3   The Sanskrit manuscripts

Two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* have been found or rather obtained in the oasis towns Qizil and Kashgar along the ancient Silk Road in Central Asia, a region that is today known as Xinjiang. This region witnessed a flourishing manuscript culture and yielded treasures of immeasurable value. In the beginning of the twentieth century, numerous expeditions led to the discovery of a myriad of manuscripts, among which were found manuscripts bearing text in Indic languages and scripts. It turned out that many of these texts represent those Indic texts, which were long considered to be lost, and which up to that point solely survived in Chinese and Tibetan translations.

Almost exclusively, the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts do not have any colophons, and do not mention any school affiliation. There is only one exception: the colophon of a long birchbark manuscript, about 150 leaves long, kept in the Petrovsky Collection of Central Asian Sanskrit fragments in St. Petersburg gives the Sarvāstivādin affiliation of the scribe. And indeed, scholars were able to show, on the basis of a comparative study with their Chinese translations, that the majority of the Central Asian Sanskrit manuscripts can be attributed to the Sarvāstivādin school. The Sarvāstivādins effectively represent one of the predominant schools in Central Asia, whose texts spread from northern India to Tibet and China via Central Asia, where they especially flourished on the northern route of the Silk Road.[1] On the basis of this evidence, Skilling ascribed the two Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* to the Sarvāstivāda tradition.[2] The place of discovery of the SHT manuscript, namely the Qizil Caves, most probably does not correspond to the place where this manuscript was produced, and it is therefore hazardous to give any firm school affiliation, since the manuscript might well have belonged to another tradition.

Both manuscripts of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* show characteristic marks of early Buddhist *rakṣā* literature, such as protective *mantra*s and formulas, incantations, and verses for welfare. These *rakṣā* elements first appear in the Central Asian version of the text and are not found in earlier Pāli and Chinese recensions. Though the two manuscripts have the same title and contain at least parts of the same set of

[1]   Cf. Sander 1991. See also Frauwallner 1956: 24–41, and Wynne 2008.
[2]   Cf. Skilling 1997a: 82.

canonical verses they differ at large. This already becomes clear in the difference of length between both texts. The SHT manuscript has preserved one folio recto and verso, and two small fragments, while the SI manuscript comprises four folios, both recto and verso. The manuscripts do not only differ in appearance but also in content, showing variations in the narrative setting and context. It is, therefore, obvious that at least two Sanskrit versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, which did not have the same literary form, existed in Central Asia. In the following section, the two manuscripts shall be investigated more closely. Since the two vary significantly they will be discussed separately.

Editorial conventions

The two fragmentary (and exceedingly distinct) Sanskrit texts of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* preserved in Central Asia cannot be fully reconstructed, let alone compiled into one homogeneous text. Because of this, they will be edited separately. The Sanskrit text is presented in two sections: at first the text is transliterated line by line. Second, missing passages are reconstructed on the basis of Pāli and Tibetan parallels where extant. In order to facilitate the reading, the reconstruction dispenses with square brackets and proceeds with only round brackets for missing *akṣara*s. Where a complete reconstruction is not possible, the missing part is indicated with an estimated number of missing *akṣara*s. The translation is based on the reconstructed text. Grey shading marks uncertain or untranslated passages. *Mantra* syllables are rendered in italics. A running text of both Sanskrit versions is presented in the appendix of the present work.

It is not the aim of this work to present a standardised and correct Sanskrit text, but to let the text speak for itself. Throughout the edition, Buddhist Sanskrit orthography and grammar are retained, whereas proper Sanskrit forms are given in annotations. Only in metrical passages where the metre requires quantitave changes Sanskrit forms have been corrected in the text. Missing *sandhi* forms have not been reconstructed. Some cases are, however, ambiguous and it is not easy to decide whether it is a peculiar hybrid Sanskrit form or simply a scribal error or the scribe's carelessness. This is exemplified in cases where the *visarga* or *anusvāra* is missing in final position.

3.1 SHT III 816

3.1.1 Description of the manuscript

The manuscript SHT III 816 was found in the Qizil Grottoes, a Buddhist cave complex 75 kilometres northwest of Kučā on the northern Silk Road, during the third German Turfan expedition of 1905–07. Brought back to Berlin, the manuscript is now kept in the German Turfan Collection in the Oriental Department ("Orientabteilung") of the Berlin State Library ("Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin"), and was published with the site mark signature T III MQR ("3. Turfan-Expedition, Ming-öi bei Qizil, Rotkuppelraum") in *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (SHT), Volume III.[3] In their excavation reports, the leading scholars of the German Turfan expeditions, Albert Grünwedel and Albert von LeCoq, noted the discovery of a library with Indian manuscripts in the Red Dome Cave ("Rotkuppelhöhle"). Due to unsatisfactory documentation there is now, however, disagreement on the exact location of this library among the more than 250 caves of the Qizil Grottoes. About 650 manuscripts of the German Turfan Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts are marked with the site mark signature MQR and it is so far impossible to definitely decide whether they come from the Qizil library or related sites.[4]

The first reading of SHT III 816 was prepared by Else Lüders, who identified *sūtra* fragments on the obverse with incantations on the reverse ("Sūtrafragment (V) und Beschwörungen (R)") and thus ascribed the text to "Nichtkanonisch. Dhāraṇī".[5] The SHT entry also indicated parallels with the canonical verses in the Pāli *Bhaddekaratta-sutta*s and their Chinese translations. Further parallels are remarked in SHT XI, namely the Sanskrit manuscript SI 2044 (old call number SI P/36), and the Chinese (Taishō XXI 1362) and Tibetan versions (D 313). The passage reads:

> Als Bestimmung wurde im Katalogband ‚Sūtrafragment (V) und Beschwörungen (R)‘ angegeben und für die Vorderseite auf Parallelen in Suttas 131–134 (*Bhaddekaratta-sutta, Ānanda-bhaddekarattasutta, Mahākaccāna-bhaddeka°* und *Lomasakaṅgiya-bhaddeka°*) des *Majjhima-nikāya* (MN III 187–202), Sūtras 165–167 im chin. *Madhyamāgama* (T

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[3] Waldschmidt et al. 1971: 31–33.
[4] For some suggestions, see Sander 1969: 10–12, and Ching (2015), who showed that the identification of certain discovery locations is possible on the basis on archival material.
[5] Waldschmidt et al. 1971: 31.

26, I 696b–700b) und einer Einzelübersetzung des Sūtra 166 (T 77, I 886–887a) hingewiesen. ‚Beschwörungen' (*mantra*) finden sich auch im *Bhadrakarātrīyasūtra* [SI P/36; ed. Oldenbourg 1904 (pp. 115–116): Text 16 (Nachdruck: BB 40, p. 69–71); tib. Übersetzung im Derge [Taipei] Kanjur, Abteilung Mdo sde, Bd. *sa*, foll. 61b1–63b5 = Nr. 313, Bd. 15, pp. 133.322.1–134.326.5; chin. Übersetzung T 1362], so daß die ‚Beschwörungen' der Rückseite wohl Bestandteil des Sūtra sind (Hinweis J. Chung).[6]

The SHT manuscript of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, originally in the Indian *poṭhī* form, is preserved in four fragments, which measure from left to right 1) 4 x 7 cm, 2) 2 x 5 cm, 3) 2 x 3 cm, 4) 4 x 13,5 cm (see figures 3 and 4 below). The material is palm leaf of the talipot palm (*Corypha umbraculifera*), which abundantly grows in South India.[7] It is written in ink in five lines. The leaf does not have any folio number and the fact that the text starts with the auspicious word *siddham* speaks in favour of an individual *sūtra*, which was not part of a collection or composite manuscript.[8] The manuscript does not contain a colophon and is undated. The text begins with a standard opening formula of *sūtra*s followed by the rest of the *Bhadrakarātrī* verses and continues then with mantric formulas. Except for what is preserved of the canonical verses, the text of SHT III 816 does not agree with any of the other parallels in Pāli, Chinese, and Tibetan.

Both the Indian script and the material – the raw material of palm leaves was not a common writing support in Central Asia since paper from China was easy to purchase – suggest an early date of the manuscript, which most likely originated in India and was then imported to Central Asia. Alternatively, it was written by an Indian scribe, who brought along his own writing materials from India to Central Asia. Even if the writing support points to an Indian origin, the material alone is not

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[6]   Wille 2012: 417. The folio numbers of the Tibetan text D 313 are, however, mistaken, and should be corrected to 161b1–163b5.

[7]   On the writing material of palm leaf manuscripts and their preparation, see Sander 1968: 25f.

[8]   Sander (1986: 255) already illustrated that the auspicious word *siddham* here at the beginning of the manuscript is the oldest example of this kind of manuscript openings among the Gilgit and Central Asian material. She noted: "The oldest example for *siddham* at the beginning of a manuscript is found in a palm leaf manuscript (Cat.-No. 816) from Qizil in the Kucha oasis. It is written in a type of the calligraphic ornate script which comes very near to the script of Chilas I graffito No. 117 mentioned above. Because the script is very faint *siddham* is not clear." On *maṅgala* symbols opening Buddhist manuscripts, see further Sircar 1965: 92–97, and Roth 1986: 239–249.

crucial for a definite allocation of the place where the manuscript originated, although the early script reinforces this assumption.[9] On that account, the place of discovery most probably does not correspond to the place of origin.

The images below, showing the manuscript SHT III 816, are provided by the *International Dunhuang Project* (IDP) database.[10]
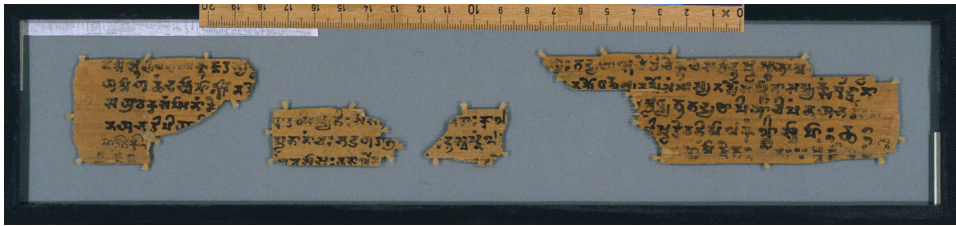

Figure 3: SHT III 816 recto.

