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The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
at Soka University
for the Academic Year 2000

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法華經における如來全身

梶山 雄一

I 序：般若經と法華經

(1) 般若經の立場

『八千頌般若經』（以下『八千頌』と略称）と『法華經』との間では、仏塔 *stūpa*（あるいは祠堂 *caitya*）とその収納物との考え方において親近なものがある。『八千頌』第三章から『般若經』の基本的な立場を探ってみよう。帝釈天が、人が「智慧の完成（般若波羅蜜）」を書き記し、書物の形にして安置して、花・香・衣服・旗・灯明などを供えて、種々の形でこれを恭敬し、賛歎するのと、他方で、この上なく正しいさとりを得た仏陀が般涅槃した時にその遺骨を仏塔のなかに安置して、種々に供養し、恭敬し、賛歎するのと、いずれがより多くの福德を得るであろうか、と世尊に尋ねる。世尊はかえって帝釈天に、如來には一切智者としての身体が得られているのだが、如來はいかなる道について学んで一切智者性を得たのか、と問う。帝釈天は、如來は般若波羅蜜について学んで一切智者性を獲得したのです、と答える。そこで世尊はいう。

そういうわけで、カウシカ（帝釈天の名）よ、その身体 (*ātmabhāvaśarīra*) を得ているから如來が如來とよばれるわけではない。一切智者性を得ているからこそ如來は如來とよばれるのである。如來・阿羅漢・正等覺者の一切智者性は般若波羅蜜から生じたものである。この如來が「相好に飾られた」身体を得ているということは（般若波羅蜜の巧みなてだてによって生じたのであって）⁽¹⁾一切智者の智慧の容器 (*āśraya*) となっている。その容器を拠り所として一切智者の智慧は顕現しているものであり、仏陀の身体が顕現し、法の身体が顕現し、僧伽の身体が顕現している。だから、この得られている身体は一切智者の智慧の結果である。一切智者の智慧の容器そのものであるから、（あらゆる衆生にとって祠堂 *caitya* そのもの

⁽¹⁾ この丸カッコ内の一句は施護訳、大正、VIII, 596, a17 にはあるが、その他の *Aṣṭa* の諸漢訳にはない。

であり)⁽²⁾ 敬礼し、尊敬……さるべきものとなっている。同じように私が般涅槃したときには、それらの遺骨の諸断片 (*śarīrāṇām*) の崇拝があるであろう。そういうわけで、カウシカよ、だれかある善男子あるいは善女人が、この般若波羅蜜を書き記して書物の形にして安置し、それを神々しい花… 香… 衣服・傘・鈴・旗等によって敬礼し、尊敬し供養し… 祈願するならば、まさしくこの者こそが〔遺骨の供養と般若波羅蜜の供養とをする〕二種類の善男子・善女人のうちで、より多くの功德を得るであろう。それはなぜか。帝釈よ、その善男子あるいは善女人は一切智者の智慧の崇拝をなしたことになるであろうからである⁽³⁾。(Aṣṭa, 29, 10- 22)

『八千頌』の第三、四章には、如來の身体もその遺骨を祀ったストゥーパも、それらが般若波羅蜜によって作られた相好身であり、その遺骨であるからこそ、人々によって尊敬され、供養されるのである、その原因である般若波羅蜜そのものの方が、諸仏の母であり⁽⁴⁾、仏身や遺骨の根源なのであるから、さらに多く尊敬され、供養さるべきである、と繰り返している。このように、『八千頌』においても如來の遺骨を収めたストゥーパよりも仏陀の一切智の根源である般若波羅蜜を尊崇すべきである、という思想は確立されていた。なお、「身体」(あるいは「みずからの身体」)を表すのに *ātmabhāva-śarīra* と仏教梵語では同義の二語を重ねて用いること、および、*śarīra* という語については、「身体」を表すときには *śarīra* と単数形を用い、遺骨を表すときには *śarīraṇi* と複数形を用いることも『八千頌』でも『法華經』でも同じである。『法華經』におけるこれらの用法については後に言及する。

(2) 法華經第二類の立場

鳩摩羅什訳『妙法蓮華經』の第十章法師品から第二章如來神力品までに第一章序品と第二章囑累品とを加えたもの (KN, 正法華などでは、本来は羅什訳ではないと推定されている提婆達多品は第十一章見宝塔品の後半に吸収され、囑累品は最後の第二十七章に移されている。以下 KN. の章順に従う)、すなわち段階的成立史論にいわゆる第二類⁽⁵⁾が、『般

⁽²⁾ 如來の身体は「あらゆる衆生にとって祠堂そのものである」というこの一句は施護訳を含むすべての Aṣṭa 漢訳にないから、おそらく11世紀以後に梵本に挿入されたものであろう。

⁽³⁾ Aṣṭa, 29, 10-23. 八千頌 (訳)、84-85の拙訳において *hetuka* という語を原因の意味にとるなどの誤解があった。本稿の訳文によって訂正する。

⁽⁴⁾ 仏母の觀念については、Aṣṭa, 125, 26: *eṣā hi mātā janayitṛi tathāgatānāṃ arhatāṃ samyaksaṃbuddhānām* などを参照。

⁽⁵⁾ たとえば Karashima[1993], 138ff. は「法華經の成立に関しては、方便品 (2) (以下、品の名称は妙法蓮華經により、品の番号は Kern-Nanjio 本による) から授学無學人記品 (9) を第一類とし、さらにそれを (A) *triṣṭubh* (或いは *triṣṭubhu-jagatī*) の部分と、(B) *śloka* と散文部分とにわけ、順に第一期、第二期と呼び、また法師品 (10) から如來神力品 (20) までと、序品 (1)、囑累品 (27) とを第二類と呼び、それ以外の法華經末の諸品を第三類と呼ぶ。成立の絶対年代は不明だが、第一期、第二期、第二類、第三類の順で成立したと考える」という。

若經』の思想を導入していることは諸学者の指摘してきたところである。第二類において、仏の遺骨を収めたストウーパ崇拝よりも『法華經』の經典崇拝が尊重され、なかでも、この經典の書写が勧められたことも周知のことである。その立場を説く經文を第十六章分別功德品から一つだけここにあげておく。同品には次の經文に先立って同じ趣旨をより詳しく説いた文章もあり、偈頌（同品第37偈以下）のなかにも説かれているが、いまはもっとも簡潔なものを選ぶ。

KN. 339, 6-9: ya imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya dhārayed vā vācayed vā deśayed vā likhyed vā lekhyed vā tad anenāham ajīta paryāyenaivaṃ vadāmi, na me tena parinirvṛtasya dhātustūpāḥ kārayitavyā na saṃghapūjā.

