

The Robes of a *Bhikkhunī*

Oskar Von HINÜBER
& ANĀLAYO

Introduction

Comparable in significance to the revival of lay meditation in the 20th century, the revival of *bhikkhunī* ordination is perhaps the most remarkable development in the Theravāda tradition of the 21st century.¹ Attempts in this respect reach back far into the past, but it seems mainly since an ordination carried out in 1998 that the revival has been able to win wide-spread support and by now *bhikkhunī* establishments are flourishing in Sri Lanka and increasingly also in Thailand and in the West, etc. Opposition continues based on the apprehension that such revival does not concord with the legal parameters of the Theravāda *Vinaya*, in fact the success of the 1998 ordination is in great part due to a conscious effort made to carry out the ordinations in a way as much as possible geared to allay such apprehensions.

Although the Dharmaguptaka lineage of *bhikṣuṇīs* has its starting point, in as much as dual ordination is concerned, in a transmission of the ordination lineage by Sinhalese *bhikkhunīs* in the 5th century,² a simple return of this lineage to Sri Lanka is not as unproblematic as this might seem at first sight. It is anyway unclear if that original transmission would have satisfied Theravāda legal requirements, since in China of the 5th century there would not have been a quorum of Theravāda *bhikkhus* to collaborate in the ordinations.³ But whatever happened at that time in the past, at present the Dharmaguptaka *bhikṣuṇīs* indubitably rely on a legal code that is in several respect different from the Theravāda *Vinaya*. The rules are not the same, stipulations for creating the *sīmā* required for holding an ordination differ, the language to be used for ecclesiastical acts is Chinese rather than Pāli, etc. This conflicts in several ways with what in traditional Theravāda monastic circles are considered key elements of a valid ordination.

However, the Pāli *Vinaya* also contains a stipulation that one closer inspection does enable the revival of an extinct *bhikkhunī* order through ordination conferred by *bhikkhus* alone when no order of *bhikkhunīs* is in existence.⁴ Since the Theravāda *bhikkhunī* ordination lineage clearly

has died out, this option falls into place to enable its revival. This *Vinaya* passage endows the recent revival with a firm basis for arguing its legal validity, which together with the perhaps even more important support by the laity make it safe to state, at present, that the order of *bhikkhunīs* in the Theravāda tradition has been revived.⁵

With the first and probably more formidable hurdle overcome, the new order of *bhikkhunīs* still has many challenges to face. One of these is the lack of senior teachers and guides. In the case the Dharmaguptaka *bhikṣuṇīs*, the fact that they adhere to a different *Vinaya*, and perhaps more importantly to different cultural standards, limits what they can offer in terms of guidance. Some Theravāda *bhikkhus* have been taking remarkable steps to facilitate and support what they perceive as a significant strengthening of the *Sāsana*, the Buddha's dispensation. This perception has its grounding in the *Sāsana* being, according to the canonical sources, from the outset conceived of as comprising four assemblies: *bhikkhus*, *bhikkhunīs*, male lay followers and female lay followers. Hence the revival of order of *bhikkhunīs* can be seen to restore the foundation for the flourishing of the four assemblies of the Buddha's dispensation in modern days.

One example for the difficulties faced by the new *bhikkhunīs* are the nature of their robes. Here the Dharmaguptaka *bhikṣuṇīs* are not able to offer help, since their style of clothing differs substantially from the robes worn by monastics in the Theravāda tradition. In fact their different style of robes in a way epitomizes the reservations Theravāda traditionalists express in regard to their legal status from the viewpoint of the Theravāda *Vinaya*, given that according to Theravāda monastic law and protocol the wearing of trousers is a *faux pas*. Nor are Theravāda *bhikkhus* able to give guidance on those robes that according to the Pāli *Vinaya* are specific for *bhikkhunīs*. In view of the absence of a living tradition and its material culture, able to provide a model for how these robes specific to *bhikkhunīs* should be made and employed, academic research can offer additional information, enabling the new *bhikkhunīs* to take informed decisions in this respect.

In awareness of this potential, in the remainder of this article is based on a translation by *bhikkhu* Anālayo of a paper by Professor Oskar von Hinüber, originally published in German in 1975 under the title "Kulturgeschichtliches aus dem Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya: die saṃkākṣikā", in which he discusses the robes of a *bhikkhunī*.⁶ Based on the draft

translation, the author has kindly revised the article, such that it better reflects his present understanding.

