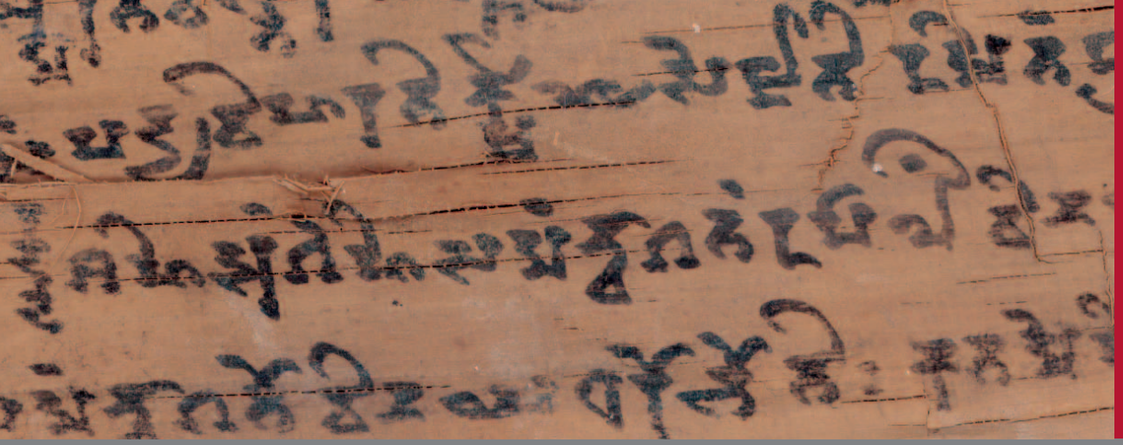


Vincent Tournier

La formation du *Mahāvastu*

et la mise en place des conceptions relatives à la carrière du *bodhisattva*

195

Les spéculations relatives aux *buddha* et aux *bodhisattva* s'épanouissent avec un remarquable dynamisme entre le Ier s. et le VIe s. de notre ère. Cette période dite « moyenne » ou intermédiaire du bouddhisme indien voit notamment l'affirmation progressive d'un *nouveau courant*, le Bodhisattvayāna, promouvant la voie du parfait Éveil. Le présent ouvrage retrace ces développements d'ordre « bouddhologique » au sein des milieux Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin, solidement implantés au Magadha et dans le nord-ouest de l'Inde. L'analyse historique se fonde sur une pratique philologique et consiste en l'étude de la formation et des vicissitudes du *Mahāvastu*, chapitre important de la « Corbeille de la Règle monastique » (*Vinayapiṭaka*) de cette école. L'examen de la formation de cette œuvre vaste et composite, retraçant la geste au long cours du Buddha « historique » Śākyamuni, passe nécessairement par l'examen de la tradition manuscrite et, en particulier, de l'unique exemplaire sur ôles du *Mahāvastu*, datant du XIIe s. L'étude qui est au cœur de cet ouvrage s'adosse ainsi à la nouvelle édition annotée et à la traduction française de segments clés de l'œuvre. L'examen détaillé de ces sections textuelles fournit un point d'observation privilégié des pratiques éditoriales et discursives, mais aussi des doctrines ayant caractérisé l'influente école Mahāsāṅghika. Cet ouvrage ambitionne donc de participer au renouvellement de l'étude des ordres monastiques (*nikāya*), des corpus canoniques et de la sotériologie du bouddhisme indien.

Vincent Tournier est historien du bouddhisme indien, formé à l'université de Strasbourg puis à la Ve section de l'École pratique des hautes études, où il obtint son doctorat en 2012. Après des recherches post-doctorales à l'université de Leyde, il a rejoint la School of Oriental and African Studies (Londres) en septembre 2013, en tant que Seiyu Kiriyama Lecturer in Buddhist Studies et directeur du SOAS Centre of Buddhist Studies.

45 €

ISBN : 978-2-85539-133-5

Monographies, no 195

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'EXTRÊME-ORIENT
22, avenue du Président Wilson
75116 Paris
http://www.efeo.fr

EFEO

École française d'Extrême-Orient
EFEO

Monographies 195

Vincent TOURNIER

La formation du *Mahāvastu*

et la mise en place des conceptions relatives à la carrière du *bodhisattva*

EFEO

École française d'Extrême-Orient
Monographies, n° 195

Paris, 2017

La formation du *Mahāvastu* et la mise en place des conceptions relatives à la carrière du *bodhisattva* / Vincent Tournier
Paris, École française d'Extrême-Orient, 2017. xxiv + 632 pages.
(Monographies, nº 195)
Notes en bas de page. Bibliographie. Résumé en anglais. Index
ISBN 978-2-85539-133-5
Mots clés : bouddhisme indien ; canons - canonisation ; règle monastique (*vinaya*) ; ordres monastiques (*nikāya*) ; école Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin ; conciles ; ordination ; bouddhologie ; *bodhisattva* ; carrière vers l'Éveil ; Buddha du passé ; Buddha Śākyamuni ; manuscrits ; langues moyen-indiennes ; sanskrit bouddhique

Coordination éditoriale : Emmanuel Siron
Création couverture de la collection : BICEPS / Nathalie Amice

Première de couverture : détail d'un Buddha prêchant, mur oriental de la niche du grand Buddha de 53 m, vallée de Bāmiyān, en 1977.
© Deborah Klimburg-Salter.

Quatrième de couverture : détail du manuscrit MS 2378/10, verso, de la collection Martin Schøyen, transmettant vraisemblablement un fragment du Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka des Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin.
© Hermes Academic Publishing.

© 2017, École française d'Extrême-Orient
22, avenue du Président Wilson, 75116 Paris, FRANCE
ISSN : 1269-8326
ISBN : 978-2-85539-133-5

Sommaire

Hommages iii

Prologue vii

Première Partie : Étude 1

1. Le *Mahāvastu*, texte composite du *Vinaya* Lokottaravādin 3

2. Cadres et jalons de la carrière du *bodhisattva* 125

3. Bodhisattvayāna et Écritures Lokottaravādin 255

Conclusion de l'étude 353

Seconde Partie : Texte 357

1. Introduction à l'édition 359

2. Édition 405

3. Traduction 475

Bibliographie 505

Index général 581

Abstract 609

Abstract

The Formation of the *Mahāvastu* and the Development of Conceptions Pertaining to the Bodhisattva Career

Prologue

This study considers the *Mahāvastu* as an integral part of the *Vinayapiṭaka* of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins. It contends that the history of the Buddhological doctrines transmitted by this *nikāya* in the Middle Period of Indian Buddhism cannot be written without a sound textual stratigraphy. The *Mahāvastu*, which is composite work, developed in northern India from around the 1st century BCE/CE to the 5th/6th century CE. While it is impossible to recover the original form of the *Mahāvastu*, the study of "peritextual" units allows us to trace successive instances of editorial revisions. Such peritexts consist in the two prologues (*nidāna*) introducing the work, and the "appendices" (*parivāra*, *parisara*) inserted within its fabric after its boundaries had already begun to crystallise. These represent attempts at organising and providing a framework to the "epochal career" of Śākyamuni leading to his last human rebirth. A stratigraphic study of the work cannot be carried out without the reassessment of the masterful *editio princeps* that Émile Senart published between 1882 and 1897. The discovery of a 12th century palm-leaf manuscript (named "Sa") in Patan by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project, and the ensuing publication of a facsimile edition by Yuyama (2001) calls for this reassessment. My study demonstrates (see also Tournier 2012b) that this is the fountain-head from which the entire Nepalese manuscript tradition descends. Indeed, the learned 17th century scholar Jayamuni played a key role in the circulation of the *Mahāvastu* within the Kathmandu valley, and all later textual witnesses depend on his revised copy of the 12th century text (manuscript "Ta"). This concern for a philologically grounded study informs the double structure of this book: the first part focuses on the detailed study of key sections of the *Mahāvastu*; the second part contains the editions and translations.

