

# Indian Folk Etymologies and their Reflections in Chinese Translations — *brāhmaṇa*, *śramaṇa* and *Vaiśramaṇa*\*

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## Prologue

In recent years, I have been asked by different colleagues what the Indian equivalents of *fānzhi* 梵志, *jìzhì* 寂志 and *bēnzhi* 奔識 were, to which I would address this issue on an individual basis. However, here, I should like to answer such questions collectively.

I have written elsewhere<sup>1</sup> how the shift of languages and ways of transmission of the so-called Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures took place, namely:

- (1) Oral transmission in Prakrit (i.e. colloquial languages, including Gāndhārī): 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E.
- (2) Oral transmission in Prakrit / writing of Prakrit texts in Kharoṣṭhī: 1<sup>st</sup>~3<sup>rd</sup> centuries C.E.
- (3) Broken Sanskrit mixed with Prakrit (2<sup>nd</sup>~3<sup>rd</sup> centuries C.E.)
- (4) (Buddhist) Sanskrit; writing in Brāhmī (3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century C.E. onwards)

This shift might apply also to the transmission of the scriptures of traditional Buddhist schools, such as the Mahāsāṃghikas and Sarvāstivādins, in the north and north-west of ancient India, from where the original Indian texts of the Chinese translations of the scriptures appeared.

## (1) *māhaṇa*, \**bāhaṇa*, *shixīn* 逝心 and *fānzhi* 梵志

### (1.1) *māhaṇa* (“brahman”)

In Jain and Buddhist texts, we find folk-etymological explanations of Middle Indic forms of OIA *brāhmaṇa*, namely Pkt. *bamhaṇa*, *bamhana*, *baṃbhaṇa*, *māhaṇa*; Aś. *bāmhaṇa* (Girnār), *bābhana* (Eastern districts), *baṃbhana* (*do.*), *bamaṇa* (Mansehra), *bramaṇa* (Shāhbāzgarhī); Pā *brāhmaṇa* (this Pāli form is a sanskritism<sup>2</sup>); Gā. *brammaṇa*, *bramaṇa*.<sup>3</sup>

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\* I should like to thank Peter Lait, Susan Roach and Rieko Ishizaka for checking my English. I am grateful also to Ryūken Nawa, who read an earlier version of this article and made valuable suggestions.

<sup>1</sup> Karashima 2015: 113.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Norman CP III 132, 239, IV 57, 101, V 161; von Hinüber 1998: 381 = 2009: 291; 2009: 482.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 284 with further references. Cf. also Lüders 1911: 36f.

In a Jain scripture, namely the *Sūyagaḍa* 1.2.3.21, Pkt. *māhaṇa* (“brahman”) is explained folk-etymologically by the phrase *mā haṇe* “Don’t kill!”<sup>4</sup>. This form is also associated with the verb  $\sqrt{mah}$  (“to honour, revere”) in another Jain scripture, namely the *Uttarajjhāyā* 25.19: *jo loe bambhaṇo vutto aggīva mahio jahā / sayā kusalasaṃdiṭṭho taṃ vayaṃ būma māhaṇaṃ* (“He, who is called by people a Brāhmana and is worshipped like fire [is no true Brāhmana]. But him we call a true Brāhmana, whom the wise point out as such.”)<sup>5</sup>.<sup>6</sup> Though Mayrhofer supposes that the vernacular form *\*bāhaṇa* (< OIA *brāhmaṇa*) was altered to *māhaṇa* in association with the adjective *mahant* (“great”),<sup>7</sup> I assume that it was changed more probably in connection with the verb  $\sqrt{mah}$  (“to honour, revere [gods]”)<sup>8</sup>.

### (1.2) *\*bāhaṇa* (“brahman”)

In verses in the Pāli *Dhammapada*, *Suttanipāta*, the Patna *Dharmapada* of the Saṃmitīya school in a partly sanskritised language, the *Mahāvastu* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins also in a partly sanskritised language, the Sanskrit *Udānavarga* of the Sarvāstivāda school and the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada*, we find a folk-etymological explanation, associating *brāhmaṇa* with the verb *bāheti* (also written as *vāheti*):<sup>9</sup>

Dhp 388a. *bāhitapāpo ti brāhmaṇo* (“Having put aside evil he is a brahman.” [Dhp(tr.N) 55])<sup>10</sup>

Uv 11.15a. *brāhmaṇo vāhitaiḥ pāpaiḥ* (“A brahman is free from evils.” [lit. “A brahman is with annihilated evils.”])

Dhp-G<sup>k</sup> 16a. *brahetva<sup>11</sup> pavani brahmaṇo* (“Having annihilated evils, [he is] a brahman.”)

A Gāndhārī verse quoted in a Gāndhārī commentary: *vahitapavagadhama ... (\*so ve*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Balbir 1991: 133 (I thank Prof. Balbir and Dr. Wu Juan for providing me with PDF files of this article); Caillat 1995: 73f.; Jaini 1976: 148 = 2001: 123. Śīlānka (fl. 850–876 C.E.) comments on the word *māhaṇa* in the *Sūyagaḍa* 1.2.1.15d as follows: “*māhaṇa*” *tti mā vadhīr iti pravṛttir yasya sa prākṛtaśailyā māhaṇēty ucyata iti* (quoted in Caillat 1995: 74; “*Māhaṇa*: one, who has predilection for ‘not killing’, is called a *māhaṇa* because of this usual practice”). Cf. also Abhidh-rāj, vi 269a, s.v. *māhaṇa-māhana-brāhmaṇa*: “*mā hanēty evaṃ yo ’nyam prati vakti svayaṃ hananānivṛttaḥ sann asau māhanah*” (“One, who tells other people: ‘Don’t kill!’ and oneself abstains from killing, is a *māhaṇa*.”); Mitra 1952: 279. Mitra assumes that this folk-etymology of *māhaṇa* is reflected in the following verses: *tasapāṇe viyānettā saṃgahaṇa ya thāvare / jo na hiṃsai tivihēna taṃ vayaṃ būma māhaṇaṃ* // (*Uttarajjhāyā* 25.23; “One, who, having thoroughly known living beings, both moving and still, does not hurt them in the three ways, we call him a *māhaṇa*.”); *nidhāya daṇḍaṃ bhūtesu tasesu thāvaresu ca / yo na hanti na ghātetī tam ahaṃ brūmi brāhmaṇaṃ* // (Dhp 405; “Whoever, having laid aside violence with regard to creatures moving and still, neither kills nor causes to kill, him I call a brahman.” [Dhp(tr.N) 57]). Cf. further *Mahābhārata* 3.197.32. *yo vaded iha satyāni guruṃ saṃtoṣayeta ca / hiṃsitaś ca na hiṃseta taṃ devā brāhmaṇaṃ viduḥ* // (“He who speaks truth here and satisfies his teacher, and does not engage in violence when violence is done to him, him the gods know to be a brahmin.” [Bailey 2011:10]).

<sup>5</sup> Jacobi 1895: 138.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. von Hinüber 2001: 216.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Mayrhofer 1994; EWAia II 238; von Hinüber 2001: 215f. Cf. also Berger 1955: 21, n. 21; Schneider 1954: 578 = 2002: 21.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. WöRv, s.v.  $\sqrt{mah}$  (3) “die Götter durch Lieder u.s.w. verherrlichen”; (4) “jemand glücklich machen, beglücken, erfreuen, beglücken”.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Norman CP IV 275; von Hinüber 2009: 930.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. T. 4, no. 210, 572c3. 出惡爲梵志; T. 4, no. 212, 681a19. 梵志除惡. For other Chinese parallels, cf. Mizuno 1981: 246f.

<sup>11</sup> *brahetva* is a hyper-form of *bāhetvā*. The initial *br-* may have been artificially introduced to match the Gāndhārī form *brahmaṇa*, which replaced its earlier Eastern colloquial equivalent *\*bāhaṇa*.

*logaspi) braṃaṇo*<sup>12</sup> (“One, who annihilated evil matters, ... is [indeed] a brahman [in the world].”)

Sn 519 *bāhetvā (v.l. bāhitvā) sabbapāpakāni / ... asito tādi pavuccate (sa) brahmā //* (“Having annihilated all evils, ... being not tied, he is called a brahman.”)

Mvu III 396.15~18. *bāhetva sarvapāpakāni ... uṣitavāṃ kṣṇapunarbhavo sa brahmā //* (“Having annihilated all evils, ... having lived the [proper] life and being no longer liable to rebirth, he is a [true] brahman.”)

PatnaDhp 37. *yo tu bāhati pāpāni aṇuttūlāni sabbaṣo / bāhanā eva pāpānāṃ brāhmaṇo ti pravuccati //* (“One, who completely annihilates evils, both trivial and grave, because of annihilating evils, [he] is called a brahman.”)

