PDF Version: ARIRIAB X (2007)

ISSN 1343-8980

創価大学
国際仏教学高等研究所
年報

平成18年度
（第１０号）

Annual Report
of
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University

for the Academic Year 2006

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
東京・2007・八王子

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University
Tokyo・2007

PDF Version (IRIAB)

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報
平成18年度（第10号）

Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
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On and Around
A Hitherto Unknown Indic Version
of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*
in a Blockprint from Turfan

Akira YUYAMA

To Ellis Gene Smith in Celebration of his 70th Birthday

*Prefatory: This was originally written several years ago, as I was invited to contribute a paper to a felicitation volume in honour of Ellis Gene Smith (*Ogden UT 1936), Executive Director of the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (now in New York City). I sincerely wished to present it to the fond memory of Gene. In the first place it was planned to bring it out from Barcelona and later on from Dharamsala. Unfortunately, there has been no sign of its appearance. In the meantime I have heard no response from the editors to my inquiry after it. It was nearly a couple of years ago that I asked them if I could demonstrate my friendship and gratitude to Gene with this humble paper here in much revised and enlarged form with a prefatory note in this connection. Silence must have given consent to me.*

On this occasion I beg your pardon for expressing my personal sentiment to Gene in esteem hereinafter. I was first acquainted with him more than forty years ago. If I am not mistaken, Gene, a fully trained Tibeto-Mongolist, came from Seattle in 1964 on the Ford Foundation Fellowship to brush up his Sanskrit and Buddhist research, whilst I was studying with Professors J. W. de Jong (Leiden 1921 – Canberra 2000) and F. B. J. Kuiper ('s-Gravenhage 1907 – Leiden 2003) at the Kern Institute in the University of Leiden from October 1963 to June 1965. In the northern summer of 1965 de Jong left Leiden for his new assignment at the Australian National University in Canberra in the southern winter, and I was then appointed his Research Assistant in South Asian and Buddhist Studies. In the meanwhile Gene continued to bring out a detailed and accurate descriptive catalogue of the Tibetan resources at the University of Washington in Seattle, which he had started in 1962. It was published in 1969, and has since become a model which every bibliographer in classical Tibetan literature must follow:

> E. Gene Smith, *University of Washington Tibetan Catalogue*, Part I (*in 2 vols.*) (Seattle: University of Washington, 1969), 28 cm.: iii, 160 p.; 161-329 p. — *Library of Congress Call Number: Z881.W3297 1969.*

Gene was then to follow us to Canberra for further studies. Several books important for his research work in his possession came with us from Leiden. On his way, however, he made a stopover in India with a grant from the Ford Foundation, but remained in the capital city of New Delhi and never stepped on Australian soil. In 1968 Gene joined the United States Library of Congress Field Office in New Delhi and served the Library of Congress for almost three decades. He moved to Jakarta in 1985, and in 1994 to Cairo until his early retirement in 1997, when he became a consultant to establish the Himalayan and Inner Asian Resources (HIAR) of the Trace Foundation. In December 1999 Gene founded the Tibetan Buddhist Resource Center (TBRC) in Cambridge MA, and thereafter ran it, in addition to his regular work with Wisdom Publications in Somerville-Boston. The Center has now moved to the city of New York. On the Board of Directors at present are leading scholars in the related fields, for example Janet Gyatso, Leonard van der Kuijp, and several others.

In his capacity as Field Director in New Delhi Gene established his vital role and dedicated himself on behalf of specialists in relevant fields. He excavated a great many important rare works and had them often reprinted (or sometimes microfilmed) for the sake of other specialists. As a result of his untiring endeavour,

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 3-38.
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not only numerous classical works but also modern publications have been rescued from eternal decay. A number of institutions in related fields throughout the world have received the accessions lists of the U. S. Library of Congress New Delhi Office edited under his direction. They continued for decades to inform us of publications in various languages from South Asia.

To my great regret, he never showed himself on the Terra (In)cognita Australis. But, to the pleasure of those scholars engaged in related fields of study, they must have doubtlessly benefited from the services of his office and many of them must have further enjoyed his appropriate expert advice in addition to his kind personal hospitality on their visits. Among them Tibetologists must have learned a great deal from his encyclopaedic knowledge. Being absolutely busy in his office work, he nonetheless managed to write a number of indispensable introductions and remarks on various classical Tibetan texts. It is therefore a great pleasure to see seventeen among them written for the period of more than thirty years published collectively in book form:

E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts: History and Literature of the Tibetan Plateau*, ed. Kurtis R. Schaeffer with a foreword by Jeffrey Hopkins (= *Studies in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism*) (Somerville MA / Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2001), xiii, 384 p. — *ISBN 0-86171-179-3 / LC Call Number: BQ7674.S65 2001.*

Those who wish to learn of Gene's scholarship, personality and life until now, apart from my private appraisal, are recommended to further read the foreword, preface by the author himself and introduction by the editor of this book. In it are appended impeccably careful and courteous bibliographies and index.

In 1961 a public law numbered 480, i.e. PL480, was enacted in the United States Congress. In order to repay wheat purchase debts India agreed to supply multiple sets of publications to some twenty American research centres through this programme. In 1968 when Ellis Gene Smith started working at the New Delhi Field Office of the U. S. Library Congress, thousands of important, and often rare, classical Tibetan texts came under his scrutiny. They were collected from all over the Indian sub-continent for the next two decades under his supervision.

The Institute for the Advanced Studies of World Religions (IASWR) in Stony Brook NY under the direction of Richard A. Gard undertook a project to microfilm the University of Pennsylvania Library Collection of those imprints. This IASWR microfiche edition was made available to serious research libraries throughout the world. PL480 has thus become a synonym for Gene's name among scholars in related fields of study in every corner of the globe.

*Soon after that, most probably sometime in 1979, I felt it necessary to make a simple usable catalogue of this enormous corpus of Tibetan literature. This idea met the approval of Professor Musashi TACHIKAWA (立川武藏), then at Nagoya, who launched a project to draw up the basic arrangement. The Accessions Lists brought out under the direction of E. Gene Smith proved to be very useful. In the meantime we received his constant and valuable advice. Thanks to the painstaking efforts of those who were engaged in the project, the first part appeared in 1983 with Gene's brief but essential foreword. It was a pleasant surprise for me to see this cataloguing work continued by a scholar named Keijin HAYASHI (林慶仁, *1962) from a separate organization:*

A Catalogue of the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, edited by Musashi TACHIKAWA in collaboration with Tsulkrim Kelsang and Shunzo ONODA. With a Foreword by E. Gene Smith and a Preface by Akira YUYAMA (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Maior*, IIIa) (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1983), xiv, 353 p. — *ISBN 4-906267-14-9. — LC Call Number (with Part II): Z7861.T56 T33 1983.*

A Catalogue of ... ... , ed. Musashi TACHIKAWA and Yasuhiko NAGANO in collaboration with Shunzo ONODA and Fujio TANIGUCHI, Part II (= *Ibidem*, IIIb) (1988), viii, 406 p. — *ISBN 4-906267-14-9.*

Catalogue of the United States Library of Congress Collection of Tibetan Literature in Microfiche, edited by Keijin HAYASHI (= *Studia Tibetica*, XXXVII) (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1997), viii, 281 p. — *No ISBN/ISSN. — J(apanese)P(ublication Number)[全国書誌番号]: 20834003. — Not for sale.*

In the meantime the IASWR published a cumulative catalogue of its large holdings of Tibetan texts collected under PL480 project, using the OCLC (= On-Line Computer Library Center) shared library computer database. It is in fact a photomechanic reproduction of the library system cards. This was a preliminary work

to aim at a Tibetan union catalogue:

> *First Cumulative Dictionary Catalogue of Tibetan Works in the Library of the Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions*, compiled by Hannah G. Robinson (Stony Brook: IASWR, 1985), ix, 215 p. — *ISBN 0-915078-05-8.*

After having attended a conference held in Bangkok in February 1990 I, accompanied by my wife, dropped over in Jakarta to see Gene on weighty business. It was our first visit to Indonesia as we had failed to do so whilst living in Australia and New Zealand between 1965 and 1974. Besides this business matter I was able to see quite a few historical sites with his kind help. Among them was my long-held dream to examine with my own eyes a Kacchapa-Jātaka in bas-relief carved along the gallery of the beautifully restored Caṇḍi Mĕndut near Borobuḍur. As a result, it had immediately brought to me some relevant materials into an article, which was then translated into Spanish by my friends in Argentina.

> "The Kacchapa-Jātaka in bas-relief at the Caṇḍi Mĕndut in Central Java", 前田惠學博士頌壽記念論集・佛教文化學論集 (*Essays on Buddhist Culture: A Volume Dedicated to Professor Egaku Mayeda on his Auspicious Occasion*) (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1991), p. 251(530)-265(516), incl. 7 ills.
>
> "El Kacchapa-Jātaka en bajo relieve en el Caṇḍi Mĕndut en Java Central", tr. Fernando Tola & Carmen Dragonetti, *Revista de Estudios Budistas*, VI (Mexico-Buenos Aires 1993-1994), p. 63-79, 7 ills., 1 plan.

Another great harvest during our sojourn with him was a rather private affair. It was to find out the whereabouts of an Indonesian, for whom I had been looking for so many years. He was an interpreter to my father in Bogor, who had been dispatched as a civilian specialist to Western Java imperatively by the then Kanto Electric Distribution Company (now TEPCO = Tokyo Electric Power Company) to take care of power supply during the Japanese occupation on a two-year contract towards the end of 1942. He could return home only in May 1946. Both of them never saw each other ever since.

Thanks to Gene's inestimable assistance, we were finally able to identify the very Indonesian gentleman, who was then at work far away from Java. During our short stay there we could not see him. Later on in June 1990 we could meet each other intimately in Tokyo on his business trip with his wife via Europe. All of us lamented that my father was no more with us in this world. In my boyhood I noticed from the numerous diary-type letters and photos sent by my father in Java that he cherished this very able young man from Bogor. After all, my father seemed to have lived in Jakarta, Bogor and Bandung.

Everyone loves gentle-hearted Gene. On the departure by boat bound for Sydney from the port of Flushing (Vlissingen in Dutch), a southwestern town of The Netherlands, on 21 June 1965, he appeared with two large bunches of extravagant bouquets as a farewell to Madame Gisèle de Jong and my wife. They were naturally so much touched. I am still very sad that my deeply cherished ambition to work with him once in my life has never been fulfilled. Last but not least, I herewith devoutly pray for the success of his present exciting enterprise in the best of health and spirits – again for the benefit of other serious students of classical Tibetan literature as well as of other genres in the humanities on varied topics and subjects.

Introductory

It was in September 1979 that I visited China with a group of Japanese specialists in literature, history and art headed by Professor Osamu TAKADA. Thanks to the able leadership of Dr. Takada, we were admitted to more places of scholarly interest than every member had expected. We were the first group of scholars that the Chinese authorities had given permission to visit both Tunhuang and Turfan at a time. To our greatest regret, however, we had to omit Tunhuang, for the flood had struck the town sometime before our departure.

On my visit to the Turfan Prefectural Exhibition Hall (吐魯番縣展示館) I was extremely excited to find a tiny fragment of a blockprint exhibited in a glass showcase. At a glance I was almost confident to identify it as a small portion of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (abbr. *Rgs* hereinafter). I was still quite familiar with the very text. It was written in Indic alone.

The caption given before the glass showcase briefly described it in Chinese as "A Buddhist sutra in the 'Phags-pa language printed in the Yüan Dynasty (1280-1368 CE), discovered at 'Thousand-Buddha Cave' of Bäzäklik", i.e. 八思巴文仏経印本・元代 (公元 1280-1368 年)・柏孫克里克千仏洞. It offers no further information, e.g. of which sutra it belongs to.

In 1984 I wrote a short article on this fragment in commemoration of Akira HIRAKAWA (1915-2002) on his 70th birthday: *Problems in Buddhist Thought* (Tokyo 1985).[1] In it I gave a Romanized text with a reconstructed text and a translation. The present paper intends to be a largely revised English version, employing more materials of broader varied topics in the hope that it will draw much more attention. Regarding this material, I have also introduced it in brief in relation to the history of Sanskrit studies in Japan in my recent essay in Japanese in 2004/2005.[2]

The Turfan blockprint fragment in question was being exhibited ninety degrees turned the wrong way round. This must be the reason why it was thought to be a text written in the 'Phags-pa script. This misunderstanding had certainly led them think that it belonged to the Yüan period, which is normally placed from 1271 till 1368 CE. As a matter of fact, the caption mentions not the 'Phags-pa *script* but 'Phags-pa *language*. Unfortunately, this fatal mistake is still frequently seen among Orientalists. The 'Phags-pa "script" does belong to the Indo-Tibetan family of writing. It does not indicate a language nor a word or a sentence. Therefore, it can represent the sounds of any language.

Chinese Blockprint Texts from Peking

Regrettably, I had too little time at the Turfan Prefectural Exhibition Hall to study it with care. My repeated pleas to take a photo for myself or to obtain one from the Hall was rejected. I proposed at that time that I should send my research results for them to use in any way they wished. At least I entreated to be allowed to correct their caption, for I had the impression in the first place that the fragment was no other than one of the so-called Peking Street editions (北京街版). My immediate thought was that it was probably the one printed in the famed Lamaist Temple Sung-chu-ssŭ (嵩祝寺: or *Zuṅ-cu-ze*, *Zuṅ-gru-zi* in Tibetan transliteration), or alias Fa-yüan-ssŭ (法源(淵)寺), founded in the fifty-first year of Emperor K'ang-hsi (康熙: 1654-1722, r. 1661-1722) of the Ch'ing Dynasty,

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[1] 湯山明, "梵文宝徳蔵般若木版本断簡", 平川彰博士古稀記念論集・仏教思想の諸問題 (東京・春秋社, 1985), p. 443-453.

[2] A. Yuyama, "Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (III)", *ARIRIAB*, VIII: 2004 (2005), p. 384-385: §3.8.

i.e. 1712 CE, in Peking.[3] This printing house has played an important rôle for a long period of time in the history of Buddhist literature in Peking along with another celebrated Temple Yung-ho-kung (雍和宮), originally founded in the thirty-third year of Emperor K'ang-hsi, i.e. 1694 CE, or strictly speaking as a Lamaist temple since the ninth year of Emperor Ch'ien-lung (乾隆: 1711-1799, r. 1735-1795), i.e. 1744.[4] In contrast to these Buddhist printing houses in this period, needless to say, there was a firmly established imperial printing system for preserving traditional literary materials.[5]

The Monastery Sung-chu-ssŭ has long been famous for its publications of multilingual literature, particularly bilingual texts in the *Lañ-tsha* (or *Rañjanā*) for the Indic and the Tibetan *Dbu-can* scripts for both transliterating the Indic and translating it into Tibetan. As a rule, such a text is printed on three lines in parallel to every other line. A number of texts published in this printing house are now kept in various libraries and institutions throughout the world. Among them are many Tibetan texts, not necessarily canonical.[6]

To my knowledge, there are not many collections of the so-called Peking Street editions. It is praiseworthy of Shirō (alias Shinten) SAKAI (酒井紫朗眞典: 1909-1988) at Kōyasan, who showed keen interest in collecting such materials in his time. He seems to have obtained them on his visits to China. He made a brief but comprehensive note on the non-canonical texts in his private collection.[7] It may be added here that the young Berthold Laufer (1874-1934) paid a visit to the Sung-chu-ssŭ during his expedition to Peking towards the end of the nineteenth century and recorded it in his enlightening monographic article on Mongolian literature.[8]

Incidentally, the early history of printing in China has been meticulously discussed by a

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[3] Siehe Walther Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaistischen Blockdrucke in mongolischer Sprache: Materialien zur mongolischen Literaturgeschichte* (= *Göttinger Asiatische Forschungen*, II) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1954), p. 4-6 *et passim*; cf. auch p. 168, Nr. 13. — The question of building this temple does not seem to be so simple: cf. Heissig, *op.cit.*, p. 87f. — cf. J. W. de Jong's review of Heissig, *T'oung Pao*, XLIII (1955), p. 301-318; = re-typeset by computer in his self-selected works, *Jan Willem de Jong – Tibetan Studies* (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XXV) (Swisttal-Odendorf 1994), p. 214-226.

[4] Cf. W. Heissig, *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur*, I: *19. Jahrhundert bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts* (2., unveränderte Aufl.) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), p. 23 *et al.*

[5] A brief but comprehensive survey is given, e.g. in her M.A. thesis at Chicago by Shiou-Jyu Lu Shaw, *The Imperial Printing of Early Ch'ing China, 1644-1806* (= *Studies in East Asian Librarianship*) (= *Chinese Materials Center: Asian Library Series*, XX) (1983), xvii, 88 p., incl. samples in figs. — *ISBN 0-89644-621-2.*

[6] Say, for a few concrete examples from the collection of the Chicago Natural History Museum [now Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago], see the above-cited catalogue by E. Gene Smith, *University of Washington Tibetan Catalogue*, I (Seattle 1969), p. 75 (Microfilm Reel No. A3-6-2,335), p. 85 (Reel A3-7-3,465).

[7] 酒井眞典, "家藏チベット藏外佛典の覚書", 日本西藏學會々報／*Reports of the Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies*, No. 3 (Osaka 1956), p. 1a-3b.

[8] See Berthold Laufer, "Skizze der mongolischen Literatur", *Keleti Szemle*, VIII (Budapest 1907), p. 165-261, esp. p. 187f. This paper has now been carefully reprinted: *Kleinere Schriften von Berthold Laufer*. Teil I: *Publikationen aus der Zeit von 1894 bis 1910*, ed. Hartmut Walravens (= *Sinologica Coloniensia*, II) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976), p. 1120-1216, esp. p. 1142f.

number of leading scholars.[9] The Buddhists must not have been indifferent towards the advancement of printing in general at the beginning of the 18th century, e.g. imperial printers like Ts'ao Yin (曹寅: 1658-1712).[10]

Printing houses in Mongolia:

Incidentally, there seem to have existed a number of Buddhist printing houses in Mongolia. According to a recent report of the mission to Mongolia led by Yūshō MIYASAKA (宮坂宥勝) under the sponsorship of the Temple Shinshō-ji at Narita-san in 1991, at the Gandan (Dga'-ldan) monastery in Ulan Bator was a record enumerating eight printing houses, although their whereabouts were not really known.[11] Furthermore, Akira SUGANUMA (菅沼晃) at Toyo University in Tokyo has been energetically excavating contemporary state of affairs in Mongolian Buddhist communities. Regrettably, I gather very little information of such printing monasteries either in the Republic of Mongolia or Inner Mongolia.[12] Throughout his book one sees how much of invaluable materials was destroyed in the past century. For illustration, I was saddened to learn of a complete set of printing blocks, 3455 plates in number, of the *Gsuṅ-'bum* or *Bka'-'bum*, "Hundred-Thousands of Words", of 'Sum-pa mkhan-po' Ye-śes dpal-'byor (Jñānaśrībhūti: 1704-1788), with the exception of only one block plate, were burnt down (Suganuma, *op.cit.*, p. 93, cum Photo 53). The blocks were no doubt those inspected on the spot once at the Temple Fa-hsi-ssŭ (法禧寺) in Wu-su-to Chao (烏素圖召) near Hohhut (烏素和圖) intimately by Gadjin M. Nagao (長尾雅人: 1907-2005) in 1943[13] and later by Rolf Alfred Stein (石泰安: 1911-1999) in 1948.[14] In any case Mongolia must still be a treasure house of materials on Tibetan-system Buddhism. It is fervently desired to see a catalogue of those collections printed/published, e.g. particularly those kept today in

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[9] See esp. *Les débuts de l'imprimerie en Chine* (= *Œuvres posthumes de Paul Pelliot*, IV) (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale – Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1953), 139 p.: "Appendice: Notes additionnelles sur les éditions imprimées du canon bouddhique", par Paul Demiéville, *ibid.*, p. 121-138. — cf. further the introductory portion (in Japanese) of my article "Amoghavajra's *Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā Dhāraṇī* from Tunhuang／不空音譯敦煌出土佛頂尊勝陀羅尼", *ARIRIAB*, IX (2005-2006), p. 236, n. 16 & 18.

[10] Cf. e.g. *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644-1912)*, edited by Arthur W. Hummel. 2 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office / The Library of Congress, 1943-1944), II p. 740b-742b, s.v. *Ts'ao Yin*, esp. p. 741a.

[11] 参看・草原の国によみがえる佛教 — モンゴル訪問記録集 —(成田山新勝寺 1993), esp. p. 131.

[12] 参看・菅沼晃, モンゴル仏教紀行 (東京・春秋社, 2004), xiii, 245 p. (incl. 120 b/w photos, maps & tables), 9 p., 14 col. ills. on 4 frontisp. plates. — *ISBN 4-393-13512-1*.

[13] 長尾雅人, 蒙古學問寺 (京都・全國書房, 1947), p. 314f. (cum fig. 77 on p. 315), esp. p. 318.

[14] See an enlightening and informative article with a full of reference by J. W. de Jong, "Sum-pa mkhan-po (1704-1788) and his works", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XXVII (1967), p. 208-217; re-typeset in *Jan Willem de Jong – Tibetan Studies* (1994), p. 109-118, esp. p. 111 on the relevant topic.

For reference to Sum-pa mkhan-po's collected works see perhaps Lokesh Chandra, *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*, Part II (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XXIX) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1963), p 47-50: §73 (introduction); p. 477-481: "Ye-śes dpal-'byor Sum-pa paṇḍita mkhan-po'i gsuṅ-'bum-gyi dkar-chag". — I have not seen a 1981 Kyoto reprint (3 parts in 1 vol.). — Lokesh Chandra dates Sum-pa mkhan-po 1704-1776 (cf. *op.cit.*, p. 49 cum n. 1)!

the celebrated Gandan Monastery Library.

Hsü Ti-shan Collection at A.N.U. (Canberra):

In the Oriental/Asian Studies Library of the Australian National University in Canberra is yet another important collection of blockprint texts. They were formerly in the possession of Hsü Ti-shan (許地山: Taiwan 1893-Hong Kong 1941). During my service there from 1965 to 1973 I learned that his collection was bought for the A.N.U. by Charles Patrick FitzGerald (London 1902-Canberra 1992), who had lived in China for many years before he joined the Department of Far Eastern History at A.N.U. in 1951.[15]

Hsü Ti-shan is familiar to us as a writer and/or thinker "Mr. Peanut (落花生)" by pen name. He is however little known as the *de facto* editor of the detailed and meticulous catalogue-index to the Chinese Buddhist Canon with reference in the main to four editions published in Japan.[16] It is unfortunate, therefore, that this very useful catalogue-index has not been fully referred to by those engaged in the field of Buddhist studies. His preface is dated 30 May 1933 at Yenching University (Vol. I, p. i-iii)! Studies on his life, work and thought are numerous both at home and abroad. An informative list of these publications is to be found in the catalogue-index to the publications on the history of the University of Peking.[17]

Herewith I wish to introduce an interesting rare blockprint text in the Hsü Ti-shan Collection kept in the Oriental/Asian Studies Library within the A.N.U. Library (Canberra). His collection is noteworthy for some important canonical texts. One of them is the Diamond Sutra, or *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*. According to the Tibetan final colophon, the Sanskrit text was translated into Tibetan by Lha-bris Dam-pa in Peking under the auspices of famed Rol-pa'i rdo-rje (Lalitavajra: 1717-1786 CE) and the printing was terminated on the 15th Day of the Month Nag-pa (Caitra) of the Year Vikrama of the sexagenary cycle, i.e. 1760 CE.[18] To confess frankly, it seems rather difficult for me to understand the history of this period,[19] while Gene Smith clarifies the matter in his usual

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[15] Being a non-specialist in his field, I myself was deeply fascinated by one of his illustrative works: C. P. FitzGerald, *Barbarian Beds: The Origin of the Chair in China* (Canberra: A.N.U. Press / London: The Crescent Press, 1965), xvii, 85 p., XVII pl., 8 figs.

[16] 佛藏子目引得, 三冊 [引得編纂處主任・洪業]／*Combined Indices to the Authors and Titles of Books and Chapters of in Four Collections of Buddhist Literature*, 3 vols. [Editor-in-Chief: William Hung] (= 引得・第十一號／*Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series*, XI) (Peiping / 北平: Offices in Yenching University Library / 燕京大學圖書館, March 1933), (vi), xvi, XXV, 266 p.; (iv), 459 p.; (iv), 412 p. — Note that Hsü Ti-shan's preface is dated 30 May 1933 (民國二十二年)!

[17] 北京大学校史館編・北京大学校史論著目録索引 (1898-2003) (北京大学出版社, 2004), p. 382f.

[18] Cf. Heissig, *Die Pekinger lamaist. Blockdrucke in mongol. Sprache* (1954), p. 145 (cum n. 2), auch ferner p. 28 & 155f.; also A. von Staël-Holstein, "On a Tibetan Text Translated into Sanskrit under Ch'ien-lung (XVIII cent.) and into Chinese under Tao-kuang (XIX cent.)", *Bulletin of the National Library of Peiping*, VI, 4 (July-Aug. 1932), p. 502, n. 3.

[19] Cf. Heissig, *op.cit.*, p. 72-158: §4. "Die Ära K'ien-lung (1736-1795) und der Einfluss des Lčaṅ skya Khutukhtu Rol pa'i rdo rje".

manner.[20] On the first page of this print Hsü himself has left a handwritten note that it is a copy of the very Sung-chu-ssŭ edition.[21] His note is dated September of the 16th year, i.e. 1927 CE: 北京嵩祝寺板　十六年九月許地山置.[22] I wonder if it was the year in which this text was (re)printed.

Peking blockprint bilingual *Rgs* texts:

One may easily recall a Peking blockprint bilingual *Rgs* text (Indic and Tibetan). Several copies are known to exist throughout the world: St Petersburg, Berlin, Canberra, Kyoto, London and Sendai.[23] A nice photomechanical reproduction has fortunately appeared.[24] A copy kept in the State Library of Berlin was brought back by Erich Haenisch (1880-1966) during his stay in Peking in 1928-1929. It is quite possible that he had obtained it at the Sung-chu-ssŭ in 1929 (cf. Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xxvii).[25]

This print bears the character "身／Shên" of the Thousand-Character Numerals. It gives a Sanskrit text in the *Lañ-tsha* script, with a transliteration and translation underneath in the Tibetan *Dbu-can* script. This belongs to Recension B. This very blockprint is the single text E. Obermiller has used for his edition.[26] P. L. Vaidya has published another

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[20] Cf. further E. Gene Smith, *Among Tibetan Texts* (2001), p. 133-146: Chapter 11: "The Life of Lcang skya Rol pa'i rdo rje".

[21] Cf. A. Yuyama, *Indic Manuscripts and Chinese Blockprints (Non-Chinese Texts) of the Oriental Collection of the Australian National University Library, Canberra* (= *Occasional Paper Series*, V) (Canberra: Centre of Oriental Studies, Australian National University, 1967), esp. p. 61 & 63 (out of p. 61-83, 105, 112-114).

[22] Cf. Yuyama, *Indic MSS & Chin. Blockprints* (1967), p. 61 (*cum* N.B.).

[23] For an ANU copy in the Hsü Ti-shan collection of the Oriental Studies Library (Inventory No. (OS) BL1410.P7T5) see Yuyama, *Indic MSS & Chinese Blockprints* (1967), p. 19-25: Case No. I-1. I used it for my doctoral dissertation (1971):

Cf. *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (Sanskrit Recension A)*, edited with an Introduction, Bibliographical Notes and a Tibetan Version from Tunhuang by A. Yuyama (Cambridge / London-New York-Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. xxvii-xxviii. — abbrev. "Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976" hereinafter.

— To my knowledge, there have appeared six reviews:

J.-Chr. Coppieters, *Journal Asiatique*, CCLXV (Paris 1977), p. 424.

Edward Conze, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1978 (London 1978), p. 89.

Paul Harrison, *Journal of South Asian Studies*, N.S., I, 1 (Perth 1978), p. 128f.

Gregory Schopen, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XX, 1-2 (The Hague-Paris 1978), p. 110-124.

長尾 雅人, 鈴木学術財団研究年報, XV (東京 1978), p. 64-66.

Adelheid Mette, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 76. Jahrgang, Nr. 1 (Berlin 1981), Sp. 75f.

[24] *Multi-Lingual Buddhist Texts in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian and Manchu*, reproduced by Lokesh Chandra from the Collection of Prof. Raghuvira, VI (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCLII) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1980), p. 2094-2166. On the margin is found the classification character showing the number, i.e. "*身／Shên*" (= folios 1a-109a). The text corresponding to our fragment appears on pages 2122-2124 (= folios 44b-46a).

[25] Cf. Manfred Taube, "Zur Textgeschichte einiger gZuṅs-bsdus-Ausgaben", *ZAS*, II (1968), p. 55-66, esp. p. 55.

[26] *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā: Sanskrit and Tibetan Text*, ed. E. Obermiller (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXIX) (Moscow-Leningrad: USSR Academy of Sciences, 1937) {Photomechanic reprint with a Sanskrit-Tibetan-English index by Edward Conze (= *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, V) ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton, 1960); also reprinted by the Biblio Verlag, Osnabrück, 1970, and by the Meicho Fukyūkai, Tokyo, 1978}.

edition, based on a single manuscript in Baroda (Serial No. 68, Accession No. 13278, Oriental Institute).[27]

Indic Recension A is represented by a single palm-leaf manuscript kept in the Asiatic Society of Calcutta (numbered 10736).[28] The date of this unique manuscript has been meticulously verified for Sunday, 10 November 1174 CE, in the first place by Luciano Petech (伯戴克: 1914), and then by Dilli Raman Regmi (1914-2001).[29] By careful chronological re-examination Claus Vogel (*1933) has also reached the same conclusion after all[30] (cf. Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xxiii-lxxii).[31] Incidentally, R. O. Meisezahl's calculation of the date of this Calcutta manuscript to be 1276 CE is not persuasive.[32] Its immeasurable value in every philological aspects was first revealed to great excitement through the painstaking efforts of Edward Conze.[33] It is to be noted, however, that some of his readings are to be corrected, or emended. It is therefore a great pity that grammatical analyses made by Franklin Edgerton are based on those readings in his otherwise extremely important article.[34] I have recorded every apparatus criticus, including his misreadings, in the footnotes in my edition (Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976).

For a brief note on this edition see my article on the Tokyo reprint of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica Series*: 『仏教文庫』・文献解題 (東京・名著普及会, 1978), p. 74-76.

[27] *Mahāyāna-Sūtra-Saṃgraha*, I (= *Buddhist Sanskrit Texts*, XVII) (Darbhanga: Mithila Institute of Post-Graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1961), p. 352-404: Text No. XXII '*Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*' (with critical notes); — cf. Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xxv.

[28] See Haraprasad Śāstrī, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection under the Care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, I: *Buddhist Manuscripts* (Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1917) [*repr.*: Asiatic Society, Kolkata, 2005], p. 26f.: No. 28: 29 palm leaves: 25.4 x 5.1 cm., 6 lines.

Cf. Chintaharan Chakravarti, 'Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Asiatic Society", *Indian Studies Past & Present*, I (Calcutta 1959-1960), p. 666 (out of p. 663-672).

Cf. further 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 = International Institute for Buddhist Studies Library, 1992), p. 7.

[29] Luciano Petech, *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1480)* (= *Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture*, III) (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, X) (Roma: IsMEO, 1958), p. 68; Second, thoroughly revised edition (= *SOR*, LIV) (1984), p. 68f.

D. R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, I: *Early Period 750-1530 A.D.* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965), p. 183.

[30] Claus Vogel, "On the Date of the Calcutta Manuscript of the Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā", *ZAS*, X (1976), p. 675f.

[31] Further on the historical studies of Nepal see Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (IV)", *ARIRIAB*, IV: 2005 (2006), esp. p. 282f.: §2.2.0-1.

[32] See R. O. Meisezahl, " Zwei alttibetische Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā-Handschriften und andere Prajñāpāramitā-Texte im Victoria and Albert Museum, London", *Serta Tibeto-Mongolica: Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 60. Geburtstag am 5.12.1973* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), p. 209, n. 1. — Cf. Claus Vogel, *op.cit.* (1976), p. 675, to see in detail how Meisezahl had reached his conclusion.

[33] E. Conze, "The Calcutta Manuscript of the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*", *IIJ* = *Indo-Iranian Journal*, IV, 1 (1960), p. 37-58.

[34] F. Edgerton, "The *Prajñā-Pāramitā-Ratna-Guṇa-Saṃcaya-Gāthā*", *IIJ*, V, 1 (1961), p. 1-18. — abbrev. "*EdgRgs*" hereinafter.

Some misgivings to be cleared in the future:

There remain a few problems difficult to solve at once. First, if this fragment in question were printed in Peking, say, for example at the Temple Sung-chu-ssŭ, how has it arrived in the Turfan area after 1721 CE? Who has brought it there? For what purpose was it brought there? The second question may well be more difficult. If it were not the so-called Peking street edition, where was it printed? Were there any temple printing houses, which produced a text in Lañ-tsha alone? — All these questions may be solved, if the fragment could be examined more scientifically, for example of what kind of plant cellular fibre consists the paper, or what kind of ink is used for printing the fragment. Such a microscopic investigation and/or chemical analysis may point to the place(s) of paper manufacture and of printing.

Just incidentally, some monasterial libraries in Tunhuang seem to have made catalogues of their holdings of Buddhist texts.[35] I am now wondering if any catalogue of non-Chinese texts, at least in Indo-Iranian languages, has ever existed in Tunhuang, or rather in the area called Chinese Turkestan until some decades ago.

Scientific analysis of manuscript materials by way of conservation:

Once upon a time there was a scholar who made an attempt of this kind for studying old Tibetan manuscripts.[36] But it may not have attracted the scholars engaged in relevant fields onto this line of research. Owing to limited space, I herewith refer to few exceptions.[37] It is indeed a vast problem.

There are remarkable projects by specialists from India, e.g. among others Om Prakash Agrawal (*1931), Head, National Research Laboratory for Conservation of Cultural Property in Lucknow. He has brought out a very interesting work, otherwise with a little misleading title.[38] As is well known among specialists, he has long been active in drawing attention to conserve cultural heritage, e.g. he has edited 21 articles as a source material

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[35] Cf. Jean-Pierre Drège, *Les bibliothèques en Chine au temps des manuscrits (jusq'au X^e siècle)* (= *Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, CLXI) (Paris: EFEO – Adrien-Maisonneuve, *dépositaire*, 1991), esp. p. 186.

[36] See e.g. among some others R. O. Meisezahl, *Alttibetische Handschriften der Völkerkundlichen Sammlungen der Stadt Mannheim in Reiss-Museum. Ergänzt durch mikroskopische Papieruntersuchung im Insitut für Cellulosechemie der Technischen Hochschule Darmstadt.* Unter Mitwirkung von M. Harders-Steinhüauser und Georg Jayme (Kopenhagen: Munksgaard, 1961), (vii), 48 p., 33 Abb. [= Sonderdruck aus *Libri*, XI, 1 (1961), p. 1-48].

[37] Among those few, particularly for studying Buddhist Indic manuscripts, I cannot help but citing a splendid work (PhD thesis, Copenhagen, 1970), carried out by Jesper Trier, sponsored by the Royal Library, Copenhagen, *Ancient Paper of Nepal: Results of ethno-technological field work on its manufacture, uses and history — with technical analysis of bast, paper and manuscripts* (= *Jutland Archaeological Society Publications*, X) (Copenhagen: In commission at Gyldendal, 1972), 271 p., incl. numerous plates, samples, maps. — *ISBN 87-0049-551-4.*

[38] O. P. Agrawal, *Conservation of Manuscripts and Paintings of South-east Asia (= Butterworths Series in Conservation & Museology)* (London-Boston-Durban-Singapore-Sydney-Toronto-Wellington: Butterworths in association with the International Institute for Conservation of Historic & Artistic Works, 1984), (xx), 299 p., num. figs. & pl. (some in colour). — *ISBN 0-408-10671-9.*

for conservation training.[39] He has consolidated the firm foundation for the following generations.[40]

In this connection I wish to cite a beautifully didactic catalogue of exhibition mounted at the British Library, Reference Division, from 16 April to 1 August 1982.[41] The materials on exhibition came from many famed collections at home and from abroad. Incidentally, the British Library once organized an exhibition "The Conservation of Oriental Writing Materials" (8 January – 24 May 1981). It may not be too much out of place to quote an interesting exhibition held in Melbourne, Perth and Sydney in 1982.[42]

Attention may be drawn to a new vast programme launched early in 2003 by the Government of India, i.e. *राष्ट्रीय पाण्डु-लिपि मिशन*, "National Mission for Manuscripts", with a motto *॥ ज्ञानमुपास्व ॥*, to preserve any kind of manuscripts written, for example on palm & bamboo leaves, birch barks, paper, and any other materials, and in Indic, Dravidian, Tibetan, Persian, and any other languages.[43] They are active in organizing lectures, seminars, exhibitions, etc. at 15 "Manuscript Conservation Centres" within India.[44] In the meantime they have started issuing an illustrated journal designed more or less for the general public.[45] What they need badly is the man power to carry on this enormous project. Incidentally, Buddhists in India began in considerably early times to record their documents, not just canonical literature alone.[46]

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[39] *Conservation of Manuscripts and Documents — Problems and Prospects*, ed. O. P. Agrawal (= *Proceedings of the National Seminar held at Bhārat Kalā Bhawan, Vārāṇasī, December 14 to 16, 1990*) (Lucknow: INTACH / Indian Conservation Institute, 1992), vi, 109 p., 8 figs. on 4-page plates.

[40] Cf. further e.g. O. P. Agrawal & S. N. Sinha, *Manuscripts, Books, Archival and alike Material in India — Conservation Status and Needs* (= *INTAC Cultural Materials Heritage Series*, IX) (Lucknow: INTAC / Indian Conservation Institute, n.d.), (iii), 39 p.

O. P. Agrawal & Nimisha Pathak, *Biodeterioration of Ethnological Objects* (= *Series*, VIII) (n.d.), (iii, 42 p., incl. an extensive bibliography on p. 30-42.

[41] Jeremiah P. Losty, *The Art of the Book in India* (London: The British Library, 1982), 160 p. (include.140 b/w figs.), XXXVIII col. plates (between p. 16-17).

[42] John Guy (*1944), *Palm-leaf and Paper: Illustrated Manuscripts of India and Southeast Asia.* With an essay by O. P. Agrawal: "The Care and Conservation of Palm-leaf and Paper Illustrated Manuscripts", p. 84-90 (Melbourne: National Gallery of Victoria, 1982), 96 p. (with an extensive bibliography on p. 91-96), incl. num. b/w & col. figs. — *ISBN 0-7241-0085-7.*

[43] National Mission for Manuscripts, under the Mission Director of Dr. Sudha Gopalakrishnan: Department of Culture, Ministry of Tourism & Culture, Government of India: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi (*http://www.namami.nic.in*).

[44] The National Mission for Manuscripts has begun to publish their annual report: "Report of the First Year: February 2003 – February 2004", 24 pages, incl. num. ills.

[45] Among others see e.g. "Exploring the Origin of Manuscript Studies in India — In Conversation with Dr. Lokesh Chandra", *Kriti Rakshana: A bi-monthly publication of the National Mission for Manuscripts*, Vol. I, No. 1 (August 2005), p. 7-10, incl. 2 figs; Neeraja Gopi, "The Story of Ink", *ibid.*, I, 2 (Oct. 2005), p. 12-14, incl. a col. fig.; H. R. Nagaraja Sharma, "Institution in Focus — Oriental Research Institute, Mysore", *ibid.*, I, 2 (Oct. 2005), p. 15-17, incl. 3 col.figs. (cf. Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (IV)", *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), p. 292f.: §2.6.9).

[46] Cf. e.g. Sailen Ghose, *Archives in India: History and Assets* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1963), esp. p. 5-7 on Buddhist Records.

At present I feel I am living in a completely different age. It is an urgent matter to digitize important rare texts in order to mobilize serious scholars to join such projects and/or to use the materials, and after all to conserve the corpus of literature for the future. It is becoming indispensable to carry out philological research. And it is a kind of archival work. In the past few decades the term "manuscriptology", which I think was a Russian invention, has established properly a branch of science. As a matter of fact, a number of Indian institutions of tertiary education offer such courses independently.

Limited within Central Asian manuscripts, mention may be made to the "Turfanforschung" under the leadership of Peter Zieme within the framework of the "Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften" in collaboration with the "Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz" with the financial patronage of the "Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, *abbrev.* 'DFG'". They have begun a remarkable project for digitizing the Turfan Collection, i.e. "Digitalisierung der Berliner Turfantexte". It is forming a "Digitales Turfan-Archiv". Indic materials brought back by the German Expeditions to Central Asia a century ago seem to be slowly being incorporated into its archives.[47]

One of the most dramatic events of the past decade in Central Asian manuscriptology may be the appearance in the market of very ancient Indic manuscripts unearthed most probably in Afghanistan.[48] It has quickly tempted leading specialists in Buddhist Sanskrit manuscriptology into this collection. Another surprise came to us in its early stage with the news of the Martin Schøyen Collection in Oslo.[49] In the meantime a checklist of manuscripts appeared. In September 1997 was issued a checklist of more than 2393 manuscripts.[50] The updated list is now available with numerous digitized illustrations on the web site of the National Library of Norway (Nasjonalbiblioteket). It is sincerely hoped that the whole collection of these rare texts will become available in digitized form. A colossal enterprise was immediately organized under the general editorship of Jens Braarvig. Many able scholars have already joined it, and thus the first two volumes have

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[47] Noteworthy is a paper presented by Klaus Wille to the workshop *Digitalisierung der chinesischen, tibetischen, syrischen und Sanskrit-Texte der Berliner Turfansammlung* (Berlin, 2 June 2005): "Survey of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Turfan Collection", in which he gives a brief but comprehensive survey with a most detailed index to the extant manuscripts.

[48] Many were surprised in the first place at *Manuscripts from the Himalayas and the Indian Subcontinent* (= *Catalogue* XVII) (London: Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, 1996), 161 p. (incl. num. col. ills.), 1 frontisp. — *ISBN 0-9517545-7-2*. — In it one may refer to Item 39 on p. 47: "Manuscript Remains of a Library probably from the Buddhist School of the Mahasangika-Lokottaravadin (*sic*)", described with the assistance of Lore Sander.

[49] See e.g. essays by Kazunobu MATSUDA: 松田和信, "アフガニスタンからノルウェーへ — 本当はなかったことになるかもしれない話 —", 仏教大学総合研究所, XIII (1997), p. 24-28, incl. 2 photos; — , "シアトル、そして再びオスロとロンドンへ", *ibid.*, XV (1998), p. 14-16, incl. 3 photos; and further his report: 松田和信, "バーミヤン渓谷から現れた仏教写本の諸相", 古典学の再構築, VII (Kobe 2000), p. 32b-35a, esp. p. 33a-34b: §2. "ノルウェーのスコイエン・コレクション".

[50] *The Schøyen Collection: Checklist of Manuscripts 1-2393 by Martin Schøyen*, compiled by Elizabeth Gano Sørenssen (Oslo: In Principio Press, 1997), p. 81f. "Dead Sea Scolls of Buddhism" and Far East".

so far been out.[51]

Further in this connection a new project at the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, may be cited here. It is the "Research Centre for Buddhist Philology" within the framework of the "Open Research Centre Project", admitted by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science and Technology in 2004. As a result, a new series of publication has just appeared.[52]

Origins of Chinese paper — "*Paper Road*":

It may not be totally out of place to have a glance at some related topics. Around 1933-1934 Huan Wên-p'i (黃文弼: 1893-1966) reported his stirring discovery of a tiny piece of coarse paper made from hemp in the ancient signal fire mound on the northern bank of Lob Nor. It leaves hemp fibre on the surface. He describes it in detail in his work on the expeditions to Lob Nor.[53]

This book has excellently been translated by Junzō TAGAWA (田川純三), with the words by Yasushi INOUE (井上靖) and Torao MIYAKAWA (宮川寅雄), a foreword and a brief biography by his son Huan Lieh (黃烈: *1924).[54] Furthermore, it is always fortunate to see accurately relevant remarks in the reviews by Kazuo ENOKI (榎一雄: 1913-1989).[55]

It was unearthed together with wooden documents dated the first year of Yellow-Dragon Era (黃龍), which lasted only a year, i.e. 49 BCE, under the reign of Emperor Hsüan (宣帝) of the Former Han Dynasty (前漢).[56] Huan Wên-p'i must have been much excited at the excavations at the ancient fire signal mound on the northern bank of the lake. The

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[51] *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Vol. I (= *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, I) (Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2000), xxii, 302 p., XII pl.; Vol. II (= *ibid.*, II), xxiv, 372 p., XXIX pl. — *ISBN 82-8034-4001-7 / °-0003-3*. — cf. Yuyama, "近刊書数行紹介 (1) & (3)", *ARIRIAB*, IV: 2000 (2001), p. 70; *ibid.*, VI: 2003 (2004), p. 353.

[52] *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, I, ed. Seishi KARASHIMA and Klaus WILLE (Tokyo: IRIAB, 2006), (v), 274 p., CXXXIII col. plates. — *ISBN 4-9980622-9-8*.

[53] 黃文弼, 羅布淖爾攷古記／考古記／*The Exploration around Lob Nor: A report on the exploratory work during 1930 and 1934* (= 中國西北科学攷察團叢刊之一) (北京・國立北平研究院史學研究所／中國西北科学考察團理事會, 1948) [再刷 – 東京・大安, 1968／香港・古佚小説會, 200?], p. 168, cum Pl. XXIII, fig. 25: 十八, 麻紙／麻質, 白色, 作方塊薄片. 四周不完整. ... 質甚粗糙. 不勻淨, 紙面尚存麻筋. 蓋爲初造紙時所作, 故不精細也. 按此紙出羅布淖爾古烽燧亭中, 同時出土者有黃龍元年之木簡, 爲漢宣帝年號, 則此紙亦當爲西漢故物也; cf. his "Preface" in English on p. 2-3.

[54] ロプノール考古記 (= 黃文弼著作集, I) (東京・恒文社, 1988), p. 257: Sect. III, Chap. 7 "Textiles", Item 18 "Hemp Paper", with Pl. XXIII, fig. 25 (= p. 371); see also Figs. 15-19 (on p. 174-177) about his excavation. Huan Lieh's biography (*ibid.*, p. ix-xxii) was originally published elsewhere: 黃烈, "黃文弼伝略", 中国当代社会科学家, VIII (1986), p. 325-336. It has invited a Japanese translation with full of invaluable information: 黃烈著／白須淨眞訳註, "黃文弼略伝", 龍谷史壇, CXII (1988.10), p. 68-101, incl. 1 photo, 2 maps.

[55] 東洋學報, LXX, 3/4 (1989), p. 150(280)-161(291), LXXI, 1/2 (1989), p. 172b-181a. Incidentally, Enoki had introduced the "Sino-Swedish Expedition" in sympathy in the midst of the war time: "西北科学考査團の學術報告書", *ibid.*, XXIX, 2 (1942), p. 146(312)-155(321).

[56] This portion of his survey is not included in another collection of articles on northwestern history and geography: 黃文弼・西北史地論叢 (上海・上海人民出版社／新華書店上海, 1981), but Chapter IV on wooden documents is reprinted: *op.cit.*, p. 309-354: "羅布淖爾漢簡考釋".

date of the discovery may well have been towards the end of April 1930 as one can guess from his diary,[57] but more exactly probably 26 (not 28) April 1930 as can be guessed from his writings.[58] The sad fact is that the very coarse hemp paper in question is said to have been burnt down somewhere by the flames of the Japan-China war already in the same decade, probably in 1937. Fortunately in the misfortune, however, a photo of the paper has survived, as cited in a number of works in related fields. This discovery has naturally attracted the attention of historians of both humanistic and natural sciences. Until today there have appeared some more evidence of paper manufactured from hemp even before the Former Han Dynasty.[59] Strictly speaking, "hemp" paper was made from either '*Cannabis sativa* L' or '*Bohemeria nivea* Gaud.', as experimented chemically by P'an and others.[60] Old used hemp clothing or fishing net scraps could make better paper, for they are softer than raw fibre.

However, it has taken some time before this fact was firmly accepted even by specialists. For instance, Chang Hsiu-min (張秀民) maintained the old theory that the celebrated Eunuch Tsai Lin (蔡倫) made paper (the so-called 蔡侯紙) to present it to Emperor Hu (和帝) in the first year of Yüan-hsiang Era (元興) in Later Han (= 105 CE).[61] Tsai Lin may be regarded highly as the one who improved the manufacturing process.[62]

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[57] 黃文弼遺著・黃烈整理, 黃文弼・蒙新考察日記 (1927-1930) (北京・文物出版社, 1990), p. 545-550: "土垠烽墩与漢簡適發現", esp. p. 546: 28 April (1930): "在今日發掘遺物中, 有'黃龍元年'及'元延元年'諸年號。黃龍爲漢宣帝年號, ...".

[58] The portion describing it in his *The Exploration around Lob Nor* (1948) has been reprinted in e.g. 黃烈編, 黃文弼歷史考古論集 (北京・文物出版社, 1989), p. 357-374: Sect. IV, Article No. 5, Chap. 3 "羅布淖爾古代遺址的考察", §1 "漢烽燧亭遺址", esp. p. 369 (on the document dated the first year of the Yellow-Dragon Era, i.e. 49 BCE). — cf. *Japanese Translation*, p. 134-173, with Figs. 15-19 on p. 174-177.

[59] 例参看・潘吉星 (P'an Chi-hsing: *1931), 中國造紙技術史稿 (北京・文物出版社, 1979), esp. p. 25 (cum Fig. I-6 on p. 26); this was immediately translated into Japanese by Taketoshi SATŌ (佐藤武敏, *1920), 中国製紙技術史 (東京・平凡社, 1980), p. 40f. (cum Fig. I-7 on p. 42).

錢存訓(*1910)著・鄭如斯編訂, 中國紙和印刷文化史 / *Chinese Paper and Printing: A Cultural History* (桂林・廣西師範大學出版社, 2004), p. 38 (with no ill.), further p. 53 on the raw material.

≪造紙史話≫編写組編, 造紙史話 (= 中国科学技術史話叢書) (上海・上海科学技術出版社／新華書店上海, 1983), p. 14f., with a fig. 1 on p. 15, further p. 190 (a chronological table on 49 BCE). Fig. 1 in this book is a different one as seen in Huan Wên-p'i's *The Exploration around Lob Nor* (Tokyo 1988), p. 156: Item 17 = Fig. 24 on Plate XXIII (= p. 371)!

[60] 潘吉星著／大沢真澄・塚原東吾共訳, "近代の考古学的発見とその科学的研究による製紙の起源について (On the Origin of Papermaking in the Light of Scientific Research on Recent Archaeological Discoveries)", 化学史研究／*Journal of the Japanese Society for the History of Chemistry*, XXXI, 2 (1985), p. 77-80 [*orig. written in English*].

[61] 張秀民, 中國印刷術的發明及其影響(北京・人民出版社／新華書店, 1958, repr. 1978), esp. p. 16f.: — Cf. e.g. a lecture by Pan Jixing (P'an Chi-hsing): 潘吉星, "製紙術の起源 (The Origin of Paper Making)", 紙・七人の提言 (日本紙アカデミー編) (京都・思文閣, 1992), p. 153-173.

参看・久米康生 (*1921), 和紙の源流 — 東洋手すき紙の多彩な伝統 (東京・岩波書店, 2004), esp. p. 3-9 (with a map, figs., table); 米山寅太郎, 図説中国印刷史 (東京・汲古書院, 2005), p. 7f.

[62] Incidentally, there is a handy simple pamphlet, among many other detailed books, for those who wish to know techniques of Chinese books quickly: *Terminology of the Chinese Book, Bibliography, and Librarianship*, prepared by Tsuen-hsuin Tsien [in mimeograph] (London: Han-Shan Tang, n.d.), A4: 21 p., incl. ills. on p. 19-21; — see esp. p. 10-12 on writing materials, i.e. 'bamboo', 'wood', 'silk', 'paper', and 'ink'.

Recently, I was much interested to see Akihiko AKAMATSU (赤松明彦: *1958) describe such sites of excavations from a fresh angle. He pays attention to the discovery of documents in the Former Han period, if not in detail. Incidentally, I assume that his working hypothesis on the methodological basis sounds common to Mariko Namba Walter, though treating a different topic.[63]

Hemp paper was already in official use in the Nara period (710-784 CE) in Japan, as attested in the Shōsō-in Documents (正倉院文書). A few kinds seem to have existed, e.g. either in yellow ("ō-ma-shi": 黄麻紙) or white ("haku-ma-shi": 白麻紙). Specialists at the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo (独立行政法人文化財研究所・東京文化財研究所・美術部) has collected the documentary evidence among the vast Shōsō-in Documents: *hakumashi* recording the years 752 & 756 CE, and *ōmashi* 743, 747, 750 & 751.[64]

A well-known Japanese writer, a Chinese descendant from Taiwan, Chin Shun-shin (陳舜臣: *1924), was one of those who were arrested to the paper discovery at Lob Nor. He has brought out an enlightening work on the highway "Paper Road" *in parallel* to the "Silk Road".[65] Also *in contrast* to the "Ceramic Road" mainly at sea, it was indeed a carriageway of different cultural heritage, which has become common to the humanity.

Now, at this stage, it may not be possible to detect the route of importing paper from China to India. In the northern part of the Indian sub-continent, not to speak of Nepal, paper use does not seem to have taken place of palm-laves before the twelfth century CE. It became popularly in use only after the sixteenth century.[66] Trier cites the oldest dated paper manuscript for 1105 CE. (*op.cit.*, p. 132b). It is a great pity that Luciano Petech has collected a great many manuscript to verify their dates, but not material either paper or palm-leaf, in his otherwise extremely enlightening work.[67] Even after the import of paper in India paper seems to have used in the form of *poṭhī* up to the sixteenth century (cf. Trier, *op.cit.*, p. 137a). Indians must have preferred palm-leaf to paper — probably on ground of the cost, and perhaps for a strong attachment to palm-leaf. This background

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[63] 楼蘭王国 — ロプ・ノール湖畔の四千年 (= 中公新書, 1823) (東京・中央公論社, 2005), e.g. 49f.; cf. M. Namba Walter, *Tocharian Buddhism in Kucha: Buddhism in Indo-European Centum Speakers in Chinese Turkestan before the 10th Century CE* (= *Sino-Platonic Papers*, LXXXV) (Philadelphia: Department of Asian & Middle Eastern Studies, University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 30 p.

[64] "白麻紙": 東京帝国大學文學部史料編纂所編, 『大日本古文書』, III (東京・東京帝国大學, 1902), p. 606-608 (752CE); IV (1903), p. 200-202 (756 CE); — "黄麻紙"; 同書, VIII (1912), p. 189-191, 192f. (both 743 CE); II (1901), p. 719f. (747 CE); III (1902), p. 414f. (750 CE), 505, 507f. (751 CE) (*http://www.tobunken.go.jp/~bijutsu/database/saishiki/contents/*).

[65] 参看・陳舜臣, 紙の道 (ペーパーロード) (= 集英社文庫, DXLIII) (東京・集英社, 1997), esp. p. 16. —[orig. published by the Yomiuri Newspaper Co., Tokyo, 1994].

[66] Cf. Trier, *Ancient Paper of Nepal* (1972), p. 129-137.

[67] Cf. *Mediaeval History of Nepal (c. 750-1480)* (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, X) (= *Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture*, 3) (Roma: IsMEO, 1958); Second, thoroughly revised edition (= *SOR*, LIV) (1984).

may make us imagine that the paper roads were opened for transport direct down south from the Turkestan area mostly via Tibet. Paper may have reached India by boat when the trade in the southern seas became in full flourish in the Ming dynasty.

In his most recent illuminating work on the cultural relations between China and India Chi Hsien-lin (*or* Jì Xiànlín: 季羨林: *1911)[68] discusses the relevant topic in detail from the viewpoint of writing on paper in various places with special reference to Central Asia. This is a collection of his articles selected and edited by Wang Shu-ying (王樹英) with valuable remarks added newly by the author himself.[69] Regarding the earliest paper manufacture, however, he seems to be a little conservative — he does not refer to the recent development of the history of paper making in China as mentioned above.

Then, what kind of paper was imported to India? Before asking it, I have so far failed to detect a vocabulary for "paper" in Old or Middle Indic. At least, the New Indo-Aryan word *kāghaj*, and its equivalents like *kāghad*, *kāghat*, is no doubt a loanword from Persian کاغذ, i.e. *kāghaz*.[70] It is interesting to learn that the Bengali *kākat(a)* derives from Persian, but through Assamese.[71] More interesting is the fact that the relevant word is to be found in Middle Iranian, i.e. Sogdian *k'γδ'*, Persian کاغذ, "paper",[72] for the relation particularly in trade between Sogdiana and China is so well known nowadays.[73] Paper among many other Chinese-made merchandise must certainly have arrived in Samarkand in olden times.[74] And hence the Sogdians borrowed the word *k'γδ'* for paper from the Chinese 構／媾紙 *kou-chih*, as is demonstrated efficiently as usual by Berthold Laufer (1873-1934)

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[68] For Chi Hsien-lin see e.g. Yuyama, "Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (1898-1956): A Model in the Beginnings of Indo-Sinic Buddhist Philology", *ARIRIAB*, V: 2001 (2002), p. 140f. (cum n. 20-26); —, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (II)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 278f.: §9"季羨林書誌追録".

[69] 王樹英選編, 季羨林論中印文化交流／*Prof. Ji Xianlin on Cultural Exchanges between China and India*, selected and edited by Wang Shu-ying (北京・新世界出版社／Peking: New World Press, 2006), p. 30-61: "中國紙和造紙法輸入印度的時間和地点問題／An Inquiry into the Time and Place of Chinese Paper and Paper Manufacturing Techniques' Flowing into India" [*an article published originally in 1954*]; p. 62-65: "關於中國紙和造紙法輸入印度問題的補遺／Addendum on the Introduction of Chinese Paper and the Method of Paper-making to India" (*written in 1979*); p. 66-74: "中國紙和造紙法最初是否是由海路傳到印度去的／Whether Chinese Paper and the Method of Paper-making Was Originally Introduced to India via Sea Route".

[70] Cf. e.g. Ralph Lilley Turner, *A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language*. With Index of All Words Quoted from Other Indo-Aryan Languages by Dorothy River Turner (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd, 1973), p. 84b, कागत, s.v.

[71] Cf. Sukumar Sen, *An Etymological Dictionary of Bengali: 1000-1800 A.D.*, Vol. I (Calcutta: Eastern Publishers, 1971), p. 127f., *qq.vv.*

[72] Cf. e.g. B. Gharib, *Sogdian Dictionary: Sogdian-Persian-English* (Tehran: Farhangan Publications, 1995), p. 185b: Word Nos. 4632 (*k'γδ'*), 4633 (*q'γδ'*), 4634 & 4635 (*k'γγδ'kh*).

[73] Cf. Chi Hsien-lin, *op.cit.*, p. 42 (with references).

[74] Cf. e.g. Étienne de la Vassière, *Histoire des marchands sogdiens* (= *Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises*, XXXII) (Paris: Collège de France – Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 2002), p. 302.
Reviews by Yutaka YOSHIDA (吉田豊), *JRAS*, III, 14-2 (July 2004), p. 169-175; A. Degener, *IIJ*, XLVII, 2 (Summer 2004), p. 133-135.
Incidentally, I have not yet seen: 栗特人在中国 – 歷史・考古・語言的新探索 (= 法国漢学, X) (2005), 502 p.

in his famed work on Sino-Iranian cultural relations, arguing against Friedrich Hirth (1845-1927),[75] who had derived it from Chinese 穀紙 *ku-chih*.[76] However, I have not yet solved the question of the Tibetan word *śog-bu*, *śog-gu*, as well as Newārī *bo'o*,[77] for "paper". I see no way to trace them etymologically.[78] In his *Dictionary English and Sanskrit* (London 1851, p. 569b), Monier Williams (1819-1899) gives the word *kārpāsaka*, *kārpāsika-patra*, for "paper". I wonder where this has ever been used in this sense.[79] It goes without saying that no one would deny that a sheet of cotton cloth was used for writing as is seen everywhere on earth.

Incidentally, hemp paper seems to have been imported to Japan from China, possibly via Korea, much earlier, say before the Nara period. After that it had not been used until the modern period. Around 1926 Heizaburō IWANO (岩野平三郎) the First, a famous paper manufacturer in Fukui (福井), or Echizen (越前) in its olden name, restored it at the advice of Konan NAITŌ (内藤湖南: 1866-1934). Famed Japanese-style painters then were delighted to use this glossy paper for drawing canvas. The so-called Echizen paper (越前紙) has thus been renowned for its artistic beauty and quality for more than a thousand years until today. — Now, I must return from the digression!

Place of discovery and origin of the Turfan fragment:

Now, back to the question of the place and origin of the Turfan fragment, it is after all very unlikely that this it was discovered at the Bäzäklik caves. Needless to say, the place of discovery is not always the place of origin, say, either copied by hand or printed with blocks.

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[75] For Hirth in brief see Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (V)", *ARIRIAB*, X: 2006 (2007) [in the press], §3.2.0.

[76] See Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica: Chinese Contributions to the History of Civilization in Ancient Iran with special reference to the History of Cultivated Plants and Products* (= *Anthropological Series*, XV, 3) (= *Publications of the Field Museum of Natural History*, CCI) (Chicago 1919) [reprinted by Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, Taipei, 1978], p. 557f. (cum n. 5-6).

[77] Written भँ, *bhvaṃ*: cf. Mantaro J. Hashimoto, *The Newari Language: A Classified Lexicon of the Bhadgaon Dialect* (= *Monumenta Serindica*, II) (Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Languages, 1977), p. 131: XI.ii.1. "紙 paper भँ"; Thakur Lal Manandhar, *Newari-English Dictionary, Modern Language of Kathmandu Valley*, ed. Anne Vergati [École Française d'Extrême-Orient] (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1986), p. 193b, भं *bhvaṃ*, s.v.; Christoph Cüppers, Kashinath Tamot & Philip Pierce, *A Tibetan-Newari Lexicon cum Phrase Book. With Illustrations* (= *Nepalica*, hrsg. v. Bernhard Kölver & Siegfried Lienhard, X) (Bonn: VGH Wissenschaftsverlag, 1996), p. 40: XII, 310 *śog-bu / bo'o [bhvaṃ] paper*.

[78] This Newārī word makes me wonder if it were simply modern. At least no equivalent is treated by Hans Jørgensen, *A Dictionary of the Classical Newārī* (= *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Meddeleder*, XXIII, 1) (København: Levin & Munksgaard – Ejnar Munksgaard, 1936). Cf. Jan Gonda's review, *Museum*, XLIV, 8 (mai 1937), col. 206f.

[79] Cf. e.g. *Mahāvyutpatti*, ed. Sakaki, No. 9164: Tib. *ras-gos*, Chin. 布衣; Edgerton, *BHSD*, p. 179a, q.v.: "cotton cloth"; ferner Böhtlingk's *PW*, II, p. 134b & p. 242b, & *pw*, II, p. 28b & p. 54a, *karpāsa*, *kār°*, ss.vv.; Schmidt's *Nachträge ad pw*, p. 144b, *kārpāsika*, s.v.; *Skt.-Wb. d. Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*, beg. v. Waldschmidt, II (9. Lief.), p. 27a, *karpāsa*, *°-picu*, ss.vv.; *CPD*, III, p. 180a-181b, *kappāsa* and its compounds; Cone's *Dict. of Pāli*, I, p. 636b, q.v.; auch Mayrhofer's *KEWA*, I, p. 174f., & sein *EWAi*, I, p. 317f., *karpāsa*, s.v.

If the discovery place were in this region, it is quite possible that the fragment was unearthed in the remains of a temple in a village named Sängim (Shêng-chin in Chinese: 勝金) in the vicinity of the Bäzäklik Caves. It is well known that modern western expeditions have discovered Indic materials there.[80]

Although we have seen the evidence of manufacturing paper even before the Common Era, it is difficult to believe that such a document printed in modern times was found in this region. I would therefore suspect that the very fragment has been brought to this area by modern travelers, explorers, merchants, or anyone else. At the moment I must leave the question open until a definite proof appears to solve it! It may have already been scientifically investigated in Peking as will be seen below.

In the meanwhile I had had to give up my idea of studying this fragment of immense interest. Towards the end of 1981 I was browsing through the library shelves at the International Institute for Buddhist Studies in Tokyo as a usual inspection without any other specific purpose. As a matter of blind chance my eyes were arrested at a fine book on the Silk Road. It was the travel journal published by a Taiwan-born cameraman, naturalized in Japan, named Kafuku SEKI (石嘉福: Shih Chia-fu, *1936). I found a black and white photograph of the very blockprint text covering two facing pages in this illustrious book full of invaluable photos: *Tenzan Nanro-o Yuku* (Tokyo 1979).[81] The photo numbered 4 is inserted on p. 30-31, as it was exhibited in the Turfan Exhibition Hall.

In a dialogue with Akiyasu TŌDŌ (藤堂明保), who achieved a worldwide reputation in Chinese linguistics in particular, Seki showed it as an undeciphered non-Chinese document unearthed from the grave hordes of Astāna. But it seems more doubtful to me to site Astāna as the place of its discovery than Bäzäklik. In the caption Seki describes that the document was unearthed from the Astāna Tombs. He continues that non-Chinese documents are also discovered in such tombs of the Chinese. He adds that its date is unknown, but the document is being studied in Peking.[82] Seki took the photo of the fragment at Turfan in 1978, exactly a year before our visit there. I wonder if the caption there was made on the basis of the research result sent from Peking, for some descriptions lack accuracy without doubt.

Further in their talk, Seki introduces an opinion that most of the documents exhibited in the Turfan Hall and illustrated in his book (photos numbered 4-6) belong to the period

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[80] See e.g. *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, 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), p. XI-XXVI, esp. p. XV. — cf. Review by Yuyama, *IIJ*, XII, 4 (1970), p. 266-269.

[81] 石嘉福・天山南路を往く シルクロード 絲綢之路千里／序文・井上靖／解説・藤堂明保 (東京・講談社, 1979).

[82] "アスターナ墓群からほりだされたトルファン文書。[4] 漢族の墓だが漢字以外も出土する。これはいつの時代のものか不明、現在北京で解明中" (Seki, *op.cit.*, p. 31).

from the Chin (晉: 3rd century CE) to T'ang (唐: esp. 9-10 c.) Dynasties. In reply to him, Tōdō confirms, saying that they are surely from about the 3rd to 10th centuries (Seki, *op.cit.*, p. 32).[83] To me it looks as if they are discussing a different matter — paper and/or something else?

In any case, thanks to the painstaking work of Mr. Seki, I could read the text in his precious photograph of the fragment. It is however still a great pity that I have been unable to see the original again, or at least to obtain a better photocopy. Some writings carved/printed in small letters are illegible. In this blockprint text these letters are found at the end of verses. It may mean that they denote the verse numbers?

To confess frankly again, I was indeed lucky enough to find and study the very fragment in photocopy, made available by Seki in his book: *Tenzan Nanro-o Yuku* (1979). But at the same time I was so much distressed that I had finally have to work on the basis of this photocopy alone. As a matter of fact, I had written to him to ask for a photocopy purely for my research in vain. I received no reply to my humble petition. Upon my inquiry to my friends in China for information of whether there have appeared any book containing the photocopy, or if there were any possibility to obtain a better copy in any way, I have so far received only negative answers. Again, alas, there is no hope for it.

'Phags-pa script and Lañ-tsha script:

Since the fragment was considered as a text written in the 'Phags-pa script, if not 'Phags-pa language, the Turfan Museum keepers may have thought it by simple logic to belong to the Yüan period.

The 'Phags-pa script is so well known as it was named after its deviser from Tibet, i.e. 'Gros-mgon 'Phags-pa Blo-gros Rgyal-mtshan Dpal-bzaṅ-po, or Āryanātha Matidhvajaśrībhadra in Indic form (1235-1280 CE), or just called 'Phags-pa respectfully in short. In the year 1269 he was ordered as the National Preceptor, later Imperial Preceptor, by Khubilai Khan (1216-1294, r. 1260-1294), to devise a new script for the Mongol Empire.[84] For some reasons, probably for the decline of the dynasty, this systematic script has not taken root firmly among the Mongolians.[85] Another Indic-type

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[83] 石・トルファン文書([4]～[6])には晋(三世紀)から唐(とくに九、十世紀)のものが一番多いと聞きました。

藤堂・そう、三世紀から十世紀ぐらいのものですよ。……

[84] On 'Phags-pa see e.g. Miyoko NAKANO (中野美代子), "帝師八思巴行状校證", 新亞學報, IX, 1 (June 1969), p. 93-119 (with an English summary, p. 4); and recently much in detail by Wang Ch'i-lung (*1964): 王啓龍, 八思巴生平与≪彰所知論≫対勘研究 [王堯・序言](= 中国社会科学博士論文文庫) (北京・中国社会科学出版社, 1999), esp. p. 9-231: 上篇・八思巴生平研究.

[85] Cf. e.g. M. Nakano, *A Phonological Study in the 'Phags-pa Script and the Mĕng-ku tzu-yün* (= *Oriental Monograph Series*, VII) (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1971), v, 172 p. — with an extensive bibliography.

See further Nakano's work in Japanese: 砂漠に埋もれた文字 — パスパ文字のはなし (= 塙新書, 38) (1971), 236 p., 3 figs., 12 ills., 2 frontisp.); 再版 (= ちくま学芸文庫, ナ-3-1) (筑摩書房, 1994), 282, 9 p.

— A most recent interesting discovery must be the Yüan State Library Seals in 'Phags-pa script: 鵜木基行, "元代官府パスパ文字蔵書印管見", 汲古, XLIX (June 2006), p. 32-37.

script called Soyombo (= Svayambhū), doubtlessly modeled after the Lañ-tsha, devised by the celebrated Zanabazar (1635-1723) in 1686, has survived even until today.

It is widely known that the Lañ-tsha, or Rañjanā script, has been popular until today among Buddhists in the Himalayan region in particular. This beautiful decorative script is often seen on the balustrade and/or pillars of the temples among the Tibetan Buddhist cultural area. As a matter of fact, however, only a few educated monks, nuns and people are able to read it.

In this connection one may easily recall a well-known concise encyclopaedic work *Rgya-dkar-nag rgya-ser kaśmi-ra bal bod hor-gyi yi-ge daṅ dpe-ris rnam-graṅs maṅ-ba* by Ārya Paṇḍita Ṅag-dbaṅ-blo-bzaṅ-bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan in the eighteenth (or early nineteenth) century CE. In fact, this most interesting text was printed in Peking.[86] Fortunately, this was photomechanically reprinted some twenty years ago.[87] In this work the Rañjana script (*Lañ-tsha'i yi-ge*) occupies "Alphabet I" (folios 2b1/2-5b3/4: cf. for further details Yuyama, *Indic MSS & Chin. Blockprints*, 1967, p. 84f.), the Soyombo "Alphabet XXII" (*Sva-yam-bhu-jye-ti*, read °*-jyotis*, Tib. *Raṅ-byuṅ snaṅ-ba*: fol. 13b1/2-3/4: cf. Yuyama, *op.cit.*, p. 87), and 'Phags-pa "Alphabet XXIX" (*'Phags-pa'i yi-ge*: cf. Yuyama, *op.cit.*, p. 88).

Lamaist scholars in China were not at all indifferent to foreign scripts. There are a number of similar texts printed by blocks in the same manner in Peking. They are all to be found in the same book by Lokesh Chandra.

A Hitherto Unknown Blockprint Text – A Third Indic Version?

Even such a small piece of blockprint fragment preserved at Turfan offers quite a few interesting and important variant readings. It is not really difficult now to reconstruct the text in comparison with the other versions extant in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese: *Rgs* XIV verses 4-8. It is therefore eagerly hoped that this remaining blockprint text, if not complete, will appear before us in the near future. To my knowledge, I have so far seen no report of its existence.

The blockprint texts produced at Lamaist temples like Sung-chu-ssŭ in Peking seem to

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[86] Cf. Yuyama, *Indic Manuscripts and Chinese Blockprints* (1967), p. 84-100, 105f., 114 and 124; also Manfred Taube, *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, IV (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, XI, 4) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1966), p. 1087f.: Nr. 2929.

[87] *Indian Scripts in Tibet*, reproduced by Lokesh Chandra from the Collection of Prof. Raghuvira (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCXCVII) (New Delhi: Mrs. Sharada Rani, 1982), Text No. 4, p. 26-40; cf. M. Taube, *op.cit.*, I (1966), Tafeln VI-VII (folios 15a, 16a, 19b & 29b).

Cf. further M. Nakano, "The *Rgya-dkar-nag rgya-ser ka-smi-ra bal bod hor-gyi yi-ge daṅ dpe-ris rnam-graṅs maṅ-ba* and some remarks on the 'Phags-pa script", *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, ed. Perala Ratnam, III: *Commemorative Volume on the 71st Birthday of Acharya Raghu Vira* (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCIX) (1971), p. 1-16; — written originally in Japanese: "*Rgya-dkar-nag rgya-ser ka-smi-ra bal bod hor-gyi yi-ge daṅ dpe-ris rnam-graṅs maṅ-ba* について — 'Phags-pa 字とその周辺 — ", 東方學, XXVI (1968), p. 134-149 (with English summary, p. 9-10).

be all in Indo-Tibetan *pothi*-type. But the photograph of the fragment in question looks like an accordion-type print. On the upper part of the fragment are seen handwritten Chinese characters "eleven obverse", i.e. 十一上 (= 11a). This handwritten memorandum-type pagination may by itself mean that the text is folded like an accordion printed without pagination, neither a *pothi* nor a scroll. Incidentally, this numbering is written correctly as one reads the main text. In the showcase it was placed half upside down.

Therefore it is again a great pity that I was not allowed to see and handle the fragment itself and that the photograph does not tell if it had a reverse side with a printed text. The photographer Seki does not mention it in his book. And the paper may have been thick enough not to allow the printing ink to soak through from the back page. Any Tibetologist has the experience of difficulty in reading the prints whose sheets are soaked with ink from the back page and vice versa. If the reverse side of the text were printed, it would no doubt offer important readings we could not overlook.

The text runs from our 11a to the following page without interruption. The size of the fragment is unknown. I was naturally unable to measure it. However, since the last word of 11a, *prāpuṇāti* (XIV 6b end), continues to the next page with the beginning of the next *pāda*, *tañ caiva* (XIV 6c) and one line of the page contains about one and half *pāda*s. The book itself is not really a large accordion folio. The rectangular page consisting most probably of six lines uses a *pothi*-type form, that is to say, not printed in a western style.

Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (= Rgs) XIV 4-8:

On this occasion I wish to give a faithfully transliterated text, and a reconstructed text with textual notes, variant readings found in Recensions A and B, and its Tibetan and Chinese versions. My original plan to present a provisional translation of each version had to be abandoned due to lack of energy, time and space. Edward Conze has made an English translation from the Indic running parallel to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (abbr. *AsP*). To be frank, although we cannot forget his untiring service to the cause of research into the Prajñāpāamitā literature, his translation was made out of the Indo-Tibetan versions.[88] Despite its title, Conze has given the *Rgs* in the first place followed by the *AsP*. After all, he has not settled the complicated question of the relation between the *Rgs* and *AsP*.

Unfortunately, a photograph of the fragment is not at my disposal for reproduction. Those who are interested in it are cordially requested to consult the book by Kafuku SEKI mentioned above, although some portions in small letters are regrettably illegible, as shown ((...)) in my transliterated text below. Let us hope to see a better copy published by those prudent scholars in charge of such items of our common cultural heritage!

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[88] *The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & Its Verse Summary*, translated by Edward Conze (Bolinas: Four Seasons Foundation, 1973), p. 9-73 (*Rgs*), esp. p. 34f. (*Rgs* XIV).

Transliterated Text

The small letters illegible on the photo shown as ((...)) below are found only at the end of every verse. They may therefore indicate the verse numbers. Each line of the first folio of the fragment (Seki, *op.cit.*, p. 31) reads as follows:

(*1*) [...]r[i]gṛhītā bhāva-svabhāva-kuś[a]lā p[a]ra[mārtha-]

(*2*) [...]na-saṃbhṛta-yāna-pātrā paramādbhutāṃ sugata-bodhi

(*3*) [...]ṭake apakvi yatha vāri vaheya ke cij jñātavyu

(*4*) [...]ti durbalatvāt pa[r]i[pakv]i vāri ghaṭake vaha=

(*5*) [...] bhedanād gayam (w.r. for *bhay*°) upaiti ca [sva]st[i] geham ((...)) kiñ cāpi

(*6*) [...]b[a]hulo siya bodhisatvo prajñā-vihīnu vilayaṃ laghu prāpuṇāti

The next folio (Seki, *op.cit.*, p. 30) reads as follows:

(*1*)tañ caiva śraddhu parigṛhṇayimānu prajñā atikramya bhūmi-dvaya prā=

(*2*)psyati bodhim agryyāṃ ((...)) nāvā yathā aparikarma-kṛtā samudre vila=

(*3*) [...]aiti sa-dha[nā] saha vāṇijebhiḥ sā caiva nāva parikarma-kṛtā

(*4*) [...]na ca bhidyate dhana-samaṅgi upaiti tīraṃ ((...)) em eva śraddhu-pā=

(*5*) [...]prajñā-vihīnu laghu bodhi upaiti hāniṃ so

(*6*) [...]mitā s[u]yu[kto] akṣ[ato] nupātu [... ... ...]

Reconstructed Text

In most cases of the reconstructed text I have tried to leave the symbols for illegible/missing and supplemented letters to demonstrate how I have restored them from the original printed readings:

[ye te bhavanti vara-prajña-pa]r[i]g<g>ṛhītā
bhāva-svabhāva-kuś[a]lā p[a]ra[mārtha-darśī /
te puṇya-jñāna-dha]na-saṃbhṛta-yāna-pātrā
parādbhutāṃ sugata-bodhi [spṛśanti śīghraṃ // 4 //
gha]ṭake a-pakvi yatha vāri vaheya ko-cij
jñātavyu [kṣipru ayu bhetsya]ti durbalatvāt /
pa[r]i[pakv]i vāri ghaṭake vaha]mānu mārge
na ca] bhedanād bhayam upaiti ca [sva]st[i] gehaṃ // 5 //
kiṃ-cāpi [śraddha-]b[a]hulo siya bodhisatvo
prajñā-vihīnu vilayaṃ laghu prāpuṇāti /
taṃ caiva śraddhu parigṛhṇayimānu prajñā
atikramya bhūmi-dvaya prāpsyati bodhim agryāṃ // 6 //
nāvā yathā a-parikarma-kṛtā samudre
vila[yaṃ up]aiti sa-dha[nā] saha vāṇijebhiḥ /

sā caiva nāva parikarma-kṛtā [su-yuktā]
na ca bhidyate dhana-samaṅgi upaiti tīraṃ // 7 //
em eva śraddhu-pa[ribhāvitu bodhisatvo]
prajñā-vihīnu laghu bodhi upaiti hāniṃ /
so [caiva prajñā-vara-pāra]mitā-s[u]yu[kto]
a-kṣ[ato] 'n-upāhatu [spṛśāti jñāna bodhiṃ // 8 //

Special features of the blockprint text:

This blockprint fragment, though small, offers undoubtedly remarkable features. I herewith cite some interesting phrases and words. Some other interesting readings are treated below. The following examples, though only a few in number, are good enough to suggest the existence of a third Indic version, if not a recension. In any case this chapter XIV is one I like very much. The famous parable of "*aupamya*" is indeed nicely composed.

When I decided to write a doctoral dissertation after my arrival in Canberra in 1965, I had to face what I should take up as its topic or subject. Around this time I had already known of the existence of the blockprint text of the *Rgs* in the Hsü Ti-shan Collection in the Oriental Studies Library, while Edward Conze had already introduced a Calcutta manuscript of the *Rgs* (= K). When I had learned that I could obtain a microfilm of MS. K through the kind offices of J. W. de Jong, I immediately determined to study it for my thesis.

It was also at the time I was seriously thinking of a method in Buddhist philology.[89] Systematic bibliographies must be available to scholars engaged in this field of study.[90] The prime necessity was, I believed, to undertake a highly critical work on *every* recension, if not a *version*, of an Indic literature, and further to make grammatical analysis on every text independently of each other before building up a comprehensive grammar, for Franklin Edgerton had shown us an overall foundation of grammatical feature. On the basis of this idea I briefly discussed a grammar of the *RgsA*,[91] and I was pleased to learn, as

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[89] A. Yuyama, "The Need for Philological Research in the Field of Buddhist Studies", *Buddhism into the Year 2000: Proceedings of the First International Conference, held in Bangkok 7-10 February 1990* (Patumthani/Bangkok: Dhammakāya Foundation, 1992), p. 219-235; —, "仏教文献学の方法試論", 水野弘元博士米寿記念論集・パーリ文化学の世界 (東京・春秋社, 1990), p. 125-152.

[90] Cf. A. Yuyama, "The Need for Systematic Bibliographies in Buddhist Sanskrit Philology", *Journal of the Institute of Chinese Studies of the Chinese University of Hong Kong*, V, 2 (Hong Kong 1972), p. 339-346 (Summary in Chinese on p. 346).
—, "需要系統的梵文仏教文献目録", 南亜研究, 1983 年, No. 3 (北京・北京大学／中国社会科学院・南亜研究所, 1983), p. 65-76 [Lecture delivered 28 May 1982, translated into Chinese by Chang Jui-chih (張瑞芝)].

[91] A. Yuyama, "Some Grammatical Peculiarities in the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*", *Proceedings of the 28th International Congress of Orientalists held at the Australian National University, Canberra, 6-12 January 1971*, ed. A. R. Davis (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1976), p. 95-97.

it was published in book form,[92] that it seems to have been accepted more or less in general.[93] Furthermore, some lexical features are also to be discussed in relation to the grammatical analysis,[94] not to mention of the vital importance of metrical features.[95] And the *Pratītyasamutpāda-gāthā*, appended in many texts, may be of interest from various points of view.[96]

For details regarding the variant readings see Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. 55f. (footnotes). Special features seen in the fragment are discussed below in relation to the complicated problems regarding recensions.

Verse 4: The Tibetan version corresponding to Sanskrit 3cd-4ab is to be found only in the Chinese blockprint text. At some stage of transmission the verses 3cd-4ab may have gone astray, so that they are missing from the corresponding Tibetan versions in all the hitherto known editions and manuscripts. For further details on the readings see the relevant footnotes in my edition (Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. 55).

Verse 4a: *pariggṛhītā: parigṛh°* is unmetrical (so also I 6d, XIV 10c, XV 5c, XX 14b, XXIX 4c), cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §2.131; Edgerton, *BHSGr* §2.7, *Edg.Rgs* p. 10: §37. Another possibility is a hyper-Sanskritic form *parigrahītā*, as is attested in VII 2a *parigrahīta*, nom.sg.f., to **grahati*; also *parigrāhika-* (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §32.36, 40.1; but B: *°gṛhīta*,

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[92] A. Yuyama, *A Grammar of the* Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā *(Sanskrit Recension A)* (= *Oriental Monograph Series*, XIV) (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973), XXXII, 190 p. — *ISBN 0-7081-0843-1*. — Abbrev. "Yuyama, *RgsGr* " hereinafter.

— To my knowledge, there have appeared six book reviews:
Thomas Burrow, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1975, 1 (London 1975), p. 72f.
Mi., *Archiv Orientální*, XLIII, 4 (Praha 1975), p. 371.
Nancy R. Lethcoe, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XCVI, 2 (New Haven 1976), p. 353f.
Jacques May, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XVIII, 1-2 (The Hague-Paris 1976), p. 132f.
Kenneth Roy Norman, *Modern Asian Studies*, XII (Cambridge 1977), p. 174-176 & 26.
Gregory Schopen, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XX, 1-2 (The Hague-Paris 1978), p. 110-124.

[93] Cf. e.g. J. W. de Jong, *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America* (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing, 1997), p. 80.

[94] Cf. A. Yuyama, "Some Glossarial Notes on the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*", *Proceedings and Papers of the 14th Congress of the Australasian Universities Language and Literature Association held 19-26 January 1972 at the University of Otago, Dunedin*, ed. K. I. D. Maslen (Dunedin 1972), p. 30-37.

[95] I have given a detailed analysis of every metrical scheme in the *RgsA*: "Remarks on the Metre of the *Prajñā-Pāramitā-Ratna-Guṇa-Saṃcaya-Gāthā*", *Studies in Indo-Asian Art and Culture*, II, ed. Perala Ratnam: *Acharya Commemoration Volume on the 70th Birthday of Acharya Raghu Vira* (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XCVI) (New Delhi 1973), p. 243-253.

[96] For further details with other extant literature, e.g. Yuyama, "十二因縁呪覚え書き", 印度學佛教學研究 (= *IBK/JIBS*), XX, 1 (1971), p. 448(48)-444(52) [in Jap.].

Needless to say, I see no end to discuss this *gāthā* with more materials. But I would herewith cite a very interesting one, carved on a copper plate, studied fully by Lore Sander, "An Unusual *ye dharmā* Formula", *Buddhist Manuscripts*, II, ed. Jens Braarvig (= *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, III) (Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2002), p. 337-349 (incl. 3 tables), with col. pl. XVIII.

In this connection one may refer to enlightening articles by Daniel Boucher, "The *Pratītyasamutpādagāthā* and Its Role in the Medieval Cult of the Relics", *JIABS*, XIV, 1 (1991), p. 1-27; and furthr by Marek Mejor, The *Ārya-dharma-dhātu-garbha-vivaraṇa* Ascribed to Nāgārjuna", *Sūryacandrāya: Essays in Honour of Akira Yuyama On the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Paul Harrison & Gregory Schopen (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XXXV) (Swisttal-Odendorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 1998), 125-133.

unmetr.!). The second syllable should thus be long without doubt, *m.c.*, i.e. *pariggrhītā / parigrah°*: / ˘ – ˘ – ˘ – /!

Verse 4b: *kuśalāḥ*: Rec.B *kuśalo* corresponds to °*-darśī*, which, however, should be taken as plural (as supported by in *pāda* a: °*-pariggrhītā)*. The same form is attested in XXIV 2b °*-darśī*. The nom.pl.masc. ending in *-ī* (of *in*-stems) is also found in our text: XV 4d *–kathī*; XVII 2a *–bhāṇī*; XVII 4b *vṛṣabhī*; XXI 7c, XXXI 2b *cārī*; XXIX 6a *–śobhī*; XXXI 1a *–abhikāṅkṣī* (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §12.6, Edgerton, *BHSGr* §10.181).

Verse 5a,c: Rec.B °*pakṣi* (= ed. Obermiller!) does not make sense! It should be emended to °*pakvi*, so reads our fragment *apakvi*, *pa[r]i[pakv]i*, so also Rgs.A; so attested in Tib. *ma btaṅ*, Chin. *pu chien-lao* (不堅牢) in 5a; and Tib. *btaṅ-bum-par*, Chin. *chien-lao* (堅牢) in 5c.

Verse 6c: *parigrhṇayimānu*, nom.sg.masc. of pres.pple. to non-causative *grhṇayati*, is worth noting from the grammatical point of view. For the nom.sg.masc. ending in *–u* see Edgerton, *BHSGr* §8.20, Yuyama, *RgsGr* §8.8; cf. Recension A °*-grhṇayamānu* and B °*-grhṇayamāna*. One may also compare it with BHS **grhṇayiyāna-*, pple. (see Edgerton, *BHSGr* §34.5), **grhṇayita-*, pple. (see Edgerton, *BHSGr* §34.8), and possibly **grhṇayitavya-*, gdve. (Edgerton, *BHSGr* §34.20).

Verse 6d (end): *bodhim agryāṃ* is the most exciting example. In both Recensions A and B read *agra-bodhiṃ*, which is a fixed form at the end of the lines of verses. The reading *bodhim agryāṃ* is an admirably beautiful ending for a verse, perfect in grammar and refreshing in metre! Such an alteration of phrases could not occur just by mistake, how much less through poetical ignorance. The composer must certainly have had a talent for prosody.

Verse 7b: *vila[yaṃ up]aiti*, "approaches destruction, breaks, is broken, is damaged": my first reading *vila[yaṃ prayā[ti]*, as in Rec.A, may have to be corrected here, since the sign "*ai*" on top of the missing "*p*" can be read. If so, our fragment agrees with Recension B here, not with A! Manuscripts of Rec.B read *vilayam upaiti* (= Obermiller-Vaidya) is unmetrical! It must read *vilayaṃ* with an anusvāra, *m.c.*! This is another good instance where our fragment agrees with Recension B, and not A. Edgerton (*Edg.Rgs.* p. 13) proposes an emendation of Rec.B *vilayam upaiti* (unmetr.) to *vilayaṃ prayāti* with Rec.A (metr.)!

Verse 7d: *-samaṅgi*, nom.sg.fem., with *nāva*, "a ship", fem., in 7c, is supported by Recension A, but not by B *samagram* (see Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. 56 ad 7d). This reading is also to be noted in view of the textual transmission.

Verse 8b: *bodhi* (= Rec. A & B), abl., as attested by Tibetan *byaṅ-chub-las-ni*, may have been degraded metrically from the ablative *bodhe / bodheḥ* (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §10.21). In his edition, printed in Devanāgarī, Vaidya may have intended the reading *bodhim*, followed by *upaiti hāniṃ*, as *bodhi-m-* with a hiatus-bridger *–m-*. Otherwise, it does not make sense. Incidentally, *bodhi-* is frequently used in the feminine gender in addition to

the masculine (cf. Edgerton, *BHSD* p. 402a, *q.v.*). In our text are found a number of feminine forms (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §6.27, e.g. *RgsA* I 16c *bodhiṃ ... asaṅga-bhūtāṃ*; VII 5d *bodhi śāntā* (accusatives); XIV 4d *paramādbhutāṃ sugata-bodhi*; XVI 3b *nānātva-dharma-vigatāṃ bodhiṃ*; XIX 4c *bodhir iyaṃ* (but with *utpattito*, masc.!): XXXI 2c *bodhim uttama-śivāṃ.*

Haribhadra's Commentary

There are at least three commentaries on the *Rgs* extant in the Tibetan canon, which may well be evidence for its importance or popularity in Tibetan Buddhism. Haribhadra heads the list in this connection. He has left with us a commentary on it, i.e. *Ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā-vyakhyā* (cf. Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. l-li). Only his has survived in Indic to the present.

During his first expedition to Tibet in 1919-1930 in search of Buddhist literature Rāhula Sāṃkṛtyāyana (1893-1963) discovered a Sanskrit manuscript of this Haribhadra's commentary at the famous Monastery of Źva-lu (舍魯普), or Źva-lu dgon-pa (夏魯寺) in the region of Gźis-ka-rtse (日喀則).[97] He describes it in his report properly as follows: III. Ṣa-lu monastery (near Śi-ga-rtse): Vol. XI, No. 4, Serial No. 42; an incomplete palm-leaf manuscript ($20^2/_3$x$2^1/_3$ inches in size).[98] To my great shame, I must confess, I mistakenly cited Rāhula's report as if it had been found at "Spos-khaṅ Monastery near Gyaṅ-tse" (see Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. l: §VIII.1a).

Only recently has appeared a small, but a very rich pamphlet, in which Ernst Steinkellner of Vienna offers an extremely interesting hi(story) of Sanskrit manuscripts preserved in Tibet from ancient times to the present in essence-condensed form.[99] Herewith I would quote his concluding word: "At the moment it may not be premature to sum up by stating that in all probability the present and the next generation of Buddhist scholars will be able to step by step to study the great and exciting corpus of the Sanskrit manuscripts from Tibet, one of the last 'hidden' treasures of Asia, and incorporate it finally into the intellectual and spiritual history of mankind." (*op.cit.*, p. 30). I am particularly interested in reading his enlightening observation on and around Źva-lu Ri-phug (p. 11f., with a

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[97] Cf. Turrell V. Wylie, *The Geography of Tibet according to the 'Dzam-gling-rgyas-bshad: Text and English Translation* (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, XXV) (Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo-Oriente, 1962), p. 16.8 (Tibetan), p. 70 (English), & p. 139 n. 216.

— For the present-day place names in Chinese see a concise atlas edited by the Tibetan Geodetic Bureau: 西藏自治區測絵局(編制), 西藏自治區地圖冊 (北京・中國地圖出版社, 1996), p. 103 (map) & p. 105 (notes). To date, I have regrettably failed to see 武振華(主編), 西藏地名 (中國藏學出版 1996).

[98] Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, "Sanskrit Palm-Leaf MSS. in Tibet", *JBORS*, XXVI, 1 (Patna 1935), p. 31; — cf. "Annual Report (dated 4 March 1937)" by J. L. Hill, the then Hon. Secretary to the Society, *ibid.*, p. 160f.: "Recovery of Buddhist Sanskrit Works in Tibet". — cf. A. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections* (Tokyo 1992), p. 27.

[99] Ernst Steinkellner, *A Tale of Leaves: On Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet, their Past and their Future* (= 2004 Gonda Lecture) {XIth Gonda lecture delivered 21 November 2003} (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004), 39 p., incl. 4 photos, 5-page facsimiles. — *ISBN 90-6984-409-5.*

photo of Źva-lu Ri-phug taken by Michael Henss in 1993). Needless to say, within this limited space, he has not touched every important text including our Haribhadra's *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā-Vyākhyā*.

In the Indo-Tibetan tradition Haribhadra has been known as a reviser of the corruptly transmitted *Rgs* text (cf. Yuyama, *ibid.*, p. xvii-xviii). It is a great pity, therefore, that the very manuscript is still in a dormant state, for it will no doubt offer readings to judge those found in the hitherto known texts, and it may further shed light on the formation and evolution of the literature.[100]

The fragment studied by Chiang Chung-hsin (蔣忠新) seems to be kept at present in the so-called China Ethnic Library (中国民族図書館), formerly the Library of the Peking Cultural Palace of Nationalities (北京民族文化宮図書館). According to Chiang, it is numbered 0018 in an unpublished list of palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts, "民族圖書館藏梵文貝葉經目録", made by Wang Sên (王森): 47.2 x 4.4 cm., 11 lines on the obverse side and 10 on the reverse. It contains Haribhadra's commentary on *Rgs* XXXI 8 to the end of the text.

Źva-lu is situated about twenty kilometres in the south of Gźis-ka-rtse. Źva-lu dgon-pa was founded by Lce-btsun Śes-rab-'byuṅ-gnas in the eleventh century, and seems to have been conserved to some degree and said to have been restored in recent years.[101] It is well known as a residence of the celebrated Bu-ston Rin-po-che (1290-1364 CE), who offers a brief but interesting description in his *Chos-'byuṅ* in Tibet.[102] Reference can also be made to the *Deb-ther sṅon-po*.[103]

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[100] For further details see A. See Yuyama, "*Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā-Vyākhyā* of Haribhadra — Preliminary Remarks —", *ARIRIAB*, IV; 2000 (2001), p. 27-42.

— Written with reference to an enlightening article by Zhongxin Jiang (蔣忠新: Chiang Chung-hsin), "A Sanskrit Fragment of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā-vyākhyā* of Haribhadra: A Romanized Text", *ARIRIAB*, III: (2000), p. 115-123 (with a folded plate preceding the article).

[101] Cf. two most recent articles on Źva-lu by Hsiung Wên-pin (熊文彬): 王堯・陳慶英(主編): 西藏歷史文化辞典 / *Bod-kyi lo-rgyal rig-gnas tshig-mdzod* (西藏人民出版社／杭州・浙江人民出版社, 1998.6), p. 288b-289a "夏魯寺 (zhva-lu-dgon-pa)", and p. 289a-b "夏魯寺壁画 (zhva-lu-dgon-pavi-ldeb-ris)" (each with a b/w photo).

[102] See *Bu ston's History of Buddhism in Tibet*. Critically edited with a comprehensive index by János Szerb (= *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens*, V) (= *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse*, DLXIX) (Wien 1990), p. 69.

Cf. *History of Buddhism (Chos-hbyung) by Bu-ston*. II. Part: *The History of Buddhism in India and Tibet*. Translated by E. Obermiller (= *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, XIX) (Heidelberg in Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1932) [= *Suzuki Research Foundation Reprint Series*, V (Tokyo 1964)], p. 206.

[103] See e.g. Turrell V. Wylie, *A Place Name Index to George N. Roerich's Translation of the Blue Annals* (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, XV) (Rome 1957), p. 33a: Źa-lu (Źwa-lu), Źa-lu khaṅ-gsar, *ss.vv.*:

- George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, 2 vols. (= *The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal Monograph Series*, VII) (Calcutta 1949-1953; reprinted in 1 vol. - Delhi-Varanasi-Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976 & 1979), "Źa-lu khaṅ-gsar" on p. 214 (original Tibetan: Ña fol. 5b1) and "Ź(v)a-lu" on p. 335 (Cha 4b6, Źa-lu and Źa-lu-pa), 338 (Cha 6a4), 366 (Ja 7a5), 417 (Ña 8b), 423 (Ña 10b5), 794 (Tha 19a7 end), and p. 342 (in Roerich's note).

One of the geographical guidebooks with reference to religious personalities was published by Alfonsa Ferrari (1918-1954), a promising scholar who died prematurely.[104] A Chinese translation has now appeared.[105] Giuseppe Tucci (1894-1984) gives a genealogy of Źva-lu Kingdom in his monumental work.[106]

In the Tibetan canon are two more commentaries, one by Buddhaśrījñāna and the other ascribed to Dharmaśrī (cf. Yuyama, *ibid.*, p. li-lii).

Incidentally, it is of great interest that certain Indic Buddhist literature seems to be kept in various manners. Thanks to the meticulous work on the Źva-lu monastery, we find an eloquent proof that the first seven stories of Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* is found on the walls of the temple inscribed in Tibetan.[107]

Tibetan Versions

As mentioned above, only the Chinese blockprint bilingual text offers the Tibetan version *fully* corresponding to the Sanskrit. I have given Tibetan A represented by some Tunhuang manuscripts with variant readings in a brief comparison with B (Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. 172, cf. p. 195). Variant readings found in Recension B are marked with underlines and noted down in the following paragraph. It is, however, not my intention to discuss complicated problems of textual history and canonical status (cf. further Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xxx-xxxviii). This applies to the Chinese transmission, too.

Here I must frankly confess that I have not studied various *Rgs* Tibetan texts (cf. for further details Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xxxvii-xxxviii). Such investigation may make us

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— cf. *The Blue Annals composed in A.D. 1478 by Ḥgos-Lotsawa Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481)*, reproduced by Lokesh Chandra from the Collection of Raghu Vira (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCXII) (1974), serial folio numbers 192, 298, 301, 321, 370, 697.

104 A. Ferrari, *mK'yen brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet*, compiled and edited by Luciano Petech with the collaboration of Hugh Richardson (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, XVI) (Rome; IsMEO, 1958), p. 19 (folio 17b), p. 60 (translation) & p. 143 n. 426 (extensive bibliography on the locality with additional notes by L. Petech).

Cf. also Giuseppe Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica*, IV. *Gyantse ed i suoi Monasteri*. Parte I. *Descrizione Generale dei Tempi* (= *Reale Accademia d'Italia: Studi e Documente*, I) (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1941), p. 71f.; English version, edited by Lokesh Chandra from a first draft translated by Uma Marina Vesci: *Indo-Tibetica*, IV, 1: *Gyantse and its Monasteries*, Part 1: *General Description of the Temples* (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCCLI) (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1989), p. 71f.

105 欽則旺布著・劉千立(*1910)訳: 衛藏道場勝迹志 (= 劉千立藏学著訳文集) (北京・民族出版社, 2000), p. 24f. (translation), p. 147 n. 400f. Liu transliterates *Źva-lu* as 霞魯 and *Ri-phug* 日布.

106 G. Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls. An Artistic and Symbolic Illustration of 172 Tibetan Paintings Preceded by a Survey of the Historical, Artistic, Literary and Religious Development of Tibetan Culture. With an Article of P. Pelliot on a Mongol Edict, the Translation of Historical Documents and an Appendix on Prebuddhistic Ideas of Tibet*, Volume II (Roma: La Libreria dello Stato, 1949; reprinted by SDI Publications, Bangkok, 1999), p. 656-662.

107 Kurt Tropper: *Die Jātaka-Inschriften im* skor lam chen mo *des Klosters Zha lu: Einführung, textkritische Studie, Edition der Paneele 1-8 mit Sanskritparallelen und deutschen Übersetzung* (= *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, LXIII) (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetische und Buddhistische Studien, Universität Wien, 2005), 413 pp. — *ISBN 3-902501-02-2*.

understand a stemma of textual transmission much clearer than ever.

[/ gaṅ de śes-rab mchog-gis yoṅs-su zin-pa-na / (4a)

dṅos-po'i raṅ-bźin mkhas-śiṅ don dam ston-par byed // (4b)]

/ de-dag thabs-kyi yon-tan śes-rab yoṅs bzuṅ-ste /

/ mchog-tu rmad byuṅ bde-gśegs byaṅ-chub myur-du reg // 4 //

/ dper-na la-las rdza-so ma btaṅ chu skyed-na /

/ nyam-chuṅ phyir-ni myur-du 'jig-par rig-par bya //

/ so btaṅ bum-par chu skyed lam-du 'jig-pa-yi /

/ 'jigs-pa med-ciṅ bde-bar khyim-du phyin-par 'gyur // 5 //

/ gźan-yaṅ byaṅ-chub-sems-dpa' dad-pa maṅ gyur-kyaṅ /

/ śes-rab rnam-par nyams-na myur-du 'jig-par 'gyur //

/ dad-pas śes-rab de-ni yoṅs-su zin gyur-na /

/ sa gñis śin-tu 'das-te byaṅ-chub mchog thob 'gyur // 6 //

/ dper-na bcos legs ma byas gru-ni rgya-mtsho'i naṅ /

/ nor daṅ bcas-śiṅ tshoṅ-par bcas-te 'jig-par 'gyur //

/ gru de legs-par bcos legs byas daṅ ldan gyur-na /

/ mi 'jig nor daṅ bcas-par (*v.l.* °-te) ṅogs-su phyin-par 'gyur // 7 //

/ de-ltar byaṅ-chub-sems-dpa' dad-pas yoṅs bsgos-kyaṅ /

/ śes-rab med-na byaṅ-chub-las-ni myur ñams 'gyur //

/ de-ñid śes-rab pha-rol phyin-pa mchog ldan-na /

/ ma rmas (*v.l.* smas) ma ñams rgyal-ba'i byaṅ-chub reg-par 'gyur // 8 //

Variant readings in Tibetan Recension B:

4ab. As mentioned above, this is found only in the bilingual Chinese blockprint text.
4c. A *bzuṅ-ste*: B *zin-na.*
5c. A *'jig-pa-yi* (some °-*pa'i*, unmetr.): B v.l. °-*pa-yis.*
6a. A *gźan-yaṅ*: B *de-bźin.*
6b. A *ñams-na ... 'jig-par ...* : B *ñams-śiṅ* (v.l. °-*na*) ... *ma-ruṅs ...* : cf. Skt. °-*vihīnu vilayaṃ ...*
6c. A *dad-pas śes-rab de-ni*: B *de-bas śes-rab-kyis-ni* (v.l. *śes-rab de-ni*).
8d. AB *rmas* (v.l. *smas*; B w.r. *smras*!)!
8d. A *reg-par*: B v.l. (a Tunhuang MS) *sems-dpar*!

Mongolian Versions

The Mongolian versions are preserved as a Kanjur text, Chinese blockprints and probably as *Dhāraṇī* texts (cf. Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xliv-xlv). I regret very much that I have not been able to study them firsthand, for, when young, I formed the mistaken opinion that Mongolian Buddhist literature, particularly the Kanjur texts, was a mere copy of the Tibetan. It was more or less authorized in our textbook. Alas, I lament my ignorance of the Mongolian language.

In recent years a Japanese Mongolist, Kōichi HIGUCHI (樋口康一) at Ehime University of Matsuyama on the Island of Shikoku, has been working energetically on Mongolian Buddhist literature and shown us its importance in the history of Buddhism. Being a linguist in the first place, Higuchi has demonstrated the existence of three Mongolian versions of the *Rgs*, i.e. A1, A2 and B, in his enlightening article published in the *Tōyō Gakuhō*, LXVII in 1987.[108] His meticulous work was thereafter published in book form in 1991.[109] I understand that *Rgs*.-Recension A1 is the text found in the Mongolian Kanjur and some others. Recension A2 seems to be found in the *Dhāraṇī* collection.[110]

Incidentally, in a collection of his work *Studies of the Influences of the Northeastern Linguistic Situations upon the Mediaeval Mongolian Language in the 13-14th Centuries* (March 1999), v, 100 p. (including a useful bibliography on p. 97-100),[111] and in yet another collection of articles: *Studies of Multilingual Situations in the Mongol Empire Period as Observed in the Loanword System* (March 1997), v, 94 p. (with a useful bibliography on p. 90-94),[112] Higuchi has further developed his research into other texts. They are the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā Dhāraṇī*, *Bhadra-caryā-praṇidhāna*, *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti*, *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, *Ratnajāli-paripṛcchā* and *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa*. Some of them were published in English, and those appeared in the collected works of his research projects for the years 1995-1996 and 1997-1998.[113] Furthermore, Higuchi has been publishing his studies of other canonical texts in Mongolian in book form, e.g. *Ratnajāli-paripṛcchā*,[114] *Gośṛṅga-vyākaraṇa*.[115]

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[108] 樋口康一, "『宝徳蔵般若』の蒙古語訳について", 東洋學報, LXVII, 1/2 (1987), p. 01(182)-027(156) [with an English summary on p. iii].

[109] 樋口康一, 蒙古語訳『宝徳蔵般若経』の研究 (広島・渓水社, 1991), (i), i, xi, 380 p. — *ISBN 4-87440-238-0*.

— Cf. Louis Ligeti, *Catalogue du Kanǰur Mongol Imprimé*, I: *Catalogue* (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, III) (Budapest: Société Kőrös Csoma, 1942), p. 184f.: No. 767; cf. also Yuyama, *RgsA* (1976), p. xiii: Chap. IV, No. 1, as well as No. 2! — further F. A. Bischoff, *Der Kanjur und seine Kolophone*, II (Bloomington: Selbstverlag, 1968), p. 328; — cf. J. W. de Jong, "Notes à propos des colophons du Kanjur", *ZAS*, VI (1972), p. 505-559.

[110] Cf. e.g. Heissig, *op.cit.* (1954), p. 44-47: No. 49 (esp. p. 46: Text No. 106); for more reference see also Yuyama, *RgsA* (1976), p. xiii-xiv: Chap. IV, No. 3!

[111] 樋口康一, 『13-4 世紀の東北ユーラシアの言語状況が中期蒙古語に及ぼした影響の研究』

[112] —, 『借用形式に観察されるモンゴル帝国期の多重言語状況の研究』

[113] See for example, Kōichi HIGUCHI, "Mongolian Versions of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* from the Linguistic and Philological Viewpoint", (1997), p. 19-48; "*sartavaki badiri*; a pseudo Sanskrit Form in the Mongolian *Ratnajāli*", *ibid.*, p. 49-68; "Mongolian Versions of the *Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā Dhāraṇī* from the Linguistic and Philological Viewpoint", (1999), p. 63-76; "Two Unreported Manuscripts of the Mongolian *Mañjuśrī-nāma-saṃgīti* – A Preliminary Report -", *ibid.*, p. 77-93.

[114] —, 蒙古語訳『宝網経』の研究 (東京・多賀出版, 1994), v, 480 p. — *ISBN 4-8115-3541-3*. — for the Kanjur text cf. Ligeti, *Cat.*, p. 244: No. 919.

[115] —, 蒙古語訳『牛首山授記経』の研究 (東京・勉誠出版, 1998), 307 p. — *ISBN 4-585-10024-5*. — for the Kanjur text cf. Ligeti, *Cat.*, p. 302f.: No. 1121; ferner siehe W. Heissig, *Beiträge zur Übersetzungsgeschichte des mongolischen buddhistischen Kanons* (= *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse*, III. Folge, Nr. 50) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1962), p. 23, 44-53, insbes. p. 47f.: Nr. 18-19.

His research results tell us that there must have been several routes, not just one rectilinear course from India to Mongolia via Tibet. It may not always simply be via Tibet. This interests me a great deal. I am greatly looking forward to see research work done by such specialists, for these routes of textual transmission may offer a hint to understand variant recensions / versions composed in Indic and others found in particular beyond the Indian Sub-Continent.

Chinese Version

The Chinese version (佛母寶德藏般若波羅蜜經), translated by Fa-hsien (法賢; alias T'ien-hsi-tsai: 天息災) in 991 CE (cf. Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xxxix-xliii), corresponding to *Rgs* XIV 4-8, is to be found in Taisho (大正新脩大藏經), No. 229: Vol. VIII p. 680a13-22:

若人不發堅信心　依於般若求解脫　溺輪廻海無出期　處生老死常苦惱　(4)
若有信心持般若　解有無性見眞如　是人獲福智有財　速證最上佛菩提　(5)
如人擔水用坏器　如不堅牢速破壞　若用堅牢器盛水　而無破壞無憂怖　(6)
不見具信諸菩薩　遠般若行求退墮　能發信心持般若　證大菩提超二地　(7)
未有商人欲入海　不造堅固大船舫　依堅固船無怖畏　獲多珍寶到彼岸　(8)

Needless to say, this text has been included in various other canons.[116] The Chi-sha (磧砂, or Sha 沙) edition represents one of the best collated texts among others.[117]

In addition, it may be worth noting here yet another canon, published recently in Peking under a systematic editorial policy. It bears a somewhat confusing title *Chung-hua Ta-tsang-ching* (中華大藏經). The editors select a canon, which they think the best, from which a text, or sometimes even a fascicle (卷) alone, is chosen (and more precisely reprinted photomechanically) from a specific canon. After a careful collation they append to each fascicle a list of useful variant readings from other sources (校勘記).

In the case of the *Rgs* text in 3 fascicles they rely on the famed Chin (金) edition (carved originally 1148/49-1173 CE): *Chung-hua Ta-tsang-ching*, Section Chinese (漢文部分), Vol. LXIV (Peking 1993), p. 516-530b (cf. a detailed table of its contents on p. 14a-15a). The canon was discovered in 1933 at the Temple Kuan-shêng-ssŭ (廣勝寺本) in Chao-ch'êng Prefecture in Shan-hsi Province (山西省趙城縣). After a checkered history during the World War II this important print is now kept in the Peking Library. Many texts in

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[116] 參看・蔡運辰編著, 二十五種藏經目録對照考釋 (臺北・中華佛教文化館／新文豐出版公司, 1983), p. 26: Col. No. 229; 童瑋編, 二十二种大藏經通檢 (北京・中華書局, 1997), p. 262ab: No. 1071.

[117] Photomechanically reprinted by Ying-yin Sung-pan Tsang-ching-hui (影印宋版藏經會) in Shanghai in 1935 :Mo. 505, "Kao (高)", Fasc. DV, No. 6, p. 39a-50a. It was further reprinted in Taipei in 1963/1965 by Hsiu-ting Chung-hua Ta-tsang-ching-hui (修訂中華大藏經會): First Series, No. 9, Vol. XXXIII (= Fasc. LXV), p. 28481b-28488c. — cf. further Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xxxix-xl: Chap. III.c.

this *Chung-hua Ta-tsang-ching* seem to be based on this Kuan-shêng-ssŭ edition.[118]

Incidentally, Fa-hsien's life and work had long been mysterious. It has become clear that his translation was completed in the tenth month of the second year of Ch'ung-hua (淳化) era, i.e. 991 CE, thanks to the description found in the catalogue entitled *Ta-chung Hsiang-fu fa-pao-lu* (大中祥符法寶録: 1011-1015 CE), edited by Yang I (楊億: 974-1020 CE) etc. (cf. Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xlii: §9).

This catalogue seems to have existed in 16 volumes out of 22, when it was discovered and reprinted in Shanghai-Peking in 1934-1935/1936:[119] *Sung-tsang i-chên* (宋藏遺珍), Box XI, Text No. 41: *Ta-chung Hsiang-fu fa-pao-lu*, Fasc. II, p. 9.[120] By good luck the portion in need has been extant. It is therefore pleasing now to see his biographical data revealed more in detail.[121]

Appendices

Hitherto Unknown *Rgs* Versions

A hitherto unknown blockprint Tibeto-Sinic text:

In his illuminating article, written in Chinese, "A Brief Survey of the Buddhist Work — *Āryaprajñāpāramitāratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā* — Both in Tibetan and Chinese" (1983) Lo Chao (羅照) reports that he discovered a Tibeto-Sinic bilingual text of the *Rgs* in the Peking Office of the famed Yün-chü-ssŭ (雲居寺) of Fan-shan (房山). It is said to have been translated in the years between 1140-1193 in the Tangut period and reprinted in 1447 during the Ming Dynasty. He claims that it must be one of the oldest prints of the Tibetan literature. This is indeed an exciting discovery.[122] It is a great pity that I have been unable to check it to see exactly what it is. It may well be a third version both of

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[118] 參看・≪中華大藏經≫編輯局編, 中華大藏經總目 (北京・中華書局, 2004), p. 82a1-3, No. 1310: 佛説佛母寶德藏般若波羅蜜經三卷／西天譯經三藏明教大師法賢譯／第六四册第五一六頁.

[119] Reference may be made to a reprint edition edited by Ts'ai Nien-shêng: 蔡念生編, 宋藏遺珍叙目／金藏目録校釋・合刊 (臺北・新文豐出版公司, 1976): 「宋藏遺珍叙目・附録」 p. 39A: "(跡百) 大中祥符法寶録二十二卷・宋趙安仁等編・今存十六卷". In this book is found an interesting work by the General Editor of the Taipei reprint of the Chi-sha edition, i.e. *Hsiu-ting Chung-hua Ta-tsang-ching* (修訂中華大藏經), Ts'ai Yün-ch'ên (蔡運辰). It forms the second part: 金藏目録校釋, in which he refers it to the *Sung-tsang I-chên* and cites our text in question (p. 26: No. 41): 大中祥符法寶録二十二卷／金跡百、缺六卷無從輯補; — cf. also *op.cit.*, p. 13.

[120] This rare work has been reprinted more than once since then. The first was a Taipei reprint published in 1965-1968 in different form: *Chung-hua Ta-tsang-ching* (中華大藏經), First Series, Vol. X, Fasc. LXXX, p. 34589c.

[121] 參看・李一飛, 楊億年譜 (上海・上海古籍出版, 2002.8), (ii), 9, 1, 1, 244 p. — *ISBN 7-5325-3225-9*; cf. further A. Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (II)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 277f.: §8 '宋代の楊億 (974-1020 CE)'.

[122] 羅照, "藏漢合璧<聖勝慧到彼岸功徳寶集偈>考略", 世界宗教研究, 1983 年 4 期, p. 4-36. This article by Lo Chao is not reprinted in a collection of articles, published in Hong Kong under the editorship of Lü T'ieh-kang (*1950): 呂鐵鋼編・周紹良顧問, 房山石經研究, 三卷 (= 佛學論著) (香港・中國佛教文化出版有限公司, 1999). — *ISBN 962-7571-19-9/-20-2/-21-0*. Otherwise, his three other articles on the Fan-shan canon are included.

Tibetan and Chinese?! Let us hope to see it appear in facsimile in the nearest future! I wonder if this has not drawn much attention of serious scholars.

On the other hand, thanks to the fruit of his exhaustive efforts, we are able to see the Chinese version (*op.cit.*, p. 17-36). It is interesting that the text begins in the same manner as the Tibetan translations, i.e. "In Indic it is said: *Āryaprajñāpāramitāratnaguṇa-saṃcayagāthā*" in the usual Tantric way of transliterating Chinese characters, followed by its Chinese translation as is given in the title of his article. In fact, the Chinese version is quite different from the one translated by Fa-hsien, or alias T'ien-hsi-tsai. It is worth noting that all this is written in 11-syllable verses like the Tibetan.[123] It is complete and thus of great interest. It naturally needs further investigation, for it may also shed light on problematic portions in Fa-hsien's version, e.g. Chinese *Rgs* text II 4 (Taisho VIII p. 677c6-8), corresponding to Sanskrit II 6 transmitted in prose!

The fact that the text was found among the Fan-shan materials cannot be ignored in relation to the history of the Chinese Buddhist Canon. It may help us understand the relation between the so-called "Stone Sutras" and the Ch'i-tan edition (契丹大藏經) of the Chinese *Ta-tsang-ching*, and possibly the Tangut (黨項 in Chin.) or Hsi-hsia (西夏) edition of the Buddhist Canon.

Herewith I only wish to allude to a notable publication of collected articles on the Stone Sutras at Fan-shan under the editorship of Yasunori KEGASAWA (氣賀澤保規).[124] Needless to repeat, there have appeared a number of splendid works on the Fan-shan canon in the past decades.

After all, these Buddhist canons carved in this period seem to have been not fully investigated. It is hoped that specialists in this filed will benefit us with their research fruit, for these materials are more important than were thought before, if not underestimated. To me, being a student in Indian Buddhism, Masaaki CHIKUSA (竺沙雅章) among others presents a fresh approach to the problems in his book on the Buddhist culture in the Sung and Yüan eras.[125]

Incidentally, I would like to cite here a book for somewhat sentimental reasons.[126] The history of research into the relevant materials after their discoveries must have been

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[123] See e.g. J. Vekerdi, "Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody", *AOH*, II, 2/3 (Budapest 1952), p. 221-234; cf. P. Poucha, "Le vers tibétain (I-II)", *ArOr*, XVIII, 4 (Praha 1950), p. 188-235; *ibid.*, XXII, 4 (1954), p. 563-585.

[124] 氣賀澤保規(編)·中國佛教石經の研究 — 房山雲居寺石經を中心に (京都·京都大学学術出版会, 1996), 506 p., frontisp. pl. on 4 p. — *ISBN 4-87698-031-4*. — *Contributors*: 氣賀澤保規・小谷仲男・谷井俊仁・中純夫・藤本幸夫・上野隆三・伊藤美重子・姚長壽.

[125] 竺沙雅章, 宋元佛教文化史研究 (東京・汲古書院, 2000), esp. Part I, Chap. IV, p. 83-109, as well as Part II, Chap. II, p. 292-311.

[126] I herewith refer to an interesting collection of old photographs of the area published recently: 北京圖書館善本収蔵部・編, 北京雲居寺与石経山旧影 (北京圖書館出版, 2004.9), 90 p. — *ISBN 7-5013-2468-9*.

nothing but hardships, — not only the scholars engaged in it but also the materials themselves must have been exposed to miseries for some decades. Such a history has always struck me to the heart.

A hitherto unknown Indic text from Tibet:

On his visit to Tibet Lo Chao (羅照) discovered a most interesting Indic *Rgs* palm-leaf manuscript copied by a Chinese monk named Puṇyakīrti: *cīna-deśiya-bhikṣu-Puṇyakīrtti*. This was first introduced by the grand savant Chi Hsien-lin (季羨林) in his enlightening article on the *Rgs* (written in May 1988, and now reprinted in his collected works published from Peking in 1991 and from Taipei in 1995). Among many other illuminating viewpoints he discusses the first nine verses of Chapter I (Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. 8-10) in comparison with the Chinese version translated by Fa-hsien and that found at Fan-shan.[127] It is a great pity that no further details have been made known to us. Let us hope again to see it appear in some form at no distant date! This may well be another Indic version! If so, it will be the most important *Rgs* text to be studied urgently with utmost care.

Afterword

This literature must have played a great rôle in the course of its transmission. As a result, the *Rgs* has produced a number of versions, if not recensions, transmitted in the main languages of Buddhist Asia, say, not only in Indic but also in Tibetan, Chinese, Mongolian, Hsi-hsia (or Tangut). It arouses, therefore, a great deal of philological and philosophical interest (Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xiii-lxxii.).[128] From among them I glean a few more points below:

Rgs quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā*:

The text has thus attracted Buddhist philosophers, who cite some passages from the *Rgs*, like Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* (Yuyama, *RgsA*, 1976, p. xlix). These passages in both the *Rgs* and *Prasannapadā* help us solve editorial problems from the point of textual criticism.[129] That is to say, each of the texts may offer better readings to the other counterpart. The prime necessity to satisfy this question is to see a better edited text of the *Prasannapadā* on the basis of better manuscripts. Every serious scholar is therefore

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[127] "論梵文本<聖勝慧到彼岸功徳寶集偈>", 文化：中国与世界, 第 4 期 (北京：生活・讀書・新知三聯書店, 1988): = 季羨林学術論著自選集 (北京・北京師範学院出版社, 1991), p. 549-608, esp. p. 553 (§1.7); 季羨林佛教學術論文集 (= 中華佛學研究所論叢, IV) (臺北・東初出版社, 1995), p. 211-275, esp. p. 215f. (§1.7).

[128] I have once pointed some of these problems: "宝徳蔵般若に関する若干の問題", 中村元博士還暦記念論集・インド思想と仏教 (東京・春秋社, 1973), p. 271-282.

[129] Cf. Yuyama, "Candrakīrti の *Prasannapadā* に引用された *Prajñāpāramitā-Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya-gāthā*", 宗教研究 / Journal of Religious Studies, Serial No. 201 (= Vol. XLIII, No. 2) (Tokyo 1970), p. 75(237)-92(254).

Further, "*Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (Rgs) quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* (Pras) (II)", *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* (*IBK* = 印度學佛教學研究), XXVII, 1 (1978), p. 486(17)-483(20).

looking forward eagerly the appearance of a new edition by Anne MacDonald, who has found quite a few important manuscripts and has been studying them with utmost cares.[130]

Rgs and Źi-byed-pa School in Tibet:

The *Rgs* must have played a great rôle in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. It is worth noting here that the *Rgs* has become the most important basic literature with canonical status to the Źi-byed-pa School founded by Pha-dam-pa Saṅs-rgyas from South India in the twelfth century CE. He placed *Rgs* XXVII.3 as one of the most important formative bases of his principal doctrine.

Thu'u-bkvan Blo-bzaṅ chos-kyi ñi-ma (1737-1802 CE) cites and discusses this verse in the chapter on Źi-byed-pa of his *Grub-mtha' thams-cad-kyi khuṅs daṅ 'dod-tshul ston-pa legs-bśad śel-gyi me-loṅ* (1801-1802). Being a non-specialist in this specific field, I sought for a response either pro or con on the occasion of the Sixth Conference of the International Association of Tibetan Studies held in August 1992 at Fagernes, Norway, under the direction of Per Kværne in the University of Oslo. Later on I published it to seek for a wider reaction.[131]

An interesting text has now been reported to be extant, which proves that the Źi-byed-pa School may still be living.[132] Furthermore, it may be worth noting that a Japanese Tibeto-Mongolist Kōhō Hashimoto (橋本光寶) has witnessed an ascetic (with his photo) belonging to the Źi-byed-pa school during his travels in Mongolia.[133]

Rgs — its canonical status:

After all, attention must be drawn in the first place to its canonical status. In this connection the first two chapters of the *Rgs* may be of importance.[134] It is sincerely hoped that this literature will receive much more attention of serious scholars in the related fields of studies both philological and philosophical.

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[130] See e.g. A. MacDonald, "The Prasannapadā: More Manuscripts from Nepal", *WZKS*, XLIV (2000), p. 165-181.

[131] Cf. for further relevant reference Yuyama, "The Inspirational Source of the Zhi-byed-pa Doctrine", *Les habitants du toit du monde: Études recueilles en hommage à Alexander Macdonald*, par les soins de Samten Karmay et Philippe Sagant (= *Recherches sur la Haute Asie*, XII) (Nanterre: Société d'ethnologie, 1997), p. 299-307, esp. p. 301: §0.6 cum n. 6-8.

[132] Cf. Rudolf Kaschewsky, "Die Lehrworte des Pha-dam-pa", *Serta Tibeto-Mongolica: Festschrift für Walther Heissig zum 60. Geburtstag am 5. 12. 1973* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1973), p. 171-204 (incl. Tibetan text in facsimile).

[133] 橋本光寶, 蒙古の喇嘛教 (東京・佛教公論社, 1942), p. 6.

[134] See further Yuyama, "The First Two Chapters of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*", *Prajñāpāramitā and Related Systems: Studies in Honor of Edward Conze*, ed. Lewis Lancaster (Associate Editor: Luis O. Gómez) (= *Berkeley Buddhist Studies Series*, I) (Published under the auspices of the Group in Buddhist Studies and the Center for South & Southeast Asian Studies of the University of California, Berkeley, and the Institute of Buddhist Studies, Berkeley, 1977), p. 203-218.

Title in Japanese:
吐魯番出土梵文木版本宝徳蔵般若異本断片をめぐって

Keywords:
(Prajñā-pāramitā-)Ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā, 宝徳蔵般若; Turfan (吐魯番), 嵩祝寺 (Sung-chu-ssŭ) — Peking blockprint; 'Phags-pa — Lañ-tsha (Rañjanā) scripts; Paper Road; Haribhadra, Candrakīrti – *Prasannapadā*; Pha-daṁ-pa Saṅs-rgyas — Źi-byed-pa School.

Three New Bronzes from Gilgit

Oskar VON HINÜBER

The book "Die Palola Ṣāhis. Ihre Steininschriften, Inschriften auf Bronzen, Handschriftenkolophone und Schutzzauber" (The Palola Ṣāhis. Their inscriptions on stone and on bronzes, their colophons and protective spells)[1] was hardly published at the very end of the year 2004, when David Weldon kindly informed me in February 2005 that a new and hitherto unknown bronze of a Prajñāpāramitā was to be offered for sale by Sotheby's[2]. This bronze is a standing female figure that carries a book in her left hand (**plate 1**). There are two inscriptions, one on the pedestal helping to identify Gilgit as the provenance of the bronze, the other on the book, which identifies the statue as Prajñāpāramitā:

I. The inscription on the pedestal (**plate 2a,b**):

/front of the pedestal/ *# deyadharmo yaṃ paramadevyā śrī*
/pedestal to the left of the statue/ *maṅgalahaṃsikāyā*
"This is the pious gift of the Paramadevī Śrī Maṅgalahaṃsikā"

II. The inscription on the book (**plate 3**):

/1/ *# nama prajñāpārami*
/2/ *tāyā : : : :*
"Homage to the Prajñāpāramitā"

The statue is described as an art object in the catalogue. The front side of the pedestal was damaged most likely already when the bronze was cast. For the engraver obviously avoided a clearly visible hole because no *akṣara* is lost or damaged. Special attention may be drawn here again to the asymmetric ear ornaments, which are typical also for other bronzes commissioned by the Palola Ṣāhis[3]. Most interesting and, as it seems, very rarely found in Indian art is the inscribed book. For, usually, when gods etc. hold books in their hands, the books are not opened. Here, not only the script, but also the string holding the book together is shown. Therefore, the stroke separating both lines indicates two separate folios.

The meaning of the inscription on the book is beyond doubt, although two *akṣara*s are not very clear: *pra* in *prajñāpāramitāyāḥ* is partly covered by one finger, and the shape of the *jñā* is unusual. This may be due to the rather small space available for the inscription.

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[1] This book is quoted as "Palola Ṣāhis" in the following.

[2] The bronze is shown and described in the catalogue: Sotheby. Indian and South East Asian Art. New York April 1, 2005, no 50, p. 60.

[3] Palola Ṣāhis, p. 156 f. with note 214 on ear ornaments; cf. further: O. Bopearachchi and others: De l'Indus à l'Oxus. Archéologie de l'Asie Centrale. Lattes 2003, no. 146, p. 154 (plate p. 168) and the catalogue: Gandharan and Silk Road Arts: The Hirayama Ikuo Collection. Tokyo 2000, no. 82, p. 43.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 39-43.
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The same difficulty is again met with in what seems to be the only surviving parallel to the Prajñāpāramitā. This is a Vākāṭaka stone sculpture of a "Kavi" holding a book with an inscription in two lines. A third line, or only two (?) *akṣaras* can be recognized at the bottom of the book. As in case of the bronze, the lines are separated by a stroke, but no string is shown. Unfortunately, the inscription seems to be unreadable and has never been deciphered[4]. The donor is the queen of the first Palola Ṣāhi Vajrādityanandi, who has also participated in the donation of the third bronze to be discussed below.

A year later, in April 2006 Ulrich v. Schroeder kindly brought to my attention a further bronze from Gilgit in a private collection, which shows a sitting Buddha on a lion seat (**plate 4**). The inscription on the pedestal reads as follows (**plate 5**):

/1/ # sam 99 deyadharmo yaṃ śākyabhikṣu acintamittra
/2/ tathā sārdhaṃ vīryamittrena bhagavāṃ viśvabhaḥ
"In the year 99. This is the pious gift of the Śākyabhikṣu[5] Acintamittra
together with Vīryamittra. Lord Viśvabhū"

There are three small mistakes: The retroflex *-ṇ-* in *vīryamitreṇa* is replaced by the dental *-n-*, and in *viśvabhūḥ* the subscript *-ū-* is missing, perhaps due to lack of space. There is no case ending in *acintamittra[sya]*. However, it is not known, whether or not the inscription continues on the side of the pedestal.

The name of the monk is unusual. A reading *sucinta°* is ruled out by the shape of the *akṣara sa* in *sārdhaṃ*. Perhaps *acintya°* is meant, which would make a better sense.

Most interesting and important is of course the date: the year 99. As usual in the assumed *laukika* dates, no century is indicated. The bipartite shape[6] of the letter *-ya-* allows for AD 723/4 at the earliest and likely date without necessarily excluding a century later AD 823/4. If the earlier date is correct this bronze was cast when the Palola Ṣāhi Surendrāditya was ruling[7].

It is extremely rare that the name of the Buddha depicted is actually referred to in the inscription on a bronze allowing to identify the image, and this piece is indeed unique in this respect among all known bronzes from Gilgit. Here, Viśvabhū is meant, who is one of the well known series of eight Buddhas beginning with the six predecessors of "our" Buddha: (1) Vipaśyin, (2) Śikhin, (3) Viśvabhū, (4) Krakucchanda, (5) Koṇāgamana, (6) Kāśyapa with nos. 4, 5, 6 appearing in the unusually crowded Bhadrakalpa as did (7) Gautama and as will (8) Maitreya.

This series is occasionally depicted in Buddhist art. The relevant material, as it was known about fifty years ago, has been collected and evaluated by J. Ph. Vogel[8]. Among the

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[4] Cf. Hans Bakker: The Vākāṭakas. An Essay in Hindu Iconology. Groningen 1997, p. 125.

[5] This is after Hariṣayaśas and Sarvajñapṛya the third Śākyabhikṣu mentioned on a bronze from Gilgit: Palola Ṣāhis, p. 168.

[6] Palola Ṣāhis, p. 179.

[7] Palola Ṣāhis, p. 99.

[8] The Past Buddhas and Kāśyapa in Indian Art and Epigraphy. Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller. Leipzig 1955, p. 808-816. – Recently, a further set of these Buddhas has been discovered at Kanaganahalli: Indian Archaeology. A Review 1997-98, p. 93-96. The stūpa at Kanaganahalli is dated to the year 35 of Pulumāvi (2nd *pakṣa* of the summer, 20th day) by an inscription: *raño vāsethiputa-siri-pulumāvisa savachare 30 5 gimhāna*

inscriptions along the upper Indus Vipaśyin is mentioned once in Chilas, and Śikhin and Śākyamuni occur occasionally in inscriptions written by different hands in Thalpan[9].
It is an open question whether or not the bronze of the Buddha Viśvabhū is the lonely survivor of a complete series of eight[10].

Again, I owe the acquaintance with the pedestal of a bronze preserved in the Rubin Museum of Art, New York[11], to U. v. Schroeder (**plate 6**):

/1/ # svasti deyadharmo yaṃ śrī paramde
/2/ vī maṅgalahaṃsikayā tathā sā
/3/ rdhaṃ śrī paṭoladeva ṣāha vajrādi
/4/ tyanandinā tathā sārdhaṃ śrī
/5/ torabhaṭārikāyā: | ta
/6/ thā sārdhaṃ mahāgaṃjapa
/7/ ti rāṇāvīrasya:

(pa)ga 2 20. It is noteworthy that Pulumāvi ruled only 29 years according to the Purāṇas and so far no inscription exceeding that year seems to have been found. – Mostly damaged statues of the following Buddhas identified by inscriptions are surviving: (1) Vipaśyin (*vivasī*); (2) Śikhin (*sighī*), (5) Konāgamana (*konāgamunī*), (6) Kāśyapa (*kasapo*) together with (7) Śākyamuni (*sakamuni sidhatha*) and (8) Maitreya (*bhagavā* [!] *bodhisato ayito anāgato budho*). All these images are donations by the same layman (*upāsakena*) Visākha (written variously as *visagha, visakha, visaka, visāgha*), a member of the Vākāṭica-family (written variously as *vākāḍicāna, vāgāḍhicāna, vākāṭicāna*, gen. pl.) together with his anonymous son (*saputakena*). Here, (3) Viśvabhū and (4) Krakucchanda are missing. In spite of this loss (?), the series was complete once, because the inscription on the image of the Buddha Śākyamuni made by Kanhila (Kṛṣṇila) states that he made four images (*kanhilena katā paṭimā catārī*). However, only three of the six survinig images are actually his work. Consequently, he should have also made the image of (4) Krakucchanda thus completing the set of the predecessors of Buddha Gautama in the Bhadrakalpa. Three of the six surviving images ([1] Vipaśyin, [2] Śikhin, [8] Maitreya) are produced by different persons other than Kanhila, cf., e.g., the inscription on the image of (1) Vipaśyin: *seli(va)ḍikasa asādāvāsa panatukena samināgasa natukena maḍhasa putena rāyāmacena (o?/ña?)dhigutena kato* "made by the stonemason (*selivaḍhakī*) +dhigupta, a member of the royal household, the son of M., the grandson of S., the great grandson of A." The reading of the names is partly uncertain; the interpretation of the obviously rare and therefore twice miswritten *seliḍhakisa*; *s(a)valikasa* as *selivaḍhaki* is guaranteed by the inscription on the pedestal of the image of (2) Śikhin, which has the correct *selivaḍhaki*[.

[9] For example: D. Bandini: Die Felsbildstation Thalpan I. MANP 6. Mainz 2003: Vipaśyin (Chilas 64:17) = O. v. Hinüber: Buddhistische Inschriften aus dem Tal des oberen Indus. Antiquities of Northern Pakistan I. Mainz 1989: inscription no. 79, plate 155; D. Bandini: Die Felsbildstation Thalpan II. MANP 7. Mainz 2005: Śikhin (112:21) = O.v.H., inscription no. 92, plate 173; Śākyamuni (112:13) = O.v.H., inscription no. 93, plate 174.

[10] Two bronzes showing this series of the eight Buddhas from Kashmir (? ca. 10/11th centuries) is also preserved in Tibet: U. v. Schroeder: Buddhist Sculptures in Tibet I. India and Nepal. Hongkong 2001, plate 32, p. 136 and plate 34, p. 140 (in this series two Buddhas are broken off and lost as is part of the inscription:] *rmo yaṃ kṣantakasya tathā sārdhaṃ mātāpitṛbhyāṃ*; although the number of lost akṣaras is uncertain, there is enough space to allow for a date).

[11] It is also available in the internet "Rubin Museum of Art", item no. 65412.

"Hail! This is the pious gift of the Śrī Paramadevī Maṅgalahaṃsikā together with the Śrī Paṭola Deva Ṣāh(i) Vajrādityanandi together with Śrī Torabhaṭārikā | together with the Great Treasurer Rāṇāvīra"

Although the inscription is slightly damaged – the *akṣaras nā ta* in line 4 are blurred; the dot above the *akṣara kā* in line 5 is certainly no *anusvāra*, if compared to the five correctly positioned *anusvāras* – the reading nowhere poses any problem. The statue, to which the inscription belongs, is lost.

In Ṣāha the final *-i* is certainly missing by a mistake of the engraver. Grammatically, the instr. Maṅgalahaṃsikayā instead of the gen. is as much mistake as the gen. Torabhaṭārikāyāḥ and Rāṇāvīrasya for correct instr.: Obviously, the case endings are freely used and there seems to have been only a vague grammatical awareness that something at the end of the word had to be changed. Although the Palola Ṣāhis had excellent artists, their "paṇḍits" frequently were poor grammarians[12].

The principal donor is as often a queen or an *upāsikā*. Three of the four persons mentioned are well know. The queen Śrī Paramadevī Maṅgalahaṃsikā and the King Śrī Paṭola Deva Ṣāhi Vajrādityanandi also donated a manuscript. Unfortunately, their colophon found on an isolated folio cannot be allocated to any of the Gilgit manuscripts[13] without checking the original.

The new inscription is very important in more than one respect, because it helps to remove or at least to diminish some doubts and, at the same time, provides a bit more of certainty in the interpretation of this patchy historical material.

First, this inscription proves together with the one on the bronze of the Prajñāpāramitā that Maṅgalahaṃsikā is the correct form of the name of the queen, which is here, in contrast to the wording of the colophon, prefixed by *śrī*. Consequently, °*haṃsirikā* in the colophon is to be considered as a mistake. If compared to Torabhaṭārikā, who is mentioned again as a Śrī Paramadevī Torahaṃsikā in the colophon on the Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā manuscript[14], both names Maṅgala-haṃsikā and Tora-bhaṭārikā / Tora-haṃsikā seem to contain titles, and the personal names are thus reduced to Maṅgal(ā) and Tor(ā) rather. Due to lack of evidence is not clear, whether the title Paramadevī always was combined with °*haṃsikā*, or whether there was also a simple Paramadevī, which does not occur in the material from Gilgit[15].

It is of utmost importance that Tora-haṃsikā was promoted to Śrī Paramadevī and is one of the queens of Vikramādityanandin. For this is a strong indication that Vikramādityanandin really succeeded to Vajrādityanandin, as conjectured earlier[16].

Furthermore, Torahaṃsikā is the so far only queen attached to two subsequent kings[17].

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[12] Palola Ṣāhis, p. 175.

[13] Palola Ṣāhis, no. 9, p. 24f. This colophon breaks off after ... *vajrādityanandinā* (4) *tathā sārdhaṃ*[: It is very tempting now to conjecture that Torabhaṭārikā is the missing person.

[14] Palola Ṣāhis, no. 6 (3). p. 17.

[15] Cf. Śāmīdevī ... Bhaṭārikā as the assumed higher rank in comparison to a simple Śāmīdevī, Palola Ṣāhis, p. 116.

[16] Cf. Palola Ṣāhis, p. 86f.

Next, it is the oldest datable bronze known so far to have been cast by the Palola Ṣāhis predating Navasurendātiya's bronze of AD 644 (or 655)[18] most likely by a more than two decades, and that of the third ruler Surendrāditya al least by a decade[19].

While the first two Palola Ṣāhis were known only from colophons so far, we are now waiting for a bronze commissioned by the Vajrādityanandin's successor Vikramādityanandin, hopefully the next one to surface from somewhere, because he is the only ruler among the early Palola Ṣāhis at present known only from evidence in manuscripts.

[17] Two further women are known as attached to two different persons: Namovudhā was as the daughter of Jayamaṅgalavikramādityanandin and later the wife of his successor Nandivikramādityanandin and her sister Devaśrī married the great treasurer Saṃkaraseṇa (Palola Ṣāhis, p. 96f.).

[18] Palola Ṣāhis, No. 11, p. 28.

[19] Palola Ṣāhis, Addendum, p. 190, where "Buddha" must be replaced by "Bodhisatva", of course, as in the respective captations of Abb. 36 and 36a.

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Some Buddhist Sanskrit Fragments from the Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (1)*

SEISHI KARASHIMA and MARGARITA I. VOROBYOVA-DESYATOVSKAYA

(1) *Ratnarāśisūtra*

SI P/20/1 : Early South Turkestan Brāhmī : Plate 1

42 ***recto***

1 na ca dadaṃti · sa utpeśamānas tadbhojanaṃ animiṣair nayanaiḥ prekṣamāṇaḥ kṣutpipāsāparigato duḥkhāṃ vedanām anubhavati na ca [1]+ + +

Śikṣ.57.7~9. *tatrâsyânye pretā bhojanaṃ gṛhītvâpadarśayanti | sa udvaśyamānas tadbhojanam animiṣābhyāṃ netrābhyāṃ paśyamānaḥ kṣutpipāsāparigato duṣkhāṃ | vedanāṃ vetti na ca varṣasa-*

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 453.1~7 = Mitsuhara 2004: 94, § 4.11.2). *de der skyes nas yi dags gzhan gyis kha zas blangs te de la bstan na / de bstan pa'i tshe mig gnyi ga mi 'dzums par zas de la lta zhing bkres pa dang skom pas nyen pa'i sdug bsngal gyi tshor ba myong gi / lo brgya*

Ratnar. Chi. T.11, No.310, 644a15~17. 爾時，更有餓鬼，以食示之，而復不與。此鬼爾時悕望欲得，諦視此食，目下曾眴，受飢渴苦，

2 hasreṇāpi tasya bhojanasya lābhī bhavati yad api kadācit karhacit tadbhojanaṃ pratilabdhaṃ bhavati ta[d]ā uccāraṃ bhavati [2]pū[y]. + +

Śikṣ.57.9~10. *hasreṇâpi tasya bhojanasya lābhī bhavati | yad api kadācit karhicid bhojanaṃ labdhaṃ bhavati tad uccāraṃ bhavati pūyaśoṇi-*

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 453.7~11 = Mitsuhara 2004: 94~95, § 4.11.2~3). *stong du yang zas de ni thob par mi 'gyur ro // ji ste brgya la brgya lam na zas de thob kyang ngan skyugs dang rnag khrag tu 'gyur ro //*

Ratnar. Chi. 644a17~18. 於百千歲中，常不得食。或時得食，變爲糞屎，或作膿血。

3 taṃ bhavati tat kasmād dhetor yathā○pi na[3] cchīlavaṃto dakṣiṇīyā utpeśāpitā na ca

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* Seishi Karashima is greatly indebted to Klaus Wille, Takamichi Fukita, Jundō Nagashima and Jirō Hirabayashi who read his manuscript carefully and gave him suggestions, including pointing out many corrections. He also should like to express his gratitude to the members of the Kharoṣṭhī Klub, especially to Mark Allon, Andrew Glass and Stefan Baums who quickly responded to his questions about the Gāndhārī traces found in the fragment SI P/80.

[1] + + + *basreṇāpi* : probably *(varṣasa)basreṇāpi*.

[2] *pū[y]*. + + *taṃ* : probably *pūy(aśoṇi) taṃ*.

[3] *na* : s.e. for *ca*?

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svalābhena saṃtoṣit[ā]ḥ sace(t) [pu]naḥ [4]kā[ś]ya + +

Śikṣ.57.10. *taṃ vā*

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 453.12~17 = Mitsuhara 2004: 95~96, § 4.11.4~4.12). *de ci'i phyir zhe na / 'di ltar des tshul khrims dang ldan pa / yon tan dang ldan pa / shyin gnas rnams mgu bar ma byas shing / rang gi rnyed pas chog mi shes par gyur pa'i phyir ro // 'od srung*

Ratnar. Chi. 644a18~19. 何以故？有持戒人、人所敬禮僧所有物，以自在，故而難與之。迦葉！

4 yyāpatyakaro bhikṣusāṃghikena vā cāturdiśasāṃghikena vā stūpikena vā saṃsṛṣṭo bhavati tasyāhaṃ vipākaṃ na [5]vadā .. [6]tat kasmā .[e] + +

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 453.17~18 = Mitsuhara 2004: 96, § 4.12). *dge slong zhal ta byed pa gang la las dge 'dun gyi 'am / phyogs bzhi'i dge 'dun gyi 'am / mchod rten gyi tshol bar byas na / de'i rnam par smin pa ni ngas*

Ratnar. Chi. 644a19~22. 若營事比丘以常住僧物、若招提僧物及以佛物輒自雜用，得大苦報。若受一劫，若過一劫。何以故？

5 lpanāmātram etat* tato py uttareyas trairatnikaṃ[7] drūhati[8] · sacet punaḥ kāśyapa vaiyyāpatyakaro bhikṣuḥ imān īdṛśān [9]ādīna[va] + + +

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 454.1~4 = Mitsuhara 2004: 96, § 4.12~4.13.1). *bskal pa bgrangs pas kyang brjod kyis mi lang ngo // 'od srung dge slong zhal ta byed pa gang la las nyes dmigs kyi gnas 'di lta bu 'di dag thos nas /*

Ratnar. Chi. 644a22~23. 以侵三寶物故。迦葉！若營事比丘聞如是罪，

42 *verso*

1 tvā krudhyati vyāpadyati tam aham acaikitsyam iti vadāmi[10] · tasmā tarhi kāśyapa imān evaṃrūpān asaddharmān[11] śrutvā [12]vaiyyāpatyak. + + + +

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 454.4~6 = Mitsuhara 2004: 96, § 4.13.1). *khro 'am / gshe 'am gnod par sems sam khong khro ba skyed na / de ni gsor mi rung ngo zhes ngas bshad do // 'od srung de lta bas na dam pa'i chos 'di lta bu 'di thos nas dge slong zhal ta byed pas*

---

[4] *kā[ś]ya + + yyāpatyakaro* : probably *kā[ś]ya(pa) (vai)yyāpatyakaro*.

[5] *vadā ..* : probably *vadā(mi)*.

[6] *tat kasmā .. + + lpanāmātram etat** : probably *tat kasmā(d dhetor ka)lpanāmātram etat**. Cf. *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, ed. P. Pradhan, Patna 1967, p. 122, l. 23. *tasmād etad api sarvaṃ kalpanāmātram*; Abhidh-k-vy = *Spbuṭārtbā Abhidharmakośavyākbyā: the Work of Yaśomitra*, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo 1936: The Publishing Association of Abhidharmakośavyākhyā; Tokyo [3]1989: Sankibo Buddhist Book Store, p. 302, l. 1. *parikalpanāmātram etad Āgamanirapekṣam*.

[7] *trairatnikaṃ* : this form is not attested elsewhere in Buddhist literature.

[8] *drūbati* : < √*drub*. This verbal form is not attested elsewhere in Buddhist literature.

[9] *ādīna[va] + + +* : *ādīna[va](stbānāṃ? śru)tvā*. Cf. Ratnar. Tib. *nyes dmigs kyi gnas ... thos nas*.

[10] *tam abam acaikitsyam iti vadāmi* : cf. KP § 65 = KP(V-D), p. 27, l. 3f. *tam abam acikitsyam iti vadāmi*; Silk 1994: 336, n. 3.

[11] *asaddbarmān* : = Ratnar. Chi. 非法; ≠ Ratnar. Tib. *dam pa'i chos* (*saddbarma~*); Silk 1994: 336, n. 4.

[12] *vaiyyāpatyak. + + + + ṇā* : probably *vaiyyāpatyak(areṇa bbikṣu)ṇā*.

Ratnar. Chi. 644a23~25. 知如是罪，而故生瞋心於持戒者，我今說此諸佛世尊所不能治。迦葉！是故，營事比丘聞如是非法罪已，

2 ṇā kāyavāṅmanaḥ saṃvṛtena bhavitavyam* ātmapararakṣakena · caraṃhi kāśyapa vaiyyāpatyakareṇa bhikṣuṇā [13]svakāyā[t [14]m]āṃ + + + +

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 454.6~9 = Mitsuhara 2004: 96, § 4.13.1~2). *lus dang ngag dang yid yongs su dag par bya'o // bdag dang gzhan bsrung bar bya'o // 'od srung dge slong zhal ta byed pa rang gi sha la za yang bla'i (v.l. sla'i) /*

Ratnar. Chi. 644a25~26. 應當善護身口意業，自護亦護他。迦葉！營事比丘寧自噉身肉，

3 ktaṃ bhaveta na tv eva tṛratnasaṃsṛ○ṣṭa(ṃ) cīvaraṃ vā piṇḍapāto vā upajīvitavyaḥ atha sthaviro mahākāśyapo bhagavanta[m] etad [15]av[o] + + + +

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 454.9~14 = Mitsuhara 2004: 96~97, § 4.13.2~ 4.14). *dkon mchog gsum gyis byin gyis brlabs pa'i lhung bzed dam / chos gos sam / bsod snyoms sam / na ba'i gsos sman nam / yo byad yongs su spyad par ni mi bya'o // de nas bcom ldan 'das la tshe dang ldan pa 'od srung chen pos 'di skad ces gsol to //*

Ratnar. Chi. 644a26~28. 終不雜用三寶之物作衣鉢、飲食。爾時，摩訶迦葉白佛言：

4 bhagavaṃn yāvac ceme tathāgatena mai[tr]acittatayā karuṇaci[tt]atayā vitaraṇāṃ [c]a vitaradharmāḥ prakāśitāḥ lajjinām ca [16]lajjā[dh]. + + + +

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 454.14~455.1 = Mitsuhara 2004: 97, § 4.14). *bcom ldan 'das kyis lhod pa rnams kyi lhod pa'i chos dang / 'dzem mdog mchis pa rnams kyi 'dzem mdog gi chos mams bka' stsal to //*

Ratnar. Chi. 644a28~b1.世尊！未曾有也，如來自以慈心說如是法。爲無慚愧者，說無慚愧法。有慚愧者，說漸愧法。

5 śitāḥ // ❀ // vai(yyā)[pa]tyakaraparivarttaḥ caturthaḥs samāptaḥ 4 // atha sthaviro mahākāśyap[o] bhagavamtam etad [17]avo .. + + +

Ratnar. Tib. (Silk 1994: 455.2~456 = Mitsuhara 2004: 97~98, § 4.14~5.1). *zhal ta byed pa'i le'u ste bzhi pa'o //*[18]

Ratnar. Chi. 643a12. 《營事比丘品》 第四； 644b7. 爾時，摩訶迦葉白佛言

(2) *Kāśyapaparivarta*

SI P/20/2 : Early South Turkestan Brāhmī : Plate 2

[4]6 *recto*

1 .. .. [ā] .i[mān]i[kā imām a]nāsravāṃ śīlaviśuddhiṃ nāvataraṃti · [n]āvagāhante [n]ā[dhi]mucya[ṃ]t[i] (·) [ga] .[bhī]r[o] kāśyapa g. + + +

[13] *svakāyā[t]*: probably s.e. for *svakāyā[n]*.

[14] *[m]āṃ + + + + ktaṃ*: probably *[m]āṃ(sam api bha)ktaṃ*.

[15] *av[o] + + + +*: probably *av[o](cat* āścaryaṃ)*.

[16] *lajjā[dh]. + + + + śitāḥ*: probably *lajjā[dh](armāḥ prakā)śitāḥ*.

[17] *avo .. +* : probably *avo(cat*)*.

[18] The Tibetan translation lacks a parallel to the sentence: "Then the Venerable Mahākāśyapa spoke thus to the Blessed One."

Rec. *(bhikṣava) [ā](bh)i[mān]i[kā imām] [a]nāsravāṃ śīlaviśuddhiṃ nāvataraṃti · [n]āvagāhante [n]ā[dhi]mucya[ṃ]t[i] · [ga](m)[bhī]r[o] Kāśyapa g(āthābhini-)*

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 139, 70r1~2. *{an}adhimānikā te-m-anadhimucyamānā imāṃ gaṃbhīrā gāthābhinirhārām anāsravaṃ śīlaviśuddhinirdeśaṃ śrrutvā nāvataraṃti nādhimucyaṃti nāvagāhaṃti tat kasmād dheto gaṃbhīro (')yaṃ Kāśyapa gāthābhini-*

[19]Prasp. 336.3~337.5. *yathôktam ĀryaRatnakūṭasūtre .... tathā hy ete Kāśyapa bhikṣava ābhimānikā imām anāsravāṃ śīlaviśuddhiṃ nâvataranti nâvagāhante nâdhimucyanta uttrasyanti saṃtrasyanti saṃtrāsam āpadyante / gambhīraḥ Kāśyapa gāthābhi[r]ni-*

2 .. [r]. ga .bh. rā [buddhānāṃ bhaga]◯[vantān]āṃ bo[dh]i sā na śakyaṃm avaropitakuśalamūlaiḥ pāpamitraparigṛhītai[r a] .. .[i]mukt. + +

Rec. *(rhā)r(aṃ) ga(m)bh(ī)rā [buddhānāṃ bhagavantān]āṃ bo[dh]i sā na śakyaṃm avaropitakuśalamūlaiḥ pāpamitraparigṛhītai[r a](nadh)[i]mukt(ibahu-)*

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 139, 70r2~3. *rhāraṃ gaṃbhīraṃ*[20] *buddhānā bhagavaṃtānāṃ bodhi sā na śakyam anavaropitakuśalamūle*[21] *pāpamitraparigṛhīter anadhimuktibahu-*

Prasp. 337.5~6. *rhāro gambhīrā ca buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ bodhiḥ / sā na śakyā 'navaropitakuśalamūlaiḥ sattvaiḥ pāpamitraparigṛhītair anadhimuktibahu-*

3 lai[r adhimok]tu[m]. .. [ni] kāśya◯pa paṃca bhikṣuśatāni kāśyapasya [ta] .. ga[t]. sya [p]rāvacane[22] tīrthikaśrāvak. abhū +

Rec. *lai[r adhimok]tu[m] (etā)[ni] Kāśyapa paṃca bhikṣuśatāni Kāśyapasya [ta](thā)ga[t](a)sya [p]rāvacane tīrthikaśrāvak. abhū(vaṃ-)*

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 139~ § 140, 70r3~5. *le satvair adhimucyituṃ vā paryāpunituṃ vā avatarituṃ vā · api ca Kāśyapa etāni paṃca bhikṣuśatāni Kāśyapasya tathāgatasyārhata samyaksaṃbuddhasya pravacane anyatīrthikaśrāvakā abhūvan**

Prasp. 337.6~8. *lair adhimoktuṃ / api câitāni Kāśyapa pañca bhikṣuśatāni Kāśyapasya tathāgatasya pravacane 'nyatīrthikaśrāvakā abhūvan /*

4 s te kāśyapasya tathāgatasyāntikād upāraṃbhābhiprāyair ekā [dha] .. + [śanā] ś[r]. .. .[r]. [tvā c](') [e]kac[i]ttaprasādo [l]. bdha [ā]ś[c]. r[y].

Rec. *s te Kāśyapasya tathāgatasyāntikād upāraṃbhābhiprāyair ekā dha(rmade)śanā ś(rutā ś)r(u)tvā c(') ekacittaprasādo l(a)bdha āśc(a)ry(aṃ)*

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 140, 70r5~70v1. *s*[23] *te*[24] *Kāśyapasya tathāgatasyāṃtikād upāraṃbhābhiprāyair ekā dharmadeśanā śrrutā śrutvā c(') eva cittaprasādo labdha āścāryaṃ*

Prasp. 337.8~9. *tair eva tasya Kāśyapasya tathāgatasyântikād upālambhābhiprāyair eṣā dharmadeśanā śrutā śrutvā caîkacittaprasādo labdhaḥ / evaṃ tair vāgbhāṣitā āścaryaṃ*

---

[19] Karashima is greatly indebted to Jundō Nagashima who pointed out the following parallel passages, found in the *Prasannapadā*.

[20] A scribal error for *gaṃbhīrā*.

[21] The forms °*mūle*, °*grhīter* and °*bahule* are inst. pl.

[22] *[p]rāvacane* : cf. BHSD, s.v. *prāvacana*. The word *prāvacana~* occurs also at Mvu III 234.20, 245.8, 270.6; BhīVin(Mā-L), § 8, 1A3.2~3, § 113, 2B8.3; PrMoSū(Mā-L), p. 4, l. 2; SP(O). 388b2, 416b1.

[23] Or a scribal error for *abhūvaṃs*.

[24] < *taiḥ* (inst. pl.).

[4]6 *verso*

1 yāvan madhurapriya[bh]āṇī tathāgato + .. myaksaṃbuddha iti • te eke[na c]. tta[pr]. + [d]. [n]. .. .. ga[tā]s tr[ā]yastr. .. + ...[ū] +

Rec.*yāvan madhurapriyabhāṇī tathāgato (ʾrhāṃ sa)myaksaṃbuddha iti • te ekena c(i)ttapr(asā)d(e)n(a) (kāla)gatās trā]yastr(iṃśeṣu deveṣ)ū(pa)<pa->*

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 140, 70v1~3. *yāvan madhurapriyabhāṇī khalv eyaṃ*[25] *Kāśyapas tathāgato (ʾ)rhāṃ samyaksaṃbuddha iti • te tataś cyuta samānā ekacittaprasādena kālagatāḥ trāyastriṃśeṣu deveṣûpapa-*

Prasp. 337.9~11. *yāvan madhurapriyabhāṇī Kāśyapas tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddha iti / ta etenâikacittaprasādena pratilabdhena kālagatās trāyastriṃśeṣu deveṣûpapa-*

2 .. ās tenaiva ca hetunā i◯ + mama śāsane pravra[j]itās tā.y e[t]ā[n]i [kā] .. pa paṃ[ca] bhikṣuśatāni dṛṣṭipra[s]kandhitā +

Rec.*(nn)ās tenaiva ca hetunā i(ha) mama śāsane pravrajitās tā(n)y etāni kā(śya)pa paṃca bhikṣuśatāni dṛṣṭipraskandhitā(ni)*

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 140, 70v3~4. *nnāḥ ten(ʾ) eva hetunā iha mama śāsane pravrajitāḥ tāny etāni Kāśyapa paṃca bhikṣuśatāni dṛṣṭigatapraskanditāni*

Prasp. 337.11~12. *nnās te tatas cyutāḥ samānā ihôpapannās tenâiva ca hetunêha mama śāsane pravrajitās tāny etāni Kāśyapa pañca bhikṣuśatāni dṛṣṭipraskandhānî-*

3 [i]mā dharmadeśanā[ṃ] nāvata◯[ra]ṃ[t]. .āva[gā]hanti • nādhimucyante .ṛtaṃ [pu] .. [r e]ṣ[ām]. .. yāṃ dharma .e[śa] .. + +

Rec.*imā dharmadeśanāṃ nāvataraṃt(i) (n)āvagāhanti • nādhimucyante (k)ṛtaṃ pu(na)r eṣām (ana)yāṃ dharma(d)eśa(nāyā)*

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 140, 70v4~5. *imāṃ gaṃbhīrā dharmadeśanā nāvataraṃti nāvagāhaṃti nādhimucyaṃte na śraddadhaṃti • kṛtaṃ punar* [26]*eṣā (ʾ)mayaṃ dharmadeśanāyā*

Prasp. 337.12~338.2. *māṃ gaṃbhīrāṃ dharmadeśanāṃ nâvataranti nâvagāhante nâdhimucyanta uttrasyanti saṃtrasyanti saṃtrāsam āpadyante / kṛtaṃ punar eṣām anayā dharmadeśanayā*

4 [p]. .[ik]. [rm]. na bhūyo [vi] .[ip]ātagāmino bhaviṣya<ṃ>ti • ebhir e .. [ska]ndhai[s] pa[r]i[n]irvā[sy]. .. + + +

Rec.*p(ar)ik(a)rm(a) na bhūyo vi(n)ipātagāmino bhaviṣya<ṃ>ti • ebhir e(va) skandhais parinirvāsy(aṃti • ¶ ?)*

KP(V-D), SI P/2 § 140~§ 141, 70v5~71r1. *parikarma na bhūyo vi[ṇi]pātagāmino bhaviṣyaṃti • ebhir eva skandhaiḥ parinirvāsyaṃti • ¶ tatra bhagavān*

Prasp. 338.2~4. *parikarma na bhūyo durgativinipātaṃ gamiṣyanti / ebhir eva ca skandhaiḥ pari<nir>vāsyanti // atha khalu bhagavān āyuṣmantaṃ Subhūtim āmantrayate sma /*

(3) **Anirud(dh)a-sūtra*

SI P/80 : Turkestan Gupta type[27] : Plate 3

[25] A scribal error for *ayaṃ*?

[26] *eṣā (ʾ)mayaṃ* : < *eṣāṃ* (gen. pl.) *imayā* (Pāli inst. sg. fem.)?

[27] Cf. Sander 1968: Tafel 29, q; *do.* 1986: 160f.

This fragment contains the following peculiar forms: *cita* (< Skt. *citta*; r7), *bahutā* (< Skt. *bahudhā*; r3), *vividā~* (< Skt. *vividhā*; r2), *Aniruda* (< BHS. *Aniruddha*; r1, 6, v2, 6), *viśuda~* (< Skt. *viśuddha*; v6), *bāvitatvā* (< Skt. *bhāvitatvāt*; r5, 6, v2, 6), *samaṃmāgatā* (< **samaṃvāgatā* < Skt. *samanvāgatā*; v7. Cf. GDhp. *amedi* < **aṃvedi* < Skt. *anveti*), *kama~* (probably a scribal error for *katama~*; r2, 5, 6), *emāyuṣparyaṃta* (< *ema āyuṣ°* < *evaṃ āyuṣ°* ?; v5. Cf. Gāndhārī *ema*, *emu* < Skt. *evaṃ*), *pratyurnnabhavasi*[28] (a scribal error for *pratyanubhavasi*; r3). From these peculiar forms, we may assume that the mother tongue of the scribe of this fragment was Gāndhārī and its peculiarities crept into the manuscript. It is also probable that the text, to which this fragment belonged, was transmitted at a certain stage in Gāndhārī.

[50] ***recto***

1 || evaṃ mayā śrutam ekasmiṃ samaye āyuṣmāṃ Aniruda[29] Śrāvastyā viharati sma Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍadasyārāme atha saṃbahulā bhikṣava[ḥ] yena + ///

Cf. SN V 303.5f. *ekaṃ samayaṃ āyasmā Anuruddho Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme. atha kho saṃbahulā bhikkhū yenâyasmā Anuruddho ten' upasaṅkamiṃsu. upasaṅkamitvā āyasmatā Anuruddhena*; cf. also SN V 294.5f. *evaṃ me sutaṃ. ekaṃ samayaṃ āyasmā Anuruddho Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Anāthapiṇḍikassa ārāme.*

Cf. CSĀ, T. 2, No. 99, 140a26f. 如是我聞：一時佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園，…… 爾時尊者阿難往尊者阿那律所; cf. also CSĀ. 140c25f. 如是我聞：一時佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園，時尊者阿那律，在舍衛國松林精舍。時有衆多比丘，詣尊者阿那律所

2 sārdhaṃ saṃmukhaṃ saṃmodanī saṃraṃjanī kathāṃ vividām[30] upasaṃhṛty ekā<ṃ>te nyaṣīdad[31] ekāṃte [32]niṣaṇṇa ās te bhikṣavo āyuṣmāṃ Ani<ru>dam etad avocat*[33] kam[e]ṣāṃ[m[34] [35]ā] ///

Cf. SN V 303.9f. *saddhiṃ sammodiṃsu sammodanīyaṃ kathaṃ sārāṇīyaṃ vītisāretvā ekaṃ antaṃ nisīdiṃsu. ekaṃ antaṃ nisinnā kho te bhikkhū āyasmantam Anuruddham etad avocuṃ: "katamesam āyasmā Anuruddho dhammānaṃ bhāvitattā bahulīkatattā mahābhiññātaṃ patto?" ti. .....*

Cf. CSĀ. 140a29f. 共相問訊、慰勞已，於一面坐。尊者阿難問尊者阿那律："於何功德修習，多修習，

[28] This form seems to show the influence of Gāndhārī, in which a geminate was occasionally marked by the insertion of a non-historic *r* before an *akṣara*, such as *uparno* < Skt. *utpannaḥ*, *bhirno* < Skt. *bhinnam* (cf. Salomon 1999: 122-123).

[29] *Aniruda* : < BHS *Aniruddha*.

[30] *vividām* : < Skt. *vividhā~*.

[31] *nyaṣīdad* : a singular form with a plural subject; cf. BHSG § 25.22.

[32] *niṣaṇṇa ās te* : s.e. for *niṣaṇṇās te*?

[33] *avocat* : a singular form with a plural subject; cf. BHSG § 25.22.

[34] *kam[e]ṣāṃ[m]* : probably a scribal error for *ka<ta>meṣāṃm*.

[35] *[ā] ///* : probably *[ā](yuṣmāṃ) ///*

3 viddhaṃ[36] pratyurnnabhavasi[37] · eko bhūtvā bahutā[38] bhavasi bahutā[39] bhūtvā eko bhavasi · āvirbhāvaṃ tirobhāvaṃ tiraskuḍyaṃ tira[ḥ](p)[r](āk)[āraṃ t]i[r]. + + + ///

Cf. SN V 303.22f. *imesañ ca panâhaṃ āvuso catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ* (← °*anānaṃ*) *bhāvitattā bahulīkatattā anekavihitaṃ iddhividhaṃ paccanubhomi. eko pi hutvā bahudhā homi, bahudhā hutvā eko homi, āvībhāvaṃ tirobhāvaṃ tirokuḍḍaṃ tiropākāraṃ tiropabbataṃ asajjamāno gacchāmi seyyathâpi ākāse. paṭhaviyam pi ummujjanimujjaṃ karomi seyyathâpi* (cf. also SN V 274.13f.)

Cf. CSĀ. 140b2f. 成就如是大德、大力、大神通？" 尊者阿那律語尊者阿難："我於四念處修習，多修習，成此大德大力。……"

Cf. SBV II 246.13f. *sa evaṃ samāhite citte pariśuddhe paryavadāte anaṅgaṇe vigatopakleśe rijubhūte karmaṇye sthite āniñjyaprāpte ṛddhiviṣayasākṣātkriyāyām abhijñāyāṃ cittam abhinirṇamayya so 'nekavidhaṃ ṛddhiviṣayaṃ pratyanubhavati. tadyathā eko bhūtvā bahudhā bhavati. bahudhā bhūtvâiko bhavati. āvirbhāvaṃ tirobhāvaṃ jñānadarśanena pratyanubhavati. tiraḥkuḍyaṃ tiraḥśailaṃ tiraḥprākāraṃ asajjamānaḥ kāyena gacchati tadyathā ākāśe. pṛthivyām unmajjanimajjanaṃ karoti tadyathā*

4 [40].. dake udake (')py asajjamāno gacchasi · pṛthivyā○m ākāśe paryaṃkena kra<<ma>>si · tadyathā pakṣī śakunīḥ[41] imau .ā [42][p]. ..ḥ [sūryāca] .. m. .[au] + + + + + ///

Cf. SN V 303.23. *udake. udake pi abhijjamāno gacchāmi seyyathâpi paṭhaviyaṃ. ākāse pi pallaṅkena kamāmi seyyathâpi pakkhī sakuṇo. ime pi candimasuriye evam mahiddhike evam mahānubhāve pāṇinā parāmasāmi parimajjāmi* (cf. also SN V 274.16f.)

Cf. SBV II 246.20f. *udake. udake abhinnasroto gacchati tadyathā pṛthivyām. ākāśe paryaṅkena krāmati* (← °*enātikrāmati*) *tadyathā pakṣī śakuniḥ. imau vā punaḥ sūryācandramasāv evaṃ maharddhikāv evaṃ mahānubhāvau pāṇinā āmārṣṭi parimārṣṭi*

5 d yāva brahmalokaṃ kāyena vaśe vartayasi // yāva tṛparivartakena[43] // kameṣāṃm[44] āyuṣmāṃn[n] Ani<ru>da dharmāṇāṃ [45][b]. [v]. [t]atv[ā] [46]+ hu + + + + + + + + ///

Cf. SN V 303.24f. *yāva brahmalokâpi kāyena vasaṃ vattemî"ti.* (304.2f.) *imesaṃ ca panâhaṃ āvuso catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ bhāvitattā bahulīkatattā dibbāya sotadhātuyā visuddhāya atikkantamānussikāya ubho sadde suṇāmi dibbe*

Cf. SBV II 246.23f. *yāvad brahmalokaṃ kāyena vaśe vartayati* .... (247.1f.) *so 'nekavidhaṃ*

[36] *viddhaṃ* : < Skt. *-vidhaṃ*.

[37] *pratyurnnabhavasi* : probably a scribal error for *pratyanubhavasi*.

[38] *babutā* : < Skt. *babudhā~*.

[39] *babutā* : < Skt. *babudhā~*.

[40] *.. dake* : probably *(u)dake*.

[41] *śakunīḥ* : probably a scribal error for *śakuniḥ*.

[42] *[p]. ..ḥ [sūryāca] .. m. .[au]* : probably *p(una)ḥ sūryāca(ndra)m(as)au*.

[43] *tṛparivartakena* : < **tri-parivartaka~*. In the SBV, the description "*so 'nekavidhaṃ ṛddhiviṣayaṃ pratyanubhavati; tadyathā eko bhūtvā bahudhā bhavati* ...." is repeated three times.

[44] *kameṣāṃm* : probably a scribal error for *ka<ta>meṣāṃm*.

[45] *[b](ā)[v](i)[t]atv[ā]* : < Skt. *bhāvitatvāt*.

[46] + *hu* + + + + : probably *(ba)hu(līkṛtatvā)*.

ṛddhiviṣayaṃ pratyanubhavati. tadyathā eko bhūtvā bahudhā bhavati ..... (247.15f.) *so 'nekavidhaṃ ṛddhiviṣayaṃ pratyanubhavati. tadyathā eko bhūtvā bahudhā bhavati* ..... (247.28f.) *so 'nekavidhaṃ ṛddhiviṣayaṃ pratyanubhavati. tadyathā eko bhūtvā bahudhā bhavati;*..... (248.1f.) *sa evaṃ samāhite citte pariśuddhe ... divyaśrotrajñānasākṣātkriyāyām abhijñāyāṃ cittam abhinirṇamayati sa divyena śrotreṇa viśuddhenâtikrāntamānuṣyenôbhayān śabdān śṛṇoti*

6 ś[47] ca mānuṣāś ca // kameṣāṃm[48] āyuṣmāṃnn Aniruda[49] dharmāṇāṃ bāvitatvā[50] bahulīkṛta[t]vā [51][par]. [satvān].ṃ .. .. .[u] .. + [n]āṃ ce .. + + + + + + + + + + ///

Cf. SN V 304.4f. *ca mānusse* (*v.l. mānuse*) *ca ye dūre santike cā"ti. "imesañ ca panâham āvuso catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ bhāvitattā bahulīkatattā parasattānaṃ parapuggalānaṃ cetesā ceto paricca pajānāmi. sarāgaṃ vā cittaṃ sarāgaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi. vī-* (cf. also SN V 265.12f.)

Cf. SBV II 248.4f. *mānuṣyān apy amānuṣyān api. ye 'pi dūre ye 'py antike.* .... 248.16f. *sa evaṃ samāhite citte pariśuddhe .... cetaḥparyāyajñānasākṣātkriyāyām abhijñāyāṃ cittam abhinirṇamayati sa parasatvānāṃ* (← °*sattvānāṃ*) *parapudgalānāṃ vitarkitaṃ vicāritaṃ mānasā mānasaṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti. sarāgaṃ cittaṃ sarāgaṃ cittam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti. viga-*

7 [t]. rāgaṃ citaṃ[52] viga<ta>rāgaṃ citam i<ti> yathābhūtaṃ prajānāsi yāva · evaṃ sadveṣam vigatadve[ṣa]ṃ [53].. + + + + + mo ..ṃ + + + + + + + + + + + ///

Cf. SN V 304.9. *tarāgaṃ vā cittaṃ vītarāgaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, sadosaṃ vā cittaṃ sadosaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, vītadosaṃ vā cittaṃ vītadosaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, samohaṃ vā cittaṃ samohaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, vītamohaṃ vā cittaṃ vītamohaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, saṅkhittaṃ vā cittaṃ saṅkhittaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, vikkhittaṃ vā cittaṃ vikkhittaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi.* (cf. also SN V 265.12f.)

Cf. SBV II 248.21f. *tarāgaṃ cittaṃ vigatarāgaṃ cittam iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti. sadveṣaṃ vigatadveṣaṃ samohaṃ vigatamohaṃ saṃkṣiptaṃ vikṣiptaṃ*

[50] ***verso***

1 par(ī)tta(ṃ) mahadgatam amahadgataṃ pramāṇavad apramāṇavat* sottaram anuttaram asamāhita[ṃ] [54]sa .. .. + + + + ktaṃ c. + + + + + + + + + + + ///

Cf. SN V 304.9. *mahaggataṃ vā cittaṃ mahaggataṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, amahaggataṃ vā cittam amahaggataṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, sauttaraṃ vā cittaṃ sauttaraṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, anuttaraṃ vā cittam anuttaraṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, asamāhitaṃ vā cittam asamāhitaṃ*

[47] *ś*: (*amānuṣā*)*ś* ?

[48] *kameṣāṃm* : probably a scribal error for *ka<ta>meṣāṃm.*

[49] *Aniruda* : < BHS *Aniruddha*.

[50] *bāvitatvā* : < Skt. *bhāvitatvāt.*

[51] *[par]. [satvān].ṃ .. .. .[u] .. + [n]āṃ ce .. + :* probably *[par](a)[satvān](ā)ṃ (parap)[u](dgalā)nāṃ ce(tesā).*

[52] *citaṃ* : < Skt. *cittaṃ*.

[53] *.. + + + + + mo ..ṃ* : probably *(samohaṃ vigata)mo(ha)ṃ.*

[54] *sa .. .. + + + + ktaṃ c. +* : probably *sa(māhitam avimu)ktaṃ c(ittam).*

cittan ti pajānāmi, samāhitaṃ vā cittaṃ samāhitaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, avimuttaṃ vā cittaṃ avimuttaṃ cittan ti pajānāmi, vimuttaṃ vā cittaṃ vimuttaṃ cittan ti pa- (cf. also SN V 265.18f.)

Cf. SBV II 248.23f. *līnaṃ pragṛhītaṃ uddhataṃ anuddhataṃ avyupaśāntaṃ vyupaśāntaṃ samāhitaṃ asamāhitaṃ abhāvitaṃ subhāvitaṃ avimuktaṃ vā cittaṃ avimuktaṃ cittaṃ iti yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti. vimuktaṃ vā cittaṃ vimuktaṃ cittaṃ iti yathābhūtaṃ pra-*

2 jāmi[55] • // katameṣāṃm āyuṣmāṃnn Aniruda[56] dharmāṇā bāvitatvā[57] bahulikṛtatvā [58]a[n]e .i ..ṃ [pūrvenivā]sa .. .. + .. rati + + + .. + + + + + + + ///

Cf. SN V 304.10. *jānāmî"ti*. 305.13f. *imesañ ca panâhaṃ āvuso catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ bhāvitattā bahulīkatattā anekavihitaṃ pubbenivāsaṃ anussarāmi. seyyathīdaṃ ekaṃ pi jātiṃ dve pi jātiyo tisso pi jātiyo catasso pi jātiyo pañca pi jātiyo dasa pi jātiyo vīsaṃ pi jātiyo tiṃsaṃ pi jātiyo* (cf. also SN V 265.28f.)

Cf. SBV II 248.26. *jānāti* ..... (249.3f.) *sa evaṃ samāhite citte ... pūrvanivāsānusmṛtijñānasākṣātkriyāyām <abhijñāyāṃ> cittaṃ abhinirṇamayati. so 'nekavidhaṃ pūrvanivāsaṃ samanusmarati. tadyathā ekam api dve tisraś catasraḥ paṃca ṣaṭ saptâṣṭau nava daśa viṃśataṃ triṃśataṃ*

3 catvāriṃśad vā paṃcāśad vā jātiśataṃ vā jātisahasraṃ vā jātiśatasahasraṃ vā [59][anek]. [n]i vā [60]jāt[iś]. .[ā] .i [a] .e .[ā]n[i] + + + + + + ///

Cf. SN V 305.15. *cattālisaṃ pi jātiyo pañ̃ñāsaṃ pi jātiyo jātisataṃ pi jātisahassaṃ pi jātisatasahassaṃ pi* (cf. also SN V 265.31f.)

Cf. SBV II 249.7f. *catvāriṃśataṃ pañcāśataṃ jātiśataṃ jātisahasraṃ jātiśatasahasraṃ anekāny api jātiśatāni anekāny api jātisahasrāṇi anekāny api jātiśatasahasrāṇi saṃvartakalpaṃ api vivarta-*

4 [61].. lpaṃ vā saṃvartavivartakalpaṃ vā anekā○ni vā saṃvartakalpāni-m-anekāni vā vi<va>rtakalpāni an[e]kāni vā [saṃ] .. .. .. + + + + ///

Cf. SN V 305.15. *aneke pi saṃvaṭṭakappe aneke pi vivaṭṭakappe aneke pi saṃvaṭṭavivaṭṭakappe amutrāsiṃ evaṃnāmo* (← *evaṃ nāmo*) *evaṃgotto evaṃvaṇṇo eva-* (cf. also SN V 266.2f.)

Cf. SBV II 249.10f. *kalpaṃ api saṃvartavivartakalpaṃ api anekān api saṃvartakalpān anekān api vivartakalpān anekān api saṃvartavivartakalpān samanusmarati. amī nāma te bhavantaḥ satvā* (← *sattvā*) *yatrâhaṃ āsaṃ evaṃnāmā evaṃjātya evaṃgotra eva-*

5 māhāra evaṃsukhadu[ḥ]khapratisaṃvedī emāyuṣparyaṃta[62] so (')haṃ tataś cuta samāna

[55] *jāmi*: probably a scribal error for *(pra)jā<nā>si*.

[56] *Aniruda*: < BHS *Aniruddba*.

[57] *bāvitatvā*: < Skt. *bhāvitatvāt*.

[58] *a[n]e .. .i ..ṃ [pūrvenivā]sa .. .. + .. rati*: probably *ane(kav)i(da)ṃ pūrvenivāsa(ṃ samanusma)rati* (s.e. for °*rasi*?).

[59] *[anek]. [n]i*: probably *anek(ā)ni*.

[60] *jāt[iś]. .[ā] .i [a] .e .[ā]n[i]*: probably *jātiś(at)āni a(n)e(k)āni*.

[61] .. *lpaṃ*: probably *(ka)lpaṃ*.

[62] *emāyuṣparyaṃta*: a scribal error for *e<va>māyuṣ*° or < *ema āyuṣ*° < *evaṃ āyuṣ*° (cf. Gāndhārī *ema*, *emu* < Skt. *evaṃ*).

amutropapanna itaś cuta samāna [63]iho[pa] .. [nn]. i .. + + ///

Cf. SN V 305.15f. *māhāro evaṃsukhadukkhapaṭisaṃvedī evamāyupariyanto. so tato cuto amutra uppādiṃ* (*v.l. udapādi*). *tatravāsim evaṃnāmo evaṃgotto evaṃvaṇṇo evamāhāro evaṃsukhadukkhapaṭisaṃvedī evamāyupariyanto so tato cuto idhupapanno ti. iti sākāraṃ sauddesam anekavihitaṃ pubbenivāsam anussarāmī"ti* (cf. also SN V 266.4f.)

Cf. SBV II 249.13f. *māhāra evaṃsukhaduḥkhapratisaṃvedī evaṃdīrghāyuḥ* (← °*dirgh*°) *evaṃcirasthitika evamāyuṣparyantaḥ. so 'haṃ tasmāt sthānāc cyuto 'mutrôpapannaḥ. tasmād api cyuto 'mutrôpapannaḥ. tasmād api cyutaḥ ihôpapanna iti. sākāraṃ soddeśam anekavidhaṃ pūrvanivāsam anusmarati. ....*

6 ṣmāṃnn Aniruda[64] dharmāṇā bāvitatvā[65] bahulīkṛtatvā divyena cakṣuṣā [66]viśudenātikrāṃtamānuṣena satvāṃ paśyasi cavamānāṃ upapadyamān[ā](ṃ) ///

Cf. SN V 305.18f. *imesañ ca panâham āvuso catunnaṃ satipaṭṭhānānaṃ bhāvitattā bahulīkatattā dibbena cakkhunā visuddhena atikkantamānussakena* (*v.l.* °*mānusakena*) *satte passāmi cavamāne uppajjamāne hīne paṇīte suvaṇṇe dubbaṇṇe sugate duggate yathākammūpage* (← °*upage*) (cf. also SN V 266.11f.)

Cf. CSĀ. 140b9f. 我於此四念處，修習，多修習。少方便，以淨天眼，過天人眼，見諸衆生、死時、生時，好色、惡色，上色、下色，善趣、惡趣，隨業受生，

Cf. SBV II 250.3f. *sa evaṃ samāhite citte pariśuddhe ... cyutyupapādajñānasākṣātkriyāyām abhijñāyāṃ cittam abhinirṇāmayati divyena cakṣuṣā viśuddhenâtikrāntamānuṣyakena satvān* (← *sattvān*) *paśyati cyavamānān upapadyamānān api suvarṇān api durvarṇān api hīnān api praṇītān api sugatim api gacchato durgatim api yathākarmôpayo-*

7 .[ā[67] sat]vāṃ yathābhūtaṃ prajāsi[68] ime bhavaṃti[69] satvā kāyaduścaritena samaṃmāgatā[70] vāgduścaritena manoduścaritena āryāṇāṃm anupav[ā][71] ///

Cf. SN V 305.19. *satte pajānāmi. ime vata bhonto sattā kāyaduccaritena samannāgatā vacīduccaritena* (← °*duca*°) *samannāgatā manoduccaritena samannāgatā ariyānam upavādakā* (cf. also SN V 266.14f.)

Cf. CSĀ. 140b12f. 皆如實見。此諸衆生身惡行，口、意惡行，誹謗賢聖，……

Cf. SBV II 250.8f. *gāt satvān* (← *sattvān*) *yathābhūtaṃ prajānāti. amī bhavantaḥ satvāḥ* (← *sattvāḥ*) *kāyaduścaritena samanvāgatā vāṅmanoduścaritena samanvāgatā āryāṇām apavādakā*

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[63] *iho[pa] .. [nn]. i ..* : probably *ihôpa(pa)nn(a) i(ti)*.

[64] *Aniruda* : < BHS *Aniruddha*.

[65] *bāvitatvā* : < Skt. *bhāvitatvāt*.

[66] *viśudena* : < Skt. *viśuddhena*.

[67] *.[ā]* : probably (*yathākarmôpayog*)*ā*.

[68] *prajāsi* : probably a scribal error for *prajā<nā>si*.

[69] *bhavaṃti* : s.e. for °*vaṃto*?

[70] *samaṃmāgatā* : < **samaṃvāgatā* < Skt. *samanvāgatā*. Cf. GDhp. *amedi* < **aṃvedi* < Skt. *anveti*.

[71] *anupav[ā] ///* : read *(an)upavā(dakā)*?

Symbols

( )	restored *akṣara*(s)
[ ]	damaged *akṣara*(s)
< >	omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s) without gap in the MS.
{ }	superfluous *akṣara*(s) or a *daṇḍa*
—	erased *akṣara*(s), e.g. ~~vijña~~
+	one lost *akṣara*
..	one illegible *akṣara*
.	illegible part of an *akṣara*
*	*virāma*
○	string hole
¶	punctuation mark
$\alpha \leftarrow \beta$	the word form β should be changed to α
.....	Chinese character(s) with a dotted underline indicates a proper name, e.g. 舍利弗

Abbreviations and Bibliography

BhīVin(Mā-L) = *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a Summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*, ed. Gustav Roth, Patna (*Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series* 12).

BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

BHS(D, G) = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, 2 vols., New Haven 1953 : Yale University Press; repr. Delhi, ^{2}1970 : Motilal Banarsidass.

CSĀ = the Chinese translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama*, T. 2, No. 99.

GDhp = John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*, London 1962: Oxford University Press (*London Oriental Series*, vol. 7).

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 Buddhogy, Soka University (*Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica* V).

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Mvu = *Le Mahâvastu*, ed. Émile Senart, 3 vols, Paris 1882-1897: Imprimerie nationale; Reprint: Tokyo 1977: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai.

Pa = Pāli

Prasp = *Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamikasūtra) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā Commentaire de Candrakīrti*, ed. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, St.-Petersburg, 1903-10 (Bibliotheca Buddhica IV).

PrMoSū(Mā-L) = *Prātimokṣasūtram of the Lokottaravādimahāsāṅghika School*, ed. Nathmal Tatia, Patna 1976 (*Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series* 16).

PTS = The Pali Text Society

Ratnar. Chi. = the Chinese translation of the *Ratnarāśisūtra*, T.11, No.310.

Ratnar. Tib. = the Tibetan translation of the *Ratnarāśisūtra*.

Rec. = Reconstructed Text.

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SBV = *The Gilgit Manuscript of the Saṅghabhedavastu, being the 17th and Last Section of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādin*, ed. Raniero Gnoli, 2 parts, Roma 1978 (SOR 49/1-2).

s.e. = scribal error

Śikṣ = *Śikṣāsamuccaya : A Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching, Compiled by Śāntideva*, ed. Cecil Bendall, St. Petersbourg 1902: Académie Imperiale des Sciences; Reprint Tokyo 1977: Meicho-Fukyū-kai (Bibliotheca Buddhica 1).

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SI P = Central Asian fragments in the Petrovsky collection of St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, with the siglum Ser India Petrovskij.

SN = *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, ed. L. Feer, 5 vols., London 1884-1898 (PTS), vol. 6 (Indexes by C. A. F. Rhys Davids), London 1904 (PTS).

T = *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, ed. Junjirō Takakusu, Kaikyoku Watanabe, 100 vols., Tokyo 1924-1934.

w.r. = wrong reading

A Newly Identified Fragment of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* kept in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies

Noriyuki KUDO and Margarita I. VOROBYOVA-DESYATOVSKAYA

Recently Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya identified one fragment of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* among the so-called "N. F. Petrovsky Collection" now kept in St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. It is a fragment of right part of a folio, approximately covering two-third of its original size; in consequence, pagination is absent. The script used in it is a so-called "South Turkestan Brāhmī" (or "Upright Gupta"). Judging from its script, orthographic features, and writing style, this fragment seems to belong to the same manuscript of SI P/67(12a, b) and P/74(1-7); for details, see Tyomkin 1996 (2004). The text preserved is identical to that of Kashgar manuscript which represents one recension of Sanskrit *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, i.e., Central Asian version. In the following, we will present the text of this fragment together with the variant readings found in the other Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (relevant manuscripts and fragments both of the Central Asian and Gilgit/Nepalese recensions are transliterated anew on the basis of facsimile editions although not all the variant readings are mentioned here.)[1]

Symbols used.

( )	restored akṣara(s)
[ ]	damaged akṣara(s)
< >	omitted akṣara(s)
{ }	superfluous akṣara(s)
{{ }}	erased akṣara(s)
+	one lost akṣara
..	one illegible akṣara
.	illegible part of an akṣara
•	single dot (as a punctuation)
:	visarga-daṇḍa
ḥ	Upadhmanīya
///	line broken off at this point

[1] The present writers would like to thank Seishi Karashima, Klaus Wille, and Takamichi Fukita for taking trouble in looking over this transliteration.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 57-66.
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Call-number: SI P/68.

A fragment, the right half of folio. Pagination is lost. Size: 35 x 13.5 cm. Seven lines on each side. The right margin is 1.5 cm width. There is a lot of lacunas; the edges are damaged. Identified by M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya.

Transliteration:

recto

1 /// + + .. ḥ pur[uṣau]t[t](a)[m]e[bh]iḥ [pr]a[k]ā[ś]i[t]o [d]dharma bahuprakāraṃ • dṛṣṭānta

2 /// + k[o]śalyasa[h]a[s]ra[k]o[ṭ]i[bh]iḥ 35 sarve [c]a [t]e (d)e[ś]ayi [e]kayāna

3 /// [ns]u • ekaś ca yān[e p]a(r)i[p]ācayinsu acintikā [pr]āṇasahasrako

4 /// [m]aharṣiṇāṃ y[e]bhiḥ [p]rakāśemt(') ima[m a]gra{d}dharmaṃ • a[dh]imu[kt]i [jñ]ā(t)[v]ā

5 /// loka sadeva[k]asmiṃ 37 ye āsi [s]atvās ta(h)i (t)e[ṣ]a [sa]ṃmukhaṃ śṛ

6 /// + • dattaṃ ca dānaṃ [c]a[r]i[t]a(ṃ) ca{ṃ} .ī[l]aṃ .ān[t]i + + + + [ta] brahma[c]arya

7 /// + [k]ā[r]āḥ prajñāya vā cinti[t]a e .. + + + + .[i]dhāni puṇyā

v5: loka: a scribal error for *loki*

verso

1 /// + + [m-a]bhūṣ. lābhina 39 pari[n]irvṛ[t]. + + + + [n]a teṣāṃ ye śā

2 /// + + [va] dāntā [ca] vinīta s[ūra](t)[ās] te sa[rv]. + + + .. bhūṣi lābhi

3 /// .. jā jināna [t]eṣāṃ pa[r]inirvṛ[t]ānāṃ ratnā[m]. + s[tūp]asahasra ne

4 /// .[i]kāmayā 1 40 ye a[ś]vagarbhasya ka[r]i[ns]u s[t]ūpān karketa .[ān m]u[k]ti[m]a

5 /// .. nīle • te sarvi bodhāya[-m-a]bhūṣi lābhina • 42 ye [c]āpi śailebhi karinsu

6 /// + ye devadārus[y]a kari[ns]u s[t]ūpān ye dā[rusa]ṃ[gh]ā[tama]yāś ca kecit* 3 40 i

7 /// + + .[eṇ]a ku[r]vinsu [j]ina[s]ya stūpaṃ .. {{ uddaśyā • pāṃsusya ca •}}

v4: 1 40 a scribal error for 41 v6: 3 40 a scribal error for 43

Parallels:

KN 49.5-50.10.

O = Kashgar MS. 56a6~57a7 [cf. Toda 1983: 28-29].

K = Kawaguchi No. 3-A. 19b5~20a5 [cf. Toda 1980: 17-18].

Khā. = FK 897 (Kh. 12) r.1~v.5 [cf. Wille 2000: 31-32].

Lü = Lüshun A-2R.5~V.2 [cf. Jiang 1997: 48-51].

D2: Gilgit MS. No. 47, 3064.6~3065.4 (16b6-17a4) [cf. Watanabe 1975: 192-93].

D3: Gilgit MS. No. 48, 3127.6~3128.7 [cf. Toda 1979: 251-52].

Bj: Mínzúwénhuàgōng 15b6~16a4 [cf. Jiang 1988: 45-47; Toda 1991: 17-18].

[As to other manuscripts, see SMSR. II. 304-323 (facsimile: SMS. II. 304-323)].

Restoration:

The text in question corresponds to the verse section of second chapter (*Upāyakauśalya-parivarta*) of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. Therefore, we arrange the text in metrical form and missing portions in the text are fulfilled with the metrical symbols basing on the readings of Kashgar manuscript (= O). The metre is "triṣṭubh-jagatī."

— — ⏑ — — ḥ puruṣautt(a)mebhiḥ
prakāśito {d}dharma bahuprakāraṃ •
dṛṣṭānta (r.2)— — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏒
⏑ — ⏑ kośalyasahasrakoṭibhiḥ 35

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre. {Tr-Tr}-{O: Jg-Jg; G/N:Tr-Tr}

a pāda.
O: sarvebhi tebhiḥ puruṣottamebhiḥ; Lü: + + + + + (pu)ru(ṣ)[ottame]bhiḥ;
D2 = D3: sarvehi tehī puruṣottamehi; K: sarvehi tehī puruṣottame(hi); Bj: sarvehi tehī puruṣottamehi।

b pāda.
O: prrakāśito dharma bahuprakāraṃ •; Lü: pra(kāś)[it]ā dharma bahupra ///;
D2: prakāśitā dharma bahū viśuddhāḥ; D3: prakāśi-; K: prakāsitā dharmma bahū (vi)śuddhāḥ; Bj: prakāśitā dharma bahū viśuddhā ।

c pāda.
O: dṛṣṭāntahetūbhi ca kāranebhi ca [Jg.];
D2: dṛṣṭāntikaiḥ kāraṇahetubhiś ca [Tr.]; D3: /// + ntikaiḥ kāraṇahetubhiś ca; K: dṛṣṭāntikaiḥ kāraṇahetubhiś ca; Bj: dṛṣṭ{v}āntikai kāraṇahetubhiś ca ।

d pāda.
O: upāyakośalyasahasrakoṭibhi (3)6 [Jg.]; Khā: /// bhiḥ 35;
D2 = D3: upāyakauśalyaśatair anekaiḥ ।। [Tr.]; K: upā(ya)kausalyaśatair anekaiḥ ।।; Bj: upāyakauśalyaśatair anekai ।।

sarve ca te (d)eśayi ekayāna
(r.3)— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — nsu
ekaś ca yāne pa(r)ipācayinsu
acintikā prāṇasahasrako(r.4) ⏑ ⏒ 36

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre: {Tr-Tr}-{Tr-Jg}

a pāda.

O: sarve ca te deśayi ekayānaṃm; Khā: sarvve ca te deśayi ekayānam; Lü: /// [k](a)yāna;
D2: sarve ca te darśayi ekayānaṃ; D3: sarve ca te da-; K = Bj: sarve ca te darśayi ekayānaṃ ।

b pāda.

O: ekasmi yānasmy avatārayinsu *; Khā: ekasm{y}i [y]ā-; Lü: ekaṃ ca yānaṃ [a](va)[t]āra[yanti];
D2: ekaṃ ca yānaṃ avatārayanti *; D3: /// + + [y]ānaṃ avatārayanti *; K = Bj: ekañ ca yānaṃ avatārayanti ।

c pāda.

O: ekasmi yānaṃ paripācayiṃsu; Lü: ekasmi y(ā)n(e) par[ip](ā)[cay]. +;
D2: ekasmi yāne paripācayanti; D3: ekasmi y[āne] paripācayanti; K = Bj: ekasmi yāne paripācayanti ।

d pāda.

O: acintikāḥ prāṇasahasrakoṭaya * 36; Khā: /// sahasra[k]o[taya]ḥ [36]; Lü: [ac](in)t(i) ///;
D2: acintiyā prāṇasahasrakoṭyaḥ ।।; D3: acintiyā prāṇa-; K = Bj: acintiyā prāṇasahasrakoṭyaḥ ।।

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — maharṣiṇāṃ
yebhiḥ prakāśeṃt(') imam agra{d}dharmaṃ *
adhimukti jñātvā (r.5) ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏒
— — ⏑ — loki sadevakasmiṃ 37

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre. {O: Jg-Tr; G/N: Tr-Tr}-{Tr-Tr}

a pāda.

O: anye upāyā vividhā maharṣiṇāṃ [Jg.]; Khā: anye upāyā [v](i)[vi]dhā ma;
D2: anye upāyā vividhā jinānāṃ [Tr.]; D3: /// + + yā vividhā jinānāṃ; K: anyeṣu (')pāyā vividhā jinā(nā)ṃ; Bj: anye tu māyā vividhā jinānām* ।

b pāda.

O: yevaḥ prrakāśent(') imam agradharmaṃ; Lü: /// m[i] agradharmā;
D2 = D3: yehi prakāśent(') imam agradharmam*; K: yehi prakāśehi mamāgradharmaṃ ।; Bj: yehi prakāśent(') imam agradharmam* ।

c pāda.

O: adhimukti jñātvā tatha āśayaṃ ca; Khā: /// [th](a) āśayaṃ [c](a); Lü: adhimukti jñā + + + [ā]śayaṃ ca;
D2: jñātvā (')dhimuktiṃ tatha āśayaṃ ca; D3: jñātvā (')dhimuktiṃ ta-; K: jñātvā (')dhimuktin tatha āśayañ ca; Bj: jñātvā (')dhimuktiṃ tatha āśayañ ca

d pāda.

O: tatha tathā loki sadevakasmi(ṃ) 37; Khā: [ta]thā .. [thā] loki sa .. vaka[sm]i[n*]; Lü: tathā tathā lok[i sa] + + + + [3]7;
D2: tathāgato loki sadevakesmiṃ ।।; D3: /// + .. sadevakasmiṃ * ।।; K: tathāgato loki sadevakesmin* ।।; Bj: tathāgato loki sadevakasmi ।।

ye āsi satvās tahi teṣa saṃmukhaṃ

śṛ(r.6) — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑•

dattaṃ ca dānaṃ carita(ṃ) ca (ś)īlaṃ

(kṣ)ānti ⏑ — — ⏑ ta brahmacarya (r.7) (38

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre. {Jg-Jg}-{Tr-Tr}

a pāda.

O: ye āsi satvās tahi teṣa saṃmukhī; Lü: [ye] ///;

D2 = D3: ye cāpi satvās tahi teṣu saṃmukhaṃ; K: ye cāpi satvās tahi teṣa sammukhaṃ; Bj: ye cāpi satvās tahi teṣa saṃmukhaṃ ।

b pāda.

O: śṛṇvaṃti dharmaṃ atha vā śrutvāvina *; Khā: /// [t]āvino;

D2: śṛṇonti dharma atha vā śrutāvinaḥ; D3: śṛṇonti dharmaṃ a-; K: śṛṇonti dharma atha vā śrutāvino ।; Bj: śṛṇoti dharmaṃ atha vā śrutāvino

c pāda.

O: datta(ṃ) ca dānaṃ caritaṃ ca śīlaṃ; Khā: dattaṃ va dā[n](aṃ) .. .. [taṃ ca ś]ī[laṃ]; Lü: ///(śī)la;

D2: dānaṃ ca dattaṃ caritā ca śīle; D3: /// + .. ttaṃ caritā ca śīle; K: dānañ ca dattañ caritā ca śīle; Bj: dānaṃ ca dattaṃ caritā ca śīle ।

d pāda.

O: kṣānti(ś) ca saṃpādita brahmacaryaṃm* 38; Khā: .. .. ; Lü: kṣāntī (ca saṃpā)dita bra .. + + +;

D2 = D3: kṣāntyā ca saṃpādita sarvacaryām* ।।; K: kṣāntyā ca sampādita sasrvacaryā ।।; Bj: kṣāntyā ca saṃpādita sarvacaryā ।।

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ kārāḥ

prajñāya vā cinti[t]a e ⏑ — ⏑

(viv)idhāni puṇyā(v.1) ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑

(te sarvi bodhāya-)m-abhūṣ(i) lābhina 39

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre. {Tr-Tr}-{Tr-Jg}

a pāda.

O: vīrye ca dhyāne ca kṛtādhikārā; Lü: .. (r)[yy]eṇa dhyā(n)ebhi kṛ(tā)dhik(ā) +;

D2: vīrye ca dhyāne ca kṛtādhikāra; D3: vīr[y]e [ca]-; K: vīryeṇa dhyānena kṛtādhikārāḥ; Bj: vīrye ca dhyāne ca kṛtādhikāraḥ

b pāda.

O: prrajñāya vā cintita eṣa dharmam*; Khā: /// .. eṣa dharmaṃ; Lü: + + + + (c)intayi ///;

D2: prajñāya vā cintita eta dharmāḥ; D3: /// + + nt(i)ta eva dharmāḥ; K = Bj: prajñāya cā cintita eti dharmā ।

c pāda.

O: vividhāni puṇyāni kṛtāni yebhis; Khā: vivi[dhā]ni pu[ṇy]ā(n)i .. ..;

D2 = D3 = K: vividhāni puṇyāni kṛtāni yehi; Bj: vividhāni puṇyāni kṛtā{(dhi)}ni yehi ।

d pāda.

O: te sarvi bodhyāya-m-abhūṣi lābhinaḥ 39; Khā: ..;

D2: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhinaḥ ।।; D3: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhi-; K: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhinaḥ ।।; Bj: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhina ।।

parinirvṛt— — ⏑ ⏑ — na teṣāṃ

ye śā(v.2) ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —

— — va dāntā va vinīta sūra(t)ās

te sarv(i bodhāya-m-a)bhūṣi lābhi(v.3) ≍ 40

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre. {Tr-Tr}-{O: Jg-Jg; G/N: Tr-Jg}

a pāda.

O: parinirvṛtānāṃ pi jināna teṣāṃ; Khā: /// (ṣ)āṃ; Lü: pari[ni](rv)ṛtānāṃ pi jinā[na] te +;

D2: parinirvṛtānāṃ pi jināna teṣāṃ; D3: /// + +; K: parinirvṛtānāñ ca jināna teṣāṃ; Bj: parinirvṛtānāṃ ca jināna teṣāṃ ।

b pāda.

O: ye śāsane keci babhūva satvāḥ; Khā: ye śāsane ke[ci] ba[bhūv]u .. ..; Lü: + + [sa]n[e k](ec)i-m-abhūṣi satvā;

D2 = D3: ye śāsane kecid abhūṣi satvāḥ; K: ye ṣāmane kecid abhūṣi satvāḥ ।; Bj: ye ṣāsane kecid abhūṣi satvā ।

c pāda.

O: kṣāntā va dāntā va vinīta sūratās [Jg.]; Khā: .. ..; Lü: k[ṣ]ā[ntā va] + + + + (n)[īta] (sa)man. ./// ;

D2: kṣāntā ca dāntā ca vinīta tatra [Tr.]; D3: kṣāntā va dāntā va vinīta tatra; K: kṣāntyā ca dāntā ca vinīta tatra; Bj: kṣāntā va dāntā ca vinīta tatra ।

d pāda.

O: te sarvi bodhāya-m-abhūṣi lābhina • 40;

D2: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhinaḥ ।।; D3: te sarvi bodhāya a-; K: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhinaḥ ।।; Bj: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhina ।।

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — jā

jināna teṣāṃ parinirvṛtānāṃ

ratnām(ayā) stūpasahasra (')ne(v.4)(kā)

⏑ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ikāmayā 41

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre. {Tr-Tr}-{O: Tr-Jg; G/N: Tr-Tr}

a pāda.

O: ye cāpi dhātūṣu karinsu pūjā; Khā: /// + (ṣ)u [ka]rinsu pūjā;

D2: ye cāpi dhātūna karonti pūjā; D3: /// + + ronti pūjā; K: ye cāpi dhātūna karoti pūjāṃ; Bj: ye cāpi dhātūna karonti pūjāṃ ।

b pāda.

O: jināna teṣāṃ parinirvṛtānām*; Khā: jināna teṣāṃ parinirvṛ[tān]ā[ṃ]; Lü: /// (n)āna [t]eṣāṃ parinirvṛtānām*;

D2 = D3: jināna teṣāṃ parinirvṛtānāṃ *; K: jināna teṣāṃ parinirvṛtānāṃ ।; Bj: jināna teṣāṃ parinirvṛtānāṃ

c pāda.

O: ratnāmayā stūpasahasra (')nekā :; Khā: ratnāma-; Lü: ratna + + [s](tū)pasahasrakoṭayaḥ;

D2: ratnāmayān stūpasahasra (')nekān; D3: ratnāmayān* stūpasahasra (')nekān; K: ratnamayam stūpasahasra (')nekān; Bj: ratnāmayā stūpasahasra (')nekā ।

d pāda.

O: suvarṇarūpyasya ca sphāṭikāmayām* 41 [Jg.]; Lü: suvarṇa[rū] + + + [sphā]ṭik[ā] ///;

D2: suvarṇarūpyasya (')tha sphāṭikasya * ।। [Tr.]; D3: suvarṇa-; K: suvarṇṇarūpasya (')tha sphāṭikasya ।।; Bj: suvarṇṇarūpasya (')tha sphāṭikasya ।

ye aśvagarbhasya karinsu stūpān
karketa(n)ān muktima(v.5) — ⏑ — ⏒
— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ nīle *
te sarvi bodhāya-m-abhūṣi lābhina * 42

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre. {Tr-Tr}-{Tr-Jg}

a pāda.

O: ye aśvagarbhasya karinsu stūpān; Khā: /// [a]śvagarbhasya kari[nsu] stū .. n;

D2: ye cāśmagarbhasya karonti stūpān; D3: /// + + garbhasya karonti stūpān; K: ye cāsmagarbhasya karonti stūpān; Bj: ye cāsmagarbhasya karonti stūpāṃ* ।

b pāda.

O: karketanāṃ muktimayā(ṃ)ś ca kecit*; Khā: karke .. nān mukt[ima]yā[ṃ]ś ca ke-;

D2 = D3: karketanān muktimayāṃś ca kecit*; K: kaketanāmuktamayīś ca kecit* ।; Bj: karketanāmuktamayā(ṃ)ś ca kecid

c pāda.

O: vaiḍūryaśreṣṭhasya tathaindrranīle; Lü: /// y(e) sphāṭikāyā suviśiṣṭa +;

D2: vaiḍūryaśreṣṭhasya tathendranīlais; D3: vaiḍūryaśreṣṭhasya tathai-; K: vaiḍūryaśreṣṭasya tathendranīlaiḥ ।; Bj: vaiḍūryaśreṣṭhasya tathendranīlai।s

d pāda.

O: te sarvi bodhāya-m-abhūṣi lābhina 42; Khā: /// [l]ābhinaḥ 42; Lü: + sarvbi bodhāya-m-abhūṣī lā ///;

D2: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhinaḥ ।।; D3: /// + [ṣ](i) lābhinaḥ ।।; K: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhinaḥ ।।; Bj: te sarvi bodhāya abhūṣi lābhina ।।

ye cāpi śailebhi karinsu (v.6) — —

— — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏒

ye devadārusya karinsu stūpān

ye dārusaṃghātamayāś ca kecit* 43

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre. {Tr-Tr}-{Tr-Tr}

a pāda.

O: ye cāpi śailebhi karinsu stūpān; Khā: ye [c]ā(p)[i] (ś)aileṣu karinsu stūpān;

D2 = D3: ye cāpi śaileṣu karonti stūpān; K: ye cāpi saileṣu karoti stūpān*; Bj: ye cāpi saileṣu karonti stūpān

b pāda.

O: ye candanasya agarusya cāpi; Khā: ye canda-; Lü: /// p(i);

D2: ye candanānām agarusya cāpi °; D3: ye candanānām agarusya cāpi; K = Bj: ye candanānām agarusya cāpi ।

c pāda.

O: ye devadārusya karinsu stūpān; Lü: y[e] devadārusya karinsu sth(ūpān);

D2: ye devadārusya karonti stūpān; D3: ye deva-; K: ye devadārusya karonti stūpān*; Bj: ye devadārusya karonti stūpāṃ ।

d pāda.

O: ye dārusaṃghātamayāṃś ca kecit* (4)3; Khā: /// [s]aṃghātama[y]āṃś ca [k]e .. t*; Lü: (ye dā)rusaṃghā{ṃ}ta kariṃsu kecit* 43;

D2: ye dārusaṃghātamayāṃś ca kecit* ।।; D3: /// .. saṃghātamayāṃś ca kecit* ।।; K = Bj: ye dārusaṃghātamayāṃś ca kecit* ।।

i(v.7) — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏒

⏒ eṇa kurvinsu jinasya stūpaṃ

{{udd(i)śy(a) pāṃsusya va °}} — ⏑ — ⏒

⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏒

VARIANT READINGS:

Metre. {O: Jg-Tr; G/N: Tr-Tr}-{Tr-Tr}

a pāda.

O: iṣṭyāmayā(ṃ) mṛ(t)tikasaṃgraheṇa vā [Jg.]; Khā: iṣṭ{y}ā[ma]yā mṛttikasaṃ-;

D2 = D3: iṣṭāmayān mṛttikasaṃcitān vā [Tr.]; K: iṣṭāmayāṃ mṛttikasañcitām vā; Bj: iṣṭāmayā mṛttikasaṃcittām vā ।

b pāda.

O: premeṇa kurvinsu jinasya stūpaṃm*;

D2: prītāś ca kurvanti jināna stūpān*; D3: prītāś ca kurvanti ji-; K: prītāṃś ca kurvanti jināna stūpān* ।; Bj: prītāś ca kurvanti jināna stūpānn

c pāda.

O: uddiśya pāṃsusya ca rāśi krritvā; Khā: /// (tv)ā; Lü: /// .. vā;

D2: uddiśya vā pāṃsukarāśayo pi; D3: /// + karāśayo pi; K: uddiśya cā pīsukarāśayo pi; Bj: uddiśya [vā] pānsukarāsayo pi ।

d pāda.

O: aṭavīṣu durgeṣu kariṃsu satvāḥ (4)4; Khā: aṭavīṣu [d]rg[eṣu kar]insu satvāḥ 44; Lü: aṭaveṣu durge{te}ṣu karin(su) + + 44;

D2: aṭatīṣu durgeṣu ca kārayanti * ।।; D3: aṭavīṣu durgeṣu ca kārayanti * ।।; K: aṭavīṣu durggeṣu ca kārayanti ।।; Bj: aṭavīṣu durgeṣu ca kārayanti ।।

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Bj = A manuscript formerly kept in the Library of the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities. Facsimile edition: Mínzúwénhuàgōng 1984; transliteration: Jiang 1988, Toda 1991.

D2 = Gilgit manuscript, Serial No. 47. Facsimile edition: Raghu Vīra and Lokesh Chandra 1974; facsimile and transliteration: Watanabe 1975.

D3 = Gilgit manuscript, Serial No. 48. Facsimile edition: Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra 1974; transliteration: Toda 1979.

G/N = Gilgit/Nepalese version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (see Bj, D2, D3, and K).

Jg = jagatī (12 syllables).

K = A manuscript in the Tōyō Bunko No. 3-A (brought from Tibet by Rev. E. Kawaguchi). Facsimile edition: Kawaguchi-Ikeda 1926; transliteration: Toda 1980.

Khā = Sanskrit fragments from Khādaliq. Facsimile edition and transliteration: Wille 2000.

KN = Kern and Nanjio 1908-12.

Lü = Sanskrit fragments in the Lüshun Museum Collection. Facsimile edition and transliteration: Jiang 1997.

O = the so-called Kashgar manuscript (now kept in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies). Facsimile edition: Lokesh Chandra 1976 (1977); transliteration: Toda 1983.

SMS = *Sanskrit Manuscripts of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. Collected from Nepal, Kashmir and Central Asia*. compiled by Institute for the Comprehensive Study of the Lotus Sutra, Rissho University, Tokyo: Publishing Association of Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Manuscripts, 12 vols., 1977-1982. [『梵文法華経写本集成』立正大学法華経文化研究所, 東京: 梵文法華経研究会].

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Tr = triṣṭubh (11 syllables).

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Who were the *icchantikas*?*

Seishi KARASHIMA

(1) Pā = BHS. *icchati* : "fancies; maintains, holds, claims; accepts, admits, approves of (a theory)"

In the *Visuddhimagga* (ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, PTS), the verb *icchati* occurs several times with the meaning "maintains, claims, thinks of (a theory)" or "approves of, admits"[1] as follows:

310.20f. *akkharacintakā pana atthaṃ avicāretvā "nāmamattam etan" ti icchanti, ye pi atthaṃ vicārenti, te sattāyogena(v.l. satta°) "sattâ"ti icchanti.*[2] ("However, [in the world] etymologists who do not consider meaning have it that it is a mere name, while those who do consider meaning have it that a 'being' [*satta*] is so called with reference to the 'bright principle' [*satta*]."[3]

338.30f. *ārammaṇātikkamato catasso pi bhavant' imā / aṅgātikkamam etāsaṃ na icchanti vibhāvino* // ("While reckoned by surmounting of the object they are four, the

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* This article is an enlarged and revised version of Seishi Karashima, "Miscellaneous notes on Middle Indic Words," in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2001*, March 2002, pp. 148-151. Soon after the publication of the former article, Prof. Lambert Schmithausen referred to it in a positive way in his article ("Zum Problem der Gewalt im Buddhismus," *Krieg und Gewalt in den Weltreligionen: Fakten und Hintergründe*, ed. Adel Theodor Khoury *et al.*, Freiburg 2003: Herder-Verlag, p. 137, n. 45), which made me more confident in my theory. In this respect, I am grateful to him. I should also like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Kiyotaka Goshima, Yoshifumi Honjō, Shin'ichirō Miyake, Naomi Satō, Yoshiyasu Yonezawa, Daigo Sasaki, Peter Skilling, Prof. Oskar von Hinüber and Prof. Minoru Hara for their valuable suggestions in the process of writing this article. Thanks are due as well to Yasunori Harada and Kaie Mochizuki for providing me with otherwise unattainable sources on my request, and also to Peter Lait for correcting my English.

[1] This meaning of *icchati* is not recorded in dictionaries including CPD. DP (s.v. *icchati*[1] [2]) gives "approves, allows, prescribes" to this verb, but only as a grammatical technical term, quoting the *Paramatthajotikā* II and the *Saddanīti*. Cf. *Points of Controversy or Subjects of Discourse, Being a Translation of the Kathā-vatthu*, by Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids Oxford (PTS), p. xxxiv. MW (s.v. √*iṣ*) gives "to acknowledge, maintain, regard, think" also as a grammatical term, while PW give "anerkennen, ansehen für" for *icchati*; "gebilligt, anerkannt, angenommen, für etwas angesehen werden, gelten" for *iṣyate*, referring to a wide range of texts, including literary works (vol. 1, p. 823, right).

[2] = *Paṭisambhidāmagga-aṭṭhakathā* I 57.20f.

[3] Ñāṇamoli 1956: 302-303.

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wise do not admit surmounting of factors that one can recognize.")[4]

375.20f. *aṅgārammaṇavavatthāpanam pi eke icchanti, aṭṭhakathāsu pana anāgatattā addhā taṃ bhāvanāmukhaṃ na hoti.* ("Some would also have 'defining of factors and object'; but since that is not given in the commentaries it is certainly not a heading in the development.")[5]

692.27f. *ye pana nānābhisamayaṃ icchanti tesaṃ uttaraṃ Abhidhamme Kathāvatthusmiṃ vuttam eva* ("But about those who would have it that [the different truths] are penetrated to separately, more is said in the Abhidhamma in the Kathāvatthu.")[6]

A similar usage of this verb is also observed in the *Kathāvatthuppakaraṇa-aṭṭhakathā*[7] as follows:

37.2f. *Sammitiyā Vajjiputtakā Sabbatthivādino ekacce ca Mahāsaṅghikā arahato pi(v.l.-) parihāniṃ icchanti* ("The Saṃmitiyas, the Vajjiputtiyas, the Sabbatthivādins, and some of the Mahāsanghikas maintain that an arahan can fall away.")[8]

41.5f. *tattha ye paranimmitavasavattideve upādāya tad upari devesu maggabhāvanam pi na icchanti seyyathāpi Sammitiyā* ("But some, for instance the Saṃmitiyas, do not believe in any Way-culture among the higher devas.")[9]

85.15f. *tattha ye sabbasmimpi anāgate ñāṇaṃ icchanti, seyyathāpi Andhakā* ("But some, for instance the Andhakas, consider that insight into any part of the future is possible.")[10]

etc. etc.

The word *icchati*, with the same meaning, namely "maintains, claims, thinks of (a theory)," as in the above-cited Pāli texts, is also found four times in Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamakakārikā*:

II 10d. *gantur gamanam icchataḥ //* ("Because he maintains [there is] the movement of a mover.")[11]

VI 8cd. *sahabhāvaprasiddhyarthaṃ pṛthaktvaṃ bhūya icchasi //* ("You maintain the diversity [of two entities] for the purpose of establishing co-existence.")[12]

VI 9cd. *katamasmin pṛthagbhāve sahabhāvaṃ satîcchasi //* ("In which [of the two entities] do you maintain co-existence, when the diversity [of two entities] does exist?")[13]

XII 1. *svayaṃ kṛtaṃ parakṛtaṃ dvābhyāṃ kṛtam ahetukaṃ /*

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[4] *op. cit.* p. 333.

[5] *op. cit.* p. 371.

[6] *op. cit.* p. 719.

[7] Ed. N. A. Jayawicrama, London 1979: PTS.

[8] Cf. *The Debates Commentary*, trans. by B. C. Law, Oxford [2]1989 (PTS), p. 43, where *icchanti* translated as "incline to the belief".

[9] *op. cit.* p. 48.

[10] *op. cit.* p. 106.

[11] Cf. Saigusa 1984, I, p. 131. 去る主体に〔さらに〕去るはたらき〔が有る〕、と主張しているからである; Kalupahana 1986: 123, "For him who entertains the view: 'A mover moves,' and who looks for the movement of a mover, it follows that ther is a mover without movement."; Inada 1970: 46, "If it is asserted that a passing entity comes to pass then a fallacy would result in that the entity could be separated from the coming to pass. (And yet) a passing entity requires the (condition of) passing away."

duḥkham ity eka icchanti tac ca kāryaṃ na yujyate // ("Some assert that suffering arises by virtue of being self-caused, other-caused, both self and other-caused or non-causal. Such [an assertion which treats suffering as] an effect is not justifiable.")[14]

Likewise, the word √*iṣ*, meaning "fancies, maintains, claims, thinks of (a theory)," or "approves of, admits" (usually used with negatives, such as "does not approve of; does not accept"), is used frequently[15] in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.[16] For instance,

p. 72, l. 8. *caturthadhyānabhūmikām api nirodhasamāpattiṃ nikāyāntarīyā icchanti* ("Those, who belong to other schools, maintain that [there is] attainment of cessation [*nirodhasamāpatti*], which belongs to the fourth stage of meditation")[17]

p. 72, l. 17 = 2nd edition, p. 72, l. 20. *atītasyâpy astitvāt iṣyate Vaibhāṣikaiḥ samanantarapratyayatvam* ("The *Vaibhāṣika*s maintain that [there is] an immediately preceding situation [of the mind] due to the existence of the past [mind].")

p. 85, l. 13 = 2nd edition, p. 85, l. 15. *ye tu rūpaṃ rūpasya nêcchanti sabhāgahetuṃ teṣām eṣa granthaḥ icchā-vighātāya saṃpravarttate "atītāni mahābhūtāny anāgatānāṃ mahābhūtānāṃ hetur adhipatir" iti* ("However, the following text contradicts the assertion of those who do not accept [the idea] that *rūpa* is *rūpa*'s corresponding cause: 'The great-elements in the past are a cause and a dominant factor of the great-elements in the future.'")[18]

p. 189, l. 4. *atra tu kecit tīrthaṃkarā icchanti : "paramāṇavo nityâste tadānīṃ śiṣyanta" iti* ("Concerning this, some heretics maintain that atoms are permanent and remain at the time [of the destruction of the world]")[19]

p. 212, l. 23. *tad etat kasyacid apy ahorātrād ūrdhvam adeśanān nêcchanti Vaibhāṣikāḥ*

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[12] Cf. Saigusa 1984, I, p. 211. ところが、〔両者の〕結合を成立させるために、汝はさらに、〔両者が〕別異であることを主張しているのである; Kalupahana, p. 157: "You, again, look for discreteness for the purpose of establishing co-existence."; Inada, p. 62: "On the other hand, while projecting the establishment of concomitance, once again, you are desirous of diversity."

[13] Saigusa 1984, I, p. 213. 〔両者が〕互いに別異であるということが存在するときに、汝は、そのどちらにおいて結合を主張するのであるか; Kalupahana, pp. 157-158: "In the presence of what kind of discreteness would you expect co-existence"; Inada, p. 62: "In what kind of diversity (of entities) are you desirous of establishing concomitance?"

[14] Inada, p. 88 (The words in square brackets are added by the present author.). Cf. Kalupahana, p. 211: "Some assume that suffering is self-caused, ..."

[15] Cf. Abhidh-k(Index), Part 1, p. 92, s.v. *IṢ*.

[16] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, ed. P. Pradhan, Patna 1967, revised 2nd edition, Patna 1975.

[17] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) I, p. 210: "D'après une autre école, le recueillement d'arrêt appartient aussi au quatrième *dhyāna* et n'est pas sujet à la chute."

[18] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) I, p. 256: "Le Dārṣṭāntika nie que la matière (*rūpa*) soit cause semblable de la matière; mais c'est contredire le Mahāśāstra (Jñānaprasthāna, 13, 14) : «Les grands éléments passés sont *hetu* et *adhipati* des grands éléments futurs.»."

[19] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) II, p. 210: "Certains docteurs hétérodoxes - Kaṇabhuj, etc. - disent que les atomes sont éternels ; que, par conséquent, ils restent quand l'univers est dissous."

("The *Vaibhāṣikas* do not approve of this [*i.e. saṃvarôtpāda* 'production of the discipline'] because [this] is not prescribed [by the Buddha] concerning anyone beyond a day and night."[20]

p. 216, l. 8. *viṇâpi hi saṃvareṇôpāsakaḥ prajñaptito na tu bhikṣuśrāmaṇerāv iti te tv etan nêcchanti Kāśmīrāḥ* ("Even without discipline, an *upāsaka* is designated [as an *upāsaka*]. It is not so in the case of a monk or a novice. The Kashmirian [*Vaibhāṣikas*] do not accept this.")[21]

p. 223, l. 6f. *dhanarṇavat tu Kāśmīrair āpannasyêṣyate dvayam //39// Kāśmīrās tu khalu Vaibhāṣikāḥ evam icchanti: "na maulīm adhyāpattim āpannasyâsti bhikṣusaṃvaratyāgaḥ. kiṃ kāraṇam? na hy ekadeśakṣobhāt kṛtsnasaṃvaratyāgo yukta" iti ...* ("However, the Kashmiris maintain that an offender possesses two things such as wealth and debt. [39] The Kashmirian *Vaibhāṣikas*, however, maintain as follows: '[Even] if a [monk] commits grave offences, he does not lose the discipline of a monk. Why? It is not reasonable then that a slight misdeed leads to the lost of his entire discipline.' ")[22]

p. 229, l. 24. *apare punaḥ pañcavidhaṃ karmêcchanti* ..... p. 230, l. 4. *tad evaṃ nêcchanti Vaibhāṣikāḥ* ("However, other [people] maintain there are five sorts of Karma. ... The *Vaibhāṣikas* do not accept this.")[23]

p. 248, l. 10. *ye tarhi Dārṣṭāntikā abhidhyādīn eva manaskarmêcchanti teṣāṃ te kathaṃ karmapathāḥ* ("In this respect, how can these [*i.e.* covetousness *etc.*] be paths of action for the *Dārṣṭāntikas*, who maintain that covetousness *etc.* are acts of the mind?")[24]

p. 284, l. 8 = 2nd edition, p. 284, l. 9. *tad etan nêcchanti Vaibhāṣikāḥ* ("The *Vaibhāṣikas* do not accept this.")

p. 407, l. 1. *evaṃ* (← *eva*) *tu nêcchanti Vaibhāṣikāḥ* ("However, the *Vaibhāṣikas* do not accept thus.")

p. 440, l. 14. *yathêcchanti nikāyāntarīyāḥ dharmāntaram eva caitasikaṃ prītiḥ. saumanasyaṃ tu triṣv api dhyānesu sukham iti* ("... as those, who belong to other schools, maintain

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[20] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) III, p. 63: "Comme Bhagavat ne parle pas de jeûne durant plus longtemps, les Vaibhāṣikas n'admettent pris cette manière de voir."

[21] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) III, p. 75-76: "Or le Maître parle d'Upāsakas ne possédant pas la discipline dans son entièreté; il ne parle pas de Bhikṣus ou de Srāmaṇeras de discipline incomplète. Le Vaibhāṣika du Kaśmīr n'admet pas cette opinion."

[22] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) III, p. 95: "39 c-d. Le Kāśmīrien croit que le pécheur possède moralité et immoralité, comme un homme peut avoir des richesses et des dettes.

i. Les Vaibhāṣikas du Kaśmīr disent: Le moine coupable *(āpanna)* d'un péché grave *(maulī āpatti)*, c'est-à-dire d'un *patanīya*, ne perd pas la discipline de Bhikṣu. Que, en détruisant une partie de la discipline *(ekadeśakṣobha)*, on perde la discipline toute entière, cela n'est pas admissible."

[23] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) III, pp. 115-116: "50 c-d. D'après une opinion, l'acte est de cinq espèces. ..... Les Vaibhāṣikas n'acceptent pas cette manière de voir."

[24] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) III, p. 169: "Comment donc expliquent-ils que le Sūtra donne à la convoitise, etc., le nom de chemin-de-l'acte ?"

that *prīti* ["joy"] is a mental *dharma* different [from *saumanasya* "pleasure"] and that *saumanasya* ["pleasure"] is delight in the three meditations.")[25]

p. 461, l. 11 = 2nd edition, p. 461, l. 14. *yat tarhi Vātsīputriyāḥ pudgalaṃ santaṃ icchanti vicāryaṃ tāvad etat* ("In this regard, the *Vātsīputriya*s maintain that *pudgala* exists. Let's examine this now!"[26]

Also, the word *icchati*, meaning "(does not) approve of; (does not) accept," appears in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.

Bbh. 47.8f. *yaḥ kaścic chramaṇo vā brāhmaṇo vā tac ca nêcchati yena śūnyaṃ, tad api nêcchati yat śūnyaṃ* ("There is a certain ascetic or a Brahmana who does not accept that because of which something is empty, nor does he accept that which is empty.")

In the *Hastikakṣyasūtra*, quoted in the first *Bhāvanākrama* of Kamalaśīla, we find a verse in which the word *icchati* is used to mean "fancies, assumes" or "maintains":

na kaścil labhyate bhāvo yasyôtpādasya sambhavaḥ /
asaṃbhaveṣu dharmeṣu bālaḥ saṃbhavam icchati //[27]

("No substance, whose generation exists, can be apprehended. Ignorant people fancy the existence within non-existent dharmas."[28])

From these examples, it can be seen clearly that the word √*iṣ*, both in Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit, is used to mean "maintains, claims; fancies, assumes" or "approves of, admits" (usually with negatives), especially in the context where theories or doctrines of a certain school are concerned.

In the Chinese translations of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the word √*iṣ* with such meanings was correctly rendered as 許 ("admits"), 說 ("maintains"), 言("says"), 執 ("holds, clings, maintains"), 信 ("believes"), 信受("accepts and believes") and so on, while the Tibetan translators uniformly rendered it as *'dod pa*[29] — apparently they translated √*iṣ*,

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[25] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) V, p. 159: "Nous suivons une autre école. D'après cette école, il existe un *dharma* distinct du *saumanasya*, un *caitasika* (ou « mental ») nommé *prīti*. Le *sukha* des trois *dhyānas* est *saumanasya* ; donc la *prīti*, qui est distinguée du *sukha*, est distincte du *saumanasya*."

[26] Cf. Abhidh-k(VP) V, p. 232: "Le Vātsīputrīya, il est vrai, admet un Pudgala qui n'est ni identique aux éléments *(skandha)*, ni autre que les éléments. — Nous devons examiner (si ce Pudgala existe comme entité [*dravyatas*] ou comme désignation [*prajñaptitas*], d'une existence nominale.)."

