

創価大学
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Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University
for the Academic Year 2003

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
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The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University
Tokyo・2004

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Vol. VII

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The *Golden Light* in Central Asia

To the Memory of Ronald Eric Emmerick *

Akira YUYAMA

0. Prefatory:

0.0. Central Asia is becoming more and more interesting in many ways. My interest has always lain in how far Buddhism paved the way to the development of religious and cultural heritage not by armed force but in peace, though sometimes political. It is very heartening, therefore, to see the fruits of archaeological survey in this area.¹ In the past, however, scholars had the glad, if painful, task of studying the documentary treasures squeezed out through external pressure. In recent years, on the other hand, invaluable materials, either written or artistic, have come out, alas, through interior disintegration. It is extremely saddening now to see how a complex culture in its harmony and integrity built up over centuries and millennia is being destroyed.

0.1. This is to make a brief survey of one of the nine canonical treasures in Nepal, the *Sūtra of Golden Light*, with special emphasis on Indic texts found in Central Asia. It

* This humble paper was originally written with a special focus on the Indic manuscript brought back by the First German Expedition to Central Asia. I intended to present it for the conference "Turfan Revisited: The First Century of Research into the Arts and Cultures of the Silk Road" (Berlin, 8-15 September 2002). I began to prepare it around the time when I saw Ron at the Reopening Ceremony of the Museum für Indische Kunst, Berlin, on 19 October 2000. After all, I was absent from the conference. I then decided to dedicate it to the fond memory of my old friend, Dr. Ronald Eric Emmerick (09 March 1937-31 August 2001), Fellow of the British Academy, Professor of Iranian Studies at the University of Hamburg. He has rendered great services to the cause of learning in a wide range of humanistic research. In particular, he opened the doors afresh to the related fields of Indo-Asian cultural studies to expand their frontiers as a whole. Both of us may have unconsciously had a common sentiment to the Terra Incognita Australis among the proud intellectuals in the northern hemisphere. Our friendship started in the mid-1960s first by correspondence, if I am not mistaken, whilst I was working in the capital city of Canberra. As I was Guest Professor of Buddhist Studies for the second time in Hamburg for one year in the academic year of 1995-1996, we met intimately on occasions since the University Guest House was adjoining to his Institute Building along the Rothenbaumchaussee. It all remains a cherished memory with me.

¹ In this connection I wish to refer to the most recent survey made with a useful updated bibliography (in revised form) by Boris A. Litvinsky, *Die Geschichte des Buddhismus in Ostturkestan* [Deutsche Übersetzung aus dem Russischen von Maria Schetelich] (= *Studies in Oriental Religions*, edited by Walther Heissig and Hans-Joachim Klimkeit, XLIV) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), XI, 130 p. ["Bibliographie", p. 103-127]. — Oskar von Hinüber has added useful information and corrections to it in his review: *ZDMG*, CLI, 1 (2001), p. 244f.

Cf. also Grégoire Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden-Köln: E. J. Brill, 1970), XVIII, 217 p., 67 pl., 39 figs., 19 maps.

may emit light for further research to see how this literature has developed as one of the most important canons all over Asia.²

I. Turfan Fragment of the *Suvarṇa(pra)bbāsottama-sūtra*:

1.0. A rather damaged small fragmentary accordion-type blockprint text of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* was unearthed by the First German Expedition in Central Asia (1902-1903) headed by Albert Grünwedel assisted by Georg Huth and Theodor Bartus. Immediately after the text's discovery, it was carefully studied and published by Heinrich Stöner (1872-1931) in 1904.³ He identified it ingeniously with the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* as quoted by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. The transcribed text is given in Nāgarī script, the printing type of which was common in Europe in his time. Incidentally, I am certain that Richard Pischel played an inspiring role in the study of Turfan Buddhist literature in Berlin.⁴ Noriaki HOSODA has brought out a skilful study of the blockprint texts, which were first investigated by Richard Pischel and later by a number of other scholars.⁵

1.1. This fragmentary text has been catalogued with utmost care as usual within the framework of an enormous project under the auspices of the German Oriental Society. In his Catalogue Ernst Waldschmidt (1897-1985) edited the text meticulously,

² On this Buddhist Sanskrit literature Ryūjō YAMADA (1895-1979) offers useful information in the first place as usual: 山田龍城, 梵語佛典の諸文献 — 大乘佛教成立論序説・資料篇 — (京都・平樂寺書店, 1959), p. 102f.

Cf. also Hajime NAKAMURA, *Indian Buddhism: A Survey with Bibliographical Notes* (Hirakata, Osaka: KUFUS Publication, 1980), p. 193 (and p. 363).

Mahāyāna Texts Translated into Western Languages. A Bibliographical Guide Compiled by Peter Pfandt. Revised Edition with Supplement (In Kommission bei E. J. Brill, Köln, 1986), p. 102f.

³ Heinrich Stöner, "Sanskrittexte in Brāhmīschrift aus Idikutšahri, Chinesisch-Turkistan. II", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philol.-hist. Classe*, 1904 / XLIX (1904) [Vorgelegt von Richard Pischel am 10. November 1904], p. 1310-1313 (mit Tafel XVII), insbes. p. 1312. Stöner refers it to the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, ed. Cecil Bendall (1897-1902), p. 160 n. 5.

⁴ Richard Pischel, "Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons des Buddhisten aus Idikutšahri, Chinesisch-Turkestān", *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philol.-hist. Classe*, 1904 / XXV (1904), p. 807-827 (mit Tafel VI-VIII). — cf. Ed. Huber, *BEFEO*, IV (1904), p. 473f. (also p. 541).

- - , "Neue Bruchstücke des Sanskritkanons des Buddhisten aus Idikutšahri, Chinesisch-Turkestān", *ibid.*, 1904 / XXXIX (1904), p. 1(1138)-6(1145) (mit Tafel X-XII).

Incidentally, R. Pischel also published another Turfan text: "Die Turfan-Recensionen des Dhammapada", *ibid.*, 1908 / XXXIX (1908), p. 968-985 (mit Tafel XI).

⁵ 細田典明, "トルファン将来木版刷梵文雜阿含經斷簡 — R. ピッセル公表梵文斷簡について —", *印度學佛教學研究/IBK*, XXXVII, 2 (1989), p. 28(540)-34(546).

using every possible source of information.⁶ This fragmentary text may be regarded as complete, and it has thus been classified in the category of confession literature, i.e. *Beichte (deśanā) in Versen* (Waldschmidt, *op.cit.*, p. 254: Kat.-Nr. 575: D339 / TID Ruine L). Neither *Suvarṇabhāsa* (nor its related names) nor *Śikṣāsamuccaya* can be searched from the title in the indices of this Catalogue.⁷

1.2. Incidentally, Dieter Schlingloff was the best-read scholar working on the Turfan Sanskrit collection kept in East Berlin in those days. On the appearance of this Catalogue in 1965 he published a review of it and made some correctional remarks. He corrected two misreadings committed by the editors. On the basis of his wide experience he makes the following notes.⁸ It is worth quoting his words verbatim:

“575 Blatt 3, 1 statt =*ārṣyāmātsarya*° lies: =*īrṣyā*° (der Fehler ist aus der Publikation STÖNNER übernommen); *Śikṣāsamuccaya* gibt die richtige Lesung). Blatt 3, 6 statt: (*krodha*)[*śjena*] lies: (*krodhava*)[*śjena*] (der Fehler ist gegenüber der Publikation STÖNNER neu).”⁹

II. Śāntideva's Citation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*:

2.0. Śāntideva quotes the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Chapter VIII: *Pāpa-sodhanam aṣṭamaḥ paricchedaḥ*.¹⁰ As usual, Vaidya makes a useful note on the quotation with captivating catchphrases found in the Sanskrit original.¹¹ It corre-

⁶ *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil I. Unter Mitarbeit von Walter Clawiter und Lore Holzmann herausgegeben und mit einer Einleitung versehen von Ernst Waldschmidt (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, X, 1) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1965), XXXV, 368 p., 43 pl., 3 maps. — cf. Yuyama's review: *IJ*, XII, 4 (1970), p. 266-269.

⁷ Cf. “Übersicht über die Handschriften nach dem Inhalt”, 5. Kultus, b. Fürbitte und Beichte: *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, I (1965), p. 352; IV (1980), p. 360.

⁸ D. Schlingloff, *ZDMG*, CXVI (1966), p. 415-425, esp. p. 422.

⁹ His corrections were carefully noted later: “Ergänzungen und Korrekturen zu Teil 1 und 3”, *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil IV (1980), p. 337 (recorded by Lore Sander).

¹⁰ *Śikṣāsamuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhist Teaching compiled by Śāntideva chiefly from earlier Mahāyāna-Sūtras*, edited by Cecil Bendall (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, I) (St. Petersburg: Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, 1897-1902) [Photomechanic Reprint (= *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, I) (S-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1957)], p. 160.13-164.7. No verse number is given here.

Further *Śikṣā-Samuccaya: A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine compiled by Śāntideva chiefly from Earlier Mahāyāna Sūtras*. Translated from the Sanskrit by Cecil Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse (= *Indian Texts Series*) (London: John Murray, 1922) [Photomechanic reprint by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1971], p. 159-161.

¹¹ *Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva*, edited by P. L. Vaidya (= *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, XI) (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1961), p. 90.4-92.2; cf. esp. p. 206: *vidūṣaṇā-samudācāraḥ kathaṃ bhūvayitavyaḥ?*

sponds to the *Suvarṇaprabbāsa*, Chapter III: *Deśanā-parivarta*, verses 17-59.¹² Regarding the citation by Śāntideva, there must be some confusion among the editors. Nobel remarks (*op.cit.*, p. 25 n. 1): “ ... Von hier [i.e. verse 17] bis Str. 52 wieder (vgl. S. 22, Anm. 7) im Śikṣāsamuccaya (S. 160-64). Die einführenden Worte sind: *tatra katham vidūṣaṇasamudācāro bhāvayitavyaḥ / yathā Suvarṇaprabbāsottamasūtre* (vielmehr *Suvarṇabbāso*°, vgl. S. 22, Anm. 7) *’bbhitam. ...* ”. As a matter of fact, Śāntideva’s citation runs from verses 17 to 59 in the Nobel edition. Furthermore, verse numbers 17 to 59 are given by Śītāmśuśekhara Vāgci as 17-58.¹³ Further in connection with these verses it is to be noted that verses 56-59 in the Nobel edition (= 55-58 in the Bagchi edition) are edited by Bendall in prose! — cf. *infra* §6.0!

2.1. It is to be noted here that in editing his critical edition of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* Cecil Bendall was careful in collating the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Suvarṇaprabbāsottama-sūtra* kept in the Cambridge University Library and the Royal Asiatic Society (ed. Bendall, p. 160 n. 5): Add. No. 1342 (folio 8b6), Add. No. 875 (folio 10b), and Hodgson No. 8 (folio 9). He was also privileged to consult the advance-sheets of Chandra Das’s edition, which appeared in Calcutta in 1898.

2.2. Precisely speaking, the Turfan Sanskrit fragment in question runs the *Suvarṇaprabbāsottamasūtra*, Chapter III, verse 17 down to the beginning of verse 27b: ed. Nobel p. 25.1-27.5, Bagchi p. 13.3-23, trsl. Emmerick p. 10f.¹⁴ It is to be noted that the chapter divisions of the *Suvarṇaprabbāsottama-sūtra* in the Sanskrit, three Tibetan and two Chinese versions are rather different from each other. But one can refer to an indispensably useful comparative table of the chapters, thanks to the painstaking efforts of Johannes Nobel: “Übersicht der Kapitelzählungen” (Nobel, *op.cit.*, Leipzig 1937, p. LI; cf. also p. L) as well as a folded table as Appendix: “Vergleichende Tabelle der Kapitelbezeichnungen”: i.e. two Sanskrit, two Tibetan and three Chinese

¹² *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra*. Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus nach den Handschriften und mit Hilfe der tibetischen und chinesischen Übertragungen herausgegeben von Johannes Nobel (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1937), p. 25.1-34.4 (verses 17-59).

¹³ *Suvarṇaprabbāsasūtra*, edited by S. Bagchi (= *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, VIII) (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1967), p.13.3-16.16 (cf. p. 13 n. 2!). — A Nepālī version translated from this edition by Muktināth Khanāl has appeared: *Suvarṇaprabbāsasūtra* (Kāthmāndaum: Nepāl Rajkiya Prajñā-Pratiṣṭhān, 1977), p. 12-14.

¹⁴ Cf. Ronald E. Emmerick, *The Sūtra of Golden Light, being a Translation of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (= *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, XXVII) (London: Luzac & Co., 1970), p. 10-13 (= ed. Nobel p. 25-34), cum p. 11 n. 4 = Third revised edition (Oxford: Pali Text Society, 1996, reprinted 2001), p. 10-13 cum p. 11 n. 14.

For a difficult reading of III verse 25 (= ed. Nobel p. 27.1-2 / Emmerick p. 10) see Friedrich Weller’s enlightening review of Emmerick’s translation, *OLZ*, LXIX (1974), Nr. 7/8, Sp. 388f.

versions. There seems to be at least another version, if not more, in Sanskrit and in Tibetan to our present knowledge! How many more will we see if we count other Central Asian versions!

III. Further on Some Other Versions in Inner Asia:¹⁵

3.0. The *Golden Light Sutra* must have played a great role in the Buddhist communities all over Asia. Unlike the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, for example, the *Suvarṇabhāsa-sūtra* has been preserved in a great deal of manuscript materials in various languages of Central Asia. It is impossible to survey them all within this limited space. For Sogdian manuscript materials it is still valid to consult David Anthony Utz with the then updated bibliographical information on Buddhist Sogdian literature.¹⁶

3.1.0. In the area of Old Turkic literature Johan Elverskog has recently made a useful comprehensive survey.¹⁷ He gives a detailed description of the Turfan materials with an updated short history of textual studies. Needless to say, Old Turkic Buddhist materials are all unearthed in Central Asia, particularly in the so-called ancient Turfan oasis towns. The questions are where they are now preserved and who had studied them. In this connection it may be inexcusable to miss the accumulation of solid sober researches on the Turfan manuscripts by German specialists for many decades. The most significant of all is the exciting enterprise on Turfan studies at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences: “Kommission Turfanforschung”. This project was reorganized under the able leadership of the late Ronald Eric Emmerick. The emphasis has been given to Old Turkic and Sogdian textual studies, now on the new refurbished premises (since 1998).¹⁸ The latest meticulous work on the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* in Old Turkic appeared with a useful bibliography in 1996

¹⁵ On Middle Iranian and Old Turkic Buddhist literature in general see also A. Yuyama, “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (II)”, *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (Hachioji, Tokyo, 2004) (in press), §1: “Buddhica Iranica” & §2: “Buddhica Uigurica”.

¹⁶ Cf. David A. Utz, *A Survey of Buddhist Sogdian Studies* (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Minor*, III) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1978, reprinted 1980), iv, 25 p.

¹⁷ Cf. Johan Elverskog, *Uygur Buddhist Literature* (= *Silk Road Studies*, I) (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), p. 65-71; No. 37: *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra*.

Incidentally, there has appeared yet another indispensable bibliographical work in this connection. With this one can reach a number of needed materials: *Bibliographie alttürkischer Studien*. Ausgewählt und chronologisch angeordnet von Volker Adam, Jens Peter Laut und Andreas Weiss. Nebst einem Anhang: Alphabetisches Siglenverzeichnis zu Klaus Röhrborn: *Uigurisches Wörterbuch*, Lieferung 1-6 (1977-1998) (= *Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen*, IX) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), XXI, 127 p.

¹⁸ A brief but useful information can be obtained in a pamphlet *Akademievorhaben* (Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften) (Redaktionsschluß: Oktober 1997), p. 52f.

(cf. Elverskog, *op.cit.*, p. 67f.).¹⁹ Another enormous project, which offers indispensable information, is the cataloguing of manuscripts under the auspices of the German Oriental Society (and now also the Göttingen Academy of Sciences).²⁰ In fact, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* in Old Turkic manuscripts is to be found in those catalogues.²¹ Incidentally, there is an interesting Old Turkic text of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* in Sogdian script.²²

3.1.1. In the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* are found quite a few *dhāraṇīs*²³ as well as

¹⁹ Peter Zieme, *Altun Yaruq Sudur. Vorworte und das erste Buch. Edition und Übersetzung der alttürkischen Version des Goldglanzsūtra (Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra)*. Mit 139 Abbildungen auf 88 Tafeln (= *Berliner Turfantexte*, XVIII) [Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften: Akademievorhaben Turfanforschung] (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 230 p., LXXXVIII Tafeln.

²⁰ Cf. Wolfgang Voigt, "Union list of Oriental manuscripts in the public and private collections of West and East Germany", *Papers on Oriental Library Collections, submitted to a Library Panel held at the 27th International Congress of Orientalists at Ann Arbor (17 August 1967)*, edited by J. D. Pearson (= *Bibliotheca Asiatica*, VIII) (Zug: Inter Documentation Company, 1971), p. 118f. — for further details see A. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections: A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology* (= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica*, Pamphlet, II) (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies Library, 1992), p. 1f.: §I.3.

²¹ See *Altürkische Handschriften*, Teil II: *Das Goldglanzsūtra und der buddhistische Legendenzyklus Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā* Depositum der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), beschrieben von Gerhard Ehlers (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, im Einvernehmen mit der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, begründet von Wolfgang Voigt, herausgegeben von Dieter George, XIII, 10) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1987), IX, 170 p., 40 Tafeln, insb. p. 6-15, 29-112 (Nrn. 1-183).

Altürkische Handschriften, Teil V: *Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtras*. Teil 1: *Vorworte und erstes bis drittes Buch*, beschrieben von Simone-Christiane Raschmann (= *VOHD*, im Einvernehmen mit der DMG, ... im Auftrage der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, herausgegeben von Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel, XIII, 13), 260 p., 89 Tafeln.

— , Teil VI: *Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtras*. Teil 2: *Viertes und Fünftes Buch*, von Raschmann (= *VOHD*, XIII, 14) (2002), 220 p., 50 Taf.

— , Teil VII: *Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtras*. Teil 3 (von Raschmann) (= *VOHD*, XIII, 15) (*im Vorbereitung* – ISBN 3-515-07354-X).

²² See e.g. an article with extensive bibliographical remarks by Durdu Fedakâr, "Altürkische Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-Fragmente in sogdischer Schrift", *Memoriae Munusculum: Gedenkband für Annemarie v. Gabain* (= *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica*, XXXIX) (In Kommission bei Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, 1994), p. 43-53, mit Tafel III-IV.

²³ See e.g. Sanskrit text, ed. Johannes Nobel, Leipzig 1937, p. 267-274: Anhang F: "Der Text der Dhāraṇīs in der chinesischen Umschrift".

To my regret, I have been unable to consult Margit Köves, "The Significance of Dhāraṇīs in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*", *Papers on the Literature of Buddhism Presented at the Körösi Csoma Bicentenary Seminar, April 28, 1984*. Edited by Margit Köves (Delhi: Alexander Csoma de Körös Circle of the Department of Modern European Languages, University of Delhi, 1985), p. 68-72.

stotras.²⁴ In this connection I was much interested to find in it an Old Turkic *Caitya-Stotra*, which is missing in the Sanskrit version. This question is interesting from the viewpoints both of textual transmission and of the *caitya-/stūpa*-cult in Central Asia. It is only for this reason that I make a note of it here. Fortunately enough, Dieter Maue and Klaus Röhrborn studied it ingeniously in a work containing extensive bibliographical sources (Elverskog, *op.cit.*, p. 68).²⁵

3.2. Among the materials unearthed in Central Asia, however, the Khotan-Saka version must be of great importance and interest. One cannot overlook a brief but comprehensive survey carried out by the late R. E. Emmerick (1979-1992) and soon after then by Hiroshi KUMAMOTO with rich bibliographical additions (1985) (cf. also *infra* §5.4).²⁶ After an accumulation of detailed work done by Harold W. Bailey, Sten Konow, Sylvain Lévi, Ernst Leumann, Paul Pelliot and so on, R. E. Emmerick carefully referred to the Khotanese version in the “Preface” and “Introduction” to his translation from the Sanskrit (London 1970, 3rd rev. ed. 1996; cf. *supra* §2.2). As he announced in his ²*Guide* (p. 34: §18.24.9), a substantial amount of new material in the collections of the St. Petersburg Chapter of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences was published successively without a break in 1993 and 1995. It is another treasury of Buddhist literature.²⁷ Among them are found the Kho-

²⁴ Attention to this fact is drawn with a great deal of meticulous textcritical treatments by Dieter Schlingloff, *Buddhistische Stotras aus ostturkistanischen Sanskrittexten* (= *Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden*, I) (= *Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Orientforschung der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, XXII) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1955), p. 10 cum n. 18.

²⁵ Dieter Maue und Klaus Röhrborn, “Ein *Caityastotra* aus dem alttürkischen Goldglanz-*sūtra*”, *ZDMG*, CXXIX, 2 (1979), p. 282-320.

²⁶ Cf. Ronald Eric Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*. Second Edition Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica: Occasional Paper Series*, III) (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992), p. 33f.: §18.24. — A list of abbreviations on p. 49-51 contains an extensive bibliography. — First edition appeared in 1979.

熊本裕, “コータン語文献概説”, 講座・敦煌, 第六巻・敦煌胡語文献 (東京・大東出版社, 1985), p. 101-140, esp. p. 103-105 on the *Golden Light*.

²⁷ Hiroshi KUMAMOTO has offered great service for further understanding the collection: 熊本裕, “東洋文庫所蔵 St. Petersburg コータン・サカ語写本マイクロフィルム暫定目録/A Provisional Catalogue of the Microfilms of Khotanese-Saka Manuscripts belonging to the Institute of Oriental Studies (the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch), brought to the Toyo Bunko”, 東京大学言語学論集/*TULIP: Tokyo University Linguistic Papers*, XX: *Festschrift for Professor YUKAWA Yasutoshi* (Tokyo 2001), p. 301-345, for the *Golden Light* in the Old Khotanese version see esp. p. 311 (SI/P 67.23-24, p. 312 (SI/P 73.2), p. 341 (SI/M 40), p. 343 (SIM 13.2, 5, 8; 13.11, 10, 13; SI/M 13.4+15+7, 3, 1; SI/M 13.6+12, 14, 9). — All of these Old Khotanese manuscripts have now been published in facsimile (see next note).

tanese texts brought back by of N. F. Petrovsky and S. E. Malov.²⁸

3.3.0. *Indic Fragments in the British Library (among the Khotanese Collection):*

The British Library has found a competent scholar for cataloguing their splendid collection of Khotanese manuscripts. At last it has come out in a sunny place. It is far more than a catalogue. A literally perfect work by Prods Oktor Skjærvø has arrived at my sight.²⁹ This catalogue is full of most important information, indeed not only about the collection itself but also Khotanese studies as a whole. Our *Golden Light* has several tens of fragments in Khotanese (see Skjærvø, *op.cit.*, p. 608f.: Index).

3.3.1. As is well known, Skjærvø's interest has originally started with this literature.³⁰ Most surprisingly, he has found five bunches of Sanskrit fragments of the *Golden Light* among the Khotanese materials. Out of those sixteen fragments only one has so far been published (i.e. Hoernle MS, 143a, SB9, see *infra* §7.2.6, 6a-6b), otherwise all hitherto unpublished. Skjærvø has carefully recorded the two fragments: H. 143 SB9, actual: "H. 143 (S.C. vi₂) S.B.9" (cf. Skjærvø, *op.cit.*, p. 450). All the others are from the former India Office Library in London and catalogued under IOL Khot 7/1-5; 204/1-3, 5; 216/9(?); 218/12 and 220/4-7. Although they are all torn fragments, they are really good additional examples of the Central Asian version(s) of the *Golden Light*, thanks to the extremely painstaking efforts of Skjærvø. Herewith I wish to copy his achievements for further studies of the hitherto unknown materials. They are further classified according to the sites of discovery in Central Asia or if they belong to the so-called Hoernle Manuscripts. As practised in general, "F" indicates Farhād-Bēg-

²⁸ See esp. Ronald E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, *Saka Documents VII: the St. Petersburg collections* (= *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part II: *Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Period and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*, Vol. V: Saka, Texts VII) (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1993), p. 22f., Plates 139-151 (= SI M 13.1-14).

R. E. Emmerick and M. I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja with contributions by H. Kumamoto, P. O. Skjærvø, H. Vetch, and Zhang Guangda, *Saka Documents – Text Volume III: the St. Petersburg collections* (= *CII*, II, V, 3) (1995), p. 11 & 254: texts from the Petrovsky Collection: SI P 67.23-24 & 73.2 (Texts numbered 47-48 & 49 on p. 78-80 & 80-82), Malov Collection: SI M 13.1-15 & 40 (Texts 342-356 & 390 on p. 179/180-212 & 229f. / plates 177 (= SI M 40).

— cf. Mauro Maggi's review, *IJ*, XLI (1998), p. 282-288 (with an informative introduction on p. 282-284). — cf. also *supra* n. 27: Kumamoto.

²⁹ *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in The British Library*. A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations by Prods Oktor Skjærvø with Contributions by Ursula Sims-Williams (= *CII*, II, V, 6) (London: The British Library in association with the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, 2002; reprinted with corrections 2003), lxxviii, 609 p., 8 col.pl. (incl. 2 maps).

³⁰ Unfortunately, however, I have not seen his 'Habilitationsschrift' (Mainz 1983). I am looking forward to the pleasure of seeing his forthcoming book of the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāṣottamasūtra* to be published at Harvard. — cf. Skjærvø, *op.cit.*, p. xviii.

Yailaki,³¹ “H” Hoernle, and “Kha” Khādalik:

- a) Skjærvø p. 172f.: IOL Khot 7/1: F. xii.6.1 (= ed. Nobel p. 121-124).
- b) Skjærvø p. 173: IOL Khot 7/2: F. xii.6.2 (ed. Nobel p. 166-168).
- c) Skjærvø p. 173: IOL Khot 7/3: F. xii.6.3 (ed. Nobel p. 198-201).
- d) Skjærvø p. 174: IOL Khot 7/4: F. xii.6.4 (ed. Nobel p. 204-209).
- e) Skjærvø p. 174: IOL Khot 7/5: F. xii.6 (*a torn fragment with only a few odd words*).
- f) Skjærvø p. 449: IOL Khot 204/1: F. XII.2 (ed. Nobel p. 129-131).
- g) Skjærvø p. 450: IOL Khot 204/2: F. XII.2 (ed. Nobel p. 50-56).
- h) Skjærvø p. 450: IOL Khot 204/3: F. XII.2 (ed. Nobel p. 45-49).
- i) Skjærvø p. 450f.: IOL Khot 204/5: H. 149 add. (Hoernle fol. 161: ed. Nobel p. 186f.).
- j) Skjærvø p. 469: IOL Khot 216/9: Kha. i.223b (“two pieces stuck together”!).
- k) Skjærvø p. 475: IOL Khot 218/12: Kha. i.32 (ed. Nobel p. 66.14, 67.5).
- l) Skjærvø p. 478: IOL Khot 220/4: H. 149 add. (ed. Nobel p. 179-181).
- m) Skjærvø p. 478: IOL Khot 220/5: Kha. i.27a (Stein Skt pl. 43: ed. Nobel p. 207-210).
- n) Skjærvø p. 478f.: IOL Khot 220/6: H. 149 add. (Hoernle fol. 161: ed. Nobel p. 102-104).
- o) Skjærvø p. 479: IOL Khot 220/7: H. 149 add. (Hoernle fol. 159, same MS as Kha. i.27.a: ed. Nobel p. 164-166).

IV. Tibetan Versions of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*:

4.0. In studying this literature philologically it is vitally important to consult three Tibetan versions. They leave doors open for further investigations into very complicated problems of textual transmission. As usual, reference may always be made to the so-called *Denkarma Catalogue*, which was most probably composed at the beginning of the ninth century CE.³² Further, in passing, the title of this canonical text is also

³¹ Incidentally, a very interesting photo of the excavation site at Farhād-Bēg-Yailaki in the second Stein Expedition (1906-1908) is now shown among an indispensable corpus of Stein materials: *The British Museum — Catalogue of the Collections of Sir Aurel Stein in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences*. Edited by Éva Apór and Helen Wang (= *Keleti Tanulmányok / Oriental Studies*, XI) (Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2002), p. 325 [Photo 11.317]; — cf. John Falconer and Lilla Russell-Smith, “Catalogue of Photographs Taken or Collected by Sir Aurel Stein”, *ibid.*, p. 159-350, esp. for Farhād-Bēg-Yailaki, p. 227: 11.296, p. 228: 11.309-312, 314-315. 317 (= photo on p. 325), p. 237: 13/1.15 (with *Kba*); Khādalik, p. 221: 11.39-43, 45-46, p. 237: 13/1.15 (with *F*). It is eagerly hoped that these photographs will appear on something like CD-ROM as done for Mannerheim’s *Travels* (cf. *infra* §7.1.3 cum n. 59-60).

³² Cf. *Denkarma Catalogue*, ed. Marcelle Lalou Paris (1953): Nos. 251 (3000 *śloka*, 10 *bam-po*), 256 (1500 *śloka*, 5 *bam-po*) and 87 (2400 *śloka*, 8 *bam-po*) respectively. Catalogue numbers differ in the edition Shyuki Yoshimura (Kyoto 1950), i.e. Nos. 250, 255 and 86.

A third edition has appeared recently: *Catalogue of Phodrang Lhankarma*, ed. Rabsal (= *The Dalai Lama Tibeto-Indological Series*, XVII) (Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1996), p. 39.13-14, p. 40.4 (missing *śloka* numbers!), and p. 30.13-14 respectively.

found in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*, which is said to have been compiled two years after the *Denkarma: Mvy*, ed. R. Sakaki (Kyoto 1916), §LXV-14: No. 1339: *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* / *Gser-'od dam-pa*. This is not the place to discuss the complicated problem of the date of its composition.³³ In such a case like this it is good enough to learn that the text in question had existed in a certain form around the turn of the eighth to ninth century.

4.1. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that Bu-ston (1290-1364) cited a few passages from the *Gser-'od dam-pa mdo-sde* (i.e. *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*) in his *History of Buddhism*, or *Bde-bar gśegs-pa'i bstan-pa'i gsal-byed chos-kyi 'byuñ-gnas gsuñ-rab rin-po-che'i mdzod*, or more popularly (*Bu-ston*) *Chos-'byuñ* in short. Bu-ston wrote this work at the age of thirty-three in the year *Chu-khyi*, "Water-Dog", i.e. 1322 CE.³⁴ Bu-ston has also recorded the texts in the *Catalogue* attached to his *Chos-'byuñ*. The Tibetan original of his works had long been practically unobtainable and became available at last only in 1971 in its Lhasa edition, thanks to the generous efforts of Lokesh Chandra.³⁵ Based on this facsimile edition, Soshū NISHIOKA has presented to us a carefully edited text in comparison with the editions *Žva-lu*, *Bkra-śis lhun-po* and *Sde-dge* with a useful index and concordance (*Bu-ston : Peking*). It is a pity that this

³³ Since the *Ldan-dkar-ma* catalogue was said to be composed in the year 'brug "dragon", a wide range of years has been proposed to date among the specialists around the turn of the eighth and ninth centuries CE from 788 (Hisashi SATŌ), 800 (Erich Frauwallner), 812 (Giuseppe Tucci, Hakuyū HADANO earlier dating), 824 (Shyūki YOSHIMURA, Moritaka TAKAHASHI, Zuihō YAMAGUCHI), 836 (Satoshi HARADA, and H. Hadano's later verification) to 848 (Shinten SAKAI, Shōken YAZAKI).

Cf. Palmyr Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Partie III (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale / Ernest Leroux, 1915), p. 493: *Mdo 'grel*, Tome CHO, CXXVI (Tibétain 321, No. 7) - CXXVI-7 *Pbo-bran stod-thaṅ ldan-dkar-gyi bka' dan bstan-bcos 'gyur-ro-cog-gi dkar-chag* / «Index des traductions des Āgamas et des Čāstras (existant) au palais de Ldan-dkar, dans le Stod-thaṅ (plateau supérieur)». *Dpal-brtsegs* (= Śrīkūṭa) and *Nam-mkha'i sñin-po* (= Ākāśa-garbha) are given as its compilers. Here I cannot extend to the question of a v.l. *Lhan-^{o!}*

³⁴ Cf. A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja istoričeskaja literatury* (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXXII) (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury, 1962), p. 91f., et p. 257-261 (notes), esp. p. 257 n. 404.

= *Tibetan Historical Literature*, translated from the Russian by Harish Chandra Gupta (= *Soviet Indology Series*, IV) (Calcutta: Indian Studies Past & Present, 1970), p. 140-145, esp. 141.

Cf. also David Seyfort Ruegg, *The Life of Bu ston Rin po che. With the Tibetan Text of the Bu ston rNam thar* (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, XXXIV) (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1966), p. XVII.

³⁵ Cf. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism: Tibetan Text*, edited by Lokesh Chandra from the Collections of Raghu Vira (= *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, XXIV: YA) (= *Śatapitaka Series*, LXIV) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971), editor's folio number 929 = original folio 148b6 (see next footnote).

indispensable work has not appeared in book form to date.³⁶ Soon after that appeared a complete Chinese translation made together with its catalogue portion by Kuo Huo-ch'ing (郭和卿: Guō Huó-qīng).³⁷ In the postscript to his book Kuo does not seem to have made it clear which original Tibetan edition he had used for his rendition (cf. Kuo, *op.cit.*, p. 452f.).

4.2. Further, in his *History of Buddhism in Tibet (Chos-'byun)*, Bu-ston mentions another *Suvarṇabhāṣottama*:³⁸ *bran-ka mū-la-ko-śa dan / gñags dzñā-na-ku-mā-ras mdo-sde las brgya-pa dan / gser-'od dam-pa gñis bsgyur / ...* "Mūlakoṣa of Lanka and Jñānakumāra of Ņag translated the Sūtras *Karmaçataka* and *Suvarṇa-prabhāṣottama*, ...".³⁹ It is not yet known what kind of version this *Golden Light* is (cf. Szerb, *op.cit.*, p. 17 n. 4).⁴⁰

4.3. In passing, as mentioned above, I take this opportunity to add that Bu-ston quotes the *Suvarṇa-prabhāṣottama-sūtra* three times in his *History of Buddhism in Tibet*. Thanks to the painstaking work by E. Obermiller, it is now easy to detect all these citations.⁴¹

³⁶ It was published in three parts in the *Annual Report of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange at the University of Tokyo*, IV-V-VI (1980-1981-1983): 西岡祖秀, 『ブトン仏教史』目録部索引, I, 東京大学文学部・文化交流研究施設研究紀要, IV (1980), p. 72: Nos. 210, 208 and 209; cf. VI (1983), p. 64: under No. 1427!

³⁷ 郭和卿, 布頓大師著・佛教史大寶藏論 (北京・民族出版社, 1986), p. 228:

《金光明最勝王經》計八卷・朗巴彌多(無別)譯。
《金光明最勝王經》略本 計八卷・廓却珠(法成)譯。
《金光明最尊勝大乘經》計八卷・同上。

³⁸ A very careful edition of this portion was published by the late János Szerb, *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet: Critically edited with a comprehensive index* (= *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens*, V) (= *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse*, Band 569) (Wien: Verlag der Akademie, 1990), p. 16f. (cum n. 3): = ed. Bkra-śis Lhu-po, fol. 139a6.

³⁹ So translates E. E. Obermiller from the Bkra-śis lhun-po edition in his *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston*, Part II: *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet by Bu-ston* (= *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, XIX) (Heidelberg in Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1932, reprinted by the Suzuki Research Foundation, Tokyo, 1964), p. 186.

⁴⁰ There are two Japanese translations: one by Shyūki YOSHIMURA and the other by Hisashi SATŌ: 芳村修基, インド大乘仏教思想研究 — カマラシーラ の思想 — (京都・百華苑, 1974), p. 560f. (fol. 112b) [originally published in: 佛教學研究, VI (Dec. 1951)]; 佐藤長, 古代チベット史研究・下 (= 東洋史研究叢刊, V-2) (京都・同朋舎, 1959, reprinted 1977), p. 852 (fol. 125a).

⁴¹ See *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston*, translated by E. Obermiller, Part I (Heidelberg-Leipzig 1931, reprinted Tokyo 1964), p. 131 & 135; II (1932), p. 68. Incidentally, Part I of this translation alone has recently been photomechanically reprinted in India (= *Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica*, XLII) (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1987), (iv), 183-187 p. ("contents and systems") + 3-182 p. (translation).

4.4. Herewith I just mention the titles in brief:⁴²

- I. *Gser-'od dam-pa mchog-tu rnam-par rgyal-ba'i mdo-sde'i rgyal-po theg-pa chen-po'i mdo.*
Translated by Chos-grub from the Chinese of I-ching's version.
- II. *Gser-'od dam-pa mdo-sde'i dbaṅ-po'i rgyal-po theg-pa chen-po'i mdo.*
Translated by Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi and Ye-śes sde.
- III. *Gser-'od dam-pa mdo-sde'i dbaṅ-po'i rgyal-po theg-pa chen-po'i mdo.*
No translator's name has been recorded (cf. *Otani Catalogue*, p. 72, footnotes).

4.5. In this respect Johannes Nobel's works can never be neglected.⁴³ The corresponding Tibetan portions are found altogether in Nobel's editions:

- I. I-ching in Tib., ed. Nobel (Leiden 1958), Chap. IV: *Rmi-lam-na 'gyod-tsharis byed-pa mtshoṅ-ba'i le'u*, p. 61.5-62.26/28: verses 16-28. — see next paragraph!
- II. Tib., ed. Nobel (1944), Chap. IV: *Rmi-lam-na bsags-pa'i le'u*, p. 214.11/p. 215.1!
- III. Tib., ed. Nobel (Leiden-Stuttgart 1944), Chap. IV: *Bsags-pa'i le'u*, p. 22.13-23.25/28.

4.6. I-ching's Chinese version corresponding to the portion in question is to be found in: Taisho No. 665, Volume XVI, p. 411c5-27/29. Nobel supplemented it in facsimile in his edition (Leiden 1958), p. 377, and translated it into German (Nobel, *ibid.*, p. 83f.). Those who are interested philologically and linguistically in this literature should not miss the meticulous work done by Claus Oetke.⁴⁴

4.7. It will be of great importance and interest to investigate the complicated relations among the recensions and versions in Indic, Tibetan and Chinese in particular. There seems to be a serious question, which remains so far untouched, connected with researches into the various newly disclosed Kanjur editions. It has been proven that

⁴² For detailed tables of contents with useful references see among others the so-called *Otani Kanjur Catalogue*, i.e. Peking Edition (Kyoto 1930-1932), p. 67-69: No. 174, PA 20a7-157a2 (translated from the Chinese by Chos-grub); p. 69-72: No. 175, PA 157a5-283 (translated by Jinamitra, Śilendrabodhi & Ye-śes-sde); p. 72-74: No. 176, PHA 2b7-63b6.

⁴³ *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra. Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Die tibetischen Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch*, herausgegeben von Johannes Nobel. Band I: *Die tibetischen Übersetzungen mit einer Tafel* (Leiden: E. J. Brill – Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1944), XXIX, 308 p., 1 Tafel.

— — Band II: *Wörterbuch Tibetisch-Deutsch-Sanskrit* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950), IX, 235 p.

Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra: Das Goldglanz-Sūtra. Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. I-tsing's chinesische Version und ihre tibetische Übersetzung. Band I: *I-tsing's chinesische Version*, übersetzt, eingeleitet, erläutert und mit einem photomechanischen Nachdruck des chinesischen Textes versehen von Johannes Nobel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), LXIII, 422 p.

— — Band II: *Die tibetische Übersetzung mit kritischen Anmerkungen*, herausgegeben von Johannes Nobel (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1958), X, 334 p.

⁴⁴ Claus Oetke, *Die aus dem Chinesischen übersetzten tibetischen Versionen des Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra: Philologische und linguistische Beiträge zur klassifizierenden Charakterisierung übersetzter Texte* (= *Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien ... Hamburg*, XVIII) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1977), (vi), 462 p. This work offers the texts from Tunhuang kept in Paris (p. 424-451).

they often offer different recensions. I see no room left here for further argument. It is a pleasure to learn of quite a few scholars working on this topic for more than two decades now.⁴⁵

4.8. It is always very important to see if there is any text unearthed from Central Asia. Again in many cases such a text offers a recension different from the hitherto-known Kanjur versions. When Nils Simonsson studied the *Lotus Sutra* with the utmost care, he found the lineage of textual transmission and established a corresponding genealogical chart.⁴⁶ Both versions seem to represent different recensions and to have been revised from a hitherto unknown version through a certain intermediate text. He applied his methodological theory beautifully to the Tibetan materials brought back from Central Asia, more precisely from Khotan, by Sven Hedin in 1933. This drew the quick attention of the then leading savants.⁴⁷ This method can also be attested in his treatment of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*.⁴⁸ Simonsson gives an interesting stemma of transmission (*op.cit.*, p. 209). Unfortunately, the text corresponding to ours in question is not found therein. He nevertheless drops a hint for our study.

V. Once Again on the Turfan Fragment of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*:

5.0. Regrettably, Stönnner may have caused some misunderstanding, by writing as if it were a passage cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva. For instance, it must have misled Bernard Pauly in his otherwise extremely enlightening article.⁴⁹ His words may be somehow misleading: “Or, suivant de peu l’édition de Bendall, qui constituait le premier volume de la *Bibliotheca Buddhica* paru à Saint-Petersburg en (1897-)1902,

⁴⁵ See e.g. Helmut Eimer, “Einige Ergebnisse der Kanjurforschung im Überblick”, *Contributions on Tibetan Language, History and Culture*, ed. Ernst Steinkellner and Helmut Tauscher (= *Proceedings of the Csoma de Kőrös Symposium held at Velm-Vienna, Austria, 13-19 September 1981*, Vol. I (= *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, X) (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetologie und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1983), p. 53-60.

⁴⁶ Nils Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien: Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie*, I (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1957), esp. p. 176

⁴⁷ See e.g. C. Regamey, *Kratylos*, III (1958), p. 146-150, J. Gonda, *CAJ*, III, 3 (1958), p. 243f., L. Petech, *RSO*, XXXIII (1958), p. 294, J. Filliozat, *JA*, CCXLVII (1959), p. 257, G. Uray, *AOH*, VIII (1959), p. 327-332, J. B(rough), *BSOAS*, XXII (1959), p. 192b (short notice). — Among others J. W. de Jong has rightly remarked on the point of central issue in his review: *IJ7*, III (1959), p. 216-219, esp. 217.

⁴⁸ See Simonsson, *op.cit.*, p. 178-209: II. *Untersuchung des Suvarṇaprabhāsa*.

⁴⁹ Bernard Pauly, “Fragments sanskrits de Haute Asie (Mission Pelliot)”, *Journal Asiatique*, CCLIV (1966), fasc. 2, p. 245-304, esp. p. 288-304: XXI “Deux fragments inédits d’un passage du *Pitāputrasamāgama* déjà connu par une citation du *Śikṣāsamuccaya*”.

paraissait en 1904 un article de Stöner, lequel avait identifié un fragment du Śikṣāsamuccaya provenant d'Idikutśahri parmi les manuscrits des collections allemandes." (Pauly, *op.cit.*, p. 289). Further, in his note on it, Pauly gives reference to Stöner's article and makes a note. Again it does not exactly hit the point of issue: " — Le fragment découvert par Grünwedel et publié par Stöner ne provient pas d'un manuscrit mais d'un xylographe (*Blockdruck*) qui doit être plus récent que nos fragments (X^e siècle). Le texte correspond à un passage du *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* cité dans le *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 160-161 de l'édition Bendall." (Pauly, *op.cit.*, p. 303 n. 9). It is no wonder that Pauly had not seen Waldschmidt's catalogue and vice versa, for both of them appeared almost at the same time in Paris and Berlin.

5.2. Waldschmidt has noted on this Turfan fragment as follows (p. 254 n. 1): "NOBEL weist auf Lesarten des Turfan-Blockdrucks hin. Der Text ist aus *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* in *Śikṣāsamuccaya* übernommen worden. S. ed. C. Bendall, *Bibliotheca Buddhica* I, St. Petersburg 1897, p. 160.13-162.1. Vergleich mit der Textausgabe Nobels: E. Waldschmidt." Otherwise, he has given a careful transliterated text. In such a block-print text, however, I would expect to see something positive to confirm its original purpose, for example a marginal description carrying the title in Chinese. For the time being, I must wait for a similar, more complete blockprint of this text.

5.3. Incidentally, it is not a trifling matter that the title found in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva as the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* has drawn the attention of scholars to the question of the original title (cf. R. Yamada, *op.cit.*, p. 102 cum n. 3). We must first collect examples among the Indic manuscripts together with the corresponding versions to see how they have been entitled.

5.4. Finally, in connection with this Turfan fragment, it is possible that this portion in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* may well have been important as an independent confessional text in Central Asia. Paul Pelliot (1878-1945) must have been interested in this aspect.⁵⁰ Little attention of specialists in the related fields of study seems to

⁵⁰ Cf. Paul Pelliot, "Un fragment du *Suvarṇabhāsasūtra* en iranien oriental: Texte transcrit, traduction et commentaire", *Mémoires de la Société de linguistique de Paris*, XVIII (1913), p. 89-125 (= *Études linguistiques sur les documents de la Mission Pelliot*, IV) [Extrait – Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1913, 39 p.].

— Cf. Marcelle Lalou, "RÉTROSPECTIVE: L'œuvre du Professeur Paul PELLIOU", *Bibliographie bouddhique*, IV-V: 1931-1933 (Paris 1934), p. 10a: No. 35; also *Paul Pelliot (1878-1945): His Life and Work — a Bibliography*, compiled by Hartmut Walravens (Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 2001), esp. p. 29: No. 177.

This manuscript has been carefully studied by Ernst Leumann, *Buddhistische Literatur. Nordarisch und Deutsch*, I. Teil: *Nebenstücke* (= *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XV, 2 (Leipzig 1920, repr. Nendeln 1966), p. 53-91: 4. "Stücke aus dem *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*", esp. p. 55-63.

have been drawn to his work, whereas Nobel has naturally carefully noted it (cf. Skt. ed. Nobel, 1937, p. XXVII, also p. 24 n. 7: ad III vs. 12). As a matter of fact, these passages belong to the chapter on confession, either *deśanā* or *pāpa-sobhanā* in the original Sanskrit. In meticulously treating the Khotanese fragment, corresponding to the Sanskrit (ed. Nobel, p. 20.2-26.11 = III beg.-vs. 24, missing vs. 12), Pelliot gives a detailed introduction to all necessary information beginning with Eugène Burnouf (Pelliot, *op.cit.*, p. 89-94). In his article he has also referred to another text (Pelliot, *op.cit.*, p. 90 n. 3): “Bibl. nat., mss Pelliot, Inv. 3513”.⁵¹ This is nothing but the very *Deśanā* text in Khotanese, which has been published among the *Golden Light* texts by Harold Bailey.⁵² Needless to say, they are important and indispensable in order to study Indic versions (cf. also *supra* §3.2).

5.5. In the meantime, with this connection, Masao SHIZUTANI has brought up a very important question.⁵³ He did precisely what was expected of him. But his argument is not at all simple. In the first place he tries to classify it within the framework of the confessional literature. Taking this chapter into account, he sees three stages of evolution in the course of its formation. His keyword to it is “*tri-skandha(ka) / phun-po gsum / 三聚 san-chü*”. He hunts it in various texts on the basis of Jinamitra’s Tibetan version (cf. *supra* §4.4). Indic reference is made for example to the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, ed. Bendall, p. 171.5-6 (cum n. 3): *tri-skandhaka-dharma-paryāya*. Regrettably, this has not invited further discussions and he himself has not extended it more afterwards.

VI. Śāntideva’s yet another citation from the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra*:

6.0. On this occasion I wish to put on record another citation by Śāntideva in his

⁵¹ Cf. *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-Houang. Fond Pelliot Chinois de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, IV: Nos. 3501-4000, rédigé sous la direction de Michel Soyumié (= *Publications hors série de l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient*, 1991), p. 14 (with bibliographical notes).

⁵² H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, I (Cambridge University Press, 1945, 2nd ed. 1968), p. 231-257: V. *Suvarṇabhāṣasūtra*, esp. p. 242-244.2 (= Text treated by Pelliot: No. 3513, 59v1-64r1). — Another portion is also edited by Bailey, *op.cit.*, III (1969), p. 112-116 (= Pelliot No. 3513, fols. 1-12). — It may be noted here that another manuscript fragment is to be found in Bailey, *op.cit.*, V (1963), p. 106-119; — cf. P. O. Skjærvø, *BSOAS*, XLIV, 3 (1981), p. 453f.

A hitherto unidentified and uncatalogued small Khotanese fragment, P 2745 (Bailey, *op.cit.*, II, 1969, p. 92f.), is now carefully studied by H. Kumamoto, “Miscellaneous Khotanese Documents from the Pelliot Collection”, *TULIP*, XIV (1995), p. 229-257, esp. p. 243-245.

H. W. Bailey, *Khotanese Buddhist Texts* (London: Taylor’s Foreign Press, 1951 / Revised edition: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 62-66: Text 18 *Deśanā* (P 3513: 76v1-84v4).

Furthermore, it may be noteworthy that Pelliot 3513 contains a confessional text called *Bhadracaryā-deśanā* by Bailey, *Khotanese Texts*, I (1969), p. 222-230: P 3513 fols. 43-58.

⁵³ See Shizutani: 静谷正雄, “金光明經「業障滅品」の成立に就て — 西藏勝友 (Jina-mitra) 等譯本の暗示 —”, 龍谷學報, No. 328 (1940), p. 81(1155)-97(1171).

Śikṣāsamuccaya: Chapter XII *Citta-parikarma dvādaśaḥ paricchedaḥ*, ed. Cecil Bendall p. 216.6-219.7, P. L. Vaidya p. 119.1-120.15. This citation may have been confused in the course of tradition. It looks as if it were a sheaf of passages joined together: *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*, Chapter III *Deśanā-parivarta*, ed. Johannes Nobel (Leipzig 1937), p. 22.3-f (= verses 5-12) [= *Śikṣ*, ed. Bendall, p. 216.8-217.8, Vaidya, p. 119.3-18]; ed. Nobel, p. 38.5-40.4 (= verses 76-85b) [= *Śikṣ*, ed. Bendall, p. 217.9-218.13, Vaidya, p. 119.19-120.5]; ed. Nobel, p. 41.4-16 / 42.7-11 (= verses 88a-91a / 92b-93d) [= *Śikṣ*, ed. Bendall, p. 218.14-219.7, Vaidya, p. 120.6-15]. As shown here, the Turfan fragment of the *Suvarṇabhāsa* is found just in between! Needless to say, it is absolutely necessary to compare every version before jumping to hasty conclusions. This must be left for the future task. In his edition Nobel has naturally noted this (*Suv*, ed. Nobel, Leipzig 1937, p. XIII). — cf. *supra* §2.0!

VII. Indic Fragments of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* from Central Asia

7.0. Three Indic manuscript fragments of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* existed at the time when Nobel was editing the text (cf. *infra* §§7.1-7.2). They did not escape his attention. He describes them in detail (*Suv*, ed. Nobel, Leipzig 1937, p. XI-XIII).

7.1. *Mannerheim Fragment: Chapters XIII end – XIV beginning:*

7.1.0. Carl Gustaf Mannerheim (1867-1951), a national hero of Finland, redoubled the prestige of his motherland through his explorations across Asia in 1906-1908. He did not bring much written documentary material from his expeditions. But those fragmentary manuscripts that he has brought back, are precious as I have demonstrated in my recent article.⁵⁴ The so-called Mannerheim fragment of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* is the one cited with a signature “R” by Nobel in his edition of the Indic version.⁵⁵ It was J. N. Reuter (1863-1937),⁵⁶ who studied it meticu-

⁵⁴ Cf. A. Yuyama, “Random Remarks on and around the Mannerheim Fragment of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarikasūtra*”, *ARIRIAB*, IV: 2000 (2001), p. 53-69, esp. p. 55-60.

⁵⁵ Cf. Harry Halén, *Handbook of Oriental Collections in Finland: Manuscripts, xylographs, inscriptions, and Russian minority literature* (= *Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series*, XXXI) (London-Malmö: Curzon Press, 1978), p. 71: No. 213: “Helsinki University Library, deposited by the Finno-Ugrian Society in 1971 (part of the Mannerheim Collection: 9 Sanskrit and 2 Khotan Saka (one is bilingual) MS fragments from Turkestan in Brāhmī script ...)”.

Harry Halén, “Baron Mannerheim’s hunt for ancient Central Asian manuscripts”, *C. G. Mannerheim in Central Asia 1906-1908*, edited by Petteri Koskikallio and Asko Lehmuskallio (Helsinki: National Board of Antiquities, 1999), p. 47-51 (bibliographical notes are found on p. 51b). — This exhibition catalogue is far more than a catalogue, but contains a lot of informative articles (cf. Yuyama, *ARIRIAB*, IV, esp. p. 69).

⁵⁶ On Julio Natanel Reuter, incidentally, see Pentti Aalto, *Oriental Studies in Finland 1828-1918* (= *The History of Learning in Finland 1828-1918*, Xb) (Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica, 1971), p. 78 & 117 (with a photo of Reuter 1896 on the plate facing p. 112).

lously.⁵⁷ Mannerheim has incorporated this into his large-sized voluminous work with independent pagination. This retypeset separate paper in this volume has somewhat unfortunately misled later scholars as is evident by their quotations from it.⁵⁸

7.1.1. Reuter identifies this torn fragment (6 lines per page) with the then only available edition (*Suv*, ed. Śarat Chandra, Calcutta 1898, p. 68.9ff.: Chapter XIV). Then Nobel verified it as the text from the end of Chapter XIII to the beginning of the next chapter XIV (cf. *Suv*, ed. Nobel, Leipzig 1937, p. XI cum n. 2). More precisely it corresponds to ed. Nobel, p. 152.18-155.1. It is interesting to observe that the fragment carries verse numbers, i.e. 27-32, which are exactly the same as Nobel's. However, Reuter's reconstructed chapter number XIV is XIII in the ed. Nobel. Nobel records variant readings carefully in the footnotes of his edition.

7.1.2. This fragment often offers readings different from those found in the manuscripts from Nepal, i.e. Sanskrit text edited by Nobel. In those cases, however, I would reserve the answer to the questions with regard to these readings. More careful study is needed before I could judge if the text represents a Central Asian recension with Middle Indicisms, or if it is simply a version transmitted as a corrupt one. Let me just cite Nobel's description (*op.cit.*, p. XII):

“Der Anfang des XIV. Kapitels stimmt aber in R mit Dharmakṣema und I-tsing überein, während im Sanskrittext unserer Handschriften die einleitenden Worte fehlen. Das zweite Fragment deckt sich also teilweise mit dem von J. N. Reuter veröffentlichten; doch gehören die beiden Stücke R und H verschiedenen Textgruppen an.”

7.1.3. Incidentally, Mannerheim's travels have been recorded quite well. A very interesting and important collection of the photos taken during his expeditions has just appeared in CD-ROM.⁵⁹ This must have been the basic text for a Chinese version published in book form in the order of the dates in his diary.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Julio N. Reuter, “Some Buddhist Fragments from Chinese Turkestan in Sanskrit and ,Khotanese”, *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XXX: 37 (1913-1918), p. 1-37 + IX plates, esp. p. 7-10, Pl. III-IV: Fragment 6 Obverse & Reverse.

⁵⁸ Cf. C. G. Mannerheim, *Across Asia from West to Asia in 1906* (= *Kansatieteellisiä Julkaisuja : Travaux Éthnographiques*, VIII) (Helsingfors: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura / Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne, 1940) [Reprinted by Anthropological Publications, Oosterhout N.B., The Netherlands, 1969], Volume II, Article No. V: p. 1-35 (incl. IX plates on p. 27-35), esp. p. 7-9, Pl. III-IV on p. 29f.: Fragment 6 Obverse & Reverse.

⁵⁹ Cf. C. G. Mannerheim — *Across Asia on Horseback* 馬達漢 (Production Group: Sari Koskinen, multimedia designer; Outi Mansikkamäki, graphic designer; Johannes Raunonen, composer-dramatizer / Film Production: National Board of Antiquities (Helsinki: Finno-Ugrian Society, Mannerheim Foundation, Museum of Cultures, National Board of Antiquities, 2000).

⁶⁰ Cf. See 馬達漢 (C. G. Mannerheim) 著 · 王家驥譯: 1906-1908 年馬達漢西域考察圖片集(濟南 · 山東畫報出版社, 2000), iii, 149 p.

7.2. Hoernle Manuscripts: No. 143a, SB.9 and No. 143, SA.16:

7.2.0. The existence of another version has already been known for some time. In a series of articles on such rare materials August Friedrich Rudolf Hoernle (1841-1918) has given a brief note.⁶¹ He spares a lot of space for this text. It is worth citing here although it is rather lengthy, for it is rarely available nowadays but also for the importance of the contents for a future study (*ibid.*, p. 696-698):

“In the same consignment of February, 1904, I discovered also some fragments of two manuscripts of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama Sūtra*. There is one complete, though slightly damaged, leaf (No. 1), numbered 89, measuring 16 1/8 x 3 3/4 inches, with six lines on the page. Of another leaf (No. 2), apparently of the same manuscript, there is nearly the whole of the right-hand half; ... A third leaf of the same work (No. 3) belongs to another manuscript. It consists of most of the left-hand half, ... It has a blank reverse, and appears to have been the final leaf of the manuscript. On the obverse there are remains of ten verses (*śloka*), numbered 3-13, in praise of the Sūtra. For example, ... These verses are not found in either of the two copies of the Sūtra accessible to me, viz. R.A.S. MS., No. 8 (Cat., p. 7), and Cambridge, Add. 875 (Cat., p. 13).

“The complete leaf (No. 1) professes to give the conclusion of the 15th chapter (*parivartta*), called *Susambhava*, and the opening six verses (*śloka*) of the 16th chapter. The text corresponds to the Calcutta print ... on p. 69, down to (verse 7) ... on p. 70, and, however, ... the *Susambhava* is the 14th chapter. Though the text is substantially the same, there are numerous readings in the fragment differing from both the print and the R.A.S. manuscript. ...

“The text of the leaf-half (No. 2) belongs to the beginning of the 6th chapter, and gives portions of verses 1-9. Here are also numerous *variae lectiones*; but the most important difference is that our fragment apparently inserts a chapter unknown to the print and the R.A.S. and Cambridge manuscripts. ...

“I am hoping to publish in full these identified fragments at an early date. ...

“From a number of scholars I have received valuable promises of assistance. ... The Sanskrit – Buddhist fragments, which are the most numerous, will be undertaken by Mr. Thomas, Professor Lüders, Dr. Barnett, and myself.”

7.2.1. And, in fact, Frederic William Thomas (1867-1956) undertook the work on the two out of three, giving a useful bibliographical introduction to various versions.⁶² From Hoernle’s description, Fragment numbered 1 by him is the one under the signature of “Hoernle MS., No. 143a, SB.9”. Hoernle reads Fragment 2 (No. 143, SA 16) as folio number 89, while Thomas says on p. 109 that “number 98 is on the left

⁶¹ Cf. Cf. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, “Ancient Manuscripts from Khotan”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland for the Year 1906*, p. 695-698, esp. 696f.

⁶² Cf. F. W. Thomas, “Miscellaneous Fragments”, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan. Facsimiles of Manuscripts in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Kucheana, Tibetan and Chinese with Transcripts, Translations and Notes, edited in conjunction with other scholars, with critical introductions and vocabularies*, by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle: Volume I (Clarendon Press, 1916), p. 83-138, esp. p. 108-116: 7. *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottama Sūtra*. — Unfortunately, the unexpected death of Hoernle prevented him from bringing out the subsequent volumes.

margin of the obverse side.” It cannot be verified at the moment, because I have not yet seen it. Only the reverse side is given on Plate XXI No. 3 Reverse).

7.2.2. Thomas was careful enough to note that the fragment apparently carries the title *Suvarṇabhāsottama* as it calls itself in the text (*ibid.*, p. 109). This is designated as “H” in the Nobel edition (*Suv.*, ed. Nobel, Leipzig 1937, p. XI n. 3). It is doubtlessly from H of Hoernle. Nobel verifies the text in the following manner:

“Ein zweites, von F. W. Thomas bearbeitetes, Fragment hat A. F. R. Hoernle herausgegeben. Es handelt sich hier erstens um ein stark verstümmeltes Stück aus dem V. Kapitels nebst einer unmittelbar vorausgehenden Unterschrift zu einem Kapitel, das zwar nicht in unserem Sanskrittext, wohl aber in der chinesischen Version des I-tsing (als Kapitel VIII) vorhanden ist, und zweitens um den Schluß des XIII. Kapitels, das jedoch als das XV. zählt, nebst dem Anhang des XIV. Kapitels. ...” (*op.cit.*, p. XI).

7.2.3. Hoernle No. 2 (= Hoernle MS., No. 143, SA16: Plate XXI, 3) reads the name of the chapter clearly (obverse, line 1-2 / Thomas p. 113): ... *suvarṇabhāsottamāṭaḥ sūtrendra-rājñe susambhava-privartto nāmnā pañca(dāsa)maḥ samāptaḥ 15* © ... It is to be noted, however, chapter XV *Susambhava* corresponds to either XIII or XIV in the other manuscripts (see Nobel’s folded table appended at the end of his edition).

7.2.4. Further with reference to the so-called Hoernle fragments Nobel continues with a somewhat mysterious passage. He refers to N. D. Mironov’s letter dated 28 January 1927 (ed. Nobel, p. XII as well as p. 25 n. 5). My question is if Mironov had not known the existence of at least a fragment of this text in the M. M. Berezovsky Collection.⁶³ Otherwise, he must have informed Nobel of it.

“...; doch hat mir ihr Bearbeiter N. D. Mironov brieflich darüber wertvolle Mitteilungen gemacht. Von den Bruchstücken gehört das erste dem III., das zweite und dritte dem VI. Kapitel an, das vierte geht vom VII. zum VIII. Kapitel. ...” (*op.cit.*, p. XII).

7.2.5. A portion of the text (Hoernle No. 2 = Hoernle Ms No. 143, SA.16) overlaps with the Mannerheim fragment. This fact proves that these two fragments do not belong to the same manuscript. Precisely speaking, the text of this folio corresponds to Nobel’s edition, p. 153.15-156.7, i.e. Chapters XIII verse 32b to XIV verse 7a. — I wonder if this fragment has escaped the attention of Skjærvø (cf. *supra* §3.3.1!).

7.2.6. *Hoernle Fragment No. 1* (= *Hoernle MS., No. 143a, SB.9*): Since the original fragment is not available in facsimile or in photocopy at the moment, I had to rely

⁶³ Cf. G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorovyova-Desyatovskaya, *Indian Texts from Central Asia (Leningrad Manuscript Collection)* (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Minor*, V) (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1986), p. 10: Item 4, in which one finds Brāhmī fragments (19 paper, 3 palm-leaf and 2 birch-bark manuscripts). In this monograph, however, is mentioned no sign of our text in question. — cf. further *infra* §7.3.

upon the readings given by F. W. Thomas for the time being as follows (with some reconstructed words). This folio begins (*op.cit.*, p. 110, lines 1-2) with (*iti suvarṇabhāso*)ttamātaḥ sūtre[*nd*]ra-rājñe hiraṇyavatī-dhāraṇī-parivartto (nā)ma pañcamaḥ // ..., and ends with ... abhūta-parikalpa-samu- (*op.cit.*, p. 111, line 8), which corresponds to ed. Nobel p. ca. 55 beg.-58.1. — Now, at the last moment, a further meticulous work of Skjærvø has come into my sight and been added above (see *supra* §3.3.1).

7.2.6a. With the help of the manuscript readings and Calcutta print, Thomas has apparently proposed that it is the end of Chapter V. This may well simply be a guess. The manuscripts from Nepal do not seem to have this Chapter “Hiraṇyavatī-dhāraṇī”, which corresponds only to the Chinese version translated by Pao-kui (寶貴) together with Dharmakṣema: Taisho No. 664: Chapter XI “銀主陀羅尼品”, Vol. XVI, p. 386a-b. But the Sanskrit text is not good enough to judge if it could be identified with this Chinese text. At least, the following text does not agree with the Chinese.

7.2.6b. The title of the chapter does correspond to I-ching’s version: Taisho No. 665: Chapter VIII “金勝陀羅尼品”, Vol. XVI, p. 423b2 (= ed. Nobel: I, Leiden 1958, p. 389). And the following Sanskrit text in verse corresponds exactly to Chapter IX of I-ching’s version: Chapter V “重顯空性品” (Taisho XVI, p. 424a19ff. / ed. Nobel, I, p. 420), i.e. the beginning of Chapter V “Śūnyatā-parivarta” in the Sanskrit version (ed. Nobel, Chapter V, p. ca. 55 beg.-58.1). This corresponds to all the Tibetan versions (cf. a comparative table of chapters appended to the Sanskrit Text by Nobel). This manuscript fragment never escaped the careful attention of Nobel:

“ ... Fragmente aus dem Folgenden (*from the very beginning*) bis in Str. 10 hinein) sind in Handschriftenresten aus Ost-Turkestan erhalten, die von A. F. R. Hoernle herausgegeben worden sind. ... ” (*Sanskrittext*, ed. Nobel, Leipzig 1937, p. 55 n. 1): i.e. p. 55.1-58.1 (Chap. V, verse 10c).

7.2.7. Unfortunately, possibly due to my carelessness, I have not yet been able to see exactly what H No. 3 is (cf. *supra* §7.2.0). I wonder if it is either IOL Khot 220/6, 220/7, 220/4, 220/3, 204/5 (cf. *supra* §3.3.1), or totally a different fragment so far uncovered from the shelves (cf. *infra* Appendix: Table of Contents).

7.3. St. Petersburg Fragments of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*:

7.3.0. In the inaugural issue of a new international periodical launched in the old capital of Russia came very exciting news about a new discovery of the *Su-*

varṇa(pra)bhāsottama-sūtra. This was indeed a pleasant surprise.⁶⁴ According to Edward Tyomkin, Nikolai D. Mironov published in 1909-1910 a paper on a Sanskrit-Tocharian bilingual fragment of the *Dharmapada* out of the Berezovsky Collection brought back from Kučā (Tyomkin, *op.cit.*, p. 29a, cum n. 2; cf. *supra* §7.2.4; also Bongard-Levin & Vorovyova-Desyatovskaya, *op.cit.*, Table III on p. 44f.: “Fragments in Kuchean”!). Thanks to the painstaking efforts of the Soviet and Russian scholars in the past decades, there have appeared a number of hitherto-unknown manuscript materials of importance. All those who are interested in Buddhist Sanskrit philology have greatly benefited from the constant efforts of our Russian colleagues. Let us hope to see even more materials emerging! In this connection it may not be out of place to refer to some related materials kept among the German Turfan Collection, although, I must confess, I have not yet studied them carefully myself.⁶⁵ For further details about them one cannot overlook the meticulous work done by Franz Bernhard (1931-1971).⁶⁶ On this occasion I wish to add here that I still find it a great pity that he should have come to a premature close after showing his tremendous capacity in, among many other things, utilizing the computer in Indian and Buddhist studies four decades ago.⁶⁷ Bernhard had the wisdom and power to see into the future of Buddhist philology.

7.3.1. The *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* in question consists in only three fragments in two kinds of manuscripts. Though small in number and quantity, their importance is very great. Tyomkin’s careful study of these fragments proves that the texts represent a version different from the hitherto-known one. It will be our next future task to

⁶⁴ Cf. E. N. Tyomkin, “Unique Sanskrit Fragments of the ‘Sūtra of Golden Light’ in the Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences)”, *Manuscripta Orientalia: International Journal for Oriental Manuscript Research*, I, 1 (St. Petersburg-Helsinki, July 1995), p. 29-38 (including 6 figs.).

⁶⁵ Cf. *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, I, herausgegeben von Ernst Waldschmidt (Wiesbaden 1965), p. 201-208; Kat. Nrn. 449-472.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Udānavarga*, herausgegeben von Franz Bernhard. Band I: *Einleitung · Beschreibung der Handschriften · TEXTAUSGABE · Bibliographie* (= *Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden*, X) (= *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse*, III-54) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965), esp. p. 38-40 (with extensive bibliographical information on p. 513-537: e.g. Mironov’s article on p. 524); see also *supra* n. 4 end (Pischel’s on the fragments).

In connection with this literature one may refer to an enlightening article by Franz Bernhard, “Zum Titel des sogenannten ‚Udānavarga‘”, *ZDMG*, Supplementa I (= *Vorträge des XII. DOT Würzburg, 1968*, Teil III) (1969), p. 872-881.

⁶⁷ F. Bernhard, H. Reul, F. Schulte-Tigges, H. Sunkel, “Erstellung von Konkordanzen zu Sanskrit-Texten durch elektronische Rechenanlagen”, *Linguistics: An International Review*, XXII (‘s-Gravenhage 1966), p. 5-23 (incl. 10 figs., 1-3 being folded separately). Bernhard has used the *Udānavarga* for this work.

seek if there were any other corresponding text in Tibetan, Chinese, etc. Future discoveries of manuscript fragments belonging to this recension, probably in a dormant state now, will help us establish this more definitely.

7.3.1a. The text of Fragment I: SI L/11 (Figs. 1-2) corresponds to the Nobel edition, p. 116.1-122.6, i.e. from the end of Chapter VIII to the beginning of Chapter X = *Śrī-parivarta*, *Buddha-bodhisattva-nāma-saṃdbhāraṇa*-°, and *Dr̥ḍhā*-°. Unfortunately, the fragment written in 10 lines is much damaged. Only a very small part of the left-hand side of the folio is preserved (see Figs. 1-2 on p. 32). The titles of Chapter VIII and IX are thus missing. No verse seems to be included in this portion. It is highly important to read Tyomkin noting (*ibid.*, p. 31):

“There are a lot of differences between our text and the Nepalese one. Comparison makes us conclude that our version is much shorter than the Nepalese one. Its relation to the Chinese translation by Dharmakṣema has not been determined at present, so it may be regarded as one of the future tasks.

“All the differences from the Nepalese version will be noted in the appropriate places. ... ”.

7.3.1b. Fragment II: SI L/11 (Figs. 3-4), consisting also of 10 lines, is only a small part of the right-hand side. As indicated by Tyomkin, it must no doubt belong to the same manuscript. The text however corresponds to another portion, i.e. ed. Nobel, p. 215.11-221.12 of Chapter XVIII “Vyāghrī-parivarta”. The beginning of the torn fragment seems to begin with the very end of verse 11 (i.e. ed. Nobel p. 215.11), although Tyomkin gives its starting point: ed. Nobel, p. 216.1. The same textual character as the previous fragment can naturally be applied here again. It is to be noted that this fragmentary text includes Chapter XVIII verse 12d-13a (ed. Nobel, p. 216.10-217.1), verses 14b(end)-c (Nobel p. 218.4-2191), 15a-c (Nobel p. 220.4-6), 16cd (Nobel p. 220.13), and 17b-d (Nobel p. 221.5-7). Incidentally, verses 12-13 are apparently in the metrical scheme of *Triṣṭubh-Jagatī* in 11-12 syllables, verse 14 probably of *Surasā-Sragdharā* in 19/21 syllables (cf. Nobel p. 218 n. 6: Das Metrum des ersten Teiles der Strophe ist Surasā, das des zweiten Sragdharā), verse 15 of typical *Mālinī* in 15 syllables. Verse 17 may well be of *Kṣamā*, or its irregular variety, at least a kind of *Atijagatī*, in 13 syllables. This prosodical analysis is quite tentative for further textual criticism. It is always a headache to inquire into metrical schemes in Buddhist Sanskrit literature.

7.3.1c. Fragment III: The last fragment looks as if it were a palm-leaf manuscript. It is certainly a manuscript different from the former two. It bears an inventory number SI L/10 (Figs. 5-6). Tyomkin dates it back to the 6-7th centuries, traces the folio number 68 with a question mark and identifies it with the Nobel edition p. 113.2-114.3, a part of Chapter VIII: *Śrī-parivarta* (Tyomkin, *op.cit.*, p. 35). It does not seem to contain

verses. It is worth noting that it contains the title of the text as *Suvarṇabhāsottamaṃ sūtreṇdrarā<ja(n)->* (obverse, lines 2 & 4); cf. ed. Nobel p. 113.4-5 *Suvarṇabhāsottamaḥ sūtreṇdrarājās ...*, and 113.7 *Suvarṇabhāsottamaṃ sūtreṇdrarājānaṃ ...* In any case it offers quite a few interesting variants.

7.4. Otani Fragments of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*:

7.4.0. In the Otani Collections, kept now both in the Ryūkoku University Library (龍谷大学図書館) and the Lüshun Museum (旅順博物館), are to be found quite a few important manuscript materials. N. D. Mironov may have seen all those manuscript fragments.⁶⁸ At Ryūkoku University soon after the World War II they launched an enormous project group, i.e. The Research Society of Central Asian Culture (西域文化研究会). This group then published their reports in six large-sized volumes (in 7 parts) (Kyoto 1958-1963).

7.4.1. Thanks to the great effort of Ariyoshi SANADA (真田有美) among them, a number of important materials both from Central Asia and Nepal have seen the light of day.⁶⁹ Sanada has treated Central Asian manuscript fragments in detail, and offered six unidentified Sanskrit fragments, numbered 622-627, with his transliterated texts (see Sanada, *op.cit.*, p. 76-78, also p. 118). Some of them are reproduced in facsimile: Plate I (No. 626), II (No. 622), and III (Nos. 623 & 625). In No. 624 he finds a wording like ... *imasya suvarṇabhāsau ...*, which has led him to identify it with uncertainty to our text in question, being unable to indicate the textual source (Sanada, *op.cit.*, p. 77). In it he has also pointed out that Nos. 622-624 show the same graphic feature.

7.4.2. Out of those six fragments two were identified with the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*, now at last owing to the great endeavour of Seishi KARASHIMA (辛嶋静志). In his brief communication he has reported them as ‘virtually’ corresponding to the text, ed. Johannes Nobel, p. 31.12(?)–33.4 and ‘basically’ p. 91.6–92.12 respectively.⁷⁰ Every scholar engaged in the related subjects had then eagerly awaited the appearance of his further study of the fragments. In the meantime a group to carry out phi-

⁶⁸ Cf. “A List of Fragment (*sic*) of Brahmi MSS. Belonging to Count Ohtani”, signed by Professor N. Mironov in October 1923 at Shanghai, recorded in: 西域文化研究会編・西域文化研究, IV: 中央アジア古代語文獻 / *Monumenta Serindica*, IV: *Buddhist Manuscripts and Secular Documents of the Ancient Languages in Central Asia* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 1961), p. 93. In this list, however, is found no sign of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*.

⁶⁹ 真田有美, “大谷探検隊將來・梵文佛典資料 / Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Buddhist Manuscripts brought by Ohtani Expedition”, *Monumenta Serindica*, IV (1961), p. 49-118.

⁷⁰ See S. Karashima, “Identification of Some Buddhist Sanskrit Fragments from Central Asia”, *ARIRIAB*, III: 1999 (2000), p. 213f.: §2 “Two Fragments of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*” (*sic*).

lological studies of Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts was organized under the leadership of Eshō MIKOGAMI of Ryukoku University for the period of three academic years 1998-2000.⁷¹ Under his able editorship the whole Otani Sanskrit collection appeared in 2001 on CD-ROM, sponsored by the Promotion and Mutual Aid Corporation for Private Schools of Japan.⁷² The six fragments are included in Volume XIV.

7.4.3. As a matter of fact, there is another unidentified manuscript fragment in the Otani Collection kept in the Ryukoku University Library. It is a birch-bark manuscript, consisting of twenty pieces, some relatively large and the other tiny little, which the CD-ROM editors have now numbered 628. Further to the brief communication by Seishi KARASHIMA, Shin'ichirō HORI has just published his study of these seven manuscript fragments.⁷³ He says that Sanada's transliteration can now be greatly improved. Unfortunately, however, he has not yet identified Fragment No. 628. It is far more unfortunate that Hori will 'publish a newly romanised edition of some fragments only after checking the original'. When I saw the title of his article, I had expected to see at least his own transliteration, as I believe that he is efficient enough to do it with the fragments found on the CD-ROM. In any case, I am grateful to him for his detailed information of textual reference to the corresponding Khotanese, Tibetan and Chinese versions (see Hori, *op.cit.*, p. 131). In these versions are numerous manuscript fragments, particularly in the Khotanese. It is hoped, therefore, that he will further collect such materials, which will doubtlessly emit light on Central Asian Buddhist literary state. Old Turkic and Mongolian versions will also be indispensable in addition to those three (cf. *supra* §3.1.0-1). In a few cases the Mongolian version(s) of certain literature seems to have been translated not from the hitherto-known Indic or Tibetan versions but from the unknown text(s), e.g. Kōichi HIGUCHI has eloquently shown it in his study of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*.⁷⁴ This fact is extremely important to see the characteristics of Central

⁷¹ See a report on the project by Eshō MIKOGAMI (神子上惠生) and Yūshō WAKAHARA (若原雄昭): “共同研究・サンスクリット仏教写本の文献学的研究 — 日本私立学校振興・共済事業団学術振興資金対象事業 —”, 龍谷大学・佛教文化研究所紀要, XL (Kyoto 2001), p. 1-9. A detailed description of the digitalization of the Otani Collection on CD-ROMs is to be found on p. 2-5 (by Wakahara).

⁷² *Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Otani Collection at Ryukoku University Library*, edited by the Institute of Buddhist Cultural Studies at Ryukoku University. 14 volumes (Editorial Staff: Esho MIKOGAMI, Yusho WAKAHARA, Satoru NORIYAMA) (Kyoto: Ryukoku University, 2001).

⁷³ S. Hori, “Notes on the Unidentified Sanskrit Fragments in the Ōtani Collection at Ryūkoku University Library”, *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies*, VI (2003), p. 132-107.

⁷⁴ 樋口 康一, 蒙古語訳『宝徳蔵般若経』の研究 (広島・溪水社, 1991), (i), i, xi, 380 p.

Asian Buddhism and its literature. It may well have played a key role or was responsible for making a variety of versions in other parts of Asia.

7.4.4. Seishi KARASHIMA has done what he was expected in his recent enlightening article with much more precise information of the manuscript fragments (with somewhat new numbering, i.e. 622a and 624a):⁷⁵ No. 622a = ed. Nobel 24.17-26.11 (Chap. III, verses 16-24) / 28.8-30.6 (verses 36-42) & 33.4 (verses 57/58b); No. 624a = ed. Nobel 87.7-88.9 / 92.4-12.

7.4.5. Furthermore, Karashima informs us of another lot of thirteen fragments of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* in the Otani Collection left in the Lüshun Museum (cf. Karashima, *op.cit.*, p. 183). It is a great pity for me that I have not yet been able to see his study in collaboration with the late Chiang Chung-hsin (蔣忠新 · JIANG Zhongxin).⁷⁶ It is gratifying, however, to see his meticulous work on Fragments 622 & 624 in comparison with those found in the Lüshun Museum.

7.4.6. The most interesting matter is the fact that the above two fragments in the Ryukoku University Library and four of the Lüshun Fragments belong without doubt to the very same manuscript. Those fragments have sadly been torn apart for decades. Let us therefore hope that there will appear somewhere else the fragments of the same manuscript!

VIII. Aftermath Remarks:

8.0. All these matters discussed above briefly, as if they look trivial, are of great importance and interest. They may well tell us how the literature was transmitted from India to the farthest east. However, it is after all not an easy task, and will require a rather large monograph even on such a topic!

8.1. In this connection I wish to add a comment on exciting events in recent years. It is the discovery of massive canonical literature most probably from Afghanistan. The first shock came to me with a rumour followed by a sales catalogue thanks to the untiring efforts of Lore Sander. It is a collection of more than a hundred folios of birch-bark, palm-leaf and vellum manuscripts,⁷⁷ ending in the hands of a generous collector

⁷⁵ See S. Karashima, "Sanskrit Fragments of the Sutra of Golden Light, the Lotus Sutra, the *Āryaśrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa* and the *Anantamukhanirbāradhāraṇī* in the Otani Collection", *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 183-196, esp. p. 184-189.

⁷⁶ *Forthcoming*: "Sanskrit Fragments of the Sutra of Golden Light from the Lüshun Museum Collection", *Hualin* (華林), III (Peking 2003).

⁷⁷ Cf. *Manuscripts from the Himalayas and the Indian Subcontinent*, Catalogue 17 (London: Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, 1996), esp. p. 47f.: No. 39 "Manuscript Remains of a Library probably from the Buddhist School of the Mahasangika-Lokottaravadin" (*sic*), with photos on its facing page 46.

in the vicinity of Oslo, Martin Schøyen. Thanks to the able and devoted efforts of Jens Braarvig in his capacity as General Editor, a number of scholars have offered their skills.⁷⁸ This will provide a multitude of important suggestion to me in studying the literature belonging to the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins, among others. In this connection I am particularly delighted to see Seishi KARASHIMA making all-out astounding efforts to dig out and study important Vinaya texts of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins in the Schøyen Collection,⁷⁹ which should occupy a paragraph anew in my survey of the Vinaya literature.⁸⁰ Central Asia will doubtlessly attract our attention particularly in connection with this school more than before.⁸¹

8.2. The second shock came to me immediately after that as a tiny but enormously significant column news on the 1994 acquisition of the Gāndhārī birch-bark manuscripts by the British Library. This information originated from Richard Salomon at Seattle.⁸² It was followed by an exciting account of these rare manuscripts put in storage in the India Office Library, a name familiar to us old timers.⁸³ Almost simultaneously there appeared a timely brief communication from the expected specialist.⁸⁴

⁷⁸ Cf. *Buddhist Manuscripts*, I (= *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, I) (Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing & Bookshop A/S, 2000), xxii, 302 p., 12 pl. (with contributions by Mark Allon, Jens Braarvig, Torkel Brekke, Paul Harrison, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Seishi KARASHIMA, Kazunobu MATSUDA, Richard Salomon, Lore Sander, Nicholas Sims-Williams, Klaus Wille). — This work will universally be cited as *BMSC*.

Buddhist Manuscripts, II (= *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, III) (Oslo 2002), xxiv, 372 p., XIX pl. — see Yuyama, *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 353.

⁷⁹ See S. Karashima, “A fragment of the Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins”, *BMSC*, I (2000), p. 233-241, with Plate IX: SC2382/269; —, “Two More Folios of the Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins”, *BMSC*, II (2002), p. 215-228, with Plate X: SC2382/270 & 2381/7, 2382/uf6/2c, 2381/109.

Incidentally, a checklist of the Schøyen Collection (17th internet ed., November 2002), compiled by Elizabeth Gano Sørensen, is delivered on the website by the National Library of Norway (www.nb.no). In this edition is found Fragment 2382/270, folio 136 (with a wrong caption 2382/269!), dated 6th c.

⁸⁰ A new paragraph 1.65 shall come to A. Yuyama, *Vinaya-Texte* (= *Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur*, I) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1979), p. 40: after §1.61! Cf. Karashima, *op.cit.* (1), p. 234 n. 9.

⁸¹ Cf. e.g. A. Yuyama, “Some Remarks on Two Texts Related to the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins”, *Indologica Taurinensia*, XXVII (2004), p. 283-301 (*in press*).

⁸² Cf. Boris Weintraub, “Scrolls Offer a Glimpse into Buddhism’s Past”, *National Geographic*, CXCI, 3 (Washington, D.C., March 1997), with a coloured photo on a column of the opposite page of the list of editorial officers.

⁸³ Cf. Graham Shaw, “Buddhism Unrolled?”, *Oriental and India Office Collections*, XLIII-XLIV (London 1997), p. 2-5 (incl. 1 full-page photo on p. 3 and 5 ills. on p. 4).

⁸⁴ Cf. Richard Salomon, “A Preliminary Survey of Some Early Buddhist Manuscripts Recently Acquired by the British Library”, *JAOS*, CXVII, 2 (April-June 1997), p. 353-358 (incl. 3 figs.).

Under the proficient leadership of Richard Salomon the “Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project” was founded in September 1996.

8.3. On the occasion of the meeting of the Western Branch of the American Oriental Society, held in Seattle in 1998, I was lucky enough to have had the chance to attend Richard Salomon’s enlightening seminar on these fragments. The fruit out of his hard labour in collaboration with his colleagues and students came out one after another.⁸⁵ The publications of other works in progress are eagerly awaited, including Āgama, Dharmapada, Jātaka and Abhidharma literature. Let us pray for discovery of even a single piece of manuscript fragments of the *Golden Light*! In fact, an exciting news appears before us from time to time. One of them has just come into my sight.⁸⁶

8.4. The Gāndhārī canonical texts are particularly important, since this hitherto little known corpus of literature will doubtlessly unveil the role played by the Dharmaguptakas in particular at the turn of the Common Era in Central Asia.⁸⁷ This region must have been a relay point from the Indian Subcontinent to the other parts of Asia expressly to the land of the Chinese. It is to be hoped that we will see a variety of the texts turn up out of this region and emit light on this little cultivated field. It is becoming more and more important to see the materials transmitted not just in a single language but all those extant (cf. e.g. *supra* §7.4.3).

8.5. In this connection it may further become necessary to study a certain text of Tibetan Buddhist literature. From this viewpoint I must not overlook the fact pointed out again by Masao SHIZUTANI. For the first time he made a careful study of a ‘mahāyāna-sūtra’ called the *Dīpaṃkara-vyākaraṇa*, translated into Tibetan by Viśuddhasiṃha, Dge-dpal et al. (Tibetan Kanjur: ed. Peking No. 855, Derge 188): *Mar-me-mdzad-kyis lun-bstan-pa* (cf. Denkarma Catalogue, ed. Lalou No. 182, ed. Yoshimura No. 181).⁸⁸ Based on the Narthang edition (No. 177: Ba folios 307a5-

⁸⁵ *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra: The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*, by Richard Salomon with contributions by Raymond Allchin and Mark Barnard, with a foreword by His Holiness the Dalai Lama (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), xxii, 273 p. (incl. 34 ills., 59 figs., 3 maps). — cf. a review by Oskar von Hinüber, *JASOS*, CXXI, 3 (2001), p. 519a-521a.

A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragment 5B, by Richard Salomon with a contribution by Andrew Glass (= *Gandhāran Buddhist Texts*, I) (Seattle-London: University of Washington Press, 2000), xvii, 234 p. (incl. 6 figs., 2 tables), 8 plates (between p. 110-111).

⁸⁶ Cf. e.g. Richard Salomon, “The Senior Manuscript: Another Collection of Gandhāran Buddhist Scrolls”, *JASOS*, CXXIII, 1 (2003), p. 73-92 (incl. 6 figs).

⁸⁷ Cf. for some other reference A. Yuyama, “Random Remarks on and around the Mannerheim Fragment of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*”, *ARIRIAB*, IV: 2000 (2001), p. 66-69 and p. 70.

⁸⁸ Cf. Shizutani in *IBK/JIBS*:- 静谷正雄, “チベット訳『聖・燃燈授記大乘経』について”, 印度學佛教學研究, XXIV, 1 (Tokyo, Dec. 1975), p. 233-236.

321b3),⁸⁹ Léon Feer has presented to us a reliable translation with Indian proper names restored in Sanskrit and the paragraphs made by him (see his prefatory note on p. 305).⁹⁰

8.6. It is to be noted that Shizutani is of the opinion that in many aspects it is closer to the Vinaya literature of the Dharmaguptakas including the *Fo-pên-hsing-chi-ching* (Taisho No. 190) rather than to the others including the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*. It is very suggestive in pursuing the relation of the two groups of literature.⁹¹ This important fact has been emphatically put forward by the same scholar in his detailed study of the Hīnayāna schools, particularly of the formation and development of the Dharmaguptakas.⁹² In the Appendices of his book he has expressly directed his attention to the development in Central as well as in Southeast Asia.

8.7. In connection with the Central Asian Buddhist Sanskrit literature I have had some working hypothesis. I may call it something like “Central-Asianization” of Indic Buddhist texts. In the future I must accumulate working on it. Some years ago I proposed it in my unpublished paper with an illustration seen in the *Lotus Sutra* translated from the Indic to Chinese by Kumārajīva. This was later presented at the Fifth Meeting of the Japan-China Buddhological Conference in commemoration of the 1650th anniversary of Kumārajīva’s birthday held in Kyoto in 1993.⁹³ Such a question

⁸⁹ Cf. Nagashima Catalogue:- 長島尚道, “大正大学所蔵チベット大蔵経・ナルタン版甘珠爾目録”, 大正大学研究紀要, LXI (Tokyo 1975), p. 7(754): No. 177. Incidentally, it is listed under No. 174 in a *Catalogue of the Microfiche Edition of the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions published by the Tōyō University Library in Tokyo*: ナルタン版チベット大蔵経甘珠爾目録 (1984), p. 49.

⁹⁰ Cf. *Fragments extraits du Kandjour*, traduits du tibétain par Léon Feer (= *Annales du Musée Guimet: Grande Bibliothèque*, V) (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1883), p. 305-321.

⁹¹ Cf. A. Yuyama, “*Mahāvastu and Mahāvastu-Avadāna*”, *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka: Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*, hrsg. von Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann und Volker M. Tschannerl (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XXXVII) (Swisttal-Odendorf 2000), p. 533-540, esp. p. 539f.: §21-23.

⁹² Cf. Shizutani’s monograph:- 静谷正雄, 小乗仏教史の研究 — 部派仏教の成立と変遷 — (京都・百華苑, 1988), Chapter VIII: p. 173-200, esp. p. 199 (cum n. 309 on p. 301).

⁹³ 湯山明, “中央亜細亜における仏教典籍の受容からみた鳩摩羅什の漢訳妙法蓮華経の特色”, 鳩摩羅什生誕 1650 年・平安遷都 1200 年記念・第 5 回日中仏教学術会議・発表論文集: テーマ「仏教史における鳩摩羅什の巨大な業績」(京都・中外日報社, 17 October 1993), p. 80-97.

This was reprinted in a newspaper (without notes): 中外日報, No. 25072 (22.XI.1993), p. 6-8.

It was translated into Chinese: 姚長寿(訳), “從中亞地区対仏教典籍の接受情況看羅什漢訳”, 世界宗教研究, 1994 年 2 号 (= 第 5 次中日仏教学術会議專輯) (Peking 1994), p. 50-63.

It is an entirely revised version of my paper “An Interpretative Attitude towards Understanding Indic Buddhist Texts in Central Asia: A Preliminary Report with special reference to the Central Asian Recension and Kumārajīva’s Chinese Version of the *Lotus Sutra*”, presented to a conference *Buddhism across Boundaries: Sources of Chinese Buddhism*, held under the direction of John McRae and Jan Nattier, at Hsi Lai University, Hacienda Heights, California, on 2-7 January 1993.

must be examined in many cases.⁹⁴ It may well be of Eugène Burnouf's profound insight into this question.⁹⁵ Furthermore, the linguistic features in Central Asia are also very interesting but difficult problems.⁹⁶ Richard Salomon's proposal to make a new geographical naming of "Greater Gandhāra", and further "Gandhāran Hybrid Sanskrit", is very suggestive for our future research work and is being universally accepted. The working hypothesis to dig out "Māgadhism" from Indic literature in Central Asia is still to be very carefully reserved. Central Asian Buddhist cultural researches have made a great progress with many of the questions remaining still unsolved. It is hoped that specialists in the relevant Central Asian studies will comprehensively sum up such research fruits in the past and present before us again for stepping forward into the future.⁹⁷

Appendix

Finally, for the sake of quick reference for future textcritical studies, I herewith list up the Indic texts of the *Golden Light* in the order of the corresponding portions of the edition Nobel (Leipzig 1937; cf. *supra* n. 12) and Skjærvø's *Catalogue* (2002/2003; cf. *supra* n. 29). It is therefore hoped that the Lüshun fragments in the Otani Collection will soon fill up this table (cf. *supra* §7.4.0):

⁹⁴ See e.g. A. Yuyama, "Why Kumārajīva Omitted the Latter Half of Chapter V in Translating the Lotus Sutra", *Festschrift Dieter Schlingloff zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*, herausgegeben von Friedrich Wilhelm (Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler Verlag für Orientalistische Fachpublikationen, 1996), p. 325-330.

Cf. also A. Yuyama, "Miscellaneous Remarks on the Lotus Sutra", *Essays on Indian and Buddhist Studies: Volume Dedicated to Professor Jikido Takasaki on the occasion of his 60th birthday* (Tokyo: Shunjū-sha, 1987), p. 720(119)-712(127).

⁹⁵ Eugène Burnouf, "Fragments des Prédications de Buddha [Extraits du *Lotus de la bonne loi*, ouvrage inédit, traduit du sanscrit par M. Eugène Burnouf]", *Revue Indépendante paraissant le 10 et le 25 de chaque moi avec un bulletin bibliographique*, VII (Paris au Bureau de la Revue Indépendante, 25 avril 1843), p. 520-534. — cf. A. Yuyama, *Eugène Burnouf: The Background to his Research into the Lotus Sutra* (Tokyo 2000), p. 96: *s.v.* Burnouf 1845 (to be corrected to 1843) with notes.

I have discussed it further in my recent paper for the volume in honour of Zennō ISHIGAMI: "ピュルヌーフ訳法華経薬草喩品の北米流伝 — 仏教文献学最初期の一面を探る —", 石上善應教授古稀記念論文集・仏教文化の基調と展開 (東京・山喜房仏書林, 2001), p. 349(35)-363(43).

⁹⁶ Cf. e.g. Jan Nattier, "Church Language and Vernacular Language in Central Asian Buddhism", *NVMEN*, XXXVII, 2 (1990), p. 195-219.

⁹⁷ For example, interesting and useful is a review-article on a wide range of historical topics in this area by Peter Zieme, "Die Geschichte Zentralasiens in einer neuen Gesamtschau", *OLZ*, LXXXVII, 2 (1992), Sp. 117-125.

<i>Table of Contents</i>		
Suv Skt fragments	Corresponding Suv Skt ed. Nobel / Skjærvø Cat. 2002	Reference
Śikṣ ed. Bendall 216.8-217.8.	p. 22.3-24.4 (III vss 5-12)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §6.0.
Turfan Nr. 575: D339	p. 25.1-27.5 (III vss 17-27b)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §2.2 & 5.0-5.
Śikṣ ed. Bendall 160.13-164.7	p. 25.1-34.4 (III vss 17-59)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §2.0.
Śikṣ ed. Bendall 217.9-218.13	p. 38.5-40.4 (III vss 76-85b)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §6.0.
Śikṣ ed. Bendall 218.14-219.7	p. 41.4-16 / 42.7-11 (III vss 88a-91a / 92b-93d)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §6.0.
IOL Khot 204/3: F. XII.2	p. 45-49 / Skjærvø p. 450	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(h).
IOL Khot 204/2: F. XII.2	p. 50-56 / Skjærvø p. 450	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(g).
IOL Khot 218/12: Kha. i.32	p. 66.14, 67.5 / Skjærvø p. 475	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(k).
Hoernle No. 1: 143a, SB9 (Thomas, <i>MR</i> p. 109-112)	p. 55.?-58.1 (III vss. 1-10c) / Skjærvø p.450/	Cf. <i>supra</i> §7.2.6-6a-6b, also §3.3.1.
IOL Khot 220/6: H. 149 add. / fol. 161	p. 102-104 / Skjærvø p. 478f.	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(n).
Petersburg III: SI L/10 (Fig. 5-6)	p. 113.4-114.3 (VIII prose)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §7.3.1c.
Petersburg I: SI L/11 (Fig. 1-2)	p. 116.1-122.6 (VIII Prose)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §7.3.1a.
IOL Khot 7/1: F. xii.6.1	p. 121-124 / Skjærvø p. 172f.	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(a).
IOL Khot 204/1: F. XII.2	p. 129-131 / Skjærvø p. 449	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(f).
Mannerheim Fragment (J. N. Reuter)	p. 152.18-155.1 (XIII end-XIV beg., incl. XIII vs 27-32)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §7.1.0-3.
Hoernle No. 2: 143, SA16 (Thomas, <i>MR</i> p. 112-116)	p. 153.15-156.7 (XIII vs 32b-XIV vs 7a)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §7.2.3-5.
IOL Khot 220/7: H. 149 add. / fol. 159	p. 164-166 / Skjærvø p. 479	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(o).
IOL Khot 7/2: F. xii.6.2	p. 166-168 / Skjærvø p. 173	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(b).
IOL Khot 220/4: H. 149 add.	p. 179-181 / Skjærvø p. 478	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(l).
IOL Khot 204/5: H. 149 add. / fol. 161	p. 186f. / Skjærvø p. 450f.	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(i).
IOL Khot 7/3: F. xii.6.3	p. 198-201 / Skjærvø p. 173	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(c).
IOL Khot 7/4: F. xii.6.4	p. 204-209 / Skjærvø p. 174	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(d).
IOL Khot 220/5: Kha. i.27a / Stein pl. 43	p. 207-210 / Skjærvø p. 478	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(m).
Petersburg II: SI L/11 (Fig. 3-4)	p. 215.11-221.12 (XVIII vss 11 end / 12d-13a,14bend-c,15a-c,16cd,17b-d)	Cf. <i>supra</i> §7.3.1b.
IOL Khot 7/5: F. xii.6	<i>A torn fragment with only a few odd words!</i> — Skjærvø p. 174	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(e).
IOL Khot 216/9: Kha. i.223b	<i>"Two pieces stuck together!"</i> — Skjærvø p. 469	Cf. <i>supra</i> 3.3.1(j).

Keywords: *Golden Light, Suvarṇa(pra)bhāsa*, Buddhist Sanskrit, Central Asian Buddhism, 金光明經

A Trilingual Edition of the Lotus Sutra

— New editions of the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions (2)

(KN. 282.9~287.10)*

Seishi KARASHIMA

XIII § 13 (KN.282.9~283.4)

G/N (Gilgit/Nepalese version), based upon D2. 76b4~ (D3. 115b2~)

punar aparāṃ (D2.76b7) ¹Mamjuśrīr bodhisatvo¹ mahāsatvas tathāgatasya pari-
nirvṛtasya paścime kāle paścime samaye² saddharmavipralope³ vartamāne⁴ iman
dharmaparyāyaṃ samprakāśayitukāmaḥ sukhasthito ⁵bhava^(D2.76b8)ti sa sukhasthitaś
ca⁵ dharmam⁶ bhāṣate / ⁷kāyagatam⁸ vā pustakagatam vā pareṣāṃ ca deśayamāno
nādhimātram upāraṃbhajātīyo⁹ bhavati na cānyān dharmabhāṅakān bhikṣūn
parivadati^{10/11} na cāvarṇam bhā^(D2.77a1)ṣate^{12/13} na cāvarṇam cārayati^{13/14} na cānyeṣāṃ
śrāvakayānīyānām¹⁵ bhikṣūṇām nāmaṃ^{16/17} grhyāvarṇam¹⁸ cārayati¹⁹ / na ca teṣāṃ²⁰
antike pratyarthikasamjñī²¹ bhavati / tat kasya hetoḥ? yathā (')pīdaṃ
sukhasthānasthitatvāt. sa ^(D2.77a2) ²²āgatāgatānām dhārmaśravaṇīkānām²²
anuparigrāhikayā anabhyasūcanatayā²³ dharman deśayati / avivadamānaḥ²⁴ na ca
praśnaṃ prṣṭaḥ²⁵ śrāvakayānena visarjayati²⁶ / ²⁷api tu²⁷ khalu punas tathā²⁸ ^(D2.77a3)
visarjayati²⁹ yathā³⁰ buddhajñānam abhisambuddhyate³¹ //

* This present work was made possible by a grant from the Mishima Kaiun Memorial Foundation, Japan. I feel it my duty to put on record my gratitude to the late Prof. Hirofumi Toda (1936-2003), one of the most respected authorities on the Lotus Sutra, for his never-ending encouragement and support. What this work owes to him is, to a large extent, evident to anyone who knows his extensive and meticulous transliterations of Sanskrit palmleaf manuscripts of this text. He, himself, was planning to compile a new edition of the Sanskrit version, based on the older Nepalese manuscripts, which will now have to be undertaken unfortunately by somebody else. I should like to express my deep gratitude also to my long-time friend, Peter Lait, who kindly checked my English. My heartfelt thanks are due as well to Ms. Naoko Sato, who took great trouble to look over my transliterations of the Tibetan versions.

O (Khādaliq MS. = "Kashgar" MS.) 269a3~

- punar aparaṃ^(269a4) Maṃjuśrīr bodhisatvo mahāsatvas tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya paścime kāle^(269a5) paścime samaye sa<d>dharmavipralope vartamāne imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ saṃprakāśayi^(269a6) tukāma .³² sukhashthitau³³
- 5 bhavati <sa> su<kha>sthitāś ca^{evam} dharmāṃ bhāṣa{n}ti kāyagataṃ vā puṣtagataṃ^(269a7) vā imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ pareṣāṃ [] deśayamāno na cādhi{dhi}mātram upārambhajātiko bhava^(269b1)ti [.] na cānyān dharmabhāṣakāṃ bhikṣūn paribhavati³⁴ . na ca teṣāṃ avarṇa<m> bhāṣati nā^(269b2)<va>rṇaṃ cārayati . na cānyeṣāṃ śrāvakayānikānāṃ bhikṣūṇāṃ nāmagrāhikā^(269b3)yā³⁵ avarṇaṃ cārayati
- 10 . na ca teṣāṃ sāntike pratyarthikasamjñā bhavati .³⁶ na cānye^(269b4)ṣāṃm api satvā[○]nāṃ nāmagrāhikāyā avarṇaṃ bhāṣati . na nāmagrāhikā^(269b5)yā avarṇaṃ cārayati . na cāsyā satveṣu pratyarthikasamjñā bhavati .³⁶ tat kasya heto³⁷ // ^(269b6) yathā (')pi tat sukhashthānasthitatvāt* sa āgatāgatānāṃ dharmasrāvāṇikānāṃ a<nu>pa^(269b7)rigrāhikatayā³⁸ hy anabhyasūyikayā³⁹ dharmāṃ deśayati .
- 15 avivadamāno na [] praśnaṃ⁴⁰ prṣṭa . ^(270a1) śrāvakayānena visarjayati . api tu [] tathā visarjayati yathā buddhajñānam abhi^(270a2)sambuddhyaty

F (Farhād-Bēg) 18b2~

- punar aparaṃ Manyuśrīr bodhisatvo mahāsatvas tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya
- 20 paścime kāle paścime samaye saddharmavipralo^(18b3)pe varttamāne imaṃ (dha)r[ma](pa)[ry]āyaṃ saṃ(prakā)śayitukāmaḥ sukhashthito bhavati . s{v}a sukhashthitāś ca dharmāṃ bhāṣati kāya{m}gataṃ vā{m}^(18b4) puṣtagataṃ⁴¹ vā{m} imaṃ dha(r)ma[pa][○][ryā]yaṃ pareṣā<m> deśayamāno . na cādhi{m}ātram upārambhajātiko bhavati [;] na cānyā dharmabhāṣakāṃ^(18b5) bhikṣu⁴² paribhavati⁴³
- 25 [na .] ca [t]e[○](śā)m avarṇaṃ bhāṣati nāvarṇaṃ cārayati [] na cānyeṣā śrāvakayānikānāṃ bhikṣūṇā nāmagrāhi^(18b6)kayā⁴⁴ ⁴⁵<avarṇaṃ cārayati . na ca teṣāṃ sāntike pratyarthikasamjñā bhavati . na cānyeṣāṃm api satvānāṃ nāmagrāhikāyā⁴⁵ avarṇa(m) bhāṣati na [nāma](grā)hikayā avarṇaṃ cārayati na cāsyā satveṣu pratyarthikasamjñā bhavati . tat kasya heto⁴⁶ ^(18b7) yathā (')pi tastva⁴⁷
- 30 sukhashthā[na]sthitatvāt* sa āgatāgatānāṃ dharmasrāvāṇikānāṃ anuparigrāhikatayā⁴⁸ ananyasūyikayā⁴⁹ ^(18b8) dharmāṃ deśayati avivadamāno na praśnaṃ prṣṭaḥ śrāvakayānena visarjayati . api tu [] tathā visarjayati [.]⁵⁰ yathā bu^(19a1)ddhajñānam abhisambuddhyaty

35 Lü (Lüshun Museum) A-10-b.b (cf. Jiang 1997: 74~75)

(A-10-b.b[2]) /// (visarjaya)ti ya<thā> buddhaj[ñā](nam) ///

Tib. Kanjur version, based upon T. 134b2~⁵¹

(T.134b2) 'Jam dpal⁵² gzhan yang /⁵³ de bzhin gshegs pa yongs su⁵⁴ ⁵⁵mya ngan las
'das nas /⁵⁶ phyi ma'i dus /⁵⁷ phyi ma'i tshe /⁵⁸ dam pa'i chos ⁵⁹rab tu 'jig par 'gyur
5 ba⁶⁰ na⁵⁹ /⁶¹ byang chub sems dpa' sems (T.134b3) dpa' chen po chos kyi ⁶²rnam
grangs 'di rab tu ston par 'dod pa ni /⁶³ bde ba la gnas pa yin no⁶⁴ // de⁶⁵ bde ba
la gnas nas⁶⁶ chos 'chad do // lus la yod dam /⁶⁷ glegs bam du byas sam /⁶⁸ gzhan
dag (T.134b4) la yang⁶⁹ ston na yang⁷⁰ /⁷¹ shin tu⁷² ⁷³klan ka tshol ba'i rang bzhin can
ma yin / dge slong chos smra ba gzhan dag la skur⁷⁴ bar⁷⁵ mi byed /⁷⁶ mi snyan pa
10 mi smra /⁷⁷ mi snyan pa mi⁷⁸ brjod⁷⁹ //⁸⁰ gzhan nyan thos kyi (T.134b5) ⁸¹theg pa can
gyi dge slong dag gi⁸² ming ⁸³smos te /⁸⁴ mi snyan⁸⁵ pa mi smra /⁸⁶ mi snyan pa⁸⁷
mi brjod⁸⁸ cing /⁸⁹ de dag la phyir rgol bar 'du shes pa ma yin no⁹⁰ // de ci'i phyir
zhe⁹¹ na /⁹² 'di ltar bde ba'i gnas la (T.134b6) gnas pa'i phyir te / de⁹³ chos nyan du⁹⁴
⁹⁵ongs shing lhags pa rnam la /⁹⁶ phan 'dogs pa dang⁹⁷ ⁹⁸phrag dog med par chos
15 ston to // mi rtsod cing⁹⁹ dri ba dris kyang nyan thos kyi ¹⁰⁰theg pas (T.134b7) lan
mi ldon te¹⁰¹ /¹⁰² ci nas¹⁰³ sangs rgyas kyi¹⁰⁴ ye shes mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang
rgya ba de lta bur¹⁰⁵ lan ldon no //

Bth (Bathang Kanjur) 117b6~

20 'Jam (117b7) dpal [] yang de bzhin gshegs pa yongsu mya ngan las 'das nas / [] phyi
ma'i tshe [] dam pa'i chos rab tu 'jig[s] par 'gyur ba na : byang chub sems dpa'
sems dpa' chen po chos kyi (117b8) rnam grangs 'di rab tu ston par 'dod pa ni :
¹⁰⁶bde bar gshegs pa₁ la gnas pa₁ ma₁ yin no¹⁰⁶ // de bde ba la gnas te [·] chos
'chad dam : [] lus la yod dam : glegs bam du byas sam / (117b9) gzhan dag tu [] ston
25 na {·} yang [] shin tu klan ka tshol ba'i rang bzhin can ma yin : dge slong chos
smra ba ¹⁰⁷gzhan [] la bskur pa mi byed / mi snyan [] mi smra [] mi snyan ba mi
brjod [pa] : [] gzhan (118a1) ☺☺ // ¹⁰⁸nyan thos kyi theg pa can gyi[s] dge slong dag
ni ming {mi} smos te /{/}¹⁰⁸ mi snyan bar mi smra {ba} [] mi snyan {·} ba mi brjod
[pa] cing : de dag la phyir rgol bar 'du shes pa ma yin no // de ci'i phyir zhe na /
30 ci ltar (118a2) bde ba{r}'i gnas la gnas pa'i phyir te / de chos mnyan [] 'ongs shing
lhag<s> pa rnam la phan 'dog<s> pa dang [· /] phrag tog med par chos ston to //
<mi rtsod cing> dri ba dris kyang nyan thos kyi theg pas lan mi ldon te // (118a3)
ci nas {·} sangs rgyas kyi ye shes mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya ba₁ de lta
bur <lan> ldan¹⁰⁹ no //

35

Tib. Kho. (Tibetan translation from Khotan) kha 52a6~

[· gzhan gyang →·] 'Jam dpal [·→·] [· byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po →·] / de

bzhin gshegs pa yongs su mya [nga]n las 'das nas / phyi ma ^(kha 52a7) 'i dus phyi ma
 'i tshe / dam pa 'i chos rab du 'jig par 'gyur ba na / _[/] _[←] chos gyi gzhung 'di rab
du ston par 'dod pa ni ' [/] bde <<ba>> la gnas pa yin no // de bde ba la gnas ste
 chos ^(kha 52a8) 'chad do // lus la yod dam / glegs bam du byas sam / ¹¹⁰gzhan _□ la
 5 ston na yang / shin du ¹¹¹dmigs pa can gyi rigs ma yin / _[/] dge ' slong _[pa] chos smra
 ba ¹¹²gzhan _□ la ^(kha 52b1) skurd pa myi byed // myi ¹¹³bsngags pa myi smra ' / _[/] myi
bsngags pa myi 'byind // gzhan _[gyang] nyan thos gyi theg pa can gyi dge ' slong
rnams gyi mying smos te / _[/] myi bsngags ^(kha 52b2) pa myi smra ' / myi bsngags pa myi
'byind _□ / _[/] de dag la _□ rgol bar 'du shes pa ma yin _□ // de ci 'i phyir zhe na / 'di
 10 ltar bde <<ba>> 'i gnas _[de] la 'dug pas _□ _[←] chos nyan par 'ongs shing ^(kha 52b3)
lhags pa ' // rjes su yongs 'dzin pa ¹¹⁴ _[←de] dag la / phrag dog myed par chos ston
te // myi rtsod par dri ba dris gyang nyan thos gyi theg pas lan myi ldon te / _[/] ci
 nas ^(kha 52b4) sangs rgyas gyi ye shes mngon bar _□ 'tshang rgya ba de lta bur ○ lan
 ldon no / _[/] /

15

Chin. Dr. 108b16~26

又語：“溥首！如來滅度之後，欲說此經，住于安隱。已立安隱，不懷諛諂，無眩
 惑心，乃說經法。藏厭身懷，或載竹帛，爲他人說，亦不多辭，亦無所生¹¹⁵。亦
 不輕慢諸餘比丘爲法師者，亦不歌歎，亦不毀訾。異心比丘爲聲聞者，未曾舉名
 20 說其瑕穢，亦不誹謗，亦不仇怨意相待之。¹¹⁶未曾毀訾居家行者，無所志願，不
 建¹¹⁷彼行，亦無所想。行來安住，而立誼¹¹⁸要，往來周旋。若詣法會，自護己身，
 行無有失，而說經法。若有請問，心無所猗，離聲聞乘，有所發遣¹¹⁹，覺了佛慧。
 ”¹²⁰

25 Chin. Kj. 37c29~38a7

又文殊師利！如來滅後，於末法中，欲說是^(38a)經，應住安樂行。若口宣說，若讀
 經時，不樂說人及經典過；亦不輕慢諸餘法師；不說他人好惡長短。於聲聞人亦
 不稱名說其過惡；亦不稱名讚歎其美；又亦不生怨嫌之心，善修如是安樂心故。
 諸有聽者不逆其意。有所難問，不以小乘法答，但以大乘而爲解說，令得一切種
 30 智。¹²¹

XIII § 14 (KN.283.5~15)

G/N (Gilgit/Nepalese version), based upon D2. 77a3~ (D3. 115b9~)

atha khalu bhagavāṃs tasyāṃ velāyāṃ imā gāthā abhāṣata //¹

35 sukhasthito bhoti sadā vicakṣaṇo² sukhaṃ niṣaṇṇo³ tatha⁴ dharmu⁵ bhāṣati⁶ //
 udāra ^(D2.77a4) ⁸prajñapta karitva⁸ āsanaṃ caukṣe manojñe pṛthivīpradeśe //⁹ (=

26)

caukṣāṃś¹⁰ ca so cīvara¹¹ prāvaritvā¹² suraktaraṅgān¹³ supraśastaraṅgaiḥ¹² /¹⁴
 āsevakan¹⁵ kṛṣṇa tathādeditvā¹⁶ mahāpramāṇam ca nivāsaitvā //¹⁷ (= 27)

(D2.77a5) sapādapīṭhasmi¹⁸ niṣadya āsane vicitraduṣyehi¹⁹ susamśrtesmin*²⁰ /²¹

5 sudhautapādaś ca upāruhitvā²² snigdhenā²³ śīrṣeṇā²⁴ mukhena cāpi //²⁵ (= 28)

dharmāsane tatra²⁶ niṣīdiyāna²⁷ ²⁸ekāgrasa^(D2.77a6) tveṣu samāgateṣu

upasaṃharec²⁹ citrakathāṃ³⁰ bahūṃś³¹ ca bhikṣūna³² co³³ bhikṣuṇikāna³⁴ cāiva³⁵
 //³⁶ (= 29)

³⁷upāsakānām ca upāsikānām rājñām³⁸ tathā rājasutāna cāiva /³⁹

10 vicitritārthāṃ⁴⁰ madhurām kathe^(D2.77a7) yā⁴¹ anabhyasūyantu⁴² sadā⁴³ sa⁴⁴ paṇḍitaḥ
 // (= 30)⁴⁵

O (Khādaliq MS. = "Kashgar" MS.) 270a2~

atha khalu bhagavāṃs tasyām velāyām imā gāthā abhāṣata //

15 sukhashhitau⁴⁶ bha^(270a3) vati sadā vicakṣaṇaḥ sukhaṃ ni{ṣ}ṣaṇṇas tatha dharma
 bhā{ṣ}ṣati //

udāra prajñāpti⁴⁷ karitva^(270a4) āsanaṃ cokṣe ma○naujñe⁴⁸ pṛthivīpradeśe • (1)
 (= 26)

caukṣāṃś ca sau⁴⁹ cīvara prāvaritvā suraṅgara^(270a5) ktān⁵⁰ supraśastaraṅgai • ⁵⁰

20 āsevakā kṛṣṇa tathādeditvā mahāpramā{ṃ}ṇam ca nivāsa^(270a6) yitvā (2) (= 27)

sapādapīṭhasmi niṣīdi⁵¹ āsane vicitraduṣyebhi⁵² susamśkratasmi •

sudhautapāda^(270a7) s tahim āruhitvā snigdhenā śīrṣeṇā mukhena cāpi 2⁵³ (= 28)

dharmāsane tasmi niṣīdayātvā⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ekai^(270b1) kasatve tahi āgatasmī •

25 upasaṃhare citrakathāṃ bahū{ṃ}vidhāṃ bhikṣūna ca⁵⁶ bhikṣuṇikā^(270b2) na cāiva
 // (4) (= 29)

upāsakānām ca upāsikānām rājñā tathā rājasutāna cāiva •

vicitra^(270b3) arthā adhurā⁵⁷ katheyā anabhyasūyamtu sadā hi⁵⁸ paṇḍita 5 (= 30)

F (Farhād-Bēg) 19a1~

30 atha khalu bhagavāṃs tasyām velāyām imā gāthā (')ddhyabhāṣat* //

sukhashhito bhavati sadā vicakṣaṇaḥ ^(19a2) sukha<ṃ> niṣaṇṇas tatha dharma
 bhāṣati :

udāra prajñāpta karitva āsa{saṃ}na<ṃ> • cokṣe manujñe⁵⁹ pṛthivīpradeśe •
 (1) (= 26)

35 cokṣā<ṃ>ś ca so cīvara prāvari^(19a3) tvā sura[n]ga[raktaṃ] supraśastaraṅgai (•)⁶⁰

⁶¹(n)idāni ca⁶² āyasake⁶¹ (')daditvā mahāpramāṇam ca nivāsaitvā 2 (= 27)

sapādapīṭhasmi niṣīdi⁶³ ^(19a4) āsane vicitra(duṣ)yebhi su○(saṃs)krtasmin*

sudhotapādas tahim āruhitvā snigdhenā śīrṣeṇā mukhena cāpi 3 (= 28)

- dharmāsane ta_(19a5)smi niṣīdiyāna ⁶⁴ek(ai)○(kasatv)ai tahi āgatasmi
 upasaṃhare citrakathā bahūvidhā bhikṣūṇa ca⁶⁵ bhikṣuṇikā[ṃ]na c(') eva 4 (= 29)
_(19a6) upāsakānāṃ ca (upāsikā)nā(ṃ) • rājñā tathā rājasutāna cāiva :
 5 vicitra-arthā madhurā kareyā⁶⁶ ananyasūyantū⁶⁷ sadā _(19a7) hi paṇḍita (5) (= 30)
-

Lü (Lüshun Museum) A-10-b.b, A-10-a.b (cf. Jiang 1997: 74~77)

- _(A-10-b.b[3]) /// prajñapta [k](arit)v(a) /// (= 26)
_(A-10-b.b[4]) /// (nivāsait)[v]ā 2 (= 27)
 10 sa○ /// (= 28)
_(A-10-a.b8) /// [ta]thā rājasu .. /// (= 30)
-

Tib. Kanjur version, based upon T. 134b7~⁶⁸

- de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis⁶⁹ de'i tshes ⁷⁰tshigs su bcad pa 'di dag bka' stsal _(T.134b8)
 15 to //
 mkhas pa bde la rtag tu gnas par 'gyur //
⁷¹de la 'dug nas de⁷² bzhin chos kyang ston //
 gtsang zhing yid du⁷³ 'ong⁷⁴ ba'i sa phyogs su⁷⁵ //
 yangs pa'i stan⁷⁶ ni rab tu⁷⁷ bshams bting ste⁷⁸ // (= 26)
 20 _(T.135a1) bzung po'i tshon⁷⁹ gyis legs par kha bsgyur ba⁸⁰ //
 chos gos gtsang ma de⁸¹ ni rab bgos nas //
 rngul gzan⁸² nag po⁸³ de bzhin bshams⁸⁴ byas la //
 sham⁸⁵ thabs che⁸⁶ tshad⁸⁷ legs par _(T.135a2) rab bgos nas // (= 27)
 bcos bu'i ras rnams sna tshogs legs bting ba⁸⁸ //
 25 rkang⁸⁹ rten bcas⁹⁰ pa'i khri la rab 'dug cing //
 rkang pa legs par bkrus te steng⁹¹ 'dzegs nas //
 mgo dang bzhin gyi⁹² _(T.135a3) mdangs⁹³ ni rab snum⁹⁴ zhing // (= 28)
 chos kyi stan de la ni rab 'dug nas⁹⁵ //
 sems can lhags⁹⁶ pa⁹⁷ rtse gcig gyur rnams la //
 30 gtam mang rnam⁹⁸ pa sna tshogs nye bar⁹⁹ ston //
 dge slong dag dang dge _(T.135a4) slong ma rnams dang // (= 29)
 dge bsnyen rnams¹⁰⁰ dang dge bsnyen ma dag dang //
 rgyal po dag dang rgyal bu rnams la yang //
 mkhas de¹⁰¹ rtag tu phrag¹⁰² dog med par ni //
 35 sna tshogs don ldan snyan pa'i gtam _(T.135a5) yang ston // (= 30)
-

Bth (Bathang Kanjur) 118a3~

- de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis de'i tshe [·] tshigsu bcad pa 'di dag bka' stsal to //
- mkhas «pa» bde ^(118a4) la rtag tu gnas par 'gyur :
- ¹⁰³ bde la 'dug nas [·] de bzhin {{du}} chos kying¹⁰⁴ ston /
- gtsang zhing yid du 'ong ba'i sa phyogsu //
- 5 yangs pa'i stan ni rab tu bsham¹⁰⁵ brings te // (= 26)
- bzang po'i(i) tshon gyis legs ^(118a5) bar kha bsgyur ba :
- chos gos gtsang ma de ni rab bgos nas //
- rngul zan¹⁰⁷ nag po de ni¹⁰⁸ bsham¹⁰⁹ byas pa //
- shams¹¹⁰ thabs ¹¹¹ tshe ched lags¹¹² par rab bgos nas // (= 27)
- 10 bcos bu_□¹¹³ ras rnam sna tshogs ^(118a6) legs [·] bting ba :
- rkang rten bcas pa'i khri la rab 'dug cing //
- rkang pa legs par bkrus te sting¹¹⁴ jogs¹¹⁵ nas //
- mgo dang bzhin gyi[s] mdangs ni rab {b}snun zhing // (= 28)
- chos kyi stan de la ni rab ^(118a7) {tu} 'dug nas :
- 15 sems can ¹¹⁶ lhag par rtse gcig gyur rnam la :
- gtam mang rnam pa sna tshogs nye bar ston :
- dge slong dag dang dge slong ma rnam dang : (= 29)
- dge bsnyen ma¹¹⁷ dang {·} dge bsnyen ma ^(118a8) dag dang :
- rgyal po dag dang {·} rgyal bu rnam la yang //
- 20 mkhas te¹¹⁸ rtag tu phrag tog¹¹⁹ med par ni //
- sna tshogs don ldan snyan ba'i gtam yang ston // (= 30)

Tib. Kho. (Tibetan translation from Khotan) kha 52b4~

- de nas bcom ldan 'das gyis de'i tshe tshigsu bcad pa 'di _□ gsungs so //
- 25 ^(kha 52b5) [//] mkhas pa bde la rtag du gnas par 'gyur // ○ [/]
- ¹²⁰ bde la 'dug nas de bzhin chos gyang 'chad //
- [·] rgya che'i ○ stan ni rab du bshams byas pa' // →·]
- ^(kha 52b6) gtsang zhing yid du 'ong ba'i sa phyogs su // [←·] (= 26)
- [·] ¹²¹ des ni chos gos bzang po rab gyond te // →·]
- 30 dge' ba'i tshon gyis shin du zhen pa'¹²² // [←·]
- rngul zan¹²³ nag po de bzhin [rab] ^(kha 52b7) bshams _□ te //
- shin tu che ba'i smad gyogs¹²⁴ _□ rab bgos nas // (= 27)
- [·] rkang rten _□ khri'u [dang stan] la de 'dug ste // →·]
- sna tshogs ¹²⁵ du sha'i gos rnam rab tu bting _□ // [←·]
- 35 ^(kha 52b8) shin du rkang <<pa>> bkrus te steng 'dzegs nas //
- mgo dang bzhin _□ ni shin du snun ba ste // (= 28)
- chos gyi stan de la _□ 'dug nas [su]¹²⁶ //
- [·] rtse gcig ba'i →·] sems can lhag[s] pa [←·] _□ la /

³⁰saṃharṣayet parṣa³¹ tathāiva toṣaye³² ³³na cāpi kiṃcit tatu³⁴ jātu prārthayet* // (= 33)

³⁵khādyam ca bhojyam ca ³⁶tathā (')nnapānam vastrāṇi ³⁷śayyāsanacīvarān³⁸ vā³⁹ /⁴⁰

