

GOURISWAR BHATTACHARYA

## How to Justify the Spelling of the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Term Bodhisatva?\*

Quite recently the well-known German Sanskrit professor and art-historian Dr. Dieter Schlingloff has published in three volumes in German (and also partially in English) his deep meticulous work on Ajanta in collaboration with his equally competent student, Dr. Monika Zin (see Schlingloff 2000).<sup>1</sup> It is worth noticing here that most of the fine line drawings of the volumes were made by Monika Zin.

In these volumes Professor Schlingloff has written the important Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit term *Bodhisatva* with a single *-t-* (also Monika Zin). To my knowledge, till to-day, no Indian scholar has reacted to this spelling, and amongst the western scholars, practically nobody has made any objection to it, although all of them write the term with double *-tt-*. But a few serious German scholars are an exception to it. Professor Oscar von Hinüber writes always *bodhisatva* with a single *-t-*, the reason may be very clear because he is mostly engaged with the early Buddhist inscriptions and manuscripts. Another scholar who does so is Professor Gritli von Mitterwallner, who is a meticulous researcher doing research on early epigraphy and numismatics. She had made a very crucial comment: “Wir schreiben Bodhisatva mit einem *-t-*, da dies die in mehreren Steininschriften von Mathura belegte Schreibung im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. ist. Hierzu gehören u.a. die von Lüders in *Mathura Inscriptions* publizierten Inschriften: § 2, § 24, § 73, § 80, § 136, § 150“ (see von Mitterwallner 1983: 231, note 132).

But how to support the scholars who ignore the spelling of the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit word and follow the Classical Sanskrit grammar? A great mistake, no doubt, had been done by Franklin Edgerton in his standard *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* where he used the spelling as *bodhisattva* (Edgerton

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\* The author has already published a short article entitled “Bodhisatva or Bodhisattva?” in Bengali (Bhattacharya 2006), but due to the carelessness of the proof-readers the article is full of mistakes.

<sup>1</sup> Schlingloff had indeed already published his English volume on Ajanta from Delhi in 1999. Also refer to Zin 2003a; compare Schlingloff n.d., and Zin 2003b. In his note to the private printing of the ‘Guide’ (n.d.), Prof. Schlingloff gives his reason against the version published by Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi in 1999.

1953: 403), and was not careful enough to mention the names of the Buddhist texts with the spelling *bodhisattva* which is unjustified (same page).

Monier Monier-Williams in his well-known *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* has written *bodhisattva* with double -*tt*- (1899: 734c), although he has referred to the Buddhist texts “*bodhisatvānsā*” and “*bodhisatvāvadāna-kalpa-latā*” with a single -*t*- in the same passage without realizing the difference of spelling.

In the field of early North Indian Epigraphy the great Sanskritist and epigraphist Heinrich Lüders has created a great confusion. In his *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions* (1912), he has read “*bodhisatva*”, but corrected it as “*bodhisattva*”, which is undesirable (see List Nos. 685 and 918), while in the Index of the same *List* he has given the title *bodhisatva* for both the expressions, *bodhisaca* and *bodhisatva*. Lüders in his *Mathura Inscriptions* (Janert/Lüders 1961) read the expression correctly as *bodhisatva*, but has translated it as *Bodhisattva* (see § 2, p. 32).

We have referred to above that Professor Gritli von Mitterwallner has pointed out the inscriptions where the expression *bodhisatva* occurs, viz. § 2, § 24, § 73, § 80, § 136, § 150. Unfortunately in all these cases, in the English translation, the term occurs as *Bodhisattva*. Perhaps it was due to the Classical Sanskrit bias.

For a detailed discussion on this quite important and highly controversial topic we have to rely on two subjects:

- 1) Epigraphy, mainly Buddhist, and
- 2) Buddhist manuscripts and published texts.

We have to stress our argument with relevant illustrations.

#### 1. EPIGRAPHY

**Fig. 1.** Bodhisatva from Katra, Mathura (see Sharma 1994, front cover and col. ill. IX). The seated image is called in Prakrit *bodhisaca* (*bodhisatva*), but in line three -*satva-*; see Janert/Lüders 1961, § 1, p. 31.



Fig. 1 Inscription on the pedestal of the Bodhisatva image from Katra, Mathura Museum, no. A.1. After Sharma 1994: ill. IX.