Figure 4: SHT III 816 verso.

While reading the manuscript, counting missing *akṣara*s, and reconstructing the text it soon became clear that the fragments one and four form one folio with a gap between these two of about six *akṣara*s, whereas fragments two and three belong to at least one other folio, which is not preserved in its entirety. It is evident that all fragments belong to the very same manuscript not only because they were written by the same hand, but also by the common title, which occurs in the folio and in fragment 2. Regarding all points, this results in the following rearrangement of the four fragments of the manuscript in one folio and two independent fragments:

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[9]   Schlingloff (1956: 122) was able to demonstrate that two of the birchbark manuscripts of the Turfan finds were written by local scribes. Furthermore, remains of a multitude of palm leaf manuscripts found in Bāmiyān were written in the characteristic Brāhmī of northern India.

[10]   http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=14640151320;recnum=101334;index=1 (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

Figure 5: Rearrangement of SHT III 816: folio 1 recto.

Figure 6: Rearrangement of SHT III 816: folio 1 verso.

Figure 7: Rearrangement of SHT III 816: fragment 1 recto, verso.

Figure 8: Rearrangement of SHT III 816: fragment 2 recto, verso.

3.1.2   Palaeographic dating

The manuscript SHT III 816 was written with a reed pen in horizontal lines and upright letters. It shows a consistent ink intensity, as well as a consistent letter dimension. In general, the writing is mostly legible, uncertain readings remain only where the manuscript is no longer intact. The script in which the manuscript was written belongs, according to Sander's classification of the different types of scripts

found in the manuscripts of the Berlin Turfan Collection,[11] to the transitional phase from the Indian to the Turkestan Gupta type (Schrifttyp II–III).[12] The latter closely resembles the northwestern Indian Brāhmī of the Gupta period and the transition between the two script types can be regarded as fluent. As Sander noted in her palaeography the Indian Gupta type (Schrifttyp II), represented by the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* manuscript from the Kuṣāṇa time, was mostly used in manuscripts probably dating to the fifth century:

> Der durch die Handschrift der Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā repräsentierte nordindische Gupta-Typus (Alphabet h–k), welcher dem ‚turkistanischen Gupta-Typ' (Schrifttypus III) am ähnlichsten ist, liegt am häufigsten in Manuskripten vor, die wahrscheinlich aus dem 5. Jh. n. Chr. stammen.[13]

The Turkestan Gupta type (Schrifttyp III) later developed into the Turkestan Brāhmī (Schrifttypen IV–VII). Since it is possible to date a manuscript written in the latter script, which mentions the king Suvarṇapuṣpa, who ruled in Kučā in the beginning of the seventh century, the Turkestan Brāhmī must have been completely elaborated by this time and consequently the Turkestan Gupta type must have evolved earlier, most likely during the fifth to sixth centuries CE.[14] We can, thereby, conclude that the manuscript SHT III 816 of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* had been written down by the end of the fifth or early sixth century CE.

Detailed descriptions of palaeographic characteristics of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the Berlin Turfan Collection, including their provenances, materials, formats, writing instruments, as well as charts of sample letters have already been undertaken by Sander (1968) and thus a complete palaeographic study of SHT III 816 will not be provided here.[15] Some selected *akṣara*s of SHT III 816, where the writing differs from the writing in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* manuscript, are, however, worthy of mention since they clearly show the development of this script towards the Turkestan style. The differences between the SHT manuscript and the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* apply to the basic signs *a*, *u*, *ga*, and *śa*, as well as the vowel

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[11]   Cf. Sander 1968: 6.

[12]   See the note on the script of SHT III 816 in Waldschmidt et al. (1971: 31): "Übergang indischer-turkistanischer Gupta-Typ (Sander, Paläographisches, Alphabet q, p. 200)."

[13]   Sander 1968: 47 n. 201.

[14]   Cf. Sander 1968: 46f.

[15]   See alphabet h–k for the Indian Gupta style, and alphabet q for the Turkestan Gupta type. See also Lüders (1926: 4–15) for a description of the characteristics of the Indian Gupta type Brāhmī in his palaeographic study of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.

diacritics -*ā* and -*u*. The following description of these letters concern the SHT manuscript (see also table below for a comparison of these letters with the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*):

−   *a*: The modified form of *a* already looks like the fully developed Nāgarī *a*.

−   *u*: The sign *u* does not show the hook to the right anymore, but the lower half of the letter corresponds to a semi-circle to the left.

−   *ga*, *śa*: The *akṣara*s *ga* and *śa*, which share the main character, developed a semi-circle on the left, which continues with a horizontal stroke on the top and one vertical stroke to the right.

−   -*ā*: The horizontal stroke of the -*ā* turns downwards at the right end, as can be seen in the *akṣara*s *kā*, *jā*, and *tā*.

−   -*u*: The vowel sign -*u* that is added to a vertical stroke like in *ku*, *tu*, and *du* corresponds to a curl, beginning on the top left to the bottom left.

Table 6: Different writings of selected *akṣara*s in SHT III 816 and the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*.

	SHT III 816	*Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*[16]
a		
u		
ga śa		
kā jā tā		
ku tu du		

The following two tables give an overall survey of the scribe's hand, first basic letters arranged according to the Sanskrit *varṇamālā* alphabet, then some selected consonant clusters.

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16   The letters of the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* manuscripts are extracted from the online palaeography Indoskript 2.0: http://www.indoskript.org/manuscripts/details/648 (last retrieved on 20.11.2020).

Table 7: Palaeographic study of SHT III 816.

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au
	⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩			⟨glyph⟩			
k-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩			⟨glyph⟩					⟨glyph⟩	
kh-											
g-	⟨glyph⟩										
gh-		⟨glyph⟩									
ṅ-											
c-	⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩					⟨glyph⟩			
ch-	⟨glyph⟩										
j-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩									
jh-											
ñ-											
ṭ-											
ṭh-											
ḍ-											
ḍh-											
ṇ-											
t-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩			⟨glyph⟩			
th-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩									
d-	⟨glyph⟩			⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩						
dh-				⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩						
n-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩						⟨glyph⟩			
p-	⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩								
ph-											
b-	⟨glyph⟩				⟨glyph⟩						
bh-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩								
m-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩					⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩	
y-	⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩								
r-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩									
l-	⟨glyph⟩										
v-	⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩								
ś-	⟨glyph⟩										

Table 7 (*continued*)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au
ṣ-	𑀰										
s-	𑀲	𑀲	𑀲	𑀲	𑀲						
h-	𑀳	𑀳		𑀳							
Anusvāra	𑀫	𑀫	𑀫								
Visarga Virāma	𑀰:	𑀲:	𑀢:								
Virāma	𑀳										

Table 8: Selected consonant clusters of SHT III 816.

kṣa 𑀓	tka 𑀢	tya 𑀢	tra 𑀢	dya 𑀤
dra 𑀤	pra 𑀧	rya 𑀭	lpa 𑀮	sma 𑀲
ṣyā 𑀱	syā 𑀲			
trī 𑀢				
stṛ 𑀲				
kṣu 𑀓				

3.1.3 Orthography, phonology, morphology

The manuscript is written in the Buddhist Sanskrit language. Specifically the verses
are composed in a more hybrid manner than the prose passages, being not unusual.
This can also be observed in other Central Asian manuscripts.[17] The following

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[17] Waldschmidt et al. (1971: 86) commented on the hybrid language of the verses of the
Asilomapratisara: "Die Sprache der Verse ist ein sehr verwildertes Sanskrit; der Anusvāra
und Vokallängen sind oft nicht geschrieben; nicht selten fehlen die Deklinationsendungen,
oder es treten falsche an. Auch Schreibfehler kommen vor."

section summarizes orthographical, phonetic, and morphological features of the manuscript, which deviate from the traditional Sanskrit language. It should be noted that none of the these forms occur regularly in the text. The forms are listed according to their appearance in the text.

Orthography

–   Scribal inconsistency:

     o   *saṃṛddh* (r5)/*saṃṛdh* (v3)

–   Confusion of vowels:

    Elision of a vowel marker:

     o   *viharata* for *viharati* (r1)

     o   *sthabhāma* for *sthambhāmi* (v1)

    Superfluous vowel marker (or parts thereof):

     o   *avidhīyate* for *avadhīyate* (r3)

     o   *udītaṃ* for *uditaṃ* (r4)

–   Final *visarga* left unwritten:

     o   *bhikṣava* for *bhikṣavaḥ* (r2)

–   Superfluous *anusvāra* and *visarga*:

     o   *kurutaṃ* for *kuruta* (r 2–3)

     o   *bhāṣayiṣyāmaḥs* for *bhāṣayiṣyāmas* (r3)

     o   *baṃndhamā* for *bandhamā* (fr.1 r3)

Phonology (all § numbers refer to BHSG)

–   Alternation of vowels:

    ai > e (§ 3.67)

     o   *kadames* for *katamais* (r3–4)

     o   *adyeva* for *adyaiva* (r5)

–   Voicing of unvoiced consonants:

    k > g (§ 2.28)

     o   *bhadragarātrīya* for *bhadrakarātrīya* (r3, fr.2 v2)

    ṇ > n (§ 2.39)

- o *paṃnaśabharīḥ* for *parṇaśabarīḥ* (v3)

  t > d (§ 2.28)

  - o *kadames* for *katamais* (r3–4)

  - o *ādaptaṃ* for *ātaptaṃ* (r5)

– Substitution of consonants:

  r > ṃ

  - o *paṃnaśabharīḥ* for *parṇaśabarīḥ* (v3)

– Gemination of consonants:

  dh > ddh

  - o *ddharme* for *dharme* (r4)