Uv 33.8. *yas tu vāhayate pāpāny aṇustūlāni sarvaśaḥ / vāhitatvāt tu pāpānāṃ brāhmaṇo vai nirucyate //* (do.) ≡ Uv(S) 533

This pseudo-etymological explanation, associating *brāhmaṇa* with the verb *bāh-*, is transmitted in other Pāli scriptures and later Sanskrit texts:

Ud 1.4a. *yo brāhmaṇo bāhitapāpadhammo ...* (“A brahman, who has annihilated evil matters, ...”) = Vin I 3.5

Ud 1.5. *bāhitvā pāpake dhamme ye caranti sadā satā / khīṇasaṃyojanā buddhā te ve lokasmiṃ brāhmaṇā //* (“Those who, having annihilated evil matters, behave constantly mindfully, [and] having destroyed the fetters, are enlightened, [they] are true brahmans in the world.”) ≡ Uv(S) 534. *b(ā)hitva pāpakaṃ dharmmaṃ ye c(a)r(a)nti s(adā) ...* (missing) ... *(k)ṣ(ṭṇa) ...* (missing) ... *brāhmaṇaḥ*

DN III 94.1~2. *pāpake akusale dhamme bāhenṭī kho, Vāsetṭha, “brāhmaṇā”* (“As they annihilate evil unwholesome matters, O Vāsetṭha, they are ‘brahmans’.”) see below

MN I 280.15~18. *bāhitā ’ssa honti pāpakā akusalā dhammā saṅkilesikā ponobhavikā sadarā dukkhavipākā āyatim jātijarāmarañiyā. evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu brāhmaṇo hoti* (“And how is a bhikkhu a brahmin? He has expelled evil unwholesome states that defile, bring renewal of being, give trouble, ripen in suffering, and lead to future birth, ageing, and death. That is how a bhikkhu is a brahmin.” [MN(tr.Ñm) 370])

Mil 225.17~20. *sabbe, mahārāja, pāpakā akusalā dhammā tathāgatassa bāhitā pahīnā apagatā byapagatā ucchinnā khīṇā khayam pattā nibbutā upasantā, tasmā tathāgato “brāhmaṇo” ti vuccati* (“Because all evil qualities, not productive of merit, are in the Tathāgata suppressed, abandoned, put away, dispelled, rooted out, destroyed, come to an end, gone out, and ceased, therefore is it that the Tathāgata is called a brahman.” [Mil(tr.) II 26])

LV 353.14. *trailokyabrāhmaṇaṃ bāhitapāpakarmāṇaṃ* (“the brahman in the three worlds, who had annihilated evil *karmans*.”)

Śbh II 254.1~2 = Śbh(S) 340.13ff. *vāhitā bhavanty anena pāpakā akuśalā dharmāḥ. yathoktaṃ na kāryaṃ brāhmaṇasyāsti kṛthārtho brāhmaṇaḥ smṛta iti*<sup>13</sup> (“He has

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Baums 2009: 337~348.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. T. 30, no. 1579, 447a11~13. 正行婆羅門者，謂所作事決定究竟，已能驅擯惡不善法。如說當知：婆羅門更無有所作，所作事已辨，是謂婆羅門。

annihilated evil unwholesome matters. As it is said, a brahman, who has nothing more to do and has accomplished his goal, is considered as a [true] brahman.”)

Abhidh-k-bh 370.22. *klesānāṃ vāhanād brāhmaṇyam*<sup>14</sup> (“Because of annihilating evils, there is the state of a brahman.”)

Abhidh-k-vy 578.23f. “*klesānāṃ vāhanād brāhmaṇyam*” *iti. vāhitā anenānekavidhāḥ pāpakā akuśalā dharmā iti brāhmaṇaḥ* (“‘Because of annihilating evils, there is the state of a brahman.’ As he has annihilated various kinds of evil unwholesome matters, he is called a brahman.”)

Vajs(W) 221.15 = Vajs(M) 4.19. *kundendudhavalam hi brāhmaṇatvaṃ nāma sarva-pāpasyāpākaraṇam* (v.l. °pakara°) *iti* (“Abstinence from all sins is brahmanhood, which is white [*i.e.* pure] like the *Kunda* flower and the Moon.” [Vajs(M) 16])<sup>15</sup>

*Tattvasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita (ca. 725~778): TS 3589. *ye ca bāhitapāpatvād brāhmaṇāḥ pāramārthikāḥ* (“Those, who are genuine brahmans, because they have annihilated evils, ...”)

Sarvarakṣita’s *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā* (12<sup>th</sup> c.) of the Saṃmitīya school, § 3.3.20. *vāhita-pāpatayā te saṃkhyātā brāhmaṇā loke* //<sup>16</sup> (“Because they have annihilated evils, they are considered to be brahmans in the world.”)

Daśabalaśrīmitra’s *Samskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* (12<sup>th</sup>~13<sup>th</sup> c.) of the Saṃmitīya school: *de ni sdiḡ pa kun mi skyed pas bra hman zhes ’jig rten rnam brjod do* (“Because they do not make evils at all, people called them ‘brahmans’.”)<sup>17</sup>

This Buddhist folk-etymology, associating *brāhmaṇa* with the verb *bāh-*, is only possible in a dialect where OIA *brāhmaṇa* became the vernacular form *\*bāhaṇa*<sup>18</sup> or less probably Pkt. *baṃhaṇa* or As. *bāmhaṇa*. The fact that *br-* in the above-quoted various verses does not make position, means that there stood a single consonant *b-* instead of *br-*. Though the form *\*bāhaṇa*, meaning “a brahman”, has not been attested to up to now<sup>19</sup>, in the face of the above investigated Prakrit form *māhaṇa* (< *\*bāhaṇa* × √*mah* “to honour, revere”), it is quite probable that *\*bāhaṇa* had once existed but was totally replaced later with *brāhmaṇa* in the Buddhist scriptures.

### (1.3) Pun of *\*bāhaṇa* (“brahman”) and *bāhaṇa* (< OIA *bādhana* “annihilating”)

The etymology and meaning of the verb *bāheti* remain obscure.<sup>20</sup> *Bāheti* is written as *vah-* in a Gāndhārī manuscript<sup>21</sup> and *vāh-* in later Sanskrit texts as we have seen above.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Abhidh-k-bh(Ch1) 279c23. 由能遣蕩諸惑故，說名婆羅門；Abhidh-k-bh(Ch2) 128b22f. 經亦說名婆羅門性。以能遣除諸煩惱故。

<sup>15</sup> The *Vajrasūcī* is ascribed to Aśvaghōṣa in the Sanskrit text, whereas it is attributed to Dharmakīrti in the Chinese translation (T. 32, no. 1642). The ascription to Aśvaghōṣa is doubtful; cf. Nakamura 1987: 291; de Jong 1988: 426f.

<sup>16</sup> Okano 1998: 246f.; *ib.* 2004: 24; *ib.* 2014: 14. Cf. also Okano 1998: 420 § 93.

<sup>17</sup> Peking no. 5865, *nyo* 30a3f.; Derge no. 3897, *ha* 129b2; Okano 1998: 420 § 93.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Schneider 1954: 578 = 2002: 21; Mette 1973: 33, n. 115; Dhp(tr.N) 155 (on Dhp 388); von Hinüber 2009: 482, 595. Cf. also Lüders 1954: § 209.

<sup>19</sup> As we shall see below, Pkt. *bāhaṇa* (< OIA *bādhana*), meaning “removing, annihilating”, is attested.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Brough 1962: 178. Buddhaghosa (5<sup>th</sup> c.) explains *bāhitvā* by the word *panuditvā* (Dhp-a III 393.6).

<sup>21</sup> See Baums 2009: 337~348.

However, the consonants *b* and *v* are often interchangeable in Indian languages.<sup>22</sup> Also, in the Gilgit/Bamiyan Type and many types of the Nepalese scripts, the letters *b* and *v* are identical — the choice often depends on the modern editors of the texts —, while they are different in Gāndhārī and various Turkestan Brāhmī scripts. In any case, the form *vāh-* does not make any sense when explaining words for brahman. Presumably, at a certain stage of the transmission, *bāh-* was miswritten as *vāh-*.

Weber<sup>23</sup>, Senart (Mvu I 431), PTSD (s.v. *bāheti*) and Edgerton (BHSD, s.v. *bāhayati*, *bāheti*) suggest that it be a causative denominative from *bahi* (Skt. *bahis* “outside”). Fausböll<sup>24</sup>, Anderson<sup>25</sup>, Bailey<sup>26</sup> and Norman<sup>27</sup> derive it from the verb OIA.  $\sqrt{brh}$  (=  $\sqrt{br̥mh}$ ,  $\sqrt{vr̥h}$ ; “to tear, destroy”).