Text: 1. *Budharakhitasa mātare Amohāāsiye Bodhisaco patithāpito*  
 2. *sāhā mātāpitihī sake vihāre*  
 3. *savasatvānā[η] hitasukhāye*

Translation: By Amohāāsi (Amoghādāsī), the mother of Budharakhita (Buddharakṣita), the Bodhisatva was set up together with her parents in her own vihāra for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

**Fig. 2.** Bi-scriptual, fragmentary inscription from Mathura, now Govt. Museum Mathura, no. 71.101(?). This type of bi-scriptual inscription is very rare. It is written both in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī. As the pedestal has been broken away almost in half, the right half of the Brāhmī text and the left half of the Kharoṣṭhī text, that is to say its beginning, are missing. In the Brāhmī portion the date is given as 46 without referring to the ruler, in this case he was most probably Huviṣka. Apparently in the Kharoṣṭhī portion the date is missing. In the Brāhmī portion the missing image is called *Bodhisatva* ..., in the Kharoṣṭhī portion the image is called *budhasa pratime*, ‘image of the Buddha’. See Bhattacharya 1986: 27-30; 1987: 52-53.

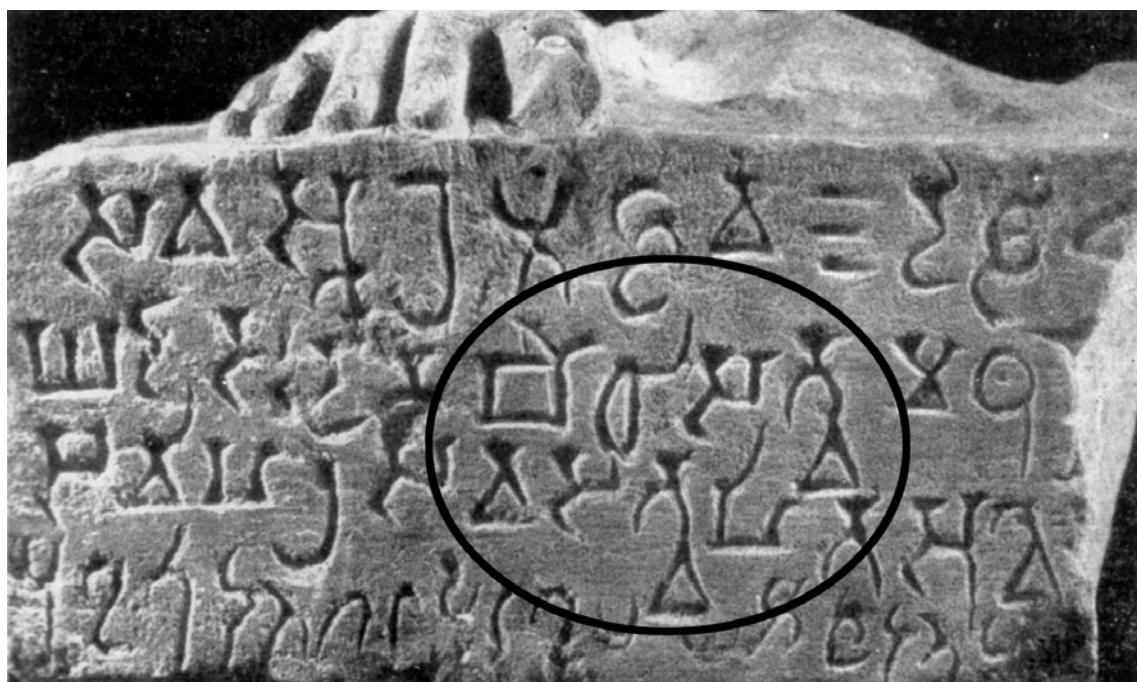


Fig. 2 Bi-scriptual, fragmentary inscription from Mathura, now Government Museum Mathura, no. 71.101(?). After Bhattacharya 1987: 53, fig. 10.

Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar unnecessarily corrected the term *bodhisatva* as *bodhi-sattva* in the Kuṣāṇa inscriptions (see for example, Sircar 1965: 136, 137, 138, 144, 145, 146 and 153). He has in the same analogy corrected *sarva-satvanam* (or *sarva-satvana*) as *sarva-sattvānām* (*ibid.*: 137, 140, 146, 149).

In the Buddhist Pāla inscriptions (8th-12th century) *bodhisatva* and *sarva-satva-rāśer-* have been written, for example in the undated Munger copper plate inscription of Devapāla the passage occurs as *bodhisatva iva saugatam padam* (see Maitreya BS 1319: 37). In the Ghoshravan (Munger Dist.) inscription of Vīradeva *satva* and *tatva* have been used; Maitreya has wrongly read *tattva* (p. 46). In the newly discovered and extremely important Jagjibanpur or Jagajjibanpur copper plate inscription of the Pāla ruler Mahendrapāla the term *bodhisatva* has been used twice (see Ramesh and Iyer 1992: 6-29).