5 gilānabhaiṣajya na cintayeta⁴¹ na _(D2.77b1) ⁴²vijñapeyā⁴³ pariśāya⁴⁴ kiṃcit⁴⁵ // (= 34)

anyatra cinteya sadā⁴⁶ vicakṣaṇo⁴⁷ bhaveya⁴⁸ buddho (')ham ime ca⁴⁹ satvāḥ⁵⁰ etaṃ⁵¹ mama⁵² ⁵³sarvasukhōpadhānam ⁵⁴yaṃ dharmu⁵⁴ śrāvemi hitāya loke // ⁵⁵(= 35)

10 ye⁵⁶ cāpi bhikṣū⁵⁷ ⁵⁸mama nirvṛtasya a_(D2.77b2) nīrṣuko⁵⁹ eva⁶⁰ prakāśayeyā⁶¹ /⁶² na tasya duḥkham⁶³ na ca antarāyo⁶⁴ ⁶⁵na śokupāyāsa bhavet kadācit⁶⁵ // (= 36) na tasya saṃtrāsana⁶⁶ kaści⁶⁷ kuryān⁶⁸ na tādanam⁶⁹ nāpi avarṇa⁷⁰ bhāṣe⁷¹ /⁷² na cāpi niṣkāsanu⁷³ jātu tasya tathā hi _(D2.77b3) so⁷⁴ kṣāntibale⁷⁵ pratiṣṭhitaḥ // (= 37)

15 sukhashtitasya⁷⁶ sada⁷⁷ paṇḍitasya⁷⁸ evaṃ sthitasya⁷⁹ yatha bhāṣitaṃ mayā /⁸⁰ guṇāna koṭīśata bhonty aneke na ⁸¹śakya ye kalpaśatehi⁸² vaktum iti // ⁸³(= 38)

O (Khādaliq MS. = "Kashgar" MS.) 270b3~

dṛṣṭvā ca prṣṭam tatha praśna _(270b4) tebhīr anuloma○<m a>rtha<m> nipuṇam⁸⁴ nidarśayet*

tathā ca saṃdarśayi arthu paṇḍito⁸⁵ yaṃ śrutva _(270b5) bodhāya bhaveyu lābhinaḥ 6 (= 31)

kilāsatām⁸⁶ cāpi vivarjayeta na cāpi utpāda_(270b6)yi khedasaṃjñā :

aratim ca sarvā vijaheta piṇḍito⁸⁷ maitrābalaṃ ca pariśāya bhāva_(270b7)yet* (7) (= 32)

bhāṣe ca rātriṃdivam agradharmam dṛṣṭāntakoṭinayutebhi⁸⁸ ⁸⁹paṇḍita .

saṃharṣayet pariśa tathā_(271a1)va toṣaye na cāpi kiñcāt⁹⁰ tatu jātu prārthayet* 8 (= 33)

30 khādyam ca bhaujyam⁹¹ ca tathā (')nnapā_(271a2)nam vastrāṇi śayyāsanacīvarāmś ca .

gilānabhaiṣajya na jātu cintayen na vijñapeta pa_(271a3)riśāya kiñcit* 9 (= 34)

anyatra cinteya sadā vicakṣaṇo bhaveya buddho (')ham ime ca satvāḥ _(271a4) evaṃ⁹² mama sarva○sukhōpadhānam yad dharma śraveya⁹³ (')tha sarvaprāṇinām*⁹⁴ (10) (= 35)

35 yaś cāpi bhikṣu_(271a5)r mama nirvṛtasya aniṣkuha-m-eva⁹⁵ prakāśayīta⁹⁶ .

na tasya duḥkham na pi antarāyah śokam ca _(271a6) ākrrauśa⁹⁷ na jātu tasya⁹⁸ 11 (= 36)

na tasya saṃtrāsana kaści kuryā na tātanā⁹⁹ nāpi avarṇabhā_(271a7)ṣaṇam*

¹⁰⁰nāpy asya niṣkālana jātu-r-asya tathā hi sa kṣāntibale pratiṣṭhita 12 (= 37)

40 sukhashti_(271b1)tasya¹⁰¹ tatha paṇḍitasya evaṃ sthitasya yatha bhāṣitaṃ mayā .

guṇāna kauṭīśata¹⁰² bho_(271b2) nty anekā na śakyate kalpaśatebhi vaktam^{*103} 13 (= 38) //

Khā (frag. from Khādaliq) (cf. Wille 2000: 86) 63a1~2

- 5 _(63a1) /// [ś]rutva bodhāya /// (= 31)
_(63a2) /// (h)[et](a) pa[ṇḍ]i[t]o (m)ai + /// (= 32)
-

F (Farhād-Bēg) 19a7~

- dr̥ṣṭ[v]ā ca dr̥ṣṭam¹⁰⁴ tatha praśna tebhi [a]nuloma artha<ṃ> nipuṇam¹⁰⁵
 10 nidarśayet*
 yathā¹⁰⁶ ca saṃdarśayi artha paṇḍi_(19a8)to¹⁰⁷ yaṃ śrutva bodhāya bhaveyu lābhinaḥ
 6 (= 31)
 kelāsitaṃ¹⁰⁸ cāpi vivarjayeta na cāpi utpādayi khedasamjñān^{*109}
 arati<ṃ> ca _(19b1) sarvā vijaheta paṇḍito maitrābalaṃ ca pariśā « ya » bhā[v]ayet^{*110}
 15 7 (= 32)
 bhāsec ca rātri<ṃ>divam agradharmam dr̥ṣṭāntakoṭinayutebhi¹¹¹ paṇḍitaḥ
 saṃharṣa_(19b2)yet pariśa tath(°) eva tośayo[n¹¹² na] cāpi ¹¹³kiñci¹¹³ jātu
 prārtha[^{yet*} 8] (= 33)
 khādyam ca bh[o]jyam ca {t}tathā (°)nnapānam vastrāṇi
 20 ¹¹⁴śa[r]yāsanacīva_(19b3)rā<ṃ>ś ca
 gilānabhaiśajya na jātu cintayet* (na) v(i)jñapeta pariśāya kiñcit* 9 (= 34)
 anyatra ¹¹⁵cinte¹¹⁵ [vica]kṣaṇo bhaveya bu_(19b4)ddho (°)ham ime ca
 satvā{ṃ}h¹¹⁶
 evam¹¹⁷ ○ mama sarvasukhōpadānam¹¹⁸ yad dharma śrāveya (°)tha
 25 sarvaprāṇinām^{*119} 10 (= 35)
 yaś cāpi bhikṣ(u)[r] mama nirvr_(19b5)tasya aniṣkuha-m-eva¹²⁰ pra○kāśayi[ta]¹²¹ :
 na tasya duḥkham na pi antarāṇa¹²² śokam ca ākrośa¹²³ na jātu-r-asya¹²⁴ 11 (= 36)
 [na] tasya saṃ_(19b6)trāsan[a] kaści kuryā na tā{ṃ}ṭanā¹²⁵ nā{ṃ}pi
 30 [a](va)rṇabhāṣaṇam*
 nāpy asya niṣkālana jātu-r-asya¹²⁶ tathā hi sa kṣānti[ba]le pratiṣṭhi_(19b7)ta 12(= 37)
 sukhashthitasya¹²⁷ tatha pa(ṇḍita)sya evam sthitasya yatha bhāṣitaṃ mayā
 guṇāna koṭ(i)śata bh(ont)[y a]nekā na śakyate _(19b8) kalpaśatena¹²⁸ vaktum* 13
 35 (= 38) //

Lü (Lüshun Museum) A-10-a.b (cf. Jiang 1997: 76~77)

- _(A-10-a.b9) /// ¹²⁹[rśa] .. + [ta]thā ca saṃdarśa .. /// (= 31)
_(A-10-a.b10) /// sarvvā prajaheya¹³⁰ [pa]ṇḍat.¹³¹ /// (= 32)

(A-10-a.b11) /// .. thâiva toşayen na câpi kim /// (= 33)

Tib. Kanjur version, based upon T. 135a5~¹³²

de tshe de¹³³ la de¹³⁴ dag¹³⁵ dri dris nas //

- 5 de la mthun¹³⁶ pa'i¹³⁷ don rnam rab tu ston //
 ci nas thos pas¹³⁸ byang chub¹³⁹ thob 'gyur ba //
 de ltar don gyi¹⁴⁰ rnam pa rab tu ston // (= 31)¹⁴²
 le lo dag kyang¹⁴³ rnam par (T.135a6) rab spangs nas //
 skyo ba snyam pa'i 'du shes bskyed mi bya //
- 10 mkhas pas¹⁴⁴ mi dga' thams cad¹⁴⁵ rnam par spang¹⁴⁶ //
 byams pa'i stobs ni 'khor la¹⁴⁷ bsgom par bya // (= 32)
 nyin mtshan du yang (T.135a7) chos¹⁴⁹ mchog rab tu¹⁵⁰ bsgom¹⁵¹ //
 mkhas pa des ni bye ba khrag khrig dpes¹⁵² //
 'khor rnam¹⁵³ mgu zhing de bzhin dga' bar byed //
- 15 de la nam yang 'dod pa cung¹⁵⁴ zad med // (= 33)
 zas dang skom¹⁵⁵ dang¹⁵⁶ (T.135a8) bza' dang bca' ba dang //
 gos dang mal cha chos gos¹⁵⁷ rnam dang ni //
 na ba'i gsos¹⁵⁸ sman dag kyang mi bsam ste¹⁵⁹ //
 'khor rnam la ni ci yang mi¹⁶⁰ bslang ngo // (= 34)
- 20 gzhan du¹⁶¹ mkhas pa rtag tu bdag nyid dang //
 (T.135b1) sems can 'di dag sangs rgyas grub¹⁶² par shog //
 phan phyir 'jig¹⁶³ rten chos gang bstan¹⁶⁴ pa de //
 bdag gi¹⁶⁵ bde ba'i yo byad¹⁶⁶ kun snyam¹⁶⁷ sems // (= 35)
 dge slong gang zhig mya ngan nga 'das nas //
- 25 ¹⁶⁸phrag dog (T.135b2) med par 'di ni rab ston pa //
 de la sdug bsngal med cing bar chad med //
¹⁶⁹nam kyang mya ngan rnam dang¹⁷⁰ khrug pa'ang med // (= 36)
 de la su yang sngangs¹⁷² par mi byed de¹⁷³ //
 rdeg¹⁷⁴ pa med¹⁷⁵ cing mi snyan smra¹⁷⁶ ba'ang (T.135b3) med //
- 30 de ni nam yang¹⁷⁸ bskrad¹⁷⁹ par mi 'gyur te //
 'di ltar de ni bzod pa'i stobs la gnas // (= 37)
 rtag¹⁸⁰ tu mkhas pa bde¹⁸¹ la gnas pa de¹⁸² //
 ji ltar ngas¹⁸³ bshad bzhin du gnas pa ni //
 yon tan bye ba¹⁸⁴ du (T.135b4) ma brgya 'byung ste //
- 35 de ni ¹⁸⁵bskal pa brgyar¹⁸⁶ yang brjod mi nus // (= 38)

Bth (Bathang Kanjur) 118a8~

de tshe de la de dag chos¹⁸⁷ dris nas :

- de la mthun ^(118b1) ba'i chos¹⁸⁸ rnam rab tu ston :
 [ci] nas thos pas byang chub thob 'gyur ba :
 de ltar don gyi rnam par¹⁸⁹ rab tu ston : (= 31)
 le lo dag kyang rnam par rab spangs nas //
- 5 skyo ba snyam pa'i 'du shes bskyed mi bya :
 mkhas pas ^(118b2) mi dga' thams cad rnam par spangs¹⁹⁰ //
 byams pa'i stobs ni 'khor la bsgom par bya // (= 32)
 nyin mtshan du yang chos mchog rab tu bsgom //
¹⁹¹mkhas pas des ni bye ba khrag khrig dpes :
- 10 'khor rnam ^(118b3) mgu zhing de bzhin dga' ba byed :
 de la nam yang ¹⁹²cung zad 'dod pa med // (= 33)
 zas dang skom dang « bza' dang » bca' ba dang :
 gos dang ¹⁹³mal ca chos gos rnam dang ni :
 na ba'i gso sman dag kyang mi bsam ste //
- 15 'khor _□ la ni ^(118b4) ci [ltar] yang mi slang¹⁹⁴ ngo ĩ (= 34)
 gzhan du mkhas pa rtag tu bdag nyid dang : //
 sems can 'di dag sangs rgyas 'grub¹⁹⁵ par shog /
 phan phyir 'jig rten chos gang bstan pa de //
 bdag {ca} gi bde ^(118b5) ba'i yo ¹⁹⁶byed kun snyam sems // (= 35)
- 20 dge slong gang zhig mya ngan « nga » 'das nas //
 phrag tog¹⁹⁷ med par « de¹⁹⁸ ni » rab ston te //
 de la sdug bsngal med cing phrag tog¹⁹⁹ med //
²⁰⁰nam ma yang mya ngan med cing²⁰¹ ^(118b6) 'khrug pa_□ med : (= 36)
 de la su yang sngang bar mi byed de :
- 25 brdegs pa med cing mi snyan smra ba_□ med //
 de ni nam yang skrag²⁰² par mi 'gyur te //
 'di ltar de ni bzod pa'i stobs la gnas // (= 37)
 rtag tu ^(118b7) mkhas pa de la gnas {;} pa de :
ci ltar ngas bshad <bzhin> du ²⁰³ni « gnas pa : »
- 30 yon tan bye ba du ma brgya 'byung ste //
 de ni bskal pa brgyar yang brjod mi nus // (= 38)

Tib. Kho. (Tibetan translation from Khotan) kha 53a2~

- de 'is de ltar dri [ba] dris nas [gyang] //
- 35 de la ²⁰⁴dun ^(kha 53a3) ba don rnam rab tu ston //
 [de 'i don gyi rnam pa ²⁰⁵de bzhin ston // →]
 ci nas thos te byang cub thob par ro // [←] (= 31; cf. ItS. 71~72)
²⁰⁶skyo ba rnam gyang rnam par rab spangs nas //

- (kha 53a4) skyo ba snyam ba'i 'du shes myi bskyed do //
 mkhas pas ²⁰⁷myi mos pa [yang] ²⁰⁸thams cad spangs²⁰⁹ //
 byams pa stobs ni 'khor la ○ sgom bar byed // (= 32)
 nyin mtshan du 'ang chos (kha 53a5) mchog [] sgom [ba ni] //
 5 mkhas pa des ni bye ba khrag ○ khrig dpes //
 'khor rnam mgu' zhing de bzhin dga' ○ bar byed //
 de [dag] la ni ²¹⁰cung zad 'dod pa (kha 53a6) myed // (= 33)
 zas dang skom dang [de bzhin] ²¹¹ [] bca' ba dang //
 gos dang ²¹²mal ca chos gos rnam la yang //
 10 na ba'i phyir gyang sman gyang myi sems te //
 'khor rnam la ni (kha 53a7) cung zad myi slong ngo // (= 34)
 mkhas pas rtag tu ²¹³bsam ba 'di ma gtogs //
 bdag [] dang sems can 'di dag sangs rgyas 'gyurd //
 [bdag gi bde ba'i yo byad kun 'di ste // →] //
 15 (kha 53a8) ²¹⁴jig rten phan phyir chos gang bsgrags pa'o // [←] (= 35)
dge' slong gang gis mya ngan nga 'das nas //
 phrag dog myed par 'di bzhin rab ston pa /</>
 de la {} sdug bsngal (kha 53b1) my[e]d cing bar cad myed //
²¹⁵slos pa'i mya ngan 'khrug pa yong myed [de] // (= 36)
 20 de la su yang sngangs par byed pa myed //
 rdeg pa myed cing myi bsngags smra ba [] myed //
 (kha 53b2) de dag nam yang bskrad par myi 'gyur te //
de ltar de ni bzod pa'i stobs la gnas // (= 37)
 rtag du mkhas pa bde la gnas pa de //
 25 ji ltar ngas bshad bzhin du (kha 53b3) gnas pa dag //
 yon tan bye ba du ma brgya' 'byung ste //
 de ni bskal pa brgyar gyang smrar myi nus // [/] (= 38)

Chin. Dr. 108c11~109a3

- 30 “追逐侍後²¹⁶ 請求問誼²¹⁷ 斯叡哲者²¹⁸ 復爲解說
 而入神足 柔順之忍 其有聽聞 悉得佛道 (= 31)
 斯智慧士 皆爲一切 進却棄除 懈怠疲厭
 常以慈心 爲衆說法²¹⁹ 未曾起于 勞廢之想 (= 32)
 晝夜歌誦 詠尊法訓 分別演說 億千²²⁰ 姦喻
 35 普能勸悅 諸會者心 無敢生念 欲危害者²²¹ (= 33)
 若得供養 飲食之具 床臥所安 衣服被枕
 病瘦醫藥 而無僥冀 不從衆人 有所請求 (= 34)
 除其瞻勞 住廟精舍 欲令衆庶 悉解佛道
 若一切人²²² 來聽經法 我乃嘉豫²²³ 如獲大安²²⁴ (= 35)

- 佛滅度後 若有比丘 宣揚經法 無所悒²²⁵望²²⁶
 無所妨廢 不遭苦患 常察精進 離於疾病 (= 36)
 無能爲彼 造恐²²⁷怖事 不被杖痛 無誹謗想²²⁸
 身無疲厭 不有所患 其人住忍 得力如是 (= 37)
 5 (109a) 其明智者 所處安隱 有所存立²²⁹ 如佛言詔²³⁰
 若以²³¹諮嗟 億百功德 一切稱譽 不能究竟 ” (= 38)²³²

Chin. Kj. 38a15~b1

- “若有難問²³³ 隨義而答 因緣譬喻 敷演分別
 10 以是方便 皆使發心 漸漸增益 入於佛道 (= 31)
 除懶惰意 及懈怠想 離諸憂惱 慈心說法 (= 32)
 晝夜常說 無上道教 以諸因緣 無量譬喻 開示衆生 咸令歡喜 (= 33)
 衣服臥具 飲食醫藥 而於其中 無所悒²³⁴望 (= 34)
 但一心念 說法因緣 願成²³⁵佛道 令衆亦爾 是則大利 安樂供養 (= 35)
 15 我滅度後 若有比丘 能演說斯 《妙法華經》
 心無嫉恚 諸惱障礙 亦無憂愁²³⁶ 及罵詈者 (= 36)
 又無怖畏 加刀杖等 亦無擯出 安住忍故 (= 37)
 智者如是 善修其心 能住安樂 如我上說
 其人功德 (38b) 千萬億劫 算數譬喻 說不能盡 (= 38) ”²³⁷

20

XIII § 16 (KN.285.5~286.4)

G/N (Gilgit/Nepalese version), based upon D2. 77b3~ (D3. 116b3~)

- punar aparāṃ Maṃjuśrīr¹ bodhi_(D2.77b4) satvo mahāsatvaḥ² tathāgatasya
 parinirvṛtasya saddharmakṣayāntakāle³ vartamāne⁴ idaṃ sūtram dhārayamāṇo⁵
 25 bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ anīṣuko⁷ bhavaty aśaṭhaḥ amāyāvī⁸ na cānyeṣāṃ
 bodhisatvayānīyānām⁹ pu_(D2.77b5) dgalānām avarṇaṃ¹⁰ bhāṣate¹¹ /¹² nāvavadate¹³
 nāvasādayate¹⁴ /¹⁵ 16na cānyeṣāṃ bhikṣubhikṣuṇyupāsakōpāsikānām¹⁷
 śrāvakayānīyānām vā¹⁸ pratyekabuddhayānīyānām vā¹⁹ 20bodhisatvayānīyānām²¹ vā²²
 (D2.77b6) 23kauṛṭyam upasaṃharati / "dūre yūyaṃ kulaputrā (?)nuttarāyāḥ²⁴
 30 25samyakṣambodheḥ / na ca²⁶ tasyā²⁷ yūyaṃ saṃdṛśyadhve²⁸ /
 atyantapramattavihāriṇo²⁹ yūyaṃ 30na yūyaṃ³¹ pratibalās taṃ jñānam
 abhisamboddhum" ity evaṃ (D2.77b7) 32na kasyacid bodhisatvayānīyasya³³ kauṛṭyam
 upasaṃharate³⁴ /³⁵ na ca dharmavivādābhirato bhavati / na dharmavivādam³⁶ karoti
 /³⁷ sarvasatvānām cāntike³⁸ maitrībalaṃ³⁹ na jahāti⁴⁰ / sarvatathāgatānām cāntike⁴¹
 35 42pitṛ_(D2.77b8) saṃjñāṃ utpādayati sarvabodhisatvānām cāntike⁴³ śāstrisaṃjñāṃ⁴⁴
 utpādayati / ye ca daśasu dikṣu loke bodhisatvā mahāsatvās tān abhikṣṇam
 adhyāśayena gauraveṇa ca⁴⁵ namaskurute⁴⁶ / dharmam ca 47deśa_(D2.77b9) yamāno
 (?)nūnam anadhikam⁴⁸ dharmam deśayati / samena dharmapremṇā⁴⁹ na ca⁵⁰ kasyacid

antaśo dharmapremṇā⁵¹ (')py adhikatarāṃ anugrahāṃ ⁵²karoti / imaṃ ca⁵³
dharmaparyāyaṃ saṃprakāśayamāṇaḥ⁵⁴ /⁵⁵

O (Khādaliq MS. = "Kashgar" MS.) 271b2~

5 punar aparaṃ Ma<ṃ>juśrīr bodhisatvo mahāsatva_(271b3)s tathāgatasya
parinirvṛtasya ⁵⁶paścime kāle paścime samaye saddharmakṣayāntakāle varta_(271b4)māne
idaṃ sūtraṃ ○ dhārayamāno bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ anīrṣyako⁵⁷ bhavati · aśaṭho
(271b5) hy amāyāvī · na cānyeṣāṃ ⁵⁸ bhikṣū<ṇāṃ bhikṣu>ṇyāṃ vā upāsakānāṃ vā
upāsikānāṃ vā · śrā_(271b6)vakayānikānāṃ ⁵⁹ pratyekabuddhayānikānāṃ vā
10 bodhisatvayānikānāṃ vā kaukṛtya_(271b7)m upasaṃharati dūre yūyaṃ kulaputrā
⁶⁰anuttarāyāṃ samyakṣambuddhe na ⁶¹ yūyaṃ tatra⁶² dharmeṣu _(272a1)
saṃdrś<y>atha⁶³ iti · anyatrātyāmtapramattavihāriṇaś cāiva yūyaṃ na yūyaṃ
pratibalās ta<ṃ> _(272a2) jñānam abhisambo<d>dhum iti · evaṃ _{hi} na kasyacid
⁶⁴chrāvāvakayānikasya vā pratyekabuddhayā_(272a3)nikasya vā bodhisatvayānikasya vā
15 kaukṛtyam upasaṃharati · na ca dharmavivādābhi_(272a4)rato bhavati · na ○ ca
dharmavivādaṃ karauti⁶⁵ · sarvasatvānāṃ ⁶⁶ antike maitrābalaṃ na _(272a5) vijahati
· sarvatathāgatānāṃ cāntike piṭṣaṃjñāṃ utpādayati sarvabodhisa_(272a6)tvānāṃ
cāntike śāstrsaṃjñāṃ utpādayati · ye (')pi⁶⁷ daśasu dikṣu loka bodhisatvā
ma_(272a7)hāsatvā<s tā>n abhikṣṇaṃ namasyati · adhyāśayena gorave{h}ṇa⁶⁸ ⁶⁹
20 dharmāṃ ⁷⁰ deśayamāṇaḥ an{n}ūnam a_(272b1)nadhikāṃ ⁷¹ sarveṣāṃ dharmāṃ deśayati
· samena <dharma>premeṇa⁷² na ⁷³ kasyacid antamaśo dharmapremeṇāpy
ati_(272b2)reka<tara>ṃ⁷⁴ dharmānu<pari>grahāṃ karoti imaṃ ca dharmaparyāyaṃ
saṃprakāśayamāṇaḥ

25 **Khā (frag. from Khādaliq)** (cf. Wille 2000: 86~87) 63b5~6

_(63b5) /// + [k]ānā[m]⁷⁵ .. + .. + + /// _(63b6) /// .. [c]ā[ny]eṣāṃ bhikṣ[ū]ṇāṃ [bh]i .. ///

F (Farhād-Bēg) 19b8~

punar aparaṃ Manyuśrīḥ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷paścime kāle tathāgate parinirvṛte
30 saddharmakṣayāntakāle varttamā_(20a1)ne imaṃ sūtraṃ dhārayamāno bodhisatvo
mahāsatva anīrṣyuko⁷⁸ bhavati · aśaṭho hy amāyāvī : na cānyeṣāṃ
bodhisatvayā_(20a2)nikānāṃ pudgalānāṃ avarṇaṃ bhāṣati nāvarṇaṃ .. [raya]ti⁷⁹ na ca
bodhisatvayāni[kāṃ pud]galāṃ ⁸⁰ .. [va]dati nāpama_(20a3)nyati ⁸¹[n]ā .. sā[dhaya]ti na
(cāny)e(śā)ṃ bhikṣūṇā bhikṣuṇyā vā{m} upāsakānā vā upāsikānāṃ vā ·
35 śrāvaka[y]ā[n]ikānāṃ vā · _(20a4) pratyekabuddhayānikānāṃ ○ vā{m}
[b]o(dhi)[sa]tvayānikānāṃ vā{m} · kaukutyam⁸² upasaṃharati · ⁸³dūre yūyaṃ

kulaputrāḥ^(20a5) anuttarāyā samyaksam○b[o]dhau : [na] _□⁸⁴ yūyaṃ tatra⁸⁵ dharmeṣu
 samdrśyatha iti anyatr⁸⁶ âtyantapramatta[v](i)hāriṇo^(20a6) cāiva yūyaṃ na yūyaṃ
 [pra]tibalās [taṃ] jñānam abhisambodham⁸⁶ iti • evaṃ^{hi} na kasyacac⁸⁷
 chrāvakayānikasya vā[m] pra^(20a7)tyekabuddhayānikasya vā . bodhisatva[yāni]kasya vā[m]
 5 k[auk]ṛtyam upasaṃha[ra]ti (•) na ca dharmav(i)[v](ā)[dh](â)[bhira]to⁸⁸ bhavati
^(20a8) na ca dharmavivadham⁸⁹ karoti : sarvvasatvānāmñ cāntike metrābalaṃ⁹⁰ na
 vijahati • sarvvatathāgatānā cāntike pitṛsaṃjñā^(20b1)m utpādayati
 sarvvabodhisatvānām cāntike śās[t]ārasaṃjñā⁹¹ utp(ā)dayati ye ⁹²_{(□)pi} ca daśasu
 dikṣa⁹³ loke bodhisatvā mahāsavā[m]s tān abhikṣṇa nama^(20b2)syati • a[d]yāśena⁹⁴
 10 • gauravena⁹⁵ _□⁹⁶ ca dharmāñ ca deśayamāno anūnam a[nadh]i[ka]m [sa]rve[s]ā(m)
 [dharmam] deśaya(t)i samena dharmapremena⁹⁷ • na _□⁹⁸ kasyaci^(20b3)d
 a[nt]i[ma][śo] (dha)r[ma][pr]eme(nâ)[py] at]irekataram⁹⁹
 dha(rm^ânu^{pa})ri{pari}g[rahaṃ ka]roti imam _□¹⁰⁰ dharmaparyā[ya](m
 sampra)[kâ](śaya)[māno]

15

Tib. Kanjur version, based upon T. 135b4~¹⁰¹

'Jam dpal¹⁰² gzhan yang de bzhin gshegs pa¹⁰³ yongs¹⁰⁴ su mya ngan las 'das nas
 /¹⁰⁵ dam pa'i chos zad pa'i tha¹⁰⁶ ma'i dus kyi tshe¹⁰⁷ /¹⁰⁸ _(T.135b5) mdo sde 'di
 10¹⁰⁹ chang ba'i byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po ni¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ phrag dog dang /¹¹²
 20 g-yo dang sgyu¹¹³ med pa yin¹¹⁴ /¹¹⁵ byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa can gyi¹¹⁶ gang
 zag gzhan dag la mi snyan¹¹⁷ pa _(T.135b6) mi smra / skur pa¹¹⁸ mi 'debs /¹¹⁹ brnyas¹²⁰
 par mi byed do // dge slong dang /¹²¹ dge slong ma dang /¹²² ¹²³ dge bsnyen dang
 /¹²⁴ dge bsnyen ma nyan thos kyi¹²⁵ theg pa can nam¹²⁶ /¹²⁷ rang sangs rgyas kyi¹²⁸
 theg pa can nam /¹²⁹ _(T.135b7) byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa can gzhan dag la /¹³⁰
 25 'gyod pa skyed¹³¹ par¹³² mi byed de / rigs kyi bu dag¹³³ khyed bla na med pa yang
 dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub dang ring ste /¹³⁴ khyed ¹³⁵de na mi snang ngo //
_(T.135b8) khyed ni ¹³⁶rab tu bag med par gnas pa ste¹³⁷ / khyed ni ¹³⁸de bzhin gshegs
 pa'i ye shes mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya ba'i mthu med pa'o¹³⁹ zhes¹⁴⁰
 byang chub sems dpa'i ¹⁴¹theg pa can gang _(T.136a1) la yang¹⁴² ¹⁴³the tsom ¹⁴⁴skyed
 30 par mi byed do //¹⁴⁵ chos kyi¹⁴⁶ rtsod pa la¹⁴⁷ dga' ba¹⁴⁸ ma yin te /¹⁴⁹ chos la
 rtsod par mi byed ¹⁵⁰do // sems¹⁵¹ can thams cad la byams pa'i stobs mi gtong¹⁵²
 ngo // _(T.136a2) de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad la phar¹⁵³ 'du shes skyed¹⁵⁴ do //
 byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la ston¹⁵⁵ par 'du shes skyed¹⁵⁶ do // phyogs
 bcu'i 'jig rten rnams na /¹⁵⁷ byang chub sems _(T.136a3) dpa' sems dpa' chen po gang
 35 dag¹⁵⁸ 'khod pa¹⁵⁹ de dag la /¹⁶⁰ rgyun mi 'chad¹⁶¹ par lhag pa'i bsam pas¹⁶² gus par
 phyag¹⁶³ tshal lo // chos¹⁶⁴ 'chad pa¹⁶⁵ na lhag chad med par ¹⁶⁶chos 'chad do //
 chos kyi¹⁶⁷ _(T.136a4) ¹⁶⁸rnam grangs 'di rab tu ston¹⁶⁹ pa na /¹⁷⁰ chos kyi dga' bas¹⁷¹
 snyoms par¹⁷² byed ¹⁷³de / tha na 'ga' tsam la yang¹⁷⁴ chos kyi¹⁷⁵ dga' bas lhag par

phan 'dogs par mi¹⁷⁶ byed do //

Bth (Bathang Kanjur) 118b7~

'Jam dpal gzhan yang de bzhin gshegs ^(118b8) pa yongs su mya ngan las 'das nas
 5 /{ } dam pa'i chos zad ba'i tha ma'i dus kyi tshe / mdo sde 'di ¹⁷⁷chad pa'i byang
 chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po ni phrag tog¹⁷⁸ dang : g-yo dang { } sgyu me[d]
^(119a1) ☺☺ // [pa] yin : byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa can gyis¹⁷⁹ gang zag gzhan
 { } la mi snyan bar mi smra : skur pa mi 'debs : bsnyes¹⁸⁰ par mi byed do // dge
 slong dang : dg[e] slong ma dang : dge bsnyen ^(119a2) dang : dge bsnyen ma { } dang
 10 { } nyan thos kyi theg pa can nam : rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa can nam : byang
 chub sems dpa'i theg pa can gzhan dag la 'gyod pa{r mi} bskyed par mi byed de
 /{ } rigs ^(119a3) kyi bu dag khyed bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang
 chub dang { } ring ste : ¹⁸¹khyod { } mi snang ngo : khyod ni { } rab tu bag med par
 gnas pa ste / khyod ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes m[ngo]n par ^(119a4) rdzogs par
 15 ¹⁸²sangs [rgya]s { } pa'i mthu med pa'o { // } ¹⁸³ zhes byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa
 can gang la yang ¹⁸⁴tha tsom bskyed par mi byed do // chos kyi¹⁸⁵ rtsod pa la dga'
 ba ma yin te / chos la rtsod par ^(119a5) mi byed do { } sems can tham¹⁸⁶ { } byams pa'i
 stobs { } kyi mi btang ngo // de bzhin gshegs pa tham la ¹⁸⁷phan bar 'du shes
bskyed¹⁸⁸ do // byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la { } chos ston bar 'du shes ^(119a6)
 20 bskyed do { } phyogs [bc]u'i 'jig rten { } gyi rnam ni¹⁸⁹ byang chub sems dpa' sems
 dpa' chen po gang dag 'khod pa de dag ni¹⁹⁰ rgyun mi chad par lhag pa'i bsam pas
 gus pas phyag 'tshal lo : ^(119a7) chos 'chad pas [na] lhag [pa']i chad med par chos
 'chad { } // chos kyi rnam grangs 'di rab tu ston ba { } : chos kyi dga' «ba» snyoms
 par byed de : tha na ga«'»¹⁹¹ { } ba tsam { } yang chos kyi dga' ^(119a8) bas lhag par
 25 { } yang phan 'dog par mi byed de¹⁹² : /

Tib. Kho. (Tibetan translation from Khotan) kha 53b3~

{ } gzhan gyang → { } 'Jam dpal { } ¹⁹³ byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' ^(kha 53b4) chen po
 de bzhin gshegs pa' yongsu mya ngan las ○ 'das nas / dam pa'i chos ¹⁹⁴bskal pa
 30 tha ma'i dus gyi tshe / ○ mdo sde 'di 'chang ba'i byang cub sems ^(kha 53b5) dpa'
 sems dpa' chen po { } phrag dog dang { } g-yo dang ○ sgyu myed pa yin /{ } byang
cub sems dpa'i theg pa ○ can gyi gang zag gzhan gyi myi ^(kha 53b6) bsngags pa myi
brjod / bskur pa myi 'debs { } brnyas par myi byed do // dge' slong [pa] dang / dge'
 slong ma dang / dge' bsnyen [pa] dang / dge' bsnyen ma' { } nyan thos ^(kha 53b7) gyi
 35 theg «pa» can nam / rang sangs rgyas gyi theg pa can nam / byang cub sems
 dpa'i theg pa can gzhan { } la / 'gyod pa skye bar myi byed de / rigs gyi bu { } khyed
 bla na myed ^(kha 53b8) pa' yang dag par rdzogs pa 'i byang cub dang ring ngo //

dharmaparyāyam⁶ samprakāśayamānaḥ sukhasparśam⁷ viharaty aviheṭhitaś
 cê_(D3.117a4)maṃ⁸ dharmaparyāyam⁹ samprakāśayati¹⁰ / bhaviṣyanti¹¹ cāśya
¹²dharmasya samgītyāḥ¹² sahāyā¹³ utpatsyante¹⁴ cāśya dhārmaśravaṇi_(D3.117a5)kā¹⁵¹⁶ye
 (')syêmaṃ¹⁶ dharmaparyāyam śroṣyanti śraddadhāsyanti¹⁷ ¹⁸pattiyiṣyanti /
 5 dhārayiṣyanti vācayiṣyanti¹⁹ paryavāpsyanti likhi_(D3.117a6)ṣyanti likhāpayiṣyanti²⁰ /
²¹pustakagataṃ ca kṛtvā²¹ satkarīṣyanti gurukarīṣyanti mānayiṣyanti pūjayiṣyanti²²
 //²³

O (Khādaliq MS. = "Kashgar" MS.) 272b2~

10 iminā _(272b3) (')pi Maṃjuśrīḥ caturthena²⁴ dharmeṇa samanvāgato bodhisatvo
 mahāsatvas tathāgatasya parini_(272b4)rvṛtasya saddharma○kṣayāntakāle vartamāne
 imaṃ dharmaparyāyam samprakāśayamā_(272b5)na • ²⁵sukhaṃ sparśam²⁵ ○ viharati
 • aviheṭhitaś²⁶ cêmaṃ dharmaparyāyam «sam» prakāśayati bha_(272b6)vamti cāśya
 dharmeṣu dharmasākṣikā dharmasamgītikā dharmasahāyakā utpadyanti cāśya _(272b7)
 15 dharmasārvāṇikā ye (')pyêmaṃ²⁷ dharmaparyāyam śṛṇvamti • śrandadhāmti²⁸ •
 pattiyamti • udgṛhṇanti • _(273a1) dhāraya<ṃ>ti • □ paryāpnuvamti • likhanti •
 likhāpayiti²⁹ • pustakagataṃ ca kṛtvā • satkurvam_(273a2)ti • gurukurvamti •
 mānayamti • pūjayamti •

F (Farhād-Bēg) 20b3~

imin[ā] Manyu_(20b4) śrī ṛṭi[ye]na dha[rme]ṇa [sa]ma○[nv]āga[to b]odhisatvo
 mahāsatvas tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya sa[ddha]rmakṣayāntakā[l]e varttamā_(20b5)ne
 imaṃ dharmaparyāyam ○ sampra(kā)[śa]yamānaḥ sukhaṃ phāṣam³⁰ viharati •
 aviheṭhitaś³¹ cêmaṃ dharmaparyāyam [sam]prakāśa_(20b6)yati bhavanti cā[sya]
 25 [dhar](m)e[ṣu] (dharmas)ākṣi(kā) (dharmasamgītikā{ṃ} : dharmasahāyakā{ṃ} :
 utpadyanti cāśya dharmasārvāṇi(kā){ṃ} ye (')s[y]āi[ma]ṃ³² _(20b7) dharmaparyāyam
 śṛṇvanti śrad[dh]a(dha)nti³³ [pa]ttiyanti (udg)ṛhṇanti dhāraya<ṃ>ti • □
 paryāpunanti • likhanti • li[kh](ā)[pa]yanti pūstagatt(aṃ)³⁴ _(20b8) ca kṛtvā³⁵
 satkurvanti guruk(u)r(v)anti mānaya(nt)i [p]ūjayanti

30

Tib. Kanjur version, based upon T. 136a4~³⁶

'Jam dpal³⁷ chos 'di _(T.136a5) gsum dang ldan pa'i byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa'
 chen po³⁸ de bzhin gshegs pa ³⁹yongs su mya ngan las 'das nas /⁴⁰ dam pa'i chos
 zad⁴¹ pa'i⁴² tha⁴³ ma'i dus kyi tshe /⁴⁴ chos kyi⁴⁵ rnam grangs 'di _(T.136a6) yang dag
 35 par ston pa na⁴⁶ / bde bar reg⁴⁷ pa la gnas shing /⁴⁸ 'tshe⁴⁹ ba med par chos kyi
 rnam grangs 'di ⁵⁰yang dag par rab tu ston te / de'i ⁵¹chos yang dag par 'gro ba'i
 grogs⁵¹ dag kyang 'byung _(T.136a7) bar 'gyur ro //⁵² gang dag de la chos nyan pa⁵³

chос kyi rnam grangs 'di nyan pa dang /⁵⁴ dad pa dang /⁵⁵ yid ches pa dang /⁵⁶
'dzin pa dang /⁵⁷ kun chub par byed pa⁵⁸ dang /⁵⁹ yi⁶⁰ ger 'dri ba dang /⁶¹ yi⁶² ger
'drir (T.136a8) 'jug pa dang /⁶³ glegs bam du byas te /⁶⁴ sti⁶⁵ stang⁶⁶ du⁶⁷ byed pa
5 pa dang /⁶⁸ btsun par byed pa⁶⁹ dang /⁷⁰ rim gror byed pa dang /⁷¹ mchod pa⁷² byed
pa dag⁷³ kyang 'byung bar 'gyur ro⁷⁴ //

Bth (Bathang Kanjur) 119a8~

'Jam dpal chos <'di> gsum dang ldan pa'i byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen
po de bzhin gshegs pa yongsu mya ngan (119a9) las 'das nas : dam pa'i chos zad
10 pa'i tha ma'i dus kyi tshe /_[]⁷⁵ chos kyi rnam grangs 'di yang dag par ston ba na :
bde bar {gshegs pas} reg ba la gnas shing [] gtse ba (119b1) [m]e[d] par chos kyi
rnam [grangs] 'di []⁷⁶ rab tu ston te / de'i chos [kyi] yang dag par 'gro ba'i grogs
dag [] 'byung bar 'gyur ro // gang [] de la chos nyan bar chos kyi rnam grangs 'di
15 nyan ba dang / (119b2) dad pa dang : yid ches pa dang : 'dzin pa dang : kun chub
par byed pa dang : yi ger 'dri ba dang : yi ger 'drir 'jug pa dang : glegs bam du
byas te : sti stang [] byed pa dang : btsun par byed pa dang : rim (119b3) gror byed
pa dang : mchod [par] byed pa dag kyang 'byung bar 'gyur ro //

Tib. Kho. (Tibetan translation from Khotan) kha 54a5~

20 'Jam ○ dpal chos 'di gsum dang /_[] ldan ba'i byang cub sems ○ dpa' sems dpa'
chen po de bzhin (kha 54a6) gshegs pa' /_[] yongsu mya ngan las 'das nas / dam pa'i
chos zad pa'i tha ma 'i dus su gyurd pa na⁷⁷ / chos gyi gzhung 'di yang dag par
ston pa na / bde ba 'i reg pa la (kha 54a7) gnas te / gtse ba myed par chos gyi gzhung
'di [] rab tu ston te / [] chos yang dag par bshad pa'i grogs [] gyang 'byung ngo //
25 gang [↗] chos gyi gzhung 'di [«la»] nyan pa [] dad pa (kha 54a8) [] yid ches pa [] 'dzin
pa' [] kbong du chud pa' [] 'dri ba' / [] 'drir bcug pa' [] glegs bam du byas te / sti
stang [] byed pa' / gtso bor byed pa' / rim 'gror byed pa' /_[] (kha 54b1) mchod par
byed pa' /_[] [↖] chos nyan pa [] yang 'byung [] ngo //

30 **Chin. Dr. 109a17~21**

“溥首！是爲三法之行。菩薩觀時，然後乃說，造安隱行，不被煩惱，亦不嫉害。說是經法者，與同學者等心道友。若講，若聞，信樂斯典，誦，持，書寫，載之竹帛，供養奉事，德不可量。”⁷⁸

35 **Chin. Kj. 38b15~20**

“文殊師利！是菩薩、摩訶薩於後末世法欲滅時，有成就是第三安樂行者，說是法

adhimāna[sa]ṃ[jñ]ā ca jahi[tva sarvā] (na) tasya bho_(21a7)[[n]t]i [tada anta]rāyam*
5 (= 43)

[ṭr]tiya dharmam⁸⁷ [i]dam evarūpaṃ saṃrakṣi[ta]vya(m) sa[da] paṇḍitena
sukhi[t]ā ca viharanti samāhi_(21a8)tās ca susaṃskṛt(ā)⁸⁸ bhonti ca prāṇakoṭibhi 6
5 (= 44) //

Tib. Kanjur version, based upon T. 136a8~⁸⁹

bcom ldan 'das kyis de skad ces _(T.136b1) bka' stsal te / bde bar gshegs pas de skad⁹⁰
gsungs nas / ston pas gzhan yang 'di skad⁹¹ ces bka' stsal to⁹² //⁹³

10 gang zhig mdo 'di 'chad⁹⁴ 'dod chos smra bas⁹⁵ //

gyo dang nga rgyal de bzhin _(T.136b2) 'phya⁹⁶ ba⁹⁷ dag⁹⁸ /⁹⁹

ma lus par ni ¹⁰⁰yongs su¹⁰⁰ spang bar bya //

de bzhin mkhas pas phrag¹⁰¹ dog gzhar¹⁰² mi bya // (= 39)

nam du'ang su la'ang mi snyan¹⁰³ brjod mi bya¹⁰⁴ //

15 lta¹⁰⁵ bas rtsod pa nam yang mi bya'o //

"bla med ¹⁰⁶ye shes¹⁰⁶ _(T.136b3) khyod thob mi 'gyur" zhes //

the tsom¹⁰⁷ gnas ni ¹⁰⁸nam yang¹⁰⁸ mi bya'o // (= 40)

de ni rtag tu drang¹⁰⁹ zhing ¹¹⁰mnyen pa ste //

bde bar gshegs kyi sras po bzod ldan 'gyur //

20 chos 'di yang dang yang du rab ston kyang //¹¹¹

_(T.136b4) de 'dir¹¹² skyo bar¹¹³ 'gyur ba cung¹¹⁴ zad med // (= 41)

"byang chub sems dpa' gang dag phyogs bcu yi¹¹⁵ //

'jig rten¹¹⁶ dag na sems can snying brtses¹¹⁷ rgyu //

de kun bdag ¹¹⁸gi ston" ces de dag la¹¹⁸ //¹¹⁹

25 mkhas _(T.136b5) pa rnams ni bla mar gus pa skyed // (= 42)

sangs rgyas rkang gnyis mchog rnams dran byas la¹²⁰ //

rgyal ba rnams la rtag¹²¹ tu phar¹²² sems skyed¹²³ //

nga rgyal 'du shes thams cad rnam spangs na¹²⁴ //

_(T.136b6) de'i¹²⁵ tshe de la bar chad¹²⁶ 'byung mi 'gyur // (= 43)

30 rnam¹²⁷ pa 'di 'dra'i chos 'di thos nas ni //

mkhas pas de tshe legs par bsrung¹²⁸ bar bya //

bde bar gnas pa'i phyir dang mnyam bzhag¹²⁹ na //

srog _(T.136b7) chags bye bas rab tu ¹³⁰bsrungs par 'gyur // (= 44)

35 **Bth (Bathang Kanjur) 119b3~**

bcom ldan 'das kyis de skad ces bka' stsal te / bde bar gshegs pas de skad gsungs

nas / ston bas _(119b4) gzhan yang 'di skad ces [dka'¹³¹] stsal to //

gang zhig mdo 'di 'chad 'dod chos smra ba¹³² //

- gyo dang nga rgyal de bzhin 'phya ba dag /
 ma lus pa<r> ni yongsu spangs bar bya //
 (119b5) de bzhin mkhas pas phrag [do]g <g>zhar mi bya : (= 39)
 nam du □ su la yang mi snyan brjod mi bya :
 5 lta bas rtsod pa nam yang mi bya'o //
 bla ma¹³³ ye shes khyod thob mi 'gyur zhes :
 the tsom (119b6) gnas ni nam yang mi bya'[o :] (= 40)
 de ni rtag tu drang zhing mnyan¹³⁴ pa ste :
 bde bar gshegs kyi sras po bzod ldan 'gyur //
 10 chos 'di yang dang yang du rab ston kyang //
 de 'dir skyo bar (119b7) 'gyur ba cung zad med : (= 41)
 byang chub sems dpa' gang dag phyogs bcu yi //
 'jig rten dag na sems can snying brtse rgyu :
 de kun bdag ¹³⁵gi[s] ston ce<s> ded gal :
 15 mkhas pa (119b8) rnam ni [i] bla mar gus pa bskyed : (= 42)
 sangs rgyas rkang gnyis mchog la dran byas la :
 rgyal ba rnam la rtag tu phar sems bskyed //
 nga rgyal 'du shes thams (119b9) cad rnam spongs na :
 de'i tshe de la [i] bar chad 'byung mi 'gyur [i] // (= 43)
 20 rnam pa 'di 'dra'i chos 'di thos nas ni //
 mkhas pas de tshe legs par bsrung bar ¹³⁶< bya // bde bar gnas pa'i phyir dang
 mnyam bzhag na // srog chags bye bas rab tu bsrungs par >¹³⁶ 'gyur // (= 44)

Tib. Kho. (Tibetan translation from Khotan) kha 54b1~

- 25 bcom ldan 'das gyis de skad □ bka' stsald / bde bar gshegs pas de skad gsungs nas
 / ston pas □ yang □ bka' (kha 54b2) stsal pa' /
 [←1] [←2] gyo dang nga rgyal de bzhin «'» phya byed ba' /
 [←2] chos smra bas [ni] , ma lus □ kund gyang spangs //
 □ mkhas pas nam yang phrag dog myi bya [ba'] //
 30 [←1] gang zhig mdo [sde] 'di [ni] (kha 54b3) 'chad 'dod [pas] // (= 39)
 nam du □ su la 'ang myi bsngags myi brjod do //
 lta bas rtsod pa nam yang myi byed do //
 [←1] 'gyod pa'i gnas ni nams gyang myi bya ba' // →,
 khyod [gyis] ¹³⁷blan (kha 54b4) myed [pa'i] ye shes myi thob □ ches // [←1] (= 40)
 35 de ni rtag tu drang ○ zhing 'jam ba¹³⁸ ste //
bder gshegs □ bu bzod [pa] can ○ [du] 'gyur //
 chos 'di [dag ni] phyi phyir (kha 54b5) rab [du] bstand □ //
 de la skyo bar «'gyur ba» nam yang myed // (= 41)

- byang ○ *cub* sems dpa' *gag rnam* phyogs bcu *na'* / ○ /
 'jig rten □ *du* [«ni»] sems can *rtse phyir* (kha 54b6) [spyod]¹³⁹ //
 de *dag thams cad* bdag gi *mkhan po yin* □ [←→] //
 mkhas *pas* [← de □ la ,] bla ma 'i *ri mo byed* // (= 42)
 5 [←→] rkang *nyis gtso bo* [← sangs rgyas ,] dran *nasu*¹⁴⁰ //
 rgyal ba □ [←→] *pha snyam* (kha 54b7) [← rtag tu ,] 'du *sbes bskyed* //
 nga rgyal 'du shes thams cad rnam spangs *te* //
¹⁴¹*de la de'i bar cad* myi 'byung *ngo* // (= 43)
 □ 'di 'dra *ba'i chos rnam* thos nas ni //
 10 [de dag] (kha 54b8) mkhas pas □ *yang dag* bsrung bar *bya'* //
 [← *bnyam*¹⁴² [bar] bzhag *ste* → ,] bde *la* gnas pa'i phyir [←→] //
 srog chags bye bas rab tu bsrungs par 'gyur // (= 44)

Chin. Dr. 109a21~b8

- 15 說已¹⁴³，安住則乃頌曰：
 “若有¹⁴⁴嫉妬 懷難億數¹⁴⁵ 其法師慈 當遠憎惡
 有明智者 不造貪著 若欲讀斯 正典摸者 (= 39)
 未曾誹謗 說人之惡 亦不墮非 諸疑邪見
 心常燿然¹⁴⁶ 無有沈吟¹⁴⁷ 以愍傷故¹⁴⁸ 得了¹⁴⁹此定¹⁵⁰ (= 40)
 20 安住之子 亦能忍辱 其人常屏 貢高自大¹⁵¹
 數數講誦 佛之典誥 未曾以此 持作懈倦 (= 41)
 (109b) 其有菩薩 在十方者 愍傷衆生 於世興行
 順造恭敬 學聖慧者 皆當念之 是我世尊 (= 42)
 思念諸佛 兩足之上 視¹⁵²諸菩薩 如想¹⁵³父母
 25 設有求道¹⁵⁴ 無有情欲 棄捐吾我 自大之想 (= 43)
 假使聽省¹⁵⁵ 如是像法 其明士等 當自慎護
 所行安隱 常得調定 ¹⁵⁶將御佛道¹⁵⁷ 救億衆生 (= 44)”¹⁵⁸

Chin. Kj. 38b20~c3

- 30 爾時，世尊欲重宣此義，而說偈言：
 “若欲說是經 當捨¹⁵⁹嫉恚慢¹⁶⁰ 詔¹⁶¹誑邪偽心 常修質直行 (= 39)
 不輕蔑於人 亦不戲論法 不令他疑悔 云：“汝不得佛” (= 40)
 是佛子說法 常柔和能忍 慈悲於一切 不生懈怠心 (= 41)
 十方大菩薩 愍衆故行道 應生恭敬心 “是則我大師” (= 42)
 35 於諸佛世尊 生無上父想 (38c) 破於憍慢心 說法無障礙 (= 43)
 第三¹⁶²法如是 智者應守護 一心安樂行 無量衆所敬 (= 44)”¹⁶³

(to be continued)

Notes:

XIII § 13 Notes:

Notes on the Gilgit/Nepalese version

¹ *Mañjuśrī bodhisatvo* : D2. MS. + + + + + *tvo*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.: D3. °*śrīr bo*°; Bj, C4, T2, T6 etc. *Mañjuśrīr bo*° (= KN); K, N1, C5, C6, B etc. °*śrī bo*°.

² *paścime samaye* : = D3, Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, T6, B, N2, N3, T8 etc. (= O, F; = Tib. Kanj. etc.); C6, T2, StP, P3, P2, C2 etc. *paścime samaye paścimāyām pañcāsatyām* (= KN).

³ *saddharmavipralope* : D2. MS. *saddhadharmavipralope*. Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.

⁴ *vartamāne* : D3. *varta<mā>ne* (s.e.).

⁵ *bhavati sa sukhasthitaś ca* : D2. MS. *bhava* + + + + + ... Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= C5 [= KN]); ÷ C6, T2, StP, P2 etc. *bhavati / sa sukhasthitaś ca*. N3, T8, P3 etc. *bhavati / sammukhasthitaś ca* (s.e.; the characters *su* and *mu* resemble each other). The other MSS. omit the pronoun *sa*: C4, N1, B, T6, N2 etc. *bhavati* (T6. °*ti /*; N2. °*ti /*) *sukhasthitaś ca*; Bj. *bhavati su<kha>sthitaśya* (s.e.); K. *bhavati / <sukhasthitaś ca>* (s.e.). Cf. O. *bhavati <sa> su<kha>sthitaś ca*; F. *bhavati · s{v}a sukhasthitaś ca*; Tib. Kanj. *yin no // de* (v.l. om.; see n. 65) *bde ba la gnas nas* (v.l. *te*) (÷ Bth, Tib. Kho.).

⁶ *dharmam* : Bj. om. (s.e.).

⁷ /: = D3, Bj, K(?), N1, T2, T6, B etc.; N2, T8 etc. //; C4, C5, C6 etc. om. (= KN).

⁸ *kāyagatam* : D2. MS. *kāyagatam*; D3. *kāyagatām*. Emended on the basis of the reading in the Nep. MSS.

⁹ *upārambhajātīyo* : = C6, T2, T6, A1 etc.; C5. *upārambhā-j*° (s.e.); B. *upāramsu-j*° (s.e.); D3. + .. + *bhajātīyo*; Bj, K, C4, N1. *upālammbha-j*° (= KN); *upāvammbha-j*° (s.e.); cf. O, F. *upārambhajātīko*. Cf. Skt. *upālammbha*; BHS = Pā. *upārambha*. For the alternation of *ā-vrabh / ā-vrabh*, cf. Lüders 1954: § 30; DP, s.vv. *ārabhati*², *ārambha*² etc.

¹⁰ *parivadati* : “reviles, slanders”; cf. O, F. *paribhavati* (“despises, insults”); Tib. Kanj. *skur bar (mi) byed*.

¹¹ /: = D3, K, C4, N1, C5, C6, B etc. (= O); Bj, A1, C2 etc. om. (= KN; = F).

¹² *bhāṣate* : D2. MS. *bbā* + +. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= Bj, C4, C6 etc.). K, C5. *bbāṣati* (= O, F).

¹³ *na cāvarṇam cārayati* : D2. MS. + + + + + .. *t[ij]*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= Bj, K, C4). Instead of *cārayati*, N1, C6, B, T2, T6 etc. read *niscārayati* (= KN). Cf. O. *nā<va>rṇam cārayati*; F. *nāvarṇam cārayati*. Cf. also RkP. 47. 8. *trayāṇaṃ ratnānām avarṇam cārayanti*.

¹⁴ /: = D3, Bj, K, C4, N1, C6 etc. (= O); B, StP etc. om. (= KN; = F).

¹⁵ *śrāvakayānīyānām* : Bj. *śrāvakayānānām* (s.e.). Cf. O, F. *śrāvakayānikānām*.

¹⁶ *nāmaṃ* : = D3, Bj, K, C4, T2, T6 etc.; C5, C6, B, N2 etc. *nāma* (= KN). Cf. O. *nāma-(grābhikāyā)*; F. *nāma-(grābhikāyā)*.

¹⁷ *grhya* : = D3, K, C6; C5. *grhyam*; Bj, C4, T2, T6, B, N2 etc. *grhītvā* (= KN); N1. *udgrhītvā* (w.r.). Cf. O. (*nāma*)-*grābhikāyā*; F. (*nāma*)-*grābhikāyā*; see n. 35.

¹⁸ *avarṇam* : C5. *dharmavarṇaṇ* (s.e.).

¹⁹ *cārayati* : D2. MS. *cārayati* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 (= Bj, C4; = O, F); N1, C6, B, N2 etc. *bbāṣate na cāvarṇaṇ cārayati* (N1. *dbārayati* [s.e.]; N2. *bhārayati* [s.e.]) (= KN; = Tib. Kanj. *smra / mi snyan pa mi brjod cing*); C5. *cārayati / na ca nāma grhyāvarṇaṇ cārayati*; K, T2, T6 etc. *bbāṣate* (K. °*ati*) / *na cāvarṇaṇ* (T2. *nāvarṇaṇ*) *cārayati / na ca nāma grhyāvarṇaṇ cārayati*.

²⁰ *teṣām* : D2. MS. *keṣām* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 (= Bj, K, C5,

C6 etc.; = KN; = O). C4, N1. *eṣām*.

²¹ *pratyarthikasamjñī* : D2. MS. *pratyarthikarthasamjñī* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS. Cf. O. *pratyarthikasamjñā*; F. *pratyarthikasamjñā*.

²² *āgatāgatānām dbārmasravanikānām* : D2. MS. + + + + + [db]. [rma]sravanikā<nā>m. Supplemented from the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS. : D3. *āgatāgatānā<m> dbārmasravanikā<nā>m*; Bj. *āgatā[ā]gatānām dbārmasravanikānām*; C4. *āgata-āgatānām dbārmasravanikānām*; K. *āgatā[nā]gatānām dbārmasravanikānām*; C6. *āgatāgatānām dbārmasrāva<ṇi>kānām*; B, StP, C2. *āgatāgatānām dbārmasravanikānām* (= KN. *āgatāgatānām dbārmasravanikānām* [= O]); N1. *āgatānām dbāryasravanikānām* (s.e. for *dbārma*^o); C5. *āgatānām {dbarman} dbārma{m}sravanikānām* (s.e.); T2. *āgatānām dbārmasravanikānām* (= T6, N2, T8 etc.).

²³ *anabhyasūcanatayā* : D2. MS. *anabhyasūcaratayā* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3. Cf. Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, T2, N2 etc. *ananyasūcanayā*; C6. *ana[bb]yasūyakayā*; B. *anatasūcanayā* (s.e.); KN. *anabhyasūyayā* (≠ MSS.); O. *anabhyasūyikayā*; F. *ananyasūyikayā*; Tib. Kanj. *mi rtsod cing*. The form *anabhyasūcanatayā* is probably a hyper-form of **anabhyasūyanatayā*; cf. Skt. *abhy-asūyaka* (“indignant” [MW]); *abhy-asūyati* (“be indignant at” [MW]). The confusion between *anabby*^o and *anany*^o must have arisen due to the confusing similarity between the letters *bby* and *ny*. Cf. § 4, n. 6; § 14, n. 42.

²⁴ *avivadamānaḥ* : = D3, Bj, C4; N1. *avivada{na}mānaḥ*; K, C5, C6 etc. *avivadamāno* (= O, F).

²⁵ *prṣṭab* : = most of the MSS. C4. *pariprṣṭab* (s.e.).

²⁶ *visarjayati* : “replies, answers” (cf. BHSD, s.v.); = D3, Bj, C4, N1(°rjjayati), C6, T2, T6 etc. (= KN; = O, F; Tib. Kanj. etc. *lan .. ldon te*); K, C5, B, N2. *vivarjayati*, °rjjayati (w.r.). Cf. n. 29, § 15, n. 14.

²⁷ *api tu* : Bj. *atha* (s.e.).

²⁸ *tathā* : Bj, C5. om. (s.e.).

²⁹ *visarjayati* : D2. MS. + + + + +. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= Bj, C4, B etc.; = KN; = O). Cf. N1. *viśarjjayati* (s.e. for *visa*^o); C6, T6, T8 etc. *visarjayati* {/} (= F); K, C5 etc. *vivarjayati* {/} (w.r.); N2. *vivarjjayati* {/} (w.r.). Cf. also n. 26, § 15, n. 14.

³⁰ *yathā* : D2. MS. + [tthā]. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= Nep. MSS.; = KN; = O, F).

³¹ *abbisambuddhyate* : = D3. Cf. Nep. MSS. °*budhyate* (= KN); O, F. °*buddhyaty*.

Notes on O.

³² *samprakāśayitukāma* : probably s.e. for °*kāmaḥ* (= F, G/N).

³³ *sukbasthitau* : a hyperform of °*stbito*.

³⁴ *paribhavati* : = F; “despises, insults”; cf. G/N. *parivadati* (“reviles, slanders”).

³⁵ *nāmagrābhikāyā* : “while mentioning by name”; cf. F. *nāmagrābhikāyā*. Both are oblique singular forms of *nāma-grābhikā~*. Cf. Skt. *nāma-grhya* (“while mentioning the name” [MW.]), *nāma-grāham* (do.; a *ṇamul* absolute). For the usage of *-grābhikā~*, cf. Skt. *śrṅga-grābhikā~* (“taking by the horns”; instr. “directly, without any intervening agent” [MW.]).

³⁶ ≙? Chin. Dr. 108b22. 未曾毀咎居家行者，無所志願，不建彼行，亦無所想 (“He will not malign practitioners in their households at all, have no wishes, will not establish his own practices, or have any notions of his own.”). Cf. n. 116.

³⁷ *betō* : = F. For gen. sg. in *-o* of the *u*-stems, see BHSG § 12.37.

³⁸ *anuparigrābhikatayā* : = F. The word *anuparigrābhikatā~*, meaning “benevolence, helpfulness,” is not recorded in dictionaries.

³⁹ *anabhyasūyikayā* : or read: *anabhyasūyika<ta>yā*, cf. G/N. *anabhyasūcanatayā* (see n. 23). Edgerton takes *an-abhyasūyikayā* as an instr. sg. form used adverbially (BHSD, s.v.).

⁴⁰ *prṣṭa* : probably s.e. for *prṣṭab* (= F, G/N).

Notes on F.

⁴¹ *pūstagatam* : a hyperform of *pustagatam* (= O; cf. G/N. *pustakagatam*). The form *pūsta-*

for *pusta-* occurs also elsewhere in the same manuscript: F. 20b7. *pūstagat[ta](ṃ)*, and also in Lü. B-17b7. *pūstagatam*.

⁴² *bbikṣu* : cf. O. *bbikṣūn* (= G/N). For acc. pl. masc. *-u*, cf. BHSG § 12.61; RgsGr § 14.14.

⁴³ *paribhavati* : = O; cf. n. 10, 34.

⁴⁴ *nāmagrābhikayā* : see n. 35.

⁴⁵ *<avarṇaṃ cārayati satvānāṃ nāmagrābhikāyā>* : Supplemented from the reading in O.

⁴⁶ *heto* : cf. n. 37.

⁴⁷ *tastva* : s.e. for *tat*?

⁴⁸ *anupariṅgrābhikatayā* : = O. Cf. n. 38.

⁴⁹ *ananyasūyikayā* : s.e. for *anabhyasū*^o; see n. 23.

⁵⁰ . : cf. n. 29.

Notes on Tib. Kanjur version _____

⁵¹ T. 134b2; J. 116a5; S. 156a6; P. 303b2; B. 143a2; Q. 121a7; N. 161a1; D. 105b7; C. 123b7; L. 166b3.

⁵² *dpal* : L. *dpal* /.

⁵³ / : = S (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions omit.

⁵⁴ *yongs su* : T. MS. *yongsu* (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

⁵⁵ *mya ngan* : P. *myan* (s.e.).

⁵⁶ / : = J, B, N, D, C, L (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); S, P, Q. //.

⁵⁷ / : the other Kanjur editions omit.

⁵⁸ / : = S, P (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions omit (= Bth).

⁵⁹ *rab tu 'jig par 'gyur ba na* : P. *rab tu rnam par 'jig par 'gyur pa na*. Cf. G/N. (*saddharma-*)*vipralope*.

⁶⁰ *ba* : = J, S, B, N, D; L (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); P, Q. *pa*; C. *pha* (s.e.).

⁶¹ / : = J, S, B, N, D, C; P, Q, L. // (= Tib. Kho.). Cf. Bth. .:

⁶² *rnam grangs* : P. *rnam grangs* (s.e.).

⁶³ / : = S (= Tib. Kho.); P. //; the other Kanjur editions omit. Cf. Bth. .:

⁶⁴ *yin no* : T. MS. *yino*.

⁶⁵ *de* : = S, P, D, L (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); J, B, Q, N, C. om. Cf. G/N. *sa* (v.l. om.; see n. 5).

⁶⁶ *nas* : T. MS. reads *na* instead (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in S and D. J, P, B, Q, N, C and L read *te* instead. Cf. Bth. *te* ;; Tib. Kho. *ste*. Cf. also G/N. *sukhasthitā ca*.

⁶⁷ / : = S, L (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions omit. Cf. Bth. .:

⁶⁸ / : = S, D, L (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); P. //; the other Kanjur editions omit.

⁶⁹ *yang* : = S, D; the other Kanjur editions omit (= Bth, Tib. Kho.). Superfluous?

⁷⁰ *yang* : = J, S, P, B, Q, D, C (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); N, L. *'ang*.

⁷¹ / : T. MS. // (s.e.?). S. om. (= Bth). The other Kanjur editions read / (= Tib. Kho.).

⁷² *shin tu* : J. *shin du* (w.r.; = Tib. Kho.).

⁷³ *klaṅ ka tshol ba* : J, Q, N, C. *glaṅ ka tshol ba* (w.r.). Cf. G/N. *upāraṃbha-*.

⁷⁴ *skur* : P. *bskur* (= Bth).

⁷⁵ *bar* : = S, P, B, Q, D, C; the other Kanjur editions read *par* instead. Cf. Bth. *pā*; Tib. Kho. (*skurd*) *pa*.

⁷⁶ / : P, L. // (w.r.; = Tib. Kho.).

⁷⁷ / : P. // (w.r.; = Tib. Kho.). Cf. Bth. om.

⁷⁸ *mi* : B. *ni* <<mi>> (s.e.).

⁷⁹ *brjod* : = S, P, B, Q, L (= Bth); J, N, D, C. *rjod*.

⁸⁰ // : = P (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions read / instead. Cf. Bth. .:

⁸¹ *theg pa* : P. *thegs pa* (s.e.).

⁸² *gi* : P. *gis* (s.e.).

⁸³ *smos te* : P. *smod ste* (s.e.).

⁸⁴ / : = S; the other Kanjur editions omit. Cf. Bth, Tib. Kho. // (w.r.?).

⁸⁵ *snyan* : P. *snyen* (s.e.).

⁸⁶ / : P. // (w.r.).

⁸⁷ *mi snyan pa* : = S, P, D, L; J, B, Q, N, C. *mi snyan pa dag*. Cf. Bth. *mi snyan* {:} *ba*; Tib. Kho. *myi bsngags pa*; G/N. *avarṇam*.

⁸⁸ *brjod* : = S, P, B, Q (= Bth); J, N, D, C, L. *rjod*.

⁸⁹ / : = P; S. // (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions omit. Cf. Bth. .:

⁹⁰ *yin no* : T. MS. *yino*.

⁹¹ *zbe* : P. *zbes* (s.e.).

⁹² / : P. // (w.r.).

⁹³ *de* : P. *de'i* (s.e.).

⁹⁴ *nyan du* : T. MS. *shin tu nyan tu* (= S; w.r.); C. *nyan tu*. Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions. In D, it seems that the scribe had written as *shin tu nyan du* here and later deleted the first two words *shin tu*. Cf. G/N. (*dhārma-śrāvāṇikānām*).

⁹⁵ *'ongs shing* : P. *'ong zbing* (s.e.).

⁹⁶ / : = S; the other Kanjur editions omit.

⁹⁷ *dang* : L. *dang /*. Cf. Bth. : /.

⁹⁸ *pbrag dog* : P. *pbra dog* (s.e.).

⁹⁹ *cing* : S. *cing /* (w.r.).

¹⁰⁰ *theg pas* : P. *thegs pa las* (s.e.).

¹⁰¹ *ldon te* : N. *ldon to* (s.e.).

¹⁰² / : P. // (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

¹⁰³ *ci nas* : P. *ci na* (s.e.).

¹⁰⁴ *kyi* : P. *kyis* (s.e.).

¹⁰⁵ *bur* : B, Q. *bu* (w.r.).

Notes on Bathang Kanjur

¹⁰⁶ *bde bar gsbebs pa la gnas pa ma yin no* : presumably, s.e. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *bde ba la gnas pa yin no*; G/N. *sukhasthito bhavati*.

¹⁰⁷ *gzban la* : = Tib. Kho; cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzban dag la*; G/N. *anyān*.

¹⁰⁸ *nyan thos kyi theg pa can gyi[s] dge slong dag ni ming [mi] smos te / {}* : s.e. for *nyan thos kyi theg pa can gyi dge slong dag gi ming smos te /* (= G/N. *śrāvākayānīyānām bhikṣūṇām nāmaṃ grhya*).

¹⁰⁹ *ldan* : s.e. for *ldon*.

Notes on Tib. Kho.

¹¹⁰ *gzban la* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzban dag la*; Bth. *gzban dag tu*; G/N. *pareṣām*.

¹¹¹ *dmigs pa can gyi rigs* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *klan ka tshol ba'i rang bzbin can*; G/N. *upārambha-jāti-*.

¹¹² *gzban la* : = Bth; cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzban dag la*; G/N. *anyān*.

¹¹³ *bsngags* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *snyan pa*; G/N. (*a-*)*varṇa-*.

¹¹⁴ *rjes su yongs 'dzin pa'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phan 'dogs pa*; G/N. *anuparigrābhikayā*. The translator(s) of Tib. Kho. seems to have taken the Sanskrit word *anuparigrābhikayā*, which is an adjective in the oblique case used adverbially here, wrongly as adjective modifying the noun *dhārmasrāvāṇikānām*.

Notes on Chin. Dr.

¹¹⁵ 亦不多辭，亦無所生：“He does not talk too much nor conceives anything.” Dharmarakṣa

seems to have incorrectly understood the sentence *nādhimātram upārambbajātīyo* (O, F. *upārambbajātiko*) *bhavati* (“He is not much captious.”).

¹¹⁶ 未曾毀咎居家行者，無所志願，不建彼行，亦無所想：“He will not malign practitioners in their households at all, have no wishes, will not establish his own practices, or have any notions of his own.” =? O. *na cānyeṣāmm api satvānām nāmagrābhikāyā avarṇam bhāṣati* · *na nāmagrābhikāyā avarṇam cārayati* · *na cāsya satveṣu pratyarthikasamjñā bhavati*; F. *<na cānyeṣāmm api satvānām nāmagrābhikāyā avarṇam*(ṃ) *bhāṣati na [nāma](grā)bhikāyā avarṇam cārayati na cāsya satveṣu pratyarthikasamjñā bhavati*.

¹¹⁷ 建：except for G and J, all the other editions read 違 instead.

¹¹⁸ 誼：S(1), S(2), S(3) etc. read 義 instead.

¹¹⁹ 發遣：“expels, discharges”; cf. G/N. *visarjayati* (“answers”). Dharmarakṣa seems to have misunderstood the meaning of *visarjayati* (“discharges, dismisses” [MW]; “replies, answers” [BHSD]) in the Sanskrit version; cf. Krsh. 167; Krsh(1998). 117~118.

¹²⁰“(The Buddha) further said :

“O *Broad-Head*, after the Thus Come One has passed into extinction, anyone who wishes to preach this sutra, should abide in peaceful state. Abiding firmly in this peaceful state, he will preach the Dharma, without thinking to flatter or deceive (other people). (When) he preaches to others what he bears in his mind or what is written in a book, he will not talk too much or conceive any (feelings?). He will not despise other monks who are namely Dharma-preachers, praise them in song or slander them.

As for dissenting monks, namely *śrāvakas*, he will not mention them by name and talk of their faults, slander them nor take a hostile attitude towards them.

He will not malign practitioners in their households at all, have no wishes, will not establish his own practices, or have any notions of his own.

He will go, come and stay peacefully. Also, abiding by the essence of the meaning (of the Dharma), he will keep close company (with others). When he attends a Dharma assembly, he will preach the Dharma, guarding himself (well) and without making any faults in his deeds. Being asked questions, he will, without any attachments in his mind and detaching himself from the Vehicle of *śrāvakas*, expel (doubts) and awaken (others) to the wisdom of the Buddha.”

Note on Chin. Kj. _____

¹²¹ “Further, O Mañjuśrī, after the Thus Come One has passed into extinction, in (the period of) the decadent *Dharma*, anyone who wishes to preach this sutra, should abide by these peaceful practices. Thereby, when he expounds or recites (this) sutra, he will not take delight in speaking of the faults of other people or scriptures. Nor will he despise other Dharma-preachers or speak of other people’s good and bad points.

He will not mention *śrāvakas* by name and talk of their faults, nor will he name them and praise their virtues. Also, he will not have hatred (against them). Because he has cultivated this kind of peaceful mind well, he will not act against the wishes of his listeners. Being asked questions, he will not answer using the teachings of the Lesser Vehicle, but explain only by (the teachings of) the Great Vehicle so that (listeners) may attain the wisdom embracing all modes.” (Cf. Murano 216; Kato 226; Hurvitz 213-214; Yuyama/Kubo 210; Watson 201-202).

XIII § 14 Notes:

Notes on the Gilgit/Nepalese version _____

¹ // : D2, D3. : //.

² *vicakṣaṇo* : = D3, Bj, K (= Śikṣ. 352.10); C4, C5. °no /; N1, T2, T6, B etc. °naḥ (= KN); StP. °naḥ /. Cf. O, F. °naḥ.

³ *niṣaṇṇo* : = D3, K, N1 etc.; C5, C6, P3. °sarnno; C4. °saṇṇo[s]; T6, N2, StP. °saṇṇas (= KN; = Śikṣ. 352.10; = O, F); Bj. °ṣarṇṇā (s.e.?). T2, P2. °saṇṇa (w.r.).

⁴ *tattha* : D2. *tatthā* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.

⁵ *dbarmu* : = D3, N2, R, T6 etc. (= KN); K, Bj, C4, N1, C5, C6 etc. *dharmā* (= Śikṣ. 352.10; = O, F).

⁶ *bhāṣati* : = D3, C5 (= F; O. *bhā[ṣ]ṣati*); most of the Nep. MSS. *bhāṣate* (= KN). Cf. Śikṣ. 352.10. *bhāṣate* (w.r.).

⁷ / : D2, D3. .:

⁸ *prajñāpta karitva* : D2. + + + .. *tvā*; D3. *prajñā(pta) karitva*. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS. Cf. C4. *prajñāpti* (s.e.) *k°* (= O).

⁹ // : D2. : // . D3 is broken off here.

¹⁰ *caukṣāms* : = K, C5 etc. (= O); =? D3. [*c*][*au*][*kṣ*][*ā*][*m*][*ṣ*]; C4, R, P2 etc. *°am*, *°ān*; Bj, N1, C6, T6, B etc. *°am* (= KN; = Śikṣ. 352.12), *°ān*. Cf. F. *cokṣā<m>ṣ*.

¹¹ *cīvara* : = Bj, K, C4, C5 etc. (= KN; = Śikṣ. 352.12; = O, F); N2, T8, R etc. *cīvaru*. D3 is broken off here.

¹² *suraktaraṅgān suprasastaraṅgaiḥ* : = Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, C6, StP etc. (= KN; = Tib. Kanj. etc.) (see the next footnote); D3. + + + + .. [*s*](*u*)[*pra*](*ṣa*)[*st*](*a*)[*r*](*aṅ*)[*g*](*ai*)[*ḥ*]; ≠ T2. *prasastaraṅgaiḥ ca suraktaraṅgaṃ* (w.r.); T6, B, N2. *prasastaraṅgaiḥ ca vibhaktaraṅgaṃ* (w.r.); Śikṣ. 352.12. *suraktaraṅgaṃ ca prasannaraṅgaiḥ* (w.r.). Cf. O. *suramgaraktān suprasastaraṅgai*; F. *sura[ṅga]raktam suprasastaraṅgai*

¹³ *suraktaraṅgān* : C5. *°raṅgām*; Bj. *°raṅgā*; K, C4, C6, StP etc. *°raṅgaṃ* (= KN; = Śikṣ. 352.12); N1. *susaktaraṅgaṃ* (s.e.). Cf. O. *suramgaraktān*; F. *sura[ṅga]raktam*.

¹⁴ *suprasastaraṅgaiḥ* / : D2 omits the *daṇḍa* (= D3). I supplement it on the basis of the reading in the Nep. MSS. Presumably, the preceding Visarga sign (*ḥ*) in D2 also has the function of a punctuation mark (:). For such an usage of the so-called “visarga-daṇḍa,” see Karashima 2002 : § 1. Cf. O. *suprasastaraṅgai* · (s.e. for *suprasastaraṅgaiḥ*?)

¹⁵ *āsevakan* : D2. *°kān* (= N1; s.e.?). Emended on the basis of the readings in Bj (*āsaivakān*) and StP (*āsevakan*). D3. *ā* .. [*va*][*k*]; K, C4, C5, C6, T2, T6 etc. *āsevakaṃ*, *°kā(m)*; B. *°kaṃ* (= Śikṣ. 352.12; w.r.); KN. *°ka* (w.r.); cf. O. *°kā*; F. *āyasake*. The meaning of the word *āsevaka* in this text is not clear; cf. BHSD, s.v. *āsevaka* “some kind of garment.” In the Vinaya texts of the so-called Mūla-sarvāstivādin, the same word, apparently meaning “patch” there, occurs several times: *Bhikṣukarmavākya* (ed. Anukul Chandra Banerjee: *Two Buddhist Vinaya Texts in Sanskrit : Prātimokṣa Sūtra and Bhikṣukarmavākya*, Calcutta 1977: The World Press Private Limited), p. 61, l. 12. *āsevakan vā atrāropayīyāmi cīvaraṃ pāribhogikam* (= p. 61, l. 16; p. 62, l. 3; cf. Herbert Härtel, *Karmavācānā: Formulare für den Gebrauch im buddhistischen Gemeindeleben aus ostturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften*, Berlin 1956 [Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden 3], p. 75); *Upasampadāññaptiḥ* (ed. B. Jinananda, Patna 1961, Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute [Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series 6]), p. 12, l. 4, 9, 13. *āsevakaḥ* (l. *°kān*) *vātrāropayīyē yathā pratayam vā kariyāmi cīvaraṃ pāribhogikam*; *The Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, Gilgit Manuscripts, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, vol. 3, pt. 2, Delhi 1984: Sri Satguru, *Cīvaravastu* p. 52, l. 6f. *nāitad bhikṣo chedanārham api tv āsivakārham* (Hs. *āsevakaḥ*). *sivakaṃ* (Hs. *sevakaṃ*) *kṛtvā dhāraya* *sarvaṃ namataṃ ... sarvaṃ sthūlakambalañ cēti āsivakāms tu datvā dhārayitavyam*. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *rngul gzan* (v.l. *rngul zan*; *ngul zan*) (“upper garment for absorbing sweat [size like the *uttarāsāṅga*, in the day worn inside it]” [cf. RY, TCD, s.v.]).

¹⁶ *tathādāditvā* : D2. *tathā viditvā* (s.e.); D3. + + + [*d*](*i*)[*t*][*v*][*ā*]; Bj, K, C4, N1 etc. *tathādāditvā* (= O); C5. *tathā vaditvā* (s.e.); KN. *tathā daditvā* (s.e.; = Śikṣ. 352.13).

¹⁷ // : D2. · // . D3 is broken off here.

¹⁸ *sapādapīṭhasmi* : D2. + + + .. *ṭhasmi*; D3. + + *dapīṭhasmi*. Supplemented on the basis of the reading in the Nep. MSS.

¹⁹ *vicitraduṣyebi* : = D3, Bj, K, C4, N1 etc. (= Śikṣ. 353.1); KN. *dūṣyebi* (≠ MSS.; s.e.); T8. *°duṣyair hi* (s.e.); StP. *vicitrapuṣyebi* (s.e.); P2. *°puṣpābhi* (s.e.). Cf. O. *°duṣyebhi* (s.e. for *°duṣyebhi*); F. *°(duṣ)yebhi*.

²⁰ *susamṣṭtesmin* : = D3, K, P2, P1 etc.; C4, N1, C6, T6, N2 etc. *°stṛtasmin* (= KN; = Śikṣ. 353.1 [*v.l.* *°stṛtesmin*]), *°stṛtasmin*; Bj. *°stātasmin* (s.e. for *°stṛtasmin*); C5, T2, B, T8, StP etc.

°skṛtasmin (= F), °skṛtasmiṃ. Cf. O. °skṛtasmi.

²¹ / : D2, D3. -.

²² upāruhivā : D2. upārupitvā (s.e.); D3. upāru .. tvā. Emended on the basis of the reading in the Nep. MSS.

²³ snigdgena : D2, D3. snindgena (s.e.). The ligatures *gdha* and *ndha* resemble each other. Emended on the basis of the reading in the Nep. MSS.

²⁴ sīrṣeṇa : = D2, Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, C6 etc. (= KN; = Śikṣ. 353.2; = O, F; = Tib. Kanj. etc. *mgo*); T6, B, N2, T8, A1. *muṇḍena* (w.r.).

²⁵ // : D2, D3. : //; Nep. MSS. //.

²⁶ tatra : = D3, Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, C6 etc. (= Śikṣ. 353.3); R. *cātra* (w.r.; = KN). Cf. O, F. *tasmi*.

²⁷ niṣīdiyāna : = D3, Bj, K, N1, N2, T6, T8 etc. (= F; cf. Śikṣ. 353.3. *niṣīdiyānaḥ*, presumably s.e. for °iyāna /); T2. °iyānaṃ. For gerunds in -iyāna, cf. BHSG § 35.45f., Geiger § 214; for gerunds in -iyānaṃ, cf. Pischel § 592, AMg. -iyānaṃ, Geiger § 214, Pa. -iyānaṃ; Roth 1980: 87-88 = 1986: 298-299. C4, C5, C6, B etc. *niṣīdayāna* (w.r.; = KN). Cf. O. *niṣīdayitvā* (Hs.°dayātvā).

²⁸ ekāgrasatveṣu samāgateṣu : D2. *ekātra[s]a + + . [āga]teṣu ca* (The characters *gra* and *tra* resemble each other in this script). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS. Cf. Śikṣ. 353.3. *ekāgra satveṣu samam vipatyan* (w.r.); O, F. *ekaikasatve* (F. °satvai) *tabi āgatasmi*.

²⁹ upasamharec : D2. *upasam[gā]harec* (s.e.); D3. *upa .. ṃ + rec*. Emended on the basis of the reading in K, N1, T2, T6, B etc. (= KN; = Śikṣ. 353.4). Bj, C5, C6, StP etc. *hare* (= O, F); C5. *upasamkrame* (s.e.).

³⁰ citrakathām : = D3 and most of the Nep. MSS. (= O). N1, P3 etc. °kathā (= KN; = Śikṣ. 353.4; = F).

³¹ *babūms* : = C4, N1, C6, T2, T6 etc.; D3, Bj, K, C5, B etc. *babūś* (= KN; = Śikṣ. 353.4).

³² *bhikṣūna* : = D3 (= Śikṣ. 353.4); most of the Nep. MSS. °ūṇa (= KN; = O, F).

³³ *co* : = D3, Bj, C4, N1, C5, T2 etc.; K, T8, StP etc. *cā* ([m.c.] < *ca*; = KN); cf. Śikṣ. 353.4. *tbo* (w.r.). Cf. O, F. *ca* (unmetrical).

³⁴ *bhikṣuṇikāna* : = D3, N1, P2 etc. (= O, F); P3, R. °*nikāṇa* (w.r.); Bj. °*nikāna* (s.e.; unmetrical); C4. °*nikāni* (s.e.); K, T2, T6, B, StP etc. °*niyāna* (w.r.; = KN); C5. °*niyāna* (s.e.; unmetrical); C6, N2. °*niyāni* (s.e.); cf. Śikṣ. 353.4. °*nikās*; cf. also BHSD, s.v. *bhikṣuṇikā*.

³⁵ *cārva* : cf. Śikṣ. 353.4. *tathārva*.

³⁶ // : D2, D3. : //; Nep. MSS. //.

³⁷ *upāsakānām ca upāsikānām* : = D3, Bj, C4, N1 etc. (= KN; = O, F; = Tib. Kanj. etc.); K, C5, C6, C1, C2. *upāsikānāñ ca upāsakānām* (w.r.).

³⁸ *rājñām* : D2. *rājñā* (= K, C4, B, T8; = O, F). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3, Bj, C5, C6 etc. (= KN); N1. *rājñā* (s.e.); T2, A1 etc. *rājñam* (s.e.)

³⁹ / : D2, D3. :.

⁴⁰ *vicitritārthām* : D2. °*rtbi* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3, K (°*rtbān*), C5 etc. (= KN). Bj, C4 etc. °*rtbam* (s.e.); N1. °*rtbam* (s.e.). Cf. O, F. *vicitra-artbā*.

⁴¹ *katbeyā* : D2. *kathe* +. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= K, C5, C6 etc.; = KN; = O). Bj. °*eyyā*; C4. °*eyyām* (s.e.); N1. *katb{y}eyyām* (s.e.). Cf. F. *kareyā* (s.e.).

⁴² *anabhyasūyantu* : D2. + + + *sūyantu*; D3, Bj, C4, T2, T8, StP etc. *ananyasūyantu* (w.r.; = F); N1. °*sūya{ṃ}ntu* (w.r.); C5. °*sū{ṃ}yantu* (s.e.); K, T6. °*sūyātu* (w.r.); C6. *anantabbūyantu* (s.e.); KN. *anabhyasūyantu* (= O). The form *ananyasūyantu* is probably a wrong reading for *an-abhyasūyantu*; cf. Skt. *abhy-asūyati* “be indignant at” (MW). The confusion between *anabby*° and *anany*° must have arisen due to the confusing similarity between the letters *bhy* and *ny*. Cf. § 4, n. 6; § 13, n. 23. For nom. sg. masc. -*ntu* (m.c.), see BHSG § 18.8. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *phrag dog med par*; Tib. Kho. *myi 'kbrugs par*.

⁴³ *sadā* : N1. *tadā* (s.e.).

⁴⁴ *sa* : O, F. *hi*.

⁴⁵ Verses 30 and 31 are wanting in the citation in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 353.

Notes on O. _____

⁴⁶ *sukbasthitau* : a hyperform of °*stbīto*.

⁴⁷ *prañāpti* : s.e. for °*jñāpta*. Cf. n. 8.

⁴⁸ *manaujñe* : a hyperform of *mano*°; cf. F. *manujñe*.

⁴⁹ *sau* : a hyperform of *so*.

⁵⁰ *supraśastaraṅgai* ° : s.e. for *supraśastaraṅgaiḥ*? For instr. pl. masc. *-ai* (< Skt. *-aiḥ*), cf. § 9, n. 33 (G/N. *naṭai*); BHSG § 8.107, Karashima 2002: § 9.16.1.

⁵¹ *niṣīdi* : = F; cf. G/N. *niṣadya*. For absolutes in *-i*, cf. § 12, n. 12 (G/N. *v.l. vipāśyī*), BHSG § 35.49f., RgsGr § 42.19, EV I. 282 (ad Th. 1144).

⁵² *vicitraduṣyebhi* : s.e. for °*duṣyebhi*. Cf. G/N. °*duṣyebi*.

⁵³ 2 : s.e. for 3.

⁵⁴ *niṣīdayātvā* : s.e. for °*dayitvā*. Cf. G/N, F. *niṣīdiyāna*.

⁵⁵ *ekaikasatve tabi āgatasmi* : cf. G/N. *ekāgrasatveṣu samāgateṣu*; F. *ek(ai)(kasatv)ai tabi āgatasmi*.

⁵⁶ *ca* : = F; unmetrical. Cf. G/N. *co* (*v.l. cā*).

⁵⁷ *adburā* : s.e. for *madburā*.

⁵⁸ *hi* : = F; G/N. *sa*.

Notes on F. _____

⁵⁹ *manujñe* : a semi-Middle Indic for *mano*° (= G/N); cf. O. *manaujñe*.

⁶⁰ *supraśastaraṅgai* (°) : cf. O. *supraśastaraṅgai* ° .

⁶¹ *(n)īḍāni ca āyasake* : The other versions read *āsevākān* (O. *āsevākā*) *kṛṣṇa tathā* instead. The meaning of the word *āyasaka*~, which is not recorded in dictionaries, is not clear. Cf. note. 15.

⁶² *ca* : unmetrical.

⁶³ *niṣīdi* : = O; cf. n. 51.

⁶⁴ *ek(ai)(kasatv)ai tabi āgatasmi* : cf. O. *ekaikasatve tabi āgatasmi*; G/N. *ekāgrasatveṣu samāgateṣu*.

⁶⁵ *ca* : = O; unmetrical. Cf. G/N. *co* (*v.l. cā*).

⁶⁶ *kareyā* : s.e. for *katheyā* (= O, G/N).

⁶⁷ *ananyasūyantū* : w.r. for *anabhyasūyantū*; see n. 42.

Notes on Tib. Kanjur version _____

⁶⁸ T. 134b7; J. 116b2; S. 156b5; P. 303b8; B. 143a8; Q. 121b4; N. 161a7; D. 106a4; C. 124a4; L. 167a2.

⁶⁹ *kyis* : S. *kyis* /.

⁷⁰ *tshigs su* : T. MS. *tshigsu* (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

⁷¹ *de la* : all Kanjur editions except for Bth read thus; probably, l.c. for *bde la* (= Bth, Tib. Kho.; = G/N. *sukhaṃ*).

⁷² *de* : B. om. (s.e.).

⁷³ *yid du* : J, D, C. *yid tu* (w.r.).

⁷⁴ *ong* : P. *'ongs* (s.e.).

⁷⁵ *phyogs su* : T. MS. *phyogsu* (= J; = Bth).

⁷⁶ *stan* : J, C. *bstan*.

⁷⁷ *rab tu* : P. *rab du* (s.e.).

⁷⁸ *ste* : P. *te* (= Bth) (s.e.).

⁷⁹ *tshon* : P, B, Q. *mtshon* (w.r.). Cf. G/N. *-raṃga*~.

⁸⁰ *bsgyur ba* : P. *sgyur pa* (s.e.).

⁸¹ *de* : P. *des* (= Tib. Kho.).

⁸² *rngul gzan* : J, Q, D. *rngul zan* (= Bth); P. *ḍngul zan* (= Tib. Kho.); C. *rtul zan* (s.e.); “upper garment for absorbing sweat (size like the *uttarāsāṅga*, in the day worn inside it)” (RY, TCD); cf. G/N. *āsevākā* (meaning?; cf. n. 15).

⁸³ *nag po* : N, L. *bzang po* (s.e.).

⁸⁴ *bshams* : P. *bsham* (= Bth) (w.r.).

⁸⁵ *sham* : P. *shams* (s.e.).

⁸⁶ *che* : T. MS., J. *tshe* (= Bth) (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions. Cf. G/N. *mahā-(pramāṇam)*.

⁸⁷ *tshad* : Q. *tshang* (s.e.).

⁸⁸ *bting ba* : P. *bting pa* (w.r.).

⁸⁹ *rkang* : P. *rkan* (s.e.).

⁹⁰ *bcas* : P. *byas* (s.e.).

⁹¹ *steng* : P. *ste* (s.e.).

⁹² *gyi* : P. *gyis* (= Bth) (s.e.).

⁹³ *mdangs* : S. *dangs* (s.e.).

⁹⁴ *snum* : D. *sdum* (s.e.).

⁹⁵ *nas* : P. {*cing // rkang pa lags par bkraś ta śta 'dzags*} (dittography) *nas*.

⁹⁶ *lhags* : C. *lhag* (= Bth) (s.e.).

⁹⁷ *lhags pa* : T. MS. *lhags ba* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions.

⁹⁸ *rnām* : P. *śnam* (s.e.).

⁹⁹ *bar* : P. *bas* (s.e.).

¹⁰⁰ *rnams* : P. *dag* (s.e.).

¹⁰¹ *mkhas de* : J, N, D, L. *mkhas te* (= Bth) (w.r.). Cf. Tib. Kho. *mkhas pa des*; G/N. *śa paṇḍitaḥ*.

¹⁰² *phrag* : P. *phra* (s.e.).

Notes on Bathang Kanjur

¹⁰³ *bde la* : = Tib. Kho.; = G/N. *sukham*. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *de la* (l.c.).

¹⁰⁴ *kying* : s.e. for *kyang*.

¹⁰⁵ *bsham* : w.r. for *bshams*.

¹⁰⁶ *btings te* : s.e. for *bting ste*.

¹⁰⁷ *zan* : w.r. for *gzan?*; cf. n. 82.

¹⁰⁸ *ni* : s.e. for *bzbin*.

¹⁰⁹ *bsham* : w.r. for *bshams*.

¹¹⁰ *shams* : w.r. for *sham*.

¹¹¹ *tshe ched* : s.e. for *che tshad*.

¹¹² *lags* : s.e. for *legs*.

¹¹³ *bcos bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bcos bu'i*.

¹¹⁴ *sting* : s.e. for *steng*.

¹¹⁵ *jogs* : s.e. for *'dzegs*.

¹¹⁶ *lhag par* : s.e. for *lhags pa*.

¹¹⁷ *ma* : s.e. for *rnams*.

¹¹⁸ *mkhas te* : s.e. for *mkhas de*. See n. 101.

¹¹⁹ *tog* : s.e. for *dog*.

Notes on Tib. Kho.

¹²⁰ *bde la* : = Bth; = G/N. *sukham*. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *de la* (l.c.).

¹²¹ *des* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *de* (v.l. P. *des*).

¹²² *shin du zhen pa'o* : “very much attached, devoted”; cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs par kha bsgyur ba* (“well coloured”); G/N. *su-rakta-raṅga-* (“well coloured”). The translator of the Tib. Kho. seems to have incorrectly understood the meaning of Skt. *rakta* (“coloured, dyed; charmed with, attached or devoted to”) in this verse.

¹²³ *ngul zan* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rngul gzhan* (v.l. Bth, J, Q, D. *rngul zan*; P. *ngul zan*); cf. n. 82.

¹²⁴ *smad gyogs* : “skirt”; cf. Tib. Kanj. *sham thabs*.

¹²⁵ *'du sha 'i gos* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bcos bu'i ras*; G/N. *-duṣya-*. “*'du sha*” is probably a transliteration of BHS. *duṣya* (“a kind of cloth” [BHSD, s.v.]).

¹²⁶ *'dug nas su* : the affix *su*, which is placed after *nas*, especially at the end of a line in a stanza, is no more than an expletive (cf. Jā, s.v. *su* II, 3; Nob[Wö], s.v. *su* [2]). Cf. Tib. Kanj. *rab 'dug nas*; G/N. *niṣīdiyāna*. Cf. also § 18, Tib. Kho. 54b6. *dran nasu* (i.e. *nas su*).

¹²⁷ *rnam pa sna tshogs* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sna tshogs don ldan*; G/N. *vicitritārtha-*.

¹²⁸ *myi 'kbrugs par* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phrag dog med par*; G/N. *anabhyasūyantu*.

Notes on Chin. Dr.

¹²⁹ 智者常安 住於佛道 : “The wise one ever abides comfortably in the Buddha’s enlightenment”; ∈ G/N. *sukhasthito bhoti sadā vicaṣyaṇo* (“The wise one is always at ease.”). I assume that Dharmarakṣa confused *bhoti* (“is”) with *bodbi* (“enlightenment”); cf. § 18, n. 154, 157; Krsh. 167, 267; Boucher 1998: 478f.

¹³⁰ 數 : J. 數 (s.e.).

¹³¹ 觀著 : v.l. 襯著.

¹³² 於七七日 而習經行 : “He practises walking around for exercise for seven weeks.” ∈ (?) G/N. *suraktaraṅgān suprasastaramgaib*.

¹³³ 猶如黑雲 在於虛空 合集積累 弘雅功德 : “Staying in the sky like a black cloud, he(?) collects and accumulates wonderful merit.” ∈ (?) G/N. *āsevākāṅ kṛṣṇa tatbādaitvā mahāpramāṇam ca nivāsaitvā*.

¹³⁴ 篋藏 : “a basket” ∈ G/N. *-pīthasmi*. I assume that Dharmarakṣa confused *pītha* (“a stool”) with *piṭa* (“a basket”); cf. Krsh. 167.

¹³⁵ 升據 : J. 升處, S(1) etc. 昇處.

¹³⁶ 次第剖判 : “He dissects in due order (and preaches the various subtle meanings).” ∈ G/N, O. *anabhyasūyantu*, F. *ananyasūyantu*.

¹³⁷ “The Buddha, then, uttered these verses:

“The wise one, ever abiding comfortably in the Buddha’s enlightenment, first sits down at ease and then preaches the Dharma. When (someone) prepares his seat, he strives to make it soft. (His seat should) be furnished with many sorts of items and placed in a resplendent position. (= 26)

He always dresses himself in pure and clean clothing. He practises walking around for exercise for seven weeks. Staying in the sky like a black cloud, he(?) collects and accumulates wonderful merit. (= 27)

The seat, on which he sits, is furnished with a basket. The chair, whose feet are firm, is even and radiant. (There are) countless seat-cushions, mats, made of fine cotton and wavy carpets (made of fine cloth). Having straightened their heads in an orderly fashion, (the eyes of the people?) follow (尊 = 遵) upon what he gazes.(?) (= 28)

He mounts and seats himself at ease upon the high and broad Dharma-seat. Then, with an extensive and impartial mind towards all, (namely) kings, emperors, crown princes, ministers, monks and nuns, (= 29)

Noble men and women of pure faith, he preaches what they wish to hear in innumerable ways. With his infinite wisdom, he dissects in due order and preaches the various subtle meanings.”

(= 30)”

Note on Chin. Kj. _____

¹³⁸ “Thereupon, the World-Honoured One, wishing to state this teaching once more, uttered these verses:

“A bodhisattva delights always in preaching the Dharma at ease. Having prepared his seat on a clean and pure place, (= 26)

Anointed his body with oil, washed away the dust, put on a new clean robe (together with) clean outer and under garments, (= 27, 28)

And seated himself upon the Dharma-seat comfortably, he, then, expounds the Dharma in answer to questions.

If there are monks, nuns, laymen, laywomen, kings, princes, ministers, officials or ordinary people, he (always) preaches the subtle doctrines for them with a gentle countenance.” (= 29, 30)
” (Cf. Murano 216; Kato 227; Hurvitz 214; Yuyama/Kubo 210; Watson 202).

XIII § 15 Notes:

Notes on the Gilgit/Nepalese version _____

¹ *pr̥ṣṭo* : = D3, K, C6 etc. (= KN); Bj, T2. °ṣṭau (s.e.); C4. °ṣṭe (s.e.); C5. *ḍṣṭau* (s.e.). Cf. O. *pr̥ṣṭam*; F. *ḍṣṭam* (s.e.).

² *pi* : C5. *ca* (s.e.).

³ *tada* : D2. *taṃda* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.

⁴ *praśnu* : = D3, Bj; = C4, C5, C6, T6 etc. *prasnu*; N1, T2, StP, P2 etc. *praśna* (= KN; = O, F); B, N2, T8 etc. *prasna*; K. *paṇḍi(tehi)* (s.e.).

⁵ *arthaṃ* : D2. *arbhāṃ* (w.r.?). cf. Tib. Kanj. etc. *don rnam*s). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS. Cf. O, F. *artha<ṃ>*.

⁶ *puna* : = D3, most of the Nep. MSS.; C4, T8, R etc. *punar* (= KN; unmetrical; s.e.). Cf. O, F. *nipunam* (“in a clever manner”).

⁷ *nirdiśeta* : = D3, Bj; C4, T6. *nirddiśeta*; StP. *nirdiśeta*; K, C5, C6, T2. *nirdiśet**, *nirdiśet**; T8, A1, R, P3 etc. *nirdiśeya* (= KN), *nirddiśeya*, *nirdiśeya*; N1. *nidirśeya* (s.e.), B. *nidirśeya* (s.e.). Cf. O, F. *nidarśayet*.

⁸ / : D2, D3. . .

⁹ *arthajātam* : D2. *arthajñātam* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.

¹⁰ *bodhāya* : KN. *bodhīya* (≠ MSS.; l.c.).

¹¹ *bhaveya* : = D3 (opt. 3 pl.; cf. BHSG § 29.29); most of the Nep. MSS. °*veta*; C5. °*vema* (s.e.); KN. °*veyu* (= O, F).

¹² Verses 30 and 31 are wanting in the citation in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, p. 353.

¹³ *kilāsitām* : D2. *ki + .. tā*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS. (= KN); R, A1, P3 etc. °*itam* (w.r.); cf. Śikṣ. 353.5. °*itāś*. Cf. O. *kilāsatām* (probably s.e. for °*sitām*), F. *kelāsitām* (s.e.?).

¹⁴ *vivarjayitvā* : = D3, K, T2, T6, T8 etc.; C6. *vivārja*° (s.e.); C5. *vivarjitātāvā* (s.e.); Bj, C4, N1, StP. *visarjayitvā*, *visarjja*°; KN. *vivarjayeta* (= O, F); cf. Śikṣ. 353.5. *vivarjayīta*. Cf. also § 13, n. 26, 29.

¹⁵ *utpādāyi* : D2. *utpādāyi* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.

¹⁶ *khedasaṃjñā* : = D3, C4, N1, C5, C6, T2 etc. (= O); Bj, T6, A1 etc. °*jñām* (= Śikṣ. 353.5); K, N2. °*jñām** (= KN). Cf. F. °*jñān** (s.e. for °*jñām**?).

¹⁷ / : D2, D3. . .

¹⁸ *vijabeta* : = D3 and most of the Nep. MSS. (= KN; = O, F); K. *vijahīta* (= Śikṣ. 353.6), C5. *vujahīta* (s.e. for *vij*°); N2. *vijabeti* (s.e.). Cf. Lü. *prajabeya*.

- ¹⁹ *paṇḍito* : = D3 and most of the Nep. MSS. (= KN); N1. °*itaḥ* (s.e.; = Śikṣ. 353.6).
- ²⁰ *maitrābalaṃ* : = D3, Bj, C4 (= O, F); C5, C6, StP. °*balañ*; K, N1, T2, T6, B, N2, T8 etc. *maitrībalaṃ* (= KN), °*balañ*. Cf. § 16, n. 39.
- ²¹ *ca* : = D3, Bj, K, C4 etc. (= KN; = O, F; unmetrical); N2, T8, A1. *co*; cf. Śikṣ. 353.6.- (w.r.). Read *cā* or *co*, m.c.?
- ²² *pariśāya* : = D3, R, P2 etc. (= KN; = O, F); K, C4, C6, T2, T6, N2, T8, StP etc. *parśāya* (unmetrical); Bj. *parśāya{h}* (s.e.); N1, B. *varśāya* (s.e.); C5. *mārśā* (s.e.); cf. Śikṣ. 353.6. *parśadi* (w.r.).
- ²³ *bhāvayet** : = D3, K, C4, C5, C6, T2, StP etc. (= KN; = O, F; = Tib. Kanj. etc. *bsgom par bya*, Tib. Kho. *sgom bar byed*); N1, B, T6. *bhāṣayet** (w.r.); Bj. *bhāṣate* (w.r.); cf. Śikṣ. 353.6. *bhāvayec ca* (w.r.); cf. also Dr = Kj. 説法 (“preaches the Dharma” = √*bhāṣ*; see Krsh. 168). The confusion between *bhāvayati* / √*bhāṣ* might have arisen due to the similarity between the letters *v* and *ṣ*; cf. Krsh. 270, 287. For another example of this confusion, see the next note.
- ²⁴ *bbāṣeya* : = D3, Bj, C4, N1, T2; P3. *bbāṣeyu* (s.e.); K, C6, T8. *bbāṣe ca* (= O); T6. *bbāṣec ca* (= KN; = Śikṣ. 353.7; = F); A1. *bbāvec ca* (w.r.); C5. *bhavac ca* (s.e. for °*vec ca*); B, N2. *bbāve ca* (w.r.); StP. *bbāve sa* (s.e.); P2. *bbāveyu* (s.e.). Cf. Tib. Kanj. *bsgom*, Tib. Kho. *sgom ba* (= *bbāvet*); Dr. 歌誦 詠 (“praises in song” = √*bhāṣ*), Kj. 説 (“expounds” = √*bhāṣ*). Cf. preceding note.
- ²⁵ *rātrīṃdivam* : D2, D3. *rātrīṃdivam*. I normalise the form on the basis of readings in the Nep. MSS. For *r* / *ri*, cf. § 9, n. 21; BHSG § 3.95.
- ²⁶ *agradharmān* : = D3, Bj(°*ām*), K, C4, N1, T2(°*ām*), StP etc. (= Śikṣ. 353.7); C5, C6. °*dharmā*; P2, P3, R etc. °*dharmam*, °*dharmam* (= KN) (w.r.).
- ²⁷ *dr̥ṣṭāntakoṭīniyutaiḥ sa paṇḍitaḥ* : D2. *dr̥ṣṭāntakoṭīni* + + + .. *ṇḍ* Supplemented from the reading in D3.
- ²⁸ °*niyutaiḥ* : D2. °*ni* + + +; D3, T2. °*niyutaiḥ* (= Śikṣ. 353.7); most of the Nep. MSS. °*nayutaiḥ* (= KN). Cf. O, F. °*nayutebbi*. For the alternation between BHS. *nayuta* and Skt. *niyuta* see BHSD, s.v. *nayuta*.
- ²⁹ / : D2. .. ; D3 omits the *daṇḍa*. I supplement it on the basis of the reading in the Nep. MSS. Presumably, the preceding Visarga sign (*ḥ*) in D3 also has the function of a punctuation mark (:). Cf. § 2, n. 8, 12 etc.
- ³⁰ *saṃbhāṣayet parśa tathāiva toṣaye* : D2.[e]t parśa ta[tḥaiḥ]. t. .. .e. Supplemented from the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.
- ³¹ *parśa* : cf. Śikṣ. 353.8. *tām ca* (w.r.); O, F. *parīṣa*.
- ³² *toṣaye* : D2. t. .. .e; D3. *toṣaye* (= O); Bj, N1, C5, C6, T2 etc. *toṣayet* (= Śikṣ. 353.8); T6, T8, StP etc. *toṣayen* (= KN; = Lü; cf. F. *toṣayon* [s.e. for °*yen*]); K. *toṣate* (w.r.); R, P2, P3 etc. *bhāṣayet*, °*ayen* (w.r.); for the *bh* / *t* confusion, see § 9, n. 67 etc.); C4. *bhā[v]ayet* (s.e.).
- ³³ *na cāpi kiṃcit tatu jātu prārthayet** : D2. +[i][j]ā[r].. .et*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.
- ³⁴ *tatu* : D2.; D3, T2, B. *tatu* (= KN; = O); Bj. *tabhu* (s.e. for *tatu*); K, T6, T8. *tanu* (s.e. for *tatu*); C4. (*kiñcit*) *u{[ma]}* (s.e.); A1. (*kiñcit*) *uma* (s.e.); N1. (*kiñcit*) *ama* (s.e.); C5. *ta* (s.e.); C6, P2. *natu* (s.e. for *tatu*); StP. *tatha* (s.e.); Śikṣ. 353.8. *tatra*. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *de la*; Tib. Kho. *de dag la*.
- ³⁵ *khādyam ca bhojyam* : D2. *khā[dya]m ca .oj[ya]m*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.
- ³⁶ *tathā* (°) *nnapānam* : D2. *tathānapā*° (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.
- ³⁷ *śayyāsana-* : = D3, N1, C5, T6, T8 etc. (= KN; = Śikṣ. 353.9; = O); = Bj, C4, N2 etc. *sayyā*°, K. *sayyāsana-* (s.e.); T2. *śayyāsana-* (s.e.); C6, StP, P3, R etc. *śayanāsana-*, *sayanāsana-*, *śayanāsana-* (w.r.). Cf. F. *śaryāsana-* (see n. 114).
- ³⁸ -*cīvarān* : = D3, N1; Bj. °*rām* (s.e. for °*rān*); A1. °*rām*; K, C4, C5, T2, T6, T8, StP

etc. °ram, °raṃ (= KN); C6. °rañ (ca) (s.e.); P2. -cīvarāṇi (w.r.; = Śikṣ. 353.9). Cf. O. -cīvarāṃś; F. -cīvarāṃś.

³⁹ vā : = D3, most of the Nep. MSS. (= KN); C6. ca (s.e.; = O, F). P2 reads -cīvarāṇi (w.r.; = Śikṣ. 353.9) instead of -cīvarān vā.

⁴⁰ /: D2, D3, N1. -.

⁴¹ cintayeta : cf. Śikṣ. 353.10. *cintayet saḥ*.

⁴² vijñapeyā pariśāya kiṃcit // : D2. + + + + + k. [c]it* .. . Supplemented from the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.

⁴³ vijñapeyā : cf. Śikṣ. 353.10. *vijñapet*; O, F. *vijñapeta*.

⁴⁴ pariśāya : D2. + + + + ; D3, Bj, K, C4, N1, C6, T6 etc. *parśāya* (unmetrical). Emended on the basis of the reading in C5, T2, P3 etc. (= KN; = O, F). Cf. Śikṣ. 353.10. *parśadi*.

⁴⁵ kiṃcit : cf. Śikṣ. 353.10. *kiñcid anyat* (s.e.).

⁴⁶ sadā : D2. [sa]dā.

⁴⁷ vicakṣaṇo : = D3, most of the Nep. MSS. (= KN; = O, F); P2, P1. °kṣaṇaḥ (= Śikṣ. 354.1).

⁴⁸ bhaveya : = D3, most of the Nep. MSS. (= KN; = O, F); C5, B. °veyu (s.e.?). N1. °veye (s.e.).

⁴⁹ ca : C4, N1. va (s.e.).

⁵⁰ satvāḥ : D2, D3. *satvān** (l.c.?). Emended on the basis of the reading in C5, C6, T6, T8 etc. (= KN. *sattvāḥ*; = O); Bj, K, C4, N1, T2, StP. *satvā* (= Śikṣ. 354.1). Cf. F. *satvā(m)ḥ* or *satvām* :.

⁵¹ etaṃ : = D3; Bj, K. *etan*; C4. *etat* (s.e. for *etan*); N1. *etata* (s.e. for *etat**); C5, C6, T2, T6, B, T8, StP etc. *evam* (= KN; = O, F), *evam*; cf. Śikṣ. 354.2. *etac*.

⁵² mama : = D3, Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, T2, T6 etc. (unmetrical); T8. *mamā*; C6, StP. *mayā* (l.c.?). KN. *sama* (≠ MSS.; s.e.?). cf. Śikṣ. 354.2. *ca me*. Read *mamā* (= T8), m.c.?

⁵³ sarva- : KN. *sattva-* (≠ MSS.; s.e.).

⁵⁴ yaṃ dharmu : = D3; C6, T2, T6, B, N2, T8, StP etc. *yaṃ* (or *yan*) *dharmu* (= Śikṣ. 354.2); C5. *yaṃ [sarva] dharmu*; R, P3, P2 etc. *yad dharmu* (= O, F), °rmmu; Bj, K, C4, N1. *saddharma* (= KN) (w.r.). Cf. Tib. Kanj. etc. *chos gang*.

⁵⁵ // : D2. °//. D3 is broken off here.

⁵⁶ ye : = Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, C6 etc.; D3 is broken off here; T2, T6, B. *yo* (l.c.); P2, T4 etc. *yaś* (= KN; = O, F). For nom. sg. masc. *ye*, see Karashima 2002: § 16.11; cf. also BHS § 8.25, § 21.7.

⁵⁷ bhikṣū : D2. *bbikṣu* (unmetrical; s.e.); D3 is broken off here. Emended on the basis of the reading in most of the Nep. MSS. (= KN). Nom. sg. masc., m.c.; cf. § 12, n. 4. Cf. O, F. *bbikṣur*.

⁵⁸ mama nirvṛtasya : an example of a genitive absolute construction; cf. § 12, n. 5.

⁵⁹ anīrṣuko : D2. a + + +. Supplemented from the reading in D3(a [i] ... ko) and C4, N1, C5, C6, T2, T6 etc. *anīrṣuko* (= KN); Bj, K. *jātīrṣuko*, *jātī<r>ṣuko* (s.e.; the characters *a* and *jā* resemble each other in this script; the *aḥ* and *na* also resemble each other in many scripts.); StP. *nyanīrṣuko* (s.e.). Cf. O, F. *aniṣkubam* (O, F; w.r. for *anīrṣukam* or *niṣkubam*); Tib. Kanj. etc. *phrag dog myed par*; Dr. 無所希望 (“has no desire” ∈ *anīrṣuka*, see Krsh. 168); Kj. 心無嫉恚 (“his mind will be free of jealousy” = *anīrṣuka*).

⁶⁰ eva : D2. + ... Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= most of the Nep. MSS.; = KN; = O, F). N1, T8. *eṣa* (s.e.).

⁶¹ prakāśayeyā : C6. °śaye vā (s.e.); StP. °śaye ca (s.e.). Cf. O, F. *prakāśayīta*.

⁶² /: D2, D3. . .

⁶³ duḥkhaṃ : D2. *duḥkha* (unmetrical; s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.

⁶⁴ *antarāyo* : K, B. °āya (s.e.); C4. °āyā (s.e.). Cf. O. °āyab; F. °āṇa (s.e.).

⁶⁵ *na śokupāyāsa bhavet kadācit** : D3. [na] so[k]ju + + + + + c. t(*); Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, C6, T2, StP etc. śokōpayāsā (v.l. so°) na bhavet (C4, StP. bhavet) kadācit* (= KN) (l.c.); T6, B, N2, T8, A1, P2. āyāsu (P2. °āsa) soko (v.l. soke, śoke) na (B. ca) ca (B. na) tasya kecit* (l.c.). The compound śokupāyāsa (< śoka + upāyāsa) in D2 and D3 shows a Middle Indic sandhi of -a + u- > -u- (cf. Pa. -domanassupāyāsa < -domanassa + upāyāsa, kodbupāyāsa < kodba + upāyāsa). Presumably, it was later replaced by a normal compound form śokōpayāsā and the word order was accordingly changed to fit the metre. Cf. O. śokaṃ ca ākrāuśa na jātu tasya; F. śokaṃ ca ākrośa na jātu-r-asyā; Tib. Kanj. nams kyang mya ngan rnams dang 'khrug pa'ang med; Tib. Kho. slos pa'i mya ngan 'kbrug pa yong myed de; Kj. 亦無憂愁 及罵詈者("He will have no sorrows, and no one will slander him.") = O, F; see Krsh. 168).

⁶⁶ *saṃtrāsana* : D2. °trāsana (s.e.); D3. santrā[s]. +; Nep. MSS. saṃtrāsana (= O, F). For the nom. sg. masc. -u (m.c.); cf. BHSG § 8.20; RgsGr § 8.8f.

⁶⁷ *kaści* : D2. jātu (= D3. .. tu) is probably w.r. Emended on the basis of the reading in Bj, K, C4, N1, C6 etc. kaści (= KN; = O, F; = Tib. Kanj. etc. su yang); C5, T2, T6, B, StP. kaścit (unmetrical; s.e.).

⁶⁸ *kuryān* : = D3, N1, T2 etc.; K, C5, C6, T8 etc. °ryāt* /; Bj, C4, T6, B, N2 etc. °ryā (= O, F).

⁶⁹ *tādanam* : = D3, Bj, C4; C6, T2. tādanam; N1. tādana<ṃ> (s.e.); K, C5, B. tādanā; N2, R etc. tādanāṃ (= KN); T6. tādanānam (s.e.). Cf. O, F. tātanā (w.r.).

⁷⁰ *avarṇa* : = Nep. MSS. (avarṇa) (= KN); D3. avarṇu.

⁷¹ *bbāṣe* : = D3; K, C5, C6, T2, T6, T8 etc. bbāṣet* (= KN); Bj, C4, T4 etc. bbāṣayet*; N1. bbāṣate (s.e.?). Cf. O, F. -bbāṣanam.

⁷² / : D2, D3. . .

⁷³ *niškāsana* : = D3; Nep. MSS. °sana (= KN). Cf. O, F. niškālana.

⁷⁴ *so* : D2 = D3. +. Supplemented from the reading in K, C5, C6 etc. (= KN). Cf. Bj. su; C4, N1, R, P2, P3 sa (= O, F).

⁷⁵ *kṣāntibale* : D2 = D3. + + + +. Supplemented from the reading in Bj, K, C4, N1 etc.

⁷⁶ *sukbasthitasya* : = Bj, K, N1, C5, C6 etc. (unmetrical; = KN; = O, F); D3. °tasy.; C4. °itas ca (s.e.). Read °itasyo (= T6, T8, A1) or °itasyā, m.c.?

⁷⁷ *sada* : = Bj, C4 (= Tib. Kanj. etc. rtag tu); N1. śada (s.e. for sada); D3 (+ da); K, C6, T2, T6, N2, StP, T8 etc. tada (= KN) (w.r.); C5. - (s.e.). Cf. O, F. tatba.

⁷⁸ *paṇḍitasya* : D2. piṇḍi° (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 and the Nep. MSS.

⁷⁹ *sthitasya* : = D3 etc. (unmetrical; = KN; = O, F). Read °itasyo, m.c.?

⁸⁰ / : D2, D3. -.

⁸¹ *śakya ye* : = Bj, K, N1, C5, C6, T2, StP etc. śakya (v.l. sakya) ye; C4. saknu ye (s.e.); T6, N2, T8, A1, P3, R. śakyate (= KN; = O, F) (l.c.); D3 is broken off here.

⁸² *kalpaśatebi* : = D3, K, C5, C6, T2, T6 etc. (= KN); Bj, C4, N1, N2, T8, A1, P3 etc. °satair (v.l. °satai) hi (w.r.). Cf. O. °satebbi; F. °satenā (w.r.).

⁸³ // : D2, D3. -//.

Notes on O.

⁸⁴ *nipuṇam* : = F; G/N. puṇa.

⁸⁵ *paṇḍito* : = F; = Dr. 斯叡哲者 ("this wise man"); cf. G/N. (artba-jātām).

⁸⁶ *kilāsatām* : probably s.e. for °sitām (= G/N); cf. F. kelāsitaṃ.

⁸⁷ *piṇḍito* : s.e. for paṇḍito.

⁸⁸ *drṣṭāntakoṭīnayutebbi* : = F; read °koṭīna°, m.c. (= G/N).

⁸⁹ *paṇḍita* . : probably s.e. for paṇḍitaḥ (= G/N).

⁹⁰ *kiñcāt* : s.e. for kiñcit (= G/N. kiñcit).

- ⁹¹ *bbaujyaṃ* : a hyperform of Skt. *bbojya-* (= G/N, F).
⁹² *evaṃ* : = F; cf. G/N. *etaṃ* (v.l. *evaṃ*; see n. 51).
⁹³ *śraveya* : s.e. for *śrāveya* (“I shall preach”) (= F; opt. 1 sg.; cf. BHSG § 29.29; RgsGr § 34.2). Cf. G/N. *śrāveṃi*.
⁹⁴ *sarvaprāṇinām* : = F; = Dr. 一切人 (“all people”); ≠ G/N. *bitāya loke*. Cf. Krsh. 168.
⁹⁵ *aniṣkuba-m-eva* : = F; cf. G/N. *anīrṣuko eva*; see n. 59. The form *aniṣkuba*, which may literally mean “not free from deceit (*kuba*),” is probably a corruption of either *anīrṣuka* or *niṣkuba* (“free from deceit”; cf. Pa. *nikkuba*, see DP, s.v. *kuba*; SJW, s.v. *niṣ-kubaka*; cf. also SHT, VII, No.1642, Bl. 25 V 1. *nirahaṃkara niṣkuba nirlavo*; AN II 26.27. *nikkubā nillapā dhīrā*; KP 16a1. *niṣkubakasya*; Bbh. 239.1f. *niṣkubakaś ca bhavati pareṣāṃ kubanārtbam iryāpatham sthairyaṃ vā pratisaṃkhyāya kalpayati. anīrṣukāś ca bhavati na pareṣāṃ dharmyāṃ kathāṃ lābha-satkāraṃ v’ ārabhyāmarṣam utpādayati*).
⁹⁶ *prakāśayīta* : = F; cf. G/N. *prakāśayeyā*. For opt. 3 sg. ending *-īta*, BHSG § 29.6; v. Hinüber 2001: § 119, § 444; Karashima 2002 § 17.1.
⁹⁷ *ākrrausā* : a hyperform of Skt. *ākrośa-* (= F). See n. 65.
⁹⁸ *tasya* : cf. F. *asyā* (opt. 3 sg. of √as).
⁹⁹ *tāṭanā* : = F; a hyperform of Skt. *tāḍana-*; cf. G/N. *tāḍanaṃ* (v.l. *tāḍanā*).
¹⁰⁰ *nāpy asya niṣkālana jātu-r-asya* : = F. The second *asya* is a third person singular optative of √as (cf. BHSG § 29.41); cf. n. 124 (F. *asyā*). Cf. G/N. *na cāpi niṣkāsanu jātu tasya*.
¹⁰¹ *sukhasthitasya* : = F, G/N; unmetrical, cf. n. 76.
¹⁰² *kauṭīśata* : a hyperform of *koṭīśata* (= G/N, F).
¹⁰³ *vaktam** : s.e. for *vaktum** (= F).

Notes on F.

- ¹⁰⁴ *dr̥ṣṭam* : s.e. for *pr̥ṣṭam* (= O).
¹⁰⁵ *nipuṇam* : = O; G/N. *puna*.
¹⁰⁶ *yathā* : probably s.e. for *tathā* (= O, Lü, G/N).
¹⁰⁷ *paṇḍito* : = O. Cf. n. 85.
¹⁰⁸ *kelāsitam* : s.e. for *kilāsitam* (= G/N)?; cf. O. *kilāsatam* (probably s.e. for **ṣitām*).
¹⁰⁹ *kbedasaṃjñān** : probably s.e. for **ṣñām** (= G/N, v.l., see n. 16).
¹¹⁰ *bbā[v]ayet** : the scribe had written *bbādayet**, which was probably corrected later to *bbāvayet** (= O, G/N).
¹¹¹ *dr̥ṣṭāntakoṭinayutebbhi* : = O; read °*koṭīna*°, m.c. (= G/N).
¹¹² *toṣayo[n]* : s.e. for *toṣayen* (= Lü, G/N, v.l. ; cf. n. 32).
¹¹³ *kiñci ...* : cf. O. *kiñcāt* (s.e. for *kiñcit*) *tatu*; G/N. *kiñcit tatu*.
¹¹⁴ *śa[r]yāsanaacīvarā<ṃ>ś ca* : cf. O. *śayyāsanaacīvarāṃś ca*; G/N. *śayyāsanaacīvarān vā*. The writing *śayyāsana* is a hyperform of *śayyāsana*; for such hyperforms with an unetymological *r*, cf. Brough 1996: 133f.; Damsteegt 1978: 43, 249 (*deryadbarṃma < deya*°).
¹¹⁵ *cinte ...* : cf. O, G/N. *cinteya sadā*.
¹¹⁶ *satvā{ṃ}h* : or *satvām* : ?; cf. O, Nep. MSS. *satvāh*; D2, D3. *satvān**; cf. n. 50.
¹¹⁷ *evaṃ* : = O; cf. G/N. *etaṃ* (v.l. *evaṃ*; see n. 51).
¹¹⁸ *sarvasukhōpadānam* : s.e. for **ḍpadhānam* (= O, G/N). The same mistake is seen in Pāli (see CPD, s.v. *upadāna*, probably w.r. for *upadhāna*). Similar confusion of roots √dā / √dhā is seen sporadically in Pāli (e.g. *ādāna* / *ādhāna* [see CPD, s.vv. *ādāna* 4, *ādhāna*]; *ādāya* / *ādhāya* [see CPD, s.v. *ādāya* 3]), Buddhist Sanskrit (cf. Karashima 2002: § 4.6) and in Sanskrit literature (cf. Bloomfield/Edgerton, *Vedic Variants*, II, §§ 100ff.). Cf. also n. 224.
¹¹⁹ *sarvaprāṇinām* : = O; see n. 94.
¹²⁰ *aniṣkuba-m-eva* : w.r. for either *anīrṣuka* or *niṣkuba*; see n. 95.
¹²¹ *prakāśayīta* : = O; cf. n. 96.

