Cristina Scherrer-Schaub

The Poetic and Prosodic Aspect of the Page. Forms and Graphic Artifices of Early Indic Buddhist Manuscripts in a Historical Perspective

Abstract: Rules of page-setting appear, albeit rarely, in Indian inscriptional records dating to the 3rd c. BCE and reappear, even though not regularly, in the earliest (1st BCE – 1st CE) and later Indian Buddhist MSS and their translations into Khotanese, Tibetan, and Chinese. While continuing to be typologically identical, the function of these rules in the economy of the page, and the intellectual practice they reveal may, in some cases, be modified. This paper will focus on the variety of parallel patterns appearing in different historical and geographic contexts. The study of data indicates that at an early epoch religiouses and intellectuals from peninsular India transmitted the rules and principles governing the Buddhist institution in matters of architecture, religious teaching and monastic rules, chancery practice, etc., to the northwestern regions. At the same time, they might have adopted local use and techniques and introduced new elements in their narrative prose.

The data gleaned from the study of languages, monuments, artistic production, and artefacts of this period show a common cultural pattern in which foreign and local elements co-exist. The contribution of 'mountain tribes' (showing a marked ethnic and linguistic diversity) are found along with Indian, Iranian and Hellenistic components conveyed in the region long before. Practices of textual criticism and biblio-economy that were in use among the scribes of Buddhist texts indicate their concern for the aesthetic and intellectual use of the text, as for the systems of classifying the book in the conspectus of a large organized collection for the use of readers. The case of the Gandhāran use of counting the verses (*gāthā*-metrics) appears to stay in between the practice attributed to the Alexandrian school of philology, and attested in Greek and Graeco-Egyptian papyri (stichometric), and the practice adopted in Dunhuang, in the case of Chinese (*jie-/song*-metrics) and Tibetan (*bam po*-metrics) translations of Buddhist Indian texts. These practices, as the case may be, preserve part of the original prosody, while the graphic disposition and marks, including blank space indicating the unvoiced tune, appear to the modern reader as if they were beating rhythm, if not time, upon the manuscript page. And all this shows the inseparability of textuality and materiality.

1 Legibility and intelligibility

akāntir vyāghātaḥ punaruktam apaśabdaḥ saṃplava iti lekhadoṣāḥ ||
tatra kālapatrakam acāruviṣamavirāgākṣaratvam akāntitaḥ ||
Arthaśāstra 2.10.57-58[1]

Aesthetic concerns in matters of writing are attested quite early in India in the practice of styling official documents, and the lack of accuracy in displaying written texts on lithic supports prompted Aśoka (or his chancery), possibly as a consequence of the famous 'oddities' of the Erraguḍi major rock edict (MRE),[2] to recall some basic principles to be followed by the carvers, expressed in the 14th MRE:

G. — *ayaṃ dhaṃmalipī devānaṃpriyena priyadasinā r(ā)ñā l(e)khāpitā asti eva saṃkhit(e)na asti majhamena asti vistatena[3] na ca sarvaṃ [sa]rvata ghaṭitaṃ mahālake hi vijitaṃ bahu ca likhitaṃ likhāpayisaṃ ceva asti ca etakaṃ puna puna vutaṃ tasa tasa atthasa mādhūratāya kiṃti jano tathā paṭipajetha tatra ekadā asamāt[a]ṃ likhita[ṃ] asa desaṃ va sacchāya [kā]raṇaṃ va [a]locetpā lipikarāparadhena va.*

This escript [having the force of] *Dharma* has been engraved by order of the King Dear to the Devas, looking [over the world] with kindness. It exists in an abridged, medium and extensive (*vistriteṇa*) length as each clause has not been engraved everywhere. Since the empire is large, much has been engraved and much has yet to be engraved. This has been repeated again and again: for the sweetness [of my escript] will cause the people to regulate their life accordingly. In some places it may be inaccurately engraved, whether by omission of a passage or by lack of attention, or the error of the engraver.[4]

The publication of edicts or official documents and their wide circulation implies that the text was intended to be perfectly legible in order 'to be known everywhere' (see *Arthaśāstra* II.10.46d: *deśe ca sarvatra ca veditavyaḥ*). The attention given to the setting up of the text to favour its legibility contributes to the proper conveyance of the meaning, just as the locutory and social *praestatio* of poets and rhetoricians, for instance, expresses the intended meaning and message. Aśoka foresaw that in various

---

1 *Arthaśāstra* 2.10.57-58, Kangle 1960, I, 51. 'The defaults of writing are unattractiveness (*akānti*), contradiction (*vyāghāta*), repetition (*punaruktam*), incorrect use of words (*apaśabda*), and confusion (*saṃplava*). Among these, unattractiveness consists in [writing the documents on] a black leaf [and styling] graphemes that are unpretty, uneven, and faded'. The translation follows here Kangle 1960, II, 96, and Olivelle 2013, 122, with minor changes.
2 See Scherrer-Schaub 2013, 139–170, 147 and n. 28.
3 See *vistriteṇa*, Shāhbāzgarhi MRE XIV, Hultzsch CCI I: 70A, 71.
4 See Hultzsch CII I, 25–26, 26; Bloch 1950, 133–134. The translation partially follows Shadakshari Settar 2003, 7.

instances his edict would be heard or learnt, i.e. read, as in the case of the 2nd MRE at Dhauli (Puri district, Orissa):

> *iyaṃ ca lipi anucātuṃmāsaṃ tisanakhatena sotaviyā | kāmaṃ cu khanasi khanasi aṃtalā pi tisena ekena pi sotaviya | hevaṃ ca kalataṃ tuphe caghatha saṃpaṭipādayitave aṭṭhāya ||*

> This escript must be heard (or learnt) [by everyone] on [every day of the constellation] Tiṣya, every four months [or three times a year]. And, at will (*kāmam*), [the escript shall be read on command] and heard (or learnt) by a single person, or on the occasion of the intercalary days between the Tiṣyas. And in so doing, the escript will be enacted.[5]

In the following centuries, the existence of a large corpus of Buddhist manuscripts (MSS) spanning a period of several centuries raised a series of intriguing questions that are still of interest to philologists and historians today. On the one hand, this corpus maps part of the intellectual history of the Asian world, while on the other, it retraces the itinerary of textual transmission.

Fig. 1: Monks reading and commenting in a cenacle. Gandhāra relief attesting various scholarly practices (use of scrolls and gesture of argumentation). Repr. from Taddei 2003, I: 225 and fig. 3. Compare with the scene in Fig. 6.

---

5 See Alsdorf 1962, 5–38, 28 and 38: 'Und diese Inschrift ist am (ersten) Tiṣya-Tage (jedes Jahresdrittels) (allen Beamten) zu Gehör zu bringen; und auch zwischen den Tiṣya(tagen) ist sie, sooft sich die Gelegenheit ergibt, auch einem Einzelnen zu Gehör zu bringen. Und wenn ihr dies tut, werdet ihr imstande sein, [meine Anweisung] vollkommen auszuführen'. See Hultzsch CII 1, 98 and 100; Bloch 1950 139. The translation here is not as literal (on purpose).

Drawing on collections of Indian and Indic Buddhist manuscripts dating back to around the 1st century BCE to the 8th century CE and which originated in regions that are now part of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Xinjiang and other areas of China, we will now take a look at some cases that represent the most ancient specimens of Indian manuscripts extant to date. The complexity of their page layout will be compared with some of the early manuscripts containing the first translations of Indian and Indic texts into Tibetan (*c*. beginning of the 8th to the mid-9th century), which were found in the oases of present-day Xinjiang and the Gansu area, particularly Dunhuang. Similar editorial practices are also attested in Chinese MSS from Dunhuang dating back to the period of the Tibetan administration and later (see below, 247 and n. 19).

As will be shown, some rules of page-layout appear – albeit rarely – in in-scriptional records dating to the 3rd century BCE and reappear occasionally in early and later manuscripts dating to the period under consideration here. While continuing to be typologically identical, the function of these rules in the econ-omy of the page and the intellectual practice that they reveal may change in some cases. In this article, the reader's attention will be drawn to the variety of parallel patterns appearing in different historical and geographic contexts rather than fo-cusing upon the origin (and even less the archetype) of a particular social, cul-tural, intellectual or religious practice. Taking the process into account in its mul-tifarious aspects is only normal since, as so often noted,[6] Buddhism in India has found itself in a dynamic state of continuous adjustment to various languages, scripts, political and cultural contexts, or social transactions from its very begin-nings.

1.1 Questioning the economy of the page in light of intellectual practice

In the majority of the early inscriptional records and manuscripts, the text in-vades the writing surface or page in a sober, minimalistic way. The graphemes follow, one after the other, with few or no interruptions (*scriptio continua*),[7] they creep unobserved into the lines, and the peculiarity of the text is its ability to be

---

6 The present author has been addressing this topic in various ways; see, for instance, Scherrer-Schaub 2009a. The best illustration of the process is given in the citation on p. 151, drawn from *Philosophie zoologique*, *Influence des circonstances sur les actions des animaux* by Jean-Baptiste de Monet, Chevalier de Lamarck — an inexhaustible source of inspiring models for philologists.
7 Incidentally, the fact that 'some' early MSS attest this practice does by no means claim that the *scriptio continua* is a marker of antiquity. See Eva Wilden's contribution to this volume.

'indistinct'. The intellectual life concealed in it must be conjectured upon: either the text was merely written down to be preserved – a simple and simplistic hypothesis – or it was destined to be read in a cenacle, a fact well confirmed, presumably in a loud and clear voice, obeying the various rules of enunciation, the scansion of the verse, a long-established Indian practice, substitute for critical or lectional signs.[8] In this case, the recitation evicts/overcomes indistinguishableness (see below p. 267), the surface/page is activated and the text acquires multi-dimensionality, revealing the actors participating in the process.

Early examples exist in which lectional signs have been introduced, albeit not always with clear criteria, at least in the contemporary reader's view. In his study on the Gāndhārī MSS of the *Anavataptagāthā*, Richard Salomon draws attention to the fact that the punctuation in this text, as in many other Gāndhārī texts and indeed in Indic manuscripts generally, can be characterised as 'casual' or even 'haphazard'.[9] As this may well be the case, one cannot ignore the fact that at least occasionally, particularly in the case of epigraphs, it could possibly conceal a specific mode of reading or reciting on the part of the person who dictated the original text, eventually copied by the lapicide. It could also reflect specific social performances, such as the public declamation of the epigraph at special days of the year, or the reading aloud of the scroll, in cenacles, as mentioned above (Fig. 1). The fact that texts were 'activated' in specific circumstances is attested in literary documents. Besides mentioning the presumed existence of a chancery practice, the epigraph of the Sārnāth's version of the so-called 'Schism Edict' addressed to the Saṁgha by Aśoka (Hultzsch CII I, 161–164) foresaw that a copy of the present written (act) (*ikkhā lipī*) would be deposited in the religious assembly hall (*saṁsalana*) and further prescribes the 're-enacting' of the royal order (*sāsana*) on specific religious days. Finally, it orders the edict to be made known to people and circulated everywhere, including 'all fortress districts/citadels' (*savvesu koṭṭaviṣavesu*).[10]

---

8 See Gumbert 1989, 111–112: 'Ce n'est qu'en lisant – à haute voix de préférence – que le sens et la structure du texte apparaissent; il n'y a aucun emploi d'un arrangement spatial pour clarifier la structure, les signes auxiliaires sont absents (ou peut s'en faut), il n'y a pas de différences entre les lettres, de 'distinctions', pour marquer des différences de fonction; seulement, dans les textes poétiques les lignes sont en général découpées pour correspondre à la structure métrique du texte'.

9 See plate 17, for instance, with examples of the use of a small and large circle in Salomon 2008, and idem 98, with contributions by Andrew Glass.

10 The interpretation of this text is not easy, and the general tenor suggested here is merely conjectural, mainly inspired by the diplomatic reading of what we may define as the *prescriptio* of this specific public act. See Bloch 1950, 152. Jules Bloch, possibly inspired by Arthur Venis (1908,

In the early Buddhist MSS, we see that some of the oldest MSS, besides displaying lectional (and even critical) signs, employ space according to specific rules. This is the case for the Gāndhārī version of the 'Rhinoceros Horn Sūtra' (*Khargaviṣaṇa-sutra*, Khvs-G), whose MS is preserved at the British Library. In his seminal work, Richard Salomon gives a detailed description of the scroll (2000, 23–25), which he dates to the 1st century CE. Among other things, it includes punctuation marks, verse-line disposition and the presence of paratexts, such as the *uddāna*, or table of contents. One peculiarity of this type of MS, to which we will return later (see below p. 249 and 263), is pointed out by Salomon (2000, 25 and 116):

> [T]he first verse line was laid out differently from the others, without spacing between the quarters, and it was put in the upper margin, separated from the following lines by a larger space (0.5–0.6 cm) than between the other lines. The special arrangement of the first line was presumably intended for decorative purpose and perhaps also to set it off as 'title line'. The uddāna lines are also laid out differently from those of the text proper, with small dots serving as punctuation signs between each verse citation but without spaces between quarters, as in the first verse of the text.[11]

Salomon notes that the Khvs-G MS presents another distinguishing characteristic (pertaining to codicology *stricto sensu*, for the purpose of conservation), which the MS shares with other scrolls such as the Khotanese *Dharmapada*, namely,

> [T]he margins of the Khvs-G were apparently sewn along their entire lengths, although the only surviving traces of this are in the right margin next to uddāna lines 1 and 2, where three [thread holes are still visible (2000)]. Although this binding was presumably intended to

---

1–7), translated the word *saṃsalana* as 'salle de réunion', something that, hypothetically, may evoke Sanskrit **saṃ[gīti?-]śālā*. Note, however, that D. C. Sircar, following Senart quoted by Hultzsch (CII I, 163, n. 5), reads *saṃsaraṇa* and translates it as 'house or road'. The later Mahāvyutpatti renders the Sanskrit terms *maṇḍapa* and *sabhāmaṇḍapa* with the Tibetan equivalents 'dun mkhaṅ and mdun khaṅ, which may be translated as 'assembly hall'. Sircar again takes *sabhāmaṇḍapa* ('main hall in a shrine', 'hall in front of a shrine') as a synonym for *raṅgamaṇḍapa* ('inner hall of a temple'; same as Tamil *tiruv-araṅgu*); Sircar IEG 276. Sircar IE 99, in the footsteps of Émile Senart (The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik EI VIII: 82ff), who translated the word *phalakavāra* appearing in a Nasik inscription dating to the 2nd century (Tsukamoto III Nasik 12), suggests the word should be interpreted as 'store-room of original grants in a king's Akṣapaṭala'. The practice of depositing the copy of charters in specific 'archives' is attested in early Tibetan inscriptions; see Scherrer-Schaub 2003, 265 and n. 10.