Two stone slab Buddhist inscriptions from Bodhgaya dated in the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṃvat were edited by Vinoda Vihari Vidyavinoda (1913-14) in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Both the inscriptions belong to the local king Aśokacalla-deva. In the inscription No. 1, dated in the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṃvat 51, in the usual phraseology *sakala-satva-rāśer-*, *satva* has been written with a single *-t-*. Vidyavinoda has unnecessarily corrected into double *-tt-* (1913-14: 29, note 9).<sup>2</sup> Surprisingly in the Inscription No. 2, dated in the Lakṣmaṇasena-saṃvat 74, *bodhisattva* (l. 4) and *sakala-sattva-* (l. 6) have been written with double *-tt-*, which either may be an error of the scribe, or the correct way in this period to write *sattva* with double *-tt-*. But for the latter conjecture there is no evidence, because in the Buddhist manuscripts of the later period the form *satva* has been written with a single *-t-*.

In the donative inscriptions of the Buddhist sculptures of the Pāla period *satva* has always been spelt with a single *-t-*. Compare for example the following inscribed images:

- A) The stone lintel with the Buddha and eight Bodhisatvas in the H.P. Poddar Collection of Kolkata (see Mitra 1998: 282-285). The 9th-10th century dedicatory inscription reads in line 2 *sakala-satva-rāśeś* ...
- B) The stone lintel with the Buddha and eight Bodhisatvas belonging to the 8th-9th century (Christie's London, 10 October, 1989: 124, lot 229; see Mitra 1998: 294-297). The donative inscription reads ... *sakala-satva-rāśer* ... (the printing is wrong as *-rāśer*). Although Mitra saw that the writing is *-satva-*, she spelt Bodhisattva with double *-tt-*.

Quite interesting no doubt is the inscribed but badly damaged stone image of the Buddhist deity Avalokiteśvara, called *āryāvalokiteśvara-vajradharmma* in the label inscription and belonging to the 2nd regnal year of the Pāla ruler Mahendrapāla (c. 9th century), from Bodhgaya, now in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, Inv. MIK I 1156 (see Bhattacharya 1986: 32; Bautze-Picron 1998: 50). Here in the label

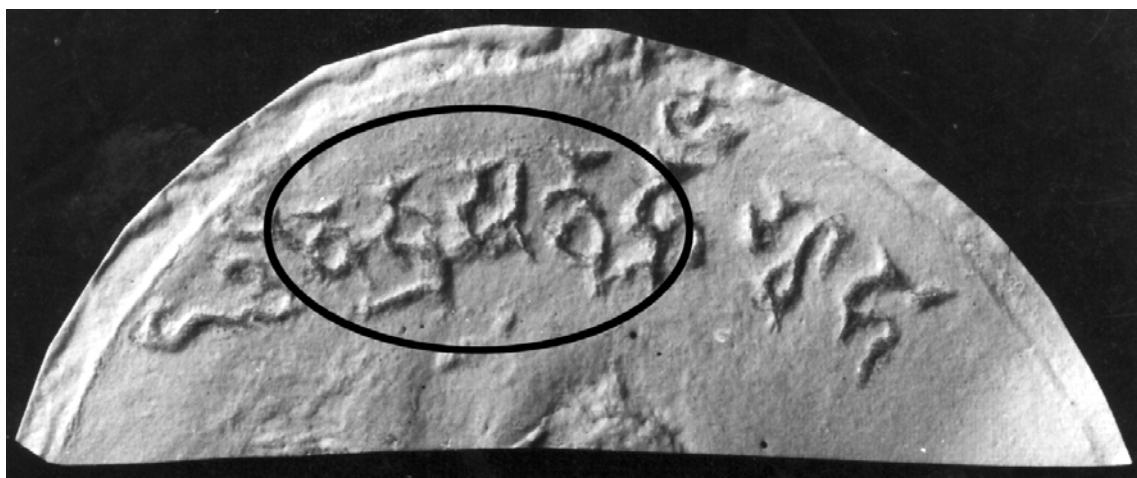


Fig. 3 Part of an inscribed Avalokiteśvara stone image in the Museum für Asiatische Kunst, Berlin, Inv. MIK I 1156.

<sup>2</sup> *sa* in *sakala-* has been written here wrongly as *śa*.

inscription (**Fig. 3**) the accompanying deity reads: *siddham* (symbol) *om vajrasatva hūṁ svāhā*.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. BUDDHIST TEXTS AND MANUSCRIPTS

It is very unfortunate that most of the Indian editors of the Buddhist manuscripts were not careful to carry out their responsible task. Special mention may be made of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts series published by the Mithila Institute, Darbhanga. In these volumes, the term *bodhisatva* has invariably been published as *bodhisattva*. For example, in Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* the common term *bodhisatva* has been spelt as *bodhisattva* and the title has been given as *āryaśūraviracitā bodhisattvāvadānamālāparaparyāyā jātakamālā*.