  - o *samṛddhyate* for *samṛdhyate* (r5)

– Reduction of consonant clusters:

  śy > ś

  - o *vipaśakaḥ* for *vipaśyakaḥ* (r4)

  mbh > bh

  - o *sthabhāma* for *sthambhāmi* (v1)

  ḥsv > sv

  - o *dusvapnaṃ* for *duḥsvapnaṃ* (v4)

– *Sandhi*s are frequently left unwritten

Morphology

Nominal endings:

– a-stem

  - o Acc. pl. m. in *-ā* (§ 8.92): *pratyutpannā* for *pratyutpannān* (r4), *duṣṭā* for *duṣṭān* (v1) (probably loss of final nasal § 2.72)

  - o Acc. pl. m. in *-e* (§ 8.80): *ddharme* for *dharmān* (r4)

  - o Gen. pl. m. in *-ānā* (§ 8.117): *saptānā samyaksaṃbuddhānā* for *saptānāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhānāṃ* (v2) (probably loss of final *anusvāra* § 2.72)

– a-stem for as-stem

  - o Nom. sg. m. in *-aḥ*: *vidvaḥ* for *vidvān* (r5)

– ī-stem (polysyllabic)
  o Voc. sg. f. in *-īḥ*: *paṃnaśabharīḥ* for *parṇaśabari* (v3)
– u-stem
  o Voc. sg. m. in *-u* (§ 12.15): *bhikṣu* for *bhikṣo* (r3)
  o Voc. pl. m. in *-ava*: *bhikṣava* for *bhikṣavaḥ* (r2) (probably loss of final *visarga* § 2.92)

Verbal forms:
– 3rd sg. opt. in *-e* (§ 29.12): √*jñā* > *jāne* (r5) for Skt. *jānīyāt*
– 2nd pl. impv. in *-tha* for *-ta* (§ 26.11–13, § 30.12): *śṛṇutha* (r2) but also *kuruta* (r2–3)

3.1.4 Structure and summary of contents

The text of the manuscript can be divided into two parts: the canonical text, which can be found on the recto of folio 1, and an appendix on the verso of folio 1, and which probably continues on the two smaller fragments. The appendix entails some characteristic *rakṣā* features and was added to the canonical core. The fragmentary state of the manuscript makes it difficult in some places to definitely decide where a *mantra* begins or ends, since opening and closing markers are partly missing.

The structure of the text can be summarized as follows:

Part I: Canonical text
1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Śrāvastī
2. The Buddha teaches the *Discourse on an auspicious night*
3. Rests of verses 2 and 3

Part II: Appendix
4. Statements of homage and three *mantra*s with invocations of female deities

The text opens with a standard *sūtra* introduction and gives the narrative setting. The story is situated at the Jeta Grove near Śrāvastī, in the garden of

Anāthapiṇḍada, [18] and thus follows the Pāli version MN 131. The Buddha then teaches the meaning of the *Discourse on an Auspicious Night* about the three phenomena of past, present, and future and pronounces the canonical verses. The manuscript, however, has only preserved verse two and the first half of verse three. The text continues with the appendix encompassing three *mantra*s, invocations of female deities, and statements of homage.

Even if we do not know how much of the text is missing, the canonical section – although it does not end in a traditional *sūtra* manner – seems to be completed in this abridged form due to the fact that the text transitions afterwards into the appendix without a gap. In short, it can be noted that the manuscript holds a condensed version of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, and leaves out everything that is not necessary for the achievement of protection and welfare. It was presumably compiled for the exclusive usage in protective ritual practices.

3.1.5   Transliteration

Folio 1 recto

(1)   siddham* e   + + + + + /// + + + + + + [s]ty. viharata sma jetavane
      anāthap[i]ṇḍa

(2)   dasyārāme tatra [bh]. + + + /// + + + + + + + [ś]ṛṇutha bhikṣava sādhu ca suṣṭu
      ca manasīku

(3)   rutaṃ bhāṣayiṣyāmaḥ [st]ṝ + /// + + ++ + + bhikṣu bhadragarātrīya ity
      avidhīyate : ka

(4)   dames tṛbhiḥ udītaṃ nama.e /// + .ṣ. . . .. .. taḥ pratyutpannā ca ddharme
      tatra tatra vipaśakaḥ a

(5)   saṃhārya vikalpa s[th]aḥ vid[v]as taṃ /// .ṝdhyate : adyeva k[u]ryyam
      ādap[t]aṃ : ko jāne maranaṃn hi .o .ai .i +

Folio 1 verso

(1)   nam[o] ārya [tha] . . .. kujarasya .. /// .. : tadyathā ace vice kuce sarv[e]
      duṣṭ[ā] sthabhāma . . + .u .ṭ.

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[18]   SHT III 816 r1–2: (*bhagavān śrāva*)*sty*(*āṃ*) *viharat*⟨*i*⟩ *sma jetavane anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme.*

(2) śam āgachaṃda svāhā [tā ka] na[mo] /// + namo dhar[m]as[y]a namo
     saṃghasya namo saptānā samyaksaṃbuddhānā

(3) sa śrāvakasaṃghānāṃ ni + + + /// + + + + + + . . mṛdhyatu tadyathā piśāci
     paṃnaśabhar[ī]ḥ . .

(4) naśabhari pi[ś]ā.i + + + /// + + + + + + + .iṣṭarevati mālakaṃṇṭhi svāhā : cha . .

(5)   [19]. . ji . . + + + + + + + /// + + + + + + + . . hma māṃ jitaḥ m[ā] iṣ[ṭ]aṃ jā .i . . ṃ

Fragment 1

Recto   Verso

(1) + + ...v.   (1)

(2) . . atha bhaga   (2) + narāḥ kāla

(3) + kāḥ baṃndhamā   (3) . . dusvapnaṃ la

(4) + + .i + +   (4) + + + + ...

Fragment 2

Recto   Verso

(1) [t].[d]y.[th]. [v].[n].[v].[r].[n]. +   (1) dh[ā]rayiṣyati : sa[s]. . . +

(2) ra te : hīnamadyama tā . .   (2) mṛtānāṃ ca : bhadragarā.r.

(3) .āḥ yat kaścid bhikṣa[vo] + +   (3) ? [ca] sā saḥ na [k]ālena

3.1.6 Reconstruction, translation, and parallels

The following reconstruction and translation considers only folio 1, since no
cohesive meaning could be made out of the two small fragments.

---

[19]   Between lines four and five the letters *ha ra ti kā* [*l*]. /// have been written by another scribe.

Sanskrit	Translation

1. siddham e(vaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye bhagavān śrāva)sty(āṃ) viharat⟨i⟩ sma jetavane anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme

Success! Thus have I heard. At one time[20] the Blessed One was dwelling in the Jeta Grove near Śrāvastī, in the garden of Anāthapiṇḍada.

2. tatra bh(agavān bhikṣūn āmantrayati sma) (…~6…) śṛnutha[21] bhikṣava[22] sādhu ca suṣṭhu ca manasīkuruta{ṃ} bhāṣayiṣyāma{ḥ}s tṛ(bhir dharmaiḥ sampannaḥ) (…~5…) bhikṣu[23] bhadragarātrīya[24] ity avidhīyate[25] | kadames[26] tṛbhiḥ udītaṃ[27] nama(s)e (…~7…) .ṣ. . . . . . . taḥ

There the Blessed One addressed the monks. […] "Listen, monks, and bear this well and carefully in mind [what] I will say. Since it is endowed with the three characteristics, […] monk, it is called the [discourse] on an auspicious night. What are these three? It is said: Homage […]

3. pratyutpannā[28] ca ⟨ye⟩ ddharme[29] tatra tatra vipaś(y)akaḥ asaṃhārya vikalpasthaḥ vidvas[30] taṃ (nāvamanyate

Whatever phenomena have arisen everywhere he sees them with insight, without being carried away by false discrimination. The wise [should] not treat it contemptuously.

sam)ṛddhyate[31] |

It is completely successful.

adyeva kuryyam[32] ādaptaṃ[33] | ko jāne[34] maraṇaṃ{n} hi (śv)o

.ai .i +

One should be diligent today; who knows [if] death [will come] tomorrow. […]

---

[20] Much scholarship has been done on the interpretation and punctuation of this opening formula. For references, see especially Bongard-Levin et al. 1996: 90, and Klaus 2007: 322. For this phrase in early Chinese translations, see Nattier 2014.

[21] Read: *śṛṇuta*.

[22] Read: *bhikṣavaḥ*.

[23] Read: *bhikṣo*.

[24] Read: *bhadrakarātrīya*.

[25] Read: *avadhīyate*.

[26] Read: *katamais*.

[27] Read: *uditaṃ*.

[28] Read: *pratyutpannāṃś*.

[29] Read: *dharmāṃs*.

[30] Read: *vikalpastho vidvāṃs*.

[31] Read: *samṛdhyate*.

[32] Read: *kuryāt*.

[33] Read: *ātaptaṃ*. Cf. BHSD 91/2 for *ātaptakārin*: "*ātapta* as hyper-Skt. for Pali *ātappa*".

[34] Read: *jānīyāt*.

Pāli[35]   Tibetan

1. Evaṃ me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ
    bhagavā sāvatthiyaṃ viharati jetavane
    anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme.