如來が般涅槃したときに、この法門（直接には『如來壽量經』すなわち第十五章『如來壽量品』をさす）を受持し、読誦し、教示し、書写し、あるいは書写させたりする人があれば、私は、アジタよ、このような仕方でごいおう。彼は般涅槃した私のために、遺骨を収めたストウーパを建てたり、僧団への供養をしたりする必要はない、と。

『法華經』第二類の、仏骨塔よりも經典、そしてその書写をより尊重する立場が、仏塔より般若波羅蜜をより崇拝する『般若經』の立場に近いことがこの經文から知られるのである。もっとも本稿では空思想一般と『法華經』との関連や、両經における經典崇拝を叙述しようとは意図していないで、前節でみた『般若經』の仏塔観と『法華經』のそれとの比較に専心することにする。

II 法華經：法師品

『法華經』第十章法師品には次のような記述がある。

(1) 「また、藥王よ、地上のある場所で、この〔法華經の〕法門が述べられたり、説かれたり、書かれたり、書物とされたり、誦されたり、斉唱されたりするならば、藥王よ、その地上の場所には如來の祠堂が、宝石づくりで、大きく、高く、そびえ立つように、造られなければならない。しかし、そこにはけっして如來の諸骨片が安置されるべきではない。それはなぜか。そこには如來の身体が一塊となって置かれているからである。」

KN. 231, 7-11: yasmin khalu punar bhaiṣajyarāja pṛthivīpradeśe 'yaṃ dharmaparyāyo bhāṣyeta vā deśyeta vā likhyeta vā pustakagataḥ svādhyāyeta vā saṃgāyeta vā tasmin bhaiṣajyarāja pṛthivīpradeśe tathāgatacaityaṃ kārayitavyaṃ mahantaṃ ratnamayaṃ uccaṃ pragrhitāṃ, na ca tasminn avaśyaṃ tathāgataśarīraṇi pratiṣṭhāpayitavyāni, tat kasya hetoḥ, ekaghanam eva tasmimś tathāgataśarīram upanikṣiptaṃ bhavati.

G(A,B,C) 本にはこの箇所は欠落している。

Kaś. 219, b6-220, a4 には yasmin ... tasmin が yatra ... tatra になったり、dharmaparyāya が中性名詞となったたり、動詞などに多少の相違があるが、全体的な文意は等しい。

Tib. 231,5-8: pustakagataḥ が脱落している他はKN. と同意である。

妙法華（法師品）大正, IX, 31, b26-29: 「在在処処に、[この経説を] 若しくは説き、若しくは読み、若しくは誦し、若しくは書き、経巻所住の処にも、皆応に七宝の塔の、極めて高く広く、嚴飾せるを起すべし。また舍利を安んずべからず。ゆえは何ぞ。此の中に已に如來の全身いませばなり。」

添品 大正, IX, 166a, 10-14 は妙法華に全同である。

正法華（藥王品）大正, IX, 101, b18-21: 「仏、藥王菩薩に告ぐ。若しよく斯の経訓を説く者、書写し、見せしむる者あれば、則ち其の人 [の処] に於て、仏の神寺の、大宝を以て立ち、高広長大なるを起すべし。まさにまた仏の舍利を著く（おく）べからず。ゆえは何ぞ。則ち如來の舍利を全て著くと為せばなり。」

正法華はこの章では仏の身体をも遺骨をもともに「舍利」で訳している。

偈頌の部分にはこの個所に相当するものはない。

ストゥーパ（仏塔）とチャイティヤ（祠堂）という二語は、学者によっては峻別する人もいるし、ほとんど区別なく用いられるとする人もいる。『妙法華』ではチャイティヤをも常に「塔」と訳している。梵本でも、多宝塔の場合は、その収納するものは多宝仏の遺骨ではなくて仏身であるにもかかわらず、塔 *stūpa* の語を用いている。しばらくこの両語の相違にこだわらないことにする⁶⁾。『法華経』は、この經典が説かれ、書写して書物とされ、読詠され、斉唱されたりした場所には如來の祠堂が作られるべきである、というが、その祠堂の中に仏陀の遺骨 (*śarīrāṇi*) を安置する必要はない、という。その理由は、その中にすでに如來の一塊となった身体 (*śarīra*)、如來の全身がすでに置かれているからである、という。塔中に収納されているのは遺骨ではない。如來の遺骨を礼拝し、供養せよ、といっているのではない点で、それは『般若経』の思想にきわめて近い。しかし『般若経』が般若波羅蜜を崇拜せよ、といっているのに対して、『法華経』は、一塊、一体となった如來の全身を崇拜せよ、という。書写された『法華経』の写本とか、諸断片が一連に繋がった遺骨やミイラを安置せよといっているのでもない。遺骨 (*śarīrāṇi*) ではなく、一塊となった如來の身体 (*śarīra*) がそこにすでにある、というのである。梵文のいう「一塊となった如來の身体」、鳩摩羅什のいう「如來の全身」とは何なのであろうか。その真の意味を探るために、以下しばらく文献を精査しておく。とにかく『法華経』は第十一章に現れるストゥーパ中の多宝 (*prabhūtaratna*) 如來を予想しているかのよう
に、「如來の全身」とここ法師品でいうのである。

III 多宝塔中の如來身

第十一章見宝塔品に入ると、地中から七宝でできた巨大なストゥーパが現れて空中に立ちのぼり、中空で静止した。その塔が地上で『法華経』を説いている釈尊に

⁶⁾ Fuse[1934], 283-284 参照。

向かって、「あなたはこの『白蓮華のような正しい教え』の法門をよく説かれました。まことによいことです」と賞賛の声を発する。その巨大な仏塔の出現の理由と声を出したのは誰かをいぶかった大衆説菩薩大士⁷⁾の問いに答えて釈尊は説明する。

(2) 「大衆説よ、この大宝塔のなかには一塊となった如來の身体がある。これはその塔であり、それこそが声を出したのである」と。

KN. 240, 10ff.: *asmin mahāpratibhāna mahāratnastūpe tathāgatasyātmabhāvas tiṣṭhati ekaghanas tasyaiṣa stūpaḥ, sa eṣa śabdaṃ niścārayati.*

G(A,B,C)には此の個所は欠けている。

Kaś. 228, b1-2 においても *tathāgatasyātmabhāvas ... ekaghanas* は同じ表現である。*asmin* が *atra* に、*ratnastūpe* が *ratnastūpamadhye* に、*eṣa* が *evam* に変わっているが、文意に変化はない。

Tib. 240, 10-11: **KN.** と意味の上での異同はない。

妙法華（宝塔品）（以下、大正,IX を省略）32, c8 では「仏、大衆説菩薩に告ぐ。此の宝塔の中に、如來の全身有り」。

添品 167, a19-20: 妙法華に全同。

正法華（七宝塔品）102, c12-14: 「世尊、則ち大辯菩薩に告ぐ。此の宝塔寺に、如來身有り、一定 [の相好?] を完具して、欠減すること無し」といって、*ekaghanas* を完具一定、而無欠減とていねいに訳している。

偈頌にはこの部分に確実に相当するものは見当たらない。

上の多宝塔の説明に続いて、釈尊は下方に無数の世界を超えた処に宝淨 (*Ratnavisuddhā*) という世界があり、そこに多宝 (*Prabhūtaratna*) という名の如來がいた、という。その多宝如來は『法華經』を聞いた後に始めて、この上ない正しいさとり（無上正等覺）を得ることができた。多宝如來はその般涅槃（入滅）に臨んで衆生たちにこう告げた。