¹²² *antarāṇa* : s.e. for *antarāya*; cf. O. °āyāḥ, G/N. °āyo.

¹²³ *ākrośa* : = O; See n. 65.

¹²⁴ *asyā* : opt. 3 sg. of √as (cf. BHSG § 29.41); cf. O. *śokaṃ ca ākrośa na jātu tasya*; G/N. *na śokupāyāsa bhavet kadācit**.

¹²⁵ *tā{m}tanā* : = O. *tātanā*; a hyperform of Skt. *tāḍana-*; see n. 99.

¹²⁶ *asya* : opt. 3 sg. of √as; cf. n. 100.

¹²⁷ *sukhasthitasya* : = O, G/N; unmetrical, cf. n. 76.

¹²⁸ *kalpaśatena* : probably w.r.; cf. O. °śatebbi; G/N. °śatebi.

Notes on Lü.

¹²⁹ *[rśa] .. + [ta]tbā ca saṃdarśa ..* : cf. O. *nidarsayet* tathā ca saṃdarśayi*; F. *nidarsayet* yathā* (s.e. for *tathā*) *ca saṃdarśayi*.

¹³⁰ *prajābeya* : cf. O, F, G/N. *vijabeta*.

¹³¹ *[pa]ṇdat.* : s.e. for *paṇḍito*.

Notes on Tib. Kanjur version

¹³² T. 135a5; J. 116b6; S. 157a4; P. 304a7; B. 143b6; Q. 122a1; N. 161b6; D. 106b1; C. 124b1; L. 167b1.

¹³³ *de* : T. *deng* (s.e.); S. *dang*. Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions.

¹³⁴ *de* : P. *di* (s.e.).

¹³⁵ *dri dris nas* : = S, D, L; J, P, N, C. *dri dri nas* (w.r.); B. *dro dra nas* (s.e.); Q. *dra dra nas* (s.e.). Cf. Bth. *chos* (s.e.?) *dris nas*; Tib. Kho. *dri ba dris nas*; G/N. *prṣṭo ... praśnu*.

¹³⁶ *ṁthun* : T. *ṁthun* (s.e.); P, D. *'ṁthun* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions. Cf. G/N. *anulomam*; Tib. Kho. *'dun ba* (w.r.?) ; cf. ItS. 71).

¹³⁷ *don rnam* : cf. D2. *arthāṃ*; D3 and the Nep. MSS. *arthāṃ*.

¹³⁸ *pas* : = S, P, D, L (= Bth); J, B, Q, N, C. *pa*.

¹³⁹ *ṁthob 'gyur ba* : = S, P (= Bth); J, B, Q, N, D, C, L. *'ṁthob 'gyur ba*; P. *ṁthob par 'gyur*. Cf. Tib. Kho. *ṁthob par ro*; ItS. 71.

¹⁴⁰ *gyi* : P. *kyi* (s.e.).

¹⁴¹ *rnam pa* : T. *rnam par* (= S, C; = Bth; w.r.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions. Cf. G/N. (*artha-*)*jātaṃ*; Tib. Kho. *rnam pa*.

¹⁴² For this verse, cf. ItS. 71~72.

¹⁴³ *rnam par* : B. *lam der* (s.e.); Q. *rnam pa der* (s.e.).

¹⁴⁴ *pas* : B. *las* (s.e.).

¹⁴⁵ *rnam par* : P. *rnam par* (s.e.).

¹⁴⁶ *spang* : P. *spangs* (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

¹⁴⁷ *la* : Q. *lo* (s.e.).

¹⁴⁸ *bsgom par bya* : T. *bsgo bar bya* (s.e.); P. *sgoms par bya* (s.e.); B, Q. *sgom par bya* (w.r.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions (= Bth). Cf. Tib. Kho. *sgom bar byed*; G/N. *bbāvayet*.

¹⁴⁹ *chos* : P. *mchos* (s.e.).

¹⁵⁰ *tu* : Q. *du* (s.e.).

¹⁵¹ *bsgom* : P, B, Q. *sgom* (w.r.); cf. Tib. Kho. *sgom ba*. Cf. G/N. *bbāṣeya* (v.ll. *bbāvec ca*, *bbāve ca*; cf. n. 24).

¹⁵² *dpes* : P. *pos* (s.e.); L. *dkeyes* (s.e.).

¹⁵³ *rnam* : P. *rnam* (s.e.).

¹⁵⁴ *cung* : P. *chung*; cf. § 18, n. 114.

¹⁵⁵ *skom* : S, P. *sgom* (s.e.).

¹⁵⁶ *dang* : = S, P, N, D, L (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); J, B, Q, C. *yang*.

¹⁵⁷ *chos gos* : T. *chos* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions. Cf. G/N. *-cīvara-*.

¹⁵⁸ *gsos* : P, B, Q. *bsos* (w.r.).

¹⁵⁹ *ste* : P. *te* (s.e.).

¹⁶⁰ *bslang ngo* : P. *slang ngo* (= Bth; w.r.?). B, Q, C. *bslad do* (s.e.). Cf. Tib. Kho. *slong ngo*; G/N. *vijñāpeyā* ("he shall [not] beg").

¹⁶¹ *gzhan du* : T. *gzhonu* (s.e.), S. *gzhon nu* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions. Cf. G/N. *anyatra*.

¹⁶² *grub* : P. *'grub* (= Bth; w.r.).

¹⁶³ *jig* : P. *'jigs* (s.e.).

¹⁶⁴ *bstan* : P. *brtan* (s.e.).

¹⁶⁵ *gi* : P. *gis* (s.e.).

¹⁶⁶ *byad* : P. *byed* (= Bth; w.r.).

¹⁶⁷ *snyam* : P. *snyams* (s.e.).

¹⁶⁸ *phrag dog* : P. *phra dog* (s.e.).

¹⁶⁹ *nams kyang* : = S; P. *nam kyang*; J, B, Q, N, C, D, L. *nam yang* (the regular form; = vs. 33d). Cf. Bth. *nam ma yang* (s.e. **nams yang?*); G/N. *kadācit*. Cf. also § 18, n. 108.

¹⁷⁰ *dang* : = S, P; J, B, Q, N, C, D, L. *kyang*.

¹⁷¹ *'khrug pa'ang* : = S, D, L; P. *kbrugs pa 'ang* (s.e.); J, B, Q, N, C. *'khrug pa* (= Bth). Cf. Tib. Kho. *'khrug pa yong*.

¹⁷² *sngangs* : = S, P, D (= Tib. Kho.; = G/N. *saṃtrāsana-*); B, Q, N, C. *bsngags*; J. *bsdags* (s.e. for *bsngags*); L. *spangs* (s.e.). Cf. Bth. *sngang* (s.e.?).

¹⁷³ *de* : P. - (s.e.).

¹⁷⁴ *rdeg* : = J, S, P, B, D, C (= Tib. Kho.; = G/N. *tāḍana-*); Q. *rdog* (s.e.); N. *brdeg* (s.e.); L. *brdag* (s.e.). Cf. Bth. *brdegs*.

¹⁷⁵ *med* : B. *ma* (s.e.).

¹⁷⁶ *smra* : P. *smras* (s.e.).

¹⁷⁷ *ba'ang* : S. *ba'i* (s.e.); P. *pa* (s.e.). Cf. Bth, Tib. Kho. *ba*.

¹⁷⁸ *yang* : P. *yangs* (s.e.).

¹⁷⁹ *bskrad* : P. *skrag* (= Bth; s.e.). Cf. G/N. *niṣkāšana-*.

¹⁸⁰ *rtag* : P. *rtags* (s.e.).

¹⁸¹ *bde* : S. *de* (= Bth; s.e.).

¹⁸² *de* : P. *ste* (s.e.).

¹⁸³ *ngas* : J, N, L. *nges* (w.r.).

¹⁸⁴ *ba* : P. *ma* (s.e.).

¹⁸⁵ *bskal pa* : B. *skal pa* (s.e.); Q. *ska bas ba* (s.e.).

¹⁸⁶ *brgyar* : Q. *rgyar* (s.e.).

Notes on Bathang Kanjur

¹⁸⁷ *chos* : w.r. for *dri* (= Tib. Kanj., Tib. Kho.; cf. G/N. *praśna-*).

¹⁸⁸ *chos* : w.r. for *don* (= Tib. Kanj., Tib. Kho.; cf. G/N. *artha-*).

¹⁸⁹ *par* : = Tib. Kanj. *v.l.*; w.r. for *pa*; cf. n. 141.

¹⁹⁰ *spangs* : = P, Tib. Kho.; cf. Tib. Kanj. *spang*.

¹⁹¹ *mkhas pas des* : w.r. for *mkhas pa des* (= Tib. Kanj.; cf. G/N. *sa paṇḍitaḥ*).

¹⁹² *cung zad 'dod pa med* : = Tib. Kho.; cf. Tib. Kanj. *'dod pa cung zad med*.

¹⁹³ *mal ca* : = Tib. Kho.; cf. Tib. Kanj. *mal cha*.

¹⁹⁴ *slang* : = P; s.e. for *bslang?*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *slong*.

¹⁹⁵ *'grub* : = P; s.e. for *grub?*

¹⁹⁶ *byed* : = P; s.e. for *byad*.

¹⁹⁷ *tog* : s.e. for *dog*.

¹⁹⁸ *de* : s.e. for 'di.

¹⁹⁹ *phrag tog* : s.e. for *bar chad*.

²⁰⁰ *nam ma yang* : s.e. **nams yang* or *nam yang*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *nams kyang*, v.l. *nam yang*; see n. 169.

²⁰¹ *med cing* : s.e. for *rnams dang*.

²⁰² *skrag* : = P; s.e. for *bskrad*; cf. n. 179.

²⁰³ *ni « gnas pa »* : s.e. for *gnas pa ni* : (= Tib. Kanj.).

Notes on Tib. Kho. _____

²⁰⁴ *dun ba* : w.r.?.; cf. Tib. Kanj. *mtbun* (v.ll. *tbun*, 'tbun) *pa*; G/N. *anulomam*. Cf. also ItS. 71.

²⁰⁵ *de bzbin* : = G/N. *tathā*.

²⁰⁶ *skyo ba rnams* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *le lo dag*; G/N. *kilāsītām*.

²⁰⁷ *myi mos pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mi dga'*; G/N. *arati-*.

²⁰⁸ *yang* : = G/N. *ca*.

²⁰⁹ *spangs* : = P, Bth; cf. Tib. Kanj. *spang*.

²¹⁰ *cung zad 'dod pa myed* : = Bth; cf. Tib. Kanj. 'dod pa *cung zad med*.

²¹¹ *de bzbin* : = G/N. *tathā*.

²¹² *mal ca* : = Bth; cf. Tib. Kanj. *mal cha*.

²¹³ *bsam ba 'di ma gtogs* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzban du snyam sems*; G/N. *anyatra cinteya*.

²¹⁴ *jig rten phan phyir* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phan phyir 'jig rten*; G/N. *hitāya loke*.

²¹⁵ *slos pa* : the meaning of this word is not clear; cf. Tib. Kanj. *nams kyang* (v.ll. *nam kyang*, *nam yang*); G/N. D2.77b2. *kadācit*.

Notes on Chin. Dr. _____

²¹⁶ 追逐待後 : “follows him about and serves from behind”; ∈ G/N. *prṣṭo*, O. *prṣṭam*. I assume that Dharmarakṣa confused *prṣṭa-* (“asked, questioned”) with *prṣṭha* (“the back”); cf. Krsh. 168.

²¹⁷ 誼 : S(1), S(2), S(3) etc. read 義 instead.

²¹⁸ 斯叡哲者 : “this wise man” = O, F. *paṇḍito* (“the wise”); ≠ G/N. (*artha-jātām*; cf. Krsh. 168.

²¹⁹ 說法 : S(1), S(2), S(3) etc. read 說經 instead. 說法 (“preaches the Dharma”) = G/N, v.ll. *bbāṣayet**, *bbāṣate*; ≠ G/N, O, F. *bbāvayet*. Cf. n. 23; Krsh. 168.

²²⁰ 千 : S(1), S(2), S(3) etc. read 百 instead.

²²¹ 欲危害 : “(No one dares to have a thought of) doing any harm to him.”; ∈ G/N. *toṣaye ... prārthayet* (= O, F). Dharmarakṣa seems to have confused Skt. *toṣaye* (“pleases”) with *dūṣayati*, *doṣayati* (“spoils”); cf. Krsh. 168.

²²² 一切人 : “all people”; = O, F. *sarvaprāṇinām*; ≠ G/N. *hitāya loke*. Cf. Krsh. 168.

²²³ 嘉豫 : S(1), S(2), S(3) etc. read 加豫 instead. The expression 嘉豫 (“is very pleased”) is seen also in *Taishō*, vol. 3, No. 152, 15a6.

²²⁴ 如獲大安 : “as if I had attained great happiness”; ∈ G/N. *-upadbāna-* (= O), F. *-upadāna-*. Dharmarakṣa seems to have confused Skt. *upadbāna* (“basis”) with *upādāna* (“acquiring”). Cf. n. 118; Krsh. 168.

²²⁵ 稀 : S(1) reads 希 instead.

²²⁶ 無所希望 : “has no desire”; ∈ G/N. *anīṣuka*; ≠ O, F. *aniṣkubam*. Cf. Krsh. 168.

²²⁷ 恐 : the *Taishō* Tripitaka reads 怨 instead, which must be a misprint.

²²⁸ 無誹謗想 : “Nobody will have thoughts of slandering him.”; ∈ G/N. *nāpi avarṇa bhāṣe* (O, F. *nāpi avarṇabhāṣaṇam*). I assume that Dharmarakṣa confused √*bbhāṣ* (“to speak”) with *bbhāvayati*

("thinks about"); cf. n. 23, 24; Krsh. 169.

²²⁹有所存立 : "They have places to live.?"; ∈ G/N. *evam sthitasya* (= O, F; "so disposed").

²³⁰詔 : S(1), S(2), S(3) etc. read 教 instead.

²³¹以 : G and J read 已 instead. Emended on the basis of the reading in S(1), S(2), S(3) etc.

²³² "When someone, who follows him about and serves from behind, enquires and asks about the meaning (of the Dharma), the wise one explains it to him. Then, he enters (and abides) in supernatural powers and intellectual receptivity (regarding the nature of *dharmas*). All those who listen to him, attain the Buddha path. (= 31)

This wise man, who advances and retreats for the sake of all people (?; 皆爲一切進却), rids himself of sloth and weariness. With a compassionate heart, he constantly preaches the Dharma to people and the thought of fatigue never arises in him. (= 32)

Day and night, he praises the teaching of the pre-eminent Dharma in song, expounds and preaches it, by using thousands of millions of hundreds of billions of parables. He exhorts and pleases the minds of all the people in the gathering. No one dares to have a thought of doing any harm to him. (= 33)

Concerning offerings, — (such as) food, drink, bedding for rest, clothing, a quilt and a pillow, medicine for sickness —, he has no expectation, nor does he want anything from the people in the gathering. (= 34)

Having rid himself of the fatigue from observing (?; 除其瞻勞), he stays in a monastery, desiring to cause many people to comprehend the Buddha path. (He thinks:) 'If all people come to listen to the scriptural Dharma, I shall, then, be very pleased as if I had attained great happiness.' (= 35)

If there is a monk who, after the Buddha's extinction, propagates the scriptural Dharma without any desire, he will not encounter hindrance or hardship. He will constantly exert himself (?; 察精進) and will be free of sickness. (= 36)

No one will be able to frighten him. He will not suffer pain, caused by being beaten with a staff. Nobody will have thoughts of slandering him. He will not feel fatigue, nor will he have suffering. This man will obtain such strength, because he will abide in forbearance. (= 37)

The wise are at ease wherever they stay, and they have places to live (?; 有所存立), as the Buddha has described (above). Even if one (tries to) praise the hundreds of millions of their merits, one cannot praise them fully." (= 38)"

Notes on Chin. Kj. _____

²³³難問 : "asks a question"; cf. HD.11.903a.

²³⁴稀 : = J; S(1), S(2), S(3) etc. 希.

²³⁵成 : FS. vol. 3, p. 362. 令 (s.e.).

²³⁶愁 : J. 惱 (s.e.).

²³⁷ "When he is asked questions, he answers them in accordance with the doctrine. He expounds and explains, employing causes and conditions as well as parables and similes. Through these expedient means, he lets them all aspire for enlightenment, advance gradually and enter the Buddha path. (= 31)

Having put aside the idea of laziness as well as the thought of sloth and being free from anxieties, he preaches the Dharma with a compassionate heart. (= 32)

Day and night, he constantly expounds the teachings of the unexcelled (Buddha) path. Employing causes and conditions as well as innumerable parables and similes, he reveals (it) to living beings and causes them all to rejoice. (= 33)

Clothing, bedding, food, drink, and medicines — of all these things he has no expectation. (= 34)

Just with a single mind, he thinks of causes and conditions for preaching the Dharma, desiring to accomplish the Buddha path and to cause others to do the same. This is an offering which brings great benefit and ease. (= 35)

If there is a monk who, after my extinction, is able to expound this Lotus Sutra, his mind will be free of jealousy, hatred, annoyances and obstructions. He will have no sorrows, and no one will slander him. (= 36)

Nobody will frighten him or attack him with a sword, staff, and so on. He will not be driven away, because he will abide in forbearance. (= 37)

The wise cultivate their minds skilfully in this way and are able to abide in ease, as I have described above. Their merits cannot be fully described through calculations, similes or parables (even if one tries to do so) for thousands, ten thousands, millions of *kalpas*." (= 38) " (Cf. Murano 216-218; Kato 227-228; Hurvitz 214-215; Yuyama/Kubo 211-212; Watson 202-203).

XIII § 16 Notes:

Notes on the Gilgit/Nepalese version

¹ *bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ* : D2. *bodhi* + + + + + *ḥ*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= T6); most of the Nep. MSS. *bodhisatvo mahāsatvas* (= O; = KN. °*sattvo* °*sattvas*)

² *tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya* : = O; a genitive absolute construction; cf. § 12, n. 5. Cf. F. *tathāgate parinirvṛte*.

³ *saddharmakṣayāntakāle* : C5. °*kṣayānte kāle* (s.e.).

⁴ *vartamāne* : = D3 (= O); = most of the Nep. MSS. *varttamāne* (= F); KN. *vartamāna* (≠ MSS; l.c.).

⁵ *dhārayamāṇo* : = D3, K, C4, C5, T2 etc. (= KN); Bj, N1, R, P2 etc. °*māno* (= O, F); C6, T6, B, N2, StP. *prakāśayamāno*, *prakāśaya*° (w.r.); P3. *prakāśayadhārayamāno* (!). Cf. Tib. Kanj., Tib. Kho. 'chang ba'i (= *dhārayamāṇo*); Tib. Kanj. *v.l.*, Bth. 'chad pa'i (= *prakāśayamāno*); n. 109.

⁶ *mahāsatvaḥ anīṛṣuko* : = D3, N1; Bj. °*rva anī*°; B. °*rva anī*<r>*suko* (s.e.); K. *mahā*<satva> *anī*<r>*suko* (s.e.); T2, T8. °*rvo anīṛṣuko*; C4, C6, StP. °*rvo* (')*nīṛṣuko* (= KN); R. °*rvaḥ anī*° (w.r.); C5, P3. °*rvaḥ* / *anī*° (w.r.); N2. °*rvaḥ* // *anī*° (s.e.); T6. °*rva-r-anī*° (w.r.).

⁷ *anīṛṣuko* : cf. O. *anīṛṣyako* (see n. 57); F. *anīṛṣyuko*; XIII § 15, vs. 36. *anīṛṣuko* (n. 59).

⁸ *aśaṭṭhaḥ amāyāvī* : = D3, Bj, N1 etc.; C4, C5, T6, StP etc. °*ṭṭhaḥ* / *amā*° (w.r.); N2. °*ṭṭhaḥ* // *amā*° (w.r.); C6, B, T8. °*ṭṭha amā*°; K. °*ama* obṭ; KN. °*ṭṭho* (')*mā*° (≠ MSS; l.c.). Cf. O, F. *aśaṭṭho* by *amāyāvī*.

⁹ *bodhisatvayānīyānām* : D2. °*nīyāṇnām* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 (= StP, P3, R etc.; = KN; = Bj, C4, N1, C6 etc. °*yānīyānām*). Cf. K, C5, T2, T6, B, N2, T8 etc. °*yānikānām* (C5. °*ā*(ṃ)*nām*) (= F, Khā).

¹⁰ *pudgalānām avarṇam* : D2. *pu* + + + + + *ṛṇam*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= K, C5, T2, T6, B, N2, StP etc.; = KN; = F; = Tib. Kanj. etc. *gang zag*). T8, A1, P3 etc. read *puṅgalā*° instead of *pudgalā*°. Bj, C4, N1, C6 etc. omit *pudgalānām* (w.r.).

¹¹ *bhāṣate* : C5. *bhāṣati* (s.e.).

¹² / : = D3, C5, T6 etc.; N2, T2. //; Bj, K, C4 etc. - (= KN).

¹³ *avavadate* : = D3; C4. *avavaden* (*na*); K, C5, C6, T6, B, N2, StP, T8, P3, R etc. *apavadati* (= KN; l.c.?) ; Bj, N1. *apavaden* (*nā*) (l.c.?). Cf. Skt. *ava*-*v**vad* = *apa*-*v**vad* ("to speak ill, revile"); BHS. *avavadati* ("instructs").

¹⁴ *avasūdayate* : = D3; Nep. MSS. °*ati* (= KN). Cf. F. *ā* .. *sā*[*dhaya*]ti.

¹⁵ / : D2, D3, Bj, K etc. -. Supplemented from the reading in C4, N1, C5, C6 etc. (= KN).

¹⁶ *na cānyeṣām* : = D3, Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, T2 etc. (= KN); C6, T6, StP etc. *nānyeṣām*.

¹⁷ *bbikṣubbbikṣuṇyupāsakḥpāsikānām* : C4. °*bbikṣuṇīnām upāsakḥ*° (w.r.).

¹⁸ *vā* : = D3, Bj, C4, N1, T2 etc. (= KN; F); K, C5, C6, B, StP. - (= O; w.r.?).

¹⁹ *vā* : K. - (s.e.).

²⁰ *bodhisatvayānīyānām vā* : C4. - (s.e.).

²¹ *bodhisatvayānīyānām* : D2. °*nīyāṇnām* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in

D3 (= the Nep. MSS.).

²² *vā* : C5. - (s.e.).

²³ *kaukr̥tyam upasam̐harati* : D2. + + + + + *harati*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= the Nep. MSS.).

²⁴ (')*nuttarāyāḥ* : = D3, B_j, N1; K, C4, C5, C6, T2 *etc.* *anutta*°.

²⁵ *samyaksambodheḥ* / : = B_j, K, C4, C5, C6. D2, D3, N1, T2, T6, StP *etc.* omit the *daṇḍa*. Presumably, the preceding Visarga sign (*ḥ*) in D2 and D3 also has the function of a punctuation mark (:), cf. § 2, n. 8, 12 *etc.* Cf. also P3, P2, R *etc.* °*bodher* (= KN).

²⁶ *ca* : = D3; the Nep. MSS. - (= KN; = O, F).

²⁷ *tasyā* : D2. *tabhya* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 (= B_j, N1, C6, R). Cf. K, P2. *tasya* (s.e.); C4, C5, T2, T6, B, StP *etc.* *tasyām*. For loc. sg. fem. *tasyā* (< *tasyām* < Skt. *tasyām*), see Karashima 2002: § 16.1. Cf. O, F. *tatra dbarmeṣu*.

²⁸ *sam̐dr̥śyadbve* : D2, D3. *sand̐r̥*° (= T6). I normalise the spelling on the basis of the reading in some of the Nep. MSS.: T2, B, N2, P3, R *etc.* *sam̐dr̥śyadbve* (= KN), °*dr̥śyadbve*; C4. + *dr̥śyadbve*; B_j. °*dr̥śyaṣe* (s.e. for *dr̥śyadbve*); C5, T8 *etc.* *sam̐dr̥śyatha* (= O, F), *sand̐r̥*°; K. *sam̐dr̥śyata*; StP. *sand̐r̥syata*; C5. *sam̐dr̥śyate*.

²⁹ *atyantapramattavibāriṇo* : D2, D3. *atyanta{ma}pra*° (w.r.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the Nep. MSS.: C4, N2. *atyanta-pramatta-vibāriṇo* (= F; ≅ O. °*bāriṇaś*); N1. *atyant{ya}pra*° (s.e.); B_j. °*tyanta-pramatte-vi*° (s.e.?).; K, C5, C6, T2, T6, StP, T8, R *etc.* *atyanta-pramāda-vi*° (= KN); B. °*pramāna*-° (s.e.). Cf. Tib. Kanj. *rab tu bag med par gnas pa ste*, Tib. Kho. *rab tu bag myed par spyod do*.

³⁰ *na yūyam*: K, C5, B. - (w.r.).

³¹ *yūyam* : = D3, B_j, C4, C6, T2, T6, N2, StP *etc.* (= O, F); N1, T8, P3, R *etc.* - (= KN; w.r.).

³² *na kasyacid bodhisatvayānīyasya* : D2. + + + + + + *tvayānīyasya*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= most of the Nep. MSS.).

³³ *bodhisatvayānīyasya* : = D3, B_j, N1, C6, T6, B, N2, StP, R *etc.* (= KN); C4. °*yānīyosya* (s.e.); K, C5, T2. °*yānikasya* (= O, F).

³⁴ *upasam̐harate* : = D3; the Nep. MSS. °*harati* (= KN; = O, F).

³⁵ / : D2, D3. -. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

³⁶ *dharmavivādam* : B_j. °*vikaṣam* (s.e.).

³⁷ / : D2, D3. - (= B_j, C4 *etc.*). Supplemented from the reading in K, C5, N1 *etc.*

³⁸ *cāntike* : = D3, P3, C2 *etc.* (= KN; = F); B_j, K, C4, N1, C5, C6, T2 *etc.* *antike* (= O).

³⁹ *maitrībalaṃ* : = D3, B_j, C4, N1, T2, T6 *etc.* (= KN); K, C5, C6, StP. *maitrā-b*° (= O; F. *metrā-b*°). Cf. § 15, n. 20.

⁴⁰ *jabāti* : = D3, K, C5, C6, T2, T6, B, N2, StP *etc.*; C4, N1, T8, P3, R *etc.* *vijabāti* (= KN), B_j. *vijayati* (s.e.?). Cf. O, F. *vijabati*.

⁴¹ *cāntike* : C5. *antike* (s.e.).

⁴² *pitṛsam̐jñām utpādayati* : D2. *pitṛ* + + + + + *ti*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (= the Nep. MSS.).

⁴³ *cāntike* : C5, N2. *antike* (s.e.).

⁴⁴ *sāstṛsam̐jñām* : D2. *sāstusajñām* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in D3 (+ [st]r̥sam̐jñām; = the Nep. MSS.).

⁴⁵ *ca* : = K, C5, C6, T2, T6, B, N2, StP *etc.* (= KN; = F); = ? D3. + (the manuscript is broken off here); B_j, C4, N1. - (= O, F; w.r.?).

⁴⁶ *namaskurute* : = D3 (+ *mas.. rute*), K, C5, C6, T2, T6, B, N2, StP *etc.* (= KN); B_j, C4, N1, P3 *etc.* *namaskaroti*. Cf. O, F. *namasyati*.

⁴⁷ *deśayamāno* (')*nūnam anadbikaṃ* : D2. *deśa* + + + + + + *dbikaṃ*. Supplemented from the reading in D3 (+ .. *yamāno* (')*nūnam anadbikaṃ*). Whereas D3 reads °*māno* (')*nū*° (= KN), the Nep. MSS. do otherwise: B_j, N1, P3, R *etc.* °*mānaḥ anū*°; C4, C5, T6, T8 *etc.* °*mānaḥ / anū*°; N2.

°mānaḥ // anū° (s.e.); C6, T2, B, StP etc. °māna anū°; K. °mānā anū° (s.e.).

⁴⁸ dharmam deśayati : D2. °rman deś° (= K, C5 etc.). I normalise the spelling on the basis of the reading in D3 (dharmam + ś(a)y(a)t(i)) (= Bj, C4 etc.).

⁴⁹ dharmapremṇā : = KN; D3. dha .[m] + ..; the Nep. MSS. °premnā. Cf. n. 51.

⁵⁰ ca : D2.- (= D3? [the manuscript is broken off here]; = O, F). Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS. (= KN).

⁵¹ dharmapremṇā : = D3 (= KN); the Nep. MSS. °premnā. Cf. n. 49.

⁵² karoti / imam : = D3, Bj, C4, N1, T2, T6, StP etc.; K, C5, B. °ti im° (= O, F); R, P2 etc. °ti // im° (w.r.); KN. karoimam (≠ MSS; l.c.).

⁵³ ca : = D3 (= O); the Nep. MSS. - (= KN; F).

⁵⁴ samprakāśayamānaḥ : C4. °māno (= F; w.r.).

⁵⁵ / : D2, D3. - (= Bj, C4, N1; = O, F). Supplemented from the reading in K, C5, C6, T2 etc.; cf. T6, N2, StP etc. // (= KN). Presumably, the preceding Visarga sign (ḥ) in D2 and D3 also has the function of a punctuation mark (:). Cf. n. 25.

Notes on O.

⁵⁶ paścime kāle paścime samaye : = F. paścime kāle, Kj. 於後末世 (“in the last age to come”); G/N, Dr. -; cf. Krsh. 169.

⁵⁷ anīrṣyako : cf. F. anīrṣyuko; G/N. anīrṣuko (= XIII § 15, vs. 36); cf. Skt. īrṣyaka = īrṣyu (“jealous, envious”).

⁵⁸ S.e. (haplography); cf. G/N. bodhisatvayānīyānām pudgalānām avarṇam bhāṣate / nāvavadate nāvasādayate / na cānyeṣām; F. bodhisatvayānikānām pudgalānām avarṇam bhāṣati nāvavarnam .. [raya]ti na ca bodhisatvayāni[kām pud]galām a .. [va]dati nāpamanyati [n]ā .. sād[haya]ti na (cāny)e(ṣā)ṃ. Cf. Krsh. 169.

⁵⁹ G/N. vā (v.l. -; see n. 18); F. vā.

⁶⁰ anuttarāyām samyaksambuddhe : presumably s.e. for °āyām samyaksambodhe(h); cf. G/N. (°)nuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodheḥ; F. anuttarāyā samyaksamb[ō]dhau. For the abl. ending -āyām of fem. ā-stems, cf. BHSG § 9. 52.

⁶¹ G/N. ca (the Nep. MSS. -; see n. 26); F. -.

⁶² tatra : = F. tatra; cf. G/N. tasyā (v.l. tasyām).

⁶³ samdṛṣ<y>attha : cf. F. samdṛṣyattha; G/N. samdṛṣyadbve (v.l. samdṛṣyattha).

⁶⁴ śrāvakayānikasya vā pratyekabuddhayānikasya vā bodhisatvayānikasya vā : = Dr. 菩薩行三乘 (“The bodhisattva will practise the Three Vehicles”)?; cf. Krsh. 169.

⁶⁵ karauti : a hyperform of karoti (= G/N, F).

⁶⁶ Cf. G/N. ca (v.l. -); F. ca.

⁶⁷ (°)pi : cf. G/N. ca; F. (°)pi ca.

⁶⁸ gorave(h)ṇa : cf. G/N. gauraveṇa; F. gauraveṇa (s.e. for °veṇa).

⁶⁹ Cf. G/N. ca (v.l. -; see n. 45); F. -.

⁷⁰ Cf. G/N. ca (= F).

⁷¹ sarveṣām dharmam deśayati : = F; = Dr. 嚴一切法 (“He will be strict as to all the teachings.”), Kj. 於一切衆生平等說法 (“He [should] preach the Dharma impartially to all sentient beings.”).

⁷² <dharmā>premeṇa : cf. F. dharmapremeṇa (w.r. for °premeṇa); G/N. dharmapremṇā.

⁷³ Cf. G/N. ca (D2, D3. -; see n. 50); F. -.

⁷⁴ atireka<tara>ṃ : cf. F. atirekataram; G/N. adbikataram.

Note on Khā

⁷⁵ + [k]jānā[ṃ] : cf. F. bodhisatvayānikānām; G/N. bodhisatvayānīyānām (v.l. °yānikānām).

Notes on F.

⁷⁶ Cf. O. bodhisatvo mahāsatvas; G/N. bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ.

⁷⁷ *paścime kāle tathāgate parinirvṛte* : Cf. O. *tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya paścime kāle paścime samaye*; G/N. *tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya*.

⁷⁸ *anīrṣyako* : O. *anīrṣyako*; G/N. *anīrṣuko* (= XIII § 15, vs. 36); cf. Skt. *īrṣyaka* = *īrṣyu* ("jealous, envious").

⁷⁹ .. *[raya]ti* : Toda (1983: 242) reads *(c)ārayati*. O. - (s.e.?).

⁸⁰ *a* .. *[va]dati* : cf. G/N. *avavadate* (v.l. *apavadati*); O. - (s.e.).

⁸¹ *[n]ā* .. *sā[dhaya]ti* : Toda (1983: 242) reads *nā(pa)sādhayati*. Cf. G/N. *avasādayate* (v.l. °*ti*); O. - (s.e.).

⁸² *kaukutyam* : cf. O. *kaukṛtyam* (= G/N); BHS. *kaukṛtya*, Skt. *kukṛtya*, Pa. *kukkucca*. Cf. § 18, n. 81 (on F. *kokutyā*).

⁸³ *dūre* ... *anuttarāyā samyaksamb[ō]dhau* : here Skt. *dūre* ("far"), which is normally used with an ablative, is construed with the locative forms. Cf. G/N. *dūre* ... (')*nuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodheḥ*; O. *dūre* ... *anuttarāyāṃ samyaksambuddhe* (s.e. for °*bodhe*(*h*)).

⁸⁴ G/N. *ca* (the Nep. MSS. -; see n. 26); O. -.

⁸⁵ *tattra* : = O. *tatra*; cf. G/N. *tasyā* (v.l. *tasyāṃ*).

⁸⁶ *abbhisambodham* : s.e. for °*ddhum*.

⁸⁷ *kasyacac* : s.e. for *kasyac* (= O).

⁸⁸ *dharmav(i)[v](ā)[dh](ā)[bhira]to* : s.e. for °*vivādā*° (= O, G/N). For the *d* / *dh* confusion, cf. § 15, n. 118 (*upadhānam* / F. *upadānam*). Cf. the next note.

⁸⁹ *dharmavivadhaṃ* : s.e. for °*vivādaṃ* (= O, G/N). Cf. preceding note.

⁹⁰ *metrā-balaṃ* : cf. O. *maitrā-b°*; G/N. *maitrī-b°* (v.l. *maitrā-b°*); cf. also BHSD, s.v. *metra* (< Skt. *maitra*).

⁹¹ *śās[ā]ra-saṃjñām* : cf. O. *śāstr-saṃjñām* (= G/N). For *-āra* as a stem final in compound, cf. BHSG § 13.19.

⁹² (')*pi ca* : cf. O. (')*pi*; G/N. *ca*.

⁹³ *dikṣa* : s.e. for *dikṣu*.

⁹⁴ *adyāśena* : s.e. for *adhyāśayena* (= O, G/N).

⁹⁵ *gauravena* : s.e. for °*veṇa* (= G/N); cf. O. *gorave*(*h*)*ṇa*.

⁹⁶ Cf. G/N. *ca* (D2, D3. -; see n. 45); O. -.

⁹⁷ *dharmapremeṇa* : w.r. for °*premeṇa* (cf. O. <*dharmā*>*premeṇa*); BHSG § 17.11.

⁹⁸ Cf. G/N. *ca* (D2, D3. -; see n. 50); O. -.

⁹⁹ *atirekataraṃ* : cf. O. *atireka<tara>ṃ*, G/N. *adbikataram*.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. O, G/N. *ca* (the Nep. MSS. -).

Notes on Tib. Kanjur version

¹⁰¹ T. 135b4; J. 117a5; S. 157b5; P. 304b7; B. 144a6; Q. 122a8; N. 162a7; D. 106b6; C. 124b8; L. 168a2.

¹⁰² *dpal* : L. *dpal* /.

¹⁰³ *yongs su* : T. MS. *yongsu*.

¹⁰⁴ *yongs* : D. *yengs* (s.e.).

¹⁰⁵ / : = J, S, P, N, D, C (= Tib. Kho.); B, Q, L. -.

¹⁰⁶ *tba* : = S, P, D (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); J, B, Q, N, D, C, L. *mtha*?. Cf. § 17, n. 43.

¹⁰⁷ *tsbe* : C. *tsbo* (s.e.).

¹⁰⁸ / : = S, P, B, N, L (= Bth); Q. //; J, D, C. -.

¹⁰⁹ *'chang ba'i* : = S, B, N, D, C, L (= Tib. Kho.); = G/N. *dhārayamāṇo*; J, P, Q. *'chad pa'i* (= Bth; = G/N. v.l. *prakāśayamāṇo*; see n. 5) (w.r.).

¹¹⁰ *ni* : C. *na* (s.e.).

¹¹¹ *phrag dog* : P. *pbra dog* (s.e.).

¹¹² / : = S, P, L (≠ Bth. :) ; the other Kanjur editions omit (= Tib. Kho.).

- ¹¹³ *sgyu* : T. MS. P. *rgyu* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions. Cf. G/N. (*a-māyāvī*).
- ¹¹⁴ *yin* : T. MS. *ni* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions.
- ¹¹⁵ / : = J, S, B, N, D, C, L (≠ Bth. :); P, Q. // (= Tib. Kho.).
- ¹¹⁶ *gyi* : P. *gyis* (= Bth; s.e.).
- ¹¹⁷ *snyan* : P. *snyen* (s.e.).
- ¹¹⁸ *pa* : J, Q. *ba* (w.r.). Cf. § 13, n. 75.
- ¹¹⁹ / : B. - (s.e.).
- ¹²⁰ *brnyas* : J, N. *brnyes* (s.e.); P. *bsnyas* (s.e.); cf. Bth. *bsnyes* (s.e.).
- ¹²¹ / : = S, P, D, L (= Tib. Kho.) (≠ Bth. :); the other Kanjur editions omit.
- ¹²² / : = S, P, D, L (= Tib. Kho.) (≠ Bth. :); the other Kanjur editions omit.
- ¹²³ *dge bsnyen dang* / : P. - (s.e.).
- ¹²⁴ / : = S, D, L (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions omit.
- ¹²⁵ *kyi* : P. *kyis* (s.e.).
- ¹²⁶ *nam* : P. *rnam* (s.e.); B. *nas* (s.e.).
- ¹²⁷ / : Q. // (s.e.).
- ¹²⁸ *kyi* : P. *kyis* (s.e.).
- ¹²⁹ / : P. // (s.e.).
- ¹³⁰ / : = S (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions omit.
- ¹³¹ *skyed* : P. *skyes* (s.e.).
- ¹³² *par* : D. *pa* / (s.e.).
- ¹³³ *dag* : L. *dag* /.
- ¹³⁴ / : = S, P (≠ Bth. :); cf. Tib. Kho. //; the other Kanjur editions omit.
- ¹³⁵ *de na* : P. *ni* (s.e.; cf. Bth. - [s.e.]).
- ¹³⁶ *rab tu* : P. - (s.e.).
- ¹³⁷ *ste* : P. *te* (s.e.).
- ¹³⁸ *de bzbin gshegs pa'i ye shes* : ≠ G/N. *taṃ jñānam* = Tib. Kho. *ye shes de*.
- ¹³⁹ *pa'o* : C. *pa'o* // (= Bth; w.r.).
- ¹⁴⁰ *zhes* : P. *zhes* // (s.e.).
- ¹⁴¹ *theg pa* : P. *thegs* (s.e.).
- ¹⁴² *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (w.r.).
- ¹⁴³ *the tsom* : = P (= Bth. *tha* [s.e. *the*] *tsom*; the other editions read *the tshom* instead. Cf. Tib. Kho. *'gyod pa*; G/N. *kaukrtya-*).
- ¹⁴⁴ *skyed par* : = S, B, D (cf. Bth. *bskyed par*); P. *skyes par* (s.e.); J, Q, N, C, L. *skye bar* (= Tib. Kho.). Cf. G/N. *upasamharate* (v.l. *°harati*).
- ¹⁴⁵ // : P. / (s.e.).
- ¹⁴⁶ *kyis* : P. *kyi* (= Bth; w.r.?). Cf. Tib. Kho. -.
- ¹⁴⁷ *la* : C. *ya* (s.e.).
- ¹⁴⁸ *ba* : P. *bar* (s.e.).
- ¹⁴⁹ / : = S, L; P. // (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions omit.
- ¹⁵⁰ *do* // : P. / (s.e.).
- ¹⁵¹ *sems* : L. *thams* (s.e.).
- ¹⁵² *gtong* : = S (= Tib. Kho.); P. *stong* (s.e.); cf. Bth. *btang*; J, B, Q, N, D, C, L. *mtshong* (w.r.). Cf. G/N. *jahāti*.
- ¹⁵³ *phar* : P. - (s.e.).
- ¹⁵⁴ *skyed* : P. *bskyed* (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

- ¹⁵⁵ *ston* : P. *sten* (s.e.).
- ¹⁵⁶ *skyed* : P. *bskyed* (= Bth; w.r.?).
- ¹⁵⁷ / : = S (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions omit.
- ¹⁵⁸ *dag* : P. *dag* / (w.r.).
- ¹⁵⁹ *pa* : B, Q. *pa'i* (w.r.).
- ¹⁶⁰ / : = S; the other Kanjur editions omit (= Tib. Kho.).
- ¹⁶¹ *'chad* : = S, P; J, B, Q, N, D, C, L. *chad* (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).
- ¹⁶² *gus par* : P. - (s.e.).
- ¹⁶³ *'tshal lo* : T. MS. *'tshalo*.
- ¹⁶⁴ *chos* : P. *chod* (s.e.).
- ¹⁶⁵ *pa* : Q. *ba* (s.e.).
- ¹⁶⁶ *chos 'chad do* : B. *chod do* (s.e.; a haplography).
- ¹⁶⁷ *kyi* : Q. *gyi* (= Tib. Kho.); P. *kyis* (s.e.).
- ¹⁶⁸ *rnam grangs* : J. *rnams grangs* (s.e.).
- ¹⁶⁹ *ston* : = S, P (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); J, B, Q, N, D, C, L. *bstan*.
- ¹⁷⁰ / : T. MS. // (w.r.) (= Tib. Kho.) Emended on the basis of the reading in S, P and D.
- Cf. J, B, Q, N, C, L. -.
- ¹⁷¹ *bas* : = S, P (= Tib. Kho.); J, B, Q, N, D, C, L. *ba* (= Bth; = G/N. *samena dbarmapremṇā?*).
- ¹⁷² *par* : P. *dpar* (s.e.).
- ¹⁷³ *de /* : P, L. *do //* (w.r.).
- ¹⁷⁴ *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (w.r.).
- ¹⁷⁵ *kyi* : P. *kyis* (s.e.).
- ¹⁷⁶ *mi* : T. MS., S, D. - (s.e.); P. *min* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions.

Notes on Bathang Kanjur _____

- ¹⁷⁷ *'chad pa'i* : = J, P, Q; w.r. for *'chang ba'i*; cf. n. 5, 109.
- ¹⁷⁸ *tog* : s.e. for *dog*.
- ¹⁷⁹ *gyis* : = P; s.e. for *gyi*.
- ¹⁸⁰ *bsnyes* : s.e. for *brnyas*; cf. J, N. *brnyes* (s.e.); P. *bsnyas* (s.e.)
- ¹⁸¹ *kbyad* : s.e. for *kbyod*.
- ¹⁸² *sangs rgya pa'i* : s.e.?.; cf. Tib. Kanj. *'tshang rgya ba'i*; Tib. Kho. *'tshang rgya' ba'i*.
- ¹⁸³ // : = C (w.r.).
- ¹⁸⁴ *tha tsom* : s.e. for *the tsom*.
- ¹⁸⁵ *kyi* : = P; w.r. for *kyis?*
- ¹⁸⁶ *thamd* : abbr. for *thams cad*.
- ¹⁸⁷ *phan bar* : s.e. for *phar*.
- ¹⁸⁸ *bskyed* : = P, Tib. Kho. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *skyed*.
- ¹⁸⁹ *ni* : s.e. for *na*.
- ¹⁹⁰ *ni* : s.e. for *la*.
- ¹⁹¹ *ga «'»'* : s.e. for *'ga'*.
- ¹⁹² *de* : s.e. for *do*.

Notes on Tib. Kho. _____

- ¹⁹³ *byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* : = G/N. *bodhisatvo mahāsatvaḥ*; Tib. Kanj., Bth. -.
- ¹⁹⁴ *bskal pa* : s.e.?.; cf. Tib. Kanj. (*dam pa'i chos*) *zad pa*; G/N. (*saddharma-*)*kṣaya-*.
- ¹⁹⁵ *ye shes de* : = G/N. *taṃ jñānam*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *de bzbin gshegs pa'i ye shes* (w.r.).
- ¹⁹⁶ *thabs* : s.e. for *thams cad* (= Tib. Kanj.)?.; cf. G/N. *sarva-(bodhisatvānām)*.
- ¹⁹⁷ *chung du na* : s.e. for *chung ngu na?*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *tha na*, G/N. *antaśo*.

¹⁹⁸ *rjesu* : = *rjes su*.

Notes on Chin. Dr. _____

¹⁹⁹ 後 : = J; S(1), S(2), S(3) *etc.* -.

²⁰⁰ 天中天 : = J; S(1), S(2), S(3) *etc.* 天中天也。

²⁰¹ 而不得近佛、天中天所在行處 : “... will never be able to attain the stage, on which the Buddha, god of gods, stands and practises.” No parallels in the other versions; cf. Krsh. 169.

²⁰² 菩薩行三乘 : “The bodhisattva will practise the Three Vehicles” ∈ O. *śrāvākayānikasya vā pratyekabuddhayānikasya vā bodhisatvayānikasya vā* (= F); G/N, Kj. -; cf. Krsh. 169.

²⁰³ 猶如師子在於林樹 : “like a lion staying in a forest.” No parallels in the other versions; cf. Krsh. 169.

²⁰⁴ 誼 : = J; S(1), S(2), S(3) *etc.* read 義 instead.

²⁰⁵ 嚴一切法 : “He will be strict as to all the teachings.” ∈ O, F. *sarveṣāṃ dharmāṃ deśayati*; Kj. 於一切衆生平等說法 (see n. 210); ≠ G/N. *dharmāṃ deśayati*; cf. Krsh. 169.

²⁰⁶ 斯 : = J; S(1), S(2), S(3) *etc.* 此。

²⁰⁷ “(The Buddha), further, said to *Broad-Head* :

“After the Thus Come One’s extinction, if there is a bodhisattva, who does not understand this scripture and mistrusts it, he will not be firm in what he has heard, although he preaches and teaches it(?; 若說教化, 聞不堅固). Being of an unsociable disposition, he will, on seeing other bodhisattvas seeking the Great Vehicle, make up stories and slander them.

On seeing or meeting voice-hearers, those who are enlightened through the contemplation on causation (*pratyayabuddha*), monks, nuns or men and women of pure faith, the bodhisattva will hesitate to come up to them right away, (thinking:) ‘These sons of great clans are far from the unexcelled, right and true path and will never be able to attain the stage, on which the Buddha, god of gods, stands and practises. Without the help of merit from beginning to end (?; 究竟), they will not achieve the supremely right enlightenment.’

The bodhisattva will practise the Three Vehicles, like a lion staying in a forest. Even if he feels hesitation, it will disappear. He will not delight in what (others) find delightful, while he will not be displeased by anything (?; 亦不樂).

Towards all sentient beings, he will practise his strength of benevolence. With regard to the Thus Come Ones, he will regard them as great fathers. On seeing bodhisattvas, he will revere them like the World-Honoured Ones. Even towards householders, who have not rid themselves of dust and impurities, he, being broad-minded, will respect them equally and revere them solemnly with the proper proprieties (?; 禮節恭肅).

Being clear about the meaning of the Dharma without any doubt or knot, he will be strict, careful and prudent as to all the teachings (法). While being faithful (to the Dharma) and impartial, he will not attach himself to the scriptural Dharma. (Yet?) he will obtain a great many pleasures. Without going anywhere else, he will respect and protect this sutra day and night at the place where he stays.”

Notes on Chin. Kj. _____

²⁰⁸ 於後末世 : “in the last age to come” = O. *paścime kāle paścime samaye*; = F. *paścime kāle*; ≠ G/N. -, Dr. -; cf. Krsh. 169.

²⁰⁹ 諂 : G, J and FS (vol. 1, p. 45, vol. 3, p. 362) read 譖 instead. Emended on the basis of the reading in KS, S(1), S(2), S(3) *etc.* (cf. Kuji 823c8).

²¹⁰ 於一切衆生平等說法 : “He (should) preach the Dharma impartially to all sentient beings.” = O, F. *sarveṣāṃ dharmāṃ deśayati*; Dr. 嚴一切法 (see n. 205); ≠ G/N. *dharmāṃ deśayati*; cf. Krsh. 169.

²¹¹ “Further, O Mañjuśrī, a bodhisattva-mahāsattva, who, in the last age to come, when the Dharma is about to perish, receives, keeps, reads and recites this sutra, should not harbour a jealous or deceitful mind, nor should he show contempt for or slander those who study the Buddha path, by pointing out their shortcomings. He should not annoy monks, nuns, laymen or

laywomen who seek to become voice-hearers, seek for *pratyekabuddhahood* or the Bodhisattva path, causing them to doubt and regret by saying: 'You are far away from the path and will never be able to attain the wisdom, embracing all modes (i.e., the wisdom of a Buddha). For what reason? Because you are dissolute, being idle on the (Buddha) path.' Nor should he frivolously dispute or argue about the teachings.

He should conceive great compassion for all sentient beings, regard the Thus Come Ones as benevolent fathers, and consider bodhisattvas as great teachers. He should profoundly respect and worship the great bodhisattvas in the ten directions constantly.

He (should) preach the Dharma impartially to all sentient beings. Being faithful to the Dharma, he (should) not add anything (to it) or take anything away (from it). Even to those who deeply love the Dharma, he (should) not preach more (than the Dharma)."¹¹ (Cf. Murano 218-219; Kato 228-229; Hurvitz 216; Yuyama/Kubo 212; Watson 203-204).

XIII § 17 Notes:

Notes on the Gilgit/Nepalese version _____

¹ *anena* : hereafter, the folios (78-90) of Manuscript D2 are lost, which would have contained the rest of Chap. XIII, Chaps. XIV, XV and the greater part of Chap. XVI.

² *dharmeṇa* : D3. MS. *dba ... [ṇ]a*. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

³ *saddharmakṣayāntakāle* : = C6, T2, T6, B, N2, StP, T8 etc. (= O, F; = Tib. Kanj etc. *dam pa'i chos zad pa'i tha ma'i dus.*); Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, P3 etc. *saddharmaparikṣayā*^o (= KN).

⁴ *vartamāne* : = the Nep. MSS.; KN. *vartamāna* (≠ MSS.; l.c.).

⁵ *imaṃ* : D3. MS. *iman* (= T6, StP, T8 etc.). I normalise the spelling on the basis of the reading in Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, C6 etc. (= KN; = O, F).

⁶ *dharmaparyāyaṃ* : D3. MS. *dharmapary.* Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

⁷ *sukhasparśaṃ* : D3. MS. *sukhasparśaṃ ca*. I delete *ca* on the basis of the reading in the Nep. MSS. (= KN): Bj, C5, P3 etc. *sukhasparśaṃ* (= KN); K, C4, T6 etc. *sukhaṃ sparśaṃ* (= O); N1, B, StP, T8 etc. *sukhasaṃsparśaṃ*, ^o*sparśa*; T2, N2. *sukhaṃ saṃsparśaṃ*; C6. *su[kha]ṃ paśyaṃ* (s.e.). Cf. F. *sukhaṃ phāṣaṃ*. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *bde bar reg pa la*; Tib. Kho. *bde ba 'i reg pa la* (= *sukhasparśaṃ*).

⁸ *cēmaṃ* : D3. MS. *cēman* (= N1). I normalise the spelling on the basis of the reading in Bj, C4, P3 etc. (= KN; = O, F). Cf. K, C5, T2, T6, B, N2, T8, StP etc. *ca iman*, *ca imaṃ*.

⁹ *dharmaparyāyaṃ* : Bj. - (s.e.).

¹⁰ *saṃprakāśayati* : = Bj, K, C4 etc. (= KN; = O, F; = Tib. Kanj. T, S. *yang dag par rab tu ston te*); B, N2, T8, R etc. *prakāśayati* (= Tib. Kanj. *v.l.*, Bth, Tib. Kho. *rab tu ston te*).

¹¹ *bhaviṣyanti* : ≠ the Nep. MSS. *bhavanti* (= KN; = O, F). Cf. Tib. Kanj, Bth. *'byung bar 'gyur ro*; Tib. kho. *'byung ngo*.

¹² *dharmasya saṃgītyāḥ* : ≠ the Nep. MSS.: Bj, K, C4, StP, P3, R etc. *dharmasaṃgītyā*, ^o*ītyāṃ* (= KN); C6. *dharmāṃ saṃgītyā*; T2, T6, B, N2, T8 etc. *saddharmasaṃgītyā*, ^o*ītyāṃ*, ^o*ītyān*; N1. *sadharmasaṃgītyāṃ* (s.e.). The expression *dharmasya saṃgītyāḥ* (gen.) *sahāyā* may mean "(He will have) companions in the recitation of the teaching." Cf. O, F. *dharmeṣu dharmasākṣikā dharmasaṃgītikā dharmasābhāyā*; Tib. Kanj, Bth. *chos yang dag par 'gro ba'i grogs dag*; Tib. Kho. *chos yang dag par bshad pa'i grogs*.

¹³ *sahāyā* : = Bj, C4, N1, C5, C2 etc.; K. ^o*āyā{ṃ}*; C6. *sahāyaka* (s.e.); T2, T6, B, N2, T8, StP etc. *sahāyā* (= KN), ^o*kāḥ* (N2). Cf. O, F. *dharmasābhāyā*.

¹⁴ *utpatsyante* : = K, C5, C6, T2, T6, B, N2, T8, StP etc. (= KN); Bj, C4, N1, P3, R etc. *upapatsyante* (w.r.). Cf. O, F. *utpadyanti*.

¹⁵ *dhārmasāraṇikā* : = K, C5, C6, T2, StP etc.; T6, B, N2. ^o*kāḥ*; Bj, T8, P3, R etc. *dharmasāraṇikāḥ*; C4, N1. *dharmasāraṇikā* (= O, F), ^o*kāḥ*; KN. *dhārmasāraṇikā* (≠ MSS.; l.c.).

¹⁶ *ye (')syēmaṃ* : = KN (= O, F); ≠ Nep. MSS.: C4, N1, N2, T8, P3, R etc. *y(') asyēmaṃ*

(°an); Bj. y(?) *asyēyam*; C5. ye (')*syēyam*; K, T2, T6, StP. ye *cēmaṃ* (K. *caimaṃ* [s.e.]).

¹⁷ *śraddadhāsyanti* : = Bj, C4, N1, C5, T8 etc.; K, T2, T6, B, N2, P3, R etc. *śraddadhāsyanti* (= KN).

¹⁸ *pattīyisyanti dhārayisyanti* : = Bj, C4 (= KN; = Tib. Kanj, Bth. *yid ches pa dang 'dzin pa dang*, Tib. Kho. *yid ches pa 'dzin pa*); ≠ P3, R. *pattiy*° (s.e.) *dhā*°; K, C5. *dhā*° *pattī*°; T2, T6, StP etc. *dhā*° ... *pattī*°; B. *dhā*° ... *pravarttayisyanti* (l.c.?) ; N1. *pattīyisyanti* (s.e.); C6, T8. *dhārayisyanti* (s.e.); N2, C2 etc. *pravarttayisyanti* (w.r.). Cf. O. *pattiyamti udgrbhanti dhārayamti* (= F).

¹⁹ *vācayisyanti* : = C4, C6, T2, T6, B, T8, StP, P3, R etc. (= Dr.109a20. 誦 “recites”; Kj. 38b18. 能誦…能說 “they will be able to recite it ... they will be able to preach it”); Bj, K, N1, C5. (= KN; = O, F; = Tib. Kanj. etc.). Cf. Krsh. 169.

²⁰ *likhāpayisyanti* : = K, C5, C6, T2, T6, B, N2, T8, StP, P3 etc. (= KN); Bj, C4, N1. *lekhayisyanti*.

²¹ *pustakagataṃ ca kṛtvā* : = Bj, N1 (= KN; = O; = Tib. Kanj. etc.); ≠ K, C4, C5. °*gatañ ca k*°; C6, T2, T6, B, N2, T8, StP, P3 etc. *likhitvā ca pustakagataṃ* (C6. *pustaka<gata>ṃ*; T6. °*gataṃ kṛtvā*). Cf. F. *pūstagatt(am) ca kṛtvā*.

²² *pūjayisyanti* : = K, C6, T2, T6, N2, T8, StP, P3 etc. (= KN); Bj, N1, C5. °*isyantīti*; C4. °*isyanti iti*.

²³ // : D3, Bj, N1, C6 etc. -. Supplemented from the reading in C5, T6, T8 etc. (= KN). Cf. K, C4, T2 etc. /.

Notes on O. _____

²⁴ *caturthena* : ≠ G/N, F. *ṭṛtīyena* = Dr. 109a17. 三 (“three”), Kj. 38b16. 第三 (“third”). Cf. Krsh. 169.

²⁵ *sukhaṃ sparśam* : cf. n. 7.

²⁶ *avibēṭitaś* : = F; w.r. for *avibēṭitaś* (= G/N). For the word *vi-beṭhayati*, cf. BHS, s.v. *vibēṭhayati*; EWAia, III 543. *beṭh*.

²⁷ (')*pyēmaṃ* : s.e. for (')*syēmaṃ*.

²⁸ *śrandadhānti* : s.e. for *śraddadhānti*.

²⁹ *likhāpayiti* : s.e. for °*payamti*; cf. F. *li[kb](ā)[pa]yanti*.

Notes on F. _____

³⁰ *phāṣam* : < *phassa*~ < *sparsa*~ (= O, G/N); cf. BHSD, svv. *phāṣa*, *phāsa*, *phāsu*, *sparsā-vibāra-tā*; Caillat 1960; do. 1961; Bongard-Levin, Boucher *et al.* 1996: 96, n. 15.

³¹ *avibēṭitaś* : = O; w.r. for *avibēṭitaś* (= G/N); cf. n. 26.

³² (')*s[y]āi[ma]ṃ* : s.e. for (')*syēmaṃ*.

³³ *śrad[db]a(dha)nti* : w.r. *śraddadhanti*. Throughout Manuscript F, the hyperform *śraddadhānti* instead of BHS. *śraddadbānti* (cf. BHSG, p. 216, s.v. *dhā*-) is used: e.g. F. 9b4. *śraddhadbed*; 21b5. *śraddhadhanti* (= 21b6); 24a6. *sar(va)lokāśraddha(dha)nīyam*; 35b5. *aśraddhadh(e)yaṃ*; 36a5. *śraddhadhāsyanti*; 36b5. *śraddhadhīya[m]nt*('); 36b7. *du(h)śraddhadhan*; 37a7. *abhiśraddhadhatba* (= 37a8, 37b1); 37b5. *abhiśraddhadhāsyāmah*.

³⁴ *pūstagatt(am)* : s.e. for *pūstagataṃ* (this form is found in F. 18b4 and Lü. B-17 verso 7) which is a hyperform of *pusta-gata*~; cf. O, G/N. *pustakagataṃ*.

³⁵ *kṛtvā* : s.e. for *kṛtvā* (= O, G/N).

Notes on Tib. Kanjur version _____

³⁶ T. 136a4; J. 117b4; S. 158a7; P. 305b1; B. 144b7; Q. 122b7; N. 163a2; D. 107a4; C. 125a8; L. 168b4.

³⁷ *dpal* : L. *dpal* /.

³⁸ *po* : T. MS. *po* //; S. / . Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

³⁹ *yongs su* : T. MS. *yongsu* (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

⁴⁰ / : = S, P (= Tib. Kho.; ≠ Bth. .); the other Kanjur editions omit.

⁴¹ *zad* : P. *zed* (s.e.).

⁴² *pa'i* : T. MS, S *pa* (w.r.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

⁴³ *tba* : = S, D (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); J, B, Q, N, D, C, L. *mtba'*; P. - (s.e.). Cf. § 16, n. 106.

⁴⁴ /: P. // (= Bth; w.r.).

⁴⁵ *kyi* : P. *kyis* (s.e.).

⁴⁶ *na* : S. *ni* (s.e.).

⁴⁷ *reg* : N. *rig* (s.e.).

⁴⁸ /: = S (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjur editions omit (= Bth).

⁴⁹ *tsbe* : = S; J, B, N, D, C, L. *gtse* (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); Q. *gce* (s.e. for *gtse*); P. *brtse* (s.e.).

⁵⁰ *yang dag par rab tu ston te* : = S; = G/N. *samprakāśayati*; J, B, Q, N, D, C, L. *rab tu ston te* (= Bth, Tib. Kho.) = G/N. *v.l. prakāśayati*. Cf. n. 10.

⁵¹ *chos yang dag par 'gro ba'i grogs* : cf. Tib. Kho. *chos yang dag par bshad pa'i grogs*; G/N. *dbarmasya samgīti*- (Nep. MSS. *dbarmasamgīti*-).

⁵² //: Q. / (s.e.).

⁵³ *pa* : = T. MS. *pa'i* (= S, D, L; w.r.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions. Cf. Bth. *chos nyan bar*, Tib. Kho. 54b1. *chos nyan pa*; G/N. *dbārmasāvāṇikā*.

⁵⁴ /: J, N, C. - (= Tib. Kho.).

⁵⁵ /: J, N, C. - (= Tib. Kho.).

⁵⁶ /: J, B, Q, N, C. - (= Tib. Kho.).

⁵⁷ /: B, Q. - (= Tib. Kho.).

⁵⁸ *pa* : P. *par* (s.e.).

⁵⁹ /: Q. - (= Tib. Kho.).

⁶⁰ *yi* : P. *ye* (s.e.).

⁶¹ /: B, Q. -.

⁶² *yi* : P. *ye* (s.e.).

⁶³ /: J, N, C. - (= Tib. Kho.).

⁶⁴ /: = S, P (= Tib. Kho.; ≠ Bth. :); the other Kanjur editions omit.

⁶⁵ *sti* : = J, Q (= Bth, Tib. Kho.); S, P, B, N, D, C, L. *bsti*.

⁶⁶ *stang* : J. *bstang* (s.e.).

⁶⁷ *du* : = S, D, L; J, P, B, Q, N, C. - (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

⁶⁸ /: J, N, C. -.

⁶⁹ *pa* : P. - (s.e.).

⁷⁰ /: B, Q. -.

⁷¹ /: = S, D, L (≠ Bth. :; cf. Tib. Kho. //); the other Kanjur editions omit.

⁷² *pa* : = S, P; the other Kanjur editions read *par* instead (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).

⁷³ *dag* : = S, P (= Bth); the other Kanjur editions read *de dag* instead.

⁷⁴ *gyur ro* : T. MS. *'gyuro*.

Notes on Bathang Kanjur _____

⁷⁵ //: = P (w.r.).

⁷⁶ T, S. *yang dag par*; the other Kanjur editions omit. See n. 50.

Note on Tib. Kho. _____

⁷⁷ *tba ma'i dus su gyurd pa na'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tba ma'i dus kyi tsbe*; G/N. (*saddharma*-) *ksayāntakāle vartamāne*.

Note on Chin. Dr. _____

⁷⁸ "This is, O *Broad-Head*, the third (set of peaceful) practice(s) of the Dharma. A bodhisattva (should) watch for an opportunity and then preach (the Dharma) and carry out the

peaceful practices. He, (then,) will not become annoyed by anything, nor will he be disturbed or harmed.

One, who preaches this scriptural Dharma, will have fellow-students as companions on the (Buddha) path, being of the same mind as his. If one preaches, listens, believes this scripture with fervour, recites it, keeps it, writes it, copies it, writes it down as a book, makes offerings to it, or reveres it, he will receive immeasurable merits (from his conduct)."

Note on Chin. Kj. _____

⁷⁹"If, O Mañjuśrī, this bodhisattva-mahāsattva, in the last age to come, when the Dharma is about to perish, accomplishes this third set of peaceful practices, he will not become annoyed when preaching the Dharma. He will acquire good fellow-students, with whom he can read and recite this sutra. He will also have an assembly of many people, who will come to listen and receive (the Dharma) — having listened, they will be able to keep it; having kept it, they will be able to recite it; having recited it, they will be able to preach it; having preached it, they will be able to write it or cause others to write it; (then,) they will make offerings to the (written) scriptural rolls, revering, honouring, and praising them." (Cf. Murano 219; Kato 229; Hurvitz 216; Yuyama/Kubo 212-213; Watson 204).

XIII § 18 Notes:

Notes on the Gilgit/Nepalese version _____

¹ *avocat bhagavān* : = K (°gavānn), C5, C6, T2, T6, B, N2 etc. (= KN; = F); C4, A3 etc. *avocat* bhagavān*; Bj, N1. *avocat* / bhagavān*. Cf. O. *avocat*d(!) bhagavān*.

² *idam ukṭvā* : ≠ Nep. MSS. *idam* (or *idam*) *vaditvā* (= KN; = O, F).

³ *sugato hy athāparam* : = Bj, C4, N1, C6, T2, T8 etc. (= KN); K, C5, T6 etc. *sugatas tathāparam* (w.r.); N2. °gato {s}tathā° (s.e.). Cf. O. *sugatau (°)tthāparam*; F. [su](gat)o (°)tthāparam. The word *hy*, at this place, is probably used as a mere expletive to avoid a hiatus.

⁴ *etad* : K. *idam* (w.r.).

⁵ // : D3. MS. : //.

⁶ *tatha* : = K, C5, C6 etc.; Bj, C4, N1, A1. *ca tatha* (w.r.).

⁷ *kuṭṭanaṃ* : = C4. °anañ; Bj. °anā; K, N1, C6, T2, T6, N2, T8 etc. °anāṃ, °anāñ; B, T8 etc. *kuṭunāñ*, °nañ (s.e. for *kuṭtanāñ*, °nañ); C5. *kūtanāñ*; KN. *kūtanāṃ*. Presumably, *kuṭtanāñ* are hyperforms of **kūtanāñ* (cf. BHSG § 22.7; BHSD. s.v. *kūtanā* "trickery"), which are derived from Skt. *kūṭa* ("fraud, trick") and are possibly influenced by or confused with Skt. *kuṭṭana* ("pounding; abusing" [MW]). Cf. O, F. *koṭikatvam*; Tib. Kanj, Bth. *phyā ba* ("blame, abuse"), Tib. Kho. 'phyā byed ba' (do.); Kj. 詭誑 ("deception"); Dr. 億數 ("millions in number" [koṭi !]).

⁸ *ujjhiya* : opt. 3. sg., m.c. (cf. BHSG § 29.34). Cf. O, Khā, F. *chorayi* (opt. 3. sg.).

⁹ *dharmabbhāṇakāḥ* : = O, Khā (= KN); ≠ Nep. MSS. °bhāṇako. Cf. F. °bhānaka (s.e. for °bhāṇakāḥ).

¹⁰ *kuryāt* : D3. MS. *ku + t*. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

¹¹ *avarṇu* : Nep. MSS. *avarṇa* (= O, F. *avarṇa*; = KN).

¹² *jātu na vadeya* : = Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, C6, StP etc. (= KN); N1. *j° na cadeṣa* (s.e. for *vadeya*); T2. *jātu{r} na cadeva* (s.e.); T6, B, N2, T8, R etc. *so jātu vade na* (w.r.). Cf. O, F. *jātu na* (F. *nna*, m.c.) *vadeta*.

¹³ *kasyacid* : = O (= KN); Nep. MSS. *kasyacit** (= F).

¹⁴ *ca na* : = Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, P3, R etc. (= KN); C6, T2, T6, B, N2, T8, StP etc. *na ca* (w.r.). Cf. n. 17.

¹⁵ *jātu* : D3. MS. *jā .u*. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

¹⁶ *kuryāt* : most of the Nep. MSS. *kuryāt** / (= KN).

¹⁷ *ca na* : = Bj, K, C4, N1, T6 etc. (= KN; = O, F); C6, T2, StP etc. *na ca* (w.r.). Cf. n.

¹⁸ *kuryān* : D3. MS. *kuryāt* (s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in Bj, C4, N1, T2. °*ān* (= KN; = O, F). Cf. K, C6. °*āt** /; T6, B, T8, StP etc. °*āt**.

¹⁹ *na lapsyase* : D3. MS. *tal* (s.e.) *lapsyase*. Emended on the basis of readings in the Nep. MSS.: K, C6, T2. *na lapsyase* (= KN; = Tib. Kanj. *khyod thob mi 'gyur* [= Bth], Tib. Kho. *khyod gyis ... myi thob*; = Kj. 汝不得佛 “You will never attain Buddhahood.”); Bj, C4, N1, C5, T6 etc. *na lapsyate* (= O; = F. [na] (*lap*)[*slyati*; w.r.); R, P3, T8. *sa lapsyate, sa{m} lap°* (w.r.); B, N2. *alapsyate* (s.e. for *sa lap°*); StP. *sa lapsyase* (w.r.). The sentence *na lapsyase jñānam anuttara tvam*, meaning “You will not obtain supreme wisdom,” agrees with its parallel prose passage, i.e. § 16, D2.77b6. *na yūyam pratibalās tam jñānam abhisamboddhum* (“You are not able to acquire the wisdom”). The readings in the Central Asian manuscripts show a hyper-correction: O. *na lapsyate jñānam idam hi tatvam* (= Khā?; = F) (“He will not obtain this wisdom. *hi tatvam* [meaning?]”). On Dr. 以愍傷故 得了此定 (“Out of pity, they attain this concentration of mind”), see n. 148, 150.

²⁰ // : D3. MS. . .

²¹ *sadā* : D3. MS. *yadā* (= K, C5, T2 etc.) (w.r.). Emended on the basis of the reading in Bj, C4, N1, C6, T6, B, N2, T8, StP etc. (= KN; = O, Khā, F; = Tib. Kanj. etc. *rtag tu*).

²² *ārjavu* : D3. MS. *ārda[v]*. Emended on the basis of the reading in K, C5, T2, P3 etc. (= KN). Cf. Bj, B, N2, T8 etc. *ārjavu*; C4, C6, T6. *ārjava*; StP. *ārjjava*. Cf. O. *mārdava ārjavaś*; F. *m° [ā]jjavaś*.

²³ *mārdavaś* : D3. MS. [*m*]ār[*d*]. *vaś*; supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

²⁴ *kṣāntaś* : = Bj, C4, C5, C6, T2, StP, P3 etc. (= KN); N1. *kṣāntyāś* (s.e.); K. *kṣāntiś* (s.e.); T6, B, N2, T8 etc. *kṣamī* (w.r.). Cf. F. [*kṣā*]m̄ntaḥ; O. *kṣānti* (s.e. for *kṣāntaḥ*); Tib. Kanj. *bzod ldan 'gyur*; Tib. Kho. *bzod pa can du 'gyur*.

²⁵ *bhotī* : K. *bhontī* (s.e.); N1. *bhotu* (s.e.).

²⁶ *sugatasya* : D3. MS. [*su*]gatasya. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

²⁷ *putro* : = C4, T2, P3 etc.; K, N1 etc. *putro* /; Bj, C5, C6, T6, T8 etc. *putraḥ* / (= KN).

²⁸ *prakāśentu* : = K, T2, T6, B, N2, T8, StP etc. (< -nto [nom. sg. masc. pres. part.], m.c.; cf. BHSG § 18.8); Bj, C4, N1, C5, C6, R etc. °*kāsetu*, °*kāsetu* (= KN; w.r.). Cf. O, F. °*kāseta*; Tib. Kanj. *rab ston kyang*; Tib. Kho. *rab du bstand*.

²⁹ *kbedo bhavati kadācit* ye* : D3. MS. *kbe[d]o .. + + + + +*. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

³⁰ *bhavati* : m.c. < *bhavati*; O. °*vate*; F. °*vati* (unmetrical).

³¹ *daśasu diśāsu* : D3. MS. *da[s]*. + + *śāsu*. Supplemented from the reading in Bj, K, C4, C5, C6 etc. *daśasu diśāsu* (= KN; = O, F; unmetrical). Cf. N1, A1, StP etc. *daśasu ddiśāsu*.

³² *śāstāra* : D3. MS. *śāstār*. Supplemented from the reading in Bj, C4, N1, C6 etc. (= KN; = O, F). Cf. C5. *śāstāru* (< -āraḥ; nom. pl. masc., m.c.); K. *śāstānu* (s.e. for °*āru*?). For *śāstāra* (m.c.) < nom. pl. masc. -āraḥ, cf. BHSG § 13.41.

³³ *bhavanti mahyam gurugauravam* : D3. MS. is broken off here. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

³⁴ *teṣu* : D3. MS. [*t*]. *ṣa*. Emended on the basis of the reading in the Nep. MSS. Cf. O. *tatra*, F. *tattra*; Tib. Kanj. *de dag la*; Tib. Kho. *de la*.

³⁵ *janenti paṇḍitāḥ* // : D3. MS. *jan. nt. paṇḍ. tā* +. Supplemented from the reading in Bj, K, C4, T2, T6 etc. *janenti paṇḍitāḥ* // (or /). Cf. N1. *jane<m>ti paṇḍitā<h>* // (s.e.); C5. *janitva paṇḍitāḥ* / (s.e.); C6. *jineti paṇḍitāḥ* / (s.e.); B. *janetu paṇḍitāḥ* (s.e.); N2. *janetu paṇḍitāḥ* (s.e.); T8, StP, P3, R etc. *janeta paṇḍitāḥ* // (or /) (= KN; l.c.?). Cf. O. *jane{n}ti paṇḍita* //; F. *jane(ti) paṇḍita{m}[h]* (or °*ita{m}*).

³⁶ *smaritva* : D3. MS. *maritva*. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

³⁷ *buddhā* : = B, StP, P2 (= O, F); most of the other Nep. MSS. °*ām*; T9. *ān**; KN. °*ān* (≠ MSS.).

³⁸ *jineṣu nityam pitṛsamjñā kuryāt** : D3. MS. *jin. ṣu n. ty .. pitṛsa. jñ. .u ... +*. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

³⁹ *adbimānasamjñā ca vibhāya* : D3. MS. + + + + + + + *ya*. Supplemented from the reading in Bj, C5, C6 etc. Cf. K, T2, P3 etc. °jñāñ *ca vi*°; N1 etc. °jñāñ *ca vi*° (= KN); B, T6, N2, T8, A1 etc. *abbimānasamjñā ca vi*° (l.c.; cf. BHS, Pa. *adbimāna* = Skt. *abbimāna*); C4. illegible. Cf. O, F. *adbimānasamjñā ca jabitva*.

⁴⁰ *sarvā* : = O, F; ≠ Nep. MSS.: Bj, K, C4, C5, C6 etc. *sarvān*, °ān*; T2, T6, P2 etc. °ām (= KN); N1. *satvān* (s.e.).

⁴¹ *bhotī tada* : D3. MS. *bhot. .. da*. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

⁴² *antarāyāḥ* : = Bj, B etc. (= KN); N1. °rāya<h>; K, C6, T2, T6, N2 etc. °rāyo; C5. °rāyā (s.e. for °rāyo); C4. °rāy. (illegible). Cf. O, F. *antarāyam* *.

⁴³ *śruṇitva* : = Dr. 假使聽省 (“If they hear ...”); ≠ O. *tritīya*, F. *ṭṭīya* = Kj. 第三 (“the third”). Cf. Krsh. 170.

⁴⁴ *idam* : = K, C5, C6, T2, T6, B, StP etc. (= O, F); Bj, N2, T8, P3, R etc. *imam* (= KN); N1. *imaṃm*; C4. *i .. m* (illegible).

⁴⁵ *samrakṣitavyas* : = Bj, C4, N1, C5 etc.; K. °tavya{m}s (s.e.); T2, P2. °tavyam (= O, F); C6. °tavyaṃn (s.e.); KN. *sa rakṣitavyas* (w.r.).

⁴⁶ *paṇḍitena* : D3. MS. *paṇḍit. ..*. Supplemented from the reading in the Nep. MSS.

⁴⁷ *sukhaṃ vibhārāya samābitas* : D3. MS. + + + + + + *mābitas*. Supplemented from the reading in K, N1, C5, T2, T6 etc. *sukhaṃ vibhārāya samābitas* (= KN). Cf. C6. *su° vi° s<am>ābitas*; Bj, C4. *su° vi° samābitas* (w.r.).

⁴⁸ *surakṣitā bhonti* : D3. MS. *surakṣitā bho ..*. Supplemented from the reading in Bj, K, C4, C5. *surakṣitā bhonti*. Cf. N1, C6, T2, T6, B, N2, T8, StP etc. *surakṣito bhonti* (= KN; l.c.?). Cf. also O. *susakṣitā bhonti*; F. *susamṣkṛt(ā) bhonti*; Dr. 將御佛道 救億衆生 (“They will ... guard the Buddha’s enlightenment and rescue millions of sentient beings.” ∈ G/N, see n. 156-157); Kj. 無量衆所敬 (“One ... will be revered by innumerable beings” = O, F); Krsh. 170. For O. *susakṣitā* < *susakṣita* < F. *susamṣkṛtā*, see n. 69.

⁴⁹ *ca* : = K, C5, C6 etc. (= KN; = O, F); Bj, C4, N1. *bi*.

⁵⁰ *prāṇakoṭibhir* : = C5, StP, T4 etc.; most of the Nep. MSS. *prāṇiko*°. Cf. O, F. *prāṇakoṭibhi*.

⁵¹ *iti* : T6, B, N2, T8, A1. - (w.r.).

Notes on O.

⁵² *avocat*{d}* : cf. G/N. *avocad bhagavān* (= F); G/N. *v.l. avocat* bhagavān*; see n. 1.

⁵³ *sugatau* : a hyperform of *sugato*.

⁵⁴ *irṣyām* *śātḥyam* : = Khā, F; ≠ Dr. 嫉妬……貪著 (“jealousy ... attachment”), Kj. 嫉恚……邪僞心 (“jealousy, aversion, ... dishonesty”); ≠ G/N. *śātḥyam ... irṣyām*. Cf. Krsh. 169.

⁵⁵ *irṣyām* : cf. F. *irṣy[a]ñ*; G/N. *irṣyām*. Cf. also BHSD, s.v. *irṣyā*.

⁵⁶ *māyā* : = F; ≠ G/N. *mānaṃ* = Kj. 慢 (“arrogance”); cf. Krsh. 169.

⁵⁷ *chorayi* : = Khā, F; opt. 3. sg. (cf. BHSG § 29.14). Cf. G/N. *ujjhiya*.

⁵⁸ *paṇḍitau* : a hyperform of *paṇḍito*.

⁵⁹ *jātu na* : unmetrical; cf. F. *jātu nna* (m.c. < *na*).

⁶⁰ *avasā<da>naṃ* : cf. F. *ava(s)ādbanaṃ*.

⁶¹ *na lapsyate jñānam idam hi tatvam* : corruption; cf. n. 19, 148.

⁶² *sau* : a hyperform of *so*.

⁶³ *mārdava ārjavaś ca* : ≠ F. *mārdava [ā]jjavaś ca*. Dharmarakṣa’s translation seems to have been based on a reading like these; cf. n. 151, Krsh. 170.

⁶⁴ *kṣānti* : s.e. for *kṣāntaḥ* (= F).

⁶⁵ *bbau{n}ti* : a hyperform of *bhoti* (unmetrical; G/N. *bhoti*).

⁶⁶ *ti* : = F; m.c. < *te* (nom. pl.); cf. BHSG § 21.25.

⁶⁷ *smaritvā* : s.e. for *smaritva* (m.c.; = F, G/N).

⁶⁸ *tritiya* : a hyperform of Skt. *trītiya* (= F); for *r* / *ri*, cf. BHSG § 3.95.

⁶⁹ *susatkṛtā* : F reads *susamskṛtā* instead. For *satkṛta* < Pā. *sakkata*/Pkt. *sakkaya* < Skt. *samskṛta*, cf. Sadd 1749. s.v. *sakkata*; CDIAL 13039. *samskṛta*, do. 13108. *satkṛ-*; KEWA III 425f.; IF 88 (1983), p. 311; von Hinüber 2001: § 72. F. *susamskṛtā* may mean the same as O. *susatkṛtā*, i.e. “fully revered, worshipped”; cf. Skt. *sams-√kr* “to consecrate; to adorn.” For the confusion of *satkṛta* / *samskṛta* reflected in Dharmarakṣa’s Chinese translation of the Lotus Sutra, see Krsh. 104 (87c-6), 170 (109b8), 193-194 (117c-10). Cf. also n. 48.

Notes on Khā

⁷⁰ [*k*]*okṛ[t]ya-* : cf. O. *kaukṛtya-* (= G/N), F. *kokuty-*.

⁷¹ /// [*nt*]*i* : Wille transcribes /// [*t*]*i* instead. Cf. O. *bhau{n}ti*; F. (*bb*)*oti*; G/N. *bhotī*.

Notes on F.

⁷² *avocāti* : s.e. for *avacāti* (cf. SIP/10, fol. 455 = BB. 33, p. 225, fol. No. 76, recto 3. *bhagavān avacāti* [KN. 429.4. *bhagavān avocāt*]; Wille 2000: 82, Fragment 60 recto 1. *avacānti* [KN. 248.4. *vadanti sma*])? Or a blend of *avocat* (aor.) and *avacāti*? Cf. O, G/N. *avocat*.

⁷³ *īrsy[a]ñ ... sāṭṭhyam* : cf. n. 54.

⁷⁴ *īrsy[a]ñ* : cf. O. *īrsyām*, G/N. *īrsyām*.

⁷⁵ *ko[t]jikatvam* : or *ko[t]h]ikatvam*.

⁷⁶ *dharmabhānaka* : s.e. for *ḥbhāṇakab* (= O, Khā, D3).

⁷⁷ *sāṭṭhyam* : a hyperform of *sāṭhyam* (= O, Khā, G/N).

⁷⁸ *k(u)ryā* : opt. 3. sg.; cf. BHSG § 29.42; cf. O, G/N. *kuryāt*.

⁷⁹ *jātu nna* : m.c. < *jātu na* (= O; unmetrical).

⁸⁰ *ava(s)ādhanam* : a hyperform of *avasādanam*.

⁸¹ *kokuty-* : cf. O. *kaukṛtya-* (= G/N), Khā. [*k*]*okṛ[t]ya-*. Cf. also § 16, n. 82.

⁸² [*na*]*(lap)[s]yati jñānam idaṃ hi tatvam* : corruption?; cf. n. 19.

⁸³ *(lap)[s]yati* : O. *lapsyate*; G/N. *lapsyase*; v.l. *lapsyate*.

⁸⁴ *mārdava [ā]jjavaś ca* : see n. 63.

⁸⁵ *lokai* : a hyperform of *loke*.

⁸⁶ *paṇḍita(m)[h]* : or *paṇḍita(m)* :. Cf. O. *paṇḍita //*.

⁸⁷ *dharmam* : s.e. for *dharmām* (= O) or *dharmam* (= G/N), m.c.

⁸⁸ *susamskṛt(ā)* : see n. 69.

Notes on Tib. Kanjur version

⁸⁹ T. 136a8; J. 117b7; S. 158b4; P. 305b5; B. 145a3; Q. 123a3; N. 163a7; D. 107a7; C. 125b3; L. 169a1.

⁹⁰ *skad* : = S, P (= Bth, Tib. Kho.). The other Kanjur editions read *skad ces* instead.

⁹¹ *skad* : T. MS. *skang* (s.e.).

⁹² *to* : P. *te* (s.e.).

⁹³ // : P. / (s.e.).

⁹⁴ *chad* : D. *'chang* (s.e.).

⁹⁵ *bas* : T. MS. *ba* (= S; = Bth; w.r.). Emended on the basis of the readings in the other Kanjur editions: J, P, B, N, D, C, L. *bas* (= Tib. Kho.); Q. *pas* (s.e.).

⁹⁶ *phya* : P. *phya* (s.e.).

⁹⁷ *ba* : B. *pa* (s.e.).

⁹⁸ *dag* : P. *bdag* (s.e.).

⁹⁹ / : J, P. //.

¹⁰⁰ *yongs su* : T. MS. *yongsu* (= Q, Bth).

¹⁰¹ *phrag* : P. *phra* (s.e.).

¹⁰² *gzhar* : T. MS. *gzhan* (= S, D; s.e.). Emended on the basis of the reading in the other Kanjur editions. Cf. Bth. <g>*zhar*; Tib. Kho. *nam yang*; G/N. *jātu*.

- ¹⁰³ *snyan* : P. *snyen* (s.e.).
- ¹⁰⁴ *bya* : P. *bya'o* (s.e.).
- ¹⁰⁵ *ita* : S, P. *blta*.
- ¹⁰⁶ *ye shes* : T. MS. *yees*.
- ¹⁰⁷ *the tsom* : = S (= Bth); the other editions read *the tshom* instead. Cf. Tib. Kho. 'gyod pa; G/N. *kaukr̥tya-*; cf. also § 16, n. 143.
- ¹⁰⁸ *nam yang* : T. MS. *nams yang*, s.e. for either *nam yang* (= J, B, Q, N, D, C, L; = Bth) or *nams kyang* (= S, P). Cf. Tib. Kho. *nams gyang*; G/N. *ca (nā) jātu*; cf. also § 15, n. 169.
- ¹⁰⁹ *drang* : = S, N, L (= Bth, Tib. Kho.; = G/N. *ārjava-*); P. *grangs* (s.e.); J, B, Q, D, C. *dran* (w.r.).
- ¹¹⁰ *mnyen pa* : S, P. *mnyan pa* (= Bth; s.e.); Tib. Kho. 'jam ba; G/N. *mārdava-*.
- ¹¹¹ // : P. / (s.e.).
- ¹¹² 'dir : P. 'di (s.e.).
- ¹¹³ bar : B. par (s.e.).
- ¹¹⁴ *cung* : T. MS. *chung* (w.r.; cf. § 15, n. 154).
- ¹¹⁵ *yi* : P. (*bca*)'i (s.e.).
- ¹¹⁶ *rten* : C. 'rten (s.e.).
- ¹¹⁷ *brtse* : = J, S, N, D, C, L; B, Q. *rtse*; P. *rtse* (s.e.). Cf. Bth. *brtse*; Tib. Kho. *rtse* (*phyir*).
- ¹¹⁸ *gi ston ces de dag la* : P. *gis don ston ces pa dag* (s.e.).
- ¹¹⁹ // : T. MS. / (s.e.).
- ¹²⁰ *la* : P. *pa* (s.e.).
- ¹²¹ *rtag* : P. *tag* (s.e.).
- ¹²² *phar* : J. *par* (s.e.); P. *phen* (s.e.).
- ¹²³ *skyed* : = S, P, L; the other Kanjur editions read *bskyed* instead (= Bth, Tib. Kho.).
- ¹²⁴ *na* : P, C. *nas* (w.r.).
- ¹²⁵ *de'i* : = S, P (= Bth); the other Kanjur editions read *de* instead.
- ¹²⁶ *chad* : P. 'chad (s.e.); L. *kun* (s.e.).
- ¹²⁷ *rnam* : P. *rnam* (s.e.).
- ¹²⁸ *bsrung* : P. *bsrungs* (s.e.).
- ¹²⁹ *bzbag* : = B, Q (= Tib. Kho.); J, S, P, N, D, C, L. *gzbag*.
- ¹³⁰ *bsrungs par* : = J, S, D, C (= Tib. Kho.); P. *bsrungs bar* (s.e.); B, Q, N, L. *bsrung bar*.

Notes on Bathang Kanjur

- ¹³¹ *dka'* : s.e. for *bka'*.
- ¹³² *ba* : = T, S (w.r.); the other Kanjur editions read *bas* (= Tib. Kho.); cf. n. 95.
- ¹³³ *ma* : s.e. for *med*.
- ¹³⁴ *mnyan* : s.e. for *mnyen*. See n. 110.
- ¹³⁵ *gi[s] ston ce<s> ded gal* : s.e. for *gi ston ces de dag la* (= Tib. Kanj.).
- ¹³⁶ The omission of this long sentence seems to have been noted by the scribe with a sign, which is now illegible.

Notes on Tib. Kho.

- ¹³⁷ *blan myed* : "unexcelled" (RY, s.v.); cf. Tib. Kanj. *bla med*, G/N. *anuttara*.
- ¹³⁸ 'jam ba : "gentle"; cf. Tib. Kanj. *mnyen pa*; G/N. *mārdava-*.
- ¹³⁹ *spyod* : = G/N. *caranti*.
- ¹⁴⁰ *nasu* : i.e. *nas su* (cf. § 14, n. 126).
- ¹⁴¹ *de la de'i bar cad* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *de'i (v.l. de) tsbe de la bar chad*; G/N. *tasya ... tada antarāyāḥ*.

¹⁴² *bnyam* : probably, s.e. for *mnyam*.

Notes on Chin. Dr. _____

¹⁴³ 已 : G and J read 以 instead. Emended on the basis of the reading in S(1), S(2), S(3) etc.

¹⁴⁴ 嫉妬 …… 貪著 : “jealousy ... attachment” ∈ O. *irṣyāṃ* …… *sāṭhyam* (= Khā, F); ≠ G/N. *sāṭhyam* ... *irṣyāṃ*; cf. n. 159, Krsh. 169.

¹⁴⁵ 億數 : “millions in number” (*koṭi!*) ∈ O, F. *koṭikatvam*, G/N. *kuṭṭanam*. Cf. n. 7, Krsh. 169.

¹⁴⁶ 燿然 : “clear; shining” (Krsh[1998]. 192).

¹⁴⁷ 沈吟 : “is unable to make up one’s mind, hesitates, doubts” (Krsh[1998]. 42).

¹⁴⁸ 以愍傷故 : “out of pity” ∈ O, F, Khā. *hi tatvam* (corruption?; see n. 19); ≠ G/N. *anuttara tvam*. Dharmarakṣa seems to have understood *hi tatvam* (the meaning is unclear) as a derivative from *bhita* (“benefit”). Cf. Krsh. 169-170.

¹⁴⁹ 得了 : “attains” (Krsh[1998]. 95).

¹⁵⁰ 得了此定 : “They attain this concentration (of mind).” ∈ O, F. *lapsyate jñānam idaṃ; jāṇa, jāna*) with Skt. *dhyāna* (“meditation” > MI. *jhāna, jhāna*); cf. Krsh. 170; Boucher 1998: 492f.

mārdava ārjavaś (F. *[ā]jjavaś*) ca. Dharmarakṣa seems to have somehow interpreted this sentence as *mada* (“pride”) *varja-* (“devoid of”; cf. *varjati* “removes”). Cf. Krsh. 170.

¹⁵² 視 : the Taishō Tripiṭaka reads 想 instead, which must be a misprint.

¹⁵³ 想 : S(1), S(2), S(3) etc. 視 (l.c.).

¹⁵⁴ 設有求道 : “If there is one who seeks enlightenment.” Cf. G/N. *tasya bhoti* (O, F. *bhoti*). Dharmarakṣa seems to have confused *bhoti* with Skt. *bodhi* (“enlightenment”); cf. n. 157, § 14, n. 129; Krsh. 170, 267; Boucher 1998: 478f.

¹⁵⁵ 假使聽省 : “If hearing ...” = G/N. *śruṇitva*; ≠ O. *tritiya*, F. *tritiya*. Cf. n. 43.

¹⁵⁶ 將御佛道 救億衆生 : “They will ... guard the Buddha’s enlightenment and rescue millions of sentient beings.” ∈ G/N. *surakṣitā bhonti ca prāṇakoṭibhir* (“They will be protected well by millions of beings.”). Cf. n. 48; Krsh. 170, 338 (on 109b8).

¹⁵⁷ 佛道 : “the Buddha’s enlightenment” Cf. G/N. *bhoti* (O, F. *bhonti*). Dharmarakṣa seems to have confused *bhoti/bhonti* with Skt. *bodhi* (“enlightenment”); cf. n. 154; Krsh. 170, 267; Boucher 1998: 478f.

¹⁵⁸ “Having said (this), the Peacefully Living One (*sugata*), then, uttered these verses:

“Even if (people, who) are jealous and harbour aversions, are millions in number, Dharma-preachers, being compassionate, should set aside hatred. The wise are free from attachment. Those, who want to read this orthodox scripture, (= 39)

never slander and talk about the faults of others, nor do they fall into unrighteousness, doubts or heretical views. Their minds are constantly clear and free from uncertainties. Out of pity, they attain this concentration (of mind). (= 40)

Sons of the Peacefully Living One (*sugata*) are also able to forbear. They constantly rid themselves of pride and self-importance. They repeatedly expound upon and recite the Buddha’s authoritative scripture, from which they never feel tired. (= 41)

Bodhisattvas of the ten directions are practising (the Buddha path) in the world, having compassion for people. Following(?; 順造) and revering these (bodhisattvas), those, who are learning the wisdom of the saints, all should think: ‘They are our World-Honoured Ones.’ (= 42)

They think of buddhas, the best amongst two-legged beings, and view bodhisattvas in the same as they regard their parents. If there is one who seeks enlightenment, that person will be free from desires and abandon self-importance. (= 43)

If hearing such a Dharma as this, the wise should observe it carefully. Their practices will be (, then,) peaceful and they will always attain a composed state (of mind), guard the Buddha’s enlightenment and rescue millions of sentient beings.”(= 44)”

Notes on Chin. Kj.

¹⁵⁹嫉恚……邪僞心 : “jealousy, aversion, ... dishonesty” = O. *irṣyāṃ* *sāṭhyaṃ* (= Khā, F); ≠ G/N. *sāṭhyaṃ* ... *irṣyāṃ*; cf. n. 144; Krsh. 169.

¹⁶⁰慢 : “arrogance” = G/N. *mānaṃ*; ≠ O, F. *māyā*; cf. Krsh. 169.

¹⁶¹諂 : G, J and FS read 諂. Emended on the basis of the reading in KS, S(1), S(2), S(3) etc.

¹⁶²第三 : “the third” = O. *tritiya*, F. *ṭṛīya*; ≠ G/N. *śruṇitva*. Cf. n. 43.

¹⁶³“Thereupon, the World-Honoured One, wishing to state this teaching once more, uttered these verses:

“If one desires to preach this sutra, one should put aside jealousy, aversion, arrogance, deception, dishonesty, and constantly practise substantial and upright deeds. (= 39)

One should not look down on others or frivolously dispute on teachings, nor should one cause others to doubt and have regrets, by saying: ‘You will never attain Buddhahood!’ (= 40)

This son of the Buddha is, while preaching the Dharma, always gentle, patient and compassionate towards all, without any feeling of sloth. (= 41)

The great bodhisattvas of the ten directions are practising the (Buddha) path, out of compassion towards people. He should respect them, (thinking) ‘They are my great teachers!’ (= 42)

He (should) regard all buddhas, World-Honoured Ones as his unexcelled fathers. Having rid himself of pride, he will preach the Dharma without any hindrance. (= 43)

This is the third dharma (of peaceful practices), which the wise should follow. One, who practises (this) single-mindedly and peacefully, will be revered by innumerable beings.” (= 44)” (Cf. Murano 219-220; Kato 229-230; Hurvitz 216-217; Yuyama/Kubo 213; Watson 204-205).

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATIONS

- AN = *Āṅguttara-Nikāya*, ed. R. Morris, E. Hardy, 5 vols., London 1885-1900 (PTS); vol.6 (Indexes, by M. Hunt and C.A.F. Rhys Davids), London 1910 (PTS).
- Bbh = *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ed. Unrai Wogihara, Tokyo 1930-36; Reprint: Tokyo ²1971: Sankibo Buddhist Book Store.
- Bongard-Levin, G. M., Daniel Boucher, Takamichi Fukita and Klaus Wille
 1996 “The Nagaropamasūtra: an Apotropaic Text from the Saṃyuktāgama, A Transliteration, Reconstruction, and Translation of the Central Asian Sanskrit Manuscripts,” in: *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon : Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen III*, bearbeitet von Gregory Bongard-Levin et. al., Göttingen : Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 6)
- Boucher, Daniel
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 1961 “Nouvelles remarques sur les adjectifs moyen-indiens,” in *Journal Asiatique* 249, pp. 497-502.
- CDIAL = R. L. Turner, *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*, London 1973 (1st ed. 1966); Indexes compiled by D. R. Turner, London 1969; Phonetic Analysis, R. L. and D. R. Turner, London 1971; Addenda and Corrigenda, J. C. Wright, London 1985 (Oxford University Press).
- DP = *A Dictionary of Pāli*, by Margaret Cone, Oxford 2001- (PTS).
- HD = *Hānyū Dàcídiǎn* 漢語大詞典, 13 vols. Shanghai 1986-1994 (漢語大詞典出版社).
- IF = Indogermanische Forschungen, Berlin.
- Jā = Heinrich August Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London, 1881; Reprint: London ²1972: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Kabutogi, Shōkō 兜木正亨
 1978 *Tōshōdaiji zō Kasugaban Teibon Hokekyō* 唐招提寺藏 春日版 定本法華經, Tokyo (The Reiyūkai).
 1983 *Hokke Shakyō no Kenkyū* 法華写經の研究 (A Study of Hand-copied Manuscripts of the Lotus Sutra), Tokyo (大東出版社) (*Kabutogi Shōkō Chosakushū* 兜木正亨著作集 [Collected Papers of Kabutogi Shōkō] II).
- KEWA = M. Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*, 4 Bde., Heidelberg 1956-1980 (Carl Winter).
- KS = the *Kasuga* Edition of the *Miào fālián huā jīng*, printed in 1263, and now kept in *Tōshōdai-ji* in Nara. Facsimile edition: Kabutogi 1978.
- Kuiji = *Miào fālián huā jīng Xuán zàn* 妙法蓮華經玄贊 of Kuiji 窺基, in: *Taishō*, vol. 34, No. 1723.
- MI = Middle Indic
- Nob(Wö) = *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra, Das Goldglanz-Sūtra, Ein Sanskrittext des Mahāyāna-Buddhismus. Die tibetischen Übersetzungen mit einem Wörterbuch II. Wörterbuch Tibetisch-Deutsch-Sanskrit*, hrsg. von Johannes Nobel, Leiden / Stuttgart 1950: Brill.
- RkP = *Ratnaketurparivarta : Sanskrit Text*, ed. and annotated by Y. Kurumiya, Kyoto 1978 : Heirakuji-Shoten.
- RY = *The Rangjung Yeshe Tibetan-English Dictionary of Buddhist Culture*, CD ROM Version 3, 2003, Rangjung Yeshe Institute.

- Sadd = *Saddanīti. La Grammaire Palie d'Aggavamsa*. Texte établi par Helmer Smith, I (1928), II (1929), III (1930), IV (1949) Tables, V 1 (1954), V 2 (1966) Vocabulaire. Lund : (*Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund*, XII 1-5); Reprint: 3 vols., Oxford 2001 (The Pali Text Society).
- SHT = *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, unter Mitarbeit von Walter Clawiter und Lore Holzmann; herausgegeben und mit einer Einleitung versehen von Ernst Waldschmidt, Wiesbaden : F. Steiner, 1965- (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland ; Bd. 10), T. 1 - T. 7.
- SJW = Unrai Wogihara 荻原雲来 (ed.), *Kanyaku Taishō Bonwa Daijiten* 漢訳対照梵和大辞典 (Sanskrit- Japanese-Chinese Dictionary), Tokyo 1940-74 : Suzuki Research Foundation ; the revised and enlarged edition, Tokyo 1978: Kodansha.
- Sn = *Suttanipāta*, ed. D. Andersen, H. Smith, London 1913 (PTS).
- TCD = *Bod rgya tshig mdzod chen mo*, 藏漢大辭典 (A Comprehensive Tibetan-Chinese dictionary.), ed. Zhang Yisun 張怡蓀 Beijing 1985, ²1993, 民族出版社 (Nationalities Publishing House).

Index of Noteworthy Words

Buddhist Sanskrit

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<i>ananyasūyantū</i> / <i>anabhyasūyantū</i>	§ 14, n. 42
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<i>anabhyasūyantū</i> / <i>ananyasūyantū</i>	§ 14, n. 42
<i>anabhyasūcanatayā</i>	§ 13, n. 23
* <i>anabhyasūyanatayā</i>	§ 13, n. 23
<i>anabhyasūyikayā</i> (O)	§ 13, n. 23, n. 39
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<i>an-īrṣyaka</i> ~ (O; “not jealous”)	§ 16, n. 57
<i>an-īrṣyuka</i> ~ (F; “not jealous”)	§ 16, n. 78
<i>anuparigrāhikatā</i> ~ (O [MS. <i>a<nu>parigr</i> °], F; “benevolence, helpfulness”)	§ 13, O. 269b6~7; F. 18b7
<i>ava(s)ādhanam</i> (F; ∈ <i>avasādanam</i>)	§ 18, n. 80
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<i>asya</i> (O, F; opt. 3 sg. of √ <i>as</i>)	§ 15, n. 100, 126
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<i>maitrā-bala-</i> / <i>maitrī-bala-</i>	§ 15, n. 20, § 16, n. 39
<i>ye</i> (nom. sg. masc.)	§ 15, n. 56
<i>-vivādha</i> (F; ∈ <i>-vivāda</i>)	§ 16, n. 88, n. 89
<i>visarjayati / vivarjayati</i>	§ 13, n. 26, 29
<i>viheṭita-</i> (O, F; ∈ <i>viheṭhita</i>)	§ 17, n. 26, 31
<i>śaryāsana-</i> (F; ∈ Skt. <i>śaryāsana</i>)	§ 15, n. 114
<i>śāstāra-saṃjñā-</i> (F; <i>śāstr-saṃjñā-</i>)	§ 16, n. 91
<i>śraddhadhati</i> (F; ∈ <i>śraddadhati</i>)	§ 17, n. 33
<i>saṃskṛta-</i> (F. <i>su-s</i> ^o) / <i>satkṛta-</i> (O. <i>su-s</i> ^o)	§ 18, n. 69
<i>sukhasparśaṃ / sukhaṃ sparśaṃ / sukhasaṃsparśaṃ / sukhaṃ phāṣaṃ</i> (F)	§ 17, n. 7

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- 'jam ba (Kho. kha 54b4: "gentle") | T.136b3. *mnyen pa* | G/N. D3.117a9-10. *mārdava-*
| §18(vs. 41)
- 'du sha 'i gos (Kho. kha 52b7) | T.135a2. *bco bu'i ras* | G/N. D2.77a5. *-duṣya-* | §14 (vs.
28), cf. n. 125
- nams kyang* (T.135b2; *v.l.* *nam kyang*, *nam yang* [the regular form]; Bth. *nam ma yang* [s.e.])
| Kho. kha 53b1. *slos pa'i* (meaning?) | G/N. D2.77b2. *kadācit* | §15 (vs. 36)
- nas su* (Kho. kha 52b8. 'dug nas su) | T.135a3. *rab 'dug nas* | G/N. D2.77a5. *niṣīdīyāna* | §
14 (vs. 29), cf. n. 126
- nas su* (Kho. kha 54b6. *dran nasu* (i.e. *nas su*) | T.136b5. *dran byas la* | D3.117b1.
smaritva | §18(vs. 43)
- bar cad* (Kho. kha 53b1, 54b7) | T.135b2, 136b6. *bar chad* | §15 G/N. D2.77b2, §18
G/N. D3.117b2. *antarāya-* | §15 (vs. 36), §18(vs. 43)
- blan myed* (Kho. kha 54b3-4: "unexcelled") | T.136b2. *bla med* | G/N. D3.117a9. *anuttara-*
| §18(vs. 40, n.137)
- mal ca* (Kho. kha 53a6) | T.135a8. *mal cha* (Bth. *mal ca*) | G/N. D2.77a9. *śayāsana-* | §
15 (vs. 34)
- smad gyogs rab bgos nas* (Kho. kha 52b7) | T.135a1. *sham thabs ... rab bgos nas* | G/N.
D2.77a4. *nivāsaitvā* | §14 (vs. 27)
- yong* (Kho. kha 53b1. *slos pa'i ... 'kbrug pa yong myed*) | T.135b2. (*nams kyang* [*v.l.* *nam*
yang] ... 'kbrug pa 'ang (med) | G/N. D2.77b2. *na ... kadācit* | §15 (vs. 36)
- su see nas su*
- slos pa'i* (Kho. kha 53b1; meaning?) | T.135b2. *nams kyang* (*v.l.* *nam kyang*, *nam yang* [the
regular form]; Bth. *nam mayang* [s.e.]) | G/N. D2.77b2. *kadācit* | §15 (vs. 36)

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Buddhist Sanskrit

- a / jā* § 15, n. 59 (G/N. *anīrṣuko* / *v.l.* *jātīrṣuko*)
- absolute construction : genitive § 15, n. 58 (*mama nirvṛtasya*)
- absolutive in *-i* § 14, n. 51 (O, F. *niṣīdi* / G/N. *niṣadya*)
- absolutives in *-iyāna*, *-iyānaṃ* § 14, n. 27 (*niṣīdīyāna*, *°iyānaṃ*)
- accusative plural of *-u* stems in *-u* § 13, n. 42 (F. *bhikṣu*)
- ai*, instrumental plural of *-a* stems in § 14, n. 50 (O. *supraśastaraṅgai*)
- bb-* / *-t-* § 15, n. 32 (*toṣaye* / *v.l.* *bhāṣayet*)
- bby / ny* § 13, n. 23 (*anabhyasūcanatayā* / *v.l.* *ananyasūcanayā* / O. *anabhyasūyikayā* /
F. *ananyasūyikayā*); § 14, n. 42 (*ananyasūyantu* / *anabhyasūyantu*)
- confusion between a punctuation mark and a *visarga* § 13, n. 40 (O. *prṣṭa* • / *prṣṭaḥ*)
- d-* / *-dh-* § 15, n. 118 (F. *-upadānaṃ*, s.e. for *-upadbānaṃ*); § 16, n. 88, n. 89
(F. *-vivādha* ∈ *-vivāda*); § 18, n. 80 (F. *ava(s)ādhanam* ∈ *avasādanam*)

-dd- / -ddh-	§ 17, n. 33 (F. <i>śraddhadbhāti</i> , w.r. for <i>śraddadhāti</i>)
-dh- / -d-	see -d- / -dh-
-dhy- / -dy-	§ 16, n. 94 (F. <i>adyāśena</i> ∈ <i>adhyāśayena</i>)
-dy- / -dhy-	see -dhy- / -dy-
-e, nominative singular masculine in	§ 15, n. 56 (<i>ye</i>)
-eya, optative 3. pl. in	§ 15, n. 11 (D2, D3. <i>bhaveya</i> / Nep.MSS. °veta / O, F. °veyu)
genitive absolute construction	§ 15, n. 58 (<i>mama nirvṛtasya</i>); § 16, n. 2 (<i>tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya</i>)
genitive singular of -u stems in -o	§ 13, n. 37 (O. <i>heto</i>)
gerunds	see absolutes
gr / śr	§ 14, n. 28 (D2. <i>ekāśra-</i> s.e. for <i>ekāgra-</i>)
-ika / -īya	§ 13, n. 9 (G/N. - <i>jātīya-</i> / O, F. - <i>jātika-</i>); § 13, n. 15 (G/N. - <i>yānīya-</i> / O. - <i>yānika-</i>)
instrumental plural of -a stems in -ai	§ 14, n. 50 (O. <i>suprasastaraṅgai</i>)
-iya, optative 3. sg. in	§ 18, n. 8 (G/N. <i>ujjhiya</i>)
-īya / -ika	see -ika / -īya
-iyāna, -iyānaṃ	§ 14, n. 27 <i>niṣīdiyāna</i> , °iyānaṃ
jā / a	see a / jā
locative singular feminine <i>tasyā</i> (< <i>tasyāṃ</i> < Skt. <i>tasyām</i>)	§ 16, n. 27
-ṇ- / -n-	§ 14, n. 32 (D2, D3. <i>bhikṣūna</i> / Nep. MSS. °ūṇa)
n / t	§ 15, n. 59 (G/N. <i>anīṣuko</i> / v.l. <i>jātīṣuko</i>)
nominative singular masculine <i>ye</i>	§ 15, n. 56
nominative singular of -u stems in -ū	§ 15, n. 57 (Nep.MSS. <i>bhikṣū</i>)
-ny- / -bhy-	see -bhy- / -ny-
-o, genitive singular of -u stems in	§ 13, n. 37 (O. <i>heto</i>)
optative 3. pl. in -eya	§ 15, n. 11 (D2, D3. <i>bhaveya</i> / Nep.MSS. °veta / O, F. °veyu)
optative 3. sg. in -iya	§ 18, n. 8 (G/N. <i>ujjhiya</i>)
optative 3. sg. in -yā	§ 18, n. 78 (F. <i>kuryā</i>)
r, hyperform with an unetymological,	§ 15, n. 114 (F. <i>śaryāsana-</i> < Skt. <i>śaryāsana</i>)
r / ri	§ 18, n. 68 (O. <i>tritīya</i> / F. <i>ṛtīya</i>)
ṣ / v	§ 15, n. 23, 24 (<i>bhāvayati</i> / √ <i>bbhāṣ</i>)
sandhi: -a + u- > -u-	§ 15, n. 65. (<i>śokupāyāsa</i> < <i>soka</i> + <i>upāyāsa</i>)
śr / gr	see gr / śr
t / bb	see bb / t
t / n	see n / t
-u, accusative plural of -u stems in	§ 13, n. 42 (F. <i>bhikṣu</i>)
-u, nominative singular of -a stems in (m.c.)	§ 15, n. 66 (D2, D3. <i>saṃtrāsana</i>)
-ū, nominative singular of -u stems in	§ 15, n. 57 (G/N. <i>bhikṣū</i>)
v / ṣ	see ṣ / v
visarga	see: confusion between a punctuation mark and a visarga
visarga-daṇḍa	§ 14, n. 14
-yā, optative 3. sg. in	§ 18, n. 78 (F. <i>kuryā</i>)

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<i>nas su</i>	§ 14, n. 126 (Kho. 'dug nas su; dran nasu)
<i>su</i>	see <i>nas su</i>

**COMPARATIVE TABLE OF TIBETAN WORDS
FOUND IN THE TIB. KANJUR VERSION AND TIB. KHO.**

- kun* (T.136b4. *de kun*) | Kho. kha 54b6. (*de dag*) *thams cad* | G/N. D3.117a11. (*te sarvi*) | §18(vs. 42)
- kun chub par byed pa* (T.136a7) | Kho. kha 54a8. *khong du chud pa* | G/N. D3.117a5. *paryavāpsyanti* | §17
- kyang* (T.134b6. *dris kyang*; 134b8. *chos kyang*) | Kho. kha 52b3. (*dris*) *gyang*; 52b5. (*chos*) *gyang* | §13 G/N. D2.77a2. -(*prstab*); §14 (vs. 26) G/N. D2. 77a3. -(*dbarmu*)
- kyi* (T.134b4, b6. *nyan thos kyi*; 134b7. *sangs rgyas kyi*; T.135a3. *chos kyi*) | Kho. kha 52b1, b3. (*nyan thos*) *gyi*; 52b4. (*sangs rgyas*) *gyi*; 52b8. (*chos*) *gyi* | §13 G/N. D2.77a1, a2. (*śrāvaka-*); §13 G/N. D2.77a3. (*buddha-*); §14 (vs. 29) G/N. D2. 77a5. (*dbarma-*) *et passim*
- klan ka tshol ba* ('i rang bzbin can) (T.134b4) | Kho. kha 52a8. *dmigs pa can* (*gyi rigs*) | G/N. D2. 76b8. *upārambha-(jāti)-* | §13
- bka' stsal to* (T.134b7) | Kho. kha 52b4. *gsungs so* | G/N. D2.77a3. *abhāṣata* | §14
- skur ba* (v.l. *pa*) *mi byed* (T.134b4) | Bth. 117b9. *bskur pa mi byed* | Kho. kha 52b1. *skurd pa myi byed* | G/N. D2.76b8. *na ... parivadati* | §13
- skur pa* (T.135b6. *skur pa* ... 'debs) | Kho. kha 53b6. *bskur pa* (... 'debs) | G/N. D2.77b5. *avavadate* | §16
- skyed do* (T.136a2) | Bth. 119a5. *bskyed do* | Kho. kha 54a2. *bskyed* | G/N. D2.77b8. *utpādayati* | §16
- skyed par* (T.135b7. *skyed par* ... *byed de*; 136a1. *skyed par* [v.l. *skye bar*] ... *byed do*) | Bth. 119a2. *bskyed par* (... *byed de*); 119a4. *bskyed par* (... *byed do*) | Kho. kha 53b7. *skye bar* (... *byed de*); 54a1. *skye bar* (... *byed do*) | G/N. D2.77b6. *upasaṃharati*; D2.77b7. *upasaṃharate* | §16
- kbri* (T.135a2) | Kho. kha 52b7. *kbri'u dang stan* | G/N. D2.77a5. -*pīṭha-* | §14 (vs. 28)
- gang* (T.136b4. *byang chub sems dpa' gang dag*) | Kho. kha 54b5. (*byang cub sems dpa'*) *gag* (*rnams*) | G/N. D3.117a10-11. *ye (bodhisatvā)* | §18(vs. 42)
- gus pa skyed* (T.136b5. *bla mar gus pa skyed*) | Kho. kha 54b6. (*bla ma 'i*) *ri mo byed* | G/N. D3.117a11-b1. (*guru-*)*gauravaṃ* ... *janenti* | §18(vs. 42)
- dga'* (T.135a6. *mi dga'*) | Kho. kha 53a4. (*myi*) *mos pa* : G/N. D2. 77a8. (*a-*)*rati-* | §15 (vs. 32)
- dge bsnyen* (T.135a4. *dge bsnyen rnams*) | Kho. kha 53a1. *dge' bsnyen pa* | G/N. D2.77a6. *upāsaka-* | §14 (vs. 30) *et passim*
- dge bsnyen ma* (T.135a4 *et passim*) | Kho. kha 53a1. *dge' bsnyen ma* | G/N. D2.77a6. *upāsikā-* | §14 (vs. 30) *et passim*
- dge slong* (T.134b4, 135a3 *et passim*) | Kho. kha 52a8, 53a1. *dge' slong pa* | G/N. D2.76b8, D2.77a6. *bbikṣu-* | §13, §14 (vs. 29) *et passim*
- dge slong ma* (T.135a4 *et passim*) | Kho. kha 53a1. *dge' slong ma* | G/N. D2.77a6. *bbikṣuṇikā-* | §14 (vs. 29) *et passim*
- bgos nas* (T.135a1. *rab bgos nas*) | Kho. kha 52b6. (*rab*) *gyond te* | G/N. D2.77a4. *prāvaritvā*

- | §14 (vs. 27)
mgu (T.135a7) | Kho. kha 53a5. *mgu'* | G/N. D2.77a9. *sambharṣayet* | §15 (vs. 33)
'ga' tsam la (T.136a4) | Bth. 119a7. *'ga' ba tsam* | Kho. kha 54a4. *su la* | G/N. D2.77b9.
kasyacid | §16
'gyur ba (T. 135a5. *byang chub thob 'gyur ba*) | Kho. kha 53a3. (*byang cub thob*) *par ro* |
G/N. D2.77a7. (*bodhāya*) *bhaveya (lābbinab)*
'gro ba (T.136a6. *yang dag par 'gro ba'i grogs*) | Kho. kha 54a7. (*yang dag par*) *bshad pa('i*
grogs) | G/N. D3.117a4. *saṃgīti~* | §17
rgyu (T.136b4. *snying brtses [v.l. rtses] rgyu*) | Kho. kha 54b5. (*rtse*) *phyir* | G/N. D3.117a11.
(*anukampāya*) | §18 (vs. 42)
brgya (T.135b4) | Kho. kha 53b3. *brgya'* | G/N. D2.77b3. *-sata~* | §15 (vs. 38)
mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya ba (T.134b7) | Kho. kha 52b4. *mngon bar 'tshang rgya*
ba | G/N. D2.77a3. *abhisambuddhyate* | §13
rngul gzan (T.135a1; v.l. *rngul zan, dngul zan*) | Kho. kha 52b6. *dngul zan* | G/N.
D2.77a4. *āsevākā~* | §14 (vs. 27)
- cing* (T.134b6. *mi rtsod cing*) | Kho. kha 52b3. (*myi rtsod*) *par* | G/N. D2. 77a2.
anabhyasūcanatayā | §13
cing (T.135a2. *rab 'dug cing*) | Kho. kha 52b7. (*'dug ste*) | G/N. D2.77a5. *niṣadya* | §14
(vs. 28)
cung zad (T.136b4. *cung [v.l. chung] zad med*) | Kho. kha 54b5. *nam yang (myed)* | G/N.
D3.117a10. (*na...*) *kadācit* | §18 (vs. 41)
bcos bu'i ras (T.135a2) | Kho. kha 52b7. *'du sha 'i gos* | G/N. D2.77a5. *-dusya~* | §14 (vs.
28)
che tshad (T.135a1) | Kho. kha 52b7. *shin tu che ba* | G/N. D2.77a4. *mabā-pramāṇa~* | §
14 (vs. 27)
chos kyi rnam grangs (T.134b3) | Kho. kha 52a7. *chos gyi gzhung* | G/N. D2. 76b7. *dharmā-*
pariyāya~ | §13
mchog (T.136b5) | Kho. kha 54b6. *gtso bo* | G/N. D3.117b1. *uttama~* | §18 (vs. 43)
'jug pa (T.136a7. *yi ger 'drir 'jug pa*) | Kho. kha 54a8. (*'drir*) *bcug pa* | G/N. D3.117a6.
likhāpayisyanti | §17
brjod (v.l. *rjod*) (T.134b4, b5) | Kho. kha 52b1, b2. *'byind* | G/N. D2.77a1. *cārayati* | §13
brjod (T.135b4. *brjod mi nus*) | Kho. kha 53b3. *smra(r myi nus)* | G/N. D2.77b3. (*na śakya*
...) *vaktum* | §15 (vs. 38)
gnyis (T.136b5. *rkang gnyis*) | Kho. kha 54b6. (*rkang*) *nyis* | G/N. D3.117b1. *dvi-(pada~)*
| §18 (vs. 43)
mnyen pa (T.136b3) | Kho. kha 54b4. *'jam ba* | G/N. D3.117a9-10. *mārdava~* | §18 (vs.
41)
snyan (T.135b2, 135b5. *mi snyan*) | Kho. kha 53b1, 53b6. (*myi*) *bsngags* | G/N. D2.77b2,
D2.77b5. (*a-*) *varṇa~* | §15 (vs. 37), §16
snyan pa (T.134b4. *mi snyan pa* [= 134b5, 136b2]) | Kho. kha 52b1. (*myi*) *bsngags* (= 52b2,
54b3) | §13 G/N. D2.76b8. (*a-*) *varṇa~* (= 77a1; §18 D3.117a8) | §13; §18 (vs. 40)

- snyingbrtse* (T.136b4. *v.l. snying rtse*) | Kho. kha 54b5. *rtse* | G/N. D3.117a11. *anukampā~* | §18 (vs. 42)
- snyoms par byed de* (T.136a4) | Kho. kha 54a4. *snyom ste* | G/N. D2.77b9. *sama~* | §16
- tu* (T.134b2, 134b3, 134b8 *et passim*. *rab tu*; T.134b8. *rtag tu*; T.134b4. *shin tu*) | Kho. kha 52a7, 52a7, 52b5 *et passim*. (*rab*) *du*; Kho. kha 52b5. (*rtag*) *du*; Kho. kha 52a8. (*shin*) *du* | §13, §14 (vs. 26) *et passim*
- bting ste* (T.134b8. *rab tu bshams bting ste*) | Kho. kha 52b5. (*rab du bshams*) *byas pa'* | G/N. D2.77a4. (*prajñapta*) *karitva* | §14 (vs. 26)
- ston* (T.134b8) | Kho. kha 52b5. '*chad* | G/N. D2.77a3. *bbāṣati* | §14 (vs. 26)
- ston* (T.135a3. *nye bar ston*) | Kho. kha 53a1. (*nye bar*) *bstan pa* | G/N. D2.77a6. *upasaṃharet* | §14 (vs. 29)
- ston* (T.136b3. *rab ston*) | Kho. kha 54b5. (*rab du*) *bstand* | G/N. D3.117a10. (*pra*)*kāśentu* | §18 (vs. 41)
- ston* (T.136b4) | Kho. kha 54b6. *mkhan po* | G/N. D3.117a11. *sāstr~* | §18 (vs. 42)
- ston pa* (T.136a2) | Bth. 119a5. *ston ba* | Kho. kha 54a2. *mkhan po* | G/N. D2.77b8. *sāstr~* | §16
- bstan pa* (T.135b1) | Kho. kha 53a8. *bsgrags pa* | G/N. D2.77b1. *śrāvemi* | §15 (vs. 35)
- thana* (T.136a4) | Kho. kha 54a4. *chung du* (s.e. for *ngu?*) *na* | G/N. D2.77b9. *antaśo* | §16
- the tsom* (*v.l. the tshom*) (T.136a1, T.136b3) | Kho. kha 54a1, 54b3. '*gyod pa* | §16 G/N. D2.77b7. *kaukrtya~*, §18 G/N. D3.117a9. *kaukrtya-* | §16, §18 (vs. 40)
- thun pa* (T.135a5, *v.ll. thun pa*, '*thun pa*) | Kho. kha 53a2~3. '*dun ba* | G/N. D2.77a7. *anuloma~* | §15 (vs. 31)
- dag* (T.134b5. *dge slong dag*) | Kho. kha 52b1. (*dge' slong*) *rnam* | G/N. D2.77a1. *bhikṣūṇām* | §13
- dag* (T.135a5. *le lo dag*) | Kho. kha 53a3. (*skyo ba*) *rnam* | G/N. D2.77a7~8. (*kilāsitām*) | §15 (vs. 32)
- dag* (T.136b4. *byang chub sems dpa' gang dag*) | Kho. kha 54b5. (*byang cub sems dpa' gag*) *rnam* | G/N. D3.117a10-11. (*ye bodhisatvā*) | §18 (vs. 42)
- de'i tshé* (T.136b6. *v.l. de tshé*) | Kho. kha 54b7. *de la* | G/N. D3.117b2. *tada* | §18 (vs. 43)
- dran byas la* (T.136b5) | Kho. kha 54b6. *dran nasu* | G/N. D3.117b1. *smaritva* | §18 (vs. 43)
- bde bar gshegs* (T.136b3) | Kho. kha 54b4. *bder gshegs* | G/N. D3.117a10. *sugata~* | §18 (vs. 41)
- mdo* (T.136b1) | Kho. kha 54b2. *mdo sde* | G/N. D3.117a8. *sūtra~* | §18 (vs. 39)
- ldan* (T.136b3. *bzod ldan 'gyur*) | Kho. kha 54b4. (*bzod pa*) *can du* ('*gyur*) | G/N. D3.117a10. (*kṣānta~*) | §18 (vs. 41)
- na* (T.136b4. '*jig rten dag na*) | Kho. kha 54b5. ('*jig rten*) *du* | G/N. D3.117a11. (*loke*) | §18 (vs. 42)
- na* (T.136b5. *rnam spangs na* [*v.l. nas*]) | Kho. kha 54b7. (*rnam spangs*) *te* | G/N. D3.117b1-2.