First Part: Study

Chapter 1: The *Mahāvastu*, a Composite Text of the Lokottaravādin *Vinaya*

This chapter situates the *Mahāvastu* within the wider scriptural landscape and maps the history of its formation through the study of the peritexts. Part 1 ("The *Mahāvastu* and the Scriptures of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins") explores the scriptural tradition within which it developed and functioned. The examination of the history of the *Mahāvastu* in Nepal allows me to put into perspective, and ultimately disprove, many of the prevailing hypotheses about its derivative nature. The 17th-century reception of the text in Nepal influenced the assumption that the *Mahāvastu* was a by-product of the *Vinaya*, and its comparison with anthologies such as the *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*). Indeed, it was Jayamuni who first labelled the work as an *avadāna*, a time far removed from the *vinayadhara*s that composed it and in period when the *avādānamālā* genre enjoyed great popularity (I return to the transmission of the *Mahāvastu* in Nepal in the introductory chapter of the second part of this book). The full title of the *Mahāvastu*, as preserved in its oldest manuscript, situates it precisely as the "Great Chapter" of the *Vinaya*, according to the recension (*pāṭha*) of the noble Mahāsāṅghikas, Lokottaravādins, Madhyuddeśikas. I offer a detailed analysis of each element of this title. This leads me to discuss the formation, geographic spread, doctrinal orientation, and the linguistic specificity of the canonical tradition of this particular *nikāya*, and its close relationship with the root-Mahāsāṅghikas. I explain why we cannot take doxographies and the late narratives of the formation of the *nikāya*s at face value, but should give instead priority to epigraphic evidence, to early manuscript attestations, and to the study of Mahāsāṅghika texts themselves, in order to map the different branches of this school and to reconstruct their doctrinal profile. The contours of the canon of the Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins may be partially reconstructed in light of the surviving manuscripts stemming from the school's two centres of Magadha and the Hindu Kush, and in comparison with the version of the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* preserved in Chinese translation. My survey of the materials supports the hypothesis that there existed a close relationship between the *Vinaya* traditions of the two schools. I then examine selected *brāhmī* fragments from the Bāmiyān region. My findings corroborate the supposition that parts of the *Vinaya* and *Āgama* texts recovered from the Hindu Kush stem from a regional scriptural tradition of the Mahāsāṅghika(-Lokottaravādin)s. This tradition is closer to the

recension represented by the Lokottaravādin texts connected to the Pāla domain than to the version of the Vinaya that Faxian brought back from Pāṭaliputra and came to serve as the basis for the Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya*. In my attempt to position the *Mahāvastu* within the *Vinaya*, I develop further Hirakawa's hypothesis which posits that the prescriptive *Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka* and narrative *Mahāvastu* complement each other. Both works open with the fourfold *upasampadā* sytem. I then turn to the elusive *Āgama*s of the Mahāsāṅghikas and Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādins. I examine several useful cross-references included in the *Mahāvastu*, which contain interesting clues about the transmission of individual discourses within the *Sūtrapiṭaka*. The large inclusion of verse-texts in the *Mahāvastu*, some of which may be found in the *Miscellanea* (*Kṣudraka*) section of other *Sūtrapiṭaka*s, allows to speculate about the overall contents of what the Mahāsāṅghika *Vinaya* calls *Za zang* 雜藏 (possibly **Kṣudrakapiṭaka*). Finally, I briefly discuss fragments from Bāmiyān, some published, others not. These yield information about the *Ekottārika-Āgama* and *Madhyama-Āgama* transmissions in the Hindu Kush, within Mahāsāṅghika (-Lokottaravādin) milieux.

Part 2 ("Prologues and Appendices: Three Stages in the Composition of the *Mahāvastu*'s First Part") provides a bird's eye view of the formation history of the *Mahāvastu* through the examination of peritexts, whose very existence testify to successive attempts at editing the contents of this work. Hence, the *Mahāvastu* is characteristically opened by two prologues, the *Nidānanamaskāra*s and the *Nidānavastu*. These were demonstrably composed at two different periods, at around the 3rd century CE and the 1st century CE respectively. Since both function as tables of contents of sorts, and both address the career of the Bodhisattva, it is fruitful to rely on them to trace the development of the *Mahāvastu* (in particular of its first part, corresponding to Sen. I.1–338). We can measure how the accretion of new narratives entailed the dilation of the Buddhological perspective. Each of these *nidāna*s uses a set of four categories that provide key organising principles to the narratives: the four types of *upasampadā*, in the older *Nidānavastu*, and the four "phases [of the career]" (*caryā*) in the *Nidānanamaskāra*s. A close reading reveals that, in particular, the first two types of *upasampadā* are essential for understanding the peculiar ordering of the narratives throughout the *Mahāvastu*, and the apparent non-chronological order of the cycle of the formation of the Buddhist order after the Buddha's Awakening (starting from Sen. III.47 onwards). The first kind of *upasampadā* is the self-ordination (*svāmam upasampadā*), which also occurs in the Mahāsāṅghika *Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka* and in a wide array of mostly

(Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin sources to characterise *samyaksambuddha*s and, at times, *pratyekabuddha*s. Both figures are indeed called *svayambhū*, since they awake and obtain the precepts without a teacher (*anācaryaka*). In the *Nidānavastu*, the equation of this *upasampadā* with Awakening is further reinterpreted, so as to connect the whole account of Śākyamuni's career to the explanation of this Vinaya category. Similarly, the second part of the *Mahāvastu* can be shown to proceed from the ordination through the "come, monk!" (*ehibhikṣuka*) formula. The very fact that the stories of conversion of disciples appear in a peculiar order, starting with that of Mahākāśyapa, closely followed by that of Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana, can be explained by a reconfiguration of the narrative to fit that particular category. Indeed, the specific reverence of Mahāsāṅghika circles towards the figure of Mahākāśyapa is not the only explanation for the prominent position of his ordination narrative within the work. Such a narrative is the only one in the *Mahāvastu* that does not follow the "come, monk!" model. I argue that the ordination of Mahākāśyapa, who had already left the lay condition by his own will, to search for the true Arhant, was conceived of as half way between the self-ordination and the kind of ordination imparted to all other monks featured in the *Mahāvastu*. While the *Nidānavastu* presupposes Śākyamuni's career to have begun at the time of Dīpaṅkara, according to the *Nidānanamaskāra*s at that time he entered into the fourth and last stage of the Bodhisattva career. Therefore, this series of homages to past Buddhas envisions a much broader temporal spectrum. It alludes to extensive Buddha lineages dealt with in the *Bahubuddhakasūtra*s and related narratives—in particular, the *Abhiyavastu*, the *Dīpaṅkaravastu*, and the cycle centred on the Buddha Kāśyapa—most of which constitute the fabric of the *Mahāvastu*'s first part. This later prologue thereby ties together composite narratives about the Bodhisattva career prior to his last birth, read through the spectrum of the four *caryā*s. The tropes and verses shared by these narratives show a further effort at weaving them into a seamless fabric. The *Daśabhūmika* (Sen. I.63–193) was included within this framework during the last period of the composition of the *Mahāvastu* (ca. 4th–6th century). The independent narrative frame of the *Daśabhūmika*, together with the text's final rubric, labelling it an "appendix" to the *Mahāvastu*, suggest that this chapter was "grafted" onto a work which previously did not conceptualise the Bodhisattva career through the scheme of *bhūmi*s. This section shares the status of appendix or supplement (*parivāra*, *parisara*) with the second *Avalokitasūtra* (II.293–397), inserted right after the first *sūtra* of that name: both texts share materials with other known scriptures of the Bodhisattvayāna. They demonstrate the late alignment