<sup>28</sup>I assume that Pāli *bāhati* / *bāheti* are vernacular forms of OIA  $\sqrt{bād̥h}$  (“to press hard, remove, annihilate”), which also Anderson has already suggested as one of the possibilities.<sup>29</sup>

Uhlenbeck assumes that Skt. *bāhate* (= *vāhate* “presses”<sup>30</sup>) is a Middle Indic form of OIA  $\sqrt{bād̥h}$ .<sup>31</sup> Also, Norman (CP II 113~114) assumes that Pkt. *vāhio* in the *Uttarajjhāyā* 19.63, which is glossed with Skt. *bād̥hitaḥ* in Devendra’s commentary, stands for *bāhia* (< *bād̥hitaḥ*).

OIA.  $\sqrt{bād̥h}$  (“to press hard, remove, annihilate”) and OIA.  $\sqrt{vadh}$  =  $\sqrt{badh}$  (“to slay”) are often confused.<sup>32</sup> Accordingly, their vernacular forms, namely Pā. *bāheti*, Pkt. *bāhai* = *vāhai*, Pkt. *vahai* and BHS. *vahati* (= *bahati*), are often confused as well. I have pointed out such confusion in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*: SP 183.9. *pratibād̥hiṣyante* / SP(O) 177r7. *prati-vahiṣyaṃti*; SP 419.5. *vyāvād̥hiṣyate* / v.l. *vyābād̥hiṣyate* / SP(O) 404r7. *bād̥hiṣyati*; SP 481.4. *vyāvād̥hiṣyati* / v.ll. *vyāvahiṣyati*, *vyābād̥hiṣyati* / SP(O) 453v6. *bād̥hiṣyati*.<sup>33</sup> In the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, *bād̥hati* and *vyābahati* (= *vyāvahati*; *b* and *v* are identical in this manuscript)<sup>34</sup> occur side by side in the same meaning:

Abhis § 24.9.22A5. *prahāṇe āsantasya kheṭa bād̥hati* ... (“When phlegm plagues [a monk], while sitting in the meditation room, ...”)

<sup>22</sup> Cf. AiGr I § 161, p. 183 and Debrunner, Nachtr. to I 183, 25; von Hinüber 2001: § 183; Abhis I § 14.4, n. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Weber 1860: 67, n.4; 82, n. 2.

<sup>24</sup> DhP(F) 379.

<sup>25</sup> PGI 188a.

<sup>26</sup> Bailey 1955: 21.

<sup>27</sup> Norman CP IV 275; *ib.* 2006: 208.

<sup>28</sup> Elsewhere, I have written the following argument in German; Abhis I § 14.4, n. 1. Cf. also *ib.* III 495, s.vv. *vy-ā-baha-*, *vy-ā-bāha-*.

<sup>29</sup> “*bāheti* ... cp. also  $\sqrt{bād̥h}$  &  $\sqrt{vāh}$ ” (PGI 188a).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Whitney 1885: 158.

<sup>31</sup> “*bāhate* drängt, drückt, *prabāhikā* f. plötzlicher Drang zum Stuhlgang, *sambāhakas* m. Bader, vielleicht mit mittelindisch *h* aus *dh*, vgl. *bād̥hate*.” (Uhlenbeck 1898/1899: 189).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Whitney 1885, s.v.  $\sqrt{bād̥h}$ , *Vedic Variants* II § 209, EWAia II, s.vv. *bād̥h*, *vadh*; cf. however EWAia III, s.v. *vāh*.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. also BHSD, s.vv. *vyābād̥hati*, *vyāvahati*, *avyābad̥hya*,  $\sqrt{vadhya}$ , *avyābād̥ha*,  $\sqrt{vād̥ha}$ ; PTSD, s.v. *vyābāheti*.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Abhis III 495, s.vv. *vy-ā-baha-*, *vy-ā-bāha-*.

Abhis § 24.10.22A6. *upādhyāyācāryāṇāṃ vā mūle khetam vyābahati* ... (“When phlegm plagues [a monk] in front of his instructor or teacher, ...”)

In the same text, the forms *ud-baha-* (“to resist”), *prati-bāha-*, *prati-bāhe-* (“to ward off”) and *vy-ā-bāha-* (“to harass, vex”) — as *b* and *v* are identical in this manuscript, there can be *ud-vaha-* etc. as well — occur frequently. The form *ud-baha-* occurs repeatedly in § 247 and § 248 in the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* of the same school as well.<sup>35</sup>

To sum up, the folk-etymology of *brāhmaṇa* may have originally associated its vernacular form *\*bāhaṇa* with the same form *bāhaṇa* (= Pkt < OIA *bādhana* “removing, annihilating”)<sup>36</sup>, an action noun, derived from verbs *bāhati*, *baheti* (“removes, annihilates”; < OIA  $\sqrt{bād}$ ). However, after *\*bāhaṇa* was totally replaced with the Sanskrit form *brāhmaṇa*, this word play became unintelligible. In addition to this, the identical writing of *b* and *v* in many Indian scripts caused wrong writings and consequently modern transliterations of *vāh-* instead of the original *bah-*, which has resulted in the word play’s becoming more obscure.<sup>37</sup>

#### (1.4) *brāhmaṇa* as a combination of *bahis* (“outside”) and *manas* (“mind”)

Later, other etymological explanations were made in Buddhist texts.

Buddhaghosa (5<sup>th</sup> c.) explains *brāhmaṇa* as follows: Sp 111.12f. = Sv 244.10. *brahmaṇaṃ anātīti brāhmaṇa* (“Because one intones the sacred texts [*brahman*], he is called a brahman”).<sup>38</sup>

In the Pāli *Aggañña suttanta* in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, the Buddha relates the origins of the Earth and human society, refuting the Brahmanical tradition.<sup>39</sup> As we have seen above, a fanciful etymology of brahman is given there: *pāpake akusale dhamme bāhentīti kho, Vāseṭṭha, “brāhmaṇā”* (DN III 94.1f.; “As they annihilate evil unwholesome matters, O Vāseṭṭha, they are ‘brahmans’”) which agrees with the Chinese translations of the Dharmaguptakas’ *Dīrghāgama*<sup>40</sup>, the Sarvāstivādins’ *Madhyamāgama*<sup>41</sup> and the versified version of the discourse, found in the Sarvarakṣita’s *Mahāsaṃvartanīkathā* (12<sup>th</sup> c.) of the Saṃmitīya school (see above). However, in the *Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna* and in the sanskritised versions of the same discourse in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* of Vasubandhu (ca. 350~430 C.E.), the *Abhidharmakośopāyikā* by Śamathadeva (5<sup>th</sup> c.) and the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* by Candrakīrti (ca. 570~650 C.E.), this etymological explanation is changed as follows:<sup>42</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Roth (BhiVin[Ma-L] § 248, n. 5) and Nolot (1991: 195, n. 18) connect this form with Skt.  $\sqrt{bād}$ .

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Ratnach, s.v. *bāhaṇa* “obstructing, troubling”.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Karashima 2015: 176, where I introduce the word plays in colloquial languages which are unintelligible in sanskritised texts, namely Pā. *dīpa* (“lamp”; “island” < *dvīpa*), Pkt. *majjāra* (“cat” < *mārjāra*; “my lover” < *maj-jāra*), *\*jāna* (“vehicle” < *yāna*; “wisdom” < *jñāna*).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Mil(tr.) II 26, n. 1. For Dhammapāla’s etymological explanations of the word, see Bhattacharya 1986: 294.

<sup>39</sup> There are many parallels to this discourse and many articles on the pseudo-etymologies described in the *Aggañña suttanta*. I have enumerated them in the introduction to my annotated Japanese translation of the ancient Chinese translation of this scripture (Karashima 1997: 15~22); cf. also Abhidh-k(VP) II 204, n. 2 = Abhidh-k(VP.tr) II 548, n. 549; Eltschinger 2000: 17f.; Okano 2004; Anālayo 2011, vol. 2, 542f., n. 72; Bhattacharya 2015: 152ff., n. 34.

<sup>40</sup> T. 1, no. 1, 38c7f. 捨離衆惡，於是世間始有婆羅門名生。

<sup>41</sup> T. 1, no. 26, 676a29f. 此諸尊捨害惡不善法，是梵志。是梵志謂之梵志也。

<sup>42</sup> The Pāli *Lokapaññatti*, which probably belongs to the Saṃmitīya school (Okano 2004: 2, 96, n. 4) has parallel descriptions about the origins of the Earth and human society as well, but, unfortunately, it lacks the very sentence which deals with how the designation of *brāhmaṇa* occurred: LP(P) I 213.14, cf. Okano 2004: 60.