- (*vihāya*) | §18(vs. 43)
na ba'i gso sman (T.135a8; Bth. *na ba'i gso sman*) | Kho. kha 53a6. *na ba'i phyir gyang sman* | G/N.D2.77a9. *gilāna-bbaisajya~* | §15 (vs. 34)
nam yang (T.135a7) | Kho. kha 53a5. *ni* | G/N.D2.77a9. *jātu* | §15 (vs. 33)
nam yang (T.136b3; v.ll. *nams yang, nams kyang*) | Kho. kha 54b3. *nams gyang* | G/N.D3.117a9. *jātu* | §18(vs. 40)
nas (T.134b3. *bde ba la gnas nas*) | J, P, B etc. *te* (*bde ba la gnas te*) (= Bth) | Kho. kha 52a7. *ste* (*bde ba la gnas ste*) | G/N.D2.76b8. (*sukhasthitaś ca*) | §13
nas (T.135a1. *rabbgos nas*) | Kho. kha 52b6. (*rab gyond*) *te* | G/N.D2.77a4. *prāvaritvā* | §14(vs. 27)
nas (T.135a3. *rab 'dug nas*) | Kho. kha 52b8. (*'dug*) *nas su* | G/N.D2.77a5. *niṣīdiyāna* | §14(vs. 29), cf. n.126
ni (T.134b3. *rab tu ston par 'dod pa ni*) | Kho. kha 52a7. *ni'* (*rab du ston par 'dod pa ni'*) | G/N.D2.76b7. (*samprakāśayitukāmāḥ*) | §13
ni (T.135b2. *'di ni*) | Kho. kha 53a8. (*'di*) *bzhin* | G/N.D2.77b2. *eva* | §15 (vs. 36)
gnas pa (T.134b5~6. *bde ba'i gnas la gnas pa'i phyir te*) | Kho. kha 52b2. (*bde ba'i gnas de la 'dug pas*) | G/N.D2.77a1. (*sukhasthāna*-) *sthitatvāt* | §13
gnas pa (T.135b8. *rab tu bag med par gnas pa*) | Kho. kha 53b8. (*rab tu bag myed par*) *spyod* | G/N.D2.77b6. (*atyanta-pramatta*-) *vihārin~* | §16
rnam grangs (T.134b3, 136a5, 136a6, 136a7. *chos kyi rnam grangs*) | Kho. kha 52a7, 54a6, 54a7. (*chos gyi*) *gzhung* | §13. G/N.D2.76b7, §17. G/N.D3.117a3, 117a4. (*dharmā*-) *paryāya~* | §13, §17 *et passim*
rnam grangs (T.136a4. *chos kyi rnam grangs*) | Kho. kha 54a4. (*chos gyi*) *gzhung* | §16. G/N.D2.77b8. *dharmā*- | §16
rnam pa 'di 'dra'i (T.136b6) | Kho. kha 54b7. *'di 'dra ba'i* | G/N.D3.117b2. *evarūpa~* | §18(vs. 44)

phan 'dogs pa (T.134b6) | Kho. kha 52b3. *rjes suyongs 'dzin pa'* | G/N.D2.77a2. *anuparigrāhikayā* | §13
phan 'dogs par ... byed do (T.136a4) | Bth. 119a8. *phan 'dog par ... byed de* | Kho. kha 54a5. *rjesu gzung bar ... byed do* | G/N.D2.77b9. *anugrahaṃ karoti* | §16
phyir rgol bar 'du shes pa (T.134b5) | Kho. kha 52b2. *rgol bar 'du shes pa* | G/N.D2.77a1. *pratyarthikasamjñī* | §13
phragdogmed par (T.135a4) | Kho. kha 53a2. *myi 'kbrugs par* | G/N.D2.77a7. *anabhyasūyantu* | §14 (vs. 30)
'phya ba (T.136b2) | Kho. kha 54b2. *'phya byed ba'* | G/N.D3.117a7. *kuṭṭana~* | §18 (vs. 39)
bar chad (T.135b2, 136b6) | Kho. kha 53b1, 54b7. *bar cad* | §15 G/N.D2.77b2, §18 G/N.D3.117b2. *antarāya~* | §15 (vs. 36), §18(vs. 43)
bya (T.135a6. *bsgom par bya*) | Kho. kha 53a4. (*sgom bar*) *byed* | G/N.D2.77a8. *bhāvayet* | §15 (vs. 32)
bla med (T.136b2) | Kho. kha 54b3-4. *blan myed* | G/N.D3.117a9. *anuttara~* | §18(vs. 40)

mal cha (T.135a8; Bth. *mal ca*) | Kho. kha 53a6. *mal ca* | G/N. D2.77a9. *śayyāsana-* | § 15 (vs. 34)

smra (T.134b4, 134b5) | Kho. kha 52b1, 52b2. *smra'* | G/N. D2.76b8, 77a1(*v.l.*). *bbāṣate* | §13

smra (T.135b6) | Kho. kha 53b6. *brjod* | G/N. D2.77b5. *bbāṣate* | §16

gtsang ma (T.135a1) | Kho. kha 52b6. *bzang po* | G/N. D2.77a4. *cauṣa-* | §14 (vs. 27)

btsun par byed pa (T.136a8) | Kho. kha 54a8. *gtso bor byed pa* | G/N. D3.117a6. *gurukariṣyanti* | §17

zbing (T.135a3. *rab snum zbing*) | Kho. kha 52b8. (*shin du snum ba*) *ste* | G/N. D2.77a5. *snigdhenā* | §14 (vs. 28)

gzbar (T.136b2) | Kho. kha 54b2. *nam yang* | G/N. D3.117a7. *jātu* | §18 (vs. 39)

bzang po (T.135a1) | Kho. kha 52b6. *dge' ba* | G/N. D2.77a4. *supraśasta-* | §14 (vs. 27)

'ang (T.135b2. *nams kyang* [*v.l.* *nam yang*] ... 'kbrug pa'ang med) | Kho. kha 53b1. (*slos pa'i* ... 'kbrug pa) *yong* (*myed*) | G/N. D2.77b2. *na* ... *kadācit* | §15 (vs. 36)

yang (T.135a6) | Kho. kha 53a4. 'ang | G/N. D2.77a8.- | §15 (vs. 33)

yang (T.135b4. *bskal pa brgyar yang*) | Kho. kha 53b3. (*bskal pa brgyar*) *gyang* | G/N. D2.77b3. - (*kalpaśatehi*) | §15 (vs. 38)

yang (T.135b4. *gzhan yang*) | Kho. kha 53b3. (*gzhan*) *gyang* | G/N. D2.77b3. *punar aparam* | §16

yang dag par 'gro ba'i grogs (T.136a6) | Kho. kha 54a7. *yang dag par bshad pa'i grogs* | G/N. D3.117a4. *saṃ gīti-* | §17

yang dang yang du (T.136b3) | Kho. kha 54b4. *phyi phyir* | G/N. D3.117a10. *punaḥ punas* | §18 (vs. 41)

yangs pa (T.134b8) | Kho. kha 52b5. *rgya che* | G/N. D2.77a3. *udāra-* | §14 (vs. 26)

yi ger 'dri ba (T.136a7) | Kho. kha 54a8. 'dri ba | G/N. D3.117a5-6. *likhiṣyanti* | §17

yi ger 'drir 'jug pa (T.136a7) | Kho. kha 54a8. 'drir bcug pa | G/N. D3.117a6. *likhāpayiṣyanti* | §17

yongs su (T.136b2) | Kho. kha 54b2. *kund gyang* | G/N. D3.117a7. *aśeṣato* | §18 (vs. 39)

rang bzhin can (T.134b4. *klan ka tshol ba'i rang bzhin can*) | Kho. kha 52a8. (*dmigs pa can gyi*) *rigs* | G/N. D2.76b8. (*upārambha*)-*jāti-* | §13

rab (T.135a3. *rab snum zbing*) | Kho. kha 52b8. *shin du* (*snum ba ste*) | G/N. D2.77a5. - (*snigdhenā*) | §14 (vs. 28)

la (T.136b5. *dran byas la*) | Kho. kha 54b6. (*dran*) *nasu* (*i.e.* *nas su*) | G/N. D3.117b1. (*smaritva*) | §18 (vs. 43)

le lo (T.135a5) | Kho. kha 53a3. *skyo ba* | G/N. D2.77a7-8. *kilāsitā-* | §15 (vs. 32)

legs (T.135a2. *legs bting ba*) | Kho. kha 52b7. *rab tu (bting)* | G/N. D2.77a5. *su-(samstṛta~)*
| §14 (vs. 28)

legs par (T.135a1. *legs par kha bsgyur ba*) | Kho. kha 52b6. *shin du (zhen pa'o)* | G/N.
D2.77a4. *su-(raktaraṅga~)* | §14 (vs. 27)

legs par (T.135a2. *legs par bkrus te*) | Kho. kha 52b8. *shin du ... (bkrus te)* | G/N. D2.77a5.
su-(dhauta-) | §14 (vs. 28)

legs par (T.136b6. *legs par bsrung bya*) | Kho. kha 54b8. *yang dag (bsrung bar bya')* | G/N.
D3.117b2. *saṃ(rakṣitavya~)* | §18 (vs. 44)

sham thabs (T.135a1. *sham thabs ... rab bgos nas*) | Kho. kha 52b7. *smad gyogs (rab bgos nas)*
| G/N. D2.77a4. *nivāsayitvā* | §14 (vs. 27)

shing (T.136a6. *gnas shing*) | Kho. kha 54a7. *(gnas) te* | G/N. D3.117a3. *viharaty* | §17

sems (T.136b5. *phar sems skyed [v.l. bskyed]*) | Kho. kha 54b6-7. *(pha) snyam ... 'du shes*
(bskyed) | G/N. D3.117b1. *(pitṛ-)samjña (kuryāt)* | §18 (vs. 43)

sras po (T.136b3) | Kho. kha 54b4. *bu* | G/N. D3.117a10. *putra~* | §18 (vs. 41)

bsam ste (T.135a8) | Kho. kha 53a6. *sems te* | G/N. D2.77a9. *cintayeta* | §15 (vs. 34)

Sanskrit Fragments of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* and the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśasūtra* in the Mannerheim Collection*

Seishi KARASHIMA

Introduction

The Helsinki University Library possesses a unique collection of Sanskrit manuscript fragments, as a deposit of the Finno-Ugrian Society, which is part of the Central Asian documents and antiquities brought back by the Finnish national hero, Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim (1867-1951), from his 1906-1908 expedition to Central Asia and the northern parts of China. According to his *Records of the Journey*, while staying in Khotan, Mannerheim purchased a small manuscript fragment — later identified by J. N. Reuter, as belonging to the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* or the Sutra of Golden Light —, which had been found in Yangi Längär, southeast of Khotan, as well as six other fragments, originally from the ruins of Khādaliq near Domoko Bazar, about 115 km. east of Khotan.¹ These fragments, of which Mannerheim mentions only seven (though actually there are eleven altogether), were later studied and published by J. N. Reuter. Amongst them, Nos. 1, 2 and 4 have not been identified yet; No. 3 belongs to the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (identified by J. W. de Jong); No. 5 to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (identified by Reuter); No. 6 to the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (identified by Reuter as stated previously); Nos. 7 and 8 to the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (identified by Reuter); No. 9 to the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśasūtra* (identified by the present author); No. 10 is a Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual fragment (not identified as yet); and No. 11 belongs to the Khotanese *Sanghāṭasūtra* (identified by Sten Konow).²

More than ten years ago, I happened to read Mannerheim's *Across Asia from West to East in 1906-1908* and Reuter's article on these fragments, reprinted in the

* I should like to extend my sincere thanks to my friend, Peter Lait, who took the trouble to check my English.

¹ Mannerheim 1940: 89ff. Cf. also Halén 1999; Wille 2001: 44f.; Yuyama 2001.

² Cf. Reuter 1913-18; Halén 1999: 109f.; Wille 2001: 45f.

second volume of the book. At that time, I assumed that fragment No. 9 might have belonged to a particular part of the Prajñāpāramitā literature, though I could not identify it as such. Much later, when we were preparing the new edition of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* in 2002, we tried to obtain photographs of the fragment of the text in this collection, without much success. After publication, however, Prof. Kōgi Kudara kindly sent me a photocopy of the said fragment and informed me that he had photographed all the Sanskrit fragments along with the Chinese manuscripts in the collection in 1982 and left the negatives in Helsinki. During my short stay there in the summer of 2003 on the occasion of the 12th World Sanskrit Conference, I visited several museums and institutes in search of these, but in vain. Finally, I visited Dr. Harry Halén of the Institute for Asian and African Studies at the University of Helsinki, who not only kindly explained the physical condition of these fragments to me, but also gave meticulous advice to the library staff, when they were preparing the digitalised images of these for me later on. For this reason, I wish to thank him for all his help and advice he has given me. I should also like to express my heartfelt gratitude to the Board of the Finno-Ugrian Society and its secretary, Dr. Riho Grünthal, who readily gave me permission to study these images without which, the publication of this present work could not have been realised.

I. A Folio of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* : Mannerheim Fragment No. 3 +

Hoernle Fragments No. 143, S.B. 38 + S.B. 39

The folio in question, which has the number 169 on the margin on the recto side, was presumably divided into three, nearly a century ago in or near Khotan, of which two are now being kept in the Hoernle Collection in London, while the third is preserved in the Mannerheim Collection in Helsinki. The Hoernle fragments in question, whose photographs were taken by Prof. Kazunobu Matsuda of Bukkyō University, have been since reproduced in KP (V-D), plates 76 and 77, unlike the Mannerheim fragment. I succeeded in putting together these three images, for the first time, nearly one century after their separation and hereunder, I shall give a transliteration of the folio anew.³

Folio 169 Recto

Plates: 1

1 [m e]va kāśyapaikatya śramaṇabrāhmaṇā bahūṃn dharmāṃ paryāpya na rāg.
 .[r] + + + + + + + + + + + + + + m[o]hatṛṣṇā vinodayamti · tte
 dharmārṇavānohyamāne : klaiśatṛṣṇayā k[āl]. + +

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 128, 64r5-v2: *evam eva kāśyapa ih(?) ekatye śramaṇabrāhmaṇo*

³ The Hoernle fragments have already been transliterated by de Jong (1977), the present author and Mr. Noriyuki Kudo (KP[V-D], pp. 60-62), while Mannerheim fragment has been transliterated by Reuter (1913-18: 5) and de Jong (1977).

- babūn dharmān paryāpnuvanti na rāgatṛṣṇān vinodayanti • na dveṣatṛṣṇā na mohatṛṣṇā śaknuvanti vinodayitum • te mahatā dharmārṇavenobhyamānā kleśatṛṣṇāyā kālagatā durga-*
- 2 tigāmino bhavaṃti 2 // tadyathā kāśyapa vaidya auṣa[da]bhrast[r]ā gṛhi[tv].
.. .. [c]. + + + + + + + + + [u]tpady[e]ta • na ca taṃ vyādhi •
śa[k]nuyā cikitsittu • evam eva kāśyapa bahuśrutasya [vy]. + +
KP(V-D), SI P/2 §§ 128-129, 64v2-5: *tigāmino bhavaṃti • tadyathāpi
nāma kāśyapa vaidyo oṣadhabhāraṃ gṛhītvā anuvicaret* tasya kaścid eva vyādhi
utpadyeta na ca taṃ vyādhi śaknuyā cikitsitum • evam eva kāśyapa
bahuśrutasya kleśavyādhi*
- 3 draṣṭavyaḥ ya{h}s tena śrutenna na <śa>knoty ātmānaṃ klaiśavyādhiṃ
ci<ki>tsi .. .irarthaka[m] tasya] taṃ śruttaṃ bhavatt[i] // tadyath[ā]
[kāś]y[apa :] glāna pu .. ṣ[o] rājārhaṃ bhaiśajyaṃ upayujyattā-
saṃva{tsa}reṇa kāl.ṃ + +
KP(V-D), SI P/2 §§ 129-130, 64v5-65r4: *draṣṭavyā yas tena śrutena na śaknoti
ātmanaḥ kleśavyādhi cikitsitum • nirarthakaṃ tasya tac (ch)[r](u)taṃ
bhaviṣyati • tadyathāpi nāma kāśyapa { • } glānaḥ puruṣo rājārhan
bheśajyam upayujyāsaṃvareṇa kālaṃ kuryāt**
- 4 evam eva kāśyapa bahuśrutasya klaiśavyādhi draṣṭa ya{h}s
tenāsaṃva{tsa}reṇa kālaṃ karotti • || tadyathā kāśyapa maṇiratnaṃ
uccāre patita akāryopagaṃ bhavaty evam e[v]. + +
KP(V-D), SI P/2 §§ 130-131, 65r4-65v2: *evam eva kāśyapa bahuśrutasya
kleśavyādhi[m] draṣṭavyāḥ yas tenāsaṃvareṇa kālaṃ karoti • tadyathāpi
nāma kāśyapa anarghaṃ vaidūryamaḥ māṇiratnaṃ uccāre patitam
akāryopakaṃ bhavati • evam eva kāśya-*
- 5 pa bah[u]śrutasya lābhasatkāro[cc]āra[pa] + ○ .[o] + ṣṭavyaḥ niṣkiṃcana
devaman(u)ṣyeṣu • // tadyathā kāśyapa mṛtasya māl[ā] • evam eva kāśyapa
duṣīlasya kāś[ā]ya .[r]. ..
KP(V-D), SI P/2 §§ 131-132, 65v2-66r3: *pa bahuśrutasya lābhasatkāra
uccārapatanaṃ draṣṭavya • niṣkiṃcanaṃ devamanuṣyeṣu • tadyathāpi
nāma kāśyapa mṛtakasya śirasi suvarṇamālā • evam eva kāśyapa duṣīlasya
(kā)śāyadbhāraṇaṃ draṣṭa-*
- 6 vyaḥ // tadyathā kāśyapa susnāta[s]ya suvil[i] + [sy].
nnakeśanakhasyāvadā[ta]vastraprāvṛtasya pravaraṇānūliptasya
śreṣṭhiputrasya śirṣe⁴ caṅ[p]akamālā evam eva kāśya + +
KP(V-D), SI P/2 §§ 132-133, 66r3-v1: *vyaḥ • tadyathāpi nāma kāśyapa
avadātavas(t)[r](aprāvṛ)(ta)[s]ya pravaraṇānūliptasya śreṣṭhiputrasya vā
rājaputrasya vā śirasi caṅpakamālābaddhaṃ bhavet* evam e(va kāśyapa duṣī-)*
- 7 lavato .. huśrutasya kāśāya[dh]ā[ra] .. + + + + // catvāraḥ ime kāśyapa
duṣīlā śīlavapratiṛupakāḥ katam[e] catvāra iha kāśya + [ihai]ka[ty]o [bh]ikṣu

⁴ S.e. for *śirṣe*.

.. + +

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 133-134, 66v1-4: *[l]avato bahusrrutasya kāsyaadhāraṇaṃ draṣṭavya : catvāra ime kāsya duḥśilā śilavaṃtapratirūpakāḥ katame catvāraḥ iha kāsya e(ka)tyo bhikṣuḥ prāti-*

- 8 mok.. saṃ ṃ .. to bhavati · ācā .[y]. + + + + + .. aṅ. .. treṣv api (')vadyeṣu bhaya«da»rśī · samādāya śikṣati śikṣāpa[d]e[i] .. [ddh].
.. .. . + + +

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 134, 66v4-5: *mokṣasaṃvarasaṃvṛto viharati · ācāragocara-saṃpanna anumātreṣv avadyeṣu bhayadarśī samā[d](ā)ya śikṣate śikṣāpadeṣu · parisuddhakāyakarmavān-*

Folio 169 Verso**Plates: 2**

- 1 + + + + + ga[tt]o .iharati pa[rīsu] + + + + + yaṃ kāsya prathamo duḥśilā śilavapratirūpakāḥ⁵ // punar apa[raṃ] kās[y]. .. [ih]ai[ka]tyo [bh]ikṣu[r] v[iv]i[na][y]. + +

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 134, 66v5-67r2: *manaskarmaṇā samanvāgato viharati · parisud[dh]ājīvaḥ sa ca bha[v](a)ty ātmavādī ayaṃ kāsya prathamo duḥśilāḥ śilavaṃta[h]pratirūpako draṣṭavyaḥ // punar aparaṃ kāsya ih(') ekatyo bhikṣur vinay[a]dharo*

- 2 .. vati pravṛta .. nayo v[i]naya[gu]p[t]o + + + + [y]. dṛṣṭim c[ā]sy[ā]nucalitam bhavati: ayaṃ kāsya dviṭīyo duḥśilā śilavapratirūpakāḥ // puna<r a>paraṃ k[ā]śya [ih]ai[k]. + +

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 134, 67r2-3: *bhavati · pravartavinayo vinayagupti[h]-pratiṣṭhitāḥ satkāyadrṣṭir asyānucalitā bhavati · ayaṃ kāsya (dvi)ṭīyo duḥśilāḥ śilavaṃta[h]pratirūpakāḥ // punar aparaṃ kāsya ih(') ekatyo bhi-*

- 3 kṣu maitrāvihārī bhavati · satvāraṃbaṇa[y]. + + + + .. manvāgatto bhavati · ajātim ca sarvvasaṃskārāṇāṃ śrutvā : utrasati saṃtrasati · saṃtrāsam āpadyate · ayaṃ kāsya trṭī[y]. +

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 134, 67r3-5: *kṣuḥ maitrāvihārī bhavati satvā[r]aṃ(ba)ṇayā samanvāgataḥ sa ca ajāti sarvavadharmāṇāṃ śrutvā utrasati · saṃtrasati · saṃtrāsam āpadyate · ayaṃ kāsya trṭīyo duḥ-*

- 4 śilāḥ śilavapratirūpakāḥ // pu[na]r apara[m] ○ kās[ś]ya ihaikatyo bhikṣuḥ dvādaśa dhuttaḡuṇāṃ samā .. ya varttatte · upalaṃbhadrṣṭikaś ca bhavati · ahaṃkāramamaṃkāra +

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 134, 67r5-v1: *śilāḥ śilavanta[h]pratirūpakāḥ // punar aparaṃ kāsya ih(') ekatyo bhikṣu[h] dvādaśadbutaḡuṇa sa(mādāya vartate) upalaṃbhadrṣṭikaś ca bhavaty ahaṃkārasthitāḥ*

- 5 ayaṃ kāsya caturtho duḥśilāḥ śilavapra○[ti]rūpakāḥ⁶ // ime kāsya catvāro duḥśilā śilavapratirūpakāḥ śilaṃ śilaṃ itti kāsya ucyate · yatra nātmā [n]. + +

⁵ S.e. for °kaḥ.

⁶ S.e. for °kaḥ.

KP(V-D), SI P/2 §§ 134-135, 67v1-3: *ayaṃ kāśyapa caturtho duḥśīlaḥ śīlavantapratirūpako dra(ṣṭavyaḥ ime kāśya)pa catvā[r]o [du]ḥ<śī>lā śīlavantaṃpratiṣṭhā drāṣṭavyāḥ // śīlaṃ śīlam iti kāśyapa ucyate • yatra nātm[ā] + n[air]. + nātmī-*

- 6 yaṃ : na kkriyā [n]ākriyā • na karaṇaṃ nākaraṇaṃ : na cāro nācāro na p[r]acāro na pracāraḥ⁷ na nāmarūpaṃ* na nimittaṃ : na śamo na praśamaḥ na graho notsargaḥ na grāhyaṃ : na satvo na .. + + +

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 135, 67v3-5: *yaṃ na satvo na satvaprajñaptiḥ na kkriyā nākkriyā • na karaṇaṃ nākaraṇaṃ • na cāro nācāraḥ na pracā(ro) nāpracā[r]a[h] na nāmaṃ na rūpa • na nimittaṃ nānimittaṃ • na śamo na praśamaḥ na grāho notsargaḥ na grāhyaṃ nā(g)[r](ā)hya • na satvo na satvaprajñā-*

- 7 ptiḥ na vā<ṃ> na vāprajñaptiḥ⁸ na citaṃ⁹ na citaprajñapti¹⁰ • na lo[ko] nālokaḥ na niś[ra]yo [n]ān[i]śrayaḥ nātmaśī[l]o[t]kar[ṣa]ṇā • [na] parākarmaśīlyapaṃsanā : na śīlamannyanā • na śī .. + +

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 135, 67v5-68r1: *ptiḥ na vān na vākprajñaptiḥ na cittaṃ na cittaprajñaptiḥ na loko nālokaḥ na niśrayo nā(ni)śrayaḥ nātmaśīlotkarṣanā • na paraduḥśīlapaṃsanā • na śīlamanya-*

- 8 nā : na saṃkalpanā : idam ucyate kāśyapa aryāṇāṃ śīlaṃ* [a] + + + + + + + + + + .āpagataṃ* // sarvvaniśrayavigataṃ* // atha khalu bhagavāṃ tasyā [v]elā[y].

KP(V-D), SI P/2 §§ 135-136, 68r1-3: *nā • na śīlakalpanā • na vikalpanā • na saṃkalpanā • na parikalpanā • iyam ucyate kāśyapa āryāṇāṃ śīla • anāsravam aparyāpaṃnaṃ traidhātukānugataṃ sarvvanīśrayāpagataṃ • atha bhagavāṃs tasyāṃ velāyāṃ*

II. A Fragment of the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśasūtra* : Mannerheim Fragment No. 9

The fragment in question was studied and transliterated by Reuter nearly ninety years ago (Reuter 1913-18: 19-23), though he could not identify the text from which it came. Recently, however, using data of the Taishō Tripiṭaka, I have managed to find a Chinese parallel to the said fragment and subsequently, following very useful suggestions from my colleague, Stefano Zacchetti, and Prof. Shōgo Watanabe of Tōyō University, I have been able to discover its Tibetan parallel as well. Also, Prof. Watanabe kindly drew my attention to his article¹¹ on a Sanskrit fragment of a text of the *Śīlapāramitā*, which is now preserved at the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies as SI P/146. When comparing these

⁷ S.e. for *nāpracāraḥ*.

⁸ S.e. for **vāṃpra°* or *vākpra°*.

⁹ S.e. for *cittaṃ*.

¹⁰ S.e. for *cittapra°*.

¹¹ Bongard-Levin/Watanabe 1997.

通、八解脫等種種功德，一一化作百億魔軍。此諸魔軍寧爲多不？

- 2 (Reu.) [14 or 15 akṣaras¹⁵](. . . . tat kiṃ ma)nyase śāradvatīputra te vārhantaṣ te va mārasainya: pratibalās te avaiartikasya bodhisattvacittam vivartanāya (SK) + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [n]yase [ś]āradvatī .. tra te [c]ārhanṭa[s] te [c]a mārasai .[ya]ḥ pratibalās te avai[va]rti[k]a[s]ya b[o]dhisa[tvac]i[tta]ṃ [v]ivarta[n]āya

Tib.26b2f. gsol pa / “bcom ldan ’das! mang lags so. / bde bar gshegs pa! mang lags (D. *legs* [s.e.] so.” / bcom ldan ’das kyis bka’ stsal _(26b3) pa / “Śā ra dva ti’i bu! ’di ji snyam du sems? / dgra bcom pa de dag dang / dpung de dag gis phyir mi ldog pa’i byang chub sems dpa’i byang chub kyī sems de bzlog par nus sam?” /

Ch. 1015a27f. 舍利子曰：“甚多，世尊！甚多，善逝！諸阿羅漢其數尚多。況彼一一復能化作百億魔軍。是諸魔軍寧可知量？”世尊復_(1015b)告舍利子言：“如是無邊諸阿羅漢所化無量無數魔軍頗有力，能暫時令一不退菩薩心轉變不？”

- 3 (Reu.) [15 akṣaras] (. . . . tat kiṃ) manyase śāradkatīputra¹⁶ katamas ta bho balavatara cittam yaś ca teṣāṃ satvānāṃ kṣīṇāsṛavacittam arhacittam yo (SK) + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + [ma]nyase śāradvatīputra katamas ta[m] bho balavata[ra] cittam* yaś ca teṣāṃ satvānāṃ [kṣ]ī[n]ā[srava]ci [c]i[tta]ṃ yo

Tib. 26b3f. gsol pa / “bcom ldan ’das! de ni ma _(26b4) lags so.” // bcom ldan ’das kyis bka’ stsal pa / “Śā ra dva ti’i bu! ’di ji snyam du sems? / sems de gnyis kyī nang na gang mthu che / sems can thams cad zag pa zad par gyur pa rnam kyī zag pa med pa’i sems _(26b5) gang yin pa mthu che ’am? /

Ch. 1015b3f. 舍利子言：“不也，世尊！不也，善逝！如是無量無數魔軍不能令一不退菩薩心有轉變。”世尊復告舍利子言：“於意云何？如是一切永盡諸漏阿羅漢心，

4. (Reu.) [12 akṣaras] (vā avaiartikasya bodhisattvasya) ba[la]vamttataram cittam āha bodhisattvacittam bhagavā balavantatara: avaiarttikasya bhagavān āha paśya śāradvatīputra a-

(SK) + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +m[ntata]raṃ cittam ā .. bo[dh]i[sa]tvacittam [bhagavā] balavantatara : [a]vaiartikasya bhaga[v]ā[n] āha [p]aśya[i]

Tib. 26b5. phyir mi ldog pa’i byang chub sems dpa’i sems mthu che?” / gsol pa / “bcom ldan ’das! byang chub sems dpa’i sems ches mthu che lags so.” // bcom ldan ’das kyis bka’ stsal pa /

Ch. 1015b6f. 與一不退菩薩之心威神勢力，何者爲勝？”舍利子言：“如我解佛所說義者，不退菩薩心力爲勝。非無數量阿羅漢心。”佛言：“如是。如汝所說。汝今應觀

¹⁵ Here, as elsewhere, including the conjectures akṣaras.

¹⁶ A misprint for *śāradvatīputra*.

5. (Reu.) [11 akṣaras] rmiṇaṃ xz aprameyā akṣobhiṇya mārasainya sarāgasadoṣasamohacittaṃ na śakyate paryādayitum vigatarāgai viga-
(SK) + + + + + + + + + r[m]iṇaṃ [a] .. m[e]Oyā [a] ..[obhi]ṇya
mārasainya sarāgasadoṣa[s]amohacittaṃ [na śakya]te [p]aryādayitum
viga[ta]rā[gai]¹⁷ viga]-

Tib. 26b5f. “phyir mi ^(26b6) ldog pa’i byang chub sems dpa’i byang chub sems dpa’i byang chub kyi sems ches mthu che ba yin te / Śā ra dva ti’i bu! zag pa med pa’i sems kyi bdud kyi sde ’khrugs med pa(D. om. [s.e.]) dpag tu med pa rdzu ’phrul gyis mngon par sprul ^(26b7) na yang / ’dod chags dang bral ba’i sems kyi ’dod chags dang bcas pa / zhe sdang dang bcas pa / gti mug dang bcas pa’i sems yongs su gtugs par ¹⁸ma ’gyur mi nus so //

Ch. 1015b9f. 如是無量永離貪欲、瞋恚、愚癡及憍慢等諸阿羅漢無漏之心。一一復能化作百億勇健魔軍。此諸魔軍盡其神力，不能令一有貪、瞋、癡、慢等煩惱菩薩心變。由此應知菩薩心力勝諸漏盡阿羅漢心。

6. (Reu.) [8 akṣaras] (todoṣair vigatamohai)ś c[i]ttai: tat kiṃ manyase cchāradvatīputra kataraṃ cittaṃ eṣāṃ cittānāṃ agram ākhyāyati yāvati uttaram ākhyāyati āha a-

(SK) + + + + + + + + [ś c]. tt. ḥ [tat kiṃ] manyase cchāOradvatīputra kataraṃ cittaṃ eṣāṃ cittānāṃ [a]gram ākhyāyati¹⁹ yāvati-r-u[tt]ara[m] ākhyāya[t]i āha a-

Tib. 26b7f. Śā ra dva ti’i bu! ’di ji snyam du sems / ^(26b8) sems ’di dag gi nang na sems <gang>²⁰ mchog ces bya ba nas / gong na med pa zhes bya ba’i bar du gang yin?” / gsol pa /

Ch. 1015b14f. 又舍利子！於意云何？誰於如是離貪、瞋、癡、慢等煩惱阿羅漢心，爲最、爲勝、爲尊、爲高、爲妙、爲微妙、爲上、爲無上？”
舍利子言：

7. (Reu.) [8 or 9 akṣaras] (vaivartikasyaiva bhagavan[?]) bodhisatvasya cittaṃ agram ākhyāyati yāvati uttaram ākhyāyati²¹ tat kasmād dhetos tathā hy anāsravacittair na śakyate paryādiya pu-

(SK) + + + + + + + + bodhisa[tvas]ya cittaṃ agram ākhyāyati yāvati-r-uttaram ākhyayati²² tat kasmād dhetos tathā hy a[n]ā[s]ra[vac]i[tt]ai[r na] .. [kya]te .. [yā]diya pu-

Tib. 26b8f. “bcom ldan ’das! phyir mi ldog pa’i byang chub sems dpa’i

¹⁷ viga[ta]rā[gai] : for instr. pl. masc. -ai (< Skt. -aiḥ), cf. BHSG § 8.107, Karashima 2002: § 9.16.1.

¹⁸ ma ’gyur : D. om.

¹⁹ agram ākhyāyati : = Mvu III 390.6; cf. Pa. *aggam akkhāyati* (“is called the most excellent” [DP, s.v. *akkhāyati*]).

²⁰ gang : Q. om. (s.e.). Supplemented from D.

²¹ MS. *ākhyayati*.

²² *ākhyayati* : s.e. for *ākhyāyati*.

sems mchog ces bgyi ba nas / gong na ma mchis ^(27a1) pa zhes bgyi ba'i bar du lags so. // de ci'i slad du zhe na? / 'di ltar zag pa ma mchis pa'i sems kyis gtugs par bgyid(D. bgyir [s.e.]) rngo mi thog(D. thogs) pa'i slad du'o" //

Ch. 1015b17f. “諸不退轉菩薩之心。雖有貪欲、瞋恚、愚癡、慢等煩惱，而於無漏阿羅漢心，爲最、爲勝、爲尊、爲高、爲妙、爲微妙、爲上、爲無上。所以者何？如是無漏、無量、無邊阿羅漢心及所化者盡其神力，不能令一具貪、瞋、癡、慢等煩惱不退菩薩心轉變故。”

8. (Reu.) [7 akṣaras] (nar evāha śāradva)tīputra tvā *caiva* pariprakṣyāmi yathā te kṣamati tathā kuruṣva tat kiṃ manyase śāradvatīputra yadi kācamaṇikānāṃ madyai vaiḍūryaratnaṃ

(SK) + + + + + + [t]īputra ²³tvā[m eva pa]riprakṣyāmi yathā te [kṣ]amati tathā <vyā>kuruṣva tat kiṃ [m]anyase śāra[dv]atīputra yadi kā[c]amaṇikānāṃ mady[ai]²⁴ [vaiḍū]ryam

Tib. 27a1f. Śā ra dva ti'i bu! gzhan khyod nyid la yongs su dri bar byas // khyod ^(27a2) kyis ji ltar bzod pa de bzhin du lan thob shig / Śā ra dva ti'i bu! 'di ji snyam du sems? / gal te mching bu'i nor bu dag gi nang du / nor bu rin po che bai dū rya bzhag na /

Ch. 1015b23f. 爾時，佛告舍利子言：“我今問汝。隨汝意答！於意云何？若有積聚迦遮末尼。其中置一吠瑠璃寶，

9. (Reu.) [7 or 8 akṣaras] (sthāpitam bhavet sarva-)kāmcamaṇikā paryādiyeta ta:d vaiḍūryaratnaṃ pariśodyā vā aggheta vā varṇena vā āha no iti bhagavāṃ sumahatīr i-

(SK) + + + + + .. kāmcama[ṇi] .. paryādiyeta ta{:}d vaiḍūryaratnaṃ pariśodyā²⁵ vā aggheta²⁶ vā varṇena vā āha no iti bhagavāṃ su[m]ahatī-r-i-

Tib. 27a2f. ci mching bu'i nor bu de dag gis nor bu rin po che bai dū rya ^(27a3) la gsal ba dang / rin thang gis thub bam?" / gsol pa / “bcom ldan 'das! de ni ma lags so. // mching bu'i nor bu dag gi phung po chen pos

Ch. 1015b25f. 迦遮末尼光彩、價直頗能映奪吠瑠璃不？” 舍利子言：“不也，世尊！不也，善逝！

10. (Reu.) [10 akṣaras] (yam api kācamaṇikarāśir [?] v)ai(ḍūrya)ratnaṃ na śaknoti paryāḍiyanāya āha kim atra kāraṇaṃ śāraṇaṃ śāradvatīputra āha kācamaṇikā bhagavā

(SK) + + + + + + + + .ai + [tnaṃ na śa]knoti paryāḍiyanāya āha kim atra kāraṇaṃ {śāraṇaṃ} śāradvatīputra ā[ha] kā[ca]maṇi[k]ā bhagavā-

²³ Cf. Divy. 70.18f. *tena hi brāhmaṇa tvām eva prakṣyāmi yathā te kṣamate tathānaṃ vyākuru* (= MSV[D] II 74.10f.); AAA. 70.5f. *tena hi Subhūte tvām evātra pratiprakṣyāmi yathā te kṣamate tathā vyākuryāb* (= 286.17f., PvsP II 100.26f.); Stav. 78.10f. *tena hi tvām evāryāvalokiteṣvara pariprakṣyāmi yathā te kṣamaṃ tathā vyākuru*.

²⁴ S.e. for *madhye*.

²⁵ S.e. for *pariśodhyā*.

²⁶ S.e. for *arghena* (for °eṇa = verso 1).

Tib. 27a3f. nor bu rin po che bai dū rya gcig kyang zil gyis gnon par rngo mi thog(D. thogs) lags so.” // ^(27a4) bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa / “de ci'i phyr?” / gsol pa / “bcom ldan 'das! mching bu'i nor bu
Ch. 1015b26f. 一吠瑠璃光彩、價直普能映奪大迦遮聚。所以者何？

Verso**Plates: 3**

1. (Reu.) [12 akṣaras] *na(?) mūlyena nārgheṇa kācamaṇikā śakyate vivarṇikartuṃ varṇakaraṇaṃ ca nodāra eṣa bhagavān yaduta kācama-*
(SK) + + + + + + + + + + .. lyena nārgheṇa kācamaṇikā śakyate vivarṇikartuṃ varṇakaraṇaṃ ca nodāra eṣa bhagavān* yaduta kācama-
Tib. 27a4f. de dag ni yongs su dag pa yang ma lags. / kha dog bzang ba yang ma lags. / rin thang yang chung la / rjod (D. brjod) par yang nus ^(27a5) pa lags te. / bcom ldan 'das! mching bu'i nor bu ni gnas rgya chen po nas byung ba yang ma lags so. //
Ch. 1015b28f. 吠瑠璃寶內外明淨。迦遮末尼則不如是。吠瑠璃寶光彩潤澤。迦遮末尼則不如是。吠瑠 ^(1015c) 璃寶本色紺青。迦遮末尼則不如是。
2. (Reu.) [7 or 8 akṣaras] (*ṅikānām varṇa yaḥ*) punar bhagavān gotragavo bhavati karmavipākaniryātaṃ satvānām mahāsamudrā utpadyate sa bahubhi: kācamaṇikair na śa-
(SK) + + + + + + + punar bhaga[vā]n* gotragavo bhavati karmavipākaniryātaṃ satvānām mahāsa[m]udrā utpadyate sa bahubhiḥ kācamaṇikair na śa-
Tib. 27a5f. bcom ldan 'das! nor bu rin po che bai dū rya ni rigs kyis 'phags pa lags te. / sems can rnam kyis las kyis rnam par smin ^(27a6) pas rgya mtsho chen po'i nang nas byung ba lags te. / de ni mching bu'i nor bu mang pus
Ch. 1015c1f. 吠瑠璃寶族類殊勝。迦遮末尼則不如是。吠瑠璃寶威德廣大。迦遮末尼則不如是。吠瑠璃寶價直無量。迦遮末尼則不如是。吠瑠璃寶尊貴，有情業增上力生大海渚。迦遮末尼若貴若賤同所受用，工業所造。故吠瑠璃光彩、價直映奪一切迦遮末尼。”
3. (Reu.) [7 or 8 akṣaras] (*kyate paryādayitum*) āha evam eva śāradvatīputra avavartikasya bodhisatvasya yaś cittaṃ sa sarvaśrāvākānām(!) cittaṃ abhībhavati saryathā xz
(SK) + + + + + + + .. āha e[va]m eva [ś]āradvatīputra avavartikasya bodhisatvasya yaś cittaṃ sa sarvaśrāvākānām cittaṃ abhībhavati saryathā²⁷
..
Tib. 27a6f. zil gyis gnon par rngo mi thog go.” (D. thogs so /) / bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa / “Śā ra dva ti'i bu! de bzhin te / phyr mi ldog pa'i byang chub sems ^(27a7) dpa' sems dpa' chen po'i sems ni nyan thos thams cad kyis sems zil gyis non (D. gnon) par 'dug ste. /
Ch. 1015c7f. 爾時，世尊告舍利子：“不退菩薩、摩訶薩心亦復如是，普能

²⁷ *saryathā* : Presumably a Sanskritised form of a Māgadhism *seyathā* (*se* + *yathā* < Skt. *tad* + *yathā*), cf. Karashima 2001: 208-209; Oldenburg 1899: 217 (*Mahāsahasrapramardīnī*), l. 15, *saryathādam*, l. -6. *saryathādam*; Skilling 1992: 152.

映奪一切獨覺聲聞之心。如

4. (Reu.) [8 akṣaras] (. . . vaiḍūrya)ratnaṃ kācamaṇikānāṃ madye sthāpitaṃ sarvakācamaṇikānāṃ²⁸ prabhā pratihatā bhavaṃti abhūtā bhavati²⁹ : na prajñāyate •

(SK) + + + + + + + + .. tnaṃ kāca[ma]ṇikānāṃ madye³⁰ sthāpitaṃ sarvakācamaṇikānāṃ prabhā pratihatā bhavaṃti a<bhi>bhūtā bhavanti : na prajñāyate •

Tib. 27a7. -; Ch. 1015c9. 吠瑠璃映迦遮聚。

5. (Reu.) [8 or 9 akṣaras] (evam eva śāradvatī)putrāvaivartikasya bodhisatvasya cittam sarvaśrāvakacittāni abhibhavitvā tiṣṭhati idam api śāradvatīputra a-

(SK) + + + + + + + + putrāvaivartikasya ○ bodhisatvasya citta[m*] sarvaśrāvakacittāni abhibhavitvā tiṣṭhati idam api śāradvatīputra a-

Tib. 27a7. -; Ch. 1015c9. -

6. (Reu.) [9 or 10 akṣaras] (. . . p)una: tathāgata avaiivartikasya bodhisatvacittam agra sthāpayati • yāvatiṣṭhanti uttaraṃ sthāpayanti yad api bodhisat-

(SK) ³¹+ + + + + .unaḥ [ta]thā[ga]ta ○ avaiivartikasya bodhisatvaci[t]tam agra sthāpayati • yāva[t]i-r-uttaraṃ sthāpayanti yad api bodhisat-

Tib. 27a7f. de bzhin gshegs pas don gyi dbang 'di yang dag par gzigs nas / phyir mi ldog pa'i byang chub sems dpa' _(27a8) sems dpa' chen po'i sems mchog nyid du bzhag pa nas / gong na med pa nyid kyi bar du bzhag pa yin no //

Ch. 1015c9f. 我觀此義，作如是說。不退菩薩摩訶薩心於諸聲聞及諸獨覺永離煩惱無漏之心爲最、爲勝、爲尊、爲高、爲妙、爲微妙、爲上、爲無上。

7. (Reu.) [10 akṣaras] (tvasya avaiivartikasya cittam) karuṇāsahagataṃ sarvaśrāvakai: na śakya paryādayituṃ na śakya³² bho: puna śāradvatīputra te arhantā: kṣīṇāsravā:

(SK) + + + + + + + + + am .. .āsahagataṃ [sa]rvaśrāvakaiḥ na śakya paryādayituṃ na śakyaṃ bhoḥ puna śāradvatīputra te arhantāḥ [kṣ]īṇāsravāḥ

Tib. 27a8f. nyan thos dgra bcom pa thams cad kyi ni byang chub sems dpa'i sems gang byams pa dang ldan pa dang / snying _(27b1) rje dang ldan pa yang zad par byed mi nus so. // Śā ra dva ti'i bu! dgra bcom pa zag pa zad pa

Ch. 1015c12f. 不退菩薩慈悲俱心，能使有情得樂離苦。聲聞、獨覺慈悲俱

²⁸ MS. °kācamaṇi°.

²⁹ MS. bhavanti.

³⁰ S.e. for madbye.

³¹ Read: (idam api śāradvatīputra a)arthavaśaṃ sampāśyaṃ pu(naḥ)? Cf. Tib. 27a7f. de bzbin gshegs pas don gyi dbang 'di yang dag par gzigs nas, Ch. 我觀此義，作如是說; PvsP IV 116.30f. idam api Devaputrā arthavaśaṃ sampāśyaṃ tathāgato ...; AAA. 614.14. idam apy arthavaśaṃ sampāśyatas tathāgatasya ...

³² MS. śakyaṃ.

zad par byed mi nus so. // ”

Ch. 1015c20f. 利子！有阿羅漢，永盡諸漏，具六神通、八解脫等種種功德，能以神力吹壞堯伽沙數世界，其中一切妙高山王皆如灰粉，而不能令不退菩薩心有轉變。……”

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- AAA = *Abhisamayālamkāra'ālokā Prajñāpāramitāvyaḥkhyā* : the work of Haribhadra, together with the text commented on, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo 1932: The Toyo Bunko; Reprint: Tokyo 1973: Sankibo Busshorin.
- ARIRIAB = *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University*
Bongard-Levin, Gregory and Shōgo Watanabe
1997 “A Fragment of the Sanskrit Text of the *Śīlapāramitā*,” in: *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 41, pp. 93-98.
- Divy = *The Divyāvadāna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends*, ed. Edward Byles Cowell and Robert Alexander Neil, Cambridge 1886: The University Press.
- DP = *A Dictionary of Pāli*, by Margaret Cone, Oxford 2001- (The Pali Text Society).
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1977 “Sanskrit fragments of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*,” in: *Beiträge zur Indieforschung*, Berlin, 1977, pp. 247-255 (Repr. in: *Buddhist Studies by J. W. de Jong*, ed. by G. Schopen, Berkeley, pp. 513-521).
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2002 “Some features of the language of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*,” in: ARIRIAB (2001), pp. 43-66.
- KP(V-D) = *The Kāśyapaparivarta: Romanized Text and Facsimiles*, ed. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya in collaboration with Seishi Karashima and Noriyuki Kudo, Tokyo 2002: International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism, Soka University (*Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica* V).
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- MSV(D) = *The Vinayavastu of the Mūlasarvāstivādīn, Gilgit Manuscripts*, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, vol. 3, pts. 1-4, Srinagar 1942, 1943, 1950; Delhi 1984: Sri Satguru.
- Mvu = *Le Mahāvastu*, ed. Émile Senart, 3 vols, Paris 1882-1897: Imprimerie nationale; Reprint: Tokyo 1977: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai.
- PvsP = *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*: II-III, IV, V, ed. Takayasu Kimura, Tokyo 1986-1992: Sankibo Busshorin.
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- Oldenburg, S. = Ольденбургъ С.
1899 “Отрывки кашгарскихъ и санскритскихъ рукописей изъ собранія Н. Ф. Петровскаго, II, Отрывки изъ Раїсагақса,” in: *Записки Восточнаго Отделения Императорскаго Русскаго Археологическаго Общества*, XI (1897-98), pp. 218-264.
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1913-18 “Some Buddhist Fragments from Chinese Turkestan in Sanskrit and 'Khotanese’”,

in: *Aikakauskirja* (Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne) XXX:37, Helsinki 1913-18, pp. 1-37, 9 plates (Reprinted with some minor changes in: Mannerheim 1940, vol. 2, pp. 1-35).

Sander, Lore

1986 "Brāhmī Scripts on the Eastern Silk Roads," *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 11/12, pp. 159-192.

s.e. = scribal error

Stav = *Sarvatathāgatādhiṣṭhānasatvāvalokanabuddhakṣetrasandarśanavyūham*, in: *Gilgit Manuscripts*, vol. I, ed. Nalinaksha Dutt, Srinagar 1939, pp. 49-89; Delhi² 1984: Sri Satguru.

Wille, Klaus

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SYMBOLS USED IN THE transliteration

[]	damaged <i>akṣara</i> (s)
< >	omitted (part of) <i>akṣara</i> (s) without gap in the MS.
{ }	superfluous <i>akṣara</i> (s) or a <i>daṇḍa</i>
« »	interlinear insertion
+	one lost <i>akṣara</i>
..	one illegible <i>akṣara</i>
.	illegible part of an <i>akṣara</i>
*	<i>virāma</i>
○	string hole
.....	= Chinese character(s) with a dotted underline indicates a proper name, e.g. 舍利子

INDEX OF NOTEWORTHY WORDS AND FORMS

<i>agram ākhyāyati</i> ("is called the most excellent")	n.19
<i>saryathā</i> (< <i>seyyathā</i> < Skt. <i>tad</i> + <i>yathā</i>)	n.27
- <i>dhy-</i> / - <i>dy-</i>	n. 24 (<i>madyai</i> for <i>madhye</i>), n. 30 (<i>madye</i> for <i>madhye</i>), n. 25 (<i>parisodyā</i> for <i>parisodhyā</i>)
instrumental forms used in locative function	n.38 (<i>gaṃgānādīvālukasamai lokadhātubhiḥ</i>)
instrumental plural of - <i>a</i> stems in - <i>ai</i>	n.17 (<i>vigatarāgai</i>), n.37 (<i>gaṃgānādīvālukasamai</i>)

In this PDF version, facsimiles are not included.

Contents and Structure of the *Ārghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādins¹

Jens-Uwe HARTMANN

Due to the political turmoil in Afghanistan, in recent years a tremendous amount of Buddhist manuscripts in Indian languages has found its way from the area of Greater Gandhāra to the Western rare book market. Regrettably, the overwhelming majority of these manuscripts consist only of fragments, and in no case do we know their exact find spot or what their original depository — (cave) monastery, stūpa, etc. — was. Nonetheless these manuscripts are of prime importance for our knowledge of Indian Buddhist literature, since most of them contain texts which were previously unknown or preserved only in Chinese or Tibetan translations. Both Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī, the two scripts used side by side for several centuries in that part of the Indian Buddhist world, are represented, and if Richard Salomon's tentative dating to the first half of the first century CE proves correct, some of the birch-bark scrolls written in Kharoṣṭhī now hold the honour of being the oldest Buddhist, and at the same time the oldest Indian, manuscripts known so far. The Brāhmī manuscripts are somewhat younger; the oldest of them — palm-leaf fragments written in Kuṣāṇa Brāhmī — probably go back to the 2nd and 3rd centuries, while the youngest date to the 8th, the time when Buddhism finally began to disappear from the area.

Foremost among the finds written in Brāhmī script is a manuscript first glimpsed in the last years of the nineties when bundles of it, each consisting of 55 to 70 folios, began to reach the Western market. In 1999 a Japanese scholar published a photograph which had been made available to him by a manuscript dealer,² and the suspicion that all these bundles belonged to a manuscript containing a Sanskrit version of the *Ārghāgama*, the “Collection of Long (Discourses of the Buddha)”, was confirmed when the last folio became available for scholarly inspection. It contained a brief colophon, its last sentence stating *samāptaś ca ārghāgamaḥ*, “and finished is the Long Collection”. At present, approximately 55% of the

¹ Thanks are due to the owners of the manuscript for providing excellent reproductions and for permission to study the manuscript. Moreover, I am grateful to various colleagues, notably Lance Cousins, Paul Harrison (who also took care of my English) and Klaus Wille, for useful information and suggestions. Several times I had a chance to present parts of this paper, and I wish to thank all those who participated in the ensuing discussions. The last presentation took place during my stay in Hachioji in the autumn of 2003, and I am happy to take this opportunity to thank my hosts and colleagues there for a splendid period of research, scholarly exchange and, last but by no means least, fun.

² SAKAKATA 1999.

manuscript is known to have made its way into three private collections, one in Japan, one in Norway and the other in the U.S.A.; the whereabouts of the remaining parts are still a matter of speculation. All three private collectors were willing to oblige scholarly interests and very kindly provided the photographs successively put at our disposal. Based on them it became possible to study the structure of this version of the “Long Collection” and to form an idea of its contents. On two occasions preliminary results of these studies have been published, each describing the contents of a specific section.³

Although some parts of the manuscript are still unavailable, and others are most probably lost forever,⁴ it is now possible to reconstruct the original structure of the collection with such a high degree of probability as to come close to certainty. In the following pages first a survey of all the sūtras contained in the *Ārghāgama* will be given, and then, second, a specimen edition of a section of one of those sūtras.

1. The structure of the *Ārghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sārvāstivādins

The manuscript contains a number of *uddānas*, i.e., lists of key words, some of them verse-like and some in prose, which summarize the text titles of the preceding or following section of sūtras. Altogether six *uddānas* are preserved in the available parts of the manuscript. They represent four different lists, since two of them are duplicated. For the existing parts of the manuscript, the particulars given in the *uddānas* can be checked against the texts and the folio numbers; for those parts which are not available so far, we must rely only on the *uddānas* for information on the number, sequence and titles of the sūtras to be expected there. In both cases, however, it is possible to compare, and even verify, the data with another source. The information on the structure of the *Ārghāgama* (*DĀ*) obtained from the new manuscript reveals that the Sanskrit *DĀ* transmitted in Central Asia must have been virtually identical, as far as contents and structure are concerned. Large parts of the structure of the latter version had previously been laboriously reconstructed from the Central Asian fragments and from citations and references in Buddhist commentarial literature.⁵ When the new manuscript became accessible, it quickly and pleasantly confirmed the earlier attempts at reconstruction and thereby proved that the manuscript and the Central Asian fragments preserve the same version of the *DĀ*, a version apparently circulated among monks and nuns who observed the Sārvāstivāda or Mūlasārvāstivāda vinaya regulations.

So far, three different versions of the “Long Collection” are known. The only complete one in an Indian language is the *Ārghanikāya* (*DN*) in Pāli of the Theravāda tradition. A second, also complete version is preserved in Chinese translation (T 1); it belongs to the school of the Dharmaguptakas. Like the *Ārghanikāya* and the *Ārghāgama* in Chinese translation, the *Ārghāgama* of the (Mūla-)Sārvāstivādins is tripartite. Two of its three

³ HARTMANN 2000 and 2002.

⁴ Since fragments of the first 70 folios are already extant in the American and the Norwegian collections, it appears unlikely that still more of it could surface in the future.

⁵ HARTMANN 1992.

sections, however, are fundamentally different from those of the *Dīghanikāya* and T 1, and it is impossible to trace them back to a common principle of arrangement. Only the third, named *Śīlaskandha* in Sanskrit and *Śīlakkhandha* in Pāli, shares not only the name, but also the basic arrangement. Since our knowledge of the *DĀ* is largely based on only one manuscript, it should be noted that the folios preserving the transition from the first section to the second are not available at present. While the identity of the last text of the first section, the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (no. 6 in the table below), is beyond doubt, the first text of the second section has to be deduced. The last preserved folio of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* is 123 or 124 (the folio number is lost), yet it contains text from the beginning of the sūtra (corresponding to section 9 of altogether 51 sections in WALDSCHMIDT's edition of the Central Asian fragments). The first preserved folio number after the gap is 264 of the *Mahāgovindasūtra*. This leaves a very considerable gap of 140 folios, which raises the question whether more texts should be expected here than those which can be inferred from the next preserved *uddāna*. This *uddāna* presupposes seven sūtras (nos. 7-13) before the *Mahāgovindasūtra* and its folio number 264. The *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* begins on folio 111, and a calculation of its probable length based on the size of WALDSCHMIDT's edition yields a folio number somewhere around 170 for its ending. This would leave about 90 folios for the following seven texts. Judging from the very diverse length of those sūtras which are preserved it is not impossible that 90 folios leave enough room for another, still unknown and rather short, section. Yet it is equally possible that the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* and the seven texts before the *Mahāgovindasūtra* filled the gap and that this manuscript did not contain more than the 47 sūtras which are found in the list below. At least, there is no indication whatsoever in the Central Asian fragments that further texts should be expected in this version of the *Dīrghāgama*.

1.1. The Sections

1.1.1. *Ṣaṭsūtrakaniṣāṭṭhā*⁶, “Six Sūtra Section”

In the manuscript, this section comprises folios 1 to approximately 170 and contains six texts, as indicated by the title. It has no counterpart in the *Dīghanikāya* or the *Dīrghāgama* in Chinese translation. One of the six sūtras, the *Arthavistarasūtra* (no. 2), is unknown in Pāli; another, the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra* (no. 4), has no correspondence in the Nikāyas, but only in the Vinaya. While the *Mahāśūdasānaśānta* appears as a separate text in the *Dīghanikāya*, in the *DĀ* it is included in the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (no. 6).

1.1.2. *Yuganipāṭa*, “Section of Pairs”⁷

In the manuscript, this section comprises the folios from ca. 170 to 360 verso, line 2, and

⁶ The name is not preserved in the manuscript, but known from a quotation, cf. WALDSCHMIDT 1980: 140 and HARTMANN 1994: 328 with note 10.

⁷ Kazunobu Matsuda kindly informed me that there is also a section entitled *Yuganipāṭa* (Shuangpin) in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama*, which contains ten sutras (nos. 182 to 191 in 5 pairs), cf. Taishō, vol. 1, pp. 724-740. For its two *uddānas* as quoted in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharmakośa-ṭīkā* cf. the reference in HONJŌ 1984: 66-67, no. 4-75.

contains altogether eighteen texts. It is divided into two sub-sections (*varga*), the first containing ten texts, the second eight. There is no counterpart in the *Dīghanikāya* or the *Dīrghāgama* in Chinese translation. Seven of its sūtras find their Pāli counterparts in various sections of the *Majjhimanikāya* (cf. the table below). The title of one text, *Sarveka* (? No. 8) according to the reading of the *uddāna*, cannot be related to any other parallel version, and since that part of the manuscript is still missing, we do not know the contents of this sūtra. One text, the *Māyājālasūtra* (no. 18), was known so far only from a Tibetan translation⁸ and from some Central Asian Sanskrit fragments (*SHT* IV 33, IV 165, III 883, V 1025); there is no counterpart in Pāli and no Chinese translation of it. The reason for the application of the ordering principle, obviously the arrangement of pairs of sūtras, is not very evident in every case and needs further consideration.

1.1.3. *Śīlaskandhanipāta*, “Section on Ethics”

In the manuscript, this section comprises folios 360 to 454 and contains altogether 23 texts. It is divided into three sub-sections (*varga*), the first containing ten texts, the second seven and the third six. Basically, this section agrees with the *Dīghanikāya* and T 1, although the sequence of the corresponding sūtras is different. In the *Dīghanikāya*, the *Śīlakkhandha* forms the first section and it starts with the *Brahmajālasuttanta*, while in contrast the *Śīlaskandha*, being the last section of the *Dīrghāgama*, ends with the Sanskrit version of that sūtra (no. 47). This is striking, and it is difficult to avoid the impression that the order of sections and texts within them has been reversed intentionally, at least in this regard. Only one of the texts, the *Jīvakasūtra*, has a parallel in the *Majjhimanikāya*, while several others, as, e.g., the *Tridaṇḍi-* (no. 25) and the *Piṅgalātreyasūtra* (no. 26), are not represented in the Pāli canon. Most amazing is a sequence of altogether five rather short texts in the middle sub-section, starting with *Kāraṇavādin* (no. 37) and ending with a duplication apparently called *Anyatama* in the *uddāna* (no. 41). As far as Pāli parallels exist, they are found in the *Majjhima-* and also in the *Anguttaranikāya*. At present it is difficult to understand and to explain how they came to be included in a collection which is, according to its name, defined by the relative length of the texts it comprises.

1.2. The sequence of the sūtras

With the help of folio numbers, as far as they are preserved, and of the *uddānas* the sequence of texts can be established with certainty. Only for the first section, the *Ṣaṣṭisūtrakānipāta*, is additional help needed since no folio numbers are preserved for the second and third sūtras. Their sequence is derived from the Central Asian recension. In Central Asia, the *Ṣaṣṭisūtrakānipāta* became especially popular and was also copied separately; therefore this section is by far the best preserved, and the order of the sūtras it contains is well-known.⁹

⁸ For an edition cf. SKILLING 1994: 3-57.

⁹ Cf. HARTMANN 1994.

The uddānas

Once a collection of texts becomes fixed, such lists of key words are of utmost importance for its intact preservation, especially during a period of oral transmission. Even after the collection is written down they help in preserving the order and number of texts and are therefore retained. *Uddānas* tend to be in verse which facilitates their memorization, often displaying the metrical licence and the usual liberties with regard to sandhi and word forms which are, at least partly, to be explained by the transformation of texts originally composed in (a) Middle Indic language(s). Therefore it is not clear why the first two of the six *uddānas* available so far are in prose. If the section they refer to was finalized only after the written transmission had already begun, this could explain why the more easily memorized verse form of an *uddāna* had become less important. It could also account for the fact that two different versions of basically the same *uddāna* are found in Central Asia (cf. below). However, in the absence of solid historical information on the genesis of the *Dirghāgama* this explanation remains highly speculative.

Uddānas are usually expected either at the beginning or at the end of a section, but in the present case they are found sometimes at the beginning, sometimes at the end, and sometimes at both. Again, the reason for this distribution is unknown, and it is difficult to see a pattern in it.

1.2.1. Folio 299v2-3:¹⁰

apannakaḥ sarveko [bh]ārgavaḥ śalyo [ca] bhaya[bh]ai[ra]vo ro[ma](harṣa)ṇo jina[ya]bhaśca [g]ovindaḥ prāsādikaḥ prasādani[ye](na ca paścimam || pañcatrayaṃ māyājālaḥ kā)(verso 3)maṭhikaḥ kāyabhāvanā bodhaḥ śaṃkaraś caiva ā ◉ (tānā)[t]a mahāsamājena bhavati paścimam ||*

This *uddāna* is definitely not metrical. It follows after sūtra 15, sūtra 16 being omitted from the manuscript for unknown reasons, but listed in the *uddāna* and partly extant in the manuscripts from Central Asia. Apparently the *uddāna* consists of two parts, the first summarizing the titles of sūtras 7 to 16, the second — beginning in the gap — listing sūtras 17 to 24. The second part is repeated after sūtra 24, with the variation *samājena* for *mahāsamājena*. For a study of this *uddāna* and a comparison with two Central Asian fragments cf. HARTMANN 2000 (at the time of this publication, the folio containing the repetition had not yet come to light).

1.2.2. Folio 358r1-2:

pañcatraya māyājālaḥ kāmaṭhikaḥ kāyabhāvanā bodhaḥ śaṃkaraś caiva ātānātā samājena

¹⁰ Parentheses or round brackets () signify restoration in a gap, square brackets [] damaged akṣaras or uncertain readings, pointed brackets < > an addition without gap, curly brackets { } superfluous akṣaras, double curly brackets {{ }} akṣaras deleted in the manuscript (only in the transliteration), three oblique dashes /// mark the point where the fragment breaks off; a cross + denotes a destroyed akṣara, two dots .. denote an illegible akṣara, one dot denotes an illegible part of an akṣara, the asterisk * denotes the virāma; ◉ stands for the punch hole.

paścimam || *dīrghāgame yuganipāto dvitīyaḥ* ||

This *uddāna* follows after the first part of the *Mahāsamājasūtra*¹¹ (no. 24) and lists the titles of sūtras 17 to 24. It repeats the second half of 1.2.1. Then follows a colophon which concludes the second section.

1.2.3. Folio 360v1-2:

[||] (*tridaṇḍī piṅgalātreyo dve ca lohitya*)*bhāṣite* |
kaivartī atha [ma](ṇḍīśas tac ca bhikṣu)[ṣ]u bhāṣate |
*mamālī śroṇatāṇḍas ca kūṭatāṇḍyena paścimam** ||

Regrettably, this *uddāna* is only preserved in part. It follows after the second part of sūtra 24 and refers to the next ten texts which form the first sub-section of the *Śīlaskandhanipāta*. It is not repeated after the sub-section, but partly at the end of the whole text, cf. below (the second verse in 1.2.6), whence the first two lines are to be restored. According to the second version, *bhāṣite* in the first line has to be corrected to *bhāṣitau*, and *mamālī* in the third is an obvious writing mistake for *mahallī*. For a corresponding Central Asian fragment cf. HARTMANN 2002: 142 (the discussion there is based on the repetition in folio 454, since folio 360 was not yet available at that time) and for its partial quotation in Śamathadeva's *Abhidharma-kośa-ṭīkopāyikā* cf. HARTMANN 2002: 139f.

1.2.4. Folio [4]10r1-2:

abaṃṣṭhaḥ prṣṭha(pālaś ca kāraṇavādī ca pudgalā)ḥ
*śrutaṃ ma[ha]ll[o]*¹² (*nya*)[*ta*]ma āna[*ndo*] *bhikṣuśāstariḥ* ||

Again, the *uddāna* precedes the section it refers to, namely the sūtras 35 to 41. It is possible to restore the text in the gaps with the help of its repetition after the section (cf. next). For a discussion of this list and its various problems cf. HARTMANN 2002: 141f.

1.2.5. Folio 430r8:

[*a*]m[*b*]āṣṭha *prṣṭhapālaś ca kāraṇavādī ca pudgalāḥ*
śruta<ṃ> *ma(ha)l[o nya]tama anando* <*bhikṣu*>*śāstāni* ||

A duplication of the preceding one, following after the section.

1.2.6. Final folio 454v2-5:

śuka jīvaka rājā ca v<*ā*>*siṣṭhaḥ kāśyapena ca* <|>
(bra)hm(a)jā(lena) kṛtvā ca v<*a*>*rgo bhavati samudditaḥ* ||
trdaṇḍī piṅgalā(treyo) dv(e) ca lohityabhā(ṣ)i(tau) <|>
k. .e .ī a(tha) maṇḍīśas tac ca bhikṣuṣu bhāṣate ||

¹¹ Interestingly enough, the *uddāna* is placed where the Central Asian version of the *Mahāsamājasūtra* ends. After that, a second part of the *Mahāsamājasūtra* follows, which is also preserved in a Tibetan translation, cf. SKILLING 1994: 444 ff.

¹² A small piece containing the words *śrutaṃ ma[ha]ll[o]* is sticking to the next folio (observation of Gudrun Melzer).

mahallī pr(ṣṭhapālaś ca) v. ko bhavati sa <|>

(vās)ṣṭhaḥ kāśyapaś caiva brahmajālam anopamā ||

The first verse lists the six texts in the last sub-section (*varga*) of the *Śīlaskandhanipāta* (sūtras 42-47). The second verse repeats part of the *uddāna* which summarizes the first sub-section (sūtras 25-31, cf. above, 1.2.3). The third verse is puzzling; the second title can only be reconstructed as *pr(ṣṭhapāla-)*, but this makes little sense, since *Mahallī* (no. 32) and *Prṣṭhapāla* (no. 36) do not immediately follow each other. The next pāda recalls *v<a>rgo bhavati samudditaḥ*, the end of the first verse, “the section is summarized”, but this, too, would make no sense here. Then follow the last three sūtras of the collection (nos. 45-47), listed differently already in the first verse. In other words, the last *uddāna* lists text 9 of the first sub-section, text 2 of the second and texts 4 to 6 of the third. It is difficult to see a reason behind this peculiar selection. For a discussion of the problem cf. also HARTMANN 2002: 142f.

1.3. Table of the sūtras and their parallels

Based on all the sources of information available so far, the following table of contents can be drawn up. It presents the titles in the form in which they are listed in the *uddānas*; the first six titles, marked by an asterisk, are not preserved in the manuscript and are therefore supplied from the Central Asian fragments. If available, the folio numbers are given or, if possible, at least one folio number preserved for the text is added in square brackets. Next, the number of any corresponding text in the Chinese translation of the *Dirghāgama* (*DĀc*) and in the *Dīghanikāya* (*DN*) or the *Majjhimanikāya* (*MN*) is given, and, for the Pāli, also the title. Variant titles in the Central Asian manuscripts are referred to in the footnotes. Again, attention should be drawn to the fact that the folios between the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-* (no. 6) and the *Mahāgovindasūtra* (no. 14) are not yet available and that it is impossible to know if another, rather brief, section should be expected here (cf. the discussion above in 1). Nonetheless, for ease of reference the sūtras are counted consecutively in the table.

Uddāna title	Folios	DĀc	DN	MN
1. *Daśottara	?-? [6, 7, 11, 14]	10	34: Dasuttara	
2. *Arthavistara	?-?		∅	
3. *Saṅgīti	?-?	9	33: Saṅgīti	
4. *Catuṣpariṣat	?-88r8 [72 etc.]		∅	
5. *Mahāvādāna	88r8 ¹³ -(111)	1	14: Mahāpadāna	
6. *Mahāparinirvāṇa	(111)-?	2	16: Mahāparinibbāna	

¹³ Only the beginning of line recto 8 is preserved (apparently with an *antaroddāna* of the *Catuṣpariṣatsūtra*), but verso 1 already contains part of the introductory sentence of the *Mahāvādānasūtra* (identified by Takamichi Fukita).

Uddāna title	Folios	DĀc	DN	MN
...				
7. Apannaka	?-?		∅	60: Apannaka (?) ¹⁴
8. Sarveka (?) ¹⁵	?-?		∅	
9. Bhārgava	?-?	15	24: Pāṭika	
10. Śalya	?-?		∅	105: Sunakkhatta
11. Bhayabhairava	?-?		∅	4: Bhayabherava
12. Roma(harṣa)ṇa	?-?		∅	12: Mahāsīhanāda
13. Jinayabha ¹⁶	?-?	4	18: Janavasabha	
14. Govinda ¹⁷	?-? (264 etc.)	3	19: Mahāgovinda	
15. Prāsādikaḥ	?-299v2	18	28: Sampasādaniya	
16. [Prasādaniya] ¹⁸ <i>uddāna</i>	-- 299v2-3	17	29: Pāsādika	
17. Pañcatraya	299v3-306r5		∅	102: Pañcattaya
18. Māyājāla	306r5-?		∅	
19. Kāmaṭhika	?-329r4		∅	95: Caṅkī
20. Kāyabhāvanā ¹⁹	329r4-340r2		∅	36: Mahāsaccaka
21. Bodha	340r2-344v4		∅	85: Bodhirājakumāra
22. Śaṅkara ²⁰	344v4-348r8		∅	100: Saṅgārava
23. Āṭānāṭa ²¹	348v1-354r4		32: Āṭānāṭiya	

¹⁴ Cf. IWAMATSU 1990 and HARTMANN 2000: 365, note 20.

¹⁵ This name is strange and does not agree with the remains of the corresponding name preserved in an *uddāna* in a Central Asian manuscript, cf. *SHT* IV 32, fragment 66, recto 5: *uddānam* apanna + + + ntha[k]o bhārgavaś [śa][ly]o bhayabhai(rava) ///*. Obviously, *///ntha[k]o* should correspond to what is read here as Sarveka, but at present it appears difficult to reconcile the two names. For various possible reconstructions of the name cf. IWAMATSU 1996: 705; his proposal to reconstruct it as *(nirgra)nthaka* and to relate it to the *Mahāsaccakasutta* (*MN* 36) has now become obsolete, since *MN* 36 finds its correspondence in the *Kāyabhāvanāsūtra* (no. 20).

¹⁶ For Jinarābha; the akṣara read as *ya* is partly damaged, but does not resemble the expected *rṣa*. In a Central Asian manuscript, *SHT* IV 165, fragment 18, the name is preserved as Jinarābha.

¹⁷ For *Mahāgovinda* in all versions of the *sūtra*.

¹⁸ Evidently this text exists only in the *uddāna*, since the section ends with the *Prāsādikasūtra*, and the manuscript continues with the *Pañcatrayasūtra*; this apparent loss of one *sūtra* is difficult to explain.

¹⁹ The name of the interlocutor is preserved as Sātyakin in the manuscript.

²⁰ In the *sūtra* itself and in a Central Asian manuscript (*SHT* IV 165, fragment 24, verso 4) too, the name is attested as Śaṅkaraka.

²¹ In the Central Asian manuscripts the title is attested as Āṭānāṭika.

Uddāna title	Folios	DĀc	DN	MN
24. Mahāsamāja <i>uddāna</i> Mahāsamāja, 2nd part <i>uddāna</i>	354r5-358r1 358r1-2 358r2-360v1 360v1-2	19	20: Mahāsamaya	
25. Tridaṇḍin	360v2-367r4		∅	
26. Piṅgalātreyā	367r4-369r5		∅	
27. Lohitya ²² I	369r5-382r6	29	12: Lohicca	
28. Lohitya II	382r6-386r1		∅	
29. Kaivartin ²³	386r1-390v1	24	11: Kevaddha	
30. Maṇḍiśa I	390v1-391v6		7: Jāliya	
31. Maṇḍiśa II	391v6-8		∅	
32. Mahallin	391v8-396v6		6: Mahāli	
33. Śroṇatāṇḍya ²⁴	396v6-401r1	22	4: Soṇadaṇḍa	
34. Kūṭatāṇḍya ²⁵	401r2-409v8	23	5: Kūṭadanta	
<i>uddāna</i> 35. Ambāṣṭha ²⁶	410r1-2 410r2-416r3	20	3: Ambaṭṭha	
36. Pṛṣṭhapāla ²⁷	416r3-423(?)v7	28	9: Poṭṭhapāda	
37. Kāraṇavādin	424r4-424v3		∅	
38. Pudgala ²⁸	424v3-426v1		∅	
39. Śruta	426v1-427v5		∅	
40. Mahalla	427v6-430r7		∅	
41. Anyatama <i>uddāna</i>	430r7 430r8		∅	
42. Śuka	430r8-433r2		10: Subha	
43. Jivaka	433r2-(435)r5		∅	55: Jivaka

²² In all the Central Asian manuscripts the name is attested as Lokecca.

²³ In the Central Asian manuscripts the name possibly reads Kevarta or Kevartin.

²⁴ In the Central Asian manuscripts attested as Śoṇatāṇḍhya (only *SHT* V 1290) or Śoṇatāṇḍya (all others).

²⁵ In one Central Asian manuscript (*SHT* V 1290) the name is attested throughout as Kūṭatāṇḍhya.

²⁶ In the Central Asian manuscripts attested as Ambāṣṭha.

²⁷ In a Central Asian manuscript attested as Pṛṣṭapā(da) or Pṛṣṭapā(la), cf. HARTMANN 1992 s.v. (single occurrence so far).

²⁸ For a parallel, cf. *AN* II 205 ff.

Uddāna title	Folios	DĀc	DN	MN
44. Rājā	(435)r5-447(?)v2 (three folios [442-444] of the Am-bāṣṭha and one [445] of the Brahmajāla are inserted here)	27	2: Sāmaññaphala	
45. Vāsiṣṭha	447(?)v2-451r1	26	13: Tevijja	
46. Kāśyapa	451r2-v8	25	8: Kassapasīhanāda	
47. Brahmajāla <i>uddāna</i>	452r1-454r 454v2-5	21	1: Brahmajāla	

2. A specimen from the *Bodhasūtra*: The five qualities of a strenuous one

In the following, a passage from the *Bodhasūtra*²⁹ is presented in order to illustrate some of the specifics and problems of the manuscript. Fragments of the passage have been known from Central Asian manuscripts in the collections of Berlin, London and St. Petersburg,³⁰ but only now is the restoration of a consecutive text finally possible. The corresponding text in the Pāli canon, the *Bodhirājakumārasutta*, contains the same passage, but in a — as far as the correspondence goes — considerably shorter and sometimes quite different form (*MN* II 94.7-96.20). The topic of this passage is a group of five qualities of a strenuous one (*prādhānikāṅga*, Pāli *padhāniyaṅga*),³¹ namely being *śraddha* (P. *saddha*) “trusting”, *asaṭha* (*asaṭha*) “guileless”, *alpābādha* (*appābādha*) “of good health”, *ārabdhavīrya* (*āraddhavīrya*) “energetic” and *prājña* (*paññāvā*) “intelligent”. The Buddha first illustrates the need for these five basic qualities on the spiritual path with the example of a person who intends to learn the martial arts from prince Bodha, and then goes on to describe them with regard to the noble disciple, the *āryaśrāvaka*. This description, consisting of five sets of stock phrases, is also included in the *Daśottarasūtra* (no. V.1) and in the *Saṅgītisūtra* (no. V.17), and single

²⁹ Bodha is the key word in the *uddāna*, but the full title may also read *Bodharājakumārasūtra* in accordance with the Pāli.

³⁰ Berlin: *SHT* (IV) 33, fragments 22-24 (fragment 21 does not belong to the same folio as fragment 22), *SHT* (IV) 180, fragments 1-2; London: Hoernle 149/280, edited in HARTMANN 1992, no. 12; St. Petersburg: SI B/14, fragments II and III (now it is easy to see that both fragments belong to the same folio, II being the left piece), edited in BONGARD-LEVIN 1989 and BONGARD-LEVIN/VOROB' EVA-DESJATOVSKAJA 1990: 247-249.

³¹ The Pāli form has been variously translated as “factor in spiritual wrestling” (T.W. and C.A.F. RHYS DAVIDS *ad DN* III 237), “quality to be striven for” (*PTSD* s.v.), “quality for striving” (I.B. HORNER *ad MN* no. 85), “factor of endeavour” (Maurice WALSHE *ad DN* III 237); *prādhānikāṅga* could be understood as “primary quality”, but the Central Asian text of the *Daśottarasūtra* has *prādhānikasyāṅgam*, (cf. MITTAL 1957: 65), and in connexion with the *Saṅgītiparyāya*, the commentary on the same passage of the *Saṅgītisūtra* (cf. STACHER-ROSEN 1968: 147), this leads to the understanding as “strenuous (one)” (cf. MITTAL 1957: 65 “Eigenschaft eines Strebsamen”); cf. also Sv III 1028.33-34 (*ad DN* III 237) *Padhāniyassa bhikkhuno aṅgāni ti padhāniy' aṅgāni*.

sets or parts of them occur in various other places in the Sūtrapīṭaka. Despite these various occurrences the Sanskrit text had until now remained extremely fragmentary, mainly because the relevant passages in the *Daśottara-* and *Saṅgītisūtra*, both available only in editions from Central Asian fragments, are very badly preserved. Only now, with the help of the *Bodhasūtra*, is it possible to fill all the gaps. This illustrates once more how close the wording of texts of the same tradition is and how the edition of every new piece works to advance our knowledge and improve the existing editions.

The sūtra deals at length with Prince Bodha's newly built palace Kokanada and with his invitation to the Buddha and the Saṃgha as its auspicious first visitors. After offering them a meal, the prince begins a conversation with the Buddha, which consists of two parts. At first he states that in his opinion happiness (*sukha*) is not gained by happiness, but by suffering (*duḥkha*), and this offers the Buddha an occasion to relate part of his autobiography, as it were: the story of leaving the palace, of his ascetic practices and of finally reaching enlightenment. In the *Bodhasūtra*, this story is abbreviated by a reference to the immediately preceding *Kāyabhāvanāsūtra* (*vistareṇa yathā kāyabhāvanāsūtre*, fol. 342r7) where it is found in full. Then follows the second question of prince Bodha, and this is where the specimen sets in.

First, a transliteration of the manuscript will be given, then a structured restoration of the text with a modest application of European punctuation, and finally a translation of the restored text.

2.1. Transliteration of fols. 342v2—344r2

342 verso

- 2 nāya p̄ccha bo[dha] d eva yad yad evākām[kṣa]si k. tibhi[r bhadaṃ]tāṃgaiḥ sam-
a[nv]āgata āryaśrā .. [k]. + + + + .[m].ṃ dha[rm]. + n. ye āsravakṣayam anuprāpnoti
tena hi bodha tvām eva pra [t].
- 3 kṣamate thainam vyākuru kiṃ manyase bodha kuśalas tvam ○ pitrye śilpasthāna-
karmasthāne ta[d]y[athā] hasti + + .āyām aśvapṛṣṭhe rathe sarau dhanuṣy apayāne
niryāṇe aṃkuśagr. .. [ś]. grahe
- 4 toramaragrahe lipigaṇananyasanasamkhyāmu ○ drāyāṃ tathyam aham bhadanta
kuśalaḥ pitrye śilpasthānakarmasthāne tadyathā hastigrīvāyām aśvapṛṣṭhe rathe sarau
dhanuṣy apayā
- 5 ne niryāṇe aṃkuśāgrahe to[mara]grahe lipi ○ gaṇananyasanasamkhyāmudrāyām atha
puruṣa āgacchet tasyaivaṃ syāt kuśalo bata bodho rājakumārah pi[t]rye śilpasthānaka
rmasthāne tadyathā hastigrīvāyā[m a]śvapṛṣṭhe rathe ○ sarau dhanuṣy apayāne niryāṇe
aṃkuśagrahe pāsagrahe tomaragrahe lipigaṇananyasanasamkhyāmudrāyām yanv aham
a
- 7 syāntikād anyatamānyatama śilpasthānam anvāgamayeya[m] i[ti] sa ca] syād aśrād-
dha[{{syā}}]ḥ kiṃ manyase bodha ya tac chrāddhena prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt saḥ no
bhadaṃta sa ca syāc chaṭṭhaḥ kiṃ manyase bo

- 8 dha yat tadṛṣāṭhīna prāptavyan prāpnuyāt sa no bhadanta sa ca syād duṣprajña kiṃ manyase bodha yat tat prājñena prāptavyaṃ prā[pn]u[y]ā[t sa] no bhadanta ekaikena tāvad bhadanta ito na samanvāgatena tena

343 recto

- 1 puruṣeṇa na sukaraṃ mamāntikād anyatamānyatama śilpasthānakarmasthānam anvāgamayituṃ kaḥ punar vādaḥ sarvai dvitīyo .ā puruṣa āgacchet tasyaivaṃ syāt kuśalo ta bodho rājakumāra pitrye
- 2 śilpasthānakarmasthāne tadyathā hastigrīvāyāṃ aśvapṛṣṭhe rathe sarau dhanuṣy apayāne niryaṇe aṃkuśagrahe pāśagrahe tomaragrahe lipigaṇananyasanaṃ saṃkhyā-mudrāyāṃ yanv aham asyāntikād anyatamā
- 3 nyatamaśilpasthānakarmasthāna{ {karmasthāna} }m anvāgamye ◦ yam iti sa ca syāc chrāddhaḥ kiṃ manyase bodha yat tac chrāddhene prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa evaṃ bhadanta sa ca syā śāṭhaḥ kiṃ manyase bodha
- 4 yat tad aśāṭhena prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa evaṃ bhadanta sa ◦ ca syād alpābādhaḥ kim manyase bodha yat tad alpābādhenā prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa evaṃ bhadanta sa ca syād ārabdhavīryaḥ kiṃ manyase
- 5 bodha yat tad ārabdhavīryeṇa prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa evaṃ bha ◦ danta sa ca syāt prājñāḥ kiṃ manyase bodha yat tat prājñena prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa evaṃ bhadanta ekaikena tāvad bhadanta ito ṅgena
- 6 samanvāgatena tena puruṣeṇa sukaraṃ mamāntikā ◦ d anyatamānyatamac chilpasthānakarmasthāna samanvāgamayituṃ kaḥ punar vādaḥ sarvair evaṃ eva bodha [pa]ṃcabhiḥ prādhā
- 7 nikāṃgais samanvāgata āryaśrāvakaḥ kṣipram evā[sm]iṃ dharmavinaye āsraṃkṣayam anuprāpnoti katamaiḥ paṃcabhir iha bodha āryaśrāvakasya tathāgatasyo ntike śrāddhābhini .. + + +
- 8 timūlajātā pratiṣṭhitā a[sa]ṃhāryā śramaṇeṇa vā brāhmaṇeṇa vā devena vā māreṇa vā brahmaṇā vā kena cid vā punar loke sahadharmatamanena prathamena prādhānikenāṃ[g]. [n]. + + ..

343 verso

- 1 gato [bhavat]y [ā]rya[śrā]va[k]. puna bodha [ā] [k]o śāṭhī bhavaty amāyāvī rju rjukajātīyaḥ sa yathābhūtam ātmānam āviṣkaroti śāstur antike vijñānāṃ ca sa[bra] + + +
- 2 nena dvitīyena prādhānikenāṃgena samanvāgato bhavaty āryaśrāvaka [p]unar aparaṃ āryaśrāvaka alpābādho bhavaty arogajātīyaḥ samayāpacanyāgrahanyā samanvāgato .. [tyu] + +
- 3 nātiśīṭayā avyābādhayā ṛtusukhāyā yayāpy a ◦ śitapītakhaditāsvādītāni samyaksukhena paripakaṃ gacchati anena ṛtīyena prādhānikāṃgena samanvāgato bhavaty ā
- 4 bhavaty āryaśrāvakaḥ punar aparaṃ bodha āryaśrāva ◦ kaḥ ārabdhavīryo viharati sthāmavāṃ vīryavā{ {m} }n utsāhī dṛḍhaparākramo nikṣiptadhuraḥ kuśaleṣu dharmeṣu

- kāmam tvak snāyv asthi
- 5 cāvatiṣṭhatam pariśuṣyatu śarīrān māṃsaṣoṇi ◦ tam atha ca punar yat tad ārabdhavīryeṇa prāptavyam sthāmavatā vīryavatā utsāhinā dṛḍhaparākrameṇānikṣiptadhureṇa kuśa
- 6 leṣu dharmeṣu tad vata nāprāpyāntarād vīryasya sraṃ ◦ sanam bhaviṣyaty anena caturthena prādhānikenāṃgena samanvāgato bhavaty āryaśrāvakaḥ punar aparam bodhāryaśrāvaka
- 7 prajñāvān viharati lokasyodayastamgaminyā prajñayā samanvāgataḥ āryayā nairyāṇikayā nairvedhikayā niryāti tat kasya hetoḥ samyagduḥkṣayāya duḥkṣayāntakriyayai anena paṃ[ca]m[e]na prādhānikenāṃgena samanvāgato bhavaty āryaśrāvakaḥ ebhir bodha paṃcabhiḥ prādhānikāṃgais samanvāgataḥ āryaśrāvakaḥ kṣipram evāsmiṃ dharmavinaye āsrava

344 recto

- 1 kṣayam anuprāpnoti atha bodho rājakumāraḥ pūrvaṃ kāyam abhyunnamayya dakṣiṇaṃ bāhum abhiprasāryāttamanāttamanā udānam udānayati aho buddha aho dharmā aho saṃ{ghaś ca} sya
- 2 svākhyātātā ya[tr]edā[n]iṃ paṃcabhiḥ prādhānikāṃgena samanvāgata āryaśrāvakaḥ kṣipram evāsmiṃ dharmavinaye āsravakṣayam anuprāpnotī .

2.2. Restoration

1. “pṛccha Bo(dha) {d eva} yad yad evākāṃkṣasi.”
2. “k(a)tibhir bhadaṃtāṃgaiḥ samanvāgata āryaśrā(va)k(aḥ kṣipram evās)m(i)ṃ dharm(a-vi)n(a)ye āsravakṣayam anuprāpnoti?”
3. “tena hi Bodha tvām eva pra ..³² (yathā) t(e) (v3) kṣamate ’thainam vyākuru! kiṃ manyase Bodha kuśalas tvam pitrye śilpasthānakarmasthāne tadyathā hasti(grīv)āyām aśvapṛṣṭhe rathe sarau dhanuṣy apayāne niryāṇe aṃkuśagrahe pāś(a)grahe (v4) to{ra}maragrahe lipigaṇananyasanasamkhyāmudrāyām?”
4. “tathyam aham bhadanta kuśalaḥ pitrye śilpasthānakarmasthāne tadyathā hastigrīvāyām aśvapṛṣṭhe rathe sarau dhanuṣy apayā(v5)ne niryāṇe aṃkuśagrahe toma(ra)-grahe lipigaṇananyasanasamkhyāmudrāyām.”
5. “atha puruṣa āgacchet tasyaivaṃ syāt: kuśalo bata Bodho rājakumāraḥ pitrye śilpasthānaka(v6)rmasthāne tadyathā hastigrīvāyām aśvapṛṣṭhe rathe sarau dhanuṣy apayāne niryāṇe aṃkuśagrahe pāśagrahe tomaragrahe lipigaṇananyasanasamkhyāmudrāyām. yanv aham a(v7)syāntikād anyatamānyatamaśilpasthāna<karmasthāna>m anvāgama-yeyam iti

³² Most likely to be restored to *pracchāmi* for *pṛcchāmi*, cf. *MN II 94,11-12 Tena hi, rājakumāra, tam yev’ etha paṭipucchissāmi. Yathā te khameyya tathā tam vyākareyyāsi.*

6. sa ca syād aśrāddhaḥ; kiṃ manyase Bodha: ya<t> tac chrāddhena prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt saḥ?”
“no bhadaṃta.”
7. “sa ca syāc chaṭhaḥ; kiṃ manyase Bo(v8)dha: yat tad{r} śaṭhīna³³ prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa?”
“no bhadanta.”
8. ³⁴<“sa ca syād bahvābādhaḥ; kiṃ manyase Bodha: yat tad alpābādheṇa prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt saḥ?”
“no bhadanta.”
9. “sa ca syād anārabdhavīryaḥ; kiṃ manyase Bodha: yat tad ārabdhavīryeṇa prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa?”
“no bhadanta.”>
10. “sa ca syād duṣprajña<ḥ>; kiṃ manyase Bodha: yat tat prājñena prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa?”
“no bhadanta; ekaikena tāvad bhadanta ito <’ṅge>na samanvāgatena tena (343r1) puruṣeṇa na sukaraṃ mamāntikād anyatamānyatama<ṃ> śilpasthānakarmasthānam anvāgamayitum; kaḥ punar vādaḥ sarvai<ḥ>.”
11. “dviṭīyo .ā³⁵ puruṣa āgacchet tasyaivaṃ syāt: kuśalo <ba>ta Bodho rājakumāra<ḥ> pitrye (r2) śilpasthānakarmasthāne tadyathā hastigrīvāyāṃ aśvapṛṣṭhe rathe sarau dhanuṣy apayāne niryāṇe aṃkuśagrahe pāśagrahe tomaragrahe lipigaṇananyasana{ṃ}-saṃkhyāmudrāyāṃ. yanv aham asyāntikād anyatamā(r3)nyatamac chilpasthānakarmasthānam anvāgamayeyam iti.
12. sa ca syāc chrāddhaḥ; kiṃ manyase Bodha yat tac chrāddhena prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa?”
“evaṃ bhadanta.”
13. “sa ca syā<d a>śaṭhaḥ; kiṃ manyase Bodha: (r4) yat tad aśaṭhena prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa?”
“evaṃ bhadanta.”
14. “sa ca syād alpābādhaḥ; kiṃ manyase Bodha: yat tad alpābādheṇa prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt saḥ?”
“evaṃ bhadanta.”
15. “sa ca syād ārabdhavīryaḥ; kiṃ manyase (r5) Bodha: yat tad ārabdhavīryeṇa prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa?”
“evaṃ bhadanta.”
16. “sa ca syāt prājñaḥ; kiṃ manyase Bodha: yat tat prājñena prāptavyaṃ prāpnuyāt sa?”

³³ Correct to *tac chaṭhena*.

³⁴ Apparently the correspondences for *alpābādha* and *ārabdhavīrya* are dropped in the manuscript, most likely due to a haplography in this highly repetitive passage, but they are found in the Central Asian fragments. Therefore, the following two sections are reconstructed; *bahvābādha* is taken from *SHT* IV 180, fragment 1, recto 4, *anārabdhavīrya* is speculative, but highly probable.

³⁵ The reconstruction of this akṣara remains uncertain.

- “evaṃ bhadanta; ekaikena tāvad bhadanta ito ’ṅgena (r6) samanvāgatena tena puru-
ṣeṇa sukaraṃ mamāntikād anyatamānyatamac chilpasthānakarmasthāna{sa}m anvā-
gamayitum; kaḥ punar vādaḥ sarvair.”
17. “evaṃ eva Bodha paṃcabhiḥ prādhā(r7)nikāṃgais samanvāgata āryaśrāvakaḥ kṣipram
evāsmiṃ dharmavinaye āsravakṣayam anuprāpnoti; katamaiḥ paṃcabhir?”
- 18.1. iha Bodha āryaśrāvakaśya tathāgatasya<ā>ntike śraddhābhini(viṣṭā bhava)(r8)ti mūla-
jātā pratiṣṭhitā asaṃhāryā śramaṇena vā brāhmaṇena vā devena vā māreṇa vā brah-
maṇā vā kenacid vā punar loke sahadharmatam³⁶; anena prathamena prādhānike-
nāṃgen(a samanvā)(343v1)gato bhavaty āryaśrāvaka(a)<ḥ>.
- 18.2. puna(r aparāṃ)³⁷ .. Bodha ā(ryaśrāva)ko ’śathī bhavaty amāyāvī ṛju<ko> ṛjukajātīyaḥ
sa yathābhūtam ātmānam āviṣkaroti śāstur antike vijñānāṃ ca sabra(hmacāriṇām
a)(v2)nenā dvitīyena prādhānikenāṃgena samanvāgato bhavaty āryaśrāvaka<ḥ>.
- 18.3. punar aparāṃ āryaśrāvaka alpābādho bhavaty arogajātīyaḥ samayā pācanyā³⁸
grahanyā samanvāgato (nā)tyu(ṣṇayā) (v3) nātīśītayā avyābādhayā ṛtusukhāyā yayāpy
aśītapītakhaditāsvādītāni samyaksukhena paripākaṃ gaccha<n>ti; anena tṛtīyena
prādhānikāṃgena samanvāgato bhavaty ā(v4){bhavaty ā}ryaśrāvakaḥ.
- 18.4. punar aparāṃ Bodha āryaśrāvakaḥ ārabdhavīryo viharati sthānavāṃ vīryavān utsāhī
dṛḍhaparākramo ’nikṣiptadhuraḥ kuśaleṣu dharmeṣu: kāmaṃ tvak snāyav asthi (v5)
cāvatiṣṭhatām, pariśuṣyatu śarīrān māṃsaśoṇitam. atha ca punar yat tad ārabdha-
vīryeṇa prāptavyaṃ sthānavatā vīryavatā utsāhinā dṛḍhaparākrameṇānikṣiptadhureṇa
kuśa(v6)leṣu dharmeṣu tad vata nāprāpyāntarād³⁹ vīryasya sraṃsanāṃ bhaviṣyaty;
anena caturthena prādhānikenāṃgena samanvāgato bhavaty āryaśrāvakaḥ.
- 18.5. punar aparāṃ Bodhāryaśrāvaka<ḥ> (v7) prajñāvān viharati lokasyodayāstaṃgaminyā
prajñayā samanvāgataḥ āryayā nairyāṇikayā nairvedhikayā niryāti tatka<raḥ> {sya
hetoḥ}⁴⁰ samyagduḥ<kha>kṣayāya duḥkhasyāntakriyāyai; (v8) anena paṃcamena
prādhānikenāṃgena samanvāgato bhavaty āryaśrāvakaḥ.
19. ebhir Bodha paṃcabhiḥ prādhānikāṃgais samanvāgataḥ āryaśrāvakaḥ kṣipram
evāsmiṃ dharmavinaye āsrava(344r1)kṣayam anuprāpnoti.”
20. atha Bodho rājakumāraḥ pūrvaṃ kāyam abhyunnamaya dakṣiṇaṃ bāhum abhipra-
sāryāttamanāttamanā udānam udānayati: “aho buddha aho dharma aho saṃ<gha aho
dharma>sya (r2) svākhyātātā, yatredānīm paṃcabhiḥ prādhānikāṃ{gena}<gaiḥ> sam-
anvāgata āryaśrāvakaḥ kṣipram evāsmiṃ dharmavinaye āsravakṣayam anuprāpnotīti!”

³⁶ Correct to *sahadharmataḥ*.

³⁷ The gap contained at least one more akṣara, but it is difficult to guess what it could have been, apart from a writing mistake.

³⁸ The parallel passages seem to suggest a correction to *samapācanyā*, cf. Avś I 168.10 *samapākayā grahaṇyā samanvāgata* and DN II 177.27-28, III 166.15 *sama-vepākiniyā gahaṇiyā samannāgato*, but WALDSCHMIDT *ad MPS* 34.23 (reconstructed) refers to Mvy 7039 *samayā pācanyā grahanyā samanvāgataḥ*.

³⁹ Or *nā<nanu>prāpya* °; the parallels are not unequivocal in that point, cf. SHT V 1103 recto 3-4 with note 4 (p. 98).

⁴⁰ For the correction from *tat kasya hetoḥ* to *tatkarah* and for the whole formula cf. SWTF s.v. *tat-kara*.

2.3. Translation

1. "Ask, Bodha, whatever you like."
2. "Possessed of how many qualities, revered sir, does a noble disciple in this law and discipline quickly reach the cessation of the depravities?"
3. "Well then, Bodha, I will ask you a question in return. Answer it as you think fit! What do you think, Bodha, are you skilled in the matters of (military) arts and the matters of (military) techniques, as (riding) on an elephant's neck, (going) on horseback, (driving) a chariot, sword, archery, marching away, marching forth, handling an elephant-driver's hook, handling a noose, handling a lance, writing, counting, painting, mental and manual arithmetic?"⁴¹
4. "It is true, revered sir, that I am skilled in the matters of (military) arts and the matters of (military) techniques, as (riding) on an elephant's neck, (going) on horseback, (driving) a chariot, sword, archery, marching away, marching forth, handling an elephant-driver's hook, handling a lance, writing, counting, painting, mental and manual arithmetic."
5. "Now a person might come and think: 'Prince Bodha is indeed skilled in the matters of (military) arts and the matters of (military) techniques, as (riding) on an elephant's neck, (going) on horseback, (driving) a chariot, sword, archery, marching away, marching forth, handling an elephant-driver's hook, handling a noose, handling a lance, writing, counting, painting, mental and manual arithmetic. I would like to learn one or the other art and technique from him.'
6. If he were lacking in trust, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by one who is trusting?"
"No, revered sir."
7. "If he were crooked, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by one who is guileless?"
"No, revered sir."
8. "If he were sickly, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by one with good health?"
"No, revered sir."
9. "If he were lazy, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by one who is energetic?"
"No, revered sir."
10. "If he were unintelligent, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by an intelligent one?"
"No, revered sir. It would not be easy for him to learn one or the other craft and art

⁴¹ The translation of this stock phrase largely follows that of VOGEL/WILLE 1992: 85.

- from me, revered sir, if he were possessed of even one such quality, let alone all of them.”
11. “(Now) a second person might come and think: ‘Prince Bodha is indeed skilled in the matters of (military) arts and the matters of (military) techniques, as (riding) on an elephant’s neck, (going) on horseback, (driving) a chariot, sword, archery, marching away, marching forth, handling an elephant-driver’s hook, handling a noose, handling a lance, writing, counting, painting, mental and manual arithmetic. I would like to learn one or the other craft and art from him.’”
 12. If he were trusting, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by one who is trusting?”
“Yes, revered sir.”
 13. “If he were guileless, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by one who is without guile?”
“Yes, revered sir.”
 14. “If he were of good health, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by one of good health?”
“Yes, revered sir.”
 15. “If he were energetic, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by one who is energetic?”
“Yes, revered sir.”
 16. “If he were intelligent, what do you think, Bodha: could he attain whatever is won by an intelligent one?”
“Yes, revered sir. It would be easy for him to learn one or the other craft and art from me, revered sir, if he were possessed of even one such quality, let alone all of them.”
 17. “In the same way, Bodha, a noble disciple possessed of the five qualities of a strenuous one will in this law and discipline quickly reach the cessation of the depravities. Which five?”
 - 18.1. “Here, Bodha, the trust of a noble disciple in the Realized One becomes persevering, deep-rooted, firm, not legitimately to be diverted by a recluse, a brahmin, a god, a Māra, a Brahma, or anybody else in the world. Possessed of this first quality of a strenuous one he becomes a noble disciple.
 - 18.2. “Again, Bodha, a noble disciple is guileless, not deceitful, straight, straightforward; he shows himself as he really is to the teacher and the learned among his fellow-students. Possessed of this second quality of a strenuous one he becomes a noble disciple.
 - 18.3. “Again, a noble disciple is healthy, of a healthy nature, endowed with an even and efficient digestion, neither overheated or underactive, free of disorders and comfortable with any season, by which the things eaten, drunk, chewed and tasted are digested with complete ease. Possessed of this third quality of a strenuous one he becomes a noble disciple.

- 18.4. “Again, Bodha, a noble disciple is energetic, powerful, full of energy, persevering, of strong courage, persevering in the wholesome dharmas: Let the flesh and blood dry up from the body and (only) skin, sinew, bone remain, rather than that, not having attained what can be attained by one who is energetic, powerful, full of energy, persevering, of strong courage, persevering in the wholesome dharmas, there will be a slackening of energy. Possessed of this fourth quality of a strenuous one he becomes a noble disciple.⁴²
- 18.5. “Again, Bodha, a noble disciple is intelligent, possessed of the insight into the rise and disappearance of the world, that is noble, conducive to deliverance, penetrating; activating that, he leaves for the right cessation of suffering, for the termination of suffering.⁴³ Possessed of this fifth quality of a strenuous one he becomes a noble disciple.
19. “Possessed of these five qualities of a strenuous one, Bodha, a noble disciple will in this law and discipline quickly reach the cessation of the depravities.”
20. Then prince Bodha lifted his upper body, stretched out his right arm and greatly delighted uttered a solemn utterance: “Oh the Buddha, oh the doctrine, oh the community, oh how well taught is the doctrine whereby now a noble disciple, possessed of five qualities of a strenuous one, will quickly reach the cessation of the depravities in this law and discipline!”

Abbreviations

Avś = *Avadānaśataka*, ed. J.S. SPEYER, St. Petersburg 1902-1909 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, 3).

DN = *The Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, J. ESTLIN CARPENTER, 3 vols., London 1890-1911 (Pali Text Society).

MN = *Majjhima-Nikāya*, ed. V. TRENCKNER, Robert CHALMERS, 3 vols., London 1888-1899 (Pali Text Society).

MPS = *Das Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, Teil I-III, ed. Ernst WALDSCHMIDT, Berlin 1950-1951 (Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1949,1, 1950,2-3).

Mvy = *Mahāvvyūtpatti*, ed. Ryōzaburō SAKAKI, 2 vols., Kyōto 1916-1925.

PTSD = *The Pali Text Society's Pali-English Dictionary*, ed. T.W. RHYS DAVIDS, William STEDE, London 1921-1925.

SHT = *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, Teil 1-8, ed. Ernst WALDSCHMIDT, Lore SANDER, Klaus WILLE, Wiesbaden 1965-2000 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, X,1-8).

Sv = *The Sumaṅgala-vilāsini, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Dīghanikāya*, ed. W. Stede, T.W. Rhys Davids and J. Estlin Carpenter, 3 vols., London 1889-1932.

SWTF = *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt, hrsg. von Heinz BECHERT, bearbeitet von Georg von SIMSON und Michael SCHMIDT, Lieferung 1-15, Göttingen 1973ff.

⁴² Cf. *SHT* V 1103 recto 3-4 with note 4 (p. 98).

⁴³ For parallel passages cf. *SWTF* s.v. *tat-kara*.

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Some recently identified *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* fragments in the British Library (London)

Klaus WILLE

The catalogue of P.O. Skjærvø, *Khotanese Manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library, A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations*, With Contributions by Ursula Sims-Williams, London 2002 (Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, Part II Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia, Vol. V: Saka, Texts VI), contains several smaller not yet identified Sanskrit fragments (IOL Khot 186/5, 203/1-4, 215/3, 219/3, 5, 6 are not listed in the Subject Index). Among these I could identify three fragments as belonging to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*. In the database of the International Dunhuang Project there are no digitized images of the fragments in hand yet. The text of these fragments is given according to Skjærvø's transliterations, the reading of some *akṣaras* should be checked again.

1) IOL Khot 25/5

*Parallels:*¹ Ka 90b3-6; KN 83.8-13; Wa 34.33-35.8, 211.13-23

recto

y /// -m 5 de ///

z /// -āni śvā ///

verso

1 /// teṣāṃ ca ni ///

2 /// ṣu deṣeṣu ///

ry: Cf. Ka 90b2f. and KN 83.8f.: *suduṣṭaprāṇinām* 5* (KN: 43) *deṣe*.

rz: Cf. Ka 90b4: *°pūritāni śvānaiḥ*; KN 83.10: *°pūtikaṃ ca śvabhiḥ*; Wa 35.1f. and 211.16f.: *°pūritaṃ ca śvānaiḥ*.

v1: Cf. Ka 90b5: *teṣāṃ ca nirghāta*; KN 83.12: *teṣāṃ ca niryānu*; Wa 35.5 and 211.20: *teṣāṃ ca niryāsu*.

v2: Cf. Ka 90b6, KN 83.13: *deṣeṣu deṣeṣu*.

2) IOL Khot 219/3

Parallels: Ka 32a3-32b6; SI P/67.12.a fol. 28 [ed. Tyomkin, Unknown, p. 6, No. 3]; Stein Kha.ix.36 [ed. Saddhp(C), pp. 281f., I fol.78]; KN 24.10-25.5; Wa 16.7-33

recto

1 /// ++ || + ///

2 /// + vāyakānām raśmiv- ///

3 /// ++ ni putrāḥ sugatasya te bahu viharaṃti + ///

4 /// ++ bahubodhisatvā yatha gaṃgavālīka [samā]nā dṛś- ///

¹ For the abbreviations cf. Klaus Wille: *Fragments of a Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra from Khādaliq*, Tokyo 2000 (Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series, 3).

5 /// + (dh)yānaravā samāhitāḥ dṛśyaṃti putrāḥ sugatāna ora + ///

verso

1 /// jānamānās ca prākāśayaṃtāḥ deṣenti dharmam bahuloka ///

2 /// + pra tāyinā candrārkadīpasya idaṃ prabhāsa + + ///

3 /// + cirasya ca so naradevapūjitaḥ samādhi(t)o + + ///

4 /// + bhāṇakaḥ lokasa + ///

r2: Cf. Ka 32a3 and SI P/67.12.a r5: *vināyakānām dṛśyaṃti raśmiprabhadarśanena*; KN 24.10: *vināyakānām raśmiprabhā darśayate*.

r3: Cf. Ka 32a4f. and SI P/67.12.a r6f.: *sugatāna dṛśyaṃti* (P: *dṛśyati*) *bahūni putrā viharaṃti ye parvatakandareṣu*; KN 24.12: *dṛśyanti putrā naranāyakānām viharanti ye parvatakandareṣu*.

r4: Cf. Ka 32a6 and SI P/67.12.a r7-v1: *bahubodhisattvā* (P: °*baudhi*°) *yatha gaṃga-vālikāḥ* (P according to the facsimile: °*vāliḥ*°) *sarve ca dṛśyaṃti jinasya raśmiyā*; KN 24.14: *bahubodhisattvā yatha gaṅgavālikāḥ sarve 'pi dṛśyanti tayā hi raśmyā*.

r5: Cf. Ka 32a7-b1 and SI P/67.12.a v2: *dhyānaratāḥ samāhitāḥ dṛśyaṃti bahu putra jināna* (P: *dṛśyaṃti /// nāna*) *orasāḥ*; Stein Kha. ix.36 r2f.: */// (jinā)na orasāḥ*; KN 24.15f. and Wa 16.18f.: *dhyānaratāḥ samāhitāḥ | dṛśyanti putrāḥ sugatasya* (Wa: *sugatāna*) *aurasā*.

v1: Cf. Ka 32b2, SI P/67.12.a v3f., and KN 24.17f.: same reading as our fragment except *prakāśayanti*.

v2: Cf. Ka 32b3f. and SI P/67.12.a v4f.: *catasra tāyinām candrārkadīpasya idaṃ prabhāvam**; Stein Kha. ix.36r 5f.: */// (ca)ta(s)r(a) tāyinām candrārkadīpa(sya)*; KN 25.1: *catasra tāyinaś candrārkadīpasya imaṃ prabhāvam**.

v3: Cf. Ka 32b5 and SI P/67.12.a v6: same reading (except Ka: *ca sau*); KN 25.3: *acirāc ca so naramaruyakṣapūjitaḥ samādhito*.

v4: Cf. Ka 32b6, SI P/67.12.a v7, and KN 25.4f.: *dharmabhāṇakaḥ 18* (KN: 74; Wa [73]) *lokasya*; Stein Kha. ix.36 v2: *ṇakaḥ 18 ///*.

3) IOL Khot 219/5; loose piece to the right

Parallels: Ka 356a2-b6; KN 369.5-370.4; Wa 142.15-28

recto

1 /// + hude . kanyā + pad- ///

2-5 traces

verso

1 /// + + ///

2 /// sarva tṛ ///

3 /// srre lokadhātau saka /// cī ///

4 /// sarvā⟨n svake⟩ hy ātma cāve /// kṣ. ///

5 /// parvatarājeṣu a- ///

r1: Cf. Ka 356a2f.: *(bahu)d(e)vakanyās ca 'pasamkrramanti*; KN 369.5: *bahudevakanyās cupasamkramanti*.

v2: Cf. Ka 356b3: *sarva(m) tṛṣāhasramahāsāhasram*; KN 370.1: *sarvaṃ trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātum*.

v3: Cf. Ka 356b3f.: *tṛṣāhasramahāsāhasre lokadhātau satvās*; KN 370.2: *trisāhasra-*

mahāsāhasre lokadhātau sattvās.

v4: Cf. KN 370.4f. and Wa 142.27f.: *tān sarvān sva* (Wa: *sve*) *ātmabhāve*; cf. also KN 370.7f.: *sva ātmabhāve* (= Ka 357a5: *svake ātmabhāve*).

v5: Cf. Ka 356b6: *sume(ruṣu ca parvatarājeṣu)*; KN 370.3f. and Wa 142.26: *merusume-ruṣu* (Wa: *Meruṣu Sumeruṣu*) *ca parvatarājeṣu sattvāḥ*.

Beside these three fragments I came across several other *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* fragments in the database of the International Dunhuang Project² — all fragments belong to the Stein collection:

4) **Bal.0125** [Or.8212.1599(E); early Turkestan Brāhmī script]

Parallels: Ka 222b7(?)–226b3; SI P/10 fol. 287 [ed. BB 33, p. 103, No. 2]; SHT 4303 fragm. 53 and 56 [ed. Wille 2000]; KN 234.5(?)–239.3; Wa 234.1–2

<i>recto</i>	<i>verso</i>
a /// [ta]thā[g](a)ta[l]. + ///	a /// ◎ [a]tha khalu bhagava .. ///
b /// .. bhaiṣajyarā[jā] ///	b /// ◎ ṣagrahaṇī .e ///
c /// + .. ā .. + .. ///	c /// .. [l](a)m + + + ///

ra: Cf. Ka 222b7, 223a2,4, SHT 4303 fragm. 53r1,3,4, and KN 234.5,6,7: *tathāgatalayanam*.

rb: Cf. Ka 223a2,3,4,5f.,7, SHT 4303 fragm. 53r3,5,6, and KN 234.6,7,8: *bhaiṣajyarāja*.

va: Cf. Ka 226a7, SI P/10 b4, SHT 4303 fragm. 56r1, and KN 239.1: *atha khalu bhagavataḥ*.

vb: Cf. Ka 226b3f., SI P/10 b6, and SHT 4303 fragm. 53r3: *puṣpagrahaṇīvedikāsahasrebhi(h)*; KN 239.3: *°grahaṇīyavedikāsahasraiḥ*.

5) **Balew.0153** (Or.8212.1602; only identified and described in Sir Aurel Stein, *Innermost Asia, Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Irān*, vol. II, Oxford 1928, p. 1018; early Turkestan Brāhmī script)

Parallels: Ka 268a6–269b2; SI P/10 fol. 324 [ed. BB 33, p. 112, No. 18]; Otani (Lüshun) SLLMC A-10a+A-10b [ed. SLLMC]; Stein F xii.7 fol. 18 [ed. Saddhp(C), pp. 240f.]; KN 281.9–282.13; Wa 254.1–255.3

<i>recto</i>
1 /// ime ca d[e]śitā + + [d]urbhāvā ca [a]jāta [sa]rve [śu]
2 /// [8] viparītasamjñā ca ime vikalpi[t]ā asanta santā
3 /// + tā viparītakalpitā 20 ekāgracittā susa
4 /// + + cāpi hi tāṃ nirīkṣe ākāśabhūtān ima sarva
5 /// + [hi] dhar[m]ā[n] imi nityakā[l]am aya gocaro ucyati pa
6 /// [m](a) nir[vṛ]ta[śya] prakāśaye + + . idaṃ ca loke na cā[p]i

<i>verso</i>
1 /// + .. .ravi[śi]tva lena ta[th](a) + + .. na vipaśyi dharmam [i]
2 /// + syaiha [ka]ronti rakṣā y[e] rājaputrās ca śṛṇonti dha
3 /// + .ā bhavanti 25 punar aparam [ma]nyuśrīr bodhisatvo

² <http://idp.bl.uk/ManuscriptSearch>

- 4 /// .. ścime samaye saddharmavilope vartamāne i
 5 /// + sa sukhashthitāś ca dharmam bhāṣati kāyagataṃ vā pusta
 6 /// [kṣū] pari[vada]ti n[ā] + [r].. [bhā] .. [t]i [na cān]ye[ṣ]ā[m] .[r]. ..

- r1: Cf. Ka 268a6f., SI P/10 b5, and Stein F xii.7 a2f.: *ime ca deśitāḥ* (F: *deśitā*) *aprādurbhūtāś ca ajāta sarve śūnyā* (P: * *śūnyā*); KN 281.9: *ime prakāśitā aprādurbhūtāś ca* (note 6: *durbhūta* O. *durbhāvā* the others.) *ajātakāś ca | śūnyā*; Wa 254.1ff.: *ime ca deśitā aprādurbhāvāś ca ajāta sarve | śūnyā*.
- r2: Cf. Ka 268a7-b1, SI P/10 b6, and Stein F xii.7 a3f.: *19 viparītasamjñibhir* (F: °*bhi*) *ime* (Ka: *eme*) *vikalpitā asanta santebhi*; KN 281.10f.: *19 viparītasamjñīhi ime vikalpitā asantasantā*; Wa 254.5f.: *viparītasamjñībhi ime vikalpitā a ///*.
- r3: Cf. Ka 268b2 and Stein F xii.7 a4f.: *bhūtā viparītakalpitāḥ 20 ekāgracittāḥ susamāhitāḥ*; cf. also SI P/10 b5: KN 281.12f.: *abhūtā viparītakalpitāḥ || 20 || ekāgracitto hi samāhitāḥ*; Wa 254.8f.: *bhūtā viparītakalpitāḥ || (20) ekāgracittāḥ susamāhitāḥ*.
- r4: Cf. Ka 268b3f. and Stein F xii.7 a5: *eva(m) sthito citta nirīkṣayeyam ākāśabhūtā imi sarva dharmā(h)*; KN 281.14: *evaṃ sthitāś cāpi hi tān nirīkṣed ākāśabhūtān ima sarvadharmān*; Wa 254.11f.: *evaṃ sthitāś cāpi hi tā nirīkṣe /// bhūtān imi sarvadharmāḥ*.
- r5: Cf. Ka 268b5 and Stein F xii.7 a6f.: *sarva dharmās* (F: *dharmā*) *tatha nityakālam aya gocaro ucyati sūratānām**; KN 282.2 and Wa 254.15ff.: *sthitā hi dharmā imi nityakālam ayu* (Wa: *ayaṃ*) *gocaro ucyati paṇḍitānām**.
- r6: Cf. Ka 268b6f. and Stein F xii.7 a7: *mama nirvṛtasya * prakāśayet sūtra bahujanasya* (Ka: *bahū* °) *na ca līnacitto*; KN 282.3f. and Wa 254.18ff.: *mama nirvṛtasya | prakāśayet sūtram idaṃ hi loka na cāpi*.
- v1: Cf. Ka 268b7-269a1 and Stein F xii.7 a8: *paṇḍitāḥ praviśitva lenaṃ* (F: *līnaṃ*) *tatha dvāra khaṭṭayet* vipaśya dharmā* (F: *dharmān*) *imi*; KN 282.5f. and Wa 254.21ff.: *paṇḍitāḥ praviśya lenaṃ* (Wa: *layanaṃ*) *tatha ghaṭṭayitvā | vipaśya dharmam imu* (Wa: *i ///*).
- v2: Cf. Ka 269a2 and Stein F xii.7 b1: *tasya prakaronti* (Ka: °*karoti*) *rakṣā(m) ye rājaputrās ca śṛṅṇonti* (Ka: *śṛṅṇoti*) *dharmam**; KN 282.7 and Wa 254.25f.: *tasyeha karonti rakṣāṃ ye rājaputrās ca śṛṅṇonti dharmam**.
- v3: Cf. Ka 269a3f. and Stein F xii.7 b1f.: *sthitā 'sya bhonti 25 || punar aparaṃ maṃjuśrīr* (F: *manyu* °) *bodhisatvo*; KN 282.8f.: *sthitā bhavanti || 25 || punar aparaṃ maṃjuśrīr bodhisatvo*.
- v4: Cf. Ka 269a5, Stein F xii.7 b2f. and Wa 254.30: *paścime samaye saddharmavipralope vartamāne imaṃ*; KN 282.10: *paścime samaye paścimāyāṃ pañcāśatyāṃ saddharmavipralope vartamāna imaṃ* (cf. H. Toda, CN-1 1984, p. 241).
- v5: Cf. Ka 269a6 and Stein F xii.7 b3f.: *sa sukhashthitāś* (Ka: *susthitāś*) *ca evaṃ* (F: om.) *dharmam bhāṣati kāyagataṃ vā pustagataṃ*; KN 282.11 and Wa 255.1: *sa sukhashthitāś dharmam bhāṣate kāyagataṃ vā pustagataṃ*.
- v6: Cf. Ka 269b1f. and Stein F xii.7 b5: *bhikṣūn* (F: *bhikṣu*) *paribhavati * na ca teṣāṃ avarṇaṃ bhāṣati nāvarṇaṃ cārayati ** (F: om.) *na cānyeṣāṃ śrāvakayānīkānāṃ*; KN 282.12f. and Wa 255.3: *bhikṣūn parivadati* (Wa: °*ti* l) *na cāvarṇaṃ bhāṣate na cāvarṇaṃ niścārayati na cānyeṣāṃ śrāvakayānīkānāṃ*.

- 6) **Domoko 0120** [Or.8212.1627(A)+(B); fragment A is fragment No. 13 of the Khādaliq manuscript in Wille 2000; at the time of this ed. only a facsimile of the *recto* was available; only one side of fragment B (here in italics) is available as digitized image, the other side is perhaps blank; the script of fragment C is almost illegible and on one side a smaller piece of another manuscript is mounted; the fragment C certainly belongs to the same manuscript as fragment A+B, but most probably not to the same folio]

Parallels: Ka 86a7-87a6; KN 79.10-80.10

recto

- 1 *vā a[haṃ] yu* + [t]. sthā[n]. p[ratibhūr ahaṃ vo] [yā]nā[ni yadi] bhīy[ul]jya .. + + + +
- 2 *[n ni] .āpa[n](ah)[e]* + [r evaṃ ce] .āṃ [yāmi e]h [s]atvā [trī]ṇi yā[nā]ni āryāṇi [c](ā) + + + + +
- 3 *mahā[r]ā* .. .y. + [sama] .ā[g]. ○ tāni cā(k)[r]pa] .. (n)[i] .. [tebhir bhavaṃtaḥ] satvā tṛbhir yānaiḥ .ī .. + + + + +
- 4 *tha pa* ... [r]. y[iṣya] ++ ndr[i] .. [ba] .. [bodhya]ṃga[dhyāna]v[i]m[o]kṣasa[mā]dhi-samāpa[ttibh](i)ś ca .. + + + + +
- 5 *nubha* .. .y. .. [mahā] yu[ṣm]e [sau]ma(na)syena [sa]manvāgatā bhavi[ṣya]tha tatra śāradva[ti] + + + + +
- 6 *[tv]āḥ* .. .i + + + +i (th)[ā]gatasya loka[pitus]ya bhāṣitam abhiśradda-dhāsyamti śra .. + + + + +

verso

- 1 + + + + + + + + + + + + .. tatra kecit satvā paragoṣa[śr]avādhimuktā³ ātma-parani[rv](ā) + + + + +
- 2 + + + + + + + + + + + + prati[ve]dhārthaṃ pratyātmi[k]aṃ parin[i]rvāṇam iti kṛtvā .. + + + + +
- 3 + + + + + + + ○ [te u]cyamti [i śr]āvakayānam ākāmṣamāṇāḥ śrāvakayāni[y]. + + + + +
- 4 + + + + + + + + + + ○ .. [ma tata ā]dīptād agārād anyatare⁴ bāladārakā pa[ś]. + + + + +
- 5 + + + + + + + + + + + + .. rāṇi ca sa[tvān]y a[n]āc[ā]rya[k]a(ṃ) jñānam ākāmṣa-māṇāḥ + + + + +
- 6 + + + + + + + + + + + + (r)i + + [he] [t]yayāvabodhārtha(ṃ) tathāgata[sya] + + + + +

- 7) **Khad.044** [Or.8212.1697(A); the layer of the *recto* was too short and therefore made longer at the right side by attaching another piece to make it the right size, but the glue did not hold and the layers did not stick together any more; early Turkestan Brāhmī script]

Parallels: Ka 387b7-389a6; SI L/1 [ed. BB 33, pp. 159f., No. 85]; KN 404.6-405.7; Wa 160.6-26

³ Ka 86b7: *paramagoṣa* °.

⁴ Ka 87a3: *anyatarā*; KN 80.8: *anyatare*.