2. Tatra kho bhagavā bhikkhū āmantesi   dge slong khyod de'i phyir legs par rab
    […] Bhagavā etad avoca: […] Taṃ   tu nyon la yid la zungs shig dang | ngas
    suṇātha, sādhukaṃ manasi karotha.   khyod la bshad par bya'o | dge slong
    Bhāsissāmīti.   chos gsum dang ldan na dge slong
                                                 mtshan mo bzang po'i mdo sde la gnas
                                                 pa zhes bya'o | gsum gang zhe na |

3. Paccuppannañ ca yo dhammaṃ   gang dag da ltar byung ba'i chos |
    tattha tattha vipassatī.   de dang de la rab bltas nas |
    Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkuppaṃ   rnam par rtog pas mi 'phrogs par |
    taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.   de dag thams cad khong du chud |

    Ajje va kiccaṃ ātappaṃ   sang tsam shi yang sus shes kyis |
    ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve.   de ring nyid du brtun te bya |

---

35   The Pāli version follows MN 131.

	Sanskrit	Translation

4. namo ārya tha . . . . ku jarasya
    (…~8…) | tadyathā ace vice kuce sarve
    duṣṭā[36] sthabhām⟨i⟩[37] . . + .u .ṭ. śam
    āgachaṃda svāhā
    tā ka
    namo (…~7…) namo dharmasya namo
    saṃghasya namo saptānā
    samyaksaṃbuddhānā[38]
    saśrāvakasaṃghānāṃ ni (…~15…)
    (sa)mṛ̥dhyatu
    tadyathā piśāci paṃnaśabharīḥ[39]
    (śa)naśabhari[40] piśā(c)i (…~17…)
    iṣṭarevati mālakaṃṇthi svāhā |
    cha . . . . ji (…~22…) hma māṃ jitaḥ
    mā iṣṭaṃ jā .i . . ṃ

Homage to the noble […]
tadyathā *ace vice kuce*. I suppress all
evil. […] *śam āgachaṃda* svāhā.

[…]
Homage […] Homage to the Dharma,
the Saṃgha and the seven Perfectly
Awakened Ones together with their
order of disciples. […]
May he succeed.
tadyathā *piśāci parṇaśabari śanaśabari
piśāci* […] *iṣṭarevati mālakaṃṇṭhi*
svāhā.
[…]

---

[36] Read: *duṣṭāṇ*.
[37] Read: *sthambhāmi*.
[38] Read: *saptānāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhānāṃ*.
[39] Read: *parṇaśabari*.
[40] Read: *śanaśabari*.

3.2   SI 2044

3.2.1   Description of the manuscript

The Sanskrit manuscript SI 2044, with the old call number SI P/36, of the Petrovsky Collection of Central Asian Sanskrit fragments in St. Petersburg, was obtained in Kashgar at the western end of the Tarim Basin where the northern and southern Silk Roads met. From this significant convergence point the Russian Consul Nikolai Fyodorovich Petrovsky (1837–1908), who collected archaeological and cultural artefacts in Kashgar for twenty-one years from 1882 onwards sent back to St. Petersburg a large number of manuscripts, which are now kept in the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg.

The manuscript SI 2044 was first published and read by Sergei Oldenburg in 1904. [41] It comprises four folios, recto and verso, with five lines each. The manuscript's physical form alludes to the Indian palm leaf *poṭhī* format. Like the majority of manuscripts found in the oasis towns and monasteries along the Silk Road in Central Asia the manuscript is written on paper in a northern Turkestan alphabet. Paper was brought to Central Asia from China, but was by no means a standard material in India at that time, since paper manufactures were not to arrive in India until the tenth century.[42] As we have seen above, the material alone is not conclusive to determine the place of origin. But both the material and the script, which were mainly in use in the western region of Eastern Turkestan, suggest that this manuscript was written in Central Asia along the northern route of the Silk Road. The manuscript measures about 6,8 cm in width. Since it is broken off to the

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[41]   Cf. Oldenburg 1904: 115f., reprinted in Minayeff/Oldenburg 1983: 242f. The manuscript is also listed in Bongard-Levin and Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya's catalogue of already published Indian texts from Central Asia until 1986 kept in the Russian Manuscript Collection under the title *Bhadrakaratrīyasūtra* (1986, table I). A list of identified Sanskrit fragments of the St. Petersburg Collection is available in Hori 2014: 261f. The *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* (SI 2044/SI P/36) is, however, not mentioned.

[42]   As Sander already noted in her palaeographic examination of the Sanskrit manuscripts of the German Turfan Collection, paper found its way into the northern parts of India and was likewise used as a writing support there (cf. Sander 1968: 29). Paper manuscripts have been found in Gilgit along with birchbark manuscripts written in the same script (cf. von Hinüber 2014: 91, and Hartmann 2017b: 290 n. 3).

left and right, it is impossible to give the exact length. The preserved fragment is approximately 19,5 cm long. It does not contain a colophon and is undated.

The following images are provided by the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences.
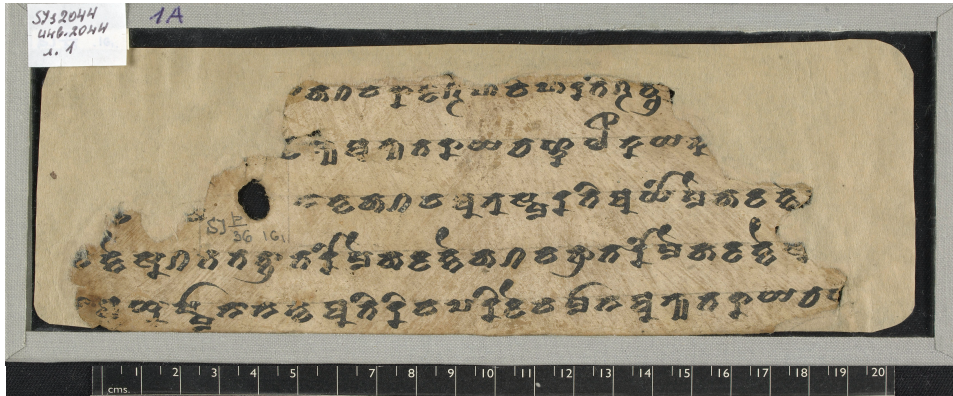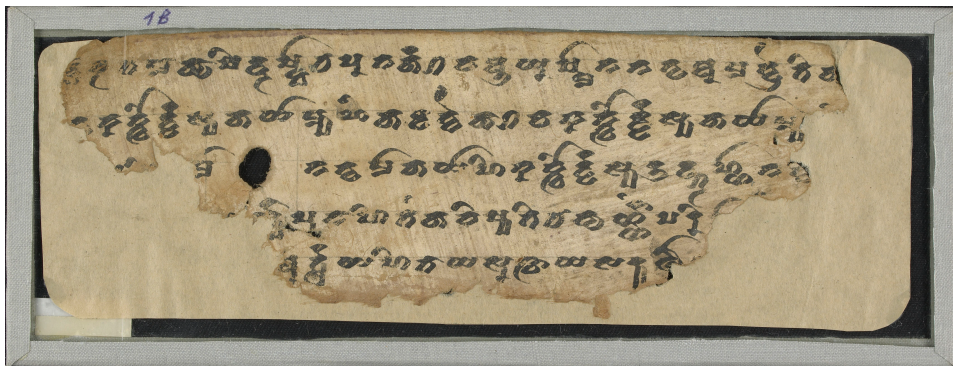

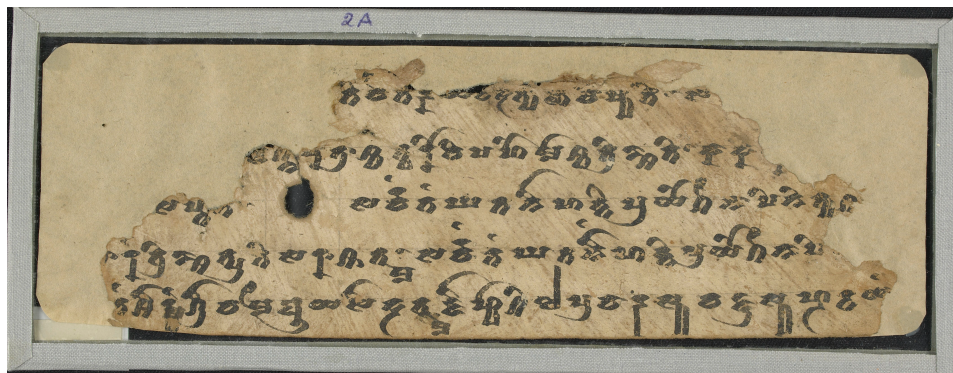
Figure 9: SI 2044 1r.

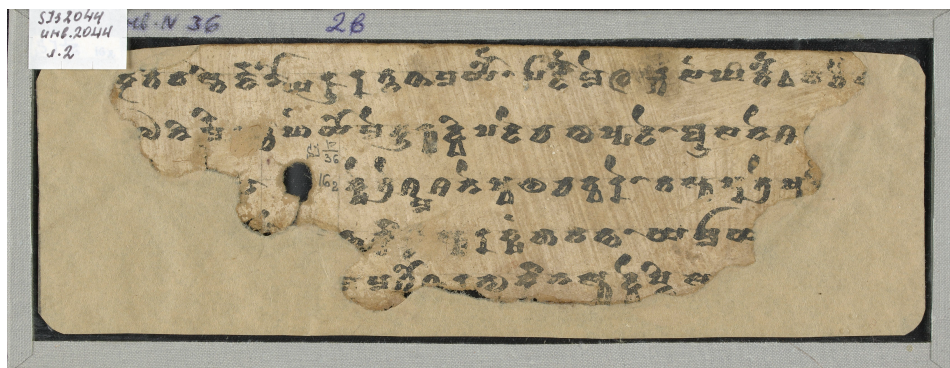

Figure 10: SI 2044 1v.
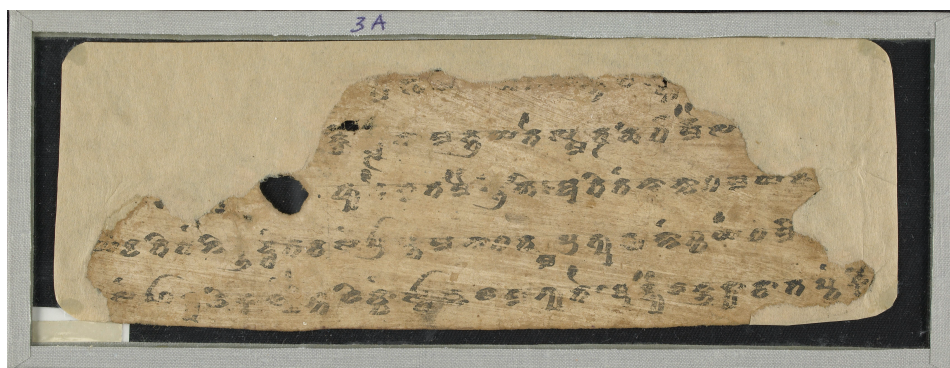

Figure 11: SI 2044 2r.