Śk-av 32.16~18. *atha teṣāṃ grāhavāsīnāṃ sattvānāṃ etad abhavat “duṣkarakārakā vata bhoḥ sattvā ye svakaṃ parigrahaṃ utsrjya grāmanigamajanapadebhyo bahir nirgatāḥ” teṣāṃ bahirmanaskā “brāhmaṇā” iti saṃjñā udapādi* (= Divy 631.15~18<sup>43</sup>; “Then, those village-dwellers thought: ‘It is indeed a difficult deed that they, having thrown away their properties, went out from the villages, towns and provinces.’ Their minds were turned to the outside. Thus, the designation of brahmans occurred.”)<sup>44</sup>

Abhidh-k-bh 187.16. *tatra ye grhebhyo bahirmanasaḥ saṃvṛttās teṣāṃ “brāhmaṇāḥ” iti saṃjñōtpannā*<sup>45</sup> (“There were those, whose minds were turned to the outside of houses. They came to be called brahmans.”)

AK-up(Tib), Peking *tu* 224b7f. *grong las dgon pa rten cing gnas yid phyir phyogs shing yid* (8) <phyir> *phyogs pas bram ze bram ze zhes bya ba ’ ming byung ngo* / (“[Some people, having gone] out of the village and dwelling in the wilderness, turned their minds towards the outside. As [they] turned their minds [towards the outside], the designation of ‘brahman’ occurred.”)<sup>46</sup>

Cṭś Peking *ya* 94a6f. = Derge *ya* 86b7. *thul bar ’dod pa gang dga’ thub bsgrub bar bya ba ’i phyir / grong las yid phyir phyogs par gyur pa de dag la ni bram ze zhes bya bar grags so* / (“Those, who wished to restrain their senses and turned their minds from villages in order to perform austerities, came to be called ‘brahmans’”).

This pseudo-etymology divides *brāhmaṇa* as *b(r)āh-maṇa* and interprets it as a combination of *bahis* (Pkt = Pā. *bahi*; “outside”) and *manas* (Pkt. *maṇa*; Pā. *mano*, *manam*; “mind”). This new interpretation was apparently invented on the basis of the Sanskrit form.

### (1.5) *Shìxīn* 逝心 and *fànzhì* 梵志

This new pseudo-etymological *brāhmaṇa*, taking *bahi(s)* + *manas*, seems to go back to a much earlier interpretation. While the earliest Chinese translators, namely An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 148~168 C.E.) and Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 (fl. 178~189 C.E.), used the transliteration *pólúómén* 婆羅門 (EH. *ba la mən*; \**brā(h)maṇ(a)* or more probably *Gā. bra(m)maṇ(a)*), we find a strange translation *shìxīn* 逝心 (lit. “[one, whose] mind has gone [or passed] away”) in the *Fajing jing* 法鏡經 (= *Ugra-paripṛcchā*, *Ugradatta-paripṛcchā*), translated by An Xuan 安玄 and Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 in ca. 181 C.E.: T. 12, no. 322, 17b28. 父、母、息心、逝心 (“[his] father, mother, *śramaṇas* [lit. ‘ones, who have stilled their minds’] and *brāhmaṇas* [lit. ‘ones, whose minds have gone away’]”). *Shìxīn* 逝心 is probably

<sup>43</sup> A Sanskrit fragment from Central Asia reads differently: BLSF II.1, 338, Or.15010/6, *recto* 4~5. *teṣāṃ satvānāṃ atīva dātavyaṃ kartavya (recto 5) manyanti • iti .. + + + + .. nā iti sā saṃjñā udapādi*.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. T. 21, no. 1300, 403c18f. 復有衆生，不樂居家，入於山林，修學禪法，著弊壞衣，乞食濟命，清身潔己，奉修祠祀。由斯因緣，咸皆謂爲婆羅門種；T. 21, no. 1301, 413c29~414a3. 時人見之。各心念言：“是等難值，避於世俗，患厭憂惱，閑居思道，一心專精。”喜施與之。志在於外，是故名曰婆羅門也。

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Abhidh-k-bh(Ch1) 223c2. 於中若有人心出家外，是人得名婆羅門；Abhidh-k-bh (Ch2) 65c14f. 時人或有情厭居家，樂在空閑，精修戒行。因斯故得婆羅門名。(= *Apidamo Shunzhengli lun* 阿毘達磨順正理論 [*Abhidharmayāyānusārasāstra*], T. 29, No. 1562, 526a22f.; *Apidamo Cangxianzong lun* 阿毘達磨藏顯宗論 [*\*Abhidharmapiṭakaprakaraṇasāsanaśāstra*], T. 29, No. 1563, 858b26f.).

<sup>46</sup> I should like to thank Prof. Yoshifumi Honjō of Bukkyō University, Kyoto, for providing me with the Tibetan text.

based on an interpretation of *brāhmaṇa* as *bāhati*, *baheti* (“annihilates”) or *bahi* (“outsides”) + *maṇa* (“mind”)<sup>47</sup> and occurs frequently in the translations by Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. ca. 220~257 C.E.), e.g. *Yizu jing* 義足經 (*Arthapada-sūtra*; T. 4, no. 198, 189a17, 19), *Fanmoyu jing* 梵摩渝經 (\**Brahmāyuhṣūtra*; T. 1, no. 76, 883b9, 883b-11, -8, 884c19, 26, 885a15 etc.) and so on<sup>48</sup> and in the *Liuduji jing* 六度集經 (A Collection of Stories concerning the Six *Pāramitās*), translated by Kang Senghui 康僧會 (~280 C.E.) (T. 3, no. 152, 2b8, c1, 4, 7b2, 18, 42c5 etc.). Later Chinese translators hardly ever used this expression. Another expression for brahman, namely *fānzhi* 梵志 (lit. “one, who has [the god] Brahman-like will”), starts appearing in Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳’s *Zhong Benqi jing* 中本起經, translated in the Jian’an 建安 period (196~220 C.E.) (T. 4, no. 196, 147c16, 148a2, 10, 149c12 etc.). Also, Zhi Qian used it in his translations, e.g. the *Yizu jing* 義足經 (T. 4, no. 198, 174b-17, -13, -8 etc.), the *Fanmoyu jing* 梵摩渝經 (\**Brahmāyuhṣūtra*; T. 1, no. 76, 885a21, b4, 25 etc.) and so on.<sup>49</sup> This expression, consisting of a transliteration *fān* 梵 (EH. bjam-) and a translation *zhì* 志 (“intention; will”)<sup>50</sup>, is probably based not on Skt. *brāhmaṇa* but rather on Gā. *braṃmaṇa*, *braṃmaṇa*, as the sound of *fān* 梵 agrees quite well with *braṃ* / *braṃ* of the Gāndhārī form, while *zhì* 志 does the same with *-maṇa*. *Fānzhi* 梵志 was a common expression especially in pre-Kumārajīva translations, while the transliteration *pólúómén* 婆羅門 (MC. bwâ lâ mwən) became more and more popular after Kumārajīva (fl. 401~413/409 C.E.)’s time.<sup>51</sup> I assume that the interpretation of *-maṇa* of *brāhmaṇa* as “mind, will” (= Skt. *manas*) goes back to India, as the above quoted sentences in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* and so on clearly demonstrate.

## (2) *śramaṇa*, *śamaṇa*, *samaṇa*, *shāmén* 沙門, *xīxīn* 息心 and *jìzhì* 寂志

OIA *śramaṇa* (“ascetic”), which was derived from  $\sqrt{śram}$  (“to exert one’s self, perform austerities”), became in colloquial languages: Pkt = Pā. *samaṇa*, EHS. *śamaṇa*<sup>52</sup>, Gā. *ṣamaṇa*, *śramaṇṇa*. In a similar way to the case of the colloquial forms of *brāhmaṇa*, which we have discussed above, we find word plays based on pseudo-etymological understandings of the colloquial forms of *śramaṇa* in Buddhist and Jain scriptures.

### (2.1) *śramaṇa* (“ascetic”) / *śamaṇa* (“appeasing, destroying, extinguishing”)

The folk-etymology, interpreting *śramaṇa* as deriving from the verb *śamayati* (> Pā. *sameti*; Pkt. *samei*; “appeases, destroys, extinguishes”), is very common in Buddhist literature, e.g.:

Dhp 265. *yo ca sameti pāpāni aṇumthūlāni sabbaso / samitattā hi pāpānaṃ samaṇo ti pavuccati* (“But he who quietens evils, small or large, in every way, because of the

<sup>47</sup> Recently, I have come to realise that Anālayo had also reached a similar conclusion to mine independently; cf. Anālayo 2011, vol. 2, 542f., n. 72.

<sup>48</sup> It is noteworthy that Zhi Qian 支謙 constantly used the translated word *fānzhi* 梵志 and avoided the transliteration *pólúómén* 婆羅門.

<sup>49</sup> *Fānzhi* 梵志 also appears in some Chinese translations made by pre-Zhi Qian translators according to the Chinese catalogues. However, the antiquity of these has been questioned recently. Cf. Nattier 2008.