<i>recto</i>	<i>verso</i>
1 /// + + śyāḥ tad an[ya] ///	1 /// kakoṭinayutaśatasā[h]. ///
2 /// + .ā bhaveyu ///	2 /// [m](a)lokapretāsuraḥṣa ///
3 /// .. tvā tasyāṃ vel(ā) ///	3 /// + ratnacandanavṛkṣasa .. ///
4 /// + [n]. gaṅgānadīvā[l]. ///	4 /// [l](e)śv iṣukṣepa[p]ramāṇe ///
5 /// .. rhān samyaksambhu ///	5 /// + .. sya [bha]gavataś ca(nd)[r]. ///
6 /// [m]y(a)[ksam]buddhasya aśī .. ///	6 /// + + paryāyaṃ te[śā] ///

- r1: Cf. KN 404.6 and Wa 160.6: °*manuṣyāmanuṣyās tad anyalokadhātṅv*.
r2: Cf. Ka 388a1: /// *tā bhaveyur it(i)*; SI L/1 b5: *jātā • bhaveyur*; KN 404.7f. and Wa 160.8: *āttamanaso bhaveyur iti*.
r3: Cf. SI L/1 b6, KN 404.10, and Wa 160.10: *viditvā tasyāṃ velāyāṃ*.
r4: Cf. SI L/1 b7, KN 404.11, and Wa 160.11: °*dhvani* (L: °*dhvani* °) *gaṅgānadīvālikā-samaiḥ* (L: °*samāḥ*).
r5: Cf. Ka 388a5, SI L/1 b8, KN 404.12, and Wa 160.12f.: *tathāgato °rhān* (KN and Wa: °*rhan*; L: °*rhāṃ*) *samyaksambuddho*.
r6: Cf. SI L/1 b9: *tathāgatasyāśītikoṭayo*; KN 404.15 and Wa 160.16: *samyaksambuddhasyāśītikoṭyo* (Wa: °*śītiḥ koṭyo*).
v1: Cf. Ka 388b1: (*ma*)*hāśrāvakoṭinayuta*=; SI L/1 b10: *mahāśrāvakoṭinayutaśatasahasrāṇāṃ*.
v2: Cf. KN 405.2 and Wa 160.18: *apagatanirayatiryagyonipretāsuraḥṣāyāṃ* (Wa: *apagatatiryag* °); Jiang 1988, p. 338, last line: °*tiryagyoniyamalokapretāsuraḥṣāyāṃ*.
v3: Cf. KN 405.3 and Wa 160.20: *ratnacandanavṛkṣasamalamkṛtaṃ*.
v4: Cf. Ka 389a2: (*iṣukṣe*)*papramāṇamā*=; KN 405.4 and Wa 160.21f.: *ratnavṛkṣa-mūleśv* (Wa: °*vṛkṣeśv*) *iṣukṣepamānamātre*.
v5: Cf. KN 405.6 and Wa 160.24: *abhūtasya* (Wa: *abhūvan tasya*) *bhagavataś candrasūryavimalaprabhāsaśriyas* (Wa: *candravimalasūrya* °).
v6: Cf. KN 405.7 and Wa 160.25f.: *saddharmapūṇḍarikaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ teṣāṃ*.

8) **Sampula 029** [Or.8212.1788; South Turkestan Brāhmī (main type) script]

Parallels: Ka 262a7-263a2; Stein F xii.7 fol. 14 (= FB MS); ed. Saddhp(C), pp. 237f.; SI P/10 fol. (320) [ed. BB 33, pp. 110 f., No. 16]; KN 273.13-275.2; Wa 250.16-251.2 and 301.20-302.2 (= KN)

<i>recto</i>	<i>verso</i>
1 /// .. dṛśāḥ pā .. ///	v /// + + + + ///
2 /// + .. prajñapti pu[n]. ///	w /// + + h[ā]vai[t]u(l)[y]. ///
3 /// + .[m]. ranta[h kā] ///	x /// + + ḥ sam[āp]. ///
4 /// + .. bhavi[ṣy]. + ///	y /// + [ma]hāsatvo .. ///
5 /// + + + ///	z /// r utsīḍhaṃ bhaga .. ///

- r1: Cf. Ka 262a7, Stein F xii.7 a7f., and KN 273.13: *yādṛśāḥ pāpabhikṣavaḥ* (Ka: °*ḥ papa* °).
r2: Cf. Ka 262b1, Stein F xii.7 a8, and KN 274.1: *aprajñaptiḥ* [Ka, F: °*ti(h)*] *punaḥ*.
r3: Cf. Ka 262b2, Stein F xii.7 b1, and KN 274.3: *smaranta* [F: °*ta(h)*; KN: °*tā*] *kāli*.
r4: Cf. Ka 262b3, Stein F xii.7 b2, SI P/10 a1, and KN 274.5: *ye bhaviṣyamti* [F: °*viṣya(nt)i*, KN: *bheṣyanti*, but cf. H. Toda, RR III 1996, p. 7].
vw: Cf. Ka 262b7, Stein F xii.7 b4f., SI P/10 a3: *mahāvaitulyasūtraratne* (F: °*vetulya* °).
vx: Cf. Ka 262b7, Stein F xii.7 b5, SI P/10 a4: *samāptaḥ* (Ka: *samāpta*).

vy: Cf. Ka 263a1, Stein F xii.7 b5f., SI P/10 a4: *mahāsatvo bhagavantam*.

vz: Cf. Ka 263a2, Stein F xii.7 b6, SI P/10 a5, and KN 275.2: *bodhisatvebhir* (F: °bhi, KN: *bodhisattvair mahāsattvair*) *utsiḍhaṃ* (KN: *utsodhaṃ*) *bhagavato* (Ka: °tau).

9) **Stein without site no.** (3rd exp.; Or.8212.1783; the fragment belongs to the Khādaliq manuscript ed. in Wille 2000)

Parallels: Ka 421a6-422a6; SI P/10 fol. 462 [ed. BB 33, pp. 118f., No. 31]; KN 438.4-439.6; Wa 304.4-16 (= KN)

<i>recto</i> (fol.no.)	<i>verso</i>
1 .. [nām] .. + + ///	1 gñi[s]k(a)ndh[e] prapate[yu] ///
2 a[v]alok[i] + + ///	2 nadī auruhyamā .. ///
3 yamate tṛ + ///	3 valokit[e]śvara[sy]. ///
4 duḥ[kh]āni [pr](a) .. ///	4 satvakoṭi[ś](a) + ///
5 [s]atvasya mahā[s](a) ///	5 galvasya lo[h]i + + ///
6 kṣayamati [s]. .. ///	6 [v]ed rākṣa + + + ///

The folio no. should be the next folio but one of fragm. 90 in Wille 2000.

r2: Cf. Ka 421a6: (*avalokiteśvara iti nāmocyate*; KN 438.4: *valokiteśvara ity ucyate*.)

r3: Cf. Ka 421a7: *ihākṣayamate tṛśāhasramahāsahasre*.

r4: Cf. Ka 421b1: *duḥkhāni pratyānubha=*; KN 438.6: *duḥkhāni pratyānubhavanti*.

r5: Cf. Ka 421b2f., SI P/10 a1, and KN 438.8: *bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya*.

r6: Cf. SI P/10 a2: *ye cākṣayamate satvā*.

v1: Cf. Ka 421b5: (*prapateyus te*; SI P/10 a3: *mahati agniskandhe prapateyus te*; KN 438.8f.: *mahaty agniskandhe prapateyuh sarve te*.)

v2: Cf. SI P/10 a4: *satvā nadī-auruhyamānā nadībhir vuhyeyus te*; KN 439.1: *nadībhir uhyamānā*.

v3: Cf. SI P/10 a5: *avalokiteśvarasya*.

v4: Cf. Ka 422a2f. and SI P/10 a6: *satvakoṭinayutaśatasahasrāṇi*; KN 439.3: *sattvakoṭinayutaśatasahasrāṇām* (Wa 304.13: °niyuta °).

v5: Cf. SI P/10 b1: *ca garbhamus[ā]ragalvalohitamuktisya*; KN 439.4: °garbhamusāragalvalohitamuktādīnām.

v6: Cf. SI P/10 b2: *kādikāvātena kṣiptā bhaved rākṣasadvīpe*; KN 439.5: *kālikāvātena rākṣasīdvīpe* (Wa 304.15: °dvīpaṃ) *kṣiptaḥ syāt*.

On the microfilm IOL 17A⁵ I could identify one more *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*

⁵ For a survey of identified fragments of folios 138 and 143-193 see J.-U. Hartmann and K. Wille, "Die nordturkistanischen Sanskrit-Handschriften der Sammlung Hoernle (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften, II)," *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen II*, Göttingen 1992 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 4), pp. 10-63 and for additional identifications K. Wille, "Weitere kleine *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*-Fragmente aus der Sammlung Hoernle (London)," *Sūryacandrāya, Essays in Honour of Akira Yuyama on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Paul Harrison and Gregory Schopen, Swisttal-Odendorf 1998 (Indica et Tibetica, 35), pp. 241-256 (see also p. 243, note 10). New additions [folios 156-180 contain unnumbered fragments from H. 149add. (Skjærvø 2002, p. xxxvi)]: **Folio 147:** 149/281 (last row, left) *Mahāsāhasrapramardinī* (id. K. Wille); **folio 154:** 149/252 (3rd row, right) *Vinaya of the Sarvāstivādins: Pratisamyukta-khaṇḍaka* (10th Song); T 1435[23] 414c17-23 [~ 598b20-26] (id. J. Chung); **folio 159:** 149add. without no. (1st row, left) *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*

fragment:

10) **Hoernle 149add. without no.** [microfilm IOL 17A, photo 163 (last row, left); early Turkestan Brāhmī script]

Parallels: Ka 359b5-360a6; KN 373.9-374.6; Wa 144.21-145.7 and 274.19-275.5

recto

y /// ddhā śatapuṇyalakṣaṇoḥ dha[r]m(am) prakā[ś]. ///
z /// .. bhāṣat[i] nityakālam* na cāpi [saṃ] ///

verso

1 /// .. te artha niruktayaś ca yathā ca taṃ .. ///
2 /// [la]m asaṃtrasaṃnto pariśāya mad[dhy]e 8 .. ///
3 /// [o] .i + + + + .. + + + + + ///

ry: Cf. Ka 359b5f.: /// śatapuṇyalakṣaṇā dharmam prakāśenti 'ha sarvaloke; KN 373.9: yaṃ cāpi buddhaḥ śatapuṇyalakṣaṇo dharmam prakāśed ida (Wa 274.20: iha) sarvaloke.

rz: Cf. Ka 359b7-360a1: /// nityakālam* na cāsyā saṃmoṣa ///; KN 373.10f.: so bhāṣati nityakālam* | na cāsyā saṃmoha (Wa 144.27 and 274.25: sammohu).

v1: Cf. Ka 360a2f.: /// (ya)thā ca so jānati taṃ ca bhāṣati 7; KN 374.2: prajānate artha niruktayaś ca yathā ca taṃ jānati bhāṣate tathā || 73.

v2: Cf. Ka 360a4: n(i)tyakā(lam* asaṃt)rasaṃto pariśāya madhye 8; KN 374.4: nityakālam asaṃtrasaṃto (Wa 145.2: ʹtrasantaḥ) pariśāya madhye 74.

v3: Cf. Ka 360a6: imasmi bhoti; KN 374.6: imaṃ tu bhoti.

(id. Skjærvø; ed. forthcoming); 149add. without no. (last row, right) *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (ed. Skjærvø 2002: IOL Khot 220/7); **folio 160:** 149add. without no. (2nd row, middle) *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* [id. K. Wille; ed. Skjærvø (forthcoming)]; 149add. without no. (last row, left) *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (ed. Skjærvø 2002: IOL Khot 220/6); **folio 161:** 149add. without no. (2nd row, right) *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (ed. Skjærvø 2002: IOL Khot 204/5); **folio 162:** 149add. without no. (2nd row, middle) *Buddhanāmasūtra* (ed. Wille 1999); **folio 164:** 149add. without no. (1st row, 2nd fragm.) *Prajñāpāramitā text?* Cf. SHT I 532 V7-R1 [id. in SHT VI (Erg.) 532] and Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā *Prajñāpāramitā*, ed. N. Dutt, pp. 260.18-262.9 (K. Wille); **folio 166:** 149add. without no. (2nd row, left) *Vinayamātrkā of the Sarvāstivādins: Kṣudraka section*; T 1441[23] 605b8-c18 (id. J. Chung); **folio 170:** 149add. without no. (4th row, 1st fragm.) parallel to the *Mahāsuññatasutta?* ~ MN III 109-118, cf. 114; C-MĀ, Sūtra 191, T 26[1] 738a3-740c3, cf. 739b (K. Wille); **folio 176:** 149add. without no. (1st row, 2nd fragm.) *Samyuktāgama* [ed. F. Enomoto, “Herunre shahon chū no Zōagonyō danpen o megutte — Zōagonyō, Seshin, Kusharon Shintai-yaku no ichi —” (*“On a Sanskrit Fragment of the *Samyuktāgama* in the Hoernle Collection: the Chronology of the Chinese Version of the *Samyuktāgama*, Vasubandhu and Paramārtha’s Translation of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*”), *Early Buddhism and Abhidharma Thought, In Honor of Doctor Hajime Sakurabe on His Seventy-seventh Birthday*, Kyoto 2002, pp. 139-153]; **folio 178:** 149add. without no. (1st row, 2nd fragm.) parallel to the *Gihisutta* = AN III 211-214, cf. 213; C-MĀ, Sūtra 128, T 26[1] 616a-617b, cf. 617a-b; cf. also SHT V 1101 which stems also from the *Gihisutta* and not from the *Vacchagottasutta*, see SHT X (Erg.) [forthcoming] (id. K. Wille); **folio 187:** 149add. 141 (2nd row, 2nd fragm.) *Vidyā text*; cf. Pell.Skt. bleu 435, folio 43 (K. Wille).

Random Jottings on Śrīghana: An Epithet of the Buddha

Peter SKILLING*

I Śrīghana

“Śrīghana” is an epithet of the Buddha. It is not quite rare, and not quite common. It may seem rarer than it really is, given that it is impossible to estimate the number of occurrences buried in the numerous published texts that have no indexes, in unpublished manuscripts, or in Chinese or Tibetan translation. In any case its currency was guaranteed by the fact that it is one of the epithets of the Blessed One given at the beginning of the *Amarakośa*, a basic text for students of Sanskrit.

This article is a note on the occurrences of Śrīghana that I have stumbled across to date. It is likely that many more instances await discovery. I hope that the present sampling may at least reveal something of the scope of the use of the epithet Śrīghana in literature and epigraphy, so that it may take its place beside Tathāgata, Sugata, Sarvajña, Dharmarāja, Samantrabhadra, Daśabala, etc. (as it already does, of course, in the *Amarakośa*).

So far we can say that the epithet Śrīghana was used in Sri Lanka, Nepal, India, and South-East Asia, in different cultures and by different schools of Buddhism. In literature the term is used in the *Mahāvastu*, and by Aśvagoṣa in his *Buddhacarita* and *Saundarananda*. It occurs in the title of a *Vinaya* manual, the *Sphuṣārthā Śrīghanaṅcārasaṅgraha-tīkā*, “The Lucid Commentary on the Compendium of the Conduct [ordained by] Śrīghana [the Buddha]”. It occurs in Pāli in the *Dīpavaṃsa*. It occurs in one of the most famous Mahāyāna *sūtras*, the *Samādhirāja*. It occurs in the *Śrīmahādevī-vyākaraṇa*, a text about which little can be said apart from that it once had some importance, manuscript fragments having been found in Gilgit and in Central Asia,¹ a translation having been made into Chinese by Amoghavajra in the eighth century, during the Tang dynasty,² and into Tibetan as the *Lha mo chen mo dpal lun bstan pa* by unknown hands.³ In the Peking *Kanjur* it occurs twice, once each in the *Tantra* and the *Sūtra* division. We might describe the text as a member of the family of Buddhist texts that promote the cult of the goddess of wealth Śrī.⁴

* I am grateful to Prof. Seishi Karashima (Hachioji) and Ven. Vipassī (Wat Bovoranivet, Bangkok) for supplying important references and information.

¹ For the latter see Seishi Karashima, “Sanskrit Fragments of the Sutra of Golden Light, the Lotus Sutra, the *Āryaśrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa* and the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇī* in the Otani Collection”, *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2002*, Tokyo: Soka University, 2003, pp. 191–92.

² Taisho No. 1253.

³ See below.

⁴ For a summary of the text see Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. I, [Srinagar, 1939] Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1984, p. 71.

The name Śrīghana has been widely used in Nepal and is still recognized. In Sanskrit it is found in the rich *avadāna* literature produced by the Newars in the Kathmandu Valley, and in Newari-language epics (*Mahākāvya*) and verse. It is used to the present day, in literary works such as the *Sugata Saurabha* of Chittadhar Hridaya (1906–1982).

There are at least three occurrences in Indian epigraphy, several in Nepalese epigraphy, and as many as nine in Khmer epigraphy. Frequently the epithet is used in the opening verse of homage, whether of a text or an epigraph.

The epithet is a dependent compound (*tatpuruṣa*) meaning “mass of glory”. I have seen it only as an appellation of Śākyamuni, but assume it can be used for other Buddhas, since, at least in theory, all Buddhas share the same epithets. In one case, the *Śrīmālādevī-vyākaraṇa*, it is the proper name of a Buddha, the first in a long list. According to Johnston, Śrīghana is not among the thousand names of the Buddhas of the Bhadrakalpa listed by Weller.⁵

Böhtlingk and Roth define it as “ein Buddha” making reference to *Amarakośa* and Hemacandra.⁶ Monier-Williams gives “a Buddha or name of a Buddha”.⁷ The term is not recorded in Edgerton’s *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary* or in the Pali Text Society’s *Pāli-English Dictionary*. Apte defines Śrīghana as “a Buddhist saint”.⁸ Derrett takes it as the name of the author of the *Ācāra-saṃgraha*: “A *vinaya* specialist choosing the pen-name Śrīghana (Splendid One) undertook to tell in 102 verses the whole tale of “conduct” for Buddhist novices (*śrāmaṇeras*)”.⁹ Others, such as Sanghasena Singh, take it as “Buddhist novice”.¹⁰ I have not seen any context to support any of these interpretations of the term, which in all cases is used for *the* or *a* Buddha.

II Śrīghana in texts

1. *Amarakośa*

It is appropriate to start with the great lexicon, the *Amarakośa*, composed perhaps in the fourth century CE, perhaps the sixth, where Śrīghana is listed with other epithets of the Buddha in the first chapter (v. 14c):

śaḍabhiṅṅo daśabalo ’dvayavādī vināyakaḥ |

⁵ E.H. Johnston (ed., tr.), *The Saundarananda of Aśvaghōṣa*, [Lahore, 1928] Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975, p. 115, n. ad v. 49, “it does not occur in F. Weller’s *Tausend Buddhanamen* (Leipzig, 1928)”.

⁶ Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, repr. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000, Vol. VII, 367a. For Hemacandra see Nemichandra Śāstrī and Haragovinda Śāstrī, *Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi of Śrī Hemachandrācharya*, Varanasi: The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1964, II.148b.

⁷ Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, [1899] 1970, p. 1099a.

⁸ Vaman Shivaram Apte, *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Revised and enlarged edition, [Poona, 1957] Kyoto: The Rinsen Book Company, 1998, p. 1576a.

⁹ J. Duncan M. Derrett (tr.), *A Textbook for Novices: Jayarākṣita’s “Perspicuous Commentary on the Compendium of Conduct by Śrīghana”*, Turin, 1983, p. 6.

¹⁰ See the references in Giulio Agostini, “On the *Nikāya* Affiliation of the ŚrīghanaĀcārasaṅgraha and the Sphūtarthā ŚrīghanaĀcārasaṅgrahaṭīkā”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 26.1 (2003): pp. 97–114), p. 97, n. 2.

munīndrah śrīghanah śāstā munih śākyamunis tu yah ||

*mñon śes drug ldan stobs bcu pa | gñis med gsuñ dañ rnam par 'dren |
thub pa'i dbaṅ po dpal stug dañ | ston pa thub pa ñid rnams so ||*

Liṅgayasūrin's mid-twelfth-century commentary glosses the epithet with *śriyā yogavibhūtyā ghanah nirantarah śrīghanah*.¹¹ The Tibetan translation is *dpal stug*, a compound of the standard equivalents of *śrī* and *ghana*.¹²

The inclusion of the epithet in *Amarakośa*, a text studied throughout India and beyond, would alone ensure its dissemination and familiarity. The term is not, however, found in two other important Buddhist lexicons, the Sanskrit-Tibetan *Mahāvvyutpatti* (ca. CE 800) or the later (ca. twelfth century) Pāli *Abhidhānappadīpikā*. As we shall see below, the term was used in the *Dīpavamsa*; perhaps it had fallen into disuse in Pāli by the time the *Abhidhānappadīpikā* was composed.

2. Mahāvastu

In the *Mahāvastu* the epithet occurs three times, in the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit form “Śirighana” (with “Śrī-” as variant).

2.1. (I 142.11)

*tuṣitabhavanā śirighano purimakusālamūlasaṃcayo vīrah |
avalokayati atīśayenolokitāni cyavanakāle ||*

When the illustrious hero, already in possession of the roots of virtue, passes away from Tuṣita, he majestically surveys the regions of the world at the moment of his passing away.¹³

Jones takes Śirighana as an adjective to *vīrah*, translating “the illustrious hero”. I would rather take the two epithets independently, as nouns in apposition. The verse is difficult and I do not know the sense of *atīśayena* (or *atīśay'*) *olokitāni*, if the reading is correct. See Jones' n. 1.

2.2. (III 62.4)

*yo so śruyyati sāstre puṣpam iva udumbaram vane buddhā |
utpadyanti śirighanā utpanno lokapadyoto ||*

¹¹ A.A. Ramanathan (ed.), *Amarakośa with the unpublished South Indian commentaries Amarapadavivṛti of Liṅgayasūrin and the Amarapadapārijāta of Mallinātha*, Adyar: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1971, Vol. I, p. 13.2 (ad v. I 14).

¹² Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *Amarakośa and its Tibetan translation 'Chi med mdzod*, [Calcutta, 1911–12] Gangtok, 1984, p. 5, v. 9.

¹³ Translation by J.J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, London: Luzac and Company, Vol. I, 1949, p. 113.

A Light of the World is arisen, one of the glorious Buddhas of whom we are taught that they appear as rarely as the flower of the glomerous fig-tree.¹⁴

Here again Jones takes Śrīghana as an adjective, to *buddhā*, where I would take the two epithets as independent nouns in apposition.

2.3. (III 301.3)

yathā ca bhagavantaṃ viṣagaṃdhena kilbiṣagandhena vā na vyābādheya tti mucilindo nāma nāgarājā svakāto bhavanāto uttaritvāna bhogena āchāyesi śrīghanasukṛtena phaṇena saptāhaṃ vipulapunyaṃ prasūtaṃ.

The Nāga King named Mucilinda emerged from his abode and with his coils covered Śrīghana [the Buddha] with a shapely hood, in such manner that the Blessed One would not be harmed by the noxious scent or foul smell [of the nāga's breath], and produced plentiful merit.¹⁵

The variant *śrīghanaṃ* recorded by Senart is preferable to the *śrīghanasukṛtena* accepted in his text and in Jones' translation. This reading gives us *bhogena āchāyesi śrīghanaṃ sukṛtena phaṇena*: "He covered Śrīghana with his coils, with a well-fashioned (i.e. well-shaped, shapely) hood."

3. Works of Aśvaghōṣa

3.1. Saundarananda

(XVIII.49)

*tato munis tasya niśamya hetumat pragñasarvāsravasūcakaṃ vacaḥ |
idaṃ babhāṣe vadatām anuttamo yad arhati śrīghana eva bhāṣitum ||*¹⁶

Then the Sage, the Best of Speakers, hearing his well-reasoned speech which showed that he had extirpated all the infections, spoke these words which were such as a

¹⁴ Translation by J.J. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, London: Luzac and Company, Vol. III, 1956, p. 63.

¹⁵ My translation: cp. Jones, *The Mahāvastu*, Vol. III, 1956, p. 288: "And so that the Exalted One should not be assailed by any poisonous or offensive smell the Nāga king named Mucilinda emerged from his abode, threw his coils around him and covered him for seven days with his splendid well-shaped hood, and thus begat rich merit". This seems to miss the point: *nāgas* are notorious for their noxious breath, and it is against this, not "any" smell, that the considerate Mucilinda, takes precautions.

¹⁶ E.H. Johnston (ed., tr.), *The Saundarananda of Aśvaghōṣa*, [Lahore, 1928] Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1975, Canto XVIII, v. 49.

Buddha Śrīghana should speak.¹⁷

3.2. *Buddhacarita*

Aśvaghoṣa uses the term at least twice in his account of the Parinirvāṇa in the *Buddhacarita*. Unfortunately this section does not survive in Sanskrit, and we must turn to the Tibetan translation, where we find the equivalent is *dpal sdug*.¹⁸

Johnston does not translate the epithet, using simply “the Śrīghana”.¹⁹

3.2.1. (XXII.15; *ñe* 94b7)

der ni mtshan mo gcig phul bas, yañs pa can gyi groñ du gśeḡs |
*de nas a mra skyoñ ma'i sa, dpal ldan tshal du **dpal sdug** gśeḡs ||*

After passing one night there, the Śrīghana moved on to the city of Vaiśālī and abode in a glorious grove in the domain of Amrapālī.

The passage is equivalent to *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra* (Waldschmidt) §§ 9, 10.

3.2.2. (XXVI.6; *ñe* 107a7)

de las lags [read legs] bzañ mchog tu dga' žiñ yid ches śiñ |
***dpal sdug** dge legs mdzod la mñon du soñ ba ste |*
de nas dus kyi rjes su mthun pas ži ba yis |
gsuñ ni mñon par gsuñ nas slar yañ de gsol to ||

Thereat Subhadra, comforted and highly delighted, approached the Śrīghana, the Doer of the highest good; then, as befitted the occasion, in a quiet way he greeted Him and spoke these words.

The verse belongs to the episode of Subhadra (Waldschmidt, § 40), the 120-year old wanderer (*parivrājaka*) who became the last disciple of the Blessed One, in the Twin Śālā Grove at Kuśinagara.

4. *Dīpavaṃsa*

¹⁷ Johnston (n. 49 to translation) remarks that “Śrīghana is a very rare appellation for the Buddha”, and makes reference to *Mahāvastu* III, p. 62.4 and *Dīpavaṃsa* i, 11.

¹⁸ D.T. Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1957, Cat. No. 5656, Vol. 129, *skyes rabs, ñe, Sañs rgyas kyi spyod pa žes bya ba'i sñan ñag chen po*, translated by Sa dbañ bzañ po and Blo gros rgyal po. The “*sdug*” is clear in both places, against the *stug* of the *Amarakośa*, but alternation between “*ta*” and “*da*” is not uncommon.

¹⁹ E.H. Johnston, *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, in three parts, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, New Enlarged Edition, 1984.

The epithet is not used in the Pāli *Tipiṭaka*.²⁰ It occurs twice in the chronicle *Dīpavaṃsa*, which dates to approximately the fourth century CE.²¹

4.1. (I.11d)

tato pacchimayāmamhi paccayākāraṃ vivaṭṭayi |
anulomaṃ paṭilomañ ca manas' akā sirīghano ||

Then, in the last watch, Sirīghana reflected on conditions
In both natural and reverse order.

This is one of the stages in the episode of the Buddha's awakening beneath the Bodhi tree.

4.2. (II.1d)

araḥaṃ pana sambuddho kosalānaṃ puruttamaṃ |
upanissāya vihāsi sudattārāme sirīghano ||

The Worthy One, the Fully Awakened One, the Sirīghana, stayed dependent upon
The best city of the Kosalas, in the monastery donated by Sudatta [Anāthapiṇḍika].

5. *Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārasaṅgraha-ṭīkā*

I interpret the title of the lost *Vinaya* manual *Śrīghanācārasaṅgraha* to mean *Compendium of the Conduct [ordained by] Śrīghana [the Buddha]*. One of several commentaries survives in Sanskrit, but the epithet seems to occur only in the title.²² A recent article by Giulio Agostini convincingly demonstrates that the authors of both root-verses and commentary “were neither Mahāsāṃghikas nor Lokottaravādins, but belonged to a different *nikāya* related to the Mahāsāṃghikas”.²³

6. *Samādhirāja-sūtra*

The name occurs in Chapter 36 (*Śīlaskandhanirdeśa*) of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, a celebrated Mahāyāna *sūtra* redacted in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit.²⁴

²⁰ The phrase *vatti cakkhaṃ mahāvīro Varuṇārāme sirīghaṇe* in the *Buddhavaṃsa* (PTS ed., p. 36, vs. 20) is probably, as suggested by Seishi Karashima, a wrong reading for *-ghare*.

²¹ Hermann Oldenberg (ed., tr.), *The Dīpavaṃsa, an Ancient Buddhist Historical Record*, repr. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1982.

²² English translation by J. Duncan M. Derrett, *A Textbook for Novices: Jayarākṣita's "Perspicuous Commentary on the Compendium of Conduct by Śrīghana"*, Turin, 1983.

²³ Giulio Agostini, “On the *Nikāya* Affiliation of the *Śrīghanācārasaṅgraha* and the *Sphuṭārthā Śrīghanācārasaṅgrahaṭīkā*”, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 26.1 (2003), pp. 97–114.

²⁴ Nalinaksha Dutt with the assistance of Vidyavaridhi Pandit Shiv Nath Sastri, *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Vol. II, Part III, Calcutta, 1954 [repr. Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1984], p. 544.1 (v. 2c); Andrew Skilton, “*Samādhirājasūtra*”, in Jens Braarvig (gen. ed.), *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Volume II, Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2002 (Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection III), pp. 161 (text), 163 (translation). I give Skilton's text and translation (the latter with

*tasmāt samagrā bhavatha aduṣṭacittāḥ
sarve ca bothā satata manāpakārī |
dṛṣṭvā ca buddhāmcchirighana aprameyān
bodhiṃ spṛṣitvā bhaviṣyatha dharmasvāmī ||*

*de phyir gnod sems med ciñ kun 'thun gyis |
thams cad rtag tu yid du 'oñ bar gyis |
dpal stug sañs rgyas dpag med mthoñ nas ni |
byañ chub reg nas chos kyi bdag por 'gyur ||²⁵*

Therefore you should become concentrated, with minds uncorrupted
You should act agreeably at all times
Having seen immeasurable Buddhas, Śrīghanas
Having experienced awakening, you shall become Lords of the Dharma.

7. Śrīmahādevī-vyākaraṇa

The name occurs only once in the *Śrīmahādevī-vyākaraṇa*, in a statement of homage to a Tathāgata of that name: *namaḥ śrīghanāya tathāgatāya*: “Homage to the Tathāgata Śrīghana”.²⁶ The corresponding Tibetan is *de bžin gśeḡs pa dpal stug po la phyag 'tshal lo*.²⁷

8. Ratnamālāvadāna

The epithet is found frequently in the Sanskrit *Ratnamālāvadāna*, a collection of *avadānas* from Nepal.²⁸ I give one example from the opening stanza of homage:

*yaḥ śrīmāñ chrīghano loke saddharmaṃ samupādiśat |
śāsanāni trilokeṣu jayantu tasya sarvadā ||*

That glorious Śrīghana who taught the Saddharma in the world—
May his teachings triumph throughout the three worlds at all times.

some adaptation). Skilton (n. 523) remarks that “Śrīghana as an epithet of the Buddha is noted in Monier-Williams’ dictionary, but curiously neither in Edgerton nor Rhys Davids and Stede”.

²⁵ D.T. Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1958, Cat. No. 795, Vol. 32, *mdo, thu*, 152a5. In the Tibetan it is the 37th chapter.

²⁶ “Āryaśrīmahādevī-vyākaraṇam”, in Nalinaksha Dutt (ed.), *Gilgit Manuscripts*, [Srinagar, 1939] reprint Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1984, I 96.1. According to Dutt’s n. 1 the manuscript reads *-gañāya*.

²⁷ *Phags pa lha mo chen mo dpal luñ bstan pa*: D.T. Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute, Tokyo-Kyoto, Vol. 8, 1956, Cat. No. 398, *rgyud, tsa*, 85a5; Vol. 34, 1957, Cat. No. 860, *mdo, mu*, 258a2.

²⁸ Kanga Takahata (ed.), *Ratnamālāvadāna: A Garland of Precious Gems or A Collection of Edifying Tales, told in a metrical form, belonging to the Mahāyāna*, Tokyo, The Toyo Bunko, 1954: see Index of Words, p. 26.

9. *Vajrasenāvadāna*

Another example of the use of the title in *avadāna* literature comes from the *Vajrasenāvadāna*, which, according to Matsunami, is the second chapter of the *Sarvajñamitrāvadāna*.²⁹ As far as I know the work has not been edited or studied.

Śrīghanasya pūrvān suta-lakṣa-caityasyopadeśa-kṛta-māhātma.

10. *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa*

Śrīghana is invoked in the opening verse of the *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa*, the history of the great *caitya* that overlooks Kathmandu:³⁰

śrīmatā yena saddharmas trailoke samprakāśitaḥ |
śrīghanaṃ taṃ mahābuddhaṃ vande 'haṃ śaraṇāśritaḥ ||

The Glorious One who proclaimed the Saddharma in the triple world—
That Śrīghana, the Great Buddha, I revere, and rely on for refuge.

11. *Ahorātravratācaityasevānuśamsāvadāna*

The name is used in one of the texts on the worship of *caityas*:³¹

sarve te samupāgatya buddhaṃ taṃ śrīghanaṃ mudā |
saikṛtya śraddayābhyarcya kṛtvā pradakṣiṇy api ||

They all approached the Buddha, the Śrīghana, and rejoiced;
Having paid their respects in faith and performed acts of worship
They circumambulated him as well.

12. *Ādivāgyajratriratnavimba*

I know this text only from the transcription from a late Newari-script palm-leaf manuscript published by Mahāmahopapādhyāya Hara Prasad Shāstri. The relevant verse, starting on folio 3A, is fragmentary:³²

²⁹ Seiren Matsunami, *A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Tokyo University Library*, Tokyo: Suzuki Research Foundation, 1965, No. 397, pp. 142–43 (and see No. 434).

³⁰ Min Bahadur Shakya and Shanta Harsha Bajracharya, *Svayaṃbhū Purāṇa*, Lalitpur, Nepal: Nagarjuna Institute of Exact Methods, 2001, p. 1.

³¹ Ratna Handurukande, *Three Sanskrit Texts on Caitya Worship in relation to the Ahorātravrata*, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies, 2000 (Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series XVI), v. 16b, p. 3. I owe the reference to Agostini, op. cit., although I could not find it on p. 6 as in his footnote 2.

³² Hara Prasad Shāstri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanscrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I: *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press,

++++++ *sarvve saddharmmaṃ śrotum āgatāḥ* |
tatra taṃ śrīghanaṃ dṛṣṭvā suprasannāśrayā mudā ||

... all had come to hear the Dharma;
 There, when they had seen that Śrīghana, with fully peaceful minds, they rejoiced.

III Śrīghana in inscriptions

1. India

1.1. Nālandā

The inscription, found in two fragments at Monastery No. VII, Nālandā, is written in Sanskrit in late-Pāla Nāgarī. It bears no date, but has been dated palæographically to the first half of the twelfth century CE.³³ The thirteen stanzas, composed in a variety of metres, record the benefactions of a Buddhist monk (*yati*) named Vipulaśrīmitra; in its own right it is one of the most informative lithic documents for the Buddhism of the time in the area. The opening verse, in Śardūlavikrīḍita metre, refers to *śrīghanaśāsana*:

oṃ namo buddhāya ||
astu svastyayanāya vaḥ sa bhagavān śrīdharmmacakraḥ kiyad yan nāma śrutavān
bhavo'sthiravapur nirjīvam uttāmyati |
tatra śrīghana-śāsanāmṛta-rasaiḥ saṃsicya bauddhe pade taṃ dheyād apunarbhavaṃ
bhagavatī tārā jagat-tāriṇī ||

Om! Adoration to the Buddha! May the divine and illustrious Dharmmacakra bring you prosperity hearing whose name, even to some extent, Bhava (i.e., worldly existence), restless in body, gets exhausted and lifeless; thereafter besprinkling him with the nectar juice of the Law of Śrīghana (i.e., Buddha), may the goddess Tārā, the Deliveress of the world, place him, free from re-birth, at the foot of the Buddha.³⁴

1.2. Amarāvati

The opening stanza of homage of the long Amaravati pillar inscription of Siṃhavarman refers to Śrīghana. On palæographic grounds the inscription, which is engraved in what Burnell called the “transitional type of the Telugu-Kanarese characters”, has been dated to

1917, p. 55.

³³ N.G. Majumdar, “Nalanda Inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra”, *Epigraphia Indica* XXI (1931–32), pp. 97–101; Hiranand Sastri, *Nālandā and its Epigraphic Material*, [Delhi, 1942] repr. Delhi: Sri Satguru, 1986, pp. 103–105. Keisho Tsukamoto, *A Comprehensive Study of the Indian Buddhist Inscriptions*, Part I, Kyoto: Heirakuji-Shoten, 1996, I Nald 9.1.

³⁴ Translation from Majumdar, p. 99.

about CE 1100.³⁵

*śriyaṃ varāṃ vaś ciram ādiśantu te bhavadviṣaḥ śrīghana-pādapāmsavaḥ |
surāsuraādhiśaśikhāmaṇi tviṣāṃ anāṃtarayye vilasanti saṃcaye |*

1.3. Bodh Gaya

The inscription, found at Bodh-Gaya by Sir Alexander Cunningham, is engraved in Nāgarī of the twelfth century.³⁶ Written in Sanskrit in a variety of metres, the seventeen-line lithograph records the benefactions of a Buddhist monk named Śrīmitra, who appears to belong to the same lineage as the Vipulaśrīmitra of the Nālandā inscription. Śrīghana is mentioned in verse 7 (Vasantatilaka):

*vītasprho 'pi kṛpayā jagad uddidhīrṣuḥ
sambuddhakṛtyaparamaḥ paramoccadrśvā ||
pṛthvīpatīnapatha niṣṭhamatīn vinīya
yaḥ śrīghanārcanacaṇānacireṇa cakre ||*

Being free from all desires, yet in (his) compassion, intent on delivering the world and endowed with the highest vision, with the achievements of the Enlightened One as his highest aim, who guided the rulers of the earth addicted to the wrong path and ere long made them renowned for the worship of Śrīghana.³⁷

2. Nepal

Three fourteenth-century inscriptions from the Khaśa Kingdom of Western Nepal use the word Śrīghana: a copper-plate inscription of Prithivīmalla (1) from Singada, Bajura, dated CE 1349 (Śaka 1271), a *kanakapatra* of Pṛthavīmalla from Seridhuska, Jumla, dated CE 1356 (Śaka 1278), and a copper-plate inscription of Sūryamalla dated CE 1367 (1289 Śaka). All of them contain a phrase referring to the worship of Śrīghana, *śrīghanārādhana*.³⁸

3. South-East Asia

³⁵ E. Hultzsch, "Note on the Amaravati Pillar inscription of Siṃhavarman", *Epigraphia Indica* X (1909–10), No. 10 (originally published in *SII* I, No. 32, by same); Hultzsch notes the occurrences of Śrīghana in *Dīpavaṃsa*, *Amarakośa*, Hemacandra, the *Nāradapañcarātra*, presumably taking the information from "the St. Petersburg Dictionary", to which he also refers; C. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum, Madras, 1977* (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, New Series—General Section, Vol. IV), No. 60, pp. 285–88; Tsukamoto, *A Comprehensive Study*, II Amar 215.

³⁶ Originally published in *Proceedings of Bengal Asiatic Society* 1880, p. 77, and Pl. viii (not seen); listed in *Epigraphia Indica* V (1898–99), Appendix, No. 177, p. 26;

studied and translated in Niradbandhu Sanyal, "A Buddhist Inscription from Bodh-Gaya of Reign of Jayaccandradeva—V.S. 124x", *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. V (1929), pp. 14–30; Tsukamoto, *A Comprehensive Study*, I BoGa 38:9-10.

³⁷ Translation from Sanyal, p. 25.

³⁸ I regret that further information was not available at the time of going to press.

The use of the epithet Śrīghana is not confined to the Indian subcontinent, but is also used in inscriptions in Thailand and Cambodia. The records belong to a region and period in which Khmer Buddhist culture was flourishing. The index to Cœdès monumental *Inscriptions du Cambodge* lists four occurrences.³⁹ Since its publication in 1966 further inscriptions with the term have been identified, some published and some as yet not published, by Claude Jacques, who, in a draft paper circulated at a conference entitled “Buddhist Legacies in Southeast Asia”, held at Bangkok from 18 to 20 December, 2003, refers to a total of nine inscriptions.⁴⁰ In this paper I give three examples of the use of Śrīghana in Khmer epigraphy.

3.1. Sab Bāk Inscription (Thailand, K. 1158)

The small stele was recovered from Pak Thong Chai district, Nakhon Ratchasima province. The bilingual (Sanskrit-Khmer) epigraph bears the date 988 Śaka, equivalent to CE 1066.⁴¹ The opening verses of homage mention Śrīghana, unusually, twice and, unusually, in the plural. The text expresses concepts of multiple Buddhas and other deities current in Khmer Mahāyāna-cum-Tantric philosophy.

I. *śrīpañcasugatā yādau śrīghanānām vibhāvākāḥ |*
śrīghanās ca sudevānām śrīpradātṛṇ namāmi tān ||

II. *bajrasatvas tu ṣaṣṭaḥ sadvodhisatvaprabhur varaḥ |*
ādhāraḥ sarvavuddhānām tan namāmi vimuktaye ||

3.2. Prasat Kok Inscription (Cambodia, K. 339)

The inscription on the door-frames of Prasat Kok, to the east of Roulos, dates from the reign of Jayavarman V. Śrīghana is mentioned in the opening verses of homage to the three gems. Unfortunately a few syllables are effaced.⁴²

I. *|| cintāmaṇiviśiṣṭāya x x titārthadāyine*
namaś śrīghaṇaratnāya jaṅga[mā]ya jagad[dhṛ]te ||
II. *ādīmadhyāntakalyāṇam yo -ī x ramanoramam*
svāntāndhakāraavidhvaṅsaṃ dharmma[ra]na x -mune ||
III. *namo 'stu saṅgharatnāya yasyāṅghrinakhadīdhitīḥ*
namrāmarasīroratna-raśmirājivirājītā ||

³⁹ George Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* VIII, Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1966, p. 65a. The inscriptions are (K. number, face, line) 158 B 9; 180 N 14; 834 A, 50; 879, 2.

⁴⁰ “The Buddhist sect of Śrīghana in ancient Khmer land”: we await the publication of the conference proceedings. See also Jacques’ “Supplément au tome VIII des inscriptions du Cambodge”, *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient* LVIII (1971), which adds K. 1000, l. 5.

⁴¹ Chirapat Prapandvidya, “The Sab Bāk Inscription: Evidence of an Early Vajrayāna Buddhist Presence in Thailand”, *Journal of the Siam Society* 78.2 (1990), pp. 10–14.

⁴² “Inscription de Prasat Kok (K. 339)”, in George Cœdès (ed., tr.), *Inscriptions du Cambodge* V, Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1953, pp. 164–169.

- I. Homage au joyau: le Buddha [Śrīghana], le meilleur des joyaux réalisent les désirs, profitable à ..., vivant soutien du monde.
- II. (Je révère) le joyau: la Loi, dont le début, le milieu et la fin sont salutaires, qui charme l'esprit ..., et détruit l'obscurité de la mort.
- III. Homage au joyau: la Communauté, dont les pieds ont leurs ongles brillants illuminés par les rayons projetés par les joyaux placés sur la tête des immortels inclinés.

3.3. Prasat Sneñ (East) Inscription (Cambodia, K. 879)

The inscription is from Prasat Sneñ, a group of three brick sanctuaries in Battambang province. It bears two dates, equivalent to CE 1040 and 1041. The fragmentary opening verse (in Mālinī metre) mentions Śrīghana.⁴³

IV Envoi

The examples given here show that Śrīghana was one of the many epithets of the Buddha. Used in texts of the Mahāvihāra Theravādins, of the Lokottaravādins and another uncertain branch of the Mahāsāṃghikas, and of the Mahāyāna, it has no special school-affiliation. Indeed, it is included in Amara's great lexical treasury, in the works of the master poet Aśvagoṣa, and the rich writings of the Newar narrators. It is used in *sūtra*, *vinaya*, *avadāna*, chronicle, and ritual literature. It is used in epigraphs from India to Nepal to South-East Asia. No doubt the epithet will be identified in Chinese and Tibetan sources that are no longer available in Indic originals.

There is a certain poverty of vocabulary in modern writings on Buddhism in English, which, ignoring the rich store of names, refer always and only to "the Buddha".⁴⁴

This reluctance to use other names leads to a kind of intellectual poverty, since each name expresses something different, and the names used by an author or in a text reveal his conception of the Buddha, or that of the age and society in which he lived. It strikes me as appropriate and useful to vary the epithets in our writing and, especially, retain them in direct translation.

⁴³ "Inscription de Prasat Sneñ (Est) (K. 879)", in Cœdès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge* V, pp. 235–237.

⁴⁴ The same problem is seen in writings on other Indian religions, where the various epithets of the great deities are translated to leave use with mononymic Śiva, or Viṣṇu, etc.

On *Jingfa* 經法 In Early Chinese Buddhist Translations*

Tilmann VETTER and Stefano ZACCHETTI

1. Introduction

The term 經法 often occurs in Dharmarakṣa's translations (second half of the 3rd - beginning of the 4th century AD).¹ Indeed, it can be considered, in a sense, typical of early Buddhist translations, as it is frequent in several texts rendered into Chinese during the Later Han dynasty as well as in subsequent periods (see § 2 below). On the other hand, the fact that 經法 is not recorded in the *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 (hereafter HD), the most exhaustive historical description of the Chinese lexicon so far produced, would seem to suggest, *prima facie*, a strong probability that we are confronted by a Buddhist neologism.

Scholars working in the field, including ourselves, were used to interpreting it as a determinative compound, whose first element, 經, was to be taken in the sense of "canonical scripture".² This might have thus been explained: 法 was not yet as well-known as a translation of the Buddhist word *dharmā* as it was in later periods; determined by the word 經 it would have been better understood, if the latter word had then already been well-known as a translation of the Buddhist word *sūtra*.

No great harm has been done by such assumptions. But awareness that the compound was used in pre-Buddhist ancient China (see § 3 below) caused us to investigate this matter in some early Chinese translations ascribed to An Shigao and Lokakṣema. The result is: in these works (and this probably also applies to Dharmarakṣa's translations: see the end of § 2), 經法 is not necessarily a determinative compound, and its first component, 經, is generally not to be interpreted as "scripture, *sūtra* etc."

2. *Jingfa* in some Later Han translations

In translations ascribed to An Shigao 安世高 (active since 148 AD), 法 is often used without any determining word. This shows that even around 160 CE, 法 was not in need of another word to indicate the Buddhist term *dharmā*, meaning, as we shall see, the Buddhist teaching as well as basic elements of Buddhist theory and practice.

* The authors wish to thank Dr. Attilio Andreini of Venice University for references concerning § 3 of this article.

¹ E.g. see Karashima 1998: 226-227.

² E.g. see the entry 經法 in Nakamura Hajime's dictionary (1981: 237a), especially the first two definitions of this term: 1. law preached by the scriptures; the teaching of the scriptures. On this word in some early translations, see also Harrison 1992: 50 and 82 n. 59; Zacchetti 2002: 80 n. 42; Nattier 2003: 119 n. 29, 261 n. 336; 2003b: 228-229.

As to 經, some places suggest it had the same function as 法³ and did not necessarily signify an authoritative text (which, however, does not totally exclude the possibility that it was used elsewhere for that purpose). Other places show that 經法 had no other meaning than 法 alone (though the compound might have had more weight); a similar observation can be made about 經法 and 經. Sometimes, 經 and 法 seem to alternate for stylistic reasons. So 經 was, like 法, not in need of an additional word to indicate the Buddhist teaching as such, or basic elements of Buddhist theory and practice.

A clear instance of 經 ≈ 法 in the works ascribed to An Shigao can be found in the *Chang Ahan shi baofa jing* 長阿含十報法經 (*Daśottarasūtra*) T 13, pp. 235b7 ff. where 說經, occurring five times, corresponds to *dharmān deśayaty...* in the Skt. *Daśottarasūtra* (V.9).⁴

There we also find a compound of the two characters, but the other way round, which seems to have no other meaning than 法 or 經 separately (see n. 34 below): 亦聞法經 (233c29), corresponding to *Daśottarasūtra* III.1 (p. 58): (*saddharma*)śravaṇaṃ.⁵ In this case, the two characters were perhaps combined to equal the weight that *dharma* with prefixed *sad-* here has (no four-syllable pattern is discernible in the Chinese translation). Or should we assume that here already a text on *dharmas* is meant, as the (probably later) title of the translation suggests?

Clear instances of 經 and 經法 having the same function are also found in the *Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經 T 602. At 164a15 and *passim*, we find the expression 三十七品經, while at 169a25 we encounter 三十七品經法.⁶ Noteworthy is the relation of 經 and 法 in 三十七品經爲道法 (p. 169a21). 三十七品經 also occurs in the *Ba zheng dao jing* 八正道經 T 112 (p. 505b9), which, if it is not a work supervised by An Shigao, shows that, by the very occurrence of this expression, it is an old translation. Sūtras can certainly not have been meant by 經 in the case of these 37 items, in Indic texts called *dharmas* / *dhammas* (instances are mentioned below).

Further research must show, how, at some time, 經 lost the possibility of being an equivalent of 法 and became a name for a text in which the Buddha and/or one of his disciples discuss basic elements of Buddhist theory and practice. Some light might be thrown on this development by the following observations regarding four works ascribed to Lokakṣema: T 807, 350, 313 and 224.

³ See, again, Nattier 2003: 261 n. 336 (with reference to the *Fa jing jing* 法鏡經 T 322, translated during the Later Han dynasty by An Xuan 安玄 and Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調): "... the term *ching* [經] is frequently used by A[An Xuan and] Y[an Fotiao] ... as a translation not of 'sūtra' but of 'dharma' ...". She further remarks that the same usage is also found in the translation of the same text by Dharmarakṣa (T 323).

⁴ *Daśottarasūtra* p. 70-ff.; cf. *dhammaṃ deseti* in the corresponding section of the Pāli *Dasuttamasutta*, DN nr. 34, PTS ed. p. 279, 10-11. Note that it is impossible to know whether the original of 經 in the Chinese translation was in the plural or not.

⁵ *Dasuttamasutta* III 1, PTS ed. p. 274, 23: *saddhammasavaṇaṃ*.

⁶ This form also occurs twice in the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 T 603: see p. 173c24 and 26

In the *Neizang bai bao jing* 內藏百寶經 (*Lokānuvartanāsūtra*) T 807⁷ the compound 經法 is found 29 times; outside this combination, 經 is found 10 times and 法 5 times. Choosing the clearest cases of meaning, we can say that 經法 often signifies *dharmas* pl. (Tib *chos[rnam]*s) in the sense of [all] ontological and ethical elements of the Teaching, perhaps even [all] phenomena, e.g. at 751b20: 佛智不可量經法不計,⁸ or at 752c17: 過去當來今現在經法, 佛悉知其本.⁹ Sometimes the compound seems to translate *dharmatā* (Tib *chos nyid*), “nature [of things]”, e.g. p. 751b23: 獨佛佛能相知, 如佛經法所言.¹⁰

It is not certain whether, in any place, the compound also represents ‘the Buddhist Teaching’; in some combinations this would be possible. ‘The Buddhist Teaching’ is very likely expressed by the single 法 in (753a1) 佛說法示人¹¹. The single 經 in 說經 and 佛說經 at 751c20-21 might also express “the Buddhist Teaching”¹² (see also 753a14), but not in 752c19 佛知諸經本末一切皆深, where *dharmas* (pl.) seem to be meant¹³ (in this text normally indicated by 經法). In 佛說經已 (p. 753c21), 經 points to the preceding sermon.

In the *Yiyue monibao jing* 遺曰摩尼寶經 (*Kāśyapaparivarta*) T 350, as the preserved (but more developed) Sanskrit version shows, 法 is used throughout to translate *dharma* as an item a Bodhisattva should know was to be avoided or followed, but also in the sense of the Teaching, e.g. in 常隨法行 (p. 189b 17) or 法中道斷絕 (189b 26), and (191a1 ff.) in the sense of basic elements of the Buddhist theory. 經, too, many times corresponds to *dharma*, and is not to be translated as ‘Lehrtexte’, as Weller did in his translation of T 350 (in Weller 1987 vol. 2 p. 1184 ff.). At 190c 8 三十七品經 is found, which corresponds to *saptātriṃśad bodhapakṣyā dharmā* in Vo. KP fol. 26r 5. But there are two cases where 經 indicates that a sermon is meant by the preceding characters: At 190c 14 the text refers to itself by 極大珍寶之積遺日羅經 (cf. *mahāratnakūṭe dharmaparyāye*, Vo. KP f. 28r 3), and at 189c 3 to [a text on] six *pāramitās* and a *Bodhisattvapīṭaka* by 六波羅蜜及菩薩毘羅經.

The compound 經法 occurs in a phrase immediately preceding the latest citation: [1] 但求索好經法 (189c 2, cf. (s)[u](*śrutam*) *paryeṣate*, Vo. f. KP 6v1-2).

It also occurs [2] at 189 c20: 所聞經法 (cf. *suśrutam śruṇoti*, Vo. KP f. 10r 1); and [3] at 190b 4: 索諸經法不忘, 於經法中無有飽時 (cf. *saddharmaparyeṣṭim*

⁷ On this text see Harrison 1993: 159-161. In the analysis of Lokakṣema’s version compared with the Tibetan translation (PekK vol. XXXIV, No. 866, pp. 250-251, mDo Mu 304b 2 - 309a 6, we have followed the verse numbering suggested in Harrison 1982: 220-224.

⁸ The corresponding passage (by position) in the Tibetan translation seems to occur at PekK 304b 6-7, but its wording matches the Chinese only in part.

⁹ The paragraph containing this passage in Lokakṣema’s text (§ 60) corresponds by position to v. 65 in the Tibetan translation (PekK 307a 4). The latter is, on the whole, rather different; cf. however the first two lines, partially corresponding to our 經法 passage: *yang dag ji bzhin gzhān min *par / chos rnam rtoḡs par thugs chud la / ...*

¹⁰ Cf. the partially corresponding Tibetan translation, v. 8 (PekK 304b 8): *... / sangs rgyas chos nyid gang yin dang / ...*

¹¹ Cf. Tib. v. 71, PekK 307a 8: *... / sems can rnam la de bstan pa / etc. .*

¹² Cf. PekK 305b 2-3 (?).

¹³ Cf. Tib v. 66, PekK 307a 4-5: *dam pa’i don du chos rnam kun / zab bar rab tu mkhyen gyur la / ...*

ārabhyāṭṭṛ[p](tā) śrrutārthatayā, Vo. KP f. 18v 2-3); [4] 190b 20: 發心諸經法悉從中生 (cf. *dharmān vividhā kkrameṇa śuklehi dharmehi vivar[dh]a[m]ā[n]ah*, Vo. KP f. 21v 5); [5] 190c 23: 諸佛經法等 (cf. *sarvadharmāṇām*, Vo. KP f. 30r 1); [6] 193b 10: 時佛說是經法 (cf. *asmin ... gāthābhinirhāre bhāṣyamāṇe*, Vo. KP f. 69 r 5 - 69v 1); and [7] 193c 20: 爾時兩比丘說是經法 (cf. *asmiṃ ... dharmaparyāye bhāṣyamāṇe*, Vo. KP f. 73v 1).

If one takes into account the preserved Sanskrit parallels, in [3-5] the compound 經法 has the meaning ‘Buddhist teaching’ or ‘basic elements of Buddhist theory and practice’, but in [6-7] it means the sermon [which contains the teaching and its elements], while in [1-2] both options might be applicable.

In the *Achu foguo jing* 阿閼佛國經 (**Akṣobhyavyūha*) T 313,¹⁴ 經法 is not found. But 經 and 法 are, probably for stylistic reasons, used as synonyms, signifying the Teaching.¹⁵ This is especially suggested by the following excerpt: (757c 18-24):¹⁶

佛語舍利弗：「阿閼如來為諸弟子說法時，弟子不左右顧視，一心聽經。中有住聽經者，身不知罷極。中有坐聽經者，身亦不知罷極，意亦不念罷極也。阿閼如來於虛空中說法時，諸弟子悉聽之。是時，得神足比丘、未得神足比丘，承佛威神，皆於虛空中行而聽法。」¹⁷

More important is that 經 indicates, more than 30 times (761a1 ff.), a sermon (阿閼佛德號法經, often abbreviated).

As to the *Dao xing jing* 道行經 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*) T 224, it may suffice to point to a litany on 諸經法 at 471 b 21 - c 3. Sadāprarudita requests a magically created Buddha to give a sermon (經) on 諸經法 and hopes, after hearing it, to obtain the qualities all Buddhas possess (聞經已，諸佛所有經法，我皆欲悉得之，471b 22-23).¹⁸ The 諸經法 he wishes to hear about (p. 471b 21-22: 願佛為我說經法。我從佛聞經，etc.) in order to get the qualities of a Buddha are not ‘the sūtra dharmas’, as Lancaster normally translates this phrase, but simply *sarvadharmāḥ*, i.e., all ontological elements accepted in the preceding Buddhist Teaching. This can be derived from a few places where a Sanskrit parallel is found.¹⁹

¹⁴ Paul Harrison (1993: 166) has pointed out that the attribution of this translation, in its present form, to Lokakṣema is not entirely beyond doubt.

¹⁵ 經 is also used as a verb, in the sense of “walking” etc. (753 b24 [經行] and 757c25 [經], cf. T.224.433c9).

¹⁶ Cf. the Tibetan translation (PekK vol. XXII, No. 760.6, pp. 127-160, Dkon brtsegs Dzi 1-80a 5; for this passage in particular, see 38a 2-7; tr. in Dantine 1983: 246-247, § 26-27).

¹⁷ “The Buddha said to Śāriputra: «When the Tathāgata Akṣobya preaches the *Dharma (法) for the benefit of the śrāvakas, they look neither to the left nor the right; with a concentrated mind they listen to the *Dharma (經). Those among them who listen to the *Dharma (經) while standing do not perceive exhaustion in their body. Those among them who listen while sitting neither perceive exhaustion in their body, nor think of exhaustion in their mind. When the Tathāgata Akṣobya, [having been elevated] in the air, preaches the *Dharma (法), all śrāvakas listen to it. At that time the monks who are endowed with the *ṛddhipādas* as well as the monks who are not, they all, after having received the power of the Buddha, listen to the *Dharma (法) while moving in the air»”.

¹⁸ So we understand the clause (see *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, p. 238, 21: ... *buddhadharmān samudānetukāma itī*), while Lancaster 1968: 232 translates: “... having heard it I wish to hear all the sūtras of all the Buddhas that there are”.

¹⁹ *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, p. 238, 25. 29; 239, 13-16; cf. 238, 15 where the five *skandhas* are dealt with.

Returning now to Dharmarakṣa, one could argue the above examples only take into account older translations and say nothing about Dharmarakṣa's usage. However, as shown by the instances collected in Karashima's glossary of the *Zhengfa hua jing* 正法華經 (*Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*) T 263 (see above n. 1), in this translation 經法 corresponds, in nearly all instances, to the word *dharma* in the Lotus-sūtra. The question that remains is: what is meant by *dharma* in the Lotus-sūtra. It is generally the Buddhist Teaching.

Observing that there is a preference for the expression 說經法 in T 263, we now turn to another important translation by Dharmarakṣa, the *Guang zan jing* 光讚經 (*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*) T 222, and see the same preference. In places where 說經法,²⁰ 聞經法²¹ or similar expressions occur, 'the Teaching' is meant. But 'the Teaching' does not apply, when we see expressions like 諸經法 (149b 4)²² or 一切經法 (198b 21-22),²³ where only [*sarva*] *dharmāḥ* is to be expected. So the same usage as in An Shigao's works can still be found here, and in fact we find, in the corpus of Dharmarakṣa's translations, the same semantic patterns already observed in the Late Han translations.

3. *Jingfa* in some pre-Buddhist sources

One of the early Han silk manuscripts (帛書) unearthed in December 1973 at Mawangdui 馬王堆, in present day Hunan Province, contains, as is well-known, four texts that are generally considered to belong to the philosophical tradition known as Huang-Lao 黃老, of

²⁰ E.g. 所說經法, 不僂供養 (T 222 p. 147a 17-18), cf. PD 4, 10: ... *nirāmiṣadharmadesakair...*; 講說經法, 演於六波羅蜜 (T 222 p. 147c 9-10), cf. PD 7, 18-19: ... *dharmam desayanto yad uta imām eva śaṭpāramitāpratisamyuktām dharmadesānam*.

²¹ 欲得開化衆生類... 令得睹佛速聞經法及與聖衆 (T 222 p. 151a 15), cf. PG folio 14v 6: ... *tān sarvasatvā<n> buddhadharmasaṃghasābdāṃc chrāvayitukāmena ...*

²² The entire passage (occurring within an enumeration of *jñānas*, on which see Lamotte 1970: 1465-1470) runs: 法慧, 於諸經法亦無所慧; PG, at this point the closest Skt. parallel, simply has ... *dharmajñānam* ... (fol. 8v 10-11). It is possible that this expansion in T 222 is a gloss by Dharmarakṣa (as it is at times the case in the *Guang zan jing*). However, cf. the corresponding passage in the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (ed. Ghosha, Calcutta 1902-1913, p. 62, 9): *dharmajñānam bhāvayitavyam dharmānupalabdhitām upādāya*.

²³ This passage is, in T 222, considerably divergent from the other versions of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*; it runs: 何謂菩薩稽首諸佛供事歸念? 一切經法, 分別義趣故 (i.e., the Bodhisattva's worshipping etc. the Buddhas is defined on the basis of [his] discernment of the meaning of all *dharma*s). The Skt. parallel which comes comparatively closer to T 222 is PG 96v 11: *tatra katamā bodhisatvasya mahāsatvasya buddhaparyupāsanaṭā yā dharmaparyupāsanaṭā sarvasatvānugrahaṃ prati* • (cf. PD 224, 1, even more different from T 222). The corresponding passage in the *Fang guang jing* 放光經 T 221 p. 29a 26-27 reads as follows: 云何菩薩奉見諸佛? 以見法故, 是爲見佛; this more or less corresponds to PG's reading up to *dharmaparyupāsanaṭā*, although the translators apparently wrongly interpreted *paryupāsanaṭā* as a derivative of *√paś*.

While this passage is not found in Kumārajīva's *Mohebanruoboluomi jing* 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 T 223 (see p. 259b 1-9, and cf. also Lamotte 1980: 2430-2435), Xuangzang's translation (T vol. 7, n. 220, p. 87c 22-26 has an expanded text which comes surprisingly close, in part, to Dharmarakṣa's reading; see, in particular, 87c 24-25: 若菩薩摩訶薩爲欲饒益諸有情故 [= *sarvasatvānugrahaṃ prati*], 於法義趣如實分別, 如是名爲以法供養承事諸佛. This partial agreement suggests that Dharmarakṣa's original had at this point, in comparison with PG and PD, a genuine variant reading.

which little was known before this finding. Many issues concerning this corpus – dating, authorship, provenance, mutual relationship between the four treatises etc. – remain controversial.²⁴ At any rate, for our purpose what matters is that these texts cannot be later than the early period of the Former Han dynasty (206 BC - 8 AD).

Now, *Jingfa* 經法 is the title of the first of these four treatises. Of course, in the absence of a real context,²⁵ it is impossible to interpret this title with absolute certitude. Peerenboom (1993: 6) translates it as “Canonical Laws”, with the alternative interpretation “Standards of Regularity” (Id. p. 286 n. 26); Defoort (1997: 190) as “Model and Law”, Leo S. Chang (in Yu Mingguang et al. 1993: 213) as “Constant Laws”. In other words, with the possible partial exception of Peerenboom’s first rendition, 經 is generally understood here in its earlier²⁶ meanings of “constant rule, normative principle” or “constant”, rather than as “classic, canonical text”.²⁷ Broadly speaking, in some contexts 經 could be described as a quasi-synonym of 法, and syntactically interpreted either as its determinant (“Standards of regularity”, “Constant Laws”), or as coordinated to it (“Model and Law”).

A far more significant early occurrence of 經法 can be found in the *He guan zi* 鶡冠子, an interesting, obscure text, ideologically related to the Mawangdui manuscripts.²⁸ In chapter 10 of the *He guan zi* we read:²⁹

大象不成，事無經法，精神相薄，乃傷百族。

“If the great image is not perfected, affairs will lack constant standards, the quintessential and the numinous³⁰ will fight with each other: then indeed they will harm the people”.

²⁴ For a comprehensive study of this corpus, see Peerenboom 1993, especially the introduction (pp. 1-26) for a presentation of the research into these texts; cf. also Yu Mingguang et al. 1993: 1-20. According to Tang Lan’s 唐蘭 widely (though not unanimously) shared opinion, these four treatises are to be identified with the lost *Huangdi si jing* 黃帝四經 (Four classics of the Yellow Emperor) listed in the *Han shu* 漢書 (Yu Mingguang et al. 1993: 5-8; the debate on this point is summarised in Peerenboom 1993: 7-9).

²⁵ The only edition of the four Mawangdui treatises we have been able to access is that contained in Yu Mingguang et al. 1993. The title *Jingfa* 經法 occurs in a colophon at the end of the relevant treatise (p. 84 of the above-mentioned edition), followed by its total number of characters: 《名理》經法凡五千 (where 名理 is the title of the ninth and last section of *Jingfa*).

²⁶ According to the main dictionaries of the Chinese language, (HD 9: 859b [5], WLGZ 924b [3], *Gran Ricci* 1: 2081a; cf. Morohashi 27508), the use of 經 in the sense of “canonical text” is attested at first in the *Xunzi* 荀子 (first half of the 3rd century BC). This usage obviously derives from the meaning “norm, standard” (e.g. see WLGZ loc. cit., where the meaning of “classic, canonical text” (經典) of 經 as: 可作為標準的書, i.e., “a book which can be taken as a standard”, i.e., “a normative, canonical text”).

²⁷ However, Tang Lan’s analysis of the title (relevant to his identification of the Mawangdui texts: see n. 2 above), as referred to by Peerenboom (1993: 7), seemingly implies a different interpretation: “... Tang suggests that an honorific title in which the accolade *jing* (經 - classic) is conferred on works attributed the Yellow Emperor would be appropriated given the circumstances. First, two of the sections – *Jing Fa* and *Shiliu Jing* – contain the word *jing*. ...”. The same argument is proposed also in Yu Mingguang et al. 1993: 7.

²⁸ On the *He guan zi* see Graham 1989 and Defoort 1997. According to Graham (1989: 522), the portion of this book containing chapter 10 was composed “shortly after the fall of Ch’in [秦]” (i.e., after 206 BC); see Id. pp. 508-509 and Peerenboom 1993: 273-283 on the relationship between *He guan zi* and the four Mawangdui treatises.

²⁹ We quote from the Ming dynasty edition reproduced in Defoort 1997: 309-370 (on this edition and other witnesses of the *He guan zi*, see Id. 91-97). The passage at issue occurs in ch. 10, p. 69, 8-9 of the original edition (Defoort 1997: 344).

Three occurrences of 經法 in the *Han shu* 漢書 (1st century AD) are also worth mentioning.³¹

Though far from being exhaustive, this survey of 經法 in pre-Buddhist sources³² should suffice to rule out the hypothesis that 經 in this word was (at least generally) used by the Buddhist translators in the sense of “*sūtra*”.³³ In fact, although 經法 could mean “sermon” in some passages discussed in § 2 (e.g. T 350 p. 190c 14), this does not hold true in the majority of cases, where this expression is to be analysed, and translated, as in the older sources: i.e., taking 經 in the sense of “constant” (determining 法) or of “normative principle etc.” (i.e., basically = 法). The latter is no doubt also the meaning underlying the use of 經 to translate, alone, *dharma* (see above p. 160 and n. 3).³⁴

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³⁰ For a detailed discussion of 精 and 神 (with reference to the *Huainan zi* 淮南子), see Roth 1991: 639-648; Xu Fuguan 2001, vol. 2, pp. 142-147.

³¹ *Han shu* 漢書, by Ban Gu 班固 (32-92 AD), ed. Zhonghua shuju, Beijing 1962, vol. 1 p. 349, vol. 4 p. 1073 and vol. 10 p. 3353.

³² We should also like to mention an occurrence of 經法 in the *Tai ping jing* 太平經, although this is not a pre-Buddhist text (and, in fact, it has been argued that it was influenced by Buddhism: see Tang 1983: 73-80; cf. Zürcher 1972: vol. 2, p. 333 n. 106). As is well-known, the dating and textual history of the *Tai ping jing* are rather controversial. It is, however, likely that its earliest layer dates back to the 2nd century AD (e.g. see Yu 1964-1965: 84 n. 17). In *juan* 50 we read (Wang 1960: 170; we quote Yu Liming's punctuation and emendation [Yu 2001: 145]): 覆者，乃謂占事則應，行之則應至，是也，然後可以困[read 困]成天經法，是正所謂以調定陰陽、安王者之大術也。

³³ That, at least, 經 could not have been meant in the sense of *written* text is demonstrated beyond doubt by the opening words of Yan Fotiao's preface to the *Shami shi hui zhangju* 沙彌十慧章句 (*Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 T 2145 p. 69c 21; on this text, see Zürcher 1972: 34 and 331 n. 88): 昔在佛世，經法未記，言出尊口，弟子誦習，etc. (“Formerly, at the time of the Buddha, the Teaching [經法] was not written down, [but] the disciples recited [its] words as they came out of the Venerable One's mouth”). This passage does not come from a translation, it is true, but Yan Fotiao was a pupil of An Shigao, and he took part, as assistant, in the translation work (see n. 3 above).

³⁴ The basic semantic equivalence of 經 and 法 in this context can also account for the reverse form 法經, occasionally to be found (apparently with the same meaning as 經法) in the Buddhist sources we have examined (see above p. 160). The reversibility of this kind of compound is a common phenomenon, especially at this early stage: see, for instance, Cheng Xiangqing's remarks concerning Wang Chong's 王充 (1st century AD) *Lun Heng* 論衡 (Cheng 1992: 282-ff., especially 290-291 on the possibility, for both forms of a given compound [i.e., AB / BA], of occurring within the same text or even passage, with the same meaning), and, on the earliest Buddhist translations, Zürcher 1977: 180.

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The Twelve Divisions of Scriptures (十二部經) in the Earliest Chinese Buddhist Translations*

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The classifications of Buddhist scriptures known as the *navāṅga* “nine-division” and *dvādaśāṅga* “twelve-division” systems, respectively, have long been of interest to scholars of Buddhism. Among the dozens of studies that have appeared in print, particularly noteworthy contributions have been made by MINO Kōjun (1926), whose wide-ranging work set the standard for all subsequent studies; MIZUNO Kōgen (1954), who produced an important study tabulating various sequences of the nine and twelve *āṅgas* in Buddhist texts; HIRAKAWA Akira, who extended the line of inquiry introduced by Mizuno to include vinaya texts as well (1963, especially pp. 61-65; and 1968, pp. 721-753, reprinted in 1990, pp. 381-418); and above all MAEDA Egaku (1964), whose masterful study of early Buddhist scriptures includes a detailed discussion of each of the twelve categories as well as a comprehensive chart of dozens of occurrences of nine- and twelve-*āṅga* lists in both Chinese and Indic-language texts.¹ The topic has drawn the attention of western scholars as well, as illustrated by discussions by Étienne Lamotte (1980, pp. 2281-2286), Oskar von Hinüber (1994), and David Seyfort Ruegg (1999).²

Two overriding concerns have animated most of these studies. On the one hand, scholars specializing in early Buddhism have sought to reconstruct the original meanings of the various categories of literature constituting the *navāṅga* and *dvādaśāṅga* lists, in order to come to a better understanding of the formative stages of the Buddhist canonical collections. On the other hand, those with a primary interest in attempting to trace the origins of the Mahāyāna have attempted to catalogue the *nikāya* affiliation of various non-Mahāyāna *āṅga* lists, in hopes of correlating them with lists found in Mahāyāna scriptures. If a given sequence of *āṅgas* could be shown to belong to the Sarvāstivādins, for example, or to the Dharmaguptakas, or to the Mahāsāṅghikas, when that same list appeared in a Mahāyāna scripture this seemed to hold the promise of being able to determine the specific sectarian milieu within which that scripture was composed.

Two general conclusions can readily be drawn from these studies. First, it seems

* I would like to thank Seishi Karashima and Stefano Zacchetti for fruitful discussions of several of the points considered here, which helped to clarify many issues and resulted in substantial improvements in this paper. Any errors that remain, of course, are my own.

¹ This oversized chart is printed as a separate insert to the book and thus has no pagination; it will be cited below simply as Maeda, “Chart.” On Maeda’s work see also the insightful review by SAKURABE Hajime (1965).

² I would like to thank Stefano Zacchetti for having drawn several of these studies to my attention.

clear that the nine-*aṅga* list (which is used exclusively in Pāli sources and appears several times in the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya as well) emerged first, and that the list of twelve *aṅgas* represents a subsequent elaboration. Second, in surviving sources the twelve-*aṅga* list appears far more frequently than does the list of nine. In the most extensive tabulation of *aṅga* lists published to date, occurrences of the *dvādaśāṅga* system far outnumber those of the *navāṅga* type.³ This is especially true of Mahāyāna scriptures, where—with two well-known exceptions—the *navāṅga* list hardly appears at all.⁴

The data presented in previous studies allows us to make a few other observations as well. First, with a handful of interesting exceptions the sequence of items in the *navāṅga* list appears to have remained fairly stable.⁵ The *dvādaśāṅga* lists, on the other

³ See Maeda (1964), Chart.

⁴ The exceptions are the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and the *Lotus Sūtra (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka)*; for details see the following note.

⁵ Because occurrences of the *navāṅga* list are fairly limited, they can be conveniently summarized here. First, a list of nine *aṅgas* appears in three places in the Chinese translation of the Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya (T1425, 22.227b12-13, 281c18-19, 356c11-12) in the following sequence: 修多羅 (*sūtra*), 祇夜 (*geya*), 授記 (*vyākaraṇa*), 伽陀 (*gāthā*), 憂陀那 (*udāna*), 如是語 (*ityuktaka*), 本生 (*jātaka*), 方廣 (*vaiṇya*), and 未曾有 (*adbhuta[dharma]*). The list consistently given in Pāli sources is virtually identical, simply reversing the order of the last two items (*sutta*, *geyya*, *veyyākaraṇa*, *gāthā*, *udāna*, *itivyuttaka*, *jātaka*, *abbhuta[dhamma]*, and *vedalla*); for references to occurrences of this list in Pāli canonical and paracanonical texts see Lamotte 1980, p. 2283. The *navāṅga* sequence found in the Chinese Mahāsāṅghika Vinaya also occurs in both Chinese versions of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (大般涅槃經, T374 and 375, 12.383c6-8 and 623b24-27) as well as in an **Itivyuttaka* translated by Xuanzang (本事經, T765, 17.679b8-9, 684a3-4, and 697c17-18). The *navāṅga* sequence found in Pāli (i.e., Mahānikāya) sources also appears in the Chinese translation of the **Vimuttimaggā* (解脫道論, T1648, 32.445b23-26), a text generally considered to belong to the Abhayagiri *nikāya* (see Skilling 1994 and Hayashi 2003).

Other *navāṅga* lists are best described as “aberrant,” in that they involve not merely the addition of new categories and/or the reordering of the sequence, but also the elimination of one or more categories found in “standard” *navāṅga* lists in order to retain the usual total of nine. Perhaps the best known of such aberrant lists appears in the the *Lotus Sūtra (Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtra)*, from which the categories of *vyākaraṇa*, *udāna*, and *vaiṇya* have been dropped and three new categories (*nidāna*, *aupamaṇya*, and *upadeśa*) added in their place. In the *Lotus* itself the list occurs in the Sanskrit text (Kern and Nanjio ed., p. 45.7) as well as in two of the three Chinese translations (妙法蓮華經, T262, 9.7c25-27 and 添品妙法蓮華經, T264, 9.140c16-18; it is not found, however, in the earliest Chinese translation, the 正法華經 [T263] produced by Dharmarakṣa in the second half of the third century). No other occurrence of this list has been identified in any other Indian Buddhist text, whether in an Indic-language version or in Chinese translation (though of course it is referred to, drawing from the *Lotus* itself, in a wide range of East Asian compositions).

The alterations are not always as extensive as in the *Lotus*. Sometimes only a single item is replaced; in a Song-period translation of the *Samgīti Sūtra*, for example, *udāna* has been dropped and *nidāna* added in its place (大集法門經; T12, 1.227b26-27). In the *Daśabbūmikavibhāṣā* (十住毘婆沙論; T1521, 26.69b26-28) *nidāna* is again the sole addition, but this time it is the category of *jātaka* that has been eliminated. Other such examples, all of them involving the addition of *nidāna*, have been collected by Maeda (see his Chart, section II of the *navāṅga* division); in one of these cases he provides a list said to consist of ten rather than nine items (法集經; see T761, 17.612a8-11), though strictly speaking the tenth item occurs separately, in the following sentence (17.612a12).

One additional list, found in the *Ekottarikāgama* (T125, 2.635a17-19; see below, p. 194), seems

hand, exhibit a truly kaleidoscopic range of variation.⁶ Indeed, in the case of the twelve-*aṅga* lists the sole item that appears to be immune from alteration is the placement of the category of “sūtra” at the head of the list.⁷

At this point we might pause to consider the fact that we do not find any intermediate stages of development—that is, there are no references to “ten *aṅgas*” or “eleven *aṅgas*”—in Buddhist canonical sources. If, as seems to be the case, the nine-*aṅga* list was subsequently expanded to twelve, why did the leap take place by adding an increment of three items all at once, rather than by more gradual stages?⁸

In this connection we must take note of one glaring omission in previous studies of the formation of Buddhist canonical literature: the fact that no attention has been paid, so far as I have been able to determine, to the parallel process of composition of canonical literature by the Jains. It is well known that the Jains have (or rather, had) a collection of canonical scriptures arranged in twelve *aṅgas*. Today only eleven of these *aṅgas* are extant in a Śvetāmbara recension; as to the Dīgāmbaras, they hold that their own version of the canon was lost at an early date, and they admit that the sacred texts they currently use are a later reconstruction. The fact that one of their major competitors had a canon in twelve *aṅgas* cannot have escaped the notice of the Indian Buddhists.⁹ What we may have here, therefore, is a case parallel to the expansion of the list of “Buddhas of the past” from an early figure of seven to twenty-four (twenty-five if Śākyamuni Buddha himself is included), in all probability in competition with the Jain list of twenty-four *Tīrthamkaras*.¹⁰ In other words, it is possible that the shift from nine to twelve *aṅgas* was the result of Buddhist efforts aimed at “keeping up with the Jainas.”

* * *

If the nine-*aṅga* list is indeed older, and if the twelve-*aṅga* list gradually replaced it in most (but not all) Indian Buddhist communities, the greater frequency of references not to have been noted in previous studies, but it clearly belongs to this same aberrant group. Here two items—*geya* and *udāna*—have been eliminated, while *nidāna* and *avadāna* have taken their place.

⁶ The variety is so great that it is impossible to provide a complete list of occurrences here. The reader may wish to begin by consulting the extensive chart given in Maeda 1964; some additional examples identified since its publication will be mentioned below.

⁷ One of the lists given by Maeda (from the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya, T1428, 22.968b; see his twelve *aṅgas* chart, section Ia) seems to provide a counterexample, but upon closer examination this proves to be not a list of the twelve *aṅgas per se*, but an account of the contents of a “miscellaneous *piṭaka*,” a fact that Maeda seems to indicate by placing this example in brackets.

⁸ One version of the *Dharmasaṅgraha* (T761) is sometimes said to contain ten rather than nine *aṅgas*, but in fact the case is not so clear; see above, n. 5.

⁹ In the Jain case, the term *aṅga* actually refers to sections within the collection of canonical texts, unlike the Buddhist case, where the referents of the individual *aṅga* names have always been overlapping and, in many cases, obscure. It is also worth noting, though there is no space to pursue this matter here, that the Jains refer to their canonical texts as a whole as “Āgama” (or, alternatively, Siddhānta).

¹⁰ In the case of the Buddhas of the past, this expansion seems to be known mainly (perhaps exclusively) in Pāli sources. In the case of the expansion of the list of nine *aṅgas* to twelve, by contrast, the Pāli texts have retained the older list.

to a twelve-*aṅga* system in Mahāyāna scriptures may simply reflect the relative popularity of the two lists during the period when Mahāyāna texts were being produced. Viewed historically, in other words, the predominance of the twelve-*aṅga* system might simply reflect the fact that by the time Mahāyāna scriptures began to be composed, a majority of Buddhists in India had abandoned the *navāṅga* system in favor of one form or another of the *dvādaśāṅga* list.

This is not, however, how the matter has generally been approached in previous studies. Instead, the distribution of *aṅga* lists in surviving Buddhist scriptures (both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna) has been viewed primarily through the lens of sectarian affiliation. Confronted with the wide variety of *aṅga* lists found in Buddhist literature, scholars have tried to bring order out of this apparent chaos, and the method most commonly chosen has been to attempt to identify each list with a particular ordination lineage (*nikāya*).

In the Pāli scriptures transmitted by the Mahānikāya ordination lineage (widely referred to, in modern sources, as the “Theravāda”),¹¹ only a single version of the *navāṅga* list is attested, making it a fairly straightforward matter to equate that list and its sequence with a particular group. In the case of the other *nikāyas*, however—for none of which we have a complete *tripiṭaka*, or even a complete *sūtrapiṭaka*, to consult—the situation is more complex. Scholars have therefore turned to the relatively small number of texts (most of them preserved only in Chinese) whose affiliation seems fairly clear in order to provide an initial point of departure. Texts whose relationship to a specific *nikāya* is debatable or completely unknown, on the other hand, have generally received less attention.

This method would seem, on the surface, to be ahistorical, since texts are selected for attention not on the basis of their age, but on the basis of the degree of certainty about their *nikāya* affiliation. Yet such an approach has significant historical implications. Those texts whose *nikāya* identity is clear (above all, certain *vinaya* texts and scholastic treatises) or fairly certain (e.g., some of the Chinese *āgama* collections) belong, for the most part, to the late fourth century CE or after. While some Chinese translations produced prior to this date do have identifiable (most often Sarvāstivādin) connections, the vast majority do not. As a result, the choice of *nikāya* affiliation as an organizing principle in the study of the nine- and twelve-*aṅga* systems has inadvertently privileged later Chinese translations over earlier ones.

What this has meant, in most studies published to date, is that the earliest datable *aṅga* lists preserved in Buddhist canonical literature have been treated only as an afterthought, if at all.¹² What I would like to do in this paper, therefore, is to pursue a

¹¹ I would like to thank Peter Skilling for raising the issue of the recent vintage (and the often polemical intent) of the use of the name “Theravāda.”

¹² One might well ask why I refer to the Chinese sources, and not (for example) those in Pāli, as the earliest datable texts. The dates in question are, of course, the dates of translation of the texts into Chinese, which are often recorded with a high degree of accuracy (though the sources must be carefully

question that has thus far remained unasked: What can we learn by focusing on the earliest evidence found in Chinese sources concerning the number and sequence of the *aṅgas*?

This might seem an odd question to raise, for the *aṅgas* are of course an Indian, not a Chinese, creation. Thus one might well ask whether the chronology of Chinese sources on the *aṅgas* is a relevant issue at all. Moreover, it is well known that the transmission of Buddhism to China has not always reflected the sequence of developments in its Indian homeland; indeed, the opposite has sometimes been the case. A particularly striking instance of such an “inverse chronology” is the arrival of a substantial number of Mahāyāna scriptures in China by the late second century CE, while many older literary products—such as the *āgama* collections and *vinaya* texts—were transmitted and translated considerably later.¹³ In light of such examples it is clear that we cannot use Chinese sources uncritically as representing the chronology of developments in India. Nonetheless, there are rich possibilities for using them in other ways. A careful study of references to the *aṅgas* found in the earliest Chinese translations can, I believe, yield valuable results if carried out with a high degree of awareness of the many methodological problems involved. In this study, therefore, I propose to examine references to, and lists of, various *aṅga* systems in the chronological order of their appearance in Chinese Buddhist translations. We will then be in a position to evaluate what use we can—and cannot—make of this information.

Two caveats must be clearly stated, however, before proceeding with this task. First, the evaluation of the date of any Chinese translation requires that we begin by making careful use of the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, the earliest extant catalogue at our disposal (compiled c. 515 CE by Sengyou 僧祐). Attributions that begin to appear only in later catalogues (especially in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, compiled in 597 CE by the notorious Fei Changfang 費長房, who clearly padded his lists with numerous spurious attributions) must be viewed with great suspicion. The first task in any study involving a chronology of Chinese Buddhist translations, therefore, is to weed out unreliable attributions found in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* and other canonical editions that were based uncritically on these later catalogues. When we do so, the list of evaluated in each case). Of these a significant number—including those that are the subject of this paper—precede the date at which the Pāli scriptures are thought to have attained something like their present form (c. fifth century CE). Chinese Buddhist texts were not, of course, immune from alteration once they had been produced; copying errors, in particular, abound. Yet the absence of anything comparable to the Indian *dharmabhāṇaka* tradition in China, and conversely, the focus in China on the text in written form, have led to a very different set of literary processes than those of traditional India. Including considerations of such literary processes in future discussions of the “life of the text” in India and China might well be a fruitful line of thought.

¹³ According to traditional catalogues, the four *āgamas* were translated into Chinese in 413 (*Dirghāgama*, T1), 397-398 (*Madhyamāgama*, T26), 435-443 (*Saṃyuktāgama*, T99) and 397 CE (*Ekottarikāgama*, T125), respectively; a separate translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T100) is assigned to an unknown translator of the period 352-431 CE. A few individual scriptures belonging to various *āgamas* were, of course, translated earlier; there is also a selection of *Ekottarikāgama* texts (T150A) by An Shigao (see Harrison 1997) and a partial *Saṃyuktāgama* (T101) that may also be his work (see Harrison 2002). As

genuine works by such figures as An Shigao 安世高, Zhi Qian 支謙, Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 and others quickly becomes much more limited (and somewhat more workable) than before.¹⁴

Second, to talk about the “earliest appearance,” the “only appearance,” or the “absence of any appearance” implies a claim that the writer has read all the relevant texts and, most important, has recognized all the relevant terms. Such claims can never be absolute. The data presented in this paper are drawn primarily from three sources: references to the *aṅgas* encountered in my own reading of a number of early Chinese Buddhist translations (above all those produced by Zhi Qian), references mentioned in secondary sources by other scholars, and additional references identified through computer searches for a wide range of relevant terms in the version of the canon distributed by the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA). No computer search, however, can ever be considered definitive. While positive results can open a vast panorama of new references for our consideration, negative results—that is, the apparent absence of a particular term or group of terms—can never be considered conclusive. It is always possible that obscure and as yet unidentified terms for the *aṅgas* or their contents might have been used which have, therefore, eluded even the most extensive computer search.

Though I have made every effort to ensure that the materials discussed below are comprehensive (at least through the middle of the third century CE), it is always possible that other mentions of the nine or twelve *aṅgas*, using atypical terminology, will be identified in the future. I will therefore regularly qualify the observations given below with statements such as “no occurrence *has yet been identified*” to indicate that I do not intend them to be taken as total ontological claims. Even where such explicit language is not used, it is implied throughout this discussion.

The twelve *aṅgas* in Han and early post-Han translations

Discussions of the literary categories referred to in Indian sources as *aṅgas* regularly refer, as we have seen, to two primary systems: one consisting of nine elements and the other of twelve. No mention of a nine-*aṅga* system, however—much less any list of the nine elements it contains—has yet been identified in any Chinese Buddhist text translated or composed prior to the late fourth century CE.¹⁵ On the contrary, references to the *aṅgas* found in the earliest strata of Chinese Buddhist literature uniformly refer to a twelve-*aṅga* system. If, as suggested above, the *navāṅga* list is actually the older of the two to the Vinaya, it is well known that the lack of a complete Vinaya text in China was one of the factors that propelled the Chinese pilgrim Faxian 法顯 on his journey to the West in the late fourth century CE.

¹⁴ In An Shigao’s case, only fifteen of the fifty-three translations attributed to him in the Taishō canon (plus an additional text, the *Aban koujie shi'er yinyuan jing* 阿含口解十二因緣經 [T1508] discussed by Stefano Zacchetti elsewhere in this issue) can be accepted as genuine (see Zürcher 1991, pp. 297-298). For Lokakṣema, the ratio is nine out of twelve (see Harrison 1987 and 1993); for Zhi Qian, only twenty-two of fifty-two attributions (plus an additional four texts not credited to him by the Taishō editors, but identified by other researchers as his) appear to be authentic (see Nattier 2003b, pp. 241-242). For Dharmarakṣa, of the nine-five titles attributed to him in the Taishō canon, only seventy survive as legitimate attributions (see Boucher 1996, pp. 259-291, and n. 64 below).

two, we would have here another case of texts arriving in China in reverse chronological order; that is, with more recent products arriving first and older traditions being transmitted only later.

We will return to this issue (and its possible implications) below. For the moment, however, this means simply that our inquiry into the earliest references to the *āṅgas* in Chinese Buddhist literature will of necessity involve discussions of the twelve *āṅgas* alone.

The earliest reference to the twelve *āṅgas* identified thus far in a Chinese Buddhist text appears in An Shigao's *Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經, where the twelve *āṅgas* are mentioned in passing in a discussion of the thirty-seven *bodhipakṣa* dharmas.¹⁶ No list of the twelve items is given, and the topic is not raised again; indeed, this appears to be the sole mention of an *āṅga* system of any kind in An Shigao's corpus. This text is, of course, one of the works universally accepted as a translation by An Shigao, yet it is known to contain commentarial material as well. Uṛ Hakuju classifies this line as part of the original Indic text (that is, not a commentarial gloss added by An Shigao or a member of his circle),¹⁷ which would place it in the middle of the second century CE. If, on the other hand, this line is part of an explanation added in China, its date would be approximately a century later.

A second mention of the twelve *āṅgas* occurs in a preface composed by the Chinese monk Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 (fl. late second century CE) to a treatise entitled *The Ten Wisdoms of the Śramaṇera* (沙彌十慧章句). Though the treatise itself has not survived, the preface is preserved in Sengyou's *Chu sanzang jiji*. Again we find only a mention of the twelve *āṅgas*, here described as being recited after the Buddha's death, with no enumeration of the contents of the list.¹⁸

Only one other reference to the twelve *āṅgas* has been identified in a supposedly Han-period text, but in this case the attribution is less than certain. The text in question, the *Chengju guangming dingyi jing* 成具光明定意經 credited to Zhi Yao 支曜 (fl. 168-190), exhibits a number of anomalous features, and it may well be an indigenous Chinese composition.¹⁹ Accordingly, I am reluctant to consider this text as offering genuine

¹⁵ See the sources cited above in n. 5.

¹⁶ T602, 15.172c4-5: 十二部經都皆墮三十七品經中。譬如萬川四流皆歸大海。

¹⁷ See Uṛ 1971, 233; cf. also p. 243. The study of the same text by ARAMAKI Noritoshi does not include an analysis of this passage (on this section see Aramaki 1971, p. 42).

¹⁸ T2145, 55.69c23-25: 眾賢共使阿難演其所聞。凡所著出十二部經。其後高明各為注說。

¹⁹ Erik Zürcher has noted several unusual features of the text (though these were not sufficient, in his view, to call into question its Han-period attribution): 60% of the text is in four-character prosody, examples of pure Chinese-style parallelism abound, and one passage "reads like a Chinese essay" (see Zürcher 1991, pp. 284-295). The text also contains several passages in unrhymed (five-syllable) verse. In sum, he writes, "The language is more classical than that of any other Han Buddhist text" (p. 284).

Moreover, whereas the newly minted terminology used by other early translators generally appeared in at least a few other texts before being replaced by the style of later generations, the very distinctive

Han-period evidence for the knowledge of a twelve-*aṅga* system. Be that as it may, it again offers only a brief mention of the twelve categories of scriptures, without providing a list of their contents.²⁰

No reference to the twelve *aṅgas* has yet been identified in any other Han-period text, including the voluminous Mahāyāna scriptures produced by Lokakṣema 支婁迦讖,²¹ the sole text (again, a Mahāyāna sūtra) produced by the team of An Xuan 安玄 and Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 (the *Fajing jing* 法鏡經, T322), or the Buddha-biography attributed to Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 (T184 and 196).

It is hazardous to draw firm conclusions on such a limited basis, yet one observation can still be made: the two genuine Han-period references to the twelve-*aṅga* system (bracketing the problematic text assigned to Zhi Yao) both occur not in ordinary sūtras, but in texts that reflect oral discussion and commentary. Indeed, this may well be the way that references to the twelve *aṅgas* (and for that matter, to the *navāṅga* system as well) first gained currency in India, circulating in discussions *about* scriptural texts rather than being included in the scriptures themselves.

In subsequent decades, however, the twelve-*aṅga* system began to appear with increasing frequency in Buddhist scriptures translated into Chinese. In chronological order, the next writer in whose work the *dvādaśāṅga* system appears is the prolific lay translator Zhi Qian (fl. 220-252). In the substantial corpus of his surviving translations there are no fewer than five sūtras and one preface that mention the twelve *aṅgas*.²²

Most of these works merely mention the twelve *aṅgas* without providing any further details. In a preface to his version of the *Dharmapada* (*Faju jing* 法句經, T210), vocabulary used in T630 does not seem to have been adopted by any subsequent translator. Terms like 除惡 for “monk” (< *bhikṣu*?), 棄惡 for “nun” (< *bhikṣuṇī*?), 履跡 for “lay follower” (< *upāsaka*?), and 無上獨尊平等之意 for “the supreme solely-venerable uniform thought” (< *anuttarasamyaksambodhicitta*?) remained unique to this text, with no visible progeny in later translations. Conversely, the text contains expressions which are otherwise unattested during this period—e.g., the mention of *Guanyin* 觀音 in a list of bodhisattvas (15.451c11), a name that otherwise seems to have become current only around the beginning of the fifth century (see Nattier 2003a, pp. 344-345).

Most telling of all, however, is the content of the text itself: its discussion of the meaning of the fifth *pāramitā* (*dhyāna*, here given as here given as 一心), for example, proceeds on the basis of the Chinese characters alone: 何謂廣一心。孝事父母則一其心。尊敬師友而一其心, and so on (15.453b6-7). And this is not a mere gloss; such language constitutes the entirety of the discussion. It is difficult to imagine that such an exegesis of the word *dhyāna*—focusing not on meditative practices but on worldly social relations—could have been penned by an Indian author.

Given the many atypical elements in its content and style, and the fact that the text is apparently not cited prior to the middle of the fourth century CE (when it is drawn upon by the author of the *Fengfayao* 奉法要), there is ample reason to doubt the classification of this text as an authentic Han-period translation. A close examination of the text and its terminology will no doubt be rewarding.

²⁰ T630, 15.456a9-10: 佛有大妙極深無量法門十二部要。

²¹ For a discussion of the authentic works of Lokakṣema see Harrison (1993), pp. 135-177.

²² For a provisional list of the authentic works of Zhi Qian see Nattier 2003b, pp. 241-242. From this list it now seems likely that T708 (了本生死經) should be deleted; see the article by Stefano Zacchetti in this issue.

for example, Zhi Qian refers twice to a *dvādaśāṅga* system,²³ while his *Fanmoyu jing* 梵摩渝經 (T76), which corresponds to the Pāli *Brahmāyusutta* (MN 91), simply states that the Buddha composed (作) the twelve categories of scriptures.²⁴ The *Pusa benye jing* 菩薩本業經 (T281, corresponding to a part of the voluminous *Avatamsaka-sūtra*) refers to chanting the twelve categories of scriptures, again without giving details,²⁵ and two similarly brief references to the *dvādaśāṅga* system appear in Zhi Qian's version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra*, the *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經.²⁶ Within Zhi Qian's corpus references to the twelve *āṅgas* thus appear in both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna texts, and they continue the earlier Chinese pattern of referring only to the twelve *āṅgas*, and never to nine.

In another respect, however, Zhi Qian's work breaks new ground, for among his authentic translations are two texts—one a non-Mahāyāna scripture, the other a Mahāyāna text—which enumerate the sequence of all twelve items on the list. In his **Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* (*Banniebuan jing* 般泥洹經, T6) there are several brief references to the *dvādaśāṅga* system,²⁷ as well as a complete list of the twelve items in question.²⁸ Likewise in his version of the **Simhamati-sūtra* (*Sibemo* 私呵末 [var. -昧 *mei*] *jing* 經, T532), for which no Indic-language version (nor a corresponding version, apparently, in any other language) is extant, we again find references to a twelve-*āṅga* list,²⁹ as well as a detailed enumeration of its contents.³⁰

It is thus in the corpus of Zhi Qian that we find the earliest *āṅga* lists thus far identified in the Chinese Buddhist canon. Yet these texts have received scant attention, when they have been mentioned at all, in scholarly studies published to date.³¹ In the

²³ See 4.566b20-21 and 25; the preface is also included in the *Chu sanzang jiji* (T2145, 55.49c26 and 50a1).

²⁴ T76, 1.884b18.

²⁵ T281, 10.449a29-30.

²⁶ T225, 8.488a17 and 27-29. The authenticity of this work as a genuine translation by Zhi Qian has been questioned by Lewis Lancaster, who suggested that the text was the work of An Xuan (Lancaster 1969). Much remains to be done in analyzing this intriguing text, but at present there seems to be no reason to doubt Zhi Qian's involvement with its translation.

²⁷ See 1.176c21-22, 185a29, 190c29, and 191a23-27.

²⁸ See 1.188a18; the list will be given in full below. The Pāli counterpart of this text, the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* (DN[16]) does not refer to the *āṅgas* here.

²⁹ See 14.811c29 and 812b2.

³⁰ See 14.811c9-13; the list will be given in full below.

³¹ The charts published by Mino (1926, pp. 64-65) and Maeda (1964, Chart) include the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra* (which both scholars assign to Zhi Qian) and the *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* (credited to an anonymous translator), but not the *Simhamati Sūtra*. Mizuno (1954, p. 285) again includes the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra*, but does not refer to the other two texts. Hirakawa (1990, p. 407) appears to have been the first to mention the *Simhamati Sūtra* in this context. None of these authors, however, devoted any detailed consideration to any of these three early texts.

following section, therefore, I would like to devote detailed attention to an examination of these lists in the hope that the information they contain may contribute to our understanding of the history of Buddhist literature both in India and in China.

The twelve *angas* in Zhi Qian's *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*

A text entitled the *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* (*Banniebuan jing* 般泥洹經, T6) is credited by the editors of the Taishō canon to an unknown translator of the Eastern Jin 東晉 dynasty (317-420 CE). Several decades ago, however, Ui Hakuju suggested that this text is in fact a translation by Zhi Qian.³² Not all of the arguments Ui put forth in support of this theory have held up under closer scrutiny; his suggestion that certain terms found in T6, such as 轉輪聖王, 溝港, 應真, 緣一覺, and so on are “distinctive features” of Zhi Qian's style (支謙獨得) does not hold when viewed in the context of Zhi Qian's corpus as a whole and in comparison with the terminology used by his predecessors and immediate successors.³³ But the other evidence Ui adduced, based on data found in two of Sengyou's works, remains extremely strong.³⁴ Moreover, the text can now be shown to have a number of terminological and stylistic features that are not only typical of, but in one case even unique to, translations produced by Zhi Qian.³⁵ In sum, there is every reason

³² See Ui 1971, pp. 517-523.

³³ Zhi Qian is well known for using a wide variety of equivalents for a given Indic-language term, and the items cited by Ui are no exceptions. For the word *cakravartin* he uses 飛行皇帝 as well as 轉輪聖王; for *śrotaṅgama* he uses 須陀洹 as well as 溝港; for *pratyekabuddha* he uses 別覺, 各佛, and 辟支佛 as well as 緣一覺; and for *arhat* he uses no fewer than nine different equivalents (see Nattier 2003b, pp. 212-219). Conversely, all of the terms mentioned by Ui occur in the work of other translators as well. In sum, while this vocabulary is certainly compatible with the idea that this is Zhi Qian's translation, it would not be compelling evidence in and of itself.

³⁴ Ui's argument takes as its point of departure the testimony of the *Chu sanzang jiji*, which attributes a “Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra” (*Da banniebuan jing* 大般泥洹經) in two fascicles to Zhi Qian (see T2145, 55.6c15; a text by this title is also credited to Zhi Qian in his biography, 97c10-11). Ui then adduces a number of citations from a two-fascicle *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* (雙卷大般泥洹經) found in Sengyou's *Shijia pu* 釋迦譜 (T2040), showing that—of the seven extant and non-extant texts entitled “(Mahā)parinirvāṇa Sūtra” registered in Sengyou's catalogue—this two-fascicle text can only correspond to the scripture attributed there to Zhi Qian. Finally, Ui demonstrates that the terminology used in these citations corresponds closely to what is found in the extant “anonymous” text (i.e., T6) and not to the language of any other known version. On this basis, Ui concludes that T6 is in fact Zhi Qian's translation.

³⁵ Though the terms cited by Ui are by no means unique to Zhi Qian, there are other expressions in T6 whose use is far more restricted. In particular, T6 contains a list of twenty-eight heavens expressed in terminology that is extremely rare (1.182b12-21 and 26-28). While many of these names occur almost exclusively in Zhi Qian's work, one of them, 玄妙天, is found nowhere else in the Chinese Buddhist canon (per a CBETA computer search) with the exception of two other translations by Zhi Qian (T198, 4.185b26, and T225, 8.485a13 and 487a27). Stylistically, too, T6—with its preference for translation over transliteration and its abundant use of four-character prosody—is quite representative of Zhi Qian's other work. But once again we can point to a virtually unique feature: the text contains eighteen lines (1.184c1-18) of six-character verse, a style that is extremely rare in translated scriptures but appears in seven translations (in addition to T6) by Zhi Qian. The only other early translator to use this style with any frequency is Dharmarakṣa; this may be yet another example of the influence of Zhi Qian's work on his translation style.

to accept Ui's hypothesis (bolstered by this additional supporting evidence) that this text is indeed the work of Zhi Qian.

In the second and final fascicle of this text we find the following list of the twelve categories of scripture (十二部經):

一文。二歌。三記。四頌。五譬喻。六本記。七事解。八生傳。九廣博。
十自然。十一道行。十二兩現。(1.188a18-21)

Even for those familiar with treatments of the *āṅgas* in other Chinese sources, the terminology used here seems rather opaque. If we were to translate this passage simply as Chinese, without taking into consideration the probable underlying Indic terms, it might read as follows:

(1) literary [texts]; (2) songs; (3) records; (4) odes; (5) allegories; (6) original records; (7) explanations of things; (8) birth biographies; (9) extensive [texts]; (10) spontaneous [texts]; (11) [texts concerning] the practice of the Way; and (12) dual manifestations.

Clearly we have here a list of the twelve *āṅgas*, despite the unusual vocabulary employed. Though its vocabulary is atypical, however, it is not unique, for one other text found in the Taishō edition of the canon contains a virtually identical list. In a very brief text entitled the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra* (*Qizhi jing* 七知[*var.* 智]經, T27), we find the following list:

一曰文。二曰歌。三曰說。四曰頌。五曰譬喻。六曰本起紀。七曰事解。
八曰生傳。九曰廣博。十曰自然。十一曰行。十二曰章句 (T27, 1.810a
11-14)

Despite some differences, it is clear that these two passages bear a strong resemblance to one another. Given the rarity of this terminology—most of which does not occur in any other list of *āṅgas* found in the Chinese canon—it seems highly unlikely that the translators of these two texts could have arrived at their choices independently. On the contrary, it seems reasonable to infer that the two translations are related in one of the following ways: (1) they were both translated by the same person; (2) the translator of one of these texts made use of the other; or (3) these two sūtras were originally translated independently, but one was subsequently revised in light of the other.

The editors of the Taishō edition of the canon credit the translation of T27 to Zhi Qian himself, an attribution which—if it were correct—would make the solution to this question, and thus the dating of the text, quite straightforward. Such an attribution, however, is not found in the earliest catalogues. In Sengyou's *Chu sanzang jiji* the text is included as one of fifty-nine scriptures on Dao'an's list of translations from the Liang region (涼土異經).³⁶ As in so many other cases, the attribution to Zhi Qian seems to appear for the first time in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀, compiled in 597 CE by Fei Changfang 費長房, who (as mentioned above) is notorious for having included countless

³⁶ See T2145, 55.19a1: 七智經一卷(作七知今有此經).

spurious attributions in his catalogue. In the present case, in Fei Changfang's catalogue the list of translations produced by Zhi Qian was expanded to no fewer than one hundred twenty-nine texts—a substantial increase from the thirty-six translations, including several that are no longer extant, assigned to him by Sengyou.³⁷

A final resolution of the status of the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra* and of its relationship to Zhi Qian's *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* lies beyond the scope of the present paper; for the purpose at hand, the important point is that it contains a list of the twelve *āṅgas* that is nearly identical to that found in Zhi Qian's *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*, and we will therefore treat these two lists in conjunction here. Before beginning our examination of their terminology, however, we may note that while the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra* cannot be dated with precision, it contains a number of archaic features that would be quite at home in a text produced at or near the time of Zhi Qian.³⁸

First we may simply list the names of all twelve *āṅgas* found in these two scriptures in tabular form for ease of comparison. For the sake of uniform reference the corresponding Indian terms in the discussion below will be given in Sanskrit; it is highly likely, however, that both of these scriptures were based not on Sanskrit but on Prakrit texts.

<i>Parinirvāṇa Sūtra</i> (般泥洹經, T6) ³⁹	<i>Seven Wisdoms Sūtra</i> (七知經, T27) ⁴⁰
一文	一曰文
二歌	二曰歌
三記	三曰說
四頌	四曰頌
五譬喻	五曰譬喻
六本記	六曰本起紀
七事解	七曰事解
八生傳	八曰生傳
九廣博	九曰廣博
十自然	十曰自然
十一道行	十一曰行
十二兩現	十二曰章句

Several of these items can be identified without difficulty. The term wén 文 “elegant language; literature,” while a highly unusual equivalent of *sūtra*, is used in a number of works by Zhi Qian and his predecessors to refer to Buddhist scriptural texts.⁴¹ There is

³⁷ See T2034, 49.57c20 and 58c14-15.

³⁸ E.g., the opening of the text with the phrase 聞如是 (rather than the longer form 如是我聞 that came into use around the beginning of the 5th century CE) and the use of the terms 君子 for *ksatriya*, 梵志 for *brāhmaṇa*, 理家 for *grhapati*, 經法 for *dharma* (cf. Vetter and Zacchetti in this volume), and so on.

³⁹ I.188a18-21.

⁴⁰ I.810a11-14.

⁴¹ It is not registered as an equivalent of *sūtra* in Hirakawa's *Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary*,

no difficulty, then, in accepting the fact that the term 文 could be used in these twelve-*aṅga* lists to refer to Buddhist sūtras, with the additional implication that they are elegant and well crafted. This would harmonize well, of course, with the etymological understanding of the word *sūtra* (or rather, of the underlying Prakrit form *sutta*) as derived from *su + ukta* “well said.”⁴² There is no direct evidence, however, that Zhi Qian knew of this derivation, and under the circumstances it seems safest to conclude that the use of 文 as the equivalent of “sūtra” represents simply an interpretive Chinese translation.

The terms *gē* 歌 “song” for *geya* (conveying a good understanding of the Indic term, derived from the verbal root $\sqrt{\text{gai}}$ “sing”), and the use of *sòng* 頌 “ode” for *gāthā* is likewise unproblematic.⁴³ Since both terms are already well attested in reference sources they need not detain us here.⁴⁴

The use of *pì yù* 譬喻 “allegory” as a translation of *avadāna* is also quite familiar; indeed, this was one of Zhi Qian’s most successful translation choices. Though some of predecessors had used the term to translate other Indic expressions, such as *aupamyā* “analogy, example,” Zhi Qian may well have been the first to use 譬喻 to render *avadāna*. So well received was this choice that it was subsequently adopted by a wide range of other translators, including even the exacting seventh-century philologist Xuanzang 玄奘.⁴⁵

The term *shì jiě* 事解 “explanations according to the facts [of the matter],” while less familiar, is a quite acceptable equivalent of *ityuktaka* “[things that] were said thus,”⁴⁶ henceforth BCSD (577a, #1556); in Nakamura’s *Bukkyōgo daijiten* (henceforth Nakamura) the character 文 alone does not appear at all. However, there are several other contexts (including other texts translated by Zhi Qian) in which 文 also seems to be used in the sense of “Buddhist sūtra.” Elsewhere in Zhi Qian’s *Parinirvāṇa-sūtra* (T6), for example, 文 is used in a discussion of the literature contained in the four *āgamas*, which are referred to as 四文 and 四阿含文 (see 1.191a23-27), while in his translation of the shorter *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* the term 文 is used in a passage in which the Buddha recommends the retention and recitation of “this *prajñāpāramitā*,” i.e., of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* itself (see T225, 8.483c6-8). A more general usage can be seen in the work of one of Zhi Qian’s predecessors, Yan Fotiao, who in his preface to the *Ten Wisdoms of the Śramaṇera* uses 文 to refer to written texts in contrast to their oral explanation (the preface is preserved in the *Chu sanzang jijī*; see T2145, 55.69c2), and in An Shigao’s *Anban shouyi jing* we find the compound expression *jingwen* 經文 which appears to refer to the Buddhist scriptures in general (T602, 15.166b4-5).

⁴² See Walleser 1914, p. 4, n. 1, and Norman 1997, p. 104.

⁴³ Elsewhere in the *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* and in one of Zhi Qian’s other translations the character 頌 is used in contexts where it seems clear that the underlying Indic term was *gāthā*. See T533, 14.814a24, b13, and c25 (all in the phrase 佛時頌曰 preceding a passage in verse) and T6, 1.178a28 and *passim* (in a variety of phrases including 自說頌曰, 說頌讚曰, and 說頌問曰, again preceding passages in verse).

⁴⁴ For *gē* see BCSD 680b, #1857; for *sòng* see 1264a, #4119.

⁴⁵ Maeda (Chart, section Ia of the twelve *aṅgas* division) gives several occurrences of the list of twelve *aṅgas* in Xuanzang’s 大般若波羅蜜多經 (T220). In addition to these, see also the following passages: 5.305a2-3, 6.547b1-3, and 6.664b21-23. For additional references to occurrences of the twelve *aṅgas* in the other (including Tibetan) *Prajñāpāramitā* texts see Yamaguchi 1986.

⁴⁶ Zhi Qian’s translation seems to reflect what is thought to be the original meaning of the term that is spelled *itivuttaka* in Pāli, i.e., “what was said thus” (Skt. *iti + uktaka* → *ityuktaka*) and not the

and the expression *shēng zhuàn* 生傳 “birth biography,” while certainly unusual, can be recognized without difficulty as an equivalent of *jātaka* “[stories] having to do with birth.”⁴⁷ Finally, *guǎng bó* 廣博 “extensive” can easily be equated with *vaipulya*.

In sum, of the twelve *aṅgas* listed in T6 and T27, seven offer no obstacles to identification whatsoever. The remaining five, however, require further discussion and will be dealt with individually below.

Because some are easier to solve than others I will deal with these terms in an order different than that in which they appear in the texts themselves, working by a process of elimination to facilitate identifying the remaining names. Each term will be identified by number, indicating the location of its occurrence in the list; where T6 and T27 offer entirely different readings they will be treated separately below.

12a. liǎng xiàn 兩現 (*upadeśa*). In T6 we find the extremely peculiar term 兩現 “dual manifestation” for the twelfth of the *aṅgas*, one that does not appear in any other list of *aṅgas* in the Chinese Buddhist canon. But it is easy to see that it is simply the result of a translation mistake. Zhi Qian has understood the Indic term as consisting of *ubha* “both” + *deśa* “showing,” resulting in an erroneous etymological rendition of the term.⁴⁸

12b. zhāng jù 章句 (*upadeśa*). T27, however, uses a different term altogether, giving the final item in the list as 章句 “elucidating phrases,” a pre-Buddhist term for “commentary.” This is a dramatically different choice, and it cannot be the result of a mere copying error. On the contrary, it appears that the translator of T27—whether it was Zhi Qian himself at a later stage in his career or an entirely different translator who was using Zhi Qian’s *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* as a guide—saw that the rendition of *upadeśa* as 兩現 was erroneous and simply re-translated the term. The expression 章句 found in the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra*, in other words, appears to be a deliberate correction of what is found in *Zhi Qian’s Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*.⁴⁹

wrongly Sanskritized form *itivṛttaka* “what has taken place.” Perhaps under the influence of its apparent similarity to the term 本事 used by certain later translators (see the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* and the *Mahāvibhāṣā* in the Appendix below, sections C and E), most scholars have taken 事解 to be a translation of the latter. On the term *itivṛttaka* see Edgerton, BHSD, 113b and Maeda 1964, 348ff.

⁴⁷ The reading found in T27 is identical, with the exception of the variant reading 生傳 found in some editions. Here the characters are so similar that it seems reasonable to suppose that the difference is due to a mere copying error. In any event, the referent of the term is not in dispute.

⁴⁸ This identification was apparently first made by MINO Kōjun (1926, p. 80).

⁴⁹ It seems highly unlikely that an original 章句 would have been “corrected” to 兩現. I will return to a consideration of the relationship between T6 and T27 below. That 章句 is intended as a translation of *upadeśa* is confirmed by its occurrence in the same sense in several *aṅga* lists found in Dharmarakṣa’s work, twice as 章句 alone (T222, 8.197b1; T310[3], 11.56a10) and once in the longer expression 注解章句 “[scriptures] that annotate and explain sections and phrases” (T222, 8.151a1). In light of these examples we can now see that the fourth rendition of *upadeśa* as one of the twelve *aṅgas* found in Dharmarakṣa’s corpus, 住解, is the result of a copying error; if corrected to 注解 (as per n. 16 to the Taishō edition) it would read “scriptures [consisting of] annotations and explanations,” with the original 章句 having been eliminated, perhaps now viewed as superfluous (T398, 13.443c2).

3a. 記 (vyākaraṇa). In T6 the third item on the list is 記 “fix [in a record or in one’s memory],” and expression that may seem quite familiar since the two-character compound 授記 subsequently came to be used as a standard equivalent of *vyākaraṇa* in the sense of “prediction [to Buddhahood].” Moreover, the term 記 appears elsewhere in Zhi Qian’s corpus (as well as in the work of two earlier translators) as a translation of *vyākaraṇa* in this sense.⁵⁰

In the present context, however, that is not its meaning, for in the list of twelve (or nine) *aṅgas* the term *vyākaraṇa* is used in a more general sense to mean “explanation” (including a detailed reply to a question). To the extent that Zhi Qian’s audience would have understood the word 記 in its already established Mahāyāna sense of “prediction [to Buddhahood],” he may have misled them on this score.

3b. 說 (vyākaraṇa). The translator of the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra* (T27), however, chose a completely different expression, for here the word 說 “preaching, expounding” appears as the third item on the list. If, as suggested above, the translator of T27 consulted Zhi Qian’s text in the course of producing his own work, at least two explanations for this discrepancy are possible: (1) the character 說 is the result of a copyist’s error, either made in T6 (prior to the time when the translator of T27 obtained it) or made in T27 sometime after the translation was produced; or (2) the translator of T27 deliberately corrected an original 記 to read 說, considering the latter to be a better translation. Certainly the use of 說 for *vyākaraṇa*, while quite unusual, would eliminate the possibility of misunderstanding 記 as meaning “prediction.” It would also be a reasonable (if rather vague) translation of the Indic term. Once again, therefore, the most likely explanation seems to be that the translator of T27 deliberately corrected what he found in Zhi Qian’s text.

10. 自然 “spontaneous.” Here T6 and T27 are in agreement, though the translation of *adbhuta* “wonderful, amazing” as 自然 “spontaneous, naturally occurring” is quite unexpected. Mino (p. 75), Hirakawa (p. 390), and Maeda (p. 336 and Chart, group IIIb) all consider it a translation of *udāna*, which seems a reasonable inference given that one of the meanings of the Indic term is an utterance made by the Buddha of his own accord (that is, spontaneously), and not in response to a question.⁵¹

The term 自然 had, however, powerful philosophical overtones in third-century China, and it seems unlikely that it would have been used to translate a term that means

⁵⁰ See Zhi Qian’s translation of the *Brahmāyusutta* (T76, 1.885a21), his biography of the Buddha (T185, 3.3.472c17, 473a21 and 23, and 473b11), and his version *Vimalakīrtinīrdeśa* (T474, 14.523c24 and 535a28); the compound expression 記別 “record and set apart” is used as an alternative translation elsewhere in the latter text (523c27 and 535b10, the latter with the grass radical added to both characters). The use of 記 as a translation of *vyākaraṇa* in this sense was apparently introduced by An Xuan and Yan Fotiao (T322, 12.22a21); cf. also the biography of the Buddha translated by Kang Mengxiang (T184, 3.461b16, and T196, 4.155c4).

⁵¹ These writers may also have been influenced by the fact that certain later translators used the term 自說 “to speak of one’s own accord” as a translation of *udāna* (see the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* Vinaya and the *Mahāvibhāṣā* in the Appendix below, sections C and E).

“spontaneous utterance” only in a rather mundane sense. And in fact another explanation can easily be found. Elsewhere in his *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* Zhi Qian repeatedly uses the term 自然 in expressions such as 有五難有自然之法 and 有四難及自然之德 where it seems certain that the underlying phrase corresponded to the well-known expression “wonderful and marvelous qualities” (in Pāli, *acchariyā abbhutā dhammā*).⁵² In sum, it seems safe to conclude that the term 自然 is indeed being used to represent the category of *adbbuta*, as was proposed half a century ago (though without any discussion of the reasoning behind his choice) by Mizuno.⁵³ We might note in passing, however, that the use of 自然 as a translation of *adbbuta* was short-lived; even Dharmarakṣa, who borrows heavily from Zhi Qian’s translation vocabulary, chose not to use this expression, replacing it in all four of his *aṅga* lists with 未曾有(法)經 “scriptures [concerning] unprecedented (dharmas).”⁵⁴

6. *běn jì* 本記 (T6), *běn qǐ jì* 本起記 (T27) (*nidāna*). T6 offers a quite unexpected rendition of the Indic term *nidāna* as “prior record” (using the same character 記 previously used to translate *vyākaraṇa*). Here T27’s slightly different alternative *běn qǐ jì* 本起紀 “annals of previous arising,” can provide considerable help. If, as in the case of the term *upadeśa* discussed above, the translator of T27 was generally following but occasionally emending the text of T6, we may postulate that the version of the *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* he had before him may have read 本紀 “prior annals.” The characters 記 and 紀 are of course phonetically as well as visually similar,⁵⁵ so the shift from one to the other (in either direction) could easily have taken place during the copying process.

We may suggest, therefore, the following scenario: T6 originally contained the reading 本紀 but it was subsequently altered in the process of copying and transmission to read 本記. The translator of T27, consulting a copy of T6 before this change had been made, left the first and last characters as he found them, but inserted the additional character 起 “arising” for clarification.

If this is the case, these two renditions would reflect two different (but both well attested) understandings of the term: (1) *nidāna* as referring to the beginning or introductory part of a text, and (2) *nidāna* as one of the links in the twelvefold chain of dependent arising (*pratītyasamutpada*). If, as suggested above, Zhi Qian’s original rendering

⁵² See T6, 1.179c5ff. and 185a7ff. The latter (though apparently not the former) has a parallel in the Pāli *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (DN II.145).

⁵³ See Mizuno 1954, p. 285, section III of the twelve-*aṅgas* division.

⁵⁴ See T222, 8.151a1 and 197b1; T310[3], 11.56a10; and T398, 13.13.443c1. This translation might itself be considered a mistake, since it is based on a wrong etymological interpretation of *adbbuta* as *a-bhūta* “that which has not come into being.” Even if this must be considered incorrect in terms of historical linguistics, however, it was not necessarily an interpretation introduced by Chinese translators for the first time, but may well have been circulating in India as one of several exegetical alternatives. On this issue see Nattier 2003b, 218-219.

⁵⁵ In the modern Beijing dialect both are pronounced *ji*, though Pulleyblank reconstructs slightly different pronunciations for them in EMC (as *kʰ/kiʰ* and *kʰʰ/kiʰʰ*, respectively; see Pulleyblank 1991, p. 141).

of this term in his *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* was 本紀 meaning “prior” or “beginning” account, this would be a reasonable translation of *nidāna* in the first sense. For the translator of the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra*, by contrast, the primary referent of the term appears to have been the twelve *nidānas*, as reflected in the character 起 which frequently appears in this context. If this argument is correct, we would have yet another instance in which the translator of T27, relying on T6 while producing his own translation, nonetheless chose to emend the content of that text.

11. **dào xíng** 道行 “practice of the Way” (*udāna*). Finally we come to the most difficult term on Zhi Qian’s list, for the only remaining *aṅga* yet unaccounted for is *udāna*. Yet how the term 道行 could have been chosen to represent this category seems elusive. The *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra* offers a slightly briefer rendition, using only the single character 行, and we might speculate either that Zhi Qian added the additional character 道 to fill out the two-character format that prevails in this part of his list.

Mino (p. 80), Maeda (1964, p. 336 and Chart, section IIIb of the twelve *aṅgas* division), and Hirakawa (1990, p. 397) all equate this term with *adbbuta*(*dharmā*), but none was able to come up with an explanation. Mizuno, on the other hand, treats it as a translation of *udāna*, but again without a discussion of the reasoning behind his choice. As we have seen, *adbbuta* has already been accounted for by the translation term 自然. Thus the only remaining possible equivalent for (道)行, is *udāna*.

The use of (道)行 for *udāna* is surely difficult to explain, despite the fact that the same usage (without the additional character 道) occurs in three of the four *aṅgas* lists found in the works of Dharmarakṣa.⁵⁶ It is the fourth list, however, where this translation does not appear, that may be of the greatest assistance to us here. In one of the *aṅga* lists found in his *Larger Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* (光讚經, T222) Dharmarakṣa’s translation contains the term 受 “receive.” Because the corresponding Indic terms for all of the other *aṅgas* in this passage can easily be established, it seems certain that this term was indeed intended to represent *udāna*. As Stefano Zacchetti has pointed out, however, such a translation appears to be the result of a misreading of the term as *ādāna* “receiving” (personal communication, January 2004).

This does not, at first, seem to help very much, but if there was at least one case in which the initial vowel *u-* of *udāna* was lost, we might consider the possibility that Zhi Qian interpreted what he saw (or heard, if the text was being dictated) as a form corresponding to Sanskrit *aṭana* “roaming about” (used in particular of the wanderings of religious mendicants).⁵⁷ If this was indeed the case, then the character 行, which means “to go about” as well as “to put into practice,” would seem an obvious equivalent.

⁵⁶ See T222, 8.197b1 (所行經) and T398, 13.443c2 (行經).

⁵⁷ See Monier-Williams 11b and cf. the *Critical Pāli Dictionary*, vol. 1, pt. 2, p. 61b) It is worth recalling that Zhi Qian (like his successor Dharmarakṣa) was not constrained by such factors as consonant voicing or aspiration, the contrast between dentals and retroflexes, or the niceties of vowel length. Confusions of all of these sorts—that is, the failure to distinguish between what are, in Indic languages, quite different sounds—are amply attested in his translation corpus.