Figure 12: SI 2044 2v.
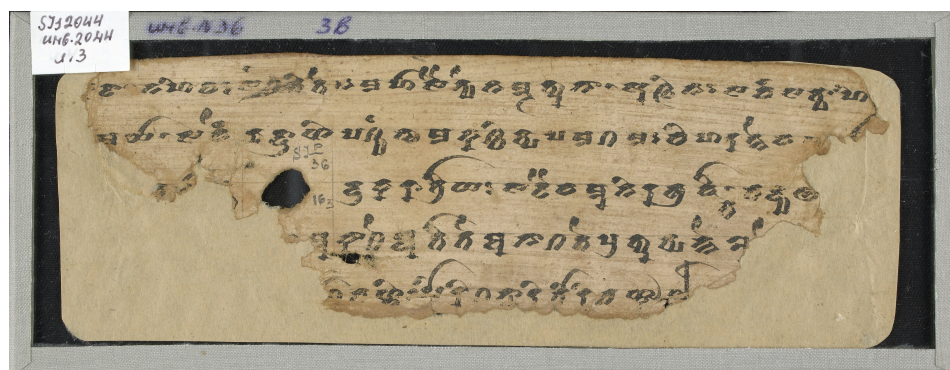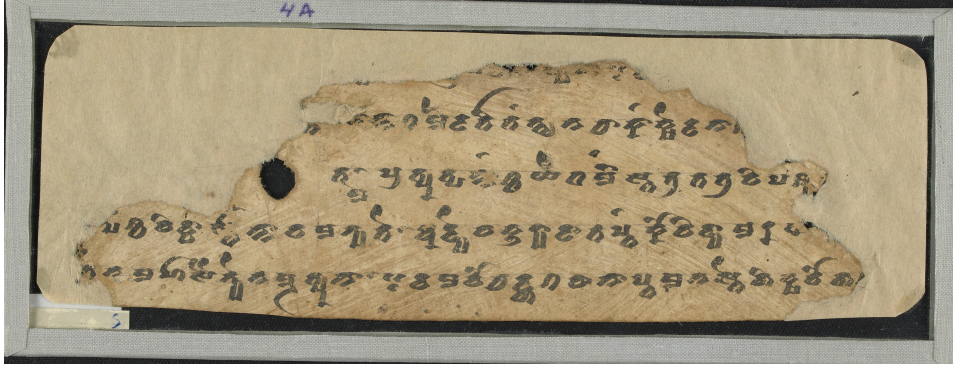

Figure 13: SI 2044 3r.
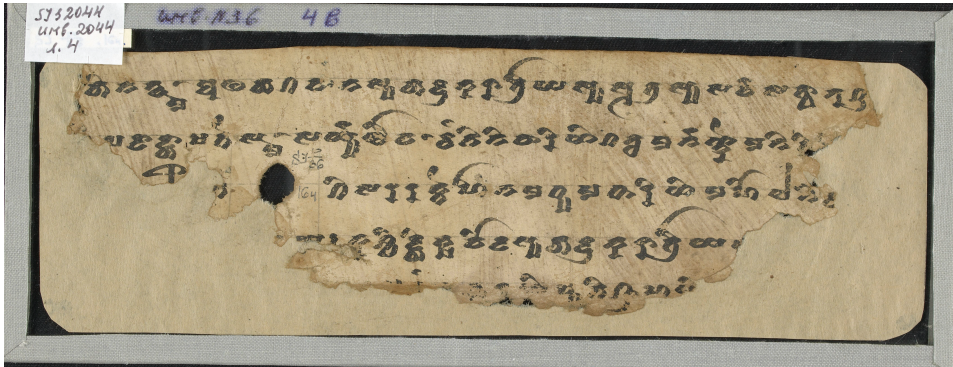

Figure 14: SI 2044 3v.

Figure 15: SI 2044 4r.

Figure 16: SI 2044 4v.

3.2.2   Palaeographic dating

The manuscript SI 2044 was written with ink on paper in horizontal lines and upright letters. It shows a consistent ink intensity, as well as a consistent letter dimension. The writing is for the most part legible; uncertain or doubtful readings remain only where the manuscript is broken off. The script of the manuscript is the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī Type a (Schrifttypus V),[43] which mainly was in use in monasteries of the western region of the northern Silk Road from the seventh century onwards. We have evidence that the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī was fully

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[43]   The script type "slanting Brāhmī" is already mentioned in Bongard-Levin/Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 1986. In her palaeographic study, Sander replaced the name "slanting Brāhmī" by "Northern Turkestan Brāhmī". For her argumentation, see Sander 1968: 5.

developed by the beginning of the seventh century, so that we can assume that the script evolved as early as the sixth century, as Sander already noted:

> Das einzig feststehende Datum für die nordturkistanische Schriftgeschichte ist von Lévi und Lüders aus Schenkungsurkunden aus der Regierungszeit des Königs Suvarṇapuṣpa erschlossen worden, der zu Beginn des 7. Jh.s in Kučā herrschte. Da diese Schenkungsurkunden in ‚nordturkistanischer Brāhmī, Typ a' geschrieben worden sind, hat schon Lüders daraus gefolgert, daß die ‚nordturkistanische Brāhmī' zu diesem Zeitpunkt voll entwickelt war. Wie lange sie in den Klöstern der nördlichen Seidenstraße geschrieben wurde, bleibt unbekannt.[44]

The development from the Turkestan Gupta type to the Early Turkestan Brāhmī, which eventually resulted in the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī can best be seen in the Central Asian vowel markers for *e* and *ai*, and the changing shape of the *akṣara*s *ā*, *ka*, *ma*, and *ya*. The Early Turkestan Brāhmī is easily identified by the first occurrence of the Central Asian *e* and *ai* slanting to the right, which developed further in the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī. The most important distinguishing feature of the Northern Turkestan Brāhmī in relation to earlier scripts is the now-closed upper line of the *akṣara*s *ā*, *ma*, and *ya,* as well as the blockier form of *ka.* For an overall survey of the *akṣara*s and for selected consonant clusters of SI 2044, see the two tables below. Oftentimes the characters for *na* and *ta*, *ya* and *ṇa*, and *va* and *da* are difficult to differentiate, so that the transliteration of the manuscript is not merely based on the outward appearance of these letters, but on etymological grounds.

Table 9: Palaeographic study of SI 2044.

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au
	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩			⟨glyph⟩			
k-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩			⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩			⟨glyph⟩	
kh-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩								
g-	⟨glyph⟩		⟨glyph⟩				⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩			⟨glyph⟩
gh-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩								⟨glyph⟩	
ṅ-										⟨glyph⟩	
c-	⟨glyph⟩	⟨glyph⟩							⟨glyph⟩		
ch-											

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44 Sander 1968: 46.

Table 9 (*continued*)

	a	ā	i	ī	u	ū	ṛ	e	ai	o	au
j-											
jh-											
ñ-											
ṭ-											
ṭh-											
ḍ-											
ḍh-											
ṇ-											
t-											
th-											
d-											
dh-											
n-											
p-											
ph-											
b-											
bh-											
m-											
y-											
r-											
l-											
v-											
ś-											
ṣ-											
s-											
h-											
Anusvāra											
Visarga											
Virāma											

Table 10: Selected consonant clusters of SI 2044.

kṣa	ṇḍa	tva	nya	pra
rdda	rbha	śca	sma	sya
trā	rmā	ṣṭvā	ṣmā	smā
grī	tri	dvi	nti	sti
tre	dye	nte	ndre	
kkho	ṅgho			

3.2.3 Orthography, phonology, morphology

The manuscript is written in Buddhist Sanskrit, but shows two varying levels of hybridisation. The *nidāna* and the introductory narration show a very high degree of hybrid forms, *sandhi*s are frequently unemployed and final *visarga*s are lost (cf. BHSG § 2.92), whereas correct Sanskrit forms, as well as *sandhi*s, almost exclusively occur in the verses and in the final concluding formula. The following section summarizes orthographical, phonetic, and morphological features of the manuscript, which deviate from the traditional Sanskrit language. It should be noted that none of the following forms occur regularly in the text. The forms are listed according to their appearance in the text.

