A Study of Buddhist Avadānamālās in Nepal:

About Śaṅkarasvāmin's *Devātiśayastotra*, and Some
Avadānamālās Related to Jayamuni

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1. Śaṅkarasvāmin's *Devātiśayastotra* and the *Mālikāvadāna*

In 2018, I studied *Pāñcālarājavadāna* (PRA), which is the 21st chapter of the *Subhāṣitamahāratanāvadānamālā* (SMRAM), a Sanskrit avadānamālā made in Nepal. At that time, I discovered that the text of PRA contained a long-borrowed passage from the *Ṣaḍgatikārikā* of Aśvaghoṣa (or Dhārmikasubhūtiḥgṛhaṣa); that is, from the 1st to 104th verses. Using these new data from the PRA text and the *editio princeps* of the *Ṣaḍgatikārikā* by Paul Mus (1939), I then published a new critical text of the *Ṣaḍgatikārikā*,¹⁾ and published an entire critical text of the PRA the following year.²⁾ In 2019, I began to study the previous chapter of PRA, which is referred to as *Mālikāvadāna* (MA), or the 20th chapter of SMRAM. I soon discovered that the Sanskrit text of Śaṅkarasvāmin's *Devātiśayastotra* (DS), alias *Devatāvimarśastuti*, was almost entirely contained in the text of MA. Based on this finding, I recently published my studies on both DS and MA.³⁾ The first section of this paper briefly discusses the results of my research on DS.

Specifically, I found that stanzas 148 through 167 in the text of MA borrowed from DS, the whole of which consists of 21 stanzas. With the exception of the 21st stanza, MA borrowed from each of these, albeit with many deliberate alterations. This “borrowed text” portion of DS found in MA (i.e., stanzas 148–167, corresponding to DS stanzas 1–20) can help improve the critical edition of DS published by Michael Hahn (2000). I therefore made attempts to revise Hahn's DS text by presenting my suggestions for improvements.⁴⁾ Comparing the two texts was not so simple, however. In this regard, I encountered substantial problems due to a variety of differences between Hahn's DS text and the “DS text” in MA. Table 1 shows important differences between the texts of Hahn's DS edition and my edition of the “DS text” in MA.⁵⁾

Table 1

DS stanza	DS ed. by Hahn	MA ed. by Okano
1a	pratyakṣato na bhagavān sugato na viṣṇuḥ	saṃbuddha eva bhagavān suguṇī na viṣṇur
1b	ālokyate	saṃśasyate
2a	°dāyudharaudrapāṇiḥ	°do vighṛmaiḥ pramāyī
2b	śambhur vilagnanṣiro-°grakapālamālī	rudro vibhūtyajakapāladharah pramattah
2d	pūjayāma upaśāntam	pūjayemahi suśāntam
3a	°kulanāśakaro babhūva	°nṛpanāśakarah sa cakrī
3b	kilāsit	pinākī
4d	vañcanīyāḥ	*vañchanīyāḥ (< vañchanīyāḥ Ms.)
5a	*°janakāni	°janitāni
5d	na	ca
6b	krpayā vidhiṣu	jagataḥ krpayā
7a	sacakrāyudham	ca cakrāyudham
8a	*yuvatim *aṅke suvaḍanāṃ	suratim aṅke suvaḍanāṃ
9a	< — > (*bādhī? or *drohī? or *himśro?)	*himśro (< himśyā Ms.)
9d	°bale svalpo 'pi doṣo 'sti kaḥ	°balo srasto 'py adoṣaḥ suhṛt
10a	ripavo na cānye	na ripur na cānyah
10b	sākṣān na drṣṭacara ekataro 'pi caiṣām	śāstā trilokagurur ekatamo 'pi dhīrah
10d	°lolatayā	°lobhatayā
12c	sphuṭam yasya	gūḍham yaś ca
12d	*santam	santas
14b	°vināśa°	°vipatti°
14b	°ābhyudgataḥ	°ābhyudyataḥ
14c	śākyakule *vare (?) *°dbhutamatis *trātā	śākyakulendur acyutamatis trātā
15a	asura*sura*ratnā°	asurasuradārā°
15b	māyānvītam (?)	māyāvitvam (or *māyāvitve?)
15c	apī vimukto *°budhatayā	aparimukto °budhatayā
16b	visṛjya haraye *mahīm <*sa> balir āpa kaṣṭhāṃ daśām	mahīm mahatīm visṛjya harayevāpa kaṣṭhāṃ baliḥ
16d	°*kārāmbarām	°talāṇ ca samprāptavān
17c	yuktimac	muktimac
17d	*śāstus	kāryas
18cd	°cetasām *janair aśeṣaiḥ	°cetasā janena śeṣaiḥ
19a	yasya ca na santi nikhilā	yasyāpi kiñcin na hi doṣaleśam
19b	doṣāḥ sarve guṇāś ca vidyante	sarve guṇāḥ santi jagaddhitārthe
19c	brahmā va viṣṇur vā	brahmāpi viṣṇur giriśo harir vā
19d	maheśvaro vā sa me śāstā	sa me hi śāstā śubhakāri mitram
20a	doṣā na vidyante	na vidyate doṣo
20b	cāmitā	sakalā
20c	sarvajñaś ca krpāluś ca	sarvajñaḥ sa jagacchāstā
20d	gataḥ	vraje