Similarly it was unhappy when in 1925 the well-known South Indian scholar M.M.T. Ganapati Sastri edited the well-known Buddhist text, *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, where the learned scholar used the term *bodhisattva* with double -*tt*-, for example, *namah sarvabuddhabodhisattvebhyaḥ* and *mañjuśrīyasya kumārabhūtasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasyā-*, etc. (p. 1).

There is a great problem with the textual editions, and no uniform standard was followed by the careless editors. We have mentioned above two cases, and we wish to refer here to another case with the well-known text *Aṣṭasāhasrikā nāma Prajñāpāramitā* edited by Rajendralala Mitra (Samvat 1945 = 1888 AD). Mitra writes at the beginning (pp. xix-xx), "My text is marked kha; it was obtained at Kathmandu by Mr. P. H. Hodgson whose services in the cause of the Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nepal will always be gratefully remembered by oriental students. It is a palm-leaf of 182 folia, each measuring 23 x 2-1/2 inches. Each page contains 6 lines of writing, and roughly calculating, they represent the traditional extent of the work. It bears date 191 of the Nepalese Era which is equivalent to 1061 [sic] A.D.".

In addition to the wrong date (N.S. 191 corresponds to 1071 AD), Mitra's transcript of the manuscript is full of confusion. For example, *satva* has been spelt correctly at the beginning with a single -*t*; see p. 3: *pratibhātu te subhūte bodhisatvānāṁ mahāsatvānāṁ prajñāpāramitāṁ ārabhya yathā bodhisatvā mahāsatvāḥ prajñāpāramitāṁ niryyāyur iti //*; but compare p. 31: *katham aiśā sarva-dharmmā-niśrita-pāramitā bodhisatvānāṁ mahāsatvānāṁ // iti hi yasya bodhisattvasya mahāsatvasya aivāṁ ... //*

Mitra did not notice that *satva* has been spelt in two ways in this page of his edited text, viz. *sattva* in *bodhisattva* but *satva* in *mahāsatva*. Later in this volume *bodhisatva* has been spelt as *bodhisattva*, but *mahāsatva* with a single -*t*- (see pp. 228, 344, 345, etc.). What was the argument for this irregularity? No reason has been given for it! Surprisingly the rest of the edited text followed this spelling system!

The eminent French Buddhist scholar Émile Senart also followed the wrong track. In editing the Buddhist Sanskrit text, the *Mahāvastu Avadāna*, he ignored the

<sup>3</sup> It will be wrong to correct it as *vajrasattva*. Saraswati is right in spelling *vajrasatva* with a single -*t*- (see 1977: LV-LVI). Saraswati is the only Bengali art-historian who spelt *Bodhisatva* with a single -*t*-. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, the author of the standard volume *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (1924/1958) and the editor of the *Sādhanamālā* (1925/1928), on the other hand, has invariably used the term *Bodhisattva*.

correct spelling in the text in his following comment (p. III), “Les quatre examens (vilocita) auxquels se livre le Bodhisattva avant de descendre sur le terre. ... Les Bodhisattvas naissant soit dans une famille de kshatriyas. ...”. But in the very volume, edited by himself, we have the following examples:

- p. 1: *atha bodhisatvo tuṣitabhavanāto ...;*
- p. 26: *bodhisatvo ca māyāya mātuh sārdham ...;*
- p. 113: *evam samentu satvā sarvehi priyehi ...;*
- p. 132: *satvām prajānāmi ime bhavantah satvāḥ ...;*
- p. 140: *bodhisatvo rājānam āmantrayati ....*

In 1883 the eminent English scholar Cecil Bendall published the well-known *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*. We have to regret that the well-known scholar read the terms *bodhisatva* and *mahāsatva* in two different ways, and without the illustration of the corresponding pages or leaves of the manuscripts it is difficult to accept the readings. For example, in the colophon of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (Add. 866, p. 3) the reading given is: *samāptā ceyam bhagavatyāryāṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā sarvatathāgatajananī sarvabodhisattvapratyekajinaśrāvakaṇāñca mātā*, also (Add. 867.1, p. 4) *namaścandraprabhāya mahavo(sic)dhisattvāya*, but (Add. 867.2, p. 5, line 2) *vimalā nāma dvītyā bodhisatvabhūmih*, and (line 11) *iti śrībodhisatvacaryāprasthāno daśabhūmīśvaro nāma mahāyānasūtraratnarāja samāptah*. The term has been given in the colophon of the *Lalita-Vistara* (Add. 918, p. 24) as *śrīsarvabodhisattvacaryāprasthāno lalitavistaro nāma mahāyānasūtraratnarājam iti samāptam*, but (in Add. 1032, p. 24) *om namah sarvabuddhabodhisatvebhyah*, also (Add. 899, p. 14) *atha khalu samantabhadro vo(sic)dhisatvo mahāsatva ...* The title of the text (Add. 1702, p. 191) has been given as *Bodhisattva-Bhūmi*, but in the text (p. 192) chapter 2 begins with *bodhisatvabhum[āv]jādhāre yogasthāne ... sarvabodhisattvasamyak ...* In his note to Add. 1586 (p. 206) the terms are given as *bodhisatvo mahāsatvo ...*, but also *sattvaparipākam* and *sarasattva ....*