11 A similar use of graphic artifice to enhance the item by putting it into the upper margin is attested, albeit in a literary different context, in Chinese Dunhuang manuscripts, see below p. 267 and n. 69. On the *uddāna*, see Salomon 2000, 33–37.

prevent the separation of the scroll into horizontal fragments (Salomon 1999, 94); it does not seem to have succeeded in this purpose in the case of the Khvs-G.[12]

More elaborate punctuation marks may also be introduced, not as much to give emphasis to the text itself, but to locate its position in a collection. An interesting 5th-century compendium of *mahāyānasūtras* (Schøyen Collection MS 2378/1) in poṭhī format on palm leaf,[13] which reveals the existence of a system of foliation in the left-hand margin of the recto where the margins have been preserved, presents two elaborate marks besides the usual punctuation marks (simple and double *daṇḍa*): a circle with an inscribed four-petalled (?) flower at the end of the text, and again, after the explicit, a larger circle with an inscribed multi-petalled (?) flower,[14] followed by what appears to be a flourish by way of a paraph.

> [...] *te sarve bhagavato bhāṣitam abhinandeti* || ◎
> *samāpta*(ṃ) *śrīmālādevīsiṃha*[*nāda*]*nirde*[*śa*'] ○ (*sūtraṃ* |) [*e*](*kāyāna*)ṃ [*ma*](*h*) [*opā*](*ya*)-
> *vaitulye abhijñā*[*taṃ*] *śrī*[*mā*]*lā*[*sūtra*]*m etat* ||) ✿ || ⊞
> (*Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśa*, fol. 392r, 3–4)[15]

---

12 Salomon 2000, 23–26, 25; and 1999, 94–96. Baums (2014, 200) mentions that 'two of the BC scrolls (long-format BC 3 and short-format BC 5) do not feature margin threads, but have ink lines down the margins where a thread would have run' and quotes Ingo Strauch, who noticed that 'the margins' threads had come to be perceived as an integral part of text layout' (see Strauch 2008, 103–136, 107). See Fig. 9a, below 268, where the number of *gāthās* is followed by a series of signs that recall the diplomatic practice of 'document closure', granting security and avoiding alteration. If this is the case, it would give probability to the idea that the *gāthā* metric may in some cases hint at more 'mundane transactions'; see 271 and n. 75-76. MS C equally shows the use of lectional signs, such as the small circle marking the beginning of the verse-line. Finally, the presence of sewn margins, here as elsewhere, functions as a borderline to mark the mirror page, indicating to the scribe that he must avoid writing into the margins of the scroll itself. This indication may be compared with the hatching lines that encircle the knot-hole of the birch-bark strip, which the scribe should avoid. On a document's closure, see Scherrer-Schaub 2002, 269.

13 The compendium is 'consistently written in a variant of the North Western Gupta Book Script, which can be dated to the 5th c. on paleographical grounds'; see Sander 2000, 64, and facsimile IV.

14 The circle with inscribed petalled or multi-petalled flowers and other punctuation marks evoke the figures of some *bracteae* in precious metal, generally gold, inlaid with semi-precious stones that circulated in Afghanistan and were found in very rich tomb deposits at Tillia tepe (1st c. CE): see Cambon 2006–30 avril 2007, 164–213, catalogue no. 36–145, 82, 90.

15 See *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśa* (= SC 2378/1/3, SC 2379/3/2b) Kazunobo Matsuda BM I, 2000, 65–76, 67, and facsimile III.2.

Fig. 2a: Example of *siddham*-monogram on a copper plate, dated to *c.* 5th century, Schøyen Coll. (MS 2851); see L. Sander BM II 337–349. Copper plate, dated *c.* 5th cent. Repr. from Jens Braarvig and Fredrik Liland (eds) 2010, 86.

Besides lectional signs, traditional auspicious symbols (*maṅgala*) appear with various levels of functionality (punctuation, ornamentation, protection, and so on). The famous *siddham*,[16] which is not included among the standard *maṅgalas*, although it may be taken as a sign of auspiciousness,[17] appears as an incipit and is frequently attested in early inscriptions. During the Gupta Era, the *verbatim siddham* began to be replaced by (but initially co-existed with) a symbolic sign, the *siddham*-monogram' (Fig. 2a).

   The movable 'ye dharmā' copper-plate inscription (Schøyen collection MS 2851) published by Lore Sander (BM II 2002, 340 and plate XVIII) shows that the symbolic sign, or 'Gaṇeśa's curl', replaced the auspicious *siddham* in some cases. The copper-plate's script is written in 'a North-eastern Indian Gupta type which flourished between the 4th and the 6th centuries'. This sign is less easy to retrace

16 Compare with the Chrismon/XP used as a symbolic invocation at the beginning of European mediaeval charters (like the cross was as well); see Guyotjeannin et al. 1993, 72.
17 See Sircar IE: 92, n. 4, 94–97, 127 and n. 3 and 4 quoting Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* on the first *vārttika* (*siddhe śabdārtha sambandhe*) of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, saying 'that Kātyāyana employs the word *siddha* at the very outset for the auspicious completion of his scientific treatise'. The *siddham* is placed at the beginning of a text to ensure success, and may be replaced by the *siddham*-monogram or curl-like sign. See Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 17–19.

Fig. 2b: Sample of illustrated MS (SI P/11-1), from *The Lotus Sutra and Its World. Buddhist Manuscripts of the Great Silk Road. Manuscripts and Blockprints from the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies*, St Petersburg, 1998, 12.2, 35, 'Sanskrit MS of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra, end of chapter 5 to beginning of chapter 6'. Assumed to have been copied in Khotan, q.v.

in early fragmentary MSS, partly because these are frequently broken in the upper part of the folio where the text begins. It is found together with the *verbatim 'siddham'* at the beginning of the *Pravaraṇasūtra* in the compendium of *mahāyāna-sūtras* just mentioned, for instance. Incidentally, the curl-like symbol became an important marker in the typology of Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts. It also appears in a Chinese MS (P 2247, archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr)[18], with interlinear annotations in Tibetan that may have been made by pupils of the monk Facheng/Chos grub, who is likely to have been teaching in Chinese and Tibetan, languages that he mastered equally well. Two MSS of this kind bear the title *Yuqie lun shouji* ('Notes on the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*') and *Yuqie shidi lun fenmen ji* ('Notes [dealing with] the doctrinal categories of the *Yogācārabhūmiśāstra*'), dating to the period of the Tibetan administration of Dunhuang (781–848).[19]

The page of the Indian and Indic MSS became richer progressively, though not necessarily from a diachronic perspective and not consistently either, gaining a set of marks, illustrations (Fig. 2b), and commentarial and editorial notes. In short, the practice evolves, showing that the manuscripts are possibly now used in a slightly different context, where they circulate among a larger community of scholars and possibly are part of a more or less structured corpus[20]; it becomes both the instru-

---

18 Available online at: http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=945930659;bst=1; recnum=59328;index=1;img=1.

19 Moretti 2014a, 255–263, 255 and 260. Lectional signs are reproduced on p. 260 (Figs. 4, 5, 6); the sign in the middle (Fig. 5) may be seen as a variant of the *siddham*-monogram, in this case with a slightly different function.

20 Whenever this is the case, it may be useful to distinguish between 'signs' that reveal a particular intellectual practice (lectional signs, punctuation, text divisions, subsidiary texts, comments, etc.)

ment and the mirror of learned intellectual life. In some cases, such as in early Tibetan translations kept in Dunhuang, the sole trace of its initial sobriety is the uniformity of the script, which does not employ capital letters (although tentative scrawls may be seen in the collection of Dunhuang Tibetan MSS): the MS keeps the art of ornamentation for the opening sign or curl-like symbol, the margins, the illustrations, the signs of punctuation, and later on to embellish the traditional string-holes appearing in the poṭhī-format MSS.[21]

The fact that one finds specimens among early Buddhist MSS that display the text according to specific forms and rules or introduce lectional signs or paratexts (i.e. rubrics, titles, etc., as well as longer texts such as lists of verses, chapters, tables of contents or indexes raisonnés) refers the reader to the peculiar use of the text and is evidence of the high intellectual standard of its users. It thus invites us to question some aspects of the historical and cultural factors that might have contributed to the subsequent encounters that Indian Buddhists had with the regions of North-western India.

2 Early Buddhist manuscripts in their historical context

While the earliest Buddhist MSS known to date originate from the present-day regions of Pakistan, Afghanistan, Turkestan and Xinjiang, it cannot simply be affirmed that Buddhist texts did not exist in written form in the same epoch in Central India or in Śrī Laṅka; what may be said, however, is that while the conditions of their effective production are certainly present, we nonetheless lack tangible evidence of it. It is interesting to investigate the composite hallmark of the cultural milieu of the north-western regions where these Buddhist texts were written or copied, studied and/or commented on, and to look at the question of how the refined philological practice behind the use of lectional and critical signs[22], of subsidiary

---

and 'signs' that are to be studied in the framework of biblio-economy, such as the system of pagination, marginal titles, the measurement of text by means of fixed or average specific units, etc. — though, in some cases, the marker may admittedly refer to both practices. Lectional signs, and embellished punctuation marks may be followed from Gandhāra to Dunhuang/Tibetan manuscripts; see Baums 2009, pl. 21, and cf. IO 129 and 728 (http://idp.bl.uk) showing *zig-zag śad*s with 'petalled 'head'.

21 See Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 17–19, and plate V; Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002, 191–193.

22 See the Greek terminology given in Pfeiffer 1968, 310 *s.v.*: ἀντίσιγμα, ἀστερίκος, διπλῆ, ὀβελός, σίγμα.

texts, entered cenobitic life, so to speak, and the conditions in which this practice flourished in these regions.

The inquiry benefits largely from the work of Richard Salomon and other scholars who have brought textual, epigraphical, artistic, and architectural documents to light over the last few decades or have directed their investigations at the historical and linguistic conditions of the introduction of the written word in the Indian sphere in general. The intent of the present author is very restricted in scope and concerns the layout of the manuscript page as a conveyor of textual meaning and the disclosure of the history of Indian/Indic philological and intellectual practices.

Let us start in the present-day regions of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Uzbekistan in the centuries around the beginning of the Common Era (1st century BCE – 1st century CE), when Buddhist MSS were possibly circulating in Buddhist monastic communities temporarily or permanently residing in religious centres where artistic production, in the form of reliquaries and other monuments, was flourishing under the Indo-Scythian and Śaka dynasties of Apraca and Oḍi-rāja, who were supporting the Buddhist institution to various degrees, and also in light of the fact that, as archaeology and epigraphy tell us, Buddhist sites already existed in these regions prior to this period.[23]

The 'Rhinoceros Horn Sūtra' (Khvs-G) (see p. 244) stands out as one of the oldest specimens of MSS with a scroll format. Despite its antiquity, it displays a relatively rich layout and at the same time its physical appearance shows that the text was handled considerably (Salomon 2000, 23). Although its provenance is uncertain, according to Salomon (2000, xii)

> there are strong indications that [it] came from one of the sites in or around Haḍḍa in the Jalalabad Plain of eastern Afghanistan, just west of the Khyber Pass.

The MS, which may be dated to the 1st century BCE – 1st century CE, reveals a refined learned intellectual milieu in which a plurality of cultures co-existed. Like the majority of the early MSS, it is written on strips of birch bark that are glued together to form a roll.[24] The disposition of the strips in the roll, as noted by Salomon (1999, 87),

23 There is, of course, an important bibliography on the history of these regions. Close to the present topic, see Salomon 1999, 2–13, 180–182; and 2007; Callieri 2007; Faccenna 2007; Neelis 2007.
24 In this case, the pieces of bark have the same function as *kollema*. In papyrology, the term *kollema* designates the individual folios or pages that, when glued together, composed the Greek roll, a practice which is attested in one of the earliest extant Greek papyri, the P.Derveni, dating to the 5th–4th c. BCE, and continues in the Hellenistic and Roman period. As is well known, the imprint of a Greek papyrus was found at Aï Khanoum (see pp. 255–257), and the practice of gluing together the standard folia that constitute the rolls, attested in China, may be equally observed in the Tibetan

attests the local / Gandhāran practice of reading the 'book'[25] by unrolling the scroll vertically (as was the case for some of the Tibetan scrolls of Dunhuang), contrary to Greek papyri (or Chinese scrolls), which were unrolled horizontally.

In a recent and very informative article, Stefan Baums retraces the origin of the Gandhāran 'scroll-type' and returns to the practice of unrolling a scroll vertically, which he associates with the Aramaic tradition in an Achaemenid context. After carefully considering the peculiar physical characteristic of the documents, he concludes:

> In view of this long list of detailed arguments in the way that short-format documents were prepared, inscribed and used in the Achemenid empire and in early Gandhāra, and on the historical background of the Achemenid administration of Gandhāra at the time when the Aramaic script was first adopted to the writing of the Gandhāran language, I therefore suggest that Aramaic manuscript formats and scribal habits as practised in the Achemenid empire likewise formed the starting point for the Gandhāran manuscript tradition.[26]

The question arises as to the actual historical and cultural context and conditions in which Gandhāran Buddhism originated. It is noteworthy that, in the first part of the 1st century CE, at the time when possibly the Khvs-G and the earliest Buddhist MSS were circulating, the Buddhist communities that existed in the regional Indo-Scythian and Śaka kingdoms were not beginners. This may be inferred from various sources, for instance from the highly developed and complex Buddhist phraseology

---

rolls of Dunhuang. Again, this does not mean that I subscribe to the idea of a linear and chronologically successive transmission of this MS format, but rather that the scroll is one of the oldest types of writing materials and that the practice – with unavoidable local variances, particularly with regard to the material used – was shared by cultures across a very large area of the ancient and medieval world.

25 For the sake of convenience, we shall use the term 'book' to designate that bibliothetic unit consisting of intellectual content (i.e. a text) and a material support with specific codicological format's characteristics (roll, poṭhī, etc.). The terminology fluctuates according to the epoch and/or the context, and this is more or less universal in all cultures. One example in the Gandhāran context may be seen in the use of the term *pustaka*, which may also, self-referentially, designate a book written in roll-format. See Salomon 1999, 87: 'All of the fragmentary manuscripts in the new collection are in the form of scrolls composed of strips of birch bark. From the fragmentary colophon in fragment 3B and from the verse written at the top of the KDhP scroll [...], we know that these scrolls were referred to as *postaka* or *postaga*, an Iranian loanword which appears in Sanskrit as *pustaka*, "book"'.