(In the above table, an asterisk (*) indicates that the accompanying word is based on a conjectural reading by the editor.)

When comparing the two texts, I noticed that eight stanzas (i.e., nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 16, 19, and 20) of the “DS text” of MA did not faithfully borrow from the original DS text. In those stanzas, many words seemed to have been tampered with in later times. In such places, one must take caution when using the “DS text” of MA text to improve the text of DS. This is because the DS text borrowed by MA was likely tampered with by the author (group) of MA in Nepal. However, such serious and intentional alterations are not found in all the stanzas of the “DS text” in MA. Indeed, a deeper investigation shows that such deliberate alterations tend to be concentrated at the beginning and end of the “DS text” (i.e., stanza nos. 1, 2, 3, 16, 19, and 20), with the exception of two stanzas in the middle section (i.e., nos. 9 and 10). I tried to explain why these stanzas must be modified in a previous paper that was written based on my comparisons.⁶⁾ The reasons for alterations are especially clear in stanzas 1 and 10, which contain modifications of borrowed sentences from DS. Specifically, this was done to establish consistency with the story presented in MA, the plot of which contradicts an assertion in DS that Buddhas are invisible. In conclusion, when using the “DS text” of MA, one must properly distinguish between the eight modified stanzas (i.e., nos. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 16, 19, and 20) and the relatively unmodified other 12 (i.e., nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, and 18), which provide useful data from the “DS text” of MA in order to improve Hahn’s DS text.

My newly suggested improvements for Hahn’s DS text are as follows:⁷⁾ 4d *vāñchanīyāḥ*; 5d *ca*; 6b *jagataḥ kṛpayā*; 8a *suratim*; 9a *himsro*; 12c *yaś ca*; 14b *°ābhyudyataḥ*; 15b *māyāvitvaṃ* (or **māyāvitve*); 15c *aparimukto*; 18c *cetasā*; 18d *janena śeṣaiḥ*.

Further, I used the MA text to confirm that Hahn’s conjectures in the DS edition were correct in many places. The following are specific words from the MA that I confirm Hahn’s conjectures were correct: 5a *vacāmsi*; 5c *śamakāni*; 5d *vandyatvaṃ*; 6a *vadhāya*; 6d *tayoḥ*; 8a *añke*; 9a *viṣṇuḥ*; 9b *jñātihā*; 9c *krūrāsyā*; 9c *°māṃśāśinī*; 12d *°manasaḥ*; 13a *ṛchaya*; 13c *taṃ*; 15a *asurasura°*; 15c *vandyo*; 15c *’budhatayā*; 16b *mahūṃ*; 17c *yasya*.

