

# SYMBOLS ON THE BODY, FEET, AND HANDS OF A BUDDHA

## Part I—Lists

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### PART I

#### 1. Introduction

In the light of the perennial cult of the footprint of the Buddha, and the (I hope) equally perennial interest of scholars in the subject,<sup>1</sup> I will present in these pages a number of lists from Tibetan and Central Asian sources of symbols on the body or on the feet and hands of a Buddha.<sup>2</sup>

Lists of symbols on the feet of the Buddha are given in Pāli and vernacular sources belonging to the Theravādin tradition. The earliest long list (of about 40 items) is that given by Buddhaghosa (5th century) in his commentaries on the *Digha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*. Later lists, giving 108 symbols, occur in the *Anāgatavaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā* (*Samantabhaddikā*)<sup>3</sup> and the *Jinālaṅkāra-ṭīkā* (ca. 12th century),<sup>4</sup> as well as in the *Pajjamadhu* of Buddhappiya and the *Samantakūṭjavāṇṇanā* of Vedeha Thera, both in verse, and both probably dating to the late 13th or early 14th century.<sup>5</sup> All of the preceding are in Pāli. The *Dharmapradīpikāva*, composed by Guruḷugōmi in the latter part of the 12th century, gives a list in Sanskritized Sinhala,<sup>6</sup> and lists occur in other Sinhala works such as the *Butsarana* of Vidyācakravartī of the late 12th or 13th century and the *Pūjāvāliya* of Mayūrapāda Thera of 1266.<sup>7</sup> While the origins of the list of 108 symbols remain obscure, it is clear that the list was very much in vogue in Ceylon by at least the 12th and 13th centuries.

The earliest list known in Siam is that given in Pāli verse in a 14th century stone inscription from Wat Traphang Chang Phuak at Sukhothai;<sup>8</sup> a different Pāli verse inscription on a silver plate dates to the 15th century (Ayutthaya period).<sup>9</sup> A 15th century stone footprint from Wat Sri Chum at Sukhothai seems to have originally had Pāli captions for each symbol;

unfortunately it is damaged, and only the names of a few deities have been preserved.<sup>10</sup> The *Sambhāravipāka*, a Pāli work composed perhaps in Lanna in the 14th century, gives the list,<sup>11</sup> while the *Buddhapādamāṅgala*, composed perhaps in the 15th century (Ayutthaya period), is devoted exclusively to the subject.<sup>12</sup> Another work which might belong to at least the late Ayutthaya period is the *Phra Pādalakkhana*, composed in Pāli verse interspersed with Thai.<sup>13</sup> The topic continued to be dealt with during the Bangkok period. The *Phra Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇa*, composed at Wat Rājapūraṇa in 1814 by Somdet Phra Vanarat, gives a list in Pāli with a Thai gloss for each symbol;<sup>14</sup> the *Paṭhamasambodhikathā*, composed at Wat Jetubanārāma in 1845 by the Prince Patriarch Paramānujita Jinorasa, gives the list in Thai.<sup>15</sup> Lists are also found in Khmer.<sup>16</sup> The 108 auspicious signs are mentioned (but not listed) in Pāli chants of the Ayutthaya period such as the *Maṅgalacakkavāḷ yai* and *Mahādībamant*, where they are invoked for blessing and protection along with other physical and spiritual qualities of the Buddha.<sup>17</sup>

It appears that the first list of such symbols published in the West was that given by Buddhist monks to Dutch travellers in Siam in 1654 or 57, as reported in German by Baldæus.<sup>18</sup> Although said to name 68 figures, it in fact contains about 108, since several groups are subsumed under single titles. Another list, based on Siamese Pāli sources, was published with a plate by James Low in 1830.<sup>19</sup> In Section IV of Appendix VIII of his *Le lotus de la bonne loi*, entitled "De l'empreinte du pied de Çākya", Burnouf compared the lists of Baldæus and Low with the Sanskrit Sinhala list of the *Dharmapradīpikāva*; published in 1852, Burnouf's was the first extensive study of the symbols on the Buddha's foot(print) in modern scholarship.<sup>20</sup> In 1853, Spence Hardy gave an English version of the

list based on Sinhala sources,<sup>21</sup> and in 1871, Henry Alabaster published a list (accompanied by a plate) based on Siamese sources.<sup>22</sup> In this century, U Mya and T.B. Karunaratne have published detailed studies,<sup>23</sup> and Griswold and Prasert, Bizot, Chutiwongs, and Supaphan have discussed the symbols in the works referred to above.<sup>24</sup> *Hōbōgirin* and the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* include entries on the subject.<sup>25</sup>

Short lists of miscellaneous symbols, on both the hands and feet of the Buddha, are scattered here and there in the texts of other schools, such as the Lokottaravādin Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins, as well as in Mahāyāna literature.<sup>26</sup>

While the Theravādin lists have long been known, it does not seem to have been noted that similar lists, from non-Theravādin sources, are preserved in Tibetan and Chinese translation.<sup>27</sup> The first two lists, a shorter (List A) and a longer (List B), are of symbols on the *body*<sup>28</sup> of a Buddha as given in citation by Śamathadeva in his *Indispensable Commentary on the Treasury of Abhidharma (Abhidharmakośa-upāyikā-ṭīkā)*. The third and fourth lists; again a shorter (List C) and a longer (List D), are of symbols on the *hands and feet* of a Buddha as given in citation by Daśabalaśrimitra in his *Analysis of the Conditioned and the Unconditioned (Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya)*. Both sources were originally composed in Sanskrit, by a Nepalese and an Indian author respectively. Since the original Sanskrit is lost and since they were not rendered into Chinese, the two works survive only in Tibetan as preserved in the *Tanjur*, the collection of commentaries and treatises in Tibetan translation.<sup>29</sup> Both sources give their lists in sections dealing with the physical characteristics — the 32 features (*lakṣaṇa*) and 80 attributes (*anuvyañjana*) — of a Buddha. These sections, which I will summarize in Part 2 of the article, are two of the longest and most detailed treatments of the subject that I know of in extant Sanskrit or Tibetan literature.<sup>30</sup> A fifth list of symbols on the *hands and feet* of a Buddha (List E) is from a sūtra preserved in Tibetan translation under the title *The Discourse of the Great Vehicle entitled the Question of Mañjuśrī (Ārya Mañjuśrī-pariṣṛcchā-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra)*. As far as I know, the Sanskrit of this text is also lost; there are, however, two Chinese translations.<sup>31</sup> As a supplement to the Tibetan lists, I also give a short list of symbols on the *body* of a Buddha from a Sanskrit verse eulogy (*stotra*), and three fragmentary lists of the same in Tocharian, all from Central Asia.

Lists A to E are from Indian sources composed originally in Sanskrit, and preserved in Tibetan translation. Śamathadeva describes lists A and B as a Kashmiri tradition. He attributes List A to a Sthavira Vasumitra, but does not clearly state the source of List B, which he describes as a commentary on List A. List C is ascribed simply to "a sūtra"; List D is unattributed. List E is from a Mahāyāna sūtra, as the title indicates. Lists W to Z are from Central Asia. List W is from a verse of a Sanskrit eulogy (*stotra*) of the body of the Buddha recovered from Kizil. The name of the author has not been preserved, and whether it was composed in India or in Central Asia cannot be determined. Lists X to Z are in the Central Asian language of Tocharian; since they are fragmentary, neither the titles nor the authors of the works to which the fragments belonged are known.