A Contribution to Indian Cultural History from the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya: The saṃkakṣikā*

[133] A Buddhist nun will be given five robes together with the alms bowl, when she is admitted to the Order: *ayan te patto ayaṃ saṃghāṭī ayaṃ uttarāsaṅgo ayaṃ antaravāsako idaṃ saṃkakchikaṃ ayaṃ udakasāṭikā* (Vin II 272,10-12)⁷ “This is a bowl for you, this is an outer cloak, this is an upper robe, this is an inner robe, this is a vest (*saṃkakchika*), this is a bathing-cloth” (I. B. Horner). The corresponding formula in the *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācānā* is: ... *ahaṃ evannāmikā idaṃ cīvaraṃ saṃghāṭim adhiṭṭhāmi ... evaṃ uttarāsaṅgam antarvāsaḥ kusūlakaṃ saṃkakṣikā cādhiṭṭhātavyā* (15a1f.).⁸ “I, NN, take possession of this robe, a *saṃghāṭī* ... similarly one should take possession of the *uttarāsaṅga*, *antarvāsa*, *kusūlaka* and *saṃkakṣikā*” .

Whereas the three robes *saṃghāṭī*, *antarvāsa* and *uttarāsaṅga* are worn by monks and nuns,⁹ the *saṃkakchika* and the *udakasāṭikā* are prescribed for nuns only. It is clear from the regulations about the *udakasāṭikā* that this is a garment for bathing,¹⁰ while the problem remains to determine the meaning of *saṃkakchika* / *saṃkakṣikā*. Dictionaries and translations list a variety of meanings: “belt, waistcloth,”¹¹ “vest,”¹² “undershirt, shift.”¹³

[134] Starting from the Vinaya-Vibhaṅga of the Pāli canon *saṃkakchikan nāma adhakkhakaṃ ubbhanābhi tassa paṭicchadanatthāya* (Vin IV 345,15f.) “vest means: from below the collar-bone to above the navel, for the sake of covering this” (I. B. Horner), and drawing on Yī-jīng,¹⁴ who discusses the *saṃkakṣikā*, M. E. Lulius van Goor concluded that the *saṃkakchika* should be a robe that covers the upper body and is fastened below the armpit.¹⁵

From Yī-jīng’s description of various kinds of garments as *saṃkakṣikā*, and from the Tibetan and Chinese translations of the Mahāvīyutpatti no. 8936 by *riul-gzan* “sweating cloth,”¹⁶ and 掩腋衣¹⁷ “cloth that covers the armpits” it is clear that already by the 7th or 8th centuries the exact meaning of this word was no longer known.

Since the Sanskrit original of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* (*Bhikṣuṇī-Vin*) has become available in the edition by G. Roth,¹⁸ it is easier to understand

which purpose the *saṃkakṣikā* served originally. At the same time it is even possible to get an idea of what a *saṃkakṣikā* looks like from ancient Indian sculptures and paintings.

In contrast to the Pāli Vinaya, which prescribes in the nuns' Pācittiya XCI only that a nun should not enter a village without a *saṃkacchika* (Vin IV 345,12**f.), there is an independent *saṃkakṣikāpratisaṃyuktaṃ* in the Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka of the Mahāsāṃghikalokottaravādin:

Bhagavān Śrāvastīyam viharati. aparā dāni bhikṣuṇī prāsādikā darśanīyā. tāye dāni pīnehi stanehi gacchantīya cīvaram utkṣipīyati. sā dāni janena uccagghīyati. etaṃ prakaraṇaṃ bhikṣuṇīhi śrutaṃ. peyālaṃ. yāvad āma bhagavan. bhagavān āha tena hi saṃkakṣikā nāma kartavyā. saṃkakṣikāṃ prāvarantīya tathā prāvarantavyaṃ yathā dāni stanā pīditā bhavanti (Bhikṣuṇī-Vin 306,3-8 = § 263).¹⁹

^[135] “The Blessed One was dwelling in Śrāvastī. There was a pleasing and beautiful nun. When she was walking, her robes were thrown up by her heavy breasts. Therefore people were jeering at her. The nuns heard about this matter ... and so on²⁰ up to ... ‘Yes, Blessed one.’ The Blessed One said: ‘For this reason a *saṃkakṣikā* must be made. When (a nun) wears a *saṃkakṣikā*, it should be worn in such a way that the breasts are being pressed.’”