2. Relationship Between Nepalese avadānamālās and Jayamuni

We can not directly determine who comprised the author group of SMRAM (including MA), which is a Nepalese avadānamālā based on *Avadānaśataka* (Avś). However, it is worth noting that the scribe of the only manuscript of SMRAM was Jayamuni. Indeed, I

proved that that manuscript of SMRAM was written by Jayamuni in a paper from 2019.⁸⁾ By focusing on this key person, I believe we can identify the time and area in which Nepalese “Avś-based avadānamālās” (including SMRAM) were created. I suspect that Jayamuni was at the center of the production movement for the “Avś-based avadānamālā literature” in Nepal during the 17th century. In the following passages, I briefly explain my “Jayamuni hypothesis.”

As Formigatti (2016, 112–113) pointed out, Jayamuni wrote an important paper manuscript of Avś (CUL, Add. 1611), which is reliably accurate for its direct source, which is probably a palm-leaf manuscript (NGMCP E1554/24) from the 12th to 14th centuries.⁹⁾ His paper manuscript of Avś seems to have served as the archetype for all later paper manuscripts of Avś in Nepal. His useful manuscript likely revived the old Indian sacred text Avś, which was perhaps nearly forgotten for hundreds of years in Nepal before Jayamuni. I also presume that Jayamuni’s paper manuscript of Avś played an important role in Newar Buddhism during the 17th century, finally leading to a huge creative movement resulting in a genre of “Avś-based avadānamālā literature.” From the beginning, we can assume that Jayamuni may have aimed to produce a series of avadānamālās in which most chapters of Avś were used as source materials. This would have been done for the purpose of retelling and expanding on stories from those chapters through the use of his paper manuscript of Avś.

Regarding the literature group of “Avś-based avadānamālās,” it is confirmed that two important works exist in Nepal as very reliable manuscripts written by the scribe Jayamuni; that is, the *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* (KDAM)¹⁰⁾ and SMRAM. As I previously showed in a table in Okano (2006, 9), four works are considered “Avś-based avadānamālās”; namely (1) KDM, (2) *Ratnāvadānamālā* (RAM),¹¹⁾ (3) SMRAM (whose part became a shorter version called *Ratnāvadānatattva*), and (4) *Aśokāvadānamālā* (AAM). Table 2 is the same table from Okano (2006, 9), as mentioned above.

Table 2

Avś (varga)	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
KDAM	1	11	21	-	41	51	61	71	81	91
	2	12	22	-	42	52	62	72	82	92
		⟨15⟩		⟨33⟩		⟨54⟩				⟨100⟩
		⟨16⟩								
RAM				⟨32⟩						
	3	13	23	-	43	53	63	73	83	93
	4	14	24	-	44		64	74	84	94
						⟨55⟩				
SMRAM	-		25	-	45		65	-	85	95
	6		26	-	46	56	66	76	86	96
	7	17	27	-	47	57	67	77	87	97
	8	-	28	-	48	58	68	78	88	98
	9	-	29	-	49	-	69	79	-	-
AAM	10	20	30	-	50	60	70	80	90	-

(The table above shows places where each of the hundred chapters of Avś were retold in the four avadānamālās. The Roman numerals at the top of the table indicate the number of “Class” (varga) in Avś. Numbers in ⟨ ⟩ indicate Avś’s chapters that seem to be out of position when viewed from the table as a whole.)

It has been confirmed that at least two of these four works, namely (1) KDAM and (3) SMRAM were manuscripts written by the scribe Jayamuni himself. These two Jayamuni manuscripts seem to be the earliest and the most reliable existing paper manuscripts for those Nepalese “Avś-based avadānamālās.”

Notably, works (1) and (3) account for approximately 70% of the total number of chapters in the four works of “Avś-based avadānamālās.”¹²⁾ This fact alone suggests that Jayamuni played an important role in establishing the entire literature of Nepalese “Avś-based avadānamālās.”

Other than those two manuscripts of the “Avś-based avadānamālās,” I confirmed that Jayamuni also wrote two important other manuscripts that can be classified as

avadānamālās works; namely, these are the *Tathāgatajanmāvadānamālā* (TJAM) and *Samṃbhadravādānamālā* (SAM).¹³⁾ The main theme of those two avadānamālās is the Buddha's biography. Here, the materials used for the retelling were mainly Sanskrit texts of the *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, and *Buddhacarita*.