All of the lists ultimately derive from Śrāvakayāna — in some cases most probably Vaibhāṣika or (Mūla) Sarvāstivādin — sources. This includes List E: although it is from a Mahāyāna sūtra, the sūtra draws on Śrāvakayāna material for its contents, which it submits to a Mahāyānist interpretation. Since Lists A to D are cited in later works, it is impossible to determine their dates with any certainty; they predate the authors of the works in which they occur, Śamathadeva and Daśabalaśrimitra, whose dates are not known. The Chinese translations of List E were done in CE 683; the script of the *stotra* dates to the 6th or 7th century. As a rough hypothesis, I suggest that all of the lists took shape and were finalized during the first half of the first millennium of the Common Era. I will deal with the question of school affiliation and dates at greater length in Part 2.

Lists D and E are almost identical, and must go back to a common source. According to the text of E, the list should contain 80 items, but according to my count D has 79 items, while E has 81.<sup>32</sup> E omits one item given in D (D12, *garuḍa*, given however in both Chinese versions [PA]) and adds two items not given in D (E27, *nāga*; E52, Virūḍhaka, given however in TI 661 [PA]), while several other items do not agree (for example D45-E45; D63-E63). In some cases the discrepancies may have arisen from the translation. List B contains, according to my count, 57 items, followed by an "etc."; according to the text, it too contained 80 items in its complete state. To some extent it resembles Lists D and E in both items enumerated and their grouping and order, as may be seen from the table at the end of the article.

In all of the lists, a number of items are uncertain. I have indicated these in the notes. Further clarification of the contents of Lists D and E may be expected when a complete comparison is made with the Chinese translations. That and a comparison of the lists with those found in Pāli is beyond the scope of the present article.

## 2. Sources

The sources for the lists are as follows:

### Lists A and B

*Abhidharmakośa-upāyikānāma-ṭīkā* = *Chos mngon pa'i mdzod kyi 'grel bshad nye bar mkho ba zhes bya ba* by the monk (*bhikṣu*) Śamathadeva (Zhi gnas lha):

Dg = Derge Tanjur 4094, *mngon pa ju*, 123b2 foll.;

G = Golden Manuscript Tanjur, *mdzod 'grel tu* (Reprint Vol. 70), 180a6 foll.;

Q = Peking Tanjur 5595, *mdo 'grel tu* (Reprint Vol. 118), 141b4 foll.

### Lists C and D

*Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* = '*Dus byas dang 'dus ma byas rnam par nges pa* by Mahāpaṇḍita Sthavira-bhikṣu Daśabalaśrimitra (sTobs bcu dpal bshes gnyen):

Dg = Derge Tanjur 3897, *dbu ma ha*, 305b2 foll.;

Q = Peking Tanjur 5865, *ngo mtshar bstan bcos nyo* (Reprint Vol. 146), 255b2 foll.

#### List E

*Ārya Mañjuśrī-pariprcchā-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* = 'Phags pa 'jam dpal gyis dris pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo.<sup>33</sup>

- Dg = Derge Kanjur 172, *mdo ma*, 3b4-4a2;  
 F = Phug brag Kanjur 150, *ting nge tsha*, 263a7-b7;  
 H = lHasa Kanjur 173, *mdo pha*, 5b2-6a2;  
 N = Narthang Kanjur 158, *mdo pha*, 5b2-6a2;  
 Q = Peking Kanjur 839, *mdo bu* (Reprint Vol. 34), 3b8-4a5;  
 S = Stog Palace Kanjur 56, *mdo cha*, 145a5-b6;  
 TI 661 = Taishō 661 (Korean Buddhist Canon 244), *Ta ch'eng pai fu hsiang ching*;  
 TI 662 = Taishō 662 (Korean Buddhist Canon 245), *Ta ch'eng pai fu chuang yen hsiang ching*.

#### List W

Dieter Schlingloff (ed.), *Buddhistische Stotras aus ostturkistanischen Sanskrittexten* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden I), Berlin, 1955, pp. 110-11, "Preis des Körpers Buddhas (1)", verse 16.

#### Lists X, Y, Z

Walter Couvreur, "Le caractère Sarvāstivādin-Vaibhāṣika des fragments Tochariens A d'après les marques et épithètes du Bouddha", in *Le Muséon* LIX (Mélanges L. Th. Lefort), Louvain, 1946, pp. 577-610.

### 3. Preliminary notes

#### Lists A-E

In Lists A, B, C, D, and E the first column gives the Tibetan. The second column gives Sanskrit equivalents; unless otherwise noted these are from the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, a Tibetan-Sanskrit lexicon compiled by a team of Indian and Tibetan scholars in the early 9th century. Since subsequent Tibetan translations — such as those utilized herein — followed this

lexicon, the equivalents are for the most part certain. In some cases, however, there is more than one possible Sanskrit equivalent, and in a few cases I have not been able to find any equivalent, either in the *Mahāvvyutpatti* or in other sources. Tentative equivalents are signalled by an asterisk. The third column gives an English translation; the fourth gives the number of identical or similar items from other lists. The syllables of Sanskrit words transliterated into Tibetan are joined by a hyphen (e.g. Tib. *pad-ma* = Sanskrit *padma*); the syllables of Tibetan words are not.

List A is cross-referenced mainly with List B, which is cross-referenced mainly with List D.

List C is cross-referenced mainly with List D, which is cross-referenced with Lists B and E.

List E is cross-referenced mainly with List D. When a counterpart is similar but not identical, it is given in parentheses; when it is the same it is given without parentheses.<sup>34</sup> That is, D1 in the fourth column means the item in question is an exact counterpart of D1; (D1) means it is similar but not identical to D1. When the enumeration of D and E agrees, the lists are cited together as DE; that is, DE 1 refers to D1 and E1.

#### Lists W-Z

List W gives the Sanskrit terms from the *stotra* from Kizil, with English translation; it is cross-referenced with Lists A-E. Lists X, Y, and Z give Couvreur's French translation of the Tocharian lists. When the Tocharian is derived from Sanskrit, I have given the Sanskrit form in the second column. The third column gives cross-references as available.

### 4. Abbreviations

- BG: *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, 3 vols., Mi rigs dpe skrun khang, 1986  
 Mvy: R. Sakaki, *Mahāvvyutpatti*, 2 vols., Kyōto, 1926  
 MW: Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, [Oxford, 1899] Delhi, 1976  
 [PA]: Information provided by Dr. Prapot Assavavirulhakarn (Chulalongkorn University)  
 TSD: Lokesh Chandra, *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, Compact Edition, Rinsen Book Company, Kyoto, 1990

## PART II

## 1. Lists of symbols on the body of a Buddha

## A. List of The Elder (Sthavira) Vasumitra

(Śamathadeva: Dg ju 123b2; G tu 180a6; Q tu 141b4)

A1.	phreng ba	mālā <sup>35</sup>	a garland	DE4
A2.	dung	śaṅkha	a conch	D71, E72
A3.	gdugs	chattra	a parasol	B1
A4.	dpal gyi be'u bzang po	bhadra-śrīvatsa	an auspicious <i>śrīvatsa</i> <sup>36</sup>	B4
A5.	lcags kyu	aṅkuśa	an elephant goad	B3
A6.	rgyal mtshan	dhvaja	an ensign	B2
A7.	mtshon cha <sup>37</sup>	śastra, āyudha, yudha	a weapon, a sword	— 38
A8.	zla ba	candra	the moon	B37
A9.	chu	udaka	water	—
A10.	padma	padma	a lotus	B42

## B. List commenting on preceding

(Śamathadeva: Dg ju 123b3; G tu 180b2; Q tu 141b5)