(3) 「比丘たちよ、私が般涅槃した時には、如來の身体の形のために一つの大きな宝塔を作りなさい。またその他の多くの仏塔をも私のためにつくりなさい...」。

KN. 241, 6ff.: (*bhagavata prabhūtaratnena ... evam ārocitam*) *mama khalu bhikṣavaḥ parinirvṛtasyāsyā tathāgatātmbhāvavigrahasyaiko mahāratnastūpaḥ kartavyaḥ. śeṣaḥ punaḥ stūpā mamoddiśya kartavyāḥ.*

G(B) 234, 10-11 にはこの個所の後半 *tathāgatātmbhāvavigrahasya-* 以下のみあるが、**KN.** とまったく同文である。

Kaś. 229, a5ff. も意味において **KN.** とほとんど同じであるが、*tathāgatātmbhāva-*

⁷⁾ 『八千頌』では、「菩薩」と「菩薩大士」 (*bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ*) の二語を使い分けている。後者は「不退転位」（菩薩の四位の第三）以上を指す。前者は仏教の修行者一般、ときには声聞・縁覺をも含んだ呼称である (*Kajiyama*[1976], 136参照)。この傾向は『法華經』でも同じで、「大士」を伴った菩薩という語は第二類になって始めて現れる。

vigrahasya に相当する個所は tathāgatasya' tmabhāvavigrahasyaikaghanasya となっていて、「一塊となった如來の身体の形」とより詳しくなっている。stūpaḥ は stūpam と中性名詞で用いられている（もっとも Kaś. 全体でそうであるのではなく、男性名詞となっている場合もある）。

Tib. 241, 6 では ātmabhāvavigraha に当たる語は lus gzugs (身体の形) である。

妙法華（宝塔品）32, c14-16: 「我が滅度の後、我が全身を供養せんと欲する者は、応に一大塔を起すべし」となっていて、「全身」の語がまた現れる。

添品 167, a26-27: 妙法華に全同。

正法華（七宝塔品）102, c21-22: 「我が滅度の後、如來の身を奉じ、すべてその体の一等に完具せるを取って、大塔寺を興せ。」

偈頌 此の個所に相当する偈頌はない。

釈尊はさらに多宝如來についての説明を続ける。多宝如來には次のような超自然力（神通力、adhīsthāna）があった。

（４）「十方の一切の世界にある仏国土において『白蓮のようなすぐれた教え』という法門が明らかにされるならば、そのいずれの処においてもこの私のストゥーパ、この私の身体の形を祀るストゥーパが出現するであろう。それらの仏陀・世尊たちによってこの『白蓮のようなすぐれた教え』の法門が説かれているときには〔そのストゥーパは〕集会の上の空中に留まるであろう。それらの仏陀世尊たちがこの『白蓮のようなすぐれた教え』という法門を説いているときには、この私の身体の形を含むストゥーパが賞賛を与えるであろう」。

KN. 241, 8ff.: ayam mama stūpo daśasu dikṣu sarvalokadhātuṣu yeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu saddharmapuṇḍariko dharmaparyāyaḥ samprakāśyeta teṣu teṣv ayam mamātmabhāvavigrahastūpaḥ samabhyudgacchet. tair buddhair bhagavadbhir asmin saddharmapuṇḍarika dharmaparyāye bhāṣyamāṇe paśanmaṇḍalasyopari vaihāyaṣaṁ tiṣṭhet. teṣaṁ ca buddhānāṁ bhagavatāṁ imaṁ saddharmapuṇḍarikaṁ dharmaparyāyaṁ bhāṣamāṇānāṁ ayam mamātmabhāvavigrahastūpaḥ sādhu-kāraṁ dadyāt.

G(B) 234, 11-14 の間にこの文の前半が見られる。後半には paśanmaṇḍalasyopari vaihāyaṣaṁ tiṣṭhet が見られ、Kaś. に近い文となっているようであるが、写本に欠落が多い。

Kaś. ⁽⁸⁾では男性名詞 dhātu の単数・於格(-au) が -o に変わり、stūpa が中性名詞として用いられているなどの語学的な特徴がある他に ātmabhāvavigraha-stūpaḥ が ātmabhāva-vigraha-śarīra-stūpam となっていて、ātmabhāva と śarīra という仏教混淆梵語では同義の語が重ねて用いられている。さきに I で見た『八千頌』の

⁽⁸⁾ Kaś, 229, b1ff.: idaṁ mama stūpaṁ daśasu dikṣu sarvalokadhātuṣu sarvabuddhakṣetreṣu abhyudgacchet yatra (yatra) lokadhāto[=-au] yoyas tathāgata imaṁ saddharmapuṇḍarikaṁ dharmaparyāyaṁ samprakāśayet tatra tatra lokadhāto[=-au] idaṁ mama 'ātmabhāvavigrahaśarīrastūpaṁ paśa(n)-maṇḍalamadhyād abhyudgacchet tatra ca tasya tathāgatasyāgrata upari vaihāyase 'ntarikṣe tiṣṭhat eṣa ca ma(ma) śarīravigraho 'bhya(nta)ra(-rā?) stūpe sthitas teṣaṁ (teṣaṁ) buddhānāṁ bhagavatā(m) imaṁ dharmaparyāyaṁ bhāṣamāna(nāṁ) sādhu-kāraṁ vadet.

ātma**bhāva-sārira** と同様である。サンスクリットのように、前者に *self* の意味を含ませて「私自身の形をした身体を祀る塔」といいたかったのかもしれない。仏教混淆梵語ではこの二語はともに「身体」を意味するので、一つの複合語のなかで両者を用いるのはやや不自然である。全体的に *Kaś.* の方が *KN.* よりも説明が詳しくなっている。一方で、*KN.* では「この白蓮のようなすぐれた教えという法門を説く...」が3回も繰り返されているが、*Kaś.* ではそれは2回の繰り返しですんでいる。いずれにしても塔中には多宝如來の身体があるのであって、遺骨があるのではない。*Kaś.* では *mama śariravigraho 'bhyantara(-rā?) stūpe sthitas ... sādhu-kāram vadet* とあって、称赞の声を発するのは、ストウーパではなくて、その中の多宝如來の身体であることが明確になっている。

Tib. も *KN.* に文意は等しい。「この白蓮のようなすぐれた教えという法門を説く...」は3回繰り返されている。

妙法華（宝塔品）32, c16ff.: 「十方世界、在在处处、若し法華經を説く者あれば、彼の宝塔、皆其の前に踊（三本：涌）出す。全身塔中に在りて、讚じて善い哉、善い哉と言う。」

添品 167, a26ff. は妙法華に同じ。

正法華 102, c22ff.: 「十方世界に、それ、此の法華經を講説するもの有れば、吾が七宝の塔、諸仏の經を説く所の処に踊現す。其の舍利身、七宝塔に在り、讚じて善き哉と言う。」

妙法華では塔中の多宝如來を「全身」といい、正法華では「舍利身」といつている。正法華の基づいた原本に *ātma**bhāva-... śarira-*** とあったのかも知れない。