of Lokottaravādin *vinayadhara*s with the soteriological orientation of the Bodhisattva movement. While the *Daśabhūmika* took shape as an autonomous work, the inter-textual links with earlier sections of the *Mahāvastu* suggest that it was composed, at least in part, in a milieu that was aware of earlier Lokottaravādin Buddhology. Several *realia* preserved in this text indicate that it was likely finalized after the 4th century, while it was probably included in the *Mahāvastu* by the 6th century.

Against the background set in the second part of chapter 1, the following two chapters of this book focus on the narratives of the *Mahāvastu*'s first part, in order to trace the progressive formation of the Bodhisattva doctrine.

Chapter 2: Frames of, and Steps in the Bodhisattva Career

This chapter explores the "mental toolbox" (Fr. outillage mental) used to conceptualise the Bodhisattva career. Part 1 ("The Past Buddhas and the Scriptural Genre of the *Bahubuddhakasūtra*") introduces a little-known family of narratives, represented by four sections in the *Mahāvastu* and their parallels. This textual family was transmitted in a variety of milieux, including at least the Mahāsāṅghikas, Kāśyapīyas and Mahīśāsakas in the Northwest. Its narratives and lineages served as building blocks for several *sūtra*s of the Bodhisattvayāna, and it also impacted (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin traditions on Śākyamuni's predecessors. The *Bahubuddhakasūtra* family is thus key to our understanding of the development of discourses about past Buddhas, an issue that, so far, has been mostly dealt with in studies focusing only on the Theriya tradition. I therefore survey these sources, discuss their relationship, and also stress their importance for the development of the Bodhisattva doctrine. Indeed, such a doctrine emerges in relation to the conception of a string of predecessors under whom Śākyamuni progressed towards Awakening, made aspirations (*praṇidhāna*), and eventually received predictions (*vyākaraṇa*) that he would achieve Buddhahood. I then turn to study the formation and extension of the Buddha lineages in the *Mahāvastu*. According to the reconstruction of the *Mahāvastu*'s formation laid out in chapter 1, at an early stage the *Great Chapter* of the *Vinaya* opened with the narrative of the encounter between the Bodhisattva and the Buddha Dīpaṅkara. Such an encounter marked, at this stage of development, the very beginning of the Bodhisattva career. The legend and cult of Dīpaṅkara must have originated in the centuries immediately preceding the turn of the Common Era, and this pan-Buddhist figure developed into a fundamental point of reference for

narratives dedicated to the description of past Buddhas. The weaving into the *Mahāvastu* of narratives describing the Bodhisattva's encounter with the Buddhas Sarvābhibhū, Maṅgala, and Kāśyapa, led to attempts at harmonising competing traditions with respect to Dīpaṅkara's successors. The contents of this series of narratives was also harmonised in order to include similar descriptions of the *praṇidhāna* and *vyākaraṇa*, two actions that feature prominently—and possibly developed—in the influential tradition about Dīpaṅkara. The foundational role of this predecessor is already fully apparent in the old *Bahubuddhakasūtra*, available in a *ca* 1st century BCE/1st century CE *kharoṣṭhī* manuscript, and in slightly more expanded versions in the *Mahāvastu* (III.241–250) and the *Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 (*T.* 190). Such texts focus on a lineage of fifteen to seventeen Buddhas bounded by Dīpaṅkara and Maitreya, describing each component of the lineage in thematic sections that, in part, echo those of the earlier *Mahāvadānasūtra*s. The oldest version of the *Bahubuddhakasūtra* available to us betrays the recent inclusion of the future Buddha Maitreya into a lineage whose earlier scope was purely retrospective, and that was primarily concerned with the Bodhisattva career of Śākyamuni. This old *Bahubuddhakasūtra* has also the specificity to include a former Śākyamuni into the lineage, whose characteristics mirror that of "our" Śākyamuni: such duplication prepared the ground for further multiplications of the figure of the predecessor-homonym. Later versions of the same family of texts contain much more extensive lineages of predecessors. While (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin sources structure the Bodhisattva's progress across three *asaṅkhyeya-kalpa*s employing the relatively stable numbers of 75 000, 76 000, and 77 000 Buddhas, the *Mahāvastu* lacks such a coherent systematization. This blooming of extended lineages without a clear organising principle reveals the impressive dynamism of Buddhological speculations within Lokottaravādin circles in the Middle Period. This process also expresses well the widening of the temporal horizon of Buddhists of that time and, more specifically, the projection of the origins of the Bodhisattva career towards an inconceivably remote past. Most figures of predecessors are not, as far as I could ascertain, invested with any biographical tradition. Among this wealth of mere names, however, some Buddhas enjoy a privileged status, in that they mark major steps in the Bodhisattva career of Śākyamuni. The figure of Atīta-Śākyamuni, here conceived as a predecessor of Dīpaṅkara, is a case in point. Indeed, we witness how, in various textual traditions, this figure becomes associated with the concept of "root-aspiration" (*mūlapraṇidhāna* or *ādyapraṇidhāna*). By such kind of *praṇidhāna*, a Bodhisattva commits to becoming a Buddha endowed with the very same characteristics of the Teacher in the presence

of whom he formulates the aspiration. This notion represents one of the devices employed to explain the apparent inferior characteristics of the "historical" Buddha when compared to his predecessors. The rising concern for the imperfections of the Sahā world is also at play in the later tradition represented by one of the *Bahubuddhakasūtra*s (section I^{B}, edited in the second part of this book) and its parallels in the *Fo benxing ji jing* and in the *Buddhapiṭaka* (*T.* 653, *Tōh.* 220). According to such narratives, Śākyamuni would have made his first aspiration, forty *kalpa*s after Maitreya, in the presence of Aparājitadhvaja's stūpa. The intertwining of the Bodhisattva careers of Śākyamuni and Maitreya has the function to stress the superior achievements of the former, in particular his distinction in the practice of "energy" (*vīrya*). This narrative development participates in the process of generalisation of the career of Śākyamuni to other Bodhisattvas, which is also facilitated by the elaboration of a set of stages common to every path to Buddhahood.