As to the term dào 道 (literally “the Way,” but by extension often simply “Buddhist”), adding this character to clarify what kind of wandering was meant would be only natural, especially since Zhi Qian was using two-character expressions to translate each of the *aṅgas* in this section. The translator of T27, by contrast—less concerned with prosodic symmetry and seeing nothing in his Indic text that would correspond to this term—might well have viewed the word as an extraneous accretion and removed it.⁵⁸

T6 and T27: Preliminary Results

In Zhi Qian’s *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* and in the parallel text found in the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra*, we have identified two occurrences (one of them clearly dependent upon the other) of a *dvādaśāṅga* list in the following sequence: (1) *sūtra*, (2) *geya*, (3) *vyākaraṇa*, (4) *gāthā*, (5) *avadāna*, (6) *nidāna*, (7) *ityuktaka*, (8) *jātaka*, (9) *vaiṣṭya*, (10) *adbhuta*, (11) *udāna*, (12) *upadeśa*. This is a sequence not found, incidentally, in any other canonical text identified to date, which makes the high degree of agreement between these two sūtras all the more striking.

Second, an examination of these two texts together has pointed to the strong likelihood that the translator of the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra* (T27) made use of Zhi Qian’s *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* (T6), making emendations to T6 on occasion as he saw fit.

Third, the treatment of the *aṅgas* in these texts provides evidence of which categories of Buddhist literature were already familiar in third-century China and which ones, on the contrary, were not. Terms like *sūtra*, *jātaka*, *gāthā*, and *nidāna* (though the latter interpreted in more than one way) offered little difficulty; Zhi Qian clearly stumbled, however, over the category of *upadeśa*, and his idiosyncratic rendering of *udāna* strongly suggests that he was not familiar enough with the list of the twelve *aṅgas* to recognize a wrongly or ambiguously written term when he saw it.

Fourth, we have seen that Zhi Qian interpreted the term *vyākaraṇa*—even in the decidedly non-Mahāyāna context of the twelve-*aṅgas* list—in the Mahāyāna sense of “prediction (to Buddhahood),” a reading which (as pointed out by Maeda and others) is quite out of place here. Conversely, Zhi Qian’s treatment of the seventh item on the list (which in all probability reached him in a Prakrit form similar to Pāli *itivuttaka*) shows that he understood it correctly, in etymological terms, as (to convert the term into Sanskrit terminology) *iti + uktaka* “[things that were] said thus” rather than *iti + vṛttaka* “events.”

Fifth, it is worth noting that Zhi Qian’s translation technique is strikingly symmetrical, consistently using single-character terms to translate the first four *aṅgas* and two-character terms for the rest.⁵⁹ In retrospect, however, we can see that an

⁵⁸ A quite different explanation of the reasoning behind the choice of 行 as a translation of **udāna* has been suggested by Seishi Karashima, who points out that 行 is also the name of a style of Chinese poetry (personal communication, February 2004). If the word *udāna* was understood by Zhi Qian to refer to a type of poetry, this could have been a reasonable choice.

⁵⁹ This is quite typical of Zhi Qian’s translation style.

additional factor is at work here as well. For three of the first four terms Zhi Qian has used words that were already established as categories (that is, genres) of literature in China, for wén 文, gē 歌 and sòng 頌 are all the names of early Chinese literary styles. Indeed, it may well have been the apparent coherence of the first four items on the list, with the exception of the term 記 used for the second one, that led the translator of the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra* to assume that the latter was a mistake, changing it to shuō 說 which is, among other things, an old word for “prose.”⁶⁰

The twelve *āṅgas* in Zhi Qian’s *Simhamati Sūtra*

The *Simhamati Sūtra* (*Sihemo jing* 私呵末經, T532) is credited to Zhi Qian in Sengyou’s *Chu sanzang jiji*, without any indication that it was not found in Dao’an’s catalogue as well. The attribution of this scripture to Zhi Qian is thus not in doubt and requires no extended discussion here. The sūtra was well enough known to have been quoted in two medieval anthologies,⁶¹ and it is mentioned in a “sūtra” consisting mainly of the names of Chinese Buddhist translations as well.⁶² An additional sign of its popularity, perhaps, is that it is known under a wide range of titles, which may well reflect its active use and thus the repeated opportunity for alteration in transmission.⁶³

In the *Simhamati Sūtra* the twelve *āṅgas* are given as follows:

一者聞經。二者說經。三者聽經。四者分別經。五者現經。六者譬喻經。
七者所說經。八者生經。九者方等經。十者無比法經。十一者章句經。
十二者行經。(T532,14.811c9-13)

Again translating literally and without regard to the likely underlying Sanskrit or Prakrit terms, this passage might be read as follows:

The first is scriptures heard; the second is scriptures pronounced; the third is scriptures listened to; the fourth is scriptures that make distinctions; the fifth is scriptures that reveal; the sixth is allegorical scriptures; the seventh is scriptures [that relate] what has been pronounced; the eighth is scriptures

⁶⁰ I owe the observations in this paragraph to Seishi Karashima, whose assistance in thinking through the rationale behind the use of some of these terms I am happy to acknowledge here.

⁶¹ See T2122 (53.894c21ff.) and T2123 (54.97a7ff.).

⁶² See T441 (佛說佛名經), 14.197b24.

⁶³ The Taishō catalogue gives the main title as *Sihemei jing* 私呵昧經 (T532), but the earliest attested form of this name is *Sihemo* 私呵末 (as given in the title of the sūtra by Sengyou in the *Chu sanzang jiji*, T2145, 55.6c23; Early Middle Chinese pronunciation reconstructed as *si xa mat* by Pulleyblank [pp. 291, 12, 218]). The form *Sihemei* 私呵昧 (EMC *si xa mEʃ*, 291, 122, 211, used in the Taishō edition of our text, is an early variant, appearing already in the Fajing’s *Zhongjing mulu* (completed in 594 CE; see T2146, 55.116b16). The former (with the final syllable written 末) is surely correct, as it is closest to the apparent Indic original of *Simhamati* “Lion-Mind” (cf. the *Fanfan yu* 翻梵語 [T2130, 54.1017a5 and 10], where both forms of the name are translated as 師子意). The form 私呵昧 in turn led to yet another variant reading of *Sihesanmei* 私呵三昧 (sic!), e.g., in Daoshi’s *Fayuan zbulin* 法苑珠林 (T2122), which quotes from our sūtra under the title 私呵三昧經 (53.894c21).

[dealing with previous] births; the ninth is universal scriptures; the tenth is scriptures dealing with incomparable dharmas; the eleventh is scriptures [that consist of] sections and sentences; and the twelfth is scriptures [to be] practiced.

The terminology used here is again quite atypical. But in this case, too, we can find clear parallels, this time in the work of Dharmarakṣa. Indeed, a computer search yielded several examples of *aṅga* lists in Dharmarakṣa's corpus (and none in the work of any other translator) that clearly belong to this same rhetorical tradition.⁶⁴ In his translation of the *Larger Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* (*Guangzan jing* 光讚經, T222), for example, we find the following list of the twelve:

聞經 德經 聽經 分別經 示現經 譬喻經 所說經 所生經 方等經 未曾有經 章句經 所行經 (8.197a28-b1)

In another of Dharmarakṣa's works, the **Mabākaruṇā Sūtra* (*Da'ai jing* 大哀經, T398), a list using virtually identical terminology appears:

一曰聞經。二曰得經。三曰聽經。四曰分別經。五曰現經。六曰應時經。七曰生經。八曰方等經。九曰未曾有經。十曰譬喻經。十一曰住解經。十二曰行經。(13.443b28-c2)

Yet a third translation by Dharmarakṣa, the **Tathāgatācintyaḡuhyānirdeśa*, included in the *Ratnakūṭa* collection under the title *Miji jingang lishi hui* 密跡金剛力士會, T310[3]), the following list is given:

聞經 德經 所演經 分別經 頌詩經 藏經。於是順經 生經 方等經 未曾有法經 譬喻經 章句經 (11.56a8-10)

A fourth and final list of *aṅgas* differs from these in certain respects but offers useful material for comparison nonetheless. In the another passage in his *Larger Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* Dharmarakṣa gives following list:

聞經。分別經。頌經。詩歌經。初經。此應經。生經。受經。方等經。未曾有法經。譬喻經。注解章句經。(8.150c28-151a1)

Because these four versions are so similar to one another—and similar, in turn, to what

⁶⁴ For purposes of this search I have used only those texts with reliable attributions to Dharmarakṣa—that is, texts that are attributed to him in Sengyou's *Chu sanzang jiji*. For a list of the texts attributed to Dharmarakṣa by Sengyou see Boucher 1996, pp. 259-291. Because Boucher's list follows the order given by Sengyou (rather than that of the Taishō canon) and includes many non-extant texts as well, it may be worth providing here a brief list of the extant texts which can be considered, with some degree of confidence, to be authentic Dharmarakṣa translations, in the order of their occurrence in the Taishō canon. They are: T21, 103, 118, 135, 154, 168, 170, 180, 182, 186, 199, 222, 263, 266, 285, 288, 291, 292, 310(3), 315, 317, 318, 323, 334, 337, 338, 342, 345, 349, 378, 381, 395, 396, 398, 399, 401, 403, 425, 433, 435, 453, 459, 460, 461, 477, 481, 596, 513, 534, 558, 565, 569, 585, 588, 598, 606, 623, 627, 635, 636, 638, 736, 737, 770, 809, 810, 812, 813, 815, 1301. This list is based entirely on the information provided in Boucher's dissertation.

we find in Zhi Qian's text—we will make use of all of them to help us to interpret (and in some cases, to correct) the readings found in Zhi Qian's text.

Two things should be noted before we proceed. First, it is not at all unusual for Dharmarakṣa to borrow vocabulary from Zhi Qian; indeed, the quantity of terms that he seems to have appropriated from Zhi Qian's earlier work is astoundingly high. Second, the fact that the terminology used in T532 is quite dissimilar to that used in T6 should not raise doubts about the authenticity of either text as a translation by Zhi Qian. On the contrary, Zhi Qian is renowned for using a variety of translation terminology even within a single text; the fact that he uses no fewer than nine different equivalents for "Arhat" (with as many as three used within a single text) is certainly the most telling example.⁶⁵

We will proceed, therefore, on the assumption that the *Simhamati Sūtra* is indeed the work of Zhi Qian, and that Dharmarakṣa—as in so many other cases—borrowed some of his terminology from Zhi Qian's work. As before, we will begin with the items that are easiest to identify, turning to the more difficult equivalences below.

The term wén jīng 聞經 "scriptures heard" is easily understood as an equivalent of the opening term *sūtra*; indeed, it evokes distinct overtones of the translation of "sūtra" found in Zhi Qian's *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*, for the terms wén 文 and wén 聞 are homophones, not only in the modern Beijing dialect but also in Early Middle Chinese.⁶⁶ This raises interesting questions about the relationship between Zhi Qian's two texts: was the choice of wén 聞 a conscious shift away from the homophonic wén 文 based on new information received since the time of Zhi Qian's earlier translation,⁶⁷ or might Zhi Qian's original version of the *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* itself have read 聞 rather than 文, with the shift to 文 having been made in the course of subsequent dictation of Zhi Qian's translation to one or more scribes? We have already seen that the translator of the *Seven Wisdoms Sūtra* may have emended the character jì 記 to shuō 說, based perhaps on the assumption that the terms at the beginning of the list, at least, should conform to known literary genres in China. A mis-hearing of 聞 as 文—or even a deliberate correction, based on the assumption that some previous transmitter of the text had misheard 文 as 聞—would not be at all out of the question.

Be that as it may, the use of the expression 聞經 "scriptures heard" as a translation of *sūtra* raises the possibility, within an Indian frame of reference, that the word *sūtra* (or more likely, a Prakrit form **sutta*) was understood as a form of the past participle *śruta* (cf. Pāli *suta*) "heard." Strictly speaking this would be a false etymology, but the fact that *sūtras* regularly begin with the phrase *evaṃ mayā śrutam* (cf. Pāli *evaṃ me sutam*) must have offered rich possibilities for interpretive associations.

⁶⁵ See Nattier 2003b, pp. 212-219.

⁶⁶ See Pulleyblank 1991, p. 323, where the EMC pronunciation of both characters is reconstructed as *mun*.

⁶⁷ To suggest that the *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra* was translated earlier would be a mere inference, since we have almost no information about the dates of any of Zhi Qian's translations.

The fourth item on the list, fēn bié jīng 分別經 “scriptures that make distinctions,” is an excellent rendition of *vyākaraṇa*. Though quite different from the Mahāyāna-based term jì 記 used by Zhi Qian in his *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*, in this case the translation choice is more appropriate to the context, since “making distinctions” (i.e., explaining the particulars) fits much better with the meaning of the term in the *dvādaśaṅga* list.

Likewise the sixth item on the list, pì yù jīng 譬喻經 “allegorical scriptures,” is completely unproblematic as a translation of *avadāna*; indeed, this is one of the few points at which the terminology used in Zhi Qian’s *Simhamati Sūtra* agrees with that found in his *Parinirvāṇa Sūtra*. The expression suǒ shuō jīng 所說經 “scriptures [that relate] what was said” is a fine rendition of *ityuktaka*, while shēng jīng 生經 “birth scriptures” is immediately recognizable as an equivalent of *jātaka*. Nor is there any problem in understanding fāng děng jīng 方等經 “universal scriptures,” which is one of the most widely used equivalents of *vaipulya*.

The expressions zhāng jù jīng 章句經 “scriptures that explain sentences” (as a translation of *upadeśa*) and xíng jīng 行經 “scriptures concerning practice” (*udāna*) have already appeared above, and there is thus no difficulty in identifying them as *upadeśa* and *udāna*, respectively. Finally, wú bǐ fǎ jīng 無比法經 “incomparable dharma scriptures” is clearly intended as a rendition of *adbhutadharma*. Though the term 無比 “incomparable” is unexpected as a translation of *adbhuta*, the presence of the character 法 “dharma” makes it certain that this expression corresponds to *adbhutadharma* here, and it certainly conveys the spirit—if not the etymological meaning—of the term. This leaves three Chinese terms in Zhi Qian’s translation still to be explained—viz., 說經, 聽經, and 現經—and three Indic terms (*gāthā*, *geya*, and *nidāna*) that have not yet found a match.

Of these, the second item on the list, shuō jīng 說經 “scriptures preached,” seems certain to be intended as a translation of *gāthā*, given its place in the list and the fact that other possible candidates have already been accounted for. Yet this is an entirely unexpected rendition. A solution, however, is readily at hand. If, as is so often the case, Zhi Qian was not distracted (so to speak) by issues of vowel length, consonant voicing or devoicing, or the presence or absence of aspiration, many variant readings (or perhaps better, variant hearings of a recited text) could result. In this case, it would seem that what Zhi Qian read (or heard) was not *gāthā*, but *kathā* “telling,” a term which would be a good equivalent of the Chinese term 說.

The two remaining items on the list, however, are less easily resolved. The expression tīng jīng 聽經 “scriptures listened to” seems to be intended as a translation of *geya*, yet a logical explanation of this choice seems elusive. Likewise, the apparent translation of the sole remaining item, *nidāna*, as xiàn jīng 現經 “manifested scriptures” is difficult to explain. Yet—unless something has gone catastrophically wrong with this list—it seems certain that these are the Indic counterparts of these two Chinese terms.

In Zhi Qian’s *Simhamati Sūtra*, in sum, we have a list of twelve *aṅgas* in the following sequence: (1) *sūtra*, (2) *gāthā*, (3) *geya*, (4) *vyākaraṇa*, (5) *nidāna*, (6) *avadāna*, (7) *ityuktaka*, (8) *jātaka*, (9) *vaipulya*, (10) *adbhutadharma*, (11) *upadeśa*, (12) *udāna*. In this

case, however, one other text exhibits the same sequence: the second list (but not the first) found in Dharmarakṣa's *Larger Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* (T222).⁶⁸

Conclusions

Above we have reviewed the lists of *aṅgas* found in the translations of Zhi Qian, comparing them in several cases with comparable lists found in the translations of Dharmarakṣa. Taken together, these constitute the earliest datable *aṅga* lists, in any language, that we possess. At this point we must pause to consider what interpretive use we can make of this data.

First, it is clear that these lists cannot be used to reconstruct the “original” meanings of the *aṅga* names in India. They are too far removed, in both time and space, from the source, and to make matters worse, there are too many instances of translation errors for us to use these lists for such a purpose. What they do provide, however, is evidence for a variety of understandings of these terms that were circulating at a later period—some known only in China, perhaps (in particular, those that are erroneous), but others that may have been current in India as well. We can use these early Chinese *aṅga* lists, in other words, as a catalogue of interpretations that have a possibility of being Indian as well as Chinese, and armed with this knowledge, we can return to the extant Indian texts (as well as their Chinese and Tibetan translations) for further evidence.

Second, it is also clear that the early Chinese translations cannot be used to reconstruct the “original” sequence of the twelve *aṅgas*—if, indeed, there ever was such a thing. In fact, the Chinese data point in a quite different direction. In the translations of Zhi Qian and Dharmarakṣa alone, we have seen no fewer than five different *aṅga* sequences, and the number escalates rapidly when later texts are consulted as well. This immense variety—seen not only in the texts discussed above, but also in others included in the Appendix below—may indicate that there never was a single authoritative sequence of the twelve *aṅgas* in India. That is, while the idea of twelve *aṅgas* clearly came to be widely accepted, there is little evidence that any particular sequence of the twelve items ever gained widespread status as orthodox.

To take this observation one step further, the Chinese data point to the strong possibility that no single version of the *dvādaśāṅga* list ever succeeded in becoming the single accepted standard even within a specific *nikāya*. In the case of the *navāṅga* list, the Pāli canon transmitted by the Mahānikāya lineage seems to have consistently employed one version of the list, and at least one branch of the Mahāsāṃghikas (whose Vinaya is preserved in Chinese translation) may have been equally consistent in using a slightly different *navāṅga* sequence. We will search in vain, however, for similar unanimity when it comes to the list of twelve *aṅgas*. The *Dīrghāgama* (長阿含經, T1), for example—widely considered to be of Dharmagupta provenance—contains one sequence

⁶⁸ See below, Appendix, section B.

of *aṅgas*, while the Dharmaguptaka Vinaya (四分律, T1428) contains another.⁶⁹ The Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya translated by Yijing (根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事, T1451) contains a list that agrees with that of the Mahīśāsaka Vinaya (五分律, T1421) but differs from the one found in the *Madhyamāgama* (中阿含經, T26), which is considered to be a Sarvāstivādin or Mūlasarvāstivādin text. Yet a third sequence is found in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* (阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論, T1545), which is surely a Sarvāstivādin work. Finally, the *Ekottarikāgama* (增壹阿含經, T125)—whatever its *nikāya* ancestry may be—does not even agree with itself, for it offers no fewer than five different twelve-*aṅga* sequences as well as one unusual *navāṅga* list.

In sum, one of the primary conclusions of this study is that the sequence of the twelve *aṅgas* seems to have been extraordinarily fluid in India. Given this immense variety—even, in many cases, within a single text—the possibility of associating each of these *dvādaśāṅga* sequences with a specific *nikāya* seems quite remote. All the more so, then, is the possibility of establishing the *nikāya* background of a given Mahāyāna sūtra on the basis of the list or lists of twelve *aṅgas* that it contains. Nonetheless, further study of various *aṅga* lists found in Chinese Buddhist texts and texts in other languages will no doubt continue to amplify our understanding of the many ways in which Buddhists sought to organize and to interpret their literary heritage.

⁶⁹ References for the sources cited in this paragraph are given in the Appendix below.

Appendix: The Twelve *Angas* in Selected Chinese Sources

The following is intended as a convenient reference list of the various sequences of *angas* discussed in this paper. This list is not intended to be comprehensive; only works discussed above have been included here. They fall into two categories: (1) the earliest examples of twelve-*anga* lists found in Chinese Buddhist translations, given in parts A and B below; and (2) those found in texts that have most often been used in previous scholarship as the basis for discussions of the school (i.e., *nikāya*) affiliation of various lists, given in parts C, D, and E. Additional sources can be found in other works cited in the Bibliography, in particular Maeda (1964, Chart) and, for the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, Yamaguchi (1986).

A. Translations by (or attributed to) Zhi Qian

<i>Parinirvāṇa Sūtra</i> 般泥洹經 (T6, 1.188a18-21)	<i>Seven Wisdoms Sūtra</i> 七知[<i>var.</i> 智]經 (T27, 1.810a11-14)	<i>Śimhamati Sūtra</i> 私呵末[<i>var.</i> 昧]經 (T532, 14.811c9-13)
1. sūtra (文)	1. sūtra (文)	1. sūtra (闍經)
2. geya (歌)	2. geya (歌)	2. gāthā (說經)
3. vyākaraṇa (記)	3. vyākaraṇa (說)	3. geya (聽 [<i>var.</i> 德]經)
4. gāthā (頌)	4. gāthā (頌)	4. vyākaraṇa (分別經)
5. avadāna (譬喻)	5. avadāna (譬喻)	5. nidāna (現經)
6. nidāna (本記)	6. nidāna (本起紀)	6. avadāna (譬喻經)
7. ityuktaka (事解)	7. ityuktaka (事解)	7. ityuktaka (所說經)
8. jātaka (生傳)	8. jātaka (生傳)	8. jātaka (生經)
9. vaipulya (廣博)	9. vaipulya (廣博)	9. vaitulya (方等經) ⁷⁰
10. adbhuta (自然)	10. adbhuta (自然)	10. adbhutadharma (無比法經)
11. udāna (道行)	11. udāna (行)	11. upadeśa (章句經)
12. upadeśa (兩現)	12. upadeśa (章句)	12. udāna (行經)

B. Translations by Dharmarakṣa

<i>Larger Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra</i> 光讚經 (T222, 8.150c28ff.)	<i>*Mahākaruṇā Sūtra</i> 大哀經 (T398, 13.443b28-c2)
1. sūtra (闍經)	1. sūtra (闍經)
2. vyākaraṇa (分別經)	2. gāthā (得經)
3. gāthā (頌經)	3. geya (聽經)
4. geya (詩歌經)	4. vyākaraṇa (分別經)
5. nidāna (初經)	5. nidāna (現經)
6. ityuktaka (此應經)	6. ityuktaka (應時經)
7. jātaka (生經)	7. jātaka (生經)
8. udāna (受經)	8. vaitulya (方等經)
9. vaitulya (方等經)	9. adbhuta (未曾有經)
10. adbhutadharma (未曾有法經)	10. avadāna (譬喻經)
11. avadāna (譬喻經)	11. upadeśa (注[<i>var.</i> 住]解經)
12. upadeśa (注解章句經)	12. udāna (行經)

⁷⁰ On 方等 “well balanced, equal” as a translation of *vaitulya* (again, presumably in a Prakrit form) interpreted as a form of *tulya* “equal to” see Karashima 1992, p. 278, note to 63b-5.

(B, cont'd.)**Tathāgatācintyaḡubhyanirdeśa*,

密跡金剛力士會

(T310[3], 11.56a8-10)

1. sūtra (聞經)
2. geya (德經)
3. nidāna(?) (所演經)
4. vyākaraṇa (分別經)
5. gāthā (頌詩經)
6. udāna(?) (藏經)
7. ityuktaka (於是順經)
8. jātaka (生經)
9. vaitulya (方等經)
10. adbhutadharma (未曾有法經)
11. avadāna (譬喻經)
12. upadeśa (章句經)

C. Vinaya texts

Dharmaguptaka Vinaya
四分律
(T1428, 22.569b4-7)⁷¹

1. sūtra (契經)
2. geya (祇夜經)
3. vyākaraṇa (授記經)
4. gāthā (偈經)
5. udāna (句經)
6. nidāna (因緣經)
7. jātaka (本生經)
8. ityuktaka (善道經)
9. vaitulya (方等經)
10. adbhuta (未曾有經)
11. avadāna (譬喻經)
12. upadeśa (優波提舍經)

Mahīśāsakia Vinaya
五分律
(T1421, 22.1c14-16)

1. sūtra (修多羅)
2. geya (祇夜)
3. vyākaraṇa (受記)
4. gāthā (伽陀)
5. udāna (憂陀那)
6. nidāna (尼陀那)
7. ityuktaka (育多伽婆)
8. jātaka (本生)
9. vaipulya (毘富羅)
10. adbhuta (未曾有)
11. avadāna (阿婆陀那)
12. upadeśa (憂波提舍)

Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya
根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事
(T1451, 24.398c25-27)

1. sūtra (契經)
2. geya (應頌)
3. vyākaraṇa (記別)
4. gāthā (諷頌)
5. udāna (自說)
6. nidāna (因緣)
7. itivṛttaka (本事)
8. jātaka (本生)
9. vaipulya (方廣)
10. adbhuta (希有)
11. avadāna (譬喻)
12. upadeśa (論議)

⁷¹ Maeda (Chart, Part Ia of the twelve *aṅgas* section) gives an additional list, viz. 生經本經善因緣經。方等經未曾有經譬喻經。優婆提舍經句義經。法句經波羅延經。雜難經聖偈經 (22.968b23-25), but this is actually treated by the text as a list of the types of texts contained within a “miscellaneous *piṭaka*” (雜藏, 968b26; cf. the Pāli *Khuddakanikāya*) and not of the twelve *aṅgas* as such.

D. Āgama collections

Dīrghāgama
長阿含經
(T1, 1.16c15-17 and 74b20-23)

1. sūtra (貫經)
2. geya (祇夜經)
3. vyākaraṇa (受記經)
4. gātha (偈經)
5. udāna (法句經)
6. itiyuktaka (相應經)
7. nidāna (本緣經)
8. jātaka (天本經)
9. vaipulya (廣經)
10. adbhuta (未曾有經)
11. avadāna (譬[*var.* 證]喻經)
12. upadeśa (大教經)

Madhyamāgama
中阿含經
(T26, 1.421a18-19, 21-22, and
23-25; 709b7-8; 764a14-15 and
25-26, b2-3 and 14-15)

1. sūtra (正經)
2. geya (歌詠)
3. vyākaraṇa (記說)
4. gātha (偈他)
5. nidāna (因緣)
6. uddāna (撰錄)
7. avadāna (本起)
8. itiyuktaka (此說)
9. jātaka (生處)
10. vaipulya (廣解)
11. adbhutadharma (未曾有法)
12. upadeśa (說[*var.* 說是]義)

Saṃyuktāgama
雜阿含經
(T99, 2.300c5-8)

1. sūtra (修多羅)
2. geya (祇夜)
3. vyākaraṇa (受記)
4. gātha (伽陀)
5. udāna (優陀那)
6. nidāna (尼陀那)
7. avadāna (阿波陀那)
8. itivṛttaka (伊帝目多伽)
9. jātaka (闍多伽)
10. vaipulya (毘富羅)
11. adbhutadharma (阿浮
多達摩)
12. upadeśa (優波提舍)

Separate Saṃyuktāgama
別譯雜阿含經
(T100, 2.415a29-b2)

1. sūtra (修多羅)
2. geya (祇夜)
3. vyākaraṇa (授記)
4. gātha (說偈)
5. udāna (優他那)
6. nidāna (尼他那)
7. itivṛttaka (伊帝目多伽)
8. jātaka (本生)
9. vaipulya (毘佛略)
10. adbhuta (未曾有)
11. upadeśa (優波提舍)
12. avadāna (本事)

Ekottarikāgama (1)
增壹阿含經
(T125, 2.635a11-13)

1. sūtra (契經)
2. geya (祇夜)
3. vyākaraṇa (受決)
4. gātha (偈)
5. itivṛttaka (本末)
6. nidāna (因緣)
7. upadeśa (已說)
8. jātaka (生經)
9. udāna (頌)
10. vaitulya (方等)
11. adbhutadharma (未曾有法)
12. avadāna (譬喻)

Ekottarikāgama (2)
增壹阿含經
(T125, 2.657a2-4)

1. sūtra (契經)
2. geya (祇夜)
3. itivṛttaka (本末)
4. gātha (偈)
5. nidāna (因緣)
6. vyākaraṇa (授決)
7. upadeśa (已說)
8. udāna (造頌)
9. jātaka (生經)
10. vaitulya (方等)
11. avadāna (合集)
12. adbhuta (未曾有)

Ekottarikāgama (3)
增壹阿含經
(T125, 2.728c3-5)

1. sūtra (契經)
2. geya (祇夜)
3. gāthā (偈)
4. nidāna (因緣)
5. avadāna (譬喻)
6. itivṛttaka (本末)
7. upadeśa (廣演)
8. vaitulya (方等)
9. adbhuta (未曾有)
10. udāna (廣普)
11. vyākaraṇa (授決)
12. jātaḥ (生經)

Ekottarikāgama (4)
增壹阿含經
(T125, 2.794b15-16
and 794c29-795a1)

1. sūtra (契經)
2. geya (祇夜)
3. vyākaraṇa (授決)
4. gāthā (偈)
5. nidāna (因緣)
6. itivṛttaka (本末)
7. vaitulya (方等)
8. avadāna (譬喻)
9. jātaḥ (生經)
10. upadeśa (說)
11. udāna (廣普)
12. adbhuta (未曾有法)

Ekottarikāgama (5)
增壹阿含經
(T125, 2.813a16-17
and 28-29)

1. sūtra (契經)
2. geya (祇夜)
3. gāthā (偈)
4. vyākaraṇa (授決)
5. nidāna (因緣)
6. itivṛttaka (本末)
7. avadāna (譬喻)
8. jātaḥ (生)
9. vaitulya (方等)
10. adbhuta (未曾有)
11. upadeśa (說)
12. udāna (廣普)

Ekottarikāgama (6)
增壹阿含經
(T125, 2.635a17-19)

1. sūtra (契經)
2. itivṛttaka (本末)
3. vyākaraṇa (授決)
4. gāthā (偈)
5. nidāna (因緣)
6. avadāna (譬喻)
7. jātaḥ (生經)
8. vaitulya (方等)
9. adbhutadharma (未曾有法)

E. Mahāvibhāṣā (阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論, T1545, 27.2a20-22)

1. sūtra (契經)
2. geya (應頌)
3. vyākaraṇa (記別)
4. gāthā (諷頌)
5. udāna (自說)
6. nidāna (緣起)
7. avadāna (譬喻)
8. itivṛttaka (本事)
9. jātaḥ (本生)
10. vaitulya (方廣)
11. adbhutadharma (希法)
12. upadeśa (論議)

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**Teaching Buddhism in Han China:
A Study of the *Ahan koujie shi'er yinyuan jing* T 1508
Attributed to An Shigao***

Stefano ZACCHETTI

1. Introduction

The *Ahan koujie shi'er yinyuan jing* 阿含口解十二因緣經 T 1508 (“Oral explanation of the *Āgamas*: the *Sūtra on the twelve causal links*”),¹ hereafter AHKJ, is a curious text, which displays rather unique features among the scriptures translated or composed during the early phase of the history of Chinese Buddhism.

The AHKJ has received little attention from modern scholars.² In a sense, this is not surprising: while the AHKJ is, as might be expected in view of its presumed dating and authorship (i.e., An Shigao 安世高, middle of the 2nd century AD; see § 4 below), a very obscure text, its study is unlikely to produce, in reward of the many hours one has to spend in unravelling its intricacies, any dramatic change in our picture of early Chinese Buddhism.

Yet, if its title, probable authorship and other information provided by the earliest sources are to be taken seriously, the AHKJ should be one of the earliest surviving Buddhist exegetical works composed in China. In other words, if we want to know what sort of doctrines and ideas were actually circulating in the Buddhist community of Loyang around

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¹ *Taishō* vol. 25, pp. 53a 1 - 55b 2; *Zhonghua Dazangjing* 中華大藏經 (hereafter, ZH) vol. 52, pp. 298a - 302b. For a discussion of the title 阿含口解十二因緣經, see p. 218 below. In this article, I occasionally quote variants from the following ancient editions: Kr = the 13th century Korean edition (i.e., the main text of the AHKJ in T 1508 and ZH); F = 11-12th century Fuzhou editions (i.e., 宮 in the *Taishō*'s apparatus), S = 12th century Siqi 思溪 edition (on which see n. 93 below).

² Apart from scant references in the main general historical studies on Chinese Buddhism (e.g. see Tsukamoto 1985: 89), to my knowledge the best presentation of this text remains Akanuma Chizen's concise entry in the *Bussho kaisetsu dai jiten* (1933-1935). After a sketchy description (mainly of section c of the AHKJ: see § 2 below), Akanuma concludes that this text could have been composed in the “western regions” 西域, and clearly shows the influence of *Prajñāpāramitāsūtras*. This opinion remains a puzzle to me, especially because Akanuma does not refer to any passage of the text in support. I suspect that he might have had in mind what is section h in my outline (see p. 202), although I do not think it contains any idea truly peculiar to the *Prajñāpāramitā* (cf. also n. 80 below).

the middle of the second century AD, this would be one of the first texts we should look at.³ And, as I will show in § 3 below, this is not the only feature of interest of the AHKJ, for it might also be the earliest (albeit indirect) available witness on the textual history of an important scripture, the *Śālistambasūtra*.

2. An outline of the AHKJ

As suggested by its title (or, rather, titles: see below, § 4), the AHKJ has the *pratītyasamutpāda* as its main topic: it expounds this theme from different viewpoints, and with several digressions. However, as a matter of fact, approximately the last third of our text (section p in the following synopsis) deals with various other topics (presented in the form of numerical lists) entirely unrelated to the *pratītyasamutpāda*.⁴

In order to make the content of the AHKJ more accessible, I shall now try to summarise this text by subdividing it into sections. This subdivision is, admittedly, at times rather arbitrary, and should be taken as nothing more than a practical device.

- a. (53a 7-13) Introductory phrase and list of the twelve *aṅgas* of the *pratītyasamutpāda*.⁵
- b. (53a 14-18) The cultivation of four principles, named 四非常,⁶ is established as a means to extinguish the process of conditioned arising.

³ Cf. Prof. Zürcher's important methodological remarks at the beginning of his study of Han translations (1991: 277-278).

⁴ This was already noticed by Akanuma 1933-1935.

⁵ In this initial list, the twelve limbs are rendered as follows (I also indicate variants occurring in an successive list): 癡 (**avidyā*), 所作行 (**saṃskārāḥ*; at p. 53a 19, this term is simply rendered as 行; for other renditions see n. 7), 所識 (**vijñāna*; 識 at 53a 20), 名色 (**nāmarūpa*), 六衰 (**ṣaḍāyatana*; for a parallel in An Shigao's translations, see Vetter and Harrison 1998: 211; at 53a 21: 六入, cf. below the YCRJ), 所更 (**sparsā*; see Karashima 1998: 162 and Hu 2002: 143-144; at 53a 21: 栽, "planting"), 痛 (**vedanā*), 愛 (**tṛṣṇā*), 求 (**upādāna*; 受 at 53a 23, cf. below the YCRJ), 得 (*bhava*, perhaps in the sense of "getting [a new existence]"? Cf. 53 a 23: 有), 生 (**jāti*), 老病死 (cf. *jarā-marāṇa* etc.; simply 老死 at 53a 24). The *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 T 603 (hereafter YCRJ) translated by An Shigao contains a rather elaborated exposition of the *paṭiccasamuppāda* (174b 23 – 175a 24; see Zacchetti 2002: 81-82). Compared to the AHKJ, the following main differences can be found in the YCRJ's list: *nāmarūpa* is translated as 名字; *saḍāyatana* as 六入; *phassa* at first is rendered as 致 (174b 25), but 身六思望 corresponds to *cha phassakāyā* (*Peṭakopadesa* p. 116, 19) at 174c 14; *vedanā* is translated with the expected 痛痒 (174b 25-26).

⁶ What is actually meant here by 四非常 is not too clear. The AHKJ in fact provides two different explanations of this category, at first as the comprehension and practise of the Four Truths, then as four kinds of mindfulness: "What are the 四非常? The first is being aware of suffering (識苦), the second is rejecting the origin [of suffering] (捨習, where 習 = *samudaya*), the third is knowing the cessation [of suffering] (知盡), the fourth is coursing the Path (行道). [Or] in another formulation, [the 四非常 are:] being mindful of birth (念生), being mindful of old age (念老), being mindful of illness (念病), being mindful of death (念死)". The expression 四非常 occurs in several early scriptures, among which there are - to quote just two texts potentially related to the AHKJ - the *Yin chi ru jing zhu* 陰持入經注 T 1694 (e.g. see p. 11a 2, 16b 13 etc.) and Kang Senghui's *Liu du ji jing* 六度集經 T 152 (see p. 47c 14-15 and *passim*). The meaning of 四非常 in these sources is generally rather clear: they are the four main characteristics of conditioned things - i.e., their being impermanent (非常), painful (苦), empty (空), not self (非身) - whose realisation constitutes, in the *Peṭakopadesa* (p. 114, 2-3), the *nāṇapariññā* (rendered as 慧知 or 從慧知 in the YCRJ; see Zacchetti 2002: 80 and n. 41). Thus in this case 四非常 should be probably interpreted as "the four [main characteristics of

c. (53a 18-25) The *pratītyasamutpāda* exists in an internal and external form (on this important section, see § 3 below).

d. (53a 26 - b 6) Some definitions (of **avidyā*, 53a 26, of the basic law of conditioned arising, 53a 28), followed by an another enumeration and exposition of the twelve limbs.

e. (53b 6-11) Classification of five of the twelve factors according to the three periods of time, as follows: **avidyā* and **saṃskārāḥ* (here: 生死精行)⁷ are the past-life causal links (前世因緣), while **vijñāna* and **nāmarūpa* are the present, and the six **āyatana*s the future ones.⁸

things, beginning with] impermanence [etc.]" (see also Nakamura 1981: 529b). But I fail to see how could this meaning apply in this passage of the AHKJ.

⁷ This expanded rendition (or paraphrase) of **saṃskārāḥ*, 生死精行 – “factors/activities of the essential vital force [governing the process of] birth-and-death” (cf. also 53b 9, as quoted and discussed in the next note) – is noteworthy: both 生死 and 行 are well-attested translations of *saṃskārāḥ* (either as a *skandha* or as an *aṅga* of the *pratītyasamutpāda*) in An Shigao’s corpus. The present form, which, by the presence of 精行, seemingly rules out the possibility of a mere confusion *saṃskāra* / *saṃsāra*, corroborates the analysis of 生死 by Vetter and Harrison (1998: 213 n. 7): “The former term [viz. *saṃskāra*] is in any case notoriously difficult, but it is at least conceivable that here An Shigao had in mind the *saṃskāra* as the forces through which things come into being and pass away ...”. In the AHKJ there occur also shorter forms, apparently related to this rendition of *saṃskārāḥ*: 生死行 (53b 15-15) and 生死精 (53b 23 and 26).

The meaning of 精 in these and similar usages found in An Shigao’s translations deserves further research in light of Han dynasty non-Buddhist thought. A potentially significant source in this respect is the *Huainan zi* 淮南子, where 精 is a key notion, in the sense of “vital essence” (see Roth 1991: 605 n. 19 and 639-641; for a detailed discussion of 精 and related terms in this text, see also Xu Fuguan 2001, vol. 2, pp. 142-145 and ff.). While the fundamental function performed by the *saṃskārāḥ* as described by Vetter and Harrison in the passage quoted above is very probably the main reason for using 精 in this context, it is possible to point out instances of even more specific parallelism between the *Huainan zi* and Buddhist sources. In some Pāli *suttas*, for example, certain *saṅkhārā* are singled out as “phenomena that activate speech, body and mind” (Vetter 2000: 37), and are to be overcome insofar as they hinder meditation. Not only is a similar role attributed in the *Huainan zi* to 精 (which, too, makes sensorial perception, speech and cognition possible), but it is also suggested that the functions thus activated should be controlled so as to avoid its exhaustion (see Zhang 1997 vol. 1: 859 and Roth 1991: 641) – no doubt a point of significant disagreement with the Buddhist counterpart – by means of a meditative technique, thus leading to the highest spiritual goal.

⁸ This paragraph corresponds to the well-know classification of the *aṅgas* into past, present and future (see La Vallée Poussin 1913: 36-38; *Abhidharmakośa* III.20, p. 344, 11-13; *Visuddhimagga* pp. 496, tr. Nāṇamoli 1991: 596 § 287) only in part (i.e., in the allotment of *avidyā* and *saṃskārāḥ* to the past). Some of the five *aṅgas* singled out in this paragraph are followed by what I interpret as parenthetical explanations. I translate here the entire passage, printing the hypothetical glosses in smaller size: “In the twelve causal links there are five things 1. ignorance, 2. the subtle factors of birth-and-death (i.e., *saṃskārāḥ*, see the preceding note): they are the causal links [belonging to] the past existence; 3. consciousness – through consciousness one appropriates of a bodily rebirth (從識受身生); 4. name and form – the material body develops once again into the five *skandhas* (? 色身復成五陰): they are the causal links [belonging to] the present existence; 5. the six [factors causing] decay (i.e., the *āyatana*s) – which again produce the planting of the seeds of the minute factors of birth-and-death (復作生死精行種栽, i.e., the *saṃskārāḥ*): they are the causal links [belonging to] the future existence. Through the reciprocal conditioning of the three times of existence (前後三世轉相因緣故), there are [these] five things [i.e., the *skandhas*]”.

f. (53b 11 - 53c 6) A long and important section centred on the list of ten evil deeds (**akuśalakarmapathas*):⁹ killing, stealing, lewdness, lying,¹⁰ abusive speech, reckless speech, ornate speech,¹¹ jealousy,¹² hatred, doubt.¹³ They are at first combined with the five *skandhas* (53b 11-14):

“[Of these ten bad deeds] seven categories make up one [*skandha*], [while the other] three accord with four [*skandhas*]. The seven things that make up one [*skandha*] are: killing, stealing, lewdness, lying, abusive speech, reckless speech, ornate speech: together they accord with form (從色) and make up one [*skandha*, viz. the *rūpaskandha*]. The three categories which accord with [the other] four [*skandhas*] are: jealousy, hatred, doubt; they accord with feeling, ideation, birth-and-death, consciousness. [In this way,] these ten categories are combined to form the five obscuring factors (五陰, five *skandhas*)”.

Then¹⁴ the AHKJ goes on with a combined treatment of the ten deeds with the *pratītyasamutpāda* (53b 19 - c 6). While some of the combinatorial patterns introduced here make good sense, others remain more difficult to explain:

⁹ 殺、盜、姪、兩舌、惡口、妄言、綺語 and 嫉、瞋恚、疑[癡 Kr]. A partially corresponding parallel to this list of ten categories can be found, within An Shigao's corpus, in the SBFJ T 13 p. 241a 10-13 (*daśakuśalāḥ karmapathāḥ*): 第五十法，可令減十事惡行。何等爲十？一爲殺，二爲盜，三爲犯色，四爲兩舌，五爲妄語，六爲癡語，七爲綺語，八爲癡，九爲瞋，十爲邪意; cf. *Daśottarasūtra* 2, p. 27: (da)śa dharmā hānabhāgiyāḥ / da(*sākuśalāḥ*) karmapa(*thāḥ* / *katame daśa* /) tady(*athā* [1] p)r(*āpā*)tipāto [2] 'da(*ttādānam*) [3] kāmamithyācār(o) [4] mṛ(*ṣāvādaḥ*) [5] pa)śunyaṃ [6] pāruṣyaṃ [7] saṃbhinna(p)r(*alāpo*) [8] 'bhi)dhyā [9] vyā(*pādo*) [10] *mithyādr̥ṣṭiḥ* / . Note that the eighth item in the SBFJ, 癡, is a faulty translation of its counterpart *abhidhyā* (wrongly interpreted as *avidyā*: see Karashima 2000: 213 n. 211). A similar list is also discussed by Lin 1949: 246-250. On the parallel list of ten *kuśala-karmapathas* (i.e., *nipāta* X.6 in the *Daśottarasūtra*), and some of its early Chinese translations, see Nattier 2002, whence I have borrowed some renditions. It is noteworthy that not only exactly the same list of the AHKJ occurs also in the ABSYJ T 602 (e.g. p. 164c 6-7; 167a 24-26; 172b 15-16), but even its treatment in the two sources shows significant similarities (see § 5).

¹⁰ 兩舌; in the SBFJ T 13 p. 241a 11, this word translates *mṛṣāvāda*, “lying” (see the preceding note); in other translations, however, it corresponds to the synonym *anṛtavacana*: see Nattier 2002: 35-37.

¹¹ 綺語 (see also HD 9: 883-884) should correspond to *sambhinnapralāpa*, “confused, senseless talk” (so Edgerton 1953, *Dictionary* p. 580a); see Nattier 2002.

¹² 嫉 correspond to *abhidhyā*, “covetousness”, which in other texts is indeed rendered as 嫉妒: see Nattier 2002: 35-39 (esp. 38) and 43 n. 7.

¹³ The expected term is *mithyādr̥ṣṭi*. While Kr reads 癡, all the other available editions collated in *Taiśhō* and ZH read 疑. It seems in fact that the latter reading, “doubt”, makes better sense in the light of some definitions of *mithyādr̥ṣṭi* found in *Abhidharma* literature: e.g. see *Abhidharmakośa* V.7 p. 607, 15-16: *sati duḥkhādisatye nāstīti dr̥ṣṭir mithyādr̥ṣṭiḥ* / ... *eṣā hy apavādikā, anyās tu samāropikāḥ* / (“the *mithyādr̥ṣṭi* is the view which consists in denying actual Truths such as suffering etc. ... It is, in fact, essentially negative, while other [views] are assertive”); see also Lin 1949: 250 and the text quoted and translated by Dantine 1983: 219-220 note n. That 疑 is probably the correct reading, is also confirmed by a parallel list found in Lokakṣema's *Dao xing jing* 道行經 T 224 p. 454b 28-29, where this word occurs (without variants) corresponding to *mithyādarśana*- (see Nattier 2002: 35-37). Another text (T 174) examined by Nattier has 信道不疑 (“Believing in the Way and not doubting”, see Nattier 2002: 39) in the position where we should expect the remedy of *mithyādr̥ṣṭi*. In the occurrences of this list in the ABSYJ T 602 (see n. 9 above), the treatment of this term is unfortunately inconsistent: at p. 167a 26 and 172b 16, the *Taiśhō* has 癡 (without variants), but at 164c 6, the text (i.e., Kr) reads 疑, with the significant agreement of F.

¹⁴ The passage occurring at p. 53b 15-19 is very obscure, but it seems to bridge the preceding and following portions, on the combined treatment of the ten *akuśalakarmapathas* with the *skandhas* on the one hand, and with the *pratītyasamutpāda* on the other. The term 盛陰 (lit. “proliferating obscuring factors”), which occurs in this passage, is presumably used in the sense of *upādānaskandha*, as in some later translations (e.g.

“jealousy constitutes ignorance;¹⁵ hatred constitutes the essential vital forces [governing the process of] birth-and-death;¹⁶ doubt constitutes consciousness; killing constitutes name and form; stealing constitutes the six [factors causing] decay;¹⁷ lewdness constitutes contact, lying constitutes feeling; abusive speech constitutes craving; reckless speech constitutes accomplishing,¹⁸ ornate speech constitutes longing for birth”. (53b 20-22)

The first three pairs of the preceding combined list (jealousy = **avidyā*, hatred = **saṃskārāḥ*, doubt = **viññāna*) are defined as the “internal categories” (i.e., mental),¹⁹ and singled out as the decisive factors in the process leading to the assumption of the *skandhas*:

“*Jealousy as ignorance,²⁰ hatred as the essential vital forces [governing the process of] birth-and-death, doubt as consciousness: these three internal categories constitutes the root:²¹ once [these] three things have come into being, there are [also the remaining] seven categories; [together,] they form the five proliferating obscuring factors (盛陰, **upādānaskandha*)”. (53b 23-25)

Elaborating on this combination of *akuśalakarmapathas* and *pratītyasamutpāda*, the AHKJ comes to an interesting corollary:

“If a follower of the Way (道人) wishes to put an end to the twelve causal links, he should first put an end to the ten categories [which make up a] group (?),²² then ignorance and the five obscuring factors proceeding from ignorance are extinguished, and [thus] the twelve causal links, too, are extinguished.²³ With regard to putting an end to the ten categories [which make up a] group: given that they externally proceed from the body, internally proceed from the mind, one [accordingly] speaks of the holding of body [and] mind [as a remedy to them].²⁴ [with the former category] it is meant not killing [and other physical deeds]; [actions] are also defined as externally proceeding from the mouth, internally proceeding from the <mind>.²⁵ { ... } As to the elimination [of

see the synopsis in Vetter 2000: 121-ff., especially the third paragraph and ff.). The only occurrence of this usage in An Shigao’s corpus seems to be DDJ T 607 p. 231c 25 (see also Demiéville 1954: 400): 五盛陰; however, the corresponding phrase in Dharmarakṣa’s translation (T 606 p. 183b 8, verse portion) only reads 五陰.

¹⁵ 嫉爲癡; is there also a pun between *abhidhyā* and *avidyā* at work in this association (cf. n. 9 above)?

¹⁶ 瞋恚爲生死精 (= **saṃskārāḥ*, cf. n. 7 above); the punctuation of the *Taishō* is wrong.

¹⁷ 盜爲六衰; cf. the well-known definition of the (external) *āyatana*s as robbers raiding villages (*corā gāmaghātakā ti*, *Samyutta* IV p. 175). Cf. AHKJ p. 54b 3, where a similar definition is applied to the internal *āyatana*s. 內有匿賊, “internally hiding robbers”.

¹⁸ 成; apparently a varied rendition of *upādāna*.

¹⁹ See below n. 24; § 5 and n. 97.

²⁰ Here the transmitted text reads: 姪爲癡; but cf. p. 53b 20: 嫉爲癡, which no doubt should be even here the correct reading, as is confirmed by the immediately following passage (53b 25): 嫉爲五陰本故爲癡.

²¹ 內三事爲本.

²² 身十事; how 身 is actually to be understood in this and in several other similar expressions found in the AKHJ, is not entirely clear. My admittedly tentative interpretation is that here 身 may represent an original -*kāya* used ifc. in the sense of “collection, group”. In fact, it is exactly the unexpected (in view of this hypothetical original) position of 身 that, somewhat paradoxically, can confirm this interpretation. Several examples show that this usage of *kāya* was consistently misunderstood, or, anyway, misrepresented in An Shigao’s texts; e.g. see YCRJ T 603 p. 173b 11: 痛種爲身六痛 = *Peṭakopadesa* 112, 7: *cha vedanākkāyā vedanākkhandhā*; see also Vetter and Harrison 1998: 209 and 214 n. 16.

²³ I punctuate as follows: 道人欲斷十二因緣, 當先斷身十事, 便爲癡、從癡五陰滅, 十二因緣亦滅.

²⁴ On the expression 身、意持, cf. a significant parallel from the ABSYJ T 602 p. 172b 4-6: 問: 何等爲從諦身、意持? 報: 謂身持七戒, 意持三戒。是爲身、意持也。(this is presumably a gloss upon a preceding passage, T 602 p. 170c 8-9: 從諦身、意持, 是名力覺意, i.e., **vīryasambodhyaṅga*; see Aramaki 1971: 162).

²⁵ This passage (“With regard to ... which is [also] external”) is rather obscure; I try to punctuate and correct it as follows: 斷身十事者, 外從身, 內從意故, 言身、意持: 謂不殺。亦謂外從口, 內從<意>。(嫉)斷者, 謂萬物一切意不起 etc. Tentatively (and especially in the light of 外從身, 內從意故), I interpret 言 in

these bad deeds], it means that when all the thoughts [turned to] the ten thousand things do not arise [any more], then hatred ceases; when hatred ceases, killing ceases; when killing ceases, greed ceases; when greed ceases, lewdness²⁶ ceases. External verbal [misconduct] means sound: when one makes sound cease, lying (兩舌), abusive speech, reckless speech, ornate speech also cease. When one does not doubt any more, one enters the Way. This is turning away from the five obscuring factors,²⁷ [and] cutting off the roots of the twelve causal links. (53b 27 - c 6)

g. (153c 7-19) Exposition of three main categories involved in human beings' taking a body (人受身): the five *skandhas*, the eighteen *dhātus* and the twelvefold *pratītyasamutpāda*.

h. (53c 19-28) One should understand that form (here presumably used as a synecdoche of the five *skandhas*) as well as the *āyatanas* and the five elements do not constitute the self (身), which exists as a mere nominal entity (色不爲身，但名字爲身):

“Although there are eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind, even [these] are not the self (身).²⁸ For what reason? If [for instance] the ear were the person (設耳是人), [this] should be able to hear everything. [In this case it is simply that] one arrives at a name on the basis of physical appearance (形). Let us take, for instance, the name “gold”: [so,] for instance, one makes [a certain] object with gold, and [the latter object] is named in accordance with this [gold as a “golden object”]. In a similar way,] the five things (五事, **dhātus*): earth, water, fire, wind, space (空) make up the self [as a purely nominal entity] (作身), and yet [that] is not a self [in the sense that it is something actually existing] (亦復非身). For what reason? Given that the body (身 = **kāya*) [normally] perceives (知) the minute and smooth [sensations],²⁹ it is because, when a person is already dead, the earth [etc.] does not perceive the minute and smooth [sensations any more], that we know (知) that earth, water, fire, wind, space are not the body.³⁰ [In fact,] both the body and the mind are empty (身亦空，意亦空): [indeed] they are both empty and non-existent (俱空無所有)”. (53c 20-25)

i. (53c 28 - 54a 10) Twelve winds found in the body (身中有十二風):³¹ wind with an up-going breath (上氣風) etc. up to the knife-like wind, which severs men's

言身、意持 as introducing a sort of definition (cf. AHKJ p. 53c 14: 言十八種者 etc.), and not as “verbal, bodily and mental [acts]”. The latter classification, however, is commonly applied to the *karmapathas*, and is in fact mentioned also in the AHKJ (see also below n. 34). What the author of the AHKJ seems to be doing here, not without a considerable amount of confusion, is to apply this threefold classification together with the subdivision of the *karmapathas* as internal and external: i.e., bodily and vocal acts are external, mental acts internal.

²⁶ Read 淫 with the Qisha, Yuan and Ming editions.

²⁷ On this expression 是爲還五陰, see § 5 below.

²⁸ As is well-known, the word 身 is used in early Chinese translations either in the sense of “body” (as a rendition of *kāya* etc.), or in the sense of “self” (mainly translating *ātman*). This lexical choice was not without consequences at a doctrinal level, and it has been argued that it significantly influenced the early Chinese understanding of the fundamental Buddhist doctrine of *anātman* (非身 in early terminology): e.g. see Tang 1983: 99 and, for a recent detailed discussion of this issue, Peng 2000: 48-52. Indeed, even in the present passage it is not always clear what is the original term underlying 身. My impression is that at the beginning *ātman* is probably implied, while in the final portion, where it is associated to **spraṣṭavya* (身知細滑; see the next note) and paired up with 意 (“mind”), 身 clearly represents **kāya*, “body”.

²⁹ 細滑 is a common archaic translation of *sparsā* (see also Karashima 1998: 483), *spraṣṭavya* etc. (e.g. see T 602 p. 163a 8 and *passim*).

³⁰ Punctuate as follows: 人已死，地不知細滑故，知地、水、火、風、空非身。

³¹ For lists of the various bodily winds, see the *Vibhaṅga* and the *Mahāvibhāṅgā* (see the next note for detailed references); *Visuddhimagga* p. 293 § 37; Lin 1949: 110.

life (刀風斷截人命).³² This passage marks the beginning of a discussion of the five *dhātus* (earth, water, fire, wind and space) as the constituents of human beings which play a key role, combined with the *skandhas*, in “manifesting [the cycle of] birth-and-death”.³³

j. (54a 10-20) Two classes of wholesome actions (行善有二輩) and two classes of unwholesome actions (惡亦有二輩),³⁴ and their consequences in future rebirths. A

³² The 刀風 is mentioned in some canonical sources, especially meditation *sūtras* and *Abhidharma* literature (cf. Nakamura 1981: 998 c-d, who does not indicate any Indic original for this word). For the purpose of our study, the most interesting occurrence is in Saṅgharakṣa’s *Yogācārabhūmi*, which could have been the direct source for the AHKJ in this as well as in other passages: see An Shigao’s translation, DDJ T 607 p. 233a 28: 病者不復久，內見風起，名刀風，令病者散節；cf. Dharmarakṣa’s version (T 606 p. 185c 7): 其人疾病，如是身中刀風起，令病者骨節解，“when this person is ill, there rise in such a way in the body the knife-like winds, that they cause the sick person’s bones and joints to separate”. A similar description is also found in the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 T 1509 p. 153c 24-25: 持戒之人，壽終之時，刀風解身，筋脈斷絕... (“The person who observes the precepts of discipline, when it is time for dying, and the knife-like winds cut up his body, [so that his] muscles and veins are cut off ...”; cf. Lamotte 1949: 776, who did not translate accurately the expression 刀風); cf. also *Abhidharmakośa* III.43 (vol. 1 p. 398), tr. La Vallée Poussin 1980, *Kośa* ch. 3 pp. 135-136. In the *Zeng yi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 T 125 (*Ekottarikāgama*) this word occurs in two passages describing the moment of death (T 125 p. 586b 10 and 591a 5); to quote just the first of the two: 身中刀風起而命終，“in the body the knife-like winds rise, and life comes to an end”. These (at least according to the indications provided by Akanuma 1929) have no exact Pāli parallel which could be useful to interpret 刀風. However, in some *suttas* of the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, we find a stock-formula which occurs in a context comparable to these two passages from T 125, and which contains, among other things, the following phrase: *satthakā vā me vātā kuppeyuṃ, tena me assa kālakiriya* (*Āṅguttara* III, 101, 19-20; IV 320, 14-15). That *satthakā* ... *vātā* (“knife-like winds”) is probably the original word for 刀風, is also suggested by Buddhaghosa’s glosses on this formula, which come quite close to some of the Chinese sources quoted above (cf. especially the *Da zhidu lun* T 1509). See his comment on *Āṅguttara* III 101 (in *Manorathapūraṇi* vol. III p. 271, 1): *Satthakā ti satthaṃ viya sandhibandhachedakā vātā*, “winds which, like a knife, cut the ligaments”; and on *Āṅguttara* IV 320 (*Manorathapūraṇi* vol. III p. 156): *Satthakā me vātā ti aṅgam-aṅgāni kantantīti*, “[the knife-like winds] cut all the limbs”.

In scholastic literature (but see also *Madhyamāgama* 中阿含經 T 26 p. 466b 10) we find that *satthaka* / *śastraka* is occasionally listed, as a particular kind of wind, in descriptions of the *vāyu-dhātu*: e.g. see *Vibhaṅga* p. 84, 10: *satthakavātā*; *Mahāvibhāṣā* T 1545, p. 388a 22 (刀風). See also a contextually similar passage in Xuanzang’s *Yujiaoshi di lun* 瑜伽師地論 T 1579, pp. 430b 15-16: 有小刀風，有大刀風 (“there are the little-knife-winds and the big-knife-winds”), corresponding to *Śrāvakabhūmi* p. 215, 6: *kṣurakapippalakaśastrakā vāyavāḥ*, where 小刀風 = *kṣuraka* (see also *Vibhaṅga* loc. cit.), and 大刀風 = *śastraka* (so also in Yokoyama Koitsu and Takayuki Hirosawa 1996: 504a and 726b). In conclusion, the most likely hypothesis is that *śastraka* is indeed the Indic form underlying 刀風 in the AHKJ and the other sources discussed above.

³³ 是十事共合，便見生死 (54a 10; in this case the 十事 refers to the five *dhātus* and the five *skandhas*).

³⁴ The first category of wholesome actions are the ten *kuśalakarmapathas*, in their traditional threefold subdivision: “not committing the three bodily [bad deeds], the four vocal [bad deeds], the three mental [bad deeds]” (54a 11). The second are a set of five practises, partially overlapping with the six *pāramitās* (cf. also a similar list at p. 54b 25-26): “giving (布施, **dāna*), observance of morality (持戒, **śīla*), forbearance (忍辱, **kṣānti*), energy (精進, **vīrya*), not doubting (? 不疑)” (54a 12-13). In the negative counterpart, on the other hand, drinking alcohol (飲酒) is added to the list of *akuśalakarmapathas* (犯身三、口四、意三; on the resulting list of eleven terms, see Nattier 2002: 35) to form the first class. The last group of *akuśalakarmapatha* (i.e., the “three mental [bad deeds]”) and the second class of unwholesome actions introduced by the AHKJ seem, in fact, to partially overlap: “doubt, jealousy (see n. 12-13 above), greed (慳貪): these constitute the second [class of] unwholesome [actions]” (54a 14).

new pattern of combination of the ten **akuśalākarmapathas* and the *pratītyasamutpāda* is then introduced (54a 17-20).³⁵

k. (54a 21-28) Description of **vijñāna* as the key factor in the process of rebirth.³⁶

l. (54a 28 - b 3) Men, who “acquire [their] bodily [existence] from the unclean impurities³⁷ of wives and husbands”,³⁸ once grown up are deceived by the five **skandhas*, the six **dhātus*,³⁹ the twelve **āyatanas*.

m. (54b 4-6) Three groups of categories relevant to men’s birth.⁴⁰

n. (54b 7 - c 10) A long portion dealing with the rebirth process of human beings.

At first the AHKJ describes in some detail the formation of the embryo:⁴¹

³⁵ “When a person performs the ten categories (十事), he would come to (? 就) three [other] categories; when a person practises the three categories, he would come to two categories; when a person practises the two categories, he would come to one category. What are the ten categories? They are the ten unwholesome [actions] (十惡); [having performed these ten] one gets the three categories of bodily, vocal, mental [actions]; once there are these three categories, there are [also] the two categories of name and form; once there are name and form, one plunges into ignorance for a hundred *kalpas*, and then becoming a human being is indeed [a process] difficult to get completed” (54a 17-20). Clearly *avidyā* (癡) is the “one category” (一事) mentioned in the preceding lines. This combinatorial scheme (*avidyā* → *nāma-rūpa* → bodily, vocal, mental actions → ten unwholesome actions) is noteworthy.

³⁶ Just to give an example of this unfortunately very obscure section: “As to the **vijñānas* of the five destinies (五道識), [their] names are different [but in fact] they constitute one single [kind of] **vijñāna* (合一識). When [during the process of rebirth] one enters [this] one **vijñāna*, one would lose what he originally knew. It is [for instance] as when a human being is reborn among the gods: [originally] he embodies the **vijñāna* of human beings (含人識); [but] once he has received (受人) the **vijñāna* of gods (天識), he would forget human matters” (54a 21-23) The problem of the gods’ memory (in that case, of the gods of the *naivasamjñānāsaṃjñāyatana*) is dealt with, albeit in an entirely different context, in one of the most interesting passages of the SMJcomm (ll. 438-443).

³⁷ 汚露 is a variant of the commoner 惡露: cf. Kang Sengui 康僧會, *Preface to the Anban shouyi jing* T 602 p. 163b 8: 自頭至足, 反覆微察內體汚露.

³⁸ The punctuation given in the *Taishō* is, as it is often the case in the AHKJ, wrong. Read as follows: 人本從婦、婦夫不淨汚露得身. The noteworthy word 婦夫 (if this is indeed the genuine reading), “husband” is not recorded either in HD or in Morohashi’s Dictionary.

³⁹ 六止 (i.e., the five *dhātus*, earth etc., plus *vijñāna*) is probably an etymologising rendition of *dhātu*.

⁴⁰ The three groups at issue (三因緣) are defined as follows: “the first is aggregation (? 合會); the second gathering (聚); the third **citta* (心), **manas* (意) and **vijñāna* (識). Feeling, ideation, birth-and-death, consciousness (i.e., *skandhas* 2-5) constitute aggregation; all sorts of craving (諸愛欲) constitute gathering”. 聚, which is left unexplained, is difficult to understand. The ensuing discussion of *citta*, *manas* and *vijñāna* (54b 6) is regrettably obscure, and, I assume, partially corrupt. I propose the following restoration: 上頭(爲上頭)爲心, 中央爲意, 後頭爲識. “The initial [mental function] {...} is *citta*, the middle is *manas*, the later *vijñāna*”. What this passage actually means is not entirely clear (on the various usages of 上頭, 後頭 and other related expressions in early Buddhist translations, see Li 1999: 123-125; Hu 2002: 245-246; Zhu 1992: 168-169). It could reflect an attempt of de-synonymising the three terms by referring them to different temporal states, parallels to which are attested in some *Abhidharma* sources (see Schmithausen 1987: 122 and n. 821), e.g. *Mahāvibhāṣā* p. 371b 5-6 (where, however, *manas* is allotted to the past, *citta* to the future and *vijñāna* to the present). However, it must be stressed that the context within which the above definition of the three terms is introduced in the AHKJ is not concerned with gnoseological issues, but with the process of rebirth.

⁴¹ Within An Shigao’s corpus, this topic is dealt with in a far more detailed way in chapter 5 of the DDJ (see especially T 607 p. 234a 19 - c 16; see Demiéville 1954: 400-401, Deleanu 1997: 37), which could have been one of the sources of this portion of the AHKJ. The DDJ lists the progressive stages of the embryo, week after

“When a human being enters at first in the mother’s womb,⁴² he is like the yolk in a chicken’s egg (雞子); at the thirtieth week, he has head, face, hands, feet and fingers all fully-developed; four days before the birth (? 未生四日), he turns head down.⁴³ People, when in their mothers’ wombs, suffer unspeakably. When people are in their mothers’ wombs, [their] life (命) increases daily, consciousness grows daily; [then (?)] the body gradually grows old, and at half a year, both body and consciousness decrease daily”. (54b 7-10)

Then several numerical lists are introduced, mainly dealing with the relationship between parents and children (54b 12 - c 4):

“There are three kinds of children: 1. merit-children (福子); 2. true children (眞子); 3. untrue children (不眞子).

What is a merit-child? It means that the parents observe morality (持戒, **sīla*), give gifts (布施, **dāna*), [cultivate] forbearance (忍辱, *kṣānti*) [and] energy (精進, *vīrya*), [in short] proceed on the Way, and so does the child.

As to a true child, while the parents do not believe in the Way, the child alone honours the Teaching of the Way (道教): this is a true child.

As to an untrue child: when the parents follow the Way, whereas the child drinks alcohol and does evil, things that men do not want to see, this is an [instance of] an untrue child”. (54b 24-29)

An interesting feature of this portion is the emphasis laid on the economic aspects of this relationship, as, for example, in the following passage:

“A child [can] be born under three circumstances (因緣): 1. in a time previous [to the child’s birth], parents take the burden of [earning] money for [their] children’s sake (負子錢); 2. children {...} take the burden of [earning] money for [their] parents’ sake;⁴⁴ 3. an enemy [i.e., suffering] comes instead of the child (?).⁴⁵

[At times] parents take great pains to seek wealth; once they have gained it, they die, and it is [their] children who use it: this is [an instance of] ‘in a time previous [to the child’s birth], the parents take the burden of [earning] money for [their] children’s sake’.

week. The AHKJ only mentions the thirtieth week, apparently as a main turning point in this process, summarising all the main developments which took place in the preceding weeks. The developments taking place at the thirtieth week are obscurely described in the DDJ (T 607 p. 234b 20-21): 三十七日皮膜成胎; cf. the corresponding passage in Dharmarakṣa’s translation, T 606 p. 187b 18: 三十七日纔有皮有像, “it is only at the thirtieth week that [the embryo] has skin and shape [formed]”.

⁴² 人初墮母腹中; here one would expect *vijñāna* – which is indeed mentioned in the immediately preceding line (see n. 40 above) – instead of 人: cf. Schmithausen 1987: 37. Indeed, one cannot help noticing that 墮母腹中 seems a precise calque of a well-known formula found in some Indic sources, e.g. *Digha* II p. 63, 2-3 (*Mahānidānasutta*): [*viññāṇaṃ ca hi Ānanda*] *mātu kucchim* [v.l. *kucchismiṃ*: cf. 中] *na okkamissatha* ... (see also La Vallée Poussin 1913: 12; Schmithausen 1987: 301-302 n. 238); cf. the corresponding passage in An Shigao’s translation of the same scripture (*Ren ben yu sheng jing* 人本欲生經) T 14 p. 243b 18: 若識, 阿難, 不下母腹中... . The expression 墮母腹中 occurs another time in the AHKJ (p. 54a 2): 生者, 謂初墮母腹中時爲生, and a few other parallels can be found elsewhere in An Shigao’s corpus: e.g. see T 150A p. 879c 27: 諸墮母腹中是謂爲欲 (on this *sūtra* see Harrison 1997: 275 entry n. 43), corresponding to *Āṅguttara* IV 289, 24: *gabbho ti bhikkhave kāmānaṃ etaṃ adhivacanaṃ*. Given that the use of 墮 in this precise sense seems unknown outside An Shigao’s translations, this could be an additional, albeit very limited, piece of evidence of the authorship of the AHKJ.

⁴³ Cf. DDJ T 607 p. 235c 14-16; T 606 p. 188a 3-5

⁴⁴ On the basis of the following explanation (54b 21-22: 是爲子負父母錢), I emend the present passage as 子(先世)負父母錢, given that 先世 does not seem to make much sense here. Alternatively, but less likely, one could emend 先世 to *後世.

⁴⁵ My interpretation of 三者怨[v.l. 冤]家來作子是 very tentative. It is to be observed that, unlike in the case of items 1 and 2, the definition attached to the ensuing explanation (54b 23) - which is at least interpretable, if not clear - is rather different: 是爲怨[v.l. 冤]家相從生.

[At times] children seek wealth; once they have gained it, they die, and it is [their] parents who use it: this is [an instance of] ‘children take the burden of [earning] money for [their] parents’ sake’.

At times children die a hundred or a thousand days after having been born, and the parents grieve and suffer: this is [an instance of] ‘a sign of enmity is born from birth’ (? 怨家相從生生). (54b 18-23)

The final portion of this section (54c 4-10) discusses, with considerable obscurity, the problem of the continuity of personal existence.⁴⁶

o. (54c 11-22) Various kinds of bodily and mental painful feelings. Exposition of the causes of death, illness and other unpleasant states.

p. From p. 54c 23 onwards, up to the end of the text (55b 1), no clear pattern of exposition is actually discernible: the AHKJ merely expounds a series of numerical lists (a genre which figures prominently in An Shigao’s corpus), not directly related, as far as I can understand them, to the main topics dealt with up to this point (i.e., the *pratītyasamutpāda* and the rebirth process). I take this as a single section of the text – a sort of store-chapter collecting some heterogeneous material (probably, at least in part, quoted from some *sūtras*: see n. 52 below). Here are, by way of an example, two sets of categories which occur in this part of the AHKJ and betray the characteristic curiosity for physiological phenomena that surfaces also from other passages of this scripture:⁴⁷

“The whole of tastes do not exceed eight kinds: 1. bitter, 2. astringent taste, 3. hot (辛), 4. salty, 5. insipid, 6. sweet, 7. sour, 8. indefinite taste.⁴⁸ The bitter increases cold and heat; the astringent taste increases very much the wind, [while] getting rid of the cold; hot taste gets rid of water; sour gets rid of wind, [but] it causes people to [become] dim-sighted (目冥).

It is under three circumstances that food penetrates into all bones, marrow, blood, arteries and veins: the first is [in the case of] greasy [food] (肥膩), the second is [in the case of] poison, the third is [in the case of] alcohol; these three pervade the entire body, without exception. [In fact,] all⁴⁹ [kinds of] food and drink contain fat, [and its causing or not the above phenomenon] is merely a matter of degree (薄厚多少). (55a 11-17)

⁴⁶ A tentative translation of the most interesting passage would be: “Men, when grow old, remember (識 *zhī*) little and forget a lot: [their] consciousness (識) revolves [away from present objects] and gradually turns toward the future place of birth (識轉, 稍向後所生處). Why? They do not know in advance the place where they will be born, because they have not yet reached it [and hence their mind strives to get some knowledge of it?]. [In fact, it is rather a matter of] another person generating another person (他人生他人來), another person reaching another person’s place [of rebirth], another person being anxious for another person’s place [of rebirth] ...” (54c 7-10).

⁴⁷ Perhaps these passages of the AHKJ could be related to some early accounts on An Shigao’s mastery of the art of medicine (among many others); see for example a passage from Kang Senghui’s “Preface to the *Ānāpāna-[smṛti-sūtra]* 安般序 (CSZJJ 43b 29; I quote Forte’s translation, 1995: 68): “[An Shigao] was a man of broad learning and much experience, and comprehensively versed in preternatural patterns ... and methods of acupuncture and examination of the pulse. By looking at a person’s color and appearance he could deduce the illness”. By “related” I mean that either such accounts (and some of the texts produced by him) could reflect an actual interest, on the part of An Shigao, in medicine; or, perhaps, the very existence of texts such as the AHKJ (or some portions of the DDJ T 607, see the references given in n. 41 above) gave grounds to the later biographical traditions.

⁴⁸ 不了了味; for a parallel from An Shigao’s corpus, see T 98 p. 924c 14: ... 八為疑不了了. On 了了 see also Hu 2002: 65.

⁴⁹ On 諸所, “all, many etc.”, see Karashima 1998: 601.

The only exception to this dry expository form occurs at the very end of this section (and of the whole AHKJ), where the umpteenth list is inlaid into a narrative frame, albeit a minimal one:

“There was an Arhat who, having seen, through the penetrating vision of the divine eye, that women who were reborn (墮) in the hell were a great many, asked the Buddha why was it so. The Buddha replied:

«Because of four reasons: the first is that they are greedy for jewellery (珍寶物) [as well as] clothes,⁵⁰ and they wish to get too much [of them];⁵¹ the second is that they envy each other; the third is that they chat too much (多口舌); the fourth is that they make up a physical appearance (姿態) which is too lascivious (? 四者作姿態姪多). It is just for these reasons that they are reborn in the hell in [such] a high number».⁵² (55a 26 - b1)

3. Section c of the AHKJ: a parallel to the *Śālistambasūtra*?

The first and main part of the AHKJ is devoted, as noted above, to the explanation of the *pratītyasamutpāda*. One of the main features of interest in this portion – and, indeed, in the whole of the AHKJ – is a short passage (section c, according to the above subdivision of the AHKJ) which displays an intriguing similarity to a well-known scripture devoted to the same subject, the *Śālistambasūtra* (hereafter *Śāl*).

The *Śāl*, a *sūtra* with some very peculiar features, in part reminiscent of treatises,⁵³ exists in Tibetan⁵⁴ and in five Chinese translations.⁵⁵ Significant portions of the Sanskrit original

⁵⁰ 衣被: see Li 1993:146-147 (cf. HD 9: 22a).

⁵¹ Punctuate: 一者，貪珍寶物、衣被，欲得多故。 This passage is quoted in T 2122 (see n. 82 below) with the variant 欲心多 for 欲得多。

⁵² A rather close parallel to this concluding passage of the AHKJ is the first *Anuruddhasutta* (*Aṅguttara* vol. I, p. 281, no. 127). Here it is the Venerable Anuruddha who sees, with his divine eye (*dibbena cakkhunā*), women being reborn, after death, in the hell (*passāmi mātugāmaṃ ... nīrayaṃ uppajjamānaṃ* [read *upapajjamānaṃ*; cf. von Hinüber 1994: 161]), and asks the Buddha about the qualities (*dhamma-*) which lead them to such a rebirth. There are some significant differences between this Pāli *sutta* and its parallel in the AHKJ. In the former, the Buddha gives only three reasons for women’s unfavourable rebirth, i.e., the fact that they live their domestic life with their heart full of the stain of avarice (*mātugāmo ... maccheramalapariyuṭṭhitena cetasā agāraṃ ajjhāvasati*), full of jealousy (*issāpariyuṭṭhitena cetasā*) and full of desire for sensual pleasures (*kāmarāgapariyuṭṭhitena cetasā*), and each of these three bad habits (which would correspond, more or less clearly, to the first three reasons given in the AHKJ’s parallel) is associated with a part of the day (morning, noon and evening; so also in T 125: see below). Moreover, the Pāli text does not state explicitly that women are doomed to be reborn in hell in a particularly high number. However, the *sūtra* partially corresponding (according to Akanuma 1929: 131) to *Anuruddhasutta* (a) in the *Zengyi Ahan jing* 增壹阿含經 T 125 (*Ekottarikāgama*) p. 608c 3-23, while less close to the AHKJ on other points, clearly states that “women who go to hell outnumber men” (女人入地獄多於男子, T 125 p. 608c 6).

⁵³ Asano 1991: 25.

⁵⁴ See Schoening 1995: 6; Asano 1991: 32-33.

⁵⁵ See Asano 1991: 29.

text(s) are quoted in a number of sources (especially Mahāyāna),⁵⁶ a fact that has led some scholars to attempt a reconstruction of the entire text.⁵⁷

I shall at first quote the entire text of the AHKJ (section c):

“The twelve causal links exist in an internal and external [form]: of the first [causal link], the internal [form] is ignorance, the external earth; of the second, the internal [form] is factors, the external water; of the third, the internal [form] is consciousness, the external fire; of the fourth, the internal [form] is name and form, the external wind; of the fifth, the internal [form] is the six entries, the external space;⁵⁸ of the sixth, the internal [form] is planting,⁵⁹ the external the seed (種); of the seventh, the internal [form] is feeling, the external the root (根); of the eighth, the internal [form] is craving, the external the stalk (莖); of the ninth, the internal [form] is appropriation,⁶⁰ the external the leaves (葉); of the tenth, the internal [form] is existence (有), the external the bud (? 節);⁶¹ of the eleventh, the internal [form] is birth, the external the flower; of the twelfth, the internal [form] is old age and death, the external the fruit. [In short:] the [process of] birth-and-death of human beings follows the twelve internal causal links, the [process of] birth and death of the ten thousand things (萬物) follows the twelve external causal links”. (53a 18-25)

Here are the corresponding passages from the earliest Chinese translation of Śāḷ, the *Liao ben shengsi jing* 了本生死經 T 708 (hereafter LBSSJ; on its dating and authorship, see below):⁶²

“There are two categories [on the basis of which one should] see the external conditioned arising,⁶³ and two categories [on the basis of which one should] see the internal conditioned arising, [so that] there are four [aspects] altogether. What are the two categories [on the basis of which one should] see the external

⁵⁶ A very convenient presentation of the Sanskrit quotations is contained in Schoening 1995: 701-735 (Appendix I). The manuscript published in 1961 by Gokhale is particularly important (hereafter Śāḷ-G; for a presentation of this source see Gokhale’s preface, pp. 107-108), although there is some disagreement, among scholars, as to its precise nature (see Schoening 1995: 11; Asano 1991: 30-31).

⁵⁷ E.g. La Vallée Poussin 1913: 68-90; Reat 1993. For a study of the textual development of the Śāḷ, making use of all the available witnesses, see Asano 1991. A very interesting study is Sasaki 1985 (see pp. 16-19).

⁵⁸ 空 in this context corresponds to **ākāśa*-[*dhātu*].

⁵⁹ The reading found in F and S (and other later editions), 栽 (cf. the *Taishō*’s text: 災), for the expected *sparsā*, is no doubt the correct one: it is attested, as a rendition of *phassa*, also in An Shigao’s translation of the *Saptasthānasūtra* (T 150A p. 875c 1-4), and it is by no means a common usage (see remarks by Vetter and Harrison 1998: 214 n. 12). Note how well this rendition, unclear as it might be, fits the particular context of this passage: 六者，內爲栽，外爲種!

⁶⁰ Here *upādāna* is rendered as 受, a common translation of this term (on which see Vetter 2000: 73-80): e.g. see Nakamura 1981: 636d.

⁶¹ 節 normally means a knot on a bamboo cane, but this meaning does not fit the context. 節 also occurs in the two earliest versions of the *Śālistamba* (LBSSJ T 708 p. 815b 13; DGJ T 709 p. 817a 26), and it seems that 從葉生節, 從節生莖, in the DGJ T 709 corresponds to *patrāt kāṇḍam, kāṇḍān nālam* in the surviving Skt. fragments (see Schoening 1995: 703; cf. Śāḷ-G 108, 23), i.e., 節 = *kāṇḍa*, which here simply means “stalk”, but whose basic meaning is indeed “a single joint of the stalk or stem of a plant” (see Monier-Williams 269b).

⁶² I see no particular reason for doubting that the LBSSJ is not a witness of the Śāḷ (in spite of the different title), as suggested by Reat 1993: 1-2; Schoening 1995: 6. The main differences between the LBSSJ and the other versions of the Śāḷ are discussed by Sasaki (1985: 18-19), who convincingly argues that the former represents an earlier recension of this scripture.

⁶³ This phrase, 彼有二事見外緣起, is syntactically problematic, and my translation is simply an attempt to make some sense out of it in the light of the Sanskrit parallels (see the next note). They also suggest to read 見 as *jiān* (= **draṣṭavyaḥ*?) and not *xiān* (“to manifest”), although the latter meaning would better fit Chinese syntax. I should like to thank Jan Nattier for suggestions on this passage.

conditioned arising?. They are interconnection (相縛; cf. Skt. *upanibandha*) of causes and interconnection of conditions.⁶⁴

What is interconnection of causes? From the seed the root [is produced], from the root the leaf, from the leaf the stalk, from the stalk the bud, from the bud the flower,⁶⁵ from the flower the fruit: this is the interconnection of causes.

What is interconnection of conditions? It is the category of earth, the category of water, the category of fire, the category of wind, the category of space.⁶⁶

It is in consequence of these causes and conditions there is the birth of the seed:⁶⁷ earth supports the seed, water moistens the seed, fire warms the seed,⁶⁸ wind causes the seed to grow up, space save the seed from being obstructed (T 708 p. 815b 10-17) ... One should see the internal conditioned arising through knowledge of these two categories: interconnection of causes and interconnection of conditions. What is interconnection of causes? Depending upon ignorance factors [arise],⁶⁹ etc.” (T 708 p. 815b 29 - c 2)

Now, how to interpret these two sources? To begin with, one thing is self-evident: the above passage of the AHKJ is not a *quotation* from the LBSSJ or any other available version of the Śāl.

The main difference is that the distinction between *hetu* and *pratyaya* is not discussed at all in the AHKJ. Its author has in fact combined what in the Śāl are the list of *hetus* (i.e., seed, stalk etc.) and the list of *pratyayas* (i.e., the *dhātus*) into one single series.⁷⁰ One noteworthy fact is that if the items of the two lists of the external series of the Śāl are added up in this way, they give as a result a twelvefold series, thus making it possible to combine each item of this unified external list with the “classic” internal twelvefold *pratīyasamutpāda* – and this combination is, probably, the most distinctive feature of the AHKJ’s presentation of this topic. This might have been the reason for arranging the material found in the Śāl in this peculiar way.

⁶⁴ For the portion quoted up to this point, cf. Śāl-G 108: 19-21 (cf. Schoening 1995: 702-703): *atha ca punar ayaṃ pratīyasamutpādo dvābhyāṃ kāraṇābhyāṃ utpadyate | katamābhyāṃ dvābhyāṃ kāraṇābhyāṃ utpadyate ? hetūpanibandhataḥ pratyayopanibandhataś ceti | so 'pi dvividho draṣṭavyaḥ : bāhyaś ca ādhyātmikāś ca ||*

⁶⁵ The text here reads 從節懷華, which is not entirely clear (see also p. 815b 20: ... 從葉有節懷華).

⁶⁶ 何謂緣相縛? 地種、水種、火種、風種、空種; cf. the more expanded reading of the Skt. (Schoening 1995: 704 and n. 10 ad loc.; cf. Śāl-G p. 109, 1-3): *kathaṃ bāhyasya pratīyasamutpādasya pratyayopanibandho draṣṭavyaḥ ? ṣaṇṇāṃ dhātūnāṃ samavāyāt | katameṣāṃ ṣaṇṇāṃ dhātūnāṃ samavāyāt ? yad idaṃ pṛthivyaptejovāyavākāśṛtusamanvayāt bāhyasya pratīyasamutpādasya pratyayopanibandho draṣṭavyaḥ.*

⁶⁷ I punctuate as follows: 從是因緣，有種生。彼地爲持種。etc.; cf. Śāl-G 109, 3-4: *tatra pṛthividhātur bījasya saṃdhāraṇakṛtyaṃ karoti* etc. I assume that this 彼 corresponds to *tatra*, a usage not infrequent in An Shigao’s YCRJ (e.g. T 603 p. 175b 3: 彼疑名爲不解四諦，不慧 etc., corresponding to *Peṭakopadesa* 118, ...: *Tattha avijjā nāma catusu ariyasaccesu yathābhūtaṃ* [not in the Chinese] *aññāṇaṃ* etc.

⁶⁸ 火爲熱種: cf. Śāl-G 109, 4: *tejodhātur bījaṃ paripācayati.*

⁶⁹ Punctuate as follows: 緣不明，行；緣行，識 etc.; cf. Śāl-G 110, 1-2: *avidyāpratyayāḥ saṃskārāḥ.*

⁷⁰ Such a different arrangement is not without consequences at the doctrinal level: from the very structure of the passage on internal and external *pratīyasamutpāda* in the AHKJ, one gets the impression that the five *dhātus* only pertain to the external series, while in the Śāl (e.g. see Schoening 1995: 709-710) they apply to the internal one as well.

To be sure, neither the distinction of internal and external *pratītyasamutpādas*, nor the use of the metaphor of a seed to illustrate it, is exclusive of the Śāl.⁷¹ And yet the parallelism between AHKJ and Śāl seems specific enough to imply some sort of direct relationship:⁷² almost all the elements introduced in the central metaphor of the Śāl are also found in the AHKJ (i.e., the same list of stages in the development of the plant coupled with the five *dhātus*), as in no other parallel source known to me, and even the different editing of this material found in our treatise could be accounted for (see § 5, p. 218 below).

We cannot, however, rule out the possibility that the author of the AHKJ was in fact quoting, or elaborating on another source, different from (albeit similar to) the Śāl. It is in this connection that a precise assessment of the dating (and authorship) of the earliest translation of the Śāl, the LBSSJ T 708, may acquire a certain significance.

The attribution of this scripture to the renowned translator Zhi Qian 支謙 (active during the first half of the 3rd century AD) is well established in the catalogues, beginning with that of the CSZJJ.⁷³ However, in his preface to the LBSSJ, also preserved in Sengyou's

⁷¹ La Vallée Poussin's discussion of the origin of these ideas (1913: 43-45) is particularly enlightening. He shows how the role ascribed by some early sources to the six *dhātus* in the rebirth process, as well as their subdivision, attested in other texts, into internal and external (e.g. as in the *Dhātuvibhaṅgasutta*, *Majjhima* III pp. 240-242) did ultimately contribute to shape the ideas and imagery related to the *pratītyasamutpāda* as expounded in the Śāl and in other texts. Indeed, as made clear by La Vallée Poussin (loc. cit.), a number of sources (mainly later than the AHKJ,) discuss the *pratītyasamutpāda* in terms partially reminiscent of the Śāl. The *Laṅkāvatāra* also mentions the two kinds of conditioned arising, external and internal (p. 82, 13 - 83, 7): the former is briefly illustrated by several examples, including the fact that (82, 18) "the sprout [is produced] from the seed" (*bijād aṅkuraḥ* = Śāl-G 108, 22; Schoening 1995: 703). The *Nettipakaraṇa* (pp. 78-79), too, introduces the example of the seed, as well as earth and water (i.e., two of the *dhātus*), into a discussion of causality which has some interesting peculiarities (see Ñāṇamoli 1962: 110-111 and n. 452/1 and ff.); but no distinction of internal / external conditioned arising is mentioned here. Such a distinction is, however, found in the *Peṭakopadesa* (104, 13-14: *ajjhattiko hetu, bāhiro paccayo*); see also Ñāṇamoli 1964: 143 n. 405/1 and 149, § 423 and the relevant notes. Even closer to the Śāl is a passage found in Saṅghabhadra's **Nyāyānusāra* (阿毘達磨順正理論 T 1562; see especially p. 409a 15-20; tr. in Cox 1995: 329-331; see also her remarks in n. 93 p. 367), a work presumably composed during the period around late 4th - early 5th century AD (Cox 1995: 53). Mention should be also made of some passages of the great Yogācāra summa, the *Yogācārabhūmi* (e.g. see the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* section, T 1579 p. 501b 29-ff.).

⁷² Another possible parallel occurs at p. 54a 21 (i.e., section k, according to my parsing of the AHKJ): "In the birth of human beings, essential vital energy (精) is [like] the land, the consciousness (識, **vijñāna*) is [like] the seed" (人生, 精作地, 識為種). This phrase is vaguely reminiscent of a passage of the Śāl: "Consciousness constitutes the substance of seed, action constitutes the substance of field ..." (識為種體, 業為田體 ...; so reads the DGJ T 709 p. 818a 23-24; cf. LBSSJ's obscure parallel, in T 708 p. 816b 7-8: 造作田, 業; 識造種行; cf. Schoening 1995: 724: *tatra vijñānaṃ bijasvabhāvatvena hetuḥ / karma kṣetrasvabhāvatvena hetuḥ* ...). The main difference is that instead of *karman*, the AHKJ has the obscure term 精 (cf. n. 7 above). On this passage of the Śāl, see Lamotte 1970: 1152-1153 n. 3, who further remarks: "Mais il semble bien que le Śālistamba se soit directement inspiré du *Bhava-sutta* de l'Āṅguttara, I, p. 223-224". The passage of this *sutta* relevant to our discussion reads: *kammaṃ khettaṃ viññānaṃ bijaṃ* ...; here *hetu* is not found, exactly as in T 708 and T 709 (though the latter has 體 = *svabhāva*). As already observed by Lamotte, a parallel to this *sutta* is included in the *Ekottarikāgama* anthology translated by An Shigao (i.e., *sūtra* no. 13 according to Harrison 1997: 269), and it is interesting to quote his translation of the passage at issue: 罪為地, 識為種 etc. (T 150A p. 881c 10-11).

⁷³ See CSZJJ T 2145 p. 7a 15 (on the records concerning the LBSSJ found in the catalogues, and the problem of its attribution, see Hayashiya 1945: 380-387). Prima facie, it would seem that this text was already

compilation (CSZJJ p. 45b 3-25), the great 4th century scholar Dao'an 道安 (312-385 AD) suggested a different picture:

“This *sūtra* arrived for the first time in this land at the end of the Han: it is [so] abstruse and profound, that only few were those who penetrated its meaning. At the beginning of the Wei there was an eminent scholar, Zhi Gongming [i.e., Zhi Qian], from south of the [Yellow] River, who composed a commentary [to the LBSSJ] ...” (CSZJJ p. 45b 20-22).⁷⁴

Here Zhi Qian is evidently only mentioned as the first commentator of the LBSSJ, and it is hard to imagine that Dao'an should have ignored his role as translator, if he had had the slightest evidence pointing to it. Why Dao'an should have later changed his mind with regard to this translation, and listed it in among Zhi Qian's translations (if he indeed did so), remains ultimately uncertain.⁷⁵ It is possible that after he had composed the preface, he came across some additional evidence attesting Zhi Qian's authorship.

A closer look at the text itself, however, strengthens doubts about the Zhi Qian's involvement in this translation.⁷⁶ A conspicuous feature of the LBSSJ is its propensity toward direct translation, as can be seen from the passages quoted above (e.g. see n. 63 and 67 above). Just to mention one short example: the string ... 從根⁷⁷葉，從葉莖 etc. (T 708 p. 815b 13), with its distinctively un-Chinese syntax, is an exact calque of the corresponding Sanskrit: ... *āṅkurāt patram, patrāt kāṇḍam* etc.⁷⁸

A comparison of this phrase with the corresponding passage of the second translation proves particularly telling: 從牙生葉，從葉生節 (DGJT 709 p. 817a 26).

In other words, it would have sufficed to supply a verb, indeed required by standard Chinese syntax (such as 生 in the case of T 709), to form four-character sequences: i.e., the prosodic pattern that Zhi Qian is so often at pains to apply in his translations.⁷⁹

Given these facts, it is also difficult to ascribe the LBSSJ to Zhi Qian as a revision of an already existing translation. Although the question of the authorship of the LBSSJ will require a separate study, it seems reasonable to assume that a version (and, previous to that,

listed in Dao'an's catalogue, the basis, as is well-known, of this section of Sengyou's own catalogue. The latter author even quotes Dao'an's assertion that the LBSSJ is an abstract from the *Sheng jing* 生經 (presumably referring to Dharmarakṣa's T 154). On this wrong and puzzling statement (indeed rejected by Sengyou: 安公云：『出生經』。祐案：五卷生經無此名), see Hayashiya 1945: 381, who doubts that these are the genuine words of the great bibliographer.

⁷⁴ 漢之季世，此經始降茲土。雅遼奧邈，少達其歸者也。魏代之初，有高士河南支恭明，爲作注解。For a translation of this passage, see also Tsukamoto 1985: 140. Also in Zhi Qian's biography (CSZJJ 97c 13), the LBSSJ is mentioned apart from the translations, only as a text commented by him.

⁷⁵ On this problem, see Hayashiya 1945: 381-382.

⁷⁶ Recently I had the fortune to discuss this problem (and analyse some passages of the LBSSJ) with Jan Nattier, who is presently working on a major lexicographical project on Zhi Qian's translations. I am greatly indebted to her for many suggestions, and for pointing out to me some features of this translation that do not fit in with the rest of Zhi Qian's corpus.

⁷⁷ 根 (also in the AHKJ) is unexpected for *āṅkura*.

⁷⁸ Śāḷ-G 708, 23; Schoening 1995: 703.

⁷⁹ This is illustrated very clearly by Zürcher 1996: 12-13, by comparing a passage from Lokakṣema's *Dao xing jing* 道行經 T 224 with its later reworking by Zhi Qian (大百度經 T 225); see also Id. p. 5 and Zürcher 1991: 280-281. On Zhi Qian's ideas about the importance of stylistic refinement in Buddhist translations, see Zürcher 1972: 47-48.

an Indic manuscript) of the Śāl was already in circulation in China at a time not too distant from the composition of the AHKJ. This fact, I believe, indirectly corroborates the hypothesis that section c of the AHKJ is indeed a free quotation and elaboration of a passage extracted from a version of the Śāl.⁸⁰

4. History and authorship of the AHKJ

The authorship of the AHKJ has been a long-debated issue, mainly due to the inconsistent treatment of this text on the part of the catalogues,⁸¹ which are practically our only source of information on it since no preface or colophon has been preserved.⁸²

The earliest extant catalogue, that included in Sengyou's 僧祐 *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 T 2145 (hereafter CSZJJ), lists the AHKJ among An Shigao's translations (p. 6a 25-26), with the title of *Ahan koujie* 阿銛口解, in one *juan* 卷. Sengyou also mentions two other variant titles, including the one which is found now in the canon (i.e., 阿銛口解十二因緣經).⁸³

⁸⁰ One question is also worth discussing at this point. One of the several matters of debate concerning An Shigao is his *yāna* orientation. Some authors (see Forte 1995: 70-74; Wang 1997) have argued that An Shigao may have been a follower of the Mahāyāna. A problem with this hypothesis is that none of the surviving translations ascribable to An Shigao can be clearly connected to the Great Vehicle. Then the possible reference in the AHKJ text to the Śāl might look a promising clue. The Śāl is, in fact, defined as a *Mahāyānasūtra* in the Tibetan canon (see La Vallée Poussin 1913: 69), and the three last Chinese translations (T 710-712) bear the label 大乘 prefixed to the titles (on the Śāl's being a *Mahāyāna* text see especially Reat 1993: 1; 3-4; cf. Schoening 1995: 3-5). In other words, if this classification were anything more than a mere bibliographical device, the AHKJ (provided that its section c indeed reflects a direct relationship with the Śāl) might well contain the only traces of the Great Vehicle in a text more or less safely ascribable to the Parthian Master (cf. also n. 2 above). In fact, this is probably not the case. As already observed by La Vallée Poussin, the only specifically Mahāyānic element in the *Śālistamba* lies in the fact that it is preached by Maitreya in the face of Śāriputra's admission of ignorance (also a well-known Mahāyāna motif). However, this entrance is altogether different in the earliest version, the LBSSJ, where, as observed by Reat himself (1993: 3) in fact it is exactly Śāriputra who preaches the *sūtra* (T 708 p. 815b 7; see also Sasaki 1985: 18).

⁸¹ The bibliographical records relevant to the AHKJ have been studied in detail by Hayashiya (1945: 389-396), and by Forte (1968: 190-194), and in this paragraph I will mainly rely these scholars' work.

⁸² The indirect tradition of the AHKJ is, not surprisingly, very limited. Two passages are quoted in the *Fa yuan zhu lin* 法苑珠林 T 2122 (a huge encyclopaedic compilation completed by Daoshi 道世 in 668 AD): the first is the conclusive one, on the reasons for women's being reborn in hell (see n. 52 above), which is quoted with some variants at p. 447a 1-6; the second is another passage from the same section of the AHKJ, on the four forms of birth (T 1508 p. 55a 18-22), which is quoted at p. 830a 5-8. In this second passage (which is also quoted - from T 2122 - in the *Zhu jing yao ji* 諸經要集 T 2123 p. 112c 12-15) the text of the AHKJ is quoted rather freely, and with the addition of two short glosses. Huilin's 慧琳 *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 T 2128 devotes two entries to the AHKJ (T 2128 p. 796c 5-6), and both lemmata are in fact variant readings not found in our present text. The first seems to be a variant to AHKJ p. 54a 1 (殺生), and might be of some significance, because the passage, as it stands in our text, does not seem to make sense; unfortunately, so far I have been unable to identify one of the characters quoted by Huilin. The second is a (probably merely graphical) variant to p. 55a 20-21: 蚤虱。

⁸³ The other title mentioned by Sengyou is 斷十二因緣, which may refer to the incipit of the AHKJ (p. 53a 7): "If one wishes to interrupt [the cycle of] birth-and-death, and to advance toward the Way which goes beyond the world (度世道: cf. the same word at YCRJ 173c 28 = *Peṭakopadesa* 114, 21-22: *nibbāna*-), one should think of removing (? 念卻) the twelve causal links". The expression 斷十二因緣 itself occurs several times in our text: p. 53a 18 (當斷十二因緣事), 53b 5, 53c 5-6 (斷十二因緣本). In the same entry of his catalogue,

The potentially most significant record relevant to the AHKJ occurs, however, few lines later, at the end of the list of An Shigao's translations, in the form of a remark by Dao'an. After having mentioned the total number of texts (and scrolls) translated by the Parthian master, Sengyou concludes:

“Concerning the *Si di [jing]*, the [*Ahan*] *koujie*, *Shisi yi [jing]* and the [*Apitan*] *Jiushiba jie [jing]*, the Venerable [Dao'an] says: «They seem to be works composed (撰) by [An] Shigao»”.⁸⁴

What Dao'an actually meant here by 撰 is, unfortunately, not entirely clear. Some scholars have obviously taken this word as generically signifying authorship (including, in the case of a translator, translation).⁸⁵ But the use of 撰 in Dao'an's works is generally rather straightforward: it always refer to the work of compilation, or even abridgement, which *produced* the original texts, not to their later translation.⁸⁶

Then, as observed by Forte,⁸⁷ the point at issue in Dao'an's note would seem to be not so much the fact whether it was An Shigao or another person who translated the AHKJ and the other three scriptures, but whether they are to be considered actual translations or, rather, texts composed directly by the Parthian master. That such a categorisation would indeed make good sense in the case of the AHKJ will be shown below (§ 5). However, the *Si di jing* 四諦經 T 32, the only other surviving text of the four singled out in Dao'an's note, displays all the features expected in a *sūtra* (starting with the 聞如是 formula), and it is hard to understand what could have prompted the great bibliographer's doubt concerning this scripture.⁸⁸

Sengyou also quotes the *Jiu jing lu*'s 舊經錄 statement that in the case the “Oral explanation of the Marquis of An” 安侯口解 there are four different titles for the same text (on the title 安侯, see Forte 1995: 78-81; on the controversial identification of the 舊經錄 or 舊錄, see especially Tan 1991: 33-48. I thank Antonello Palumbo for directing me to this study). In fact, a few more titles are mentioned by other catalogues, such as 阿含口解經 (T 2034 p. 53b 27), or 十二因緣阿含口解經 (T 2153 p. 440a 5).

⁸⁴ 其四諦、口解、十四意、九十八結，安公云：「似世高撰也。」(CSZJJ p. 6b 5-6).

⁸⁵ E.g. Ōtani 1934: 551, who interpreted this passage as “[the AHKJ etc.] seem to be translations by An Shigao”.

⁸⁶ A rather clear example of this usage occurs immediately after the record concerning the AHKJ, in CSZJJ p. 6b 7 (see also p. 39c 6-7 and 47b 15-16; Zürcher 1972: 340 n. 182), where Sengyou quotes Dao'an's opinion that the *Dao xing jing* 道行經 (Lokakṣema's translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*) was an extract from the [Larger] *Prajñāpāramitā*, “compiled [or: anthologised] by an eminent foreigner” (外國高明者所撰). For other examples, see CSZJJ p. 43c 18; 44c 18.

⁸⁷ Forte 1968: 194. Tang Yongtong, too, clearly takes Dao'an's statement in the sense that An Shigao composed the *Si di [jing]* etc. (Tang 1983: 44 and 45).

⁸⁸ Even more so, given that in the entry relevant to the 四諦經 in CSZJJ p. 6a 9, Dao'an himself is quoted as having indicated the *Dirghāgama* as the source of this and the preceding *sūtra* (安公云：「上二經出長阿含」). See also Ui 1971: 22, who mentions two *Āgama* parallels to An Shigao's translation. That 撰, in the case of the 四諦經 cannot refer to the fact that (according to Dao'an) this scripture was originally part of a larger collection, is demonstrated by the fact that similar notes by the erudite bibliographer are quoted by Sengyou in the case of other texts found in An Shigao's catalogue (e.g. see p. 6a 12), and yet they are not mentioned in the “似...撰” final remark. The only peculiar feature displayed by the 四諦經 is the interlinear gloss found right at the end (T 32 p. 816c 28), on which see Deleanu 2003: 87 and n. 5 p. 86. One may speculate that, in the copy examined by Dao'an, the exegetical portion in this text was larger than in the present text, and that this fact was the reason for Dao'an's remark on this text.

When we come to the catalogues composed after the CSZJJ, we face two distinct traditions. While one group of catalogues shares Sengyou's attribution of the AHKJ to An Shigao,⁸⁹ a second group, spearheaded by Fei Zhangfang's 費長房 *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 T 2034,⁹⁰ maintains that our text was in fact translated by two other Han dynasty authors, An Xuan 安玄 and Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調.⁹¹ In spite of Fei Zhangfang's notorious unreliability in matters of attributions, his judgement on the AHKJ was generally accepted by the compilers of later catalogues, including scholars well-known for critical acumen, such as Zhisheng 智昇.⁹²

As a result, in all the editions of the Canon, An Xuan and (with the exception of F) Yan Fotiao appear as the translators of the AHKJ. There is one notable exception: the 12th century Siqi 思溪 edition, where this text is printed under the name of An Shigao.⁹³

To sum up, we have, on the one hand, the earlier and more authoritative tradition (Dao'an, Sengyou) being in agreement (though with some qualifications) in ascribing the AHKJ to An Shigao, while, on the other hand, the names of An Xuan and Yan Fotiao begin to be associated with this text only at a very weak juncture in the history of Chinese Buddhist bibliography (i.e., Fei Zhangfang's *Lidai sanbao ji*).

While this fact should, alone, suffice to ascribe the AHKJ without excessive doubt to An Shigao,⁹⁴ a definitive corroboration can be provided by the internal analysis of the text. Prof.

⁸⁹ See Forte 1968: 190-191. In the *Zhongjing mulu* 衆經目錄 T 2146 (compiled by Fajing 法經 and others in 594 AD) the AHKJ (阿含口解十二因緣) is listed on p. 144c 4, in the section of the "[Texts] compiled by Saints in the Western countries" (p. 144a 11: 西方諸聖賢所撰集; see also p. 144c 14, at the end of the section: 前五十經並是西域抄集), as a text of the Lesser Vehicle (p. 144c 14: 小乘抄集) and as a translation by An Shigao (後漢世安世高譯). In other words, the authors of this catalogue considered the AHKJ the translation of text originally composed outside China. The same attribution and – substantially – classification of the AHKJ is also found in the two successive *Zhongjing mulu*: T 2147, completed in 602 AD (p. 161c 7), and T 2148 of 665 AD (p. 196b 11). The latter also specifies that the AHKJ consisted of seven folios, while the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 T 2154 p. 697a 5-6 gives a total of eight folios: both figures seem consistent with the text as we have it today, allowing some variation in the format of manuscripts (cf. also Hayashiya 1945: 335).

⁹⁰ See Hayashiya 1945: 390-392; Forte 1968: 191-192; Ōtani 1934: 552. The *Lidai sanbao ji* mentions the AHKJ at first within its annalistic initial section, where our text is reported to have been translated, together with the *Fa jing jing* 法鏡經, by An Xuan and Yan Fotiao in the year 181 AD (T 2034 p. 34). The rationale for this attribution (though not for the dating) is provided in the relevant entry of the catalogue of An Xuan (p. 53b 27 - c 6): Fei Zhangfang takes note of Sengyou's attribution of the AHKJ to An Shigao, and rejects it on the basis of his own analysis of the catalogues (今檢群錄，乃是安玄譯). He also believes that the title "Parthian marquise" associated, in some sources, to the AHKJ, refers to An Xuan and not to An Shigao. This is, ultimately, the only reason for rejecting An Shigao's authorship of the AHKJ (see Hayashiya 1945: 394).

⁹¹ On these translators, see Zürcher 1972: 34.

⁹² E.g. see his *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 T 2154 p. 482b 25-26 and ff. For a discussion of the records concerning the AHKJ in the catalogues which followed Fei Zhangfang's opinion, see Forte 1968: 192-194.

⁹³ One copy of this edition is the witness referred to as 宋 in the *Taishō's* apparatus, while another (on which see Li Jining 2002: 83-87) is quoted as 資 in ZH. On the AHKJ, see T 1508 n. 1 p. 53 and ZH p. 301c: 後漢安息國三藏安世高譯. The reasons for Siqi's not joining the chorus need further clarification. The history of the Siqi edition (or editions) is notoriously controversial (e.g. see Demiéville's appendix to Pelliot 1953: 132-133), but the opinion that there had actually only been one edition of the canon carved at Siqi (though subjected, as it was also the case of nearly all the ancient editions of the Chinese canon, to successive revisions) is now gaining support: e.g. see Li Jining 2002: 81-82; cf. Chikusa Masa'aki's more cautious approach (2000: 341).

⁹⁴ Hayashiya 1945: 394-395; Forte 1995: 82 n. 49.

Zürcher's authoritative opinion on this issue, to which I am happy to subscribe, is that the AHKJ is “[c]ommonly, but no doubt wrongly, attributed to An Xuan; the attribution to An Shigao made by Dao'an is substantiated by the terminology”.⁹⁵

Further evidence⁹⁶ corroborating An Shigao's connection with the AHKJ (but also throwing some light on the nature of this text) will be discussed in the next paragraph.

5. The nature of the AHKJ reconsidered

What is, then, the AHKJ? To begin with, there is a basic problem, already posed in the preceding discussion, that needs to be clarified: is the AHKJ a translation or a work written directly in Chinese? Apart from the evidence – in fact not entirely uncontroversial – provided by Dao'an's note, there are a few specific facts relevant to this issue that should be discussed at this point.

The first is the similar treatment of the *akuśalakarmapathas* in section f of the AHKJ and in the ABSYJ T 602. Not only do we find, in both sources, the same list of translated terms (n. 9), with an identical classification (n. 97; see also n. 24). But the most significant point of contact occurs at the end of section f (see the translation of the entire passage on pp. 201-202 above). After having classified the *akuśalakarmapathas* into internal (i.e., pertaining to the mind), and external (pertaining to body and speech),⁹⁷ the AHKJ (53c 2-6) further expounds the method conducive to their elimination, concluding the entire section with these words:

“... When one does not doubt any more,⁹⁸ one enters the Way. This is turning away from the five obscuring factors (*skandhas*), [and] cutting off the roots of the twelve causal links”.⁹⁹ (53c 5-6)

Now, this expression, “turning away from the five obscuring factors” (還五陰), is typical of texts related to An Shigao, especially the two scriptures on the *ānāpānasmṛti*, ABSYJ T 602 and K-ABSYJ.

In the newly found Kongō-ji manuscript of the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 (l. 109-120; hereafter K-ABSYJ), 還五陰 is used as an explanation of 還 (**vivarta*, “turning”), the fifth of the six aspects of the *ānāpānasmṛti*:¹⁰⁰

還爲何等？還五陰，知見滅盡處 (K-ABSYJ, Kongō-ji MS A / 甲本 l. 109)

⁹⁵ Zürcher 1991: 298.

⁹⁶ For some usages found in the AHKJ that can be considered (with all the qualifications and caveats I have discussed in Zacchetti 2003: 266-267) significantly characteristic of An Shigao's corpus see above n. 22 and 42. A general observation that should find its place here is that in terms of style and syntax the AHKJ – which not even in its less crude passages can be described as readable text, and does not show anywhere even the slightest concern for stylistic appeal – is *toto caelo* different from the *Fa jing jing* 法鏡經 T 322, the only translation likely to be ascribed to An Xuan and Yan Fotiao. To quote, again, Zürcher (1991: 283), in the *Fa jing jing* “... there is some admixture of typical *wenyan* elements. The prose is sometimes prosodic”.

⁹⁷ See AHKJ p. 53b 24 and 53b 29 - c 4. The same classification is introduced, within this list of bad deeds, also in the ABSYJ T 602 (p. 164c 6-7): 嫉、瞋恚、疑，是三意在內。殺、盜、婬、兩舌、惡口、妄言、語，是七意及餘事屬外也。

⁹⁸ 無有疑，i.e., abandons *mithyādr̥ṣṭi* (cf. n. 13 above).

⁹⁹ 無有疑，便入道。是爲還五陰，斷十二因緣本。綺

¹⁰⁰ See Deleanu 2003: 68.

The ABSYJ T 602 too contains a similar passage,¹⁰¹ and a noteworthy occurrence of this formula can be found also in the *Yin chi ru jing zhu* 陰持入經注 T 1694 (hereafter YCRJZ), an early commentary ascribed to Chen Hui 陳慧 (middle of the 3rd century AD ca), and also more or less directly connected to An Shigao's doctrinal tradition.¹⁰²

For our purposes, it is the joint exposition of the last two aspects of the *ānāpānasamṛti*, 還 (**vivarta*) and 淨 (**parisuddhi*) provided by the ABSYJ T 602¹⁰³ to be of the greatest significance:

“The fifth [aspect], turning away from and getting rid of fetters, means getting rid of the seven bodily evil deeds;¹⁰⁴ the sixth aspect, purification and getting rid of fetters, consists in getting rid of the three mental evil deeds: this is named ‘turning’ (**vivarta*). ... Turning means that the mind does not produce evil; producing evil constitutes not turning. It is also said that the former assists the body, the latter assists the mind:¹⁰⁵ [i.e.,] not killing, [not] stealing, [non-]lewdness, [not] lying, [non-]abusive speech, [non-]reckless speech, [non-]ornate speech assist the body; [non-]jealousy, [non-]hatred, [non-]*doubt assist the mind. As to turning away from the five obscuring factors (還五陰), it [may] be likened to [a person who, trying to] purchase gold, gets stones [instead], and then throws [these] down, without using them. All persons crave for the five obscuring factors, and get suffering [in return]; then they [should] not desire [them any more]; this is turning away from five obscuring factors” (T 602 p. 167a 19-28).¹⁰⁶

In short, here, exactly as in that passage from section f of the AHKJ, the category of *vivarta*, and, in particular, its peculiar definition as “turning away from the five obscuring factors” is expounded in connection with the ten *kuśalakarmapathas*.

It has been known since ancient times that the ABSYJ T 602 contains a significant number of interpolated glosses,¹⁰⁷ almost certainly dating back to An Shigao and his school.¹⁰⁸ And there are good reasons for believing that also the above passage belongs to the exegetical portion of the text.¹⁰⁹ It thus seems clear that the AHKJ and the ABSYJ T 602 reflect, as far as this specific topic is concerned, the same exegetical tradition. It must also be remarked that

¹⁰¹ T 602 p. 167a 26-28; see Aramaki 1971: 159.

¹⁰² T 1694 p. 11a 2: ... 謂能還五陰，覺四非常，知內六情，受外六欲也。This passage occurs in a gloss on the two forms of *pariññā* applied to the *āyatana*s (cf. *Peṭakopadesa* p. 113, 24-25, and see Zacchetti 2002: 80).

¹⁰³ Aramaki 1971: 39; Deleanu 2003: 73.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. n. 97 above.

¹⁰⁵ 前助身，後助意; here “former” and “latter” should probably refer to *vivarta* and *parisuddhi* respectively.

¹⁰⁶ 第五還棄結者，謂棄身七惡。第六淨棄結者，為棄意三惡。是名為還。... 還者，謂意不復起惡。起惡者，是為不還。亦謂前助身，後助意。不殺、盜、婬、兩舌、惡口、妄言、綺語，是為助身。不嫉、瞋恚、*疑 [T: 癡; see n. 13 above]，是為助意也。還五陰者，譬如買金，得石，便棄捐地不用。人皆貪愛五陰，得苦痛，便不欲。是為還五陰也。

¹⁰⁷ This is clearly stated, for instance, in the colophon attached to this scripture (T 602 p. 173a 25-28), which in fact is most likely by Sugi 守其, the main editor of the 13th century Korean edition of the Canon: see his *Kōryō-guk sin-jo tae-jang kyō-jōng pyōl-lok* 高麗國新雕大藏校正別錄 K 1402, printed in the Korean edition of the canon 高麗大藏經 vol. XXXVIII p. 647a, where the same document is also found.

¹⁰⁸ Zürcher 1978: 119. Elsewhere (Zacchetti, forthcoming) I have tried to show how the ABSYJ T 602 contains material reflecting the same exegetical tradition as the newly discovered Kongō-ji texts, also ascribable to An Shigao's circle (see Zacchetti 2003).

¹⁰⁹ As I have pointed out in Zacchetti 2002 b: 158 n. 6, this passage of the ABSYJ T 602 gives every appearance of being a gloss on l. 109 of the K-ABSYJ. Ui Hakuju (1971: 213-214), too, takes it as part of the commentary.

the interpretation of *vivarta* at the basis of both passages, as “turning away from the five *skandhas*”, is not a common one.¹¹⁰

In conclusion, I think that all the facts discussed above suggest that the AHKJ is indeed a work by An Shigao, and that very probably it is not a translation, but reflects his personal teaching.

This is also indirectly confirmed by another source – in fact the earliest historical source concerning An Shigao.¹¹¹ I have already dealt with (also with reference to the AHKJ) Yan Fotiao’s preface to a text named *Shami shi hui zhangju* 沙彌十慧章句 (CSZJJ T 2145 p. 69c 19 – 70a 8) in a previous article,¹¹² but I cannot avoid discussing this document here in greater detail.

After having mentioned his master An Shigao, Yan Fotiao describes his activity in these terms:

“... [An Shigao] proclaimed the *Dharma* of the Buddha in this country of Han. His entire production¹¹³ amounts to a myriad words; he either explained [the Buddhist doctrines] orally, or transmitted them in writing. Only of the *Shami shi hui*¹¹⁴ I have not heard [his] profound exposition” (CSZJJ T 2145 p. 69c 27-29).¹¹⁵

For the purpose of our discussion, the main feature of interest in this document is the reference, made by Yan Fotiao, to An Shigao’s “oral explanations” (或以口解). Given that 口解 is one of the few fixed points among the variety of titles attributed to the AHKJ,¹¹⁶ the temptation is strong to establish a connection between this text and Yan Fotiao’s first-hand testimony.¹¹⁷

This temptation is further strengthened by the observation that, as a matter of fact, the word 口解 does not occur in the title of any other known Chinese Buddhist text, either preserved or lost. Thus also Yan Fotiao (curiously enough, one of the two authors to whom the AHKJ has been wrongly ascribed, as we have seen above) seems to indirectly confirm that the AHKJ was an original work by An Shigao, although one of a particular kind. If we are to believe to its title, it seems reasonable to conclude that the AHKJ is the record, presumably noted down by his disciples (perhaps including Yan Fotiao himself), of oral explanations imparted by the Parthian translator.¹¹⁸

Having reached this point, we can move a step further. Prof. Zürcher has observed that “During the work of translation, and perhaps also on other occasions, the master [i.e., the

¹¹⁰ On the six aspects of the *ānāpānasmti* and their historical development, see Deleanu 1992: 54-57. According to the *Abhidharmakośa* (VI.12 p. 707, 14-15; tr. La Vallée Poussin 1980, *Kośa* ch. 6 p. 157), *vivarta* involves a change and refinement of object, from wind to increasingly wholesome roots (-*uttarottareṣu kuśalamūleṣu*).

¹¹¹ Forte 1995: 66.

¹¹² See Zacchetti 2003: 295 and § 6 below.

¹¹³ 出 is a word often used in the sources concerning Buddhist translations, and it is not always clear what stage of the translation process does it specifically refer to. For a discussion of this issue, see Boucher 1998: 487 n. 73. In the present passage, however, 出 seems to be used in a general sense.

¹¹⁴ On the meaning of 沙彌十慧 see Zürcher 1972: 331 n. 88.

¹¹⁵ ... 於是漢邦敷宣佛法。凡厥所出，數百萬言，或以口解，或以文傳。唯沙彌十慧未聞深說。

¹¹⁶ Cf. n. 83 above.

¹¹⁷ So does, for instance, also Hayashiya (1945: 394-395).

¹¹⁸ See also Zürcher 1991: 294 n. 7.

main translator] gave oral explanations (*k'ou-chieh* 口解) concerning the contents of the scriptures translated. Explanations of this kind often appear to have crept into the text; ... Sometimes, however, the glosses were kept apart as separate works of exegesis".¹¹⁹ He then adds the following note on the above passage: "A very early exegetical work of this type, ascribed to An Shih-kao or An Hsüan, has been preserved: T 1508 *A-han k'ou-chieh (shih-erh yin-yüan ching)* 阿含口解 (十二因緣經) ...".¹²⁰

This is certainly a suggestive hypothesis, and a sound one at that. As I have observed in an earlier article, the commentary on the *Shi'er men jing* 十二門經 (SMJcomm), which can also be ascribed to An Shigao's school, is very probably an exposition imparted in concurrence with the translation of the basic text(s), and it resembles, in several respects, the AHKJ.¹²¹

But if the AHKJ was the oral explanation of a translated *sūtra*, the problem is: of which text? Admittedly, by asking this question, we find ourselves advancing in an entirely speculative terrain. Yet a convenient hypothesis is immediately suggested by a simple glance at Sengyou's catalogue.

Let us first take another look at the titles of the AHKJ: the one prefixed to the text in the canon is, as already remarked, 阿含口解十二因緣經. A noteworthy point in this title is its syntax: if the final 經 refers to the entire title ("canonical text etc."), it would become difficult to construe the preceding 阿含口解. An alternative option is to separate the two constituents of the title, in this way: "Oral explanation of the *Āgamas*: the *Sūtra on the twelve causal links*" (see also Zürcher's note quoted above).

If we now turn to the CSZJJ, we find, among the translations ascribed to An Shigao the following text:

"*Sūtra on the twelve causal links, in one juan*" (CSZJJ 6a 17).

The original is *Shi'er yinyuan jing* 十二因緣經, that is, exactly the words we find hammered into the title 阿含口解十二因緣經. The *Shi'er yinyuan jing* was unfortunately lost at an early date, and it is impossible to be absolutely sure about its contents,¹²² but it is a fair guess that it dealt with the same main topic as the AHKJ. Then it is possible that our "oral explanation" was somehow related to this lost translation (and this fact could also account for the reference to *Āgama[s]* in the title).

This is, of course, only a hypothesis, and it is certainly not the only possible one. In view of our preceding discussion (§ 3), the Śāl itself could also be a possible candidate as the text commented upon in the AHKJ. The free presentation of the material apparently taken from the Śāl is anything but unaccountable: the SMJcomm provides us with a telling parallel, for in this case, as noted above, the basic *sūtra* has been preserved, and we can see how freely its content has been rearranged and expounded.¹²³ However, given the exiguity of the parallelism between AHKJ and Śāl, and the lack of any bibliographical record, this hypothesis remains mere speculation.

¹¹⁹ Zürcher 1972: 31.

¹²⁰ Zürcher 1972: 330 n. 69.

¹²¹ Zacchetti 2003: 295.

¹²² See Hayashiya's conclusions to his detailed study devoted to the catalogues' records concerning this and other possibly related texts (1945: 380).

¹²³ See Zacchetti 2003: 278-280, and especially n. 114 p. 280.

In fact Yan Fotiao's statement leaves room for yet another interpretation: he seemingly describes the two areas of An Shigao's activity (transmission in writing – chiefly in the form of translations, one may suppose¹²⁴ – and oral exegesis) as two alternative options. Then the AHKJ could also simply be a lecture on the vast and crucial theme of the *pratītyasamutpāda*, which draws from and elaborates on various sources, including the Śāli.

At present we cannot possibly determine beyond doubt the nature of the AHKJ in all its details. But whatever its original identity, this text certainly constitutes a rare and precious direct source on early Chinese Buddhist thought. It documents another aspect, more oriented toward theoretical issues, of An Shigao's teaching, besides that of spiritual cultivation to which the ABSYJ T 602 and the SMJcomm are devoted.

6. Conclusions: the AHKJ and the beginning of Chinese Buddhist exegesis

It is commonly believed that the earliest surviving Chinese Buddhist commentaries date back to the Three Kingdoms period, around the middle of the 3rd century AD.¹²⁵ However, mainly due to the Kōngō-ji finding, it is now becoming increasingly clear that even those pioneering commentaries were in fact preceded by an earlier phase, thus far represented by the AHKJ and the SMJcomm,¹²⁶ and that this earliest exegetical tradition remained influential to the commentaries of the second phase.¹²⁷

The sources representing this Later Han exegetical tradition – presumably ascribable to An Shigao or his circle – when compared with the few available commentaries of the next phase (above all, the YCRJZ T 1694), show rather distinctive features as to typology, exegetical technique, and intent.

The main formal difference is that, while the commentaries of the second phase are all of the interlinear type (注),¹²⁸ the earlier ones, as we have seen, are probably the records of oral expositions (口解). This typological difference also entails an entirely different approach to the text commented upon: in the SMJcomm and (as far as we can tell, given the absence of the hypothetical basic text) in the AHKJ, the author does not aim at explaining certain passages or words of the translated scripture – this in fact is *not* his starting point nor his *problem*, as, on the contrary, it is always, unavoidably, the case with interlinear commentaries. Rather, as we can see most clearly in the case of the SMJcomm, the author

¹²⁴ Yan Fotiao's expression is 或以文傳, and it is suggestive to observe that 傳 occurs – compounded with other characters and with a more specific connotation – in some sources on early translations; e.g., in two colophons on translations by Lokakṣema (CSZJJ p. 47c 6: 傳言者譯; p. 48c 11: 傳言者).

¹²⁵ E.g. see Zürcher 1972: 53-55.

¹²⁶ Needless to say, even this picture is incomplete: in fact, we know for certain that other Buddhist exegetical texts (and forms) were produced during the Han dynasty. Yan Fotiao's text whose preface we have discussed above, the 沙彌十慧章句, represented probably another typology of commentary, as suggested by its title (for a description of a 章句 commentary exactly contemporary with Yan Fotiao, Zhao Qi's 趙岐 *Mengzi zhangju* 孟子章句, see Dobson 1964, especially p. xix).