There is a great confusion in the edition. In the palm leaf 201 of MS. Add. 866 (dated Nepal Samvat 128, AD 1008), however, the scribe has wrongly given the spelling as *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva*; see line 1 of Bendall's Plate I.3. But compare Plate II.2, the illustration of leaf 295 of MS. Add. 1693 (dated N.S. 285, AD 1165), line 2, *bodhisatvā mahāsatvā* (Fig. 4). Finally compare, *vajrasatvena*, *vajrasatvah* in lines 3 and 6 respectively of leaf 5, MS. Add. 1699 (Bendall's Plate II.4).



Fig. 4 Palm leaf 295 of MS. Add. 1693, Cambridge University Library, dated 1165 AD. After Bendall 1883: pl. II.2.



Fig. 5 Palm leaf from an *Ashtasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript from Nepal, dated 1015 AD, Cambridge University Library. After Pal & Meech-Pekarik 1988: 103, pl. 20.

In this connection we refer to the well-known illuminated palm leaf *Ashtasahasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript from Nepal, dated Nepal-Samvat 135, 1015 AD, now in the Cambridge University Library (Add. 1643),<sup>4</sup> where the terms *bodhisatva* and *mahāsatva* are written with a single *-t-* (Fig. 5). Compare the coloured illustration by Pal and Meech-Pekarik 1988: 103, pl. 20.

It is gratifying that while editing a portion of a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript from Central Asia in 1927 Pandit B.B. Bidyabinod has given the spelling *bodhisatva* as it is written in the manuscript; see e.g. Bidyabinod 1927: 5, pl. I, fig. 3, sqq.<sup>5</sup>

As already mentioned, S. K. Saraswati is the only Bengali art-historian who spelt *Bodhisatva* with a single *-t-*. The reason for Saraswati's spelling *satva* with a single *-t-* is that in the colophons of the Buddhist manuscripts, the paintings of which he studied in his Bengali volume of 1978, *satva* in *sakala-satva-rāśi* has been spelt with single *-t-*. He was

quite careful to notice it. In one of the paintings (9th regnal year of Govindapāladeva, Royal Asiatic Society Library) he calls the Buddhist deity Vajrasatva (see Saraswati 1978: 16 and 92, no. 23). From this volume one may refer to a page of a manuscript dated in the 8th regnal year of Bhoja Harivarman (end of 11th or beginning of 12th cent.), now in the Baroda Museum (Fig. 6), where we find the terms *bodhisatvo mahāsatvah* (*ibid.*: 80).

Quite unhappy is the situation with the editing of the Buddhist text *Viśvantarāvadāna* by Kabita Das Gupta as a Ph.D. thesis in 1978 under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Chandrabhal Tripathi. Although in the Buddhist text *bodhisatva* is written as has been correctly read by Das Gupta, in her English translation she used the



Fig. 6 Palm leaf from a manuscript dated in the 8th regnal year of Bhoja Harivarman (end of 11th or beginning of 12th cent.), now in the Baroda Museum. After Saraswati 1978: 80.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bendall 1883: 151-152; Foucher 1900: 189-206.

<sup>5</sup> But it is not understandable why the same Vidyavinoda corrected *satva* into *sattva* in the Bodhgaya slab inscription (1913-14: 29, note 9) which we have mentioned above.

term *bodhisattva*. This irregularity has been overlooked by Prof. Tripathi who himself has used the term *bodhisattva*. We quote a few examples below (*Viśvantarāvadāna*, Sanskrit Text from the Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts, Fasc. ed., Part 2, F and 10):

- § 9: *atha kadācid bodhisatvo maṇi-kana(ka) /3/*
- § 11: *(eva)(6A1)m ukte bodhisatvo ...*
- § 18: *bodhisatvōvāca* (n. 6 read: *bodhisatva uvāca*)
- § 22: *tato Viśvantaro bodhisatvas ... etc.*

But in her translation Das Gupta used the term *bodhisattva*, for example:

- § 9: Once the bodhisattva drove in a most magnificent chariot,
- § 11: Being thus addressed the bodhisattva quickly descended ...
- § 22: Bodhisattva Viśvantara approached the citizens, etc.