[27] Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, Part Two, Roma 1958 : Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente (*Serie Orientale Roma* 9, 2), p. 200, ll. 5-6 (I should like to thank Mr. Yoshiyasu Yonezawa who pointed this occurrence out to me). Cf. *Taishō* 17, No. 814, 785b8f. 象腋經: "無有法可得 若生是有者 無有和合法 凡夫欲和合"; cf. also *Taishō* 17, No. 813, 779b21f.

[28] Cf. Parmandra Sharma, *Bhavanākrama of Kamalaśīla*, New Delhi 1997, p. 24, ll. 27-30: "Nothing exists whose generation or birth is possible. Ignorant people look for the possible from the impossible dharmas."; Luis O. Gómez, "Primer tratado de cultivo graduado," in: *Diálogos, Revista del Departamento de Filosofia*, Universidad de Puerto Rico, XII 29-30, 1977, p. 192, ll.11-13: "No se descubre existente alguno que tenga nacimiento en su origen. [Solo] el necio busca nacimiento entre principios sin nacimiento."; Jose van den Broeck, *La Progression dans la Méditation*, Bruxelles, 1977, p. 16, ll. 11-13: "On ne trouve guère d'entité dont la production existe; à des choses inexistantes, le sot attribue une existence." I am grateful to Prof. Kaie Mochizuki for providing me with the above-cited translations.

[29] Cf. Abhidh-k(Index), Part 1, p. 90, s.v. *icchant-*, p. 92, s.v. *IṢ*.

which generally means "desires, wants," automatically as *'dod pa* ("desires, wants"), regardless of the context in which it appeared. In some Tibetan reference books, instances of *'dod pa* meaning "maintains, asserts, admits" in similar but slightly different contexts are recorded.[30] However, presumably, the Tibetan word had not originally had such a meaning,[31] but later, as it was frequently used as a translation for the Sanskrit word √*iṣ* with this meaning, the Tibetan one came finally to be used also in the meaning "maintains, asserts, admits,"[32] though still in a limited context.

(2) ***icchantika*** : "one who claims; an opinionated one"

Several studies have been made and arguments formulated concerning the etymology as well as the definition of *icchantika* (一闡提 MC. ʔjet tśhjän: diei).[33] The term *icchantika* has been defined in the following ways:

> "A being who, according to some Mahāyāna texts, is lacking in Buddha-nature or the potential for enlightenment (bodhi)."[34]
>
> "One who has no goodness in his nature and, therefore, no possibility of becoming a buddha."[35]
>
> "This (*i.e. icchantika*) is generally understood to have been derived from *icchā* 'desire.' .... the Icchantika are those devoted followers of hedonism either in its bad or good sense. ...."[36]
>
> "The notion of the *icchantika* (loosely rendered into English as "hedonist" or "dissipated") is the closest Buddhism comes to a notion of damnation or perdition.

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[30] Cf. Paul G. Hackett, *A Tibetan Verb Lexicon : Verbs, Classes, and Syntactic Frames*, Ithaca, N.Y. 2003: Snow Lion Publications, p. 109; Zuihō Yamaguchi (山口瑞鳳), *Tibettogo Bungo Bunpō* チベット語文語文法 (*A Grammar of Literary Tibetan*), Tokyo: Shunjūsha 1998, p. 293. Cf. also Heinrich August Jäschke, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, London, 1881; Reprint London ²1972: Routledge & Kegan Paul, *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, Minzu Chubanshe 民族出版社 (Nationalities Publishing House), *The Rangjung Yeshe Tibetan-English Dictionary of Buddhist Culture*, CD ROM Version 3, 2003, Rangjung Yeshe Institute, s.vv. *'dod pa*, *'dod don* ("assertion"), *'dod tshul* ("*do.*"), *'dod lugs* ("opinion, viewpoint, position, attitude") *etc.*

[31] To support this assumption, it may be pointed out that many of the Tibetan dictionaries, which I consulted, except for those cited in the preceding note, do not contain the meaning "maintains, admits." They are: *Dictionnaire Tibétain-Latin-Français*, par les Missionaires Catholiques du Thibet, Hong Kong 1899: Imprimerie de la Société des Missions Étrangères; *Tibetan-English Dictionary: With Supplement*, Stuart H. Buck, Washington 1969: Catholic University of America Press; Delhi ²1997: Sri Satguru Publications (Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica Series, No. 179); *A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanskrit Synonyms*, by Sarat Chandra Das, revised and edited under the orders of the Government of Bengal by Graham Sandberg and A. William Heyde, Reprint: Delhi 1970: Motilal Banarsidass; George Roerich, *Tibetsko-Russko-Angliiskii Slovar s Sanskritskimi Paralleliami*, Moskva 1983-1993: Nauka; *The New Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan*, ed. Melvyn C. Goldstein *et al.*, Berkeley 2001: University of California Press.

[32] In the Tibetan translation of the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, the word *mata* ("thought right, approved"), a synonym of the word √*iṣ* in question, is rendered also as *'dod (pa)* (cf. Abhidh-k[Index], Part 3, p. 133, s.v. *'dod*; p.135, s.v. *'dod pa*), which may indicate that this word had acquired the meaning "maintains, asserts, admits" by then and was, therefore, used as a translation not only for √*iṣ* but also for *mata* in that particular text.

> *Icchantika* refers to a class, or "lineage" (Sanskrit, *gotra*), of beings who are beyond all redemption and lose forever the capacity to achieve *nirvāṇa* (Sanskrit, *aparinirvāṇagotraka*). ...."[37]
>
> " .... The term *icchan* originally refers to someone who is in a continual state of craving. In India the term refers to an Epicurean or a secularist. In Buddhism it refers to someone who lacks the basic causes and conditions for becoming a Buddha. ...."[38]

The definitions of *icchantika*, given in the last three works — especially the third one which is apparently greatly influenced by those written by Japanese scholars[39] —, are problematic. First, this word occurs only in the relatively late Mahāyāna Buddhist texts of the *tathāgatagarbha* tradition, namely the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* — which is probably the first text to contain this word —, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, *Ratnagotravibhāga* etc., and in the *Mahāvyutpatti* — the first Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon composed in the ninth

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[33] Cf. BHSD, s.v. *icchantika*; *Indo-Iranian Journal* 17(1975), p. 275. Also, it is to be noted that Unrai Wogihara, who was once an authority of Buddhist Sanskrit, assumed *icchantika* to be a Middle Indic form of **itthaṃtvika* or **aitthaṃtvika* ("being worldly") — both of which are derivatives of Skt. *itthaṃtva* ("existence here") — based on the contexts of *icchantika* in the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Unrai Wogihara, *Bonkan Taiyaku Bukkyō Jiten : Hon'yaku Myōgi Taishū* 梵漢對譯佛教辭典：翻訳名義大集 [*The Sanskrit-Chinese Dictionary of Buddhist Technical Terms, based on the Mahāvyutpatti*], Tokyo 1927; Reprint: Tokyo 1959: Sankibō Busshorin, Notes, p. 23; cf. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra*, London 1930: Routledge, p. 219, n. 1; BHSD, s.v. *icchantika*). Cf. Ruegg 1973: 12, n. 1; Shimoda 1993: 92; Ogawa 2004: 108f. When I read an earlier version of this paper at the 13th World Sanskrit Conference, held in Edinburgh, Scotland, July 2006, Prof. von Hinüber suggested to me the following derivation: *icchā* + *antika* ("ending in; belonging to, related to, connected with" [BHSD, s.v.]) > **icchāntika* > *icchantika*. Prof. Minoru Hara suggested also on the same occasion that the form *icchantika* could have been derived from **iccanta* (< **ityanta* < *iti* + *anta*), meaning "one, who adheres to what was told, namely a tradition." As Prof. Hara admitted, the development *-cc-* > *-cch-* is awkward.

[34] Damien Keown, *A Dictionary of Buddhism*, Oxford 2003: Oxford University Press, p. 117.

[35] Inagaki Hisao, *A Dictionary of Japanese Buddhist Terms: based on references in Japanese literature* 日英佛教語辭典, 4th ed., Kyoto 1992: Nagata Bunshōdō, p. 126, s.v. *Issendai*.

[36] Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki, *Studies in the Lankavatara Sutra*, London 1930: Routledge, p. 219, n. 1.

[37] Robert E. Buswell et al., eds., *Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, New York 2004-: Macmillan Reference, vol. 1, p. 351, s.v. *icchantika*.

[38] A. Charles Muller, *Dictionary of East Asian Buddhist Terms* (online), s.v. 一闡提 (yi1 chan3 ti2).

[39] Most of the Buddhist dictionaries written by Japanese scholars define the term to mean "one who craves"; e.g. 「……字義どおりには，〈欲求する人〉という意味に解され，現世の欲望を追求する人びとをさすが，仏典の用例では，因果・業報・来世を信ぜず，仏の所説にしたがわず，正法を誹謗して成仏の縁を欠くものをいう。……」(*Iwanami Bukkyōjiten* 岩波仏教辞典, ed. Nakamura, Hajime 中村元 *et al.*, Revised Edition: Tokyo 2002: Iwanami Shoten 岩波書店) p. 49; 「……もとの意味は、〈欲求しつつある人〉であるが、断善根、信不具足、極欲などと訳して成仏する因をもたないものをいう。……」(*Sōgō Bukkyō Daijiten* 総合佛教大辞典, Kyoto 1987: Hōzōkan, vol. 1, p. 59); 「…… 通俗語源解釈によると、欲求しつつある人（S. *icchan*）の意で、インドの快楽主義者や現世主義者をさすというが、仏教では仏教の正しい法を信ぜず、さとりを求める心がなく、成仏の素質・縁を欠く者をいう。世俗的快楽だけを希求している人。また仏教の教義を毀謗し、救われる望みのない人。……」(Hajime Nakamura 中村元, *Kosetsu Bukkyōgo Daijiten* 広説佛教語大辞典, Tokyo 2001: Tokyo Shoseki 東京書籍, vol. 1, p. 74).

century —— and is never found in any non-Buddhist literature. Also, apart from the aforementioned lexicon *Mahāvyutpatti*,[40] in all instances, this word means *Icchantika*, monks antagonistic towards followers of the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, and hence, there is no instance where an *icchantika* is referred to as being a "hedonist" or a "secularist" in India.

Having examined exhaustively the occurrences of this word in Buddhist texts in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese as well as previous research undertaken by others, Dr. Ryōkō Mochizuki concluded that an *icchantika* is "one who desires to profit and nourish himself"[41] and that "*icchantika*s refer to people who were in some way closely related to the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* group; but due to their desire for profit and nourishment, the *icchantika* presented a threat to that group and were considered pseudo-Mahāyānist."[42] Mochizuki's definition of this word as "one who desires to profit and nourish himself" is accepted and adhered to by other Japanese scholars.[43]

However, among the sentences, containing this word, exhaustively compiled in Mochizuki's book,[44] there are no instances of an *icchantika* being described as desiring gain (利養). According to the Tibetan translation of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, the object of the verb *'dod pa* ("desires; maintains, claims") of a *'dod chen pa* (lit. "one who has strong desire" = *icchantika*) is Arhatship. That is to say, an *icchantika* (Tib. *'dod chen pa*) claims (or "fancies"; Tib. *'dod pa* = *icchati*) that he is an Arhat. Passages in this scripture concerning an *icchantika* read as follows:

> [45]An *icchantika* (*'dod chen pa*) — who is blind, solitary and claims to be an Arhat (*dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod pa*) — desires to go on the great, endless way. (He) claims to be a compassionate Arhat (*byams pa dang ldan pa'i dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod*), and desires (*'dod de*) to refute the *Vaipulya*. Claiming to be an Arhat (*dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod cing*), and having refuted the *Śrāvakayāna*, he gives (them) predictions to Buddhahood, saying: [46]"I am a Bodhisattva. I am a preacher of the *Vaipulya*. In all sentient beings, there are qualities of the *tathāgatagarbha*, there exists (the state of being) a Buddha." He says: "You and I should crush various *kleśa*s like a water vase. We should pracise for enlightenment without doubting. The Sutra's instruction is such." For example, a king's messenger, who is pure, loyal, eloquent and very majestic, states the message to the (enemy) king completely at the risk of his own life in the midst of the enemy. Likewise, a wise one, who cherishes the *Vaipulya* should give predictions to Buddhahood, at the risk of his own life in the midst of the ignorant, since all sentient beings

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[40] Mvy, p. 164, No. 2210. *icchantikaḥ*, Tib. *'dod chen*; p. 165, No. 2223. *icchantikaḥ*, Tib. *'dod chen po*.

[41] Mochizuki 1988: 12 (in the English part), 111 (in the Japanese part).

[42] Mochizuki 1988: 16 (in the English part).

[43] Takasaki 1989: 256, n. 49; Shimoda 1997: 356-378, 27-29 (in the English summary); Hakamaya 2001: pp. 20-34.

[44] Mochizuki 1988: 377ff.

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[45] *'dod chen pa long ba gcig bu dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod pa ni lam mi zad pa chen por 'gro 'dod do // byams pa dang ldan pa'i dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod la shin du (v.l. tu) rgyas pa sun dbyung bar 'dod de / dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod cing nyan thos kyi theg pa sun phyung nas nga ni byang chub sems dpa' ste / shin du (v.l. tu) rgyas pa ston pa yin no / sems can thams cad la de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po'i yon tan rnams yod do / sangs rgyas yod do zhes zer zhing sangs rgyas su lung ston par byed de / nga dang khyed kyis nyon mongs pa'i rnam pa chu'i bum pa bzhin du gzhom par bya'o (v.l. bya'i) / the tsom med par byang chub bsgom par bya ste (v.l. 'o) / mdo sde'i man ngag ni de lta bu yin no zhes zer ro / dper na rgyal po'i pho nya gtsang zhing snying nye la smra mkhas shing gzi byin che ba / dgra'i nang du rang gi srog dang bsngos te rgyal po la tshig rdzogs par smra ba de bzhin du shes rab can shin du (v.l. tu) rgyas pa gces par 'dzin pa ni byis pa rnams kyi nang du rang gi srog dang bsngos nas sems can thams cad la de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po yod pas sangs rgyas su lung ston (v.l. bston) par byed do // dgon pa pa / mdo sde spong ba / byis pa blun po dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod pa gang yin pa de la dgra bcom pa dang 'dra bar blta (v.l. lta) zhing sems can chen po dang 'dra bar lta ste / 'dod chen pa dge slong sdig can de dgon pa na gnas shing bdag nyid dgra bcom pa dang 'dra bar rtsi bar byed de / dgon pa na gnas pa'i dge slong rnams gzhan gyis bos pa mi bzod la rkyen bzhi las shing du (v.l. tu) rgyas pa ni bDud kyis smras pa yin no // bcom ldan 'das ni mi rtag go / chos dang dge 'dun yang med par 'gyur ro // dam pa'i chos med par 'gyur ba'i ltas de lta bu dag kyang (v.l. -) snang ngo zhes bya ba 'di theg pa chen po las legs par bshad do zhes zer te /* (*The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, vol. 31, No. 788, p. 199, 133b8-134a7). For the above-cited sentences, cf. Mochizuki 1988: 425-429; Shimoda 1997: 372. They incorrectly rendered *dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod pa* as "He wishes to be an Arhat" (阿羅漢たることを願う), "He thinks that he may be an Arhat" (阿羅漢であろうと思って), respectively. Such interpretations of this sentence are grammatically not possible. Cf. also the Chinese translations of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*: 有似阿羅漢一闡提而行惡業；似一闡提阿羅漢而行慈心。"有似阿羅漢一闡提"者，是諸衆生誹謗方等。"似一闡提阿羅漢"者，毀呰聲聞，廣說方等，語衆生言，"我與汝等俱是菩薩。所以者何？一切皆有如來性故。" 然彼衆生謂："一闡提。" 而言："如來授我等決。汝亦如是。我與汝等皆當俱離無量煩惱・衆魔惡業，如壞水瓶。於此契經必成菩提，勿復生疑。譬如烈士奉王使令，至他國中，稱歎王德，寧失身命，要不移易。我等今日亦復如是，如來記說：'一切衆生皆有佛性。' 我等要當不惜身命，於凡愚中廣說此經。" 是名"似一闡提摩訶薩"也。 若阿練若愚癡無智，狀似阿羅漢，而誹謗方等。愚駭凡夫謂眞阿羅漢，謂是大士。是惡比丘示現空閑阿練若處，而自處置，似眞阿羅漢，於阿練若行，永不隨順，而作異說："起四因緣，言'方等經'皆是魔說。言'摩訶衍'者，是諸黠慧正法刺劍。諸佛世尊皆當無常，而說'常住。' 當知是爲毀滅正法・破僧之相。" 作是說者名'一闡提。'」 (T. 12, No. 376, 892c9-28); 一闡提者名爲無目，是故不見阿羅漢道。如阿羅漢不行生死險惡之道。以無目故誹謗方等，不欲修習。如阿羅漢勤修慈心。一闡提輩不修方等，亦復如是。 若人說言："我今不信聲聞經典。信受大乘，讀誦，解說。是故我今即是菩薩。一切衆生悉有佛性。以佛性故，衆生身中即有十力・三十二相・八十種好。我之所說不異佛說。汝今與我俱破無量諸惡・煩惱如破水瓶。以破結故，即得見於阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。" 是人雖作如是演說，其心實不信："有佛性"。爲利養故，隨文而說。如是說者名爲惡人。如是惡人不速受果，如乳成酪。譬如王使善能談論，巧於方便，奉命他國，寧喪身命終不匿王所說言教。智者亦爾，於凡夫中不惜身命，要必宣說大乘方等如來祕藏："一切衆生皆有佛性"。 善男子！有一闡提，作羅漢像，住於空處，誹謗方等大乘經典。諸凡夫人見已，皆謂："眞阿羅漢"，"是大菩薩・摩訶薩"。是一闡提惡比丘輩住阿蘭若處，壞阿蘭若法，見他得利，心生嫉妬，作如是言："所有方等大乘經典悉是天魔波旬所說。" 亦說："如來是無常法。毀滅正法，破壞衆僧"。復作是言："波旬所說非善順說"。作是宣說邪惡之法。是人作惡，不即受報，如乳成酪，灰覆火上，愚輕蹈之。如是人者謂一闡提。是故當知大乘方等微妙經典必定清淨，如摩尼珠投之濁水，水即爲清。大乘經典亦復如是。」 (T. 12, No. 374, 419a4-b1). As Mochizuki (1988: 98) pointed out, the latter part of the above-quoted sentences resembles verses 5-11 in the *Utsāha-parivarta* of the Lotus Sutra. I have demonstrated elsewhere that those verses show the antagonism of wilderness monks toward the village ones, who composed and held the Lotus Sutra (Karashima 2001). I have translated those verses in the Lotus Sutra as follows (*ibid.* 162-163):

Ignorant practitioners of austerities, who dwell in the wilderness and wear patched garments, will say of us as follows : (v. 5)

"They, greedily attached to tastes (*rasa*), preach (*deśayī*) the *Dharma* to house-holders."(v. 6ab)

They (*i.e.* the wilderness monks) will be honoured as if they were those who possess the sixfold supernatural knowledge (*ṣaḍabhijña*). (v. 6cd)

have *tathāgatagarbha*.

(When) a wilderness dweller (*āraṇyaka*), rejecting the Sutra, being childish and ignorant, claims to be an Arhat (*dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod pa*), he looks like an Arhat also looks like a Mahāsattva. (He is) an *icchantika* (*'dod chen pa*), being an evil monk, lives in the wilderness and makes (others) consider him as an Arhat. When (other) *āraṇyaka* monks are invited (*bos pa*) by others, he cannot tolerate it and says: "For the (following) four reasons, the *Vaipulya* (scripture) was spoken by *Māra*: '(1) The Blessed One is impermanent. (2~3) The *Dharma* and the *Saṅgha* will also become extinct. (4) Such signs of the extinction of the Good *Dharma* are also evident.' — this is explained clearly in the (true) Mahāyāna (scriptures)."

Also, the essential quality of the *icchantika* is said to be their rejection of scriptures:

One, who is called an "*icchantika*," is a sentient being without virtues who is controlled by arrogance. To the *icchantika* (virtues?) do not occur. What is the essential quality (*mūlāṃga*)[47] of the *icchantika*? The rejection of scriptures (*sūtrapratikṣepa*)![48]

According to the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, an *icchantika* (Tib. *'dod chen pa*), therefore, is a monk who, claiming (or fancies; *icchanti*; Tib. *'dod pa*) himself to be an Arhat, rejects the teaching of the *Vaipulya* — namely the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* itself — as told by *Māra*. Judging from the above-cited descriptions: "he ... also looks like a Mahāsattva,"[49] "'The Blessed One is impermanent. The *Dharma* and the *Saṅgha* will also become extinct. Such signs of the extinction of the Good *Dharma* are also

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They are (in reality) cruel-minded, wicked, occupied with thoughts of houses[45] (v. 7ab)

Having entered (their) retreat in the wilderness, our slanderers, (v. 7cd) //who are (themselves) bent on gain and honour //, will say of us as follows (*eva[ṃ]*): (v. 8ab)

"For sure these monks are heretics! They preach (*deśayuḥ*) their own verses (*kāvyāni*)! (v. 8cd)

Prompted by (greed for) gain and honour, they compose sutras by themselves and preach in the midst of the assembly (*parṣā*)." (v. 9abc)

Our revilers (v. 9d) will speak evil of us (v. 11a) to kings, princes, king's ministers, Brahmans, householders, as well as to other monks (v. 10) (saying:) "They are propagating a heresy!" (v. 11b)

We shall endure all these out of reverence for great seers (*i.e. buddhas*). (v. 11cd)

[46] It is difficult to say who is uttering the following sentences and doing the following deeds. There must have been some confusion in the course of the transmission. Mochizuki takes the utterances and deeds as being made by an *icchantika* (1988: 426). In the *Niehuan jing* (Taishō, No. 376), an Arhat or a Mahāsattva, who looks like an *icchantika* (似一闡提阿羅漢; 似一闡提摩訶薩) utters and behaves in this way, while in the *Daban Niepan jing*, it is an evil one (惡人). In contrast to these interpretations, Shimoda ascribes the words and actions to a Bodhisattva (Shimoda 1997: 372-373).

[47] Cf. BHSD, s.v. *aṅga*, "attribute, quality, characteristic."

[48] *'dod chen pa zhes grags pa ni dge ba med pa'i sems can nga rgyal gyi dbang du gyur pa yin te / 'dod chen pa de la mi 'ong ngo // gzhi'i yan lag ci zhe na / mdo sde spong ba'o //* (*The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition*, vol. 31, No. 788, p. 199, 133a6-7). Cf. Mochizuki 1988: 419-421. There is a Sanskrit fragment which is parallel to this part: *+ + + laṃ satva icchantikā iti .i + + + + + + + + + + + kiṃ mūlāṃgaṃ sūtrapratikṣepaḥ* (Kazunobu Matsuda, *Sanskrit Fragments of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra : A Study of the Central Asian Documents in the Stein/Hoernle Collection of the India Office Library, London*, Tokyo 1988: Tōyō Bunko [Studia Tibetica, No.14], p. 45).

evident.' — this is explained clearly in the (true) Mahāyāna (scriptures),"[50] we may assume that *icchantika*s were monks who, following the traditional Mahāyāna teachings, did not approve (*icchanti*) of the then emerging theory of the eternity of the *Tathāgata* — which is the main theme of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.[51]

The word *icchantika* is either formed from the present active participle *icchant-* with the suffix *-ka*, as Edgerton suggested,[52] or derived from *icchā* + *anta*.[53] As we have seen above, the word *icchant-* (*'dod pa*) has the meanings "fancying; claiming, maintaining; admitting, approving of" in addition to its usual definition "desiring."[54] Accordingly, the noun *icchā* has the meaning "assertion, claim"[55] in addition to "desire." What is meant by *icchantika* is, then, probably "one who claims." When a monk — who claimed (*icchati*) to be an "Arhat" also was revered as an "Arhat" or a "Mahāsattva" by his followers[56] and thus, was an authority and spiritual leader of the Buddhist community — did not recognise (*nêcchanti*) new ideas such as the eternity of the *Tathāgata* and the *tathāgatagarbha* theory as the Buddha's teachings, then the newly-risen, would-be "*Vaipulya* teachings" (probably the older stratum of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*[57]) may have been branded as

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[49] Cf. the Chinese translations of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*: 若阿練若愚癡無智，狀似阿羅漢，而誹謗方等。愚駿凡夫謂眞阿羅漢，謂是大士 (T.12, No. 376, 892c20f.); 有一闡提作羅漢像，住於空處，誹謗方等大乘經典，諸凡夫人見已，皆謂："眞阿羅漢。是大菩薩摩訶薩" (T.12, No. 374, 419a19f.).

[50] Cf. also the Chinese translations of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*: 諸佛世尊皆當無常，而說:"常住"。當知是爲毀滅正法破僧之相 (T.12, No. 376, 892c26); 亦說："如來是無常法。毀滅正法，破壞衆僧"(T.12, No. 374, 419a24f.).

[51] According to the *Chusanzangji ji* (T.55, No.2145), the original manuscripts of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* had been preserved with a lay family. It says that Faxian (法顯; 337–418 C.E.) obtained the Sanskrit manuscript from an *upāsaka*, called Qieluoxian (伽羅先 *Kālasena*?) in Pāṭaliputra (60b3f.), from which he made the first Chinese translation of the text, while Zhimeng (智猛) is said to have acquired another Indian manuscript from one of Qieluoxian's descendants, named Luoyue (羅閱), from which Dharmakṣema (曇無讖; 385-433 C.E.) made the second Chinese translation of the text (113c4f. = 60b14f.). Therefore, these reports may indicate that the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* had not been accepted by Buddhist communities at least by the beginning of the fifth century. Cf. Shimoda 1993: xxv-xxvi; *do.* 1997: 157-158.

[52] This explication is not without difficulties, as we may expect **icchantaka* instead of *icchantika*, to have derived from *icchant-* plus *-ka* (cf. BHSD, s.v. *tiṣṭhantika*, BHSG § 22.29).

[53] *icchā* ("assertion, claim") + *anta* (pleonastic; cf. DP, s.v. *anta*[1]) + *ika* (suffix) > **icchāntika* > *icchantika* ("someone who claims, maintains"). Cf. n. 33.

[54] There might be a word-play on the meanings of "claims" and "desires" of *icchati* (*'dod pa*) in the above-quoted sentence from the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*: "An *icchantika* — who is blind, solitary and claims to be an Arhat — desires to go on the great, endless way. (He) claims to be a compassionate Arhat, and desires to refute the *Vaipulya*." (*'dod chen pa long ba gcig bu dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod pa ni lam mi zad pa chen por 'gro 'dod do // byams pa dang ldan pa'i dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod la shin du* (*v.l. tu*) *rgyas pa sun dbyung bar 'dod de /*).

[55] Cf. the above-cited third example from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

[56] Cf. the above-quoted sentence: "(When) a wilderness dweller, ... claims to be an Arhat, he looks like an Arhat also looks like a Mahāsattva." (*dgon pa pa ... dgra bcom pa yin par 'dod pa gang yin pa de la dgra bcom pa dang 'dra bar blta zhing sems can chen po dang 'dra bar lta ste*).

unorthodox. That is what was meant by the word "rejection" (*pratikṣepa*; Tib. *spong ba*; 誹謗). If a simple, common monk rejects a new theory, his voice may not reach anybody. Being rejected and condemned by none other than the authorities of the Buddhist communities, those who advocated new ideas and their followers must have faced a crisis. Then, they may have condemned the authoritative monks repeatedly as being "arrogant," "evil" and "irredeemable," as well as calling them, in a derogatory term, *icchantika* ("one who claims [to be an authority]") in the newly-added chapters of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.[58] However, if one looks at the descriptions cited above from a different point of view, those monks, who were condemned as *icchantika*s in the "Sutra," might have been respected conservative monks who stayed with the traditional (Mahāyāna) Buddhist teachings, while opposing new ideas concerning Buddhahood. They might have been so-called "fundamentalists" but never "evil monks."

Those, who composed the later stratum of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, were probably the first to label those monks, who did not approve of the eternity of the *Tathāgata* and the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, as *icchantika*s. Following in the wake of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, the composers of later Buddhist texts, putting forth the same *tathāgatagarbha* theory, continued to condemn those who did not approve of their theory, regarding them as *icchantika*.[59] Claiming that their texts were part of the "true Mahāyāna" tradition, the former condemned the latter as rejecters of the "Mahāyāna" teachings.

However, much later, the word *icchantika* seems to have come to be interpreted, not as meaning "one who claims" but "one who desires (transmigration)." This is clearly seen in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*[60]:

p. 28, l. 14f. *ye nâpi saṃsāram icchanti yathêcchantikā* ("They are not seeking for the Phenomenal Life as the Icchantikas do, ...")[61]

p. 29, l. 1f. *tatra ye sattvā bhavâbhilāṣiṇa icchantikās tanniyatipatitā ihadhārmikā evôcyante mithyātvaniyataḥ sattvarāśir iti* ("And here, those people who cling to this worldly life, *i.e.* the Icchantikas and those who, though belonging to this Our Religion, have definitely fallen into the former's way are called the group of people who confirm in the wrong way.")[62]

p. 31, l. 8f. *tatra mahāyānadharmapratibatānām icchantikānām aśucisaṃsārâbhirati-viparyayeṇa bodhisattvānāṃ mahāyānadharmâdhimuktibhāvanāyāḥ śubha-*

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[57] Shimoda posits three stages (Group 1, Group 2-1 and Group 2-2) in the present Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Shimoda 1997: 13f. [in English]; 163f. [in Japanese]).

[58] According to Shimoda (1997: 27 [in English]; 363f. [in Japanese]), "The *icchantika* may be assumed to be foreign to Group 1 and essential to Group 2, for the term appears only once in Group 1, [where it] must be a later addition, but more than fifty times in Group 2."

[59] Cf. Mochizuki 1988: 465f., where the author quotes sentences containing *icchantika* from the *Aṅgulimālīya-*, *Buddhanāma-sūtra etc.*

[60] *The Ratnagotravibhāga Mahāyānottaratantraśāstra*, ed. by E. H. Johnston, Patna 1950 : Bihar Research Society.

[61] Cf. Takasaki 1966: 204.

[62] *op. cit.*, p. 205.

pāramitâdhigamaḥ phalaṃ draṣṭavyam ("Here, being opposite to the taking of delight in the 'impure' Phenomenal Life by the Icchantikas who have hatred against the Doctrine of Great Vehicle, it should be understood that the acquisition of the Supreme Purity is the result of 'Practice of the Faith in the Doctrine of Great Vehicle' by the Bodhisattvas.")[63]

The shift in meanings of the word *icchantika* from "one who claims" to "one who desires (transmigration),"[64] may indicate the actual disappearance of those, who had disapproved of the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, at least from the vicinity. It may further suggest that followers of the theory might have increased in number, making them much more self-confident of their theory; or that the theory itself might have come to be fully recognised as a genuine Mahāyāna teaching.

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924-48.

Abhidh-k(Index) = Akira Hirakawa *et al.*, *Index to the Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 阿毘達磨倶舎論索引, 3 vols., Tokyo: Daizo Shuppan 大蔵出版, 1973-1978.

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Bbh = *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ed. Unrai Wogihara, Tokyo 1930-36; Reprint: Tokyo ²1971: Sankibō Buddhist Book Store.

BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

BHS(D, G) = Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, 2 vols., New Haven 1953 : Yale University Press; repr. Delhi, ²1970 : Motilal Banarsidass.

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[63] *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[64] This word, also in the following sentence from the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, seems to mean "one who desires (transmigration)": *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, ed. B. Nanjio, Kyoto 1923, p. 65, l. 17f. *tatrêcchantikānāṃ punar Mahāmate anicchantikatā mokṣaṃ kena pravartate? ... bodhisattvapiṭakanikṣepo 'bhyākhyānaṃ* [←°*nāṃ*] *ca nâite sūtrānta-vinaya-mokṣânukūlā iti bruvataḥ sarvakuśalamūlôtsargatvān na nirvāyati* ("How, Mahāmati, is it that *icchantikas* do not have a desire for emancipation? ... One, who rejects and denounces the bodhisattva collection [of scriptures], saying that it is not in conformity with the Sutras, Vinaya, and emancipation, will not enter into Nirvāṇa, because he has forsaken all roots of merit [by such deeds].").

As well as this, the Tibetan renderings *'dod chen pa* (lit. "one who desires much") and *log sred can* (lit. "one who delights in evil"; cf. Ruegg 1973: 12, n. 1) were made, presumably based on this new interpretation of *icchantika*, meaning "one who desires (transmigration)."

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Miscellaneous notes on Middle Indic words (2)*

Seishi KARASHIMA

I have been working on the Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts of the Vinaya of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins and the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* which presumably had been transmitted originally, if not in pure Middle Indic, then in a Middle Indic-cum-Sanskrit, containing a great many Middle Indic forms, which were later gradually replaced by (Buddhist) Sanskrit ones. Therefore, those texts contain a number of incorrect Sanskritisms which often puzzle us, though, at the same time, such hyperforms can stimulate us into reconsidering the meanings and etymologies of their equivalents found in Pāli literature. Also, there are many cases where obscure Pāli expressions become clearer through consulting their parallels, found in Buddhist Sanskrit texts and vice versa. The following are some such examples:

1. *muñcati* "flees, escapes from"

1. 1. *Dhammapada* 389 and its parallels

Dhammapada 389 reads as follows:

na brāhmaṇassa pahareyya nâssa muñcetha brāhmaṇo
dhī brāhmaṇassa hantāraṃ tato dhī y' assa muñcati

This verse has its parallels in Gāndhārī and Buddhist Sanskrit works:

Gāndhārī Dharmapada 11[1]:

na brammaṇasa prahare'a ***nasa muje'a bramaṇi***
dhi bramaṇasa hadara ***tada vi dhi yo ṇa mujadi***[2]

Patna Dharmapada 46[3]:

na brāhmaṇassa prahare ***nāssa mucceya brāhmaṇo***
dhi brāhmaṇassa hantāraṃ ***ya ssa vā su na muccati***[4]

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* I should like to extend my sincere thanks to my friend, Peter Lait, who took the trouble to check my English.

(1) Brough 1962: 120.

(2) *yo ṇa* (< Skt. *enam*; cf. Pāli *na*[3]) *mujadi*(< Skt. *muñcati*)

(3) Cone 1989: 115.

(4) *ya ssa vā su na muccati* : I assume that it should be read as follows: *y' assa* (< Skt. *asya*) *cā su* (< *ca ssu* < Skt. *ca sma*; cf. Norman 1969: 168) *na* ("indeed"?; cf. PTSD, s.v., *na*[3]; BHSD, s.v. *nam*) *muccati*. The confusion between the akṣaras *ca* and *va* is quite common, dating from the time of the Aśokan Inscriptions (see Norman 1990: 169, 215; cf. also Norman 1971: 59 [v. 12]; *do.* 1995: 146-147 [v. 38]; *do.*

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Udānavarga 33. 63:

na brāhmaṇasya praharen ***na ca muñceta brāhmaṇaḥ***
dhig brāhmaṇasya hantāraṃ ***dhik taṃ yaś ca pramuñcati***[5]

Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ (abbr. Abhis.) 35A4 (= Jinananda 1969: 159.2-3)

na brāhmaṇasya prahareya ***nâsya muṃceya brāhmaṇo***
dhig brāhmaṇasya hantāraṃ ***taṁ pi dhik yo <>sya muñcati***

1. 2. Previous interpretations of √*muc*

The second and fourth pādas of this verse are problematic and hence they have various interpretations.

For instance, the latest translation of the *Dhammapada* reads as follows:

> **"A brahman should not strike a brahman, nor should he release (angry words) against him. Woe to the killer of a brahman, and woe to him who releases (angry words) against him."** (Norman 1997: 55).

K. R. Norman translates the phrases *assa muñcetha* and *assa muñcati* in these pādas as "should release (angry words) against him" and "releases (angry words) against him," respectively, probably based on the interpretation in the Pāli commentary in which the word *veraṃ* ("hatred") is supplemented in the phrase and interpreted as "One should not release hatred against him. One should not get angry with him."[6] Other modern translations of the *Dhammapada* in English, German, French, Japanese *etc.*, read these pādas more or less the same, all presumably also based on the Pāli commentator's interpretation. However, as these translators admit, such an interpretation as this, is rather awkward.

There have been other interpretations which differ from that in the Pāli commentary. For instance, Albrecht Weber considers that the verb √*muc* in these

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1997: 74 [v. 50]).

[5] The Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Udānavarga* read as follows: *Taishō*, vol. 4, No. 212, 774c25-26. 不捶梵志　不放梵志　咄捶梵志　放者亦咄 ("One should not strike a Brahman, nor should let a Brahman go. Woe to one who strikes a Brahman, and woe also to one who lets him go."); *gang zhig bram ze rdeg pa blun / skrod par byed pa de ngan pas // bram ze rnams la brdeg mi bya / bram ze bskrad par mi byao* //(Beckh 1911: 153; *Udānavarga* III, 437). Dharmatrāta's commentary on this text is preserved in both Chinese and Tibetan: *Taishō*, vol. 4, No. 212, 774c25f. "不捶梵志　不放梵志　咄捶梵志　放者亦咄" 所謂"梵志"者，得阿羅漢道。不得以手捶、刀杖加彼真人。"不放梵志"者，此是真人恆當供養衣被服、飯食、床臥具、病瘦醫藥、四事供養，令不減少。"咄捶梵志"，行惡之人。"放者亦咄"，復是惡人，不留供養飲食、床臥具、病瘦醫藥。能具此行，故名為"梵志"。是故說曰："不捶梵志　不放梵志　咄捶梵志　放者亦咄。" This verse in the *Udānavarga* is quoted and commented upon in Kātyāyanīputra's **Abhidharmajñānaprasthānaśāstra*, which is preserved only in Chinese: *Taishō*, vol. 26, No. 1544, 1029b28-29. 不應害梵志　亦復不應捨　若害彼或捨　俱世智所訶; *do.* 1029b28f. "不應害梵志　亦復不應捨　若害彼或捨　俱世智所訶" "不應害梵志"者，"梵志"即阿羅漢，謂不應以手塊、刀杖害阿羅漢。"亦復不應捨"者，謂於阿羅漢應以衣服、飲食、臥具、醫藥及餘資具恭敬供養，不應棄捨。"若害彼或捨　俱世智所訶"者，謂於阿羅漢，若以手塊等害，或復棄捨，而不敬養，俱為世間諸有智者訶責毀訾.

[6] *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā. The Commentary on the Dhammapada*, ed. by H. C. Norman, London 1914, PTS, vol. IV, p. 148, 1-3. *"nâssa muñcethā" ti so pi pahaṭo khīṇâsavabrāhmaṇo assa paharitvā ṭhitassa veraṃ na muñcetha tasmiṃ kopaṃ na kareyyā ti attho.*

phrases means "losstürzen, angreifen."[7] Interpreting √*muc* as "to utter words," Brough has translated the first and second pādas as follows: "A (true) Brahman should not strike a Brahman nor revile him."[8]

Emending the fourth pāda of the parallel verse in *Patna Dharmapada* 46 as *y' assa câsuna mu[ṃ]cati*, while at the same time taking *asuna* in this pāda as a Prakrit accusative plural form of Skt. *asu* ("life"), Gustav Roth considers that *asuna* √*muc* therefore means "to deprive of life, kill" just the same as Skt. *prāṇān* √*muc*. Thus, he translates the stanza in the above text as follows:

> "He should not assail a Brahman, a Brahman should not deprive him of his life. Shame on the slayer of a Brahman, and (on the Brahman) who deprives him (he who is admonished not to kill a Brahman) of his life."[9]

However, Roth's explanation is improbable.[10]

Based on the above observations of both Brough and Roth as well as that of the Pāli commentary, Carter and Palihawadana write as follows: "When one translates the words as they are in the Pāli version, one gets neither an adequate sense, nor even anything really like the traditional explanation that the commentary gives."[11] However, is it really impossible to obtain "an adequate sense" from this verse as it stands?

1. 3. *muñcati* "flees, escapes from"

All the above-mentioned interpretations present a common difficulty in understanding the phrase *assa* (Skt. *asya*) √*muc*.

The verb √*muc* with middle endings, used with ablative, instrumental or genitive forms, sometimes means "to free one's self, escape from."[12] The word Pā. *muñcetha* (Skt. *muñceta*) in the second pāda, which is an optative form with a middle ending, is probably one such example. The form *muñcati*, in the fourth pāda, can be taken as an example of the active form used in a middle sense "flees, escapes from."[13] A similar usage of this verb is found in the *Mahāvastu*: *vyādhitā vyādhito muṃcanti* "the sick recover (lit. escape) from sickness."[14] Hence, Pāli *Dhammapada* 389 may be translated as follows:

> **"One should not attack a Brahman. A Brahman should not flee from him. Woe to the killer of a Brahman, and woe to him who flees from**

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[7] Weber 1860: 82, note (3). He translates the verse in question as follows: "Man thu 'nem Brâhmaṇ' nicht Gewalt, und der stürze nicht los auf ihn! Weh' dem, der 'nen Brâhmaṇ' erschlägt. Weh' diesem, wenn er auf ihn stürzt!"

[8] Brough 1962: 179-180.

[9] Roth 1980: 88-89 = 1986: 299-300.

[10] As to the fourth pāda of this stanza, see note (4).

[11] Carter/Palihawadana 1987: 507-508.

[12] Cf. MW, s.v. *muc*.

[13] The confusion between active and middle forms is widely seen not only in Middle Indic but also in Sanskrit; cf. BHSG §§37.10ff.

[14] *Mahāvastu* I 308. 8~9. Edgerton takes it for an example of an active form in a passive sense and thus, translates the phrase as follows: "the sick are freed from sickness" (BHSG §37.16).

him."[15]

Its parallels in the *Gāndhārī Dharmapada etc.* may be understood also in the same way.[16]

In the *Abhisamācārikā Dharmāḥ*, this verse is quoted as a *dharma-pada* at the end of a story about a merchant's son and a leader of a gang of bandits. The story runs as follows: A gang of robbers broke into a rich merchant's house, in which a seven-year-old son was all alone looking after it, while his parents had gone out with the rest of the family. When the gang asked him where the valuables were, he replied that he did not know and that there was nobody else in the house. After saying that, he told them to take anything they wanted. Then, the robbers searched and collected all the fortune in the house, piling it up in the courtyard. As the leader of the gang felt thirsty, he asked the boy for a drink. After polishing a vessel, the latter washed it and his hands, filled it with water, went to a lamp to make sure that neither a leaf nor an insect was in it and then, gave it to him to drink. Being impressed with his good manners, the leader returned all the booty and left the house with his followers.[17]

I assume that the boy, who, instead of escaping from the gang, behaved himself in an appropriate manner, is likened here to a true Brahman, who does not escape from an attacker, as described in the above-cited verse.

2. Pā. *puttahatāya putta* / Pā. *puttamatāya putta* / BHS. *putramoṭikāputra* "foundling, bastard"

In Pāli literature, the set phrases "*puttahatāya putta*" and "*puttamatāya putta*" are used as abusive words, e.g.:

2.1. Pā. *puttahatāya putta*

Jātaka I 355.6-9:

yato viluttā ca hatā ca gāvo daḍḍhāni gehāni jano ca nīto
athâgamā puttahatāya putto kharassaraṃ deṇḍimaṃ vādayanto

"Having robbed, slain cattle, burnt houses and captured people, the *puttahatāya putta*, then, came back, beating a drum loudly."[18]

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[15] More than a century ago, Karl Eugen Neumann translated the verse in question in the same way as the present author does.

"Man greife keinen Heiligen an,
Doch, angegriffen, flieh' er nicht;
Weh' Dem, der einen Heiligen schlägt,
Und Weh' auch ihm, der jenen flieht" (Neumann: 1893: 97).

[16] In the Chinese and Tibetan translations of the *Udānavarga* (see note [5]), the Sanskrit word √*muc* is rendered as 放 ("releases, lets go"), 捨 ("abandons"), *skrod par byed* ("expels") and *bskrad par ... bya* (*do.*), showing that these translators also did not understand this Indian word correctly.

[17] Abhis. 34B1- 35A4. Cf. also Prasad 1984: 157-158.

[18] Cf. "Nachdem geraubt die Kühe und getötet, verbrannt die Häuser, weggeführt die Menschen, da kommt zurück der Sohn zum Tod des Sohnes, indem er laut die Trommel läßt erschallen" (Dutoit, *Jātakam* I 350); "He gave the robbers time to drive and slay the cattle, burn the houses, capture folk; and then with drums a-beating, home he marched, — a son no more, for such a son is dead." (Jā[trans.] I 202).

Sārattha-ppakāsinī I 338, 14-15:

> ***Sakko "gaṇhatha <u>putta-batāya putte</u>[19]" ti te pādesu gahetvā Sineru-pāde khipāpesi***[20]
>
> ("Saying: 'Capture the *puttahatāya puttas*!', Sakka caught them by their feet and threw them down at the foot of Mt. *Sineru*.")

do. I 346, 15-20:

> ***te devehi parājitā palāyantā isīnaṃ assamapadena gacchantā***[21] ***"Sakko imehi saddhiṃ mantetvā amhe nāseti. gaṇhatha putta-batāya putte***[22]***" ti kupitā assama-pade pāṇīyaghaṭa-caṅkamaṇa-sālâdīni***[23] ***viddhaṃsenti***[24]
>
> "As they (*i.e.*, *asuras*), having been defeated by gods and while running away, passed through a hermitage of ascetics, they became angry and said: 'After consulting with these (ascetics), *Sakka* expelled us. Capture the *puttahatāya puttas*,' and so they destroyed water pitchers, cloisters, the hall *etc.* in the hermitage."

2.2. Pā. *puttamatāya putta*

Majjhima-Nikāya I 524, 1-2:

> ***ime pan' ājīvikā <u>puttamatāya puttā</u> attānañ c' eva ukkaṃsenti pare ca vambhenti***
>
> "But these *Ājīvakas*, who are *puttamatāya puttas*, praise themselves and despise others."[25]

2.3. Traditional interpretations

Though modern translators have tried to explicate meanings and etymologies of these phrases,[26] they remain unclear, which may be partly due to the confusing explanations

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[19] I emend the reading *sutta-batāya sutte* in this way on the basis of that in some manuscripts, cited in the footnote of the Pali Text Society edition. For the *p/s* alternation, which arises from the similarity between these two letters in the Brāhmī script, see EV I, p. 134 (*ad* Th 49), EV II, p. 56 (*ad* Thi 6), GD II, p. 214 (*ad* Sn 353).

[20] This sentence is quoted in the *Sārasaṅgaha*, p. 326, ll. 25-27. The *Jātaka* contains the same story (I 202), yet the actual expression in question is not found there.

[21] I emend the reading *gacchanto* — the *Sārasaṅgaha* (*ibid.*) also follows this reading — to *gacchantā* on the basis of that in some manuscripts, cited in the footnote of the PTS edition. The context requires a plural form. The instrumental form *assamapadena*, used with the verb √*gam* ("to go"), expresses the route of movement, cf. Sen 1953: § 31 = 1995: 280; von Hinüber 1968: § 125.

[22] I emend the reading *sutta-batāya sutte* of the PTS edition in this way on the basis of that in some manuscripts.

[23] Instead of *sālā* ("a hall"), *paṇṇasālā* ("a hut of leaves") is used in the *Sārasaṅgaha*, which fits the context better.

[24] This sentence is quoted in the *Sārasaṅgaha*, p. 330, ll. 9-13.

[25] Ñāṇamoli (1995: 628) translates this sentence as follows: "But these Ājīvakas, those mothers' dead sons, laud themselves and disparage others." Cf. also *ibid.* p. 1281, n. 760.

[26] Cf. "Der sehr unklar gefaßte Ausdruck soll bedeuten: 'Ein Mensch, der eine solche Tat begeht, verdient nicht den Namen eines Sohnes.' "(Dutoit, *Jātakam* I, p. 350, n. 1); "In a note on transcript D. Mrs. Rhys Davids suggests *sutta-batāya sutte* ('get spells to destroy their spells'). I had thought of reading *gaṇhatha sutte, hanatha sutte*." (Woodward, *Sārattha-ppakāsinī* I 338, n. 3).

by the Pāli commentators on the texts cited above:

Jātaka I 355, 12-14:

> ***"puttahatāya putto" ti bataputtāya putto nillajjo ti attho. chinnabirottappassa hi mātā nāma n' atthi iti, so tassā jīvanto pi bataputtaṭṭhāne tiṭṭhatîti "bataputtāya putto" nāma hoti***
>
> "*Puttahatāya putto* means a shameless son of a woman whose son was killed. One who lacks shame and fear for sin, does not have a 'mother.' For the latter, her son, being still alive, is as good as killed. Therefore, he is called *puttahatāya putto* (a son of a woman whose son was killed)."

Majjhimanikāyaṭṭhakathā III 235, 4-7:

> ***"puttamatāya puttā" ti so kira imaṃ dhammaṃ sutvā ājīvikā[27] matā nāmâti saññī hutvā evam āha. ayaṃ h'ettha attho — ājīvikā matā nāma tesaṃ mātā puttamatā hoti iti "ājīvikā puttamatāya puttā" nāma honti***
>
> "On '*puttamatāya puttā*.' Having heard this teaching, the idea occurred to him (i.e., the wanderer, *Sandaka*) that the *Ājīvika*s were dead, and so he uttered thus. This (expression) means as follows: Because the *Ājīvika*s were 'dead' and their mother, therefore, had dead sons, they were thus called *puttamatāya puttā* ('sons of a woman whose sons are dead'). "

2.4. BHS. *putramoṭikāputra*

When we turn our attention to texts in Buddhist Sanskrit, we find an expression parallel to the Pāli phrases cited above.

The *Cīvaravastu* of the so-called *Mūlasarvāstivādin*s tells a story of a servant girl as follows: The famous female lay follower, *Viśākhā*, invited the Buddha and his disciples to her house for a meal. When it was ready, a servant girl was sent to the monastery, *Pūrvārāma*, to fetch them. Arriving there, she saw, through a crack in the door, naked monks bathing. Having seen this, she thought: "The saints must have already set out and this monastery has been seized by *Ājīvika*s, *putramoṭikāputra*s.[28]" (MSV[D] II 83). The expression *putramoṭikāputra*[29] is used as an epithet of an *Ājīvika*, just like *puttamatāya putta* in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* cited above.

The *Cūḍāpakṣāvadāna* in the *Divyāvadāna* relates a story about *Cūḍapanthaka*, one of the Buddha's disciples as follows: The Buddha once appointed *Cūḍapanthaka* to teach an assembly of nuns. He was well known for his lack of intelligence and could not even memorise one verse in three months. Having heard of his appointment, twelve nuns became angry and planned to humiliate him: "We shall prepare an enormously high lion

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[27] *v.l. ājīvakā.*

[28] MSV(D) II 83, 19. *ebhiḥ putramoṭikāputrair ājīvikair ayaṃ vihāro 'vaṣṭabdha iti.*

[29] This word occurs also in MSV(D) II 84, 2 and 85, 17. In the parallel part found in the Chinese translation of the so-called *Daśādhyāya-Vinaya* (Chin. Shisonglü 十誦律), the word is translated as 無慚愧人"shameless people" (*Taishō*, vol. 23, No. 1435, 195c5), while the Tibetan translation of the *Cīvaravastu* reads *nal phrug* "a bastard" (Derge blockprint edition of the bKa' 'gyur, *'Dul ba gzhi*, ga, 85B6).

seat (*siṃhāsana*) for him and also invite many citizens so that this uneducated *putramoṭikāputra* will dare not instruct us."[30] In this story, *Cūḍapanthaka* was disparagingly called *putramoṭikāputra*.[31]

As to this word, F. Edgerton assumes that as *moṭikā* means "basket" or the like[32], its literal meaning should be "child-basket child," i.e., "foundling" (BHSD, s.v.).

The *Divyāvadāna* tells that *Cūḍapanthaka* was left in a small alley (*panthalikā*) right after his birth and, therefore, was called "Little Wayman," while his elder brother, who had been left at a big crossroads, was named "Great Wayman."[33] Hence, Edgerton's assumption is quite convincing.

2.5. *putra-muṭa + putra > Pā. puttamatāya putta ∋ Pā. puttabatāya putta

Thus, in the case of the story in the *Cīvaravastu*, which we have just mentioned above, the *Ājīvika* ascetics are accused of being *putramoṭikāputra*, meaning "foundlings." The Pāli expression *puttamatāya puttā*, which is used also in an abusive sense towards the *Ājīvaka* ascetics in the *Majjhima-Nikāya*, has most probably the same meaning and origin as *putramoṭikāputra*.

I assume that Pā. *puttamatāya*, like BHS. *putramoṭikā*, is derived from **putra-muṭa* ("child-basket") and that the word *muṭa* ("basket") might have been taken wrongly as a Middle Indic form of Skt. *mṛta* ("dead")[34] and replaced by its usual Middle Indic form *mata*. Thus, **putra-muṭa* might have resulted in a new form *putta-mata*, from which, then, *puttamatāya* might have been created, possibly due to its association with Pā.

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[30] Divy. 493, 12f. Cf. Panglung 1981: 138.

[31] Divy. 493, 20. This story is found also in the *Vinayavibhaṅga* of the so-called *Mūlasarvāstivādin*s, which is preserved only in the Chinese and Tibetan. The word *putramoṭikāputra* is rendered as *bu zan mo'i bu* "a son of a female child-eater" in the latter (*'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*, Derge bKa' 'gyur, ja, 69B2). The Chinese translation lacks a parallel word (*Taishō*, vol. 23, No. 1442, 797c3). Stories about *Cūḍapanthaka*'s preaching to nuns are also found in Vin IV 54, *Taishō*, vol. 22, No. 1421, 45c-46a; *do.* No, 1428, 647bc; *do.* vol. 23, No. 1435, 80b *etc.*, but these are quite different from that cited above and thus, there is no parallel to the word *putramoṭikāputra*.

[32] Cf. BHSD, s.vv. *muṭa, mūṭa, mūḍha, moṭa, moṭaka, moṭikā*; CDIAL, 10233. *mūta, mūṭa* "basket." As these are of Dravidian origin, there are many variant forms (cf. EWAia, s.v. *mūta*).

[33] Divy. 483f. (= *'Dul ba rnam par 'byed pa*, Peking, vol. 43, p. 53, 3, 3f = Derge bKa' 'gyur, ja, 61A4f; *Taishō*, vol. 23, No. 1442, 794c26f.; cf. also Panglung 1981: 137) tells the following story: Once, there was a Brahmana couple in Śrāvastī, who had a baby, after having had newborn children die several times. They left him at a large crossroads (*caturmahāpatha*) in order to let him greet any passing ascetic or monk who might wish him a long life. He survived and was named *Mahāpanthaka* ("Great Wayman"). When they had their next baby, they wanted him to survive in the same way. However, their female servant, being lazy, left him in a small alley (*panthalikā*) instead, but this baby also survived and was called *Cūḍapanthaka* ("Little Wayman"). This story in the *Divyāvadāna* seems to be an adaptation of a legend preserved in Pāli literature (Dhp-a I 239f.; Ja I 114f.), which relates that he was the younger son of the daughter of a rich merchant, who became intimate with a slave and fled with him. She gave birth to their first child by the wayside and some years later their second again in the same situation. These brothers were therefore named *Mahāpanthaka* ("Great Wayman" or "Elder Wayman") and *Cūḷapanthaka* ("Little Wayman" or "Younger Wayman") respectively. Cf. Dhp-a(tr.) I 299, fn. 1; DPPN, s.v. *Cūḷapanthaka Thera*; Akanuma, s.v. *Cūḷapanthaka*. Both of these stories show us the brothers' obscure origins and I suspect that they were actually foundlings.

[34] Cf. the Aśokan Inscription from Shāhbāzgaṛhī *muṭa* < Skt. *mṛta*.; Pkt. *mua* < Skt. *mṛta*.

mātāya ("of mother"; a genitive form of *mātar*). Replacing *mata* ("dead") by its synonym *hata* ("killed"), someone probably changed *puttamatāya* further to *puttahatāya*, which is far from its original form and meaning.

In conclusion, Pā. *puttamatāya putta*, *puttahatāya putta* as well as BHS. *putramoṭikāputra* therefore might have originally meant "foundling" and were used as abusive expressions.

3. Skt. *Vipracitti* > Pā. *Vepacitti* > BHS. *Vemacitrin*

Both the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and *Dīgha Nikāya* relate that there was once a battle between the gods and the Asuras, in which the latter's king, *Vepacitti* by name, was captured.[35] In Buddhist Sanskrit literature, the king's name appears as *Vemacitrin*, *Vemacitra* or *Vaimacitra*.[36] The *Mahābhārata* and other Indian epics also depict this battle and here he is called *Vipracitti*, who was killed in the end by Indra, the king of the gods.[37]

As to the relationship of these various forms of the Asura king's name, Przyluski has already published an article,[38] in which he maintains that they go back to the Iranian **vaēma-čiθra* ("born from rock"). According to him, the developments of these forms are as follows: Iranian **vaēma-čiθra* > BHS. *Vemacitra*, *Vemacitrin etc.* > Pā. *Vepacitti* > Skt. *Vipracitti*. He, thus, thinks that this king is the Indian counterpart of the Iranian god, Mithra, who is thought to have been born from a rock.

The word *Vipracitti* and its corrupted form, *Viprajitti*, are found also as names of preceptors in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa etc.* (see PW, s.vv.). It would not be strange if this word, meaning literally "sharp-witted one," was used also as a name of an Asura.

Contrary to Przyluski's assumption, I assume that all the Indian forms of the Asura's name go back to *Vipracitti*: **Skt. *Vipracitti* > **Vippacitti* >[39] **Vĕppacitti* > Pā. *Vepacitti* >[40] **Vevacitti* >[41] **Vemacitti* ∋ BHS. *Vemacitrin*, *Vemacitra*, *Vaimacitra*[42].[43]**

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[35] SN I 221; DN II 259, v.12.

[36] Cf. BHSD, s.vv.; Lévi 1925: 17-26.

[37] *Mahābhārata* 12.99.49; *do.* 9.30.11 *etc.* Cf. Hopkins 1915: 48-50.

[38] Przyluski: 1931.

[39] Cf. Skt. *piṣṭa* > Pkt. *peṭṭha*; Skt. *niṣka* > Pā. *nekkha*; von Hinüber 2001: § 114; Norman 1990: 21f.; *do.* 1995: 279.

[40] For *-p-* > *-v-*, cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 181; Oberlies 2001: 76-77, fn.6.

[41] The development *-v-* > *-m-* is probably due to dissimilation, namely: *v_v* > *v_m*. For the Middle Indic development *-v-* > *-m-* in general, see von Hinüber 1981: 66; *do.* 2001: §§ 208-211. For the sporadic development *-p-* > *-v-* > *-m-* in Middle Indic, see von Hinüber 2001: § 211, Konow 1929: civ; Brough 1962: §§ 36, 71.

[42] These three forms are hypersanskritisms.

[43] H. Kern seems to have had similar thoughts, as he wrote the following note concerning the form *Vemacitri* in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*: "This is a wrong Sanskritisation of a Prâkrit Vema*k*itti, Pâli Vepa*k*itti; the proper Sanskrit equivalent is Vipra*k*itti." (Kern 1884: 6, fn. 2).

Symbols

$\alpha < \beta$ = the form α comes from β

$\alpha \in \beta$: α is a scribal error, a corruption, or a hyperform of β

Abbreviations and Bibliography

Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are as in the Epilegomena to V. Trenckner: *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*, Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924-48.

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One More Manuscript of the *Karmavibhaṅga* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu: Transliteration of Manuscript E (2)*

Noriyuki KUDO

Transliteration:

[5L32.41] 1. tatra[2] katamat karma {yad} ālpāyuḥsaṃvarttanīyaṃ | (4v.2) ucyate |

prāṇātipātikaḥ <|> prāṇātipātasyānumodanāt[3] <|> prāṇātipāte varṇṇavāditā <|> yuddhadarśa<<naṃ śāstrā>>bhinandanaṃ[4] <|> [5]amitramaraṇasya varṇṇavāditā | garbhaśātanaṃ[6] varṇṇavāditā | sthaṇḍilapratiṣṭhāpanaṃ yatra (4v.3) bahavaḥ prāṇino mahiṣapaśuśūkarakukkuṭādayo ghātyante tasya =*(space for 8 akṣaras)*= trāś[7] cānye ca janāḥ phalārthino bhayabhītāś cānuvṛttiṃ kurvanti <|> satvāni ca ghātayanti |

[5L32.12] a) yathā Kāśmīrāyāṃ (4v.4) mahānagaryāṃ bhikṣuḥ kilārhan sarvānyatarasmin gṛhadvāre sthitaḥ <|> tasyaiva cāgrato 'nyair ekaḥ paśū ravamānaḥ[8] nīyate |

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* Diwakar Acharya not only gave me valuable information about this manuscript and supplied the images of it but also gave me a number of suggestions in reading the manuscript. I am very grateful to him. Without his help and kindness this paper could not have been carried out in this form. Any errors that remain here, of course, are my own.

[1] The page numbers and lines of the transliteration of [B] in *KV[K]* are given from here on in squares while those of the portion where the corresponding folios of MS[B] are not available are not in squares.

[2] Both MS[B] and [E] always have '*tatra*' at the beginning of each section while [A] does not have it.

[3] For °*modanaṃ*.

[4] In MS[B], I suggested to read °*vādi(tā | amitramaraṇā)*° on the basis of [A] (*KV[K]*: 37, fn. 5) but this note should be changed to "Read °*vādi(tā | yuddhadarśnaṃ śāstā)*°."

[5] Before this sentence, the phrase "*amitramaraṇasya samādāpanam,*" which found in A, is omitted.

[6] Here too there is a confusion; add (*garbhaśātanasya*) as found in MS[A]10v.5.

[7] Read (*yajñapravartakasya pu)trāś*; cf. Kudo 2006a: 45, example 7.

[8] MS[B]7r.1: illegible; [A]11r.2-3: (*tasya gṛhasya pārśvena rājapathas tena paśū ra*).

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sa bhikṣus taṃ dṛṣṭvā {।} āha ।
"hā dhik kaṣṭam" iti ।।
puruṣās taṃ pṛcchanti ।
"ārya ki(4v.5)m ayaṃ "hā dhik kaṣṭam" iti śabdaḥ ।"

SL32.16 sa āha ।।
"na vaktavyam etad aśrāddhānāṃ kāryyānabhijñānāṃ[9] । ya eṣa paśū ravamāṇo nīyate । anena purā vaṇigīśvareṇa bhūtvā sthaṇḍilaṃ pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ । samvatsarika[10] (4v.6) {sā} paśuṃ yajñaḥ pravarttitaḥ <।> tatrānena bahavaḥ paśavo ghātitāḥ । maraṇakāle putrān āhūya āha ।।
"putrā yady asti mayi sneho ya eṣa mayā samva<tsa>rika[11] paśuyajñaḥ pravarttitaḥ । eṣa mayi kālagate (4v.7) anuvarttayitavyaḥ" iti <।>
putrais "tathāstv" iti pratiśrutaṃ ।"

SL33 "sa kālagatas tena mohajena prāṇātipātena samanvāgataḥ sve gṛhe paśuṣu pratyājātaḥ । sa tatra jātau jātau ghātyate idaṃ tv ekaṣaṣṭitama[12] vāra(4v.8)m upanīyata" iti ।।

atha sa bhikṣus taṃ paśuṃ karuṇāyamāṇa āha ।।
"svayam eva te sthaṇḍilaṃ kṛtaṃ svayam eva yajñaṃ pravarttitaṃ[13] bahavaḥ paśavaś ca ghātitāḥ <।> kiṃ ravase sarvam idaṃ nirarthakaṃ ।"

SL33.6 b) ya evaṃvidhaṃ sthaṇḍi(4v.9)laṃ pratiṣṭhāpanaṃ tathā yuddhadarśanaṃ । yatra bahavaḥ satvā ghātyante hastyaśvamanuṣyādayo yuddhapratibaddhānāṃ ca śastrāṇām abhinandanaṃ ।।

SL33.9 c) yathā coktaṃ Bhagavatā Vaiśālyāṃ Kālikāsūtre <।>
prāṇātipāta Ā(4v.10)nanda āsevito bahulīkṛto[14] narakasaṃvarttanīyo bhavati <।> tiryaggatisaṃvarttanīyo (')pi[15] yasmād alpaprāṇātipātasya vipāko manuṣyabhūtasya alpāyuḥsaṃvarttanīyo bhavati ।

d) tathā[16] daśādīnavā Nandi(4v.11)kasūtre uktaṃ ।। prāṇātipātasya <।>

idaṃ karma alpāyuḥsaṃvarttanīyaṃ ।। ।।

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[9] MS[B]7r.2: illegible; [A]11r.4: *kārya(ṃ)rtban tu bravīmi.*

[10] = MS[B]. Read *sāmvatsarika(b)*.

[11] Read *sāmvatsarika(b)*.

[12] = MS[B]. For *ekaṣaṣṭitama(m)*.

[13] = MS[B]. Read *yajñab pravarttitaḥ*. This neuter ending is used throughout these two phrases both in [B] and [E] while the word in [A] takes masculine ending.

[14] After this, add *bhāvito*.

[15] After this sentence, MS[B] and [E] do not have an additional phrase "*(bbavati ।) pretaviṣayasaṃvartanīyo 'pi bbavati ।*" which is included in MS[A]12r.2.

[16] Read [t](a)*thā*.

SL33.16 2. tatra kataman karma dīrghāyuḥsaṃvarttanīyaṃ <|> ucyate ||

prāṇātipātān nivṛttiḥ <|> prāṇātipātanivṛttau varṇṇavāditā | tatra samā(5r.1)dāpanaṃ <|> tadvarṇṇavāditā <|> vadhyaprāptānāṃ manuṣyapaśusūkarakurkuṭādīnāṃ[17] parimocanaṃ <|> bhītānāṃ satvānāṃ abhayapradānaṃ <|> anāthānāṃ satvānāṃ madhye kāruṇyacittatā <|> duḥkhitāṃ satvānāṃ[18] madhye maitraci(5r.2)ttatā | anyeṣāṃ ca bālavṛddhānāṃ <|> teṣām eva bhojanapradānaṃ <|> pratigrāhakeṣu maitracittatā <|>

SL34.3 tad eva pūrvoktaṃ {satvaṃ} kuśalapakṣeṇa yuddhadarśanādi <|> tathā stūpacaityabimbānāṃ[19] bhagnaśīrṇṇānāṃ pratisaṃskāra(5r.3){kāra}ṇaṃ | ata eva coktaṃ |

akālamṛtyuṃ[20] na bhavet{a} tasya
yo bhagnaśīrṇṇaṃ pratisaṃskaroti |

a) yathā ca Pratyekabrahmasūtraṃ[21] varṇṇayanti[22] | tena kila ṛiṣibhūtena[23] =*(space for approximately 11 akṣaras)*= sya[24] sārtha(5r.4)sya pathabhraṣṭasyopari ṛddhyā varṣām[25] pātitaṃ <|> tadarthañ ca Bhagavatā gāthā bhāṣitā |

tat te purāṇaṃ vrataśīlavṛttaṃ <|>
svapnād vibuddho (')ham iha smarāmi[26] ||

tatra ca sārthe bo =*(space for approximately 11 akṣaras)*=[27]

SL34.14 (5r.5) ya Eṇikūle janatāṃ gṛhītvā[28] |

Eṇi nāma nadī tasyāḥ kūle rājā kaścid gṛhītaḥ <|> pratyamitreṇa Himavantam

---

[17] For °*kukkuṭā*°.

[18] MS[B]: illegible; [A]7v.4 reads: *glānānāṃ satvānāṃ*.

[19] MS[B]: missing; [A]12v.3: °*viḥārāṇāṃ*.

[20] For *akālamṛtyur*.

[21] = MS[B]. For *Bakapratyekabrahmasūtraṃ*. MS[A] gives (12v.4): *Śrāvaka*°.

[22] MS[A] has '*sma*' after this word (12v.4).

[23] = MS[B]. For *ṛṣi*-. Cf. BHSG § 3.94.

[24] MS[B]7v.6: + + + + + + + .. [*sy*]. Read (*pañcābhijñena tṛṣṇārta*)*sya*; cf. Kudo 2006a: 46, example 12.

[25] = MS[B]. For *varṣam*.

[26] = MS[B]. The reading of this pāda in [A] is throughoutly "'*nusmarāmi*" while [B] and [E] read "*iha smarāmi*."

[27] Read °(*dhisatvaḥ sārthavāho 'bhūt* |); cf. Kudo 2006a: 46, example 13. In MS[B], folio Nos. 8-10 (= SL 34.13-41.8, § 2-a) middle ~ § 11 last; A13r1-18v.3; *KV[K]* 45-61) are lost.

[28] MS[A]13r.1: *grhītaṃ*.

anupraviśya sabalavāhaṇaḥ sa nīyamāno vadhyaprāptaḥ sabalavāhanas tad dṛṣṭvā (5r.6) riṣiṇā[29] riddhyā[30] vātavarṣaṃ pātitaṃ | sarvopāyena[31] pratyamitrajanakāyo vibhrāmitaḥ <|> sa ca rājā mokṣitaḥ |

SL35.4

tat te dvitīyaṃ vrataśīlavṛttaṃ |
svapnā(d) vibuddho (')ham iha smarāmi |

sa ca rājā =*(space for approximately 5 akṣaras)*=[32] (5r.7) babhūva |

SL35.7

Gaṅgāśrotasi nāvā gṛhītā <|>
nāgena ghorena maharddhikena |

sa ca tadā ṛṣiḥ Gaṃgākūle maharddhikaḥ paṃcābhijñaḥ prativasati | tena sa janakāyaḥ krandamāno jīvitanirāśaḥ tato mokṣi(5r.8)taḥ |

SL35.11

tat te tṛtīyaṃ vrataśīlavṛttaṃ <|>
svapnā(d) vibuddho (')ham iha smarāmi |

tasyāṃ ca nāvāyāṃ nausvāmī[33] tena kālena[34]| evaṃvidhaṃ tena trividhaṃ karma kṛtaṃ | tenātīva dīrghāyuḥ <|>

SL35.15

b) [35]kecid ācāryāḥ kathayanti ||

Bhaga(5r.9)vān āha ||

"bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavaḥ Jambūdvīpe sarvajanapadikāmārī pravarttate[36] | athānyatareṇa satvenānyalokadhātau sthitena ṛddhimataḥ sakāśāc chrutaṃ | yathā Jambūdvīpe sarvatra mārī[37] pati(5r.10)teti | tena kṛtapuṇyena praṇidhānaṃ kṛtaṃ <|>

"Jambūdvīpe upapadyeyaṃ sarvasatvānāṃ vyādhiprāmojjāye"ti |

sa tatropapannaḥ | ye satvās tṛṣitās[38] teṣāṃ pānīyena vyādhiṃ nāśayati | ye satvā (5v.1) bubhukṣitās[39] teṣāṃ bhaktena vyādhiṃ nāśayati | yasya yenārthas[40]

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[29] *ri-* < *ṛ-* . Cf. BHSG § 3.94.

[30] MS[A]13r.2: *tena ṛṣibhūtena ṛddbyā.*

[31] MS[A]13r.3: *sa copāyena.*

[32] Here is an open space for approximately 5 akṣaras. Read (*bodhisatvo*); cf. Kudo 2006a: 46, example 14.

[33] After this, MS[A] has *bodhisatvas.*

[34] MS[A]: *kālenābbūt.*

[35] MS[A] has "*yathā*" (13v.3).

[36] MS[A] has "*sma*" after this word.

[37] MS[A]14r.1: *sarvamārī.*

[38] A scribal error for *tuṣitās.*

tasya tenaiva vyādhiṃ nāśayati |

nā nāma[41] tasya kiñcinn auṣadhaṃ <|> yad yad eva gṛhya prayacchati {|} tat evauṣadhaṃ <|> tasya Jāmbūdvīpakair manuṣyaiḥ (5v.2) Sarvauṣadhī nāma kṛtaṃ|

SL36.7 atha bhikṣavaḥ Sarvauṣadhīvaidyarājo[42] bahūnāṃ satvaśatasahasrāṇāṃ[43] jīvitāni datvā[44] kālagataḥ | kālāntareṇa Mithilāyāṃ rājakule upapannaḥ <|> tatrāpi nara(5v.3)deva[45]bhūtenāśītikṣatriyasahasrāṇi dharmavatmanā pravrajitāni <|> Jāmbūdvīpe cāśītivarṣasahasrāṇi maṇuṣyāṇām āyuḥ na parihīṇaṃ[46] | tataś cyutaḥ kālāntareṇa Kuśanagaryāṃ Mā(5v.4)dhātrā nāma rājā[47] saṃvṛttaḥ | bhūyaś ca Saptasūryopame[48] Sunetro māṇavo vijñeyaḥ |

SL37.1 ahaṃ sa bhikṣavas tena kālena tena samayena[49] Sarvauṣadhivaidyarājo babhūva[50] | tasya karmaṇo vipākenā(5v.5)nantarāyuḥpramāṇaṃ yojayītavyaṃ <|> Māndhātuḥ Sunetrasya[51] |"

idam api dīrghāyuḥsaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL37.5 3. tatra katamat karma bahvābādhasamvarttanīyaṃ | ucyate |

khaṭacapeṭāpradānaṃ | khaṭacapeṭā(5v.6)pradā<<nā>>numodanaṃ | khaṭacapeṭāprahāradānasya varṇṇavāditā <|> teṣāṃ pradānena tuṣṭiḥ | mātāpitroś cittapīḍākaraṇaṃ[52] | tathānyeṣāṃ ca pravrajitādīnāṃ cittaṃ saṃkleśayati[53] | amithyādhinā saṃtuṣṭiḥ <|> (5v.7) tuṣṭiḥ tasya vyādhivyutthānenātuṣṭiḥ[54] | vyādhitānāṃ satvānām[55] abhaiṣajyapradānaṃ | tathā aparijīrṇṇabhojanaṃ ||

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[39] MS[A]14r.2: *ca bhuṣitās* (*ṣ* for *kṣ*). Lévi reads: *bubhukṣitās*.

[40] MS[A]14r.3: *evaṃ yena yasy(ā)rthas*.

[41] For *na nāma*.

[42] For *Sarvauṣadhi*.

[43] MS[A]14r.5: *satvasabasrāṇāṃ*.

[44] For *da(t)tvā*.

[45] MS[A]14v.1: *Mahādeva°*.

[46] MS[A]14v.1: *parikṣīṇaṃ*.

[47] MS[A] does not have "*nāma rājā*."

[48] MS[A]: *Saptasuryopa{ma}dese* < *Saptasūryopadeśe*.

[49] MS[A] does not have "*tena samayena*."

[50] MS[A]: *'bhūt*.

[51] MS[A]14r.3-4: *Māndhātṛ̥Su(n)etrābhyāṃ apy evāyuḥpramāṇaṃ yojayitavyaṃ* ||

[52] MS[A]15r.1: *cittaśarīre pīḍākaraṇaṃ*.

[53] MS[A]15r.1: *pravrajitānāṃ śīlavatā cittasaṃkleśaḥ*.

[54] MS[A]15r.2: *amitravyādhivyutthānena* (*a*)*tuṣṭiḥ*.

[55] MS[A] does not have this word.

idaṃ karma bahvābādhasamvarttanīyaṃ | | | |

SL37.12 4. tatra katamat karma alpābādhasaṃvartta(5v.8)nīyaṃ | ucyate |

khaṭacapeṭāpradānanivṛttiḥ <|> khaṭacapeṭāpradānanivṛttau[56] samādāpanaṃ <|> tadvarṇṇavāditā <|> tadabhyanumodanaṃ | glānānāṃ mātāpitṛṇām upasthānakarma[57] | tathānyeṣāṃ[58] gṛhasthapra(5v.9)vrajitabālavṛddhānāṃ[59] <|> amitravyādhinā'nāttamanaskatā <|> tasya vyādhivyutthānena[60] cāttamanaskatā <|> bhaiṣajyapradāne[61] | parijīrṇṇabhojanaṃ | |

idaṃ karma alpābādhasaṃvarttanīyaṃ | | | |

SL37.18 5. (5v.10) tatra katamat karma durvarṇṇasaṃvarttanīyaṃ | ucyate |

krodhaḥ | amanāpa[62] | mrakṣaḥ <|> pradoṣaḥ[63] | mātāpitror avarṇṇavāditā | anyeṣāṃ ca gṛhasthapravrajitabālavṛddhānāṃ[64] | stūpāṅganacaityavihārā(6r.1)ṇāṃ[65] ca bhūmivināśanaṃ[66] <|> stūpānāṃ pratimānāṃ ca dīpavyucchedanaṃ <|> durvarṇṇānāṃ satvānām avahasanāṃ[67] <|> acaukṣasamudācāratā[68] |

idaṃ karma durvvarṇṇasamvarttanīyaṃ | | | |

SL38.5 6. tatra katamat karma prasādika .. ..[69] (6r.2)rttanīyaṃ | ucyate |

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[56] MS[A] simply reads *tatra* (15r.3).

[57] MS[A] reads (15r.4) °*karaṇaṃ* instead of *karma*.

[58] MS[A]15r.4: *tad apy anyeṣā(ṃ)*.

[59] MS[A]15r.4: *gṛhasthapravrajitānā(ṃ)*.

[60] MS[A] does not have *vyādhi-*.

[61] For °*dānaṃ*.

[62] For *amanāpa(ḥ)*. MS[A]15v.2: *upanābaḥ*.

[63] MS[A]15v.2: *paridādyaḥ* < *paridāghaḥ*. Cf. *KV[K]*:52, fn. 5 and 335 s.v. *paridāgha*.

[64] MS[A]15v.3: °*pravrajitānā(ṃ) bālavṛddhānāṃ*.

[65] MS[A]15v.3: °*caityagṛhavihārāṇāñ*.

[66] MS[A]15v.3: *bhūme(r a)viśodhanaṃ*.

[67] For *avahasanaṃ*.

[68] MS[A]15v.4: *tathā'caukṣa°*.

[69] Illegible due to a stain; read (*saṃva*)-.

akrodhaḥ ।[70] amrakṣa[71] । vastrapradānaṃ <।> stūpacaityagṛheṣu ca sudhāpradānaṃ <।> suvarṇṇapatrapradānaṃ <।> gandhalepo vastrālaṃkārapradānaṃ[72] <।> mātāpitror varṇṇavāditā <।> āryāṇāṃ śīlavatāṃ .. ..[73] (6r.3)vāditā <।> stūpāṅganavihārasanmārjanaṃ <।> śataṅ gṛhasanmārjanaṃ <।> virūpāṇāṃ satvānāṃ apahasanaṃ[74] । tathānyeṣāṃ ca bālavṛddhānāṃ <।> tathā caukṣasamudācāratā <।>

SL38.12 a) yathā cāryāSundaranandena kila Krakutsa(6r.4)nde[75] samyaksambuddhe bhikṣusaṃghasya[76] jentakasnānaṃ[77] kṛtaṃ <।> tāṃ dṛṣṭvā prasāditaṃ cittaṃ । bhūyaś ca suvarṇṇavarṇṇena[78] haritālena pratyekabuddhastūpe lepo dattaḥ । tad api dṛṣṭvā prasāditaṃ cittaṃ । [abhi]rū(6r.5)patāyāṃ ca pariṇāmitaṃ । bhūyaś ca stūpe kriyamāṇe prathamaṃ cchatraṃ kāritaṃ । tathā paścimabhave sa eva vyākaroti ।

SL38.18 jentakasya snānena haritālasyāpalepanena ca <।>
ekacchatrapradānāc ca prāptā me (6r.6) suvarṇṇavarṇṇatā <।>

tathaivāyaṃ śobhitavān* ।।

idaṃ karma prāsādikasaṃvarttanīyaṃ ।। ।।

SL39 7. tatra katamat karmālpeśākhyasaṃvarttanīyaṃ । ucyate ।

mātsaryam[79] <।> īrṣyā <।> parasya lābhenātuṣṭiḥ <।> parasyā(6r.7)varṇṇavāditāyāṃ tuṣṭiḥ । mātāpitroḥ paribhavaḥ । ācāryāṇāṃ[80] śīlavatāṃ paribhavaḥ । tathānyeṣāṃ ca bālavṛddhānāṃ[81] <।> hīne dharmahīne ca (')kuśalamūle varṇṇavāditā । bodhicittotpādasya nivāraṇaṃ <।> (6r.8) tadanyānumodanaṃ ।।

[70] MS[A] has *anapanābaḥ* < *anupanābaḥ* (16r.1).

[71] For *amrakṣa(ḥ)*.

[72] MS[A]16r.2: *gandhalepapradānaṁ । alaṃkārapradānaṁ.*

[73] Read (*varṇṇa*)-.

[74] MS[A]16r.3: *anavabasanaṃ.*

[75] MS[A]16r.4: *Krakucchande.*

[76] MS[A]16r.4: °*saṃgbe.*

[77] For *jentāka*°.

[78] MS[A]16r.5: *suvarṇṇena.*

[79] MS[A] does not have this word but T has, see *KV[K]*: 54, fn. 9.

[80] MS[A]16v.4: *āryāṇā(ṃ).*

[81] MS[A] has *vyādhita-* at the beginning of this compound.

idaṃ karmālpeśākhyasaṃvarttanīyaṃ ‖ ‖

SL39.7 8. tatra karamat karma maheśākhyasaṃvarttanīyaṃ ‖ ucyate ‖

anīrṣyā <‖> amātsaryaṃ <‖> paralābhena tuṣṭiḥ <‖> parasya yaśovarṇṇaśabdaślokaśra(6r.9)vaṇe tuṣṭiḥ <‖> parasya varṇṇavāditāyām āttamanaskatā <‖> Bhagavataḥ stūpacaityakāritotsukatā[82] <‖> hīne dharmahīne 'ku<<śa>>lamūle nivāraṇaṃ <‖> maheśākhyakuśalasamādāpanaṃ[83] <‖> bodhicittotpādanaṃ <‖> sa(6r.10)rvvamaheśākhyakuśalamūlacittotpādanaḥ ‖

SL39.13 a) yathoktaṃ Bhagavatā =*(space for 4 akṣaras)*=[84] Pūrvāparāntake sūtre ‖ Ajitabodhisatvasya samantajanaṃ kṛtaṃ <‖> mahate khalu te Ajita autsukyāya cittaṃ namayati <‖> (6v.1) yad idaṃ saṃghaparivayāyai[85] vakṣyati ca ‖

SL40.4 Maitreyas tu =[86] dhivāsī
prāptavyā divi bhuvi ceha yena pūjā <‖>
sa śrīmān daśabalatām avāpya śīghraṃ
lokānāṃ bhavatu saśīva[87] nityapūjyāya[88] ‖

idaṃ karma maheśā(6v.2)khyasaṃvarttanīyaṃ ‖ ‖

SL40.9 9. tatra katamat karma nīcakulasaṃvarttanīyaṃ ‖ ucyate ‖

stabdhatā <‖> abhimānatā <‖> amātṛpitṛjñatā[89] <‖> aśrāmaṇyatā ‖ abrāhmaṇyatā <‖> akulajyeṣṭhāpacāyikā ‖ mātāpi(6v.3)tror anatyutthānaṃ[90] <‖> ācāryāṇāṃ ca śīlavatām apratyutthānaṃ <‖> anyeṣāṃ ca gurusthānīyānāṃ ācāryopādhyāya[91]

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[82] MS[A]17r.2: *caityastūpakārāpaṇaṁ*.

[83] MS[A]17r.3: °*kuśalamūle samādāpanaṃ*.

[84] MS[A]17r.4: *Vārāṇasyāṃ*.

[85] <*parivayā*? (unknown). A scribal error for °*paribāpaṇāya?*

[86] Here is an open space for only one akṣara but it seems not to match the number of akṣaras to be supplied. Read (*tuṣitasurālayā*)*dhivāsī* as in MS[A]17r.5.

[87] For *śasīva*.

[88] The form °*pūjyāya* does not fit to the metre; here two syllables are required as found in [A]: *pūjyaḥ*.

[89] For *amātā*°.

[90] A scribal error for *pratyutthānaṃ*.

[91] Read °*pādhyāyā(nāṃ apratyutthānaṃ)*; cf. [A]17v.4: *ārcāryopādhyāyānām apratyupaṣṭhānaṃ*.

<|> nīcakulīnānāṃ ca satvānāṃ paribhavaḥ |

idaṃ karma nīcakulasaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL40.15 10. (6v.4) tatra katamat karma uccakulasaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ucyate |

astabdhatā <|> anabhimānatā <|> mātāpitṛjñatā <|> śrāmaṇyatā <|> brāhmaṇyatā <|> kulajeṣṭhāpacāyitā[92] <|> mātāpitroḥ pratyutthānaṃ <|> ācāryāṇāṃ (6v.5) ca śīlavatāṃ pratyutthānatā <|> anyeṣāṃ ca gurusthānīyā<nā>m ācāryopādhyāyānāṃ pratyutthānaṃ <|> nīcakulīnānāṃ satvānām aparibhavaḥ |

SL40.20 a) yathā ca Bhagavatā sūtra uktaṃ <|>

"yaṃ bhikṣavaḥ kulaṃ śīlavānto (6v.6) brahmacāriṇaḥ kalyāṇadharmāṇaḥ pravarjitā upasaṃkrāmanti <|> yaṃ ca tasmiṃ kule anuśaṃsāḥ pratyāśaṃsitavyāḥ | katame paṃca <|>

iha hi bhikṣava upasaṃkrāmanteṣu śīlavatsu cittāni prasāda(6v.7)yaṃti | svargasaṃvarttanīyaṃ <|> bhikṣavaḥ kulaṃ tasmiṃ samaye pratipadā[93] pratipannaṃ bhavati |

punar aparaṃ bhikṣava upasaṃkrāmanteṣu śīlavatsu abhivādayanti | pratyuttiṣṭhanti | uccakulīnasaṃvartta(6v.8)nīyaṃ <|> taṃ bhikṣavaḥ kulaṃ tasmiṃ samaye pratipadā pratipannaṃ bhavati |

[94]punar aparaṃ bhikṣava upasaṃkrānteṣu śīlavatsu kārāṃ karoti cīvarapiṇḍapātadānāni ca dadāti <|> mahābhogasaṃvarttanīyaṃ <|> (6v.9) taṃ bhikṣavaḥ kulaṃ tasmiṃ samaye pratipadā pratipannaṃ bhavati |"[95]

idaṃ karma uccakulasaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL41.6 11. tatra katamat karma alpabhogasaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ucyate |

adattādānaṃ <|> adattādāna(6v.10)samādāpanaṃ | adattādānasya varṇṇavāditā[96]

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[92] For °*jyeṣṭha*°.

[93] In this quotation, [E] consistently reads "*pratipadā pratipannaṃ*" but it reads "*pratipadāṃ pratipannaṃ*" in another passages from the same text in §12.

[94] MS[A] does not have this passage as a whole.

[95] MS[A] has "*evaṃ sarvasūtraṃ yojyaṃ*" after this quotation (18v.1).

[96] MS[A]18v.2-3: *cauryavarṇṇavāditā*.

| adattādānanāttamanaskatā[97] | adattādānānumodanaṃ[98] | mātāpitror vṛttyupacchedaḥ | tathānyeṣāṃ vyādhitabālavṛddhakṛpaṇānāṃ vṛttyupacche{{da}}(7r.1)daḥ <|> parasya lābhenātuṣṭiḥ <|> parasya lābhāntarāyakriyā <|> durbhikṣābhinandanaṃ |

idaṃ karmālpabhogasaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL41.12 12. tatra katamat karma mahābhogasaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ucyate ||

adattā(7r.2)dānanivṛttiḥ <|> pareṣāñ cādattādānanivāraṇaṃ | pareṣām adattādānanivṛttānāṃ samanumodanaṃ | mātāpitror vṛttipradānaṃ| āryāṇāñ ca śīlavatāṃ vṛttipradānaṃ | tathānyeṣāṃ vyādhitabā(7r.3)lavṛddhakṛpaṇānāṃ vṛttipradānaṃ <|> parasya lābhena[99] tuṣṭiḥ | parasyālābhenātuṣṭiḥ <|> paralābhasamanumodanaṃ | subhikṣābhinandanaṃ[100] |

a) tad eva sūtraṃ yojyaṃ |
"punar aparaṃ bhikṣava upasaṃkrānteṣu (7r.4) śīlavatsu abhivādayanti <|> pratyuttiṣṭhanti | uccakulasaṃvarttanīyaṃ <|> taṃ bhikṣavaḥ kulaṃ tasmiṃ samaye pratipadāṃ pratipannaṃ bhavati ||"[101]
"punar aparaṃ bhikṣava upasaṃkrānteṣu śīlavastu dānāni da(7r.5)danti <|> puṇyāni ca kurvanti | mahābhogasaṃvarttanīyaṃ <|> bhikṣavaḥ taṃ kulaṃ tasmiṃ samaye pratipradāṃ pratipannaṃ bhavati |"

idaṃ karma mahābhogasaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL41.22 13. tatra katamat karma duṣprajñāsaṃvartta(7r.6)nīyaṃ || <ucyate ||>

ihaikatye[102] na parāṃ[103] pṛccha{n}ti <|> paṇḍitāṃ[104] śramaṇabrāhmaṇāṃ 'ko dharmaḥ kiṃ vāte[105] kurvataḥ[106] śreyaskaram' iti | api duṣprajñaṃ sevati <|>

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[97] MS[A] does not have this word.

[98] MS[B] restarts here: (11r.1) + + + + + + + + .. *pitroḥ*.

[99] MS[B]11r.3: *paralābbena* = [A]19r.2.

[100] Reas (*ṣu*)[*bh*](*i*)*kṣā*°.

[101] Here, MS[E] has a misplaced passage which is already quoted in § 10 (= fourth paragragh of the *AN.*) though MS[B] does not have corresponding folios.

[102] MS[B] and [A]: *ihaikatyo*.

[103] = MS[A]; [B] does not have this word here.

[104] For *paṇḍitān*.

[105] This form does not make sense.

[106] MS[B] has "*parāṃ*" here.

paṇḍitāṃ parivarjayati | asaddharmaṃ dīpayati | saddharmaṃ vi(7r.7)garhayati[107] <|> dharmabhāṇakānāṃ vaiśāradyopacchedaṃ karoti | saddharmabhāṇakānām a{{na}}bhiniveśena sādhukaraṃ[108] dadāti | asaddharmabhāṇakānāṃ sādhukāraṃ[109] dadāti | mithyādṛṣṭiṃ varṇṇayati <|> samyagdṛ(7r.8)ṣṭiṃ vigarhayati | tathā pustakalekhakavācakānāṃ[110] vṛttyupacchedaṃ karoti |

SL42.4 a) sūtre coktaṃ |
"unmattakasaṃvarttanīyaṃ ca karmopārjaya{n}ti | saṃmūḍhakaś ca kālaṃ karoti <|> duṣprajño[111] bhavati ||"

SL42.5 yatho(7r.9)ktaṃ Nandikasūtre |
"paṃcatriṃśad[112] ādīnavāḥ surāmaireyamadyapāne[113] yojayitavyāḥ | Buddhe cāgauravo bhavati <|> dharme saṃghe ca[114] |"

SL42.8 etat*[115] Śākyasūtre yojayitavyaṃ |
"yadā ca Bhagavāṃ Kapilavastum āgato (7r.10) madyapānadoṣāṃ na kaścid Bhagavataḥ uktaṃ saṃkrāntaś caturbhiḥ sthāvirair Bhagavatā preṣitai rātrau gatvā vinītas tatrāgatāś[116] ca <|>
śākyāḥ pṛcchanti <|>
"Bhagavaṃs tasya kā gatir" iti |
"ime (')pi gāthā[117] bhāṣi(7v.1)tasyārtham ājānīyur" <|>"
iti sūtraṃ yojayitavyaṃ |

SL43.1 yathā Cūḍā Panthako nāma bhikṣus tasya Rāja =*(space for 7 akṣaras)*=[118] Bhagavato[119] gāthoddiṣṭikā <|> sā ca varṣātyayena[120] na śaktitā gṛhītuṃ[121] | bhikṣavo vi(7v.2)smaya[122] prāptāḥ pṛcchanti |

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[107] Both MS[B] and [E] throughoutly reads "*vigarhayati*" while [A] reads "*vigarhati.*"

[108] = MS[A]; MS[B]11v.1: *sādhukāre.*

[109] = MS[B] and [A].

[110] = MS[B]11v.2; [A]19v.3: °*pāṭhakānā(ṃ)*.

[111] Both MS[B] and [A] have *ca* here.

[112] = MS[B]; [A]19v.4: *catvāriṃśad*.

[113] = MS[B]; [A]19v.4-5: *madyapramādaṣṭhāne* (< *-sthāne*).

[114] = MS[B]; [A]19v.5: *cāgauravo*.

[115] MS[B]11v.4: .. *ta*; [A]19v.5: *atra*.

[116] In MS[B] my previous note on this reading should be changed to "Read (*tatrāga*)*tāś*," see *KV[K]*: 67, fn. 7. MS[A] reads: *kālagataś*.

[117] = MS[B]; [A]20r.2: *śākyā*.

[118] = MS[B]: *Rāja*(11v.6) + + + + + + ... Read *Rāja*(*gṛhe prativasato*).

[119] = MS[B]. W. r. for *Bhagavatā*.

[120] MS[B]11v.6: *varṣāty(ay)ena*; [A]20r.3: *varṣār(ā)treṇa*.

[121] = MS[B]. For *grahītuṃ*.

[122] For *vismayaṃ*.

"Bhagavaṃ kasyaiṣa karmaṇo vipākena duṣprajñaḥ ||"

Bhagavān āha |

SL43.5 "Kāśyape samyaksambuddhe parinirvṛte eṣa āraṇyako bhikṣuḥ tripiṭaḥ[123] tatkālam āsīt*[124] <|> bhikṣū(7v.3)ṇāṃ ca buddhe pūjām eva kurvatāṃ buddhavacanam antarhitaṃ <|> te bhikṣavas tasya samīpaṃ gatāḥ 'asmākaṃ buddhavacanāmṛtaṃ vigata[125] | asmākam apy upadeśaṃ kuruṣva |' ity anena mātsaryadoṣā[126] upadeśo na kṛ(7v.4)taḥ | evaṃ tacchāśanam antarhitaṃ | tasyaiṣa karmaṇo vipākena duṣprajñaḥ ||"

idaṃ karma duṣprajñasaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL43.12 14. tatra katamat karma mahāprajñāsaṃvarttanīyaṃ[127] | ucyate |

ihaikatyaḥ pari(7v.5)pṛcchanajātīyo bhavati <|> paṇḍitāñ cchramaṇabrāhmaṇānāṃ[128] sevati <|> duṣprajñāṃ[129] parivarjayati <|> saddharmaṃ dīpayati | asaddharmaṃ vigarhayati | dharmabhāṇakānāṃ vaiśāradyaṃ varṇṇayati <|> sahitabhāṣi(7v.6)ṇāṃ sādhukāraṃ dadāti | ahitabhāṣiṇaṃ pariharati <|> samyagdṛṣṭiṃ varṇṇayati <|> mithyādṛṣṭiṃ vigarhayati <|> masipustakalekhanīpradānāni dadāti | na ca madyaṃ pibati |

SL44.6 yathoktaṃ ca {|} Nandi(7v.7)kasūtre <|>
pañcatriṃśan[130] madyapānadoṣā akuśalapathe[131] yojayitavyāḥ |

idaṃ karma mahāprajñāsaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL44.9 15. tatra katamat karma narakopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ucyate |

tīvraṃ praduṣṭa(7v.8)cittasya kāyavāgmanoduścaritaṃ <|> ucchedadṛṣṭiḥ <|> śāśvatadṛṣṭi(ḥ) <|> nāstikadṛṣṭiḥ | akriyādṛṣṭiḥ | asatkriyāvādaḥ[132] | matsarikavādaḥ[133] | akṛtajñatā <|> ānantaryaṃ | āryāṇāṃ śīlavatā(7v.9)m

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[123] Read *tripiṭa(ka)ḥ*.

[124] = MS[B]; [A]20r.5: *abbūt*.

[125] For *vigata(ṃ)*.

[126] For °*doṣād*.

[127] For *mahāprajña-*.

[128] W. r. for °*brāhmaṇān*?

[129] For *duṣprajñān*.

[130] = MS[B]; [A]21r.1: *catvāriṃśad ādīnavā(ḥ)*.

[131] = MS[B]; [A]21r.1: °*pakṣena* (= T.: *phyogs*).

[132] MS[A] does not have this word.

[133] MS[B]12r.6-v.1: *matsari[v]ādaḥ*.

abhūtābhyākhyānadānaṃ ||

idaṃ karma narakopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL44.16 16. tatra katamat karma tiryagyonyupapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ | ucyate ||

madhyamaṃ kāyavāṅmanoduścaritaṃ <|> vicitrarāgasamu(7v.10)cchitaṃ[134] karma <|> vicitradveṣasamutthitaṃ karma <|> vicitramohasamucchitaṃ karma <|> mātāpitroḥ pravrajitānāṃ cākalpikapradānaṃ | tiryagyonigatānāṃ satvānāṃ avahasanaṃ |
tathā praṇidhānakarma [yathā] (8r.1) govratikakukkuravratikaprabhṛtīnāṃ praṇidhānam 'atropapadyeyam' iti |

SL44.21 a) yathā ca bodhisatvasya Siṃhajātake avadānaṃ vaktavyaṃ |

SL44.22 yathā ca Varṣākārasya brāhmaṇasya markaṭopapattiḥ |
tadyathā Varṣākā(8r.2)reṇa brāhmaṇena sthaviraMahākāśyapo bhikṣuḥ Rājagṛhasyoparimeṇa Gṛddhrakūṭāt parvatād Girmakaparvataṃ[135] vaihāyasāṃ gacchan dṛṣṭaḥ <|> dṛṣṭvā tena praduṣṭacittena DevadattĀjātaśatrusaṃsargād vāgdu(8r.3)ścaritas kṛtaṃ <|>
"eṣa śramaṇo vihāyasāt parvatāt parvataṃ gacchan* <<|>> tadyathā markaṭo vṛkṣam eva gacchan praveśati | "
SL45.5 ayaṃ bhikṣubhiḥ[136] kathitaṃ 'Varṣākāreṇa brāhmaṇena krodhajātena vāgduścaritaṃ kṛ(8r.4)taṃ' <|>
"tasya ko vipākaḥ ||"
Bhagavān āha |
"asya vāgduścaritasya vipākaḥ | Varṣākāro brāhmaṇaḥ paṃca janmāśatāni[137] markaṭo bhaviṣyatī"ti |[138]

SL45.10 sa saṃvigna{ḥ}cittaṃ prasāditavān* tena Bhagavāṃ pari(8r.5)nirvāṇakāle pṛṣṭaḥ |
"tasya karmaṇo vipākaḥ kadā parikṣaya" iti ||
Bhagavān āha ||
"tāny eva paṃca janmāntaraśatāni ca sa[139] Rājagṛhe utpaśyati[140] | yayā jambvā

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[134] For °*samuttbitaṃ* [*ttb-* > *ccb-*].

[135] = MS[B]; [A] 21v.4: *Ṛṣigiripārśvaṃ parvvataṃ.*

[136] MS[B]12v.5-6: *gaccba*(v.6) + + + + + [*b*]; [A]22r.1: *Bhagavataḥ.*

[137] MS[B]12v.6-13r.1:*jammā*(r.1) + + + + + + + .. *bhaviṣyatīti*; [A]22r.2: *janmāntaraśatāni.*

[138] Compared to MS[A], the following long sentence is missing both in MS[B] and [E]: *tatas tena Varṣākāreṇa śrutaṃ Bhagavatā nirdiṣṭam — tvaṃ kila pañca janmāntaraśatāni markaṭo bhaviṣyasīti* (this is a reconstruction based on MS[A]).

[139] MS[B]13r.2: + + ; [A]22r.5: *kin tu.*

Jambūdvīpe jñapyati[141] | (8r.6) tatroṣṭrikāmātrāṇi phalāni <|> yathā kṣaudramadhv anetrakaṃ[142] {|} evamāsvādāni tatropapattir bhaviṣyatīti[143] | tato vyutthitasya sugatir bhaviṣyati | yathā cittapradūṣaṇena siṃheṣūpapannaḥ |"

(8r.7) tadarthaṃ ca Bhagavatā gāthā bhāṣitā |

SL46.4 dīrghā jāgarato rātriṃ dīrghāṃ śrāntasya yojanaṃ |
dīrgho bālasya saṃsāraḥ saddharmam avijānataḥ ||

idaṃ karma tiryagyonyupapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL46.7 17.(8r.8) tatra katamat karma pretalokopapattisamvarttanīyaṃ || ucyate ||[144]
tatra katamat karma yamalokopapattisamvarttanīyaṃ || ucyate |

kruddhasya pratihatacittasya kāyavāṅmanoduścaritaṃ | lobho (8r.9) viṣamalobho mithyājīvaḥ jighānsitapipāsātasya kruddhasya kālakriyā <|> vastuṣv abhiṣaktacittasya kruddhasya kālakriyā <|>

SL46.11 a) yathā coktaṃ Bhagavatā Śatavarge Āgame Karmavibhaṅgasūtre <|>
"(8r.10) tasya khalu punar Ānanda pudgalasya anyajātikṛtaṃ vā karma pratyupasthitaṃ bhavati | maraṇakāle vā mithyādṛṣṭiḥ |"

idaṃ karma yamalokopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL47.4 18. tatra katamat karma asu(8v.1)ralokopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ | ucyate |

sarvamṛdukāyavāṅmanoduścaritaṃ | mānaḥ | apamānaḥ | adhimānaḥ | asmiṃmāna(ḥ) | mithyāmānaḥ <|> sukṛta{duṣkṛta}kuśalamūlaṃ[145] asuralokopapattipa(8v.2)riṇāmitaṃ <|> samotkṛṣṭaṃ[146] rāgasamutthitaṃ[147] dauḥśīlyaṃ prajñāmukhena |

idaṃ karma asuralokopapattisamvarttanīyaṃ || ||

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[140] = MS[B]. Read *utpatsyase*.

[141] For *jñāyate*. MS[B]13r.2: *jñāyati*.

[142] = MS[B]; [A] does not have this word, see also *KV[K]*: 75, fn. 5.

[143] = MS[B]. Omit *iti*.

[144] As in MS[B], [E] also has two headings in this section, see also *KV[K]*: 75, fn. 10.

[145] = MS[B]. The word *duṣkṛta* should be omitted on the basis of MS[A] and Ch-5 (T 81, 1, 893a27-8): 「十者。廻諸善根。向修羅趣。」

[146] = MS[B]; [A]23r.4: *sarvotkṛṣṭaṃ*.

SL47.9 19. tatra katamat karma manuṣyalokopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ucyate|

a(8v.3)bhāvita[148] mandabhāvitāś ca daśa kuśalāḥ karmapathāḥ <|>
[149]trividhaṃ kāyakarma caturvidhaṃ vākkarma trividhaṃ manaskarma || ||

idaṃ karma manuṣyopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL47.13 20. tatra katamat karma kāmāvaca(8v.4)radevopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ | ucyate |

susamāptā daśa kuśalāḥ karmapathāḥ ||

idaṃ karma kāmāvacaradevopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL47.16 21. tatra katamaṃ karma rūpāvacaradevopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || (8v.5) ucyate |

susamāptāḥ susamāhitāḥ tato viśiṣṭatarāḥ paripūrṇṇā daśa kuśalāḥ karmapathāḥ ||

idaṃ karma rūpāvacaradevopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

SL47.20 22. tatra katamat karma ārūpyāvacara(8v.6)devopapattisamvarttanīyaṃ || ucyate |

catvāry[150] ārūpyāsamāpattayaḥ[151] | ākāśānaṃtyāyatanaṃ <|> vijñānānaṃtyāyatanaṃ[152] <|> naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñāyatanaṃ | ākiñcanyāyatanaṃ || etāḥ samāpattayo bhā(8v.7)vitā bahulīkṛtāś ca bhavanti ||

idaṃ karmārūpyāvacaradevopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ || ||

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[147] = MS[B]; [A]23r.4: *rāgam anusamutthitaṃ.*

[148] = MS[B]. A scribal error for *subhāvitā* [confusion of two akṣaras: *a* and *su*]. [A]23r.5: *śubhāvitā* (*ś-* < *s-*).

[149] Both MS[B]8v.3 and [A]23r.5-v.1 have "*katame daśaḥ.*"

[150] = MS[B]. For *catasraḥ* (f. nom. pl.) as in [A]23v.5.

[151] = MS[B]. For *ārūpya°*.

[152] In this enumeration, the name of third stage, i.e., *ākiñcanyāyatana*, is listed after that of fourth stage. It is interesting to note that the word *ākiñcanyāyatana* is absent both in [B] and

SL47.25 23. tatra katamat karma kṛtaṃ nopacitaṃ | ucyate |

yat kṛtvā sa taṃ ārttīyati jehrīyati vibhavati[153] vi(8v.8)jugupsate deśayaty ācaṣṭe vyantīkaroti[154] | āyatyāṃ saṃvaram āpadyate <|> na punaḥ karoti ||

idaṃ karma kṛtaṃ nopacitaṃ || ||

SL48.3 24. tatra katamat karma upacitaṃ na kṛtaṃ || ucyate |

yat karma kāyena (8v.9) {na} pūrayitavyaṃ[155] | tatra praduṣṭacitto vacāṃ bhāṣati | 'idaṃ te kariṣyāmī'ti |

idaṃ karma upacitaṃ na kṛtaṃ || ||

SL48.6 25. tatra katamat karma kṛtaṃ copacitaṃ[156] ca || ucyate |

yat karma sāṃcetanikaṃ |

SL48.8 a) yatho(8v.10)ktaṃ Bhagavatā |
SL48.9 manaḥpūrvaṃgamā dharmā manaḥśreṣṭhā manojavāḥ |
manasā ca praduṣṭena bhāṣate ca[157] karoti vā ||
tatas taṃ duḥkham anveti cakraṃ vā vahate śire[158] ||

manaḥpūrvaṃgamā dharmā manaḥśreṣṭhā (9r.1) manojavāḥ |
manasā cet[159] prasannena bhāṣate vā karoti vā |
tatas taṃ sukham anveti cchāyā vā anuyāyinī[160] ||

idaṃ karma kṛtaṃ copacitaṃ[161] ca || ||

SL48.16 26. tatra katamat karma naiva kṛtaṃ naivopacitaṃ[162] || ucyate ||

[A].

[153] = MS[B]; [A] does not have this word.

[154] = MS[B]; [A]24r.3: *vyaktīkaroti*.

[155] MS[B]14r.3: [*paripūrayi*]*tavyaṃ* = [A].

[156] = MS[B]; [A]24r.5: *upacitaṃ*.

[157] MS[B] does not have *ca*; [A]24v.1: *vā*.

[158] MS[B]14r.5: *vahatamire*; [A]24v.2: *vahato padaṃ*. See *KV[K]*: NOTE 21, fn. 10 (p. 248),

[159] = MS[B]; [A]24v.2: *bi*.

[160] = MS[B] and [A]. W. r. for *anupāyinī* or *anugāminī* (see [B]18v.4, though [E] is not available)?

[161] = MS[B]; [A]24v.3: *upacitaṃ*.

ya(9r.2)t karma sāṃcetanikaṃ na kṛtaṃ na kāritaṃ vā[163] ||

idaṃ karma naiva kṛtaṃ naivopacitaṃ[164] || ||

5L48.19 27. tatra katamat karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgalo narakeṣūpapannaḥ paripūrṇṇaṃ nairayikam āyuḥ kṣapayitvā cya(9r.3)va{n}ti | ucyate |

ihaikatyena nārakīyaṃ karma kṛtaṃ bhavaty upacitaṃ <|> sa taṃ[165] kṛtvā nārttīyati | na jehrīyati[166] <|> na jugupsate[167] <|> na deśayati <|> nācaṣṭe <|> na vāntīkaroti[168] <|> nāyatyāṃ samvaram āpadyate <|> bhūya(9r.4)syā mātrayā hraṣyati <|> prītim utpādayati | yathā Devadattakālikaprabhṛtayaḥ[169] ||

idaṃ karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgalaḥ paripūrṇṇaṃ nairayikam āyuḥ kṣapayitvā cyava{n}ti || ||

5L49.7 28. (9r.5) tatra katamaṃ karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgalo narakeṣūpapanno 'rddhanairayikam āyuḥ kṣapayitvā cyava{n}ti || ucyate ||

ihaikatyena nārakīyaṃ karma kṛtaṃ bhavaty upacitaṃ | sa taṃ kṛtvā nārttīya(9r.6)ti <|> na jehrīyati | na vibharati [170]<|> na jugupsate[171] <|> na deśayati <|> nācaṣṭe <|> na vāntīkaroti <|> nāyatyāṃ samvaram āpadyate | na bhūyasyā mātrayā hṛṣya{n}ti <|> na prītim utpādayati ||

idaṃ karma yena samanvā(9r.7)gataḥ pudgalo narakeṣūpapanno 'rddhanairayikam āyuḥ kṣapayitvā cyava{n}ti || ||

5L49.14 29. tatra katamat karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgalo narakeṣūpapannamātra eva cyavati || <ucyate ||>

ihaikatyena nārakī(9r.8)yaṃ karma kṛtam bhavaty upacitaṃ | sa taṃ kṛtvā

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[162] = MS[B]; [A]24v.4: *nopaci(taṃ)*.

[163] = MS[B]; [A]24v.4: *yat karma saṃcetanīyaṃ svapnāntar(e) kṛtaṃ kāritaṃ vā*.

[164] = MS[B]; [A]24v.4: *nopacitaṃ*.

[165] = MS[B]; [A]25r.1: *tat karmma*.

[166] = MS[B]; [A]25r.1: *vibriyati*.

[167] MS[B]14v.1: *ju<<+>>ps(a)te*; [A]25r.1: *vijugupsyati*.

[168] MS[E] reads "*vāntīkaroti*" while [B] reads "*vyantīkaroti*" ([A] reads "*vyaktīkaroti*" instead). For *vyantīkaroti*?; cf. [E]8v.8.

[169] = MS[B]. Read *Devadatta<Ko>kālikā*° as in [A]25r.2.

[170] = MS[B]; [A] does not have this word.

ārttīyati <।> jehrīyati <।> vibharati[172] <।> jugupsate[173] <।> deśayati <।> vāntīkaroti <।> āyatyāṃ samvaram āpadyate <।> na punaḥ kurute <।> sa cen narakeṣūpapadyate <।> upapanna(9r.9)mātra eva cyavati ।

SL49.20 a) yathā rājā Ajātaśatrus tena Devadattasahāyena ānantaryakarma kṛtaṃ <।> pitṛvadha[174] <।> saṃghabhedo Dhanapālamokṣaṇaṃ <।> śilāyantramokṣaṇaṃ Devadattasyādeśena <।> tasmād avīci(9r.10)narakagamanaṃ śrutvā tena saṃvignena Bhagavati cittaṃ prasāditaṃ ।

SL49.23 Amoghaphalasūtre[175] atyayadeśanaṃ kṛtaṃ । pratisaṃdadhāti kuśalamūlāni <।> tena maraṇakāle cittaṃ prasāditaṃ । "asthibhi(9v.1)r api Bhagavantaṃ śaraṇaṃ gacchāmi" <।> sa upapannamātra eva cyavati ।।

idaṃ karma yena samanvāgataḥ pudgalo narakeṣūpapannamātra eva cyavati ।। ।।

SL50.3 30. tatra katamat karma niyatopapattisamvarttanīyaṃ । (9v.2) ucyate ।

yat kṛtvā upapattau[176] pariṇā<<ma>>yati । "amutropapadyayam" iti <।> sa tatropapadyate ।

SL50.6 yathā Bhagavato jātake[177] Syāmākajātakaprabhṛtiṣu[178] praṇidhānavaśād upapattir varṇṇyate ।।

idaṃ karma (9v.3) niyatopapattisamvarttanīyaṃ ।। ।।

SL50.8 31. tatra katamat karma aniyatopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ । ucyate ।

yat kṛtvā na kvacid upapattau pariṇāmayati । "amutropapadyeyam" iti । yathā satvāḥ karmava(9v.4)śād upapadyante ।

idaṃ karma aniyatopapattisaṃvarttanīyaṃ ।। ।।

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[171] MS[B]14v.4: *vijugupsate*; [A]25r.5: *vijugupsyati*.

[172] = MS[B]; [A] does not have this word.

[173] MS[B]14v.6-15r.1: *viju*(r.1) + + +; [A]25v.4: *vijugupsyati*.

[174] For *pitṛvadaḥ*.

[175] Title unknown. MS[B]15r.3: + .. [*n*]*yaphalasūtre*; [A]26r.2: *Śrāmaṇyaphalasūtre*.

[176] = MS[B]; [A]26r.5: *kvacid upapattau*.

[177] = MS[B]; [A]26r.5: *'ti{taṃ}teṣu*.

SL50.12 32. tatra katamat karma deśāntaravipakṣaṃ[179] || ucyate |

yat karma tasminn eva janmāntare deśāntaragatasya vipacyate | śubhā[180] vā <|> (9v.5) tat karma deśāntaravipakṣaṃ[181] <|>

SL50.14 a) yathā Bhagavān kathayati[182] |

bhūtapūrvaṃ bhikṣavo Jāmbūdvīpe manuṣyāṇām aparimāṇam āyur bhavati[183] <|>

SL51 yathānyatarasmiṃ{|} asti Jambūdvīpe Mahākośalī[184] nāma nagaraṃ tatra[185] (9v.6) Maitrāyajño nāma sārthavāhaputro babhūva || sa pañcaśatasahāyaparivṛta udyānaṃ gataḥ | taiś ca sahāyair uktaḥ |

"asmin nagare vanijās[186] tava pitaraṃ pūrvaṃgamaṃ kṛtvā mahāsamudram[187] avatīrya Suva(9v.7)rṇṇabhūmiprabhṛtīni[188] deśāntarāṇi gatvā dvīpāntarāṇi paśyanti <|> dravyopārjanaṃ ca kurvanti <|> vayam api tvāṃ pūrvāṃgamaṃ kṛtvā samudram avatīrya dravyopārjanaṃ kariṣyāmo dvīpāni[189] ca drakṣyāmas" <|>

ta(9v.8)tas ten"aivam" iti pratiśrutaṃ <|>

sa rātrau gatvā mātaraṃ pṛcchati[190] |

"amba Suvarṇṇabhūmiṃ gamiṣyāmaḥ |"

tasya mātā āha |

"aparimitaṃ[191] putra dravyaṃ gṛhe tiṣṭhati | na gantavyam" iti <|>

sa mātur vacanena ni{r}vṛ(9v.9)ttaḥ |

SL51.10 sa bhūya udyānaṃ gataḥ | sahāyair uktaḥ <|>

"samudre tīram upayāmas[192]"

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[178] For *Śyāmakā°*.

[179] = MS[B] and [A]. For *°vipākaṃ*.

[180] = MS[B]; [A]26v.4: *śubbaṃ aśubba(ṃ) vā*. For *śubbaṃ* and add *aśubbaṃ*.

[181] = MS[B] and [A]. For *°vipākaṃ*.

[182] = MS[B]; [A] does not have this word.

[183] = MS[B]; [A] has additionally "*yatbā rājño Māṃdbātuḥ*" (26v.5).

[184] In MS[A] Maitāyajña states in his dialogue with a person in hell that he came from Tāmalipta [32r.1] (in MS[B], this portion is not available due to a loss of two folios; [E] does not exist).

[185] Instead of this long phrase which is same as in [B], [A] simply says: *nagare* (26v.5).

[186] For *vaṇijas*.

[187] = MS[B]; [A] does not have *mabā-*.

[188] = MS[B]; [A]27r.1: *samudrabbūmi°*.

[189] = MS[B]; [A]27r.3: *dvīpāṃtarāṇi*.

[190] MS[B]15v.5: + .. *ti*; [A]27r.3: *āpṛcchati*.

[191] Both [B]15v.5 and [A]27r.4 read "*aparimāṇaṃ*."

[192] MS[B]15v.6: + + + + + *p(a)yāmas*; [A]27r.5: (*tam arthaṃ vijñā*)*p(a)yāmas*. My previous note

tena "tathāstv" iti pratiśrutaṃ ।

sa bhūyo mātaraṃ gatvā pṛcchati ।

bhūyaś ca mātrā āpādapatanā nipatitaḥ । evaṃ tṛtīyam api <।>

sa (9v.10) bhūya udyānaṃ gataḥ <।> sahāyair uktaḥ[193] <।>

"tat kathaṃ <<tvayā>> na gantavyam" iti ।[194]

tena gatvā mātā pṛṣṭyate ।

"deśāntaraṃ gamiṣyāmīti" ।

tayā sarvaṃ svajanaṃ gṛhya āpādapatanāc caturtham api ni{r}varttitaḥ ।

SL52 sa kā(10r.1)lāntareṇa bhūya udyānaṃ gataḥ <।> sahāyair uktaḥ ।

"tat kim[195] vayam api na gacchāmaḥ । āpṛcchāmo[196] vayaṃ <।> trayodaśyāṃ gamiṣyāma" iti ।

tena mātur aviditam eva bahirbhāṇḍaṃ nirgamitaṃ । tasya gamanakāle pra(10r.2)sthitasya mātā dvāre pādapatanaṃ kṛtvā sthitvā "putra na gantavyam" iti ।

SL52.5 sa kruddho mātuḥ pādaṃ mastake datvā pratikrāntaḥ samudrakūlañ ca gataḥ ।

tena sakhāyā[197] uktāḥ ।

"samudram avataratāṃ na jñāyate <।> jī(10r.3)vitaṃ maraṇaṃ ca । hanta[198] vayaṃ sarve evāṣṭāṅgasamanvāga<ta>ṃ poṣadhaṃ[199] gṛhṇīmas <।>"

tais "tathāstv" iti pratiśrutaṃ । poṣadhaṃ ca gṛhītas <।>

SL52.9 te samudram avatīrṇṇāḥ <।> samudramadhyagatānāṃ ca teṣāṃ viṣamavātāhataḥ <।> poto (10r.4) vinaṣṭaḥ । te<na> sarve kālagatāḥ ।

Maitrāyajñaś[200] carmaputamukhāvabaddhaṃ tāmraghaṭakaṃ halekaṃ ca । samudrakūle uttīrṇṇaḥ <।>

sa paryaṭamānaḥ sauvarṇṇaprākāraṃ[201] paśyati । ārāmasampannaṃ vanasaṃpannaṃ puṣpa(10r.5)sampannaṃ puṣkiriṇīsaṃpannaṃ[202]

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on this reading of MS[B] should be changed to: Read "*(samudre tīram u)p(a)yāmas*" on the basis of [E] (*KV[K]*: 91, fn.3).

[193] In MS[B], the following two folios are missing.

[194] MS[A]: "*atha gantavyam*" *iti* ।

[195] MS[A]27v.3: *tava doṣād.*

[196] MS[A]27v.3: *pṛcchāmo.*

[197] For *sahāyā*.

[198] ? It does not make sense.

[199] MS[A]28r.1 apparently reads *upoṣadhaṃ* here but it also reads *po<ṣa>dhaṃ* in the same line.

[200] In MS[A] the name of Maitrāyajña was inconsistently written, probably due to both a scribal error and a wrong reading; on the other hand, in MS[B], it is always written as *Maitrāyajña* (once *Maitrājña* 20r.5 [probably a scribal error]); cf. *KV[K]*: 341, s.v. Maitrāyajña. It is worth noting that although he is called Maitrāyajña in [E], the name Maitrakanyaka appears once (10v.5).

dhūpitadhūpanaṃ muktapuṣpāvakīrṇṇaṃ avasaktapaṭṭadāmakalāpaṃ | tataś catasro 'psaraso nirgatāḥ <|> sa tābhir gṛhya nagaraṃ praveśitaḥ <|> sa tābhiḥ sārddhaṃ bahūni varṣā(10r.6)ṇi krīḍanti[203] <|> bahūni varṣaśatāni bahūni varṣasahaśrāṇi krīḍanti |

sa tābhir ukta<ḥ |>

SL52.17 "āryaputra tavāyaṃ pṛthivīpradeśo 'pūrvaḥ | asmād vihārāt tena nirgantavyaṃ | yadi nirgacchasi sarvathā te utta(10r.7)rā mukhena nirgantavyam" iti || "dakṣiṇena gantavyam" iti[204] ||

sa ca tasmāt kālāntareṇa nirgataḥ <|> sa bhūyo gacchan nagaraṃ paśyati <|> rūpyamayena prākāreṇārāmasaṃpannaṃ <|> pūrvavat <|> tasmād aṣṭāv apsarā nirgatāḥ | (10r.8) tābhir apy asau gṛhya nagaraṃ praveśitaḥ | tābhir api sārddhaṃ bahūni varṣāṇi bahūni varṣaśatāni bahūni varṣasahasrāṇi krīḍati |[205] pūrvavat <|>

SL52.25 tato 'pi kālāntareṇa nirgataḥ <|> sa bhūyaḥ paryaṭamāno nagaraṃ pa(10r.9)śyati <|> vaiḍūryamayena prākāreṇārāmasampannaṃ | pūrvavat <|> tasmād api ṣoḍaśāpsaraso nirgatāḥ | sa tābhir api sārddhaṃ bahūni varṣaśatāni bahūni varṣasahasrāṇi krīḍitavān* | pūrvavat[206] <|>

SL53 tato (')pi kālā(10r.10)ntareṇa nirgataḥ <|> sa bhūyaḥ paryaṭamānaḥ sphaṭimayena prākāreṇa nagaraṃ paśyati | tathaivārāmasampannaṃ puṣpasaṃpannaṃ dhūpitadhūpanaṃ <|> muktapuṣpāvakīrṇṇam avaśaktapaṭṭadāmakalāpaṃ | tasmā(10v.1)d api dvātriṃśad apsaraso nirgatāḥ <|> tābhir api sārddhaṃ bahūni varṣāṇi bahūni varṣaśatāni bahūni varṣasahasrāṇi krīḍati ramate |

SL53.5 tābhir apy uktaḥ |

"āryaputra tavāyaṃ pṛthivīpradeśo 'pūrvaḥ | a(10v.2)smād vihārāt tena <na> nirgantavyam" iti | "atha nirgacchasi uttarāmukhena <na> nirgantavyam" iti ||

sa tāsāṃ pratyākhyāya tato nirgato dakṣiṇābhimukhe[207] gacchan kaṇṭakāṭavī[208] prapannaḥ | athāyasena[209] prākā(10v.3)reṇa nagaraṃ paśyati | tatra praviṣṭaḥ | praviṣṭamātrasya ca nagaradvāraṃ pithitaṃ[210] | ūrdhvaṃ =*(space for 5 akṣaras)*=

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[201] After this, MS[A] has *nagaraṃ*.

[202] For *puṣkariṇī*°.

[203] MS[A]28r.5: *krīḍitavān*.

[204] MS[A] does not have this sentence.

[205] MS[A] has "*babūni varṣaśatasabasrāni*" (28v.4).

[206] After this, MS[A] has apsaras' caution "you are not familiar with this place ..." (29r.2-3).

[207] He went out from the southern gate not from the northern (!) Does it mean that he simply followed the word of four apsaras (*dakṣiṇena gantavyam* [10r.7])? MS[A]29v.2: *ut(t)arābhimukbena*.

[208] For *kaṇṭakāṭavīṃ*.

rā[211] varddhate <।> bhairavaṃ ca śabdaṃ śṛṇoti । tatrasthaś cintayati <।> 'kim etad' iti । sa tatra gataḥ । atha paśya(10v.4)ti । puruṣasyāsidhārā cakraṃ śiraś chinatti ।

sa bhītaḥ pṛcchati ।

" =*(space for 4 akṣaras)*=[212] puruṣaḥ ।"

nairayikaḥ puruṣa āha ।।

"eṣa pratyekanarakaḥ ।"

Maitrāyajña āha ।।

"kiṃ tvayā pāpakaṃ karma kṛtam" iti ।।

SL53.15 sa (10v.5) kathayati ।

"yan mayā mātur apakāraḥ kṛtaḥ[213] <।> [214]tasya karmaṇo vipākena mamāsidhāraṃ cakraṃ śiraś chinatti" ।

yāvan Maitrakanyakena[215] sārthavāhena kṛtaṃ tathaiva sarvaṃ kṛtaṃ ।।

SL54.15 Maitrāyajñaś cinta(10v.6)yati <।> 'mayāpy etad eva sarvaṃ kṛtaṃ । upasthito mamāpi karmavipāka' iti ।

[216]nairayikaḥ puruṣa āha ।

"asti mayāpy adya antarīkṣe ghoṣaḥ śrutaḥ <।> 'kṣīṇas tava karmavipākaḥ । Maitrāyajño nā(10v.7)ma sārthavāhaputro 'dyāgamiṣyaty <।> etad eva karma kṛtve'ti ।।"

SL54.21 [217]Maitrāyajña āha ।

"kiṃ bhojanaṃ ।"

sa āha ।

"ata eva mastakāc chidyamānān māṃsaśroṇitaṃ śravati ।"

evam uktvā sa puraṣaḥ kāla(10v.8)gataḥ <।>

Maitrāyajño bhītas trastaḥ[218] saṃvignaḥ <।> sarveṇa bhāvena mātāpitror namaskāraṃ[219] kṛtvā āha ।

SL54.25 ūrdhvaṃ bhavāgrād api tathā adhā 'vīci[220]
tiryakpradhāna gaṇitān api lokadhātūn* ।

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[209] MS[A]29v.3: *atha kṛṣṇāyasena.*

[210] For *pibitaṃ* [*b* > *th*]. Or *pibita*{*ḥ* ।}*m ūrdhvaṃ*?

[211] Read (*paśyati* । *prākā*)*ro.*

[212] Read *kim etad bhoḥ.*

[213] MS[E] has very short explanation while [A] repeats a description that a person of hell narrated his visit to the palaces in turn (= corresponding to [A]30r.1-31v.5).

[214] MS[E] corresponds to [A]31v.5 = SL54.14.

[215] This is a sole appearance of this name in any of extant Sanskrit manuscripts of the *KV.*

[216] Before this, one pair of question and reply is omitted, namely "from where do you come? I came from ..." (*kutas tvaṃ* ... [A]32r.1).

[217] In MS[E], the following sentences concerning the life-span in hell are missing: "*kiṃ tv*(*m tv*) *āyuḥ pramāṇaṃ* ।" *sa prāha* । "*ṣaṣṭivarṣa*(32r.4)*sahaśrāṇi* ।" *Maitrāyajña āha* । ([A]32r.3-4).

asmiṃ surāsu(10v.9)ranaroragabhūtakāye
satvāni yāny upagatāni sukhī bhavantu |

SL55 iti[221] cintayitvā sarveṇa bhāvena mātāpitror namaskāraṃ kṛtvā praṇidhāṃ ca kṛtavān* <|>

"yatra yatropapadyāmi mātāpitroḥ śuśru(10v.10)ṣāṃ kuryām[222]" iti |
"ye ca kecana satvā iha pratyekanarake pratibhokṣukāmās[223] teṣām arthe[224] 'ham ata sthitaḥ | ye ca kecana loke muktāmuktāś ca teṣāṃ namaste ca māṃ pālayantv <|>"

idam uktvā tasmin nai(*rayikapuruṣas kāle sthitaḥ | punaś ca praṇidhānaṃ kṛtvā punar apy āha* |)[225]

Here ends Manuscript [E] (No. 4-951).

Convention:

( )	restored akṣara(s)
[ ]	damaged akṣara(s)
< >	omitted (part of) akṣara(s)
{ }	superfluous akṣara(s)
{{ }}	erased akṣara(s)
« »	interlinear insertion
+	one lost akṣara
..	one illegible akṣara
.	illegible part of an akṣara
*	virāma
'	avagraha

Abbreviations:

BHSG/D: Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionar by F. Edgerton.

KV:	*Karmavibhaṅga* (or *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* in Lévi).
KV[K]:	See Kudo 2004.
Lévi/SL:	See Lévi 1932.
MS[A]:	No. 4-20
MS[B]:	No. 1-1697
MS[E]:	No. 4-951
r	recto
v	verso

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[218] MS[A] does not have this word.

[219] MS[A]32r.5: *praṇipātaṃ*.

[220] MS[A]32r.5: *ūrddh(v)aṃ bhavāgravitatā(n) adharasya (')vīciṃ*.

[221] MS[A]32v.1: *evañ*.

[222] MS[A] has "*abaṃ*" here (32v.2).

[223] MS[A]32v.3: *upapadyate kāmās* (< *kāmāt*?).

[224] MS[A]32v.3: *sarveṣām arthāya*.

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(This research is supported in part by a Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research (C) from JSPS)

[Keywords] *Karmavibhaṅga*, Nepalese manuscript, NGMPP

[225] The last sentence is supplied on the basis of MS[A]32v.4.

The *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* and Buddhapālita's Commentary (1)*:

Romanized Texts Based on the Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet

YE Shaoyong

The two manuscripts presented here belong to the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts formerly kept in the China Ethnic Library, Beijing. The collection was brought from Tibetan monasteries to Beijing in 1961, cataloged by Wang Sen in 1985,[1] and returned to Tibet in 1993. Now these manuscripts are preserved in Tibet Museum in Lhasa.[2] The microfilms I used belong to the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist literature at Peking University. In 2003 when I was checking the microfilms, folios cataloged by Wang Sen as "No. 17, Sanskrit miscellaneous leaves" drew my attention. With the help of my supervisor, Dr. Duan Qing, I was able to identify fourteen folios belonging to two incomplete manuscripts (hereafter referred to as our manuscripts), among which three folios are from a separate copy of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MK_{Ms}) and eleven folios are from *Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti*, i.e., Buddhapālita's commentary (BP_{Ms}).

Judging from the microfilm, these palm-leaves are not in good condition, and among them several folios are heavily damaged. Given their condition, only three folio numbers can be made out. According to my counting with the aid of the Tibetan translation, the two works should both be numbered from folio one. I therefore consider them to be two manuscripts, although they appear to be written by the same scribe. No colophon or date has been found in the manuscripts. Their script, which could be called an eastern variety of the post-Gupta script, resembles that of inscriptions from Nepal from around the 7th century (cf. Indraji 1880;

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* This a revised version of a paper presented at the XIV Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held in London in 2005. My thanks are due to my supervisor, Professor Duan Qing of Peking University, who kindly provided me with this topic and offered me guidance. I am also indebted to Mr. Nader Rastegar and to Venerable Chun Yi, without whose beneficence I could not have attended that conference, and to Professor Michael Witzel for kindly helping me locate travel funds. I am also obliged to Professor Harunaga Isaacson who not only afforded me some needed materials but also provided valuable suggestions. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Professors Akira Saito, Seishi Karashima and Dr. Jundo Nagashima who read my earlier transcriptions and suggested a great number of improvements. Thanks are also due to Professor Jan Nattier who took the trouble of checking my English. Needless to say, any errors that remain are my own.

[1] Wang Sen 王森, 民族圖書館藏梵文貝葉經目录 (A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts Preserved in the China Ethnic Library), 1985. See Hu-von Hinüber 2006: 297-335.

[2] Cf. Steinkellner 2004; Hu-von Hinüber 2006.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 117-147.
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Gnoli 1956) and that in a manuscript of the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* from Nepal (Matsuda 1996, manuscript A). The paleographical date of the latter has been suggested by L. Sander as the early 7th century (*op.cit.*, xvii). Inasmuch as there is no dated manuscript from this period and region accessible to me, and it is usually considered unsafe to date a manuscript based on inscriptions, the 7th century for our manuscripts is just my best estimate based on the available evidence. If my estimation is correct, it is a surprise to find such ancient manuscripts in Tibet, almost dating to the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet, and only around 100 years after Buddhapālita's commentary was composed. Moreover, these two manuscripts are not only the oldest extant Sanskrit manuscripts insofar as the Madhyamaka texts are concerned, but are also the first Sanskrit copies of an independent MK and of Buddhapālita's commentary to have been found.

The remaining three folios of MK_{Ms} have preserved 107 verses—although these individual verses are not always complete—which amount to approximately one fifth of the whole work. The eleven folios of BP_{Ms} contain 57 verses with commentary. As it has been passed down to us, BP_{Tib} has a text almost identical to *Akutobhayā* (ABh) from chapter XXIII to XXVII. Since our manuscript does not include these chapters, the question whether Buddhapālita had a different commentary on these five chapters remains. Based on the Tibetan translation, BP_{Ms} comprises approximately one ninth of the whole work, if chapters XXIII to XXVII are included.

According to de Jong's numbering of the verses (dJ), the contents of these two manuscripts are as follows:

Manuscript of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*	
Folio	Verse
1-4	lost
(5)a	IX.10-12, X.1-15ab
(5)b	X.15cd-16, XI.1-8, XII.1-8a
6	lost
7a	XVII.29-33, XVIII.1-12
7b	XIX.1-6, XX.1-12a
8a	XX.12bcd-24, XXI.1-8ab
8b	XXI.8cd-21, XXII.1-5
9ff.	lost

Manuscript of the *Buddhapālitamūlamadhyamakavṛtti*			
Folio	Content	Folio	Content
1-8	lost	27-28	lost
(9)a	II.5-7	29a	VII.30-32
(9)b	II.8-11	29b	VII.32-33
(10)a	II.11-13	30-32	lost
(10)b	II.13-16	(33)a	VIII.13
11-20	Lost	(33)b	VIII.13, IX.1-3
[21]a	VII.1	34-35	lost
[21]b	VII.1-2	(36)a	X.2-4
22	lost	(36)b	X.5-8
(23)a	VII.3-6	37-41	Lost
(23)b	VII.6-9	(42)a	XIII.7-8
(24)a	VII.9-13	(42)b	XIII.8, XIV.1-2
(24)b	VII.13-14	43-67	lost
25	lost	(68)a	XX.11-15
(26)a	VII.17-20	(68)b	XX.16-18
(26)b	VII.20-22	69ff.	lost

As the original manuscripts have not become available to me thus far, I here provide tentative editions based on the microfilm only, with the hope that I will be able to check them against the originals in future.

Conventions

Symbols:

( )	restored *akṣara*(s)
(*italic*)	uncertain restoration or back-translation from Tibetan
[ ]	damaged *akṣara*(s)
⟨ ⟩	omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s)
⟪ ⟫	insertion
{ }	superfluous *akṣara*(s)
{{ }}	deleted *akṣara*(s)
+	one destroyed *akṣara*
..	one illegible *akṣara*
.	illegible part of an *akṣara*
...	indefinite number of lost *akṣara*s
*	*virāma*
'	*avagraha* (not used in the original manuscript)
◎	decorative circle
○	string hole
▾	line break (the line and folio numbers are indicated on the page margin)
▿	approximate place of the line break

Punctuation:

Ms.	ed.
gap for punctuation	⟨•⟩ or ⟨‖⟩
visarga-cum-*daṇḍa* and *virāma*-cum-*daṇḍa*	⟨•⟩ or ⟨‖⟩
◡ or •	•
།	‖
◡། or •།	•‖

*All words are transcribed as they appear in the manuscripts without correction, such as *gaṃtā* for *gantā*, *dharmma* for *dharma*, *attra* for *atra*, *prasiddhyati* for *prasidhyati*, *mitthyā* for *mithyā*, and so on.

Bibliography and Abbreviations

ABh	Tibetan translation of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāvṛtty-akutobhayā* (དབུ་མཅུ་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་གཞན་དང་མི་ཐེབས་པ།། D 3829)
AKBh	*Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya*: P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya of Vasubandu*, Patna, 1967, rev. 2nd ed., Patna, 1975.
BHSG	Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, vol. 1, Grammar, Yale University Press, 1953. Repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, ²1970.
BP_{Ms}	Sanskrit manuscript of the *Buddhapālitamūlamadhyamakavṛtti* (Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formerly kept in the China Ethnic Library, Beijing)
BP_{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the *Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* (དབུ་མཅུ་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་བུདྡྷ་པཱ་ལི་ཏ།། D 3842)
C	Cone blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka
D	Derge (sDe dge) blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka
dJ	J. W. de Jong, *Nāgārjuna: Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1977.
G	dGa'-ldan (or Golden) *bsTan 'gyur*
Gnoli 1956	R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Serie Orientale Roma 10, Roma, 1956.

Hu-von Hinüber 2006	Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, "some Remarks on the Sanskrit Manuscript of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣasūtra found in Tibet", *Jaina-itihāsa- ratna: Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, Indica et Tibetica 47, Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Anne Peters, ed., Marburg, 2006.
Indraji 1880	Bh. Indraji & G. Bühler, "Inscriptions from Nepal," *Indian Antiquary* 9, 1880, pp. 163-194.
LVP	L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Madhyamakavṛttiḥ, Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamakasūtras) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā Commentaire de Candrakīrti*, Bibliotheca Buddhica 4, 1903-13. Repr., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1992.
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Matsuda 1996	Kazunobu Matsuda, *Two Sanskrit Manuscripts of the Daśabhūmikasūtra Preserved at the National Archives, Kathmandu*, Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum 10, Tokyo, 1996.
MK	*Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* by Nāgārjuna
MK_{Ms}	Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* by Nāgārjuna (Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formerly kept in the China Ethnic Library, Beijing).
MK_{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the *Prajñānāma-mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* by Nāgārjuna (དབུམཀ་ཏྲི་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཚིག་ལེའུར་བྱས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། D 3824)
MW	M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford 1899: The Clarendon Press, 1899.
N	Narthang (sNar thang) blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka
P	Peking blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka
PG	Chinese translation of Piṅgala's commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (中論, 藏要 2, 上海書店, p. 903).
PP	*Prajñā-pradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* by Bhāviveka
PP_{Ch}	Chinese translation of the *Prajñā-pradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* by Bhāviveka (般若燈論釋, T1566, 30.50c3)
PP_{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the *Prajñā-pradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* by Bhāviveka (དབུམཀ་རྩ་བའི་ཤེས་རབ་སྒྲོན་མ། D 3853)
PSP	*Mūlamadhyamakakārikavṛtti-prasannapadā* by Candrakīrti
PSP_{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikavṛtti-prasannapadā* by Candrakīrti (དབུམཀ་རྩ་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་ཚིག་གསལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། D 3860)
Saito 1985	Akira Saito 斎藤明, "Textcritical Remarks on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* as Cited in the *Prasannapadā*", *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 33, 2, 1985, pp. 846-842.
SM	Chinese translation of Sthiramati's commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (大乘中觀釋論, T1567, 30.136a5, chapters 1-13; K1482, 41.102c14; 卍正藏经, 49, p. 62, chapters 1-27)
Steinkellner 2004	Ernst Steinkellner, *A Tale of Leaves: On Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tibet, their Past and their Future,* 2003 Gonda Lecture, Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004.
T	Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō 大正新修大藏經
Tib.	MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}, ABh, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Tib}
Ye 2007	Ye Shaoyong, "A Re-examination of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* on the Basis of the Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet", *Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2006*, Tokyo, 2007, pp. 149-170.

Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā

Around 4 folios from the beginning are lost.

▽(darśana)[śr](a)[vaṇā]d(ī)ni vedanādīni cāpy atha • (5?)a1
bhavanti yebhyas te[ṣ]v e[ṣa] bhūteṣv api na vidyate • || (IX.10) ○
darśanaśravaṇādīni vedanādīni cāpy atha •
na vidyate ced yasya sur[1] na vidyante imāny api • || (IX.11)
prāk ca yo ○ darśanādibhyaḥ sāṃprataṃ cordhvam eva ca •
na vidyate 'sti nāstīti nivṛttā[2] tattra kalpa(nāḥ ||◎|| IX.12
▽v)[y](a)[va]sthitaparīkṣā[3] nāma navamaṃ ||◎|| (5?)a2

yadīndhanaṃ bhaved[4] agnir ekatvaṃ kartṛkarmmaṇoḥ ‹•› ○
anyaś ced indhanād agnid[5] indhanād apy ṛte bhavet* || (X.1)
nityapradīpta eva syād apradīpanahetukaḥ ‹•›
punarāraṃbhavaiyarthyam e‹vaṃ› cākarmmakaḥ sati • || (X.2)
parattra nirapekṣatvād apradīpanahetuka(ḥ •
▽pu)narāraṃbhavaiyarthyaṃ nityadīpte[6] prasajyate • (X.3) (5?)a3
tatraitat syād[7] iddhyamānam indhanaṃ bhavatīti [ce]t* ○
keneddhyatām indhanaṃ tat tāvanmāttram idaṃ yadā • ||(X.4)
anyo na prāpyate[8] 'prāpto na dhakṣyaty adahan punaḥ ‹•›
na nirvvāsya○ty anirvvāṇaḥ sthāsyate vā svaliṃgavān* ‹||› (X.5)
anya evendhanād agnir indhanaṃ prāpnuyād ya[d]i (•)

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[1] *sur*: read *syur* = MacDonald 2007; dJ, LVP *sa*.

[2] *nivṛttā*: dJ, LVP *nivṛttās*.

[3] *(v)[y](a)[va]sthitaparīkṣā*: LVP *Pūrvaparīkṣā*; ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} ཉེ་བར་ལེན་པ་པོ་དང་ཉེ་བར་བློས་བ་བརྟག་པ; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} སྔོན་ནས་གནས་པ་བརྟག་པ; PG 觀本住; SM 觀先分位; PP_{Ch} 觀取者. Cf. Ye 2007.

[4] *yadīndhanaṃ bhaved*: dJ, LVP *yad indhanaṃ sa ced*; ABh, PP_{Tib}, $BP_{Tib(PNG)}$ གལ་ཏེ་ཤིང་དེ་མེ་ཡིན་ན།།; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}, $BP_{Tib(DC)}$ བྱད་ཤིང་གང་དེ་མེ་ཡིན་ན།།; PG 若然是可然; PP_{Ch} 若火即是薪; SM 若火即是薪. Cf. Ye 2007.

[5] *agnid*: read *agnir*.

[6] *nityadīpte*: dJ, LVP *nidyadīptaḥ*; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} རྟག་ཏུ་བདར་བ་ཡིན་ན་ནི།། རྩོམ་པ་དོན་མེད་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར།།; BP_{Tib}, ABh, PP_{Tib} རྟག་ཏུ་བདར་བ་ཉིད་ཡིན་ན།། རྩོམ་པ་དོན་མེད་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར།།; PG 火若常然者, 人功則應空; SM 火若常然者, 然火功相違. Cf. MacDonald 2007.

[7] *tatraitat syād*: = dJ; LVP *tatraitasmād*, Tib. དེ་ལ་གལ་ཏེ .

[8] *prāpyate*: read *prāpsyate*(?); LVP, BP_{Ms} *prāpsyate*.

(5?)a4 ▼[str](ī) saṃprāpnoti puruṣaṃ puruṣaś ca striyaṃ yathā •|| (X.6)
anya evendhanād agniḥ prāpnuyāt kāmam indha○naṃ[1] •
agnīndhane yadi syātām anyonyena tiraskṛte • (X.7)
yadīndhanam apekṣyāgnir apekṣyāgniṃ yadīndhanaṃ •
katarat pūrvva○niṣpannaṃ yad apekṣ〈y〉āgnir indhanaṃ • (X.8)
yadīndhanam apekṣ〈y〉āgnir agneḥ siddhasya sādha(nam* •)
(5?)a5 ▼[bha]viṣyatīndhanaṃ[2] cāpi bhaviṣyati niragnikam* || (X.9)
yo 'pekṣya siddhyate bhāvas tam e〈〈vā〉〉pekṣya siddhyati • ○
yadi yo 'pekṣitavyaḥ sa siddhyatām* kam apekṣya kaḥ || (X.10)
yo 'pekṣya siddhyate bhāvas so 'siddho 'pekṣate kathaṃ • ○
athāpy apekṣate siddhas tv apekṣāsya na yujyate • || (X.11)
apekṣ〈y〉endhanam agnir na nānapekṣyā(gnir indhanam* •)
(5?)a6 ▼[a]pekṣyendhanam agnin na nānapekṣyāgnim indhanaṃ • (X.12)
āgacchaty anyato nāgnir indhane 'g[n]ir na vidyate • ○
athendhanaṃ[3] śeṣam uktaṃ gamyamānagatāgataiḥ || (X.13)
indhanaṃ punar agnir na nāgnir anyattra cendhanāt* •
nāgnir indhana○vān nāgnāv indhanāni na teṣu saḥ 〈||〉 (X.14)
agnīndhanābhyāṃ vyākhyātaḥ ātmopādā[nayo](kramaḥ •
(5?)b1 sarvo▽ nirava)[śeṣeṇa sārdhaṃ ghaṭapaṭādibhiḥ] (|| X.15
ātma)[naś ca satatva](ṃ) [ye] (bhāvānāṃ ca) [p]ṛ(thak) [p]ṛ(thak •
nirdiśanti na tān manye śāsanasyārthakovidān* ||◎|| X.16
a)[gn](ī)[ndha](naparīkṣā nāma daśamam*) [||◎||]

(p)ū(r)[v](ā) [pra](jñāyate) ○ [ko](ṭir) ne[ty] u[vāca] mahāmuniḥ 〈•〉
saṃsār[o] 'na[va]rāgro hi [nāsyād]ir (n)ā[pi] (paścimam* ||XI.1
(5?)b2 ▽naivāgraṃ n)ā[vara](ṃ) [yasya tasya ma](dhyaṃ kuto bhave)t* [•
ta]smān nātropapadyaṃt(e) pūrvvāpa[rasahakkramāḥ ||] (XI.2)
[pūrvvaṃ ○ jātir yyadi] (bha)[vej jarā]maraṇa[m uttara](ṃ) •
nirjarā maraṇā jātir bhavej jāyeta cāmṛtaḥ 〈||〉 (XI.3)

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[1] *prāpnuyāt kāmam indhanaṃ*: = BP_{Ms}; dJ, LVP *indhanaṃ kāmam āpnuyāt*.

[2] *[bha]viṣyatīndhanaṃ*: dJ, LVP *evaṃ satīndhanaṃ*; Tib. གལ་ཏེ་ཤིང་ལྡོག་མེ་ཡིན་ན། ། མེ་ཐུབ་པས་ཐུབ་པར་འགྱུར། ། འདུ་བར་བྱ་བའི་ཤིང་ལ་ཡང་། ། མེ་མེད་པར་ནི་འགྱུར་པ་ཡིན། ། . Cf. Ye 2007.

[3] *athendhanaṃ*: read *tathendhanaṃ*; dJ, LVP *atrendhane*. MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} དེ་བཞིན་ཤིང་གི་ལྷག་མ་ནི། ། སོང་དང་མ་སོང་བཞོན་པས་བསྟན། ། ; ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} སོང་དང་མ་སོང་བཞོན་པ་ཡིས། ། དེ་བཞིན་ཤིང་ལ་ལྷག་མ་བསྟན། ། ; PG 可然亦如是，餘如去來說; PP_{Ch} 如薪餘亦遮，去來中已說; SM 餘法亦復然，如去來品說. Cf. Ye 2007.

paścā⟨j⟩ jātir yyadi bhavej [ja]Orāmaraṇam āditaḥ •
āhaitukam[1] ajātasya syāj jarāmara(ṇaṃ katham* || XI.4
▽na jarāma)[raṇaṃ c]aiva[2] [jā]tiś ca sa[ha] yujyate • (5?)b3
mriyeta jāyamānaś ca syāc cāhaitukatobhayo(ḥ)[3] ⟨||⟩ (XI.5)
[ya]Otra na prabha[va]nty e[te] (pū)[rvvāpa](ra)[sahakkramā](ḥ) ⟨•⟩
prapañca[yanti] tāṃ jātiṃ taj jarāmaraṇaṃ ca kiṃ • ⟨||⟩ (XI.6)
kāryyaṃ ca kāraṃṇa[4] caiva laOkṣyaṃ lakṣaṇam eva ca • {||}
vedanā vedakaś caiva santy arthā (ye ca ke) [cana] • ⟨||⟩ (XI.7)
▽(pūrvā na vidyate koṭi)[ḥ sa]ṃ[sārasya] (na keva)[laṃ • (5?)b4
sarvve]ṣām eva dharmmāṇāṃ[5] pūrvā koṭī na vidyate ||◎|| (XI.8)
pūOrvvāpa[ra]koṭiparī[kṣā][6] nām(ai)[kādaśama](ṃ) ||◎||

svayaṃ kṛtaṃ parakṛtaṃ dvābhyāṃ kṛtam ahaitukaṃ[7] •
duḥkham ity eka icchaOnti tac ca kāryyan na yujyate • || (XII.1)
svayaṃ [kṛtaṃ] yadi bhavet* pratītya na [tato bha]ve[t*] ⟨•⟩
▽(skandhān imān amī skandhāḥ saṃbhavanti pratītya hi || XII.2) (5?)b5
[yady amī]bhya ime 'nye syur ebhyo vā⟨mī⟩ pa[re ya]di • O
bhavet parakṛtaṃ duḥkhaṃ parair ebhir a[mī] kṛtāḥ ⟨||⟩ (XII.3)
svapudga[lakṛ]taṃ [duḥkha]ṃ yadi duḥkhaṃ punar vvinā •
svapudgalaḥ sa kata[mo] O yena duḥkhaṃ svayaṃ kṛtaṃ • || (XII.4)
parapu[dgala]jaṃ duḥkhaṃ yadi ya[smai] (pradī)[yate] ⟨•⟩
▽(pareṇa kṛtvā tad duḥkhaṃ sa duḥkhena vinā kutaḥ || XII.5) (5?)b6
[para]pud(g)alajaṃ duḥkhaṃ yadi kaḥ parapudgalaḥ •
O vinā (du)[ḥkhena] yaḥ kṛtvā (paras)ṃ[ai prahiṇoti] (ta)[t*] ||XII.6[8]
svayaṃ kṛtasyāpra)[siddher duḥkha]ṃ [parakṛtaṃ kutaḥ] ⟨•⟩
[pa]ro [h]i [duḥ]Okhaṃ [yat kuryāt tat tasya] syāt svayaṃ [kṛ]taṃ [•||] (XII.7)
(na tāva)[t svakṛta]ṃ [d](uḥkhaṃ na hi tenaiva tat kṛtam •)

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[1] *āhaitukam*: read *āhetukam* or *ahaitukam*? dJ, LVP *ahetukam*.

[2] *jarāmaraṇaṃ caiva*: = dJ; LVP *jarāmaraṇaiva*.

[3] *cāhaitukatobhayo(ḥ)*: dJ, LVP *cāhetuº*.

[4] *kāraṃṇa*: read *kāraṇaṃ*.

[5] *[sarvve]ṣām eva dharmmāṇām*: dJ, LVP *sarveṣām api bhāvānām*; Tib. དེ་ཙམ་རྣམས་ཐམས་ཅད་ཉིད་ལ་ཡང་།། ; PG, PP_{Ch} 如是一切法; SM 諸法亦復然.

[6] *pūrvvāpa[ra]koṭiparī[kṣā]*: = LVP; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} སྔོན་དང་ཕྱི་མའི་མཐའ་བརྟག་པ; ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} འགོད་པ་བརྟག་པ; PG 觀本際; PP_{Ch}, SM 觀生死. Cf. Ye 2007.

[7] *ahaitukaṃ*: dJ, LVP *ahetukam*.

[8] This verse appears in dJ, LVP, MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}, PG and SM, but is absent in ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch}. Cf. Ye 2007.

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7a1 ▾na pratyayasamutpannaṃ nāpratyayasamutthitaṃ •
asti yasmād idaṃ karmma tasmāt karttāpi nāsty ataḥ ‹||› (XVII.29)
karmma ○ cen nāsti karttā ca kutaḥ syāt ka(r)mmaja(ṃ) phala(ṃ) •
[asaty atha phal](e) bhoktā kuta e[va] bhaviṣyati • ‹||› (XVII.30)
yathā ni(r)mmi(takaṃ) [śāstā] ○ ni(r)mm(i)[ṃ](ī)[ta](rddhisaṃpadā •
nirmito nirmimītā)nya(ṃ) sa ca ni(rm)i(takaḥ punaḥ ||XVII.31)

7a2 ▾tathā nirmmitakākāraḥ karttā yat karmma tat kṛtaṃ •
tadyathā nirmmitenāśco[1] ‹nirmito› nirmmitas tathā || (XVII.32)
kleśāḥ karmmā○ṇi dehāś ca karttāraś ca phalāni ca •
gandharvvanagarākārā marīcisvapnasannibhā‹ḥ› • ||◎|| (XVII.33)
dharmmadharmaparīkṣā[2] nā○ma saptadaśaṃ ||◎||

ātmā skandhā yadi bhaved udayavyayabh(āg) bh(vet* •)
7a3 ▾skandhebhyo 'nyo yadi bhaved bhaved askandhalakṣaṇaḥ || (XVIII.1)
ātmany asati cātmīyaṃ kuta eva bhaviṣyati •
nirmma○mo nirahaṃkāraḥ śamād ātmātmanīyayoḥ[3] ◊ (XVIII.2)
nirmmamo nirahaṃkāro yaś ca so 'pi na vidyate •
nirmmaman nirahaṃkāraṃ ○ yaḥ paśyati na paśyati • || (XVIII.3)
mamety aham iti kṣīṇe bahiś cāddhyātmam[4] eva (ca •)
7a4 ▾niruddhyata upādānaṃ tatkṣayāj janmanaḥ kṣayaḥ ‹||› (XVIII.4)
karmmakleśakṣayān mokṣaḥ karmmakleśā vikalpataḥ ‹•› ○
te prapaṃcāt prapañcas tu śūnyatāyāṃ niruddhyate • ‹||› (XVIII.5)
ātmety api prajñapti tad[5] anātmety api deśitaṃ •
buddhair ā○tmā nanātmā[6] kaścid ity api deśitaṃ • ‹||› (XVIII.6)
nivṛttam abhidhātavyaṃ nivṛttaś cittagoca[r](aḥ[7] •)
7a5 ▾anutpannāniruddho[8] hi nirvvāṇam iva dharmmatā • ‹||› (XVIII.7)

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[1] *nirmmitenāśco*: read °*tenānyo* = dJ, LVP.

[2] *dharmmadharmaparīkṣā*: read *karmaphalaparīkṣā*(?).

[3] *ātmātmanīyayoḥ*: dJ, LVP °*ātmanīnayoḥ*. Cf. Ye 2007.

[4] *bahiś cāddhyātmam*: dJ, LVP *bahirdhādhyātmam*.

[5] *prajñapti tad*: unmetrical, read *prajñapitam*(= dJ)? LVP *[prajñapitam]*.

[6] *ātmā nanātmā*: read *nātmā na cānātmā* = dJ, LVP.

[7] *nivṛttaś cittagoca[r](aḥ)*: = dJ; LVP *nivṛtte cittagocare*.

[8] *anutpannāniruddho*: read °*ddhā* = dJ, LVP.

sarvvan tathyaṃ na vā tatthyaṃ tathyaṃ cātatthyam eva ca • {||} ○
naivātatthyaṃ naiva tathya{ṃ}m etat tad buddhaśāsanaṃ[1] • ‹||› (XVIII.8)
aparapratyayaṃ śāntaṃ prapañcair aprapañcitaṃ •
nirvvikalpa○m anānārtham etat tatvasya lakṣaṇaṃ || (XVIII.9)
pratītya yad yad bhavati na hi tāvat tad eva ta(t* •)
▾(nacā)[nya]d api tat [ta]smān nocchedo na śāśvataṃ[2] • || (XVIII.10) 7a6
anekārtham anānārtham etat tatvasya lakṣaṇaṃ • ○
pratītya yad yad bhavati[3] buddhānāṃ śāsanāmṛtaṃ • ‹||› (XVIII.11)
sambuddhānām anutpāde śrāvakānāṃ punaḥ kṣaye •
jñānaṃ pratye○kabuddhānām asaṃsarggāt pravarttate • || ◎|| (XVIII.12)
saddharmmaparīkṣāṣṭādaśamaṃ[4] pra(karaṇam* ||◎||)

▾(pra)tyutpann[o] 'nā[gataś ca] yady a[t](ī)tam apekṣya ti[5] ‹• 7b1
pratyutpanno 'nāgataś ca kāle 'tīte bhaviṣyataḥ ‹||› (XIX.1)
pratyutpa○nno 'nāgataś ca na stas tattra punar yyadi •
pratyutpanno 'nāgataś ca syatāṃ[6] katham apekṣya taṃ • ‹||› (XIX.2)
anapekṣya punaḥ siddhi○r nātītaṃ vidyate yayoḥ[7] ‹•›
pratyutpanno 'nāgataś ca tasmāt kālo na vidyate • ‹||› (XIX.3)
etenaivā[v](aśiṣṭau dvau) ▾kkramena parivarttakau • 7b2
uttamādhamamaddhyādīn ekatvādīṃś ca lakṣayet* ‹||› (XIX.4)
nāsthito gṛhyate kālaḥ ○ sthitaḥ kālo na gṛhyate[8] •
yo gṛhyetāgṛhītaś ca kālaḥ prajñapyate kathaṃ • || (XIX.5)

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[1] *etat tad buddhaśāsanaṃ*: dJ, LVP *etad buddhānuśāsanam*; MK_{Tib}, $BP_{Tib(DC)}$, PSP_{Tib} དེ་ནི་ཤངས་རྒྱས་རྗེས་བསྟན་པའོ།།; $BP_{Tib(PNG)}$, ABh, PP_{Tib} དེ་ནི་ཤངས་རྒྱས་བསྟན་པའོ།།. Cf. Ye 2007.

[2] *nocchedo na śāśvataṃ*: one syllable is missing; read *nocchedo na ‹ca› śāśvataṃ*? dJ, LVP *nocchinnaṃ nāpi śāśvatam*.

[3] *etat tatvasya lakṣaṇaṃ • pratītya yad yad bhavati*: the scribe seems to have copied XVIII.9d and 10a here by mistake. Read as dJ and LVP, *anekārtham anānārtham anucchedam aśāśvatam / etat tal lokanāthānām buddhānāṃ śāsanāmṛtam //*.

[4] *saddharmmaparīkṣā*: LVP *ātmaparīkṣā*; PSP_{Tib} བདག་བརྟག་པ; MK_{Tib}, ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} བདག་དང་ཆོས་བརྟག་པ; PG, PP_{Ch}, SM 觀法.

[5] *ti*: read *hi* = dJ, LVP.

[6] *syatāṃ*: read *syātāṃ* = dJ, LVP.

[7] *yayoḥ*: read *tayoḥ*? dJ, LVP *tayoḥ*; Tib. དེ་གཉིས.

[8] *gṛhyate*: read *vidyate*(?) = dJ, LVP *vidyate*; Tib. གཞལ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་པས།།.

kālaṃ pratītya bhāvaś[1] cet kālo ○ bhāvād ṛte kutaḥ ‹•›
na ca kaś cana bhāvo 'sti kutaḥ kālo bhaviṣyati • ‖◎‖ (XIX.6)

7b3 kālap(arīkṣā nāma)▾ ūnaviṃśat* ‖◎‖

hetoś ca pratyayānāṃ ca sāmagryā jāyate yadi ‹•›
phalam asti ca [sāmagryāṃ] ○ sāmagryā{ṃ} jāyate katham* ‖ (XX.1)
hetoś ca pratyayānāṃ ca sāmagryā jāyate yadi •
phalaṃ nāsti ca sāmagryāṃ ○ sāmagryā jāyate kathaṃ • ‖ (XX.2)
hetoś ca pratyayānāṃ ca sāmagryā‹m› asti cet phalaṃ •
7b4 [gṛ](hyeta nanu)▾ sāmagryāṃ sāmagryāṃ ca na gṛhyate • ‖ (XX.3)
hetoś ca pratyayānāṃ ca sāmagryāṃ nāsti cet phalam* ‹•›
he[ta]vaḥ ○ pratyayāś ca {s}syur ahetupratyayaiḥ samā‹ḥ› ‖ (XX.4)
hetu‹ṃ› phalasya datvā ca[2] yadi hetur nniruddhyate •
yad dattaṃ yan niruddhaṃ ○ ca hetor ātmadvayaṃ bhavet* ‹‖› (XX.5)
hetuṃ phalasyādatvā ca yadi hetur niruddhyate •
7b5 hetau ni(ruddhe jātaṃ)▾ tat phalam āhaitukaṃ[3] bhavet* ‹‖› (XX.6)
[phala]ṃ sahaiva sāmagryā{ṃ} yadi prādurbhavet punaḥ ‹•›
ekakā[le] prasajyeta[4] ○ janako yaś ca janyate • ‹‖› (XX.7)
pūrvvam evātha[5] sāmagryāḥ phalaṃ prādurbhaved yadi •
hetupratyayani○rmuktaṃ phalam āhaitukaṃ[6] bhavet* ‹‖› (XX.8)
niruddhe cet phalaṃ hetau hetoḥ saṃk[kra]maṇ(a)ṃ (bhavet* •)
7b6 ▾pūrvvajāta[sya] hetoś ca punarjanma prasajyate • ‹‖› (XX.9)
janayet phalam utpannaṃ niruddh[ā]staṃgataḥ[7] kathaṃ •
hetus tiṣṭhann ipi[8] kathaṃ[9] phalena janayed (vṛ)taḥ ‹‖› (XX.10)

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[1] *kālaṃ pratītya bhāvaś*: read *bhāvaṃ pratītya kālaś* = dJ, LVP.

[2] *hetu‹ṃ› phalasya datvā ca*: = dJ; LVP *hetukaṃ phalasya dattvā.*

[3] *āhaitukaṃ*: read *āhetukaṃ*(?) = dJ, LVP.

[4] *ekakāle prasajyeta*: read *ekakālau prasajyete* = dJ, LVP.

[5] *evātha*: read *eva ca* = dJ, LVP.

[6] *āhaitukaṃ*: read *āhetukaṃ*(?) = dJ, LVP.

[7] *niruddh[ā]staṃgataḥ*: read *niruddho 'staṃgataḥ* = dJ, LVP.

[8] *ipi*: read *api* = dJ.

[9] *hetus tiṣṭhann ipi kathaṃ*: dJ *hetus tiṣṭhann api kathaṃ*; LVP *tiṣṭhann api kathaṃ [hetuḥ].*

athāvṛtaḥ phalenāsau katamaṃ[1] janaOyet phalaṃ •
na hy ad[ṛṣṭvā ca dṛṣṭv]ā ca[2] hetur janaya[te] phalaṃ • || (XX.11)
n(ātītasya hy atītena▽ phalasya saha het)[u]nā • (8)a1
nājātena na jātena sangatir jātu vidyate • ‹||› (XX.12)
nājātasyāpy[3] ajātena phalasya saha heOtunā •
nātītena na jātena saṃgatir jātu vidyate • ‹||› (XX.13)
na jātasya[4] hi jātena phalasya saha hetunā •
nājātena na naṣṭena O [saṃ]gati(r) [jātu vi]dya[te] ‹||› (XX.14)
.. .. na pha[la]sya sa[ha he]tunā •
nā[sty] ajātasya jā[te]na▽ .. .. •[5] (8)a2
asatyāṃ saṃgatau hetuḥ kathaṃ janayate phalaṃ ‹•›
satyāṃ vā saṃgatau hetuḥ kathaṃ janayate O phalaṃ || (XX.15)
hetuḥ phalena śunyaś[6] cet kathañ janayate phalaṃ ‹•›
hetuḥ phalenāśūnyaś cet kathañ janayate phalaṃ ‹||› (XX.16)
phalaṃ notpadyate[7] 'śūOnyam aśūnyan na nirotsyate •
ani(ru)[ddha]m anutpannam aśūnyaṃ tad bhaviṣyati • ‹||› (XX.17)
katham utpatsyate śūnyaṃ▽ (kathaṃ śūnyaṃ niro)tsyate • (8)a3
śūnyam apy aniruddhan tad anutpannaṃ prasajyate • ‹||› (XX.18)
hetoḥ phalasya caikatvaṃ na hi jātūOpapadyate •
hetoḥ phalasya cānyatvaṃ{n} na hi jātūpapadyate • || (XX.19)
ekatve phalahetvos syād aikyaṃ janakajanyayoḥ ‹•›
pṛthaktve phalahetvoḥ O syāt tulyo hetur ahetunā • ‹||› (XX.20)
phalaṃ svabhāvasadbhūtaṃ kiṃ hetur janayiṣyate[8] •
phalaṃ svabhāvāsadbhūtam*▽ (kiṃ hetur janayi)ṣyati • (XX.21) (8)a4
na cājanayamānasya hetutvam upapadyate •
hetutvānupapa{r}ttau ca phalaṃ kasya bhaviOṣyati • || (XX.22)

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[1] *katamaṃ*: cf. BHSG § 21.11; dJ, LVP *katamaj*.

[2] *[ca dṛṣṭv]ā ca*: dJ *na dṛṣṭvāpi*; LVP *vā dṛṣṭvā vā*. Cf. Ye 2007.

[3] *nājātasyāpy*: read *nājātasya hi* = BP_{Ms}; dJ, LVP *na jātasya hi*; ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib} འབྱས་བུ་མ་སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་མ་སྐྱེས། །; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} འབྱས་བུ་སྐྱེས་པ་རྒྱུ་མ་སྐྱེས། །; PG 若言未來因. Cf. Ye 2007.

[4] *na jātasya*: = BP_{Ms}; dJ, LVP *nājātasya*; ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib} འབྱས་བུ་སྐྱེས་པ་རྒྱུ་སྐྱེས་དང་། །; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} འབྱས་བུ་མ་སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་སྐྱེས་དང་། །; PG 若言現在因. Cf. Ye 2007.

[5] This verse, of which only pādas b and c are left, might be superfluous. It does not appear in any of other texts.

[6] *śunyaś*: read *śūnyaś*.

[7] *notpadyate*: = BP_{Ms}; dJ, LVP *notpatsyate*.

[8] *janayiṣyate*: read °*ṣyati* = dJ, LVP.

na ca pratyayahetūnām iyam ātmānam ātmanā •
yā sāmagrī janayate katham janayate[1] phalam • ‹‖› (XX.23)
na sāmagrīkṛ○tam tasmān[2] nāsāmagrīkṛtam phalam •
asti pratyayasāmagrī kuta eva phalam vinā ‖◎‖ (XX.24)

(8)a5 sāmagrīhetu▾(phalaparīkṣā[3] nāma viṃśatitamam*) ‖◎‖

vinā vā saha vā nāsti vibhavaḥ saṃbhavena vai •
vinā vā saha vā nāsti saṃbhavo vibhavena vai ‖ (XXI.1)
bhaviṣyati katham nāma vibhavaḥ saṃbhavam vinā •
vinaiva janma maraṇam na bhāvo[4] nodbhavam vinā ‖ (XXI.2)
saṃbhavenaiva ○ vibhavaḥ katham saha bhaviṣyati •
na janma maraṇam caiva[5] tulyakālam hi vidyate • ‖ (XXI.3)

(8)a6 bhaviṣyati [ka]tham nāma▾(saṃbhavo vibhavam vin)ā •
anityatā hi bhāveṣu na kadācin na vidyate • ‹‖› (XXI.4)[6]
sahānyonyena vā siddhir vvinānyonyena vā yayoḥ ‹•›
na vidyate tayoḥ siddhiḥ kathan nu [kha]lu vidyate • ‖ (XXI.6)
kṣayasya saṃbhavo nāsti nākṣayasyāsti saṃbhavaḥ ‹•›
kṣaya○sya vibhavo nāsti vibhavo nākṣayasya ca • ‖ (XXI.7)
saṃbhavaṃ vibhavaṃ caiva vinā bhāvo na vidyate ‹•›

(8)b1 ▾(saṃbhavo vibhavaś caiva) vinā bhāvān[7] na vidyate • ‹‖› (XXI.8)[8]
saṃbhavo vibhavaś caiva na śūnyasyopapadyate •

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[1] *katham janayate*: dJ *sā katham janayet*; LVP *[sā] katham janayet*; Tib. སྐྱེ་རྣམས་དང་ནི་རྐྱེན་དག་གི། །ཚོགས་པ་གང་ཡིན་དེ་ཡིས་ནི། །དག་གིས་མངོན་གྱུར་སྐྱེ་བར་འགྱུར། །. Cf. Ye 2007.

[2] *na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ tasmān*: dJ, LVP *na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ phalam*; Saito 1985, *tasmān na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ*; ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib} དེའི་ཕྱིར་ཚོགས་པས་བྱས་པར། །; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} དེ་ཕྱིར་ཚོགས་པས་བྱས་པམེད། །; PG, PP_{Ch} 是故果不從.Cf. Ye 2007.

[3] *sāmagrīhetu(phalaparīkṣā)*: LVP: *sāmagrīparīkṣā*; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} ཚོགས་པ་འཇུག་པ; ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib} རྒྱུ་དང་འབྲས་བུ་འཇུག་པ; PG, SM 觀因果; PP_{Ch} 觀因果和合.

[4] *na bhāvo*: read *vibhavo* = dJ, LVP.

[5] *caiva*: = Saito 1985; dJ, LVP *caivaṃ*.

[6] A verse, which appears in dJ and LVP as XXI. 5, is found in all Tibetan translations and PP_{Ch}, but is absent in SM and MK_{Ms}. PG seems to have merged PSP XXI 3 and 5 in to one as the 3rd verse of this chapter (Cf. Ye 2007). The numbering of the following verses in this edition follows LVP and dJ.

[7] *bhāvān*: abl.; dJ, LVP *bhāvaṃ*.

[8] dJ, LVP *saṃbhavo vibhavaś caiva vinā bhāvaṃ na vidyate / saṃbhavaṃ vibhavaṃ caiva vinā bhāvo na vidyate* //; PG若離於成壞，是亦無有法，若當離於法，亦無有成壞; PP_{Ch} 若離彼成壞，則無有物體，是成壞二法，離物體亦無. ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib}, PG and PP_{Ch} follow the same pāda order with our manuscript. MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib} follow the order of dJ and LVP. No equivalent verse is found in SM. Cf. Ye 2007.

saṃbhavo ○ vibhavaś caiva nāśūnyasyopapadyate • || (XXI.9)
saṃbhavo vibhavaś caiva naikam[1] ity upapadyate •
saṃ[bhavo] vibhavaś caiva na nānety upa○padyate • || (XXI.10)
dṛśyate saṃbhavaś caiva vi[bhavaś ceti[2] te bhavet*] ‹•›
(dṛ)[śya](te) [saṃ](bhava)[ś c](aiva mohād vibha)[va eva ca] • || (XXI.11)
▾(na bhāvāj jāya)te bhāvo 'bhāvo bhāvān na jāyate • (8)b2
nābhāvāj jāyate bhāvo 'bhāvo 'bhāvān na jāyate • (XXI.12)[3]
na svato ○ jāyate bhāvaḥ parato naiva jāyate •
na sva[taḥ] parataś caiva [jā]yate jā[yate] kutaḥ ‹||› (XXI.13)
[bhā]vam abhyupapannasya śāśvatocchedaO○darśanaṃ • {||}
prasajyate sa bhāvo hi nityo 'nity(o) ['p]i[4] [v](ā) [bhavet*] ‹||› (XXI.14)
(bhāvam a)[bhy](upapannasya naivoc)ch(edo) [na] (śāśva▿tam* • (8)b3
u)dayavyayasantānaḥ phalahetvor bhavaḥ sa hi • (XXI.15)
udayavyayasantānaḥ phalahetvor bhavaḥ○ sa cet* ‹•›
vyayasyepunarutpatter[5] hetūcchedaḥ prasajyate ‹||› (XXI.16)
[sadbhāvasya] svabhāvena nāsadbhāvaś ca yujyate • {||}
nirvvāṇakāle coccheO○daḥ praśamād bhavasa[nta]teḥ ‹||› (XXI.17)
carame na niruddhe ca prathamo yujya[te bhavaḥ •
carame] nāniruddh(e) ca prathamo ▾(yujyate bha)[v]aḥ ‹||› (XXI.18) (8)b4
niruddhyamāne carame prathamo yadi jāyate • {||}
niruddhyamāna eke sya[6] jāyamāno ○ aparo[7] bhavet*‹||› (XXI.19)

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[1] *naikam*: dJ, LVP *naika*.

[2] *ceti*: dJ, LVP *caiva*; Tib. མཐོང་ངོ་སྙམ་དུ་ཞེད་ལེམས་ན། །. Cf. Ye 2007.

[3] dJ, LVP *na bhāvāj jāyate bhāvo bhāvo 'bhāvān na jāyate / nābhāvāj jāyate 'bhāvo 'bhāvo bhāvān na jāyate //*; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} དངོས་པོ་དངོས་ཀས་མི་སྐྱེ་སྟེ། །དངོས་པོ་དངོས་མེད་ཀས་མི་སྐྱེ། །དངོས་མེད་དངོས་མེད་མི་སྐྱེ་སྟེ། །དངོས་མེད་དངོས་ཀས་མི་སྐྱེའོ།།; ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} དངོས་པོ་དངོས་ཀས་མི་སྐྱེ་སྟེ། །དངོས་མེད་དངོས་ཀས་མི་སྐྱེའོ། །དངོས་པོ་དངོས་མེད་མི་སྐྱེ་སྟེ། །དངོས་མེད་དངོས་མེད་མི་སྐྱེའོ། །(BP_{Tib} mistake མེད་ for ཡོད་ in pāda c); PG 從法不生法，亦不生非法，從非法不生，法及於非法; PP_{Ch} 有體不生體，亦不生無體，無體不生體，亦不生無體; SM 有體不生體，無體不生體，體不生無體，有無體不生. Due to the absence of *avagraha* in our manuscript, there are two different ways to read this verse. One is shown in the edition, which is followed by the ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib}, PG and PP_{Ch}, the other is indentical to the reading of dJ and LVP, and confirmed by MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} and partly by SM.

[4] *['p]i*: dJ *'tha*; LVP *['tha]*. Cf. Ye 2007.

[5] *vyayasyepunarutpatter*: read *vyayasyā°* = dJ, LVP.

[6] *eke sya*: read *ekaḥ syāj* = dJ, LVP.

[7] *aparo*: read *'paro* = dJ, LVP.

na cen niruddhyamānaś ca jāyamānaś ca vidyate[1] •
sārdhdhaṃ ca yeṣu mriyate[2] teṣu skandheṣu jāyate • || (XXI.20) ○
e[va]ṃ tri[ṣ]v ap(i) [kāleṣu] na yuktā [bhava]santatiḥ ‹•›
y(ā) nāsti tri[ṣu kāle]ṣu kutaḥ s(ā) [bhavasaṃtatiḥ] • ||◎||[3] (XXI.21)

(8)b5 ▾(saṃbhavavibhava)parīkṣā ekaviṃśat prakaraṇaṃ || ◎ ||

skandhā na nyānanyaḥ[4] skandhebhyo nāsmin skandhā na teṣu ○ saḥ ‹•›
tathāgataḥ skandhavān na katamo nu[5] tathāgataḥ || (XXII.1)
buddha[6] skandhān upādāya yadi nāsti svabhāvataḥ ‹•›
svabhāvata○ś ca yo nāsti kutaḥ sa parabhāvataḥ || (XXII.2)
pratītya parabhāvaṃ yaḥ sa nātmety[7] upapadyate •
(8)b6 ▾(yaś cānātmā) sa ca kathaṃ bhaviṣyati tathāgataḥ || (XXII.3)
yadi nāsti svabhā[vaś ca para]bhāvaḥ kathaṃ bhavāt*[8] ‹•› ○
svabhāvaparabhāvābhyām ṛte kaḥ sa tathāgataḥ || (XXII.4)
skandhān yady anupādāya bhavet kaścit tathāgataḥ ‹•› {||}
{skandhān ya○dy anupādāya bhavet kaścit tathāgataḥ}
sa idānīm upādadyād upādāya tato bhavet* || (XXII.5)

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[1] *vidyate*: dJ, LVP *yujyate*; MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} ཐུན་ཅིག་ཏུ་ཡང་རིགས་མིན་ན།། ; ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} ཐུན་ཅིག་སྒྲུབ་བའང་ཡོད་མིན་ན།།. Cf. Ye 2007.

[2] *yeṣu mriyate*: dJ, LVP *mriyate yeṣu*.

[3] *y(ā) nāsti tri[ṣu kāle]ṣu kutaḥ s(ā) [bhavasaṃtatiḥ]* • //: dJ *triṣu kāleṣu yā nāsti sā kathaṃ bhavasaṃtatiḥ*; LVP *[triṣu kāleṣu yā nāsti sā kathaṃ bhavasaṃtatiḥ]*; Tib. དུས་གསུམ་དག་ཏུ་གང་མེད་པ། དེ་ཇི་ལྟར་སྲིད་པར་རྒྱུ།. Cf. Ye 2007.

[4] *nyānanyaḥ*: read *nānyaḥ* = dJ, LVP.

[5] *nu*: dJ, LVP *tra*. Tib. དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པར་ཞེས་པ།. Cf. Ye 2007.

[6] *buddha*: read *buddhaḥ* = dJ, LVP .

[7] *sa nātmety*: = Saito 1985; dJ, LVP *so 'nātmety*.

[8] *bhavāt*: read *bhavet* = dJ, LVP.

Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti

Around 8 folios from the beginning are lost.

.....

P Tsa 190b8, N Tsa 181b5, G Tsa 259a2, D Tsa 169a7, C Tsa 165b1

...

(**gamyamānasya gamane**
prasaktaṃ gamanadvayam •
yena tad gamyamānaṃ ca
yac cātra gamanaṃ punaḥ || II.5)

(9?)a1 ▽(***gamyamānasya*** *gatiyuktasya* ***gamane*** *kalpyamāne* ***gamanadvayaṃ*** pra)s(a)jyate • **yena** ca gamanena yogāOd **gamyamānam** iti bhavati • **yac ca** [gamya]ta ity **attra punar** dv[i]tīyaṃ **gamanaṃ** [kalpyate • na] ca gamanadvayam iṣṭaṃ tasmād etad aOpi nopapadyate • (II.5)
ayaṃ cāttra doṣaḥ ‹•›

dvau gantārau prasajyete •
[prasakte] gamanadvaye • (II.6ab)

(9?)a2 **gamanadvay(e) pra▽(sakte** *dvau ca* ***gantārau prasajyete*** • *kutaḥ* •

gantāraṃ hi tiraskṛt)y(a)
gamanaṃ nopapadyate • (II.6cd)

འགྲོ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་འགྲོ་བ་ལ་ནི།།
འགྲོ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་[1]▼འགྱུར་ཏེ།། P 191a
གང་གིས་འགྲོ་མ་ཡིན་དེ་དང་ནི།།
དེ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་གང་ཡིན་པོ།། (II.5)

འགྲོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་ལྡན་▼པ་ལ་འགྲོ་བར་བརྟགས་[2]ན། འགྲོ་ D 169b
བ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། འགྲོ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པས་འགྲོ་མ་
ཞེས་བྱ་བར་[3]འགྱུར་བ་དང་། དེ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་འགྲོ་
བ་གཉིས་པར་བརྟག་པའོ། །འགྲོ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ནི་མི་འདོད་
པས་དེའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་ཡང་མི་འཐད་དོ།། (II.5)

དེ་ལ་སྐྱོན་གཞན་འདི་ཡང་ཡོད་དོ།།[4] བཤད་པ།།

འགྲོ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་འགྱུར་[5]ན།།
འགྲོ་བཡོ་ཡང་གཉིས་སུ་འགྱུར།།
གང་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་ཡོ་མེད་པར་ནི།།
འགྲོ་བ་འཐད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་▼ཕྱིར།། (II.6) N 182a

འགྲོ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་[6]ན་འགྲོ་བཡོ་ཡང་གཉིས་སུ་
ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན།
གང་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་ཡོ་མེད་པར་ནི།།
འགྲོ་བ་འཐད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་ཕྱིར།། (II.6cd)

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[1] PNG add བར .
[2] བརྟགས: PNG བརྟག .
[3] བྱ་བར: P བྱབར .
[4] དོ།།: PNG དེ། ; C དེ།། .
[5, 6] འགྱུར: PNG གྱུར .

yasmāt saOti gantari gamanaṃ bhavati • na **gantāraṃ** pratyākhyāya **gamanaṃ** bhavati • tasmād **gamanadvaye prasakte** • **dvau gantārau praOsajyete** • tac cāniṣṭaṃ • tad evam anekadoṣaprasaṃgād **gamyamānaṃ naiva gamyate** • yasmāc

(9?)a3 ca ˅ (*na gate nāgate na gamyamāne gamanam upapadyate* tasmā)n n[ai]va gamanaṃ vidyate •‖ (II.6)

ཞེས་ཀྱང་འགྲུབ་བའི་ཡོད་དོ་ཞེས་སྨྲོ།།

attrāha • O yady api na gate nāgate na gamyamāne ‹‹gamana››m upapadyate • tathāpi gaṃtrāśrayam eva gamanam asti • gaṃtari hi gamaOnam upalabhyata iti •‖ ucyate •

gaṃtāraṃ cet tiraskṛtya
gamanaṃ nopapadyate • (II.7ab)

(9?)a4 prāg abhihitaṃ • ˅ (*na **gantāraṃ tiraskṛtya** **gamanam upapadyate** • yadi* **gant)āraṃ** pratyākhyāya **gamanaṃ nopaOpadyate** • katarat tad gamanaṃ yad gantrāśrayaṃ gantari varttate •‖

āha • na brūmo 'nyad gamanaṃ gantuḥ pṛthagbhūtam aOsti yad gantari varttata iti • kiṃ tu yena gamanena yogād gaṃteti bhavati • tad astīti brūmaḥ ‖

གང་གི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བའོ་ཡོད་ན་འགྲོ་བཡང་ཡོད་ཀྱི། འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་སྤངས་ན་འགྲོ་བ་མེད་པ་དེའི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་[1] ན་འགྲོ་བའོ་ཡང་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་བས་དེ་ཡང་མི་འདོད་དེ།[2] དེའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་ལྟར་སྐྱོན་དུ་མ་ཡོད་པས་འགོམ་པ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་མེད་པ་ཉིད་དོ།། གང་གི་ཕྱིར་སོང་བ་དང་མ་˅སོང་བ་དང་འགོམ་པ་ལ་[3] འགྲོ་བ་མི་འཐད་པ་དེའི་ ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་མེད་པ་ཉིད་དོ། (II.6) G 259b

attrāha • O yady api na gate nāgate na gamyamāne ‹‹gamana››m upapadyate • tathāpi gaṃtrāśrayam eva gamanam asti • gaṃtari hi gamaOnam upalabhyata iti •‖ ucyate •

གལ་ཏེ་འགྲོ་པོ་མེད་ཀྱང་ན།།
འགྲོ་བ་འཐད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་ཏེ།།[4] (II.7ab)

འགྲོ་པོ་མེད་པར་ཡང་ན་འགྲོ་བ་འཐད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་ བར་ནི་སྐར་བསྟན་ཅིན་ཏེ།། གལ་ཏེ་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་མེད་པར་ཡང་ན་ འགྲོ་བ་འཐད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་ན་གང་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་ལ་འཇུག་པ་[5] ཅིང་ འགྲོ་བ་པོ་ལ་ཏཱུགས་པའི་འགྲོ་བ་དེ་གང་ཡིན།

སྨྲས་པ། གང་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་ལ་འཇུག་པའི་ འགྲོ་བ་གཞན་ འགྲོ་བ་པོ་ལས་ཐ་དད་དུ་ཡང་པ་ཡོད་དོ་ཞེས་ནི་མི་ སྨྲའོ།།[6] འདི་ལྟར་འགྲོ་བ་གང་དང་ ˅ལྡན་པས་འགྲོ་བའོ་ P 191b ཞེས་བྱ་བར་འགྱུར་བ་དེ་ཡོད་དོ་ཞེས་སྨྲའོ།།

[1] འགྱུར: PNG ཐྱུར .
[2] དེ།: P དོ།། .
[3] ལ: PNG པ .
[4] G adds འགྲོ་པོ་མེད་ཀྱང་ན།། འགྲོ་བ་འཐད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་ཏེ།
[5] འཇུག: PNG རྗེག .
[6] སྨྲའོ།།: PNG སྨྲའི། .

(9?)a5 ▾(*ucyate* •

gamane 'sati gantātha
kuta eva bhaviṣyati || II.7 cd

yadi kiṃci)d anāśrayaṃ gamanaṃ prasiddhaṃ syāt tena ○ gantur agantur vvā yogaḥ syāt* ‹•› na ca pṛthagbhūtam anāśrayaṃ gamanaṃ kiñcid asti ‹•› tenedānīṃ pṛthagasiddhena[1] ○ gamanena vinā **kuta eva** ‹‹te›› gamanayogād **gantā bhaviṣyati** ‹•› gantari cāsati kasya
(9?)a6 gamanaṃ syāt* ‹•› ▾ (*tasmān nāsti gamanam* ||

āha • kim anena prapañcena • ya)d apekṣya gacchatīti {•} bhavati {•} ta○d gamanaṃ •||

ucyate • syād edaṃ[2] gamanaprasiddhir yyadi gacchatīty etad eva prasiddhaṃ syān na caitat prasiddhyati • ○ kuto gamanaṃ prasetsyati • (II.7)

tat katham iti ‹•› iha sati gamane gaṃtā vā gacched agantā vā ‹||›
(9?)b1 ▾(*ucyate* •

འདིར་བཤད་པ།།

▾འགྲོ་བ་མེད་ན་འགྲོ་བར།། C 166a

ཡོད་པ་ཉིད་དུ་གལ་འགྱུར།། (II.7cd)

གལ་ཏེ་རྟེན་ཙུང་ཟད་ཀྱང་མེད་པའི་འགྲོ་བ་ཞིག་རབ་ཏུ་གྲུབ་པར་གྱུར་ན་ནི་དེ་དང་འགྲོ་བ་པོའམ། འགྲོ་བ་པོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ལྟན་པར་ཡང་འགྱུར་གྱང་ན། ཐ་དད་པར་གྱུར་པ་རྟེན་མེད་པའི་▾འགྲོ་བ་ནི་འགའ་ཡང་མེད་དེ། དེས་ན་ཐ་དད་པར་གྲུབ་ D 170a
པའི་འགྲོ་བ་མེད་པར་ཚུད་ཀྱི་[1]འགྲོ་བ་དང་[2]ལྡན་པས་འགྲོ་བ་པོར་འགྱུར་བ་ཡོད་པ་ཉིད་ལ་གལ་འགྱུར། འགྲོ་བ་པོ་▾མེད་ན་ཡང་སུ་ཡི་འགྲོ་བར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། དེ་བས་ན་འགྲོ་བ་ N 182b
▾མེད་དོ།། G 260a

སྨྲས་པ། སྤྲོས་པ་འདིས་ཅི་བྱ། གང་ལ་ལྟོས་[4]ནས་འགྲོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་དེ་འགྲོ་བ་ཡིན་ཞེ།།

འདིར་བཤད་པ། གལ་ཏེ་འགྲོ་དེ་[3]ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་ཉིད་རབ་ཏུ་གྲུབ་པར་གྱུར་ན་ནི་དེས་ན་འགྲོ་བ་ཡང་རབ་ཏུ་འགྲུབ་པར་འགྱུར་གྱང་ན། དེ་རབ་ཏུ་མི་འགྲུབ་པས་འགྲོ་བ་རབ་ཏུ་འགྲུབ་པར་གལ་འགྱུར། (II.7)

ཇི་ལྟར་ཞེ་ན། འདི་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་ན་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་འམ། འགྲོ་བ་པོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་འགྲོ་གྱང་ན།
འདིར་བཤད་པ།

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[1] *pṛthagasiddhena*: read *pṛthaksiddhena*.

[2] *edaṃ*: read *evaṃ*.

[1] ཀྱི: DC ཀྱིས.

[2] PNGDC omit དང.

[3] སྟོས: PNG བསྟོས.

[4] འགྲོའོ: DC འགྲོའོ.

gantā na gacchate[1] **tāvad**
agantā naiva gacchati •
anyo gantur aga)[ntu]ś ca
kas tṛtīyo 'tha[2] **gacchati •** (II.8)
tasmā..[3] ○ gacchatīty eva ‹‹na›› sidhyati • kutaḥ ‹•› anupapatteḥ ‹‖› (II.8)

katham iti •
gaṃtā tāvad gacchatīti
katham evopapatsyate •
gamanena vinā ○ gaṃtā
yadā naivopapadyate ‹‖› (II.9)

iha gantā gacchatīty attraikā gamikkriyā
(9?)b2 sā ca gacchat(ī)ty [attropa](*yuktā* • [▽] *tena gatirahito gantā yathā Guptaś Caitraś ca saṃjñāmātraṃ* prasajya)te • na caitad iṣṭaṃ • tad **yadā** gamanena ○ **vinā gantā naivopapadyate** • tadā **kathaṃ** nāme{‹‹ga››}dam **upapatsyate gantā gacchatīti** ‹‖› (II.9)

རེ་ཞིག་འགྲོ་པོ་མེ་འགྲོ་སྟེ།།
འགྲོ་བ་པོ་མེན་འགྲོ་བ་[1]མེན།།
འགྲོ་པོ་འགྲོ་པོ་མེན་ལས་གཞན།།
གསུམ་པ་གང་ཞིག་འགྲོ་བར་འགྱུར།། (II.8)
དེ་བས་ན་འགྲོ་ཉིད་ཟློག་བྱ་ཕྱིར་མི་འགྲུབ་པོ་[2]།། ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། མི་འཐད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། (II.8)

རྗེ་སྐྱར་ཞེ་ན།
རེ་ཞིག་འགྲོ་པོ་འགྲོ་ཉིད་ཞེས།།
རྗེ་སྐྱར་འཐད་པ་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར།།
འགྲོ་བ་མེད་ན་འགྲོ་བ་པོ།།
ནམ་ཡང་འཐད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་རོ།། (II.9)
འདི་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་འགྲོ་ཉིད་[3]ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ལ། འགྲོ་བའི་བྱ་བ་གཅིག་པུ་ཞེས་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ནི་འགྲོ་ཉིད་[4]ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་ལ་ཉེ་བར་སྦྱར་བས་དེས་ན་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་ནི་འགྲོ་བ་དང་བྲལ་ཏེ། གྱུ་ཏྲ་[5]དང་ཅི་ཏྲ་གཞིན་དུ་མིང་ཙམ་དུ་གྱུར་པར་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་བས་དེ་ཡང་མི་འདོད་དོ།། དེའི་ཕྱིར་[6]གང་གི་ཚེ་འགྲོ་བ་མེད་ན་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་ནམ་ཡང་འཐད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་བ་དེའི་ཚེ་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་འགྲོ་ཉིད་བྱ་བ་དེ་རྗེ་སྐྱར་འཐད་པ་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར། (II.9)

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[1] *gacchate*: = MacDonald 2007; dJ, LVP *gacchati*.
[2] *'tha*: = dJ; LVP *hi*.
[3] *tasmā..*: read *tasmād*.

[1] ན: DC པོ.
[2] པོ: PNDC པོ.
[3] DC add ||.
[4] འགྲོ་ཉིད: DC འགྲོ.
[5] གྱུ་ཏྲ: DC གྱུ་ཏྲ.
[6] ཕྱིར: DC ཚེ.

kiṃ ca bhūyaḥ ‹•›

pakṣo gantā gacchatīOti
yasya tasya na yujyate[1] •
gamanena vinā gantā
gantur ggamanam icchataḥ ‹‖› (II.10)

(9?)b3 **yasya** tu mataṃ mā bhū(d *eṣa doṣa iti* ***gantā*** *gamanena yogād* ***gacchatīti*** **tas)yāpi gantur ggamanam icchataḥ** O **gaṃtety** atropayuktā gamikkriyeti kṛtvā • **gamanena vinā gantā** prasajyate • gamanena vinā gacchatīty etaOt prasajyata ity arthaḥ ‹•› na caitad upapadyate ‹•› kathaṃ hi nāma gacchatīty etad agatikaṃ syād iti ‖ (II.10)

(9?)b4 (*atha mā bhūd eṣa doṣa iti ganteti gacchatīty* eta)c cobhayam api gatiyuktam iOti • attrāpy ayaṃ doṣaḥ ‖

gamane dve prasajyete
gantā yady uta gacchati ‹•›
gaṃteti cājyate[2] {•} **yena**
gantā san yac ca gaOcchati • (II.11)

ཡང་གཞན་ཡང་བཤད་པ།

གང་གི་སྐྱེགས་ལ་འགྲོ་བར།
འགྲོ་བ་དེ་ལ་འགྲོ་མེད་པའི།། P 192a
འགྲོ་པོ་ཡིན་པར་ཐལ་འགྱུར་ཏེ།།
འགྲོ་པོ་འགྲོ་བར་འདོད་ཕྱིར་རོ།། (II.10) G 260b

གང་གི་སྐྱེགས་ལ་སྐྱོན་དེར་གྱུར་ན་མི་རུང་སྐམས་པས་འགྲོ་བ་
པོ་འགྲོ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པས་འགྲོ་བོ་[1] སྐམ་པ་དེ་ལ་ཡང་འགྲོ་བ་
པོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་བྱ་བ་ཉིད་བར་སྐྱར་བ་བྱས་པས་འགྲོ་
བ་མེད་པའི་འགྲོ་བཏོ་ཡིན་པར་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་བ་སྟེ། ་འགྲོ་ C 166b
བ་པོ་[2] འགྲོ་བར་འདོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་མེད་པར་འགྲོ་བོ་
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེར་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་རོ།། ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཐ་ཚིག་ N 183a
གོ།། དེ་ནི་མི་འཐད་དེ། འགྲོ་བོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ། འགྲོ་བ་མེད་
པར་ཇི་ལྟར་འགྱུར་རོ།།[3] (II.10)

ཅི་སྟེ་ ་སྐྱེ་ན་དེར་གྱུར་ན་མི་རུང་སྐམ་པས་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་ D 170b
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དང་། འགྲོ་བོ་[4] ཞེས་བྱ་བ་[5] དེ་གཉི་ག་ཡང་འགྲོ་བ་
དང་ལྡན་ནོ་ཞེ་ན། དེ་ལ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་ན་འདི་ལོངས་དེ། བཤད་པ།
གལ་ཏེ་འགྲོ་པོ་འགྲོ་འགྱུར་[6] ན།།
འགྲོ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་འགྱུར་ཏེ།།
གང་གིས་འགྲོ་པོར་མངོན་པ་དང་།།
འགྲོ་པོར་གྱུར་ན་ཅས་གང་འགྲོ་བའོ།། (II.11)

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[1] *na yujyate*: dJ, LVP *prasajyate*.

[2] *cājyate*: = dJ; LVP *cocyate*.

[1] འགྲོ་: DC འགྲོ་བོ་.

[2] PNG add འགྲོ་བཏོ་.

[3] རོ།། : PNG །.

[4] འགྲོ་: DC འགྲོ་བཏོ་.

[5] བྱ་བ: PNG བ.

[6] འགྱུར: PNG གྱུར .

gatiyuktasya gantur ggamane kalpyamāne gamanadvayaṃ prasajyate • **yena** ca
(9?)b5 gamanena[▼] (*yogād **gantety ajyate** • tac ca gamanaṃ yad apekṣya*) **gacchatī**ti bhavati • na ca gamanadvaOyam iṣṭaṃ • sati ca gamanadvayaprasaṃge • pūrvvavad eva dvau gantārau prasajyete • tac cāniṣṭaṃ tasmād gantā O gacchatīty etat tāvan nopapadyate •

idānīm agaṃtā naiva gacchati • yadā
(9?)b6 gantā gacchatīty eta[▼](*n nopapadyate tadā gatirahito 'gantā gacchatī*)t[i] katham evopapadyate • O tasmād agantā naiva gacchati • tatraitat syād gantā cāgantā ca gacchatīti •

ucyate •

anyo gantur agantuś ca
kaOs tṛ⟨tī⟩yo 'tha[1] gacchati • (II.8cd)

འགྲོ་བ་ཡོད་ཀྱི་བ་དང་བྲལ་པ་ལ་འགྲོ་བར་བརྟགས་[1] ན་འགྲོ་བ་[2] གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། འགྲོ་བ་གང་དང་[3] ལྡན་པས་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་མངོན་པ་དང་། དེ་འགྲོ་བ་གང་ལ་སྐྱེས་[4] ནས་འགྲོ་ཉིད་ཞེས་བྱ་བར་འགྱུར་བའོ།།འགྲོ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ནི་མི་འདོད་[5] དེ། འགྲོ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་གྱུར་ན་སྔ་མ་བཞིན་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་ཡང་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་བས་དེ་ཡང་མི་[6] འདོད་དེ་དེ་སྐད་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་འགྲོ་ཉིས་བྱ་བ་དེ་མི་འཐད་དོ།།

དེ་ནི་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཡང་མི་འགྲོ་སྟེ། གང་གི་ཚེ་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་འགྲོ་ཉི་[7] ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་མི་འཐད་[8] པ་དེའི་[9] ཚེ་▼ འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་ G 261a མ་ཡིན་པ་འགྲོ་བ་དང་བྲལ་བའང་འགྲོ་བའོ།། ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཇི་སྐད་འཐད་པ་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར། དེ་སྐད་ཅན་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཡང་མི་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་ཡིན་པ་དང་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་འགྲོ་བར་སེམས་ན། འཕགས་པ

འགྲོ་ཡོ་འགྲོ་ཡོ་མིན་ལས་གཞན།།
གསུམ་པ[10] གང་ཞེག འགྲོ་བར་འགྱུར།། (II.8cd)

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[1] *'tha*: = dJ; LVP *hi*.

[1] བརྟགས: PNG བརྟག .

[2] P omits བ.

[3] དང: DC དག.

[4] སྐྱེས: PNG བསྐྱེས

[5] འདོད: DC འཐད.

[6] P omits མི.

[7] འགྲོཉི: DC འགྲོ་ཡོ .

[8] འཐད: G འཐ .

[9] དེའི: DC དེ .

[10] པ: DC ཡོ .

ko 'sau gantur agantuś cānyas tṛtīyo gaṃtā cāgantā ca yo gacchatīty upapad[ya](t)[e]

(10?)a1 〈•〉 [ta]smād abhāvād eva gaṃtā cāgantā ca na gacchati • tad yasmān na gaṃtā agaṃtā gantā agantā ca gacchatīty upapadya[te •] ○ [tas]mād gacchatīti na prasiddhyati • gacchatīty attra cāsati kuto gamanaṃ prasiddhyati •‖

āha yady api na gantā ○ [nāgantā na gantā c](*āgantā ca gacchatīty*) [upapadya](t)[e •] (ta)[thāpi] (Gu)[pto gacchati] Caitro

(10?)a2 gacchatīty attra gaccha(tī)ty upapadyate •

ucyate • na kiṃcid uktaṃ 〈•〉 nanu Guptāśrayayaiveyaṃ cintā kṛtā kiṃ Gupto gantā san gacchati utāgantā gacchati ○ uta gantā cāgantā ca bhūtvā gacchatīti • tasmād yat kiṃcid etat* 〈‖〉 (II.11)

འགྲོ་བཞི་དང་འགྲོ་བཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་ལས་གཞན་པ་[1] གསུམ་པ། འགྲོ་བཞི་ཡིན་པ་དང་འགྲོ་བཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་གང་འགྲོ་ཞེས་བྱ་[2] བར་འཐད་པ་ཞེག་གང་ཞེག་ཡིན། དེ་སྐྱ་[2] བས་ན་ P 192b མེད་པ་[3] ཁོ་ནའི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་[4] ཡིན་པ་དང་འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཡང་མི་འགྲོ་ཏེ། དེ་སྐར་གང་གི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་དང་། འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་ཡིན་པ་དང་། འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་འགྲོ་ཏེ། ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་མི་འཐད་པ་དེའི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་ཏེ་ཞེས་ [ ] བྱ་བ་དེ་རབ་ཏུ་མི་འགྲུབ་ཏེ། འགྲོ་ཏེ་ཞེས་བྱ་ N 183b བ་དེ་མེད་ན་འགྲོ་བར་ཁ་ཅིག་འགྲུབ་པར་གལ་འགྱུར། འདིར་སྨྲས་པ། འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་དང་། འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་།[5] འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་ཡིན་པ་དང་། འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་འགྲོ་ཏེ། [ ] ཞེས་ C 167a བྱ་བ་མི་འཐད་དུ་ཟིན་ཀྱང་གུ་སྤྲུ།[6] འགྲོ་ཏེ། ཅི་ཏ་འགྲོ་ཏེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་ལ་འགྲོ་ཏེ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འཐད་དོ།།

བཤད་པ། དེས་ནི་ཅི་ཡང་སྨྲས་པ་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། གུ་སྤྲུ།[7] ལ་བརྟེན་ན་ཅི་གུ་སྤྲུ་[8] འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་ར་[9] སྐྱར་ནས་འགྲོ་བམ། [ ] ཅོན་ཏེ་ D 171a ཉེ་འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་[10] འགྲོ་བམ། ཅོན་ཏེ་འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་ཡིན་པ་དང་། [ ] འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་གསལ་[11] G 261b བ་མ་བྱས་སམ། དེ་སྐྱ་བས་ན་དེའི་ཕྱི་ནི།(II.11)

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[1] G adds ལས .

[2] PNG omit སྐྱ .

[3] ཐ: DC ཐའི .

[4] DC add མ .

[5] DC omit འགྲོ་བ་ཞི་མ་ཡིན་པ་དང་། .

[6, 7] གུ་སྤྲུ།: DC གུ་བ་ཀ.

[8] གུ་སྤྲུ: DC གུ་བ་ཀ.

[9] བ་ཞི་ར: P བ་ཞི་ར .

[10] DC omit པ .

[11] གསལ: PNG བསལ .

attrāha • vidyata eva gamanaṃ ⟨•⟩ kutaḥ ⟨•⟩ gamikkriyāprāOraṃbhasadbhāvāt* ⟨•⟩ [iha ya](*dy apy eta*)[n na śakyate vaktuṃ gatam agataṃ] gamyamānaṃ vā gamyata

(10?)a3 iti ▾tathāpy avasthitaḥ san yadā pravarttate • tadā sthānakkriyānivṛtter anantaraṃ gamikkriyāpravṛttiOr bhavati • tasmāt kriyāprāraṃbhasadbhāvād vidyata eva gamanaṃ •‖

ucyate • kim idaṃ bhavāṃ saṃjñānta{{..}}reṇa O saṃmohita[ñ ce]taḥ sva(putramu)[kha](ṃ) (*na*) [jānā]ti • [yas tvaṃ tam evā]rtham abhidhānāṃtareṇottarabuddhyā bravīṣi

(10?)a4 [•[1]] ▾nanu yo 'py asau kkriyāprārambhaḥ parikalpyate • so 'pi gate vā syād agate vā gamyamāne vā ⟨•⟩ taOttra pūrvvoktair eva hetubhiḥ ⟨•⟩

gate nārabhyate gantuṃ • (II.12a)
kutaḥ ⟨•⟩ gamikkriyānivṛtteḥ ⟨•⟩

gantuṃ nārabhyate [a][2]**gate** ⟨•⟩ (II.12b)
Okutaḥ • [gamikkriyāyā a](nārambhāt* •)

(**nārabhyate ga**)**myamāne** ⟨•⟩ (II.12c)

འདིར་སྨས་པ། འགྲོ་བ་ནི་ཡོད་པ་ཁོ་ནའོ།། ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། འགྲོ་བའི་བྱ་བ་རྩོམ་པ་[1] ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། འདི་ལ་སོང་བ་དང་མ་སོང་བ་དང་བཞོམ་[2] པ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་[3] ཡོད་དོ།། ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་བརྗོད་པར་མི་ནུས་སུ་ཟིན་ཀྱང་། གང་གི་ཚེ་སྟོང་པ་ལས་འགྲོ་བ་དེའི་ཚེ་ན་སྟོང་པའི་བྱ་བ་[4] འདས་མ་ཐག་ཏུ་འགྲོ་བའི་བྱ་བ་ཐ་དན་འཐོབ་པར་འགྱུར་བས་དེ་ལྟ་བས་[5] ན་བྱ་བ་རྩོམ་པ་ཡོད་པས་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོད་པ་[6] ཁོ་ནའོ།།

བཤད་པ། ཅི་ཁྱོད་མིང་གཞན་དུ་བསྨྲ་བས་སེམས་རྨོངས་ནས་རང་གི་བུའོ་མི་ཤེས་སམ། ཁྱོད་དོན་དེ་ཉིད་ལ་བློ་ཕྱི་མས་བརྗོད་པ་གཞན་གྱིས་བརྗོད་ཀི།།[7] འགྲོ་བའི་བྱ་བ་རྩོམ་པ་ཡོད་པར་ཡོངས་སུ་རྟག་པ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ཡང་སོང་བ་འམ་མ་སོང་བ་འམ། བཞོམས་པ་ལ་ཡོད་གྱང་ན། དེ་ལ་གཏན་ཚིགས་སྔར་བསྟན་པ་དག་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་བཤད་པ།

སོང་ལ་འགྲོ་བའི་རྩོམ་མེད་དེ[8]།། (II.12a)
ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། འགྲོ་བའི་བྱ་བ་འདས་ཟིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།།
མ་སོང་བ་ཡང་འགྲོ་རྩོམ་མེད།། (II.12b)
▾ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། འགྲོ་བའི་བྱ་བ་[9] མ་བརྩམས་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། P 193a
བཞོམ་[10]པ་རྩོམ་[11]པ་ཡོད་མིན་ན།། (II.12c)

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[1] A sign of circle here may have functioned as a daṇḍa.

[2] The damaged akṣara looks like an initial *a* where, accoding to the metre, an *avagraha* is expected. Cf. dJ, LVP *'gate*.

[1] པ: G པའི.

[2] བཞོམ: C དཔོམ.

[3] P Adds ཡོ.

[4] བྱ་བ: DC བྱས་པ.

[5] P omits དེ་ལྟ་བས.

[6] ཡོད་པ: P འགྲོ་བ.

[7] ཀི།།: DC ཀི; P ཀོ།།.

[8] དེ: C དྲ.

[9] བ: PNG བའི.

[10] G adds པ.

[11] རྩོམ: PN བརྩོམ.

kutaḥ ‹•› gamyamānābhāvā‹d› dvigama-
(10?)a5 naprasaṃgā(t* •)[▾] dvigantṛprasaṃgāc ca • tad ācakṣvedānīm uttara[lu]bdhakaḥ[1] ‹•›

gantum ārabhyate kuheti • (II.12d)

tasmān nāsti gamanā○raṃbhaḥ • āraṃbhe cāsati kuto gamanaṃ || (II.12)

attrāha • [vidyata eva] gamanaṃ ‹•› kutaḥ ‹•› ga[myamāna]gatāgata[sa]dbhāvāt* ‹•› ○ yasmād gatiyo(gād gamyamāne)[ti bhavati] (• anta)[gate] gatam iti bhavati •
(10?)a6 [a]prāptāṃ gamikkriyām avekṣya {•} [agatam iti bhavati •] tasmād gamyamānagatāgatasadbhāvād asti ○ gamanam iti ||

[uc]yate ‹•› kim idaṃ bhavān ā(*kāśa utti*)[ṣṭhaṃ varna]m[2] eti • [yadā]

prā[g a]sti[3] [gamanā]rambhād gamyamā○naṃ na no[4] gataṃ • yatrā[rabhyeta gama]naṃ (II.13abc)

(*iha prāg gamanārambhāt*) sthitasya [tasya] **naiva gamyamānam a[sti]** ‹‹**no**
(10?)b1 **gatam** (ap)i›› [▾] **[ya]ttra gamanam ārabhyeta** • gamanāraṃbhe cāsati kuto gamyamānaṃ gatiyuktaṃ • gatiyoge cāsati {•} ○ kuto gatyavasānaṃ •

ཅེའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། བགྲོམ་པ་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་དང་། འགྲོ་བ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་བའི་ཕྱིར་དང་། འགྲོ་བཡོ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།།

[▾] གང་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་རྩོམ་པར་བྱེད།། (II.12d) N 184a

ཅེས་བྱ་བའི་ལན་དེ་[▾] དངོས་མེད་དེ། ཡུལ་བས་ན་[1] འགྲོ་ G 262a
བའི་རྩོམ་པ་མེད་དོ།། རྩོམ་པ་མེད་ན་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོད་པར་གལ་འགྱུར། (II.12)

འདིར་སྨྲས་པ། འགྲོ་བ་ནི་ཡོད་པ་ཙོ་ན་དེ།། ཅེའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། བགྲོམ་པ་དང་སོང་བ་དང་མ་སོང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཏེ། གང་གི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པའི་ཕྱིར་བགྲོམ་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་ལ། འགྲོ་བ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པ་ནི་སོང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཡིན། འགྲོ་བའི་བྱ་བ་མངོན་བ་ལ་ལྟོས་ནས་མ་སོང་བ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་པས་ན་དེ་ལྟར་ན་བགྲོམ་པ་དང་སོང་བ་དང་། མ་སོང་བ་ཡོད་པའི་[▾] ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་ཡོད་དོ།། C 167b

འཕགས་པ། ཅི་ཞིག་ན་མཁའ་འདི་ལ་ལྡང་བར་བརྗོད་དམ་གང་གི་ཚེ།

འགྲོ་བ་རྩོམ་པའི་སྡོར་ལ།།
གང་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་རྩོམ་འགྱུར་བ།།
[▾] བགྲོམ་པ་མེད་ཅིང་སོང་བ་མེད།། (II.13abc) D 171b

འདི་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་རྩོམ་པའི་སྡོར་ལ་སྡོད་པར་ཐུར་པ་ན་གང་དུ་འགྲོ་བ་རྩོམ་པར་འགྱུར་བའི་བགྲོམ་པ་ཡང་མེད་ཅིང་། སོང་བ་ཡང་མེད་དོ།། འགྲོ་བ་རྩོམ་པ་མེད་ན་བགྲོམ་པ་འགྲོ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པར་གལ་འགྱུར། འགྲོ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པ་མེད་ན་འགྲོ་བ་མཐར་ཕྱིན་པ་ཡོད་པར་ཡང་གལ་འགྱུར།

[1] The reading of *-lubdhakaḥ* has no equivalent in Tibetan translation.

[2] *[varna]m*: read *vartanam*? Cf. BP_{Tib} བསྐྱོད།

[3] *prāg asti*: = Saito 1985; MK, PSP *na pūrvaṃ*.

[4] *no*: = MacDonald 2007; dJ, LVP *vā*.

[1] PNG omit ཞེ.

āha • agatam asti tattra gamanam ārapsyata iti ‖ ucyate •

agate gamanaṃ kutaḥ ‹‖› (II.13d)

ihāvasthitasyā○vispandamānasya yad agataṃ tattra nāsty āraṃbhaḥ ‹•› yadā ca
(10?)b2 vispandate tadā yattrāvakāś(e)˙ vispandate nāsāv agato bhavati • yaś ca tadā agato 'vakāśo bhavati • na tattra vispandate ○ tasmād **agate kuto gamanāraṃbhaḥ** ‹‖› (II.13)

evaṃ parīkṣite

gataṃ kiṃ gamyamānaṃ
kim agataṃ {‖} kiṃ vikalpyate •
adṛśyamāna ○ āraṃbhe
gamanasyaivа sarvvathā • (II.14)

yadaivaṃ sarvveṇa prakāreṇa
(10?)b3 vimṛśyamāno gamanāraṃbha eva˙ na dṛśyate • tadā **kim** etad bhavatā **gataṃ vikalpyate kiṃ gamyamānaṃ kim agataṃ** • (II.14)

འདིར་སྨས་པ། མ་སོང་བ་ནི་ཡོད་དེ། དེར་འགྲོ་བ་རྩོམ་པར་ འགྱུར་རོ།། བཤད་པ།

མ་སོང་འགྲོ་བ་ཁ་ཡོད།།[1] (II.13d)

འདི་ལ་སྟོད་ཅང་མི་བསྒྲུབ་[2] པ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་[3] ནི་མ་སོང་ བ་སྟེ། དེ་ལ་ནི་རྩོམ་པ་མེད་དོ།། གང་གི་ཚེ་སྒྲུབ་པར་ བྱེད་པ་དེའི་ཚེ་ན་ནི་གོ་སྐབས་གང་དུ་སྒྲུབ་པར་བྱེད་པ་དེ་མ་ སོང་བ་མཡིན་ནོ།། དེའི་ཚེ་མ་སོང་བའི་གོ་˙སྐབས་གང་ G 262b ཡིན་པ་དེ་ལ་ནི་བསྒྲུབ་[4] པ་མེད་དོ[5]།། དེ་ལྟ་བས་ན་མ་སོང་བ་ལ

འགྲོ་བའི་རྩོམ་པ་ཁ་[6]ལ་ཡོད།། (II.13)

དེ་ལྟར་བརྟགས་ན།

འགྲོ་རྩོམ་˙རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་དུ།། P 193b
སྣང་བ་མེད་པ་ཉིད་ཡིན་ན།།
སོང་བ་ཅི་ཞིག་བགོམ་པ་ཅི།།
མ་སོང་ཅི་ཞེས་རྣམ་པར་བརྟག།། (II.14)

གང་གི་ཚེ་དེ་ལྟར་རྣམ་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱིས་རྣམ་པར་བརྟག་[7] པ་ ན་འགྲོ་བའི་རྩོམ་པ་སྣང་བ་མེད་པ་ཉིད་ཡིན་པ་དེའི་ཚེ་ཇི་ཀྱི་ ˙སོང་བ་ཡང་ཅི། བགོམ་པ་ཡང་ཅི། མ་སོང་བ་དེ་ཡང་ཅི། N 184b ཞེས་རྣམ་པར་བརྟག།། (II.14)

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[1] མ་སོང་འགྲོ་བ་ཁ་ཡོད།།: PN མ་སོང་བ་འགྲོ་བ་གང་ཡོད།།; G མ་སོང་བ་གང་ཡོད།།.

[2] བསྒྲུབ་: PNG སྒྲུབ་.

[3] PNG omit དེ་.

[4] བསྒྲུབ་: PNG སྒྲུབ་.

[5] དོ་: N དེ་.

[6] ཁ་: DC ཁང་.

[7] བརྟག་: PNG བརྟགས་.

āha • agataṃ tāOvad astīti •||

ucyate • kim idaṃ bhavān ajātaputtramaraṇāt santapyate • yas tvam asati gate agataṃ kalpaOyasi • gatapratipakṣo hy agatam • tad yadi gamanam[1] eva nāsti kutas te agataṃ bhaviṣyati ||

(10?)b4 ▾attrāha • yadi pratipakṣābhāvād agataṃ nāsti hanta siddhaṃ gamanaṃ • ‹‹ [kutaḥ] ‹•› pratipakṣasadbhāvāt* || ›› gamanasya hi pratipakṣo O vidyate sthānaṃ • tasmāt pratipakṣasadbhāvād vidyata eva gamanaṃ ||

ucyate • syād gamanaṃ yadi sthānaṃ syāt*‹•› O na ca sthānam upapadyate • kuto gamanaṃ bhaviṣyati ‹•› katham iti

(10?)b5 ‹•› iha yadi sthānam* syāt* ▾ tad gantur agantur vvā syāt* ‹•› tattra ||

སྨོས་པ། རེ་ཞིག་མ་སོང་བ་ནི་ཡོད་དོ།།

བཤད་པ། ཅི་སྟོང་ངམ་བཙོས་པར་འཆི་བའི་མྱ་ངན་བྱེད་དམ། སྟོང་སོང་བ་མེད་པར་མ་སོང་བ་ལ་རྗེ་གོ།། འདི་ལྟར་སོང་བའི་གཉེན་པོ་ནི་མ་སོང་བ་[1] ཡིན་ན། དེ་ལ་གལ་ཏེ་སོང་བ་ཉིད་མེད་ན་སྟོང་གི་མ་སོང་བ་ཡོད་པར་གལ་ཏན་ཏུ།

སྨོས་པ། གལ་ཏེ་གཉེན་པོ་མེད་པས་མ་[2] སོང་བ་མེད་ན་ཏེ་ན། འགྲོ་བ་[3] འགྲུབ་བོ་[4]།། ཅེའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། མི་མཐུན་པ་[5] ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་ཏེ། འདི་ལྟར་འགྲོ་བའི་མི་མཐུན་པ་སྟོང་པ་ཡོད་དེ།[6] དེ་[7] བས་ན་མི་མཐུན་པཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བཡོད་པ་ཁོ་ནའོ།།

བཤད་པ[8]། གལ་ཏེ་སྟོང་པ་ཡོད་ན་ནི་འགྲོ་བ་ཡང་[9] ཡོད་པར་འགྱུར་གང་ན། སྟོང་པ་མི་འཐད་པས་འགྲོ་བཡོད་པར་གལ་འགྱུར། ཇི་ལྟར་[10] ཞེ་ན། འདི་ལ་གལ་ཏེ་སྟོང་པ་ཡོད་པར་གྱུར་ན། འགྲོ་བཡོའི་འམ། འགྲོ་བཡོ་མ་ཡིན་པའི་ཡིན་ཞང་ན། དེ་ལ། C 168a

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[1] *gamanam*: read *gatam*. Cf. BP_{Tib} སོང་བ.

[1] བ: PNG བར.

[2] PNGDC omit མ.

[3] PNG add འགྲོ་བ.

[4] བོ: DC N པོ.

[5] པ: DC པའི.

[6] དེ།: PNG དོ།།.

[7] PNG add ཏེ.

[8] PNG add ལས.

[9] N omits ཡང.

[10] ལྟར: PNG ཏེ.

gaṃtā na tiṣṭhate[1] tāvad
agantā naiva tiṣṭhati •
anyo gantur agaOntuś ca
kas tṛtīyo 'tha tiṣṭhati • (II.15)

རེ་ཞིག་འགྲོ་པོ་མེད་སྟོང་དེ་[1]།།
་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་མེན་སྟོང་པ་མེན།། G 263a
འགྲོ་པོ་འགྲོ་པོ་མེན་པས་གཞན།།
གསུམ་པ་གང་་ཞིག་སྟོང་པར་འགྱུར།། (II.15) D 172a

gantā na tiṣṭhate tāvat* ‹•› kutaḥ ‹•› anupapatteḥ ‹•›

དེ་ལྟ་བས་ན་སྟོང་པ་ནི་མེད་པ་ཉིད་དོ།། ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། མེ་འཐད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། ཇི་ལྟར་ཞེ་ན། བཤད་པ།

gantā tāvat tiṣṭhatīti {•}
kaOtham evopapatsyate •
gamanena vinā gaṃtā
yadā naivopapadyate • (II.16)

རེ་ཞིག་འགྲོ་པ་སྟོང་ངོ་ཞེས།།
ཇི་ལྟར་འཐད་པ་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར།།
འགྲོ་བ་མེད་ན་འགྲོ་བ་པོ།།
ནམ་ཡང་འཐད་པར་མི་འགྱུར་རོ།། (II.16)

(10?)b6 iha gatiyogāt* ˇ gaṃtā ‹‹[bhavati]›› • **gamanena** tu **vinā gantā naivopapadyate** • gatinivṛttiś ca sthānam ity ucyate • O tayoś ca virodhinoḥ sthānagamanayor ekattra samāveśo nāsti • tad evaṃ sati **gantā tiṣṭhatīty** etat **tāOvat katham evopapatsyate** ‹•›

idānīm agantā naiva tiṣṭhati kutaḥ ‹•› gater abhāvāt* ‹•› iha gatinivṛ(ttiḥ)

འདི་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་དང་ལྡན་པས་འགྲོ་བ་པོར་འགྱུར་བས་འགྲོ་བ་མེད་ན། འགྲོ་བ་པོར་མི་འཐད་པ་ཉིད་དོ།། འགྲོ་བ་ལོག་པ་ནི་སྟོང་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ན་འགྲོ་བ་དང་སྟོང་པ་མི་མཐུན་པ་དེ་གཉིས་གཅིག་ན་ལྷན་ཅིག་འདུག་པ་མེད་དོ།། དེའི་ཕྱིར་དེ་ལྟར་ˇ་རེ་ཞིག་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་སྟོང་དོ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་ཇི་ལྟར་འཐད་པ་ཉིད་ P 194a
དུ་འགྱུར།
ད་[2]ནི་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཡང་མི་སྟོང་དེ།[3] ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། འགྲོ་བ་མེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། འདི་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་ལོག་པ་ནི་སྟོང་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ན་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ནི་འགྲོ་བ་དང་བྲལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ཡིན་པས་དེ་ལ་ཡང་སྟོང་པས་ཅི་ཞིག་བྱ། སྟོང་པ་དེ་ལ་ཡང་སྟོང་པར་བརྟག་ན། སྟོང་པ་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་བ་དང་། སྟོང་པ་པོ་ཡང་གཉིས་སུ་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་བས་དེའི་ཕྱིར་འགྲོ་བ་པོ་མ་ཡིན་པ་ཡང་མི་སྟོང་རོ།། (II.16)

[1] *tiṣṭhate*: = MacDonald 2007; dJ, LVP *tiṣṭhati*.

[1] དེ: N དོ.
[2] ད: DC དེ.
[3] དེ: P དོ།།.

Around 10 folios are lost.

...

(*tasmād idānīṃ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇaṃ parīkṣaṇī*)[yam iti] • tathety ucyate •||

a[ttrā]ha • ihotpādasthitibhaṃgāḥ [sāmā]nyaṃ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇam ity apadiṣṭaṃ • ○ [na cāsato] [lakṣaṇā](pade)[śo yuktaḥ tasmāl lakṣaṇasadbhā](vād asti) [saṃskṛtam iti •] ucyate • na saṃskṛ[tala]kṣaṇa○m upapadyate • [kutas tadbhāvāt saṃskṛtaṃ bhavi]ṣyati • (katha)m iti [cet* •] (prā)[k pratiṣiddhatvā](*d uktena*)

[21?]a2 [nālakṣaṇe lakṣaṇa]sya pravṛttir na sahalakṣaṇa[1](V.3ab) iti ‹• kiṃ ca bhūyaḥ ||

yadi saṃskṛta utpādas
tattra ○ yuktā ttrilakṣanī •
a[thā]saṃskṛta utpādaḥ
kathaṃ saṃskṛtala[kṣa]ṇaṃ • (VII.1)

trayāṇāṃ lakṣaṇānāṃ samāhāras **trilakṣa○ṇī • kathaṃ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇam** ity e[tat*] ‹• pūrvvapakṣeṇābhisaṃbaddhyate •

[**yadi saṃskṛta utpādaḥ**] (VII.1a)

[21?]a3 **kathaṃ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇam iti •** (VII.1d)

.....

འདིར་སྐྱེས་པ། འྱུད་ཀྱིས་འདོད་ཆགས་དང་ཆགས་པ་བརྟག་པ་དེ་བྱས་པས་ཤེས་པའི་ཡིད་སྟོང་པ་ཉིད་ཟན་པ་ལ་སྤྲོ་བར་བྱས་ཀྱིས[1]། དེའི་ཕྱིར་དུ[2] ནི་འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་བརྟག་ N 200b

པར་བྱའོ་རིགས་སོ།། བཤད་པ་ལ་དེ་ལྟར་བྱའོ།། P 209b

འདིར་སྐྱེས་པ། འདི་ལ་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་། གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག[3] པ་དག་འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་སྤྱིའི་མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་བསྟན་ཏེ། མེད་པ་ལ་ནི་མཚན་ཉིད་བསྟན་པར་ཡང[4] མི་རིགས་པས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་འདུས་བྱས་ཡོད་དོ།།

བཤད་པ། འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་མི་འཐད་པས་དེ་ཡོད་པའི་ཕྱིར་འདུས་བྱས་ཡོད་པར་གལ་འགྱུར། གལ་ཏེ་ཇི་ལྟར་ཞེན་ན། སྟར།

མཚན་ཉིད་མེད་ལ་མཚན་ཉིད་ནི།།
མི་འཇུག་མཚན་ཉིད་[ཅ]བཅས་ལ་མིན།། (V.3ab) G 284b

ཞེས་བསྟན་པས་བཀག་ཟིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། ཡང་གཞན་ཡང།

གལ་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་བ་འདུས་བྱས་ན།།
དེ་ལ་མཚན་ཉིད་གསུམ་སྡུད་འགྱུར།།
ཅི་སྟེ་སྐྱེ་བ་འདུས་མ་བྱས།།
ཇི་ལྟར་འདུས་བྱས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན།། (VII.1)

ཞེས་བྱ་བ་འདི་ནི།

གལ་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་བ་འདུས་བྱས་ན[5]།། (VII.1a)
ཇི་ལྟར་འདུས་བྱས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན།། (VII.1d)

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[1] *sahalakṣaṇa*: dJ, LVP *salakṣaṇe*.

[1] གྱིས: DC གྱི .

[2] དུ: DC དེ .

[3] འཇིག: PNG འཇིགས .

[4] PNDC omit ཡང .