26 See Baums 2014, 218 and 220, where Baums distinguishes 'three cycles of the introduction and adaptation of manuscripts traditions in Gandhāra and surrounding areas', with the first cycle starting in the 6th c. BCE. See also the detailed description of Gandhāran rolls in Salomon 1999, 87–109; see Baums 2014, 192–199.

that appears in the (roughly) contemporary inscription of Senavarma.[27] Moreover, and via the links these petty kings had with the Śaka of Gandhāra, especially Taxila, the local Buddhists were in contact with their religious fellows in Mathurā.[28] Further elements come to compose the cluster of data that concerns Buddhism during the last part of the 1st century BCE and the first part of the 1st century CE. To illustrate the Indian presence in the region at this time, the new disposition of the Buddhist area at Butkara I may be mentioned as an example. Domenico Faccenna noted that this new disposition

> transformed and adapted the new features to the peculiarly Indian monuments, namely the *vihāra* and, in particular, the *stūpa* with its *vedikā*.[29]

This seems to indicate that, at that time, religious and intellectuals from peninsular India were transmitting to the north-western regions the rules and principles governing the Buddhist institution in matters of architecture, religious teaching and monastic rules, chancery practice,[30] etc., while, at the same time, they were possibly able to adopt local uses and techniques, for instance in the matter of writing implements and practices, and they were equally able to introduce local elements in their narrative prose. The art of composing literary texts was completely their own, however. This is amply demonstrated by the existence of the oldest Buddhist manuscripts in these regions, copied or put down in writing by local scribes.

As previously noted, the conditions for writing down the *buddhavacana* were theoretically present at the time of Aśoka since, as we have seen, Mauryan chancery practice made provision for a copy or the original of the edict written on stone to be deposited in the archives. We do not know whether the text was written on cloth or on any other support, but the fact remains that we have a testimony of the use of writing in the 3rd century BCE here. One century later or so, the monuments at Bharhut bear evidence of short legends recalling the Buddhist texts that were possibly recited to pilgrims and other visitors to the monastic site. Finally, and interestingly enough, both the Ceylonese Chronicles and the extant early Gandhāran MSS converge in assigning the writing down of the *buddhavacana* to the 1st century BCE,[31] although we are tempted to think – following a narrative considered legendary up to now – that

---

27 See Scherrer-Schaub (in press). Other inscriptions of this period are evidencing the fact; see Scherrer-Schaub 2016.

28 See Neelis 2011, 121–123 and notes.

29 Faccenna 2007, 170.

30 See the earliest donative acts attested in inscriptions, for example.

31 For a Ceylonese conspectus, see von Hinüber 1990 (XIII), 63–66. On pre-Mauryan evidence, see Salomon 1998, 12 and notes.

the writing down of Buddhist texts, albeit on a reduced scale, may well have commenced in Mathurā sometime earlier. To return to the codicological investigation, we may note that while the palaeography of ancient Buddhist MSS is relatively well established on a sound basis, the systematic study of the layout, of the critical (σημεῖα) and lectional signs (accentuation, punctuation) and of the art of displaying the commentary – in short, of the various forms activating the text in their cultural and historical perspective – is less studied.

2.1 The disposition of text on a surface

In his inspiring *Footprints of Artisans in History. Some Reflections on Early Artisans of India*, Shadakshari Settar mentions the fact that the inscription in the minor rock edict of Aśoka at Brahmagiri (Chitradurga Dist. Karnataka, Hultzsch CII I, 175–178) ends with the word *lipikareṇa* written in Kharoṣṭhī from right to left. The same happens with the Siddhāpura and Jatiṅga Rāmeśvara minor rock edicts, both also located in the Chitradurga District. Settar (2003, 24–26) finely points out a series of so far unnoticed consequences of the Brahmagiri inscription, as the use of 'Prākṛt language and Brāhmī script among the regional elite', while Chapaḍa the carver uses the term *isila* (meaning a fortified town) in the three inscriptions, which is 'a proto-Kannaḍa term probably derived from the Dravidian root iyal, meaning "arrow shot"'.

Most interestingly, Settar (2003, 29–33, 32–33) notes that Chapaḍa was not only a skilled artisan, but also a fine 'philologist', who improved his skill in the course of carving the three minor edicts, producing 'his best at Brahmagiri'. Besides making corrections and additions, Chapaḍa achieved a degree of perfection in setting the surface layout of the inscription.

> First he carefully chose a massive boulder at the north-west base of this hill, which opened up a near-even surface of about sixteen feet in width and twelve feet in height, and composed this edict, balancing both its horizontality and verticality. This enabled him to gain better edges to the frame, sharper alignment of left-margin, greater uniformity in spacing letters and lines, and better configuration of characters. In just twelve and half lines he covered the entire text as against twenty two he had taken at the earlier two centres. Though he followed Siddhapura version in general, he had rewritten the text for the third time, incorporating some more changes in its vocabulary, shuffling some sentences here and there (I, N-Q occuring in ll. 5, 9–12) and making expressions shorter and sharper. He corrects the opening sentence by restoring the three words before *vataviyā*, opens the second adding few more words (*se hevaṃ Devānaṃ piye* ...) and even goes to the extent of exhibiting the sophistication he had attained by playing with the verbs such as *hēvaṃ āha*, with *āṇapayati*, *sāvite* with *sāvāpite* and such others.

This tells us that at least some of the artisans who carved the Mauryan inscriptions in the north-western regions[32] were itinerants, and the same may apply to their artisan fellows of peninsular India who were migrating or travelling in the opposite direction.[33] It equally tells us that the aesthetic concern that Chapaḍa demonstrates was possibly shared at large among those who were, like him, writing in Brāhmī. In this way, the case of Chapaḍa, who – we can assume for several reasons that would take us too far[34] – could also write in Kharoṣṭhī, leads us, once again, to the complexity of factors that should be taken into account when considering the intellectual, social and cultural practices in a historical perspective.

To return to the early Buddhist MSS mentioned before, and in the absence of tangible evidence of extant Buddhist MSS from peninsular India at such an early date (1st century BCE – 1st century CE), the question arises as to the possible role of local or itinerant scribes,[35] who may have contributed to transmitting their technique to migrants or natives Buddhist religious or lay masters. It is a well-known fact that a cluster of data gleaned from the study of languages, monuments, artistic production and artefacts of this period converge towards a common cultural pattern sharing a long distance and local elements that do not only refer to the 'mountain tribes' (showing a marked ethnic and linguistic diversity), but also to Indian, Iranian, and Hellenistic components conveyed in the region – long before, at times. Moreover, even though this has been said frequently, it should be stressed once again that Taxila, the capital city of

---

32 Settar (2003, 10) calls 'Kharoshṭhīs', named 'after Kshatrapa Kharahostes', the artisans who were 'more adventurous and more dynamic than the rest of the artisans of this time' and who were 'a displaced Iranian community, hungering for fresh outlets after the fall of the Achemenid empire' and who 'had become as fluent in Kharoshṭī letters as in Prākṛt language'. Settar advances the hypothesis that Chapaḍa could have been a native of Karnataka 'born in a family of migrants'; see 2003, 25.

33 See the *avadāna* staging the history of the artisan of North-west India, a wood-carver, inviting a skilled painter from South India. See Scherrer-Schaub 2009b, 32 and n. 18. Some unpredictable and uncontrollable factors have caused some distortions to the expectable presentation of Scherrer-Schaub 2009b that the magnanimous reader will no doubt excuse.

34 Some centuries later, the 'Kharoṣṭhī/Gāndhārī textual tradition was not, as it might once have appeared, an isolated and ephemeral provincial phenomenon, but rather was well entrenched, widely used, and highly influential over a vast area of south and central Asia' (Salomon 1999, 137).

35 Salomon (1999, sections 6.6 and 6.7) noticed intrusions in inscriptions and early MSS, betraying local vocabulary (Dardic, etc.) and scribal habits. He further adds (1999, 136): 'Since it can be assumed that our scribes learned to write through some formal training process, the preferences they show for particular orthographical alternatives presumably reflect those of their teachers. Thus, there must have been, in some form or other, different traditions of ways to write Gāndhārī'. We would add that their teachers might have been teaching to them in faraway places or might have come to the region from far away. Or they may even have learnt from MSS imported from distant countries and circulating in the region.

Gandhāra, was an important cultural centre frequented by Indian scholars, and that some of them, like Pāṇini (4th cent. BCE), were native of the region.

That the north-western (and southern regions) were connected with Egypt and Alexandria is an equally well ascertained fact supported by the 13th MRE of Aśoka, where Ptolemy II Philadelphus (r. 285–246 BCE) is mentioned together with four Hellenistic kings who maintained diplomatic relations with the Mauryan empire. Ptolemy II Philadelphus is the king who 'excavated a canal connecting the Nile to the Red Sea and hence to the Indian ocean'.[36] He is also the king who majestically staged a Pompa Bacchica, on the occasion of which one could see 'a cart representing the return of Dionysus [the evanescent ambassador of the Egyptian king] from India, with elephants, parrots, peacocks, Indian dogs and oxen, and some real Indians. Columns surrounding a dining salon were made of Indian marble.'[37]

Without going into the fascinating history of the close relationship between India and Egypt following the campaign of Alexander the Great, it is worth mentioning here that Ptolemy II Philadelphus (although well known, it is certainly useful to recall that the Ptolemies were Macedonians!) instituted the Museum/Mouseïon, the cultural and religious centre of Alexandria, and initiated a series of intellectual enterprises that were momentous for the dawn of Alexandrian philology, whose influence traversed the following centuries and is still perceptible nowadays.

In discussing a relief found in the Buddhist Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swāt, West Pakistan), Maurizio Taddei mentions the case of the statuettes and representation of Harpocrates that were found at Begram and Sirkap, dated 'by Marshall to the 1st c. AD'.[38] Noting that the Harpocrates of Sirkap 'seems to be a product of Alexandrian craftsmanship of the 1st c. AD', Maurizio Taddei adds that the 'reliefs from Swāt only provide us with a further confirmation of the close links relating Gandhāra to Alexandria'. Taking a step further, he stresses the following point:

> If all these elements point toward a transference of cultural motifs from Egypt to Gandhāra, on the other hand one should not disregard the possibility that sometimes the same route was followed in a backward direction, as it seems to be the case with a figurine of Harpocrates seated in the "Buddha style" on a lotus flower,

examples of which are preserved in the Museum of Alexandria, among other places (Figs 3a, b, c).

---

36 See Brancaccio 2007, 387 and n. 9.

37 Karttunen 1997, 330 and n. 48.

38 See Taddei 2003, 135 and n. 7, 136 and n. 15.

Fig. 3a: Harpocrates from Begram. Kabul Museum, Francine Tissot *Catalogue of the National Museum of Afghanistan 1931-1985. Paris,* Unesco Publishing, 2006, 283, K.p. Beg. 712.452 (ex n° 153), bronze cast solid. Reproduced from Taddei 2003, I: 134–135 and Fig. 5.

Fig. 3b: Harpocrates from Hadra. Repr. from Breccia 1930, 55, no. 257 and Tav. XVI, 1. Height: 8.3 cm.

Further cultural links with Hellenistic Egypt closely connected with our concern are attested at Aï Khanoum on the bank of the River Oxus in Hellenistic Bactria (in present-day Afghanistan). In room 107 of the royal palace, which may have hosted the library, the exceptional discovery of the impression left on a lump of fine loam by some fragments of papyrus and two parchments of literary Greek

texts – a philosophical dialogue and a piece of drama, either a comedy or a tragedy[39] – help to confirm the intellectual 'vivacity' of the far provinces of the Hellenistic world in the 3rd century BCE. The philosophical fragment[40] that Cavallo dates to the mid-3rd century BCE is thus contemporary to Aśoka, Ptolemy II Philadelphus and to the library annexed to the Museum, instituted at Alexandria.

Fig. 3c: Harpocrates from Ibrahimieh, seated on a lotus. Repr. from Breccia 1930, 55, no. 265 and Tav. XVII, 6. Height: 8 cm.

39 See Cavallo/Hadot/Rapin 1987, 244–249 and 256–257. According to the palaeographical study, Cavallo (236–237) dates the philosophical fragment to the mid-3rd century BCE and puts the fragment in the context of the Greek-Egyptian papyri and scripts.
40 On the philosophical resonance between the Aï Khanoum fragment and the Indian philosophical conspectus of the time, see Scherrer-Schaub 2014, 167–171, and Scherrer-Schaub (forthcoming).

In her very 'dotta' analysis of this piece, Margherita Isnardi-Parente suggests with caution that we are possibly confronted here with a dialogue written by Aristotle in his youth, slightly Platonizing, and whose content could be added to the very fragile and hypothetical pieces of evidence that lead us to the lost doctrine of Xenocrates (339–314 BCE).[41] We have also long known that those who were reading in Greek at Aï Khanoum (whether or not this was their mother tongue) were most likely in contact with Indians who were passing through or had migrated into the region (not necessarily all Buddhists).[42] Naturally, the bibliography on this subject does not end here – in fact, it is amazingly vast. One element, however, may be of interest in helping us repaint the context: the discovery of ink-pots dating to the turn of the Common Era (1st century BCE–1st century CE) that were found at Aï Khanoum, Begram and Taxila (Scherrer-Schaub 2009b, fig. 5.4), which patently shows that these writing tools used by the scribes of early Buddhist MSS were possibly once imported from the Hellenistic world and eventually manufactured in the region by artisans skilled in the technique. It is worthwhile to read the description provided by Paul Bernard here, which has rarely been taken into consideration so far:

> Le dernier objet que je tiens à vous présenter est un petit récipient de bronze en forme de copule, fermé sur le dessus par une plaque horizontale percée d'un trou central (fig. 21). À l'intérieur est adapté à ce trou un petit godet en plomb. Une anse verticale mobile permettait de porter le récipient. Nous avons là un encrier qui se rattache directement à un type d'encrier grec caractérisé par la présence d'un petit godet destiné à recevoir l'encre, fixé à l'intérieur d'un récipient plus grand, de forme variable, cylindrique ou à flancs arrondis. Les exemplaires les plus proches du nôtre par la forme sont ceux qui ont été recueillis dans la fouille de Délos. Des encriers analogues ont également été découverts à Bégram et à Taxila, où les couches du Ier siècle av. J.-C. et du Ier siècle ap. J. C. en ont livré une riche série. Ce modeste objet éclaire d'une vive lueur la très large pénétration de la culture grecque dans toute l'Asie centrale à partir de la Bactriane hellénisée, puisqu'il fut imitée par l'artisanat local d'une des grandes capitales du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde et que le sanskrit a emprunté au grec le nom de l'encre (*melā*) et celui de la plume (*kalama*).[43]

---

41 Isnardi-Parente (1992, 188), remarks: 'La conclusione di questo discorso non oltrepassa i limiti dell'ipotesi. Avanzo la congettura che ci troviamo di fronte a un frammento di dialogo giovanile platonizzante — ma nella forma più che nella sostanza — di Aristotele, dialogo che potrebbe essere identificato con il Zophistés; e che quanto vi è contenuto possa andare ad aggiungersi alle diverse, pur fragili e ipotetiche testimonianze che ci conducono sulle tracce della perduta dottrina di Senocrate'. Recently Ivanoe Privitera (2011, 132), while rejecting the hypothesis that Isnardi-Parente had advanced extremely cautiously, suggests, 'rather speculatively' as he says, that the fragment could 'also be, for example, Heraclides Ponticus *Perí eidõn*'.
42 But they could equally see Indian artefacts at Aï Khanoum where Eucratides possibly 'stored the booty from his expeditions in India' in the royal treasury. See Rapin 1995, 277.
43 Bernard 1978, 462–463.