In Appendix I Das Gupta mentions Avadānakalpalatā of Kṣemendra and gives the colophon as (p. 138) *iti Kṣemendra-viracitāyāṁ Bodhisattvāvadāna-kalpalātāyan Viśvantarāvadānam nāma trayoviṁsiḥ pallavah*, but strangely in the translation of the colophon (p. 145) she writes, “This is the Viśvantarāvadāna, the twentythird chapter of the Bodhisatva-avadāna-kalpalatā, composed by Kṣemendra”.

In 1939 Nalinaksha Dutt, the reputed Buddhist scholar of the University of Calcutta, edited the *Gilgit Manuscripts* (Vol. I) with the assistance of D.M. Bhattacharya and Shiv Nath Sharma. In the introduction Dutt writes (p. ii), “The mss. were written in the 5th or 6th century A.C. and as such they are some of the earliest so far discovered in India, similar to the Bower ms. and those discovered in Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan. ... The language of the mss. is similar to that of the *Mahāvastu*, *Lalitavistara*, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, or *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*.” And again on p. 42 he writes, “The script used in the mss. is mostly Upright Gupta of a date little later than those used in the mss.-remains found in Eastern Turkestan and similar to the script found in the Bower mss. The script of the Bower mss. is assigned to the 6th century A.C., and so the Gilgit mss. may also be dated in the 6th or at the latest in the 7th century A.C.”

In his edition Nalinaksha Dutt included six texts, viz. *Bhaiṣajya=guru=Sūtra*, *Ekādaśamukham*, *Hayagrīvavidyā*, *Sarvatathagata*[sic]*dhiṣṭhāna=sattvavalokana=buddhakṣetra=sandarśana=vyūham*, *S*[sic]*rī-mahādevīvyākaranam* and *Ajitasena=vyākaranam*. In the manuscripts of these texts there is no doubt that *satva* both in *bodhisatva* and *mahāsatva* has been written with a single -*t*-, but Dutt and others have rendered it in -*tt*-, i.e. as *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva*. Compare, for example, the illustration of the page of the *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhāna-sattvavalokana-buddha-kṣetrasandarśana-vyūham*, line 3 illustrated in the volume (vide p. 50, l. 18 - p. 51, l. 4).

The Gilgit manuscript of the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* was also edited and translated by Edward Conze in 1974 (Chapters 70 to 82 corresponding to the 6th, 7th and 8th Abhisamayas). It is difficult to believe that in this manuscript *bodhisatva* and *mahāsatva* are spelt as *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* throughout. In the introduction he writes, “In editing this part of the Gilgit manuscript I have had to work from the print of a microfilm which is not always very good and this may



Fig. 7 Three palm leaves from an *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, Eastern India or Bangladesh, c. 12th century. After Sotheby's New York 1995: lot 68.

explain why I have been unable to read a few words here and there ... In any case, Dr. Lokesh Chandra has meanwhile produced a facsimile of this manuscript in three volumes which enables the reader to check on what I have done" (see Lokesh Chandra 1966/1970). Conze reads (p. 18): ... *sattvāṁś ca paripācayati*, p. 19: ... *katham ca subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattva* ... . Conze translates as *Bodhisattva*.

Editor Edward Conze has made a mistake in transcribing the terms *bodhisattva*, *mahāsattva*, *sarvasattva* as *bodhisattva*, *mahāsattva* and *sarvasattva*; compare fol. 24a (between pp. 101 and 103) in Conze 1962.

We wish to refer to three illustrated palm leaf manuscript pages of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, either from Eastern India or Bangladesh of c. 12th century,<sup>6</sup> where both the terms *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* have been spelt with a

<sup>6</sup> Pal and Meech-Pekarik (1988: 69, fig. 21), describe the pages as belonging to a *Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript from Bihar, India, 12th century, now in the Asia Society, Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection. See also Huntington and Huntington 1990: 191, no. 60: "Six leaves from a Buddhist manuscript, Eastern India or Bangladesh, Ca. twelfth century, Pāla period ... Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, The Nasli and Alice Heeramanneck Collection, Gift of Paul Mellon (68.8.114.a-f)", and note 4 (p. 194), "The manuscript was identified as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* when the



Fig. 8 Palm leaf from an *Ashtasahasrika Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript, Eastern India or Bangladesh, c. 12th century. After Pal & Meech-Pekarik 1988: 80, pl. 10.

single -*t*- (Sotheby's New York 1995: lot 68; Fig. 7). The pages are numbered. See top leaf, line 2, *bodhisatvasya mahasatvasya*; middle leaf, line 1, *bodhisatvena mahasatvena*, and below, line 1, *bodhisatvā mahasatvā*. Another leaf from the same unidentified manuscript reads *bodhisatvā mahasatvā* in line 3 and line 5 (*ibid.*: 80, pl. 10; Fig. 8).