[5] ན: PNG ནས .

ya eṣa **utpādaḥ** saṃskṛtalakṣaṇam apadiśyate • eṣa saṃskṛto vā ○ syād asaṃskṛto vā • tattra **yadi** tāvat **saṃskṛta** iti pari[kalpyate] • anenāpy utpādenotpādasthitibhaṃgalakṣa○ṇena bhavitavyaṃ • saṃskṛtatvāt* ||

ཞེས་སྨོས་གོང་མ་དང་ཡང་སྦྱར་རོ།། སྐྱེ་བ་འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་བསྟན་པ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ཡང་འདུས་བྱས་མ་འདུས་
▾མ་བྱས་ཤེག་ཏུ་བརྟག་གྱང་ན། དེ་ལ་རེ་ཞེག་འདུས་བྱས་སུ་ C 182a
ཡོངས་སུ་རྟོག་ན། སྐྱེ་བ་དེ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་
པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་མཚན་ཉིད་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་པར་འགྱུར་ཏེ།
འདུས་བྱས་ཡིན་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། མཚན་ཉིད་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་
པར་འགྱུར་བའི། མཚན་ཉིད་གསུམ་པོ་དག་ཆོག་པར་འགྱུར་
བའོ།། སྨོས་པ།
དེ་ཡང་མཚན་ཉིད་གསུམ་དང་ལྡན་ནོ།།

ähа • bhavatv eṣo 'pi trilakṣaṇa iti •||

ucyate •

ཇི་ལྟར་འདུས་བྱས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན། (VII.1d)

[21?]a4 ▾ **[kathaṃ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇaṃ]** • (VII.1d)

གལ་ཏེ་སྐྱེ་བ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་པའི་མཚན་
ཉིད་དང་ལྡན། གནས་པ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་
པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་དང་ལྡན། འཇིག་པ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་
དང་འཇིག་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་དང་ལྡན་ན་མཚན་ཉིད་མཚུངས་
པའི་ཕྱིར་མཚན་ཉིད་རྣམས་ལ་ཁྱད་པར་མེད་ [1] པར་
འགྱུར་རོ།། ▾ཁྱད་པར་མེད་ན་འདི་ནི་སྐྱེ་བའོ།། འདི་ནི་ D 186b
གནས་པའོ།། འདི་ནི་འཇིག་པའོ།། །།ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་དག་ཡོད་
པར་གལ་འགྱུར། P 210a
▾སྨོས་པ། དེ་ནི་▾ཉེས་པར་མི་འགྱུར་▾ཏེ། ཇི་ལྟར་སྐྱེར་ G 285a
འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན་དུ་ཟིན་ཀྱང་ཁྱད་པར་གྱི་མཚན་ N 201a
ཉིད་ལ་ལྟོས་ [2] ནས་འདི་ནི་བྱམ་པའོ།། འདི་ནི་སྣམ་བུའོ།།
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་དེ་དག་ཡོད་པ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་འདིར་ཡང་ཁྱད་པར་གྱི་
མཚན་ཉིད་ལ་ལྟོས་ [3] ནས་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་པ་དག་
རབ་ཏུ་གྲུབ་པར་འགྱུར་རོ།།

[21?]a5 āha • naiva doṣaḥ ‹•› ▾(yath)[aiva saty api sā]mānye saṃ[skṛtala]kṣaṇe viśeṣalakṣaṇāpekṣam idaṃ bhavati • ayaṃ ghaṭaḥ ‹•› ○ ayaṃ paṭa iti • evam ihāpi viśeṣalakṣaṇāpekṣā utpādasthitibhaṃgaprasiddhir bhaviṣyati •

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[1] *utpādotpādasthitibhaṃgalakṣaṇaḥ*: read *utpāda utpāda°*.

[1] མེད་: PNGDC ཡོད་.

[2] ལྟོས་: PNG བལྟོས་.

[3] ལྟོས་: P ལྷོས་; NG བལྟོས་.

kaḥ punaOr asau viśeṣa iti ‹•› utpādakasthā[pa](*kabhaṅgakāḥ bhavanti* •

[21?]a6 u)[cyate • naita]d upapadyate • ˅ (*kutaḥ* • *evaṃ na hi yo* [ghaṭa](syo)[tpā](do 'bh)[inirvvṛtti](*ś ca so 'nyat*) [kiṃcid utpādayati • nā]pi ghaṭaOsthitir anyat sthāpayati • [na ghaṭabhaṃgo 'nyat kiṃcid bhinat]tīti •‖

ཞུང་པར་དེ་གང་ཞེ་ན། སྐྱེད་པར་བྱེད་པ་དང་། གནས་པར་བྱེད་པདང་། འཇིག་པར་བྱེད་པདག་གོ།། བཤད་པ། དེ་ནི་མི་འཐད་དོ[1]།། ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། འདི་ལྟར་བུམ་པ་སྐྱེད་པར་བྱེད་པདང་། མངོན་པར་འགྲུབ་པར་བྱེད་པ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེས་ནི་གཞན་ཅི་ཡང་སྐྱེད་པར་མི་བྱེད་ཅིང་། བུམ་པ་གནས་པར་བྱེད་པས་ཀྱང་གཞན་ཅི་ཡང་གནས་པར་མི་བྱེད་ཅེད་། བུམ་པ་འཇིག་པར་བྱེད་པས་ཀྱང་གཞན་ཅི་ཡང་འཇིག་པར་མི་བྱེད་པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།།

āha • ghaṭasyaiva te utpādakasthāpaka-bhaṃgaOkā ity adoṣa[ḥ ||

སྨས་པ། དེ་དག་གི་ས[2] བུམ་པ་ཉིད་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་། འཇིག་པར་བྱེད་པས་ཉེས་པ་མེད་དོ།།

ucyate] (• *na tarhi te ghaṭasya lakṣaṇaṃ*

[21?]b1 *bhavanti* • *karkṛtvāt** •) ˅ [na hi puttra]syotpādakaḥ pitā {•} puttrasya lakṣaṇaṃ bhavati • ‹‹ [nāpy] ādhāro ghaṭa[lakṣa]ṇaṃ bhavati • na muggaraḥ[1] ›› • tasmān notpādādayaḥ saṃskṛtāḥ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇaOm upapadyaṃte • **athāsaṃskṛta utpādaḥ** parikalpyate • tattrāpi brūmaḥ

kathaṃ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇaṃ ‖ (VII.1d)

(***kathaṃ***) **[saṃ]skṛtalakṣaṇa(ṃ)** O .. .. [saṃ]skṛt(*e*) ‹•› [lakṣya](*te 'neneti lakṣaṇaṃ* • ... *yad* utpāda)sth(iti-

[21?]b2 bhaṅgarahitaṃ) ˅ [ta]t svayam eva na lakṣyate • yac ca svayaṃ na lakṣyate • kathaṃ tenānyal lakṣyeta •

བཤད་པ་དེ་ལྟ་ན་ཡང་བུམ་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་མངོན་ཏུ་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་ཏེ། བྱེད་པོའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། འདི་ལྟར་བུམ་པ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཕྱིར་ཏེ་དག་བུམ་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་མ་ཡིན་ཏེ། བྱེད་པོའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། འདི་ལྟ་བུ་སྐྱེད་པར་བྱེད་པའི་ཕ་བུའི་མཚན་ཉིད་མ་ཡིན་[˅]པའི་ཕྱིར་ཏེ། དེ་ལྟ་བས་ན་སྐྱེ་བ་ལ་སོགས་པ་དག་ C 182b འདུས་བྱས་ཡིན་ན་འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་མི་འཐད་དོ།། ཅི་སྟེ་སྐྱེ་བ་འདུས་མ་བྱས་སུ་ཡོངས་སུ་རྟོག་ན་དེ་ལ་ཡང་བཤད་པར་བྱ་སྟེ།

ཇི[3]ལྟར་འདུས་བྱས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན། (VII.1d)

འདུས་མ་བྱས་ཡིན་ན[4] ཇི་ལྟར་འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར་[˅]ཏེ། འདི་མཚོན་པར་བྱེད་པས་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན་ G 285b ན་གང་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་པ་དང་བྲལ་[5] བ་དེས་ནི་རང་ཉིད་ལ་ཡང་མཚོན[6]་པར་མི་བྱེད་དོ།། གང་རང་ཉིད་ལ་མཚོན[7]་པར་མི་བྱེད་པ་དེས་གཞན་ཇི་ལྟར་མཚོན་པར་བྱེད།

[1] *muggaraḥ*: read *mudgaraḥ*.

[1] དོ།།: PNG དེ།; D དོ།.
[2] གི་ས: PNG གི.
[3] ཇི: PNGDC འདི.
[4] ན: P ནི.
[5] བྲལ: PNG འབྲལ.
[6, 7] མཚོན: DC མཚན.

nirvvāṇaṃ cāsaṃskṛtaṃ saṃskṛtaO lakṣaṇaṃ prasajyate • na caitad iṣṭaṃ ‹•› tasmāt* notpādasthitibhaṃgāḥ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇam upapadyaṃte • (VII.1)

ཅི་སྟེ་བྱེད་ན་ཞུང་ལས་འདུས་པ་འདུས་མ་བྱས་ཀྱང་འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན་པར་ཐལ་བར་འགྱུར་བས་ ་དེ་ ་ནི་མི་འདོད་དེ། དེ་ལྟ་བས་ན་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་པ་དག་འདུས་མ་བྱས་ཡིན་ན་ཡང་འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་མི་འཐད་ ་དོ།། (VII.1) N 201b P 210b D 187a

satyām api ca O lakṣaṇaprakḷptau vya{{..}}stā vā utpā(*dasthitibhaṅgā samastā vā saṃskṛtalakṣaṇaṃ syuḥ // tatra*)

[21?]b3 ˇ**utpādādyās trayo vyastā**
nālaṃ lakṣaṇakarmmaṇi •
saṃskṛtasya samastā‹ḥ› syur
ekattra katham ekaO dā ‹||› (VII.2)

nālaṃ ‹‹na›› paryyāptāḥ na samarthā ity arthaḥ ‹•› utpādasthitibhaṃgā ekaikaśaḥ na samarthāḥ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇavidhau • O

katham iti • ihānabhinirvṛttasya [tā](va)[d asato] (*bhāvasya naivo*)[tpā](do *na*)
[21?]b4 [sthiti]‹r› {•} [na bhaṃga] upapa[dyate] • ˇ bhāvāśrayā hy utpādasthitibhaṃgāḥ syuḥ ‹•› ghaṭasyotpādaḥ ghaṭasya sthiti‹r› ghaṭasya bhaṃga iti • sa O eva ca ghaṭo 'nabhinirvṛtta iti • kasyāsāv utpādaḥ sthitiḥ bhaṃgo vā lakṣaṇaṃ syāt* ‹•›

མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་བརྟགས་[2] ན་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་། གནས་པ་དང་། འཇིག་པ་དག་སོ་སོ་བའམ། འདུས་པ་ཞིག་འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར་གྱང་ན། དེ་ལ།

སྐྱེ་སོགས་གསུམ་པོ་སོ་སོ་ཡིས།།
འདུས་བྱས་མཚན་ཉིད་བྱ་[3]བར་ནི།།
ནུས་མིན་འདུས་པ་ཡིན་ན་ཡང་།།
གཅིག་ཀ་དུས་གཅིག་ཏུ་ཡང་རུང་།། (VII.2)

སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་། འཇིག་པ་དག་རེ་རེ་ལ་ཡང་[4] འདུས་བྱས་ཀྱི་མཚན་ཉིད་བྱ་བར་མི་ནུས་ཏེ། ནུས་མིན་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་ཚིག་གོ།། ཇི་ལྟར་ཞེ་ན། འདི་ལ་རེ་ཞིག་དངོས་པོ་མངོན་པར་མ་གྲུབ་ཅིང་ མེད་པ་ལ་ནི་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་པ་དག་མི་འཐད་དོ།། འདི་ལྟར་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་[5] གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་པ་དག་ནི་དངོས་པོ་ལ་བརྟེན་པ་ཡིན་ཏེ། བུམ་པའི་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་། བུམ་པའི་གནས་པ་དང་བུམ་པའི་འཇིག་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ཡིན་ན་ བུམ་པ་དེ་མངོན་པར་མ་གྲུབ་ན། སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་

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[1] ོ: DC ེ .

[2] བརྟགས: PNG བརྟག .

[3] བྱ : PNGDC བ5; cf. l. 14; also in MK_{Tib} (D Tsa 4b5).

[4] རེ་ལ་ཡང: PNG རེས་ནི .

[5] C omits དང .

idānīṃ bhaṃgo nāma ○ vināśaḥ abhāvaḥ sa yasya bhavati (sa nai)[va] bhava[ti][1] • tasmi[n ap]y a[sati]
[21?]b5 kasyotpādaḥ sthitir bhaṃgo vā lakṣaṇaṃ syāt* ‹•› evaṃ tāvad utpādasthitibhaṃgā naivānabhinirvṛttasya na bhagnasya bhāvasya ○ **vyastāḥ samastā** vā lakṣaṇaṃ bhavanti •

tatraitat syāt* ‹•› abhinirvṛttasyābhagnasya bhaviṣyantīti • tac ca nopa○padyate katham iti • iha ghaṭākhyasya sato [bhāva]syotpādo nāsti ‹•› na hi sataḥ punar
[21?]b6 utpāda[kṛtya](ḥ) [a]stīti • atha sato 'pi punar utpādaḥ syān na [kadācin na] syāt* ‹•› na caitad iṣṭaṃ • tasmān na sata utpādo ○ 'sti yac ca nāsti sa kathaṃ lakṣaṇaṃ syāt* •‖

ā(ha) sthitis tāvad astīti ‖ ucyate • sthitir api nopapadyate • ○ kutaḥ ‹•› bhaṃgānuṣaṃgāt* ‹•› nityānu[ṣa](ktaṃ) hi [sa](mskṛ)[tam an]i(tya)[ta]y(ā) anity .. .i .y. .. .. [sati kutaḥ] (sth)i(t)i(ḥ)

འཇིག་པ་དག་ཏུ་གང་གི་མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར། ད་[1]ནི་འཇིག་པ་ G 286a
ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནི་ཞི་གཡ་པ་དང་མེད་པ་སྟེ། དེ་གང་ལ་ཡོད་པ་དེ་ནི་
མེད་པ་ཉིད་དོ།། དེ་མེད་ན་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་པ་
དག་གང་གི་མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར་ཏེ། དེ་ལྟར་རེ་ཞིག་སྐྱེ་བ་དང་
གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་པ་དག་སོ་སོར་མ། འདུས་པ་ཡང་དངོས་པོ་
མངོན་པར་མ་གྲུབ་པ་དང་། ཞིག་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་མཡིན་ནོ།།
དེ་ལ་འདི་སྐམ་[▾]དུ་དེ་དག་དངོས་པོ་མངོན་པར་གྲུབ་པ་དང་མ C 183a
ཞིག་པའི་མཚན་ཉིད་ཡིན་པར་སེམས་ན། དེ་ཡང་མི་འཐད་དེ།
ཇི་ལྟར་ཞེ་ན། འདི་ལ་བྱམས་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་བའི་དངོས་པོ་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ནི་
སྐྱེ་བ་མེད་དེ། འདི་ལྟར་ཡོད་པ་ལ་ཡང་སྐྱེ་བའི་བྱ་བ་མེད་དོ།།
ཅི་སྟེ་ཡོད་ཀྱང་སྐྱེ་བར་གྱུར་ན་ནི་ནམ་ཡང་མི་སྐྱེ་བར་མི་འགྱུར་
བས་[▾]དེ་ནི་མི་འདོད་དོ།། དེ་ལྟར་བས་ན་ཡོད་པ་ལ་སྐྱེ་[▾]བ་ N 202a P 211a
མེད་དེ།། མེད་པ་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ཇི་ལྟར་མཚན་ཉིད་དུ་འགྱུར།
སྐྱེས་པ། རེ་ཞིག་གནས་པ་ནི་ཡོད་དོ།། བཤད་པ། གནས་པ་
ཡང་མི་འཐད་དེ། ཅིའི་ཕྱིར་ཞེ་ན། འཇིག་པ་དང་རྗེས་སུ་འཇིག་
པའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། འདི་ལྟར་འདུས་བྱས་ནི་མི་རྟག་པ་[2]དང་ཁོར་
ཟུག་ཏུ་རྗེས་སུ་འཇིག་པས་ཁོར་ཟུག་ཏུ་མི་རྟག་ན་ཇི་ལྟར་
གནས་[3]པར་འགྱུར་ཏེ། གནས་པ་དང་འཇིག་པ་གཉིས་
[▾]འགལ་བའི་ཕྱིར་རོ།། D 187b

(to be continued)

[1] Cf. LVP 170, l. 3.

[1] དྲ་: DC དེ་.
[2] རྟག་: DC རྟོག་.
[3] གནས་: G གན་.

A Re-examination of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* on the Basis of the Newly Identified Sanskrit Manuscripts from Tibet*

YE Shaoyong

The *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MK), as indicated by its name, is the fundamental Sanskrit text of the Madhyamaka school. It became known to the modern world through Candrakīrti's commentary, the *Prasannapadā* (PSP), which was first edited by Chandra Das and Chandra Sastri[1] and later appeared in a better edition by Louis de La Vallée Poussin from 1903 to 1913 (LVP). One century has passed and more than a dozen new manuscripts have been discovered[2] and scholars such as J.W. de Jong, Christian Lindtner, Akira Saito and Anne MacDonald have made great efforts to suggest emendations to the text[3]. But the case of the MK is not yet ended.

Although the work was composed by Nāgārjuna as early as the 2nd or 3rd century CE, no relevant Sanskrit manuscript older than the 12th century had been found. And what is more frustrating is that all the sources are monogenic, namely, extracted from Candrakīrti's commentary. This situation remained until 2003, when some miscellaneous palm-leaves drew my attention in the process of checking the microfilms of the collection of Sanskrit manuscripts formerly preserved in the China Ethnic Library.[4] With the help of my supervisor, Dr. Duan Qing, I was able to identify 14 folios belonging to two incomplete manuscripts (hereafter referred to as our manuscripts), among which 3 folios are from a separate copy of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (MK_{Ms}) and 11 folios are from Buddhapālita's commentary

* I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai for making my stay in Japan possible. My thanks are also due to Professor Seishi Karashima for his kind support and guidance during my time at the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University. Thanks to my supervisor, Professor Duan Qing of Peking University, for the help and advice in many aspects. I am very grateful to Professors Akira Saito, Jan Nattier and Anne MacDonald who were kind enough to read through my draft and provided valuable suggestions. I am also benefited from Professor Harunaga Isaacson and Dr. Jundo Nagashima who generously afforded me some needed materials. Thanks to Professor Shoryu Katsura who provided me an opportunity to give a lecture in Ryukoku University on this topic and thanks all the participants for their insightful comments. Finally, I would like to thank Mr. Yang Zhaohua of Stanford University who took the trouble of checking my English. Needless to say, any errors that remain are my own.

[1] *Mādhyamika Vṛtti: The Philosophy of the Mahāyāna School Containing the Aphorisms of Nāgārjuna with Its Commentary of Āchārya Chandrakīrti*, Buddhist Text Society of India, Calcutta, 1894-1897.

[2] For the review of the *Prasannapadā* manuscripts and new discoveries see Tsukamoto 1990: 237ff.; MacDonald 2000: 166-168; Yonezawa 2005: 160.

[3] Cf. dJ; de Jong 1978; Lindtner 1982a: 177-215, 1982b: 25-26 (note 79), 1988; Saito 1984: xv, 1985; MacDonald 2000: 169-171, 2007.

[4] The original manuscripts are now kept in Tibet Museum in Lhasa, and are not accessible to me so far. The microfilms I used belong to the Research Institute of Sanskrit Manuscripts and Buddhist Literature at Peking University. For the history of these Sanskrit manuscripts see Steinkellner 2004; Hu-von Hinüber 2006.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 149-170.
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(BP_{Ms}). I first reported on these manuscripts at the 14th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held in London in 2005.

These 14 folios, mixed with some other palm-leaves, had been cataloged by Wang Sen as "No. 17, Sanskrit miscellaneous leaves".[5] No colophon or date has been found in the manuscripts. Their script, which could be called an eastern variety of the post-Gupta script, suggests a paleographical date of the 7th century. These manuscripts are not only the oldest extant Sanskrit manuscripts insofar as the Madhyamaka texts are concerned, but also mark the first time that the Sanskrit copies of an independent MK and of Buddhapālita's commentary were found. I have provided a complete edition of MK_{Ms} and the first portion of BP_{Ms} in an article published in this same issue (Ye 2007).

In this article I will re-examine some verses of the MK on the basis of these two newly identified manuscripts, from two aspects. First, some verses require emendation. In using the word "emendation", I assume that in these cases there were originally no differences among specific verses cited in different commentaries as reflected in different languages, and that our two manuscripts suggest better readings than those in the editions of dJ and LVP. That is to say, different commentators at their times may have had the same readings, and what is suggested here is most likely closer. As to the second aspect, things are much more complicated. It has been conjectured earlier by scholars that the Sanskrit text of the MK may have existed in different versions, given that discrepancies can be found in the same verse embedded in different commentaries.[6] This is now confirmed by these two old manuscripts. Therefore the philological task of scholars working on the MK is no longer as simple as to pursue a "better" reading, but to draw a genealogy of its transmission. Needless to say, the task cannot be achieved only on the basis of these two manuscripts. It is not intended here to carry out a systematic study of the MK's lineage, but rather to focus on some minor points where, based on our manuscripts, some hints of the textual lineage can be traced. By doing so, I hope to shed a little light on the further study of the MK.

1. Emendations to the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*

No.	Verse	dJ	LVP	Emendations
1.1	VII.14c	*utpadyate tad ākhyātaṃ*	*utpadyate tathākhyātaṃ*	*utpadyate tad vyākhyātaṃ* (BP_{Ms})
1.2	X.9c	*evaṃ satīndhanaṃ cāpi*		*bhaviṣyatīndhanaṃ cāpi* (MK_{Ms})
1.3	XX.11c	*na hy adṛṣṭvā na dṛṣṭvāpi*	*na hy adṛṣṭvā vā dṛṣṭvā vā*	*na hy adṛṣṭvā ca dṛṣṭvā ca* (MK_{Ms})
1.4	XX.23d	*sā kathaṃ janayet phalaṃ//*	*[sā] kathaṃ janayet phalaṃ//*	*kathaṃ janayate phalaṃ//* (MK_{Ms})
1.5	XX.24a	*na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ phalaṃ*		*na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ tasmān* (MK_{Ms})
1.6	XXI.11b	*vibhavaś caiva te bhavet/*		*vibhavaś ceti te bhavet/* (MK_{Ms})
1.7	XXI.14d	*nityo 'nityo 'tha vā bhavet//*	*nityo 'nityo ['tha] vā bhavet //*	*nityo 'nityo 'pi vā bhavet//*(MK_{Ms})
1.8	XXI.21cd	*triṣu kāleṣu yā nāsti* *sā kathaṃ bhavasaṃtatiḥ//*	*[triṣu kāleṣu yā nāsti* *sā kathaṃ bhavasaṃtatiḥ//]*	*yā nāsti triṣu kāleṣu* *kutaḥ sā bhavasaṃtatiḥ//* (MK_{Ms})
1.9	XXII.1d	*katamo 'tra tathāgataḥ//*		*katamo nu tathāgataḥ//* (MK_{Ms})

[5] Wang Sen 王森, 民族圖書館藏梵文貝葉經目录 (*A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mamuscripts Preserved in the China Ethnic Library*), 1985. See Hu-von Hinüber 2006: 297-335.

[6] Cf. Yamaguchi 1944; Lindtner 1982b: 26; Saito 1984: xv-xvii, 1987a, 1987b, 1995.

1.1 MK VII.14

BP_{Ms} *(notpadyamānaṃ notpannaṃ nānutpannaṃ kathaṃ cana /)*
utpadyate tad vyākhyātaṃ gamya[māna]gatā[gat](ai)ḥ //[7]

"The originating, the originated and the not-yet-originated do not originate whatsoever. This has been explained by [the analysis of] the being-gone-over, the gone-over and the not-yet-gone-over."

tad vyākhyātaṃ: dJ *tad ākhyātaṃ*; LVP, Mss C, T, K *tathākhyātaṃ*; Ms R *tad yākhyātaṃ*.

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} སྐྱེས་དང་མ་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེ་བཞིན་པ། ཇི་སྐད་བྱང་ཡང་སྐྱེད་མི་བྱེད།།
སོང་དང་མ་སོང་བགོམ་པ་ཡིས། དེ་དག་རྣམ་པར་བ་ཤད་པ་ཡིན།།

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} སྐྱེས་དང་མ་སྐྱེས་སྐྱེ་བཞིན་པ། ཇི་སྐད་བྱང་ཡང་མི་སྐྱེད་པ།
དེ་ནི་སོང་དང་མ་སོང་དང་། བགོམ་པས་རྣམ་པར་བ་ཤད་པ་ཡིན།།

The prefix རྣམ་པར་ found in all the Tibetan translations agrees with the prefix *vy-* in BP_{Ms}. And also in the context, the word *vyākhyātaṃ* "explained in detail" is more suitable than *ākhyātaṃ* "declared". Ms R reads *tad yākhyātaṃ*, which seems to be a scribal error for *tad vyākhyātaṃ*.

1.2 MK X.9

MK_{Ms} *yadīndhanam apekṣ⟨y⟩āgnir agneḥ siddhasya sādha(nam /)*
bhaviṣyatīndhanam cāpi bhaviṣyati niragnikam //

"If fire exists depending on fuel, there will be an establishment of an already established fire, and fuel will exist without fire."

bhaviṣyatīndhanaṃ: dJ, LVP *evaṃ satīndhanaṃ*.

Tib. གལ་ཏེ་ཤིང་ལྟོས་མེ་ཡིན་ན། མེ་གྲུབ་པ་སྒྲུབ་པར་འགྱུར།།
བྱད་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཤིང་ལ་ཡང་། མེ་མེད་པར་ནི་འགྱུར་པ་ཡིན།།

As to this verse, the problem is not about some reading to be emended, but about how to extract the verse from the prose, i.e., where the verse starts and ends.
Thus reads LVP:

evam api /
yadīndhanam apekṣyāgnir agneḥ siddhasya sādhanam /
bhaviṣyati / yadīndhanam apekṣyāgnir bhaviṣyatīti parikalpyate ... tasmād indhanam apekṣyāgnir bhavatīti na yuktam //
api ca / yadīndhanam apekṣyāgnir bhavatīti parikalpyate /
evam satīndhanam cāpi bhaviṣyati niragnikam // 9 (LVP 207, ll. 10-19)

The underlining by de La Vallée Poussin shows his understanding of the verse. Now based on MK_{Ms}, we know that *bhaviṣyati* in LVP after pāda b is actually the beginning of

[7] All the verses cited from MK_{Ms} and BP_{Ms} are diplomatic transcriptions. For the conventions see the end of this article.

pāda c, and *evaṃ sati* which was taken as the beginning of pāda c is nothing but part of the prose. Probably this is because the *sandhi* occurs between *sati* and *indhanaṃ* and the metrical feasibility is misleading. Therefore our reading of this verse can well answer the question, already posed by Saito (1984: Chapter X, note 23), why all the Tibetan translations did not put *evaṃ sati* into the verse, yet gave an "unnecessarily long equivalent" for *indhanaṃ*, i.e., དེད་པར་བྱ་བའི་ཤིང་, to meet the required number of syllables.

1.3 MK XX.11

MK_{Ms} *athāvṛtaḥ phalenāsau katamaṃ* janayet phalaṃ /*
na hy ad[ṛṣṭvā ca dṛṣṭv]ā ca hetur janaya[te] phalaṃ //

* *katamaṃ*: cf. BHSG §21.11; dJ, LVP *katamaj*.

[ca dṛṣṭv]ā ca: dJ *na dṛṣṭvāpi*; LVP *vā dṛṣṭvā vā*; Ms R *ca dṛṣṭa ci*; Mss C, T, K *ca dṛṣṭā ca*.

Our reading is supported by Ms C, T and K and partly by Ms R, putting their scribal errors aside.

1.4 MK XX.23

MK_{Ms} *na ca pratyayahetūnām iyam ātmānam ātmanā /*
yā sāmagrī janayate katham janayate phalaṃ //

"The combination of causes and conditions does not produce itself by itself. How could [it] produce a result?"

katham janayate: = Mss C, R, T, B; dJ *sā katham janayet*; LVP *[sā] katham janayet*.

Tib. རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ལས་དང་ནི་བྱུང་བ་གཡི། །ཚོགས་པ་གང་ཡིན་དེ་ཡིས་ནི། །
འདི་གཡིས་བདག་ཉིད་མི་སྐྱེད་ན། འབྲས་བུ་ཇི་ལྟར་སྐྱེད་པར་འྱུར། །

The *sā* in brackets in LVP is reconstructed to meet the required number of syllables, and dJ simply followed this. If we have *janayate* instead of *janayet*, there is no need for *sā*. Our reading is supported by all the manuscripts of the PSP that I have consulted and by all the Tibetan translations. In Tibetan the two pronouns in pāda b, namly ཀ་and ཏ, were translated respectively from *iyam* in pāda b and *yā* in pāda c. There is no equivalent for another *sā*.

1.5 MK XX.24

MK_{Ms} *na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ tasmān nāsāmagrīkṛtaṃ phalaṃ //*
asti pratyayasāmagrī kuta eva phalaṃ vinā //

"Therefore, there exists no result made by combination or made by non-combination. Without a result, where is the combination of conditions?"

na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ tasmān: dJ *na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ phalaṃ*; Saito 1985 *tasmān na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ*.

LVP ... *tasmāt / na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ phalaṃ* / (LVP 406, l.14-15);
Mss C, R, T, K ... *tasmān na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ phalaṃ /*;

ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib} དེའི་ཕྱིར་ཚོགས་པས་བྱས་པ་དང་། །ཚོགས་མེད་བྱས་པའི་འབྲས་བུ་མེད། །
འབྲས་བུ་ཡོད་པ་མཡིན་ན། །རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཚོགས་པ་ཀ་ཡོད། །

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} དེ་ཕྱིར་ཚོགས་པས་བྱས་པ་མེད། །ཚོགས་མེད་བྱས་པའི་འབྲས་བུ་མེད། །
འབྲས་བུ་ཡོད་པ་མཡིན་ན། །རྒྱུན་གྱི་ཚོགས་པ་ཀ་ཡོད། །

PG 是故果不從，緣合不合生，若無有果者，何處有合法.
PP_{Ch} 是故果不從，緣合不合生，以果無有故，和合法亦無.
SM 若因緣和合，所作得成者，果若無集因，即因緣不合.

LVP underlined *na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ phalaṃ* as pāda a. Saito rightly noticed that there is དེ་ཕྱིར་ in all the Tibetan translations as the equivalent for *tasmāt*, but no equivalent for *phalaṃ*. So he suggested *tasmān na sāmagrīkṛtaṃ* as pāda a, which unfortunately does not meet the metrical requirement. The word order in our manuscript solves this problem, and also shows that this sentence in PSP is not a citation in its proper order.

1.6 MK XXI.11

MK_{Ms} *dṛśyate saṃbhavaś caiva vibhavaś ceti te bhavet /*
(dṛ)śya(te) saṃ(bhava)ś c(aiva mohād vibha)va eva ca //

"If you think that rising and decaying can be seen, [it must be] because of delusion that rising is seen, and so for decaying."

ceti: dJ, LVP, Ms C, R, T, K *caiva*.

Tib. འབྱུང་བ་དང་ནི་འཇིག་པ་དག། །མཐོང་རོ་སྙམ་དུ་ཞེས་སྐབས། །
འབྱུང་བ་དང་ནི་འཇིག་པ་དག། །གཏི་མུག་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་མཐོང་བཡིན། །

Although the reading *eva* is not impossible, the word *iti* in our manuscript makes it clear that the previous sentence is the quotation of the opponent's view; and it also fits the context better than *eva*.

1.7 MK XXI.14

MK_{Ms} *[bhā]vam abhyupapannasya śāśvatocchedadarśanaṃ /*
prasajyate sa bhāvo hi nityo (')nity(o) (')[p]i [v](ā) [bhavet] //

"For him who asserts the existence of things, the views of eternity and annihilation will follow, because existing things are either permanent or impermanent."

(')[p]i: dJ *'tha*; LVP *['tha]*; Mss C, R, T, K omit this *akṣara*;

This *akṣara* is not seen in any of the manuscripts of the PSP that I have consulted. It must have been omitted in an earlier exemplar which has affected all its descendants. The word *['tha]* is LVP's conjecture, which was then taken over by dJ.

1.8 MK XXI.21

MK_{Ms} *e[va]ṃ tri[ṣ]v ap(i) [kāleṣu] na yuktā [bhava]santatiḥ /*
y(ā) nāsti tri[su kāle]ṣu kutah s(ā) [bhavasamtatih] //

"Thus the continuity of being is not reasonable in the three times.
Where is the continuity of being that does not exist in the three times?"

Pādas cd: dJ *triṣu kāleṣu yā nāsti sā katham bhavasaṃtatiḥ*;
LVP *[triṣu kāleṣu yā nāsti sā katham bhavasaṃtatiḥ]*; Ms C, R, T, K omit these two pādas;

Tib. དུས་གསུམ་དག་ཏུ་གང་མེད་པ། དེ་ནི་རྒྱུད་སྲིད་པའི་རྒྱུན།།.

According to all the manuscripts of the PSP that I have consulted, these two pādas are absent either because an earlier exemplar omitted them or because Candrakīrti did not cite them at all. Except for the word order and *kutaḥ*, the reading of our manuscript is identical with de La Vallée Poussin's reconstruction.

1.9 MK XXII.1

MK_{Ms} *skandhā na n{y}ā{na}nyaḥ skandhebhyo nāsmin skandhā na teṣu saḥ /*
tathāgataḥ skandhavān na katamo nu tathāgataḥ //

"[The Tathāgata is] not aggregates, nor different from aggregates; aggregates are not in him; he is not in them. The Tathāgata does not possess aggregates. Then which is the Tathāgata?"

nu: dJ, LVP *'tra*; Mss C, R, T, B, P *tra*;

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} སྐྱེ་མེད་སྐྱེ་ལས་གཞན་མཡིན། དེ་ལས་སྐྱེ་མེད་དེར་དེ་མེད།།
དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་སྐྱེ་བྱེད་མིན། དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་གང་ཞིག་ཡིན།།

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} ཕུང་མེད་ཕུང་པོ་ལས་གཞན་མིན།།དེ་ལས་ཕུང་མེད་དེ་དེར་མེད།།
དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་ཕུང་བྱེད་མིན།།དེ་བཞིན་གཤེགས་པ་གང་ཞིག་ཡིན།།

In pāda d, there is no equivalent for *'tra*, such as དེར་, in any of the Tibetan translations. The reading *'tra* found in dJ and LVP and *tra* in all the PSP manuscripts I have consulted could be the result of miscopying *nu* as in our manuscript, due to the confusion between these two *akṣara*s. In our manuscripts, which are as old as post-Gupta period, the shapes of *tra* ( ) and *nu* ( ) are different. Saito (1987b: 762-760) suggested that this verse in the Sanskrit text of the PP might have the reading *kāya* rather than *skandha*. Our manuscript does not have this reading.

2. Hints of the lineage of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*

As a first step, the text of the MK in different sources and languages can be roughly divided into two groups.

Group I, earlier commentaries:

ABh. The *Mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtty-akutobhayā*, written probably in the 4th century, was translated into Tibetan by Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the early 9th century. It is claimed in Tibetan to be Nāgārjuna's auto-commentary, but this is not plausible.

PP_{Tib}, PP_{Ch}. The *Prajñāpradīpa-mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti*, written by Bhāviveka (ca. 490-570) in the 6th Centrury, was translated into Tibetan by Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the early 9th century, and into Chinese by Prabhākaramitra (波羅頗蜜多羅, 565-633) in 631 CE.

BP_{Tib}. The *Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti*, written by Buddhapālita (ca. 470-540) at the end of the 5th century or the beginning of the 6th century, was translated into Tibetan by Jñānagarbha and Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the early 9th century.

PG. The *Zhonglun* 中論, written by Piṅgala (ca. 300-350), was translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva (鳩摩羅什, 343-413 or 350-409) in 409 CE.

SM. The *Dasheng zhongguan shilun*大乘中觀釋論, written by Sthiramati (ca. 510-570), was translated into Chinese by Dharmapāla (法護) and Weijing (惟淨) etc. at the beginning of the 11th century.

Group II, the PSP tradition:

LVP, PSP_{Tib}. The *Mūlamadhyamakakārika-vṛtti-prasannapadā*, written by Candrakīrti (ca. 600-650), was translated into Tibetan by Pa tshab Nyi ma grags (1055-?) who collaborated with the Indian scholar Mahāsumati at the close of the 11th century, and was later revised by Nyi ma grags and the Indian scholar Kanakavarman at the beginning of 12th century.

MK_{Tib}, the Tibetan translation of *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā*, was first translated by the Indian scholar Jñānagarbha and the Tibetan translator Klu'i rgyal mtshan in the early 9th century, and then was revised or retranslated to some extent in accordance with PSP_{Tib} by Nyi ma grags with some Indian scholars at the close of the 11th century and the dawn of the 12th century. This is the reason why MK_{Tib} agrees with the verses embedded in PSP_{Tib} in most cases, although a few verses escaped revision (Saito 1986).

As to group I, as was already pointed out by Saito (1987a, b, 1995), the fact that the three Tibetan translations have the identical text of the verses may be due to the fact that the translator first completed the translation of Avalokitavrata's *Prajñāpradīpaṭīkā*, and then fit the rendering of verses into the others, as some verses which are discordant with the commentary can be found in ABh, BP_{Tib} and even in PP_{Tib}. The so-called group I is thus a provisional classification and later I will also point out some divergences within it[8]. In the following seven cases, I will first deal with MK_{Ms} and BP_{Ms} as a whole and show that their readings are closer to those of group I.

[8] This idea was originally suggested to me by Professor Akira Saito at the 14th Conference of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held in London in 2005.

		Group I				Group II
		ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib}	PG	PP_{Ch}	SM	LVP, PSP_{Tib}, MK_{Tib}
2.1	BP_{Ms}: VII.32	○	○	○	○	×
2.2	MK_{Ms}: X.1	○	—	—	—	×
2.3	MK_{Ms}: XVIII.2	○?	○?	○?	○?	×
2.4	MK_{Ms}: XVIII.8	○	—	—	—	×
2.5	MK_{Ms}, BP_{Ms}: XX.13, 14	○	○	—	—	×
2.6	MK_{Ms}: XXI.8	○	○	○		×
2.7	MK_{Ms}: XXI.20	○	—	—	—	×
2.8	MK_{Ms}: chapter IX title	×	—	×	—	×
2.9	MK_{Ms}: X.13	×	○	×	○?	×
2.10	MK_{Ms}: chapter XI title	×	∅	×	×	○
2.11	MK_{Ms}: XII.6	×	○	×	○	○
2.12	MK_{Ms}: absence of PSP XXI.5	×	—	×	○	×

○ agree ∅ partly agree × different — unclear [*empty*] no equivalent

2.1 MK VII.32

BP_{Ms} *na svātmanā nirodhasya nirodho na parātmanā /*
utpādasya ya[tho]tpā[do] [nā](tma)[nā na pa](rā)[tma](nā //)

"Cessation's ceasing is not [caused] by itself nor by another [cessation], just as origination's origin is not [caused] by itself nor by means of another [origination]."

dJ, LVP *na svātmanā nirodho 'sti nirodho na parātmanā /*
utpādasya yathotpādo nātmanā na parātmanā //

"Cessation does not exist by itself nor by means of another [cessation], just as origination's origin is not [caused] by itself nor by means of another [origination]."

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} བཏགས་པ་བཏགས་པ་གཞན་དང་ནི། །དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་བཏགས་མི་རིགས། །
ཇི་ལྟར་སྐྱེ་བ་རང་དང་ནི། །གཞན་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པ་མ་ཡིན་བཞིན། །

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} བཏགས་པ་རང་གི་བདག་ཉིད་ཀྱིས། ཡོད་མིན་བཏགས་པ་གཞན་གྱིས་མིན། །
ཇི་ལྟར་སྐྱེ་བ་རང་དང་ནི། །གཞན་གྱིས་བསྐྱེད་པ་མ་ཡིན་བཞིན། །

PG 法不自相灭，他相亦不灭，如自相不生，他相亦不生.

PP_{Ch} 法不自體灭，他體亦不灭，如自體不起，他體亦不起.

SM 法不自體灭，他體亦不灭，如生不自生，他體亦不生.

As is shown above, the two groups of Tibetan translations are confirmed by the Sanskrit reading of our manuscript and that of dJ and LVP respectively.

The genitive *nirodhasya* in our manuscript accords with its parallel verse, i.e.

sthityānyayā sthiteḥ sthānaṃ tayaiva ca na yujyate /
utpādasya yathotpādo nātmanā na parātmanā // VII.25

"it is not possible that the duration's enduring is [caused] by the duration itself or by means of another duration, just as origination's origin is not [caused] by itself nor by means of another [origination]."

These two verses have the same pādas c and d, in which the genitive form is also supported by the word *utpādasya* as an analogue. In VII.32, pāda b, the word རྟག་ found in ABh, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Tib} has no equivalent in Sanskrit. It must have been understood by the Tibetan translator as having a verb to be supplied, or one that had to be carried over from VII.25, i.e., *yujyate*. In the translation of MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib}, this supplement is not needed for the verb *asti* is already there.

From the context we know that the topic here is how cessation ceases or more literally, cessation's ceasing (*nirodhasya nirodha*).

Candrakīrti seems to have been fully aware of this, though he had a different reading in his citation of the verse. He wrote in his commentary,

> *yadi nirodho nāma bhāvānāṃ nirodhaka iti kalpyate tasyedānīṃ kim anyo nirodha iṣyate uta na /* (LVP 171, ll. 4-5)
>
> "if one thinks that cessation can cause things to cease, now, is another cessation admitted as [the cause] of that [cessation] or not?"

and later,

> *evaṃ nirodho 'pi svātmānaṃ na nirodhayati*
>
> "thus cessation does not cause itself to cease" (*op. cit.*, p.171, ll. 11-12).

Meanwhile there are words which show that Candrakīrti must have had the reading *nirodho 'sti*, i.e.,

> *evaṃ na svātmanā nirodho 'sti // nirodha idānīṃ parātmanāpi nāsti /* (*op. cit.*, p. 172, ll. 1-2, emendated according to de Jong 1978, p. 46)
>
> "thus cessation does not exist by itself. Now [we will discuss the fact that] cessation also does not exist by means of another entity."

Although the reading *nirodho 'sti* is a bit strange and not consistent with the previous verses, it is not completely wrong in meaning. The discussion here is premised on the assumption that the possibility that the characteristics of conditioned phenomena themselves be unconditioned has been eliminated.[9] Being the characteristic of the conditioned, cessation must exist in the way that the conditioned exists, namely, it must also cease. Therefore we can say that "cessation exists" (*nirodho 'sti*) in the context here has a meaning similar to "cessation's ceasing" (*nirodhasya nirodhaḥ*), and this is also the way Candrakīrti understood it. The reading *nirodho 'sti* might originally have been a scribal error for *nirodhasya*, which was then taken over by Candrakīrti, and eventually the two readings were rendered into Tibetan translations respectively.

As far as the Chinese translations are concerned, the word *fa*法 in法不自相滅 "dharmas do not cease by themselves" looks doubtful. But later we have a perfect explanation in PG, 滅法亦如是，不自相滅不他相滅 "so it is for the dharma of cessation: it is neither caused to cease by itself nor by means of another", which shows that the Chinese translations of this verse agree with our manuscript. However, it is beyond my understanding why all the Chinese translations choose the word *fa* 法 instead of directly using *mie* 滅 as in 滅不自相滅.

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[9] Cf. *yadi saṃskṛta utpādas tatra yuktā trilakṣaṇī / athāsaṃskṛta utpādaḥ kathaṃ saṃskṛtalakṣaṇam //* VII.1

2.2 MK X.1

MK_{Ms} *yadīndhanam bhaved agnir ekatvaṃ kartṛkarmmaṇoḥ /*
anyaś ced indhanād agnid (read *agnir*) *indhanād apy ṛte bhavet //*

"If fuel were fire, agent and action would be one. If fire were different from fuel, it would exist even without fuel."

yadīndhanaṃ bhaved: dJ, LVP *yad indhanaṃ sa ced.*

ABh, $BP_{Tib\ (PNG)}$, PP_{Tib} གལ་ཏེ་ཤིང་དེ་མེ་ཡིན་ན། བྱེད་པོ་དང་ལས་གཅིག་འགྱུར།།
གལ་ཏེ་ཤིང་ལས་མེ་གཞན་ན། ཤིང་མེད་པར་ཡང་འབྱུང་བར་འགྱུར།།

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}, $BP_{Tib\ (DC)}$ བྱད་ཤིང་གང་དེ་མེ་ཡིན་ན། བྱེད་པོ་དང་ལས་གཅིག་འགྱུར།།
གལ་ཏེ་ཤིང་ལས་མེ་གཞན་ན། ཤིང་མེད་པར་ཡང་འབྱུང་བར་འགྱུར།།

PG 若然是可然，作作者則一，若然異可然，離可然有然.

PP_{Ch} 若火即是薪，作者作業一，若火異於薪，離薪應有火.

SM 若火即是薪，作作者一性，若薪異於火，離薪應有火.

As is shown above, although the meaning does not differ, the reading *yad* in dJ and LVP has its equivalent, i.e., གང་, only in MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib}, but not in ABh, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Tib}. As to the Chinese translations, since the pronoun is absent and the word *ruo*若 can be translated either from *yadi* or from *ced*, it is not clear from which Sanskrit text they were translated.

It is interesting to note that the readings found in BP_{Tib} as a whole may be divided into two groups of editions, i.e., P, N, G and D, C. The original reading must be preserved in P, N and G because ABh, PP_{Tib} and BP_{Tib} have the same translator. Thus we can imagine that BP_{Tib} must have been proofread against MK_{Tib} or PSP_{Tib} and revised when the Derge edition was compiled, while this does not seem to have happened to the other two Tibetan translations.

2.3 MK XVIII.2

MK_{Ms}: *ātmany asati cātmīyaṃ kuta eva bhaviṣyati /*
nirmmamo nirahaṃkāraḥ śamād ātmātmanīyayoh //

"When self does not exist, from where would mine arise? Because of the appeasement of self and mine, unselfishness and non-egotism arise."

ātmātmanīyayoḥ: dJ, LVP *ātmātmanīnayoḥ.*

Tib. བདག་ཉེད་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ན།། བདག་གི་ཡོད་པར་གལ་ལ་འགྱུར།།
བདག་དང་བདག་གི་ཞི་བའི་ཕྱིར། །དར་བཏོན་དཔེར་བཏོན་མེད་འགྱུར།།

PG 若無有我者，何得有我所，滅我我所故，名得無我智.

PP_{Ch} 我既無所有，何處有我所，無我無我所，我執得永息.

SM 若或無有我，我所當何有，無我無我所，我我所即滅.

In pāda d, the word *ātmanīya* found in our manuscript and *ātmanīna* in PSP refers to the *ātmīya* mentioned in pāda a, and its equivalent word in all the Tibetan and Chinese

translations is the same as that of *ātmīya*, i.e., བདག་གི and *wo suo* 我所. For the sake of the metre, a synonym of *ātmīya* with one more syllable was required. *Ātmanīya*, as seen in our manuscript, has the same meaning as *ātmīya*, "one's own",[10] while *ātmanīna*, which is found in PSP, means "beneficial to oneself" (cf. Lindtner 1988: 246, ll. 12-14). The word *ātmanīna* is explained in *Pāṇini* V.1.9 as the stem *ātman* plus a *taddhita* affix *kha* (*īna*). The meaning of this affix is stated in *Pāṇini* V.1.5 as *tasmai hitam*, "beneficial to that". According to Buddhist terminology, the term *ātmīya* refers to what is mine, namely, one's possessions, and they are not necessarily beneficial to oneself.[11] So the reading *ātmanīna* seems to be a mere scribal error. But what is more interesting is that Candrakīrti wrote in his commentary:

> *ātmani hitam ātmanīnaṃ skandhapañcakam ātmīyam ity arthaḥ* / (LVP 347, l. 13)
>
> "*ātmanīna* means beneficial to oneself. It refers to the [body] consisting of five aggregates, namely, [what is] mine (*ātmīya*)".

It appears that the text in Candrakīrti's hand may have already been changed into *ātmanīna*. His explanation, *ātmani hitam*, which is close to *Pāṇini* V.1.5, is certainly correct. But the association he made with *ātmīya* is hardly acceptable. To the best of my knowledge, except for this instance, the word *ātmanīna* never means *ātmīya*. Candrakīrti might also have thought this word was strange and needed clarification. As reflected in the Tibetan translations, however, the authors of the other commentaries appear to have no such sense of obligation. A daring guess could be that the text in their hands may have read *ātmanīya* rather than *ātmanīna*.

2.4 MK XVIII.8

MK_{Ms} *sarvvan tathyaṃ na vā tatthyaṃ tathyaṃ cātatthyam eva ca* /
naivātatthyaṃ naiva tathya{ṃ}m etat tad buddhaśāsanam //

"Everything is real; or not real; or both real and not real; or neither not real nor real. This is the teaching of the Buddha".

etat tad buddhaśāsanaṃ: dJ, LVP *etad buddhānuśāsanam*.

ABh, $BP_{Tib\ (PNG)}$, PP_{Tib} ཐམས་ཅད་ཡང་དག་ཡང་དག་མིན། ། ཡང་དག་ཡང་དག་མ་ཡིན་ཏེད། ། ཡང་དག་མིན་མིན་ཡང་དག་མིན། ། དེ་ནི་སངས་རྒྱས་བསྟན་པའོ། །

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}, $BP_{Tib\ (DC)}$ ཐམས་ཅད་ཡང་དག་ཡང་དག་མིན། ། ཡང་དག་ཡང་དག་མ་ཡིན་ཏེད། ། ཡང་དག་མིན་མིན་ཡང་དག་མིན། ། དེ་ནི་སངས་རྒྱས་རྗེས་བསྟན་པའོ། །

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[10] Cf. ... *te pi śāriputra dharmā jātā bhūtā saṃskṛtā vedayitā pratītya samutpannā naivātmā naivātmanīyā śūnyā ātmena vā ātmanīyena vā* // (MV, 3, p. 66, ll. 7-8); *nāme ca rūpe ca asaktamānasaḥ samāhitas so hi sudāntacittaḥ yasyeha ātmā na ca ātmanīyā-m-etāvatā śīlas[thi]to nirucyate* • (KP, 2002, p. 48, ll. 4-8 = 1926, p. 198, ll.1-4).

[11] Cf. T1579, 30.628a10-13, 瑜伽師地論: 薩迦耶見及邊執見, 若於樂俱行蘊觀我我所, 或觀為常, 喜根相應; 若於苦俱行蘊觀我我所, 或觀為常, 憂根相應; 若於捨俱行蘊觀我我所, 或觀為常, 捨根相應. "If those who have the view of existence of the body and the view of attachment to extremes, observe self (*ātman*) and mine (*ātmīya*) in the conditioned and the aggregates which co-exist with pleasure, and observe them as permanent, [their views] will correspond to the root of satisfaction. If they observe self and mine in the conditioned and the aggregates which co-exist with suffering ... [their views] will correspond to the root of sorrow..."

The prefix *anu-* in LVP and dJ has its exact equivalent in MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib}, i.e., རྗེས་, whereas the absence of རྗེས་ in ABh, $BP_{Tib\ (PNG)}$ and PP_{Tib} is confirmed by our manuscript. Again here BP_{Tib} of Derge and Cone edition was revised to be consistent with MK_{Tib} or PSP_{Tib}.

As to the word *anuśāsana* (accordant teaching) or *śāsana* (teaching), these commentaries explain it as follows:

ABh:
འདི་ལ་སློབ་མའི་ཚོགས་རྣམ་པ་མང་པོ་དག་ལ་དབང་པོ་དང་བསམ་པ་དང་བག་ལ་ཉལ་དང་དུས་ཀྱི་དབང་གིས་མཐོ་རིས་དང་བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་ལམ་སྐྱེན་ཅི་མ་ཉོགས་པར་རྗེས་སུ་སྟོན་པས་བསྟན་པའོ།། (D tsa 71b5-6)

"For the numerous disciples, according to [their] faculties, dispositions, dormant afflictions and the occasions, he (the Buddha) teaches the path to heaven and salvation accordingly without error. This is the [Buddha's] teaching."

PP_{Tib}:
བསྟན་ཞེས་བྱ་བ་ནི་ལྷ་དང་། མིའི་མཐོ་རིས་དང་། བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་བདེ་བ་དོད་པ་རྣམས་ལ། དབང་པོ་དང་། བསམ་པ་དང་། བག་ལ་ཉལ་དང་། དུས་ཀྱི་དབང་གིས་མཐོ་རིས་དང་། བྱང་ཆུབ་ཀྱི་ལམ་སྐྱེན་ཅི་མ་ཉོགས་པར་རྗེས་སུ་བསྟན་པའོ།། (D tsha 189b5-6)

"The 'teaching' means, to those who desire the pleasure of heaven and salvation belonging to the celestial beings and human beings [respectively], according to [their] faculties, dispositions, dormant afflictions and the occasions, [the Buddha] teaches the path to heaven and salvation accordingly without error."

BP_{Tib}: no explanation of this word.

PSP:
etac ca buddhānāṃ bhagavatām anuśāsanaṃ / ... evam anupūrvyā śāsanam anuśāsanam / vineyajanānurūpyeṇa vā śāsanam anuśāsanam / (LVP 371, l. 13-14).
འདི་ནི་སངས་རྒྱས་བཅོམ་ལྡན་འདས་ཀྱི་རྗེས་སུ་བསྟན་པ་སྟེ། ... དེ་ལྟར་མཐར་ཀྱི་སྟོན་པ་ནི་རྗེས་སུ་སྟོན་པའོ། །ཡང་ན་གདུལ་བྱའི་སྐྱེ་བོ་དང་འཚམ་པར་སྟོན་པ་ནི་རྗེས་སུ་སྟོན་པའོ།། (D 'a 119b6)

"This is the Buddha's, the blessed one's accordant teaching. ... Thus the teaching according to the grade is the accordant teaching (*anuśāsanaṃ*), or the teaching corresponding with the people to be instructed is the accordant teaching."

As is shown above, རྗེས་སུ་བསྟན་པ (*anuśāsana*) or རྗེས་སུ་སྟོན་པ (*anu-√śās*) is the expression which ABh and PP_{Tib} used to explain བསྟན་པ (*śāsana*). Maybe due to this explanation, the prefix *anu-* was eventually introduced into the verse, as it appears in PSP, and is confirmed by Candrakīrti's commentary.

As to the expression of *etat tad* in our manuscript, it is also attested in MK XVIII.11, *Acintyastava* 52 and *Buddhacarita* XII.65[12].

2.5 MK XX.13, 14

MK_{Ms}, BP_{Ms} *nājātasya hi* ajātena phalasya saha hetunā /*
nātītena na jātena saṃgatir jātu vidyate // XX.13

* *nājātasya hi*: MK_{Ms} *nājātasyāpy.*

[12] MK XVIII.11: *anekārtham anānārtham anucchedam aśāśvatam / etat tal lokanāthānāṃ buddhānāṃ śāsanāmṛtam*//(dJ 25, LVP 377). *Acintyastava* 52: *etat tat paramaṃ tattvaṃ niḥsvabhāvārthadeśanā / bhāvagrahagrhītānāṃ cikitseyam anuttarā* // (Lindtner 1982b: 156). *Buddhacarita* XII.65: *etat tat paramaṃ brahma nirliṅgaṃ dhruvam akṣaram / yan mokṣa iti tattvajñāḥ kathayanti manīṣiṇaḥ* // (E. H. Johnston, *The Buddhacarita: or, the Acts of the Buddha*, Panjab University Oriental Publications No. 31, Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1935, p.101).

"Because no combination is found of an unborn result with an unborn cause, nor with a past [cause], nor with a present [cause]. "

na jātasya hi jātena phalasya saha hetunā /
nājātena na naṣṭena saṃgatir jātu vidyate // XX.14

"Because no combination is found of a present result with a present cause, nor with an unborn [cause], nor with a [cause] that has perished. "

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} *na jātasya hy ajātena phalasya saha hetunā /*
nātītena na jātena saṃgatir jātu vidyate // XX.13

"Because no combination is found of a present result with an unborn cause, nor with a past [cause], nor with a present [cause]. "

nājātasya hi jātena phalasya saha hetunā /
nājātena na naṣṭena saṃgatir jātu vidyate // XX.14

"Because no combination is found of an unborn result with a present cause, nor with an unborn [cause], nor with a [cause] that has perished. "

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} འབྲས་བུ་མ་སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་མ་སྐྱེས།། འདུས་པ་དང་ནི་སྐྱེས་པ་དང་།།
ལྷན་ཅིག་ཕྲད་པར་འགྱུར་བ་ནི།། ནམ་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནོ།། XX.13
འབྲས་བུ་སྐྱེས་པ་རྒྱུ་སྐྱེས་དང་།། མ་སྐྱེས་པ་དང་འདུས་པ་དང་།།
ལྷན་ཅིག་ཕྲད་པར་འགྱུར་བ་ནི།། ནམ་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནོ།། XX.14

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} འབྲས་བུ་སྐྱེས་པ་རྒྱུ་མ་སྐྱེས།། འདུས་པ་དང་ནི་སྐྱེས་པ་དང་།།
ལྷན་ཅིག་ཕྲད་པར་འགྱུར་བ་ནི།། ནམ་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནོ།། XX.13
འབྲས་བུ་མ་སྐྱེས་རྒྱུ་སྐྱེས་དང་།། མ་སྐྱེས་པ་དང་འདུས་པ་དང་།།
ལྷན་ཅིག་ཕྲད་པར་འགྱུར་བ་ནི།། ནམ་ཡང་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནོ།། XX.14

PG 若言未來因，而於未來果，現在過去果，是則終不合. XX.13
若言現在因，而於現在果，未來過去果，是則終不合. XX.14

As to these two verses, our manuscripts share the the same pādas b, c and d with LVP and dJ, but have the reversed pāda a. These two verses in dJ and LVP agree with those in MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}, while our readings agree with ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and PG. Two other Chinese translations from group I, PP_{Ch} and SM, appear to have rearranged these two verses which made a comparison impossible.

2.6 MK XXI.8

MK_{Ms} *saṃbhavaṃ vibhavaṃ caiva vinā bhāvo na vidyate /*
(saṃbhavo vibhavaś caiva) vinā bhāvān na vidyate //*

* *bhāvān*: abl.

"No thing exists without rising and decaying, and also no rising and decaying exist without a thing."

dJ, LVP *saṃbhavo vibhavaś caiva vinā bhāvaṃ na vidyate /*
saṃbhavaṃ vibhavaṃ caiva vinā bhāvo na vidyate //

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} འབྱུང་དང་འཇིག་པ་མེད་པར་ནི།། དངོས་པོ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནོ།།
དངོས་པོ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་པར།། འབྱུང་དང་འཇིག་པ་ཡོད་མ་ཡིན།།

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} དངོས་པོ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་པར།། འབྱུང་དང་འཇིག་པ་ཡོད་མ་ཡིན།།
འབྱུང་དང་འཇིག་པ་མེད་པར་ནི།། དངོས་པོ་ཡོད་པ་མ་ཡིན་ནོ།།

PG 若離於成壞，是亦無有法，若當離於法，亦無有成壞.

PP_{Ch} 若離彼成壞，則無有物體，是成壞二法，離物體亦無.

Compared with PSP, our manuscript has reversed the order of pādas ab and cd. ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib}, PG and PP_{Ch} follow the same pāda order as our manuscript, while MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib} follow the order of dJ and LVP. No equivalent verse is found in SM.

2.7 MK XXI.20

MK_{Ms} *na cen niruddhyamānaś ca jāyamānaś ca vidyate /*
sārdhdhaṃ ca yeṣu mriyate teṣu skandheṣu jāyate //

"[Such a case] is not found that ceasing and rising occur together. [If so] the aggregates where [one] dies will be that where [one] arises?"

dJ, LVP *na cen nirudhyamānaś ca jāyamānaś ca yujyate /*
sārdhaṃ ca mriyate yeṣu teṣu skandheṣu jāyate //

"It is not reasonable that ceasing and rising occur together. [If so] the aggregates where [one] dies will be that where [one] arises?"

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} གལ་ཏེ་འགག་འཛིན་སྐྱེ་འཛིན་དག།། ལྡན་ཅིག་སྲིད་བའང་ཡོད་ཟིན་ན།།
ཕུང་པོ་གང་ལ་འཆི་འགྱུར་བ།། དེར་ནི་སྐྱེ་བའང་འབྱུང་བར་འགྱུར།།

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} གལ་ཏེ་འགག་འཛིན་སྐྱེ་འཛིན་དག།། ལྡན་ཅིག་ཏུ་ཡང་རིགས་མིན་ན།།
ཕུང་པོ་གང་ལ་འཆི་འགྱུར་བ།། དེ་ལ་སྐྱེ་བ་འབྱུང་འགྱུར་རམ།།

The word *vidyate* found in our manuscript agrees with ཡོད་ in ABh, PP_{Tib} and BP_{Tib}, while the reading *yujyate* in dJ and LVP is confirmed by རིགས་ in MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}. This discrepancy is not reflected in Chinese translations.

As to the second step, in the following five cases I will discuss discrepancies found between MK_{Ms} and the commentaries of group I.

2.8 The title of chapter IX

Before entering upon a comparison of the chapter titles, let me remark that the identical chapter titles found in ABh, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Tib} may again be due to the fact that the translator first completed one rendition, and then fit the titles into the others. In BP_{Ms} the title of chapter

XIII is *(śū)nya[tāparī](k)[ṣā]*, whereas in BP_{Tib} it is དེ་ཏོ་ན་ཉིད་བརྟགས་ (= *tattvaparīkṣā*), the same as ABh and PP_{Tib}. In LVP it is *saṃskāraparīkṣā* (= PSP_{Tib} བྱ་བྱེད་བརྟགས་).

MK_{Ms} *(v)[y](a)[va]sthitaparīkṣā*; LVP, Mss C, R, T, K *pūrvaparīkṣā*; Ms P *pūrvasthitiparīkṣā*;
MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} སྔོན་ན་གནས་པ་བརྟགས་ (= *pūrvasthitiprīkṣā*); ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} ཉེ་བར་ལེན་པོ་དང་ཉེ་བར་བླངས་བ་བརྟགས་ (= *upādātrupādānaparīkṣā*);
PG 觀本住; PP_{Ch} 觀取者 (= *upādātṛparīkṣā*); SM 觀先分位.

It is difficult to decide whether *benzhu*本住in PG was translated from *vyavasthita*, as in PG IV. 2, 3, 4 (where *vyavasthita* was rendered as *benzhu*本住), or from *pūrva*, as in PG IV. 6, 7 (where *pūrva* corresponds to本住), or rather from *pūrvasthiti* as in Ms P. The same confusion occurs with the rendering of *xianfenwei*先分位in SM. But it is certain that the title of chapter IX in MK_{Ms} is completely different from that in ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch}, namely, ཉེ་བར་ལེན་པོ་དང་ཉེ་བར་བླངས་བ and *guanquzhe* 觀取者.

2.9 MK X.13

MK_{Ms} *āgacchaty anyato nāgnir indhane (')g[n]ir na vidyate /*
athendhanaṃ(←tathedhanaṃ) *śeṣam uktaṃ gamyamānagatāgataiḥ //*
"Fire does not come from another thing. In fuel fire is not found.
The same [goes for] fuel. The remaining [statements] have been explained by [the analysis of] the being-gone-over, the gone-over and the not-yet-gone-over."

athendhanaṃ: dJ, LVP, Mss C, R, T, K *atrendhane*.

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} མེ་ནི་གཞན་གས་མེ་ཅོང་སྟེ།། ཤིང་ལའང་མེ་ནི་ཡོད་མཡིན།།
སོང་དང་མ་སོང་བགོ་མ་ཡིས།། དེ་བཞིན་ཤིང་ལ་སྐྱ་མ་བསྟན།།

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} མེ་ནི་གཞན་གས་མེ་ཅོང་སྟེ།། ཤིང་ལའང་མེ་ནི་ཡོད་མཡིན།།
དེ་བཞིན་ཤིང་གི་སྐྱ་མ་ནི།། སོང་དང་མ་སོང་བགོ་མ་བསྟན།།

PG 然不餘處來，然處亦無然，可然亦如是，餘如去來說.

PP_{Ch} 火不餘處來，薪中亦無火，如薪餘亦遮，去來中已說.

SM 火不餘處來，薪中亦無火，餘法亦復然，如去來品說.

Although in PSP_{Tib} the translation of the verse itself suggests the reading *tathendhane* "likewise concerning fuel", Candrakīrti's commentary seems to support the reading *atrendhane* "concerning this fuel":

agninendhanaṃ dahyamānam upalabhyata ity atrendhanaprastāve śeṣaṃ dūṣaṇaṃ gamyamānagatāgatadūṣaṇena samaṃ veditavyaṃ / (LVP 211, ll. 8-9)
"Against this topic of fuel saying that fuel being burned by fire is perceived, the remaining refutations should be known as the same as that of the being-gone-over, the gone-over and the not-yet-gone-over."

We may conclude that the original Sanskrit text of this verse in PSP indeed read *atrendhane*,

and that its Tibetan translator, Nyi ma grags, simply accepted the rendering དེ་བཞིན (= *tathā*) he found in ABh, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Tib}, failing to make it consistent with Candrakīrti's commentary, as happened in the case of II.2 and VII.16 etc (cf. Saito 1984: chapter X, note 37, 1987a, 1995). The reading *atha* in our manuscript may indicate how the reading changed from *tathā* to *atha* and eventually to *atra*.

All the Commentaries other than PSP appear to have had the reading *tathā*, as confirmed by both the renditions of the verse and the commentaries. As far as the case ending for *indhana* is concerned, however, they can further be divided into two groups. The reading *indhanaṃ* suggested by our manuscript is supported by PG and probably SM as well, while the reading *indhane* is confirmed by ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch}.

PG:

然不餘處來，然處亦無然．可然亦如是，餘如去來說．

然不於餘方來入可然中，可然中亦無然．析薪求然不可得故．可燃亦如是，不從餘處來入然中，然中亦無可然．如然已不然，未然不然，然時不然，是義如去來中說．(PG 963-964)

"Fire does not come from another place. In fuel there is no fire. The same [goes for] fuel. The remaining [statements] have been explained by [the analysis of] going.

Fire does not come from another place and enter fuel, and in fuel there is no fire, because fire is not to be found by investigating fuel. The same [goes for] fuel. [It] does not come from another place and enter fire, and in fire there is no fuel. Just as the burned is not to be burned, the not-yet-burned is not to be burned and the being-burned is not to be burned, this has been explained in [the chapter] of going."

As we can see both from the rendition of the verse and the comment by Piṅgala, pādas c and d were understood as two sentences. One is *tathendhanaṃ*; the other is *śeṣam uktaṃ gamyamānagatāgataiḥ*. This can happen only when the reading is *tathendhanaṃ*. If it is read *tathendhane*, the only way left to us to understand pādas c and d is that taken by ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch}, i.e., to deem it as one sentence, "likewise concerning fuel the remaining [statements] have been explained by [the analysis of] the being-gone-over, the gone-over and the not-yet-gone-over".

ABh, BP_{Tib}:

སོང་དང་མ་སོང་བགོམ་པ་ཡིས། །དེ་བཞིན་ཤིང་ལ་སྐྱག་མ་བསྟན། །

རྣམ་པ་དེ་དག་གིས་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བུད་ཤིང་ལ་ཡང་བརྗོད་པ་སྐྱག་མ་དག་བསྟན་པར་ཤོང་དུ་རུང་བར་བྱའོ། | (D tsa 54b6-7; D tsa 208a6-7)

"By [the analysis of] the gone-over, the not-yet-gone-over and the being-gone-over, likewise, the remaining [statements] on fuel have been explained.

It should be understood that in these ways the remaining statements on fuel have likewise been explained."

PP_{Tib}:

སོང་དང་མ་སོང་བགོམ་པ་ཡིས། །དེ་བཞིན་ཤིང་ལ་སྐྱག་མ་བསྟན། །

ཇི་ལྟར་རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་པ་ལས་སོང་བ་དང་མ་སོང་བ་དང་། བགོམ་པ་ལ་འགྲོ་བ་མེད་པ་དེ་བཞིན་དུ་བསྲེགས་པ་དང་། མ་བསྲེགས་པ་དང་། སྲེག་བཞིན་པ་ལ་ཡང་སྲེག་པ་མེད་དེ། ... (D tsha 135b2-3)

"By [the analysis of] the gone-over, the not-yet-gone-over and the being-gone-over, likewise the remaining [statements] on fuel have been explained.

Just as one infers that there is no going in the gone-over, the not-yet-gone-over and the being-gone-over, likewise there is no burning in the burned, the not-yet-burned and the being-burned"

PP_{Ch}:

如薪餘亦遮，去來中已說．

釋曰：如第一義中已去，未去，去時無去，已燒，未燒，燒時無燒義亦如是．(PP_{Ch} 86a13-15).

"Like fuel, others are also to be denied. [This] has been explained in the chapter of going.

Just as one can deduce[13] that there is no going in the gone-over, the not-yet-gone-over and the being-gone-over, likewise there is no burning in the burned, the not-yet-burned and the being-burned."

In SM the matter is rather confused.

火不餘處來 … 薪中亦無火.

釋曰: 離火亦無差別因性, 彼火因果無異性火故. 此應思擇.又復能取發起所得, 彼即不有, 是故無別異性薪從餘處而來至火, 亦非無火. 故下頌言

餘法亦復然, 如去來品說.[14] (K 41.131b7-c10; 卍正藏 49. 97b20-98a17)

"Fire does not come from another place … In fuel there is no fire.

Commentary: apart from fire there is no distinct cause (i.e., fuel), because [in] the cause and effect of the fire, there is no fire of a different nature. One should consider in this way. Moreover, if the agent (i.e., fuel) has produced an effect (i.e., fire), it will no longer exist. Therefore no fuel of a different nature comes from another place and reaches fire, and it is not the case that there is no fire.

The same [goes for] the other things. They have been explained in the chapter of going"

Due to the poor quality of the translation, the commentary of Sthiramati is not always intelligible, and my above English translation is thus very tentative. But the analysis (underlined) of pāda b might imply something. The context here is the discussion of the relation between cause and effect represented by fuel and fire respectively. Thus 離火亦無差別因性 "apart from fire there is no distinct cause (i.e., fuel)" looks like a paraphrase of "fuel does not come from another place", and 能取發起所得, 彼即不有 "if the agent (i.e., fuel) has produced an effect (i.e., fire), it will no longer exist.", a paraphrase of "in fire there is no fuel". This is exactly the explanation of *tathendhanaṃ* and same as the understanding of Piṅgala! It is also confirmed by the conclusion, 是故無別異性薪從餘處而來至火, 亦非無火 "Therefore no fuel of a different nature comes from another place and reaches fire, and it is not the case that there is no fire", although the final part of the sentence is intelligible. Hence a daring hypothesis would be that here Sthiramati might have cited pāda b followed by *tathendhanaṃ*, which is unfortunately not reflected in the rendition of the verse. If this is the case, the reading of our manuscript is also supported by SM. Based on the knowledge now available, however, this conclusion must remain speculative.

Therefore, as to this verse, the different Sanskrit readings in the hands of different commentators might be as follows:

PSP: *atrendhane*;

PG, SM(?): *tathendhanaṃ*;

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib}, PP_{Ch}: *tathendhane*.

2.10 The title of chapter XI

MK_{Ms} *pūrvvāpa[ra]koṭiparī[kṣā]* = LVP, Mss C, R, T, K, P;

MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} སྔོན་དང་ཕྱི་མའི་མཐའ་བརྟག་པ ;

ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} འགོད་པ་བརྟག་པ ;

PG 觀本際 (= *pūrvakoṭiparīkṣā*); PP_{Ch}, SM 觀生死 (= *saṃsāraparīkṣā*).

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[13] Also in other places of PP_{Ch}, the word *diyiyi*第一義 is used by Prabhākaramitra as the equivalent for རྗེས་སུ་དཔག་པ (= *anumāna*).

[14] The Chinese text continues as follows: 釋曰: 若或無薪, 云何得有能燒所燒? 若有所燒時, 非無能燒, 亦無能燒中有能燒發起. 若有能燒時, 非無所燒, 是故無能燒所燒亦非相離. This offers no help, however, to our current topic.

Here our reading is identical to LVP, MK_{Tib} and PSP_{Tib}, and agrees with PG except that the reading *apara* has no equivalent, but completely differs from ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and SM.

2.11 MK XII.6

MK_{Ms} *[para]pud(g)alajaṃ duḥkhaṃ yadi kaḥ parapudgalaḥ /*
vinā (du)[ḥkhena] yaḥ kṛtvā (paras)m[ai prahiṇoti] (ta)[t]//

This verse appears in dJ, LVP, MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib}, PG and SM, but is absent in ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch}.

2.12 PSP XXI. 5

dJ, LVP *saṃbhavo vibhavenaiva kathaṃ saha bhaviṣyati /*
na janma maraṇaṃ caiva tulyakālaṃ hi vidyate //
"How could rising be together with decaying?
For birth and death are not found at the same time."

This verse, which appears in dJ and LVP as XXI. 5, is found in all the Tibetan translations and PP_{Ch}, but absent in our manuscript MK_{Ms}. The content of this verse is related to PSP XXI.3,

saṃbhavenaiva vibhavaḥ kathaṃ saha bhaviṣyati /
na janma maraṇaṃ caivaṃ tulyakālaṃ hi vidyate //
"How could decaying be together with rising?
For birth and death are not found at the same time."

PG seems to have merged these two verses into one, as the 3rd verse of this chapter:

成壞共有者，云何有成壞，如世間生死，一時俱不然
"If rising and decaying exist together, how could there be rising and decaying?
Just as it is not tenable that in the world birth and death are together at the same time."

This is also confirmed in the commentary of PG. Both *gong cheng you huai* 共成有壞 "decaying exists together with rising" and *gong huai you cheng* 共壞有成 "rising exists together with decaying" are explained. But it seems impossible that a Sanskrit verse could have combined these two aspects, because it would have disrupted the metre. It can not be determined whether the Sanskrit text of Piṅgala had one of these two verses or both.

In SM, There is no verse equivalent to PSP XXI. 5, but instead a rather unintelligible verse is found:

若離成有壞，云何當可得，亦如生與死，非同時而有.

And the comment follows:

若法未生即無壞體可得和合，以生死等互相違故. (K 41.154a20-23; 卍正藏 49. 127b6-8)

Considering the meaning of the second half of this verse, the word *li* 離 in pāda a makes no sense. We may understand how the unintelligible rendition was made by reconstructing the Sanskrit text. The translator might have had the same text as PSP XXI.3, but wrongly understood pāda a as *saṃbhave naiva vibhavaḥ* or *saṃbhavo naiva vibhavaḥ* and thus translated it as a conditional clause, 若離成有壞 "if there is decaying apart from rising". Accordingly, we may reconstruct the comment on this verse as follows:

na saṃbhavenaiva vibhavaḥ saha bhaviṣyati / janmamaraṇayor virodhāt //
Decaying should not occur together with rising, because birth and death are opposed."

He must have understood this sentence as *na saṃbhave, naiva vibhavaḥ saha bhaviṣyati*, and wrongly rendered as 若法未生，即無壞體可得和合 "if a thing is not born, nothing can be found to combine". Then we may understand the strange expression, *kade hehe* 可得和合, as from *saha bhaviṣyati*. If my conjecture is correct, this verse found in SM is identical to PSP XXI.3.

3. Conclusions

3.1 These two newly identified manuscripts preserve a significant number of the older readings of the MK, which have unfortunately become corrupted over the centuries.

3.2 As far as the lineage of the MK is concerned, the two groups of translations, i.e., the earlier (ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib}, PG, PP_{Ch}, SM) and the later (PSP_{Tib}, MK_{Tib}), derive not only from the fact that they had different translators but also from the fact that they were based on different Sanskrit readings. The verses of the MK found in our two manuscripts are, as a whole, much closer to the first group than to the second (cf. 2.1-7).

3.3 Despite the fact that our two manuscripts have been put together in the same bundle, and were most probably copied by one and the same scribe, the stanzas found in MK_{Ms} are not those extracted from BP_{Ms}, but rather go back to a separate lineage. In some examples, they show features which can only be traced in PG or SM, but not in ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib} and PP_{Ch} (cf. 2.8-12).

3.4 As for the reason why the verses in the PSP tradition are sometimes different from those found in the older commentaries, we indeed cannot exclude the possibility that Candrakīrti modified them intentionally. However, we can at least say that in two cases (2.1, 2.3) he kept the readings as passed down to him, even though he apparently found them rather strange. In two cases (2.10, 2.11), PSP shares features with PG and MK_{Ms}, but not with ABh, PP_{Tib}, BP_{Tib}, which implies that some of the different readings found in PSP are not later developments.

Appendix: Other discrepancies

There are some more discrepancies of the MK found in our manuscripts, which I could not explain. They are listed below waiting for the discovery of new materials.

II.10 b: BP_{Ms} *na yujyate*; dJ, LVP *prasajyate*;
VII.9 b: BP_{Ms} *vya(va)[sthitaḥ]*; dJ, LVP *pratiṣṭhitaḥ*;
VII.10 c: BP_{Ms} *(')pi*; dJ, LVP *hi*;
VII.33 b: BP_{Ms} *[k](u)taḥ*; dJ, LVP *kathaṃ*;
X.7 b: MK_{Ms}, BP_{Ms} *prāpnuyāt kāmam indhanaṃ*; dJ, LVP *indhanaṃ kāmam āpnuyāt*;
XI.8 c: MK_{Ms} *eva dharmmāṇāṃ*; dJ, LVP *api bhāvānāṃ*;
XX.17 a: MK_{Ms}, BP_{Ms} *notpadyate*; dJ, LVP *notpatsyate*;
XXI.10 b: MK_{Ms} *naikam*; dJ, LVP *naika*
XXI.12: no *avagraha* is found in MK_{Ms}. So it can be understood either as *na bhāvāj jāyate*

bhāvo bhāvo 'bhāvān na jāyate / nābhāvāj jāyate 'bhāvo 'bhāvo bhāvān na jāyate //, or *na bhāvāj jāyate bhāvo 'bhāvo bhāvān na jāyate / nābhāvāj jāyate bhāvo 'bhāvo 'bhāvān na jāyate //*. The former reading is the same as dJ and LVP, and is followed by MK_{Tib}, PSP_{Tib} and partly by SM, while the latter is followed by ABh, BP_{Tib}, PP_{Tib}, PG and PP_{Ch}.

Symbols of transcription:

( ) restored *akṣara*(s)
[ ] damaged *akṣara*(s)
⟨ ⟩ omitted (part of) *akṣara*(s)
{ } superfluous *akṣara*(s)

Bibliography and Abbreviations:

ABh	Tibetan translation of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikāvṛtty-akutobhayā* (དབུ་མ་རྩ་བའི་ཀཱ་རི་ཀཱ་འགྲེལ་པ་གཞན་གྱིས་བསྟན་པ་མི་སྐྱེ་བ།། D 3829)
BP_{Ms}	Sanskrit manuscript of the *Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* (Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formerly kept in the China Ethnic Library, Beijing)
BP_{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the *Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* (དབུ་མ་རྩ་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་བུདྡྷ་པ་ལི་ཏ།། D 3842)
C	Cone blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka
D	Derge (sDe dge) blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka
de Jong 1978	J. W. de Jong, "Textcritical Notes on the *Prasannapadā*", *Indo-Iranian Journal* 20, 1978, pp. 25-59, pp. 217-252.
dJ	J. W. de Jong, *Nāgārjuna: Mūlamadhyamakakārikāḥ*, Madras: The Adyar Library and Research Centre, 1977.
G	dGa'-ldan (or Golden) *bsTan 'gyur*
Hu-von Hinüber 2006	Haiyan Hu-von Hinüber, "some Remarks on the Sanskrit Manuscript of the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Prātimokṣasūtra found in Tibet", *Jaina-itihāsa- ratna: Festschrift für Gustav Roth zum 90. Geburtstag*, Indica et Tibetica 47, Ute Hüsken, Petra Kieffer-Pülz and Anne Peters, ed., Marburg, 2006.
K	高麗大藏經
KP	*Kāśyapa-parivarta*: Baron A. von Staël-Holstein, *The Kāśyapaparivarta: A Mahāyānasūtra of the Ratnakūṭa Class*, Shanghai, 1926. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *The Kāśyapaparivarta: Romanized Text and Facsimiles*, Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, 2002.
Lindtner 1982a	Christian Lindtner, *Nāgārjunas Filosofiske Vaerker*, Indiske Studier 2, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1982.
1982b	*Id*, *Nagarjuniana: Studies in the Writings and Philosophy of Nāgārjuna*, Indiske Studier 4, Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1982.
1988	*Id.*, "Review of Saigusa Mitsuyoshi 三枝充悳, *Chūron geju sōran* 中論偈頌総覧, Tokyo: Daisan Bummeisha 第三文明社, 1986 ", *Cahiers d'Extrême-Asie* 4, Special Issue on Taoist Studies 1, 1988, pp. 244-247.

LVP	L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Madhyamakavṛttiḥ, Mūlamadhyamakakārikās (Mādhyamakasūtras) de Nāgārjuna avec la Prasannapadā Commentaire de Candrakīrti*, Bibliotheca Buddhica 4, 1903-13, reprint, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, 1992.
MacDonald 2000	Anne MacDonald, "The Prasannapadā: More Manuscripts from Nepal", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* 44, Wien, 2000, pp. 165-181.
2007	*Id.*, "Revisiting the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*: Text-Critical Proposals and Problems", インド哲学仏教学研究 *Studies in Indian Philosophy and Buddhism* 14, Department of Indian Philosophy and Buddhist Studies, Graduate School of Humanities, the University of Tokyo, 2007.
MK	*Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* by Nāgārjuna
MK_{Ms}	Sanskrit manuscript of the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* by Nāgārjuna (Collection of Sanskrit Manuscripts formerly kept in the China Ethnic Library, Beijing).
MK_{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the *Prajñānāma-mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* by Nāgārjuna (དབུ་མ་རྩ་བའི་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱི་ཕྱོགས་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། D 3824)
Ms K	The *Prasannapadā* manuscript (N.S. 959 = 1839 AE) in a private collection in Pathan, Nepal, described as KA 45, *A Microfilm Catalogue of the Buddhist Manuscripts in Nepal*, vol. 1, H. Takaoka, ed., Nagoya: Buddhist Library, 1981.
Ms C	The *Prasannapadā* manuscript (N. S. 901 = 1781AE) preserved in the Cambridge University Library, described as Add. 1483, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge*, C. Bendall, Cambridge, 1883.
Ms P	The palm-leaf manuscript of the *Prasannapadā* preserved in the Bodleian Library of Oxford.
Ms R	The *Prasannapadā* manuscript discovered by Giuseppe Tucci, held by the Keshar Library in Kathmandu, Nepal (catalogue no. 9-182).
Ms T	The *Prasannapadā* manuscript (N. S. 851 = 1731 AE) preserved in the Tokyo University Library, cataloged as No. 251, *A catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in in the Tokyo University Library*, S. Matsunami, Tokyo, 1965.
MV	*Mahāvastu*: É. Senart, *Le Mahāvastu*, Collection d'Ouvrages Orientaux 2, Paris, 1882-1897.
N	Narthang (sNar thang) blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka
P	Peking blockprint edition of the Tibetan Tipiṭaka
PG	Chinese translation of Piṅgala's commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārikā* (中論，藏要 2，上海書店, p. 903).
PP	*Prajñā-pradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* by Bhāviveka
PP_{Ch}	Chinese translation of the *Prajñā-pradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* by Bhāviveka (般若燈論釋, T1566, 30.50c3)
PP_{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the *Prajñā-pradīpa-mūlamadhyamakavṛtti* by Bhāviveka (དབུ་མའི་རྩ་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་ཤེས་རབ་སྒྲོན་མ། D 3853)
PSP	*Mūlamadhyamakakārikavṛtti-prasannapadā* by Candrakīrti
PSP_{Tib}	Tibetan translation of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikavṛtti-prasannapadā* by Candrakīrti (དབུ་མ་རྩ་བའི་འགྲེལ་པ་ཚིག་གསལ་ཞེས་བྱ་བ། D 3860)
Saito 1984	Akira Saito 斎藤明, A study of the *Buddhapālita-mūlamadhyamaka-vṛtti*, unpublished dissertation, Australian National University, 1984.
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1995 *Id.*, "Problems in Translating the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* as Cited in its Commentaries", *Buddhist Translations: Problems and Perspectives*, Delhi: Manohar, 1995, pp. 87-96.

SM Chinese translation of Sthiramati's commentary on the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* (大乘中觀釋論, T1567, 30.136a5, chapters 1-13; K1482, 41.102c14; 卍正藏經, 49, p. 62, chapters 1-27)

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Bauddhavacana
Notes on Buddhist Vocabulary

Jonathan A. Silk

For Akira Yuyama, word collector and much else

This is the first of a projected occasional series of notes on Buddhist vocabulary. The first two items here concern suggested corrections to Edgerton's monumental *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, the third a Sanskrit word unknown to dictionaries, while the remaining two items concern Chinese Buddhist translation vocabulary.

I. *Vemātrī / vemātṛ*
II. **Parikarati*: A ghost word
III. *Vajrāgni*
IV. *Rǎnhuì* 染穢 and associated vocabulary
V. Two Chinese Kinship Terms Unknown to Dictionaries: *qīnmèi* 親妹 and *qīnzǐ* 親姊

I. *Vemātrī / vemātṛ*

In the *editio princeps* of the *Mahāvastu* we find the following sentence:[1] *tehi dāni kumārehi mā mo jāti-saṁdoṣaṁ bhaviṣyatīti jāti-saṁdoṣa-bhayena svakasvkā yeva mātṛyo bhaginīyo parasparasya vivāhitā*. Edgerton suggested that the manuscript reading *mātrīyo* should be kept, and proposed translating the final portion of the sentence "(the princes) gave to each other in marriage each their own sisters by the same mother (thus avoiding the marriage of any with his own co-uterine sister)."[2] Other interpretations had already been offered by Senart and Jones. Senart suggested:[3] "dans la crainte de compromettre la pureté de leur race, ils épousèrent leurs propres soeurs, chacun en choisissant une d'une autre mère que lui." Jones translated:[4] "Those young princes said to themselves: 'There

[1] Senart 1882-1897: i.351.2-4, reprised on 8-9.

[2] Edgerton 1953 s.v. mātrī. What Edgerton means by "co-uterine" here is "full sister," that is, having both parents in common, but see below.

[3] Senart 1882-1897: 1.625.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 171-179.
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must be no corruption in our race.' And from fear of such a corruption they each married a half-sister born of a different mother."

The palm-leaf manuscript recently published by Yuyama may assist us here. It reads in this passage and its reprise a few lines below not *svakasvkā yeva mātṛyo* but *svakasvkā vemātrīyo / vemātṛyo.*[5] The expression is attested in both Pāli and Sanskrit. In the former we find *vemātika bhāginī* in the *Jātaka*, when the prince Udayabhadda is forced to wed his half-sister Udayabhaddā:[6]

> udayabhaddaṁ alaṅkāretvā[1] tassa santike ṭhapesuṁ | sā taṁ suvaṇṇarūpakaṁ[2] abhibhavitvā aṭṭhāsi | atha nesaṁ[3] anicchamānānaṁ ñeva vemātikaṁ bhaginiṁ[4] udayabhaddakumāriṁ aggamahesiṁ katvā bodhisattaṁ rajjaṁ abhisiñciṁsu | te pana dve pi brahmacariyavāsam eva vasiṁsu | ... ubho ekagabbhe vasamānā[5] pi lobhavasena indriyāni bhinditvā aññamaññaṁ na olokesuṁ |
>
> 1) PTS: alaṁkaritvā 2) PTS: suvaṇṇarūpaṁ 3) PTS: tesaṁ 4) PTS: vemātikabhaginiṁ 5) PTS vasamanā
>
> Adorning Udayabaddhā, they set her in his presence, and she stood there outshining that golden image. Then even against the couple's wishes they made his agnatic half-sister the princess Udayabhaddā his principal consort, and anointed the bodhisatta [that is, Prince Udayabhadda] in the rulership. But the two of them lived together in perfect celibacy. ... Even though both were living in a single chamber, mastering their senses they did not look upon each other with desire.

In Sanskrit, in the same story as that in the *Mahāvastu*, the tale of the origins of the Śākya clan,[7] we find the sage Kapila instructing the sons of King Virūḍhaka Ikṣvāku, *svakasvakā bhaginīs tyaktvā vaimātṛkābhir bhaginībhiḥ sārdhaṁ vāsaṁ kalpayata*, "Avoiding your full sisters, cohabit with your agnatic half-sisters."[8]

In light of the new manuscript evidence, we obtain an understandable text which, moreover, has the virtue of presenting a vocabulary item attested also in Pāli and Sanskrit. I therefore believe that the passage should be understood as follows: "Those princes said: 'There must be no corruption of our lineage.' And out of fear of corruption of the lineage, they gave to each other in marriage their own agnatic half-sisters."[9] With the

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[4] Jones 1949-1956: 1.296, with n. 3.

[5] Yuyama 2001: 55, plate of folio 108b3, 4.

[6] *Jātaka* 458 (Udaya). Fausbøll 1877-1896: iv.105,9-16 = Burmese Sixth Council edition (Dhammagiri-Pāli-Ganthamālā 73 [Dhammagiri, Igatpuri: Vipasanna Research Institute, 1998]): 94.9-14.

[7] See Silk Forthcoming.

[8] *Saṁghabhedavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya, edited in Gnoli 1977: 29.28-29.

[9] Perhaps the *yeva* of Senart's edition represents a scribal attempt to compensate for a mis-understood *ve*, or even *va*, which stood here in some archetype.

exception of the fact that they seem to gloss over the causative nature of the participle *vivāhita*, the translations of both Senart and Jones appear to be quite correct, grasping the true meaning in spite of the corrupt readings before them.

I do not, I confess, entirely understand Edgerton's rendering, but he too may be after the same thing. Based, however, on his wrong assumption concerning **mātrī*, his "by the same mother" cannot be accepted. The correct meaning of *vemātrī/vemātṛ* is "agnatic half-sister," that is half-sister with a common father but different mothers. The entry for "mātrī" in Edgerton's dictionary should, correspondingly, be deleted, and a new lemma for **vemātrī / vemātṛ* entered, with reference to the standard Sanskrit and Pāli forms of the word.

II. **Parikarati*: A ghost word

The *Pūrṇāvadāna* of the *Divyāvadāna* contains the following:[10]

> āyuṣmān mahāmaudgalyāyanaḥ saṁlakṣayati | pūrvam uktaṁ bhagavatā duṣkarakārakau hi bhikṣavaḥ putrasya mātāpitarāv āpyāyakau poṣakau saṁvardhakau stanyasya dātārau citrasya jambudvīpasya darśayitārau | ekenāṁśena putro mātaraṁ dvitīyena pitaraṁ pūrṇavarṣaśataṁ parikared yad vāsyāṁ mahāpṛthivyāṁ maṇayo muktā vaidūryaśaṅkhaśilāpravāḍaṁ rajataṁ jātarūpam aśmagarbho musāragalvo lohitikā dakṣiṇāvarta ity evaṁrūpe vā vividhaiśvaryādhipatye pratiṣṭhāpayan neyatā putreṇa mātāpitaroḥ kṛtaṁ vā syād upakṛtaṁ vā | yas tv asāv aśrāddhaṁ mātāpitaraṁ śraddhāsaṁpadi samādāpayati vinayati niveśayati pratiṣṭhāpayati duḥśīlaṁ śīlasaṁpadi matsariṇaṁ tyāgasaṁpadi duṣprajñaṁ prajñāsaṁpadi samādāpayati vinayati niveśayati pratiṣṭhāpayati iyatā putreṇa mātāpitroḥ kṛtaṁ vā syād upakṛtaṁ veti |

The verb printed in the *editio princeps* as *parikaret* is discussed by Edgerton.[11] Under the lemma "parikarati" he took the word as "possibly denom. to Skt. parikara," and identified it with Pāli *parikarati*, saying "cited °karoti by PTSD, but all its citations fit the stem in -a-." He then offered the definition "aids, serves, waits upon." I suggest rather that we conjecturally emend very slightly to **parikarṣet*, as a form of *parikarṣati* (or *parikarṣayati*), "carry around." This suggestion is supported by Chinese *dān* 担, and probably, although less certainly, by Tibetan *bzhag*, the terms we find in the corresponding passages in the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya from which the *Divyāvadāna* drew its account. Interestingly, this understanding was already adopted by Burnouf,[12] who translated from

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[10] Cowell and Neil 1886: 51.18-52.3. The text is found in Tibetan (Derge Kanjur 1, *'dul ba, kha*, 5b1ff) and Chinese (T. 1448 [XXIV] 16a18ff [*juan* 4]) as well. The text was translated by Burnouf 1844: 270f; compare also Tatelman 2000: 77ff. The Chinese translation was translated into Japanese by Iwamoto 1968: 172ff.

[11] Edgerton 1953 s.v. parikarati.

manuscripts, working decades before the publication of the first edition. Burnouf's manuscripts were not made use of by the editors, however, and we cannot know precisely how he read the word. There are, however, some complications.

In a passage in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* we find the duty a child owes his parents expressed as follows: *ekena bhikkhave aṁsena mātaraṁ parihareyya ekena aṁsena pitaraṁ parihareyya* ..., "if, monks, one were to carry his mother around on one shoulder and his father around on the other ...," the text going on to say that even centuries of this and other sorts of good treatment would not repay the debt.[13] The verb here, *parihareyya*, is, of course, the optative of *pariharati*, which also exists as such in Buddhist Sanskrit. Although Edgerton defines it (s.v.) as "protects, guards, looks after," he in fact cites a passage perfectly parallel to the Pāli *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* example, this from the *Avadānaśataka*: *ya ekenāṁsena putro mātāraṁ dvitīyena pitaraṁ pūrṇaṁ varṣaśataṁ parihareyyad vā* .... [14] The Pāli commentary to the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, the *Manorathapūraṇī*,[15] explains the usage as follows: *ekena bhikkhave aṁsena mātaraṁ parihareyyā ti ekasmiṁ aṁsakūṭe ṭhapetvā mātaraṁ paṭijaggeyya*, "the expression 'if, monks, one were to carry his mother around on one shoulder' means 'if one were to carry his mother having placed her on his shoulder.'" Here the verb *parihareyyā* is glossed as *paṭijaggeyya*, the present indicative of which is *paṭijaggati*, Buddhist Sanskrit *pratijāgarti*.[16]

From another point of view, regarding the Tibetan equivalent of the postulated **parikarṣet*, in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* the expression *cailoṇḍukam iva śirasā parikarṣeḥ* ("should carry him around on his head like a turban") is rendered in Tibetan with *mgo la thod bzhin du thogs shing*, in which *thogs* rather than *bzhag* is found.[17] (The meaning is confirmed by the commentary, which glosses *dhārayeḥ*.[18]) In the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *parikarṣaṇa* is translated *yongs su brungs ba*,[19] in which the idea of protection is emphasized. While there is no necessary reason we should expect consistency in the Tibetan translations of the Indic word, the term may well benefit from further study.

In sum, I propose as a translation of the *Pūrṇāvadāna* passage the following:

The Reverend Mahā-Maudgalyāyana thought to himself: "Previously the Blessed

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[12] Burnouf 1844: 270: "Supposons, d'un côté, un fils qui passe cent années entières à porter sa mère sur ses épaules. ..."

[13] Morris and Hardy 1885-1900: i.61,30-62,1 (II.4.2).

[14] Speyer 1906-1909: 1.205, 1-2 (Maitrakanyaka).

[15] Burmese Sixth Council edition, Dhammagiri-Pāli-Ganthamālā 42 (Dhammagiri, Igatpuri: Vipasanna Research Institute, 1995) 20.7-8.

[16] Noriyuki Kudo, in preparing this paper for the press, kindly brought to my attention the following expression in the *Karmavibhaṅga* (Kudo 2004: 122.2 = 123.2): *yo bhikṣavo mātāpitaram/°pitarau skandhena gṛhya* ..., as well as his note 39 (pp. 264-265), which also provides examples of parallels in Chinese to the expression "carrying one's parents on one's shoulders."

[17] Wogihara 1932-1935: 943.15-16 = Derge Kanjur 12, *shes phyin brgyad stong pa, ka*, 267b7.

[18] Wogihara 1932-1935: 961.7.

[19] Hirakawa et al. 1973: 226.

One said: 'Mother and father, monks, do what is difficult for a son, they are nurturers, nourishers, fosterers, givers of milk, teachers of multifarious ways of the world. Should a son carry his mother on one shoulder and his father on the other for a full hundred years, or were he to establish them in any variety of wealth or sovereignty [giving them] all the jewels, pearls, lapis lazuli, coral, conches, gems, gold, silver, emerald, sapphire, ruby, and right spiral conch of the whole earth,[20] such a son would not do anything for his parents nor would he benefit them. But one who instigates, guides, directs to and establishes his unbelieving parents in the wealth of faith, or instigates, guides, directs to and establishes [parents] who are ill-behaved in the wealth of good behavior, selfish [parents] in the wealth of renunciation, ignorant [parents] in the wealth of wisdom, such a son would do something for his parents, he would benefit them.'

III. *Vajrāgni*

The word *vajrāgni* is not defined in Sanskrit dictionaries known to me,[21] but occurs twice in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*.[22] However, the word is far from unknown, appearing already in the *Mahābhārata*.[23] A number of other Sanskrit examples were brought to my attention by Harunaga Isaacson, whose note I quote here, before going on to discuss a passage in which an alternative interpretation seems more likely.

In the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghoṣa, in describing Nanda's wife Sundarī when Nanda has left to follow the Buddha and has not returned as promised, the poet says of her *sā sundarī śvāsacalodarī hi vajrāgnisambhinnadarī guheva*, which Johnston translates "For Sundarī, with her bosom straining with sobs like a cave whose opening has been split by the fiery thunderbolt."[24] In the 'Ur'-*Skandapurāṇa*, concerning a member of Śiva's army, Viṭpati, releasing an arrow against Vṛtra , we find (141.3cd): *mumoca vajrāgnisamaṁ ripukṣayakaraṁ śaram*. A verse from the *Mokṣopāya* (vairāgyaprakaraṇa 16.47) reads:

nāsidhārā na vajrāgnir na taptāyaḥkaṇārciṣaḥ।

tathā tīkṣṇā yathā brahmaṁs tṛṣṇeyaṁ hṛdi saṁsthitā। ।

Finally, in Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita* 3.21d we find *vajrāgnir drumam iva bhasmasātkaromi* (where the object of *bhasmasātkaromi* is *ātatāyinam* in pāda b).

In the context of an email discussion of this word, which prompted Isaacson's kind contribution, Arlo Griffiths pointed to a passage in the *Divyāvadāna*'s *Kuṇālāvadāna*,[25] in

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[20] My translation of the list of precious substances here makes no attempt to determine the exact identification of each item, if indeed this is even possible.

[21] See however Turner 1966: 653b, who cites the Old Awadhī word *bajāgi*, "fire caused by lightening." It is also listed but not defined by Wogihara 1964-1974: *69b.

[22] Johnston 1950: 118.18, 106.3.

[23] Critical edition 8.12.52c. I owe my knowledge of this to Arthur Karp (email 11 Mar. 2004).

[24] *Saundarananda* 6.33ab, Johnston 1928: 40, 1932: 33-34.

which we have the half-verse: *na śastravajrāgniviṣāṇi pannagāḥ kurvanti pīḍāṁ nabhaso 'vikāriṇaḥ.*[26] Although in all the examples cited above *vajrāgni* appears to be a single word, it is questionable whether that is the case here. Hertel took it as two words,[27] which is also the understanding of a Chinese version of the same text (非刀劍害、亦非金剛、非火、非毒、非怨惡惡蛇),[28] translated by Przyluski:[29] "Ce n'est pa le glaive qui blesse; ce n'est pas non plus la foudre ni le feu, ni le poison, ni le serpent hostile et cruel." The Tibetan translation of the *Kuṇālāvadāna* has something different:[30] *mtshon dang rdo rje dug dang sbrul rnams kyis ‖ nam mkha' 'gyur zhing gnod byed mi nus so ‖*. Here *mtshon = śastra, rdo rje = varja(agni)* and *dug = viṣa*. The translators appear to have skipped *agni*, unless they considered the compound identical in meaning with *varja* alone. In this *Kuṇālāvadāna* passage, then, *vajrāgni* seems to be a *dvandva*. Any future dictionary should, therefore, list both possibilities, giving both the meanings "thunderbolt" and "cudgel and fire" (or some such).

IV. *Rǎnhuì* 染穢 and associated vocabulary

We find a striking sentence in the **Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā*, narrating the story of Mahādeva:[31] 其子長大、染穢於母, "The son had grown up and defiled his mother." Here the verb *rǎnhuì* 染穢, to defile, has mother, *mǔ* 母, as its direct object, a relation which is clearly marked by *yú* 於. The word *rǎnhuì* 染穢 is relatively rare (as is its inversion, *huìrǎn* 穢染). When *rǎnhuì* 染穢 is used in the Chinese *Dīrghāgama*, the expression *yóu bǐ rǎnhuìxiāng* 由彼染穢想 is equivalent to *apariyositasaṁkappa* in the Pāli version,[32] a word which the *Critical Pāli Dictionary* defines as "whose aspirations are unsatisfied."[33] Okayama,[34] however, suggests that the Chinese means simply "defiled" (*kegare*), and he translates the line "*kano kegareshi omoi ni yorite*,"[35] "through that defiled thought." The latter sense is to be noticed more in the equivalence in Narendrayaśas's translation of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, where in verse 10 of the first chapter we find 無染穢心趣佛道 for what in Sanskrit reads *asaṁkliṣṭena cittena buddhajñānaṁ gaveṣate*,[36] "to

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[25] Via email 12 Mar. 2004.

[26] Cowell & Neil 1886: 416.20 = Mukhopadhyaya 1963: 121.3. The same verse with the same reading is also found in the *Aśokāvadānamālā*, Bongard-Levin and Volkova 1965, verse 261. There is no equivalent in chapter 59 of Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*.

[27] Hertel 1908: 263.

[28] T. 2042 (L) 109c23-24 (*juan* 3).

[29] Przyluski 1923: 292.

[30] Derge Tanjur 4145, *'dul ba, su* 237b2.

[31] T. 1545 (XXVII) 510c27 (*juan* 99).

[32] T. 1 (14) (I) 65b11 (*juan* 10), Rhys Davids and Carpenter 1890-1911: ii.287,7 (21.2.9).

[33] Trenckner et al. 1924- s.v.

[34] Okayama et al. 2000: 300, n. 140.

[35] Okayama et al. 2000: 147.

strive after the wisdom of a buddha with undefiled mind." A sense of disgust is more strongly brought out in a verse from the same *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, *kāmānaṁ kāraṇaṁ bālāḥ striyaṁ sevanti pūtikām | pūtikāṁ gati gacchanti patante [te]na durgatim ||*,[37] "Fools driven by lusts attend on putrid women. They go on the path of those putrid [women], and through that fall into evil destinies [after death]." This is quoted in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* as follows:[38] 愚者耽著諸欲事　親近女人染穢身　還當向彼染穢中　隨業墮在諸惡趣. We might conclude from this that, first, we cannot with any confidence suggest a good Sanskrit equivalent for *rǎnhuì* 染穢, and second, that it certainly appears to be used euphemistically, in perhaps something close to the same sense that is conveyed in English by the expression "he defiled her." It is interesting that it is only the example from the **Abhidharma Mahāvibhāṣā* which uses *rǎnhuì* 染穢 as a verb.

Although no direct connection between the words can be established, we should note that Sanskrit *dūṣaṇa* appears in something very much like the same meaning.[39] In addition to Buddhist examples, see for instance the *Mahābhārata* verse (1.57.61-62): *tvasaṁyogāc ca duṣyeta kanyābhāvo || kanyātve dūṣite cāpi kathaṁ śakṣye dvijottama |*, where the reference is to the violation of virginity.

V. Two Chinese Kinship Terms Unknown to Dictionaries: *qīnmèi* 親妹 and *qīnzǐ* 親姊

The term *qīnmèi* 親妹 is not recorded in the *Hanyu Dacidian*, and taken by Morohashi as a modern word, defined as "elder sister."[40] However, the word is used several times by the Zhou-Tang period translator Yijing, in contexts in which it seems to mean only sister(s) in general, either specifically full sister, or generically sister. In a Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya *Vinayakṣudrakavastu* passage the expression *de dag gis der rang rang gi sring mo btang ste | mas dben gyi sring mo rnams dang lhan cig 'tsho gnas 'khod do* is paralleled in Chinese with 遂捨親妹取異母者.[41] Here *qīnmèi* 親妹 clearly corresponds to *rang rang gi sring mo*, an established translation of Sanskrit *svakasvakā bhaginīḥ*. The correspondence, however, need not always be so strict. In the *Pravrajyāvastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya we find the expression *'di ni kho bo'i chung ma ma yin gyi | 'di ni kho bo'i sring mo yin no ||*, to which corresponds Chinese 此非我妻、是親妹也.[42] Here *qīnmèi* 親妹

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[36] T. 639 (XV) 549b10 (*juan* 1); Matsunami 1975: 229.1 = Dutt 1939-1959: ii.1.13,8.

[37] Dutt 1939-1959: ii.2.414,1-2.

[38] T. 1635 (XXXII) 58a4-5 (*juan* 4).

[39] On the verb √*duṣ* in legal literature, which sometimes plays on the dual sense of defiling and defaming, see Hopkins 1925: 41-42 (e.g., *Yajñavalkyasmṛti* 1.66cd: *aduṣṭāṁ ca tyajan kanyāṁ dūṣayaṁs tu mṛṣā śatam*). Note, incidentally, the Latin usage of *stuprare*, "to debauch or ravish," in descriptions of incest, mentioned by Archibald 2001: xiii.

[40] Morohashi 1955-1960: 10.334d (34918.88).

[41] Derge Kanjur, *'dul ba, da* 202a6-7 = T. 1451 (XXIV) 379a23-24 (*juan* 34).

[42] Derge Kanjur 1, *'dul ba, ka* 41a7, critically edited in Eimer 1983: 108.17-18 = T. 1444 (XXIII) 1029a7 (*juan* 2).

corresponds simply to *sring mo*, sister.

The certainly related *qīnzǐ* 親妹, as far as I know not recorded at all in dictionaries, appears to be equally rare, if not rarer. I have found it only in a tenth century translation of Faxian,[43], and in an eighth-century translation of Bodhiruci.[44] In the latter case, the correspondence of the expression as a whole, however, is not clear to me.[45]

Both kinship terms should be entered in future comprehensive dictionaries of Chinese.

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[43] T. 191 (III) 937b1 (*juan* 2).

[44] T. 1092 (XX) 252c14 (*juan* 5).

[45] Derge Kanjur 686, *rgyud 'bum, ma*, 39b6-7: *sring mo zhes bgyi bas ni dgos pa'i yo byad thams cad tshang bar stobs par 'gyur zhing yan lag sbong bar bgyid do* 11, T. 1092 (XX) 252c14-15 (*juan* 5): 若乞龍女為親姉者。宮中寶具衣服甘露飲食亦盡賞賜.

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PDF Version: ARIRIAB X (2007)

"One Vehicle" (一乘) in the Chinese *Āgamas*: New Light on an Old Problem in Pāli*

Jan NATTIER

Introduction

One of the best known concepts in East Asian Buddhist literature is the idea of the "one vehicle." According to this perspective, generally expressed in Indian texts using the term *ekayāna* and in East Asian texts as 一乘 (Ch. *yisheng*, Jpn. *ichijō*), the Buddha taught his followers three distinct paths to awakening: the path to Arhatship, the path to Pratyekabuddhahood, and the path to Buddhahood. This multiplicity, however, was only a "skillful means" used by Śākyamuni to lead all of his followers to the single goal of Buddhahood. The apparent nirvāṇa of the Arhat or Pratyekabuddha is merely an illusion, a "rest stop," as it were, en route to the ultimate goal. Viewed in terms of the path, this implies that the bodhisattva vehicle is not merely the highest and most praiseworthy path (an idea endorsed in all Indian Mahāyāna scriptures) but the only path that is real.[1] All teachings concerning other vehicles were mere concessions, provided by the Buddha for followers who were not yet ready to hear of their own eventual Buddhahood. The bodhisattva path, in sum, is portrayed as the universal path, encompassing all Buddhists whether they realize it or not.

Recent research, however, has shown that this concept was far from universal

* The initial inspiration for this study came from Dr. Stanley Weinstein, Professor Emeritus at Yale University, who suggested—in the course of a discussion of how common or uncommon *ekāyana* thought might have been in Indian Buddhism—that doing a computer search for the term *yisheng* 一乘 in the Chinese Buddhist canon might yield interesting results. I have also been extremely fortunate in receiving detailed comments, suggestions, and additional references from a number of scholars, including Prof. Oskar von Hinüber, Ven. Thanissaro Bhikkhu, Dr. Akemi Iwamoto, Dr. Peter Skilling, Dr. Egil Fronsdal, and above all Prof. Paul Harrison, who in addition to offering copious comments on an earlier draft made available his work on a related manuscript from the Schøyen collection, which now appears as the following article in this volume. Any errors or oversights that remain, of course, are my own.

[1] I will not attempt to deal here with the complex issue of whether the "one vehicle" is identical with the bodhisattva vehicle (i.e., is one of the three vehicles) or is distinct from it (i.e., is other than any of the three) over which so much ink has been spilled in East Asia. A full treatment of the understandings of the *ekayāna* in India would also include the interpretation of *ekayāna* found in such texts as the *Mahāyāna-sūtrālaṁkāra* (e.g., XI.53) and perhaps also in the *Saṁdhinirmocana-sūtra*, according to which it is not the teaching of three vehicles but of *ekayāna* itself that represents a "tactical stratagem" (*upāya*) on the part the Buddha. Such an interpretation, in my view, does not represent a distinctive understanding of the meaning of *ekayāna*, but is rather a defensive maneuver—that is, an attempt to undercut its importance by reducing it to the status of relative rather than ultimate truth.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 181-200.
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among Indian Mahāyāna Buddhists.[2] On the contrary, during the formative period of the Mahāyāna—that is, at the time when certain Buddhists first advocated the idea that rank-and-file Buddhists could choose to become a Buddha rather than an Arhat—the idea of three distinct vehicles, culminating in the genuine attainment of three distinct goals, seems to have prevailed. Somewhat surprisingly, there is growing evidence that this idea remained standard in what might be described as "mainline" Mahāyāna Buddhism in India for many centuries. The well known *gotra* ("family" or "clan") theory of the Yogācāra school, for example, clearly presupposes different paths—and genuinely different goals—for people of differing spiritual capacities. As late as the eighth century, the Mādhyamika scholar Śāntideva still recognized the validity of other options even as he described in detail how to pursue the bodhisattva path.[3] Thus the practice of the Mahāyāna cannot be equated with the acceptance of the idea of "one vehicle." Indeed, the early history of the Mahāyāna in India—and perhaps far more of that history than has previously been supposed—is well described as "the period of the three vehicles." [4]

Eventually the idea of "one vehicle" did become widely known (if not universally accepted) in India; the question of when, and in what circles, it attained the status of an orthodox view will surely reward further study. What is certain, however, is that the idea of a single vehicle leading to Buddhahood quickly gained sweeping acceptance in East Asia, where it became one of the central organizing concepts of Chinese Buddhist thought. Not surprisingly, a computer search for *yisheng* 一乘 "one vehicle" in the Chinese Buddhist canon nets a huge number of examples; an initial search of the presently available digitized version of the Taishō canon (vols. 1-55 and 85) yielded well over 6,400 occurrences.[5]

These occurrences, however, are far from evenly distributed within the canon. From a chronological perspective, it quickly becomes evident that no occurrence of *yisheng* can be found in texts translated prior to the time of Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265-309 CE).[6] The sole occurrence of the two characters *yi* and *sheng* together in a pre-Dharmarakṣa translation is in Zhi Qian's translation of the *Pusa benye jing* 菩薩本業經 (T281), where the name of one of the Buddhas of the ten directions is given as *Yishengdu* 一乘度(10.447a2). A comparison with other versions of the same text, however, suggests that this may not have been Zhi Qian's original wording, but is instead is the result of a scribal emendation. (In any event there is no discussion of the notion of "one

[2] For a brief overview see Nattier, *A Few Good Men*, pp. 174-176.

[3] See the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* II.9, where Śāntideva describes his intended audience as those who belong to the "Buddha-family" (*buddhagotra*). The term *buddhagotra*, of course, is one of the five *gotras* of the Yogācāra tradition, a usage with which Śāntideva could hardly have been unfamiliar.

[4] This felicitous phrase was coined by Gil Fronsdal, who first used it in conversation several years ago (personal communication, 2000).

[5] Search performed using the Appl edition of CBETA, 20 April 2003.

[6] As the basis for this search I have used my own list of translations that can credibly be assigned to the period prior to Dharmarakṣa (Nattier, in preparation), together with the list of Dharmarakṣa's translations given in Daniel J. Boucher's Ph.D. dissertation (Boucher 1996), pp. 259-291.

vehicle" anywhere in the text.) This pattern of distribution points to the likelihood that it was Dharmarakṣa himself who first introduced *yisheng* as the Chinese equivalent of Sanskrit (or Prakrit) *ekayāna*. Moreover, it may well have been only in Dharmarakṣa's time—that is, in the late third century CE—that finding a term for *ekayāna* became necessary, for not only the word *yisheng* itself but the very idea of a single vehicle seems to be absent from scriptures translated into Chinese before this period.[7]

More dramatic than this chronological assymetry, however, is a geographical one. If we perform separate searches in volumes of the Taishō canon that consist mainly of translations of Indian texts, on the one hand, and mainly of East Asian compositions on the other, a striking pattern emerges: the overwhelming majority of occurrences of *yisheng* are in treatises and commentaries produced in East Asia rather than in texts translated from Indian originals.[8] This suggests that it would not be difficult to find concrete textual evidence for what scholars have long suspected: that the notion of "one vehicle" played a far more prominent role in East Asia than was ever the case in India.

These and other patterns of distribution of the term *yisheng* in the Chinese Buddhist canon are worthy of detailed study in the future. What I would like to focus on in this paper, however, is yet another anomaly that appeared in these search results: the fact that, contrary to all expectations, a small but significant number of occurrences of *yisheng* can be found in the section of the canon containing non-Mahāyāna sūtras, i.e., in the *āgama* texts.

Occurrences in the Āgama Section

The Chinese Buddhist canon as we have it—that is, the widely-used Taishō edition, almost universally cited by scholars and now further canonized through its reproduction in the easily accessible digital CBETA edition—is the product of Japanese scholarly

[7] This statement is based on my own reading of the works of An Xuan and Yan Fotiao, Zhi Yao (if indeed T630 is a genuine Han-period text, about which I have some doubt), Kang Mengxiang, and Zhi Qian, and on the assessment of the content of Lokakṣema's works by Paul Harrison (personal communication, 7 May 2003). In the works of An Shigao, of course—given their entirely non-Mahāyāna content—it is hardly surprising that neither the term nor the concept would appear.

[8] Vols. 1-24 and 27-29, which consist mainly of translated Indian scriptures—including sūtras (both *āgama* literature and Mahāyāna texts), *jātaka*s, *avadāna*s, tantras, vinaya texts, and abhidharma works—yielded a total of 513 occurrences (including "false positives"). In a sharp contrast to the relatively few occurrences in these twenty-seven volumes, vol. 85 (consisting of texts from Dunhuang, some of them genuine translations of Indian texts but many of them Chinese commentaries or indigenous scriptures) yielded 231 occurrences by itself. The remaining eighteen volumes (vols. 25-26 and 30-55, consisting of commentaries, histories, and other works, the majority composed in East Asia) registered 5,736 occurrences.

Such a computer search, of course, cannot be expected to locate all discussions of the idea of "one vehicle" in Chinese Buddhist translations. The idea of a single path to awakening can of course be carried on using other terms, so it is virtually certain that a search focusing on the term *yisheng* 一乘 alone will fail to locate some relevant passages. Nonetheless, because the translation of *ekayāna* as *yisheng* became standard at a very early stage in Chinese Buddhist translation history (for no other rendition ever displaced the usage introduced by Dharmarakṣa), it seems likely that a search for these two Chinese characters will, at the very least, identify the great majority of cases in which a Chinese translator was working from an Indic-language original containing the term *ekayāna*.

concerns of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[9] Prior to this period it had been standard practice in East Asia to place the Perfection of Wisdom (*Prajñāpāramitā*) literature at the head, thus implicitly conveying a sense of the priority of Mahāyāna sūtras and, among these, of the Perfection of Wisdom texts. Such an arrangement is reflected in a wide range of traditional manuscript and printed canons, and it is still preserved in modern editions such as the Korean[10] and the Chinese (Zhonghua) editions.[11] In early twentieth-century Japan, however, with a new awareness of the claim to historical priority of the non-Mahāyāna literature preserved in Pāli, it must have seemed obvious that the canon should be organized in terms of the approximate order of its historical development. Thus the first volumes of the Taishō edition were devoted to Chinese translations of non-Mahāyāna scriptures, beginning with the various Āgama collections preserved in Chinese together with the translations of individual sūtras associated with them (vols. 1-2) and an assortment of *jātaka*s, *avadāna*s, and biographies of the Buddha (vol. 3-4).[12]

To find the term *yisheng* "one vehicle" in such a setting is, needless to say, rather surprising, yet there are no fewer than thirty occurrences in the first two volumes of the Taishō edition. A few of these can immediately be set aside; one occurrence, for example, refers simply to an ordinary cart with no doctrinal implications.[13] Nine others occur in a scripture entitled *Yangjuemoluo jing* 央掘魔羅經 (T120, **Aṅgulimāla-sūtra*), a text in which

[9] For an illuminating discussion of versions of the Buddhist canon produced in Japan and the religious, scholarly, and political objectives of their compilers see Vita 2001.

[10] For an accessible catalogue of the contents of this canon, together with a Comparative Catalogue Index collating the Taishō, Nanjio, Tōhoku (Derge) and Korean editions see Lancaster and Park 1979. A quick glance at the list of correspondences between the Nanjio and Korean editions (p. 679ff.) makes it evident that, through the time of the Nanjio edition, the traditional sequence, beginning with the Prajñāpāramitā literature, was retained. In most Tibetan editions of the canon, by contrast, the Vinaya was placed first, followed by the Mahāyāna sūtras (again beginning with the Prajñāpāramitā texts); this is the sequence followed in, for instance, the Stog Palace, Narthang, Derge, and Urga editions. The Peking edition, however, is a notable exception; here the tantras are placed at the head, followed by the Mahāyāna sūtras (again beginning with the Prajñāpāramitā literature), with the Vinaya bringing up the rear. The Mongolian canon, which appears to have been based on the second printing of the Peking edition ("P2," a version holding an intermediate place between the P1 edition housed in the Harvard-Yenching library and the P3 edition that served as the basis for the Ōtani edition), follows the Peking in according the tantras pride of place.

[11] See the *Zhonghua Dazangjing* 中華大藏經 published in Beijing (1984-1988). For a thorough discussion of the history of canonical editions produced in China and their relationship to one another (as well as to the Korean and Japanese editions) see Zacchetti 2005, pp. 74-142.

[12] These labels (based on the titles found on the Taishō volumes themselves) are less than adequate, for vols. 3 and 4 contain, for example, texts such as the *Dharmapada* and the *Arthavargīya* (Pāli *Aṭṭhakavagga)* which do not belong to the *jātaka* and *avadāna* category. In addition, these neat labels are also belied by the presence of some texts that clearly do not belong here (e.g., the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīka*, a Mahāyāna scripture which appears as text no. 159 in volume 3).

[13] See the *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (*Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, T7), translated by Faxian 法顯 in the early fifth century CE: 雪山之中有八萬四千白象之寶。而王所乘。不過一象。雖有八萬四千駿馬。而王所騎。不過一匹。雖有八萬四千七寶之車。而王常駕。不過一乘。(T7, 1.202c27-203a1).

the notorious murderer Aṅgulimāla appears as the main character.[14] Though the Taishō editors identify it as a version of *Aṅgulimāla-sutta* found in the Pāli *Majjhimanikāya* (MN 86), which they identify in turn with similar texts found in the Chinese *Saṁyuktāgama* (T99[1077], T100[16]) and *Ekottarāgama* (T125[38.6]),[15] it is clearly a much different work—in fact, it is a Mahāyāna sūtra that extols the "sole vehicle" in terms that would be entirely at home in the *Lotus Sūtra*. The presence of the term *yisheng* here, in other words, does not tell us anything about the use of the expression *ekayāna* in an *āgama* text; rather, it is the result of mis-cataloguing by the Taishō editors.[16]

Of the remaining twenty instances of the expression *yisheng* in the *āgama* section of the Taishō canon, the overwhelming majority—a total of seventeen occurrences, in six different sūtras—are in the version of the *Saṁyuktāgama* translated by Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 in 435-443 CE.[17] I will therefore focus on this rich array of occurrences here, reserving the text containing the three remaining occurrences (a Song 宋-period translation of the **Janarṣabhasūtra*)[18] for a brief discussion below.

Yisheng(dao) 一乘(道) in the *Saṁyuktāgama* (T99, *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經)

Guṇabhadra's *Saṁyuktāgama* is only Chinese *āgama* collection in which the term *yisheng* "one vehicle" appears. In all seventeen cases *yisheng* is followed by *dao* 道 "way" or "path," making it clear that these three characters should be construed together. Deferring a discussion of the precise meaning of *yisheng dao* in these contexts for the moment, I will simply translate this Chinese expression literally as "one-vehicle way."

(1) Sūtra no. 561

In this text Ānanda addresses a brahman as follows:

> 如來、應、等正覺、所知、所見，說四如意足。以一乘道淨眾生，滅苦惱，斷憂悲。何等為四？ (2.147b1-3)
>
> The Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Samyaksaṁbuddha, the one who is known,

[14] *Yisheng* appears at 2.530a8-9 (此乘是大乘／說名無礙智／一乘一歸依／佛第一義依) and again at 532b4, 9, 11, and c29; 535c13, 536a12, 537b16, and 541c15.

[15] See Taishō vol. 2, p. 280, n. 6.

[16] This is not to say, of course, that there is no connection whatsoever between *āgama* texts and Mahāyāna sūtras; indeed it is completely normal for characters known in earlier texts to appear—putting forth quite different doctrines, to be sure—in Mahāyāna scriptures, and for narrative material found in early canonical sources to reappear in Mahāyāna texts. Be that as it may, in both length and doctrinal content it is clear that the *Yangjuemoluo jing* should not be treated as a close relative of the Pāli sutta or the Chinese *āgama* texts in which Aṅgulimāla is the main figure, but rather as an independent scripture whose authors took earlier traditions concerning Aṅgulimāla as their point of departure.

[17] Though the text is attributed to Guṇabhadra, it appears that (as in so many cases) the role of the "foreign monk" in this case was that of the reciter or reader of the text, while his assistants (Baoyun 寶雲 and Putifayong 菩提法勇) did the actual work of translation; see Glass 2006, pp. 20-21.

[18] The text in question is T9, the *Renxian jing* 人仙經, translated by Faxian 法賢 in 998 CE (see below, p. 190).

> the one who is seen [*sic*],[19] teaches the four bases of paranormal power (四如意足), and by [this] *one-vehicle way* purifies living beings, extinguishes suffering and affliction, and cuts off sorrow and grieving. And what are the four?

The text then goes on to enumerate the four *ṛddhipāda*s, which are given (in this version of the sūtra) as desire or intention (欲, **chanda*), exertion (精進, **vīrya*), mind (心, **citta*) and investigation (思惟, **mīmāṁsā*). Each of these four items, in turn, is characterized as involving meditational absorption (定, *samādhi*) and cutting-off (斷, *prahāṇa*). Why the text refers to these practices as a "one-vehicle way," however, remains unclear, and the corresponding Pāli sutta—which lacks any counterpart of this expression—can offer no assistance.[20]

(2) Sūtra no. 563

Here Ānanda addresses a visitor, Abhaya the Licchavī, who is a disciple of the Jain teacher Mahāvīra:

> 如來、應、等正覺、所知、所見，說三種離熾然、清淨、超出道。以一乘道淨眾生、離憂悲、越苦惱、得真如法。何等為三？ (2.147c12-15)

This rather difficult passage appears, at first glance, to mean something like the following:

> The Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Samyaksaṁbuddha, the one who is known, the one who is seen [*sic*], teaches three kinds of getting rid of burning, purifying, and going forth to the way. With [this] *one-vehicle way* he purifies living beings, removes their sorrow and grieving, and causes them to go beyond suffering and affliction and to attain the Dharma of true reality.[21] And what are the three?

Ānanda goes on to explain that the three practices in question are morality (here identified specifically with the *prātimokṣa*), abiding in the four *jhāna*s, and knowing the four noble truths. The expression *yisheng dao* occurs twice in subsequent lines (147c20-21 and 148a1), both times in the same refrain. This time, however, the corresponding Pāli text offers a reasonably close parallel:

> *tisso kho imā Abhaya nijjarā visuddhiyo tena bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena sammadakkhātā sattānaṁ visuddhiyā sokapariddavānaṁ samatikkamāya dukkhadomanassānaṁ atthagamāya ñāyassa adhigamāya nibbānassa sacchikiriyāya. katamā tisso?*[22]

---

[19] One would expect here, in this standard canonical formula, "the one who knows, the one who sees" (cf. Pāli *jānatā passatā* in the Pāli version of Sūtra no. 563 cited below, p. 186). Guṇabhadra, however, regularly translates these phrases in a way that can only be construed grammatically as a passive.

[20] Cf. the Pāli *Saṁyuktanikāya*, vol. 5, pp. 271-273 (*Iddhipāda-saṁyuttam*, LI, §15 *Brāhmaṇa*) and the English translation in *Connected Discourses* (Bodhi 2000), pp. 1732-1734.

[21] In Guṇabhadra's text as we have it the expression 得真如法 regularly alternates with 得如實法. Although the term 真如 later comes to be used as a translation of *tathatā* "thusness" (e.g., in the works of Xuanzang, where it occurs thousands of times), it does not seem to be used in that sense here.

[22] *Aṅguttaranikāya*, vol. 1, p. 221.5-9 (iii, §74).

> Abhaya, three kinds of purification through extinguishing are well proclaimed by the Blessed One, the one who knows and sees, the Arhat, the Samyaksaṁbuddha, for the purification of living beings, for the transcending of sorrow and grieving, for the destruction of suffering and dejection, for attaining the [proper] method (*ñāya*), for the realization of Nibbāna. What are the three?[23]

The three practices are then listed (with the third differing from that found in the Chinese): morality, abiding in the four *jhāna*s, and knowing the destruction of the contaminants (*āsava*) through liberation of the heart (*cetovimutti*) and liberation of insight (*paññāvimutti*).

The Pāli helps to explain why Guṇabhadra's translation is so difficult to understand, for it points to the likelihood of a confusion between Prakrit counterparts of Skt. √*jval* "be hot, burn" (or √*jvar* "be feverish, suffer from burning pain") and *nir*√*jṝ* "extinguish," as well as a possible further confusion between Prakrit forms resembling Pāli *sammadakkhātā* "well set forth" and *samatikkanta* "transcend" or "escape," respectively. It cannot, however, help to elucidate the meaning of *yisheng dao* in Guṇabhadra's version, for the Pāli contains no equivalent of this expression.

(3) Sūtra no. 550

A similar refrain appears at the beginning of this sūtra, where the venerable Mahākatyāyana addresses a group of monks as follows:

> 佛、世尊、如來、應、等正覺、所知、所見，說於法出苦處、昇於勝處。說一乘道淨諸眾生，離諸惱苦憂悲悉滅，得真如法。何等為六？ (2.143b20-23)
>
> "The Buddha, the World-Honored One, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Samyaksaṁbuddha, the one who is known, the one who is seen [*sic*], teaches a Dharma that causes [living beings] to go forth from a place of suffering and to ascend to a victorious place. He teaches a *one-vehicle way* that purifies living beings and causes them to be separated from all afflictions and suffering, causes sorrow and grieving to completely disappear, and causes them to attain the Dharma of true reality. And what are the six?"

The text then goes on to enumerate in detail the six *anusmṛti*s (*liu nian* 六念), viz., remembrance of the Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha, morality, renunciation, and the gods, referring to each of them in turn using the same language.[24] Once again the Pāli counterpart has no equivalent of the passage containing the expression *yisheng dao*.[25] It does, however, state as it relates the six practices in turn that "some beings

[23] English translation from *Gradual Sayings*, vol. 1, p. 201. The sutta itself does not have a separate title.

[24] Thus the expression *yisheng dao* occurs a total of seven times in this sūtra (2.143b22, c3, 11 and 24; 144a5, 14 and 25).

[25] Cf. the Pāli *Aṅguttaranikāya*, vol. 3, pp. 312-314 (*Anuttariya-vagga*, §XXV) and the English translation in *Gradual Sayings*, vol. 3, p. 223. The sutta itself does not have a separate title.

are purified" (*ekacce sattā visujjhanti*) by each one.

In this case, however, help comes from an unexpected source, for among the unpublished manuscripts in the Schøyen collection is a single folio from a Sanskrit version of the *Kātyāyana-sūtra* which contains a counterpart of this passage. A complete edition and translation of this fragment by Paul Harrison appears in the following article in this volume (Harrison); the portion of the passage relevant to our discussion, adopting Harrison's reconstructed text for convenience (with italics added as in the previous examples), is the following:[26]

> ṣaḍ ime āyuṣmaṃtas tena bhagavatā jānatā paśyatā tathāgatenārhatā samyaksaṃbuddhena saṃbādhe avakāśe viśeṣādhigamā ākhyātā *ekāyano mārgaḥ* satvānāṃ viśuddhaye śo)kaparidravāṇāṃ samatikkramāya duḥkhadaurmanasyānām astagamāya nyāyasya dharmasyādhigamāya <।> katame ṣaṭ । (r1-2)

This may tentatively be translated into English as follows:

> O Venerable Ones, the Blessed One, the one who knows, the one who sees, the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Samyaksambuddha, has proclaimed in a crowded place[27] these six distinguished means [as] an *ekāyana way* for purifying living beings, transcending sorrow and grieving, destroying suffering and dejection, and attaining the proper method of the Dharma. And what are the six?[28]

Just as in Guṇabhadra's translation, the text goes on to enumerate the six *anusmṛti*s. And with this Sanskrit parallel in hand, it now becomes clear that *yisheng* in the expression *yisheng dao* "one-vehicle way" must have been intended as a translation of *ekāyana*, a term whose resemblance to Sanskrit *ekayāna* "one vehicle" is obvious.

(4) Sūtra no. 1189

Even without the information provided by this Sanskrit fragment, the repeated refrain concerning a way that can purify living beings, remove sorrow and grieving, and so on, may well have had a familiar ring for Pāli specialists, for the best known usage of

[26] I would like to thank Paul Harrison for making available his transliteration and preliminary reconstruction of the text while this paper was in preparation. For his full edition and translation of the fragment see the following article in this volume (Harrison 2007).

[27] "In a crowded place" translates *saṁbādhe avakāśe*, a problematic phrase which appears to be the result of a wrong resolution of an original **avakāśādhigama* "means of access to open space" that took place when the epithet *viśeṣa* "distinguished" was added in the course of transmission of the sūtra. (I would like to thank my colleague Seishi Karashima for devoting several hours to joining me in the quest to unravel this puzzle.) Cf. the Pāli parallel, which reads *bhagavatā . . . sambādhe okāsādhigamo anubuddho* "the Blessed One . . . has awakened to a means of access to open space within a crowded place" (AN iii.315, lines 22-23). The pairing of *sambādha* "crowded, cramped" (often in reference to the life of the householder) with *avakāśa* (Pāli *okāsa*) "open space" (in reference to the life of the renunciant) occurs frequently in both Sanskrit and Pāli Buddhist texts; here, however, the terms seem to be used in a more general sense, with *sambādha* referring to the crowded circumstances of life in *saṁsāra*, within which the Buddha was nonetheless able to discover a path to freedom (*okāsa*).

[28] For Paul Harrison's somewhat different rendition of this passage cf. below, pp. 205-206.

the term *ekāyana* in Pāli is in precisely such a refrain, where it is used to introduce the four components of the practice of mindfulness (*sattipatthāna*). The most famous occurrences are in the versions of the *Sattipaṭṭhāna-sutta* found in the *Dīghanikāya* and the *Majjhimanikāya*,[29] but the same refrain, using the same wording, is also found in the Pāli *Saṁyuttanikāya*:[30]

> *ekāyano 'yaṁ maggo sattānaṁ visuddhiyā sokaparidavānaṁ samatikkamāya dukkhadomanassānaṁ atthaṅgamāya ñāyassa adhigamāya nibbānassa sacchikiriyāya yadidaṁ cattāro sattipaṭṭhānā*
>
> This is an *ekāyana* way, for the purification of living beings, for the transcendence of sorrow and grieving, for the destruction of suffering and dejection, for attaining the [proper] method (*ñāya*), for the realization of Nibbāna—that is, the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s.

This passage has a parallel in Guṇabhadra's translation, where in sūtra 1189 three of the remaining occurrences of *yisheng*, beginning with the following example, can be found. Here the newly awakened Buddha has the following thought:

> 有一乘道能淨眾生，度諸憂悲，滅除苦惱，得真如法，謂四念處。(2.322a29-b3)
>
> There is a *one-vehicle way* which can purify living beings, which can relieve [their] sorrow and grieving, extinguish and remove their suffering and afflictions, [and cause them to] attain the Dharma of true reality, [a way] which is called the four objects of remembrance.

As in the Pāli version, each of the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s is enumerated in turn, after which the god Brahmā appears to confirm the Buddha's thoughts, stating his approval in both prose and verse and employing the expression *yisheng dao* both times (2.322b13 and 16).

(5) Sūtras 535 and 607

The three remaining occurrences of *yisheng dao* in Guṇabhadra's *Saṁyuktāgama*—two in Sūtra 535 and one in Sūtra 607—both occur in contexts dealing with the *smṛtyupasthāna*s, though in neither of these two cases does the corresponding Pāli text contain the *ekāyana* refrain.[31] Since the wording is very similar to the examples given above, and since they do not offer any new contextual information on the uses of the term, we need not give the full citations here.

In sum, in Guṇabhadra's *Saṁyuktāgama* collection we were able to locate three sūtras in

[29] See DN 22, ii.290 and 315 and MN 10, i.55-56 and 63.

[30] See SN v.167-168 (*Satipaṭṭhāna-saṁyuttaṁ*, XLVII, §18, *Brahmā*) and cf. the English translation in *Connected Discourses* (Bodhi 2000), pp. 1647-1648.

[31] See sūtra no. 535 (where *yisheng* occurs at 2.139a20 and b6; for the parallel suttas in Pāli see SN v.294-296 and 296-297, and cf. the English translation in Bhikkhu Bodhi 2000, pp. 1750-1752 and 1752-1753) and sūtra no. 607 (with *yisheng* at 171a10; for the Pāli version see SN v.173-174 and cf. Bodhi 2000, pp. 1651-1652).

which the underlying term *ekayāna mārga* was used in reference to the four *smṛtyupasthānas*, and three sūtras in which it refers to other practices.

Yisheng zhengfa 一乘正法 in the **Janarṣabhasūtra* (T9, *Renxian jing* 人仙經)

Guṇabhadra is the only translator of an entire *āgama* collection to have rendered *ekāyana* into Chinese using the term *yisheng*, but this equivalence also occurs in one other text, a sūtra translated as an independent work more than five hundred years after Guṇabhadra's time. The three remaining occurrences of *yisheng* in the *āgama* section of the Taishō canon all occur in the version of the **Janarṣabhasūtra* (Pāli *Janavasabha-sutta*) produced by Faxian 法賢 in 998 CE. Here, however, we find not *yisheng dao* but *yisheng zhengfa* 一乘正法 "one vehicle correct dharma," an expression which, were it not for the clear context in which it appears, we might be tempted to interpret as a translation of *ekāyana* plus some form of **saddharma*. All three of the occurrences of *yisheng zhengfa* in this text, however, are set in the familiar refrain seen above: that there is a "sole-vehicle way" that brings about the purification of living beings, and so forth. The first reads as follows:

> 如來、應供、正等正覺，宣說一乘正法令諸眾生遠離憂、悲、苦、惱，皆得清淨，證真實理。(1.215c16-18)
>
> The Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Samyaksaṁbuddha, has taught a *one-vehicle correct way* that causes living beings to leave behind sorrow, sadness, suffering, and vexations, to become entirely purified, and to realize the true principle.

The text goes on to recommend the practice of three different Dharma-teachings (1.215c19ff.). The refrain occurs two more times, once in a discussion of the four *smṛtyupasthānas* (216a10-11), and finally with reference to the various elements of the eightfold path (216a20).[32]

The text has a parallel in Pāli, but the Pāli version contains no occurrence of the *ekāyana* refrain.[33] As in Guṇabhadra's version of the *Saṁyuktāgama*, in this separately translated scripture (transmitted individually, that is, rather than as part of an *āgama* collection), the *ekāyana* refrain is not limited to the context of the four *smṛtyupasthānas*, but is used in reference to a variety of practices grouped into sets.

Yisheng and *ekāyana*: the problem of interpretation

With such an obvious resemblance between the terms *ekāyana* and *ekayāna*, it is tempting to conclude that Guṇabhadra's rendition of *ekāyana* as "one vehicle" is simply a mistake. This may well be the case—and whether there might be any sense in which it could be considered a valid translation will be discussed below—but our task is complicated by the fact that the meaning of the word *ekāyana* is itself less than clear. Most western translators of the Pāli suttas have taken the expression *ekāyana magga* in the context of our refrain in

[32] See 1.216a10-12, 善說菩提一乘正法。令諸眾生咸得清淨。離憂悲苦惱。證妙法理, and 20-22, 示一乘法。令諸眾生咸得清淨。離憂悲苦。證妙法理.

[33] See the *Janavasabha-sutta*, DN 18.

a highly exclusive sense; thus it has been translated by F. L. Woodward as "the one sole way,"[34] by T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids as "the one and only path,"[35] and by both I. B. Horner and Maurice Walshe as "this one way."[36] The language of these translations seems jarring, for the claim that any one thing could be the "sole means to salvation" seems more at home in a fundamentalist Christian tract than in the mouth of the canonical Buddha. Indeed, the Buddha is generally presented in Pāli and other early scriptures as contextualizing his teaching to suit the needs of his listeners rather than making sweeping recommendations to humanity at large. Atypical as it may be, however, it was this very refrain that inspired a number of twentieth-century modernizers of Buddhism to make the claim—based on the authority of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*—that *vipassanā* practice is the "one thing needed" for the attainment of *nibbāna*.[37]

Standard reference works would seem to support "the sole way" as a possible interpretation of *ekāyana*, for the *Critical Pali Dictionary* defines it as "a single (= unique) road" as well as "a road for one person (= narrow, lonely, solitary)," or "a road going to one place only" (632b). The Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary* also includes the idea of an exclusive path in its discussion, defining the term as "leading to one goal, direct way or leading to the goal as the one & only way (magga)" (159b).

This is not, however, the only possibility. A different approach is taken by Bhikkhu Bodhi in his English translation of the version of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* found in the *Majjhimanikāya*, which was produced on the basis of a translation left unpublished by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli. Bodhi translates the expression *ekāyano maggo* as "the direct path" (*Middle Length Discourses*, pp. 145 and 155), and he argues vigorously that it does not mean the "sole" or "only" way. Ñāṇamoli, he tells us, had translated *ekāyana magga* as "a path that goes in one way only"; his own rendition of this expression as "direct path" is an attempt to convey the same meaning in more streamlined English.[38] Subsequently, in his translation of the *Saṁyuttanikāya*, Bhikkhu Bodhi translated he same expression as "the one-way path" (*Connected Discourses*, vol. 2, p. 1627 and n. 123 on pp. 1915-1916).

It seems certain that "direct path" or "path going to one destination only" is a legitimate interpretation—indeed, perhaps the only possible interpretation—of this expression in another context, where it is used in the *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* of the

[34] E.g., in *The Book of the Kindred Sayings*, vol. V, pp. 147 and 148. Elsewhere in the same volume he translates it as "the sole way" (pp. 119-120).

[35] See their translation of the *Dīghanikāya* in *Dialogues of the Buddha*, vol. 2, pp. 327 and 346.

[36] See I. B. Horner's translation of the *Majjhimanikāya* in *Middle Length Sayings*, vol. 1, pp. 71 and 82, and Maurice Walshe's translation of the *Dīghanikāya* in *Thus Have I Heard*, pp. 335 and 350.

[37] For an emphatic statement of this position see Nyanaponika Thera, *The Heart of Buddhist Meditation*, revised edition (New York: Samuel Weiser, 1962), p. 85. This view has attained the status of orthodoxy in many Theravādin circles, despite the fact that there is no canonical support for it (aside from the *ekāyana* refrain in the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* itself, if it is interpreted in this exclusivist sense).

[38] *Middle Length Discourses*, p. 1188, n. 135. Interestingly, Bhikkhu Bodhi retained Ñāṇamoli's original translation of *ekāyana magga* as "a path going in one way only" in the *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta* (*Middle Length Discourses*, pp. 170-172).

Majjhimanikāya in a discussion of various destinations of rebirth. In an extended discussion of his ability to see the future destiny of living beings, the Buddha states that he can observe a person heading directly (*paṇidhāya*) for his next birth "by an *ekāyana* way" (*ekāyanena maggena*). In more colloquial English, we might paraphrase this to say that the individual in question is "headed straight for," or is "making a beeline for," the hell-realm, an animal birth, or another destination.

But is this the best interpretation of the meaning of *ekāyana* in the context of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*'s discussion of the four objects of mindfulness practice? On this Bhikkhu Bodhi has the following to say:

> Though there is neither canonical nor commentarial basis for this view, it might be maintained that *satipaṭṭhāna* is called *ekāyana magga*, the direct path, to distinguish it from the approach to meditative attainment that prodeeds through the jhānas or *brahmavihāras*. While the latter can lead to Nibbāna, they do not do so necessarily but can lead to sidetracks, whereas *satipaṭṭhāna* leads invariably to the final goal.[39]

This is an admirable example of scholarly honesty, for even as he states his own preferred interpretation Bhikkhu Bodhi makes it clear that he can find no precedent for it in traditional sources. Indeed, he also includes in his discussion a full account of the content of the relevant passage from Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Majjhimanikāya*, where *ekāyana magga* is explained as meaning "a single path, not a divided path; as a way that has to be walked by oneself alone, without a companion; and as a way that goes to one goal, Nibbāna" (*loc. cit.*).

An even more detailed discussion of the meanings of *ekāyana* in Pāli is found in Rupert Gethin's *The Buddhist Path to Awakening* (pp. 59-66), which Bhikkhu Bodhi cites in his *Saṁyuktāgama* translation (p. 1916, n. 123). In what is by far the most thorough treatment of the term in English (and perhaps in any language), Gethin summarizes the five basic understandings of the term found in the Pāli commentaries in the context of the four *satipaṭṭhānas*:

(i) a single (i.e., not forked) path;
(ii) a lonely path, i.e., one to be traveled alone;
(iii) the best path (to paraphrase Gethin's discussion, "one" used in the sense of "number one")
(iv) a path found in just one place (further explained as referring, in the present context, to the Buddha's Dhamma and Vinaya); and
(v) a path that goes to one destination only (i.e., *nibbāna*).

After exploring four other occurrences of *ekāyana* in the Pāli canon (one in the *Mahāsīhanāda-sutta*, mentioned just above, and three in the Jātaka verses), Gethin concludes that "nowhere is the sense 'one and one only' clearly and definitely the proper sense, and

[39] *Middle Length Discourses*, p. 1188, n. 135. See also his discussion in *Connected Discourses*, pp. 1915-1916, n. 123, where he suggests that "perhaps the way of mindfulness is being contrasted with other types of meditation that do not always lead straight to the goal."

in most cases definitely not." Thus it would be "rather perverse," in Gethin's words, to adopt this reading in the context of the four *satipaṭṭṭhāna*s.

One of the problems in trying to get a clear sense of the meaning of *ekāyana* is precisely the fact that it is such a rare term in Pāli, with the overwhelming majority of occurrences being in the refrain that accompanies a discussion of the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s (Pāli *satipaṭṭhāna*s). This makes it difficult to use one of the linguist's main tools—an analysis of the context in which a word or phrase is used—to elucidate its meaning.

It is here that the Chinese texts can be of the greatest help, for as we have already seen, tracking the occurrences of *yisheng* in Guṇabhadra's version of the *Saṁyuktāgama* allows us to locate uses of the *ekāyana* refrain in contexts outside the discussion of *satipaṭṭhāna* practice. With this in mind, and also with an eye toward considering how a variety of Chinese translators understood the term, we may look briefly at other renditions of *ekāyana mārga* in Chinese *āgama* collections.

Ekāyana mārga in other Chinese *āgama* texts

No other text in the *āgama* volumes of the Taishō canon uses the term *yisheng* "one vehicle" in a translation of *ekāyana*. Yet the fact that *ekāyana* regularly appears in a refrain used to describe the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s means that we can use the various Chinese translations of *smṛtyupasthāna* to locate other Chinese renditions of *ekāyana mārga* as well. The following citations are the result of applying this method (restricted, in order to keep this discussion of manageable size, to *āgama* collections or anthologies found in vols. 1 and 2 of the Taishō canon).

(1) Gautama Saṁghadeva's *Madhyamāgama* (T26, *Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經): *(you) yi dao* (有)一道

In the version of the *Madhyamāgama* produced by Gautama Saṁghadeva in 397-398 CE), the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s are regularly translated into Chinese as *si nianchu* 四念處, "the four loci of remembrance." By searching for this expression we can quickly locate another instance of the *ekāyana* refrain. In sūtra no. 98, the *Nianchu jing* 念處經 (corresponding to the Pāli *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta* in MN 10), we find *ekāyana mārga* translated simply as *yi dao* 一道 "one way," appearing in the phrase *You yi dao* . . . "There is a single way . . ."[40]

By searching for (有)一道 in turn, we can locate another occurrence of the refrain in a different context. In sūtra no. 189, the *Shengdao jing* 聖道經 (identified by the Taishō editors as parallel to MN 117, the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*), it is applied to "noble right concentration" (*samyaksamādhi*, here given as *sheng zheng ding* 聖正定) together with its "seven assistants" (*chi zhi* 七支), the other seven components of the eightfold path.[41] In this case, however, the corresponding Pāli text has no counterpart

[40] See 1.582b9-11: 有一道淨眾生，度憂畏，滅苦惱，斷啼哭，得正法，謂四念處。

[41] The text reads in full: 有一道令眾生得清淨，離愁，慼啼哭。滅憂、苦、懊、惱，便得如法，謂聖正定。有習、有助、亦復有具而有七支。於聖正定說習、說助，亦復說具。云何為七？正見、正志、

of the *ekāyana* refrain. Thus we find that, in contrast to the Pāli, but in common with Guṇabhadra's *Saṁyuktāgama*, this recension of the *Madhyamāgama* did not limit the use of the *ekāyana* refrain to contexts dealing with the four *smṛtyupasthānas*.

(2) **Anonymous *Saṁyuktāgama* (T100, *Bieyi za ahan jing* 別譯雜阿含經): *wei you yi dao* 唯有一道**

Another text in which the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s are given as *si nianchu* 四念處 is the anonymous translation of part of another recension of the *Saṁyuktāgama*, assigned to the period of the three Qin 三秦 dynasties (352-431 CE). By searching for occurrences of this expression we can locate three more occurrences of the *ekāyana* refrain, here expressed in even more exclusivist terminology as *wei you yi dao*, "there is only one way . . . ." All three are found in sūtra no. 102, a text parallel to T99(1189) in Guṇabhadra's *Saṁyuktāgama*, which has a parallel in the Pāli *Saṁyuttanikāya* in turn,[42] and all three refer to the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s.[43] I have not been able to locate any other occurrence of the *ekāyana* refrain in this collection; thus in this recension we have a pattern of occurrences that resembles that found in Pāli.[44]

(3) **An archaic translation of an anthology of *Saṁyuktāgama* texts, probably to be attributed to An Shigao (T101, *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經): *dao yiqie* 道一切**

The oldest Chinese translation of the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s is *si yi zhi* 四意止 "four stoppings of the mind," a rendition which appears already in the works of An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 148-170). Tracking the occurrences of this expression throughout his corpus,[45] we are able to identify another translation of *ekāyana mārga*, though a most unusual one: here the wording is *dao yiqie* "the Way [which has the quality of being] single-leading." Not only the terminology itself but even the word order is unusual—in both occurrences the word *dao* precedes the expression that qualifies it—but the context makes it clear that we are again deaing with an early version of the *ekāyana* refrain. The text is of sufficient interest (and of sufficient difficulty) that it is worth giving the two passages here in full:

正語、正業、正命、正方便、正念。(1.735c1-5).

[42] See above, pp. 188-189. As in the other *Saṁyuktāgama* collections (including the Pāli), the individual sūtras in T100 do not have titles.

[43] The precise wording is as follows: (the newly awakened Buddha thinking to himself) 唯有一道。能淨眾生。使離苦惱。亦能除滅不善惡業。獲正法利。所言法者。即四念處。(2.410b12-14) and (the god Brahmā addressing the Buddha) 誠如世尊心之所念。唯有一道。能淨眾生。乃至得免憂悲苦惱 (2.410b26-28) and (continuing Brahmā's discourse in verse) 欲求遠離苦／唯有此一道 (410c1) and 唯願說一道／愍濟諸眾生(410c7).

[44] This description should be viewed as only provisional, however, since this translation of a *Saṁyuktāgama* is not complete.

[45] A major obstacle is posed by the fact that the majority of texts assigned to An Shigao in late medieval Chinese catalogues (and following them, by the Taishō editors) are wrongly attributed to him. An extended discussion of this issue, together with a list of texts that can be credited to An Shigao with confidence (including new manuscript finds from the Kongōji temple in Japan), is given in Nattier forthcoming. In the meantime see Zürcher 1991, especially pp. 298-298.

人行道一輩令行者從憂、懣、苦、不可意能得度滅亦致正法。何等為正法？為四意止。 (2.494a19-21)
If a person practices the *way which is single-leading*, it causes the practitioner to be able to attain liberation from sorrow, depression, suffering, and unpleasantness and to arrive at the True Dharma. And what is the True Dharma? It is the four stoppings of the mind (*smṛtyupasthānas*).

道一輩令得清淨，令得離憂、懣、苦、不可意，能得度滅，能致正法，能致四意止。 (2.494b4-6)
The *way which is single-leading* causes [living beings] to attain purification, causes to pass beyond sorrow, depression, suffering, and unpleasantness, enables them to attain liberation,[46] and enables them to attain the four stoppings of the mind.

This appears to be the sole instance of the *ekāyana* refrain in An Shigao's work, and since it occurs in connection with the four *smṛtyupasthānas* it cannot provide any new information about the contexts in which this refrain was used. The translation itself, however, is unique, and it may be the only one that reflects an understanding of the path as "leading to just one place," i.e., going to only one destination.

(4) The *Ekottarāgama* attributed to Gautama Saṁghadeva (T125, *Zengyi ahan jing* 增壹阿含經): *yiru dao* 一入道[47]

In this text—traditionally, but certainly wrongly, attributed to Gautama Saṁghadeva[48]—we again find the four *smṛtyupasthānas* translated as *si yi zhi* 四意止,

[46] Note the reversed binome here (*dumie* 度滅 rather than the usual 滅度). This reversed form occurs in two other An Shigao texts (T13, 1.236c3 and 240a10) and T14 (1.246a20), and in vanishingly few other texts in CBETA. Thus it might well be considered a fingerprint of An Shigao's translation activity, and therefore as additional support—in addition to the considerable evidence recently compiled by Paul Harrison (Harrison 2002)—for the idea that this *Saṁyuktāgama* anthology is An Shigao's work. On reversible binomes in Han-period translations see Zürcher 1979, especially p. 180.

[47] I would like to thank Paul Harrison for drawing the occurrences of this term to my attention.

[48] Wrongly, that is, if the attribution of the *Zhong ahan jing* (T26) to Gautama Saṁghadeva is correct. I first became suspicious of the attribution of the *Zengyi ahan jing* (T125) to Gautama Saṁghadeva when I noticed that it regularly appeared—unlike any of the other *āgama* collections—in searches for archaic translation terms used in the early third century CE in the works of Zhi Qian. A comparison with the other *āgama* collection attributed to Gautama Saṁghadeva, the *Zhong ahan jing* (T26, *Madhyamāgama*), quickly made it clear that these two works are extremely unlikely to have been produced by the same person. To choose only a few representative examples: the individual sūtras in T125 begin with the old introductory formula *wen rushi* 聞如是 "[I] heard as follows," introduced by An Shigao and maintained in general use until the time of Kumārajīva (who may have been responsible for introducing the now-standard *rushi wo wen* 如是我聞 "Thus have I heard"). T26, by contrast, uses a transitional form which never gained wide acceptance, *wo wen rushi* 我聞如是 "I heard as follows." To indicate the Buddha's location at the opening of each sūtra, T125 uses *zai* 在, while T26 uses *you* 遊. To translate the term *Jetavana* T26 uses *Shenglin* 勝林 (132 occurrences) while T125 has *Zhishu* 祇樹 (378 occurrences); there are no occurrences

using the wording pioneered by An Shigao. Indeed this is typical of the *Zengyi ahan jing*, for of all the four complete *āgama* collections in Chinese, its vocabulary and style are by far the most archaic. Using this translation term as our point of departure, we can again locate an occurrence of the *ekāyana* refrain.

In contrast to the texts we have examined up to now, here we find a quite literalistic etymological translation, i.e., "a single-entry way" (*yiru dao* 一入道). Clearly the translator interpreted *ekāyana* as consisting of *eka* "one" plus a form of *ā* + √*yā* understood as "to go in." The same derivation is reflected in the widely used early translation of the six *āyatana*s (i.e., the six sense organs) as *liu ru* 六入 "six entrances." What a "single-entry way" might be is not immediately obvious, and it is perhaps for this reason that here we also find, for the first time, a discussion of the meaning of the term, which may well be a commentarial gloss added during the translation process:

> 云何名為一入？所謂專一心，是謂一入。云何為道？所謂賢聖八品道。(2.568a4-6)
>
> What is "single entry"? "Single entry" means "single-mindedness."[49]
>
> What is the "Way"? It is the noble eightfold path.

This is the only occurrence of our refrain in the *Ekottarāgama*, and thus we have yet another example of an *āgama* collection in which the refrain occurs only in connection with the four *smṛtyupasthāna*s.

Ekāyana in context: Chinese and Pāli evidence

An examination of occurrences of the *ekāyana* refrain in Chinese sūtra translations has provided us with new evidence of two types: first, we can see a variety of ways in which *ekāyana mārga* has been translated into Chinese; and second, we now have an expanded list of contexts in which the refrain itself occurs. The translations we have been able to locate are the following:

(1) *yisheng dao* 一乘道 "a one-vehicle way" in Guṇabhadra's *Saṁyuktāgama*
(2) *yi dao* 一道 "a single way" in Gautama Saṁghadeva's *Madhyamāgama*
(3) (*wei you*) *yi dao* 唯(有)一道 "(there is) only one way" in the anonymous *Saṁyuktāgama*
(4) *yiru dao* 一入道 "a single-entry way" in the *Ekottarāgama* attributed to Gautama Saṁghadeva
(5) *dao yiqie* 道一切 "a way [which is] single-leading" in the *Saṁyuktāgama*

of *Shenglin* in T125 or of *Zhishu* in T26. For the six sense organs (*āyatana*s), T125 uses *liu ru* 六入 "six entrances"; this expression never occurs in T26, however, where *liu chu* 六處 "six places" (which never occurs in T125) is used instead. I have already documented the differences in the treatment of the names of the twelve divisions of scriptures (*aṅga*s) in these two texts (see the charts in Nattier 2004, pp. 193-194), and above we have seen that T26 renders *ekāyana mārga* as *yi dao* 一道, while T125 uses *yiru dao* 一入道. Examples could be multiplied *ad infinitum*, but the overall state of affairs is quite clear: the differences between the two texts are too great to be explained simply by positing that the translator changed his mind over the course of time, or even that the differences are due to the input of different translation committees.

[49] The term I have translated as "single-mindedness" (*yixin* 一心) is also one of the many Chinese

anthology which is probably the work of An Shigao

Of these choices at least two suggest an exclusivist reading of the term: *yi dao* "a single way" recalls the English translation used by I. B. Horner and Maurice Walshe ("this one way"), while *you wei yi dao* "there is just one way" echoes the wording of Mr. and Mrs. Rhys Davids ("the one and only path"). A similar understanding may be reflected in the translation *yiru dao* "a single-entry way," though it may be simply that the translator was mechanically reproducing what he believed to be the etymology of the term, leaving the commentator whose gloss follows the first use of the term to try to recover a meaningful understanding of it. The oldest translation, *dao yiqie* "a way [which is] single-leading," is difficult to interpret, but the most plausible interpretation might be "a path that leads to a single place"—that is, one that goes only to one destination. If this is correct, this would harmonize with Bhikkhu Bodhi's understanding of the term (following that of Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli) as meaning a "direct path" or "one-way path."

What then of Guṇabhadra's *yisheng dao* "one-vehicle way," with which we began our investigation? To understand this choice we need to expand our frame of reference in a different direction, i.e., to include other translations produced by Guṇabhadra. By doing so we notice immediately that the term *yisheng* 一乘 occurs in other works by this same translator, and in contexts where we can be quite sure that the underlying Indian term was *ekayāna* "one vehicle." This is the case, for example, in his translation of the *Śrīmālādevīsiṁhanāda-sūtra* (T353, *Shengman shizi hou yisheng dafangbian fangguang jing* 勝鬘師子吼一乘大方便方廣經), for example, where it occurs thirteen times (in addition to the occurrence in the title itself). It also occurs, again clearly in the sense of the "one vehicle," in a sūtra we have already encountered above: the *Aṅgulimāla-sūtra* (T120, *Yangjuemoluo jing* 央掘魔羅經), which in fact is another translation by Guṇabhadra. Thus while we might be tempted to try to make sense of Guṇabhadra's translation of *ekāyana* as meaning something like "a narrow path" (i.e., a path wide enough for only one vehicle), it seems far more likely that our initial impression of his choice is correct: that the translation of *ekāyana* as *yisheng dao* is simply a mistake. Conditioned by his exposure to the term *ekayāna* in Mahāyāna texts, and perhaps unfamiliar with the very rare word *ekāyana*, Guṇabhadra may well have assumed that his source-text was mistaken and emended it to read *ekayāna*, which he then rendered into Chinese using the by then well-established translation of *yisheng*.

The Chinese sources can also help us by providing an expanded range of sources in which the *ekāyana* formula occurs. Most numerous of all, not surprisingly, are occurrences in connection with the four *smṛtyupasthānas*, which we saw in three of Guṇabhadra's *Saṁyuktāgama* texts (T99[535, 607, and 1189]) as well as in Gautama Saṁghadeva's *Madhyamāgama* (T26[98]), an anonymous *Saṁyuktāgama* translation (T100[102]), an archaic *Saṁyuktāgama* anthology probably produced by An Shigao (T101), and the *Ekottarāgama* translation of uncertain authorship (T125[12.1]), as well as in a separately translated *Dīrghāgama* text, the **Janarṣabha-sūtra* (T9). This is also the sole context, of course, in which the *ekāyana* refrain occurs in the Pāli suttas (DN 22, MN10, and SN v.167-168). The Chinese *āgamas*, however, provide a range of other occurrences

as well. Here the refrain appears in connection with the four *ṛddhipādas* (T99[561], with three practices specified as morality, the four *dhyānas*, and knowing the Four Noble Truths (T99[563]), the Noble Eightfold Path (T9 and T26[189], with a focus on *samyaksamādhi* in the latter), a set of three dharma-teachings (T9), and the six *anusmṛtis* (T99[550]), the latter with a parallel in a Sanskrit fragment. Moreover, we can also add one more reference from the Pāli, for as Gethin points out, in the *Niddesa* (one of two commentaries included within the Pāli *tipiṭaka* as canonical), the *ekāyana* refrain is applied not just to the four *satipaṭṭhānas*, but to each of the seven sets of items belonging to the thirty-seven *bodhipakkhiyā dhammas*.[50] Thus here we find the refrain applied also to items we have seen mentioned in other sources, such as the four *ṛddhipādas* (Pāli *iddhipāda*) and the Noble Eightfold Path.

In considering the range of interpretations of *ekāyana* put forth by both Chinese and English translators—especially those who have used this refrain to argue that *satipaṭṭhāna* practice is the "one thing needed" in order to attain liberation—what is striking is that there is not one context of the use of the refrain where the practice in question is single. On the contrary, after stating that the Buddha has taught an *ekāyana mārga* that can purify living beings and so on, there regularly follows a question: "And what are the three (or four, or five, or six)?" A list of a group of practices—not just a single practice—then follows. This is true, of course, even in the Pāli suttas, where the refrain occurs only in connection with the set of four *satipatthānas*.

It seems clear, then, that given these contexts, to take the term *ekāyana* (at least in the context of the *ekāyana mārga* refrain, with which we are primarily concerned) as meaning the "sole" or "only" path is not only perverse, as Gethin has suggested, but simply wrong. The interpretation of *ekāyana mārga* as a "direct" path, or a path leading to a single goal (as suggested by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli and Bhikkhu Bodhi), is not impossible, but there may be another interpretation that fits the pattern of usage of this refrain even more closely. And here we may turn not to the commentaries by Buddhaghosa—which date from nearly a millennium after the time of the Buddha, and thus presumably at least several centuries after the sūtras themselves were composed—but to the uses of the term in more contemporary sources. In this respect non-Buddhist texts of approximately the same vintage may come closer to reflecting the meanings of the term in Pāli and other Prakrit sūtras than Buddhist commentaries composed centuries after the fact. There is no need to turn to esoteric sources for a solution, for even in an easily available reference work, Monier Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, we find some intriguing possibilities. Here the entry for *ekāyana* does include such definitions as "narrow path" and "only way," but it also points to two other possible interpretations: "a meeting-place" or "center of union" (in the *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa*), and "absorption in one" or "unity" (in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Chandogya Upaniṣad*). Indeed, the earliest meaning of the term, as attested in Vedic literature, was in reference to a confluence of rivers; this general meaning of "point of confluence, unification point" was maintained even as the original

[50] Gethin 2001, p. 59.

substantive form came to be used as an adjective with the word *mārga*.[51] While some uses of *ekāyana* in the sense of a sole (narrow or exclusive) path or way seem to be attested in non-Buddhist literature, the fundamental meaning of the term is the conjunction of originally separate elements.

It is the latter meaning, I would suggest, that informs the use of the term in the the *ekāyana* refrain, where it repeatedly occurs in discussions of practices grouped into sets. In such a context the best translation of *ekāyano maggo* might be "unified" or "integrated" path, i.e., a path consisting of a combination of practices. The fact that the term *ekāyana* can clearly also mean "direct, going straight to the goal" in some texts may well have given the refrain a deliberate multivalence: the various sets of practices are not only unified (i.e., compromising a set of activities to be undertaken), but they will take one directly to the goal.

Conclusions

By tracking the occurrences of the term *yisheng* 一乘 "one vehicle" in the *āgama* section of the Chinese Buddhist canon we have not located early evidence for the idea of "one vehicle" in non-Mahāyāna texts. On the contrary, we have identified a mistranslation of the Indic term *ekāyana-mārga* as *yisheng dao*. This evidence has, however, been unexpectedly useful, leading us to a range of occurrences of the *ekāyana* formula in contexts both paralleling and differing from those found in Pāli texts. As a result, we have been able to suggest that the elusive term *ekāyana* is being used in this refrain not in the sense of a sole or exclusive practice, but to refer to groups of practices that occur as a unified set.

In addition to contributing to an understanding of the Sanskrit and Prakrit term *ekāyana*, the Chinese materials examined in this paper may also provide additional evidence on the process of Buddhist textual transmission in India. A refrain that may originally have been associated with a single scripture (most likely a version of the *Satipaṭṭhāna-sutta*) may subsequently have been added as a gloss by preachers in one ordination lineage (e.g., the Sarvāstivāda) but not in others (e.g., the Theravāda) when commenting on other memorized texts discussing similar sets of practices.

None of the sources discussed above, of course, says anything at all about the "one vehicle" in the classic sense—that is, the idea that while the Buddha may have taught three different paths to enlightenment, only the bodhisattva path is real. Future searches by other scholars for occurrences of *yisheng* "one vehicle" in the Chinese Buddhist canon, however, may well draw our attention to other Chinese Buddhist translations—thus far unexamined in this context—in which this idea does indeed occur. The Buddhist canon is immense, and despite the voluminous and valuable contributions of our scholarly predecessors, there is much that remains to be done.

key words: *ekāyana, ekayāna, satipaṭṭhāna*

[51] I would like to thank Klaus Konrad for kindly forwarding this information (e-mail of 13 February 2007).

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A Fragment of the **Saṃbādhāvakāśasūtra* from a Newly Identified *Ekottarikāgama* Manuscript in the Schøyen Collection

Paul HARRISON

Description of the Fragment

A short discourse delivered by the Venerable Mahākātyāyana on the subject of the six commemorations (*anusmṛti*) is found both in the Pāli canon, in the Book of Sixes of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (Chakkanipāta, No. 26: A iii 314–317),[1] and in Guṇabhadra's 5th-century Chinese translation of the *Saṃyuktāgama* (T 99, *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經, No. 550: 2.143b18–144a27).[2] For the sake of convenience we refer to it in Sanskrit as the **Saṃbādhāvakāśasūtra*, taking our cue from Buddhaghosa,[3] even though such a title is unattested in Sanskrit, and no complete Sanskrit version of the text has hitherto been known. Now, however, the existence of a Sanskrit version of this text — or at least one closely related to it — is confirmed by fragments of a single palm-leaf folio in the Schøyen Collection. Long and thin, this folio bears four lines of writing on each side. The left end is now missing, and the remainder has broken into two sections (MS 2380/1/1 & 2380/1/2) which can, however, be neatly rejoined. What survives is in reasonably good condition, save for the breaking off of two small pieces along the lower edge, resulting in some loss of text on the bottom line of the recto and the top line of the verso. There is a single string hole towards the left end of the reconstituted folio; in order to accommodate it a space of about 3 akṣaras is left on all four lines. Of the text written in front of this space 8-11 akṣaras remain. From the reconstruction we can deduce that the missing left end of the folio would have carried another 7 or 8 akṣaras per line on the recto, as well as (presumably) the folio number in the left margin. On the verso the count of missing akṣaras appears to be a little higher (8 or 9), although abrasion

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[1] For an English translation see Hare 1934: 224.

[2] Note that in the Chinese SĀ the principle of organisation in this section seems to be that these are discourses delivered by disciples, Mahākātyāyana being the preacher of the series of *sūtra*s in which this one falls (Nos. 546–555).

[3] In his *Visuddhimagga* Buddhaghosa refers to and cites part of this text under the title *Sambādhokāsasutta* (PTS edition, p. 227; cf. Ñāṇamoli 1999: 223). In the Pāli *uddāna* for the relevant section of the *Aṅguttaranikāya* the text is referred to as *Kaccāna* (A iii 329), so we could also call it the *Kātyāyanasūtra* (but see below, n. 29).

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 201-211.
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of the writing at the beginning of some lines makes it harder to calculate.

The script in which the folio is written is a form of "Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I," which puts the date of the manuscript around the 6th century, although, as Lore Sander remarks (2000: 299–300), dating manuscripts written in this script is problematic, since we are not sure when it stopped being used. The scribal hand is compact and upright, with only a hint of a slant,[4] and the ductus is quite thick and ornate, indicating the use of a pen with a broad nib. The regularity of the handwriting and the relatively good condition of the palm-leaf support render the text easily legible.

A preliminary transliteration of the folio was made by Klaus Wille, and this was subsequently revised by Jens Braarvig and myself, after the text had been identified by Kazunobu Matsuda. I thank these colleagues for their initial contributions to the study of this fragment, which presents a transliteration of the folio (with further revisions), as well as a reconstruction, translation and discussion of the text in the light of its various parallels.[5]

Transliteration

MS 2380/1/1 + 2; recto

1 /// + + yate sma • ṣaḍ ime āyu ○ ṣmaṃtas tena bhagavatā jānatā paśyatā tathāgatenārhatā samyaksaṃbuddhena saṃbādhe avakāśe viśeṣādhigamā ākhyātā ekāyano mārgaḥ sa

2 /// ..[6] [ka]paridravāṇāṃ samatikkramā ○ ya duḥkhadaurmanasyānām astagamāya ny[ā]yasya[7] dharmasyādhigamāya katame ṣaṭ* ihāyuṣmaṃta āryaśrāvakaḥ tathāgatam ākārataḥ samanusmara

3 /// + + s tathāgato rhān samyaksaṃbu ○ ddhaḥ vidyācaraṇasaṃpannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamya[sā]rathiḥ śāstā devamanuṣyāṇāṃ buddho bhagavān* yasmin samaye āryaśrāvaka

4 /// + + rataḥ samanusmarati na ○ tasmin .. [ma]ye āryaśrāvakaḥ kāma[v]itarkaṃ [v]ita [r].. [y]. .i [•] .. .. vitarkaṃ na vihiṃsāvitarkaṃ vitarkayati • abhinirhṛtam evāyuṣmaṃtas ta

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[4] In this and in many other respects it is similar to, if not identical with, the script of some fragments identified as belonging to the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (Nos. 1 & 2 only) published in Wille 2002. See below, n. 30.

[5] The editorial conventions used in this paper are those of the BMSC series. Readers unfamiliar with these should note that square brackets in the Transliteration enclose damaged or not fully legible akṣaras, while parentheses in the Reconstruction set off text which is conjecturally restored. I thank Jens Braarvig for permission to publish this fragment here, and Jan Nattier, Lore Sander, Klaus Wille and Jin-il Chung for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper. I am also grateful to Konrad Klaus for his observations on the meaning of the term *ekāyana* (personal communication 13/2/2007).

[6] When the digital image is enlarged one can see traces of ink at the ends of two fibres of the palm leaf, indicating the remains of an akṣara.

[7] The lengthening of the *nyā* is not as clear here as it is in verso 3, and the following *y* is not doubled here either.

verso

1 /// .. vakasya cittaṃ bhavati yad uta ○ gardhāt* ..[8] + + [ṣa][9] āyuṣmaṃta ārye dharma[v]inaye [y]. ..[10] + + + ..[11] + + ..[12] ḥ sa evaṃ vigatagardho vigatavyāpādaḥ[13] upasthitasmṛtiḥ saṃprajānavihā

2 /// + .. [m]ārūḍho buddhānusmṛtiṃ bhā ○ vayati ayam āyuṣmaṃtas tena bhagavatā jānatā paśyatā tathāgatenārhatā samyaksaṃbuddhena saṃbādhe avakāśe viśeṣādhigama ākhyātaḥ ekāya

3 /// + .. [ddha]ye śokaparidravāṇāṃ sa ○ matikkramāya duḥkhadaurmanasyānām astaga[m]āya nyāyyasya dharmasyādhigamāya • punar apara[m]. yuṣmaṃta āryaśrāvako dharmam ākārataḥ samanusmarati

4 /// + + ..[14] dṛṣṭiko nirjvara ākā ○ lika aupanāyika aihidarśikaḥ pratyātmavedanīyo vijñaiḥ yasmin samaye āryaśrāvaka evaṃ dharmam ākārataḥ samanusmarati[15] pūrvvavat* na ta ..[i]

Reconstruction

(r1... āmaṃtra)yate sma ।

ṣaḍ ime āyuṣmaṃtas tena bhagavatā jānatā paśyatā tathāgatenārhatā samyaksaṃbuddhena saṃbādhe avakāśe viśeṣādhigamā ākhyātā ekāyano mārgaḥ sa(r2tvānāṃ viśuddhaye śo)kaparidravāṇāṃ samatikkramāya duḥkhadaurmanasyānām astagamāya nyāyasya dharmasyādhigamāya <।> katame ṣaṭ ।

ihāyuṣmaṃta āryaśrāvakaḥ tathāgatam ākārataḥ samanusmara(r3ti । iti hi sa bhagavāṃ)s tathāgato 'rhān samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ vidyācaraṇasaṃpannaḥ sugato lokavid anuttaraḥ puruṣadamyasārathiḥ śāstā devamanuṣyāṇāṃ buddho bhagavān । yasmin samaye āryaśrāvaka (r4 evaṃ tathāgatam ākā)rataḥ samanusmarati na tasmin (sa)maye āryaśrāvakaḥ kāmavitarkaṃ vitar(ka)y(at)i । (na vyāpāda)vitarkaṃ na vihiṃsāvitarkaṃ vitarkayati । abhinirhṛtam evāyuṣmaṃtas ta(v1smin samaye tasyāryaśrā)vakasya[16] cittaṃ bhavati yad

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[8] A tiny part of the front of the akṣara is visible. It could well be the initial loop of *ga*.

[9] Most of the akṣara here is visible, and it can hardly be anything else but *ṣa*.

[10] The remains of a hook below the akṣara can be seen, which at first sight looks like part of a subscript *ya*. However, the stroke appears to be tapering towards a point, so a subscript *u* is also possible. When the akṣaras *yad uta* are copied from earlier in the same line and superimposed on the digital image, the match is almost perfect.

[11] The remains of a blob of ink can be seen, indicating a subscript, or perhaps the bottom of *ka*.

[12] What is left of the akṣara is consistent with *ṇā*, several examples of which can be found elsewhere in the fragment (r2, r3), but there is too little left to be sure.

[13] There is a small mark above the *da*, which at first sight looks like an *e*. Closer inspection reveals that it is not.

[14] A small vestige of what could have been an *anusvāra* can be made out.

[15] There is a blob attached to the *sa* where the scribe has had difficulty forming the front point of the letter because of an irregularity in the surface of the palm leaf.

[16] The reconstruction of the missing text at the beginning of v1 is inspired by the Pāli parallel (*ujugatam*

uta gardhāt | (gardha e)ṣa āyuṣmaṃta ārye dharmavinaye yaduta paṃca kāmaguṇā)ḥ[17] <|> sa evaṃ vigatagardho vigatavyāpādaḥ upasthitasmṛtiḥ saṃprajānavihā(v2 rī + + + + + + sa)mārūḍho[18] buddhānusmṛtiṃ bhāvayati <|> ayam āyuṣmaṃtas tena bhagavatā jānatā paśyatā tathāgatenārhatā samyaksaṃbuddhena saṃbādhe avakāśe viśeṣādhigama ākhyātaḥ ekāya(v3no mārgaḥ satvānāṃ viśuddhaye śokaparidravāṇāṃ samatikkramāya duḥkhadaurmanasyānām astagamāya nyāyyasya dharmasyādhigamāya |

punar aparam (ā)yuṣmaṃta āryaśrāvako dharmam ākārataḥ samanusmarati (v4svākhyāto bhagavato dharmaḥ sāṃ)dṛṣṭiko nirjvara ākālika aupanāyika aihidarśikaḥ pratyātmavedanīyo vijñaiḥ <|> yasmin samaye āryaśrāvaka evaṃ dharmam ākārataḥ samanusmarati pūrvvavat | na ta(sm)i(n samaye ...)

Parallel Texts

Pāli: Aṅguttaranikāya (A iii 314–315)[19]

1. Tatra kho āyasmā Mahākaccāno bhikkhū āmantesi: Āvuso bhikkhavo ti. Āvuso ti kho te bhikkhū āyasmato Mahākaccānassa paccassosuṃ. Āyasmā Mahākaccāno etadavoca:

2. Acchariyaṃ āvuso abbhutaṃ āvuso, yāvañc'idaṃ tena Bhagavatā jānatā passatā arahatā sammāsambuddhena sambādhe okāsādhigamo anubuddho sattānaṃ visuddhiyā sokaparidevānaṃ samatikkamāya dukkhadomanassānaṃ atthaṅgamāya ñāyassa adhigamāya nibbānassa sacchikiriyāya, yad idaṃ cha anussatiṭṭhānāni. Katamāni cha?

3. Idhāvuso, ariyasāvako Tathāgataṃ anussarati 'itipi so bhagavā ... pe ... Satthā

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ev'assa tasmiṃ samaye cittaṃ hoti), which suggests *tasmin samaye* to help make up the 8 or so syllables required in the gap.

[17] The reconstruction here is more than usually tentative, since so little is left of the missing text, but the conjectured akṣaras would fit into the available space and line up with what vestiges remain (this was checked on the digital image by copying and pasting them all in from elsewhere in the manuscript). Both parallels have some explanation of the term *gardha* at this point in terms of the five "strands of sense-desire" or objects of the senses: Pāli: *gedho ti kho āvuso pañcann' etaṃ kāmaguṇānaṃ adhivacanaṃ*; Chinese: *Hedeng wei ranzhuoxin? Wei wu-yu gongde*. 何等為染著心。謂五欲功德 "What is mental attachment? It means the qualities of the five desires." For examples of definitions given with reference to the Buddha's teaching (*ārye dharmavinaye*), cf. the Sanskrit fragment — possibly of an *Ekottarikāgama* text, corresponding to A iv 428–432 — published as Kat.-Nr. 1326 in Wille 1989 (SHT 6).

[18] In the absence of a parallel Sanskrit text, the missing words cannot be restored with sufficient certainty. The Chinese version's *cheng yu zhi dao* 乘於直道 "mounting upon the direct road" suggests something like *vihā(rī ṛjukamārgasa)mārūḍho*, but this is two akṣaras short of the 9 we would expect here. That Guṇabhadra uses *zhi dao* 直道 to render what in the Pāli parallels is *ujumagga* is clear in other contexts (see T 99, No. 642, 2.182a11–22, esp. a15 = A i 23, Tika-nipāta, No. 84, Sekha; and T 99, No. 824, 2.211c1–12, esp. c5 = Itivuttaka 53, No. 62). (I thank Jan Nattier for drawing my attention to these passages.) However, although the noun *mārga* is safe enough, we cannot be sure what form of the adjective was used (*ṛju*, *ṛjuka*, *ārjava*), or whether adjective and noun were compounded with *samārūḍha*, or occurred separately with accusative or locative endings, or with the preposition *upari*, or were preceded by a demonstrative pronoun. The sandhi is similarly unpredictable.

[19] The text reproduced is the PTS edition.

devamanussānaṃ buddho Bhagavā' ti. Yasmiṃ āvuso samaye ariyasāvako Tathāgataṃ anussarati, nev'assa tasmiṃ samaye rāgapariyuṭṭhitaṃ cittaṃ hoti, na dosapariyuṭṭhitaṃ cittaṃ hoti, na mohapariyuṭṭhitaṃ cittaṃ hoti, ujugatam ev'assa tasmiṃ samaye cittaṃ hoti, nikkhantaṃ muttaṃ vuṭṭhitaṃ gedhamhā, gedho ti kho āvuso pañcann' etaṃ kāmaguṇānaṃ adhivacanaṃ. Sa kho so āvuso ariyasāvako sabbaso ākāsasamena cetasā viharati vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena abyāpajjena. Idam pi kho āvuso ārammaṇaṃ karitvā evamidhekacce sattā visuddhidhammā bhavanti.

4. Puna ca paraṃ āvuso ariyasāvako dhammaṃ anussarati 'svākkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo ... pe ... paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhī'ti. Yasmiṃ āvuso samaye ariyasāvako dhammaṃ anussarati, nev' assa tasmiṃ samaye rāgapariyuṭṭhitaṃ cittaṃ hoti, na dosapariyuṭṭhitaṃ cittaṃ hoti, na mohapariyuṭṭhitaṃ cittaṃ hoti, ujugatam ev'assa tasmiṃ samaye cittaṃ hoti, nikkhantaṃ muttaṃ vuṭṭhitaṃ gedhamhā, gedho ti kho āvuso pañcann' etaṃ kāmaguṇānaṃ adhivacanaṃ. Sa kho so āvuso ariyasāvako sabbaso ākāsasamena cetasā viharati vipulena mahaggatena appamāṇena averena avyāpajjhena. Idam pi kho āvuso ārammaṇaṃ karitvā evam idh'ekacce sattā visuddhidhammā bhavanti.

Chinese: T 99, *Za ahan jing* (= *Saṃyuktāgama*), No. 550, 2.143b18–c12

（五五〇）如是我聞。 一時佛住舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。爾時尊者摩訶迦旃延在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。 尊者摩訶迦旃延語諸比丘。

佛. 世尊. 如來. 應. 等正覺. 所知. 所見說六[20]法出苦處昇於勝處。說一乘道淨諸衆生。離諸惱苦。憂悲悉滅。得真如法。何等為六。

謂聖弟子念如來. 應. 等正覺所行法淨。如來. 應. 等正覺. 明行足. 善逝. 世間解. 無上士. 調御丈夫. 天人師. 佛. 世尊。聖弟子念如來. 應所行法故。離貪欲覺. 離瞋恚覺. 離害覺。如是。聖弟子出染著心。何等為染著心。謂五欲功德。於此五欲功德離貪. 恚. 癡。安住正念正智。乘於直道。修習念佛[21]。正向涅槃。是名如來. 應. 等正覺. 所知. 所見。說第一出苦處昇於[22]勝處。一乘道淨於衆生。離苦惱。滅憂悲。得如實法。

復次。聖弟子念於正法。念於世尊現法. 律。離諸熱惱。非時通達。即於現法。緣自覺悟。爾時聖弟子念此正法時。不起欲覺. 瞋恚. 害覺。如是聖弟子出染著心。何等為染著心。謂五欲功德。於此五欲功德離貪. 恚. 癡。安住正念正知。乘於直道。修習念法。正向涅槃。是名如來. 應. 等正覺. 所知. 所見說第二出苦處昇於勝處。一乘道淨於衆生。離苦惱。滅憂悲。得如實法。

Translation of the Reconstructed Sanskrit[23]

...he addressed (them): "Venerable Ones, the Lord, the one who knows, the one

[20] So read the Three Editions, against *yu* 於 of the other witnesses.

[21] Variant: *fo nian* 佛念.

[22] Three Editions omit *yu* 於.

[23] As above, parentheses enclose reconstructed text.

who sees, the Realized, Worthy and Perfectly Awakened One has proclaimed these six distinctive ways by which one finds open space in the crush,[24] which converge into one road (to the purification of living beings), to the overcoming of (grief) and misery, to the elimination of suffering and unhappiness, and to the attainment of the true dharma. What are the six?

In this regard, Venerable Ones, the Noble Hearer of the Word calls to mind the Realized One according to his aspects: (Indeed this Lord) is a Realized One, a Worthy One, a Perfectly Awakened One, One Perfected in Knowledge and Conduct, a Blessed One,[25] a Knower of Worlds, a Supreme Trainer of Men Amenable to Training, a Teacher of Gods and Human Beings, a Buddha and a Lord. When the Noble Hearer of the Word calls to mind (the Realized One in this way) according to his aspects, at that time the Noble Hearer of the Word does not think a lustful thought, does not think an (ill-intentioned) or hostile thought. The mind of (that Noble) Hearer of the Word, Venerable Ones, becomes completely freed (at that time), namely, from greed. (This is greed,) Venerable Ones, in the Noble Teaching and Training, (namely, the five strands of sense desire.) In this way he, being free of greed, free of ill-will, with mindfulness established, remaining fully aware, having taken to (the direct road),[26] cultivates the calling to mind of the Buddha. This, Venerable Ones, is a distinctive way which the Lord, the one who knows, the one who sees, the Realized, Worthy and Perfectly Awakened One has proclaimed, by which one finds open space in the crush, which converges into one (road to the purification of living beings), to the overcoming of grief and misery, to the elimination of suffering and unhappiness, and to the attainment of the true dharma.

Furthermore, Venerable Ones, the Noble Hearer of the Word calls to mind the Teaching according to its aspects: (the Teaching of the Lord is Well Proclaimed), is Evident at Once, is Free of Burning Pain, is Immediate,[27] is Onward-leading, is Open to View,[28] and is Directly Knowable by the Wise. When in this way the Noble Hearer of the Word calls to mind the Teaching according to its aspects, it is as before: at that (time) ... not ...

Discussion

It can be seen from the Chinese and Pāli parallels that our Sanskrit fragment sets

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[24] For an explanation of this reading of the phrase *saṃbādhe avakāśe viśeṣādhigamā*, see below.

[25] "Blessed One" is used here to translate Sanskrit *sugata*.

[26] This translation reflects the Chinese parallel, even though the wording of the Sanskrit cannot be restored with certainty. See above, n. 18.

[27] Although it is tempting to translate *ākālika* as "timeless," this would be a misleading rendition. The sense is rather that the Dharma yields its results in no time at all. Here, as elsewhere, I lean on Buddhaghosa's interpretation of the formula.

[28] The form *aibidarśika* seen here is not found elsewhere. BHSD gives *ebipaśyika* or *aibipaśyika*, cf. Pāli *ebipassika*. Some mss of the *Arthaviniścayasūtra* have the form *ibapaśyaka* (see Samtani 1971: 45, n. 8).

in just after the *nidāna*, at the point where Mahākātyāyana addresses his fellow *bhikṣus*, and that it contains, along with his introductory words, the complete description of the first of the six *anusmṛtis* and about half of the second. We cannot of course tell exactly how the beginning of the sūtra would have run, although the *nidāna* itself appears fairly predictable,[29] but we can infer that it would have occupied no more than two lines at the bottom of the verso of the preceding folio. This means our sūtra was not copied alone. As it happens, the Schøyen Collection contains a handful of other palm-leaf fragments in the same script and format as our sūtra, the contents of which are organized numerically. There can be little doubt that they belong together, and that they represent the scattered remains of an *Ekottarikāgama* manuscript of unknown *nikāya* affiliation, in which our sūtra was one amongst many.[30]

In terms of content, the fit of the Sanskrit text with the Chinese translation of the Saṃyuktāgama—presumably a (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin recension—is somewhat better than with the Pāli *Aṅguttaranikāya* version (*Theravādin*), but it is far from exact: there are many significant differences. One of these is the order of terms in the section on *dharmānusmṛti*, where the text underlying the Chinese, to use the Sankrit equivalents, appears to have been something like *svākhyāto bhagavato dharmavinayo nirjvara ākālikaḥ sāṃdṛṣṭikaḥ pratyātmavedanīyo vijñaiḥ*. Cf. the Pāli order, as, e.g., at D iii 5: *svākkhāto bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi*. Whether this order has any implications for nikāya affiliation is not clear, but we note that the order of terms in our fragment matches that in a fragment from the Turfan finds (see Sander & Waldschmidt 1980: 256).[31] The *dharmānusmṛti* formula occurring in the *Mahāvastu* is rather different: like the Chinese, it has *dharmavinaya* instead of *dharma* alone, but otherwise it matches the sequence of terms in the Pāli, and *nirjvara* is not part of it.[32] It is not clear whether on this basis a Mahāsāṃghika affiliation for our fragment can be ruled out.[33] The form *aihidarśika* which appears in it is, to my knowledge, found nowhere else, and may also be significant in this regard.

The formulas for *buddhānusmṛti* and *dharmānusmṛti* are, of course, widely attested

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[29] I say "appears" advisedly, since we would only be assuming that the discourse is set in the Jetavana, just as we assume that the speaker in this version is Mahākātyāyana. This assumption rests on the parallels: there is nothing in our fragment to support it.

[30] Most of the fragments in question appear to belong to the Ṣaṭka- and Saptaka-nipātas. Their full treatment must await another occasion. Furthermore, it is even possible that several pieces in the Schøyen Collection previously identified as *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (see above, n. 4) may also turn out to be part of the Saptaka- and Aṣṭaka-nipātas of the same collection (although it could well have extracted them from the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* in the first place). Interestingly, there is only a partial match between these fragments and the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarikāgama* (T 125 *Zengyi aban jing* 增壹阿含經), which many scholars ascribe to the Mahāsāṃghikas. Our sūtra, for example, does not appear in T 125.

[31] Kat. Nr. 623, also published in Schlingloff 1964: 174 & 179, in connection with the famous "Yogalehrbuch" from Kyzil, the wording of which is similar as far as the two formulas is concerned.

[32] The wording of the text (Senart's edition, Vol. II, 200.9-11) runs: *svākhyāto ... tathāgatasyārhataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya dharmavinayaḥ sāṃdṛṣṭika ākāliko ehipaśyikaḥ aupanayikaḥ pratyātmavedayitavyaḥ vijñaiḥ*.

[33] Such an affiliation has been suggested for certain other texts in the Schøyen Collection. See also n. 30.

in presentations of the *anusmṛtis*, in whatever number they are given, from three to ten.[34] Of greater interest here is the frame in which they are set, constructed by weaving together a number of elements, among them what we might call the *ekāyana* formula. For a discussion of this I refer the reader to the paper by Jan Nattier in this volume (Nattier 2007). Here I take *ekāyana* — Guṇabhadra's *yisheng dao* 一乘道 (one-vehicle way) — to mean "confluent" or "converging to form one [stream, road, etc.]." As Nattier shows, however, there is more than one way (!) of interpreting this term. One alternative is to read *ekāyana* as describing a road which goes in one direction only, i.e. straight to its end. This understanding is possibly supported by Guṇabhadra's use of *zhi dao* 直道 (straight or direct way) at a different point in the passage. Unfortunately the relevant portion of the Sanskrit text is lost and cannot be reconstructed with any certainty. In any case one sense may well imply the other: all paths converge to form the highway on which one travels straight to one's destination.

The other principal element of note here is the expression *saṃbādhe avakāśe viśeṣādhigama*,[35] which obviously parallels the Pāli *sambādhe okāsādhigamo*, and is matched more closely by the Chinese *chu kuchu sheng yu shengchu* 出苦處昇於勝處, literally, "to get out of a place of hardship and ascend to a superior place."[36] Here I am inclined to agree with Jan Nattier (Nattier 2007, p. 188, n. 27) that two distinct expressions, *saṃbādhe avakāśādhigama* (loosely, [way of] finding open space in a crowded or tight spot, i.e., a crush, or more colloquially, getting out of a jam) and *viśeṣādhigama* (attainment of distinction), have been telescoped together.[37] Neither of these expressions is completely straightforward in itself. *Viśeṣādhigama* is often translated "specific attainment" (see, e.g., BHSD, s.v. *viśeṣādhigama*, or PTSD, s.v. *visesa*), even though in fact no specific attainment is intended: from the contexts in which it is used the term seems to refer to any distinction or success in meditation or spiritual practice, in which case it would seem to be better translated "attainment of distinction." Such an attainment admits of degrees, since it can even be described, as it is several times in the Pāli canon, as outstanding (*uḷāra*) or "trifling" or "insignificant" (*oramattaka*). So far so good, but when this concept is combined with *saṃbādhe avakāśādhigama* our problems begin. The Pāli equivalent *sambādhe okāsādhigamo* is, for example, rendered by Bhikkhu Ñāṇamoli as "realization of the wide-open in the crowded [house life]" in his translation of Buddhaghosa's brief citation of the Pāli parallel to our text in his *Visuddhimagga* (see Ñāṇamoli 1999: 223–224). Indeed, as we have noted, Buddhaghosa even refers to the text as the *Sambādhokāsā-sutta*.[38] A similar

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[34] For details, see, e.g., Lamotte 1970: 1329-1430. For Sanskrit versions of the formulas for *buddha-* and *dharmānusmṛti* see also *Arthaviniścayasūtra*, §21: *catvāri srotaāpattyaṅgāni* (Samtani 1971).

[35] Cited here without sandhi applied, as in our manuscript.

[36] The use of *sheng* 勝 indicates that the element *viśeṣa* was present in the Indic text underlying this translation.

[37] I thank Jan Nattier for generously sharing her thoughts with me on this question, and for pointing me in the direction of many of the text references discussed below.

[38] He refers to the preceding text in the *Aṅguttaranikāya* (A iii 312-314), which also presents the six *anussati* and has similar wording, as the *Gedha-sutta* (Pāli *gedha* = Sanskrit *gardha*).

usage appears at Vism 371 (Ñāṇamoli 1999: 367: "arriving at wide open [conditions] in crowded [circumstances]"). Elsewhere in the Vism, however, *saṃbādha* is clearly used as an adjective to qualify *okāsa*, i.e. *okāsa* is not open space, but a space which can be described as cramped or crowded (see pp. 278, 279, and esp. 598). Whether this is a later Pāli use is not clear, but passages elsewhere in the Pāli canon reflect only the first of Buddhaghosa's two interpretations. See, e.g., A iv 426 and D ii 214 (*okāsādhigama* only). Especially important is the *Pañcālacaṇḍa-sutta* at A iv 449–451 (Navaka-nipāta, No. 42), in which *saṃbādha* (translated here by Hare as "the noose") is identified in the first instance with the five "strands of sense-desire" (*pañca kāmaguṇā*), i.e. the objects of the five senses, and *saṃbādhe okāsādhigamo* (Hare: "a way of escape from the noose") is identified with the *jhānas*.[39] Also of relevance is the comparison, e.g., at M i 179, between the household life as crowded (*saṃbādha*) and dusty, and going forth (*pabbajjā*) as the open air (*abbhokāsa*).[40] Thus we might conclude that, though the two terms *saṃbādha* and *okāsa* were not always understood as polar opposites, at least not by Buddhaghosa, they are generally contrasted in Pāli. Further, the case relationship in *okāsadhigama/avakāśādhigama* is presumably accusative (or rather, genitive standing for accusative). Armed with this information, how then are we to interpret *saṃbādhe avakāśe viśeṣādhigama* in our text? Are we to take *saṃbādhe* as an adjective qualifying *avakāśe*, thus "attainment of distinction in a cramped or crowded space,"[41] or are both of them nouns in the locative case, with *avakāśa* now only loosely connected to *adhigama*, but in the locative since it is attached to the element *viśeṣa*, thus "attainment of distinction with regard to open space [= distinctive attainment of open space] in crowded and cramped circumstances"? The second interpretation is admittedly a little awkward grammatically, but seems more in keeping with the opposed nature of the two terms, and with the way in which they are used in the Pāli parallel to our Sanskrit text. Thus our translation—"distinctive ways by which one finds open space in the crush"—reflects it. However, there are other ways of construing the phrase, one of which is based on the fact that *viśeṣa* in the sense of distinction or difference between two things can take two locatives.[42] The precise sense of this expression may indeed require further reflection,

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[39] A related *sutta* containing only the *devaputra* Pañcālacaṇḍa's verse and the Buddha's verse in reply appears at S i 48. Unlike the longer text, this one has Chinese counterparts. In T 99, *Za ahan jing* (= *Saṃyuktāgama*), No. 1305: 2.358b26–c8, *saṃbādha* is rendered *kuiluan zhi chusuo* 憒亂之處所, "a place of dazed confusion." In T 100, *Bie za ahan jing* (= *Saṃyuktāgama*), No. 304: 2.477a20–b3, on the other hand, a more interpretative rendition links *saṃbādha* to the household life, and *avakāśa* to renunciation: *zaijia chan zhong-wu, chujia shen kuanbo* 在家纏衆務　出家甚寬博, "the household life is entanglement in many affairs, going forth is very spacious and wide." Bhikkhu Bodhi (2000: 142–143) translates the first two pādas of the Pāli (*sambādhe vata okāsaṃ || avindi bhūrimedhaso ||*) as "The one of broad wisdom has indeed found / The opening in the midst of confinement."

[40] Cf. BHSD, s.v. *abhyavakāśa*.

[41] This is how Nattier (2007: 188) interprets *saṃbādhe avakāśe*, as "in a crowded place," which she takes as modifying *ākhyātā* rather than being attached to *viśeṣādhigama*. The problem with this rendition, in my view, is that it removes the sense of escape or relief from difficulty, which is clearly present in the Chinese translation.

[42] See Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *viśeṣa*. In this light the phrase *saṃbādhe*

but however we understand it, we should perhaps not equate *saṃbādha* solely with the household life,[43] but with all human existence, in which consciousness is continually beset by the throng of sense impressions, like a person lost in the middle of a crowd and swept this way and that. *Anusmṛti* practice, then, helps one find a space in this crush, by replacing the impressions of the senses with purifying thoughts. In the mental space thus cleared, mindfulness, the *dhyānas*, and the attainment of spiritual distinction are then possible.

One other aspect of our text worth drawing attention to here is the use of the term *gardha*, "greed," and its identification with the five strands of sense-desire (*pañca kāmaguṇāḥ*). The linkage is one we find in some of the Pāli texts cited above. Although the Pāli form *gedha* seems to be well attested (see PTSD, s.v.), the word *gardha* appears very rarely in Buddhist Sanskrit texts.[44] In our fragment it functions as an overarching term for attachment to the objects of the senses, which the practice of the *anusmṛtis* counteracts. More specifically, calling to mind or commemorating the Buddha, Dharma, Saṃgha, etc. also helps the practitioner eliminate three types of thought or states of mind. In our fragment these states are desire (*kāma*), ill-will (*vyāpāda*) & cruelty or the desire to do harm (*vihiṃsā*), whereas in the Pāli version the three are passion, hatred and ignorance (*rāga*, *dosa*, *moha*). The terms in the Chinese are not clear, although the last must also be *vihiṃsā*. Thus we see in this little sūtra another indication of the purpose to which the *anusmṛti* were put, i.e. to eliminate unwholesome states of mind and purify consciousness (cf. Harrison 1992, esp. 217–218).

Abbreviations

A	*Aṅguttaranikāya*.
BHSD	Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Vol. II: Dictionary (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).
BMSC	Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection.
D	*Dīghanikāya*.
M	*Majjhimanikāya*.
PTS	Pāli Text Society.
PTSD	T. W. Rhys Davids & William Stede, eds., *Pali-English Dictionary* (London: Pali Text Society, 1921–1925).
S	*Saṃyuttanikāya*.
SĀ	*Saṃyuktāgama*.
SHT	Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden.
T	J. Takakusu & K. Watanabe, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*, 100 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō

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avakāśe viśeṣādhigama might be interpreted as "[way of] discovering the difference between a crowded situation and open space."

[43] *Pace* Ñāṇamoli, since Saṃgha members engaging in the practice our text recommends have already left the household life behind them.

[44] In fact a search of electronic versions of a number of major texts (*Mahāvastu*, *Divyāvadāna*, *Samādhirāja*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, and those parts of the *Pañcaviṃśati* edited by Kimura) did not turn up a single occurrence.

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An Old Tibetan Translation of the Lotus Sutra from Khotan
The Romanised Text Collated with the Kanjur Version (3)*

Seishi KARASHIMA

(ga 18a1) [꣸] (//) [•→1•] [] [1] [2•d(e)→2•] ['(i)] 'gr[o] ba d[e]r [] [•2←•] *'gr[o] st[e]* // [3] [•1←gang *g(i)s* ch(o)s *smra spangs pa'o* //] d[e] skad ces *gsold* nas MDUNG CAN [4]*las stsogs pa*' [//] [5]«'»*bar ba* mo de dag g(is) //

Kanjur (KN.402.10; T. 189b3; J. 163a5; S. 223a4; Ph. 364a4; B. 202b1; Pk. 170a3; N. 230b1; D. 149a2; C. 175b4; L. 235b1) " .... *gang zhig chos smra 'gal bgyid pa // srang la g-yo bgyid 'gro gang dang // bre 'chos 'gro ba gang lags pa'i // 'gro ba* [6]*der ni de mchi'o*[7] // (= 4)" *de skad ces gsol* (S.223a5) *nas / MDUNG CAN la sogs pa*[8] *srin mo de dag gis*

(ga 18a2) bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad [] gsol to // bcom ldan '[das] bdag cag gis [•→•] *de* lta bu['i] [•←chos smra ba] «de dag» [] bsrung bar bgyi'o // [9]*dge «ba» bskyed pa* da[ng] /

Kanjur: *bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad ces gsol to // "bcom ldan 'das! bdag cag gis kyang chos smra*

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* I should like to express my heartfelt gratitude to Dr. Hakan Wahlquist, Senior Curator for Asia in the Museum of Ethnography, Stockholm, who provided me with coloured slides of the old Tibetan manuscript from Khotan and forwarded the Museum's permission to me for its publication. My deep thanks are due as well to Ms. Naoko Sato (佐藤直子), Ms. Mayumi Asai (浅井万友美), Ms. Shiho Ebihara (海老原志穂), Mr. Iwao Ishikawa (石川巖) and Mr. Jundō Nagashima (長島潤道) who took great trouble in looking over my transliterations of the Tibetan versions and pointed out various errors.

[1] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *srang la g-yo bgyid 'gro gang dang // bre 'chos 'gro ba gang lags pa'i //.* The parallel to this Tib. Kanj. passage must have been written in the preceding folio of the manuscript which is now lost.

[2] *d(e) '(i) 'gr[o] ba d[e]r 'gr[o] st[e]* : Tib. Kanj. *'gro ba der ni de mchi'o*; KN.402.11. *tāṃ gatiṃ pratigacched* (*v.l. °cchеyā*) *yo.* Cf. ItS. 110.

[3] *gang g(i)s ch(o)s smra spangs pa'o* : Tib. Kanj. *gang zhig chos smra 'gal bgyid pa*; KN.402.11. *dharmabhāṇakam atikramet.* Cf. ItS. 110.

[4] *las stsogs pa'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *la sogs pa*; KN.402.12. (*Kunti-*)*pramukhā.*

[5] *'bar ba mo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *srin mo*; KN.402.12. *rākṣasī~.* Cf. Tib. Kho. ga 18a3. *'[ba]r «ba» mo.*

[6] *der ni de* : Ph. *de ni der* (s.e.).

[7] *mchi'o* : Pk, C. *'chi'o.*

[8] *pa* : S, T. om. (w.r.); Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[9] *dge «ba» bskyed pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bde legs su 'gyur ba dang*; KN.402.13. *svastyayana~.*

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 213-324.
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ba 'di lta bu de[10] *dag la*[11] *bsrung*[12] *bar* (S.223a6) *bgyi'o // bde legs su 'gyur ba dang //*

(ga 18a3) chad pa spang ba dang / [13]dug *bstsal* bar bgyi'o // de skad [] *gsold* [pa] dang // bcom ldan 'das *gyis* [14]*'[ba]r «ba»* mo [d]e dag la 'di skad [] bka' stsal to //

Kanjur: *chad pa spang ba dang*[15] */ dug gzhil*[16] *bar bgyi'o" // de skad ces gsol*[17] *pa*[18] *dang / bcom ldan 'das kyis srin mo de dag la* (S.223a7) [19]*'di skad ces bka'*[20] *stsal*[21] *to*[22] *//*

(ga 18a4) "kye [23]*grogs rnams*! [•→•] khyed *gyis* [gang] chos ○ smra [ba] de da[g] la / bsrung ba dang bs[ky]ab pa (da)ng sba ○ *bar bya'* [] [•←•][24]dge'o dge'o.•] // gang *gi[s]*

Kanjur: *"*[25]*kye ï srin mo dag! legs so legs so // khyed*[26] *kyis*[27] *chos*[28] *smra ba de dag la* (KN.403) *bsrung*[29] *ba dang / bskyab*[30] *pa dang / sba* [31]*ba gyis shig / gang dag*

(ga 18a5) [•→•] chos kyi *gzhung* 'di *la* [•←•][32]chung du na.•] mying tsam ○ 'dzin [pa] de dag [] *gyang* / mdung can khy[o]d 'khor dang ○ bcas pas bsrung bar bya na //

Kanjur: *tha na*[33] *chos kyi rnam* (S.223b1) *grangs 'di'i ming tsam 'dzin pa*[34] *de dag la yang*[35]

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[10] *de* : Ph. *'di*.

[11] *la* : B, Pk. om. (s.e.; = Tib. Kho.).

[12] *bsrung* : S. *srung* (s.e.).

[13] *dug bstsal bar* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *dug gzhil bar*; KN.402.13. *viṣa-dūṣaṇaṃ* (*kariṣyāma*).

[14] *'[ba]r «ba» mo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *srin mo*; KN.402.14. *rākṣasī~*. Cf. n. 5.

[15] *dang* : B. om. (s.e.).

[16] *gzhil* : Ph. *bzhil* (s.e.).

[17] *gsol* : Ph. *gsal* (s.e.).

[18] *pa* : B. *ba*.

[19] *'di skad ces* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[20] *bka'* : T. om. (s.e.).

[21] *stsal* : T. *gsol* (s.e.).

[22] *to* : Ph. *pa* (s.e.).

[23] *grogs rnams* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *srin mo dag*; KN.402.14. *bhaginyo*.

[24] *dge'o dge'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs so legs so*; KN.402.14. *sādbu sādbu*.

[25] *kye ï srin mo dag* : B, Pk. *kye'i srin mo dag* (s.e.); Ph. *kyai srin mo dag* (s.e.). Cf. Tib. Kho. *kye grogs rnams*; KN.402.14. *bhaginyo*.

[26] *khyed* : D. *khyod*.

[27] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[28] *chos* : S. *«[ch]o(s)»*.

[29] *bsrung* : S, T. *srung* (w.r.).

[30] *bskyab* : Ph, Pk. *skyab* (s.e.).

[31] *ba gyis* : Ph. *bar bgyis* (s.e.).

[32] *chung du na* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tha na*; KN.403.1. *antaśas*.

[33] *na* : B. *ni* (s.e.).

[34] *pa* : J. *ba* (s.e.).

MDUNG CAN khyod 'khor dang bcas pas bsrung bar bya na /

(ga 18a6) gang *gis* chos kyi *gzhung* 'di [36]*thams cad rdzog* ○ *pa pa[r]* 'dzin pa (da)ng / glegs bam du byas te / rim *gro* byed pa dang / [37]*me*{{*n*}} tog dang bdu[g] (pa)

Kanjur: *gang dag chos kyi rnam grangs 'di mtha' dag chub par 'dzin pa*[38] *dang / glegs bam* (S.223b2) *du byas te / rim gro*[39] *byed pa dang / me*[40] *tog dang / bdug pa*

(ga 18a7) dang / *dri*[41] dang / *phreng* ba dang / byug pa dang / phye ma dang / na bza' dang / gdugs dang rgyal mtshan dang / lha'i ba dan dang / *til*[42] gyi mar mye dang / mar gyi mar mye [dang] /

Kanjur: *dang / spos dang / 'phreng*[43] *ba dang / byug pa dang / phye ma dang / na bza' dang / gdugs dang / rgyal mtshan dang / lha'i ba* (S.223b3) *dan dang / 'bru mar gyi*[44] *mar me dang*[45] */* [46]*mar gyi mar me*[47] *dang*[48] */*

(ga 18a8) [spos mar] gyi mar mye dang / tsam pa ka'i mar gyi mar mye *dang* / [49]bar [*shi*] ka'i mar gyi mar mye *dang* / [50]*ud dpal la'i* mar gyi mar mye *dang* / [51]*su ma na 'i* mar gyi mar mye *dang* //

Kanjur: *spos mar gyi*[52] *mar me dang*[53] / [54]*tsam pa ka'i* [55]*mar gyi*[56] *mar me 'am / bar sha*

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[35] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[36] *thams cad rdzog pa par* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mtha' dag chub par*; KN.403.2. *sakala-samāptaṃ*.

[37] *me{{n}} tog* : the character "n" was erased. For the archaic form *men tog*, see Karashima 2006: 102, n. 180.

[38] *pa* : S. *par* (s.e.).

[39] *gro* : S, T. *gror* (w.r.).

[40] *me* : Pk. *ma* (s.e.).

[41] *dri* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *spos*; KN.403.3. *-gandha-*.

[42] *til* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'bru mar*; KN.403.3. *taila-*.

[43] *'phreng* : = T; the other Kanjurs read *phreng* instead (= Tib. Kho.).

[44] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[45] *dang* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *'am* instead; cf. KN.403.3. (*tailapradīpair*) *vā*.

[46] *mar gyi mar me dang* : T. om. (s.e.).

[47] *me* : J. *mi* (s.e.).

[48] *dang* : = Tib. Kho.; T. om. (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *'am* instead; cf. KN.403.4. (*ghṛtapradīpair*) *vā*.

[49] *bar [shi] ka'i* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bar sha ka'i*; KN.403.4. *vārṣika-*.

[50] *ud dpal la'i* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *u-tpa la'i*; KN.403.4. *utpala-*.

[51] *su ma na 'i* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sna ma'i*; KN.403.4. *sumanā-*.

[52] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[53] *dang* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *'am* instead; cf. KN.403.4. (*gandhatailapradīpair*) *vā*.

[54] *tsam pa ka'i* : N, L. *tsam-pa ka'i*.

[55] *mar gyi* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

ka'i[57] [58]*mar gyi mar me 'am*[59] / [60]*u-tpa la'i mar gyi mar me 'am* / (S.223b4) *sna ma'i*[61] *mar gyi mar me 'am* /

(ga 18b1) de lta bu'i mchod pa'i yo byad rnam pa mang po *brgya'* stong gis rim *'gro* byed pa lta *ji* smos []" // []"[62] gZUNGS SNGAGS *gyi* le 'u 'di bshad pa *na'* / srog chags [63]*stong phrag drug cu rtsa*

Kanjur (KN.403.5; T. 190a2; J. 163b2; S. 223b4; Ph. 364b3; B. 202b8; Pk. 170b1; N. 231a1; D. 149a6; C. 176a3; L. 236a1) *de lta bu'i mchod pa'i yo byad*[64] *rnam pa mang po brgya*[65] *stong gis*[66] *rim gro byed pa lta ci smos te / MDUNG CAN! khyod* [67]*'khor dang bcas pas bsrung bar bya'o*[68]" // *gZUNGS* (S.223b5) *SNGAGS kyi le'u 'di bshad pa na / srog chags drug khri*

(ga 18b2) *brgyad* myi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa thob par gyur*d* to // gZUNGS SNGAGS *gyi* le 'u zhes bya ste nyi shu rtsa gcig *go* /: :/ de nas [*→1*] [*→2*] sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [69][] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* {/} MNGON

Kanjur: *brgyad*[70] *stong mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa thob par gyur to* // [71]*gZUNGS SNGAGS kyi le'u zhes bya ste / nyi shu rtsa gcig pa'o* // (S.223b6) (KN.404) // *de nas bcom ldan 'das la byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[72] *RGYAS PA MNGON*

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[56] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[57] *bar sha ka'i* : S. *ba sha ka'i* (s.e.); T, Ph, B, D. *par sha ka'i* (s.e.); cf. KN.403.4. *vārṣika-*; Tib. Kho. *bar shi ka'i*.

[58] *mar gyi* : T, Ph. om. (s.e.).

[59] *'am* : T. *dang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[60] *u-tpa la'i* : = N, L; J, Ph, B, Pk, C, D. *ud pa la'i* (s.e.); T. *a-tpa la'i* (s.e.). Cf. Tib. Kho. *ud dpal la'i*; KN.403.4. *utpala-*.

[61] *sna ma'i* : S, T. *snang ba'i* (s.e.); cf. KN.403.4. *sumanā-*.

[62] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *MDUNG CAN! khyod 'khor dang bcas pas bsrung bar bya'o* = KN.403.5f. *te tvayā Kunti saparivārayā rakṣitavyāḥ*.

[63] *stong phrag drug cu rtsa brgyad* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *drug khri brgyad stong*; KN.403.7. *aṣṭāṣaṣṭīnāṃ (prāṇi-)sahasrāṇāṃ*.

[64] *byad* : Ph. *byed* (s.e.).

[65] *brgya* : Pk. *brkya* (s.e.).

[66] *gis* : Ph. *gi* (s.e.).

[67] *'khor dang bcas pas* : = T; J, Ph, B, Pk, N, D, C, L. *g-yog dang bcas pas*; cf. KN.403.6. *saparivārayā*.

[68] *bya'o* : Ph. *bgyi'o*.

[69] *kun du rgyas pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *me tog kun tu rgyas pa*; KN.404.1. *(Nakṣatrarāja-)saṃkusumita-(abhijña-)*.

[70] *brgyad* : Ph. *brgya* (s.e.).

[71] *gZUNGS SNGAGS kyi le'u zhes bya ste* : = T, Ph (≒ Tib. Kho.); J, B, Pk, N, D, C, L. *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA* (B, N, L. *pad-ma*) *DKAR PO las gZUNGS SNGAGS kyi le'u zhes bya* (D. *bya ba* [s.e.]) *ste*.

[72] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

(ga 18b3) BAR SHES PA' / ⌈*2←byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos*⌋ // ⌈*1←bcom ldan 'das la⌋ '(d)i skad ▯ gsol to // bcom ldan 'das *ji* 'i slad du ⌈na'⌋ / ⌈*sMAN GYI RGYAL PO→*⌋ byang *cub*

Kanjur: *PAR SHES PAS 'di skad ces gsol to // "bcom* (S.223b7) *ldan 'das*[73]*! ci'i slad du / byang chub*

(ga 18b4) sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po / ⌈*←*⌋ ⌈*MYI MJED→*⌋ ⌈gyi⌋ 'jig ○ rten gyi [74]*'khams* ⌈*←*⌋ 'di *na*' / *gnas*[75] *shing* ▯[76] ▯ dka' ba [77]*spyod ba*' / ○ bye ba khrag khrig *brgya*' stong mang po dag ▯ //

Kanjur: *sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po sMAN GYI*[78] *RGYAL PO 'jig rten gyi*[79] *khams MI MJED*[80] *'di na rgyu ba*[81] *dang / bcom ldan 'das! 'di'i*[82] *dka' ba bgyid pa bye ba* (S.224a1) *khrag khrig brgya stong mang po dag gda*[83]*? /*

(ga 18b5) bcom ldan 'das gang thos pas / lha dang klu dang / ○ gnod s(by)in dang dri za dang / lha ma yin dang / *nam ka* lding dang / ○ myi 'am ci dang / lto 'phye chen po dang / myi dang

Kanjur: *bcom ldan 'das! gang*[84] *thos pas lha dang / klu dang / gnod sbyin dang / dri za dang / lha ma yin dang / nam mkha' lding* (S.224a2) *dang / mi 'am ci dang / lto 'phye chen po dang / mi dang*

(ga 18b6) myi ma yin *ba* ▯ dang / 'jig rten gyi *()khams* gzhan nas lhags pa'i / bya(ng) *cub* sems dpa(') sems dpa' chen po rnams dang / nyan thos chen po 'di dag gis thos nas //

Kanjur: [85]*mi ma yin pa rnams dang / 'jig rten gyi*[86] *khams gzhan nas lhags*[87] *pa'i byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rnams* (S.224a3) *dang / nyan thos chen po 'di dag gis thos nas*

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[73] *'das*: Ph. *'das la* (s.e.).

[74] *'khams*: cf. Tib. Kanj. *khams*; KN.404.2. *(loka-)dhātu-*.

[75] *gnas*: cf. Tib. Kanj. *rgyu ba*; KN.404.2. *pravicarati*.

[76] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *bcom ldan 'das!*; KN.404.3. *bhagavan*.

[77] *spyod ba'*: cf. Tib. Kanj. *bgyid pa*; KN.404.3. *(duṣ)kara-*.

[78] *gyi*: T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[79] *gyi*: T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[80] *mjed*: T. *brjed* (s.e.); Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[81] *ba*: Ph. om. (s.e.).

[82] *'di'i*: = T, Ph (= KN.404.3. *asya*); J, Pk, N, D, C, L. *'di* (w.r.); B. om. (s.e.).

[83] *gda'*: Ph. *dang* (s.e.).

[84] *gang*: T. om. (s.e.).

[85] *mi ma yin pa*: S, T. *mi ma lags pa*; Ph. *mi ma yin pa lags pa* (!); the other Kanjurs read *mi ma yin pa* (J. *ba*) instead. Cf. Tib. Kho. *mi ma yin ba*.

[86] *gyi*: T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[87] *lhags*: T, Ph. *lhag* (s.e.).

(ga 18b7) thams cad dga' *mgu*' rangs ▯ / yid bde bar 'gyur *ba*' // ⌜sMAN GYI RGYAL *PO*.⌝ byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen *po'i* ⌜•←•⌝ / ⌜gang→•⌝ spyod pa ⌜'i⌝ ⌜•←•⌝ ▯ phyogs tsam zhig /

Kanjur: *thams cad dga' mgu rangs shing yid bde bar 'gyur*[88] *ba*[89] */ byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po sMAN GYI*[90] *RGYAL PO'i*[91] *spyod pa gang ci* (S.224a4) *lags pa'i phyogs tsam zhig* /

(ga 18b8) de bzhin gshegs *pa*' ▯[92] yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas *gyis* / ⌜•→•⌝ bshad *na* ⌜•←*dge'o*[93]•⌝ // de nas bcom ldan 'das *gyis* / ⌜•→•⌝ sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON

Kanjur: *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa*[94] *yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyis legs par bshad du*[95] *gsol" / de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis byang* (S.224a5) *chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[96] *RGYAS PA MNGON*

(ga 19a1) ๑ // *BAR* SHES *PA*' / ⌜•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po.⌝ [97]gsol *bar* ▯ mkhyen nas / de 'i tshe ⌜•→•⌝ sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' //

Kanjur (KN.404.8; T. 190b1; J. 164a1; S. 224a5; Ph. 365a4; B. 203a8; Pk. 170b1; N. 231b3; D. 149b5; C. 176b2; L. 236b3) *PAR*[98] *SHES PAS gsol ba btab par*[99] *mkhyen nas / de'i tshe*[100] *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* (S.224a6) *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO*[101] *ME TOG KUN TU*[102] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[103] *SHES PA*

(ga 19a2) ⌜•←byang *cub* sems dpa' <sems dpa'> chen po.⌝ la 'di skad ▯ bka' stsal to // rigs

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[88] *'gyur* : Ph. *gyur* (s.e.).

[89] *ba* : T. *ba dang*.

[90] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[91] *po'i* : Ph. *pos* (s.e.).

[92] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *dgra bcom pa*; KN.404.4. *arhat~*.

[93] *dge'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs par*; KN.404.3. *sādhu* (... *deśayatu*).

[94] *pa* : J. *ba* (s.e.).

[95] *du* : J. *tu* (s.e.).

[96] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du*.

[97] *gsol bar* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsol ba btab par*; KN.404.8. *adhyeṣaṇā~*.

[98] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[99] *par* : = T; the other Kanjurs read *pa* instead. Cf. Tib. Kho. (*gsol*) *bar*.

[100] *tshe* : S. om. (s.e.).

[101] *po* : Ph. *po« 'i »*.

[102] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[103] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

gyi bu [104]sngon [•→1•] 'das pa'i dus *na*' /[•→2•] *chu bo* GANG GA *'i* bye ma *dang mnyam ba'i* [•2←]*bskal* «pa»•] [na] [•1←]*'byung ba'i*•] «de[]» tshe / «de'i dus *na*'» [•→1•] [•→2•] [•→3•] [•→4•] *GNYI* ZLA DRI MA MYED PA'I

Kanjur: *la 'di skad ces bka' stsal to // "rigs kyi bu! sngon byung ba 'das pa'i dus na*[105] */ bskal pa* GANG GĀ'I[106] *klung gi bye ma snyed du*[107] *gyur* (S.224a7) *pa / de'i tshe de'i dus na de bzhin gshegs pa*[108] *dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rig pa dang zhabs su ldan pa / bde bar gshegs pa / 'jig rten mkhyen pa /* (S.224b1) *skyes bu 'dul ba'i kha lo sgyur ba / bla na med pa / lha dang mi rnams kyi*[109] *ston pa / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I*

(ga 19a3) 'OD DPAL [] [•1←]de bzhin gshegs *pa*' / *dgra*' bcom *ba*' / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i / sangs rgyas [110]*mkhyen pa* dang *zhabsu* ldan *ba* / bde bar gshegs *pa*' / 'jig rten [111]*rig pa*' /•] [•3←]bla na myed pa /•]

Kanjur: *'OD DPAL*[112] *zhes bya*[113] *ba*

(ga 19a4) [•2←]skyes bu 'dul ba'i kha lo sgyur ba /•] [•4←]lha dang myi rnams *gyi* ston pa sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das •] 'jig rten du byung ste / sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' //

Kanjur: *'jig rten du byung*[114] *ste*[115] */ sKAR MA'I* (S.224b2) *RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[116] [117]*RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[118] *SHES PA! /*

(ga 19a5) bcom ldan 'das [•*GNYI*' ZLA DRI MA MYED PA 'I 'OD DPAL→•] de ○ bzhin gshegs *pa*' *dgra*' bcom *ba*' yang dag par rdzogs pa'i ○ sangs rgyas [•←•] de 'i byang *cub* sems dpa' /

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[104] *sngon 'das pa'i dus na' / chu bo GANG GA 'i bye ma dang mnyam ba'i bskal «pa» na 'byung ba'i* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sngon byung ba 'das pa'i dus na / bskal pa GANG GĀ'i klung gi bye ma snyed du gyur pa*; KN.404.9f. *bhūtapūrvaṃ (kulaputra) atīte 'dhvani gaṅgānadīvālikāsamaiḥ kalpair.*

[105] *na* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[106] *Gang gā'i* : S, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; Ph. *Gang ga'i* (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead.

[107] *du* : J, Pk. *tu.*

[108] *pa* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[109] *kyi* : Pk. *gyi* (= Tib. Kho.).

[110] *mkhyen pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rig pa*; KN.404.11. *vidyā-(caraṇasaṃpannaḥ).*

[111] *rig pa'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mkhyen pa*; KN.404.12. *(loka-)vid.*

[112] *dpal* : T. *dpa'* (s.e.).

[113] *bya* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[114] *byung* : B, Pk. *'byung* (w.r.).

[115] *ste* : Ph. *te* (s.e.).

[116] *tu* : J, Pk. *du.*

[117] *rgyas pa* : Ph. *rgyal ba* (s.e.).

[118] *par* : J. *bar.*

Kanjur: *bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas / NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I 'OD DPAL de'i* (S.224b3) *byang chub sems dpa'*

(ga 19a6) bye ba ⌈phrag⌋ *brgya*"[119] cu['i] 'dus pa chen po *'byung* ngo // *chu bo GANG GA 'i* ⌈bye ma→⌋ bdun cu rtsa gnyis ▯ ⌈←⌋ *dang* / [120]*mnyam ba'i* nyan thos 'dus pa *'byung* ngo / de 'i bstan pa la bud myed myed par gyur*d* to //

Kanjur: *bye ba brgyad cu'i*[121] *'dus pa chen po byung*[122] *ngo //* (KN.405) *GANG GĀ'i*[123] *klung*[124] *bdun cu*[125] *rtsa gnyis kyi bye ma snyed kyi nyan thos 'dus pa byung ngo // de'i bstan pa la bud med med par gyur to //*

(ga 19a7) sems can dmyal ba dang [126]*byol song* dang / yi dags dang lha ma yin gyi ris myed do // sangs rgyas *gyi* zhing yang ⌈→⌋ mnyam *zhing* ▯ [127]dga' *ba* ⌈←⌋lag [128]*mchil lta bur*⌋ gyur*d* to //

Kanjur: (S.224b4) *sems can dmyal ba dang / dud 'gro'i*[129] *skye gnas dang / yi dags*[130] *dang / lha ma yin gyi ris med do // sangs rgyas kyi zhing yang lag mthil*[131] *ltar mnyam la*[132] *nyams dga' bar* [133]*gyur to //*

(ga 19a8) [134]*'phrul gyi be du rya* las / [135]*byas* pa'i sa phyogs rin po che dang / tsan dan gyi [136]shing ▯ *gis* brgyan cing rin po «che» 'i dra *ba* bres *pa'* / dar gyi [137]*chun po 'dab chagsu* ▯ spyangs *pa'* / rin po che 'i [138]*dri*

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[119] *brgya'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad*; KN.404.14. *aśīti-* (= *brgyad cu*).

[120] *mnyam ba'i* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *snyed kyi*; KN.405.1. (*-Gaṅgānadīvālikā-*)*sama~*.

[121] *cu'i* : T, Ph, Pk. *bcu'i*.

[122] *byung* : Ph. *'byung* (= Tib. Kho.).

[123] *Gang gā'i* : S, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; Ph. *Gang ga'i* (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead.

[124] *klung* : Pk. *glung* (w.r.).

[125] *cu* : Ph, Pk. *bcu*.

[126] *byol song* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *dud 'gro'i skye gnas*; KN.405.2. *-tiryagyoni-*.

[127] *dga' ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *nyams dga' ba*; KN.405.2. *ramaṇīya~*.

[128] *mchil lta bur* : s.e. for *mthil lta bur*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *mthil ltar*; KN.405.2. (*pāṇi-*)*tala-jāta~*.

[129] *'gro'i* : D. *'gre'i* (s.e.).

[130] *dags* : L. *dwags*.

[131] *mthil* : Ph. *'thil* (s.e.).

[132] *la* : T. *pa ma* (s.e.), Ph. *pa la*.

[133] *gyur to* : S. *'gyur te* (s.e.).

[134] *'phrul gyi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *lba'i*; KN.405.2. *divya-*.

[135] *byas pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *grub pa*; KN.405.3. (*-vaiḍūrya-*)*maya-*.

[136] *shing* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *shing ljon*; KN.405.3. *-vṛkṣa-*.

[137] *chun po 'dab chagsu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *lda ldi*; KN.405.3. *avasakta-*(*paṭṭa-*)*dāman-*.

[138] *dri '(i) sn(o)d* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pog pbor*; KN.405.4. *-gandha-ghaṭikā-*.

Kanjur: (S.224b5) *lha'i* [139]*bai ḍū rya las grub pa'i sa phyogs rin po che dang /* [140]*tsan dan gyi shing ljon pas brgyan*[141] *cing*[142] */ rin po che'i dra bas bres pa / dar gyi lda ldi mngon par*[143] *rab tu spyangs*[144] *pa / rin po che'i pog*

(ga 19b1) *'(i) sn(o)d* nas [] [145]bdugs *pa'* / [] shing [] drung thams cad [] [•→•] mda' rgyang [] gi tshad *gyi* [•←rin po che 'i [146]*stegs bu•]* *mdzes* pa yod *pa'* / rin po che 'i *stegs bu* thams cad *gyi* steng na / lha 'i bu bye

Kanjur (KN.405.4; T. 191a1; J. 164a7; S. 224b5; Ph. 365b3; B. 203b8; Pk. 170b1; N. 232a4; D. 150a3; C. 177a1; L. 237a4) *phor*[147] (S.224b6) *nas* [148]*bdug pas bdugs pa / rin po che'i shing ljon pa'i drung thams cad na / rin po che'i*[149] *mkha'*[150] *rten mda' rgyang gang gi tshad tsam byas pa yod pa / rin po che'i*[151] *mkha' rten thams cad kyi*[152] (S.224b7) *steng na lha'i bu bye*

(ga 19b2) ba *brgya'* dag / bcom ldan 'das [•*GNYI'* ZLA DRI MA MYED [153]*PA'* []→•] / de bzhin gshegs pa *dgra'* bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [•←•] la mchod pa bya ba 'i phyir / sil *snyan[d]* [] /

Kanjur: *ba brgya*[154] *dag / bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I 'OD DPAL la mchod pa bya ba'i phyir / sil snyan* (S.225a1) *byed cing*

(ga 19b3) [155]*ta ra ba ca ra* rdob *pa'i* [] / [156][] sgra 'byin cing 'khod do // bcom ldan 'das *des* yang / [•SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA'*→•] / byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po'*i* [•←•] []

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[139] *bai ḍū rya* : = T, B, N, L; J, Pk, D, C. *bai dū rya*; Ph. *bai du rya*. Cf. Tib. Kho. *be du rya*; KN.405.3. *-vaiḍūrya-*.

