

A Study of the Titles of the Chinese Translations of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha-sūtra**

XIAO Yue

Introduction

This paper is a study of the titles of the five extant Chinese translations of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra, with a focus on the two earliest versions. Although the study of the Larger & Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtras began with FRIEDRICH MAX MÜLLER (1823~1900) who was a distinguished scholar at Oxford, and his Japanese student, NANJŌ BUNYŪ 南条文雄 (1849~1927), who was the first to receive a Ph. D degree in Literature in Japan over 100 years ago,¹⁾ and a considerable amount of research is available, several significant questions have remained, and the title of the earliest version of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra, one of the most difficult issues, is still puzzling scholars. Since ancient times, there have been twelve Chinese translations of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra, covering the period from the Three Kingdoms, or earlier, to the Song dynasty.²⁾ The twelve versions of the Chinese translations of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra based on their chronological order are the following:

*I have a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Petros THEODORIDES for the editorial assistance. Remaining errors are, of course, my responsibility. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the head priest of *Kongō-ji*, and the director of the library of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, for allowing me to reprint the photograph of the *Da Amituo jing* scroll preserved at *Kongō-ji* in this paper.

1) See MÜLLER & NANJŌ 1883; MÜLLER 1894, and NANJŌ 1908.

2) So-called *wucun qiqian* 五存七欠, *goson shichiketsu* in Japanese, which might have been firstly mentioned by Gyōnen 凝然 (1240~1321) in his work, *Jōdo (hōmon) Genrushō* 浄土（法門）源流章, “five extant versions as opposed to the seven versions which disappeared.” Cf. JDCT.

- (1) *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (2 *juan* 卷 “scroll”), attributed to *An Shigao* 安世高 translated in the Latter, or Eastern Han dynasty.
- (2) *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 (2 *juan*), also titled as the *Wuliang qingjing jing* 無量清淨經 (T361, hereafter the *Pingdengjue jing*, or *siglum*: 清淨), attributed to *Zhi loujiachen* 支婁迦讖 *Lokakṣema*.³⁾
- (3) *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 (2 *juan*), whose internal title is *Foshuo Amituo sanyesanfo salou{fo}tan guodu rendao jing* 佛說【諸佛】阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓【佛】檀過度人道經 (T362, the so-called *Da Amituo jing* 大阿彌陀經, hereafter the *Da Amituo jing*, or *siglum*: 大阿), attributed to *Zhī Qiān* 支謙 in the *Wu* 吳 period.⁴⁾
- (4) *Foshuo Wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經 (T360, hereafter the *Wuliang-shou jing*, or *siglum*: 無量), attributed to *Kang Sengkai* 康僧鎧 “Saṃghavarman,” but certainly a product of cooperation between *Fotuo batuoluo* 佛陀跋陀羅 “Buddhabhadra” and *Baoyun* 寶雲 in 421 C. E.⁵⁾
- (5) *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經 (2 *juan*), attributed to *Bo Yan* 帛延 and translated in the Cao Wei, or early Wei period.
- (6) *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 (2 *juan*), also titled as 無量清淨平等覺經, attributed to *Zhú Fǎhù* 竺法護 *Dharmarakṣa* and translated in the Western Jin dynasty.
- (7) *Wuliangshou zhizheng dengzhengjue jing* 無量壽至真等正覺經 (1 *juan*), also entitled as *Le fotu le jing* 樂佛土樂經, or *Jile fotu jing* 極樂佛土經, attributed to *Zhu Fa Li* 竺法力 and translated in the Eastern Jin dynasty.

3) This version is also labelled as 無量壽, which reads: 亦直云無量清淨經第二出與大阿彌陀及寶積無量壽會等並同本見吳錄 (T2154, 478c03). For the authorship of this version, see FUJITA 1970, 35–51. For a different suggestion on the authorship of this version, see KAGAWA 1984, 7–38.

4) Regarding the authorship of this version, see FUJITA 1970, 51–62. For a different suggestion, see YIN Shun 1981, 759–773, HARRISON 1988, and KARASHIMA 1999. This paper can also be regarded as a preparatory study for the comprehensive study of the authorships of the Chinese translations of this sūtra, which I would like to discuss in the near future. The title of this version is also labelled as *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T2154, 586629, 680c25, 701c04 see below).

5) This version was regarded as one of the three standard texts in the Pure Land School. Regarding the authorship of this version, see FUJITA 1970, 62–96; KAGAWA 1984, 24–32.

- (8) *Shin Wuliangshou jing* 新無量壽經 (2 *juan*), attributed to *Fotuo batuoluo* 佛陀跋陀羅 (359–429) Buddhahadra, translated in the Eastern Jin dynasty.
- (9) *Shin Wuliangshou jing* 新無量壽經 (2 *juan*), attributed to BaoYun 寶雲 and translated in the Liu Song era.
- (10) *Shin Wuliangshou jing* 新無量壽經 (2 *juan*), attributed Tan mo mi duo 曇摩蜜多 and translated in the Liu Song era.
- (11) *Wuliangshou Rulaihui* 無量壽如來會 (2 *juan*), attributed to *Putiliuzhi* 菩提流志 Bodhiruci and translated sometime between 706 and 713 C.E.
- (12) *Dacheng Wuliangshou zhuanyan jing* 大乘無量壽莊嚴經 (3 *juan*), attributed to Fa Xian and translated in 991 C.E.

Those Chinese translations listed above from (1) to (11) are derived from the catalogue of the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, attributed to Zhi Sheng 智昇, which was compiled during the *Kaiyuan* era.⁶⁾ No. 12, translated in the Song dynasty, was added later. Among these twelve Chinese translations, nos. (2)(3)(4)(11)(12), the five extant versions, are collected in the TAISHŌ Tripiṭaka. By contrast, the seven extinct versions are (1)(5)(6–10).⁷⁾

6) See T2154, 478c3–4; 480b04; 486c27–28; 487a14, and c27 (it reads: 內題云：佛說諸佛阿彌陀三邪三佛薩婆檀過度人道經, 第三出亦名：無量壽三邪三佛薩婆檀過度人道經); 495b09; 505c8; 509a21; 524a25; 525b29; 626c2–16. Cf. FUJITA 1970, 30, and 2007, 34–56.

7) In addition to those twelve Chinese translations, there are four combined versions, ranging from the Song dynasty to the middle of the twentieth century, based respectively on several or all five versions above. That is to say, the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra might be the only one among the vast amount of Chinese Buddhist texts that is holding nine integral texts covering a period starting from as early as the Three Kingdoms, or earlier, to the middle of the twentieth century. For a preliminary discussion of those four combined versions of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra, see XIAO forthcoming (a), and 2011 (JDKC).

Firstly, this was discussed by KUDARA. These fragments from an unknown Chinese manuscript includes only 615 characters, the Dharmākara narrative, in part, and the first five vows (see KUDARA 1989, and FUJITA 2007, 36–39). For some additional comments regarding these fragments, see XIAO 2015, 26 n.13).