<sup>50</sup> Jiang (2014) assumes that *fānzhi* 梵志 is a transliteration of a Middle Indic form of Skt. *brahma-cārin* or *brahma-carya*. Her argument is awkward from both indological and sinological points of views.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Jiang 2014: 451f.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Damsteegt 1978: 78 (Mathurā), IBInsc III 82 (Hunzā, no. 43), 97 (*do.*, no. 111).

quieting of evils is called an ascetic.” [Dhp(tr.N) 39])<sup>53</sup>

PatnaDhp 236. *yo tu śameti pāpāni aṇutthūlāni sabbaśo / śamaṇā eva pāpānāṃ śamaṇo ti pravuccati // (do.)*

Uv 11.14. *śamitaṃ yena pāpaṃ syād aṇusthūlaṃ hi sarvaśaḥ / śamitatvāt tu pāpānāṃ śramaṇo hi nirucyate // (do.)*

Dhp-G<sup>k</sup> 189. (missing) *va pavaṇi ta viñu śramaṇa<sup>54</sup> vidu (I) śamadha-r-eva<sup>55</sup>(←°dhare va) pavaṇi śramaṇo di pravucadi (II)* (“One [,who destroys] evils, is a wise, clever ascetic. Because of destroying evils, one is called an ascetic.”?)

Uv 11.15b. *śramaṇaḥ śamitāśubhaḥ<sup>56</sup>* (“An ascetic has destroyed impurity.”)

Sn 520 *samitāvi pahāya puñṇapāpaṃ virajo ñatvā imaṃ parañ ca lokam / jātimaraṇam upātivatto samaṇo tādi pavuccate tathattā //* (“Calmed, having abandoned merit and evil, without pollution, knowing this world and the next, gone beyond birth and death, such a one is rightly called ‘ascetic.’” [Sn(tr.N) 65])

Mvu III 396.19ff. *samitāvi (i.e. śamitāvi, cf. BHSD, s.v.) prahāya puṇyavipākam virato jñātvā imaṃ param ca lokam / jātimaraṇam upātivr̥tto śramaṇo tādi pravuccati tathatvā // (do.)*

MN I 280.12ff. *samitā śsa honti pāpakā akusalā dhammā saṅkilesikā ponobhavikā sadarā dukkhavipākā āyatim jātijarāmarañiyā. evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu samaṇo hoti<sup>57</sup>* (“He has quieted down evil unwholesome states that defile, bring renewal of being, give trouble, ripen in suffering, and lead to future birth, ageing, and death. That is how a bhikkhu is a recluse.” [MN(tr.Ñm) 370])

Abhidh-k-bh 369.9~11. *anāsravo mārgaḥ śrāmaṇyam. tena hi śramaṇo bhavati. kleśasaṃśamanāt. “śamitā anena bhavanti anekavidhāḥ pāpakā akuśalā dharmā vistareṇa yāvaj jarāmarañiyās tasmāc chramaṇa ity ucyata” iti sūtre vacanāt<sup>58</sup>* (“Śramaṇa-ship is the path without defilements, by which one becomes a śramaṇa, because one destroys defilements. A sūtra says: ‘One is called a śramaṇa because he destroys various types of evil unwholesome matters, ... leading to ageing and death.’”)

Abhidh-k-vy 577.17. *śamayati kleśān iti śramaṇaḥ* (“One, who destroys defilements, is a śramaṇa.”)

This Buddhist folk-etymology, associating śramaṇa (“ascetic”) with śamaṇa (“appeasing, destroying”), is only possible in a dialect where OIA śramaṇa became the vernacular forms

<sup>53</sup> Cf. T. 4, no. 210, 569a4f. 謂能止惡 恢廓弘道 息心滅意 是爲沙門. For other Chinese parallels, cf. Mizuno 1981: 192ff.

<sup>54</sup> Elsewhere in the manuscript of this Gāndhārī Dharmapada, the Gāndhārī form śamaṇa is used. Perhaps, this Sanskrit form is here used in order to make the pun śramaṇa / śamaṇa intelligible. Cf. Brough 1962: 240.

<sup>55</sup> śamathāt eva > śamadha-r-eva?

<sup>56</sup> V.l. (śama)cār(ī) śramaṇo nirucyat[e]; Derge no. 327, sa 219b2. zhi bar byed pa dge sbyong yin; T. 4, no. 213, 783a5. 所言沙門者 息心滅意想.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. T.1, no. 26, 725c4~6. 云何沙門? 謂息止諸惡不善之法諸漏穢污爲當來有本煩熱苦報生老病死因。是謂沙門。

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Abhidh-k-bh(Ch1) 279b15~17. 由此道人成沙門那 (śramaṇa). 由能寂靜惑故。如經言: “此人能寂靜多種惡法, 不應慧法染污法隨順生死能感後有乃至老死故。名沙門那。”; Abhidh-k-bh(Ch2) 128a13~16. 懷此道者名曰沙門。以能勤勞息煩惱故。如契經說: “以能勤勞息除種種惡不善法。廣說乃至。故名沙門。”

*samaṇa* or *śamaṇa*.

(2.2) *samaṇa* (“ascetic”) / *sama* (“equal, impartial”)

In a Jain scripture, the *Uttarajjhāyā* (*Uttarādhyayana*) 25.32, *samaṇa* (“ascetic”) is explained in association with *samatā* (“equality, equability, equanimity, impartiality”): *samayāe samaṇo hoi* (“By equability, one becomes an ascetic.”). This folk-etymological explanation is more explicit in § 599 of the *Aṇuogaddārāim* (*Anuyogadvārasūtra*), belonging to the Śvetāmbara canonical works in Ardhamāgadhī Prakrit, in which *samaṇa* (“ascetic”) is explained in association with *sama* (“equal, impartial”):<sup>59</sup>

*jaha mama ṇa piyaṃ dukkhaṃ jāṇiya emeva savvajīvāṇaṃ /*

*na haṇai na haṇāvei ya samamaṇatī teṇa so samaṇo //129//*

*ṇatthi ya se koi veso pio va savvesu ceva jīvesu /*

*eeṇa hoi samaṇo eso anno vi pajjāo //130//*

*to samaṇo jai sumaṇo, bhāveṇa ya jai ṇa hoi pāvamaṇo /*

*sayāṇe ya jaṇe ya samo, samo ya māṇāvamaṇesu //132//*

(“As suffering is not dear to me, so is it for all creatures — knowing [this] he does not [himself] kill, nor get killed [by others], he behaves with equanimity [*sama-maṇatī*], [and] is therefore called *samaṇa* [ascetic] //129//

There is none, among all living creatures, who is an object of hatred or attachment to him, and so he is a *samaṇa* — this is yet another derivation [of the word *samaṇa*] // 130//

If he is good-minded [*sumaṇa*], then he is *samaṇa*, provided he is not evil minded in thought, is evenly disposed towards his own men as well as [other] people, and is also indifferent to honour and insult //132//”) (Aṇuo 206f.)<sup>60</sup>

Also referring to the above-quoted verses, the *Abhidhānarājendrakōṣa*, a Jain Encyclopaedia, quotes definitions of the word found in various Jain commentaries, e.g. “‘sam’ *iti samatayā śatrumitrādiṣu ‘aṇa’ ṭi pravartate iti samaṇaḥ prākṛtatayā sarvatra ‘samaṇa’ tti*” (“‘Sam’ of *samaṇa* means equality towards both enemies and friends. ‘Aṇa’ means ‘acts’. In Prakrit, it is called ‘*samaṇa*’ everywhere.”) ... “*sarvatra tulyapravṛttim iti*” (“Acting equally towards everyone.”) ... “*sarvajīveṣu tulyaṃ vartate yatas tenāsau samaṇa iti*” (“Because one behaves equally towards all living creatures, one is called a *samaṇa*.”) etc.

This folk-etymology is also found in a verse in the Pāli *Dhammapada* and its equivalent in the Gāndhārī version:

Dhp 388b. *samacariyā samaṇo ti vuccati* (“Because of living in equanimity he is called an ascetic.” [Dhp(tr.N) 55])<sup>61</sup>

Dhp-G<sup>K</sup> 16b. *samaīrya śramaṇo di vuccadi (do.)*

<sup>59</sup> The following occurrences in the Jain scriptures have been pointed out already in Abhidh-rāj, a Jain Encyclopaedia, VII 410, s.v. *samaṇa* and again in Mitra 1952: 279.

<sup>60</sup> I thank Mr. Ryūken Nawa for providing me with a copy of this book.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. T. 4, no. 210, 572c3. 入正爲沙門; T. 4, no. 212, 681a20. 沙門執行. For other Chinese parallels, cf. Mizuno 1981: 246f. Cf. also Dhp 142; Dhp(tr.N) 96.