It is quite regrettable that the excellent Buddhist scholar Wladimir Zwalf in his praiseworthy volume *Buddhism: Art and Faith* (1985) illustrated several manuscripts where the term given is *bodhisatva*, but he writes “Buddha and Bodhisattvas” (p. 96), and in the index of the volume (p. 297), quite obviously, the term given is “Bodhisattva”. Quite interestingly, in his illustration of the scroll of the *Nīlakanṭhadhāraṇī* in Sanskrit (Buddhist?) with alternating lines of Gupta (*Siddham*) and Sogdian scripts from Dunhuang, Gansu province, China, AD 650-750, the term *bodhisatva* with a single -*t*- occurs repeatedly (p. 80, no. 101; Fig. 9).

In the case of editing the fragments of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts from the so-called Turfan Collection the German editors under Ernst Waldschmidt were more careful and faithful. Compare, for example, Waldschmidt, Clawiter & Sander-Holzmann 1971 and Sander & Waldschmidt 1985.

Also we refer to the scholarly and meticulous work of the *Buddhist Manuscripts, Vol. III*, of the Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection by various scholars under the general editorship of Jens Braarvig (2006). In these manuscripts, as correctly

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manuscript was first published in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, *The Arts of India and Nepal*, 106-108. Later, the text was described more generally as a Prajñāpāramitā text in Pal and Meech-Pekarik, *Buddhist Book Illuminations*, 69, 80. Because of the esoteric iconography of the paintings, it must be considered that the text may be something else altogether. However, the issue needs to be studied.” Finally, E. Allinger 2007-08 has studied the contents of the illuminations in detail, and she has confirmed that the manuscript represents the *Ashtasahasrika Prajñāpāramitā*.

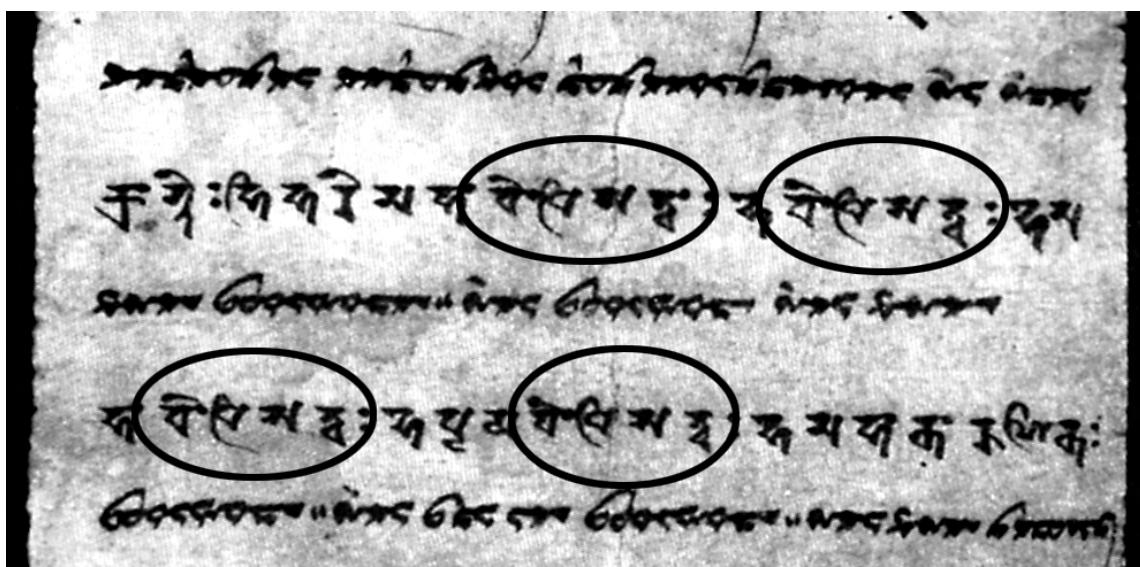


Fig. 9 Detail from a scroll of the *Nilakantha dhāraṇī* with alternating lines of Gupta (Siddham) and Sogdian scripts, from Dunhuang, Gansu province, China, AD 650-750. After Zwalf 1985: 80, no. 101.

expected, *bodhisatva* has been spelt with a single *-t-*, for example, (p. 38) 10) MS 2381/32, 2382/309, 310; recto, line 2: ... *putra bodhisatva evam* ..., and (p. 39) 12) MS 2381/221; recto, line 2: /// .[o]dhisatvasya ... Surprisingly the authors (Braarvig & Pagel) spell the name of the text as *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*, and comment (p. 11), "... Takasaki noted several extracts that appear, word for word, in the *Tathāgata-mahākaruṇānirdeśa*, *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* and, to a lesser extent, also in the *Jñānālokālamkara*."