Secondly, some fragments considered to be part of an unknown Chinese translation were discussed by MITANI (2014). It is noteworthy that MITANI presented a similar suggestion to mine (see XIAO 2010, and 2011), that as early as the period when the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing* had been translated into Chinese, a version with a forty-eight vows system precedent existed (see MITANI

The titles listed above can be divided and summarized in three categories: (i) The term 無量壽 “measureless life” appears in the titles of nos. 1, (2, 3), 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11,12 highlighting the measureless life-span of the Buddha. That is to say, the titles of all versions listed above contain the term 無量壽. (ii) The term 無量清淨 is found in nos. 2, 5, 6 highlighting the characteristic of the Buddha’s purity.⁸⁾ (iii) The transliteration of the Buddha’s name, 阿彌陀, only appears in no. 3, the title of the *Da Amituo jing*.

Although there are some suggestions regarding the title of the *Da Amituo jing*, as a matter of fact, this issue does not exclusively concern the earliest version, but involves all five Chinese translations of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra. This issue will be approached from the following perspectives: (i) the diverse forms of the titles of the *Da Amituo jing*; (ii) the origin of the term *Wuliang qingjing*; (iii) the origin of the term *Wuliang-shou* 無量壽 “measureless life” found in the original Indian text of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra.⁹⁾

1. The previous studies of the titles of the *Da Amituo jing*

Before undertaking the discussion of this issue formally, I would like to summarize the following five scholarly perspectives regarding the titles of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra.

1.1 FUJITA’s suggestion on the titles of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha*

In the research of early Pure Land Buddhist thought, FUJITA Kōtatsu presented a comprehensive series of research conclusions representing the foremost level of academic achievement in the field. FUJITA’s research is covering almost all of the issues of the Sanskrit and Chinese versions of the Larger & Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtras, and the Contemplation sūtra, the *Guan Wuliangshou fo jing* 觀無量壽佛經 (T365).¹⁰⁾ With

2014). However, because MITANI’s fragments include merely a few characters, it is hard to exactly determine to which Chinese translation listed above those fragments should be attributed to.

8) The terms 無量壽 and 無量清淨 simultaneously appear in the title of no. 6.

9) Although the term *Wuliang shou* parallels the Sanskrit Amitāyus, scholars were not able to confirm that the term Amitāyus was derived from an Indian text of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra, especially in the title of this sūtra.

10) For the comprehensive studies on the early Pure Land sūtras, see FUJITA 1970 and 2007. For a

respect to the titles of the Chinese translations of the Larger and Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtras, FUJITA presented his own explanation for the titles of the different editions.

Regarding the title of the *Da Amituo jing* (佛說諸佛阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓【佛】檀過度人道經), according to FUJITA,¹¹⁾ undoubtedly, the characters for *Amituo* 阿彌陀 are equivalent with *Amitābha*; the phrase *sanye sanfo* 三耶三佛 is equivalent with *samyaksambuddha*. With respect to the most difficult characters of *sanloufotan* 薩樓【佛】檀,¹²⁾ even though two scholars had tried to restore them earlier as a transliteration of *sarvabuddha*,¹³⁾ FUJITA did not think this methodology is liable. Regarding the phrase *guodu rendao* 過度人道, FUJITA did not believe that it is a genuine translation based on the Sanskrit found in the title of the original Indian text of the *Da Amituo jing*, but rather the creation of the Chinese translator. In sum, FUJITA also suggested that the whole title of the *Da Amituo jing* (佛說諸佛阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓【佛】檀過度人道經) might have been purposely edited by the translator with this kind of background because some typical elements of Chinese traditional thought were imported in the *Da Amituo jing*.

FUJITA also mentioned the origin of the title of the second oldest version, the *Pingdengjue jing*. Although he tried to restore the title as **Amitābhasamyaksambuddha-sūtra*, he doubted there is reliable evidence to suggest that this Sanskrit title has ever appeared in history. He did not agree with NANJŌ's suggestion, according to which the original title of this version should be restored as **Amita-śuddha-*

reliable Sanskrit versions of the Larger & Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtras, see FUJITA 2001. For Japanese translation of the Sanskrit version of the Larger & Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtras, see FUJITA 1984 (re-edition in 2015).

11) See FUJITA 1970, 23–34.

12) It is noteworthy that FUJITA did not realize that the character 佛 contained among the characters 薩樓佛檀 does not appear in the earliest extant catalogue, *Chu Sanzangji ji* 出三藏記集, which reads: 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓檀過度人道經 (T2145, 6c25). This title was recorded in the *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 edited by Fei Changfang, 費長房 in 597 (T2034, 57b4–5), and the *Datang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (T2149, 226a06), which was formed in 664 and edited by Dao Xuan 道宣 (see below).

13) See SAKAINO 1935, 146, 186, and 247; and SUZUKI 1959, 95.

samyaksambuddha-sūtra. On the other hand, FUJITA was not able to infer the origin of the Buddha's name, *Wuliang Qingjing* 無量清淨 “Measureless Purity.”¹⁴⁾

Among the twelve Chinese translations listed above, the titles of six versions, nos. (1)(4)(6)(8)(9)(10), are labelled as *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 “Measureless Life Sūtra.” Additionally, the title of no. (11) must also include the term, *Wuliang-shou*. Although the term *Wuliang-shou* 無量壽 “Measureless Life” is equivalent with Amitāyus, it is hard to determine, as suggested by FUJITA, whether the term *Wuliang-shou* is derived from the Sanskrit term Amitāyus. Moreover, FUJITA was not content with the suggestion by NANJŌ that the title of the *Wuliangshou jing* can be restored as **Amitāyus-sūtra*, or **Aparimitāyus-sūtra*.¹⁵⁾ The origin of the title of the *Wuliangshou jing* should be restored as **Sukhāvati-vyūha*, or **Amitābha[sya Sukhāvati]* based on the extant Sanskrit version and the Tibetan translation. Therefore, the title of the *Wuliangshou jing* is probably derived from the translator's own ideas instead of a genuine translation from the original Indian text, as FUJITA suggested.

FUJITA's research on the Pure Land Sūtras is generally accurate and comprehensive. Although his research was published over 50 years ago, it still has important reference value. I generally agree with FUJITA's suggestion that the title of the *Da Amituo jing* must be the creation of the Chinese translator based on his own views. Unfortunately, FUJITA did not recognize: (i) the greatest differences and the relationship between the *Da Amituo jing* and the extant Sanskrit version; (ii) the relation between the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing*, and the extant Sanskrit version; and: (iii) the origin of the term *Wuliang qingjing*. All these are the most crucial issues which I will discuss below. Additionally, with regard to the title of the *Da Amituo jing*, FUJITA did not discuss the internal relationship between the phrase 過度人

14) See FUJITA 1970, 33–34, and 2007, 243–248. As I will discuss in detail below, the origin of *Wuliang qingjing* is a significant issue in the field of the formation of early Pure Land Buddhism. Especially, it has a close connection with the formation of the term *Jingtu* 淨土, “Pure Land.”

15) See NANJŌ 1883, No.23(5) note (iv), No. 27. It is noteworthy that NANJŌ's assumption has been withdrawn from the *Japanese Alphabetical Index of Nanjō's Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka* edited by D. TOKIWA and published in 1930. Cf. FUJITA 1970, 34 (note 1).