As Norman points out<sup>62</sup> correctly, if this etymology had been based upon OIA *śama*, the scribe of the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* would have written *śama*, because *ś* and *s* are distinct in Gāndhārī and derivatives of *√śam* are written with *ś* in this text, which shows that *samaīrya* means *sama-caryā*<sup>63</sup> (“living in impartiality”<sup>64</sup>) here and not *śama-caryā* (“living in tranquillity”).

As far as I know, this etymology is not found in later Buddhist literature.

### (2.3) *śravaṇa* (“ascetic”) / *āsrava* (*āśrava*)

In Buddhist Sanskrit texts, *śravaṇa* for *śramaṇa* occurs frequently, e.g. PrMoSū(Ma-L) 22.25, 36.8; AS(R) 323.19, 324.1<sup>65</sup>; RP 17.13, 34.12; Rm-av 124.8, 160.19, 161.8; BAK(V) 80.19<sup>66</sup> etc.<sup>67</sup> There are also cases, where *śramaṇa* stands for *śravaṇa* (“hearing”), e.g. BhiVin(Ma-L) § 182, 6B3.6, § 203, 7B4.5, § 234, 8A8.7.<sup>68</sup> The interchange of *samaṇa* and *savaṇa* occurs in Prakrit.<sup>69</sup> The alternation between *-m-* and *-v-* is not uncommon in Sanskrit as well as Prakrit.<sup>70</sup> Cf. also OIA *Vaiśravaṇa* (> Pā. *Vessavaṇa*) > Pkt. *Vesamaṇa*, BHS. *Vaiśramaṇa*; see below (3.1).

There is a pseudo-etymology of Pā. *samaṇa* in association with Pā. *āsava* in the *Shanjianlü Piposha* 善見律毘婆沙, a Chinese version of the *Samantapāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Pāli Vinaya, translated by Saṃghabhadra, 489 C.E.:

T. 24, no. 1462, 699b4f. 沙門者伏煩惱。又言却煩惱。又言息心。

(“*Samaṇa* means one who has subdued afflictions. It means also one who has removed afflictions, or one who has stilled his mind”)<sup>71</sup>

A similar pseudo-etymology of *śramaṇa* in association with BHS. *āśrava*, a common wrong writing for *āsrava* (“evil influence”), is found in a Tibetan translation of the *Ratnarāśisūtra*:

Derge, no. 88, cha 156b3. 'Od srung dge sbyong dge sbyong zhes bya ba ni gang mig nas mi zag cing rna ba nas ma ying / sna nas ma yin / lce nas ma yin / lus las ma yin / yid

<sup>62</sup> Dh(p(tr.N) 156; Norman CPI 171f., VIII 338.

<sup>63</sup> The expression *samacaryā* occurs many times in Buddhist literature, e.g. Uv 5.23b. *samacaryāṃ ca yaś caret*; EĀ(Trip) § 30.12. *dharmacaryā samacaryā ca* (= § 30.301, 30.42 etc.); do. § 30.22. *dharmacaryāsamacaryā*; AS(V) 37.20 = AS(R) 75.4 = AS(W) 237.16f. *dharmacaryā samacaryā*; KP § 23 *dharmacaryayā samacaryayā*. Cf. also Aś (Girnār) *samacaira*; Lüders 1954: 164, n. 1.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. AAA. 237.22f. *svaparātmasamatābhyāsaḥ* “*sama-caryā*”; cf., however, SWTF, s.v. *sama-caryā* (“ein ausgeglichener, gerechter [Lebens]wandel”).

<sup>65</sup> In the newer editions, namely AS(W) 667.1, 2 and AS(V) 161.13, 14, the form *śravaṇa*~ is normalised to *śramaṇa*~ without being noted.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. de Jong 1979: 177, Okano 2012: 272 (his emendation to *śrāmaṇeratvam* is wrong).

<sup>67</sup> Cf. PW, s.v. <sup>4</sup>*śravaṇa*; BHSD, s.v. *śravaṇa*; Fussman 1978: 5f. *śravāṇa*, *ṣavaṇa* (Gilgit inscriptions).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. also Śāntideva’s *Bodhicaryāvatāra* § 8.119c. *yaśyaiva śravaṇāt trāsas* (“one, who has fear of hearing, ...”), T. 32, no. 1662, 555a26. 沙門見怖畏 (“A *śramaṇa* sees [other people] fearing, ...”).

<sup>69</sup> Cf. PSM 882a. *savaṇa* (< *śramaṇa*); do. 865b. *samaṇa* (< *śravaṇa*).

<sup>70</sup> Cf. AiGr II 2 § 721 d; Pischel §§ 251, 261; Brough 1962: § 36; BHSG § 2.30; Krsh 269, 280 (*ad* 65b2), 308 (*ad* 84c1); Karashima 1994: 25f.; Sn(tr.N) 188 (*ad* Sn 100); Dh(p(tr.N) 109 (*ad* Dh. 183); von Hinüber 2001: §§ 208~210; Esposito 2004: 54.

<sup>71</sup> The Pāli *Samantapāsādikā* reads *samitapāpattā samaṇo ti veditabbo. ... samitattā* (v.l. *samitapāpattā*) *samaṇo ti vuccati* (Sp I 111.17f. “Because of having destroyed evils, one is known as a *samaṇa*. ... Because of having destroyed [evils], one is called a *samaṇa*.”).

*nas kyang mi zag pa ste / de'i phyir dge sbyong dge sbyong zhe bya 'o l'*<sup>72</sup>

(“O Kāśyapa, one, who is called an ‘ascetic’, is free from *āsrava* from eyes, nose, ears, tongue, body and also from the mind. Therefore, one is called an ‘ascetic’.”)

These explanations are intelligible, only when we suppose that *śravaṇa* / *savaṇa* stood here instead of *śramaṇa* / *samaṇa* in the original Indian text.<sup>73</sup>

#### (2.4) *Shāmén* 沙門, *xīxīn* 息心 and *jìzhì* 寂志

The earliest Chinese translators, namely An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 148~168 C.E.) and Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖 (fl. 178~189 C.E.), used the transliteration *shāmén* 沙門 (EH. *ṣa mən*) which was apparently based on Gā. *śamaṇa* (< *śramaṇa*).<sup>74</sup> In the *Fajing jing* 法鏡經 (= *Ugra-paripṛcchā*, *Ugradatta-paripṛcchā*), translated by An Xuan 安玄 and Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 in ca. 181 C.E., we find *xīxīn* 息心 (lit. “one, who has stilled his mind”) together with the word *shìxīn* 逝心 (*brāhmaṇa*) which we have discussed above: T. 12, no. 322, 17b28. 父、母、息心、逝心 (“[his] father, mother, *śramaṇas* [lit. ‘ones, who have stilled their minds’] and *brāhmaṇas* [lit. ‘ones, whose minds have gone away’]”)<sup>75</sup>. *Xīxīn* 息心, meaning “ascetic”, is also used in the *Liuduji jing* 六度集經, translated by Kang Senghui 康僧會 (~280 C.E.) (T. 3, no. 152, 49a8). Later Chinese translators hardly ever used this word in this meaning.

*Xīxīn* 息心 is apparently based on the above-discussed traditional pseudo-etymology of *śramaṇa*, associating it with *śamaṇa* (“appeasing, destroying”) to which the following new interpretation was added. The translator(s) interpreted this word as a combination of  $\sqrt{śam}$  (“to appease”) + *maṇa* (< OIA *manas*; “mind”) in a similar way to the case of *shìxīn* 逝心 (= *brāhmaṇa*), which is based on an interpretation of *brāhmaṇa* as *bāhati*, *baheti* (“annihilates”) + *maṇa* (“mind”). This interpretation of *śramaṇa* is not attested in Indian texts.<sup>76</sup> There may be two possibilities to explain this peculiar rendering: (1) *śramaṇa* was pronounced as *\*ś(r)aṃmaṇa*<sup>77</sup>, which made it possible to interpret it as  $\sqrt{śam}$  + *maṇa*; (2) *śramaṇa* was interpreted as *śama(ṇa)* + *maṇa* — such “doubling interpretations” of

<sup>72</sup> Cf. T. 11, no. 310, 640b16f. 迦葉！所謂“沙門”者，眼不流色中，耳、鼻、舌、身、意不流法中。是故謂之“沙門”。

<sup>73</sup> A similar word play between *śravaṇa* (“hearing”) and *āsrava* is found in the following Chinese translations of the *\*Brahmaviśeṣacintiparipṛcchā*: T. 15, No. 586, 59b6~11. “梵天！若有菩薩於此衆中作是念：‘今說是法。’當知是人即非聽法。所以者何？不聽法者乃爲聽法。”梵天言：“何故說不聽法者乃爲聽法。”文殊師利言：“眼、耳、鼻、舌、身、意不漏。是聽法也。所以者何？若於內六入不漏色聲香味觸法中，乃爲聽法。”；= T. 15, No. 587, 93b10~16. The Tibetan translator apparently did not understand this word play: Peking, no. 827, *phu*, 98b8~99a2. “TSHangs pa! byang chub sems dpa' gang dag 'de (read 'di) snyam du: "khor 'dir chos bstan do" snyam du sems na de dag la chos thos pa med do. de ci'i phyir zhe na? thos pa med pa de ni chos thos pa'o" smras pa "'Jam dpal! "thos pa med pa ni chos thos pa'o" zhe bya ba ci las bsams te de skad zer." smras pa "TSHangs pa! mig dang rna ba dang lce dang lus dang yid kyis thos pa med pa ni chos thos pa ste. gang skye mched de dag nas gzugs dang sgra dang dri dang ro dang reg dang chos la mi 'dzin pa de dag ni chos thos pa'o”.

