiyoshi Okano has been vigorously publishing studies, Sanskrit editions, and Japanese translations of various individual stories from several narrative collections of or related to the *avadānamālā* genre, including from the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. See, for instance, Okano 2010 and 2017, which are only the first and most recent (at the time of writing) in a series of comparative studies. A more comprehensive list of his publications, including links to many of them, can be found on his professional webpage.

25) Chapter 25 is the infamous *Ṣaḍdantāvadāna*, the title of which is listed in the table of contents

a study and edition of yet another chapter (chapter twenty-six), which also bears a close relationship to a story in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.

These latter studies, along with Kiyoshi Okano (2005) and others, have established some kind of intertextual relationship between at least certain chapters of the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā* and Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. Yet, we still do not adequately understand where the former fits among the various witnesses to the manuscript traditions of the latter, or how the *Avadānaśataka* relates intertextually to these former works and to the other *avadānamālās* and related narrative collections, some of which Will Tuladhar-Douglas (2006), Alexander von Rospatt (2015), Formigatti (2016), and others have argued were composed in medieval Nepal around the 14th-15th centuries, or possibly later, perhaps even as late as the 17th century, when Jayamuni was active.²⁶⁾ It seems likely that some of the *avadānamālās* and *māhātmyas* were indeed composed or compiled during this period, but as Martin Straube (2015) has written: "The dates and intellectual environments of these texts have not been established in all cases" (503).

Presumably, the old dating of the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā* to the 6th-8th century is wrong,²⁷⁾ but can we yet rule out the possibility that at least some

of the Tibetan translation and the oldest Sanskrit manuscripts, but does not appear in the earliest manuscripts, on which see Liu 2019, or in the Tibetan translation. Yet, it is found in CUL MS Add 1306. See also de Jong 1977 and Straube 2009, 12-17.

26) See also Tatelman 2000, 10. Formigatti 2016 notes: "..... the attribution to Jayamuni of the oldest extant manuscripts of the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā* and *Mahajjātakamālā* casts a very different light on the process of formation of the *avadānamālā* literature" (124). He goes on to claim that perhaps Jayamuni even composed the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*, before stating: "This hypothesis can be confirmed only after the preparation of a critical edition of the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā*, which would enable a detailed comparison of this versified version of the *Avadānaśataka* with the text as revised by Jayamuni" (124). Formigatti then appears to retract his hypothesis, replacing it with a weaker one: "the flowering of the 'Garland Texts' occurred in or after the 17th century, rather than in the 14th and 15th century (as suggested by Tuladhar-Douglas)" (125).

27) Strong 1985 stated earlier: "The question of the dating of the various *avadānamālās* in this cycle—all of them anonymous collections—is unfortunately almost impossible to resolve with any precision. J.S. Speyer placed them anywhere between 400 and 1000 A.D., with the *Kalpadrumāvadānamālā* coming first and the others spread out over the subsequent centuries.

of it was composed before the 14th century?²⁸⁾ It seems that at least some part of it must have been among the first parts of the *avadānamālās* to have been composed, or at least it contains some of the earliest parts of this genre that bear the closest intertextual relationship with the *Avadānaśataka*, because the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* begins the whole cycle by retelling the last story of the *Avadānaśataka*, which serves to frame the whole work as a discourse between King Aśoka and Upagupta. Then it continues with the first story of the work, and subsequently retells all the other first stories from all the other chapters – except for the fourth chapter, which features Jātaka stories (an interesting exception in itself, which still requires discussion) – and then it retells all the second stories, too. At this point the collection becomes more sporadic in its selections, and some of its final chapters do not bear any direct relationship with the *Avadānaśataka* at all, but with other works, such as Kṣemendra’s *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, as noted above. There is still a lot of work to do to establish the intertextual relationships between the *Avadānaśataka*, the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā*, the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*,

Maurice Winternitz assigned the earliest of the them to around the sixth century. More recently, G.M. Bongard-Levin and O.F. Volkova have shown that the *Aśokāvadānamālā* could not have been completed before the 11th century” (863-864). As Tatelman (2000, 10) points out, the argument for this later dating is that the *Aśokāvadānamālā* contains verses from Kṣemendra’s *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.