偈頌の部分では、第十一章の1-3がこの散文の内容を韻文で述べている。

釈尊がこの多宝如來の超自然力を説明したのは、娑婆世界で釈尊が『法華經』を説いている今、その集会の中空に多宝如來の塔が現れて、賞賛の声を出したことの理由を説明したのである。大樂説菩薩大士の「私どもは、世尊の威神力によって、この多宝如來の姿を見たいものです」という懇請に対して、釈尊は多宝如來の姿を見るにはその条件が、他ならぬ多宝如來の本願によって、決められている、と言って、その本願を明らかにする。長文であるが、重要な個所であるから、全文を引く。

(5) 「彼 [多宝如來] の本願はこうであった。『実に、他の諸仏国土において仏陀・世尊たちがこの“白蓮のようなすぐれた教え”の法門を説く時にはこの私の身体の形を祀る塔が“白蓮のようなすぐれた教え”の法門を聞くために、それらの仏陀たちのもとに赴くであろう。さらにそれらの仏陀・世尊たちが、[塔を]開いて、私の身体の形を四衆に示したいと思う時には、それらの仏陀たちは、身体から化作された如來の分身で、十方のそれぞれの仏国土においてそれぞれ異なった名前で作生に教えを説いているものたちをすべて集めて、身体から化作されたそれらの如來の分身たちと一緒にあったうえで、そのあとで、この私の身体の形を祀る塔を開いて四衆に示さなければならない』 [と。]

だから、私 [=釋迦牟尼仏] もまた、大樂説よ、十方にある幾千もの世界のそ

れぞれの仏国土において衆生たちに法を説いている、多数の化作された如來の分身たちのすべてをここにこさせねばならないであろう。」

KN. 242, 4-13: etad asya(= prabhūtaratnasya) prañidhānam. “yadā khalv anyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu buddhā bhagavanta imaṃ saddharmapuṇḍarikaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ bhāṣeyus tadāyaṃ mamātmabhāvavigrahastūpo 'sya saddharmapuṇḍarikasya dharmaparyāyasya śraṇanāya gacchet tathāgatānām antikam; yadā punas te buddhā bhagavanto mamātmabhāvavigraham udghāṭya darśayitukāmā bhaveyus catasrṇām parśadām atha tais tathāgatair daśasu dikṣv anyonyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu ya ātmabhāvanirmitās tathāgatavigrahā anyonyanāmadheyās teṣu teṣu buddhakṣetreṣu sattvānām dharmam deśayanti tān sarvān saṃnipātya tair ātmabhāvanirmitais tathāgatavigrahaiḥ sārḍham paścād ayaṃ mamātmabhāvavigrahastūpaḥ samudghāṭyopadarśayitavyaś catasrṇām parśadām.”

tan mayāpi mahāpratibhāna bahavas tathāgatavigrahā nirmitā ye daśasu dikṣv anyonyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣu lokadhātusahasreṣu sattvānām dharmam deśayanti te sarve khalv ihānayatavyā bhaviṣyanti.

G(B) 234, 18-24: 欠落が多く、量的には KN. の約半分ほどであるが、残存部分は、bhāṣeyus が bhāṣeraṃs となっている他は、KN. とよく一致する。

Kaś. 230, b1-231, a7: evam asya prañidhānam kṛtam abhūd, “yathā khalv anyeṣu buddhakṣereṣu buddhā bhagavantaḥ imaṃ saddharmapuṇḍarikaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ bhāṣeyus tadā 'yaṃ mam' ātmabhāvavigrahasārīrastūpa-m-abhyudgacchet teṣāṃ tathāgatānām antike imaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ śraṇanāya, yaś ca tathāgato mama tam stūpam udgāṭayitukāmo bhaven mametad ātmabhāvavigraham upadarśayitukāmo [bhaven mametad ātmabhāvavigraham upadarśayitukāmo] bhavet catasrṇām pariśadām tena tathāgatena ye samantāsu daśasu dikṣv anyonyeṣu buddhakṣetreṣv ātmanīyakātmabhāvā nirmitās tathāgatavigrahā viharanti anyonyanāmadheyā ye tatra tatra buddhakṣetre dharmam deśayanti te ātmanīyās tathāgatavigrahā sarva(e?) saṃnipātyitavyāḥ saṃnipātyitvā sārḍham tebhīr ātmanīyebhis tathāgatavigrahebhis tataḥ paścād imaṃ (ma)m' ātmabhāvavigrahasārīrastūpaṃ samudghāṭyopadarśayitavyaṃ catasrṇām pariśadām.”

tan mayā 'pi mahāpratibhāna bahav' ātmanīyās tathāgatavigrahā nirmitā ye samantāsu daśasu dikṣv anyonyeṣu lokadhātukaṭīnāyutaśatasahasreṣu satvāvāṃ dharmam deśayanti te tathāgatavigrahāḥ sarve khalv iha ānayatavyā bhaviṣyanti.

[...] 内の文章は重複のため写本より削除する。KN. で mamātmabhāvavigraham udghāṭya とやや不自然ないまわしになっていたところは Kaś. では stūpam udgāṭayitukāmo と mametad ātmabhāvavigraham upadarśayitukāmo とを分けていて、「塔を開く」と「身体の形像を示す」ことが判然としている。

230, b3 の udgāṭayitukāmo は写本そのものにおいて udghāṭyitu- の意味である。辛嶋氏によれば、ghā- と gā- とは中央アジアの言語においてしばしば交代する。230, b3: abhyudgacchet; 230, b4: śraṇanāya; 231, a3: samudghāṭya- などは BHSD に収録。NK. 242, 12: lokadhātusahasreṣu は Kaś. 231, a5-6 では lokadhātu-kauṭīnāyuta-śata-sahasreṣu と長大になる。kauṭī は koṭī の Hypersanskritism である。NK. 242, 5; 10 に二度現れる ātmabhāvavigrahastūpa は Kaś. (230, b3; 231, a3) では

ātmbhāva-vigraha-śarīra-stūpa となっていて、ātmbhāva, vigraha, śarīra という同義語三個を同一の複合語に列ねている。また、これも二度現れる KN. (242, 8; 9-10) ātmabhāva-nirmitās tathāgatavigrahāḥ はKaś. (231, a1-2; 4-5) では ātmanīyās tathāgatavigrahāḥ 及び ātmanīyās tathāgatavigrahā nirmitāḥ である；Tib. は de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku lus sprul pa で、tathāgatasyātmabhāvanirmitāḥ にあたるであろう（sku lus は śarīra=ātmbhāva）。その他にも異同はあるが、いちいち記録するにあたらない。一般に Kaś. は KN. よりも文章を長くしている。

Tib. 242, 7: KN. の mamātmabhāvavigraham udghātya darsayitukāma... に当たる個所は nga. yi lus gzugs phye ste bstan par 'dod par gyur na と KN. と全く同様に訳している。上に見たように Kaś. のみが「...塔を開いて、私の身体の形を示す」という意味に書いている。蔵訳は全体的に KN. の読みに等しい。

妙法華 32, c2-27: 「この多宝仏に深重の願あり。『若しわが宝塔、法華経を聴かんが為の故に、諸仏の前に出る時、その我が身をもって四衆に示さんと欲する者あらば、彼の仏の分身諸仏の、十方世界に在って法を説くものを、ことごとく遷して一処に集め、然る後、我が身すなわち出現するのみ。』 大衆説よ、我が分身の諸仏にして、十方世界に在って法を説く者、今まさに集むべし。」