In sum, regarding the four avadānamālās manuscripts written by the scribe Jayamuni (i.e., SMRAM, KDAM, TJAM and SAM), two retell the subject of the Avś, while the other two concern Śākyamuni's biography. I suppose that the former two manuscripts were made when Jayamuni was middle-aged, while the latter two were made during his later years.¹⁴⁾ The four remaining manuscripts of avadānamālās can be appreciated as the most valuable manuscripts written when the production of such works were finally completed in 17th century Nepal.

Several scholars have already studied activities of Jayamuni, including Tatelman (1996, xii–xviii), Formigatti (2016), Tournier (2017, 382–393), and Marciniak (2017a; 2017b). Formigatti (2016, 112–113) showed a list of currently known Jayamuni manuscripts, to which I have added three others; namely the three avadānamālās of SMRAM (NGMCP B 101/3), TJAM (NGMCP A 123/5), and SAM (Matsunami no. 429).¹⁵⁾

Regarding TJAM and SMRAM, I published critical editions and Japanese translations of many chapters in the *South Asian Classical Studies*, a journal issued by Indology of Kyushu Univ. So far, I have published the texts of chapters 1, 3, 4, 8, 13, and 14 (totaling six chapters) of TJAM,¹⁶⁾ and the texts of chapters 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, and 38 (totaling 11 chapters) of SMRAM.¹⁷⁾ In making those editions of avadānamālās, I have always used Jayamuni's manuscripts of TJAM and SMRAM as the basis for my work. Extensive experience with text editing has taught me that using Jayamuni's manuscripts as the basis for such work allows for a smooth editing process. Further, Jayamuni's avadānamālās manuscripts seem very close to the hypothetical "autographs," which were made by the author group of avadānamālās around Jayamuni. I believe Jayamuni was also in one of the author groups, or at least had a close relationship with them.

From my observations outlined above, I believe that Jayamuni was not just the scribe of the manuscripts, but was also involved in the production of the many avadānamālās during the 17th century. Needless to say, the famous scholar Jayamuni may not have been the only person to help initiate the prominent productive movement of Nepalese avadānamālās works, but my opinion is that he likely played a leading role. His scholarly education, eco-

monic power, and social familial status may have allowed him to lead a variety of collaborating monks of mahāvihāras (for example, Uku Bāhā) near the temple Mahābuddha in producing many avadānamālās. When Jayamuni was active during the mid-17th century, I believe that the area where many Nepalese avadānamālās were produced was centered around Mahābuddha, which was the temple owned by Jayamuni's family.¹⁸⁾ Some scholars, including myself,¹⁹⁾ have pointed out intentional uses of the word “Mahābuddha” can be found in many avadānamālās. This shows the influence of the temple Mahābuddha in the production of avadānamālās. Further, as Tatelman (1996, xv) pointed out, the place referred to as Bodhimaṇḍa(pa), where the legendary teacher Jayaśrī in Nepal preached some avadānamālās, is also another name for Mahābuddha temple. This fact is also evidence of a close relationship between the Nepalese avadānamālās and Jayamuni.

Notes

- 1) See Okano 2018.
- 2) See Okano 2019, 52–70.
- 3) See Okano 2020.
- 4) See Okano 2020, 129–133.
- 5) For a more detailed table, see Okano 2020, 126–129.
- 6) See Okano 2020, 135–139.
- 7) See Okano 2020, 129.
- 8) See Okano 2019, 14–20, 52–54.
- 9) Cf. Demoto 2006, 214–215; Fiordalis 2019.
- 10) The manuscript of NGMCP A117/13-A118–1. See Asplund 2013, 56–59; Formigatti 2016, 113.
- 11) Sanskrit texts of 12 chapters of RAM and 26 chapters of the *Ratnāvadānatattva* were published by Kanga Takahata (1954).
- 12) Works (2) and (3) are highly homogeneous, and considered to be sister works created by the same group of authors. I suspect that Jayamuni's manuscript of work (2) also would have existed in Nepal.
- 13) See Okano 2019, 14–16. Cf. Okano 2013 also. — I have supposed that SAM was produced some decades earlier than the *Bhadrakalpāvadāna*, whose content is similar to SAM.
- 14) See Okano 2020, 150–151.
- 15) See Okano 2019, 14–17. — As a result of researches for the identification of Jayamuni manuscripts by Formigatti (2016, 112–113), Tournier (2017, 385–388), Marciniak (2017b, 123–125) and Okano (2019, 14–17), the following 16 manuscripts can now be considered as manuscripts written by Jayamuni, which I have divided into two groups, A and B (cf. Okano 2000, 148–149):
 [Group A:] *Avadānaśataka* (CUL, Add. 1611); *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā* (CUL, Add. 1586); *Sumāgadhāvadāna* (CUL, Add. 1585); *Dīvyāvadānamālā* (NGMCP A 123/6); *Mahāvastu* (NGMCP B 98/14); *Bodhisattvajātakāvadānamālā* (NGMCP B 98/4); *Dr̥ḍhādhyāśayāvadāna* by Gopadatta (NGMCP H 380/7); *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* by Yaśomitra (CUL, Add. 1041); *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (NGMCP H 380/7); *Dhīmatīparipṛcchāvadāna* (NGMCP A 131/14);
 [Group B:] *Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā* (NGMCP A 117/13 to A 118/1; A 861/5); *Subhāṣitamahāratanāva-*