28) I am struck by several pieces of evidence. One is the curious relationship between the texts of the *Ṣaḍdantāvadāna* in the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* and in CUL MS Add 1306, a partial Nepalese manuscript of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* that has been dated to the early part of the 14th century. On this latter manuscript, see the Cambridge Digital Library entry: <<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01306/1>>. A second piece of evidence is the fact that scribes sometimes use the term *avadānamālā* to refer to the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* itself. See the colophons to certain chapters of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* in two Sanskrit manuscripts, one dated by Liu to sometime between 1169 and 1269 CE and the other dated by him to 1269 CE: See Liu 2019, 39, especially note 29. Third, it seems that the existence in various Central Asian languages (Tocharian A, Tocharian B, Sogdian, and Old Uyghur) of a text called the *Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* would indicate that the name or genre title, *avadānamālā*, was distributed more widely than Nepal, and that it goes even further back in time, possibly even to India. On this latter text, see, for instance, Wilkens, Pinault, and Peyrot 2014 and 2017.

and other related works of Buddhist narrative literature.²⁹⁾

Such detailed intertextual and historical work will necessarily require both careful editorial work and inspired translation, and each in a measure appropriate to the particular work at hand. We will also need different methods of reading, editing, and translating from what have become commonplace in the field. For it is not merely a question of editorial work or translation or both, but also what kind of edition or translation, for whom, and in this case how we ought to make sense of the task involved when the relevant source-texts may themselves be assemblages of various parts from different historical contexts. Inspired translations of relatively better known works like the *Avadānaśataka* will be required, if such collections of stories are to emerge from the backwaters of the field into the consciousness of comparative folklorists, narrative theorists, historians of religion and literature, and scholars broadly interested in the intersections between religion and narrative, not to mention English-reading Buddhist practitioners and those generally interested to engage the Buddhist tradition of Asia through its rich narrative cultures.³⁰⁾ The *Avadānaśataka* and the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* (among other works) may reveal some of the richness, vitality, and creativity of Buddhist narrative cultures in history, but they cannot do so without those who care for such works devoting the significant time and effort (not to mention the attention and inspiration) necessary to make them more widely accessible

29) Okano 2005 surveys various *avadānamālās* for quotations from the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, and argues that those stories (at least) were composed sometime after the beginning of the 14th century, but he also distinguishes this class of stories from those that bear a closer relationship to the *Avadānaśataka*. Okano 2006 lays out the entire scheme of the *avadānamālās* in relation to the *Avadānaśataka*. These articles and Okano's other work on Buddhist narrative literature, including his several studies of the relationship between the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* and the *avadānamālās*, such as Okano 2010, 2017, and several more not cited here, should all be taken into greater account in the discussion.

30) I am borrowing the term "narrative culture" from the title of a conference held at the University of Oslo in 2016. For a description of the conference, see Kreinath 2016. My thanks to Markus A. Davidsen for bringing this conference to my attention along with its forthcoming proceedings: Kirsch, Johansen, and Kreinath (forthcoming).

to readers and translators. In some ways, we must now constitute a new and broader narrative culture for the appreciation of these stories. To be successful, we will need to be highly intentional about how we spend our time.

Abbreviations

CUL Cambridge University Library

NGMPP Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project

Primary Sources (Manuscripts and Woodblock Prints)

CUL MS Add 1306: *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.

<<https://cul.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01306/1>>. (Last accessed January 24, 2019).

CUL MS Add 1586: *Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā*. <<https://cul.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01586/2>>.

(Last accessed January 24, 2019).

CUL MS Add 1611: *Avadānaśataka*. <<https://cul.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01611/1>>.

(Last accessed January 24, 2019).

CUL MS Add 1680.2.3: *Avadānaśataka*.

<<https://cul.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01680-00002-00003/1>>. (Last accessed January 24, 2019).

Derge woodblock print edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Avadānaśataka*.
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(Last accessed January 24, 2019).

NGMPP E-1554/24: *Avadānaśataka*. <http://ngmcp.fdm.uni-hamburg.de/mediawiki/index.php/E_1554-24_Avadānaśataka>.

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The *Avadānaśataka* and
the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā*:
What should we be doing now?

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The study of the *Avadānaśataka* was placed upon a firm philological foundation in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but more manuscripts have since become available, prompting questions about the history of this Buddhist narrative collection. The present article mainly considers what new light one such manuscript, Nepal German Manuscript Preservation Project (NGMPP) MS E-1554/24, may shed upon this history and other issues related to the study of this work. It argues that evidence remains inconclusive for establishing the hypothesis that NGMPP E-1554/24 is the direct source for Cambridge University Library (CUL) MS Add 1611, the primary witness for the principal modern edition of the work, but the essay also engages a series of broader questions about how we use manuscripts, what questions those manuscripts can answer, and how scholars interested in Buddhist narrative literature could best spend their time. It calls for scholars to direct efforts toward making works of Buddhist narrative literature like the *Avadānaśataka* and the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* more widely accessible, and establishing the intertextual relationships between them and other works of Buddhist narrative literature. This will require a complete new translation

of the former, an edition and translation of the latter, and indeed a reconceptualization of the task at hand.

Keywords : Critical philology, Buddhist narrative literature, Sanskrit manuscript studies, *Avadānaśataka*, *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā*

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