道 and the contents of the sūtra.

1.2 SHIKII's suggestion on the three sutras

According to SHIKII,¹⁶⁾ three sūtras might have existed in advance, (i) *Amituo fo ershi' si yuan jing* 阿彌陀佛二十四願經 “The Sūtra of the Twenty-four Vows;” (ii) *Jile zhuangyan jing* 極樂莊嚴經 “The Sūtra of the Solemnity of the Land of Bliss;” (iii) *Amituo fo guodu rendao jing* 阿彌陀佛過度人道經 “The Sūtra of Amitābha Buddha Delivering and Saving Humans,” preceding the *Da Amituo jing*. The *Da Amituo jing* might have been edited based on those three supposed sūtras. He supposed that the original title of the *Da Amituo jing*, in part, might resemble **Amita-saṃyak-sambodhi-saṃbuddha*, which is equivalent in meaning to 阿彌陀成佛道及過度人道經. “The Sūtra of Amitābha Who Attained Buddhahood to Deliver and Save Humans.” The greatest difficulty here is the meaning of the words 薩樓【佛】檀, whose parallel in Sanskrit cannot be restored. As a result, SHIKII restored, in part, the title of the *Da Amituo jing* as **Amita-saṃyak-sambodhi-saṃbuddha* “Cultivation of the Buddhist Path and Delivering People through the Buddhist Path.” It is noteworthy that SHIKII did not agree with FUJITA's suggestion that the term *guodu rendao* 過度人道 might be the creation of the translator, believing instead that it is a genuine translation from the original Indian text of the *Da Amituo jing*. Moreover, it seems he did not realize the difference between 薩樓檀 and 薩樓佛檀 like FUJITA.

Although I agree with the suggestion that the *Da Amituo jing* mainly consists of three parts based on the contents, (i) Dharmākara's twenty-four vows; (ii) solemnity of the Land of bliss; (iii) Amitābha Buddha Delivering and Saving Humans, this does not mean that the *Da Amituo jing* was purposely compiled based on those three sūtras preceding the *Da Amituo jing* as suggested by SHIKII (see below).

16) See SHIKII 1976.

1.3 OKAYAMA's suggestion on *guodu rendao*

OKAYAMA undertook a discussion on the title of the *Da Amituo jing*, with a focus on the phrase *guodu rendao* 過度人道.¹⁷⁾ He respectively analyzed the term *guodu* 過度 through seven examples containing this term, and *rendao* 人道 through the nineteenth vow. He noticed that the terms 過度 and 人道 might have close connections with the paragraphs on the Five Evils, and Taoist sūtras, such as the *Taiping jing* 太平經. Accordingly, OKAYAMA suggested that the words 過度人道 might be the creation of the translator, who was influenced by the Chinese Taoist culture and texts such as the *Taiping jing*. Additionally, OKAYAMA did observe the differences between 薩樓檀 and 薩樓佛檀 respectively recorded in different catalogues, however, it is hard to determine, he suggested, which is the one found in the original title of the Chinese translation of the *Da Amituo jing* (OKAYAMA 1986, 69, and 1990, 14).

Even though OKAYAMA realized that the paragraphs on the Five Evils were most likely not translated from the original Indian text of the *Da Amituo jing* but rather created by the translator based on a certain Chinese Taoist sūtra, he obviously did not understand the structure of the whole sūtra,¹⁸⁾ including those typical characteristics listed in my recent publications.¹⁹⁾

1.4 KARASHIMA's suggestion on the titles of the Chinese translations

According to KARASHIMA,²⁰⁾ the characters 薩樓檀 found in the title of the *Da Amituo jing* might be a miswriting of *helougeng* 盧樓亘 as suggested by Professor Chen Jinhua, which is regarded as an incomplete transliteration of *Avalokitasvara*. The meaning of the whole title of the *Da Amituo jing* is probably “*Amitā(b)ha *samyāsambuddha* [and] *Avalokitasvara* save human beings.” He also indicated that

17) See OKAYAMA 1986, and 1990.

18) Regarding the formation of the paragraphs on the Five Evils in the *Da Amituo jing*, see XIAO 2012b, and 2014a, 58–59.

19) For the characteristics of the *Da Amituo jing*, see XIAO 2017b, 3–13, and 2018b.

20) See KARASHIMA 2009, 125–126. I am very grateful to Professor KARASHIMA Seishi for his teaching

this was probably not the original Indian title, but was rather given by the translator or somebody else in a later period, summarizing the content of the sūtra (T362, 309a14).

KARASHIMA reconstructed the original title of the *Wuliangshou jing* as *Amitābha-vyūha*. And he stressed that the word *Wuliang-shou* is found in many places in the *Wuliangshou jing*, where the Sanskrit version reads *Amitābha*, which indicates the translators' preference of *Wuliang-shou* 無量壽 over *Wuliang-guang* 無量光. Probably, owing to this preference, the title was rendered as *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 instead of *Wuliangguang jing* 無量光經. Moreover, he restored the original title of the *Wuliangshou rulai hui* 無量壽如來會 as **Amitābhasya tathāgatasya vyūha parivarta*. Additionally, the original title of the *Dacheng wuliangshou zhuangyan jing* could be restored as **Amitābhasya vyūha-mahāyānasūtra*.

KARASHIMA's research was based on two prerequisites: (i) the *Da Amituo jing* was the one representing the earliest form of Pure Land Buddhism that originated in India; (ii) the *Da Amituo jing* was translated by *Zhī Lóujiāchèn* 支婁迦讖 "Lokakṣema" and the *Pingdengjue jing* was attributed to Zhi Qian. With respect to (i), KARASHIMA obviously did not recognize those physical characteristics of the *Da Amituo jing* which I indicated recently.²¹⁾ As I will introduce in detail below, the greatest difference between the *Da Amituo jing* and the later versions, especially the extant Sanskrit version, is that there is a set practical system, the six perfections, purposely edited into the *Da Amituo jing*. Obviously, the *Da Amituo jing* is not representing the earliest form of Pure Land Buddhism. Regarding the problem (ii) above, it is true that there are some characteristics regarded as Lokakṣema's work. However, there are many features typical of Zhi Qian found in the *Da Amituo jing*. One of these typical examples is the passage on the Five Evils, which is as long as one third of the *Da Amituo jing*.²²⁾

and encouragement at the Early Chinese Translations Club once every two weeks or month, held at Soka University from October, 2006 to the end of the 2008. I would like to express condolences and regret for his unfortunate passing in 2019.

21) See XIAO 2017b, 1–13.

22) KARASHIMA obviously also knew that the texts on the Five Evils are not the work of Lokakṣema, but most possibly of Zhi Qian. He supposed three possibilities, and each of them includes two items,

Moreover, it is hard to believe that the characters 薩樓檀 are a miswriting of 盧樓亘 Avalokitasvara. As I pointed out, 盧樓亘 appears only three times in the *Da Amituo jing*, and at least one of them was purposely edited by the translator. That is to say, Avalokitasvara is not a main figure like Amitābha in the *Da Amituo jing*. Accordingly, I cannot admit KARASHIMA's suggestions on the titles of the Chinese translations of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra, although it is well-known that he was devoted for over twenty years to this field, very confident in his opinion, and his research results on the authorships of the two earliest versions - which contradict FUJITA's research - have had a great impact on academia, especially scholars from North America and Europe.