Part 2 ("The Development of Steps Structuring the Bodhisattva Career") examines the various systems of four "phases [of the career]" (*caryā*). These are expounded primarily in the textual tradition of the *Bahubuddhakasūtra*s, which are found in no less than three distinct versions in the *Mahāvastu*. This study aims to understand these systems on their own terms, without attempting to resolve the inconsistencies present within the *Mahāvastu*. It pays attention, in particular, to the manuscript transmission of the key passages—all of which are reedited in the second part of the book. I consider first how the four *caryā*s emerge, in the Gāndhārī **Bahubudhagasutra*, as a meta-list to organise the predecessors of Śākyamuni into four distinct groups. No definition of each *caryā* is found at this stage. Another version of such an early system is also transmitted in a passage of the *Mahāvastu* parallel to this *sūtra* (namely *Bahubuddhakasūtra* II^{B}) that is partly corrupt and has been misunderstood so far. I then set to analyse definitions that are developed in later *Bahubuddhakasūtra*s. One such definition has been split into two parts, which are now framing the *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I of the *Mahāvastu*: it gains to be understood in light of its close parallels in the *Fo benxing ji jing* and in the *Nidānanamaskāra*s. Indeed, the analysis suggests that the *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I and its *Fo benxing ji jing* parallel derive their didactic definitions of the four *caryā*s from a common source. The author of the *Nidānanamaskāra*s, in turn, reinterpreted slightly the system transmitted in the *sūtra*, within his wider attempt at organising and harmonising the narrative contents of the *Mahāvastu*'s first part. The result is a well crafted diagram of

the Bodhisattva path—in fact, the most systematic presentation of the path that we find in the *Mahāvastu*—articulated around the notions of *praṇidhāna* and *vyākaraṇa*. The definitions of each *caryā* given in this prologue and in the two versions of the *sūtra* agree in broad terms, but differ in significant details, such as the allusion to the six *pāramitā*s found only in the *Fo benxing ji jing*'s definition of the third phase of the career. The obscurity of the fourth *caryā*, referred to in the *Mahāvastu* with two different names—*vivartanacaryā*, corresponding to Ch. 轉性行, and its opposite, *avivartanacaryā*—can be explained by a revision of the system. This would have taken place to fit the *Daśabhūmika* into the framework of the *Mahāvastu*. The formulation of distinct systems of four *caryā*s—as opposed to one unified scheme— and their coexistence in the *Mahāvastu* with the structure of ten *bhūmi*s, has led scholars to try reconciling them. They did so under the influence of late treatises, such as Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṅkārālokā*, which fit the ten *bhūmi*s of the larger *Prajñāpāramitā*s into a fourfold framework bearing some similarity with the four *caryā*s. In a section dealing with the relationship between *caryā* and *bhūmi*, I show how such a harmonising enterprise is misleading. In fact, the compilers of the *Mahāvastu* did not attempt to match the two systems, besides the slight adjustment made in the definition of the fourth *caryā*. The *Daśabhūmika* itself is a very composite text, which apart from a few sections does not describe a coherent progression through the ten *bhūmi*s; this teaching (*upadeśa*) knows nothing of a fourfold ladder to Buddhahood, and mostly distinguishes between Bodhisattvas that are subject to lapse and irreversible Bodhisattvas. Most importantly, while the system of *caryā*s remains descriptive, and is never totally detached from the figure of Śākyamuni, the *Daśabhūmika* is prescriptive. Like the second *Avalokitasūtra*, it encourages contemporary practitioners to seek Buddhahood. Therefore, the inclusion of such appendices marks a soteriological shift, which I explore in the third chapter of this book.

The last section of chapter 2 ("Cosmology, Buddha Lineages, and Royal Genealogy") explores the narrative architecture of the *Mahāvastu*'s first part before the inclusion of the *Daśabhūmika*. I intend to show how the first part of the *Mahāvastu* formed an overall coherent cycle of remarkable scope. Indeed, the *Bahubuddhaka* sections and the individual stories describing the Bodhisattva's encounter with his predecessors are skilfully set against the background of a liminal cosmological narrative, describing the visits of Maudgalyāyana to various realms. His gradual journey through the various levels of existence lead him to the summit of the realm of pure form (*rūpadhātu*), where the Śuddhāvasa

gods provide him with an estimate of what is, according to their understanding, the length of the Bodhisattva career. They contend that Śākyamuni's career began 100 000 *kalpa*s earlier, coinciding with the time of the past Buddha Suprabhāsa. Such an estimate by the long-lived, yet still "mundane" (*laukika*), gods is contradicted by Śākyamuni himself, who presents the origins of his career as inconceivable. Hence, the long cosmological preamble of the work (I.4–45) has the function of progressively widening the scope of Śākyamuni's career, and of narratively constructing the supramundane (*lokottara*) status of the Buddha. At the end of the long retrospective of the Bodhisattva's career, after the story of his antepenultimate rebirth under Kāśyapa, the cosmo-anthropogonic *Rājavaṁśa* myth directly follows. This chapter serves to describe the background of the matrimonial union between king Śuddhodana and queen Māyā, as a preamble to the description of the Bodhisattva's last rebirth. In doing so, the *Rājavaṁśa* inserts Śākyamuni into a glorious dynasty of kings, stemming from the very originator of kingship, Mahāsammata, and including prominent markers of royal self-perception such as king Ikṣvāku. Thereby, the spiritual quest of the Bodhisattva under the guidance of his predecessors, and Śākyamuni's royal descent are intimately interwoven. The dynastic symbolism at play in this context is also very much present within the depiction of the spiritual genealogy itself. Hence, the last *vyākaraṇa* conferred onto any Bodhisattva by his immediate predecessor is interpreted, in the late *Bahubuddhakasūtra*s and the *Nidānanamaskāra*s, as the consecration as crown prince (*yuvarājābhiṣeka*). Such a consecration, to be conferred on earth—in contrast with later and better-known instances when the transfer of *regalia* takes place in the Tuṣita heaven—is also defined as one of the key duties (*kārya*) of a Buddha *qua* king before he can enter *parinirvāṇa*. Similarly to several texts related to the *Buddhāvataṁsaka* cycle, the last three *bhūmi*s of the *Daśabhūmika* also replicate the career of a king. I therefore trace the process leading to the convergence of the temporal and the spiritual dimensions into the portrait of the ideal-typical Buddha.