Almost a century later, Nāgārjuna (1st to 2nd century CE) mentions the writing prac-
tice in his *Ratnāvalī* and recommends the king to diffuse/donate the *buddhava-
cana*, together with the writing material, book (*pustaka, glegs bam*), ink (*maṣī, snag
tsha*) and wooden pen (*lekhanī, smyu gu*). And in order for knowledge to be accrued,
says the Mādhyamika Master, the king should build a school or a hall for writing
(*lipiśālā*).[44]
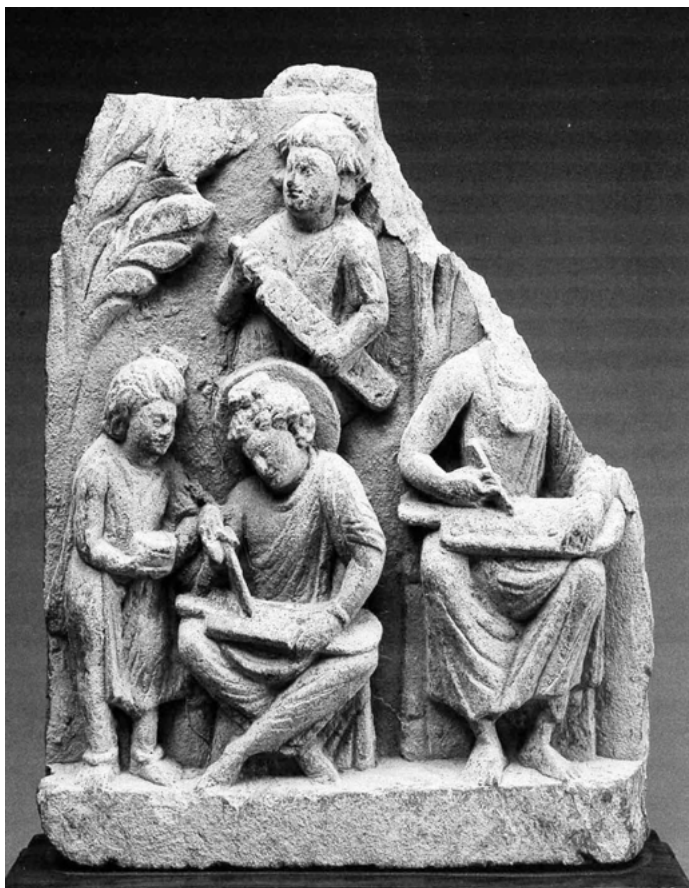
Fig. 4: Lipiśālā. Relief fragment (Gandhāra) 2nd–3rd c. CE, 25 × 22 cm, grey schist, Kamakura,
Hiragama Collection. From *Sérinde. Terre de Bouddha. Dix siècles d'art sur la Route de la Soie.*
Paris, 24 octobre 1995 – 19 février 1996, 235, fig. 179.

---

44 See Scherrer-Schaub 2007, Part 2: 772.

Fig. 5: Fragment of a panel with a scene from a writing school (*lipiśālā*): novices bearing ink-pots and writing slabs. Museum of Lahore, from Tissot 2002, fig. 258.

The episode of the writing school (*lipiśālā*) in the life stories of Śākyamuni is frequently represented in plastic reliefs, as in Figs 4 and 5. In the first case, Śākyamuni is seated on a stool, with his dangling legs crossed, and is writing on a wooden tablet, some specimens of which have been found in Khotan. (The same type of wooden tablet was still in use in Himachal Pradesh more than twenty years ago.) Śākyamuni writes with a wooden pen and his young attendant bears an ink-pot like those displayed in the Taxila Museum. The central figure – possibly the teacher – holds a written tablet showing the Arapacana alphabet. The second relief, from Ostia (Fig. 6),[45] displays a scene where a central figure, who may

---

[45] The dating of this relief varies from the 2nd– 3rd to the 5th centuries CE; see Turner 1968, 189 'Notes on the Plates' and Plate VI: 'Published by G. Calza in *Le Arti* (Rassegna industriale dell'Arte, Firenze), I, 1939, opp. p. 391. Relief from a building in Ostia. Firm elements for dating are not known to me. The bearded figures would suit the 2nd/3rd c. CE, or after Julian. (...) Behind the scribe on the left are three men, one of whom is gesturing in dispute; behind the scribe on the right are two men, one of whom turns to look at his neighbour, whose hand is raised to attract attention. It has been suggested that the central figure is Christ, and that the scribes are the
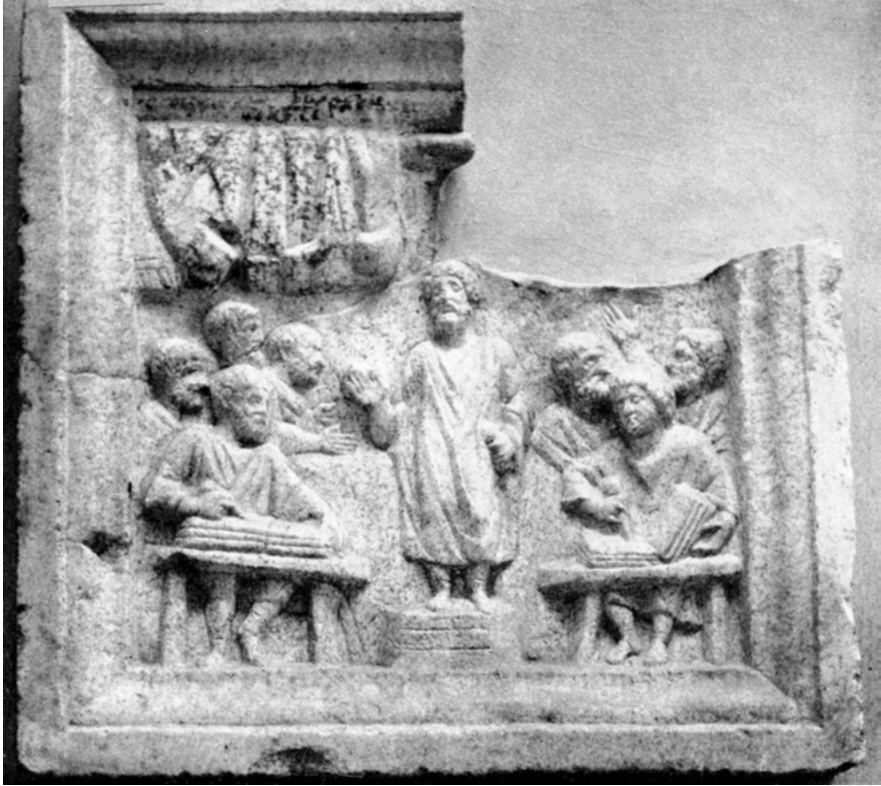
Fig. 6: Relief from Ostia, dating c. 2nd–3rd c. CE. Central figure with a roll in his left hand and his open right hand raised in a gesture; for the complete description, see n. 45. From Turner 1968, plate VI. Compare this with the scene in Fig. 1.

be a rhetorician or a teacher, stands on a platform, a roll in his left hand, his open right hand raised in a gesture. At either side a scribe seated at a low wooden table writes with a stylus (its blunt reverse end is readily identifiable) on wax tablets, the six wooden folds of which are supported on the table.

Anna Filigenzi's pregnant observation about Gandhāran painting helps to achieve a better understanding of the context of the intellectual production of literati, philosophers, and poets handed down to us thanks to the wealth of fragmentary MSS:

Evangelists writing down the Gospels. But the iconography is unusual and four Evangelists would be expected. (…)' q.v. Compare this scene with that of Fig. 1 'Monks reading and commenting in a cenacle' above p. 241.

[If] Gandhara devised for painting — as indeed we are now able to judge for sculpture — an original, organic language of its own, it is nevertheless in the far vaster world of eastern Hellenism that it constructed a physiognomy for itself, and to this world it owed a number of features. Of course, there was nothing like uniformity in this world, but it did see certain common characteristics of Hellenistic origin blending with, but never overwhelming, other local characteristics in a continuous process of generation. Moreover, the spread of Hellenism came on top of other phenomena of cultural interaction, particularly evident in the specific case of Gandhara — a borderland where we sense a rich cultural substratum, fundamentally Indian but also Iranian and Central Asian.[46]

Richard Salomon, after a careful critical review of the opinions concerning the origin of the scroll format, concludes:

If the new discoveries of numerous birch bark scrolls from the greater Gandhāra region weaken the hypothesis of a Chinese background for the scroll format, they support the argument for a Hellenistic source. (…) [W]e now can see that the birch bark scroll was the standard book format in a time and place — that is, in Gandhāra in the early centuries of the Christian era — which was still under a strong influence of Hellenistic culture. For example the discovery of a hybrid figure of Herakles-Vajrapāṇi at Tapa Shutur (Tarzi 1976, 396–7; Mustamandi 1984) illustrates the Hellenistic atmosphere of the Haḍḍa area itself, which is likely to be the original provenance of the new manuscripts. Thus the Greek papyrus scroll must be considered a priori the more probable inspiration for the Gandhāran scrolls, despite the difference in details of their construction noted by Janert.[47]

What is most important here is the fact that Richard Salomon points to the structural pattern, which is much more indicative than the series of functional diversities, such as the use of the scroll in the horizontal position in Gandhāra versus the vertical one in the case of papyri.[48]

---

46 Filigenzi 2006, 29.

47 Salomon 1999, 100–104, especially 102–103.

48 As noted by Turner 1968, 2, it is worth mentioning that 'On Assyrian monuments rolls can be seen in the hand of counting scribes, though they were perhaps made of skins, the great rival of papyrus as writing material in the early period, even in Greece'. And also (ibid.: 4) '… it is worth emphasizing that the manufacturer's and retailer's unit is the made-up roll, and that the Greek word χάρτης, Latin charta, does not mean a sheet but a roll'.

3 Unveiling the page of early Buddhist MSS. Alexandrian philology and its diffusion

Ptolemy II Philadelphus passed away in 246 BCE. Aristophanes of Byzantium (255–180 BCE) was then a nine-year-old child destined for a brilliant future. Callimachus of Cyrene (the Hellenistic province governed by Magas/Māga, one of the five kings of Aśoka's 13th MRE mentioned above), who was to pass away in 250 BCE, had been ordered by Ptolemy II to make the library accessible by making a catalogue (pinakes) that would be a scientific inventory of Greek literature.[49] Aristophanes on his part would continue the work of his predecessors, and together with other scholars he would be in charge of reordering the collection of Greek texts that the father of Ptolemy II Philadelphus had started to gather. On this occasion, the team developed the first organised system of textual culture and critical edition of the textual corpus, which they were able to see in use in the Library of Alexandria for the very first time.

They introduced and/or established the use of critical and lectional signs, the practice of commenting (*hypomnemata*), taking a passage from the original text (*lemma*) and distinguishing it

> by various methods of punctuation. Often it is made to project into the left-hand margin, or is separated by space, or by a single or double stop, or by a dash, both from what precedes and what follows.[50]

As previously seen, the use of space to separate words or parts of sentences is known from the same epoch in Indian epigraphy, while the dash evokes the later Indian *daṇḍa*/Tibetan *śad*. And there is more. In cataloguing the titles of Euripides' plays, Callimachus arranged [them] in order of the initial letter.

> In the most important of these papyri, which gives summaries of the plots, the title is followed by the formula οὗ (ἧς, ὧν) ἀρχή and the citation of the first line.

When the texts had no title

> the only way to register them, it seems, was according to the 'incipit', a method still applied in modern indexes of lyric poems of an author or of an anthology. [51]

---

49 See Turner 1968, 102–103.
50 Turner 1968, 114. See above p. 244 and n. 11, below p. 267 and n. 69.
51 Pfeiffer 1968, 129–130.

The Alexandrian system of textual criticism introduced the use of diacritics, of laying out the lyrical poems on the page following the metrical units, displayed in columns (colometry), and the recourse to critical signs. These practices were not *terra incognita* as some of them had been known earlier in philosophical circles and can be seen in ancient Greek papyri today. Diogenes Laertius (3rd century CE) mentions the existence of an *editio princeps* of the work of Plato (427–347 BCE), which had possibly been established in the context of the Academy after the philosopher passed away or at the beginning of the 3rd century BCE, and explains to the reader how to interpret the diacritics, adding that the reference edition was accessible for a fee/consideration at Athenae.[52]

3.1 Textual criticism and text semiotics

Various features contributed to the legibility and intelligibility of the page: the presence of lectional and critical signs, the specific practice of highlighting the beginning of a verse or the first verse of a poem by bringing it into prominence in the upper margin of the scroll[53] or in the lateral margins, the use of short and/or long subsidiary/ancillary sub-texts (paratexts) (p. 244 and 247–248), or the use of verse-line and blank space[54] to separate the metrical units and display them in columns, to quote but a few of the specific artifices seen in the Alexandrian tradition, which may also be observed in Buddhist MSS, as mentioned above. The scribes of Buddhist MSS show concern for the aesthetic and intellectual use of texts and for the system of classifying the physical item/book in the context of a large, organised collection for the use of readers. Sylvie Hureau[55] gives a perfect example of how the graphic devices used may betray the intention of directing the reader's attention. The fragmentary Dunhuang MS P. 2094 (www.archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr)[56] of the

---

52 However, this may be a post-factum narrative; see D. L. III, 66. On the use of a master copy in the process of editing, see Turner (1968, 112–113, and 184, n. 29), who notes the use of critical signs in '[a] papyrus of the middle of the second century B.C. (P. Tebt. 4) – [i.e. the papyri of Tebtynis in the Fayyūm, discovered in the cemetery of crocodile mummies; see Turner 1968, 31–32] — [that] contains part of *Iliad* ii marked with these signs, and is probable the earliest known example of them'. See del Corso 2011, 3–34, 29, and n. 118.