¹²⁷ This is demonstrated, for instance, by some passages of the YCRJZ (Zacchetti 2003: 288), of Kang Senghui's works (Zacchetti 2003: 294 and n. 184) or, even more clearly, by the exegetical portion of the ABSYJ T 602 (Zacchetti, forthcoming).

¹²⁸ On this typology, see Kanno 2003: 302-305.

elaborates on the themes found in the basic text (even by freely referring to it at times, as well as to other canonical sources which are never explicitly quoted),¹²⁹ but basically follows his own line of exposition.

The fundamental technique adopted to achieve this effect is one older than the Buddha's teaching: a systematic use of numerical lists. As made clear by Rupert Gethin in a truly inspiring study on *mātikās*, lists – an almost universal feature of early Buddhist literature – “not only aid mechanical memorization (learning by rote), but act as a kind of flowchart for the composition of a discourse. They indicate the various paths and themes that the composer can choose to follow and expand as she feels appropriate. The matrix of interconnecting lists provides a form or structure within which she can improvise”.¹³⁰

This description, suggesting as it does a particular connection between the use of lists and oral composition,¹³¹ fits perfectly the AHKJ, be it the exposition of a given *sūtra* or not. We could also compare numerical lists to gears: although they have varying numbers of cogs, gears can interlock and associate one with another, potentially without end. This is exactly what we see at work in our “oral explanations”.¹³²

There is no need to quote other examples than those already introduced in the preceding outline of the AHKJ (§ 2). Again, it is section f that provides us with a convenient vantage-point for seeing this technique at work: although quite a few details of this exposition remain regrettably obscure,¹³³ it is clear that, by combining the twelvefold *pratītyasamutpāda* with the lists of the ten *karmapathas* (*akuśala-* and *kuśala-*) and the five *skandhas*, the author is able, on the one hand, to place the doctrine of causation within the basic Buddhist analytical framework of the aggregates (thus paving the way for further elaboration, indeed carried out in the immediately following section g), while pointing, on the other hand (by introducing the list of ten deeds), at an ethical way of freeing oneself from the tangles of the causation process – a practical approach certainly not inappropriate for a lecture.

This skilful way of handling and expounding the content of scriptures, unremarkable as it may seem if viewed from the Indian side of the Buddhist world, set an important example for later generations of Chinese Buddhist exegetes down to the age of Dao'an. Indeed, long ago Tang Yongtong underlined the lasting influence exerted by An Shigao's expository method, based on numerical lists.¹³⁴

¹²⁹ On these features of the SMJcomm and the AHKJ, which is in sharp contrast with the commentaries of the “second phase”, see Zacchetti 2003: 295.

¹³⁰ Gethin 1992: 156.

¹³¹ See also Gethin 1992:

¹³² For the use of such lists in the SMJcomm, see Zacchetti 2003: 290 and n. 164.

¹³³ The logical operators employed in these associative patterns are particularly difficult to interpret: how is 爲 exactly to be understood in a phrase like 嫉爲癡 etc. (T 1508 p. 53b 20; “jealousy constitutes ignorance etc.”; see n. 15 above)? Or 從在三事從四者, 嫉、瞋恚、疑, 從痛痒、思想、生死、識 (T 1508 p. 53b 13-14; “The three categories which accord with [the other] four [*skandhas*] are: jealousy, hatred, doubt; they accord with feeling, ideation, birth-and-death, consciousness”; see p. 200 above)?

¹³⁴ See especially his important article devoted to the controversial (and much misunderstood) exegetical method named *geyi* 格義. This work was originally published in English (“On *Ko-i*”, in: *Radhakrishnan Comparative Studies in Philosophy Presented in Honour of His Sixtieth Birthday*, London 1951, pp. 276-286), but I could only access it in a recent back-translation into Chinese: “Lun *geyi* – zuizao yi zhong ronghe Yindu

But, apart from these remote effects, these early specimens of exegetical literature were obviously produced for a more tangible purpose: to instruct Chinese followers in the foreign creed, at that time, we may presume, entirely new to them.

What, then, do the AHKJ and the SMJcomm tell us about the audience to which they were addressed? They are very technical, often obscure (even if we allow for the vagaries of nearly two millennia of textual transmission), always stylistically unappealing: they were certainly not meant to attract new Chinese adepts to join this exotic movement. All these features rather suggest a very different picture: documents to be circulated within a dedicated, probably small but already well-established community, led by a learned specialist, whose members were willing to go deep into the most technical aspects of the Buddhist teaching, and were apparently trained well enough to understand them, at least to a certain extent.¹³⁵ And at this early stage, the influence exerted by the Chinese side of this association seems to have been confined mainly to the linguistic casing of the texts (crucial as this may have been): no trace of any significant concession to Chinese indigenous thought can be actually detected either in the AHKJ or in the SMJcomm. The first attempts at a real synthesis were still to come, though they were just around the corner, for they are already apparent in the commentaries of the “second phase”.

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¹³⁵ See also Zürcher 1991: 289-291.

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Karmavibhaṅga 第61節における付加部分の検討 — 正量部所属説有力資料とされる一節 —

工藤 順之

0. はじめに

本稿では、『(マハー・)カルマ・ヴィバング』([Mahā-]Karmavibhaṅga)第61節を取り上げる¹。この節では他の不善業道によってもたらされる結果を説く節と同様に (§ 51 が総説、§ 52-61 が各論となっている)、邪見という業道によって外的世界に現れる結果、即ち「外法の悪化」を説くが、節の途中で一旦は十不善業道全体に関するまとめの文があるにも拘わらず、更に長文を以て外界に現れる食物の悪化を語る部分を持っている。この部分だけを取り上げるのは、一つにはそれが他の節で語られているものとは明らかに異なる説示内容になっていて(邪見業道による外法の悪化の内容はこの部分の直前に二種類の結果が既に説かれていて、その説示の仕方は他の業道の場合と同じである)、その異質な在り方はおそらくこのテキストの形成過程の或る段階を反映しているものではないかと思われるからである。第二には、その部分に現行の校訂テキストが図らずも有することになってしまった写本読解上の問題点が含まれているからであり、第三に未だ確定したとは言い難いこのテキストの所属部派を決定する重要な手がかりとなると指摘されているからである。元写本を再読する過程で明らかになった幾つかの新たな問題点と共に、テキストがいかにして発展・展開してきたのかを、第61節という全80節の中の一つの節を取り上げ検討したい。以下は、校訂テキストが出版されて以降、決して多くはないこのテキストそのものを研究対象とした研究者のうち、最も多くの成果を発表し、引用文献の対応関係から KV 正量部所属説を提言した並川孝儀博士と、本稿で問題とする部分が別の正量部文献と完全にパラレルになっていることを見出し、並川博士によ

¹ 本稿ではこれまで用いてきたこの文献のタイトルを『マハー・カルマ・ヴィバング』(= MKV) から『カルマ・ヴィバング』(= KV) に統一することにする。その理由は第一に、Mahākarmavibhaṅga という名前が写本Aのみに残るもので、それもこれまで MKV と読んでいたテキストとその注釈書とされる、Lévi 命名の『カルマ・ヴィバング・ウパデーシャ』(Karmavibhaṅga-upadeśa = KVU)のテキストの二つを筆写した写本の一番最後、即ち KVU の終わった後の奥書部分に見られる名前であるからである。MKV と呼ぶテキストの筆写された最後には奥書はなく、テキストの終わりに続いて KVU の帰敬偈が始まる。つまり、単独のテキストの名前ではないのである。第二に、写本Bは MKV だけを有する写本であるが、その最後には Karmavibhaṅgasūtra とある。このテキストは内容的には「スートラ」と見えずには無理があるが、初期段階から拡大・展開してきたというテキストの性格を考えるならば、引き続き「スートラ」と呼ばれていた(呼んでいた)ことも不思議ではない。両写本での呼称を考慮すると、Karmavibhaṅga とするのが適正であろう。チベット訳にも、冒頭に「インド語でカルマ・ヴィバング」とあることも、理由の一つである。

る正量部所属説を補強した岡野潔博士の研究に多くを負っている。両博士による様々な論考を前提として KV に内在する多くの問題点を KV 自体のテキスト形成過程から見直してみる試みが本稿である。尚、以下では敬称等を省略させていただくことを予めお断りしておきたい。

1. KV §§ 51-61 を中心としたテキスト構成の問題

KV §§ 51-61 は十不善業道によってもたらされる結果について述べている。それらの個々の内容については別稿で検討したのでここでは触れないが²、§§ 51-61 という不善業道を扱った一つのグループを形成する諸節が前後諸節と比較してどのような位置づけにあるのか、その点を業報説示の仕方から眺めておこう。

1.1 業報項目各論の記述の違い

KV が業によってもたらされる果報を列挙し、多くの他文献を引用あるいは言及している文献であることはよく知られている。その業報列挙の仕方については、テキスト自体の形成過程と同様にこれまで特に考察されてきたとは言えないが、次のようにまとめることが出来る：

- §§ 1-14 では七種の事例についてそれぞれ優劣が区別された果報（長寿・短寿、多病・無病、端正・不端正、権勢・無権勢、有財・無財、貴族・卑俗、有智・無智）をもたらす業について説く。これらは「鸚鵡経類」に属する全てのヴァージョンに共通している³；
- §§ 15-22 では地獄に始まる六道と欲・色・無色界の三界に生まれる業を説く、つまり現世における業が何処で異熟するのかをまとめたものである；
- §§ 23-26 では為される／為されないと積集／無積集の四句分別によって業を四種に分類する；
- §§ 27-29 では地獄に生まれた者が地獄での寿命を全うするか否かによって区別される業を説き、30-31では生まれを選べる／選べない業を述べる（その具体的な内容は全く不明である）；
- § 32 は他所で報いを受ける業について、このテキストでは一つの文献から引用・言及されるものとしては最長になる因縁譚を持ち、それ以外にも相当数の他文献の言及や或い引用を含んでいる。その結果、節としては最長になっている。内容的には、許可無く他所へ出掛けることが、両親の許可を得ない事例から和尚・阿闍梨の許可を得ないことへと展開され、最後は世尊への帰依、そして世尊亡き後では阿闍梨・和尚を尊重することについて説いて終わる；
- §§ 33-36 ではある業を為した者が人生の前半／後半に幸／不幸となるという四句分別によって、どのような業を為したためにそうなったのかが説かれる；
- §§ 37-39 ではある業を為した者が貧／富にして喜捨を好む／好まないという組み合わせによって、どのような業を為していたのかを示すが、Skt. には「貧乏・慳貪」の項目がなく、ここでは四句分別になっていない。しかし対応する二つの漢訳にはそれがある⁴；
- §§ 40-43 では業と寿命が尽きるか尽きないかを説くが、そこに煩惱と功德が紛れ込んで組み合わせられており、それぞれのヴァージョンによって中身が一致しない。内容的には既に説か

² 拙稿「十不善業道による世界の成長・損壊—『カルマ・ヴィバング』所説の十不善業道の果報を巡って」『佛教学総合研究所紀要別冊・佛教と自然』2004.3発行予定。

³ 共通しているのは七種についての優・劣、即ち十四の業報を説くという点であって、その具体的な中身は必ずしも一致しているわけではない。単純に幾つかの業を説く文献もあれば、項目を十に集約し、テキストの構成をより洗練したものもある。

れた業報について、尽きるか尽きないかを説いただけにすぎない；

§§ 44-47 は心／身と苦／楽を四句分別によって、そのような境遇をもたらす業が何であるのかを説く；

§§ 48-50 では不幸な境遇に生まれた者の容姿についてその違いをもたらす業を説く；

§§ 51-61 では所謂「十不善業道」によってその当人にもたらされる果報と外界に現れる結果とが併記して述べられる；

§§ 62-76 は仏塔崇拝に関連する、或いはサンガに対する供養によって得られる功德を少しずつ挙げていく；

§§ 77-79では出家・林住・喜捨の生活による功德、80では十種の自信を説く。

以上が KV 諸節の簡単なシノプシスであるが、或る果報についてそれをもたらす幾つかの業について説く場合(§§ 1-22, 33-39)、単なる業の説明をするだけの場合(§§ 23-32, 40-47)、或る業についてそれによってもたらされる幾つかの果報を説く場合(§§ 48-79)が混在していて、業とその結果を説くということに関して全体として統一がとれていない(或いは整備されていない)。このような一貫性を欠く記述の仕方はそれ自体、この文献が徐々に増広されてきたことを如実に物語っている。また、扱われる業と果報に関しても、前半部分が世俗的生活における倫理的観点から業報が説かれるのに対して、§ 62 以降は仏塔崇拝を明らかに意識しており⁴、業の果報として列挙される内容の最後には共通して「天界に生まれる。そして速やかに涅槃に至る」(svargeṣūpapadyate. kṣiprañ ca parinivāti) ことが含まれていて、出家・在家の

⁴ Ch-5 [894a12-15]; Ch-6 [898b5-11]. Lévi は“Tableau Comparatif”においてその点を指摘している[Lévi p. 16: XXXVIIIbis pauvre et avare [seulement dans la table de A; le § correspondant manque]]. 尚、同表に示されている限りでのチベット訳にはこの「貧乏・慳貪」という組み合わせの業報はない。

⁵ KV 前半で業報を説明する部分に見出される仏塔に関する記述は以下の通りである。Skt. と同様に仏塔に関わる記述を持つ対応漢訳がある場合はそれも掲げるが、そのような記述も持たない漢訳は挙げない。

§ 2. tathā stupa(< stūpa)c[ai]t[ya]viharāṇāṃ [vi]sīrṇānā(ṃ) pratisa(ṃ)skāraṇāṃ (Lévi 34.4-5; A12v.2-3; B7v.4-5)「壊れた塔・廟・精舎の再建である」

Ch-6 [896c24-28]: 十幡燈供養。

§ 5 stūpāṅganacetra(< caitya)grhavihārāṇāṃ ca bhūme(r) viśodhanaṃ | stūpānā(ṃ) pratimānāṃ ca dīpavyucchedaḥ | (Lévi 38.1-3; A15v.3-4; Bx)「塔の中庭・廟・堂舎・精舎の地面を掃除しないこと。塔や(仏)像への燈明を消すこと。」

Ch-5 [892a28-b5]: 八者於佛塔廟斷滅燈明。

Ch-6 [897a8-12]: 七盜佛光明。九壞佛光明。

§ 6 vastrapradānaṃ | stūpacetyagrheṣu ca sudhādānaṃ | suvarṇṇap(ā)tradānaṃ | gandhalepapradānaṃ | alaṃkārapradānaṃ | ... stūpāṅganavihārāṇā(ṃ) sa(ṃ)mārjjanāṃ <l> satataṃ grhasarīmārjjanāṃ (Lévi 38.6-9; A16r.1-3; Bx)「... 塔・廟・堂舎を塗ること。黄金の鉢を布施すること。香・軟膏を布施すること。裝飾品を布施すること。... 塔の中庭・精舎を掃除すること。常に堂舎を清掃すること。」

Ch-5 [892b5-10]: 五者塗飾佛塔。六者掃灑堂宇。七者掃灑僧地。八者掃灑佛塔。

Ch-6 [897a12-17]: 二惠施佛塔。三塗掃塔寺。四修嚴精舎。五莊嚴佛像。

§ 8 Bhagavataś caityastūpakārāṇāṃ (39.9-10; A17r.2; Bx)「世尊の塔廟を建立させること」

Ch-5 [892b19-26]: 六者發菩提心。造佛形像。奉施寶蓋。

§ 10 Skt. x

Ch-6 ¶-8[897a21-26]: 五施佛傘蓋。六修嚴塔寺。

以上のように、仏塔が絡む内容を記述しているのは「鸚鵡經類・第二類」に属する漢訳のみで、「第一類」に属する文献には一切出てこない。尚、チベット訳に関しては内容的に Skt. に準じたものになっているのでここには挙げない。

区別なく、より宗教性の強い、救済を意識させる内容を説く⁶。

さて、十不善業道を扱う §§ 51-61 はその中間にあるのだが、それらもまた先行する諸節とは些か異質な要素を持っている。それは、先行或いは後続する節では業を為した人にその果報がもたらされるという形で極めて個人的なレベルで業報思想（即ち自業自得という発想）を説くのに対して、自らを取り巻く外界世界もそのような思想に支配されているという内容を表明している点である。外界に業が影響するという記述は KV の他の箇所には説かれておらず、KV が初期段階の「鸚鵡經」から徐々に発展してきた或る段階の姿を体現しているテキストであることを考えると、こうした説示の仕方や説示内容の指向性の違いは間違いなくこのテキストの形成過程で生じた断層のようなものを反映していると言える。

1.2 § 61 までと § 62 以降

更に、§ 62 以降の節が或る程度の時期において § 61 の後に付加されたことが「鸚鵡經類」諸訳の *uddeśa* の記述からも確認出来る。業報を説くに当たって、「鸚鵡經類」の多くのヴァージョンは冒頭に因縁譚を持ち、次いで世尊がこれから説こうとする業報を列挙する *uddeśa* 部分があって、各論に入っていく。諸資料のテキスト構成を一覧すると以下の通りになる：

	Skt.	Pāli	Ch-1	Ch-2	Ch-3	Ch-4	Ch-5	Ch-6	Tib1	Tib2	Tib3
因縁譚	○	×	○	○	○	×	×	○	×	×	○
<i>uddeśa</i>											
項目-14	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	×	○	○
項目-50	○	×	×	×	×	×	○	○	×	○	○
項目-61	○	×	×	×	×	×	○	○	×	○	○
項目-80	○	×	×	×	×	×	○	×	×	×	×

Pāli: MN No. 135: *Cūḷakammavibhaṅga-sutta* (III, pp. 202-206).

Ch-1: 『佛說兜調經』失訳 [265-316 CE.], T 78, 1, 887b5-888b11.

Ch-2: 『中阿含』「鸚鵡經」僧伽提婆 [397-398 CE.], T 26(170), 1, 703c-706b11.

Ch-3: 『佛說鸚鵡經』求那跋摩 [435-443 CE.], T 79, 1, 888b16-891a13.

Ch-4: 『佛說淨意優婆塞所問經』施護 [982-1017 CE.], T 755, 17, 588c9-590b7.

Ch-5: 『佛爲首迦長者說業報差別經』瞿曇法智 [582 CE.], T 80, 1, 891a18-895b21 [= Lévi: Chg].

Ch-6: 『分別善惡報應經』天息災 [982-1000 CE.], T 81, 1, 895b26-901b19 [= Lévi: Cht].

Tib1: Las rnam par 'byed pa. [D, N, Q, H]⁷

Tib2: Las kyi rnam par gyur ba ... [D, N, Q, L, S, H]

Tib3: Las rnam par 'byed ba. [F, F2, L, S, N, H]⁸

上記資料の内、Pāli と漢訳 4 本(Ch-1, 2, 3, 4)は所謂「鸚鵡經類」第一類⁹に属し、業報 14 項目のみを有する初期段階の文献であり、§ 15 以降の節を持たない。従って、*uddeśa* を持つと言っても、KV の後半部分のテキストを考察対象にする本稿では問題にしない。他方、より拡大した姿を持つ「鸚鵡經類」第二類を見ると、

⁶ 並川 1984c: 38, 40 参照。

⁷ チベット諸本の対応と略号については Appendix を参照のこと。

uddeśa に § 61 までの項目を記載するものは uddeśa そのものを欠く Tib1 以外のものであるが、§ 62 以降の節見出しを記載するものは僅かに梵本と Ch-5 だけである。しかし、実際の各論部分では Ch-6 も Tib1-3 も § 62 以降の節を有している。Ch-5, 6 と Tib-2-3 の uddeśa 部分の末尾を引用しよう：

Ch-5 [891a25-26]:

或有衆生。習行十不善業。得外惡報。或有衆生。習行十種善業。得外勝報
復次長者。若有衆生。禮佛塔廟。得十種功德。

Ch-6 [896b29-c19]

爾時佛告長者言。「汝應善聽。一切有情造種種業起種種惑。衆生業有黑白。果報乃分善惡。黒

⁸ Lévi 出版時点では KV 対応のチベット訳には二種類があるとされてきた、即ちここで用いている略号でいう Tib1 と Tib2 である。しかし、1970年発表の W. Simon の論文によって第3のチベット訳（本稿で用いている Tib3）の存在が判明した。その後、並川 1984c は Simon の指摘に従って、第3のチベット訳として大英博物館所蔵の写本カンギュル (Or. 6724) を取り上げ、系統の違いを指摘しているが、その検討は Simon 1970 に指摘された範囲内に留められている。（並川 1984c の註2にその点が述べられている。）尚、この註には大英博物館所蔵のチベットカンギュルの中に Simon が用いたテキスト以外にもう一本のチベット訳があると紹介されている。Barnett のカタログから得られた情報に基づくものであるが、このチベットコレクションは後に Grinstead によって再調査が行われている。如何なる理由からか Barnett のカタログではテキストの葉数番号が誤っている（144-151 とあるが、正しくは Grinstead の記載する 136-141）。現在、この写本カンギュルは「ロンドン（シェル・カルゾン）写本カンギュル」（= L）と呼称されており、またマイクロ・フィッシュにて刊行されている。Simon が用いたチベット訳は No. 202 であり、他方は No. 213 と分類整理されている。後者は確かに Q1006 = D 339 と同系であり、Tib2 に分類される。

これまでまとめられていた KV のチベット訳の分類にはまだ混乱がある。例えば、ラサ版 (= H) では「高崎目録」によって No. 343 と 345 があり、前者は D338 = Q1005 = N 323 と同系、後者は D339 = Q1006 = N 324 と同系とされていた。しかし、ラサ版には更に No. 344 という KV に対応するテキストがあり、内容を見ていくと、この H344 が D338 = Q1005 = N 323 と同系で、D343 は Tib3 に分類されるべきである。

またナルタン版 (= N) でも分類の食い違いが生じている。ラサ版の「高崎目録」では N784 とあるものが「長嶋目録」では No. 783 とあり、それを用いた河口慧海コレクションカタログの「齋藤目録」でも No. 783 とあり、D338 = Q1005 = N 323 と同系であるとされていた。しかしこれは明かな間違いであって、この N784 は正しくは Tib3 に分類されるべきものである。この点を正しく記載しているのはラサ版の新しいカタログだけである。

系統分類としてはもう一点、指摘しておく。ニューアークにある写本カンギュルについては先に P. Skilling によって予備報告がなされ、その全体を見渡せるようになった。その中の「Mdo bsde tsha // 20.472」の 186a9- には “Las rnams ’b[ry]ed pa’i mdo dang” があり、これも『カルマヴィバング』のチベット訳である。その分類については Dietz によってトク・パレス (= S)、ロンドン写本カンギュル (= L) と同系であると確認されている。

また Dietz はブタック写本カンギュルにある二本のチベット訳が両方ともトク・パレス、ロンドンのチベット訳と同系であることを指摘している（ブタックのカタログでは間違っただけに配当されている。即ち、F186 が D338 = Q1005 = N 323 に、F404 が D339 = Q1006 = N 324 と同系であるとされていた）。この点は公表されたものとしては彼女の指摘が今のところ唯一であり、本稿筆者が『カルマ・ヴィバング』チベット訳のみの調査を別途行っていた過程で確認したことと一致する。

⁹ 山田 1935: 340 に類似経典を総称して「鸚鵡經一類」との表現があり、また論文末にはそれに含まれる文献を一覧している (ibid., 348-49)。中央アジアに散在した断片的な資料を除く、梵蔵巴漢のヴァージョンをテキストの構成から「第一類・第二類」という形で再分類したのは並川の功績である (1984c)。その再分類は極めて周到に為されていて、原則的には修正の要はなく、本稿でもそれを用いている（第二類内部での展開或いは相関関係については Tib3 や MS[B] 附随の二枚の写本、即ち MS[C] の存在によって若干の見直しが必要であろう。MS[C] については Fukita 1990 参照）。

業三塗受報。白業定感人天。又業有分限命乃短長。(中略)或復有業補特伽羅。諸根具足不具足等」

爾時佛告長者子言。「有十善業應當修習。若十惡業汝應除斷。」

Tib-2: uddeśa¹⁰ [D600.1; H493a4-5; L138b4; N466b1-2; Q312a5; S300.3-4]:

ma na ba yang 'di lta ste l mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam byas pa'i rgyus l1 phyi rol gyi yul sa'i don2 du 'gyur ba yang3 yod do4 l

1. H, N omit. 2. H, Q add: *ngan*. 3. H, S: 'nga. 4. H omits: *do*.

Tib-3: uddeśa¹¹ [L305b8-306a2; F162b7-163a1; F2.337b4-5; S728.3-4; N135b7-136a2; H432b3-5]:

bram ze'i khye'u mi dge (H432b4) ba'i las kyi lam1 bcu po (L306a1) dag2 l3 yang (F162b8) dag par blangs (N136a1) pa'i rgyus4 (F2.337b5) phyr5 rol gyi dngos po bcu rgud6 par7 snang l

dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam rnams8 yang dag par (S728.4) blangs pa'i rgyus 19 (H432b5) phyi rol gyi dngos (L306a2) po bcu (N136a2) phun sum10 tsogs par (F163a1) snang ste11 l 'di ni mdor bstan pa'o l l

1. F omits: *kyi lam*. 2. F2 omits. 3. F, F2, H, N, S omit. 4. F, F2, H, N add: l 5. F, S: *phyi*. 6. F2: *dgud*. 7. F omits: *rgud par*. 8. F2 omits. 9. F, S omit. 10. F2: *gsun*. 11. F: *te*; F2: *ba ste*.

これを見れば明白であるが、Ch-6 の uddeśa に相当する部分では一旦世尊の言葉が終わり、続いて「爾時佛告長者子言。『有十善業應當修習。．．．』」という新たな発言があって十(不)善を挙げ、その後に再び次なる会話部分、即ち「於是長者白佛言。『世尊。有情短命何業所獲。．．．』」として各論が始まっていく。つまり、この「十善・十悪業」についての一文は、世尊の台詞が終わり各論に入っていくその間にある別の台詞であって、その中身も実際の各論部分の当該節で説かれている「外法の悪化」に関しては全く触れていないのである。uddeśa 部分に全ての業報項目を列挙する Ch-5 も十不善業道を挙げた後で一旦は世尊の台詞に区切りを付けている。

Walter Simon の指摘にあるように、ロンドン写本カンギュルもこれと全く同様になっている。即ち、Tib-3 の uddeśa は十不善・十善業道の見出しを挙げた後、各論では扱われている仏塔崇拜等の功德に関する業報項目が列挙されずに uddeśa が終わり、そして各論に入るのである。また Tib-2 も新たな台詞の導入によって十不善を挙げるものの § 62 以降の項目を列挙していない。

KV と Ch-5 のみが § 62 以降の項目を uddeśa に含めている一方、Ch-6 と Tib-3 は uddeśa には挙げていないが (Tib1 は uddeśa そのものがないのであるが) 各論としては § 62 以降も全てのテキストで論じられていること、そして Tib-2 と Ch-6 では十不善業道を説くことを唐突な会話文を以て述べること、Ch-5 では十不善業道を挙げてから一旦は区切りを付けること、こうした文脈の乱れがあるということと uddeśa の見出しと各論での項目が食い違うという事実は、先ず § 51 以降の後半部分が後から追加されたが uddeśa 部分ではそのことの辻褃合わせが十分に為されなかったために生じた齟齬を反映し、§ 62 以降の項目を含んでいないのは §§ 51-61 が付加された後で更に加えられた為であると説明できる。Simon はこれについて次のよう

¹⁰ uddeśa そのものは D598.2-600.1; H491b5-493a5; L137b2-138b4; N465a5-466b2; Q311a6-312a5; S297.7-300.4 にある。

¹¹ uddeśa そのものは該当頁は以下の通り: L304b3-306a2; F161b5-163a1; F2.336b1-337b6; S725.1-728.4; N134a7-136a2; H431a1-432b5. 尚、F はおよそ一行と三分の一にあたる文章が欠けている。その為 uddeśa は第3節の項目から始まる。

に理解している：「これらの見出し（即ち、§ 62以降。引用者注）が項目リストには挙げられていないという事実は明らかにそれらが後代の挿入であることを意味しており、従って「因縁談」と「項目リスト」は現行のものよりも原初的なサンスクリット本を体現しているに違いない。」¹²

従って、テキスト形成過程を考えると、少なくとも十不善・十善業道に関係する業報項目が追加された後で、仏塔等への寄進・布施による功德を説く後半部分が更に追加されたと考えてよいだろう。

2. § 61 の教説内容の検討

さて、KV § 61 では他の不善業道と同様に外法の悪化を説いた後で、十不善業道によってもたらされる果報全体をまとめる文がありながら、更に長文を要して胡麻・砂糖黍・乳の三種についてそれらの抽出したものが失われていくという内容を語っている。これは Tib1 も同様である。他方、漢訳と Tib-2, 3 では邪見による外法の悪化を説いた後に十不善業道による業報の説示全体をまとめる一文があり、KV に見られるような食物についての部分は存在しない¹³。

KV に見られる、胡麻・砂糖黍・乳を取り上げた部分は KV と Tib-1 のみに存在していて、十不善業道によってもたらされる結果を述べる諸節を加えた後で更に追加されたものである可能性が高い。そして、この特異な記述は岡野 (2002a¹⁴) によって正量部特有の世界観を反映したものであることが指摘され、並川 (1984a, 1984c, 1985b¹⁵) が提出した KV 正量部所属説を別の観点から補強する部分なのである。では、その部分を見ていこう。

2.1. 邪見業道→「外法の悪化」

先ず、十不善業道の第十番目の邪見業道によってもたらされる結果から見ておこう。外的世界に現れる悪化は「苦くて鹹いものが生じる」ことであり、邪見業の結果として人々は、いわば個人レベルに現れる結果として、様々な邪見、即ち虚無論者、断滅論者、ローカーヤタ派に親近するとされる。以下、KV 当該節のテキストを挙げるが、斜体になっている箇所が十不善業道全体のまとめとなる部分、太字に

¹² Simon 1970: 162. "...the fact that their headings (= § 62ff. noted by N.K.) have not been listed in this table of contents clearly shows that they constitute a later addition to the Sūtra and that therefore both the introductory tale and the table of contents must represent an earlier Sk. text than the one which has survived."

¹³ Tib1, 3 に共通するが、両者とも十善業道による結果を述べる節と更に一部の業道についての更に記述を含んでいる。これらはチベット訳以外にはなく、明らかにチベットでの伝承の中で加えられたものと判断できる。

¹⁴ 論文の形で公開されたのは2002年であるが、その基は既に2000年9月7日の日本印度学仏教学会第51回大会で配布資料と共に口頭発表されている。

¹⁵ 並川 1984a では化地部と説一切有部系の所属を明確に否定し、不確定要素は残るものの大衆部系も否定し、「飲光部、正量部等を想定し得る可能性も無視できない」(p. 74)とする。1984c ではより明確に正量部系と位置づける。1985b では「犢子部・正量部系」としている。

なっているのが本稿で特に問題にする食物の悪化を説く部分である。(KV §§ 51-61 全体のテキストと和訳は別稿に掲載した。またテキストの元となる二つの写本のローマ字転写も本稿掲載誌と同時期に別途出版予定である¹⁶。しかし、以下の検討に際しての利便性を確保する為に重複の誹りを恐れずに掲げることにする。但し、ここでは明らかな誤写や個々の写本特有の書き癖などは一切省略し、また二写本の伝承関係に関係すると思われる箇所のみ注記し、当該箇所の他バージョンと校合した形で提示する。チベット訳に関しては Tib1, 2 を Lévi の用いたナルタン版から、Tib3 を Simon の調査したロンドン写本カンギユルより転写した。他の版・写本との異読については本稿末に対応表とともに掲載している。残念ながら資料が不十分なので厳密な校訂を経たものではない。)

§ 61. Lévi 79.19-80.13; A50v.5-51v.1; B29v.2-30r.1.

mithyādr̥ṣṭer akuśa(B29v.3)lasya karmapathasya vipākena tiktakaṭukā bhavanti | picumarddakośatākiṣatiktalābuprabhūti(A51r.1)ni phalāni prādurbhavanti | tasyaiva ca karmaṇo vipākato [B: mithyādr̥ṣṭer akuśalasya karmapathasya vipākena] nā(B29v.4)stikyavādī bhavaty ucchedadr̥ṣṭih | lokāyatanādiṣu ca śāstreṣu prasādo bhavati |

yathā Padā(A51r.2)śvasya rājaputrasya yaḥ Kumārakāśyapena Śvetavikāyāṃ vinito lokāyati(B29v.5)kaḥ |

yathā yathā satvā imān* daśākuśalān* ka(A51r.3)rmāpāthān atīva bhāvayanti | tathā tathā eṣā(m) daśānām bāhyānām bhāvānām atīva prādurbhāvo bhavati |

anenaiḥ kāraṇena Abhidharme [B: Mahāsamva(B29v.6) + + +] uktaḥ | bhaviṣyati (A51r.4) samayo 'nāgate (')dhvani yat tilā bhaviṣyanti | tilapiṣṭam na¹⁷ bhaviṣyati | tailam na bhaviṣyati | ikṣu(r) bhaviṣyati | ikṣuraso na bhaviṣyati (A51r.5) | guḍo na bhaviṣyati | na khaṇḍam bhaviṣyati | na ca sa(B30r.1)rkarā bhaviṣyanti | gāvo bhaviṣyanti | kṣīram bhaviṣyati | dadhiṃ bhaviṣyati | navanītam na bhaviṣyati |¹⁸ na ghr̥tam na ghr̥tamaṇḍo bhaviṣyati | evam anupūrveṇa sarveṇa sarve rasā¹⁹ a(A51v.1)ntarddhāsyanti || ◎ ||

Ch-5, 894b25-27: 十者以邪見業故。感生外報。苗稼不實。收穫渺少。

以是十業。得外惡報

Ch-6, 899b1-2: 愚癡所獲外色不潔果實虛耗。

十不善業因之所得

Tib-1, Lévi-LXI: (D583.6) log par lta ba mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pas | 'bras bu med pa (H480a2) dang chung ba dang (Q303b5) dug dang rku ba la sogs pa 'byung bar 'gyuro || las de nyid kyi rnam (N455b4) par smin pas | med par smra pa dang chad par lta zhing 'jig rten rgyad pan pa'i (H480a3) gtsug lag la sogs pa (D583.7) la dad par 'gyuro ||

mi dge (Q303b6) ba'i las kyi lam 'di bcu ji ltar bsgoms pa de lta de (N455b5) ltar rab tu 'phel bar 'gyur te | de'i phyir rnam par (H480a4) 'jig pa'i tshe | til yod kyang til mar mi 'byung bu ram shing yod kyang bu ram mi 'byung | bu ram (Q303b7) yod kyang hwags dang khar (D584.1) mi 'byung | ba yod kyang 'o ma mi 'byung | (H480a5) 'o ma yod kyang mar mi 'byung |

¹⁶ Noriyuki KUDO, *The Karmavibhaṅga: Transliterations and Annotations of the Original Sanskrit Manuscripts from Nepal*, (Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica VII), IRIAB, 2004.

¹⁷ 写本Bはnaを欠く。

¹⁸ 写本Aには“gāvo bhaviṣyanti | kṣīram bhaviṣyati | dadhiṃ bhaviṣyati | navanītam na bhaviṣyati”という文章がない。

¹⁹ ここで言われている rasa という語に関しては岡野 2002a: 222-7 を参照の事。彼に依れば正量部は rasa の意味を単なる「美味」として取ったのではなく sāra 「精髓」の意味で解釈していたとされる。KV が「胡麻はあるが胡麻油はない」・「砂糖黍はあるがその汁はない」という表現を持っていることは、KV もまた rasa を「精髓」の意味で取っていたことの証左であるとしている。またこの rasa という語については 2003年の印度学仏教学会でも発表されている。

de ltar mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi rnam par smin pas | phyi rol gyi dngos po rnams rgud par 'gyuro ||

Tib-2, Lévi-LXII: (D612.4) log par ltas pa dang | byed du bcug pa'i (L146b4) las kyi rgyus ni sa bon (N475b2) dang 'bras bu chung zhing ngan par (S319.1) 'ong ngo ||

'di ltar mi dge ba bcu'i las byas (H503b2) pas phyi rol gyi yul sa rnams ngan par 'gyur zhing (Q318b4) mi bde ba'i gnas skye bar 'gyuro ||

Tib-3, 061: log par lta bar (H444b6; N147a6) yang dag par blangs (F2.147b8) pa'i rgyus ni | 'bras bu med pa dang | nyung ba'i sa bon 'byung bar (F174a1) 'gyur te |

mi dge ba bcu'i las (L316a1) kyi lam 'di dag yang dag (S750.1) par blangs pa'i rgyus | (H444b7) phyi (N147a7) rol gyi dngos po bcu rgud par snang ngo ||

邪見業道によってもたらされる結果は二種類ある。まず、「邪見業道の結果として」(mithyādṛṣṭer akuśakasya karmapathasya vipākena)の「苦くて鹹いものが生じること」、もう一つは「その行為の結果として」(tasyaiva karmaṇo vipākena)「虚無論者・断滅論者・ローカーヤタ等の思想がはやること」である。

前者の内容を取り上げよう。別稿で検討したが、ここで述べられる結果は有部系資料と比較すると邪見業道ではなく九番目の瞋恚業道に配当されている内容である。そして有部系では邪見業道の結果として挙げられているのは KV の瞋恚業道に述べられているもの（「実が成らず、収穫とならない」）と一致する。つまり、不善業道の結果としては有部系と KV とでは第九と第十とが全く正反対になっているのである。

瞋恚業道 (KV §60).

玄奘訳『婆沙論』「一切外物多分枯悴果實苦澀。」(T 1545, 27, 588a26).

玄奘訳『俱舍論』「瞋故果辣。」(T 1558, 29, 90c13-14).²⁰

AKBb. vyāpadena kaṭukaphalāḥ: 「瞋によって実は苦くなる」(254, 10).

Abhidharma-dīpa. vyāpadena kaṭukarmaphalāḥ (177.18).

邪見業道 (KV §61).

玄奘訳『婆沙論』「一切外物多分零落。乏少花果或全無果。」(T 1545, 27, 588a27).

玄奘訳『俱舍論』「由邪見故果少或無。」(T 1558, 29, 90c14).²¹

AKBb. mithyādṛṣṭyā alpaphalā aphalā vā: 「邪見によって実は少なく或いは無くなる」(254, 10-11).

Abhidharma-dīpa. mithyādṛṣṭyā bijād apakṛṣṭaphalā aphalā vā: 「邪見によって種子から劣悪な果実(が得られる)か果実が無い」(177.18).

勿論、この食い違いは KV だけを取り上げた場合それ自体では意味を持たない。何故なら、他の不善業道の結果も有部系のテキストと一致しているわけではなく、その対応が乱れており、単に文献によって異なっていることを示しているようにも見えるからである。しかし、KV の対応漢訳の説く十不善業道による外法の悪化の内容が総じて有部系資料に一致する傾向にあり、今問題にしている第九・十の不善業道の結果に関しては有部系資料と同一であること（第九はそれぞれ「令諸樹木果實

²⁰ Cf. 真谛译『俱舍释论』「由瞋恚故。一切所生皆悉苦。」(T 1559, 29, 245b29-c1).

²¹ Cf. 真谛译『俱舍释论』「由邪见故。一切资生或少果或无果。」(T 1559, 29, 245c1).

苦澁」・「果味辛辣容貌醜惡」、第十は「苗稼不實。收穫尠少」・「外色不潔果實虚耗」)²²、チベット訳は全て共通していて、漢訳資料と同様に第九では果実が「辛くなる(tsha ba)・苦くなる(kha ba)」とされ、第十では果実が「無くなる(med pa)・少なくなる(chung ba)」等の内容となっていることを考え合わせると、KV の異質性が浮かび上がってくる。有部系資料とほぼ一致する対応漢訳があるにも拘わらず、KV だけがこのような違いを示しているということはどうやら他と異なるように意図的に記述された可能性があり、しかもその作業には部派的な差異を反映した改変を意図していたことも疑われる²³。では、その差異がどこに由来するものなのか、その手がかりが邪見業道を説いた後で更に記述されている胡麻・砂糖黍・乳の三種についてそれらの抽出したものが失われていくという内容にあると思われる。

2.2 正量部所属文献との対応

胡麻・砂糖黍・乳を宇宙論の中で象徴的に取り上げることが正量部独自の思想であることを見出したのは岡野である。彼はネパール写本にのみ残る仏教カーヴィヤ文献 *Mahāsamvartanīkathā* (= MSK) が正量部のものであることを発見し、更にそこに説かれている内容がチベット訳『有為無為決擇』の中で引用される未知の文献（彼は「文献 X」と呼ぶ）と一致していることを見出した。それによって正量部の思想には他部派には見られない特異な宇宙論が含まれていたことが判明したわけである。その特異な宇宙論（或いは終末論）の中に、十不善業道によって外法（胡麻・砂糖黍・牛乳）の消失を説く部分があり、それが先に見た KV に近似していることを指摘した。

彼が見出した正量部文献 MSK と「文献 X」の内容と上掲 KV の一節との具体的な比較は岡野 2002a に譲るが²⁴、両者の近親性を次の二点について指摘している(2002a: 227):

- (1) MSK も KV も十不善業道によってもたらされる結果について「外法」という言葉を用い、邪見業道の業報として現れる「外法の悪化」として「胡麻油・砂糖黍汁・ギーの消失」を記述すること；
- (2) 邪見業道の結果として虚無論者・断滅論者・ローカーヤタ等の思想の出現と食物の悪化と「胡麻・砂糖黍・牛乳からの精髓」が獲得し難くなる（或いは出来なくなる）という三者を組み合わせていること。

そして、KV と Tib1 との所引文献比較によって並川が引き出した結論、即ち両者が同系の経典を引用しており、同一部派所伝であるという主張を受けて²⁵、KV と Tib1

²² Ch-5, 894b24-25; Ch-6. 899a29-b1; Ch-5, 894b25-27; Ch-6, 899b1-2.

²³ 尚、『増壹阿含經』卷第八「安般品之二」第五經(T 125, 2, 583a19b2)では邪見が悪報をもたらすことを「毒や苦みをもつ植物」を引き合いに出して説明する。これは邪見が元々邪なものであるからその結果もまた悪しきものとなること、それが毒・苦みは種子の時からそもそも含まれているのだということと同じであるという例えである。ここには邪見から直接に毒・苦みをもつ植物が現れることは説かれていない。ただ邪見と毒・苦みとが連想される関係にあるということが他文献で確認出来る。

²⁴ 岡野が指摘する対応箇所は MSK 4.2.1-4, 18 と文献 X §§ 127-30 である。岡野は前者のうち、4.2.3-5 と 18 を岡野 2002a: 220, 223 に和訳している。文献 Xの方は岡野 1998a: 161-160 にある。

が正量部に所属していた可能性を強く指摘する。

以上のような岡野の考察によって、現存し且つ所属の確定した正量部資料とパラレルになっている限り、我々としては、KV § 61 に付加された部分が正量部の伝承と密接なつながりを持つものであると結論するのが妥当である。但し、ここで留保しておかなければならないのは、この部分が KV と Tib1 のみに見られる箇所であること、そして明らかに後から付加されたものである点である。この部分の正量部文献への対応関係だけでは KV 全体を正量部所属とするわけにはいかない。並川によって提示された KV 正量部所属説はこの KV § 61 とは無関係に行われた引用文献研究の成果であり、その意味で我々は既に片手には正量部所属可能性を示す別ルートから得られた証拠も持っている。そして岡野による研究によって、また新たな証拠も手に入った。更に内容の検討によってそれが明らかに有部系資料とは異なり、「鸚鵡経類」の中でも KV 独自のものらしいことが確認出来た。もう少しこの節の中味を検討して、それ以上の証拠が出るかどうかを見ていこう。

2.3 付加のパターン

1.2 で検討したが、三種の食物の消失を説く部分は十不善業道全体をまとめる文の後に現れる。但し、そのような文脈は KV のみにあって、Tib1 では食物の消失を説いた後で全体をまとめる文が残されている。この部分が付加であるとすれば、チベット訳はきちんと整合性を持たせて挿入したことになる。一旦は関連する節全体を終わらせる文が存在することによって我々は胡麻等に関する部分が後からの挿入であったことを想定した。

実は、第61節と同様に一旦はその節を終わらせるような一文があるにも拘わらず、更に記述を進めるような事例がもう一箇所存在する。それはこの KV では他の節では全く見られないような、ほぼ挿話の全体を引用或いは言及することで最大にして最長の節となっている第32節である。この節は「外国に行くことによってもたらされる果報」(deśāntara-vipāka²⁶)を説くが、この節のシノプシス（と言っても引用或いは言及文献が多いのであるが）を示そう。

§ 32 「他国で異熟する業」(Lévi 50.12-64.13; A26v.3-38v.2; B15v.1-6, 18r.1-21r.6).

a) Maitrāyājña の avadāna (Lévi 50.14-55.16; A26v.4-33r.2; B15v.1-6, 18r.1).

b) Śyāmajātaka への言及 (Lévi 55.17-19; A33r.2-3; B18r.1-2).

・ Dhanamjayasūtra における Śaradvatiputra の言葉引用 (Lévi 55.19-56.2; A33r.3-5; Bx).

・ Śīthālaka(Śivālaka)sūtra の引用 (Lévi 56.2-5; A33r.5-v.2; Bx).

c) Maitrāyājña-avadāna の続き (Lévi 56.7-8; A33v.2; Bx).

d) Ajātaśatru の地獄転生について言及 (Lévi 56.9-10; A33v.2-3; B18r.2).

e) Maitrāyājña の誓願についての言及 (Lévi 56.11-12; A33v.3-4; B18r.3).

・ Śyāmajātaka への言及 (Lévi 56.12-13; A33v.4-5; B18r.3).

f) Maitrāyājña の avadāna: 世尊による連結 (Lévi 56.14-57.3?; A33v.5-34r.4; B18r.3-6).

²⁵ 岡野 2002a: 228-229 参照。彼は並川 1984a を援用しているが、KV と Tib1 との同系関係の指摘については並川 1984c: 39 に詳しい。

²⁶ 両写本とも -vipāka ではなく -vipakṣa と読んでいる。

この最後に通常、節終わりにくる「以上が、. . . という果報を生む業である」という文が両写本ともある。

A34r.4: idaṃ krama deśāntaravipakṣaṃ || B18r.6: idaṃ karma deśāntaravipakṣaṃ ||

g) etad darśayati Bhagavān (Lévi 57.5-58.2; A34r.4-v.5; B18r.6-v.6).

両親と和尚・阿闍梨への供養が等しいこと (Lévi 57.5-18; A34r.4-v.4; B18r.6-v.4).

・ Śrāvastī の貧しき者のアヴァダーナ。二つの gāthā を引用 (第二のものは Dhṛ.).

・ Tagaraśikhin への豆汁の供養 (Lévi 57.18-58.2; A34v.4-5; B18v.4-6).

h) Maitrāyājña の解脱の種子 (Lévi 58.3-6; A35r.1-2; B18v.6-19r.1).

i) 世尊と両親に背くことの結果について (Lévi 58.7-11; A35r.2-4; B19r.1-3).

・ Devadatta が Avici 地獄に落ちた話 (Lévi 58.8-9; A35r.2-3; B19r.1-2).

・ Rauruka 都城の Śikhāṇḍī への言及 (Lévi 58.9-11; A35r.3-4; B19r.2-3).

j) 両親と和尚・阿闍梨への供養による果報の差 (Lévi 58.12-64.13; A35r.4-38v.2; B19r.3-21r.6).

・ 世尊は悟りへの道を知る；両親は知らない (Lévi 58.12-16; A35r.5-v.1; B19r.3-5).

・ 両親を殺すことの不正について (Lévi 58.126-59.3; A35v.1-3; B19r.5-6).

・ 両親に許可なく出家することの禁止 (Lévi 59.3-10; A35v.3-36r.1; B19r.5-v.3).

世尊が出家して父・シュッドーダナが失明した話 (Lévi 59.10-11; A36r.1-2; B19v.2-3).

・ 両親が息子に望むこと (Lévi 59.11-18; A36r.2-5; B19v.3-5).

・ 律への言及 (Lévi 59.18-21; A36v.1-2; B19v.5-20r.1).

・ Cakravartistūtra からの引用 (Lévi 59.21-60.6; A36v.2-5; B20r.1-3).

七宝のうち象・馬宝の獲得について

・ Mahiśāsaka 派の律からの引用 (Lévi 60.8-15; A37r.1-4; B20r.3-6).

その中で Maitrāyājña への言及

・ yathā coktaṃ Bhagavatā sūtre (Lévi 60.15-61.5; A37r.4-v.1; B20r.6-v.2).

・ Dakṣiṇāvibhaṅgasūtra の引用 (Lévi 61.5-10; A37v.1-4; B20v.2-3).

・ 仏弟子の伝道活動について (Lévi 61.10-64.3; A37v.4-38r.3; B20v.3-21r.3).

Mahākātyāyana, Avanti (Lévi 61.10-11; A37v.4; B20v.3-4).

Madhyandina, Kāśmīrā (Lévi 61-11-62.3; A37v.4-38r.1; B20v.4-5).

Gavāmpati, Suvarṇabhūmi (Lévi 62.3-4; A38r.1; B20v.5-6).

Piṇḍolabharadvāja, Pūrvavideha (Lévi 62.4-63.1; Ax; B20v.6).

Mahendra, Siṃhaladvīpa (Lévi 63.1-2; A38r.1-2; B20v.6-21r.1).

Pūrṇa, Śūrpāraka (Lévi 63.2-64.3; A38r.2-3; B21r.1-2; D line 1-2).

・ まとめとしての和尚・阿闍梨の優位性 (Lévi 64.3-13; A38r.4; B21r.2-3).

etad darśayati Bhagavān に始まる引用文 (Lévi 64.6-10; A38r.4-5; B21r.3-21r.5).

ata evam āha Bhagavān に始まる引用文 (Lévi 64.10-13; A38r.5-38v.2; B21r.5-6).

この後、写本Aは次の第33節に続くが、写本Bは再び “idaṃ karma deśāntaravipakṣaṃ || 11” という終わりの文を持ち、続いて第33節に入る。

上から分かるように、一旦は節をまとめておきながらかなりの数の他文献に言及している。節終わりの文より前にある業報説明では、両親に孝養を尽くすことを主眼とした話が言及されているとまとめることができる (勿論、a)からf)のサブセクションにも後からの挿入であると思しきものもある)。他方、その後半では両親のみならず、世尊そして和尚・阿闍梨に対する帰依の問題を持ち込み、特に後者の重要性

を説くことをより明確に謳っている。最も象徴的なのは、第32節末にある次のような一節である。

yataḥ Bhagavān parinirvṛ(taḥ | tada)ntare yaḥ kaścīd abhivinito bhikṣu(r) vā bhikṣuṇī vā upāsako vā upasikā vā sarve te bhikṣubhir eva vinitāḥ | yaś ca yenābhīprasādītāḥ tasyācāryopādhyāś ca | [Lévi 64.3-13; A38r.4; B21r.2-3]

「世尊は般涅槃された。その後では、四衆は誰であれ、僧衆によって導かれたのである。そして彼らを入信させたものが和尚・阿闍梨なのである」

この部分は写本Bのみに残るが（写本Aではおそらく行を飛ばして筆写したために起きた脱落であろうと思われる）、出家、在家にとってという立場を問わず出家教団の優位性（或いは絶対性）を述べた部分である。中でも「世尊は般涅槃された」という、極めて異例な言及によって、世尊に代わる教団の権威付けをしようとしていることは注目されてよい。このことは逆に見れば、出家主義に立つ教団組織の存続に強い危機意識を持っていたことの現れではないかと思われる。後半部分で言及される多くが「他国で異熟する業」と直接の関係を持たないのであるが、おそらく元々の主題である外国に両親の許可を得ずに出掛けたことによる果報（Maitrāyāñā のアヴァダーナ）を説くことからの連想で、和尚・阿闍梨に許可を得ず出掛けることの禁止、従って和尚・阿闍梨が如何に重要であるかを説く形で多くの文献を挿入したのであろう。そこには出家主義の崩壊とも言える事情があったのではないかと推測される。そうした意識が第32節後半の世尊、和尚・阿闍梨の優位性・重要性を殊更に強調する内容を組み込んでいったのではないか。

また、第32節後半に見られる仏弟子による伝道活動の記述にも注目したい²⁷。西はアヴァンティ、北はカシュミール、東はプールヴァヴィデーハ、南はシンハラと、ほぼインド全域に活動した地方伝道の記述は、勿論許可無く他国へ赴いてなされたことではなく、主眼はあくまでそのような地方において改宗した人々にとっての和尚・阿闍梨の重要性を述べることにある。第32節の本来のテーマから外れるようなこの記述は先に見た「世尊は般涅槃された」云々という一節の直前にあることから、教団秩序への危機意識を反映しているようでもあり、更に想像を逞しくすれば出家主義の崩壊が局地的なものではなかったことを示唆しているようにも見える（尚、この部分はチベット訳には存在しない）²⁸。

部派仏教としてその勢力をかなり後代まで保持していたものが有部と正量部であるとの指摘を考えると²⁹、我々は上記のような教団秩序或いは出家主義への危機意識を思わせる記述が挿入されたことに特定部派（正量部？）による何らかの意図を感じざるを得ない。

さて、「一旦は節を終了しながら、更に記述が進む事例」二つが共に正量部との関係を予想させる結果となった。第61節の付加部分「胡麻・砂糖黍・牛乳から抽出

²⁷ KV のこの部分を取り上げた論文に次ぎがある、Cousin 2001: 163-64。それによると Sarvāstivādin の伝承を用いながら、Vibhajjavādin の仏弟子の伝道に関する伝承の或る部分を作り替えたものであるという(p. 164, 15-23)。パーリ文献にも仏弟子の伝道を記録するものがあるが、その人物群は勿論異なる: *Mahāvamsa*, ch. 12; *Dīpavamsa*, ch. 8; *Thūpavamsa*, ch. 6.

される汁の消失を語る部分」が正量部独特の思想を反映しているものであり、どうやら後から追加された部分であること、KVでは邪見業道がもたらす「外法の悪化」としての結果は「苦く鹹いものが生じてくる」であったが、有部系資料では邪見ではなく瞋恚業道の結果に配当されていて、他方有部系資料では「果実が無くなるか少なくなること」が邪見業道の結果として示されていること（これはKVでは瞋恚業道の結果である）が分かった。これらを考え合わせると、岡野が正量部とKVとの近親性を指摘した第二点、即ち邪見と三種の食物について組み合わせる記述は偶然のものではなくKVにおいて実は意図的に為されたものと考えることが出来る。つまり、正量部独特の思想を打ち出す為に、第九と第十の不善業道でもたらされる果報を入れ替えて邪見と苦い果実の結びつきを明らかにし、更に邪な思想が広まることによって三種の食物の「精髓」が失われていくという内容を加えたという可能性が高くなる。このような推定が許されるならば、一部分ではあるがテキストが段階的に拡大されていく過程で、そのテキスト形成もしくは改変に何らかの形で正量部（或いはその思想を知っていた者）が関わっていたと言えることになる。

3. KV写本の読みによる再考

この追加された部分が正量部伝承を受けているとしても、テキスト校訂上、若干の問題が指摘できる。Lévi 刊本の当該部分の写本Aではこの付加部分の冒頭は“Abhidharme uktaḥ” とあり、写本Bでは貝葉自体が一部欠損しているものの“mahāsamva + + + +” とある（ここでの欠損文字数は推定されたものなので、必ずしも決定的であるとは言えないが、多くても4から5文字であろう。本稿第1節に提示したテキストでは写本Aにある uktaḥ の分の文字数を引いて3文字分の欠損と

²⁸ 写本Bのみに言及される Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja については興味深い研究がある：Ray 1994: 151-162 を見よ。彼に依れば、この仏弟子は非ヴィナヤ文献では優れた苦行僧として見なされていた。ところがヴィナヤ文献では彼のそうした立場は徐々に卑小化され、更に後代の注釈文献では僧院主義 (monasticism) の立場から非難の対象とされてしまう。(ibid.: 160-61: “In fact, settled monasticism appears to be incorporating the charismatic forest saint into its own story but revealing considerable ambivalence in the process. Forest saints may be assimilated, we seem to be told, provided that their lifestyles and values are clearly subordinated to those of classical monasticism. That the stories of both Piṇḍola and Upagupta reveal the same dynamic suggests that the pattern of accepting but criticizing and punishing the forest saint is not an isolated phenomenon but a more general hermeneutical strategy employed by settled monasticism.”)

我々の KV では仏弟子の他国伝道は決してネガティブな文脈で語られているわけではない。むしろ、改宗したのものにとっての和尚・阿闍梨の権威付けを意図している。そうすると、KV のこの記述（写本Bのみの記述であるが）は Piṇḍola の伝道能力に限っての復権であったのであろうか。この部分は写本Bが唯一有する、写本Aには存在しない部分であり、両写本の間を見比べると非常に興味深いのであるが、Piṇḍola の扱いについては上記 Ray の考察を除いては、例えば部派的相違を示唆するような一次資料は未だ見出せていない。

²⁹ 並川 1985b: 770; 岡野 2002a: 231, note 11; 2003a: 102-3. 特に岡野は正量部所属可能性を指摘する一節の後注において KV § 62 に説かれる「四大仏跡巡礼による果報」を取り上げ、「中インドにある仏蹟地巡礼の功德を盛んに強調していることは、『中インドの主要仏蹟はほとんど正量部の独占的管理下にあった』と静谷正雄が指摘する（『小乗仏教の研究』、229頁）、正量部の主要仏蹟支配の歴史的事実と無関係ではないように思われる」と言う（2002a: 231, note 11）。

したが、この語が写本Bにあったと確定したわけではない。従って、後続し、現存する文章 bhaviṣyati samaye ... までの推定欠損文字数は5文字前後になる)。Lévi はチベット訳 (rnam par 'jig pa'i che 「或る特定の破壊の時代に」) に基づいて写本Bの読みを mahāsaṃvartakalpe と復元し、校訂テキストに入れてある³⁰。

しかしこの Lévi のテキストは写本Bの欠損文字数に対応していない。そして両者の読みを比較した場合、写本Aでは「このような理由で³¹『アビダルマ』に説かれている。未来世において(次のように)なるであろう」となるのに対して、写本Bでは Lévi の復元を採用すれば「これが原因となって『マハーサンヴァルタ劫』という未来世においては」となる。一方は文献に未来世のことが説かれていることを語っているのに対して、他方は出来事の起こる特定の時代を示しているという食い違いも出てくる。

現時点では、読みを確認出来る写本は二本しかなく、その両者が異なった読みを与えており、どちらかを選択するに際して、チベット訳に対応させることが一部可能な読みを残している写本Bの読みを採用することに校訂上一定の合理性はある³²。しかし写本Aの読みは単なる筆写ミスではありえず、明らかな異読として考慮すべきであると思う。この読みの違いは両写本の(もしあるとすれば)伝承の違いを反映したもののように思えるが、先に見たようにこの部分に部派的な差異が認められる以上、注意が必要である。勿論、部派に基づく伝承の違いと断定するには決定的に資料不足である。では、写本Aに見られる“abhidharma-”という語を如何に理解すべきか。

3.1 “abhidharma” という語について

KV には Abhidharme 云々と冠せられた文献の引用が複数回存在する。それらは既に並川によって論じられていて、その要旨は以下のようなものである(1984b, 1985a)。

この文献は異なった表記で4回引用されるが、それぞれAからCにラベル化して検討される³³。

(A) § 70. 94.7-15: yathā cōktam Abhidharme Cakravartisūtre. ...

(A') § 32. 59.21-60.5: yathā Cakravartisūtra uktam Bhagavatā. ...

(B) § 76. 103.6-12: yathoktam Abhidharme Cakravartisūtre. ...

(C) § 75. 102.1-5: yathā cōktam Abhidharme Cakravartisūtravibhaṅge.

³⁰ Lévi 1932: 80, fn. 4: “Sans doute il faut rétablir mahāsaṃvarta, d'accord avec 'T rnam par 'jig pa'i che <au temps de la destruction spéciale>”.

³¹ “anena kāraṇena” を「これが原因となって」と訳すことも可能であるが、「アビダルマにおいて説かれている」という文章の中では些か奇妙に聞こえる。

³² 岡野 2002a: note 7 は自身が発見した正量部文献の名が *Mahāsaṃvatanīkathā* であること、そしてそこに見られる内容がこの KV の一節に対応していることから、この“mahāsaṃva + + + +”を復元した Lévi の読み“mahāsaṃvartakalpe”という語が MSK という名を連想させると言う(但し、Lévi 刊本の註にある写本Aの読みには言及していない)。

³³ 尚、こうした題名上の問題点は実は Lévi 自身が註に記録している(但し、誤った読みも含まれている [Lévi 1932: 59, fn.2])。§ 75 の引用例に関する註では、他の引用と比較して両写本の読みを結合させて“Abhidharme Cakravartisūtravibhaṅga”とする、としている (ibid.: 102, fn.1)。

これらの引用は全て転輪聖王の七宝についての記述である。まず、(A), (B) が多少の相違点はあるものの漢訳とチベット訳の『施設論』との比較から「同系の伝承」であることを明らかにし(1985a: 5)、(A) と (A') は内容は相似するものの、出典表記が異なることから、「元来異なった文献である」(ibid.: 7)可能性を指摘する。そして (C) は先に比較対照した他文献には対応していないこと、題名に *-vibhaṅga* とあることから (A), (B) の注釈文献であると考えられる。

以上の点から、Cakravartīsūtra の名を冠する引用文がその注釈文献とされるものを含めて「各々別個の3種の文献であること」を指摘し(ibid.: 7)、推定であると断りながらも、これらを (A'): Cakravartīsūtra → {(A)/(B)}: abhidharma Cakravartīsūtra → (C): abhidharma Cakravartīsūtravibhaṅga の順に展開したものとす。

そして“abhidharme”という語を伴う句を如何に理解するかについては、KVU の奥書部分に見られる “*tasmād api Mahākarmavibhaṅgaḥ. gotrāntariyānām Abhidharmasamyuktesu*” という文章との関連性から次のように解釈する：

「MKV の所属部派も MKV 自体を abhidharmasamyukta に収めてはいないものの、矢張り、この如き形式³⁴を有していたのではないかと考えられるかもしれない。そうすれば、MKV 中に見られる abhidharme の用法とに関連性が見出せることになる。(中略) ここにおいて、abhidharme は abhidharmasamyukte と同一用法であると見做すことによって、その問題は解消されるのである。限られた少数の資料で論じる困難さは残るが、abhidharme とは abhidharmasamyukte の意味を有し、一種の蔵の如き形式を意味しているのではないかと考えたのである」(ibid: 11)。

以上、並川の論述を簡略にまとめてみた。それによると、KV を伝承した部派には「増広、改変した経典」を収める蔵如きものがあり、そこに収められていた何種類かの Cakravartīsūtra が KV に引用されていることになる。従って、この解釈を付加部分に見られる写本Aの abhidharme という語にかりそめに当てはめるならば、「(KV を伝承した部派の) アビダルマにおいて」と理解できることになる。そこに述べられている内容が岡野の指摘通り正量部特有のものであるならば、まさしく KV は正量部所属であると言えることになる。

3.2 KV 写本間の相違

しかし、問題はそうは簡単ではない。KV における abhidharma という語の用例は全て Lévi 校訂本の読みに従って考察されているが、原写本によって上記の用例と他の abhidharma という語を含む箇所を見てみよう。

(A'): Cakravartīsūtra.

A36v.2: Cakravartīsūtre.

B20r.1: Cakravartīsūtre.

(A): Abhidharme Cakravartīsūtre.

A55r.4: Abhidharmma Cakravartīsūtre.

B32r.6: + + varttīsūtre³⁵.

³⁴ 即ち「経蔵とは異なった、しかも教義書のみを蔵する論蔵とも異なった、或いは、相応せる一つの形式 abhidharmasamyukta が存在し」ていた可能性を想定している(1985a.: 10-11)。

³⁵ 写本はこの直前の語 *yathā cokaṃ* で5行目が終わり、6行目冒頭が欠けている。他の行の冒頭も同様に欠損していて、文字数は二文字である。

(B): Abhidharme Cakravartisūtre.

A59v.3: **Abhidha<r>me** Cakravarttisūtre. B35r.2: Cakravarttisūtre vibhaṅge.

(C): Abhidharme Cakravartisūtravibhaṅge.

A58v.5: **Abhidharme** Cakravarttisūtre³⁶. B34v.2: Cakravarttisūtre vibhaṅge.

KVU, Lévi 154-155; A62v.2: yathā uktaṃ Bhagavatā **Abhidharme** Bālakāṇḍasūtre |

KVU, colophon. Lévi 167.12-14; A77v.1-2: tasmād api mahākarmavibhaṅgaḥ | gotrāntariyānām **abhidharmakasa(m)yukteṣu** | mahāka(r)mmavibhaṅgo nānāḥ samāptaḥ ||

写本の読みを見ると、並川の分類では三種に分けられた Cakravartisūtra の題名の違いは実は Lévi による校訂の産物であることがはっきりする。写本Aは(A')の用例のみが Cakravartisūtra であって、他の三例は全て “Abhidharme Cakravartisūtre” であり、他方写本Bは(A')と(A)の用例が Cakravartisūtra で、(B) と (C)の用例は “Cakravartisūtre vibhaṅge” である。即ち、写本Aでは(A')のみが異なった文献名を有するが、他は全て同一名で引用されており、文献名によっては違いを明らかにすることが出来ない。また、写本Bに基づく限り、同系とされた(A), (B)は異なる文献名を持ち、「元来異なった文献である」とされた(A) と (A')は同一の名を持ち、更に本体と注釈の関係にあるとされた(B), (C)が同じ °vibhaṅga であることになる。両写本が同一の出典名を以て引用を行っているのは (A') の場合だけである。

文献名のばらつきをより細かく見ていくと、更に興味深い事実も出てくる。abhidharma- という語を用いているのは写本Aだけなのである。写本Bでは対応箇所にも一つも abhidharma という語を持たないばかりか、より正確に言えば、この写本には abhidharma という語は全く現れない。KVU は写本Aのみが伝えるテキストであるから、ここでの用例もまた写本Aの限定のものである。そして abhidharmakasamyukta という表現が現れるのも写本Aの奥書部分である。従って、文献について abhidharma- という表現を用いるのは写本Aだけの特徴であり、他方 vibhaṅga という語を付される文献名は写本Bのみにある。もしそれらの語のあるなしによって文献或いは伝承上の区別をしなければならぬとすれば、我々は二つの写本間にも引用文献同士にそうした区別があり得ることを念頭において置かねばならないことになる。

3.3 引用文献名の違い

一旦ここで視点を替えてみよう。二つの写本で引用する文献名が異なる事例はどれほどあるのか。写本AとBとを比較すると、同じ引用箇所でのその文献名が異なるケースというのは実は殆どない。その僅かな例は以下の三箇所である。

§ 1-c). Lévi 33.9-13; A12r.1-3; B7r.6-v.1.

A: yathā coktaṃ Bhagavatā Vaiśālyam [sa]Kalikāsūtre

B: yathā coktaṃ Bhagavatā Vaiśālyam Kā[ll]ikā ...

[経典名から推測すると Pāli AN, Kālakasutta; Ch. 『中阿含經』第94經「黒比丘經」に対応するようであるが、内容は合わない]

§ 2-a). Lévi 34.8; A12v.4-13v.3; B7v.5-6.

³⁶ Lévi はこの箇所での写本Aの読みを *Abhidharmasūtra* と注記しているが、誤りである (1932: 102, fn.1)。

A: tathā Śrāvakapratyekabrahmasūtram varṇṇayanti sma

B: yathā ca Pratyekabrahmasūtram varṇṇayanti

[Parallel: Pāli SN. Bakabrahmasutta; Ch. 『雑阿含經』第1195經「婆旬梵天經」；『別譯雜阿含經』第108經「婆迦梵經」³⁷]

§ 32-j). Lévi 63.2-64.3; A38r.2-3; B21r.1-2; D³⁸ line 1.

A: yathā cĀdivarddhaśatake sūtram

B: yathā cĀddhyarddhaśatake sūtre*

D: ... [cādivarddhasatake] sūtram

[Parallel: 見出せず]

§ 1-c) は対応文献が見当たらない。写本Aにある sa- はどうやら誤記であったと思われる。§ 2-a では対応経典から Bakabrahma- という人物名を経典名に含む文献を指していると考えられるが、両写本に含まれる pratyeka という語は内容的にもそれに相当するものがない。写本Aの śrāvaka- はおそらく {śrā}Baka- の誤記であろう。§ 32-j) の文献は全く分からない。いずれの例も引用・言及されている内容に両写本間で差異はない。

更に、両写本で出典表記が異なるものとして次の例がある。

§ 32-j). Lévi 60.15-61.5; A37r.4-v.1; B20r.6-v.2

A: yathā cokatam Bhagavatā sūtre |

B: yathā cokatam Bhagavatā ||

[Parallel: AN II.4; Ch. 『増一阿含經』第十一]

この例では写本Aのみが出典を「経典において」とするが、写本Bには sūtre という語が無い。内容に違いはない。

写本Aのみに存在する引用／言及文献は以下の二例である。それらは § 32-b) にあり、写本Bはこのサブセクションの最初の引用・言及を有しているものの写本Aにある二つの経典からの引用或いは言及を欠き、更に § 32-c) そのものを持たない。文章は § 32-b) の最初の引用・言及が終わって直ぐに § 32-d) に続いている。単なる欠落と考えると、およそ三行分に相当するので、誤写等の少ない写本としては受け入れにくい説明となる。しかし元々無かったものとするならば、両写本間に伝承上の違いを想定しなければならない。

Dhanamjayasūtre. § 32-b). Lévi 55.19-56.2; A33r.3-5; B missing.

A: yathā vajarājagrhe Dhanamjayasūtre.

Śīthālakasūtre. § 32-b). Lévi 56.2-5; A]33r.5-v.2; B missing.

A: yathā ca Śīthālakasūtre Bhagavatā uktam |

他方、写本Bのみに存在するという文献は見当たらない。記述の違いとして見出される限りでは以下のようなものだけである。

§ 32-j). Lévi 61.11-62.3; A37v.4-38r.1; B20v.4-5; Lévi 62.4-63.1; Ax; B20v.6.

前者は Madhyandinna (Majjhantika) によるカシュミール伝道について、写本Bは「そ

³⁷ 漢訳の経典名は、それぞれ経典に登場する中心人物から取ってある。共に Skt.=Pāli Bakabrahma に対応する。

³⁸ 写本Dについては工藤 2001 参照。

ここに精舎を建立し、今でもそこにある」との記述を有する。後者は仏弟子 Piṇḍolabharadvāja を挙げ、Pūrvavideha への伝道を記録する³⁹。

以上、両写本に見られる出典表記の違いを見てきた。引用文献そのものの内容が異なる例は存在しないが、文献名については、決定的ではないにしろ、両写本で異なる例が一部存在した。どちらか一方のみが有する引用例に関しては、筆写者のレベルで生じた違いと理解できるものもあり、必ずしも伝承の違いと考える必要は今の所ない。言い換えれば、両写本に伝承の違いがなくても生じたであろう異読或いは欠落と考えられることができる。無論、写本間に伝承の違いが確認できるならば、この事例もその伝承の違いを反映したものと見なされるかもしれない。ただ、現時点では内容的に相違を明確に出来るほどのものがない。

従って、Cakravartīsūtra 引用例のみが出典名について孤立した食い違いを示しており、偶々Aが或いはBが四箇所においてそのように異なって表記したと考えるには無理がある。やはりそこにはそれぞれの写本が持っていたであろう何らかの違いが残っているのではないだろうか。

3.4 伝承の違い？

Cakravartīsūtra に関する並川の分類は単に経典名のみ相違から行われたものではなく、内容的に対応する文献との比較対照からなされたものであるから、こうした写本での文献名の異読が直ぐにその結論を否定するものでないことは確かである。しかし Lévi 校訂本での出典名の相違が、一部であるとは言え、対応関係あるいは文献の違いを結論する論拠となっているとすれば、そのような指摘は一旦は白紙に戻して考える必要が出てくる。出典名に関する限り、並川の論考と写本の読みとが真っ向から対立するからである。そして Lévi は Cakravartīsūtra 関係の出典名を示すに際して基本的には写本Aに依っているが、(C) の用例だけは二写本の読みを混合して作られたものだからである。この「作られた」文献名は Lévi によれば、他文献との比較からなされたとのことであるが、それがどのようなものであったかについては全く記されていない⁴⁰。我々はあらためて写本の読みに従った理解を試みてみよう。

(A) と (A') の引用例は、実際後者の内容が多少の語句の異同があるとは言え、ほぼ全て前者の引用文の中に含まれる。

§ 32-j). = (A').

*kasya karmaṇo vipākato rājā cakravartīḥ bastiratnāny aśvaratnāni ca pratilabbate |
dīrgharātram rājā cakravartīḥ mātaram vā pitaram vā vahati vā vāhayati [B: vāhāpayati]
vā [B: pitaram vā svayam vā skandhe (vā vahati |)] hastyasvarathādibhir vāhayati |
ācāyopādhyāyān svayam vahati vā vāhayati vā | tasya karmaṇo vipākena rājā cakravartīḥ
hastyasvaratnāni pratilabbate |*

§ 70-a). = (A).

katamasya karmaṇo vipākena rājā cakravartīḥ hastyasvādīni vāhanāni pratilabbati [B:

³⁹ 前注28参照のこと。

⁴⁰ 前注33参照のこと。

pratilabhate] | dirgharātram rājā cakravartī mātaram vā pitarām vā upādhyāyam vā skandena vahati vā vāhayati [B: vāhāpayati] vā | hastyaśvādibhiḥ śivikānair vahati vāhayati vā | durgasamkramam vā karoti | santārya eva vā [B: setubandham] karoti | upānahadānāni vā dadāti | kāruṇyena mahāṭavyām sārtham vā [B: sārthayāti°] atikrāmayati | tasya karmavipākena [B: karmaṇo vipākena] rājā cakravartī hastyaśvādīni pratilabbati | yatrārūḍhaḥ samudraparyantam pṛthivīm divasacaturbhāgena paryatati |

もし両者が同一文献名の下に引用されているならば、(A') が (A) からの抜粋引用であると結論することは容易い。内容的にはよく似ているからである。しかし、それらの出典名が異なっている場合には、伝承に違いを認める、即ち (A') から (A) への増広を想定し、伝承上異なった文献と考えるのも順当であろう。前者のケースが写本B、後者が写本Aのケースである。つまり、いずれの写本の読みを採用するかによって議論が変わってくる。更に、(A') は両写本とも同一の Cakravartisūtra という名の下に引用されているから、問題は写本Aの abhidharma という語の解釈次第となる。

引用例(A), (B)の間には、写本Bが vibhaṅga という語を有していて、他方写本Aは同一の文献とする。この場合、二つの写本がそれぞれ異なった典拠から文献を引用していると確認されるならば、写本Bの方を「vibhaṅga に引用されている Cakravartisūtra の一部分」が引用されたと考えることによって、同じ引用文であるのに出典名が異なることを解消できる。(B)-(C)間も、上記と同様の関係で理解することが出来る。

しかし、同じテキストの異なる写本が同じ箇所をそれぞれ別の典拠（別の文献名をもつもの）から引いてきたという想定が可能であろうか。前節で見たように、二つの写本が異なった文献名で引用を有する箇所は殆どないが、決してありえないわけではないことが確認されている。内容的には対応するにも拘わらず Pāli や漢訳とも文献名が異なるケースもあった。そうした事例を考えると、我々は二つの写本では同一の内容を持つが異なった名前でも知られていた（或いは異なった位置づけにある）文献がそれぞれが言及されていると推定しなければならない。勿論、両写本とも筆写の段階で個別に他文献を参照し、そこから文章を引用したわけではなかろう（もしそうであれば、我々の写本はテキストが拡大していく過程の証拠そのものになる。それはあり得ない）。つまり、特定の文献に関して二つの違った保持の仕方がされていた可能性がある。この可能性は写本Aだけが abhidharma という語を用いて文献を引用することでより高いものとなる。

3.1 で並川の考察に基づいて abhidharma という語が KV を保持していた部派に保持されていた「蔵」のようなものを指す可能性について見た。彼の指摘は複数の Cakravartisūtra が存在したであろうことを前提としたものではあるが、彼が言うように「部派仏教のサンスクリット文献中に、「アピダルマ経」なる用例が見出せるのは」KV と KVU だけであり、「その他の文献にはこのような用例を見出すことはできない」のであるから⁴¹、依然としてその指摘は有効である。写本Aのみがその語を用いているという事実は、そこに伝承という視点が否応なく持ち込まれることを示唆している。それ故、我々は写本間に何らかの伝承の差異を認めなければなら

⁴¹ 並川 1985a: 2.

ない。

長々とこの問題を扱ってきたが、実は現時点で並川による結論、即ち順次展開した三種の Cakravartisūtra の存在を完全に肯定するなり否定するだけの論拠は持ち合わせていない。写本の読みを無批判に受け入れるわけではないが、一方の写本だけが特殊な語を用いていることと誤記とは判断出来ない形での読みを残していることを考慮すると、先ず写本の読みに従った解釈を提示する必要があると思う。写本間に伝承の違いを認めるとすれば、その限りにおいて、次のような説明をすることも出来る。即ち、それら全てが同一の文献からの引用であるが、伝承の異なる写本によって出典名が食い違っていて、他の漢訳やチベット文献との対応関係の相違は引用元の文献そのものが、おそらくは部派的な相違に基づいた違いを有していた為に生じたものである。いずれにせよ、サンスクリット本が存在しない資料からの引用である以上、引用元であるかどうかに関わらず、そのテキストの原文が回収されない状態では、可能性を指摘する以上の断定を避けたい。

この文献だけのことではないが、KV での全ての引用文献をパラレル文献と照合した限りでは、原文そのものを引用していると確認された例は、韻文を除くと、実は存在しない。確かに KV には引用であると示されているが、その中身が忠実な引用であるのか取意の引用であるのか、原文が存在しない限りどちらとも判断は出来ないのである。パラレルとなる文献の存在によって我々は KV の持つ多くの特徴を見出すことが出来る。しかし引用・言及内容がパラレル文献と相違していることの方が多いためである。直接の借用関係が確認できない限りは、おそらくは保持していた文献（そしてそこから引用され或いは言及された内容）が現存しているパラレル文献とは異なっていたと考えるしかない。

4. まとめ

現在、入手可能な資料から導き出される結論は、それ自体仮説の域を出るものではない。A、B二写本を再読する中で得られた、両者の関係について、極めて消極的な推定ながら、現時点では二つの写本が異なったレベルにあったものと考えている。それは部派的な伝承の違いということではなく（その可能性も全くゼロではないが、その点を裏付ける他文献からの証拠はない）、むしろ伝承上の時期の違い（より特化して言えば、引用・言及文献が挿入され、更にそこに改変が施された時期の違い）に由来するものではないかということである。先に見た Cakravartisūtra の出典名の相違は、KV のテキストが徐々に改変されていく過程で生じたものと言えるかもしれない。写本Aには筆写年代が奥書に残されているが、それによるとネワール暦531年（西暦1410-11年）である。写本Bには奥書が残っていないので、年代がわからないが用いられている文字或いは数字からしてそれよりも古い時期の形が見出せる。勿論、両者にどちらかが他方を写したというような直接的な筆写上の関係はなかったであろう。

並川、岡野両博士による研究によって KV について、特にその所属部派について有力な説が立てられている。その証拠となった KV の一節をここで検討したが、正

量部への帰属が判明している資料とパラレルになっている部分が後からの付加であること、そして別の節で同様に付加された部分にも部派的な相違を窺わせる記述もあることが分かった。サンスクリット本『カルマ・ヴィバंगा』は拡大・展開していく過程で異なる部派によってその構成や内容を変えていったのではないかと考えている。テキストの元になる二写本にさえ、その違いをより詳細に検討すれば、伝承の違いを反映していると思われる箇所が見出せる。現在、写本研究の作業仮説として筆者が想定している「鸚鵡経類」発展の過程は以下のようなものである（各類に属する文献同士の関係は別に論じる）。繰り返すが、あくまでも作業仮説に過ぎない。KV 中の引用・言及文献と部派帰属の判明している、より広範な資料との照合が必要である。

「鸚鵡経類」第一類

これらはパーリ・テキストと漢訳4本からなる。説かれる業報は14項目であった。おそらくは簡単な導入の話があったものと思われるが、それが次第に発展して現在見られるようなシュッカ・タウデーヤプトラの因縁譚へと変わっていった（Pali テキスト参照）。業報項目は次第に整備され、ある時期から各項目の業報をもたらず業の数が十種へと揃えられる。この点は中央アジア出土のヘルンレ・コレクションに含まれる二葉の『シュッカ・ストラ』断片で確認できる。この段階ではサンスクリット本 KV に見られるような他文献の引用は一切なかった。

「鸚鵡経類」第二類

業報項目の増加と引用文献の挿入。項目の増加については、但し、順に加えられていったのではないが、少なくとも十不善業道を扱う節の前まで、そして第61節までがある段階で付加され、その後第62節以降が加えられたと思われる。この点は *uddeśa* の記述から確認できる。そして別途に他文献を引用することが行われる。或る程度の時期までに節の数が増やされ、その後引用文献が加えられたというように、構成上の前後関係を想定するのは写本Cの存在があるからである。この写本は第62節以降の後半部分を有しているが、一切他文献に言及せず、業報項目（というよりは布施の果報）だけを十種ずつ列挙していく。つまり、後半部分を持ちながら他文献の引用が存在しない『カルマ・ヴィバंगा』がかつてはあったのである。しかもこの写本は引用文献を多数有する KV とは業報項目の順序やその内容で異なっている。このことは引用を含む伝承と含まない伝承に分かれたことを意味し、含む方の伝承は順序・内容にかなりの改編を受けたものと想像される。写本Cのようなテキストから引用を含む伝承が出たとも考えることもできるが、写本Cが引用を含む写本Bと共に或る程度の期間伝承されていたことが分かっているので、二つの伝承は共存していたと考える。含まない方の伝承は写本Cであるが Tib3 も同系になる。漢訳二本と Tib2 も引用を含まないという点でこちらに属すると思われる。私はこの系統が KV より前の段階にあった（おそらくは有部系?）『カルマ・ヴィバंगा』ではないかと想定している。写本自体はネパール写本の断片しかないが、有部系が証明できる中央アジア写本が存在するのではないかと期待している。尚、コータン語或いはクチャ語等の中央アジア言語のテキストも引用を含まない伝承に

位置づけられる。

他方、引用を含む方の伝承は現在の KV である。かなりの意図的な改編を経ていて、おそらくこれが部派的な違いを反映したものになる。正量部の思想との密接な関係を示す一節を含んでおり、これを正量部版『カルマ・ヴィバング』と呼べるかもしれない。この系統には Tib1 が入る。部派による複数の伝承がいつの時点から存在したのか、引用を含むものとそうでないものがいつ頃分かれたかについては全く分からない。

Bibliography and Abbreviations

[Sanskrit Text]:

KV. (= MKV.) and KVU.: *Mahākarmavibhaṅga (La Grande Classification des Actes) et Karma-vibhaṅgopadeśa (Discussion sur le Mahā Karmavibhaṅga), textes sanscrits rapportés du Nepal, édités et traduits avec les textes parallèles en sanscrit, en pali en tibétan, en chinois et en kutchéen*, Sylvain Lévi, Paris, 1932.

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Appendix:
Comparative Table of Sections of the Tibetan Kanjurs

Tib1:

- D: Derge No. 338 (Taipei ed. vol. 15).
 N: Narthang No. 323 (IASWR Microfiche. vol. 72, LMpj026.072, 22-24/25).
 Q: Peking No. 1005 (TTP, vol. 39).
 H: Lhasa No. 344 (vol. 72, mdo, la(26), [IASWR Microfiche, LMpj022.072]).

Tib2:

- D: Derge, No. 339 *Las kyi rnam par 'gyur ba zhes bya ba'i chos kyi gzhan*, (Taipei, vol. 15).
 N: Narthang, No. 324 *Las kyi rnam par 'gyur ba zhes bya ba'i chos kyi gzhang bam po gcig* (Vol. 72, 464a6-481a6 [927-962]) [= IASWR Microfiche. LMpj022.072], 24-25/25].
 Q: Peking, No. 1006 *Las kyi rnam par 'gyur ba zhes bya ba'i chos kyi gzhan*, TTP, vol. 39.
 L: London Manuscript Kanjur, Or. 6724 *Las kyi rnam par 'gyur ba zhes bya ba'i chos kyi gzhan* (mDo, Chi, Vol. 36, 136b4-151a8) [= Microfiche 25D-27F/63, uin 3788-3790].
 S: sTog Palace Kanjur, No. 298 *Las kyi rnam par 'gyur ba zhes bya ba'i chos kyi gzhang bam po gcig* (Vol. 87 [= IASWR Microfiche. LMpj014.308, 7-8/17]).
 H: Lhasa, No. 345 *Las kyi rnam par 'gyur ba'i mdo bam po gcig dang sblau ka nyis brgya bdun cu pa* (vol. 72, mdo, la(26), 490b5-510a2 [IASWR Microfiche, LMpj022.072]).

Tib3:

- L: London Manuscript Kanjur, Or. 6724 (mDo, Ci, Vol. 35, [= Microfiche 52B-56C/68, uin. 3747-3751].
 S: sTog Palace Kanjur No. 287, (Vol. 86, [= IASWR Microfiche, LMpj014.307, 15-16/20]).
 F: Phug brag No. 186 \$870 (Vol. 71, Tsha, [= IASWR Microfiche, LMpj016.870, 25F-30A/25])
 F2: Phug brag No. 404 \$896 (Vol. 97, Na, [= IASWR Microfiche, LMpj016.896, 56F-60D/64]).
 N: Narthang No. 784 (783?) (vol. 102, 130a1-157b7 [= IASWR Microfiche. kha-skong, LMpj 020.000, 23-28/56]).
 H: Lhasa No. 343 (vol. 72, mdo, la(26), [IASWR Microfiche, LMpj022.072]).

Skt	§ 51	§ 52	§ 53	§ 54	§ 55	§ 56	§ 57	§ 58	§ 59	§ 60	§ 61
D	582.4	582.4	582.5	582.6	582.7	583.1	583.2	583.3	583.4	583.5	583.6
N	454b5	454b7	454b7	455a2	455a3	455a4	455a5	455a6	455b1	455b2	455b3
Q	303a1	303a2	303a3	303a4	303a6	303a7	303a8	303b1	303b2	303b3	303b4
H	478b7	479a2	479a3	479a5	479a7	479b1	479b2	479b4	479b5	479b7	480a1
D	611.7	611.7	612.1	612.1	612.1	612.2	—	612.2	612.3	612.3	612.4
N	475a3	475a4	475a4	475a5	475a5	475a6	—	475a7	475a7	475b1	475b1
Q	318a7	318a7	318a7	318a8	318a8	318b1	—	318b1	318b2	318b2	318b3
L	146a6	146a7	146a7	146a8	146a8	146b1	—	146b2	146b3	146b3	146b3
S	318.2	318.2	318.3	318.3	318.4	318.4	—	318.5	318.6	318.6	318.7
H	503a2	503a2	503a3	503a3	503a4	503a5	—	503a6	503a7	503a7	503b1
L	315b1	315b1	315b2	315b3	315b4	315b4	315b5	315b6	315b7	315b7	315b8
S	748.7	749.1	749.1	749.2	749.3	749.3	749.4	749.5	749.6	749.6	749.7
F	173b1	173b1	173b2	173b2	173b3	173b4	173b5	173b6	173b6	173b7	173b8
F2	347a8	347a8	347b1	347b2	347b3	347b3	347b4	347b5	347b6	347b7	347b7
N	146b5	146b6	146b6	146b7	147a1	147a1	147a2	147a3	147a4	147a5	147a5
H	444a5	444a6	444a7	444a7	444b1	444b2	444b2	444b3	444b4	444b5	444b5

Collated Text of Three Versions of the Tibetan Translations corresponding to the *Karmavibhaṅga* §§ 51-61

Here is a tentatively collated text of three versions of the Tibetan *Karmavibhaṅga* corresponding to §§ 51-61 of the Sanskrit *KV*. All discrepancies in the text, whether scribal errors or a variant reading, are noted; therefore the following text is not critically prepared. Since my study on the Tibetan *KV* is in progress and the relevant materials are not all yet collated, this text will be revised in near future in the form of a critical edition of the whole text.

Section numbers of Tib1 and Tib2 follow Lévi 1932 (see Tableau Comparatif, p. 16); numbers of Tib3 are given by me, which correspond to those of the Sanskrit *KV*.

§ 51 “Results of the ten evil courses of action appearing in the external things”

Tib1, Lévi-LI: (D582.4) mi (H479a1) dge ba'i las kyi lam bcu ste | bcu gang zhe na | (N454b6) lus kyi las rnam gsum dang |¹ ngag gi las rnam bzhi dang | yid (Q303a2) kyi las rnam gsum ste | (H479a2) mi dge ba'i las kyi lam bcu po 'di dag gi rnam par smin pas phyi rol gyi dngos po bcu rgud par (N454b7) 'gyur te |

Tib2, Lévi-LII: ji ltar mi dge ba (L146a7) bcu'i las byas pa'i rgyus |² phyi rol gyi yul sa rnam ngan du 'ong bar (N475a4) 'gyur³ yin zhe na |

Tib3, 051: (F173b1) de la mi dge⁴ bcu'i las kyi lam 'di (H444a6) dag⁵ yang dag (N146b6) par blangs⁶ pa'i rgyus |⁷ phyi rol gyi dngos po bcu rgud par snang ba gang zhe na |

§ 52 “Results of killing living beings”

Tib1, Lévi-LII: srog gcod (D582.5) pa mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pa⁸ (H479a3) sa'i mdangs dang (Q303a3) gzi byin nub par 'gyuro⁹ || las de nyid kyi rnam par smin pas tshe thung bar 'gyuro¹⁰ ||

Tib2, Lévi-LIII: srog bcad¹¹ (H503a2) na de'i (D612.1) lan gyi¹² sa'i mdog (S318.3) nyams par 'ongo¹³ ||

Tib3, 052: (S749.1) srog (L315b2) gcod¹⁴ pa'i (F2.147b1) rnam par smin pas ni |¹⁵ sa'i mthu yong¹⁶ (F173b2) su¹⁷ nyams par 'gyur (H444a7) ro ||

§ 53 “Results of taking away people's things without their consent”

Tib1, Lévi-LIII: ma byin par len pa mi dge ba'i (N455a1) las kyi rnam par smin pas | (H479a4) sa la ser ba¹⁸ bya dang¹⁹ pa lang dang²⁰ byi la dang²¹ srin bu²² (Q303a4) la²³ (D582.6) sogs pa lo thog la za ba rnam 'byungo²⁴ || las de nyid kyi rnam par smin pa las²⁵ long²⁶ spyod (H479a5) 'khyan²⁷ (N455a2) par 'gyuro²⁸ ||

Tib2, Lévi-LIV: ma byin bar blangs na²⁹ (Q318a8) de'i las kyi³⁰ ser (L146a8) ba dang |³¹ bye ba dang |³² byi ba dang | srin mang du 'ong bar 'gyuro³³ ||

Tib3, 053: ma byin par len (N146b7) pa'i rnam par smin pas ni | ser³⁴ ba dang | byed³⁵ ba³⁶ dang | (S749.2) srid ba³⁷ dang | mu ge la sogs (F2.147b2; L315b3) pa 'byung³⁸ bar 'gyur ro ||

§ 54 “Results of sexual misconduct”

Tib1, Lévi-LIV: 'dod pa la log par g-yem pa mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pas |³⁹ sa la rtswa (Q303a5) dri nga ba dang⁴⁰ nags tshal dri nga ba dag skye bar 'gyuro⁴¹ (H479a6) || (D582.7) las de nyid kyi rnam par smin pas lo legs pa'i (N455a3) khyim na gnas pa'i rtog pa brjod pa |⁴² kaśi rgyal po dga' bas lha 'ongs pa la |⁴³ nag po 'char ldan gyis (H479a7; Q303a6) tshe rabs snga⁴⁴ ma'i rtogs pa brjod pa smos pa rnam bya'o ||

- Tib2, Lévi-LV:** (N475a5) mi tshangs par (H503a4) spyod pa byas pas |⁴⁵ de'i las kyi khug rna (S318.4) dang | rlung dang |⁴⁶ rdul dang⁴⁷ rdul⁴⁸ chen po 'ong ba'i sar skye'o ||
- Tib3, 054:** 'dod pa la (F173b3) log par g-yem pa'i (H444b1) rnam par smin pas ni | mtsa'⁴⁹ dang | (N147a1) sa⁵⁰ 'bab pa dang | rdul dang | rlung dang | char drag⁵¹ po 'byung (F2.147b3; 5749.3) bar 'gyur ro ||

§ 55 “Results of false speech”

- Tib1, Lévi-LV:** brjun⁵² smra ba⁵³ mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par⁵⁴ (N455a4) smin (D583.1) pas⁵⁵ kha na ba dang⁵⁶ lkog⁵⁷ ma na ba dang⁵⁸ kha mnam pa la (H479b1) sogs par 'gyuro⁵⁹ || las de nyid kyi rnam par (Q303a7) smin pas |⁶⁰ [par 'gyur⁶¹] mi bden pas bslus par 'gyur ba'o ||
- Tib2, Lévi-LVI:** brjun⁶² mang du (D612.2) byas pa'i (L146b1) las kyi (Q318b1) 'bras bu ni⁶³ khar⁶⁴ mnam por (H503a5) 'gyur ba |⁶⁵ (N475a6) dbugs⁶⁶ mi⁶⁷ zhim par 'ong ngo ||
- Tib3, 055:** (L315b4) brjun⁶⁸ du smra ba'i rnam par smin pas (F173b4) ni |⁶⁹ dri mi zhem⁷⁰ par 'gyur ro ||

§ 56 “Results of being double-tongued”

- Tib1, Lévi-LVI:** phra ma zer ba'i mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par (N455a5) smin pas |⁷¹ sa la gseg (H479b2) ma dang⁷² gyo mo la sogs pa (D583.2) reg na mi bde ba rnam 'byungo⁷³ || las de nyid kyi rnam (Q303a8) par smin pas |⁷⁴ g-yog 'khor dbyer rung bar 'gyuro⁷⁵ ||
- Tib2, Lévi-LVII:** phra ma mang du byas pa'i (S318.5) kyi 'bras bu ni |⁷⁶ yul mtho⁷⁷ dman⁷⁸ can dang |⁷⁹ lchang lcong⁸⁰ dang |⁸¹ mi gtsang ba dang |⁸² na rkong⁸³ (H503a6) dang |⁸⁴ (L146b2) rdo ba gram khrod can gyi yul du skye'o ||⁸⁵
- Tib3, 056:** (H444b2) phra (N147a2) ma'i⁸⁶ rnam par smin pas ni |⁸⁷ mthon⁸⁸ dman⁸⁹ | dma⁹⁰ grogs⁹¹ dang | 'dma (F2.147b4) rdzab dang | g-yangs⁹² dang | (S749.4) ljag ljig⁹³ dang | (L315b5) ngan skyags⁹⁴ kyi (F173b5) ljan ljin⁹⁵ 'byung bar 'gyur ro ||

§ 57 “Results of abusive speech”

- Tib1, Lévi-LVII:** tshig rtsub po mi dge ba'i (H479b3) las kyi rnam par (N455a6) smin pas |⁹⁶ sa la rdul dang⁹⁷ nyal nyil gyi rlung ldang zhing char chen po la sogs pa 'babo⁹⁸ || las (Lévi205) de nyid kyi (D583.3) rnam (Q303b1) par smin pas |⁹⁹ yi¹⁰⁰ du mi¹⁰¹ 'ong ba'i sgra (H479b4) thos ba na¹⁰² yi¹⁰³ du mi 'ong ba mthong bar 'gyuro¹⁰⁴ ||
- Tib2, Lévi-LVIII:**
- Tib3, 057:** dga rtsub (H444b3; N147a3) pa'i¹⁰⁵ rnam par smin pas ni | 'bras bu ngan pa dang | (F2.147b5) reg du¹⁰⁶ mi bzod¹⁰⁷ ba¹⁰⁸ dang | gseg¹⁰⁹ ma dang¹¹⁰ | gyo mo¹¹¹ dang | (S749.5; L315b6) tsher¹¹² ma tshang tshing (F173b6) dag¹¹³ 'byung bar 'gyur ro ||

§ 58 “Results of ornate speech”

- Tib1, Lévi-LVIII:** tshig (N455a7) kyal par smra ba mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pas | sa mtho¹¹⁴ dman dang¹¹⁵ sman ljongs dang |¹¹⁶ ngam grog dang (H479b5) g-yangs (Q303b2) la sogs pa 'gyuro¹¹⁷ || las de (D583.4) nyid kyi rnam par smin pas |¹¹⁸ tshig mi btsun ba¹¹⁹ (N455b1) 'gyuro¹²⁰ ||
- Tib2, Lévi-LIX:** (N475a7) kha khyal ba¹²¹ (Q318b2) byas pa'i las (D612.3) kyi 'bras bu ni |¹²² grog po (S318.6) mang pa¹²³ rtsi¹²⁴ shing dang |¹²⁵ yal ga dang |¹²⁶ 'dba¹²⁷ ['dab?] ma tsher ma can dang | (H503a7) nags tshang tshing can gyi yul du skye'o ||
- Tib3, 058:** tshig¹²⁸ kyal¹²⁹ ba'i¹³⁰ rnam par (H444b4; N147a4) smin pas ni |¹³¹ rtsa¹³² tshang tshang¹³³ dang | nags (F2.147b6) thibs po dang¹³⁴ | 'khri shing¹³⁵ tshar¹³⁶ ma¹³⁷ tshang

tshing can¹³⁸ dag¹³⁹ 'byung (L315b7) bar 'gyur ro ||

§ 59 “Results of greed”

Tib1, Lévi-LIX: chags sems mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pas |¹⁴⁰ 'bras (H479b6) dang¹⁴¹ nas dang¹⁴² gro la sogs pa'i 'bras bu nyung zhing gra ma (Q303b3) dang¹⁴³ spu bu¹⁴⁴ la sogs pa'i skyon mang bar 'gyuro¹⁴⁵ || las de nyid kyi rnam par smin (D583.5; N455b2) pas |¹⁴⁶ longs spyod (H479b7) gzhan gyis khyer bar 'gyuro¹⁴⁷ ||

Tib2, Lévi-LX: (L146b3) brkam bar byed¹⁴⁸ pa'i 'bras (N475b1) bu ni |¹⁴⁹ 'bru 'bras¹⁵⁰ ci yang¹⁵¹ phra mor¹⁵² 'ong ngo ||

Tib3, 059: (S749.6) brnab¹⁵³ (F173b7) sems kyi¹⁵⁴ rnam par smin pas ni | lo¹⁵⁵ tog la¹⁵⁶ (H444b5; N1474a5) sogs¹⁵⁷ pa 'bras bu nyung du 'byung¹⁵⁸ bar (F2.147b7) 'gyur ro ||

§ 60 “Results of being malicious”

Tib1, Lévi-LX: gnod sems pa¹⁵⁹ mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pas |¹⁶⁰ lo gtang¹⁶¹ dang¹⁶² 'bras (Q303b4) bu dang¹⁶³ sa bon tsha ba dang¹⁶⁴ kha ba 'byung bar 'gyuro¹⁶⁵ || (H480a1) las de nyid kyi rnam par (N455b3) smin pas |¹⁶⁶ mthong na mi sdug par 'gyuro¹⁶⁷ ||

Tib2, Lévi-LXI: khro ba (S318.7) byas pa'i lan gyis¹⁶⁸ |¹⁶⁹ sa bon 'bras (Q318b3) bu tsa ba dang | (H503b1) skyur ba dang |¹⁷⁰ kha bar 'ong ngo¹⁷¹ ||

Tib3, 060: gnod sems kyi rnam par smin pas ni | 'bras bu dang | (F173b8) sa (L315b8) bon tsha ba dang | kha (S749.7) ba 'byung bar 'gyur ro ||

§ 61 “Results of false views”

Tib1, Lévi-LXI: (D583.6) log par lta ba mi dge ba'i las kyi rnam par smin pas |¹⁷² 'bras bu med pa (H480a2) dang¹⁷³ chung ba dang¹⁷⁴ (Q303b5) dug dang rku¹⁷⁵ ba la sogs pa 'byung bar 'gyuro¹⁷⁶ || las de nyid kyi rnam (N455b4) par smin pas | med par smra pa¹⁷⁷ dang¹⁷⁸ chad par lta zhing 'jig rten rgyad pan pa'i (H480a3) gtsug lag la sogs pa (D583.7) la dad par 'gyuro¹⁷⁹ ||

mi dge (Q303b6) ba'i las kyi lam 'di bcu¹⁸⁰ ji ltar bsgoms pa de lta de (N455b5) ltar rab tu 'phel bar 'gyur te | de'i phyir rnam par (H480a4) 'jig pa'i tshe | til yod kyang til mar mi 'byung¹⁸¹ bu ram shing yod kyang bu ram mi 'byung | bu ram (Q303b7) yod kyang hwags dang¹⁸² khar (D584.1) mi 'byung | ba¹⁸³ yod kyang 'o ma mi 'byung | (H480a5) 'o ma yod kyang mar mi 'byung |

de ltar mi dge ba bcu'i las kyi rnam par smin pas | phyi rol gyi dngos po rnam rgud par 'gyuro¹⁸⁴ ||

Tib2, Lévi-LXII: (D612.4) log par bltas¹⁸⁵ pa dang |¹⁸⁶ byed du bcug pa'i (L146b4) las kyi rgyus ni |¹⁸⁷ sa bon (N475b2) dang 'bras bu chung zhing ngan bar¹⁸⁸ (S319.1) 'ong ngo || 'di ltar mi dge ba bcu'i las byas (H503b2) pas |¹⁸⁹ phyi¹⁹⁰ rol gyi yul sa rnam ngan bar¹⁹¹ 'gyur zhing (Q318b4) mi dge¹⁹² ba'i gnasu¹⁹³ skye bar¹⁹⁴ 'gyuro¹⁹⁵ || bcom (L146b5) ldan 'das (N475b3) kyi yang¹⁹⁶ (S319.2) bka' stsal pa |

Tib3, 061: log par lta bar¹⁹⁷ (H444b6; N147a6) yang dag par blangs (F2.147b8) pa'i rgyus ni¹⁹⁸ |¹⁹⁹ 'bras bu²⁰⁰ med pa dang |²⁰¹ nyung ba'i sa bon²⁰² 'byung bar (F174a1) 'gyur te²⁰³ | mi dge ba bcu'i²⁰⁴ las (L316a1) kyi lam²⁰⁵ 'di dag²⁰⁶ yang dag (S750.1) par blangs pa'i rgyus |²⁰⁷ (H444b7) phyi (N147a7) rol gyi dngos po bcu rgud par snang ngo ||

- 1 D omits.
 2 D, S: l; H, N, Q omit l.
 3 D, L: 'gyur; H, N, S, Q: 'gyur ba.
 4 F, F2, H add: ba.
 5 F omits 'di dag; F2 omits: dag.
 6 F2: slangs.
 7 F2, S omit.
 8 D, H, Q: pas.
 9 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 10 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 11 D, L, S: bcad; H, N: gcad; Q: bcod.
 12 L: lan gyi; D, S: lan gyis; H, N, Q: las kyis.
 13 L: 'onggo; D, H, N, Q, S: 'ong ngo.
 14 F2: bcod.
 15 H omits.
 16 H, N: yongs.
 17 F2: yongsu.
 18 D, Q add: dang; H adds: dang l.
 19 H adds: l.
 20 H adds: l.
 21 H adds: l.
 22 Q adds: dang.
 23 Q: las.
 24 D, H, Q: 'byung ngo.
 25 Q: pas.
 26 D, Q: i.
 27 D, H: 'khyam; Q: 'khyams.
 28 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 29 D, L, S: na; H, N, Q: pa.
 30 D, L, S: lan gyis; H, N, Q: las kyis.
 31 Q omits.
 32 Q omits.
 33 N: 'gyuro: D, L, Q, S: 'gyur ro.
 34 F: sor.
 35 F2, H, S: byi; N: bye.
 36 F: pa.
 37 F, F2: srin bu; H, N, S: srin.
 38 F: <<'>>byung.
 39 Q omits l
 40 H adds: l.
 41 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 42 D omits: l
 43 D omits: l
 44 Q: lnga.
 45 D, L, S: l; H, N, Q omit: l.
 46 L, S: l; D, N, Q omit: l.
 47 H adds: l.
 48 S, L omit: rdul dang.
 49 F, H: mtsa <<'>>; F2: tsa ba; N: mtsa.
 50 F2: ser.
 51 F2: grag.
 52 H: rjun.
 53 D, H, Q: ba'i.
 54 D, Q: mam par; N: mar.
 55 H: pa la.
 56 H adds: l.
 57 Q: kog.
 58 H adds: l.
 59 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 60 D omits: l
 61 Lévi reads; D, H, N, Q omit: par 'gyur.
 62 H: rjun.
 63 S adds: l.
 64 H: kha.
 65 H omits.
 66 D, H, N, Q: dbugs; L, S: lbugs.
 67 S: ma.
 68 F, F2: rdzun.
 69 F2 omits.
 70 F, F2, H, N, S: zhim.
 71 H omits.
 72 H adds: l.
 73 D, H, Q: 'byung ngo.
 74 H, Q omit: l.
 75 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 76 L: l; D, H, N, S, Q omit.
 77 D, H, N, S: mtho; L, Q: mthon.
 78 Q: sman.
 79 Q omits.
 80 D, H, N: lcong can; Q: long can; L, S: lcong.
 81 Q omits.
 82 Q omits.
 83 S adds: pa.
 84 Q omits.
 85 N: l.
 86 F: mo'i.
 87 F omits.
 88 F: thon; F2, H, S: mtho; N: mtho..
 89 F, H, N, S add: dang; F2: dma' dang.
 90 F: ngan; S: ngma (error for dma?).
 91 F: 'gro; F2: 'grog; H, N, S: grog.
 92 F, H, S: g-yang sa.
 93 F, F2: lcag lcig.
 94 F, H: skyugs; F2: skyes.
 95 F2: adds: dang.
 96 D, H, Q omit: l.
 97 H adds: l.
 98 D, H, Q: 'bab bo.
 99 H omits.
 100 D, H, Q: yid.
 101 D, Q: du mi.
 102 H: dang l
 103 D, Q: yid.
 104 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 105 F: po'i; F2: mo'i.
 106 F, F2, H, N, S: tu.
 107 F: brjod.
 108 F2: pa.

- 109 F: *bseg*.
 110 F2 omits: *dang l*.
 111 F2: *mog*.
 112 F: *tshe*.
 113 F2 adds: *tu*.
 114 Q: *mthon*.
 115 D, H add: *l*.
 116 H omits.
 117 D, Q: 'gyur ro; H: 'byung ngo.
 118 H omits.
 119 D, Q: *bar*; H: *par*.
 120 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 121 D, L, Q: *khyal ba*; H, N, S: 'khyal pa.
 122 L, S: *l*; D, H, N, Q omit: *l*.
 123 D, H add: *l*.
 124 L: *brtsi*.
 125 Q omits.
 126 Q omits.
 127 Q: *mdab?*
 128 S: *tshig ba*.
 129 F2: *khyal*.
 130 F, F2, H, S: *pa'i*.
 131 F2 omits.
 132 F: *rtsa ba*; S: *rtswa?*
 133 F2, H, N, S: *tshing*.
 134 F2 omits.
 135 F2 adds: *l*.
 136 H, N, S: *tsher*.
 137 F: *tshem* instead of 'kbrī shing tsbar ma.
 138 F, F2 omit: *can*.
 139 F2 adds: *tu*.
 140 H omits.
 141 D, H add: *l*.
 142 D, H add: *l*.
 143 H adds: *l*.
 144 D, H, Q: *spun pa*.
 145 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 146 H omits.
 147 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 148 H, N: *byas*.
 149 H, N, Q omit.
 150 D, H, N, S, Q: 'brū 'bras; L: 'bras bu.
 151 D, L, Q: *yang*; H, N, S: 'nga.
 152 D, L, S: *mor*; N, Q: *mar*.
 153 F: *brnabs*.
 154 F2: *kyis*.
 155 F: *log*.
 156 F: *las*.
 157 F: *stsogs*.
 158 F2 omits: *du 'byung*.
 159 D, H, Q omit: *pa*.
 160 H omits.
 161 D, H, Q: *tog*.
 162 D, H add: *l*.
 163 D, H, Q add: *l*.
 164 D, H add: *l*.
 165 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 166 H, Q omit: *l*.
 167 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 168 H, N, Q: *las kyis*.
 169 D, H, N, Q, S omit.
 170 Q omits.
 171 L: 'o ngo.
 172 H omits.
 173 H adds: *l*.
 174 H adds: *l*.
 175 Q: *dgu*.
 176 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 177 D: *ba*.
 178 H adds: *l*.
 179 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 180 D, H add: *ji lta*.
 181 H adds: *l*.
 182 H adds: *l*.
 183 Lévi omits: *ba*.
 184 D, H, Q: 'gyur ro.
 185 D, L, S: *bltas*; H, N, Q: *ltas*.
 186 Q omits.
 187 D, H, N, Q omit.
 188 N, S: *par*.
 189 D, H, N, Q, S omit.
 190 L, S: *pha*.
 191 H, N, S: *par*.
 192 H, N, S: *bde*.
 193 D, H, S: *gnas su*; L, N, Q: *gnas*.
 194 Q: *par*.
 195 D, H, Q, S: 'gyur ro.
 196 Q omits: *yang*.
 197 F, F2, H, S: *ba*.
 198 F: *phyi rol ni* for *ni*; F2: *rgyur l phyis*.
 199 F, F2, H omit.
 200 F adds: *nyid du*.
 201 S omits.
 202 F2: *sar* instead of *sa bon*.
 203 F2: 'gyur ro.
 204 F: *bcu po'i* for *bcu'i*; F2: «bcu»'i po.
 205 F2 omits: *las kyī lam*.
 206 F, F2 omit: *dag*.
 207 S, F omit.

Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (II)

湯山 明

§1. *Buddhica Iranica*:

Étienne de La Vaissière, *Histoire des marchands sogdiens* (= *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, XXXII) (Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Collège de France, 2002 / *en vente*: Édition-Diffusion de Boccard), 413 p., VIII planches hors texte (15 ill. entre p. 212-213), 8 cartes: n^{os} 1-2 (entre p. 20-21), n^o 3 (p. 66-67), n^o 4 (p. 86-87), n^o 6 (p. 202-203), n^o 8 (p. 236-237) et 2 h.t.: n^{os} 5-7 (en dépliant à la fin du livre). — ISBN 2-85757-060-0 / ISSN 0768-3952.

非常な興味を惹き起させるが、正直にいうと余りに門の遠く外にある筆者なので寸評を数行にまとめる術は持ち合わせない。ただ、ここに取りあげた理由の第一は、佛典を扱って中央アジア地域への伝播を展望しておきたい時に、ソグドを抜きには考えられないからだ。恐らく初期の訳経史の研究者にとっても、現に康僧會が果してソグド人だったかななどと、本書を繙く値打ちはあると思う。豊富な地図や図版なども理解を助けてくれる。また、訳経史でも漢訳からソグド語方向への翻訳については大いに関心があるので、その歴史的背景を知るにも役立つ。広く渉猟した参考文献も便利に示してあり、更に地名・人名・事項・原典籍／著者索引などが丁寧に作成されているので有難い。

ただ、残念なことに、改訂版が必要ではあろうが、いまだに便利なウツツ (David Anthony Utz) の小冊子を文献資料に挙げていないのはどうしたことであろうか。彼は、いわゆるドイツ・トゥルファン探検隊の将来した資料中のソグド文・大乘大般涅槃經の研究で1976年にハーヴァード大学で博士号を得たが、惜しくも当時の東西関係の事情は貴重文献の公刊を許さなかった:

David A. Utz, *A Survey of Buddhist Sogdian Studies* (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Minor*, III) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1978, repr. 1980), iv, 26 p. — ISBN 4-906267-05-X.

ところで、中央アジアの仏教を研究するものにとって見逃せない下記二点は挙げてある。エンメリック (Ronald Eric Emmerick: 09.III.1937-31.VIII.2001) には十年位を目処に改訂して貰う約束で、第二版も積極的に増補していただいた。さらに大きな改訂の期待できた第三版が出ずに著者を失ってしまい誠に惜しく悲しい。これは彼独自の見解を披露するもので、文献学における書誌学的研究の範を成すものである。その幅広い領野にわたる業績の恩恵に浴す学徒は、決して少なくないと思う。学界への種々の貢献は計り知れない:

Ronald E. Emmerick, *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan* (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica: Occasional Paper Series*, III) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1979), vii, 63 p.

— *Second Edition, Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged* (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992), ix, 62 p. — ISBN 4-906267-30-0.

イラン系の仏教関係資料への関心からも、訳経史研究からも、日本で出版された次著もまた不可欠である。京都で研究体制を整えて活躍するイタリアの東洋学者たちに満腔の敬意を表したい:

Antonino Forte, *The Hostage An Shigao and his Offspring: An Iranian Family in China* (= *Italian School of East Asian Studies, Occasional Papers*, VI) (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1995), x, 152 pp. (incl. a genealogical chart on the folded page 109), 1 frontisp. (pl.). — ISBN 4-900793-08-6.

とくに最近になって内外で安世高の訳経に関する研究が、着々と精緻に進められているのは誠に喜ばしい。数年前に、漢訳仏典にも造詣の深いフェッターがハリソンと相諮って開催した、いわゆる「安世高会議」(Leiden, 19-20.XII.1966) は特記するに値する。その会議は、偶々アフガニスタンから出てきた新資料が話題を攫ったこともあり、筆者はまったくの自由の身でありながら招待にこたえることが出来なかったことを今も嘆いている。その後、優れた解析のもとになる極めて有益な論考が続出している。単行して刊行して貰いたいと思う論稿が多い。たとえば:

ARIRIAB Vol. VII (March 2004): 255-280.

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Paul Harrison, "The *Ekottarāgama* Translations of An Shigao", *Bauddhavidyāsudhārakaḥ: Studies in Honour of Heinz Bechert on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, ed. Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Jens-Uwe Hartmann (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XXX) (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1997), p. 261-284.

—, "Another Addition to An Shigao's Corpus? Preliminary Notes on an Early Chinese Saṃyuk tāgama Translation", 櫻部建博士喜寿記念論集・初期仏教からアビダルマへ (京都・平楽寺書店, 2002), p. 1-32.

Florin Deleanu, "A Preliminary Study on An Shigao's 安世高 Translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* 道地經", 関西医科大学教養部紀要, XVII (1997), p. 33-52.

Tilmann Vetter and Paul Harrison, "An Shigao's Chinese Translation of the *Saptas-tbhānasūtra*", *Sūryacandrāya: Essays in Honour of Akira Yuyama on the occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Paul Harrison and Gregory Schopen (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XXXV) (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1998), p. 197-216.

加えて非常に興味を惹くのが、最近になって発見された河内長野の金剛寺の貴重な資料である。筆者にとって、金剛寺は、先ずもって、完本ではないが、『注好選』の稀観の伝本で注目したところである。¹ 近年になって、名古屋の七寺などととも、古逸の典籍を伝えていることが判明して関連の研究者の注目的になっている。そこで、金剛寺所蔵の古写本藏経を概観して、さらに古来散逸していた安世高の訳経の中で安般守意經・佛說十二門經・佛說解十二門經を丁寧に解説している論稿と専門家の手堅い論文二三を挙げたい。インド仏教を専攻する者にとっても見逃せない:

梶浦晉, "金剛寺一切經と新出安世高譯佛典", 佛教學セミナー, LXXIII (2001), p. 25-44 (3 ill.).
Florin Deleanu, "安世高譯『安般守意經』現行本の成立について", 東洋の思想と宗教, IX (June 1992), p. 48-61.

—, "An Shigao 安世高 and the History of the *Anban Shouyi Jing* 安般守意經", 論叢・アジアの文化と思想, II (Nov. 1993), p. 1-47.

—, "新発見の安世高訳『安般守意經』金剛寺本について", 福井文雅編・東方学の視点 (東京・五曜書房, 2003), p. 49-86. — 懇切な参考文献を挙げて詳細な注記を施して極めて便益高い論稿。

—, "The Newly Found Text of the *Anban Shouyi Jing* Translated by An Shigao", *BICABS*, VI (2003), p. 170(63)-133(100).

Stefano Zacchetti, "An Early Chinese Translation Corresponding to Chapter 6 of the *Peṭakopadesa* — An Shigao's *Yin chi ru jing* T 603 and its Indian Original: A Preliminary Survey", *BSOAS*, LXV, 1 (2002), p. 74-98. — 陰持經。

—, "The Rediscovery of Three Early Scriptures on Meditation: A Preliminary Analysis of the *Fo shuo shi' er men jing*, the *Fo shuo jie shi' er men jing* Translated by An Shigao and Their Commentary Preserved in the Newly Found Kongō-ji Manuscript", *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 251-299. — 佛說十二門經/佛說解十二門經。

中期イラン語の資料を調査研究するうえで、その間に出たソグド語辞典も、入手に面倒ながら手許に欲しい。研究史・文字/音論・英語索引なども簡略にまとめてあり有り難い。文字の解説はベルシャ文に少し詳しく表に示してあり便利である:

B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English* (Tehran: Farhang Publications, 1995), xliii, 517 p. + xxxii, 57 p. (+ 4-page sheet for addenda et corrigenda).— ISBN 964-5558-06-9.

ところでエンメリックは、関連分野で、種々の研究企画の主導的な役割を果たしてくれた。前掲の書誌学的な成果を出すや、直ぐにベテログラードの極めて重要な典籍群を、斯界の第一線に立つ専門家の協力を得て、第二次世界大戦後のイラン語系文書の刊行叢書に組入れてくれた。将来は

¹ 参看・湯山明, "仏教説話文学研究覚書 (1)", 創大仏高研年報, I: 1997 (1998), p. 69-95, esp. p. 75f.: §2.3.0-1 (cum n. 34-37).

彼の遺志を継ぐ俊秀たちの活躍に期待したい。² 今後の研究成果の公刊が待たれるのは、バリの国立図書館に所蔵の関連資料であろう：

Saka Documents VII: the St. Petersburg collections, edited by Ronald E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskja (= *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, Part II: *Inscriptions of the Seleucid and Parthian Periods and of Eastern Iran and Central Asia*, Vol. V: *Saka: Texts*, VII) (Published on behalf of *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* by School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1993), 24 p., 159 plates. — ISBN 0-7286-0224-5.

Saka Documents, Text Volume III: the St. Petersburg collections, edited by Ronald E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskja with contributions by H. Kumamoto, P. O. Skjærvø, H. Vetch, and Zhang Guangda (= *CII*, II, V, 3) (1995), 256 p., Pl. 160-198. — ISBN 0-7286-0248-2.³

— Cf. e.g. a review by Mauro Maggi, *IJ*, XLI, 3 (1998), p. 282-288.

本項を書き上げる直前に待望の大英図書館所蔵分がどんと目の前に現れた。期待に違わぬ研究成果であり、果たしてこれを書誌目録の範疇に収めて、図書館に分類配架するだけでよいであろうか。調査は梵文写本にも及び、筆者も偶々本誌今号に掲載の拙稿に貴重な資料を得ることができた。昔日、エンメリックと書誌学のありかたを議論したときのことを思い浮かべている：

Khotanese Manuscripts from the Chinese Turkestan in The British Library. A Complete Catalogue with Texts and Translations by Prods Oktor Skjærvø with Contributions by Ursula Sims-Williams (= *CII*, II, V, 6) (London: The British Library in association with the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*, 2002; reprinted with corrections 2003), lxxviii, 609 p., 8 col.pl. (incl. 2 maps). — ISBN 0-7123-4798-4.

ついでながら、仏教学的に重要な律典籍が出ているので書きとどめておきたい：

Mauro Maggi, *The Khotanese Karmavibhāṅga* (Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente / Istituto Universitario Orientale - Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici) (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, LXXIV) (Roma: IsMEO, 1995), 132 p., XVI pl.

コータン・サカの言語資料の提供・研究でベイリー (Sir Harold Walter Bailey: 1899-1996) の果たした役割は計り知れない。長い間に亘る彼の研究成果は、仏教学徒にとっても不可欠のものがある。彼の辞典編纂はその集大成であろう。同時にそれは次世代への大きな踏み台となった。先達があつて今の我々があるのであるのだが、時に苛酷と思える批判も目にする。各項目が非情なまでに批正の対象になる (cf. R. E. Emmerick, *IJ*, XXIII, 1, 1981, p. 66-71)。更には、それ迄に未刊行であつた資料も加わり、新しい項目も当然に増えることになる。国際的な協力の賜物でもある。そしてサー・ハロルドを追悼し、第三冊を献じている：

H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge / London-New York-Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1979), xvii, 559 p. — ISBN 0-521-21737-7.

R. E. Emmerick and P. O. Skjærvø, *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese*, I (= *Veröffentlichungen der Iranischen Kommission*, herausgegeben von Manfred Mayrhofer, XII) (= *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse*, CDI) (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982), 133 p. — ISBN 3-7001-0453-7.

— , — , II (= *VIK*, XVII) (= *SÖAW*, CDLVIII) (Wien 1987), 179 p. — ISBN 3-7001-0906-7.

— , — , III, edited by R. E. Emmerick, contributed by G. Canevascini, R. E. Emmerick,

² 熊本裕/Hiroshi KUMAMOTO, “東洋文庫所蔵 St. Petersburg コータン・サカ語写本マイクロフィルム暫定目録 / A Provisional Catalogue of the Microfilms of Khotanese-Saka Manuscripts belonging to the Institute of Oriental Studies (the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch), brought to the Toyo Bunko”, 東京大学言語学論集 / *TULIP: Tokyo University Linguistic Papers*, XX: *Festschrift for Professor YUKAWA Yasutoshi* (2001), p. 301-345.

³ なお、エンメリックは、1997年4月17日付の補訂表A4一頁を関係者に配っている。

H. Kumamoto, M. Maggi, N. Sims-Williams, and P. O. Skjærve (= *VTK*, XXVII) (= *SÖAW*, DCLI) (Wien 1997), 181 p. — ISBN 3-7001-2688-3.

際限がないが、中央アジアのインド文化の展開を見るうえでバクトリア資料も見逃せまい。若干は古くなったが挙げておきたい。それまでの文献書誌が便利である:

G. Djelani Davary, *Baktrisch: Ein Wörterbuch auf Grund der Inschriften, Handschriften, Münzen und Siegelsteine* (Heidelberg: Julius Groos Verlag, 1982), 306 p.

以上、最初の簡略な紹介を始めて、ついぞ長々になってしまった。この欄は終りにしなくてはきりがない。ただ、雄大な中央アジアの大地に華を咲かせた仏教文化を想うときに、これらの言語文化を背負っていた民族の資料を鳥瞰しつつ、我が身の細小の坑掘り作業に気付くのである。

次の書は見ての通り一般向きを目的としているが、蒙を啓いてくれる書ではある。絲綢の路で活躍したソグド人たちの跡を足で歩き文献で集めた、従って豊富な写真・図版・地図は読者を魅了する。書物になったものは放映された時の画像や解説の印象とは違う。吉田の最近の諸研究には門外漢ながらつねに注目している。⁴ 中期イラン語系言語は、コータン語といいソグド語といい、筆者は優れた師匠のもとにしながら、ただ始めるだけで、恥ずかしくも全くものにならなかった:

NHK スペシャル「文明の道」— ③海と陸のシルクロード/木村燥二・萩有造・吉田豊・鶴間和幸・渡辺道治・森部豊・影山悦子・藤澤明寛/撮影・大村次郷 (東京・日本放送協会, 2003), 262 p. — ISBN 4-14-080777-6.