Also compare: Vajracchedikā (p. 103) 2) MS 2385/20, uf1/4s; folio 27 recto (Cz. 27.19-28.8), lines 2-3, *bodhisatvā mahāsatvāḥ* ... Also (p.120) § 10c; folio 36v2-37r3 (Cz 35.25-36.12; P 180.17-181.1): *tasmāt tarhi subhūte bodhisatvena evam cittam utpādayitavyam apratiṣṭhitam* ... In fn. 244 the authors comment, "For this section the wording in M, Cz runs: *tasmāt tarhi subhūte bodhisatvena mahāsattvenaivam apratiṣṭhitam cittam utpādayitavyam* ...". One cannot agree with the reading of Cz unless one compares the original manuscript. Unfortunately Paul Harrison in his article in the same volume (2006: 142-159) writes *Bodhisattva* with double *-tt-*, and comments (p. 136), "The words *buddha* and *bodhisattva* may now be regarded as English, and so can readily go untranslated. *Mahāsattva* is left as is because it is commonly paired with *bodhisattva*, and ought therefore to be handled in the same way."

In this connection we should refer to Oskar von Hinüber's etymological explanation of the term *bodhisatva* (see von Hinüber 2007: 387-390). Prof. von Hinüber himself uses the term with a single *-t-*. However, this article has no direct connection with my argument.<sup>7</sup>

In editing the Copper Scroll Inscription (MS 2241) of the Schøyen Collection Gudrun Melzer and Lore Sander have done a great scholarly work (see Melzer with Sander 2006: 251-278). The authors comment (p. 252), "The inscription has been largely composed in standard Sanskrit." But there is no comment on the spelling of

<sup>7</sup> I am thankful to Prof. D. Schlingloff for sending this article for my perusal.

*bodhisatva* and *mahāsatva*, the terms which occur in lines 4 and 6 of the inscription, and in the English translation, these have been translated as *Bodhisattva* and *Mahāsattva* (see p. 270), in a conventional and comfortable way. About the date of the inscription we quote the author's comment (p. 263), "Palaeographical and historical evidence would suggest a time period between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century for our inscription."

As a tragic and confusing situation of the problem it is highly necessary to refer to a recent publication from Leiden, viz. *South Asian Archaeology 1999* edited by Ellen M. Raven (2008). In this heavy and elaborate volume six well-known scholars have each written an article relating to Buddhist studies in which they refer to the term *bodhisatva*. And in his Keynote Address, the late Prof. Maurizio Taddei spoke on 'Some Reflections on the Formation of the Buddha image' (pp. 1-13). He used the term *Bodhisattva* like other scholars, for example, "Bodhisattva Maitreya" (p. 6), "Bodhisattva" (p. 7), and strangely enough Bodhisatva ("Buddha/Bodhisatva") occurring in the Mathura Kuṣāṇa inscription (p. 2). But he did not take the spelling as correct for the Buddhist image. Anna Maria Quagliotti writes the article entitled 'An Unidentified Gandhara Bodhisattva' (see Quagliotti 2008). Carolyn Woodford Schmidt writes on 'The Gandharan Wreath-Bearing Bodhisattva: Further Typological Studies' (see Schmidt 2008). Claudine Bautze-Picron writes *Bodhisattva* (p. 481, etc.) in her article (see Bautze-Picron 2008). Helmut F. Neumann in his article writes *Bodhisattvas* (see Neumann 2008), and Eva Allinger in her article (see Allinger 2008) uses the spelling *Bodhisattva* (p. 521).

The only exception in this volume is the extremely careful scholar Monika Zin who invariably uses the spelling *Bodhisatva* in her article (see Zin 2008). I am very glad to see that in her note 4 (p. 375) we read, "At the request of the author 'Bodhisatva' has been rendered with a single 't' [ER]". I thank the editor of the volume to abide by the author's wish and thereby showing her sagacity. Monika Zin refers to the Buddhist text as *Bodhisatvāvadānakalpalatā* (p. 378) and refers to the edition of Vaidya 1959 (p. 386). But the Indian editor spelt the name of the volume as *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*. We have referred to this unfortunate happening above. On p. 379 she uses the spelling *Bodhisatva* and *Bodhisatvas* (also p. 380), also below the sketches, 33.10-33.15 and below the photographs 33.5-33.7.

She and her Guru Prof. Schlingloff inspired me to write on this important but very intricate topic, and I hope that this writing of mine will be a fitting honour to the careful and thoughtful professor of Buddhist studies. With humility I wish to draw the attention of the future scholars on Buddhist writings not to follow the wrong tradition, similar to the appropriate Sanskrit maxim: *andhenāiva nīyamāno ya-thāndhah*<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> I am very thankful to my efficient and careful scholar-friend Gerd Mevissen to go through my manuscript making necessary suggestions.

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# FROM TURFAN TO AJANTA

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