53 See the case of the Khvs-G MS in Salomon 2000, 25, above p. 244. On this practice, attested in Graeco-Egyptian papyri, see Caroli 2007.

54 A blank space, between verses or verse-lines, indicates the 'silent tune', see below 269.

55 Hureau 2014a, 221–229, 226. The *Jingang bore boluomi jing* (P. 2094) is dated by a colophon to 908.

56 Available online at: http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=1769466987;bst=1; recnum=59133;index=1;img=1.

Jingang bore boluomi jing or the Chinese translation of the *Vajracchedikā* use a se-
ries of lectional signs (point, circle and stroke in red ink) to mark various topics or
achieve other functions. If these practices reveal the text semiotics, then from a his-
torical point of view, forms and graphic devices function as markers indicating un-
seen or unsuspected parallel practices in different cultural milieus.

The scholarly practice of commenting on the 'root'-text (*mūla*) or a passage,
and the *hypomnemata*[57] or the practice of 'taking notes' common in Ancient Greece,
are equally in use in Gandhāran MSS. In early scholastic Buddhist treatises, the be-
ginning of the verse, the passage or the words (*pratīka*) that will be commented, is
followed by the expression '*sutro tatra ṇideśo*', i.e. '[Thus], the sūtra; [now] the ex-
plication of it' (Salomon 1999, 28–29). In later MSS, the commentarial practice that
we just saw expressed *verbatim* is graphically converted and transposed into the
layout.[58] The verse or the *pratīka* are then isolated from the rest of the text either by
enhancing them in red ink (Fig. 7)[59] or by making use of larger fonts, while the com-
mentary is inserted in small characters underneath the line (even, at times, invad-
ing the space). Examples exist among Buddhist MSS that seem to indicate that the
original text was initially written[60] with wide spacing between the lines, which was
supposed to be filled with the commentary eventually. This practice is attested over
a large geographical area, and it is a marker of the work in progress in the case of
large-scale textual production, as on the occasion of the two periods of translation
of Indian/Indic Buddhist texts into Tibetan.[61] In some instances, we find the *mūla*

---

57 Turner (1968, 113) notes: 'The commentaries, *hypomnemata*, are complementary to the copy
of the text. The Greek word (which carries us back to Plato's *Phaedrus*) shows that they originate
in the lecture room, as lecture notes of the scholar concerned. This oral origin is perhaps one
reason why the persons who draw on them shorten them or add to them without compunction;
it may also be why abbreviations are used regularly in them in an age when abbreviations are
not normally admitted to library texts. They in fact consist of an interpretation (verbal, historical,
rhetorical, etc. according to the commentator's approach) of the author in the form of an expla-
nation of selected passages – those marked by the critical signs'.
58 See Turner 1968, 114: 'A considerable number of *hypomnemata* on papyrus survive, and it is
worth pausing to note their form. The writer quotes a passage of the original and then comments
on it. This quotation, the *lemma* or "what is taken" from the original, is carefully distinguished
from the comment by various methods of punctuation. Often it is made to project into the left-
hand margins, or is separated by space, or by a single or a double stop, or by a dash, both from
what precedes and from what follows'.
59 The *rubrica* of the Classics; see Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 7 and n. 17.
60 This nicely fits in with rules of translating from Tibetan into Mongolian, which confirm a
practice noted in Indian philosophical texts; see Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 23 and n. 84.
61 Scherrer-Schaub 1999, 3–36, 21–28 and plates X–XII; Scherrer-Schaub and Bonani 2002, 187,
fig. 15, 203–208. Referring to the roll of Pindar's *Paeans*, Turner (1968, 95 and n. 61) notes: 'This

Fig. 7: Kamalaśīla's *Śālistambhaṭīkā*. Dunhuang MS Pelliot tibétain (P.Tib 553), Biblio-
thèque nationale de France. A particularly refined MS on high-quality paper, beautifully
written; beginning of the 9th c. Reproduced from S. Breton-Gravereau and D. Thibault (eds),
L'aventure des écritures. Matières et formes, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France,
1998, 105.

text displayed on the page with large intervals, mainly because of being written in
large-format script (Fig. 8): in this case, a possible functional interpretation would
be that the text was read and comments made on a separate MS (see below p. 278).

___

latter roll is also on a verso, has stichometric and critical notation, and seems to have been given
especially wide spaces between the columns so that annotations could be made'.
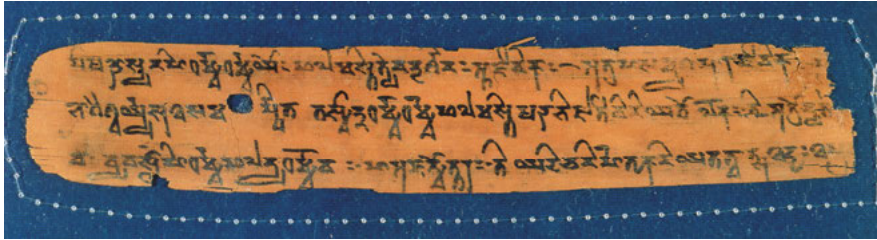
Fig. 8: Fragment of a scholastic treatise. Berezovsky Collection SI B/31. From *The Lotus Sutra and Its World. Buddhist Manuscripts of the Great Silk Road. Manuscripts and Blockprints from the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies*, St Petersburg, 1998: 14, fig. 6 and p. 35, § 6.

To return to the role played by these specimens in Buddhist scholarly practice, as the art of translating or exegesis, the Chinese sources are extremely illuminating and precious records for us.[62] Sylvie Hureau's study on several Dunhuang MSS in Chinese reveals a persisting model in the art of graphically distinguishing the passages cited from the original text, marked here by the commentator using the Chinese word *zhe*, and eventually enhanced by other devices, such as varying the size of the characters.[63]

3.2 Stichometrics, *gāthā*-metrics, *bam po*-metrics, and *jie-/song*-metrics[64]

There is a wealth of material that may be gathered from examining Greek (or Graeco-Egyptian) papyri and Buddhist MSS from North-western India and beyond. Our attention will now focus on a particular form, more specifically verse form, along with the *uddāna*, the table of contents[65]/ 'mnemonic index', and the numeral mnemonics indicated by *ga* (= *gāthā*) followed by a number.[66]

---

62 The organisation and procedure followed in Chinese translating scriptoria is well known. It is concisely and usefully sketched by Sylvie Hureau 2014b, 239.

63 Hureau 2014b, 241.

64 Costantino Moretti, whom I gratefully thank, informed me that the Preface to the Chinese translation of the *Dharmapada* (see below pp. 272–274) gives the number of the *jie*, in some cases the *song*, terms that both translate the Sanskrit '*gāthā*': 'Nella prefazione della versione cinese dei Dharmapada questi scritti sono definiti come composti da un certo numero di *jie* 偈 (talvolta definite *song* 頌) termini che in generale, in cinese, traducono precisamente il skr. *gāthā*.'

65 Sanskrit *uddāna* (> ud- DĀ-) corresponds closely to the English 'content'; see Latin *contineo*.

66 Lenz 2003, 19.

In early Buddhist manuscripts from North-west India, Khotan and Central Asia, one can see – albeit not very often – a form, and an important one, which stands out against the page: the verse form. In contrast to the 'mute' regular scriptio continua (see above p, 243), the metrical line beats time upon the page for its reader.[67]

We have already noted the case of the Rhinoceros Horn sūtra (Khvs-G, *Khargaviṣaṇasūtra*, Sanskrit *Khaḍgaviṣāṇasūtra*) MSS that may be dated to the turn of the era, and whose text-layout presents various similitudes with the Graeco-Egyptian papyri. Besides presenting the peculiarity of laying the first verse line in the upper margin without any spacing between the quarters,[68] the following

> verses are laid out one to a line, with small spaces between the quarters, so that the reconstructed scroll presents four parallel columns of text (Salomon 2000, 25, 116–117).

Although rare in Gandhāran MSS, the practice of placing the first verse or whatsoever specific item in a prominent position, known in the Hellenistic world and in Gandhāra, is equally attested in China. It appears in a different literary context on a fragmented version of the *Qieyun* or *Livre des rimes* composed by Lu Fayan in 601 CE and recently studied by Françoise Bottéro. The MSS of this text in the Dunhuang collection present quite a number of interesting devices used to enhance the legibility of the text. The copyist who wrote on an opistographic MS in the form of a 'livre en tourbillon' (Bottéro 2014, 61) used various artifices to put a new item in a prominent position. Among other things, one may find the case where – very much like the verse in the Khvs-G and Greek papyri (see above p. 244 and 262) –

> la nouvelle rime peut également débuter sur une nouvelle colonne et mordre dans la marge supérieure de manière à être encore plus visible, sans être nécessairement précédée de son numéro.[69]

To return to the verse form it also appears in the Dharmapada MS 'Dutreuil de Rhins' (i.e. the Dharmapada Gāndhārī MS of Khotan, Dhp-G^K), possibly copied in Khotan, written on birch bark in Kharoṣṭhī script and dated to the 1st/2nd century CE. The MS presents the text following metrical units (Figs 9a, b), and the single *pādas* are separated by a blank space (*vacat*). This very famous MS was named after the geographer and 'enseigne de vaisseau' (sub-lieutenant) Jules-Léon Dutreuil de Rhins, who directed the

---

67 See Matsuura 1996, 20–36, cited by Nattier 2008. See below, p. 273.

68 Salomon 2000, 33 further notes: 'Some of the features of the format of the uddāna verses, especially the absence of spaces between verse quarters and the use of a recut pen, resemble the special technique used by the scribe for the first verse of a poem itself at the top of the scroll, no doubt also to set it off from the rest of the poem'.

69 See Bottéro 2014, 63.

French mission in 'Haute Asie' and was assassinated in Tibet in 1894.[70] The MS was eventually taken to Paris from the region of Khotan by his colleague François Grenard and presented to scholars by Émile Senart at the XIth Congrès international des orientalistes, an event held in Paris in 1897.[71]
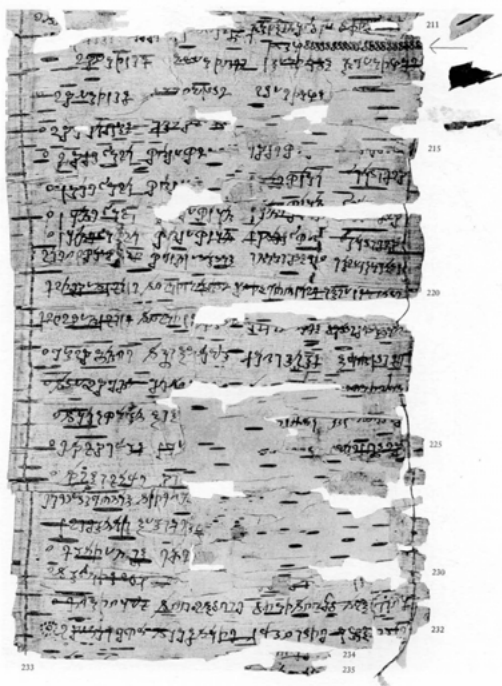
Fig. 9a: Dharmapada MS Dutreuil de Rhins (Dhp-K), Bibliothèque nationale de France. From Brough 1962, pl. X, ll. 211–235, l. 211 (= MS C recto / Senart verso), verse 223, last verse of Chapter X (*Jara/ Jarā*). This verse is followed by the number of *gāthās* in the chapter (written under line 211). The number '25' is followed by a series of signs that recall the diplomatic practice of 'document closure', granting security and avoiding alteration; see n. 12 above.

---

70 See Grenard 1904. The reason for the hostility manifested by the Tibetans towards the mission was the fact that Dutreuil de Rhins, who wanted to ask for glowing embers, entered a tent despite the Tibetans' warning not to do so. He actually broke a taboo, since the tent hosted a dying person and a lamb... (1904, 142). Grenard (1904, 165) records Dutreuil de Rhins' last words: 'Bandits!... Travail perdu... Beau temps pour partir'. Part of the MS Dutreuil de Rhins was given to the Library of the Société Asiatique and is now kept at the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris; the other part was taken to Leningrad, now St Petersburg. See Brough 1962: xiii–xiv and 1–8.

71 *Journal asiatique*, Neuvieme serie, T. XII, 1898, 193–308.

Fig. 9b: Dharmapada MS Dutreuil de Rhins (Dhp-K), Bibliothèque nationale de France. From Brough 1962, pl. XII, ll. 255–275 (MS N recto), l. 269 = *uddāna* verse, whose beginning is separated from the preceding verse (line 268) by a multi-petalled flower. The verse indicates the titles of chapters I–XIII and is followed by the number of *gāthās* in chapter XIII (Yamaka), '22' in all. The passage is once again 'closed' by a series of signs.

Besides attesting the use of the verse-line form, the Dhp-G^K (Figs 9a, b), the Gāndhārī London Dharmapada MS (Dhp-G^L) and the Khvs-G contain two additional devices that hint at the practice of memorisation and the use of recording a text or a group of texts in a collection, and possibly also the counting of verses in order to calculate the fees due to the scribe (see below). These are the *uddāna* verses already mentioned above, which may also be considered a 'mnemonic index' in some respects (Lenz 2003, 19), and 'numeral mnemonics', or *gāthā* metric.

These numeral mnemonics are signalled by the grapheme *ga*, which Timothy Lenz, following Brough, interprets as an abbreviation of *gatha/gāthā*, followed by a number that

> 'represents the number of verses included in a chapter' (Brough 1962, 196–197).[72] One possible interpretation of these numerical notations is that they acted as a kind of mnemonic for a monk who wanted to memorise the *varga*. If so, the mnemonic would neither have specified individual verses nor their order, but simply the total number of verses there were. For example, the notation *ga* 10 4 4 1, which comes at the end of Dhp-G^K text's *Theravarga*, would have reminded a monk to write or recite a set of nineteen verses.[73]

While this may well be the case, the *uddāna* and the '*gāthā* metric' (an expression coined on the basis of the Greek word stichometric) could equally have had more prosaic functions.

It thus appears that the Gandhāran use of counting the verses lies in between the practice attributed to the Alexandrian school of philology – and attested in Greek and Graeco-Egyptian papyri (stichometric) – and the practice adopted in Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist MSS (see below, p. 272).

Turner's 1968 introduction to papyrology, still a valuable source of information, noted that the use of

> stichometrical letters, usually placed in the left-hand margins of text to denote each hundred lines of verse (the word 'letter' rather than 'figure' is to be preferred, since for these signs the twenty-four letters of the Ionic alphabet are used, and it does not include vau, ς); at the end of the work, the sum total of verses is given, usually in Attic notation. Such stichometrical totals are of interest to us in indicating stages in the transmission of texts (e.g. through Athenian copies) and either certifying that no passages are omitted, or showing how the omissions occur.[74]

---

72 See Brough 1962, 13–14, 24, and examples of *gāthā* numbering at the end of the *varga*: chapter I, after verse 50 (in the margin), after verse 90, etc., ibid. 125, 131.