かねてから重要であると思うことがある。仏教の僧院経営や布教活動の史的な事実を教えてくれる考古学的な成果報告にも注意を払っておかないと通時的共時的な背景をもった厚みのある文献学的な研究にならないと自らを戒めて反省している。恐らくは思想史研究者も同じ考えであろうと推察している。これらが有機的に文献学に滋養を与えてくれるのであろう。近年になって推し進められているラニガットの発掘などは、新出の写本類を理解する上での重要な示唆を与えてくれよう。素晴らしい図版が眼前にあり、いまや研究篇の一日も早からんことを念じている。続いて出た他の一点を挙げておくに止めたい:

西川幸治編著・ラニガト/1983-1992 ガンダーラ仏教遺跡総合調査報告書/Report of the Kyoto University Scientific Expedition to Gandhara: RANIGAT - A Buddhist Site in Gandhara, Pakistan Surveyed 1983-1992, ed. Koji Nishikawa. II. 図版篇 (京都大学出版会, 1994), 402 p. (incl. 86 plates), with a separate pamphlet. — ISBN 4-87698-011-X. — [I. 本文篇 (未刊)].

富谷至編著・流沙出土の文字資料 — 樓蘭・尼雅文書を中心に/Written Materials Excavated from the Sands (京都大学出版会, 2001), 543 p., col. frontisp. A-E, num. ills., figs., 2 sep. maps [執筆者・赤松明彦・梅原都・初山明・Anna-Grethe Rischel・Håkan Wahlquist Staffan Rosén — ISBN 4-87698-418-2.

中日・日中 共同尼雅遺跡学術調査報告書・第一巻 (中日共同尼雅遺跡学術考察隊 = 日中共同尼雅遺跡学術調査隊, 1996年4月)[The Sino-Japanese Joint Research in the Niya Site, Xinjiang, c/o The Culture Department of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, Urumqi / The Academic Research Organization for the Niya Ruin in Xinjiang of China, c/o Bukkyo University, Kyoto], 410 p., 60 plates (158 ills.), 6-page frontisp.

伊藤義教 (1909-1996) 旧蔵書を寄贈されて、東京大学の東洋文化研究所は、イラン学文庫を創設し、ここにその目録を刊行するにおよんだ。まことに慶びに耐えない。目録には、伊藤義教文庫の開設と伊藤義教の自筆になるという原稿目録も再録されていて有難い。また、ひろく公開もする由、研究者を貴重図書に近づかせてくれる。種々の貴重な蔵書を所有する研究機関も多いと思う。秘蔵のみに終わらせず、研究者の便に供していただきたい。今後、この種の目録などの作成には、ぜひとも図書館学の専門家にも携わってもらい、書誌学的にも耐えうるものにしていただきたいと願う:

⁴ See e.g. Y. Yoshida, "First Fruits of Ryūkoku-Berlin Joint Project on the Turfan Iranian Manuscripts", *Acta Asiatica*, LXXVIII: *Tun-huang and Turfan Studies* (Tokyo 2000), p. 71-85.

青木健・永ノ尾信悟編，東京大学東洋文化研究所蔵・伊藤義教文庫目録／*Catalogue of Itō Gikyō Collection Owned by the Institute of Oriental Culture*, ed. Takeshi AOKI & Shingo EINO (＝ 東洋学研究情報センター叢刊, III) (東京大学東洋文化研究所附属東洋学研究情報センター／Research and Information Center for Asian Studies, Institute of Oriental Culture, University of Tokyo, 2004), xx, 120 p. — No ISBN / ISSN.

最後に、ついに最新の研究成果を取り入れた待望の中央アジアの歴史地図が出たことを記しておきたい。願わくば、これに漢文資料が重ねて判るようなものにして欲しかった。表紙絵に2000年の中央アジア地図を挙げるあたりは著者の意図があるのだろう：

Yuri Bregel (1925-), *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia (= Handbook of Oriental Studies / Handbuch der Orientalistik, VIII: Central Asia, IX)* (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003), xii, 109 p. (incl. 47 col. Maps). — ISBN 90-04-12321-0 / ISSN 0169-8524 / LC: G2202.21.S1B7 2003, 911'.58-dc21.

§2. Buddhica Uigurica:

Johan Elvers og, *Uyghur Buddhist Literature (= Silk Road Studies, ed. A. van Tongerloo, I)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), XI, 154 p. — ISBN 2-503-50544-9.⁵

前節について、中央アジア仏教を担ったもう一つの言語資料をここで抜きにはできまい。幸いにこの精緻な書誌学的な成果が、国際協力からなる新叢書を飾ってくれた。くわえて更に幸いなことに、1820-1999年の長きに亘る関連資料の親切的な書誌目録が出た：

Bibliographie alttürkischer Studien. Ausgewählt und chronologisch angeordnet von Volker Adam, Jens Peter Laut und Andreas Weiss. Nebst einem Anhang: *Alphabetisches Siglenverzeichnis zu Klaus Röhrborn: Uigurisches Wörterbuch, Lieferung 1-6 (1977-1998) (= Orientalistik Bibliographien und Dokumentationen, IX)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2000), XXI, 127 p. — ISBN 3-447-04128-4 / ISSN 1436-0195.

この付録にも取り上げるように、誠にもって息の長い辞典の編纂者も、綿密に参考文献資料を広く渉猟し、分冊を追って書目をきちんと報告している。今日まで種々の言語辞典などにみる西欧の伝統ともいえよう。遠い将来、最終巻に統一して纏められるのが期待される。なお、語彙によっては古期・中期インド語などとの比定も疎かにはしていない。しかし、注意すべきは、インド語などの原典資料を書誌目録に挙げていないので補う要がある：

Klaus Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien, Lieferung 1-6* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH, 1977-79-81-88-94-98), V, VI, V, 446 p. — ISBN 3-515-02374-7, °-02880-3, °-03583-4, °-4525-2, °-06093-6, °-07094-X.

ドイツ探検隊将来のいわゆるトゥルファン資料は、学界挙げての総力を投入する次の目録化企画の一として整理されつつある。これは所蔵目録の性格を越えて、仏教典籍の書誌学的な研究成果としても十二分の役割を果たしている。序説に研究史の詳しいこともあり便益をあたえている。加えて重要なことは、本叢書の特徴でもある原典覆刻の図版である。デジタル化の時代とはいえ、現物が今は散逸しているものさえあり、その資料的な価値は非常に大きい。残念ながら、しかし、費用が嵩むので写真複製の数量が減少してきているようである。次著第2部に扱う維摩経資料は中央アジアへの伝播など興味ある材料を文献学的にも丁寧に提供する：

⁵ このベルギーの出版社は、東西ドイツが統合されてから、ベルリン・ブランデンブルク学士院の貴重なトゥルファン研究の成果刊行を引き受けている。本書誌目録の刊行後にウイグル文維摩経断片類の精緻な研究が公刊されたので、梵本発見を機にしての今後の維摩経研究の進展を期待して、ここに記録しておきたい：Peter Zieme, *Vimalakirtinirdesāsūtra: Edition alttürkischer Übersetzungen nach Handschriftfragmenten von Berlin und Kyoto*. Mit einem Appendix von Jorinde Ebert, "Ein Vimalakirti-Bildfragment aus Turfan". Mit 190 Abbildungen auf CIV Tafeln (= *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften – Akademievorhaben Turfanforschung: Berliner Turfantexte*, XX) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 208 p., 104 Tafeln. — ISBN 2-503-50957-6.

Altürkische Handschriften, Teil I: *Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift*. Beschrieben und herausgegeben von Dieter Maue (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, XIII-9) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1996), XXXVII, 266 p., 108 Tafeln.— ISBN 3-515-04896-0.

Altürkische Handschriften, Teil II: *Das Goldglanzsūtra und der buddhistische Legendenzyklus Daśakarmapathāvadānamālā*. Depositum der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin), beschrieben von Gerhard Ehlers (= *VOHD*, XIII-10) (Stuttgart 1987), IX, 170 p., 40 Tafeln. — ISBN 0-04397-7.

Altürkische Handschriften, Teil V: *Berliner Fragmente des Goldglanz-Sūtras*, Teil I: *Vorworte und Erstes bis Drittes Buch*, beschrieben von Simone-Christiane Raschmann (= *VOHD*, XIII-13) (Stuttgart 2000), 260 p., 89 Tafeln. — ISBN 0-07352-3.

- - -, Teil II: *Viertes und Fünftes Buch*, beschrieben von S.-Chr. Raschmann (= *VOHD*, XIII-14) (2002), 218 p., 50 Tafeln. — ISBN 0-07353-1.

Altürkische Handschriften, Teil IX: *Buddhistische Beichttexte*. Beschrieben von Jens Wilkens (= *VOHD*, XIII-17) (Stuttgart 2003), 347 p., 11 Tafeln. — ISBN 0-08110-0.

わが国のウイグル文献学の層も質も厚くなり種々の局面での活躍を目にし嬉しい限りである。かつての東ドイツにあって非常な業績を挙げて、仏教学に貢献してくれたツィーメへの献呈論文集を見ても歴然としている。彼の著作表もあるので引用しておこう。中央アジアの仏教を研究するものにとって見逃せない:

Splitter aus der Gegend von Turfan: Festschrift für Peter Zieme anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstag. Herausgegeben von Mehmet Ölmez & Simone-Christiane Raschmann (= *Türk Dilleri Araştırmaları Dizisi*, XXXV) (Istanbul-Berlin 2002), 418 p., XXII Tafeln, 1 col. frontisp. (photo). — ISBN 975-7444-14-6. — [“Schriftenverzeichnis PETER ZIEME 1966-2002”, zusammengestellt von Simone-Christiane RASCHMANN (Berlin), p. 27-50].

§3. 敦煌出土の佛典類など:

王重民・冷廬文藪／上下二卷 (上海・上海古籍出版社, 1992.12), (ii), 9, 8, 470 p.; (ii), 471-953 p. 仏教学を志すものでも、研究の必要を感じて、敦煌資料に関心を抱けば、かならずや王重民 (03.I.1903-16.IV.1975) の労作の恩恵に浴しているに相違あるまい。色々の場面で彼の名が出るが、その経歴について筆者はあまり詳らかにしなかったので、本書の附録二篇に細かく記録されている次の二点は非常に有難いと思った。本書には仏教の典籍に関しての著述は含まれない。英仏米などで活躍して学界を裨益したことで内外に令名が高いが、これも詳細に知ることができる:

附録一: 劉修業撰 (1985), “王重民教授生平及學術活動編年”, p. 878-916.

附録二: 劉修業撰, “王重民教授著述目錄 [1927-1985]”, p. 917-953.

上の文を認めていると、この「冷廬文藪」も踏まえた形で次の一書を目にすることになった。王重民の生誕百年を記念したもので、1936年にパリの国立図書館で敦煌文献の書架の間で棚に手を伸ばす王重民の姿などを含む貴重な写真も図版にあり、彼の評価あり、多岐にわたる関連の研究あり、遺作の追加あり、上記附録二の劉修業になる王重民の著述目錄の改訂版あり、附録に「冷廬文藪」「敦煌遺書論文集」(下掲) や中国の図書館学の教科書というべき「中国目錄学史論叢」の目次をあげてあるなど (p. 512-517), まことに便利で興味深い:

北京大学信息管理系編 (王錦貴主編)・王重民先生百年誕辰紀念文集 (北京・北京図書館出版社, 2003.9), (iii), 3, 520 p., 1 portr., 1 p. (題詞), 7 pl. (on 3 p.). — ISBN 7-5013-2157-4:

劉修業編撰・王媛修訂, “王重民先生著述目錄”, p. 494-512.

敦煌文書に関心があれば、彼の関連論集がすでに知られている。その二十篇の論稿の中には、我々に馴染み深い「敦煌遺書總目索引」(北京・商務印書館, 1962) の貴重な後記 (p. 543-552) も再録されている (p. 62-84)。本論文集は台湾ですぐに再刷されている (臺北・明文書局, 1985.6):

王重民・敦煌遺書論文集 (北京・中華書局, 1984.4), (ii), 6, 3, 346 p., 2 frontisp.

王重民の著書として名高い次著は、後に黄文武が編み直して刊行している由（臺北・新文豊出版公司、1986）。本書には仏教典籍が殆ど全くないが、経録や「慧超往五天竺國傳」などの解題は面白い：敦煌古籍叙録（北京・中華書局、1979.1／京都・中文出版社、再刷 1978.1）、(I), 4, 384 p.

北京大学の伝灯を継いで、内外の専門家にも問題を提起し、近年頼に注目を浴びる榮新江（*1960）の論集は、最新刊の論文をも収めて有難い。学界の事情についても関心が深く、本書中の一篇は正に戦後に帰国した王重民の教授就任頃迄のわたしなどが望む所を記してくれている。少し前になるが、精力的に資料の蒐集にも努める著者の調査記録も興味深いものであった：

榮新江・敦煌学新論（= 季羨林主編・敦煌学研究叢書）（蘭州・甘肅教育出版社、2002.9）、(ii) 季羨林・序、3, 397 p. (incl. 74 figs.), 5 col. frontisp. ills. — ISBN 7-5423-1123-9:

“北京大学与敦煌学”, p. 98-113 (incl. figs. 30-33).

榮新江：海外敦煌吐魯番文献知見録（= 季羨林等編・東方文化叢書）（南昌・江西人民出版社、1996）、(ii), 4, 6, 3, 231 p. — ISBN 7-210-01606-6.

王重民の「敦煌遺書總目索引」ほど広く利用されたものはあるまい。一時入手が困難で不便だったことがあったが、時折再刷刊行されもした。これに便益を与える索引も出た。それは典籍の字画索引で、B（= 北平）、S（= Stein, London）、P（= Pelliot, Paris）、F/Dx（= Sankt-Peterburg）、Q（その他）が判別でき、さらに敦煌文献の権威である黄文武の総監修によってなった「敦煌寶藏」（臺北新文豊出版公司刊行）の索引ともなっていて誠に便利である：

釋禪觀・敦煌寶藏遺書遺書索引（= 中華佛學研究所論叢, X）（台北・法鼓文化、1996.9）、(v), 17, 356 p. — ISBN 957-99077-6-5 (hb).

臺灣の膨大な「敦煌寶藏」の編纂を主幹した黄文武自身が、かねてからの研究成果を要領よくまとめた前書きを付した目録もある。これは全世界に散在する保管場所ごとに配列したもので、原典の覆刻もその番号順になっている：

黄文武主編・敦煌遺書最新目録（臺北・新文豊出版公司、1986.9）、(iii), 21, 937 p.

さて先の「敦煌寶藏遺書遺書索引」の編者・釋禪觀はかつて江素雲の名で、敦煌出土の維摩經の目録も公刊して学界を裨益する。敦煌寶藏・大正藏經とも比定して研究のための正鵠を得た述作である。梵文維摩經の発見も伝えられ、今後の研究の進展が予測される中で、貴重な工具となるだろう：江素雲（= 釋禪觀）・« 維摩詰所說經 » 敦煌寫本綜合目録（= 東初智慧海叢刊行, XXII）（臺北・東初出版社、1991.12）、(i), 10, 87 p. — ISBN 957-633-030-0 (pb).

次の著作は、著者自身が上記の「敦煌寶藏遺書遺書索引」に自著として挙げているが、残念ながら筆者未見である。発行所・年も知らない。維摩經梵本の覆刻がいよいよ期待される折に、何か暗示を与えてくれるものがあるかどうか見たいと願っている：

江素雲（= 釋禪觀）・秦譯<維摩經・佛國品>判定探微。

専門家でないので評定はできないが、維摩經の研究者ならば、次の研究も参考になるであろう：

釋果樸、敦煌寫卷 P3006 「支謙」本« 維摩詰經 » 注解考（= 中華佛學研究所論叢, VI）（台北・法鼓文化、1996）、(iv), 9, 9, 304 p., incl. ills. & tables — ISBN 957-8473-60-5 (pb).

長らく世話になった「敦煌遺書總目索引」の改訂新版が、“敦煌莫高窟藏經發現一百年”を記念して公刊されたのはひじょうに有難い。旧版以降の中国を中心とした調査研究の展開も蘭州の施萍婷が、前書きで簡要にはあるが述べていて知ることができる：

敦煌研究院編／施萍婷・主撰稿／邵惠莉・助編／柴劍虹・徐俊・王楠・責任編集：敦煌遺書總目索引新編（北京・中華書局、2000.7）、(ii), 1, 7, 2, 1, 612 p.; 1, 1, 157 p. — ISBN 7-101-02601-X.

最近になって、敦煌・吐魯番の内外に散在する驚くべき多数の原典資料覆刻の事業が中国で盛んである。これまでは貴重な西域出土の文献を入手するのは至難の業であった。入手が極めて困難な時代を生きたものにとっては隔世の感がある。今はその書誌には触れる余裕がない。

いやしくも仏教典籍の文献学的な研究に従事すれば、漢語訳に関連の典籍がある限り参照せずに

は先に進まない。数多くの版も、またその対照目録なども刊行されてきている。漢語資料の中でも敦煌に遺る典籍があれば、研究に不可欠の資料となる。そこで、これらの資料に到達するのを容易ならしめる工具が大事であり、幸いにも労苦のみ多くして余り評価されない仕事であるが、これを成し遂げてくれる研究者も続出していることを慶びたい。このような書誌学的な文献を、上からの流れで、漢語の資料について漢語で書かれたものを中心に、書き留めておきたいと思う。

かつてレーニングラードの東洋学研究所所蔵になる西域文書はなべて高嶺の花であった。敦煌漢文献も早くにメンシコフ(孟列夫)編集主幹の許で目録化して世界から羨望の眼差しを浴びた。この辺の事情を、「法寶義林」を若い時に編集するなど、わが国にも理解を示してくださった漢学・仏教学の碩学ドゥミエヴィルが、その驚くべき語学力をもってきめ細かく直ちに紹介してくれた。⁶

M. I. Vorov'eva-Desjatovskaja, I. S. Gurevič, L. N. Men'sikov, V. S. Spirin, i S. A. Školjar, *Opisanie kitajskix rukopisej dun'xuanskogo fonda Instituta Narodov Azii, I-II* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury, 1963-1967), 775 p., incl. 16 ills.; 688 p., incl. 21 ills.

これは1983年に設立された西北師範大学の敦煌学研究所が直ちに漢語訳に着手した。本書は誠に便利であり、くわえて面白いことに図版は原著よりも遥かに美しい:

西北師範大学敦煌学研究所 — 袁席箴・陳華平(譯)・俄羅斯科學院東方研究所聖彼得堡分所藏敦煌漢文寫卷叙録/上下二冊(上海・上海古籍出版社, 1999), (iii), 1, 3, 4, 8, 7, 760 p., XVII pl.; (iii), 3, 8, 602 p., XXI pl.

さらには、1909年のコズロフ(Pjotr Kozlov: 1863-1935)率いるロシア探検隊が、ハラホト(黒水城)から将来した漢文献の目録も、その後刊行されて、仏教学のみならず西夏の文化的な交流なども明かすことになり、学界を裨益すること大であった。貴重な典籍もあり、1996以降上海から「俄藏黒水城文献」と銘打って覆刻されていて、専門家の注目を惹いている。⁷

Lev Nikolaevič Men'sikov, *Opisanie kitajskoj časti kollekcii iz Xara-Xoto (Fonda P. K. Kozlova). Priloženija sostavil L. I. Čuguevskij* (Akademija Nauk SSSR – Institut Vostokovedenija) (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo «Nauka» / Glavnaja Redakcija Vostočnoj Literatury, 1984), 527 p. (incl. 36 ills. on p. 475-512).

英国に持ち込んだ敦煌資料は、余りにも有名である。英仏の競った話も周知のことである。ここでは目録だけを列挙しておこう。ロンドンには早くの構造改革で今は大英図書館である:

Henri Maspero, *Les documents chinois de la troisième expédition de Sir Aurel Stein en Asie centrale* (Published by The Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1953), xii, 268 p., XL pl.

Lionel Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Chinese Manuscripts from T'unguang in the British Museum* (Published by The Trustees of the British Museum, London, 1957), xxv, 334 p.

バリの国立図書館にあるペリオの蒐集資料は綿密な目録化で、範とすべきものであるが、1970年に始まり未だに完結を見ない。ペリオと王重民(Wang Tchong-min)の基礎的な調査資料が重要であることも知られよう。第二巻がまことに残念ながら未刊である。本来、この巻に収められるべき資料を扱った論攷に出くわすことがあるからである。⁸

⁶ Cf. Paul Demiéville, "Manuscrits chinois de Touen-houang à Leningrad", *T'oung Pao*, LI, 4-5 (1964), p. 355-376.

= 林信明訳, "ポール・ドミエヴィル: レニングラード所蔵敦煌漢文書", 禪学研究, 第63号(京都・花園大学禪学研究会, 1984), p. 45-68.

--, "Récents travaux sur Touen-houang: Aperçu bibliographique et notes critiques", *TP*, LVI, 1-3, (1970), p. 1-95 [= *Tirage-à-part*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970, (vi), 95 p.], esp. p. 1-7: "1. Inventaire du fonds de Leningrad, deuxième livraison (1967)".

⁷ たとえば、笹沙雅章, "黒水城出土の遼刊本について", 汲古, XLIII (Tokyo, June 2003), p. 20-27a (incl. 4 ills.).

⁸ マリ=ロベルト・ギニャール (Marie-Roberte Guignard)/今枝由郎訳, "フランス国立図書館所蔵ペリオ将来・敦煌漢文文献目録", 佛教学セミナー, No. 68 (京都・大谷大学仏教学会, 1998年10月), p. (1)104-21(84).

Catalogue établi d'après les notes de Paul Pelliot et de Wang Tchong-min par Jacques Gernet et Wu Chi-yu, et complétées par Marie-Rose Séguy, assistée par Hélène Vetch sous la direction de Marie-Roberte Guignard: Département des Manuscrits, Bibliothèque Nationale:

— *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-Houang (Fonds Pelliot chinois)*, Volume I: Nos. 2001-2500, publié avec le concours de la Fondation Singer-Polignac (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1970), XXXI, 406 p., XXIV pl.

Catalogue rédigé sous la direction de Michel Soymié par Jean-Pierre Drège, et al.:

— *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-Houang (Fonds Pelliot chinois) de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Volume III: Nos. 3001-3500 (Paris: Éditions de la Fondation Singer-Polignac, 1983), XX, 482 p.

— Volume IV: Nos. 3501-4000, avec le concours de la Fondation Singer-Polignac (= *Publications hors série de l'Extrême-Orient*) (Paris: EFEO / Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1991), XXI, 558 p.

— Volume V: Nos. 4001-6040. Avec le concours de la Fondation Singer-Polignac, Tome 1; Nos. 4001-4734 (1995), XXXII, 346 p.; Tome 2: Nos. 4735-6040 (1995), (III), 347-740 p.

— Volume VI: *Fragments chinois du fonds Pelliot tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France*. Catalogue rédigé par Françoise Wang-Toutain (= *Publication du Centre de recherche «Civilisation chinoise» EPHE-CNRS, UMR 8583 / Publications hors série de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*) (Paris: EFEO, 2001), 154 p. — ISBN 2-85539-611-5.

最新刊の第六巻は貴重なものである。チベット文書として目録化されている中の漢文資料を、パリの専門家が決して見逃していたわけではない。こうして一書に纏めてくれたのは有り難い。また、敦煌出土のチベット資料については、周知のようにパリの優れたチベット学者が上梓して目録や影印覆刻などに資料を見出すことができ、非常な恩恵に浴している。その詳しい書誌は他の機会を得て書きとどめておきたいが、敦煌のチベット資料覆刻版の上梓は有難いものである。なお、最後の巻は日本の公的出版物で、例によって一般のわれわれには入手できないようで残念至極である：

Mission Paul Pelliot — Fond Pelliot tibétain — Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1978-)

Tome I. Par Adriane Macdonald, Yoshiro Imaeda, Rolf Alfred Stein, et Marie Rose Séguy (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale / Imprimerie Nationale, 1978), 25 p. + 304 fol. (facsimiles). — ISBN 2-7177-1417-0.

Tome II. Par Adriane Macdonald et Yoshiro Imaeda (1979), 31 p. + 305-640 fol. (facsimiles). — ISBN 2-7177-1518-5.

Tome III. Corpus syllabique, complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum par Yoshiro Imaeda et Tsuguhiko Takeuchi (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale / Imprimerie F. Paillard, 1990), xiv, 59, 1009 p. — ISBN 2-7177-1817-6, °-1416-2.

Tome IV. Corpus syllabique, par Yoshiro Imaeda et al. (Tokyo: Institut de Recherches sur les Langues et Cultures de l'Asie et d'Afrique, Université des Langues Étrangères de Tokyo, 2001), xiv, 1143. — ISBN ?.

チベット資料の中でも興味を惹くものの一は、たとえば漢文のチベット文字による音写資料である。これはインド仏教の伝播・蔵漢音韻史などの上でも種々の複雑な問題を提起する。そのような資料 (Fonds Pelliot tibétain 1239 et 1269) について、筆者も一文を草したことがある。⁹

さて、クチャーからペリオが将来した漢語典籍のまるで木端微塵ともいえる断片類を、さすがに池田温・張廣達両氏の協力を得て、驚くべき目録化が成し遂げられている：

Éric Trombert avec la collaboration de IKEDA On et ZHANG Guangda: *Les manuscrits chinois de Koutcha: Fonds Pelliot de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (= *Mémoires de l'Institut des Hautes Études*

・敦煌漢文文献目録”，佛教學セミナー，No. 68 (京都・大谷大学仏教学会，1998年10月)，p.(1)104-21(84)。

⁹ 湯山明，“妙法蓮華經の蔵字音写による敦煌出土写本断簡二点覚書”，雲井昭善博士古稀記念・仏教と異宗教 (京都・平楽寺書店，1985)，p. 233-247。

Chinoises: Hors série) (Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises du Collège de France / Édition-Diffusion de Boccard, 2000), 150 p. + 220 photographs. — ISBN 2-85757-057-0.

ペリオ将来の文書がヴァティカンにもあったが、これもまた幸いに高田時雄の努力によって日の目を見た。仏典は見当たらないようであるが、ローマ法王庁には古くはチベットから将来された典籍も未登録のまま秘蔵されているらしく、こうした書誌学的業績が呼び水となることを切に祈る:

Paul Pelliot, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits et imprimés chinois de la Bibliothèque Vaticane. A Posthumous Work*, revised and edited by TAKATA Tokio with a foreword by Antonino Forte (= *Italian School of East Asian Studies, Reference Series, I*) (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura, Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1995), XV, 113 p. — ISBN 4-900793-10-8.

ペリオは単行専著を遺していないといわれるが、雑誌論文や書評にも優に単行書になる長篇が多々あることから知られるように、遺された草稿も膨大なものが多く、今もって後続の関連学者が苦勞して編集・刊行して学界を裨益する。およそ東洋学に関心のあるものにとってペリオの厄介にならないものはいまい。ペリオの著作に関しては、古くルーによる非常に優れた書誌目録があったが、¹⁰ その後しかし彼の完全な著作目録は実はなかったのである。幸いつい最近になって、いつもながらのまさにペリオ研究の最新の全資料を蒐集しての完璧なまでのものが出たのである。こうしてまたワールラーフェンの恩恵に浴すことになった。彼は本書でペリオおよびペリオ将来の文書に関する追悼文から研究文献にいたるまでの詳細を記録している。とりわけ筆者は、23 番 (*ibid.*, p. 221) は、ペリオが逝った翌年に出た文集で、読み応えのあるものだと思う。¹¹

これに更に肉付けしたのが、ペリオを知る碩学二人の回顧文の再録であろう。シノール/サイナーは知る人ぞ知る、いまだに豊饒として活躍する。彼はペリオに関して何力所かで話しているようで、筆者もかつて耳にしたことがある。ペリオを個人的に知る彼の時には皮肉なども交えた話に耳を傾けた記憶がある:

Paul Pelliot (1878-1945): His Life and Works — a Bibliography, compiled by Hartmut Walravens (= *Indiana University Oriental Series*, ed. Denis Sinor, IX) (Bloomington: Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, Indiana University, 2001), XXXV, 248 p. (incl. 1 frontisp./photo). — ISBN 0-933070-47-0. — LC 00-105779:

“Literature on Pelliot”, p. 218-248.

J. J. L. Duyvendak, “Paul Pelliot (May 28th 1878 - October 26th 1945)”, p. XIII-XXIV [= *TP*, XXXVIII (1947-1948), p. 1-18].

Denis Sinor, “Remembering Paul Pelliot, 1878-1945”, p. XXV-XXXV.

— *Bespr.* von Florian C. Reiter, *ZDMG*, CLIII, 2 (2003), p. 515-517.

上からの流れの中でペリオの恰好の遺著が刊行されたのは、まことに慶ばしく、ここに取り挙げておきたい。なお表紙には安陽で 1935 年に撮影されたというペリオの珍しい写真がある。さて、遺稿の整理ほど難しいものはあるまい。原著者が公表を拒んでいたということもあろうし、果して原著者の意図を正しく汲んでいるかと迷う事もあるに違いない:

Paul Pelliot, *Les routes de la région du Turfan sous les T'ang*, suivi de *L'histoire et la géographie ancienne de l'Asie Centrale dans Innermost Asia*, édité par Jean-Pierre Drège (= *Publication de l'UMR 8583 « Civilisation chinoise » [École pratique des hautes études et Centre national de la Recherche scientifique], Groupe de recherche sur les manuscrits de Dunhuang et de Turfan* [= *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, Hors série*]) (Paris: Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises [des Instituts d'Extrême-Orient] du Collège de France / Édition-Diffusion de Boccard, 2003), vii, 187 p., 6 cartes (et photographie de couverture: Paul Pelliot à Anyang en 1935). — ISBN 2-85757-062-7.

¹⁰ Marcelle Lalou, “RÉTROSPECTIVE: L'œuvre du Professeur Paul PELLIOU”, *Bibliographie bouddhique*, IV-V: Mai 1931-Mai 1933 (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1934), p. VII-X, 1-29.

¹¹ See esp. Paul Demiéville, “La carrière scientifique de Paul Pelliot et son œuvre relative à l'Extrême-Orient: Allocation prononcée à la Société Asiatique le 9 novembre 1945”, *Paul Pelliot*, publié par la Société Asiatique (1946), p. 29-54 (*with extensive bibliographical notes*).

ペリオの博引傍証振りは、彼のいわゆる“書誌 (Bibliographie)”と称して発表された論稿に遺憾なく発揮されている。スタインと違って、ペリオの非常な漢文資料の駆使によって、他の追従を許さなかった。本書に付されるスタインの名大著に関する史地誌も誠にもって好例である。最近になってスタインの名著群が欧米のみならず、インドや中国などでも覆刻刊行されるようになって、少し目にし易くなったのは有難い。スタインがカーブルに客死 (26.X.1943) して丁度百年経たのを記念して、彼の祖国ハンガリアで考古地誌関連の最後の著書が旧版を偲ばせる形で覆刻された:

Old Routes of Western Irān: Narrative of an Archaeological Journey Carried out and Recorded by Sir Aurel Stein. Antiquities examined, described and illustrated with the assistance of Fred H. Andrews with illustrations, plates of antique, plans and maps from original surveys (London: Macmillan & Co., 1940), xxviii, 432 p., 112 ills., XXXI pl., 25 plans, VIII maps, 1 folded map. — Reprinted with a foreword by Éva Apor (= *Budapest Oriental Reprints*, Series B2) (Budapest: Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences – Csoma de Kőrös Society, 1994), plus iv + 2 p. — ISBN 963-7302-88-3. — ISSN 0230-8991.

また、日独などの中央アジア探険の一世紀を振り返る傾向とも相まって、新たな資料が関係者の努力によって刊行されてきているのは歓迎すべきことであろう。ところでスタインの遺志で蔵書などの収集資料の大半はハンガリア学士院に納められているという。先人の努力の結晶を噛み締めたい。次著二点のように、大英図書館の王女史の今後の更なる活躍に期待したい。彼女は中国の現況にも通じていて、確かに新しい時代の視点・評価も忘れてはいないようだ:

Catalogue of the Collections of Sir Aurel Stein in the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, compiled by John Falconer, Ágnes Kárteszi, Ágnes Kelecsényi, Lilla Russell-Smith, edited by Eva Apor and Helen Wang (= *Keleti Tanulmányok – Oriental Studies*, XI) (Budapest: MTA Könyvtára, 2002), 350 p. [Stein's photo on p. 5 / Photos on p. 312-338]. — ISBN 963-745111-0. — ISSN 0133-6193.

Sir Aurel Stein in The Times: A collection of over 100 references to Sir Aurel Stein and his extraordinary expeditions to Chinese Central Asia, India, Iran, Iraq and Jordan in The Times newspaper 1901-1943, with an introduction, annotations and index by Helen Wang (London: Saffron Books – an imprint of Eastern Art Publications, 2002), 164 p., incl. 7 maps, num. photos. — ISBN 1-87284329-8.

大探検家スタイン (Budapest 26.XI.1862-Kabul 26.X.1943) の死を悼み、大戦中にも拘わらず、その二日後のタイムズ紙は写真入りの長い追悼文を載せている (本書 No. 105, p. 128f.). 次の興味深い一点を入手できず、悲しいかな見る機会に恵まれずにいる:

Handbook to the Stein Collections in the United Kingdom, edited by Helen Wang (= *British Museum Occasional Paper*, CXXIX) (London: The British Museum, 1999), iv, 61 p.

仏典を調査する上で、英仏両国立図書館から、かねて入手困難であったスタイン・ペリオ蒐集資料のフィルムを得、王重民・黄文武の目録も十分に参照してなった下の一点を挙げたい (= Stein No. 1-6980, Stein P1-19; Pelliot 2001-6040). 内容別に分類した索引も、他を補って便利である:

金岡照光(編)／河村孝道・柿市里子(編集協力): 敦煌文献目録／スタイン・ペリオ蒐集(漢文文献編) (= 東洋学研究, XXV) (東京・東洋大学東洋学研究所, 1990), (iii), v, 305 p.

河村孝道・柿市里子編: 敦煌文献目録／スタイン・ペリオ蒐集(漢文文献編索引・上巻) (= 東洋学研究, XXVIII) (東京・東洋大学東洋学研究所, 1991), (iii), iii, 86 p.

柿市里子・玉野井純子(編集協力): 敦煌文献目録／スタイン・ペリオ蒐集(漢文文献編索引・下巻) (= 東洋学研究, XXIX) (東京・東洋大学東洋学研究所, 1991), (iii), iii, 87-147, 17 p. /English title: *Index of Chinese Manuscripts in Tun-Huang Documents — from Stein and Pelliot Collections.*

いわゆる大英図書館のスタイン 蒐集本の丁寧な補遺というべき、方廣鎔 (*1948) の十年の苦勞の成果が、季羨林の推薦意見を添えて、中国社会科学院の援助で出ているのはまことに慶ばしい:

方廣鎔編著・英國圖書館藏敦煌遺書目録: 斯 6981 號～斯 8400 號 (北京・宗教文化出版社, 2000.6), 491 p. — ISBN 7-80123-291-7.

本書の著者は数々の労作を世に贈っているが、次の書誌学的研究も見逃さない:

方廣錫輯校・敦煌佛教經錄輯校, 上下二卷 (= 周紹良主編・敦煌文獻分類錄校叢刊) (江蘇古籍出版社・出版/江蘇省新華書店・發行, 1997.8), (v), 2, 32, 31, 5, 554 p., 4-page frontisp.ills.; 555-1232 p. — ISBN 7-80519-897-7.

北京図書館所蔵の文献は、文字通り劫餘の資料であろうが、重要さに変わらない。古くから権威となっていた碩学陳垣の編になる大著が研究者の参考書になっていた:

陳垣・敦煌劫餘錄 (= 國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊, IV) (北平 1931), (ii), 4, 132, 576 p.

ついに本書を基礎にした完全なフィルム化がなされ、さらには両者を見据えて、しかも黄文武主編の敦煌寶藏の在り処も認めた目録も出て便利になったことは有り難い:

井ノ口泰淳・監修/中田篤郎・編: 北京圖書館藏敦煌遺書總目録 (京都・朋友書店, 1989.12), (ix), 510 p.; 176 p.

中田篤郎編: 北京圖書館藏 敦煌遺書典籍名索引 (増訂版) [龍谷大學佛教文化研究所・西域出土佛天研究班刊・井ノ口泰淳代表] (1989.3), (I), III, 33 p.

北京圖書館に蔵されている敦煌関係の研究資料も膨大である。その書誌目録も刊行された。千字文による分類で慣れぬ筆者には少々使いにくいだが、画数による著者別索引も付されている:

申國美編/責任編集: 殷夢霞・賈貴榮: 1900- -2001 國家圖書館藏・敦煌遺書研究論著・目録・索引 (北京・北京圖書館出版社, 2001.9), (ii), 2, 2, 4, 616 p. — ISBN 7-5013-1833-6.

ついでながら敦煌関連の書誌目録 (1908-1986) を挙げておこう。これも日本の論著を挙げているが、正しく仮名文も記録している。編者は十余年の間において大冊 (1908-1997) に仕上げた:

鄭阿財・朱鳳玉編: 敦煌學研究論著目録 (= 漢學研究資料及服務中心叢刊・目録類第4種) (臺北・漢學研究資料及服務中心, 1987.4), (iii), ix, vi, 221 p.

鄭阿財・朱鳳玉・主編/蔡忠霖・梁麗玲・周西波・劉惠萍・編輯: 1908~1997 敦煌學研究論著目録 (= 漢學研究中心叢刊・目録類第4-2種) (臺北・漢學研究中心, 2000.4), (iii), x, VIII, 652 p. — ISBN 957-678-294-5.

さて、ドイツのトルファン探検隊が将来した漢語文書については、幸いに西脇常記が最近になって、かねてからあたかも散逸していたかのような論文類を、有り難くも最新の詳しい研究史を前に添え、くわえて多数の図版や地図も盛って、丹念に一書にまとめて出版してくれた:¹²

西脇常記・ドイツ将来のトルファン漢語文書 (京都・京都大学学術出版会, 2002), v, 314 p. — ISBN 4-87698-447-6.

このベルリンの蒐集中の漢語資料は殆どが仏典類の断片であるようであるが、また日本の研究者の協力を旧東独時代に得て目録化されている。¹³ その未目録化の残量は六割に及ぶことになる:

Gerhard Schmitt und Thomas Thilo in Zusammenarbeit mit Taijun Inokuchi, *Katalog chinesischer buddhistischer Textfragmente*, Band I: Mit einem Anhang von Akira Fujieda und Thomas Thilo (= *Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des alten Orients, Berliner Turfantexte*, VI) (Berlin: Zentralinstitut für Alte Geschichte und Archäologie der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik / Akademie-Verlag, 1975), 209 p., 34 Tafeln.

— II (= *Berliner Turfantexte*, XIV) (1985), 94 p., 52 Tafeln.

— III (*in Vorbereitung*).

敦煌・吐魯番に関しての書誌学的な成果ではないが、いわば欧米の先端を行く研究者の学会紀要が

¹² 西脇常記, “ドイツのトルファン コレクション — ベルリン国立図書館所蔵のトルファン漢語文書 (上)”, 月刊百科, 3, 1995, no. 389, p. 37-43; “(下)”, 同, 5, 1995, no. 391, p. 21f.; 同, p. 21-26: シモーネ・クリスティアネ・ラッシュマン (Simone-Christiane Raschmann), “ベルリン所有のトルファン資料に関する研究概観”.

¹³ この間の事情については、かつて簡略な前史にも触れた紹介がある: トマス・ティロ (Thomas Thilo)/藤枝晃譯, “ドイツ民主共和國科學アカデミーにおける古代東洋研究の現況”, 東方學, XLVI (1973), p. 152-142, esp. p. 148.

ある。割合に知られていないようなので挙げておく。参加者のうち執筆した人は十名である:¹⁴

Turfan and Tun-Huang: The Texts: Encounter of Civilizations on the Silk Road, edited by Alfredo Cardonna (= *Orientalia Venetiana*, IV) (Firenze: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1992), XIX, 246 p. — ISSN 0394-266X / ISBN 88-222-39377-7.

書誌の書誌を始める際際限がないが、上記の諸書誌では欧文の論著がなかなか知り得ない。中国の宗教に関する論著に絞った書誌目録が、幸いにアジア学会の援助もあって長く続いている:

Studies of Chinese Religion: A Comprehensive and Classified Bibliography of Publications in English, French, and German through 1970, compiled by Laurence G. Thompson with the research and editorial assistance of Justine Pinto (Enrico-Belmont: Dickenson Publishing Co., 1976), xlv, 190 p. — ISBN 0-8221-0187-4.

Chinese Religion in Western Languages: A Comprehensive and Classified Bibliography of Publications in English, French, and German through 1980 (= *Association for Asian Studies Monograph*, XLI) (Ann Arbor: AAS, 1985), 302, xlix p. — ISBN 0-8165-0926-3.

Chinese Religion: Publications in Western Languages, 1981 through 1990, compiled by Laurence G. Thompson, edited by Gary Seaman (= *AAS Monograph*, XLVII) (Ann Arbor 1993), 288, xxiii p. — ISBN 0-924304-13-8.

—, 1991 through 1995 (= *AAS Monograph*, LVIII) (1998), 176 p. — ISBN 0-939-1.

—, IV: 1996-2000. Compiled by G. Seaman, L. G. Thompson, and Zhifang Song, ed. Gary Seaman (= *Resources for Scholarship on Asia*, I) (Ann Arbor 2002), xxiv, 197 p. — ISBN 0-43-X.

§4. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* — Discovery of an Indic Manuscript:

およそ仏教に関心を抱くもので、維摩經に興味をもたない人はいまい。さらにインド仏教に関心を抱くもので、散逸したとされる維摩經の梵本がいつの日にか眼前に現れるのを夢みたことがない人もいまい。文字どおり幻の梵文写本の発見が、果たしてあり得るだろうかと思ってきた関連の学徒の強い関心を惹き起すわけである。とはいっても、折角の梵本も今のところ断片的にしか判らないので、一日も早く実影を見せて欲しいと誰もが念じている。発見が伝えられてからすでに歳月が過ぎていく。幻影を見るだけでは歯痒いばかりである。飢餓状態にある者には、まさに喉から手が出るほどの物である。二三の予備的な報告では不明な点が多い。書写年代にも疑念が残る。なんといっても中身が見たい。読みたい。知りたい。

近年になって、貴重な典籍の発見が相次いで騒がれる時代となって、夢のような話が現実となった。2001年末になって驚嘆すべき知らせが入ってきた。松濤誠達・大正大学長が2001年12月14日の記者会見で、その事情が発表された由で、早速日本の大新聞が翌日に報道し、友人知己からその切抜きなどが届いた。例によって、松田和信・仏教大学教授の素早い情報伝達は、世界中の研究者を驚かせるのに十二分であった。筆者も梵本の散逸したことを仮定しての論稿を書き上げたまさにその時に知ったわけで、直ちに後書きを丁度空いていた所に付け足して、筆者の論旨を変更する必要のないことを記した。¹⁵

さらに松濤誠達教授は、宗教学会での公開講演で、この発見についての意義を話され、その紀要に講演録を写真十葉を付して公刊してくれた。講演を拝聴できなかった筆者は、公刊された論考を早速に貪り読んだ次第である。¹⁶ この写本の内容に関しては、筆者の手許に入った情報の時系列と逆で、

¹⁴ Luciano Petech, Janos Harmatta, Peter Zieme, Nicholas Sims-Williams, Werner Sundermann, Margaret I. Vobrovyova-Desyatovskaya, James Hamilton, Géza Uray, Ronald E. Emmerick, Victor H. Mair.

¹⁵ A. Yuyama, "Restoration - Translation - Emendation: Along the Way to Revisit the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* Cited by Kamalaśīla in his *Bhāvanākrama III*", *Buddhist and Indian Studies in Honour of Professor Sodo Mori* (Hamamatsu 2002), p. 215-224.

¹⁶ 松濤誠達, "『維摩經』サンスクリット原典発見の意義 / Discovery of a Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*", *宗教研究 / Journal of Religious Studies*, No. 335: LXXVI, 4 (2003), p. 1(885)-17(901), incl. 10 photos.

もしかして松濤泰雄氏の公刊が先行していたのかもしれない。¹⁷

種々の苛酷な条件のもとでの研究調査の大変さは察するにあまりある。高橋尚夫氏が現地ラサで発見した日は、1999年7月30日と記録されている。本経の影印版は中国で作成されたようで、2001年11月には、100部をすでに独占入手している由で、関係者のローマ字化が出来上がった暁に公開するとのことである。事情があったことは想像に難くないが、人類共通の遺産であるとするならば、早くに知らせてほしかったし、必要な手の届くものにして頒布して戴きたいと念じてやまない。

(Ms. 78a) śrīmad gopāladevarājye samvat 12 bhadrādine 29 lekhyate'yam upasthāyakacandoka(78a)syeti //

“吉祥ゴーパーラ王の治世 (Samvat) 一二年六月二九日に王の侍従であるチャンドーカによって書写された”。

幸いに、松濤誠達氏は、上記のように写本の奥書を書写・和訳している (p. 14/898)。加えてゴーパーラ王の時代比定を試みて、パーラ朝には王朝を興したゴーパーラ王以下三名がいるので、従って三つの可能性を挙げて簡要に検討したのち、その年代が未確定であるが、9世紀半ばのチベットにおける廃仏焚書を考えると、初代のゴーパーラ王ではないであろうと結論づけている。

もしかすると、この奥書きは78葉表面末行から裏面にかけて書かれているのかもしれない。何よりも筆者には疑問ばかりが残る。写本を早く見たい。Śrīmad-Gopāladeva はパーラ王朝の王であろうか。また、チャンドーカと音写訳されているので、少なくとも Candoka ではなく Cāndoka と写本にあり、もしかして正しくは Chāndoka と読むべきところかもしれない。これは果たして固有名であろうか。そのほか年月日なども不明な点が多い。何か腑に落ちない奥書ではある。

ここで最大の疑問点は、このゴーパーラ王は、本当に8世紀中葉に成って東インド一帯に450年ほど続いたパーラ王朝の王とすべきであろうか。チベットに持ち込んだ年代は、かならずしも書写年代と一致しなくてもよい。いま本経の書写と同一年代の奥書のある写本を見つけていないので苦しいが、筆者は素直に、しかし難業ではあるが、ネパールの中にも王名を探ってみるべきかと思う。ネパール史に疎い筆者は恥ずかしいが、伝説と史実を判別することはよく能わない。ただ、ゴーパーラ王統はネパールにも現前としてあり、写本の様態などをあわせ考慮しても、年代推定の枠はインドのパーラ王朝末期あるいは王朝滅亡後で、舞台はカトマンドゥ渓谷地帯の王政下に絞って考える法もあるような気がする。14世紀後半に著されたというゴーパーラ王統史は、専門家の研究も積み重ねられてきて、かなり信頼のおける資料になるようである。¹⁸ これを紐解くのが良いようだが、筆者には重すぎる仕事である。¹⁹ しかし、問題は、写本を見て文字学的な観点にも立って、種々に検討しなくてはならないことはいうまでもない。

カーシー／ヴァーラーナシーから来たとされるハリシュチャンドラ (Harīścandra) が、ジャヤルドラマッラ (Jayarudramalla) 王の唯一の遺児となったナーヤカデーヴィー (Nāyakadevī) と結婚して権力を掌握したかにもえたが支持者を欠いて毒殺されてしまう。そこで義弟ゴーパーラチャンドラ (Gopālacandra) が保護者の役割を果たすが、彼とても力不足からバグダオン・パタン・ラリタブラの三都市を逐われながら遂には殺害される。Samvat 460/1340CE 頃のことらしく、専門家

¹⁷ 松濤泰雄、『維摩經』サンスクリット完本の発見 (= 第79回浄土宗東京教区普通講習会・講演録/平成14年2月27日/於・大本山増上寺三縁ホール), 36 p., 1 folded plate.

¹⁸ Cf. e.g. Theodore Riccardi, Jr., “The *Nepālarājaparāmparā*: A Short Chronicle of the Kings of Nepal”, *JASO*, CVI, 2 (1986), p. 247-251, esp. p. 247a.

¹⁹ Dhanavajra Vajracārya and Kamal P. Malla, *The Gopālarājyaṃśāvalī: A facsimile edition prepared by the Nepal Research Centre in collaboration with the National Archives, Kathmandu. With an introduction, a transcription, Nepali and English translations, a glossary and indices* (= *Nepal Research Centre Publications*, IX) (Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 1985), see esp. p. 130f. (with Manuscript folio 27b end – 28a).

も研究を積み重ねてきている。²⁰ この誠に血なまぐさい時代だとすると、あまり写本資料が遺っていないことも頷けようか。写本全体を見ずして早まったことを口走ってはいけませんが、日暮れて道遠き老輩は焦るのみ!

§5. フィルダウシーにことよせて:

Firdowsi's Shabname: 1000 Years After. Written, translated and edited by Iraj Bashiri (Dushanbe: The Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan – The Academy of Sciences of Tajikistan – The International Borbad Foundation – The International Research and Exchanges Board – The International Scientific Center of Musical Culture of the Eastern Peoples, 1994), 314 p., incl. figs.

フィルダウシー (Hakim Abu al-Qasim Mansur Firdowsi: c. 935-1025 CE) の『シャー・ナーメ/王の書』は、説話文学の範疇にはないだろうが、史書や叙事詩とだけで片づけられまい。²¹ 1994年は、フィルダウシーが『王の書』を完成してからちょうど千年目にあたるとみて、タジキスタンで国を挙げての盛大な記念学会が催された。編著者の属すミネソタ大学の大きな研究企画の一連として実現したようだ。本書はその紀要であり、発刊者に列ねた機関名を見ても関心の内容を窺えよう。編著者がまず第一部として長篇の論稿を寄せていて、門外漢の筆者を刺戟してくれた。その中で、読者にフィルダウシーの描く世界を理解しやすくするためとして解説する部分が、とくに筆者の関心を惹き起してくれた。その地理が、まさしくインド仏教文化の繁栄した中央アジア地誌ともなっていることだ。²² 彼の同時代人で、『インド誌』を著して我々にも親しいアル・ビールニー (al-Bīrūnī: c. 973-1048 CE) に照らした考察もあるので、欲をいえばもう少しインドとの関わりを解いて欲しかったと思う。第二部 (p. 161-292) は、米国籍の編者を除いて、すべてタジク国籍人の研究者であるが、編者が十数篇の短編を英訳して公刊した:

“Firdowsi's Life and a Synopsis of the *cbibrdad*”, p. 1-159, including 4 figs.

Cf. M. Nurnazarov, “Geography in the *Shabname*”, p. 234-241.

この第二部で筆者の興味を惹く論稿二点は、いふなれば学史的な関心からである:

A. Geizer, “The First Biographical Data about Firdowsi in Europe”, p. 279-285.

Zahir Ahari, “Research in and Publication of Firdowsi's *Shabname* in Tajikistan: A Brief History”, p. 286-292.

本書を読んでいながら意外なことに気付いた。これだけ有名な古典が、とくに西欧の諸国語にも翻訳紹介されているというのに、すでに一世紀半も前のジュール・モール (Julius von Mohl / Jules Mohl: 1800-1876) の仏訳(1837-1878)を除いて、いまだに完訳を欧米露にも例がないらしいということである。ドイツ生まれのモールが、パリに在って、インド学仏教学のためにも果たしてくれた大きな功績を想い浮かべるのである。²³ この訳書が当時の西欧の知識人を刺激しないはずがな

²⁰ See e.g. Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal: Étude historique d'un royaume hindou. Ouvrage illustré de photographies*, II (= *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Études*, XVIII) (Paris 1905 / repr. New Delhi-Madras: AES, 1990), esp. p. 230-232.

Also D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*. Part I: *Early Medieval Period 750-1530 A.D.* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965), esp. p. 296-305.

Luciano Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal (c. 750-1480)* (= *Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture*, III) (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, X) (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1958), p. 114-116.

One should now refer to his second, thoroughly revised edition: *Medieval History of Nepal (c. 750-1482)* (= *SOR*, LIV) (Roma: IsMEO, 1984), p. 114-116.

²¹ 書誌学的成果や辞事典編纂の宿命として、刊行と同時に書誌資料が時代遅れになってしまうが、良質のものは基本的に真価を軽減しない。ここでも当てはまる一例がある:

Mary Boyce, “Firdausī, Abu'l-Qāsim Maṣṣūr ibn-i Ḥasan”, *Enzyklopädie des Märchens: Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, IV (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), Sp. 1188-1194.

²² For the historical states of affairs in this area see e.g. Yu. Bregel, *An Historical Atlas of Central Asia* (2003), §13-14 (with maps 12-13); — cf. *supra* §1 end on this book!

²³ Cf. e.g. Yuyama, *Eugène Burnouf* (2000), esp. §2.2.7, 4.1.4-6, 6.1.1.

い。中でもヴィンディッシュ (Ernst Windisch: 1844-1918) がいみじくも *der philologische Dichter* と言い当てたように、我々に梵文学を親しみのあるものにしたリュッケルト (Friedrich Rückert: 1788-1866) を思い起こさずにはいられない。²⁴ こうした中で、面白いことに、今にいたるまでインド学者は彼のそうした魅力に取り憑かれていて、折に触れては思わぬ発見をし、リュッケルトを掘り出してくるので興味は尽きない。²⁵

彼は僅かにではあるが年下の、ベルリンにあったポップ (Franz Bopp: 1791-1867) を師匠に梵語を習得するが、リュッケルトはエアランゲンで東洋語学の担当教授 (1826-1841) として梵語も教えている頃に、念願のポップとの文通を始める。詩人らしく韻律への強い関心を含めて、²⁶ その幅広い学問的な興味を自ずと披瀝している。²⁷ シャー・ナーメの自由な詩訳をエアランゲンで上梓したのもその頃(1838)で、²⁸ モールの影響も察せられる。²⁹ その後(1841-1848)、ベルリン大学へ移って活躍することは周知のことであろう。リュッケルトの訳詩は、みるたびにわが上田敏 (1874-1916) を思い起こさせる。その逆もまた然りである。

イスラーム文化圏に広く伝播したと思われるフィルダウシーの書ではあるが、何か我々の分野に直接間接に関連した資料が潜んでいるようではない。專家の考究を窺っている次第である。哲学的な思想史を眺めるともっと複雑な系譜が辿れるようである。しかし、これは筆者ごときにはとても歯が立つ代物ではない。西欧のイスラーム世界までを含む大がかりの視野に立たねばと思うだけで眼が眩むようである。文字通りお手上げである。フィルダウシーに遅れること一世紀余に、ユダヤの血を引いてスペインはコルドヴァに生まれて、後にカイロで活躍した学者・マイモニデス (Maimonides / Ibn Maimūn / Abū 'Imrān Mūsā: ca. 1135-1204CE) の生誕 800 年を記念して、アメリカ東洋学会が会誌の特集第一号を出した。同じユダヤの血を引くポルトガル系オランダ人として生まれて、同じような迫害・破門などの運命を辿ったスピノーザ (Bento Despiñosa / Baruch [= Benedictus] de Spinoza: 1632-1677 CE) の聖書解釈をめぐる論攷とを並べている: *Firdausi—Maimonides Anniversary Number (= Supplement to the Journal of the American Oriental Society, I)* (New Haven 1935), 40 p.:

F. W. Buckler, "Firdausi's *Shahnamāb* and the *Genealogia Regni Dei*", p. 1-21.

Isaac Husik, "Maimonides and Spinoza on the Interpretation of the Bible", p. 22-40.

ついでながら、パーレヴィー王朝 (1925-1979) が成って間もなく、国民的な詩人フィルダウシーの生誕千年は国威発揚には恰好の材料であったに違いない。しかし、幸いに、1930 年頃から貴重な原典の校訂版も出たようで、あわせて数世紀を経て伝わるアラビア語本もカイロやクウェイトなどからも刊行される。筆者の目配りはまったく足りないと思う。

²⁴ Cf. Ernst Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde*, I (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1917), Kap. XIII. "Rückert. ... andere Schüler Bopps. ...", p. 89f.

²⁵ Siehe z.B. Volker M. Tschannerl, "Der Fleiß des Philologen: Zum indologischen Teil des orientalistischen Nachlasses Friedrich Rückerts (1788-1866) in der Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Münster nebst einem bisher unveröffentlichten Beitrag desselben", *Vividharatnakarandaka: Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*, herausgegeben von Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann und Volker M. Tschannerl (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XXXVII) (Swistal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2000), p. 493-500 (mit Faks. auf p. 501f.). — mit Lit.!

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Martha Duttler, *Rückerts Verskunst* (Diss. Tübingen 1935 / Würzburg: Konrad Tritsch, 1936), VIII, 69 p.

²⁷ Cf. e.g. S. Lefmann, *Franz Bopp, sein Leben und seine Wissenschaft*, 2. Hälfte. Mit einem Anhang: Aus Briefen und andere Schriften (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1895), p. 209*-226*: IX. Briefe von Friedr. Rückert an Franz Bopp (1827-1835).

²⁸ Cf. e.g. *Friedrich Rückerts Werke in sechs Bänden*, herausgegeben von Conrad Beyer: Band VI (Leipzig: Hesse & Becker Verlag, o.J.), 16. Buch: Orientalische Erzählungen in metrischer Form, p. 434-532: "Rostem und Suhrab: Eine Heldengeschichte in zwölf Büchern" (mit der kurzen Anmerkung auf p. 434).

²⁹ Cf. e.g. Conrad Beyer, *Friedrich Rückert. Ein biographisches Denkmal. Mit vielen bis jetzt ungedruckten und unbekannteren Aktenstücken, Briefen und Poesien Friedrich Rückert's* (Frankfurt a. M.: J. D. Sauerländer's Verlag, 1868), p. 393.

老骨の筆者が学界の動向に疎くなっている間に、いくつも壮大な企画が進んでいて、そのお零れを頂戴しているが、なかなか目が届かないでいるうちに注目すべき特定領域研究「古典学の再構築」が進行していた。中谷英明代表の緻密で精力的な活躍のおかげで、筆者も特定領域の先端を行く問題を遅ればせながら学んでいる次第である。

その中に「『シャーナーメ』の伝承とイラン人意識の形成」(研究代表者・羽田明/研究分担者・柘屋友子・佐々木あや乃)という企画があり、さすがに「近現代社会と古典」という研究課題のなかで歴史的な流れに照らしてみようとの驚異的なものである。現存写本の調査・蒐集・読解をしようとの研究計画には大いに期待を寄せるものである。その成果はインド学・仏教学の分野に携わる者にも参考・応用できると思う。³⁰ なお、特定領域研究「古典学の再構築」はつい最近に各計画を統括して論集としてまとめて刊行され極めて有益である。その中に「『シャーナーメ』の伝承とイラン人意識の形成」も幸いに再録されている。³¹ 内外の学界にも広く知られるよう祈っている。願わくば、これだけの貴重な公刊物に各巻の英文要旨・内容目次があったらと残念でならない。

実は、フィルダウシーの王書については、幸いにわが国の優れた専門家によって和訳があり、その懇切丁寧な解説が助けてくれる:

黒柳恒男訳/フィルドゥスィー・王書/シャー・ナーメ・ペルシアの英雄叙事詩 (= 東洋文庫, 150) (東京・平凡社, 1969, 12th impr. 1999), esp. p. 423-447.

訳者は、本書の刊行前に、フィルドゥスィーの王書が成立するまでに、同種の書があったことを丁寧に解きあかしてくれて、先行する六点の王書を紹介解説してくれていて非常に興味深い。

黒柳恒男, “フィルドゥスィー以前のシャー・ナーメ”, 東京外国語大学論集, XIV (1966), p. 73-89.

『王の書』は、ウイリアム・ジョーンズなどが、ギリシャの叙事詩にも匹敵するものとして高い評価を与えているので、早くに関心を惹いたのであろう。19世紀初頭のインドに在って先ず着手し、はじめて英語で紹介するとて自負するアトキンスンの情熱的な取り組みようにも感心する:

The Shāh Nāmah of the Persian Poet Firdausī, translated and abridged in Prose and Verse by James Atkinson, edited by J. A. Atkinson (= *Sir John Lubbock's Hundred Books*, XVIII) (London / Glasgow-Manchester-New York: George Routledge & Sons, 1892), xxxii, 412 p.

ついでながら、フランス語に訳したモールの同国人がドイツ語にはじめて紹介したというのが次著である。門外漢で評しようがないが、恐らく当時の文献学・歴史学などの水準を示すものなのであろう。長文の序論を付けて同時代の研究成果に目を配っていることが興味を惹くのである:

Heldensagen von Firdusi. Zum ersten Male metrisch aus dem Persischen übersetzt nebst einer Einleitung über das Iranische Epos von Adolf Friedrich von Schack (Berlin: Verlag von Wilhelm Hertz / Besser'sche Buchhandlung - London bei Williams & Norgate, 1851), vii, 538 p. ["Einleitung", p. 1-107].

筆者がとくに知りたいことは、しかし、史書なきインド・説話文芸に長けたインドとの少なくとも撰述の上での交流が認められないのかどうかである。この点について最近の動向を日本の若手から是非とも教わりたいと念じている。素人の長舌は止めねばならないが、筆を擱くまえに一言。パーレヴィー王朝のイラーン帝国 2500 年祭に関わる発刊時の政治的な背景はさておき、そこでページを捲っているだけでも楽しい一書を紹介しておきたい。さすがに 16 世紀後半の写本といわれる至宝に触れるに値するきめ細かな出版である:

Stuart Cary Welch, *A King's Book of Kings. The Shāh-Nāmah of Shāh Tahmasp*. With a preface by Amir Aslan Afshar, Ambassador of Iran (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1972) [Distributed by New York Graphic Society, Greenwich, CT], 4° boxed: 199 p., num. mostly col. ill. & pl. (Printed in Lausanne, Switzerland) [All photographs (p.78-187) by Malcolm Varon, New York]. — ISBN 0-87099-028-4 / LC 78-188400.

³⁰ 参考・「古典学の再構築」第二号(1999), p. 23a-b; 同・第十号(2002), p. 68b-69a.

³¹ 「論集『近現代社会と古典』調整班研究報告」(= 特定領域研究「古典学の再構築」研究成果報告集, VIII)(神戸 2003), p. 202b-203a.

§6. ベルリン官立図書館のことなど:

機会をみて、種々の機関を仏教文献学を専攻するものに関心から選んで、しかし思いつくままに眺めてみたい。まずはベルリンの官立図書館/Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (SBB) / Preussischer Kulturbesitz (PKB) の周辺を垣間見ることから始める。

この官立図書館は、元を訪ねれば、1661年にブランデンブルクの大選帝侯フリードリッヒ・ヴィルヘルム (Der Große Kurfürst Friedrich-Wilhelm von Brandenburg: 1620-1688, r. 1640-88) による創設まで遡る。ちなみに、ベルリン大学は、かのフンボルト兄 (Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt: 1767-1835) などの尽力で、学芸を重用したフリードリッヒ・ヴィルヘルム四世 (1795-1861, r. 1840-61) によって1811年に創立され、1812年頃ロンドンに赴任していたフンボルト兄の梵語の師匠であり親友となる年下のポップ (Franz Bopp: 1791-1867) を印欧語比較文学の担当教授 (1821-64) に招きベルリンのインド学は出発する。両者の関係はインド学史の上でも重要であった。³² フンボルト兄はローマ公使として19世紀初頭に滞留中に個人的に教を乞うていた著名な古典学者ヴェルカー (Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker: 1784-1868) に宛てた1821年11月6日付の長文の書翰の最後にポップの貴重さを説く件がある。³³ ポップの後を継ぐ人たちも我々に馴染み深い: Albrecht Weber (1825-1901), Richard Pischel (1850-11908), Heinrich Lüders (1869-1943).³⁴ ついでながらパリに長く逗留していたフンボルト弟 (Friedrich Wilhelm Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt: 1769-1859) も東洋学に関心を抱いていたが (cf. Yuyama, *Burnouf*, 2000, §4.1.3, 4.1.5), ベルリンに着任したポップには興味があったらしく、パリから兄に宛てた手紙 (1824.IX.13 付) にひょこっと出てくる。³⁵

その後の概略をとけば、プロイセン国王フリードリッヒ一世 (Friedrich I: 1657-1713) が即位した1701年に王立図書館 (Königliche Bibliothek) となって1918年まで存続することになる。さらに1945年迄はプロイセン官立図書館 (Preußische Staatsbibliothek) として確固たる地位を築く。第二次大戦中には蔵書をドイツ各地に疎開させたが、米軍占領下でマールブルクに集められた。後にドイツ官立図書館 (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek) をウンター・デン・リンデン通り8番地 (Unter den Linden 8, D-10117 Berlin) に、ベルリンの官立図書館 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) とプロイセン文化遺産 (Preußischer Kulturbesitz) をポツダム通り33番地 (Potsdamer Straße 33, D-10785 Berlin) に置く。1964/1967-1977年頃にかけてベルリンへの集結は完了したようだ。1992年に両者を統合・併称 (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz) し現在に発展する。

このような成立の背景と運用の展開を知ると、単に「州立」を冠するだけでは、他の重要な役割を果たしてきたいくつかの「官立」図書館と同じように、ドイツ人にとっては本質をついていないと思う。今となっては、州でも、かつては国であり、統合されて帝国となり、そして合衆国連邦となってきたのであろう。確かに法的には「州立」かもしれないが、役割は「国立」のつもりもあろう。ニーダーザ

³² Cf. e.g. *Wilhelm von Humboldt — Werke in fünf Bänden*, V, herausgegeben von Andreas Flitner und Klaus Giel (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1981), p. 442-503: Kommentare an Band III, bearbeitet von Klaus Giel und Philip Mattson: "Einführung in die sprachphilosophischen Schriften", esp. p. 449-453.

³³ "... Bopp wird wahrscheinlich hier in Berlin als Professor bleiben. Er ist nur noch nicht recht mit seiner Regierung darüber im reinen. Sein Umgang ist in jeder Rücksicht von großem Werte für mich." *Wilhelm von Humboldt — Briefe*. Auswahl von Wilhelm Rößle mit einer Einleitung von Heinz Gollwitzer (München: Carl Hanser Verlag, 1952), p. 410.

³⁴ Cf. Wolfgang Morgenroth, "150 Jahre Sanskritstudien in Berlin — humanistische Traditionen und Aufgaben der Indologie an der Humboldt-Universität", *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin: Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, XXV, 3 (1976), p. 281-291, inkl. 5 Abb.

³⁵ Cf. *Wilhelm von Humboldt: Sein Leben und Wirken dargestellt in Briefen, Tagebüchern und Dokumenten seiner Zeit*, herausgegeben von Rudolf Freese (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1986), p. 713: "..., was Bopp für Sanskrit ist. ...".

クセン州の図書館も、もとを質せば、ハノーファーの選定侯が大学をゲッティンゲンに建立して王立図書館を置いたので、現に今にいたるまで州立図書館と大学中央図書館が一つであり、利用者は大学図書館、略してUBと呼びなれている: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek.

さて、かつての帝国学士院は、ウンター・デン・リンデン通り8番地の誠にプロイセンの威風堂々たるイーネ館 (Ihne-Bau) にあり、いわば本図書館の1号館 (Haus 1) の建物でもある。これは有名な宮廷建築師の名 (Ernst von Ihne: 1848-1917) に因む。1903-1914年にわたって建てられた新バロック様式として知られる。図書館としての機能を備えるためには、内外の先端を行く大学図書館などが参考にされたと思う。その一が、18世紀初頭の創設以来、伝統を誇るゲッティンゲン大学中央図書館であろう。その東西ドイツの統一が成るまでは、同所に学士院の東洋学研究者の仕事場もあったが、2000年10月に古巣の建物の大改修なって移転した。文芸の中心街での移動である (Jägerstraße 22/23, D-10117 Berlin)。東西統合したあとは、ベルリン・ブランデンブルク学士院 (Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften) と改名した。筆者は偶々ベルリンに調査研究のために滞在していた時で、旧居から新居への引っ越しに出くわした。かねて東ベルリン時代の頃を知る者なれば感慨も一入である。学士院の研究機関としても果たす役割は羨ましくも変わらない。

第1号館の小道を挟んで東隣にベルリン・フンボルト大学 (旧フリードリッヒ・ヴィルヘルム大学 / 通称ベルリン大学) が在り、正門脇でフンボルト兄弟の像が見守る。ウンター・デン・リンデン通りの真向かいにはドイツ・オペラ座と旧王立図書館 (通称“箆筒”: Die Kommode / 現在大学が使用) が広場で向かい合う。つまりこの辺りはプロイセンの文化的遺産の展覧場なのである。ベルリンの高等建築学校の創設者ギリ親子 (David Gilly: 1748-1808 / Friedrich Gilly: 1772-1800) やギリ子の弟子シンケル (Karl Friedrich Schinkel: 1781-1841) などドイツ建築史に名を馳せる人たちの建物が犇めきあうところである。

さて本図書館の現在地である第2号館・西新館 (Haus 2: “Neubau von Westen”) に、1965年来の長かった僑居 (Das Provisorium im Bendler-Block / Tiergarten: Reichpietschufer 72-76 – Stauffenbergerstraße 11-13, Berlin 30) から1978年に落着く。この「新館」は、シャルーン館 (Scharoun-Bau) と名づく。因に、戦後復興を担った建築家シャルーン (Hans Scharoun: 1893-1972) の名に由来する。彼はベルリン・フィル (Berliner Philharmoniker) の音楽会堂で、愛好家には馴染み深いであろう。今はシャルーン通に続くヘルベルト・フォン・カラヤン (Herbert von Karajan) 通り1番地となる。大きなポツダム通り (Potsdamer Straße) を挟んで同趣の建物を見る。戦後の荒廃した焼野原と近接した東西ベルリンの壁を知る人はポツダム広場を中心とした今日の発展を思い浮かべよう。悲惨な戦争の爪痕は余りにも大きかった。筆者がはじめて壁の両側を見たのは、ちょうど40年前の1964年2月であった。いま競って新しい建築物が並び起って目を惹く。

この二つの建物に一つの図書館 “Eine Bibliothek in zwei Häusern” と誇らし気ではあるが、その戦後史は一見華やかに見えて、関係者の苦勞は並み大抵ではなかったろうと察せられる。図書館学の発展・東洋学図書館関係者の国際連帯は進歩の追い風ではあったが、東西の冷戦構造は逆風にもなった時代であったと思う。これは同時に東洋学の領域で、原典研究が写本の徹底した調査から始まるのを確認した時代でもある。第一次資料を扱わない東洋学は影を潜めていった。

インド古典学の立場からはベルリン官立図書館の東洋学部門 (Orientabteilung: Potsdamer Straße 30, D-10785 Berlin) を忘れることができない。我田引水: 第二次大戦後の東洋部長は、幸いにも常にインド学に理解のある人に継がれてきた。知る人ぞ知る。精力的に復興・興隆の基礎を築いたのがフォークト (Wolfgang Voigt: 1911-1982)。その後を継いだゲオルゲ (Dieter George: 1935-1985) は惜しくも急逝してしまった。³⁶

この部門には、ネパール・ドイツ写本保存企画 (NGMPP = Nepal-German Manuscript Preser-

³⁶ Cf. for further reference A. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections: A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology* (= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica*, Pamphlet, II) (Tokyo: IIBS, 1992), p. 1f.

vation Project) によって撮影されたフィルムが保管されている。このインド学仏教学徒にとって不可欠の資料は、現在はファイステル (Dr. Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel) 部長の指揮下に管理保管されている。同じフィルムがカトマンドウの国立古文書館に在る。正直にいて、ネパールで採った簡単な目録カードが頼りの段階であり、早く信頼のおける目録を得よう後続の若手の参加が切に望まれる由縁である (Cf. Yuyama, *op.cit.*, p. 17).

かつてフォークトとヤーネルト (Klaus Ludwig Janert: 1921-1994) が機関車となって推進したドイツ東洋学会の大企画は 1961 年から成果の刊行が始まり、今はゲッティンゲン学士院の企画となっている。ファイステルがその音頭を取って手腕を発揮する。まさに百年の計である:

Ein Projekt der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen: Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland — Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag): *Im Einvernehmen mit der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, begründet von Wolfgang Voigt, fortgeführt von Dieter George, im Auftrag der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen herausgegeben von Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel.*

こうした時期に筆者は西欧留学の機を利用して、かねてからの法華経写本の調査と写真入手に取りかかった。イギリスとフランスに在ったネパール系の写本は、当時の環境が研究者に好意的であったことから、割合に素早く入手できた。すぐに同胞の研究者に利用できるよう関係者も計らってくれた。同時に、梵文法華経研究のための書誌学的調査の必要を感じて、無謀にもキャンペラにインド学の講座が創設されたばかりのところで着手した。凶書の蒐集も文字通り零からの出発であった。その後、新設の機関での図書館建設作業をくり返す羽目になることも露しらずに、無に等しい環境がかえって逆に書誌学的な仕事の欲望を駆り立てたのかも知れない。³⁷

その頃、筆者は俗にいうペトロフスキー写本が単数ではなく、複数であることを知って非常な衝撃を受けていた。確固たる証拠を突きつけられた研究が目を惹いた:

G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin, "Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the Saddharmapundarika from the N. F. Petrovsky Collection", *IJ*, VIII, 4 (1965), p. 268-274.³⁸

しかし御簾の向こうにある写本類には手が届かない。筆者が知る限りに作った対比表も空白のままに公刊した (Yuyama, *SP-Bibl.*, p. 46)。地理学者トリンクラー (Emil Trinkler: 1896-1931) が中央アジア探険 (1927-28) でコートンから将来した法華経の梵文写本 9 葉については、幸いにも出口常順の調査で知れた (Yuyama, *SP-Bibl.*, p. 29f., & p. 47).³⁹

こうした中で、筆者は、マルブルクのドイツ官立図書館に中央アジア本のあるという情報に接して興奮した。未見であったが、早速に記録した (Yuyama, *SP-Bibl.*, p. 33f.)。しかし拙著刊行後すぐにハイント・ベッヒャルトと戸田宏文からマルブルク本とトリンクラー本が同一であることを衝撃的に指摘された。⁴⁰ 間もなく、ベッヒャルトは詳細な研究を公表した。⁴¹ 筆者のいわば勇み足である。

³⁷ A. Yuyama, *A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Texts of the Saddharmapundarikasūtra* (= *Oriental Monograph Series*, V) (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press, 1970), XXXV, 115 p. (incl. 4 plates). — abbrev.: Yuyama, *SP-Bibl.*

³⁸ Cf. A. Yuyama, "Supplementary Remarks on 'Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the Saddharmapundarika from the N. F. Petrovsky Collection' by G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin", *IJ*, IX, 2 (1966), p. 85-112.

³⁹ 本田義英・出口常順, 西域出土梵本法華経 (京都大学印度哲学研究室・本田義英博士還暦記念梵本法華経刊行會, 1949), p. XV-XVIII: 出口常順, "伯林アカデミー所蔵西域出土並に加濕彌羅ギルギット出土梵本法華経に就て", esp. p. XVf., p. 9-14: Photo Nos. 23-40, and p. 97 (table of contents).

⁴⁰ 参看・湯山明, "法華経梵本拾遺 (1)", 法華文化, XIX (立正大学法華経文化研究所, 1972), p. 5.

⁴¹ Cf. Heinz Bechert, *Über die „Marburger Fragmente“ des Saddharmapundarika (Mit einem Beitrag von Jongchay Rinpoche)* (= *NAWG, I. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1972, Nr. 1* (1972), 81 p. (incl. facsimiles on p. 67f. = *Honda-Deguchi*, Nos. 24, 27, 37-38); — cf. Jacques May, *IJ*, XVII, 3/4 (1975), p. 270-273; Ronald E. Emmerick, *OLZ*, LXXIII, 4 (1978), Sp. 390-392.

当時、原典の批判的研究をするものにとって、写本を現物で見るのも写真で調査するのも至難な時代であった。稀な中央アジア系写本は尚更であった。その頃、真剣に法華経梵本の研究を念じていた筆者は、ペトロフスキー蒐集本が既に二三の研究者に秘蔵されているのを知って、法華経と四つに組むのを悲しいかな断念した。

従って、いわゆるカシュガール本梵文法華経の写真覆刻による刊行は、諸手を挙げて歓迎すべき大事であった。ところが折角の出版物は部数も少なく直ちに絶版となってしまった。直ちに再版を願って関係者と交渉した結果、時の国際関係も踏まえて、同じフィルムを使っても我が国の印刷技術をもって、うまく運んで研究者の入手し易いものが出来上がり、同時に解読の便宜のために冊子も今は亡き戸田宏文が準備し刊行できたのは嬉しかった。⁴² この前後から、色々の機関から、梵文法華経写本の貴重な覆刻版刊行が相次ぎ、いまだに新資料の発掘もあつたりして、驚きながら今日に至っている。隔世の感があり、慶びに堪えない。

ついでながらインド学仏教学徒が、中央アジアへのドイツ探検隊の将来した逸品を見たさに、必ず訪ねるのが郊外のダーレムにあるインド美術館 (Museum für Indische Kunst) であろう: Takustraße 40, D-14195 Berlin(-Dahlem). 第一次探検隊の派遣から数えて百年になる 2002 年 9 月には、プロイセン文化遺産の枠にある上記の三機関が共催して“トゥルファン再訪 (Turfan Revisited)”なる専家の学会が開かれた。残念ながら、出席できなかつた。

— 以上、観光案内と誤解されるのを恐れずに駄文を労したのは、ほかでもない若い将来あるインド学仏教学徒に、この歴史的な背景を知って埋もれた資料の開拓に赴いてもらいたい一心からである。際限がないので、下に二三の参考書を挙げておこう。まずは豊富な写真で感激をもって歴史をみせる官立図書館の展示カタログとして出版された書がる:

325 Jahre Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. Das Haus und seine Leute. Buch und Ausstellungskatalog [Text: Werner Schochow / Redaktion, Ausstellung & Katalog: Walter Ederer und Werner Schochow] (= *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz – Ausstellungskatalog*, XXVII) (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1986), 206 p., incl. ills. (some coloured) numbering A-H & 1-220, sketches, maps, etc. — ISBN 3-88226-275-3.

新館公開の目前に、簡略な歴史・組織・内容などについて述べた親切な案内書を出している:

Johannes Metz, *Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz / *Generaldirektor*: Dr. Ekkehart Vesper, 1976), 58 p. (p. 3: 新館全景).

次は筆者が上に文芸の中心街と称した一帯を記した建築史で、東西ドイツ統合直前ともいうべき時の出版であることも関心を惹いた。豊富な写真・文献を用いてあり、単なる行きずりの読物と趣きを全く異にする:

Peter Goralczyk, *Der Platz der Akademie in Berlin* (Berlin: VEB Verlag für Bauwesen, 1987), 207 p., inkl. 163 Abb. — ISBN 3-345-00182-9.

ついでながらベルリン学士院の歴史については、枚挙に暇がないほどに資料があるようだが、第二次世界大戦後に東で書かれた次の小冊子がある。困ったことにフンボルト兄弟などに紙数をかなり割いても、過去の輝かしい業績があると思うが、残念なことに東洋学・インド学の分野への関心が薄く、中央アジア探検などには触れていないようである。二年後に補訂版を出しているらしいが未見である。ついでで同学士院の前身である選定侯国ブランデンブルク学術協会 (Kurfürstlich-Brandenburgische Sozietät der Wissenschaften) の創設者・初代総裁ライブニッツ (*Freiberr*

⁴² *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Sūtra — Kashgar Manuscript*, edited by Lokesh Chandra, with a Foreword by Heinz Bechert. With a Preface to the Second impression by Lokesh Chandra (Tokyo: The Reiyukai, 1977) [First published in New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1976], iii, 15 pages, 435 facsimile plates. — ISBN 4-89298-798-0. — 参看・鈴木学術財団研究年報, XV (1977), p. 101b-104a.

Cf. Hirofumi Toda, *Note on the Kashgar Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarikāsūtra* (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Minor*, II) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1977), iv, 39 p. — ISBN 4-906267-04-1.

Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz: Leipzig 1646 - Hannover 1716) を含む全会員名簿を刊行している。まことに大袈裟な感じがするであろうが、今となれば学史の資料にもなるう：

Gerhard Dunken, *Die Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1958), 144 p., inkl. 43 Abb.

Die Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin: Biographischer Index der Mitglieder, bearbeitet von Kurt-R. Biermann und Gerhard Dunken (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960), XII, 248 p., 1 frontisp. (Portrait - Leibniz).

上にも触れたゲッティンゲンの州立・大学図書館に関しては、精緻な研究書が出ている。早くも1747年の大学図書館の版画が残っている (Abb. 9: *Stich von Georg Daniel Heumann*):

Christiane Kind-Doerne, *Die Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen: Ihre Bestände und Einrichtungen in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Mit einem Beitrag von Klaus Haenel über die Handschriftenabteilung (= *Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen*, XXII) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1986), X, 168 p., 16 Abb. (zwischen p. 150-151).

インド系写本についても参考文献を挙げた簡にして要を得た記述がある (p. 118f.).⁴³ ところで1977-1980年に月刊誌『学鑑』(丸善)の「世界の図書館」シリーズの一篇として、本図書館を利用という点から記述したと思われる報告があるので書き留めておきたい:

嚮田収, “ゲッティンゲンの「近代的」大学図書館”, 徳永康元編・世界の図書館 (東京・丸善, 1981), p. 71-79 (incl. 1 photo).

§7. ロシアとフランスの学術交流録:

Grigorij M. Bongard-Levin, Roland Lardinois (et) Aleksej A. Vigin, *Correspondances orientalistes entre Paris et Saint-Petersbourg (1887-1935)*. Avec le concours scientifique de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie et du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (= *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXVI) (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 2002), 303 pp. (incl. 30 ills.). — ISBN 2-87754-129-0.

[Lettres de Sylvain Lévi, Alfred Foucher, Émile Senart et Paul Pelliot adressées à Sergej F. Ol'denburg, Fedor I. Šerbatskoj, Vasilij M. Alekseev, Vasilij V. Radlov et Fridrih A. Rosenberg].

書簡類を掘り出して読む、ましてや公開してしまう事には、誰も決して気分の良いものではなからう。親しい間の手紙ならば、時に齒に衣を着せぬ単刀直入な表現もあったりする。第三者が読んで、楽しいときもあれば、不快を感ずる場合もあろう。しかし、両国の碩学、特にレヴィ(Sylvain Lévi: 1863-1935)とオルデンプルグ(Sergej F. Ol'denburg: 1863-1934)という二人の親友の往復書翰は、関連する領野の史的な展開を見ようとする時に、重大な示唆を得ることも多い。いわゆる古き良き時代の大学者たちは、実に繁く筆を執って長文の文を認める。こうした書簡類は、ときに論著には書いてない理論の組み立ての根拠や背景を計り知ることに役立つ場合もある。次に論著を読むときに、理解を容易ならしめることもある。本書には初めて見る写真もあり、興味は尽きない。ときに何やら皮肉な言葉もある。何よりも驚くことは、精緻な学史的解説もあり、まさに完璧な編集に成ることである。欧米人の古い手書きの書簡類の解読は、少なくとも筆者には、梵語写本を解きあかすよりも難しいと思った経験がある。日本にも滞留して多大の影響を与えたレヴィの数多の書簡が綿密な解説とともに読める。⁴⁴

⁴³ Heinz Bechert, “Erforschung von Handschriftenbeständen aus dem indischen Kulturraum aus der Arbeit des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde und ihrer Vorgeschichte”, *Universität-Göttingen — Informationen*, Sonderausgabe (Juni 1977), p. 6-18, inkl. Abb. 4-14. — cf. Yuyama, *Burnouf* (2000), p. 87: “Bechert 1977”.

Cf. also Klaus L. Janert, *An Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts*, I (= *VOHD*, Supplementband I) (1965), p. 59-61: Nos. 97-101.

⁴⁴ 最近、レヴィの一通の書簡にことよせてネパールの歴史的な背景を活写する興味ある論稿が目に入った: Enrica Garzilli, “A Sanskrit Letter Written by Sylvain Lévi in 1923 to Hemarāja Śarmā along with Some Hitherto

1912-1916年にわが国に留学して、革命直前に帰国し、その後の混乱の中で夭折したローゼンベルグ (Otto O. Rozenberg: 1888-1919) も、その恩師などにも引用されていて我々の知識を増してくれる (see esp. p. 153 n. 288). つい最近になって彼にまつわる霧の帳も明けてきて有難く思っていたが、⁴⁵ 更に詳しい研究が出て感激している。⁴⁶ しかし、まだまだ不明な事が多い。実は、彼の労作は注目を浴びていたが、⁴⁷ ロシアで出た文献目録にも、⁴⁸ 人名辞典にも、⁴⁹ その顔を出さない。かつてわが国とロシアの間にはインド学仏教学の高度な交流を盛んならしめた古き良き時代があった。南條文雄や荻原雲来も国際色豊かな協力をしたが、その頃にローゼンベルグは育ったわけである。今後もっと盛んな学術的交流の復活が望まれる。⁵⁰

そこで筆者の門外の領野であるが、興味は常にもっているの、最近になって目にした中で注目した一書を、これまた日露の学術的交流を期待しつつ挙げておきたい:

V. P. Androrov, *Buddizm nagardžuny: Religiozno-filosofskie traktaty* (Moskva: “Vostočnoj literatury”, 2000), 791 p. — ISBN 5-02-018115-3.

龍樹・中観に関連する分野を専攻する者であれば、ロシアの研究の状況を知る上で大いに役立つものと思う。日本の研究水準が高いであろうことを考えると、外に向けて批判的系統的な書誌がないのを残念に思う。著者もできる限りの二次資料を渉猟しようとしているようだ。概してロシアの学者の著作は引用参考文献を列記する習慣があり、外国人にとってはロシアの現況を知ることが出来るので大変に有り難い。本書の著者の成果を評定する資格はないが、典籍を網羅して紹介しているので教科書の役割は十分に果たしているのだろう。

§8. 宋代の楊億 (974-1020 CE):

李一飛著・楊億年譜 (上海・上海古籍出版社, 2002.8), (ii), 9, 1, 244 p. — ISBN 7-5325-3225-9. 三四十年前に、「寶徳藏般若」(T.229) の梵本に強い関心を寄せていた頃、漢訳者法賢・天息災についていまだ余り知られていなかったのを探るのに苦労した。しかし楊億などが編んだという「大中祥符法寶録」のおかげで、淳化二年 (991CE) の訳になることもかなりの信用をおける情報として判明した。⁵¹ 筆者の知る限り、「大中祥符法寶録」全二十二巻のうち十六巻が現存している。上海の影印宋版藏經會によって、1935年に覆刻された「宋藏遺珍」の中に収められているが、当時の混乱した事情から日本も含めて外国に出た数が少なかったようだ。なお、宋代の仏教にたいする評価は余り高くないようであるが、いわゆる「磧沙版大藏經」の校訂は優れているとの定評がある。甘肅省で1931年に発見されて、その五年後にこれまた上海の影印宋版藏經會が覆刻刊行する。幸いに臺北の修訂

Unknown Biographical Notes (= Cultural Nationalism and Internationalism in the First Half of the 20th Century: Famous Indologists Write to the Raj Guru of Nepal, No. 1), *JNRC = Journal of the Nepal Research Centre*, XII (2001), p. 115-149.

⁴⁵ Cf. e.g. John S. Barlow, “The Mysterious Case of the Brilliant Young Russian Orientalist”, *Bulletin of the International Association of Orientalist Librarians*, XLII/XLIII (1995/96), p. 24-36.

⁴⁶ *Otto Ottonovich Rosenberg and his Contribution to Buddhism in Russia*, edited by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz and John S. Barlow (= *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, XLI) (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 1998), XIII, 81 p.

⁴⁷ Cf. Hanayama's *Bibliography on Buddhism* (Tokyo 1961), Nos. 11243-11247; also C. Regamey, *Buddhistische Philosophie* (Bern 1950), p. 9: §1.91, p. 16: §2.22.

⁴⁸ See e.g. *Bibliografija Indii* (Moskva 1959, 1965, 1976); — cf. J. W. de Jong, *IJ*, XI, 1 (1968), p. 34.

⁴⁹ See e.g. S. D. Miliband, *Biobibliografičeskij / Slovar' otečestvennyx vostokovedov c 1917 g.* 2 vols. (Moskva 1995); cf. Solomon Bayevsky, *JAOS*, CXVII, 2 (1997), p. 409.

⁵⁰ See A. Yuyama, “Foreword” to G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Indian Texts from Central Asia* (Tokyo 1986), p. v.

⁵¹ A. Yuyama, *Praññā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (Sanskrit Recension A)* (Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. xxxix-xliii, esp. p. xlii: §9.

中華大藏經會刊行の「中華大藏經」に共に再録された。⁵² これは「大正新脩大藏經」の刊行完了後であり重要さは倍増した。⁵³ ただしく「佛說佛母寶德藏般若波羅蜜經」三巻も幸いに収録されている。⁵⁴

楊億の名は、「大中祥符法寶録」の編者の一人として忘れることが出来ないで、本書の刊行を知って早速目を通してみたわけである。多数の資料を駆使して年譜を編み、伝記を附録に収めてあり、人物像が浮かび上がってきた。宋太祖開寶七年(974 CE)生、天禧四年(1020 CE)没とあるから、本法寶録を編んだとされる大中祥符四年(1011CE)から八年(1015CE)40歳になんなんとした働き盛りであったろう。訳経史上に不明・未解決の問題が多々ある中で、同時代人の編纂になる「大中祥符法寶録」のもつ意義は大きいと思う。しかし、残念なことに、本書ではこの法寶録に触れるところがないようである。もともと仏教関係は著者の関心を本書に置かなかつたのか、少なくとも参考書目に関連の文献類が見当たらない。また、本書の資料・研究がどこまで批判的成果であるか門外漢には悲しいかな知る由もない。專家の評定を期待したい。

こうした中で、ごく最近になって大藏經の序文/跋文を人別に収録した書が現れた。簡略に著者の略歴をあげて、「大正新脩大藏經」や「卍續藏經」はじめ中国で刊行されたものも含めて二十九種におよぶ叢書などから引用集録する。他版にある読みとの比較校合を期待していたが、専門家には残念なことであろうかと察している。ちなみに楊億は「宋遼金元」の巻に収められ、大正藏經にも見られる「古清規序」(大正, XLVIII p. 1157), 「汾陽無德禪師語録序」(大正, XLVII p. 595), 「景德傳燈録序」(大正, LI p. 196)のほか、「佛祖同參集序」(全文文, CCLXXXV, p. 723)を引用している:

許明主編・中國佛教經論序跋記集, II: 宋遼金元卷 (上海・上海辭辭典出版社, 2002), p. 510-516.

§9. 季羨林書誌追録:

樂黛雲(編)・季羨林與二十世紀中國學術/紀念季羨林教授九十壽辰 (北京・北京大学出版社, 2001.7), (iv), 359 p., XIV-page front ills., cover photo. — ISBN 7-301-05108-5.

1911年8月6日生まれ季羨林の90歳の誕生日を記念しての祝賀文集である。中には献呈の論文もあり、折に触れての貴重な写真もある。彼の学問的業績については、多方面にわたる研究を、最新の力作を含めて、次の論稿が要領よく関連の論著を引いて紹介しているので興味を惹く。二三を挙げておきたい。他人様のことはいえないが、欧州のことや欧語などに事実誤認と誤植があるのは惜しい。また、外国籍の関係者(日本からの留学生も含めて)に執筆を依頼したら更に面白かつたと思う。季羨林教授の更なる長寿と教導を念願する:

錢文忠, “季羨林与印度古代語言研究 — 恭賀恩師九十華誕”, p. 11-31.

錢文忠, “季羨林与吐火羅文研究 — 恭賀恩師九十華誕”, p. 32-41.

榮新江, “敦煌吐魯番研究的典範 — 吐火羅文彌勒會見記譯釋・讀後”, p. 42-46 (incl. 2 ills.).

段晴, “率先走向世界的中国学者 — 季羨林先生早期的學術研究”, p. 103-109.

謝天振, “季羨林与翻譯”, p. 136-143.

李万鈞, “季羨林和劃劃”, p. 144-159.

段宝林, “季羨林先生与民間文学”, p. 160-173.

劉介民, “季羨林學術成就的一個側面 — 從民間文学到比較文学”, p. 174-179.

⁵² 中華大藏經 (修訂中華大藏經會刊行), 第八十冊 (民國54年季春/1965), p. 34566a-34642: — p. 34589c-34590b: 是年 (= 淳化2年/991 CE) 十月譯成七巻・佛母寶德藏般若波羅蜜多經一部三巻.

⁵³ For further details with extensive bibliographical information see J. W. de Jong, *Buddha's Word in China* (= *The 26th George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology 1967*) (Canberra: A.N.U., 1968), p. 17 cum n. 57 on p. 25f; reprinted in *Buddhist Studies by J. W. de Jong*, ed. Gregory Schopen (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1979), p. 93 cum n. 57 on p. 100f.

= 岡部和雄訳, “中国における仏陀の言葉”, 駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要, XXXII (1974), p. 69f (cum n. 57).

⁵⁴ 磧沙版大藏經 (影印宋版藏經會版, 1936), No. 505, 高 (Fasc. DV) (No. 6), p. 39a-50a: = 中華大藏經, 第一輯 (= 磧沙版大藏經), No. 9, Vol. XXXIII (修訂中華大藏經會版, 1963) [= Fasc. LXV (1965)], p. 28481b-28488c.

= 平江府磧沙版延聖院新雕藏經律論目錄, No. 1: = 昭和法寶總目錄, I, No. 12, p. 942a1; 影印宋磧沙藏經・首冊, I (1936), p. 48b; 中華大藏經・首編 (臺北 1968), p. 151: No. 1226; 更に中華大藏經第一輯總目錄 (1965), p. 24b17 参照.

王堯, “藏訳・大唐西域記的翻訳, 訳者和大乗上座部等幾個問題述記”, p. 308-313.

高鴻, “季羨林先生學術詳小伝”, p. 343-354.

“季羨林 1996-2001 年出版著作書目”, p. 355.

“季羨林先生主持的三大學術工程”, p. 356-358. — 東方文化集成・四庫全書存目叢書・傳世藏書.

于青著・季羨林／靜靜走在喧囂中 (= 李輝主編・大象人物聚焦書系) (鄭州・大象出版社, 2002.9), (iv), 95 p., including b/w photo-ills. + cover & title-page photos. — ISBN 7-5347-2867-3. CIP 2002-046191.

季羨林は幅広く中国人の心を掴んで離すことがない。若い時代から現在にいたるまでの貴重な写真などに簡略な注記や引用を施して、読むものに彼の時代を追っての業績などをしみじみと想い浮かべながら味わえる書である。学問だけでなく、優しい性格を窺い知ることができる。

§10. 複録の中の雑録: 以下に他の興味ある材料を備忘録として書き留めたい:

Ulrich Schneider — *Opera minora*. Herausgegeben von Marion Meisig (= *Beiträge zur Indologie*, herausgegeben von Konrad Meisig, XXXIX)⁵⁵ (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002), XII, 273 p. — ISSN 1432-6949. — ISBN 3-447-04700-3.

シュナイダー (Ulrich Schneider: 02.IV.1922-30.V.1992) の多方面にわたる研究論著を集めたものである。彼はライブツィッヒでヴェラー (Friedrich Weller: 1889-1980) など旧東ドイツの碩学の薫陶を受けた、筆者にとっては特に初期の仏典研究、就中マハーヴァストゥ・アヴァダーナの綿密な研究で恩恵を蒙る。ただし彼の博士論文の一部しか公刊されなかったのは残念至極である。⁵⁶ 教授資格論文も同様である。⁵⁷ 西独へ移った頃から、彼の関心は仏典の文献学的研究を離れて行ったように思うが、他の論稿でも関心を惹き起してくれたものである。私的なことを許していただきたい: 筆者がフライブルクでドイツ語の特訓コースを義務づけられていた時に、大学の種々の行事に誘ってくれて、語学研修に身が入らなかったものだ。その後も彼から学ぶことは多かったので、ミュンスターへ移ってからの愛弟子の手になる本書は誠にあり難い。編者は、近年よく用いられる写真覆刻の方法を取らずに、しかし丁寧に編纂しなおして精細な索引を付して便利さを倍増してくれる。特に、先に述べたマハーヴァストゥ・アヴァダーナの数詞に関する論文には、あらゆる形態を記録している。現にマインツに在る夫妻が、漢和語の資料をよくした師匠よろしく東アジアの仏典資料にも強い関心を示し、優れた業績をあげる。夫君 Konrad は、下に注記したように、シュナイダーがフライブルクで創始した本叢書を継続している。

Piter (Peter) F. Kornicki, *Katalog staropečatnyx japonskix knig iz sobranija RGB / Catalogue of the Early Japanese Books of the Russian State Library / ロシア国立図書館所蔵和漢書目録* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Paškov Dom", 1999), 144 p., incl. num. ills. — ISBN 5-7510-0192-3.

この種の目録類を眺めていると思いがけない文献を見つけることがある。「梵語雑名」二点がその一 (p. 121: No. 3B 3-12/4 & 3B 3 13/122). 編者コルニツキは、ケンブリッジ大学の日本学の準教授の由で、本書は紙綴本であるが葛飾北斎の漫画などを豊富にあしらった凝ったものである。周知のように、「梵語雑名」は中国でも散逸してしまい、日本のみに残っていた貴重なものである。実は享保十七年 (1732) 五月に印刷されたものが唯一の伝本である。今は古書店などで高値をつけながらも、かなり出回っているが、パーグチ (Prabodh Chandra Bagchi) が、はじめて優れた研究 (Calcutta-Paris: 1929-1937)⁵⁸ をもって学界に知らしめてくれた、きわめて重要な典籍

⁵⁵ Begründet von Ulrich Schneider als Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie.

⁵⁶ U. Schneider, “Das Zahlwort im Mahāvastu”, *KZ*, LXXVI, 3/4 (1960), p. 249-272. = *Opera minora*, p. 47-64. — Cf. Yuyama, ‘A Bibliography of the Mahāvastu-Avadhāna’, *IJ*, XI, 1 (1968), p. 17: V.B.8-9.

⁵⁷ U. Schneider, “Die Verse des Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka”, *ZDMG*, CXI, 2 (= NF XXXVI)(1961), p. 308-334. = *Opera minora*, p. 76-98; —, “Die Gegenwartsgeschichte und Prosa in den beiden Fassungen des Sarabhaṅga-Jātaka”, *ZDMG*, CXIV, 2 (1964), p. 328-359. = *Opera minora*, p. 124-149. — Cf. Yuyama, *IJ*, XI, 1 (1968), p. 19: C.h.4-5.

⁵⁸ See e.g. *CR* par Jules Bloch, *BSL*, XXXIX, 3 (1938), p. 508f. = *Recueil d'Articles de Jules Bloch 1906-1955: Textes rassemblés par Colette Caillat* (Paris: Collège de France – Diffusion de Boccard, 1985), p. 31-33.

である。どうやら同じ版木を使って、京都の版元を変えて頒布されていたようだ。このモスクワの国立図書館に在る二点は、同じ平楽寺書店版である。⁵⁹ところでコルニツキの博識には驚くべきものがあり、彼のいわゆる本の本は日本の写本や版本の精緻きまわる研究である：

Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (= *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Abt. V: Japan, Band VII) (Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1998), xviii, 498 p., incl. 23 ills. [- see esp. p. 208: §5.3.1 (on 村上勘兵衛/平楽寺書店)].⁶⁰

かつて南條文雄がオックスフォードのボードリー図書館で、和漢書のなかに「梵語雑名」の在るのを紹介していて、驚いたことがある：

Bunyu Nanjio, *A Catalogue of Japanese and Chinese Books and Manuscripts lately added to the Bodleian Library* (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1881), col. 10, i.e. Class II: *Chinese-Sanskrit-Japanese Vocabularies*, Serial No. 7.

さて、性格は少し異なるが、本の本となると、インド学に関わる者に興味深い本がある。中から一点を挙げれば、大英図書館で我々にも新鮮な情報をあたえるロスティーの次著であろう：

Jeremiah P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London: British Library, 1982), 160 p., incl. num. ills. (*Catalogue of Exhibition April-August 1982*). — ISBN 0-904654-78-8.⁶¹

中央アジアの文物に関心のあるものには実地に踏査して好著をものした地理学者ハンティングトン (Ellsworth Huntington: 1876-1947) の名に覚えがあろう。筆者は彼が将来したいわゆるカーダリック出土の法華経梵本断片が、実は当時の大英博物館に在った断片の片割れであることに感激した。これはかつてエンメリックがイエール大学のパイネック貴重図書館で調査・入手したものを筆者に送ってくれたものである。三十年前に乳国にいた時のことである。その後、独国に移動し、さらに母国に帰るという目まぐるしい間に手をつけず、機を得て戸田宏文とともに小冊子にまとめたことがある。⁶²

今は探検家たちの将来資料が明るみに出てきて、泣き別れの断片の在処が判明する話題も聞かれる。隔世の感がある。その感激はいまだに消えやらず、筆者は下記の小冊子のあるのを知ってやっと入手し、この貴重な資料についての記述を探し求めたが、残念なことにイエール大学が誇るべきハンティングトンの名も見あたらず、ダライ・ラマの寄贈になるラサチベット大蔵経は誇りとしているが、中央アジアを後にして、いま大西洋を挟んで保管される小断片の梵本の資料には残念なことにまったく触れていない：

The Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library. A Guide to the Collections (New Haven: Yale University, 1994), (vi), 123 p., incl. num. b/w ills. & figs. — [2nd ed. / 1st ed. 1972]. — *Contributors*: Robert G. Balcock, Vincent Giroud / Patricia C. Willis / George Miles / Christa Sammo.

⁵⁹ Cf. A. Yuyama, "Toward a New Edition of the *Fan-yü Tsa-ming* of Li-yen", *Wisdom, Compassion, and Search for Understanding: The Buddhist Studies Legacy of Gadjin M. Nagao*, ed. Jonathan A. Silk (= *Studies in the Buddhist Traditions*, ed. Luis O. Gómez) (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2000), p. 397-411, esp. p. 405: §3.2 (on the Heirakuji edition).

⁶⁰ 上記拙論は、実は1996末/1997初に書きあげたもので、残念ながら本書を参照できなかった。本書には、しかし、残念なことに悉曇関係の言及するところがほとんどまったくないようである。

⁶¹ 類書を挙げれば際限がない: cf. e.g. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections* (1992), p. 4.

⁶² *The Huntington Fragment F of the Saddharma-puṇḍarikasūtra*, by A. Yuyama & H. Toda (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica: Occasional Paper Series*, II) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1977), VI, 15 p. (incl. 2 pl.). — ISBN 4-906267-02-5. — Cf. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections* (Tokyo 1992), p. 26.

活動報告（平成15年2月以降）

「研究所運営委員会」を年に2、3回の割合で開会。

「国際仏教学高等研究所所員会」を月2回の割合（夏期・冬期休暇中を除く）で開会。
以下、月日を追って研究所および所員の主要な活動を記す。

平成15年

2月17日(月) 第22回仏教学懇話会

ウィーン大学神学部のマックス・デアーク教授 (Prof. Dr. Max DEEG, Institut für Systematische Theologie der Evangelisch-Theologischen Fakultät der Universität Wien) を招聘

テーマ “The 'World Honored One' - *Bhagavat*: A Case of Sino-Buddhist Mistranslation?”
（「世尊 (*bhagavat*): 漢訳者の誤訳？」）

3月1日(土) 辛嶋静志教授 北京大学漢語語言研究センター兼職研究員に就任

研究課題：「梵漢対勘材料に基づく仏教漢語研究：『道行般若経』梵漢対勘研究」

3月7日(金)~8日(土) 工藤順之講師

「仏教と自然」研究班研究会に出席（於：佛教大学総合研究所）

3月17日(月)~18日(火) 菅野博史所長、工藤講師

第19回東洋哲学研究所学術大会に出席

3月20日(木)~4月5日(土) 辛嶋教授 中国出張（私費）

北京大学東語系王邦維教授、段晴教授などと梵語写本の研究について意見交換。北京大学東語系にて講義。北京大学漢語語言研究センター訪問

4月22日(火) ザケッティ助教授

Scuola Italiana di Studi sull'Asia Orientale ISEAS / École Française d'Extrême-Orient EFEO（於：イタリア国立東方学研究所 / フランス国立極東学院）

テーマ “An Shigao's Translations and the Beginning of Buddhist Exegesis in China: New Sources and Recent Research” (安世高の漢訳と中国仏教の解釈の始め—新しい資料と最近の研究)

5月13日(火) 第23回仏教学懇話会

ニュージーランド、カンタベリー大学のポール・ハリソン教授 (Prof. Dr. Paul M. HARRISON, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand) を招聘

テーマ “Getting a clearer picture of the Western Paradise: the Larger *Sukhāvativyūhasūtra* in birch-bark, paper and stone” (「西方極楽のより明確な理解に向けて：樺皮写本、紙、石刻の『大無量寿経』」)

5月16日(金) 菅野所長

第48回国際東方学者会議に出席

5月19日(月) 菅野所長

東アジア仏教研究会第4回定例研究会に出席（於：東京大学仏教青年会会館）

- 6月28日(土) 菅野所長
仏教思想学会に出席 (於: 早稲田大学)
- 6月30日(月) 辛嶋教授
(財)三島海雲記念財団の第41回学術奨励賞を授与される。研究テーマ「『法華経』梵・蔵写本の調査および批判的校訂本の作成」
- 6月30日(月)~7月4日(金) 辛嶋教授
九州大学文学部にて「初期大乘仏教經典の文献学的研究」と題して集中講義
- 7月13日(日)~20日(日) 辛嶋教授
フィンランド、ヘルシンキ大学で開催された第12回世界サンスクリット学会出席。
Notes on Some Pali and Buddhist Sanskrit Words (パーリ語と仏教梵語の覚書)と題して発表。ヘルシンキ大学蔵の『法華経』・『迦葉品』など中央アジア出土梵語古写本断簡を調査
- 7月16日(水) 第24回仏教学懇話会
ピッツバーグ大学のリンダ・ペンカウ博士 (Associate Prof. Dr. Linda PENKOWER, Dept. of Religious Studies, University of Pittsburgh, USA) を招聘
テーマ“On Hermeneutics and Polemics --- Or Guess Who's Coming to Dinner In the *Jin'gangbei* (金剛錍)” (“金剛錍における解釈学と論争”)
- 7月21日(月)~30日(水) 辛嶋教授
サントペテルブルグ東洋研究所を訪問し、同所所蔵の梵語写本を視察。同所研究員ヴァラビョーヴァ・デシャトフスカヤ博士、チヨムキン博士と梵語写本共同研究について協議。その後、ドイツ・フライブルク大学のフォン・ヒンニューバー博士を訪問
- 9月5日(金)~7日(日) 菅野所長、辛嶋教授、ザケッティ助教授、工藤講師
日本印度学仏教学会第54回学術大会に参加。以下の題目で発表 (於: 仏教大学)
菅野所長「『法華統略』新出資料(釈薬草喻品・釈授記品・釈化城喻品)の注釈の特色」と題して発表。理事会に出席。
辛嶋教授 “The Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins in the Early Western Gupta” (初期西グプタ書体で書かれた大衆部・出世間部の戒経分別)と題して発表
ザケッティ助教授 “An Shigao's Texts Preserved in the Newly Discovered Kongōji Manuscript and their Significance for the Study of Early Chinese Buddhism” (金剛寺発見写本の安世高に関するテキストと最初中国仏教思想)と題して発表
工藤講師「*Mahākarmavibhaṅga* 写本再読による『仏教梵語』語彙の再考察」と題して発表
- 9月8日(月)~10日(水) 辛嶋教授、工藤講師
「シルクロード文物と現代科学」(大谷探検隊100周年記念学術企画「仏の来た道」)シンポジウムに参加 (於: 龍谷大学)。内外の中央アジア研究者と意見交換
- 9月14日(日)~10月15日(水) 平成15年度外国籍招聘教育研究者
ミュンヘン大学のイエンス-ウヴェ・ハルトマン教授 (Prof. Dr. Jens-Uwe HARTMANN, Institut für Indologie und Iranistik, Universität München) 共同研究の為、滞在。課題: 「新出『長阿含経』梵本の研究」

- 9月20日(土)~21日(日) サンクトペテルブルグ東洋研究所研究員ヴァラビョーヴァ・デシャトフスカヤ博士来所
- 9月29日(月) 菅野所長
東アジア仏教研究会第5回定例研究会（於：東京大学仏教青年会会館）に出席
- 9月30日(火) 辛嶋教授、ザケッティ助教授
「新出仏典研究会」に出席（於：国際仏教学大学院大学）
- 10月8日(水) 第25回仏教学懇話会
ミュンヘン大学のイェンス-ウヴェ・ハルトマン教授【平成15年度・本研究所外国籍招聘教育研究者】の講演
テーマ“*The present state of research on the various versions of the Long Collection (Dīrghāgama/Dīghanikāya)*”（「『長阿含経／長部経典』に関する研究の現況」）
- 10月13日(月)~23日(木) ザケッティ助教授 イタリアに出張（業務）
14-16日 Convegno AISC 2003 Capri（イタリア中国学会第19回学術大会）に参加。
“*Parafraasi, errori ed altre disavventure: verso una classificazione delle divergenze nelle traduzioni Buddhiste antiche - con particolare riferimento al Guang zan jing T 222 tradotto da Dharmarakṣa*”（竺法護訳「光讚経」における誤訳と注解的な翻訳分析）と題して発表
21日 ミラノ大学にて講義 テーマ：“*L'introduzione del buddhismo in Cina-traduttori e traduzioni dal secondo al terzo secolo d.C.*”（最初の仏典の漢訳について-- 東漢から西晋まで）
- 10月28日(火)~31日(金) 菅野所長 中国北京に出張
第10回日中仏教学術会議（於：中国北京・中国社会科学院世界宗教研究所）に参加。
「中国早期仏教注釈書の性格」と題して発表
- 11月5日(水) 第26回仏教学懇話会
カナダ、ブリティッシュ・コロンビア大学の陳金華博士 (Associate Prof. Dr. Jinhua CHEN, Canada Research Chair in East Asian Religions, Department of Asian Studies, University of British Columbia; 東京大学客員助教授) を招聘
テーマ“*Lost Page in the History of Tang Politics and Buddhism: With Especial References to the Indian 'Evil Monk' Huifan 慧範 (?-713)*”（「唐代の政治と仏教の歴史から失われた一頁：特にインド人「悪僧」慧範(?-713)について」）
- 11月15日(土) 辛嶋教授、ザケッティ助教授
「新出仏典研究会」に出席（於：国際仏教学大学院大学）
- 12月7日(日) 菅野所長
東アジア仏教研究会第2回年次大会に出席（於：東京大学仏教青年会会館）
- 12月20日(土) ザケッティ助教授
「新出仏典研究会」に出席（於：国際仏教学大学院大学）
- 12月11日(木)~17日(水) 工藤講師 インド出張（業務）
12-14日 International Seminar on Bhartṛhari: Language, Thought and Reality (New Delhi: India International Centre) に参加。以下のテーマで発表
“*Some Remarks on the term 'vākyabheda' as introduced by Bhartṛhari in his Mahābhāṣya-Dīpikā*”（バルトリハリ『マハーバーシュヤ・ディーピカー』における「文章分裂」技法について）

15-16日 Delhi University、Jawaharlal Nerhu University 他の研究者と懇談。ローケーシュ・チャンドラ博士（インド文化国際アカデミー理事長）を訪問し、今後の写本研究についての意見交換

1月8日(木) ジョン・マックレー教授(Prof. John McRAE)(インディアナ大学教授) 来所
当研究所客員研究員として一年間の滞在予定

1月13日(火) ジャン・ナティエ教授(Prof. Jan NATTIER)(インディアナ大学教授) 来所
当研究所客員研究員として一年間の滞在予定

国際仏教学高等研究所所長・所員の著作 (List of Publications of the IRIAB Director and Fellows)

菅野 博史 (Hiroshi KAN'NO) Director

- 『法華経思想史から学ぶ仏教』2003.2, 大蔵出版 (Learning Buddhism based on the history of development of the Lotus Sutra Thought).
- “Chinese Buddhist Sutra Commentaries of the Early China”, in: *ARIRIAB* vol. 6, March 2003, pp. 301-320.
- 「『法華統略』新出資料 (釈薬草喩品・釈授記品・釈化城喩品) の注釈の特色」『印度学仏教学研究』52-1, 2003.12, pp. 8-15.

I. 学会研究機関等・役員：

1. 日本印度学仏教学会・理事／評議員 (2001-)。
Member of the Board of Directors and Councilors of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies.
2. 中国人民大学客員教授 (2001-)。
3. (財) 東洋哲学研究所研究員 (1985-) / 評議員 (1992-)。
4. (財) 東京大学仏教青年会評議員 (2003-)。
5. 東アジア仏教研究会会長 (2002-)。

湯山 明 (Akira YUYAMA)

- The Mahāvastu-Avadāna in Old Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts*. With Introductory Remarks by Akira YUYAMA. 2 vols. (= *Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum*, XV-XVI) (Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO, 2001) [Actually published in March 2003], I. *Palm-Leaf Manuscripts*, lxxvi + 1 + 217 p. (inc. 431 plates); II. *Paper Manuscript*, iv + 1 + 224 p. (inc. 447 plates): 37 x 26.5 cm. - ISBN 4-89656-614-9 & ° -615-7.
- “The *Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka* of the Mahāsaṃghika-Lokottaravādins Quoted by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*”, in: *ARIRIAB* vol. 6, March 2003, pp. 3-17.
- “Groundwork Layers for Buddhist Sanskrit Philology in America”, *ibid.*, pp. 321-339.
- “Introducing Three Recent Japanese Publications on the Dharmapada Literature in Chinese”, *ibid.*, p. 340.
- “Additional Remarks to *ARIRIAB*, V: 2001 (2002)”, *ibid.*, pp. 341-342.
- “Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (I)”, *ibid.*, pp. 343-352.
- 「近刊書数行紹介」, *ibid.*, pp. 353-357.

I. 学会研究機関等・役員／研究所員：

1. 立正大学法華経文化研究所・特別所員 (1978-)。
Extraordinary Member, Institute for the Comprehensive Studies of the Lotus Sutra at Risho University (Tokyo).
2. 日本パーリ学仏教文化学会・理事 (1987-)。
Member on the Board of Directors of the Japanese Society for the Study of Pali and Buddhist Culture (Administration: Aichi Gakuin University, Nagoya).

3. 仏教伝道協会・外国人留学生奨学金選定委員会・委員(1990-).
Member on the Selection Committee of the BDK Fellowships for Foreign Students to Promote Buddhist Research in Japan (Buddhist Promoting Foundation, Tokyo).
4. 日本印度学仏教学会・評議員(理事・評議員:1990-1995/評議員:2001-).
Member on the Board of Councilors of the Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies.

II. 学術出版編集委員 :

1. 英訳大蔵経・編集委員会・常任委員(1982-).
Permanent Member on the Editorial Board of the *BDK English Tripiṭaka* (Tokyo-Berkeley: Buddhist Promoting Foundation, 1991-).
2. 『大英仏教叢書』編集諮問委員会・委員(1988-).
Member on the Editorial Advisory Board of the *Buddhica Britannica* (Editor: Tadeusz Skorupski / Tring-London 1989-).
3. 『インド・イラン学』誌・協同編集委員(2000-).
A Joint Editor of the *Indo-Iranian Journal* (Dordrecht: Reidel Publishing).
4. 『アジア学』誌・学術奨励委員会・委員(2000-).
Member on the Committee of Scientific Patronage of the *Studia Asiatica* (Bucharest: Centre for the History of Religions, University of Bucharest).
5. 『批判的パーリ語辞典』編集諮問委員会(1988-2000 / 2000-)/運営委員会・委員(2000-).
Member on both the Steering Committee and the Advisory Board of *A Critical Pali Dictionary*(Copenhagen: Institute of Asian Studies, University of Copenhagen).
6. 『インド国際仏教学』誌・編集諮問委員会・委員(2000-).
Member on the Editorial Advisory Board of the *Indian International Journal of Buddhist Studies*, edited by A. K. Narain (Sarnath, Varanasi).
7. 『梵語法典集成』学術委員会・委員(2001-).
Member on the Scientific Committee of the *Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum* under the direction of Oscar Botto (Turin).
8. 『トリノ・インド学誌』学術委員会・委員(2003-).
Member on the Scientific Board of the *Indologica Taurinensia*, Official Organ of the International Association of Sanskrit Studies, founded and directed by Oscar Botto (Turin).

III. 学会員 :

1. Academy of Religious Studies (Buddhism Section), U.S.A.
2. American Oriental Society (Life Member).
3. Association for Asian Studies (Life Member).
4. 仏教思想学会/Association of Buddhist Philosophy (Tokyo).
5. Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.
6. Gesellschaft für Indo-Asiatische Kunst (Berlin),
7. 東方学会/Institute of Eastern Culture [Tōhō Gakkai] (Tokyo).
8. International Association of Buddhist Studies (Life Member).
9. International Association of Orientalist Librarians.
10. International Association of Sanskrit Studies.
11. International Association of Tibetan Studies.
12. 日本南アジア学会/Japanese Association for South Asian Studies.

13. 日本印度学仏教学会/Japanese Association of Indian and Buddhist Studies (Tokyo).
14. 日本宗教学会/Japanese Association of Religious Studies.
15. 日本パーリ学仏教文化学会/Japanese Society for the Study of Pali and Buddhist Culture (Nagoya).
16. 日本仏教学会/Nippon Buddhist Research Association.
17. Pali Text Society (Oxford).
18. Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (London).
19. Siam Society (Bangkok).
20. Société Asiatique (Paris).
21. 日仏東洋学会/Société franco-japonaise des études orientales (Tokyo-Kyoto).
22. ジャイナ研究会/Society for Jaina Studies (Kyoto).
23. 大谷大学・仏教学会/Society of Buddhist Studies (Otani University, Kyoto).

IV. アジア研究関連協会員：

1. Asiatic Society of Japan (Tokyo).
2. 国際文化会館/International House of Japan (Tokyo).
3. 日本ブータン友好協会/Japan-Bhutan Friendship Association (Tokyo).
4. 日仏会館/Maison Franco-Japonaise (Tokyo).
5. Ostasiatische Gesellschaft (OAG): Deutsche Gesellschaft für Natur- und Volkerkunde Ostasiens (Tokyo).

辛嶋静志 (Seishi KARASHIMA)

「『大阿弥陀経』訳注(四)」『佛教学大学総合研究所紀要』第十号, 2003年3月, pp. 27-34.

“A Trilingual Edition of the Lotus Sutra --- New editions of the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions” in: *ARIRIAB* vol. 6, March 2003, pp. 85-182.

“Sanskrit Fragments of the Sutra of Golden Light, the Lotus Sutra, the *Āryaśrīmahādevīvyākaraṇa* and the *Anantamukhanirhārādhāraṇī* in the Otani Collection”, *ibid.*, pp. 183-196.

“Brief Communication: Two peculiar optative endings in the Central Asian MSS”, *ibid.*, pp. 358-360.

ステファノ・ザケッティ (Stefano ZACCHETTI)

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* We should like to express our gratitude to those who have kindly sent us their publications. The following list of books and CD-ROMs, exclusively in the fields of Indology and Buddhology, is certainly by no means complete.

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編集後記 (Editorial Postscript)

The present issue of the *Annual Report of the International Research for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* (vol. 7) contains nine articles written in English and two in Japanese, eleven contributions in all. This year we are happy to publish several articles written by scholars from abroad, true to the spirit of international collaboration, which is one of the main guidelines of this institute.

1. EXTERNAL CONTRIBUTIONS. In his article, Prof. Jens-Uwe HARTMANN (München University), deals with the important newly found manuscript of the *Dirghāgama* belonging to the (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin school. In addition to discussing its structure, Prof. HARTMANN also edits and translates an excerpt from one of the texts included in this collection, the *Bodhisūtra*.

Prof. Jan NATTIER of Indiana University discusses some early Chinese translations (especially by Zhi Qian 支謙 and Dharmarakṣa 竺法護) of the list of the twelve divisions of Buddhist scriptures (*dvādaśāṅga*).

Mr. Peter SKILLING (Research Fellow, Lumbini International Research Institute; Special Lecturer, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok) contributes an article on Śrīghana, one of the epithets of a Buddha, where he cites examples of the use of the epithet in both Śrāvakayāna and Mahāyāna literature and epigraphy, from the Indian subcontinent and South-East Asia.

Prof. Tilmann VETTER (Professor Emeritus, Leiden University), in his article written in collaboration with Stefano ZACCHETTI, analyses the term 經法, a rendition of *dharmā* attested in early Chinese Buddhist translations, also in the light of some pre-Buddhist sources.

The article contributed by Dr. Klaus Wille (Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter, Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen beim Projekt *Katalogisierung der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*) concerns the identification and edition of several Sanskrit manuscript fragments of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra*, preserved in various collections of the British Library.

2. INTERNAL CONTRIBUTIONS. Prof. Akira YUYAMA, in his article on the *Sutra of the Golden Light*, focuses on the transmission of this text in the Central Asian area, with reference to its Indic (particularly manuscripts), Tibetan and Chinese versions. Prof. YUYAMA's second contribution, "Miscellanea Bibliographica Buddhica (II)", introduces several new publications and discusses some research issues related to Buddhist studies.

Prof. Seishi KARASHIMA contributes two articles to this issue. The first one continues from the preceding issue the multilingual edition of the *Lotus Sutra* (Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions) and contains chapter 13 of this fundamental scripture. Prof. KARASHIMA's second article deals with two Sanskrit fragments of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* and the *Pañcapāramitānirdeśa*, belonging to the Mannerheim Collection (Helsinki).

Mr. Noriyuki KUDO's article deals with one of the sections of the *Karmavibhaṅga*, focusing on the school affiliation of this scripture. Mr. KUDO will also publish soon a monograph on this text, n. VII in the series

Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica: *The Karmavibhaṅga: Transliterations and Annotations of the Original Sanskrit Manuscripts from Nepal.*

We wish to thank heartily all these scholars for contributing these fine articles, notwithstanding their busy schedules.

CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE IRIAB PUBLICATIONS. The *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism at Soka University* is meant to be exchanged on an institutional, rather than individual, basis. The monographs of the series Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica, on the other hand, can be obtained by sending to the institute 1500 yen in stamps of the Japanese postal services for each volume (in case different monographs, or more copies of the same monograph, are required), in order to cover postage. If the books are requested from abroad, please send twenty international reply coupons from your country's postal service for each volume.

Finally, we should like to thank the chief of the secretariat of our institute, Mr. Kenkichi NAKAMURA, the staff of our library, Mr. Kenzo KAWASAKI and Miss Hisako HAYASHI, as well as all the students of Soka University who have been doing part-time work at the IRIAB this year. Their enthusiastic and efficient collaboration has been, in a word, essential to the institute's life, and to making research at the IRIAB a real pleasure.

The kind of research that is embodied in this *Annual Report* may look—and certainly, in a sense, it is—remote from the many problems that at present trouble mankind. And yet we dare cherish the hope that even the slightest contribution to the understanding of that great, 2500-year tradition of peace and civilisation that is Buddhism may ultimately help people to understand and tolerate each other better.

(17, Feb., 2004, S.Z.)

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Volume VII

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**Transliterations and Annotations
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by Noriyuki KUDO
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