- dānamālā* (NGMCP B 101/3); *Mahajjātakamālā* (NGMCP B 98/15); *Sugatāvadāna* (NGMCP H 380/7).
- 16) The following 6 chapters of TJAM have been published by me as critically edited Sanskrit texts: [chapter 1 *Tuṣṭitabhuvāna*...] SACS 9 (2014), 112–125; [chapter 3 *Śākyakula*...] SACS 10 (2015), 27–45; [chapter 4 *Kauli*...] SACS 10 (2015), 59–71; [chapter 8 *Bodhisattvajanma*...] SACS 8 (2013), 227–252; [chapter 13 *Grāmāntika*...] SACS 12 (2017), 69–81; [chapter 14 *Śilpakalā*...] SACS 14 (2019), 21–37, SACS 15 (2020), 192–206.
- 17) The already published Sanskrit texts of 11 chapters of SMRAM are as follows: [chapter 16 *Pretikā*] SACS 7 (2012), 334–349; [chapter 17 *Pretibhūtamaharddhikā*] SACS 8 (2013), 188–208; [chapter 20 *Mālika*] SACS 15 (2020), 155–173; [chapter 21 *Pāñcālarāja*] SACS 14 (2019), 54–70; [chapter 23 *Yaśomitra*] SACS 4 (2009), 144–160; [chapter 30 *Jātyandhapretikā*] SACS 6 (2011), 221–229; [chapter 31 *Śreṣṭhino 'vadāna*] SACS 5 (2010), 83–91; [chapter 33 *Śreṣṭhipretibhūta*] SACS 5 (2010), 98–111; [chapter 34 *Virūpa*] SACS 9 (2014), 136–151; [chapter 35 *Padmākṣa*] SACS 9 (2014), 169–182; [chapter 38 *Sūrya*] SACS 10 (2015), 84–97. — In addition to the above, a Sanskrit text of *Pretikāvadāna*, the 15th chapter of *Ratnāvadānamālā*, whose Jayamuni manuscript is currently missing, was also published by me: SACS 6 (2011), 240–255.
- 18) See Okano 2019, 8–13.
- 19) See Tatelman 1996, xiv–xvi; Tournier 2017, 385–386; Okano 2020, 142, note 23; Okano 2019, 12–13.

Abbreviations

AAM	<i>Aśokāvadānamālā</i>
Avś	<i>Avadānaśataka</i>
DS	<i>Devatīśayastotra</i> (alias <i>Devatāvimarśastuti</i>)
KDAM	<i>Kalpadrūmāvadānamālā</i>
MA	<i>Mālikāvadāna</i>
PRA	<i>Pāñcālarājāvadāna</i>
RAM	<i>Ratnāvadānamālā</i>
SACS	South Asian Classical Studies (= Minami Asia Kotengaku 南アジア古典学)
SAM	<i>Sambhadrāvadānamālā</i>
SMRAM	<i>Subhāṣitamahāratanāvadānamālā</i>
TJAM	<i>Tathāgatajanmāvadānamālā</i> (alias <i>Padyalalitavistara</i>)

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