1.5 Li's suggestion on the title of the *Da Amituo jing*

Recently, LI²³⁾ published a paper in Taiwan regarding the title of the *Da Amituo jing* based on ancient linguistics, with a focus on the characters 薩樓【佛】檀. According to LI, (i) 薩樓佛檀 could be restored as *sarvabuddha* “all buddhas;” and: (ii) 薩樓檀 could be restored as *sarvalokadhātu* “all the worlds.” In the case of (ii), the whole title of the *Da Amituo jing* could be restored as **Amitābha-samyaksambuddha-sarvalokadhātu-manuṣya-parimocaka* “The perfectly enlightened Amitābha Buddha who saves human beings in all the words.”²⁴⁾

LI's research was merely based on Buddhist linguistics with a focus on the characters *sanloufotan* 薩樓【佛】檀, however, he did overlook the contents and the

regarding the paragraphs on the Five Evils (see KARASHIMA 2011). That is to say, there are six possibilities for this issue, which are too vague to be admitted, and even all of them might be incorrect. For the formation of the paragraphs on the Five Evils, see XIAO 2012b. For the three stages in the paragraphs on the Five Evils, see XIAO 2014a, 58–59.

23) See LI 2018.

24) In this case, a prerequisite for LI's suggestion is that there was a title corresponding exactly to the Sanskrit one. If we suppose that the original Indian title of the *Da Amituo jing* did correspond to the one restored by LI, what would the relationship between this title and those in the remaining 11 versions listed above be? We cannot find a term, or phrase which corresponds to “all buddhas,” or “all worlds,” or 過度人道 in all the remaining 11 versions listed above, even in the extant Sanskrit version and the Tibetan translation. Accordingly, this prerequisite, the Sanskrit title restored by LI, must have not existed in history (see below).

characteristics of the sūtra, which are undoubtedly much more significant than those four Chinese characters. Although Buddhist linguistics is one of the most significant and useful methods in the field of the early Chinese translations, unfortunately, it seems it is not an effective method based on the results of previous studies in the field of the two earliest versions of the *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtras.²⁵⁾ It is noteworthy that LI seems to confuse two questions which are the following: (i) what is the origin of *sanloufotan* 薩樓【佛】檀; (ii) whether there was a title in the original Indian text of the *Da Amituo jing* equivalent with its counterpart in the Chinese translation, 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經. These are two completely different issues. Accordingly, I cannot agree with his conclusion. Especially, it is completely unnecessary to restore the typical Chinese words *guodu rendao* 過度人道 as the Sanskrit *manuṣya-parimocaka*.²⁶⁾ Obviously, the subtitle of the *Da Amituo jing*, 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓【佛】檀過度人道經 was not a genuine translation that originated from its original Indian title, but was rather given by the translator or somebody else in a later period, as suggested by FUJITA, OKAYAMA, and KARASHIMA.²⁷⁾

In light of these five scholarly perspectives, I would like to classify academic research developments into the following three stages: (i) The first stage is the NANJŌ era, which marked the beginning of Buddhist philology from Europe being introduced into Japan. At that time, scholars tried to find the original Indian counterparts of the Chinese Buddhist translations. (ii) The second stage was represented by FUJITA, whose systematic research is very comprehensive and still maintains great reference value

25) For over 100 years, many distinguished scholars devoted their lifetime to this field, and some of them have left us forever. However, the most significant issue which is the relationship between the two earliest versions which were regarded as translated no later than the third century, and the extant Sanskrit version which is the earliest manuscript recognized as written in the twelfth century, has remained.

26) Although LI presented evidence from the Sanskrit version of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka sūtra*, I do not think that what he presented can support his suggestion on the title of the *Da Amituo jing*.

27) See FUJITA 1970, 33; OKAYAMA 1985, and 1990; and KARASHIMA 2009, 125. OKAYAMA's research focused on the phrase *guodu rendao* 過度人道, without discussing the complete title of the *Da Amituo jing*.

despite the fact over fifty years have passed. (iii) The third stage was represented by KARASHIMA. KARASHIMA's research was based both on Indian and Chinese linguistics, but overlooked the significant elements of Mahāyāna thought in the *Da Amituo jing*. He confidently indicated that the authorship of the *Da Amituo jing* is by Zhi Loujiachen something contradicting FUJITA's suggestion. However, he did not recognize those typical features of the *Da Amituo jing* which I pointed out in my research,²⁸⁾ and did not discuss those characters which are equivalent with those in the translations by Zhi Qian. Accordingly, I think that KARASHIMA's research in this area looks unsuccessful.

2.0 The title of the *Da Amituo jing*

As I mentioned above, I generally agree with FUJITA's suggestion that the title of the *Da Amituo jing*, 佛說諸佛彌陀三耶三佛薩樓【佛】檀過度人道經, must be a creation by the Chinese translator.²⁹⁾ Accordingly, instead of attaching significance to some uncertain Chinese characters, 薩樓【佛】檀, the original Chinese title of this sūtra must be recreated based on the content of the *Da Amituo jing*. In this case, although we are unable to infer the exact meaning of the characters 薩樓【佛】檀, we still can exactly infer the meaning of the title of the *Da Amituo jing* based on the contents of the sūtra. This is exactly where lies the shortcoming of all previous research, and conversely, the unique feature of this research. The issue will be approached from the following perspectives.

21.The diverse forms of the title of the *Da Amituo jing*

The title of the *Da Amituo jing* holds two different forms presenting slight differences between each other as follows:

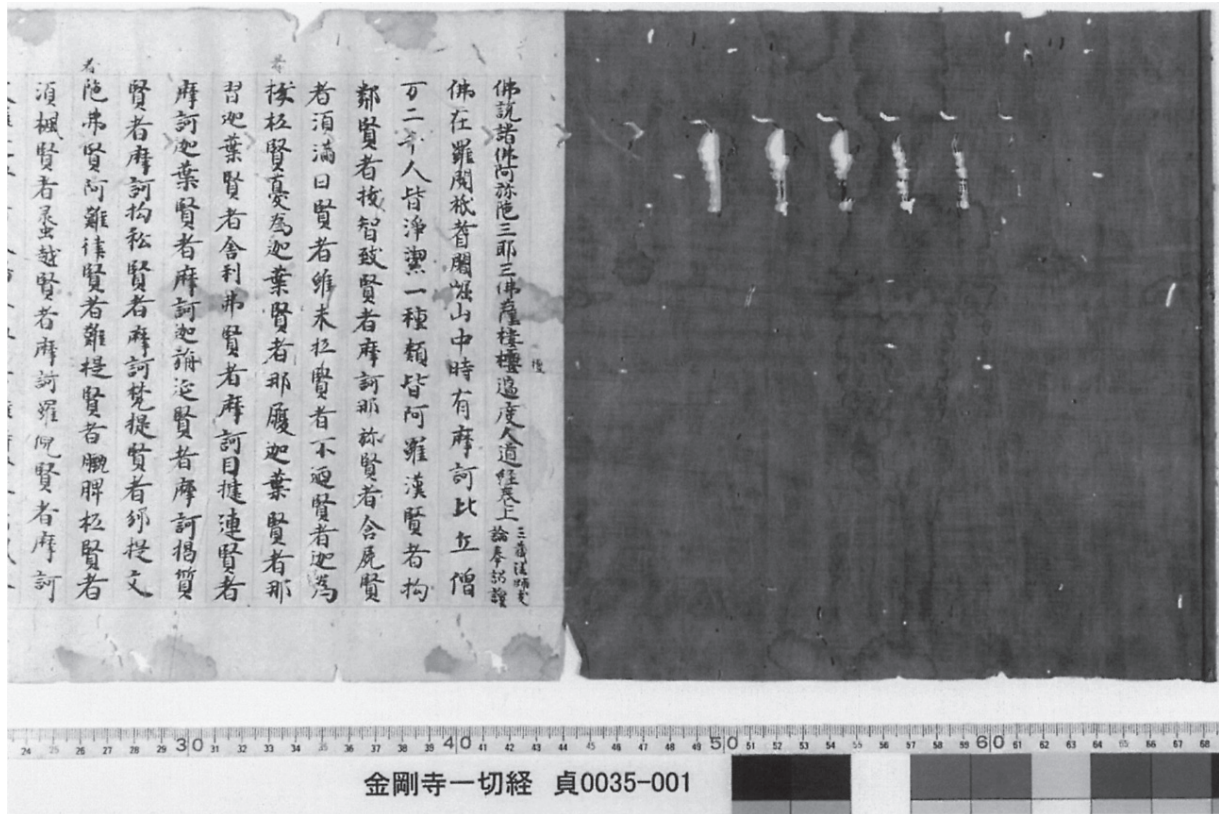
- (i) 阿彌陀經二卷（内題云：阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓檀過度人道經）（出三藏記集）
- (ii) 阿彌陀經二卷（上卷題云：佛說諸佛阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓佛檀過度人道經亦

28) See XIAO 2016b, 1–13, and 2018b.

29) I would like to eliminate the possibility that the the original Chinese title of this version was written by somebody else in a later period, as suggested by KARASHIMA (see KARASHIMA 2009, 125).

名無量壽經) (開元釋教錄)

The title (i) is recorded in the *Chu sanzangji ji*,³⁰⁾ which was compiled no later than 515 by SENGYOU, and the title (ii) is found in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, which was compiled in 730 by ZHI SHENG. In the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, this title appears three times in this catalogue; the two times (T2145, 680c25, 701c4) are the same as (ii), but the remaining one is a reprinting from SENGYOU's catalogue, the *Chu sanzangji ji*, with a slight difference, which reads: 阿彌陀經二卷 (內題云: 佛說諸佛阿彌陀三耶三佛薩婆檀過度人道經第三出亦名無量壽 (T2145, 487c26-27). It is of interest that the title 佛說諸佛阿彌陀三耶三佛薩婆檀過度人道經³¹⁾ can be confirmed in the Japanese ancient manuscript preserved at *Kongo-ji* 金剛寺 (see the image below). Accordingly, it is exactly true that the title with the characters 薩婆檀 had appeared at some point the history.



(The beginning containing the title of the *Da Amituo jing* in Japanese ancient manuscript scroll preserved in *Kongo-ji* 金剛寺)

30) This title was firstly recorded in 出三藏記集 (T2145, 6c25), and recorded in 歷代三寶紀 (T2034, 57b4-5) and 大唐內典錄 (T2149, 226a06), cf. note 12 of this paper.

With regard to the term 諸佛 preceding the Buddha's Name *Amituo* 阿彌陀, it must be an insertion by somebody in a later period in that *Amituo* 阿彌陀 should be a dedicated noun in the *Da Amituo jing* instead of a generic term indicating all Buddhas, 諸佛, of the ten quarters. This point can be clearly verified through the following significant sentence, which is contained in the beginning of a crucial short paragraph consisting of 129 characters found in the Dharmākara narrative of the *Da Amituo jing* (siglum: 大阿).

【大阿】我欲求佛為菩薩道，令我後作佛時，於八方、上下諸無央數佛中，最尊智慧勇猛。(T362, 300c23–24)

I aspire to attain Buddhahood by cultivating the Bodhisattva path to perfection. When I attain Buddhahood, among all Buddhas in the eight quarters, as well as above and below, **may I become foremost** in sublime wisdom and bravery, and may brilliance shine from my head as immeasurable as the light of the Buddhas. These 129 characters constitute a significant passage for correctly understanding the formation of the *Da Amituo jing*. According to my research series, these 129 characters must have been purposely compiled by the translator of the *Da Amituo jing*.³²⁾ In addition, instead of being a genuine translation of a counterpart in the original Indian text of the *Da Amituo jing*, a long paragraph following the twenty-four vows describing Amitābha's light (T362, 302b20–303b1) clearly indicates that Amitābha's light is foremost, unparalleled, unsurpassed, and without a parallel among all Buddhas, and reads as follows.

【大阿】佛言：“阿彌陀佛，光明最尊、第一、無比；³³⁾ 諸佛光明，皆所不及也。(T362, 302b20)

31) The character 婁 should be a paragrammas by somebody in an uncertain period, and the 婁 was corrected as 樓 at the side. Undoubtedly, the phrase 三邪三佛 found in the catalogue should be a paragrammas and it was corrected back as 三耶三佛 in a later period.

32) For the formation of the Dharmākara narrative, see XIAO 2012a, 2014b, 2015, 2018a.

33) These three synonymous adjectives are used side by side for highlighting the excellence of the light of Amitābha. *Amituo* is a transliteration of Amitābha “measureless light.” A detailed discussion on the formation of the light of Amitābha emphasized in the *Da Amituo jing* is in preparation.

The Buddha said, “The light of Amitābha is above all honourable, foremost, unparalleled, and the lights of all other Buddhas are inferior to it.

【大阿】阿彌陀佛光明，所照最大，諸佛光明，皆所不能及也。(T362, 303a01)

The illumination of Amitābha’s light is foremost and no light from other Buddhas can parallel it.

Accordingly, *Amituo* 阿彌陀 must be a dedicated noun in the *Da Amituo jing* instead of referring to all Buddhas in general.