B1.	gdugs	chattra	a parasol	D1
B2.	rgyal mtshan	dhvaja	an ensign	D2
B3.	lcags kyu	aṅkuśa	an elephant goad	D5
B4.	dpal gyi be'u	śrīvatsa	a <i>śrīvatsa</i>	D3
B5.	mu-tig <sup>39</sup>	muktikā, muktā	a pearl	D46
B6.	bum pa	kumbha, ghaṭa, etc.	a pot	D8
B7.	rta	aśva	a horse	D10
B8.	nya	matysa	a fish	D14
B9.	chu srin	makara	a sea-monster	D13
B10.	rus sbal	kūrma	a tortoise	D15
B11.	nam mkha' lding	garuḍa	a <i>garuḍa</i>	D12
B12.	stag	vyāghra	a tiger	D11
B13.	glang po che	hasti	an elephant	D9
B14.	ka-la-bingka	kalaviṅka	a cuckoo	D17
B15.	shang shang te'u	jīvaṃjivaka	a peacock pheasant	D18
B16.	khug rta	cātaka	a <i>cātaka</i> bird	— 40
B17.	ne tso	śuka	a parrot	D21
B18.	khū byug	kokila	a koel	—
B19.	ri dvags nag po	kṛṣṇamṛga	a black antelope	D33
B20.	rma bya	mayūra	a peacock	D16
B21.	ral gri	khaḍga	a sword	D35
B22.	rdo rje'i yan lag	vajrāṅga	a <i>vajra</i> <sup>41</sup>	(D36)
B23.	nor bu	maṇi	a gemstone	D34
B24.	rin po che	ratna	a precious gemstone	D34
B25.	nor <sup>42</sup>	dhana	wealth	—
B26.	mdung	śakti	a lance	D39
B27.	rtse gsum	triśūla	a trident	D40
B28.	dgra sta	paraśu	a battle axe	D43
B29.	mda'	iṣu, śara	an arrow	D38
B30.	sprin	megha	a cloud	D48
B31.	drag po	rudra	Rudra	—
B32.	tshangs pa	brahma	Brahma	D49
B33.	dbang po	indra	Indra	D50
B34.	gzhon nu	kumāra	Kumāra = Skanda	(D68)

B35. nyi ma	sūrya	the Sun	D57
B36. 'phags skyes po	virūḍhaka	Virūḍhaka	E52
B37. zla ba	candra	the Moon	D58
B38. mig mi bzang	virūpākṣa	Virūpākṣa	D53
B39. nor bdag	dhanapati	Dhanapati <sup>43</sup>	D54
B40. yul 'khor skyong	dḥṛtarāṣṭra	Dḥṛtarāṣṭra	D51
B41. g'yung drung 'khyil pa	nandyāvarta	a <i>nandyāvarta</i>	D62
B42. padma	padma	a lotus	D61
B43. ba dan bzang po	bhadrapatākā	an auspicious banner	(Z27)
B44. me long	ādarśa, darpaṇa	a mirror	D65
B45. dūr-ba <sup>44</sup> gzhon nu <sup>45</sup>	*nava-dūrvā?	young <i>dūrvā</i> grass <sup>46</sup>	E67
B46. mu-tig <sup>47</sup>	muktikā	a pearl	D46
B47. gser	suvarṇa, hiraṇya	gold	—
B48. sman chen po	mahā-oṣadhi	the great herb <sup>48</sup>	D25
B49. lha'i mnga	divyadundubhi	the divine drum	(D70, 72)
B50. drang srong chen po	mahārṣi	a great sage	D55
B51. pa la	pala	straw? <sup>49</sup>	—
B52. dpung rgyan	keyūra, aṅgada	an armlet	D74
B53. sor gdub	mudrikā, aṅguliya		
	valaka	a finger ring	D76
B54. rna cha	karṇika	an earring	D75
B55. seng ge	siṃha	a lion	cp. D79
B56. khyu mchog	vṛṣabha	a bull	D29
B57. me tog dang bcas pa'i shing gi yal ga etc. <sup>50</sup>		a branch of blossoms	(D78)

## 2. Lists of marks on the hands and feet of a Buddha

### C. List from "a Sūtra"

(Daśabalaśrimitra: Dg *ha* 305b2; Q *nyo* 255b2)

C1. sdong ring	vardhamāna	a <i>vardhamāna</i>	—
C2. g'yung <sup>51</sup> drung 'khyil pa	nandyāvarta	a <i>nandyāvarta</i> <sup>52</sup>	D62
C3. bum pa gang ba	pūrṇa-kumbha <sup>53</sup>	a full pot	D8
C4. nya zung	matysayuga	a pair of fish	D14
C5. rgyal mtshan	dhvaja	an ensign	D2
C6. dung	śaṅkha	a conch	D71
C7. gnas bzang po	*bhadrāsana <sup>54</sup>	an auspicious place	DE64
C8. gdugs dkar po	śvetachattra	a white parasol	D1
C9. mnga yab	cāmara	a yak tail whisk	D66
la sogs pa	ādi	etc.	

### D. Unattributed list

(Daśabalaśrimitra: Dg *ha* 305b4; Q *nyo* 255b5)

D1. gdugs	chattrā	a parasol	B1, E1
D2. rgyal mtshan	dhvaja	an ensign	B2, E2
D3. dpal be'u	śrīvatsa	a <i>śrīvatsa</i>	B4, E3
D4. phreng ba	mālā, etc.	a garland	A1, E4
D5. lcags kyu	aṅkuśa	an elephant goad	A5, B3, E5
D6. dbu rgyan	kiriṭi, mukuṭa	a diadem, a crown	(E6) <sup>55</sup>
D7. dbyug gu <sup>56</sup>	daṇḍa	a staff	E7
D8. bum pa	kumbha, ghaṭa, etc.	a pot	B6, E8
D9. glang po che	hasti	an elephant	B13, E9
D10. rta	aśva	a horse	B7, E10
D11. stag	vyāghra	a tiger	B12, E11
D12. bya khyung <sup>57</sup>	garuḍa	a <i>garuḍa</i>	B11, E —