<sup>74</sup> Much later, Paramārtha (真諦; 499~569 C.E.) transliterated *śramaṇa* as *shāménà* 沙門那 (EH. *ṣa mən nā*): Abhidh-k-bh(Ch1) 279b15, 17, 18.

<sup>75</sup> This word, meaning “ascetic”, occurs frequently in the same translation, e.g. 20a28, 20b2, 3, 19 etc.

<sup>76</sup> *Xīxīn* 息心 (“stilling the mind”) is used to explain the word *śramaṇa* in later Chinese translations, e.g. T. 4, no. 196, 153c19. 息心達本源，故號爲沙門 (= T. 4, no. 200, 255c11); T. 4, no. 210, 569a4~5. 謂能止惡 恢廓弘道 息心滅意 是爲沙門; T. 2, no. 125, 802a29. 沙門名息心 諸惡永已盡。

<sup>77</sup> Cf. NiDoc, p. 373a. Gā. *śraṃmana*, *śraṃmaṇa* (< *śramaṇa*). For the nasalisation of vowels before *-m-*, cf. Norman CP V 107f.; Burrow 1937: § 47; Lüders 1940: 573; AiGr I, Nachträge, p. 143f.

Indian words are found in Chinese translations, e.g.: *Guānshìyīn* 觀世音 (*avalokita* “observe” + *loka* “world” + *svara* “sound” < *Avalokitasvara*).

Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (ca. 233~311 C.E.) rendered *śramaṇa* often as *jìzhì* 寂志 (“calm-minded”), though he used the pre-existing transliteration *shāmén* 沙門 as well. In his corpus, *jìzhì* 寂志 occurs 37 times, e.g. T. 2, no. 118, 509b4; T. 3, no. 154.79b4; T. 4, no. 199, 192b18, 193a6, c17, 194a14, b5; T. 9, no. 263, 109b11 *etc.* It is quite probable that this expression was created by him.<sup>78</sup> Later, *jìzhì* 寂志 was used in the Chinese title of the *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtra*, namely the *Jìzhìguo jīng* 寂志果經 (T. 1, no. 22), translated by Zhu Tanwulan 竺曇無蘭 (fl. 381~395 C.E.). Except for these occurrences, this expression, meaning “ascetic”, is not used. Same as *xīxīn* 息心, *jìzhì* 寂志 is also based on the interpretations of *śramaṇa* as  $\sqrt{sam} + maṇa$  or as *sama(ṇa) + maṇa*.

### (3) *Vaiśravaṇa*, *Vaiśramaṇa*, *pīshāmén* 毘沙門, *xīyì* 息意 and *bēnzhi* 奔識

#### (3.1) *Vaiśramaṇa*, *pīshāmén* 毘沙門 and *xīyì* 息意

OIA *Vaiśravaṇa* (> Pā. *Vessavaṇa*), one of the names of the god, Kubera, becomes Pkt. *Vesamaṇa* (rarely *Vesavaṇa*<sup>79</sup>) and BHS. *Vaiśramaṇa* through the similarity of the pronunciation of *-m-* and *-v-* as in the case of *śramaṇa*’s becoming *śravaṇa* (cf. 2.3 above).

The earlier transliterations of this god’s name, 惟沙慢 (EH. *zjwəi* *ṣa man-*; T. 15, no. 585, 31c19, translated by Dharmarakṣa), 毘(also written as 毗)沙門 (EH. *bjəi* *ṣa mən*) (e.g. T. 3, no. 153, 57c23; T. 9, no. 263, 130b7; T. 1, no. 1, 35c17, 21, 36b18 *etc.*; very common) and 鞞沙門 (EH. *bei*[*bjiei*:] *ṣa mən*) (e.g. T. 1, no. 26, 634a17; T. 25, 1509, 443b13 *etc.*; rare) were made from either BHS. *Vaiśramaṇ(a)* or its Gāndhārī form *\*Veṣamaṇ(a)*.

In addition, much later transliterations 吠舍囉麼那 (MC. *bjwəi-* *śja lâ mwâ nâ-*; T. 18, no. 901, 878c14), found in a collection of *dhāraṇīs* compiled in 653 C.E. (?; dubious); 薛室囉末拏 (MC. *biei-* *śjet lâ mwât ṇa*) made by Yijing (義淨) at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century (T. 16, no. 665, 430c10, 21, 22, 28, 431a1; T. 19, no. 985, 463c20, 467b21, c7; T. 24, no. 1448, 7c9, 61c15, 19 *etc.*); 吠室囉麼那 (MC. *bjwəi-* *śjet lâ mwâ nâ-*; T. 21, no. 1251, 238a24) made by Vajrabodhi (金剛智) around the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century; 鞞室羅邁囊 (MC. *bjei*[*bjie*:] *śjet lâ mwân nāng*; T. 54, no. 2128, 435a27) in Huilin (慧琳)’s *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義 (“Sounds and Meanings in the Buddhist Canon”), which was completed in 807 C.E.; 吠室囉末那 (MC. *bjwəi-* *śjet lâ mwât nâ-*; T. 21, no. 1246, 219b14) and 吠室囉麼拏 (MC. *bjwəi-* *śjet lâ mwâ ṇa*; *do.* 220b28), found in a text translated (or composed) in the 9<sup>th</sup> century by an unknown translator, are all from *Vaiśramaṇa*.

Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 (ca. 233~311 C.E.) rendered the name of this god as *xīyì* 息意 (“one, who rests his mind”; T. 3, no. 186, 488b12; T. 13, no. 398, 445a2; T. 9, no. 263, 128a28<sup>80</sup>; T. 15, no. 585, 31c19<sup>81</sup>, 22; T. 15, no. 627, 420a18; T. 17, no. 817, 817b17ff. *etc.*),

<sup>78</sup> *Jìzhì* 寂志 is found also in a Chinese translation, namely the *Heishi Fanzhi jīng* 黑氏梵志經, translated by an unknown translator. Sengyou 僧祐 (445~518 C.E.)’s *Chusanjangji ji* 出三藏記集 ascribes it to an anonymous translator (T. 55, no. 2145, 17a8), while it is ascribed to Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 222~252 C.E.) in the later catalogues and consequently in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*. I doubt whether this translation was made by Zhi Qian.

<sup>79</sup> Abhidh-rāj VI 1461a; PSM 623a.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Krsh 227.

<sup>81</sup> Here, he transliterated the name and added its translation in a note: 惟沙慢(息意).

*xūxīyì* 休息意 (“do.”; T. 15, no. 606, 190c26), probably also *xīxīn* 息心 (“do.”) in his Lotus Sutra (T. 9, no. 263, 118b14).<sup>82</sup> All of these demonstrate that he analysed this name as *vi-śram* (“to rest, repose; cease, stop”) + *maṇa* (< OIA *manas*; “mind”). These translations, characteristic of Dharmarakṣa, were not used by later translators.

### (3.2) *Bēnzhi* 賁識 (= 奔識)

In a probably old Chinese translation of a biography of the Buddha, namely the *Yichu Pusa Benqi jing* 異出菩薩本起經 (T. 3, no. 188) by an anonymous translator<sup>83</sup>, we find the following expression:

“(The Bodhisatva) then rode on the horse (namely Kanthaka) and went away. When he went more than a hundred miles, he saw a man, Benzhi 賁識 by name. Benzhi was a great god among gods, being strong and inflexible, holding a bow in his left hand and arrows in his right, carrying a sharp sword at his waist. He stood in the middle of the way. The place, where Benzhi 賁識 stood, was the intersection of three (categories of) paths — (1) the path of gods, (2) the path of human beings and (3) the path to the hells and evil beings.”<sup>84</sup>

These sentences were adapted in Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. ca. 220~257 C.E.)’s translation (but rather a compilation) of a biography of the Buddha, the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 (T. 3, no. 185)<sup>85</sup>:

“(The Bodhisatva) then rode on the horse (namely Kanthaka). Channaka guided him forward for several hundred miles, and suddenly they saw a god, who governed the five paths, Benzhi 賁識 by name. He was most brave and powerful, holding a bow in his left hand and arrows in his right and carrying a sharp sword at his waist. He stood at the intersection of three (categories of) paths — (1) the path of gods, (2) the path of human beings, (3) the three evil paths. The place was where spirits of the deceased had to pass and meet him.”<sup>86</sup>

These sentences were further adapted in Dharmarakṣa’s translation of the *Lalitavistara*, namely the *Puyao jing* 普曜經 (T. 3, no. 186), translated in 308 C.E.:

“Then, the Bodhisatva gradually went forth and saw the god of the five paths, Bengshi 奔識, standing at the intersection of the five paths, carrying a sword (at his

<sup>82</sup> *Xīxīn tiānwáng* 息心天王 (“the god king, ‘Stilled Mind One’”) lacks parallels in other versions; cf. Krsh 195.