Orthography

– Scribal inconsistency:

  o *adyaiva* (3r5)/*adyeva* (4r4)

– Confusion of vowels:

  Elision of a vowel marker:

  o *caṇḍalikaya* for *caṇḍālikāya* (1r2)

  o *trātaro* for *trātāro* (1r4)

  o *kakkhorddasya* for *kākhordasya* (1v2)

- o   *ananda* for *ānanda* (1v1)
- o   *abhuṣi* for *abhūṣi* (1v1)
- o   *artthaya* for *arthāya* (1v5)
- o   *vetaḍa* for *vetāḍa* (2r1)
- o   *catvaro* for *catvāro* (2r2)
- o   *ghatanī* for *ghātanī* (2r3)
- o   *śmaśanesv* for *śmaśānesv* (2v3)
- o   *atitaṃ* for *atītaṃ* (3r3, 3r4)
- o   *ma* for *mā* (3v2)

Superfluous vowel marker:

- o   *ānānda* for *ānanda* (1r3)
- o   *cākāṃkṣed* for *cakāṅkṣed* (3r3, 4r2)
- o   *jīhyā* for *jihvāṃ* (2r5)
- o   *gila* for *galaṃ* (2r5)

−   Final *visarga* and *ansuvāra* left unwritten:

- o   *sugata* for *sugataḥ* (1r4)
- o   *bhagava* for *bhagavaḥ* (1r1)
- o   *bhagava* for *bhagavaṃ* (1r3)
- o   *grīva* for *grīvaṃ* (2r5)
- o   *jīhyā* for *jihvāṃ* (2r5)
- o   *dharmai* for *dharmaiḥ* (3r2)
- o   *nirāmayā* for *nirāmayāḥ* (3v2)

−   *n* inserted before words beginning with *t*:

- o   *atītaṃn tu* for *atītaṃ tu* (4r2)

Phonology (all § numbers refer to BHSG)

−   Alternation of vowels:

ai > e (§ 3.67)

- o   *adyeva* for *adyaiva* (4r4)

– Substitution of consonants:

l > ḍ (§ 2.46)

  o *vetaḍa* for *vetāla* (2r1)

v > y (§ 2.31)

  o *jīhyā* for *jihvāṃ* (2r5)

t > d (§ 2.28)

  o *anvāgamayed* for *anvāgamayet* (3r3)

  o *dasya* for *tasya* (4v4)

d > v (§ 2.32)

  o *saryyathīva* for *sadyathīdaṃ* (4v2)

– Gemination of consonants:

kh > kkh

  o *kakkhorddasya* for *kākhordasya* (1v2)

– Degemination:

  o *satvā* for *sattvā* (3v1, 4v1)

Morphology

Nominal endings:

– a-stem

  o Nom. sg. m. in -*a* (§ 8.22): *ānānda* for *ānandaḥ* (1r3, 1v1), *sugata* for *sugataḥ* (1r4), *paridevamāna* for *paridevamānaḥ* (1r5) (probably loss of final *visarga* § 2.92)

  o Voc. sg. m. in -*o* (§ 8.28): *ayyo* for *arya* (1r3)

  o Nom. pl. m. in -*ā* (§ 8.78): *nirāmayā* for *nirāmayāḥ* (3v2) (probably loss of final *visarga* § 2.92)

– a-stem for nt-stem

  o Nom. sg. m. in -*a*: *bhagava*(*ḥ*) for *bhagavān* (1r1) (probably loss of final *visarga* § 2.92)

  o Acc. sg. m. in -*a* (§ 8.31): *bhagava*(*ṃ*) for *bhagavantam* (1r3) (probably loss of final *anusvāra* § 2.72)

- o Voc. sg. m. in -*a*: *bhagava* for *bhagavan* (1v2) (probably loss of final nasal § 2.72)

- āra-stem for ṛ-stem

  - o Nom. sg. m. in -*āro* (§13.16): *trātāro* for *trātā* (1r4)

- Pronouns

  - o 3rd person pronoun nom. sg. n. in -*aṃ* (§ 21.11): *taṃ* for *tat* (1v4)

  - o Relative pronoun acc. pl. m. in -*e* (§ 21.30): *ye* for *yān* (3r4)

- Pronominal adjectives with nominal endings

  - o Oblique cases sg. f. (instr., abl., dat., gen.) in -*āya* (§ 21.17): *anyatarāya* (1r2)

  - o Nom. pl. m. in -*āḥ* (§ 21.26): *sarvā*(*ḥ*) for *sarve* (3v1)

Verbal forms:

- 3rd sg. aor. √*bhū* (§ 32.72): *abhuṣi* for *abhūt* (1v1)

- Periphrastic verbal expression with aor. of √*bhū* (§ 41.6): *kṛtam abhuṣi* (1v1)

- 2nd sg. impv. in -*āhi* (§§ 30.2, 30.6): *bhayāhi* for *bhaya* (1v3)

- Causative with non-causative meaning (§ 38.22): 3rd sg. opt. caus. *anvāgamayed* (3r3)

- Aorist forms with optative meaning (§ 32.119): 3rd sg. aor. *āgamat* (3v2)

- 3rd sg. opt in -*ā* (§ 29.42): *vidyā* for *vidyāt* (4r4)

3.2.4   Structure and summary of contents

The four folios of the SI manuscript contain several very different – or even independent – text passages (since the folios are not paginated I here follow Oldenburg's numbering). The composition of the text on folios one, three, and four follows a common pattern and the text forms a coherent *sūtra* with additional linguistic features typical for the *rakṣā* genre. The text on these three folios is thus considered to represent the main text of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*. As opposed to the SHT manuscript, the boundaries between *sūtra* and *rakṣā* passages of the main text become blurred and it is, therefore, not appropriate to speak of a distinct appendix. Instead, *rakṣā* elements were inserted in various places of the text.

The structure of the main text can be summarized as follows:

1. Introduction (*nidāna*): Rājagṛha
2. Introductory narration with a Caṇḍālī and Ānanda as main protagonist (*mantra* 1)
3. Core passage
    3.1. Verses 1–3
    3.2. The verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings
    3.3. Rest of verse 4
4. *Mantra* 2
5. Repetition of verses 1–3
6. Conclusion
7. *Mantra* 3 and its effect

The text opens with a standard *sūtra* opening formula and places the story at the vulture-peak near Rājagṛha.[45] Right after the *nidāna*, the compiler of the text inserted a first *rakṣā* passage, which is unique to this recension of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* and cannot be found in any of the other versions. This section begins with an introductory narration with a Caṇḍālī and Ānanda as its main protagonist and contains one *mantra*, yet only parts of the opening marker are preserved. Oldenburg identified this narrative with an episode borrowed from the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna*, story 33 of the *Divyāvadāna*,[46] which can also be found in the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra* (Taishō XIX 945). The *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* is one of the earliest Buddhist texts to employ protective spells and gives rise to apotropaic ritual practices using *mantra*s. According to this tale, Ānanda had been overpowered by a magical spell cast by a *Caṇḍāla* woman,[47] whose daughter had fallen in love with him. Captivated by the power of this *mantra*, Ānanda beseeched the Buddha who countered the spell and, in this way, rescued his disciple.

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[45]   SI 2044 1r1: *bhagavā rājagṛh*(*e*) *viharati gṛddhra*(**kūṭe*).

[46]   Oldenburg (1904: 115): "Ānanda fell under the spell *cāṇḍalī*. Cf. *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna*" (translation of the Russian original). Anālayo (2012: 755 n. 4) also pointed to this parallel. Judging from what has been preserved in the Sanskrit fragments of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, it is, however, not so much a matter of a verbatim parallel rather than an analogous narration with a Caṇḍālī and Ānanda as main protagonist, who expresses his state of anxiety.

[47]   *Caṇḍālī* refers to an outcaste woman. Cf. *caṇḍāla* in MW 383/3: an outcaste, man of the lowest and most despised of the mixed tribes. For the role of outcaste or tribal women in *rakṣā* literature, see chapter 5.2.3 of the present work.

This narrative can be regarded as what Davidson calls the "precipitating assertive", the assertion of an event that precipitates and, thereby, sets out the necessity of the expression of the following *mantra* or *dhāraṇī* spell(s) as apotropaic aids.[48] By inserting this tale into our manuscript, the scribe provides a basis of legitimacy for the incorporation of *mantra*s into the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra.*

Then follows the core passage of the *sūtra* with the exposition of the three phenomena of past, present, and future, and the proclamation of the four canonical verses. Between the verses three and four, the compiler of the manuscript inserted the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings. This verse became a distinctive element of early Buddhist *rakṣā* texts and appears in a variety of protective scriptures.[49] The text goes on with the second *mantra*, repeats the first three verses, concludes with a closing formula and ends by announcing the third *mantra* and its effect.

Particularly conspicious is the text on folio two. It contains formulaic statements in verse form in *anuṣṭubh* metre, comprising lists of evil beings and different parts of the body. It furthermore mentions oblations of poison, amulets, and the fact of killing a certain *rākṣasī* by application of magic. This passage ends with the protective formula *rakṣaṃ bhavatu* "May there be protection", which emphasizes the protective function of the text. The origin of these verses is however very obscure and the lacunary state of preservation of the folio does not allow to make any sense out of these fragments. Moreover, the position of this folio within the manuscript of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra* following Oldenburg's first reading of the text – that is after the introductory narration and before the core passage – is not evident. There are no parallels of this text passage among all other versions of the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra.* Yet, the palaeographic analysis shows that all four folios were written by the same scribe. Since there is no indication for the order of folios within the manuscript, folio two could represent an appendix to the *Bhadrakarātrī-sūtra*, or could likewise be a folio of another text in a multiple-text manuscript.

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[48] Cf. Davidson 2014a: 13. For further examples of "precipitating assertives", see Davidson 2014a: 13–17.

[49] For parallels of the verse on the aspiration for the welfare of all sentient beings among *rakṣā* literature, see chapter 5.2.6 of the present work.

3.2.5   Transliteration

The following transliteration reproduces the text of the four folios in the order given by Oldenburg. The reconstruction of the text, however, is divided into units of meaning, taking out the text of the second folio, which was placed at the end as an appendix.