D13. chu srin	makara	a sea-monster	B9, E12
D14. nya	matysa	a fish	B8, E13
D15. rus sbal	kūrma	a tortoise	B10, E14
D16. rma bya	mayūra	a peacock	B20, E15
D17. bya ka-li-bing-ka	kalaviṅka	a cuckoo	B14, E16
D18. bya shang shang ti'u	jīvaṃjivaka	a peacock pheasant	B15, E17
D19. bya tsa-ṭa	*caṭa[ka]?	a sparrow?	(E18) <sup>58</sup>
D20. ngur pa	cakravāka	a <i>cakra</i> bird	E19
D21. ne tso	śuka	a parrot	B17, E20
D22. ngang pa	haṃsa	a swan	E21
D23. thi ba	kapoṭa	a pigeon, a dove	E22
D24. nas	yava	barley, grain	E23
D25. sman chen po	mahā-oṣadhi	the great herb <sup>59</sup>	B48, E24
D26. 'od ma	veṇu	bamboo	E25
D27. ba men	gavaya <sup>60</sup>	a wild ox, gayal	E26
D28. ra	aja, chagala, urabhra	a ram, a sheep	E27
D29. khyu mchog	vṛṣabha	a bull	B56, E29
D30. bil-ba	bilva	a <i>bel</i> fruit <sup>61</sup>	E31
D31. ri	parvata	a mountain	E30
D32. dpag bsam <sup>62</sup> shing	kalpavṛkṣa	a wishing tree	(E32)
D33. ri dags nag po	kṛṣṇamṛga	a black antelope	B19, E33
D34. nor bu rin po che	maṇiratna	a precious gemstone	B23-24, E34
D35. ral gri mchog	*vara-khaḍga	an excellent sword	B21, E35
D36. rdo rje	vajra	a <i>vajra</i>	B22, E36
D37. gzhu	dhanu, cāpa	a bow	E37
D38. mda'	iṣu, śara	an arrow	B29, E38
D39. mdung thung	śakti	a lance	B26, E39
D40. rtse gsum	triśūla	a trident	B27, E40
D41. gshol	hala, lāṅgula	a weapon, a plough <sup>63</sup>	E41
D42. gtun shing	musala	a mace, a club	E42
D43. dgra sta	paraśu	a battle axe	B28, E43
D44. zhags pa	pāśa	a noose	E44
D45. chu srin 'khri shing	— <sup>64</sup>	a water monster?	—
D46. mu-tig	muktikā, muktā	a pearl	B5, B46, E46
D47. 'khyil pa	āvarta, kuṇḍalin <sup>65</sup>	a curl, ring, coil	—
D48. sprin	megha	a cloud	B30, E47
D49. tshangs pa	brahma	Brahma	B32, E48
D50. dbang po	indra	Indra	B33, E49
D51. yul 'khor skyong	dhṛtarāṣṭra	Dhṛtarāṣṭra	B40, E50
D52. chu bdag	varuṇa <sup>66</sup>	Varuṇa	E51
D53. spyan mi bzang	virūpākṣa	Virūpākṣa	B38, E53
D54. nor sbyin	dhanamḍa	Dhanamḍa <sup>67</sup>	B39, E54
D55. drang srong chen po	mahārṣi	a great sage	B50, E55
D56. dpal mo	śrī	Śrī = Lakṣmī	E56
D57. nyi ma	sūrya	the Sun	B35, E57
D58. zla ba	candra	the Moon	B37, E58
D59. me	agni	Fire	E59
D60. rlung	vāyu	Wind	E60
D61. me tog pad ma	padmapuṣpa	a lotus flower	B42, E61
D62. g'yung <sup>68</sup> drung 'khyil pa	nandyāvarta	a <i>nandyāvarta</i>	B41, E62
D63. bkra shis	svastika	a <i>svastika</i>	W4, E diff.
D64. gdan bzang po	bhadrāsana	an auspicious throne	W5, E64
D65. me long	ādarśa, darpaṇa	a mirror	B44, E65
D66. mnga yab	cāmara	a yak tail whisk	E66
D67. su ro ḍa śa	puroḍāśa <sup>69</sup>	oblation, sacrificial cake	E68
D68. gzhon nu	kumāra	a prince, a youth	B34, E69 <sup>70</sup>
D69. bu mo	kanyā	a maiden	E70

D70. rnga bo che	bherī	a drum	B49, E71
D71. dung	śaṅkha	a conch	A2, E72
D72. rdza rnga	mṛdaṅga	a tabour	(B49) E73
D73. lag gdub	—	a bracelet	E74
D74. dpung rgyan	keyūra, aṅgada	an armlet	B52, E75
D75. rna rgyan	—	an earring	B54, E76
D76. sor gdub rgyan	mudrikā, aṅguliya	a finger ring	B53, E77
D77. 'khyil pa'o sdong bu	— <sup>71</sup>	a whorled trunk?	—
D78. me tog rgyal po shing	—	a king of trees in blossom?	(B57, E79, 80)
D79. 'khor lo'i dbus su senge ge	*cakramadhyasiṃha	a lion at the centre of a wheel	(B55) E81

### E. List from the Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā-sūtra

(Dg ma 3b4; F tsha 263a7; H pha 5b2; N pha 5b2; Q bu 3b8; S cha 145a5)

E1. gdugs	chattra	a parasol	D1
E2. rgyal mtshan	dhvaja	an ensign	D2
E3. dpal be'u <sup>72</sup>	śrīvatsa	a <i>śrīvatsa</i>	D3
E4. phreng ba	mālā, mālya, dāma	a garland	D4
E5. kyo ba thang <sup>73</sup>	aṅkuśa	an elephant goad	D5
E6. cod pan <sup>74</sup>	kiṛiṭi, mukuṭa	a diadem, a crown	D6
E7. dbyig to <sup>75</sup>	*daṇḍa	a staff	D7
E8. bum pa	kumbha, ghaṭa, etc.	a pot	D8
E9. glang po <sup>76</sup>	hasti	an elephant	D9
E10. rta	aśva	a horse	D10
E11. stag <sup>77</sup>	vyāghra	a tiger	D11
E12. chu srin	makara	a sea-monster	D13 <sup>78</sup>
E13. nya	matysa	a fish	D14
E14. rus sbal <sup>79</sup>	kūrma	a tortoise	D15
E15. rma bya <sup>80</sup>	mayūra	a peacock	D16
E16. ka-la-bing-ka <sup>81</sup>	kalaviṅka	a cuckoo	D17
E17. shang shang te'u <sup>82</sup>	jīvaṃjīvaka	a peacock pheasant	D18
E18. tsā-sha <sup>83</sup>	cāṣa <sup>84</sup>	a blue jay	(D19)
E19. ngur pa	cakravāka	a <i>cakra</i> bird	D20
E20. ne tso	śuka	a parrot	D21
E21. ngang pa	haṃsa	a swan	D22
E22. thi ba	kapoṭa	a pigeon, a dove	D23
E23. nas	yava	barley, grain	D24
E24. sman chen po	mahā-oṣadhi	the great herb <sup>85</sup>	D25
E25. 'od ma	veṇu	bamboo	D26
E26. ba men	gavaya <sup>86</sup>	a wild ox, gayal	D27
E27. klu	nāga	serpent king	(X7) <sup>87</sup>
E28. ra	aja	a ram, a sheep	D28 <sup>88</sup>
E29. khyu mchog	vṛṣabha	a bull	D29 <sup>89</sup>
E30. ri	parvata	a mountain	D31
E31. bil-ba	bilva	a <i>bel</i> fruit <sup>90</sup>	D30 <sup>91</sup>
E32. shing	vṛkṣa	a tree	(D32)
E33. ri dags <sup>92</sup> nag po	kṛṣṇamṛga	a black antelope	D33
E34. nor bu rin po che	maṇiratna	a precious gemstone	D34 <sup>93</sup>
E35. ral gri <sup>94</sup> mchog	*vara-khaḍga	an excellent sword	D35
E36. rdo rje	vajra	a <i>vajra</i>	D36
E37. gzhu	dhanu, cāpa	a bow	D37
E38. mda'	iṣu, śara	an arrow	D38 <sup>95</sup>
E39. shag-ti <sup>96</sup>	śakti	a lance	D39
E40. mdung rtse gsum pa	triśūla	a trident	D40
E41. gshol	hala, laṅgula	a weapon, a plough <sup>97</sup>	D41
E42. gtun	musala <sup>98</sup>	a mace, a club	D42
E43. sta re <sup>99</sup>	kuṭahārikā	a battle axe	D43