添品 167, b5-8: 妙法華に全同。

正法華 103, a22-27: 「[多宝如來、本(もと)また自ら誓う。] 『我の塔寺、至る所の方面にこの經典を聴く。もし諸の如來および四部衆、吾が身を觀んと欲せば、その十方[の諸仏・四衆]の欲願する所に随って、皆まきに見るを得べし。みなともにこの化像を供養す。』 大辯よ、我が身を知らんと欲せば、亦まきに是の十方諸仏、一切世界の所化の如來の、法を講説する者を感じ[知って]、皆ここにいたらしむべし。」(多宝如來、本亦自誓。我之塔寺、所至方面、聽此經典。設諸如來及四部衆、欲觀吾身、隨其十方之所欲願、皆當得見、咸共供養於此化像。大辯、欲知我身、亦當感是十方諸仏、一切世界所化如來、講説法者、皆令詣此。)

妙法華もそうであったが、正法華の漢訳も梵文にくらべるときわめて簡単になっている。とくに「みなともにこの仮像を供養す」というときの「化像」という語にあたるものは梵文では上に下線を付した個所に出る ātmabhāvavigraha 以外には見いだせない。おそらくこの語は ātmabhāvavigraha- ... nirmita- という形で何度も出てくるので、法護はこの二つを同一視しているのであろうか。

偈頌ではこの個所に正確に対応するものは梵・漢のテキストにはない。

この正法華の多宝如來の本願の文章の最後にある「咸共供養於此仮像」は重要である。諸如來・四部衆がみな多宝如來を見て、みなともにこの仮像を供養す、という、その仮像とは七宝塔の中の多宝仏であるが、その仏はいま「仮像」とよばれている。塔中の多宝仏の身体は仮像すなわち所化であり、仮仏なのである。竺法護が誤訳したのでない限り、この句はそう読む以外に方法がない。この「仮像」という語の重要性についてはVの末尾で再論する。

大衆説菩薩大士の、まず釈迦牟尼如來の化作した如來の分身を見たい、という要

請があったので、釈尊はその白毫から光明を放った。その光明によって、東方のガンガー河の砂の数にも等しい世界にいる仏陀たちとその国土が見られ、ついで東南・南・南西・西・西北・北・北東・上・下の世界の無数の仏陀とその国土も見られた。それら十方世界の仏陀たちとその菩薩たちは、多宝如來の塔を見るために、娑婆世界の釈尊のもとへやってきた。その時、この娑婆世界全体は淨土と化した。宝樹・宝石・香料・花々で飾られ、須弥山を始めとする九山八海などもなくなって平坦となり、この集會に参加した者たちを除いて、六道の衆生はすべて他の世界に移された。十方世界から集った仏・菩薩たちの数は多すぎたので、釈尊はさらに二度までもこの世界を周辺へ拡大し、それらの国々を清淨にし、平坦にし、山も河もなく、六道の衆生もなく、宝石・宝樹・纓絡・香料で飾られた淨土に化して、三千大千世界からきた釈尊の化作した分身の如來たちの席を設けた。ここに見られるように、『法華經』では釈迦牟尼仏の淨土はこの娑婆世界に現出する。それらの如來たちの使者たちが釈尊のもとへ来て、多宝塔を開けることを願った時に、釈尊は中空に昇って、巨大な多宝塔の扉を開いた。

(6) 「その大きな宝塔が開かれるやいなや、世尊・多宝 [如來・] 如來・阿羅漢・正等覺者は獅子座に坐し、結跏趺坐を結んで、枯渴もしていない肢体をもち (*aparīśuṣka-gātraḥ*)、身体は風化もせず (*asaṃghaṭṭikāyāḥ*)、あたかも三昧に入っているかのように見られた」 (梵本校訂後の訳)。

KN. 249, 3ff.: samanantaravivṛtasya khalu punas mahāratnastūpasya atha khalu bhagavān prabhūtaratnas [tathāgatas] tathāgato 'rhan samyaksambuddhaḥ siṃhāsanopaviṣṭaḥ paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā parīśuṣkagātraḥ saṃghaṭṭikāyo yathā samādhisamāpannas tathā saṃdrśyate sma. (WT.: [tathāgatas] を削る他は KN. に同じ)。

G(A, B, C) のいずれのグループの写本にも欠落している。

K'. 96, b1.: ... paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā parisuddhamātro asaṃghaṭṭikāmo yathā samādhim samāpannas ...

MS.No.2: Don Hodgson 1837, folio 135a4-5: ... paryaṅkaṃ baddhvā parīśuddha-gātro 'saṃghaṭṭita-kāyo ... (Yuyama[1989], 182).

Kaś. 240, a7ff.: samanantaravivṛtasya tasya tathāgata[prabhūta]ratnastūpasya atha khalu sa bhagavān prabhūtaratnas tathāgato paryaṅkena bandhena aparīśuṣkagātro 'sa(m)ghaṭṭikāyo yathā samādhisamāpannakas tathā saṃdrśyate. (Kaś. 戸田本; Toda[1997], 4-5)

Farhād-Beg, 6b, 5-6 (p. 230): ... aparīśuṣkagātro asaṃgha(tt)itakāyo yathā samādhisamāpannakos ...

Tib. 249, 2-5: de bzhin gshegs pa'i rin po che'i mchod rten chen po de phyé ma thag tu, de nas bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa dgra bcom pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rin chen mang seng ge'i khri la bzhugs te, skyir mod dkrung bcas nas sku kun bskams shing sku ma g-yos par ji ltar ting nge 'dzin la snyoms par bzhugs pa de bzhin du snang ste.

妙法華（宝塔品）33, b28ff.: 「釈迦牟尼仏...七宝塔の戸を開く...即時に一切の衆会、みな多宝如來を見る。宝塔中において、師子座に坐し、全身散ぜず、禪定に入れるが如し。

添品も妙法華に全同。

正法華 104, a3ff.: 「...多宝如來至真等正覺身、即ち現わる。師子床に坐し、肌色もとの如く、また枯燥せず、威光端正にして、相好画の如し。」

KN. で *pariśuśkaḡātrah saṃghaṭitakāyo* とある所に異同が多い。

1a) 前者を *pariśuśka-gātrah* (枯渴した肢体をもつ) と読むのは KN. と Tib. である。妙法華には *pari-* にせよ、*apari-* にせよ、この語に当たる漢訳語は欠けている。

1b) 同じ語を *apariśuśkaḡātrah* (枯燥しない肢体をもつ) と読むのは Kaś., Farhād-Beg (いずれも戸田宏文氏校訂)、正法華とである。

2a) *saṃghaṭita-kāyo* (Kern's tr.: faint body) という読みは KN., WT. へのみある。

2b) K', Kaś., Farhād-Beg, および Tib. は *asaṃghaṭita-kāyo* (散乱していない、破壊されていない身体をもつ) となっている。妙法華の「全身不散」もその漢訳であろう。