[140] *tsan dan* : N, L. *tsan-dan*.

[141] *brgyan* : Ph, Pk. *rgyan* (w.r.).

[142] *cing* : = T, N, L (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *zhing* instead.

[143] *par* : J. *bar*.

[144] *spyangs* : C, L. *dpyangs*; B. *sbyangs* (s.e.); cf. KN.405.4. (*abhipra-*)*lambitaṃ*. Cf. n. 542.

[145] *bdugs pa'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bdug pas bdugs pa*; KN.405.4. *-nirdbūpita-*.

[146] *stegs bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mkha' rten*; KN.405.5. *-vyomaka-*.

[147] *phor* : Pk. *por* (s.e.).

[148] *bdug pas bdugs pa* : Ph. *gdug ba gdugs pas* (s.e.).

[149] *che'i* : T. *che* (s.e.).

[150] *mkha'* : Ph. *kha* (s.e.).

[151] *che'i* : T. *che* (s.e.).

[152] *kyi* : T, Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

[153] *pa'* : s.e. for *pa'i 'od dpal*.

[154] *brgya* : B, Pk. *brgyad* (s.e.). Cf. KN.405.5. *-śata-*.

[155] *ta ra ba ca ra rdob pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pbeg rdob*; KN.405.5. *-tāḍāvacara-*.

[156] *sgra 'byin* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rol mo'i sgra 'byin*; KN.405.6. *-saṃgīti-saṃprabbaṇita-*.

Kanjur: *pheg rdob pa dang / rol mo'i*[157] *sgra 'byin cing 'khod do*[158] *// bcom ldan 'das de yang*[159] *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS[160] (S.225a2) *MTHONG NA DGA' BA la*[161]

(ga 19b4) [162]*pbyir* / DAM PA'I CHOS [163]*PU 'DA RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di / ○ nyan thos chen po de dag dang / byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' ○ chen po de dag la / rgyas par rab *du* ston to /

Kanjur: *brtsams te / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[164] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di nyan thos chen po de dag dang / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de dag la* (S.225a3) *rgyas par rab tu ston to //*

(ga 19b5) sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES PA / ○ bcom ldan 'das [*GNYI'* ZLA DRI MA MYED PA 'I 'OD DPAL→•] / de bzhin ○ gshegs *pa'* *dgra'* bcom *ba'* / yang dag

Kanjur: *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[165] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[166] *SHES PA! / bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag*

(ga 19b6) par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [•←•] / de'i tshe'i «tshad» ni bskal pa [167]*stong phrag bzhi bcur* gyur*d* to // byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de dag dang / nyan thos chen po de *dagi*

Kanjur: *par rdzogs pa'i sangs* (S.225a4) *rgyas NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I 'OD DPAL de'i* [168]*tshe'i tshad ni bskal pa bzhi khri nyis stong du gyur to*[169] *// byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de dag dang / nyan thos chen po de dag gi*

(ga 19b7) tshe'i tshad *gyang* de tsam du gyur*d* to // [SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA'*→•] / byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po [•←•] de yang / bcom ldan

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[157] *rol mo'i* : Pk. *rol ma'i* (s.e.).

[158] *do* : B. *de* (s.e.).

[159] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[160] *kyis* : Pk. *gyis* (s.e.).

[161] *la* : S. *langs* (s.e.); T, Ph, D, L. *las* (w.r.).

[162] *pbyir* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brtsams te*; KN.405.9. *adhiṣṭhānaṃ kṛtvā*.

[163] *pu 'da ri ka* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pad ma dkar po*; KN.405.7. (*Saddharma-*)*puṇḍarīka-*.

[164] *pad ma* : S, Ph, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *pad ma* instead.

[165] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[166] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[167] *stong phrag bzhi bcur* : probably s.e. for *stong phrag bzhi bcu gnyis su*. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *bzhi khri nyis stong du*; KN.405.10. *dvācatvāriṃśat* (*kalpa-*)*sahasrāṇi*.

[168] *tshe'i tshad* : T. *tshe de'i tshad* (s.e.).

[169] *to* : B. *te* (s.e.).

'das de 'i [•→•] [170]rab [gyi]

Kanjur: (S.225a5) *tshe'i tshad kyang*[171] *de tsam du gyur to // byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA *de yang*[172] */ bcom ldan 'das de'i gsung rab*

(ga 19b8) [•←*tshig*•] la dka' ba *spyod par* brtson *bar* gyur*d* te // de lo *stong phrag bcu gnyisu* 'chag pa la zhugs *nas* / brtson 'grus chen po [la] brtsams pas / *thubs* la brtson *bar* gyur*d* to //

Kanjur: *la dka'* (S.225a6) *ba byed pa la brtson par*[173] *gyur te / de lo khri nyis stong du 'chag pa la zhugs shing brtson 'grus chen po brtsams pas*[174] *rnal 'byor la brtson par gyur to //*

(ga 20a1) ๑ // des lo [175]*stong phrag bcu gnyis* 'das nas / GZUGS THAMS CAD YANG DAG PAR STON *pa*' zhes bya ba'i ting nge 'dzin thob ste / ting nge 'dzin de thob ma thag *du* / [•→•] SEMS CAN THAMS CAD

Kanjur (KN.405.14; T. 191b1; J. 164b5; S. 225a6; Ph. 366a3; B. 204a8; Pk. 170b1; N. 232b5; D. 150b1; C. 177b1; L. 237b3) *des*[176] *lo khri nyis stong 'das* (S.225a7) *nas* GZUGS THAMS CAD YANG DAG PAR STON PA *zhes bya ba'i*[177] [178]*ting nge 'dzin* (KN.406) *thob ste*[179] */ ting nge 'dzin de thob ma thag tu / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SEMS CAN THAMS CAD

(ga 20a2) [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*' /[•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•] de [180]*dga*' [] *mgu*' [] rangs *ste* // rab *du* dga' *ba dang* // [181]*bde* ba dang / yid [b]de ba skyes nas / de 'i tshe 'di snyam du [182]*bsams so* //

Kanjur: (S.225b1) *KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA*[183] *de tshim*[184] *zhing mgu ste* [185]*yi rangs nas rab tu dga'*

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[170] *rab gyi tsbig* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsung rab*; KN.405.12. *pravacana~*.

[171] *kyang* : Pk. *gyad* (s.e. for *gyang* [= Tib. Kho.]).

[172] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[173] *par* : J. *bar*.

[174] *pas* : B, Pk. *pa* (w.r.).

[175] *stong phrag bcu gnyis* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *khri nyis stong*; KN.405.14. *dvādaśa~ (varṣa-)sahasra~*.

[176] *des* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *de* instead.

[177] *bya ba'i* : S. *byad'i* (s.e.).

[178] *ting nge 'dzin thob ste /* : T. om. (s.e.).

[179] *ste* : B, Pk. *te*.

[180] *dga'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tshim*; KN.406.2. *tuṣṭa~*.

[181] *bde ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *dga' ba*; KN.406.2. *prīti~*.

[182] *bsams so* : cf. Tib. Kanj. (*snyam du*) *sems te*; KN.406.2. *cintayāmāsa*.

[183] *ba* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[184] *tshim* : Pk. *chim* (s.e.).

[185] *yi rangs* : = T, Ph, N, D, L; J, B, Pk, C. *yid rangs*.

zhing dga' ba dang / yid bde ba skyes nas / de'i tshe 'di[186] *snyam du sems te /*

(ga 20a3) DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di la brten *te* / GZUGS THAMS CAD YANG DAG PAR STON PA'i / ting nge *'dzind* bdagis thob bo snyam *ste* / de 'i tshe ⌈na⌋ ⌈•→•⌋ SEMS CAN THAMS

Kanjur: *"DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[187] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi* (S.225b2) *rnam grangs 'di la brten*[188] *nas / GZUGS*[189] *THAMS CAD* [190]*YANG DAG PAR STON PA'i*[191] *ting nge 'dzin bdag gis*[192] *thob bo*[193]*" snyam mo // de'i tshe byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS* (S.225b3) *CAN THAMS*

(ga 20a4) CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*' / ⌈•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems ○ dpa' chen po.⌋ [] 'di snyam du sems *so* // 'di ltar bdagis ○ ⌈•*GNYI*' ZLA DRI MA MYED PA 'I 'OD DPAL →•⌋ de bzhin

Kanjur: *CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA yang*[194] *'di snyam du sems te / "'di ltar bdag gis* [195]*de bzhin*

(ga 20a5) gshegs *pa*' ⌈•←•⌋ [] / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi* ○ *gzhung* 'di mchod par bya'o [] // de 'i tshe de lta bu 'i ting nge 'dzin ○ la snyoms par zhugs te / ⌈•→•⌋ SEMS CAN THAMS

Kanjur: *gshegs pa NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I 'OD DPAL dang / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[196] *DKAR PO'I*[197] *CHOS* (S.225b4) *kyi rnam grangs 'di mchod par bya'o" snyam nas /* [198]*de'i tshe de lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin la snyoms*[199] *par zhugs te / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS*

(ga 20a6) CAD [] «M»THONG NA DGA' *BA*' / ⌈•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po.⌋ / ting nge 'dzin de la snyoms par zhugs ma thag *du* / [] steng gi bar snang las

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[186] *'di* : T. *de'i* (s.e.).

[187] *pad ma* : S, T, Ph, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma*, incl. B., instead.

[188] *brten* : Ph. *rten*.

[189] *gZugs* : S, B, D, L. *gZungs* (w.r.). Cf. KN.406.3. (*Sarva-*)*rūpa-*(*saṃdarśana-*).

[190] *yang dag* : T. *yongs* (s.e.).

[191] *pa'i* : = T, Ph, B, Pk (= Tib. Kho.; = KN.406.3. *Sarvarūpasaṃdarśanaḥ samādhiḥ*); the other Kanjurs read *pa zhes bya ba'i* instead (w.r.).

[192] *gis* : B, Pk. *gi* (w.r.).

[193] *bo* : T, Ph. om. (s.e.).

[194] *yang* : N, L. *de 'ang*. Cf. KN.406.4. *sa* (*v.l.* -).

[195] *de bzhin gshegs pa* ; = T, Ph (= KN.406.5. *tathāgata-*); the other Kanjurs read *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas* instead (w.r.).

[196] *pad ma* : S, T, Ph, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[197] *po'i* : J. *bo'i* (s.e.).

[198] *de'i tshe* : T. *de* (s.e.).

[199] *snyoms* : T. *snyom* (s.e.).

[200]*me{{n}}* tog *man 'da ra* dang / *man 'da*

Kanjur: *CAD KYIS*[201] *MTHONG* (S.225b5) *NA DGA' BA*[202] *ting nge 'dzin de*[203] *la snyoms par*[204] *zhugs*[205] *ma thag tu / de'i mod la steng gi* [206]*bar snang las*[207] *me tog* [208]*man-da ra dang*[209] / [210]*man-da*

(ga 20a7) *ra* chen po 'i *me{{n}}* tog gi char chen po mngon *bar* bab bo // [211]*ga la nu sa ra 'i* tsan dan gyi sprin byas te / [•–•] sbrul gyi snying po 'i [•–tsan dan•] [gyi] char mngon *bar* bab *bo* // sKAR MA'I

Kanjur: *ra chen po'i* [212]*me tog gi*[213] *char chen po*[214] *mngon par*[215] *bab*[216] (S.225b6) *bo*[217] // *dus kyi rjes su 'brang ba'i* [218]*tsan dan gyi*[219] *sprin byas*[220] *te* / [221]*tsan dan sbrul*[222] *gyi snying po'i char*[223] *mngon par*[224] *bab*[225] *ste*[226] / *sKAR MA'I*

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[200] *me{{n}} tog*: the character "n" was erased. For the archaic form *men tog*, see Karashima 2006: 102, n. 180.

[201] *kyis*: T. *kyis thos* (s.e.).

[202] *ba*: S, Ph, D. *ba'i* (w.r.).

[203] *de*: Ph. om. (s.e.).

[204] *par*: J. *bar*.

[205] *zhugs*: Ph. *bzhugs* (s.e.).

[206] *bar snang*: S, T. *nam mkha' bar snang* (w.r.); the other Kanjurs read *bar snang* (= Tib. Kho.) instead; cf. KN.406.7. *antarīkṣa~*.

[207] *las*: Ph. *la* (s.e.).

[208] *man-da ra*: T. *man da ra*; J, B, Pk, C, D. *man dā ra*; Ph. *man dā ra ba*; N, L. *man-dā ra*; Tib. Kho. *man 'da ra*. Cf. KN.406.7. *māndārava-* (*v.l. mandārava-*).

[209] *dang*: T. *dang dang* (s.e).

[210] *man-da ra*: T. *man da ra*; J, B, Pk, C, D. *man dā ra*; Ph. *man dā ra ba*; N, L. *man-dā ra*; Tib. Kho. *man 'da ra*. Cf. KN.406.7. *māndārava-* (*v.l. mandārava-*).

[211] *ga la nu sa ra 'i*: cf. Tib. Kanj. *dus kyi rjes su 'brang ba'i*; KN.406.8. *kālânusāri-*(*candana-*).

[212] *me tog*: = T (≒ Tib. Kho.; = KN.406.8. *puṣpa-*); the other Kanjurs read *lha'i me tog* instead (w.r.).

[213] *gi*: Ph. *gis* (s.e.).

[214] *po*: T. *po'i* (s.e.).

[215] *par*: T, J, Pk. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[216] *bab*: Ph. *phab* (s.e.).

[217] *bo*: T, Ph, B, D. *po*.

[218] *tsan dan*: N, L. *tsan-dan*.

[219] *gyi*: S, T, J, B, Pk, D. *gyis* (w.r.); cf. KN.406.8. *kālānusāricandanamegbaḥ kṛta* = *dus kyi rjes su 'brang ba'i tsan dan gyi sprin byas te*.

[220] *byas*: L. *ces* (s.e.).

[221] *tsan dan*: N, L. *tsan-dan*.

[222] *sbrul*: B. *sprul* (s.e.).

[223] *char*: = KN.406.9. *-varṣa~*; S, T, D, L. *char chen po* (w.r.).

[224] *par*: J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[225] *bab*: Ph. *phab* (s.e.).

(ga 20a8) RGYAL PO ▯ KUN DU RGYAS PA'I {/} MNGON BAR SHES PA' de lta bu 'i {/} [227]*dri 'i rigs*[228] [229]*srang phyed gyi* rin du ⌜→⌝ MYI MJED ⌊gyi⌋ ⌜←'jig rten gyi khams→⌝ *gyis* / myi chog go / ⌜de nas→⌝ ⌊yang⌋ sKAR MA 'I

Kanjur: *RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[230] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[231] *SHES PA! / de lta* (S.225b7) *bu'i spos kyi rnam pa zho gnyis kyi rin du*[232] *'jig rten gyi khams MI MJED*[233] *'dis*[234] [235]*mi chog go / sKAR MA'I*

(ga 20b1) RGYAL PO ▯ KUN DU RGYAS PA'I MNGON BAR SHES PA' / ⌜←⌝ ⌜SEMS CAN THAMS CAD ▯ MTHONG NA DGA' BA'→⌝ / byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po ⌜←⌝ dran *ba* dang ldan zhing shes bzhin du ting nge 'dzin de las

Kanjur (KN.406.11; T. 191b8; J. 165a4; S. 225b7; Ph. 366b3; B. 204b8; Pk. 170b1; N. 233a6; D. 150b6; C. 177b8; L. 238a6) *RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[236] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[237] *SHES PA! de nas byang chub sems*[238] *dpa'* (S.226a1) *sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS*[239] *MTHONG NA DGA' BA dran pa dang ldan zhing shes bzhin du ting nge 'dzin de las*

(ga 20b2) langs so // langs nas 'di snyam du semste / ji ltar lus yongs<u> btang ba ⌊de⌋ ltar ▯ / rdzu '[ph]rul *dang* cho 'phrul *bstan pas* / bcom ldan 'das la mchod pa ▯ ma yin no ▯ // ⌜de nas→⌝ sKAR MA 'I

Kanjur: *langs so*[240] *// langs nas 'di snyam du sems* (S.226a2) *te / "*[241]*ji ltar lus yongs su btang ba ltar ni rdzu* [242]*'phrul gyi*[243] *cho 'phrul*[244] *dag gis bcom ldan 'das la mchod pa byas pa*

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[226] *ste* : B, Pk. *te.*

[227] *dri* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *spos*; KN.406.9. *gandha-.*

[228] *rigs* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rnam pa*; KN.406.9. *(gandha-)jāti~.*

[229] *srang phyed* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *zho gnyis*; KN.406.9. *eka~ karṣa~.*

[230] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[231] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[232] *du* : C. *tu.*

[233] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[234] *'dis* : S. *'di mi* (s.e.); T. *'di* (s.e.).

[235] *mi chog go* : ≠ KN.406.10. *(mūlyena) kṣamati*; = C4, N1, C5 *etc. (mūlyaṃ) na kṣamati* (C5. °*te*) *sma*; ≠ D1, Bj, K, C6 *etc. (mūlyaṃ) kṣamate* (D1. °*ti*) *sma.*

[236] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[237] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[238] *sems* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[239] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[240] *so* : T. *te* (s.e.).

[241] *ji ltar* : = T, Ph, N, L; the other Kanjurs read *ci ltar* instead.

[242] *'phrul gyi cho* : T. om. (s.e.).

[243] *gyi* : Ph. *gyis* (s.e.).

[244] *'phrul* : B. *'phrul gyis* (s.e.).

ma yin no" snyam mo // sKAR MA'I

(ga 20b3) RGYAL PO [] KUN DU RGYAS PA'I MNGON BAR SHES PA' / [•←•] [•→•] SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA [D]GA' BA' / [•←byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•] de 'i tshe a ga ru dang / [245]tu ru ska dang / pog gi khu ba

Kanjur: *RGYAL PO (KN.407) ME TOG KUN TU[246] RGYAS PA MNGON PAR SHES (S.226a3) PA! / de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS[247] MTHONG NA DGA' BA[248] de'i tshe / a ga[249] ru dang / du rus ka[250] dang / pog[251] gi khu ba*

(ga 20b4) za zhing / tsam pa ka 'i mar yang 'thung ngo // sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN DU RGYAS PA'I MNGON BAR SHES PA' / [•de lta bu 'i→•] gzhung [•←•] [du] /[•→•] SEMS ○ CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' BA' //

Kanjur: *za zhing / [252]tsam pa ka'i mar (S.226a4) yang 'thung ngo // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME[253] TOG KUN TU[254] RGYAS PA[255] MNGON PAR[256] SHES PA! rnam grangs 'dis / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' (S.226a5) BA*

(ga 20b5) [•←byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•] rtag tu [257]dri za ○ zhing / tsam pa ka 'i mar [258]'dung bas / lo bcu gnyis 'das par ○ gyur*d* to // [•de nas→•] sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO [] KUN

Kanjur: *rtag tu spos za zhing [259]tsam pa ka'i mar[260] 'thung bas[261] lo bcu gnyis[262] 'das par gyur to[263] // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN*

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[245] *tu ru ska* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *du rus ka*; KN.407.1. *-turuṣka-*.

[246] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[247] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[248] *ba* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); Ph. *ba des*; the other Kanjurs read *ba de* instead. Cf. KN.407.1. *sa* (= D1, Bj, K, N1 *etc.*); C5, C6, T6 *etc.* -.

[249] *ga* : T, Ph. *ka* (w.r.).

[250] *du rus ka* : J, B, Pk and C read thus (= KN.407.1. *-turuṣka-*, Tib. Kho. *tu ru ska*); S, T, Ph, N, D, L. *du ru ka* (w.r.).

[251] *pog* : Pk, D. *bog* (s.e.); S. *spos* (s.e.). Cf. KN.407.2. *-kunduruka-*.

[252] *tsam pa ka* : J. *tsam ba ka*; N, L. *tsam-pa ka.*

[253] *me* : D. *mi* (s.e.).

[254] *tu* : J, B, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[255] *pa* : Ph. *pa'i* (= Tib. Kho.).

[256] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[257] *dri* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *spos*; KN.407.3. *gandha~*.

[258] *'dung ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'thung ba*; KN.407.4. *pibat~*.

[259] *tsam pa ka'i* : J. *tsam ba ka'i*; N, L. *tsam-pa ka'i*; T. *<tsam> pa ka'i* (s.e.).

[260] *mar* : S. *mar yang.*

[261] *bas* : T. *pas.*

[262] *gnyis* : S. *gnyis po de* (s.e.).

[263] *to* : S. *te* (s.e.).

(ga 20b6) *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / ⌜•←•⌝ ⌜•→•⌝ SEMS CAN THAMS CAD ▯ MTHONG NA DGA' *BA'* / ⌜•←byang *cub* sems «d»pa' sems dpa' chen *pos*•⌝ / lo bcu gnyis po de 'das nas / *bdagi*[264] lus [265]*'phrul gyi*

Kanjur: *TU*[266] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[267] *SHES PA' /* [268]*de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems* (S.226a6) *dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS*[269] *MTHONG NA DGA' BA lo bcu*[270] *gnyis po de 'das nas / rang gi lus lha'i*

(ga 20b7) [271]*gos gyis* kun dkris nas / [272]*til* mar gyis zhen par byas te / bdagi«s» byin *gyi rlabs* byaso // bdagis byin *gyi rlabs* byas nas / de bzhin gshegs *pa'* ⌜[273]mchod par bya ba⌟ dang //

Kanjur: *ras kyis*[274] *kun*[275] *dkris nas / 'bru mar gyis*[276] *zhen par byas te / bdag gis*[277] *byin* (S.226a7) *gyis*[278] *brlabs*[279] *byas so // bdag gis*[280] *byin gyis*[281] *brlabs*[282] *byas nas / de bzhin gshegs pa dang /*

(ga 20b8) DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di mchod pa'i ▯ phyir / bdagi lus ▯ *mye'* 'bar bar byas *te* // ⌜de nas→⌝ SKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* //

Kanjur: *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[283] *DKAR PO'I*[284] *CHOS kyi rnam grangs*[285] *'di mchod pa'i las kyi*

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[264] *bdagi* : i.e. *bdag gi*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *rang gi*; KN.407.6. *sva~*.

[265] *'phrul gyi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *lha'i*; KN.407.6. *divya~*.

[266] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du*.

[267] *par* : J. *bar*.

[268] *de nas* : T. om. (s.e.); cf. KN.407.4. *atha khalu*.

[269] *kyis* : S, Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[270] *bcu* : T. om. (s.e.).

[271] *gos* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ras*; KN.407.6. *vastra~*.

[272] *til* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'bru*; ≠KN.407.6. *gandha-taila-* (= D1, C1, C2 *etc.*); = Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, C6 *etc. taila-*.

[273] *mchod par bya ba* : = KN.407.7. *pūjākarman~*.

[274] *kyis* : S. *kyi* (s.e.).

[275] *kun* : J, Ph, B, Pk and C read thus (= Tib. Kho.); S, T, D, N, L. *kun tu*.

[276] *gyis* : Ph. *gyi* (s.e.).

[277] *gis* : J, B. *gi* (s.e.).

[278] *gyis* : J, N, C, L. *gyi* (= Tib. Kho.).

[279] *brlabs* : T, N, L. *rlabs* (= Tib. Kho.).

[280] *gis* : Ph, D. *gi* (w.r.).

[281] *gyis* : = T, Ph, B, D; the other Kanjurs read *gyi* instead (= Tib. Kho.).

[282] *brlabs* : T, Ph, N, L. *rlabs* (= Tib. Kho.).

[283] *pad ma* : S, T, Ph, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs, incl. B, read *pad ma* instead.

[284] *po'i* : B. *pos* (s.e.).

[285] *grangs* : T. *grangs des* (s.e.).

phyir / (S.226b1) *bdag gi lus la me 'bar bar*[286] *byas so // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[287] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[288] *SHES PA! /*

(ga 21a1) ๑ // [•–•] [•–•] SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*' / [•–byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•] 'i / lus «*gyi*» [289]*sgron ma* 'bar ba de 'i 'od *gyis* / [•–•] *chu bo GANG GA* brgyad cu 'i bye ma *dang mnyam ba'i //*

Kanjur (KN.407.8; T. 192a8; J. 165b3; S. 226b1; Ph. 367a3; B. 205a8; Pk. 170b1; N. 234a1; D. 151a4; C. 178a8; L. 239a1) *de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD* (S.226b2) *KYIS*[290] *MTHONG NA DGA' BA'i*[291] *lus kyi mar me 'bar ba*[292] *de'i*[293] *'od kyis*[294] *'jig rten gyi*[295] *khams GANG GĀ'i*[296] *klung*[297] *brgyad cu'i*[298] *bye ma snyed*

(ga 21a2) [•–'jig rten gyi khams•] khyab par gyur*d* te / 'jig rten gyi khams de dag *gis* / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das / *chu bo GANG GA* brgyad cu 'i bye ma *dang mnyam ba* thams cad *gyis* // [299]*dge'o*

Kanjur: *khyab par gyur*[300] *te / 'jig rten gyi khams de dag gi*[301] *sangs rgyas* (S.226b3) *bcom ldan 'das GANG GĀ'i*[302] *klung*[303] *brgyad cu'i*[304] *bye ma snyed thams cad kyis legs so*

(ga 21a3) zhes bya ba byin te / *dge'o dge'o* / rigs *gyi* bu 'di ni byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rnams *gyi* / brtson 'grus rtsom *ba* yang dag pa'o // 'di ni de bzhin gshegs pa la

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[286] *bar* : T. om. (s.e.).

[287] *tu* : J, Pk. *du*.

[288] *par* : J. *bar*.

[289] *sgron ma* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mar me*; KN.407.9. *-pradīpa-*.

[290] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[291] *ba'i* : Ph. *ba'* (s.e.).

[292] *ba* : Ph. *ba'i* (s.e.).

[293] *de'i* : T. *de yi*.

[294] *kyis* : B, Pk. *kyi* (s.e.); cf. Ph. *kyi«s»*.

[295] *gyi* : S. *gyis* (s.e.).

[296] *Gang gā'i* : S, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; Ph. *Gang ga'i* (cf. Tib. Kho. *Gang ga*); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead.

[297] *klung* : T. *glung* (s.e.).

[298] *cu'i* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu'i*.

[299] *dge'o zhes bya ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs so zhes bya ba*; KN.407.11. *sādhu-kāra~*.

[300] *gyur* : T. *'gyur* (s.e.).

[301] *gi* : Ph. *gis* (= Tib. Kho.).

[302] *Gang gā'i* : S, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; Ph. *Gang ga'i* (cf. Tib. Kho. *Gang ga*); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead.

[303] *klung* : T. *klung gi* (s.e.).

[304] *cu'i* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu'i*.

Kanjur: *zhes*[305] *bya ba byin te / "legs so legs so //* [306]*rigs kyi bu!* (KN.408) *'di ni byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rnams* (S.226b4) *kyi*[307] *brtson 'grus rtsom pa yang dag pa'o // 'di ni de bzhin gshegs pa la*

(ga 21a4) mchod pa dang / chos la mchod pa yang dag pa ste / ○ *me*{{*n*}} tog dang bdug pa dang [308]*dri* dang / 'phreng ba dang / byug [pa] dang / ○ phye ma dang na bza' dang / gdugs dang /

Kanjur: *mchod pa dang / chos la mchod pa yang dag pa ste / me tog dang / bdug pa*[309] *dang / spos dang / 'phreng*[310] *ba* (S.226b5) *dang / byug pa dang / phye ma dang / na bza' dang / gdugs dang /*

(ga 21a5) rgyal mtshan dang / lha 'i ba dan gyis / mchod pa dang / ○ zang zing gis mchod pa dang / [311]sbrul gyi snying *po 'i* tsan dan gyis ○ mchod pas *gyang* / de lta ma yin no //

Kanjur: *rgyal mtshan dang /* [312]*lha'i ba dan gyis*[313] *mchod pa dang / zang zing*[314] *gis mchod pa dang /* [315]*tsan dan sbrul gyi*[316] *snying* (S.226b6) *pos*[317] *mchod pas*[318] *ni de lta ma yin no //*

(ga 21a6) rigs *gyi* bu sbyin *ba* 'di ni mchog ste / [319]rgyal [po 'i] srid yongs [] gtong ba'i / sbyin [*ba*] *yang* de l[t]a ma yin no / bu [320]*sdug pa* dang chung ma yongs [] gtong ba'i sbyin *ba* yang de lta ma yin no //

Kanjur: *rigs kyi bu! sbyin pa 'di ni mchog ste / rgyal srid yongs su gtong ba'i sbyin pa*[321] *ni de*

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[305] *zbes* : S, T. om. (w.r.).

[306] *rigs kyi bu!* : ≠ KN.407.11. *kulaputra! sādhu khalu punas tvaṃ kulaputra!* (= Bj, T2 *etc.*); = D1, K, C4, N2 *etc. kulaputra!*

[307] *kyi* : Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

[308] *dri* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *spos*; KN.408.2. *-gandha-*.

[309] *pa* : S. *pa dag* (s.e.).

[310] *'phreng* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *phreng* instead.

[311] *sbrul gyi snying po 'i tsan dan* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tsan dan sbrul gyi snying po*; KN.408.2. *uraga-sāra-candana-*.

[312] *lha'i ba dan gyis mchod pa dang /* : T. om. (s.e.).

[313] *gyis* : S. *dag gis* (w.r.); Ph. *gyi* (s.e.); cf. *lha'i ba dan gyis mchod pa* = KN.408.2. *-patākā-pūjā*.

[314] *zing* : Ph. *bring* (s.e.).

[315] *tsan dan* : N, L. *tsan-dan*.

[316] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[317] *pos* : T. *po* (s.e.).

[318] *pas* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *pa* instead.

[319] *rgyal po 'i srid* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rgyal srid*; KN.408.3. *rājya-*.

[320] *sdug pa* : Tib. Kho. *bu sdug pa dang chung ma*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *bu dang chung ma phangs pa*; KN.408.3. *priya-putra-bhāryā-*.

[321] *pa* : J. *ba*; S, T. *pa de* (w.r.).

lta ma[322] *yin no // bu dang cbung ma phangs pa yongs su gtong* (S.226b7) *ba'i sbyin pa*[323] *yang*[324] *de lta ma yin no //*

(ga 21a7) rigs gyi bu gang bdagi lus gtong ba'i / chos gyi mchod pa 'di ni [] [325] [326]*mchog go* [] // dam pa 'o / [327]*rab bo* / phul lo / gya nom *ba*'o / [de na<s>-] sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR*

Kanjur: *rigs kyi bu! gang bdag*[328] *gi*[329] *lus gtong ba'i chos kyi mchod pa 'di ni mchod pa kbyad par can no // dam pa'o // mchog go / phul lo*[330] *//* [331]*gya nom pa'o" //* (S.227a1) *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[332] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[333]

(ga 21a8) SHES *PA*' / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de dag gis / tshig de skad [] gsungs nas / [-] cang myi gsung bar gyur*d* to // sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR*

Kanjur: *SHES PA! / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de dag gis tshig*[334] *de skad ces*[335] *gsungs*[336] *nas / de nas cang mi gsung bar gyur to //* (S.227a2) [337]*sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[338] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[339]

(ga 21b1) SHES PA' / SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' BA' [] / lus la 'bar ba lo bcu gnyis *gyi* bar du zhi bar ma song ngo // de phyis lo bcu gnyis 'das nas / {{'[das nas]}}

Kanjur (KN.408.7; T. 192b7; J. 166a1; S. 227a2; Ph. 367b2; B. 205b8; Pk. 173a2; N. 234b2; D. 151b2; C. 178b7; L. 239b2) *SHES PA! /* [340]*SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS*

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[322] *ma* : T. om. (s.e.).

[323] *pa* : J. *ba*; S, T. *pa de* (w.r.).

[324] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[325] - : = KN.408.4.-; Tib. Kanj. *mchod pa*.

[326] *mchog* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *kbyad par can*; KN.408.4. *viśiṣṭa~*.

[327] *rab* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mchog*; KN.408.4. *vara~*.

[328] *bdag* : T. *dag* (s.e.).

[329] *gi* : T, Ph, L. *gis* (s.e.).

[330] *lo* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[331] *gya nom* : Pk. *gya nam* (s.e.).

[332] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[333] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[334] *tshig* : Pk. *chig* (s.e.).

[335] *ces* : S, T, Ph. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[336] *gsungs* : Ph. *gsung* (s.e.).

[337] *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG* : T. om. (s.e.).

[338] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[339] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[340] *SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA'i* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.; = KN.408.7. *Sarvasattvapriyadarśana-*); the other Kanjurs read *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD*

MTHONG NA DGA' BA'i lus la[341] *'bar ba / lo* [342]*bcu gnyis kyi bar du zhi bar ma song ngo*[343] *// de* (S.227a3) *phyis lo* [344]*bcu gnyis 'das nas*

(ga 21b2) zhi bar gyur*d* to // sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / [•→•] SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA'* / [•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•]

Kanjur: *zhi*[345] *bar gyur to*[346] *// sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[347] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[348] *SHES PA' / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG* (S.227a4) *NA DGA' BA*

(ga 21b3) des / de bzhin gshegs pa la / 'di lta bu 'i mchod pa dang / chos *gyi* mchod pa byas *nas* / de nas shi 'phos nas / bcom ldan 'das [•*GNYI*' ZLA DRI MA MYED PA 'I 'OD DPAL→•] de bzhin

Kanjur: *des / de bzhin gshegs pa la 'di*[349] *lta bu'i mchod pa dang / chos kyi*[350] *mchod pa byas te / de nas shi 'phos nas /* [351]*bcom ldan 'das de bzhin*

(ga 21b4) gshegs *pa'* / *dgra'* bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [•←•] gyi *tshig*[352] la rgyal po DRI MA MYED PAS {/} BYIN *BA*'i khyim du ○ skyes te / [353]skyi(l) mo *bkrum* bcas bzhin du /

Kanjur: *gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag* (S.227a5) *par rdzogs pa'i* [354]*sangs rgyas NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I 'OD DPAL gyi gsung rab la / rgyal po DRI MA MED PAS*[355] *BYIN PA'i khyim du skyes te*[356] */ skyil*[357] *mo krung*[358] *bcas bzhin du*[359]

KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA'i instead (w.r.).

[341] *la* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[342] *bcu gnyis* : ≠ KN.408.8. *dvādaśa* (*varṣa-*)*śatāni*; = D1, K, C4, N1 *etc. dvādaśa*; cf. Krsh. 217.

[343] *ngo* : S. *so* (s.e.).

[344] *bcu gnyis* : ≠ KN.408.8. *dvādaśānāṃ* (*varṣa-*)*śatānām*; = D1, K, C4, N1 *etc. dvādaśānāṃ*; cf. Krsh. 217.

[345] *zhi* : T. *bzhi* (s.e.).

[346] *to* : L. *te.*

[347] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[348] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[349] *'di*: S, T. *de* (w.r.).

[350] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[351] *bcom ldan 'das* : T. om. (s.e.).

[352] *tshig* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsung rab*; KN.408.11. *pravacana~.*

[353] *skyi(l) mo bkrum bcas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *skyil mo krung* (*v.l. dkrung*) *bcas*; KN.408.12. *paryaṅka~.*

[354] *sangs rgyas* : T. om. (s.e.).

[355] *pas* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[356] *te* : Ph. *ste* (s.e.).

[357] *skyil* : Ph, Pk. *dkyil.*

[358] *krung* : J, Ph, Pk, C. *dkrung.*

(ga 21b5) phang par rdzus te byung bar gyur*d* to // ⌜•→•⌝ SEMS CAN THAMS ○ CAD ⌷ MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*' /⌜•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' ○ chen po•⌝ skyes ma thag *du* / de 'i tshe [360]*« b »dag* gi

Kanjur: *phang*[361] *par rdzus*[362] *te* [363]*byung bar gyur to* // (S.227a6) *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SEMS CAN THAMS CAD *KYIS*[364] MTHONG NA DGA' BA *skyes ma thag tu / de'i tshe rang gi*[365]

(ga 21b6) pha ⌜dang⌝ ma la tshigsu bcad de smras *pa*' // // ⌜•→•⌝ [366]di na bdag *cag*[367] ⌷ ⌜•← rgyal ⌜bo⌝ mchog•⌝ // *gang*[368] gnas bdag gis {'}ting 'dzin thob // ⌜•→•⌝ brtson 'grus sra brtsams brtul

Kanjur: *pha ma la tshigs su bcad de smras pa / "rgyal mchog! 'di* (S.227a7) *na*[369] *bdag 'chag cing // der gnas bdag gis*[370] *ting 'dzin thob // bdag gi*[371] *lus phangs*[372] *yongs btang ste // brtson 'grus sra brtsams*[373] *brtul*[374]

(ga 21b7) zhugs che // ⌜•←bdag gi lus [375]⌜sdug⌝ phangs [376]*gyang* btang ⌷ •⌝ // / ⌜•de nas→•⌝ SKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ⌷ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / ⌜•←•⌝ ⌜•→•⌝ SEMS CAN THAMS CAD ⌷ MTHONG NA DGA'

Kanjur: *zhugs*[377] *che* // (= 1)" (KN.409) *SKAR*[378] *MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG* (S.227b1) *KUN TU*[379] *RGYAS PA*

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[359] *du* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[360] *bdag gi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rang gi*; KN.408.13. *sva-*.

[361] *phang* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); J, B, N, D, C, L. *pang*; Ph. *pangs*; Pk. *bang* (s.e.). Cf. KN.408.12. *utsaṅga-*.

[362] *rdzus* : N, L. *brdzus*.

[363] *byung bar* : S, T. *skyes par* (w.r.); D. *skyes bar* (w.r.); the other Kanjurs read *byung bar* (= Tib. Kho.); cf. KN.408.12. *prādurbbūto*.

[364] *kyis* : S, Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[365] *gi* : S. *gis* (s.e.).

[366] For the following verse, cf. ItS. 111~112.

[367] *cag* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'chag*; KN.408.14. *caṅkrama-*.

[368] *gang* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *der*; KN.408.14. *yasmiṃ*.

[369] *na* : T. *ni* (s.e.).

[370] *gis* : T, Ph, B, Pk. *gi* (w.r.).

[371] *gi* : S, Ph, L. *gis* (w.r.); cf. KN.408.15. *ātmabhāvaṃ* = *bdag gi lus*.

[372] *phangs* : Ph. *'phang* (s.e.).

[373] *brtsams* : Ph. *rtsam* (s.e.).

[374] *brtul* : Pk. *btul* (s.e.).

[375] *sdug phangs* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phangs*; KN.408.15. *priya-*.

[376] *gyang btang* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *yongs btang ste*; KN.408.15. *parityajitvā*; ItS. 112.

[377] *zhugs* : Ph. *sbugs* (s.e.).

[378] *sKar* : T. *bsKar* (s.e.).

[379] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

MNGON PAR[380] *SHES PA! / de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SEMS CAN *THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA'*

(ga 21b8) *BA'* / ⌈•⌋byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen *pos*⌋ / tshigsu bcad pa de smras nas / *bdag* gi pha ⌈dang⌋ ma la 'di [381]*smras so* // [382]*pha* ⌈dang⌋ *ma* ⌈•⌋bcom ldan 'das // →1•⌋

Kanjur: *BAS*[383] *tshigs su bcad pa de smras nas / rang gi pha ma*[384] *la 'di* [385]*skad* (S.227b2) *ces* / *"yab yum! /*

(ga 22a1) ❂ // ⌈•*GNYI'* ZLA DRI MA MYED PA'I 'OD DPAL→2•⌋ ⌈•de bzhin gshegs *pa'* / *dgra'* bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas→3•⌋ ⌈•[386]da *dung*→4•⌋ ⌈•bzhugs te / 'tsho zhing[387] *skyong ba*→5•⌋ [388]⌈chos gyang⌋

Kanjur (KN.409.2; T. 193a6; J. 166a8; S. 227b2; Ph. 368a1; B. 206a8; Pk. 173a8; N. 235a3; D. 151b7; C. 179a6; L. 240a2)

(ga 22a2) ⌈'chad do⌋ // bcom ldan 'das [389]⌈GNYI' ZLA DRI MA MYED PA'I 'OD DPAL de bzhin gshegs pa⌋ [] la [] [390]mchod ⌈par bya⌋ *ste* // SGRA THAMS CAD LA MKHAS PA'i gzungs ⌈[391]so sor⌋ thob *nas* /

Kanjur: *bcom ldan 'das*[392] *gang la bdag gis mchod nas* SGRA *THAMS CAD LA MKHAS PA'i gzungs thob cing*[393] /

(ga 22a3) DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di [] tshigsu bcad *pa'* bye ba khrag khrig *brgya'* stong *bkram*[394] [] d[kr]igs [] // myi [395]*sgul* pa phrag [396]*brgya' cu* /

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[380] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[381] *smras so* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *skad ces* (Ph. *skad ces smras so*); KN.409.2. *avocat.*

[382] *pha dang ma* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *yab yum*; KN.409.2. *amba tāta.*

[383] *bas* : B, Pk. *ba'i* (s.e.).

[384] *ma* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[385] *skad ces* : Ph. *skad ces smras so* (cf. Tib. Kho. *smras so*).

[386] *da dung* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *da ltar*; KN.409.2. *adya.*

[387] *skyong ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzhes*; KN.409.3. *yāpayati.*

[388] *chos gyang 'chad do* : = KN.409.3. *dharmaṃ deśayati*; Tib. Kanj.-; cf. Krsh. 218.

[389] *GNYI' ZLA DRI MA MYED PA'I 'OD DPAL de bzhin gshegs pa* : = KN.409.4. *Candrasūryavimalaprabhāsaśriyas tathāgatasya* (= Bj, C4, C5, C6 *etc.*); ≠ D1, K, N1.- (= Tib. Kanj.).

[390] *mchod par bya ste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mchod nas*; KN.409.4. *pūjāṃ kṛtvā.*

[391] *so sor thob nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thob cing*; KN.409.5. *pratilabdha~.*

[392] The Kanjur version lacks parallels here with the following words in the Sanskrit edition: KN.409.4. *Candrasūryavimalaprabhāsaśriyas tathāgatasya* (= Bj, C4, C5, C6 *etc.*) (= Tib. Kho.); D1, K, N1 *etc.* - (= Tib. Kanj.).

[393] *cing* : T. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[394] *bkram* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gtams pa*; KN.409.6. *kaṅkara~.*

[395] *sgul pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'khrugs pa*; KN.409.6. *(a)kṣobhya~.*

bcom ldan 'das de┤'i┐ ⌊gan┐ *nas* //

Kanjur: *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[397] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di yang*[398] *tshigs su bcad* (S.227b3) *pa bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong gtams pa dang / dkrigs pa dang / mi 'khrugs pa* [399]*pbrag*[400] [401]*brgyad cus*[402] */ bcom ldan 'das de las*

(ga 22a4) thos par gyur*d* *to* [*1←*] [*3←*] [*2←*] [] [*4←*] [] [*5←*] // [403]*pha* ⌊dang┐ *ma* [*→*] bcom ldan 'das ○ de 'i drung du [*←bdag*┐] mchis *na' dge'o*[404] // der [405]*song* nas [*→*] bcom ○ ldan 'das de la [*←yang*┐] mchod *par* bgyi'o [] //

Kanjur: *thos par gyur pa'i*[406] *bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa* (S.227b4) *dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I 'OD DPAL de da*[407] *ltar yang bzhugs te / 'tsho zhing*[408] *gzhes*[409] *kyis*[410] [411] */ yab yum! bdag*[412] *bcom ldan 'das de'i drung du mchis* (S.227b5) *na legs so // der mchis nas*[413] *yang / bcom ldan 'das de la mchod pa*[414] *bgyi'o" zhes smras so //*

(ga 22a5) [*de nas→] SKAR *MAI* RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES ○ *PA* / [*←] [*→] SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*' / [*←byang *cub* ○ sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*┐ / de 'i tshe //

Kanjur: *SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[415] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[416] *SHES PA! / de nas byang* (S.227b6) *chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA de'i tshe /*

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[396] *brgya'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad*; KN.409.5. *aśīti~* (= *brgyad cu*).

[397] *pad ma* : S, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[398] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[399] *pbrag brgyad* : Ph. *brgya pbrag* (s.e.).

[400] *pbrag* : S, T, D, L. *bye ba pbrag* (w.r.). Cf. KN.409.6.-.

[401] *brgyad* : T. *brgyas* (s.e.).

[402] *cus* : T, J, Ph, Pk. *bcus*.

[403] *pha dang ma* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *yab yum*; KN.409.6. *amba tāta*.

[404] *dge'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs so*; KN.409.6. *sādhu*.

[405] *song nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mchis nas*; KN.409.7. *gatvā*.

[406] *pa'i* : T. *pa'i chos* (s.e.).

[407] *da* : Pk. *de* (s.e.).

[408] *zhing* : = T, Ph, D (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs omit this word.

[409] *gzhes* : Ph. *bzhes* (s.e.).

[410] *kyis* : L. *kyi*.

[411] The Kanjur version lacks a parallel here with the following sentence in the Sanskrit edition: KN.409.3. *dharmaṃ deśayati* (≒ Tib. Kho. *chos gyang 'chad do*); cf. Krsh. 218.

[412] *bdag* : J, B, Pk, N, C. om. (w.r.). Cf. KN.409.7. *ahaṃ*.

[413] *nas* : T. *na* (s.e.).

[414] *pa* : Ph. *par* (s.e.) (= Tib. Kho.).

[415] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[416] *par* : J. *bar*.

(ga 22a6) [417]*nam ka'* la [] ta la bdun tsam du [] 'phags te / rin po che [] bdun gyi [·→·] brtsegs *pa'i* [·←·][418]khang *bur*·] [419]skyil mo *bkrum* bcas nas / bcom ldan 'das de 'i drung du song ste *phyind nas* //

Kanjur: *nam mkha' la shing ta la bdun tsam du mngon par*[420] *'phags te / rin po che sna bdun gyi khang* (S.227b7) *pa brtsegs*[421] *par skyil*[422] *mo krung*[423] *bcas nas* [424]*bcom ldan 'das de'i drung du song ste phyin pa dang /*

(ga 22a7) bcom ldan 'das *gyi* zhabs la *mngos*[425] phyag 'tshal te / bcom ldan 'das «de» la «la»n bdun [du] *skor* ba byas nas / bcom ldan 'das [426]*gag na* «ba» de logsu [427]thal mo [] btud *de* //

Kanjur: *bcom ldan 'das kyi*[428] *zhabs la mgo bos phyag 'tshal*[429] *te / bcom ldan 'das de la*[430] *lan* (S.228a1) *bdun*[431] *bskor ba byas nas / bcom ldan 'das ga la ba de*[432] *logs su thal mo sbyar ba btud nas /*

(ga 22a8) bcom ldan 'das la phyag 'tshal *nas* // [433][bcom ldan 'das la] tshigsu bcad *pa'* 'dis mngon *bar* bstod do // dpa' bo myi dbang *shind du* dri myed zhal /

Kanjur: *bcom ldan 'das la phyag 'tshal*[434] *te / tshigs su bcad pa 'dis* (S.228a2) *mngon par*[435] *bstod do //* (KN.410) [436]*dpa' bo mi dbang! shin tu*[437] *dri med zhal //*

(ga 22b1) phy(o)gs bcu 'd[i]r ni khy[o]d kyi 'o«d» *gzer* mdzes // bde gshegs khyod la

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[417] *nam ka'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *nam mkha'*; KN.409.9. *vaibāyasa~*.

[418] *khang bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *khang pa*; KN.409.9. (*kūṭa-*)*āgāra~*.

[419] *skyil mo bkrum bcas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *skyil mo krung* (*v.l. dkrung*) *bcas*; KN.409.9. *paryaṅka~*.

[420] *par* : J. *bar*.

[421] *brtsegs* : B, T. *rtsegs* (s.e.).

[422] *skyil* : Ph, B, Pk. *dkyil*.

[423] *krung* : J, Ph, Pk. *dkrung*.

[424] *bcom ldan 'das de'i drung du song ste phyin pa dang /* : T. om. (s.e.).

[425] *mgo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mgo bo*; KN.409.10. *śiras~*.

[426] *gag na ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ga la ba*; KN.409.11. *yena*.

[427] *thal mo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thal mo sbyar ba*; KN.409.11. *añjali~*.

[428] *kyi* : Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

[429] *'tshal* : N, L. *btsal*.

[430] *la* : T, B. om. (s.e.).

[431] *bdun* : Ph. *gsum* (s.e.).

[432] *de* : Ph. *der* (s.e.).

[433] *bcom ldan 'das la* : cf. Tib. Kanj.- = KN.409.11.-.

[434] *'tshal* : N, L. *btsal*.

[435] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[436] *dpa' bo* : ≠ KN.410.1. *dhīra~*; = D1, Bj, C4, N1, C5, C6 *etc. vīra~*.

[437] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

bdagis mchod *rab*[439] *byas* // [•]'dir$_{\rightarrow 1•}$ [•]bdag$_{\rightarrow 2•}$ [•]mchis$_{\rightarrow 3•}$ [pa] mgon po *blta*'

Kanjur (KN.410.1; T. 193b5; J. 166b5; S. 228a2; Ph. 368b1; B. 206b8; Pk. 173b6; N. 235b3; D. 152a5; C. 179b4; L. 240b3) *phyogs bcu*[439] *'dir ni khyod kyi*[440] *'od zer mdzes // bde gshegs! khyod la bdag gis mchod*[441] *mchog bgyis // mgon po!* (S.228a3) *blta*[442]

(ga 22b2) ba'<i> *phyir*[443] [•2←•] [•1←•] [•3←•] // [•]de nas$_{\rightarrow 1•}$ sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES (PA) [] [•]SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*$_{\rightarrow 2•}$ / byang *cub* sems dpa'

Kanjur: *ba'i slad du*[444] *bdag 'dir mchis //* (= 2)" *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[445] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[446] *SHES PA! de'i tshe / byang chub sems dpa'*

(ga 22b3) sems dpa' chen *pos* [•2←•] // []^{447} [•1←•] [•]*GNYI* ZLA DRI MA MYED PA'I 'OD DPAL$_{\rightarrow 3•}$ []^{448} de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [•3←•] la /

Kanjur: *sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD* (S.228a4) *KYIS*[449] *MTHONG NA DGA' BAS tshigs su bcad pa 'di*[450] *smras nas*[451] */ de nas* [452]*bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas NYI ZLA DRI MA MED* (S.228a5) *PA'I 'OD DPAL la*

(ga 22b4) 'di skad [] gsol to // bcom ldan 'das ○ khyod da dung du bzhugs sam // [•]de nas$_{\rightarrow •}$ sKAR MA'I ○ RGYAL PO [] «KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I*» MNGON *BAR* SHES PA [•←•] //

Kanjur: *'di skad ces gsol to // "bcom ldan 'das! khyod da dung du*[453] *bzhugs*[454] *sam" / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[455] *RGYAS PA*[456] *MNGON PAR*[457] *SHES PA! de nas*

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[438] *rab* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mchog*; KN.410.2. *agra-*(*pūjā-*).

[439] *bcu* : T. *bcu'i* (s.e.).

[440] *kyi* : = Ph (= Tib. Kho.; = KN.410.1. *tava* [*prabha rājati*]); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *kyis* instead.

[441] *mchod* : T. *cbos* (s.e.); Ph. *mchog* (s.e.).

[442] *blta* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *lta* instead.

[443] *phyir* : cf. Tib. Kanj. (*blta ba'i*) *slad du*; KN.410.2. *darśanāya*.

[444] *du* : J. *tu*.

[445] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[446] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[447] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *tshigs su bcad pa 'di smras nas* = KN.410.4. *imāṃ gāthāṃ bhāṣitvā*.

[448] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *bcom ldan 'das* = KN.410.4. *bhagavat-*.

[449] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[450] *'di* : Ph. *'di dag* (s.e.); cf. KN.410.4. *imāṃ* (*gathām*).

[451] *nas* : Ph. *so* (s.e.); cf. KN.410.4. *bhāṣitvā* (= *smras nas*).

[452] *bcom ldan 'das* : T. om. (s.e.) (= Tib. Kho.).

[453] *du* : = Tib. Kho.; the other Kanjurs omit this word.

[454] *bzhugs* : T. *zhugs* (s.e.).

[455] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[456] *pa* : Ph. *pa'i* (= Tib. Kho.).

[457] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

(ga 22b5) [] [458] [˹gNYI ZLA DRI MA MYED PA'I 'OD DPAL→˺] de bzhin g○shegs pa dgra bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs ○ pa'i sangs rgyas [˹←→˺] gyis / [˹→˺] SEMS

Kanjur: *bcom ldan 'das de bzhin* (S.228a6) *gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I 'OD DPAL gyis*[459] */ byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS*

(ga 22b6) CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' BA [˹←byang chub[460] «sems dpa'» sems <d>pa' chen po→˺] la 'di skad [] bka' stsal to // rigs kyi bu nga yongsu [461] *mye* ngan las 'das pa'i dus

Kanjur: *CAN* [462] *THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG* (S.228a7) *NA DGA' BA la 'di skad ces bka' stsal*[463] *to // "rigs kyi bu! nga yongs su mya ngan las* [464] *'das pa'i dus*

(ga 22b7) la bab [] / [] [465] [466] *tha ma* zad pa'i dus la bab kyis / rigs kyi bu khyod song la nga'i khri [467] *chos* shig dang nga [] [468] *mye* ngan las 'da'o // [˹de nas→˺] SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU*

Kanjur: *la bab* [469] *ste / rigs kyi bu! nga tshe zad pa'i dus la bab kyis*[470] */ rigs kyi bu! khyod song* (S.228b1) *la / nga'i*[471] *khri shoms shig dang / nga yongs su mya ngan las*[472] *'da'o*[473]*" // SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[474]

(ga 22b8) RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES PA / [˹←→˺] bcom ldan 'das [˹*GNYI* ZLA DRI MA MYED PA'I 'OD DPAL→˺] de bzhin gshegs {{d}}pa dgra bcom *ba* / yang dag par rdzogs

Kanjur: *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[475] *SHES*[476] *PA! / de nas* [477] *bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra*

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[458] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *bcom ldan 'das* = KN.410.6. *bhagavat-*.

[459] *gyis* : Ph. *gyi* (s.e.).

[460] *chub* : *sic*.

[461] *mye ngan las 'das pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. (*yongs su*) *mya ngan las 'das pa* (*v.l. 'da' ba*); KN.410.7. (*pari-*)*nirvāṇa-*.

[462] *thams cad* : Ph. *thams cad thams cad* (s.e.).

[463] *stsal* : Ph. *bstsal* (s.e.).

[464] *'das pa'i* : = T, Ph, Pk (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *'da' ba'i* instead.

[465] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *rigs kyi bu! nga*; KN.410.8. *me kulaputra*.

[466] *tha ma zad pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tshe zad pa*; KN.410.7. *kṣayānta-*.

[467] *chos shig* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *shoms shig*; KN.410.8. *prajñapayasva* (*v.l. °jñapaya*).

[468] *mye ngan las 'da'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *yongs su mya ngan las 'da'o*; KN.410.8. *parinirvāyiṣyāmi*.

[469] *ste / rigs kyi bu! nga tshe zad pa'i dus la bab* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[470] *kyis* : T. *ste* (s.e.); L. *kyi* (s.e.).

[471] *nga'i* : S, T. *nga yi*.

[472] *las* : S. om. (s.e.).

[473] *'da'o* : D. *'das so* (s.e.).

[474] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[475] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

(S.228b2) *bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs*

(ga 23a1) ꙮ // pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜•←•⌝ gyis / ⌜•→•⌝ SEMS CAN THAMS CAD ▯ MTHONG NA DGA' BA' / ⌜•←byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•⌝ ⌜de⌝ la 'di skad ▯ bka' stsal to // rigs gyi bu ⌜khyod la →•⌝ bstan pa /

Kanjur (KN.410.9; T. 194a4; J. 167a3; S. 228b2; Ph. 368b7; B. 207a7; Pk. 174a4; N. 236a4; D. 152b2; C. 180a3; L. 241a3) *pa'i sangs rgyas NYI ZLA DRI MA[478] MED PA'I 'OD DPAL gyis byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA la 'di skad* (S.228b3) *ces bka' stsal to // "rigs kyi bu! bstan pa*

(ga 23a2) 'di ▯ ⌜•←•⌝ ▯ gtad do // byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po «'»di dag dang / nyan thos chen po 'di dag dang / [479]sangs rgyas gyi byang cub 'di dag dang / 'jig rten gyi 'khams 'di dag dang / rin po che 'i

Kanjur: *'di[480] ngas khyod la yongs su[481] gtad[482] do // byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po [483]di dag dang / nyan thos chen po 'di dag dang / sangs rgyas kyi[484] byang* (S.228b4) *chub 'di dag dang / 'jig rten gyi khams 'di dag dang / rin po che'i*

(ga 23a3) steg bu 'di dag dang / rin po che 'i shing[485] ▯ 'di dag dang / nga 'i bsnyen bkur byed pa'<i> lha 'i bu 'di rnams gyang ▯ gtad do // rigs gyi bu nga yongsu mya ngan las 'das pa'i / ring bsrel ▯ gyang ▯ gtad do //

Kanjur: *mkha' rten 'di dag dang / rin po che'i[486] shing ljon pa 'di[487] dag dang / nga'i[488] bsnyen bkur byed pa'i[489] lha'i[490] bu 'di rnams kyang[491]* (S.228b5) *yongs su gtad do //* (KN.411) *rigs*

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[476] *sbes* : J. *sbas* (s.e.).

[477] *bcom ldan 'das* : T. om. (s.e.).

[478] *ma* : B. *me* (s.e.).

[479] *sangs rgyas gyi byang cub 'di dag dang / 'jig rten gyi 'khams 'di dag dang* : ≒ Tib. Kanj. *sangs rgyas kyi byang chub 'di dag dang / 'jig rten gyi khams 'di dag dang /* ≠ KN.410.11. *imāṃ ca buddhabodhiṃ imāṃ ca lokadhātum* ("this Buddha-enlightenment and this world"). While "enlightenment" and "world" are both singular in form in the Sanskrit version, the Tibetan translator(s) wrongly translated them as plural.

[480] *'di* : S. *'di ni* (w.r.?).

[481] *su* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[482] *gtad* : T, Ph. *btad* (s.e.).

[483] *'di dag* : S. *dag* (s.e.); T. om. (s.e.).

[484] *kyi* : S, T. om. (w.r.).

[485] *shing* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *shing ljon pa*; KN.410.12. *-vṛkṣa~*.

[486] *che'i* : Ph. *che«d»'i* (s.e.).

[487] *'di* : T. *de* (s.e.).

[488] *nga'i* : S, T. *nga yi*.

[489] *pa'i* : T. *pa de dag* (s.e.).

[490] *lha'i* : S, T. *lha yi*.

[491] *kyang* : T. om. (s.e.).

kyi bu! nga yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa'i ring bsrel gang yin pa de[492] *dag kyang yongs su gtad do //*

(ga 23a4) rigs *gyi* bu nga 'i ring bsrel *la*' / khyod bdag *gis* [] mchod pa rgya cher gyis shig // ri[ng] bsrel {/} de da[g] *gyang* rgyas par gyis shig // ○ mchod rten stong phrag mang po gyis shig //

Kanjur: *rigs kyi bu! nga'i ring bsrel la khyod bdag gyis*[493] *kyang*[494] *mchod pa rgya cher* (S.228b6) *gyis shig / ring bsrel de dag kyang rgyas par gyis shig / mchod rten stong phrag mang po gyis shig" /*

(ga 23a5) [•de nas→•] sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / [•←•] ○ []*[495] [•*GNYI*' ZLA DRI MA [M]YED PA'I 'OD DPAL→•] de bzhin gshegs *pa*' / *dgra*' ○ bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [•←•]

Kanjur: *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[496] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[497] *SHES PA! / de nas bcom ldan 'das* (S.228b7) *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I 'OD DPAL*

(ga 23a6) gyis / [•→•] SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*' / [•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•] de la / de ltar [] bstan nas / de 'i nub mo [498]*tho ra<ng>s* phung po 'i lhag ma [499]*ma lus* pa'i / mya ngan

Kanjur: *gyis byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS*[500] (S.229a1) *MTHONG NA DGA' BA de la de ltar rjes su bstan nas / de'i nub mo nam gyi cha smad la phung po'i*[501] *lhag ma med pa'i mya ngan*

(ga 23a7) las *'da' ba 'i* dbyingsu yongs<u> mya ngan las 'daso // [•de nas→•] sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / [•←•] [•→•] SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG *NA*' DGA' *BA*' //

Kanjur: *las 'das pa'i dbyings su yongs su mya ngan las* (S.229a2) *'das so // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME*

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[492] *de* : T. om. (s.e.).

[493] *bdag gyis* : J, B, Pk, N and C read thus (≒ Tib. Kho. *bdag gis*; = KN.411.1. *ātmanā*); Ph. *bdag gi* (s.e.); S, T, D, L. *kyis* (w.r.).

[494] *kyang* : = T, Ph, D, L; the other Kanjurs read *kyang khyed* instead.

[495] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *bcom ldan 'das*; KN.411.3. *bhagavat~*.

[496] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[497] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[498] *tho ra<ng>s* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *nam gyi cha smad la*; KN.411.5. *paścime yāme*.

[499] *ma lus* : Tib. Kho. *phung po 'i lhag ma ma lus pa'i*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *phung po'i lhag ma med pa*; KN.411.5. *anupadhiśeṣa~*.

[500] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[501] *po'i* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *po* instead.

TOG KUN TU[502] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[503] *SHES PA! / de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SEMS CAN THAMS CAD *KYIS*[504] *MTHONG NA DGA' BAS*[505] /

(ga 23a8) ⌜←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen *pos*→⌝ / bcom ldan 'das ⌜*gNYI*' ZLA DRI MA MYED PA'I 'OD DPAL→⌝ de bzhin gshegs *pa*' ⌜←⌝ / de yongsu mya ngan las 'das [506]*nas* ⌝ //

Kanjur: (S.229a3) *bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa NYI ZLA DRI MA MED PA'I 'OD DPAL de yongs su mya ngan las 'das par rig ste /*

(ga 23b1) ⌜→⌝ *'sbrul*[507] gyi snying po ⌜'i⌝ ⌜←tsan dan→⌝ ⌞gyi⌟ [508]*tshogs bya ste* / de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku bsregs *nas* / de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku tshig *ste* zhi bar rig nas / ring bsrel bsdus te / ngu zhing cho nges bta[b]

Kanjur (KN.411.7; T. 194b4; J. 167b2; S. 229a3; Ph. 369a8; B. 207b8; Pk. 174b4; N. 236b6; D. 153a1; C. 180b3; L. 241b5) [509]*tsan dan sbrul gyi*[510] *snying po spungs nas / de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku* (S.229a4) [511]*bsregs te / de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku tshig*[512] [513]*pa zhi bar rig nas / ring bsrel bsdus te*[514] */ ngu zhing*[515] *cho*[516] *nges btab*

(ga 23b2) nas / smre sngags ⌜'di⌝ «'»don to // ⌜de nas→⌝ sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ⌝ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES [*PA*]' / ⌜←⌝ ⌜→⌝ SEMS CAN THAMS CAD ⌝ MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*' / ⌜←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa'

Kanjur: *nas / smre sngags 'don to*[517] *// sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG*[518] *KUN TU*[519] *RGYAS PA* (S.229a5) *MNGON PAR*[520] *SHES PA! / de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa'*

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[502] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.)

[503] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.)

[504] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[505] *bas* : B. *ba'i* (s.e.).

[506] *nas* : ≠ Tib. Kanj. *rig ste* = KN.411.7. *viditvā*.

[507] *'sbrul* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sbrul*; KN.411.7. *uraga-(sāra-candana-)*.

[508] *tshogs bya ste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *spungs nas*; KN.411.7. *(-candana-)citāṃ kṛtvā*.

[509] *tsan dan* : N, L. *tsan-dan*.

[510] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[511] *bsregs te* : S. *bsreg ste* (w.r.); Ph. *sreg«s» ste* (s.e.).

[512] *tshig* : S. *tshigs* (s.e.).

[513] *pa zhi bar rig nas* : Ph. *par rigs nas* (s.e.).

[514] *te* : Ph. *nas*.

[515] *zhing* : T. *zhi* (s.e.).

[516] *cho* : Ph. *chong* (s.e.).

[517] *to* : C. *no*.

[518] *tog* : J. *rtog* (s.e.).

[519] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[520] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

(ga 23b3) chen po,] ngu ste / cho nges btab nas / smre sngags [521]bton te / rin po che sna bdun [[522]las byas pa]'i / bu[m] pa [523]sto[ng] phrag brgya[d] cu rtsa bzhi byed du bcug nas / de dag gi nang du de bzhin gshegs pa'i /

Kanjur: *chen po* SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS[524] MTHONG NA DGA' BA *ngus*[525] *te* [526]*cho nges btab nas / smre sngags 'don te*[527] */ rin po che sna* (S.229a6) *bdun gyi*[528] *bum pa brgyad khri bzhi stong byed du*[529] *bcug nas / de dag gi nang du de bzhin gshegs pa'i*

(ga 23b4) ring bsreld bcug ste / rin po che sna bdun [las byas pa]'i / ○ mchod rten [*[530]sto[ng] phrag brgya'[531] cu rtsa bzhi [532]bslang nas →*] / 'phang du [533]'TSha*ng«s»* PA'i 'jig rten la 'thug pa' / gdugs []

Kanjur: *ring bsrel bcug ste / rin po che sna bdun gyi* (KN.412) *mchod rten 'phang du* TSHANGS PA'i *'jig rten* (S.229a7) *la thug*[534] *pa / gdugs kyi*[535]

(ga 23b5) [536]brtsegs pas [537]shin du brgyand pa' / dar dang dril bu [] spyangs ○ pa [ste] [*←*] // de[s] mchod r[t]en de dag [538]bslang nas / 'di snyam du bsam○s so // bdag gis bcom ldan 'das //

Kanjur: *'phreng*[539] *bas*[540] *legs par brgyan pa / dar dang / dril bu*[541] *legs par spyangs*[542] *pa*[543]

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[521] *bton te* : Tib. Kho. *smre sngags bton te*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *smre sngags 'don te*; KN.411.10. *paridevitvā*.

[522] *las byas pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj.-; KN.411.10. *(saptaratna-)maya-*.

[523] *stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad khri bzhi stong*; KN.411.11. *catur-aśīti-(kumbha-)sahasrāṇi*.

[524] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[525] *ngus* : B. *dus* (s.e.).

[526] *cho nges* : Ph. *chong nge* (s.e.).

[527] *te* : = T, Ph, D, L (= Tib. Kho.; cf. KN.411.10. *paridevitvā*); J, B, Pk, C. *to* (w.r.); N. *no* (s.e.).

[528] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[529] *du* : J, C. *tu*.

[530] *stong phrag brgya'* (read: *brgyad*) *cu rtsa bzhi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad khri bzhi stong*; KN.411.11. *catur-aśīti-(stūpa-)sahasrāṇi*.

[531] *brgya'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad*.

[532] *bslang nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *byas te*; KN.412.1. *pratiṣṭhāpayāmāsa*.

[533] *'TSHANGS PA* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *TSHANGS PA*; KN.412.1. *Brahma-*.

[534] *thug* : C. *thugs*.

[535] *kyi* : S. *kyis*; B. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[536] *brtsegs pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pbreng ba*; KN.412.1. *(ccbattra-)āvalī-*.

[537] *shin du* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs par (brgyan pa)*; KN.412.1. *sam-(alaṃkṛta-)*.

[538] *bslang nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *byas nas*; KN.412.2. *pratiṣṭhāpya*.

[539] *'pbreng* : = T; the other Kanjurs read *pbreng* instead.

[540] *bas* : T. *pa* (s.e.).

[541] *bu* : Ph. *bu'i*.

[542] *spyangs* : = T, J (= Tib. Kho.); Ph, B. *sbyangs* (s.e.); C, L. *dpyangs*; Pk, N, D. *pyangs*. Cf. KN.412.2. *(-sam)īrita-*. Cf. n. 144.

brgyad khri bzhi stong byas te / des mchod rten de dag byas nas / 'di snyam (S.229b1) *du bsams*[544] *te / "bdag gis bcom ldan 'das*

(ga 23b6) gNYI' ZLA DRI MA MYED PA'I 'OD DPAL / de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku gdung la mchod pa [] byas na' / de bas gyang lhag pa [545]*shin du bzang bas* / de bzhin gshegs pa 'i ring bsrel la mchod pa bya 'o

Kanjur: *NYI ZLA DRI MA*[546] *MED PA'I 'OD DPAL de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku gdung la mchod pa ni byas na / de bas kyang lhag pa*[547] *ches khyad par du*[548] (S.229b2) *'phags pas*[549] */ de bzhin gshegs pa'i ring bsrel*[550] *la mchod pa bya'o*[551]"

(ga 23b7) snyam ste // [.de nas_→.] sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN DU RGYAS PA 'I MNGON BAR SHES PA' / [.←.] [.→.] SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' BA' / [.←byang cub sems [d]pa' sems dpa' chen po.] des / [.→.] [] byang cub

Kanjur: *snyam mo // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[552] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[553] *SHES PA' / de nas byang chub sems* (S.229b3) *dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA des / thams cad dang ldan pa'i*[554] *byang chub*

(ga 23b8) sems dpa' []555 [.←556thams cad.] dang / nyan thos chen po de dag dang / lha dang klu dang / gnod sbyin dang / [.lha ma yin dang /_→.] dri za dang / [.←.] [na]m ka lding dang / myi 'am ci dang / lto 'phye chen po dang / myi dang myi ma yin

Kanjur: *sems dpa'i*[557] *tshogs de dang / nyan thos chen po de dag*[558] *dang / lha dang /* (S.229b4) *klu dang / gnod sbyin dang / dri za dang / lha ma yin dang / nam mkha'*[559] *lding dang / mi 'am ci dang / lto 'phye chen po dang / mi dang mi ma yin*

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[543] *pa* : Ph. *ba*.

[544] *bsams* : T. *sems* (s.e.); Ph. *sams* (s.e.); Pk. *bsems* (s.e.); cf. Tib. Kho. *bsams*.

[545] *shin du bzang ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ches khyad par du 'phags pa*; KN.412.3. *uttari-viśiṣṭatara~*.

[546] *ma* : T. om. (s.e.).

[547] *pa* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[548] *du* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[549] *pas* : = T, Ph, D; the other Kanjurs read *pa* instead (w.r.).

[550] *bsrel* : Pk. *srel* (s.e.).

[551] *bya'o* : T. *byas* (s.e.).

[552] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[553] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[554] *pa'i* : J. *ba'i*.

[555] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *tshogs de* = KN.412.5. *taṃ* (... *bodhisattva-*)*gaṇaṃ*.

[556] *thams cad* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thams cad dang ldan pa*; KN.412.5. *sarvāvat~*.

[557] *dpa'i* : Ph. *dpa' sems dpa' chen po'i* (s.e.).

[558] *dag* : S, T. om. (s.e.).

[559] *mkha'* : S. *mkha'i* (s.e.).

(ga 24a1) ❁ // *ba'i chogs*[560] de dag «la» smras *pa'* / rigs *gyi* bu ▯ khyed thams cad ▯ ⌜soms shig_⌝ // bcom ldan 'das de 'i ring bsrel ▯ la mchod *par bya'o* ⌜←⌝ // ⌜de nas_⌝ sKAR *MAI* RGYAL PO ▯ KU{r}N *DU* RGYAS *PA'*

Kanjur (KN.412.6; T. 195a4; J. 168a1; S. 229b4; Ph. 369b8; B. 208a8; Pk. 175a3; N. 237a7; D. 153a6; C. 181a2; L. 242a7) *pa'i*[561] *tshogs*[562] *de dag la smras pa / "rigs* (S.229b5) *kyi bu dag! khyed thams cad kyis*[563] */ bcom ldan 'das de'i ring bsrel*[564] *rnams la mchod pa bya bar*[565] *soms shig" / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[566] *RGYAS PA*

(ga 24a2) MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / ⌜←⌝ ⌜→⌝ SEMS CAN THAMS CAD ▯ MTHONG NA DGA' *BA'* / ⌜← byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po.⌝ des / de 'i tshe de bzhin gshegs pa'i / mchod rten [567]*stong phrag brgya*[568] *cu rtsa*

Kanjur: *MNGON PAR*[569] *SHES PA! / de* (S.229b6) *nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po / SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA des / de'i tshe de bzhin gshegs pa'i*[570] *mchod rten brgyad* [571]*khri bzhi stong*

(ga 24a3) *bzhi 'i* mdun du ⌜→⌝ bsod nams brgyas brgyan pa⌜'i⌝ ⌜←*bdagi* lag pa.⌝ 'bar «bar» byas *ste* / 'bar bar byas pas / lo [572]*stong phrag bdun cu tsa gnyis gyi* bar du / de bzhin gshegs pa'i mchod rten

Kanjur: *gi*[573] *mdun*[574] *du / rang* (S.229b7) *gi lag pa*[575] *bsod nams brgyas brgyan pa 'bar bar byas te*[576] */ 'bar bar byas pas*[577] *lo bdun khri nyis stong gi*[578] *bar du de bzhin gshegs pa'i*

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[560] *cbogs* : s.e. for *tshogs*.

[561] *pa'i* : J. *ba'i*.

[562] *tshogs* : T. *cbos* (s.e.).

[563] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[564] *bsrel* : T *sril* (s.e.); Ph. *srel* (s.e.).

[565] *bar* : S. *ba* (s.e.).

[566] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[567] *stong phrag brgya'* (read: *brgyad*) *cu rtsa bzhi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad khri bzhi stong*; KN.412.8. *catur-aśīti~* (... *stūpa-*)*sahasra~*.

[568] *brgya'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad*.

[569] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[570] *pa'i* : Ph. *pa'* (s.e.).

[571] *khri bzhi* : S. *bzhi khri* (s.e.).

[572] *stong phrag bdun cu tsa gnyis* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bdun khri nyis stong*; KN.412.10. *dvā-saptati-*(*varṣa-*)*sahasrāṇi*.

[573] *gi* : T. *gis* (s.e.).

[574] *mdun* : Ph. *'dun* (s.e.).

[575] *pa* : T. om. (s.e.); Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[576] *te* : Ph. *ste* (= Tib. Kho.).

[577] *pas* : Ph. *nas* (s.e.).

[578] *gi* : T. *gis* (s.e.).

mchod rten

(ga 24a4) de dag la mchod pa byas so // des mchod *pa'* de byas pas / 'khor de *nas* nyan thos grangs myed *pa'* / bye ba khrag khrig *brgya'* stong ⌈du⌋ [579]*'bar bar gyurd to* // byang *cub* sems

Kanjur: *de dag la mchod pa byas so // des mchod pa de* (S.230a1) *byas pas 'khor de las nyan thos grangs med pa bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong btul*[580] *lo*[581] *// byang chub sems*

(ga 24a5) dpa' de dag thams cad *gyis gyang* / gZUGS THAMS ○ CAD YANG DAG PAR STON PA'i ting nge 'dzin [582]⌈so sor⌋ thob *bo* // ○ ⌈de nas⌋ sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I*

Kanjur: *dpa' de dag thams cad kyis kyang gZUGS*[583] *THAMS CAD YANG DAG* (S.230a2) *PAR STON PA'i ting nge 'dzin thob par gyur to // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN*[584] *TU*[585] *RGYAS PA*

(ga 24a6) MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / ⌈←⌋ ⌈→⌋ [] byang *cub* sems dpa'i tshogs de ⌈dag⌋ ⌈←[586]thams cad.⌋ dang / nyan thos chen po [d]e dag gis / ⌈→⌋ SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' *BA'* / ⌈←byang *cub* sems

Kanjur: *MNGON PAR*[587] *SHES PA! / de nas thams cad dang ldan pa'i byang chub sems dpa'i tshogs de dang /* (S.230a3) *nyan thos chen po de dag gis /* (KN.413) *byang chub sems*

(ga 24a7) dpa' sems dpa' chen po⌋ « *'i* » yan «lag» ma tshang bar / mthong nas ngu ste cho *nge* btab [n]as / smre sngags 'don cing gcig la gcig 'di [] smras *so* // ⌈→1⌋ ⌈→2⌋ SEMS CAN THAMS CAD []

Kanjur: *dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA de*[588] *yan lag* [589]*ma tshang bar mthong nas* [590]*ngu ste* [591]*cho nges*[592] *btab nas /* (S.230a4) *smre sngags 'don cing gcig la gcig 'di skad du*[593] [594]*smras te / "bdag cag gi*[595] *slob dpon rjes su ston pa /*

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[579] *'bar bar gyurd to* : s.e.?; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *btul lo* = KN.412.11. *vinītāni*.

[580] *btul* : Ph. *rtul* (s.e.).

[581] *lo* : = T, D; the other Kanjurs read *to* instead.

[582] *so sor thob bo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thob par gyur to*; KN.412.12. *pratilabdho 'bhūt*.

[583] *gZugs* : S, N. *gZungs* (w.r.). Cf. KN.412.12. (*Sarva-*)*rūpa-*(*saṃdarśana-*).

[584] *kun* : Pk. om. (s.e.).

[585] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[586] *thams cad* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thams cad dang ldan pa*; KN.412.13. *sarvāvat~*.

[587] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[588] *de* : Pk. *da* (s.e.); Ph. *des* (s.e.).

[589] *ma tshang* : Pk. *mtshad* (s.e.).

[590] *ngu ste* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *ngus te* instead.

[591] *cho nges* : Ph. *chong de* (s.e.).

[592] *nges* : Pk. *des* (s.e.).

[593] *du* : = T; the other Kanjurs omit this word.

byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS[596]

(ga 24a8) MTHONG NA DGA' BA' / [*2←]byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po[¬] 'di / [*1←] bdag cag gi [597]slobs pon [te¬] / [598][] ston pa[¬] [de¬] [599]'di ltar «da» yan lag nyam[600] ste / lag pa [601]mtshang bar gyurd to [] //

Kanjur: *MTHONG NA* (S.230a5) *DGA' BA 'di*[602] *da ltar yan lag ma tshang zhing lag pa*[603] *med par gyur to" zhes zer ro //*

(ga 24b1) [*d(e) nas→*¬] sKAR MA'I RGYAL P[O] [] KUN DU RGYAS PA'I MNGON BAR SHES PA' / [*←*] [*→*¬] SEMS CAN THAMS CAD [] MTHONG NA DGA' BA' / [*←]byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po[¬] des / byang cub s(e)ms dpa' s(ems)

Kanjur (KN.413.3; T. 195b3; J. 168a7; S. 230a5; Ph. 370a7; B. 209a1; Pk. 175b1; N. 238a1; D. 153b3; C. 181b1; L. 243a1) *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[604] *RGYAS*[605] *PA MNGON PAR*[606] *SHES PA! / de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems* (S.230a6) *dpa' chen po* SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS[607] *MTHONG NA DGA' BA des / byang chub sems dpa' sems*

(ga 24b2) dpa' chen po de dag {/} dang / nyan thos [] de dag dang / lha'i bu de dag la smras pa' // rigs gyi bu dag / bdagi yan lag nyams par mthong ba la ma ngu shig / cho nges ma 'debs shig / [608]ma smre shig /

Kanjur: *dpa' chen po de dag dang / nyan thos* [609]*chen po de dag dang / lha'i bu de dag la smras pa /* (S.230a7) *"rigs kyi bu dag*[610]*! kho bo'i*[611] *yan lag nyams*[612] *par mthong bas ma ngu*

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[594] *smras te* : Ph. *smra ste* (s.e.).

[595] *gi* : Ph. *gis* (s.e.).

[596] *kyis* : T. om. (s.e.).

[597] *slobs pon* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *slob dpon*; KN.413.2. *ācārya~*.

[598] *ston pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rjes su ston pa*; KN.413.3. *anuśāsaka~*.

[599] *'di ltar «da»* : probably s.e. for *da ltar* (= Tib. Kanj); cf. KN.413.3. *sāṃpratam*.

[600] *nyam* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ma tshang*; KN.413.3. (*aṅga-*)*bīna~*.

[601] *mtshang ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *med pa*; KN.413.3. (*bābu-*)*bīna~*.

[602] *'di* : Ph. *de* (w.r.).

[603] *pa* : T. *lag* (s.e.).

[604] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[605] *rgyas* : Pk. *brgyas* (s.e.).

[606] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[607] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[608] *ma smre shig* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *smre sngags ma 'don cig*; KN.413.6. *mā paridevadhvam*.

[609] *chen po* : = T, Ph (= KN.413.4. *mabā-*[*śrāvaka~*]); the other Kanjurs omit this word (= Tib. Kho.).

[610] *dag* : Ph. *de dag* (s.e.).

[611] *bo'i* : C. *bos* (s.e.).

[612] *nyams* : Ph. *ma nyams* (s.e.).

shig[613] */ cho nges ma 'debs shig / smre sngags ma 'don cig*[614] /

(ga 24b3) rigs «*gyi*» bu ┌'di ltar┐ / [] [•→•] sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das gang [615]*la la(')i* [•←•]'jig rten gyi *'khams* / mtha' yas mu myed pa [] na┐ bzhugs *te* / 'tsho zhing [616]*skyong ba'i* / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das {{thams}}

Kanjur: *rigs kyi bu dag! phyogs bcu'i 'jig rten gyi khams mtha'* (S.230b1) *yas mu med pa dag na / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das gang*[617] *dag bzhugs shing*[618] *'tsho zhing*[619] *gzhes*[620] *pa'i sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das*

(ga 24b4) de dag thams cad [] dpang du bzhag ste / de dag gi spyan sngar ○ bden *ba'i* byin *gyi«s»* rlabs bya'o // bden *ba* dang bden *ba'i* tshig gang gis / bdagi lag *pa'* / de bzhin gshegs *pa'* []

Kanjur: *de dag thams cad kho bos dpang*[621] *du* [622]*bzhag ste / de dag gi*[623] (S.230b2) *spyan sngar bden pa'i* [624]*byin gyi rlabs bya'o // '"bden*[625] *pa*[626] *dang / bden pa'i*[627] *tshig gang gis bdag gi*[628] *lag pa*[629] *de bzhin gshegs pa la*

(ga 24b5) mchod pa'i phyir / yongsu btang bas // bdag gi lus ○ gser gyi kha dog *lta bu* 'gyur *ba dang* / bden *ba* dang bden *ba'i* ○ tshig des bdagi lag *pa'* [] sngon gyi bzhin

Kanjur: *mchod pa'i phyir / yongs su btang bas / bdag gi* (S.230b3) *lus gser gyi kha dog*[630] *tu*[631]

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[613] *shig* : Ph, N, L. *zhig*.

[614] *cig* : Ph. *shig* (s.e.).

[615] *la la(')i* : ≠ Tib. Kanj. *pbyogs bcu'i* = KN.413.6. *daśasu dikṣu*.

[616] *skyong ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzhes pa*; KN.413.7. *yāpayanti*.

[617] *gang* : B. *gang gang* (s.e.).

[618] *shing* : T. *shig* (s.e.).

[619] *zhing* : S, T. *ste* /(w.r.); Ph. *te* (w.r.).

[620] *gzhes* : T, Ph, Pk. *bzhes* (s.e.).

[621] *dpang* : B. *drung* (s.e.); Pk. *dbang* (s.e.); cf. KN.413.7. *sākṣiṇaḥ*.

[622] *bzhag ste* : = T, Ph, D, L (= Tib. Kho.); J, B, Pk, N, C. *bzhugs te*; cf. KN.413.7. (*sākṣiṇaḥ*) *kṛtvā*.

[623] *gi* : T, Ph. *gis* (s.e.).

[624] *byin gyi rlabs bya'o* : = T (≒ Tib. Kho. *byin gyi«s» rlabs bya'o*; = KN.413.8. [*satya-*]*adhiṣṭhānaṃ karomi*); Ph. *byin gyis brlabs bya'o* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *byin gyis brlabs so* instead.

[625] *bden* : T. om. (s.e.).

[626] *pa* : J. *ba* (= Tib. Kho.).

[627] *pa'i* : J. *ba'i* (= Tib. Kho.).

[628] *gi* : S. *gis* (s.e.).

[629] *pa* : J. *ba*; T. *pa de dag* (s.e.).

[630] *dog* : C. *tog* (s.e.).

[631] *tu* : Ph. *du*.

'gyur ba'i bden pa dang / bden pa'i tshig des bdag gi[632] *lag pa 'di sngon gyi bzhin*

(ga 24b6) du gyurd cig // sa chen po 'di *lnd*[633] drug *du* g-yos par gyurd cig / bar snang la gnas [pa]'i lha'i [634]*sras po* rnams *gyis* / me{{[n]}} tog gi char chen po phob shig ▯ // ⌜•de nas→•⌝

Kanjur: *du gyur cig / sa chen po 'di*[635] *lan drug tu g-yos par gyur cig / bar snang* (S.230b4) *la gnas pa'i lha'i bu rnams kyis*[636] *me tog gi char chen po phob shig*[637] *"' " ces byas so //*

(ga 24b7) sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / ⌜•←•⌝ ⌜•→•⌝ SEMS CAN THAMS CAD ▯ MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*' // ⌜•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•⌝ des bden *ba*

Kanjur: *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[638] *RGYAS PA*[639] *MNGON PAR*[640] *SHES PA! / de nas byang chub sems* (S.230b5) *dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA des / bden pa*

(ga 24b8) 'i byin gyi rlabs de byas ma thag *du* stong *sum* gyi stong chen po 'i 'jig rten gyi *'khams* ▯ ⌞lan⌟ drug *du* g-yos *nas* // steng gi bar snang las ▯ me{{[n]}} tog gi char chen po ▯ bab bo //

Kanjur: *'i byin* [641]*gyi rlabs de*[642] *byas ma thag tu* (KN.414) *stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams 'di* (S.230b6) *rnam pa drug tu g-yos so // steng gi bar snang las kyang me tog gi char chen po mngon par* [643]*bab bo //*

(ga 25a1) ๑ // ⌜•→•⌝ SEMS CAN THAMS CAD ▯ MTHONG NA DGA' *BA*' / ⌜•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•⌝ de'i lag *pa*' / de yang ▯ ⌜•sngon gyi bzhin du [644]⌞'dug par⌟ gyurd *pa*→•⌝ ⌞de ni⌟ / byang *cub* sems dpa' sems

Kanjur (KN.414.2; T. 196a4; J. 168b6; S. 230b6; Ph. 370b7; B. 209b1; Pk. 175b8; N. 238b3; D. 154a2; C. 181b8; L. 243b2) *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*

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[632] *gi* : T. *gis* (s.e).

[633] *lna* : s.e. for *lan*.

[634] *sras po* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bu*; KN.413.10. *(deva-)putra~*.

[635] *'di* : Ph. *'di yang* (s.e.).

[636] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[637] *sbig* : N, L. *cig*.

[638] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[639] *pa* : S. *pas* (s.e.).

[640] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[641] *gyi rlabs* : = T, N, L (= Tib. Kho.); J, Ph, B, Pk, D, C. *gyis brlabs*. Cf. KN.413.11. *(satya-)adhiṣṭhāne*.

[642] *de* : Ph, B. *te* (s.e.).

[643] *bab bo* : Ph, C. *phab po* (s.e.); B. *bab po* (s.e.).

[644] *'dug par* : cf. Tib. Kanj.-; KN.414.3. *saṃsthito*.

SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' (S.230b7) *BA de'i lag pa de yang*[645] */ 'di lta ste / byang chub sems dpa' sems*

(ga 25a2) dpa' chen po de ▯ 'i / bsod nams *gyi* stobs bskyed pa dang / ye shes *gyi* stobs bskyed *paso* [•←•] // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / [•de'i dus→•] de'i tshe [•←•] na / [•gzhan zhig→1•] [•→2•] SEMS

Kanjur: *dpa' chen po de nyid kyi*[646] *bsod nams kyi*[647] *stobs bskyed*[648] *pa dang / ye shes kyi stobs bskyed*[649] *pa des sngon gyi*[650] *bzhin du gyur to //* (S.231a1) *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[651] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[652] *SHES PA! / de'i tshe de'i dus na / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[653] *SEMS*

(ga 25a3) CAN THAMS CAD ▯ MTHONG NA DGA' *BA'i*[654] / [•2←•]byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen *por*•] ▯ gyur*d* ▯ [•1←•] ▯ snyam du ▯ som nyi 'am / yid gnyis sam / the tsom *du* gyur*d* na' / sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU*

Kanjur: *CAN THAMS CAD KYIS*[655] *MTHONG NA* (S.231a2) *DGA' BA zhes bya bar gyur pa de gzhan zhig yin pa*[656] *snyam du khyod som nyi 'am / yid gnyis sam / the tsom*[657] *za bar gyur na / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[658]

(ga 25a4) RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES PA ▯ de ltar myi blta'o // de *ji* 'i phyir zhe *na*' / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'i* / ○ [•sMAN GYI RGYAL PO→•] byang *cub* sems dpa' sems

Kanjur: *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[659] *SHES PA! /* (S.231a3) *khyod kyis de ltar mi blta'o*[660] *// de ci'i phyir zhe na? / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[661] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[662] *SHES PA! / byang*

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[645] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[646] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[647] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[648] *bskyed* : T. *skyed*.

[649] *bskyed* : T. *skyed*.

[650] *gyi* : S, T. om. (w.r.).

[651] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[652] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[653] *po* : T. *po me tog* (s.e.).

[654] *ba'i* : probably s.e. for *ba'*.

[655] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[656] *pa* : = T, Ph; the other Kanjurs omit this word.

[657] *tsom* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *tshom* instead.

[658] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[659] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[660] *blta'o* : T, Ph. *lta'o* (w.r.).

[661] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[662] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

chub sems dpa' sems

(ga 25a5) dpa' chen po ⌜•←•⌟ 'di ▯ / de 'i tshe de 'i dus na / ⌜•→•⌟ SEMS CAN THAMS ○ CAD ▯ MTHONG NA DGA' BA' zhes bya *ba 'i* / ⌜•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen *por*•⌟ gyur*d* to // sKAR MA'I RGYAL

Kanjur: *dpa' chen po sMAN GYI*[663] *RGYAL PO 'di nyid* (S.231a4) *de'i tshe de'i dus na / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS*[664] *MTHONG NA DGA' BA zhes bya bar gyur to // sKAR MA'I RGYAL*

(ga 25a6) PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / ⌜•→•⌟ sMAN GYI RGYAL PO ⌜•←byang *cub* sems [d]pa' sems dpa' che[n] *pos*•⌟ [665]*dka' bar bya ba'* / bye ba khrag khrig *brgya'* stong de snyed byed do // lus yongsu gtong

Kanjur: *PO ME TOG KUN TU*[666] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[667] (S.231a5) *SHES PA! / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po sMAN GYI RGYAL PO bya dka' ba bye ba*[668] *khrag khrig brgya stong de snyed byed*[669] *do //* [670]*lus yongs su gtong*[671]

(ga 25a7) ba yang byed do // ⌜de bas na⌟ sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / rigs *gyi* [672]bu ⌜po⌟ 'am / rigs <gyi> bu mo / byang *cub* sems dpa'i theg pa la ▯ zhugs pa⌜s 'di'⌟ / bla na myed pa yang

Kanjur: *ba yang*[673] *byed do // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME* (S.231a6) *TOG KUN TU*[674] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[675] *SHES PA! / rigs kyi bu 'am / rigs kyi bu mo byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa la yang dag par zhugs pa / bla na med pa yang*

(ga 25a8) dag par rdzogs pa'i byang *cub du*[676] 'dod *cing* / ⌜rkang pa'i *mthe'* bo→•⌟ de bzhin gshegs pa'i mchod rten ▯ la ⌜•←•⌟ [677]*bsregs pa* ⌜dang⌟ / lag pa'i sor mo 'am /

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[663] *gyi* : S. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[664] *kyis* : S. *kyi* (s.e.).

[665] *dka' bar bya ba'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bya dka' ba*; KN.414.9. *duṣkara-*.

[666] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[667] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[668] *bye ba* : S, T. om. (w.r.). Cf. KN.414.9. *-koṭī-*.

[669] *byed* : T. om. (s.e.).

[670] *lus yongs su gtong ba yang byed do //* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[671] *gtong* : B, Pk. *stong* (s.e.). Cf. KN.414.10. *(-pari-)tyāga-*.

[672] *bu po* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bu*; KN.414.11. *(kula-)putra-*.

[673] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[674] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du*.

[675] *par* : J. *bar*.

[676] *du* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'di* = KN.414.11. *imām*.

[677] *bsregs pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'bar bar bya'o*; KN.414.12. *ādīpayet*.

rkang pa'i sor mo [] *'am* / []⁶⁷⁸ lag pa [kun] ⁶⁷⁹*bsregs na'* //

Kanjur: *dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub*⁶⁸⁰ (S.231a7) *'di 'dod pas / de*⁶⁸¹ *bzhin gshegs pa'i* ⁶⁸²*mchod rten dag la rkang pa'i* ⁶⁸³*mtbe bo 'bar*⁶⁸⁴ *bar*⁶⁸⁵ *bya'o // lag pa'i sor mo 'am / rkang pa'i sor mo gcig gam / yan lag gcig gam / lag* (S.231b1) *pa 'bar bar bya'o //*

(ga 25b1) byang *cub* sems dpa'i theg pa la zhugs pa'i / rigs *gyi* ⁶⁸⁶bu [po] 'am / rigs *gyi* bu mo de'*i* / bsod nams mngon *bar* 'du byed *pa'* / *shin du* mang du ⁶⁸⁷*'phel te* / rgyal [po 'i] srid yongsu btang bas *gyang* /

Kanjur (KN.414.13; T. 196b4; J. 169a5; S. 231b1; Ph. 371b1; B. 210a2; Pk. 176a7; N. 239a5; D. 154a7; C. 182a8; L. 244a4) *byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa la zhugs pa'i rigs kyi bu 'am / rigs kyi bu mo de ni bsod nams mngon par*⁶⁸⁸ *'du byed pa ches mang du* (KN.415) *skyed*⁶⁸⁹ ⁶⁹⁰*de / rgyal srid yongs* (S.231b2) *su btang bas ni*

(ga 25b2) de lta ma yin no // chung ma dang ⁶⁹¹bu *po* dang / bu mo ⁶⁹²*sdug* pa [] btang bas *gyang* de lta ma yin no // stong *sum* gyi stong chen po 'i / 'jig rten gyi *'khams* nags [] dang bcas *pa'* / ⁶⁹³rgya mtsho [mching rnams] dang

Kanjur: *de lta ma yin no // chung ma dang / bu pho dang / bu mo* ⁶⁹⁴*phangs pa yongs su btang*⁶⁹⁵ *bas*⁶⁹⁶ *ni*⁶⁹⁷ *de lta ma yin no // stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams*⁶⁹⁸ *nags* (S.231b3) *tshal dang bcas pa / rgya mtsho dang*

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⁶⁷⁸ Cf. Tib. Kanj. *yan lag gcig gam* = KN.414.12. *ekāṅgaṃ vā*.

⁶⁷⁹ *bsregs na'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'bar bar bya'o*; KN.414.13. *ādīpayet*.

⁶⁸⁰ *cbub* : T. *cbub tu* (s.e.).

⁶⁸¹ *de* : T. *chen po de* (s.e.).

⁶⁸² *mchod rten dag* : = T, Ph (= KN.414.12. *-caityeṣu*); the other Kanjurs read *mchod rten de dag* instead (w.r.). Cf. Tib. Kho. *mchod rten*.

⁶⁸³ *mtbe bo* : = T, J, B, N, L (= Tib. Kho. *mtbe' bo*); Ph. *tbe bo* (s.e.); Pk, D. *mtbe bong*; C. *mtbe bor* (s.e. for *mtbe bong*).

⁶⁸⁴ *'bar* : C. om. (s.e.).

⁶⁸⁵ *bar* : J. om. (s.e.).

⁶⁸⁶ *bu po* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bu*; KN.414.13. (*kula-*)*putra~*.

⁶⁸⁷ *'phel te* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *skyed de*; KN.415.1. *prasavati*.

⁶⁸⁸ *par* : J, Ph. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

⁶⁸⁹ *skyed* : Ph. *bskyed* (s.e.).

⁶⁹⁰ *de /* : = T (≒ Tib. Kho. *te /*); the other Kanjurs read *do //* instead.

⁶⁹¹ *bu po* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bu pho*; KN.415.1. *-putra-*.

⁶⁹² *sdug pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phangs pa*; KN.415.1. *priya-*.

⁶⁹³ *rgya mtsho mching rnams* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rgya mtsho*; KN.415.2. *-samudra-*.

⁶⁹⁴ *phangs pa* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

⁶⁹⁵ *btang* : Ph. *gtong* (s.e.).

⁶⁹⁶ *bas* : Pk. *pas* (s.e.).

⁶⁹⁷ *ni* : T. om. (s.e.).

⁶⁹⁸ *khams* : = T, Ph (≒ Tib. Kho. *'khams*); the other Kanjurs read *khams na* instead (w.r.).

(ga 25b3) bcas *pa'* / ri dang bcas *pa'* / [699]*chu myig* dang ⌊bcas pa'⌋ / *mtshe'u* dang [700]*rdzing bu* dang / [701]*'khron* pa ▯ [702]*'tshal du* ▯ bcas *pa'* / yongsu btang bas *gyang* de lta ma yin no // [703]⌊gang yang⌋ sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU*

Kanjur: *bcas pa / ri dang bcas pa /* [704]*'bab chu'i dngo dang / mtsho dang / mtshe'u*[705] *dang / khron pa dang / kun dga*[706] *ra ba*[707] *dang bcas pa yongs su btang*[708] *bas ni de lta* (S.231b4) *ma yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[709]

(ga 25b4) RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / rigs *gyi* bu ⌊po⌋ 'am / ○ rigs *gyi* bu mo / byang *cub* sems dpa'i theg pa la ▯ zhugs *pas* / ○ ▯ ⌊'di⌋ stong *sum* gyi stong chen po'i / 'jig

Kanjur: *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[710] *SHES PA*[711]*! / rigs kyi bu 'am rigs kyi bu mo byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa la yang dag par zhugs pa gang gis*[712] *stong gsum* (S.231b5) *gyi stong chen po'i 'jig*

(ga 25b5) rten gyi *'kham«s»* 'di / rin po che sna bdun gyis / rab *du* gang bar *bya ste* // sangs rgyas dang byang *cub* sems dpa' dang / nyan thos dang rang ○ sangs rgyas *tams*[713] cad la / sbyin *ba* byin ⌊bas⌋ *gyang* /

Kanjur: *rten gyi khams 'di rin po che sna bdun gyis rab tu gang bar byas te*[714] */ sangs rgyas dang / byang chub sems dpa' dang / nyan thos dang / rang sangs rgyas thams* (S.231b6) *cad la sbyin pa byin na*[715] /

(ga 25b6) sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / rigs *gyi* bu ⌊po⌋ 'am / rigs *gyi* bu mo de *'i* / bsod nams 'di tsam du myi 'phel te // ji tsam du rigs

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[699] *chu myig* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'bab chu'i dngo*; KN.415.2. *-utsa-*.

[700] *rdzing bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mtshe'u*; KN.415.2. *-taḍāga-*.

[701] *'khron pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *khron pa*; KN.415.2. *-kūpa-*.

[702] *'tshal du* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *kun dga'* (*v.l. dga'i*) *ra ba*; KN.415.2. *-ārāma-*.

[703] *gang yang* : cf. Tib. Kanj.-; KN.415.2. *yaś ca khalu punar*.

[704] *'bab chu'i dngo* : = T, D, L; J, B, Pk, N, C. *'bab chu'i ngos*; Ph. *'bab chu'i ngogs* (s.e.). Cf. KN.415.2. *-utsa-*.

[705] *mtshe'u* : S, T. *'tshe'u* (w.r.); Ph. *mtsho'u* (s.e.).

[706] *dga'* : = T, Ph; the other Kanjurs read *dga'i* instead.

[707] *ba* : S. *bar* (s.e.).

[708] *btang* : Ph. *gtong* (s.e.).

[709] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[710] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[711] *pa* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[712] *gis* : S. *gi* (s.e.); Ph. *gang gis* (s.e.).

[713] *tams* : s.e. for *thams*.

[714] *te* : Ph. *ste* (s.e.).

[715] *na* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

gyi bu ⌈po⌋ 'am / rigs *gyi* bu mo

Kanjur: *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[716] *RGYAS PA*[717] *MNGON PAR SHES PA! / rigs kyi bu 'am rigs kyi bu mo de ni* [718]*bsod nams 'di tsam du mi 'phel te / ji tsam du* [719]*rigs* (S.231b7) *kyi bu 'am / rigs kyi*[720] *bu mo*[721]

(ga 25b7) gang gis / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di las / [722]*chung du* na tshig bzhi pa'i tshigsu bcad pa⌈'i⌋ gcig tsam «'dzin» pa []723 de 'i bsod nams mngon *bar* 'du byed *pa*' / [] *shin du* mang bar

Kanjur: *gang gis / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[724] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di*[725] *las tha na tshig bzhi pa'i tshigs su bcad pa gcig tsam 'dzin pa de bsod nams ji snyed*[726] (S.232a1) [727]*cig bskyed*[728] *pa de snyed du mi*[729] *skyed de / de'i bsod nams mngon par*[730] *'du byed pa 'di ni de bas ches mang bar*

(ga 25b8) [b]shad *de* / stong *sum* gyi stong chen po 'i 'jig rten gyi *'khams* 'di / rin po che sna bdun gyis *shin du* gang bar *byaste* // sangs rgyas dang byang *cub* sems dpa' dang / nyan thos dang / «rang» sangs rgyas

Kanjur: *bshad kyis*[731] *stong gsum gyi*[732] *stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi* (S.232a2) *khams 'di rin po che sna bdun* [733]*gyis*[734] *rab tu gang bar byas te / sangs rgyas dang / byang chub sems dpa' dang*[735] */ nyan thos dang / rang sangs rgyas*

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[716] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[717] *pa* : Ph. *pa«'»i* (= Tib. Kho.).

[718] *bsod nams 'di tsam du mi 'phel te / ji tsam du* : = T (≒ Tib. Kho.; = KN.415.5. *<na> ... tāvat puṇyaṃ prasavati yāvat*); the other Kanjurs omit these words (w.r.).

[719] *rigs kyi bu 'am /* : T. om. (s.e.).

[720] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[721] *mo* : J. om. (s.e.); Ph. *mo de ni* (s.e.).

[722] *chung du na* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tha na*; KN.415.6. *antaśas*.

[723] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *de bsod nams ji snyed cig bskyed pa de snyed du mi skyed de*; KN.415.6.-.

[724] *pad ma* : S, T, Ph, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[725] *'di* : T. *de* (s.e.).

[726] *snyed* : J. *snyad* (s.e.).

[727] *cig bskyed pa de snyed* : T. om. (s.e.).

[728] *bskyed* : = Ph; the other Kanjurs read *skyed* instead.

[729] *mi* : Ph. *ma* (s.e.).

[730] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[731] *kyis* : = T; the other Kanjurs read *kyi* instead.

[732] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[733] *gyis rab tu* : J, C. om. (s.e.).

[734] *gyis* : Ph. *gyi* (s.e.).

[735] *dang* : T. *sems dpa' chen po dang* (s.e.).

(ga 26a1) ꠸ // thams cad la sbyin *ba* byin *ba* ⌈bas⌋ ni / de lta ma yin no // ⌈·'di lta ste dper na→⌋ sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / ⌈·←·⌋ [736]*chu myig* dang mtsho' dang / [737]*rdzing rnams gyi* nang na //

Kanjur (KN.415.5; T. 197a4; J. 169b4; S. 232a2; Ph. 372a2; B. 210b3; Pk. 176b3; N. 239b7; D. 154b6; C. 182b7; L. 244b6) *thams cad la sbyin pa byin pa ni*[738] *de lta*[739] (S.232a3) *ma yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[740] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[741] *SHES PA! / 'di lta ste dper na /* [742]*'bab chu'i dngo dang / mtsho*[743] *dang / mtsbe'u*[744] *thams cad kyi nang na /*

(ga 26a2) [745]*rgya' mtsho'* ⌈mching rnams⌋ ▯ [746]*gtso' bor* gyur*d* pa ▯ // ⌈·de bzhin du→⌋ sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / ⌈·←·⌋ de bzhin gshegs pas bshad pa'i mdo sde thams cad *gyi* nang *na*' //

Kanjur: *rgya mtsho ni*[747] *mchog tu* (S.232a4) *gyur pa yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[748] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[749] *SHES PA! / de bzhin du /* [750]*de bzhin gshegs pas bshad pa'i mdo sde thams cad kyi nang na*

(ga 26a3) DAM PA'I CHOS *PU '[DA] RI KA* CHOS *gyi gzbung* 'di [751]*gtso' bor* gyur*d pa'o* // ⌈de⌋ / ⌈·'di lta ste dper na→⌋ sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / ⌈·←·⌋ ri NAG PO dang [752]*KHO RA* YUG dang [753]*KHO RA* YUG ⌈GI⌋

Kanjur: (KN.416) *DAM PA'I*[754] *CHOS* (S.232a5) *PAD MA*[755] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di mchog tu*

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[736] *chu myig* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'bab chu'i dngo*; KN.415.10. *utsa-*.

[737] *rdzing bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mtsbe'u*; KN.415.10. *-taḍāga-*.

[738] *pa ni* : S. *na* (s.e.).

[739] *lta* : T. *la* (s.e.).

[740] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[741] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[742] *'bab chu'i dngo* : = T, D, L; J, B, Pk, N, C. *'bab chu'i ngos*; Ph. *'bab chu'i ngogs* (s.e.). Cf. KN.415.10. *utsa-*.

[743] *mtsbo* : T. *mtsbe* (s.e.).

[744] *mtsbe'u* : S, T. *'tsbe'u* (w.r.).

[745] *rgya' mtsbo' mcbing rnams* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rgya mtsbo*; KN.415.10. *mahāsamudra-*.

[746] *gtso' bo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mcbog*; KN.415.11. *mūrdha-(prāpta-)*.

[747] *ni* : B. *na* (s.e.).

[748] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[749] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[750] *de bzhin gsbegs pas* : S, T, D, L. *de bzhin gsbegs pa thams cad kyis* (w.r.). Cf. Tib. Kho. *de bzhin gsbegs pas*; KN.415.11. *tathāgata-(bhāṣita-)*.

[751] *gtso' bo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mcbog*; KN.416.1. *mūrdha-(prāpta-)*.

[752] *KHO RA yug* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *KHOR YUG*; KN.416.2. *Cakravāḍa-*.

[753] *KHO RA YUG GI RI CHEN PO* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *KHOR YUG CHEN PO*; KN.416.2. *Mabācakravāḍa-*.

[754] *pa'i* : J. *ba'i*.

[755] *pad ma* : S, T, Ph, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

gyur pa yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU[756] *RGYAS PA MNGON* [757]*PAR*[758] *SHES PA! / 'di lta ste dper na / ri NAG PO dang /* [759]*KHOR YUG dang /* (S.232a6) [760]*KHOR YUG*

(ga 26a4) ⌈RI⌋ CHEN PO thams cad *gyi* nang na / RI RAB ▯ ri 'i rgyal po ▯ [761]*gtso' bor* ○ gyur*d pa'o* ⌈de bzhin *du*'→⌉ / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON ○ *BAR* SHES *PA*' / ⌈←⌉ de bzhin gshegs pa [762]▯ 'i

Kanjur: *CHEN PO thams cad kyi nang na /* [763]*RI RAB ni ri'i rgyal po ste mchog tu gyur pa yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[764] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[765] *SHES PA! / de bzhin du / de bzhin gshegs* (S.232a7) *pas gsungs pa'i*

(ga 26a5) mdo sde thams cad *gyi* nang na // DAM PA'I CHOS *PU* ○ *'DA« '» RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di ▯ *gtso' bor* gyur*d pa'o* // ▯[766] zla ba bye ba khrag khrig *brgya'* stong *las* lhag

Kanjur: *mdo sde thams cad kyi nang na / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[767] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di rgyal po ste*[768] *mchog tu gyur pa yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[769] *RGYAS PA MNGON*[770] (S.232b1) *PAR*[771] *SHES PA! / 'di lta ste dper na / skar ma thams cad kyi nang na / zla* [772]*ba ni 'od byed pa'i mchog tu gyur pa yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[773] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[774] *SHES PA! / de bzhin du /* (S.232b2) *de bzhin gshegs pas gsungs pa'i mdo sde thams cad kyi nang na / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[775] *DKAR*

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[756] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[757] *par shes pa* : T. *bang* (s.e.).

[758] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[759] *KHOR YUG* : J, C. *'Khor yug* (s.e.); D. *Khor yag* (s.e.).

[760] *Khor yug* : J, C. *Kho* (s.e.).

[761] *gtso' bo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mchog*; KN.416.2. *mūrdha-(prāpta~)*.

[762] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsungs pa'i*; KN.416.3. *(tathāgata-)bbāṣitānāṃ*.

[763] *Ri rab* : = T, Ph, D, L (= Tib. Kho.); J, B, Pk, N, C. *Ri rab ri*. Cf. KN.416.2. *Sumeru*.

[764] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[765] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[766] - : s.e. Cf. Tib. Kanj. *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU RGYAS PA MNGON PAR SHES PA! / 'di lta ste dper na / skar ma thams cad kyi nang na .... rnam grangs 'di ni*; KN.416.4~6. *tadyathâpi nāma Nakṣatrarājasaṃkusumitābhijña sarveṣāṃ nakṣatrāṇāṃ candramāḥ .... dharmaparyāyaś*.

[767] *pad ma* : S, T, Ph, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[768] *rgyal po ste* : S, T. om. (s.e.); Pk. *rgyal po sta* (s.e.); cf. KN.416.4. *rājā*.

[769] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du*.

[770] *mngon* : T. *mang po me tog gi kun tu rgyas pa mngon* (s.e.).

[771] *par* : J. *bar*.

[772] *ba ni* : T. *na ma* (s.e.).

[773] *tu* : J, Pk. *du*.

[774] *par* : J. *bar*.

[775] *pad ma* : S, T, Ph, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di ni / zla ba bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong pas[776] *lhag*

(ga 26a6) par / ⌈shin du⌋[777] 'od byed pa'i mchog *du* gyur*d* pa'*o* // ⌈de⌋ ⌈.'di lta ste dper na_.⌋ / sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / nyi ma 'i dkyil 'khor ▯ mun pa ▯ thams cad /

Kanjur: *par*[778] *'od byed pa'i* (S.232b3) *mchog tu gyur pa yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[779] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[780] *SHES PA' 'di lta ste dper na / nyi ma'i dkyil 'khor ni* [781]*mun pa mun nag*[782] *thams cad*

(ga 26a7) [783]sel *pa*' // ⌈.de bzhin du_.⌋ sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / ⌈.←.⌋ DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di *'ang* myi *dge*' ba'i mun pa ▯ thams cad *seld to* //

Kanjur: *sel bar byed do*[784] // *sKAR* (S.232b4) *MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[785] *RGYAS PA*[786] *MNGON PAR*[787] *SHES PA' de bzhin du DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[788] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di*[789] *yang*[790] *mi dge ba'i mun pa mun nag*[791] *thams cad* [792]*sel bar byed do //*

(ga 26a8) ▯ ⌈de⌋ 'di lta ste dper na SUM CU RTSA GSUM PA'i lha ▯ *'i* nang na / *brGya*' BYIN ▯ lha▯*'i* dbang *po'o* // ⌈.de bzhin du_.⌋ sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' ⌈.←.⌋ // DAM PA'I

Kanjur: *sKAR* (S.232b5) *MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[793] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[794] *SHES PA'*[795] *'di lta*

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[776] *pas* : S, J, Ph, N, D, L. *bas*.

[777] *lhag par shin du* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *lhag par*; KN.416.6. *-atireka-*.

[778] *par* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[779] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[780] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[781] *mun pa* : T. om. (s.e.).

[782] *nag* : = T, Ph; the other Kanjurs read *gnag* instead.

[783] *sel pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sel bar byed*; KN.416.7. *vidhamati*.

[784] *do* : Ph. *ba'o*.

[785] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[786] *pa* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.) (= Tib. Kho.).

[787] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[788] *pad ma* : S, T, Ph, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[789] *'di* : T. *de* (s.e.).

[790] *yang* : T. *yan lag* (s.e.); N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[791] *nag* : = T, Ph; the other Kanjurs read *gnag* instead.

[792] *sel bar byed do* : T. *kyis gtso bor gyur pa'i rig par bya'o* (s.e.).

[793] *tu* : J, C. *du*.

[794] *par* : J. *bar*.

[795] *sbes pa* : Ph. *sbes pa {de bzhin du Dam pa'i chos pad ma dkar po'i chos kyi rnam grangs 'di yang mi dge ba'i mun pa mun nag thams cad sel bar byed do // sKar ma'i rgyal po me tog kun tu rgyas pa mngon par sbes pa}* (s.e.; dittography).

ste dper na / SUM CU[796] *RTSA GSUM PA'I*[797] *lha rnams kyi*[798] *nang na / BRGYA BYIN ni lha rnams kyi*[799] *dbang po yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME* (S.232b6) *TOG KUN TU*[800] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[801] *SHES PA! de*[802] *bzhin du / DAM PA'I*

(ga 26b1) CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di *'ang* / de bzhin gshegs pas [803]*bshad* pa'i mdo sde thams cad *gyi* ▯ dbang *po'o* / ┌'di {/} «lta ste» dper na┘ sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS <*PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES> *PA'* //

Kanjur (KN.416.10; T. 197b6; J. 170a5; S. 232b6; Ph. 372b6; B. 211a6; Pk. 177a7; N. 240b4; D. 155a6; C. 183b1; L. 245b3) *CHOS* [804]*PAD MA*[805] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di yang*[806] *de bzhin gshegs pas*[807] *gsungs pa'i mdo sde thams cad kyi nang na dbang* (S.232b7) *po yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[808] *RGYAS PA*[809] *MNGON PAR*[810] *SHES PA! 'di lta ste dper na /*

(ga 26b2) [811]┌TSHA(NG)S PA┘ MYI MJED *gyi* bdag *po'* ┌←┐ ▯ / TSHANGS RIS *gyi* lha thams cad *gyi* rgyal po ste / TSHANGS PA'i 'jig rten na pha 'i bya ba byed do // ┌de bzhin du┘ sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES PA / ┌←┐

Kanjur: *MI MJED*[812] *kyi bdag po* [813]*TSHANGS PA ni TSHANGS RIS*[814] *kyi lha thams*[815] *cad kyi*[816] *rgyal po ste / TSHANGS PA'i* (S.233a1) *'jig rten na pha'i bya ba byed do // sKAR MA'I RGYAL*

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[796] *cu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu*.

[797] *pa'i* : T. *gyi* (s.e.); J. *ba'i*.

[798] *kyi* : T. *kyis kyis* (s.e.).

[799] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.); Ph. *kyi nang na* (s.e.).

[800] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[801] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[802] *de* : S. *'di la de* (s.e.).

[803] *bshad pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsungs pa*; KN.416.11. (*tathāgata-*)*bhāṣita~*.

[804] *pad ma dkar po'i chos* : T. om. (s.e.).

[805] *pad ma* : S, Ph, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; T. om. (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[806] *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.); T. *yan lag* (s.e.).

[807] *pas* : J. *bas*.

[808] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[809] *pa* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[810] *par* : J. *bar*.

[811] *TSHA(NG)S PA MYI MJED gyi bdag po'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *MI MJED kyi bdag po TSHANGS PA*; KN.416.11. *Brahmā Sahāṃpatiḥ*. The word order of the reading in the Tib. Kho. agrees with that in the Sanskrit version.

[812] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[813] *TShangs pa ni* : T. om. (s.e.).

[814] *ris* : Ph. *rigs* (s.e.).

[815] *thams* : C. *rnams* (s.e.).

[816] *kyi* : Ph. *gyi nang na* (s.e.).

PO ME TOG KUN TU[817] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[818] *SHES PA! de bzhin du /*

(ga 26b3) DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di *'ang* / [819]sems can ⌜thams cad⌟ ⌜dang⌟ / slob pa dang myi slob pa ⌜·–·⌟ dang / nyan thos [820]⌜thams cad⌟ dang /[821]⌜rang sangs rgyas thams cad dang /⌟ byang *cub* sems dpa'i

Kanjur: *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[822] *DKAR PO'I*[823] *CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di yang*[824] (S.233a2) *sems can slob pa dang mi slob pa thams cad dang / nyan thos dang / byang chub sems dpa'i*[825]

(ga 26b4) theg pa la ▯ zhugs *pa'* / [826]*rnams gyi* pha 'i bya ba byed do // ⌜de⌟ ○ ⌜'di lta ste dper na⌟ / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES PA / ○ rgyun *du* zhugs pa dang / lan cig phyir 'ong ba da«ng» /

Kanjur: *theg pa la yang dag par zhugs pa thams cad la*[827] *pha'i bya ba byed do // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG* (S.233a3) *KUN*[828] *TU*[829] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[830] *SHES PA! 'di lta ste / dper na / rgyun tu*[831] *zhugs pa dang / lan cig*[832] *phyir 'ong*[833] *ba dang /*

(ga 26b5) phyir myi 'ong ba dang / [834]*nyan thos* dang rang sangs rgyas rnams / {«gyi»} ○ byis *ba* [835]*[m]a rabs* thams cad las / 'das *pa'* / ⌜de bzhin du⌟ sKAR MA'I ○ RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES PA / ⌜·–·⌟

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[817] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[818] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[819] *sems can thams cad dang slob pa dang myi slob pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sems can slob pa dang mi slob pa thams cad* = KN.416.13. *sarveṣāṃ sattvānāṃ śaikṣāśaikṣāṇāṃ*.

[820] *thams cad* : = KN.416.14. *sarva-(śrāvakāṇāṃ)*; Tib. Kanj.-.

[821] *rang sangs rgyas thams cad dang* : ≒ KN.416.14. *pratyekabuddhānāṃ* (= Bj, K, C4, N1, C6, T2 *etc.*) ≠ Tib. Kanj.- (= D1, C1, C2, T3).

[822] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[823] *po'i* : Ph. *pos* (s.e.).

[824] *yang* : Ph. *yangs* (s.e.); N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[825] *dpa'i* : T. *dpa' sems dpa' chen po* (s.e.).

[826] *zhugs pa' rnams gyi* : = KN.416.14. (*bodhisattvayāna-*)*samprasthitānāṃ* ≠ Tib. Kanj. *yang dag par zhugs pa thams cad la*.

[827] *kun* : Ph. *dkun* (s.e.).

[828] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[829] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[830] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[831] *tu* : = T, Ph, B, Pk; the other Kanjurs read *du* instead (= Tib. Kho.).

[832] *cig* : L. *gcig*.

[833] *'ong* : T. *mi 'ong* (s.e.).

[834] *nyan thos* : ≠ Tib. Kanj. *dgra bcom pa*; KN.416.16. *-arhat-*.

[835] *ma rabs* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *so so'i skye bo*; KN.416.15. *-pṛthagjana-*.

Kanjur: *phyir mi 'ong ba dang / dgra bcom pa*[836] *dang / rang sangs rgyas rnams ni byis* (S.233a4) *pa so so'i skye bo thams cad las 'das pa'o*[837] // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU[838] RGYAS PA MNGON PAR[839] SHES PA' *de bzhin du /*

(ga 26b6) DAM PA'I CHOS PU 'DA« '» RI KA'I CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di *'ang* / de bzhin gshegs pas [840]*bshad pa*'i / mdo sde thams cad las 'das shing / [] 'phagste *gtso' bor* gyurd par rig par bya 'o //

Kanjur: *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[841] *DKAR*[842] *PO'I CHOS kyi rnam*[843] *grangs 'di yang*[844] *de bzhin* (S.233a5) *gshegs pas*[845] *gsungs pa'i mdo sde*[846] *thams cad las 'das shing*[847] *mngon par*[848] *'phags te / mchog tu gyur par*[849] *rig*[850] *par bya'o //*

(ga 26b7) [•→•] gang [] mdo sde[] rgyal po 'di 'dzin pa de dag *gyang* / sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / sems can *rnams*[851] *gyi* gtso bor gyurd par rig par bya'o //

Kanjur: (KN.417) *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[852] [853]*RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[854] *SHES PA' gang* (S.233a6) *dag mdo sde'i*[855] *rgyal po 'di 'dzin*[856] *pa de dag kyang sems can thams cad kyi*[857] *gtso bor gyur par rig*[858] *par bya'o //*

(ga 26b8) [de] [•'di lta ste dper na→•] / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR*

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[836] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[837] *pa'o* : J. *ba'o*.

[838] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[839] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[840] *bshad pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsungs pa*; KN.416.17. *-bhāṣita~*.

[841] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[842] *dkar* : T. om. (s.e.).

[843] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[844] *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[845] *pas* : S. *pa'i*; Pk. *pa* (s.e.).

[846] *sde* : Ph. *ste* (s.e.).

[847] *shing* : J. *shang* (s.e.).

[848] *par* : J. *bar*.

[849] *par* : Ph. *bar*.

[850] *rig* : Ph. *rigs* (s.e.).

[851] *sems can rnams* : = KN.417.1. *sattvā* ≠ Tib. Kanj. *sems can thams cad*.

[852] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[853] *rgyas pa* : Ph. *brgyas pa'i* (s.e.).

[854] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[855] *sde'i* : T. *sde* (= Tib. Kho.).

[856] *'dzin* : Pk. *'jin* (s.e.).

[857] *kyi* : S. *kyis* (s.e.).

[858] *rig* : Ph. *rigs* (s.e.).

SHES PA / nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas thams cad *gyi* nang na / byang *cub* sems dpa' ▯ mchog ces bya'o //

Kanjur: *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[859] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[860] *SHES PA! 'di lta ste /* (S.233a7) *dper na / nyan thos dang / rang sangs rgyas thams cad kyi nang na byang chub sems dpa' ni*[861] *mchog*[862] *ces bya'o //*

(ga 27a1) ❦ // ⌈•de bzhin du⌋ sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* ⌈•⌋ / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di *'ang* / de bzhin gshegs pas *bshad pa*'i mdo sde thams cad

Kanjur (KN.417.3; T. 198a6; J. 170b4; S. 233a7; Ph. 373a8; B. 211b7; Pk. 177b6; N. 241a6; D. 155b4; C. 184a1; L. 246a5) *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[863] *RGYAS PA*[864] *MNGON PAR SHES PA! de bzhin du /* (S.233b1) *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[865] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di yang*[866] *de bzhin gshegs pas gsungs pa'i mdo sde*[867] *thams cad*

(ga 27a2) *gyi* ▯ mchog ces bya'o // ⌈de⌋ ⌈•'di lta ste dper na⌋ / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas dang / byang *cub* sems dpa' thams cad *gyi* nang na /

Kanjur: *kyi* [868]*nang na mchog ces bya'o // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[869] *RGYAS* (S.233b2) *PA*[870] *MNGON PAR*[871] *SHES PA! 'di lta ste / dper na / nyan thos dang / rang sangs rgyas dang / byang chub sems dpa' thams cad kyi*[872] *nang na*

(ga 27a3) de bzhin gshegs pa ▯ chos *gyi* rgyal por [873]*dar gyis bcings pa'* / ⌈•de bzhin du⌋ sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* ⌈•⌋ / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di *'ang* /

Kanjur: *de bzhin gshegs pa ni chos kyi*[874] *rgyal por thabs gsol* (S.233b3) *pa*[875] *yin no // sKAR MA'I*

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[859] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[860] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[861] *ni* : T. *na byang chub* (s.e.).

[862] *mchog* : Ph. *chog* (s.e.).

[863] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[864] *pa* : Ph. *pas* (s.e.).

[865] *pad ma* : S, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *pad ma* instead.

[866] *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[867] *sde* : Ph. *ste 'di* (s.e.).

[868] *nang na* : = T, N, L; the other Kanjurs omit these words (= Tib. Kho.).

[869] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[870] *pa* : T. *pad* (s.e. for *pa'i*?); Ph. *pa'i* (= Tib. Kho.).

[871] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[872] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[873] *dar gyis bcings pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thabs gsol pa*; KN.417.5. *paṭṭa-baddha~*.

[874] *kyi* : Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU[876] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[877] *SHES PA! de bzhin du / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[878] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di yang*[879]

(ga 27a4) byang *cub* sems dpa'i theg pa la / ▯ zhugs *pa*' rnams la ○ de bzhin gshegs pa ▯ [880]*lta bu 'o* // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA'I*

Kanjur: *byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa la yang* (S.233b4) *dag par zhugs pa rnams la de bzhin gshegs pa*[881] *dang 'dra ba yin no // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN*[882] *TU*[883] *RGYAS PA MNGON* [884]*PAR*[885] *SHES PA! / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[886] *DKAR PO'I*

(ga 27a5) CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di ▯ sems can thams cad ⌊gyi⌋ 'jigs ○ pa [887]*kun* skyob *pa'o* // sdug bsngal{{d}} thams cad «las» [888]*grol ba* ste / ○ skom *ba* ▯ la [889]*chu myig* dang 'dra'o //

Kanjur: *CHOS kyi rnam*[890] *grangs* (S.233b5) *'di*[891] *ni sems can* [892]*thams cad 'jigs pa thams cad las*[893] [894]*skyob pa / sdug bsngal thams cad las thar bar*[895] *byed pa ste / skom pa*[896] *rnams la mtshe'u*[897] *dang 'dra'o //*

(ga 27a6) grang bas nyen pa ▯ la mye dang 'dra'o / gcer bu *pa* la gos dang 'dra'o /

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[875] *pa* : Ph. *ba*.

[876] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[877] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[878] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[879] *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[880] *lta bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'dra ba*; KN.417.6. (*tathāgata-*)*bhūta~*.

[881] *pa* : Ph. *ba*.

[882] *kun* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[883] *tu* : J. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[884] *par shes pa / Dam* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[885] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[886] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[887] *kun* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thams cad*; KN.417.8. *sarva-*(*bhayebhyo*).

[888] *'grol ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thar bar byed pa*; KN.417.8. *vimocaka~* (*v.l. mocaka~*).

[889] *chu myig* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mtshe'u*; KN.417.8. *taḍāga~*.

[890] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[891] *'di* : T. *des na 'di* (s.e.).

[892] *thams cad 'jigs pa* : S. om. (s.e.).

[893] *las* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[894] *skyob pa* : T. *skyo ba* (s.e.).

[895] *bar* : J. *par*.

[896] *pa* : J. *ba* (= Tib. Kho.).

[897] *mtshe'u* : S, T. *'tshe'u* (w.r.); Ph. *tshe'u* (s.e.).

[898]'tshong pa [] la [899]ded pon [] 'dra'o / bu [] la ma dang 'dra'o / pha rol du [900]rgal ba [] la gru dang 'dra'o / nad pa [] la sman [] dang 'dra'o //

Kanjur: *grang bas nyen pa rnams*[901] *la me dang 'dra'o // gcer* (S.233b6) *bu rnams la gos dang 'dra'o // tshong*[902] *pa rnams la ded dpon*[903] *dang 'dra'o // bu rnams la ma dang 'dra'o // pha rol tu*[904] *'gro ba rnams la gru dang 'dra'o // nad pa rnams la*[905] *sman pa*[906] *dang 'dra'o //*

(ga 27a7) mun pa[]s bsgribs pa [] la mar mye dang 'dra'o / nor 'dod pa [] la rin po che dang 'dra'o / [907]mkhar gyi rgyal po thams cad la [908]khor lo skor ba dang 'dra'o // 'bab chu rnams la [909]rgya «mtsho» [mching rnams]

Kanjur: (S.233b7) *mun pa mun nag*[910] [911]*gis bsgribs*[912] *pa*[913] *rnams*[914] *la mar me dang 'dra'o // nor 'dod*[915] *pa rnams la rin po che dang 'dra'o // khams kyi*[916] *rgyal po thams cad la 'khor los*[917] *sgyur ba dang 'dra'o*[918] // (S.234a1) *'bab chu rnams la rgya mtsho*

(ga 27a8) da«ng» 'dra'o / mun pa [] thams cad seld pa la sgron ma dang 'dra'o / [de bzhin du_•] sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO [] KUN DU RGYAS PA'I MNGON BAR SHES PA' / [•_•] DAM PA'I CHOS PU 'DA«'» RI KA'I CHOS gyi gzhung 'di 'ang //

Kanjur: *dang 'dra'o // mun pa mun nag*[919] *thams cad sel ba'i phyir* [920]*sgron ma dang 'dra'o //*

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[898] *'tshong pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tshong pa*; KN.417.9. *vaṇija~*.

[899] *ded pon* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ded dpon*; KN.417.9. *sārthavāha~*.

[900] *rgal ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'gro ba*; KN.417.9. *(pāra-)gāmin~*.

[901] *rnams* : Ph. *rnas* (s.e.).

[902] *tshong* : Ph. *tshongs* (s.e.); Pk. *tshod* (s.e.).

[903] *dpon* : Pk. *ngpon* (s.e.).

[904] *tu* : J, D. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[905] *la* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[906] *pa* : T, B. om. (s.e.).

[907] *mkhar gyi rgyal po* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *khams kyi rgyal po*; KN.417.10. *-koṭṭarājan~*.

[908] *'khor lo skor ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'khor los (v.l. lo) sgyur ba*; KN.417.10. *cakravartin~*.

[909] *rgya mtsho mching rnams* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rgya mtsho*; KN.417.11. *samudra~*.

[910] *nag* : = T, Ph; the other Kanjurs read *gnag* instead.

[911] *gis bsgribs* : T. *gisgrib* (s.e.).

[912] *bsgribs* : Ph. *sgrib* (s.e.).

[913] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[914] *rnams* : Ph. *rnam* (s.e.).

[915] *'dod* : Pk. *'dong* (s.e.).

[916] *kyi* : J. *gyi* (s.e.).

[917] *los* : = T, Ph, B, Pk, D; the other Kanjurs read *lo* instead (= Tib. Kho.).

[918] *'dra'o* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[919] *nag* : = T, Ph; the other Kanjurs read *gnag* instead.

[920] *sgron ma* : T. *mun nag* (s.e.).

sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU[921] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR SHES* (S.234a2) *PA! de bzhin du / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[922] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam*[923] *grangs 'di yang*[924]

(ga 27b1) sdug bsngal [ba] thams cad [] rab *du* [925]*'grol ba*'o / nad thams cad gcod pa'o / 'khor ba'i bci«ng»s pa [926]*log pa* [] las rab *du* [927]*'grel ba*'o / sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA* //

Kanjur (KN.417.12; T. 198b7; J. 171a3; S. 234a2; Ph. 374a2; B. 212b1; Pk. 178a6; N. 242a1; D. 156a3; C. 184b1; L. 246b7) *sdug bsngal thams cad las*[928] *rab tu thar bar*[929] *byed pa'o // nad thams cad gcod pa'o //* [930]*'khor ba'i* [931]*bcings* (S.234a3) *pa nyam nga ba*[932]*thams cad las rab tu thar bar*[933] *byed pa'o // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[934] *RGYAS PA*[935] *MNGON PAR*[936] *SHES PA!*

(ga 27b2) gang gis DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA«'»RI KA'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di thos pa dang / gang gis [] [937]*bris pa* dang / gang [gis] [] [938]drir *bcug* pa*'i* / [] [939] [940]*rigs gyi bu po 'am / rigs gyi bu mo de dag* gis / [.][941]ji *tsam du*$_{\rightarrow 1^{\circ}}$ [.]bsod

Kanjur: *gang gis DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[942] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam*[943] *grangs 'di* (S.234a4) *thos pa*

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[921] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[922] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[923] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[924] *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[925] *'grol ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *(rab tu) thar bar byed pa*; KN.417.12. *(-pra)mocaka~*.

[926] *log pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *nyam nga ba*; KN.417.13. *(saṃsāra-bandhana)-saṃkaṭa-*.

[927] *'grol ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *(rab tu) thar bar byed pa*; KN.417.13. *(-pra)mocaka~*.

[928] *las* : Ph. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[929] *bar* : T, B. *par*.

[930] *'khor ba'i* : = Tib. Kho.; = D1, D3, C4, N1 *etc. saṃsāra-*; ≠ K, T2, P1, P2. *saṃskāra-*; ≠ KN.417.12. *saṃsāra-bhaya-* (= Bj, C5, C6, T6 *etc.*).

[931] *bcings pa* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); Ph, B, Pk, N. *bcing pa*; J, D, C, L. *bcing ba*.

[932] *thams cad* : T. om. (s.e.; = Tib. Kho.).

[933] *bar* : = J, Ph, C, L; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *par* instead.

[934] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[935] *pa* : S. *par* (s.e.).

[936] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[937] *bris pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *yi ger 'dri ba*; KN.417.14. *likhati*.

[938] *'drir bcug pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *yi ger 'drir 'jug pa*; KN.417.14. *lekhayati*.

[939] Cf. KN.418.1.-; Tib. Kanj. *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU RGYAS PA MNGON PAR SHES PA*.

[940] *rigs gyi bu po 'am / rigs gyi bu mo de dag gis* : = KN.418.1. *sa kulaputro vā kuladuhitā vā*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *gang gis*.

[941] *ji tsam du* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ji snyed cig*; KN.418.1. *yāvant~*.

[942] *pad ma* : S, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[943] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

dang / gang gis[944] *yi ger* [945]*'dri ba dang*[946] */ gang yi ger 'drir 'jug pa*[947] *dang / sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[948] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR SHES PA! /* (KN.418) *gang gis*[949]

(ga 27b3) nams mngon *bar* 'du byed *pa*' /$_{\rightarrow 2}$ ['phel bar 'gyur ba'i / bsod nams mngon *bar* 'du byed *pa*' / de$_{\rightarrow 3}$ [sangs rgyas *gyi* ye shes *gyis gyang* /$_{\rightarrow 4}$ [mtha'$_{\rightarrow 5}$ [rtogs par myi nus so //$_{\rightarrow 6}$ chos *gyi gzhung*

Kanjur: *chos kyi rnam grangs*

(ga 27b4) 'di bzung ngam / bstan tam / thos sam [] *dris*[950] sam / ○ [] [951]'drir *bcug* gam / glegs bam du byas te sti stang du byed pa dang / ○ [952]*bla mar* byed pa dang / bkur *sti* byed pa dang /

Kanjur: *'di bzung*[953] (S.234a5) *ngam / bstan*[954] *tam / thos sam / yi ger bris sam /* [955]*yi ger 'drir 'jug gam / glegs*[956] *bam du byas te /* *sti*[957] *stang du byed pa dang / btsun par byed pa dang / bkur stir*[958] *byed pa* (S.234a6) *dang /*

(ga 27b5) mchod pa dang / *me*{{*n*}} tog dang / bdug pa dang *dri* dang / 'phreng ba dang / ○ byug pa dang / phye ma dang / [959][chos] gos dang / gdugs dang / rgyal mtshan da«ng» / ○ [lha 'i] ba dan dang / [960]*sil snyan* dang / na bza' da«ng» /

Kanjur: *mchod pa dang / me tog dang / bdug pa dang / spos dang / 'phreng*[961] *ba dang / byug pa*[962] *dang / phye ma dang / gos dang / gdugs dang / rgyal mtshan dang / ba dan dang* [963] / (S.234a7) *rol mo'i sgra dang / na bza' dang /*

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[944] *gis* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs omit this word.

[945] *'dri ba dang* : Ph. *«drir» 'jug* (s.e.).

[946] *dang* : T. *'am* (w.r.).

[947] *pa* : Ph. *ba* (s.e.).

[948] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du*.

[949] *gis* : Pk. *gi* (s.e.).

[950] *dris* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *yi ger bris*; KN.418.3. *likhitvā*.

[951] *'drir bcug* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *yi ger 'drir 'jug*; KN.418.3.- (= most of the Sanskrit MSS.); = K. *lekhayitvā*.

[952] *bla mar byed pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *btsun par byed pa*; KN.418.3. *gurukuryāt*.

[953] *bzung* : T, J, N, D and C read thus (= Tib. Kho.); Ph, B, Pk, L. *gzung*; S. *gsung* (s.e.).

[954] *bstan* : B, Pk. *ston*.

[955] *yi ger 'drir 'jug gam* : ≠ KN.418.3.-; = K. *lekhayitvā*.

[956] *glegs* : Ph. *gleg* (s.e.).

[957] *sti* : T, J, Ph, Pk and C read thus (= Tib. Kho.); S, B, N, D, L. *bsti*.

[958] *stir* : T, Ph. *sti* (= Tib. Kho.).

[959] *chos gos* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gos*; KN.418.4. *-cīvara-*.

[960] *sil snyan* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rol mo'i sgra*; KN.418.4. *vādya-*.

[961] *'phreng* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *phreng* instead.

[962] *pa* : T. *ba*.

[963] Both the Tib. Kho. and the Tib. Kanj. lack parallels here with the following word in the

(ga 27b6) thal mo sbyar ba'i las dang / mar gyi mar mye 'am / *til*[964] gyi mar mye 'am / [] tsam pa ka'i [] mar mye 'am / [me tog] *su ma na* dang / *pa ta la* dang / *bar shi ka* dang / na ba ma li ka 'i mar gyi mar mye 'am //

Kanjur: *thal mo sbyar ba'i las dang / mar gyi mar me 'am / 'bru mar gyi mar me 'am /* [965]*spos mar gyi mar me 'am /* [966]*tsam pa ka'i mar gyi mar me 'am / sna*[967] *ma dang /* (S.234b1) *skya snar*[968] *dang /* [969]*bar sha ka dang /* [970]*na ba ma li ka'i mar gyi mar me 'am /*

(ga 27b7) mchod pa rnam pa mang pos sti stang du *byas* / [971]*bla mar byas* / [972]*ri mor byas* / mchod par byed pa'i / [*2←*] [*1←*] [*3←*] [] [*5←*] [] [*4←*] [*6←*] [*→7*] [*→8*] rigs *gyi* bu [po] 'am / rigs *gyi* bu mo byang *cub* sems dpa'i theg pa la [] zhugs pa'*i rnams* /

Kanjur: [973]*mchod pa rnam*[974] *pa* [975]*mang pos sti*[976] *stang du byed /* [977]*btsun par byed /* [978]*rim gror byed / mchod par*[979] *byed pa'i bsod* (S.234b2) *nams mngon par*[980] *'du byed pa ji snyed cig 'phel bar 'gyur ba'i bsod nams mngon par 'du byed pa*[981] *de dag gi*[982] *mtha' ni / sangs rgyas kyi*[983] *ye shes kyis kyang rtogs par mi*[984] *nus so //* sKAR (S.234b3) *MA'I RGYAL PO*

Sanskrit edition: KN.418.4. *-vaijayantī-* (= Bj, C4, N1, C6 *etc.*); D1, K. -.

[964] *til* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'bru mar*; KN.418.5. *-taila-*.

[965] *spos mar gyi mar me 'am* : The translator(s) of the Tibetan Kanjur wrongly interpreted KN.418.4. *gandhatailapradīpair* as *gandha*(*pradīpair*) plus *tailapradīpair*.

[966] *tsam pa ka'i* : N, L. *tsam-pa ka'i*.

[967] *sna* : Ph. *snar* (s.e.).

[968] *snar* : = T, D; B. *nad* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *nar* instead.

[969] *bar sha ka* : = T (≒ Tib. Kho. *bar shi ka* = KN.418.5. *vārṣika-*); the other Kanjurs read *par sha ka* instead (w.r.).

[970] *na ba ma li ka'i* : = T, J, N, C, L (= Tib. Kho.; = KN.418.6. *navamālikā-*); Ph. *na ba ma li ki'i* (s.e.); B, Pk, D. *na pa ma li ka'i* (w.r.).

[971] *bla mar byas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *btsun par byed*; KN.418.6. *gurukāraṃ kuryāt*.

[972] *ri mor byas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rim gror byed*; ≠ KN.418.6. - (= Bj, D3 [Toda 1988a: 18], N1 *etc.*); = D1, K, C4. *mānanāṃ*.

[973] *mchod pa rnam pa mang pos* : ≠ KN.418.6. - (= Bj, C4, N1 *etc.*; *v.l. babuvidhābhiś ca*); = D1, D3 (Toda 1988a: 18), K. *babuvidhābhiś ca pūjābhiḥ* (K. °*ābhis*).

[974] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[975] *mang pos* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); Ph. om. (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *mang po dag gis* instead.

[976] *sti* : T, J, Ph, Pk and C read thus (= Tib. Kho.); S, B, N, D, L. *bsti*.

[977] *btsun par byed / rim gror byed /* : T. om. (s.e.).

[978] *rim gror byed / mchod par byed pa* : ≠ KN.418.6. - (= Bj, D3 [Toda 1988a: 18], N1 *etc.*); = D1, K, C4. *mānanāṃ pūjanāṃ*.

[979] *par* : T. *pa* (s.e.).

[980] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[981] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[982] *gi* : T. *gis* (s.e.).

[983] *kyi* : Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

ME TOG KUN TU[985] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[986] *SHES PA*[987]*! gang zhig sMAN GYI RGYAL PO'I SNGON*[988] *GYI SBYOR BA'i le'u 'di 'dzin pa dang / ston pa dang / nyan pa'i*[989] *rigs kyi bu 'am / rigs kyi bu mo byang* (S.234b4) *chub sems dpa'i theg pa la yang*[990] *dag par zhugs pa*[991] *de*

(ga 27b8) ⌈gyi⌋ bsod nams mang du [992]*'phel lo* // [*8←] gang ▯ sMAN GYI RGYAL PO 'I / SNGON GYI *TSHUL*[993] *gyi* le'u 'di 'dzin pa dang / [994]*glog* pa dang / *nyand pa de*.⌉ / gal te [*7←] sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* /

Kanjur: *bsod nams mang du*[995] *bskyed*[996] *par 'gyur ro // gal te*

(ga 28a1) ❂ // MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' /.⌉ bud myed ▯[997] *gyis* chos *gyi gzhung* 'di thos nas / 'dzin ⌈cing 'chang[998]⌉ na de nyid bud myed *gyi* lus ▯ tha mar 'gyur ro // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES [*P*](*A*' /)

Kanjur (KN.418.9; T. 199a7; J. 171b3; S. 234b4; Ph. 374b4; B. 213a2; Pk. 178b6; N. 242b4; D. 156b2; C. 185a1; L. 247b3) *bud med gcig gis chos kyi rnam*[999] *grangs 'di thos nas 'dzin na*[1000] */* (KN.419) *de nyid*[1001] *bud med kyi lus* (S.234b5) *kyi*[1002] *tha*[1003] *mar 'gyur ro // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1004] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR SHES PA!*

(ga 28a2) bud myed gang la las / sMAN GYI RGYAL PO▯ SNGON GYI *TSHUL gyi* / le 'u 'di lnga *brgya*' ▯ tha ma la thos nas / nan tan du byed pa de ▯ 'di nas shi 'phos nas /

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[984] *mi* : T. *mi mi* (s.e.).

[985] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[986] *par* : T. *bar rtog kun tu rgyas pa mngon bar* (s.e.).

[987] *pa* : T. *pa (pa)* (s.e.).

[988] *sngon* : C. *ston* (s.e.).

[989] *pa'i* : J. *ba'i*.

[990] *yang* : Ph. *yangs* (s.e.).

[991] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[992] *'phel lo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bskyed* (*v.l. skyed*) *par 'gyur ro*; KN.418.8. *prasaviṣyati*.

[993] *tshul* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sbyor ba*; KN.418.8. (*Bhaiṣajyarājapūrva-*)*yoga-*(*parivarta-*).

[994] *glog pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ston pa*; KN.418.8. *vācayiṣyati*.

[995] *du* : T. *po* (s.e.).

[996] *bskyed* : = T, L; the other Kanjurs read *skyed* instead.

[997] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *gcig*; KN.418.9.-.

[998] *'chang* : = KN.418.9. *dhārayiṣyati* (= Bj, C4, C5, C6, T2, T6 *etc.*); Tib. Kanj.- (= D1, K, N1, C1, C2).

[999] *rnam* : T, Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1000] *na* : S. om. (s.e.).

[1001] *nyid* : S. *nyid na*; T. *nyid du*.

[1002] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1003] *tha* : = T, Ph, N, L (= Tib. Kho.); J, B, Pk, N, C, D. *mtha'*.

[1004] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1005] [bDE BA CAN→] [gyi] 'jig rten gyi khamsu [←→] skye [] ste //

Kanjur: *bud med gang*[1006] *la las*[1007] *sMAN GYI*[1008] *RGYAL PO'I SNGON GYI*[1009] *SBYOR BA'i le'u 'di lnga brgya pa*[1010] *tha ma la thos nas / nan tan du*[1011] (S.234b6) *byed pa de*[1012] *ni*[1013] *'di nas shi 'phos nas 'jig rten gyi khams BDE BA CAN du skye bar 'gyur te /*

(ga 28a3) gang na bcom ldan 'das [TSHE DPAG [du] MYED [pa'] →] / de bzhin gshegs pa *dgra'* bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [←→] / byang *cub* sems dpa'i tshogs *gyis* / [] *bskord*

Kanjur: *gang na bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas*[1014] *TSHE* (S.234b7) *DPAG MED byang chub sems dpa'i tshogs*[1015] *kyis yongs su bskor*

(ga 28a4) cing bzhugste / 'tsho [] [1016]*skyong* [*ba*] der [] [1017]pad *mo* 'i snying po 'i seng ○ ge 'i khri la 'dug bzhin du *skye'o* // de [la] 'dod chags *gyis* ○ gzir *par* myi 'gyur [] / zhe sdang gis ma yin [/]

Kanjur: *cing bzhugs te 'tsho*[1018] *zhing gzhes*[1019] [1020]*pa der / de pad ma'i*[1021] [1022]*snying po'i* [1023]*seng ge'i khri la 'dug bzhin du skye bar 'gyur ro // de 'dod chags kyis*[1024] *gzir* (S.235a1) *bar mi 'gyur te*[1025] */ zhe*[1026] *sdang gis*[1027] *ma yin /*

[1005] *BDE BA CAN gyi 'jig rten gyi khamsu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'jig rten gyi khams BDE BA CAN*; KN.419.3. *Sukhāvatī~ lokadhātu~*. The word order of the reading in the Tib. Kho. agrees with that in the Sanskrit version.

[1006] *gang* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1007] *las* : Ph. *la* (s.e.).

[1008] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1009] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1010] *pa* : Ph. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[1011] *du* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs omit this word.

[1012] *de* : Pk. *da* (s.e.).

[1013] *ni* : = T; the other Kanjurs omit this word (= Tib. Kho.).

[1014] *rgyas* : S. *rgyas kyis* (s.e.).

[1015] *tshogs* : C. *chogs* (s.e.).

[1016] *skyong ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzhes pa*; KN.419.4. *yāpayati*.

[1017] *pad mo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pad ma*; KN.419.4. *padma-*. The form *pad mo* is found also at Tib. Kho. ga 32a5, 32a6, 32a8, 33b2, 34b8, 35a3, 35b7, 35b8, 36b6, 37a6, 37a7, 37b2, 38a2.

[1018] *'tsho* : Ph. *mtsho* (s.e.).

[1019] *gzhes* : S, Ph. *zhes* (s.e.); T, B, N, D, L. *gzhes*; J, Pk, C. *bzhes*.

[1020] *pa der / de* : Ph. *la {[']}dir* (s.e.).

[1021] *pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma'i* instead.

[1022] *snying po'i* : = T, Ph, D, L (= Tib. Kho.; = KN.419.4. [*padma-*]*garbhe* [*siṃhāsane*]); the other Kanjurs omit these words.

[1023] *seng ge'i* : T. *seng-ge'i*; Ph. *sing gi'i*.

[1024] *kyis* : S. *kyi* (s.e.).

[1025] *te* : = T, Ph, D, L; J, B, Pk, N, C. *ro*.

(ga 28a5) gti mug gis ma yin / nga rgyal gyis ma yin / [1028]*'jungs* ○ *pas* ma yin / khro bas ma yin / gnod sems *gyis* ma yin {/} ○ te / [] skyes ma thag *du* [•lnga_•] mngon *bar* shes pa [•←•]

Kanjur: *gti mug gis*[1029] *ma yin / nga rgyal gyis*[1030] *ma yin / ser snas ma yin / khro bas ma yin / gnod sems kyis ma yin te*[1031] */ de* (S.235a2) *skyes ma thag tu mngon par*[1032] *shes pa lnga*

(ga 28a6) [1033][so sor] *'thob bo* // myi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa [] [so sor] *'thob bo* / [•myi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa [so sor] *'thob* nas_•] / [yang] sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' /

Kanjur: *thob par 'gyur ro // mi skye*[1034] *ba'i chos la bzod pa yang*[1035] *thob par 'gyur ro // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1036] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[1037] *SHES PA! /*

(ga 28a7) byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po des / [•←•] [•→•] *chu bo GANG GA* bdun cu rtsa gnyis *gyi* bye ma *dang mnyam ba'i* [•←de bzhin gshegs *pa'*•] / mthong bar 'gyur ro // myig gi dbang po

Kanjur: *byang chub sems* (S.235a3) *dpa' sems dpa' chen po des*[1038] *mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa thob nas*[1039] */ de bzhin gshegs pa* [1040]*GANG GĀ'i klung bdun cu*[1041] *rtsa gnyis kyi bye ma snyed mthong bar 'gyur ro // mig gi*[1042] *dbang po*

(ga 28a8) yongsu dag *pa'* / gang gi[s] / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de dag mthong bar 'gyur *ba'* / de 'dra bar de 'i myig gi dbang po yongsu dag par 'gyur *te* / sangs rgyas bcom ldan

Kanjur: *yongs su dag pa* (S.235a4) *gang gis sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das de dag mthong bar 'gyur*

[1026] *zhe* : Ph. *zhes* (s.e.).

[1027] *gis* : T. *gi* (s.e.).

[1028] *'jungs pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ser sna*; KN.419.5. *mātsarya-*.

[1029] *gis* : T. *gi* (s.e.).

[1030] *gyis* : Ph. *gyi* (s.e.).

[1031] *te* : S, T. om. (w.r.); cf. Tib. Kho. *te*.

[1032] *par* : T, J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1033] *so sor 'thob bo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thob par 'gyur ro*; KN.419.6. *pratilapsyate*.

[1034] *skye* : T. *skyes* (s.e.).

[1035] *yang* : = J, D, C; B, Pk, N, L. *'ang*; T. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[1036] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1037] *par* : T. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1038] *des* : Ph. *de* (s.e.).

[1039] *nas* : S. *na* (s.e.).

[1040] *Gang gā'i* : S, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; Ph. *Gang gi'i* (s.e.; ≒ Tib. Kho. *Gang ga*); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead.

[1041] *cu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu*.

[1042] *gi* : S. *gis* (s.e.).

ba[1043] *de 'dra bar*[1044] *de'i*[1045] *mig gi*[1046] *dbang po yongs su dag par 'gyur ro // sangs rgyas bcom ldan*

(ga 28b1) 'das de dag gis *gyang* / [] [1047]*dge'o* zhes bya ba *byin bar* 'gyur te / gang *khyed gyis* DAM PA 'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di *thoste* / bcom ldan 'das [*→*] [1048]*SHAG KYA* thub pa'[*→*] / de bzhin gshegs pa

Kanjur (KN.419.10; T. 199b6; J. 172a2; S. 235a4; Ph. 375a4; B. 213b2; Pk. 179a4; N. 243a5; D. 156b6; C. 185a8; L. 248a4) *'das de dag gis kyang de la legs so zhes* (S.235a5) *bya ba sbyin par*[1049] *'gyur te / "gang khyod kyis DAM PA'I CHOS*[1050] *PAD MA*[1051] *DKAR*[1052] *PO'I CHOS kyi*[1053] *rnam grangs*[1054] *'di thos nas / bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa*[1055]

(ga 28b2) *dgra'* bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [*←*] / de 'i [1056]*rab gyi tshig* la lung mnos pa dang / kha ton byas *pa'* dang / bsgoms pa dang / bsams pa dang / yid la byas pa dang / sems can

Kanjur: *dgra bcom pa yang dag*[1057] *par rdzogs pa'i sangs* (S.235a6) *rgyas SHĀKYA thub pa de'i gsung*[1058] *rab la* (KN.420) *lung mnos*[1059] *pa*[1060] *dang / kha ton*[1061] *byas pa*[1062] *dang / bsgoms*[1063] *pa*[1064] *dang / bsams*[1065] *pa dang / yid la* [1066]*byas pa dang / sems can*

[1043] *ba* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1044] *bar* : Ph. *ba* (s.e.).

[1045] *de'i* : = T, Ph, D (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs omit this word.

[1046] *gi* : Ph. *gis* (s.e.).

[1047] *dge'o zhes bya ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs so zhes bya ba*; KN.419.10. *sādhu-kāra~*.

[1048] *SHAG KYA* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *SHAKYA*; KN.419.11. *Śākya~*.

[1049] *par* : T, J. *bar*.

[1050] *chos* : Ph. *mchos* (s.e.).

[1051] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma'i* instead.

[1052] *dkar* : Pk. *dgar* (s.e.).

[1053] *kyi* : S. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1054] *grangs* : S. *grang(s)*.

[1055] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[1056] *rab gyi tshig* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsung rab*; KN.419.11. *pravacana~*.

[1057] *dag* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1058] *gsung* : Ph. *« g »sungs* (s.e.).

[1059] *mnos* : Ph. *nod* (s.e.).

[1060] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[1061] *ton* : = T, Ph, N, L (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *don* instead.

[1062] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[1063] *bsgoms* : Ph, B, Pk. *bsgom* (s.e.).

[1064] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[1065] *bsams* : Ph. *bsam* (s.e.).

[1066] *byas pa* : Ph. *bya ba* (s.e.).

(ga 28b3) gzhan [] la [] rab *du* bstan pa [] *dge'o dge'o* // rigs *gyi* bu khyod *gyi* bsod nams mngon *bar* 'du byed *pa*' / [']di [] myes [tsh]ig pa 'am / chus khyer bar myi nus so // rigs *gyi* bu khyod

Kanjur: *gzhan dag la yang*[1067] *rab tu bstan*[1068] *pa*[1069] / (S.235a7) *rigs kyi bu! legs so legs so // rigs kyi bu! khyod kyi*[1070] *bsod nams mngon par*[1071] *'du byed pa 'di*[1072] *ni* [1073]*mes tshig pa 'am / chus khyer bar*[1074] *mi nus so // rigs kyi bu! khyod*

(ga 28b4) *gyi* bsod nams mngon *bar* 'du byed *pa*' / 'di ni sangs ○ rgyas *brgya*' stong *gyis gyang* bshad par myi nus so / rigs *gyi* bu ○ khyod *gyis* [1075]BDUD [] [dang] rgol ba bcom mo //

Kanjur: *kyi*[1076] *bsod nams* (S.235b1) *mngon par*[1077] *'du byed pa 'di ni*[1078] / *sangs rgyas* [1079]*brgya stong gis kyang bshad par mi nus so // rigs kyi bu! khyod kyis*[1080] *BDUD kyi*[1081] *pbyir rgol ba bcom mo //*

(ga 28b5) [1082]*'byung ba'i g-yul*[1083] las *rgald* to / dgra'i tsher ma *bkrug*○*so*[1084] / sangs rgyas [] stong gis byin gyis brlabso / rigs *gyi* bu lha dang ○ bcas pa'i 'jig rten na khyod 'dra ba myed do //

Kanjur: [1085]*srid pa'i* [1086]*rgya mtsho las rgal*[1087] *to // dgra'i*[1088] *tsher ma* (S.235b2) *dkrugs*[1089] *so //*

[1067] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1068] *bstan* : Ph. *stan* (s.e.).

[1069] *pa* : T. *par* (s.e.).

[1070] *kyi* : S, T. *kyis* (w.r.). Cf. KN.420.1. *te* (= *khyod kyi*).

[1071] *par* : T, J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1072] *'di* : T. *de* (s.e.).

[1073] *mes tshig* : Ph. *mi yi tshigs* (s.e.).

[1074] *bar* : B. *par*.

[1075] *BDUD* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *BDUD kyi* (*v.l.* -) *pbyir* = KN.420.3. (*vibata-*)*Māra-pratyarthika~*.

[1076] *kyi* : S, T. *kyis* (w.r.). Cf. KN.420.2. *te* (= *khyod kyi*).

[1077] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1078] *ni* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1079] *brgya stong* : B, Pk. *brgyad stong* (s.e.); ≠ KN.420.3. *-sahasra~* (= D1, Bj, K *etc.*); = *v.l. -śata-sahasra~*; cf. Krsh. 221.

[1080] *kyis* : S. om. (s.e.).

[1081] *kyi* : = T; the other Kanjurs omit this word.

[1082] *'byung ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *srid pa*; KN.420.4. *-bhava-* (← *-bhaya-* [s.e.]).

[1083] *g-yul* : = KN.420.4. *-saṃgrāma~*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *rgya mtsho*.

[1084] *bkrugso* : i.e. *bkrugs so*.

[1085] *srid pa'i rgya mtsho* : ≠ KN.420.4. *-bhaya-saṃgrāma~* (≠ MSS.); ≒ MSS. *-bhava-saṃgrāma~* (= Tib. Kho. *'byung ba'i g-yul*); cf. Krsh. 221~222. The translator(s) of the Tibetan Kanjurs seem[s] to have confused *saṃgrāma* ("army; fight") with *sāgara* ("ocean").

[1086] *rgya mtsho* : T. *rgyal po 'tsho* (s.e.).

[1087] *rgal* : = J, Ph, B, Pk, N, C (= Tib. Kho.); T, D, L. *brgal*.

sangs rgyas brgya[1090] *stong gis byin gyis brlabs*[1091] *so // rigs kyi*[1092] *bu! lha dang bcas pa'i* [1093]*'jig*[1094] *rten na khyod*[1095] *'dra ba med do //*

(ga 28b6) de bzhin gshegs pa gcig pu ma gtogs par / gzhan nyan thos ⌈pa⌋ *'am* / rang sangs rgyas sam / byang *cub* sems dpa' gang gis *gyang* khyod la / bsod nams *gyis gyang* rung / ye shes

Kanjur: *de bzhin gshegs pa*[1096] *gcig pu*[1097] *ma gtogs par gzhan* (S.235b3) *nyan thos sam / rang sangs rgyas sam / byang chub sems dpa' gang gis kyang / khyod la bsod nams kyis kyang rung / ye shes*

(ga 28b7) *gyis gyang* rung / shes rab *gyis gyang* rung / ting nge 'dzin gyis *gyang* rung ste / zil gyis gnon par myi nus so // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA'* / byang *cub*

Kanjur: *kyis kyang rung / shes rab kyis kyang*[1098] *rung / ting nge 'dzin gyis*[1099] *kyang rung ste* / (S.235b4) *zil gyis*[1100] *gnon*[1101] *par mi nus so" // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1102] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR SHES PA' / byang chub*

(ga 28b8) sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po *des* / [1103]⌈'di lta bu⌋ ⌈'i bsod nams dang⌋ ye shes *gyi* stobs *dang / mthu'* ⌈ ⌋ thob par 'gyur ro // sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES PA //

Kanjur: *sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de*[1104] *ye shes kyi*[1105] *stobs bskyed pa*[1106] *'di lta bu thob par*

[1088] *dgra'i* : T. *dgri'* (s.e.).

[1089] *dkrugs* : Ph. *dkrug* (s.e.).

[1090] *brgya* : = T, D, L (= KN.420.4. *-śata-*); J, Ph, B, Pk, N, C. om. (= Tib. Kho.; = the Sanskrit MSS. D1, Bj, K *etc.* -). Cf. Krsh. 222.

[1091] *brlabs* : T. *rlabs* (s.e.).

[1092] *kyi* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1093] *'jig rten na* : ≠ KN.420.5. *loke samārake sabrahmake saśramaṇabrāhmaṇikāyāṃ prajāyāṃ* (= Bj, C4, C5, C6 *etc.*); = D1, K, N1, C1. *loke.*

[1094] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1095] *khyod* : S, T, Ph. *khyod dang* (w.r.). Cf. Tib. Kho. *khyod.*

[1096] *pa* : J. *ba.*

[1097] *pu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bu.*

[1098] *kyang* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1099] *gyis* : J. *gyi* (s.e.); Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1100] *gyis* : B. *gyi* (s.e.).

[1101] *gnon* : Ph. *ma non* (s.e.).

[1102] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1103] *'di lta bu 'i bsod nams dang ye shes gyi stobs dang mthu' thob par 'gyur ro* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ye shes kyi stobs bskyed pa 'di lta bu thob par 'gyur ro* = KN.420.7. *evaṃ jñāna-balâdhāna-prāptaḥ (sa ... bodhisattvo) bhaviṣyati.*

[1104] *de* : T, Ph. om. (s.e.); cf. KN.420.7. *sa* (... *bodhisattvo*).

(S.235b5) *'gyur ro // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1107] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[1108] *SHES PA!*

(ga 29a1) ๑ // ▯ sMAN GYI RGYAL PO 'I SNGON GYI TSHUL gyi le'u 'di [1109]*smra ba thoste*[1110] [1111]*dge'o* zhes bya ba byin *na* / de 'i kha nas *ud pa la*'i *bsung*[1112] 'byung ▯ *ngo* // ▯ lus ▯ [1113]*can dan* gyi [1114]dri *can du* 'gyur *te* / ▯ chos *gyi gzhung de*

Kanjur (KN.420.9; T. 200a6; J. 172a8; S. 235b5; Ph. 375b5; B. 214a2; Pk. 179b3; N. 243b7; D. 157a5; C. 185b6; L. 248b5) *gang la las sMAN GYI*[1115] *RGYAL PO'I SNGON GYI SBYOR BA'i le'u 'di bshad pa thos*[1116] *nas* / [1117]*legs so zhes bya ba byin pa*[1118] *de'i kha nas* [1119]*ut-pa* (S.235b6) *la'i dri 'byung bar 'gyur ro*[1120] / *de'i lus las kyang* [1121]*tsan dan gyi*[1122] *dri 'byung bar 'gyur ro // gang gis chos kyi rnam grangs 'di*

(ga 29a2) ▯ *la dge'o* zhes bya ba byin *na*' / [*gang ▯ →1*] [*da ltar→2*] [*ngas→3*] [*bshad pa→4*]▯'i chos ▯ gyi yon tan gyi [1123]*'bras bu* ▯ [*3←*] [*2←*] [*1←*] [*4←*] [1124]de *ltar bur* 'gyur ro // [*de lta bas na→*] sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' [*←*] //

Kanjur: [1125]*'chad pa na*[1126] *legs so zhes bya ba*[1127] *byin pa*[1128] *de'i*[1129] [1130]*chos can gyi*[1131] *yon tan*

[1105] *kyi* : Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1106] *pa* : J, Pk. *ba*.

[1107] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1108] *par* : T, J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1109] *smra ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bshad pa*; KN.420.9. *bhāṣyamāṇa~*.

[1110] *thoste* : i.e. *thos te*.

[1111] *dge'o zhes bya ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs so zhes bya ba*; KN.420.10. *sādbukāra~*.

[1112] *bsung* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *dri*; KN.420.10. (*utpala-*)*gandha~*.

[1113] *can dan* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tsan dan*; KN.420.10. *candana-*.

[1114] *dri can du 'gyur te* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *dri 'byung bar 'gyur ro*; KN.420.10. (*candana-*)*gandho bhaviṣyati*.

[1115] *gyi* : Ph. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1116] *thos* : Ph. *mthos* (s.e.).

[1117] *legs so zhes bya ba* : = T, Ph (≒ Tib. Kho. *dge'o zhes bya ba*; = KN.420.10. *sādbukāra~*); the other Kanjurs read *legs so legs so zhes bya ba* instead (w.r.).

[1118] *pa* : T. *ba'i* (s.e.); J. *ba*.

[1119] *ut-pa la'i* : = T, B, N, L; J, Pk, D, C. *ud pa la'i* (= Tib. Kho.); Ph. *ud pa le'i* (s.e.). Cf. KN.420.10. *utpala-*.

[1120] *ro* : = T; the other Kanjurs omit this word.

[1121] *tsan dan* : N, L. *tsan-dan*.

[1122] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1123] *'bras bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phan yon*; KN.420.11. (*guṇa-*)*anuśa<ṃ>sā~*.

[1124] *de ltar bur* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *de 'dra bar*; KN.420.11. *evaṃrūpa~* (*v.l. īdṛśa~*).

[1125] *'chad pa*: T. *bshad pa* (s.e.); Ph. *chad pa* (s.e.); B. *'chang ba* (s.e.); cf. KN.420.11.- = Tib. Kho.-.

[1126] *na* : T. *la* (= Tib. Kho.).

gyi (S.235b7) *phan yon de dag ni ngas da*[1132] *ltar gang dag bshad pa de 'dra bar 'gyur ro // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1133] *RGYAS PA*[1134] *MNGON PAR*[1135] *SHES PA! de lta bas na /*

(ga 29a3) [1136]⌈SEMS CAN THAMS CAD ⌋ MTHONG NA DGA' BA'I⌊ / BYANG CUB SEMS DPA' SEMS DPA' CHEN PO⌈ ⌋'I SNGON GYI TSHUL *gyi* le'u 'di *ji* nas phyi ma⌋ tshe phyi ma'i dus lnga *brgya*'⌋ tha *mar* ⌈gyurd pa na'⌋ //

Kanjur: *BYANG CHUB SEMS DPA' SEMS DPA' CHEN PO* (S.236a1) *SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS*[1137] *MTHONG NA DGA' BA'I SNGON GYI SBYOR BA'i le'u 'di ci nas phyi ma'i tshe phyi ma'i dus*[1138] *lnga brgya pa*[1139] *tha ma la /*

(ga 29a4) 'DZAM BU 'I GLING ⌋ na spyod cing [1140]⌈myi snang ba dang⌋ / nub par myi ○ [1141]*gro* ba dang / BDU[D] [1142]SDIG ⌈TO⌋ CAN gyis glags myi rnyed pa dang / ○ BDUD *gyi* ris *gyi* lha dang / klu dang gnod

Kanjur: [1143]*'DZAM BU'I GLING 'di*[1144] *na spyod cing nub par mi 'gyur* (S.236a2) *ba dang /* (KN.421) [1145]*BDUD SDIG CAN gyis* [1146]*glags mi rnyed*[1147] *pa dang / BDUD kyi ris*[1148] *kyi lha dang / klu dang / gnod*

[1127] *ba* : Ph. *bar* (s.e.).

[1128] *pa* : Ph. *pas* (s.e.).

[1129] *de'i* : Ph. *de ni* (s.e.).

[1130] *chos can gyi* : ≠ KN.420.11. *dṛṣṭadhārmikā*; = D1, Bj, K, C4, N1 *etc. dhārmikā* (= Tib. Kho. *chos gyi*).

[1131] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1132] *da* : T. *de* (s.e.).

[1133] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1134] *pa* : Ph. *pa {sbes pa}* (s.e.).

[1135] *par* : T, J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1136] *SEMS CAN THAMS CAD MTHONG NA DGA' BA'I BYANG CUB SEMS DPA' SEMS DPA' CHEN PO'I SNGON GYI TSHUL* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *BYANG CHUB SEMS DPA' SEMS DPA' CHEN PO SEMS CAN THAMS CAD KYIS MTHONG NA DGA' BA'I SNGON GYI SBYOR BA*; KN.420.13. *Sarvasattvapriyadarśanasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya pūrvayoga-(parivartaṃ)*.

[1137] *kyis* : S. *kyi* (s.e.).

[1138] *dus* : Ph. *dus {na}* (s.e.).

[1139] *pa* : T, Ph. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[1140] *myi snang ba dang* : cf. Tib. Kanj.- = KN.420.14.-.

[1141] *'gro* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'gyur*; KN.420.14. *(antardhānaṃ) gaccbet*.

[1142] *SDIG TO CAN* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *SDIG CAN*; KN.421.1. *Pāpīyas~*.

[1143] *'DZAM BU'I* : N, L. *DZAM-BU'I*.

[1144] *'di* : Ph. om. (w.r.) (= Tib. Kho.). Cf. KN.420.14. *asmiñ (Jambudvīpe)*.

[1145] *BDUD SDIG CAN gyis glags mi rnyed pa dang /* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1146] *glags mi* : Ph. *glag me* (s.e.).

[1147] *rnyed* : Ph. *snyed* (s.e.).

[1148] *ris* : Ph. *rigs* (s.e.).

(ga 29a5) sbyin dang / dri za dang [g]rul bum [] gyis / glags myi rnyed ○ par bya ba 'i phyir / ngas khyod la yongs [] gtad do // [•de lta bas na_•] ○ sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN DU RGYAS PA'I MNGON BAR

Kanjur: *sbyin dang / dri za dang / grul bum rnams kyis glags*[1149] *mi rnyed*[1150] *par bya ba'i phyir ngas khyod la yongs su* (S.236a3) *gtad*[1151] *do // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1152] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[1153]

(ga 29a6) SHES PA' [•←•] / chos gyi gzhung 'di 'DZAM BU 'I GLING 'dir [•→•] [1154]sman [] du 'gyur bar byin gyis brlab [] ste / [•←sems can na[d] pa nad gyis [1155]reg pa['i] rnams [•] / chos gyi gzhung 'di thos nas / lus la nad

Kanjur: *SHES PA! de lta bas na / chos kyi rnam grangs 'di* [1156]*'DZAM BU'I GLING 'dir*[1157] *sems*[1158] *can nad pa*[1159] *nad kyis*[1160] *btab pa rnams la sman* [1161]*lta*[1162] *bur 'gyur bar*[1163] *byin* (S.236a4) *gyis* [1164]*brlab par byas te*[1165] */ chos kyi rnam*[1166] *grangs 'di thos nas lus la nad*

(ga 29a7) gyis myi zug go // rga bas ma yin / dus ma yin bar 'chi bas ma yin [] // sKAR MA ['I RGYAL PO [] KUN DU RGYAS PA'I MNGON BAR SHES PA' / gal te [•gang_•] byang cub sems dpa'i theg pa la

Kanjur: *kyis mi zug*[1167] *go / rga bas ma yin / dus ma yin par*[1168] *'chi*[1169] *bas ma yin no // sKAR*

[1149] *glags* : Ph. *klags* (s.e.).

[1150] *rnyed* : Ph. *snyed* (s.e.).

[1151] *gtad* : Ph. *btad* (s.e.).

[1152] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1153] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1154] *sman du 'gyur ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sman lta bur 'gyur ba*; KN.421.3. *bhaiṣajya-bhūta~*.

[1155] *reg pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *btab pa*; KN.421.3. (*vyādhi-*)*spṛṣṭa~*.

[1156] *'DZAM BU'I* : S. *'DZAM BU* (s.e.); N, L. *DZAM-BU'I*.

[1157] *'dir* : S. *'di* (s.e.).

[1158] *sems* : Ph. *sem* (s.e.).

[1159] *nad pa* : S. om. (s.e.).

[1160] *kyis* : T, Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[1161] *lta bur 'gyur bar byin gyis ..... // sMAN GYI RGYAL PO'I SNGON GYI SBYOR BA'i le'u 'di bsbad pa na byang chub sems dpa' brgyad khri bzhi stong gis sGRA THAMS CAD LA MKHAS* : the image of 214b of B unfortunately is unavailable to the present author.

[1162] *lta* : Ph. *ta* (s.e.).

[1163] *bar* : T. *ba* (s.e.).

[1164] *brlab par* : Ph. *bslabs bar* (s.e.); L. *brlabs par*.

[1165] *byas te* : S, T. *bya ste* (s.e.).

[1166] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1167] *zug* : Ph. *zugs* (s.e.).

[1168] *par* : T, J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1169] *'chi* : T. *mchi* (s.e.).

MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU[1170] *RGYAS PA* (S.236a5) *MNGON PAR*[1171] *SHES PA! / gal te byang chub sems dpa'i theg*[1172] *pa la*

(ga 29a8) [] zhugs *pa'* [•←•] la las / [1173][•]*'di* lta bu *'i*[→•] mdo sde [] 'dzin pa 'i *dge'* slong [•←•] mthong na de la / [1174]*can dan* gyi phye ma dang / *ud«d»pa la* [1175]*[th]ing kas* mngon *bar* gtor [] *ro* // mngon *bar* gtor nas [] [•]sems[→1•] 'di

Kanjur: *yang dag par zhugs pa gang la las / mdo sde 'di*[1176] *'dzin pa'i*[1177] *dge slong de*[1178] *lta bu de mthong na*[1179] */ de la* [1180]*tsan dan gyi phye ma dang /* [1181]*u-tpa la sngon* (S.236a6) *pos*[1182] *mngon par*[1183] *gtor bar bya'o // mngon par*[1184] *gtor nas kyang 'di*[1185]

(ga 29b1) [ltar] [] [•]bskyed [] *do*[→2•] / rigs *gyi* bu 'di ni byang *cub gyi* snying por *'gro'o* / 'di ni rtswa len *to* / 'di ni byang *cub gyi* snying por rtswa 'ding bar 'gyur [ro] // 'di ni BDUD *gyi* phyogs *'pham bar* byed *do* / 'di ni chos

Kanjur (KN.421.6; T. 200b7; J. 172b7; S. 236a6; Ph. 376a7; B. 214b; Pk. 180a3; N. 244b2; D. 157b3; C. 186a6; L. 249a7) *snyam du "rigs kyi bu 'di ni / byang chub kyi snying por 'gro bar 'gyur*[1186] */ 'di ni rtswa*[1187] *len par 'gyur / 'di ni byang chub kyi*[1188] *snying* (S.236a7) *por*[1189] *rtswa*[1190] *'ding*[1191] *bar 'gyur / 'di ni* BDUD *kyi phyogs*[1192]

[1170] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1171] *par* : T. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1172] *theg* : Ph. *thegs* (s.e.).

[1173] *'di lta bu 'i* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *de lta bu*; KN.421.5. *evaṃrūpaṃ* (*sūtrāntadhārakaṃ bhikṣuṃ*).

[1174] *can dan* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tsan dan*; KN.421.5. *candana-*.

[1175] *thing ka* : = *mthing kha*, *mthing ga* ("deep blue, blue"); cf. Tib. Kanj. *sngon po*; KN.421.5. *nīla-*. The form *thing ka* is found also at Tib. Kho. ga 33b2. Cf. n. 1601.

[1176] *'di* : T. om. (s.e.); Pk. *'di lta bu* (s.e.); cf. KN.421.5. *evaṃrūpaṃ sūtrāntadhārakaṃ bhikṣuṃ* = *mdo sde 'di 'dzin pa'i dge slong de lta bu*.

[1177] *pa'i* : S, T. *pa* (w.r.); J. *ba'i*.

[1178] *de* : T. *'di* (s.e.).

[1179] *na* : Ph. *nas* (s.e.).

[1180] *tsan dan* : N, L. *tsan-dan*.

[1181] *ut-pa la* : = T, N, L; J, Pk, D, C. *ud pa la* (= Tib. Kho. *ud«d»pa la*); Ph. *ud dpal* (s.e.). Cf. KN.421.5. *-utpala~*.

[1182] *pos* : Ph. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1183] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1184] *par* : T. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1185] *'di* : T. *phyogs ngang di* (s.e.).

[1186] *'gyur* : Ph. *'gyur ro // {'di ni byang chub kyi snying por 'gro bar 'gyur ro}* (s.e.; dittography).

[1187] *rtswa* : Ph. *rtsa* (s.e.).

[1188] *kyi* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1189] *por* : T. *po* (s.e.).

[1190] *rtswa* : Ph. *rtsa* (s.e.).

[1191] *'ding* : T. *gding*; Ph. *lding*.

pham par byed par 'gyur / 'di ni chos

(ga 29b2) *gyi* dung 'bud par 'gyur ⌈ro⌋ / 'di ni chos *gyi* rnga rdung bar 'gyur ⌈ro⌋ / 'di ni 'khor ba'i rgya mtsho las rgal bar 'gyur ro / [] [*1←*] [*2←*] // sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / ⌈'di ltar⌋ rigs

Kanjur: *kyi dung 'bud par 'gyur / 'di ni chos kyi rnga rdung*[1193] *bar 'gyur / 'di ni 'khor ba'i rgya mtsho las*[1194] *rgal*[1195] (S.236b1) *bar 'gyur ro" snyam*[1196] *du sems bskyed*[1197] *par bya'o //*[1198] *sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1199] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR SHES PA! rigs*

(ga 29b3) *gyi* bu ⌈po⌋ *dang* / rigs *gyi* bu mo byang *cub* sems dpa'i theg pa la [] zhugs pas / ⌈*'di lta bu ⌈'i⌋→*] mdo sde ⌈*←*] 'dzin pa['ji *dge*' slong mtho(ng) nas [/] de ltar sems [1200]bskyed [] *do* / [] [*→1*] [*2*] *ji* ltar [] *→2*] de bzhin gshegs

Kanjur: *kyi bu 'am / rigs kyi bu mo byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa*[1201] *la yang dag par* (S.236b2) *zhugs pas*[1202] *mdo sde 'di lta bu*[1203] *'dzin pa'i*[1204] *dge slong mthong nas / de ltar sems bskyed*[1205] *par byas te*[1206] */ de ltar na de'i yon tan dag ni / de bzhin gshegs*

(ga 29b4) pas ⌈*2←*] bshad pa / de 'dra ba'i [1207]⌈*1←yon tan *gyi*⌋ *yon du* 'gyur ro / ○ / sMAN GYI RGYAL PO'I SNGON GYI *TSHUL gyi* le'u 'di *bstan* pa *na*' / ○ byang *cub* sems dpa' [1208]*stong phrag brgyad cu*

Kanjur: *pas ci 'dra* [1209]*ba dag bshad pa de 'dra ba*[1210] *dag tu* (S.236b3) *'gyur ro" // sMAN GYI*[1211]

[1192] *phyogs* : ≠ KN.421.7. (*Māra*)-*yakṣa*- (≠ MSS.; s.e.); = MSS. (*Māra*)-*pakṣa*-; cf. Krsh. 222.

[1193] *rdung* : L. *brdung*.

[1194] *las* : = T, Ph, D, L (= Tib. Kho.); J, Pk, N, C. om.

[1195] *rgal* : L. *brgal*.

[1196] *snyam* : Ph. *snyams* (s.e.).

[1197] *bskyed* : T. *skyed* (s.e.).

[1198] *//* : Ph. *// snyam du sems bskyed par bya'o //* (s.e.; dittography).

[1199] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1200] *bskyed* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bskyed par byas*; KN.421.10. *utpādayitavya*~.

[1201] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[1202] *pas* : Pk. *pa* (s.e.).

[1203] *bu* : Ph. *bu 'di* (s.e.).

[1204] *pa'i* : T. *ba'i*.

[1205] *bskyed* : T. *skyed* (s.e.).

[1206] *byas te* : S, T, Ph. *bya ste* (w.r.).

[1207] *yon tan gyi yon du 'gyur ro* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *yon tan dag ni ... 'gyur ro*; KN.421.10. *guṇānuśaṃsā bhaviṣyanti*.

[1208] *stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad khri bzhi stong*; KN.421.12. *catur-aśīti*~ (*bodhisattva*-)*sahasra*~.

[1209] *ba dag* : Ph. *bdag* (s.e.).

[1210] *de 'dra ba* : S. om. (s.e.).

[1211] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

RGYAL PO'I[1212] *SNGON GYI*[1213] *SBYOR BA'i le'u 'di bshad pa na byang chub sems dpa' brgyad*[1214] *khri*

(ga 29b5) *rtsa bzhis* [1215]sGRA THAMS CAD LA MKHAS *PA'I* {/} *RJESU SONG* ○ *BA*'i gzungs [1216]so sor thob [] *bo* // bcom ldan '[d]as ⌜RIN CHEN ○ MANG⌟ de bzhin gshegs pa *dgra*' bcom *ba*' /

Kanjur: *bzhi stong gis*[1217] *sGRA THAMS CAD LA MKHAS PA DANG LDAN PA'i*[1218] *gzungs thob par* [1219]*gyur to // bcom* (S.236b4) *ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa*

(ga 29b6) yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜•←•⌟ des *gyang* ⌜•dge'o zhes bya ba byin *te* →•⌟ / sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON *BAR* SHES *PA*' / 'di ltar khyod *gyis* de bzhin gshegs pa la

Kanjur: *yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas RIN CHEN MANG des kyang / "sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1220] *RGYAS PA MNGON PAR*[1221] *SHES PA'* [1222]*'di ltar khyod kyis de bzhin* (S.236b5) *gshegs pa la*

(ga 29b7) bsam gyis myi khyab pa'i yon tan gyi chos dris pa *dge'o dge'o* [] ⌜•←•⌟ // sMAN GYI RGYAL PO 'I SNGON GYI *TSHUL gyi* le 'u zhes bya ste nyi shu [] gnyis *so* // / : :

Kanjur: *bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i yon tan gyi chos*[1223] *dris*[1224] *pa legs so legs so" zhes legs so zhes*[1225] *bya ba byin no //* (KN.422) [1226]*sMAN GYI RGYAL PO'I SNGON GYI SBYOR BA'i le'u zhes bya*[1227] *ste / nyi shu rtsa gnyis pa'o //* (S.236b6) //

[1212] *po'i* : S. *po* (s.e.).

[1213] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1214] *brgyad* : Ph. *brgya* (s.e.).

[1215] *sGRA THAMS CAD LA MKHAS PA'I RJESU SONG BA* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sGRA THAMS CAD LA MKHAS PA DANG LDAN PA*; KN.421.13. *Sarvarutakauśalyānugatā*~.

[1216] *so sor thob bo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thob par gyur to*; KN.421.13. *pratilambho 'bhūt*.

[1217] *gis* : Ph. *gi* (s.e.).

[1218] *pa'i* : T, J. *ba'i*.

[1219] *gyur to* : Ph. *'gyur te* (s.e.).

[1220] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1221] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1222] *'di ltar* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *de ltar* instead. Cf. KN.421.15. *evam*.

[1223] *chos* : ≠ KN.421.15. *-dharmās tathāgatena nirdiṣṭās tvaṃ cācintyaguṇadharmasamanvāgataṃ* (= Bj, C4 *etc.*); = D1, K, N1 *etc. -dharmās*; cf. Krsh. 222-223.

[1224] *dris* : Ph. *'dris* (s.e.).

[1225] *legs so zhes* : S, T, Ph, D, L. om. (s.e.; haplography). Cf. KN.421.14. *sādbukāram adāt* : *"sādbu sādbu ....."*

[1226] *sMAN GYI RGYAL PO'I SNGON GYI SBYOR BA'i* : = J, Ph, B, Pk, N, C (≒ Tib. Kho. *sMAN GYI RGYAL PO 'I SNGON GYI TSHUL gyi*); T. *sMan gyis rgyal po'i mngon gyis sbyor ba'i* (s.e.); D, L. *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA* (L. *pad-ma*) *DKAR PO LAS sMAN GYI RGYAL PO'I SNGON GYI SBYOR BA'i*.

[1227] *bya* : S, D. *bya ba* (w.r.).

(ga 29b8) de nas bcom ldan 'das ⌜SHAG K[Y]A thub pa'⌟ / de bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom ba' / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜⌟ ⌊gyis⌋ / de 'i tshe skyes bu chen po 'i mtshan smyin mtshams

Kanjur: (KN.423) *de nas bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas SHĀKYA thub pas de'i tshe / skyes bu chen po'i mtshan smin mtshams*

(ga 30a1) ❂ // gyi mdzod spu nas / 'od [1228]btang ste / 'od des shar phyogsu ⌜⌟ chu bo GANG GA bco' brgyad gyi bye ma dang mnyam ba'i / ⌜⌟ sangs rgyas gyi zhing bye «ba» khrag khrig brgya' stong ⌊[1229]'od gyis⌋ khyab par gyurd te //

Kanjur (KN.423.2; T. 201a6; J. 173a6; S. 236b6; Ph. 377a1; B. 215a4; Pk. 180b2; N. 245a3; D. 158a2; C. 186b5; L. 250a1) *kyi* (S.236b7) *mdzod spu*[1230] *nas 'od byung*[1231] *ste / 'od des*[1232] *shar phyogs su sangs rgyas kyi zhing bye ba*[1233] *khrag khrig brgya stong phrag GANG GĀ'i*[1234] *klung bco*[1235] *brgyad kyi bye ma snyed*[1236] *dag*[1237] *khyab par byas te*[1238] /

(ga 30a2) sangs rgyas gyi zhing ⌜⌟ chu bo GANG GA bco' brgyad gyi bye ma dang mnyam ba' / ⌜⌟ bye ba khrag khrig brgya' stong ⌊[1239]'OD GZER SO SOR BRGYAND PA zhes bya ba ⌜⌟ 'ji[g] rten gyi khams⌋

Kanjur: *sangs rgyas kyi zhing bye ba khrag* (S.237a1) *khrig brgya stong phrag GANG GĀ'i*[1240] *klung bco*[1241] *brgyad kyi bye ma snyed*[1242] *de dag 'das pa de na / 'jig*[1243] *rten gyi khams rNAM*[1244] *PAR SNANG BA'I 'OD ZER GYIS*[1245] *BRGYAN PA zhes bya ba*

[1228] *btang ste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *byung* (*v.l. phyung*) *ste*; KN.423.2. (*prabhāṃ*) *pramumoca*.

[1229] *'od gyis* : = KN.423.3. *ābhayā*; Tib. Kanj.-.

[1230] *spu* : Ph. *bu* (s.e.).

[1231] *byung* : = T; the other Kanjurs read *phyung* instead.

[1232] *des* : Ph. *de'i* (s.e.).

[1233] *ba* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1234] *Gang gā'i* : S, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; Ph. *Gang gāi'i* (*sic*; s.e.); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead. Cf. Tib. Kho. GANG GA.

[1235] *bco* : J, B, Pk, D. *bcva* (s.e. for *bcu*?).

[1236] *snyed* : T. *snyen* (s.e.).

[1237] *dag* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1238] *te* : J, Ph, B, N, C. *so*.

[1239] *'od gzer so sor brgyand* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'od zer gyis brgyan pa*; KN.423.4. (*Vairocana-*)*raśmi-pratimaṇḍitā*.

[1240] *Gang gā'i* : S, Ph, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead.

[1241] *bco* : J, B, Pk, D. *bcva* (s.e. for *bcu*?); Ph. *bcvo* (s.e.).

[1242] *snyed* : B, Pk. om. (s.e.).

[1243] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1244] *rNam* : Ph. *rNams* (s.e.).

[1245] *gyis* : T. *gyi* (s.e.).

(ga 30a3) de *na*' / [•[1246]*KA MA LA'I MDAB* MA DRI MA MYED *PA*' {//} SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS PA zhes bya ba[→•] / de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom *ba* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [•←•] /

Kanjur: *de na / de bzhin* (S.237a2) *gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas* *PAD MA'I*[1247] *'DAB MA DRI MA MED PA*[1248] *SKAR*[1249] *MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1250] *RGYAS*[1251] *PA zhes bya ba*

(ga 30a4) bzhugs *shing* 'tsho [] *skyong*[1252] *ste* / byang chub[1253] sems dpa'i ○ dge 'dun «[1254]*yangs pa*» tshad my[e]d pas [] bskor cing [1255]mdun *du byas* nas / ○ chos [1256]*'chad do* // de nas [1257][•gang→1•] bcom

Kanjur: *bzhugs te / 'tsho*[1258] *zhing gzbes*[1259] *la / byang chub* (S.237a3) *sems dpa'i dge 'dun rgya chen po* [1260]*tshad med pas yongs*[1261] *su bskor cing mdun gyis* [1262]*bltas nas chos ston to // de nas bcom*

(ga 30a5) ldan 'das [•*SHAG KYA* thub pa[→2•] de bzhin gshegs pa ○ dgra bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs ○ rgyas [•2←•] *kyis* / mdzod spu nas 'od [•1←•] btang

Kanjur: *ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang*[1263] (S.237a4) *dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas SHĀKYA thub pa des*[1264] *mdzod spu nas 'od gang btang*

(ga 30a6) ba des / de'i tshe [•→•] RNAM PAR SNANG BA'I 'OD *GZER SO SOR* ○ *BRGYAND PA'I* [•←

[1246] *Ka ma la'i mdab ma* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *Pad ma'i 'dab ma*; KN.423.5. *Kamala-dala-*.

[1247] *Pad ma'i* : S, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1248] *pa* : S, T, Ph. *pa'i* (w.r.).

[1249] *skar* : Ph. *rkar* (s.e.).

[1250] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1251] *rgyas* : Ph. *brgyas* (s.e.).

[1252] *skyong* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzbes*; KN.423.6. *yāpayati*.

[1253] *chub* : *sic*.

[1254] *yangs pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rgya chen po*; KN.423.6. *vipula-*.

[1255] *mdun du byas nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mdun gyis bltas nas*; KN.423.7. *puraskṛto*.

[1256] *'chad do* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ston to*; KN.423.7. *deśayati*.

[1257] *gang .... 'od btang* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'od gang btang*; KN.423.7. *yā ... prabhā pramuktā*. The word order of the reading in the Tib. Kho. agrees with that in the Sanskrit version.

[1258] *'tsho* : Ph. *mtsho* (s.e.).

[1259] *gzbes* : Ph, Pk. *bzbes* (s.e.).

[1260] *tshad med pas* : ≠ KN.423.6. (*vipulen*)*âyuṣpramāṇena vipulena*; = D1. (*vipulen*)*âpramāṇena*; ≒ Bj. (*vipulen*)*âpramāṇena vipulena*; cf. Krsh. 224.

[1261] *yongs* : Ph. *yong* (s.e.).

[1262] *bltas nas* : Ph. *ltas te* (s.e.).

[1263] *yang* : Ph. *yangs* (s.e.).

[1264] *des* : Ph. *de'i* (s.e.).

'jig rten gyi *khamsu*,| sna[ng] ba [che]n (p)os khyab par gyur*d te* // [*→*] rNAM PAR SNANG BA'I

Kanjur: *ba*[1265] *des*[1266] */ de'i tshe / 'jig rten gyi khams rNAM PAR SNANG BA'I 'OD ZER GYIS BRGYAN PA*[1267] *de snang ba chen pos*[1268] *khyab par gyur*[1269] (S.237a5) *to // 'jig rten gyi khams rNAM*[1270] *PAR SNANG BA'I*

(ga 30a7) OD *GZER SO SOR* BRGYAN *PA'i* [*←*]'jig rten gyi khams,| [] na / [*→*] SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS *shes* bya ba[']i| [*←*]byang chub sems dpa',| [1271]['dug ste| / dge ba'i rtsa ba bskyed pa /

Kanjur: *'OD ZER GYIS BRGYAN PA de na /* [1272]*byang chub sems dpa' SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS zhes bya ba dge ba'i rtsa ba bskyed*[1273] *pa /*

(ga 30a8) [des|[1274] [*→*] de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas mang po'i 'od *gzer* de lta *bur* / [*←*]sngon yang,| mthong *ba ste* //

Kanjur: *sngon yang de bzhin gshegs* (S.237a6) *pa*[1275] *dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas mang po'i*[1276] *'od zer de lta bu mthong zhing*[1277] */*

(ga 30b1) [*→*] SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS [*←*]byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po,| *des* / [1278]*ti nge* 'dzin [1279]*dang* po *'thob* pa 'di lta ste / RGYAL MTSHAN GYI RTSE MO[] DPUNG RGYAN gyi

Kanjur (KN.424.1; T. 201b5; J. 173b4; S. 237a6; Ph. 377b1; B. 215b3; Pk. 180b8; N. 245b4; D. 158a6; C. 187a3; L. 250b1) (KN.424) *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa'*[1280] *chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS*[1281] *kyis*[1282] *ting nge 'dzin mang po* (S.237a7) [1283]*thob pa*

[1265] *ba* : Ph. *pa* (s.e.).

[1266] *des* : S. om. (s.e.).

[1267] *pa* : Ph. *ba* (s.e.).

[1268] *pos* : Ph. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1269] *gyur* : T. *gyur par gyur* (s.e.); Ph. *'gyur* (s.e.).

[1270] *rNam* : Ph. *rNams* (s.e.).

[1271] *'dug ste* : = KN.423.10. *prativasati sma*; ≠ Tib. Kanj.-.

[1272] *byang chub sems* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* instead (= KN.423.10. *bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ*).

[1273] *bskyed* : Ph. *skyed* (s.e.).

[1274] *des* : = KN.423.11. *tena*; ≠ Tib. Kanj.-.

[1275] *pa* : Ph. *ba* (s.e.).

[1276] *po'i* : Ph. *pos* (s.e.).

[1277] *zhing* : T. *zhes* (s.e.).

[1278] *ti nge 'dzin* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ting nge 'dzin*; KN.424.1. *-samādhi-*.

[1279] *dang po* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mang po* = KN.424.1. *babu-* (= D1, K, N1, C5, C6 *etc.*; Bj, C4, T2, T6 *etc.* om.).

[1280] *dpa'* : S. *dpo'* (s.e.).

[1281] *dbyangs* : T. *dbyings* (s.e.).

'di lta ste / rGyal mtshan gyi rtse mo'i[1284] *dpung rgyan*[1285] *gyi*[1286]

(ga 30b2) *ti nge* 'dzin thob ⌈bo⌋ // Dam pa'i chos *pun 'da« '» ri ka*'i ting nge 'dzin thob ⌈bo⌋ // Dri ma myed pas byin *ba*'i *ti nge* 'dzin thob ⌈bo⌋ // sKar ma'i rgyal po rnam par /

Kanjur: *ting nge 'dzin thob / Dam pa'i chos pad ma*[1287] *dkar po 'i ting nge 'dzin thob / Dri ma med pas*[1288] *byin pa'i*[1289] *ting nge 'dzin thob / sKar* (S.237b1) *ma'i rgyal po*[1290] *rnam par*

(ga 30b3) rol pa'i *ti nge* 'dzin thob ⌈bo⌋ // rLung lta bu'i *ti* ○ *nge* 'dzin thob ⌈bo⌋ // Ye shes *gyi* phyag [r]gya'i *ti (ng)e* 'dzin thob ⌈bo⌋ // Zla ba sgron ma 'i ting nge 'dzin *'thob* ⌈bo⌋ //

Kanjur: *rol pa'i*[1291] *ting nge 'dzin thob /* [1292]*rLung*[1293] *lta*[1294] *bu'i ting nge 'dzin thob /* [1295]*Ye*[1296] *shes kyi phyag*[1297] *rgya'i ting nge 'dzin thob / Zla ba*[1298] *sgron ma'i*[1299] *ting nge 'dzin thob /*

(ga 30b4) [1300]sGra thams cad [] mkhas pa ⌈dang ldan ba⌋'i ting nge *'dzind 'thob* ○ ⌈bo⌋ // bSod nams [1301][] kun las bsdus pa 'i ting nge *'dzind* thob ⌈bo⌋ / ○ / Dad pa can gyi ting nge *'dzind* thob ⌈bo⌋ //

Kanjur: *sGra thams cad la mkhas*[1302] (S.237b2) *pa'i ting nge 'dzin thob / bSod nams thams cad*

[1282] *kyis* : S, T. *kyi* (s.e.).

[1283] *thob pa* : T. *ba* (s.e.).

[1284] *mo'i* : Ph. *mor* (s.e.).

[1285] *rgyan* : Ph, N. *brgyan* (s.e.).

[1286] *gyi* : Ph. om.

[1287] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1288] *pas* : Ph. *pa* (s.e.).

[1289] *pa'i* : J. *ba'i* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1290] *po* : T. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1291] *pa'i* : T, J, Pk. *ba'i*.

[1292] *rLung lta bu'i* : ≠ KN.424.3. *Anilambha-*; = D1. *Anilābha-*.

[1293] *rLung* : T. *rLung gi* (s.e.).

[1294] *lta* : S. *lba'i* (s.e.).

[1295] *Ye shes* : Ph. *cbos* (s.e.).

[1296] *Ye* : Pk. *le* (s.e.).

[1297] *phyag* : J, C. *phyags* (s.e.).

[1298] *ba* : Ph. *ba'i* (s.e.).

[1299] *ma'i* : B. *me'i*.

[1300] *sGra thams cad mkhas pa dang ldan ba* : =? the Sanskrit MSS. Bj, C6, T2, T8, B *etc. Sarva-ruta-kauśalyânugata-*; ≠ KN.424.4. *Sarva-ruta-kauśalya-* (= D1, K, N1 *etc.*) = Tib. Kanj. *sGra thams cad la mkhas pa*.

[1301] *kun las* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thams cad kun las*; KN.424.5. *Sarva-*.

[1302] *mkhas* : Pk. *'khas* (s.e.).

KUN LAS[1303] *BSDUS PA'I*[1304] *ting nge 'dzin thob / DAD PA CAN gyi ting nge 'dzin thob /*

(ga 30b5) [1305]*'rDZU* 'PHRUL GYIS RNAM PAR *ROLD* PA'i ting nge 'dzin thob ⌊bo⌋ / ○ / YE SHES TA LA LA 'i ting nge 'dzin thob ⌊bo⌋ // [1306]*rGYAND GYI* RGYAL PO 'i ○ ting nge 'dzin thob ⌊bo⌋ / DRI MA MYED PA'I 'OD

Kanjur: *rDZU 'PHRUL GYIS*[1307] *RNAM*[1308] *PAR ROL*[1309] *PA'i ting nge 'dzin thob / YE SHES* (S.237b3) *TA LA LA'i ting nge 'dzin thob*[1310] */ BKOD PA'I RGYAL PO'i*[1311] *ting nge 'dzin thob / DRI MA MED*[1312] *PA'I*[1313] *'OD*

(ga 30b6) *gyi* ting nge 'dzin thob ⌊bo⌋ // DRI MA MYED PA'I SNYING PO'i ting nge *'dzind* thob ⌊bo⌋ // [1314]*CHUS RGYAS PA*'i ting nge 'dzin thob ⌊bo⌋ // NYI MA'I 'KHOR ▯ *gyi* ting nge 'dzin thob ⌊bo⌋ // de bzhin du ▯ [1315][*cbu bo*

Kanjur: *kyi ting nge 'dzin thob / DRI MA MED PA'I*[1316] [1317]*SNYING PO'i ting nge 'dzin thob / ZAD PAR CHU'i*[1318] (S.237b4) *ting nge 'dzin thob /* [1319]*NYI MA'I 'KHOR BA'i ting nge 'dzin*[1320] *thob / de bzhin du sbyar te /*

(ga 30b7) *GANG GA'i* bye ma *dang mnyam ba 'i* /→1] [*ting nge *'dzind* bye ba khrag khrig *brgya'* stong ▯ →2*] [*gi* bar du→3*] / [*→4*] SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / [*4←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen *pos*.*] [*2←*] [*1←*] [*3←*] [1321]thob ▯ ste //

[1303] *las* : Ph. *nas* (s.e.).

[1304] *pa'i* : T. *ba'i*.

[1305] *'rDZu 'phrul* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rDZu 'phrul*; KN.424.5. *ṛddhi-*.

[1306] *rGyand gyi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bKod pa'i*; KN.424.6. *Vyūha-(rāja-)*.

[1307] *gyis* : Ph, N, L. *gyi* (s.e.).

[1308] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1309] *rol* : Ph. *sprul* (s.e.).

[1310] *thob* : D. *thos* (s.e.).

[1311] *po'i* : S. *po'i 'od kyi* (s.e.); T. *po 'od kyi* (s.e.). Cf. KN.424.6. *Vyūharāja- = bKod pa'i rgyal po'i*.

[1312] *med* : T. *mad* (s.e.).

[1313] *pa'i* : J. *ba'i*.

[1314] *CHus rgyas pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *Zad par cbu*; KN.424.8. *Apkṛtsna-*.

[1315] The word order of the reading in the Tib. Kho. well agrees with that in the Sanskrit version. KN.424.8f. *peyālaṃ yāvad Gaṅgānadī-vālikôpama-samādhi-koṭī-nayuta-śata-sahasra-pratilabdho Gadgadasvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ.*

[1316] *pa'i* : J. *ba'i*.

[1317] *snying po'i* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1318] *cbu'i* : J, Ph, B, Pk, N, C. *cbu'i* (= KN.424.8. *Ap-[kṛtsna-]*); S, D, L. *cbub pa'i* (s.e.); T. *cbud pa'i* (s.e.).

[1319] *NYi ma'i 'khor ba'i* : = Ph, D, L; B, Pk, N, C. *NYi ma 'khor ba'i*; J. *NYe ma 'khor pa'i* (s.e.); T. *NYi ma'i 'od kyi* (s.e.); cf. KN.424.8. *Sūryāvarta-*.

[1320] *'dzin* : Pk. *'jin* (s.e.).

[1321] *thob ste* : = KN.424.9. *-pratilabdho*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *thob par 'dug ste*.

Kanjur: *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS[1322] *kyis*[1323] *ting nge 'dzin bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong phrag* (S.237b5) GANG GĀ'I[1324] *klung gi bye ma snyed kyi bar du thob par*[1325] *'dug*[1326] *ste /*

(ga 30b8) [•→•] SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / [•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•] [] 'i lus la 'od des phog par gyur*d* to // de nas [•SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS→1•] [•byang *cub* sems dpa'

Kanjur: *byang chub sems dpa'* [1327]*sems dpa' chen po* SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS *de'i lus la 'od des*[1328] *phog*[1329] *par gyur*[1330] *to // de nas*

(ga 31a1) ๑ // sems dpa' chen po→2•] [1331][•stan las langs ste / bla gos phrag pa gcig du byas nas / pus mo g-yas pa'i lha nga sa la btsugste / bcom ldan 'das gag na ba de logsu thal]

Kanjur (KN.424.11; T. 202a3; J. 174a2; S. 237b5; Ph. 377b8; B. 216a2; Pk. 181a5; N. 246a4; D. 158b3; C. 187b1; L. 251a1)

(ga 31a2) mo btud de /] bcom ldan 'das / [•KA MA LA 'I MDAB MA DRI MA MYED PA' {/} SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO [] KUN DU RGYAS PA'→3•] / de bzhin gshegs *pa' dgra'* bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs

Kanjur: *bcom* (S.237b6) *ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs*

(ga 31a3) rgyas [•3←•] [de] la [•2←•] [•1←•] [] 'di skad [] gsol to // bcom ldan 'das bdag [•MYI MJED→1•] [gyi] [•'jig rten gyi *kha*[*m*]*su*→2•] / bcom ldan 'das [•*SHAG KYA* thub pa'→3•] / de bzhin gshegs pa *dgra'* bcom *ba'* / yang dag

Kanjur: *rgyas* PAD MA'I[1332] *'DAB MA DRI MA MED PA*[1333] *SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1334]

[1322] *dbyangs* : T. *dbyings* (s.e.).

[1323] *kyis* : S, Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[1324] *Gang gā'i* : S, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; Ph. *gis* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead.

[1325] *par* : S, T. *pa* (s.e.); B. om. (s.e.).

[1326] *'dug* : B. *bdug* (s.e.).

[1327] *sems dpa'* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1328] *des* : Ph. *de* (s.e.).

[1329] *phog* : Ph. *'phog* (s.e.); D. *pog* (?; s.e.).

[1330] *gyur* : Ph. *'gyur* (s.e.).

[1331] *stan las langs ste / bla gos phrag pa gcig du byas nas / pus mo g-yas pa'i lha nga sa la btsugste / bcom ldan 'das gag na ba de logsu thal mo btud de /* : = KN.424.11~12. *utthāyāsanād ekāṃsam uttarāsaṅgaṃ kṛtvā dakṣiṇaṃ jānumaṇḍalaṃ pṛthivyāṃ pratiṣṭhāpya yena bhagavāṃs tenāñjaliṃ praṇamya*; ≠ the Sanskrit MSS. K, C1, C2, N1.- = Tib. Kanj.-. Cf. Krsh. 224.

[1332] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1333] *pa* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[1334] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

RGYAS PA la / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' (S.237b7) *chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS kyis*[1335] (KN.425) *'di skad ces gsol to // "bcom ldan 'das!* [1336]*bdag bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag*

(ga 31a4) par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [•3←•] [] / [1337]blta ba'*i slad du* / phyag ○ *'tshal* ba'*i slad du* / bsnyen bkur *bgyi'* ba *'i slad du* // 'JAM ○ DPAL [1338]*gzho'* nur gyur*d* pa*'* de *'ang* blta

Kanjur: *par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas SHĀKYA thub pa* (S.238a1) *la blta*[1339] *ba dang / phyag bgyi*[1340] *ba*[1341] *dang / bsnyen bkur bgyi*[1342] *ba*[1343] *dang / 'JAM DPAL gzhon nur*[1344] *gyur pa de yang*[1345] *blta*

(ga 31a5) «ba'*i*» *slad du* / [•→•] sMAN GYI RGYAL PO [•←byang *cub* sems dpa'•] de [] blta ○ ba *'i slad du* / [•→•] RAB *DU SBYIND PA'* [•←byang *cub* sems dpa'•] [] blta ba *'i slad* ○ *du* / [•→•] sKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA'I* MNGON

Kanjur: *ba dang / byang chub sems dpa' sMAN GYI RGYAL PO de yang*[1346] *blta ba* (S.238a2) *dang /* [1347]*byang chub sems dpa' RAB TU* [1348]*SBYIN PA de yang*[1349] *blta ba dang / byang chub sems dpa' sKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1350] *RGYAS PA*[1351] *MNGON*

(ga 31a6) *BAR* SHES *PA'I*[1352] / [•←byang *cub* sems dpa'•] de [] *blta'* ba*'i slad du* / [•→•] [1353]sPYOD *PA'I* KHYAD *BAR* [] [•←byang *cub* sems dpa'•] de [] *blta'* ba *'i slad* [*d*]*u* / [•→•] [1354]*sMAN GYI* RGYAL PO [•←byang *cub* sems dpa'•] de [] blta ba *'i slad du* /

[1335] *kyis* : Ph. *gyi* (s.e.).

[1336] *bdag bcom ldan 'das* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1337] *blta ba'i slad du* : cf. KN.425.2. *darśanāya*.

[1338] *gzho' nu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzhon nu*; KN.425.3. *kumāra-* (← *kamāra-*).

[1339] *blta* : Ph. *lta* (s.e.).

[1340] *bgyi* : S. *bya* (s.e.).

[1341] *ba* : B. *pa* (s.e.).

[1342] *bgyi* : Ph. *bgyid* (s.e.).

[1343] *ba* : Ph. *pa* (s.e.).

[1344] *nur* : Ph. *nu* (s.e.).

[1345] *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1346] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1347] *byang chub sems dpa' RAB TU SBYIN PA de yang blta ba dang /* : B. om. (s.e.).

[1348] *sbyin pa* : T. *bde ba* (s.e.); Ph. *byin pa* (s.e.); cf. KN.425.4. *Pradānaśūra-*.

[1349] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1350] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1351] *pa* : S. *par* (s.e.).

[1352] *pa'i* : s.e. for *pa'*.

[1353] *sPYOD PA'I KHYAD BAR* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sPYOD PA KHYAD PAR CAN*; KN.425.5. *Viśiṣṭacāritra-*.

[1354] *sMAN GYI RGYAL PO* : s.e. for *rGYAND GYI RGYAL PO* (= Tib. Kho. ga 30b5)?; cf. Tib. Kanj. *bKOD PA'I RGYAL PO* = KN.425.5. *Vyūbarāja-*.

Kanjur: *PAR*[1355] *SHES PA de yang*[1356] *blta ba dang / byang chub sems* (S.238a3) *dpa' sPYOD PA KHYAD*[1357] *PAR CAN de yang*[1358] *blta ba dang / byang chub sems dpa'* [1359]*bKOD PA'I RGYAL PO de yang*[1360] *blta ba dang /*

(ga 31a7) [*→*] [1361]sMAN KUN DU ['PHAGS {«pa»?}] [*←byang cub sems dpa'*] de [] blta ba 'i slad du / [*2←*] [*1←*] [bdag] mchi'o // de nas bcom ldan 'das [*→*] KA MA LA'I MDAB MA DRI MA MYED PA' {/} SKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN DU

Kanjur: *byang chub sems dpa'* [1362]*sMAN YANG DAG 'PHAGS de yang*[1363] *blta ba'i slad du /* (S.238a4) *'jig rten gyi khams MI MJED du*[1364] *mchi'o" // de nas bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag*[1365] *par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas PAD MA'I*[1366] *'DAB*[1367] *MA*[1368] *DRI MA MED* [1369]*PA* (S.238a5) *SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1370]

(ga 31a8) RGYAS PA' / [*←de bzhin gshegs pa' dgra' bcom ba' / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas*] [gyis] / [*→*] SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / [*←byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*] la 'di

Kanjur: *RGYAS*[1371] *PAS*[1372] */ byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS la 'di*

(ga 31b1) skad [] bka' stsal to // rigs gyi bu khyod 'jig rten []^[1373] der song ste phyind nas / [1374]*chu ngur* 'du shes [myi*→*] bskyed [*←*] do / rigs gyi bu 'jig rten gyi khams de ni mthon dman can [] sa las

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[1355] *par* : T, J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1356] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1357] *khyad* : Ph. *kbyed* (s.e.).

[1358] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1359] *bKod pa'i* : T. *sKar ma'i* (s.e.); J. *dKod ba'i* (s.e.); Ph, C. *dKod pa'i* (s.e.).

[1360] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1361] *sMAN KUN DU 'PHAGS* : = Tib. Kanj. *sMAN YANG DAG 'PHAGS*; ≠KN.425.6. *Bhaiṣajyarājasamudgata~* (= Bj, C5 *etc.*); = K, C4, N1, C6 *etc. Bhaiṣajyasamudgata~*.

[1362] *sMAN YANG DAG 'PHAGS* : T. *sMAN YANG DAG PAR 'PHAGS PA'I BDE BA* (s.e.). Cf. the preceding note.

[1363] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1364] *du* : J. *tu*.

[1365] *dag* : T. {*dgra bcom pa yang*} *dag* (s.e.).

[1366] *Pad ma'i* : S, Ph, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1367] *'dab* : Ph. *'dabs* (s.e.).

[1368] *ma* : T. *ma'i* (s.e.).

[1369] *pa skar ma'i* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[1370] *tu* : J, Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1371] *rgyas* : Ph. *brgyas* (s.e.).

[1372] *pas* : T, J. *bas*.

[1373] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *'jig rten gyi khams MI MJED* = KN.425.8. *Sabāyāṃ lokadhātau*.

[1374] *chu ngu* : *i.e. chung ngu*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *ngan pa*; KN.425.9. *bīna~*.

Kanjur (KN.425.8; T. 202b1; J. 174a8; S. 238a5; Ph. 378a7; B. 216b1; Pk. 181b3; N. 246b5; D. 159a1; C. 187b6; L. 251b1) *skad ces bka' stsal to // "rigs kyi bu! khyod 'jig*[1375] *rten gyi khams* (S.238a6) *MI MJED*[1376] *der song ste phyin nas / ngan pa'i 'du shes bskyed*[1377] *par mi bya'o // rigs kyi bu! 'jig*[1378] *rten gyi khams de*[1379] *ni mthon*[1380] *dman can dang*[1381] */ sa las*

(ga 31b2) [1382]*byas pa'* [] / ri NAG POS gang *ba'* [] / [1383]*mjin* ngan gyis yongs [] gang ba'o / bcom ldan 'das [*SHAG KYA* thub pa'] / de bzhin gshegs *pa' dgra'* bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i

Kanjur: *grub pa dang / ri NAG POS*[1384] *gang ba dang /* (S.238a7) *'jim*[1385] *ngan gyis yongs su gang ba'o // bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i*

(ga 31b3) sangs rgyas [] de yang sku thung ngo // byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de dag [gi] [] lus [*gyang*] th[u]ng ngo // rig[s] *gyi* bu khyod *gyi* lus thob pa ni / dpag tshad [1386]*stong phrag bzhi bcu*

Kanjur: *sangs rgyas SHĀKYA thub pa de yang*[1387] *sku thung ngo // byang chub sems dpa'* (S.238b1) *sems dpa' chen po de dag kyang lus thung ngo // rigs kyi bu! khyod kyi*[1388] *lus thob pa ni dpag tshad bzhi khri nyis*

(ga 31b4) *rtsa gnyiso // rigs gyi* bu nga 'i lus *gyang* dpag tshad *stong*[1389] ○ phrag drug cu rtsa brgyad yod *de* / rigs *gyi* bu khyod [] [][1390]*byad bzhin* bzang *zhing* / ○ mdzes *pa' blta'* na sdug *pa'* [ste] / [] kha dog

Kanjur: *stong ngo // rigs kyi bu! nga'i*[1391] *lus ni dpag tshad* [1392]*'bum phrag drug cu*[1393] *rtsa*

[1375] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1376] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1377] *bskyed* : Ph. *skyed* (s.e.).

[1378] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1379] *de* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.; = KN.425.9. *sā*); the other Kanjurs read *MI MJED de* instead (w.r.).

[1380] *mthon* : = T, J, B, Pk (= Tib. Kho.); Ph. *'thon* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *mtho* instead.

[1381] *dang* : T. *nam*.

[1382] *byas pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *grub pa*; KN.425.10. (*mṛn-*)*maya~*.

[1383] *mjin ngan* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'jim* (*v.l. 'jin*) *ngan*; KN.425.10. *gūthbȏdilla~*.

[1384] *pos* : Ph. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1385] *'jim* : S. *'jig* (s.e.), T, Ph. *'jin* (≒ Tib. Kho. *mjin*).

[1386] *stong phrag bzhi bcu rtsa gnyis* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bzhi khri nyis stong*; = the Sanskrit MSS. Bj, K *etc. dvā-catvāriṃśad-(yojana-)sahasrāṇi*; ≠ KN.425.11. *dvā-catvāriṃśad-(yojana-)śata-sahasrāṇi*; cf. Krsh. 225.

[1387] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1388] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1389] *stong* : = the Sanskrit MSS. Bj, K, N1, C5, T6, B *etc. -sahasra~*; ≠ KN.425.12. *-śata-sahasra~* (= C4, C6, T2 *etc.*) = Tib. Kanj. *'bum*.

[1390] *byad bzhin bzang* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzugs bzang*; KN.425.13. *prāsādika~*.

[1391] *nga'i* : Ph. *nge'i* (s.e.).

brgyad yod (S.238b2) *do // rigs kyi bu! khyod ni mdzes*[1394] *pa blta*[1395] *na sdug pa / gzugs bzang ba*[1396] */ kha dog*

(ga 31b5) bzang *zhing* rgyas pa' / mchog dang ldan *ba'* / bsod nams ○ brgya' stong bas [1397]shin *du 'das* pa'i [1398]*gzi' b[rj]i(d) can no'* / ○ / ⌜de ⌋ bas na⌞ rigs *gyi* bu ⌜⌞ ⌜MYI MJED⌞ ⌜gyi⌋ 'jig

Kanjur: *bzang po / rgyas*[1399] *pa mchog* (KN.426) *dang ldan pa / bsod nams brgya stong bas*[1400] *shin tu*[1401] *lhag pa'i dpal dang ldan* (S.238b3) *pa'o // rigs kyi bu! de lta bas na / 'jig*

(ga 31b6) rten gyi khams*su* ⌜⌞ ⌋ phyin*d* nas / de bzhin gshegs pa dang / byang *cub* sems dpa' rnams dang / sangs rgyas *gyi* zhing de la [1402]*chu ngur* 'du shes ma skyed cig // de skad ⌋ bka' stsal nas /

Kanjur: *rten gyi khams MI MJED*[1403] *du*[1404] *phyin nas / de bzhin gshegs pa dang / byang chub sems dpa' rnams dang / sangs rgyas kyi zhing de la ngan pa'i 'du* (S.238b4) *shes ma skyed cig" / de skad ces*[1405] *bka' stsal nas /*

(ga 31b7) ⌜⌞ SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS / ⌜⌞byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po⌞ / bcom ldan 'das ⌜*KA MA LA 'I MDAB* MA DRI MA MYED *PA*' {/} SKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ⌋ KUN *DU* RGYAS PA⌞ / de bzhin gshegs pa

Kanjur: *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[1406] *SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS kyis* / [1407]*bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa*

(ga 31b8) *dgra'* bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜⌞ de la 'di skad ⌋ gsol to // bcom ldan 'das bdag ⌜MYI MJED ⌈gyi⌋⌞ ⌜'jig rten «gyi» khams⌞ ⌜der⌞ / de bzhin gshegs pa'i /

[1392] *'bum phrag* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1393] *cu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu*.

[1394] *mdzes* : T. *'dzes* (s.e.).

[1395] *blta* : N. *lta* (s.e.).

[1396] *ba* : B. *pa* (s.e.).

[1397] *shin du 'das pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *shin tu lhag pa*; KN.426.1. *-atireka-*.

[1398] *gzi' brjid can* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *dpal dang ldan pa*; KN.426.1. *-lakṣmīka-*.

[1399] *rgyas* : Ph. *brgyas* (s.e.).

[1400] *bas* : B. *pas*.

[1401] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1402] *chu ngu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ngan pa*; KN.426.2. *bīna-*.

[1403] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1404] *du* : J. *tu*.

[1405] *ces* : T. *cis* (s.e.).

[1406] *po* : J. *pos* (s.e.).

[1407] *bcom ldan 'das* : T. om. (s.e.).

Kanjur: *dgra bcom pa yang dag* (S.238b5) *par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas* PAD MA'I[1408] 'DAB MA DRI MA MED PA[1409] SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU[1410] [1411]RGYAS PA *de la 'di skad ces gsol to // « [1412] bcom ldan 'das! bdag*[1413] *de bzhin gshegs pa'i*[1414]

(ga 32a1) ꝏ // byin gyi rlabs dang / de bzhin gshegs pa'i [1415]*mthu mdzad* pa dang / de bzhin gshegs pa'i rnam par rol pa dang / de bzhin gshegs pa'i *rgyand*[1416] dang / de bzhin gsheg(s)

Kanjur (KN.426.6; T. 202b8; J. 174b6; S. 238b5; Ph. 378b8; B. 217a1; Pk. 182a1; N. 247a6; D. 159a6; C. 188a5; L. 252a2) *byin gyi*[1417] *rlabs*[1418] (S.238b6) *dang / de bzhin gshegs pa'i stobs bskyed*[1419] *pa dang / de bzhin gshegs pa'i rnam*[1420] *par rol pa dang / de bzhin gshegs pa'i bkod*[1421] *pa*[1422] *dang / de bzhin gshegs*

(ga 32a2) pa'i mngon *bar* 'phags pa'i ye shes *gyis* [bdag] [*2←*] [*1←*] [*3←*] mchi'o // de nas [*→*] SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS / [*←byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen *pos*.] / de'i tshe sangs

Kanjur: *pa'i mngon par*[1423] (S.238b7) *'phags pa'i ye shes kyis*[1424] *'jig rten gyi khams* MI MJED[1425] *der mchi'o" // de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS *kyis de'i tshe / sangs*

(ga 32a3) rgyas *gyi* zhing de nas / ma g-yos [1426]*bzhin* [*d*]*u* stan de las ma langs par / 'di lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin la snyoms par zhugste / [SANG SANG PO'I {/} DBYANGS→]

[1408] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1409] *pa* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[1410] *tu* : J, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1411] *rgyas pa* : Ph. *brgyas ba* (s.e.).

[1412] - : ≠ KN.426.5~6. *tathâhaṃ bhagavan kariṣye yathā tathāgata ājñāpayati* (= K, C4, N1 *etc.*); = Bj, C5, C6, T2 *etc.* -.

[1413] *bdag* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *bdag ni* instead.

[1414] *pa'i* : B. *pa* (s.e.); Ph. *pas* (s.e.).

[1415] *mthu mdzad pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *stobs bskyed pa*; KN.426.7. *-balâdhāna~*.

[1416] *rgyand* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bkod pa*; KN.426.7. *-vyūha~*.

[1417] *gyi* : S, B, Pk. *gyis*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *gyi* instead (= Tib. Kho.).

[1418] *rlabs* : N, D and L read thus (= Tib. Kho.); T. *rlabs pa* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *brlabs* instead.

[1419] *bskyed* : Ph, B, Pk. *skyed*.

[1420] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1421] *bkod* : Pk. *bkong* (s.e.).

[1422] *pa* : J. *ba*.

[1423] *par* : T, J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1424] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[1425] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1426] *bzhin du* : = KN.426.8. (*an-uccalita*) *eva*; cf. Tib. Kanj. (*ma g-yos*) *shing*.

byang *cub*

Kanjur: *rgyas* (S.239a1) *kyi*[1427] *zhing de nas ma g-yos shing / stan de las ma*[1428] *langs par 'di lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin la snyoms par zhugs*[1429] *te / byang chub*

(ga 32a4) sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po [•←•] de / ting nge 'dzin de la / ○ snyoms par zhu[g]s ma thag *du* / [1430]*[d]e nyid [g]yi tshe* [•→•] MY[I] MJED [gyi] [•←'jig ○ rten gyi kham*su*] BYA RGOD *GYI* PHUNG PO 'i ri la /

Kanjur: *sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SANG SANG PO'I (S.239a2) DBYANGS *de ting nge 'dzin de la snyoms*[1431] *par zhugs ma thag tu / de'i mod la 'jig*[1432] *rten gyi khams* MI MJED[1433] *du*[1434] BYA [1435]RGOD KYI PHUNG PO'i *ri*[1436] *la /*

(ga 32a5) de bzhin gsheg<s> pa'i chos *gyi* gdan gyi [1437]*mdun* du / [1438]pad ○ *mo* [•bye ba khrag khrig brgya' stong phrag *brgya*"[1439] cu rtsa bzhi byung bar gyur*d* ○ *te*•→•] / [1440]*sbu bu* ni gser / [1441]*mdab* ma ni dngul /

Kanjur: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i chos kyi gdan gyi*[1442] *drung du / pad ma*[1443] *chu ba*[1444] (S.239a3) *ni gser / 'dab ma ni dngul*

(ga 32a6) snying po ni pad ma dang / [1445]*king sbu kar* [] [•←•] [1446][•snang ngo] // de nas 'JAM DPAL [1447]*gzho*' nur gyur*d* pas / [1448]pad *mo*['i] *rgyan*[1449] [•de→•] byu[ng] *ba*[*r*] [•←•]

[1427] *kyi* : Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1428] *ma* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1429] *zhugs* : Ph. *bzhugs* (s.e.).

[1430] *de nyid gyi tshe* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *de'i mod la*; KN.426.9. *samanantara-*.

[1431] *snyoms* : T. *snyom* (s.e.).

[1432] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1433] *mjed* : Ph. *'jid* (s.e.).

[1434] *du* : = T, Ph, B, D, C, L; J, Pk, N. *tu*.

[1435] *rgod kyi* : T. *brgod* (s.e.).

[1436] *ri* : B. *ri sta* (s.e.).

[1437] *mdun du* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *drung du*; KN.426.11. *purastāt*.

[1438] *pad mo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pad ma*; KN.426.11. *-padma-*. Cf. n. 1017.

[1439] *brgya'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad*.

[1440] *sbu bu* : "stalk"; cf. Tib. Kanj. *cbu ba*; KN.426.11. (*suvarṇa-*)*daṇḍa-*.

[1441] *mdab ma* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'dab ma*; KN.426.12. (*rūpya-*)*patra-*.

[1442] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1443] *pad ma* : S, T, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs, incl. B, read *pad ma* instead. Cf. Tib. Kho. *pad mo*.

[1444] *ba* : Ph. *bo* (s.e.).

[1445] *king sbu ka* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ne tso 'am ci*; KN.426.12. *-kiṃśuka-*.

[1446] *snang ngo* : = KN.426.12. *saṃdṛśyante sma*; Tib. Kanj.-.

[1447] *gzho' nu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzhon nu*; KN.426.13. *kumāra-*.

[1448] *pad mo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pad ma*; KN.426.13. *padma-*. Cf. n. 1017.

mthong (na)s / bcom ldan 'das [→] *SHAG KYA* thub pa' [→] / de bzhin gshegs

Kanjur: [1450]*snying po ni pad ma*[1451] *dang /* [1452]*ne tso 'am ci las grub pa bye ba khrag khrig brgya*[1453] *stong phrag brgyad cu*[1454] *rtsa bzhi*[1455] *byung*[1456] *bar gyur*[1457] *to // de nas* 'JAM DPAL *gzhon nur gyur* (S.239a4) *pas / pad ma*[1458] *bkod*[1459] *pa*[1460] [1461]*byung ba de mthong nas / bcom ldan 'das de bzhin* (KN.427) *gshegs*

(ga 32a7) pa dgra' bcom (*ba*)' / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [←] la 'di skad [] gsol to // [] 'di ltar [1462]*sbu bu* ni [g]ser / [1463]*mdab* ma ni dngul / [1464]snying po ni pad ma dang *king shu ka 'i kha dog can gyi /*

Kanjur: *pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i*[1465] *sangs rgyas SHĀKYA thub pa la 'di skad ces gsol to // "bcom ldan* (S.239a5) *'das! 'di ltar*[1466] *cha ba ni gser / 'dab ma ni dngul /* [1467]*snying po ni pad ma*[1468] *dang / ne tso 'am ci las*[1469] *grub pa'i*

(ga 32a8) [1470]pad *mo* bye ba khrag khrig brgya' stong phrag brgyad cu rtsa bzhi gda' ba 'di su 'i [1471][→] ltas / [←] *sngon «du» byung ba'* [→] lags // de skad [] gsol *nas* / bcom ldan 'das *gyis* / 'JAM DPAL gzho' nur

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[1449] *rgyan* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bkod pa*; KN.426.13. *-vyūha-*.

[1450] *snying po ni ... grub pa* : ≒ Tib. Kho. *snying po ni*; = the Sanskrit MSS. K, C4, N1 *etc. -garbhāṇi*; ≠ KN.426.12. *-varṇāni*; cf. Krsh. 225.

[1451] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1452] *ne tso 'am ci* : a literal translation of KN.426.12. *kiṃśuka* ("the tree Butea Frondosa") : *ne tso = śuka*, *'am ci = kiṃ*. Ph. *ne tso 'am / ci* (s.e.); Pk. *ne tso lam ci* (s.e.).

[1453] *brgya* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1454] *cu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu*.

[1455] *bzhi* : Ph. *zbi* (s.e.).

[1456] *byung* : T, Ph. *'byung* (w.r.).

[1457] *gyur* : Ph. *'gyur* (s.e.).

[1458] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1459] *bkod* : Ph. *dkod* (s.e.).