E44. zhags pa <sup>100</sup>	pāśa	a noose	D44
E45. gru	nau, jalayāna	a boat	— <sup>101</sup>
E46. mu-tig gi rgyan <sup>102</sup>	*muktikālaṃkāra	a string of pearls	D46
E47. sprin	megha	a cloud	D48 <sup>103</sup>
E48. tshangs pa	brahma	Brahma	D49 <sup>104</sup>
E49. dbang po	indra	Indra	D50 <sup>105</sup>
E50. 'khor srung <sup>106</sup> po	dhṛtarāṣṭra <sup>107</sup>	Dhṛtarāṣṭra	D51 <sup>108</sup>
E51. chu'i lha	varuṇa <sup>109</sup>	Varuṇa	D52
E52. 'phags skyeś po	virūdhaka	Virūdhaka	B36 <sup>110</sup>
E53. mig mi bzang <sup>111</sup>	virūpākṣa	Virūpākṣa	D53 <sup>112</sup>
E54. nor sbyin	dhanamda	Dhanamda <sup>113</sup>	D54
E55. drang srong chen po	mahārṣi	a great sage	D55
E56. dpal	śri	Śri = Lakṣmi	D56
E57. nyi ma	sūrya	the Sun	D57 <sup>114</sup>
E58. zla ba	candra	the Moon	D58 <sup>115</sup>
E59. me	agni	Fire	D59 <sup>116</sup>
E60. rlung	vāyu	Wind	D60 <sup>117</sup>
E61. pad-mo <sup>118</sup>	padma	a lotus	D61
E62. g'yung drung	nandyāvarta	a <i>nandyāvarta</i>	D62
E63. gru gsum	*trikoṇa	a triangle	—
E64. dge ba'i stan <sup>119</sup>	*bhadrāsana	an auspicious throne	D64
E65. me long	ādarśa, darpaṇa	a mirror	D65
E66. mnga yab	cāmara	a yak tail whisk	D66
E67. rtsva <sup>120</sup> dur-ba	dūrvā	<i>dūrvā</i> grass	B45
E68. pu-ro-da-sha <sup>121</sup>	puroḍāśa	oblation, sacrificial cake <sup>122</sup>	D67
E69. khye'u <sup>123</sup>	dāraka	a youth	D68
E70. bu mo	kanyā	a maiden	D69
E71. mnga	bheri, dundubhi	a drum	D70
E72. dung	śaṅkha	a conch	D71
E73. mri-dang-ga <sup>124</sup>	mṛdaṅga	a tabour	D72
E74. gdu bu	valya, parihāṭaka <sup>125</sup>	a bracelet	D73
E75. dpung rgyan	keyūra, aṅgada	an armlet	D74
E76. rna cha	karṇika, kuṇḍala <sup>126</sup>	an earring	D75
E77. sor gdub <sup>127</sup>	mudrikā, aṅgulyaka	a finger ring	D76
E78. rna cha phyang phrul can	*karṇābharāṇa <sup>128</sup>	ear-ornament	(D75)
E79. me tog bzang po	*bhadra-puṣpa	an auspicious flower	(D78)
E80. dpag bsam shing <sup>129</sup>	kalpa-vṛkṣa	a wishing tree	(D78) <sup>130</sup>
E81. 'khor lo'i dbung gi seng ge <sup>131</sup>	*cakramadhyasiṃha	a lion at the centre of a wheel	D79 <sup>132</sup>

### 3. Sanskrit *stotra* from Kyzil

W1. sragdāma	garland	A1, DE4
W2. śaṅkha	conch	A2, C6, D71, E72
W3. kalaśa	pot	B6, C3, DE8
W4. svastika	<i>svastika</i>	D63
W5. bhadrāsana	auspicious throne	C7, DE64
W6. aṅkuśa	elephant goad	B3, DE5
W7. dhvaja	ensign	A6, B2, C5, DE2
W8. [cakra] <sup>133</sup>	wheel	Z1

### 4. Tocharian fragments

#### X. Fragment 22: marks on the body of a Buddha (Couvreur, pp. 599-600)

X1. les Bouddhas antérieurs	—
X2. les Pratyekabuddhas	—

X3.	les grands munis ṛṣi	B50, DE55
X4.	les monarques Cakravartin	—
X5.	l'océan samudra	(A9)
X6.	l'étang	(A9)
X7.	les rois des nāgas	(E27)
X8.	les grands asuras... <sup>134</sup>	—
X9.	les îles de joyaux	—
X10.	surtout le dieu de l'éclat	—
X11.	les cintāmaṇis	(B23, 24, DE34)
X12.	les vihāras	—
X13.	les saṅghārāmas	—
X14.	les dānaśālas...	—
X15.	les Bodhisattvas donnant des dons	—
X16.	la montagne divine Sumeru	(D31, E30)
X17.	les quatres roi divins	B36, 38, 40 D51, 53-54, E50, 52-54
X18.	l'arbre Pārijātaka	(DE32)
X19.	la Sudharmā	—
X20.	le Vaijyanta palais des dieux	—
X21.	Skanda	B34
X22.	Viṣṇu	—
X23.	Maheśvara = Śiva	(B31)
X24.	les chevaux	B7, DE10
X25.	les véhicules	—
X26.	les éléphants	B13, DE9
X27.	le ciel de Yāma	—
X28.	Tuṣita jusqu'aux Śuddhāvāsa	—

**Y. Fragment 24: marks on the body of a Buddha**

(Couvreur, p. 600)

les signes brillants

Y1.	vajra	(B22), DE36
Y2.	millet	(DE24?)
Y3.	śrīvatsa	A4, B4, DE3

**Z. Fragment 264: marks on the body of a Buddha**

(Couvreur, p. 600)

sur son corps se produisent

Z1.	les roues	cakra	W8
Z2.	les javelots	tomāri	—
Z3.	les lances	śakti	B26, DE39
Z4.	les tridents	triśūla	B27, DE40
Z5.	les piques		—
Z6.	les glaives		B21, DE35
Z7.	les étendards...	pattākā	B43
Z8.	les? de diamant <sup>135</sup>		—
Z9.	les chevaux		B7, DE10
Z10.	les éléphants...		B13, DE9

**Table: Comparison of grouped items in Lists B, D, and E136**

List B	Category	List D	List E	Category
B1-6	auspicious symbols	D1-8	E1-8	auspicious symbols
B7-13	animals	D9-15	E9-14	animals
B14-18	birds	D16-23	E15-22	birds

[B19 —	animal] —	D24-26	E23-25	plants
[B20 —	bird] —	D27-29	E26-29	animals
[B21 [B22-25 —	weapon] precious things] —	D30-34	E30-34	miscellaneous
B26-29 —	weapons —	D35-44 D45-47	E35-44 E45-46	weapons miscellaneous
B30	cloud	D48	E47	cloud
B31-40	deities	D49-60	E48-60	deities
B41-49	auspicious things	D61-72	E61-73	auspicious things
B52-54	ornaments	D73-76	E74-78	ornaments
[B55-56 B57 —	animals] plant —	D77(?) -78 D79	E79-80 E81	plants wheel/lion

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Recent expressions of this interest, past or planned, include the exhibition "Royal Gift of a Buddha Footprint", presented by Waldemar Sailer at the Siam Society in December 1990; a book by Nandana Chutiwongs entitled *Roi Phra Buddhapāda*, published (in Thai) by Muang Boran, also in December 1990; the exhibition "History of the Footprints of the Buddha: Asia and Ayutthaya Province", held at the Chao Sam Phraya National Museum, Ayutthaya, from 19 August to 30 September, 1992; the exhibition "The Buddhapādalakkaṇa and Footprints of the Buddha in Thailand", held at the National Museum, Bangkok, from 26 July to 26 October, 1993; and the Siam Society's current project "Casting of a Gold Footprint of the Lord Buddha on the Auspicious Occasion of Her Majesty Queen Sirikit's Sixtieth Royal Birthday Anniversary".

<sup>2</sup>Note that I use here "a" rather than "the" Buddha: the symbols belong to all Buddhas, past, present, and future.

<sup>3</sup>The date of this work is not clear: if the author Upatissa is the same as the author of the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*, it might date to the last quarter of the 10th century: see K.R. Norman, *Pāli Literature: including the canonical literature in Prakrit and Sanskrit of all the Hinayāna schools of Buddhism* (Jan Gonda [ed.], *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. VII, Fasc. 2), Wiesbaden, 1983, pp. 162, 141. If so, it would be the earliest known work to give the expanded list of 108 symbols.