Chapter 3: Bodhisattvayāna and the Lokottaravādin Scriptures: the Case of the *Daśabhūmika*

This chapter proceeds on the basis of two related stances. Firstly, the study of the process resulting into the grafting of two "appendices" onto the *Mahāvastu* is fundamental to understand a major shift in soteriological paradigm. Indeed, it allows to measure the impact of the rising Bodhisattvayāna on Lokottaravādin milieux around the 4th–5th

century. Secondly, I remain, for the present purpose, agnostic about whether the ever-fascinating—but elusive—"origins" of the Mahāyāna are to be pinned down to Mahāsāṅghika milieux. Therefore, part 1 of this chapter ("The *Mahāvastu* and Bodhisattvayāna Scriptures") undertakes to measure and differentiate the impact of the newer scriptures on the process of canon formation, with a focus on Mahāsāṅghika schools. This problem is naturally germane to the issue of the authenticity of these newer scriptures, and, in fact, rich evidence on the topic comes precisely from polemical contexts. A section of Avalokitavrata's *Prajñāpradīpaṭīkā* (composed *ca* 700) provides an ideal window into the matter. It aims at the refutation of the Śrāvakayāna claim that the Mahāyāna is not the Word of the Buddha, since it is not included within the scriptures of the *nikāya*s. In this context, the Mādhyamika author demonstrates, like his predecessors Bhāviveka and Candrakīrti, his familiarity—and, perhaps, his elective affinity—with the canons of several Mahāsāṅghika groups. Avalokitavrata alludes not only to a Middle-Indic version of a *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* transmitted by Śaila schools, but he mentions thrice the *Mahāvastu*. In particular, he recognises in the *Great Chapter* of the Lokottaravādin *Vinaya* the trademark (or "matrix", *mātṛkā*) of the Mahāyāna, since it discusses the ten *bhūmi*s and knows of the six *pāramitā*s. These two markers are found in the work's "appendices," both of which demonstrate an advanced level of doctrinal maturity, and embrace the perspective of the Bodhisattvayāna. My discussion of the openly Mahāyānist hermeneutical programme of masters such as Avalokitavrata leads me to review passages and tropes that the *Mahāvastu* shares with autonomous scriptures of the Bodhisattvayāna. This investigation reveals a clear affinity of the *Mahāvastu* with a group of early scriptures, and in particular the *Lokānuvartanāsūtra*, the *Avalokanasūtra* and, to some extent, *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. The analysis of these inter-textual webs however, does not support the view according to which Lokottaravādin *vinayadhara*s included in their canonical collections newer scriptures without screening them for authenticity, and without, in some instances, sifting their contents. For example, late additions to the *Mahāvastu* corpus do not generally operate the radical ontological turn propounded by *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. In that respect, the Lokottaravādin circles may have been more conservative and wary of doctrinal innovation than other groups associated with the Mahāsāṅghikas, such as the Śaila schools of Āndhradeśa. Moreover, Bodhisattvas other than Śākyamuni are rarely included in the *Mahāvastu*'s narratives, and great Bodhisattvas, who play a major role in the validation and the *imaginaire* of the new scriptures, are completely absent. I suggest that, more than a sign of antiquity of the

"microforms" included in the *Mahāvastu*, such an absence may account for a voluntary endeavour to frame new ideas in a traditional garb, as part of a broader strategy to authenticate them.

Hence, the compilers of the *Mahāvastu*'s *Daśabhūmika*, although considering themselves Bodhisattvas and promoting the path to Buddhahood, decided to set the teaching of the Bodhisattva's ten stages against the backdrop of an elaborate prologue featuring prominent disciples of the Buddha (ed. Sen. I.63–78, edited anew in the second part of the book). Part 2 of chapter 3 ("The Teaching of the Ten *bhūmi*s and the Rājagṛha Council") studies closely this prologue, exploring the discursive devices used to "canonise" the *Daśabhūmika*. The narrative setting of this appendix consists of a poetic re-telling of the Buddha's funerals and the ensuing compilation of the scriptures in Rājagṛha. Prosodical analysis and the inconsistencies in the contents suggest that the composer(s) of the *Daśabhūmika*'s *nidāna* glued together two textual layers. Thereby the preaching of the ten *bhūmi*s by Mahākātyāyana is inserted in the Rājagṛha cycle. As a result, the first council is as if duplicated: a first gathering by the five hundred prominent disciples of the Buddha occurs on the slopes of Mount Vaihāra, and in this instance the compilation of the canon is merely alluded to; a second assembly on the top of Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa immediatly follows. With such a skilful rewriting of the post-*parinirvāṇa* cycle, the teaching on the ten *bhūmi*s is established as the apex of the first *saṅgīti*. The very choice of the lead actors in this revised "Dharma chronicle" reveals the intent to create an irreproachable setting, circumventing any accusation of spuriousness. Hence, while this narrative of the council performs a comparable function to the verse narrative introducing the Chinese version of the *Ekottārika-Āgama*, its setting is much more conservative and its tone is not openly Mahāyānistic as in the *Āgama* narrative. For example, there is no Bodhisattva directly involved in the initial reception of the *Daśabhūmika*, and the five hundred Arhants—here called *vaśībhūta*s—are the primary witnesses of the sermon. While the Gṛdhrakūṭa gathering is opened to a broader audience than that at Mount Vaihāra—including, for instance, lay followers—its conception is very much hierarchized. Former brahmins and *śākya*s play the lead roles. Five obscure figures, of lesser status, are involved in the preparation of the setting for the gathering. I suggest that these figures might be gods protecting the four directions, plus the resident deity (*naivāsika*) of the Gṛdhrakūṭa, all disguised as powerful Śrāvakas. The main recipient of the *Daśabhūmika* is Mahākāśyapa. He is at the very centre of the narrative of the Buddha's funerals, from which he emerges as the unchallenged president of the Rājagṛha proceedings. A study of

his role in the *Daśabhūmika* narrative in light of that of his conversion in another section of the *Mahāvastu* (ed. Sen. III.47–56) reveals that Mahākāśyapa is constructed as the rigorous holder of pure practices and conservative values, and as the true heir of the Buddha. In the work as a whole, Mahākāśyapa radiates, perhaps more than in any other text, an "aura of legitimacy" (*dixit* Silk). This feature is essential in an "appendix" that operates a shift in soteriological perspective. The enunciator of the teaching, Mahākātyāyana, is the patron of exegetical literature in general and of the *upadeśa* in particular. This is the very scriptural genre to which the *Daśabhūmika* belongs, according to its explicit. This type of exegetical discourse consists in questions and answers developing notions alluded to formerly by the Buddha Śākyamuni. Thereby, it offers an ideal format to anchor doctrinal innovation to the past words of the Teacher. Hence, the whole sermon proceeds from a quote attributed to the Buddha. We also learn, from elsewhere in the *Daśabhūmika*, that Śākyamuni touched upon the topic of the *bodhisattvabhūmi*s in the Ṛṣivadana of Benares. This creates a link between the turning of the Wheel by the Buddha—which Mahākātyāyana, as portrayed in the *Mahāvastu*, would have witnessed—and the elucidation of his most important teaching at the Rājagṛha *saṅgīti*. Revised accounts of the two prominent episodes in the story of the Dharma are thus brought about to convey the highest possible value and authenticity to the discourse on the ten *bhūmi*s, as it is incorporated in the frame of a Vinaya collection. In this canonisation of the *Daśabhūmika*, great care is given to limit any feeling of rupture or innovation. The insertion of this text reveals that a carefully negotiated equilibrium was found amongst the Lokottaravādin circles.

Conclusion of the Study

This short concluding section presents a scenario for the formation of the *Mahāvastu*, from around the 1st century CE till the 4th/5th century CE. At an early stage, the *raison d'être* of the work must have been to serve as a narrative companion to the *Miscellanea* section of the *Vinaya* (*Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka*), and in particular to its account of the categories of ordination (*upasampadā*). The growth of the *Bahubuddhaka* genre led to an extension *ad infinitum* of his career. It is within this literature that terms for four phases in Śākyamuni's spiritual practice came into being (*caryā*). They lent themselves to being generalised, and applied to the careers of all Bodhisattvas. This paved the way for the acceptance, among the Lokottaravādins, of discourses that openly promoted perfect Awakening as a religious goal. My study of the process that led to the integration into the *Mahāvastu* of the *Daśabhūmika* and

to its recognition as the Word of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*) is an example of the subtle negotiations that accompanied the late integration of Bodhisattva scriptures into the framework of the *piṭaka*s. I therefore discuss the great potential of further systematic studies of the narrative and of the hermeneutical devices used by some *nikāya*s to expand their canonical boundaries in order to accommodate newer scriptures.