[1460] *pa* : T. *pa pa* (s.e.).

[1461] *byung ba* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1462] *sbu bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *cbu ba*; KN.427.2. *(suvarṇa-)daṇḍa~*.

[1463] *mdab ma* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'dab ma*; KN.427.2. *(rūpya-)patra~*.

[1464] *snying po ni ... kha dog can gyi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *snying po ni ... las grub pa'i* = the Sanskrit MSS. K, C4, N1, T2 *etc. -garbhāṇi*; ≠ KN.427.2. *-varṇāni*; cf. Krsh. 225. The translator of the Tib. Kho. seems to have known both readings *-garbhāṇi* (= *snying po*) and *-varṇāni* (= *kha dog can*) in the Sanskrit MSS.

[1465] *pa'i* : T. *ba'i*.

[1466] *ltar* : Ph. *lta ste* (s.e.).

[1467] *snying po ni ... grub pa* : ≠ KN.427.2. *-varṇāni*; = K, C4, N1, T2 *etc. -garbhāṇi*; cf. Krsh. 225.

[1468] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead (= Tib. Kho.).

[1469] *las* : T. *lags* (s.e.).

[1470] *pad mo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pad ma*; KN.427.2. *padma-*. Cf. n. 1017.

[1471] *ltas / sngon du byung ba'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *snga ltas*; KN.427.1. *pūrva-nimitta~*.

Kanjur: *pad ma*[1472] *bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong phrag brgyad*[1473] *cu*[1474] *rtsa bzhi gda' ba 'di su'i snga*[1475] *ltas lags?" / (S.239a6) de skad ces gsol* [1476]*pa dang / bcom ldan 'das kyis 'JAM DPAL gzhon nur*

(ga 32b1) [g]yur*d* pa la 'di skad ▯ bka' stsal to // 'JAM DPEL '[d]i *na* shar phyogs logs nas / ⌜•→•⌝ RNAM PAR SNANG BA 'I 'OD *GZER* GYIS {/} ⌜SO SOR⌝ BRGYAN*D* PA⌜i⌝ ⌜•←'jig rten gyi khams.⌝ nas / bcom ldan

Kanjur (KN.427.3; T. 203a8; J. 175a5; S. 239a6; Ph. 379b3; B. 217b1; Pk. 182a7; N. 247b7; D. 159b3; C. 188b3; L. 252b3) *gyur pa*[1477] *la 'di skad ces bka' stsal to // "'JAM DPAL! 'di ni shar phyogs logs nas 'jig*[1478] *rten gyi khams*[1479] (S.239a7) *RNAM*[1480] *PAR SNANG BA'I 'OD ZER GYIS BRGYAN PA*[1481] *nas*[1482] */ bcom ldan*

(ga 32b2) 'das ⌜*KA MA LA'[I] MDAB* MA DRI MA MYED *PA*' {/} SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ▯ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA*'→•⌝ / de bzhin gshegs pa' dgra' bcom *ba*[']/ yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜•←⌝ de'i / sangs rgyas *gyi* zhing nas /

Kanjur: *'das de bzhin gshegs pa*[1483] *dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas PAD MA'I*[1484] *'DAB MA*[1485] *DRI MA MED PA*[1486] *SKAR MA'I*[1487] *RGYAL PO*[1488] *ME*[1489] *TOG* (S.239b1) *KUN TU*[1490] *RGYAS PA de'i sangs rgyas kyi zhing nas /*

(ga 32b3) ⌜•→•⌝ SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS / ⌜•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po.⌝ / byang *cub* sems dpa' bye ba khra[g] khri[g] brgya[']s[t]o[ng] gis / ▯ bskor cing [1491]mdun du *bya ste* // nga la blta ba'*i phyir* /

[1472] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1473] *brgyad* : Ph. *brgya* (s.e.).

[1474] *cu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu*.

[1475] *snga* : Pk. *lnga* (s.e.); T. om.

[1476] *pa dang* : T. *to* (s.e.); Ph. *nas* (s.e.).

[1477] *pa* : T. *ba*.

[1478] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1479] *khams* : J. *kham* (s.e.).

[1480] *rNam* : Ph. *rNams* (s.e.).

[1481] *pa* : T. *ba*.

[1482] *nas* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1483] *pa* : Ph. *pa*{*pa*} (s.e.).

[1484] *Pad ma'i* : S, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1485] *'dab ma* : T. *'dab ma'i 'dab ma* (s.e.).

[1486] *pa* : T, Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[1487] *ma'i* : Ph. *me'i* (s.e.).

[1488] *po* : T. *bo* (s.e.).

[1489] *me* : J. *mi* (s.e.).

[1490] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1491] *mdun du bya ste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mdun du bdar te*; KN.427.6. *puraskṛta~*.

Kanjur: *byang chub*[1492] *sems dpa' sems dpa'*[1493] *chen*[1494] *po* SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS[1495] *byang chub sems dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong gis*[1496] *yongs su bskor cing mdun*[1497] (S.239b2) *du bdar te*[1498] /[1499] *nga la blta*[1500] *ba dang /*

(ga 32b4) [1501]phyag *'chal* ba'*i phyir* / bsnyen bkur bya ba *'i phyir* / ○ DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA'I* CHOS *gy[i] gzbung* 'di ¡yang¡ m(nya)n pa'i phyir ○ / ¡•→• MYI MJED ¡gyi¡ ¡•← 'jig rten gyi khams.¡ 'dir 'ong *ngo* [] [1502] //

Kanjur: *phyag bya ba dang / bsnyen bkur bya ba dang / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[1503] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di mnyan*[1504] *pa'i phyir / 'jig*[1505] *rten gyi khams MI MJED*[1506] *'dir 'ong*[1507] [1508]*ba* (S.239b3) *de'i snga*[1509] *ltas so" //*

(ga 32b5) de nas ¡•→• 'JAM DPAL *gzho'* nur gyur*d* pas / ¡•← bcom ldan ○ 'das la.¡ [']di skad [] gsol to // bco(m) ldan 'das rig(s) *gyi* bu ○ des dge' *bai*[1510] []1511 tshogs *ji* bgyis [] / dge' ba'i []1512

Kanjur: *de nas bcom ldan 'das la / 'JAM DPAL gzhon nur gyur pas 'di skad ces gsol to // "bcom ldan 'das! rigs kyi bu des / dge ba'i rtsa ba'i* (S.239b4) *tshogs ci bgyis* [1513]*na? / dge ba'i rtsa ba'i*

(ga 32b6) tshogs [1514]¡bgyis shing /¡ [1515]*bstsags [pa]* [1516]*gang gis* / 'di lta bu'i khyad *bar* []

[1492] *chub* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1493] *dpa'* : Ph. *dpa' dpa'* (s.e.).

[1494] *chen* : J. *chan* (s.e.).

[1495] *dbyangs* : T. *dbyangs kyi* (s.e.); Ph. *sa dbyangs* (s.e.).

[1496] *gis* : Ph. *gi* (s.e.).

[1497] *mdun* : S. *bdun* (s.e.).

[1498] *te* : T. *ste* (s.e.).

[1499] *nga la* : = KN.427.7. *mama*. Ph. *da* (s.e.); Pk. *de la* (s.e.).

[1500] *blta* : Ph. *lta* (s.e.).

[1501] *phyag 'chal ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phyag bya ba*; KN.427.7. *vandana~*.

[1502] - : = KN.427.7.-; Tib. Kanj. *snga ltas so* = SP(H_4). 293.1. *tasyêdaṃ pūrvanimittaṃ*.

[1503] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1504] *mnyan* : Ph, B, Pk. *nyan*.

[1505] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1506] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1507] *'ong* : B. *'od* (s.e.); L. *'ongs* (s.e.).

[1508] *ba de'i* : Ph. *ba'i* (s.e.); B. *bde'i* (s.e.).

[1509] *snga* : Ph. *lnga* (s.e.).

[1510] *bai* : *i.e. ba'i*.

[1511] - : = KN.427.8.-; Tib. Kanj. *rtsa ba'i* = SP(H_4). 293.3. (*kuśala-*)*mūla-*(*saṃbhāraṃ*).

[1512] - : = KN.427.8.-; Tib. Kanj. *rtsa ba'i* = SP(H_4). 293.4. (*kuśala-*)*mūla-*(*saṃbhāraṃ*).

[1513] *na / dge ba'i rtsa ba'i* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1514] *bgyis shing* : = KN.427.9. *kṛtena* (= Bj, C5, C6, T2, B *etc.*); the Sanskrit MSS. K, C4, N1.- =

[1517]┌rab du┐ thob // bcom ldan 'das byang *cub* sems dpa' de / ting nge 'dzin gang la spyod [] / [┌→┐] bcom ldan 'das bdag gis

Kanjur: *tshogs bsags*[1518] *pa des 'di lta bu'i khyad par 'di thob? / bcom ldan 'das! byang chub sems dpa' de ting nge 'dzin gang la spyod*[1519] *pa'i ting nge 'dzin de / bcom* (S.239b5) *ldan 'das! bdag gis*

(ga 32b7) [┌←]ting nge 'dzin de┐ [1520]mnyan*d* [] *to* // bcom ldan 'das bdag gis ting nge 'dzin de la [1521]spyad [] *do* // ┌bdag gis┐ byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de *ji* 'dra [] / kha dog *ji* 'dra [] / gzugs [*j*]*i* 'dra []

Kanjur: *mnyan par bgyi'o*[1522] *// bcom ldan 'das!* [1523]*bdag gis ting nge 'dzin de la* [1524]*spyad par bgyi'o // byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de ci 'dra ba dang / kha*[1525] *dog* (S.239b6) *ci 'dra ba dang / gzugs ci 'dra ba dang /*

(ga 32b8) *mtshan*[1526] *ji* 'dra' [] / dbyibs *ji* 'dra [] / de 'i spyod pa [1527]*ji* ┌lta┐ [*b*]*u ba* [] // [b]dag gis byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de [1528]blta'*o* // bcom ldan 'das [1529][] ltas gang gis bskul ma thag *du* //

Kanjur: [1530]*rtags ci 'dra ba dang / dbyibs ci 'dra ba dang / de'i spyod*[1531] *pa ci* [1532]*lags pa? / bdag gis byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de blta*[1533] *bar*[1534] (S.239b7) *bgyi'o // bcom ldan 'das! brda*[1535] *ltas gang gis bskul ma thag tu /*

Tib. Kanj.-.

[1515] *bstsags pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bsags pa*; KN.427.9. *upacita~*.

[1516] *gang gis* : = KN.427.9. *yena*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *des*.

[1517] *rab du thob* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thob*; KN.427.9. *pratilabdha~*.

[1518] *bsags* : Ph. *gsags* (s.e.).

[1519] *spyod* : Ph. *sbyod* (s.e.).

[1520] *mnyand to* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mnyan par bgyi'o*; KN.427.10. *śṛṇuyāma*.

[1521] *spyad do* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *spyad par bgyi'o*; KN.427.11. *carema*.

[1522] *bgyi'o* : Ph. *gyi'o* (s.e.).

[1523] *bdag gis ting nge 'dzin de la spyad par bgyi'o* : T. *tshogs 'di lta bu'i khyad par 'di thob/ bcom ldan 'das* (s.e.).

[1524] *spyad par* : Ph. *sbyangs bar* (s.e.).

[1525] *kha* : Ph. *kha ci kha* (s.e.).

[1526] *mtshan* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rtags*; KN.427.12. *liṅga~*.

[1527] *ji lta bu ba*: cf. Tib. Kanj. *ci lags pa* = KN.427.12. *ko*.

[1528] *blta'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *blta bar bgyi'o*; KN.427.11. *paśyema*.

[1529] *ltas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brda ltas*; KN.427.13. *nimitta~*.

[1530] *rtags ci 'dra ba dang /* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1531] *spyod* : T. *spyad* (s.e.).

[1532] *lags pa* : Ph. *legs ba* (s.e.).

[1533] *blta* : Ph. *lta* (s.e.).

[1534] *bar* : S. *ba* (s.e.).

[1535] *brda* : Ph. *snga* (s.e.).

(ga 33a1) (byang cub sems d)pa' sems dpa' chen po de ⌜•→•⌝ MYI (MJED gyi ⌜•←'jig rte)[n] gyi khams•⌝ 'dir / [1536]mchi'▯ ba de [1537]lta bo'i▯ ltas shig / de bzhin gshegs pas [1538]⌜•→•⌝ mdzad ⌜na⌝⌜•←dge'o•⌝▯ // de nas bcom ldan

Kanjur (KN.427.13; T. 203b7; J. 175b4; S. 239b7; Ph. 380a7; B. 218a2; Pk. 182b6; N. 248b2; D. 160a2; C. 189a2; L. 253a4) *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po de 'jig*[1539] *rten gyi khams MI MJED*[1540] *'dir mchi bar*[1541] *'gyur ba de lta bu'i brda ltas* (S.240a1) *shig / de bzhin gshegs pas*[1542] *legs par mdzad du gsol" / de nas bcom ldan*

(ga 33a2) ('das ⌜•SHAG KYA thub pa'→•⌝) [/] de bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom ba' / (yang dag) par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜•←•⌝ gyis / ⌜[1543]RIN CEN MANG→•⌝ de bzhin gshegs pa' / dgra' bcom ba{{'i}}(?) yang dag par rdzogs pa'i /

Kanjur: *'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa*[1544] *yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs* (S.240a2) *rgyas SHĀKYA thub pas / de bzhin gshegs pa*[1545] *dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i*

(ga 33a3) (sangs rgyas yong)su mya ngan <las> 'das pa ⌜•←•⌝ ⌜de⌝ la / 'di' skad ▯ gsu[ng]s so // ⌜bcom ldan 'das→1•⌝ [1546]ci nas / ▯ ⌜•→2•⌝ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ⌜•2←byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•⌝ / ⌜•→3•⌝ MYI MJED ⌜gyi'⌝

Kanjur: *sangs rgyas yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa RIN CHEN MANG la 'di skad ces*[1547] *gsungs so // "ci nas*[1548] *brda*[1549] *ltas* (S.240a3) *gang gis*[1550] *byang chub sems dpa'* [1551]*sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS 'jig*[1552] *rten gyi khams MI MJED*[1553]

(ga 33a4) ⌜•3←('jig rten gyi) [kha]ms•⌝ 'dir mchi ba de lta bu'i ▯ ltas ⌜shig⌝ ○ ⌜•1←•⌝▯ mdzod

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[1536] *mchi' ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mchi bar 'gyur ba*; KN.427.14. *āgacchet.*

[1537] *lta bo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *lta bu*; KN.427.13. *tathārūpa~.*

[1538] *mdzad na dge'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs par mdzad du gsol*; KN.427.12. *tat sādhu (bhagavan) karotu.*

[1539] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1540] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1541] *bar* : B. *par* (s.e.).

[1542] *pas* : T. *pa* (s.e.).

[1543] *Rin cen* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *Rin chen*; KN.427.15. *(Prabhūta-)ratna~.*

[1544] *pa* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1545] *pa* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1546] *ci nas* : = KN.427.15. *yena*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *ci nas brda ltas gang gis.*

[1547] *ces* : S. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[1548] *nas* : Ph. *nas kyang* (s.e.?).

[1549] *brda* : Ph. *snga* (s.e.).

[1550] *gis* : S. *gi* (s.e.).

[1551] *sems dpa'* : B. om. (s.e.).

[1552] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1553] *mjed* : S. *mjad* (s.e.); Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[] // de nas bcom ldan [']das [RIN CEN MANG→] de bzhin gshegOs pa' / dgra' bcom *ba'* yang dag par

Kanjur: *'dir mchi*[1554] *ba*[1555] *de*[1556] *lta bu'i brda*[1557] *ltas / bcom ldan 'das kyis mdzod cig" /* (S.240a4) *de nas bcom ldan 'das* (KN.428) *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par*

(ga 33a5) (rdzogs pa'i sang)s rgyas / yongsu mya ngan las 'das pa O [←] [] de 'i tshe / [→] SANG [SANG] PO'I DBYANGS / [←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems O dpa' chen po→] / bskul ba'i phyir //

Kanjur: *rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa*[1558] *RIN CHEN MANG gis*[1559] *de'i tshe /byang*[1560] *chub* (S.240a5) *sems dpa' sems dpa' chen* [1561]*po*[1562] *SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS*[1563] *bskul ba'i phyir /*

(ga 33a6) ([1564][rigs gyi bu→1] [M)Y(I) MJED→2] [gyi] ['jig rten gyi khams 'dir shog []→3] / [1565][khyod la] 'JAM DPAL *gzho'* nur gyur[*d*] pa' [] mthong bar dga'[O] [] [1←] [] [3←] [2 ←] *zhes* de lta bu 'i [1566]*mtshan ma* [1567]*'dzind to* // de nas [→] SANG SANG

Kanjur: *"'JAM DPAL*[1568] *gzhon nur gyur pa 'di* [1569]*rigs kyi bu mthong bar* [1570]*dga' bas / rigs kyi bu! khyod*[1571] *'jig*[1572] (S.240a6) *rten gyi khams MI MJED*[1573] *'dir* [1574]*shog cig" ces de lta bu'i*

[1554] *mchi* : Ph. *'chi* (s.e.).

[1555] *ba* : B. *pa*.

[1556] *de* : Ph. *'ing* (s.e. for *'di*).

[1557] *brda* : Ph. *brda'* (s.e.).

[1558] *pa* : Ph. *pa'i*.

[1559] *gis* : S. *gi* (s.e.).

[1560] *byang* : S. *bcom ldan 'das byang* (s.e.).

[1561] *po Sang sang* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1562] *po* : Pk. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1563] *dbyangs* : B. om. (s.e.).

[1564] *rigs gyi bu MYI MJED gyi 'jig rten gyi khams 'dir shog / khyod la 'JAM DPAL gzho' nur gyurd pa' mthong bar dga'*: cf. KN.428.2f. *āgaccha! kulaputrêmāṃ Sahāṃ lokadhātum. ayaṃ te Mañjuśrī kumārabhūto! darśanam abhinandati.* The word order of the reading in the Tib. Kho. almost agrees with that in the Sanskrit version.

[1565] *khyod la* : = KN.428.3. *te*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *rigs kyi bu*.

[1566] *mtshan ma* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brda*; KN.428.1. *nimitta-*.

[1567] *'dzind to* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mdzad do*; KN.428.1. *prāduścakāra*.

[1568] *dpal* : S. *dpa'* (s.e.).

[1569] *rigs kyi bu* : S, T. *rigs kyi bu khyod kyi bu mthu* (w.r.); D, L. *rigs kyi bu khyed kyi mthu* (w.r.); cf. KN.428.3. *te* = Tib. Kho. *khyod la*.

[1570] *dga' bas* : S, T. *dga' yis* (w.r.); Ph. *dga<' ba>s* (s.e.).

[1571] *khyod* : T. *khyod kyi* (s.e.).

[1572] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1573] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1574] *shog cig* : S. *shegs shing* (s.e.); T. *sheg shig* (s.e.); Ph. *shog shig*.

brda[1575] *mdzad do // de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[1576] SANG SANG

(ga 33a7) (PO'I D)BYANGS / ⌜←bya(ng) *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen *pos*⌝ / <bcom ldan 'das> ⌜*KA MA LA 'I MDAB* MA DRI MA MYED *PA*' {/} SKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO ⌝ KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA*'→⌝ / de bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom

Kanjur: *PO'I DBYANGS kyis / bcom ldan 'das* (S.240a7) *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom*

(ga 33a8) (ba' yang dag pa)r rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜←⌝ de 'i zhabs la / *mgos* phyag 'tshal nas / lan gsum ⌜du⌝ bskor ba *bya ste* / byang *cub* sems dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya' stong phrag b(r)[g](yad cu)

Kanjur: *pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas PAD MA'I*[1577] *'DAB*[1578] *MA DRI MA MED PA SKAR*[1579] *MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1580] *RGYAS*[1581] *PA de'i zhabs la mgo bos phyag*[1582] *'tshal*[1583] *nas*[1584] / (S.240b1) *lan*[1585] *gsum bskor*[1586] *ba byas te / byang chub sems dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong phrag brgyad*[1587] *cu*[1588]

(ga 33b1) (rtsa bzhi po) d(e) dag *dang* / ⌜lhan cig *du*→⌝ ⌝ bskor cing [1589]mdun du *bya ste* ⌜←⌝ / ⌜→⌝ RNAM PAR SNANG BA 'I 'OD *GZER* GYIS {/} ⌜SO SOR⌝ BRGYAN PA ⌜'i⌝ ⌜←'jig rten gyi khams⌝ ⌝ nas myi snang bar gyur*d te* //⌜→⌝ MYI [M](JED)

Kanjur (KN.428.6; T. 204a7; J. 176a3; S. 240b1; Ph. 381a1; B. 218b2; Pk. 183a5; N. 249a3; D. 160a7; C. 189b1; L. 253b6) *rtsa bzhi po de dag*[1590] *gis yongs su bskor cing mdun du bdar nas lhan cig*[1591] *tu 'jig*[1592] *rten gyi khams* (S.240b2) *RNAM PAR SNANG BA'I 'OD ZER GYIS*[1593] *BRGYAN*[1594] *PA de nas mi snang bar gyur*[1595] *nas / 'jig rten gyi khams MI*

[1575] *brda* : Ph. *brda'* (s.e.).

[1576] *po* : S. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1577] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1578] *'dab* : Ph. *'dabs* (s.e.).

[1579] *skar* : Ph. *dkar* (s.e.).

[1580] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1581] *rgyas* : Ph. *brgyas* (s.e.).

[1582] *pbyag* : Ph. *pbya<g>* (s.e.).

[1583] *'tshal* : N, L. *btsal*.

[1584] *nas* : Ph. *na* (s.e.).

[1585] *lan* : Ph. *len* (s.e.).

[1586] *bskor* : T. *skor*; Pk. *bskong* (s.e.).

[1587] *brgyad* : Ph. *brgya* (s.e.).

[1588] *cu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu*.

[1589] *mdun du bya ste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mdun du bdar nas*; KN.428.6. *puraskṛtas*.

[1590] *dag* : T. *dag ni* (s.e.).

[1591] *cig* : Ph. *gcig* (s.e.).

[1592] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1593] *gyis* : Ph. *gyi* (s.e.).

[1594] *brgyan* : Ph. *rgyan* (s.e.).

MJED[1596]

(ga 33b2) (gyi ˹←˺'jig rte)n (gy)i khams˹→˺ 'dir 'ongs te // zhing ▯ [1597]*shin tu* g-yo' *zhing* [1598]pad *mo* [1599]▯ rab *du bab* ˹ste˺ / sil snyan bye ba khrag khrig brgya' stong ▯ [1600]*rab du brdungs nas* / ▯ *ud pa la* [1601]*thing ka*'i [1602]*mdab* (ma 'dra /)

Kanjur: *'dir 'ongs te / zhing dag ni rab tu g-yo bar*[1603] *byed / pad ma*'i[1604] *char ni rab tu* (S.240b3) *'bebs / sil snyan*[1605] *bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong ni len cing*[1606] */ mig ni* [1607]*ut-pa la sngon po'i* [1608]*'dab ma 'dra /*

(ga 33b3) [1609](bzhin gyis?) ▯ [1610]lus ▯ [1611]gser gyi kha dog ▯ / ˹→˺ bsod nams brgya stong gis ▯ brgyan ˹pa'i˺ ˹←lus˺ / dpal ▯ rab *du* 'bar ˹ba'˺ / [gz](i)[ˈ] [br]jid ▯ shin *du* lhage▯ *pa*' / ˹→˺ ▯ mtshan ▯ *gyis* rnam par [1612]*brgyand* ˹pa'i˺ ˹←lus˺

Kanjur: [1613]*bzhin ni zla ba bye*[1614] *ba khrag khrig brgya stong bas*[1615] *lhag*[1616] */ lus kyi mdog*[1617] *ni gser*[1618] *gyi* (S.240b4) *kha dog*[1619] *'dra la / lus bsod nams brgya stong gis ni brgyan /*

[1595] *gyur* : B, Pk. *'gyur* (w.r.).

[1596] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1597] *shin tu g-yo' zhing* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rab tu g-yo bar byed*; KN.428.7. *prakampat~*.

[1598] *pad mo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pad ma*; KN.428.7. *padmair*. Cf. n. 1017.

[1599] *rab du bab ste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *char ni rab tu 'bebs*; KN.428.7. *pravarṣat~*.

[1600] *rab du brdungs nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *len cing*; KN.428.7. *pravādyamāna~*.

[1601] *thing ka* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sngon po*; KN.428.8. *nīla~*. Cf. n. 1175.

[1602] *mdab* (*ma*) : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'dab ma*; ≠ KN.428.8. *-padma~*; = K, C4, N1 *etc. -patra~*.

[1603] *bar* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1604] *pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma'i* instead.

[1605] *snyan* : Ph. *snyen* (s.e.).

[1606] *cing* : T. *cig* (s.e.).

[1607] *ut-pa la* : = S, T, B, N, L; J, Ph, Pk, D, C. *ud pa la* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1608] *'dab ma* : ≠ KN.428.8. *-padma~* (= Bj *etc.*); = K, C4, N1 *etc. -patra~*; cf. Krsh. 226.

[1609] *bzhin gyis*? : cf. KN.428.8. *vadanena*.

[1610] *lus* : = KN.428.8. *kāya~* ≠ Tib. Kanj. *lus kyi mdog*.

[1611] *gser gyi kha dog* : = KN.428.8. *suvarṇa-varṇa~* ≠ Tib. Kanj. *gser gyi kha dog 'dra*.

[1612] *brgyand pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *spras*; KN.428.9. *vicitrita~*.

[1613] *bzhin ni zla ba bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong bas lhag* : ≒ Taishō, vol. 9, No. 263, 127c17. 顏貌充滿，如月盛明 ("His face is full and looks like the bright, full moon"); = Taishō, vol. 9, No. 262, 55c11. 正使和合百千萬月，其面貌端正復過於此 ("The fineness of his face surpasses one hundred, thousand, ten thousand moons put together."); ≠ KN.428.8. *vadanena* (= Nepalese MSS.; = Tib. Kho.?); Krsh. 226.

[1614] *bye* : Pk. *bya* (s.e.).

[1615] *bas* : Pk. *pas*.

[1616] *lhag* : S. *lhags* (s.e.).

[1617] *mdog* : T. *{{kha}} 'dog* (s.e.); Ph. *'dog* (s.e.).

[1618] *gser* : Ph. *ser* (s.e.).

[1619] *dog* : Ph. *dogs* (s.e.).

dpal gyis[1620] *ni*[1621] *rab tu 'bar / gzi*[1622] *brjid kyis*[1623] *ni shin tu*[1624] [1625]*lhag ger gyur / lus ni mtshan rnams kyis rnam*[1626] *par spras /*

(ga 33b4) + + + [l]us ltar [1627]*sra ba'* / rin po che sna bdun ▯ [1628]⌜·→·⌝ ⌈las ○ [b]yas pa'i⌋ br(ts)egs pa'*i* ⌜← khang *bur*·⌋ *'dzegste*[1629] / [1630]*nam* [*ka*] la ta la ○ bdun tsam nas / byang *cub* sems dpa'i

Kanjur: *lus* (S.240b5) SRED MED KYI BU'*i lus ltar*[1631] *'khregs*[1632] *pa / rin po che sna bdun gyi*[1633] *khang pa brtsegs*[1634] *par zhugs*[1635] *te / nam mkha' la*[1636] *ta la bdun tsam nas byang chub sems dpa'i*

(ga 33b5) (tshogs gyis?) (b)skor cing / [1637]mdun du *byas* nas 'ongste / ○ de ⌜·→·⌝ MYI MJED ⌈gyi⌋ ⌜←'jig rten gyi khams·⌋ ▯[1638] / BYA RGOD ⌈GYI⌋ PHU[NG] PO ○ 'i ri [1639]*gang na* «ba» der [1640]*lhagste* / [1641]⌈nye bar⌋ phyin nas /

Kanjur: *tshogs kyis*[1642] *yongs su* (S.240b6) *bskor cing mdun du bdar nas 'ongs te / de 'jig*[1643] *rten*

[1620] *gyis* : Ph. *gyi* (s.e.).

[1621] *ni* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1622] *gzi* : Ph. *gza* (s.e.).

[1623] *kyis* : Ph, B, Pk. *gyis*.

[1624] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1625] *lhag ger* : S, T, D. *lhang nger*; the other Kanjurs read *lhag ger* instead (≒ Tib. Kho.). Cf. KN.428.9. *dedīpyamāna~* (← *dedīpma°* [s.e.]).

[1626] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1627] *sra ba'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'khregs pa*; KN.428.10. *-saṃbatana-* (← *-saṃbanana-* [s.e.]).

[1628] *las byas pa'i brtsegs pa'i khang bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *khang pa brtsegs pa*; KN.428.10. (*sapta-ratna-*)*maya~ kūṭāgāra~*.

[1629] *'dzegste* : *i.e. 'dzegs te*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *zhugs te*; KN.428.10. *abhirubya*.

[1630] *nam ka* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *nam mkha'*; KN.428.10. *vaibāyasa~*.

[1631] *ltar* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *ltar ni* instead.

[1632] *'khregs* : = J, B, Pk, C; Ph. *mkhrags* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *mkhregs* instead. Cf. KN.428.10. *-saṃbatana-* (← *-saṃbanana-*).

[1633] *gyi* : Ph. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1634] *brtsegs* : B. *rtsegs* (s.e.).

[1635] *zhugs* : Ph. *bzhugs* (s.e.).

[1636] *la* : Ph. *nas* (s.e.).

[1637] *mdun du byas nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mdun du bdar nas*; KN.428.11. *puraskṛta~*.

[1638] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *ga la ba* = KN.428.11. *yena*.

[1639] *gang na ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ga la ba*; KN.428.11. *yena*.

[1640] *lhagste* : *i.e. lhags te*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *'ongs te*; KN.428.12. *upasaṃkrāmat*.

[1641] *nye bar phyin nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phyin nas*; KN.428.12. *upasaṃkramya*.

[1642] *kyis* : T. *kyi* (s.e.).

[1643] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

gyi[1644] *khams* MI MJED[1645] *'di ga la ba dang / Bya* RGOD[1646] PHUNG[1647] PO*'i ri ga*[1648] *la ba der 'ongs te phyin nas /*

(ga 33b6) (khang pa brtsegs pa) de nas babste / brgya stong ri ba'i mu tig gi 'phreng (ba) thogs *nas* / bcom ldan 'das [1649]*gang* «*na*» ba der [1650]*dong ste* / phyin *nas* / bcom ldan 'das *gyi* zhabs la mgo

Kanjur: *khang*[1651] *pa brtsegs*[1652] *pa de nas babs* (S.240b7) *te / brgya stong ri ba'i mu tig gi 'phreng*[1653] *ba thogs shing / bcom ldan 'das ga la ba der song nas phyin pa dang / bcom ldan 'das kyi*[1654] *zhabs la mgo*

(ga 33b7) (bos phyag 'tshal te) / lan bdun ⌈du⌋ bskor ba byas*te* / bcom [l](dan ')das «la» mchod pa bya ba 'i phyir / mu tig gi 'phreng ba phul lo // phul nas / b[c]om ldan 'das la 'di skad ⌈⌋ *gslo*[1655] to /

Kanjur: *bos phyag 'tshal*[1656] *te / lan*[1657] *bdun* (S.241a1) *bskor*[1658] *ba byas nas /* (KN.429) *bcom ldan 'das la mchod pa*[1659] *bya ba'i phyir / mu tig gi*[1660] *'phreng*[1661] *ba phul lo // phul nas bcom ldan 'das la 'di skad ces gsol to /*

(ga 33b8) ⌈⌋[1662] (⌈KA MA LA'I MDAB MA DRI) MA MYED PA {/} SKAR MA 'I RGYAL (P)[O] (KUN DU RGYAS PA'⌋ de) bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom *ba*' / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌈⌋ *gyis* / bcom ldan 'da[s]

Kanjur: (S.241a2) / *"bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i*

[1644] *gyi* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1645] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1646] *rgod* : Ph. *rgod kyi* (s.e.).

[1647] *phung* : D. *lung* (s.e.).

[1648] *ga* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1649] *gang na ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ga la ba*; KN.428.12. *yena*.

[1650] *dong ste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *song nas*; KN.428.13. *upasaṃkrāmat*.

[1651] *khang* : Ph. *khangs* (s.e.).

[1652] *brtsegs* : T. *brtsags* (s.e.); Ph. *rtsegs* (s.e.).

[1653] *'phreng* : = Tib. Kho.; the other Kanjurs read *phreng* instead.

[1654] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.); Ph. *kyi«s»* (s.e.).

[1655] *gslo* : s.e. for *gsol*.

[1656] *'tshal* : N, L. *btsal*.

[1657] *lan* : Ph. *len* (s.e.).

[1658] *bskor* : T, J, Ph, B, Pk, D and C read thus (= Tib. Kho.); S, N, L. *skor*.

[1659] *pa* : B. *par* (s.e.).

[1660] *gi* : Ph. *gis* (s.e.).

[1661] *'phreng* : = Tib. Kho.; the other Kanjurs read *phreng* instead.

[1662] - : = the Sanskrit MSS. Bj, C5, C6, T2, T6 *etc.* -; Tib. Kanj. *bcom ldan 'das* = KN.429.2. *bhagavāṃs* (= K, C4, N1 *etc.*).

[1663]*sangs rgyas* PAD MA'I[1664] *'DAB MA DRI MA MED PA SKAR MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[1665] *RGYAS PAS*[1666] / (S.241a3) *"bcom ldan 'das*

(ga 34a1) ๑ // la [1667]*myi bde «ba»* chung *ba dang* / [1668]*gnod pa* nyung *ba dang* / [1669]*yang bar bzhengs pa dang* / [] [1670] bde bar gnas *pa dri'o*[1671] / bcom ldan 'das de 'di skad [] gsung*ste* / bcom ldan 'das khyod bzod dam *'tsho*[1672] *'am* / khams []

Kanjur (KN.429.2; T. 204b7; J. 176b2; S. 241a3; Ph. 381b3; B. 219a3; Pk. 183b4; N. 249b5; D. 160b5; C. 190a1; L. 254b1) *la gnod pa chung*[1673] *ngam / nyam nga ba*[1674] *nyung ngam /* [1675]*bskyod*[1676] *pa yang ngam / stobs dang bde bar gnas sam" / zhes snyun*[1677] *gsol lo*[1678] *// bcom ldan 'das de 'di skad ces* (S.241a4) *kyang* [1679]*gsung ste / "bcom ldan 'das khyod bzod dam*[1680]*? / gzhes*[1681] *sam? / khams rnams*

(ga 34a2) *mnyam*[1682] *'am* / {{[d]e}} [] se«m»<s> can [1683][de] *dag* [gyang][1684] [1685]go *ba yin nam* / [1686][*bde bar*→] *dul* [←] *lam* / gso' sla 'am / gtsang ma 'dod[1687] dam / [1688]*shin du*

[1663] *sangs rgyas* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1664] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1665] *tu* : J. *du*.

[1666] *pas* : the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *pa* instead.

[1667] *myi bde ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gnod pa*; KN.429.3. *-ābādha-*.

[1668] *gnod pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *nyam nga ba*; KN.429.3. *-ātaṅka-*.

[1669] *yang bar bzhengs pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bskyod pa yang*; KN.429.3. *laghūtthānatā-*.

[1670] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *stobs dang*; KN.429.3. *balaṃ*.

[1671] *dri'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *snyun gsol lo*; KN.429.2. *paripṛcchati*.

[1672] *'tsho* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzhes*; KN.429.4. *yāpanīya-*.

[1673] *chung* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *nyung* instead.

[1674] *ba* : T. *ba {la}* (s.e.).

[1675] *bskyod pa yang ngam /* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1676] *bskyod* : S. *skyod* (s.e.).

[1677] *snyun* : Ph. *bsnyun*.

[1678] *lo* : T, Ph, N, L. *to*.

[1679] *gsung ste* : Ph. *gsungs so so* (s.e.).

[1680] *dam* : T. *ba* (s.e.).

[1681] *gzhes* : Ph. *bzhe{ng}s* (s.e.).

[1682] *mnyam* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'thun* (*v.l. mthun*); KN.429.4. *pratikurvanti*.

[1683] *de dag* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *khyod kyi*; KN.429.5. *te*. The translator of the Tib. Kho. seems to have mistakenly taken the enclitic pronoun *te* ("of you") in the Sanskrit version for the nominative plural of the pronoun *tad-* ("those").

[1684] *gyang* : Tib. Kanj.-; KN.429.5.-.

[1685] *go ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *go sla*; KN.429.5. *sv-ākāra-*.

[1686] *bde bar dul* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gdul sla*; KN.429.5. *su-vaineya-*.

[1687] *'dod* : = Tib. Kanj. *'dod*; ≠ KN.429.5. *(śuci-)kāya-*(= B, R, T3, T4, A1, A3 *etc.*); = O, Bj, K, C4, N1, C6, T2 *etc. (śuci-)kāma-*.

'dod chags myi spyod dam / shin du zhe sdang myi spyod dam //

Kanjur: *'thun*[1689] *nam? / khyod kyi*[1690] *sems can rnams*[1691] *go sla 'am? / gdul*[1692] *sla 'am? /* [1693]*gso sla 'am? / gtsang*[1694] *ma 'dod dam? /* (S.241a5) *ha cang 'dod chags*[1695] *mi spyod dam? / ha cang zhe*[1696] *sdang mi spyod dam? /*

(ga 34a3) shin du gti' mug myi [s]pyod dam // [b]com ldan 'das khyod gyi sems can ¦de¦ dag shin du phrag dog can ma [y]in nam / ser sna can ma yin nam / mar myi [1697]shes pa ma yin nam / phar myi

Kanjur: *ha cang gti mug*[1698] *mi spyod dam? / bcom ldan 'das! khyod kyi*[1699] *sems can*[1700] *dag shin tu*[1701] *phrag*[1702] *dog can ma yin nam? / ser* (S.241a6) *sna*[1703] *can ma yin nam? / mar mi 'dzin pa ma yin nam? / phar mi*

(ga 34a4) shes pa ma yin nam / dge' sbyong du myi shes pa ma yin nam / ○ [1704]bra' 'am zer myi shes pa ma yin nam / log par lta ba ma yin ○ nam / sems ma dul ba ma yin nam /

Kanjur: *'dzin pa ma yin nam? /* [1705]*dge sbyong du mi 'dzin pa ma yin nam? / bram zer mi 'dzin pa ma yin nam? / log*[1706] *par lta ba ma yin nam? /* (S.241a7) *sems ma dul ba*[1707] *ma yin nam? /*

(ga 34a5) dbang po ma [1708]sbas pa ma yin nam / bcom ldan 'das ○ khyo[d] (ky)i sems

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[1688] *shin du* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *ba cang*; KN.429.5. *atīva*.

[1689] *'thun* : = T, Ph, D; the other Kanjurs read *mthun* instead.

[1690] *kyi* : S. *kyi«s»* (s.e.); Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1691] *rnams* : Pk. *nams* (s.e.).

[1692] *gdul* : T, Ph. *'dul* (s.e.).

[1693] *gso sla 'am* : S. om. (s.e.); J. *gsa' sla 'am* (s.e.); N. *gso' sla 'am*.

[1694] *gtsang* : Ph. *gtsam* (s.e.); B. *gcang* (s.e.).

[1695] *chags* : Ph. *chag* (s.e.).

[1696] *zhe* : Ph. *zhes* (s.e.).

[1697] *shes pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'dzin pa*; KN.429.7. (*amātr*)*jña*-.

[1698] *mug* : S. *mug tu* (s.e.); T. *mug gi* (s.e.).

[1699] *kyi* : T, Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1700] *can* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1701] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1702] *phrag* : Ph. *phra* (s.e.).

[1703] *sna* : Ph. *na* (s.e.).

[1704] *bra' 'am zer* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bram zer*; KN.429.7. *-brābman-*.

[1705] *dge sbyong* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.; = KN.429.7. *śrāmaṇya*-); the other Kanjurs read *dge slong* instead (w.r.).

[1706] *log* : Ph. *logs* (s.e.).

[1707] *ba* : B. *pa*.

[1708] *sbas pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bsrungs pa*; KN.429.7. *-gupta-*(*indriya*-).

can de dag [] [1709]BDUD *dang* rgol *ba*' bco[m] 'am / / ○ bcom ldan 'das [┌RIN *CEN* MANG→┐] / de bzhin

Kanjur: *dbang po ma* [1710]*bsrungs pa ma yin nam? /* (KN.430) *bcom ldan 'das! khyod kyi*[1711] *sems can de dag gis*[1712] *BDUD phyir* [1713]*rgol pa*[1714] *bcom 'am*[1715] */ bcom ldan 'das de bzhin*

(ga 34a6) gshegs pa' dgra' bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzog<s> pa 'i / sangs rgyas yongsu mya ngan las 'das pa' [┌←┐] de / rin po che sna bdun gyi mchod rten gyi nang na bzhugs pa' / chos [1716]*nyan* pa'i phyir /[┌→┐] MYI MJED

Kanjur: (S.241b1) *gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa RIN CHEN MANG de*[1717] *rin po che sna bdun gyi mchod rten gyi nang na*[1718] *bzhugs*[1719] *pa chos gsan* (S.241b2) *pa'i phyir / 'jig rten gyi khams MI MJED*[1720]

(ga 34a7) [gyi'] / [┌←'jig rten gyi khams→┐] *su 'ongs* sam // bcom ldan 'das [┌RIN *CEN* MANG→┐] de bzhin gshegs pa [┌←┐] la yang / bcom ldan 'das de 'dri ba / bcom ldan 'das [┌RIN *CEN* MANG→┐] de bzhin gshegs pa [┌←┐] /

Kanjur: *du*[1721] *gshegs sam?" / bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa RIN CHEN MANG la yang*[1722] */ bcom ldan 'das de*[1723] *'dri ba / "bcom ldan 'das* (S.241b3) [1724]*de bzhin gshegs pa RIN CHEN MANG*

(ga 34a8) de bzod [d]am / *'tsho*[1725] *'am* / bcom ldan 'das [┌Rin *cen* mang→┐] de bzhin gshegs pa' [┌←┐] / ring du gnas sam zhes [1726]*'dri 'o* // bcom ldan 'das bdag [] *gyang* / bcom ldan 'das [┌Rin *cen* mang→┐]

[1709] *BDUD dang rgol ba'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *BDUD phyir rgol pa*; KN.430.1. *Māra-pratyarthika~*.

[1710] *bsrungs pa* : T. *srungs ba* (s.e.); B. *bsrungs ba*.

[1711] *kyi* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *kyis* instead (w.r.).

[1712] *gis* : T. *gi* (s.e.).

[1713] *rgol pa* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1714] *pa* : J, Ph. *ba* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1715] *'am* : J, B, Pk and C read thus (= Tib. Kho.); S, T, N, D, L. *mam*; Ph. *sam* (s.e.).

[1716] *nyan pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsan pa*; KN.430.2. *(dharma-)śravaṇa~*.

[1717] *de* : T. *der* (s.e.); Pk. *ngo* (s.e.).

[1718] *na* : S, T, Ph. *du*.

[1719] *bzhugs* : T. *zhugs* (s.e.).

[1720] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1721] *du* : J. *tu*.

[1722] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1723] *de* : S. *de 'i* (s.e. for *'di*); T. *de* {{*'di*}}.

[1724] *de bzhin gshegs pa* : = Tib. Kho.; = Sanskrit MSS. K, C4, N1 *etc. tathāgatasya*; ≠ KN.430.4. *tathāgatasyârhataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya* (= Bj, P2 *etc.*) = T. *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas*; S. *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa* (w.r.).

[1725] *'tsho* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzhes*; KN.430.4. *yāpanīyaṃ*.

[1726] *'dri 'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsung ngo*; KN.430.3. *paripṛcchati*.

Kanjur: *de bzod dam? / gzhes*[1727] *sam? / bcom ldan 'das* [1728]*de bzhin gshegs pa* RIN CHEN MANG *ring du gnas*[1729] *sam" zhes* [1730]*gsung ngo //* [1731]*bcom* (S.241b4) *ldan 'das! bdag*[1732] *gis kyang* [1733]*bcom ldan 'das*

(ga 34b1) de bzhin gshegs pa' / dgra' bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i / sangs rgyas ┌·←·┐ de 'i ring bsrel gyi sku blta▯'o // bcom ldan 'das ┌·RIN CEN MANG→·┐ de bzhin gshegs pa' / dgra' bcom *ba* yang

Kanjur (KN.430.6; T. 205a6; J. 177a1; S. 241b4; Ph. 382a4; B. 219b3; Pk. 184a3; N. 250a7; D. 161a3; C. 190a8; L. 255a2) *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas* RIN CHEN MANG *de'i ring bsrel gyi sku*[1734] *blta bar bgyi'o //* (S.241b5) *bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang*

(ga 34b2) dag par rdzogs pa'i / sangs rgyas ┌·←·┐ de'i ring bsrel gyi sku de bzhin gshegs pas [1735]┌·→·┐ bstan ┌na┐ ┌·←*dge'o*·┐ ▯ // de nas bcom l[d]an 'das ┌·SHAG KYA thub *pa*→·┐ de bzhin gshegs pa' / dgra' bcom *ba'*

Kanjur: *dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas* RIN CHEN MANG *de'i ring bsrel gyi sku*[1736] */ de bzhin gshegs pas legs par bstan du*[1737] (S.241b6) *gsol" / de nas bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa*

(ga 34b3) yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ┌·←·┐ ┌gyis┐ / bcom ldan 'das ┌·RIN CEN MANG→·┐ de bzhin gshegs pa' / dgra' bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas yongsu {/} mya ngan las 'das pa ┌·←·┐ de la

Kanjur: *yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas SHĀKYA thub pas / bcom ldan 'das de bzhin* (S.241b7) *gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa* RIN CHEN MANG *de*[1738] *la*

(ga 34b4) 'di skad ▯ gsungs so // bcom ldan 'das ┌·→·┐ SANG SANG ○ PO 'I [D]BYANGS / ┌·←

[1727] *gzhes* : = T (= KN.430.4. *yāpanīyaṃ*); D. *gshes* (s.e.); J, B, Pk, D, C, L. *gshegs* (w.r.); Ph. *bzhengs* (s.e.).

[1728] *de bzhin gshegs pa* : ≠ KN.430.5. *tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddhaś* (= Bj, C5 *etc.*); = K, C4, N1 *etc. tathāgataś*; cf. Krsh. 226.

[1729] *gnas* : = T, Ph (= KN.430.5. *sthāsyati*); J, B, Pk, N, D, L. *gzhes* (w.r.); C. *bzhes* (s.e.).

[1730] *gsung ngo* : Ph. *gsungs so.*

[1731] *bcom ldan 'das! bdag gis kyang* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1732] *bdag* : S. *de dag* (s.e.); Ph. *bdag cag* (s.e.).

[1733] *bcom ldan 'das* : ≠ KN.430.6. - (= Bj, C5, C6, T2, T6 *etc.*); = K, C4, N1 *etc. bhagavataḥ.*

[1734] *sku* : Ph. *sku gdung.*

[1735] *bstan na dge'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs par bstan du gsol*; KN.430.6. *tat sādhu ... darśayatu.*

[1736] *sku* : Ph. *sku gdung.*

[1737] *du* : T. *tu*.

[1738] *de* : = Tib. Kho.; = KN.430.9. *taṃ*; S, T. om. (w.r.).

byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa['] chen po$_{\lrcorner}$ 'di / ○ bcom ldan 'das $_{\lceil}$RIN *CEN* MANG$_{\rightarrow\lrcorner}$ de bzhin

Kanjur: *'di skad ces gsungs so // "bcom ldan 'das! byang chub sems* (S.242a1) *dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[1739] *SANG*[1740] *SANG PO'I DBYANGS 'di bcom ldan 'das de bzhin*

(ga 34b5) gshegs pa' dgra' bcom *ba'* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i / ○ sangs rgyas yongsu mya ngan las 'das pa' $_{\lceil\leftarrow\lrcorner}$ mthong bar [1741]'tshal *lo* $_{[]}$ / ○ / de nas bcom ldan 'das $_{\lceil}$RIN *CEN* MANG$_{\rightarrow\lrcorner}$

Kanjur: *gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas yongs su* (S.242a2) *mya ngan las 'das pa RIN CHEN MANG*[1742] *mthong*[1743] *bar 'tshal nas*[1744] *mchis so" //* [1745]*de nas bcom ldan 'das*

(ga 34b6) de bzhin gshegs pa' / dgra' bcom [*ba*] yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sa«ng»s rgyas $_{\lceil\leftarrow\lrcorner}$ *gyis* / $_{\lceil\rightarrow\lrcorner}$ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / $_{\lceil\leftarrow}$byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po$_{\lrcorner}$ la 'di skad $_{[]}$ bka' stsal*d* to //

Kanjur: *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas* (S.242a3) *RIN CHEN MANG gis / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS la*[1746] *'di skad ces bka' stsal to //*

(ga 34b7) [1747]$_{[}$'di ltar$_{\lrcorner}$ rigs *gyi* bu khyod nga dang / bcom ldan 'das $_{\lceil}$*SHAG KYA* thub pa'$_{\rightarrow\lrcorner}$ de bzhin gshegs pa' / dgra' bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas $_{\lceil\leftarrow\lrcorner}$ mthong bar 'dod pa dang //

Kanjur: *"rigs kyi bu! khyod* [1748]*nga dang / bcom ldan 'das de bzhin* (S.242a4) *gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas SHĀKYA thub pa* (KN.431) *mthong bar 'dod pa dang /*

(ga 34b8) DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA«'» RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di mnyan pa dang / 'JAM DPAL [1749]*gzho* nur gyur*d* pa blta' ba'i phyir / 'ongs pa [1750]*dge'o dge'o* // de nas $_{\lceil\rightarrow1\lrcorner}$ $_{\lceil}$PAD *MO* 'I DPAL$_{\rightarrow2\lrcorner}$ byang *cub* sems

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[1739] *po* : T. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1740] *sang* : N. *seng* (s.e.).

[1741] *'tshal lo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'tshal nas mchis so*; KN.430.11. (*draṣṭu-*)*kāmaḥ*.

[1742] *mang* : T. *mang po* (s.e.).

[1743] *mthong* : Pk. *mthob* (s.e.).

[1744] *nas* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1745] *de nas* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1746] *la* : Ph. *de la* (s.e.).

[1747] *'di ltar* : cf. KN.430.13. *yatra hi nāma*; Tib. Kanj.-.

[1748] *nga dang* : ≠KN.430.13.-; = C1, C2, A2, A3. *māṃ ca*.

[1749] *gzho nu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gzhon nu*; KN.431.1. *kumāra-*(*bhūta-*).

[1750] *dge'o dge'o* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *legs so legs so*; KN.430.13. *sādbu sādbu*.

Kanjur: *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[1751] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam*[1752] *grangs 'di mnyan pa dang /* (S.242a5) [1753]*"JAM DPAL gzhon nur gyur pa*[1754] *blta ba'i phyir 'ongs pa*[1755] *legs so legs so" // de nas bcom ldan 'das la / byang chub sems*

(ga 35a1) ❀ // dpa' sems dpa' chen po ⌜•2←•⌝ / ⌜•1←bcom ldan 'das la•⌝ 'di skad ▯ gsol to // bcom ldan 'das ⌜•→•⌝ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ⌜•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•⌝ //

Kanjur (KN.431.3; T. 205b6; J. 177a8; S. 242a5; Ph. 382b5; B. 220a4; Pk. 184b1; N. 251a2; D. 161b2; C. 190b7; L. 255b4) *dpa' sems dpa' chen po PAD MA'I*[1756] *DPAL* (S.242a6) *gyis 'di skad ces gsol to // "*[1757]*bcom ldan 'das! byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS kyis /*

(ga 35a2) de bzhin gshegs pa gang gi [1758]*mdun* du' sngon dge' ba'i rtsa ba' ji lta bu zhig bskrun*d* // de nas bcom ldan 'das ⌜•*SHAG KYA* thub pa•→⌝ de bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom *ba'* / yang dag par

Kanjur: *de bzhin gshegs pa gang gi*[1759] *drung du sngon dge ba'i rtsa ba ji* (S.242a7) *lta bu zhig bskrun*[1760]*?" / de nas bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par*

(ga 35a3) rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜•←•⌝ *gyis* / ⌜•PAD *MO* 'I DPAL→•⌝ byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po ⌜•←•⌝ la 'di skad ▯ bka' stsal*d* to // rigs *gyi* bu sngon ▯ 'das pa'i dus ▯ / [1761]grangs myed pa'i bskal pa /

Kanjur: *rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas SHĀKYA thub pas / byang chub sems dpa' sems* (S.242b1) *dpa' chen po PAD MA'I*[1762] *DPAL la 'di skad ces bka' stsal to // "rigs kyi bu! sngon byung ba 'das pa'i dus na*[1763] [1764] */*

[1751] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1752] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1753] *'JAM DPAL gzhon nur gyur pa* : Ph. *'dzin ba dang* (s.e.).

[1754] *pa* : T. *ba*.

[1755] *pa* : Ph. *ba*.

[1756] *Pad ma'i* : S, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; T. *Dam ba'i* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1757] *bcom ldan 'das!* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1758] *mdun du'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *drung du*; KN.431.4. *antike*.

[1759] *gi* : T. *gis* (s.e.); Ph. *gāi'i* (*sic*; s.e.).

[1760] *bskrun* : T. *bsgrun* (s.e.); Ph. *kha skrun* (s.e.).

[1761] *grangs myed pa'i bskal pa / grangs myed pa las gyang 'das pa na' / 'byung ba de 'i tshe de 'i dus na' / :* ≒ KN.431.6~7. *asaṃkhyeye kalpe 'saṃkhyeyatare vipule 'prameye 'pramāṇe yadâsīt tena kālena tena samayena* (= Bj, C4, C5, C6 *etc.*); ≠ Tib. Kanj. - = the Sanskrit MSS. O, K, C1, C2, N1. -; cf. Krsh. 226.

[1762] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1763] *na* : B. *nas* (s.e.).

[1764] The Kanjur version lacks parallels here with the following sentence in the Sanskrit edition: KN.431.6-7. *asaṃkhyeye kalpe 'saṃkhyeyatare vipule 'prameye 'pramāṇe yadâsīt tena kālena tena samayena*. See n. 1761.

(ga 35a4) grangs myed pa las gyang 'das pa na' / 'byung ba de 'i tshe de 'i dus ○ na' /
[*→1*] [*→2*] [*→3*] [*→4*] GZUGS THAMS CAD SHIN DU STON PA 'i / [*4←]'jig rten gyi khamsu [*] ○ [*2←]MTHONG NA DGA' BA'i [*1←]bskal pa [*] [*3←]la [*] / [*]SPRIN [] RNGA DBYANGS[1765]

Kanjur: *bskal pa*[1766] *MTHONG NA DGA' BA la / 'jig rten gyi khams GZUGS*[1767] *THAMS* (S.242b2) *CAD SHIN TU*[1768] *STON PAR*[1769]

(ga 35a5) RGYAL PO zhes bya ba [*→1*] / de{'}(?) bzhin gshegs pa' dgra' bcom *ba'* / ○ yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [*]'jig rten du byung ste [→2*] / ○ [1770]*mkhyen* pa dang zhabsu ldan *ba'* / bde bar gshegs

Kanjur: *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rig pa dang zhabs su ldan pa*[1771] */ bde bar gshegs*

(ga 35a6) pa' / 'jig rten [1772]*rig* pa' / [*]bla na myed pa' / [→3*] skyes bu 'dul ba 'i kha lo sgyur ba' / [*3←] lha dang myi [] 'i ston pa' sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das [*1←] [*2←] [*]byung ngo [*] // rigs *gyi* bu bcom ldan 'das [*→*] SPRIN

Kanjur: *pa / 'jig rten mkhyen*[1773] *pa / skyes bu* (S.242b3) *'dul ba'i kha lo sgyur ba / bla na med pa / lha dang mi rnams kyi*[1774] *ston pa / sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das SPRIN DANG*[1775] *RNGA SGRA*[1776] *RGYAL PO zhes bya ba*[1777] *'jig rten du byung ste / rigs kyi bu! bcom* (S.242b4) *ldan 'das*[1778] *de bzhin gshegs pa SPRIN*

(ga 35a7) [] RNGA DBYANGS RGYAL PO [*←]de bzhin gshegs pa [*] [] la / [*→*] SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS / [*←]byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po [*] / sil snyan brgya stong rab *du* [1779]*brdungste* / lo [1780]*stong phrag bcu gnyisu* mchod pa byaso /

[1765] *dbyangs* : cf. Tib. Kanj. (*SPRIN DANG RNGA*) *SGRA* (*RGYAL PO*); KN.431.7. (*Megha-dundubhi-*)*svara-*(*rāja*).

[1766] *pa* : T. *ba*.

[1767] *gZugs* : S. *gZungs* (s.e.).

[1768] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1769] *par* : J. *bar*.

[1770] *mkhyen pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rig pa*; KN.431.8. *vidyā-*.

[1771] *pa* : J. *ba* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1772] *rig pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mkhyen pa*; KN.431.8. (*loka-*)*vid-*.

[1773] *mkhyen* : T. *'khyen* (s.e.).

[1774] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1775] *dang* : S, T. *dang /* (s.e.).

[1776] *sgra* : Ph. *sgra'i* (s.e.).

[1777] *ba* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *ba 'di* instead (w.r.).

[1778] *de bzhin gshegs pa* : J, Ph, B, Pk, N, C and L read thus (= Tib. Kho.; = the Sanskrit MSS. R, T8, T3, T4, T5, T9, A2, A3, N3); S, T, D. *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas* = KN.431.10. *tathāgatasyârhataḥ samyaksaṃbuddhasya* (= Bj, K, C4, N1, C5, C6 *etc.*).

[1779] *brdungs* : cf. Tib. Kanj. (*rab tu*) *blangs te*; KN.431.11. (*pra-*)*vādita-*.

Kanjur: *DANG RNGA SGRA*[1781] *RGYAL PO de la / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen* [1782]*po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS* (S.242b5) *kyis sil snyan brgya stong rab tu blangs te / lo* [1783]*khri nyis stong du mchod pa byas so //*

(ga 35a8) rin po che s(na) bdun [1784]las byas pa'i snod [1785]*stong phrag brgya cu rtsa bzhi* [1786]*byin no* // [1787]de «*ltar*»$_{\rightarrow 1}$ rigs *gyi* bu $_{2\rightarrow 2}$ sPRIN $_{[]}$ RNGA *DBYANGS* RGYAL PO / $_{2}$ de bzhin gshegs pa'i [1788]*rab gyi tshig* $_{1\leftarrow 1}$ la' / $_{1\rightarrow 1}$ SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS //

Kanjur: *rin po che sna bdun gyi snod brgyad khri bzhi stong phul lo // rigs kyi bu! de bzhin gshegs pa sPRIN DANG*[1789] (S.242b6) *RNGA SGRA*[1790] *RGYAL PO'i gsung rab*[1791] *de la / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen* [1792]*po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS*

(ga 35b1) $_{1\leftarrow}$byang *cub* [s]ems dpa' sems dpa' chen po$_{1}$ / de lta bu 'i *dpal*[1793] thob bo // [1794]de ste gang gis$_{1}$ $_{1\rightarrow 1}$ bcom ldan 'das $_{}$sPRIN $_{[]}$ RNGA *DBYANGS* RGYAL PO$_{\rightarrow 2}$ / de bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom *ba'* / yang dag

Kanjur (KN.432.1; T. 206a5; J. 177b6; S. 242b6; Ph. 383a5; B. 220b4; Pk. 184b8; N. 251b3; D. 161b7; C. 191a5; L. 256a5) (KN.432) *kyis de lta bu'i* [1795]*dad pa thob bo*[1796] *// de'i tshe de'i dus na bcom ldan 'das de* (S.242b7) *bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag*

(ga 35b2) par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas $_{2\leftarrow 1}$ la mchod pa byas shing / snod [1797]*stong phrag*

[1780] *stong phrag bcu gnyisu* : = Tib. Kanj. *khri nyis stong du*; = the Sanskrit MSS. Bj, C4, N1, C6, T6 *etc. dvā-daśa-(varṣa-)-sabasrāṇi*; ≠ KN.431.11. *dvā-daśa-(varṣa-)śata-sabasrāṇi* (= K, R, C1, C2, N3 *etc.*).

[1781] *sgra* : Ph. *sgri* (s.e.).

[1782] *po SANG SANG* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1783] *khri nyis stong du* : = Tib. Kho. *stong phrag bcu gnyisu*; ≠ KN.431.11. *dvā-daśa-(varṣa-)śata-sabasrāṇi*; = *v.l. dvā-daśa-(varṣa-)-sabasrāṇi*. See n. 1780.

[1784] *las byas pa'i* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gyi*; KN.431.12. *(sapta-ratna-)maya~*.

[1785] *stong phrag brgya cu rtsa bzhi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad khri bzhi stong*; KN.431.12. *catur-aśīti-sabasrāṇi*.

[1786] *byin no* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phul lo*; KN.431.12. *dattāny abhūvan*.

[1787] *de ltar ... rab gyi tshig la'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsung rab de la*; KN.431.13. *tatra ... pravacane*.

[1788] *rab gyi tshig* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gsung rab*; KN.431.13. *pravacana~*.

[1789] *dang* : S, T. *dang /* (s.e.).

[1790] *sgra* : Ph. *sgra'i* (s.e.).

[1791] *rab* : Ph. *rabs* (s.e.).

[1792] *po SANG SANG* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1793] *dpal* : cf. KN.432.1. *śrī~*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *dad pa*.

[1794] *de ste gang gis* : cf. Tib. Kanj.-; KN.432.1. *syāt khalu punas te*.

[1795] *dad pa* : ≠ KN.432.1. *śrī~*; cf. Tib. Kho. *dpal*.

[1796] *bo* : B. *po*.

[1797] *stong phrag brgya cu rtsa bzhi* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad khri bzhi stong*; KN.432.4. *catur-aśīti-(bhājana-)sabasrāṇi*.

brgya cu rtsa bzhi [] [1798]*byin* ba de' / gzhan zhig [°|←]de'i tshe de'i dus na'[→°] [1799][SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa'

Kanjur: *par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas sPRIN DANG RNGA*[1800] *SGRA*[1801] *RGYAL PO la mchod pa byas shing snod brgyad khri bzhi stong de* [1802]*dag phul ba de / gzhan zhig*

(ga 35b3) chen por[|] *gyurd pa* snyam du / [] som nyi 'am / yid *nyis* sam / the tsom za [] na / rigs kyi[1803] bu khyod kyis / de ltar myi blta'o // de ci 'i phyir zhe na / rigs kyi[1804] bu / gang gis bcom ldan 'das /

Kanjur: *yin snyam* (S.243a1) *du khyod som nyi 'am / yid gnyis sam / the tsom*[1805] *za bar gyur na / rigs kyi bu! khyod kyis de ltar mi blta'o*[1806] *// de ci'i phyir zhe*[1807] *na? / rigs kyi bu! gang gis bcom*[1808] *ldan* (S.243a2) *'das*

(ga 35b4) [°sPRIN [] RNGA *DBYANGS* RGYAL PO[→°] / de bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom ○ *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [°←°] [][1809] la / mchod pa byas pa dang / ○ [1810]snod [][1811] [1812]*byin* ba [] ni / [°→°] SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS /

Kanjur: *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas sPRIN DANG*[1813] *RNGA SGRA*[1814] *RGYAL PO de la mchod pa byas pa dang / snod de dag kyang phul ba de ni / byang chub sems* (S.243a3) *dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS*

(ga 35b5) [°←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po[→] 'di [] yin *no* / ○ / [de lta[|] rigs kyi bu [°→°] SANG SANG «PO'I» DBYANGS / [°←byang *cub* sems dpa' ○ sems dpa' chen po[→] *'di* [] / sangs rgyas mang

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[1798] *byin ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phul ba*; KN.432.4. *dattāni.*

[1799] *SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / byang cub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po gyurd pa* : = KN.432.5. *Gadgadasvaro bodhisattvo mahāsattvo 'bhūt*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *yin.*

[1800] *rnga* : Pk. *rda* (s.e.).

[1801] *sgra* : S, T, Ph. *sgra'i* (w.r.).

[1802] *dag phul ba de* : T. *nas* (s.e.).

[1803] *kyi* : *sic.*

[1804] *kyi* : *sic.*

[1805] *tsom* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *tshom* instead.

[1806] *blta'o* : Ph. *lta'o* (s.e.).

[1807] *zhe* : Ph. *zhes* (s.e.).

[1808] *bcom* : Ph. *mcom* (s.e.).

[1809] - : cf. Tib. Kanj. *de* = KN.432.5. *tasya.*

[1810] *snod* : = Tib. Kanj. *snod de dag* = the Sanskrit MSS. K, C6, T8, B, T7 *etc. bhājanāni*; ≠ KN.432.6. *catur-aśīti-bhājana-sahasrāṇi* (= Bj, C4, N1 *etc.*).

[1811] - : = KN.432.5.- (= R, A1, P1 *etc.*); Tib. Kanj. *kyang* = the Sanskrit MSS. Bj, K, C4, N1 *etc. ca.*

[1812] *byin ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *phul ba*; KN.432.7. *datta~.*

[1813] *dang* : Ph. *dang /* (s.e.).

[1814] *sgra* : S, T, Ph. *sgra'i* (w.r.).

Kanjur: *'di nyid*[1815] *yin te / rigs kyi bu! byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS *de*[1816] *ni / sangs rgyas mang*

(ga 35b6) po la bsnyen bkur byas *shing* / [][1817] dge' ba'i rtsa ba [1818]*bskrund* pa ⌈ste⌋ / []^[1819] ⌈→⌋ SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS / ⌈←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po.⌋ 'dis / sngon []^[1820] ⌈→⌋ []^[1821] *chu bo* GANG GA *'i* bye ma *dang mnyam ba'i* / ⌈←sa«ng»s rgyas.⌋

Kanjur: *po la bsnyen* (S.243a4) *bkur byas pa / sangs rgyas brgya stong mang po la dge ba'i rtsa ba bskyed*[1822] *pa / yongs su* [1823]*sbyang ba* [1824]*byas te / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[1825] SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS *'dis / sngon*[1826] (S.243a5) *yang*[1827] *sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das* GANG GĀ*'i*[1828] *klung gi bye ma snyed*

(ga 35b7) mthong ngo / PAD *MO* 'I DPAL / ⌈→1⌋ ⌈→2⌋ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ⌈2←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po.⌋ 'di ⌈1←khyod kyis.⌋ mthong ngam // PAD *MO* 'I DPAL gyis gsol pa' / [1829]⌈mthong *ngo*→⌋ / bcom ldan 'das ⌈←⌋

Kanjur: *mthong ngo // PAD MA'I*[1830] *DPAL! khyod kyis*[1831] *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS [1832]*'di mthong ngam?" / PAD MA'I*[1833] (S.243a6) *DPAL gyis gsol pa / "bcom ldan 'das! mthong lags so //*

(ga 35b8) ⌈mthong *ngo*→⌋ // bde bar gshegs pa' ⌈←⌋ / bcom ldan 'das *gyis* bka' stsal*d* pa' / PAD *MO*'I DPAL / ⌈→⌋ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ⌈←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems

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[1815] *nyid* : T. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[1816] *de* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1817] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *sangs rgyas brgya stong mang po la*; KN.432.8. *babu-buddha-śata-sahasra-*.

[1818] *bskrund pa* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bskyed pa*; KN.432.8. *-avaropita-(kuśalamūla-)*.

[1819] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *yongs su sbyang ba byas te*; KN.432.8. *kṛta-buddha-parikarman-*.

[1820] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *yang*; KN.432.8. *ca*.

[1821] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *bcom ldan 'das*; KN.432.9. *bhagavantaḥ*.

[1822] *bskyed* : Ph. *skyed* (s.e.).

[1823] *sbyang ba* : Ph. *sbyangs ba* (s.e.); Pk. *sbyang pa*; B. *spyad pa*; cf. KN.432.8. *-parikarman-*.

[1824] *byas te* : = T; the other Kanjurs read *byas pa ste* instead.

[1825] *po* : T. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1826] *sngon* : B, Pk. *sdon* (s.e.).

[1827] *yang* : Ph. *kyang* (s.e.).

[1828] *Gang gā'i* : S, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; Ph. *Gang ga'i* (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead.

[1829] *mthong ngo / bcom ldan 'das mthong ngo // bde bar gshegs pa'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bcom ldan 'das! mthong lags so // bde bar gshegs pa! mthong lags so*; KN.432.10. *paśyāmi bhagavan! paśyāmi sugata!*

[1830] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1831] *kyis* : Ph, B, Pk. *kyi* (s.e.).

[1832] *'di mthong ngam* : T. *'dis* (s.e.).

[1833] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

dpa' chen po¬ 'di ▯ / gzugs mang po«s»

Kanjur: *bde bar gshegs pa! mthong lags so" // bcom ldan 'das kyis* (KN.433) *bka' stsal pa*[1834] / *"PAD MA'I*[1835] *DPAL*[1836] *byang chub* (S.243a7) *sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS 'di ni / gzugs mang pos*[1837]

(ga 36a1) ๑ // DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di ston*d* to // [1838]¬de¬ 'di lta ste / la lar ▯ [1839]*BRA MDZE*'i gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ BRGYA [B]YI[N] gyi gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ [1840]DBANG P[O]*'i* gzugs *gyis* /

Kanjur (KN.433.1; T. 206b4; J. 178a5; S. 243a7; Ph. 383b5; B. 221a5; Pk. 185a6; N. 252a4; D. 162a5; C. 191b4; L. 256b6) *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[1841] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam grangs 'di ston to*[1842] */ 'di lta ste / la lar*[1843] *ni TSHANGS* (S.243b1) *PA'i* [1844]*gzugs kyis* / [1845] *la lar*[1846] *ni BRGYA*[1847] *BYIN gyi*[1848] *gzugs kyis / la lar*[1849] *ni DBANG PHYUG gi*[1850] *gzugs kyis /*

(ga 36a2) ▯[1851] la lar ▯ [1852]dmag *pon* gyi gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ [1853]*NGAL BSO PO'i* gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ [1854]khor *lo skor* ba'i ¬rgyal po 'i¬ gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ [1855]*mkhar gyi* rgyal po 'i

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[1834] *pa* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1835] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[1836] *dpal* : T. *dpal gyi* (s.e.).

[1837] *pos* : L. *phos* (s.e.).

[1838] *de 'di lta ste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'di lta ste*; KN.433.2. *tadyathā*.

[1839] *BRA MDZE'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *TSHANGS PA*; KN.433.2. *Brahma-*.

[1840] *DBANG PO* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *DBANG PHYUG*; KN.433.3. *Īśvara-*.

[1841] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1842] *to* : = Tib. Kho.; the other Kanjurs read *te* instead.

[1843] *lar* : Ph. *la{{r}}* (s.e.).

[1844] *gzugs kyis* : T. *'jig rten* (s.e.); D. *gzugs gyis* (s.e.).

[1845] The Tib. Kanj. and Tib. Kho. lack parallels here with the following sentence in the Sanskrit edition: KN.433.2. *kvacid Rudrarūpeṇa*. This sentence is wanting also in some of the Sanskrit MSS., namely K, Bj, C5, T2 *etc.* Cf. Krsh. 227.

[1846] *lar* : Ph. *la{{r}}* (s.e.).

[1847] *brGya* : Pk. *rgya* (s.e.).

[1848] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1849] *lar* : Ph. *la{{r}}* (s.e.).

[1850] *gi* : Ph. *gis* (s.e.).

[1851] - = KN.433.3.-; Tib. Kanj. *la lar ni DBANG PHYUG CHEN PO'i gzugs kyis* = O. *kvacin Maheśvararūpeṇa*. Cf. Krsh. 227.

[1852] *dmag pon* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *dmag dpon*; KN.433.3. *senāpati-*.

[1853] *NGAL BSO PO* : = KN.433.3. *Vaiśravaṇa-* (*v.l. Vaiśramaṇa-*); ≠ Tib. Kanj. *MCHOG*. Cf. n. 1862.

[1854] *'khor lo skor ba'i rgyal po* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'khor los sgyur ba* = KN.433.3. *cakravartin-*.

[1855] *mkhar gyi rgyal po* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *khams kyi rgyal po*; KN.433.4. *koṭṭarāja-*.

gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ [1856]tshong *pon*

Kanjur: [1857]*la lar*[1858] *ni* DBANG PHYUG CHEN PO'*i gzugs kyis / la lar*[1859] *ni dmag*[1860] *dpon gyi* (S.243b2) *gzugs kyis / la lar*[1861] *ni* MCHOG[1862] *gi gzugs kyis / la lar*[1863] *ni 'khor los sgyur*[1864] *ba'i*[1865] *gzugs kyis / la lar*[1866] *ni*[1867] *khams kyi rgyal po'i gzugs kyis / la lar*[1868] *ni tshong dpon*

(ga 36a3) gyi gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ khyim bdag gi gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ grong myi 'i gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ [1869]*bra mdze*'i gzugs *gyis* / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di stond to //

Kanjur: *gyi*[1870] (S.243b3) *gzugs kyis / la lar*[1871] *ni khyim bdag gi*[1872] *gzugs kyis / la lar*[1873] *ni grong mi'i*[1874] *gzugs kyis / la lar*[1875] *ni bram ze'i*[1876] *gzugs kyis /* DAM PA'I CHOS *PAD MA*[1877] DKAR PO'I CHOS *kyi*[1878] *rnam*[1879] (S.243b4) *grangs 'di ston to //*

(ga 36a4) la lar ▯ dge' slong gi gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ dge' slong ○ ma 'i gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ dge' bsnyen gyi gzugs *gyis* / ○ la lar ▯ dge' bsnyen ma 'i gzugs *gyis* / la

Kanjur: [1880]*la lar ni dge slong gi gzugs kyis / la lar*[1881] *ni dge slong ma'i gzugs kyis / la lar*[1882]

[1856] *tshong pon* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *tshong dpon*; KN.433.4. *śreṣṭhi-*.

[1857] *la lar ni* DBANG PHYUG CHEN PO*'i gzugs kyis* : = O. *kvacin Maheśvararūpeṇa*. Cf. n. 1851.

[1858] *lar* : Ph. *la*{{*r*}} (s.e.).

[1859] *lar* : Ph. *la*{{*r*}} (s.e.).

[1860] *dmag* : Ph. *dmags* (s.e.).

[1861] *lar* : Ph. *la*{{*r*}} (s.e.).

[1862] MCHOG : ≠ KN.433.3. *Vaiśravaṇa-* (= Tib. Kho. NGAL BSO PO; *v.l. Vaiśramaṇa-*); = O. *(U)ccb(repa)*, C1, C2. *Uccbreva*. Cf. Krsh. 227, 233 (on 129c4).

[1863] *lar* : Ph. *la*{{*r*}} (s.e.).

[1864] *sgyur* : L. *bsgyur*.

[1865] *ba'i* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1866] *lar* : T. *la* (s.e.).

[1867] *ni* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1868] *lar* : Ph. *la*{{*r*}} (s.e.).

[1869] *bra mdze* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bram ze*; KN.433.4. *brāhmaṇa-*.

[1870] *gyi* : S. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1871] *lar* : Ph. *la*{{*r*}} (s.e.).

[1872] *gi* : Ph. *gis* (s.e.).

[1873] *lar* : Ph. *la*{{*r*}} (s.e.).

[1874] *mi'i* : Ph. *ma'i* (s.e.).

[1875] *lar* : Ph. *la*{{*r*}} (s.e.).

[1876] *ze'i* : Ph. *zi'i* (s.e.).

[1877] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1878] *kyi* : Pk. *gyi* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1879] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1880] *la lar ni dge slong gi gzugs kyis /* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

ni dge bsnyen gyi gzugs kyis / la lar[1883] *ni dge bsnyen ma'i gzugs* (S.243b5) *kyis /* [1884]*la*

(ga 36a5) lar ▯ tshong *pon* gyi chung ma 'i gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ khyim ○ bdag *gyi* chung ma 'i gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ grong myi▯ chung ma 'i ○ gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ khye 'u

Kanjur: *lar*[1885] *ni tshong dpon gyi chung ma'i gzugs kyis / la lar*[1886] *ni khyim bdag gi chung ma'i gzugs kyis / la lar*[1887] *ni grong mi'i*[1888] *chung ma'i gzugs kyis / la lar*[1889] *ni khye'u*

(ga 36a6) 'i gzugs *gyis* / la lar ▯ bu mo 'i gzugs *gyis* / ┌·→·┐ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ┌·←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po·┘ / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di sems can

Kanjur: *'i gzugs* (S.243b6) *kyis / la lar*[1890] *ni bu mo'i gzugs kyis / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS*[1891] *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[1892] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi rnam*[1893] *grangs 'di sems can*

(ga 36a7) rnams la ston*d* to // rigs *gyi* bu ┌·→·┐ 'di snyed ┌·←gzugs·┘ ▯ kun *du* ston pas / ┌·→·┐ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ┌·←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po·┘ / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi*{'}

Kanjur: (S.243b7) *rnams la*[1894] *ston to*[1895] */ rigs kyi bu! gzugs 'di*[1896] *snyed*[1897] *kun tu*[1898] *ston pas*[1899] */ byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[1900] *SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS*[1901] *DAM*

[1881] *lar* : Ph. *la*{*r*} (s.e.).

[1882] *lar* : Ph. *la*{*r*} (s.e.).

[1883] *lar* : Ph. *la* (s.e.).

[1884] *la lar ni tshong dpon gyi chung ma'i gzugs kyis /* : T. om. (s.e.).

[1885] *lar* : Ph. *la*{*r*} (s.e.).

[1886] *lar* : Ph. *la*{*r*} (s.e.).

[1887] *lar* : Ph. *la*{*r*} (s.e.).

[1888] *mi'i* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.); B. *ma'i* (s.e.).

[1889] *lar* : Ph. *la*{*r*} (s.e.).

[1890] *lar* : Ph. *la*{*r*} (s.e.).

[1891] *dbyangs* : Ph. *dbyangs zhes bya ba* (s.e.).

[1892] *pad ma* : S, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *pad ma* instead.

[1893] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1894] *la* : Ph. *la cbos* (s.e.).

[1895] *to* : T and Ph read thus (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs, incl. S, read *te* instead.

[1896] *'di* : S. *de* (s.e.).

[1897] *snyed* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); Ph. *snyen* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *snyed cig* instead. Cf. KN.433.8. *iyat~*.

[1898] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1899] *pas* : J, Ph. *bas* (s.e.).

[1900] *po* : L. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1901] *DBYANGS* : B. *DBYANGS kyis /*.

PA'I CHOS PAD MA[1902] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi*

(ga 36a8) *gzhung* 'di sems can rnams la ston to / kha cig la ▯ gnod sbyin gyi «gzugs kyi» bar gyis / ┌•→•┐ SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS / ┌•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•┘ / ▯ DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA«'» RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi*

Kanjur: (S.244a1) *rnam*[1903] *grangs 'di sems can rnams la*[1904] *ston to // kha cig la ni*[1905] *gnod sbyin gyi gzugs kyi bar gyis*[1906] *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I* (S.244a2) *DBYANGS kyis*[1907] *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[1908] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi*

(ga 36b1) *gzhung* 'di s[e]ms can rnams la ston to // kha cig la lha ma yin gyi gzugs *gyis* / kha cig la *nam ka* lding gi gzugs *gyis* / kha cig la myi 'am ci 'i gzugs *gyis* //

Kanjur (KN.433.10; T. 207a5; J. 178b4; S. 244a2; Ph. 384a7; B. 221b6; Pk. 185b4; N. 252b6; D. 162b4; C. 192a4; L. 257b1) *rnam*[1909] *grangs 'di sems can rnams la*[1910] *ston to*[1911] *// kha cig la*[1912] *lha ma yin gyi*[1913] *gzugs kyis / kha cig la*[1914] [1915]*nam mkha' lding gi*[1916] (S.244a3) *gzugs kyis / kha cig*[1917] *la*[1918] *mi 'am ci'i gzugs kyis /*

(ga 36b2) [1919]*la lar* lto' 'phye chen po 'i gzugs *gyis* / ┌•→•┐ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ┌•← byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po•┘ / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA 'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di sems can rnams «la» ston to //

Kanjur: *kha cig la*[1920] *lto 'phye*[1921] *chen po'i gzugs kyis byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I*[1922] *DBYANGS* (S.244a4) *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA*[1923] *DKAR PO'I CHOS kyi*

[1902] *pad ma* : S, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *pad ma* instead.

[1903] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1904] *la* : Ph. *la cbos* (s.e.).

[1905] *ni* : Ph. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[1906] *gyis* : L. *gyi* (s.e.).

[1907] *kyis* : T. *kyi* (s.e.); J. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[1908] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1909] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1910] *la* : Ph. *la cbos* (s.e.).

[1911] *to* : B. *te* (s.e.).

[1912] *la* : Ph. om. (s.e.); S, T, D. *la ni*; the other Kanjurs read *la* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1913] *gyi* : T, Ph. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1914] *la* : S, T, D. *la ni*.

[1915] *nam mkha'* : S. *nam<m>kha'*; cf. Tib. Kho. *nam ka*.

[1916] *gi* : Ph. *gis* (s.e.).

[1917] *cig* : N. *cag* (s.e.).

[1918] *la* : S, T, Ph, D. *la ni*.

[1919] *la lar* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *kha cig la* = KN.433.11. *keṣāṃcit*.

[1920] *la* : S, T, Ph, D. *la ni*.

[1921] *'phye* : Ph. *pbye* (s.e.).

[1922] *po'i* : Ph. *pos* (s.e.).

rnam[1924] *grangs 'di sems can rnams la*[1925] (KN.434) *ston to //*

(ga 36b3) sems can dmyal ba dang [1926]*byol song* / dang / gSHIN RJE'i 'jig rten dang / myi khom *bar* skyes pa'i [•→•] sems can [] [1927][•←*ji tsam ba*•] la yang / [•→•] SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS / [•←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems

Kanjur: *sems can dmyal ba dang / dud 'gro'i skye gnas dang / gSHIN RJE'i 'jig rten dang / mi khom par*[1928] *skyes pa'i*[1929] *bar gyi*[1930] *sems can rnams*[1931] *la yang*[1932] *byang chub sems dpa' sems* (S.244a5)

(ga 36b4) dpa' chen po•] [•←•] / [1933][DAM PA'I CHOS PU 'DA«'» RI KA'I CHOS gyi ○ gzhung 'di ston pas] skyob par 'gyur ro / [1934]btsun mo 'i [] nang ○ *du song ba* 'i [•→•] sems can [] [1935][•←*ji tsam ba*•] la

Kanjur: *dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS*[1936] [1937] *skyob par 'gyur ro // btsun mo'i 'khor gyi*[1938] *nang na 'dug pa'i bar gyi sems can rnams la* (S.244a6)

(ga 36b5) yang / [•→•] SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / [•←byang *cub* sems dpa' ○ sems dpa' chen [p]o•] / bud myed *gyi* gzugsu mngon *bar* sprul ○ te / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA«'» RI KA 'I* CHOS

Kanjur: *yang*[1939] *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[1940] *SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS*[1941] *bud*

[1923] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[1924] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1925] *la* : Ph. *la cbos* (s.e.).

[1926] *byol song* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *dud 'gro'i skye gnas*; KN.434.1. *-tiryagyoni-*.

[1927] *ji tsam ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bar gyi*; KN.434.1. *yāvat*.

[1928] *par* : J. *bar* (= Tib. Kho.).

[1929] *pa'i* : T. *ba'i*.

[1930] *gyi* : Ph. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1931] *rnams* : T. *rnams pa* (s.e.).

[1932] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*.

[1933] *DAM PA'I CHOS PU 'DA' RI KA'I CHOS gyi gzhung 'di ston pas* : = KN.434.2. *imaṃ Saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ deśayaṃs* (= Bj, C4, C5, C6 *etc.*); ≠ Tib. Kanj.- = the Sanskrit MSS. K, C1, C2 *etc.*-.

[1934] *btsun mo 'i nang du song ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *btsun mo'i 'khor gyi nang na 'dug pa*; KN.434.2. *antaḥpura-madhya-gata-*.

[1935] *ji tsam ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bar gyi*; KN.434.2. *yāvat*.

[1936] *DBYANGS* : C. *DBYANGS kyis* (s.e.)

[1937] The Kanjur version lacks parallels here with the following phrase in the Sanskrit edition: KN.434.2. *imaṃ Saddharmapuṇḍarīkaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ deśayaṃs* (= Bj, C4, C5, C6 *etc.*) (= Tib. Kho.). This phrase is wanting also in some of the Sanskrit MSS., namely K, C1, C2 *etc.*

[1938] *gyi* : Ph. *kyi*; C. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1939] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*; T. om. (s.e.).

[1940] *po* : T. *po'i* (s.e.).

[1941] *dbyangs* : Ph. *dbyang* (s.e.).

med kyi gzugs su mngon par[1942] *sprul*[1943] *te / DAM PA'I CHOS*[1944] *PAD MA*[1945] *DKAR PO'I CHOS*

(ga 36b6) *gyi gzhung* «'»di / ⌜·→·⌝ MYI MJED ⌊gyi⌋ ⌜·←'jig rten gyi khams·⌝ 'di⌋ sems can rnams la ston to / PAD MO 'I DPAL ⌜·→·⌝ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ⌜·←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po·⌝ ⌋ //

Kanjur: *kyi*[1946] *rnam*[1947] (S.244a7) *grangs 'di* [1948]*'jig*[1949] *rten gyi khams MI MJED*[1950] *'dir sems can rnams la*[1951] *ston to // PAD MA'I*[1952] *DPAL! byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS ni /*

(ga 36b7) ⌜·→·⌝ MYI MJED ⌊gyi⌋ ⌜·←'jig rten gyi khams*u*·⌝ skyes pa'i / sems can ⌋ skyob pa ste / 'jig rten gyi khams [1953]⌋ 'di na / ⌜·→·⌝ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ⌜·←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po·⌝ 'di //

Kanjur: *'jig*[1954] *rten gyi*[1955] (S.244b1) *khams MI MJED*[1956] *du*[1957] *skyes pa'i sems can rnams kyi*[1958] *skyob*[1959] *pa ste / 'jig rten gyi*[1960] *khams MI MJED*[1961] *'di na*[1962] */ byang chub sems dpa'*[1963] *sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS 'di*

[1942] *par* : T. *bar*.

[1943] *sprul* : Pk. *sbrul* (s.e.).

[1944] *chos* : T. *chos kyis* (s.e.).

[1945] *pad ma* : S, Ph, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *pad ma* instead.

[1946] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1947] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1948] *'jig rten gyi khams MI MJED 'dir sems can rnams la ston to* : = T (≒ Tib. Kho.; = Sanskrit MSS. Bj, C5, C6, T2, N2 *etc. asyāṃ* [Bj, N2. *asmiṃ*] *Sabāyāṃ* [Bj, N2. *Sabe*] *lokadhātau satvānāṃ deśayati*); J, Ph, B, Pk, N, D, C, L. *'jig rten gyi khams MI MJED 'dir sems can rnams la chos ston to* (= K, C4, N1. *asyāṃ Sabāyāṃ lokadhātau satvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati sma*); ≠ KN.434.4. *sattvānāṃ deśayati sma / asyāṃ Sabāyāṃ lokadhātau sattvānāṃ dharmaṃ deśayati sma* (= C1, C2, R *etc.*).

[1949] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1950] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1951] *la* : = T (= Tib. Kho.); J, B, Pk, N, D, C, L. *la chos*; Ph. *la mchos* (s.e.).

[1952] *pad ma'i* : S, B, N, L. *pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *pad ma'i* instead.

[1953] *'di na* : = the Sanskrit MSS. Bj, B. *asmiṃ*, C4. *asyāṃ*, N1. *asyām*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *MI MJED 'di na* = KN.434.6. *tasyāṃ ca Sabāyāṃ* (K, C6. *asyāṃ ca S°*; A1. *asmiṃ ca S°*; N2. *asmiṃ S°*).

[1954] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1955] *gyi* : T, Ph. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1956] *mjed* : T. *mdzed* (s.e.); Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1957] *du* : J. *tu*.

[1958] *kyi* : = T; J, B, Pk, N, D, C, L. *la*; Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1959] *skyob* : T. *skyo* (s.e.); Ph. *skyobs* (s.e.).

[1960] *gyi* : Ph. *gyis* (s.e.).

[1961] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[1962] *na* : Ph. *ni* (s.e.).

[1963] *dpa'* : Ph. *pa* (s.e.).

(ga 36b8) de snyed *gyi* [1964]gzugs *gyi mtshan mas* / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA« '» RI KA'I* CHOS *gyi gzhung* 'di sems can rnams la ston te / skyes bu dam pa 'di rdzu 'phrul yang nyams pa myed ⌊do⌋ //

Kanjur: *de snyed*[1965] *kyi*[1966] (S.244b2) *gzugs su sprul pas / DAM PA'I*[1967] *CHOS PAD MA*[1968] *DKAR PO'I CHOS*[1969] *kyi rnam*[1970] *grangs 'di sems can rnams la ston te*[1971] */ skyes bu dam pa 'di*[1972] *rdzu 'phrul yang nyams pa*[1973] *med /*

(ga 37a1) ꙮ // shes rab *gyang* nyams pa myed do // rigs *gyi* bu ⌈*de* snyed *gyi*→1⌉ ⌈ye shes *gyi* snang ba*s*→2⌉ / ⌈→3⌉ SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / ⌈3⌉←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po⌋ ⌈2←⌉ ⌈1←⌉ ⌈→⌉ MYI MJED ⌊gyi⌋ ⌈←'jig rten gyi khams⌋ [] ⌊da«ng»⌋ /

Kanjur (KN.434.8; T. 207b4; J. 179a3; S. 244b2; Ph. 384b7; B. 222a7; Pk. 186a4; N. 253a7; D. 163a2; C. 192b3; L. 258a2) *shes rab kyang* (S.244b3) *nyams pa med do // rigs kyi bu! byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS ni ye shes kyi snang ba 'di snyed*[1974] *kyis / 'jig*[1975] *rten gyi khams*[1976] *MI MJED 'di na*[1977]

(ga 37a2) ⌈→⌉ [1978]⌊'jig rten gyi khams gzhan na yang⌋ ⌈←snang ngo⌋ / ⌈→⌉ *chu bo GANG GA 'i* bye ma snyed ⌊gyi⌋ ⌈←'jig rten gyi khams gzhan⌋ [] na yang / byang *cub* sems *dpa's* 'dul ba'i sems can rnams la [] / byang *cub* sems

Kanjur: *snang* (S.244b4) *ngo // 'jig*[1979] *rten gyi khams gzhan*[1980] *GANG GA'I*[1981] *klung*[1982] *gi*[1983] *bye*

[1964] *gzugs gyi mtshan mas* : = KN.434.7. *rūpa-nimittair*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *gzugs su sprul pas* = the Sanskrit MSS. C4, T2, C2, P2, A2 *etc. rūpa-nirmitair*; cf. Krsh. 227.

[1965] *snyed* : B. *rnyed* (s.e.).

[1966] *kyi* : S. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1967] *pa'i* : T. *pa'i ba'i* (s.e.).

[1968] *pad ma* : S, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *pad ma* instead.

[1969] *chos* : Ph. *mchos* (s.e.).

[1970] *rnam* : Ph. *rnams* (s.e.).

[1971] *te* : S, Ph. *to*.

[1972] *'di* : S, T. *'di'i*.

[1973] *pa* : Pk. *par* (s.e.).

[1974] *'di snyed* : S, T. *'di nyid* (s.e.); cf. KN.434.8. *iyat~*.

[1975] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1976] *Mi mjed* : T. om. (s.e.); Ph. *Ma'i 'jed* (s.e.).

[1977] *na* : S, T. *ni* (s.e.).

[1978] *'jig rten gyi khams gzhan na yang* : cf. Tib. Kanj.- = KN.434.9.-.

[1979] *'jig* : T. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[1980] *gzhan* : Ph. *bzhan* (s.e.); S, T. *gzhan dag*.

[1981] *Gang gā'i* : S, B, N, L. *Gang-gā'i*; Ph. *Gang gis* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Gang gā'i* instead.

[1982] *klung* : T. *rlung* (s.e.).

[1983] *gi* : Ph. *ga'i* (s.e.).

ma snyed dag na yang[1984] */ byang chub sems dpas*[1985] *'dul ba'i sems can rnams la*[1986] *'di byang chub sems*

(ga 37a3) dpa'i gzugs *gyis* chos ston to // nyan thos *gyis gdul* ba'i sems can rnams la / nyan thos *gyi* gzugs *gyis* chos ston to // rang sangs rgyas [1987]⌈gyi gzugs⌉ *gyis* / 'dul ba'i sems

Kanjur: *dpa'i*[1988] *gzugs kyis chos ston to //* (S.244b5) *nyan thos kyis*[1989] *'dul ba'i sems can rnams*[1990] *la nyan thos kyi* [1991]*gzugs kyis* (KN.435) *chos ston to // rang sangs rgyas kyis*[1992] *'dul ba'i* [1993]*sems*

(ga 37a4) can rnams la / rang sangs rgyas *gyi* gzugs gyi<s> chos ston ○ to // de bzhin gshegs pa'i gzugs *gyis* 'dul ba 'i sems ○ can rnams la / de bzhin gshegs pa'i

Kanjur: *can rnams la / rang sangs rgyas kyi*[1994] (S.244b6) *gzugs kyis*[1995] *chos ston to // de bzhin gshegs pa'i gzugs*[1996] *kyis*[1997] *'dul ba'i sems can rnams la / de bzhin gshegs pa'i*

(ga 37a5) gzugs *gyis* chos ston to // de bzhin gshe<g>s pa'i ○ ring bsrel gyi bar gyis / 'dul ba'i sems can rnams la / ○ de bzhin gshegs pa'i ring bsrel ston to //

Kanjur: *gzugs kyis chos ston to // de bzhin gshegs* (S.244b7) *pa'i ring bsrel*[1998] *gyi*[1999] *bar gyis*[2000] *'dul ba'i sems can rnams la / de bzhin gshegs pa'i ring bsrel*[2001] *ston to //*

(ga 37a6) yongsu mya ngan las 'da' ba 'i bar gyis / 'dul ba'i sems can rnams la / bdag yongsu mya ngan las 'das par ston to / ⌈de ltar→⌉ PAD *MO* 'I DPAL! [•←•] [•→•] SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS ⌋ //

[1984] *yang* : N, L. *'ang*; S, T. om. (w.r.).

[1985] *dpas* : S, J, C. *dpa'* (s.e.); Ph. *dpa's* (= Tib. Kho.); T. *dpa' sems dpa' chen po* (s.e.).

[1986] *la* : S. om. (s.e.).

[1987] *gyi gzugs* : cf. Tib. Kanj.- = KN.435.1.-.

[1988] *dpa'i* : J. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[1989] *kyis* : S, T. *kyi gzugs kyis* (w.r.); Ph. *kyi* (s.e.). Cf. KN.434.10. *śrāvaka-vaineyānāṃ = nyan thos kyis 'dul ba'i.*

[1990] *rnams* : Ph. *rnam* (s.e.).

[1991] *gzugs kyis* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[1992] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi gzugs kyis* (s.e.; = Tib. Kho.).

[1993] *sems can* : T. *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* (s.e.).

[1994] *kyi* : T. *kyis* (s.e.).

[1995] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.; = Tib. Kho.).

[1996] *gzugs* : Ph. *gzug* (s.e.).

[1997] *kyis* : T. *kyi* (s.e.).

[1998] *bsrel* : Ph. *srel* (s.e.).

[1999] *gyi* : T. *gyis* (s.e.).

[2000] *gyis* : Ph. *gyi* (s.e.).

[2001] *bsrel* : Pk. *srel* (s.e.).

Kanjur: *yongs su mya ngan las 'da' ba'i bar gyis*[2002] *'dul ba'i sems can* (S.245a1) *rnams la / bdag yongs su mya ngan las 'das par ston to / PAD MA'I*[2003] *DPAL! de ltar byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[2004] *SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS*[2005] *ni*

(ga 37a7) [*←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po→] ye shes *gyi* stobs [2006]*skye ba* thob pa'o // de nas [*→1*] [*PAD *MO* 'I DPAL→2*] byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos [*2←*] / [*1←bcom ldan 'das la→] 'di

Kanjur: *ye shes kyi* (S.245a2) *stobs bskyed pa thob pa'o*[2007] *" // de nas bcom ldan 'das la byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa'* [2008]*chen po PAD MA'I*[2009] *DPAL gyis*[2010] *'di*

(ga 37a8) skad [] gsol to // bcom ldan 'das [*→*] SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / [*←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po→] [*'di→] dge' ba'i rtsa ba [2011]*bskyed* [*←*] *na* / bcom ldan 'das ting nge 'dzin gang la

Kanjur: *skad ces gsol to // "bcom ldan 'das!* (S.245a3) *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[2012] *SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS dge ba'i rtsa ba bskrun*[2013] *pa 'di // bcom ldan 'das! ting nge*[2014] *'dzin gang la*

(ga 37b1) gnas te / [*→*] SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / [*←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen pos →] / [*'di snyed [gyi]→] sems can [*←] btul ba'i / ting nge 'dzin [] gang [] de skad [] gsol nas / bcom ldan 'das [*SHAG KYA thub pa→]

Kanjur (KN.435.6; T. 208a3; J. 179a8; S. 245a3; Ph. 385a7; B. 222b7; Pk. 186b2; N. 254a1; D. 163a7; C. 193a2; L. 258b3) *gnas te / byang chub sems dpa' sems* (S.245a4) *dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I*[2015] *DBYANGS kyis*[2016] *sems can* [2017]*'di snyed btul ba'i ting nge 'dzin de*[2018] *gang lags?" / de skad ces gsol nas / bcom ldan 'das*

[2002] *gyis* : Ph. *gyi* (s.e.).

[2003] *Pad ma'i* : S, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[2004] *po* : N, L. *po'i* (s.e.).

[2005] *dbyangs* : Ph. *dbya<ng>s* (s.e.).

[2006] *skye ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bskyed pa*; KN.435.4. (*jñāna-bala-*)*ādbāna-*(*prāptaḥ*).

[2007] *pa'o* : B, Pk. *po*.

[2008] *chen po* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[2009] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[2010] *gyis* : T, J, N, C, L. *gyi* (s.e.).

[2011] *bskyed na* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bskrun pa*; KN.435.5. *avaropita-*(*kuśalamūlo*).

[2012] *po* : S. *po'i* (s.e.).

[2013] *bskrun* : T. *'dis dge ba'i rtsa ba bskrun* (s.e.).

[2014] *nge* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[2015] *po'i* : Ph. *po'* (s.e.).

[2016] *kyis* : Ph. *kyi* (s.e.).

[2017] *'di snyed* : S. *de snyed* (s.e.); T. *'di dag snyed* (s.e.); cf. KN.435.7. *iyat-*.

[2018] *de* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

(ga 37b2) de bzhin gshegs pa' / dgra' bcom *ba* yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [*→*] *gyis* / [*PAD *MO* 'I DPAL→*] byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po [*←*] la 'di skad [] bka' stsal to // [*→1*] ting nge 'dzin

Kanjur: *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom* (S.245a5) *pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas SHÁKYA thub pas*[2019] */ byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*[2020] *PAD MA'I*[2021] *DPAL la 'di skad ces bka' stsal to // "rigs kyi bu*[2022]*! ting nge 'dzin*

(ga 37b3) gang la gnaste / [*→2*] SANG SANG PO«'I» DBYANGS / [*2←byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*←*] / [] [*dpag *du* myed pa'i→*] sems can [*3←*] [gyi] dond byas pa ni / [*1←rigs *gyi* bu*←] GZUGS THAMS CAD [2023]*KUN DU* STON

Kanjur: *gang* (S.245a6) *la gnas te / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS kyis*[2024] *'di ltar sems can dpag tu med pa'i don byas pa ni / GZUGS THAMS CAD YANG DAG PAR STON*

(ga 37b4) PA zhes bya ba 'i ting nge 'dzin 'di'*o* // SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS ○ / *gyi* le 'u 'di bshad pa na / [gang] [*→*] SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS / [*←byang *cub* ○ sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po*←] dang lhan

Kanjur: (S.245a7) *PA zhes bya ba'i ting nge 'dzin 'di yin no" // SANG SANG PO'I*[2025] *DBYANGS kyi*[2026] *le'u 'di bshad pa na / byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS dang lhan*

(ga 37b5) cig *du* / byang *cub* sems dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya' ○ stong phrag *brgya* cu rtsa bzhi / [][2027] [*→*] MYI MJED [gyi] [*←'jig rten gyi khams*←] ○ 'dir lhags pa' de dag / thams cad

Kanjur: *cig tu*[2028] */* (S.245b1) *byang chub sems dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong phrag brgyad cu*[2029] *rtsa bzhi gang*[2030] *dag 'jig rten gyi khams MI MJED*[2031] *'dir lhags*[2032] *pa de dag*

[2019] *pas* : T. *pa las* (s.e.).

[2020] *po* : Ph. *pa* (s.e.).

[2021] *Pad ma'i* : S, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[2022] *bu* : Ph. *bu'i* (s.e.).

[2023] *kun du* : cf. Tib. Kanj. (*gZugs thams cad*) *yang dag par* (*ston*) *pa*; KN.435.9. (*Sarva-rūpa-)saṃ*(*darśana-*).

[2024] *kyis* : B. om. (s.e.).

[2025] *po'i* : Ph. *pa'i* (s.e.).

[2026] *kyi* : S, Ph. *kyis* (s.e.).

[2027] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *gang dag*, KN.435.11. *yāni*.

[2028] *tu* : Pk. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[2029] *cu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu*.

[2030] *gang* : T. *'di* (s.e.).

[2031] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

thams cad

(ga 37b6) *gyang* GZUGS THAMS CAD *KUN DU* STON PA'i ting nge 'dzin thob par gyur*d* to // ⌜•→•⌝ {'}MYI MJED ⌊gyi⌋ ⌜•←'jig rten gyi khams•⌝ 'di ▯[2033] / byang *cub* sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po / bgrang ba

Kanjur: *kyis / GZUGS THAMS CAD YANG DAG PAR* (S.245b2) *STON PA'i ting nge 'dzin thob par gyur to // 'jig*[2034] *rten gyi khams MI MJED*[2035] *'di*[2036] *na gnas pa'i byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po bgrang ba*

(ga 37b7) las 'das pa / de dag gis *gyang* GZUGS THAMS CAD *KUN DU* STON PA'i / ting nge 'dzin ⌊so sor⌋ thob par gyur*d* to // de nas ⌜•SANG SANG PO 'I DBYANGS→•⌝ / byang *cub* sems dpa' sems

Kanjur: *las 'das pa de dag gis kyang / GZUGS* (S.245b3) *THAMS CAD YANG DAG PAR*[2037] *STON PA'i ting nge 'dzin thob par gyur to //* (KN.436) *de nas byang chub sems dpa' sems*

(ga 37b8) dpa' chen po*s* ⌜•←•⌝ / bcom ldan 'das ⌜•*SHAG KYA* thub pa→•⌝ de bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜•←•⌝ dang / bcom ldan 'das ⌜•RIN *CEN* MANG→•⌝ /

Kanjur: *dpa' chen po SANG SANG PO'I*[2038] *DBYANGS kyis / bcom ldan 'das de bzhin* (S.245b4) *gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas SHĀKYA thub* [2039]*pa dang / bcom ldan 'das*

(ga 38a1) ๑ // de bzhin gshegs pa' dgra' bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas ⌜•←•⌝ ▯[2040] ⌊la⌋ / [2041]mchod rten*d* ⌊gyi nang⌋ *du* yangs shing rgya che ba 'i mchod pa byas nas / rin po che sna bdun [2042]*las byas pa'i* // ⌜•→•⌝ brtsegs

Kanjur (KN.436.2; T. 208b3; J. 179b8; S. 245b4; Ph. 385b8; B. 223a8; Pk. 187a1; N. 254b3; D. 163b5; C. 193b1; L. 259a4) *de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa*[2043] *yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas* (S.245b5) *RIN CHEN MANG gi*[2044] *ring bsrel gyi mchod rten*

[2032] *lbags* : T, C. *lbag* (s.e.).

[2033] - : = KN.435.13.-; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *gnas pa'i.*

[2034] *'jig* : Ph. *'jigs* (s.e.).

[2035] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[2036] *'di* : = KN.435.13. *asyāṃ.* J, B, Pk, C. om. (s.e.).

[2037] *par* : S. *pa* (s.e.).

[2038] *po'i* : Pk. *po'* (s.e.).

[2039] *pa dang* : Ph. *pas* (s.e.).

[2040] Cf. Tib. Kanj. *ring bsrel gyi* (*mchod rten la*); KN.436.2. *dhātu-*(*stūpe*).

[2041] *mchod rtend gyi nang du* : cf. Tib. Kanj. (*ring bsrel gyi*) *mchod rten la*; KN.436.2. (*dhātu-*)*stūpe.*

[2042] *las byas pa'i* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *gyi*; KN.436.3. (*sapta-ratna-*)*maya~*.

[2043] *pa* : Ph. «*pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas*» {{*SHĀKYA thub*}} *pas* (s.e.).

[2044] *gi* : T. *gis* (s.e.).

la yangs shing[2045] *rgya che ba'i*[2046] *mchod pa byas nas / rin* [2047]*po che sna bdun gyi* [2048]*khang pa*[2049] *brtsegs*

(ga 38a2) pa'*i* [←[2050]khang *bur*→] [2051]*'dzegste* / zhing [] rab *du* g-yo' [] [zhing] / [2052]pad *mo* 'i char [] [2053]rab *du phab* [ste] / sil snyan bye ba khrag khrig brgya' stong [] [2054]*rab du brdungs nas* / byang *cub* sems dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya' stong phrag *brgya*[2055]

Kanjur: *par zhugs*[2056] *te / zhing rnams*[2057] *ni rab tu g-yo*[2058] *bar* (S.245b6) *byed*[2059] / *pad ma'i*[2060] *char ni rab tu 'bebs / sil snyan bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong ni len cing / byang chub sems dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong phrag brgyad*

(ga 38a3) cu rtsa bzhi[] [2061][dang] / [←lhan cig *du*→] [] bskor *cing* [2062]mdun du *byas* nas / [←] slar [2063]*bdagi* sangs rgyas *gyi* zhing du [2064]*dong ngo* // [de dag] phyin*d* nas [→] *KA MA LA 'I MDAB* MA DRI MA MYED *PA* SKAR MA 'I RGYAL PO [] KUN *DU* RGYAS *PA*' /

Kanjur: *cu*[2065] *rtsa bzhis yongs su bskor te* (S.245b7) *mdun du bdar nas / lhan cig tu slar* [2066]*rang gi sangs rgyas kyi zhing du song ste phyin nas / bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs*[2067] *rgyas PAD MA'I*[2068] (S.246a1) *'DAB*[2069] *MA*

[2045] *sbing* : Ph. *zhing* (s.e.).

[2046] *che ba'i* : Ph. *cha'e* (s.e.).

[2047] *po che* : T. *chen* (s.e.).

[2048] *khang pa* : T. om. (s.e.).

[2049] *pa* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

[2050] *khang bu* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *khang pa*; KN.436.3. (*kūṭa-*)*āgāra~* (←*kūṭāgara~*).

[2051] *'dzegste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *zbugs te*; KN.436.3. *abhirubya.*

[2052] *pad mo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pad ma*; KN.436.4. *padma~*. Cf. n. 1017.

[2053] *rab du phab ste* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *rab tu 'bebs*; KN.436.4. *pravarṣat~*.

[2054] *rab du brdungs nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *len cing*; KN.436.4. *pravādyamāna~*.

[2055] *brgya'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad.*

[2056] *zhugs* : L. *bzhugs* (s.e.).

[2057] *rnams* : Ph. *rnams kyis* (s.e.).

[2058] *g-yo* : S. *g-yos* (s.e.).

[2059] *byed* : Ph. *byas* (s.e.).

[2060] *pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *pad ma'i* instead.

[2061] *dang lhan cig du bskor cing mdun du byas nas* : = KN.436.4f. *sārdhaṃ ... parivṛtaḥ puraskṛtaḥ*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *yongs su bskor te mdun du bdar nas / lhan cig tu.*

[2062] *mdun du byas nas* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *mdun du bdar nas*; KN.436.5. *puraskṛta~*.

[2063] *bdagi* : *i.e. bdag gi*; cf. Tib. Kanj. *rang gi*; KN.436.5. *svaṃ.*

[2064] *dong ngo* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *song ste*; KN.436.5. *abhigataḥ.*

[2065] *cu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu.*

[2066] *rang gi* : = T (= Tib. Kho. *bdagi*; = KN.436.5. *svaṃ*); Ph. *rang gis* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *rang rang gi* instead (w.r.).

[2067] *sangs* : J. om. (s.e.).

DRI MA MED PA SKAR[2070] *MA'I RGYAL PO ME TOG KUN TU*[2071] *RGYAS PA*

(ga 38a4) [•←de bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom *ba'* / yang dag par rdzog○s pa'i sangs rgyas•] la 'di skad [] gsol to // bcom ldan 'das ○ [•→•] MYI MJED [gyi] [•←'jig rten gyi khams*su*•] bdag

Kanjur: *la 'di skad*[2072] *ces*[2073] *gsol to // "bcom ldan 'das! 'jig rten gyi khams MI MJED*[2074] *du*[2075] *bdag*

(ga 38a5) gis sems can gyi don*d* bgyis so // bcom ldan ○ 'das [•RIN *CEN* MANG→•] de bzhin gshegs pa dgra' bcom *ba'* / ○ yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas [•←•] *gyi*

Kanjur: *gis sems* (S.246a2) *can gyi*[2076] *don bgyis*[2077] *so // bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas RIN CHEN MANG gi*[2078]

(ga 38a6) ring bsrel gyi mchod rten yang mthong phyag kyang [2079]*'tshald to* // bcom ldan 'das [•*SHAG KYA* thub pa→•] de bzhin gshegs pa' [•←•] [de] [2080] *'ang* mthong ste // [2081]*'pbyag 'tshal to* // 'JAM DPAL *gzho* nur

Kanjur: *ring bsrel*[2082] *gyi mchod rten yang* [2083]*mthong pbyag* (S.246a3) *kyang bgyis so // bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa SHĀKYA thub pa yang*[2084] *mthong ste pbyag*[2085] *bgyis so // 'JAM DPAL gzhon nur*

(ga 38a7) *gyurd* pa' de *'ang* mthong ngo // [•SMAN GYI RGYAL PO→•] byang *cub* sems dpa'

[2068] *Pad ma'i* : S, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs, incl. T, read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[2069] *'dab* : Ph. *'dabs* (s.e.).

[2070] *skar* : T. *dkar* (s.e.).

[2071] *tu* : J, Pk, C. *du* (= Tib. Kho.).

[2072] *skad* : C. om. (s.e.).

[2073] *ces* : Ph. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[2074] *mjed* : Ph. *'jed* (s.e.).

[2075] *du* : J, Pk. *tu*.

[2076] *gyi* : Ph. *gyis* (s.e.).

[2077] *bgyis* : = T, Ph (= Tib. Kho.); the other Kanjurs read *byas* instead.

[2078] *gi* : Ph. *gis* (s.e.).

[2079] (*pbyag* ...) *'tshald to* : cf. Tib. Kanj. (*pbyag* ...) *bgyis so*; KN.436.8. *vandita~*.

[2080] *de* = KN.436.9. *sa* ≠ Tib. Kanj.-.

[2081] *'pbyag 'tshal to* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *pbyag bgyis so*; KN.436.9. *vandita~*.

[2082] *bsrel* : T, Ph. *srel* (s.e.).

[2083] *mthong pbyag kyang bgyis so* : S, T, D, L. *mthong ngo // pbyag kyang bgyis so* (w.r.); cf. KN.436.8. *dṛṣṭo vanditaś ca*.

[2084] *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[2085] *pbyag* : S. *pbyag kyang* (s.e.).

sems dpa' chen po [•←•] / brtson 'gru{/}s *gyi* stobs *gyi* [2086]*drag shul* thob pa' / de dang / [•[2087]RAB *DU* SBYIN *DPA'*→•] / byang *cub* sems dpa' sems

Kanjur: *gyur pa de yang*[2088] *mthong ngo // byang chub sems dpa'* (S.246a4) *sems dpa' chen po* sMAN GYI[2089] *RGYAL PO brtson*[2090] *'grus kyi*[2091] *stobs kyi shugs thob pa de dang / byang chub sems dpa' sems*

(ga 38a8) dpa' chen po [•←•] [d]e *'ang* mthong ngo // byang *cub* sems dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya' stong phrag *brgya*[2092] cu rtsa bzhi po de dag thams cad *gyis gyang* / GZUGS THAMS CAD *KUN DU* STON PA'i ting nge 'dzin*d*

Kanjur: *dpa' chen po RAB TU SBYIN PA de yang*[2093] *mthong ngo // byang chub sems* (S.246a5) *dpa' bye ba khrag khrig brgya*[2094] *stong phrag brgyad*[2095] *cu*[2096] *rtsa bzhi po de dag thams cad kyis kyang / GZUGS THAMS CAD YANG DAG PAR STON PA'i ting nge 'dzin*

(ga 38b1) (so sor thob bo?)[2097] // [•→•] [SANG SANG PO]'I DBYA[NGS / [•←B]YANG (C)[U](B SEM)[S D](PA' SEM)[S] (DPA)['] CHEN PO•] [2098]*'ONGS PA* DANG *SONG BA* 'i le'u 'di bshad pa na / byang *cub* sems dpa' [2099]*stong phrag bzh(i) cu rtsa*

Kanjur (KN.436.11; T. 209a3; J. 180a6; S. 246a5; Ph. 386a8; B. 223b8; Pk. 187a7; N. 255a4; D. 164a4; C. 193b7; L. 259b6) *thob par*[2100] *gyur to" // BYANG CHUB SEMS DPA'* (S.246a6) *SEMS DPA' CHEN PO*[2101] *SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS 'GRO BA DANG 'ONG BA'i le'u 'di bshad pa na / byang chub sems dpa' bzhi khri*

(ga 38b2) (gnyis gyis?) [m]y(i) skye ba 'i chos la bzod pa thob *bo* // [•PAD [*MO*] 'I DPAL→•] byang [*c*]*ub* s(e)ms dpa' sems dpa' chen po*s*[•←•] *gyang* / DAM PA'I CHOS *PU 'DA RI KA*

[2086] *drag shul* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *sbugs*; KN.436.10. *-vega-*.

[2087] *RAB DU SBYIN DPA'* : = KN.436.10. *Pradānaśūra*; ≠ Tib. Kanj. *RAB TU SBYIN PA* (s.e. for *DPA'* [= *śūra*]?).

[2088] *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[2089] *gyi* : Ph. *gyis* (s.e.).

[2090] *brtson* : Ph. *rtson* (s.e.).

[2091] *kyi* : T. *kyi pha rol tu phyin* (s.e.).

[2092] *brgya'* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *brgyad*; KN.436.10. *-aśīti-* (= *brgyad cu*).

[2093] *yang* : N, L. *'ang* (= Tib. Kho.).

[2094] *brgya* : Ph. *brgyad* (s.e.).

[2095] *brgyad* : Ph. *brgya* (s.e.).

[2096] *cu* : J, Ph, Pk. *bcu*.

[2097] *(so sor thob bo)* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *thob par gyur to*; KN.436.11. *pratilambho 'bhūt*; cf. also Tib. Kho. ga 29b5. *so sor thob bo* (Tib. Kanj. *thob par gyur to*; KN.421.13. *pratilambho 'bhūt*).

[2098] *'ongs pa dang song ba* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *'gro ba dang 'ong ba*; KN.436.12. *gamanâgamana-(parivarta-)*.

[2099] *stong phrag bzh(i) cu rtsa (gnyis gyis)* : cf. Tib. Kanj. *bzhi khri nyis stong gis*; KN.437.1. *dvācatvārimśatām (bodhisattva-)sahasrāṇām*.

[2100] *par* : J. *bar*.

[2101] *po* : Ph. om. (s.e.).

'i ting nge 'dzin[d] ¦so sor¦

Kanjur: *nyis stong gis mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa*[2102] *thob par gyur to* // (S.246a7) *byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po* PAD MA'I[2103] DPAL *gyis kyang* / DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA[2104] DKAR PO*'i ting nge 'dzin*

(ga 38b3) (thob) par 'gyurd to // : ♧ // SANG SANG PO'I DBYANGS gyi le 'u zhes bya ste nyi shu ▯ gsum mo // : :

Kanjur: *thob par gyur to* // *SANG*[2105] *SANG PO'I DBYANGS kyi le'u zhes bya*[2106] *ste* / *nyi shu* (S.246b1) *rtsa*[2107] *gsum pa'o* //

(ga 38b4) ‡ ๑ // DAM PA'I CHOS PU ['D]A' RI KA bam po bcu gcig ▯ go' / / / CHOS KYI RGYAL BUS bris / ‡

Kanjur: [2108]*DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA DKAR PO* // *bam po bcu gsum pa ste tha ma'o*[2109] //

(ga 38b5) ♧ A ..s bris pa/

(to be continued)

ADDITIONAL ABBREVIATION AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Karashima, Seishi 辛嶋静志

2006 "An Old Tibetan Translation of the Lotus Sutra from Khotan: The Romanised Text Collated with the Kanjur Version (2)," in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2005*, March 2006, pp. 89-181 + 21 plates.

SP(H_{1-6}) = Readings of the Central Asian Manuscript fragments of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, romanized in Toda 1983: 261-320 (cf. Krsh. 18).

[2102] *pa* : T. *ba*.

[2103] *Pad ma'i* : S, T, B, N, L. *Pad-ma'i*; the other Kanjurs read *Pad ma'i* instead.

[2104] *pad ma* : S, T, B, N, L. *pad-ma*; Ph. *pad <ma>* (s.e.); the other Kanjurs read *pad ma* instead.

[2105] *SANG* : D, L. *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA* (B, L. *PAD-MA*) *DKAR PO las / SANG*.

[2106] *bya* : S, D. *bya ba* (w.r.).

[2107] *rtsa* : Ph. om. (= Tib. Kho.).

[2108] *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD MA DKAR PO* : B, L. *DAM PA'I CHOS PAD-MA DKAR PO*; S, T, Ph, D. om.

[2109] *ma'o* : = T, B, Pk; J, Ph, N, D, C, L. *ma*.

Two New Folios of Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*

DUAN Qing

This following paper is dedicated to the publication of two new surviving folios of the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*,[1] which were formerly preserved in private hands and quite recently have been absorbed into the collection of the National Library of China in Beijing. The two folios of yellowish brown colored paper are quite well preserved, almost intact, although there were clear traces of sand grains when I firstly saw them. Judging from their content, I can ascribe them to *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, yet as testified by the different formats of the two folios, it is apparent that they do not belong to the same manuscript. With the appearing of the two new folios the total number of manuscripts of the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* will definitely increase. By a rough counting based only on published transcriptions of Khotanese fragmentary manuscripts of the same scripture, I can now differentiate at least five manuscripts which were discovered either in the vicinity of Hetian or in Dunhuang.[2] This remarkable fact proves that at one time the reputable Mahāyāna scripture was quite popular in ancient Khotan. Below I will give in the first place a short description of the respective folios, and in the second place a transcription of the two folios, accompanied by an English translation. Where there is no parallel available in the Sanskrit version, I have appended the corresponding Chinese text from Yijing's translation. In the attached commentary, however, I will confine myself only to the noteworthy words and problems which occur in the text of these two folios.

About Folio 100

Folio 100, with a size of 45×9.5 cm, is written in six lines on paper with a single string hole on the left side. The number 100 is written in the left margin of the recto side. The script of both folios 100 and 186 is of the same character, as designated by Emmerick as

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[1] The two folios, combined with a transcription and translation into Chinese, were previously published in 《敦煌吐魯番研究》第九卷（*Dunhuang-Tulufan Yanjiu*）*Journal of the Dunhuang and Turfan Studies* Volume IX, Bejing 2006 pp. 2-22. This English version is a revised edition in which I can correct some misreading and misunderstanding in the original reading. Herewith I am obliged to professor Jan Nattier and Dr. Peter Skilling for their efforts for revising and polishing my English.

[2] For a general view of this famous Buddhist scripture in Khotanese, I must refer to a publication of P. Oktor Skjærvø entitled *The Khotanese Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, Sources of Oriental Languages and Literatures, ed. Ş. Tekin and G. A. Tekin, published at Harvard University, NELC, Cambridge, Mass. 2004, which is, to my great regret, not yet at my disposal.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 325-336.
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Orthography II.[3] As for the content, folio 100 happens to contain partly the 11th chapter on Saṃjñeya according to Nobel, or the 19th *pin* (prakaraṇa) according to Yijing's translation.[4] It is about the provenance of the Rakṣarāja Saṃjñeya and his ritual. And yet as shown below, it is here that the Khotanese text differs significantly from the present Sanskrit version. For all the rescued text of the folio 100 a parallel in Sanskrit is missing. The same content is also missing in the Chinese translation of Dharmarakṣa, whereas the Khotanese text corresponds very closely to Yijing's translation.

As stated just above, in the present Sanskrit version some of the text which the new folio in Khotanese contains is missing, but in already known surviving Khotanese scriptures we find two other folios which partly overlap with the folio 100. In the St. Petersburg Malov collection, one folio bearing the signature M 13.1 contains some sentences which also occur in the new folio published below.[5] The first one is very important because it has the same textual sequence that we find in Yijing's translation, and it can thus confirm that the new folio must belong to a manuscript copied by a somehow negligent scribe, since here and there some small mistakes can be found, and it shows a wrong textual order. Precisely the overlapping text in the folio of M 13.1, which should precede the *dhāraṇī* of Saṃjñeya, had been moved to a later part by the copyist. I will indicate the point, where the overlapping text begins in a footnote.

Another surviving folio, from a different copy of the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, proves that the original copyist of folio 100 must be someone who understood Khotanese well. In the British Library there is also a fragment of one folio, listed as IOL Khot 33/2 in the comprehensive Catalogue contributed by P. Oktor Skjærvø, which not only contains some textual material that overlaps with the new one, but also exhibits the same textual order as that of the new one. The overlapping parallels of both folios are quite similar. Besides slightly differentiated wording, the most outstanding change is perhaps due to the leaving out of a sentence in the folio published here in contrast to IOL Khot 33/2. However, the text of the new folio itself is quite understandable and it gives the impression that the writer of folio 100 must have understood what he was copying. It would be interesting to look more closely at the two parallels; however, for this publication I will remain content with referring to the relevant Khotanese version according to the transcription contributed by Skjærvø at the corresponding points in the transcription.[6]

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[3] R. E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorobëva-Desjatovskaya, *SDT III* 1995 p. 17.

[4] Nobel 1937 pp. 128-131. Yijing's translation: «金光明最勝王經» T no. 665, pp. 441a27-442a11.

[5] R. E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorobëva-Desjatovskaya, *SDT III* 1995 pp. 179-182. The overlapping text is on page 182.

[6] Skjærvø 2002 p. 248. Cf. footnote 18.

Transcription and Translation of Folio 100

Recto:

1. spautyo[7] hiyāryau · ce vā strīya ātīmäte · o vā ca kulakä o jsicika o ysīrre o ājsanä · o vā ysarrno padandä kīra cu

   with flowers and fruits. Who ever wants women, or boys or girls or gold or silver or things made of gold, whatever

   【義】[8] [T16, p.441c, line 15-19] *我當給與資生樂具飲食衣服*花果珍異。或求*男*女，童男童女，金銀珍寶諸瓔珞具，

2. halca aysmuna ātīmate biśśi aysu haiśämä u ttya mī hā rrä nuṣṭurä dāruṇī maṃdrä hvāñumä || tadya hili hili · mili mä

   he in (his) mind wishes, —all that I give him and tell him the powerful spell (*dhāraṇī*).

   【義】我皆供給隨所願求*令無闕乏*。此之明咒，有大威力。*若誦咒時，我當速至其所，令無障礙隨意成就*。[T16, p.441c, line 7-14] 怛侄他，咽哩咽哩，弭哩弭

3. li · ghauri mahāghauri · ○ gaṃddhāri mahāgaṃddhārä · drrāviḍi mahādrāviḍi · taṇḍa khu khuṇḍe · ha ha ha ·

   (*dhāraṇī*)

   【義】哩，翳哩，莫訶翳哩，健陀哩，莫訶健陀哩，達羅弭雉，莫訶達羅弭雉，單荼，曲勸(圖閏反)第(去)，訶訶訶

4. hi hi hi hi · hu hu hu ○ hu · hala dharmaṃ gaudhami · ca ca ca ca · ci ci · ci ci · cu cu · cu cu· ca pa la[9] · śīghra śīghra

   (*dhāraṇī*) The lord of the moon, quickly quickly

   【義】訶訶，咽咽咽咽咽，呼呼呼呼呼，漢魯，曇謎，翳曇謎，者者者者，只只只只，主主主主，栴荼攝(之涉反)鉢擺，屍揭棉(上)，屍揭棉，

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[7] *spautyo* is a corrupt spelling. The correct spelling shall be *spetyo*, Pl. I/A of *spätaā-* 'flower'.

[8] 【義】= 義淨。There is no parallel in Khotanese for the Chinese words in italics.

It should be noted that according to the textual sequence in the Chinese translation, the sentences (spautyo……hvāñumä) should follow the *dhāraṇī*, instead being placed ahead of it as shown here in the text.

[9] Based on pronunciations of 栴荼攝(之涉反)鉢擺—as can for instance be rendered in modern *pinyin*—*zhan cha she ba lo*, and after comparing with a Tibetan version (Sde-dge edition vol. pa, p. 246b3-7, *CCTBC* no. 556), *ca pa la* can be reconstructed to *candeśvara*. From here on, it seems that the *dhāraṇī* has a meaning.

5. ttiṣṭāhi[10] bhagavaṃ[11] saṃjñeya sarvakarmaṃ karauhi[12] · yan kiṃ cikāmayāmi · śīghraṃ āṃna yāhi suvarṇa vā hiraṇyaṃ cu va

rise up! Venerable Saṃjñeya, (please) do all work that I desire. Go quickly to food, gold, gold and

【義】嗢底瑟吒咽，薄伽梵僧慎爾耶，莎訶。(……) [13]

6. strālākāraṃ vā · annaṃ vā · pānaṃ vā · puṣpaṃ phalaṃ vā strī dāraka dārikā · mā ca vighna kariṣyāmi svāhā[14] || ttye maṃ

cloth (and) decoration, or food, or drink, of flower, or fruits, or a woman, or a boy, (or) a girl. I will not make an obstacle. Hail!

Verso:

1. drä ṣä upacārä · [x]nä[15] bedä biśśūnyo haṃgyo[16] saṃñai yakṣä pratäbiṃbai pīrāñä dīśtai hi'śtä pīrāṃña bruṃbäte tcahora ha{ba}-

It is the ritual of the sacred formula: On the ... with all kinds of bladder sour, the image of the Yakṣa Saṃjñeya shall be painted. In his hand an axe shall be painted. In front, four

【義】[T16, p.441c, line 20—p.442a, line 9] *若持此咒時*，應知其法。先畫一鋪僧慎爾耶藥叉形像高四五尺手執鉾鑌。於此像前*作四方壇*，安四滿

2. baḍa padāna ne' viśtāña[17] · tcahora raysva buśśānā bū' padajsāñä späte pa'sārā gvīhä rrūṇä u śśaśvānä dāṃña tcerä[18]

cups filled with nectar shall be arranged, incense of four flavors of aromatics should be burned, flowers, garlands (should be prepared). The cow oil and mustard shall be put into fire.

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[10] *ttiṣṭāhi* is supposed to be reconstructed as *uttiṣṭhahi*, 2 sg. imp. (cf. *BHSGD*, p. 146) of ud-√sthā- 'to rise', according to the Chinese equivalent嗢底瑟吒咽 *wa di se zha xi*.

[11] With莎诃 *sha he* the dhāraṇī ends in the Chinese text, whereas the ensuing two lines of the Khotanese version continue in Sanskrit and form a part of the *dhāraṇī*.

[12] For *karauhi* from √kṛ- 'do', cf. *karohi*, *BHSGD*, p. 147, under §30.9.

[13] Here follows the wording of [T16, p. 441c, line 7-14] as attached under line 1.

[14] Here the *dhāraṇī* ends in the Khotanese version.

[15] There is some trace over the damaged *akṣara* which seems to be some left over of *thau*, but I am not so certain that such a restoring is acceptable.

[16] *haṃga* 'bladder sour' occurs often in Khotanese texts of medicine, cf. Emmerick 1996 p. 120.

[17] The version IOL Khot 33/2 starts with *viśtāña*. Cf. Skjærvø 2002 p. 248.

[18] Here afterwards, IOL Khot 33/2 has additional text, as following: 'ci ttina maṃḍṃa upavāysä yanāte ṣā-t-ī vara *pa*daṃja/' Skjærvø 2002 p. 248.

【義】瓶蜜水*或沙糖水*，塗香、粖香、燒香及諸花鬘。*又於壇前，作地火爐中安炭火，以蘇摩芥子燒*於爐中。

3. hamatä saṃñai vara hīśtä ○ tta hvāñäte cu ḳṣame hvāña ayse biśśä ātama haṃberrūmä ysīrre horu nyano-v-e nijsve[19] haṃdro

By himself Saṃjñeya will come there, (and) so speak: What you wish, speak! I will fulfill all the wishes. Gold, a gift, a treasure, I will show you.

【義】*口誦前咒一百八遍，一遍一燒，乃至我*藥叉大將自來現身。問咒人曰：爾何所須意所求者？*即以事答。我即隨言：*於所求事皆令滿足。或須金銀及諸伏藏，或欲神仙乘空

4. ysya jsānā vā padīme ○ biśśä tä sarvasatva-rāśa yanumä || crramye[20] pracaina miḍāna gyasta balysa mamä saṃñai mästye

I will cause you moving in the sky. I will make you control all the beings. For what reason, gracious Lord Buddha, does come about for me

【義】而去，或求天眼通，或知他心事，於一切有情隨意自在。[T16, p.441b, line 10][21]世尊，何故我名正了知？

5. yakṣānu hīnāysä ṣä' nāma paṣṣamä aviṣṣiṃjāma hamäte hamava mäḍāna gyasta balysa thu vara nyānarthī khu asyä maḍā-

the name and designation, consecration as Saṃjñeya, the army-leader of Yakṣas? Gracious Lord Buddha, you there are by yourself informed about that: how I, gracious

【義】此之因緣，是佛親證。

6. na gyasta ba'ysa biśśä härа bustämä biśśä härа paysādemä biśśä härа vamasye mä · cu burä biśśä härа khu vā biśśä härа cu va väṣṭāma

Lord Buddha, had realized all things, recognized all things (and) experienced all things. Whatever all things (are), however all things are, whatever the establishment …

【義】我知諸法，我曉一切法。隨所有一切法，如所有一切法，諸法種類體性差別……

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[19] This is a correction, suggested by Skjærvø, to my first reading of *nyano the dijsve* 'you will hold a treasure'.

[20] *crramye* shall be corrected to *crrāmye*. With *crramye* the following text has a parallel in M 13.1, cf. R. E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorobĕva-Desjatovskaya, *SDT III* 1995 p. 182.

[21] Here afterwards, the ensuing Chinese text in original precedes the *dhāraṇī* with several passages, as can be seen from the given page and column number. As stated above, the Chinese textual sequence agrees with the ordering of M 13.1.

About Folio 186

Folio 186, sized 40×9 cm, is written in five lines on paper with the string hole on the left side, and the number 186 is also in the left margin of the recto page. There is some trace of a correction above the character for 80, but I think the reading 186 is correct. The content happens to be part of the 14th chapter, on the Refuge of Yakṣas, in Nobel's version,[22] or of the 22nd *pin* according to Yijing's translation. Fortunately, we have for this part a parallel in the present Sanskrit version.

The St. Petersburg Malov collection holds two fragments, one of signature M 13.6 and the other M 13.12. The two fragments originally belonged to the same folio. They jointly contain some verses of the 14th chapter, in detail, from verse 21 to verse 37.[23] The text of M 13.6+12 in the main precedes the content of the new folio which starts with a part of verse 36 and ends with the beginning of verse 46 according to Nobel's version. The new folio 186, as well as the new folio 100, definitely enlarge our knowledge about the text of the Khotanese *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra.*

There is not much to say about the new folio 186, other than to remark that the Khotanese text seems to be a literal rendering of a Sanskrit version. Thus the way of rendering the names of the gods would be interesting for an approach.

As for the both Chinese translations—the one by Dharmarakṣa and the other by Yijing, though varying in wording, they do not show any divergent translations from the present Sanskrit text. In the published Chinese version of this present paper, I had provided the corresponding Chinese text respectively from the two ancient translations for the purpose of a comparison with the Khotanese and Sanskrit texts. However, I will omit the Chinese text here, since referring to the former publication should be adequate. I must mention here that the accompanying English translation given below relies heavily on that of Emmerick.[24]

Transcription and Translation of Folio 186

Recto:

1. (mä)stä hota ttānu rakṣo yanīndä ṣṣīve haḍāya abätaṃnda . u (a)haphäḍa . mahābalä yakṣānu rre nā

...of great prowess will give them protection, by night and day unwearied and (un)disturbed. The very powerful Yakṣa-lord, Nā-

[14.36]...*(mahā)balaparākramāḥ | teṣāṃ rakṣāṃ karişyanti divārātrāv atandritāḥ* ||

[22] Nobel 1937 pp. 161-162.

[23] R. E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorobëva-Desjatovskaya, *SDT III* pp. 193-195.

[24] Cf. Emmerick 1992 p. 74.

[14.37]*mahābalau ca yakṣendrau Nā-*

2. rāyanä . mahiśvarä haṣparebästä rro handara yakṣa . ce saje päḍauysä satä yseryo ya

rāyana, Maheśvara and the twenty-eight other Yakṣas, of which Saṃjñeya is the the first, with a hundred thousand Ya-

rāyaṇa-Maheśvarau aṣṭāviṃśati cāpy anye Saṃjñāya-pramukhāni ca ||[14.38] *yakṣaśatasahasrebhir*

3. kṣyo ärdävaṃdyo balodyo haṃtsa . ttānu uysnorāṇu rakṣo yanīndä biśvo ahvarīysvo

kṣas, possessed of supernatural powers and strength, will offer the beings protection from all fears

ṛddhimantair mahābalaiḥ | teṣāṃ rakṣāṃ kariṣyanti sarva-trāsa-bhayeṣu ca ||

4. puva'ṇvo . vaśärapāṇä rro yakṣānu rre haṃtsa paṃjsä sītyau yakṣyau ttye ce biśä bodhisatvā ttä

(and) terrors. And Vajrapāṇi, the lord of Yakṣas with five hundred Yakṣas, all of whom are Bodhisattvas—they

[14.39]*Vajrapāṇiś ca yakṣendraḥ pañcayakṣaśatair api | sarvebhir boddhisattebhis*

5. tānu uysnorāṇu rakṣo yanīndä māṇibhadrä yakṣā(nu rr)e u pūrṇabhadrä kubhīrä . a

will offer the beings protection. Māṇibhadra, the lord of Yakṣas, and Pūrṇabhadra, Kuṃbhīr, Ā-

teṣāṃ rakṣāṃ kariṣyanti [14.40] *Māṇibhadraś ca yakṣendraḥ Pūrṇabhadras tathaiva ca Kumbhīr-Â-*

Verso:

1. lave piṇḍūrai · u kacilä · śśau śśau yakṣānu rre sītyo yakṣyau haṃtsa ttānu rakṣo yanīndä ce ṣätä sūträ

ṭavaka, Piṅgala and Kapila, every lord of Yakṣas with five hundred Yakṣas (each), will give protection to those by whom this sūtra

ṭavakaś caiva Piṅgala-Kapilas tathā || [14.41] *ekaikaś caiva yakṣendraḥ pañcayakṣaśatair api | teṣāṃ rakṣāṃ kariṣyanti yebhiḥ sūtram idaṃ*

2. pyūṣṭä äya · cittrasenä gandharvä naḍarājä . u janarṣabhä maṇikaṇḍä · u berākānu rre hvāṣṭä ·

has been heard. Citrasena, the Gandharva, Nala-rāja and Jinarṣabhaḥ, Maṇikaṇṭha and the pre-eminent lord of rain-gods,

śrutam || [14.42] *Citrasenaś ca gandharvo jinarājo jinarṣabhaḥ | Maṇikaṇṭho Nikaṇṭhaś ca Varṣādhipatir eva ca* ||[14.43]

3. mahāgrraysä mahākālä u svarṇakeśśä · paṃje u chatälavätä · mahābhägä · praṇälä . u dha

Mahāgrāsa, Mahākāla and Svarṇakeśa, Pañcika and Chagalapāda, Mahābhāga, Praṇālin and Dha-

Mahāgrāso Mahākālaḥ Svarṇakeśas thaiva ca | Pañcikaś Chagalapādaś ca Mahābhāgas tathaiva ca || [44] *Praṇālī Dha-*

4. rmapälä mṛkala vächä · sucilomä · u sūryamitträ ratanakīyä mahāpraṇälä . nakulä u caṃnda-

rmapāla, Markaṭa, Vāli, Sūciroma and Sūryamitra, Ratnakeśa, Mahāpraṇālin, Nakulaḥ and Canda-

rmapālaś ca Markaṭo Vālir eva ca | Sūciroma-Sūryamitrau Ratnakeśas tathaiva ca ||[14.45] *Mahāpraṇāli Nakulaḥ Kāmaśreṣṭhaś ca Candanaḥ |*

5. nä kāmaśrreṣṭä · śārāyanä . u himavasta · sātäggirä ro u ttrāmī biśśä ttätä irrdävanda hovana-ba...

na, Kāmaśreṣṭha, Śārāyana and Himavata, as well as Satāgiri, and likewise all these possessed of supernatural powers, strength...

Nāgayano Haimavataḥ Satāgiris tathaiva ca ||[14.46] *sarve te ṛddhimantaś ca mahābalaparā...*

Commentary :

tcahora raysva buśśānā bū' padajsāñā späte pa'sārā gvīhä rrūṇä u śśaśvānä dāṃña tcerä
fol 100v2

'...incense of four flavours of aromatics should be burned, (and) flowers (and) garlands (should be prepared). The cow oil and mustard shall be put into fire.'

The problem in the above sentence is this: Is there a word missing between *pa'sārā* and *gvīhä*?

It is here that the Chinese version and especially the Tibetan version help to understand the Khotanese. According to the Chinese version, the text in some greater

scope can be translated as follows: '(He) shall establish four jugs full of honey water or sugar water, perfumed cream, perfumed powder, incense as well as varied flower garlands. ...he burns oil and mustard in the fire-place.'[25] The Tibetan text reads: *bu ram chus gang ba'i bum pa bzhi zhok la | byug pa dang | phye ma dang | bdug pa bsreg cing | me tog gi phreng bas kyang mchod par bya'o | ...dud pa med pa'i me'i nang du | mar dang yungs kar du bsres la |...*[26] '(One) should establish four jugs filled with sugar water. When (one) has burned cream, powder and incense, then garlands of flowers should be offered. ...Into the smokeless flame, (one) has mixed oil and mustard. ... '

It is clear through a comparison with the above two versions that flowers and garlands are objects to be offered, whilst oil and mustard should be put into the fire. Accordingly it appears that in the Khotanese version, *späte pa'sārā,* being a plural nominative, should govern a verb, and the verb is missing. Due to this consideration I have added some words in brackets in my English translation.

nuṣṭura- fol.100r2 〈 Skt. *niṣṭhura* 'rough, harsh, severe'. But cf. Chinese有大威力 *you da wei li* 'possessed of great prowess' , Tib. *mthu dang gzi brjid chen po dang ldan pa*

ysarrno padandā kīra fol.100r1 'things made of gold'.

Notable is the word *kīra-*, a familiar Khotanese word with the well-attested meaning 'work, deed'.[27] But in this context, 'a thing, an object' would be more suitable. That *kīra-* must have this meaning can be confirmed by the Chinese rendering 諸瓔珞具 *zhu yingluo ju* 'ornaments like necklace' and Tib. *rgyan la sogs pa* 'ornaments, etc'.

hi'śta- fol 100v1 Chin. 鉾鑹*mou cuan* , Tib. *dgra sta*

The world is normally translated as 'spear'. According to the Chinese translation, it might be a kind of weapon more like an axe.

Of particular interest is the *dhāraṇī* portion. Apparently the text must have undergone a mistake. Below, I give the text together with the Chinese and Tibetan versions. For consistency, I have used Wylie system even for Tibetan transcriptions of Sanskrit.

Khot.	Tib.[28]	Chin.
	namo buddhāya.	南謨佛陀(引)也。
	namo dharmāya.	南謨達摩(引)也。
	namaḥ saṃghāya.	南謨僧伽(引)也。

[25] Cf. the translation of Nobel 1958 pp. 282-283: '(Er) soll (dann) vier volle Krüge mit Honigwasser oder Zuckerwasser, wohlriechende Salben, wohlriechenden Puder, Räucherwerk und Blumen und Kränze hinstellen.'

[26] Tibetan text is from the Sde-dge editon, No. 556. of *CCTBC*, 通帙第八九(*tongzhi* 89), vol. pa, p. 247a=493, line 1-2.

[27] Cf. BAILEY 1979 p. 60.

[28] Tibetan text is from the Sde-dge editon, No. 556. of *CCTBC*, 通帙第八九(*tongzhi* 89), vol. pa, p. 246b=492, line 3-7.

	namo brahmāya.	南謨跋棉蚶(火含反)摩也。
	nama indrāya.	南謨因達棉也。
	namash caturaṇām mahārājānāṃ	南謨折咄喃莫喝棉闍喃。
Tadya	tadyathā,	怛侄他:
hili hili, mili mäli,	hi li hi li, mi li mi li,	咽哩咽哩，弭哩弭哩，
ghauri, mahāghauri,	gauri, mahāgauri,	瞿哩，莫訶瞿哩，
gaṃddhāri, mahāgaṃddhārä,	gandhari, mahāgandhari,	健陀哩，莫訶健陀哩，
drrāviḍi, mahādrāviḍi,	drimiḍi, mahādrimiḍi,	達羅弭雉，莫訶達羅弭雉，
taṇḍa, khu, khuṇḍe,	daṇḍa khu khunti,	單荼曲勸(驅閏反)第(去)，
hahaha,	hahahaha,	訶訶訶訶訶，
hihihihi,	hihihihi,	咽咽咽咽咽，
huhuhuhu,	huhuhuhu,	呼呼呼呼呼，
hala dharmaṃ gaudhami,	halo dhame, gudhame,	漢魯曇謎瞿曇謎，
cacacaca,	tsatsatsatsa,	者者者者，
Cicicici,	tsitsitsitsi,	只只只只，
Cucucucu,	tsutsutsutsu,	主主主主，
capala, śīghra śīghra ttiṣṭāhi	tsaṇḍeshvara, shikhara shikhara utiṣṭahe. *Lord of the moon, quickly quickly rise up!*	栴荼攝(之涉反)鉢擺，屍揭棉(上)屍揭棉，嗢底瑟吒咽!
bhagavaṃ saṃjñeya,	bhagabān saṃviddznyāye svāhā! *Venerable Saṃjñeya,* hail! (End of the spell.)	薄伽梵僧慎爾耶，莎訶!

Khot.	**Tib. and Chin.**[29]
sarvakarmaṃ karauhi. *please do all the works*	gang la la zhig gis rig sngags 'di 'chang zhing 'dzin na 若複有人於此明咒能受持者， For those who hold this spell,
yan kiṃ cikāmayāmi. *that I desire.*	
śīghraṃ āṃna yāhi. *Go quickly to food,*	bdag gis de la 'tsho ba'i yo byad bsod snyoms dang| 我當給與資生樂具飲食、 *I will give (them all) the means for happiness such as food,*

[29] From here onwards, the English translation follows the Chinese version. Words in brackets are contents according to the Tibetan version.

suvarṇa vā hiraṇyaṃ cu *gold or gold,*	gos dang	me tog dang	'bras bu dang	*nor dang* | 衣服、花、果、 *cloths, flowers, fruits,*
vastrālākāraṃ vā annaṃ vā *cloth (and) decoration, or food,*	rin po che la sogs pa *thams cad stsal bar bgyi'o*| 珍異。 *jewels (and so on).*
pānaṃ vā puṣpaṃ phalaṃ *or drink or a flower or a fruit,*	
vā strī dāraka dārikā *or a woman or a boy (or) a girl.*	gang la la zhig bu pho mo smos pa dang	bran pho 或求男女、童男、 *If they ask for men or women or boys*
	dang	bran mo dang| gser dang	dngul dang	rin po che 童女、金、銀、 *or girls or gold or silver*
mā ca vighna kariṣyāmi *I will not cause an obstacle.*	dang	rgyan la sogs pa'i yo byad 'dod na yang	 珍寶、諸瓔珞具， *or jewels or decorations (and so on),*
svāhā *Hail!*	bdag gis de la yid bzhin du so sor stsal bar bgyi'o | 我皆供給隨所願求令無闕乏。 *I will give them according to their wishes and will not let them running short of it.*

The *dhāraṇī* part of the Chinese and Tibetan versions is much shorter. According to those texts, the power of the mighty Saṃjñeya is desirable, because he might grant people their wishes by endowing them with all kinds of secular happiness. In the Khotanese version, however, we see a contradiction. Here the invoker wishes that the mighty deity should go to every precious object that he owns, and he will not cause any obstruction against the deity. Here it is obvious that the Khotanese translator must have understood the meaning of the Sanskrit text and was aware of the contradiction the text contains, so that he purposely did not translate this part into Khotanese and let it be considered as a component of the *dhāraṇī*.

The whole structure of the *dhāraṇī* in the Khotanese version might be changed if we substitute *yāhi* (go) with *dehi* 'to give'. The contradiction would have been solved to the benefit of the invokers. However the mistake is interesting and of an interest is especially the effort for covering up the mistake. It implies that the ancient Khotanese cared about the myth. The Buddhist mythology was evidently a living part in ancient Khotan. However, bearing the mistakes of folio100 in mind, it seems that it is not the ritual offered for Saṃjñeya that served an utilitarian purpose, but rather the copying of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* itself that was believed to have the power to bring meritorious deeds to religious as well as secular societies of ancient Khotan.

Sigla used in transcription:

( ) added *akṣaras*
[x] an uncertain *akṣara*
{} superfluous *akṣaras*
○ string hole

Abbreviations:

BHSGD: Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, Volume I: *Grammar,* reprinted in Delhi 2004.

CCTBC: 《西藏大藏經總目錄》 *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, Japan 1934.

T: Taishō

SDT III: R. E. Emmerick and Margarita I. Vorobëva-Desjatovskaya, *Saka Documents Text Volume III*, London 1995.

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A Project for a Buddhist Chinese Dictionary*

Seishi KARASHIMA

It is a fact that the early Chinese Buddhist scriptures, which range in date from the Later Han to the Northern and Southern Dynasties, have received little attention despite their great significance to Chinese philology as well as Buddhist studies. However, it is also true that the philological approach to these materials requires a solid knowledge of many languages ranging from Middle Indic to the Chinese vernaculars, which makes scholars hesitant to take on such a task. In spite of such difficulties, it is more than desirable that one investigates them both from the Indian and Chinese philological standpoints, as long as these texts are translations from Indian (or Central Asian) languages. This essay is intended to be a small step in this direction.

Introduction

It is widely recognised that quite a few of the extant Mainstream Buddhist Sutras, Vinaya texts as well as early Mahāyāna Buddhist works, written in (Buddhist) Sanskrit, were transmitted originally in Middle Indic and later, "translated" gradually into (Buddhist) Sanskrit. Such (Buddhist) Sanskrit texts are, in other words, the result of constant Sanskritisation, wrong back-formations, additions and interpolations over the centuries. Therefore, when we attempt to reconstruct earlier and more original features or trace the transmission of Buddhist texts, if we limit ourselves only to extant Sanskrit manuscripts, most of which date from the eleventh century onwards,[1] the explanatory value of such studies is rather limited. Chinese translations, on the other hand, particularly those which were made from the second to the sixth century and, thus antedating most of extant Sanskrit manuscripts, may provide substantial clues to the origination and

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* I should like to extend my sincere thanks to my friend, Peter Lait, who took the trouble to check my English. My heartfelt thanks are also due to Jan Nattier, Jonathan Silk and Daniel Boucher who read through my first draft and offered many useful suggestions.

[1] Except for some fragmentary manuscripts from Afghanistan and Central Asia, dating probably from the first or second century onwards and bundles of manuscripts of a limited number of texts from Gilgit, dating presumably from the sixth century onwards, the majority of Sanskrit manuscripts date from the eleventh century onwards, mainly from Nepal and Tibet.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 337-358.
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development of Buddhist scriptures.[2] However, in order to achieve better research results on such themes, we need to base ourselves on critical comparisons of Chinese, Sanskrit and/or Tibetan versions.

I The Underlying language of the early Chinese translations of Buddhist scriptures

Among the early Chinese translations of the Buddhist scriptures, there are quite a few which are supposed to have contained Middle Indic word-forms or those of Central Asian languages.

For example, the transliteration *Mílè* 彌勒 (QYS. mjie[4][mjie:[4]] lək), paralleling Skt. *Maitreya*, which can be found from the earliest Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures translated by Zhi Loujiachen 支婁迦讖 or Lokakṣema (fl. ca. 170–190 C.E.), is not based on the Sanskrit form but rather goes with Tocharian *Maitrāk*, *Metrak*[3] or Bactrian *Mētraga-*.[4]

Sà 薩 (QYS. sât-) in a transliteration of Skt. *tathāgata*, *dásà-ā-jié* 怛薩阿竭 (QYS. tât sât-ʔâ gjɒt[gjät]) which repeatedly appears in the earliest Chinese translations of the Mahāyāna texts translated by Lokakṣema,[5] indicates presumably that *-th-* had developed into [z] and was then written as *-s-*, which is characteristic of the North-western Prakrit, namely Gāndhārī,[6] or that the translator read *-th-* in this way.[7]

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[2] When a certain text was translated into Chinese more than once and such translations are extant to us, we are also able to trace the development of the text. For this purpose, it is particularly of great advantage that the Chinese translations are usually provided with translators' names, which can be dated, though these may not always be correct.

[3] Cf. Bailey 1946: 780; Ji 1998: 57f.

[4] Cf. Sims-Williams 1987: 345. Prof. Sims-Williams explains the *-g-* < *-y-* as a hyperform due to the fact that Middle Indian *-y-* can derive from older *-k-/-g-* (1983: 134). I thank him for providing me with all this information. Daniel Boucher, however, regards this Chinese transliteration as being from Gāndhārī **metraka*, **maitraka* (personal communication, 2005). According to him, the intervocalic *'k'* here is a graphic convention for a hiatus bridge (=alif) for the high front glide (*y*), not a phonemic development in the Gāndhārī language. When Gāndhārī-influenced texts appeared outside Gāndhārī-using environments, translators did not understand that the *'k'* was not pronounced but was only a graphic convention. Brough (1962, § 38) discussed this phenomenon (see esp. p. 92, n. 4). Cf. also Nattier 2003: 342.

[5] Lokakṣema: *Daoxing Boruo jing* 道行般若經 (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*), T.8, No.224, 429a27, 429c14 *etc.*; *Wenshushili wen Pusa shu jing* 文殊師利問菩薩署經 (*Mañjuśrīparipṛcchāsūtra*), T. 14, No. 458, 435b6, 16 *etc.*; *do. Āshéshìwáng jīng* 阿闍世王經 (*Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanasūtra*), T. 15, No. 626, 391c3, 392a21 *etc.*; *do. Dùnzhēntuóluó suǒwèn rúlái sānmèi jīng* 伅眞陀羅所問如來三昧經 (*Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*), T. 15, No. 624, 348c19, 351b8 *etc.*; *do. Bānzhōu sānmèi jīng* 般舟三昧經 (*Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra*) T. 13, No. 418, 906a2, 911a3. This transliteration is sporadically found also in other earlier translations; e.g., Dharmarakṣa (竺法護; ca. 233-311): *Āshùdá púsà jīng* 阿術達菩薩經 (*Aśokadatta-vyākaraṇa*) T. 12, No. 337, 84b7, c1 *etc.*; *Wújíbǎo sānmèi jīng* 無極寶三昧經 T. 15, No. 636, 508c11, 511b11 *etc.*; An Faqin 安法欽 (from Anxi 安息 or Parthia or Bukhara) *Dàoshénzú wújíbiànbuà jīng* 道神足無極變化經, T. 17, No. 816, 805c24, 813c6 *etc.*

[6] Cf. Brough 1962: § 43; v. Hinüber 2001: §173; Norman 1991= 1994: 61, §5.5. In Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (T. 8, No. 222, *Guāngzàn jīng* 光讚經), we find transliterations 多阿竭 (148c), 多呵竭 (150c24, *v.l.*) and 多訶竭 (151a28), corresponding to Skt. *tathāgata*, all of which show the development *-th-* > *-h-*, which is common in Middle Indic dialects except for Gāndhārī.

In the oldest Chinese translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*, namely the *Daoxing Bore jing* 道行般若經 (T. 8, No. 224; 179 C.E.) by the same translator, we find transliterations like 首呵 (435a12; *Śubhā* > **Śuha*), 波栗多修呵 (435a13; *Parīttaśubha* > **°śuha*), 首訶迦 (439c25; *Śubhakṛtsna* > **Śubaka-*), 阿波摩首訶 (439c24; *Apramāṇaśubha* > **Apamā(ṇa)śuha*), in which *hē* 呵 and *hē* 訶 (both QYS. xâ) reflect probably the Middle Indic development *-bh-* > *-h-*. Also, *hé* 和 (QYS. γuâ), *hé* 和 (QYS. γuâ), *huán* 洹 (QYS. γuân) in 漚和拘舍羅 (433c7 *etc. upāyakauśalya* > **uvā(ya)k°*), 波耶和提 (431a1; *Prajāpati* > **Pajāvati* or **Payāvati*), 和夷羅洹(455b28; *Vajrapāṇi* > **Vajiravāṇi*) reflect probably the Middle Indic development *-p-* > *-v-*.

Also, in the oldest Chinese translation of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, namely the *Da Amituo jing* 大阿彌陀經 (T. 12, No. 362) by the same translator,[8] we find several transliterations which may indicate Middle Indic developments in the underlying Indic text, e.g., 提和竭羅 (300b21; *Dīpaṃkara* > **Dīvagara*), 須摩題 (303b18; *Sukhāvatī* > **Suhāmatī* or **Su'āmadī*).

From these examples cited above, we may assume that the underlying texts of these Chinese translations by Lokakṣema contained Middle Indic forms.[9]

In an old, anonymous Chinese translation of the *Devadatta*-chapter of the Lotus Sutra (T. 9, No. 265, translated in the Western Jin period [265-316 C.E.]), we find a transliteration *bàoxiūluólán* 抱休羅蘭(QYS. pâu: xjəu lâ lân; 197a12), paralleling Skt. *Prabhūtaratna* (> **Prabūtaratana* > **Prabūtaradana* >[10] **Pabū(la)ralan(a)?*), in which 休 (QYS. xjəu) indicates that the Middle Indic development *-bh-* > *-h-* had occurred in the underlying text.

Here, I quote examples also from a non-Mahāyāna text. An early Chinese translation of a Vinaya text, namely *Binaiye* 鼻奈耶 (T. 24, No. 1464), translated by Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 in 383 C.E., probably belonging to the Sarvāstivāda school, is noteworthy not only for the study of Middle Chinese, as it contains many vernacularisms such as 婆, functioning as a final particle at the end of questions — a precedent of 磨, 麼 later on,[11] but also for our present theme, because transliterations found there indicate that its original text contained many Middle Indic forms. For example, 菩提 (852b10; QYS. buo diei),

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[7] The same development is seen also in the transliteration 彌私羅(QYS. mjie[4][mjie:[4]] si lâ), corresponding to Skt. *Mithila*, found in Dharmayaśas' translation of the *Dīrghāgama* (T.1, No.1, 149a20; 413 C.E.).

[8] Concerning the attribution of this translation see p. 14 of this paper.

[9] There are cases where Lokakṣema incorrectly translated Sanskrit words, being influenced by his knowledge of Middle Indic. For example, while, following the translator before him, An Shigao (安世高), Lokakṣema transliterated Skt. *dhyāna* ("meditation") as 禪 (QYS. źjän) (e.g., T. 8, No. 224, 440b11, 440c6, 448a23 *etc.*), but he incorrectly rendered *jana* ("people") in the compound *pṛthag-jana* ("common people") also as 禪: 悉逮得禪 ("[one who] has completely attained *dhyāna* 禪") (*ibid.*, 428c7-8), 逮得禪具足 ("[one who] has attained *dhyāna* 禪 and accomplished it") (*ibid.*, 428c10) and 逮得禪者 ("one who has attained *dhyāna* 禪") (*ibid.*, 454b-13). Those renderings show that he confused Skt. *jana* ("people") with the Middle Indic forms of Skt. *dhyāna* ("meditation"), such as Pā. *jhāna*, Pkt. *jhāṇa*, Gāndhārī *jana*, *jaṇa*.

[10] For *-d-* > *-l-*, cf. von Hinüber 2001: § 2000.

corresponding to Skt. *bhavati*, is probably a transliteration of Middle Indic *bhoti* or *bhodi* (= Gāndhārī). Also, it is reasonable to say that 宿呵 (870a20; QYS. sjəu-xâ), corresponding to Skt. *Śubha*, is a transliteration of Middle Indic *Śuha* or *Suha*.

The list of Chinese transliterations, which are supposed to reflect Middle Indic forms in underlying Indic texts, is sure to increase greatly, when we investigate all the Chinese translations systematically.[12]

There are also cases where we can observe the development of word-forms by tracing translations of a particular word. For example, the name of the popular Mahāyāna Bodhisattva *Avalokiteśvara* appears as *Avalokitasvara* ("One Who Surveys Sound"?) in the old Sanskrit fragments of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, or the Lotus Sutra, from Central Asia, dating probably to the fifth or sixth century, now preserved at Lüshun Museum in China and at Harvard University.[13] In the corresponding portions of the Gilgit manuscripts, dating probably to the 7th century, the so-called "Kashagar" manuscript (actually from Khotan), dating probably to the 8th century, and the Nepalese manuscripts dating from the 11th century onwards, we find the expected form *Avalokiteśvara* instead. When we turn our attention to the Chinese translations of this Bodhisattva's name, we can, in fact, trace the change from *Avalokitasvara* to *Avalokiteśvara*. Its oldest translation *kuīyīn* 闚音 ("Sound-Observer"), which is found in the *Fajing jing* 法鏡經 (T. 12, No. 322, 15b5), translated by An Xuan 安玄 (fl. ca. 180 C.E.), in the oldest translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* by Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. ca. 220–257 C.E.), namely the *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 (T. 14, No. 474, 519b16) and in Zhi Qian's translation of *Anantamukhanirhāra-*

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[11] 須達多母……告須達多："身體輕健不？ 意無餘想婆？ 意有犯梵行耶(*v.l.* 那)？ 爲欲犯戒，捨道，就俗法乎？ 若有此心，速來！"(851c19~24); "汝忍意常不壞(*v.l.* 懷)婆？ 氣力輕健不？ 結坐中供養充足不？ 出乞食婆？ 無疾患婆？ 意無若干想乎？"(852a16~18); "夏坐來不有患苦不？ 出乞食婆？ 意無若干想婆？"(852b19~20); 若比丘以新染衣屋上曝。若風吹墮地。若比丘持入舍而反悔："我不成棄捐不受盜婆？"(854a10~12); 彼園菓樹、胡桃、棕子、柅、桃、梨爲首。若比丘取食，便懷疑意："我不侵衆僧及不與取？ 不成棄捐不受婆？"(854a18~20); 若比丘親里屠兒不與肉，而取。便懷疑："我不犯(*v.l.* 成)棄捐不受婆？"(854b1~2); 遭賊。彼賊或以王力或以村力捕得。奪彼賊衣鉢還比丘。彼比丘各懷疑意："我不成棄捐不受婆(*v.l.* 波)？"(854b6~8); 一比丘從拘薩羅來道中爲賊所剥。彼比丘以親里力而還奪賊衣鉢。奪已比丘便懷疑意："我不成棄捐不受婆？"(854b11~13)諸侍病比丘皆自疑："我等不犯波羅移(*pārājikā*)不受婆？"(857c1~2); 尊者目揵連爲執杖梵志所打，如壓竹筒，乃命盡。……馬師、弗那跋二人聞師爲人所殺，瞋恚熾盛，毛衣盡豎，以大力士力盡執杖梵志殺。佛觀此事，知而告馬師、弗那跋比丘："我今與卿等説四句法義婆？" 時馬師、弗那跋慚愧無顏(857c26~4); "云何，優陀夷！體履健不？ 於夏坐中無苦不？ 乞求婆(*v.l.* 易不)？"(860c2~3); 時阿難意懷孤疑："我不犯僧伽婆施沙(*saṃghāvaśeṣa*)不(*v.l.* 婆)？"(864c8~9); 時五百比丘見目揵連現諸變化，各共相語："我等不墮顛倒見婆？ 云何捨如來，依倚調達？"(869c4~6); 優婆塞名劫不……叉手白阿難言："久違顏色。分衛(*piṇḍapāta*)、教化勞婆？ 何時來此？"(873c10~12); 時此婢使忘金瓔珞。時阿難見，即取舉之。便懷孤疑："我不犯墮婆？"(889a2~3); 佛問："阿那律！ 於夏坐中無所乏少婆？"(889c24~25). Cf. Karashima 1997: 45~47; Feng 2000: 524~526.

[12] I have already examined all the transliterations found in Dharmayaśas' translation of the *Dīrghāgama* (T.1, No.1; 410-413 C.E.), and concluded that its original text was a mixture of elements of Sanskritisation, Prakrit, and local dialects as well as Gāndhārī (Karashima 1994, 1997).

[13] Cf. Karashima 1999: 41, fn. 3. Also, in an old Sanskrit fragment from Qizil, we find a form *(Apa)lokidasvara*; cf. *ibid.*, fn. 4.

dhāraṇī, namely the *Wuliangmen weimichi jing* 無量門微密持經 (T. 19, No. 1011, 680b13),[14] agrees apparently with the older form *Avalokitasvara*. The second oldest form, *jiànyīnshēng* 見音聲 ("[One Who] Sees Sounds"),[15] appears in the Chinese translation of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, namely the *Fangguang Boruo jing* 放光般若經 (T. 8, No. 221, 1b3; 291 C.E.) translated by Zhu Shulan 竺叔蘭 and Wuluocha 無羅叉, which agrees with the older Sanskrit form as well. Dharmarakṣa (竺法護; ca. 233-311 C.E.) consistently rendered the name as *guāngshìyīn* 光世音 ("Sounds of the World of Light") not only in the chapter named after this Bodhisattva in the Lotus Sutra (T.9, No. 263, 128c~129c; trans. 286 C.E.) but also in his other translations.[16] As I have demonstrated elsewhere (Karashima 1992: 262-275), the underlying text of his translation of the Lotus Sutra was probably written in Kharoṣṭhī script which did not indicate long vowels at all, and its language contains presumably Gāndhārī elements, such as the confusion between *-bh-* and *-v-*. Dharmarakṣa, then, interpreted *Ava-* of *Avalokitasvara* as Skt. *ābhā* ("light") and so rendered it as *guāng* 光 ("light"), while he, relating *-lokita-* ("looked") to Skt. *loka* ("world"), rendered this as *shì* 世 ("world") and also *-svara* ("sound") correctly as *yīn* 音 ("sound"). The translation *guāngshìyīn* 光世音 ("Sounds of the World of Light"), based upon the incorrect interpretation, was probably "corrected" after Dharmarakṣa's death, in an implausible way to *guānshìyīn* 觀世音 ("[One Who] Observes Sounds of the World") by one of his former assistants Nie Daozhen 聶道真 (fl. beginning of the 4th century),[17] who probably rendered *Avalokita* ("looked down, surveyed") as *guān* 觀 ("observe"), while strangely enough leaving alone the last two characters of *guāngshìyīn* 光世音. Thereafter, from the newly-coined form, an abridged one *guānyīn* 觀音 ("[One Who] Observes Sounds") developed. The earliest examples of this form are probably those in the *Longshu pusa wei Chantuojia wang shuoda yaojie* 龍樹菩薩爲禪陀迦王説法要偈 (trans. by Guṇavarman; 431 C.E.; T. 32, 747c22) and in the *Fahuajingshu* 法華經疏 (first half of the fifth century), the oldest commentary on Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra by his pupil *Daosheng* 道生. Though this form occurs, of course, in the repeated verse phrase (*niàn bǐ Guānyīn lì* 念彼觀音力) in the *Guanshiyin pusa pumen pin* 觀世音菩薩普門品, or the Chapter of the Universal Gate of the Bodhisattva *Avalokitasvara* (Skt. *Samantamukha-parivarta*) in the extant version of Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra, these verses are thought to have been wanting in his original translation and interpolated from Jñānagupta's new translation of the same scripture (T. 9, No. 264, 添

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[14] I thank Jan Nattier for pointing out this occurrence.

[15] The editions read 現音聲, of which 現 is probably a hyperform of 見 made by later editors of the Canon. The character 見 has two meanings and is read in two ways, i.e., "sees" (*jiàn*) and "appears" (*xiàn*). The latter came to be written as 現 probably as late as the fourth or fifth century.

[16] E.g., 光讃經 (T. 8, 147b6), 大宝積經「密迹金剛力士會」(T. 11, 42c15), 離垢施女經 (T. 12, 89c5), 持心梵天所問經 (T. 15, 17b12); 海龍王經 (T. 15, 145b21). According to one catalogue (T. 55, 9a5), he is said to have translated a scripture called 光世音大勢至受決經.

[17] E.g., 文殊師利般涅槃經 (T.14, 480b8), 大寶積經,無垢施菩薩應辯會 (T11, 556a13, 24 *etc.*). According to one catalogue (T. 55, 500c10), he is said to have translated a scripture called 觀世音受記經.

品妙法蓮華經; 601 C.E.). As the form *guāngyīn* 觀音 appears either in verses or, in the case of prose, side by side with *guāngshìyīn* 觀世音, I assume this form was not a new translation but rather an abridgement of the latter, shortened in order to fit verses. From the sixth century onwards, totally different forms started appearing. Firstly, the translators of the sixth century, namely Bodhiruci (菩提流支; fl. ?-527 C.E.), Gautama-Prajñāruci (瞿曇般若流支; fl. 538-543 C.E.)、Narendrayaśas (那連提耶舍; fl. 6th century), Jñānagupta (闍那崛多; fl. 561-592 C.E.) *etc.*,[18] came to use the new form *guāngshìzìzài* 觀世自在 ("[One Who has] Sovereignty for Observing the World"), a mixture of the old name *guāngshìyīn* 觀世音 and a new element *zìzài* 自在, after which Xuanzang 玄奘 (602-64 C.E.) made another new translation *guāngzìzài* 觀自在 ("[One Who has] Sovereignty for Observing").[19] These two new forms, containing *zìzài* 自在 ("master of one's self, sovereignty" = Skt. *īśvara*), correspond clearly to the Sanskrit *Avalokiteśvara*, while the older ones *kuīyīn* 闚音 ("Sound-Observer"), *jiànyīnshēng* 見音聲 ("[One Who] Sees Sounds"), *guāngshìyīn* 光世音 ("Sounds of the World of Light") and *guānshìyīn* 觀世音 ("[One Who] Observes Sounds of the World") together with its abridged form *guānyīn* 觀音 ("[One Who] Observes Sounds"), all containing the word *yīn* 音 ("sounds"), agree with the older Sanskrit form *Avalokitasvara*, found in the older Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia. From the development of the various Chinese translations of this Bodhisattva's name, on the one hand, and from the fact that the form *Avalokitasvara* is found in the fragments of the fifth or sixth century, while the new form *Avalokiteśvara* came to appear in manuscripts from the 7th century onwards, on the other, we may assume that the change from *Avalokitasvara* to *Avalokiteśvara* took place around the sixth century. As I have demonstrated elsewhere in detail,[20] *Avalokitasvara* is, however, probably a Gāndhārī form of Skt. **Avalokita-smara* ("[One Who] Observes Thoughts [of Beings])." ——Who in the world is able to visually perceive sounds?

Śāradvatīputra, another name of Śāriputra, characteristic of Mahāyāna scriptures, was often rendered as *Qiūlùzǐ* 秋露子 ("Son of Autumn Dew"), or 鷺露子 ("Son of Waterbird-Egret"), in the early Chinese translations. I assume that they were written originally as *Qiūlùzǐ* 秋路子 ("Son of Autumn Path"; not attested), which was, in its turn,

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[18] E.g., 菩提流支訳『勝思惟梵天所問經』T15, 80c29; 同『仏名經』T14, 120c4, 144c16, 157c5; 同『深密解脱經』T16, 680a18f. ; 同『無字宝篋經』T17, 871a11; 同『謗仏經』T17, 876c5; 同『妙法蓮華經憂波提舍』T26, 10b7; 瞿曇般若流支訳『得無垢女經』T12, 97c24, 102a9f.; 同『不必定入定入印經』T15, 699b23; 那連提耶舍訳『大方等大集經』「月藏分」T13, 340a22; 闍那崛多訳『観察諸法行經』T15, 727c2; 仏陀扇多訳『如来師子吼經』T17, 890a19; 同『金剛上味陀羅尼經』T21, 850b7.
Cf. also 玄応『一切經音義』(620 C.E.) 巻五「觀世音。梵言『阿婆盧吉低舍婆羅』。此譯云『觀世自在』。舊譯云『觀世音』，或言『光世音』並訛也。」

[19] E.g., 『大般若波羅蜜多經』T7, 1c10; 921b27; 同『寂照神変三摩地經』T15, 723a20; 同『解深密經』T16, 703b11ff. 玄奘『大唐西域記』巻三「阿縛盧枳低濕伐羅(Avalokiteśvara)菩薩」自注「唐言『觀自在』。合字連聲。梵語如上。分文散音，即『阿縛盧枳多』(Avalokita)譯曰『觀』。『伊濕伐羅』(īśvara)譯曰『自在』。舊譯爲『光世音』或云『觀世音』或『觀世自在』皆訛謬也」(T51, 883b23~26).

[20] Cf. Karashima 1999: 52f.

an incorrect translation of *Śāradvatīputra*, based on the wrong interpretation of the word: *Śārad-* (< Skt. *śarad* "autumn") + Gāndhārī **-vadhi* (< Skt.*-pathi* "path"; cf. Gāndhārī *padi*, *padhi* < Skt.*-pathi*) + *putra* ("son").[21]

The examples cited above may demonstrate that earlier Chinese translations, ranging from the second to the fourth century of the Common Era, preserve older or different forms than Sanskrit manuscripts, most of which date from the eleventh century onwards. Therefore, for the study of the origination and development of Buddhist scriptures, these earlier Chinese translations are indeed primary and indispensable sources.

II The necessity of reading Chinese translations properly

Despite their importance, earlier Chinese translations have not received adequate critical and philological treatment until only recently. Research on Buddhist thought and history, especially in Asia, often lacks a solid foundation based on textual criticism and philological accuracy. As thought is expressed by means of language, the former does not exist beyond the latter but only within it. Without comprehending language properly, one cannot understand thought correctly. Proper research on thought or its history is only possible when it is based on a proper reading of the texts.

In order to indicate the necessity of reading Chinese translations properly, here, I shall present a theory concerning the earliest Mahāyāna scriptures proposed by Akira Hirakawa, who was an authority on Mahāyāna Buddhist research.

In the oldest translation of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, namely the *Da Amituo jing* 大阿彌陀經 (T.12, No.362) by Lokakṣema (fl. ca. 170-190), we find the following expressions:

第七願："使某作佛時，令八方、上下無央數佛國諸天、人民、若善男子、善女人有作菩薩道，奉行六波羅蜜經，……"(301b27f.) ("The seventh vow: 'If I become a buddha, gods and people — both good men and good women — in innumerable buddha-lands in the eight directions and above and below, who practise the *Bodhisattva* Path and cultivate the *liuboluomi jing* with all respect, ... may (令) .... [come to be reborn in my land.]' ")

最上第一輩者，當去家，捨妻子，斷愛欲，行作沙門，就無爲之道；當作菩薩道，奉行六波羅蜜經者，……(309c-4f.) ("The first and best group [of good men and good women who wish to be reborn in Amitābha's land] should leave home, abandon their wives and children, break off attachment and craving, go away to become *śramaṇa*s and follow the Path to *wuwei* [*i.e.*, *nirvāṇa*]. They should practise the *Bodhisattva* Path and cultivate the *liuboluomi jing*, ...")

諸菩薩、阿羅漢及諸天、人民無央數，都不可復計，皆飛到阿彌陀佛所，爲佛作禮，却坐，聽經。其佛廣説道智大經。皆悉聞知，莫不歡喜踊躍心開解者。(307a22f.) ("Innumerable and completely incalculable *bodhisattva*s, *arhat*s, gods and people all fly and go to where Amitābha is, pay homage to the Buddha,

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[21] Cf. Karashima and Nattier 2005.

withdraw and sit down and listen to his teaching. That Buddha preaches the *daozhi dajing* in detail. Having heard and understood, they all, without exception, are filled with joy and dance, with their minds fully enlightened.")

Hirakawa takes *daozhi dajing* 道智大經 and *liuboluomi jing* 六波羅蜜經, mentioned in the sentences cited above, to be the names of Mahāyāna scriptures, and he assumes that they are ones which existed when the original text of the *Da Amituo jing* — the oldest version of the *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, was composed. As the *Da Amituo jing* was translated as early as the second century C.E., it is thus considered to be one of the earliest Mahāyāna scriptures preserved to us. He concludes, therefore, that those scriptures mentioned in it must be indeed the earliest ones, which are now lost.[22]

Hirakawa thus regarded *daozhi dajing* 道智大經 and *liuboluomi jing* 六波羅蜜經 as names of scriptures, taking *jing* 經 to mean "scripture." However, I assume this is not the case. In earlier Chinese translations, 經 is used not only in the sense of "scripture" but also frequently to mean "what one preaches, (the Buddha's) teaching" or even "*dharma*." E.g., Lokakṣema's *Daoxing Bore jing* 道行般若經, T.8, No.224, 456a18. 怛薩阿竭及諸弟子說經時，心終不疑,[23] in which *jīng* 經 corresponds to Skt. *dharma* ("teaching")[24]; *ibid.* 455b9~10. 是經不可得邊幅，不可得極。是經中，我悉知已。皆空耳,[25] in which *jīng* 經 also corresponds to Skt. *dharma*, meaning "phenomenon, thing" (!) here.[26] Also, Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus Sutra (T.9, No. 263; trans. 286 C.E.), 74b9. 蓮華光正覺……說法具足一劫。所可演經示奇特願,[27] in which *jīng* 經 corresponds to Skt. *dharma* ("teaching") as well.[28]

In the *Da Amituo jing* itself, we find also cases where *jīng* 經 is used apparently in the sense of "a teaching"; e.g.,

其樓夷亘羅佛，…… 即爲曇摩迦菩薩說經言："譬如天下大海水，一人斗量之，一劫不止，尚可枯盡，令空，得其底泥。人至心求道，何而(←可如)當不可得乎？求索精進，不休止，會當得心中所欲願爾。" 曇摩迦菩薩聞樓夷亘羅佛

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[22] Hirakawa 1968: 120-121 = 1989: 214-215.

[23] "While preaching teachings, the Tathāgata and (his) disciples have no doubts at all in their minds."

[24] AS.169.10, 12 = R.339.14, 16 = AAA.692.2, 6. *dharma~ ... dharma~*.

[25] "These teachings are illimitable, unboundable. Concerning (? 中) these teachings, I know completely. They are all empty."

[26] Cf. AS.165.15 = R.331.17 = AAA.679.22. *asaṃn eṣa dharmo yad uta sarvajñatā. asaṃvidyamāna eṣa dharmo yad uta sarvajñatā. ko 'tra āñjāsyati ko 'trâbhisambhotsyate? nâttena kaścin niryāsyati. yaś câbhisambudhyeta yac câbhisamboddhavyaṃ yaś ca ājānīyād yac ca ājñātavyaṃ, sarvatra te dharmā ākāśasamā* ("The same as space is this all-knowledge. It is a dharma which is not, it is non-existent. Who can anoint himself for it, who fully know it? There is no one who could go forth to it, there is no one who could fully know it, nothing that should be fully known, there is no one who would understand, there is nothing that should be understood. At all times those dharmas are the same as space, ..." [AsP.tr.II. 204 = AsP.tr. 125]); Kj.565a3. 若得道者，得道法、所用得法皆如虛空。知者、知法、所用法無所有，皆同虛空.

[27] "The rightly enlightened one, *Lotus-brilliance*, ... preached the Dharma for a complete *kalpa*. The teaching which he pronounced, revealed his excellent vows."

[28] KN. 65.14.

> 說經如是，即大歡喜踊躍 (T.12, No.362, 301a2f.) ("That Buddha *Lokeśvararāja* .... then preached a teaching for the Bodhisattva *Dharmākara* as follows: 'Suppose that a person measures the water of the great oceans in the world, by using a bucket (斗) and if he does not cease for a whole *kalpa*, he is able to ladle out [the oceans] dry and empty until he reaches the mud at the bottom. If a man seeks [likewise] enlightenment single-mindedly, how on earth is he unable to attain it? If one seeks and strives for this without ceasing, he will certainly attain for what he aspires.' Having heard the Buddha *Lokeśvararāja* preaching the teaching [*jīng* 經] in this way, the Bodhisattva *Dharmākara* was filled with great joy and danced.")

In the case cited above, the parable which the Buddha *Lokeśvararāja* explained to the Bodhisattva *Dharmākara* is expressed as *jīng* 經.

One more example from the same translation may suffice to make my argument clear. The translation says that the Bodhisattva *Dharmākara*, having heard the teaching cited above, composed the *jīng* 經 of twenty-four vows (結得是二十四願經).[29] Though some scholars regard this *jīng* as a name of an older scripture, which underlies the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, it cannot be other than the set of twenty-four vows enumerated in detail thereafter. Probably as the Bodhisattva *Dharmākara* became the Buddha *Amitābha* later on, the translator used the word *jīng* 經 to designate these vows composed by the Buddha-to-be.

Therefore, in conclusion, the word *jīng* 經 does not always mean "scripture," but it can be used in a broader sense, such as "what one preaches, a teaching," "statement made by a buddha," "*dharma*" and so on. I assume the designation *liuboluomi jing* 六波羅蜜經 in the *Da Amituo jing* does not mean a name of a scripture, but "a teaching of the six perfections" namely "the six perfections" themselves. Also, *daozhi dajing* 道智大經 may not mean a certain scripture but "an excellent teaching concerning the wisdom (leading) to enlightenment" or "a teaching of Mahāyāna."[30]

More than a few scholars, without realising the broad range of meanings of the word *jīng* 經, have speculated on these phantom "scriptures."[31]

The example discussed above may demonstrate that, even when we carry out

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[29] T.12, No.362, 301a11f. (樓)夷亘羅佛說經竟，曇摩迦便一其心，即得天眼徹視，悉自見二百一十億諸佛國中諸天、人民之善惡、國土之好醜，即選擇心中所願，便結得是二十四願經，則奉行之，精進勇猛，勤苦求索 ("When the Buddha *Louyigengluo* [*Lokeśvararāja*] had given the teaching, [the Bodhisattva] *Tanmojia* [*Dharmakāra*] then concentrated his mind, and immediately obtained the divine eye of penetrating sight. [By this] he observed all good and evil of gods and people in the two hundred and ten million buddha-lands as well as the refinement and ugliness of the lands, then selected wishes in his mind and thereupon, he composed a *jīng* 經 of twenty-four vows. He practised these with all respect, made diligent and vigourous effort, and exerted himself so as to fulfil them.")

[30] Cf. Karashima 1993: 168.

[31] Hirakawa (1968: 123f. = 1989: 217f.) regards *sānpǐn jīng* 三品經 as one of the oldest Mahāyāna scriptures as well, as it is mentioned also in one of the earliest Chinese translations, *Fǎjìng jīng* 法鏡經 (T. 12, No. 322, 18c28), translated by An Xuan 安玄 (fl. ca. 180 C.E.). However, if one reads the text carefully, it becomes clear that *sānpǐn jīng* is not a name of a certain scripture, but a threefold ceremonial ritual of worshipping the Buddha. Cf. Nattier 2003: 118~119. n. 29.

research on Buddhist thought or on its history, we need to pay a great deal of attention to philological and contextual analysis, otherwise we are merely building castles in the air.

III Comparative Study of Chinese and Sanskrit

Anyone who reads an early Chinese Buddhist scripture will be struck by the peculiarities of the language used within it. Its difference from Classical Chinese may be partly due to the fact that many of the translators who came from India or Central Asia, had not mastered Chinese well enough to translate the texts by themselves, and thus had to work in collaboration with native Chinese or sinicised assistants (and misunderstandings between them must have been inevitable). Another difference is the wide usage of neologisms in Buddhist scriptures, mostly Buddhist technical terms, which were created in order to express foreign ideas and notions, as well as new meanings and connotations assigned to existing words. However, the primary cause of difference is due to a great variety of vernacular words and usages, employed by the translators in accordance with original Indian texts, which are rich in similes, metaphors, parables, fables and other narrative forms, describing everyday life and consequently containing daily conversation, which is, on the other hand, rare in the Chinese literature of that time.[32]

Such neologisms and vernacularisms in Buddhist texts, which have been long neglected in Chinese dictionaries and grammar books, make Buddhist texts difficult to be read correctly. In recent years, more and more sinologists have been taking an interest in Buddhist translations, and quite a number of studies on their vocabulary and grammatical usage have been published on mainland China and in Taiwan. However, most of the publications which have appeared hitherto on this topic are devoted to piecing together instances of vernacularisms from various Buddhist scriptures or comparing them with similar expressions in the native secular literature in order to define their meanings inductively, without making the best use of the special character of Buddhist scriptures, *i.e.*, that they are translations and in most cases there are corresponding texts in Sanskrit, Pāli or Tibetan languages as well as other versions in Chinese. Similarly, the meanings and history behind the neologisms created by Japanese translators in the Meiji period, e.g., *tetsugaku* 哲學 (philosophy), *kagaku* 科學 (science), *kenri* 權利 (rights), can be clarified only when they are compared with the original words and other Japanese equivalent terms used by translators at that time. This is true in the case of vernacularisms and neologisms in Buddhist texts; they may be clarified when one compares them with their equivalents found in other versions in Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan and Chinese.

Here a few examples will be given in order to illustrate the method stated above.

(1) The Chinese translation of the *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, namely the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經, translated presumably in the first half of the 5th century, is the basic text of

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[32] It has been said that Chinese translators used a colloquial style, as their translations were aimed at the illiterate masses rather than the literati, though it must be noted that the translations of the Vinaya texts, which were inaccessible to lay people, are also full of colloquialisms.

the Pure Land teachings and thus one of the most popular Buddhist scriptures in East Asia. Though it has been extensively read and commented upon by many scholars, it still has many unsolved difficult phrases within it, such as: 恣心蕩逸，魯扈抵突[33] ("[They] are self-indulgent, dissolute, insolent, offensive"), of which the meaning of lǔhù 魯扈, a rhyming binome (疊韻), is yet to be explained. A compound word similar to it is found in other Buddhist texts: 闡怒比丘虜扈自用[34] ("The monk Channa is insolent, self-willed"), 常欲滅虜扈自用[35] ("[One] wants always to extinguish insolence [and] self-willfulness."). 虜扈 (lǔhù), which is a homophone of 魯扈 (lǔhù) and occurs in similar contexts to that of the latter, should have the same meaning. Fortunately, a Sanskrit parallel to the former example can be found in MPS. 29.14. *ayam āyuṣmāñ Chandaś caṇḍo rabhasaḥ paruṣo roṣita ākrośako* ("This venerable Chanda is violent, impetuous, harsh, furious, abusive."); while the latter has its parallels in other Chinese translations: 破憍慢業[36] ("[One] demolishes [one's] acts of overweening pride."), 破憍慢[37] ([One] demolishes [one's] overweening pride"). From these parallels, one may assume 魯扈 and 虜扈 to mean "insolent, self-willed, haughty, rude."

(2) In Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra, namely the *Miaofalianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (T. 9, No.262; trans. 406 C.E.), we find a word *yīgé* 衣裓, which has often been explained to mean a certain type of container of flowers,[38] as follows: 各以衣裓盛諸天華[39] ("Each [Brahma king] fills the fold of his garment with celestial flowers"); 當以衣裓若以机案，從舍出之[40] ([I] should, [carrying them] in the fold of my garment or on a table, take [them] out of the house." While no parallels of the former sentence are to be found in other versions, the latter example has one in the so-called "Kashgar" manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*: *yaṃ nv ahaṃ sarvāṇīmāni kumārakāny ekasmiṃ samāvartya{ṃ} pīṭhakena vā utsaṃgena vā-m-ādāyâsmād gṛhā nirgaccheyaṃ*[41] ("Suppose I, having gathered all the boys together and taken [them] on a stool or in the folds of [my] garment, go out of the house."). It is clear that *yīgé* 衣裓 in the Chinese translation parallels *utsaṃga* in the Sanskrit version, which would mean "the fold of a garment, pouched garment serving as a bag, a sort of an apron used for carrying things"[42] here. Presumably, its Chinese equivalent has a similar meaning.

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[33] T. 12, No. 360, 277a7. This phrase is an adaptation of the following one in the Lokakṣema's *Da Amituo jing* (T.12, No.362): 出入無有期度，魯扈抵突 (315a01).

[34] T. 1, No. 1, 26a18.

[35] T. 8, No. 221, 27a27.

[36] T. 7, No. 220, 82c16.

[37] T. 8, No. 223, 256c19.

[38] Cf. HD. 9.23, DB.99, Zhu 216~217, DWYC.369. Cf. also Karashima 1997: 30~31.

[39] T. 9, No.262, 23a28, 23c4, 24a12, 24b20.

[40] T. 9, No.262, 12b24.

[41] SP(O).78a2. The word *pīṭhaka* ("stool, chair") in this sentence is probably a wrong reading for *piṭaka* ("basket").

[42] Cf. CPD, s.v. *ucchaṅga*; Goto 1980.

(3) In the Chinese Buddhist translations, we find numerous cases of the particle yǐ 已 used at the end of a sentence to indicate the completion of an action, just before the beginning of another. Here, I shall quote some examples from Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus Sutra (T. 9, No. 263; trans. 286 C.E.):

五百億百千梵天……適見佛已，尋時即往 (90b16) ("On having seen the Buddha, five hundred million hundred thousand Brahmā gods ... immediately went to [where the Buddha was].")

賢者阿難自念言："我寧可蒙受決例乎？" 心念此已，發願乙密，即從坐起，稽首佛足 (97c29) ("The venerable Ānanda thought to himself: 'I should rather receive a prophecy [of enlightenment], shouldn't I?' Having thought this to himself, he took a vow earnestly, then rose from his seat and touched his head to the Buddha's feet.")

比丘尼說此頌已，白世尊曰："唯然，大聖！ ……" (106c13) ("The nuns, having recited these verses, said to the World-honoured one: 'O great sage! ...")

This usage of yǐ 已 is very common in Buddhist translations, while very rare in non-Buddhist literature, which leads us to suppose that this might be somehow related to usages in original Indian languages. Actually, yǐ 已 in this usage corresponds usually to gerunds (= absolutives) in Sanskrit texts.[43] Among the instances cited above, 適見(佛)已 ("On having seen") corresponds to Skt. *dṛṣṭvā* ("having seen"),[44] 念(此)已 ("having thought") to Skt. *cintayitvā* ("having thought"),[45] 說(此頌)已 ("having recited") to Skt. *bhāṣitvā* ("having recited").[46] As a rule, gerunds in Sanskrit denote the first of two or more actions, performed by the same subject. Such a function corresponds to the usage of yǐ 已 in question. Probably the Chinese translators generally used the particle yǐ 已 for rendering gerunds, which were employed extensively in Indian Buddhist texts, and for this reason we find numerous cases of this particle in these translations.

These three instances — lǔhù 魯扈, yīgé 衣褐 and yǐ 已 — may be sufficient to illustrate the necessity of comparing Sanskrit, Pāli (and if necessary Tibetan) texts as well as other Chinese versions in order to clear up grammatically, etymologically or semantically problematic words in Chinese Buddhist translations.

Moreover, older Chinese Buddhist translations, which were made before the time of the famous translator Kumārajīva (fl. 402-413 C.E.), have been rarely studied and therefore, are often very difficult to understand. Without consulting other versions, one can hardly understand them correctly. I shall illustrate this point with the following three examples from Dharmarakṣa's translation of the Lotus Sutra (T. 9, No. 263; trans. 286 C.E.):

告諸比丘 我聲聞備 所行具足 於億千佛 以欲救護 斯佛正法 覺了禪思 而

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[43] Cf. Karashima 1998: 535~536; 2001a: 327~329.

[44] KN. 169.3.

[45] KN. 215.2.

[46] KN. 270.5.

求於度 (96b2f.)

Only by consulting the Sanskrit version[47] can one see that bèi 備 ("fully equipped; fully, completely") is a translation of *Pūrṇa*, the name of a disciple of the Buddha — Skt. *pūrṇa* means "filled, full"— and mark off the lines as follows:

告諸比丘　我聲聞備(*Pūrṇa*)　所行具足　於億千佛　/
以欲救護　斯佛正法　覺了禪思　而求於度　//

("[I] say [to you], o monks, my disciple *Pūrṇa*, who has fulfilled his practices under thousands of millions of buddhas, wishes then to save and protect this righteous *Dharma* of the Buddha, apprehending clearly the *dhyāna*-thought[48] and seeking deliverance."

Also:

告舍利弗　吾聽省彼　尋時往詣　波羅奈國　便即合集　諸比丘衆　身子欲知　佛善權法　(72c4f.)

By consulting the Sanskrit version,[49] one is able to see that shēnzǐ 身子 is a translation of *Śārisuta*, another name for the Buddha's great disciple *Śāriputra* (usually transliterated as shèlìfú 舍利弗 as it is here in the first instance), and mark off the lines as follows:

告，舍利弗 (*Śāriputra*)！　吾聽省彼　尋時往詣　波羅奈國　/
便即合集　諸比丘衆　身子 (*Śārisuta*)！欲知　佛善權法　//

("[I] say [to you], o *Śāriputra*: when I heard this, I immediately went to the land of Benares, and then instantly gathered a multitude of monks. [Do you], o son of Body [*Śārisuta*], wish to know the *Dharma*, concerning skilful expedients?")

Apparently, trying to reproduce distinctions of the metres of verses in the original text, Dharmarakṣa rendered, in principle, those in the Triṣṭubh-Jagatī metre (consisting of four pādas with eleven or twelve syllables in each) into octonaries with four Chinese characters per line, while verses in the *Śloka* metre (consisting of four pādas or quarter verses with eight syllables in each) were rendered into quatrains with five Chinese characters per line. Also, a verse in these Indian metres is divided into two parts, each consisting of two pādas, and Dharmarakṣa followed this principle in his translation. E.g.,

柔軟美香　薰於十方　供養達至　愍傷世者　/
其有度脫　一切衆生　恩德流布　常通於此　//
吾滅度之後　其持此經典　/　速逮得受決　目見世導師　//
佛滅度之後　其多寶仁賢　/　聞見師子座　塔寺所在處　// (104b17f.)

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[47] KN. 204.7f. *Pūrṇo ayaṃ śrāvaka mahya bhikṣavaś carito purā buddhasahasrakoṭiṣu / teṣāṃ ca saddharma parigrahaṇārthaṃ* (SP[O]. °*heṣi*) *bauddhaṃ idaṃ jñāna gaveṣamāṇaḥ* (SP[O]. *gameṣa*°) //("Pûrṇa here, monks, my disciple, has formerly fulfilled his course [of duty] under thousands of koṭis of Buddhas, he has got possession of this true law by seeking after Buddha-knowledge." [Kern. 196]).

[48] Dharmarakṣa mistook *jñāna* ("wisdom") as *dhyāna* ("meditation") here; cf. Karashima 1992: 127, 265, Boucher 1998: 492-494.

[49] KN. 56.9f. *tato hy ahaṃ Śārisutā viditvā Vārāṇasīṃ prasthitu tasmi kāle / tahi pañcakānāṃ pravadāmi bhikṣuṇāṃ dharmaṃ upāyena praśāntabhūmim //* ("When I had come to that conviction, O son of Sâri, I instantly went to Benares, where I skilfully preached the law to the five Solitaries, that law which is the base of final beatitude." [Kern. 56]).

Without consulting the Sanskrit version[50] and knowing the principles stated above, it may hardly be possible to mark off these lines correctly.

IV Glossaries and Punctuated, Annotated Critical Editions of Buddhist Chinese Translations

As stated above, there are gradually coming to be more and more sinologists who are taking an interest in Buddhist texts. However, most of the studies which have appeared hitherto on this subject have a tendency to 'glean' only the most interesting colloquial words and usages from a large number of vernacularisms found in such texts. As a result, these lexical and grammatical works and dictionaries pick out the same words and phrases repeatedly, while thousands of other difficult ones remain unstudied and hence unexplained. This situation is far from ideal, not only from the point of view of a historical study of the Chinese language, but also for Buddhist studies as well.

Another serious problem with these works is that sinologists seldom question traditional attributions given in catalogues and consequently in the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō*, the standard edition of the Chinese Canon. Concerning translations ascribed to An Shigao 安世高, Erik Zürcher has published a philological study on these (Zürcher 1977), which has been also translated into Chinese (Zürcher 1987) and we are thus able to avoid making mistakes and meaningless arguments, which would otherwise arise from the wrong attributions of translations.[51] However, for example, the *Zhuanji Baiyuan jing* 撰集百緣經 (T. 4, No. 200), which is ascribed traditionally to Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. ca. 220–257 C.E.) and frequently quoted as such in lexicons and grammatical works, is clearly not very old and in all probability dates from a time not earlier than the sixth century, as demonstrated by Mitsuyo Demoto (1995, 1998).[52] Also, for example, the three oldest Chinese translations of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*, namely the *Amituo Sanyesanfo Saloufotan Guodurendao jing* 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經 widely

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[50] KN. 252.1f.
gandho manojño daśasū diśāsu pravāyate lokavināyakānām /
*yenā ime mūrcchita sarvasattvā vāte pravāte iha nityakālaṃ //*9 (Triṣṭubh-Jagatī)
mayi nirvṛte yo etaṃ dharmaparyāyu dhārayet /
kṣipraṃ vyāharatāṃ vācaṃ lokanātbāna saṃmukbam // 10 (Śloka)
parinirvṛto hi saṃbuddhaḥ Prabbūtaratano muniḥ /
siṃhanādaṃ śruṇe tasya vyavasāyaṃ karoti yaḥ // 11 (Śloka)
("9. A delicious fragrance spreads from the Leaders of the world over all quarters, [a fragrance] by which, when the wind is blowing, all these creatures are intoxicated.
10. Let him who after my extinction shall keep this Dharmaparyâya quickly pronounce his declaration in the presence of the Lords of the world.
11. The Seer Prabhûtaratna who, though completely extinct, is awake, will hear the lion's roar of him who shall take this resolution. [Kern. 239]).

[51] However, an important contribution to research on An Shigao's translations by Ui Hakuju 宇井伯壽 (1971) is all but neglected by Chinese and Western scholars. Moreover, Paul Harrison (2002a) has recently demonstrated that the *Za Ahan jing* 雜阿含經 (T.2, No.101) should be ascribed also to An Shigao.

[52] Hayashiya (1941: 1231-1232) and Higata (1978: 110-111) demonstrated long ago that this translation had been made later than the fifth century.

known as the *Da Amituo jing* 大阿彌陀經 (T. 12, No. 362), the *Wuliangqingjing Pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 (T. 12, No. 361) and the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (T. 12, No. 360), are ascribed traditionally to Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. ca. 220–257 C.E.), Zhi Loujiachen 支婁迦讖 or Lokakṣema (fl. ca. 170–190 C.E.) and to Kang Sengkai 康僧鎧 or Saṅghavarman (fl. mid-third century), respectively. These traditional attributions have long been questioned by Japanese Buddhist scholars, and I agree with Paul Harrison (1998: 556-557; 2002b: 179-181) and others that No. 361 is a revised edition, made most probably by Zhi Qian, of T. 362, which, in its turn, was translated by Lokakṣema, and that No. 360 was in all likelihood translated by Buddhabhadra and Baoyun 寶雲 and therefore completed in the first half of the fifth century.

In order for their research findings to be reliable, sinologists who study Buddhist scriptures, therefore, need to pay a great deal of attention to the results of philological investigations carried out by Buddhist scholars, while the latter should endeavour to be acquainted with the works of the former and incorporate their findings into their own research. I should, therefore, like to propose that Buddhist scholars and sinologists who specialise in the history of the Chinese language jointly prepare a critical edition — supplied with punctuation and annotations — as well as a glossary — supplied with parallels in Sanskrit, Pāli, Gāndhārī, Tibetan and different Chinese versions — of each of the important early Chinese Buddhist translations. It is essential that each of these glossaries contain not only intelligible but also unintelligible, unsolved words and phrases. Though this method requires much time and endurance, such critical editions and glossaries, compiled in this way, should certainly provide useful material for research on the history of the Chinese language and also provide a sound and solid basis for Buddhist studies.

As my first attempts in this direction, I have published *A Glossary of Dharmarakṣa's Translation of the Lotus Sutra* 正法華經詞典 (1998) and *A Glossary of Kumārajīva's Translation of the Lotus Sutra* 妙法蓮華經詞典 (2001a). At present, I am preparing *Lokakṣema's Translation of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā: Annotated Text* 道行般若經校釋 and *A Glossary of Lokakṣema's Translation of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* 道行般若經詞典, dealing with the *Daoxing Bore jing* 道行般若經 (T. 8, No. 224; 179 C.E.).

In this last aforementioned glossary, I am selecting mainly vernacular words and usages, semantic peculiarities, Buddhist technical terms, transliterations, while plain words which occur (with the same meanings as) in Chinese classics antedating Lokakṣema (fl. ca. 170–190 C.E.) are in principle excluded, except for those which I find difficult or interesting. Each entry word is compared with Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan parallels in the following texts:

Sanskrit equivalents:

AS = the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*

AAA = the same text included in its commentary by Haribhadra (fl. ca. 800 C.E.), namely the *Abhisamayālaṃkār'ālokā*

AS(SC) = readings in old fragments of the same text in the Schøyen Collection, dating from the Kuṣāṇa period.

Chinese equivalents found in the following six translations of the same scripture:

Zq = *Da Mingdu jing* 大明度經 (T. 8, No. 225), translated by Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. ca. 220–257 C.E.)[53]

Zfn = *Moheboruo chao jing* 摩訶般若鈔經 (T. 8, No. 226), translated by Tanmopi 曇摩蜱 or Dharmapriya and Zhu Fonian 竺佛念[54] during the Former Qin dynasty (351-394 C.E.)

Kj = *Xiaopin Boruoboluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經 (T. 8, No. 227), translated by Kumārajīva in 408 C.E.

Xz(I) = The fourth assemblage (第四會) of the *Da Boruoboluomi jing* 大般若波羅蜜經 (T. 7, No. 220, pp. 763-865), translated by Xuanzang 玄奘 in 660-663 C.E.

Xz(II) = The fifth assemblage (第五會) of the above-mentioned translation by Xuanzang (T. 7, No. 220, pp. 865-920)

Sh = *Fomuchushengsanfazang Boruoboluomiduojing* 佛母出生三法藏般若波羅蜜多經 (T. 8, No. 228), translated by Shihu 施護 or Dānapāla in 982-(?) C.E.

A Tibetan equivalent found in the Tibetan translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*:

Tib.Q = Peking Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur.

D = Derge Edition of the Tibetan Kanjur.

Lokakṣema and the other translators of this scripture, namely Zhi Qian, Zhu Fonian (?),[55] Kumārajīva, Xuanzang and Dānapāla are, in fact, all the foremost representative translators of their times. Therefore, this glossary allows us to observe changes and developments in vocabularies in Buddhist literature from one age to the next.[56] The following are some interesting examples:

弊魔(bì mó) "*Māra*, the Evil One"

Lk.454c21. ○○來到是菩薩所，便於邊化作大八泥犁，其一泥犁中有若干千百千菩薩化作(p)

AS.163.16 = AAA.673.26. *Māra~ pāpīyas~* ("Māra, the Evil One"); Zq.495a3. 弊邪; Zfn.527a21. 弊魔; Kj.564b16. 惡魔; Xz(I).826c3. 惡魔; Xz(II).901b2. 惡魔; Sh.641c22. 諸惡魔; Tib.Q.194b7 = D.181a5. *bDud sdig can*

閱叉(yuè chā; QYS. jiwät tṣha) "a ghost, spirit" (a transliteration of Skt. *yakṣa*)

Lk.429c19.諸天子心中作是念："諸○○輩尚可知所念。閱叉若大若小所語悉可了知。尊者須菩提所語了不可知。"(p)

AS.19.24 = AAA.153.16. *yakṣa~*; Zq.482c18. 鬼神; Zfn.512b13. 閱叉;

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[53] As pointed out by Jan Nattier (personal communication, 2004), the vocabulary and style in the first chapter, *Xingpin* 行品, of the *Da Mingdu jing* differ considerably from those in the other chapters of the same text and the other translations of Zhi Qian. This chapter was translated most probably by someone else.

[54] *Mobeboruo chao jing* is traditionally attributed to Dharmapriya and Zhu Fonian, which has been questioned by many scholars. Some consider that this was translated by Dharmarakṣa. However, the vocabulary and style in this translation do not agree with his. Further investigation is therefore needed to determine its attribution.

[55] See the preceding note.

[56] I have examined this matter in detail elsewhere: Karashima 2001b, 2002a, 2002b, 2002c.

Kj.540b27. 夜叉; Xz(I).770b29.藥叉; Xz(II).870c20. 藥叉; Sh.593a4. 夜叉; Tib.81a3. *gnod sbyin*

刹(chà; QYS. tṣhat) "a world" (a transliteration of Skt. *kṣetra*)

Lk.457c22. 願我後作佛時，令我○中，無有禽獸道(p)

AS.178.29 = R.361.16 = AAA.739.11. *buddha-kṣetra~* ("Buddha-field"); Zq.497a4 = Lk; Zfn.530c22 = Lk; Kj.568a9. 世界; Xz(I).832c28. 佛土; Xz(II).906a22 = Kj; Sh.647c15. 佛刹…國土; Tib.Q.213b6 = D.198a4. *sangs rgyas kyi zhing*

本無(běn wú) "nothingness"

Lk.449c29. 怛薩阿竭知色之○○。如知色本無，痛痒、思想、生死、識亦爾(p)

AS.134.12 = AAA.557.9. *tathatā* ("suchness"); Zq.491c23. 本無; Zfn.-; Kj.558b10. 如; Xz(I).816c4. 眞如; Xz(II).893c17. 眞如; Sh.631b15. 如; Tib.Q.161b1 = D.149b7. *de bzhin nyid*

當來(dāng lái) "future" Cf. 甫○○(fǔ dāng lái), 甫○○世(fǔ dāng lái shì)

HD.7.1392b(魏書); DK.7.1132.-; Krsh(1998), s.v.

Lk.446c7. 悉知○○菩薩、摩訶薩行，令是輩不懈精進學入六波羅蜜中(p)

AS.113.33 = R.229.7 = AAA.494.5. *anāgata~* ("future" [AsP.tr.II. 161]); Zq.490b13. 甫當; Zfn.-; Kj.555b28. 未來世; Xz(I).809c20. 當來世; Xz(II).890b29 = Xz(I); Sh.624a1. 未來世; Tib.Q.136b8 = D.127a5. *ma 'ongs pa*

都盧(dū lú) "all, the whole; (not) at all"

HD.10.641a(唐代); DK.11.285d(碧巖録); Shimura 1984: 85 = 1995: 78(游仙窟); SCQ.396(唐代); Zhu 105; ZXYL.150~151(唐代); SYY 4(1997).p.113; Krsh(1998). s.v.; Li Weiqi 1999: 45-46

Lk.430c6. 須菩提謂釋提桓因：“是事○○不可計。正使計倍復倍，人無底，波羅蜜無底。”(p)

AS.23.29 = AAA.178.7.-; Zq.483b13.-; Zfn.513a29. 都盧; Kj.541b10.-; Xz(I).772a25.-; Xz(II).871c29.-; Sh.594a28.-

Lk.436b10.釋提桓因言：“但行般若波羅蜜，不行餘波羅蜜耶？” 佛言：“○○六波羅蜜皆行，菩薩、摩訶薩。般若波羅蜜於菩薩、摩訶薩最尊。……”(p)

AS.51.13 = AAA.280.20. *sarva~*; Zq.485c11. 皆; Zfn.518a22. 悉; Kj.545c24. 皆; Xz(I).783a3. 具; Xz(II).878c11. 具; Sh.603a9. 皆; Tib.56b7. *thams cad*

賜(cì) "all, both"#

HD.10.259(cf. [5].“exhausts"); DK.10.771; cf. 方言箋疏 134f. “exhausts"; Karashima 2002a: 4f. = 2002b: 199f.; Hú 2002: 128 (道行般若經)

Lk.435a2.十方無央數佛國諸天人、諸龍、阿須倫、諸閱叉鬼神、……諸摩睺勒鬼神、諸人、諸非人都盧○來到是間，問訊法師，聽受般若波羅蜜(p)

AS.44.9 = AAA.257.14. *ye kecit .... te*; Zq.485a8.皆; Zfn.516c28.-; Kj.544c21.所有……是等; Xz(I).780b15.-; Xz(II).876c15.-; Sh.600c25.一切……皆悉

不耶(bù yě) (used at the end of a sentence to indicate that it is a question)

HD.1.427.-; DK.1.258.-; Ōta 1988: 89(中本起經); Ōta 1987; cf. also Morino 1975: 212. 不邪(文士傳)

Lk.455a22. 弊魔……化作若干菩薩在其邊住。因指示言：“若(“you")見○○？是悉

菩薩，皆供養如恒中沙佛，以皆與衣被、飲食、床臥具、醫藥，悉具足。……"(p)

AS.164.15 = R.329.20 = AAA.676.10. *icchasi tvaṃ draṣṭuṃ* ("Do you want to look at [those *bodhisattvas*]?"); Zq.495a25. 若見(是閻士)？; Zfn.527b22. 若見(是菩薩)不？; Kj.564c12. 汝今欲見(諸菩薩……)？; Xz(I).827a15. 欲聞(菩薩無益行)耶？; Xz(II).901c3 = Xz(I); Sh.642a26. 汝豈不見(彼諸菩薩摩訶薩衆)？; Tib.Q.196a2 = D.182a6.-

V A Project for a Buddhist Chinese Dictionary

In addition, I am planning to compile *A Philological Study and Glossary of Non-Mahāyāna Translations from the Eastern Han*, dealing mainly with translations of An Shigao (fl. second century C.E.), as a joint project between Buddhist scholars and sinologists who specialise in the history of the Chinese language, which we aim to complete in several years' time. If this unique collaboration works out well, we shall, then, compile further annotated texts and glossaries of Chinese translations by Lokakṣema, Zhi Qian and so on in a similar fashion, finally setting our sights on the completion of a comprehensive Buddhist Chinese Dictionary.

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The Names of Amitābha/Amitāyus in Early Chinese Buddhist Translations (2)*

Jan NATTIER

Introduction

It has long been recognized that the Buddha known in Chinese as *Amituo* 阿彌陀 (Japanese *Amida*) has two different names in extant Sanskrit texts: *Amitābha* "Measureless Light" and *Amitāyus* "Measureless Life." Part 1 of this study was devoted to an examination of the way the name of this Buddha is represented in Chinese translations that can be assigned with confidence to the Eastern Han 東漢 period.[1] The results, to summarize briefly, were the following: (1) the only name for this Buddha that appears in texts certain to date from the Eastern Han period is the transcription *Amituo* 阿彌陀; (2) this name first appears in translations produced by Lokakṣema (Zhi Loujiachen 支婁迦讖, fl. 165-185); (3) based on an analysis of the transcriptions found in Lokakṣema's works—which are quite numerous, for he strongly preferred to transcribe rather than to translate Indian names and Buddhist technical terms—it is clear that Sanskrit final *-ta* never appears as a separate syllable in Lokakṣema's corpus;[2] (4) thus the word *Amituo* in Lokakṣema's corpus cannot correspond to a Sanskrit name with final *-ta* such as **Amita* "Measureless";[3] (5) instead, it would have been based on a longer form of the name—more specifically, a Prakrit derivative of *Amitābha* such as **Amidāha* or **Amidā'a*. In sum, though we have only a transcription and not a translated name in texts that date from this early period, it is nonetheless possible to determine that this transcription reveals an

* Several colleagues and friends offered valuable comments and suggestions on an earlier draft of this paper, above all Paul Harrison, John R. McRae, and Stefano Zacchetti. I would also like to thank my colleague Seishi Karashima for a number of stimulating discussions of subjects related to the issues treated here. Any errors that remain are my own responsibility.

[1] For Part 1 see Nattier 2006a.

[2] In choosing this wording I am not suggesting that Lokakṣema was translating directly from Sanskrit; on the contrary, based on the transcriptions found in his work it seems certain that most, and probably all, of his translations were based on Prakrit (i.e., Middle Indic) originals. Instead, I am saying that in Lokakṣema's work no transcription of a syllable that would correspond to Sanskrit final *-ta* (whatever form this might have taken in various Prakrits) can be found. Note also that in referring to Lokakṣema's corpus I am including only his core texts, not those that show evidence of having been revised or produced by members of his community after his time; for a list of the texts included in these categories see Nattier 2006a, pp. 186-187, n. 10.

[3] The same considerations also apply to Prakrit forms of the postulated name **Amṛta* "elixir of immortality, the deathless" which some have suggested might be the original name of this figure. For a discussion of this theory, first suggested in Wogihara 1909 and most recently advocated in Iwamatsu 2006, see below, p. 388-389.

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understanding of this Buddha's name as *Amitābha* "Measureless Light." As to the name *Amitāyus* "Measureless Life," no Han-period transcription or translation of this name has yet been found. For the interpretation of Amida's name as "Measureless Life" we must therefore turn to Chinese sources produced during a later period.[4] In this paper I would like to do precisely that, extending the investigation of the names of Amida to the next generation of sources, those produced during the Three Kingdoms 三國 period (220-280 CE).

Translators of the Three Kingdoms Period: Establishing a Working List

It might seem to be a straightforward matter to compile a list of translations produced during the Three Kingdoms period, for one could simply search through the index to the *Taishō* canon and compile a list of the works produced by translators active during this time. To do so, however, would be to commit a serious methodological error, for it would net dozens of invalid attributions—that is, texts attributed to third-century translators in medieval and modern catalogues, but which are not really their work at all. To put it in the starkest possible terms: the received text of the canon, not only in the *Taishō* edition but in other published versions as well, is riddled with false attributions.[5]

An essential first step in establishing the identity of the translator of a given text, therefore, is to begin with the testimony of the oldest extant catalogue, the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (T2145, completed c. 515 CE) by Sengyou 僧祐, a work which also incorporates the entries from an earlier catalogue which has not survived as a separate work, Dao'an's 道安 *Zongli zhongjing mulu* 綜理眾經目錄 (completed in 374 CE). By following the conservative approach of accepting as genuine only those texts assigned to a given period by these scrupulous cataloguers, except where there is strong stylistic and terminological evidence pointing in another direction, we will be in the best position to base our discussion only on texts that were really produced during the period with which we are concerned.

Sengyou knew of only four men who produced translations during the Three Kingdoms period: Weiqinan 維祇難 (to whom he credits one translation); Zhi Qian 支謙 (credited with thirty-six), Kang Senghui 康僧會 (two), and Bo Yan 白 [var. 帛] 延 (three).[6] A closer look, however, shows that the list is even shorter. First, the *Chu sanzang jiji* makes it clear that the sole text credited to Weiqinan—the *Faju jing* 法句經 (T210), a version of a *Dharmapada* with additional commentarial material—was indeed brought by him from the West, but the translation itself was produced by others. More specifically, an initial rough Chinese translation was produced by another Indian monk, Zhu Jiangyan 竺將炎, while the version that has come down to us is the work of Zhi Qian, who revised Zhu Jiangyan's translation, supplementing it with additional material

[4] As in Part 1 of this paper, for convenience I will use the Japanese name "Amida" as a generic reference to this Buddha by all of his names, including *Amitāyus* as well as *Amitābha*.

[5] I have discussed this problem briefly in Part 1 of this study in connection with the corpus of Lokakṣema; see Nattier 2006a, pp. 184-185 and notes 3 and 10. A more detailed discussion of methodological issues involved in establishing translator attributions can be found in Nattier forthcoming, especially pp. 2-3 and the Appendix, "Placing Texts in Time: Determining the Authenticity of Translator Attributions."

[6] See T2145, 55.6c-7b.

drawn from another source.[7] Thus the name of Weiqinan should be removed from the roster of translators of Chinese Buddhist texts.[8]

As to Bo Yan—the sole translator known to Sengyou who was working in the north (i.e., in the kingdom of Wei 魏) during this period—all three of his translations are listed in the *Chu sanzang jiji* as "lost" (闕). One of the titles given there, however—the *Xulai jing* 須賴經—corresponds to a text included in the current *Taishō* edition of the canon (T328, 12.54b-57a), where it is indeed listed as a translation by Bo Yan.[9] A text by the same title, however, is also credited by Sengyou to Zhi Qian, and in this case there is no mention of the text being lost.[10] Without any other work by Bo Yan as a basis for comparison, it is difficult to determine which of these translators actually produced the version preserved in the Chinese canon today. While it is possible that the extant *Xulai jing* is the work of Bo Yan, at the present state of our knowledge it seems equally possible that the text is the work of Zhi Qian. Since both of these men lived and worked during the Three Kingdoms period, the text would belong to the period with which we are concerned regardless of who was its translator. As it happens, however, no name (whether in transcription or translation) that can be identified with the Buddha Amida occurs in this text, so it will not be part of our discussion here.[11]

This leaves us, then, with only two translators from the Three Kingdoms period who are certain to have produced texts that are extant today: Zhi Qian (fl. 220-252), a Chinese layman of Yuezhi 月氏 ancestry who migrated south from Luoyang 洛陽 to the Wu region after the fall of the Han dynasty, and Kang Senghui (fl. 247-280), a monk of Sogdian (*Kang* 康) ancestry who was born and raised in Jiaozhi 交阯 (near present-day Hanoi), where he was ordained as a monk before moving north to the Wu capital of Jianye 建業. Accordingly, the story of Buddhist translation activity during the Three Kingdoms period must necessarily focus on texts produced in the Wu kingdom.

Of the thirty-six works attributed to Zhi Qian in Sengyou's catalogue, more than two dozen are still extant today, making him by far the most productive translator of the Three Kingdoms period.[12] As we shall see, references to Amida occur—in various

[7] For Sengyou's discussion of the *Faju jing* see T2145, 55.6c10-13 (in the catalogue section) and 96a22-27 (in the biographies section). A colophon to the text, thought to have been composed by Zhi Qian himself, has been preserved in two somewhat different recensions, one in the *Chu sanzang jiji* at 55.49c20-50a28 and another (a slightly later recension) inserted between sections 21 and 22 of the text itself (T210, 4.566b14-c26). For translations of the colophon see Lévi 1912, pp. 206-207 (into French) and Willeman 1973, pp. 210-213 (into English). The foundational study remains that of Mizuno Kōgen (1981).

[8] The tendency of Chinese cataloguers to credit the translation of scriptures to the foreign monks who brought them to China—regardless of the extent of their involvement in the actual translation process—is well known; see for example the very apt summary of the situation in Forte 1984, p. 316, and cf. the discussion of the case of Dharmarakṣa in Boucher 1998.

[9] Interestingly, this text is apparently missing from the Korean canon; see the table of Taishō-Korean correspondences in Lancaster and Park 1979, p. 658.

[10] See the *Chu sanzang jiji*, T2145, 55.6c21.

[11] The *Xulai jing* contains no occurrences of the transcribed name *Amituo* 阿彌陀, and the only two occurrences of the epithet *wuliang* 無量 (which occurs in all known translated forms of the name) are in contexts that are unconnected with the name of any Buddha (12.55b18 and c19).

[12] An updated list of the translations that can be reliably attributed to Zhi Qian is currently in

translated and transcribed forms—in no fewer than four of these texts. Thus Zhi Qian's corpus will comprise an essential part of the discussion here.

As to Kang Senghui, only one of the two translations credited to him by Sengyou is thought to be extant today: the *Liudu ji jing* 六度集經, a compendium of *jātaka* tales narrating former lives of Śākyamuni Buddha (T152).[13] The other text assigned to him in Sengyou's catalogue, a work listed only as the *Wu pin* 吳品 ("Wu version"), is thought by some to have been a version of the shorter *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture.[14] Whatever its content, however, the work is listed by Sengyou as lost, and no text by this name appears in the canon today.[15] Another work ascribed to Kang Senghui in the *Taishō* canon, the *Jiu za piyu jing* 舊雜譬喻經 (T206), is classified as anonymous (失譯) by Sengyou and, based on its vocabulary and style, does not appear to be Kang Senghui's work.[16] As it happens, however, the sole remaining text that can be assigned to Kang Senghui with confidence—the *Liudu ji jing*—contains no name, whether in transcription or translation, that could be construed as a reference to Amida.

Thus as in Part 1 of this study—where the only Han-period translator in whose work the name of Amida could be found was the Yuezhi monk Lokakṣema—in our examination of treatments of Amida's name during the Three Kingdoms period we will be concerned with the work of just one translator: the Yuezhi-Chinese layman Zhi Qian.[17]

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preparation by this writer. In the meantime see the provisional list given in Nattier 2003b (from which T128, the *Xumotinu jing* 須摩提女經, should be deleted, as indicated in the Corrigenda distributed with the published text). More recent research suggests that T708, the *Liaoben shengsi jing* 了本生死經, should also be removed from the list; see Zacchetti 2004a, 210-212. Finally, instead of T559, the *Laonüren jing* 老女人經, it appears that T561, the *Laomu jing* 老母經, is actually Zhi Qian's work; on this attribution see Nattier 2007 (in this volume).

[13] For a French translation of most of the stories contained in this collection see Chavannes 1910. A detailed analysis of the *Liudu ji jing* and its Indian antecedents, as represented in both artistic and literary sources, is soon to appear in Shyu forthcoming.

[14] See for example Zürcher 1959, p. 53. The situation is actually somewhat more complicated. While in the catalogue section of the *Chu sanzang jiji* Sengyou attributes just two texts to Kang Senghui—the *Liudu ji jing* and the *Wu pin* (T2145, 55.7a26)—in the biography section several other titles are mentioned as well (55.97a13-14). The extra texts mentioned in the biography, however, all correspond to individual stories contained within the *Liudu ji jing*. In addition to these, Kang Senghui is now thought to have been involved in the production of the commentary on An Shigao's *Yinchiru jing* 陰持入經 (T1694); see Zacchetti forthcoming.

[15] Work in progress, however, suggests that there may be some connection between this mysterious "Wu *pin*" and the first chapter of the *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經 (T225A). The first chapter of the transmitted version of this scripture differs from the remaining chapters (ch. 2-30, T225B), not only in its language but in the fact that it contains an interlinear commentary, which cites many of the same sources as the *Yinchiru jing zhu* 陰持入經注 (T1694) and exhibits a comparable vocabulary and style (on the latter cf. the previous note).

[16] The complete title of T206 does not appear in the *Chu sanzang jiji*, but two slightly shorter titles—雜譬喻經 and 舊譬喻經, each said to consist of two fascicles (二卷), as does the extant version of T206—are registered by Sengyou as texts whose translators' names had been lost (see 55.22a4-5). Work in progress by Shyu Ching-mei, focusing on certain stories which occur both in T152 and in T206, strongly suggests that T206 is not the work of Kang Senghui (personal communication, January 2007); my own examination of the vocabulary and style of the text points in the same direction.

[17] In referring to Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian as "Yuezhi" and "Yuezhi-Chinese," respectively, I am following the standard practice used in English-language scholarship on ethnicity and migration. According

Amida in the works of Zhi Qian (1): the transcription *Amituo* 阿彌陀

If Lokakṣema's work is characterized not just by a preference for transcription, but by the relative consistency of his terminology,[18] Zhi Qian exhibits an evident penchant for variety. Even the most basic Buddhist terms often appear in his translations in more than one form; the word "Arhat," which appears in no fewer than nine different renditions in his corpus, is perhaps the most extreme example.[19] Some of this multiplicity may be due to the fact that he revised a number of scriptures originally translated by others, and in the course of doing so carried over some of their original terms. In other cases, however, variations in terminology appear even within a single text. In such cases we must appeal to another cause: i.e., Zhi Qian's own preference for avoiding repetition as part of his favored literary style.

Given this general tendency, it is not surprising that we find several different renditions of the name of Amida in Zhi Qian's work. More specifically, the name appears in one transcription and three translated forms. We may begin with the transcription *Amituo* 阿彌陀, which we have already met in Lokakṣema's work. Two works by Zhi Qian contain only this form of Amida's name, *viz.*, the *Huiyin sanmei jing* 慧印三昧經 (**Tathāgata-jñāna-mudrā-samādhi*, T632), where the name occurs three times,[20] and the *Laomu jing* 老母經 (T561), where it occurs only once.[21] The name *Amituo* also occurs in the *Wuliangqingjing pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 (T361),[22] a version of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* which—though assigned to Lokakṣema in the *Taishō* edition of the canon—has now been convincingly reclassified as the work of Zhi Qian.[23] The overwhelming majority of occurrences of Amida's name in this text (henceforth

to this usage, the ethnicity of an immigrant may be indicated by referring to the country in which he or she was born, especially if he or she plans to return there. Descendants of immigrants, however, are referred to by a combination of two terms: first the name of their ancestral country and second the name of the country in which they were born and raised. Thus a daughter born in the U.S. to parents who had moved there from Japan is "Japanese-American," while the grandson of Korean immigrants to Japan is "Korean-Japanese" (not simply "Korean," since he was born and raised in Japan). (Some writers, especially Asian-American social critics, avoid using the hyphen on the grounds that it suggests that such people are "less American" than others; for the sake of simplicity I have followed standard English punctuation practice in retaining the hyphen here.) In the case of the Yuezhi Lokakṣema and the Yuezhi-Chinese Zhi Qian, the difference in their backgrounds—as we shall see—may have played an important role in shaping their respective treatments of the names of Amida.

[18] Once he had settled on the transcription of a particular name or Buddhist technical term, Lokakṣema seems, in general, to have maintained it throughout his corpus. This means, among other things, that the transcriptions found in a particular scripture may not necessarily point to the underlying language of that text, except in the case of names and terms that had not already appeared in an earlier translation.

[19] See Nattier 2003b, pp. 212-219.

[20] See T632, 15.464b21, 465a15 and 19.

[21] See T561, 14.913b4-5. In the *Taishō* edition of the canon it is T559 (*Laonüren jing* 老女人經), and not T561, that is attributed to Zhi Qian, but these attributions have clearly been reversed; see Nattier 2007 in this volume.

[22] See T361, 12.287b18, 288a20, 289a9, b4, 14, 19 and 24, 293c16, 299a21.

[23] See Harrison 1998 (see pp. 556-557); further details are given in Harrison 1999 and in Harrison, Hartmann and Matsuda 2002. It should be noted that Harrison does not consider the section on the "Five Evils" (五惡) to be the work of Lokakṣema, but rather an addition drawn from another source. My own findings strongly support Harrison's suggestion that T361 is the work of Zhi Qian; where the terminology

referred to by the abbreviated title *Pingdengjue jing* 平等覺經) appear in a highly unusual translated form, to be discussed below. There are also, however, nine occurrences of the transcription *Amituo*, whether inadvertently uncorrected or left to stand by deliberate choice.

Of these translations the *Huiyin sanmei jing* is by far the most "Lokakṣema-like" text in Zhi Qian's corpus; it abounds in long transcriptions such as *mohebiqiuseng* 摩訶比丘僧 (*mahābhikṣusaṁgha*, 15.460c10-11), *dasa'ajie* 怛薩阿竭 (*tathāgata*, 463b21, 467c9), and *sengnasengnie* 僧那僧涅 (*saṁnāhasaṁnaddha*, 466a6) that never appear anywhere else in Zhi Qian's work.

A closer look, however, shows that we can be even more specific, for the *Huiyin sanmei jing* bears an especially close resemblance to Lokakṣema's *Banzhou sanmei jing* 般舟三昧經 (T418). Both of these works show evidence of having been revised, for they contain translation terminology in the verse portions which never appears in the prose. Moreover, the vocabulary found in the prose portions corrresponds to Lokakṣema's usual style, while the new terms that appear in the verses include expressions that are typical of the works of Zhi Qian. The two texts also share some extremely rare terminology, such as the terms *Shelifuluo* 舍利弗羅 for Śāriputra[24] and 摩夷亘天 **maheśvara* for a deity (or group of deities?) that appear only in these two works among texts that can be confidently assigned to this period.

Given this close relationship in terminology and thus perhaps in redactional history, we may raise the question of whether the occurrence of *Amituo* in the *Huiyin sanmei jing* represents an independent choice on Zhi Qian's part, or whether—as was presumably the case in the *Pingdengjue jing*—it was simply carried over from Lokakṣema's earlier usage. More specifically, one possible scenario would be that Zhi Qian did not translate the *Huiyin sanmei jing* in its entirety, but merely added verse portions to an

used in Lokakṣema's version has been revised, the revisions are quite characteristic of Zhi Qian's style. Moreover, the *Pingdengjue jing* contains a long passage in six-character verse (12.288a-289a), a metric form that is extremely rare in translations dating from this period but is used in a number of Zhi Qian's translations. Other scholars, most notably KAGAWA Takao (1993, p. 45), have suggested that the *Pingdengjue jing* should be considered the work of Dharmarakṣa. Kagawa's argument is very well crafted, and the question deserves a more detailed discussion than can be given here. For the moment we may merely make two observations. First, because Dharmarakṣa borrowed extensively from Zhi Qian's vocabulary and in many respects also adopted his translation style, it can be difficult to disentangle the two. Thus in future studies it will be especially important to focus on those elements that occur *only* in Dharmarakṣa's work, and never in that of Zhi Qian. Second, it will also be important to take into consideration not only the presence or absence of certain terms, but also the patterns of their use in the text. For example, it is surprising that in the *Pingdengjue jing* the term *pingdengjue* 平等覺—which, as Kagawa correctly observes, is characteristic of Dharmarakṣa's work and not that of Zhi Qian—appears almost exclusively in the title of the text (including section titles), and not in the body of the text itself. The only exceptions are two occurrences clustered together in a single passage (12.289c2 and 4-5), both of them in the phrase 南無無量清淨平等覺. Such isolated appearances of terms that are otherwise not used in a given text—a phenomenon that I would like to refer to as "clustering"—can often be an indicator that revision or interpolation has taken place. At the very least, we might want to consider the possibility that special circumstances were at work in shaping the choice of terminology in this passage.