<sup>4</sup>*Jinālaṅkāra-tikā*, Rangoon (Sudhammavati Press), 1940, pp. 189-90; for the date see Norman, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup>E.R. Gooneratne (ed.), *Pajjamadhu*, *Journal of the Pāli Text Society* 1887, pp. 1-16 (not seen); C.E. Godakumbura (ed.), *Samantakūṭa-vaṇṇanā of Veheda* [sic, for Vedeha] *Thera*, PTS, London, 1958; Ann Appleby Hazlewood (tr.), *In Praise of Mount Samanta*, PTS, London, 1986, vv. 760-70; for dates and other details, see Norman pp. 158-59.

<sup>6</sup>Paṇḍita Baddēgama Vimalavaṃsa Sthavira (ed.), *Dharmapradīpikāva*, Colombo [1959] 1967, p. 5; the date is from C.E. Godakumbura, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1955, pp. 49-50.

<sup>7</sup>T.B. Karunaratne, "The Significance of the Signs and Symbols on the Footprints of the Buddha", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Sri Lanka)*, Vol. XX, (New Series), 1976, pp. 49-50; for the *Butsarana*, see Godakumbura

1955, pp. 73-76 and 110; "Butsarana", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. III, fasc. 4, [Colombo], 1977, pp. 548-49, and "Amṛtāvaha", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. I, fasc. 3, [Colombo], 1964, pp. 492-93; for the *Pūjāvāliya*, see Godakumbura 1955, pp. 62-63.

<sup>8</sup>A.B. Griswold and Prasert ṇa Nagara, "The Inscription of Vat Ṭrabāñ Jān Phōak: Epigraphic and Historical Studies No. 7", *JSS* 59/1 (January, 1971) 157-88, and figs. 1-4; Supaphan na Bangchang, *Vivadhānākār ngan khian bhāṣāpāli nai pradeś thai: charuk tamnan baṅṣāvātār sāsan prakāṣ*, Bangkok, 2529 [1986], pp. 44-50.

<sup>9</sup>Supaphan 2529, pp. 67-69.

<sup>10</sup>Supaphan 2529, p. 60; cf. the plate in National Library, *Charuk nai pradeś thai*, Bangkok, 2529 [1986], p. 45. See also the Pāli list of deities in the inscription from Wat Kamphaeng Ngam, Sukhothai (Supaphan, 41-43), which, but for the mention of nibbāna and the fact that it seems to be complete as stands, might be related to the footprint mentioned in the Thai portion of the inscription.

<sup>11</sup>For a discussion and summary of the (unpublished) Pāli version, see Supaphan na Bangchang, *Vivadhānākār varṇagatī sai phra suttantapīṭak ti daeng nai pradeś thai*, Bangkok, 2533 [1990], pp. 135-50; I have consulted the Thai translation in Nāgapradīp/Phra Dharmamahāvīrānūvatr (ed.), *Sambhāra-vipāk*, Bangkok, 4th printing, 2504 [1961], pp. 351-55, which also gives the Pāli.

<sup>12</sup>Supaphan 2533, pp. 281-99.

<sup>13</sup>Edited in Pāli on the basis of two manuscripts kept in the National Library, Bangkok, and translated into Thai in *Buddhapādalakkaṇa lae roiphra buddhapād nai pradeśthai*, Fine Arts Department, Bangkok, 2536, pp. 16-26 (catalogue published in conjunction with the National Museum exhibition mentioned in n. 1 above).

<sup>14</sup>*Phra Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇaḥ āgāriyavinayagharāvās lae maṅgal 38 praḥkār*, Cremation volume for Nang Buṇmi Acāraṇārdhhi, Wat Praḥyuravaṇṣāvās, Thonburi, 2504, pp. 3-6; see also Griswold and Prasert, p. 176.

<sup>15</sup>*Phra paṭhamasambodhikathā*, Rong bimb kār sāsanā, Bangkok, n.d., pp. 61-62, tr. in Henry Alabaster, *The Wheel of the Law. Buddhism Illustrated from Siamese Sources by the Modern Buddhist, A life of the Buddha, and An Account*

*of the Phrabat*, [London, 1871] Taipei, 1971, pp. 112-13; details on authorship from Griswold and Prasert, p. 176.

<sup>16</sup>For a study of two Khmer (and one Pāli, from Cambodia) lists, see François Bizot, "La figuration des pieds du bouddha au cambodge", *Études asiatiques* XXV (1971), pp. 407-39.

<sup>17</sup>See for example *Maṅgalacakkavāḷi yai*, in *Suat mant chabap luang*, 13th ed., Bangkok, 2526 [1983], p. 30.1, *aṅṅhuttarasatamaṅgalānubhāvena*; *Mahādibbamant*, Bangkok, 2471 [1928], p. 2.5; *Phra mahādibbamant*, Bangkok, 2516 [1973], p. 2 penult; and P.S. Jaini (ed.), *Mahādibbamanta*, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 28 (1965), p. 66, v. 10, *aṅṅhuttara-* (var. *aṅṅhādihika-*) *sataṃ yassa maṅgalaṃ caraṇadvaye cakkalakkhaṇasampannaṃ nametaṃ lokanāyakaṃ*. The *Mahādibbamanta* verse is cited (without naming the source) at *Phra Mahāpuruṣalakṣaṇaḥ* p. 6.2.

<sup>18</sup>E. Burnouf, *Le lotus de la bonne loi*, Paris, [1852] 1989, p. 622, n. 2 and p. 623, referring to *Beschreibung Malabar und Coromandel*, pp. 147-48. In the note he gives 1657, in the text 1654. The following bibliographical notes deal only with texts that discuss or present lists of the 108 signs, and not with literature on the footprint in art and legend.

<sup>19</sup>Burnouf, pp. 622 foll., referring to James Low, "On Buddha", in *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain*, Vol. III, pp. 62 foll. (not seen).

<sup>20</sup>Burnouf, pp. 622-47. Burnouf divides the list into 65 items, after the *Dharmapradīpikāva* (for which he seems to have used a manuscript rather than a printed edition), and notes (p. 640) that Low's list has 96. Here as well it is a question of differing enumeration and classification into broader groups: in the main the lists agree.

<sup>21</sup>Spence Hardy, *A Manual of Buddhism in its Modern Development*, [London, 1853] Varanasi, 1967, pp. 367-68; the source is given as the *Pūjāvāliya* on p. 370, but cf. n. to p. 368.

<sup>22</sup>Alabaster, pp. 286-310.

<sup>23</sup>U Mya, "A Note on the Buddha's Footprints in Burma", *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India for the years 1930-31, 1931-32, 1932-33 & 1933-34*, Part Two, repr. Delhi, 1990, pp. 320-31; T.B. Karunaratne, op. cit., pp. 47-60 and pls. I and II.

<sup>24</sup>For the latter, I refer to Supaphan 2523, pp. 281-97.

<sup>25</sup>"Bussokuseki", *Hōbōgin, Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises*, deuxième fascicule, Tōkyō, 1929-30, pp. 187-90; "Buddhapāda", *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. III, fasc. 3, [Colombo], 1971, pp. 450-58.

<sup>26</sup>I plan to deal with these shorter lists in another article.

<sup>27</sup>The existence of the list in the Chinese *Mañjuśrī-paripṛcchā* (see List E in this article) was noted by Samuel Beal, "The Buddhist Works in Chinese in the India Office Library", *Indian Antiquary* IV (1875), p. 95 (see Part 2 of this article).