Second Part: Text

This part of the book grounds the former study by the analysis of manuscript witnesses, and by establishing the texts of the key sections discussed in the first part. It consists of three chapters: the first is a detailed introduction to the edition, the second the edition proper of the *Nidānanamaskāra*s, the *Nidānavastu*, the *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I, and the prologue to the *Daśabhūmika*, and the third an annotated French translation of these portions.

Here I only summarise the introductory chapter. It opens with a descriptive catalogue of the twenty manuscripts of the *Mahāvastu* that I could access (excluding the six manuscripts already described and collated by Senart). These twenty manuscripts are subdivided into complete (seven copies), fragmentary (three copies), and partial (ten copies), the latter category indicating manuscripts that preserve a complete segment of the *Mahāvastu* consciously extracted from the whole work. The analysis of the codicological properties of manuscript Sa and its comparison with other dated manuscripts suggests its dating to the 12th century. This examination also induces to call for caution in characterizing this witness as necessarily "Nepalese." A close scrutiny of the loose leaves labelled by Yuyama as "manuscript Sx" allows me to establish that they were copied by the same hand, and from the same antigraph as manuscript Sa, and that they were all discarded because of an accident or a mistake in the copying process.

The succinct description of other copies of the work allows me to sketch, in part 2, the transmission of the *Mahāvastu* in Nepal from the 17th century onwards. This section partly elaborates on the discussion in Tournier 2012b. The examination of the incipits and colophons of the manuscripts at hand suggests that manuscript Sa was rediscovered by the *paṇḍita* Jayamuni, who is the primary agent of the (re)introduction of the *Mahāvastu* in the Kathmandu valley. For several influential works, the copy made by Jayamuni is the earliest known paper manuscript found in Nepal. Therefore, he appears to have been situated in a node

of textual transmission. Other sources support such a scenario. Indeed, the account of the *Nepālikabhūpavaṁśāvalī* incorporating his family chronicle states that he had collected many manuscripts during his stay in India. I identify Jayamuni's mark on the transmission of the *Mahāvastu* in two elements of the paratexts. First, Jayamuni introduced in the incipit of the work a homage to the Mahābuddha. This points to a form of Śākyamuni revered in the Mahāb(a)uddhavihāra, a copy of the main temple of Bodhgayā that was built in Patan at the initiative of Jayamuni's ancestor Abhayarāja. In other manuscripts copied by his hand, Jayamuni underlined his devotion for the Mahābuddha, and all texts that mention such an epithet of Śākyamuni may be tied to the milieu of the eponymous *vihāra*. Second, in the colophon of his exemplar, Jayamuni labelled, for the first time, the *Mahāvastu* as an *avadāna*. The recent identification, by Formigatti and myself, of twelve manuscripts that appear to have been copied by Jayamuni himself suggests that he was particularly active in the transmission of *avadāna* collections, and that he played a critical role in the "edition" of texts such as the *Avadānaśataka* and *Divyāvadāna*(*mālā*). Such an undertaking informed the re-interpretation of the *Mahāvastu*, and may well have contributed to the later fortune of the work in Nepal. Therefore, there are clear religious and intellectual reasons for ascribing the two modifications in the paratexts to Jayamuni in person, and it is significant that all later copies retained these two alterations. The analysis of textual variants confirms that Jayamuni's personal copy (manuscript "Ta") is the apograph of manuscript Sa. All ensuing copies descend from Ta, since they bear the trace of the minute revision of the work—including a tendency towards sanskritisation—undertook by Jayamuni.

The last part of this introductory chapter presents the principles of the edition as well as the organisation of the apparatus. The edition naturally takes manuscript Sa as its *copy-text*, since it is the common ancestor of all later copies. It reflects as faithfully as possible its orthographical features—including, for instance, the non-systematic application of *sandhi* rules—and its punctuation. It uses two means to solve the many problematic passages of the manuscript, which was apparently not revised: the collation of a selection of later manuscripts, the most important of which is manuscript Ta, since it reflects an earlier editorial attempt at making sense of the received text; the systematic comparison of set formulas or forms in the passage being edited with parallels occurring elsewhere in manuscript Sa. Whenever the edited text diverges from that transmitted by Sa, this is indicated graphically in the body of the text itself (using italics, when a reading

of another manuscript is preferred, and underlined italics when resorting to conjectural emendation). As a rule, any minor modification in the edition of the text transmitted by Sa is recorded. Moreover, in order not to lose any information that a diplomatic edition of manuscript Sa would have provided, a layer of notes in the edition is specifically dedicated to the record of palaeographical features. Three further layers of notes are included: the second layer records the variant readings of manuscripts Ta, Sb, and of Senart's edition—including an indication of the copies on which Senart based his reading, and of whether such a reading proceeds or not from an emendation. For selected portions (namely, the *Nidānanamaskāra*s in full; *Nidānavastu*, ll. 1–6; *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^{A}, ll. 1–14; *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^{B}, ll. 1, 177–183; Prologue of the *Daśabhūmika*, l. 1) all manuscripts available to me have been collated systematically, including the minute details of punctuation and orthography, in order to constitute a thesaurus of variants that will contribute to eventually distinguishing families of manuscripts. A further layer of notes is dedicated to a detailed commentary on some of the new or problematic lemmata, to the justification of readings and emendations, and to remarks regarding the lexicography, grammar, and metre. Such materials are meant to contribute to the re-evaluation of the groundbreaking work by Edgerton on Buddhist Sanskrit. Finally, a layer of notes records verses and tropes that are paralleled elsewhere in the *Mahāvastu*. In the case of verses, a transliteration of manuscript Sa's readings of the parallels is included, since it allows us to support several emendations.