[24] The only other translations in which this transcription occurs are T4 (1.160a8), T144 (2.867c13 and 21, 869a10-11 and 16-17), and T417 (13.902a6-7). Of these T417 is a version of the *Pratyutpanna* which may have simply adopted this reading from Lokakṣema's T418. The other two texts, however, share an archaic vocabulary and style and may well be products of the Han period. I have disregarded the one occurrence in T62 (1.860c15) which occurs in a verse passage (presumably *metri causa*) in a text that otherwise uses the standard form 舍利弗. The only other occurrences that appeared in a CBETA search

already existing text produced by Lokakṣema or a member of his school. If this were the case, it would explain why the style of the text as a whole bears such a strong relationship to that of Lokakṣema, while the verse portions (a format which, we should recall, does not appear in any genuine Lokakṣema text) are more reminiscent of what we find in other texts produced by Zhi Qian.[25] It is also worth recalling that Zhi Qian was a disciple of one of Lokakṣema's students, and thus may have begun his translation career working with texts that were already current in these circles.

As to the *Laomu jing* 老母經 (T561), it too presents some intriguing problems of attribution and transmission; at this point we may note simply that this is essentially the same text as the *Laonüren jing* 老女人經 (T559), with only the most minor differences in wording. There is also another Chinese translation based on a different recension of this sūtra, which likewise contains a name for Amida, the *Laomunü liuying jing* 老母女六英經 (T560) to which we will return below.[26]

Whatever the textual history of these translations may be, the fact that the transcription of Amida's name that they contain is the same as the one introduced by Lokakṣema means that they cannot provide us with any new evidence concerning interpretations of the name of Amida in India. They do offer valuable data, however, on the circles in which this transcription was first adopted in China.

Amida in the works of Zhi Qian (2): the translation *Wuliang* 無量

In the *Pingdengjue jing* Amida naturally plays a leading role, and its peculiar translation of his name as *Wuliangqingjing* 無量清淨 "Measureless Purity" will be considered in detail below. First, however, we must begin by considering two texts in which Amida's name is translated simply as *Wuliang* "Measureless": the *Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, T474) and the *Pusa shengdi jing* 菩薩生地經 (var. *Chamojie jing* 差摩竭經, *Kṣemaṅkara-sūtra*, T533).[27]

In Zhi Qian's *Vimalakīrti*, as in other versions of this text, Amida's name appears only once, in a list of Buddhas including Śākyamuni, Akṣobhya, and other figures.[28] A comparison with other extant versions of the sūtra, including the newly discovered Sanskrit manuscript, makes it clear that—though Amida appears farther down the list in Zhi Qian's translations than in the other versions—*Wuliang* is indeed a translation of his

are in the Glossaries section, where the vocabulary of earlier translations is being discussed (T1718, 1721).

[25] Terms such as *rulai* 如來 for *tathāgata* (15.462c28) and *duwuji* 度無極 for *pāramitā* (462c26) —standard in Zhi Qian's corpus, but never used in Lokakṣema's core texts, the *Daoxing jing* (T224) and the prose *Banzhou sanmei jing* (T418)—appear only in the verse portions of the *Huiyin sanmei jing*, never in the prose, just as is the case in the *Banzhou sanmei jing*. The presence of two sections of six-character verse (15.462c20-463a20 and 464c20-26) is a virtual fingerprint of Zhi Qian's activity, as this style is otherwise unattested in the work of any other translator known to have been active in the Three Kingdoms period or before. It is telling that this style also appears in the *Banzhou sanmei jing*, where twenty-four lines of six-character verse can be found (13.910a2-b9).

[26] See 14.12c10.

[27] The *Chu sanzang jiji*, in crediting the text to Zhi Qian, gives the title only as *Chamojie jing* (in which the characters 差摩竭 are a transcription of *Kṣemaṅkara*; see 55.7a2); in the next catalogue to be produced, however—the *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 compiled by Fajing 法經 et al. in 594 CE (T2146)—the two titles are given as alternative names for the same text (see T2146, 55.116b15 and 122a10).

name.[29]

In the *Kṣemaṅkara-sūtra* Amida again appears only once, but here we have a more complicated case, for not all editions of the canon give the same reading. While the main *Taishō* text (based, as usual, on the Korean) gives the name as *Wuliangshou* 無量壽 "Immeasurable Life," in several other editions the name is simply *Wuliang*.[30] Once again there is no question as to who is meant, for the corresponding passage in the only other known version of the text, the Tibetan translation, reads *'Od dpag med* "Immeasurable Light" (< *Amitābha*).[31] Even without the availability of the Tibetan version, however, the identity of this figure would be clear from the context, for Zhi Qian's text refers to people being born in this Buddha's land in the western direction (壽終悉當生於西方無量壽佛清淨國, 14.814c16-17).

The question immediately arises, however, as to which of these two readings—*Wuliang* or *Wuliangshou*—was used in Zhi Qian's original text. Here our challenge is to visualize a scenario by which the change from *Wuliang* to *Wuliangshou*—or conversely, from *Wuliangshou* to *Wuliang*—could have come about. Is it more likely, we should ask, that a copyist would accidentally omit the character *shou* 壽, or that he would add the character to a text that read *Wuliang* alone, thinking that the name given in his manuscript was defective?

To determine which was the original reading thus requires us to visualize a way in which the change from one reading to the other could have taken place. And given that the translation of the name as *Wuliang* alone is extremely rare—attested otherwise in Zhi Qian's corpus only in the *Vimalakīrti*, and in no other text known to have been produced before his time[32]—it seems reasonable to suppose that the most likely direction of change would be from the unusual name *Wuliang* to the increasingly popular *Wuliangshou* "Immeasurable Life." But unlike the case of the *Vimalakīrti*—where Amida appears only in a list of names and a copyist would thus have no contextual information at all—a scribe copying the *Kṣemaṅkara* would immediately have been able to see, from the

[29] On the change in sequence of these names and its probable significance see Nattier 2000, p. 80 and n. 19. Kumārajīva's version has the transcription *Amituo* 阿彌陀 (T475, 14.548b14), borrowing Lokakṣema's usage and thus making it difficult to determine what might have been the underlying form. Xuanzang's translation, by contrast, translates the name as *Wuliangshou* 無量壽 "Immeasurable Life" (T476, 14.574b9), presumably based on an underlying *Amitāyus*. The Tibetan, however, has *Snang ba mtha' yas* "Endless Light" (< *Amitābha*; Peking/Ōtani No. 843, vol. 34, 90.2.8), in agreement with the newly discovered Sanskrit text, which gives the name as *Amitābha* (ms. 44a2; see Taishō University Study Group on Buddhist Literature 2004, p. 286).

[30] See 14.814c17 and n. 24.

[31] See Peking/Ōtani No. 832, vol. 33, 248.5.6-250.4.1. (Note the erroneous rendition of the main character's name as *Saṅkara* [*sic*], not *Kṣemaṅkara*, in the Sanskrit title; it is given correctly, however, in the Stog Palace [No. 308] and other editions.)

[32] One other text—the *Bapo pusa jing* 拔陂菩薩經 (T419), produced by an unknown translator in around the first half of the third century CE (see Harrison 1990, p. 219)—also contains the term *wuliang* in a context in which FUJITA Kōtatsu has suggested that it is serving as a translation of a name of Amida (Fujita 1970, pp. 296-297 and n. 3). I am less than certain that this is the case, but it remains a possibility that should be investigated further. The passage in question reads as follows: 我是法願與俱／安樂眾願為佛／如無量菩薩色／見佛國億萬數 (13.923c10-11). The fact that both the date of the text and the referent of the word *wuliang* are less than certain makes it difficult to draw any firm conclusions from this occurrence.

mention of this Buddha's land being located in the western direction, that the figure referred to as *Wuliang* was Amida. Assuming that the scribe lived at a time in which the name *Wuliangshou* had become widely known, to "repair" the seemingly defective name would be both easy and obvious.

It seems most reasonable to conclude, therefore, that both the *Vimalakīrti* and the *Kṣemaṅkara* originally contained the translation *Wuliang* alone, and that the latter was emended at a certain point by at least one scribe (though in other chains of transmission the original reading was preserved). This means that we must account for Zhi Qian's apparent decision, in at least these two cases, to translate Amida's name simply as *Wuliang*. (Even if there were good reason to think that the reading *Wuliangshou* in the *Kṣemaṅkara-sūtra* was the original reading, we would still need to explain the occurrence of *Wuliang* alone in Zhi Qian's *Vimalakīrti*.) What does this tell us, then, about the underlying name in the Indian texts from which Zhi Qian worked?

At first glance it might seem that the antecedent of *Wuliang* must be nothing more than *Amita* "Measureless," for the correspondence in the meaning of the two words is obvious and seemingly unproblematic. It is true that in Part 1 of this study we found that such a name cannot have served as the basis for the transcription *Amituo* 阿彌陀 coined by Lokakṣema. On the contrary, given Lokakṣema's transcription methods, it points to an underlying form such as **Amidāha* or **Amidā'a*, in which medial *-t-* had become voiced (i.e., had become *-d-*) and medial *-bh-* reduced to *-h-* or *-'-* (all common developments in northwestern Prakrit).[33] But does not the occurrence of the name as *Wuliang* in Zhi Qian's work require us to admit that the shorter name *Amita* was circulating in India as well?

In order to evaluate this possibility properly, I would suggest that we need to do more than simply consider the words *Wuliang* and **Amita* in isolation. As in the case of Lokakṣema's *Amituo*, whose antecedent we could identify only by considering it within the context of his transcription practices as a whole, so in Zhi Qian's case our best chance for success in determining the antecedent of *Wuliang* will be to consider it in light of his translation practices in general. Rather than simply comparing the words *Wuliang* and *Amita* to one another, we should stand back and visualize the situation as a whole, considering both Zhi Qian's qualities as a translator and the nature of the texts with which he was likely faced.

We may begin by recalling that Zhi Qian was born and raised in northern China; more specifically, he was a third-generation Yuezhi-Chinese and not, like Lokakṣema, an immigrant from the Yuezhi country. There is no record of his ever having traveled outside China; the one great move of his life was from Luoyang, where he had been the disciple of a student of Lokakṣema, to the southern Wu kingdom at the end of the Han. Whatever knowledge he had of Indian languages, therefore, was acquired through his own study as a Buddhist devotee and a member of Lokakṣema's religious community. His Chinese, on the other hand, was that of a native speaker, and it is clear that he had a solid education in literary Chinese as well.[34]

[33] See Karashima 1999b, p. 141, n. 34.

[34] For his biography (including comments on the literary elegance of his translations) see the *Chu sanzang jiji*, T2145, 55.97b13-c18.

This difference in cultural backgrounds is related in turn to the way in which these two translators worked. Lokaksema—whose mother tongue may have been one of the northwestern Prakrit dialects, an Iranian language such as Bactrian, or even the Yuezhi language itself (whatever that may have been)—is known to have worked with committees of native Chinese and sinified foreign assistants to produce translations of scriptures into Chinese.[35] In Zhi Qian's case, by contrast, we do not hear of such "translation teams." The only mention of his having worked with others is in the production of the *Dharmapada* (the *Faju jing* 法句經, T210), but in that case his role was to revise an existing rough Chinese translation, supplementing it with additional verses drawn from another source.[36] In no other case do we have any indication that he was engaged in a process of teamwork, whether with foreigners or with other native speakers of Chinese

What this means for the inquiry we are pursuing here is that Lokaksema and Zhi Qian had very different relationships to their Prakrit texts. If Lokaksema's native language was a form of Middle Indic, it is possible that at least some of his source-texts may have been composed in his own native tongue, but even if not, the grammar and vocabulary of a Middle Indic language would have had many similarities to other local Indo-European tongues spoken in the region (i e., in or near the northwestern part of the Indian subcontinent), and scriptures in one or more Prakrits would also have been quite familiar to Buddhist devotees living there. Zhi Qian, by contrast, acquired his knowledge of Middle Indic as a Buddhist devotee in northern China, and thus at a great remove from its source. However skilled he may have been in language acquisition, he could not be expected to have the ear for nuance or the breadth of vocabulary of a native speaker.

Given this situation, we must ask not simply "What is the likely antecedent of *Wuliang*?" but "What could be the antecedent of *Wuliang* for a translator like Zhi Qian?" In simple phonological terms the equation between *Amita* and *Wuliang* seems quite straightforward, and if the name *Amita* alone were attested in Sanskrit or Prakrit texts (or for that matter, if it were reflected in Tibetan or a range of other Chinese translations), we could simply stop at this point and propose *Amita* as its obvious source But such a name appears to be unknown in Indian sources, and scriptures preserved in Tibetan translation likewise point to only two forms of the name *Amitābha* and *Amitāyus*. This suggests that we should not stop here, but should extend our reflections to another level.

Since our earliest evidence for the name of Amida—the transcription *Amituo* 阿彌陀 coined by Lokaksema—points to an underlying Prakrit form of *Amitābha*, it seems worth posing the following question if Zhi Qian had been confronted by a Prakrit text (whether written or oral) in which the name of Amida appeared as **Amidā'a*,[37] what would he have thought that it meant?

[35] It should be noted, however, that colophons to Lokaksema's translations suggest that—in contrast to the role of certain other "foreign monks"—he did not merely recite the Indic-language texts, but was an active translator himself For a discussion of the translation process with special reference to Lokaksema's *Banzhou sanmei jing* see Harrison 1990, pp 259-262

[36] See above, n 7

[37] Based on the data found in Lokaksema's transcriptions the latter seems somewhat more likely, and for the sake of simplicity I will refer only to this form below

Proper names in general are one of the greatest challenges facing the translator, for they appear as isolated units with no contextual information. If the text in question does not explicitly discuss the meaning of a given name, all the translator can do is to try to discern its meaning (or the meanings of its various components) and then choose an appropriate translation. (A different option, of course—and the one preferred by Lokakṣema—is to avoid the entire problem by transcribing the sounds instead.) Zhi Qian's translation corpus contains hundreds of proper names, making it easy to review his success rate in representing Indian names in translation. And his record—to be frank—is rather poor. We find numerous errors in the translation of the names of bodhisattvas, such as *Buzhiyuan* 不置遠 "Not Placing Far" for *Anikṣiptadhura* "Not Putting Down the Burden" (the result of confusion between *dhura* "burden" and *dūra* "distant"), *Fanshui* 梵水 "Brahmā-water" for *Brahmajāla* "Brahmā's Net" (confusing *jāla* "net" and *jala* "water"), and *Baoshou* 寶首 "Jewel-Head" for *Ratnaśrī* "Jewelled Glory" (confusing *-śrī* "glory" with *śiras* "head," an especially common error).[38] The names of Buddhist heavens exhibit similar errors: the *Nirmāṇarati* "Delight in Creation" heaven appears in Zhi Qian's work as *Bujiaole tian* 不憍樂天 "Heaven of Non-Conceited Delight" (dividing the word *nirmāṇa* "manifestation, magical creation" as if it were *nir-* "without" + *māna* "pride"), while the *Apramāṇābha* "Measureless Light" heaven appears as *Wuliangshui tian* 無量水天 "Measureless Water Heaven" and the *Abhāsvara* "Radiance" heaven appears as *Shuiyin tian* 水音天 "Water-Sound Heaven" (dividing the single word *abhāsvara* as if it consisted of *āpas* "water" + *svara* "sound").[39] Zhi Qian does considerably better in handling the narrative portions of his source-texts (though mistakes can be found there as well). But when deprived of any context—as is almost always the case with the proper names—serious confusion was often the result.

To divide *abhāsvara* "radiance" into "water" and "sound," or to confuse the common suffix *-śrī* "glory" with *śiras* "head," are clearly the mistakes of a non-native reader. And this pattern of errors has a bearing on the problem that confronts us here. In light of the confusions seen above, which involve a whole range of problems in what we might call "phonological perception"—i.e., failing to distinguish long vs. short vowels, voiced vs. unvoiced consonants, and aspirated vs. unaspirated letters—we need to think not only in terms of the content of his Indic-language sources, but of what Zhi Qian *thought* they contained.[40]

How, then—to return to the question posed above—might Zhi Qian have interpreted a Prakrit form of Amitābha's name if it had appeared in his Indian source-texts? Given his difficulties in discerning the phonological subtleties of Indian terms, it now appears entirely plausible that—confronted by a Middle Indic name such as **Amidāha*, or the even more reduced form **Amidā'a*—he could have interpreted it as *Amita* "Measureless"

[38] See Karashima 1992, p. 27.

[39] The tendency to see "water" whenever possible (even when the Indic source-texts contain another phonologically similar term) is one of the peculiar features of Zhi Qian's translations. For an analysis of this error and what it may tell us about the religious milieu in which Zhi Qian carried out his translation work see Bokenkamp and Nattier 2001.

[40] Some of these phonological difficulties may, of course, have been the result of developments in Zhi Qian's Prakrit source-texts themselves; in the case of texts recorded in the Kharoṣṭhī script, in which vowel length is usually not indicated, the writing system may also have contributed to misunderstanding.

alone.

But to say that Zhi Qian *understood* the name this way is a very different thing from saying that the name *Amita* was actually attested in his Indian sources. Much as we may admire the literary quality of many of Zhi Qian's translations, it cannot be denied that he often went astray in interpreting his texts. And these mistakes tend to be of precisely the sort that would lead to the interpretation of **Amidā'a* or **Amidāha* as simply *Amita*—difficulties with vowel length, with the voicing of consonants, and with the correct parsing of the components of a word. In sum, it would not be at all impossible for Zhi Qian to interpret a Prakritic rendering of the name *Amitābha* as if it were **Amita* "measureless" alone.

In opting for this slightly complicated explanation I am well aware that, all things being equal, the simplest possible explanation is to be preferred. But all things are not equal here, and there is an even more important principle that we will ignore at our peril. Just as in Lokakṣema's case we could only determine the antecedent of *Amituo* by considering Lokakṣema's transcription practices as a whole, so in Zhi Qian's case we cannot evaluate the likely antecedent of *Wuliang* without considering the overall character of his translations. And when we do so it becomes clear that—while in other contexts *wuliang* could presumably be used by Zhi Qian to translate *amita*[41]—in the present case it could also be a rendition of a Prakrit form of *Amitābha* "Measureless Light."

Amida in the works of Zhi Qian (3): the translation *Wuliangshou* 無量壽

Above we have met the reading *Wuliangshou* in some editions of Zhi Qian's *Kṣemaṅkara-sūtra* (T533), but as we have seen, this is likely to be the result of scribal emendation. There still remains, however, one other occurrence of the name *Wuliangshou* in Zhi Qian's corpus. It is found—this time without variants—in the *Wuliangmen weimichi jing* 無量門微密持經 (*Anantamukha-nirhāra-nāma-dhāraṇī*, T1011), where we are told that a certain prince has now become the Buddha "Measureless Life" in the western direction (今西方無量壽佛是也).[42] Moreover, in contrast to the case of the *Kṣemaṅkara*, where the Tibetan text had a translation of *Amitābha* rather than *Amitāyus*,[43] in the case of the *Anantamukha* both the Tibetan version and the Khotanese manuscript support the reading of the name as *Amitāyus*.[44] It would appear, therefore, that this is the earliest Chinese evidence for the understanding of Amida's name as *Amitāyus* "Measureless Life."

Given the fluidity in the spellings of Amida's name in Indian manuscripts, however, as well as the relentless tendency in East Asia to interpret the name as meaning "Measureless Life," there still remains the possibility—albeit perhaps a small one—that Zhi Qian's

[41] There are well over one hundred occurrences of the expression *wuliang* in Zhi Qian's corpus in contexts where it does not refer to Amida; in these cases it serves as a translation of terms like *apramāṇa* "limitless" (e.g., in his *Vimalakīrti*, T474, 14.527b25, 534a5 and 11, and *passim*) or *ananta* "endless" (in the *Anantamukhanirhāra-nāma-dhāraṇī*, T1011, in the title [19.680b3] and *passim*).

[42] T1011, 19.682a1.

[43] See above, n. 31.

[44] For these names see the very useful chart in Inagaki 1987, p. 66, where the corresponding names in all of the Chinese translations are given as well. The fact that the Chinese versions all read either *Amituo* or *Wuliangshou* is less telling, given the strong inclination to use the latter form of the name in East Asia.

Indic-language text of the *Anantamukha* contained a Prakrit form of *Amitābha*, and that the occurrence of *Wuliangshou* here is again the result of scribal emendation of an original *Wuliang*. The scripture was heavily used in China; it was translated into Chinese no fewer than nine times,[45] and it is clear that later translators consulted the work of earlier ones, thus offering many opportunities for scribal emendation during the copying process. And as in the case of the *Kṣemaṅkara*, the wording offers a clear context for identifying the Buddha as Amida, for it describes him as located in the western direction (西方無量壽佛; 19.682a1). More specifically, it reports that a certain individual has now become the Buddha *Wuliangshou*. If we hypothesize—simply as an experiment in visualization—that Zhi Qian's Indian source-text had a form of the name *Amitābha*, if he had again translated it as *Wuliang* alone the relevant sentence would have read as follows: 彼太子無念德首講說法者則今西方無量佛是也 "As to that prince [named] *Wuniandeshou* who lectured on the Dharma, at present he is the Immeasurable Buddha[s] of the western direction" (19.681c29-682a1). Here a copyist would have had a double motive for emendation: first, *Wuliang* alone would appear erroneous to a scribe familiar with the name *Wuliangshou*; and second, the statement that a single figure has become *Wuliang fo* 無量佛 would look grammatically peculiar, for it seems to suggest that one person has turned into many (i.e., the prince has now become "the countless Buddhas" of the West). In sum, if Zhi Qian had translated the name of Amida as *Wuliang* here as he did elsewhere, it seems virtually certain that subsequent generations of scribes would have "corrected" the name to *Wuliangshou*.

I will not insist on this scenario, however, for the lack of variant readings in the Chinese text itself, together with the support of the Khotanese and Tibetan (both pointing to an underlying *Amitāyus*) would seem to offer very strong evidence that Zhi Qian's original translation did indeed refer to the Buddha of Measureless Life. It would be most prudent to assume, therefore, that in this case *Wuliangshou* was the original reading. Accordingly—and with all due caution—we may consider this to be the earliest occurrence of a translation of *Amitāyus* in Chinese Buddhist literature.

Many more occurrences of *Wuliangshou* would appear in the following decades, for in several translations produced during the Western Jin 西晉 by Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265-309 CE) we find this rendition of the name.[46] By the mid-third century CE at the latest, then, *Amitāyus* had clearly come into circulation as one of Amida's names.

Amida in the works of Zhi Qian (4): the translation *Wuliangqingjing* 無量清淨

Of all the names for Amida found in early Chinese Buddhist translations, it is this fourth and final rendition whose derivation has proven most elusive. In Zhi Qian's works this name appears exclusively in the *Pingdengjue jing* 平等覺經 (T361), where it occurs in the

[45] That is, nine translations of the text are extant today: T1009, 1011, 1012, 1013, 1014, 1015, 1016, 1017, and 1018. Of these the version produced by Zhi Qian (T1011) is the oldest.

[46] In Dharmarakṣa's corpus the name *Wuliangshou* appears in T170 (one time), T263 (two), T318 (five), T425 (one), and T598 (one). In T310(47), whose status as a translation by Dharmarakṣa is less certain, the name also occurs one time. (For a list of genuine translations by Dharmarakṣa drawn from the catalogue of Sengyou see Boucher 1996, pp. 259-291.) Dharmarakṣa's corpus also contains nine occurrences of the name *Amituo* 阿彌陀, in five different texts (T154, 266, 3878, 425, and 433).

title as well as more than two hundred times throughout the text itself (though, as we have already seen, in a few places the transcribed form *Amituo* still remains). The name is also attested, in a place where it is clear that the figure so named is Amida, in the *Laomu nü liuying jing* 老母女六英經 attributed to Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 (fl. 435-468 CE), a text to which we will return below. A few occurrences of the name can be found in other scriptures as well—e.g., in the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra* translated by Dharmarakṣa[47]—but as Fujita Kōtatsu has pointed out, it is difficult to be certain that they refer to Amida.[48]

We have already met the translation *Wuliang* "Immeasurable" in Zhi Qian's corpus, where it seems likely that it represents a Prakrit form of *Amitābha*, such as **Amidā'a*. As an initial working hypothesis, therefore, we may posit that such a Prakrit form was also the source of *Wuliang* here. No suitable antecedent for the expression *qingjing* 清淨 "purity" in this context, however, has yet been identified. But if the *Pingdengjue jing* is reclassified as a translation by Zhi Qian, we are in a position to ask a new question: what can the use of *qingjing* (or for that matter, of its individual components, *qing* 清 and *jing* 淨) in Zhi Qian's other works tell us about this unusual name?

A perusal of Zhi Qian's corpus shows that the term *qingjing* appears—excluding the occurrences in the name *Wuliangqingjing* itself—well over one hundred times. It is found in many predictible places: in references to pure morality (e.g., T87, 1.911a20 and *passim*), to the clarity of water or of the sky (e.g., T790, 17.729a8 and T6, 1.180c7), and to the Buddha's "pure Dao" (清淨道), referring both to the Buddhist teachings (e.g., T185, 3.479c29) and to the ultimate experience of nirvāṇa (T6, 1.181c22 and *passim*). In Mahāyāna texts we also find it used to designate the original purity of all dharmas (e.g., T632, 15.467a19), most notably in the chapter of the smaller *Prajñāpāramitā* entitled "Purity" (清淨品, T225, 8.488b1ff.) in which the term "purity" (*viśuddhatva*) is translated by Zhi Qian as *qingjing* (488b22 and *passim*).[49] The terms *qing* 清 and *jing* 淨 also appear separately in many of the same contexts: *qing* in reference to cleaning something by washing, in reference to clear (as opposed to muddy) water, and in the terms *qingxinshi* 清信士 and *qingxinnü* 清信女 for *upāsaka* and *upāsikā*, and *jing* referring to something that is clean (as opposed to dirty) or purified in a moral sense (as opposed to defiled). It is also evident that, at least in certain contexts, Zhi Qian treats the single character *jing* as synonymous with *qingjing*.[50]

With this in mind, we may begin by examining Zhi Qian's use of these words for

[47] See T425, 14.1c16 and 60c16.

[48] Fujita 1970, p. 304, n. 1.

[49] In describing this as the work of Zhi Qian I am proceeding on the basis of evidence that part two of the scripture (T225B, chapters 2-30) and not part one (T225A, chapter 1, not including the interlinear commentary) offers the closest match to his translation terminology. For a detailed discussion of the data see Nattier 2006b.

[50] See for example the *Wuliangmen weimichi jing* 無量門微密持經 (T1011) where the text raises the topic of how a bodhisattva can quickly attain "four purities" (四清淨), and then lists the four as follows: 何等為四。一曰人淨。二曰法淨。三曰慧淨。四曰佛國嚴淨 "What are the four? They are (1) the purity of persons, (2) the purity of dharma(s), (3) the purity of wisdom, and (4) the majesty-and-purity of the buddha-fields" (19.680b23-25). Note also that in the last instance *qingjing* is apparently equated with *yanjing* in turn.

"purity" as an element of proper names. As we have seen, names can be particularly valuable in discerning a translator's proclivities, for they offer no contextual information and thus the possibilities for misinterpretation are rife. Indeed, from the point of view of textual history a translator's errors are particularly valuable, for they can offer important clues not just to his own presuppositions and preferences the translation methods by which he worked, but also to the language (and sometimes even the script) in which his source-text was composed.

A survey of the names found in Zhi Qian's corpus quickly shows that the only proper name containing the expression *qingjing* is the one with which we are concerned here, i.e., *Wuliangqingjing* itself. We may still proceed, however, by searching for occurrences of its component parts—the characters *qing* 清 and *jing* 淨—which occur considerably more often in Zhi Qian's translations of proper names.

***Jing* 淨 in Zhi Qian's corpus.** The character *jing* is by far the more common of the two, and we may begin with Zhi Qian's translation of the *Vimalakīrti*, where the names of three bodhisattvas, one *deva*, and one Buddha all end in *-jing*. A comparison with the names found in the Sanskrit version is illuminating:

Zhi Qian	Sanskrit
Guangjing 光淨 (14.519b6-7, 524a21)	Prabhāvyūha (2b1, 22a1)[51]
Dajing 大淨 (519b7)	Mahāvyūha (2b1)
Lianhuajing 蓮華淨 (519b16)	Padmavyūha (2b5)
Jingfujing 淨復淨 (522c27)[52]	Śubhavyūha (16b6)
Baojing 寶淨 (529a7)	Ratnavyūha (44a3)

In all of these cases, it is evident that the final character *jing* corresponds to *vyūha* in the Sanskrit—or, of course, a Prakrit equivalent of the same.[53]

These translations are surprising, however, for the correspondence in meaning between *jing* and *vyūha* is far from exact. Etymologically the word *vyūha*—which is also attested in the forms *vyūḍha* and *vyūḷha* in Sanskrit, *viyūha* in Buddhist Sanskrit, and *viyūḷha* and *byūha* in Pāli[54]—is derived from *vi√ūh* "remove, separate." Some of its meanings reflect this etymology directly, e.g. "moving apart," "resolution" (i.e., the separation of vowels, syllables, etc.), and "section" (i.e., a chapter or part of a larger work). Others are less literal, and in many of these cases the word can be translated as "array"—e.g., in reference to the deployment of troops on a battlefield or to the multiple manifestations of Puruṣottama (as Vasudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha) in the literature of the Pañcarātra form of Vaiṣṇavism.

[51] While it is not entirely clear that these two occurrences refer to the same figure (cf. Lamotte 1976, p. 94, n. 104), Zhi Qian's translation of the name is the same in both passages.

[52] The same name also appears in Dharmarakṣa's *Lotus Sūtra* (*Zhengfahua jing* 正法華經), this time as the name of a king, the corresponding Sanskrit again has *Śubhavyūha* (T263, 9.130c29ff.; see Karashima 1998, 232-233). In this case the character *jing* is used twice, corresponding to both *śubha* and *vyūha*.

[53] In one case the character *jing* corresponds to Sanskrit *śubha*, not *vyūha* (see the previous note). On the term *śubha* and its treatment in Zhi Qian's translations cf. below, p. 375.

[54] See MW 10411a; PTSD 492b (s.v. *byūha*), 633a (*viyūḷha*), and 655a (*vyūha*); and BHSD 520a-b. For a comprehensive summary of the uses of *vyūha* in Sanskrit literature see Hara 1973; for occurrences of the term in Sanskrit Buddhist texts see now the rich collection of sources assembled in Murakami 2006.

In Buddhist scriptures, too, *vyūha* often carries the sense of "array" (the definitions "mass, large amount" and "thick, dense" seen in some dictionaries of Buddhist terminology may be overtranslations of the word used in this sense). In Mahāyāna texts the word also implies, to quote from Edgerton, "magnificence, splendor, as well as supernatural qualities."[55] It is in reference to such marvelous arrays of qualities that the term occurs, with considerable frequency, in the expression *buddhakṣetravyūha* "buddha-field array(s)."[56]

But why should *vyūha* be translated into Chinese using a character that means "pure"? Of course, *vyūha* can have the connotation of "orderly arrangement," e.g., when it is used to refer to the deployment of troops. This might seem to bear some resemblance to the word *jing*, which is often defined in Chinese-English dictionaries as "clean" and in Chinese-Japanese dictionaries as *kirei* (*na*) きれい(な). But even this sense of the word does not offer a good match, for though the semantic range of English "clean," like that of Japanese きれい, includes the idea of "orderly" or "neat," that of Chinese *jing* 淨 does not. Rather, *jing* means "clean" in the sense of "free of defilements," i.e., free from dirt or other imperfections.[57] Zhi Qian's use of *jing* to translate what was presumably a Prakrit form of *vyūha* thus requires an explanation.

As a first step in approaching this problem it will be useful to compare these names with other terms that are also translated by Zhi Qian as *jing*. Above we have already encountered one case in which *jing* was used to translate *śubha* "beautiful, auspicious"[58] in the name *Śubhavyūha* (in Zhi Qian's rendering, *Jingfujing* 淨復淨). Here it is particularly noteworthy that, as we have seen, in Zhi Qian's translation *jing* corresponds to both *śubha* and *vyūha*.[59]

Other instances of the use of *jing* to translate *śubha* in proper names are attested in Zhi Qian's work as well. The *Parīttaśubha* "Limited Beauty" heaven, for example, appears as *Yuejing tian* 約淨天 "Heaven of Limited Purity,"[60] while the *Śubhakṛtsna* "Complete Beauty" heaven appears as *Bianjing tian* 遍淨天 "Heaven of Pervasive Purity."[61]

[55] BHSD 520a, (2).

[56] See for examp[e the *Vajracchedikā*, §10: *kṣetravyūhāḥ kṣetravyūhā iti Subhūti 'vyūhās te tathāgatena bhāṣitāh. tenocyante kṣetravyūhā iti* (Conze 1974, p. 35). Here, as in other such negations, I strongly suspect that the author of the sūtra was indulging in a play on words; cf. below, p. 393 and n. 127.

[57] See HD 5.1178aff., *Grand Ricci* 1.1104aff. Granted, the border between "pure" and "well arranged" is not always clear, as Mary Douglas's famous dictum ("Dirt is matter out of place") suggests (Douglas 2002, p. 44; cf. pp. 50 and 203). I would like to thank Michael Radich for calling my attention to the relevance of her observation in this context and for helping me to locate the precise reference.

[58] See MW 1083b.

[59] Cf. above, n. 52.

[60] The same name appears in several texts by Zhi Qian; see T6 (1.182b18). T198 (4.185b25), T225B (8.485a12, 487a24, and 502a12), and T281 (10.447a28). It is not certain, however, that this translation was introduced by Zhi Qian himself, if, as has been suggested by Jungnok Park (personal communication, December 2006), another version of the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* is older (T5; see 1.167a6), it may have been the translator of this text who first coined the name.

[61] Again this name occurs in several translations by Zhi Qian; see T6 (1.182b17). T198 (4.185b25), T225B (8.485a12, 487a24-25, and 502a12), T281 (10.447a28), T361 (12.279b9) and T632 (15.461a26). In this case the term occurs already in two translations produced by An Shigao (T13, 1.239a7 and T14, 1.245a16 and 21), so Zhi Qian's use is presumably not original. All of these heaven names can also be used, of course, to refer to their inhabitants—i.e., to the gods themselves.

In two other proper names Zhi Qian used *jing* to translate yet a third Indic term. In his version of the *Brahmāyu-sutta* (cf. the Pāli version in MN, no. 91), the name of the Buddha's father (Pāli *Suddhodana*, Sanskrit *Śuddhodana*) is given as 白淨 "White-and-Pure."[62] The same name appears in Zhi Qian's biography of the Buddha;[63] presumably it was borrowed from the earlier biography produced by Kang Mengxiang 康孟詳 (fl. 190-220), where it occurs more than a dozen times.[64] One other use of *jing* to translate a term meaning "pure," however, appears to have been coined by Zhi Qian himself. Turning once again to his *Vimalakīrti*, we find the story of a Buddha of the distant past named Bhaiṣajyarāja. The name of his *kalpa* is translated *jingchu* 淨除 "Clean Off" (literally, "Purify-and-Remove"), corresponding to *viśodhana* "purification" in the Sanskrit text.[65]

To sum up our findings thus far, it appears that the word *jing* 淨 was used by Zhi Qian in proper names to translate components corrresponding to at least three different terms in Sanskrit: *vyūha* "array, marvelous manifestation," *śubha* "beautiful, auspicious," and various derivatives of √*śudh* "make pure," including *viśodhana* "purification" and the name *Śuddhodana*.

***Qing* 清 in Zhi Qian's corpus.** The character *qing*, which in Chinese means "pure" in the sense of "clear" (as in a sky free from clouds),[66] occurs far less frequently in proper names. Aside from the name *Wuliangqingjing* itself, the only personal name containing this character that I have been able to locate in Zhi Qian's corpus is an unusual translation of the name of the Buddha's mother *Māyā* as *Qingmiao* 清妙 "Clear-and-Marvelous."[67] This may, however, be a case in which the character *qing* was gratuitously added to form a pair with the name of the Buddha's father *Śuddhodana*, which occurs here again as *Baijing* 白淨 "White-and-Pure."[68] In any event, this is the only text in Zhi Qian's corpus in which the name of Māyā is translated in this way; when she appears in his biography of the Buddha, her name is translated as *Miao* 妙 alone.[69]

The character *qing* also appears, however, in one other proper name—though not that of a person—in the story of the ancient Buddha Bhaiṣajyarāja already mentioned above. Here (quoting again from Zhi Qian's *Vimalakīrti*) the name of Bhaiṣajyarāja's

[62] T76, 1.883c1.

[63] See T185, 3.473b15-16)

[64] See T184, 3.461a19 and *passim* [13x] and T196, 4.150a19 and 20(2x).

[65] T474, 14.535c12; for the corresponding Sanskrit term see ms 72b1 (Taishō University Study Group 2004, pp. 474-475). Interestingly, the same story—containing the same translation of the name—appears in Dharmarakṣa's *Lotus Sūtra*; see T263, 9.99b8.

[66] See HD 5.1293bff.

[67] See T76, 1.883c1 and 885a22.

[68] The entire passage reads 來世有王厥名白淨。后名清妙。(T76, 1.883b29-c1). Cf. below, where the father's name (but not the mother's) is abbreviated *metri causa*: 濁世王名淨／后名曰清妙 (885a22).

[69] See T185, 3.473b15-16: 父王名白淨。聰叡仁賢。夫人曰妙. In this case Zhi Qian appears to have coined the term himself rather than borrowing it from Kang Mengxiang, for in the latter's version of the biography Māyā's name is simply transcribed as 摩耶 (3.462b20-21).

world-system (*lokadhātu*) is given as *Taiqing* 太清 "Great Clarity."[70] The corresponding Sanskrit text gives the name as *Mahāvyūha*, which was translated by Zhi Qian as *Dajing* 大淨 when it occurred earlier as the name of a bodhisattva.[71]

In sum, both *jing* 淨 and *qing* 清 were used by Zhi Qian to translate (presumably from a Middle Indic language) a term corresponding to Sanskrit *vyūha* "array" in proper names. The word *jing* is also used more broadly, appearing as the counterpart of *śubha* "beautiful, auspicious" as well as derivatives of √*śudh* "purify" (*viśodhana*, *Śuddhodana*). Interestingly, although *qing* 清 (unlike *jing* 淨) does include within its semantic range the idea of "arranging" or "placing in order," the character *jing* 淨 occurs far more frequently than *qing* 清 as the counterpart of *vyūha* in Zhi Qian's texts.

***Vyūha*, *śubha*, and (*vi*)*śuddha*.** It is surprising that all three of these terms—*vyūha*, *śubha*, and various forms of √*śudh*—should be translated by Zhi Qian using Chinese terms that mean "pure." Of these the translation of √*śudh* as *jing* 淨 is completely unremarkable; its use to translate *śubha* is less expected, though *śubha* "beautiful, auspicious" has often been assimilated to *śuddha* "pure" in sources ranging from early Chinese Buddhist translations to modern ethnographic studies.[72] It is the word *vyūha* "array, marvelous manifestation," however, whose inclusion in this group is most difficult to understand.

How, then, can we explain the correspondence of *vyūha* to *jing* 淨 "purity" and *qing* 清 "clarity" in Zhi Qian's work? Bearing in mind that he was surely translating not from Sanskrit but from one or more Prakrit languages, we may take note of two sound changes that are well documented during this period. The first, widespread in Middle Indic dialects from a variety of regions, is the division of a Sanskrit consonant cluster via the insertion of an intercalated vowel.[73] We have already seen an example of this sound-shift in the term with which we are concerned: in Buddhist Sanskrit the term *vyūha* sometimes appears as *viyūha*, while in Pāli it can occur as *viyūḷha* as well. (It was a shift of just this type that served at the basis of Zhi Qian's mistaken translation of *śrī* as *shou* 首 "head" seen above, for it is the presence of an intercalated vowel that would have made possible the confusion between *śrī*, in the Middle Indic form *śirī*, with *śiras* "head.")

A second sound-shift related to our inquiry is a sporadic shift from *-y-* –> *-ś-* (the latter apparently pronounced, at least in some cases, as *-ź-*). This development was considerably more restricted in scope, appearing mainly—perhaps exclusively—in Gāndhārī.[74] (The fact that *ś* and *y* are graphically very similar, in some cases identical, in many forms of middle and especially later Kharoṣṭhī adds to the possibilities for confusion, making it difficult to tell, in some cases, whether an actual sound-shift, or merely a graphical error, has taken place.)[75]

[70] Note the variant reading *Daqing* 大清 in some editions (see 14.535, n. 29).

[71] See above, p. 373.

[72] For a rich assortment of reflections on the distinction between the poles of *śubha/aśubha* and *śuddha/aśuddha* in both ancient and modern Indian culture see Carman and Marglin 1985.

[73] See von Hinüber 2001, pp. 140-143.

[74] See von Hinüber 2001, p. 174, §213.

[75] I would like to thank Richard Salomon for helping to clarify this aspect of the problem

Taking these two developments together, we can immediately see that—at least in cases where Zhi Qian was working from texts in Gāndhārī—it is likely that Sanskrit *vyūha* would have appeared as **viśūha* instead. As in the case of **Amidā'a*, then, the question that faces us is how a translator like Zhi Qian would have interpreted such a Middle Indic word.

We should recall, first of all, that Zhi Qian regularly failed to distinguish long from short vowels, perhaps due in part to working from manuscripts in the Kharoṣṭhī script, in which vowel length was not generally recorded. Second, Chinese transcriptions from approximately the same period—attested above all in the works of Lokakṣema—point to the pronunciation of Sanskrit *śubha* in one or more Middle Indic dialects as **śuha*.[76] It seems reasonable to infer, therefore, that Zhi Qian may have viewed this as another form of what appeared in his sources (with vowel length unmarked) as **viśuha*. The rendition of both *vyūha* and *śubha* in his translations as "purity," however, suggests that Zhi Qian may have interpreted both of these Prakritic terms as forms of *(vi)śuddha* "purified." If this is the case, it would easily explain his translation of all these terms as *jing* 淨 or *qing* 清.

It is true, of course that Sanskrit *-ddh-* (as in *viśuddha*) does not become *-h-* in Middle Indic, though the simple aspirated consonant *-dh-* found in other derivatives of √*śudh* does exhibit this change.[77] The question that faces us, however, is not what actually happened historically in the evolution of Sanskrit *viśuddha*, but what a reader of a Middle Indic text containing the word **viśūha*—especially a non-native speaker like Zhi Qian—would have made of such a term. And what we see in Zhi Qian's translation repertoire indicates quite clearly that he had no difficulty in interpreting both *śubha* and *vyūha* as "pure." For Zhi Qian, in sum, the Sanskrit words *śubha*, *vyūha*, and *(vi)śuddha*—in the Middle Indic forms in which he encountered them—all seemed to be permutations of the same word.

***Qingjing* 清淨 in other contexts: *foguo qingjing* 佛國清淨.** As noted above, the compound term *qingjing* does not occur in any proper name in Zhi Qian's corpus except for the one with which we are concerned—i.e., the name *Wuliangqingjing* 無量清淨 itself. If we now depart from our focus on proper names, however, we can see that it occurs several times in Zhi Qian's work in a tantalizing context: the phrase *foguo qingjing* 佛國清淨, which would appear to mean "the purity of (a) buddha-field" or, if treated as comprising a sentence in itself, "the buddha-field [is] pure." One occurrence of this expression is in Zhi Qian's *Pusa benye jing* 菩薩本業經, a version of the *Smaller Buddhāvataṁsaka* for which no Indic-language version is extant.[78] The other four, however, all occur in his translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. Since a synoptic edition of the Chinese and Tibetan versions, together with the newly discovered Sanskrit text, has now been published by the Taishō University Study Group, (2004), we can easily compare

(personal communication, 20 February 2007).

[76] For a number of examples see Nattier 2006a, p. 192.

[77] See von Hinüber 2001, p. 159, §184 (where another shift, from Skt. *-dh-* > Gāndhārī -δ-, is also noted).

[78] See T281, 10.447a8-11 . On the text itself and its relationship to the *Larger Buddhāvataṁsaka* (*Dafengdeng Fohuayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T278 and 279) see Nattier 2005.

Zhi Qian's renditions with the wording found in an extant Indic-language version of the text. As we shall see, there are several other expressions closely related to *foguo qingjing* which will be relevant to our inquiry as well.

Type 1a: 清淨 = *vyūha*. Just as was the case with the individual terms *qing* and *jing*, the compound term *qingjing* has more than one Indian equivalent in Zhi Qian's corpus. In this first type we encounter once again the unexpected equivalence of a Chinese word for "purity" with *vyūha* "array" in the Sanskrit. In Zhi Qian's version the Buddha addresses his disciple Śāriputra as follows:

> 如是舍利弗。若人意清淨者。便自見諸佛佛國清淨。 "Just so, O Śāriputra, if a person's mind is pure (*qingjing*), then he will see the purity (*qingjing*) of the various Buddhas' buddha-fields" (14.520c16-17).

The corresponding Sanskrit text, however, refers not to purity but to the arrays (*vyūha*) of buddha-fields:

> *evam eva Śāriputra ekabuddhakṣetryopapannāḥ yathā citta-pariśuddhyā satvā buddhānāṁ buddhakṣetraguṇavyūhān paśyanti* "Just so, O Śāriputra, living beings born in the same buddha-field will see the arrays of good qualities (*guṇa*) of the buddha-fields of the Buddhas in accordance with the purity (*pariśuddhi*) of their minds" (ms. 8a5-6).[79]

It is clear that the Sanskrit version represents a different recension of the text than that used by Zhi Qian; there is no mention in Zhi Qian's translation, for example, of "living beings born in the same buddha-field," nor does Kumārajīva's rendition of the text contain this phrase.[80] It is also possible that Zhi Qian's Indian source-text had only *buddhakṣetra-vyūha* (and not *buddhakṣetra-guṇa-vyūha*), as is the case, for example, in the treatment of this expression in the *Vajracchedikā*.[81] Be that as it may, the correspondence between *foguoqingjing* and *buddhakṣetra-vyūha* (or perhaps the entire expression *buddhakṣetra-guṇa-vyūha*) is quite clear.

Type 1b: 嚴淨 = *vyūha*. A fondness for terminological variety, however, is a characteristic feature of Zhi Qian's translation style, and in his typical fashion he has varied the terminology here. The first such example is found in a question to Śāriputra that occurred just before the passage cited above. The Sanskrit text contains the same terminology seen above:

> *paśyasi tvaṁ Śāriputremān buddhakṣetraguṇavyūhān* "Do you see, O Śāriputra, the arrays of good qualities (*guṇa*) of [these] buddha-field[s]?" (ms. 8a3)[82]

Zhi Qian's version, however, reads as follows:

[79] See Taishō University Study Group 2004, p. 48.

[80] See T475, 14.538c23-29 and Taishō Study Group 2004, p. 49. By the time Xuanzang produced his version of the *Vimalakīrti* in the mid-7th century, however, this phrase had already been added to the text; see T476, 14.560a26-28: 如是舍利子。無量有情生一佛土。隨心淨穢所見有異。若人心淨便見此土無量功德妙寶莊嚴 (cf. Taishō Study Group 2004, p. 49).

[81] See above, n. 56.

[82] Taishō University Study Group 2004, p. 48.

佛告舍利弗。汝且觀此佛國嚴淨。 "The Buddha said to Śāriputra, 'Do you see majesty-and-purity of this buddha-field?' " (520c11-12).

In this instance, in other words, he has used the expression *yanjing* 嚴淨 "majestic-and-pure" to translate the same term that was rendered as *qingjing* in the example given immediately above.[83]

Several other occurrences of *yanjing* that clearly correspond to Sanskrit *vyūha* can be found elsewhere in Zhi Qian's *Vimalakīrti* as well. For example:

不見如來佛國嚴淨非如來咎。 "[The fact that living beings] don't see the majesty-and-purity of the Tathāgata's buddha-field is not the Tathāgata's [i.e., my] fault"[84] (520b29)

yas tathāgatasya buddhakṣetraguṇālaṁkāravyūhaṁ kecit satvā na paśyanti na tatra tathāgatasyāparādhaḥ / "The fact that some living beings don't see the array of adornment of good qualities of the Buddha's buddha-field is not the Tathāgata's fault" (ms. 7b1-2) [Taishō ed. 44]

我見釋迦文佛國嚴淨 "I/we see the majesty-and-purity of Śākyamuni's buddha-field" (520c2-3)

vayaṁ buddhakṣetraguṇavyūhān bhagavataḥ Śākyamuneḥ paśyāmaḥ "We see the arrays of good qualities of the buddha-field of the Blessed One Śākyamuni" (ms. 763-4) [Taishō ed. p. 44]

當佛現此佛土嚴淨之時。 "At the time when the Buddha manifests the majesty-and-purity of this buddha-field" (520c17)

asmin khalu punaḥ buddhakṣetraguṇavyūhālaṁkāre saṁdarśyamāne "Then, when the ornamentation of the array of good qualities of the buddha-field was again manifest, . . ." (ms. 8a6) [Taishō ed. p. 50]

In sum, it is clear that, in addition to *qingjing* 清淨, Zhi Qian also used the term *yanjing* 嚴淨 to represent a Prakrit term corresponding to Sanskrit *vyūha*.

Type 1c: 好淨 = *vyūha*. True to form, however, Zhi Qian was not content even with this amount of variation, and in one case he uses yet another term, *haojing* "beautiful-and-pure," as the equivalent of Sanskrit *vyūha*. Here the Sanskrit reads as follows:

paśyāmi bhagavan adṛṣṭāśrutapūrvā ime vyūhāḥ saṁdṛśyante "I see, O Blessed One, these arrays (*vyūha*) that [I] had previously not seen or heard of are now manifest" (ms. 8a3; Taishō 48)

Zhi Qian's translation, however, has the following:

對曰唯然。本所不見本所不聞。今佛國土好淨悉現 "[Śāriputra] replied, 'Yes, I do. What I had not seen or heard before—the beauty-and-purity (*haojing*) of the buddha-field(s)—is now entirely visible.' " (520c12-13)

[83] It is possible that the use of *yanjing* rather than *qingjing* in some cases points to the presence of *buddhakṣetra-guṇa-vyūha*, and not merely *buddhakṣetra-vyūha*, in Zhi Qian's Indian source-text. It is difficult to be sure of this, however, for Zhi Qian's terminology is anything but standardized, as the additional examples given below will demonstrate.

[84] Here, as in many other places, the Chinese reflects the standard Indian wording in which the Buddha uses the term "Tathāgata" (rather than the pronoun "I") to refer to himself.

This is the sole occurrence of *haojing* 好淨 "beautiful-and-pure" in Zhi Qian's *Vimalakīrti*; indeed, it is the only occurrence of this expression in his corpus as a whole. Nonetheless, its meaning is clear, and we can see that for Zhi Qian, these three expressions—*qingjing*, *yanjing*, and *haojing*—were treated as interchangeable terms.

Type 2a: 清淨 = *pari*√*śudh* "purify, clean." In the very same text, however, we find a number of passages where *qingjing* and *jing* do not correspond to Sanskrit term *vyūha*, but rather to a variety of forms of √*śudh* "purify. The following passage, in which the term occurs twice, is a typical example:

> 此五百童子皆有決於無上正真之道。願聞得佛國土清淨。[the young man Ratnākara speaking to the Buddha]: "These five hundred young men have all been predicted to the Supreme Correct and Right Way,[85] and they want to hear about attaining the purity (*qingjing*) of a buddha-field." (520a4-5)[86]
>
> *imāni bhagavan pañcamātrāṇi licchavikumāra-śatāṇi sarvāṇy anuttarāyāṁ samyaksaṁbodhau saṁprasthitāni tāni cemāni buddhakṣetrapariśuddhiṁ paripṛcchaṁti* / "The five hundred Licchavi youths, O Blessed One, have all set out for Supreme Perfect Awakening, and they are inquiring about the purification of buddha-field[s]." (ms. 5a3-5) [Taishō ed. p. 28]

Though in the above example it corresponds to a Sanskrit noun, *qingjing* is also used in a context in which it is clearly verbal:

> 如是童子。菩薩欲使佛國清淨。當以淨意作如應行。[the Buddha speaking to Ratnākara]: "In the same way, young man, a bodhisattva who wishes to cause a buddha-field to be pure (*qingjing*) ought, with a pure mind, to carry out the appropriate practices." (520b21-23)
>
> *tasmāt tarhi kulaputra buddhakṣetraṁ pariśodhayitukāmena bodhisatvena svacittapariśodhane yatnaḥ karaṇīyaḥ* // (ms. 7a3-4) [Taishō ed. p. 40]

Type 2b: 淨 = *pari*√*śudh* "purify, clean." Finally, there are also cases in which the Chinese text has the character *jing* 淨 alone where the Sanskrit reads *pariśuddhi*. The following is a representative example:

> 所以者何。菩薩以意淨故得佛國淨 [the Buddha speaking to Ratnākara]: "And why? It is because of the purity (*jing*) of his mind that a bodhisattva attains the purity (*jing*) [or: accomplishes the purification] of a buddha-field" (520b22-23)
>
> *tat kasya hetor yādṛśī bodhisatvasya cittapariśuddhiḥ / tādṛśī buddhakṣetrapariśuddhiḥ sambhavati* // "And why? To the extent that a bodhisattva's mind is pure, to that extent does purity of the buddhafield come about" (ms. 7a3-4) [Taishō ed. p. 40]

As with *qingjing*, the word *jing* is also used in this context in a verbal sense, as can be seen

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[85] The expression 無上正真之道, which occurs in several of Zhi Qian's translations, is one of the ways in which he translates *anuttarasamyaksaṁbodhi*.

[86] The word "buddha-field" appears here in the slightly longer form 佛國土

following passage (which, incidentally, reveals Zhi Qian's translation difficulties at their worst):

> 不盡數者為淨佛土。不住無數者為佛立故 "[His] not exhausting the numbered is in order to purify the buddha-field; [his] not dwelling in the unnumbered is due to the Buddha's stance [*sic*, for *adhiṣṭhāna*]" (534b3-4) [Taishō ed. p. 426][87]
>
> *buddhakṣetrapariśuddhyartham asaṁskṛte na pratitiṣṭhati buddha-adhiṣṭhānatvāt saṁskṛtan na kṣapayati* "In order to purify the buddha-field, he does not dwell in the unconditioned; due to the Buddha's empowerment (*adhiṣṭhāna*), he does not exhaust the conditioned" (ms. 65a7-b1) [Taishō ed., p. 426]

As the above examples make clear, in some cases Zhi Qian used terms meaning "pure" (*qingjing*) or "majestic-and-pure" (*yanjing*) to translate *vyūha*, while in other cases he uses *qingjing* or simply *jing* to render forms of √*śudh*.

A review of the data presented above also reveals another intriguing feature of the extant Sanskrit *Vimalakīrti*: whenever the word *vyūha* is present, √*śudh* does not appear, and vice versa.[88] That is, in the extant Sanskrit *Vimalakīrti* the terms *vyūha* and √*śudh* (*viśuddha* etc.) exhibit a pattern of complementary distribution. This raises the possibility that one of these terms has been substituted for the other—or more specifically, that *vyūha* was sometimes interpreted, in a Prakrit form such as **viśūha*, as if it were *viśuddha* "purified," subsequently leading to further developments using various forms of *pari*√*śudh*. If this is so, it would have obvious implications for the search for the antecedent of the elusive term *jingtu* 淨土 "pure land." The very common expression *buddhakṣetra-vyūha*, transmitted in a Middle Indic form such as **buddhakṣetra-viśūha* and subsequently expounded and elaborated on by Dharma-preachers using various forms of the verb √*śudh*, could itself be the source of the rhetoric of "purifying a buddha-field," an idea which is well attested—though a compound meaning "pure land" apparently is not—in Indian Buddhist texts.

If such a development did indeed take place, it had already happened well before the *Vimalakīrti* as we have it was composed. The sūtra exhibits a highly developed understanding of the existence of *buddhakṣetra*s elsewhere in the universe; indeed, the concept was so well known to the author's intended audience that he could play with it, creating the humorous scene found in Chapter 11 of the Sanskrit version (Chapter 12 in

[87] Zhi Qian's translation of this passage is completely garbled: he has confused *saṁskṛta* "conditioned" [cf. Pāli *saṅkhata*] with *saṁkhyāta* "counted, enumerated" [cf. Pāli *saṅkhāta*], translating it as 數 "numbers"; *asaṁskṛta* "unconditioned" becomes 無數 "without numbers" in turn. The same mistake occurs numerous times elsewhere in the text; one of the clearest examples is the following: 何謂為盡。謂其有數。何謂不盡。謂為無數。如菩薩者不盡於數不住無數。(14.533c21-22). Note also that Zhi Qian has reversed the statements about the conditioned and the unconditioned with respect to the Sanskrit text. As to his rendition of *adhiṣṭhāna*, it is clearly based on an etymological understanding of the word as a derivative of √*sthā* "stand," but the result is completely incomprehensible.

[88] There is at least one extant Sanskrit text in which these terms do occur together; see the *Gaṇḍavyūha*, for which the relevant passages are conveniently assembled in Murakami 2006 (pp. 97-106). None of these passages, however, includes any reference to buddha-fields. Thus what we can say, even more specifically, is that *buddhakṣetra-vyūha* does not seem to appear in combination with any form of √*śudh*, and where √*śudh* does occur with *buddhakṣetra*, the word *vyūha* is not found.

all three Chinese versions) in which the inhabitants of the buddha-field of Akṣobhya are dragged into Vimalakīrti's living room. This is not a text, in sum, in which we can expect to find the idea of "purified buddha-fields" in the early stages of its formation.

With the above data in mind, however, it will be worth investigating other texts preserved in Chinese and Tibetan (as well as those precious Indic-language versions that have survived) in search of further evidence concerning the possible relationship between *vyūha* and *viśuddha ~ pariśuddha*.[89] Such an investigation lies beyond the range of the present paper, but it will be worth pursuing in the future in great detail.

Wuliangqingjing 無量清淨 as a Buddha-name

We have seen that *qingjing*, like *jing* (and in at least one case, *qing*) alone, appears in Zhi Qian's work as the counterpart of Sanskrit *vyūha*, a word which (in a Prakrit form such as **viśūha*) appears to have been interpreted by Zhi Qian as "pure." What can this finding tell us, though, about the still-mysterious name *Wuliangqingjing*?

Here our discussion will necessarily become more speculative, for no extant Indic-language text has yet been identified that contains an obvious counterpart to this name. Moreover, its very rarity suggests that whatever form might have served as its basis did not circulate widely in India. The results obtained thus far in our investigation, however, point to an odd possibility. If, as suggested above, the name *Wuliang* in Zhi Qian's corpus (like Lokakṣema's *Amituo*) was based on a Middle Indic form such as **Amidā'a* (< *Amitābha*), then it is worth considering the possibility that *qingjing* might also be based on such a Prakrit form. More specifically, if its source was a Prakrit term such as **viśūha* (< *vyūha*), then these two components, taken together, would yield a Prakrit name such as **Amidā'aviśūha*, the equivalent of *Amitābhavyūha* in Sanskrit.

This Sanskrit term is in fact attested, and in a rather prominent place, for the Tibetan version of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* is entitled *'Phags pa 'Od dpag med kyi bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*, "The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra entitled 'The Array of Amitābha' " (i.e., **Ārya-Amitābhavyūha-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra.*)[90] It is also paralleled in the title of another scripture, the *Akṣobhyavyūha*, which deals with a different "pure land," that of the Buddha Akṣobhya in the East.[91] Could *Wuliangqingjing*, then, be not a

[89] See for example the several occurrences of 嚴淨 in conjunction with (佛)剎 (*buddha*)*kṣetra* in the *Akṣobhyavyūha* (T313, 11.753a4, 756b22 and 23-24).

[90] See Peking/Ōtani no. 760(5). A Sanskrit transcription of the title is given within the Tibetan text itself, but the presence of such a title does not guarantee that this was the actual name of the Indian source-text. When Buddhist scriptures were first translated into Tibetan their Indian titles were generally not recorded (see Lalou 1953), and as a result, many of the Sanskrit titles now found in the Tibetan canon are not original, but were reconstructed from the Tibetan, sometimes—especially in the case of texts belonging to the *Ratnakūṭa* section—with input from Chinese as well (on this cf. the following note). Nonetheless, in the present case we are on rather firm ground in assuming that the title included the words *Amitābha-vyūha*, as there are no other good candidates for the Tibetan words *'Od dpag med* and *bkod pa*, which are the standard equivalents of *Amitābha* and *vyūha*, respectively (see Mvy. nos. 85 and 520 (and *passim*), respectively).

[91] See Peking/Ōtani no. 760(6). The main title given in most versions of the Tibetan canon is "The Noble Mahāyāna Sūtra entitled 'The Array (*Vyūha*) of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya' " (Tib. *'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa Mi 'khrugs pa bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; for variant readings see Satō 2002, p. 3, n. 1 and p. 159, nn. 1 and 2). The corresponding Sanskrit title is given as *Ārya-akṣobhya[sya]-tathāgatasya vyūha-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra* (again with variants; see again the notes in Satō 2002). This title, however,

translation of "Immeasurable Purity" (**Amitaviśuddha*), as it would appear at first glance, but rather of "The Array"—i.e., the buddha-field—"of Amitābha" (*Amitābhavyūha*)?

But this is the name of a text, and not a person, so why should Amida be referred to by the name of the scripture itself? It seems a peculiar error, but it is not without precedent. Here I would like turn, first of all, to evidence drawn from a completely different realm, *viz.*, a mistake made long ago by a certain student at an American university. In the late 1960s, the student enrolled in a course on Buddhism in which one of the assigned texts was a scripture entitled the "Sigalovada Sutta." No diacritical marks were used—and as usual in undergraduate Buddhism classes in America, all of the readings were in English—but it is easy to recognize the name of the *Sigālovāda-suttanta* (Dīgha-nikāya no. 31, also known as the *Sigālaka-suttanta*), containing the Buddha's advice to the young householder Sigālaka. The student found this text quite intriguing and remembered it long after the course had ended. But when that same student, having begun to study Indian languages, read the text in Pāli many years later, she discovered that she had made a curious mistake: not recognizing the individual components of the Pāli word, she had remembered the name of the main character not as *Sigālaka*, but as "Sigalavada" (*sic*, having further domesticated the vowels to conform to her own English phonological system). Had the student been a *dharmabhāṇaka*, remembering and reciting the scripture for others, a new recension of the sūtra would have been created in which the Buddha spoke to a layman named "Sigalavada."

The student in question, as it happens, was myself. But more surprising than my own youthful error is the fact that the same mistake appears to have been made by another reader many centuries before. A Chinese translation of this same sūtra, entitled *Shijialuoyue liufang li jing* 尸迦羅越六方禮經 "The Scripture [preached to] Shijialuoyu concerning the Veneration of the Six Directions," can be found in the *Taishō* edition of the Chinese canon.[92] Though its age is unknown, its style is archaic, and it may well have been translated as early as the second or third century CE. Be that as it may, what is of interest to us here is the treatment of the name of Sigālaka, for he is referred to

may well be a reconstruction based on the Tibetan (on this phenomenon in general see the previous note); note in particular that the name given at the end of the text (where, as is standard, only the Tibetan title and not the Chinese appears) lacks any equivalent of the word *tathāgata*, reading simply *Mi 'khrugs pa'i bkod pa'i le'u* "The Chapter on the Array of Akṣobhya." The title given in the *Ldan-kar-ma* again lacks this word, reading simply *Mi 'khrugs pa'i bkod pa*, i.e., *Akṣobhyavyūha* (see Lalou 1953, p. 320, no. 30). The same form is still preserved in the Lithang edition, which gives the title as simply *Mi 'khrugs pa'i bkod pa* at both the beginning and end of the text (see Satō 2002, p. 159, n. 2). The combined weight of this evidence makes it quite certain that the word *de bzhin gshegs pa* "tathāgata" has been added to the Tibetan title at a later date, in all probability with reference to Bodhiruci's Chinese version contained in the *Ratnakūṭa* section, which is entitled *Budong rulai hui* 不動如來會 "The Assembly [i.e., section of the *Ratnakūṭa* collection] of the Tathāgata Akṣobhya" (see T310[6], 11.101c28). What we may have here, in sum, is a case parallel to that of the *Ugraparipṛcchā-sūtra*, in which an additional epithet—in that case, the word *gṛhapati* (Tib. *khyim bdag*)—was added to the Sanskrit and Tibetan titles in imitation of the title found in the Chinese, most likely that of the Chinese *Ratnakūṭa* version (T310[19]); see Nattier 2003a, pp. 26-36.

[92] See T16, 1.250c-252b. A virtually identical title, 尸迦羅越六向拜經, is given in Sengyou's 僧祐 *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集 (T2145, 55.27a4) where it is classified as an "anonymous scripture" (失譯); the Taishō editors attribute it (certainly wrongly) to An Shigao. Two other translations of this scripture have been preserved in Chinese; see T17 and T26(135). A Japanese translation is now available in Kaneko, Oyama, and Haya 1995.

throughout the text as *Shijialuoyue* 尸迦羅越 (EMC ɕi kia la wuat, ONWC *śi ka lɑ uat).[93] Reading this name in light of its reconstructed pronunciation, and taking note of the fact that the name is written *Śikhālaka* (rather than *Sigālaka*) in a manuscript from Turfan,[94] it is not difficult to see here a transcription of a Middle Indic **Śikhālavāda* or **Śigālavāda*.[95]

If such a mistake could be made not once but twice, and in radically different cultural environments, it seems quite plausible that the same thing could have happened in other cases as well. Thus we may consider the possibility—though it must remain hypothetical—that the elusive name *Wuliangqingjing* could have been based on a Prakrit form such as **Amidā'aviśūha* (< Skt. *Amitābhavyūha*) in which the component **viśūha* (< *vyūha*) was misunderstood as a part of the Buddha's name.

Support for this hypothesis may come from a little-studied text, the *Houchu Amituo jie* 後出阿彌陀佛偈 (T373), whose title we might tentatively translate as "Verses on the Buddha Amitābha (Later Edition)." The text is a poem (it might well be called a "hymn") extolling the virtues of Amitābha's land and urging practitioners to seek rebirth there.[96] The name of the author—for it is certainly an original Chinese composition and not a translation—has not been preserved.[97] The *Taishō* editiors list the text as having been included in a catalogue from the Eastern Han, but such an early date is clearly impossible, for the poem is clearly dependent upon the version of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* produced by Zhi Qian.

That the author of the poem was acquainted with what is known as the "early recension" of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* is clear from the fact that it refers to the Buddha Amida, when he was still a bodhisattva, as having made twenty-four vows—not forty-eight, as in the later Chinese version traditionally credited to Saṃghavarman. Taken by itself, this could mean that the author used either the translation now to be credited to Lokakṣema (T362, the *Da amituo jing* 大阿彌陀經) or that of Zhi Qian (T361, the *Pingdengjue jing* 平等覺經). The fact that the Buddha in whose presence the monk Dharmākara makes his vow is named *Shiraowang* 世饒王 "World-Abundance King," however—a rendition that occurs only, among translated scriptures, in Zhi Qian's *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*—makes it clear that it was Zhi Qian's version, and not Lokakṣema's *Da amituo jing*, that served as

[93] For these reconstructions see Pulleyblank 1991 and Coblin 1994, respectively.

[94] Turfan Collection, Kat.-Nr. 415 (SHT IV, pp. 47-64). I would like to thank my colleague Noriyuki KUDO for bringing this reference to my attention.

[95] Ordinarily one might conclude that the word *jialuoyue* is simply a transcription of (a Prakrit form of) *grhapati*, which is indeed its use in other contexts. But that cannot be its function here, although this use may have affected the choice of characters used for the transcription here (if they are not simply the result of a subsequent copyist's correction). First, *Shi* 尸 alone would be far too short for the name of an Indian character; and second, the word *grhapati* is translated elsewhere in the text as *zhangzhe* 長者 (see T16, 1.250c14-15: 時有長者子名尸迦羅越). In sum, we can conclude that the characters *shijialuoyue* are intended to be taken together as the character's name.

[96] On this text (with a particular focus on its use of rhyme) see Saitō 2006.

[97] See Sengyou's *Chu sanzang jiji*, where it is included in the section of anonymous (失譯) scriptures (55.31a16). The same catalogue records another text with a virtually identical title, but which presumably preceded the one with which we are concerned here (阿彌陀佛偈, 55.31a15).

its basis.[98]

This being the case, it is of particular interest to see what has become of the name *Wuliangqingjing*. The text begins as follows:

惟念法比丘／乃從世饒王
發願喻諸佛／誓二十四章
世世見諸佛／垓數無有量
不廢宿命行／功德遂具成
世界名清淨／得佛號無量
國界平夷易／豐樂多上人 (12.364b12-17)

This might be tentatively translated as follows:

The monk who only thought about the Dharma,
In the presence of [lit. "following"] World-Abundance King,
Brought forth vows as [all] Buddhas do—
Resolutions in twenty-four sections.
In life after life he saw the Buddhas;
Their number was immeasurable.
Not forgetting the practice of his former lives,
He succeeded in accruing merits.
[Now] his world is named *Qingjing*;
His name, having attained buddhahood, is *Wuliang*.
His realm is flat and easy [to live in],
Abounding in superior men.

It is clear that both *Wuliang* and *Qingjing* are being used as proper names here, not merely as adjectives describing the qualities of the person and the place. But what has happened to the name *Wuliangqingjing* is intriguing: the term is divided into two parts, i.e., *qingjing* (< **viśūha* < *vyūha*?) referring to the land—that is, to Amitābha's *buddhakṣetra-vyūha*—and *Wuliang* (< **Amidā'a* < *Amitābha*?) referring to the Buddha himself. If this is indeed the derivation of these names, then in light of what we have seen above, this anonymous author got it exactly right. [99]

The name *Wuliangqingjing* 無量清淨 in other translations

The name *Wuliangqingjing* is highly unusual, but its use is not restricted to the *Pingdengjue jing* alone. It occurs twice, for example, in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Bhadrakalpika-sūtra*,[100] though the absence of a clear parallel to these passages in another version of the sūtra makes it difficult to determine its referent. There are a number of similar cases in

[98] While this Buddha's name appears in the extant Sanskrit version of the sūtra as *Lokeśvararāja*, Zhi Qian's rendition appears to go back to an underlying **Lokasvararāja* "King of the Sounds of the World," misheard (or misread) as **Loka-sphara-rāja* "World-Abundance-King." With this we find a striking agreement with the Bactrian form λωγοασφαροραζο cited in Sims-Williams 2000, p. 277, n. 3.

[99] It is tempting to speculate that the author of the poem had access to additional information from another source, perhaps even from a no-longer extant translation of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* (e.g., that of Dharmarakṣa) which might have carried over some of Zhi Qian's terminology. Be that as it may, it is clear that the poem is dependent—whether directly or indirectly—on Zhi Qian's *Pingdengjue jing*.

[100] See T425, 14.1c16 and 60c16.

other sūtras where it is again difficult to be sure that Amida is meant.[101] In one case, however—the *Laomunü liu ying jing* 老母女六英經 (T560), attributed to the mid-fifth century translator Guṇabhadra—there is an occurrence of the term with a clear parallel in two other versions of the sūtra, both of which give the name as *Amituo* 阿彌陀.[102] At least in this case, therefore, we have a clear instance of the use of this name to refer to Amida in a text produced by a translator other than Zhi Qian.[103]

Given this one definite example—together with the possibility that at least some of the occurrences of *Wuliangqingjing* in other texts were also translations of a name of Amida—we must consider the implication of the fact that this rendition is not limited to the *Pingdenjue jing*, but occurs outside the corpus of Zhi Qian as well. That implication, I would suggest, is that this cannot be considered a one-time mistake by a single translator. Instead, it points to the likelihood that a Prakrit name such as **Amidā'a-viśūha*, understood as meaning "Measureless Purity," enjoyed at least a limited currency in greater India. The name is undeniably erroneous, and the fact that it is so rarely represented in Chinese translations suggests that it circulated only in a very restricted milieu. Nonetheless, the fact that Zhi Qian is not the only translator whose work reflects this understanding demonstrates that this was not merely an isolated error on his part, but a reflection of yet another Indian interpretation (albeit tone of very restricted currency) of the meaning of Amida's name.

Luminosity and Lifespan: Cultural Contexts of Amida's Name

According to the data presented above, all of the appearances of the name of Amida in Chinese translations dating from the Han and Three Kingdoms periods—with only one possible exception—can be traced to a Middle Indic form of the name *Amitābha*. Given that these names appear in a wide range of sources produced by at least two different translators (Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian), this strongly suggests that Amida was first known in Indian Buddhist literature as the Buddha of "Measureless Light." Thus far we have dealt exclusively with the names themselves, but at this point we may pause to consider the larger context in which they occur as a way of understanding the significance of these findings. Though most of the texts examined above mention Amida only briefly, two of them—or rather, two different translations of one text, Lokakṣema's *Da amituo jing* (T362) and Zhi Qian's *Pingdengjue jing* (T361)—are devoted entirely to Amida and his world. Thus they can provide us with a rich source of information on how this figure was understood.

Both of these translations represent what scholars generally refer to as the "early recension" of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*, and thus they contain our oldest sources of detailed information on how Amida was perceived. And in both of these translations the

[101] See Fujita 1970, p. 304, n. 1.

[102] See T560, 14.912c10-11 and cf. T559 (14.912b7-8) and T561 (14.913b4-5). On the dates and attributions of these texts see Nattier 2007 in this volume.

[103] Given that a version of the same sūtra is attributed to Zhi Qian, it is tempting to speculate that T560—which contains the name *Wuliangqingjing*—is the one which is actually Zhi Qian's work. This cannot be sustained, however, for the language of T560 does not conform to Zhi Qian's usage (e.g., in its use of the term *yecha* 夜叉 (14.912c13) for *yakṣa*, which never appears in Zhi Qian's corpus). For further details see Nattier 2007 in this volume.

theme of luminosity is prominently featured. It is taken for granted that all Buddhas emit rays of light, and the sūtra enumerates at length the varying capacities of Buddhas in this regard, from those whose light extends for a mere seven *zhang* (七丈) to those who can illuminate two million buddha-fields (二百萬佛國). The light of Amida, however, surpasses them all, pervading a full ten million of such worlds (千萬佛國).[104] Not content with extolling Amida's light merely in quantitative terms, the text then goes on to describe its lovely qualities as well.[105] After dozens of lines of extravagant praise, Śākyamuni states that he has only described Amida's radiance in brief; if he were to talk day and night for an entire kalpa, he would still not exhaust the subject in full.[106]

This passage comes immediately after the enumeration of the twenty-four vows of Dharmākara, in the section which sets forth the results of his successful completion of the bodhisattva path. Here, in other words, the text reviews the content of the vows, describing how they have been actualized in Amida's world. And it is noteworthy that among the many different fruits of his practice, it is his spectacular luminosity—the topic of the 24th vow in Lokakṣema's version, the 13th in that of Zhi Qian—that is singled out for attention first of all.[107]

Dharmākara's vows also include, to be sure, a resolution concerning his lifespan, in which he vows that even if all the beings throughout the universe were to attain awakening and then sit one-pointedly in meditation, they would not be able to calculate the duration of his life (vow no. 19 in Lokakṣema's version, no. 14 in Zhi Qian's).[108] And this great lifespan, like his great luminosity, is taken up again in the section on the fruits of his practice. But it is only after discussing many other things that the authors finally get around to dealing with this topic.[109] And when they do, they have far less to say about it than about his far-reaching light.

But most important for our purposes is the overall framework within which the extraordinary length of Amida's lifespan is set. First, we may note that the authors present Amida as helping others to attain Arhatship (in the case of *śrāvaka*s) or to progress quickly on the path to Buddhahood (in the case of bodhisattvas).[110] In this respect it is vital that he remain in Sukhāvatī for a long time, thus to be available to devotees who seek rebirth there. We do not, however, see Amida appearing in these texts as an eternal object of devotion, in whose presence believers can enjoy ongoing

[104] See T362, 12.302b20- 303a2; T361, 12.281c28-282b11.

[105] T362, 12.303a3ff.; T361, 12.282b12ff.

[106] T362, 303a28-b1; T361, 282c12-14.

[107] According to this vow, Dharmākara resolved that his light would exceed that of the sun and the moon, surpassing that of all other Buddhas and causing all living beings who see it to be born in his land. See T362, 12.302b9-14 (vow no. 24) and T361, 12.281b14-17 (vow no. 13). T362 adds an additional vow concerning the luminosity of the inhabitants ("all the bodhisattvas and Arhats") in Amida's land (vow no. 23, 12.302b6-8), but this has no parallel in Zhi Qian's version.

[108] T362, 12.302a16-21; T361, 12.281b18-21.

[109] T362, 12.308c5ff.; T361, 12.290b20ff.

[110] It is important to note that, while *śrāvaka*s are described as being able to attain Arhatship in Amida's world, bodhisattvas must be reborn in order to attain Buddhahood elsewhere. On this topic see Sasaki 2006.

bliss. On the contrary, as a Buddha his role is to help living beings to pass beyond *saṁsāra*—and by implication, to depart from his own presence—at the quickest possible pace.

In this respect the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* follows the well-established model of what a Buddha should be, portraying Amida, like Śākyamuni, as a teacher. But the sūtra also follows the traditional model in a more dramatic way. Though Amida's lifespan is said to be immeasurably long, it is not infinite, and in the early recension of the sūtra it is clear that Amida will eventually attain final nirvāṇa. In the translations by both Lokakṣema and Zhi Qian, it is explicitly stated that after Amida's death the bodhisattva *Avalokasvara (in later Indian texts *Avalokiteśvara*)[111] will become the reigning Buddha of Sukhāvatī in his place. When Avalokasvara himself attains final extinction, the bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta will succed him in turn.[112]

A "measureless" or "incalculable" lifespan, then, clearly does not mean one that is "eternal," for when scriptures devoted to Amida first began to be composed the traditional goal of escaping from *saṁsāra* was still fully in effect.[113] Despite its new cast of characters—including the previously unknown Buddha Amitābha and the bodhisattvas Avalokasvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta—the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* still harmonizes well with the perspective stated explicitly in many pre-Mahāyāna scriptures, that the object of Buddhist practice is to bring rebirth to an end. "Birth is destroyed"—so goes the standard refrain found in many *āgama* texts—"the holy life has been lived, what had to be done has been done, there is no more coming to any state of being."[114]

Looking at this statement from the perspective of our inquiry into the names of Amida, it is particularly noteworthy that it does not read "death is destroyed." On the contrary, from an Indian Buddhist perspective it would be impossible, since death is inevitable—according to the most basic teachings of *pratītyasamutpāda*—for all things born. But more than this: escaping from death by achieving eternal life would be undesirable, for it is a basic assumption in Indian Buddhism that life in an embodied form—even in the most pleasurable embodied forms available among the long-lived gods—is inevitably subject to pain. Thus from the perspective of early Buddhism—and here the early Mahāyāna is profoundly continuous with its ancestry—the objective is not to prolong one's life, even in a paradise-like world, but to bring rebirth in *saṁsāra* to an end.

This scenario has an obvious bearing on the suggestion made by several scholars over the past century that the original name of Amida might have been *Amṛta*, "the Deathless."[115] We need not go into the details of the phonological arguments here,

[111] On the names of Avalokiteśvara in early translations see Karashima 1999a and Nattier forthcoming.

[112] For further details on these "succession stories" and their implications see Nattier 2003c.

[113] In later Indian Buddhist sources, however, the notion of the Buddha as eternal does begin to appear. Work in progress by Michael Radich on this topic promises to cast considerable light on the sources, chronology, and implications of this development; see Radich forthcoming.

[114] For just one of a myriad of examples in the Pāli scriptures see MN no. 148, the *Chachakka sutta* (MN iii.287): *khīṇā jāti, vusitaṁ brahmacariyaṁ, kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ, nāparaṁ itthattāyāti pajānātīti.*

[115] For this suggestion see most recently Iwamatsu 2006.

though it now seems clear that the character *mi* 彌, which has served as the focus of these discussions, cannot represent either *mṛ* (as in *Amṛta*) or *ma* (as in *Amata*) in the period with which we are concerned.[116] But there is also a contextual issue at stake, for to be "deathless" was simply not a value in early Indian Buddhism.[117] On the contrary, the expressed goal in early Buddhist literature—including that of the early Mahāyāna—was to achieve a state of "birthlessness" by attaining awakening (i.e., *nirvāṇa*) and thus severing the chain of causation leading to rebirth. Though the bodhisattva, striving for the exalted state of buddhahood, must spend many more lifetimes in *saṁsāra* than are required for his *śrāvaka* counterpart, for both the ultimate aim is the same: to leave this world of suffering once and for all.[118] The fact that both the *Da amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing* portray Amida as eventually entering final *nirvāṇa*—like Akṣobhya in the *Akṣobhyavyūha*, and of course like Śākyamuni in his various biographies as well—offers eloquent testimony to the enduring power of this religious vision.

Matters were completely different, however, in early medieval China, where the extension of life in one's present body was an ongoing object of concern. Though broad generalizations may hide as much as they reveal, it seems fair to say that in Chinese religion—not only in "Daoism," a much-misused category[119]—the physical body is valued much more highly than in Indian Buddhist texts. This is not to say, of course, that Indian Buddhists did not hope for a long and healthy life. Yet it is difficult to imagine a counterpart of the superb recent study by Robert F. Campany, entitled *To Live as Long as Heaven and Earth*—dealing with Chinese accounts of individuals who had had become transcendents (*xian* 仙)—being written on the basis of Indian sources. [120]

The vivid differences between these two very different cultural contexts—the Chinese valuation of the physical body as a gift from one's parents which should be protected and treasured, vs. the Indian Buddhist notion of the body as fundamentally impure—parallel in striking fashion what we can observe in Indian and Chinese preferences in the treatment of Amida's name. That is, the idea of an infinitely long life in one's present body—even in the glorified body of a Buddha like Amida—is simply not a positive value in early Indian Buddhism (including early Mahāyāna). In China, on the other hand, the idea of a Buddha who has attained "Measureless Life" seems to have had a profound resonance from the moment of its appearance.

The name *Amitāyus* does appear, of course, in some Indic-language texts, and as KARASHIMA Seishi has shown, it seems likely that it originated as a variant of *Amitābha* in

[116] See the reconstructions in Pulleyblank 1991 (p. 212) and Coblin 1994 (p. 204, no. 0264), respectively. Though both scholars reconstruct more than one pronunciation for this character, these do not include anything that would correspond to an Indic *mṛ* or *ma*.

[117] References to *nirvāṇa* as "the deathless" (Skt. *amṛta*, Pāli *amata*) do not contradict this statement, since they refer to an unconditioned reality that the practitioner can experience. The term is not, however, used to refer to something that a person himself or herself—whether as a Buddha or an Arhat—can become.

[118] For a discussion of the importance of this perspective in the formative period of the Mahāyāna see Nattier 2003a.

[119] For an up-to-date clarification of the problem of definition see Bokenkamp 2005.

[120] See Campany 2002.

a Middle Indic form.[121] But *Amitābha*, and not *Amitāyus*, remained by far the most common form of the name in India.[122] This state of affairs is also reflected in Tibetan translations; indeed, it is striking that the name *Amitāyus* is not even registered in the traditional Sanskrit-Tibetan glossary, the *Mahāvyutpatti*.[123] In Chinese, by contrast, occurrences of *Wuliangshou* 無量壽 vastly outnumber those of *Wuliangguang* 無量光, *Wuliangguangming* 無量光明, or any other translation that can be equated with *Amitābha*. Even in cases where an extant Indian or Tibetan parallel points to the meaning of the name as "Measureless Light," the corresponding Chinese text often reads *Wuliangshou*.

What we have here, in sum, is a clear example of cultural preferences at work, with the Indian sources, in the main, continuing a long-standing emphasis on luminosity, while Chinese audiences seized upon the alternative reading which emphasized Amida's measureless life. The image of Amida was thus refracted through two quite different cultural lenses, yielding vastly different cultic and exegetical results.

Conclusions: The names of Amida in early Chinese texts

The results presented in Parts 1 and 2 of this study show a clear stratification in the forms of the name of Amida found in early Chinese translations. In texts that can be assigned with confidence to the Eastern Han period (dealt with in Part 1), the only name of Amida that appears is the transcription *Amituo* 阿彌陀, which can be traced to a Middle Indic form of Amitābha (**Amidā'a* or **Amidāha*). In the Three Kingdoms period this transcription continues to be used, but two new translation terms appear: *Wuliang* 無量 "Measureless" (which, as suggested above, may be understood as a mistranslation of the same form) and the peculiar rendition *Wuliangqingjing* 無量清淨 "Measureless Purity," which I have suggested may be derived from **Amidā'a-viśūha* < *Amitābhavyūha*. Of these, the translation *Wuliang* appears to be restricted to the works of Zhi Qian;[124] if this is the case, it may simply reflect his own misunderstanding rather than an Indian tradition of referring to this Buddha as "Measureless" (*Amita*) alone. The translation *Wuliangqingjing*, however, is not restricted to Zhi Qian's work, and it may well reflect an alternative Indian intepretation (though one of very limited circulation) of the meaning of Amida's name.

All of the above names can be derived from Middle Indic forms of *Amitābha* "Measureless Light." The name *Amitāyus* "Measureless Life," by contrast, appears only once (assuming this sole occurrence in Zhi Qian's work is not the result of scribal

[121] See Karashima 1999b, p. 141, n. 34. For a paraphrase of Karashima's discussion in English see Nattier 2006a, p. 190 and n. 25.

[122] The ability of Buddhas to emit rays of light, illuminating the universe and even, by so doing, rescuing the living beings there, is a prominent motif in many Mahāyana sūtras, including several that were translated during the Han and Three Kingdoms period; in this connection see especially the *Dousha jing* 兜沙經 (T280) and the *Pusa benye jing* 菩薩本業經 (T281) where the Buddha's illumination of the universe is a major motif. On a more modest scale, the idea that an awakened being has a luminous appearance is well known already in pre-Mahāyāna texts. The idea of a Buddha being named "Limitless Light," in sum, is perfectly understandable when viewed against this Indian background.

[123] The name *Amitābha*, however, is included; see no. 85.

[124] See however n. 32 above.

emendation).[125] Thus it is clear that the Chinese sources point to the precedence of the name *Amitābha*, with the variant form *Amitāyus* appearing at a later date. This is precisely the direction of development indicated in Karashima's analysis of phonological developments of the name, and thus in this case, as in so many others, philology illuminates chronology.

But though it is clear that the name *Amitābha* preceded that of *Amitāyus*, this does not imply that the latter is a mistake. Granted, it seems to have been inspired, first and foremost, by a phonological development in Middle Indic; but the subsequent use of *Amitāyus* as a separate epithet of this Buddha representa a development of another kind. Our initial question, as historians shaped by modern scholarly conventions, may well be "which is the original form of the name?" For Buddhist exegetes, by contrast, a more common question was "How many things can it mean?"[126]

As a side effect of our inquiry into the names of Amida, we have encountered an additional example of the impact of Middle Indic phonology on the development of Buddhist exegesis. In the work of Zhi Qian—but not only in his corpus—we have found evidence of a confusion between Prakrit forms of *vyūha* "array," *śubha* "auspicious," and *(vi)śuddha* "pure." This suggests that in at least one Middle Indic language—perhaps Gāndhārī—these words could be perceived as synonyms.

This finding has a larger implication as well, for it points to the possibility that the term *vyūha*, in the very common expression *kṣetra-vyūha* "[buddha-]field array" could have been understood in a Middle Indic dialect as a reference to the purified quality (**viśūha*, interpreted as a form of *viśuddha* "pure") of a buddha-field. If this is the case, it has important implications for the development of the idea, seen already in Zhi Qian's early third-century translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, of "purifying a buddha-field."

Further investigation of the term *vyūha* and its permutations in other Chinese Buddhist translations, beginning with those of Dharmarakṣa, will surely offer rewarding results. To conclude this study, however, we may simply take notice of the broad array of possibilities for deliberate—not merely accidental—word-play in Middle Indic languages.[127] An awareness of the possibilities for multiple interpretation, based in part on the large number of homonyms in various Prakrit dialects, may add an important dimension to future research.

key words: Amitābha, Amitāyus, *vyūha*, *Wuliangqingjing*, *Pingdengjue jing*, Zhi Qian

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[125] See above, pp. 370-371.

[126] For a brief discussion of this issue with particular reference to the work of Buddhaghosa see Nattier 2003b, pp. 218-219.

[127] Texts like the *Vajracchedikā*, where it is clear that such word-play is being cultivated, may provide a good starting point. In the passage cited above (n. 56), for example, in light of our findings it seems possible that the statement that a *kṣetravyūha* is a "non-*vyūha*" (*avyūha*) may also have been intended to have the rather jarring additional overtone of Middle Indic **aviśūha*, i.e., "impure."

ABBREVIATIONS

BHSD = Franklin W. Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* Vol. II: Dictionary. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.
EMC = Early Middle Chinese
Grand Ricci = Association Ricci, *Grand dictionnaire Ricci de la langue chinoise*. 7 vols. Paris-Taipei: Institut Ricci, 2001.
HD = *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典 . 13 vols. Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe.
MW = Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 1899; rpt. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963.
ONWC = Old Northwest Chinese
PTSD = T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede, eds., *Pali-English Dictionary*. London: Pali Text Society, 1921-1925.
T = J. Takakusu & K. Watanabe, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*. 100 vols. (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–35).

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Inventing a New Idiom:
Some Aspects of the Language of the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 T 603 Translated by An Shigao*

Stefano ZACCHETTI

1. Introduction

The *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入經 T 603 ("Scripture on the aggregates, the constituents and the sense-fields", hereafter YCRJ),[1] was translated by the Parthian master An Shigao 安世高 – the earliest know Buddhist translator active in China – at sometime during the mid 2nd century CE.

For the scholar who wishes to research the language of early Chinese Buddhist translations (hereafter CBTs), the YCRJ presents at least two notable advantages:[2] it is one of the earliest specimens of this kind of literature included in the present canon; and, among the translations ascribable to An Shigao (a research field in its own right), this is probably the one[3] for which we have the closest Indic parallel, viz. chapter 6 (Suttatthasamuccayabhūmi) of the treatise

* The present article is a substantially modified version of a paper presented at the international symposium "Aspects of the Language of Chinese Buddhist Translations" (Hachioji, Tokyo, November 11-12, 2006) organised by the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University. I should like to avail myself of this chance to thank, in the first place, the Institute's director, Prof. Hiroshi Kanno, the confernce organizer, Prof. Seishi Karashima, as well as the other members of the IRIAB, not only for kindly inviting me to contribute a paper, but also for accepting it later for publication. During the lively discussions which made that symposium one of the most interesting and enjoyable scholarly meetings in which I ever had the pleasure to participate, I was able to profit from the critical remarks of several scholars who listened to my presentation, and whom I should like to thank here for contributing to improving my paper: especially Professors Christoph Harbsmeier, Jiang Shaoyu, Seishi Karashima, and Lambert Schmithausen. Later, at Venice University, my long-time friend, Prof. Attilio Andreini, was kind enough to discuss with me several problems I encountered in writing the present article. Last, but certainly not least, I wish to express my profound gratitude and affection to Prof. Jan Nattier, who kindly accepted to read a draft of the present work, suggesting many improvements and corrections. Needless to say, I remain the only responsible for any error remaining in this article.

[1] In the present article, the examples from the YCRJ are quoted in the CBETA Reader 2006 CD-ROM edition (which includes the *Taishō*'s apparatus); In dubious cases I have also checked the text of the *Zhonghua dazangjing* 中華大藏經, Beijing 1984-1988 (hereafter ZH), vol. 36, pp. 129-154. In the present article the variants collated by *Taishō* and ZH are mentioned only when necessary. For the *Peṭakopadesa* (Peṭ.), the base text follows the Chaṭṭa Saṅgāyana CD-ROM Version 3; the pagination follows the PTS edition (1949); the paragraph numbers are those of Ñāṇamoli's translation (hereafter Peṭ-tr.).

[2] A third advantage which, among the earliest CBTs, is essentially restricted (with one or two possible exceptions) to the YCRJ is the fact that we also have an early commentary to this translation, the so-called *Yin chi ru jing zhu* 陰持入經註 T 1694 (hereafter YCRJZ; see § 3.4.1 below).

[3] An Shigao's *Ahan shi baofa jing* 長阿含十報法經 T 13 should also be mentioned in this connection, as it closely corresponds to the Sarvāstivādin *Daśottarasūtra*: see de Jong 1966 and Karashima 2000.

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preserved in Pāli with the title *Peṭakopadesa* (hereafter Peṭ.).[4] Concerning the latter point, there is hardly any need to say that Peṭ. ch. 6, as we have it now, *is not* the original of the YCRJ, and that (lacking a study specifically devoted to this question) we still do not know what was the language of the original text used by An Shigao.

At any rate, both the points just discussed are, in my opinion, of particular significance for studying the language of the YCRJ, and, to a certain extent, of CBTs at large.

For if CBTs are written in a largely invented artificial idiom,[5] it should be particularly fruitful to analyse one of the very first attempts of translating a Buddhist scripture (and a considerably technical and difficult one at that) into what up to that time must have been an almost completely untested linguistic medium. We can easily imagine the difficulty of the task facing the translator and his collaborators at that early stage.[6] But, because of these very difficulties, the degree of pioneering inventiveness they had to apply during the translation process must arguably have been higher than in later specimens of this genre. Then, the study of the YCRJ should enable us to catch an image of the language resulting from this creative process when it was still *in fieri*, and not yet frozen into a venerable and rigid church language.

However, the possibility of comparing a translation of this sort with an Indic parallel close enough to allow us to perceive in detail many of the problems faced by the translator and of the solutions devised to solve them is even more important, in spite of the many difficulties posed in this particular case by the available Indic text.[7] Even when we are solely interested in the Chinese side of the process which produced the corpus of CBTs, and we want to use these texts as sources for the study of Medieval Chinese, we ought never to forget the influence exerted on them by their Indic originals, which is stronger than many sinologists are willing to believe.[8] For this reason, in the following paragraphs the examples from the YCRJ will be quoted together with the corresponding Pāli.

In short, the YCRJ can provide us with an almost ideal vantage point for observing a peculiar idiom – Chinese Buddhist translationese – at its earliest stage of life. True, the YCRJ (as many

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[4] On the identification of Peṭ. ch. 6 as a text corresponding to An Shigao's YCRJ see Zacchetti 2002. On the Peṭ. see the introduction to Peṭ-tr., von Hinüber 1996: 80-82 §§ 167-171), and especially Mizuno's masterful study: "*Peṭakopadesa* について", repr. in Mizuno 1997, pp. 119-148.

[5] See for example Zhu 2001.

[6] Often, no doubt understandably, we tend perhaps to overemphasise the differences between Chinese and Sanskrit (and other various cognate Middle Indic languages), and hence also the difficulties of translating Buddhist scriptures into Chinese, without taking into account the great advantages Chinese has as a translation language (which is proved by the generally successful history of CBTs). For example, the flexibility of Chinese in combining its monosyllabic morphemes to create new words – highly productive even in modern Chinese – has always been a great asset for Buddhist translators; the same could be said of several other features of this language (e.g. nominalisation; cf. § 3.1 below).

[7] The Peṭ. (besides being an intrinsically difficult book) is notoriously corrupt: in the words of Prof. von Hinüber, "[t]he text tradition of Peṭ. ... is particularly bad" (1996: 80 § 167), although this grim situation is in part countered by Peṭ-tr., whose footnotes contain scores of conjectural emendations, generally rather convincing.

[8] Even Prof. Zürcher in his 1977 article – unquestionably the single most important work in the linguistic study of Han dynasty translations – wrote (with reference to Later Han CBTs as a whole) that "the archaic translations, especially in their narrative parts, are very free; the distorting influence of the Sanskrit or Prakrit original seems to be limited to a few clearly definable areas" (1977: 178). Here I must politely disagree; in fact the YCRJ (and other translations by An Shigao as well) could provide many counterexamples to such a general statement.

other translations by An Shigao), highly technical in content and with no narrative part, is certainly not a good source for the study of Later Han vernacular. Indeed, one doubts sometimes whether the strange jargon of this text is to be called Chinese at all. And yet, for my present purpose – describing the language of an early CBT insofar as it is a very distinctive and peculiar artificial idiom – it is exactly those features of the YCRJ which make this text interesting,

While in this paper I will focus on the YCRJ, I will also try to compare some of the results of my research on this particular text with the data which can be obtained from other translations ascribable to An Shigao with varying degrees of probability.[9] These scriptures represent the earliest body of CBTs available to us, and I am planning, as a future research project, a systematic study of their language (including both grammatical and lexical features).

There is little doubt that it will be necessary, in order to grasp the specific features of this corpus (and also of individual texts within this corpus), to compare it not only with other representative Later Han CBTs, but also with significant specimens of coeval literary Chinese. At this stage of my research, this has been done only occasionally and mainly resorting (for checking peculiar usages found in the YCRJ) to just two texts selected as representatives of these categories (i.e., Later Han CBTs outside An Shigao's corpus, and coeval literature in *wenyan*): the *Dao xing jing* 道行經 T 224 translated by Lokakṣema (hereafter DXJ), and Wang Chong's 王充 *Lun heng* 論衡 (mainly accessed through Cheng Xiangqing et al. 1994), respectively.[10]

As an indispensable preliminary step towards the analysis of the language of the YCRJ and the study of the translation technique used to produce the text itself, I have prepared a complete synoptic edition of this scripture compared with its Pāli counterpart (to be published in the future), which has formed the basis of the present study.

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[9] The words "An Shigao's corpus" specifically refer, in the present paper, to a searchable file containing, besides the YCRJ, the following texts: *Chang ahan shi bao fa jing* 長阿含十報法經 T 13 (hereafter SBFJ); *Ren ben yu sheng jing* 人本欲生經 T 14; *Yiqie liu sheshou yin jing* 一切流攝守因經 T 31; *Si di jing* 四諦經 T 32; *Ben xiang yi zhi jing* 本相猗致經 T 36; *Shi fa fei fa jing* 是法非法經 T 48; *Lou fenbu jing* 漏分布經 T 57; 普法義經 *Pu fayi jing* T 98; *Ba zheng dao jing* 八正道經 T 112; *Qi chu san guan jing* 七處三觀經 T 150A; *Da anban shouyi jing* 大安般守意經 T 602 (hereafter ABSYJ); *Chan xing fa xiang jing* 禪行法想經 T 605; *Dao di jing* 道地經 T 607; *Fa shou chen jing* 法受塵經 T 792; *Ahan koujie shi'er yinyuan jing* 阿含口解十二因緣經 T 1508; *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 T 101. To these canonical scriptures we should also add An Shigao's texts recently discovered in two manuscripts preserved at the Kongō-ji 金剛寺, in Osaka Prefecture (see Kajiura 2001), and published in Ochiai 2004: a different version of the *Anban shouyi jing* 安般守意經 (on which see Deleanu 2003), the *Fo shuo shi'er men jing* 佛說十二門經, the *Fo shuo jie shi'er men jing* 佛說解十二門經, and the commentary on the "twelve gates" 十二門 (see Zacchetti 2003). This selection is essentially based on the list of An Shigao's translation established by Zürcher 1991: 297-298, supplemented by the results of recent discoveries and research (e.g. T 101, whose possible attribution to An Shigao has been discussed by Harrison 2002). This remains, however, a provisionally defined body of material: some texts should be added, and probably some will have to be removed, when our knowledge of the language of An Shigao's translations (and of Han Buddhism in general) will advance enough to allow us to establish sound criteria for their internal criticism. For instance, the ABSYJ T 602 consists for the most part, in all probability (as I shall try to demonstrate in a forthcoming article), of a later commentary on the text preserved in the Kongō-ji MSS, and should not be used, without much caution, as evidence for studying An Shigao's translations. On the other hand, the position of the *Apitan wu fa xing jing* 阿毘曇五法行經 T 1557, not included by Zürcher among An Shigao's genuine translations, ought to be reconsidered. A cursory examination suggests that the traditional attribution of this scripture to the Parthian master could well be correct.

[10] Admittedly, I have selected these two texts mainly for the sake of convenience, rather than on the basis of well pondered linguistic arguments. However, there are good reasons for selecting Wang Chong's work as a *wenyan* counterpart for comparison with Late Han CBTs, as shown by Hu 2002: 3-5.

Although the production of systematic descriptions of the language of individual CBTs (and, at a later stage, of significant subgroups – established on a chronological and / or typological basis – of CBTs) should be the ideal objective of this kind of research, for the moment I can only offer a handful of isolated observations.

In fact, the aim of the present work is far more limited: I shall simply try to identify and describe some peculiar features – in matter of style, lexicon and grammar – of *this* particular scripture translated by An Shigao. This may also help us, of course, to better understand his other works.

In this connection, it is important to remember that while in this article, for the sake of convenience, I will often refer to the translator of the YCRJ as "An Shigao", as if this translation were the work of a single individual, this is in fact something of an expedient fiction. We do not have the slightest information as to the exact procedure by which the YCRJ was translated. But what we know of almost all the CBTs of all ages suggests that it was probably rendered into Chinese through the efforts of an équipe of translators. It is then extremely difficult to ascribe any specific linguistic or stylistic feature found in a collective work of this kind to a particular individual.

2. Style and Translation Technique

Before even beginning to discuss the grammar or the lexicon of a CBT it is always important to have a clear grasp of the method by which the given text with all its linguistic and stylistic features was produced, that is, of the translation technique adopted by its authors.

We perhaps could outline An Shigao's attitude towards the task of translation, as reflected in the YCRJ, as being characterized by two apparently contradictory tendencies: rigid adherence to the Indic original in matters of syntax, coupled with a certain propensity towards free creativity at the lexical level. The traditional stereotyped classification of translations into "free" and "literal" is of little help in this case.

Nearly every paragraph of the YCRJ documents An Shigao's strong penchant for tracing faithfully the syntactic structure of his Indic original. The following string (taken from the rendition of the *satipaṭṭhāna* formula),[11] which can be matched to the original wording almost as an interlinear version, is a glaring example of this translation technique:

1. (YCRJ p. 173c-174a)	比丘	自身	身[12]	身相觀	行止。
(*Vibhaṅga* p. 193)[13]	*bhikkhu*	*ajjhattaṃ*	*kāye*	*kāyānupassī*	*viharati*

[11] For the entire passage on the *satipaṭṭhāna*s, see YCRJ T 603 pp. 173c 29-174a 9.

[12] According to the apparatuses of *Taishō* and ZH (36: 131b and 138a), this character 身 is not found (no doubt wrongly) in the Song dynasty Fuzhou edition (宮), in the Jingshan edition of the Ming period (明) and in the so-called *Longzang* of the Qing.

[13] In § 448, devoted to the *satipaṭṭhāna*s, the Peṭ.'s text (as is the case with the whole section on the *bodhipakkhikā dhammā*; cf. n. 17 below) is greatly abbreviated, as it merely indicates the beginning of the relevant canonical formula (114, 22-24): *cattāro satipaṭṭhānā. Katame cattāro? Idha bhikkhu kāye kāyānupassī viharati.* On the other hand, the exposition of the *satipaṭṭhāna*s found in the YCRJ is consistent with the description provided by Gethin 2001: 53 n. 202 ("Occasionally the triad *ajjhattaṃ / bahiddhā / ajjhattaṃ-bahiddhā* is added straight to the basic *satipaṭṭhāna* formula"). In this connection, Gethin mentions the *Vibhaṅga* passage I have quoted here.

We note that, in this phrase, every word was rendered into Chinese maintaining the position it had in the original text, and disregarding its syntactic function within the target language.[14] This is certainly a borderline case, and yet it can be taken as representative of An Shigao's general attitude.

Occasionally, even the use of individual function words seems to have been influenced by the Indic original:

2. (p. 178b) 已如是道弟子為無疑：在佛亦無疑，....

(Peṭ. p. 131, § 535) *Idha ariyasāvako **buddhe** na kaṅkhati* ... .

In this case, the use of the preposition *zài* 在 gives every appearance of being a calque of the Sanskrit and Middle Indic locative, here used to denote the person *towards* whom one has doubts. Therefore, in the light of the Pāli, I would render the is passage as "Thus the disciple who follows the Path has no doubts: he has no doubts with regard to the Buddha ... ". In other words, here *zài* 在 is to be interpreted as having the sense of "with regard to, concerning", introducing the logical object of *wú yí* 無疑.[15]

It is, however, important to observe that this policy of rigidly literal translation was not adhered to systematically. Consider, for instance, the following passage, where the Pāli parallel has a similar locative construction as in the preceding example:

3. (YCRJ p. 176a) 何等為觀？觀名為了陰，為了持，為了入 ... 如有分別，etc. ("What is discernment? Discernment means: understanding the aggregates, the constituents, the sense-fields ... one analyses them as they actually are, etc.").[16]

(Peṭ. p. 122, § 494) *Tattha katamā vipassanā? Khandhesu vā dhātūsu vā āyatanesu vā ... so yathābhūtaṃ vicayo pavicayo* etc.

At times, even the syntactic structure of the Indic original compounds is preserved in the translated text (although, again, there are several counterexamples):

4. (YCRJ p. 174a; cf. Peṭ. § 449) ... 神足 ... 却欲猗，盡猗 ("... a base of supernatural power ... based on the elimination of desire, based on the cessation [of desire]").

(Cf. the Gilgit MS of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*):[17] ... riddhipādaṃ ... virāgan[i]śṛtaṃ nirodhaniḥśṛtaṃ ...

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[14] So, for instance, the relationship between 身 and 身相觀 = *kāye kāyānupassī* ("[a *bhikkhu*] ... with regard to the body dwells watching body"; quoted from Gethin 2001: 29) is left unexpressed. This way of translating is curiously reminiscent of Dharmagupta's *Jingang nengduan boreboluomi jing* 金剛能斷般若波羅蜜經 T 238 (see Zacchetti 1996: 144-145), thus anticipating (albeit very unsystematically) a technique which was officially adopted by translation teams only at a much later stage (Id. pp. 151-152).

[15] In the *Lunheng*, the verb *yí* 疑 normally takes a direct object. In a couple of cases, 疑 is followed by the preposition *yú* 於 introducing the fact regarding which one expresses doubts, as in *Lun heng* ch. 26: 猶疑於增, "he doubted that even [this] was exaggerated". In CBTs, too, *yí* 疑 occurs generally as a transitive verb, although in some cases we find prepositional constructions somewhat similar to that in example 2 above; see for instance *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 T 99 p. 66c 29: 於此不疑 ("one does not doubt this"). I should like to thank Prof. Karashima for his comments on example 2.

[16] Note, in this case, the astute reiteration of *liǎo* 了 ("to understand, comprehend"), an expedient free rendition of the locative (*khandesu* etc.; used in the sense of "concerning, regarding etc.") which, introducing the objects in a sort of topicalization, allows An Shigao to keep the original word-order, yet being able to produce a text which, wooden as it may be, makes sense. The comparison of the two preceding examples is telling, for it seemingly demonstrates that the calque rendition we found in example no. 2 was probably the outcome of a deliberate choice (however obscure to us its rationale might be) on the part of the translation équipe, not of their lack of understanding or of linguistic resources.

This way of translating Indic compounds – with the last member of the original compound represented by a Chinese word in the same position (in this case, *yǐ* 猗 representing *-niśrita*, "dependent on") – remained productive throughout the history of CBTs.

In this connection, it is interesting to observe that one of the most common instances of this pattern in Buddhist Chinese (not just in CBTs), the "quasi suffix" *xiàng* 相 reflecting *-lakkhaṇa / -lakṣaṇa* as a final member of *bahuvrīhi* compounds (X-相 = "having the characteristic of X", "being characterised by X" etc.), is already attested in the YCRJ:[18]

> **5.** (YCRJ p. 17c) 以 [= 已] 得道德依猗相，是為依慧人 ("Being characterised by dependence upon [those] who have attained virtue: this is depending on wise persons").
>
> (Peṭ. p. 129, § 526) *Ariyasannissayalakkhaṇo*[19] *sappurissūpanissayo.*

In the rendition of Buddhist terminology, on the other hand, An Shigao adopted a very different, and far more flexible, approach. This is shown, to begin with, by his well-known preference for translating, rather than transcribing phonetically, Buddhist technical terms, which betrays a certain readiness to depart from his originals at the lexical level.[20]

In fact a close comparative analysis of the YCRJ and Peṭ. 6 shows that sometime An Shigao was willing to take even greater liberties. For instance, he did not hesitate to add to the translated text his own explanations when this was deemed useful for a better understanding of the text:

> **6.** (YCRJ p. 174a) ... 神足 ... 從不便意生遠離去 ... ("... a base of supernatural power ... [which] produces separation from unfavourable thoughts").
>
> (Cf. the Gilgit MS of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*; cf. n. 17 above): ... ṛddhipādaṃ ... vyavasargapariṇataṃ ... .

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[17] Exactly as the *satipaṭṭhāna*s (cf. n. 13 above), also the *iddhipāda*s are only mentioned in the Peṭ. (§ 449, p. 114, 25: *iddhipādaṃ ... pe...*). The YCRJ, on the other hand, quotes in full the canonical formula relevant to this topic. In so doing, however, it agrees with Sanskrit sources in having a more expanded formula of the *ṛddhipāda*s. This is noteworthy, given that, as observed by Gethin (2001: 92-93) this wording is not attested in Pāli sources on the *iddhipāda*s. Here I have referred to the Gilgit MS of the Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* (in: Raghu Vira and Lokesh Chandra [eds.], *Gilgit Buddhist Manuscripts*, Śatapiṭaka vol. 10 [3-5], New Delhi 1966-1970), folio 89v 14-90r 3, being the closest parallel to the YCRJ available to me.

[18] Incidentally, the very adoption of *xiàng* 相 for rendering *lakkhaṇa / lakṣaṇa* – unremarkable as it might look now to us, given the nearly ubiquitous presence of this word in Buddhist Chinese – should be seen as a very felicitous and momentous choice on the part of An Shigao. One has just to think how important is this term not just in CBTs of all ages, but in Chinese Buddhist literature and thought at large. More specifically, this particular use of *xiàng* 相 as a syntactic calque of *-lakṣaṇa* ifc. can in fact be considered a mark (if I am allowed an innocent quibble) of CBTs' idiom. Just to mention a rightly famous example: cf. the strategic use of the -相 construction by a presumable apocryphal scripture as the *Dasheng qi xin lun* 大乘起信論 as a means for asserting its self-identity as a translation, as, for instance, in 是心真如相 (T 1666 p. 575c 23; "This mind is characterised by True Thusness").

[19] Peṭ-tr. (p. 175, n. 526/1) proposes to read *ariyadassana-* instead of *ariyanissaya-* (which already occurred as the "characteristic" of a preceding term in the same paragraph); the YCRJ, however clearly supports the transmitted reading.

[20] Cf. Zürcher's discussion of translation versus transcription in Han CBTs (1991: 285). An Shigao's attitude should perhaps characterised, more properly, as a middle path between the two extremes represented, among Han translators, by Lokakṣema, who used a high number of transcriptions, and the duo An Xuan – Yan Fotiao, who in their *Fa jing jing* 法鏡經 T 322 translated even proper names (see Zürcher 1991: 283). An Shigao, instead, usually transcribes phonetically proper nouns, while translating (with very few exceptions) technical terms. I should like to thank Jan Nattier for her suggestions on this point.

In this case, 生遣離去 (on 從 see below § 3.3d) would have sufficed to render the compound corresponding to *vyavasargapariṇata-* ("resulting in abandonment") which An Shigao must have read also in the original of the YCRJ. Hence the four characters I have marked in example 6 are to be seen as an explanation added by An Shigao. This case is particularly telling, for this is a well-known canonical formula: this rules out that here the Parthian master's rendition could reflect an original variant reading.

Even An Shigao's often deprecated terminological inconsistency – indeed bewildering in most cases – need not always to be taken as the outcome of sloppiness or lack of control in the team-work which produced his translations. At least in some cases, variations in the rendition of technical terminology may be the result of a deliberate choice.

Let us consider, for example, the treatment of a key term such as *dhātu* in the YCRJ, which exemplifies both the dark and the bright side of An Shigao's inclination to lexical variation. When this term means the eighteen constituents, it is rendered in the YCRJ in three different (though interrelated) ways: as 本 (YCRJ p. 173b 6 = cf. Peṭ. p. 112, § 436), as 本持 (YCRJ p. 173b 28 = Peṭ. p. 113, § 440), or, again, as 持 (YCRJ p. 174c 23 = Peṭ. p. 116, § 467).[21]

However, for translating *dhātu* in the sense of cosmic sphere, region or world, An Shigao decided to make use of a rendition which could convey the spatial nuance of this other sense:

7. (YCRJ p. 174b) ... 為度欲界。("he surpassess the realm of desire").

(Peṭ. p. 115, § 457) ... *kāmadhātuṃ samatikkamati.*

His choice, *jiè* 界 (which originally meant the boundary of a piece of land), proved another remarkably successful invention by the Parthian master, and in fact became in later CBTs the standard rendition of *dhātu* in all its fundamental meanings. But if we consider that at the time of An Shigao Buddhist terminology was something entirely new to the Chinese audience, trying to underscore the different meanings of the various technical terms seems a quite reasonable translation policy.[22]

3. Some Aspects of the Language of the YCRJ

As already mentioned above, what follows is by no means a systematic description of the language of the YCRJ. I will only discuss here some features which can be considered for various reasons representative of the specific idiom of this text, or for which a more or less clear pattern is discernible.

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[21] The idea underlying these translations might be that these elements are fundamental (本) to the process of existence, and support it (持); cf. YCRJZ T 1694 p. 10b 21-22. One also wonders whether *dhātu* was not wrongly taken as a derivative of √*dhṛ*. This might, in fact, reflect a traditional interpretation: cf. *Abhidharmakośa* vol. 1 p. 34 (§ 1.12): *ity ete catvāraḥ svalakṣaṇopādāyarūpadhāraṇād dhātavaś catvāri mahābhūtāny ucyante.*

[22] We also have to bear in mind that very probably these translations were not originally meant to be used outside a small community, where the master, through his oral explanations, could always provide the key to their understanding (see Zacchetti 2003: 273-274 n. 99; 2004: 219-221). This fact, too, may account for the lexical variations so common in An Shigao's translations.

3.1. Nominal composition and nominalisation

The propensity toward the use of polysyllabic (especially disyllabic) words generally displayed by CBTs is well known, and has already been discussed in detail by many scholars.[23] This is in fact one of the major trends in the historical development of the Chinese language as a whole, and we need not linger much on this point.

There is, however, another phenomenon which is widespread in the YCRJ (as well as in many other CBTs), and it is perhaps more relevant to our study of the specialised idiom represented by this particular text. Throughout the translation of the YCRJ, An Shigao had to tackle the difficult task of rendering into Chinese nominal compounds or other particular constructions found in his Indic original. In order to solve this problem, the Parthian translator and his assistants often resorted to unusually complex nominal syntagms or unmarked nominalised phrases.[24]

8. (YCRJ p. 175c) 為不淨意念淨倒得解。 etc. ... 非身計為身倒得解。

(Peṭ. 121, § 487) *"asubhe subhan"ti vipallāsaṃ samugghāteti, evaṃ vedanāsu, citte, dhammesu ca kātabbaṃ.*

In this example, 不淨意念淨 and 非身計為身, which translate the Pāli *ti* clauses governed by *vipallāsaṃ*, are to be analysed as nominalised phrases modifying the noun *dǎo* 倒 ("distortion").[25]

This kind of rendition (often of difficult interpretation without the help of the Pāli parallels) is extremely common throughout the YCRJ.

9. (YCRJ p. 175c) 不與取 ("the appropriation of what is not given"; cf. also example n. 37 below)。

(Peṭ. p. 121, § 489) ... *adinnādānaṃ* ... .

10. (YCRJ p. 173c) 亦有二知：一從慧知；二從斷知。("there are two [forms of] knowing: 1. knowing by wisdom; 2. knowing by abandonment").[26]

(Peṭ. p. 114, § 444) *Api ca dvidhā pariññā: ñāṇapariññā ca pahānapariññā ca.*

11. (YCRJ p. 179a) 何謂四相應？一為已解相應，二為已斷捨相應，三為自證相應，四為增滿相應。("What are the four agreements?[27] The first is agreement [consisting in] having comprehended; the

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[23] See for example Zürcher 1977: 179-182; Zhu 1992: 123-ff.; Hu 2002: 19-ff. The YCRJ is no exception in this respect, and a considerable portion of its vocabulary consists of disyllabic words. In a number of cases, monosyllabic and disyllabic forms alternate without apparent reason: so, for example, we find 痛 and 痛痒 for *vedanā*; 想 and 思想 for *saññā* etc. Nouns or verbs consisting of three syllables are rare (cf. Zürcher 1977: 179 and Zhu 1992: 126-127); one could quote the nominalised verb 遣離去, "separating, separation" (YCRJ p. 174a 22-26) = *vyavasarga*, "abandonment, release" (see the discussion of the example 6 above).

[24] Distinguishing nouns and nominalised verbs is not always an easy task when we are facing nouns of verbal origin. The fact that a given Chinese word is used to translate a noun in the corresponding Indic text has, of course, no relevance to this question. The point is to analyse its behaviour as a *Chinese* word, within the Chinese linguistic context. Provisionally, I adopt Pulleyblank's criterion (1995: 63): "It [viz. nominalization] should also be distinguished from the case of nouns derived from verbs, which cannot take verbal adjuncts like objects or adverbial modifiers". Accordingly, I interpret 倒 (=*vipallāsa*) here, and 相應 (= *abhisamaya*) in example 11 as nouns. On the other hand, I consider 知 (= *pariññā*) in 從慧知 etc. (example 10) as a nominalised verb because it is modified by the prepositional syntagm 從慧.

[25] So, for instance, 非身計為身倒 is probably to be interpreted as "the distortion of considering what is not the self as the self". Incidentally, note how closely does the word order in 非身計為身 follow the Pāli (cf. the discussion in § 2 above).

[26] In a preceding passage, the two *pariññā*s are rendered in a slightly different way: 亦有二知：一為慧知；二為斷知 (YCRJ p. 173b 22-23).

second is the agreement [consisting in] having abandoned; the third is agreement [consisting in] realization; the fourth is agreement [consisting in] fulfilment").

(Peṭ. p. 133, § 538) *Cattāro abhisamayā: pariññābhisamayo, pahānābhisamayo, sacchikiriyābhisamayo, bhāvanābhisamayo.*

A significant general feature displayed by the YCRJ with regard to nominal syntagms is the **total absence** of the structural particle *zhī* 之. This is all the more remarkable, given the frequent occurrence in this text of long and complex syntagms, as we have just seen.

It is important to observe that while this feature is to a certain degree shared by the rest of the An Shigao corpus, where the *zhī* 之 marking nominal subordination is very rare (with the telling exception of the ABSYJ T 602: cf. n. 9 above), the situation in other Late Han CBTs is quite different.[28] In Lokakṣema's translations for example, the structural particle *zhī* 之 is by no means uncommon.[29]

3.2 Content words: semantic changes and neologisms

As is typical of many early translations, semantic neologisms – i.e., new meanings added to already existing words – are very frequent in the YCRJ (one could even argue that, in a certain sense, most of the words in a text of this kind belong to this category). And several of them proved quite successful.

Indeed, if we consider that, as already noted, the YCRJ (together with other translations by An Shigao) represents the truly pioneering phase in the development of CBTs, it is surprising to find that a relatively high number of his translations of Buddhist terms (and, more generally, expressions and idiomatic usages) were to become the strandard Chinese renditions.

In the following paragraphs I shall discuss only a limited selection of the content words (實詞) which occur in the YCRJ with meanings not recorded in the major modern dictionaries of literary Chinese (particularly HD), and which seem to be characteristic of An Shigao's lexicon.

3.2.1 *duò* 墮

The verb *duò* 墮, one of the most frequent content words in the YCRJ (64 occurrences), is particularly interesting from this point of view. It occurs in the YCRJ and elsewhere in An Shigao's corpus in a variety of uses, and the relationship with their Indic parallels is in some cases intriguingly difficult to assess with precision.

Here I shall list the various uses of *duò* 墮 I could detect in the YCRJ.

a) 墮 = "to reach a certain condition (either positive or negative)":

12. (YCRJ p. 178a) 已斷是三縛結，道弟子便墮道迹，不復墮惡道。("Once he has cut off the three fetters, the disciple who follows the Path **gets to** [the stage] of Sotāpanna, and does not **fall back** anymore into evil courses").

(Peṭ. p. 130, § 533) ... *imesaṃ tiṇṇaṃ saṃyojanānaṃ pahānā parikkhayā ariyasāvako hoti sotāpanno avinipātadhammo* ...

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[27] An Shigao's wooden rendition of *abhisamaya* ("comprehension, right understanding"; cf. Peṭ-tr. pp. 179-180 § 538: "actualizing"), *xiāngyìng* 相應, probably reflects the basic meaning of *abhi-sam-√i* ("to come together etc.)".

[28] However, a general tendency to a less frequent use of the particle of subordination *zhī* in CBTs in comparison with classical texts has been observed by Long Guofu 2004: 86.

[29] Just to quote a few examples: 還自觀心之法 (*Azheshi wang jing* 阿闍世王經, T 626 p. 403a 19-20); 行菩薩之道者菩薩 (DXJ T 224, p. 428b 20-21); 是曹之人為不知其尊耶？ (DXJ T 224 p. 432a 27-28).

As this example clearly shows, the connotation of the verb *duò* 墮 in An Shigao's translations is by no means exclusively negative (see also examples 16, 17, and 19 below).

b) 墮 / 致墮 = "to result in, to be conducive to" (?).

This should actually be seen as the application (indeed very frequent in the YCRJ) to the translation of a particular technical term of the acceptation of *duò* 墮 we have discussed in the preceding subparagraph.

A prominent feature of the Peṭ., and particularly of its 6th chapter, is the frequent use of the formula *lakkhaṇa / padaṭṭhāna* in order to define terms of canonical lists, and to show their connection.[30] Typically, a certain term X is defined as having a given quality as its distinctive feature (*lakkhaṇa*), and as being the direct cause (*padaṭṭhāna*, lit. "footing", as is rendered in Peṭ-tr.) for another term Y to come into being.

Predictably enough, all this sophisticated terminology seems to have caused a bit of a headache to An Shigao and his assistants. As a result, they rendered the *lakkhaṇa / padaṭṭhāna* formula in a variety of ways, but more often than not employing the verb *duò* 墮 in combination with other words (often we find the compound *zhìduò* 致墮). For example:

13. (YCRJ p. 177c) 以得正願相，是爲身正願，令墮福處。 ("being characterised by having attained right aspiration, this is the characteristic of right aspiration towards oneself; it results in the establishment of merits").

(Peṭ. p. 129, § 526) *sammāpaṭipattilakkhaṇaṃ attasammāpaṇidhāna, taṃ puññānaṃ padaṭṭhānaṃ.*

14. (YCRJ p. 175a) 癡相為何等？為冥中見冥，如有不解；令從是致墮行[31]處。("What is the characteristic of ignorance? It is [like] seeing darkness amid darkness, [it is] not understanding [things] as they [really] are; from this, it results in the establishment of the impulses").

(Peṭ. p. 117, § 469) *Tattha andhakāratimisā yathābhūtaṃ appajānanalakkhaṇā avijjā, saṅkhārānaṃ padaṭṭhānaṃ.*

As we can see, in these examples – which could be easily multiplied – the *padaṭṭhāna* construction is rendered by An Shigao as 令 ... 墮 / 致墮 ... 處, probably to be interpreted (if we take *lìng* 令, whose functions in the YCRJ are not always clear, as a causative verb with an implied pivot) as "[X] leads to reaching (or: resulting in) the establishment of Y".

c) 墮 = "to fall into an error, erroneous view etc.".

15. (YCRJ p. 178b) 是為五邪見令墮無有。後有餘十五令墮常。如是見是身已斷，便六十二邪見已捨，令不墮常、非常。("These five kinds of wrong view [concerning the *khandha*s] cause one to **fall into** nihilism; the remaining fifteen cause one to **fall into** eternalism. The view concerning the existing self [見是身 = *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*] having been removed in this way, the sixty-two wrong views having been abandoned, one as a consequence does not **fall into** either eternalism or nihilism").

(Peṭ. p. 131, § 534) ... *imāyo pañca ucchedaṃ bhajanti. Avasesāyo pannarasa sassataṃ bhajanti. Iti sakkāyadiṭṭhipahānā dvāsaṭṭhidiṭṭhigatāni pahīyanti. Pahānā ucchedaṃ sassataṅ ca na bhajati.*

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[30] This important hermeneutical device typical of Peṭ. exerted a considerable influence on later Pāli exegetical literature. See Mizuno 1997: 145; cf. also Id. 132-133.

[31] I tentatively adopt the reading of 【宋】 and 【元】; the other editions collated in the *Taishō* read 行相處.

d) 墮 = "to fall into a certain category" (used when introducing classifications)

16. (YCRJ p. 174b) 八種道行為墮合三種：一戒種、二定種、三慧種。("The Eightfold Path <u>falls into</u> three categories: 1. the category of discipline, 2. the category of concentration, 3. the category of insight").

(Peṭ. p. 115, § 454) *Tattha aṭṭhaṅgiko maggo tikhandho: sīlakkhandho ca samādhikkhandho ca paññākkhandho ca.*

It is noteworthy that this use of *duò* 墮 is also attested in other texts translated by An Shigao. Let us consider, for instance, the following passage from the recently rediscovered *Fo shuo shi'er men jing* 佛說十二門經 (see n. 9 above):

17. 非法為何等？非法為殺、盜、婬、兩舌，一切惡皆墮罪。法為何等？為布施，作善，一切善皆墮福。(text quoted from Ochiai 2004: 196, columns 307-308).

"What is non-*dharma*? Non-*dharma* is killing, stealing, debauchery, lying[32] [etc.], all the evil [actions that] **fall into [the category of] offence** (墮罪). What is *dharma*? It is liberality [and] doing [other similar] positive deeds: all [such] positive deeds that **fall into [the category of] merit** (墮福)".[33]

e) 墮 = "to be (re)born".

18. (YCRJ p. 175a) 有相為何等？令墮若干處，是為有相 ("What is the characteristic of existence? <u>Birth into</u> various states [here 處 = *gati*], this is the characteristic of existence").

(Peṭ. p. 118, § 469) *Nānāgativikkhepalakkhaṇo bhavo ... .*

This sense of *duò* 墮 is attested elsewhere in An Shigao's corpus; see for instance the following passage from the commentary on the *Shi'er men jing* 十二門經:

19. 入一禪，墮七天；入二禪，墮十天；(text quoted from Ochiai 2004: 198, coll. 423-ff.; "When one is absorbed in the first *dhyāna*, one is reborn among the gods of the seventh [class]; when one is absorbed in the second *dhyāna*, one is reborn among the gods of the tenth [class] ... ".[34]

Note that none of these meanings is recorded in HD (cf. vol. 2: 1206), although their semantic developments from the basic meaning of *duò* 墮 ("to fall") are for the most part rather clear. In some cases, we are obviously facing uses of this verb coined *ad hoc*, in order to meet the special needs of a technical translation (e.g. see subparagraph b), and very probably not taken from the spoken language of that period. However, interestingly enough, in a number of other cases (see examples nos. 12 and 16), the relevant Pāli parallels contain no word directly corresponding to *duò*, which apparently was added by the translator in order to paraphrase the original text.

3.2.2 *xiàn* 現 ("to teach, to explain").

20. (YCRJ p. 175c) 為欲正四倒故，佛為現四意止，為說分別 ("In order to correct the four distortions, the Buddha <u>taught</u> the four foundations of mindfulness, explained them in detail").

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[32] Cf. An Shigao's translation of the *Daśottarasūtra*, SBFJ T 13 p. 241a 10-11: 惡行何等？爲十：一爲殺，二爲盜，三爲犯色，四爲兩舌, etc.; and ABSYJ T 602 p. 165c 24: 殺、盜、婬、兩舌 etc. In the light of these parallels, I read the first characters of the list, indeed not too clear in the Kongō-ji MSS, as 殺. In SBFJ T 13 p. 241a 11, 兩舌 (cf. HD 1: 557b) translates *mṛṣāvāda*, "lying": cf. *Daśottarasūtra* 2 p. 27.

[33] I thank Prof. Schmithausen for his suggestions concerning the interpretation of this passage communicated to me during the symposium. Alternatively, but no doubt less likely, one could perhaps interpret this 墮 in the sense of "to result in", as in § 3.2.1.b: "... all the evil [actions alike] result in punishment (墮罪). Etc." (cf. Zacchetti 2004: 236-237).

[34] On this passage see Zacchetti 2003: 291-293; on this use of 墮, cf. also Zacchetti 2004b: 205 with n. 42.

(Peṭ. p. 121, § 487) *Tattha catunnaṃ vipallāsānaṃ samugghātanatthaṃ bhagavā cattāro satipaṭṭhāne deseti paññapeti.*

21. (YCRJ p. 176a) 是二病故，佛現二藥 ("for these two ailments, the Buddha has **taught** two medicines").

(Peṭ. p. 123, § 496) *etesaṃ dvinnaṃ rogānaṃ nighātāya bhagavatā dve bhesajjāni vuttāni.*

This usage – a plain semantic development from the causative meaning of *xiàn* 現 when used transitively ("to show, to manifest") – is also attested in the *Fo shuo shi'er men jing* 佛說十二門經 (see above n. 9):

22. 佛言：『我故為世間人現十二門，令出去』。(text quoted from Ochiai 2004: 195, col. 287-288; "The Buddha said: «It is especially[35] for the sake of the human beings who live in the world, that I have **taught** the twelve gates, so as to let them escape»".

3.2.3 *fāwǎng* 發往 / *wǎng* 往 ("to cling to")

23. (YCRJ p. 175a) 愛相為何等？為發往，是為愛相。("What is the characteristic of craving? It is **clinging**, this is the characteristic of craving").
(Peṭ. 117, 22-23, § 469) *Ajjhosānalakkhaṇā taṇhā ... .*

24. (YCRJ p. 175b) 彼有愛為何等？為所世間欲，發往不捨；是為有愛。("What is craving for being? It is desire for the world, **clinging** without renouncing [to it]; this is craving for being").
(Peṭ. p. 118, § 472) *Bhavataṇhā nāma yo bhavesu rāgo sārāgo icchā mucchā patthanā nandi ajjhosānaṃ apariccāgo, ayaṃ bhavataṇhā.*[36]

As can be seen from these passages, the disyllabic word *fāwǎng* 發往 (not recorded in HD)[37] is consistently used in the YCRJ to translate *ajjhosāna* ("grasping, clinging to").[38] The equivalence *fāwǎng* 發往 = *ajjhosāna* is further confirmed by other translations by An Shigao, especially the *Ren ben yu sheng jing* 人本欲生經 T 14; see for example p. 242c 24-25:

25. 一切，阿難，欲貪無有，寧當有發往不？("Ānanda, if there is absolutely no desire and craving, could there possibly be clinging?"

The corresponding passage in the *Mahānidānasutta* (section 14, *Dīgha* II p. 60) reads:

... sabbaso chandarāge asati chandarāganirodhā api nu kho ajjhosānaṃ paññāyethā ? ti.

Even if this particular figurative usage of *fāwǎng* 發往 is well attested in An Shigao's translations, its semantic development from a presumed original meaning "to set forth towards, to

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[35] On this meaning of 故, see Dong and Cai 1994: 205

[36] In this paragraph, the Pāli text has a more expanded text than the YCRJ. However, if we take into account the preceding example (no. 23; cf. also example 26 below), it appears clear that 發往不捨 corresponds to *ajjhosānaṃ apariccāgo.*

[37] However, *Grand Ricci* vol. 2 p. 511b has an entry for 發往: "Envoyer; expédier (vers une destination)".

[38] See also YCRJ p. 180a 18, and cf. Peṭ. p. 136, 27 (§ 555). On the renditions of *ajjhosāna* in some translations by An Shigao, cf. Hayashi 2004: 73 n. 10.

move towards [a place] etc."[39] remains obscure (perhaps: "to produce an intention towards [a certain object]"?).[40]

In other cases, in the YCRJ it is *wǎng* 往 alone (or in combination with other words) that corresponds to *ajjhosāna*:

26. (YCRJ p. 175b) ... 相往不捨：是為貪惡本。

(Peṭ. p. 119, § 473) ... *ajjhosānaṃ apariccāgo, ayaṃ lobho akusalamūlaṃ.*

Note also:

27. (YCRJ p. 175c) 欲得往[41]，是為愛相。

(Peṭ. p. 121, § 488) *Ajjhosānalakkhaṇā taṇhā.*

3.3 Function words: the case of the preposition *cóng* 從

A remarkable (and indeed very tangible) feature of the YCRJ is the dramatic expansion in both functions and frequency of *cóng* 從 as preposition. Apart from more common meanings, the following usages of this preposition should be noted:

a) Expressing means, instrument etc.

This is by far the most common use of the preposition 從 in the YCRJ; I quote here just a few occurrences:

28. (YCRJ p. 173c) 辟支佛亦從是得度世道 ("The Paccekabuddhas, too, get the Way leading beyond the world (度世道 = *nibbāna*) **by means of these** [*bodhipakkhikā dhammā*]").

(Peṭ. p. 114, § 447) *Ye dhammā ... paccekabuddhānaṃ ... nibbānāya saṃvattantīti*

29. (YCRJ p. 176c) 彼不惑清淨本為何等？為從慧見四諦如有 ("In this regard, what is it the pure root non-delusion? It is seeing, **by means of insight**, the Four Truths as they [truly] are").[42]

(Peṭ. p. 125, § 503) *Tattha katamaṃ amoho kusalamūlaṃ? Yaṃ catūsu ariyasaccesu yathābhūtaṃ ñāṇadassanaṃ ...*

30. (YCRJ p. 179a) 從戒得淨，從戒得解脫 ("It is **through discipline** that one obtains purification, it is **through discipline** that one obtains release").

(Peṭ. p. 132, § 536) *sīlena sujjhati, ... sīlena muccati.*

b) Cause

31. (YCRJ p. 177b; cf. Peṭ. § 519)[43] ... 令不得非常想，不受非常想，令從是墮五樂，令五樂覆蓋，從所應行失令不解苦想。("... One, as a consequence, does not attain the notion of impermanence, does

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[39] Cf. the following passage from the early Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* translation known as *Fang guang jing* 放光經 T 221 (though here we find the string 發往趣, and not just 發往): 譬如有人欲見大海，便發往趣大海不懈止 (T 221 p. 70b 16-17; cf. Takayasu Kimura [ed.], *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* IV, Tokyo 1990, p. 17, 28-29: ... *tad-yathā 'pi nāma Bhagavan puruṣo mahāsamudraṃ draṣṭukāmo bhavet, sa gacchet mahāsamudraṃ darśanāya* ...).

[40] In a gloss on the passage quoted above as example n. 23 (為發往是為愛相), the YCRJZ explains 發往 in these terms: "The internal sense-fields desire [an object], and the mind sets forth towards [it, i.e. clings to it?]" (內情愛欲而心發往。T 1694 p. 15a 3).

[41] On 欲得, see Ōta 1988: 44.

[42] In this passage, as very often throughout the YCRJ, 彼 is used to translate *tattha*, which usually marks, in the Peṭ., the beginning of a paragraph or the introduction of a new topic. Note also, in the present passage, that An Shigao interpreted the compound *ñāṇadassana* as a *tatpuruṣa* (從慧見) and not as a *dvandva*.

not accept the notion of impermanence. Consequently, **because of this**, one falls into [the enjoyment of] the five [objects of] pleasure; consequently the five [objects of] pleasure hinder [the practitioner], and **because of one's failure of duly practising**, one does not comprehend the notion of pain".[44]

The expression 從是, "by means of this, because of this", or, like in example 33 below, "in this way" (often virtually = 如是), is fairly common throughout the YCRJ. It is also used (in the first acceptation) redundantly, to double an already expressed prepositional syntagm:

32. (YCRJ p. 177c) 彼從止行令愛從是解。("Then, through the practise of tranquillity [止 = *samatha*], one causes craving, [just] because of this, to be removed").

(Peṭ. p. 127, § 514): *Tattha samathena taṇhaṃ samugghāteti.*

c) Manner

33. (YCRJ p. 173b) 當知是。是從何知？為非常、苦、空、非身，從是知。("One should know them [viz. the 五陰 = five *khandas*]. **How** are they to be known? As impermanence, pain, emptiness, non-self; **thus** one [should] know them").

(Peṭ. p. 112, § 438) *Tesaṃ kā pariññā? Aniccaṃ dukkhaṃ 'suññā anattā ti esā etesaṃ pariññā.*

d) Separation (figurative)

34. (YCRJ p. 177a) 從欲能得還想，是為不貪相 ("Being able to withdraw [one's] thought **from** desire: this is the characteristic of non-greed").[45]

(Peṭ. p. 127, § 516) *Icchāpaṭisaṃharaṇalakkhaṇo alobho.*

For another instance of *cóng* 從 used in this way, see example 6 above.

None of these uses is, strictly speaking, either peculiar[46] or difficult to account for on the basis of the meanings of the preposition *cóng* 從 currently attested in literary Chinese. Rather, the noteworthy fact is that, essentially, in the YCRJ **only** *cóng* 從 is employed to perform all the functions listed above.

How are we to interpret this fact? A possible answer may be suggested, I believe, by a simple observation. There are only twenty-one occurrences of *yǐ* 以 in the YCRJ: it occurs eleven times in the frozen formula 何以故, and for the rest *yǐ is* generally used as a conjunction. In other words, in our text *cóng* 從 (194 occurrences) **has essentially replaced** *yǐ* 以 as a preposition.[47]

We may add that there are, in the YCRJ, only two occurrences of *yòng* 用 (in both cases used as verb, not as preposition); and that *chí* 持 (see Ōta 1988: 58) likewise does not seem to be used here as preposition. In short, in our text *cóng* 從 (whose use as a preposition is, according to Ōta

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[43] In the Chinese translation, it is almost impossible to separate this paragraph from the preceding § 518 (p. 177b 9-12).

[44] In this paragraph the YCRJ is considerably divergent from the corresponding Pāli; cf. Peṭ. p. 128: *nicca-saññādhimuttassa ... aniccasaññā na upaṭṭhāti, pañcasu kāmaguṇesu sukhassādādhi-muttassa iriyāpathassa agatimapaccavekkhato dukkhasaññā na upaṭṭhāti.* Note, in particular, that in the YCRJ (but not in the Peṭ.) the various topics discussed in this paragraph (viz. the four positive *saññās*) appear connected as if its original were employing even at this point the *padaṭṭhāna* formula (cf. § 3.2.1b above).

[45] The translation of this passage is quoted from Hayashi 2004: 63; see also Id. n. 23 p. 76.

[46] Cf. for example Dobson 1974: 716-717; see also *Gudai hanyu xuci cidian* 古代汉语虚词词典, Shangwu yinshuguan, Beijing 1999, p. 67 entry 4.

[47] This does not hold true for the whole of An Shigao's corpus. Nevertheless, even in the other translations ascribable to the Parthian master, *yǐ* 以 is far more commonly used as a conjunction than as a preposition.

1988: 11-12, a Han development) has taken over the functions which in other comparable texts are performed by a number of other prepositions. This particular feature of the YCRJ is remarkable from several points of view. Just to mention one, within the body of Late Han CBTs, such an extensive use of *cóng* 從 seems to have remained a characteristic of An Shigao's works (although, admittedly, a systematic study to support this statement remains to be done).

Then, as an obvious side effect of the nearly total absence of the preposition *yǐ* 以, the typical construction 以 ... 為 is also lacking in the YCRJ (with perhaps one dubious exception on p. 180a 8), where it appears "substituted" by other similar expressions:[48]

> **35.** (YCRJ p. 175b) 計苦為樂，... 思想、意、見倒。("Considering what is painful as pleasant ... is a distortion of ideation, of thought, of view").
>
> (Peṭ. p. 118, § 471) *"dukkhe sukhan"ti saññāvipallāso cittavipallāso diṭṭhivipallāso.*[49]

At present, I cannot propose a clear interpretation of all the facts described above from the viewpoint of the history of the Chinese language. Direct influence of the original Indic text on the use of *cóng* 從 in the YCRJ seems to be ruled out, at least as a general explanation: in too many cases *cóng* 從, in its various functions, has no direct counterpart in the Pāli. Are these, then, to be seen as vernacular usages? In this regard, the fact that Lokakṣema's translations, although they were prduced almost at the same time and in the same place as those by An Shigao, display, with respect to 從 / 以, different patterns from them, should warn us against any simplistic explanation, such as taking the "vernacular shortcut", if "vernacular" is to mean a real language actually spoken at a given time in a given place, and not just a convenient label for explaining away any curious linguistic phenomenon.

Be that as it may, we have to admit the existence of considerable peculiarities and differences in matter of language (not technical terminology!) even among translation teams operating at the same place and – which is particularly significant in the case of vernaculars – area (Luoyang). An explanation of these problems would no doubt be a significant progress in our knowledge of the complex linguistic medium into which the earliest CBTs were translated, and would help us to better qualify the very notion of a vernacular substratum in these texts.

3.4 Miscellaneous Peculiar Usages

3.4.1 *qí* 奇 ("other")

Some unexpected help in dealing with the fundamental question touched upon at the end of the preceding paragraph can be obtained, albeit only occasionally, from early exegetical literature. To be sure, there is little hope to get substantial information from this quarter, for the early commentaries to Late Han CBTs which have survived can be counted on the fingers of one hand. But as luck would have it, one such commentary is devoted to the YCRJ: this is the text included in the *Taishō* edition of the canon with the title *Yin chi ru jing zhu* 陰持入經註 T 1694 (abbreviated as YCRJZ).

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[48] Cf. Zürcher 1977: 193.

[49] Cf. the presentation of the same subject (the *vipallāsa* / *viparyāsa*) in the *Qi chu san guan jing* 七處三觀經 T 150A, p. 876c 22: ... 以苦為樂 (but cf. few lines below, on p. 876c 25: 思苦為樂). In an interesting passage occurring in the ABSYJ T 602 we find a number of variations on this theme: 非常人計為常，患苦為樂，空計為有，非身用作身，不淨計為淨，是為不直見也。(p. 172b 18-20).

Given that, to the best of my knowledge, this literature has been so far rather neglected as a tool for the study of the language of early CBTs, I think it is worth mentioning one example, to bring this and other similar sources to the attention of the specialists in this field.

Hu Chirui in his remarkable book has already described the use of *qí* 奇 with the meaning of "other" (used both as a self-standing indefinite pronoun and modifying nouns) in some Late Han texts, and particularly CBTs.[50] As to Buddhist sources, Hu only quotes two examples of this *qí* 奇 from T 150A.[51] In the YCRJ, too, there are two passages attesting this usage:

> 36. (YCRJ p. 175b) 為奇珍寶、奇財產、奇嚴事，為有嫉在奇，貪、etc. (the syntax of the passage is awkward, but it should mean something like "... it is greed etc. for other people's precious things, wealth, goods (?), it is envy towards others ...").
>
> (Peṭ. p. 119, § 473) ... *paravatthūsu paradabbesu paraṭṭhānesu parasāpateyyesu para-pariggahitesu lobho* etc. ...
>
> 37. (YCRJ p. 175c) 為身故令欺奇，是為貪相；令墮不與取。("Deceiving others for one's own sake is the characteristic of greed; it is conducive to taking-what-is-not-given").[52]
>
> (Peṭ. p. 121, § 489) *Attāsayavañcanālakkhaṇo lobho, tassa adinnādānaṃ padaṭṭhānaṃ.*

Now, the YCRJZ has a very insignificant-looking gloss to the latter of these two passages:[53] 奇，他也 (T 1694 p. 16c 16).

This explanation seems obvious enough in the light of Hu Chirui's finding. Yet, if we pause for a moment to reflect on it, the YCRJZ's gloss may in fact have considerable implications. This commentary was almost certainly composed somewhere in the Jiangnan 江南 area, presumably during the first half of the 3rd century CE.[54] The man who was, very probably, its main author, Chen Hui 陳慧, came from Kuaiji 會稽, in present-day Zhejiang Province, while the other prominent personage involved in the composition of this commentary,[55] the renowned monk Kang Senghui 康僧會, though of foreign ancestry, was originally from Jiaozhi 交趾 (in present-day Vietnam), in what had been the southernmost part of the Han empire.

Then the gloss quoted above tells us that after (presumably) less than one century from the translation, but in a different part of China, the meaning of *qí* 奇 = "other" (evidently not a

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[50] See Hu Chirui 2002: 167; cf. also Jiang Lihong 2001 vol. 2: 35-36, who describes a related (albeit partly different) use of 奇 attested in the *Lun heng* and in other approximately coeval sources.

[51] Within An Shigao's corpus, this usage seems curiously confined to three scriptures: the YCRJ, the *Ekottarikāgama* anthology T 150A (on which see Harrison 1997), and – if we accept Harrison's (2002) conjectural attribution of this text to the Parthian master – the *Saṃyuktāgama* anthology *Za ahan jing* 雜阿含經 T 101. For instance, as to the latter scripture, see T 101 p. 493b 15: 但應與我布施，不可與奇布施 ("one should donate only to me, one ought not to donate to others"), and p. 493b 17: 莫與奇弟子布施 "do not donate to another [master's] disciples" (with 奇 modifying 弟子).

[52] See Hayashi 2004: 60. Note that here, as in several other passages of the YCRJ, An Shigao did not render the *lakkhaṇa* / *padaṭṭhāna* formula correctly (cf. above, § 3.2.1b). In the Pāli the relationship of cause-effect established between *lobha* and *adinnādāna* is exactly the opposite of what the YCRJ seems to be stating; cf. Peṭ-tr. p. 167 § 489 "... its [viz. of greed] footing is taking-what-is-not-given".

[53] Note that in its first occurrence in the YCRJ, 奇 is glossed with a different word: 奇，彼也 (T 1694 p. 15b 19).

[54] On the dating and authorship of this commentary see Zacchetti forthcoming. While the YCRJZ is a source of primary interest in its own right (especially for researching into early Chinese Buddhist thought), it is also a precious tool for studying the YCRJ. Though often unreliable in matters of interpretation and punctuation (i.e., more properly, the subdivision of the text) of An Shigao's translation, it provides at times valuable information on the early phase of textual transmission of the YCRJ.

[55] See Zacchetti (forthcoming) § 3.3.

technical term!) was already deemed odd enough to deserve a note of comment. A possible inference we can draw from all these facts is that this might have been a usage typical of some northern dialect, arguably that spoken in Luoyang.

Besides being, with this meaning, a non-technical word, *qí* 奇 is used in one case (example no. 37) without any corresponding Indic expression; this constitutes additional evidence that this was certainly not a usage influenced by the original text but probably a colloquial word.[56]

3.4.2 *suǒ* 所

We encounter, in the YCRJ, a number of passages where the particle *suǒ* 所 appears to be used before nouns:

> **38.** (YCRJ p.175b) 彼有愛為何等？為所世間欲 ("What is craving for being? It is desire for the world").
> (Peṭ. p. 118, § 472) *Bhavataṇhā nāma yo bhavesu rāgo* ... .

> **39.** (YCRJ p. 176c) 不惑清淨所身行、所言行、所心行 ("Non-deluded pure bodily action, verbal action, mental action").[57]
> (Peṭ. p. 125, § 503) *Amohajassa kusalassa kāyakammassa vacīkammassa manokammassa* ... .

While the occurrences of *suǒ* 所 + N (= noun) in other early CBTs remain to be systematically investigated (which I could not do in preparing the present article), we can quote some instances also from other translations by An Shigao, such as the *Chang Ahan shi baofa jing* 長阿含十報法經 (hereafter SBFJ) T 13:

> **40.** 或時行者，內想色，外觀色，若少好醜所色[58]，自在知，自在見；意想亦如有。是為一解脫。(T 13 p. 238a 19-20).

Cf. the corresponding Sanskrit (*Daśottarasūtra*, p. 95, VIII.9.1):[59]

> (*a*)dhyātmaṃ rūpasaṃjñī (*bahirdhā r*)ūpaṇi paśyati parittāni suvarṇadurvarṇā(*ni*) ...

In CBTs *suǒ* 所 is not infrequently used before nouns with possessive meaning.[60] Some authors[61] explain this peculiar usage assuming the omission of *yǒu* 有. So, for instance, Hu Chirui (2002: 127) reads the string 身所惡露 in Lokakṣema's *Wenshushili wen pusa shu jing* 文殊師利問菩薩署經 (T 458 p. 440c 14) supplementing *yǒu* 有 after *suǒ* 所.[62]

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[56] It is true that *qí* 奇 in the sense of "other" is also attested in some non-Buddhist literary sources (see n. 50 above, and Hu 2002: 167), but, so far as I have been able to determine, its use as a self-standing pronoun (as in 有嫉在奇 or in 為身故令欺奇) seems limited to CBTs.

[57] A variant of this passage occurs at p. 175b 15-16: 所身罪、所言罪、所心罪; it corresponds to Peṭ. p. 119, 13-16 (§ 476): *dosajassa kāyakammassa vacīkammassa manokammassa* ... .

[58] See also SBFJ T 13 p. 238b 18 and 20.

[59] As stated by de Jong (1966: 270, Nipāta viii, 7), "A[n Shigao] replaces the first *vimokṣa* by the first *abhibhvāyatana*". Cf. also Karashima 2000: 203-204 n. 180.

[60] As in 誰能救濟我所壽命? ("Who can save my life?", *Zhuanji bai yuan jing* 撰集百緣經, T 200 p. 205b 27); a slightly different example is quoted (from a different text) by Long Guofu 2004: 93.

[61] For references and a detailed discussion of the possessive *suǒ* 所, see Long Guofu 2004: 93-96 and ff. (especially pp. 99-101).

[62] As a parallel, Hu quotes ABSYJ T 602 p. 169a 6: 身諸所有惡露. For a different explanation of 身所 in the same passage from T 458, see Ōta 1988: 16 (who, however, on the same page also discusses the use of 所 for 所有).

In this particular case, such an interpretation of *suǒ* 所 + N seems to make sense. However, it would not work for many of the passages in An Shigao's translations where *suǒ* 所 appears to be followed by a noun, which certainly do not have possessive meaning.[63]

In some cases it is perhaps possible to propose, as a working hypothesis, a different explanation. The *Qi chu san guan jing* 七處三觀經 (T 150 A p. 875b8-c 18, **Saptasthānasūtra*)[64] translated by An Shigao introduces seven topics for analysis applied to the five *skandha*s. The text is entirely organised as a series of questions and definitions concerning the *skandha*s, as in the following passages:

41. 何等為色味如至誠知？所為色因緣生樂，生喜意；如是為味如至誠知[65]。何等為色惱如至誠知？所色不常，苦，轉法；如是為色惱如至誠知。(T 150A p. 875b 24-27).

42. 何等為痛癢味識？所為痛癢求可求喜求；如是為痛癢識味為知。何等為痛癢惱識？所痛癢為不常敗苦轉法[66]意；如是為痛癢惱識。(T 150A p. 875c 7-10; cf. Vetter and Harrison 1998: 205).

We note that in these phrases *suǒ* 所 + N alternates with 所為 + N (N being a certain term of which a definition is given in the immediately following portion).

Even elsewhere in An Shigao's corpus 所為 is used, exactly as in these passages from T 150A, to introduce a definition or an explanation following a question X 為何等 / 何等為 X.[67] In all these cases, 所為 is probably to be interpreted in the sense of *suǒ wèi* 所謂 (謂 and 為 being normally interchangeable).[68] Then, in view of the parallelism highlighted above, it seems possible to assume that, for example, 所色 etc. is simply an elliptic form of 所為色, which we may reasonably expect after a question phrased in the form 何等為 X (i.e., in these cases the ellipsis would be 所 < 所為).[69]

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[63] We should also note that in all the examples discussed by Long 2004 and Hu 2002, *suǒ* 所 + N is always preceded by another noun or a pronoun (i.e., the possessor), while in An Shigao we find several clear instances where these conditions do not take place, and even cases (see examples 41-42) where *suǒ* 所 + N occurs at beginning of a phrase.

[64] In this discussion of An Shigao's *Saptasthānasūtra*, I follow the reconstruction of the text proposed by Harrison 1997 (especially pp. 262-265 and 267). For a critical synoptic edition and a translation of the *Qi chu san guan jing*, see Vetter and Harrison 1998. Vetter 2000: 206-208 discusses all the versions of this canonical scripture (particularly the Pāli *Sattaṭṭhānasutta*).

[65] In this section, I have followed (adding my punctuation) the text established by Vetter and Harrison (1998: 203); the *Taishō* text reads:何等為色味如至誠知。所色欲生喜生欲生。如是為味如至誠知。(T 150A p. 875b 24-26).

[66] Here I follow the reading proposed by Vetter and Harrison (1998: 205, 轉法意; T 150A: 惱意).

[67] See the following passage from the *Si di jing* 四諦經 T 32: 死為何等？所為人有，所為人有在生死，處處為捨身廢壞滅 (T 32 p. 815a 6-17).

[68] 所謂 is essentially not attested in An Shigao's corpus (although 謂 alone is fairly common). Its only occurrence, in the ABSYJ (T 602 p. 170b 9), is probably not to be seen as a counterexample (on the nature of this scripture, see above n. 9). On 所謂 in CBTs, see Li Weiqi 2004: 298-301 (especially point 3, pp. 300-301).

[69] Vetter and Harrison (1998) give a different interpretation of 所為 / 所 in T 150A. For example, they translate 所為色 and 所色 in example 41 above as "what one takes to be form(s)", apparently considering 色 in the second case as being used verbally. This is by no means impossible (cf. Yang and He 2001: 87 § 5), although, as I have shown, the use of 所為 in An Shigao's may suggest a different analysis. At any rate, it would be difficult to apply this interpretation when *suǒ* 所 + N is modified by preceding adjectives, as in examples 39 (不惑清淨所身行) and 40 (好醜所色) above.

However, among the texts translated by An Shigao, the *Qi chu san guan jing* T 150A is the only one where we find the alternation 所 / 所為. No doubt, we need other parallels outside the body of this Parthian translator's works to confirm this conjecture.

Even this hypothetical explanation, however, would not account for the examples quoted above from the YCRJ, and it seems to me that the functions of *suǒ* 所 occurring before nouns remain to be fully explained.[70] We will need a systematic and comprehensive analysis of the use of *suǒ* 所 in early CBTs (indeed a great desideratum) in order to answer all the questions posed by the passages discussed in this paragraph.

3.4.3 wéi 為 in causative constructions (?)

Some of the major dictionaries of literary Chinese record a use of *wéi* 為 in causative constructions, with the sense of "to cause [somebody to do something]".[71] Being "standard" (if that is indeed the case), this usage probably should not be mentioned here. However, in view of the fact that, to the best of my knowledge, this causative *wéi* 為 has not been described with regard to early CBTs,[72] I think it may be useful to discuss its presence in the YCRJ, at least as a possible alternative interpretation of some passages. It is only an alternative, however, for in all the examples I could gather from the YCRJ, *wéi* 為 could be interpreted differently. I propose them here as a subject for further discussion.

43. (YCRJ p. 175a) 九絕處為一切惡行合[73]部伴，從流行。("The nine items cause all the negative factors to merge into a group, and as a consequence to flow [?]").[74]

(Peṭ. p. 118, § 470) *Nava padāni yattha sabbo akusalapakkho saṅgahaṃ samosaraṇaṃ gacchati.*

In a subsequent section, the Peṭ. introduces, in essentially the same words, a list of nine other terms which represent the positive counterpart of the preceding group:

(Peṭ. p. 122, § 492) *Nava padāni kusalāni yattha sabbo kusalapakkho saṅgaho samosaraṇaṃ gacchanti.*

In the YCRJ this second passage is translated as follows:

44. (YCRJ 176a 7-10) 有九絕處，令一切淨法部墮聚合。("There are the nine items, which cause the category of all the pure *dharmas*[75] to fall into grouping").

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[70] In this connection, mention should be also made of *bǐsuǒ* 彼所, which occurs often in the YCRJ (although it is not clear whether it should always be interpreted as a compound), but is not attested elsewhere in An Shigao's corpus. Karashima 2003: 58 records this expression with the meaning "there" (similar to *bǐjiàn* 彼間, cf. Id. P. 57). A particularly interesting occurrence of *bǐsuǒ* 彼所 occurs on p. 174b (§ 454) of the YCRJ, where it corresponds to the relative pronoun in the Pāli text: 彼所直語、直業、直治，是名為戒種。彼所直方便、直念、直定，是名為定種。彼所直見、直行，是名為慧種。Cf. Peṭ. p. 115: *Yā ca sammāsati yo ca sammāvāyāmo yo ca sammāsamādhi, ayaṃ samādhikkhandho. Yo ca sammāsaṅkappo yā ca sammādiṭṭhi, ayaṃ paññākkhandho.*

[71] See for instance HD 6: 1106a (entry 26). Actually even in some of the examples provided by HD *wéi* 為 could be interpreted differently.

[72] Cf. for instance, Erik Zürcher's detailed discussion of 為 in his groundbreaking 1977 article (pp. 192-193).

[73] So read, no doubt correctly, the Song, Ming and Yuan editions with the weighty agreement of the Jin canon and all the editions collated in ZH (see 36:134c and 139c). The Korean canon and, subsequently, the *Taishō* read 令 instead of 合.

[74] Cf. Zacchetti 2002: 78-79 (with n. 34 p. 79 on the odd 流行, probably a direct rendering of *samosaraṇa*).

[75] Note 淨法部 = *kusalapakkha*.

The parallelism between *wéi* 為 in the first passage and *lìng* 令[76] in the second seems to corroborate the interpretation of *wéi* as having a causative meaning.

The following are other passages where *wéi* 為 might be part of a causative construction (though this is by no means certain):

> **45.** (YCRJ p. 176b) 彼癡藥為何等？為觀。癡已却解，從慧解脫為病愈。("What is the medicine for ignorance? It is discernment. Ignorance having been eliminated, release by insight causes (?) the ailment to be healed").[77]
>
> (Peṭ. p. 123, § 496) *Avijjārogassa vipassanā bhesajjaṃ, avijjāvirāgā paññāvimutti arogaṃ.*

> **46.** (YCRJ p. 175c) 彼為身身相觀行止，為不淨意念淨倒得解。("He [viz. a practitioner], dwelling[78] body-contemplating [with regard to] the body, causes (?) the distortion of imagining that what is impure is pure to be removed").[79]
>
> (Peṭ. p. 121, § 487) *kāye kāyānupassī viharato "asubhe subhan"ti vipallāsaṃ samugghāteti.*

4. Conclusions

Above I have shown how by focusing on a single scripture (though one particularly well-suited for this kind of study), it has been possible to describe a number of features, pertaining to various levels of linguistic analysis, which can be considered characteristic of An Shigao's translations. These results, limited as they are, could find application in various ways. Just to mention one, it should be possible (especially when more data of this kind will be available) to work out sounder internal criteria for establishing (or revising) the attribution of other translations to An Shigao.[80]

This is, however, just a beginning. Many aspects of these early, obscure texts remain to be investigated. It will not be an easy task: even from the linguistic viewpoint, early CBTs are a far more complex and varied body of texts than it is often believed. There is certainly no such thing as a single, homogeneous language of Late Han translations, and it will be difficult to make progress in the understanding of the earliest CBTs without a great deal of philological hard work on each single text.

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[76] In fact also in other cases, in our text, 為 alternates with 令 in parallel phrases. See, for example, YCRJ p. 177a: 彼從非常想令解有常；彼從苦想為解樂想 (cf. Peṭ. p. 127, § 514: *Tattha ... aniccasaññāya niccasaññaṃ samugghāteti, dukkhasaññāya sukhasaññaṃ samugghāteti* ...).

[77] A search of the string 病愈 in the canon shows that generally 愈 is used as a verb in this combination. By a curious coincidence, in a number of cases these two characters occur in causative constructions. See for instance Dharmarakṣa's *Sheng jing* 生經 T 154 p. 108b 19: 我能令汝病愈。(cf. also T 5 p. 169a 3 and T 263 p. 114b 12).

[78] 行止 renders *viharato* (cf. also example 1 above).

[79] In this paragraph of the Chinese translation the same text is repeated, *mutatis mutandis*, with respect to the other three combinations *satipaṭṭhāna-vipallāsa*, while the Peṭ. simply reads *evaṃ vedanāsu, citte, dhammesu ca kātabbaṃ.*

[80] As I have argued elsewhere (see Zacchetti 2003: 266-269), the examination of the technical terminology does not constitute, alone, either a sufficient or reliable criterion for ascribing a CBT to a certain translator. Cf. also n. 9 above.

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A General Survey of Research Concerning Chinese Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*

Hiroshi KANNO

I. Introduction

1. Chinese Buddhism and Sūtra Commentaries

Buddhist texts began to be translated into Chinese around the mid-second century C.E., and as a result it became possible for the Chinese to study Buddhism through the medium of the Chinese language. The Buddhist canon may be broadly divided into scriptures (*sūtra*), treatises (*abhidharma*) and precepts (*vinaya*), and as the study of Buddhism gradually advanced, commentaries began to be composed on works belonging to each of these three divisions. There already existed in China a long tradition of commentarial writings on the Confucian classics and philosophical works such as the *Laozi* and *Zhuangzi*, and this tradition may have stimulated the composition of commentaries on Buddhist texts. This commentarial literature, which flourished especially from the Northern and Southern dynasties (Nanbeichao 南北朝) period through the Sui 隋 and Tang 唐 dynasties, was such that it even surpassed in both quantity and quality commentaries on the Confucian classics produced during the same period.

Among Buddhist texts, the sūtras were the most suited to the study of Śākyamuni's thought, and so the greatest energy was devoted to composing commentaries on the sūtras. In addition, there was also a strong tendency, probably influenced by the above-mentioned native Chinese commentarial tradition, for Chinese Buddhists to give expression to their thought while adhering to the format of a scriptural commentary rather than by composing an independent work.[1]

For example, in the case of Huiyuan 慧遠 (523-592) of Jingying Monastery 淨影寺, Tiantai Zhiyi 天臺智顗 (538-597) and Jiaxiang Jizang 嘉祥吉藏 (549-623), known as the "three great Dharma-masters of the Sui," commentaries on the sūtras account for a considerable proportion of their writings. In the case of Jizang we find that, among the twenty-five works that he wrote, eighteen were commentaries on the following eleven Mahāyāna sūtras: *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa Sūtra*, *Śrīmālādevīsiṃhanāda Sūtra*, *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama Sūtra*, *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha*, *Guan wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經, *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, *Renwang banruo jing*

[1] However, it is important not to overlook the fact that such collections as the *Hongming* 弘明集 and *Guangbongming ji* 廣弘明集 preserve quite a few independent tracts and according to the catalogue of the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, numerous treatises were compiled that are no longer extant today.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 417-444.
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仁王般若經, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* and the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*.

As may be inferred from the above, there exist in China a large number of commentaries on the sūtras. It is thus not unusual for there to exist several commentaries on the same sūtra, and tracing changes in the manner in which a particular sūtra was interpreted in China becomes a topic for research. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, or *Lotus Sūtra*, is a typical example of such a sūtra.

2. Chinese Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*

It goes without saying that the *Lotus Sūtra* has been widely revered in India, China and Japan as a sūtra representative of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and in China it was translated as the *Zhengfa hua jing* (Sūtra of the Flower of the True Dharma) in 286 by Zhu Fahu 竺法護 (Dharmarakṣa; born *ca.* 230, died at age of 78). But because his translation was difficult to comprehend and, more importantly, because the study of Buddhism was at the time centered on *Prajñāpāramitā* doctrine, it may be said of this translation of the *Lotus Sūtra* that it did not attract the attention of Buddhist circles to any great extent. But when it was subsequently translated anew by Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什 (Kumārajīva; 344-413 or 350-409) in 406 as the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經 (Sūtra of the Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma), it finally moved into the limelight, as it were, and came to be widely studied.

The oldest extant Chinese commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* is the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu* 妙法蓮花經疏 (Commentary on the Sūtra of the Lotus Blossom of the Wondrous Dharma) by Zhu Daosheng 竺道生 (*ca.* 355-434). Daosheng studied under Kumārajīva, and he was highly appraised for his original and penetrating understanding of Buddhism on account of his views supporting the attainment of Buddhahood by *icchantika* (*yichanti* 一闡提) and sudden enlightenment (*dunwu* 頓悟). The version of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* in 6 fascicles introduced to China by Faxian 法顯 (*Dabannihuan jing* 大般泥洹經) expressed a negative attitude towards the attainment of Buddhahood by the lowly class of people called *icchantika*. But Daosheng, in spite of being criticized for going against the purport of the sūtra, nevertheless maintained that the *icchantika* was also endowed with Buddha nature and would eventually attain Buddhahood, a position that anticipated the thought of the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* in 40 fascicles translated by Tanwuchen 曇無讖 (*Dabanniepan jing* 大般涅槃經). He furthermore asserted that Buddhist truth was indivisible and unitary. Although he admitted that there is a gradual development in terms of practice, he criticized theories of gradual enlightenment (*jianwu* 漸悟) which held that truth was realized in partial and gradual stages. When it came to the question of enlightenment proper, he held that the crucial difference was whether one was enlightened or not.

Next there appeared the *Fahua yiji* 法華義記 (Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*) by Fayun 法雲 (467-529) of Guangzhai Monastery 光宅寺, which was however not actually written by Fayun, but recorded by one of his disciples. Fayun was one of the "three great Dharma-masters of Liang 梁," along with Zhizang 智藏 (458-522) and Sengmin 僧旻 (467-527), and his exegesis of the *Lotus Sūtra* was held in high regard throughout the Northern and Southern dynasties period (i.e., from the era of contention in the early

fifth century between the Song 宋 dynasty [420-479] in Jiangnan 江南 in the south and the Northern Wei 北魏 dynasty that unified northern China until the reunification of the Northern and Southern dynasties by Emperor Wendi 文帝 of the Sui dynasty in 589). Fayun's eminence was such that when interpreting the term "wondrous Dharma"(*miaofa* 妙法) in his *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義 (*Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra*), Zhiyi wrote, "of all the past and present interpretations, that of [Fayun of] Guangzgai [Monastery] is generally considered to be the best" (T no. 1716, 33. 691c19-20), and, treating Fayun's interpretation as representative of earlier interpretations, made him the target of his criticism.

As for Zhiyi himself, there is ascribed to him, in addition to the above *Fahua xuanyi*, an annotated commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* entitled *Fahua wenju* 法華文句 (Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* by Section and Sentence), but neither of these two works was in fact written by Zhiyi, and they are said to be based on notes of Zhiyi's lectures taken by his disciple Zhang'an Guanding 章安灌頂 (561-632), who later edited his notes and thus brought these two works to completion. As will be discussed below, an epoch-making study of their compilation has been made by Hirai Shun'ei (see (10) below).

Jizang, who is known for having completed the formulation of the doctrines of the Sanlun 三論 or "Three Treatises' school (which attached greatest importance to Nāgārjuna's *Madhyamaka-śāstra* and *Dvādaśamukha-śāstra* and the *Śataka-śāstra* by his disciple Āryadeva), was the most prolific of the commentators on the *Lotus Sūtra*, writing the *Fahua xuanlun* 法華玄論 (Treatise on the Profundity of the *Lotus Sūtra*), *Fahua yishu* 法華義疏 (Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*), *Fahua youyi* 法華遊意 (Elucidation of the *Lotus Sūtra*) and *Fahua tonglüe* 法華統略 (Synopsis of the *Lotus Sūtra*).

Lastly, Ci'en Ji 慈恩基 (632-682) of the Faxiang 法相 (*dharma-lakṣaṇa*) school composed the *Fahua xuanzang* (Eulogy on the Profundity of the *Lotus Sūtra*).

The above figures were all Buddhists of renown in the history of Chinese Buddhism, and they each engaged in the study of the *Lotus Sūtra* from their respective religious and scholastic standpoints.

II. Research History

In the following I shall present a survey of the research that has been undertaken hitherto on the representative commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* alluded to in the foregoing section. I shall, however, take up for consideration only studies that have been published in book form.

(1) Yamakawa Chiō 山川智応, *Hokke shisōshijō no Nichiren shōnin* 法華思想史上の日蓮聖人 (Saint Nichiren in the history of *Lotus* thought). Tokyo: Shinchōsha 新潮社, 1934 (repr. Tokyo: Jōmyō Zenshū Kankōkai 浄妙全集刊行会, 1978).

The aim of this work is to determine Nichiren's position in the history of *Lotus* (or *Lotus Sūtra*-oriented) thought and to examine his own thought and religion, and in order to accomplish the former of these two objectives the author examines the thought associated with the *Lotus Sūtra* in India and China. That which concerns us here is Part 1, Section

3, dealing with *Lotus Sūtra* thought in China. The contents of this section are as follows:

Chapter 1: The Period Prior to the Establishment of Orthodox *Lotus* Thought
1. The Views of Zhu Fahu and His Disciples on the *Lotus Sūtra*
2. The Views of Jiumoluoshi and His Disciples on the *Lotus Sūtra*
3. The Views of Fayun of Guangzhaisi on the *Lotus Sūtra*
4. The Views of Jiaxiang Dashi Jizang on the *Lotus Sūtra*

Chapter 2: The Establishment of Orthodox *Lotus* Thought
1. The Views of Tiantai Dashi Zhiyi on the *Lotus Sūtra*
2. The Views of Miaole Dashi Zhanran 妙樂大師湛然 on the *Lotus Sūtra*
3. The Views of Siming Zunzhe Zhili 四明尊者智禮 on the *Lotus Sūtra*

Chapter 3: The Emergence of Subsidiary *Lotus* Thought
1. The Views of Ci'en Dashi Kuiji 慈恩大師窺基 on the *Lotus Sūtra*
2. The Views of Xianshou Dashi Fazang 賢首大師法藏 and Qingliang Dashi Chengguan 清凉大師澄觀 on the *Lotus Sūtra*
3. The Views of Sanzang Shanwuwei 三藏善無畏 and Daguangzhi Sanzang Bukong 大廣智三藏不空 on the *Lotus Sūtra*

As is evident from the above table of contents, Yamakawa regarded the views of Zhiyi and his successors as representing an orthodox interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, while the views of people such as Daosheng, Fayun and Jizang were considered to belong to the "period prior to the establishment of orthodox *Lotus* thought," and interpretations differing from that of Zhiyi, such as those of Ji of the Faxiang school, Fazang and Chengguan of the Huayan 華嚴 school, and Shanwuwei (Śubhakarasiṃha) and Bukong (Amoghavajra), both known as translators of Esoteric Buddhist scriptures, are dealt with collectively as "subsidiary *Lotus* thought." One distinctive feature of the method adopted by Yamakawa in treating of the views of Chinese Buddhists on the *Lotus Sūtra* was to examine their respective interpretations of important doctrinal points expounded in each of the twenty-eight chapters of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Yamakawa must be given credit for his achievement in having surveyed for the first time the various interpretations of the *Lotus Sūtra* found in China. In addition, there is still much that merits our attention today in his observations on these diverse interpretations of the *Lotus Sūtra* and in his understanding of individual thinkers. But his view that Zhiyi's interpretation represented the orthodox interpretation, as a result of which he set less value on other interpretations, was not necessarily based on an objective comparison of Zhiyi and the other commentators, and there is no denying the impression that his comments do at times tend towards the extreme. In particular, given that it has now been demonstrated by Hirai Shun'ei (see (10) below) that there is considerable evidence of the influence of Jizang's commentaries in the *Fahua xuanyi* and *Fahua wenju* compiled by Guanding, Yamakawa's examination of Jizang is outdated when considered in the light of the current state of research. Furthermore, since he deals with the views of a considerable number of people on the *Lotus Sūtra* within the space of only a limited number of pages, his presentation as a whole assumes the character of a very general outline.

(2) Kusaka Daichi 日下大癡, *Taigaku shishin* 台学指針—*Hokke gengi teikō* 法華玄義提綱 (A guide to Tiantai studies: An exposition of the *Fahua xuanyi*). Kyoto: Kōkyō Shoin 興教書院, 1936 (repr. Kyoto: Hyakka'en , 1976).

This work is an exposition of the content of the *Fahua xuanyi* as a whole.

(3) Shioda Gisen 塩田義遜, *Hokke kyōgakushi no kenkyū* 法華教学史の研究 (A study of the history of *Lotus* doctrine). Tokyo: Chihō Shoin 地方書院, 1960.

This work resembles that by Yamakawa Chiō (see (1) above) in that it too is a study of the history of *Lotus Sūtra* thought in India, China and Japan. The contents of Part 2 ("History of Studies in China"), the section relevant to the subject of research on Chinese commentaries of the *Lotus Sūtra* with which we are concerned here, are as follows:

Chapter 1: Chinese Translations and the Study of the *Lotus Sūtra*
1. Chinese Translations of the *Lotus Sūtra*
2. An Overview of Studies on the *Lotus Sūtra*

Chapter 2: Early Chinese Commentators
1. Daosheng's *Fahua jing shu*
2. Fayun's *Fahua yiji*

Chapter 3: The Period of the Revelation of the True Meaning of the *Lotus Sūtra*
1. The Doctrines of Nanyue Huisi 南岳慧思
2. Tiantai Zhiyi's Three Main Works on the *Lotus Sūtra*

Chapter 4: The Period of Exchange with Exoteric Buddhism
1. Sanlun Jizang's Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*
2. Faxiang Kuiji's *Fahua xuanzan*
3. Hua yan Weonhyo's 元曉 *Beophwa jongyo* 法華宗要 (Doctrinal Essentials of the *Lotus Sūtra*)

Chapter 5: The Period of Exchange with Esoteric Buddhism
1. Yixing 一行 Ācārya's *Dari jing shu* 大日經疏 (Commentary on the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*)
2. Bukong Sanzang's *Fahua guanzhi yigui* 法華觀智儀軌 (Ritual Manual for [Attaining] the Wisdom of the *Lotus Sūtra*)

As is evident from the above table of contents, Shioda's perspective is the same as that of Yamakawa insofar that he considers Zhiyi's three main works to have revealed the true significance of the *Lotus Sūtra*. This book still merits reference today, however, in that Shioda summarizes in succinct terms the views of each thinker on the *Lotus Sūtra*, but his presentation as a whole is inevitably introductory in nature. As regards the relationship between Zhiyi's three main works and Jizang's commentaries, the comments made on Yamakawa's study apply in this case too.

(4) Sato Tetsu'ei 佐藤哲英, *Tendai Daishi no kenkyū* 天台大師の研究 (A study of Tiantai Dashi). Kyoto: Hyakka'en, 1961.

This work essays a textual critique of all works ascribed to Zhiyi himself or traditionally considered to represent records of his lectures, and it is a study that broke fresh ground

in the history of research on Tiantai doctrine. Part 3 ("A Study of the Three Main Works of the Tiantai School") examines in detail the process whereby Zhiyi's three main works were compiled, and Satō points out links between the *Fahua xuanyi* and Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun* and between the *Fahua wynju* and Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun* and *Fahua yishu*. But as is noted in Hirai's criticism discussed below, Satō does not go far enough in clarifying the manner in which Guanding composed the *Fahua wenju* by referring to and modeling himself on Jizang's commentaries.

(5) Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日(ed.), *Hokke shisō* 法華思想 (*Lotus* thought). Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1969.

This is a volume of collected papers, and the papers relating to the subject under consideration here are Ōchō Enichi, "Chūgoku ni okeru Hokke shisō shi" 中国における法華思想史 (The history of *Lotus* thought in China [Part 1, Chapter 3]), and Andō Toshio 安藤俊雄, "Hokekyō to Tendai kyōgaku" 法華経と天台教学 (The *Lotus Sūtra* and Tiantai doctrine [Part 2, Chapter 2, Section l]).

In Section 1 ("*Lotus* Doctrine at the Time of Jiumoluoshi's Translation") in the former of these two papers 'chō deals very briefly with the views of Kumarajīva, Sengrui 僧叡, Zhu Daosheng 竺道生, Daorong 道融 and Huiguan 慧観 on the *Lotus Sūtra*; this is because he deals in greater detail with this subject in (7) below. In Section 3 of the same paper ("The Study of the *Lotus Sūtra* in China") 'chō examines the views of Fayun, Jizang, Zhiyi and Kuiji on the *Lotus Sūtra*. His presentation is on the whole of a general, introductory nature.

(6) Sakamoto Yukio 坂本幸男(ed.), *Hokekyō no Chūgokuteki tenkai* 法華経の中国的展開 (The *Lotus Sūtra* and Chinese Buddhism). Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1972.

This is a volume of collected papers, and it contains a number of papers relating to the subject under consideration here. English summaries of the papers are appended to the end of the volume, and I shall accordingly give only the English titles of the relevant papers (with some minor emendations).

Part 1

Chapter 1: Sakamoto Yukio, "A History of Studies of the *Lotus Sūtra*."

Part 2

Chapter 1: Ōchō Enichi, "Zhu Daosheng's View on the *Lotus Sūtra*."

Chapter 2: Tamura Yoshirō 田村芳朗, Fayun's *Fahua yiji*."

Chapter 3: Satō Tetsu'ei, "The *Fahua xuanyi* and *Fahua wenju*."

Chapter 4: Satomi Tai'on 里見泰穏, "Jizang's *Fahua jing xuanlun*."

Chapter 5: Maruyama Takao 丸山孝雄, "Jizang's *Fahua yishu*."

Chapter 6: Hirakawa Akira 平川彰, "Daoxuan 道宣 and the *Lotus Sūtra*."

Chapter 7: Suguro Shinjō 勝呂信静, "Kuiji's *Fahua xuanzan*."

Chapter 8: Hibi Nobumasa 日比宣正, "Zhanran's *Fahua wubaiwen lun* 法華五百問論."

Chapter 9: Mizuno Kōgen 水野弘元, "Jiehuan's 戒環 *Fahua jing yaojie* 法華經

要解."

Chapter 10: Asai Endō 浅井円道, "Zhixu's 智旭 *Fahua jing huiyi* 法華經會義."

(7) Ōchō Enichi 横超慧日, *Hokke shisō no kenkyū* 法華思想の研究 (Studies in *Lotus* thought). Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1975.

This is a volume of collected papers and contains two papers relating to the subject under consideration here: "Jiku Dōshō sen *Hokekyō sho* no kenkyū" 竺道生撰『法華経疏』の研究 (A study of Zhu Daosheng's *Fahua jing shu*) and "Hokke kyōgaku ni okeru busshin mujō setsu" 法華教学における仏身無常説 (The theory of the impermanence of the Buddha's body in *Lotus* doctrine).

The former paper is divided into two parts, with the introduction, entitled "Zhu Daosheng's Philosophical Background," consisting of the following six sections:

1. Zhu Daosheng's Philosophical Status
2. The Study of the *Zhengfa hua jing* during the Eastern Jin 東晉 Period
3. The Buddhist Studies of Zhidun 支遁 in Jiangnan 江南
4. The Buddhist Studies of Daoan 道安 in Chang'an 長安
5. The Views of Huiyuan and [Jiumo] luoshi on the *Lotus Sūtra*
6. The Views of [Jiumo]luosh's Disciples on the *Lotus Sūtra*

The main body of this paper, entitled "Zhu Daosheng's *Fahua jing shu*," consists of the following nine sections:

1. The Origins of the Organization and Composition of Daosheng's Commentary
2. Doctrinal Organization
3. The Ultimate Implications of the *Lotus Sūtra*
4. The Interpretation of the Title
5. The Subdivision of the Text
6. The Understanding of Its Diction
7. The Theory of the Three Carts, and the One Vehicle as an Expedient Means
8. The Meaning of Longevity and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*
9. Conclusion

This paper constitutes the most reliable study of Daosheng's *Fahua jing shu*, and as such it has served as a firm base for subsequent research by other scholars. Its exposition of the views of Kumārajīva and his disciples on the *Lotus Sūtra* may also be considered to retain its value even today.

The second paper noted above deals with Fayun's views that the Buddha's body as described in the *Lotus Sūtra* is impermanent in nature and that the eternity of the Buddha's body was first expounded in the Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* and with Jizang's and Zhiyi's criticism of these views. 'chō's treatment is very much to the point and laid the foundations for subsequent research on this subject, but more detailed studies have now appeared.

(8) Inari Nissen 稲荷日宣, *Hokekyō ichijō shisō no kenkyū* 法華経一乗思想の研究, (A study of the One Vehicle thought of the *Lotus Sūtra*). Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1975.

This work contains a discussion of the different ways in which the text of the *Lotus Sūtra* was subdivided in China, and it also deals with various interpretations of the concept of the One Vehicle. In content it is of an introductory nature.

(9) Maruyama Takao 丸山孝雄, *Hokke kyōgaku kenkyū josetsu—Kichizō ni okeru juyō to tenkai* 法華教学研究序説—吉蔵における受容と展開 (An introduction to the study of *Lotus* doctrine: Its acceptance and development in the case of Jizang). Kyoto: Heirakuji Shoten, 1978.

As is indicated by the subtitle, this work brings together the author's research on Jizang's commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*. Since the amount of research on Jizang's commentaries prior to the publication of this volume was by no means substantial, it may be considered to have greatly stimulated subsequent research. Chapter 2 of the "Introduction" contains a convenient overview of previous research on Jizang's commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* entitled "The study of Chinese *Lotus* doctrine in modern Japan: with a focus on Jizang." The main body of the book is divided into two parts, and Part 1 ("The acceptance and development of the idea of the integration of three vehicles into one vehicle in the *Lotus Sūtra*") consists of the following six chapters:

Chapter 1: A summary of Jizang's conception of the integration of three vehicles into one vehicle in the *Lotus Sūtra*
Chapter 2: The five vehicles and three inductions in the *Fahua xuanlun*
Chapter 3: The five vehicles and the three herbs and two trees in the chapter "Parable of Medicinal Herbs"
Chapter 4: The theory that the one vehicle is true and the two vehicles are provisional and the theory that the one vehicle is true and the three vehicles are provisional in the *Fahua yishu*
Chapter 5: The inclusion of the one vehicle in the three vehicles and exclusion of the one vehicle from the three vehicles in the *Fahua youyi*
Chapter 6: The view of the Buddha's body in the *Fahua youyi*

Part 2 ("Various questions in the study of *Lotus* doctrine") consists of four chapters, and the chapters of relevance here are as follows:

Chapter 2: Jizang's view of the three periods [of the True Dharma, Imitative Dharma and Latter Dharma] and the subsequent five hundred years
Chapter 3: The concept of the Last [Days of the] Dharma and the subsequent five hundred years in China

This book closes with an annotated Japanese translation of the *Fahua youyi* (in the traditional *kundoku* 訓讀 style).

(10) Hirai Shun'ei 平井俊榮, *Hokke mongu no seiritsu ni kansuru kenkyū* 法華文句の成立

に関する研究 (A study of the compilation of the *Fahua wenju*). Tokyo: Shunjiūsha, 1985.

The objective of this work is to demonstrate that the *Fahua wenju*, counted among the three main works of the Tiantai school, was composed after Zhiyi's death by his disciple Guanding, who based himself completely on Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun* and *Fahua yishu*, to which he referred and on which he modeled the *Fahua wenju*. The text-critical study of Zhiyi's writings had been initiated by Satō Tetsuei (see (4) above), but it was still not totally free of the constraints of sectarian loyalties and it had not been sufficiently thorough-going as textual criticism per se. But as a result of Hirai's study, the dependence of the *Fahua wenju* on Jizang's commentaries was fully elucidated. Since this work represents an epoch-making study of the relationship obtaining between Zhiyi's and Jizang's commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*, I shall discuss it in some detail. The table of contents is as follows:

Part 1: Introduction: Zhiyi and Jizang—Problems Surrounding Their Commentaries on the *Sūtras*
- Chapter 1: Zhiyi and Jizang's Commentaries on the *Sūtras*
- Chapter 2: Various Problems concerning Zhiyi's Commentaries on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*
- Chapter 3: The *Fahua xuanyi* and *Fahua xuanlun*

Part 2: Criticisms of the Compilational Background and Tradition of the *Fahua wenju*
- Chapter 1: Compilational Background of the *Fahua wenju*
- Chapter 2: Textual Editions of the *Fahua wenju*
- Chapter 3: Problems concerning the Analytical Breakdown of the *Sūtra*
- Chapter 4: The Meaning of the Four Methods of Interpretation Employed in the *Fahua wenju* and Jizang's Four Methods of Interpretation
- Chapter 5: Quoted Works Found in the *Fahua wenju* and *Fahua xuanlun*
- Chapter 6: Accounts of Jizang Found in Shoshin's *Hokkesho shiki*

Part 3: Quotations from Jizang's Commentaries and Treatises in the *Fahua wenju*
- Section 1: The *Fahua wenju* and *Fahua xuanlun*
- Section 2: The *Fahua wenju* and *Fahua yishu*

In Chapter 1 of Part 1 Hirai criticizes Satō Tetsuei's study of the commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* ascribed to Zhiyi and Jizang and puts forward a new view. It is believed that the *Jingang Banruo jing shu* 金剛般若經疏 (Commentary on the *Vajracchedikā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*) in 1 fascicle ascribed to Zhiyi was not actually composed by Zhiyi, and when it is compared with the *Jingang Banruo shu* 金剛般若疏 (Commentary on the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*) in 4 fascicles by Jizang, a considerable number of parallel passages are found in both works. According to Satō, when this is taken into consideration with the fact that the author of passages from the commentary ascribed to Zhiyi is criticized by Jizang and referred to as "a certain person," it would suggest that the commentary ascribed to Zhiyi predates that by Jizang. Satō maintains, moreover, that since Jizang goes so far as to adopt *in toto* the sūtra subdivisions of the commentary ascribed to Zhiyi, it may be assumed that the real author of this commentary,

although difficult to pinpoint, was someone whom Jizang held in high regard.

By carefully comparing the two texts, however, Hirai demonstrates that the author of the commentary ascribed to Zhiyi plagiarized the "views of a certain person" in Jizang's commentary, citing them as if they were his own, and that he based himself completely on Jizang's commentary, referring to it and modeling his own commentary on it. It is thus shown that the *Jingang Banruo jing shu*, traditionally ascribed to Zhiyi, was, as already recognized by Satō, an apocryphal work and that its real author was not someone predating Jizang, as maintained by Satō, but an adherent of the Tiantai school postdating Jizang.

Chapter 2 deals with Zhiyi's commentaries on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* (*Weimo jing xuanshu*, 維摩經玄疏 [Profound Commentary on the *Vimala*[*kīrti*]-*sūtra*; 6 fasc.] and fascicles 1-25 of the *Weimo jing wenshu*, 維摩經文疏 [Annotated Commentary on the *Vimala*[*kīrti*]-*sūtra*; 28 fasc.]), to which great importance has been traditionally attached since they have been regarded as representative of the few works actually composed by Zhiyi. In 598, the year following Zhiyi's death, they were presented by Guanding and Puming 普明 to King Guang of Jin 晉王廣 (who later became the emperor Yangdi 煬帝), and since Jizang, who was then in Chang'an, would have written his commentaries on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* (*Jingming xuanlun* 淨名玄論 [Treatise on the Profundity of the *Vimalakīrti*; 8 fasc.], *Weimo jing lüeshu* 維摩經略疏 [Brief Commentary on the *Vimala*[*kīrti*]-*sūtra*; 5 fasc.] and *Weimo jing yishu* 維摩經義疏 [Commentary on the *Vimala*[*kīrti*]-*sūtra*; 6 fasc.]) no earlier than 599, it is properly speaking inconceivable that there should be evidence of any influence of Jizang's commentaries in Zhiyi's commentaries. But given that Zhiyi himself expected his disciples to make additions and corrections to his commentaries and that there is a strong possibility that Guanding and Jizang met in Chang'an, it is possible that there may be evidence of influence from Jizang's commentaries in Zhiyi's commentaries, and when the commentaries of both are compared, it is in fact possible to discover a number of passages in Zhiyi's commentaries, although few in number, where reference has been made to Jizang's commentaries. By this means Hirai seeks to demonstrate that even Zhiyi's commentaries on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra* are not untouched by the general tendency evident in Zhiyi's *sūtra* commentaries, namely, the tendency to be marked by the influence of Jizang's commentaries.

Chapter 3 deals with the *Fahua xuanyi*, a work which according to the later traditions of the Tiantai school represents either a record of notes taken by Guanding of lectures given by Zhiyi on specific dates at specific places or a record of Zhiyi's lectures to which Guanding added his own views. But according to Hirai, the *Fahua xuanyi* is of a totally different character, and he entertains strong suspicions that the entire work was composed by Guanding himself and that Zhiyi played no part whatsoever in its composition. As is discussed below, Hirai entertains similar suspicions in regard to the *Fahua wenju*, and in this latter instance they are fully borne out by his arguments. But in the case of the *Fahua xuanyi* they are not adequately proven and remain no more than suspicions. He ascertains the influence of the *Fahua xuanlun* on *Fahua xuanyi*, already pointed out by earlier scholars, and also discusses fresh evidence of this influence, demonstrating that the section "Introducing Old Interpretations" among the four sections on "Revealing the Essence of the *Lotus Sūtra*" in the *Fahua xuanyi* was composed on the basis of the *Fahua*

xuanlun. But since these sections that have come under the influence of the *Fahua xuanlun* constitute but a small portion of the *Fahua xuanyi* as a whole, one is forced to conclude that Hirai's suspicions have not been adequately proven.

In Chapter I of Part 2 Hirai summarizes the results of his research on the compilation of the *Fahua wenju*. Guanding himself states that he heard Zhiyi lecture on the *Lotus Sūtra* only once at Jinling 金陵 (Jianye 建業) when he was 27 years old (587) and that he later revised his notes at the age of 69 (629), thus producing the *Fahua wenju*. When compared with the *Fahua xuanyi*, however, the *Fahua wenju* contains in its extant form an incomparably larger number of passages that were written on the basis of Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun* and *Fahua yishu*. The text of the *Fahua wenju* was, moreover, made public only in 629, considerably later than the *Fahua xuanyi*, and it is also known that Guanding's revised text of the *Fahua wenju* was so confused that Zuoxi Xuanlang 左溪玄朗 (673-754) had to reedit it.

On the basis of the above facts, Hirai conjectures that the stance of Zhiyi, a revolutionary practitioner of rare genius whose expositions of the *Lotus Sūtra* were marked by pithiness and profundity, would have been in direct contrast to that of the traditional expositors of the *sūtras*, whose expositions were always literal, and he therefore suggests that Zhiyi himself did not in fact give any lectures expounding the *sūtra* text word-by-word or, if he did, it would have been only in a very incomplete form. If this should have been so, it then becomes possible to explain the reasons for the considerable delay in the compilation of the *Fahua wenju* and for the marked influence of Jizang's commentaries. Hirai also makes the bold suggestion that Guanding waited until after the death of Jizang (623), author of the *Fahua xuanlun* and *Fahua yishu* on which the *Fahua wenju* is totally dependent, before making public the text of the *Fahua wenju*.

As for Guanding's motivation in composing the *Fahua wenju*, Hirai perceives here a strong desire on the part of Guanding to exalt the achievements of Zhiyi, a revolutionary practitioner of rare qualities, by further attributing to him the status of a traditional *sūtra* commentator. In addition, Hirai also speculates that Guanding himself wrote only a part of the extant text of the *Fahua wenju* and that it may have been revised and expanded by later scholars. In Chapter 2 Hirai collates the Ming 明 edition of the *Fahua wenju*, used as the base text of the Taishō edition, with the Hōryū-ji 法隆寺manuscript (also referred to by the editors of the Taishō edition) and the manuscript formerly kept at Ishiyama-dera 石山寺 and thought to date from the early Heian 平安 period (with only fasc. 1 extant), and he presents some fresh material based on his collation of fascicle 1.

Chapter 3 deals with the subdivision of the text of the *Lotus Sūtra* as presented in the *Fahua wenju*, where it is divided into the essential teachings (*benmen* 本門) and trace teachings (*jimen* 迹門), both of which are further subdivided into an introductory section, a main section and a closing section. Hirai suggests that this method of subdivision is not based on Zhiyi's exposition, but was devised anew by Guanding with reference to Jizang's *Fahua yishu*, and he also makes the comment that it is not as logically consistent as Jizang's subdivision of the text.

In Chapter 4 Hirai examines the four methods of interpretation employed in the *Fahua wenju* (*yinyuan-shi* 因緣釋, *yuejiao-shi* 約教釋, *benji-shi* 本迹釋 and *guanxin-shi* 觀心釋), maintaining that as methods of scriptural exegesis they have neither universality nor

validity, and he suggests that when one takes into account the similarities between the basic ideas behind these methods of interpretation and Jizang's fourfold interpretation, consisting of *suiming-shi* 隨名釋 (interpretation according to key constituent terms, or ordinary interpretation based on literal meaning), *yinyuan-shi* 因緣釋 (interpretation on the basis of cause and condition, or interpretation focusing on the semantic interdependence between one concept and another and on their interdependence), *lijiao-shi* 理教釋 (interpretation according to principle and teaching, or interpretation that presents by means of concepts the ultimate truth transcending conceptual understanding) and *wufang-shi* 無方釋 (unlimited interpretation, or interpretation that takes cognizance of the free play of ultimate truth from the standpoint of ultimate truth), there is a possibility that they were formulated by Guanding under the influence of Jizang[2].

In Chapter 5 Hirai compares the works quoted in the *Fahua wenju* with those quoted in the *Fahua xuanlun* and, pointing out that not only do both works share a considerable number of sources, but there are also many identical passages quoted in

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[2] See Kanno Hiroshi, "*Hokke mongu* ni okeru shishushaku ni tsuite (On the "Four Interpretations" of the *Fahua wenju*)," *Indogaku Bukkyō gaku kenkyū* 54.1(December 2005): 79-87. This paper reconsiders the applicability of Hirai's critical assessment of the "four interpretations" of the *Fahua wenju*: (1) interpretation according to cause and condition (因緣釋), (2) interpretation on the basis of doctrinal teaching (約教釋), (3) interpretation from the perspective of original ground and manifest trace (本迹釋), and (4) interpretation from the perspective of contemplating the mind (觀心釋). On the basis of the substantial resemblance of Jizang's "four interpretations" to the "four interpretations" of the *Fahua wenju*, including their common adoption of "four" categories, Hirai inferred that the system of the *Fahua wenju* was formed through reference to Jizang's "four interpretations", namely, (1) 隨名釋 (or on the basis of key terms 依名釋), (2) 因緣釋 (or through mutual reference 互相釋; alternatively, through mutual conditioning 相資釋), (3) interpretation with intention to reveal ultimate reality 顯道釋 (or 理教釋), and (4) 無方釋. Hirai further noted that the "four interpretations" of the *Fahua wenju* lacked both universality and suitability as a method for scriptural exegesis in comparison to Jizang's system.

However, the author has ascertained that "interpretation on the basis of doctrinal teaching" and "interpretation from the perspective of contemplating the mind" were already established in the *Weimo wenshu* (*Interlinear Commentary on the Vimalakīrti Sūtra*), and that forms of interpretation can be found there which also possibly anticipate the development of "interpretation according to cause and condition" and "interpretation from the perspective of original ground and manifest trace". Therefore, even though it is conceivable that the four interpretations of the *Fahua wenju* were influenced by Jizang's four forms of interpretation, the author thinks that they were not a "totally pointless act of plagiarism" as Hirai has concluded. Moreover, the similarity of the two systems of interpretation suggested by Hirai (that is to say, the four interpretations of the *Fahua wenju* and the four interpretations of Jizang) are shown to be largely groundless.

If we were to ask whether the four interpretations are applied systematically through the entire text of the *Fahua wenju*, then one cannot say that this is the case, for it must be admitted that there are instances where the application is unsuccessful. When it comes to this kind of scriptural exegesis, the author thinks that perhaps we should be satisfied with simply presenting the basic idea and providing a few exemplary applications on behalf of the reader. In point of fact, interlinear sūtra commentaries consist almost entirely of analytic parsing of sūtra text and explanation of the meaning of individual words.

Finally, the author points out that three of Jizang's four interpretations are not only presented as a discrete set in Huijun's 慧均 *Dasheng silun xuanyi ji* 大乘四論玄義記 but that the beginnings of the "unlimited interpretation" can also be seen there. Moreover, the form of interpretation in Jizang's system that properly corresponds to "interpretation from the perspective of contemplating the mind" is not the "unlimited interpretation" but, in fact, the "contemplation of non-arising (無生觀) that appears in the *Fahua tonglüe*.

both works, he suggests that this too is the result of the author of the *Fahua wenju* having referred to the *Fahua xuanlun*.

Chapter 6 deals with the *Hokke sho shiki* 法華疏私記 (Private Notes for a Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* by the Japanese scholar Hocchibō Shōshin 寶地房證眞 (12th cent.—early 13th cent.), and, noting that this work refers to Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun*, Hirai points out that Shōshin levels severe criticism at Miaole Dashi Zhanran 妙樂大師湛然 (711-782) for having presented erroneous interpretations in his *Fahua wenju ji* 法華文句記 (Notes on the *Fahua wenju*) as a result of his failure to refer to the *Fahua xuanlun*.

Part 3 constitutes the central part of Hirai's book, and in Section 1 he compares parallel passages in the *Fahua wenju* and *Fahua xuanlun* and demonstrates that the *Fahua wenju* was written after the model of the *Fahua xuanlun*, while in Section 2 he compares parallel passages in the *Fahua wenju* and *Fahua yishu* and similarly demonstrates that the *Fahua wenju* was written with reference to the *Fahua yishu* too, although its dependence on the *Fahua yishu* is not as great as its dependence on the *Fahua xuanlun*.

As a result of Hirai's research, it has now become necessary to undertake careful comparisons with Jizang's commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* when studying Zhiyi's *Fahua wenju*, and this is greatly facilitated by the fact that Hirai's book presents all the material from Jizang's commentaries on which the *Fahua wenju* draws.[3]

(11) Tada Kōshō 多田孝正, *Hokke gengi* 法華玄義 (The *Fahua xuanyi*). Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1985.

This work presents the original text of fascicle 1 of the *Fahua xuanyi* together with a rendition in the traditional *kundoku* style, a modern Japanese translation, notes, and an exposition of its content.

(12) Muranaka Yūshō 村中祐生, *Tendai kanmon no kichō* 天台観門の基調 (The keynote of Tiantai practice). Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1986.

This is a volume of collected papers, and those of relevance here are the following papers dealing primarily with Jizang's commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*:

1. A Consideration of the Formation of Jiaxiang 嘉祥 Dashi's Concept of "Two Canonical Divisions"
2. Jiaxiang Dashi's Ideas on Doctrinal Classiflcation
3. The Development of Jiaxiang Dashi's Ideas on Doctrinal Classification
4. The Compilation and Revision of Jiaxiang Dashi's *Sūtra* Commentaries

(13) Hirai Shun'ei, *Hokke genron no chūshakuteki kenkyū* 法華玄論の註釈的研究 (An annotative study of the *Fahua xuanlun*). Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1987.

This work represents a study of Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun*. Part 1 ("Study") consists of five chapters. Chapter 1 ("The Compilation of the *Fahua xuanlun*") surveys the history

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[3] Concerning an impact of Hirai's book and responses from other scholars, see Okuno Mitsuyoshi, "Tendai to Sanron — *Hokke mongu no seiritsu ni kansuru kenkyū* kankō nijūnen ni chinande—," *Komazawa tanki daigaku bukkyō ronshū* 11, 2005, pp. 139-157.

of the study of the *Lotus Sūtra* prior to Jizang and discusses the stance and methodology of Jizang's commentary in the *Fahua xuanlun*. Chapter 2 ("The *Fahua xuanlun* and *Fahua yiji*") focusses on the criticism of Fayun's *Fahua yiji* in the *Fahua xuanlun*, and Hirai discusses in particular Jizang's criticism of Fayun's view that the first half of the *Lotus Sūtra* reveals the cause and the second half reveals the effect and his criticism of Fayun's view that the Buddha's body as described in the *Lotus Sūtra* is impermanent. Chapter 3 ("The Transmission of the *Fahua xuanlun*") is a study of the transmission of the *Fahua xuanlun* in the Japanese Sanron 三論 sect (corresponding to the Chinese Sanlun school). In Chapter 4 ("The *Fahua xuanlun* and Subsequent Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*") Hirai examines the influence of the *Fahua xuanlun* on Weonhyo's *Beophwa jongyo* 法華宗要, Ji's *Fahua xuanzan* and Prince Shōtoku's 聖徳太子 *Hokke gisho* 法華義疏 (Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*). Chapter 5 ("The Text of the *Fahua xuanlun*") describes the various manuscripts of the *Fahua xuanlun*.

Part 2 ("Annotated Translation") presents the text of the first 4 fascicles of the 10 fascicles of the *Fahua xuanlun* together with a Japanese translation in the traditional *kundoku* style and notes. In particular, the elucidation in the notes of sources quoted in the *Fahua xuanlun* is the result of considerable effort on the part of the author and will be of great benefit to future researchers.

(14) Young-ho Kim, *Tao-sheng's Commentary on the Lotus Sūtra: A Study and Translatian*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990.

This work presents a study and annotated English translation of Daosheng's commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*. Since Daosheng's commentary has not yet been translated into modern Japanese, this represents its first rendition into a modern language. There has already appeared, however, a Japanese translation in the traditional *kundoku* style (*Sankō Bunka Kenkyūjo Nenpō* 三康文化研究所年報, Nos. 9 [1976] and 12 [1979]), and a single-character concordance has also been published privately by Okuno Mitsuyoshi 奥野光賢 and Hareyama Shun'ei 晴山俊英 (July 1992). The table of contents of Kim's work is as follows:

Part I: Introduction
- Chapter 1. Tao-shêng's Prehistory: The State of Buddhist Studies in China
- Chapter 2. Tao-shêng's Biography
- Chapter 3. Tao-shêng's Works
- Chapter 4. Tao-shêng's Doctrines
- Chapter 5. Tao-shêng's Influence and the Impact of His Doctrines

Part II: A Critical Study of Tao-shêng's Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*
- Chapter 6. Tao-shêng and the *Saddarmapuṇḍarīka*
- Chapter 7. Literary Aspects
- Chapter 8. Central Ideas
- Chapter 9. Traces of Tao-shêng's Doctrines
- Chapter 10. Conclusions

Part III: Translation

(15) Paul L. Swanson, *Foundations of T'ien-t'ai Philosophy*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1989.

This work contains an annotated English translation of part of the *Fahua xuanyi* (from towards the end of fascicle lb [T no. 1716, 33. 69la] to the end of fascicle 2b).

(16) Kanno Hiroshi 菅野博史, *Hokke to wa nani ka—Hokke yūi o yomu* 法華とは何か—『法華遊意』を読む— (What is the *Lotus*?: Reading the *Fahua youyi*). Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1992.

This work presents a translation in modern Japanese of the *Fahua youyi* together with a rendition in the traditional *kundoku* style, notes, and an exposition of its content.

(17) Kanno Hiroshi 菅野博史, *Chūgoku Hokke shisō no kenkyū* 中国法華思想の研究 (A study of Chinese Thought on the *Lotus Sūtra*). Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1994.

This work brings together the author's research on Chinese commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*. It mainly researches commentaries of Daosheng, Fayun, and Jizang and marginally refers to the *Fahua wenju* and *Fahua xuanyi* of Zhiyi and Guanding. The table of contents is as follows:

Introduction: The Structure of the Work
PART 1: Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* Prior to Jizang 吉藏
Chapter 1: The Views of Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什, Huiguan 慧觀, and Sengrui 僧叡 on the *Lotus Sūtra*
1. Defining the Problem
2. Kumārajīva's Views on the *Lotus Sūtra* as Presented in the *Dasheng dayi zhang* 大乘大義章
3. Huiguan's Views on the *Lotus Sūtra* as Seen in the *Fahua zongyao xu* 法華宗要序
4. Sengrui's Views on the *Lotus Sūtra* as Seen in the *Fahua jing houxu* 法華經後序
Chapter 2: Daosheng's 道生 *Miaofa lianhua jing shu* 妙法蓮花經疏
Introduction
1. Daosheng's Understanding of the Structure of the *Lotus Sūtra*
2. The Method of Scriptural Exegesis Used by Daosheng in the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*
3. Daosheng's Concept of *Ji* (機, "Salvific Impetus") and *Ganying* (感應, "Resonant Stimulus and Response")
4. The Concept of *Li* (理, "Noumenal Principle") in the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*
Supplement 1: Examples of Daosheng's Usage of Li in the *Zhu weimojie jing* 注維摩詰經
Supplement 2: Examples of Daosheng's Usage of Li in the *Dabanniepan jing jijie* 大般涅槃經集解
Chapter 3: The Fragments of Liuqiu's 劉虯 *Zhu fahua jing* 注法華經
Chapter 4: A Study of the *Fahua yiji* 法華義記 Fayun 法雲

Introduction
1. The Lecturer, Fayun, and the Recorder of the *Fahua yiji*
2. A Study of the Comprehensive Explanations that Introduce the *Fahua yiji*
3. The Interpretation of the Concept of the One Vehicle Offered in the *Fahua yiji*: The Theory of Provisional Wisdom and Real Wisdom and the Theory of Cause and Effect
4. A Comparative Study of Fayun's *Fahua yiji* and Manuscripts Bearing the Title, "*Fahua yiji*" Discovered at Dunhuang

Chapter 5: Huisi's 慧思 *Fahua jing anlexing yi* 法華經安樂行義

PART 2: The Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* Composed by Jizang

Chapter 1: Preliminary Text-critical Research on Jizang's Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*
Introduction
1. The Relative Order of Composition of Jizang's Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*
2. Individual Summaries of Jizang's Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*
3. An Analysis of Jizang's Interpretation of the First Chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* According to the *Fahua tonglüe* 法華統略

Chapter 2: Jizang's System of Doctrinal Classification and His Views on the *Lotus Sūtra*
Introduction
1. Jizang's Views on the Sūtras
2. The Three Dharma-wheels of Jizang
3. Jizang's Notion of the Four Disciplines
4. Jizang's Notion of the Bodhisattva who Proceeds Directly to the Mahāyāna and the Bodhisattva who Switches from the Hīnayāna to the Mahāyāna
5. Jizang's Comparisons of the *Lotus Sūtra* with Other Mahāyāna Sūtras
6. Jizang's View of the Concept of Buddha-nature of the *Lotus Sūtra*
7. Jizang's View of the Zong 宗 ("Principal Purport") of the *Lotus Sūtra*

Chapter 3: The Interpretation of the Title of the *Lotus Sūtra*, "*Miaofa lianhua jing*"
Introduction
1. The Interpretation of the Word "Miao" 妙 ("Subtlety")
2. The Interpretation of the Term "Fa" 法 ("Dharma") and the Theory of the Eternity of the Buddha
3. The Interpretation of the Term "Lianhua" 蓮華 ("Lotus blossom")

PART 3: The Interpretation of the Allegory in the Belief and Understanding Chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* and its Bearing on Doctrinal Classification

Introduction

Chapter 1: The Allegory in Daosheng's *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*

Chapter 2: The Allegory in Fayun's *Fahua yiji*

Chapter 3: The Allegory in Jizang's Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*
1. The Allegory in the *Fahua xuanlun* 法華玄論
2. The Allegory in the *Fahua yishu* 法華義疏
3. The Allegory in the *Fahua tonglüe*

Chapter 4: The Allegory in the *Fahua wenju* of Zhiyi 智顗 and Guanding 灌頂

This book is a study of representative Chinese exegetical works on the *Miaofa lianhua jing*, Kumārajīva's (344-413 or 350-409) translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* or "*Lotus Sūtra*." Among the various exegetical works on the *Lotus Sūtra* extant today, the earliest is the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu* by Zhu Daosheng (355 ?-434). Next in time comes the *Fahua yiji* by master Fayun (467-529) of Guangzhai 光宅 Monastery, and after that, the *Fahua xuanlun*, *Fahua yishu*, *Fahua youyi*, and *Fahua tonglüe*—all of which are works by Jizang (549-623), the grand master of Jiaxiang 嘉祥. Jizang was the great systematizer of the *Sanlun* (*Three Treatises*) *line of teaching*, as well as the most prolific author of commentaries on the *Lotus*.

After Jizang we have the *Fahua xuanyi* and *Fahua wenju*. These two works are both attributed to Zhiyi but may be more accurately described as compilations produced in cooperation with Zhiyi's disciple, Zhang'an Guanding (561-632). Finally, there is the *Fahua jing xuanzan* by Ji 基, the grand master of Ci'en 慈恩 [Monastery] and a major figure in the Faxiang (*dharma-lakṣaṇa*) school.

Daosheng, Fayun, Jizang, Zhiyi, Guanding, and Ji were all illustrious figures in Chinese Buddhism who, from various religious and scholastic perspectives, can be said to have contributed substantially to the study of the *Lotus Sūtra*. The aim of this book is the study of their commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* in China. However, since it is not possible to cover all of the exegetical treatises on the *Lotus* listed above, the author has decided to focus on the *Lotus* commentaries of Daosheng, Fayun, and Jizang. This study is organized according to three main parts, which contain a total of twelve chapters.

Part One, titled "Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* Prior to Jizang," mainly researches *Lotus* commentaries composed prior to Jizang. As mentioned above, this part does not include the *Fahua xuanyi* and *Fahua wenju* of Zhiyi and Guanding because they were written under the influence of Jizang's *Lotus* commentaries. Even though Kumārajīva, Huiguan and Sengrui did not write *Lotus* commentaries, there are some materials which enable us to investigate their views on the *Lotus Sūtra* and I have used those materials. This part consists of five chapters.

Chapter one, "The Views of Kumārajīva, Huiguan and Sengrui on the *Lotus Sūtra*," contains a study of the *Dasheng dayi zhang*, a compendium of exchanges between Kumārajīva and Lushan Huiyuan 廬山慧遠 (334-416) containing materials that allow us to elicit Kumārajīva's views on the *Lotus Sūtra*. In addition, we have Huiguan's *Fahua zongyao xu* and Sengrui's *Fahua jing houxu*, two short prefaces by students of Kumārajīva which illuminate their respective views on the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Chapter two, "Daosheng's *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*" consists of four sections. Because it is an important precondition for clarifying his views on the *Lotus Sūtra*, the first section, titled "Daosheng's Understanding of the Structure of the *Lotus Sūtra*," examines how Daosheng understands the structural arrangement of the twenty-seven chapters of the *Lotus Sūtra*. Prior to embarking on its passage-by-passage explanation of the sūtra's textual content, Daosheng discusses the placement and significance of the chapter within the overall sūtra. Therefore the author considers how Daosheng understands the structural arrangement of the *Lotus Sūtra* using his discussions as basic sourse materials.

Bearing in mind the historical development of sūtra exegesis as it unfolded in China, in section two, "The Method of Scriptural Exegesis Used by Daosheng in the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*," the author clarifies the method of sūtra exegesis found in the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*, thereby laying the foundation for pursuing the comparative study of commentaries of later periods.[4] First the author looks at the formal features of his commentary, including such points as: (a) the retention of a section that resembles the section on explanation of the "intention or motive behind the sūtra's origin" (*laiyi* 來意) that we find in later commentaries; (b) evidence of explicit segmentation or division of the sūtra text; (c) indication of the passage that is to be explained (through citation of its opening and closing lines); (d) explanatory notes on transliterations; and (e) inclusion of alternative interpretations that differ from that of Daosheng. Secondly, the author inquires into Daosheng's explanations of the sūtra's verses. Thirdly, the author clarifies the fundamental orientation and theoretical organization of the interpretations of the sūtra.

Section three, "Daosheng's Concept of *Ji* and *Ganying*," examines the important term, "*ji* 機" ("salvific impetus"), which serves as a theoretical framework for Daosheng's scriptural exegesis, and places it within the context of its association with the concept of *ganying* 感應 or "resonant stimulus and response." The author clarifies that the salvific impetus, which was founded as a Buddhist terminology in Chinese Buddhism, represents the "constructive aspect of the sentient being that moves the Buddhas and bodhisattvas to manifest and, subsequently, receives that response."

Section four, "The Concept of *Li* in the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*," focuses on the concept of *li* 理 ("noumenal principle"), another term that functions as an important theoretical linchpin for Daoshng's scriptural exegesis. The author indicates all the examples of Daosheng's usage in the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu*, the *Zhu weimojie jing*, and *Dabanniepan jing jijie*.

Chapter three, "The Fragments of Liu Qiu's 劉虯 *Zhu Fahua jing*," assembles fragments of Liu qiu's (438-495) *Zhu Fahua jing* from the *Lotus Sūtra* commentaries of Jizang and investigates one aspect of his thought. Liu Qiu was a Buddhist layman in southern Qi 齊 and even though his *Zhu fahua jing* is not extant, fortunately we find approximately fifty citations in Jizang's *Lotus Sūtra* commentaries.

Chapter four, "A Study of the *Fahua yiji* of Fayun," consists of the following four sections: In section one, "The Lecturer, Fayun, and the Recorder of the *Fahua yiji*," the author considers how the *Fahua yiji* deals with the theories of Fayun and which were transmitted to his academic genealogy. As a result of this consideration, the author postulates that the *Fahua yiji* is not just a verbatim record of Fayun's lectures, but that, in fact, one can detect traces of where the disciple who actually wrote down Fayun's *Fahua yiji* substantiated his own efforts at exegetical interpretation based on Fayun's explanations.

In section two, "A Study of the Comprehensive Explanations that Introduce the *Fahua yiji*," the author provides a complete translation of the introductory section of the *Fahua yiji*, which offers the most comprehensive exposition of Fayun's views on the *Lotus Sūtra*. Then, through additional critical analysis and commentary, I investigate Fayun's

[4] See Hiroshi Kanno, "Chinese Buddhist Sutra Commentaries of the Early Period," in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2002*, vol.VI, 2003, pp. 301-20.

ideas concerning doctrinal classification and his explanation of the title and structural divisions of the sūtra.

Section three, "The Interpretation of the Concept of the One Vehicle Offered in the *Fahua yiji*: The Theory of Provisional Wisdom and Real Wisdom and the Theory of Cause and Effect," investigates how Fayun understands the idea of the one vehicle (one of the central concepts of the *Lotus Sūtra*) as expounded in the Skillful Means chapter of the *Lotus*. As the basis for this study, I rely on the two main theories that serve as the framework for the interpretation of the One Vehicle devised personally by Fayun—that is, his theory of provisional wisdom and real wisdom and his theory of cause and effect.

In section four, "A Comparative Study of Fayun's *Fahua yiji* and Manuscripts Bearing the Title, '*Fahua yiji*' Discovered at Dunhuang," the author examines differences in the concepts of doctrinal classification found in Fayun's *Fahua yiji* and the Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Fahua yiji* (S 2733 and S 4102). In addition, the author attempts to compare the two by establishing various topical sections that deal with their respective forms and methods of scriptural exegesis.

Chapter five, titled "Huisi's *Fahua jing anlexing yi*," examines views on the *Lotus Sūtra*, using as its source his *Fahua jing anlexing yi*, a treatise dedicated to topic of the *Lotus Sūtra*'s "course of ease and bliss."

Part Two, "The Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* Composed by Jizang," considers Jizang's views on the *Lotus Sūtra*. Jizang is the most prolific author of commentaries on the *Lotus* including the *Fahua xuanlun* (10 volumes), *Fahua yishu* (12 volumes), *Fahua youyi* (2 volumes or one volume), and *Fahua tonglüe* (6 volumes). Also there is the *Fahua lun shu* 法華論疏, namely, a commentary on the *Miaohua lianhua jing youbotishe* 妙法蓮華經憂婆提舍 (hereafter referred as the *Fahua lun* 法華論), which was written by Vasubandhu and translated by Bodhiruci. This part contains three chapters.

Chapter one, "Preliminary Text-critical Research on Jizang's Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*," is divided into the following three sections: Section one, "The Relative Order of Composition of Jizang's Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*," takes up the question of the order of composition of Jizang's five works on the *Lotus*, including the *Fahua lun shu*. In particular, I critique previous scholarly theories that the *Fahua tonglüe* took shape after the *Fahua lun shu*, and offer proof that the *Fahua tonglüe* was compiled before the *Fahua lun shu*. Section two, "Individual Summaries of Jizang's Commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*," provides a brief overview of the structure, special features, and prior text-critical research on Jizang's four *Lotus* commentaries.

Section three, "An Analysis of Jizang's Interpretation of the First Chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* According to the *Fahua tonglüe*," investigates new interpretations of the *Lotus Sūtra* that appear in the *Fahua tonglüe* for the first time but are not found in the *Fahua yishu*. Here I rely especially on the *Fahua tonglüe*'s explanation of the Preface chapter of the *Lotus* for my primary material. In particular I consider such ideas as the contemplation of non-arising (*wusheng guan* 無生觀) and the notion of the *Lotus Sūtra*'s four locations and seven assemblies (*sichu qihui* 四處七會).

Chapter two, "Jizang's System of Doctrinal Classification and His Views on the *Lotus Sūtra*," contains seven sections. Section one, "Jizang's Views on the Sūtras," examines Jizang's tendency to ascribe equal value to all of the Mahāyāna sūtras, as well as various

other related issues. The author considers Jizang's answer to the problems such as why Hīnayāna sūtras are excluded from the groups possessing equal value and why there exist many Mahāyāna sūtras, if they are equal in value.

Section two, "The Three Dharma-wheels of Jizang,"[5] considers the process by which the concept of the three dharma-wheels (original dharma-wheel 根本法輪, derivative dharma-wheel 枝末法輪 and dharma-wheel that assimilates the derivative into the original 攝末歸本法輪) took shape, the three dharma-wheels being a scheme of doctrinal classification devised for the purpose of proving that the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and the *Lotus Sūtra* are of equal value, on the basis of the standpoint that all of the Mahāyāna sūtras are equal in value. Various conceptual issues pertaining to the three dharma-wheels are also examined.

Section three, "Jizang's Notion of the Four Disciplines," addresses the meaning of the four disciplines and the process by which they were formulated. The concept of the four disciplines was devised by Jizang and is used to describe four forms of teaching that occur between the Buddha's preaching of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and the *Lotus Sūtra*—i.e., (1) the teaching of humans and gods, (2) the teaching of the two vehicles, (3) the teaching for oneself, and (4) the teaching for others.

Section four, "Jizang's Notion of the Bodhisattva who Proceeds Directly to the Mahāyāna and the Bodhisattva who Switches from the Hīnayāna to the Mahāyāna," clarifies the meaning of Jizang's concept of the two types of bodhisattva, as well as the process by which it took shape. The bodhisattva who proceeds directly to the Mahāyāna refers to beings who are bodhisattvas from the start; the bodhisattva who switches from the Hīnayāna to the Mahāyāna refers to śrāvakas who convert to the Mahāyāna upon encountering the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Section five, "Jizang's Comparisons of the *Lotus Sūtra* with Other Mahāyāna sūtras," examines Jizang's attempts to make specific comparisons of the *Lotus Sūtra* with the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*, the *Prajñā Sūtra*, the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, and the *Śrīmālā Sūtra*. Here the author addresses Jizang's concrete criticisms of the sudden, gradual, and five-period schemes of doctrinal classification, all of which establish differences in value among the Mahāyāna sūtras.

Section six, "Jizang's View of the Concept of Buddha-nature of the *Lotus Sūtra*," investigates the methods by which Jizang substantiates his claim that the doctrine of the Buddha-nature, which is unique to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, is also expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*. In this respect, it is also a comparative study of Jizang's views on the *Lotus* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

Section seven, "Jizang's View of the Zong of the *Lotus Sūtra*," examines Jizang's critique of prevailing theories regarding the zong 宗 or "principal purport" of the *Lotus Sūtra*, as well as the most salient features of Jizang's thought.

Chapter three, "The Interpretation of the Title of the *Lotus Sūtra*," examines Jizang's interpretation of the five characters that make up the Chinese title of the *Lotus Sūtra*—i.e., *Miaofa lianhua jing*. Explaining the sūtra title is the important method of Chinese sūtra

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[5] See Hiroshi Kanno, "The Three Dharma-wheels of Jizang 吉藏," *BUDDHISM AND INDIAN STUDIES In HONOUR of Professor Sodo MORI*, Hamamatsu, Japan, 2002: Kokusai Bukkyo Kyokai, pp. 399-412.

exegesis. The chapter itself is divided into three sections, according to the three words "*miao*," "*fa*," and "*lianhua*," respectively. I review Jizang's evaluation of the points of difference between the title of the *Lotus* as translated by Kumārajīva (i,e., *Miaofa lianhua jing*) and translated by Zhu Fahu (i,e., *Zhengfa hua jing*), especially with respect to the two terms "*miao*" and "*zheng*." In addition I investigate Jizang's notion of "relative subtlety" (*xiangdai miao* 相待妙) and "absolute subtlety" (*juedai miao* 絶待妙) and their relationship to the interpretation given them by Zhiyi and Guanding in the *Fahua xuanyi*,[6] and I examine the content of Jizang's critique of Fayun's theory that the *Lotus Sūtra* presents the Buddha as non-eternal. This investigates the methods by which Jizang substantiates his claim that the doctrine of the eternal Buddha, which is unique to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, is also expounded in the *Lotus Sūtra*. In this respect, it is also a comparative study of Jizang's views on the *Lotus* and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.

Part Three, "The Interpretation of the Allegory in the Belief and Understanding chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra* and its Bearing on Doctrinal Classification," focuses on the role that the allegory of the prodigal son in the fourth chapter of the *Lotus* ultimately played in the development of Chinese Buddhist doctrinal classification. According to Jizang, the *Lotus Sūtra* organizes the span of the Buddha's career according to a pedagogical strategy that proceeds from one vehicle to three vehicles and back again to one vehicle. This idea from the *Lotus Sūtra* provided one of the basic rationales for doctrinal classification in China. However, in so far as the sūtra provides only the barest outline of this scheme, it could not immediately account for such things as the relationship between the Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, much less the complex relationship that pertains among the massive collection of Mahāyāna scriptures themselves. As a result, attention was focused on the allegory in the Belief and Understanding chapter, in which the Buddha tells the tale of the lengthy and multi-staged training of the prodigal son (who represents the śrāvaka). Here lies the reason why many commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra* elaborate their most detailed reflections on doctrinal classification in explanations of the prodigal son allegory.

Moreover, in this third part I clarify the realities of *Lotus* commentarial exegesis examined in the previous two parts. The author deals with the *Miaofa lianhua jing shu* of Daosheng in chapter one, the *Fahua yiji* of Fayun in chapter two, the *Fahua xuanlun*, *Fahua yishu*, and *Fahua tonglüe* of Jizang in chapter three, and the *Fahua xuanyi* of Zhiyi and Guanding in chapter four.

(18) Kanno Hiroshi 菅野博史, *Hokke gengi* 法華玄義 (*An annotated translation of the Fahua xuanyi*, 3volumes). Tokyo: Daisanbunmei-sha, 1995.

This work presents a translation in the traditional *kundoku* style with notes.

(19) Hirai Shun'ei, *Zoku Hokke genron no chūshakuteki kenkyū* 続法華玄論の註釈的研究 (*An annotatives Study of the Fahua xuanlun*). Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1996.

This work presents an annotated translation (in *kundoku* style) of fascicles 5 to 10 of Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun*. With this book Hirai completed his translation of the text.

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[6] See Hiroshi Kanno, "'Relative Subtlety' and 'Absolute Subtlety' in Zhiyi and Jizang: Concerning their Interpretations of the Word 'Subtlety' (*miao* 妙) in the Title of the *Lotus Sūtra*," *Hokekyō to Daijōkyōten no kenkyū* 法華経と大乗経典の研究 (*The Lotus Sūtra* and related system), Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 2006.

(20) Fang guangchang 方廣錩 (ed.), *Zangwai fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻, the second volume (*The Buddhist Texts Not Contained in the Tripiṭaka*). Beijing: Zonjiao wenhua chubanshe 宗教文化出版社, 1996, pp. 293-354.

This work includes a transcription of the commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra* entitled "*Fahua jing wen waiyi* 法華經文外義", which is preserved in a Dunhuang manuscript kept in the Shanghai Museum.[7]

(21) Kanno Hiroshi 菅野博史, *Hokke giki* (*An annotated translation of the Fahua yiji*). Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1996.

This work presents a translation in the traditional *kundoku* style with notes and an exposition of its contents.

(22) Li Zhifu 李志夫 (ed.), *Miaofa lianhua jing xuanyi yanjiu* 妙法蓮華經玄義研究 (A Study of *The Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra*). Taiwan: Zhonghua fojiao wenxian bianzhuan she 中華佛教文獻編撰社, 1997.

This work presents a new punctuated and segmented edition of the *Fahua xuanyi* and allows us to understand the text more easily. Moreover, this work provides the sources of quotations of Buddhist scriptures in the text, summaries of all the contents, introductions to important passages, comments, explanations of the text, collected commentaries on the text, annotations of important terms, and a clarification of the profound significance of the text on the basis of modern academic thought. Collected commentaries cover many Chinese and Japanese commentaries. I think this work is very helpful for understanding the text.

(23) Kanno Hiroshi 菅野博史, *Hokke gengi nyūmon* 法華玄義入門 (*Introduction to The Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra*). Tokyo: Daisanbunmei-sha, 1997.

This work presents an introductory exposition of the *Fahua xuanyi* in its entirety.

(24) Kanno Hiroshi 菅野博史, *Hokke tōryaku* 法華統略 (*An annotated translation of the Fahua tonglüe*, 2 volumes). Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 1998, 2000.

This work presents an annotated *kundoku*-style translation and a transcription of a better manuscript kept in Shinpuku-ji 真福寺 in Nagoya of Japan. Even though the text included in Dainippon zokuzōkyō 大日本續藏經 lacks the exgesis of three chapters, i.e., "the Parable of the Medicinal Herbs", "Bestowal of Prophecy", and "the Parable of the Phantom City," the new manuscript preserves these parts.