<sup>28</sup>I will discuss the significance of this and its occurrence in art and iconography in Part 2.

<sup>29</sup>For a note on the *Tanjur*, see Peter Skilling, "A Brief Guide to the Golden Tanjur", *JSS* 79-2 (1991) 138-46.

<sup>30</sup>Part 2 of this article gives a bibliography of the features and attributes.

<sup>31</sup>Lewis R. Lancaster in collaboration with Sung-bae Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley, 1979), §§ 244, 245 (= Taishō §§ 661, 662; Korean § 1211 = Taishō § 473 is also related, but does not list the symbols on the feet). I am grateful to Dr. Prapot Assavavirulhakarn (Chulalongkorn University) for examining Taishō 661 and 662, and providing valuable comments (indicated in text and notes by [PA]). I have included a few of his notes to List E, as an indication of the complexity of the variant enumeration. Although the catalogues state that 661 and 662 were translated by the same team in the same year (CE 683), the two versions differ (I will discuss this in more detail in Part 2). Note that TI 661 lists 80 symbols "on the feet", TI 662 80 symbols "on the body, hands and feet" or "hands and feet of the body": the compound *\*kāya-hasta-pāda* may be interpreted both ways [PA].

<sup>32</sup>In the Tibetan lists individual items are separated by the word *dang*, "and"; hence the enumeration is quite clear. It is impossible to say whether in the original Sanskrit the items were similarly separated by the use of the equivalent Sanskrit *ca*, or were given as a series of compounds. If the latter were the case, the translators may have broken up the compounds differently, resulting in different enumerations. [PA:] The Chinese lists of Taishō 661 and 662 also give 80 items; since each is assigned a number, the enumeration is clear. (The numbering — also supplied for the 32 features and 80 attributes — might,

however, derive from the translators or later editors, since such a practice is rare in Indian texts.) While the contents are generally the same, the two translations differ in order from each other and from the Tibetan lists D and E: this means that there are three different lists.

<sup>33</sup>I am grateful to E. Gene Smith (Jakarta) for providing copies of Dg and S, and Helmut Eimer (Bonn) and Siglinde Dietz (Göttingen) for providing copies of F, H, and N.

<sup>34</sup>I refer here to the Sanskrit, and not variant Tibetan forms.

<sup>35</sup>Also *mālya, dāma, sṛṅgāma*.

<sup>36</sup>I will discuss the *śrīvatsa* in some detail in Part 2.

<sup>37</sup>Dg: GQ omit *cha*.

<sup>38</sup>Cp. weapons at B26-29 and DE35-44.

<sup>39</sup>Duplicate to B46. Could the Sanskrit here have been *mukuṭa* (=DE6)?

<sup>40</sup>*khug rta* (or *sta*) = *cātaka*, *Mvy* 4906, in a list of birds. Cp. D19 and E18.

<sup>41</sup>I am not certain of the meaning of *aṅga* (*yan lag*) in this compound. Can it mean *vajra* as a weapon?

<sup>42</sup>Dg: GQ omit this item.

<sup>43</sup>A name of Kuvera: MW 508b.

<sup>44</sup>Dg: *du-rba* G, *durba* Q.

<sup>45</sup>Cp. B48?

<sup>46</sup>*Dūrvā* = bent grass, panic grass, *Dūrb* grass, *Panicum Dactylon*: MW 490a. Cf. Henry Yule and A.C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, [London, 1903] New Delhi, 1984, p. 323b, *doob*.

<sup>47</sup>Duplicate to B5.

<sup>48</sup>A great or very efficacious medicinal plant; *Dūrvā* grass": MW 802c.

<sup>49</sup>Cf. MW 609c. I am not convinced by this equivalent, but can think of none better: straw could easily have been translated into Tibetan.

<sup>50</sup>*zhes bya ba la sogs pa = ity ādi*.

<sup>51</sup>Q: *g'yu* Dg.

<sup>52</sup>For this symbol, see Oskar von Hinüber, "Das Nandyāvarta-Symbol", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Supplement II, Deutscher Orientalistentag, Wiesbaden, 1974, pp. 356-65; Volker Moeller, "Das Nandyāvarta-Symbol?", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 129 (1979), pp. 149-54; Mireille Bénisti, "À propos du triratna", *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-orient* LXIV (1977), pp. 76-77; A.L.

Srivastava, *Nandyāvarta: An Auspicious Symbol in Indian Art*, Allahabad, 1991.

<sup>53</sup>Also *-ghaṭa, -pātra*, etc.

<sup>54</sup>The Tibetan *gnas* ("place") has numerous Sanskrit equivalents: *āsana* is given at TSD 1363a. Cp. *bhadda-piṭṭha* of the Pāli lists.

<sup>55</sup>Cf. note to B5.

<sup>56</sup>Q: *dbyu gu* Dg.

<sup>57</sup>The Tibetan of B11 is the more common term for *garuḍa*.

<sup>58</sup>The Tibetan is a transliteration. E18 has *cāṣa*; blue jay. Cf. B16, *cātaka*.

<sup>59</sup>See note to B48.

<sup>60</sup>Equivalent from Susumu Yamaguchi, *Index to the Prasannapadā Madhyamaka-vṛtti*, Part Two, Tibetan-Sanskrit, Kyoto, 1974, p. 145. Cf. MW 351b.

<sup>61</sup>See MW 732a.

<sup>62</sup>Dg: *bsams* Q.

<sup>63</sup>*Hala* means both plough and weapon: MW 1293a. In the context, the latter is more likely.

<sup>64</sup>Cp. *Mvy* 4834, *chu srin 'dzin khri = grāhaḥ*.

<sup>65</sup>*Mvy* 751, 4294, 4330; cf. MW 156ab, 290a, and *nandyāvarta* B41, C2, D62. See also D77. I am not certain of the meaning; cf. BG I 324b, '*khyil pa = dung dkar g'yas 'khyil*, "a white conch turning to the right" (but D71 = conch).

<sup>66</sup>Equivalent from Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *An Index to the Lankavatara Sutra*, Kyoto, 1934, p. 151a. See MW 921b.

<sup>67</sup>An epithet of Kuvera: MW 508b.

<sup>68</sup>Q: *g'yu* Dg.

<sup>69</sup>Correction made on the basis of E68 (q.v.).

<sup>70</sup>From the context B34 should equal the deity Skanda. D68 and E69 are given separately from the other deities (D49-60), and followed by *kanyā*, and hence seem to mean "prince" or "youth".

<sup>71</sup>*Sdong bu = daṇḍa*, trunk, *Mvy* 6223, 6243. For '*khyil pa*', see D47. '*Khyil pa'o*' does not seem right: read '*khyil pa'i*'?

<sup>72</sup>DgHNQS: *dpal bye'u* F.

<sup>73</sup>*kyo ba = aṅkuśa*, TSD; *kyo ba* and *kyo ba tang = lcaṅs kyu*, BG I 37 (which describes both terms as "old" forms).

<sup>74</sup>DgFHNQ: *cod pa-ta* S.

<sup>75</sup>Cf. BG II 1959, *dbyug to = dbyug pa shing*. Not in TSD.

<sup>76</sup>DgHNQS: *glang po che* F.

<sup>77</sup>DgHNQS: *rtag* F.

<sup>78</sup>Note that List E does not have a counterpart to D12, *garuḍa*, given however in TI 661, where it is no. 22, and 662, where it is no. 58.

<sup>79</sup>FHNS: *ru(!) spal* Q, *sru(!) sbal* Dg.

<sup>80</sup>DgHNQS: *bya* (om. *rma*) F.