Liste des tableaux

Tableau 1.1 Listes des subdivisions Mahāsāṅghika 33

Tableau 1.2 Composantes du *Vinaya* Mahāsāṅghika et parties préservées du *Vinaya* Lokottaravādin 49

Tableau 1.3 Fragments du *Vinaya* des Mahāsāṅghika/Lokottaravādin retrouvés dans la région de Bāmiyān 51

Tableau 1.4 Vers attribués à Śākyamuni dans les *Prātimokṣasūtra* et *Dharmapada* 60

Tableau 1.5 Vers attribués à Konākamuni dans les *Prātimokṣasūtra* et *Dharmapada* 61

Tableau 1.6 Listes d'*upasampadā* dans les *Vinaya* et les commentaires en langue indienne 85

Tableau 1.7 Ordinations de disciples dans le *Mahāvastu* 94

Tableau 1.8 Table de correspondance des stances de *praṇidhāna* 109

Tableau 1.9 Table de correspondance des stances de *vyākaraṇa* 109

Tableau 2.1 Structure du *Bahubuddhakasūtra* II^{B} 130

Tableau 2.2 Sections thématiques dans le *Bahubuddhakasūtra* II^{B} et ses parallèles 132

Tableau 2.3 Table de correspondance des divers *Bahubuddhakasūtra* 142

Tableau 2.4 Listes de Buddha apparentées à celle du *Bahubuddhakasūtra* II^{B} 158

Tableau 2.5 Prédécesseurs de Dīpaṅkara dans le *Mahāvastu* 180

Tableau 2.6 Buddha et *caryā* associées dans le *Bahubuddhakasūtra* II^{B} et son parallèle gāndhārī 200

Tableau 2.7 Buddha, pratiques et phases de la carrière dans les *Nidānanamaskāra* 205

Tableau 2.8 Cycles narratifs dans le *Mahāvastu*, en regard d'autres textes 235

Tableau 3.1 Prosodie du récit introductif du *Daśabhūmika* 291

Tableau 3.2 Missions confiées au second groupe de *vaśībhūta* par Mahākāśyapa 307

Tableau 3.3 Épithètes de Mahākāśyapa dans le prologue du *Daśabhūmika* 321

Tableau 3.4 Présentation synthétique des sermons du *Dharmacakra-pravartanasūtra* 349

Table des matières

Hommages ..... **iii**

Prologue ..... **vii**

Abréviations et conventions ..... **xx**

Abréviations non bibliographiques xx

Conventions adoptées dans les citations de sources primaires xx

Conventions et abréviations adoptées pour les citations du *Mahāvastu* xxi

Sommaire xxiii

Première Partie : Étude **1**

1 Le *Mahāvastu*, texte composite du *Vinaya* Lokottaravādin **3**

1.1 Le *Mahāvastu* et les Écritures des Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin 3

1.1.1 Le *Mahāvastu* et son école d'appartenance 3

1.1.1.1 *Mahāvastu* : sens et vicissitudes d'un titre 5

1.1.1.2 Ārya-Mahāsāṅghika, Lokottaravādin, Madhyuddeśika : les déclinaisons d'une identité religieuse 15

a. Origines et répartition géographique des groupes Mahāsāṅghika et Lokottaravādin 15

b. Affinités entre Mahāsāṅghika, Lokottaravādin et Ekavyāvahārika 29

c. Madhyuddeśika et la question de la langue des Lokottaravādin 37

1.1.2 La place du *Mahāvastu* dans le canon des Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin 43

1.1.2.1 La morphologie incertaine du canon Lokottaravādin 43

1.1.2.2 *Vinaya* des Mahāsāṅghika et des Lokottaravādin : composition et problèmes d'affiliation 47

1.1.2.3 Le *Mahāvastu* et le *Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka* 66

1.1.2.4 Les *Āgama* Mahāsāṅghika et Lokottaravādin 70

1.2 Prologues et appendices : trois étapes dans la composition de la première partie du *Mahāvastu* 81

1.2.1 Le *Nidānavastu*, les catégories d'*upasampadā* et l'ancienne carrière du Bodhisattva 82

1.2.1.1 L'*upasampadā* comme ancien principe organisateur du texte 82

a. Retour sur les quatre types d'*upasampadā* 82

b. De l'auto-ordination 88

1.2.1.2 La carrière du Bodhisattva d'après les *Nidānavastugāthā* et l'état ancien du texte 101

1.2.2 Les *Nidānanamaskāra* et l'élargissement de la première partie du *Mahāvastu* 104

1.2.2.1 Les *caryā* et l'organisation des récits relatifs à la carrière du Bodhisattva sous ses lointains prédécesseurs 104

1.2.2.2 Renvois internes des *Nidānanamaskāra* et matériaux partagés 106

1.2.3 Le *Daśabhūmika*, le second *Avalokitasūtra* et la clôture de la compilation du *Mahāvastu* 110

1.2.3.1 *parisara*, *parivāra* : deux « appendices » au *Mahāvastu* 110

1.2.3.2 Éléments tardifs dans le *Daśabhūmika* et datation de la clôture relative de la composition du *Mahāvastu* 114

2 Cadres et jalons de la carrière du *bodhisattva* 125

2.1 La mise en place des lignages de *buddha* dans le *Mahāvastu* 125

2.1.1 Les *buddha* du passé et le genre scripturaire des *Bahubuddhakasūtra* 125

2.1.1.1 L'ancien *Bahubuddhakasūtra* : la section II^{B} et ses parallèles gāndhārī et chinois 129

2.1.1.2 Le *Bahubuddhakasūtra* II^{A} et son parallèle 136

2.1.1.3 Le *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^{B}, le *Fo benxing ji jing* et le *Buddhapiṭaka* 138

2.1.1.4 L'unique *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^{A} 140

2.1.2 Lignées de Buddha inaugurées par Dīpaṅkara 143

2.1.2.1 La succession des Buddha dans la première partie du *Mahāvastu* 144

2.1.2.2 Un lignage d'importance : quinze à dix-sept Buddha, de Dīpaṅkara à Maitreya 156

2.1.2.3 La course à l'Éveil de Śākyamuni et Maitreya sous leurs prédécesseurs 169

2.1.3 Lignages élargis de *buddha* du passé et redéfinition de la carrière du Bodhisattva 174

2.1.3.1 Les listes des *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^{A}, I^{B} et II^{A} 179

2.1.3.2 Atīta-Śākyamuni et l'« aspiration-racine » 182

2.1.3.3 La quête de l'Éveil dans le *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^{B} 191

2.2 La fixation des étapes de la carrière du *bodhisattva* 195

2.2.1 Systèmes des *caryā* dans le *Mahāvastu* 195

2.2.1.1 L'apparition des quatre *caryā* comme catégorie classificatoire des Buddha 196

2.2.1.2 Définitions des *caryā* dans les *Nidānanamaskāra* et le *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I[A] ... 201
a. *prakṛticaryā* ... 206
b. *praṇidhānacaryā* et *anulomacaryā* ... 208
c. *vivartanacaryā*/*avivartanacaryā* : la quatrième *caryā* ... 210

2.2.2 *caryā* et *bhūmi* ... 219

2.3 Cosmologie, lignages de *buddha* et généalogie royale ... 225
2.3.1 Comment la rétrospective de la carrière du Bodhisattva s'appuie sur un cycle cosmologique ... 225
2.3.2 Lignages de *buddha* et généalogie royale ... 233
2.3.2.1 La première partie du *Mahāvastu* et le *Rājavaṁśa* ... 233
2.3.2.2 L'œuvre d'un *buddha* (*buddhakārya*) et la perpétuation d'une dynastie ... 239

3 Bodhisattvayāna et Écritures Lokottaravādin : le cas du *Daśabhūmika* ... 255
3.1 Le *Mahāvastu* et les Écritures du Bodhisattvayāna ... 255
3.1.1 Les canons élargis des écoles Mahāsāṅghika ... 255
3.1.2 Le *Mahāvastu* et l'herméneutique mahāyāniste ... 260
3.1.3 De quelques fragments du Bodhisattvayāna dans les Écritures Mahāsāṅghika ... 270
3.1.3.1 *Prajñāpāramitāsūtra* ... 270
3.1.3.2 Le second *Avalokitasūtra* ... 272
3.1.3.3 Citations du *Lokānuvartanāsūtra* ... 278