3) K', Asiatic Society of Paris, MS. No. 2 などにある *pariśuddha-mātro* (or *-gātro*) *asaṃghaṭ(ṭ)ita-kāyo* (or *-kāmo*) という読みも無視できない。Yuyama[1989] は *ddha* と *ska* とは写本における文字としてよく似ていることを指摘している。正法華の威光端正、相好如画は *pariśuddha-mātro* (or *-gātro*) *asaṃghaṭita-kāyo* を意識した解釈かもしれない。

この個所についての現代の学者の意見には次のものがある。

1. F. Edgerton (BHSD, s.v.): *saṃghaṭita* を「縮んだ」(contracted) の意味に解し、結跏趺坐の身体が縮小していることと考えている。彼がこの語を「縮んだ」の意にとったのは、藏訳の *sku ma (g-yos pa)* の前半を *skum* (収縮) と読んだからであるが、その際、それに続く *g-yos pa* には言及していないので、それをどのように処理したかまったく不明である。少なくとも台北版では明瞭に *sku ma g-yos pa* と読めるから、Edgerton 説は成立たないと思える (Yuyama[1989] 182 参照)。

2 苅谷定彦 (Kariya[1963], 138-139): KN., WT. などの *pariśuśka-gātrah* という読みを訂正し、*apariśuśka-gātrah* と読む。*saṃghaṭitakāyo* については論じていないが、妙法華の「全身不散」(= *asaṃghaṭitakāyo*) に従っているようである。

3 勝呂信静氏 (Suguro[1989], 140): 苅谷氏の論文をあげ、「四肢は千からびてなく、身体は散乱していない」(*apariśuśka-gātro 'saṃghaṭ(ṭ)ita-kāyah*) と読む。

4 戸田宏文氏 (Toda[1979], 4-5): 問題になっている二語は *apariśuśkaḡātro 'saṃghaṭitakāyo...* と読むべきであり [写本では *avagraha* は書かれていないが。]、*asaṃghaṭitakāyo* を「散動しない身体をもつ」の意味とし、妙法華および添品の「全身不散」の散は定 [禪定] に対する「散乱、散動」の散と理解すべきであるという。

5 塚本啓祥氏 (塚本[1986], 162): *apariśuśkaḡātrah* と読んで、「四肢は枯渴するこ

仏のなかに見い出されている。

IV 提婆達多品

KN. ・正法華などの宝塔品の後半、いかえれば妙法華流布本の第十二章提婆達多品では、釈尊が往昔、自分が国王であったこと、王子を王位につけると、自分はこの上ない正しい菩提を得ることに専心した、と語る。ひとりの聖仙がいて、もし自分に奴隷として仕えるならば『法華経』を聞かせようというので、国王は満千年のあいだ奴僕として聖仙に仕えた。釈尊は自分こそがその時の国王であり、聖仙とは提婆達多であった、自分は提婆達多のおかげで正等覚者となったのである、という。釈尊はさらに、提婆達多は未来世において天王 (devarāja) 如來と成り、壽命は二十劫であり、般涅槃ののち二十中劫のあいだその教えが存続するであろう、という。そして、釈尊はさらにこういう。

(7) 「天王如來が完全な涅槃に入ったあと... [彼の] 身体は散らばった遺骨として分けられず、その身体は完全な一塊として、七宝よりできたストウーパのなかに入っているであろう」

KN. 259, 13ff.: *devarājasya ... tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya ... na ca śarīraṃ dhātubhedena bhetsyati ekaghanam cāsya śarīraṃ bhaviṣyati saptaratnastūpapraviṣṭam.*

G(B). 242, 4f.: *na ca śarīraṃ dhātubhedena bhetsyate, ekaghanam cāsya śarīraṃ bhaviṣyati saptaratnastūpapraviṣṭam ...*

Kaś. 249, b1ff.: *devarājasya ... tathāgatasya parinirvṛtasya ... na ca śarīraṃ dhātu-bhedena bhetsyati ekaghanam cāsya śarīraṃ bhaviṣyati saptaratnastūpapraviṣṭam ...*

Tib. 259, 13ff.: *de bzhin gshegs pa'i lha'i rgyal po yongs su mya ngan las 'das nas ... de'i sku gdung gi ring bsrel ni 'gyes par mi 'gyur zhing de'i sku gdung gcig du 'dus par 'gyur te, rin po che sna bdun gyi mchod rten du bcug nas...*

妙法華 (提婆品) 35, a8ff.: 「時に天王仏般涅槃の後 ... 全身舍利あり、七宝の塔を起す。」

添品 169, b14-16: 妙法華に全同。

正法華 105, b29ff.: 「其の仏... 滅度の後... 身骨を散ぜず、全ての舍利を合わせて、七宝塔を起す...」

薩曇分陀利經 大正, IX, 197, b24ff.: 天王仏般涅槃の後、舍利を散ぜず、一の七宝塔を起作す ...

偈頌にはこの個所に相当するものはない。

V 如來と神變

II-IV節の(1)から(7)までの引用のうち、(2)から(6)までは多宝如來の般涅槃後に七宝塔の中に残されているその身体、般涅槃後にも常に『法華経』を聞くために出

現し、讚歎する多宝如來の身体についての記述であったが、(1)はそうではなくて、『法華經』が受持・読・誦・解説・書写された場所に起された塔の中の仏身についてであり、(7)は『法華經』を護持し、宣布した提婆達多の後身である天王如來の般涅槃後の塔中の仏身についての記述である。しかしこれらすべての事例を通じて、塔中には遺骨でもなく、經典でもなく、つねに一塊となった如來の全身がある。

一般的にいて、『法華經』においては一つのテーマを引き続く多くの章が追いつづけ、前の章の思想を受けて次の章がそれを発展させ、その次の章がさらにその思想を深化してゆく、という形をとっている。第十章法師品から第十一章宝塔品（提婆達多品を含む）を経て、（第十二、十三、十四の三章はやや趣きを異にした挿入ではあるが）第十五章壽量品にいたる間にも、声聞乘仏教以来さかんに行われていた仏塔崇拜を手がかりにして、遺骨崇拜から經典崇拜へ、經典から仏身へ、仏身から淨土へ、淨土から真の仏陀としての久遠仏へという展開が見られる。

法師品では、『法華經』が受持・読・誦・解説・書写される所には祠堂を立てねばならないが、そのなかには如來の遺骨を納める必要はない、なぜならば、その塔の中には一塊となった如來の身体がすでに存在するからだ、という。この主張は、如來の遺骨の崇拜よりも、『法華經』がより崇拜されねばならない、といっているのではあるが、そうかといって、祠堂の中に書写された『法華經』を納めよ、といっているのではない。むしろ『法華經』の真理そのものを象徴する如來の身体がすでにその中に存在しているのではないか、といっているのである。『般若經』では、如來の相好を具えた身体やその死後の遺骨ではなくて、その根源である般若波羅蜜という真理、さらにそれを象徴する諸仏の「母」が語られていた。『法華經』では、一足飛びに、如來の全身という『法華經』の真理の象徴が祠堂の中にあるのではないか、それを崇拜すべきだ、というのである。私は、この具象性が『法華經』の精髓であると思っている。