73 Lenz 2003, 18.

74 Turner 1968, 94–95. See also Del Mastro 2011, 35–64, 38: 'Le note sticometriche venivano apposte negli intercolumni ogni cento *stíxoi*, sotto forma di lettere consecutive dell'alfabeto: uno

It is interesting to note the opinion of Kurt Ohly here, who is mentioned by Turner (1968, 95 and n. 59), that the origin of the mode of counting verses may well be due to more practical usage and refer to work done by the professional copyist. Turner seems to agree and even adds that the presence of stichometrical notations implies that the 'copy was professionally made and paid for'. The present author has expressed a similar opinion elsewhere with regard to the use of counting *bam po* in Tibetan texts, where each *bam po* equals 300 *ślokas*. Further noting that the necessity of calibrating a text was certainly imposed in the case of placing an order of paper, a well-attested fact in Tibetan MSS from Dunhuang and surrounding areas, and for ordering copies that were subsequently charged for by professional scribes.[75] In investigating the various uses of the term *bam po* in the Tibetan early and classical tradition, Leonard van der Kuijp finds confirmation of these practices. Particularly interesting is the testimony of Gu ge Paṇ chen Grags pa rgyal mtshan (1415–1486), the author of the biography of lHa bla ma Ye śes 'od (947–1019/24), where we may see that the work of copying and the performance of reciting (*klog pa*) the *Buddhavacana* were the object of commercial transactions.[76]

This way of counting verses is structurally related (though possibly semantically alien) to the mode measuring the volume of a text or of a series of texts into a larger collection, which we may see in Tibetan MSS of Dunhuang and in the contemporary and earliest Tibetan Library's Indexes (dkar chag), where constant text-units are counted in *bam po* and *ślokas*. Structurally related to the mnemonic index (*uddāna*), i.e. the table of contents, are the lists that we find very early, though extremely rarely, in Dunhuang and Tabo, or in the lHan dkar ma and 'Phaṅ thaṅ ma catalogues, issued at the royal residences. These were thematically structured and sub-structured by title and measure of the volume calibration. But the interesting finding of a list of a group of *dhāraṇī*/*gzuṅs* texts among the Tabo MSS has also permitted researchers to reorder a particular collection of *dhāraṇīs* kept in the monastery and supply the title of the missing texts.[77]

---

stíxos aveva la lunghezza standard di un verso omerico di 16 sillabe e, quindi, di 34–38 lettere. Alla fine del rotolo, sotto il titolo, troviamo in molti casi il calcolo totale degli *stíxoi*, preceduto dal termine *àrithmós* (per esteso o abbreviato), espresso secondo la numerazione attica. Ma nei papiri ercolanesi (più frequentemente di quanto non avvenga nei rotoli greco-egizi) troviamo spesso anche i numeri delle *selídes*, delle colonne e, in qualche caso, dei *kollémata*, dei fogli che erano serviti a confezionare il rotolo'.

75 For the polysemy of the term *bam po* and its various uses in early Tibetan Buddhist manuscript and textual practice, see Scherrer-Schaub 1992, particularly 219–220.

76 See van der Kuijp 2010, 122–132.

77 See Harrison 1996.

As said before, the practice of counting verses is equally attested in Chinese MSS from Dunhuang. The 31 fragments of MSS of the *Shijing*, a collection of poems dating back to the 10th to 6th century BCE, have been studied by Olivier Venture.[78] The most complete examples of these MSS (S. 3951 + P. 2529, that according to Xu Jiangping could be dated to the end of the Tang)[79] are extremely valuable for studying the practice of textual criticism in Dunhuang. Our attention will focus upon the first part of the MS where the text of the *Shijing* is given without any commentary, in *scriptio continua*, and where Venture notes the presence of the practice of counting the verses and verse-lines:

> À la fin de chaque poème figure son titre ainsi que le nombre de strophes et de vers qu'il comprend. Cette mention se détache du reste du texte grâce à la présence d'espaces blancs (avant et après) qui constituent les seules coupures visibles dans une mise en texte relativement compacte.

He further explains the meaning of this practice in the textual tradition of the *Shijing*, where it was central to the understanding of how the text had been interpreted by the editor:

> La notation du nombre de strophes et de vers a une importance particulière dans la tradition du *Shijing*. En effet, comme le texte canonique est parfois obscur, il peut se prêter à différentes lectures et, en l'absence de ponctuation ou de strophes graphiquement délimitées, ces indications permettent au lecteur de saisir la manière dont l'éditeur découpait le poème et donc comment il le comprenait (Venture 2014, 23–24).

Very close to our concern is the case of the Dunhuang MS P. 2381 (www.archive-setmanuscrits.bnf.fr)[80], which contains several sections of the *Faju jing* (T. 210), in the opinion of Costantino Moretti one of the most popular Buddhist texts in China, and the oldest translation of the *Dharmapada*. In his catalogue, Sengyou (445–518) cites 'l'*upāsaka* indo-scythe Zhi Qian (?–252/257)' among the scholars

---

78 Venture 2014.

79 I sincerely thank Olivier Venture for the precious note about the dating of this MS that he kindly addressed to me: Olivier Venture very cautiously notes that 'La datation du texte repose principalement sur la présence et l'absence de certains caractères tabous. Mais la situation semble assez complexe, c'est pourquoi différentes datations ont pu être proposées entre le début et la fin des Tang. Xu Jianping propose, avec d'autres auteurs, une datation de la fin des Tang ou phase finale des Tang. Ses arguments me paraissent a priori convaincants. Voir : Xu Jianping 許建平, *Dunhuang jingji xulu* 敦煌經籍敘錄, Pékin, Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2006, p. 142'.

80 Available online http://idp.bl.uk/database/oo_scroll_h.a4d?uid=18046729110;bst=1; recnum=59475;index=1;img=1.

who translated the text into Chinese.[81] Born in Northern China, Zhi Qian studied in Luoyang and his teacher's teacher was Lokakṣema. Sengyou praises him for his excellence in the study of languages and his mastery of 'foreign writings'.[82] Jan Nattier (2008, 116) tells us that 'a substantial number of his works are not original translations but revisions – produced with or without an actual Indic-language text – of the works of others'. And while '[i]t was long thought that all verses found in Buddhist translations were unrhymed' and despite the fact that 'many examples of unrhymed verse can indeed be found in [the Zhi Qian] corpus, in other cases it is clear that Zhi Qian was not only employing the use of meter, but of pattern of rhyme as well' (ibid. 117–118). The preface of his translation of the *Faju jing* (Nattier 2008, 125), written by Zhi Qian himself, shows that his temper was that of an expert in textual criticism rather than a mere translator. Be that as it may, what is of interest here is the fact that his translation-cum-revision of the *Dharmapada* (whose textual history is rather complex; its treatment far exceeds the scope of this paper) is very close in time to the MS Dutreuil de Rhins (see above p. 267). I do not claim that this was the juncture between the Gandhāran tradition and Chinese scholars, but rather that textual criticism is attested in early Buddhist MSS, and possibly also that the scribe's practice might have been 'carried to China' via various itineraries by representatives of the 'lineage' of the Indo-Scythian scholars as well as Kumārajīva (344–413).[83]

To return to the *Faju jing*, Costantino Moretti[84] notes that among the Dunhuang MSS those that are dated or datable in all probability prior to the 5th century CE are particularly valuable for

> l'étude du livre manuscrit chinois sur papier à cette période. Certains de ces manuscrits fournissent notamment des informations importantes sur les plus anciennes méthodes attestées d'organisation de l'espace et de découpage des textes dans les ouvrages bouddhiques comportant des passages versifiées (*gāthā*) (Moretti 2014b, 207).

While the MS P. 2381 may possibly be dated to the 4th century CE (see Moretti 2014b, 208, n. 8), it may have continued the tradition of displaying lectional and

---

81 Moretti 2014b, 208. On the multiple recensions of this text, see Brough 1962, 30–39, and 35–36 on the *Faju jing*.

82 The book by Jan Nattier (2008) is a mine of information. On Zhi Qian, see Nattier 2008, 116-148.

83 We have been dealing with this question in Scherrer-Schaub 2016; and 'The Quintessence of the Mādhyamika Teaching Blossoms Again. Some consideration in view of the 5th-7th c. A. D. (I). Reading the Alchons's document (Schøyen MSS 2241) in religious and political context' (forthcoming).

84 Moretti 2014b.

critical signs inherited from the Indo-Scythian tradition alluded to before. Indeed, the MS displays the practice of counting the *gāthā* or '*gāthā*-metric', i.e. *jie-/song*-metric, as at the beginning of the *pin* (ibid. 209) in the first column (from right to left), where the number of verse is indicated under the title, it even adds the sophisticated procedure of dividing the space in 'registers' that facilitates the counting.

> Le décompte du nombre de *gāthā* dont se compose chaque *pin* [i.e. section] semble, en réalité, revêtir une certaine importance. En effet, sous le titre de chaque *pin*, qui est mis en évidence par un point noir tracé au-dessus de la réglure supérieure de la feuille, figure toujours une indication du nombre de stances contenues dans le *pin* lui-même. (Moretti 2014b, 209).

Moretti observes this practice in other cases, such as a MS of the translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* by Kumārajīva found in Kučā and in another Dunhuang MS (P. 4506) written on silk and dated to 471 CE, or a copy of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* whose translation is attributed to Dharmakṣema (385–433/436 CE), who was born in India and, like Kumārajīva, spent some time in Kāśmīr and then in Kučā.[85]

The verse-form further arranged in columns that appears in Greek and Graeco-Egyptian papyri, in early Indic and in Chinese and Tibetan translations of Buddhist MSS is equally present in Khotan (Fig. 10) before the 5th century CE, albeit with some variants, e.g. in fragmentary MSS of the *Book of Zambasta* studied by Mauro Maggi.

> Manuscript Z[1] is peculiar in that each manuscript line contains a verse-line and the text is further arranged in columns so that each verse-line is divided into four equal sections mostly corresponding to metrical *pādas*. (...) Such an arrangement also characterizes a number of variant fragments of Z, so far as it is possible to judge from their fragmentary condition, but is not found in the manuscripts of any Khotanese work other than Z. On the other hand, a similar arrangement is found in early manuscripts of religious poetry in Gandhārī in Kharoṣṭhī script and in Sanskrit in Brāhmī script from Central Asia. Among the Sanskrit Manuscripts, there is an almost complete paper folio of the fourth/fifth century from Charkhlik, which contains a hymn to the Buddha in Sanskrit. On this folio each manuscript line contains exactly one *śloka* and the beginning of the second hemistich of each *śloka* is roughly aligned vertically so as to obtain a division of the text into two columns.[86]

---

85 Moretti 2014b, 211.
86 See Maggi 2004, 184–190, 187.

Fig. 10: MS Z of the Zambasta (SI P 6) kept at the Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg. From *On the Trail of Texts along the Silk Road. Russian Expeditions [and] Discoveries of Manuscripts in Central Asia*. Kyoto National Museum, 2009: 38. See Maggi 2004, 184, 187: verse-lines and columns.

The MS from Charkhlik referred to here was published independently in 1988 by Richard Salomon and Collett Cox, and by Jens-Uwe Hartmann. Salomon and Cox note the peculiar disposition of verses:

> There are five lines of writing on each side, each line corresponding to a single verse in *anuṣṭubh* (*śloka*) meter, with a space in the middle between hemistichs. The verses, 10 in all, are not numbered.[87]

Hartmann, while mentioning the graphic artifices of the MS, notes the affinities presented by the *stotra* with Mātṛceṭa's *Prasādapratibhodbhava* – '[the Canticle] originating from the inspired serene disposition [towards the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha]' – and suggests that despite the differences,

> [d]as Stotra muss entweder dem Prasādapratibhodbhava als Vorbild gedient haben oder unter dem unmittelbaren Eindruck dieses Werkes verfasst worden sein: in jedem Fall besteht eine enge literarische Beziehung, die es als gerechtfertigt erscheinen lässt, das vorliegende Blatt mitzubearbeiten, obwohl es strenggenommen nicht als Mātṛceṭa-Fragment bezeichnet werden kann.[88]

---

87 Salomon and Cox 1988, 141–153, 141.
88 Hartmann 1988, 1–40, 88–89, 89 and n. 149.

4 On poetics and performance

Form is never more than an extension of content

Charles Olson, *Projective Verse* (1959)[89]

Rhythm is a form cut into TIME, as a design is determined SPACE
In making a line of verse (and thence building the lines into passages) you have certain primal elements:
That is to say, you have the various 'articulated sounds' of the language, of its alphabet, that is, and the various groups of letters in syllables.
These syllables have differing weights and durations
A. original weights and durations
B. weights and durations that seem naturally imposed on them by the other syllable groups around them.
Those are the medium wherewith the poet cuts his design in TIME.

Ezra Pound, *Treatise on Metre* (1973)[90]

While particular ways of displaying the page layout and the use of lectional signs and other artifices may facilitate reading, understanding, and recollection, they equally question the art of the poetic from the perspective of its performance. The fact that an interplay exists between orality and the written word is 'obvious and trite', and the written word does not necessarily supersede the first – far from that, in fact.