<sup>83</sup> Sengyou 僧祐 (445~518 C.E.)’s *Chusanjangji ji* 出三藏記集 ascribes it to an anonymous translator (T. 55, no. 2145, 22c20), while it is ascribed to the early 4<sup>th</sup>-century Nie Daozhen 聶道真 in the later catalogues and consequently in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*. It is doubtful whether this translation was made by him — probably it is a much earlier translation. Cf. Durt 2006: 71ff.; Kawano 2007: 151, n. 2; Nattier 2008: 135 with further references.

<sup>84</sup> T. 3, no. 188, 619b22~26. 即上馬而去。行十數里，見一男子，名曰賁識。賁識者，鬼神中大神，為人剛愎，左手持弓，右手持箭，腰帶利劍，當道而立。賁識所立處者有三道，一者天道；二者人道；三者泥犁惡人之道。

<sup>85</sup> It is assumed that this is a compilation of various works, such as the *Xiao Benqi jing* 小本起經 (now lost) and the *Zhong benqi jing* 中本起經 (T. 4, no. 196). Cf. Kawano 2007: 234; Nattier 2008: 135.

<sup>86</sup> T. 3, no. 185, 475c20~24. 即起上馬。將車匿前行數十里。忽然見主五道大神，名曰賁識，最獨剛強，左執弓，右持箭，腰帶利劍。所居三道之衢，一曰天道；二曰人道；三曰三惡道。此所謂死者魂神所當過見者也。

waist), holding a bow and arrows.”<sup>87</sup>

I assume there are two possibilities to explain these two words *bēnzhì* (or *bēnshì*) 賁識 and *bēnzhì* (or *bēnshì*) 奔識:

(1) *Bēn* 賁 and *bēn* 奔 are synonyms, meaning “rushes ahead”, though the latter is a more common form. Presumably, Dharmarakṣa replaced *bēn* 賁 intentionally with this latter form. *Bēnzhì* (or *bēnshì*) 賁識 (= 奔識), meaning lit. “Rushing-Mind”, might be a fanciful translation of *Vaiśramaṇa* by an ancient translator, who interpreted this name as consisting of *vi-√sr̥* (“to run or flow through; to rush upon”) + *maṇa* (< OIA *manas*; “mind”).

(2) *Bēnzhì* 賁識 = 奔識 (EH. pən t̥sjək-)<sup>88</sup> is a transliteration of BHS. *Pāñcika*, Pā. *Pañcika*<sup>89</sup>, a name of a *yakṣa*-general (*mahāsenapati*) in Vaiśravaṇa’s army<sup>90</sup>, whose wife was a demoness, Harītī. Figures of this pair were very popular in Gandhāran art. *Pāñcika* is often depicted holding a lance. The above-quoted story was invented because his name comes from *pañca* (“five”); or, contrarily, because he governed the intersection of the five paths and hence, he became known as *Pāñcika*. The depiction matches his character as the *yakṣa*-chief.<sup>91</sup>

Now I am inclined to the second explanation.<sup>92</sup>

### (3.3) *Vaiśravaṇa* and *duōwén* 多聞

Another translation of the god’s name, namely *duōwén* 多聞, starts to appear from Xuanzang (玄奘; 602[600]~664 C.E.)’s translations.<sup>93</sup> *Duōwén* 多聞, lit. meaning “Broadly Hearing” is apparently a translation of *Vaiśravaṇa*, which is etymologically related to *vi-√sr̥u* (passive *viśrūyate* “is heard of far and wide, famous”). Also, in the texts translated or composed in post-Xuanzang’s time, we find transliteration created from *Vaiśravaṇa*: 吠室囉 嚩拏 (MC. bjwɛi- śjet lâ bwâ- ṇa; T. 21, no. 1298, 386a6); 鞞舍囉婆拏 (MC. bjei[bjie:] śja- lâ bwâ ṇa; YQ[Xy] 34c5 = T. 54, no. 2128, 781a6) in Xuanying (玄應)’s *Yiqiejing Yinyi* 一切經音義 (“Sounds and Meanings in the Buddhist Canon”), which was published in 650 C.E.

It is probable that the classical Sanskrit form *Vaiśravaṇa* replaced the Buddhist vernacular one, *Vaiśramaṇa* / \**Veṣamaṇa*, which had been popular among Buddhists, around

<sup>87</sup> T. 3, no. 186, 507c17f. 於是菩薩稍進前行，觀五道神，名曰奔識。住五道頭，帶劍，執持弓箭。There is no similar description in the Sanskrit version of the *Lalitavistara*. Dharmarakṣa seems to have just adapted Zhi Qian’s translation here.

<sup>88</sup> *Shì* 識 (MC. śjək) was used to transliterate Indian *śikh-*, e.g. T. 4, no. 203, 476b21. 識騫稚 (MC. śjək khjān<sup>3</sup> ḍi-) = *Śikhāṇḍī*; T. 9, no. 263, 91a26. (妙)識 = *Śikhī*.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Arakawa 2006: 516f.; Zheng 2013: 188. Both authors have assumed *bēnshì* 賁識 = 奔識 (EH. pən śjək[t̥sjək-]) for a transliteration of Skt. *pañca* (“five”) or its derivatives.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. BHSD, s.v. *Pāñcika*; Akanuma, s.v. *Pañcika*.

<sup>91</sup> Having read my manuscript, Satomi Hiyama pointed out that a similar idea had been assumed by Dudbridge (1997: 89). I am grateful to her for this observation.

<sup>92</sup> If Dharmarakṣa had translated the part of the text in question anew from an Indian manuscript and this manuscript had read *Vaiśramaṇa* or *Pāñcika* here, he must have changed it either to *xīyì* 息意, his usual rendering of *Vaiśramaṇa* or to *bānshégui* 般闍鬼 (“demon, Pañca[ka]”), which occurs in the same text (T. 3, no. 186, 504a16). I assume, therefore, that either he did not translate this part or the description in question was lacking in his manuscript and thus, he just adapted Zhi Qian’s translation here.

<sup>93</sup> This name appears once in a note in the *Dazhidulun* 大智度論, a Chinese translation of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitāsāstra* by Kumārajīva, T. 25, no. 1509, 443b13. 鞞沙門(秦言多聞) (“*Vaiśramaṇa* [in Chinese ‘Broadly Hearing’]”). Presumably, this note was added by somebody after Xuanzang’s time, as this is the sole example of the god’s name, *duōwén* 多聞, before Xuanzang (7<sup>th</sup> c.).

the 5<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century in India.

## Conclusion

The Chinese translations are mirrors of Indian scriptures, whose languages had shifted from colloquial ones, including Gāndhārī, to Sanskrit. Many of these Chinese translations are dated or datable. Therefore, if we carefully put the translated and transliterated words in chronological order, we may be able to trace the change of the original Indian forms, which is impossible solely by means of later Sanskritised texts and still scanty Gāndhārī fragments. There are some 1,482 Chinese translations, consisting of around 46 million characters in 5,702 *juans*,<sup>94</sup> ranging from the second to the eleventh century. They are, thus, an invaluable asset not only for the studies of Indian Buddhism, but also for the linguistic studies of Indian languages used by Buddhists.

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2013 “Jingdian, Wenxue yu Tuxiang — Shiwang xinyang zhong ‘Wudaozhuanlunwang’  
laiyuan yu xingxiang zhi kaocha” 經典、文學與圖像 — 十王信仰中『五道轉輪王』來  
源與形像之考察, in: *Dunhuangxue* 敦煌學, 30: 183~200.

~ = stem of a word, e.g. *dharmā~*

° = except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one,  
e.g. *ratnāmayā* (v.l. °*ān*).

\* = a hypothetical form which is not attested anywhere, e.g. \**snāru*

$\alpha < \beta$  = the form  $\alpha$  comes from  $\beta$ ; e.g. Gā. *masu* < OIA. *madhu*

/// = the beginning or ending of a fragment when broken

- = absence of the parallel(s)

≐ =  $\alpha \equiv \beta$ :  $\beta$  is almost the same as  $\alpha$