A second paragraph, the *gaṇḍapratichādanapratisaṃyuktaṃ*, sheds some more light on the *saṃkakṣikā*:

Bhagavān Śrāvastīyam viharati. Sthūlanandā nāma bhikṣuṇī vihārasyākāśatalake ekasaṃkakṣikāya caṃkramati. tāye dāni stanā vaḍḍās caṃkramantīya utpatanti. janena uccagghāyanti²¹ paśyatha bhaṇe śramaṇikā alābutumbakena viya nadīm taratīti. etaṃ prakaraṇaṃ bhikṣuṇīhi śrutaṃ. peyālaṃ. yāvad bhagavān āha. tena hi gaṇḍapratichādanā nāma kartavyaṃ. gaṇḍapratichādanapratisaṃyuktaṃ. saṃkakṣikāye upari [pa]ḷṭo²² osārayitavyo yathā gaṇḍā pratichannā bhaveṃsuḥ. sā eṣā bhikṣuṇī gaṇḍapratichādanaṃ paṭaṃ na prāvarati vinayātikramam āsādayati (Bhikṣuṇī-Vin 313,2-10 = § 277).

“The Blessed One was dwelling in Śrāvastī. The nun called Sthūlanandā was walking up and down on the roof terrace of the monastery (wearing) only a *saṃkakṣikā*. While she was walking up and down, her heavy breasts heaved. People were jeering at her: ‘Look, friends, the lady ascetic seems to cross a

river with a bottle-gourd or *tumbaka*-gourd!’²³ The nuns heard about this matter ... and so on up to ... The Blessed One said: ‘For this reason a covering of the curvature (of the bosom) must be made. Section on covering the curvature (of the bosom). A cloth should be pulled down above the *saṃkakṣikā* so that the curvature is covered. If a nun does not wear the cloth that covers the curvature, she incurs a breach of the *vinaya*-rule.’”

This rule shows that the *saṃkakṣikā* does not cover the breasts completely, but serves only to provide some support: *stanā pīḍitā* ^[136] *bhavanti*.²⁴ A piece of cloth, which corresponds exactly to the description of the *saṃkakṣikā*, is worn by a woman in sculptures from Ajañṭā, see image 1.²⁵



Here, the *stanapīḍana* is easily visible. Moreover, part of the breasts remains uncovered by this narrow ribbon. For this reason an additional piece of cloth was prescribed to fully cover the breasts. The narrative introducing this rule describes Sthūlanandā as particularly bosomy.²⁶

The Ajañṭā sculptures of women wearing a breast-ribbon immediately bring to one’s mind the usual representation of the goddess Lakṣmī, who also wears a piece of clothing corresponding to a *saṃkakṣikā*. Texts on Vaiṣṇava iconography call this ribbon *kañcuka*:²⁷ *stanau samunnatau kāryau kañcukenāvaguṇṭhitau* (*Hayaśīrśasamhitā*, *Ādikāṇḍa* 18.11) “the breasts should be made high and covered with a *kañcuka* (breast-

ribbon)” and (*vīralakṣmīṃ*) ... °ghanastanīṃ / *vicitrakañcukēnādhyāṃ* (*Īśvarasamhitā*, extended version, 7.55 f.) “Vīralakṣmī with firm breasts, covered with a beautiful breast-ribbon.”

As the Sanskrit and Prakrit dictionaries (PW, pw, Monier-Williams, Apte-Gode, Sheth)²⁸ do not list the meaning “breast-ribbon” for *kañcuka*, it may be useful to refer to two additional examples where *kañcuka* may mean “breasts-ribbon” without aiming at any comprehensive investigation into this term.²⁹ ^[137]

*ajjāi nīla-kañcua-bhari-uvvariaṃ vihāi thaṇavaṭṭaṃ
jala-bharia-jalahar'-aṃtara-dar'-uggaṃ caṇḍa-viṇvaṃ va
(Hāla, Sattasai 395 = Vajjālagga 308)³⁰
[āryāyā nīlakañcukabhṛtorvaritaṃ vibhāti stanaprṣṭhaṃ
jalabhṛtajaladharāntaradarodgataṃ candrabhiṃam iva]*

“The curvature of the breasts of the girl, which is covered by a dark breast-ribbon (and yet) uncovered³¹ shines like the disc of the moon that emerges from behind the clouds filled with water (i. e. dark clouds).”³²

The clothes worn by women in summer are described as follows in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta*:³³

sadyaścamaṇapakakañcukā kucataṭī vaikakṣake mallikāḥ ...(1265 = 2.790)

“... when the breasts (are covered) by a breast-ribbon on which daily *campaka*-flowers (are fastened), when on the *vaikakṣaka* there are *mallikā*-flowers ...”