That Buddhist texts were read in cenacles, that they were recited or chanted, is an equally well-attested fact. Experts in recitation appear in early Buddhist inscriptions, for example in Bharhut (*dharmakathika*, *dharmabhāṇaka*) or Śrī Laṅka (*eka-uttirika*, *śayutaka*, *majhima*),[91] and continue to be active even when the *Buddhavacana* is put down in written form.[92] For its part, the practice of addressing eulogies to the Buddha is recorded in the oldest sources such as the last *sutta* of the *Sutta Nipāta* (*Piṅgiya Sutta*, vv. 1120–1149), where the Brahmin Piṅgiya praises the Buddha, accompanying his own recitation with tunes (v. 1132), and even spends his nights praising the Buddha (v. 1142). A Brahmin,

---

89 See Olson 1959, 4. This formula expressed by Robert Creeley in a letter to Charles Olson on 5 June 1950 was incorporated into his manifesto by him (see Butterick, Olson and Creeley 1980, 79 and n. 83).
90 Allen and Tallman 1973, 62.
91 See Endo 2014, 103–134, 124, n. 67, with reference to Paranavitana 1990: no. 407, 666, 708, 852 and 1061.
92 See Scherrer-Schaub 2009a, 166–167.

this time Paiṅgika by name, reappears in several versions of the *Mahāparinir-vāṇasūtra* addressing verses of praise to the Buddha, and being rewarded by the Vṛji with munificent gifts for this pious act, the Brahmin in turn hastens to offer gifts to the Buddha.[93]

In 1915, Sylvain Lévi published a pioneering article in *Journal asiatique* bearing the title 'Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques'. Lévi followed the various versions of the episode of the Brahmin Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa/Kuṭikaṇṇa,[94] which appears in *Vinayas* and in the *Divyāvadāna*, among other places. Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa is famous because he spends a night with the Buddha and, at dawn, is asked by him to recite the *Dharma*. Koṭikarṇa consents to the Bhagavat's request and entunes the recitation, that is, he recites it with a rhythmical succession of tune[95] – something that Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa certainly knew how to do since, as tradition has it, before entering religious life, he played the lute, a motif that is echoed in the hagiography of Aśvaghoṣa, who accompanied the recitation with chants and music.[96]

After the recitation, Bhagavat congratulates Śroṇa Koṭikarṇa for his excellent performance. The sources vary in their description of the vocal qualities of the reciter. The MSarvVin and the Sarv-Vin (Bechert 1990, 107) add an interesting detail in referring to the sober/restrained (*guptika*)[97] mode of intoning typical of the

---

93 Bareau 1995, 357. It is worth noting here that in the *Sutta Nipāta*, *Piṅgiya*, after reciting the *gāthās*, adds that his mind never departs from Gotama, and he spends days and nights with the Buddha in his mind.

94 See Lévi 1915, 402. See the entry on 'bombai', *Hōbōgirin* I, 93-II, 113. Lévi (1915, 401–417) analyses the various versions of the episode recorded in the Vinaya of the major ancient schools (Nikāya) and centres his inquiry on a terminological cluster related to the practice of prosody (in its wider sense). Some of these terms have been revisited in various ways recently, particularly the expression *chandaso āropema*; see David Ruegg 2000, 283–306. Gregory Schopen gives a comprehensive overview of the various occasions and liturgical events where the recitation took place; see Schopen 2004, 260–284.

95 Lit. 'he recites with the intonation/tune' (Sanskrit *svara*, Pāli *sara*), MSarvVin *svareṇa svādhyāyaṃ karoti* 'accomplishes the recitation [of the sacred text] with tunes'.

96 See the episode of Aśvaghoṣa, Lévi 1915, 433 and Hōbōgirin I, 94a: Aśvaghoṣa, '[s]ponta-nément il battit la cloche et le tambour; il accorda le luth et la guitare ; le son modérait la douleur, redressait la courbe ; ses accords faisaient aussitôt régner l'harmonie. Il proclamait les dharma, [et leur caractères, à savoir] douleur (*duḥkha*), vide (*śūnya*), absence de soi (*anātman*)'.

97 See Schopen 2004, 260–284, 265 and n. 26, quoting a passage from the *Kṣudrakavastu* where the 'Buddha himself says that "the Proclamation of the Qualities of the Teacher [...] must be recited with measured intonation", 'di ltar ston pa'i yon tan yang dag par bsgrag pa ...skad kyi gtang rag gis gdon par bya'o, which Guṇaprabha paraphrases as *kuryāt śāstṛguṇasaṃkīrttane...svaraguptim*'.

region of (A)parāntika (Divyā 20.23 *parāntikayā guptikayā udānāt*) and Avanti (Sarv-Vin).[98]

To return to the early Buddhist MSS and the forms and graphic artifices that the Buddhists of the north-western regions introduced in their MSS, notwithstanding the alleged fact that they could have embraced the text-critical techniques current at that time in North-west India, the adoption of new writing practices must have been extremely easy for them, since it was but a matter of graphically transposing their own long tradition of recitation. And as happens with a change in technique, the beginning of the use of a script did simply take up the model of orality, at least for a while.[99] The Vinayas of the various schools bear evidence of the much-debated question of the 'proper' way of reciting or intoning the *Buddhavacana*; these passages are actually a mine of information on Buddhist scholarly practice. An interesting observation is made by the MSarvVin (see Lévi 1915, 431–432) when discussing the enthusiastic impulse shown by certain monks, who intoned the *Buddhavacana* while letting their emotions flow freely, or in doing several things at the same time. These monks recited without paying attention to accents or tunes, to pronunciation or rhythm, and they merely enounced one word/verse (*pada*) after the other. The Buddha sent them back to study the tune.[100]

Further evidence of the consequences of improper recitation comes from the colophon of the Tibetan translation of the *Vinayottaragrantha*, preserved in the commentary of Kalyāṇamitra, which bears testimony to two important facts.[101] The first is that the *mūla* text was put down in writing in order to be commented (see above p. 265). The second states that the corruption that crept into the various versions of the *Vinayottaragrantha* was due to the fact that the complete text was not available in Mathurā. The monks of Mathurā knew that a reciter of the V*inayottara* lived in Kāśmīr, so they went there and learnt about the recitation. Then, considering that the word and meaning would have to be explained orally, they put the *mūla* text down in writing. The text then continues, and to make a long and interesting story short, our colophon concludes by saying that other monks, who were residing

---

98 See Lévi 1915, 407: 'Quand il eut fini, le Bouddha le loua en disant : Très bien, ô moine; vous déclamez bien la Loi ; vous savez déclamer avec la prononciation du pays d'Avanti ; votre élocution est parfaitement claire et nette; elle est parfaitement facile à comprendre.' And ibid., 427–428.

99 See Scherrer-Schaub 2012, 2014 and 2016.

100 The concern about correct intonation and rhythm was – and still is – central to Buddhism; regarding Chinese and Japanese Buddhism, see the article on 'bombai', *Hōbōgirin* I, 93- II, 113, which has already been mentioned.

101 See Scherrer-Schaub 2009a, 166–167 and notes.

in other countries, started to intone the text differently. Subsequently, the *Vina-yottara*, which had previously been collected correctly, was debased by usage. As a result, the text which had been recited/intoned differently ended up getting a different meaning.[102] This tells us something that the poets always knew,[103] but that some of the enthusiastic paladins of cultural materiality may occasionally ignore.

Coming back to our theme again, we may note that the way of setting the layout, the verse-form and the counting of metrical units (*gāthā*-metric, *bam po*-metric and *jie-/song*-metric) seem to preserve at least part of the prosody in early Buddhist manuscripts, and the graphic disposition and marks, including blank space indicating the unvoiced tune, which, to a modern reader, appear to beat rhythm (if not time) upon the extant manuscript's page.[104]

---

102 Close to our own concern, it is worth pointing out that, in his article (1989, 369–392, 380–382), K. R. Norman refers to Buddhaghosa, who 'lists ten sound changes which he says must be avoided by anyone performing a *kammavācā*' in his commentary on the Vinaya Piṭaka. While noting the difficulty of the passage, Norman remarks: 'The examples which Buddhaghosa gives make it clear that he is warning against types of pronunciation which actually produce incorrect forms, e.g. *bante saṅgo* instead of *bhante saṅgho*. It is, therefore, very appropriate that an expert in the Vinaya, when performing a *kammavācā*, should not commit any such fault'. In what follows (1989, 380–382), the problem developed by Norman taking his stand upon Buddhaghosa very much illuminates the context of the colophon of the *Vinayottaragrantha*. Equally interesting, Matsuura (1996, 22) distinguishes between 'linguistic rhythm' and 'musical rhythm' in a passage of his essay on 'Rhythm in Chinese Poetry' that is worth quoting at length: 'Among the traps into which it is easy to fall when discussing poetic rhythm is that of confusing 'linguistic rhythm' and 'musical rhythm'. In view of the general tendency of ancient poetry throughout the world to have been sung as songs, the question of poetic rhythm is frequently considered in relation to musical rhythm. But as it is evident from the fact that (i) the same words are often sung to different tunes and (ii) the continuity or discontinuity of the rhythm of verses of a song often changes under the influence of musical rhythm, song (or verse) rhythm and musical rhythm, although interrelated, clearly belong to different levels of discourse. In such cases, the rhythm of the all-important words of the song (or verse) themselves is determined by linguistic rhythm (viz. the rhythm of reading either silently or aloud) and not by musical rhythm (viz. the rhythm of singing and chanting). *It is linguistic rhythm that in terms of time (that is, historically) and space (that is, regionally) represents the most stable element and one that does not change or change only with difficulty* [This passage is put in italics by the present author, for easily comparison with the tenor of the just mentioned colophon of the *Vinayottaragrantha*]. Therefore, any examination of poetic rhythm must be undertaken with reference to, above all, linguistic rhythm, while musical rhythm should be discussed only to a limited degree as a secondary issue'.
103 See Bhāmaka (7th cent. CE): *śabdārthā sahitau kāvyaṃ, Kavyālaṃkāra* I.16a, P. V. Naganatha Shastry. Tanjore, 1927. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1970, 6.
104 See Vinson 1915, 464: 'Les poètes indiens ne s'astreignent pas à l'observation raisonnées des règles de la prosodie; ils s'y conforment d'instinct. Chaque espèce de vers a son ton, son rythme,

Abbreviations

Arthaśāstra	R. P. Kangle *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. Part I: *A Critical Edition with a Glossary*. Bombay, 1960. Part II: *An English Translation with Critical and Explanatory Notes*. Bombay, 1963.
BM I	Jens Braarvig (gen. ed.), *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Volume I. Oslo, Hermes, 2000. *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection* I.
BM II	Jens Braarvig (gen. ed.), *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Volume II. Oslo, Hermes, 2002. *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection III*.
BM III	Jens Braarvig (gen. ed.) *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Volume III. Oslo, Hermes, 2006. *Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection III*.
Dhp-G[K]	John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada Edited with an Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962.
Dhp-G[L]	Timothy Lenz, *A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories. British Library Fragments 16 + 25. With contributions by Andrew Glass and Bhikshu Dharmamitra*. (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 3), Seattle, University of Washington Press, 2003.
Divyā	*The Divyāvadāna, a Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*. First edited from the Nepalese Sanskrit MSS in Cambridge and Paris by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1886. Delhi, Indological Book House, 1987.
Hultzsch CII I	E. Hultzsch, *Inscription of Aśoka, New Edition. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* vol. I. Oxford, Clarendon Press, for the Government of India, 1925, 1969 (reprint).
Khvs-G	Richard Salomon, *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra. British Library Fragment 5B*. Seattle and London, University of Washington Press, 2000.
MSarvVin	Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya
Quaestio 11/2011	Luca del Corso and Paolo Pecere (eds), *Il libro filosofico. Dall' antichità al XXI secole /Philosophy and the Books. From Antiquity to the XXI Century. Annuario di storia della metafisica /Annuaire d'histoire de la métaphysique/Jahrbuch für Geschichte der Metaphysik/ Yearbook of the History of Metaphysics*. Quaestio 11/2011.
Salomon IE	Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy. A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
Sarv-Vin	Sarvāstivāda Vinaya
Sircar IEG	D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1966.
Sircar IE	D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1996.[1965]

---

ou, si l'on veut, son air, sa mélodie propre, plus ou moins elastique, qui est un guide suffisant et un régulateur spontané. N'a-t-on pas ainsi fait dans tous les pays et dans tous les temps?'

References

Allen, Donald M., and Warren Tallman (eds) (1973), *The Poetics of the New American Poetry*, New York: Grove Press.

Alsdorf, Ludwig (1962), *Aśoka Separatedikte von Dhauli und Jaugaḍa*, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur (Abhandl. der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jahrgang 1962, Nr. 1), Wiesbaden: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz, 5–38.

Bareau, André (1995), *Recherches sur la biographie du Buddha dans les Sūtrapiṭaka et les Vinayapiṭaka anciens III. Articles complémentaires*, Paris, PEFEO.

Brancaccio, Pia (2007), 'Close Encounters: Multicultural Systems in Ancient India', in Doris Meth Srinivasan (ed.), *On the Cusp of an Era. Art in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World*, Leiden–Boston, Brill, 385–397.

Braarvig, Jens, and Fredrik Liland (eds) (2010), *Traces of Gandhāran Buddhism. An Exhibition of Ancient Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, Oslo and Bangkok: Hermes Publ. in collaboration with Amarin Printing and Publ.

Baums, Stefan (2014), 'Gandhāran Scrolls: Rediscovering an Ancient Manuscript Type', in Jörg B. Quenzer, Dimitry Bondarev and Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (eds), *Manuscript Cultures: Mapping the Field* (Studies in Manuscipt Cultures 1), Berlin: De Gruyter, 183–225.

Bernard, Claude (1978), 'Campagne de fouilles 1976–1977 à Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan)', in *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 122ᵉ année, no. 2: 421–463.

Bloch, Jules (1950), *Les inscriptions d'Aśoka*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Bottéro, Françoise (2014), 'Les livres de rimes', in Jean-Pierre Drège and Costantino Moretti (eds), *La fabrique du lisible. La mise en texte des manuscrits de la Chine ancienne et médiévale*, Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Etudes chinoises, 61–66.

Breccia, Evaristo (1930), *Terrecotte figurate greche e greco-egizie del museo di Alessandria. Monuments de l'Egypte Gréco-romaine*, Tome II, Facs. I. Bergamo: Officine dell'Istituto Italiano di Arti grafiche.

Breton-Gravereau, S., and D. Thibault (1998), *L'aventure des écritures. Matières et formes*, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France.

Brough, John (1962), *The Gandhārī Dharmapada. Edited with an Introduction and Commentary, Oxford*: Oxford University Press.

Butterick, George F. (ed.) (1980), *Charles Olson & Robert Creeley: The Complete Correspondence*, Volume I, Santa Barbara: Black Sparrow Press.

Callieri, Pierfrancesco (2007), 'Barikot. An Indo-Greek Urban Center in Gandhāra', in Doris Meth Srinivasan (ed.), *On the Cusp of an Era. Art in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 133–164.

Cambon, Pierre (2007), 'Tillia Tepe', in Afghanistan: les trésors retrouvés. Collections du musée national de Kaboul. Exposition organisée au Musée National des Arts Asiatiques-Guimet, Paris, 6 décembre 2006 – 30 avril 2007, 164–213.

Caroli, M. (2007), *Il titolo iniziale nel rotolo librario greco-egizio*, Bari: Levante.

Cavallo, Guglielmo, Pierre Hadot, and Claude Rapin (1987), 'Les textes littéraires grecs de la Trésorerie d'Aï Khanoum', in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, Volume 111, Numéro 1: 225–266.