1 recto

(1) /// + + + + + + + . . bhagava rājagr̥h. viharati gr̥ddhra + + + + + + ///

(2) /// + + + + + + + . . [s]ya anyatarāya caṇḍalikaya ka + + + + + ///

(3) /// + . . + + . . ◯ nānda bhagava anusmarati ayo me bhadante + + ///

(4) /// [da]nte sugata tat trātaro me bhadante bhagava trātāro me bhadante su + ///

(5) /// .ā [ā]yuṣmān ānanda atiriva paridevamāna anyatarāya ca[ṇ]. ///

1 verso

(1)   /// . . [k]r̥tam abhuṣi dr̥ṣṭvā ca punar bhagava āyuṣmān ananda amandreti bh. ///

(2)   ///   . .   kakkhorddasya bhayāmy ahaṃ bhadante bhagava kakkhorddasya bhayāmy a. .ṃ ///

(3)   /// + . . + + m ā ◯ nanda mā bhayāhi kakkhorddasya udgr̥hṇānand. + ///

(4)   /// + + + + + + .ā punā hitaṃ bhaviṣyati cāturṇṇāṃ pari.ā + + + ///

(5)   /// + + + + + + + artthaya hitāya sukhāya saryathī + + + + + ///

2 recto

(1)   /// + + + + + + + + ti vetaḍa [y]. . . [k]r̥tya bhav[i]ṣyati ° sa + + + + + + ///

(2)   /// + + + + + [da]gn. putrāś catvaro viṣahomāś ca triṅśati ° kāka . . + + + ///

(3)   /// + + saptat. ° ◯ sarvaṃ taṃ ghatanī hanti prayogenāpi nityaśa + ///

(4)   /// .āra triṅśat pratisarā śātam* ° sarvaṃ taṃ ghatanīṃ hanti prayogenāpi + + ///

(5)   /// [ta]ṃ śīrṣaṃ grīva me āyasīkr̥tam* jīhyā gila pravāḍasya vajrasya hr̥dayaṃ ///

2 verso

(1)   /// kṛt[o] vastir jaṅghorū ratnadhāmayau ° pādau me khaḍgasaṃghātau eva[ṃ]
       cai[va] ///

(2)   /// [ṇ]ā nirmi . . .[c].haṃ yo me kurya dvipade catuṣpade ° āsane śa + + + ///

(3)   /// + + + + .ā ◯   kṣetre śmaśaneṣv atha catvare ° tasya putreṣ[u] + + ///

(4)   /// + + + + . . + + . . r[t].ā . . [sya] rakṣaṃ bhavatu ° yamāya + + + + ///

(5)   /// + + + + + + [ma]ma gau[ś]. [r].tu rtā tasya dveṣ[t]i s. + + + + + + ///

3 recto

(1)   /// + + + + + + + + + .[m]. [tu] . . . . + + + + ///

(2)   /// + + + + + + + + [tvi] .ṛ[tā] mantrayate sma tṛbhir dharmai sa + + + + ///

(3)   /// + + ... ◯ cya[t]e [ka]tamai. [t]r[i]bhiḥ atitaṃ nānvāgamay.[d] . + + ///

(4)   /// yad atitaṃ ni[r]uddhaṃ tad asaṃprā[p]tam anāgatam* pratyutpannāṃś ca
       y[e] dharmā + + ///

(5)   /// + saṃhā[ry]a vika[lpā]ṃś ca vidvāṃs tā[n nā]vamanyate ° adyaiva kuryād
       ātaptaṃ ko ///

3 verso

(1)   /// . . dā ° na hi vaḥ saṃgani tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā ° sukhinaḥ sarvā
       satvā hi ///

(2)   /// + mayā ° sarve bhadrāṇi paśyaṃtu ma kaścit pāpam agamaḥ viharante ca
        . . .ā ///

(3)   /// + + ...   ◯   drakarātrīyaḥ sadaiva munir abravīt* ° tadyathā + ///

(4)   /// + + + + + + + mu kāśe atīte anāgate pratyutpanne b. .e + + ///

(5)   /// + + + + + + + [gī] caṇḍi ghori gan[dh]āri cori caṇ[ḍ]ilī + + + + + ///

4 recto

(1)   /// + + + + + + + + + ...r. . . . . .y. . . i . . + + + + + + + + ///

(2)   /// + + + + + + + .t. . . [n]ānvāgamed atītaṃn tu na cākāṃkṣed anā . . + + + + ///

(3)   /// + + + + +   ◯   tam* ° pratyutpannāṃś ca ye dharmāṃs tatra tatra
        vipaś[y]a + + ///

(4)   /// + p.[m]ś ca vidvā[s] tān nāvamanyate ° adyeva kuryād ātaptaṃ kovidyā
        mara[ṇa] + + ///

(5)   /// tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā ° idam avocad bhagavān āptamanas te bhikṣavo
        bha . . ///

4 verso

(1)   ///   bhinandam* °   atha   bhagavān   asya   bhadrakarātrīyasya   sūtrasya
        sarvasatvānugra ///

(2)   /// + padād bhāṣate sma ° saryyathīva ° vaṃtini vāriṇi gandhamartaṇḍe
        mani[n]i .i + ///

(3)   /// + + + [l]i + . .   ◯   gi sara rakte hīnamadhyama dhāriṇi maholani d. + ///

(4)   /// + + + + + + + ... kaścid bhikṣavo dasya bhadrakarātrīya . . + + + + ///

(5)   /// + + + + + + + + + + . . .ṃ . . . . . . yiṣ[y]ati grāha[y]i + + + + + + ///

3.2.6   Reconstruction, translation, and parallels

	Sanskrit	Translation
1.	(evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmin samaye) bhagava[50] rājagṛh(e) viharati gṛddhra(kūṭe)[51] (…~7…)	Thus have I heard. At one time[52] the Blessed One [was] dwelling at the vulture-peak near Rājagṛha. […]
2.	(…~12…) sya anyatarāya caṇḍali-kaya[53] ka (…~13…) (āyuṣmān ā)nanda bhagava[54] anusmarati ayo[55] me bha-dante (…~7…) (me bha)dante sugata[56] tat trātaro[57] me bhadante bhagava[58] trātāro me bhadante su(gatas trātāro) (…~4…) .ā āyuṣmān ānanda atiriva[59] paridevamāna anyatarāya caṇ(ḍālikāya) (…~5…) kṛtam abhuṣi[60] dṛṣṭvā ca pu-nar bhagava[61] āyuṣmān ananda amandreti bh(ayāmy aham) (…~5…) kakkhorddasya[62] bhayāmy ahaṃ bhadante bhagava[63] kakkhorddasya[64] bhayāmy a(ha)ṃ (…~8…) (āyuṣ)-mānanda[65] mā bhayāhi kakkhordda-sya[66] udgṛhṇānand(a) (…~14…) .ā punā[67] hitaṃ bhaviṣyati cāturṇṇāṃ pari(ṣ)ā(nāṃ) (…~16…) artthaya[68] hitāya sukhāya saryathī(daṃ) (…~6…)	[…] a certain Caṇḍālikā[69] […] The honorable Ānanda remembered the Blessed One: The venerable is my […] The venerable Buddha is my protector. The venerable Blessed One is my protector. The venerable Buddha is my protector. […] the honorable Ānanda exceedingly lamenting, a certain Caṇḍālikā […] And having seen [what] he/she has done, the honorable Ānanda again addressed the Blessed One: I am afraid. […] I am afraid of the Kākhorda.[70] Venerable Blessed One, I am afraid of the Kākhorda. […] Honorable Ānanda, do not be afraid of the Kākhorda. Take up, Ānanda, […] Benefit will be for the fourfold assembly […] for the welfare, benefit and happiness. Namely […]

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50   Read: BHS *bhagavā*, Skt. *bhagavān*.

51   Read: *gṛdhrakūṭe*.

52   For this phrase see p. 80 n. 185 of the present work.

53   Read: *caṇḍālikāya* (MIA oblique cases: instr., abl., dat., gen., loc. sg. f.).

54   Read: BHS *bhagavaṃ*, Skt. *bhagavantam*.

55   Read: *ayaṃ.*

56   Read: *sugatas.*

57   Read: BHS *trātāro*, Skt. *trātā*.

58   Read: *bhagavān*.

59   Read: BHS *atiriva*, Skt. *atīva*.

60   Read: BHS *abhūṣi*, Skt. *abhūt*.

61   Read: BHS *bhagavaṃ*, Skt. *bhagavantam*.

62   Read: *kākhordasya*.

63   Read: *bhagavan*.

64   Read: *kākhordasya*.

65   Read: *āyuṣman ānanda*.

66   Read: *kākhordasya*.

67   Read: *punar*.

68   Read: *arthāya*.

	Pāli	Tibetan
1.	Evaṃ me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ bhagavā rājagahe viharati tapodārāme.	’di skad bdag gis thos pa dus gcig na | bcom ldan ’das rgyal po’i khab na ’od ma’i tshal bya ka lan da ka gnas pa |
2.		

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69   BHSD 223/1: "n. of a *yakṣiṇī*."

70   On *kākhorda*, see Sanderson 2004: 290–292.

	Sanskrit	Translation

3.   (…~12…) .m. tu (…~29…) tvi .ṛtā
mantrayate sma tṛbhir dharmai[71]
sa(mpannaḥ bhikṣo bhadrakrarātrīya
ity u)cyate katamai(s) tribhiḥ

[…] He addressed […] . [Since] it is endowed with the three phenomena, monk, it is called the [discourse] on an auspicious night. What are these three?

3.1.   atitaṃ[72] nānvāgamay(e)d[73]
(na cākāṃkṣed[74] anāgataṃ)
yad atitaṃ[75] niruddhaṃ tad
asaṃprāptam anāgatam

One should not follow after the past, one should not long for the future. What is past has been abandoned, and the future has not yet come.

pratyutpannāṃś ca ye[76] dharmā(ṃs
tatra tatra vipaśyakaḥ
 a)saṃhārya vikalpāṃś ca
vidvāṃs tān nāvamanyate |

[Whatever] phenomena have arisen everywhere, he sees them with insight without being carried away by false discrimination. The wise [should] not treat them contemptuously.

adyaiva kuryād ātaptaṃ
ko (vidyān maraṇaṃ hi śvas) . . dā |
na hi vaḥ saṃgani[77] tena
mahāsainyena mṛtyunā |

One should be diligent today, who knows [if] death [will come] tomorrow. There is no agreement with the Lord of Death and its great army.

3.2.   sukhinaḥ sarvā satvā[78] hi
(sarve sattvā nirā)mayā[79] |
sarve bhadrāṇi paśyaṃtu
ma[80] kaścit pāpam agamaḥ[81]

May all beings be happy, may all beings be healthy. May they all experience auspiciousness, may misfortune not come to anyone.

3.3.   viharante ca . . .ā +
(…4…)
× × (bha)drakarātrīyaḥ
sadaiva munir abravīt |

They dwell […]
[…]
The sage has always declared the [discourse] on an auspicious night.