The use of *kucataṭī* suggests the meaning “breast-ribbon” rather than “blouse”, which seems less likely.³⁴

The *vaikakṣaka* that is mentioned here has been dealt with by C. Sivaramamurti,³⁵ who refers to Śyāmilakaś *Pādatāḍitaka* (Vers 51):³⁶ *viracitakucabhārā haimavaikakṣyakena* “her full breasts were provided with a *vaikakṣyaka*.” A *vaikakṣ(y)a(ka)* is to be worn across the breasts according to the concurring evidence gathered from ancient Indian images and Kośas: *vaikakṣakaṃ tu tat / yat tiryak kṣiptam urasi*, Amarakośa 2.6.3.38 = 2.6.136.³⁷ Thus the concepts *kañcuka* : *vaikakṣ(y)aka* correspond perhaps to the pair *saṃkakṣikā* : *gaṇḍapratichhādāna* of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda tradition. However, a *gaṇḍapratichhādāna paṭa* might also look differently as perhaps indicated by a piece of

clothing like the one worn by the river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā ^[138] from Ahicchatra.³⁸



According to these investigations into texts and images the *saṃkakkṣikā* is a comparatively narrow ribbon. This, however, is contradicted by Pācittika LXXIV of the *Bhikṣuṇī-Vin*, which gives the size of the *saṃkakkṣikā* as four *sugata*-spans in length and two *sugata*-spans in width (*Bhikṣuṇī-Vin* 203,31 = § 187). The same size is also given for both, *antarvāsa* (*Bhikṣuṇī-Vin* 202,17 = § 186) and (*u*)*dakaśātikā* (*Bhikṣuṇī-Vin* 211,13 = § 189. Since according to the Pāli Vinaya the *kaṇḍupaṭicchādī* also measures two by four *sugata*-spans and covers the body *adhonābhi ubbhajānumaṇḍalaṃ* (*Vin* IV 172,15) “from below the navel to above the knee” (I. B. Horner), this size must be too large for the original *saṃkakkṣikā*, which, in addition, needs the *gaṇḍapratichchādana* to cover the breasts. According to a paragraph from the Pāli *Vinaya* quoted above (*Vin* IV 345,15f.) the *saṃkakkhika* also covers the body from the collarbone to the navel, which would also make a *gaṇḍapratichchādana*, an item consequently not mentioned in the Pāli Vinaya, superfluous. Taking moreover into account Yī-jīng’s translation (p. 55) “side-covering cloth” the following development suggests itself:

Originally, there were two pieces of clothing as described in the *Bhikṣuṇīprakīrṇaka*. Using the narrow *saṃkakṣikā*, however, became obsolete in course of time while, simultaneously, this term could be used for a larger garment now, and, as it were, replace *gaṇḍapratichhādana paṭa*.³⁹ Already at the time of the *Vibhaṅga*-commentary in the Pāli *Vinaya*, it seems, *saṃkacchika* had semantically replaced *gaṇḍapratichhādana*. Moreover, it was still possible and felt necessary to add a *Pācittika* rule, known only to the *Mahāsāṃghika*-*Lokottaravāda Vinaya*, concerning the larger *saṃkakṣikā* following the model of the rules for *antarvāsa* and (*u*)*dakaśāṭikā*. Therefore, the development leading finally towards *saṃkakkhika* / *saṃkakṣikā* superseding *gaṇḍapratichhādana* seems to have been a fairly early one.

As, moreover, shown by the *Jātaka* verse *suvaṇṇasaṃkacchadharā ... khattiyakaññā* (Ja V 96,11*) “the Kṣatriya girls wearing golden breast-ribbons”⁴⁰ the only reference of the word outside the *Vinaya*, *saṃkaccha* / *saṃkacchika* is part of the oldest eastern vocabulary embedded in Buddhist texts, and as such close to the Vedic language in particular to the family of words such as Vedic *apikakṣa* “side of the chest”, *upakakṣa* “reaching up to the armpit” and *nikakṣa* “(under the?) armpit.”⁴¹ In Sanskrit, only *vaikakṣa(ka)* < Vedic **vikakṣa(ka)* survives. In the language of the Veda **vi-kakṣa* and **saṃkakṣa* would have been a pair of opposites “keeping the chest wide apart” and “pressing the chest close together” which could be taken as the starting point of a development ending up in Sanskrit *vaikakṣa(ka)* “(loose) garment” in contrast to Pāli / BHS *saṃkacchika* / *saṃkakṣikā* “(closely fitting) garment” once both words are translated following their derivation rather than their actual very specialized usage. The word *saṃkakṣikā* shared the fate of other Vedic formations, on the basis of *kakṣa* “armpit” became obsolete and was replaced in Sanskrit by *kañcuka* as the references discussed above indicate. Only the secondary derivation *vaikakṣika* from Vedic **vikakṣa* survived in Sanskrit without, however, any surviving trace of a Vedic precursor.⁴²