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[7] See Kanno Hiroshi, "*Hokekyōmon gegi* kenkyū josetsu (Preliminary Study on the *Fahua jing wen waiyi* in Dunhuang)," *Indogaku Bukkyō gaku kenkyū* 55.1 (December 2006): 499-492. This text is not an interlinear commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*, but a kind of commentary which takes up some important issues concerning the *Lotus Sūtra* and develops them in a question-and-answer format. This manuscript was copied by a monk in 545 according to the colophon. Needless to say, the text must have been compiled earlier than 545. Therefore it is very important material with regard to the study of Chinese commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*. This paper provides a general survey of the text.

(25) Zhu Feng'ao 朱封鰲, *Miaofa lianhua jing wenju jiaoshi* 妙法蓮華經文句校釋 (*Annotation of the Fahua wenju*). Beijing: Zonjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2000.

This work presents a new punctuated and annotated edition of the *Fahua wenju*.

(26) Okuno Mitsuyoshi 奥野光賢, *Busshō shisō no tenkai—Kichizō o Chūshin to shita "Hokkeron" juyōshi* 仏性思想の展開—吉蔵を中心とした『法華論』受容史— (The development of Buddha-nature: The history of the acceptance of the *Fahua lun* by Jizang). Tokyo: Daizō Shuppan, 2002.

This work presents Jizang's views on the *Lotus Sūtra* and naturally researches Jizang's commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*. The table of contents is as follows:

Preface
Part 1: The Use of the *Fahua lun* and the Idea of Buddha-nature by Jizang and Later Writers
Chapter 1: On the *Fahua lun*
Chapter 2: Jizang's Theories and the *Fahua lun*
1. The Chracterestics of Jizang's Use of the *Fahua lun*
2. Jizang's Actual Use of the *Fahua lun*: Concerning the Sentence "There are theories of Buddha-nature in seven places [in the *Lotus Sūtra*]."
3. Jizang's Interpretation of "*fo zhijian* 佛知見"
Chapter 3: Jizang on the Attainment of Buddhahood by Śrāvakas
Chapter 4: Jizang and the Idea of Buddha-nature
Chapter 5: Tiantai Theories and the *Fahua lun*
1. The Acceptance of the *Fahua lun* in Tiantai: A Comparison with Jizang
2. Saichō's Ideas concerning the Prediction to Buddhahood
3. Enchin and Jizang: Concerning their Interpretations of the *Fahua lun*
4. The Interpretation of the *Fahua lun* in *Ichijō yōketsu* 一乗要決 Especially Focused on the Prediction of Śrāvakas to Buddhahood
Supplement 1: Recent Studies on the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*: Focused on the Icchantika Theory
Supplement 2: On the *Sam-byō-dō-gi* 三平等義 attributed to Saichō
Part 2: A Study of the Formation of Jizang's Thought
Chapter 1: Jizang on the Transformation of Fixed Karma
Chapter 2: "Aquisition" and "Non-acquisition" according to Jizang: Acquisition as the First Gate to Non-aquisition
Chapter 3: Jizang on "Non-dispute"
Chapter 4: Jizang's Understanding of the Four *Siddhāntas*
Chapter 5: Jizang's Theories and the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*
Chapter 6: Jizang's Theories and the Theory of the Realization of Buddhahood by Grasses and Trees

This book is organized according to two main parts, which contain a total of eleven chapters. Part one, titled "The Use of the *Fahua lun* and the Idea of Buddha-nature by Jizang and Later Writers" consists of five chapters. Chapter one, "On the *Fahua lun*"

presents a reflection of past research on the *Fahua lun*, which is the central focus of this book, a bibliographical essay and also expresses the author's perspectives.

Chapter two, "Jizang's Theories and the *Fahua lun*," consists of three sections. This chapter clarifies why Jizang incorporates the idea of Buddha-nature into his interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra* and where in the *Fahua lun* he reads the idea of Buddha-nature in it. The author especially discusses characteristics of Jizang's interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra* focusing on the term "*fo zhijian*" in the Skillful Means chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Chapter three, "Jizang on the Attainment of Buddhahood by Śrāvakas," criticizes the study of Suemitsu Yasumasa[8] that the theory of five different natures, which the Consciousness Only school established around the fourth century in India, can be seen in Jizang's thought. This chapter and the following chapter, "Jizang and the Idea of Buddha-nature," is the central part of this book. The author examines the theory proposed by Suemitsu and concludes that Jizang takes a stance that all living beings can attain Buddhahood even though his thought includes various factors.

Chapter four clarifies Jizang's understanding of Buddha-nature, showing that it is close to the idea that the evolution of the phenomenal world occurs from *tathatā* (Suchness) using the section on explanation of the "intention or motive behind the sūtra's origin" (*laiyi* 來意) of the *Shengman baoku* 勝鬘寶窟 (Commentary on the *Śrīmālā Sūtra*) as its main source materials. The author shows that in this respect his consideration is very different from the idea of the Consciousness Only school that *tathatā* is static and does not evolve into the phenomenal world.

Chapter five, "Tiantai Theories and the *Fahua lun*," consists of four sections. This chapter surveys Zhyi's actual use of the *Fahua lun* and discusses how and from what perspectives the *Fahua lun* has been used in the Tiantai school from Zhiyi to Genshin 源信 (942-1017) in Japan. This chapter also includes a comparison with Jizang.

Part two, titled "A Study of the Formation of Jizang's Thought" consists of six chapters. This part considers how the thought of Jizang, who incorporates the idea of Buddha-nature into his interpretation of the *Lotus Sūtra*, develops through specific problems such as "the transformation of fixed karma", "contemplation of *śūnyatā*", "the realization of Buddhahood by grasses and trees," and so on.

(27) Kanno Hiroshi, *Hokekyō shisōshi kara manabu Bukkyō* 法華経思想史から学ぶ仏教 (Learning Buddhism based on the history of development of the *Lotus Sūtra* thought). Tokyo: Daizō shuppan, 2003.

This is a volume of collected papers and contains three papers relating to the subject under consideration here. These have already been translated into English, as follows:

1. A Comparison of Zhiyi's and Jizang's Views of the *Lotus Sūtra*: Did Zhiyi, after all, Advocate a "Lotus Absolutism"?, in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic*

[8] Suemitsu published a series of ten articles with this title in *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* and the *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyōgakubu ronsbū* beginning in 1987. See especially "Kichizō no jō fujōbutsu kan," *Komazawa daigaku Bukkyōgakubu kenkyū kiyō* 45 (1987), pp. 275-291.

Year 1999, 2000, pp. 125-147.

2. The Reception of *Lotus Sūtra* Thought in China, in: *The Journal of Oriental Studies* 11, 2002, pp. 106-122.
3. The Practice of Bodhisattva Never Disparaging in the *Lotus Sūtra* and its Reception in China and Japan, in: *The Journal of Oriental Studies* 12, 2002, pp. 104-122.

(28) Shen Haiyan, *The Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra: T'ien-t'ai Philosophy of Buddhism*, 2 volumes. Delhi: D K Fine Art Press P Ltd, 2005.

This work consists of two volumes. The first volume is a study of the *Fahua xuanyi* and Tiantai philosophy as seen through the text, and the second volume is an English translation of the text in its entirety. The table of contents of the first volume is as follows:

Acknowledgement
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Preface
Introduction
Chapter One: The Life and times of Chih-i as an Introductory Background
1. The Historical Background
2. The Life of CHIH-i
Chatper Two: The Achievements of the Profound Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra
I. HOW DOES CHIH-I ORGANIZE HIS WORK *HSÜAN-I* TO INTERPRET THE LOTUS SŪTRA IN ORDER TO PRESENT HIS SYSTEM OF THOUGHT?
1. The primary structure of the *Hsüan-i*—General Interpretation
2. The primary structure of the *Hsüan-i*—Specific Interpretation
3. The formula of Chih-i's field of discourse
4. Conclusion of the first issue in question
II. HOW DOES CHIH-I CONNECT HIS ALL-ENCOMPASSING THEORIES TO MAKE THEM COHERENT AND COMPLETE, AND WHAT THECHNIQUE DOES HE EMPLOY TO MAKE THEM FLAWLESS AND IRREFUTABLE?
1. Technique of polarity
2. A Technique of definition
3. A Technique of complete critique and evaluation of theories of others
4. A Technique of comparison
5. A Technique of describing exhaustive and comprehensive lists of various notions and concepts
6. A Technique of Sign Interpretation
Conclusion of the second issue in question
III. WHAT ARE THE THEORIES AND SYSTEMS CHIH-I FORMULATES TO DISPLAY THE CHARACTERISTICS OF SYNCRETISM AS THE BACKBONE OF HIS PERFECT AND HARMONIZING PHILOSOPHY?

1. System of Classifying the Teaching of the Buddha
2. System of integration
3. System of weeding out the old and bringing forth the new

Conclusion of the third issue in question

General Conclusion

This volume consists of three questions and the author's answers to them. Concerning the first question, she writes, "The Lotus Sūtra (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*) in order to present his system of thought, serves to provide an overview of the text in terms of its structure and its content. This is provided by drawing an outline and a general structure of the text. Through this question, a general description of the hermeneutical approach Chih-i employs to interpret the *Lotus Sūtra*, and to present his thought is offered." Concerning the second question, she writes, "The second question ------ serves to explore six techniques: *1.* technique of polarity, *2.* technique of clear definition, *3.* technique of complete critique and evaluation of the theories of others, *4*, technique of comparison, *5.* technique of description of exhaustive and comprehensive lists of various notions and concepts, and *6.* technique of sign interpretation. Through these techniques, what Chih-i intends to convey in the light of his own philosophical thinking (which carries soteriological implication) becomes transparent." Concerning the third question, she writes, "The last question ------ concerns epistemological perspective, namely, the syncretism in his presentation that reflects Chinese episteme. The theories and systems that reveal this characteristic are summarized as follows: *1.* system of classification, *2.* integration, and *3.* system of weeding through the old to bring forth the new. Through this question, not only the third perspective of epistemological issue concerning the formation of Chih-i's philosophy that exhibits practical significance is examined, but its relation to the first perspective of hermeneutical approach that assumes educational implication and the second perspective that bears soteriological significance is unraveled as well." (p. xviii)

I am convinced that her book advances researches of Tiantai philosophy, but I would like her to refer to research results of Japanese scholors. For in order to conduct an academic research of Tiantai philosophy, we should now consider the relationship between Zhiyi and Jizang concerning their interpretations of the *Lotus Sūtra*. For example, concerning two kinds of "subtlety" of "relative subtlety" and "absolute subtlety", we find them in both Zhiyi's *Fahua xuanyi* and Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun*.[9]

(29) Daniel Bruce Stevenson and Hiroshi Kanno, The *Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra's Course of Ease and Bliss*: An Annotated Translation and Study of Nanyue Huisi's (515-577) *Fahua jing anlexing yi*, Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica, vol. IX, Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2006.

This work presents an annotated translation of the *Fahua jing anlexing yi* 法華經安樂行義 (*The Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra's Course of Ease and Bliss*), papers by the two authors, and a corrected and punctuated edition of the text. The table of contents is as follows:

[9] See Kanno Hiroshi, (17), pp. 545-559. Also see note 6.

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Abbreviations and Conventions
Part I: Daniel B. Stevenson, "Nanyue Huisi (515-577) — Recollections, Works, and Motifs"
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Part II: Hiroshi Kanno, Huisi's Perspective on the *Lotus Sūtra* as Seen through the *Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra's Course of Ease and Bliss*
Part III: Daniel B. Stevenson and Hiroshi Kanno, Annotated Translation of Huisi's *Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra's Course of Ease and Bliss*
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The *Meaning of the Course of Ease and Bliss* is not a work devoted to interlinear explanation of the textual contents of the *Lotus Sūtra*, but a work that centers topically on the course of ease and bliss as a distinctive conceptual theme, which is expounded in the fourteenth chapter of the *Lotus Sūtra*, titled "Course of Ease and Bliss." Dan Stevenson's approach to the *Meaning of the Course of Ease and Bliss* seeks to situate the content and rhetoric of the text within the larger framework of Huisi's collected writings, with additional attention to currents of Buddhist thought and practice particular to the historical milieu in which Huisi operated. Hiroshi Kanno's perspective stems primarily from an interest in the *Meaning of the Course of Ease and Bliss* as an example of early medieval Chinese Buddhist exegesis and commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*.

Among the studies of Chinese commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*, I have in the above surveyed representative works that have been published in book form. Lastly, I wish to comment briefly on the present state of research as reflected in annotated translations of the representative commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*.

As noted above, an English translation and single-character concordance of Daosheng's commentary have already been published [see (14) above]. As for Fayun's *Fahua yiji*, I have published an annotated translation (in *kundoku* style) of the text [see (21) above]. In regard to the *Fahua wenju*, there has appeared only a *kundoku*-style translation, while in the case of the *Fahua xuanyi* there have also appeared, in addition to a *kundoku*-style translation, an annotated translation of fascicle 1 in modern Japanese [see (11) above], an annotated English translation of the text in its entirety [see (28) above], and an annotated English translation of the final third of fascicle 1b and all of fascicle 2 [see (15) above]. As for Jizang's *Fahua xuanlun*, there has appeared an annotated *kundoku*-style translation of the text [see (13) and (19) above), while in the case of the *Fahua yishu* a *kundoku*-style translation is available, and there have already appeared translations of

the *Fahua youyi* in both modern Japanese and *kundoku* style with notes (see (9) and (16) above). As for the *Fahua tonglüe*, there has appeared a *kundoku*-style rendition of the text [see (24) above].

There have also been published many academic papers dealing with Chinese commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*, but space has not permitted me to discuss these here. Recent years have seen a burgeoning of research in Japan on Jizang's commentaries on the *Lotus Sūtra*, and on this subject reference may be made to the bibliography appended to Hirai Shun'ei (ed.), *Sanron kyōgaku no kenkyū* 三論教学の研究 (*Studies in Sanlun doctrine*; Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1990).

Afterword

The first part of this paper [up to the introduction to (16)] has been published in *ACTA ASIATICA* 66 (1994, pp. 87-103) as "An Overview of Research on Chinese Commentaries of the *Lotus Sūtra*), I have made some minor corrections here. In this paper, I have given Chinese names and terms according to the Pinyin system throughout. Where certain authors used the Wade-Giles system, I have retained that system only in the titles and tables of contents of their books. I would like to offer my appreciation to Prof. Jan Nattier for her assistance in correcting the English in the new portion of this paper.

漢訳仏典の言語の研究*

辛嶋静志

漢訳仏典――特にいわゆる古訳・旧訳仏典――を読む人は誰でも、その漢語が中国のそれと随分異なっていることに気付くであろう。この一番大きな原因は、その基づく原典自体が、説話・譬喩・会話表現を豊富に使って、日常生活を描いており――これは、大衆に説き聞かせることを目的とした経典のみならず、大衆に見せてはならないとされている律典でも同様である――、漢訳者たちもそれに応じて当時の口語表現を使ったからであると思われる。第二には、インドや中央アジアから来た翻訳者たちが古典漢語に慣れておらず、破格の表現を使ったせいもあろう。また、漢訳仏典の原典は主としてインド本土やその文化的周縁（コータンや中央アジアを含む）で成立したから、訳者たちは、当時の中国にはなかった思想・概念・物品を表現するのに新語を多量に造ったり、既成の語でも従来の意味の枠を越えた意味を持たせたせいもあろう。だから、漢訳仏典の難解な語彙・語法を明確にするためには、梵語などの仏典や異訳仏典との比較研究がもっとも重要で有効な方法である。しかし、梵漢対照の研究をする場合に注意すべき点は、初期の漢訳仏典の原本の言語は、梵語であったとは限らず、おそらくガンダーラ語などの中期インド語か、あるいはそれらと梵語との混淆した言語、また仏典によっては中央アジアの言語であった可能性もあるということである。この点を注意しておく必要がある。また、仏典中の難解な語彙が物品を意味する時、私たちは出土文物・彫刻・図像も参考に出来るし、参考にしなければならない。以下に幾つかの例（和南、刹、馬脳、衣裓）を挙げ、多方面の資料を使った仏典語彙研究の一端を示そう。

（1）和南

「和南」という音写語の最も早い例は呉代康僧会の訳経に現れるようだ。即ち『六度集経』「象王見沙門，即低頭，言：“和南！道士！將以何事賊吾躯命？”」(T.3, No.152, 17b14)；『旧雑譬喩経』「兒前，禮足，言：“和南！舍利弗、摩訶目揵連！”」(T.4, No.206, 522a25)。

中村元博士の編著になる『広説佛教語大辞典』（東京書籍 2001）では「梵語

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* この原稿に目を通して、誤りを指摘して下さった橋本貴子さん（神戸市外国語大学博士生）と佐々木大悟氏（龍谷大学非常勤講師）、*utsaṃga*を描いた彫刻をお教え下さった上枝いずみさん（龍谷大学博士生）と川崎建三氏（創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所嘱託職員）に深く感謝致します。また、御著書の写真を使うことを御快諾下さった栗田功先生（欧亜美術）と、すばらしいスケッチを描いて下さった葉少勇氏（中央美術学院卒業、北京大学博士生）に心から感謝の念を捧げます。

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 445-460.
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vandanaの音写。礼拝。敬礼。稽首。……」とある(p. 1785)。

しかし、「和南」(MC. γuâ nậm)と*vandana*(「敬礼」)の音の差は大きい。

『摩訶僧祇律』巻第三十五『明威儀法』に次のような表現がある。「若有嗽者，不得言語。若上座嗽者，應言:"和南"。下坐者，默然。」(T.22, No.1425, 513c8)。『明威儀法』には*Abhisamācārikā-Dharma*という対応する梵本がある。その梵本の対応部分(48B4)には次のようにある：

> *yadi tāva koci kṣīvati, na dāni vaktavyaṃ "jīva" ti. atha khalu yadi vṛddhatarako bhavati, vaktavyaṃ "vandāmi" tti. atha dāni navako kṣīvati, "ārogê"ti (← āroceti) vaktavyaṃ*("誰かがくしゃみをした時、[その人に向かって]「長寿あれ！」と言ってはいけない。もしその人が[自分より]法臘が多い[比丘]の場合には、「敬礼します[*vandāmi*]」と言うべきだ。[自分より]法臘が少ない[比丘]がくしゃみをした時は、「健康！」と言うべきだ")

「和南」が梵語の*vandāmi*（「私は敬礼します」）と対応していることが分かる。同じ『摩訶僧祇律』の『比丘尼戒法』には「和南」が次のように出る：

> 「和南！阿梨耶！是跋陀羅不？」(526c15)
>
> 「若比丘尼欲入比丘住處者，當到門屋，應先白："和南！比丘尼白入。願聽！"」(538c29-539a1)
>
> 「到比丘精舍中，"和南！我聞尊者欲詣舍衛城，禮拜世尊。審爾不？"」(539b5)

『比丘尼戒法』にも*Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya*[1]という対応する梵本がある。『比丘尼戒法』で「和南」とあるところ、この梵本では、やはり*vandāmi*(「私は敬礼します」）とある(*Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya* § 181, 6A3.4, § 230, 8A6.5, § 232, 8A7.4）。

ガンダーラ語の『法句経』やニヤ出土のガンダーラ語文書の中には*-nd-*が*-nn-*に変化した例が少なからず見られる[2]。おそらく、梵語の*vandāmi*は西北インドあるいは中央アジアの言語では**vannāmi*あるいは**vannām(i)*と変化したであろう。この訛が「和南」と音写されたと考えられる。

(2) 刹

「名刹」、「古刹」、「巨刹」、「寺刹」、「佛刹」、「梵刹」、「禪刹」などの「刹」は「寺院」の意味である。

『総合佛教大辞典』（法藏館 1987)には「さつ　刹　②「さつ」と読む。(梵)ラクシャター*lakṣatā*の音略。擦とも書く。詳しくは刺瑟胝。幢幟、しるしの意。はたざお、あるいは塔の心柱をいう。寺院を寺刹、梵刹、金刹といい、また名刹などというのは仏堂の前に刹、即ち幡竿（はたざお）を建てる風習があったからである。」とある(上 p. 464)。

『漢語大詞典』には「梵語*lakṣata*的音譯省稱。即相輪。佛塔頂部的飾物，亦稱刹柱」とある(第2卷，671頁)。

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[1] *Bhikṣuṇī-Vinaya, including Bhikṣuṇī-Prakīrṇaka and a Summary of the Bhikṣu-Prakīrṇaka of the Ārya-Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*, ed. Gustav Roth, Patna (*Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series* 12).

[2] Cf. Burrow 1937: § 45; Brough 1962: § 46, 47; 辛嶋 1994: 34-35.

また、中村元『広説佛教語大辞典』には「刹 ③パーリ語*laṭṭhi*, 梵語*yaṣṭi*の音写[3]。標幟。旗竿。仏堂の前に宝珠火焔形をつけた竿を立てて寺の標幟としたので、寺刹・梵刹・名刹などと称する。また、塔の心柱（檫）をいう。」とある(p. 1009)。

同様に中村元等編『岩波　仏教辞典』の「巨刹」の項には「……〈刹〉は寺院の意．〈刹〉は普通クシェートラ(*kṣetra*)の音写語で，国土の意．玄応の『一切経音義』によれば，仏塔の上に立てる竿（ヤシュティ，*yaṣṭi*）を〈刹〉と名づけるようになった．おそらく，そこから意味が転化して仏塔を，さらに寺院を意味するようになったものと推定される.」とある（第二版，326頁）。

これらの解釈はみな玄応『一切経音義』の次の奇妙な解釈に基づく：

> 「刹…梵言差多羅(*kṣetra*)，此譯云土田。經中或云國，或云土者，同其義也。或作刹土者，存二音也。即刹帝利，名字田主者，亦是也。…… 浮圖名刹者，訛也。應言剌瑟胝(**laṣṭi*?)。剌音力割反。此譯云竿。人以柱代之名為刹柱。以安佛骨義同土田故，名刹也。以彼西國塔竿頭安舍利故也。」（巻一釋『大方広仏華厳経』第一巻“切刹”[4]）[5]。

この段の中の「浮圖名刹者」から後の解釈に問題がある[6]。即ち、(1)「剌瑟胝」は**laṣṭi*という原語の音写のようである[7]。しかし、梵語辞典には、このような語は見つからず、おそらくパーリ語*laṭṭhi*（「竿、棒」。対応する梵語形は*yaṣṭi*[8]）の梵語化した語形であろう。しかし、「刹」と「剌瑟胝」(**laṣṭi*)の音の差異は大きすぎる[9]；(2)「以安佛骨義同土田故，名刹也」というように、塔と田地(*kṣetra*)を結合して解釈した例

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[3] 周祖謨『洛陽伽藍記校釋』(北京 1963：中華書局)，6頁，「季羨林先生云：『刹，梵文為yaṣṭi，巴利文為laṣṭhi。玄應所云剌瑟胝，或為laṣṭhi之對音。』」とあるのを参考。

[4] 『大方広仏華厳経』第一巻には「如一切刹微塵數」(T.9, No. 278, p. 398b26)とある。『音義』の「切刹」は原文の「一切刹」の誤写か省略。驚いたことに、Buswell教授はこの「切刹」を音写と解釈している（1999: 195f. = 2006: 50-51)。彼はおそらく経文自体を見なかったか、あるいは「一切」という表現を知らない(!)と思われる。また玄応『一切経音義』巻六釈『妙法蓮華経』音義の中に次のような解釈がある：「方刹。初鎋反。梵言差多羅(*kṣetra*)。譯言田。田土，田也。或言國，或言土者，義言也。……”(『中華大蔵経』, vol. 56, No. 1163, 907a11f.)。これは『妙法蓮華経』の「正使滿十方　皆如舍利弗　及餘諸弟子　亦滿十方刹」という経文(T.9, No. 262, 6a4)の解釈である。だから「方刹」は「（十）方刹」、すなわち「十方の国土」の意味である。これまた驚いたことに、Buswell教授は同じ論文の中で「方刹」の「方」を「刹」の翻訳と解釈している(1999: 195-196 = 2006: 50)。彼はここでも経文自体を見なかったか、あるいは「十方」という表現を知らない(!)と思われる。

[5] 玄応『一切経音義』，『中華大蔵経』, vol. 56, No. 1163, 814b8f. また慧琳『一切経音義』T.54, No. 2128, p. 431a28も参照。

[6] 玄応『一切経音義』の他の箇所では（注25参照)、玄応はある程度正しい解釈をしている。ここの解釈は、玄応が彼以前の別人の解釈を写したものの可能性がある。

[7] 「剌瑟胝」を『望月　佛教大辭典』(第2巻，1442頁)から始まり、多くの辞書は*lakṣatā*（『漢語大詞典』の*lakṣata*は誤記)の音写としている。しかし、このような語は梵語文献に出ない。おそらく『望月　佛教大辭典』のこの部分を書いた人が発明した語形であろう。

[8] *yaṣṭi*とは塔頂の幾重にも重なった円盤状のものを支える竿、すなわち所謂「刹竿、輪竿」のことである。Cf. Kottkamp 1992: 696, s.v. *yaṣṭi*.

[9] 吳福祥博士は、「剎系梵語‘剌瑟胝’的節譯字，‘剎’對音‘瑟胝’後改用剎，可能是音變後的代用字。……」(蔣冀騁、吳福祥『近代漢語綱要』p. 15)とあるが、これは梵語を知らない学者の大胆な憶測に過ぎない。徐時儀『玄應〈衆経音義〉研究』，北京 2005：中華書局, pp. 574-576も同様である。

は、インド仏教文献に見あたらない。[10]

では「刹」という音写の原語は何であろうか。鳩摩羅什訳『妙法蓮華経』には「表刹」という表現が見える。

「以舎利起塔　七寶而莊嚴　表刹甚高廣　漸小至梵天」(T.9, No. 262, 46a7f.)

「一切衆生悪見菩薩見佛滅度，…… 收取舎利，作八萬四千寶瓶，以起八萬四千塔，高三世界，表刹莊嚴，垂諸幡蓋，懸衆寶鈴。」(53c17f.)

第一文の中の「表刹」は梵本の*chatrâvaḍi- .... vaijayantī-* (KN. 340.14~15)と対応している。第二文の中の「表刹」は*chatrâvalī-* (KN.412.1)と対応している。*chatrâvaḍi*或いは*chatrâvalī*は「列をなす傘蓋」の意味である。具体的には、塔の上部で幾重にも重ねられた傘蓋に似た円盤状のもののことである（図1参照）[11]。*vaijayantī*とは「のぼり」の意味であり、塔頂に掛けられた幟のことである（図2, 7参照）。

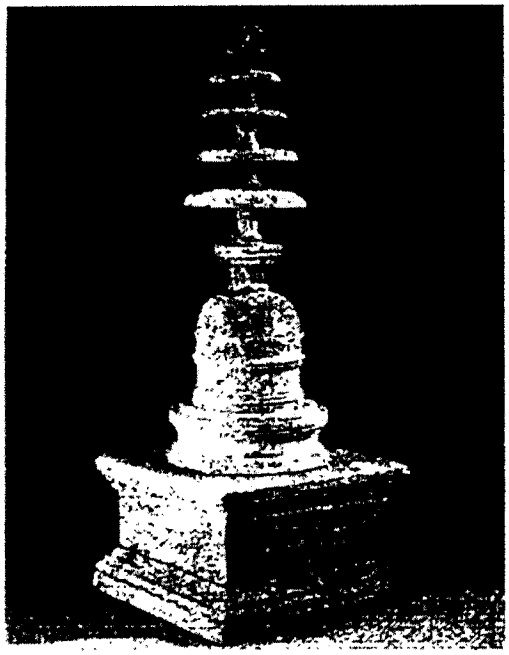


図1　ストゥーパ[12]

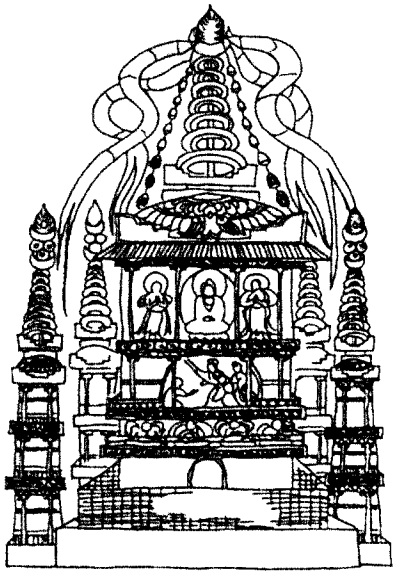


図2　敦煌石窟北壁428窟に見える塔[13]

「表刹」という訳語の「表」は「旗、幟」の意味である[14]。「刹」(MC. tṣhat)という音写は梵語*chatra* = *chattra*に対応しているようだ。しかし、この対応には問題があ

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[10] 梁曉虹博士も「刹」について詳しい考証をしている（『佛經音義與漢語詞彙研究』, pp. 84-86）。しかし彼女の解釈の根拠は玄応『一切経音義』である。この『音義』の解釈自体が誤っているので、彼女の解釈も間違っている。

[11] Cf. Kottkamp 1992: 695, s.v. *chattrāvalī*.

[12] スワート出土。個人所蔵。栗田 2003b, p. 302, No. 935.

[13] 蕭默『敦煌建築研究』北京 1989: 文物出版社)より葉少勇模写。

[14] Cf. 『漢語大詞典』第1巻，533頁(7)； Karashima 2001: 32, s.v. 長表 ("a long banner [*or* flag]").

る。漢訳者は、概して中古音tṣh-の漢字で梵語*kṣ*を音写している[15]。例えば：「閲叉」(MC. jiwät tṣha; 梵語 *yakṣa*)、「夜叉」(MC. jia- tṣha; 梵語 *yakṣa*)、「羼提」(MC.tṣhăn:[tṣhăn-] diei; 梵語 *kṣānti*)など。一方、梵語の*ch*は中古音tśh-の漢字で音写される[16]。例えば、「闡怒」(MC. tśhjän: nwo-; パーリ語 *Channo*)[17]、「隸車」(MC. liei- tśhja; 梵語 *Licchavi*)[18]など。だから、漢訳者が「刹」(MC. tṣhat)で梵語*kṣetra*(「国土、田地」）を音写したのは問題がない。ではどうして「刹」(MC. tṣhat)の字で梵語*chatra*（「傘蓋；塔上部の積み重なった円盤」）を音写したのであろうか。なぜかは分からないが、梵語*chatra*は中央アジアの言語では概して*kṣatra*に変わる。例えばコータン語*kṣat(t)ra*, トカラ語*kṣāt(t)re*, *kṣāt(t)re*と。また中央アジア出土の『金光明経』梵文断簡にも*chatra*が*kṣatra*に変化した例がある[19]。おそらく、鳩摩羅什など中央アジア出身の漢訳者の口語では*chatra*が*kṣatra*に変化していて[20]、それを「刹」と音写したのではなかろうか。



図3　仏立像の上の傘蓋[21]



図4　傘蓋のある水晶舎利塔[22]

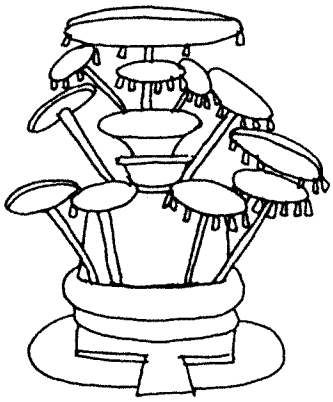


図5　傘蓋のある塔[23]

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[15] Cf. Coblin 1983: 54; 辛嶋 1994: 278-279.

[16] Cf. 辛嶋 1994: 252.

[17] Cf. 辛嶋 1994: 167.

[18] Cf. 辛嶋 1994: 155-156.

[19] 蒋忠新、辛嶋靜志, "Sanskrit Fragments of the Sutra of Golden Light from the Lüshun Museum Collection," 『華林』, vol. 3 (2003), 中華書局, p. 343, 注118. Cf. H. W. Bailey, "Gāndhārī", in: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 11, pp. 771-772; Werner Thomas, *Tocharisches Elementarbuch*, Band II, Texte und Glossar, Heidelberg 1964: Carl Winter, p. 191; Douglas Q. Adams, *A Dictionary of Tocarian B*, Amsterdam, Atlanta: 1999: Rodopi (*Leiden Studies in Indo-European* 10), p. 241. *chatra* > *kṣatra*のような変化はHypersanskritism(過度の梵語化)と呼ばれる。

[20] 『正法華経』で竺法護は梵文KN.24.3. *ratnāmayā kṣetra tathâtra kecid*（「その中の幾つかの国土は宝石で出来ている」；中央アジア出土本は*dṛśyaṃti ratnāmaya kṣetra kecid*「宝石で出来た幾つかの国土がある」)を「或有佛土　立諸寶蓋」と訳している(T.9, No. 263, 66c19)。竺法護は*kṣetra*（「国土」）という一語を「佛土」と「蓋」の二つの単語で訳しているのである。ここにも*chatra* > *kṣatra*という変化の痕跡が見て取れる。Cf. Karashima 1992: 39-40, 282 (on 66c-11)。

[21] 五～六世紀、サルナート出土。ベナレス・ヒンドゥー大学蔵。佐藤宗太郎著『古代インドの石彫』河出書房新社 1970, pl. 50より葉少勇氏スケッチ。

古代インドでは、日光を遮るために、従者が国王や貴族の背後から傘蓋をもって従う習慣があった。仏教でも仏陀に対する尊敬を表現するために、仏像の上に傘蓋を掛けたものがある（図3)。同様の心情から仏塔の上にも傘蓋が掛けられた（図4, 5, 6)。傘蓋はやがて、傘蓋に似た円盤を幾重にも積み重ねた形に変化した（図1)。*chatrâvaḍi*や*chatrâvalī*の本来の意味は、このように幾重にも重ねられた円盤のことである。中央アジアさらに中国に至る間に、この本来の意味が徐々に忘れられ、その結果、その形状は、中間が空洞になったドーナツ状の輪になった。所謂「相輪」である（図2参照)。

『妙法蓮華経』には次のような七宝塔の描写がある：

「諸佛滅後　起七寶塔　長表・金刹　華香伎樂　而以供養　諸佛塔廟」
(T.9, No. 262, 22a5)

「長表」（長い幟）は梵本の*vaijayanta* (KN.154.11; 「幟」)に対応している[24]。「金刹」[25]（[塔上の]金色の積み重なった円盤）は梵本に対応する表現がない。しかし、おそらくこの「長表・金刹」の七宝塔は図7のようなものであったと推測できる。

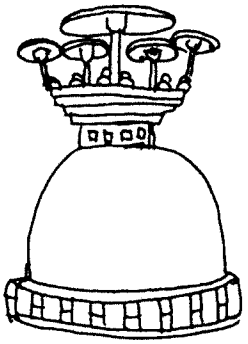


図6　傘蓋のある塔[26]



図7　長い幟のあるストゥーパ[27]

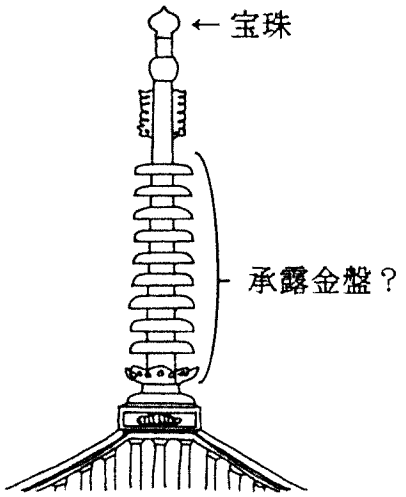


図8　塔頂[28]

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[22] マンセーラ出土。個人所蔵。栗田 2003b, p. 303, No. 940.

[23] アジャンターの壁画に描かれた絵（紀元前一世紀）。葉少勇氏模写。

[24] ここの「長表」に関して玄応は「長表。梵言舍磨奢那(梵語*śmaśāna*“火葬場”)。此云冢也。案西域僧徒死者或遺諸禽獸收骨燒之埋於地下，於上立表，累甎石等。頗似窣睹波(Skt. *stūpa*“塔”)。但形而卑小也。」と記している(『一切経音義』,『中華大蔵経』, vol. 56, No. 1163, 913b3f.)。この解釈は荒唐無稽である。梁曉虹博士は次のように書いている「“長表”與‘金刹”同為一物。前者為“Kṣetra”（“刹多羅”或“剎多羅”等）意譯，後者用“剎多羅”的音譯省稱，並加上修飾語而成。」（『佛經音義與漢語詞彙研究』, pp. 132-133）。この解釈も謬論にすぎない。『漢語大詞典』(HD.11.587b)の「指僧徒墳地上立的長柱」という解釈も間違っている。Cf. Karashima 2001: 32, s.v. 長表 (“a long banner [*or* flag]”)。

[25] 注目すべきことに、ここの「刹」を玄応は*chattra*の音写と正しく解釈している。「金刹。梵言剎多羅(MC. tśhjäi tâ lâ; **chettra*?)。案西域無別旛竿。即於塔覆鉢柱頭，懸旛。今言刹者，刹應訛略也。」(『一切経音義』,『中華大蔵経』, vol. 56, No. 1163, 913b7f.)。

[26] サーンチーのレリーフに描かれた絵（紀元前後一世紀）。葉少勇氏模写。

北魏代、楊衒之著『洛陽伽藍記』には次のような表現がある：

「中有九層浮圖一所，架木為之，舉高九十丈。有刹復高十丈，合去地一千尺。去京師百里，已遙見之。…… 刹上有金寶瓶，容二十五石。寶瓶下有承露金盤三十重，周匝皆垂金鐸。復有鐵鎖四道，引刹向浮圖四角；鎖上亦有金鐸，鐸大小如一石甕子。」 (T.51, No. 2092, 1000a1f.)

「胡統寺。……。寶塔五重。金刹高聳。」(1004a2f.)。

これら表現から、この文献では、塔の頂の金宝瓶から承露金盤までの部分を「（金）刹」と呼んでいることが分かる（図8参照)。

塔の頂上の「刹」「金刹」は、塔があるということで、大寺院の標識であったに違いない[29]。だから後に大寺院のことを「名刹」、「古刹」、「巨刹」、「寺刹」、「佛刹」、「梵刹」、「禪刹」などと呼ぶようになったと考えられる。塔のない普通の寺院は「名刹」などとは呼べないのである。

(3) 馬腦、瑪瑙

「馬腦」「瑪瑙」に関して、かつて奇妙な解釈があった。それは玄応『一切経音義』（貞観年間[626-649]撰書）の次のような記述に始まる：

「馬腦。梵言謨薩羅揭婆(Skt. *musalagarbha*)、謨薩羅(*musala*)，此譯云杵；揭婆(*garbha*)，此言藏。或言胎者，取其堅實也。舊云摩娑羅伽隸*masāragalla*)，或言目薩羅伽羅婆(*musāragalva*)。譯云馬腦。案此寶或色如馬腦，因以為名。但諸字書旁皆安石作碼磄二字。謂石之類也」[30]

玄応は「馬腦」は梵語 *musāragalva* (= *musāragarbha*, *masāragarbha*, *musalagarbha*; パーリ語 *masālagalla*, *musālagalla*; 紫水晶？)[31]の訳語と解釈し、その色が馬の脳髄に似てい

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[27] Hodar(パキスタン北方)の石に刻まれた絵。D. Bandini-König, *Die Felsbildstation Hodar*, Mainz 1999: P. von Zabern (*Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordgebiete Pakistans, Heiderberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Forschungsstelle Felsbilder und Inschriften am Karakorum Highway* 3), pl. 191より葉少勇氏模写。なお同叢書には類似の石刻画が多数見られる。また同様の図案はバーミヤンの壁画やガンダーラの彫刻にも見られる。このことは『法華経』の後半部分がガンダーラ文化圏で成立したことを示唆している。これについてはいずれ改めて論考したいと思う。

[28] 葉少勇氏スケッチ。

[29] 例えば『洛陽伽藍記』に「金刹與靈臺比高，廣殿共阿房等壯。」(T.51, No. 2092, 999a12)とある。

[30] 玄応『一切経音義』第六巻，『中華大蔵経』, vol. 56, No. 1163, 905c11f. この他にも「馬腦。梵言摩娑羅伽隸(パーリ語*masāragalla*)。或言目娑邏伽羅婆(Skt. *musāragalva*)。此譯云馬腦。案此寶或色如馬腦，因以為名。但諸字書旁皆從石作碼磄二。……”(同第二巻，『中華大蔵経』, vol. 56, No. 1163, 830c14f.)；「牟娑(←婆)羅(*musāra*)，或作謨薩羅，或作摩娑羅(*masāra*)，亦作目娑羅(*musāra*)。梵言訛轉也。此云馬腦。案此寶或色如馬腦，因以為名也。”(同第六巻，『中華大蔵経』, vol. 57, No. 1163, 88a5f.)とある。玄応は「馬腦」を*musāragalva*の翻訳と見、「虎魄」を*aśmagarbha*の翻訳と考えている：「阿濕摩揭婆(*aśmagarbha*)。渠謁反。或作阿舍磨揭婆(*asmagarbha*)。此云石藏，或是虎魄。牟娑洛揭婆(**musāragarbha*?)，或言目娑囉伽羅婆(Skt. *musāragalva*)。此云馬腦。經論中或云車渠。」(『一切経音義』第六巻，『中華大蔵経』, vol. 57, No. 1163, 74a13f.)。

[31] Cf. Finot 1896: xviii. しかしEdgertonは、サファイア、エメラルドあるいは猫眼石を意味すると考えている(BHSD, p. 436, s.v. *musāra*, *musāgalva*, *musāragalva etc.*)。Biswasは、「エジプト(Skt. *Misar*, *Misar*)からきた宝石(Skt. *galu*)」が語源で、エメラルドを意味すると考えている(Arun Kumar Biswas, “Gems and Minerals,” in: *History of Technology in India*, vol. 1, ed. A. K. Bag, New Delhi 1997:

るから「馬腦」と呼ぶと考えたのである。この奇妙な解釈は、今でも台湾の『佛光大詞典』などで引用されている(p. 5839, p. 6738)。

慧苑『新訳大方広仏華厳経音義』（7世紀末あるいは8世紀初に成書）では「馬腦」を梵語*aśvagarbha*すなわち*aśmagarbha*(エメラルド？)[32]の訳語と考えている：

> 「馬瑙。按馬腦，梵音謂之阿濕嚩揭波(Skt. *aśvagarbha*)。言阿濕嚩(*aśva*)者，此云馬也。嚩音符何反。揭波(*garbha*)者，腦也，藏也。若言阿濕摩揭波(*aśmagarbha*)，此云石藏。按此寶出石中，故應名石藏寶。古來以馬(*aśva*)聲濫石(*aśma-*)。藏聲(*garbha*)濫腦(Skt.?)，故謬云馬腦也。」[33]

慧苑より一世紀後の慧琳は、『一切経音義』（810年成書）の中で慧苑の上の正確な解釈を引用しながら、慧苑と玄応の解釈を混ぜた奇妙な解釈を作り上げている：

> 「馬瑙。遏濕摩揭婆(*aśmagarbha*?)。此云杵藏。遏濕摩(*aśma*?)，杵(*musala*)義。揭婆(*garbha*)，藏義。或言胎，取其堅實。言馬瑙者，色如馬腦故也。……」[34]

慧琳は、ここで「遏濕摩」(*aśma*?)と*musala*(「杵」)を混同しており、彼の梵語の知識の水準が疑われる。

筆者の調査によれば、「瑪瑙」（「馬腦」）は梵語*aśmagarbha*（エメラルド）に対応していて[35]、「車渠」は*karkeṭana*、*karketana*(金緑石)[36]あるいは*musāragalva*（紫水晶？)に対応している。

一般には、*aśmagarbha*は*aśman*（石；宝石；稲妻）と*garbha*（胎、蔵）との複合語と考えられているが、本当の語源は分からない。西北インド方言では、梵語*-śm-*が*-śv-*に変化する(ガンダーラ語ではさらに*-śp-*に変化する)[37]。*aśmagarbha*の変形の*aśvagarbha*は、実際『法華経』の中央アジア本やネパール出土の古ブラーフミー書体の写本に見える[38]。*aśva*は「馬」の意味だから、漢訳者[39]はこの*aśva-* (< *aśma-*)を「馬」と訳したと考えられる。この点に関しては、筆者は慧苑の解釈に同意する。一方「腦」に関して、慧苑は「藏聲(*garbha*)濫腦」というが、筆者は「脳」という意味で*garbha*に似た梵語・中期インド語が見つけらないでいる。梵語*garbha*の本義は「子宮、胎」で、また子宮に似た「空洞；内殿；内部」などの意味もある。漢訳者は*garbha*から同じような形状をした脳を連想して「腦」と訳したのではなかろうか。

このように出現した「馬腦」は後に「瑪瑙」、「碼碯」と書かれ、その本来の意

Indian National Science Academy, p. 242)。

[32] Cf. Finot 1896: xix, 注2; BHSD, p. 81, s.v. *aśmagarbha*.

[33] 慧苑『新訳大方広仏華厳経音義』上巻，『中華大蔵経』, vol. 59, No. 1167, 434a17f. Cf. 慧苑『新訳大方広仏華厳経音義』（別本）上巻，『中華大蔵経』, vol. 59, No. 1168, 490c19f.

[34] 慧琳『一切経音義』第二十一巻(T. 54, No. 2128, 483c12. 馬瑙)。

[35] Cf. Karashima 2001: 170, s.v. 馬腦.

[36] Cf. Karashima 2001: 34, s.v. 車渠. Finot (1896: xvi)は*karketana*をchrysobéryl (金緑石)と解釈している。

[37] Cf. 辛嶋 1994: 37-38.

[38] Cf. Karashima 1992: 290 (71a-6)；Karashima 2001: 170, s.v. 馬腦.

[39] 筆者の調査では、後漢支婁迦讖訳『大阿弥陀経』（『経録』には支謙訳とあるが、誤り）に最初に「馬腦」という語が現れるようだ(T.12, No.362, 304a18f.)。

味も段々と忘れられた。七世紀になり、玄応はすでにその本義が分からなくなっている。玄応より半世紀後の慧苑はこの語を正しく解釈しているが、九世紀初の慧琳になると根拠のない出鱈目な解釈を造り出している。今や「瑪瑙」が*aśmagarbha*（エメラルド？)とは似ても似つかないものを意味するようになったのもこのような経緯があってのことと思われる。

(4) 衣裓、裓, *puṣpa-puṭa*（花球）

「衣裓」（えこく）という言葉は「花を盛る器」、「衣衿」などと解釈されるが、今日まで正確な本来の意味は不明であった[40]。ところで漢訳仏典には、「衣裓」に花を盛って供養するという表現が沢山見える。例えば、

(1)「佛説伅真陀羅功徳。爾時其在會者衣裓上皆化自有華。皆起持是華散伅真陀羅上」(支婁迦讖訳『伅真陀羅所問如來三昧経』；T.15, No.624, 355a-8f.)[41]

(2)「此十方菩薩飛　皆以衣裓諸華　天拘鞞種種具　往供養無量覺」(支謙訳[42]『無量清浄平等覚経』；T.12, No.361, 288b1f.)

この文の「皆以衣裓諸華　天拘鞞種種具」は梵本の*babupuṣpapuṭān gṛhītvā nānāvarṇa surabhī manoramān*[43]（「種々の色の、香しい、可憐な沢山のフラワーボールを持って」）に対応する。

(3)「佛之聖旨使舍利弗及衆會者於衣裓上自然有天華香。則取東向，散彼佛上。其華至彼，於其國土在于佛上，遍諸菩薩普周([= *v.l.*]←同)佛界。」(竺法護訳『阿差末菩薩経』；T.13, No.403, 586b3f.)[44]

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[40] 中村元等編『岩波　仏教辞典』「衣裓　花を盛る器．散華を入れる器．花かご．華籠．〈裓〉は本来は衣の裾のことであるが，衣の前衿とする説もある」（第二版，87頁）；中村元『広説佛教語大辞典』「衣裓　①裓は衿。肩にかけて手をぬぐうことなどに用いられる布片。衣のすそ。②花を盛る器で、形は箱に似ている。花皿。③花かご（125頁）」；『漢語大詞典』「衣裓(1)衣襟。亦指僧衣。(2) 佛教徒挂在肩上的長方形布袋，用作拭手和盛物。(3) 一種盛花之器。」（第9巻，23頁）；蒋禮鴻主編『敦煌文獻語言詞典』「衣裓。盛花器。」（369頁）。『佛光大詞典』「衣裓。乃盛花之器具。又作華裓。於印度，供養高貴之人時，用以盛花而捧之。又據玄應音義卷八、窺基之阿彌陀經疏、智圓之阿彌陀経義疏等之説，皆謂衣裓指衣之前衿、衣襟、大帶、衣袖等，亦即以衣之一部分盛花供養。……　另據智顗之阿彌陀經義記所載，衣裓乃盛花之器，其状如函，具有一足，可持之以為供養之用。……」(p. 2569)；『望月　佛教大辭典』第1巻，pp. 273-274；朱慶之　1992: 216-217; Karashima 1992: 297; 辛嶋 1997: 30-31.

[41] 「衣裓上皆化自有華」に対応する鳩摩羅什訳と蔵訳本の表現は少し異なる：鳩摩羅什訳『大樹緊那羅王所問経』「有天曼陀羅花聚」(T.15, No. 625, 374c8)；*me tog man da ra ba'i phur ma byung nas* (Harrison 1992: 100, l. 4f.). 梵本はない。

[42] 諸『経録』には支婁迦讖訳とあるが、誤り。

[43] Sukh(A), 44.5f.

[44] 「於衣裓上自然有天華香。……其華至彼」に対応する智厳・宝雲訳と蔵訳本の表現は少し異なる：「得微妙華，世所希有，其華色香未曾見聞，自然滿掬。……華尋遍至…」(『大方等大集経』智厳・宝雲訳『無尽意菩薩品』T.13, No. 397, 187a6)；蔵訳本*de dag gi lag pa g-yas par sngon ma mthong sngon ma thos pa'i me tog gi phur ma dri rab tu zhim zhing, sna tshogs pa, blta na sdug pa, kha dog dang ldan zhing, yid du 'ong ba dag byung bar gyur te. de dag gis me tog gi phur ma de dag ... gtor to. me tog gi phur ma gtor ba de dag sans rgyas kyi zhing der chags te* (Braarvig 1993: vol. I, p. 18, l. 8f.; "there appeared in their right hands flower-buds, never seen before, never heard of before, fragrant, multicoloured, beautiful to behold, colourful and pleasing. They threw them [towards the east, where the Lord Tathāgata worthy of offerings,

(4)「爾時雨於天華及栴檀香。諸天亦復持衣裓盛花香，散於佛上及文殊師利上。」(竺法護訳『須真天子経』；T.15, No.588, 111c10f.)

(5)「爾時菩薩以授好草布佛樹下。又上樹神乃至虚空一萬天女各以衣裓盛好天華，各取香花、雜香、澤香，往迎菩薩，稽首作禮，各持衆花、香、幡蓋供養菩薩。」(『大宝積経』，竺法護訳『密金剛力士会』；T.11, No.310, 63b1f.)

(6)"一一手掌示江河沙華在衣裓([= *v.l.*] ←諸裓)上。以用供養諸佛世尊。衆香、華飾、雜香、擣香、衣被、幢蓋、繒綵，如是一切嚴淨之業而建立之。」(竺法護訳『漸備一切智徳経』；T.10, No.285, 492b13f.)[45]

(7)「其國衆生常以清旦各以衣裓盛衆妙華，供養他方十萬億佛。」(鳩摩羅什訳『阿弥陀経』；T.12, No.366, 347a8f.)[46]

(8)「佛以神力使自在王菩薩以種種好色香華滿其衣裓，以散佛上及諸菩薩。」(鳩摩羅什訳『自在王菩薩経』；T.13, No. 420, 932b11f.)

(9)「時千梵王各以衣裓盛曼陀羅華、摩訶曼陀羅華、曼殊沙華、摩訶曼殊沙華，至優曇林中，供養辟支佛。」(伝鳩摩羅什訳『千仏因縁経』；T.14, No. 426, 67a20f.)

(10)「爾時五百萬億國土諸梵天王與宮殿俱，各以衣裓盛諸天華，共詣西方。推尋是相，見大通智勝如來處于道場菩提樹下坐師子座，…… 及見十六王子請佛轉法輪。即時諸梵天王，頭面禮佛，繞百千匝，即以天華而散佛上。其所散華如須彌山。」(鳩摩羅什訳『妙法蓮華経』；T.9, No.262, 23a27f. ≒ 23c4f., 24a12f., 24b20f.)[47]

(11)「時有女人名曰賢首。頻婆羅王大夫人也。又彼夫人名曰金光拘達女也。從座而起往詣佛所。皆以衣裓盛七寶華各五百裹以散佛上。并以劫貝育衣價直百千奉上如來。」(失訳『如来智印経』；T.15, No.633, 471b26f.)

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the fully awakened Samantabhadra stayed.] Those flower-buds cast by them appeared in that Buddha-field." Braarvig 1993: vol. II, p. 66, l. 4f.)。梵本はない。Braarvigは蔵訳の*me tog gi pbur ma*を"flower-bud"と訳している。この奇妙な訳はおそらくEdgertonが*puṣpa-puṭa*を"flower-sheath, calyx"と解釈したことに基づくのであろう。注(57)を参照。

[45] 異訳と梵本での表現は少し異なる。「以一一手捉恆河沙等蓮華聚，以散諸佛。塗香、雜香、末香、衣服、幡蓋、寶物，亦復如是。一切莊嚴之具皆以手執供養諸佛」(鳩摩羅什訳『十住経』T.10, No.286,530b27f.)；「以一一手各持殑伽沙數花盖，以散諸佛。香篋、花鬘、塗香、末香、衣服、寶蓋、幢幡、一切諸莊嚴具，皆亦如是」(尸羅達摩訳『十地経』T.10, No. 287, 570b13f.); *ekaikena ca pāninā gaṅgānadīvālikāsamān puṣpapuṭāṃs teṣāṃ buddhānāṃ bhagavatāṃ kṣipati. yathā puṣpāṇām evaṃ gandhānāṃ mālyānāṃ vilepanānāṃ cūrṇānāṃ cīvarāṇāṃ chatrāṇāṃ dhvajānāṃ patākānām evaṃ sarvavyūhānām* (Daśa-bh[K]. 192.15f. = Daśa-bh[V]. 61.30f.).

[46] 「以衣裓盛衆妙華」に対応する梵本の表現は少し異なる。*koṭiśatasahasrābbiḥ puṣpavṛṣṭibbir abbyavakīrya* (十万億の花の雨を[それぞれの如来に]撒く)。蔵訳本の読みには二種があり、一方は梵本と一致するが、もう一方には*me tog skun bu bye ba phrag 'bum mngon par thor te* (十万億の花籠を[それぞれの如来に]撒く)とある。*me tog skun bu* (花籠)は*puṣpapuṭa*の翻訳のようだ。畝部2002: 81-83も参照。

[47] 「各以衣裓盛諸天華……即以天華而散佛上」に対応する竺法護訳と梵本の表現はやや異なる。「以諸大(←天)華如須彌山……手執大華，而散佛上」(『正法華経』T.9, No. 263, 90b13f. ≒ 90c24f.; 90a7. 執其蓮華如大須彌); *divyāṃś ca Sumerumātrān puṣpapuṭān gṛhītvā ... taiś ca Sumerumātraiḥ puṣpapuṭais taṃ bhagavantam abbyavakiranti smâbbiprakiranti sma* (KN.165.5f. = 168.12, 172.3, 175.11; [梵天たちは]須弥山のように大きいフラワーボールを持って，…… それらを世尊の上に撒いた)。

(12)「爾時長者女徳生見地大動及大神通大光明炎雑色分明。見已，歡喜踊躍無量。以其衣裓盛滿雑華，疾至父所，合十指掌。……」(隋那連提耶舎訳『徳護長者経』；T.14, No.545, 846c15f.)

(13)「時天帝釋即以衣裓曼陀羅華與長者子，教令散佛。時長者子受天華已，發歡喜心，以散佛上。」(隋那連提耶舎訳『大荘厳法門経』；T.17, No.818, 832a22f.)[48]

(14)「其象生天。……其夜即衣裓盛衆妙花，往如來所竹林園中。其光遍照勝晝日。時以衆寶花散佛身上。」(義浄訳『根本説一切有部毘奈耶破僧事』；T.24, No.1450, 198b15f.)

衣裓盛衆妙花 = SBV II 190.8f. *utpala-padma-kumuda-puṇḍarīka-māndārakāṇāṃ puṣpāṇām utsaṃgaṃ pūrayitvā* (「青蓮華・赤蓮華・黄蓮華・白蓮華・曼陀羅華を*utsaṃga*に詰め、……」)

下の諸例の「裓」は「衣裓」と同じ意味である。

(15)「爾時衆會者皆承佛威神，皆自見未曾所見華在其裓上。悉以散佛。」(西晉安法欽訳『道神足無極変化経』；T.17, No.816, 806b2f.)

(16)「彼菩薩……其身供養周於十方諸佛世尊，復變化華如須彌山，懷之裓上，成為華蓋貢上如來。」(『大宝積経』，竺法護訳『密金剛力士会』；T.11, No.310, 44b6f.)

(17)「佛之威神令其裓上自然有華，自昔未有。各取此華供養如來。」(竺法護訳『仏昇忉利天為母説法経』；T.17, No.815, 793b1f.)

(18)「以雑色花裓如須彌、燒香、末香、塗香、幢幡、寶蓋。皆亦如是以用供養。」(鳩摩羅什訳『不思議光菩薩所説経』；T.14, No.484, 673a9f.)

「衣裓」・「裓」に盛られる物は花だけとは限らない。例えば、

(19)「此北方有國城名石室。國土豐熟，人民熾盛。彼有伊羅波多羅藏，無數百千金、銀、珍寶、車渠、馬瑙、真珠、琥珀、水精、瑠璃及諸衆妙寶。彼揵陀賴國人七歳中七月七日，或以裓盛抱戴，隨其所欲，皆悉費用。然彼伊羅鉢多羅藏無所減少。」(伝安世高訳『阿那邠邸化七子経』；T.2, No.140, 862b4f.)

(20)「爾時長者子……則以衣裓盛女死屍。棄叢樹間而捨之去」(竺法護訳『大浄法門経』；T.17, No.817, 823c9f.)

(21)「周匝俱時猋然火起，焚燒舍宅。長者諸子若十，二十或至三十在此宅中。長者見是大火從四面起，即大驚怖。…… 是長者作是思惟："我身手有力，當以衣裓，若以几([= *v.l.*]←机)案，從舍出之。"」(鳩摩羅什訳『妙法蓮華経』；T.9, No.262, 12b17f.)

當以衣裓，若以几([= *v.l.*]←机)案 = コータン出土梵本 [49]*pīṭhakena vā utsaṃgena vā-m-ādāyâsmād gṛhā nirgaccheyaṃ* (「〔子供たちを〕椅子か*utsaṃga*

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[48] 「以衣裓曼陀羅華與長者子」に対応する異訳の表現はやや異なる。「以大意之花用與年少」(竺法護訳『大浄法門経』；T.17, No.817, 823c19)。

[49] Toda 1983: 40, 78a2. 校勘本(KN. 73.2)には*utsaṅgenâdāyâsmād gṛhān nirgamayeyaṃ* (〔子供たちを〕*utsaṃga*で抱えてこの家から出そう)とある。

で抱えてこの家から出そう」）[50]

(22)「有五種受。手來，手受；衣裓來，衣裓受；簸來，簸受；器來，器受。汚賤國放地受。」(弗若多羅、鳩摩羅什訳『十誦律』；T.23, No.1435, 359c11f.)

(23)「若淨人食麨豆時，比丘欲得。即從索作是言：“與我麨豆”。淨人不欲與比丘。擘淨人手，瀉著衣裓中。」(佛陀跋陀羅、法顯訳『摩訶僧祇律』；T.22, No.1425, 358a3f.)

(24)「爾時少婦便共交通。老婆羅門聞是事已，心懷忿恨，即取寶物，盛裹衣裓，棄婦而去。」(吉迦夜、曇曜訳　『雜宝蔵経』；T.4, No.203, 497c11f.)

(25)「菩薩雖困，遂昇高巖摘取其果，擲與鬘人。彼人得已，便自食足，餘殘菓子衣裓盛之。」(義浄訳『根本説一切有部毘奈耶破僧事』；T.24, No.1450, 176c6f.)

便自食足，餘殘果子衣裓盛之= SBV II 102.4f. *yāvad āptaṃ āmraphalāni bhakṣitāni utsaṃgaṃ ca pūritaṃ*（「得たマンゴーを食べる一方で、*utsaṃga*に詰め込んだ」）

上に挙げた例のうち、(14)(21)(25)の「衣裓」は梵語*utsaṃga*に対応する。この梵語はふつう「膝」の意味であるが、ヴェーダ文献の*Saṃhitā*の散文部分やPāṇini(IV 4.15)や多くのパーリ文献（パーリ語形*ucchaṅga*）では、「衣服の前に垂れた部分を上に引き上げて出来た袋状の部分」[51]の意味でも使われる。それに物を詰め、物を運ぶのである。例えば、

Vism. 279.5f. *cheko hi gopālako sakkharādayo ucchaṅgena gahetvā rajjudaṇḍahattho pāto va vajaṃ gantvā*（「熟練の牧牛人は*ucchaṅga*で砂礫などを持ち、手に鞭をもって、朝早く牛舎に行く」）

Ap. 374.27f. *māliko ... ucchaṅgaṃ pūrayitvāna agamaṃ antarāpaṇaṃ ..... pupphaṃ paggayha ucchaṅgā buddhaseṭṭhaṃ apūjayiṃ*（「花鬘売りは*ucchaṅga*に[花を]詰めて市場に行った。……[仏を見て]彼は花を*ucchaṅga*から取り出して仏・最勝者に捧げた。」）

上に列挙した漢訳仏典の「衣裓」は梵語*utsaṃga*（パーリ語*ucchaṅga*)の描写と一致する。だから「衣裓」も「衣服の前に垂れた部分を上に引き上げて出来た袋状の部分」を意味すると考えられる。さらに、筆者は龍谷大学大学院生の上枝いずみ氏と創価大学国際仏教学高等研究所嘱託職員の川崎建三氏のご助力のお蔭で、少なからぬ「衣裓」=*utsaṃga* を描いた彫刻を見つけることができた。（図9,10）

これら彫刻には、天神や天女あるいは供養者の「衣裓」が花で一杯になっている姿が表現されている。彼らの手には、花が団子状になったフラワーボールがある。

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[50] なお、この*pīṭhaka*"椅子"は恐らく*piṭaka*"籠"の誤った伝承。Cf. *Vinayapiṭaka* I 225.13-14. *piṭakāni pi ucchaṅge pi pūresuṃ*（「彼らは籠と*utsaṃga*を一杯にした」）。

[51] Cf. Goto 1980: 12, 13 “Heraushang als Tragemittel”, *ibid.* 15 “eine Art Schürze handelt, die als provisorisches Tragemittle dient”; EWAia, I. Band, 214, s.v. *utsaṅgá-* “‘Heraushang’, d.i. ein provisorisches Tragemittel, eine Art Schürze”. Gotoの論証に基づき、筆者は以前この語を「ある種の前掛け、前垂れ」と考えた(辛嶋　1997: 31)。筆者のこの度の考証で、むしろ『批判的パーリ語辞典』(CPD) “fold of garment, pouched garment, serving as bag or pocket” (s.v. *ucchaṅga* 2)の定義が正しいと分かった。

上に列挙した(2)(6)(10)と対応する梵本に出る*puṣpa-puṭa*[52]という単語が意味するものは、他ならぬこのフラワーボールであると考えられる。



図8　衣裓とフラワーボール(1)[53]



図9　衣裓とフラワーボール(2)[54]

Max Müllerは*puṣpa-puṭa*を"bunches of flowers"と翻訳した[55]。日本の翻訳者も概して「花束」と訳している[56]。ただ、Edgertonは"flower-sheath, calyx"と解釈し[57]、Honda (1968: 271)は"baskets of flowers"と訳している。畝部俊英氏はこの語に関する詳しい考証をし(2002: 69-105)、結論としては「花[をいれた]容器、花皿、花籠」の意味と考えている(2002: 94)。

*puṭa*の語源は不明だが、「容器，嚢；空洞」など中が空洞になった球形のものを

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[52] *puṣpapuṭa*は、(1)、(3)、(7)に対応する蔵訳本では*me tog gi pbur ma*あるいは*me tog skun bu*と訳されている。

[53] Butkara(スワート)出土レリーフ。国立東洋美術館(ローマ; Museo Nazionale d'Arte Orientale)所蔵。Madeleine Hallade, *Gandharan Art of North India: and the Graeco-Buddhist Tradition in India, Persia, and Central Asia*, text by Madeleine Hallade ; photographs by Hans Hinz, New York 1968: H.N. Abrams, pl. XIIより葉少勇氏スケッチ。

[54] 欄楯レリーフ。部分。ラホール博物館所蔵, No. 1616。Harald Ingholt, *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*, with 577 illustrations photographed by Islay Lyons; introduction and descriptive catalogue by Harald Ingholt, Hamden, Conn. 1957: Archon Books for Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, pl. 410より葉少勇氏スケッチ。

[55] *Buddhist Mabāyāna Texts*, Oxford University Press 1894; Reprint Delhi 1965: Motilal Banarsidass (*The Sacred Books of the East*, v. 49), p. 47.

[56] 畝部 2002: 92.

[57] BHSD, 349-350, s.v. *puṣpa-puṭa*. Edgertonのこの解釈に基づき、Braarvigは蔵訳*me tog gi pbur ma*を"flower-bud"と訳している。注(44)を見よ。

意味する。近現代インド方言でも、この語（語形は様々だが）は「紙や木の葉で包んだもの；包み」を意味する[58]。彫刻の天神・天女・供養者が手にしているものも球状になった花である。従って、*puṣpa-puṭa*とは花を球状に丸めた「フラワーボール」の意味であると筆者は考える[59]。

彫刻に彫られた図像により、「衣裓」(*utsaṃga*)と*puṣpa-puṭa*の意味とその大体の形状が分かった。いま私たちは、上に列挙した経文をよりはっきりと、より生き生きと理解することが出来る。例えば、例(10)「梵天王……各以衣裓盛諸天華…即以天華而散佛上。其所散華如須彌山。」（梵本[60]：「[梵天たちは]須弥山の大きさのフラワーボールを持って，……それらを世尊の上に撒いた」）。また例(11)「皆以衣裓盛七寶華，各五百裹以散佛上。」（みな衣裓に七宝でできた花を盛り、それぞれ五百包みを仏の上に撒いた）。

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[58] Cf. CDIAL, 8253 *puṭa*-, "any small thing (esp. powder) wrapped up in paper or leaves"; "packet of spices etc."; "small packet"; "paper in which drugs or spices are wrapped"; "food given to ascetics in a leaf cup"など。

[59] 湯山明博士は*puṭa*を"packet, parcel"と訳し、梵文『宝徳蔵般若波羅蜜』の*candana-puṭaṃ grahiyāṇa ... abhyokireyu ... bodhisattvaṃ*という一文を"having taken a packet of sandal powder, ... would scatter ... upon the bodhisattva"と正確に訳している(Yuyama 1972: 33)。梵文『無量寿経』の中の*babugandhapuṭān gṛhītvā ... okiranti ... Amita-āyu* (Sukh[A], 44.13f.)も同じように解釈すべきと筆者は考える。すなわち「多くの香の包みを無量寿仏の上に撒く」と。さらに『翻訳名義大集』は*puṣpa-puṭa*を*me tog gi pbur ma*と訳している(Mvy. 6112)。この*pbur ma*という蔵語は「包，如紛包」(Chos-grags)，「香荷包，香囊」(TCD)の意味である。従って、*me tog gi pbur ma*は「花の包み」すなわちフラワーボールのことと考えられる。

[60] 注(47)を参照。

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「浮屠」と「佛」再論*

季羨林　　辛嶋静志、裘雲青訳

1947年に私は『浮屠と佛』[1]という論文を書き、主として、最も古い漢訳仏典のなかの「佛」という字は直接にサンスクリットのBuddhaからきたのではなく、トカラ語A（アグニ語）pätとB（クチャ語）のpud, pūdから訳されたことを論証した。一字の音訳は大したことではないようにみえるが、実際に仏教が中国に伝わったルートと時代と大いに関係し、決して等閑視することができない大事なことである。論文を書く途中に頗る厄介に思う問題が一つあった。つまりトカラ語のpät, pudとpūdは全部清音であるのに対し、「佛」の古音は濁音だということである。周燕孫（祖謨）先生のおかげで、なんとかこの問題を解決できた。それ以降、気にはかかってはいたが、きちんと再考したことはなかった。

近年、本を読んでいる間に、この問題に関する新しい資料あるいは従来の資料に対する新しい解釈などを読んでいるうちに、前の論文を補足し拡大する必要を感じ、本論文を書き始めたわけである。この論文は二つの部分からなる：一、「佛」の原

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*　この翻訳は、裘雲青が原稿を準備し、辛嶋静志がそれに手を入れて完成したものである。辛嶋は1987-1991年、本論文の著者、季羨林北京大学終身教授（北京大学元学長）の許で仏教梵語の研究に従事した。季先生は、戦前、ゲッティンゲン大学のErnst Waldschmidtの許で仏教梵語・トカラ語などを十一年間研究しており、その学問に関して、故de Jong教授は東アジアのインド学の最高峰と讃えた。1991年、裘雲青と共に北京を離れる時、季先生の家を訪ね、いつか先生の学術論文を和訳し日本の研究者に教授の業績（殆どはドイツ語と中国語で発表されている）を紹介したい旨を話した。先生はその提案を大変喜ばれ、ご快諾下さった。その後、先生をお訪ねする度に、自分から提案しながら実行し得ていないことを恥じた。ご快諾を得て十六年目にしてやっと先生の数百の論文の内の一本の和訳が完成した。自分たちの怠惰を恥じるばかりである。幸いなことに九十五歳になられる私たちの師は、健康でまだまだ健筆を揮われている。なお、本論文には私たちとは意見が異なる点もあるが、それはあえて一々記さなかった。また明かな誤植や誤記は注記なしに訂正した。本論文の原文「再談"浮屠"與"佛"」は、『中華佛學學報』第五期(1992)台北：中華佛學研究所，pp. 19-30に先ず発表され（繁体字）、その後、『季羨林文集』第七巻，佛教，江西教育出版社　1998年，pp. 345-360に再録されている（簡体字）。また現在インターネット上でも、http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-BJ001/05_02.htm及びhttp://www.chibs.edu.tw/publication/chbj/05/chbj0502.htmの二箇所で繁体字版が公開されている。最後に、この和訳原稿に目を通して、誤りを指摘して下さった橋本貴子さん（神戸市外国語大学博士生）と佐々木大悟氏（龍谷大学非常勤講師）、翻訳の許可を下さった中華仏学研究所に深く感謝致します。

[1] 『中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊』，第二十本『本院成立第二十周年專号』，上冊　(1948年)，pp. 93-105. 英訳は*Sino-Indian Studies*, III.1, 2, Calcutta 1947, p. 1ff. 後に『中印文化関係史論文集』pp. 323-336に収める。英訳は『印度古代語言論集』pp. 334-347に再録: "On the Oldest Chinese Transliteration of the Name of Buddha."

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 461-470.
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語；二、「浮屠」と「佛」の関係から仏教が中国に伝わったルートと時代を推測する。

(一) 「佛」の原語

上に触れたように、1947年に書いたその論文には、肝心な問題、即ち清音と濁音の対応の問題が残っていた。原語は清音だと私は思い込んでいた。周祖謨先生の解釈もこの角度から出発している。しかし、四十年経て、以前見ることができなかった新資料などが手に入ったので、「琴柱（ことじ）に膠（にかわ）したり」「舟に刻んで剣を求める」ように（かたくなに従来のことにこだわって）問題を解決する必要はないであろう。「佛」の原語は濁音だった可能性が極めて大きい。

私がその論文でも書いたように、ウイグル語では「佛」はbutであり、濁音である。しかし当時「佛」はトカラ語から訳されたものだと思い込んでいたため、ウイグル語のことをあまり考慮しなかった。私が粗忽であったわけである。多くの仏教国で僧侶が毎日必ず読む三帰命は、ウイグル語でこのようになっている：

帰命佛（南無佛）namo but
帰命法（南無法）namo drm
帰命僧（南無僧）namo saŋ

ここでサンスクリットのbuddha が but に変化している。ウイグル語にもう一つサンスクリットのbuddhaにあたる単語がある：すなわちbur。サンスクリットのdevātideva（天中天）はウイグル語でtŋri tŋrisi burxan[2]となる。このburxanという単語は二つの単語からなる。一つはburで、もう一つはxanである。burは他ならぬbuddhaである。この単語はトカラ語Aのptāñkät (käṣṣi)とpättāñkät (käṣṣi)、Bのpudñäkteあるいは(käṣṣi)pudñäkteに相当する。

このburの起源は何か。A. von Gabainによれば、butから変化したという。中国の北方の或る方言では-t は -r のように発音され、中国人が tatar を「達怛」（古音は-t の韻尾をもつ）と音訳したのもこの類だと彼女は思っている[3]。

この問題について H. W. Bailey も自分の意見を発表した。彼はこのように述べている：

> しかし「佛」は別の形でも中国から中央アジアに伝わった。チベット語のhburは八世紀頃の漢文の「佛」の音を示している。JRAS (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*) 1927, p. 296を参照。この*-r*は、*-t*から発展した漢語の音節末子音を示している。ソグド語では複合語*pwrsnk *bursang*（仏の僧伽)にこの語が含まれている。この単語はソグド語からウイグル語*bursang*に変わり、同じ形でモンゴル語にも入った。ウイグル語の*burxan*（モンゴル語でも外来語として現れる）の第一部分は同じこの*bur*「佛」の可能性が大きい（Mironov, *Kuchean Studies*, p. 74を参照）。従ってウイグル語*tängri burxan*の意味は「天可汗佛」だが、この意味はいつも充分に認識されていたわけではない。だからマニ経ウイグル語典籍では、

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[2] A. von Gabain, "Buddhistische Türkenmission," in: *Asiatica, Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, Leipzig 1954: Otto Harraassowitz, p. 171.

[3] 前掲書, p. 171.

*burxan zrušč*が「Burxan ゾロアスター」の意味になるのである。他方、日本語は-*t*が付いた字を借り、Buto (Butsu)になった。[4]

彼の*t* > *r*に対する解釈は A. von Gabain とは多少違う。しかしこの音変化が中国から中央アジアに伝わったと言うのは証拠がまだ足りないようである。

以上、サンスクリットの*Buddha*がウイグル語で*but*に変わり、その後さらに*but*から*bur*に変わった状況と、その他の中央アジアの古代言語のことにも言及した。ここからは*buddha*がいくつかの言語で変化した状況に的を絞って述べよう。まず下の表を作った：

バクトリア語	buddha > bodo, boodo, boudo
ゾロアスター教経典の中古ペルシア語（パフラヴィー語）	buddha > bwt
マニ教パルティア語	buddha > bwt /but/
マニ教ソグド語	buddha > bwty, pwtyy
仏教ソグド語	buddha > pwt
Darī語	buddha > bot[5]

以上の表を見ればすぐに分かると思うが、これらの文字はおおまかに分ければ二種類になる：一種類はバクトリア語で、そこでは元のサンスクリットの母音uはoかouに変化したが、他の部分は基本的に原形をそのまま保っていたもの。もう一種類はイラン語系に属するその他の言語で、そこでの変化はとりわけ大きい。サンスクリットの原形と比べれば、違いがはっきりしている：原語の二つの音節が一つの閉音節に変わり、原語の尾母音 -a（パーリ語では -o で、サンスクリット語主格単数も -o である）が落ちている。唯一、少し問題があるのはマニ教ソグド語の語尾に-y あるいは-yyがあることだ。おそらく半母音を表しているのであろう。たとえそうであっても大勢に影響はないと思われるのは、-yはどうしてもサンスクリットの-uと対応せず、一つの音節の可能性が高いからである。1947年の拙論で最も頭を悩まされた清音と濁音の問題はもう存在しなくなったわけである。ここでは大多数は濁音で、ただマニ教ソグド語と仏教ソグド語だけが清音である。しかし H. W. Bailey の解釈で説明すればこれもまったく問題にはならない。彼は言う：

> ソグド語では、インド・イラン語系の濁子音b d gは語頭で摩擦音β δ γに変わり、b d gが含まれる外来語はp t kで書かなければならない。だから、pwtyというスペルはBut-と等しい。新ペルシア語 (New Persian)では、but ﺑﺖ がこの語形に対応し、「偶像」を意味する。しかし、「佛」という意味は、多くの新ペルシア語の文章でもやはり明確だ[6]。

このように説明すれば、清音・濁音問題で残ったあの疑問も一掃できるのである。

さらにBailyは次のことも指摘した[7]： Bundahišnにbutが出、それはアヴェスター

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[4] *Opera Minora, Articles on Iranian Studies*, ed. M. Nawabi, Shiraz Iran 1981.

[5] G. Djelani Davary, *Baktrisch: Ein Wörterbuch auf Grund der Inschriften, Handschriften, Münzen und Siegelsteine*, Heidelberg 1982.

[6] *Opera Minora*, p. 103.

[7] 前掲書, p. 103.

中のBūitiという単語を表そうとしたものだ(Vīdēvdāt, 19, 1, 2, 43。この章はおよそ紀元前二世紀中葉に書かれたものである)。新ペルシア語には、*Butiという単語があったことを証明し、この単語はソグド語のpwtyと完全に一致している。学者たちは、これこそがBuddha「佛」だと考えている。[8]

上記の説明で、1947年の論文で残されていた問題点のすべてがすっかり解決された。さらに「佛」と「浮屠」という二つの表現の関係から考察すれば、次のことが分かる。すなわち、第一類の、サンスクリットに対応するバクトリア語の単語には、二つの音節があり、これは音写「浮屠」の原語として、子音も母音もまったく問題がない。第二類の、その他のイラン語系言語で、Buddhaと対応する単語は音節が一つしかなく[9]、これが音写「佛」の原語である。もう十分はっきりしたのではなかろうか。この極めて簡単な現象が、実はとても深い意味をもっているのである。次の(二)でまた詳しく述べようと思う。

ここでもう一度トカラ語の問題について述べよう。ドイツの学者 Franz Bernhard は『ガンダーラ語と仏教の中央アジアでの伝播』という論文を書いている[10]。それは、仏教が中央アジアと中国に伝わった時にガンダーラ語が極めて重要な懸け橋の役割をしていたことを主として論証したものである。彼は「弥勒」という音写を例として挙げている。彼はこの「弥勒」はガンダーラ語のMetraġaの音写であると考えている。彼は「佛」にも触れ、私の1947年の論文「浮屠と佛」を引用している。彼は次のように述べている:

> 詳しい論証は省くが、漢語の「佛」は、古代トカラ語の*but-(西トカラ語のpudñäkteのpud-と東トカラ語のptāñkätに対応するであろう)を音写したことは明らかである——このことから「佛陀」は二次的な(遅い)語形だと分かる———ということを指摘したい。

私が上に論述したことと照らし合わせれば、Bernhardの仮説は完全に成立する。これもまた、私の「佛」の起源の考えが完全に正しいことを正面から証明しているのである[11]。

(二)「浮屠」と「佛」の関係から仏教が中国に伝わったルートと時代を推測する

仏教が中国に伝わったことについて、1947年に書いた論文でこのように推測した:

> 中国と仏教とが最初に接触したのが一体いつだったのかは断定できない。しかし非常に早かったに違いない。…… 私の考えでは、それはしかも直接であった。つまり、西域の小さな国々を媒介にしなかったということで

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[8] 前掲書, pp. 106-107.

[9] Baileyが前掲書, p. 107, 注2でアヴェスター語Būitiの最後の-iは恐らく東イラン語からきたと指摘した。この-iこそ、上で触れた半母音-yである。

[10] "Gāndhārī and the Buddhist Mission in Central Asia," in: *Añjali, Papers on Indology and Buddhism, O. H. de A. Wijesekera Felicitation Volume*, ed. by J. Tilakasiri, Peradeniya, 1970, pp. 55-62.

[11] 「佛」がイラン語系のある言語からきた可能性はないだろうか?その可能性があると私は思う。もっと深く研究する必要がある。ここで補足したいことがある。同じくイラン語に属するコータン・サカ語では「佛」は*balysa*-となり、明らかに同じ語族の他の言語と異なる。H. W. Bailey, *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*, Cambridge University Press 1978.

ある。…… たとえ陸路、中央アジアの小国を通って中国に至ったとしても、これらの小さい国は最初になんの役割も果たさず、ただ仏教が中国に伝わった通り道にすぎなかった。当時、インドの俗語から直接訳された経典がすでにあった可能性が高い。『四十二章経』はおそらくその一つであっただろう。「浮屠」という名詞はこの時代にできたに違いない。…… 漢末、三国時代に、西域の多くの小国の高僧や居士たちが中国に伝道に来た。例えば、安士高、支謙、支婁迦讖、安玄、支曜、康巨、康孟祥などはその中の最も有名な人々である。この時代になって初めて西域の小国が仏教の中国への伝播に真の影響を与えたと言える。これらの高僧と居士は沢山の経典を訳出した。その元になった原本は、おそらくサンスクリット語ではなく、彼らの母国の言語で書かれたものであったと推測される。「佛」という名詞の成立はこの時期のはずである。[12]

当時、私がこのように推測した時、本当はあまり自信がなく、ロマンチック過ぎたと思う。私が述べた内容は、その当時、把握していた資料の枠をはみ出ている。しかし新しい資料が大量に出た今日になって、私の当時の推測を振り返って見ると、改めるべきところ——例えば「直接に接触した」と述べたのは今から見ると妥当ではない——を除いて、大部分の考え方は間違っておらず、大いに安心した。しかしなんと言ってもすでに四十三年の歳月が流れた。新しい資料に基づき、若干の補足と修正をするのに、今はちょうど良い時のように思う。

上の（一）「『佛』の原語」の結論は次のようなものである：バクトリア語は基本的にサンスクリットBuddhaの原形をとどめ、二つの音節があり、正しく漢訳の「浮屠」と対応する。イラン語系のほかの言語では、音節が一つしか残らず、正しく漢訳の「佛」に相当する。「浮屠」の出現は前で、「佛」の出現は後である。この結論は私の(当時の)推測とまったく一致している。

ここでこの問題について、さらに検討を加えたいと思う。以下の問題を解決しなければならない：バクトリア語と『四十二章経』はどういう関係なのか？ガンダーラ語と『四十二章経』はどういう関係なのか？イラン語系諸言語と『四十二章経』はどういう関係なのか？『四十二章経』は問題の鍵となる書である様だ。次は、この書に関して、以下のいくつかの問題点から考察を加えよう。

(1) 『四十二章経』と大月支
(2) 『四十二章経』原本の言語
(3) 支謙などが訳した経典の言語の問題
(4) いくつかの考え方

(1) 『四十二章経』と大月支

『四十二章経』の真偽に関しては過去に論争があった。梁啓超は偽作と考え、湯用彤は真作と考えた。現在の学術界は一般的に後者の意見を受け入れている。湯先生は綿密な考証をしたうえで次のような結論に達した：1.『四十二章経』の成立は極めて早く、後漢桓帝以前にすでに翻訳されていた[13]。2. 二つの訳本があった[14]。

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[12] 『中印文化関係史論文集』pp. 333-334.

[13] 『漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史』商務印書館 1938年，上巻，pp. 32-33.

『四十二章経』は漢明帝が永平年間に仏法を求めた伝説と関係がある。後漢末、牟子『理惑論』に最初にこのことが記され、それ以後も沢山の人が記録している[15]。湯先生の考えによると、仏法が中国に伝わったのは永平より前のはずである。しかし湯先生はこのように言った：「求法の故事に疑わしいところもあるが、歴史上の事実には常に疑わしい伝説がつき纏うものだ。伝説が疑わしいからといって、事実を根本的に覆す必要はない」と[16]。彼の意見では、永平求法宣説には信用できる部分があり、成り立つということである。

『四十二章経』はまた大月支とも関係がある。牟子『理惑論』とその後の沢山の典籍に、この経典は大月支で手に入れたものだとはっきり書いてある。『理惑論』にこのように書いてある：「於是上悟，遣使者張騫・羽林郎中秦景・博士弟子王遵等十二人，於大月支写仏経四十二章。」。この経典がいったいどこで翻訳されたかに関しては、数多くの典籍の記載の間で明らかな対立が見られる：あるものは、大月支で訳されたと主張し、他のものは国内で訳された主張している。大月支で翻訳された説の方が、根拠が確実のようである[17]。

大月支はどのような民族であったろうか。彼らは遊牧民族であったため、行先が一定していない。『漢書』巻九十六上「西域伝」に次のようにある：

> （大月氏）本居敦煌・祁連間。至冒頓単于攻破月氏，而老上単于殺月氏，以其頭為飲器。月氏乃遠去，過大宛，西撃大夏而臣之。

この出来事が起こったのはおよそ前漢文帝から武帝までの間であった。

こうなると『四十二章経』はまたバクトリアとも関係がある。なぜなら、「大月支に於いて仏経四十二章を写す」時に、大月支はすでにバクトリアに至っていたからである。バクトリアの君主はもともとギリシアの遺民であり、漢初の頃、仏法がすでにここで流行していたはずである。漢武帝の時、張騫は命を受け帝の使者としてここに来た。『三国志』裴松之の注に魚豢『魏略・西戎伝』を引用してこのように書いてある：

> 罽賓国・大夏国・高附国・天竺国・皆並属大月氏。臨兒国『浮屠経』云：其国王生浮屠。浮屠，太子也。父曰屑頭邪，母曰莫邪。…… 此国在天竺城中。天竺又有神人名沙律。昔漢哀帝元壽元年(B.C.2)，博士弟子景盧，受大月氏王使伊存口授『浮屠經』。[18]

この記述は、大月氏とバクトリアとの関係、大月氏とインドとの関係、大月氏と仏教との関係を明らかにしている。大月氏国王の使者である伊存が『浮屠経』を口授したのは、大月氏だったのかそれとも中国だったのか。両方の可能性があり、両方の意見がある。いずれにせよ、大月氏では仏教が紀元前にすでに流行していたので

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[14] 前掲書, pp.36-38. 湯先生は非常に慎重で、「以上の推測は大胆にみえるが、しかしこの経の漢晋代での引用と合わせて考証すれば、二つ古本があったことは疑いようがない」と書いた。

[15] 前掲書, p. 16を参考。

[16] 前掲書, p. 24.

[17] 湯先生はこの説を主張する。「牟子の伝えていることは、疑わしい点があるが、決してすべてを否定してはならない。その記述によれば、この経は月氏で訳され、中国に送られた。」(前掲書, p. 31)とあるのを参照。

[18] この話にある人名と地名などの考証は湯用彤前掲書, p.50-51を参照。

あり、それは『四十二章経』より以前のことである。

ついでに、ここで別のことについて述べようと思う。『理惑論』に、明帝が使者を大月氏に遣わし『四十二章経』を写させたとあり、その中になんと張騫がいる。これは時間的には絶対不可能なことである。しかしそれは意味深長な情報を伝えていると私は思う。すなわち、この時、大月氏はバクトリアにいたのだが、張騫が使者としてバクトリアに派遣された話が、きっとその当時巷間のうわさになっていたに違いない。バクトリアと言えば、すぐに張騫を連想したのであろう。

(2) 『四十二章経』原本の言語

『四十二章経』に関連していること全てをはっきりさせたので、今度はこの経の言語の問題を検討したい。1947年の論文で、その言語は中央アジアの俗語の一種から訳されたと書いたが、この考え方は正しいと思う。しかし当時の私は具体的にどの言語なのかを言うことができなかった。

最近、林梅村が新しい見解を発表した。すなわち、『四十二章経』はガンダーラ語の『法句経』から訳されたというのである。彼はいま論文を書いている最中で、詳しい論点については私は何も知らないが、しかし中国仏教史に於いてこれは非常に重要な問題で、深く探究する必要があると思う。それは『四十二章経』の原本の言語が一体何であるのかということにも関連している。ここで、この問題に関する私自身の考え方を述べ、林梅村先生及びその他の学者たちの参考に供したいと思う。愚見でも一理があるかもしれない。

一見するかぎり、『四十二章経』と『法句経』とはまったく同じというわけではない。しかし内容を見れば、実に共通しているところが多い。三国時代の作者不明の『法句経序』に次のように書いてある：「是後五部沙門，各自鈔採経中四句六句之偈，比次其義，条別為品，於十二部経靡不斟酌，無所適名，故曰『法句』」と。『法句経』はこのようであるし、『四十二章経』も同様である。『四十二章経』は元々「経」という字が使われていなかったことも所謂『四十二章経』が完全な「経」ではなかったことを充分に証明している。だから湯用彤先生は「『四十二章経』は多くの経から取り出し、まとめたもので、その各章はパーリ聖典や中国仏典に類似のものが頗る見られるが、常にやや簡略になっている」と述べた[19]。表面上異なっていても、二つの経典の性質が全く同じであるから、『四十二章経』が『法句経』から訳されたものである可能性は十分にある。

しかし本当に現存のガンダーラ語『法句経』から訳されたのだろうか？それはさらに一層研究しなければならないことである。

林梅村の最近の研究結果には次のようにある：

> このことは、このガンダーラ語『法句経』が確かにコータン故地から出、書写した者が間違いなくコータン人で、そのために（書写した者）自身の方言がその中に紛れ込んでいることを言語学的に証明するものである。[20]

しかし、私は上で『四十二章経』は大月氏で、すなわちバクトリアで写し訳されたことを明確に説明した。現存のガンダーラ語『法句経』はコータンで書写されたの

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[19] 前掲書, p. 41.

[20] 「犍陀羅語『法句経』残巻初歩研究」『出土文献研究』第二輯，p. 257を見よ。

ものである以上、『四十二章経』の原本のはずがない。この道理ははっきりしている。

（では、）バクトリアにあったその『法句経』あるいは『四十二章経』はどんなものだったのか？実を言うと私自身もよく分からない。今は次のような推測しかできない。大月支は、バクトリアに来た後に、周りの状況の関係で仏教を受け入れた。おそらくある程度の経典の翻訳が行われたであろう。『法句経』あるいは『四十二章経』などは、小乗教義の最も基本的な内容を含んでいるから、あたかも一種の「仏学入門」のようなもので、帰依者にとって大変便利なものであったろう。おそらく一番先に翻訳され、使われた言語は当然バクトリア語だったであろう。この言語に関しては、私たちは以前は全く知らなかった。近年新しい資料が段々と見つかり、次第に多くの語彙も見つかり、意味も分かるようになってきたのである。注[5]で挙げた辞書はそれらの単語を集めたものであり、bodo, boddo, boudoなどの単語はそこに見える。しかしまとまった仏教経典の訳本はまだ見つかっていない。大地は宝物を隠したままにせず、将来いつの日か必ず見つかると信じている。中国の使者がバクトリアに来て、『四十二章経』を翻訳した。その原典はきっとそのバクトリア語の仏教経典に違いない。（その時）訳されたのは、二種の漢訳の最初の方に他ならない。現存の経の中に繰り返し出る「仏言」はきっと（古い方の訳では）「浮屠言」であっただろう――「浮屠」はまさにbodo, boddo, boudoに対応している。「仏言」を使っている現行本は第二の訳本に違いない。この訳の原語は中央アジアあるいは新疆のある言語で、その中ではサンスクリットのBuddhaはbutあるいはそれに類した形に変わり、「佛」と漢訳されたのである。

ガンダーラ語『法句経』の起源についてここで少し補足したいと思う。それがバクトリア語本からきた可能性をまったく除外することはできないが、しかしその可能性は極めて低い。サンスクリット語『法句経』が新疆で見つかっていることから、『法句経』が新疆で流行していたことが分かる。このガンダーラ語『法句経』がサンスクリット語本となんらかの関係があるということは、十分可能性がある。ガンダーラ語本が『四十二章経』の二番目の訳本の原本だった可能性はない。なぜなら、後者では「佛」の字が使われているが、ガンダーラ語本ではbudhuとあり、この語も「浮屠」と音写できるからである。

(3) 支謙などが訳した経典の言語の問題

『四十二章経』の原語に関してはすでに明確にしたので、次は、支謙、安世高など後漢、三国時代の訳経大師の言語の問題を考えよう。この問題は以前は殆ど注目されていないが、実は非常に意義があり、また検討しなければならない問題である。

いま梁『高僧伝』第一巻に基づいて、この問題を少し検討しようと思う。この巻には、後漢、三国時代の訳経大師がほとんどみな網羅されている。摂摩騰と竺法蘭などの人物に関しては、あまりにも神話的だから、ここでは取り上げない。

まず資料を列挙しよう：

「安清（世高）伝」：

> 至止未久，即通習華語。於是宣訳衆経，改胡為漢。[21]

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[21] 『大正新修大蔵経』第50巻, No. 2059, 323b.

季羨林案：「胡」は、元明代に(大蔵)経を刻版した時に「梵」に改められている。以下同じ。

「支婁迦讖（支讖）伝」：

漢靈帝時遊于雒陽。以光和中平之間伝訳梵文。

時有天竺沙門竺佛朔，亦以漢靈之時，齎『道行経』，来適雒陽、即転梵為漢。

（安）玄与沙門巌佛調共出『法鏡経』，玄口訳梵文，佛調筆受。

先是沙門曇果於迦維羅衛国得梵本、孟詳共竺大力訳為漢文。[22]

「康僧会伝」附「支謙伝」：

遍学異書，通六国語。…… 謙以大教雖行，而経多梵文，未尽翻訳。已妙善方言，乃収集衆本，訳為漢語。[23]

「維祇難伝」：

以呉黄武三年，与同伴竺律炎，来至武昌，齎『曇鉢経』梵本。[24]

「竺曇摩羅刹伝」：

其先月支人，本姓支氏。…… 外国異言三十六種，書亦如之，護皆遍学。…… 遂大齎梵経，還帰中夏。[25]

附「聶承遠伝」：

承遠有子道真，亦善梵學。[26]

「僧伽跋澄伝」：

（趙正）請訳梵文。…… 外国沙門曇摩難提筆受為梵文。[27]

「僧伽提婆伝」：

提婆乃於般若台手執梵文，口宣晋語。…… 更請提婆重訳『中阿含』等。

罽賓沙門僧伽羅叉執梵本，提婆翻為晋言。[28]

「竺佛念伝」：

於是澄執梵文，念訳為晋。[29]

「曇摩耶舎伝」：

以偽秦弘始九年，初書梵書文。…… 耶舎有弟子法度，善梵漢之言。[30]

『高僧伝』巻一にあるサンスクリットに関する記載は以上のようである。「梵」は元々「胡」と書かれていた。「梵」がサンスクリットを表していることは明らかである。しかし「胡」は何を指しているのかはっきりしない。「胡」の原意は北狄（北方異民族）の通称で、少し拡大すれば、夷狄の人の意味で、多少軽蔑した言い

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[22] 同、324b-c.

[23] 同、325a. 隋費長房『歴代三宝記』，『大正蔵』第49巻, No. 2034, 58cを参照。

[24] 『大正蔵』第50巻, No. 2059, 326b.

[25] 同，326c. 以下の訳者たちは、三国時代より後の者たち。

[26] 同，327a.

[27] 同，328b. 以下二箇所でサンスクリットに言及している。

[28] 同，329a.

[29] 同，329b.

[30] 同，329c.

方である。『高僧伝』の「胡」はおそらくサンスクリットと中央アジアの夷狄の語という二重の意味があるのであろう。上に引用した資料全体をみると、サンスクリットを指すものもある——例えば曇果、維祇難などの伝での記述。しかし殆どが中央アジアの民族の言語を指している。支謙たちが訳した経の原本はすべてサンスクリットではなかった。上に引用した「支謙伝」の「梵文」もこのように解釈するしかない。続けて彼について「妙善方言」というのも、恐らく彼が中央アジアの民族の言語に精通していたことを意味している。これは彼らが経典を訳した時に使った音写からも明確に見ることができる。例えば漢訳の「弥勒」はサンスクリットのMaitreyaからではなく、トカラ語のMetrakから来たものである。しかし康僧会訳『六度集経』・『旧雑譬喩経』、後漢代失訳『大方便佛報恩経』、支謙訳『佛説月明菩薩経』・『撰集百縁経』・『大明度経』・『佛説八吉祥神呪経』、康孟詳訳『佛説興起行経』、支婁迦讖訳『雑譬喩経』・『道行般若経』などなど皆「弥勒」を使っている。だから支謙たちの訳経の原本の言語は、サンスクリットではなく、中央アジアと新疆あたりにあったトカラ語とイラン語系の言語であったことが分かる。

(4) いくつかの考え

ここで上で検討した問題点をまとめ、私のいくつかの考え方を述べようと思う。

1　1947年の論文で私は、仏教が「直接」に中国に伝来したという論を示したが、今から見ると、その論は成り立たなくなった。私が想定した仏教伝来の二段階説はまだ有効である。図式で示せば次のようになる：

(1) 印度 → バクトリア（大月支） → 中国
buddha → bodo, boddo, boudo → 浮屠
(2) 印度 → 中央アジアと新疆の小国 → 中国
buddha → but → 佛

この二つの段階とも「直接」ではなかった。

2　私のこのさほど長くない論文は、中国仏教史上の二大問題を解決した。すなわち、仏教はいつ中国に伝来したかと、どういうルートを通じて来たのかという問題である。しかしこれらは重大なことで、さらなる研究が必要である。同じ志を持つ研究者が力を合わせて取り組むことを期待する。[31]

1989年11月2日脱稿

附記：
本論文を書く過程で、私の二人の若い友人、栄新江氏と銭文忠氏が、資料を提供し、また本を借り出すのを手助けしてくれた。二人の助力に感謝する。

[31] Cf. Gérard Fussman, "Language and culture among the Kushans," *International Association for the Study of the Culture of Central Asia, Information Bulletin,* Issue 15, Moscow, 1989, pp. 57-66. その中でバクトリア語が言及されていて参考になる。

Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (V)

湯山 明

§1. Thoreau or Peabody, or else — *Who has first introduced Burnouf's Lotus Sutra to America?*

1.0. 北米のインド学仏教学は，幸いにも草創期から優れた学者たちが大きな役割を担った．仏教文献学の分野では，就中ビュルヌーフ (Eugène Burnouf: 1801-1852) の『インド仏教史序説』と「法華経薬草喩品」フランス語訳の北米への紹介が，極めて重要な役割を演じたことに，筆者は注目してきた．ソールズベリー (Edward Elbridge Salisbury: 1814-1901) は，ヨーロッパ留学から 1841 年に帰国してイェール大学に開設されたアラビア・サンスクリット語講座を担当するが，直ちに翌年梵語の習熟と西欧学界の事情調査のために再度訪欧する．その折りに，ビュルヌーフの許で，『法華経』訳注作業を目の当たりにした.[1] 恐らくビュルヌーフは，同時に『インド仏教史序説』に推敲を重ねている時でもあったろう．彼の法華経訳注については，長い間種々と誤解されてきたが，1837年4月20日頃に，ネパールのホジスン (Brian Houghton Hodgson: 1800-1896) から入手した梵文写本から直ちに訳し始め，二年後の十一月には完了し，更にその二年後の十月には本文の印刷も仕上がっていた．その後，注釈論攷は，他界する二ヶ月前の 1852 年 3 月まで書き続けた.[2] ビュルヌーフの法華経の翻訳部分の印刷が完了した 1841 年 10 月の翌々年春に「薬草喩品」の訳が公刊されても，従って更にそれが三年後に北米に紹介されていても，時間的にみて決して不思議はない.[3] アメリカ東洋学会の創立は 1842 年である．ソールズベリーは，当時の西欧の先端的なインド学仏教学の頭脳と親しく交わり，消化した知識をアメリカの土に素速く，しかし丁寧に植え付ける．

1.1. アメリカ東洋学会設立の牽引役を果たしたソールズベリーは，1844 年度の学術大会で，仏教史の研究に蘊蓄を傾けた講演をし，学会の機関誌初巻を飾る.[4] 進んで同誌次号にはビュルヌーフの『序説』を紹介する.[5] こうした学問的な背景をもって，仏教・仏教学が根を下ろしていったのは重要である．丁度その頃に，ビュルヌーフの「法華経薬草喩品」フランス語訳の北米への紹介があったことに，筆者は非常な関心を抱いた．その紹介者は，ニュー・イングランドを中心にして，思想界に大きな影響を遺したソロー (Henry David Thoreau: 1817-1882) が，彼らの機関誌『ダイアル』に無記名で公刊したと，長らく伝えられてきた.[6]

1.2. 実は，かねてからソロー英訳説を疑問視する向きはあった．ソローではなく，いわば当時の超絶論者仲間で，一般にはボストンでアメリカ最初の幼稚園 (Kindergarten) を開いた人として，また多言

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[1] See e.g. *Yuyama 2002* = A. Yuyama, "Groundwork Layers for Buddhist Sanskrit Philology in America", *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 321-339 (with 'Bio-Bibliographical Source Materials' on p. 334-338), esp. p. 322-324.

[2] 湯山明, "ビ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. 349-363, esp. p. 351.

[3] "Fragments des Prédications de Buddha [Extraits du *Lotus de la bonne loi*, ouvrage inédit, traduit du sanscrit par M. Eugène Burnouf]", *La Revue indépendante paraissant le 10 et le 25 de chaque mois avec un bulletin bibliographique*, VII (Paris, 25 avril 1843), p. 520-534:

Pages 520-529 = Burnouf, *Lotus*, 1852, p. 81.8-89.12 (prose + verses 45-81, omitting verse 82).

Pages 529-534 = Burnouf, *Lotus*, 1852, p. 75.5-81.7 (verses 1-44).

"The Preaching of Buddha", *The Dial: A Magazine for Literature, Philosophy, and Religion*, Volume IV: 1843-1844, No. III (Boston, January 1844, reprinted by Russell & Russell, New York, 1961), p. 391-401.

[4] Edward Elbridge Salisbury, "Memoir on the History of Buddhism, read before the American Oriental Society, at the Annual Meeting, in Boston, May 28, 1844", *JAOS*, I, 2 (1847), p. 79-135.

Reprinted in his *Buddhistic Papers* (= *S. P. B. Reprint Series*, III) (Calcutta: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 1972), p. v-vi, 1-62.

[5] E. E. Salisbury, "M. Burnouf on the History of Buddhism in India", *JAOS*, I, 3 (1847), p. 275-298.

— Reprinted in his *Buddhistic Papers* (Calcutta 1972), p. 63-90.

[6] 参看・湯山, 前掲論文 (2001), p. 357f. (& p. 362f.: notes 19-26).

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 471-528.
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語に通じた人として知られたピーボディー (Elizabeth Palmer Peabody: 1804-1894) を英(影)訳者とする説である.[7] 彼女の活躍は, 大変ものだったようだ. その詮議は, とても筆者の力の及ぶところではなく, この方面の多数の研究の何れを選択して参照すべきかを知る術もない.

1.3. いずれを採るかを訝しく思っている中で, 筆者がアメリカの仏教受容・仏教学史の観点から注目してきた学者が,[8] アメリカの定期刊行雑誌に載せられた重要な論著を覆刻した, 極めて興味深い近著に, 上に述べたビュルヌーフ訳の「法華経藥草喩品」(*supra* n. 3) とソールズベリーの「仏教史論」(cf. *supra* n. 4) を先ず取り上げている.[9] 編者トゥィードは, 前者のピーボディー英訳説を採って, 何ら疑問や論点を述べることなく収めている (cf. his "Introduction", *op.cit.*, p. xv). 何れも原雑誌掲載のままの忠実な写真覆刻である. 先ずは, 編者が目論んだ内容の最初を飾るに相応しい二点を選んだ卓見に敬意を表したい. 今後, インド学仏教学史上を繙くものにとって, 貴重な資料となることに疑いはなかろう. ただ本書自体の頁付がなく, 書誌的観点からは将来に不便を招くだろう.

1.4. ここに, 疑問は残る. こうして簡潔に, ソロー抜きで, 事を始末してしまっても良いものだろうか. 彼は, 特にペルシア・インドに関心を示したようで, 原典からのフランス語やドイツ語に訳された資料を典拠にアジアの思想に触れようとしたという. この点に余り注目しなかった専家もいるようである.[10] 西欧のインド学的成果を背景に, ソローを観察した業績もある (cf. *Yuyama 2002*, p. 322).[11] 門外漢ながら, 筆者は, ソローがアジアの思想・文学・文明への教導者 (initiator) の役割を果たしと思う. この難しい問題について, しかし筆者には, 暫く専家の批判的な論攷を見るより仕方がない.[12]

遊余白 (1) // *राष्ट्रीय पाण्डुलिपि मिशन* //

インド連邦政府の肝入りで, あるいは遅きに失したというべきかも知れないが, インド全域で貴重な古籍を保存しようという大企画ができた. これほど待ちに待った慶事はないので, 書き留めたいと念じてきたが, その余裕が仲々ない. 年次報告書を出し, 隔月刊を目標に啓蒙誌も出していることだけを記して置きたい:

National Mission for Manuscripts, Department of Culture, Ministry of Tourism & Culture, Government of India: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, No. 5, Dr. Rajendra Prasad Road, New Delhi 110001, India. — *www.namami.nic.in*

Mission Director: Dr. Sudha Gopalakrishnan.

Kriti Rakshana — *A bi-monthly publication of the National Mission for Manuscripts*, ed. Neha Paliwal, Vol. I, No. 1 (August 2005), A4: 24 p., incl. num. figs.

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[7] Cf. e.g. Raymond R. Borst, *Henry David Thoreau: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1982), p. 191. — To my regret, I have not seen the following titles by the same author:

— , *Henry David Thoreau: A Reference Guide, 1835-1989* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1987), xiv, 147 p. — *ISBN 0-81618822-X.*

— , *The Thoreau Log: A Documentary Life of Henry David Thoreau, 1817-1862* (New York: G. K. Hall & Maxwell Macmillan International / Toronto: Maxwell Macmillan Canada, 1992), xxv, 654 p. — *ISBN 0-81618985-4.*1

[8] Thomas A. Tweed, "Opening of the Tomb of the Buddha: Buddhism and the Early Years of the American Oriental Society", *AOS Newsletter*, XXI (Ann Arbor: American Oriental Society, May 1996), p. 2a-8a.

[9] *Encountering Buddhism in U. S. Periodicals, 1844-1903: Contacts and Exchanges in Print Culture*, edited with an Introduction by Thomas A. Tweed (= *Western Responses to Asian Religions and Philosophies: Buddhism in the United States, 1840-1925*, ed. John Clarke) (London: Ganesha Publishing – Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2004). — *ISBN 1-86210064-0 / 4-90148172-X.*

[10] Cf. e.g. Henry Stephens Salt, *Life of Henry David Thoreau*, ed. George Hendrick, Willene Hendrick & Fritz Oehlschlaeger (Urbana-Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1993, repr. 2000) [*orig. version1908*],esp. p. 58f.

[11] See e.g. Arthur Christy, *The Orient in American Transcendentalism: A Study of Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott* (= *Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature*) (New York: Octagon Books – A Division of Farrer, Straus and Giroux, 1972; previously reprinted 1963 & 1969; Copyright by Columbia University Press, 1932 & 1960), esp. p. 44f. (in relation to Burnouf).

[12] But see e.g. for further details *The Recognition of Henry David Thoreau: Selected Criticism Since 1848*, ed. Wendell Glick (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969 / simultaneously by Longmans Canada Ltd., Don Mills), xxii, 381 p. (incl. a portr.-frontisp.).

— Among many others see an obituary delivered at the funeral services by Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), cited, on p. 18-34, from the *Atlantic Monthly*, X (1862), p. 239-249 (a section of quotations from Thoreau being deleted by Glick).

§2. ロシヤ学士院の『佛教文庫』 — *第二次世界大戦後の復活・復刊に託けて*

2.0.0. ロシヤ東洋学界が，近現代のアジア研究の進歩に果たした役割の大きさについては，多言を要しまい．虎視眈々としたロシヤ帝国の南下政策は，研究者の眼をもシベリヤへ，そして更にその南へ東へと向けさせる産物をもたらした．これに東西の列強が加わって競った結果，それぞれが数多の貴重な文献を本国に将来した．ここでその争奪戦の功罪を論う積りは毛頭ないが，あるいは宗教的な価値観の相違によって，あるいは人類共通の文化遺産としての価値を理解しない人々が，文字通り貴重な文献を反故にして廃却する様は忍び難い．してみると，列強の盗賊は，灰燼に帰すべき文化遺産を，反古から保護してくれたことになる．我々は，今日までに，こうした文献や美術品などの獲得選手たちの記録を，確かにロマンとして見つめて来たように思う．その記録は，しかし，文献学の基礎となり，歴史学に実証の資料を与えてきたことも否めない．つい最近になって，仏教文献学には直接の関連がないかも知らないが，コズロフ (Pjotr Kuz'mič Kozlov: 1863-1935) のモンゴル・チベットへの探検日誌が，丁寧な編集のもとに公刊されたので，有り難くも極めて貴重な記録である.[1] ついでながら，東京駒込の東洋文庫が所蔵する種々の貴重な図像史料を「マルチメディアデータベース」として提供してくれていることも書き留めておきたい．その中に，例えばコズロフの 1899-1901 年のいわゆるロシヤ帝国地理協会の探検記録五巻 (1905-1907) の極めて稀覯の図像記録も，有難くもすべて公開してくれている．

2.0.0a. さて，今になって蹂躙された現地の側から見れば，いわば劫奪された後の残杯の底にある苦い酒滴を嘗めさせられる訳で我慢ならない．まさに劫余の資料に甘んじることになる．— これで誰もが必ず思い起こすのは，広東省出身の陳垣 (1880-1971) のいかにも彼らしい表題の大冊である.[2] 1981 年には，北京圖書館善本組が 1065 点を加えて續編を謄写版で公刊しているし,[3] 龍谷大学も同じく謄写刷で北京圖書館の資料を陳垣の劫余録順に便利な目録を作成している.[4] 敦煌資料については，前にも触れたので，ここに繰り返さない.[5] 清朝末期・中華民国・中華人民共和国と長い波乱に満ちた生涯を送った碩学・陳垣が，一家言をもって研究・教育に当たったことも知られている.[6] 1926-1952 年には輔仁大学の学長を務め，次いで生涯を北京師範大学長としても活躍したので，陳垣の資料は数多ある.[7] 我々仏教学徒も，彼の問題提起に随分と恩恵に浴している．数ある中から今は一点を挙げたい.[8]

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[1] *Pjotr Kuz'mič Kozlov - Dnevniki mongolo-tibetskoj ekspedicii 1923-1926. Redaktor-sostavitel'*: T. I. Jusupova, *Sostavitel'*: A. I. Andreev; *Otvetstvennyj redaktor, Doktor texničeskix nauk*: A. V. Postniov (= *Naučnoe nasledstvo*, XXX) (Sankt-Peterburg: Nauka, 2003), Hb: 1039 p., 1 frontisp. (photo), 8-page plates (b/w) each : between p. 128-129, p.320-321, p. 480-481 & p. 944-945; 16-p. pl. between p. 736-737; and numerous line drawings. — *ISBN 5-02-027094-6.*

[2] 陳垣, 敦煌劫餘録 (= 國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所專刊之四) (北京, 1931.3), 4, 576 p.

[3] 北京圖書館善本組・敦煌劫餘録續編 (北京 1981), 147 x 2 p.

[4] 龍谷大学東洋史研究室内敦煌遺書研究会編, 国立北京図書館蔵敦煌遺書総目録 — マイクロフィルム用 — (京都・龍谷大学図書館, 1972, repr. 1982), 44, 17 p.

中田篤郎 (編), 北京図書館蔵・敦煌遺書典籍名索引(増訂版) (龍谷大学仏教文化研究所・西域出土仏典研究班／代表・井ノ口泰淳, 1989.3.), (I), III, 33 p.

この場が適当かどうか判らないが，次著を参考までに挙げておこう: 申國美編: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.*

[5] Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (II)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 260-267: §3. '敦煌出土の佛典類など'.

[6] On his scholarly attitude see e.g. Xiaoqing Diana Lin, *Peking University: Chinese Scholarship and Intellectuals, 1898-1937* (= *SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture*) (Albany: SUNY Press, 2005), esp. p. 94 & 124.

參看・戴逸(主編)・牛潤珍(著), 陳垣學術思想評傳 (= 二十世紀中國著名學者傳記叢書) (北京圖書館出版社 1999.5), (ii), 2, 6, 340 p., 1 frontisp. (photo).

[7] 參看・北京大学校史館編・岳秀坤(責任編集): 北京大学校史論著目録索引 (1898-2003) (北京・北京大学出版社, 2004.7), p. 463-467 (人物編・文章類), p. 750f. (歷史編・著作類). — cf. Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (III)", *ARIRIAB*, VIII: 2004 (2005), p. 392f.: §5. '北京大学資料'.

[8] 參看例・陳垣, 釋氏疑年録 (北京・中華書局. 1964.3) [初版・1948], 2,2, 2, 472, 38 p. [臺灣再版／俱揚家駱・識語 (= 中國學術類編) (臺北・鼎文書房, 1977)].

2.0.1. 長い前口上は措いて，盗難品のお陰で，梵語仏典に限っても，ことに大乗仏教研究のうえで，先ずもって近代的な文献学的研究に寄与したことに疑いはない.[9] 注目すべきは文献学に限らず，文化史的あるいは思想史的な研究にとっても見逃すことはできなくなってきている．この点にも十分に着目しながら，すべての原典資料を網羅しているわけではないが，論議を展開する興味深い論稿を最近目にしたばかりである.[10] ロシヤの研究者たちは，今から思えば，いわば革命後の長く苦しい時を経て，よくぞ今日まで学灯を絶えさせずにいてくれたものと感謝したい．しかし，かつてはその貴重な蒐集も，なかなか全貌を知ることは許されず，長い間外部の研究者には文字通り隔靴掻痒の代物であった.[11] その背景を探ったり，外との関わりを見たり，支離滅裂と思われそうだが，道草を食みながら，例によって筆に任せた雑録を認めたい．筆者が仏典の講読・演習を担当したら，こんな羽目の外し方をするであろうと寛恕願いたい．

2.1.0. アジアの種々の言語の貴重な資料は，帝政ロシヤ時代にもペテログラードの学士院などに蒐集され，ロシヤ革命以前のすでに 19 世紀中頃までには，むしろよく外に向けても報告が，ベートリンク (Otto von Böhtlingk: 1815-1904) やシーフナー (Franz Anton von Schiefner: 1818-1879) のような碩学によってもなされていたので，いわゆる北京町版も含めて，少なくとも色々な文献の存在を知り得た.[12] 今の東洋学研究所は，形式的にはモスクワの分所であるが，元を質せば 1818 年創立のアジア博物館に遡り，度重ねて報告書も出ている.[13] 問題は，その後に中央アジアからもたらされたインド・イラン系言語の文献資料である．ペトロフスキー (Nikolaj Fjodorovič Petrovskij: 1837-1908) やオルデンブルグ (Sergej Fjodorovič Ol'denburg': 1863-1934) などの蒐集になる文献資料は，彼らの研究成果の公刊や内外の関連学者との交流などから周知される面もあったが,[14] もちろん未だに全貌を知る由もなく，限られた人材と後継者不足の中で，調査研究は連綿と続いてきて，いくつもの優れた成果が世に問われてはきた．

2.1.1. ベンドール (Cecil Bendall: 1856-1910) の校訂になるシャーンティデーヴァ (Śāntideva) 著『菩薩學處集成 (*Śikṣāsamuccaya*)』初冊が 1897 年に出て創始された『佛教文庫』は,[15] 第二次世界大戦前までの四十年間に，全三十巻三十二冊を見た．その内の二十点は，1910 年代までに出版されている．中には順次数冊に分けて発刊して，後に一巻をなすものもある．関連の研究者は，続刊を鶴首して待ち

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[9] 参看・湯山明, "西洋人の大乗仏教研究史", 平川彰・高崎直道・梶山雄一編／講座大乗仏教, X (東京・春秋社, 1985, repr. 1996), p. 221-261, esp. p. 230-235.

[10] See e.g. David Seyfort Ruegg, "Aspects of the Investigation of the (Earlier) Indian Mahāyāna", *JIABS*, XXVII, 1 (2004), p. 3-62.

[11] 参看・湯山明, "中央アジアの梵語仏典", 東洋学術研究, XXIII, 1 (= 梶山雄一責任編集／特集・仏典成立の諸問題) (1996), p. 68-92, esp. 78b-79a.

[12] Cf. e.g. A. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections: A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology* (= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica: Pamphlet Series*, II) (Tokyo: IIBS-L = The International Institute for Buddhist Studies Library, 1992), esp. p. 5f. (No. 3: Petrograd), p. 14 (No. 27: Kazan); cf. also p. 20f. (Appendix: IV. b).

[13] Cf. e.g. insbes. *Das Asiatische Museum der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg*, von dem Director desselben Bern(hard) (Johann Albrecht) Dorn (1805-1881) (St. Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1846), XII, 766 p., Ills. [Now available in 9-sheet microfiches reproduced by Inter Documentation, Leiden]; etc. — cf. *Bibliografija Indii* {3rd ed.} (Moskva 1976), No. 511, also 2401 (Böhtlingk's "Verzeichnis").

Cf. aussi *Catalogue des manuscrits et xylographes orientaux de la Bbliothèque Impériale Publique de St. Pétersbourg*, dressé par Bernhard Dorn et Reinhold Rost (1822-1896) (St. Pétersbourg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1852), XLIV, 719 p. [Photomechanischer Nachdruck von der Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokrtischen Republik, Leipzig, 1978]. — cf. *Bibliografija Indii* {3rd ed.} (1976), No. 2403.

[14] ごく狭い範囲ながら，興味深い出版を取り上げてみたこともある: Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (II)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 376f.: §7. "ロシアとフランスの学術交流録".

[15] Cf. Hanayama's *Bibliography on Buddhism* (Tokyo 1961), No. 803: 'Bendall No. 17'; also *A Union List of Printed Indic Texts and Translations in American Libraries*, compiled by Murray Barnson Emeneau (1904-2005) (= *American Oriental Series*, V) (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1935), p. 390: No. 3868.

焦がれたに相違ない. 例えば, ケルン (Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern: 1833-1917) と南條文雄 (1849-1927) の編になる『仏教文庫』第十巻・法華経梵本は, 実は足かけ五年で, 五分冊に分けて出版されたが,[16] 研究者の中に最終第五冊の表題頁を取って, 時に 1912 年刊を書誌に示す向きもある.[17] いうまでもなく, ロシアのほかに英・独・仏・蘭・白・日の国際的に名の知れた学者をこれだけ集めて, 貴重な佛教文献を叢書にして編集・刊行できる立役者はオルデンブルグ (Sergej Fjodorovič Ol'denburg: 1863-1934) とシチェルバトスコイ (Fjodor Ippolitovič Ščerbatskoj [傑爾拔基]: 1866-1942) を措いていない.[18] その最終巻発刊は, 実は下に触れるオーベルミッレルの北京町版『宝徳蔵般若』を底本にした校訂版 (1937 年) である.

—— 第二次大戦後十五年を経て復活した『佛教文庫』の最初は第三十一巻で, その後インド学で活躍する若きトポロフ (Vladimir Nikolaevič Toporov: *1928)[19] のパーリ文『法句経』露訳 (1960 年刊) で, いわば東洋学研究所の『東方民族文学遺構』叢書の一巻としても刊行される.[20] 次がヴォストリコフ (Andrej Ivanovič Vostrikov: 1902-1937) の名著で, これは『佛教文庫』として独立に刊行される. これが注目すべきは, すでにその三十年前にソヴィエト連邦の特異な体制下で擱筆されたがために, 日の目を見ることができなかった良書の公刊であり, 関連の学徒に裨益する所が大きかった. — 責任編集となって, 『佛教文庫』を復活させた立役者レーリッヒについては, 後で少し詳しく取り上げたい (cf. *infra* §2.1.1d). — 著者ヴォストリコフは, 若くして論理学・文法学などのインド哲学面に関心を示して頭角を現し,[21] 更にかつては後にアメリカへ亡命して活躍した四歳年長のポッペ (Nikolaj-Nikolas (Nikolaivič) Poppe: 1897-1991) と,[22] 美しいバイカル湖東岸のブリヤート共和国バルグージン (Barguzin) 地方の年代記の共同研究を小編に纏めて 1935 年に公刊したりして,[23] 将来を嘱望されていた学者であった (ポッペについては後に少し詳しく触れる: cf. *infra* §2.1.1c). また, これも 1935 年に刊行された, ファン・マーネンの労作への批判論文で, 彼が書誌学的な面にも関心を寄せていたことを知って, 筆者は非常に興味を覚えた.[24] こうした地道な基礎の上に, 七十余年前に書き上げた論稿にして, 今なお大いに参考となるチベット史資料論の書を著していたのだと気付く. 著者ヴォストリコフの「はしがき」は, 1936 年 10 月とある. これが刊行されるのに際して, 1959 年 6 月 14 日付の「前書き」を寄せて, 彼の業績を要領よく整理して紹介しているのは, ヴォストリコヴァ (N. P. Vostrikova) とあるから, もしやして未亡人であろうか, 著者を第三者としての記述で通していて, 事

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16 *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, ed. H. Kern & Bunyiu Nanjio: Fascicle I (1908), II-III (1909), IV (1910), V (1912).

17 See e.g. Emeneau's *Union List* (New Haven 1935), p. 391: No. 3877.

18 参看・小関貴久編, 佛教文庫文献解題／*The Introduction to the Bibliotheca Buddhica* (東京・名著普及会, 1978), (ii), 78 p. — *see p. 2f. for a bibliographical list of volumes.*

Texts in this series are therefore recorded only up to Vol. 28 by Emeneau in his *Union List* (New Haven 1935), p. 451f. — see *Union List* No. 3866: Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* in Mongolian Version, I (= *BB*, XXVIII)'.

19 Cf. Sofija Davidovna Miliband, *Bio-Bibliografičeskij slovar' otečestvennyx vostokovedov s 1917 g.* 2-e izdanie, prepadotannoe i dopolnennoe. Kniga II: *M-Ja* (Moskva: Nauka, 1995), p.497a-498a.

20 *Dxammapada*, Perevod s pali. Vvedenie i kommentarii V. N. Toporova. *Otvetstvennyj Redaktor: Ju. N. Rerix* (= *Pamjatniki Literatury Narodov Vostoka*, III) (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXXI) [Akademija Nauk SSR, Institut Vostokovedenija] (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury, 1960), 158 p.

21 Cf. e.g. Constantin Regamey (1907-1982), *Buddhistische Philosophie* (= *Bibliographische Einführungen in das Studium der Philosophie*, XX/XXI) (Bern: A. Francke AG Verlag, 1950), p. 68: §16.45.

22 Cf. V(ladmir) M(ixajlovič) Alpatov, *Nikolaj-Nikolas Poppe* (Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Institut Vostokovedenija) (Moskva: Izdatel'skaja Firma "Vostočnaja Literatura" PAN, 1996), 144 p., with photos on the covers. — *see "Literatura", p. 136-143.*

23 Cf. Alpatov, *op.cit.*, p. 62.

24 A. I. Vostrikov, "Some Corrections and Critical Remarks on Dr. Johan van Manen's Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet", *BSOS*, VIII (1935), p. 51-76.

Cf. Johan van Manen, "A Contribution to the Bibliography of Tibet", *Journal & Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S., XVIII (1922),p. 445-525.

情に疎い筆者は知らない．巻末の参考文献目録には，流石に 1936 年以降の文献も収録してある．本書は，種々と交流のあったインドで，訳者は専家ではないが，関係者の助力もあって英訳本が出版されて，斯学の研究者を喜ばせたと思う：

A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetskaja istporičeskaja literature* [Otvetstvennyj Redaktor: Ju. N. Rerix] (= *Institut Narodov Azii, Akademija Nauk SSSR – Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXXII) (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury, 1962), 427 p., 1 frontisp. (photo of the Author).

A. I. Vostrikov, *Tibetan Historical Literature*, translated from the Russian by Harish Chandra Gupta (= *Soviet Indology Series*, ed. Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya, IV) (Calcutta: Indian Studies Past & Present, 1970), (iv), vii, 278 p., 1 frontisp. (photo of the author).

2.1.1a. この叢書は，とくに大戦勃発前後のものは殆ど外に出ずに，多くが稀覯の書となってしまっていた．特に，戦前最後の刊行となった第二十九巻の『宝徳蔵般若』は，[25] 西欧のとある大家一人の手許にあっただけという噂を耳にした覚えがある．[26] あるいは既にロシア本国内でも，殆ど版元を出ずに絶版・廃棄されていたのかも知れない．この『宝徳蔵般若』は重要と考えられてか，単品でも再刷刊行されている．[27] 勿論，同文庫全巻の再刷刊行に含まれていることはいうまでもない．[28] この書の再刷一つとっても，学問の歴史的な背景を知ることができよう．それにしては本典籍の文献学的な研究は兎も角としても，思想史の観点からももっと掘り下げた研究の対象になって欲しいと長年願っているところである．何はともあれ，戦後に仏教学がインド学の立場からも強い関心を惹くようになると，稀覯の『仏教文庫』の欠乏が叫ばれるようにもなる．そこで逸早く，全三十二巻の叢書すべてが，できるだけ本叢書の原型を留めて，ドイツから再刷刊行されて渇を癒した．[29] ついで東京とデリーから出た再刷は，戦前までの全三十巻である．[30] その間にも，その内の何点かは，色々の形で外国の出版社が再刷刊行した．学史的な関心から見れば，いわば時代の学的需要を証すもので興味深い．[31] 就中，法華経が，本邦でいかに渇望されていたか，戦後八年して東京で覆刻されたのを見ても肯ける．[32]

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[25] *Prajñā* (sic) *Pāramitā-Ratna-Guṇa-Saṃcaya-Gāthā: Sanscrit and Tibetan Text*, edited by E. Obermiller (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXIX) (Moskva 1937), 125 p. — *N.B. Some specialist libraries mistakenly give pagination as 5 + 125. As a matter of fact, the first 5 pages are in Roman numerals (p. 6 being blank), followed immediately by the pages starting with* 7.

[26] 因みに，『インド学文献類目』の第二・三版が，わざわざ *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, V (1960) [参看下記注 27] を挙げている: *Bibliografija Indii*, 2nd ed. (Moskva 1965), No. 2197; *ibid.*, 3rd ed.(1976), No. 2510! この 1960 年の再版は，エドワード・コンゼの索引だけではなく，彼が掘出した貴重なカルカッタのアジア協会にあった古写本 (No. 10736, Asiatic Society [of Bengal]: cf. Hara Prasad Śāstrī's *Catalogue*, I, Calcutta 1917, p. 26f.: No. 28) による簡略な原典修正も載せている (*Rgs*, 1960 reprint, p. 127f.).

[27] Reprinted as Volume V of the *Indo-Iranian Reprints* ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960) [Photomechanic reprint from a microfilm sent by Giuseppe Tucci of Rome (cf. "Acknowledgements", p. 1); "Corrections on Obermiller's Text", p. 127f.; and a "Sanskrit-Tibetan-English Index(by E. Conze), p. 129-157], (iii), 5, 7-157 p.

— I have not yet seen a reprint by the Sri Satguru Publications / Indian Book Centre, Delhi, 1992 (= *Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica*, XCVII). — *ISBN 81-7030-302-8*. It seems to be simply a photomechanic reprint of the original, or a later reprinted, edition (1937/1960/1970/1977).

[28] Reprinted as one of the whole set of the *Bibliotheca Buddhica* by Biblio Verlag in Osnabrück (1970), The Meicho Fukyūkai in Tokyo (1977), and Motilal Banarsidass in Delhi (1992).

[29] Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1970: この再版は，出来るだけ原型を彷彿とさせるような出版ではある．例えば，すぐ上の注 25 にあるように，原版の表題頁の誤植も訂正していない．また，貴重な図版を欠いたものを受取った人がいるようだ: 例えば，第十巻・法華経の図版 (2 pages of the so-called Petrovsky MS in facsimile on the plate after p. XII) は，請求して後から届けられた場合もあるらしいので，注意を促しておきたい: cf. A. Yuyama, *A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Texts of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (= *Oriental Monograph Series*, V) (Canberra: ANU Press, 1970), p. 3.

[30] Tokyo: The Meicho Fukyūkai (名著普及会), 1977／Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1992.— *ISBN 81-208-0976-9*.

[31] Cf. e.g. *Indo-Iranian Reprints*, ed. J. W. de Jong and F. B. J. Kuiper ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960-): I (1957) (= *BB*, I: *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, ed, C. Bendall); II (1957) (= *BB*, II: *Rāṣṭrapariprcchā*, ed. L. Finot); III (1958) (= *BB*, III: *Avadānaśataka*, 2 vols., ed. J. S. Speyer); IV (1958) (= *BB*, XXVI: Th. Stcherbatsky, *Buddhist Logic*, 2 vols.); V (1960) (= BB, XXIX: *Rgs* = *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*, ed. E. E. Obermiller; — *cf. also supra n. 25 et 27!*).

[32] 再版元: 東京・山喜房佛書林, 1953: = *BB*, X: *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, ed. H. Kern & B. Nanjio, published in 5 fascicles: I (1908), II-III (1909), IV (1910), V (1912).

2.1.1b. ヴォストリコフが，他の多くの同年代の同僚たちのように，学問のみならず，生命までも奪われたのは，余りにも悲しい.[33] 例えば，インド・チベット仏教の文献学・思想史に携わる学徒の多くが，必ずやオーベルミッレル (Evgenij Evgen'evič Obermiller: 1901-1935) から学問的な恩恵を蒙っていると思う．将来に向けて内外から寄せられていた多大な期待に，応えられずに逝った彼の無念さを想うと察するに余りあり，学界にとっては計り知れない損失であり悲しい.[34] いずれにしても，若くして夭折したオーベルミッレルが遺した秀逸の著作の多いのに驚くばかりである．仏教学の専門図書館で，蔵書目録を捲ってみれば，一目瞭然であろう．彼が戦前に著した単行書の恐らくすべてが，外国で再刷公刊されていることにも気付こう．今に参照を怠れない労作ばかりである．戦後も暫くして，矢張り彼の日の目を見なかった遺業が，公刊されたのは極めて貴重であった．『修習次第・第三篇』の唯一の写本の覆刻出版は，とくに中観思想の文献学的な研究者にとって恵みの賜物であったろう.[35] 本書刊行直後の訪露中に入手したドゥ・ヨング (Jan Willem de Jong: 1921-2000) から，批判校訂本を作るべく勧奨されて，筆者は専家でもないのに始めた仕事ではあるが，やっと悪戦苦闘の末，少し目途がついてきた頃，実は第二の写本がローマはジュゼッペ・トゥッチ (Giuseppe Tucci: 1894-1984) の許に蔵されていて，両本を比較校訂して原典を再構し，近々に刊行する予定であるとの報せがあったから，大先学の前に若輩の公刊は控えよとの忠告を受けて断念して，今に放置したままである．この写本の存在は，実は夙にオーベルミッレルが報告しているので,[36] その後に第二本の出現があれば関連の学徒が興奮したであろうが，壁の向こう側に眠る写本の出現をひたすら指を銜えているしか仕方がなかったのだ．後で考えると，筆者は専門外の仕事で，苦しかったが良い経験であり，かかる論著の経典などからの引用に関心を持つようにもなった．これは文献学的に，経典引用の論著と引用経典の両者の比較研究に貴重な資料を提供するもので，とくに大乗思想史の専家にとっても不可欠の資料となるに相違ない．この重要な典籍『修習次第・第三篇』に関しては，今こそ再び専家の慎重な校訂出版を促したい．第二の写本の存在は，まさしく寝耳に水のような衝撃であったが，公刊本をどう読んでも判らないままで，二本の存在の確たる証拠を掴むことはできなかった.[37] この儘では，文献学的な批判に応えて用いることはできない．いずれにしても，オーベルミッレルの著作集が出ているかどうか，寡聞にして知らないが，もしないならば是非ともロシアの専家に，編集・刊行してくれるよう祈ってやまない．

2.1.1c. ほかにも不幸な目にあった二三の学者の名を忘れることはできない．我々にも親しみのある名前だけ思いつくままに挙げれば，先ずトゥビヤンスキー (Mixael Izrailevič Tubjanskij (1893-1937) がいる.[38] 筆者自身にとっては，一例を挙げると，彼が蒙古で入手したといういわゆる北京町版『宝徳蔵般若』が，実は既に少なくとも 1843 年以前の写本類目録に見えるので，ロシアの帝都には同版が確実に存在したと思われるが，オーベルミッレルがその校訂本の唯一の底本として，トゥビヤンスキー将来本を用いる契機を作ってくれたという意味で，学史の上からみても大変な功労者であると信じ

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33 Cf. Miliband, *op.cit.*, I: *A - L* (1995), p. 257ab. — 他所の通例(1904 年生)と異なり，ここで 1902 生まれとするのが，近い関係者の資料から見て正しそうだ.

34 Cf. Regamey, *op.cit.* (1950), p. 18: §2.53 *et passim*; also Miliband, *op.cit.*, II: *M – Ja* (1995), p. 163a-164a.

35 *Kamalašila: Bxavanakrama (Traktat o sozercanii)*. Faksimiles predisloviem E. E. Obermillera (= *Akademija Nauka SSSR, Institut Narodov Azii: Pamjatniki Literatury Narodov Vostoka, Teksty, Malaja Serja*, XVI) (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Vostočnoj Literatury, 1963), 67 p.: — "E. E. Obermiller (1901-1935)", p. 7-11; "Sanskritskaja rukopisi' iz tibeta — Bxavanakrama (Bhāvanākrama) Kamalašily (Kamalaśīla)", p. 12-22; "Tekst", p. 23-67. — Not recorded in *Bibliografija Indii*!

36 E. E. Obermiller, "A Sanskrit Ms. From Tibet— Kamalaśīla's Bhāvanākrama", *Journal of the Grater India Society*, II, 1 (Calcutta, Jan. 1935; reprinted by Aditya Prakashan, New Delhi, 1987), p. 1-11. — Recorded in *Bibiografija Indii*, 3rd ed.(1976), No. 10556.

37 For further details about the textual problems see A. Yuyama, "Review *ad* Giuseppe Tucci, *Minor Buddhist Texts*, III: *Third Bhāvanākrama* (Roma 1971)", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XVII, 3-4 (1975), p. 265-270.

38 Cf. Miliband, *op.cit.*, II: *M – Ja* (1995), p.507a.

ている.[39]

—— そして, 1912-1916 年の日本留学からロシア革命直前に帰国して, その滞日中に彼なりに堅固な基礎的研究で築きあげた成果を十分に盛って, さらに研究を伸展させようと, 将来を嘱望されて前途洋々たる文字通りに少壮有為の学者であったが, その後の混乱の中で夭折した俊秀ローゼンベルグ (Otto Ottonovič Rozenberg: 1888-1919) を, 筆者の守備範囲を遙かに越えているが, せめて名を挙げねばなるまい.[40] 先駆的な仕事をなしたとて高い評価を受けながら,[41] 早くから彼の著作が絶版となり, 長らく不明な点が多かったが, 更に近年になって研究資料も出てきた.[42] とくに当時の日本へ留学したというのは, 際だって珍しいことに見えたであろう. しかし, 南條文雄 (1849-1927)・笠原研壽 (1852-1883)・高楠順次郎 (186619-45)・荻原雲來 (1869-1937)・渡邊海旭 (1872-1933) など西欧に留学して多くの優れた実績を挙げ, 南條のように早くに『仏教文庫』に貴重な法華経梵本の実質的な編者として登場し, 荻原のように実際に『仏教文庫』創設編集者たちとも親交があり, 特に荻原が一著者としてローゼンベルグの強い関心を惹く分野の典籍を扱い, 本邦に連綿として息づく仏教学の修得を師からも勧奨され, また自らも希望したとしても決しておかしくない. 滞日中の生活・学問の両面で, 例によって渡邊が大きく力を貸したことは想像に難くない. 最近の西村實則の研究調査報告は, 極めて興味深い.[43] 将来は, 更に詳細を知るに足る資料の研究を公刊してくれるものと鶴首して待っている. このようにローゼンベルグの業績も相応に評価されるようになって, 幸いに彼の生誕百年を追悼称揚するようにもなる.[44] 祖国で仏教学に関する旧著の再刷も出た. 彼は確か帝政ロシア領ラトヴィアの出身で, シチェルバトスコイ門下の俊秀で, ボン・ベルリン・カルカッタなどにも目標をもって留学し, その後日本には四年の歳月を送った. 三十歳を過ぎるとすぐに, 若くして母校ペテログラード／レーニングラード大学の教授に就任したが, 悲しいかな病を得て急逝してしまった. 将来のロシア仏教学を背負って立つ学者となったろう. 良い研究書は現れたが,[45] その少し前に著者の一人がものした論文を目にした時は, 内容とともに思いも掛けない機関誌への寄稿だったから, 少なからず驚いた.[46] 残念ながら, 寡聞にして, 続刊を知らないでいる. — 筆者も非常に関心はあったが, 専

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[39] Because the same edition appeared in a few catalogues published in no later than 1843. Cf. for further details *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (Sanskrit Recension A)*, edited with an Introduction, Bibliographical Notes and a Tibetan Version from Tunhuang by A. Yuyama (Cambridge / London-New York-Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. xxvii *et sequentia*: esp. §2.1 *cum N.B.* 1.

[40] 彼の生没年のためか, 残念にも例の『東洋学者辞典』 (Miliband, *op.cit.*, II: *M – Ja* , 1995) に載っていない. また, 彼の著作は, 筆者の知る限り, 『インド学文献類目』 (*Bibliografija Indii*, Moskva 1959, 1965, 1976) の三版すべてに見られない. ローゼンベルグの仕事が, それとも東アジアに分類されたのであろうか?

[41] Cf. e.g. Regamey, *op.cit.* (1950), p. 9: §1.91 & p. 16: §2.22.

[42] Cf. Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (II)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 277f.: §7, esp. p. 277.

[43] 西村實則, "荻原、渡辺とローゼンベルク (正)",佛教論叢, XLVIII (2004.III.25), p. 180-188.
—, "— (続)",佐藤成順博士古稀記念論文集・東洋の歴史と文化 (東京・山喜房仏書林, 2003), p. 247-260.

[44] Cf. e.g. Julija Dmitrievna Mixailova (*1948), "K stoletiju so dija roždenija O. O. Rozenberga (1888-1919)", *Japonija*,1987 (Moskva 1989), p. 255-264. — *残念ながら筆者は本稿を入手できなかった.*
—, "Vydajuscijsja buddolog O. O. Rozenberg: (1888-1919)", *Problemy dal'nego vostoka* [Institut Dal'nego Vostoka, Akademja nauk SSSR], 1987, No. 3, p. 87-96.

[45] Cf. *Otto Ottonovich Rosenberg and His Contribution to Buddhology 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, 1998), xiii, 81 p.:
Tatyana V. Yermkova,"Otto O. Rozenberg in the Context of the Development of Russian Buddhology (Translated from the Russian by Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz and John S. Barlow)", p. 1-12;
—, "The First Buddhist Exposition in Petersburg (1919) (Translated by — & —)", p. 13-20;
Otto O. Rosenberg, "The World-View of Contemporary Buddhism in the Far East (Trsl. — & —)", p. 21-48;
John S. Barlow, "Otto O. Rosenberg (1888-1919): Brilliant Young Russian Buddhologist", p. 49-64;
Karénina Kollmar-Paulenz, "An Annotated Bibliographical Account of O. O. Rosenberg's Writings", p. 65-67.

[46] John S. Barlow, "The Mysterious Case of the Brilliant Young Russian Orientalist (I)", *Bulletin of the International Association of Orientalist Librarians*, No. 41/42 (1995/1996), p. 24-36.

門を異にするために，入手が比較的に容易であった一書のほかは，殆ど目にすることもなかった.[47] 本書は，元々，ロシア語で違う表題で刊行されたものを，フィンランド出身の夫人 (Elfrida Rosenberg-Wegener: 1888-1953) が独訳した．原題や内容などについては，マックス・ヴァレーザーが序言で簡略に触れている．ところで，夫人の母国フィンランドは，当時ロシアの大公国であったが，長らく瑞露両国の狭間にあって苦汁を喫してきた．彼女は，その国民的英雄のマンネルハイム (Carl Gustav Emil von Mannerheim: 1867-1951) の活躍と丁度重なって，民族主義昂揚の時期にあったことにも注目したい.[48] — 近年になって，かつて筆者も強く念願したように，再び日露の学問上の人的交流も盛んになってきた感があり嬉しい.[49]

—— ヴォストリコフに関連して，協同で仕事をしたことのあるポッペについては上にも述べたが，彼も祖国を離れて研究教授を続けた一人である．中国に生まれたポッペの波瀾万丈，いや波瀾百万丈，というべき生涯が，彼の許に 1959-1961 年に留学して，常に斬新的な研究を公刊する岡田英弘 (*1931) が火付け役となって，微に入り細にわたって自敍されて遺っている． 貴重な学史の一資料である.[50] 更に、岡田は，流石に要を得た抄訳を提供してくれている.[51] かねてから筆者の関心を惹く仏典翻訳史，細かくいえば仏典の翻訳経路の観点から注目すべき蒙古語訳に関して,[52] ポッペの『金剛般若経』三本の徹底的な研究は専家には有難くも無視できない著作である.[53] 当時シアトルに在ったポッペは，恐らく人を得た地を利して，この種の困難な研究に打ち込んだのであろう．彼は蒙古語訳の底本になったというチベット本も存在しない，特異な要素を含む原典を先ず取り上げた.[54] なお，ポッペはハーヴィッツ (Leon (Nahum) Hurvitz: 1923-1985) と共に，東洋文庫に蔵される満蒙典籍の五年に亘る調

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47 Otto Rosenberg, *Die Probleme der buddhistischen Philosophie*. Aus dem Rissischen übersetzt von Frau E. Rosenberg [Mit einer 'Vorbemerkung' von M. Walleser, p. III-IV] (= *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus*, ed. Max Walleser, Heft VII/VIII) (Heidelberg: In Kommission bei O. Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1924), XVI, 146 p., 147-287 p. — [Reprint (= *Chinese Materials Center Reprint Series*, LII) (Taipei-San Francisco 1978 & 1983)]. — *Orig. Russ. ed. (1918).*

和訳がある由だが筆者未見・佐々木現順, 佛教哲学の諸問題 (東京・清水弘文堂, 1976), 2, 311, 7 p.

48 Cf. e.g. Yuyama, "Random Remarks on and around the Mannerheim Fragment of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*", *ARIRIAB*, IV: 2000 (2001), p. 53-69.

49 Cf. Yuyama, "Foreword", *ad* Bongard-Levin & Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Indian Texts from Central Asia (Leningrad Manuscript Collection)* (Tokyo 1986)[*see infra n. 74*], p. v.

50 Nicholas Poppe, *Reminiscences*, ed. Henry G. Schwarz (*1928) (= *Studies on East Asia*, XVI) (Bellingham: Center for East Asian Studies, Western Washington University, 1983), xiii, 331 p., ills. — *ISBN 0-91458416-2.* --- *Unseen*!

和訳・下内充(*1952)・板橋義三 (*1953)共訳／村山七郎 (*1908)監修, ニコラス・ポッペ回想録 (東京・三一書房, 1990.11), 394 p., 1 frontisp. (photo), incl. num. ills., figs.

Cf. *Gedanke und Wirkung: Festschrift zum 90. Geburtstag von Nikolaus Poppe*, ed. Walther Heissig (*1913) & Klaus Sagaster (*1933) (= *Asiatische Forschungen*, CVIII) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), xvi (incl. a bibliography, p. xi-xvi), 372 p., 1 frontisp. (portrait), map, ills.

51 参看・岡田英弘訳, "ニコラス・ポッペ自敍傳抄／海外東方學界消息 (六十八)", 東方學, LXIX (1985), p. 140-157. — ついでながら，この直後に，ハイシッヒ (Walther Heissig: *1913) に関する略歴も，その古稀記念論集 (Wiesbaden 1984) から訳出している: 作・ミハエル・ヴァイアース／譯・岡田英弘, "ヴァルター・ハイシヒ", p. 158-162.

52 Cf. A. Yuyama, "On and Around a Hitherto Unknown Indic Version of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* in a Blockprint from Turfan", *ARIRIAB*, X: 2006 (2007) (in press); — further for Mongolian version of the *Vajracchedikā* see e.g. A. Yuyama, *Indic Manuscripts and Chinese Blockprints (Non-Chinese Texts) of the Oriental Collection of the Australian National University Library, Canberra* (= *Centre of Oriental Studies Occasional Paper*, VI) (Canberra: A. N. U., 1967), p. 61-83, 105f., 112-114, esp. p. 74-78.

53 Nicholas Poppe, *The Diamond Sutra: Three Mongolian Versions of the Vajracchedikā Prajñāpārmitā. Texts, Translations, Notes, and Glossaries* (= *Asiatische Forschungen*, XXXV) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1971), VII, 230 p., 3-page plates. ['Mongolian-Tibetan-Sanskrit ' and 'Sanskrit-Mongolian' glossaries, p. 218-230]. — *ISBN 3-447-00594-7.* — cf. Alpatov, *op.cit.* (1996), p. 104.

54 Nicholas Poppe, *The Twelve Deeds of Buddha: A Mongolian Version of the Lalitavistara. Mongolian Text, Notes, and English Translation* (= *Asiatische Forschungen*, XXIII) (Wiesbaden 1967), 173 p., 65-page facsimiles of the text.

査結果を公刊し,[55] 我々仏教学徒も恩恵に浴している.[56] マッカーシズムの吹き荒れた後に, コンゼ (Eberhard / Edward Dietrich Conze: 1904-1979) は, 苦汁を舐めながら仏教学の中心であるマディソン・シアトル・バークレイなどで短期に教鞭を執っていたことがある. その時系列などについては必ずしも判然としないが, 最晩年に自費出版された自伝二巻から種々の情況は知ることができる.[57] 彼と碩学ラモット (Étienne Lamotte: 1903-1983) の因縁譚などを, 筆者も彼から直接に聞いたことがあるが, 本書には学史の上からほかにも興味深い話題が豊富である.

—— こうしてシアトルは, 今にインド学・チベット学・仏教学の一中心を保っている. ポッペがシアトルのワシントン大学にあった時は, レーリッヒの『青史』英訳への地名索引を作ったりして, チベットの地誌文献の研究で大きな貢献をなしたワイリー (Turrell Verl Wylie: 1927-1984) もいて, ブルーミントンのインディアナ大学と並んで, 蔵蒙などの中央アジア研究の中心であって, 内外からの優れた学生を魅了していた. 本誌今号に, 古稀を祝って拙論を献呈した旧友ジーン・スミス (Ellis Gene Smith: *1936) も, 上に述べた岡田も, 先ずもって蒙古語を習得すべくポッペを慕って, シアトルで同じ頃に研鑽した俊才たちである. ワイリーの名は, チベット学に入門した学徒ならば, チベット語のローマ字転写の方式を提言して, 今もワイリー式ローマ字化 (Wylie System = a system devised by Wylie for Romanizing Tibetan) で名を遺す学者として, あたかも漢語についてのウェイド・ジャイルズ方式 (Wade-Giles System of Romanizing Chinese) のように,[58] 先ず思い起こすかもしれない.[59] 確かにタイプライターが普及した時代に, いわゆる区別的発音符号 (diacritical marks) を用いずに転写できる利点を持つ. しかし, 言語学的な見地から欠点を見る学者もいて, しかもインド学を修めてチベット資料を用いる学徒にとっては, とうに確立したサンスクリットのアルファベット音写符号が定着しているので抵抗を示すことになる. 周知のように, 古典インド語の音写方式に関しては, 1894年にジュネーヴで開催された第十回国際東洋学者会議で, セナール (Émile Charles Marie Senart: 1847-1928) の報告に, 当時の西欧の碩学が連名で賛同して基礎は固まった.[60] その後, 国や個人に若干の微調整はあったとしても, 今日までに軌範は出来上がっていたので, インド(仏教)学徒には必ずしも評判は良くなかった. いずれにしても, チベット学の専家たちが, それぞれに一家言をもって, 思い思いの方式を用いて不便だった. かつて筆者も調べてみて, その多様さに驚き果てたことがある. この切実な問題は, 日本も例外ではなかった.[61] そこで 1962 年 6 月にイタリアのベラージオ (Bellagio) に, 世界の指導的な専家が集まった機会に統一方式を決めたが, 結局は従うものはなかったに等しい. ワイリー方式の改訂を試みる動きも, チベット学の盛んな研究教授機関に見られるが, 普遍的に採用される望みはない. これは, 先のウェイド・ジャイルズ方式と 1958 年の中国政府発布の漢語拼音方案, いわゆるピンイン (拼音／Pinyin), あるいは旧漢字と簡体字のような両者対立の比では

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[55] Nicholas Poppe, Leon Hurvitz & Hidehiro Okada, *Catalogue of the Manchu-Mongol Section of the Toyo Bunko* (Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko／Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1964), (iv), 387 p.

[56] Cf. e.g. Walther Heissig, "Der Mongolist N. N. Poppe", *The Canada-Mongolia Review: A Journal of Mongolian Studies*, III, 2 (Saskatoon, October 1977), p. 81f. — cf. also *supra* Alpatov, *op.cit.* (see §2.1.1 *cum* n. 22).

[57] Cf. e.g. Edward Conze, *The Memoirs of a Modern Gnostic*. 2 parts (Sherborne: The Samizdat Publishing Company / Privately printed by Frederick Law & Co. Ltd., Manchester, 1979), Part I: *Life and Letters*, p. 108 *et passim*; Part II: *Politics, People and Places*, p. 114 *et seq*.

[58] Thomas Wade (1818-1895) / Herbert A. Giles (1845-1935).

[59] Turrell V. Wylie, "A Standard System of Tibetan Transcription", *HJAS = Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, XXII (1959), p. 261-267.

[60] Émile Senart, "Rapport de la Sous-commission pour la transcription des alphabets sanscrit et pracrits", *X^me Congrès International des Orientalistes, Session de Genève (1894): Rapport de la Commission de Transcription* (Imprimé par E. J. Brill à Leide, sans date), p. 9-13. — Met with the approval of Georg Bühler (1837-1898), James Burgess (1832-1916), Ernst Windisch (1844-1918) and others with their signatures dated 10 September 1894.

[61] 北村甫 (1923-2003)・西田龍雄 (*1928), "チベット文字轉寫とチベット語表記", 日本西藏學會々報,VII (1960年 10 月), p. 1-4.

ない．ついでながら，米国議会図書館 (LC = United States Library of Congress) も，数年前にピンイン方式に踏み切ったはずである．今は昔，もう四十年近く前のことと思うが，ジーン・スミスが米国議会図書館のために提案した表記法があり，筆者も同図書館に宛てて賛意を表して書簡を認めた記憶がある．その後，これはアメリカ図書館協会 (ALA = American Library Association) も正式に採用したので，他もこれに倣って用いている図書館が多い．しかし皮肉かも知れないが，ジーン・スミスの小論集は，次世代の編者によって，本質的な問題ではないが，いわばワイリー方式に統一されている．[62] さて，種々に特殊な言語資料を扱う専門図書館は，梵蔵漢を含めて五十以上の東西の言語の ALA-LC 方式によるローマ字表記表を参照している筈である．[63] この大部な表記法は，言語使用国などの諸種の事情を勘案して時宜を得た改訂を行っている．

—— 仏教文献学の立場からも決して目を離せないので，西夏語仏典の研究に確かな先鞭をつけたネフスキー (Nikolaj Aleksandrovič Nevskij: 1892-1937) も付け加えたい．[64] 筆者が学んだ大阪外語に深い縁があるので，若い頃から関心を抱いていた．ただ筆者の我田引水になってはいけない．まさに彼の遺した大きな業績には，コータン語の仏教文献の研究もあり，アイヌ民族・沖縄を含めて日本列島を縦断し，さらには台湾の民俗にいたるという壮大なものであったのだ．更には，波瀾万丈の悲劇的な生涯を送って，時には新聞にも記事が載ることがあり，一般の日本人にも親しく知られていると思う．没年が 1937 年と聞いただけで，悲劇は理解できよう．1915-1929 年の長い日本での研究・教授生活を切り上げて帰国し，やっとのことで 1933 年に妻子を伴った生活が故国で始まったのに，不条理な逮捕・処刑が夫妻を抹殺した．スターリン (Iosif Vissarionovič Stalin: 1879-1953) の没後，数年して名誉は回復するが，虚偽の没年の訂正，つまり二人の死の真相が判明するのは，今から僅か十数年前のこととといわれる．ネフスキーの評価は，名誉回復後は次第に高くなると同時に，従って関連の資料も充実してきている．[65] 没年などに錯綜した記述もあるが，貴重な学史的な意味をもつ資料も出てきている．[66] 驚くべき調査・研究の末になって，第三回の大佛次郎賞に輝く名著を先ず挙げたい．[67] 何と言っても，多量多数の原資料を発掘・精査して，外国文は和訳し，多数の写真も収集・採録し，付録にネフスキーの略年譜・家系図・著作目録・日露の研究文献目録を網羅して，今後の新しいネフスキー研究の指針を与えてくれる書を挙げねばならない．ネフスキーの種々の才能も浮き彫りにされている．これは単にネフスキー研究書というよりは，もっと広い文化交流の資料集でもある．[68] 日本から当時ロシア学士院の重責にあったオルデンブルグ (Sergej Fjodorovič Ol'denburg') に宛てた，1927 年 12 月 28 日付書簡も一点採録されていて，折角帰国を希望しているのにソヴィエト連邦のパスポートを入手できないで，大阪外語との契約をあと一年延長することになってしまったことや，台湾の曹語研究の進展や西夏語資料の研究ノートなどを書き送っている．[69] どう考えても，惜しい人材を若くして失ってしまったものだ．政治の権力による学問の抹殺は怖しい．学界の権威ある地位にある方にも，未来の

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62 Cf. Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (IV)", *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), p. 296: §3.7.

63 *ALA-LC Romanization Tables: Transliteration Schemes for Non-Roman Scripts*, approved by the Library of Congress and the American Library Association.

64 Cf. Miliband, *op.cit.*, II: *M-Ja* (1995), p. 135a-136b.

65 Cf. e.g. among many others L(idija) L('vovna) Gromkovskaja (1933-1994) i E(vgenij) I(vanovič) Kyčanov, *Nikolaj Aleksandrovič Nevskij* (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka": Glavnaja redakcija Vostočnoj Literatury, 1978), 216 p., 1 frontisp. (photo of Nevsky).

66 例えば，米村正一，"ニコライ・ネフスキー夫妻の手紙"，図書 (岩波書店), 1967.12, p. 18-22.

67 加藤九祚(*1922), 天の蛇 — ニコライ・ネフスキーの生涯 — (東京・河出書房新社, 1976), 365 p., incl. num.ills. & figs., 4-page frontisp.-plates. — 参看・加藤九祚，"『ネフスキーの生涯』をめぐって／On N. Nevskii's Life — Some New Facts"，アイハヌム・加藤九祚一人雑誌／*Ay Khanum*, 2001, Article V, p. 93-121 (一部『創価大学人文論叢』X, 1998 に初出).

68 生田美智子編・資料が語るネフスキー (冥面・大阪外国語大学, 2003), v, 265 p.

69 生田・前掲書, p. 192-196 (今井倫子訳・生田美智子注).

学問の芽を摘んだり，莖を折ったり，根を抜いたりしないように願いたいものだ．

—— 上の四人の年代よりも大分後になるが，若くして優れた業績を遺して夭折した俊才・ヴォロブイェーフ・デスヤトフスキー (Vladimir Svjatoslavovič Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij: 1927-1956) は,[70] 第二次世界大戦直後の丁度苦しい時代に，彼に続く俊才たち，テョムキン (Eduard Naumovič Tjomkin: *1928),[71] マルガリータ・ヴォロヴァエーヴァ・デスヤトフスカヤ (Margarita Iosifovna Vorob'eva-Desjatovskja: *1933)[72] やボンガルド・レーヴィン(Grigorij Maksimovič Bongard-Levin: *1933)[73] 等とともに，中でも貴重な文献資料の研究で，これから大きな貢献が期待されていたので，彼が逝去してしまったのは惜しみても余りある.[74] 仏教文献学徒にとっては，その分野で戦後のロシアで最も重要な役割を果たした学者であると思う．

2.1.1d. ヴォストリコフと丁度同年輩のレーリッヒ (Jurij Nikolaevič Rerix / George(s) (N.) Roerich: 1902-1960) が,[75] 既に上でも述べたように，ロシア東洋学の一つの金字塔・『佛教文庫』の実質的な復活を成し遂げたことを思うと，両学者の宿命的な因縁には感慨無量のものがある．残念ながら，この復活『佛教文庫』二冊を編集して他界してしまった．この復刊の大役を果たしたレーリッヒもまた，周知のように，初めは方言の研究・実用的な辞典の編纂にも関心を示した.[76] 辞典に関しては，恐らく誰しもが望んだであろうと思うが，最終的には学術的なものを考えていたのではないかと察する.[77] これは十年の歳月をかけて，彼の遺した資料をもとに苦労して編んだ辞典であろうが，正直にいって，これとは別にもう少し学術的な研究に堪えるものを期待したかった．まだまだ基本的な単純資料を土台にして，漸く急速に進展してきたチベット関係資料から肉付けをする時間的な余裕を持っていたはずだったろう．

— 彼はまた，地理・叙事詩・絵画[78]や伝記の研究などでも大きな業績を残して，内外の学徒に大い

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70 Cf. Miliband, *op.cit.*, I: *A– L* (1995), p. 252b-253a.

71 Cf. Miliband, *op.cit.*, II: *M-Ja* (1995), p. 478a-b.

72 Cf. Miliband, *op. cit.*, I: *A– L* (1995), p. 252a-b.

73 Cf. Miliband, *op. cit.*, I: *A– L* (1995), p. 178b-179b.

74 Cf. *Problemy istorii jazykovi kultury narodov indii. Sbornik statej. Pamjati V. S. Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij* (Moskva: Izdtel'stvo "Nauka", 1974), 268 p., 1 frontisp. (V.-D.'s b/w photo): — "V. S. Vorob'ev-Desjatovskij (3.X.1927-2.VII.1956)", p. 3-7; "Bibliografija Trudov V. S. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskogo", p. 8-11; G. M. Bongard-Levin i E. N. Tjomkin, "Raboty V. S. Vorob'eva-Desjatovskogo i issledovanie buddijskix tekstov iz kollkcii N. F. Petrovskogo", p. 12-19.

Cf. also Grigorij Maksimovič Bongard-Levin(*1933) and Margarita Iosifovna Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya (*1933), *Indian Texts from Central Asia (Leningrad Manuscript Collection)*. With a foreword by A. Yuyama (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Minor*, V) (Tokyo: IIBS, 1986), (v), 55 p. (incl. III Tables on 32 p.),— see esp. p. 8 *et passim*. —— *ISBN 4-906267-19-X.*

Further Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, "The Central Asian Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences", translated from the Russian by Jan Nattier, *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), p. 61-78; — collections of N. F. Petrovsky, N. N. Krotkov, M. M. Berezovsky, S. F. Oldenburg, I.P. Larov, A. I. Kokhanovsky, D. A. Klements, A. A. Dyakov, S. E. Malov; — N.B. The original Russian version was published "in a slightly different form ..."in *BB*, XL (2004), p. 75-88; cf. *infra* §2.2.0.

75 Cf. Miliband, *op.cit.*, II: *M- Ja* (1995), p. 315b-316b, *end*.

76 Cf. e.g. Georges de Roerich, *Le parler de l'Amdo: Étude d'un dialecte archaïque du Tibet* (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, XVIII) (Roma: IsMEO, 1959), 159 p., 1 carte.

77 Ju. N. Rerix, *Tibetsko-Russko-Anglijskij Slovar' s Sanskritskimi Paralleljami*. Pod obščej redakciej Ju. (Jurij Mixajlovič) Parfionoviča (1921-1990) i V. (Vilena Sandxeevna) Dylykovoj. 11 Fasc. (Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut Vostokovedenija) (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo ' «Nauka», Glavnaja Redakcija Vostočnoj Literatury, 1983-1993), A5: ca. 3720 p. — cf. Fasc. XI: *Index to Sanskrit words* (1993), 174 p.

— For Parfionovič (1921-1990) see Miliband, *op.cit.*,II: *M-Ja* (1995), p. 209a, and for Dylykova (*1938) see op.cit., I: *A-L* (1995), p. 409b-410a.

78 Cf. e.g. George Roerich, *Tibetan Paintings* (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1925) [Reprinted by Gian Publishing House, Delhi, 1985], 95 p., XVIII pl.

に裨益した.[79] ヴォストリコフからの流れでいえば，学徒必携のいわゆる『青史』の英訳を挙げるべきであろう.[80] 同輩たちよりも長く仕事ができたわけだが，彼にしてみれば，まだまだやり残した仕事があったに相違ない．その没後間もなくして十二篇を載せる大部の論文集が出ているが，これには重要な長編の単行書も再録されていて便利である.[81] また，残念ながら，筆者は入手できずに未見であるが，レーリッヒに関心のある向きのために，彼の書簡集が近年大冊二巻となって出ているので記録しておこう.[82] なお，恐らくは，チベット学の専家にしてみると，彼の両親・弟のそれぞれが世界狭しとばかりに非常な活躍をしたのだから，彼らの生涯も極めて興味深いものに相違ない．それを研究対象に，ポーランドの言語学者が広範な調査資料をもとに，最初の成果を一挙に凝縮して紹介してくれる，まことに有り難い論文がある.[83]

— ところで，彼の父親ニコライ (Nikolaj Konstantinovič Rerix / Nicholas Roerich: 1874-1947) は，芸術的な才能のみならず，種々の面で非凡な天賦の才を発揮し，時に夫人エレーナ (Elena Ivanovna Rerix, *née* Šapošnikova / Helena Roerich: 1879-1955) と共に正しく非常な活躍をしたことで，一般には世界的に広く知られているに相違ない．ニコライは，後に妻エレーナを"ラーダー (राधा)" と呼んでいたという．彼らのアジア，就中インド文化圏への傾倒振りは，並大抵ではなかったのだろう．エレーナは，設計した建物が今も遺る有名な建築家シャポニシュニコフ (Ivan Ivanovič Šapošnikov) の息女で，音楽家ムソルグスキー (Modest Petrovič Musorgskij: 1839-1881) は母方の叔父にあたり，いわゆる神智協会のブラヴァツキー (Helena Petrovna Blavatsky: 1831-1891) の著作のロシア語訳を刊行したり，佛教に関する労作もあり，彼女の著作集がいまだにロシアで公刊されている．一家は，1920 年にアメリカへ渡ると，ニコライの絵画展も成功し，揃って洋の東西を駆け巡り，内陸アジアを巡るなど，並はずれた活動をする．そしてレーリッヒ親子四人の著作も枚挙に暇がなく，文字通り際限があるまいし，同じ書物が出版元を異にして出たり，あるいは他国語に翻訳されたり，今日まで息長く増刷を繰り返すものも多く，筆者の目の届く範囲も極めて限られていよう．関連の書物・論稿ともなれば言わずも

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[79] Roerich studied a record of a Tibetan who visited India in 1234 CE at the age of 37 to stay for the next two years: *Biography of Dharmasvāmin (Chag lo tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal): A Tibetan Monk Pilgrim*. Original Tibetan Text, deciphered and translated by George Roerich. With a historical and critical Introduction by A. S. Altekar (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959), XLV, 119 p. — Reprinted in his in is *Izbrannye trudy* (1967) [次次注参照], p. 453-572. — cf. J. W. de Jong's review, *IIJ*, VI, 2 (1962), p. 167-173.

Cf. further *The Biography of Chag lo-tsā-ba Chos rje dpal (Dharmasvāmin) by Śākya'I dge bsñen chos dpal dar spyaṅ*. Critically edited by Champa Thupten Zongtse [= Byams-pa Thub-bstan Rdzoṅ-rtse: *1933] with a foreword by Gustav Roth (*1916) (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCLXVI) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1981), 24 p., 225 cols. (= 113 p.), 4 p. {= *Publications of the Seminar for Indian and Buddhist Studies of the University of Goettingen*, II}.

In this connection I would cite two more important publications by Champa Thupten Zongtse:

— , *History of the Monastic University dga'-ldan-pbun-tsbogs-gliṅ / Geschichte der Kloster-Universität dGa{-ldan-pbun-tsbogs-gliṅ (= Publications of the Seminar for Indian and Buddhist Studies of the University of Goettingen / Veröffentlichungen des Seminars für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde*, I) (Göttingen: Im Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1977), xi, 369 p.

— , *History of the Sera Monastery of Tibet (1418-1959)*. With a foreword by Jens-Uwe Hartmann (= *Śatapiṭka Series*, CCCLXXXII) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1995), xxxvi, 658 p. — *ISBN 81-86471-00-6*.

[80] Cf. e.g. *Deb-ther sṅon-po* of 'Gos Lo-tsa-ba Gźon-nu dpal (1392-1481), translated by George N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*. 2 parts (Calcutta: Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1949-1953) [reprinted in 1 volume by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi-Patna-Varanasi, 1976 & 1979], xxi, 397 p., 399-1275 p. — *ISBN 81-208-0471-6*.

Reprinted "Introduction", p. i-xxi, in his in is *Izbrannye trudy* (1967)[次注参照] , p. 257-277; "Book I", *orig*. p. 1-62, *ibid*., p. 278-339; "Book X", *orig*. p. 753-425, *ibid*., p. 340-425; "Book XIII", *orig*. p. 980-1005, *ibid*., p. 426-451.

[81] *Ju. N. Rerix – Izbrannye trudy* (Akademija Nauk SSSR – Institut Narodov Azii) (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka", 1967), 573 p.

[82] *Jurij Nikolaevič Rerix – Pis'ma*, 2 vols. (Moskva: Mezd. Centr Rerixov, 2002), 352 p. + 400 p. (Photos, Name Index) — *ISBN 5-89888-104-8*.

[83] Małgorzata Gdok, "Yuri Nikolyevich Roerich 1902-1960: An Outline of his Life and his Work in Tibetan Studies", *Lingua Posnaniensis*, XXXVIII (Poznan 1996), p. 115-141 (incl.VII plates).

がなである.[84] 種々の研究機関や施設を組織して影響を与えてきた. 第二次大戦後の 1949 年には, ニコラス・レーリッヒ美術館 (Nicholas Roerich Museum) も組織化されて, 今も中に彼らの創設したアグニ・ヨーガ協会 (Agni Yoga Society / Maitreya-Samgha) も同居する. 祖国ロシアには, レーリッヒ家の博物館・研究所 (Muzej-Institut sem'i Rerixov v Sankt-Peterburge / The Roerich Family Museum and Institute in St. Petersburg) があるそうだ. 極めて多作のニコライの絵画であるが, 今も高い評価を受けて,[85] 例えばニューヨークのクリスティーズの競売に, 詳しい解説を施して懸けられることがあるようだ. 彼の魅惑的な絵画は, 筆者の如き素人にも独特の印象・感銘を与える. 戦後にモスクワから出た覆製画集は, 1897 年から 1944 年までの四十二点の秀作を, 年代順に一枚づつ絵を貼り付けて簡要な解説が施してあり, 愛好家には便利で有難いものだと思われるが, 余り出回らなかったのか, 引用していないレーリヒ研究書もあるようだ.[86]

— 次男のスヴヤトスラフ (Svjatoslav Nikolaevič Rerix / Svetoslav Roerich: 1904-1993) も, この家系にして多才ぶりを発揮し, インドとの文化交流などにも精力を尽し注いだことでも知られる. 因みに, 彼の夫人は, 詩人タゴール (Rabindranath Tagore: 1861-1941) の家系に属し, 有名なインドの映画女優デーヴィカー・ラーニー (*देविका राणी* : 1894-1994) であった. 筆者の手許の乏しい資料と知識では, 彼らの活動は全世界に余りにも大きな拡がりを見せ, 手短かに説明することなどは不可能であり, これ以上深入りしたら, 泥沼に誘い込まれてしまうので, ここで止めよう. ただ, またも誠に幸いなるかな, 加藤九祚 (*1922) の飽くなき探求心の賜物を我々は手にすることができる. 資料と足を使ってものした著書は, 読者の胸を打たずにはおかない. 付録には, ニコライ唯一の詩集の和訳もあり, 著者の滲むような努力の跡が, 肌に伝わってくる.[87] また, 未だに人々の関心は強いからか, 彼の夫人と共に晩年のモスクワでの活動が, すべて黒白ながら百数十枚の写真集となって刊行されていることに興味を覚える. いうなれば彼らの熟した時代であり, 丁度東西冷戦の終結までの時代でもある. 諸々の写真が, 如実に時代を語っているのであろう.[88]

— しかし, こうして見ただけでも, チベット学者レーリッヒの誕生の秘密を想う向きがあるかもしれない.[89] なお, つい最近になって, 彼の弟子たち, 特に学術的な編者 (Naučnyj Redaktor) としてマルガリータ・ヴォロヴァエーヴァ・デスヤトフスカヤ (Margarita Iosifovna Vorob'eva-Desjatovskja:

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[84] Nicholas Roerich, *Altai-Himalaya: A Travel Diary* (Delhi: Book Faith India, 1999) [reprint of ed. 1929], xxviii, 407 p., XX plates. — *ISBN 81-7303044-8.— {Unseen}*

Nikolai Viktorovič Dekroa –*Tibetskie stranstvija polkovnika Kordaševskogo (s ekskediciej N. K. Rerixa po Central'noj Azii)* (Sankt-Peterburg: Ajurveda Press, 1999), 344 p., ills. — *ISBN 5-94165-001-9.* — [Expedition to Tibet 1927-1928].

George N. Roerich, *Trails to Inmost Asia: Five Years of Exploration with the Roerich Central Asian Expedition*. With a Preface by Louis Marin (New Haven: Yale University Press – London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1931), xx, 504 p., LXXVIII pl., ills., a folded map.

Reprinted Chapter XVI "The Hor-Pas and Their Country", in his *Izbrannye trudy* (1967), p. 37-75; XVII "Nag-chu-pa", *ibid.*, p. 77-102; XVIII "The Region of the Great Lakes Nag-chu Dzong-saga Dzong", *ibid.*, p 103-149 respectively.

加藤九祚監修, 藤塚正道・鈴木美保子共訳, アジアの奥地へ, 二巻 (東京・連合出版, 1985), 上巻・西域を行く, 279, ii p., folded map; 下巻・チベットを行く, 276, vii p.

[85] Cf. e.g. Edgar Lansbury, "The Art of Nicholas Roerich", *Kailash*, II, 1-2 {= *Memorial Volume to N. Roerich 1874-1947*} (Kathmandu 1974), p. 5-12.

[86] An album published in Russia: *Nikolaj Rerix – Al'bom Reprodukcij* (Moskva: Izdanie Glavnogo Upravlenija Goznaka, 1972), B4: 8 p. (introduction with his photo), XLII paintings reproduced .

[87] 加藤九祚, ヒマラヤに魅せられたひと — ニコライ・レーリヒの生涯 (京都・人文書院, 1982), 263 p., incl. num. ills. & figs., 2-page col. frontisp. plates, 8-page b/w pl. after p. 30, a folded map.

[88] *Svyatoslav Rerix v Moskve: Fotoletopis' 1960-1989 / Svetoslav Roerich in Moscow: Photochronicle 1960-1989* (Samara: Izdatel'skij Dom «Agni», 2004), 132 p., incl. b/w photos. — *ISBN 5-94650-038-4.*

[89] On his works see e.g. J. W. de Jong, "George N. de Roerich[+], 1902-1960", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, V, 2 (1961), p. 146-152 ('Bibliographie', p. 149-152) = retypewritten in his collected works on *Tibetan Studies* (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XXV) (Swisttal-Odendorf 1994), p. 244-250 ('Addendum', p. 250).

*1933) などが，チベット学関係の論文を中心にした短篇論文集をロシア語で出している.[90] ここで，『佛教文庫』に関連して筆者の興味を惹くのは，有り難くも，彼もまた書誌・学界動向に関心を示してくれていた．ロシアのインド学を紹介した論稿では，この『佛教文庫』の著作類が重要と見て，かなりの紙数を割いていることを付け加えるに留めたい.[91] 彼が戦後逸早く『佛教文庫』の復活に意を注いだかが肯けよう.

2.2.0. 上記ヴォストリコフの著書が刊行されてから，既に二十年近くの年月が流れてしまっているが，次の既刊三点の公刊は，仏教文献学徒には，もっとも歓迎すべきものに疑いない．最初二巻はタイプ原稿をオフセット印刷したものであった．表題を含めて時代の流れを微妙に感じさせる:

Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz Central'noj Azii. Vypusk I: *Izdanie tekstov, issledovanie i kommentarij G. M. Bongard-Levina i M. I. Vorov'eboj-Desjatovskoj* (= *Pamjatniki pis'mennosti vostoka*, LXXIII, 1) (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXXIII) [Akademija Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie istorii / Ordena trudovogo krasnogo enameni - Institut Vostokovedenija] (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo «Nauka» / Glavnaja Redakcija Vostočnoj Literatury, 1985), 285 p. (incl. facs. on p. 177-285). — *No ISBN/ISSN.*

— , II: *Izdanie tekstov, issledovanie, perevod i kommentarij G. M. Bongard-Levina i M. I. Vorob'evoj-Desjatovskoj* (= *Pamjatniki pis'mennosti vostoka*, LXXIII, 2) (= *Serija Osnovana v 1965godu: Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXXIV) [Akademija Nauk SSSR, Otdelenie istorii / Ordena trudovogo krasnogo enameni - Institut Vostokovedenija] (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo «Nauka» / Glavnaja Redakcija Vostočnoj Literatury, 1990), 439 p. (incl. facs. on p. 315-439). — *ISBN 5-02-016987-0.*

Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz Central'noj Azii. Vypusk III: *Izdanie tekstov, issledovanie, perevod i kommentarij G. M. Bongard-Levina, M. I. Vorov'eboj-Desjatovskoj (i) E. N. Tjomkina* (= *Pamjatniki pis'mennosti vostoka*, LXXIII, 3) (= *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XL) (Moskva: Izdatel'skaja Firma « Vostočnoj Literatura» RAN, 2004) [Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk, Otdelenie Istoriko-Filologičeskix Nauk, Institut Vostokovedenija / ICANAS XXXVII Moscow 2004] (*Posvjaščaetsja akademiku Sergeju Fjodorovi"u Ol'denburgu — Vydajus"emusja issledovatelju Central'noj Azii*), 533 p. (including facsimiles on p. 365-533), 1 frontisp. (= Photo: S. F. Ol'denburg, 1863-1934). — *ISBN 5-02-018326-1.*

2.2.1. 1985 年に第一冊が出たときには，既にかなりの貴重な資料が研究され，国外の学術誌などにも英文で成果が公表されたりして 多くは知られるようになっていたが，大量の梵語佛典の出現は感激であり，一書に纏められたのも有り難い．先ずは，いわば当時のレーニングラードの東洋学研究所所蔵の概要が示されているのも有益であった．この資料や研究の概要は，その後の各巻にも継続された．また，本巻には，かねてから気懸かりであった大乗涅槃経の断片六点の公刊は待ちに待ったものである.[92] くわえて，筆者には，中央アジア出土の梵文法華経の，いわゆるペトロフスキー本の複数存在に確証を得てから二十年にして,[93] 漸く多数の断片類を写真覆刻で見れる喜びは，何ものにも代え難い贈物であった．各巻には研究調査の対象になった写本類はすべて写真覆刻されている．全巻にそれぞれ索引も付してある．苦しい時代にも地道な研究を続けて，文献学の方法を心得たテョムキン（前出・Eduard Naumovič Tjomkin: *1928) が，責任をもって編集した成果が見て取れる．今後本書の続刊は，僅少の例があるように，是非とも英文を主にするということも関係者に考慮を促したい.

2.2.1a. 本書第 1 巻の原典研究の内容を掻い摘んで列記しておこう．これらを踏まえて，今後は異本・異訳・蔵漢などとの比較校訂などの仕事が課せられている．『法身経』は，本書の優れた研究を更に

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[90] *Ju. Rerix – Tibet i Central'naja Azija: Stat'i – Lekcii – Perevody* (Samara: Izdatel'skij Dom «Agni», 1999), 361 p., 1 frontisp. (Roerich's photo).

[91] G. N. Roerich, "Indology in Russia", *Journal of the Greater India Society*, XII, 2 (1945), p. 68-98. — Published in Russian translation in: *op.cit.*, i.e. *Tibet i Central'naja Azija: Stat'i* (1999), p. 173-199.

[92] See for further details A. Yuyama, *Sanskrit Fragments of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*, I. *Koyasan Manuscript* (Tokyo: IIBS, 1981), vii, 46 p. [— *ISBN 4-906267-11-4.*], — see esp. p. 2f.: §3 (cum n. 4-6).

Cf. G. M. Bongard-Levin, *New Sanskrit Fragments of the Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra (Central Asian Manuscript Collection at Leningrad)* (= *Studia Phbilogica Buddhica: Occasional Paper Series*, VI). With a Foreword by Akira Yuyama (Tokyo: IIBS, 1986) , xxiii, 46 p., XII pl. — *ISBN 4-906267-18-1.*

[93] G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin, "Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka from the N. F. Petrovksy Collection", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, VIII, 4 (Den Haag-Paris1965), p. 268-274.

Cf. A. Yuyama, "Supplementary Remarks on 'Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka from the N. F. Petrovksy Collection' by G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin", *ibid.*, IX, 2 (1966), p. 85-112.

進展すべき好例であろうか:

"Predislovie", p. 9-13,
"Central'no-Aziatskij rukopisnyj Fond Instituta Vostokovedenija AN SSSR", p. 14-36 (incl. III tables, p. 22-36).[94]
"Mahāparinirvāṇa (Novye Fragmenty)", p. 37-64. —*cf. infra n. 91!*
"Dxarmašarirasutra", p. 65-76.
"Saddxarmapundarikasutra (Novye Fragmenty)", p. 77-160.
"Summary" (in English), p. 174-176.
"Faksimile", p. 177-285.

2.2.2. それから五年して刊行された第二冊をみる. 上に倣って, 簡略に内容を掻い摘んで目次を作ってみよう. 本書の序説は, 中央アジア出土の典籍研究の基本的な課題を説く:

"Ot avtorov (From the authors)", p. 9f.
"Vvedenie: Pervye itogi i osnovnye problemy izučenija indijskix tekstov iz Centra'noj Azii", p. 11-38.
I. "Šardulakarnavadana", p. 39-156.
II. "Avadana o Gandi (gaṇḍi)", p. 157-184.
III. "Fragmenty ‚Pratimokša-sutry' Sarvastivadinov", p. 187-206.
IV. "Novye fragmenty Xinayaniskix sutr", p. 207-254 (1. Maxavadana-sutra i Maxaparinirvana-sutra; 2. Bodxaradžakumara-sutra; 3. Nagaropama-sutra).
V. "Novye fragmenty Maxayanskix sutr", p. 255-276 (1. Mahaparinirvana-sutra; 2. Vadžračxedika-Pradžnjaparamita; 3. Samadxiradža-sutra; 4. Saddxarmapundarika-sutra).
VI. "Buddxanama-sutra", p. 277-292.
"Summary" (in English), p. 311-314.
"Faksimile", p. 315-439.

2.2.3. 第 3 巻は, 待ちに待った十四年後に出る. これも内容紹介を簡略にしておこう. 見ての通り, 2004 年夏にモスクワで開催された ICANAS XXXVIII を記念して, オルデンブルグ (Sergej Fjodorovič Ol'denburg': 26.IX.1863-18.II.1934) に捧げたという.[95] まさしく『仏教文庫』の創設者であり, 中央アジア仏教研究の世界的な権威であった学者の貢献を称揚して, 献呈するのに時宜に適った相応しい大冊一書ではある. 印刷・製本なども格段の美しさである:

"Akademik S. F. Ol'denburg — Issledovatel' drevnej kul'tury Central'noj Azii", p. 14-33.
"Publikacii S. F. Ol'denburga sanskritskix fragmentov iz Central'noj Azii", p. 34-74.
"Central'noaziatskaja kollekcija rukopisej SPBF IV RAN", p. 75-88.
"Kaš'japaparivarta-sutra", p. 89-208.[96]
"Publikacii otdel'nyx listov i fragmentov", p. 209-342 (Fragments of the *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā Prajnāpāramitā*, etc.).
"Prigozenija", p. 343-350.
Sergej Ol'denburg, "Pamjati Nikolaja Fjodorovica Peteovskogo 1837-1908", p. 345-350.
"Summary", p 363f.
"Faksimile", p. 365-533.

2.3.0. 第二次大戦後の『仏教文庫 (i.e. *BB = Bibliotheca Buddhica*)』に収められた労作で, 上に触れなかったものを拾って, 簡略に周辺を記しておこう. 東洋学関係の出版には, 叢書名が入り交じっていたり, 二つ以上の叢書に収まっていたりするので, 混乱をきたしそうにもなる. 例えば, 上記三巻の論集も一二巻と三巻では表題は同じではない. そこで第三巻には, 1959-1985 年刊の目録 (Moskava 1986) 以降の出版リストを巻初に挙げる. 目についた最近刊を見ての雑録を最後に認めておこうと思う (cf. *infra* §2.4.0):

略号: *PPV = Pamjatniki pis'mennosti vostoka* [Akademija Nauk SSR, Institut Vostokovedenija]

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[94] Cf. a work published almost at the same period by Bongard-Levin & Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Indian texts from Central Asia (Leningrad Manuscript Collection)* (Tokyo 1986). — *cf. also supra n. 74!*

[95] Cf. e.g. G. K. Skrjabin (et al.), *Sergej Fjodorovič Ol'denburg* (Akademija Nauk SSSR - Ordena Trudovogo Krasnogo Znameni Institut Vostokovedenija) (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo <Nauka> Glavnaja Redakciya Vostočnoj Literatury, 1986), 160 p., 1 frontisp. (photo).

[96] Cf. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya in collaboration with Seishi KARASHIMA and Noriyuki KUDO, *The Kāśyapaparivarta: Romanized Text and Facsimiles* (= *Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica*, V) (Hachioji-Tokyo: IRIAB, 2002), xv, 66 p., LXXVIII col. plates. — *ISBN 4-9980622-4-7.*

(Moskva: Izdatel'stvo <Nauka> Glavnaja Redakciya Vostočnoj Literatury Izdatel'skaja Firma «Vostočnoj Literatura» RAN, 19xx).

● 第 35 巻は，いわばロシアの伝灯を継ぐ労作・世親の倶舎論の露訳 (*BB* XXXV = *PPV* LXXXVI) (1990). — *ISBN 5-02-016553-0*. 分析研究を試みるのはルードイ (Valerij Isal'vič Rudoj: *1940).

● 第 36 巻は，パーリ文『ミリンダ王の問い』の露訳 (*BB* XXXVI = *PPV* LXXXVIII) (1989). — *ISBN 5-02-016554-9*. 分析研究を試みるのはパリブク (A. V. Paribk).

● 第 37 巻は，蒙古の教訓的な説話・説経話: *Čoyijiid dakini-yin tuγuji*[97] (*BB* XXXVII = *PPV* XC) (1990). — *ISBN 5-02-016557-3*. 写本覆刻・音写・露訳注はサジキン (Aleksej Georgievic Sazykin: *1943).[98]

● 第 38 巻は，慧皎 (497-554 CE) の高僧傳 (Taisho 2059, completed 519 CE) の露訳 (*BB* XXXVIII = *PPV* XC, 1) (1991). — *ISBN 5-02-016788-6*. 訳注はエルマーコフ (Mixail Evgen'vič Ermakov: *1947), 本書の責任編集はメンシコフ (Lev Nikolaevič Men'šikov: 1926). メンシコフの名を知る人は多いに相違ない．上からの流れでいえば，コズロフが 1909 年の探検で持ち帰った漢語写本資料に関しての綿密な序論を付した典籍目録を刊行して，大いに便益を文献学徒に与えてくれた学者である.[99] 敦煌出土の仏典類などについては，一度まとめて略述したことがあるので，ここに繰り返さない.[100] — この典籍はかつてルーヴァンのラモットの許に在って，慧皎の高僧傳，いわゆる梁高僧傳に取り組んでいる最中の学者が，レイデンを研究調査のために訪れた折りに，彼から直接に仕事について聞いたことがある.[101] その後音信不通になってしまい，寡聞にして消息を知らない．本書の第二部は未刊のままであろうか．— 余録・ほかに台湾で現代語訳も出たりしているそうだが,[102] それにつけても牧田諦亮 (*1912) の入念丹精の賜物である『中国高僧傳索引』の殆どが絶版なのは惜しい．その第一巻の，いわゆる慧皎の『梁高僧傳索引』も版が絶えて久しい．もしかして，中国で出た索引は，ページ数も同じらしく，牧田索引の覆製ではないかと勘ぐっている.[103]

● 第 39 巻は，蒙古文写本甘珠爾目録 (= *BB* XXXIX / *PPV* CII) (1993). — *ISBN 5-02-017044-5*. 著者はカシャネンコ (Zoja Kononovna Kasjanenko: *1925).[104] 筆者には，とうに習学の時期を逸して如何と

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[97] Cf. e.g. Walther Heissig, *Geschichte der mongolischen Literatur*, I: *19. Jahrhundert bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts*. 2., unveränderte Auflage mit einem Vorwort (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1994), p. 119: "Buddhistische Erbauungsliteratur mit erzieherischer Absicht aber sind die mongolischen Versionen der Höllenfahrtsgeschichte der edlen Frau Čoyijid, als ‚*Die Geschichte der Fee Čoyijid*' (*Čoyijid dakini-yin tuγuji*) ... ".

[98] Cf. further *Catalogue of the Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs in the St. Petersburg State University Library*, compiled by Vladimir L. Uspensky (Vladimir Leonidovič Uspenskij: *1954) with assistance from Osamu INOUE, edited and foreword by Tatsuo NAKAMI (Tokyo: ILCAA = Institute for the Study of Language and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 1999) [*ISBN 4-87297-4*.], p. 325: Nos. 407-410, esp. Nos. 407-408.

[99] Lev Nikolaevič Men'šikov, *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).

[100] For further details see Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Budh. (II)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 260-267: §3 '敦煌出土の仏典類など', esp. p. 262.

[101] *Biographies des moines éminents (Kao seng tchouan) de Houei-kiao*, Première partie: *Biographies des premières traducteurs*, traduites et annotées par Robert Shih (= *Bibliothèque du* Muséon, LIV) (Louvain: Institut Orientaliste, Université de Louvain, 1968), xi, 177, 25 p.

[102] 賴永海釋譯, 梁高僧傳 (= 中國佛教經典寶藏精選白話版, CIII・史傳類) (= 佛光經典叢書, MCCIII) (臺北縣三重・佛光文化事業／佛光山宗務委員会, 2000), 8, 341 p. — *ISBN 957-543696-2*.

[103] 牧田諦亮, 梁高僧傳索引 (京都・平楽寺書店, 1972), 2, 390 p. — [上海・上海書店出版社, 1989].

[104] 直前に既に引用したように (i.e. *BB* XXXIX / *PPV* CII), この甘珠爾目録にある典籍を除くものが，慎重に編纂されて東京から刊行されていて有り難い: cf. Uspensky, *op.cit.* (1999), esp. p. xi (cum n. 7) for Kasjanenko's *Catalogue of the Mongolian Kanjur* (Moscow 1993).

Cf. for further details Yasuhiro SUEKI, *Bibliographical Sources for Buddhist Studies from the Viewpoint of Buddhist Philology* (= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica*, III) (Tokyo: IIBS, 1998), p. 52f.: "Catalogues of Mongolian Kanjur and Tanjur".

もし難いが，特に中央アジアの仏典・仏教の伝播を考察する上で，最近とみに蒙古語仏典の重要性を感じ，折をみては触れているので，ここでは少なくとも蒙古語版甘珠爾の最も基本的な工具書だけを二三引用しておきたい.[105] 丹珠爾の目録も出ている.[106] さて，厳しい批判を受けたが，筆者にはそれなりに便益を蒙った労作も挙げておきたい.[107]

2.3.1. ところで，折角非常に便利に編んだ索引で，未公刊のものがある.[108] いくら出版を勧めても，話に乗ってくれなくて，当時としては素速く参照できるものがなかっただけに，それが私家版に終わってしまい，広く利用されることがなかったのは残念至極であった．キャンベラのオーストラリア国立大学南アジア・仏教学科で，その創設間もない頃からの筆者と同年輩の同僚の労作である．彼の著作は，すべて出版地での利用が出来る範囲のもので，ただしく"公刊"されていないので，縁があって影印版を入手している機関以外では参照できず，極めて惜しい．筆者自身も未見のものがある．ティッサは，いわばセイロンからロンドン大学に留学し，その中途で南半球へ赴任してサンスクリットを講じた．多言語に通じていた才能を十分に活かして，その二三年前に公刊された校訂版を凌いで,[109]『金色童子因縁經』の研究で博士号を取得する.[110] 彼には，ほかに典籍・辞典などの極めて有用な蔵蒙語索引が謄写刷りであるが，これも殆ど知られていないようだ.[111]

2.3.2. 蒙古大蔵経や蒙古語訳仏典類には，その精緻な研究によって，インド起源の典籍でも，今日までの通説を再考させるに十分な資料を提供するものがあり，少なくともこれまでに見てきたように，ポッペや樋口康一などの具体的な業績を見逃せない．ライプツィヒで最後まで筆を執って活躍したヴェラー (Friedrich Weller: 1889-1980) の遺業を整理すれば，蔵蒙語仏典に関しては細かい点で批判もあるようであるが，恐らく典籍類の中央アジアを舞台にした伝播も見えてくるものがあるだろうと想

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105 Louis Ligeti (1902-1987), *Catalogue du Kanjur mongol imprimé*, I (= *Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica*, III) (Budapest: Societas Kőrösi Csoma, 1942), VI, 347 p.

ただ，彼はその索引を単行出版せずに，雑誌一号全冊を用いて刊行したので，入手に面倒なところだ: L. Ligeti, "Répertoire du Kanjur mongol imprimé", *Acta Orientalia Hungarica*, XLI, 3 (1987), p. 347-496 (whole fascicle).

106 Rintchen (= Byambin / Yüngsiyebü Rinchen: 1905-1977), *Catalogue du Tanjur mongol imprimé*, 3 vols. (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XXXIII, 1-3) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1964-74-74), 16, 186 p., 1 photo; (IV), 187-432 p.; (IV), 433-739 p

107 Friedrich (Frédéric) A. Bischoff (*1928), *Der Kanjur und seine Kolophone*. 2 Bände (Bloomington IN: The Selbstverlag Press, 1968), viii, 308 p.; iv, 309-576 p.

Cf. J. W. de Jong, "Notes à propos des colophons du Kanjur", *Zentralasiatische Studien*, VI (1972), p. 505-559.

108 Tissa Rajapatirana, *Index to the Titles of Works in the Mongolian Kanjur and Tanjur* (Privately printed in mimeograph, Canberra 1968), i, 58 p. — "Sanskrit titles".

— , — , Part II: *Mongolian Titles* (Canberra: Department of South Asian and Buddhist Studies, Australian National University, 1969), 89 pages in mimeograph.

109 Cf. Sita Ram Roy, *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna [Decipherment and historical study of a palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscript — an unknown Mahāyāna (avadāna) txt from Tibet]* (= *Historical Research Series*, VII) (Patna: Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, 1971), xvii, 356 p., V pl.

110 *Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna*, translated and edited together with its Tibetan translation and the *Lakṣacaityasamutpatti* by Tissa Rajapatirana. 3 parts [*An unpublished Ph.D. thesis, A.N.U. 1974*] : Part I. *Sanskrit Text*, xxxii, 193 p.; Part II. *Gser mdog gi rtogs pa brjod pa, being the Tibetan Translation of the Suvarṇavarṇāvadāna [cf. Tib. Peking 5645]*, 156 p.; Part III. *Translation into English of the S° and the L° and the photocopy of the Chin se t'ung tzu yin yuan ching [cf. Taisho 550]*.

111 Cf. e.g. Tissa RAJAPATIRANA, *Kāvyādarśa (Tibean): Verse Index* (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies, A.N.U., 1991), 91 p.

— , *Index to Verses in the Jātakamālā (Tibetan)* (Canberra: South & West Asia Centre, A.N.U., 1988), 166 p.

— , *Mongolian Index to Buddhistische Triglotte and Pentaglot Dictionary of Buddhist Terms* (Typescript, n.d.).

Cf. *Buddhistische Triglotte, d.h. Sanskrit-Tibetisch-Mongolisches Wörterbuch, gedruckt mit den aus dem Nachlass des Barons Schilling von Canstadt [1783-1837] stammenden Holztafeln und mit einem kurzen Vorwort versehen von Franz Anton von Schiefner [1818-1879]* (St. Petersburg: Buchdruckrei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1859), 79 p.[= Indian reprint: Sri Satguru Publications, Delhi, 1980].

Cf. *Pentaglot Dictionary of Buddhist Terms: In Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchurian, Mongolian and Chinese*, ed. Raghu Vira [1902-1963] (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XIX) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1961), 451 p.

像している．かねてから筆者は，この碩学と親しく文通があったりしたが，東西ドイツが離反している中で面会が近くにいても実現しなかったのを，いまだに非常に残念に思う．折角の機会に邪魔が入ったりするのだ．こうした厖大な課題を思うと，誠にもって日暮れて道遠い筆者ではあるので，今後の研究に待つべきものが多い．ヴェラーの余りの業績に圧倒されてしまっていて，筆者の勉強不足ではどうしようもない．これだけ広く多くの典籍を，インド学仏教学の側から種々の言語の経路を精緻に扱った学者は珍しい．彼の許に学んだラオ (Wilhelm Rau: 1922-1999) が，幸いに小論集を編んでいるので,[112] その幅広さに驚き，今では入手困難なものも多いので有り難い．これでも，しかし，全体を見ることは出来ないと思う.[113] ここで注意を払いたいのは，彼の蒙古大蔵経に関する研究であるが，付録の方が大きくて，本邦の仏教学徒にとって見逃せないものがあったりする.[114] この論集にはまた，ある典籍の研究の主要な一が載っていて，他が載らなかったものがあるので注意したい．もう一巻増やすか，別に再版するか，今では入手困難なものが多いので，近い将来に是非とも関係者が手を打って欲しい.[115]

2.3.3. 蒙古大蔵経に関する研究に比して，確かにチベット大蔵経の研究は進んでいると思う．これに関して今は触れる余裕がない．真摯な研究者が，実際にチベットの寺院・僧院の印経院などで見出した新旧の木版に関する報告は極めて興味深い．そうした中で，常にチベット蔵経甘珠爾の研究で先進的な役割を果たしてきたアイマー (Helmut Eimer: *1936) は現地に足を踏み入れないが，その最新の注目すべき研究は,[116] 幻の『永樂版版大藏經』に関するものに相違ない.[117] 現にセラ僧院にあった同版の目録の最初と最後の葉の写真を見て判明したことが多い．永楽版チベット大蔵経に関しては，未だに全貌が見えないが，先ずは戦中の銃弾を潜ってでも調査をした酒井紫朗真典 (1908-1988) の業績に目を配りたい.[118] かつて存在を疑われていたこともあるようだが，今はラサ郊外のセラ僧院にのみ完全なものが揃っていることは確実となってきた．酒井真典は五台山菩薩頂に蔵されているのを実見したという.[119] この永楽版は，ナルタン古版の覆刻とさえ伝えられるが，筆者には判断能力がない．し

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112 *Friedrich Weller – Kleine Schriften*, herausgegeben von Wilhelm Rau. 2 Bände (= *Glasenapp-Stiftung*, XXVI) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987), XII, 705 p.; XI, 706-1618. — *ISBN 3-515-04265-2*.

113 Cf. "Schriftenverzeichnis",in: *ZDMG*, CXXXII (1982), 10-21 = *Friedrich Weller – Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 1596-1608 ("mit einigen wenigen Nachträgen").

114 Cf. e.g. Friedrich Weller, *Über den Quellenbezeug eines mongolischen Tanjurtexts.Mit Anhang: Tibetischer Text des Bodhicaryâvatâra* (= *Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philol.-hist. Klasse*, XLV, 2) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1950), 51, 114 p.

Cf. — , *Tibetisch-Sanskritischer Index zum Bodhicaryāvatāra*. 2 Hefte (= *Abhandlungen d. Sächs.Ak. d. W., Philol.-hist. Klasse*, XVLI, 3 & XVVII, 3) (Berlin 1952-1955), ii, 304 p., 305-611 p.

115 A work on the *Kāśyapaparivarta* missing in the *Kleine Schriften*: *Zum Kāśyapaparivarta*, Heft 2: *Verdeutschung des Sanskrit-tibetischen Textes* (= *Abhandlungen*, LVII, 3) (Berlin 1965), 163 p.

Also missing: "Kāśyapaparivara nach der Djin-Fassung verdeutscht", *MIO* = *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, XII, 4 (Berlin 1966), p. 379-462.

Further a work missing on the *Buddhacarita*: *Untersuchung über die textgeschichtliche Entwicklung des tibetischen Buddhacarita* (= *Abhandlungen*, LXIX, 3) (Berlin 1980), 91 p.

116 Cf. for the time being Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (IV)", *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), p. 294-296: §3 "徳格印経院", esp. p. 294f., fn. 62 & 64.

117 Cf. Helmut Eimer, "Zum tibetischen *Dkar chag* des Yongle-Kanjur", *AS/EA* = *Asiatische Studien / Études Asiatiques*, LX, 2 (Bern 2006), p. 307-320 (inkl. 2 Abb., p. 319f.). — 著者は，特に美術を紹介したセラ寺に関する図書から，永楽版甘珠爾目録の最初頁と最終頁の写真を見出して，かねてからの研究をもとに永楽版を考察している．依ってたつ書は筆者未見のものであるが，当該頁はアイマーが複写再録している: Tshe-dbaṅ Rin-chen (次旺仁青), *Se-ra theg-chen-glin* (色拉泰欽林)[色拉大乘洲] (北京・民族出版社, 1995)[*ISBN 7-10502534-4*], p. 84.

118 参看・越智淳仁, "酒井眞典先生を偲ぶ", 日本西藏學會々報, XXXV (1989), p. 30f.

119 酒井眞典, 喇嘛教の典籍 (= 喇嘛教事情, II) (高野山・眞言宗喇嘛教研究所, 1944), p. 10f., *et al.*, frontisp. b/w Pl. I-1 (北京永樂版甘珠爾・朱刷・永樂八年／1410 CE 開板).

—, "華北五台山所藏佛教文獻調查概況", 密教文化, LXXVI (1941), p. 107-110; —, "華北五台山の大藏經", 同誌, LXXXVII (1944), p. 46-69; —, "北京永樂版甘珠爾について", 同誌, CXXXIII (1981), p. 1-8.

かし，永楽版大蔵経の開板を疑う向きもあった.[120] 幸いに，チベット大蔵経の成立史に造詣が深い羽田野伯猷 (1911-1985) に，一連の精緻な研究成果があり，高弟の磯田熙文 (*1938) によって編集再刊されているのは有り難い.[121] なお，セラ僧院に永楽版が，デプン僧院にリタン (里塘版) が蔵されているという貴重な報告もある.[122]

2.4.0. 上に述べた大きな叢書 *PPV* (cf. *supra* §2.3.0) には，『仏教文庫』(= *BB*) の叢書を組み込んでいるほかに，単独に東洋学関係の研究成果を公刊しているが，インド学関係書も多いと思う．その最新のものは，筆者未見だが期待しているのが，若い頃からヴェーダ語・パーリ語などの古中期インド語に関する種々の著作で我々にも馴染み深く，世界的にも著名なエリザレンコヴァ (Tat'jana Jakovlevna Elizarenkova: *1929) の次著であろう．三巻のうち，先ず第一冊が出た:[123]

Atxarvaveda (Šaunaka), I: Book I-VII (= *PPV*, CXXXV, 1) (Moskva: Izdatel'skaja Firma « Vostočnoj Literatura » RAN, 2005), 573 p. — *ISBN 5-02-018479-9*.

2.4.1. インド仏教を専攻するものにとってエリザレンコヴァの名は，第二次大戦直後の復活『仏教文庫』第31巻のパーリ文『法句経』の露訳者トポロフ (cf. *supra* §2.2.1 *cum* n. 20) と『パーリ語』の共著者として知る人が多かろう.[124] 本書は，外国の言語学者・インド学仏教学者から，少なからず注目を浴びたのではなかろうか．両名ともに，いわば戦後に大学教育を受けた人たちであるが，外国の先進的な言語学の動向に極めて敏感に反応を見せていた時代であったと思う．本書収載の叢書『アジア・アフリカ言語』の多くが英訳されているが，これとても例外でなかったし，専家の賛否はともかく，数多くのインド学仏教学徒に少なくとも通読を迫った.[125]

2.5.0. 帝政時代から，ソ連時代を経て，今日にいたるロシアのインド学仏教学の歴史を繙くには，単行の書を用意しなくてはなるまい．仏教文献学を基盤に，『仏教文庫』の長い歴史を見ると，大変な時代の背景も判る．ベートリンク (Otto von Böhtlingk) が仏教文献学的な寄与もあったことは上にも述べたが (cf. *supra* §2.1.0)，彼が編んだ梵語大辞典は，いまだに全世界のインド学仏教学の基準をなしている.[126] そして第二次大戦後は，古典語の習得には困難があったかもしれない．サンスクリット語の一般的な学習のための辞典も 1978 年に，約 28000 語を擁してコチェルギーナ (Vera Aleksandrovna Kočergina: *1924) が著し，カリャーノフ (Vladimir Ivanovič Kal'janov: *1908) が編み，かなり詳しい文

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120 矢崎正見，"永樂版チベット大藏經の開版について"，日本西藏學會々報, XX (1974), p. 1f.

121 羽田野伯猷，"永楽刻チベット蔵経おぼえ書"，密教文化，CVIII (1974): 再録・羽田野伯猷，チベット・インド学集成, II (京都・法藏館, 1987), p. 327-356.

参看・羽田野伯猷，"永楽刻チベット・カンギュルの刊梓"，日本西藏學會々報, XXI (1975), p. 1-4.

122 越智淳仁，"セラ寺・永楽版とデプン寺・リタン版について"，日本西藏學會々報, XLI-XLII (1997), p. 23-32.

参看・王堯・陳慶英主編，西藏歷史文化辭典／*Bod-kyi lo-rgyal rig-gnas tsbig-mdzod* (杭州・西藏人民出版社／浙江人民出版社, 1998), p. 229a-230a (with a photo), esp. p. 230a: "... 成祖欽賜≪藏文大藏經・甘珠爾≫108 函, ...".

Cf. Champa Thupten Zongtse, *History of the Sera Monastery of Tibet (1418-1959)*. With a foreword by Jens-Uwe Hartmann(= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCCLXXXII) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture & Aditya Pakashan, 1995), xxxvi,658 p., include.ills. (*text handwritten in Tibetan*). — *ISBN 8-86471-00-6*.

Cf. aussi Yoshiro Imaeda, *Catalogue du Kanjur tibétain de l'édition de 'Jang sa-tham*. 2 vols. (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Maior*, II) (Tokyo: IIBS, 1982-1984). — *ISBN 4-906267-13-0*:

Première partie: *Edition en fac-similé avec introduction* (1982), 103 p. (incl. 68-page plates).

Seconde partie: *Texte en translittération* (1984), 112 p.

123 For Elizarenova see e.g. Miliband, *op.cit.*, I: *A - L* (1995), p. 420b-421a.

124 T. Ja. Elizarenkova i V. N. Toporov, *Jazyk Pali* (= *Jazyki Narodov Azii i Afriki*) [Akademija Nauk SSSR, Institut Narodov Azii] (Moskva: "Nauka", 1965), 248 p., 4sep. tables.

125 — & —, *The Pāli Language* (= *Languages of Asia and Africa*) (Moskva: "Nauka", 1976), 263 p., tables.

126 Cf. e.g. Yuyama, *A Select Bibliography on the Sanskrit Language for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology*. A Revised Edition(= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica*, I) (Tokyo: IIBS, 1992), [vi, [3], 24 p. — *ISBN 4-906267-28-9*], p. 10-19, esp. p. 12f.: §V.11, 11a, 11b. — [First published (1982), iv, 17 p. — *ISBN °-16-5*].

法概説を付されている.[127] この付録の部分 (*ibid.*, p. 785-895) の著者ザリズニャカについて筆者は寡聞にして知らないが, 彼女も新しい言語学の動向に無関心ではなかったように思う. ただ, サンスクリットに関しては, その時点でバロウ (Thomas Burrow: 1909-1986) の名著『サンスクリット語』(1959 年版) が, エリザレンコヴァの編・注によって, 先々年に露訳されているだけのようだ.[128] これは 1989 年に, コチェルギーナが補遺 (*ibid.*, p. 896-943) を付して再刷されている. 約 30000 語を含むという. 恐らく, そのまま再刷して, 2005 年までに三版を重ねていることになる.[129]

遊余白 (2) · James Prinsep

人文科学の諸分野では, 近代に始まる学問の初期の成果でも, 今に恩恵に浴すことはいうまでもないが, 参照を見逃せないものがある. いずれにしても, 先学の苦心の果実があって, 今の自分があると思うと, 骨董趣味ではなく, それなりの評価を与えて見なくてはならない. 誤謬・誤解から進歩することもあるのだ. ましてや今のように資料が入手出来る時代の研究とは違って, 大変な苦労があった筈である. 先学の理解の不足や間違いを正すのに, 鞭を持って傷口に塩を付けるようなことは止めたいと思う. また, せめて専門図書館は, 真摯な研究者には, 時間の余裕ももって, 広く門戸を開放して戴きたい.

かつての名著の最近の覆刻は, 誠に有り難い. さほど遠くない過去の名著でも, 今となっては稀覯の書になっていることがある. ただ, 稀覯書だからとて, 高価に仕上げるのは困る.

プリンセプ (James Prinsep: 1799-1840) は, アジア協会の発展に種々と非常に尽力したと思う.[1] 彼の人柄は, 多くの関係者を魅了し, 当時の困難な時代に世話になった学者も多いようだ. チベット学の創始者チョマ (Alexander Csoma: 1784-1842) に, その一齣を見つけたこともある.[2]

彼がもっと長生したら, 興味ある業績を遺していたと思われるプリンセプの興味深い本を紹介しておきたい. 本書は, いわば理工学的な調査が仕事であったとはいえ, 統計資料も精細に見ている. こまめに街を歩いて写生したものを基に, 歴とした美術家の手で石版刷になったもので, 元になった写生も, 的確に美観を捉えているのだろう. 1820年代初頭の極めて貴重な資料でもある. 何か彼のインドへの愛情も伝わってくるようだ. 幸いに, 精緻な序文も前付けされた. ただし, 下記のように, 発行年の順を逆に覆刻してしまったようである:

James Prinsep, *Benares Illustrated in a series of drawings. Lithographed in England by Eminent Artists.* With an Introduction by O. P. Kajariwal (Varanasi: Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan, 1996), 34, 39, 41-96 p. (incl. ills., plates, map). — *ISBN 81-7124-176-X*:

O. P. Kejariwal, "James Prinsep: His Life and Work", p. 7-34, incl. a bust (Asiatic Society), p. 2; portr. p. 5:
Benares Illustrated in a Series of Drawings, by James Prinsep / *Lithographed in England by Eminent Artists* (Calcutta: Printed at the Baptist Mission Press, 1833-1831), p. 3-39 incl. num. ills., a frontisp. 'A family medal in the memory of J.P.',p. 1; p. 41-96, incl. num. ills.

プリンセプの本領を発揮した著作・小論文集の覆刻版を, 余白が埋まるだけの書誌を記しておこう:
Essays on Indian Antiquities, Historic, Numismatic, and Palaeographic, of the Late James Prinsep, F.R.S., Secretary to the Asiatic Society of Bengal; To Which are added his USEFUL TABLES, illustrative of Indian History, Chronology, Modern Coinages, Weights, Measures, etc. Edited, with notes, and additional matters by Edward Thomas. In Two Volumes with numerous illustrations (New Delhi-Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1995: reprint of the 1858 edition - London: John Murray), (i), xvi, xvi, 435 p.; (i), ix, 224 p.; 336 p. (Useful Tables — *reprinted XXI articles, XLVI plates, XC tables*).[3] — *ISBN 81-206-1036-9 / °-1036-5; ISBN 81-206-1036-9 / °-1036-7.*

プリンセプのアジア協会での活躍の一面を見るに恰好の書が出た. 表題にある時代を知る資料となろう. その頃パリでは, ビュルヌーフがアジア協会の書記を務めていた. 本書に, 人名索引が付されていないのは残念の極みである:[4]

[1] Cf. e.g. A. Yuyama, *Eugène Burnouf* (Tokyo 2000), p. 15: §3.2.0,p. 55f.: §6.2.4.

[2] 湯山明, "チベット学者チョーマのゲッティンゲン留学", 東洋文庫書報, VIII (1977), p. 87-91; XVIII (1986), p. 89-92.

[3] "Memoir of the Author", by his bother Henry T. Prinsep, I, p. i- xvi.

[4] Amalendu De, *Introduction to the Early Correspondence of the Asiatic Society (1766-1835)* (Kolkata: The Asiatic Society, 2003), xi, 155 p.

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127 V. A. Kočergina, *Sanskritsko-Russkij Slovar'. [वेराकोचेर्गीणा-संकलनीकृत: संस्कृतरूसी-शब्दकोष:].* Pod redakciej V. I. Kal'janova. S prigoženiem «Grammatičeskogo očerka sanskrita» A. A. Zaliznjaka (Moskva: Izdtel'stvo «Russkij Jazyk», 1978), 895 p.

For Kočergina see Miliband,*op.cit.*, I: *A-L* (1995), p. 609b.

For Kal'janov see Miliband, *op.cit.*, I: *A-L* (1995), p. 514a-515a.

128 Cf. Yuyama, *A Select Bibliography on the Sanskrit Language* (1992), p. 2: §II.3.

129 3-e. Izd. (Moskva: Akademičeskij Proékt, 2005), 944 p. — *ISBN 5-8291-0498-9.*

§3.『西蔵文語辞典』 — *発刊を慶祝してミュンヘンのインド学仏教学などの周辺を窺う*:

Wörterbuch der tibetischen Schriftsprache. Im Auftrag der Kommission für zentral- und ostasiatische Studien der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften herausgegeben von Herbert Franke: 1. Lieferung: *ka – kun chub par byed-pa*, bearbeitet von Helga Uebach (München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Kommission beim Verlag C. H. Beck, 2005), lxiii, 64 p. — *ISBN 3-7696-0934-4. — P19,80Euro*.

3.1.0. とくに西欧の学士院には，大学も含めて他では仲々しにくい息の長い企画を立てて，その中に特別な研究機関(委員会)を設けている事例が多い．殊に人文科学の分野でいえば，長期に専念する研究員を雇用して置けるので，成果を挙げていることが目立つ．従って成果の公刊も商業主義からかけ離れたものが多い．これまでも若干の事例を挙げて紹介したことがある.[1] このドイツはバヴァリアの学士院の古典西蔵語辞典編纂事業も，まさしくその好例であろう．同学士院には，種々の分野の研究委員会が四十近くあり，研究者は 300 名になるという．羨ましい話だ．— 本来ならば，チベット語辞典類の書誌学的な攷究をしたいが，筆者の学生時代から今日にいたるまでの関連分野の進展は瞠目すべきもので，とてもここで扱いきれるものでない．そこで例によって，ミュンヘンを中心にインド学仏教学界を垣間見ながら，さらには意に任せて，四方山の話題にあちこちと乱れ飛んでみたい．— *仮名書きの人名・地名が多いが，あくまでも便宜的であることを，お断りしておきたい*．

3.1.1. 1700 年創立のベルリン学士院 (創立院長: Gottfried Wilhelm Leipniz: 1646-1716) に遅れること半世紀，バヴァリア学士院 (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften) は，選定侯マックスミリアン三世ヨーゼフ (Maxmillian III. Joseph, *Kurfürst von Bayern*: 1727-1777) が 1759 年に創設した．1954 年に，中央アジア(後に東アジアが加わる)研究委員会が創設されたのは，ミュンヘン大学にシナ学担当のヘーニッシュ (Erich Haenisch: 1880-1966) が 1949 年に着任してからで，インド・イラン学担当でチベット学に貢献したホフマン (Helmut Hoffmann; 1912-1992 / *Lehrstuhl* 1948-1968) と二人が相図って成った賜物である．その後，ホフマンがアメリカ・ブルーミントンのインディアナ大学へ移って，シナ学のフランケ (Herbert Franke: *1914) が委員長を引き継いだ．彼は，特に元代研究の優れた業績が高く評価され，仏教に深い洞察力を見せ，常に学史にも関心を示して，西欧のシナ学に影響力をもつ.[2] 国内で要職を歴任し，国外のいくつかの学士院会員に推挙されている．豊かな学殖をもって，関連の学問の興隆を図ってくれたことを，謝意を込めて評価したい．現に，バヴァリア学士院の院長も務めて(1980-1985)，この中央・東アジア研究委員会に関して大いに力を注ぎ，端から見れば遅々として進まない辞典編集を支えてくれたのは幸いであった．実際，本辞典の編纂にユーバッハ (Helga Uebach) が仕事に着手するのは1964年頃のようである．協力者のパンルン (Jampa Losang Panglung: *1938) も，すでに 1960 年には同委員会に参加していた筈である．このような企画は，しかし，ドイツでは，関連の学者の精神的な支援も大きい．さもなくば，戦後の財政貧窮の時代に，人力・資料共に不足する中での作業は大変だったに違いない．正直にいって，この企画が既に廃止されていると思っていた向きもあろうかと思うくらいだ．従って，第一分冊を見ての喜びに勝るものはない．いずれにしても彼女が序文に詳しい経緯を書いているので，それ自体が学史の一頁を綴く思いがする (cf. *infra* §3.7.0 end, §3.7.3 s.v. "Uebach-Panglung"). 先ずは，刊行開始を心から慶び祝いたい．また，第一分冊を見て，長きに亘って，苦心の末に扱ってきた資料の豊富さに，何よりも驚かされる (siehe "Literatur- und Abkürzungsverzeichnisse", p. xxiii-lviii).

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[1] Cf. A. Yuyama, "Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (I)", *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003): "*Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur*", "Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funde" (Akademie der Wissenschaften zu/in Göttingen); "*Corpus Iuris Sanscriticum*" (Union Académique Internationale [= UAI] / Unione Accademica Nazionale); "*A Critical Pali Dictionary*" (UAI / Royal Danish Academy) [cf. Yuyama, "A Critical Pali Dictionary — 学史的考察 — , *ARIRIAB*, II: 1998 (1999), p. 67-89]; cf. also Yuyama, "Ibid.", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), §6 "Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften"; — , VIII: 2004 (2005), §1.0 "*CIS*"; — , IX: 2005 (2006), §2.6.2 "Royal Nepal Academy", §3.6 "Czech Academy of Sciences"; *et al.*

[2] Cf. e.g. David B. Honey, *Incense at the Altar: Pioneering Sinologists and the Development of Classical Chinese Philology* (= *American Oriental Series*, LXXXVI) (New Haven: AOS, 2001), *passim*.

3.1.2. さて，当地でチベット学に関心を抱いた学徒の大半は，実はインド学を基に専攻したものが多いようだ．今に続くミュンヘン大学のインド・イラン学講座は，初代のハウク (Martin Haug: 1827-1876 / *Lehrstuhl* 1868-1876)，以来，クーン (Ernst Wilhelm August Kuhn: 1846-1920 / *L.* 1877-1919)，ガイガー (Wilhelm Geiger: 1856-1943 / *L.* 1920-1924)，オェルテル (Hanns Oertel: 1868-1952 / *L.* 1925-1935 [& 1946-1948])，ヴュスト (Walther Wüst: 1901-1993 / *L.* 1935-1945)，ホフマン (Helmut Hoffmann: 1912-1992 / *L.* 1948-1968)，シュリングロフ (Dieter Schlingloff: *1928 / *L.* 1972-1996)，ハルトマン (Jens-Uwe Hartmann: *L.* 1999-) と，我々の知る馴染み深い学者たちが占めてきている．第五・七代を除いて，すべて学士院会員に推されている．ここで学史を繙くわけにはいかないので，少なくとも現在の基礎を築いた二十世紀初頭までは，誰しもが必見の古典的な著書二点をあげて責を免れたい．[3]

3.1.2a. 初代ハウクは，正しくインド学イラン学の領野で業績を残したようであるが，筆者の関心を惹くのは，ボン大学でラッセン (Christian Lassen: 1800-1876) の許に学び教授資格を取得して(1854)，後に当時としては珍しくも渡印してプネの梵語教授を務める傍ら(1859-1866)，関連の情報・資料を手堅く蒐集したことである．ボン大学の地が，大河ラインの畔にあるためか，誰が名付けたのか，いつしか“ライン河畔のヴァーラーナシー (Benares am Rhein)”と呼ばれるが，これもボン大学の初期からの雰囲気の然らしめたことのように思える．帰国して間もなく，ミュンヘンの創立講座に就き(1868)，若くして夭折したので，僅か数年で去ったのは惜しい．

3.1.2b. 第二代のクーンが，パーリ語文法研究を著したことは知られていよう．当時のケーニッヒスベルク (Königsberg *Pr.* = Kaliningrad) にいたアラビア学者の創始した東洋学の文献目録編纂に協力したり，[4] 種々に活躍した学者である．筆者にとっては，岩本裕 (1910-1988) が既に精細な研究を遺してくれているが，[5] バルラームとヨサファット伝説の研究で知られる開拓者である．[6] ついでながら，アメリカにおけるインド・仏教説話の研究に基礎を築いたイェール大学のブルームフィールド (Maurice Bloomfield: 1855-1925) とも関係があるように思えるが，筆者の極めて不十分な研究調査では，残念にも今ひとつ判然としないままでいる．[7] さて，一般的には，父アーダルベルト (Franz Felix Adalbert Kuhn: 1812-1881) が，種々の領野でも活躍したが，中でも印欧語比較文法の研究者には，今もって不

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[3] Ernst Windisch (1844-1928), *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde*. 2 Teile (= *Grundriss der indo-arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, I, 1b) (Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1917 - Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1920), VII, 208 p.; (II), 209-460 p.

W. Wüst, *Indisch* (= *Grundriss der indogermanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde*, 4: *Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft seit ihrer Begründung durch Franz Bopp*, II: *Erforschung der indogermanischen Sprachen*, IV, 1) (Berlin-Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter, 1929), 154 p. — Reviewed by Franklin Edgerton, *Language*, V (1929), p. 265-267.

Cf. A. Yuyama, *A Select Bibliography on the Sanskrit Language for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology. A Revised Edition* (= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica, Pamphlets*, No. 1) (Tokyo, International Institute for Buddhist Studies Library, 1992), p. 1: §I.2-4.

[4] *Orientalische Bibliographie, I-XXVI (für 1887-1912)*, begründet von Friedrich August Müller (1848-1892) [Band I-VI], fortgezetzt (herausgegeben) von Ernst Kuhn [VIII-VIII] und Lucian Scherman (1846-1946) [IX-XXVI] (Berlin: Reuter & Richard, 1888-1928). — [Reprinted by Kraus Reprint, Nandeln, 1966].

[5] 参看・岩本裕，インドの説話 (= 紀伊国屋新書, A-7) (1963), p. 123-150: “キリスト教とインド説話 — 聖者伝『バルラームとヨアーサフ』をテーマに —”; — cf. 大地原豊，『日印文化』特集号 III (京都 1964), p. 52b-54c.

[6] “Barlaam und Joasaph: Eine bibliographisch-literaturgeschichtliche Studie” [Herrn Prof. Dr. Rudolf von Roth in Tübingen zum 50jährigen Doctorjubilaeum ... gewidmet von Ernst Kuhn], *Abhandlungen der I. Klasse der königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XX, 1 (In Commission bei G. Franz, München, 1893), p. (i), 1-88.

Cf. auch e.g. E. Kuhn , “Der Mann im Brunnen: Geschichte eines indischen Gleichnisses”, *Festgruss an Otto von Böhtlingk zum Doktor-Jubiläum 3. Februar 1888 von seinen Freunden* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1888), p. 68-76.

[7] 参看・湯山明，“ビ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・仏教文化の貴重と展開, I (東京・山喜房佛書林, 2001), p. 350 (*out of* 349-363).

On the question about who had introduced the Lotus Sutra translated by Burnouf to America see *supra* §1 “Thoreau or Peabody, or else— Who has first introduced Burnouf's *Lotus Sutra* to America?”

可欠の雑誌を，1852 年に発刊したことであろう．彼は他の領野でも活躍した．この父の遺業を子が継いで，上記の学術誌を編集したので，人読んで『クーンの雑誌 (*KZ = Kuhns Zeitschrift*)』と通称されて今日に至る.[8] 本誌の編輯には，西欧の梵語写本調査で先駆をなして，我々にも馴染深いアウフレヒト (Simon Theodor Aufrecht: 1822-1907) の協力があった.[9] クーン子は，またガイガーと共に，バルトロマエ (Christian Bartholomae: 1855-1925) の協力を得て，『イラン学叢書』の編集もした功績は大きい.[10] シナ学のクーン (Franz Walther Kuhn: 1884-1961) とは関係がないようだ．

3.1.2c. ガイガーについては，パーリ語を学ぶ者には余りにもよく知られているが,[11] 彼の妻子の活躍も目を瞠らせる．ガイガーの学問を常に高く評価し，彼の業績の発掘・出版などを手がけてきたベッヒャルト (Heinz Bechert: 1932-2005) は，ミュンヘンに学んで，ガイガーの謦咳には接し得なかったが，尊敬して止まないガイガーの業績の公刊・紹介には大きな功績を遺した．ベッヒャルト (*Hayins Besart*) は，1975 年にコロンボからシンハラ語でガイガー (*Vilhelm Gayigar*) の伝記を刊行し，後に彼のいわばセイロン研究百年を記念して，今度は英文で非常に興味深い一書を刊行する.[12] 今やシュリー・ランカーでは，両者共に幅広く尊崇される学者である．世間一般には，ガイガーといえば，特に放射能の測定器 (Geiger Counter = Geiger-Zähler, *oder* Geiger-Müller-Zählohr) などを発明考案した物理学者の長男ハンス (Hans [Johannes] Geiger: 1882-1945) の名を想うに相違ない．なお，同じ物理学でも，次男ルドルフ (Rudolf [Oskar Robert Williams] Geiger: 1894-1981) は，気象学の権威として名を成したといわれる．

3.1.2d. 第四代オエルテルは，先に挙げたイェール大学との縁が深い．ソールズベリー (Edward Ellbridge Salisbury: 1814-1901) は，1843 年に西欧から戻ってイェールのアラビア・サンスクリット学教授に就く．六年後には，彼の許にホイットニー (William Dwight Whitney: 1827-1894) が学び，その後テュービンゲン (Tübingen) に留学して名を馳せ，イェールの名声も上がる．彼に惹かれたのがオエルテルである．父の死後に渡米した 17-18 歳の彼は，ホイットニーの許で比較言語学を志し，1890 年に博士号を取得，1896 年には教授となるが，その後彼我を行き来したりして，1922 年にマールブルク，1925 年以後はミュンヘンに定着する．筆者は，ここに誠に興味深く，独・米の学術の広い交流を見るのである.[13] なお，1927 年以来，彼は生涯を *KZ* の協同編集者でもあった．

3.1.2e. 第五代ヴュストは，若くして印欧語比較文法の領野で頭角を現し，上にも引用したように，インド学徒に不可欠の学史をも能くした (cf. *supra* n. 3). 精緻にして堅固な書誌学的な基礎をもって仕

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[8] Die im Jahre 1852 von Adalbert Kuhn begründete *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet des Deutschen, Grichischen und Lateinischen*; — seit 1987, i.e. Band CI: *Historische Sprachforschung* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1987-).

Cf. *Register zur Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, Band I-C (1851-1987), ed. Alfred Bammesberger, bearbeitet von Ivo Hajnal, Christiane Schaefer, Gerhard Schaufelberger & Sabine Ziegler (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), 324 p. — *ISBN 3-525-26230-2*.

[9] Cf. e.g. Theodor Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum: An Alphabetical Register of Sanskrit Works and Authors*. 3 parts (Leipzig 1891-1891-1903)[Photomechanically reprinted in 2 volumes (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1962)], viii, 795 p.; iv, 239 p.; iv, 161 p. — cf. Klaus Ludwig Janert (1921-1994), *An Annotated Bibliography of the Catalogues of Indian Manuscripts*, I (= *VOHD-S: Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, Supplementband, I) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1965), 175 p., 1 photo (Aufrecht).

[10] *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, herausgegeben von Wilhelm Geiger und Ernst Kuhn unter Mitwirkung von Arthur Bartholomae (1855-1925) (Straßburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1895-1904) [*Photomechanischer Nachdruck*: Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1974].

[11] Cf. e.g. Heinz Bechert, "Wilhelm Geiger: July 21, 1856 – September 2, 1943", *CPD*, II, 2 (Copenhagen 1962), p. IX-XIV (photo on p. IX).

[12] Heinz Bechert, *Wilhelm Geiger: His Life and Works*. New edition to commemorate the centenary of Geiger's Studies of Sri Lanka (Colombo: Goethe-Institut – German Cultural Insitute, 1995), (iii), v, 173 p.

[13] For further details see A. Yuyama, "Groundwork Layers for Buddhist Sanskrit Philology in America", *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2003 (2004), p. 321-339, esp. p. 324f., *et alibi*.