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71   Read: *dharmaiḥ*.
72   Read: *atītaṃ*.
73   Read: *anvāgamayet*.
74   Read: *cakāṅkṣed*.
75   Read: *atītaṃ*.
76   Read: *yān*.
77   Read: *saṃgaraṃ*.
78   Read: *sarve sattvā*.
79   Read: *nirāmayāḥ*.
80   Read: *mā*.
81   Read: *āgamat*.

Pāli	Tibetan

3.

chos gsum dang ldan na dge slong
mtshan mo bzang po'i mdo sde la gnas
pa zhes bya'o | gsum gang zhe na |

3.1.   Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya,
          nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ.
          Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ,
          appattañ ca anāgataṃ.

das la rjes su phrad mi byed
ma 'ongs pa la re ba med
'das pa gang yin de 'gags te
ma 'ongs de ni ma phyin pa'o

Paccuppannañ ca yo dhammaṃ,
tattha tattha vipassati.
Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkuppaṃ,
taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.

gang dag da ltar byung ba'i chos
de dang de la rab bltas nas
rnam par rtog pas mi 'phrogs par
de dag mkhas pas khong du chud

Ajj' eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ,
ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve?
Na hi no saṃgaraṃ tena,
mahāsenena maccunā.

sang tsam shi yang sus shes kyis
de ring nyid du brtun te bya
'chi bdag sde chen de dang ni
bdag tu shes pa ma yin no

3.2.

sems can kun […] bde ba […] grub gyur te |
thams cad nyon mongs med par shog |
thams cad bzang po mthong gyur te |
gang yang sdig par ma gyur cig ||

3.3.   Evaṃ vihārim ātāpiṃ,
          ahorattam atanditaṃ.
          Taṃ ve bhaddekaratto ti,
          santo ācikkhate munīti.

de ltar gnas shing rab brtson la
nyin mtshan snyom las med pas na
de phyir mtshan mo bzang po yi
mdo sde thub pas rtag tu gsungs

Sanskrit	Translation
4. tadyathā (…~15…) mu kāśe atīte anāgate pratyutpanne b. .e (…~14…) (mātaṅ)gī caṇḍi ghori gandhāri cori caṇḍilī (…~25…) .r. . . . . .y. . . i (…~24…) .t. . .	*tadyathā* […] appearances in the past, future, and present […] *mātaṅgī caṇḍi ghori gandhāri cori caṇḍilī*[82] […]
5. nānvāgamed[83] atītaṃ{n} tu na cākāṃkṣed[84] anā(gatam yad atītaṃ niruddhaṃ tad asaṃprāptam anāga)tam |	One should not follow after the past, one should not long for the future. What is past has been abandoned, and the future has not yet come.
pratyutpannāṃś ca ye[85] dharmāṃs tatra tatra vipaśya(kaḥ asaṃhārya vikal)p(ā)ṃś ca vidvās[86] tān nāvamanyate |	[Whatever] phenomena have arisen everywhere, he sees them with insight without being carried away by false discrimination. The wise [should] not treat them contemptuously.
adyeva[87] kuryād ātaptaṃ ko vidyā[88] maraṇa(ṃ hi śvas na hi vaḥ saṃgani[89]) tena mahāsainyena mṛtyunā |	One should be diligent today, who knows [if] death [will come] tomorrow. There is no agreement with the Lord of Death and its great army.
6. idam avocad bhagavān āptamanas[90] te bhikṣavo bha(gavato bhāṣitam a)bhinandam[91]	Thus spoke the Blessed One. Delighted the monks rejoiced at what the Blessed One had said.

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[82] This series of feminine vocatives represents invocations of female deities. For the *mantra*s of other *rakṣā* texts invoking goddesses and a discussion of the role of female deities within the *rakṣā* literature, see chapter 5.2.3 of the present work.

[83] Read: *nānvāgacched*. The form *anvāgamet* follows the caus. opt. form *anvāgamayet* in 3r3.

[84] Read: *cakāṅkṣed*.

[85] Read: *yān*.

[86] Read: *vidvāṃs*.

[87] Read: *adyaiva*.

[88] Read: *vidyān*.

[89] Read: *saṃgaraṃ*

[90] Read: BHS *āptamanasas*, Skt. *āttamanasas*.

[91] Read: *abhyanandam*.

	Pāli	Tibetan
4.		tadyathā […] gauri | gandhāri | caṇḍāli | mātaṅgī |

5.   Atītaṃ nānvāgameyya,   das la rjes su phrad mi byed
           nappaṭikaṅkhe anāgataṃ.   ma 'ongs pa la re ba med
           Yad atītaṃ pahīnaṃ taṃ,   'das pa gang yin de 'gags te
           appattañ ca anāgataṃ.   ma 'ongs de ni ma phyin pa'o

           Paccuppannañ ca yo dhammaṃ,   gang dag da ltar byung ba'i chos
            tattha tattha vipassati.   de dang de la rab bltas nas
           Asaṃhīraṃ asaṅkuppaṃ,   rnam par rtog pas mi 'phrogs par
           taṃ vidvā manubrūhaye.   de dag mkhas pas khong du chud

           Ajj' eva kiccaṃ ātappaṃ,   sang tsam shi yang sus shes kyis
           ko jaññā maraṇaṃ suve?   de ring nyid du brtun te bya
           Na hi no saṃgaraṃ tena,   'chi bdag sde chen de dang ni
            mahāsenena maccunā.   bdag tu shes pa ma yin no

6.   Idam avoca bhagavā. Attamanā te   bcom ldan 'das kyis de skad ces bka'
           bhikkhū bhagavato bhāsitaṃ   stsal nas dge slong de bcom ldan 'das
           abhinandun ti.   kyis gsungs pa la mngon par bstod do \|

	Sanskrit	Translation

7. atha bhagavān asya bhadrakarātrīyasya sūtrasya sarvasatvānugra(hāya)[92] (…~5…) (mantra)padād[93] bhāṣate sma |

Then the Blessed One spoke the *mantrapada* of this Discourse on an Auspicious Night for the benefit of all beings. […]

saryyathīva | vaṃtini vāriṇi gandhamartaṇḍe mani[n]i .i (…~11…) [l]i + . . gi sara rakte hīnamadhyamadhāriṇi maholani d. (…~17…)

Namely *vaṃtini vāriṇi gandhamartaṇḍe mani[n]i .i […] li […] gi sara rakte hīnamadhyamadhāriṇi maholani d. […]*

kaścid bhikṣavo dasya[94] bhadrakarātrīya(sya sūtrasya) (…~18…) .ṃ . . . . .. yiṣ[y]ati grāha[y]i(ṣyati) (…~8…)

Whoever, monks, will […] and hold […] of this Discourse on an Auspicious Night […]

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[92]   Read: *sarvasattvānugrahāya*.
[93]   Read: *mantrapadaṃ*.
[94]   Read: *tasya*.

Folio 2

× × × × ti vet(ā)da⁹⁵ y. × kṛtya bhaviṣyati |

sa × × × ⏑ — — × × × × × ⏑ — ⏑ ×

× dagn(i) putrāś⁹⁶ catv(ā)ro viṣahomāś ca triṅśati⁹⁷ |

kāka × × ⏑ — — × × × × × ⏑ saptat(i) |

sarvaṃ taṃ ghatanī⁹⁸ hanti prayogenāpi nityaśa

× × × × ⏑ — .āra triṅśat pratisarāś(a)tam |

sarvaṃ taṃ ghatanīṃ hanti prayogenāpi (nityaśa)

× × × × ⏑ taṃ śīrṣaṃ grīva⁹⁹ me āyasīkṛtam

jīhyā¹⁰⁰ gila¹⁰¹ pravāḍasya vajrasya hṛdayaṃ ⏑ ×

× × × × kṛto vastir jaṅghorū ratnadhāmayau |

pādau me khaḍgasaṃghātau evaṃ caiva(ṃ) ⏑ — ⏑ ×

× × ṇā nirmi(taś) c(ā)haṃ yo me kurya¹⁰² dvipade catuṣpade |¹⁰³

āsane śa(yane) — × × × × × ⏑ — ⏑ ×

× × × × ⏑ .ā kṣetre śmaśaneṣv¹⁰⁴ atha catvare |

tasya putreṣu — — × × × × × ⏑ — ⏑ ×

(…~6…) rt.ā . . sya rakṣaṃ bhavatu | yamāya (…~17…) mama gauś (ca)r(a)tu rtā tasya dveṣṭi s. (…~9…)

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⁹⁵   Read: BHS *vetāḍa*, Skt. *vetāla*. The preferred spelling of the Mūlasarvāstivādins is *vetāḍa*. Cf. Skilling 1992: 111 n. 4.

⁹⁶   There should be a short syllable according to metre.

⁹⁷   Read: *triṃśati*.

⁹⁸   Read: *ghātanīṃ*.

⁹⁹   Read: *grīvaṃ*.

¹⁰⁰   Read: *jihvāṃ*.

¹⁰¹   Read: *galaṃ*.

¹⁰²   Read: *kuryād*.

¹⁰³   This *pāda* would only be metrically correct without the word *dvipade*.

¹⁰⁴   Read: *śmaśānesv*.

Translation

[…] it will be […] the Vetāla,[105] the Kṛtya.

[…]

[…] the four sons […] and thirty oblations of poison.

The crow […] seventy.

He always kills every Ghātanī by application of magic.

[…] thirty, hundred amulets.

He always kills every Ghātanī by application of magic.

[…] my head and my neck made to iron,

the tongue, the throat, the heart of the coral *vajra*

[…] the lower belly, the shank and the thigh are made of jewels and ?

my feet injured by a sword […]

 I am magically created. What it might do to me. The two-footed and four-footed,

on seat and bed […]

[…] in the field, in cremation grounds, and in a quadrangular place.

Among his sons […]

May there be protection for […]! For Yama […] My cow may walk. […] he/she/it is hostile against this […].

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[105] On *vetāla*, see Skilling 2007, and Dezső 2010.