「法身」(dharmakāya) ということばは大乗仏教以前から、そして『八千頌』などにおいてさえも、「經典の集合」という意味で用いられていた(kāya には集合、集積の意味もある)⁽¹⁰⁾。『法華經』X-XI（提婆達多品を含む）はしかし、經典を祠堂あるいは仏塔の中に納めよ、というのではない。仏塔（あるいは祠堂）には一塊となった如來の全身がすでに納まっている、というのである。「經典の集合」を経て成立してくる、虚空のように常住・唯一の眞理、あるいはその眞理をもつ仏身としての「法身」（この意味での「法身」は『法華經』の時代にはまだ成立していなかった。勝呂氏 [Suguro]1996, 285

⁽¹⁰⁾ 『八千頌』にあらわれる Dharma-kāya という語は「經典の集合」の意味で用いられている。Vaidya ed., XXXI, 253, 24-25: na hi tathāgato rūpakāyato draṣṭavyaḥ, dharmakāyas tathāgataḥ という文に現れる語が大乗仏教における「法身」の意味とみられるが、この個所は鳩摩羅什訳（大正, 227, VIII, 584, b10-11）にはあるが、それ以前の『道行』『大明度』『摩訶般若鈔經』の三訳には存在しないので、おそらくは後代になって梵本に挿入されたものと思える。Kajiyama [1989] 48, 特に注6, 18, 21, 22参照。

他は「原始的な法身」という言い方を用いる) という概念ではなくて、その真理の象徴としての如來の全身がただちに語られるのである。いわば『法華經』の真理が、ことばを説き、身体を具えた仏として現れたものなのである。そのように、ここ、法師品で発想された新たな仏陀觀は次の宝塔品でさらに展開されることになる⁽¹¹⁾。

宝塔品では多宝如來とそのストゥーパという超自然的な物語が始まる。多宝如來は、多数の百・千・コーティ・ナユタ劫 (kalpa) という昔に般涅槃した過去仏であるのに、七宝塔の中に現存して、高らかな声を出して、娑婆世界において『法華經』を説く釈迦牟尼仏を贊嘆する。一方、釈尊はこの娑婆世界に、全宇宙の仏国土に散在して教を説いている釈尊自身の化仏に他ならない仏陀たちを集合させるために、この穢れた娑婆世界を三度までも浄化し、拡大して、淨土に変えてしまう。自己の化仏たちをすべてその淨土に集めたいうで、釈尊は多宝如來の七宝塔の扉を開く。その塔が開かれると、獅子座に坐し、身体は枯燥もせず、風化もしていない多宝如來が、あたたかも結跏趺坐して瞑想に入っているような姿で見られる。釈尊の会座の菩薩大士たちは、久遠の過去に般涅槃に入ったはずの多宝如來が生き生きとして現れたことに驚嘆する。釈迦牟尼仏と多宝如來との二人の仏陀は塔中に並座して一体となる。

法師品から見宝塔品 (提婆達多品を含む) に至るあいだに描かれる塔中の仏身は、第十五 (妙法華の第十六) 章如來壽量品における釈迦牟尼仏の壽命に原理を提供している。壽量品では釈尊は幾百・千・コーティ・ナユタもの劫の昔に無上正等覺をさとって仏陀となり、今後もその二倍にもあたる時間にわたって生き続け、常に現存して、完全な涅槃に入ることはないが、しかも衆生を教化するために完全な涅槃をあらわして見せるのである、という。燃灯仏を始めとする過去の諸仏はすべて釈尊の化作したものに他ならない、という。

ye ca mayā kulaputrā atrāntare tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyakṣaṃbuddhāḥ parikīrtitā
dīpaṃkaratathāgataprabhṛtayas teṣāṃ ca tathāgatānāṃ arhatāṃ samyakṣaṃbuddhānāṃ
parinirvāṇāya (Kawaguchi Text: -nāni) mayaiva tāni kulaputrā upāyakaṣālyadharmā-
deśanābhinirhāranirmitāni. (KN. 317, 10-13. Kaś. 305, b6-7 では最後の文章はさらに
明瞭である。etāni kula(putrā upāyakaṣālyadharmā)deśanā-abhinirhārtham
abhinirmitāni.)

しかも、良家の子らよ、そのあいだに私は、ディーパンカラ (燃灯) 如來を始め
とする如來・阿羅漢・正等覺者たちをほめ讃え、かれら如來・阿羅漢・正等覺者

⁽¹¹⁾ 勝呂信静 [1996], 297: 「『法華經』がもっとも力説する滅後の經典流通は、原始的な法身の觀念を表明したものと見ることができる。法身の原意は『教法(dharma)の総体(kāya 集積)』を意味するものであって、仏陀の肉身の壽命は有限であるが、その説かれた教法は永続するものであるから、その教法に於て仏陀の人格の本質を認めようとするのが法身の思想の由来であると考えられる……經典の弘通によって示される法身の思想は、舍利塔崇拜を介して、多宝如來によって示されるごとき、時代規定を超越した普遍的な過去仏の觀念に到達し、それはやがて久遠本仏の思想に發展するものと見られる。」

たちの般涅槃をも「説いたが」、それらは私が巧みな方便による法の説示を完遂するために化作したものである。

『法華經』の後代の注釈家たちは、そして現代の学者たちも、『法華經』に描かれる多宝如來や釈迦牟尼仏を仏陀の「三身説」における「報身」（受用身）に同定しようとする。たしかに、ことばを話し、身体をもった多宝如來や永劫の過去に成仏しながら、衆生を救うための方便として以外は、かつて般涅槃したことなく、淨土をもち、つねに現存する釈尊などは、虚空のごとくに唯一にして常住でありながら、色もなく、形ももなく、われわれの認識や言語を超えた法身に対して、変動する身体をもち、菩薩たちの会座において説法する報身仏と考えられる理由はある。しかし、法身・色身(rūpa-kāya)からなる「二身説」は『華嚴經』(独立して流行していた『十地經』『入法界品』などを含む)や龍樹などによって理論化された、恐らく三世紀ころに成立した思想であり、法身・報身・化身(自性身・受用身・變化身)からなる三身説の成立は瑜伽行派の出現をまって形成されたもので、四世紀後半から五世紀中頃を待たねばならない⁽¹²⁾、とすれば、『法華經』の仏身を報身とするのは時代錯誤といわねばならない。私はこの問題はむしろ、声聞乘仏教以来、古く、長い伝統をもつ仏陀の超自然的な能力、神通力あるいは神変(iddhi, ṛddhi, prātihārya, vikurvita, adhiṣṭhāna, etc.)の思想を介して理解すべきであろうと思う⁽¹³⁾。

パーリ文献、中部經典にある『身行念經』(*Kāyagatāsatisutta*)は、名称は出さないけれども、後の六通にあたる通力を叙述しているが、「一にしてしかも多となり、多になり終わって一となり、[或いは]現れ、[或いは]隠れ、云々」と神通あるいは如意通にあたるものを始め、天耳、他心、宿住、天眼、漏尽の通にあたるものなどをも記している。長部の『十上經』『沙門果經』などにも六通の記述がある。これらの記述を体系的に扱ったものには、年代は下がるが、『俱舍論』『大智度論』(後者では漏尽通を除いて五通が解説されている)などがある⁽¹⁴⁾。

『身行念經』が「一にして多となり、多になり終って一となり...」といていたように、仏、聖者、さらに魔術師のような凡人においてさえ、一身を多身とする増殖の通力は化身を作り出す原因であると見なされていた。『俱舍論』の説明では⁽¹⁵⁾、一人の化主が多くの化身を作るとき、その一人の化主が語るとすべての化身も語り、化主が黙るとすべての化身も黙る。しかし、これは仏以外の化主の場合であって、仏の化作の場合には、化主のことばと化身のことばとは同時に起こったり、止

⁽¹²⁾ 声聞乘から大乘仏教の二身説に至るまでの仏陀觀の歴史的発展については、Kajiyama [1996]を参照。本稿においては必要な限りに於て、同論文の要点のみを記す。

⁽¹³⁾ Kajiyama[1995] 参照。本稿の記述は同論文からの抜粋にすぎない。

⁽¹⁴⁾ Kajiyama[1995], 7-12.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Kajiyama[1995], 7; AKBh,427-428; 俱舍論, 大正, XXIX,144b.