Notes

1. A more detailed exploration of this similarity can be found in Anālayo: “The Four Assemblies and Theravāda Buddhism”, *The Mahā Bodhi*, vol. 122, 2015, pp. 13–21.
2. On the transmission of the ordination lineage to China cf. Guang Xing: “Maritime Transmission of the Monastic Order of Nuns to China”, in *The Emergence and Heritage of Asian Women Intellectuals*, S. Amatayakul (ed.), pp. 111–120, Chulalongkorn University, 2013.
3. Anālayo: “Bhikṣuṇī Ordination”, in: *Oxford Handbook of Buddhist Ethics*, D. Cozort and J.M. Shields (ed.), forthcoming.
4. Anālayo: “The Legality of Bhikkhunī Ordination”, *Journal of Buddhist Ethics, Special 20th Anniversary Issue*, D. Keown and C. Prebish (ed.), vol. 20, 2013, pp. 310–333; “On the Bhikkhunī Ordination Controversy”, *Sri Lanka International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 3, 2014, pp. 1–20; “The Cullavagga on Bhikkhunī Ordination”, *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, vol. 22, 2015, pp. 401–448; and “Theravāda Vinaya and bhikkhunī Ordination”, in: *Vinaya Texts and Practices Across Asia*, J. Chen, C. Liu, S. Andrews (ed.). Bochum: Projektverlag, 2016 (forthcoming).
5. On lay support for both ten precept nuns and *bhikkhunīs* cf., e.g., Mrozik, Susanne: “‘We Love Our Nuns’: Affective Dimensions of the Sri Lankan Bhikkhunī Revival”, *Journal of Buddhist Ethics*, vol. 21, 2014, pp. 57–95.
6. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. 125, 1975, pp. 133–139 (reprinted in *Kleine Schriften Teil II*, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009, pp. 805–813); the original pagination is indicated in subscript and with square brackets. For other publications on the robes of a *bhikkhunī* cf. the survey in Dhammadinnā: “The Funeral of Mahāprajāpatī Gautamī and Her Followers in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya”, *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, vol. 17, 2016, p. 40 note 29.
7. The abbreviations used are those of Helmer Smith’s Epilegomena to V. Trenckner - Dines Andersen: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* (CPD), vol. I Copenhagen 1924–1948 supplemented and updated in vol. III 2011, pp. xv–xxviii.
8. Text as established in the re-edition by Michael Schmidt: “Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācānā. Die Handschrift Sansk. c.25(R) der Bodleian Library, in: *Studien zur Indologie und Buddhismuskunde. Festgabe ... für Heinz Bechert*. Indica et Tibetica 22. Bonn 1993, pp. 239–288; first edition by C. M. Ridding and L. de La Vallé Poussin: “A Fragment of the Sanskrit-Vinaya: Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācānā”, BSOS vol. 1, 1917/1920, p. 123–143, cf. Michael Schmidt: “Zur Schulzugehörigkeit einer nepalesischen Handschrift der Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācānā”, in: *Untersuchungen zur Buddhistischen Literatur* bearbeitet von Frank Bandurski et alii. SWTF Beiheft 5. Göttingen 1994 [rev.: K. R. Norman, IJ 40. 1997, pp. 157–161; O. v. Hinüber, ZDMG 147. 1997, p. 256], pp. 155–164 and Jin-il Chung: “‘Bhikṣuṇī-Karmavācānā’ of the Mūlasarvāstivādins”, in: *Facets of Indian Culture. Gustav Roth Felicitation Volume Published on the Occasion of his 82nd Birthday*. Patna 1998, pp. 420–423.
9. The way in which the robes should be worn is described by I. B. Horner: *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya-Piṭaka)*, vol. 2, London 1957, p. 1 note 2. – The exact meaning of *kusūlaka* is not clear.
10. *Pācūtiya* XXI, XXII (Vin IV 278f.) forbids nuns to bathe naked.
11. *The Pāli Text Society’s Pāli-English Dictionary* (PED), ed. by T. W. Rhys Davids and W. Stede, London 1921–1925 (reprint 2015) s.v. *saṅkacchika*, with the remark on Vin IV 345,15f. “The cty expln is incorrect.”
12. T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg: *Vinaya-Texts*, vol. 3 (Sacred Books of the East 20), London 1885 (repr. Delhi 1965), p. 351; BD V, p. 376 (quoted above) and CPD s. v. *asaṅkacchika*.
13. F. Edgerton: *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* (BHSD), New Haven 1953 s. v. *saṅkacchikā*, who rightly rejects the meaning “belt, waistcloth” given in the PED.
14. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago* trsl. by J. Takakusu. London 1896, p. 78 f.