3.1.4 L'aspiration à l'Éveil et les compilateurs du *Daśabhūmika* ... 286

3.2 L'enseignement des dix *bhūmi* et le premier concile ... 289
3.2.1 Une assemblée de la Loi couronnée par une autre ... 291
3.2.1.1 Le concile du mont Vaihāra ... 293
3.2.1.2 La seconde réunion sur le Gṛdhrakūṭa ... 302

3.2.2 Mahākāśyapa et Mahākātyāyana, récipiendaire et enseignant du *Daśabhūmika* ... 316
3.2.2.1 Le récipiendaire du traité des dix *bhūmi* : Mahākāśyapa, orthodoxe patriarche ... 317
a. L'épithète *dhutadharmadhara* ... 319
b. Des observances rigoureuses à l'héritage du Dharma ... 323
c. Kāśyapa, Ānanda et la pérennité du Saṅgha ... 333
d. Par-delà l'*arhattva* ... 335

3.2.2.2 Mahākātyāyana, le genre scripturaire de l'*upadeśa* et le cycle de Bénarès ... 338
a. Kātyāyana l'exégète ... 338
b. Le *Daśabhūmika* et le cycle du Ṛṣivadana ... 344

Conclusion de l'étude ... **353**

Seconde partie : Texte ... **357**
1 Introduction à l'édition ... **359**
1.1 Description des manuscrits ... 359
1.1.1 Manuscrits complets ... 360
1.1.2 Manuscrits fragmentaires ... 372
1.1.3 Manuscrits partiels ... 374
1.1.4 Manuscrits non consultés ... 381

1.2 Esquisse de la transmission du *Mahāvastu* au Népal ... 382
1.2.1 L'introduction et la circulation du manuscrit Sa à Patan ... 382
1.2.2 Une famille de manuscrits descendant de Sa et dépendant de Ta ... 389

1.3 Présentation de l'édition ... 393
1.3.1 Principes éditoriaux ... 393
1.3.2 Corps du texte et apparat ... 396
1.3.3 Symboles employés ... 402
1.3.3.1 Dans le corps de l'édition ... 402
1.3.3.2 Dans l'apparat ... 402

2 Édition ... **405**
2.1 Prologues ... 405
2.1.1 *Nidānanamaskāra* ... 405
2.1.2 *Nidānavastu* ... 411

2.2 *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I ... 419
2.2.1 *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^{A} ... 419
2.2.2 *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^{B} ... 437

2.3 Prologue du *Daśabhūmika* ... 451

3 Traduction ... **475**
3.1 Prologues ... 475
3.1.1 *Nidānanamaskāra* ... 475
3.1.2 *Nidānavastu* ... 477

3.2 *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I 480
3.2.1 *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^A 480
3.2.2 *Bahubuddhakasūtra* I^B 487

3.3 Prologue du *Daśabhūmika* 494

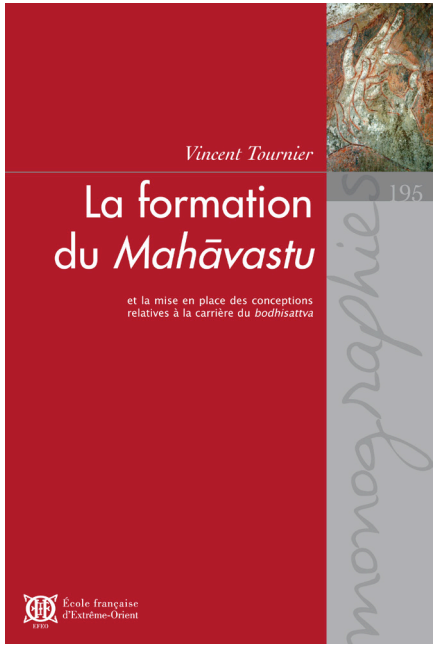
Bibliographie **505**
Abréviations 505
Dictionnaires et ouvrages de références 506
Sources primaires 508
Littérature secondaire 515

Index général **581**

Abstract **609**

La formation du *Mahāvastu*

et la mise en place des conceptions relatives à la carrière du *bodhisattva*



Les spéculations relatives aux *buddha* et aux *bodhisattva* s'épanouissent avec un remarquable dynamisme entre le Ier s. et le VIe s. de notre ère. Cette période dite « moyenne » ou intermédiaire du bouddhisme indien voit notamment l'affirmation progressive d'un *nouveau courant*, le Bodhisattvayāna, promouvant la voie du parfait Éveil. Le présent ouvrage retrace ces développements d'ordre « bouddhologique » au sein des milieux Mahāsāṅghika-Lokottaravādin, solidement implantés au Magadha et dans le nord-ouest de l'Inde. L'analyse historique se fonde sur une pratique philologique et consiste en l'étude de la formation et des vicissitudes du *Mahāvastu*, chapitre important de la « Corbeille de la Règle monastique » (*Vinayapiṭaka*) de cette école. L'examen de la formation de cette œuvre vaste et composite, retraçant la geste au long cours du Buddha « historique » Śākyamuni, passe nécessairement par l'examen de la tradition manuscrite et, en particulier, de l'unique exemplaire sur ôles du *Mahāvastu*, datant du XIIe s. L'étude qui est au cœur de cet ouvrage s'adosse ainsi à la nouvelle édition annotée et à la traduction française de segments clés de l'œuvre. L'examen détaillé de ces sections textuelles fournit un point d'observation privilégié des pratiques éditoriales et discursives, mais aussi des doctrines ayant caractérisé l'influente école Mahāsāṅghika. Cet ouvrage ambitionne donc de participer au renouvellement de l'étude des ordres monastiques (*nikāya*), des corpus canoniques et de la sotériologie du bouddhisme indien.

Vincent Tournier est historien du bouddhisme indien, formé à l'université de Strasbourg puis à la Ve section de l'École pratique des hautes études, où il obtint son doctorat en 2012. Après des recherches post-doctorales à l'université de Leyde, il a rejoint la School of Oriental and African Studies (Londres) en septembre 2013, en tant que Seiyu Kiriyama Lecturer in Buddhist Studies et directeur du SOAS Centre of Buddhist Studies.

Bon de commande/Order Form

Monographies 195

Prix 45 €
xxiv + 632 pages
240 x 160 mm

ISBN 978-2-85539-133-5
2017

☐ Cheque
☐ Credit Card

☐ Shipping

LA FORMATION DU MAHĀVASTU
et la mise en place des conceptions relatives à la carrière du bodhisattva

Vincent Tournier

Name .....
Address .....
City .....
State .....
Postal Code .....
Country .....

Enclosed is a :
☐ Cheque (payable to EFEO)
☐ Money order charge to :
  ☐ Master Card
  ☐ Visa Card

Card Number
Exp. Date
Security code

Signature

45 € + shipping costs:
☐ France: 10,06 €
☐ Europe: 3,40 €
☐ Rest of the world: 5,67 €

EFEO-Diffusion :
22 avenue du Président Wilson
75116 Paris
France
Efeo-diffusion@efeo.net
Tél +33(0)1 53 70 18 37
Fax +33(0)1 53 70 18 38

EFEO
École française d'Extrême-Orient

Catalogue en ligne sur : www.efeo.fr