Consequently, the character 佛 among the characters 薩樓佛檀 has also been inserted by somebody in a later period. Firstly, as listed above, the title of the *Da Amituo jing* found in the earliest extant catalogue, *Chu sanzangji ji*, does not include the character 佛, but rather only 薩樓檀 (cf. note 12 above). As indicated above, this case can also be confirmed through the Japanese ancient manuscript preserved at *Kongō-ji* (see the attached image above). Secondly, I cannot agree with Li’s argument based on the three examples found in the latter part of the *Da Amituo jing* that 佛檀, as a term, is equivalent with the Chinese term 佛陀 “buddha.” There is no evidence verifying this idea. Regarding Li’s argument, it is exactly the fact that the third example containing the phrase 南無阿彌陀三耶三佛檀³⁴⁾ in the *Da Amituo jing* is revised as 南無無量清淨³⁵⁾ 三藐三佛陀 in the *Pingdengjue jing*. However, this case just represents the translator’s (of the *Pingdengjue jing*) own understanding of the

34) These examples read: 【大阿】佛言：“若起，更被袈裟西向拜，當日所沒處為阿彌陀佛作禮，以頭腦著地言：‘南無阿彌陀三耶三佛檀。’”阿難言：“諾！受教。”即起，更被袈裟西向拜，當日所沒處，為彌陀佛作禮，以頭腦著地言：“南無阿彌陀三耶三佛檀。”……即時阿難、諸菩薩、阿羅漢等，諸天、帝王、人民悉皆見阿彌陀佛及諸菩薩、阿羅漢國土七寶已，心大歡喜踊躍，悉起，為阿彌陀佛作禮，以頭腦著地，皆言：“南無阿彌陀三耶三佛檀” (T362, 316b26–c11). The counterpart of these three examples in the *Pingdengjue jing* read: 【清淨】佛言：“若起更被袈裟西向拜，當日沒處為無量清淨佛作禮，以頭面著地言：“南無無量清淨平等覺。””阿難言：“諾，受教。”則起更被袈裟西向拜，當日所沒處為無量清淨佛作禮，以頭腦著地言：“南無無量清淨平等覺。”……則阿難、諸菩薩、阿羅漢等，諸天、帝王、人民悉皆見無量清淨佛及諸菩薩、阿羅漢、國土七寶已，心皆大歡喜踊躍，悉起為無量清淨佛作禮，以頭腦著地，皆言：“南無無量清淨三藐三佛陀” (T361, 298b29–c14).

35) For the Buddha’s name, *Wuliang qingjing* 無量清淨, in the *Pingdengjue jing*, see below.

characters 佛檀 found in their counterparts in the *Da Amituo jing*, and does not mean that these three passages are genuine translations from the original Indian text of the *Da Amituo jing*.³⁶⁾ After all, the characters 佛檀 merely appear in the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pusa shouzhai ji* 菩薩受齋記.³⁷⁾ Accordingly, the original Chinese title of the *Da Amituo jing* does not contain the characters 薩樓佛檀, but rather only 薩樓檀. That is to say, the correct, original Chinese title of the *Da Amituo jing*'s should be written as 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓檀過度人道經, which could be a summary based on the contents purposely edited by the translator of the *Da Amituo jing*.

2.2 The meaning of the title by the key characteristics of the *Da Amituo jing*

With regard to the title of the *Da Amituo jing* (阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓檀過度人道經), the three key words (阿彌陀, 薩樓檀, 過度人道) need to be carefully considered. Even though no one can confirm the exact meaning of the characters 薩樓檀, these characters must be related to the key characteristics of the *Da Amituo jing*.

According to my research series on the formation of the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing*, a great amount of evidence suggests that the *Da Amituo jing* is a version largely compiled by its Chinese translator based on his own views. In addition to those twenty-four typical characteristics of the *Da Amituo jing* indicated in my

36) There are many examples related to the case, such as : (i) the name of the Buddha, 阿彌陀, in the *Da Amituo jing* which was revised as 無量清淨 in the *Pingdengjue jing*; (ii) 蜎飛蠕動, in the *Da Amituo jing* which was revised as 蠕動 (之類) in the *Pingdengjue jing*; (iii) 頂中光明, in the *Da Amituo jing* which was revised as 項中光明 in the *Pindengjue jing*, etc.

37) The 阿彌陀三耶三佛檀 found in the *Pusa shoutai jing* should be a copy of the one in the *Da Amituo jing*. It is noteworthy noting that there is an interesting sentence containing the characters 樓檀 in the *Pusa shouzhai jing*, which reads: 從是分檀布施, 當到須摩提拘樓檀阿彌陀佛前, 受得三昧禪。是為菩薩受齋法 (T1502, 1116a12-13). According to 翻梵語, 拘樓檀 is the abbreviation of 拘樓檀那, people offering something (拘樓檀: 應云拘樓檀那。譯曰: 拘樓者作檀那者施。T2130, 990c04). On the other hand, the phrase 分檀布施 also appears 6 times as one of the six items of the Six Perfections in the *Da Amituo jing*. And it would be careless to hurriedly determine that the characters 薩樓檀 refer to donating in that donating is merely one of the six items of the six perfections purposely highlighted in the *Da Amituo jing*. For the term 分檀布施 in the *Da Amituo jing*, see Xiao, 2012, 2015, and 2016b.

recent paper,³⁸⁾ the greatest differences between the *Da Amituo jing* and the later versions, especially the Sanskrit version, is that there is a set Mahāyāna practical system, the cultivation of the bodhisattva path to perfection, in the *Da Amituo jing*, which was purposely compiled by the translator of this version.³⁹⁾ Accordingly, the title of the *Da Amituo jing* must have some connection with the main doctrine found in the *Da Amituo jing*, *zuopusa dao* 作菩薩道 “cultivation of the bodhisattva path to perfection.” In fact, the phrase 過度人道 is likely to have some connection with this idea in spite of being merely based on its literal explanation.

Regarding *guodu rendao* 過度人道 “saving humans,” this doctrine should not be only connected to the paragraphs of the Five Evils, but also to the whole sūtra. A short paragraph found in the latter part of the Dharmākara narrative can clearly support this case.

【大阿】其曇摩迦菩薩至其然後，自致得作佛，名阿彌陀佛，最尊智慧勇猛光明無比，今現在所居國土甚快善。在他方異佛國，教授八方、上下諸無央數天人民，及蜎飛蠕動之類，莫不得過度解脫憂苦。

After that, the bodhisattva Dharmākara himself attained Buddhahood and was named *Amituo* (Amitābha) Buddha who is foremost in sublime wisdom and courage, and measureless in brilliance. The land where he is living is possessed of the utmost excellence. He is teaching the Dharma to devas and humans now as well as to all species that flit and wriggle in the immeasurable Buddha-lands of the eight quarters, as well as in realms above and below, to lead them all to emancipation and deliverance from anxieties and sufferings.

Additionally, one of the most crucial features is that the doctrine of rebirth in the land of Amitābha is purposely highlighted in the *Da Amituo jing*. For example, the 2nd, and the 4th ~7th vows in the *Da Amituo jing* are all related to rebirth in Amitābha’s land,⁴⁰⁾

38) See XIAO 2017b, 2–13.

39) See XIAO 2018b.

40) The 2nd vow concerns women’s rebirth; the 4th vow concerns rebirth by hearing Amitābha’s name; the 5~7th vows concern the aspirants’ rebirth, classified into three grades based on their different

a special way of saving beings in the Pure Land School (*guodu rendao*).

Although the *Da Amituo jing* is also labelled as the *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經, it is hard to believe that there was a title like **Amitāha -vyūha* or **Amidāha-vyūha* (< *Amitābhavyūha*) as reconstructed by KARASHIMA.⁴¹⁾ It is noteworthy that only the title of the *Da Amituo jing* is labelled by this Buddha's name, *Amituo*, among the twelve Chinese translations listed above and the *Foshuo Amituo jing* 佛說阿彌陀經 (T366), the Chinese translation of the Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra, which was translated by KUMĀRAJĪVA in 402. That is to say, the *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 (T366) must have become very popular during the period when the *Chu sanzangji ji* was compiled. This is why the *Da Amituo jing* was labeled as 阿彌陀經.