15. *De Buddhistische Non. Geschetst naar gegevens der Pāli-Literatur*. Leiden 1915, p. 34f. In the “Aanteekeningen”, p. 229, van Goor describes the clothing of a little wooden statue preserved in the “Ethnographisch Museum”, Leiden, that represents a nun from Burma, who wears a “*saṃkacchikā*” that is a shirt with long sleeves.
16. Following BHSD s.v. *saṃkacchikā*; H. A. Jäschke: *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London 1881 (repr. 1972), s. v. *gzan* “napkin (?)”.
17. The Chinese Prātimokṣasūtra for nuns has 祇支 mentioned by Yi-jing (p. 79) as an abbreviation, cf. E. Waldschmidt: *Bruchstücke des Bhikṣuṇī-Prātimokṣa der Sarvāstivādins* (Königlich Preußische Turfan Expeditionen. Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte Heft III). Leipzig 1926, p. 157 = repr. (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie Band 2). Wiesbaden 1979, p. 161.
18. *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*. (Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series vol. XII), Patna 1970 [rev: J. Brough, BSOAS 36. 1973, pp. 675–677; J. W. de Jong, in: *Buddhist Studies in Honour of I. B. Horner*. Dordrecht 1974, pp. 63–70; O. v. Hinüber, OLZ 72. 1977, columns 526–529], ²2005. The second edition is quoted here by page, line and paragraph including the corrections collected in the Addenda.
19. On the construction of this sentence cf. O. v. Hinüber: *Kasussyntax des Pāli, besonders des Vinaya-Piṭaka* (MSS Beihefte NF 2) München 1968, § 4 [rev.: J. W. de Jong, IJ15. 1973, pp. 64–66; S. Kratsch, OLZ 73. 1978, columns 190f.].
20. A text roughly corresponding to this abbreviation is given in full at Bhikṣuṇī-Vin 302,7 f. = § 255.
21. The manuscript reads thus against *uccagghīyati* (Bhikṣuṇī-Vin 297,7 = § 263), cf. also *uccagghayikā*, (Bhikṣuṇī-Vin 297,7 [uddāna]). When the references in BHSD s. v. *uccagghati* are compared, *uccagghāyati* is a mistake for *uccagghīyati*, cf. also CPD s.v. *ujjagghati* and ZDMG 119. 1969, p. 157. The variation between *ucc-* and *ujj-* is difficult to explain, cf. M. Mayrhofer in: *Studia Indologica. Festschrift für W. Kirfel*. Bonn 1955, p. 230 together with M. Mayrhofer, EWA-2 s.v. *jaky*. The suggested correction of the text of Bhikṣuṇī-Vin is accepted by E. Nolot: *Règles de discipline des nonnes bouddhistes. Le Bhikṣuṇīvinaya de l'école Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin* (Collège de France. Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Fascicule 60) Paris 1991, p. 353, note 49 [rev.: P.-S. Filliozat, BEFEO 79. 1992, pp. 291f.; Ch. Chojnacki, BSOAS 56. 1993, pp. 154f.; J. W. de Jong, IJ 37. 1994, pp. 375–378; G. Roth, OLZ 90. 1995, columns 207–215].
22. The reading *uparīto* in the manuscript should be corrected to *uparī[pa]ṭo* following E. Nolot: *Règles*, as preceding note, p. 353, note 50, but segmented as *uparī [pa]ṭo* with *uparī* as a postposition.
23. The bottle-gourd (*alābu*) is also mentioned in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra in corresponding contexts (Arthaśāstra 4.3.8; 10.2.14), cf. Dipak Bhattacharya: “The Vedic *ḍṛti* as a skin float: AVP 2.19”, JRAS 18. 2008, pp. 311–326, particularly § 2e *Inflated ḍṛtis as Floats*, pp. 321–324. – Women crossing a river with a similar swimming gear are shown in a miniature painted in 1790 and now in the Ram Gopal collection: W. G. Archer: *Garhwal Painting*. London 1954, plate 7: “... empty, upturned pitchers plugged with straw – a device still used in Northern India.”
24. The wrong segmentation in *stanā apīḍitā* at Bhikṣuṇī-Vin, 306 = § 263 note 4 is corrected in the Addenda 2 of the second edition, p. VIII in a slightly puzzling way “*stanā pīḍitā. stanā-āpīḍitā*” (sic) obviously following the suggestion made in the original version of this paper p. 136, line 1.
25. H. Mode: *Die Frau in der indischen Kunst*. Wien-München 1970, plate 13. A second sculpture showing Mārā's attack including a woman wearing a *saṃkacchikā* is found in cave 26 at Ajaṅṭā: H. Härtel and J. Auboyer: *Indien und Südostasien* [Propyläen Kunstgeschichte Band 16]. Berlin 1971, plate 51. – Similar garments are found also in Ajaṅṭā paintings: J. B. Bhushan: *The Costumes and Textiles of India*. Bombay 1958, plate 30, nos. 3 and 5, cf. also D. Schlingloff: *Ajanta. Handbuch der Malereien. I Erzählende Wandmalereien*, vol. II Supplement. Wiesbaden 2000, p. 128 “female fan-bearers” and p. 134 “armed female beggars”. – G. S. Ghurye: *Indian Costume*. Bombay ²1966, plate 255 erroneously calls this cloth “perhaps ... a short *ghāghrī*” (p. 123), i.e. a short skirt.