事に当たり,[14] 長寿を全うして，生涯を学問に捧げたが，第二次世界大戦の状況下で，ミュンヘンの日独協会創立の演説など，"アーリヤ"に度を超して鼓舞する余り，非アーリヤ排斥に加担して，戦後は非常な顰蹙を買うことになり大学を去る羽目になる．その急な空席を，オェルテルが戻って暫く埋める (1946-1948). この大学のインド学講座は，遡ってみると，"Sanskrit und vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft" で出発したが，すぐに二十世紀初頭までの長い間 "Arische Philologie und vergleichende indogermanische Sprachwissenschaft" と呼び，暫くの紆余曲折を経て，ヴュスト着任時の 1935 年には研究室を "Seminar für Arische Kultur- und Sprachwissenschaft" と改称する．1940 年に，ヴュストもバヴァリア学士院の正会員に推挙されるが，その名は 1945 年に除かれる．ドイツの学界で，彼の復権はあり得なかった.[15]

— ところで，我々に馴染み深いイエール大学のエジャトン (Franklin Edgerton: 1885-1963) は，若くしてドイツに留学した折りには，後述するシェルマン (Lucian Scherman: 1864-1946; v. *infra* §3.4.0/3.4.0a) の許でサンスクリットを修学したこともあり (1903／1904 年度)，1936 年にバヴァリア学士院の通信会員に推挙されるが，1939 年に退会してしまう．詳しい事情は知らないので，筆者の想像であるが，何か当時の政治背景が見えるようで，折角の学術交流の結末を愉快にとれない．

— この分野で戦後に外国からの通信会員に，我々に馴染み深いマイルホーファー (Manfred Mayrhofer: *1926) がいる．なお，同じ州にあるエアランゲン・ニュールンベルク大学が，伝統的に言語学的な研究の中心をなしてきている．ここにホフマン (Karl Hoffmann: 1915-1996) やナルテン (Johanna Narten: *1930) の活躍する時代に，今は東北大学に在る後藤敏文も長らく研究生活を送った．周知のように，ヴァッカーナーゲル (Jakob Wackernagel: 1853-1938) に始まる壮大な古期インド語文典のうち，残る未刊の動詞に関しては，彼の研究成果に多大の期待が寄せられている．この大学図書館 (Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg) は，1743 年創立以来の老舗であるが，別に独立してドイツ語圏で最古を誇る市立図書館 (Stadtbibliothek Nürnberg, *seit 1370*) がある．

— さて，かつて 1951 年以来，ミュンヘンには，印欧語比較文法学やインド・イラン語群研究の領野で，少壮有為の学者の研究成果の発表の場があって，フンバッハ (Helmut Humbach: *1921)，カンメンフーバー (Annelies Kammenhuber: *1922)，カール・ホフマン，ベルガー (Hermann Berger: *1926)，ベヒャルト，フォン・ジムゾン (Georg von Simson: *1933)，フォン・ヒンユーバー (Oskar von Hinüber: *1939) などが編者・著者として活躍して，今に遺る古典的な成果を公刊した良き時代があった．当時の出版元は，現在も同じシェリング通りにあり，年輩の愛書家を懐かしがらせる.[16] この錚々たる会員を擁する，ある意味で特権排他的な言語学同好会 (Münchener Sprachwissenschftlicher Studienkreis) に 2001 年以来，後藤敏文が唯一の外国人会員として活躍する．本叢書の良書刊行の継続が期待されよう．

3.1.2f. 戦後の空白を埋めるように就任したのがホフマンであるが，先ずはドイツ中央アジア探検隊将来の吐魯番梵語仏典から『阿吒曩吒經』の断片を選んで公刊した.[17] 多言語学力を活かして，梵・巴・

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[14] Cf. e.g. Walther Wüst, *Vergleichendes und etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen (Altindischen)*, Lieferung 1-3 (= *Indogermanische Bibliothek*, I: *Sammlung indogermanischer Lehr- und Handbücher*, II: *Wörterbücher*, IV) (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Carl Winter, 1935), 208 p. — 辞典部分(p. 197-208)は，まだ *a(n)-* が始まったばかり!

[15] Cf. e.g. Wilhelm Rau, *Bilder hundert deutschen Indologen* (= *VOHD*-S, IV) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1965), VII, 106 p.; — , *Bilder 135 deutscher Indologen*. 2., erweiterte und verbesserte Auflage von „Bilder hundert deutscher Indologen" (= *Glasenapp-Stiftung*, XXIII) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1982), IX, 145 p.

[16] *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, im Auftrage des Münchener Sprachwissenschaftlichen Studienkreises herausgegeben von Helmut Humbach & Annelies Kammenhuber, ... (In Kommission bei J. Kitzinger: Schellingstraße 25, München).

[17] *Bruckstücke des Āṭānāṭikasūtra aus dem Zentalasiatischen Sanskritkanon der Buddhisten*, herausgegeben und im Zusammenhang mit dem Parallelversionen bearbeitet von Helmut Hoffmann (= *Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte*, V) (Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft – Kommssionsverlag F. A. Brockhaus, 1939), 105 p., II Tafeln.

蔵・漢文を比較対照して校訂した精緻な研究である．これは幸いに，適任者を得て，凡そ五十年後に増補を添えて覆刻される.[18] 漢訳は，不空訳 (Taisho 1244) ではなく，異本の法天訳の『毘沙門天王經』(T 1245) が近いようだが，詳細な研究が待たれる一つであろう.[19] 今にまだ断片も新たに出現同定され,[20] 梵本にも異本の存在が報告されているので,[21] 加えて梵巴蔵漢文以外の伝本もあり,[22] 恐らくは特に中央アジアでも真言陀羅尼を含んで民間に親しまれた密教経典であったと思われるので，今後の研究に待つところが多い．かつてヘルンレ (August Friedrich Rudolf Hoernle: 1841-1918) がもたらした僅かに一葉の断片であるが,[23] 阿吒曩智に相当する字句があったので，比定にさほどの困難はなかったが，これを漢訳の『毘沙門天王經』と比較検討して問題点を指摘した渡邊海旭の功績は，他の多くの場合と同様に高く評価さるべきである．しかし残念ながら，文献学的な面だけでなく，思想史の面でも極めて複雑な重要問題を孕んでいるように思われる本典籍の研究が進んでいないようである．さて，ホフマンの多言語学力は，後に彼をチベット学へ向かわせ，夙にボン教へも深い関心を示し，戦後間もなく単行書を続けて刊行し，その分野で大きな業績を残す．高度に専門的なものに加えて，広く読者層を惹く概説書を出したり,[24] 説話などの文献を紹介したり，筆者には有り難い書物が多かったが,[25] 上にも触れたように，ある事情で北米の中央アジア研究の一大中心地ブルーミントンへ移ってしまった．ミュンヘン大学のチベット学は，ヴィルヘルム (Friedrich Wilhelm: 1932 / *L.* 1969-1998) が継ぐことになる．—このホフマンの時代に，恐らく我々の分野の最初のフンボルト財団研究員として，三枝充悳 (*1923) がミュンヘンに留学する．1959 年に渡独し，『大智度論』の研究で博士号を取得する.[26]

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18 — — , *Nachträge zu „Kleinere Sanskrit-Texte, Hefte III-V"*, zusammengestellt von Lore Sander (= *Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie*, ed. Herbert Härtel, III)(Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1987), 212 p., II Taf., siehe insbes. p. 193-208.

19 小野玄妙編, 佛書解説大辭典, IX (東京・大東出版社, 1933), p. 136b-c: "毘沙門天王經" (神林隆淨).

20 Cf. ferner von neuestem Datum z.B. *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, IX: *Katalognummern 2000-3199*, beschrieben von Klaus Wille (= *VOHD*, X, 9) (2004), Nrn. 2161, 2256, 2384, 2402, 2487, 2814. In this volume one sees how Wille drudges away his meticulous identification work: "Ergänzungen und Korrekturen zu Teil 1 bis 8", p. 368-432; — cf. Oskar von Hinüber, *JSS* (= *J. of the Sam Society*), XCIV (Bangkok 2006), p. 250a-252a, esp. p. 252a.

21 To my regret, I had to miss a lecture "Two Recensions of the *Āṭānāṭiyasūtra* in Sanskrit: Preliminary Report", delivered by Lore Sander at the International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo, on 7 December 2004. It is expected to see her article appear in the forthcoming issue of the *Buddhist Manuscripts*, under the able editorship of Jens Erland Braarvig (= *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*) (Oslo: Hermes Academic Publishing).

22 Cf. e.g. Dieter Maue, "Sanskrit-Uigurische Fragmente des Āṭānāṭikasūtra und des Āṭānāṭihṛdaya", *Ural-Altaische Jahbücher*, N.F., V (Wiesbaden 1985), p. 98-22; siehe auch *Alttürkische Handschriften*, I: *Dokumente in Brāhmī und tibetischer Schrift*, beschrieben und herausgegeben von Dieter Maue (= *VOHD*, XIII, 9) (Stuttgart 1996), p. 67-70: Kat. Nrn. 8-11, Taf. XXXIV-XL.

23 *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature Found in Eastern Turkestan: Facsimiles of Manuscripts in Sanskrit, Khotanese, Kuchean, Tibetan and Chinese with Transcripts, Translations and Notes*, edited in conjunction with other scholars with critical introductions and vocabularies by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Vol. I (Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1916) [Reprinted by Ad Orientem Ltd., St. Leonards & Philo Press, Amsterdam, 1970], p. 24-27: "Miscellaneous Fragments, 5: Āṭānāṭiya Sūtra" (Hoernle MS., No. $149^{X}/_{6}$ = Plate I, No. 2, verso)"; 参看・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・平楽寺書店, 1959), p. 41f.

24 E.g. Helmut Hoffmann, *Die Religionen Tibets: Bon und Lamaismus in ihrer geschichtlichn Entwicklung* (Freiburg-München: Verlag Karl Alber, 1956), VIII, 214 p., XVI pl., 1 col. frontisp.

— , *The Religions of Tibet*, translated by Edward Fitzgerald (London: Allen & Unwin – New York: Macmillan, 1961, reprinted by Greenwood Press, Westport CT, 1979), 199 p., VII pl.

25 See e.g. Helmut Hoffmann, *Mi-la ras-pa: Sieben Legenden* (München: Otto Wilhelm Barth, 1950), 127 p.

Märchen aus Tibet, herausgegeben und übersetzt von H. H. (= *Die Märchen der Weltliteratur*) (Düsseldorf-Köln: Eugen Diedrichs Verlag, 1965), 256 p.

26 Mitsuyosi SAIGUSA, *Studien zum Mahāprajñāpāramitā(upadeśa)śāstra* (München: Diss., D.Phil., 11 Aug. 1969) [veröffentlicht in Tokyo: Hokuseido,1969], VI, 239 p. — cf. Reinhold Grünendahl, *Hochschulschriften zu Süd- und Südostasien: Deutschland – Österreich – Schweiz (1959-1979)* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1981), p. 38: Nr. 242.

3.1.2g. ホフマンの急な移動で，シュリングロフが就任したのは四年後になる．彼は第二次大戦後の厳しい時代に西から東ベルリンへと通い詰めて，ドイツ探検隊の将来した梵語典籍の調査に専念した．その領野で，ヴァルトシュミット (Ernst Waldschmidt: 1881-1969) の学問を継ぐ学者だと思っていた向きも多いだろう．当時のシュリングロフは，いわゆる吐魯番文書を最も良く知る専家であったと思う．しかし，ミュンヘンへ移ると，その堅固な文献学的基礎を土台に，アジャンターなどの仏教美術の分野で他の追随を許さないものを築きあげた．その良き協力者・弟子ツィン (Monika Zin) を育て，大きな発展が期待されているのは周知のことであろう．シュリングロフの文献学的な徹底ぶりを一つ紹介しておきたい．ミュンヘン大学インド学イラン学研究所の図書室には，特別なコレクション "シュリングロフ・カード (Zettelkatalog Schlingloff)" というものがある．近代のインド学仏教学の草創期である 1834 年以降，彼が定年退職する年に至るまでの期間を網羅して，営々と蒐集した文献が，二万点近くも登録されて，今も利用者の便益に供している．かつて筆者は，彼自身から研究室で，実例を手にとって熱血的に説明を受けていたく感激したものだ．この研究室には，当然のことながら，ほかに豊富な写真資料なども見逃せない．今は後継者たちのディジタル図像化が続く．恐らくは，こうした学的な環境の賜物が，大学内の佛教学研究センター (ZBF = Zentrum für Buddhismusforschung) なのであろう．宗教学・インド学・チベット学・日本学・シナ学などの分野の教授陣が，いわゆる学際的な協力で構成するもので，欧米の大学のアジア研究部門などに，この二三十年来よく見られるものである．

3.2.0. 既に予定の紙数を遙かに越えてしまったので，ミュンヘンのシナ学については省きたいが，この地に縁があって筆者の関心を惹く学者にヒルト (Friedrich Hirth: 1845-1927) がいる．若くして中国で役人生活を送ったり，面白い経歴の持ち主であるが，1902-1920 年にはニューヨークのコロンビア大学のシナ学講座を担当する．中国の海外交流に関心をもったのは，彼の税官吏の経験の成果でもあろうか．ローマとの交流を研究したり,[27] ロックヒル (William Woodville Rockhill: 1854-1914) と宋の趙汝適撰『諸蕃志』を共訳したり，多数の著作を公にしていて興味は尽きない.[28] 余談だが，彼は出版界など多方面で名を馳せた兄 Georg (1841-1916) と画家で名を成した弟 Rudolf (1846-1916) との三兄弟でも知られている．我々にはシナ学の Friedrich が『広辞苑』に載るほど知られていようが，恐らくはミュンヘンでは，しかし知る人ぞ知る — 日本の文芸にも影響を与えた — ，長兄がその名を市内の地名に残るほどに有名なのだろう.[29] 何せドイツのアール・ヌーヴォー (art nouveau = Jugendstil) の生みの親であり，ミュンヘンで創刊した週刊誌が，あの難しい時代にも生き抜いたのだから.[30] 観光案内的にいえば，市の中心地のマリア広場 (Marienplatz) 駅を外に出て，市庁舎方向とは反対に南西に進めば，旧市街の環状道の市の南門 (Sendlinger Tor) に至り，その西方向一帯の広大な医学部・付属病院群があり，そこを通り越せば大きな四つ辻・ゲオルク・ヒルト広場 (Georg-Hirth-Platz) に出る．中央駅から車ならば，数分という所であろう．

3.3.0. ミュンヘンのバイエルン官立図書館 (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek) は，遡ればヴィッテルバッヒ

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[27] Friedrich Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient: Researches into their Ancient and Mediaeval Relations* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1885), xvi, 330 p.

[28] F. Hirth & W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua: His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg: Printing Office of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911)[repr. Taipei: Ch'eng-wen Publishing Co., 1967], X, 288 p.; cf. F. Hirth, "Chau Ju-kua's Ethnography Table of Contents and Extracts Regarding India, and Some Articles of Trade", *JRAS*, 1896, 30 pp. — further Paul Pelliot, *TP*, XIII (1912), p. 446-481. — なお，名古屋大学の林謙一郎(東洋史学担当)が，非常に有り難いことに，「雲南・東南アジアに関する漢籍史料」という大胆な企画で，この種の原資料を電子化してくれている．

[29] Cf. e.g. Franz Carl Endres, *Georg Hirth: Ein deutscher Publizist* (München: W. C. F. Hirth, 1921), 235 p., 4-page plates. — *Ungesehen!*

[30] *Jugend: Münchener illustrierte Wochenschrift für Kunst und Leben* (München-Leipzig 1896-1918-1940). — In Japan the original seems to be held in the Library of Waseda University. — — Jetzt verfügbar in 570 microfiches (München: Harald Fischer Verlag, 2002), — *ISBN 3-89131-393-4*; oder "Verzeichnis" auf CDRom (*ISBN °-395-0*).

ャー家 (Familie Wittelbacher) の宮廷図書寮として，1558 年にアルブレヒト公五世 (Herzog Albrecht V: 1528-1579, r. 1550-1579) の創建になる．周知のように，日本の国立国会図書館が国内の出版者から義務的に納本させて，日本の出版物を網羅的に蒐集・保存するという法的な地位をもつ図書館でもあるが，ドイツ図書館 (Deutsche Bibliothek / Deuutsche Nationalbibliothek in Frankfurt am Main, Leipzig & Berlin) は，いわばこの機能を専業とするもので，ドイツ出版物を蒐集保存し書誌を管理する中央図書館 (Gesamtarchiv / Nationalbibliographisches Zentrum) であり，日本や英米仏の国立図書館とも趣を異にする．バイエルン官立図書館は，1919 年以来の名称になるが，バヴァリアの州立図書館としての地域の古文書館としての機能とドイツ語圏の資料蒐集に加えて，高度な研究図書館としてあらゆる国のあらゆる分野を網羅して蒐集する役割をも果たす．現行の雑誌・新聞だけでも四万点に及ぶことを見ても想像できよう．その意味で，いわゆる州の枠を越えているので，筆者は困った挙句に官立図書館と呼ぶのである．実は，ミュンヘンには，1921 年に法令により創建された，州の古文書館 (Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv = Staatsarchiv München) も別に堂々と構えているのである．単に州を言いたければ，恐らく「州の」「州立」という言葉を使えば足りるだろう．因みに，ミュンヘンは，州の首都 (Landeshauptstadt)である．現に，州議会 (Landestag), 州立図書館 (Landesbibliothek), 州立大学 (Landesuniversität) などと，邦・地域 (Land) を用いる名称も結構多い．また，周知のように，*http://staatsbibliothek.de/* を検索すれば，ベルリンとミュンヘンの両官立図書館が並んで出てくる．実は，ドイツ連邦 (Bundesrepublik Deutschland) は，十六州 (Bundesland) から成り，それぞれが自前の呼称を持っているので，ややこしくなるわけだ．バヴァリアやザクセンは，自由州を明記する (e.g. Freistaat Bayern, Freistaat Sachsen). ベルリンを取り囲む形の州はブランデンブルク (Land Brandenburg). げに各州の独立意識は強く，連邦政府に教育を司る省はなく，文部行政は各州の権限義務なのだ．本邦の中央集権的な教育行政と対照的である．— 何はともあれ，アルブレヒト五世は，図書館だの集古館（美術館）だの種々の施設を建てて，ミュンヘンを文芸の都として有名にしたが，国の財政を貧窮に陥れた公爵として知られる．その後も，ミュンヘンはルードヴィッヒ一世 (1786-1868, r. 1825-1848) とその孫の二世 (1845-1886, r. 1864-1886) の芸術の非常な愛好 (溺愛?) 振りは，市民からも批判を買うという，人の良く知る話である．多くの優れた文化遺産は，しかしこうして成ったものなのか! この誇り高きバヴァリアの官立図書館について，かつて丸善の『學鐙』に連載された中に，簡にして要を得た紹介が一書に纏められてある.[31]

3.3.1. ただ，ミュンヘンのバヴァリア官立図書館には，いわゆる東洋部 (Orientalische Abteilung) が古くからあったが，この部門 (Abteilung Orient und Ostasien) も，今はアジア全域の資料を蒐集保存している．また，折に触れては，貴重な文書などの展示会を催し，近年本邦でも見られるように，学術的にも堪え得る目録を刊行してきた．かつて東洋部長をしていたグリューンボルト (Günter Grönbold:*1943) の大蔵経に関する鳥瞰書は，今は増補改訂を要するとしても貴重な貢献であった.[32] この種の書物に学徒が飢えていた時代が，確かにかつてはあった．今こそ，常に新しい資料を盛った同種の解説書が，簡単なものから書誌学的にきちんとしたものまで欲しいと思う.[33] ところで，この図書館所蔵のチベット文献・版本資料の目録も彼が出してくれている.[34]

3.4.0. ミュンヘンには，市民が誇る民俗学博物館 (Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde) もあり，幸いにも同館長を務めたインド学者・民族学者シェルマンの尽力で再構築されて今日の基礎は出来たので，

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31 平野美恵子，“バイエルン州立図書館”，徳永康元編・世界の図書館 (東京・丸善, 1981), p. 88-95, incl. 1 fig.

32 Günter Grünbold, *Der buddhistische Kanon. Eine Bibliographie* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1984), 70p.

33 Cf. e.g. *The Sacred Texts of Buddhism. A catalogue of selected works held in the Australian National University Library* (Canberra: The Australian National University Library, 1981), vii, 60 p. — This is a revised & enlarged edition of the first version prepared for an exhibition held on the occasion of the *XXVIII International Congress of Orientalists* at the A.N.U., Canberra, 6-12 January 1971.

34 *Die tibetischen Blockdrucke der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. Eine Titelliste*, Beschrieben von Günter Grönbold (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), XIV, 244 p. — *ISBN 3-447-02907-2.*

インド学仏教学徒も見逃せないものがある．遙かに予定の紙数を超えてしまったので，簡略に二三つけ加えておきたい．ドイツには，研究者の眼にも華々しくは映らないが，よく見ると貴重な資料を保管する各種の図書館や博物館などがあったりする．数ある中で一例を挙げれば，ドレースデンにある官立図書館は，少なくともかつては，『宝徳蔵般若』の興味深いチベット訳写本二点を保管していた．両方の葉数が若干異なるが，共に内容は同じらしい．その二写本の奥書によると，これは『一萬八千頌般若 (*Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā*)』に属し，ダルマパーラバドラ (Dharmapālabhadra) が，シンハバドラ (Seṅ-ge Bzaṅ-po, *literally*: Siṃhabhadra = Haribhadra) 改訂の梵本と校合したものだという．[35] この記述のどれ一つとっても，『宝徳蔵般若』の他の多くの文献学的に複雑で未解決の問題の一端を提起しているのである．[36] 世界が東西に分断されている時代に，ただ指を銜えて参考文献を眺めていただけで時は流れてしまい，第二次大戦中の散々な空爆を果たして免れて現存するのかも確かめていない．『宝徳蔵般若』に限らず，インド亜大陸を越えて中央アジアなどを経て，アジアの他民族に伝承されて行く過程は，決して単純でないことが種々の典籍でも明らかになりつつある．ましてやインドで既に異本・異伝の存在が認められれば，典籍の伝承問題は極めて複雑になり，単に梵蔵漢などの原典の読みの違いだけで異を論ずる過ちを犯してはならない．[37]

3.4.0a. 上にも少しく触れたが (v. *supra* §3.1.2e)，ここで少し付言しておきたいことがある．ミュンヘンの民族学博物館も，ドイツの中央アジア探検の基地となったベルリンの民族学博物館とは史的な背景が違うし，独自の歩みを遂げてきたと思う．印欧語比較文法とインド学を修めたシェルマン (Lucian Scherman: 1864-1946) は，先ず出身地近くのブレスラオ (Breslau) で，古い世代には梵語文法で懐かしいシュテンツラー (Adolf Friedrich Stenzler: 1807-1887) に学び，後にミュンヘンへ移ってクーンの許で，彼の民族学的な関心も濃厚になっていったのではなかろうか．シェルマンに関しては，その小論集を編んだヴィルヘルム (Friedrich Wilhelm: *1934) が，種々の資料も加味して，幸いにも精細に描き挙げている．[38] この地で博士号・教授資格を取得して，[39] 後にこの民俗学博物館に勤務し，その頃師の後を継いで，先に挙げた『東洋学文献目録』の編纂に力を貸して，最後の十数巻を仕上げた功績は大きい．今流にいえば，現地にも通い，文献学を幅広く活かして，文化学を志したのかもしれない．夫人 (Christine: *1940) は，彼の研究旅行にも欠かせない存在であったという．彼は，同時に，大学の初代の民族学担当教授にもなったが，博物館長時代 (1907-1933) の 1925-1930 年に，博物館を再構築した学者として知られる．学士院会員でもあったが，1938 年に退官して翌年にはアメリカへ亡命して通信会員となる．エジャトンが，同学士院を退会した年である．苦しい生活の中で，しかし両人は

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[35] Cf. Berthold Laufer (1874-1934), "Verzeichnis der tibetischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden", *ZDMG*, LV (1901), p. 102 (out of 99-128): Nos. 7 & 8 (Mss. No. E470/3 & E471/2 [= *Kleinere Schriften von Berthold Laufer*, hrsg. Hartmut Walravens (*1944): Teil I. *Publikationen aus der Zeit von 1894 bis 1910* (= *Sinologica Coloniensia: Ostasiatische Beiträge der Universität zu Köln*, II-1) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1976), p. 645]; auch Manfred Taube (*1928), *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, I (= *VOHD*, XI-1) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1966), p. 7: Nos. 12 & 11.

[36] Cf. *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (Sanskrit Recension A)*, edited with an Introduction, Bibliographical Notes and a Tibetan Version from Tunhuang by Akira Yuyama (Cambridge / London-New York-Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1976), p. xxxvi (also p. xvii).

[37] Cf. e.g. Yuyama, "On and Around a Hitherto Unknown Indic Version of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* in a Blockprint from Turfan", *ARIRIAB*, X: 2006 (2007) [*in the press*].

[38] *Lucian Scherman — Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. v. Friedrich Wilhelm (= *Glasenapp-Stiftung*, XL) (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GmbH, 2001), XXXII, 704 p. (incl. num. ills.), 1 frontisp. (b/w photo). — *ISBN 3-515-07545-3*.

[39] Lucian Scherman, *Philosophische Hymnen aus der Rig- und Atharva-Veda-Saṃhitâ verglichen mit den Philosophemen der älteren Upanishad's* (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner – London: Trübner & Co., 1887), VII, 96 p. [*D.Phil.-Dissertation*, München, 1887]. — cf, Klaus Ludwig Janert, *Verzeichnis indienkundlicher Hochschulschriften: Deutschland – Österreich – Schweiz* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1961), p. 33: Nr. 470. — Reprinted in: *Scherman - Kleine Schriften*, ed. Wilhelm (2001), p. 1-101.

— , *Materialien zur Geschichte der indischen Visionsliteratur* (Leipzig: A. Twietmeyer, 1892), V, 161 p. [*Habilitationsschrift*, München, 1893]. — cf. Janert, *op.cit.*, p. 33: Nr. 464. — Reprinted in: *Scherman - Kleine Schriften*, ed. Wilhelm (2001), p. 103-267.

互いに近くにあって，親しく交流があったらしい．想えば，満蒙国境のノモンハンを日本軍は攻撃し，ナツィス・ドイツはポーランドに侵攻し，欧米は第二次世界大戦の勃発とした年という方が分かり易い．ユダヤ人に対する迫害は，すでに前年に組織的に行われたが，シェルマンに対する圧力は既にその数年前に始まっていたようだ．政治的な学問の弾圧もさることながら，洋の東西を問わず，学界の指導的な立場にある人物が，時にその権威を笠に着て伸びる芽を摘んでしまい，大きな損失をきたすことが見られるのは残念である．シェルマンに関して，一次二次資料を余すところなく駆使して，原資料や写真なども豊富に採録して，精緻を極めた見逃せない書が出た.[40] 八十歳を過ぎて亡命先のアメリカで，研究意欲を燃やしながら他界したシェルマンの葬送の墓前で，シェルマンを *Lieber Herr Guru* と名指すエジャトンが読んだ追悼文は，美しい師弟の心情を吐露した羨むべきものがある.[41] — この博物館での筆者の只今の最大の関心事は，中央アジア出土の梵文法華経の一写本の片割れが長きに亘ってひそかに眠っていたことである．— 我々は，まだまだ隠れた貴重資料の探索を怠ってはならないと思う．現に，本邦にも，極めて重要な梵語仏典の古写本が存在することは漸く知れてきた．また，かつては確かに日本語学者の独壇場の如き体をなしてきた古辞書の発掘もそうであるが，筆者は説話文学の貴重な貢献に負うところが大きかった.[42] 時は移り，貴重な仏典資料が仏教学者たちによって，強力に推進されてきていることに，いま大きな慶びを味わっている．名古屋の七寺・河内長野の金剛寺などを始めとした名刹の経蔵に眠る貴重な文献が，いま我々の眼前に大部な研究成果となって陸続と現れてきている.[43] この領野で牽引車の大役を果たす落合俊典が，多くの研究協力者を集めて成果を出しているが，近い将来に折角公刊して江湖に裨益して戴きたい.[44]

3.4.1. さて，宣教師・神学者でチベット学に貢献したフランケ (August Hermann Francke: 1870-1930; cf. *infra* §3.4.1a) が，ケルバー (Hans Nordewin von Koerber: 1886-1980?) と共に，1914年にコータンで入手した梵文法華経の写本が，長い間，この博物館に眠っていたのだ．これは彼自身も，第一次大戦下で消失したと思い込んでいたらしい．それと同一写本の分身が，ロンドン (Stein & Hoernle Collections)・ベルリン (Turfan-Sammlung, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz) の三施設にあり，もしかしたらペテログラード (Sankt Petersburg) のロシヤ学士院東洋学研究所にもあり

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[40] Uta Weigelt, *Lucian Scherman (1864-1946) und das Münchener Museum für Völkerkunde* (= *Münchener Beiträge zur Völkerkunde*, hrsg. vom Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde München und vom Institut für Völkerkunde und Afrikanistik der Ludwig-Maximillians-Universität München, Beiheft II) (München: Verlag des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde, 2003), 232 p., ills., maps. — {*Diss., Univ. München*} — *ISSN 1618-1778 / ISBN 3-92727030-X.*

[41] Cf. Weigelt, *op.cit.*, p. 211. — ところで，エジャトンのミュンヘン留学は，1903-1904年だったようで，筆者は彼のコーネル大学卒業(1905)の翌年と記憶していたのは誤りのようだ: 湯山明，"エジャトンの佛教梵語研究の学史的背景"，渡邊文麿博士追悼論集・原始仏教と大乗仏教 (京都・永田文昌堂, 1993), (p. 45-83): p. 57.

[42] 例えば，湯山明，"仏教説話文学研究覚書・「注好選」下巻第十話『雙鳧は渇せる龜を將て去る』雑録"，創大仏高研年報／*ARIRIAB*, I: 1997 (1998), p. 69-90, 91-95; II: 1998 (1999), p. 90-92.

[43] 牧田諦亮(監修)・落合俊典(編集)，七寺古逸経典研究叢書，全六巻 (東京・大東出版社，1994-1996-1995-1999-2000-1998). — *ISBN 4-500-00601-X*, etc.

— cf. *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-Dera. A Recently Discovered Treasure-House in Downtown Nagoya*, by OCHIAI Toshinori with related remarks by MAKITA Tairyō and Antonino Forte, translated and edited by Silvio Vita (= *Italian School of East Asian Studies, Occasional Papers*, III) (Kyoto: Istituto Italiano di Cultura - Scuola di Studi sull'Asia Orientale, 1991), xii, 102 p., 18 figs. (incl. 1 col.frontisp.). — *No ISBN/ISSN.*

國際佛教學大學院大學・學術フロンティア實行委員會(編)，日本古寫經善本叢刊，第一輯: 玄應撰・一切經音義・二十五巻・五本 (2006), A4: Texts in facsimile (in a large box), and a separate book including various studies and concordances, (i), (vii), 64 p., 5 col.pl.-frontisp. — [金剛寺・七寺・東京大学史料編纂所・西方寺・京都大学文学部の五本]. — *No ISBN/ISSN.* — *Not for sale.*

同，日本現存七種一切経対照目録／CDR-暫定第二版 (2005).

同，日本現存八種一切経対照目録／付・敦煌佛教文献 (2006), (v), xiii, 333 p. [聖語蔵写本・金剛寺・七寺・石山寺・興聖寺・西方寺・名取神宮寺・妙蓮寺蔵松尾社の一切経]— *No ISBN/ISSN.* — *Not for sale.*

[44] 落合俊典(研究代表者)・金剛寺一切経の基礎的研究と新出仏典の研究／平成１２年度～平成１５年度科学研究費補助金基礎研究(A)・(1)研究成果報告書 (2004), 364 p. — [研究協力執筆者: 落合俊典・梶浦晉・赤尾栄慶・Florin Deleanu・金水敏・宇都宮啓吾・後藤昭雄・辛嶋靜志・Stefano Zacchetti, etc.].

そうだという，まことにもって興奮すべき発見であった．このフランケ・ケルバー写本断片の存在・再発見は，実は二十年余前に，暫くは複数の写本の断片として知られていた.[45] これを，近年，静かに辛抱強く精緻な調査研究に没頭する学者が公刊してくれた.[46] 実は二十数年前に，筆者がフンボルト研究員として二年余滞留したゲッティンゲンで，著者がザーンダー (Lore Sander) の古文字学の演習に熱心に出ていたことを思い出す．また，この珍しい写本について最初に耳にしたのは，今は亡き畏友・エンメリック (Ronald Eric Emmerick: 1937-2001) からで，こうした発見の話には彼の満杯の情熱が静かに籠っていた．彼は貴重な資料のためには，骨身を惜しまず世界を駆けめぐった．なお，わが出口常順は，片割れ一葉 (= ed. Kern-Nanjio, p. 57.12-59.2) を七十余年前にベルリンで発見・比定している.[47]

3.4.1a. 筆者は，正直にいって，フランケの著作に強い関心を持たなかったが，例によって優れた人物研究によって，いま興味が募ってきているところだ.[48] 非常に多才であったらしく，例えば彼の音楽の才能と知識によって，チベット音楽を西欧に最初に紹介したことでも知られているという．1922 年に教授資格を取得して，ベルリンで教鞭を執った時には，周囲に著名な同僚や将来を約束されて，事実次世代・次々世代を担った聴講生が多数いた (s. Walravens-Taube, *op.cit.*, p. 18). なお，彼の著作に関しては，有り難いことに，簡にして要を得た解説がある.[49] — 余談だが，ケルバーは，トルコ語・蒙古語・日本語の比較研究を公刊したことのある学者だと思うが，残念ながら詳しいことを寡聞にして知らない．もしかして，彼の父親は，オーストリアの首相も務めたことのある人 (Ernest von Koerber: 1850-1919) ではなかろうか．— また，フランケについては，一般にはもっと名の知れた同姓同名の神学者 (August Hermann Francke: 1663-1727) を思い起こす向きもあろう．

3.4.2. かつては一写本・一断片の片割れが発見されただけでも，それが中央アジア出土のものであれば尚更に一大事であった．法華経の中央アジア系の梵本といえば，いわゆるペトロフスキー本と呼称した単一の写本だと思い込んでいた時代もあった．筆者が，最初に衝撃を受けたのは，四十有余年前にレイデンに留学していたとき，ドゥ・ヨング (Jan Willem de Jong: 1921-2000) が訪露して間もなく，刺激されたペテログラードから投稿してきた論文であった.[50] これは筆者に少なくともペトロフスキー蒐集の法華經梵本は，一本に限った事ではないことを思い知らせた.[51] その後，今にいうカシュガール本が，その写真版を早くに入手した二三の学者の独占的な保持・秘蔵によって，他の研究者の調査研究は阻まれた．何を隠そう，筆者も，法華経梵本とは四つに組めないと覚り，泣く泣く真正面からの

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[45] Cf. e.g. Ronald Eric Emmerick, "Newly-Discovered Buddhist Texts from Khotan", *Proceedings of the Thirty-First International Congress of Human Sciences in Asia and North Africa, Tokyo-Kyoto 31st August – 7th September 1983*, ed. Tatsuro YAMAMOTO, I (Tokyo: The Tōhō Gakkai, 1984), p. 219f. [Read on Tuesday, 6 September1983, chaired by Oskar von Hinüber (Sub-Chairperson: Katsumi MIMAKI)]; — cf. further his classical work: *A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, Second Edition Thoroughly Revised and Enlarged (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica: Occasional Paper Series*, III) (Tokyo: IIBS, 1992), p. 4 cum n. 13.

[46] *Fragments of a Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra from Khādaliq*, ed. Klaus Wille (= *Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series*, III) (Tokyo: Soka Gakkai, 2000), xvii, 191 p., LXXXIII pl. — cf. Helmut Eimer, *ZAS*, XXXII (2003), p. 171f.

[47] 本田義英・出口常順撮影將來：西域出土梵本法華經 (京都大學印度哲學研究室内・本田博士還曆記念梵本法華經刊行會, 1949), p. 94 (Photos numbered 277-278) & p. 98, Appendix, *end.* — cf. Wille, *op.cit.*, p. 6 cum n. 16, p. 9, Table No. 9, and p. 32-35 for further details.

[48] Cf. Hartmut Walravens & Manfred Taube, *August Hermann Francke und die Westhimalaya-Mission der Herrnhuter Brüdergemeine: Eine Bibliographie mit Standortnachweisen der tibetischen Drucke*. Mit einem Beitrag von Michael Hahn (= *VOHD*-S, XXXIV) (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1992), 531 p., CCVII Tafeln mit 281 Abb. — *ISBN 3-515-5833-8*.

[49] Siehe Walravens-Taube, *op.cit.*, p. 23-35: Michael Hahn (*1941), "Das Werk A. H. Francke's'.

[50] G. M. Bongard-Levin & E. N. Tyomkin, "Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika from the N. F. Petrovsky Collection", *IIJ*, VIII, 4 (1965), p. 268-274.

[51] Cf. A. Yuyama, "Supplementary Remarks on 'Fragment of an Unknown Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarika from the N. F. Petrovsky Collection' by G. M. Bongard-Levin and E. N. Tyomkin", *IIJ*, IX, 2 (1966), p. 85-112.

研究を諦めた．存在するものを知りながら，見れないくらい辛い話はないのだ．いくら面白い梵本が他にあっても，カシュガール本はどう読んでいるだろうかと，所詮は叶わぬことを考えると，どうしても研究の手が先に進まない．ところで，このカシュガル写本は，実はコータンで書写されたのだから，コータン本と呼ぶべきだと，かねがねエンメリックは主張する.[52] 確かにその通りだ．ネパール本というがごとし．しかし，コータン本というと，コータン語で書写されたものと混同されて，紛らわしいかも知れない，何かほかにうまい方法はないものかと，思うところを彼にいったが，それはないと即座に拒まれた．ところで，三十余年前に，エンメリックが行方不明になっていた法華経梵本のいわゆるハンティントン断簡をイェール大学図書館で発見して，南半球の筆者に写真を送ってくれたことがある．その片割れ半分はロンドンにあったのだ．暫く多忙のために，折角の興奮すべき資料の研究に着手できないままに帰国したので，これを好機として今は亡き友・戸田宏文 (1936-2003) を誘って小冊子にまとめた.[53]

3.4.3. そんな時に，漸くにして，このカシュガル本法華経が写真覆刻されて日の目を見ることになる.[54] しかし，これはまさに出版と同時に絶版となってしまって，多くの研究者が折角の機会を逃して入手できなかった．何を隠そう，筆者も丁度ドイツから帰国するときで，日本の住所が判って落ち着いてから注文しようと考えていた．これはわが為のみならずと思い立ち，直ちに出版者と直接に交渉を始めた．結局，旧式の原寸版のフィルムをもとに日本で再刷することに決めて，慎重に手に提げてきて貰って，即刻印刷会社と交渉して，同じ原版から初版よりも綺麗に仕上げられた時は嬉しかった．そして何よりも大事なことは，余分な経費は出版者に負担願って，入手したい研究者に必ずや手の届く値段に据えて戴くことだった.[55] 同時に，畏友・戸田宏文の快諾を得て，彼の研究成果を凝縮して盛った，より容易に同書が使えるよう小冊子に纏めて戴いた.[56] そして，更に嬉しいことには，関連の学者たちと学術的な交流を深めることができたことであった.[57] その後も機会があるごとに，種々の法華経関係資料を刊行して戴くことができて幸いであった.[58] こうして，貴重な写本などの独占禁止の「法」は，自ずと自らを「律」する研究者の間に根付いてきたと思う．

3.5.0. ミュンヘン大学 (Ludwig-Maxmillians-Universität München) は，1472 年に時のルードヴィッヒ九世 (Ludwig IX, *der Reiche, Herzog von Bayern-Landshut*) が，ミュンヘンから五六十キロ程の真北にあるインゴールシュタット (Ingolstadt) にバイエルン最初の大学として創建したことに始まるが，ここで今に至る長い歴史を繙く知識も余裕もない．ミュンヘン大学には，中央図書館 (Zentralbibliothek / Universitätsbibliothek München) と，いわば学科単位の分野別図書館 (Fachbibliotheken) がある．ただ一言．ミュンヘン大学も第二次大戦では，容赦なき連合軍の空爆によって，建物はいうに及ばず，蔵書

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[52] See Ronald Eric Emmerick, "Some Khotanese Donors", *Mémorial Jean de Menasce*, éd. Ph. Gignoux et A Tafazzoli (= *Fondation culturelle iranienne*, CLXXXV) (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1974), p. 383-388, and Plates XIX-XXI.

[53] A. Yuyama, & Hirofumi Toda, *The Huntington Fragment of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica: Occasional Paper Series*, II) (Tokyo: IIBS, 1977, repr. 1980), VI, 15 p. (incl. 2 pl.). — cf. further Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (III)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 280: §10, *end*.

[54] *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Sūtra. Kashgar Manuscript*, edited by Lokesh Chandra, with a foreword by Heinz Bechert (= *Śata-Piṭaka Series*, CCXXXIX) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1976), 15, 435 p.

[55] Reprinted with a preface of Lokesh Chandra by the Reiyukai, Tokyo, 1978, iii, 15 p. + 435 facsimile plates. — *ISBN 4-89298-798-0*.

[56] Hirofumi TODA, *Notes on the Kashgar Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Minor*, II (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1977, repr. 1980), ii, 39 p. — *ISBN 4-906267-04-1*.

[57] Cf. e.g. Lokesh Chandra, "In Memoriam: Sharada Rani", *The Art and Culture of South-East Asia*, ed. Lokesh Chandra (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCCLXIV) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Āditya Prakāśan, 1991), p. 44-47.

[58] Cf. e.g. page 10 (photo) &25f. of: *The International Institute for Buddhist Studies / 國際佛教學研究所: A Brief Description*, Second Revised Edition (Tokyo: IIBS, 1992), (ii), 28 p., 2-page frontisp. (4 photos). — *ISBN 4-906267-26-2*.

も三分の一は灰塵に帰したが，今の姿を取り戻す努力は惜しまなかった．前にも触れたが，ドイツ近代の図書館の範をなしたといわれるゲッティンゲン大学図書館とは趣を異にする．実は 1737 年にハノーファーの選定侯ゲオルク二世 (Georg II, *Kurfürst von Hannover* = King George of Great Britain & Ireland) が，英欧諸国で見られるように，州首都にではなく，小都市ゲッティンゲンに創設した大学 (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen) に最初期から立派な図書館を置き，この大学町 (Universitätsstadt) では今に市民がウー・ベー (UB) と親しく呼んでいるもので，実は正しくはニーダー・ザクセン州の官立図書館を兼務 (Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen) して今日に至る.[59] — 余談・ベルリンには別に市立図書館 (Stadtbibliothek Berlin) がある．タクシーで駆けつける時などには，市 (Stadt) と州・国 (Staat) の発音に注意しないと，行き先を間違えることになる．東西ドイツが統合されてから，東にあって一世紀余の歴史をもつ市立図書館と西に戦後の米国市民の好意でできたアメリカ記念図書館 (Amerika-Gedenkbibliothek) が合併して，ベルリン中央・州立図書館 (Zentral- und Landesbibliothek Berlin) であるが，旧称は今も通ずる．

3.5.1. 蛇足であろうが，上で白状したように，ドイツの公共図書館については，それぞれが名称と機能を異にしていて，筆者の貧しい知識では，とても一筋縄では片づかない．中央の連邦政府に文部省はなく，州単位で教育行政が司られることも反映しているに相違ない．大学図書館に例を絞って見てみよう．そもそも大学は，近代になって，すべて州立であった．その州でも中央集権的ではない．近年喧しい，大学と市民との関係を考える好材料になるかもしれない．因みに，インド学講座をドイツで最初に置いたボン大学の図書館 (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Bonn) は，その名の示すように，ノルトライン・ヴェストファーレン州 (Nordrhein-Westfalen) 住民のためのものでもある．州都デュッセルドルフには，いわゆる市立図書館 (Stadtbüchereien Landeshauptstadt Düsseldorf) があり，分館を十数館置き，本邦の市町村の図書館に似ている．ドイツの小町村には，公共図書館 (Gemeindebücherei) もある．すぐ北のケルン大学図書館 (USB = Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek Köln) は，しかし市立図書館を兼ねていて，冊数で同州の大学図書館の中で最多を誇る．ところで，大学図書館は，どこでも今も専門図書館 (Fachbiliothek)，つまり通常は専攻学科研究室ごとに図書室をもっているが，大学の中央図書館との連繋を図るように努めている．

3.5.1a. ボン大学は，上に触れたように，西欧のインド学仏教学史を考える時に見逃せない．1818 年に，シュレーゲル兄 (August Wilhelm von Schlegel: 1767-1845) に始まり，ラッセン (Christian Lassen: 1800-1876)，アウフレヒト (Simon Theodor Aufrecht: 1822-1907)，ヤコービ (Hermann Georg Jacobi: 1850-1937)，キルフェル (Willibald Kirfel: 1885-1964)，ハム (Frank-Richard Hamm: 1920-1973)，フォーゲル (Claus Vogel: *1933) と続き，途次いまはマールブルクにあるハーン (Michael Hahn: *1941) がインド・チベット学を構築してきた．かつてわが金倉圓照 (1896-1987) が，ヤコービの許に留学した事は知られていよう．

3.5.1b. ヘルマン・ブロックハウス (Hermann: 1806-1877) は，父親 (Friedrich Arnold, *eigentl.* David Arnold Friedrich Brockhaus: 1772-1823) が起業したアムステルダムに生まれたが (cf. *infra* §4.0.0)，ボンのラッセンの許に学んだ一人で，各地を遍歴の後にライプツィヒ大学で博士号を取り,[60] 後に同大の初代インド学教授に就き (1841 年)，ドイツ東洋学会発足 (1845) の立役者の一人にもなり，ザクセン・バイエルンの両学士院会員にも推される (1846・1860)．この社の東洋学関係書出版に対しての貢献については万人の知る所であるが，百科辞典については，次章で少しだけ触れるつもりである．この出版社の果たしてきた社会的な役割は大きい．創立者の生誕 200 年にあたった 1972 年には，大きく取り扱ったドイツの新聞もあった．息子のヘルマンは，ソーマデーヴァ (Somadeva) のカター・サリット・サーガラ (*Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara*) を，同出版社から初版を三巻に分けて刊行した学者として，そ

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[59] Cf. Yuyama, "Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (II)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 272-276: §6. "ベルリン官立図書館のことなど".

[60] Cf. Janert, *Verzeichnis indienkundlicher Hochschulschriften* (1961), p. 41: Nr. 579.

の名を今に遺す.[61] 「ドイツ東洋学会」の創立揺籃期とその後の，例えばネパールの写本保存企画などの諸活動の展開と現況に長い歴史を説く，貴重な写真や資料を盛った恰好の冊子があり，単行して出版もされてもいる．1995 年にライプツィヒで開催された第二十五回東洋学会学術大会でも配布されたが，前者は翌年に誤植を修正して刊行されていることに注意を促したい.[62]

3.5.1c. — *蛇足の蛇足* ・・・ フランク-リヒャルト・ハムは，その蔵書の数量はさておき，インド学仏教学の基礎的な文献をなべて蒐集していたので，現在の国際仏教学大学院大学図書館の前身が，まだ霊友会図書室といわれた時代に購入して，当該分野の専門図書館として揺籃期を固めたのは幸いであった．筆者がフンボルト財団研究員として 1974 年に訪独した時に，東独ライプツィヒから別れて，当時は東洋学の分野で知らぬ人はいないヴィースバーデンのオットー・ハラソーヴィッツ書店 (Verlag Otto Harrassowitz) に立ち寄った折りに，ハム文庫を見せて，まだ誰も知らないので買わないかと，担当部長に声をかけられた．西欧と大洋州を渡り歩ってきたばかりのスッカラカン若僧に買える筈がない，と一笑に付してから，はたと思いは日本に走った．買う人がいるかも知れない，とちょっと待ったをかけて，連絡を始めた．東京からは，内容を調べて教えてくれといわれて，店に一二度通ったと記憶する．その頃の筆者は，後に帰国することなどは考えてもいなかったので，ましてやそこに二年後に就職するとは夢にも思わなかった．帰国してから，良い買い物をしたと思った．しかし，今も多くの著名な学者の文庫が，海を隔てて売り買いされているが，果たして学術興隆を担うものとだけで喜んでいて良いのだろうか．折角の蒐集に報いて，より多くの学徒の便に供さねばなるまい．時に図書館の担当者は，貴重な蒐集であればあるほど，兎角閉鎖的になるものだ．

3.5.2. さて，バヴァリアでも，ミュンヘンから 240 キロ北のバンベルクには，同州最古の大学が，1972 年に再建された形 (Otto-Friedrich-Universität Bamberg) であり，近年は東洋学にも力を入れているようだ．ここには大学図書館とは別に，市立図書館 (Stadtbücherei Bamberg) もあり，市立古文書館 (Stadtarchiv Bamberg) もあり，更にはバヴァリアの州内にありながら，誠に誇らしげに官立図書館 (Staasbibliothek Bamberg) もある．この官立図書館は，1966 年に改称した正式名であるが，選定侯立・王立図書館の名を経て，すでに古く 1918 年に「官立図書館 (Staatliche Bibliothek)」を名乗る，公式に地域住民のための学術的図書館であり，従ってミュンヘンの官立図書館とは異なり，上部フランケン地方 (Oberfranken) の納本・管理図書館の役割をも果たす．ついでながら，この地は多才なホフマン (Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann: 1776-1822) が楽長を務めたことから(1808-1813)，彼の資料を多数保管している事でも知られる．古い町並みが戦火を免れたというバンベルクは，ドイツ語の書籍を最初に印刷したことを誇りとする．

3.5.3. さて，ついでながら一言．先にラウファー (Berthold Laufer: 1874-1934) がドレースデンの王立図書館 (Königliche Bibliothek zu Dresden) で調べた『宝徳蔵般若』の貴重なチベット写本について触れたが，いま大戦を生き抜いたとして，何処に保管されているだろうか．これは遡れば，1556 年に時の選定侯アウグスト (Kurfürst August von Dresden) のいわば宮廷内の私的文庫として出発したが，ラウファーの頃は 1806 年以来の王立公開図書館 (Königliche Öffentliche Bibliothek) が正式名ではなかったか．1917 年に王立ザクセン州立図書館 (Königliche Sächsische Landesbiliothek) に改称し，翌年には王立の冠が外される．一方，高等教育機関の王立図書館も 19 世紀初頭からあり，第二次大戦後に工科大学となってドレースデン工科大学図書館 (Universitätsbibliothek der Technischen Universität Dresden) として単立し，1996 年に両者が統合された形で呼ばれる (*SLUB* = Sächsische

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61 Cf. Emeneau's *Union List*, Nos. 1312-1314. 残念ながら，初巻のみが百年余を経て再刷されていると思う (Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms, 1975).

62 Holger Preissler (*Leipzig*), *Die Anfänge der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (DMG 1985), 92 p. (incl. VI figs.) [= Erweiterter Sonderdruck aus der *ZDMG*, CXLV, 2].

Die Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft: Seit 1845 der Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Orients, Asiens und Afrikas und dem Verstehen des Fremden verpflichtet, hrsg. vom Vorstand der DMG / Redaktion: Annette Oevermann (*Frankfurt*) (DMG 1995), 71 p. (incl. IX figs.), VIII col. plates.

Landesbibliothek — Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden) とて，"Land" と "Staat" の区別が，我々には判ったようで判りにくくなる．ドレースデンには，しかも，市立古文書館 (Stadtarchiv) と，分館のある市立図書館 (Städtliche Bibliotheken) もある．こうしてみると，先のチベット写本などは，SLUB のどこかに当たって見るしかなさそうである．筆者の手許には，恐らくは時効の資料しかない.[63] しかも，図書館の役割・機能も時代とともに大きな変化を遂げて，非常に便利になった面がある一方で，政官界に都合の良い行政改革で利用者の便益も随分と失われることがある．

3.6.0. ミュンヘンのインド学・チベット学・仏教学など，我々に関係の深い研究教育施設は，恐らく半径一キロ以内の行動範囲に収まろう．またも観光案内風にいえば，市の中心地のマリア広場 (Marienplatz) 駅を外に出て，新旧の市庁舎 (Alter Hof / Neues Rathaus) から東へ向けて二三百メートルの所で仕事を終えた後で喉を癒すべきビアホール (Hofbräuhaus) の位置を確認し，更に旧市を囲む環状道を少し越えれば民俗学博物館である．市庁舎から北へ進めば，歌劇場・芸術院・学士院・通貨集古館等々の犇めく旧王宮の界隈に辿り着く．このいわば旧王宮の北東の一角が学士院で，その種々の研究機関の多くが通りを隔てて東側一帯にあるようだ．旧王宮の西北端の一角が，ルードヴィッヒ通りの始まりである．この大通りを北進し，州政府の官庁街を抜けて，東側にはかなり大きな古文書館，その北側に堂々たる官立図書館があり，西側は大学の中心地へと着き，関連の研究所が散在する．大学の中央図書館南脇のシェリング通り (Schelling-Straße) を西へ行けば，ハイデルベルクの大学出版社ヴィンター書肆 (Universitätsverlag Carl Winter) の印欧語関係の高価な図書などが割安で入手できたりした，老学徒には懐かしいキッツィンガー書店 (Antiquariat J. Kitzinger oHG: Schellingstraße 25, 80799 München) があり，更に三ブロック先には，かつてのインド学イラン学研究所があったベーラー通り (Bärer Straße) が南北に走る．

3.7.0. ミュンヘンはバイエルン学士院の中央・東アジア研究委員会の重要な企画である古典チベット語辞典を取り挙げて，話題を例によってあちこちに乱れ飛ばしてしまった．最後に，この委員会の研究員たちは，種々の研究成果を公刊してきたことに触れておきたい.[64] 中でも，バンルンが異境の地に来てから営々と築いてきた業績は，シュリングロフの指導の許で，チベット訳・根本説一切有部律蔵の徹底した分析と関連文献との比較により浮き彫りにしたもので，筆者の強い関心を惹いたので，直ちに公刊を勧奨して実現したのは今に大きな慶びであるが，時に関連の研究者が参照していないことがあり勿体なくもあり，不思議でならない.[65] さて，この委員会の出版物 (叢書) は決して数多くないが，重要なものが目立つので下に記しておきたい:[66]

Studia Tibetica: Quellen und Studien zur tibetischen Lexikographie.

Kommission für zentral- und ostasiatische Studien, Kommission der philosophisch-historischen Klasse, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München, in Kommission beim Verlag C. H. Beck, München: ISBN 3-7696-°:

I. Helga Uebach, *Nel-pa Paṇḍitas Chronik Me-tog phreṅ-ba. Handschrift der Library of Tibetan Works and Archives. Tibetischer Text in Faksimile, Transkription und Übersetzung* (1987), 214 p., incl. text (in *dbu-med* script) on plates (p. 163-181). — *ISBN °-100-8. — P49Euro.*

II. *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 4th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies, Schloss Hohenkammer-Munich 1985*, ed. Helga Uebach & Jampa L. Panglung (1988), 582 p., zahlr. Abb. — *ISBN °-1001-6. — P101Euro.*

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63 Cf. Taube, *op.cit.* (= *VOHD*, XI-1) (1966), p. XI-XII; auch *Mongolische Handschriften · Blockdrucke · Landkarten*, beschrieben von Walther Heissig unter Mitarbeit von Klaus Sagaster (= *VOHD*, I) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1961), p. XIII.

64 Cf. e.g. *Tibetische Handschriften und Blockdrucke*, Teil VII, beschrieben von Friedrich Wilhelm und Jampa Losang Panglung (= *VOHD*, XI, 7) (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1979), XV, 195 p. — *ISBN 3-515-02819-6.*

65 Jampa Losang Panglung, *Die Erzählstoffe des Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya analysiert auf Grund der tibetischen Übersetzung* (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica: Monograph Series*, III) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library [= *later*: IIBS], 1981), xxxv, 313 p. — *ISBN 4-906267-12-2.*

66 出版物注文先: Kommission für zentral- und ostasiatische Studien der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Alfons-Goppel-Straße 11, D-80539 München / Verlag C. H. Beck, Postfach 400340, D-80703 München.

III. Herbert Franke: *Chinesischer und tibetischer Buddhismus im China der Yüanzeit*: Drei Studien (1996), 207 p., 10-p. facs. — *ISBN °-1002-4. — P39Euro*:

I. *Tan-pa und sein chinesischer Tempel.*

II. *Der Kanonkatalog der Chih-yüan-Zeit und seine Kompilatoren.*

III. *Eine buddhistische Quelle über Kaiser Qubilai: Das Hung-chiao chi.*

IV. *Lexicography in the Indian and Buddhist Cultural Field: Proceedings of the Conference at the University of Strasbourg 25 to 27 April 1996*, ed. Boris Oguibénine (1998), 170 p. — *ISBN °-1003-2. — P30Euro.*

3.7.1. 第一冊はダラムサラ (Dharamsala) にあった稀覯の文献の徹底的な研究成果.

— 第二は, 本委員会委員長と編集者二人の努力の賜物で, ミュンヘンの郊外・ホーエンカンマー城館で催された第四回・国際チベット学会で, 須く非常な成功裡に終わった学会の記録である. この学会は, セミナーと称して, もともとは青壮年の学者の研究会から出発した. 筆者も, 丁度ハンブルク大学の畏友シュミットハウゼン (Lambert Schmithausen) の研究休暇中の代任教授 (*Vertretungsprofessor für Buddhismuskunde*) として, ドイツ学術振興会 (DFG = Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) の基金で招かれてドイツにいたので, 敦煌出土の羅什訳法華経の蔵字音写断片を取り上げて読んだが, 残念ながら本紀要に投稿する時間的余裕を失ってしまった.[67] 後に, これにもう一点を加えて, 日本語で発表した (cf. *supra* §3.7.0).[68] 原資料は, 周知のように, 有り難くも極めて注意深い写真覆刻がる.[69] 本稿を擱筆したら, 同時に極めて興味深い研究成果が公刊された. 中国における研究史を回顧し評価するものにとっては, いつの日か後続の出現を期待していた成果に相違ない.[70] まさに筆者が扱った二点を, 漢蔵音の対照研究の貴重な資料とみて, 僅かの写真版の中に入れて, 簡略ながら漢蔵文にローマ字音写を付した研究を載せている.[71] なお, 最近の東京外国語大学アジア・アフリカ言語文化研究所の大企画 OTDO (= Old Tibetan Documents online) に, 将来はすべての資料が含まれるよう望んで止まない.[72] — 第五回は, これを大いに参考として成田で行われ, 非常な盛会であったと聞いている. 筆者は, 偶々海外出張と重なり欠席した. この学会は, 種々の分科会などに出席していると, 学ぶことが多いので, 専家ではないが出来るだけ参加したいと思ってきた.

— 第三は, ご覧のように, 著者得意の領野三題.

3.7.2. 第四冊は, 本委員会の辞典編纂に関連しての名目であるが, いわば佛教圏の広範囲に論者を招き集めた, 極めて貴重な貢献で, 関連学徒必見の書であろう. 筆者は, 丁度ハンブルク大学のドイツ学術振興会特別支援の招聘教授として一年滞独中であったにもかかわらず, この会議に招かれながら出席できなかったのは今に慚愧に堪えない. 本書の編者が, 前書きで会議の企画・論集の内容などについて, 要領よく纏めているので, 今は本書への寄稿者名を挙げて, 二三の蛇足を加えるに留めたい:

Boris Oguibénine, "Editor's Foreword". p. 9-14.

Heinz Bechert, "The 'Dictionary of the Sinhala Language' and the 'Siṃhala Śabdakoṣaya", p. 21-29.

Kamaleswara Bhattacharya, "État actuel e la lexicographie sanskrite concernant l'Asie du Sud-Est", p. 31-37.

Margaret Cone, "The New Pāli-English Dictionary", p. 39-46.

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67 "Bemerkungen zu dem in tibetischer Schrift transkribierten Fragment des chinesischen Lotus-Sûtra aus Tun-huang (Fonds Pelliot tibétain 1239)".

68 湯山明, "妙法蓮華経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.

69 Ariane Spanien (*alias* Macdonald) et Yoshiro Imaeda, *Choix de documents tibétains conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale complété par quelques manuscrits de l'India Office et du British Museum* [Mission Paul Pelliot], I (1978), p. 12 (Table des matières); II (199), p. 20 & 21 (note bibl.), et Planches 496 (Pelliot tibétain 1239 en facs.), et 524 (PT 1262 = Pelliot chinois 2935 en facs.).

70 周季文 (*1931)·謝后芳 (*1931), 敦煌吐蕃漢藏對音字匯 (北京·中央民族大学出版社, 2006.6), A4: (v), ix, 268 p., incl. facs. on p. 261-268. — *ISBN 7-81108-016-8.*

71 上掲書, p. 153 (略解題), p. 178: Text No.3. 妙法蓮華経: [A] 妙法蓮華経普門品／注音本／PT 1262, p. 178f.: [B] 妙法蓮華経普門品／音譯本／PT 1239; p. 262 (= Pl. 524 = PT 1262), p. 263 (= Pl. 496 = PT 1239).

72 参看·今枝由郎, "「古代チベット語文献オンライン」プロジェクト", (岩波)図書, No. 688 (2006年 8月), p. 22-27.

Rudolf Dietz, "Tocharisches Wörterbuch (A)", p. 47-53.

Siglinde Dietz, "The present state of Sanskrit Lexicography in India", p. 55-63.

Oskar von Hinüber, "The *Critical Pali Dictionary*. History and Prospects", p. 65-73.

Boris Oguibénine, "Lexicon ad Grammar in the Texts of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins", p. 75-87.

André Padoux, "Un projet de dictionnaire de la literature hindoue tantrique", p. 89-94.

Ernst Prets, "Ein historisches Wörterbuch der indischen Logik und Erkenntnistheorie", p. 95-103.

Klaus Röhrborn, "Probleme der alttürkischen Lexikographie", p. 105-113.

David Seyfort Ruegg, "Sanskrit-Tibetan andTibetan-Sanskrit Dictionaries and Some Problems in Indo-Tibetan Philosophical Lexicography", p. 115-142.

Michael Schmidt, "Stand der Arbeiten am Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Liteatur der Sarvāstvāda-Schule", p. 143-148.

Helga Uebach & Jampa L. Panglung, "The Project 'Dictionary of Written Tibetan': An Introduction", p. 149-163.

"Index of Words", p. 165-170 (*Ardhamāgadhī, Buddhist Sanskrit, Greek, Indo-European, Latin, Pāli, Sanskrit, Sinhalese, Tamil, Tibetan, Tocharian A, Uigbur*).

3.7.3. **Bechert**: シンハラ資料やスリ・ランカに遺る梵語資料は，ガイガーに始まり，ベッヒェルト (1932-2005) が継承してくれたおかげで，種々の貴重な資料が判明してきているが，優れた業績が多数に登り，正直にいって全体像が仲々見えにくい．本稿に関連の文献は丁寧に挙げられているので，近い将来に彼の小論文集が編纂されるのを期待しつつ，筆者の最近の楞伽島への関心も手伝って，他の見るべきものを拾って書き留めておきたい．彼にはもっともっと長生きして，残した仕事を公刊して欲しかった．幸いにも，教授資格取得論文は，つい最近ウイーンの学士院から日の目を見た.[73]

— **Bhattacharya**: 大陸部東南アジアにおけるサンスクリット語資料，特にカンボジアの碑文資料についての，彼の一連の研究成果には目を瞠はるものがある.[74] 著者が述懐するところでは，碩学ルヌー (Louis Renou: 1896-1966) から刺激を受けて始めたという通り (p. 32, *cum* n. 4),[75] 確かにルヌーの語彙研究には，優れたものがいくつもあり，参照を怠れない (更に下記の項 "Dietz & Schmidt" 参看).[76]

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[73] Heinz Bechert, *Sanskrittexte aus Ceylon*. Erster Teil: *Schultexte* (= *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*, Heft D) (München: In Kommission bei J. Kitzinger, 1962), 54 p.; - , "Sanskrit Literature in Sri Lanka as a Paradigm of Regional Sanskrit Literatures", *Malalasekera Commemoration Volume* (Colombo 1976), p. 23-35; - , "Mahāyāna Literature in Sri Lanka: The Early Phase", *Edward Conze Volume* (Berkeley 1977, p. 361-368; - , "The Beginning of Buddhist Historiography in Ceylon", *Ancient Ceylon*, III (1979), p. 21-28; - , "Remarks on Four Buddhist Sanskrit Works Composed in Sri Lanka", *Bhikkhu Jagdish Kashyap Memorial Vol.*, ed. A. K. Narain (Delhi 1979), p. 25-27; - , "On the Identification of Buddhist Schools in Early Sri Lanka", *Indology and Law* [J. Duncan M. Derrett Vol.] (= *Beiträge zur Südasien-Forschung*, LXXVII) (Heidelberg 1982), p. 60-78; - , Das Pratyayaśataka: Ein Werk der indischen Spruchweisheit aus Sri Lanka (= *Sanskrittexte aus Ceylon*, II) (= *NAWG, Philol.-hist. Klasse*, Jg. 1985, Nr. 6) (Göttingen 1985), 45 p.; - , "Sanskrit-Grammatiken in singhalesischer Überlieferung", *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*, XIII/XIV (1987), p. 5-16; - , "Sanskrit subhāṣitas Quoted in Classical Siṁhala Literature", Ludwik Sternbach Felicitation Vol. , I p. 239-246; -, "Buddhismus und Landschaft in Ceylon", *Geographische Zeitschrift: Forschungen auf Ceylon*, II, p. 183-192; - , "On the Nītiśāstraviniścaya, a Subhāṣitasaṃgraha from Sri Lanka", *Indologica Taurinensia*, VII (1979), p. 83-92.

— , *Eine regionale hochsprachliche Tradition in Südasien: Sanskrit-Literatur bei den buddhistischen Singhalesen* (= *Sitzungsberichte d. phil.-hist. Klasse*, XXXVII) (= *Veröffentlichungen zur sozialanthropologie*, 718) (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2005), 173 p.

[74] Cf. e.g. Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, *Recherches sur le vocabulaire des inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge* (= *Publications de l'EFEO*, CLXVII) (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1991), (v), 90p.; — , "Sur la base grammaticale de la pensée indienne", *Langue, style et structure dans le monde indien: Centenaire de Louis Renou*, ed. Nalini Balbir & Georges-Jan Pinault (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1996), p. 171-186; — , "Les états actuels des travaux sur les inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge", *JA*, CCLXXXV, 1 (1997), p. 301-309; etc.

[75] See e.g. in the first place a meticulous work by Kamaleswar Bhattacharya, "Recherches sur le vocabulaire des inscriptions sanskrites du Cambodge", *BEFEO*, LII, 1 (Paris 1964), p. 1-72.

[76] See e.g. among many others Louis Renou, *Vocabulaire du rituel védique* (= *Collection de vocabulaires techniques du Sanskrit*, I) (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1954), IV, 176 p.

— , *Études sur le vocabulaire du Ṛgveda*. Première série (= *Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie*, V) (Pondichéry: IFI, 1958), 69 p.

Cf. davantage encore Jean Filliozat, "Bibliographie des travaux de Louis Renou", *JA*, 1967, p. 13-30; réimpr. - *Mélanges d'Indianisme à la mémoirede Louis Renou* (= *40e anniversaire de la fondation de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne de l'Université de Paris 1967*) (= *Publications de l'I.C.I.*, XXVIII) (Paris: Diffusion de Boccard, 1968), p. XII-XXIX.

中でも筆者が非常な関心をもって参考にした著作の一は，ルヌーの章節区分の語彙研究だった．『インド・イラン学誌』の創刊を飾るに相応しく，若いときに読んでいて，博覧強記を痛快にさえ覚えた．新たな典籍を読むたびに参照することになる.[77] 四十餘年前に，パリに梵文法華経の写本類の調査に行った時に，お宅で懇切に迎えて戴いた．次いでフィリオザ (Jean Filliozat: 1906-1982) も，アジア協会の書棚を親切に案内して下り，後にまさに地球の裏側のキャンベラまで貴重な資料を届けて下さった．

— アジア全域に，梵語の影響が見られるのは，本邦を含めて周知のことであるし，今ここで深入りしたら大変だが，この分野の研究には，先駆的な業績があることは，仏教学徒にとっても見逃せない．意外に思う筋もあろうが，オランダ人のホンダ (Jan Gonda: 1905-1991) は，流石にインドネシアに注目した．版を重ねた時には，研究の範囲も拡がり，東南アジア全域を包含して攻究するという，碩学にしてはじめて出来る仕事をなして，関連の学徒に大きな刺激を与えた.[78] 実は，オランダには，「インド」がインドネシアを中心にした島嶼東南アジアを指す時代もあったように，多くの印欧語比較文法学・インド学・梵語学者たちは，植民地としたインドネシアに多大の関心を示した．レイデン大学の初代梵語学教授・ケルン (Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern: 1833-1917) は，いわば蘭領インドネシアの中部ジャヴァ産であるが，その伝灯を築いたともいえよう．これは言語学者にとっても関心のある領野なのであろう.[79] ところで，我々には歴史学者としての令名が高いマジュムダール (Ramesh Chandra Majumdar: 1888-1980) が，言語というよりは梵語の文献資料の拡散にも鋭利な知識を講演で披露しているが，幸いに印刷刊行されている.[80] 直下のセデースと同様に，早くから関心を示し,[81] しかも丁度時を同じくして，東南アジア史の特質を浮き彫りにしてくれて，ヒンドゥ教・仏教などの伝播を考えるときに見逃せない書を著している.[82]

— 大陸部東南アジアに植民地を持って，強い関心を抱いたのは，恰も当然のごとくフランスであったが，その学問的な功績は過小には評価できない．セデース (George Cœdès: Paris 1886 - Paris 1969) の業績に惹かれた学徒は多いに相違ない.[83] インド文化のアジア全域に拡散して影響を及ぼしている様相をみて，いわば言語・文化の「インド・アジア文化圏」というものを常に意識しているものとして，個人的な見解を許し戴ければ，マジュムダールと同様に衝撃を受けた書一点を引用しておきた

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77 Louis Renou, "Les divisions les texts sanskrits", *IIJ*,I, 1 (1957),p. 1-32.

= *Louis Renou – Choix d'études indiennes*, réunies par Nalini Balbir et Georges-Jean Pinault. Préface de Colette Caillat et Index par Christine Chojnacki (= *Réimpressions de l'EFEO*, IX) (Paris 1997),II, p. 487-518.

78 Jan Gonda, *Sanskrit in Indonesia* (= *Sarasvati Vihara Series*, XXVIII) (Nagpur: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1952), xxix, 456 p., a folded map; — , Second edition (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, XCIX) (New Delhi 1973), 724 p.

79 Cf. e.g. Harry Spitzbardt, "Sanskrit Loan Words in the Bahasa Indonesia", *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras: Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, 1970), p. 29-47 [*lecture delivered 23.X.1969*].

80 R. C. Majumdar, *Study of Sanskrit in South-East Asia* (= *Calcutta Sanskrit College Research Series*, CII) (Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1974), vii, 5-54 p. — [*Lectures delivered 21 & 23 March 1972 on Indo-China & on Indonesia respectively*].

81 R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East* (Lahore: Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927).

— , — , 2nd ed. (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1963), viii, 94, vii p.

82 See e.g. among others R. C. Majumdar, *Hindu Colonies in the Far East* (Calcutta: General Printers & Publishers Ltd., 1944), 4-page leaves, 242 p., XX Pl. (incl. folded plan on 11 leaves).

— , — , 2nd ed. (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1963, repr. 1973/1974), xii, 280 p., ills.

— , *Champa: History & Culture of an Indian Colonial Kingdom in the Far East, 2nd-16th Century A.D.* (Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1985), xxiv, 274, 6, v, 227 p.

— , *Suvarṇadvīpa: Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*, 2 vols. (Delhi: Gian Publishing House, 1986) [*reprint ed.*], Vol. I: *Political History*, ii, xviii, 436, 16 p.; Vol. II : *Cultural History*, xiv, 354, 10 p., LXXV plates.

83 Cf. e.g. George Cœdès, *Les peuples de la péninsule indochinoise* (Paris: Dunod, 1962), (ii), 229 p., cartes.

— , *The Making of South East Asia*. Translated by H. M. Wright (Berkeley-Los Angles-London: University of California Press, 1983)[*Hardback ed. 1966*], xvi, 268p., XVI pl.

— , 辛島昇・内田晶子・桜井由躬雄(訳), インドシナ文明史 (東京・みすず書房, 1969), ix, 329, xxiii p.; 2nd ed. (1980), 347, 30 p.

い.[84] 確かに東南アジアの街を歩けば, 梵語起源を想わせる語彙に出くわす. ジャヴァの街で面白いと思ったのは, ヒンドゥ・仏教・イスラーム・オランダ植民という, インドネシア文化史の流れを目の当たりにすることである. 例えば「本」が, 梵語の *pustaka* (cf. Skt. *पुस्तक*), アラビア語起源の *kitab* (cf. Arabic *kitāb* : كتاب), オランダ語から *buk* (cf. Dutch *boek*) と三種が目に飛び込んで来る. インドネシア文化形成にインド, とくに南インド, の果たした役割が大きいという歴史学者の説に納得する場面が必ずある. バンコクの街を歩けば, 1933年創立の名門のタマサト (Thammasat) 大学の話も出る. 梵語を囓った人ならば, *Dharmaśāstra* をすぐに想い浮かべよう. 1977-1979年頃に, バンコクはラーマ五世 (Rāma V: King Chulalongkorn = Skt. *चूडालंकार*) を讃えて息子のラーマ六世 (= King Vajiravudh / cf. Skt. *वज्र-बुध*, Pāli *vajira-*°?) が1917年に創建したチュラロンコン大学 (= Skt. *महाचूडालंकारराजविद्याविद्यालय*) の客員教授として在った時, インド・仏教文化に強い関心を示される王室の Princess Mahachakri Devaratanarajasuda Sirindhorn (cf. Skt. *श्रीधरा*, Pāli *siridharā-*) に梵語を教授し, 話題を呼んだサティヤ・ヴラト・シャーストリー (Satya Vrat Śāstrī: *1930) から, 泰国における梵語や文化について, 熱っぽい話を聞いたことがある. 詩人としても名高い彼は, 会話の中で折に触れて作詞・吟詠して聞かせてくれた. 現に, 誠に興味深い『泰国の光輝』では, タイの詩作にも見られるサンスクリットの韻律も用いて百二十一偈の泰国讃歌を詠み, 王女とその学友が共同してタイ語に訳詩し, 著者自らは英訳を付している.[85] 若い学友は, 十年後に, カリフォルニア大学バークレー校に留学し, 偶々沼田講座の担当客員教授で在った筆者の講義演習に出席していた. 彼は今やタイの仏教学の担い手の一人であろう. その後, 碩学にして書ける論著が世に問われたので, 筆者がいま手許で参照できないものもあるが省くよりは挙げておきたい. 特に, 著者が恐らく自選の著作集を, 筆者未見なのは残念である.[86]

— **Cone & von Hinüber**: PTSの新辞典については, 以前にも期待をこめて, 簡略にではあるが, 紹介したことがある.[87] *CPD*についても書いたことがあるが, 本論文を知っていれば書かなかったか, もう少し違った書き方をしていたであろう. その間に, 後者とも関連の会議を共にしているが, 筆者は矢張り本学会に出席できず, しかも本論文を未見であったのを残念に思うこと頻りである.[88]

—**Padoux**: 筆者は, 門外漢であるので, 論評する資格は全くないが, 外野から我々も恩恵に浴す所があろうかと, 三名の監修者の許に多数の専家が執筆陣に名を連ねる国際的な協同作業に私かに大きな期待を込めている. 誰もが想像つくように, あるいは経験したことがあるように, 大企画で, しかも国際的な体制をもって進める仕事ほど難しいものはない. 老輩は, 速やかな進行を祈るしかない.[89]

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[84] Cf. e.g. George Cœdès, *Histoire Ancienne des États Hindouisées d'Extrême-Orient* (Hanoi: Impriemerie d'Extrême-Orient, 1944), VIII, 361 p., cartes.

— , *Les états hindouisées d'Indochine et d'Indonésie*. Nouvelle edition ruvue et mise a jour (Paris: Editions E. de Boccard, 1964), 494 p., fold. tables, 7-sheet maps.

— , *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia*, ed. Walter F. Vella, translated by Susan Brown Cowling (Canberra: A.N.U. Press, 1975), xxi, 403 p., maps.

[85] Satya Vrat Shastri, *Thāi-Deśa-Vilāsam*. Thai translation by Princess Sirindhorn & Prapod Assavavirulhakara. With an Introduction by Visudh Busyakul (Delhi: Eastern Book Linkers, 1979), xviii, 75 p., a map, a frontisp., 2 photos.

[86] Cf. e.g. Satya Vrat Shastri, "Sanskrit in Thailand", *Indologica Taurinensia*, V (Turin 1977), p. 153-166; — , "A Sanskrit Inscription from Thailand", *Indica*, XVI, 1 (Bombay 1979), p. 165-172.

Also his *Studies in Sanskrit and Indian Culture in Thailand* (Delhi: Parimal Publications, 1982), x, 111 p., 7-page ills.

— , *A View of Thailand, Its Beauty, Charm, History - Old and New, Rules*. The work contains English Thai Translation with Sanskrit (1979), xviii, 75 p., plates.

— , *Discovery of Sanskrit Treasures*, 7 vols. (Delhi: Yash Publications, 2006), altogether 1,560 p. — *ISBN 81-895370-5*.

[87] 湯山, "近刊書数行紹介 (2)", *ARIRIAB*, V: 2001 (2002), p. 153.

[88] 湯山, "*A Critical Pali Dictionary* — 学史的背景 — ", *ARIRIAB*, II: 1998 (1999), p. 67-89.

[89] *Tāntrikābbidhānakośa*, I-II: *Dictionnaire des termes techniques de la littérature hindoue tantrique / A Dictionary of Technical terms from Hindu Tantric Literature / Wörterbuch zur Terminologie hinduistischer Tantren*, sous la direction de H. Brunner, G. Oberhammer et A. Padoux (= *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens*, XXXV & XLIV) (= *Sitzunbsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse*, DCLXXXI & DCCXIV) (Wien: Verlag der Ö.A.d.W., 2000-2004), 260 p. + 305 p. — *ISBN 3-7001-2913-0. °-3310-7.*

— Dietz & Schmidt: 両氏共に，ゲッティンゲン学士院の大企画『トゥルファン出土の仏教梵語辞典 (*SWTF = Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan Funden*)』で，今や中核をなす担い手であるが，本書で後者が責任編集者として簡略ながら扱っている．筆者もかつて触れたので，ここでは省略したい．[90] 筆者の知る限りでは，いま現在で第十八分冊 (*ploti-*) まで刊行されているが，八分冊をもって第一巻を閉めて合本を成すにあたって，また第九分冊 (*ka-*から) から表題に若干の変更／付加をなしている．[91] なお，第十七分冊からは，上記の古代トルコ語に関する論稿を寄せたレーアボルン (Klaus Röhrborn: *1938) が学士院を代表して監修編纂する．— ところで，ディーツは，本書で扱うのは，実は1976年にブーナ／プネーから刊行が始まった大梵語辞典の第五巻が出た所までについての論攷で，簡にして要を得た解説をなしている．いま現在は第七巻 (2004-2005) が合冊で配本された状況で，母音*a-/an-*は否定接頭辞に始まる語までも収録するとはいえ，今日までに3848頁を費やして最終項目は *anna-vrata-* という気の遠くなる大企画である．編集の陣容も入れ替わり，幸いにインド連邦政府とマハーラーシュトラ州政府の財政援助を得て刊行が継続している．マハーバーラタの批判校訂版が出るまでも，欧米の学界をも巻き込んだ大企画であった．そこで更に背景を知りたい向きに付け加えておきたい．本企画が刷り物で公告されたのは1949年である．[92] 1951年正月には，デッカン・カレッジは，世界のインド学者に本辞典編纂の趣意書／書簡が送って協力が呼びかけた．多数の著名な学者が，具体的に参加を答えている．当時の学長が，カートレー (Sumitra Mangesh Katre: 1906-1998) である．その年末には，かねて準備していた，恐らくインド人には特別の響きをもつ表題で，専門誌を発刊する．これにも多くの学者が興味深い論稿を寄せたが，残念ながら，六冊が出ただけで休刊してしまった．[93] 1948年から翌年にかけての冬に，碩学ルヌーがインドで講演した論攷集があり，その中に注目すべき一編がある．[94] 更に，1973年に編集者たちの精魂こめた見本刷りが配布されるや，[95] 当然ながら期待と注文が出る．[96] ルヌーは，また上記専門誌へ十数編の寄稿する熱心さであった．現に創刊号の最初をルヌーの論稿が飾った．この専門誌は，ややもすると埋もれてしまって，看過されている感があり惜しい．なお，どちらかというと一般的ではあるが，恐らく印欧語比較文法を土台に戦後の再興に大役を果たし，本辞典の最初期の編纂に主要な役割を果たし，梵語文献学の種々の面で活躍して，

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[90] Cf. Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (I)", *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 348-351.

Cf. also Yuyama, *A Select Bibliography on the Sanskrit Language* .... (1992), p. 15f.: §V.21 (*mit ausführl. bibliograph. Bemerkungen auf p. 16*).

[91] *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden und der kanonischen Literatur der Sarvāstivāda-Schule / Sanskrit Dictionary of the Buddhist Texts from the Turfan Finds and of the Canonical Literature of the Sarvāstivāda School*, begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt. Im Auftrage der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen herausgegeben von Heinz Bechert: Band I [bis 8. Lieferung: *Nachträge zu avidyābbisaṃcetanā-betoḥ/audārika. Titelei,Einleitung und Vrzeichnisse zu Band I*, bearbeitet von Michael Schmidt & Siglinde Dietz], bearbeitet von Georg von Simson, Michael Schmidt, Jesn-Uwe Hartmann & Siglinde Dietz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), LXXX, 617 p.

[92] *A Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles (For Private Circulation only)* (Poona; Deccan College of Post-Graduate and Research Institute, 1949), 8, xxxv p.

[93] *Vāk*, I (Poona: Dr. S. M. Katre for the Deccan College Post-Graduate & Research Institute, 1951), x, 98 p.; II (1952), v, 163 p.; III (1953), iv, 133 p.; IV (1954), iii, 139 p.; V (1957), ii, 159 p.; VI (1964), viii, 219 p.

[94] Louis Renou, *Sanskrit et Culture: L'apport de l'Inde a la civilisation humaine* (= *Bibliothèque Historique*) (Paris: Payot, 1950), p. 113-125: 'Un Thesaurus Sanskrit'.

Cf. L. Renou, "A Sanskrit Thesaurus", *Vāk*, I (1951), p. 88-98.

[95] A(mrit) M(adhav) Ghatage (1913-2003)(*General Editor*), M(adhukar) A(nant) Mehendale (*1918) (*Joint General Editor*), G(ovind) V(inayak) Devasthali (*Editor*), *Dictionary of Sanskrit on Historical Principles (Specimen Fascicule)* (Poona; Deccan College of Post-Graduate and Research Institute, 1973), (iii), 54 p.

Cf. also *Studies in Historical Sanskrit Lexicography*, ed. A. M. Ghatage, R. N. Dandekar & M. A. Mehendale (= *Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, University of Poona, Series Major*, III) (Poona: Deccan College, 973), (viii), 131 p. — [15 contributions of articles].

[96] Cf. e.g. J. W. de Jong & F. B. J. Kuiper, *Some Comments on the Specimen Fascicule of the Sanskrit on Historical Principles* (April 1974), 18 p. [*distributed in mimeograph*].

我々の世代が恩恵に与っているカートレーが,[97] ドラヴィダ語の歴史的な辞典編纂を意図する地で,いうなれば実務的ともいえる講演記録がある.[98] — 仏教学徒にとって,ブーナ／プネーの大梵語辞典と同様に重要な,プラークリット辞典 (1993年刊行開始) のあることを忘れてはならないと思う.同じ総編集者の許になる辞典であってみれば,自ずと正確も判ろう.第一分冊のはしがきと序論で,簡略ながら意図するところも知れよう.筆者の知る限り,2005年までに第三巻第4分冊・本文1240頁に至って,*i* の末尾に達したところである.[99]

— **Oguibénine**: 今後の仏教梵語文献学の懸案の中で,最も重要なものの一を取り上げている.簡にして要を得た論点を提起しているが,著者自身も参画して出たマハーヴァストゥ・アヴァダーナの索引を付け加えておきたい.[100] これはセナール本の索引である.ここで説出世間部に関して論ずるには,筆者には荷が重すぎるので,マハーヴァストゥ・アヴァダーナに関してのみ,筆者が近年公刊した古写本の覆刻版への序論を参照戴きたい.[101]

— **Röhrborn**: 本編が公刊されるとき,筆者の知る限りでは,全十八分冊で完了するはずの辞書は,次の第六分冊が印刷中であったが,残念ながら続刊を見ない.[102] しかし,これには極めて有用な文献目録が公刊されていることを付け加えておきたい.[103]

— **Uebach-Panglung**: まさに拙稿の土台である辞典の簡略な經緯を述べて要を得ているが,最初にも見たように,辞典編纂が如何に大変な仕事であるか身に染みて判るというものだ (cf. *supra* §3.1.1-2).両者の解説を読んで,本辞典を見ると,その意図するところがよく分かる.筆者の理解に誤りがなければ,この辞典は,いわゆる一般の辞書 (thesaurus) ではなく,まさにインド学仏教学徒の期待する'古典的な'形式のものである.辞典部分は始まったばかりであるが,項目は懇切丁寧に書かれ,文脈が解るように,必要かつ十分な引用に訳文も付してある.更めて,あらゆる大企画がそうであるように,ましてや老輩なれば,速やかな進捗を期待せずにはいられない.

3.7.4. 本書を眺めると,インド仏教文化圏の言語の辞典編纂の現況がよく判るが,西欧にはここに至るまでの長い歴史があった.同時に,我々は,西欧における,インド古来の辞典編纂史の研究も忘れて

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[97] See e.g. S. M. Katre, *Introduction to Indian Textual Criticism*. With Appendix II: "A Brief Note on the History and Progress of Cataloguing of Sanskrit and Other MSS. in India and Outside (Between A.D. 1800 and 1941)", by P(arashuram) K(rishna) Gode [1891-1961] (= *Deccan College Hand-Book Series*, V) (Poona: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, 1954), xvii, 148 p. — 2nd ed. (repr.) (Poona/Pune 1981). — 1st ed. published in the *New Indian Antiquary Extra Series* (1941)

[98] S. M. Katre, *Lexicography* (= *Annamalai University Publications in Linguistics*, VI) (Annamalainagar: Annamalai University, 1965), (iii), 64 p.

[99] *A Comprehensive and Critical Dictionary of the Prakrit Languages with special reference to Jain literature* [Begun under the General Editorship of A. M. Ghatage], Volume III, Fascicule 4. Prepared by the staff of the Prakrit Dictionary Department, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune (India), with the financial support of the Sanmati Teeth, Pune (a Trust devoted to Prakrits and Jainology), the University Grants Commission and the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India (General Editor: R. P. Poodar) (Pune: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 2005), (iv), 1137-1240 p. — *No ISBN/ISSN.*

[100] Emmanuel Fauré, Boris Oguibénine, Moriichi Yamazaki and Yumi Ousaka, *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*, I-II: *Word Index and Reverse Word Index* (= *Philologica Asiatica: Monograph Series*, XX & XXII) (Tokyo: The Chūō Academic Research Institute, 2003-2006), (iii), iii, 282 p.; (ii), iv, 376 p. — *ISSN 1340-4385.*

[101] *The Mahāvastu-Avadāna in Old Palm-Leaf and Paper Manuscripts*. With Introductory Remarks by Akira Yuyama, Volume I (= *Bibliotheca Codicum Asiaticorum*, XV) (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies for UNESCO, 2001) [actually appeared in March 2003], p. x i-lxxvi.

[102] Klaus Röhrborn, *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*, Lieferung I-IV (Wiesbaden[-Stuttgart]: Franz Steiner, 1977-1998), XXVI, 446 p. — *ISBN 3-515-02934-6.*

[103] *Bibliographie alttürkischer Studien*. Ausgewählt von Volker Adam-Laut, Jens 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 3-447-04218-4 / ISSN 1436-0195.*

はならない．しかしこれに立ち入ると大変なことになるので，参考資料を二三点挙げるに留めたい．[104] 古典的な研究として，誰しもが思い浮かべるのは，ツァハリエ (Theodor Victor Hugo Zachariae: 1851-1934) の，簡にして要を得た冊子であろう．[105] この稀覯書は，残念ながら，彼の小論文集に再録されていない．確かに，数多の小論文があっては，載せ切れまい．しかし自選の論集には，それなりに自分の関心領野を示してあり，従って丁寧に補完を心がけているし，フォーゲルの編纂した小論文集には個々での関心事は採られていると思う．[106]

— ヴィンテルニッツ (Moriz Winternitz: 1863-1937) の『インド文学史』・巻三 (1920, p. 408-417: "Lexikographie") は，簡略ながら，当然に参照すべきものであるが，ここでは多くの版を引用する煩を避けて，我らが中野義照 (1891-1977) の和訳を引用しておきたい．[107]

— ツァハリエの仕事を再興・進展させたのが，多くの関連論著を江湖に送ってくれたフォーゲルであろうと思う．[108] 彼の他の重要な労作二点，十六世紀のハルシャキールティ (Harṣakīrti Sūri; cf. Vogel, *Indian Lexicography*, 1979, p. 358f.: §34) と十七世紀中葉のミーラミーラーの子息 (Mīramīrāsuta; cf. Vogel, *op.cit.*, p. 363f.: §39) の辞典に関する研究を記しておこう．[109]

— この分野も回顧・展望するには際限がないので，一つだけ，恐らく十三世紀前半にインドで著されて，チベット圏に伝わるジャイナの辞典・シュリーダラセーナ (Śrīdharasena) のヴィシュヴァローチャナ (*Viśvalocana*, alias *Muktāvalī*) を紹介したいが (cf. Vogel, *op.cit.*, p. 339-341: §27)，これまた夙に

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[104] Walther Wüst, *Indisch* (= *Grundriss der indogermanischen Sprach- und Alterrtumskunde*, 4, II, IV, 1) (Berlin-Leipzig 1929), p. 128-136: §VIIIa "Deskriptive Lexikographie", p. 136-142: §VIIIb "Wortforschung".

Claus Vogel, *Die Anfänge des westlichen Studiums der altindischen Lexikographie* (= *Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften – Vortäge*, G 360) (Opladen-Wiesbaden: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1999), 36 p., 6 Abb. — *ISSN 0944-8810.* — *ISBN 3-531-07360-5.* — ["Paulinus a Sancto Bartholomaeo (1748-1806), Henry Thomas Colebrooke (1765-1837), Auguste Loiseleur Deslongchamps (805-1840)].

— , *Zum Aufbau altindischer Sanskritwörterbücher der vorislamischn Zeit* (= *Nordrhein-Westfäl. Akad. ... - Vortäge* – G341) (Opladen 1996), 43 p. — *ISBN 3-531-07341-9.*

— , "Die Vorarbeiten des Jesuitenmissionars Heinrich Roth (1620-1668) zu einem Sanskrit-Lateinischen Wörterbuch", *Vicitrakusumāñjali: Volume Presented to Richard Otbon Meisezahl* [1906-1992] *on the Occasion of bis eightieth Birthday* (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XI) (Bonn1986), p. 131-146.

Heinrich Roth, *Grammatica linguae Sanscretanae Brachmanum Indiae Orientalis: The Sanskrit Grammar and Manuscripts of Heinrich Roth S.J. (1620-1668)*, introduced and edited by Arnulf amps and Jean-Claude Muller (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 26, 168 p. — *ISBN 90-04-08608-0.* — [Including Venidatta's *Pañcatattvaprakāśa* & Sadānanda's *Vedāntasāra*].

Cf. Richard Hauschild (1901-1972), *Der Missionar P. Heinrich Roth aus Dillingen und die erste europäische Sanskrit-Grammatik* (= *Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philol.-hist. Klasse*, CXV, 6) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972), 23 p., 3-page pl.

[105] Theodor Zachariae, *Die indischen Wörterbücher (Kośa)* (= *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, I, 3B) (Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner, 1897), 48 p.

[106] *Theodor Zachariae – Kleine Schriften zur indischen Philologie, zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte,zur vergleichenden Volkskunde* (Bonn-Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1920),VIII, 400 p. — [*45 Aufsätze mit Nachträgen & Register*].

Opera Minora zur indischen Wortforschung, zur Geschichte der indischen Literatur und Kultur, zur Geschichte der Sanskritphilologie, hrsg. Claus Vogel. 2 Teile (= *Glasenapp-Stiftung*, XII, 1-2)Wisbaden: Franz Steiner, 1977), XV, 502 p.; (IV), 503-974 p. — *ISBN 3-515-02216-3.*

[107] ヴィンテルニッツ著・中野義照訳, インドの学術書 — インド文献史 第六巻 — (高野山・日本印度学会, 1973), p. 36-50.

[108] One should now refer to a recent, though an enlarged edition being awaited: Claus Vogel, *Indian Lexicography* (= *History of Indian Literature*, V, 4) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1979), p. 295–401.

[109] "Harṣakirti's *Anekārthanāmamālā*. A Homonymic Dictionary of Sanskrit, ed. Claus Vogel", *NAWG*, 1981, Nr. 6 (Göttingen 1981),(II), 135-166 p. [34 pages].

Claus Vogel, *Mīramīrāsutas* Asālatiprakāśa. *Ein synonymisches Wörterbuch des Sanskrit aus der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (=*Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Geisteswissenschaften – Vortäge*, G 321) (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1993), 37 p. — *ISSN 0172-2093.* — *ISBN 3-531-07321-4.*

フォーゲルに負うところが大きい.[110] これが更には，専家の手になって，本邦から公刊されたのは嬉しい.[111] 本書には極めて有益な紹介・書評がある.[112]

— 最後に，フォーゲルの許でなった学位論文・十六世紀末頃のプンダリーカ・ヴィッタラ (Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala) の同義語辞典の研究のみを紹介して終わりにしたい (cf. Vogel, *op.cit.*, p. 359f.: §35).[113] ここまで来ると，仏教学徒にすれば，ランカー島で12世紀後半になったというモッガラーナ (Nava-Moggallāna) の，いわば『類聚名義明解』のパーリ仏教の唯一最古の辞典を挙げずにはいられないが，幸いにわが片山一良が簡略ながら解説を添えて，優れた校訂版を公刊しているので煩を避けたい.[114]

3.8.0. 仏教文献学の攷究にあたって，筆者はついに満足になしえなかったが，できれば中期イラン語の資料を参照すべき事態が生じているはずである．今はここに再び詳細を述べる暇がないが，せめて専家の成果には常に気を配っていたい．かつてコータン・サカの資料について触れたが,[115] トカラ語の仏典資料も決して少なくないので，一度じっくりと書誌学的にも纏めておきたいと念じつつ，怠慢にも果たせないでいる．亡き畏友・エンメリック (R. E. Emmerick) が，新進気鋭の学者たちと共に著したコータン語辞典を看過できない.[116] 三余年前にも記したように，これは何と言っても，多くが師と仰ぐベイリー (Sir Harold Bailey: 1899-1996) の拓いた研究成果が，基盤にあったことも忘れてはならないと思う[117] (cf. *ARIRIAB*, VII, esp. p. 257f.). それにしても 2001 年は，イラン学界で非常な貢献をした三学者を失った悲しい年だった．ハンブルクでは，エンメリックを偲ぶ数多くの学友たちによる追悼会があった.[118] 筆者は，その前年に偶々彼とベルリンで会ったのが最後になってしまった．

3.8.1. ここでも，中期イラン語の辞典編纂に関する研究集会が開かれた由であるので，我々に親しい

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[110] Claus Vogel, "Śrīdharasenas Viśvalocana. Ein Jaina-Wörterbuch des Sanskrit im lamanistischen Kanons", *NAWG*, 1976, Nr. 8 (Göttingen 1976), 305-330 p. [26 pages].

[111] *Abhidhānaviśvalocanam or Abhidhānamuktāvalī of Śrīdharasena, with its Tibetan Translation by Dharma Bhadra, Zhalu Lotsaba*, ed. Lozang Jamspal in collaboration with Alex Wayman. 3 Parts (= *Naritasan Institute for Buddhist Studies, Monograph Series*, III, 1-3) (Naritasan Shinshoji, 1992-1994-1995), xix, 416 p.; xiv, 489 p.; vii, 15, 151 p. (= *Tib.-Skt. Index*).

[112] Helmut Eimer, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Jahrgang LXXXIX, Nr. 3 (1994), Sp. 313-321.

[113] *Die Śrīgbrabodhinināmamālā des Puṇḍarīka Viṭṭhala. Ein synoptisches Wörterbuch des Sanskrit aus dem 16. Jahrhundert*, herausgegeben und übersetzt von Ardo Schmitt-Rousselle (= *Indica et Tibetica*, VII) (Bonn 1985), 160 p. — [Diss. Bonn 1984]. — *ISSN 0723-3337.* — *ISBN 3-923776-06-3.*

[114] 片山一良, "Moggallāna: Abhidhānappadīpikā (I-III)", 駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要, XXXVII (1979), p. 13-59 (I), XXXIX (1981), p. 1-35 (II); XL (1982), p. 1-44(III).

[115] Cf. for details on this topic Yuyama, "Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (II)", *ARIRIAB*, VII: 2003 (2004), p. 255-259: §1. "Buddhica Iranica",

[116] See e.g. among others Christine Scherer-Schaub, "Ronald Eric Emmerick 1937-2001", *JA*, CCXC, 2 (2002), p. 391-402 [p. 393-402: 'Livres et Articles de Ronald E. Emmerick'].

Mauro Maggi, "Ronald Eric Emmerick 1937-2001", *East & West*, LI, 3-4 (2001), p. 409-415 (with a photo).

— , "Ronald Eric Emmerick and the Siddhasāra: Khotanese, Iranian and Oriental Studies", *Traditional South Asian Medicine*, VII (Wiesbaden 2003), p. 15-28 [= a lecture delivered at the above-mentioned academic service].

[117] 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, H. Kumamoto, M. Maggi, N. Sims-Williams, and P. O. Skjærvø (= *VIK*, XXVII) (= *SÖAW*, DCLI) (Wien 1997), 181 p. — *ISBN 3-7001-2688-3.*

[118] A 46-page booklet was published on the occasion of the academic memorial service: *Akademische Gedenkfeier zu Ehren von Prof. Dr. Ronald E. Emmerick (9. März 1937 – 31. August 2001) am 14. Dezember 2001 im Warburg-Haus, Hamburg.*

コータン語関連の二点だけを引用記録しておきたい.[119]

3.9.0. 拙論を書くにあたって, いわゆる百科辞典・人名辞典はいうに及ばず, 種々の団体・機関の発する資料等の恩恵に浴している. いわば公刊されたもの以外は, ときに煩を避けて一々を注記しない. 次節では, ドイツの人名百科辞典類に被けて出版界・古書肆などを回想してみたい. 学史を繙く度に, 学問の発展には, 研究者の人間的な絆が, 何よりも重要な役割を果たしていると痛感する.

遊余白 (3)・Alexander Cunningham

歴史や考古学的な労作を取りあげたので, ミトラの同時代人として, 矢張り学史的に大きな役割を果たしたカニンガム (Alexander Cunningham: 1814-1893) の著作の覆刻版を記しておこう. 我々には, 総督副官としてインドの陸軍少将にまで登り詰めた政務官というよりは, 退役後に果たした考古局長官として大々的な調査を指揮した学者像が強いかもしれない (参看・岩波西洋人名辞典). ブッダ伽耶の調査研究も, 彼に負う所が大きいようだ. ミトラの報告書も, その賜物によるともいえよう. ミトラの『ブッダ伽耶』が出版された翌年にカニンガムは, 現状調査に赴いているが, 一書を著すのは晩年になってからで, 愛情をもって本領を発揮して, 要領よく凝縮した内容で, しかし貴重な資料の提供は忘れてはいない. その他の貴重な業績が覆刻再刊されているので, 以下に最近の二三点を拾って書き留めておきたい:

Alexander Cunningham, *Mahābodhi, or The Great Buddhist Temple under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gaya* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998) [*Orig.* London: W. H. Allen & Co., Publishers to the India Office, 1892], folio: (ii), x, 87 p., XXXI b/w plates. — *ISBN 81-215-0813-8.* — cf. Hanayama's *Bibliography* 2402.

— , *The Ancient Geography of India*, edited with introduction and notes by Surendranath Majumdar Sastri (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 2002), lxii, 770 p., XIV maps.— *ISBN 81-215-1064-3.*[1]

— , *Bhilsa Topes; or, Buddhist Monuments of Central India: Comprising a brief historical sketch of the Rise, Progress and Decline of Buddhism; with an account of the opening and examination of the various groups of topes around Bhilsa* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997) [*Orig.* London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1854], xxxvi, 370 p., 33 plates. — *ISBN 81-215-0759-6.* — cf. Hanayama's *Bibliography* 2389.

— , *The Stûpa of Bharhut: A Buddhist Monument Ornamented with Numerous Sculptures Illustrative of Buddhist Legend and History in the Third Century B.C.* Published by Order of the Secretary of State for India in Council [*Orig.* London: W. H. Allen, Trübner & Co., W, S, Whittingham & Co., Thacker & Co., 1879] (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998), folio: (ii), vii, 143 p., LVII b/w plates. — *ISBN 81-215-0793-6.* — Hanayama's *Bibliography* 2398.[2]

[1] Reprint of 1924 ed. (Calcutta: Chuckerverthy, Chatterjee & Co., 1924); *orig.* Part I: *The Buddhist Period* (London: Trübner, 1871); — *repr.* Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1979), xxxi, ix, 481 p., 13 maps.

[2] Cf. Ramesh Chandra Sharma (*1936), *Bharhut Sculptures* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1994), folio: 52 p., incl. 16 ills. (14 col. & 2 b/w). — *ISBN 81-7017-308-6.*

遊余白 (4) 永樂大鐘の佛頂尊勝陀羅尼

張保勝・著／特約顧問・季羨林, 永樂大鐘 梵字銘文考 [北京市社会科学理論著作出版基金資助] (北京・北京大學出版社, 2006.7), (ii), 22, LXXXIX-page Plates (incl. num. reprinted rubbings), (i), 242 p., 10-page col. frontisp. (plates) [incl. "季羨林先生近照"]. — *ISBN 7-301-07951-6.* — P58 元.

「大明永樂年月吉日製」と記した永樂大鐘は, 数多くの経典・陀羅尼類を隈なく陽彫した鐘で, インド彫刻芸術の空間の恐怖を思い起こさせる. その研究が鶴首して待たれてきたが, 季羨林 (*1911) の許に学んだ北京大学教授・張保勝 (*1938) という正に人を得て実現した. 本書は拙稿締切直前に届いたが, せめて『佛頂尊勝陀羅尼』に関してだけでも, 極めて簡潔に報告しておきたい. 大鐘が永楽年間 (1403-1424CE) のいつ鋳造されたのか, 専家に委ねるほかないが, 永樂版西藏大藏經が 1410 年の完成として (cf. *supra* §2.3.3, cum n. 117-122), 永樂錢の鋳造や『永楽大典』勅撰などが 1408 年とされるので, 大鐘も永楽年間最後の干支十二支一回りの頃であったろうか. この『佛頂尊勝陀羅尼』は, 大鐘の頂点部の内壁に彫られている (色付図版最終頁／黒白図版 XXXII).

有名な居庸関雲台の六字体刻文が, 恐らく至正五年 (1345CE) から翌年にかけてのものであり, 高麗・演福寺の鐘銘が忠穆二年 (1346CE) の鋳造で, 筆者が元朝の欽定本的なものと名付けた『佛頂尊勝陀羅尼』と同文であることに気付き非常な関心をもった.[1] この永楽大鐘の『佛頂尊勝陀羅尼』は, 上揚図版の中心から南南西四行目の *namo ratna-trayāya* に始まる (張, p. 98-117 参看). 両本の相違点は略三点. いま垣間見た限りでは, 筆者再構の元本 171-172 *me sadā* が, 大鐘では逆 (つまり 103-104 *sadā me*) になっているのと, 最初の「南無三宝」は元本に欠け, 著者指摘のように末尾に *oṃ amitāyur-dade svāhā* が付加されている. 本文の修訂・再構が必要であろう.

[1] 湯山明, "演福寺銅鐘の梵語銘文覚書", 東洋學報, LXVI (1985), p. 325-362, esp. 335f.

119 Ronald E. Emmerick and Mauro Maggi, "Khotanese Lexicography", *Middle Iranian Lexicography: Proceedings of the Conference held in Rome, 9-11 April 2001*, ed. Carlo G. Cereti & Mauro Maggi (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, XCVIII) (= *Orientale Romana*, VIII) (Roma: Istituto Italianoperl'Africa e l'Oriente, 2005), p. 167-178. — *ISBN 88-85320-26-0.*

— & — , "A New Historical and Etymological Ditionary of Khotanese", *ibid.*, p. 227-234.

§4. ドイツの人名百科辞典類に被けて出版界・古書肆などを回想する

4.0.0. ドイツには、ロシアのように東洋学者を特に扱ったような人名辞典はないが,[1] 他国の優れた百科辞典に勝るとも劣らないものがある. また, 幅広い人材を収録した人名辞典は, 相当な数の東洋学者をも集録しているので役に立つ. いうまでもなく内容は執筆者の傾向を反映して濃淡はあるが, 利用者の一方的な需要を完璧に満たさないまでも, 大まかな歴史の流れや背景を知るに足る資料を十分に提供してくれる. 近年は, 大英百科辞典と同様に, 手の届く値段で大辞典をディジタル化してくれて, 極狭の書斎の主にとっては, 更に有り難いというほかない.[2] ブロックハウス百科辞典については多言を要しまいが, 下に挙げる版はアムステルダムで 1805 年に業を起こしてから二百年を記念しての刊行である. 筆者は, 寡聞にして, 二百年を記念しての社史が出ているかどうか知らない. 百五十年史でも相当に詳しいが, 近五十年の目まぐるしい動向は概略でも追いきれない.[3] — この雑録は, 最終回になったので, 一学者を徹底的に調べて書く意図もないが, そもそも不可能であるので, 出来るだけ参照できそうなものを挙げたつもりである. 成功したとは, とても思えないので, 堪忍して戴きたい. 以下に, ドイツの人名辞典に託けて, インド学仏教学に関連した出版社などを垣間見てみたい. 荒っぽい出版界事情なので, ご用とお急ぎでない方にしか読んで貰えまいが. — ただ, 実は, いわゆる『岩波 西洋人名辞典』の初版が出たのが 1956 年, 増補版が 1981 年に出たきりで, 確かに余りに広範な地域を覆っているとはいえ, また更にはほかの参照できる多くの有用な辞典類がその間に出てはいるが, 『岩波 西洋人名辞典』の第三版がいまだに出ないのが, 筆者には残念でならないのだ. 半世紀・四半世紀の間に, 数量が増えるだけではなく, 取捨選択のための評価基準も変わり, 増補改訂の作業は決して容易ではなかろう.

4.0.1. ドイツ出版界の第二次世界大戦前後の事情は, 冷戦下の出版社の東西分裂に加えて, とくに近年の合弁・買収などによる離合集散は極めて複雑で, 書物を読むだけの筆者の手に負えるものではない. 周知のように, ドイツ東端のエルベ河に面した美しいザクセン (Sachsen) 州都・いわば宮廷文化都市ドレースデン (Dresden) と並んで, 学術文化都市を誇るライプツィヒ (Leipzig) から, 戦後西側に同一名で分立した出版社は多い. 筆者には, 経済学・法学のことは皆目知らないが, 判ることはかつての名門出版社が, 要するに東にあっては人民所有の企業 (= VEB・Volkseigener Betrieb) となり, 西にあれば有限責任会社 (= GmbH・Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung) という形で, 本の表紙や版権頁に出てきたことであろうか. 東西ドイツが統一される1989年までは, なべて東側の労働者の八割はVEBに勤務していたことになるらしい.

4.1.0. ライプツィヒを越えて, 西隣のテューリンゲン (Thüringen) 地方にあって, 小都市ながら, 特に18世紀末ころは斬新な文化を誇るゴータ (Gotha) 市に起業したマイヤー (Carl Joseph Meyer: 1796-1856) が, 地図作製などで名を成したのは知る人ぞ知る.[4] 彼は種々の事業をした後に出版界にも乗り出し, 1826年に夫人 (Minna, *eigentlich* Hermine Grobe: 1804-1874) を社主 (*Eigenthümerin*) に, 興味深い名の会社 "書誌学研究所 (Das Bibliographische Institut)" を設立する. 幸いに, 少し古いが, 創立150年を記念して, 詳細を極めた社史が出ている.[5] 百周年記念の折りには, 数冊の祝賀出版があ

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[1] Cf. Sofija Davidovna Miliband (*1922), *Bio-Bibliografičeskij slovar' otečestvennyx vostokovedov s 1917 g.* 2-e izdanie, prepadotannoe i dopolnennoe. Kniga I: A-L, Kniga II: *M-Ja* (Moskva: Nauka, 1995), 704 + 767 p. — Reviewed by Solomon Bayevsky, *JAOS*, CXVII, 2 (1997), p. 409.

[2] *Der Brockhaus multimedial premium 2005*. 6 CD-ROMs [for *Windows*] + Quizbuch (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut & F. A. Brockhaus, 2005). — *ISBN 3-411-06519-2.*

DBE & DBI = Deutsche Biographische Enzyklopädie & Deutsche Biographischer Index. CD-ROM-Edition [for *Windows*] (München: K. G. Saur Verlag, 2001) [Erste Aufl. 1999]. — *ISBN 3-598-40360-7.*

[3] Cf. e.g. Arthur Hübscher, *Hundertfünfzig Jahre F. A. Brockhaus 1805 bis 1955* (Wiesbaden: F.A. Brockhaus, 1955), 308 p., 28 Tafeln, 1 frontisp. (portr. Friedrich Arnold Brockhaus: 1772-1823).

[4] 参看・湯山, "楞伽島備忘禄録", 三笠宮殿下米寿記念論集 (東京・刀水書房, 2004), p. 748f. (cum p. 757f., n. 56).

[5] Heinz Sarkowski, *Das Bibliographische Institut: Verlagsgeschichte und Bibliographie・1826-1976* (Mannheim-Wien-Zürich: Bibliographisches Institut, 1976), 314 p., incl. num. col. & b/w ills., figs, maps, tables. — *ISBN 3-411-01368-0.*

ったが，筆者は未見である.[6] 息子のヘルマン・ユーリウス (Hermann Julius: 1826-1909) は，更にニュー・ヨークに事業を進出させたりするが，帰国して本社で両親を手伝い，種々と発展させて出版界の中心ライプツィヒに移す．更に，その子息 (Hermann August Heinrich: 1871-1932) も，地理学に関心をもって世界中を研究のために旅行したりするが，早くから会社の経営にも参画する．しかし，第二次世界大戦後は，ライプツィヒにあるブロックハウスと同じく，いわば人民所有企業 (VEB) となったので，1953年に西側のマンハイム (Mannheim) に拠点を移して，株式会社 (AG = Aktiengesellschaft) とする．1984年にはブロックハウスと合併し，1991年に新たな株式会社とするが，ライプツィヒの方は東西ドイツ統一後は有限責任会社となる．

4.1.1. マンハイムでは，恐らくドイツ語修習者にとっては周知のように，ドイツ語正書法を確立して名を成した言語学者ドゥーデン (Konrad Duden: 1829-1911) が，1880年に初巻を出して出発した辞典群や，音楽などの芸術面や歴史・年代記などの百科辞典で非常な活躍をするハーレンベルク社などをも傘下に収めてしまった．ハーレンベルク (Bodo Harenberg: *1937) が，1973年に現在の形の会社経営を始動させたと思うが，今やドルトムント (Dortmund) に最高層のセンター"Harenberg City-Center"を建てて居を構え，ここを中心に芸術家を育てて，急成長を遂げる企業で，音楽愛好家にとっては『オペラ便覧』の刊行で知られる.[7] 便覧は，幅広い選択で，バーンシュタイン (Leonard Bernstein: 1918-1990) やガーシュイン (George Gershwin: 1898-1937) などにも少ないながら頁を割き，作曲家順に，美しい印刷の図版を豊富に埋めて，作品の行き届いた専家九人の解説を施し，有名歌手名鑑・上演年代記や索引三種などを付す．更には，本書の付録のような形で，延べ12時間分の名歌曲150作の触りを参照できるようにCD十枚にして別売りする．本書をスペインで印刷しているのは，耽美と安価のために，あたかも日本の陶磁器の美術書を伊万里で刷るようなものか．

4.1.2. 上にも記したように，ドイツで人名を検索参照するのに百科辞典類が有用であるが，更には優れた人名辞典がある．第二次大戦時下で，いわばドイツ帝国最後の軍需大臣を務めたことで知られるが，機械工学・経営学を修めた知識を活かして，1949年ミュンヘンに"Dokumentation der Technik"社を創設したザオル (Karl-Otto Saur: 1902-1966) は，参考書などに手を拡げて成功し，彼の没後は確か兄弟社 (Klaus G. Saur & Karl-Otto *jun.*) が引継ぐとか，1978年には子息が，その名を取って再編し，現在に至る出版業"K. G. Saur Verlag"を営む．1982年に現在の"WBIS = *World Biographical Information System*"と称される原型"*Deutsches biographisches Archiv*"を打ち上げる．ドイツはもとより，アフリカ・アメリカ・オーストラリア・ベネルックス三国・英連邦・中国・フランス・イタリア・ロシア・スカディナヴィア諸国・スペイン-ポルトガル系／イベロ・アメリカなどに加えて，古代人やユダヤ系などの人名基礎資料を蒐集する徹底ぶりには驚くばかりであるが，1995年に『ドイツ人名百科辞典』(十巻) を刊行し始めて，2003年に第十三巻の補遺が出たばかりで，いよいよ2005年に増補改訂第二版を二年がかりで，61,000名の人名辞典を，550名の執筆陣で完成しようという.[8] 恐らく初版全十巻を完成した段階で，極めて便利な索引も利用できて，安価な電子辞書が刊行されている．刊行年からして，

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[6] E.g. Johannes Hohlfeld, *Das Bibliographische Institut: Festschrift zu seiner Jahrhundertfeier* (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut, 1926), 4°: VI, 323 p., mit Holzschnitten im Text von Hans Alexander Müller, zahlreichen Tafeln, Faksimiles & Stammtafeln.

— , *Hundert Jahre Bibliographisches Institut: Gotha-Hildburghausen-Leipzig 1826-1926* (1926), 8°: 53 p., 2 Tafeln.

[7] *Harenberg Opernführer*. Mit CD-Empfehlungen der >Opernwelt<-Redaktion (Dortmund: Harenberg Kommunication ／ Verlags- und Mediengesellschaft mbH & Co. KG, 1995), 1182 p., inkl. innum. ills., figs., etc. — *ISBN 3-611-00496-0. / 10 CD Edition 446 890-2.*

この増補改訂版はマンハイムから出版されているようだ: *Die vom Verlag Harenberg, Dortmund, übernommene Ausgabe* (Mannheim: Bibliographisches Institut, 2004), 1248 p. — *ISBN 3-411-76107-5 // 12-CD-Edition*, mit 201 Aufnahmen für 15 Stunden], 2. Aufl. (Mannheim: Meyers Lexikonverlag, 2004). — *ISBN °-76108-3.* — *Ungesehen!*

[8] *DBE = Deutsche biographische Enzyklopädie*. 2., überarbeitete und erweiterte Auflage, herausgegeben von Rudolf Vierhaus unter Mitarbeit [i.e. wissenschaftlicher Beirat] von Dietrich von Engelhardt, Wolfram Fischer, Hans-Albrecht Koch, Bernd Moeller und Klaus G. Saur. 10 Bände (München: K. G. Saur Verlag / Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft – Lizenzausgabe des Saur-Verlags, 2006-2007), zusammen circa 9,000 p.

補遺三巻は含まれていないだろう (cf. *supra* n. 2). 増補改訂第二版の電子辞書が期待されるところだ.

4.1.3. ところで, ドイツ出版界の離合集散には長い歴史があるが, 実はザオル出版社 (K. G. Saur Verlag) を, 今を時めくドゥ・グライター社がつい最近になって買収したが, その会長職・執行役員にはザウルが就き, しかも出版業・書籍商関連の協会の要職にある.[9] 一年前には, ザオル社が, テュービンゲンの老舗・ニーマイヤー社 (Max Niemeyer Verlag) と販路拡張で協同合併したので, 今は両者共にドゥ・グライター社の一翼を担うことになる. ドゥ・グライター社は, もともと良質の出版社の併合から発展した出版社といえよう. あきらかにオランダ人の名だが, ドイツに生まれ育ったドゥ・グライター (Walter de Gruyter: 1862-1923) は, 19 世紀末に広告を出して, 当時の有名な学術出版社五社を買収して 1919 年に起業し, その没年に現在の社名をもって独占企業体・学術出版統合社を打ち上げる.[10] その併合された出版社には, 我々にも馴染み深いゲッシェン社 (1785 年起業／Georg Joachim Göschen: 1752-1828), トリューブナー社 (1872 年起業／Karl J. [= Ignaz] Trübner: 1846-1907) もある.

— このゲッシェン社について, 筆者は詳しく知らないが, どうやら印刷技術面などにも最新式のものを導入したり, 出版形態も種々と工夫したり, 進取の気象に富んだ人物が創業し, 著者と読者の多くを惹き付けたように思う. ドゥ・グライター社がゲッシェン社を買収統合した時には, 既に数多くの点数を出版したポケット版 (Taschenformat / Taschenbücher) の文庫は成功を収めていた. 第二次世界大戦後も, 多数のインド学徒が, ドゥ・グライター社が刊行する「ゲッシェン文庫 (Sammlung Göschen)」の言語学・印欧語比較文法など関連の肝要な入門書の世話になったと思う. 小版・小冊で極めて便利で, まさに要点を知るために重宝なものであった. マイルホーファー (Manfred Mayrhofer: *1926) が, 若くして著した梵語文法入門を思い浮かべる向きも多かろう.[11] これは版を重ね, アメリカで英訳もされた.[12] 彼が, また非常に興味深いパーリ語の入門書を公刊したのは, 驚くなかれその二年前である (cf. *infra* §4.2.1).

— このトリューブナーは, 長い間, ロンドンで, 東洋学関係書を刊行する協同企業体に至る出版社を遺して令名を馳せたトリューブナー (Nikolaus Trübner: 1817-1884) の甥に当たる.[13] そのトリューブナー (Karl J. Trübner) は, インド学仏教学の分野では, いまだに参照すべき数多くの名著を生み出

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[9] Prof. Dr. Klaus G. Saur, *Vorsitzender der Geschäftsführung, Geschäftsführender Gesellschafter. — Vorsitzender der Historischen Kommission des Börsenvereins des Deutschen Buchhandels e.V.*

[10] Berlin & Leipzig: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger · Walter de Gruyter & Co., vormals G. J. Göschen'sche Verlagshandlung – J. Guttentag, Verlagsbuchhandlung – Georg Reimer – Karl J. Trübner – Veit & Comp.

Cf. *Aus dem Archiv des Verlages Walter de Gruyter: Briefe - Urkunden - Dokumente*, bearbeitet von Doris Fouquet-Plümacher und Michael Wolter (= *Ausstellungsführer der Universitätsbibliothek der Freien Universituat Berlin*, IV) (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1980), 135 p., inkl. 12 montierten Textabbildungen. — *ISBN 3-11-008513-5.*

未見二点: *Katalog der im Verlage der Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger bis Ende 1921 erschienenen wichtgsten Werke und Zeitschriften* (Berlin: Vereinigung Wissenschaftlicher Verleger Walter de Gruyter, 1922), 416 p.

G. Ludtke, *Der Verlag Walter de Gruyter & Co.: Skizze aus der Geschichte der seinen Aufbau bildenden ehemaligen Firmen, nebst einem Lebensabriß W. de Gruyter* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1924), 103 p., 10 Bl., 6 Taf. — [*Kurzdarstellungen der Verlage Göschen, Guttentag, Reimer, Trübner, Veit & de Gruyter*].

[11] M. Mayrhofer, *Sanskrit-Grammatik* (= *Sammlung Göschen*, 1158) (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1953), 89 p.

[12] — , *Sanskrit-Grammatik mit sprachvergleichenden Erläuterungen*. 2., völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage (= *Sammlung Göschen*, 1158/1158a) (Berlin 1965), 110 p.

— , 3., durchgesehene Auflage (= *Sammlung Göschen*, 2207) (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978), 110 p.

— , *A Sanskrit Grammar. With Comparative Indo-European Explanations*. Translated from the German with revisions and an introduction by Gordon B. Ford, Jr. (= *Alabama Linguistic and Philological Series*, XX) (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1972), 115 p. — [*Translated from the German second edition (1965)*].

Gordon B. Ford, Jr., has translated Jan Gonda's grammar from its German edition, too: *A Concise Elementary Grammar of the Sanskrit Language with Exercises, Reading Selections, and a Glossary* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), VII, 152 p.

— , — . 2nd ed. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006), VII, 152 p.

[13] Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. (London), founded 1889.

した叢書を刊行した出版社として忘れることはできまい.[14] 彼は叔父のほかに，ハイデルベルクやライプツィヒでも書肆業を修め，シュトラスブルクにあって，実は今に続くクルーゲ (Friedrich Kluge: 1856-1926) の『ドイツ語語言辞典』の初版 (1883) の出版社であることからも判るように，言語学・文献学に強みを持っていた．この辞典も今は当然ドゥ・グライターに出版権はあるが，最新版はさながらテゥートニック (Teutonisch) の語源辞典というべきかも知れない.[15] また，トリューブナーは，出版業者として，一家言をもっていたようだ．晩年に，出版業界の協会の記念に学問と書肆業に関しての防衛論ともいうべき一書を上梓した．理論と実際の精細な論著で，筆者のような門外漢に批評する資格もないが，恐らく学術出版に携わるものには，歴史的な意味もあろう.[16] ところで，この協会長・フィッシャー (Gustav Paul Danckert Fischer: 1845-1910) は，ハンブルク郊外の出身で，イェーナ (Jena) に学術出版社を起業して，後に甥 (Gustav Adolf Fischer: 1878-1946) が養子となって継ぐ．例によって併合を重ねて，現にミュンヘンとイェーナを拠点にする．1886 年に，ドイツ出版者協会 (Deutsches Verlegerverein) を創立したことで知られる．19-20 世紀にかけてドイツの学術出版界に貢献した二人を書き足した次第である．さて，トリューブナー社からドゥ・グライター社に移り変わるのを見せつけるのが，インド学仏教学史に関心を持つ者が，必ず繙くヴィンディッシュ (Ernst Wilhelm Oskar Windisch: 1844-1918) の書で，没年までに書き上げて二分冊まで出た名著は，出版元が両社にまたがることになる.[17]

4.2.0. いうまでもなく，ライプツィヒには，他にも東洋学関連の学術公刊を手がけた，著名な出版社が軒を並べている．ここでは余りの脱線になってしまいそうだが，ここまで書いたので簡略に一つだけ付け加えておきたい．どの書肆・出版社にも，上でも見たように，かなり複雑な歴史を辿って名を成している．東洋学者には忘れることができないのは，戦後に多くの店が移ったヴィースバーデンに大きな店舗を張ったハラソーヴィッツであろう．それは南米ヴェネズエラ産の創業主 (Otto (Wilhelm) Harrassowitz: 1845-1920) の名で，ライプツィヒに独立して，十九世紀末には東洋学・言語学・図書館学などの分野の丁寧な書誌目録を刊行して，多くの専門家の便益に供した．その伝統は西に移っても継続したが，残念ながら絶えてしまった．今は，ハラソーヴィッツ出版社 (Harrassowitz Verlag)，法的には合資会社 (Otto Harrassowitz KG [= Kommanditgesellschaft]) として，出版業に専念し，かつての新旧の書籍を手際よく扱ってくれた面影はない．老舗の多くが，素晴らしい古書部門を持っていて，近隣の人たちはともかく，遠くにあっても所用の足をわざわざ少し伸ばしてでも書棚を散策したものたが，これも現在では多くの有名書店の古書部は採算が合わずに閉めてしまっている．

— ところで，東ドイツ時代に，人民所有企業として，一手に古書を扱った中央古書店 (Zentralantquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik) も，老舗古書店の衰退する中で，今や株式会社 (ZA = Zentralantiquariat Leipzig GmbH) として，多岐に亘る分野の書籍類を扱って，ライプツィヒのあちこちにそれぞれが店舗を構えて健在のようだ．この書店は，かつてドイツ中央アジア探検隊の成

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[14] *GIAPA = Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde (Encyclopedia of Indo-Aryan Researcb)*, begründet von Georg Bühler (1837-1898), fortgesetzt von Franz Kielhorn (1840-1908), herausgegeben von Heinrich Lüders (1869-1943) und Jacob Wackernagel (1853-1938).

[15] Friedrich Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (Straßburg: Trübner, 1883), XXIV, 428 p. — *9. durchgesehe Auflage* (Berlin-Leipzig: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger, 1921), XVI,519 p. — (*Die letzte*) *24. durchgesehene und erweiterte Auflage*, bearbeitet von Elmar Seebold (Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002), LXXXIX, 1023 p.: - *ISBN 3-11-017473-1*; — 24. Auflage auf CD-ROM (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2002): - *ISBN 3-11-017474-X*.

[16] *Wissenschaft und Buchhandel. Zur Anwehr. Denkschrift der Deutschen Verlegerkammer unter Mitwirkung ihres derzeitigen Vorsitzenden, Dr. Gustav Fischer in Jena*. Bearbeitet von Dr. Karl Trübner (Straßburg i. E.) (Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer, 1903), iii, 128 p.

[17] Ernst Windisch, *Geschichte der Sanskrit-Philologie und indischen Altertumskunde* (= *GIAPA*, I, 1B) (Strassburg: Verlag von Karl J. Trübner, 1917 ／ Berlin-Leipzig: Vereinigung wissenschaftlicher Verleger・Walter de Gruyter, 1920), VII, 208 p.(IV), 209-460 p.

果などを再刷して，渇を癒してくれたこともあった (cf. also *supra* §2.1.0, n. 13 *end*).[18]

4.2.1. 言語学・文献学関係の出版社が多かったので，ドイツの他所で我々に馴染みの一二社を，極めて簡略に名を挙げておこう．古くから印欧語比較文法の関係書などで知られるハイデルベルクのヴィンター書店 (UWH = Universitätsverlag C. Winter Heidelberg GmbH) は，大学の歴史に比べれば浅いが，既に二世紀余に亘って発展を遂げてきている．貧乏学生の時代に，どうしても座右に置きたかったマイルホーファーの語源辞典は，既に最初の八分冊が第一巻に纏まり，次巻の分冊が始まっていたので，書物を講読するのに「清水の舞台から飛び降りる」思いをした最初の一書で，予約購入するのは財布の中を見ながらの悲壮な決意だったが，語源の疑問が氷解するのは爽快な気分を味合わせてくれるもので，折に触れては参照を怠らなかった.[19] 1986 年からは，著者積年の計画である語源辞典の新訂版も始まって，2001 年に三十一分冊をもって完成した．著者は，これが単に旧版を新版にしたのではないと，先ずもって序文に明言する (Band I, Lieferung 1, 1986, p. 1-6). 両版ともに常に参照する資料が増し，内容も補訂し続ける.[20] 彼のパーリ語入門は，副題が示すように，言語学的な関心を持つものならば必携の書で，仏教梵語にも気を配っている．筆者が初めて参照したときは，彼の著述した年齢の前後であることを知って愕然としたことを覚えている.[21] これは表題を見ても判るように，恐らく，インド学徒に，トゥンプ・ハウシルト (Thumb-Hauschild) として親しまれてきた，高度な入門書に刺激されたものであろう.[22]

— 三百年に垂んとするゲッティンゲンの出版社 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen) は，周知のように，中央アジア出土の梵語仏典の辞書の初巻を 1973 年に発刊し，今に鋭意編纂事業を続行している.[23] ヴァッカーナーゲル (Jakob Wackernagel: 1853-1938) に始まり，今まだ動詞の部分の速やかな刊行が望まれている古インド語の軌範的な文法書は (cf. also *supra* 3.1.2e), 学生が何ヶ月分かの書籍

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[18] Cf. z.B. Albert von Le Coq, *Von Land und Leuten in Ostturkista: Berichte und Abenteuer der 4. deutschen Turfanexpedition* (1982, Repr. d. 1928 Ausgabe), VII, 183 p., num.ills.

Sprachwissenschaftliche Ergebnisse derdeutschen Turfan-Forschung: Faksimiles zu den Text-Editionen von Albert August von Le Coq, Friedrich Wilhelm Karl Müller, Willi Bang, Annemarie von Gabain, et alibi. [Reprint aus Abhandlungen und Sitzungsberichten der Berliner Akademieschriften] (= *Opuscula*, III) (Leipzig: ZA, 1983-).

[19] Manfred Mayrhofer, *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen / A Concise Etymological Sanskrit Dictionary*. 4 Bände (= *Indogermanische Bibliothek*, II. Reihe: *Wörterbücher*) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter - Universitätsverlag, 1952-1980), I (Lieferung 1-8), *A-Th* (1952-1956), XXXV, 570 p.; II (Lfg. 9-17), *D-M* (1957-1963), 700 p.; III (Lfg. 18-26), *Y-H, Nachträge & Berichtigungen* (1965-1976), XXIII, 808 p.; IV (Lfg. 27-31), *Register*, unter Mitarbeit von Rüdiger Schmidt, Ronald Zwanziger & Heinz Dieter Pohl (1978-1980), VIII, 384 p. — *ISBN 3-533-02649-3 (kart.), °-02650-7 (Lw.), etc.*

[20] — , *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindoarischen*. 3 Bände (= *Indogermanische Bibliothek*, II. Reihe: *Wörterbücher*) (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1986-2001), *Erster Teil: Ältere Sprache* [= Band I-II], Band I (Lf. 1-10), *A-DH* (1986-1992), LXIV, 812 p.; II (Lf. 11-20), *N-H* (1992-1996), 837 p.; III: *Zweiter Teil: Jüngere Sprache* (Lf. 21-32), *A-H, Nachträge & Berichtigungen, Register* (1997-2001), XXXV, 962 p. — *ISBN 3-8253-0556-2, etc.*

[21] — , *Handbuch des Pāli. Ein Einführung in das sprachwissenschaftliche Studium des Mittelindischen*. 2 Teile (= *Indogermanische Bibliothek*, I. Reihe: *Lehr- und Handbücher*)(Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1951),I (*Grammatik*), xxvi, 214 p.; II (*Texte und Glossar*), 84 p.

[22] Albert Thumb (1865-1915), *Handbuch des Sanskrit mit Texten und Glossar. Eine Einführung in das sprachwissenschaftliche Studium des Altindischen* (= *Sammlung Indogermanischer Lehrbücher*, I. Reihe: *Grammatiken*, I, 1-2) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1905):
Teil I: *Grammatik*, XVIII, 505 p.; Teil II: *Texte und Glossar*, 133 p.

2. Auflage verbessert und mit Nachträgen versehen von Hermann Hirt (1865-1936)(1930), XX, 538 p.

3., stark umgearbeitete Auflage von Richard Hauschild (1901-1972) (= *Indogermanische Bibliothek*, I. Reihe: *Lehr- und Handbücher*) (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1958):
Teil I: *Grammatik*, 1. "Einleitung und Lautlehre" (1958), XVI, 347 p.; 2. "Formenlehre" (1958), XII, 492 p.
Teil II: *Texte und Glossar*. 2., erweiterte und völlig neu bearbeitete Auflage (1953, Nachdruck 1978), XII, 356 p.

— Cf. A. Yuyama, *A Select Bibliography on the Sanskrit Language for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology. A Revised Version* (= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica, Pamphlets*, I) (Tokyo: IIBS-Library, 1992), p. 5.

[23] Cf. Yuyama, *A Select Bibliography on the Sanskrit Language* ... (Tokyo 1992), p. 15f.§V.21, with relevant references.

費を割いてでも手許で参照すべきものと論されたものだ.[24] 筆者の知る限り，当社は，その長い歴史を二点の精細な書に纏めて刊行している．ただし東洋学に関係する学徒には，最初のものが全体を見るのに面白いかもしれない.[25]

遊余白 (5)・Rajendra Lal Mitra

ラージェーンドラ・ミトラ (Rajendralal Mitra: 1822?-1891) は，仏教文献学の学徒には，先ずは梵語写本調査の先鞭を付けた人として忘れることができないが，[1] 種々の方面で活躍した．この写本調査の大事業は，幸いにハラプラサード・シャーストリー (Haraprasad Sastri: 1853-1931) によって継承された.[2] 1974年初頭に，アジア協会は，他の関連機関と協同して，彼の生誕百五十年記念の行事を催した．その時の講演集が刊行された．ミトラの曾孫が「前書き」を付して，生年月日に混乱のあることも教えてくれる:

Rajendralala Mitra (150th Anniversary Lectures) (Calcutta: Asiatic Society, 1978), (iii), xiv, 98 p.:

Dilip Kumar Mitra, "Preface", p. i-v.
R. C. Majumdar, "Rajendralal Mitra as a National Leader", p. 1-23.
Bireswar Banerjee, "Contribution of Rajendralal Mitra to Geography and Technical Sciences", p. 24-33.
S. K. Saraswati, "Raja Rajendralal Mitra", p. 34-47.
B. N. Mukherjee, "Rajendra Lal Mitra and His Contemporaries", p. 48-69.
Dilip Kumar Mitra, "Rajendralal's Contribution to Languages and Literature", p. 70-98.

彼の著作二点の最近の覆刻版を記録しておきたい．1877年正月に，当時のビルマ大寺院の修復を始めて，種々の資料が出てはきたが，様変わりしたことも事実であろう．その秋にブッダ伽耶に赴いて調査したので，色々と新しい貴重な記録が得られる．一世紀余あとに著した書と比較してみると興味深い.[3] 話は飛ぶが，戦後の古き良き時代に，かの地に留学して，いま一書に纏めた愛情溢れる随筆を快く目にした.[4]:

Rájendralála Mitra, *Buddha Gayá: The Hermitage of Śákya Muni* (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 2005), xv, 257 p., LI pl., 1 frontisp. — *ISBN 81-7742-062-3*. — (Orig. published under the Orders of the Government of Bengal, 1878; cf. Hanayama's *Bibliography*, Nos. 8847).

ラリタ・ヴィスタラの原典研究は，信頼できる校訂版が備わっていない現況であるが，ミトラの果たした役割は学史的には大きい (cf. Emeneau's *Union List* 3832, 3837; Hanayama's *Bibliography* 8848 & 8854):

Rájendralála Mitra, *The Lalita Vistara, or Memoir of the Early Life of Śákya Siṁha*. 2 vols. (New Delhi: Cosmo Publications, 2004), (iv), 64, 281 p.; (iv), 281(sic)-575 p., 32 p. — *ISBN 81-7755-773-4 (set)*.[5]

この重要な典籍に関する研究には，極めて大きな期待を寄せる業績が本邦で出ている．内外の多くの関連学徒が続刊を鶴首して待つ.[6]

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[1] See for details A. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections: A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology* (Tokyo: IIBS Library, 1992), p. 7: §5: "Asiatic Society (Calcutta)".

[2] Reprinted in 15 vols. with biographical sketches by Satkari Mukhopadhyaya (°1934) (= *Sharada Oriental Series*, I, 1-15) (Delhi: Sharada Prakashan, 1998).

[3] Upendra Thakur, *Buddhist Cities in Early India: - Bodh-Gayā : Rājagṛha : Nālandā* (Delhi: Sundeep Prakashan, 1995), XIII, 133 p., 30 plates. — *ISBN 81-85067-92-9*.

Cf. perhaps Dipak K. Barua, *Buddha Gaya Temple: Its History*. With a foreword by Richard A. Gard. 2nd rec. & enl. ed. with 5 appendices (Buddha Gaya: Buddha Gaya Temple Management Committee, 1981), x, 320 p. (incl. an index), 7 photos on pl.

[4] 長崎法潤，インドのこころに学ぶ (京都・平楽寺書店 , 2006), (vi), 258 p. — *ISBN 4-8313-1092-1*.

[5] Earlier reprint (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1980); yet another reprint (only translation) (= *Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica*, CXC) (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications, 1998).

[6] 外薗幸一，ラリタヴィスタラの研究・上巻 (東京・大東出版社 , 1994), (i), x, 989 p. — *ISBN 4-500-00600-1*.

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[24] Cf. Yuyama, *A Select Bibliography on the Sanskrit Language* ... (Tokyo 1992), p. 5f. §III.3, 3a, 3b: - Wackernagel-Debrunner / Renou / K. Hoffmann-Goto!

[25] Wilhelm Ruprecht, *Väter und Söhne: Zwei Jahrhunderte Buchhändler in einer deutschen Universitätsstadt*. Mit 24 Abbildungen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1935), (ii), 296 p.

Wissenschaften im Zeitalter der Aufklärung. Aus Anlaß des 250jährigen Bestehens des Verlages Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, herausgegeben von Rudolf Vierhaus. Mit 5 Tafeln (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht in Göttingen, 1985), 284 p.

§5. 大学町レイデンの老舗書肆のことなどに絡めて — *徒然なるままに*

5.0.0. ブリル書店 — ルフトマンス (Jordaan Luchtmans: 1652-1708) が 1683 年に創業し，ブリル (Evert Jan Brill: 1811-1871) が接収して今日に至る社名ができたが，今や王冠を戴いたブリル (E. J. Brill／Koninklijke Brill NV) 書店も,[1] 古書部を手放してしまったという点で，正しく西欧の他の老舗と同じ道を歩んだといえようか．つい最近，出版部門は他社，例えば半世紀前にスイスで創業して，今のディジタル化資料に至る先駆的な業績をあげてレイデンに移った IDC (= Inter Documentation) とも合併したようだ．種々の入手不可能というべき文献資料をミクロフィシュにして普及してくれた功績は大きいと思う．筆者も長い付き合いの中で，かねてから必要を感じていた，特に仏教梵語写本の目録類の覆刻を願っていた.[2] 重要な目録類をミクロフィシュ化しようとの計画が進んで，偶々1997年度冬学期に沼田講座を担当してレイデンにあって直接に話し合ったが，古いものは却って版権や，更には販路の問題も絡んで面倒でもあり，残念ながらついに結実しなかった．

5.0.1. また，ブリルは最近，どうやら老舗ネイホフ書店 (Martinus Nijhoff Publishers) も事業に組み込んだようだ．これはネイホフ (Martinus Nijhoff: 1826-1894) が，カトリック系大学のあるネイメーヘン (Nijmegen) に近いアルンヘム (Arnhem) に 18 世紀半ばに創めて後，1853 年にハーグ ('s-Gravenhage) に移転して，特に旧オランダ領インドネシアに関しての研究業績の出版で有名になった．東洋学者にとっては，植民政策を推し進める中で，大きな成果を収めてきた研究機関・王立言語文化民族研究所 (Koninklik Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde) の研究成果を一手に引き受けて刊行してきたことで知られていよう.[3] レイデン大学の初代インド学教授・ケルン (Johan Hendrik Caspar Kern: 1833-1917; 教授在職 1865-1903) の著作集十五冊 (付書誌索引巻・別巻: 1913-1936) を出したのもネイホフである．戦後三四十年は，時代背景を見ながら，非常に幅広く出版・販売に独自の発展を見せたと思うが,[4] 今はブリルとの協定で国際法などの分野に力点を置いているかのようである．ハーグには，第一次世界大戦 (1914-1918) の後の 1923 年に，カーネギー財団 (Carnegie Foundation) の援助で創設された国際法学院 (The Hague Academy of International Law) が，いわゆる平和宮 (Palais de la Paix / Peace Palace) に置かれて，世界中の少壮有為の法学関係者を養成してきた．ここカーネギー広場にある平和宮の図書館は，多岐に亘る領野で役割を果たしてきた．オランダで国際法の基礎を作った法学者として知られるグローティウス (Hugo de Grotius: 1583-1645) の名を冠した文庫 (Col-lection Grotius) を擁して充実したものといわれる．— つい最近，ブリルは，レイデンで日本学に重点を置いたと思しきホテイ出版社 (Hotei Publishing) も傘下に治めた．

5.0.2. さて，ブリルは，確かに値段の点では仲々手が出せないものを出版したりしたが，東洋学への貢献を見逃すわけには行くまい．無様だといわれようが，漢字・仮名文字も含めて，早くからアジアの諸言語の活字を作り外字を出版に活用したり，国際会議には販売目録を出すだけではなく，会議の盛り上げに積極的に協力してくれたことがある．第十回・国際東洋学者会議がジュネーヴで開催された時の，サンスクリット・プラークリットのローマ字音写法に関する分科会での報告書は，セナール

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[1] Cf. e.g. : *Tuta sub aegide Pallas: E. J. Brill and the World of Learning*. Published on the Occasion of the Company's Tercentenary (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983), vii, 87 p. — *ISBN 90-04-07012-5*. — including articles by J. Gonda, "Indology", p. 44-54; etc.

Luchtmans & Brill: Driehonderd Jaar Uitgevers en Drukkers in Leiden 1683-1983. Catalogus van de tentoonstelling gehouden van 1 september tot 1 oktober 1983 in het Gemeente-Archiefte Leiden. Met een Voorwoord door Rijk Smitskamp (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1983), 80 p. (incl. 38 ills.) + 7 additional pages separately. — *ISBN 90-04-07086-9*.
— [*Inboud*: M. Castenmiller, "De feiten", p. 9-24; J. M. van Ophuijsen, "Een appreciatie", p. 25-44; "Het material", p. 45-80].

[2] Cf. 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 Library, 1992), xi, 28 p.

[3] Cf. e.g. *Fondscatalogus van Martinus Nijhoff 1963* (*Overdruk* – Uitgaven van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde ('s-Gravenhage 1963), 12 p. (*without pagination*).

[4] See e.g. a pamphlet *Years with Books: A Chronology of Martinus Nijhoff. A Survey of the Martinus Nijhoff Services* (The Hague 1976), 24 p., incl. a frontisp. (*Bust – Martinus Nijhoff*), 5 photos.

(Emile Charles Marie Senart: 1847-1928) が纏めて，当時の重鎮ビューラー (Georg Bühler: 1837-898), バージェス (James Burgess: 1832-1916), ヴィンディシュ (Ernst Windisch: 1844-1918) が署名している．これが現在に至る基本となった.[5] 1931年の第十八回のレイデンでの国際東洋学者会議に際しては，レイデン大学の東洋学史資料を展示して，目録も刊行し関心を誘った.[6] また，印刷に用いた外国の文字目録も刊行した，これは後に増補版が出ている.[7] 古書販売目録には定評があった．1978 年に復活されるまで五百号に達していた。翌年発刊の目録 508 号は写本を扱い，その翌々年 (1981) にはイスラーム関係の写本 (Catalogue 514), ついでアジア全般の写本類の目録 (No. 555) を発刊したのは 1986 年で，インド系写本は僅かに六点であるが，ジョーンズ (Sir William Jones: 1746-1794) の書き込みもあるという，梵語文法の表記 53 葉 (オランダ製紙) が学史上の興味を惹いた.[8] 当時は，アーグラで夭折したハインリヒ・ロート神父 (Heinrich Roth: 1620-1668) の梵語文法などが,[9] 精細な研究を添えて出たばかりであった.[10]

5.0.3. ブリル書店の古書部は，由緒ある店舗を町の中心の新ライン河 (Nieuwe Rijn) 通りに営んで，レイデンで古書を漁る学徒にとっては，余りにも懐かしい雰囲気を醸し出していたものだ．ブリルが，古書部を分離した時に，長年勤めたスミッツカンプ (Rijk Smitskamp) が引き継いで独立・再出発したが，先年遂に店 (Het Oosters Antiquarium) を畳む羽目になってしまい，2006 年 2 月 17 日に店舗は閉じてしまった．彼が発行してきた古書目録も，いわばブリルの伝灯を正しく継ぐもので，書誌内容が行き届いていた．レイデンを訪れる東洋学者ならば，誰しもが，ブリル書店を旅程に組み込んでいたであろう．筆者も，留学中に，暇さえあれば散歩の寄り道にしては，高価な書物に涎を垂らしていたものだ．その頃，辻直四郎先生が，国際学士院連合の総会のあとで，初めてレイデンを訪ねてくださり，書店にご案内したことがあった．店内では，アメリカの若い学者が，係の者と書棚を巡っていて，買い漁っていた．「これは高い値です」と係がいっても，「値段は氣にしない」というような会話が筒抜けに聞こえてきた．一ドルが 360 円の時代である．筆者は，「値段が更に高騰するのは，あのような買い手が現れることです」と先生に嘆いた．暫くすると，かのアメリカ人が近づいてきて，「お二方を日本人とお見受けしましたが」と流暢な日本語で来られて，筆者は先の発言で困惑したが，帰途東京に行き東洋文庫を初訪問したいという．実は，当時の辻先生は東洋文庫長であった．彼の喜びようはなかった．筆者の声が，彼の耳に入っていたどうかは知らない．

5.1.0. レイデン (*Leiden*; Eng. *Leyden*, Fr. *La Leide*) は，ドイツ人にとっては耳障りな名であろうが，オランダ語では「導く (E. *to lead*, Ger. *leiten*)」の意で，苦痛を味わう (E. *to suffer*) 語は *lijden* (G. *leiden*) となる．余計なことを並べ立てて叱られそうであるが，この地に往昔住んでいた "バタヴィ人のいた長い砂丘 (Lugdunum Batavorum)" に由来するという民間伝承は聞くが，実は旧ライン川の河口に張

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[5] Emile Senart, "Rapport de la Sous-commission pour la transcription des alphabets sanscrit et pracrit", *X^me^ Congrès Interntaional des Orientalistes, Session de Genève (1894): Rapport de la Commission de Transcription* (Imprimé de E. J. Brill à Leide, sans date), p. 9-13.

[6] *Exposition de manuscrits orientaux, d'objets et documents relatifs à l'histoire des études orientalistes à l'Université de Leiden*, organisée à l'occasion du XVIIIe Congrès internationaldes orientalistes au Musée du „Lakenhal" du 7-28 septembre 1931 (Imprimerie E. J. Brill S.A. — Leyde, sans date), VIII, 48 p.

[7] *Catalogue des caractères étrangers de l'imprimerie* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1931), iii, 76 p.; — *[1683-1938]*(1938), XII, 99 p.

[8] *Oriental Manuscripts*, offered for sale by E. J. Brill (= *Catalogue* No. 555) (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1986), p. 151: No. 307.

[9] 参看・湯山明, "インド学仏教学の黎明",印度哲学仏教学, III (1988), p. 323-348, esp. p. 330 cum n. 32 on p. 345b-346a. 筆者は，抜刷には出たばかりの書を含めて訂正と補注を詳しく認めて配布した.

[10] Heinrich Roth, *Grammatica linguae Sanscretanae Brachmanum Indiae Orientalis: The Sanskrit grammar and manuscripts of Father Heinrich Roth S. J. (1620-1668)*, introduced by Arnulf Camps and Jean-Claude Muller (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988), 26, 168 p. [Including a facsimile edition of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Roma, MSS.Or. No. 171 (Veṇidatta's *Pañcatattvaprakāśa*) & No. 172 (Sadānanda's *Vedāntasāra*)].

Cf. Richard Hauschild (1901-1972), *Der Missionar P. Heinrich Roth aus Dillingen und die erste europäische Sanskrit-Grammatik* (= *Sitzungsberichte der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philol.-hist. Klasse*, CXV, 6) (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1972), 23 p., 3 Taf.

り巡らされた運河・湖，つまり水と深い関係があるらしい．面倒な議論は省くが，千年前の，*Leithon* (< **lagithon*: **lagi*, dat.-loc. < **lag-*, cf. Lat. *lacus*, E. *lake*) から転訛したというのが，学問的に容れられた分析のようである．ただし発音は単純ではない．一般には，日本人ならば，名古屋弁の /æi/ に似て聞こえるかも知れない．英国風に，女王のオランダ語では，ローマ字通りに読む．これをとやかく取り上げるのが，インド学仏教学の雑学的雑録，ましてや本分ではない．何はともあれ，レイデンは，いわゆる蘭学を通して日本との関係は深いので，少しだけ触れておきたい．

5.1.1. 筆者にはどう表現したら良いか知らないが，オランダ人にとって，バタヴィアという語は，恐らく郷愁を誘うような響きがあるのだろう．植民した先々で，バタヴィアを地名にしている．アメリカなどの町の名にも見られるのは，オランダ人が入植した所らしい．我々が一番良く知るのが，1596年にオランダが西ジャヴァに商船を入港させて，1602 年創立の東インド会社 (VOC = Vereenigde Oostindische Companie) 商館を設けて，オランダ統治の歴史が始まると，その誇り高き港町ジャカルタ (*Jakarta* < Skt. जय-कर्तृ, °-कर्तृ-, "victor"; Du. *Djakarta*) は，バタヴィア (Batavia) と改称された．ジャカルタは，訛って「ジャガタラ」となって本邦に伝わり，更には物に冠して今に親しまれる種々の南海産・南海経由の品々や，時に人々がもたらされた: 例えば，°-芋・薯 (じゃが芋・薯／馬鈴薯)，ジャガタラ縞，°-水仙 (*amaryllis*)，°-お春，°-文のように．ついで音位転換 (metathesis) を起こした「ジャカトラ (*Jacatra*)」が，今も商品名や屋号に用いられていたりする．オランダが，日本の焼物から，いわゆるデルフト・ブルー (Delft Blue) の陶磁器を創りあげて，東インド会社の皿などに VOC の刻印を付した．デルフトは，レイデンの南にある工業都市で，昔から高等工業専門学校があって有名だった．インドネシア独立の父・スカルノ (*Sukarno*, Sukarṇa- < Skt. सु-कर्ण-, "good-eared": 1901-1970; Du. *Soe*°) 初代大統領は，これに倣ってオランダが設立したバンドンの高等工業専門学校 (THS = Technische Hoogeschool te Bandung) に学んだ建築技師でる．その旧都ジャカルタの名を，バタヴィアから取り戻したのは，皮肉にも，第二次大戦で日本が占領したことによる．

5.1.2. 近代の植民政策によって入植したものたちがそうであったように，オランダは，しかし逆に東インドから学んだことも多い．かつて「インド」とは，オランダでは，今のインドネシアを指した．当地に生まれて「インド」学を志した学者，例えば初代のインド学教授・ケルンなどのように，多くを輩出している．オランダが，アジアから持ち帰った文物の多くは，レイデンの民族学博物館 (Museum voor Volkenkunde) に収められている．筆者が留学していた頃は，ケルンの名を冠したインド学研究所 (Instituut Kern = Indologisch Instituut / Kern Institute) は，この博物館の建物の一角にあった．1920年代に，その「インド」の代表的なケルン・インド学研究所の学者たちの音頭で，インド文化圏を網羅する『インド考古学年次書誌目録 (= *ABLA*)』という，国際的な協力を擁しての大企画を立てられた．1926 年度の資料情報から木目細かに編輯して，レイデンはブリル書店から刊行した．インド学仏教学徒にとっては，いまだに研究のための書誌学的な工具として，不可欠な価値を失っていない.[11]

5.1.3. ここから東へ向かって町の中心へ出て，ブリル書店を見たり，さらに真西に向きを変えて旧ライン川を渡り，大通り (Breestraat) に出て左手に 16 世紀の面影を正面に残した市庁舎を仰いで，1575年創立の大学本部に進む途次に，有名な聖ペテロ教会に出る．それに面して，1894 年にブリル書店から独立したブルヘルスデイク (Pieter Burgersdijk) とニールマンス (George Niermans) の二人で創設した書店がある．いかにも場所が良い．中世の有名な法律家にして愛書家の「レイデンのフィリップ (Philip van Leyden)」の住居・「ソロモンの寺」の跡地に因んで命名した "Templum Salomonis" の看板が吊してある書店で，新刊書も扱うが，往時より現在まで古書の競売をするので名を知られ，競売日には西欧の有名古書店が競りに出かけて来たものだ．彼らの手に落ちたら何倍かの値を付けられてしまって大変だと，筆者は下検分日にどうしても欲しいと目を付けた本は，彼らと競り合ってでも購入したことがあった．この書店は，勿論いまは，すっかりと電子時代の経営をするので，時折の競売に参加した向きもあろう．先に，悲しくも，スミッツカンプが引き継いだブリル書店の古書の閉幕を述

[11] Cf. for further details Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (I)", *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 343f.

べたが，勿論長い間には紆余曲折があったに相違ない．今回は店終いに至って，厖大な数量の古書は，徐々に処理されるだろうが，十九世紀末のブリルから独立したブルヘルスデイク・ニールマンスが，スミッツカンプカンプの古書の競売をすることになった．第一回は，2006 年 5 月 16-17 日に，参考文献類の競売を既に済ませた．皮肉にも，時代の流れというべきか！

5.2.0. レイデン大学 — 飢餓と伝染病に苦しめられながらのレイデン市民の総力をあげての抵抗が，1574 年 10 月 3 日の市の解放となり，更に八十年の長きに亘ったスペインからの独立戦争 (1568-1648) を優勢に導き，オランダがネーデルランド連邦共和国として成立する．爾来レイデン市民は，毎年十月三日を祝日とする．最初の君主となったオランニエ公 (Willem I, Prins van Oranje [-Nassau]: 1533-1584, *prins naar 1544*) は，市民に恩賞を取らせた．その時に，市民が欲したのは，意外にも大学であった．こうしてオランダ最古の大学が，1575 年レイデンに創設された．まさしく学芸と戦争の女神アテネ (Pallas Athene) に因んで呼びたくなる大学である.[12] レイデン大学の紋章には，創立年 1575 に加えて，アテネ女神像を中央に配して，その下に市の紋・鍵十字がある．紋章の周囲は大学名 (Academia Lugduno-Batava) に，その標語 (Praesidium Libertatis, "自由の要塞") というべき言葉を記す．

5.2.1. 1855 年には日本学も大学に地位を占め，東洋学全般も西欧で堅固な一中心となるが，最近の動向はいうにおよばず，もちろん現在に至る道は単純ではない．有名な文化史家ハイジンガ (Johan Huizinga: 1872-1945)について,[13] 専家でもない筆者に書く資格はないが，彼が生地フローニンゲン大学で学び教鞭も執ったが (1905-1915)，インド古典演劇における道化師を扱って博士号を得ていることで親近感をもったことを覚えている.[14] その後，レイデン大学の歴史学教授をドイツ占領によって大学が閉鎖されるまで務めた (1915-1940)．ケルンの影響を受けたと思われるハイジンガは，レイデン大学の創立三百五十周年を記念した出版物には，大学の建物やケルンの言語学に関する貢献について，簡略ながら要を得た文を寄せているし,[15] 他所に追悼文も書いている.[16] ハイジンガは，「ケルン抜きに 1865 年から 1903 年までのレイデンを考えてみたら?」とまでいう.[17] 彼を記念して，たしかオランダ八大学共同のハイジンガ研究所の本部が，アムステルダムにある.[18] かつてハイジンガの業績も評価しつつ，彼の一側面を見せた好著を刊行している.[19]

5.2.2. 言語学的な基礎に重点を置く伝灯は，レイデンにも消えないである．素人が深入りするつもり

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[12] *Pallas Leidensis, MCMXXV* (= *Gedenkboek van het driehonderdvijftigjarig betsabb der Leidse Universiteit*) (Leiden bij S. C. van Doesburgh, 1925), 366 p.,1 frontisp. (portret van Prins Willem I).

[13] 日本では，ホイジンハと書き写すようだが，確かに発音の難しい語で，西欧でも綴りを変えている国もある．

[14] Johan Huizinga, *De Vidūsaka in het Indisch tooneel* [Proefschrift Groningen] (Groningen: Noordhoff, 1897), (iv), 155p., ill. — cf. *infra* n. 16 *end*: Kolff's article, esp. p. 143 (*cum* n. 6).

[15] Johan Huizinga, "De academische gebouwen" & "Kern en de taalwetenschap", *op.cit.*, p. 17-36 & p. 93-101 *resp.*

[16] 参看・湯山明, "J. W. ドゥ・ヨング著: オランダのインド學佛教學", 印度學佛教學研究, XIV, 1 (1965), p. 382(73)-359(96).
— , "印度学仏教学史研究資料雑録",印度哲学仏教学, VII (1992), p. 299-314.

[17] "Denk u Leiden van 1865 tot 1903 zonder Kern. ...", *ibid.*, p. 95!
Cf. Hanna 't Hart, "Imagine Leiden without Kern", *Leiden Oriental Connections 1850-1940*, ed. Willem Otterspeer (= *Studies in the History of Leiden University*, V) (Leiden-New York-København-Köln: E. J. Brill／Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1989), p. 126-140 (cum p. 126 n. 1). — *ISSN 0169-8362 / ISBN 90-04-09022-3.*
Cf. also Johannes Cornelis Heesterman (*1925), "The Precarious Rise and Survival of Sanskrit and Indian Studies", *ibid.*, p. 115-125.
Cf. further D. H. A. Kolff, "Huizinga's Dissertation and the 'Stemmingen' of the Literary Movement of the Eighties', *ibid.*, p. 141-152 (*with a photo on pl.*). — cf. *supra* n. 13!

[18] Huizinga Instituut: Onderzoekschool voor Culturgeschiedenis / Huizinga Institute: Research Institute and Graduate School of Cultural History (Spuistraat 134, 1012 VB Amsterdam).

[19] F. B. J. Kuiper, *Varuṇa and Vidūṣaka: On the Origin of the Sanskrit Drama* (= *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, N.R., deel C) (Amsterdam-Oxford-New York: North-Holland Publishing Co.,1979), 252 p. — *ISBN 0-7204-8452-9.*

はないが，先年惜しくも逝ったカイペル (Franciscus Bernardus Jacobus Kuiper: 1907-2003; 教授在職 1939-1972) も，研究の対象は，印欧語族に限らず，また単一の言語にとどまらない．また彼の関心が，言語に留まらず，その強い基盤のもとに，文学・宗教などにも向けられたことが判然としよう．筆者がキャンベラに赴任する直前に、いわば還暦記念論集が発案されて，大急ぎで著作目録を作成する羽目になったが，あまりに急なことで時間がなく，また資料不足のままに素案を編者に渡し，数多い欠陥を補って貰う筈が，まったく改訂されずに出版されてしまったのを，南北半球を隔てての行き違いがあったとはいえ，いまだに申し訳が立たず，慚愧に堪えないであいる.[20] その後，十年おきに，『インド・イラン学誌』上に，常に補充されてきたのは有り難い.[21] 彼の学問について，筆者は論う資格はないが，一つ書きおきたいことがある．それは，残念ながら講筵に列したことはないが，筆者が客員教授として義務づけられていた三つの公開講演に，最前列で傍聴してくださったバークレーのエメノウ (Murray Barnson Emeneau: 1904-2005) に対してと似た親しみを，私かに種々の点で覚えるのである.[22] さらに私事で恐縮だが，筆者は，留学中の二年間，オランダ人学生と二人きりで，心優しくヴェーダの講読をして戴いたので，まさにレイデンの学問の伝統を身をもって薫じられた思いで，感謝をもって想い起こしている．『インド・イラン学誌』の編集の手伝いで，筆者は，時折ドゥ・ヨング (Jan Willem de Jong: 1921-2000) 家からカイペル宅まで自転車を走らせたことを，いま思い出す．さて，カイペルに関しては，何と言っても，その席の後を継いだ最適任のヴィッツェルの追悼文一点を先ずは挙げたい.[23]

— 言語学の分野で，カイペルの名は不朽のものであろう．うべなるかな，レイデン大学文学部の比較言語学 (Vergelijkende Taalwetenschappen)・印欧語比較文法 (Vergelijkende Indo-Europese Taalwetenschappen) を中心に，他語族の諸言語の研究・教授をする領域を統合した研究所が，彼の名を冠してレイデン大学にできた.[24] 印欧諸語の研究者で，我々には恐らくリグ・ヴェーダの語彙索引という大冊を出して知られるルボツキー (Alexander M. Lubotsky: *1956) がいわゆる所長で，いま彼を中心に，ヴァルデ (Alois Walde: 1869-1924)・ポコルニー (Julius Pokorny: 1887-1970)[25] を凌駕する印欧語語源辞典を企画している.[26]

5.2.3. 最近では，前世紀末からのインド学のレイデン (莱頓) への統合には，産みの苦しみがあったと思う．しかし，現今の活動には多くのインド学仏教学関係者が，期待をこめて見守り協力しているに相違ない．いま非常な活躍で関心を惹く国際アジア学研究所 (IIAS = International Institute for Asian Studies) も，大学本部近くの建物に集合し,[27] ケルン・インド学研究所も同所にある．なお，ジーボルト (Philipp Franz von Siebold: 1796-1866) 記念館も近いが，日本から持ち帰った植物類は，この研究

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20 "Bibliography of Publications by F. B. J. Kuiper (Upto and including the Year 1967, compiled by A. Yuyama", *Pratidānam: Indian, Iranian and Indo-European Studies presented to Franciscus Bernardus Jacobus Kuiper on his Sixtieth Birthday*, edited by J. C. Heesterman, G. H. Schokker and V. I. Subrahmoniam (= *Janua Linguarum: Studia Memoriae Nikolai van Wijk dedicata*, Series Maior, XXXIV) (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1968), pp. xv-xxiv.

21 J. W. de Jong, "F. B. J. Kuiper: Bibliography 1967-1976", *IIJ*, XIX (1977), p. 1-4; and further "... 1978-1987", *ibid.*, XXX (1987), p. 159-160; " ... 1987-1996", *ibid.*, XL (1997), p. 101f.

22 Cf. e.g. A. Yuyama, "Groundwork Layers for Buddhist Sanskrit Philology in America", *ARIRIAB*, VI: 2002 (2003), p. 321-339, esp. p. 328 *cum* n. 26.

23 Michael Witzel (*1944), "F. B. J. Kuiper (1907-2003)", *IIJ*, XLVII, 3-4 (Winter 2004), p. 173-191.

24 F. B. J. Kuiperinstituut: P. N. van Eyckhof 3: WSD-Gebouw 1165, NL - 2311 BV Leiden.

25 Alois Walde, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Julius Pokorny (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1930-1927-1932; unveränderter photomechanischer Nachdruck 1973), V, 877 p.; 716 p.; IV, 269 p.

26 *The Indo-European Etymological Dictionary* (abbr. *IEED*, with a logo mark IED), a project organized by the Department of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics, F. B. J. Kuiper Institute, Faculty of Letters, University of Leiden.

27 IIAS Main Office Leiden: P. O. BOX 9515, Nonnensteeg 1-3, NL – 2300 Leiden.

所の裏手の植物園にあり，ほかに民族資料など，アジアの文化財資料を多数・多量に保管する民族学博物館の役割も見逃せない.[28] また，2006 年 10 月に調印されたレイデン大学とオーストラリア国立大学との連繋による，東南アジアを中心にしたアジア研究の協定の果実を，かつて両大学に在籍した筆者としては見守りたい．日蘭交流四百年を過ぎて，学的な反省を含めて，近い将来にじっくりと見直してみたいが，既に時間切れで叶わぬと思い，雑然と認めてしまった．

5.3.0. 愛書・蒐書・文化史 — ヨーロッパの古書店巡りを始めたら際限がない．それは愛書家 (bibliophile) の寝言と片づけることでもなく，酒席での愛酒家の (bibulous) 蔵書癖 (bibliomaniac) な談義でもない．文化史の一面で覗くのである．いつごろまでか，書店巡りは，実学として良書入手の戦術であり，時に研究活動の一環でさえあった．かつて古書店主が，書誌に関しての指導教官の役目を果たした時代もあった．

5.3.1. さて，極東にいて欧米の古書店から確実に良書を入手するために，電子通信時代以前には，彼地の学者・業者と一時を争わねばならなかった．古書目録が，夕方にでも届けば，夜半に電報を打って数日の留保を頼み，その間に蔵書の有無を職員が丹念に調べて，店舗に迷惑をかけないように速やかに発注を確定する．電話会社とは，いつどこからでも電報が打てる契約をしておく．— ところでインド学徒にとっては，いうまでもなく足で回るインドの古書店巡りも味な物であった．嬉しい掘り出し物もあるが，覚悟しなくてはならないのは，積もりに積もった埃である．良書を掘り出すためには，埃などに負けてはいられない!

5.3.2. キャンベラのオーストラリア国立大学に赴任して，零から出発したインド学仏教学関係書の蒐集する仕事を八年間した．学生時代から長らく外地にあって，旅先では必ず古書店を探して，足を棒にして渡り歩いたことも度々で，あの男の歩いた跡に草木も生えぬとまで言われたことがある．帰国後，西欧の古書店事情などについて，ある図書館の年報に報告を寄稿するよう親しく頼まれて長文を認めたことがある．取り立てて企業機密にするつもりはなかった．この原稿は没になった．これを知った友人の薦めで，見開き二頁の軽いエッセイを，出版社の PR 誌に寄せたことを想い起こす.[29]

6.0.0. 仏教学専門図書館 — 筆者は，一度じっくりと，仏教学の専門図書館の必要性を唱えたいと思ってきたが，時間切れの感があるので，二三の点について簡略に私見を述べておきたい．とかく図書館の仕事は軽視されがちであるが，図書館は，取りも直さず，現時の学問の有り様を反映すると思う．また，専門図書館を保つ多くの研究機関が，部外者の利用を排除しないまでも消極的で，厳しい制限を課して，実際には門戸を閉ざしている．心ある学徒のために，せめて外部からの利用を奨励促進して戴きたいものだ．

6.0.1. 仏教学専門図書館が一般図書館と相違する第一点は，いうまでもなく前者は専家が利用する図書館である．専門図書館は，「図書館」を一般市民に広く開放すべしとの趨勢に逆行するかのような誤解がある．現時の学問からすれば，仏教学専門図書館は，文献学的に堅固な基礎をもって，しかも文化学的な攷究に耐え得るものでなくてはならない．インド学や周辺の領野にも目を配って蒐書する.[30] 司書には，単に司書の資格を保つだけでなく，出来れば仏教学の基礎的な訓練も受けて，一般公共図書館などの業務と，本質的に異なるという意識改革が求められる．これは易しいことではない．専門図書館は，時に独立した方が、種々の面で効率が良い．例えば，一般の公共図書館では，大蔵経などの大部のものも一点づつ目録 (カード) に採らなければ不親切であろう．専門図書館で，今やそれでなくとも人手不足・財政難に悩む折り，専家に書庫のどこにあるかを知らせば，どの巻を引き出すの

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28 See e.g. somewhat outdated *Overzicht van de geschiedenis van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde 1837-1937: Gedenkschrift uitgegeven bij de heropening van het Museum op den 30sten november 1937* (Gedrukt bij A.W.Sijthoff's Uitgeverij, Leiden 1937), 75 p., 15 photos, 14 plates, 2 plans & folded graphic.

29 湯山明, "ヨーロッパの古本屋", 本／読書人の雑誌, 昭和五十三年四月号 (東京・講談社, 1978), p. 26f.

30 参看・湯山明, "仏教文献学の方法試論", 水野弘元博士米寿記念論集・パーリ文化学の世界 (東京・春秋社, 1990), p. 125-152.

か自明のことであろう．迷えば歴とした参考工具（例えば大蔵経総目録）に走る．書庫の配架も，専家のためには，和漢洋図書をそれぞれ別置する不便を避けるべきである．ある領野の資料は，言語の別で配架するのではなく，資料の内容によって，一箇所ですべてが参照できる方が効率的だ．わが国であれば，日本十進分類法を基礎に，かつて仏教系大学図書館が連合して細分化を提案したものを加味すれば足りる．異色の専門図書館は，それぞれが特色を活かして，分類を加減すれば良い．

遊余白 (6)・阿弥陀

1978 年に，シュリーナガルの博物館 (Sir Pratap Singh Museum) に法華経のギルギット写本を調査に行ったが (cf. *ARIRLAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), p. 289f.: §2.5.6)，余りの熱射に傷みきった体躯でデリーに戻った．

筆者は，しかし当時ベルリンのヘルテル (Herbert Härtel: 1921-2005) が中心となって発掘したクシャーン時代のソンク遺跡と，[1] 確か中村元が紹介したばかりの阿弥陀仏像の台座の碑文をどうしても見たくて，デリーから炎天下のマトゥラー方面へ向かった．予め万全を期して，堅く約定してあった運転手と車が来ないで，マトゥラー中心部から西南方に十数キロの人影もない遺跡付近で車がエンコしてしまい，見学後覚悟を決めて 徒歩で東南方に走る道に出た．暫くすると，幸いにもイナカのバスが後からやってきた．激しく揺れる鉄板張りの腰掛けに身を任せて，やっとマトゥラー美術館を訪ねたが休館日だった．裏口に回って，頼み込んで入れて貰い，時の館長 (Curator: Dr. R. C. Sharma) が在室だったのを幸いに，強引に地下蔵を案内して貰い，雑然とした中に大感激をもって仏像 (Sculpture No. 70・30) を探し出し，じっくりと拝観し，許しを得て撮影できた．しかし帰路は疲労困憊して，シュリーナガルに次いで同道の畏友オスカー・フォン・ヒンユーバーの粘り強い交渉で，やっと特急タージ・マハール号の席が取れて，マトゥラーからデリーに戻れた．

後に畏友ジーン・スミスを通じて，シャルマー館長が，有り難くも当該の碑文の情報も提供してくれた．その後，彼は要職を歴任しながら，精力的に関連の論著を公刊した．著者は，この碑文を，極めて重要なものとして扱っていて，最後に挙げる著書では本碑文の部分写真を表紙の裏に大写しで載せている．[3] 更に，ショーペン (Gregory Schopen: *1947) が精緻な研究を公刊してくれた．[2]

いわば「アミダ」については，今もって種々の角度から関心が集まっている．例えば，タクシャシラー出土の彫像台座の碑文解読の論争は興味が尽きない．先ずは，碩学ブラフ (John Brough: 1917-1984) が，問題を提起したといえようか．[4] これに対して，近年目覚ましい研究成果を矢継ぎ早に公刊する二人が鮮明な写真も添えて反論を，[5] わが国で再考を促す論攷で刺激を与える二人が更なる議論を展開する．[6] 門外にいて，興味津々と，専家の論駁の展開を鵜目鷹目で見守っている．つい最近には，初期中国仏教への移入時の興味深い考察も現れた．[7]

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[1] See Herbert Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh: 2500 Years of a Town in Mathura District*. With contributions by Hans-Jürgen Peach and Rolf Weber (= *Monographien zur indischen Archaologie, Kunst und Philologie*, ed. Marianne Yaldiz, IX) (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1993), 478 p. (incl. num. maps, plans, photos, figs., ills.) — *ISBN 3-496-02503-4*.

[2] See among others Gregory Schopen (*1947), "The Inscription on the Kusān Image of Amitābha and the Character of the Early Mahāyāna in India", *JIABS*, X, 2 (1987), p. 99-134 (incl. 2 figs., with extensive bibliographical references); reprinted with stylistic changes in his *Figments and Fragments of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India: More Collected Papers* (= *Studies in Buddhist Traditions: A Publication of the Institute for the Study of Buddhist Traditions, University of Michigan*) (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), Chapter VIII: p. 247-277.

[3] Cf. Ramesh Chandra Sharma (*1936), "New Buddhist Sculptures from Mathura (Pre-Gupta Epoch)", *Lalit Kalā*, XIX (1979), p. 19-26, esp. p. 25f., fig. 18.

— , *Buddhist Art of Mathurā*. With a foreword by B. N. Mukherjee (Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1984), xxi, 282 p., 2 maps (1 being folded), 169 figs. (on plates). — on the inscription in question see esp. p. 231f. (cum n. 169) and fig. 151.

— , *The Splendour of Mathurā Art and Museum* (= *Perspectives in Indian Art & Archaeology*, I) (New Delhi: D. K. Printworld, 1994), 211 p., XXIX co. ills., maps, plan. — *ISBN 81-246-0015-5*. — on the very inscription see esp. p. 142f. (with fig. 53).

— , *Buddhist Art – Mathurā School*. With a foreword by B. N. Mukherjee and Appendices by Shashi Asthana (New Delhi-Bangalore-Bombay-Calcutta-Guwahati-Hyderabad-Lucknow-Madras-Pune-London: Wiley Eastern Ltd. / New Age International, 1995), folio: xxii, 282 p. (incl. 2 maps), 188 ills. (on plates). — *ISBN 81-224-0686-6*. — on the very inscription see esp. p. 214f. (cum n. 172) and fig. 146 (*not 147 as cited*).

[4] John Brough, "Amitābha and Avalokiteśvara in an Inscribed Gandhāran Sculpture", *Indologica Taurinensia*, X (Torino 1982), p. 65-70 (with a plate on p. 69); reprinted in his *Collected Papers*, ed. Minoru Hara & J. C. Wright (London: SOAS, 1996), p. 469-473 (placing a plate without pagination). — Cf. Fritz Staal, *BSOAS*, LXI (1998), p. 25f.; Jonathan Silk, *IIJ*, XLII, 2 (April 1999),p. 188-196.

[5] Richard Salomon & Gregory Schopen, "On an Alleged Reference to Amitābha in a Kharoṣṭhī Inscription on a Gandhāran Relief", *JIABS*, XXV, 1-2 (2002), p. 3-31 (incl. 4 figs.).

[6] 岩松浅夫, "amridaha / amridae 銘像は果して阿弥陀仏を表すに非ざるか — ガンダーラ彫刻の一碑銘の解釈をめぐって —", 印佛研／*IBK*, LIV, 2 (March 2006), p. 1036(77)-1028(85). — 著者の他の関連論攷も参照.

定方晟, "奇進者ダミトラ", 東海大学名誉教授会年報, 創刊号 (2006), p. 78-82 (incl. 3 b/w photos).

[7] Jan Nattier, "The Names of Amitābha/Amitāyus in Early Chinese Buddhist Translations (1)", *ARIRLAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), p. 183-199.

遊余白 (7) NGMCP

ドイツ東洋学会 (Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft) が，ドイツ学術振興会 (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) の支援を得て，かねてから力を入れてきたネパールの写本類保存計画 (i.e. NGMPP = Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project) については，折に触れては取り上げてきた.[1] この企画に関して，いま細かく触れる余裕はないが，直接間接に牽引役を果たしたフォークト (Wolfgang Voigt: 1911-1982) の名を先ず挙げたい.[2] もう一人挙げるとすれば，ネパールを愛して止まなかったキョルヴァー (Bernhard Kölver: 1938-2001) を忘れない.[3] そしてもう一人，情熱をこめてネパール研究を激励し，新企画への橋渡しをしたヴェツラー (Albrecht Wezler: *1938) にも感謝したい．更に，数多くの専家が，カトマンドゥの長期滞留して，この大企画に携わってきた．いうまでもなく短期の滞在で，資料の蒐集・研究に協力した学徒も少なくない．

そして今，この新しいネパール研究企画は，大学の機構も変革を遂げて，世代の交代もみたハンブルクで,[4] 装も新たに進展した企画を打ち上げたことは，これまた周知のことであろう．しかし，正直にいって，筆者も最近は直接に企画の内容を聞くこともなく，ましてや作業を実見する機会に恵まれていないので，企画本体からの A4 版の『訊報』は貴重だと思う．実は，このニュースレターも，はじめて企画・活動を知ろうとする向きにも役立とうが，むしろ過去の活動を知った向きへの報告といった色彩も強いように思われる．何と言っても，これが極めて貴重な通報であることに変わりはないので，是非とも更に頻繁に，内容豊富に，外に向けて発信してくださるよう願って止まない．特に，将来ある若いインド学仏教学徒にも，分かり易い利用法を含めて，いわば手引き書になるような刊行物が欲しい．そこで先ずは，煩雑ではあるが，この念願をこめて，内容を紹介しておきたい:[5]

NGMCP = NEPALESE-GERMAN MANUSCRIPT CATALOGUING PROJECT, *Newsletter of the NGMCP*, ed. Harunaga Isaacson, typeset by Kengo Harimoto (張本研吾), Number 1 (Hamburg, July 2006), A4: 24 p., incl. 2 figs. on p. 2, and 7 plates on p. 20-24:

Harunaga ISAACSON, "Opening Words", p. 1.
Dragomir DIMITROV, "The Work of the Nepalese-German Manuscript Cataloguing Project in Nepal (Report: July 2006)", p. 3-4a.
Michael HAHN, "Some Highlights of the Work of a 'Frequent User' of the NGMPP (I)", p. 4b-9a.
"Book Announcements", by M. Hahn, Albrecht HANISCH, Harunaga ISAACSON, p. 9a-11a.
Diwakar ACHARYA, "Kaliyugasamghātaka", p. 11-14.
Oliver HAHN, "The Paribhāsāmaṇimālā of Candradatta — a rare text on Pāṇinian paribhāsā", p. 15-17a.
Dragomir DIMITROV, "The Nepal Research Centre: Past and Present", p. 17b-19a.

— , Number 2 (October 2006), 24 p., incl. 2 figs. on p. 2, and 7 plates on p. 20-24:

Harunaga ISAACSON, "Editorial", p. 1.
Diwakar ACHARYA, "A Brief Note on Harsapāla's Commentary on the Prakrit Kāvya Setubandha", p. 2-4b.
Dragomir DIMITROV, "Bilingual Sanskrit-Tibetan Glosses in a Nepalese MS of the Ratnaśrīṭīkā", p. 4b-7 (with a fig. 1).
Michael HAHN, "Some Highlights of the Work of a 'Frequent User' of the NGMPP (II)", p. 7a-17a (with figs. 2-5).
"Book Announcements", by Martin STRAUBE & anonymously, p. 17b-19a.
Oliver HAHN, "The Ūsmabheda of Maheśvara (Part 1)", p. 19b-23b.
Kengo HARIMOTO, "NGMCP online database", p. 23b-24a.

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[1] Cf. for the most recent one A. Yuyama, "Misc.Philol.Buddh. (IV)", *ARIRIAB*, IX: 2005 (2006), §2. 'ホジスンのネパールにことよせて', esp. §2.5.3 cum n. 41.

Otherwise see Yuyama, *बौद्धसंस्कृतभाषालिखितपुस्तकानि: / Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections: A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology* (= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica*, Pamphlet No. 2) (Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies Library, 1992) [*ISBN 4-906267-31-9.*], p. 17: Appendix X-II.

[2] Cf. e.g. Ernst Hammerschmidt, "Wolfgang Voigt (1911-1982)", *ZDMG*, CXXXV, 1 (1985), p. 1-9. — see also Yuyama, *op.cit.* (1992), p. 1f.: §I-3.

Ferner *Folia Rara: Wolfgang Voigt LXV. diem natalem celebranti ab amicis et catalogorum codicum orientalium conscribendorum colleges dedicata*, redigerunt Herbert Franke (*1914), Walther Heissig (*1913) et Wolfgang Treue (*1916) (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, im Einvernehmen mit der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft begrundet von Wolfgang Voigt [weitergeführt von Dieter George (1935-1985), im Auftrage der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Gottingen herausgegeben von Hartmut-Ortwin Feistel (*1943)], *Supplementband*, XIX) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1976), XV, 185 p., plates, frontisp.['Bibliography', p. XI-XV]. —*ISSN 0506-7944.*

[3] Cf. e.g. Adalbert Gail, "In Memoriam Bernhard Kölver (2.4.1938-27.11.2001)", *Indologica Taurinensia*, XXVIII (2002), p. 301-303.

[4] Abteilung fur Kultur und Geschiche Indiens und Tibets, Asien-Afrika-Institut, Universitat Hamburg: Edmund-Siemens-Allee 1 (Hauptgebäude), D-20146 Hamburg (Germany).

[5] A downloadable PDF file: *http://uni-hamburg.de/ngmcp/*.

Brief Communication:

A reassessment of the dates and translator attributions of the *Laonüren jing* 老女人經 (T559) and the *Laomu jing* 老母經 (T561)

The Chinese Buddhist canon contains three versions of a short Mahāyāna scripture whose Sanskrit title, according to the transcription given in the Tibetan canon, is *Mahallikā-paripṛcchā-nāma-mahāyāna-sūtra*.[1] The content of the sūtra, in brief, is the following: an aged and impoverished woman comes to see the Buddha, and in the ensuing question-and-answer exchange it becomes clear that she has deep insight into the Dharma. Ānanda asks the Buddha to explain why this woman is so wise, on the one hand, but so poor on the other, and the Buddha replies that in a former life she had been his (i.e., the bodhisattva's) mother—hence her wisdom—but when he wanted to leave home to become a *śramaṇa* she prevented him from doing so, hence her poverty. As a result of impeding his ascetic vocation, she suffered from poverty for the next five hundred lives.[2] Now, however, when she dies she will be reborn in the realm of Amitābha,[3] and after sixty-eight (var. sixty) *koṭis* of *kalpas* have passed, she herself will attain buddhahood.[4] Though the sūtra is extremely brief—comprising less than a full page in each of its three Chinese translations—it seems to have enjoyed some currency, for it is cited by name in at least two commentaries, one composed in India and the other in China.[5]

[1] Tib. *'Phags pa bges mos zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo*; see Peking/Ōtani no. 838, Derge/Tōhoku no. 171, Stog Palace no. 199. The Sanskrit transcriptions of sūtra titles given in the Tibetan canon should not, however—without independent confirmation—be taken as solid evidence that these titles actually existed in India. When Buddhist scriptures were first translated into Tibetan the Sanskrit titles were not recorded (see Marcelle Lalou, "Les textes bouddhiques au temps du roi Khri-sroṅ-lde-bcan," *Journal Asiatique*, vol. 241 [1953], pp. 313-353), and many of the Sanskrit titles now given in the Tibetan canon are later reconstructions back-translated from the Tibetan titles themselves, sometimes (especially in the case of scriptures from the *Ratnakūṭa* section) with additional input from the Chinese.

[2] The Tibetan version, which represents a more developed recension of the sūtra, has a slightly different plot, according to which the old woman had been the bodhisattva's mother in five hundred lives.

[3] This sūtra offers a good example of what Gregory Schopen has referred to as the role of Sukhāvatī as a "generalized religious goal" in Buddhist texts whose primary focus is not on Amitābha; see Schopen, "Sukhāvatī as a Generalized Religious Goal in Sanskrit Mahāyāna Sūtra Literature," *Indo-Iranian Journal*, vol. 19 (1977), pp. 177-210.

[4] A recent discussion of this sūtra can be found in Hubert Durt, "Kajaṅgalā, who could have been the last mother of the Buddha," *Journal of the International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies* (Tokyo), vol. 9 (2005), pp. 65-87, especially pp. 68-70.

[5] See the *Ru dasheng lun* 入大乘論, a Chinese translation of an Indian treatise attributed to *Sāramati, where the scripture is quoted twice (T1634, 32.40a25ff. and 40a28ff.), and the *Yinchiru jing zhu* 陰持入經註, a commentary on An Shigao's *Yinchiru jing* 陰持入經 (T603) composed in China in the mid- to late third century CE, where it is quoted once (T1694, 33.10b24-25). On the date and authorship of the *Yinchirujing zhu* see Stefano Zacchetti, "Some Remarks on the Authorship and Chronology of the *Yin chi ru jing zhu* 陰持入經注 T1694: The Second Phase in the Development of Chinese Buddhist Exegetical

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 529-532.
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In accordance with their usual practice of listing multiple translations of a single text in chronological order,[6] the editors of the *Taishō* canon have arranged these three versions according to their presumed translation dates: first the *Laonüren jing* 老女人經 (T559), which is assigned to Zhi Qian 支謙 (fl. 220-252), followed by the *Laomunü liu ying jing* 老母女六英經 (T560) credited to Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 (394-468, active in translation work from 435-443), and finally the *Laomu jing* 老母經 (T561), listed as anonymous but assigned to the Liu-Song 劉宋 period (420-479 CE). This largely conforms to what is found in the *Chu sanzang jiji* 出三藏記集, though only the first and last are mentioned there; Guṇabhadra is first credited with such a work of a similar title only about a century later.[7]

Of these, the *Laomunü liu ying jing* (T560) was clearly based on a different recension of the text than the other two; moreover, with the exception of one proper name,[8] its wording bears almost no resemblance to that of the others. It seems certain, therefore, that it was produced without reference to either the *Laonüren jing* (T559) or the *Laomu jing* (T561). The latter two texts, however, resemble one another so closely (not only in their content, but also in the virtually identical wording used in many passages) that it is clear that they are not two independent translations. Rather, one must be dependent on—i.e., a revision of—the other. If the attributions given in the *Taishō* canon were correct, the anonymous *Laomu jing*, produced in the fifth century CE, should be a revision of Zhi Qian's third-century *Laonüren jing*.

A close look at the vocabulary and style of the two texts, however, casts doubt on this scenario. First, T561 shares with T559 a generally archaic style, beginning with the opening formula of *wen rushi* 聞如是 "Thus have [I] heard," a rendition that was standard in translations produced prior to the time of Kumārajīva but seems to have quickly been superseded by the expanded translation *rushi wo wen* 如是我聞 after that time. Second, it uses a number of terms that are characteristic of translations produced during the second and third centuries CE but later went out of use, e.g., 痛痒 for *vedanā* "sensation," 鬼神 for *yakṣa*, the transcription 阿須倫 for *asura* (later texts use -羅 in place of -倫), 天中天

Literature," forthcoming in Mauro Maggi and Silvio Vita (eds.), *Buddhist Asia 2. Papers from the Second Conference of Buddhist Studies Held in Naples in June 2004* (Università di Napoli "L'Orientale". Centro di Studi sul Buddhismo), Italian School of East Asian Studies, Kyoto.

[6] The very few instances in which this principle is deliberately violated—e.g., when Kumārajīva's *Lotus Sūtra* (T262, 妙法蓮華經) is placed prior to that of his predecessor Dharmarakṣa (T263, 正法華經), or where the version of the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* (wrongly) attributed to Saṅghavarman (T360, 無量壽經) is placed before two texts that are clearly its predecessors (T361, 無量清淨平等覺經 and T362, 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經)—show that, in these instances, powerful competing considerations (i.e., reverence for a particular translation) were at work.

[7] See the *Zhongjing mulu* 眾經目錄 (T2147, compiled by Yancong 彥琮 in 610 CE), 55.157a7, where the text is called 老母六英經. Sengyou credits the *Laonüren jing* to Zhi Qian (T2145, 55.7a9) and lists the *Laomu jing* is listed as "anonymous" (with no indication of its date; see 55.27a11). No text entitled *Laomunü liu ying jing* (or *Laomu liu ying jing*) is registered by Sengyou.

[8] The sole exception is the name of one of the Buddhas of the past, Krakucchanda, whose name is transcribed as *Julouqin* 拘樓秦 in both T560 (14.912c7-8, var. *Juliuqin* 拘留秦) and T561 (913b1); in T559 has *Juliuqin* 拘留秦 (912b5). This name was already well established, however, by the fifth century; it appears (in both of these forms) in a number of texts translated by Dharmarakṣa (Zhu Fahu 竺法護, fl. 265-309), for example, including his widely circulated *Lotus Sūtra* (T263, 9.100a05). Thus there is no reason to posit a direct connection between T560 and either T559 or T561 in order to explain its use of this term.

for *bhagavat*, and 發菩薩意 for *bodhicittotpāda*. Most of these terms appear here and there in later translations, and it would certainly not be impossible for a fifth-century translator to use some of these expressions. But the sheer quantity of such archaisms in T561 suggests that it may be older than its supposed Liu-Song date.

A comparison of T561 with T559, however—that is, with the *Laonüren jing* attributed to Zhi Qian—shows that the latter text exhibits even more archaic vocabulary. In the list of the five skandhas, for example, T559 uses 生死 for *saṁskārāḥ*, while T561 has the more "modern" form 行; likewise T559 uses *nili* 泥犁 (an archaic transciption which first appears in the translations of Lokakṣema) for *niraya* "hell," whereas T561 translates the term as 地獄 "earth prison." It seems highly unlikely that a reviser would change 行 to 生死 in this context, or 地獄 to 泥犁, tbough the reverse is easy to envision.

Third, we can observe a stylistic difference in these two texts: T561 sometimes abbreviates where T559 spells out traditional lists in full. For example, when T561 states in summary fashion that birth, old age, sickness, and death (生老病死) do not come from anywhere and do not go anywhere (無所從來去亦無所至), in T559 this statement is repeated four times, once for each of these items.[9] Conversely, in a few places T561 contains material not found in T559, apparently consisting of commentarial glosses or statements added for emphasis.[10] Here, too, it seems unlikely that a revisor would delete material found in T561, while conversely the phenomenon of abbreviating the treatment of standard lists is well known. Once again, the evidence points toward the identity of T561 as a revision of T559.

But the question of the respective dates and translator attributions of these two texts still remains. Here a comparison not just of Buddhist technical terms, but of ordinary expressions as well, is illuminating. Much of the vocabulary found in T561 matches that of T559 exactly; for purposes of determining their respective dates, however, it is the differences that are most important. The following table gives a representative list of expressions found in T559 which differ from the corresponding wording used in T561, together with an indication of whether the expressions in question do (O) or do not (x) occur elsewhere in Zhi Qian's corpus.

T559	ZQ	T561	ZQ
發意學道	x	發菩薩意	O
不肯聽(我去)	x	不聽(我作沙門)	O
因是故	x	以是故	O
鬼神龍天人[11]	x	天龍鬼神	O
老女人	x	老母	O

Of these the last is the most telling, for though the terms *lao* 老 "old" and *nüren* 女人 "woman" occur many times in Zhi Qian's corpus, there is no text reliably attributed to him in which these two expressions occur together. On the contrary, whenever his texts

[9] See T561, 14. 913a1-2 and T559, 14.912a5-7, respectively.

[10] For example, where T559 has simply 我欲作沙門 (912b5), T561 adds an explicit reference to the bodhisattva path: 我為菩薩道。意欲作沙門 (913b1-2). In a second case, following a discussion of emptiness T559 states only 萬物亦爾 (14.912a21), while T561 expands this statement and adds an additional one: 諸所有萬物一切亦如是。我人壽命亦如是。(913a15-16).

[11] The terms 鬼神, 龍, and 天人 appear individually in Zhi Qian's work but never in this order.

refer to an "old woman" he uses the term *laomu* 老母 instead. The latter, of course, is precisely the terminology found in the *Laomu jing* (T561)—not merely in the title, but throughout the text itself.[12]

A small piece of corroborating evidence can be found in the *Yinchiru jing zhu* 陰持入經註 (T1694), which contains a citation from the *Laomu jing* 老母經. In addition to the fact that the title agrees with that of T561 (and not T559), the wording of the quotation also matches that of T561.[13] Though there are a few exceptions, the *Yinchiru jing zhu* draws the overwhelming majority of its scriptural references from the works of just two translators: An Shigao 安世高 (fl. 148-170) and Zhi Qian. This evidence harmonizes well, therefore, with the above data showing that T561 (and not T559) contains the vocabulary used by Zhi Qian.

The fact that, where T559 and T561 differ, it is the terminology of T561 that is consistent with that of Zhi Qian makes it clear that the attributions given in the *Taishō* edition of the canon are incorrect. Instead, it is T561 that should be assigned to Zhi Qian, while T559 should be listed as anonymous. But as we have seen, the vocabulary of T559 is even more archaic than that of T561, and other factors—the fact that T561 abbreviates certain repetitive passages found in T559, while apparently adding an occasional interpretive gloss—support the idea that T561 is a revision of T559. This implies, in turn, that T559 must be even older than Zhi Qian's version, which was produced no later than the middle of the third century CE. Thus T559 can now be added to the roster of the very earliest Chinese Buddhist translations: those produced during, or very shortly after, the Eastern Han 東漢.

As to the *Laomunü liu ying jing* 老母女六英經 (T560), its terminology is clearly more recent than that of the two versions discussed here, and pending further investigation by specialists in his corpus, the traditional attribution to Guṇabhadra may provisionally be retained. Thus the correct chronological sequence of these texts should be emended to T559 (anonymous, dating from the late Han or very early Three Kingdoms period) -> T561 (translated by Zhi Qian in the first half of the third century CE) -> T560 (translated c. fifth century CE, perhaps by Guṇabhadra).

Jan NATTIER

key words: *Laonüren jing*, *Laomu jing*, *Laomunü liu ying jing*, Zhi Qian

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[12] It is not always the case that the terminology found in a sūtra title occurs within the body of the text itself. Titles appear to have been almost as fluid in China as they were in India, and unless the terms used in the title reappear within the text itself, they should not be considered to belong to the translator's own repertoire. A good example is the case of the *Da'aidao banniehuan jing* 大愛道般泥洹經 (T144), in which the name *Da'aidao* (a translation of Mahāprajāpati; see Seishi Karashima and Jan Nattier, "*Qiuluzi* 秋露子: An Early Chinese Name for Śāriputra," *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2004* [*ARIRIAB*], vol. 8 (2005), p. 369) never appears, in contrast to the *Fomu banniehuan jing* 佛母般泥洹經 (T145), where the Buddha's foster-mother is referred to many times by this name (*op. cit.*, pp. 363-364).

[13] See T1694, 33.10b24-25: 老母經曰。眼見色即是意。意即是色。 The wording of T561 (913a10-11) and T559 (912a15-16) are nearly identical here, but—though the difference is a small one—T561 alone uses the word 眼, while T559 has 目 instead. (The main text of T561 given in the *Taishō* canon reads 眼見好色, but the character *hao* 好 is absent in several editions [see n. 3] and seems likely—based on its common usage in this context elsewhere—to be the result of a scribal emendation.)

Brief Communication:

Nāgārjuna's quotation in the Khotanese *Book of Zambasta*[*]

The Old Khotanese *Book of Zambasta*, a fifth-century anonymous work which expounds in verse the teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism, draws largely on Indian sources, but these are far from having been identified completely.[1] The author of the work mentions the titles of a number of sūtras, both known and unknown, and quotes frequently, but he does not always give the titles of the sources that these quotations come from. No title is given, for instance, for any of the fifty-eight quotations found in *Z* 6.2-59 that amount virtually to a catalogue of a fifth-century Khotanese canon, since the author opens the chapter announcing: *panina ttau sūtriṇa vaysña śśälo hvāñīmä pyuvī'rä* 'I will now proclaim to you a verse thus from each sūtra. May you listen' (*Z* 6.1).[2]

While the *Book of Zambasta* quotes passages from many sūtras, the only author who is mentioned in it is Nāgārjuna. His name occurs in v. 32 of chap. 11, a chapter that deals with compassion (*karuṇā*), loving kindness (*maitrī*), the perfections (*pāramitā*), the thought of awakening (*bodhicitta*) and the skilful means (*upāya*), and it is followed by a quotation. In this case, too, there is no indication of the work from which the passage is taken:

Z 11.32 *tta hvate nāggārjuni ho—ri parāhä kṣāndä u värśä*
jāna pārāmate paṃjsa biśśä hajvatteta vahäṣṭe

'Thus spoke Nāgārjuna: "Giving (*dāna*), moral restraint (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*) and vigour (*vīrya*), meditation (*dhyāna*), all [these] five perfections (*pāramitā*) are included in wisdom (*prajñā*)"'.[3]

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[*] I am grateful to Stefano Zacchetti who read a preliminary draft of this communication and contributed valuable Sinological comments (see esp. nn. 6 and 7).

[1] Edition and translation by R. E. Emmerick, *The book of Zambasta: a Khotanese poem on Buddhism*, London 1968 (London Oriental series 21). See also M. Maggi, "Khotanese literature", in *A history of Persian literature. Companion volume 1: The literature of pre-Islamic Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater, New York, forthcoming [2007], pp. 348-357, and, for the dating, M. Maggi, "The manuscript T III S 16: its importance for the history of Khotanese literature", in *Turfan revisited: the first century of research into the arts and cultures of the Silk Road*, ed. D. Durkin-Meisterernst *et al.*, Berlin 2004 (Monographien zur indischen Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie 17), pp. 184a-190b and 457.

[2] Emmerick's translation with modifications. E. Leumann, *Das nordarische (sakische) Lehrgedicht des Buddhismus: Text und Übersetzung*, aus dem Nachlaß hrsg. von M. Leumann, Leipzig 1933-1936 (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 20), pp. 92 and 94-96, identified *Z* 6.3 as *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* 3.23, *Z* 6.15 as the concluding verse of the *Vajracchedikā*, and *Z* 6.24 as *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* 5.4 (cf. Emmerick, *Zambasta*, pp. 117, 119 and 121).

[3] Emmerick's translation with modifications.

ARIRIAB Vol. X (March 2007): 533-535.
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My attempt to identify this passage in Nāgārjuna's works began by consulting C. Lindtner's *Nagarjuniana*,[4] where by good fortune I was quickly able to recognise the Khotanese verse as st. 7 of Nāgārjuna's *Bodhisaṃbhāra*,[5] a work whose Sanskrit original is lost and which only survives, along with the prose commentary by the Indian monk Zizai 自在 (Īśvara?), in the Chinese translation by Dharmagupta (*Puti ziliang lun* 菩提資糧論, T. 1660, vol. 32, pp. 517b-541b):

BS 7　施戒忍進定　及此五之餘
皆由智度故　波羅蜜所攝　(p. 519b 21-22)

'Because charity (*dāna*), morality (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), energy (*vīrya*), trance (*dhyāna*) and the rest (*śeṣa*) beyond these five [perfections] are all due to the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*), they are comprised by [this] perfection (*pāramitā*)'.[6]

As has been pointed out to me by Stefano Zacchetti, the passage under consideration occurs further on apparently as part of the commentary but, curiously enough, with a different wording:

施戒忍進定　此五種之餘
彼諸波羅蜜　智度之所攝　(p. 523a 5-6)

'Charity, morality, patience, energy, trance and the rest beyond these five [perfections], all those *pāramitā*s are comprised by the perfection of wisdom'.[7]

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[4] C. Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana: studies in the writings and philosophy of Nāgārjuna*, Copenhagen 1982 (Indiske studier 4) [repr. Delhi 1987].

[5] Lindtner's verse numbering.

[6] Translation by Lindtner, *Nagarjuniana*, p. 229, with modifications. Stefano Zacchetti points out that the causal particle *gu* 故, omitted in Lindtner's translation, is apparently not a mere verse filler here, and that *zhidu* 智度 does not only render *prajñā* but *prajñāpāramitā* (see the following note).

[7] [The commentary to this second occurrence of the stanza confirms that *zhidu* 智度, which Lindtner translates *prajñā*, is in reality a rendering of Sanskrit *prajñāpāramitā*: 智度之所攝 is paraphrased 皆是般若波羅蜜所攝 'they are all comprised by the *prajñāpāramitā*' (T 1660, p. 523a 9), where the transcription *boreboluomi* 般若波羅蜜 rules out the equation of *zhidu* 智度 with *prajñā* only. Actually, all the occurrences of *zhidu* 智度 in the *Puti ziliang lun* 菩提資糧論 (T 1660) seem to mean *prajñāpāramitā*. An instance of the original equivalence of *zhidu* 智度 and *prajñāpāramitā* is found in a passage of the *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經 (T 225, vol. 8), a third-century translation of debated authorship of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*: 問曰：「問曰。闍士云何立智度中乎？」'[Śakra] asked: "How are bodhisattvas established in the perfection of wisdom?"' (p. 482 b24-25) = *bhāṣiṣye 'haṃ te yathā bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāramitāyāṃ sthātavyam* 'I shall expound to you how a bodhisattva mahāsattva must abide in the perfection of wisdom' (*Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1960 (Buddhist Sanskrit texts 4), p. 17.29): though Śakra's question in the Chinese version corresponds to Subhūti's answer in the Sanskrit, the correspondence between the two terms is beyond doubt. — S. Zacchetti].

The location of the quotation from Nāgārjuna is a clear example of the work which must still be carried out systematically on the *Book of Zambasta*, in order to identify its sources or at least recognise parallel or similar passages in other Buddhist literatures: this would ultimately contribute to a better understanding of the history not only of Buddhism in Khotan but, in consideration of the comparatively early date of the work, also of its diffusion outside of India.[8]

Mauro MAGGI

[8] A study of the doctrinal and literary aspects of the *Book of Zambasta* has been begun by Giuliana Martini for her doctoral dissertation under my supervision in the Department of Asian Studies of L'Orientale University, Naples.

活動報告（平成１８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。
「ORC検討委員会」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長・所員の主要な活動を記す。（ORC関連事業については下線を付す）

平成18年

2月23日(木) 第８回ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」公開講演会（=第34回仏教学懇話会）開催
講師：上海師範大学法政学院哲学系教授、方廣錩博士 (Prof. Dr. Guangchang FANG, Shanghai Normal University)
テーマ：「データベースを利用しての敦煌文書の目録編纂」（敦煌遺書編目所用數據庫及數據資料）

3月 2日(木) ロシア科学アカデミー東洋学研究所 ﾏﾙｶﾞﾘｰﾀ･ｳﾞｫﾛﾋﾞﾖｰｳﾞｧ=ﾃﾞｼｬﾄﾌｽｶﾔ博士
(Dr. Margarita I. Vorobyova=Desyatovskaya, The Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg Branch) 客員研究員として来日（４月１１日まで）

3月 3日(金)~4日(土) ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」第６回ワークショップ 開催
テーマ：仏教古写本の世界：メルブ出土梵語写本とガンダーラ語仏教写本研究の現況
講師として以下の研究者を招聘
・ロシア科学アカデミー東洋学研究所 M・ヴォロビヨーヴァ=デシャトフスカヤ博士
・ワシントン大学 ステファン・バウム氏 (Mr. Stefan Baums, University of Washington, Member of the British Library/University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project)
・佛教大学（ワシントン大学） アンドリュー・グラス氏 (Mr. Andrew Glass, Lecturer, Bukkyo University, Member of the British Library/University of Washington Early Buddhist Manuscripts Project)
・佛教大学 吹田隆道氏 (Mr. Takamichi Fukita, Lecturer, Bukkyo University)
・ミュンヘン大学 グードルン・メルツァー氏 (Ms. Gudrun Melzer, graduate student, University of München)

3月 3日(金)~8日(水) ジャン・ナティエ 台湾出張
Fifth Chung-hwa International Conference on Buddhism (Taipei, TAIWAN) に参加
3/4 "Avalokiteśvara in Early Chinese Buddhist Translations: A Preliminary Survey" と題して発表

3月16日(金)~17日(土) ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」第７回ワークショップ 開催
講師：三宅 伸一郎 大谷大学文学部専任講師
テーマ：「チベット大蔵経をめぐる諸問題」

3月22日(水)~23日(木) 菅野博史所長、辛嶋静志、工藤順之
(財)東洋哲学研究所 第22回学術大会に出席

4月12日(水)~18日(火) 菅野所長 中国出張
世界仏教フォーラムに参加（杭州、普陀山）
「《法華経》与宗教間対話」と題して発表

4月14日(金) 第９回ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」公開講演会（=第35回仏教学懇話会）開催
講師：ロシア科学アカデミー東洋学研究所 マルガリータ・ヴォロビヨーヴァ・デシャトフスカヤ博士 [本研究所客員研究員]

テーマ：「ロシア科学アカデミー東洋学研究所サンクト・ペテルブルグ支所所蔵の中央アジア写本コレクション」

5月14日(土) 菅野所長　東アジア仏教研究会第９回定例研究会（於: 駒澤大学）に出席。

5月23日(火) 第１０回ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」公開講演会（=第36回仏教学懇話会）開催
講師：ミュンヘン大学　モニカ・ツィン博士 (Dr. Monika Zin, University of München)
テーマ：「アマラヴァティーの説話レリーフが基づく原典について」

6月 7日(水) ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」第８回ワークショップ　開催
講師：・ベルリン国立図書館東アジア部門主事　コルドゥラ・グムプレヒト博士
・京都大学人文科学研究所・日本学術振興会外国人特別研究員　王丁博士
テーマ：ベルリン・トルファン出土漢文文書研究の現況

6月30日(金) 叶　少勇氏 (Mr. Ye Shaoyong, 北京大学東方語言文化学部　サンスクリット語・パーリ語専攻博士課程）仏教伝道協会奨学生として来日（指導：辛嶋教授）。研究所研究生として一年間滞在予定。

7月 6日(木)~16日(日) 辛嶋　イギリス出張
7日~8日：大英図書館にて中央アジア古写本断簡を調査。BLSF計画について懇談。
10日~15日：エジンバラ大学で開催された第13回国際サンスクリット学会に参加。"Who were the *icchantikas*" と題して発表

7月29日(土) 菅野所長　東アジア仏教研究会第10回定例研究会（於: 駒澤大学）に出席。

8月 3日(木) 年報・研究叢書発送
・『創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報』平成17年度(第9号) [3月31日付]
・Daniel B. STEVENSON and Hiroshi KANNO, *The Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra's Course of Ease and Bliss: An Annotated Translation and Study of Nanyue Huisi's (515-577) Fahua jing anlexing yi.* 2006, x + 317 pages, ISBN 4-9980622-8-X [3月31日付].
・*Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, vol. 1, edited by S. KARASHIMA and K. WILLE, 2006, xi + 274 pages + 133 plates, ISBN 4-9980622-9-8.

8月10日(木)~16日(水) 菅野所長、ナティエ　マレーシア出張
The First International Buddhist College Buddhist Studies Conference に参加 (マレーシア、ペナン）。以下の題目にて発表
菅野　"An Overview of Research on Chinese Commentaries of the Lotus Sūtra
ナティエ "'One Vehicle' (一乗) in the Chinese *Āgamas*: New Light on an Old Problem in Pāli"

8月25日(金) 菅野所長　２００６年度創価大学夏季大学講座にて「『法華経』を読む（２）一譬喩品・信解品」と題して講演。

9月12日(火)~13日(水) 菅野所長　辛嶋、ジャン・ナティエ、工藤
日本印度学佛教学会第57回学術大会（於: 大正大学）に参加
菅野　理事会に出席。また「『法華経文外義』研究序説」と題して発表

9月16日(土)~17日(日) 菅野所長　日本宗教学会学術大会に参加（於: 東北大学）。評議員会に出席。

9月28日(木)~10月 8日(日) 段　晴教授 (Prof. Dr. Duan Qing, 北京大学外国語学院　東方学研究院)
共同研究の為、来日滞在。

10月 4日(水) 第１１回ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」公開講演会（= 第37回仏教学懇話会）開催

10月4日(水) 第１１回ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」公開講演会（= 第37回仏教学懇話会）開催
講師：北京大学　段晴博士（Prof. Dr. DUAN Qing, University of Peking)
テーマ：「新発見のコータン語写本断簡について」(New Discovered Khotanese Texts)

10月9日(月)-21日(土) ナティエ　カナダ、アメリカ出張
American Oriental Society, Western Branch 2006 Meeting に参加 (Canada, British Columbia).
10/13 "Re-evaluating the Translations of Zhu Fonian 竺佛念: A Preliminary Report" と題して発表
10/18 Stanford University Center for Buddhist Studies にて "Gender and Awakening: Sexual Transformation in Mahāyāna Sūtras" と題して発表

10月30日(月)-11月4日(土) 菅野　中国出張　第２回中日仏学会議（於: 北京、人民大学）に出席。「中国仏教初期的機与感応思想一以道生、僧亮為中心」と題して発表。

11月11日(土)-12日(日) ORC国際シンポジウム『漢訳仏典の言語の様相』(Aspects of the Language of Chinese Buddhist Translations, 漢譯佛典的語言面貌) 開催 (詳細については別掲, pp. 539-540)

11月13日(月)-14日(火) ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」第９回ワークショップ　開催
講師：朱慶之（北京大学）　ｽﾃﾌｧﾉ･ｻﾞ ｹｯﾃｨ（ｳﾞｪﾈﾁｱ大学）　松江崇（北海道大学）　衣川賢次（花園大学）　蒋紹愚（北京大学）　萬金川（台湾・中央大学）　橋本貴子（神戸市立外国語大学）　ｸﾘｽﾄﾌ･ﾊﾙﾌﾞｽﾏｲﾔｰ（オスロ大学）
テーマ：「漢訳仏典の言語研究における諸問題」

11月22日(水)-26日(日) 菅野所長　香港中文大学中国哲学与伝統文化研究中心・東洋哲学研究所共催シンポジウム「東方文明と現代社会」（開催地: 中国香港）に出席。「《法華経》的菩薩道及其重視現実世界宗教研究所的思想」と題して発表。

11月24日(金)-30日(木) サルジェ（薩爾吉）博士 (Dr. Sarje, 北京大学外国語学部　チベット語・サンスクリット語講師）、共同研究の為、来日滞在。

11月28日(火) 第１２回ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」公開講演会（= 第37回仏教学懇話会）開催
講師：ローザンヌ大学　ヨハネス・ブロンクホルスト博士　(Prof. Dr. Johannes Bronkhorst, Section de langues et civilisations orientales, Université de Lausanne)
テーマ：「仏舎利：その背景と宗教的・文化的意味」(Buddhist relics: their background and religious and cultural context)

12月2日(土) 菅野所長　東アジア仏教研究会第５回年次大会（於: 駒澤大学）に出席。

12月8日(金) 第１３回ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」公開講演会（= 第38回仏教学懇話会）開催
講師：フランス極東学院　クオ・リーイン博士 (Dr. KUO Liying, Directeur d'études à l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient)
テーマ：「仏頂尊勝陀羅尼経の諸漢訳とその崇拝」(Chinese Translations of the Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of the Victory of Buddha's Sinciput and its Cult)

平成19年
1月19日(金) 第１４回ORC「仏教文献学研究センター」公開講演会（= 第39回仏教学懇話会）開催
講師：大英図書館　スーザン・ウィットフィールド博士 (Dr. Suzan WHITFIELD, The British Library)
テーマ：「国際敦煌プロジェクト：シルクロードをオンラインで」(IDP: The Silk Road Online)

ORC国際シンポジウム開催の記録

本研究所は2004年度より文部科学省の「私立大学学術研究高度化推進事業」のうち「オープン・リサーチ・センター整備事業」の研究拠点として選定され、「仏教文献学研究センター」というプロジェクトを推進している。プロジェクトの３年目に当たる今年度は事業計画通りに漢訳仏典に関する国際シンポジウムを開催した。その詳細は以下の通りである。発表者として学外より９名（そのうち海外から５名）の研究者を招聘し、聴講参加者は二日間ともに五十名をこえた。

シンポジウム名：「漢訳仏典の言語の様相」（英文名：Aspects of the Language of Chinese Buddhist Translations、中文名：漢譯佛典的語言面貌）

日時：２００６年１１月１１日（土）、１２日（日）
両日とも９時３０分～１１時３０分、１３時～１７時３０分

会場：創価大学・本部棟Ｍ１０２教室（東京、八王子）

使用言語：中国語・英語

発表者とその題目：（発表と質疑を合わせ各自１時間）

１１月１１日(土) [11, Nov.]

9:30～　朱慶之　ZHU Qingzhi (北京大学)
「佛典与漢語語法研究—20世紀国内佛教漢語研究回顧之二—」
[ZHU Qingzhi (Beijing University), "Chinese Buddhist Scriptures and Researches on Chinese Grammar: A Retrospective on Researches on Buddhist Chinese Carried out by Chinese Scholars during 20th Century"]

10:30～　ステファノ・ザケッティ　Stefano ZACCHETTI (ヴェネチア大学)
"Inventing a New Idiom: Some Aspects of the Language of the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入経 T 603 Translated by An Shigao"
[Stefano ZACCHETTI (Venice University), "Inventing a New Idiom: Some Aspects of the Language of the *Yin chi ru jing* 陰持入経 T 603 Translated by An Shigao"]

13:00～　ジャン・ナティエ　Jan NATTIER (創価大学)
"Masquerading as Transcription: Substitution Terms in Chinese Translations"
[Jan NATTIER (Soka University), "Masquerading as Transcription: Substitution Terms in Chinese Translations"]

14:00～　松尾良樹　MATSUO Yoshiki (奈良女子大学)
「口語詞汇佐索引的功用—以『佛本行集經』為例」
[MATSUO Yoshiki (Nara Women's University, "Chinese Venacularisms Found in the *Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 (Taisho No. 190)"]

15:30～　松江崇　MATSUE Takashi (北海道大学)
「略談《六度集經》語言的口語性—以疑問代詞系統爲例」
[MATSUE Takashi (Hokkaido University), "Colloqialism in the Language of the *Liudu ji jing* 六度集經 (Taisho No. 152): Concerning its Systems of Interrogative Pronouns"

16:30～　衣川賢次　KINUGAWA Kenji (花園大学)
「以日中古寫經校訂《大正藏》芻議」
[KINUGAWA Kenji (Hanazono University), "On Revising the Taishō Daizōkyō Using Old Manuscripts Preserved in Japan"

１１月１２日 (日) [12, Nov.]

9:30～　萬金川　WAN Chin-chuan (台湾・中央大学)

「佛典漢譯流程裡「過渡性文本」的語文景觀」

[WAN Chin-chuan (National Central University, Taiwan), "Linguistic Landscape of the 'Transient Texts' in the Process of Chinese Translation of Buddhist Scriptures: The Case of the Verbal Translation of the *Vajracchedikā*"

10:30～　辛嶋静志　KARASHIMA Seishi (創価大学)

「漢譯佛典的語言研究(三)」

[KARASHIMA Seishi (Soka University), "A Study of the Language and Transcriptions of the Chinese Buddhist Translations (3): henan 和南 (vandāmi), cha 刹 (chattra), manao 瑪瑙 (aśmagarbha) and yige 衣褠 (utsaṅga)"]

13:00～　菅野博史　KANNO Hiroshi (創価大学)

「『法華経文外義』研究序説」

[KANNO Hiroshi (Soka University), "An Introduction to the Study on the Fahua jingwen wauiyi 法華經文外義, a Chinese Commentary on the Lotus Sutra"

14:00～　蒋紹愚　JIANG Shaoyu (北京大学)

「語言接觸的一個案例—再談"V(0)已"」

[JIANG Shaoyu (Beijing University), "An Example of the Result of a Contact of Languages: Revisiting 'Verb(0) = yi 已"]

15:30～　橋本貴子　HASHIMOTO Takako (神戸市立外国語大学)

「宝思惟訳・菩提流支訳密教経軌の加筆および仮託について—陀羅尼の音写字からの考察」

[HASHIMOTO Takako (Kobe City University of Foreign Studies), "On Retouches and Forgeries in the Esoteric Ceremonial Manuals Ascribed to Baosiwei 寶思惟 ande Bodhiruci: Considerations from the Transliterations of Dhāraṇī"]

16:30～　クリストフ・ハルブスマイヤー　Christoph HARBSMEIER (オスロ大学)

"On the very Nature of Cenceptual History in a Comparative Perspective: On Thesaurus Linguae Sericae (TLS), An Historical and Comparative Encyclopaedia of Chinese Conceptual Schemes"

[Christoph HARBSMEIER (University of Oslo), "On the very Nature of Cenceptual History in a Comparative Perspective: On Thesaurus Linguae Sericae (TLS), An Historical and Comparative Encyclopaedia of Chinese Conceptual Schemes"]

cf. "A Report on the International Symposium "Aspects of the Language of Chinese Buddhist Translations" by KARASHIMA Seishi and Jan NATTIER, in: *Mbabāpiṭaka: Newsletter New Series* No. 12, January 1, 2007, pp. 5-6, Bukkyō Dendō Kyōkai.

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 KANNO) Director

Daniel B. STEVENSON and Hiroshi KANNO, *The Meaning of the Lotus Sūtra's Course of Ease and Bliss: An Annotated Translation and Study of Nanyue Huisi's (515-577) Fahua jing anlexing yi*. 2006, x + 317 pages, ISBN 4-9980622-8-X.

『大乗仏教の挑戦－人類的課題－』（共著）2006.9, 東洋哲学研究所.

「《法華経》与宗教間対話」『首届世界佛教論壇文集・論文中文巻　和諧世界従心開始』所収, 宗教文化出版社, 2006, pp. 406-417 (『仏学研究』総15期, 2006, pp. 65-72).

「『法華経』と宗教間対話」『東洋学術研究』45-1, 2006, pp. 154-171.

"The *Lotus Sūtra* and the Dialogue of Religions," in: *The Journal of Oriental Studies* 16, 2006, pp. 139-155.

「『法華経文外義』研究序説」『印度学仏教学研究』55-1, 2006.12, pp. 499-492.

"'"Relative Subtlety" and " Absolute Subtlety" in Zhiyi and Jizang: Concerning their Interpretation of the Word "Subtlety (*miao* 妙)" in the Title of the *Lotus Sūtra*," in: *The Lotus Sutra and Related Systems*, ed. Kaishuku MOCHIZUKI (望月海淑編『法華経と大乗経典の研究』), Tokyo: Sankibo Busshorin, 2006, pp. 37-55.

【報告】

「「第二回中日仏学会議」報告」『中外日報』（2006.11.14付け紙面に掲載）

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-).
2. 日本宗教学会・評議員(2004-).
3. 中国人民大学客員教授(2001-).
4. (財)東洋哲学研究所研究員(1985-)／主任研究員(2004-)／評議員(1992-).
5. (財)東京大学仏教青年会評議員(2003-).
6. 東アジア仏教研究会会長 (2003-)

湯山　明 (Akira YUYAMA)

「不空音譯敦煌出土佛頂尊勝陀羅尼」『創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報』第9号(2005), 2006.3, pp. 231-276.
("Amoghavajra's *Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā Dhāraṇī* from Tunhuang," in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2005*, vol. IX, 2006.3, pp. 231-276).

"Miscellanea Philologica Buddhica (IV)," in: *do.*, pp. 277-296.

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. 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).

ジャン・ナティエ (Jan NATTIER)

"The Names of Amitābha/Amitāyus in Early Chinese Buddhist Translations (1)," in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2005*, vol. IX, 2006.3, pp. 183-199.

「『般若心経』は中国偽経か？」『三康文化研究所年報』37号, 2006.3, pp. 17-83 [工藤順之・吹田隆道和訳]
("*Hannya shingyō* wa Chūgoku gikyō ka?," trans. by KUDO Noriyuki and FUKITA Takamichi, in: *Sankō Bunka Kenkyūjo nenpō* 37, March 2006, pp. 17-83).

[Translation of secondary sources] "Margarita I. VOROBYOVA-DESYATOVSKAYAOB, "The Central Asian Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences,"" in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2005*, vol. IX, 2006.3, pp. 61-78 [translated from the Russian].

辛嶋静志 (Seishi KARASHIMA)

Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments, vol. 1, edited by S. Karashima and K. Wille, Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University, 2006, xi + 274 pages + 133 plates, ISBN 4-9980622-9-8.

「『大阿弥陀経』訳注（七）」『佛教大学総合研究所紀要』第十三号, 2006.3, pp. 1-11.
("An Annotated Japanese Translation of the Earliest Chinese Version of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* (7)," in: *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Bukkyo University* 13, 2006.3, pp. 1-11).

"A Trilingual Edition of the Lotus Sutra --- New editions of the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese versions (4)," in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2005*, vol. IX, 2006.3, pp. 79-88.

"An Old Tibetan Translation of the Lotus Sutra from Khotan: The Romanised Text Collated with the Kanjur Version (2)," in: *do.*, pp. 89-181.

"Underlying Languages of Early Chinese Translations of Buddhist Scriptures," in: *Studies in Chinese Language and Culture: Festschrift in Honour of Christoph Harbsmeier on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, ed. by Christoph Anderl and Halvor Eifring, Oslo 2006, Hermes Academic Publishing,

pp. 355-366.

"The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* Manuscript from Farhād-Bēg in the Stein Collection (1)," in: *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, vol. I, eds., Seishi Karashima and Klaus Wille, Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, 2006, pp. 155-172.

"A Sanskrit Fragment of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* in the Stein Collection," in: *do.*, pp. 173-175.

"Four Sanskrit Fragments of the *Ratnaketuparivarta* in the Stein Collection," in: *do.*, pp. 177-189.

"The Sanskrit Manuscript of the *Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatārajñānālokālaṃkāra* from Endere in the Stein Collection"(with Klaus WILLE)," in: *do.*, pp. 191-254.

「《撰集百緣經》的譯出年代考證——出本充代博士的研究簡介」浙江大学漢語史研究中心編『漢語史學報』第六輯(2006), 上海教育出版社, pp. 49-52.
("Concerning the Date of the *Zhuanji Baiyuan jing* —— A Brief Introduction to Dr. Mitsuyo Demoto's Study," in: *Hanyushi Xuebao* [*Studies on the History of Chinese Language*], ed. The Research Centre for History of Chinese Language, Zhejiang University, published by Shanghaijiaoyu chubanshe, vol. 6, December 2006, pp 49-52.)

「一闡提(*icchantika*)は誰か」望月海淑編『法華経と大乗経典の研究』東京 2006年6月: 山喜房佛書林, pp. 253(562)-269 (546).
("Who were the *icchantikas*?," in: *The Lotus Sutra and Related Systems*, ed. Kaishuku MOCHIZUKI, Tokyo 2006: Sankibo Busshorin, pp. 253(562)-269 (546)).

工藤順之 (Noriyuki KUDO)

"The First Three Folios of Manuscript B of the *Karmavibhaṅga*," in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2005*, vol. IX, 2006.3, pp. 33-42 [with Diwakar Acharya].

"One More Manuscript of the *Karmavibhaṅga* in the National Archives of Nepal, Kathmandu: Transliteration of Manuscript E (1)," in: *do.*, pp. 43-60.

"Brief Communication: A notebook transcribing the manuscript B of the *Karmavibhaṅga* prepared under the supervision of Hemraj Sharman at the request of Sylvain Lévi," in: *do.*, pp. 297-300.

"A Sanskrit Fragment of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* in the Stein Collection," in: *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The British Library Sanskrit Fragments*, vol. I, eds., Seishi Karashima and Klaus Wille, Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, 2006, pp. 255-259.

"A Sanskrit Fragment of the *Caityacatuṣka-* and *Tripusabhallikasūtra*," in: *do.*, pp. 263-64.

"A Sanskrit Fragment of Unknown Mahāyāna Charm," in: *do.*, p. 265.

"Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa's Definition of *Kartṛtva*: Second Chapter of the *Kārakacakra*," in: *Nyāya-Vasiṣṭha* (Felicitation Volume of Prof. V. N. Jha), ed. by Manabendu Banerjee et al, Kolkata: Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, 2006, pp. 516-525.

「ジャン・ナティエ著『般若心経』は中国偽経か？」『三康文化研究所年報』37号, 17-83. [吹田隆道氏と共訳]

受贈受入書籍類 [Books & CD-ROMs Received] (2006.2~2007.1)

* 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.

BROGER, Anne, *Die ā-Stämme im Ṛgveda und Ihre Stellung im Genussystem.* (Bern, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft. Arbeitspapiere 41), 2004, Bern: Universität Bern, Institut für Sprachwissenschaft.

DELEANU, Florin, *The Chapter on the Mundane Path (Laukikamārga) in the Śrāvakabhūmi: A Trilingual Edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), Annotated Translatration, and Introductory Study*, 1 (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series XXa), 2006, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

DELEANU, Florin, *The Chapter on the Mundane Path (Laukikamārga) in the Śrāvakabhūmi: A Trilingual Edition (Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese), Annotated Translatration, and Introductory Study, Annotated Translatration, and Introductory Study.* 2 (Studia Philologica Buddhica, Monograph Series XXb), 2006, Tokyo: The International Institute for Buddhist Studies.

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編集後記 (Editorial Postscript)

本誌第10号をお届けします。今号は英文１８篇と和文論文３篇の計２１篇、更にBrief Communication ２編を掲載することが出来ました。特に学外から多くの先生方の寄稿をうけました。ご多忙の中、寄稿下さった諸先生方にあらためてお礼申し上げます。

研究所出版物について。本年度の研究叢書は後述する『中央アジア出土仏教写本：大英図書館所蔵仏教写本断簡』第１巻として2006年７月に刊行致しました。

「オープン・リサーチ・センター整備事業」《仏教文献学研究センター》。文部科学省の「私立大学学術研究高度化推進事業」に採択されたこのプロジェクトでは、今年度、二つの大きな事業を行いました。

一つは大英図書館 (The British Library) と共同で取り組んでいる同館所蔵の中央アジアから将来された仏教写本「スタイン／ヘルンレ・コレクション」のデジタル化とその公開というものです。その成果の第一弾として『中央アジア出土仏教写本：大英図書館所蔵仏教写本断簡』第１巻を刊行致しました。入手方についてはこれまでの研究叢書と同様に、郵送手数料としての１５００円分の切手を同封の上申し込み頂ければ残部のある限りお送りいたします（本号末に案内を掲載しておりますのでご覧下さい）。またできるだけ早くこれまでの出版物同様に電子データの形(PDFファイル)で公開致します。

もう一つは2006年１１月に国際シンポジウム「漢訳仏典の言語の様相」を開催致しました。詳細については本誌539-540頁をご覧頂きたく存じます。

研究所設立準備段階から、この十年間、本研究所の為にご尽力下さった湯山明教授は今年度末をもって退任されることとなりました。多くのアイデアと経験、そしてご教示をいただきましたこと、ここに心よりお礼申し上げると同時に、皆様にご報告させていただきます。

研究所の日々の活動は、事務全般担当の草場陽子さん、川崎健三氏と図書管理の林久子さん、蔵書整理の及川弘美さん、そして多くの学生・院生・留学生諸氏の献身的な協力に支えられております。また学事部から稲垣部長、永井事務長をはじめ、関係各機関・部署からの様々な支援の下、研究所は運営されております。我々の研究を支えて下さる多くの方々にこの場を借りて深くお礼申し上げます。

(20, Feb., 2007/ N.K.)

『創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報』（平成１８年度）第１０号

２００７年3月３１日発行

編集主幹　菅野　博史
発行所　創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所
〒192-8577 東京都八王子市丹木町 1-236
Tel: 042-691-2695, Fax: 042-691-4814,
E-mail: iriab@soka.ac.jp; URL: http://iriab.soka.ac.jp/
印刷所　明和印刷株式会社
〒192-8577 東京都文京区向丘 1-5-2 水上ビル
Tel: 03-3817-0581, Fax: 03-5684-7155

Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 2006, Vol. X

Editor-in-Chief: Hiroshi KANNO
Published on 31 March 2007
by the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University:
1-236 Tangi, Hachioji, Tokyo 192-8577, JAPAN
Phone: +81-42-691-2695 / Fax: 691-4814 /
E-mail: iriab@soka.ac.jp; URL: http://iriab.soka.ac.jp/

Printed by Meiwa Printing Co.Ltd., Tokyo, JAPAN

ISSN 1343-8980

Correspondence regarding all editorial matters and acknowledgements of monographs and the Annual Report, including manuscripts to be offered for publication, may be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief of this issue, in care of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University.

略号提案：
(創大)仏高研年報 = 創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報
Suggested Abbreviation:
ARIRIAB = Annual Report of the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology

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