In sum, the intention of the *Da Amituo jing* is to explain (i) that Dharmākara bodhisattva attained Buddhahood by cultivating the bodhisattva path to perfection, and (ii) the salvation of all beings that are reborn in the land of *Amituo* Buddha. The cultivation of the bodhisattva path to perfection is the method and process, and to save all beings that are reborn in the land of the Buddha is the ultimate purpose. Concerning the diverse forms of the title of this version, they could be divided into three stages in general. **In the first stage**, in the earliest Chinese translation, the title could be 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓檀過度人道經 as recorded in the *Chu sanzangji ji*. It is likely that with the popularity of 佛說阿彌陀經 (T366, the Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra by KUMĀRAJĪVA), the title is also labeled as *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 by somebody in a later period. Undoubtedly, this long title, 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓檀過度人道經, does not represent a genuine translation of the original Indian text, but was rather purposely edited by the translator. This title can be translated as “**The perfectly enlightened**

levels of success in abiding by the precepts. Regarding the formation of these vows, see XIAO 2017b, 2018b. For a discussion in detail about the characteristics of rebirth in Amitābha's land that are purposely highlighted in the vows of the *Da Amituo jing*, see XIAO forthcoming b. On the other hand, the term *guodu rendao* 過度人道 is vivid evidence indicating that the *Da Amituo jing* might be one of the earliest sūtras closely related to 人間佛教 “Humanistic Buddhism,” a significant issue which needs to be discussed in detail in a separate paper.

41) See KARASHIMA 2009, 125.

Amitābha Buddha who cultivated the bodhisattva path to perfection to save all beings in the human world (that desire to be reborn in his land)." Secondly, with the passing of time, this sūtra's title was misprinted, and some terms had been added by somebody in a later period, and it was recorded as 佛說諸佛阿彌陀三耶(邪)三佛薩樓檀過度人道經 in SENGYOU's catalogue.⁴²⁾ This probably happened at a period slightly later than the first stage but preceding the compilation of SENGYOU's catalogue. The original model of the *Da Amituo jing*'s manuscript in the Japanese ancient manuscript scroll preserved in *Kongō-ji* should have some relationship with this system. Thirdly, in the period preceding of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, the title of the *Da Amituo jing* was revised as 佛說諸佛阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓【佛】檀過度人道經.

3. The second popular title: the *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing*

The title of the second oldest version of this sūtra, the *Pingdengjue jing* (T361), is another pivotal issue in the field because the Buddha's name, *Wuliang qingjing* 無量清淨 "Measureless Purity" was an uncertain term which puzzled scholars for nearly a dozen of decades.⁴³⁾ Among the twelve Chinese translations listed above, the titles of three translations (Nos. 2, 5, 6) were labeled as the *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing* 無量清淨平等覺經. That is to say, this title is the second most popular among the twelve Chinese translations.⁴⁴⁾ In 2007, I firstly indicated that there is no original Indian term equivalent with the Chinese term *Wuliang qingjing*, but it was created by the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing* based on a Taoist term, *qingjing wuwei* 清淨無為. With the deepening of my research, I discovered that it is not merely a linguistic issue, but rather a key point of the formation of early Pure Land sūtras, which might be

42) For the evidence, see the record in the *Chu sanzangji ji*, which it reads in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*: 阿彌陀經二卷 (內題云: 佛說阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓檀過度人道經第三出亦名無量壽經見竺道祖僧佑二錄與世高等小異) (T2154, 487c27-28).

43) See HIARAKWA 1985, 23; and FUJITA 2007, 243-248, etc.

44) The most popular title is the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經. All versions, including the three labeled as the *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing* and the *Da Amituo jing*, are recorded as the *Wuliang shou jing* in the *Chu sanzangji ji*.

directly related to all of the significant issues in the field of Mahāyāna Buddhism, such as: (i) the chronological order of other Mahāyāna sūtras, such as the Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, the *Akṣobhya* sūtra, etc.;⁴⁵⁾ (ii) the early Chinese Mahāyāna translations;⁴⁶⁾ (iii) the precepts in the early Mahāyāna sūtras;⁴⁷⁾ (iv) the bodhisattva thought in early Mahāyāna sūtras;⁴⁸⁾ (v) the vows in the Mahāyāna sūtras;⁴⁹⁾ (vi) the theory of practice in early Mahāyāna Buddhism;⁵⁰⁾ (vii) the verses in early Mahāyāna sūtras;⁵¹⁾ (viii) gender studies,⁵²⁾ etc. The formation and development of this term are as follows.

Firstly, almost all of the usages of the term 齋戒清淨, as the essential prerequisite for rebirth to Amitābha's land found in the *Da Amituo jing* have been adopted by the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing*. In this case, *qingjing* is also a significant doctrine for rebirth in the *Wuliang qingjing* Buddha's land.

Secondly, in addition to 須阿提 (15) and 須摩提 (21), the Buddha-land was also labelled as (清)淨処 (15), 嚴淨国 (16), 安樂国 (20) in the *Tōhō-ge* of the *Pingdengjue jing*. Accordingly, we can clearly understand that the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing* has the willingness to stress the feature of “purity” of the Buddha's Land.⁵³⁾ On the other hand, because the counterpart of the term *qingjing* found in the 9th stanza of the *Tanbutsu-ge* in the *Pingdengjue jing* has no counterpart with *vyūha*, Nattier and Karashima's suggestion that the origin of the term *qingjing* is a misunderstanding of *vyūha* by Zhi Qian is incorrect.⁵⁴⁾ The changing process of the term *Jingtu* 淨土 is: 【大

45) See XIAO forthcoming a.

46) See XIAO 2008b.

47) See XIAO 2017a.

48) See Xiao 2014b and 2015, and 2017b.

49) See XIAO 2018a, d; 2019a; and forthcoming b.

50) See XIAO 2017c, and 2018b, c.

51) See XIAO 2019b and 2020.

52) See XIAO 2014a.

53) The numbers in the brackets respectively describe the numbers in the *Tōhō-ge* 東方偈 in the *Pingdenjue jing*. For a critical English translation of the *Tōhō-ge* in the *Pingdenjue jing*, see XIAO 2020.

54) Cf. Xiao 2012b, 54–55, and 2020, 126–128. Additionally, both NATTIER and KARASHIMA did not

阿】齋戒清淨→【清淨】齋戒清淨、無量清淨、安樂、無量清淨佛國土、(清)淨處、嚴淨國→淨土。

Thirdly, it is noteworthy that in the short fragments of the KUDARA manuscript, with only 615 characters, the term *qingjing* appears 9 times, and can help us determine the position of the KUDARA manuscript. Moreover, the term *zhuangyan* 莊嚴 “solemnity” appears 6 times, and all of these usages are in combination with its synonym, *qingjing*, as *qingjing zhuangyan* 清淨莊嚴. Accordingly, it is beyond doubt that the term *qingjing* must be one of the most significant terms in the KUDARA fragment. Even though FUJITA suggested that the KUDARA manuscript could be attributed to No. 10 by Tan mo mi duo 曇摩蜜多 listed above,⁵⁵⁾ I would like to infer that these fragments might be connected with the one labeled as *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing* (No.5, or 6) at the present stage.