26. This is meant by *stanā vaḍḍā*, cf. BHSD s.v. *vaḍḍa*. The wrong segmentation *stanā avaddās* at *Bhikṣuṇī-Vin*, 313 = § 277 note 2 is corrected in the Addenda 2 of the second edition, p. VIII “*stanā vaḍḍās. stanā-āvaddās*” (sic), cf. note 24 above.
27. Quoted from H. Daniel Smith: *A Sourcebook of Vaiṣṇava Iconography According to the Pāncarātrāgama texts*. Madras 1969, cf. also the illustrations facing p. 179 and 181 in this book. – T. A. Gopinatha Rao: *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. Madras 1914, who mainly follows the Śaiva Āgamas (vol. I, Introduction, p. 55), has *kucabandha* instead of *kañcuka* (vol. I, Definition and Description of Terms, p. 23).
28. The *Comprehensive and Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Languages with Special Reference to Jain Literature* is available to me only up to vol. V, 1.2 (2010–2011) p. 2024 ending with *ohovahovaggaha*.
29. Cf. also the material collected in Ghurye: *Costume*, as note 25 above, pp. 247–253. – Evidence from Tamil literature is discussed by H. Tieten: *The Yavanas’ Clothes in Old Tamil Literature*. IJ 46, 2003, pp. 261–271, particularly p. 268f.
30. A. Weber: *Das Saptacatakam des Hāla* (AKM 74) Leipzig 1881 and *The Gāthāsaptasāi of Sātavāhana with the Commentary of Gaṅgādharaḥabhaṭṭa* (Kāvyaṃālā 21), ed. by Durgāprasād and K. P. Parab. Bombay 1889. This verse is omitted in *Hālās Gāhākosa (Gāthāsaptasāi) with the Commentary of Buvanapāla* ed. by M. V. Patwardhan Part I (Text), Ahmaedabad 1980, Part II (Translation etc.), Poona 1988. – *Vajjālaggam. A Prakrit Anthology with Sanskrit Version* (Bibliotheca Indica Work no. 227) ed. by J. Laber. Calcutta 1944; *Jayavallabha’s Vajjālaggam with Sanskrit Commentary of Ratnadeva* (Prakrit Text Society Series, no 14) ed. by M. V. Patwardhan, Ahmedabad 1969; cf. also O. v. Hinüber: *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*, Wien 2001 § 5 f.
31. A. Weber translates “Busenfläche” following most likely the *chāyā*, which has °*pr̥sthāṃ*. However, *vaṭṭa* can hardly have any other Sanskrit equivalent than *vr̥tta*. – *uvvaria* “uncovered” according to Weber, p. 155 note 1, who translates “voll durchfurchend” obviously for want of a better solution.
32. This verse appears as no. 13 in the re-arranged, literary translation by P. Korocho and H. Tieten: *Poems on Life and Love in Ancient India. Hālās Sattasāi*, New York 2009: “Her round breast / Bulging out of a dark blue blouse / Looks like the moon / Peering from behind a cloud / Heavy with rain.”
33. Edited by S. C. Banerji. Calcutta 1965.
34. In a letter dated 25th May 1978, D. Maue, Giessen, draws my attention to Jñānaśrīmitras *Vṛttamālāstuti* ed. by M. Hahn. (Asiatische Forschungen Band 33). Wiesbaden 1971, p. 154, verse 81 translated by M. Hahn as “... [da] sie an ihren Brüsten [zu] bersten [drohten] und [deshalb] einen Gürtel (*ska-rags*) anlegen [mußten] ...” In the meantime, the Sanskrit version surfaced and was edited by M. Hahn: “The Sanskrit Text of Jñānaśrīmitra’s *Vṛttamālāstuti*”, in: *Bauddhasāhityastabakāvalī. Essays ... Dedicated to Claus Vogel*. Indica et Tibetica 36, Marburg 2008, pp. 93–170, which shows that *ska-rags* here translates indeed *kañcuka* as correctly inferred by D. Maue. This meaning is missing in J. S. Negi: *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*, vol. I. Sarnath 1993 s.v. *ska-rags*.
35. *Sanskrit Literature and Art – Mirrors of Indian Culture*, Delhi 1955 (repr. 1970) (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 73), p. 64.
36. References to *vaikakṣaka* meaning “cross-band” that is worn over the shoulder like a *yajñopavīta* have been collected by G. H. Schokker: *The Pādātāḍitaka of Śyāmilaka. A Text-Critical Edition*, Part I, The Hague 1968, p. 218f. An image of a woman wearing a *vaikakṣ(y)aka* has been published by C. Sivaramamurti: *Sanskrit Literature*, as previous note, p. 56 figure 9, cf. also Bhushan: *Costume*, as note 25 above, plate 31 no. 4 showing a corresponding image from Ajañṭā.
37. Consequently and in contrast to the caption the woman shown in C. Sivaramamurti: *Sanskrit Literature*, as previous note, p. 51, figure 7, does not wear a *vaikakṣaka*, but a short-sleeved jacket.
38. The goddess Yamunā after H. Mode: *Die Frau*, as note 25 above, plate 11. This statue is discussed by R. C. Agrawala: *A Rare Statue of Yamunā in the National Museum, New Delhi*, JOIB 16, 1966/67, pp. 60f.