<sup>81</sup>Q: *ka-la-ping-ka* DgF: *ka-la-bingka* HNS. Note that D17-19, equivalent to E16-18, prefix the names with *bya*, "bird".

<sup>82</sup>DgHNQS: *shang shang ti'u* F (= D18).

<sup>83</sup>DgS: *tsa sha* FHNQ.

<sup>84</sup>*Mvy* 4878, *bya tsa-sha*, in list of birds; MW 394b, "blue jay".

<sup>85</sup>See note to B48. No. 63 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>86</sup>See note to D27. No. 65 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>87</sup>*Nāga*, not given in List D, is included as no. 12 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>88</sup>No. 66 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>89</sup>No. 18 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>90</sup>See note to D30.

<sup>91</sup>Note that List E reverses the order of 30 and 31 against List D.

<sup>92</sup>DgFNQS: *ri dvags* H.

<sup>93</sup>No. 35 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>94</sup>DgHNQS: *ral gyi* F. *Ral gyi* is an alternate spelling of *ral gri* employed since the time of the Dunhuang manuscripts: see e.g. F.A. Bischoff, *Ārya Mahābala-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*, Paris, 1956, pp. 23.18 and 25.31; Zuiho Yamaguchi et al., *A Catalogue of the Tibetan Manuscripts collected by Sir Aurel Stein*, Part One, The Toyo Bunko, Tōkyō, 1977, p. 11, antepenult. The spelling is sometimes maintained in the *Kanjur*, as in the *Vinaya-vibhaṅga*, 10th *bampo*, where it is used by Narthang and the Tokyo Ms against the *ral gri* of Berlin Ms, Cone, Derge, Lhasa, Lithang, London Ms, Peking, and Stog Ms. Cf. also BG III 2667b, *ral gyi* (*rnying*). The present case is ambiguous, since *ral gyi* could equal either *ral gri*, or *ral* followed by the genitive postposition *gyi*.

<sup>95</sup>"Bow and arrow" are counted as a single item in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>96</sup>DgFNQS: *shakti* H. E39 transcribes — *shag-ti* = *sakti*; D39 translates — *mdung thung* = *sakti*.

<sup>97</sup>See note to D41.

<sup>98</sup>*Mvy* 5890, *gtun* (*shing*) = *musala*.

<sup>99</sup>DgFHNQ: *sta gri* S. Cf. BG II 1096a, where the primary definition of *sta gri* is the same as that of *sta re* — *shing gcod byed kyi lag cha zhiḡ*, and *dgra sta* (= D43) is given as a synonym of *sta gri*.

<sup>100</sup>DgHNQS: F omits this item.

<sup>101</sup>D45, though connected with water, is different. The long Pāli lists include a "golden boat": see e.g. *Phra Mahāpurusaḷakṣaṇaḡ* p. 5.10, *suvaṇṇanāvā*, and *Sambhāravipāk* p. 355.2, *harināvā*. Neither TI 661 or 662 gives "boat" [PA].

<sup>102</sup>DFHNQ: *brgyan* S.

<sup>103</sup>"Cloud" is given by both TI 661 and 662 [PA].

<sup>104</sup>No. 1 in T 661, which opens with a list of deities similar to those of E48-60, concluding with *megha* (E47) [PA].

<sup>105</sup>No. 2 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>106</sup>DgFHN: *bsrung* Q, *bsrunḡs* S.

<sup>107</sup>*Mvy* 3381 gives Yul 'khor skyong, 'Khor srung, and Yul 'khor bsrung for Dhṛtarāṣṭra.

<sup>108</sup>No. 3 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>109</sup>*Mvy* 694, Chu lha = Varuṇa.

<sup>110</sup>No. 4 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>111</sup>D53 uses the honorific *spyān*, E the common *mig*, for "eye".

<sup>112</sup>No. 5 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>113</sup>See note to D54.

<sup>114</sup>No. 8 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>115</sup>No. 9 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>116</sup>No. 10 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>117</sup>No. 11 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>118</sup>DgFQ: *padmo* HNS. D61 adds *me tog*, "flower".

<sup>119</sup>DgFHS: *bstan* NQ. While *stan* = *āsana*, *dge ba* usually = *kuśāla*, *kalyāṇa*, *śubha* (TSD).

<sup>120</sup>DgHNS: *brtsva* F: *rtsa* Q.

<sup>121</sup>*pu-* DgHQ(?)S: *bu* F, N unclear.

<sup>122</sup>Cf. MW 635ab.

<sup>123</sup>DgHNQS: *khye-'u* F. TI 661 includes "youth" and "maiden" as §§ 14 and 15.

<sup>124</sup>F and S carry the correct form, *mri-dang-(tang- S) ga-dang!*: *mri-dang-ga* transliterates the Sanskrit *mṛdaṅga*; the second *dang* = "and" (Sanskrit *ca*). This is equivalent to the cor-

responding item D72, which is translated as *rḍza mḡa*, "earthenware drum", a standard counterpart of *mṛdaṅga* (*Mvy* 5011). The editors of the Tshal pa *Kanjur* or its exemplar failed to realize that they were dealing with a transliteration, and interpreted the *dang* of *mri-dang-ga* as the Tibetan word for "and". Q reads *smrig dang/ ga dang!*; it breaks the transliteration into two items by inserting a stroke (*shad, danḡa*) after the first *dang*, taking it to mean "and", to read "smri (or smri-ga) and ga" (which seems to be meaningless). The first syllable *smrig* (or *smri-ga*) is written in smaller letters, and has probably been altered from *mri*: the original reading may well have been *mri-dang-ga dang!*, as in F. Dg and N (and H, following N) have been further altered by the deletion of the first *dang*, to yield the (apparently meaningless) *smri-ga dang!*. For *mṛdaṅga* in the *Drumakinnara-rāja-pariprcchā*, see Paul Harrison (ed.), *Druma-kinnara-rāja-pariprcchā-sūtra*, Tōkyō, 1992, pp. xl (§ 16, *paṇava*), xli (§ 22, *mṛdaṅga*).

<sup>125</sup>*Mvy* 6008, 6020.

<sup>126</sup>TSD 1384b.

<sup>127</sup>DgHNQS: *sor dub* F.

<sup>128</sup>*Mvy* 6001, *phyang phrul* = *ābharāṇa*. No. 53 in TI 661 [PA].

<sup>129</sup>FS: *dpag bsam gyi shing* DgHNQ.

<sup>130</sup>*Kalpa-vṛkṣa* is already given at D32, where E32 has simply *vṛkṣa*.

<sup>131</sup>I accept the reading of S, supported by F: 'khor lo'i dbung gi seng ge S, 'khor lo'i dpung gi sing(sic) ge F. I accept S's *dbung* = "centre, middle" (BG II 1946a: *dbung* [*rnying*] *dbus sam dkyil*) = Sanskrit *madhya* (TSD 1706a, from the *Daśabhūmika*) against the *dpung* of the other editions: the item then agrees with its counterpart D79, 'khor lo'i dbus su seng ge. DgHNQ divide the item into two: 'khor lo dang/ dpung gi seng ge dang!

<sup>132</sup>The final items of lists D (77 or 78-79) and E (79-81) and of TI 661 are similar, but present numerous difficulties. TI 661 has 76. "heavenly tree", 77. "fruit tree" (*\*phala-vṛkṣa*), 78. a kind of bird, 79. *\*cakramadhyasiṅha*, 80. *mṛgarāja* [PA].

<sup>133</sup>Restored by the editor of the Sanskrit text.

<sup>134</sup>Lacunae in the lists are indicated by....

<sup>135</sup>The question mark is from Couvreur.

<sup>136</sup>Items that occur in a different position in B are bracketed.