Endo, Toshiichi (2014), 'The Sumaṅgalavilāsinī and the Dīgha-bhāṇakas', in Dhammadinnā (ed.), *Research on the Dīrgha-āgama*, Taipei: Dharma Drum Publications, 103–134.

del Corso, Lucio (2011), 'Il libro e il logos. Riflessioni sulla trasmissione del pensiero filosofico da Platone a Galeno', in Luca del Corso and Paolo Pecere (eds), *Il libro filosofico. Dall'antichità al XXI secolo/Philosophy and the Books. From Antiquity to the XXI Century*. Annuario di storia della metafisica/Annuaire d'histoire de la métaphysique/Jahrbuch für Geschichte der Metaphysik/Yearbook of the History of Metaphysics. *Quaestio*, 11: 3–34.

Del Mastro, Gianluca (2011), 'Filosofi, scribi e glutinatores; i rotoli della Villa dei Papiri di Ercolano', in *Quaestio*, 11: 35–64.

Faccenna, Domenico (2007), 'The Artistic Center of Butkara I and Saidu Sharif I in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa Period', in Doris Meth Srinivasan (ed.), *On the Cusp of an Era. Art in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 165–199.

Filigenzi, Anna (2006), 'From Mind to Eye. Two-dimensional illusions and pictorial suggestions at Saidu Sharif I', in Pierfrancesco Callieri (ed.), *Architetti, capomastri, artigiani. L'organizzazione dei cantieri e della produzione artistica nell'Asia ellenistica*. Studi offerti a Domenico Faccenna nel suo ottantesimo compleanno. Roma: IsIAO / Serie orientale Roma C, 17–40.

Grenard, François (1904), *Le Tibet. Les pays et les habitants*, Paris: Librairie Armand Colin.

Gumbert, Johan Peter (1989), 'La page intelligible: quelques remarques', in Olga Weijers (ed.), *Vocabulaire du livre et de l'écriture au moyen âge*, Turnhout: Brepols, 111–119.

Guyotjeannin, O. et al. (1993), *Diplomatique médiévale*, Turnhout: Brepols.

Harrison, Paul (1996), 'Preliminary Report on a gZungs 'dus Manuscript from Tabo', in Michael Hahn, Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Roland Steiner (eds), *Suhṛllekhāḥ: Festgabe für Helmut Eimer* (Indica et Tibetica 28), Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 49–68.

Hartmann, Jens-Uwe (1988), 'Neue Aśvaghoṣa- und Mātṛceṭa-Fragmente aus Ostturkistan', in Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. I. Philogisch-Historische Klasse 1988/2 (Sitzung vom 22. Januar 1988): 1–40, 88–89.

von Hinüber, Oskar (1990), *Der Beginn der Schrift und frühe Schriftlichkeit in Indien*, Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur /Abhandl. der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaften Klasse, Jahrgang 1989, Nr. 11, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag.

Hureau, Sylvie (2014a), 'Le Sūtra du Diamant', in Jean-Pierre Drège and Costantino Moretti (eds), *La fabrique du lisible. La mise en texte des manuscrits de la Chine ancienne et médiévale*, Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, 221–229.

Hureau, Sylvie (2014b), 'Les commentaires des sūtra bouddhiques', in Jean-Pierre Drège and Costantino Moretti (eds), *La fabrique du lisible. La mise en texte des manuscrits de la Chine ancienne et médiévale*, Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, 239–246.

Isnardi-Parente, Margherita (1992), 'Il papiro filosofico di Aï Khanoum', in *Studi su codici e papiri filosofici. Platone, Aristotele, Ierocle*. Florence: Leo Olschki Editore, 169–188.

Karttunen, Klaus (1997), *India and the Hellenistic World*, Helsinki (Studia Orientalia, edited by the Finnish Oriental Society, 83).

van der Kuijp, Leonard (2010), 'Some Remarks on the Meaning and Use of the Tibetan Word bam po', Bod rig pa'i dus deb', in *Journal of Tibetology* 5, 114–132.

Lenz, Timothy (2003), *A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories. British Library Fragments 16 + 25. With contributions by Andrew Glass and Bhikshu Dharmamitra* (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts), Seattle, University of Washington Press.

Lévi, Sylvain (1915), 'Sur la récitation primitive des textes bouddhiques', in *Journal asiatique* 1995, no. 3, 401–447.

Maggi, Mauro (2004), 'The manuscript T III S 16: Its Importance for the History of Khotanese Literature', in Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst et al. (eds), *Turfan Revised: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road*, Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 184–190.

Matsuda, Kazunobo (2000), *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanādanirdeśa*. BM I, 65–76.

Matsuura, Tomohisa (1996), 'Rhythm in Chinese Classical Poetry. With a Focus on "Beat Rhythm" and "Silent Syllables" (Rhythms Vacuums)', in *Acta Asiatica* (Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture), vol. 70 (Tokyo, The Tōhō Gakkai), 20–36.

Moretti, Costantino (2014a), 'Notes et catégories doctrinales du Traité des étapes de la pratique du Yoga', in Jean-Pierre Drège and Costantino Moretti (eds), *La fabrique du lisible. La mise en texte des manuscrits de la Chine ancienne et médiévale*, Paris: Collège de France/Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, 255–263.

Moretti, Costantino (2014b), 'Les registres surimposés de deux copies anciennes du Dharmapada', in Jean-Pierre Drège and Costantino Moretti (eds), *La fabrique du lisible. La mise en texte des manuscrits de la Chine ancienne et médiévale*, Paris, Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, 207–213.

Naganatha Shastry, P. V. (1970), *Kavyālaṃkāra.* Tanjore, 1927. Delhi, Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.

Nattier, Jan (2008), *A Guide to the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations. Texts from the Eastern Han and Three Kingdoms Periods*, Tokyo: IRIAB/Soka Daigaku.

Neelis, Jason (2007), 'Passages to India: Śaka and Kuṣāṇa Migration in Historical Context', in Doris Meth Srinivasan (ed.), *On the Cusp of an Era. Art in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World*, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 55–94.

Neelis, Jason (2011), *Early Buddhist Transmission and Trade Networks. Mobility and Exchange within and beyond the Northwestern Borderlands of South Asia*, Leiden/Boston, Brill.

Norman, K. R. (1989), 'Dialect forms in pāli', in Colette Caillat (ed.), *Dialects dans les littérature Indo-Aryennes*, Pris: Collège de France, ICI, 369–392.

Olivelle, Patrick (2013), *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. A New Annotated Translation*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Olson, Charles (1959), *Projective Verse*, New York: Totem Press.

Paranavitana, S. (1990), *Inscription of Ceylon, Containing Cave Inscriptions from 3rd Century B.C. to 1st Century A.C. and Other Inscriptions in the Early Brāhmī Script*, Colombo: Department of Archaeology.

Pfeiffer, Rudolf (1968), *A History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Privitera, Ivanoe (2011), 'Aristotle and the Papyri: the Direct Tradition', in Luca del Corso and Paolo Pecere (eds), *Il libro filosofico. Dall'antichità al XXI secolo/Philosophy and the Books. From Antiquity to the XXI Century*. Annuario di storia della metafisica/Annuaire d'histoire de la métaphysique/Jahrbuch für Geschichte der Metaphysik/Yearbook of the History of Metaphysics. *Quaestio*, 1: 115–140.

Rapin, Claude (1995), 'Hindouisme in the Indo-Greek Area. Notes on some Indian finds from Bactria and on two temples in Taxila', in Antonio Invernizzi (ed.), *In the Land of the Gryphons. Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity*, Florence: Casa Editrice Le Lettere, 275–291.

Salomon, Richard (1999), *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra. The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Salomon, Richard (2000), *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra. British Library Fragment 5B*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Salomon, Richard (2007), 'Dynastic and Institutional Connection in the Pre- and Early Kuṣāṇa Period: New Manuscript and Epigraphic Evidence', in Doris Meth Srinivasan (ed.), *On the Cusp of an Era. Art in the Pre-Kuṣāṇa World*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 267–286.

Salomon, Richard (2008) [with contributions by Andrew Glass], *Two Gāndhārī Manuscripts of the Songs of the Lake Anavatapta (Anavatapta-gāthā). British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments I and Senior Scroll 14*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Salomon, Richard, and Collett Cox (1998), 'Two New Fragments of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts from Central Asia', in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*,1.1: 141–153.

Sander, Lore (2000), 'The Mahāyāna Sūtra Manuscript', in BM I: 63–64.

Sander, Lore (2002), 'An Unusual ye dharmā Formula', in BM II: 337–349.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (1992), 'Śa cu : Qu'y-a-t-il au programme de la classe de philologie bouddhique?', in Ihara Shōren and Yamaguchi Zuihō (eds), *Tibetan Studies. Proceedings of the IATS, Narita 1989*. Naritasan Shinshoji, volume I, 209–220.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (1999), 'Towards a Methodology for the Study of Old Tibetan Manuscripts: Dunhuang and Tabo', in Cristina Scherrer-Schaub and Ernst Steinkellner (eds), *Tabo Studies II: Manuscripts, Texts, Inscriptions, and the Arts* (Serie Orientale Roma, vol. LXXXVII), Rome: IsIAO, 3–36.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina, and George Bonani (2002), 'Establishing a typology of the old Tibetan manuscripts: a multidisciplinary approach', in Susan Whitfield (ed.), *Dunhuang Manuscript Forgery. Dedicated to Professor Fujieda*, London: The British Library, 184–215.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (2002),[2003] 'Enacting Words. A Diplomatic Analysis of the Tibetan Imperial Decrees (bkas bcad) and their Application in the Sgra sbyor bam po gñis pa's tradition', in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 25.1-2: 263–340.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (2007), 'Immortality extolled with reason. Philosophy and politics in Nāgārjuna', in Birgit Kellner, Helmut Krasser et al. (eds), *Pramāṇakīrtiḥ. Papers dedicated to Ernst Steinkellner on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday*, Vienna, ATBSUW, Part 2, 757–793.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (2009a), 'Copier, Interpréter, transformer, représenter ou des modes de la diffusion des écritures et de l'écrit dans le bouddhisme indien', in Gérard Colas and Gerdi Gerschheimer (eds), *Écrire et transmettre en Inde classique*, Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 151–172.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (2009b), 'Scribes and Painters on the Road: Inquiry into Image and Text in Indian Buddhism and its Transmission to Central Asia and Tibet', in Anupa Pande (ed.), *The Art of Central Asia and the Indian Subcontinent in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, New Delhi, National Museum, 29–40.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (2013), 'Classifying, Questioning and Interpreting Tibetan Inscriptions', in Kurt Tropper and Cristina Scherrer-Schaub (eds), *Tibetan Inscriptions. Proceedings of the Seminar of the IATS*, Vancouver 2010, Leiden: Brill, 139–170.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (2014), 'Le roi Indo-grec Ménandre discuta-t-il avec les philosophes bouddhistes?', in Pierre Leriche (ed.), *Art et civilisations de l'Orient hellénisé. Rencontres et échanges culturels d'Alexandre aux Sassanides*. Hommage à Daniel Schlumberger, Paris: Picard, 167–171.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (2016), 'Perennial Encounters: Does Technology Shape the Mind? The Simile of the Painter, the Irruption of Representation, and the Disclosure of Buddhism in Early and Classical India'. Presidential address, 16th IABS Conference, Taiwan, 20 June 2011, in *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 39: 1–50.

Scherrer-Schaub, Cristina (in press), 'Conveying India to the Pamir and further away. On divine hierarchies and political paradigms in Buddhist texts', presented at the workshop entitled 'Ancient Central Asian Networks: Rethinking the Interplay of Religions, Art and Politics across the Tarim Basin, 5th to 10th c.', organised by Dr Erika Forte, University of Bochum, 25–26 June 2014.

Scherrer-Schaub Cristina (forthcoming) 'The Quintessence of the Mādhyamika Teaching Blossoms Again. Some consideration in view of the 5th-7th c. A. D. (I). Reading the Alchons's document (Schøyen MSS 2241) in religious and political context', presented at the International Workshop on Bhāviveka vs. Candrakīrti, organized by Akira Saito and Anne MacDonald at the University of Tokyo on August 26-28, 2015.

Schopen, Gregory (2004), 'Marking Time in Buddhist Monasteries. On Calendars, Clocks, and Some Liturgical Practices', in Gregory Schopen (ed.), *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters. Still More Papers on Monastic Buddhism in India*, Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 260–284.

Senart, Émile (1905–1906), *The Inscriptions in the Caves at Nasik.* Epigraphia Indica VIII, Archaeology Survey of India.

Sérinde. Terre de Bouddha. Dix siècles d'art sur la Route de la Soie. Paris 24 octobre 1995 – 19 février 1996.

Settar, Shadakshari (2003), *Footprints of Artisans in History. Some Reflections on Early Artisans of India. General President's address,* Sixty-fourth Session of the Indian History Congress, Mysore.

Seyfort Ruegg, David (2000), 'On the expression chandaso āropema, āyataka gītassara, sarabhañña and ārṣa as applied to the "Word of the Buddha" (buddhavacana)', in Ryutaro Tsuchida and Albrecht Wezler (eds), *Harānandalaharī. Volume in Honour of Professor Minoru Hara on his Seventieth Birthday*, Reinbeck: Dr Inge Wezler, 283–306.

Strauch, Ingo (2008), 'The Bajaur collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts – a preliminary survey', in *Studien für Indologie und Iranistik*, 25: 103–136.

Taddei, Maurizio (2003), 'Harpocrates – Brahma – Maitreya: a Tentative Interpretation of a Gandharan Relief from Swāt', in Giovanni Verardi and Anna Filigenzi (eds), *Maurizio Taddei On Gandhāra. Collected Articles*, Napoli: Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale', Collana 'Collectanea' III, 131–157.

Thapar, Romila (2012), 'Aśoka: A Retrospective', in Olivelle, P. Leoshko J., H. P. Ray (eds), *Reimagining Aśoka. Memory and History*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 17–37.

The Lotus Sutra and Its World. Buddhist Manuscripts of the Great Silk Road. Manuscripts and blockprints from the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, St Petersburg, 1998.

Tissot, Francine (2002)[1985] *Gandhāra.* Paris: Librairie Adrien Maisonneuve.

Tissot, Francine (2006), *Catalogue of the National Museum of Afghanistan 1931-1985.* Paris: Unesco Publishing.

Turner, Eric G. (1968), *Greek Papyri. An Introduction*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Venis, Arthur (1908), 'Some Notes on the Maurya. Inscription at Sarnath', in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* N. S., vol. III, 1–7.

Venture, Olivier (2014), 'Le Livre des Odes', in Jean-Pierre Drège and Costantino Moretti (eds), *La fabrique du lisible. La mise en texte des manuscrits de la Chine ancienne et médiévale.* Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, 23–28.

Vinson, Jules (1915), 'Notes sur la prosodie tamoule', in *Journal asiatique*, 449–466.

Xu Jianping 許建平 (2006), *Dunhuang jingji xulu* 敦煌經籍敘錄, Peking: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局.