4. The most popular phrase: *Wuliangshou* (無量壽)

Regarding the three titles (Nos. 4, 11, 12 listed above), the common feature they share is the fact they all contain the phrase, *Wuliang-shou*, 無量壽 “measureless life,” No. 4 is 佛說無量壽經 (T360); No. 11 is 無量壽如來會 (T310.5); No.12 is 大乘無量壽莊嚴經 (T363). On the other hand, all twelve versions listed above were also labeled with the phrase *Wuliangshou* 無量壽 (cf. Nos. 3, 4, 6). Firstly, I cannot agree with KARASHIMA’s suggestion that (i) the original Indian title of no.4 (佛說無量壽經) might be restored as **Amitābha-vyūha*; (ii) the original Indian title of No. 11 (無量壽如來會) can be restored as **Amitābhasya tathāgatasya-vyūha-parivarta*; (iii) the original Indian title of No. 12 (大乘無量壽莊嚴經) can be restored **Amitābhasya vyūha-mahāyānasūtra* (KARASHIMA 2009, 125–126). KARASHIMA did not consider: (a) the relationship between each of these versions and the extant Sanskrit version; (b) the relationship between the two earliest versions (nos. 362, 361) and the later versions,

realize that the term *qingjing* had become very popular during the period when the *Pingdengjue jing* was translated into Chinese, cf. NATTIER 2017, and KARASHIMA 2009.

55) See FUJITA 1994, 12–17; and 2007, 36–39. Cf. KUDARA

including the extant Sanskrit version. The original Indian text of these three versions might all be *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, which is the same with the extant Sanskrit version. Obviously, this issue needs more discussion in connection with the common feature respectively found in these three versions in a subsequent paper. Secondly, all the usages of the Buddha's name in No. 4 (佛說無量壽經) use *Wuliang-shou*, and this version has a close relationship between the Sanskrit version, for example, the forty-eight vows are quite parallel both in content and order with those forty-seven vows found in the extant Sanskrit version. Accordingly, the translator purposely rendered Buddha's name as *Wuliangshou* "Measureless Life" in the *Wuliangshou jing*, and this name for the Buddha had become very popular during that period, or earlier. In this case, the titles of Nos. 11 and 12, even all the twelve versions, including T362 and T361 were also labelled as *Wuliangshou jing* in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*.

Conclusions

In light of the discussion, regarding the titles of the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing*, the following conclusions can be reached.

Firstly, for the diverse forms of the title of the *Da Amituo jing*, they could be divided into three stages in general.

(i) In the first stage, in the earliest period of the Chinese translation of the *Da Amituo jing*, its title could be (a) 阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓檀過度人道經 as recorded in the *Chu sanzangji ji*. With the popularity of 佛說阿彌陀經 (T366, the Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha* sūtra by KUMĀRAJĪVA) and the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經, the title of this sutra is also labeled as *Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 and *Wuliangshou jing*. Undoubtedly, all of them do not represent a genuine translation of the original Indian text, but were rather an abbreviation for convenience purposely edited by the translator, and somebody in a later period (*Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經 and *Wuliangshou jing*). This title (阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓檀過度人道經) can be translated as **"The perfectly enlightened Amitābha Buddha who cultivated the bodhisattva path to perfection to save all beings in the human world (that desire to be reborn in his land)."** (ii) In

the second stage, with the passing of time, this sūtra's title was misprinted, two terms (佛說 and 諸佛) had been added in the beginning of the title, and 三耶三佛 and 薩樓檀 were respectively misprinted as 三邪三佛 and 薩婁檀 by somebody in a later period and it was recorded as 佛說諸佛阿彌陀三耶(邪)三佛薩婁檀過度人道經 in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, which is a record of SENGYOU's catalogue T2145, 487c 26–27. This probably happened at a period slightly later than the first stage but preceding the compilation of SENGYOU's catalogue. The origin of the *Da Amituo jing*'s manuscript found in the Japanese ancient scroll preserved at Kongō-ji should be attributed to this period. (iii) In the period of the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*, the title of the *Da Amituo jing* was revised as 佛說諸佛阿彌陀三耶三佛薩薩【佛】檀過度人道經, as recorded in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu*. In this case, the Sanskrit title of the *Da Amituo jing* inferred by LI should be an over-interpretation.

Secondly, concerning the origin of the title of the *Pingdengjue jing*, it might be a creation by the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing* based on his own influences, such as Chinese Taoist doctrine and his tendency towards purity as expressed the contents of the sūtra, as well as the *Da Amituo jing*. The term *wuliang qingjing* has a close relationship with the formation of the term *Jingtu* 淨土.⁵⁶⁾ Regarding the fragment of the KUDARA manuscript, at present, I infer that this fragment is probably attributed to No. 4, or, No. 5 listed above, whose title is also *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing*. Undoubtedly, this issue needs to be more carefully considered in combination with the issues of the authorship of the two earliest versions of the Larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha*.

Thirdly, regarding the titles of Nos, 4, 11, 12, I generally agree with FUJITA's suggestion that the original Indian titles of the *Wuliangshou jing* and the *Wuliangshou rulai hui* (No. 10) are the same, and can be reconstructed as *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* or *Amitābha[sya Sukhāvatī]-vyūha*.⁵⁷⁾ However, according to my research on the three

56) For the two kinds of *Jingtu* 淨土, one is a verb which is equivalent with Purified the Land, the other is a adverb which can be translated as Pure Land, see XIAO 2009, 256–280; and 2020, 127–129.

57) FUJITA 1970, 32. Cf. KARASHIMA 2009, 125.

verses in the *Pingdengjue jing* translated into Chinese in the third century, or earlier, the original Indian text of the *Pingdengjue jing* probably corresponds with the extant Sanskrit version, which is recognized as written in the middle of the twelfth century.⁵⁸⁾ I would like to infer that the original Indian titles of the *Wuliangshou jing* (No. 4) and the *Wuliangshou rulaihui* (No. 11) are the same as the extant Sanskrit version, *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*. In fact, the original Indian titles of the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing* are also *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*.

Abbreviation

HD = *Hanyu dacidian* 漢語大詞典, 13 vols. Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe 漢語大辭典出版社, 1989–1994.

JDJT = *Shinsan Jōdoshū daijiten* 新纂淨土宗大辭典. Ed. Jōdoshū daijiten henshū iinkai 淨土宗大辭典編集委員会. Kyoto: Jōdoshū, 2016.

JKC= *Jōdo Kyō Tenseki Mokuroku* 淨土經典籍目錄

日 = Data of the Japanese ancient manuscripts preserved at Kongō-ji 金剛寺, preserved at the Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscript of Buddhist Scriptures, the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies.

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58) See XIAO 2019a, b; and 2020.

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