39. The reading *saṃkākṣikā* in *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ. Verhaltensregeln für buddhistische Mönche der Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins* ed. by S. Karashima [Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica XIII, 1–3]. Tokyo 2012 [rev.: P. Kieffer-Pülz, IJ 58. 2015, pp. 376–393], § 48.6 and § 48.7 is not beyond doubt. Here, the *saṃkākṣikā* is a cloth used by monks in this particular context to cover a seat which is not very clean or a wall against which he leans.
40. Ct. *ekaccālamkāra* (Ja V 974') "some ornaments" (CPD) followed by J. Dutoit in his translation "Schmuck". – The manuscripts have *saṃkacca* which should be corrected into *saṃkaccha* following the PED.
41. K. Hoffmann: JB. *vanākakṣāḥ*. IJ 9. 1966, pp. 199–202 = Aufsätze zur Indoiranistik Band 1, Wiesbaden 1975, pp. 191–194; Vedic *upakakṣa(ka)* survives as *upakacchaka* "armpit" (Vin IV 260,15 etc.) and in later Pāli as *upakaccha*, cf. CPD and NPED s.v.; on the relation of Vedic and Pāli cf. *Mittelindisch*, as note 30 above, § 9 and O. v. Hinüber: "The verb **addhabhavati* as an artificial formation", JPTS 32. 2015 [2016], pp. 213–227, particularly note 21. – The Burmese Chatṭhasaṅgīti edition and the Dhammagiri Chatṭhasaṃgayana Tipitaka (4.4) opted for the wrong reading *saṃkaccika* throughout and note the correct *saṃkacchika* only as a Siamese variant.
42. The explanation of the derivation of *saṃkākṣikā* etc. starting from Vedic *kakṣyā* in the original version of this article needs revision.