んだりするわけではなく、時を異にすることもできる。さらに仏はその存命中にのみ化身を長いあいだ留めるだけではなくて、死んだ後にもその化身を留めておくこともできる。この解説は『法華経』における多宝如來の塔中の身体、さらに釈尊の十方一切世界（全宇宙）における化仏たちを理解させることができる。

『大智度論』では如意通を能到・転変・聖如意に分けて論じるが、後の二者が化身に関係する。転変には大きなものを小さくし、小さいものを大きくし、一つのを多数にし、多数のを一つにするなど、種々のものをみな変化させることができる。異教徒たちの場合、その変化はもっとも長いときでも七日以上は続かないが、仏およびその弟子たちの変化は自由自在であって、長い、短いという期限はない。聖如意とは外界の六種の対象（いろかたち、音声、香り、味、触れられるもの、考えられるもの）のうちの、快からず、浄らかでないものを、よく観察する事によって、清浄ならしめ、逆に、快く、浄らかなものを観察して、不浄なものにすることができる。この聖如意は仏だけが所有している⁽¹⁶⁾。このいい方は『法華経』における釈迦牟尼仏の浄土の現出を思わせる。

大乘經典のうちで成立の早い『維摩経』（100-150ころ成立）仏国品で舍利弗に対して世尊はこういう。ある人々には如來の国土が功德をもって飾られていることが見えない。それは彼らの無知による過失ではあっても、如來のがわに過失があるのではない。如來の仏国土が清浄であるにもかかわらず、舍利弗にはそれが見えないだけのことである、という。世尊がこの三千大千世界の上に足を置くと、此の世界は無量・百・千の宝石を集め、積み重ねて飾られたものとなった。人々がそれを見て、この上ない、正しいさとりの心を起したのちに、世尊が神変を収めると、この国土はまた以前の状態にもどった⁽¹⁷⁾、という。『法華経』で釈尊がこの穢れた娑婆国土を清らかな浄土に変化させたことも、上の『維摩経』の場合と変わらない。

『首楞嚴三昧経』は、漢訳に現存するものは鳩摩羅什訳のみであるが、その原典の成立は二世紀の始めと推定されている。その始めの部分にきわめて興味深い話がある。堅意菩薩がつぎのように質問する。菩薩は何の三昧に入れば、声聞を願うものには声聞乗を示し、縁覚を願うものには縁覚乗を、大乘を願うものには大乘を示しながら、しかもみずからは声聞乗にも、縁覚乗にも入らず、また仏の教えを説いても般涅槃することもなく、如幻三昧によって如來の容貌や外観をもってあらわれ、兜率天に安住し、胎内に入り、誕生し、出家し、苦行を修め、魔に打ち勝ち、菩提の座につき、菩提を實現し、梵天の勧請によって法輪を転ずることを現し、仏の般涅槃にいたるまでのすべてを現し、般涅槃を現して、しかも永く滅しないことができるのか、という問いである。仏はこの問いに対して、菩薩が首楞嚴三昧に入れば

⁽¹⁶⁾ Kajiyama[1995],8; 智度論, 大正, XXV,97c ff.

⁽¹⁷⁾ 『維摩経』 仏国品、長尾訳、21-23、取意。

それが可能になることを答え、その首楞嚴三昧における神変は第十地にある菩薩によって始めて得られるという⁽¹⁸⁾。

これは最高位の菩薩の首楞嚴三昧を説いたものであるが、『法華経』の釈迦牟尼仏が久遠の過去に成仏しながら、八相成道の生涯を現し、また衆生を救うために般涅槃を示しはしても、つねに現存する、ということと趣意を同じくするものであろう。ここで、『法華経』と維摩経、首楞嚴経との年代的先後に触れる意図はない。

このように考えてくると、上記の III (5) に含めた竺法護訳『正法華経』(103, a25)の多宝如來の本願の中にある「設諸如來及四部衆欲觀吾身、隨其十方之所欲願、皆當得見、咸共供養於此化像」という文章がきわめて深い意味をもってくる。ここでは、釈尊によって化作された十方の諸仏国土の如來たちやその四衆はその欲願に従って多宝仏を見ることができ、みなともに、その化像、多宝如來によって化作された仏、妙法華のいわゆる如來分身を供養した、という。この文章に正確に対応する梵文はいずれの梵本にもない。ただ Kaś. に、多宝如來の本願および釈迦牟尼仏のことばが終ったあとで、大辯(大樂説)菩薩の「善いことです、まことに善いことです、世尊よ、私たちは、[釈迦]如來の身体から化作された如來の化像をすべて拝見し、すべてを礼拝いたします」⁽¹⁹⁾という文があるのみである。妙法華では「大樂説仏に言う。世尊、我等も亦た、世尊の分身諸仏を見、礼拝供養せんと願欲す」(32, c 27-29) となっている。法護はこの文を多宝如來の本願のなかに混入させた、とも考えられる。この多宝如來の本願の個所は、梵文にくらべると、妙法華・正法華の両漢訳はともに簡潔にすぎる。かりに、この多宝如來の「化像」を供養する、というのが法護の解釈であったとしても、釈迦牟尼仏の化作した十方の如來たちが詳説されているのにあわせて、多宝如來にも仮仏が多数存在する、ということは行き過ぎた考え方とは決していえない。私自身も宝塔中にあるものは、遺骨でもなく、書物でもなく、多宝如來の化作した如來の全身である、と思う。(本稿を脱稿する直前になって Suzuki[2001] を読むことができた。鈴木隆泰氏は本稿 III (5) に引用した多宝如來の本願 (KN. 242,4ff.) の中にある「身体から化作された如來の形象(分身如來)」を釈迦牟尼仏の分身ではなくて、多宝如來の化作した分身と解釈し、その解釈との関連で KN. 245, 8-10 の梵文を、その時までには釈迦仏の分身はどの方角からもまだ全くやってきていなかった、という意味に理解している。本稿での私の考えと肯定的にも否定的にも密接な関係があるので、その意見に対してここで私の考えを述べるべきであると思うが、それを検討するにはかなりの紙白を要し、なによりも時間的余裕がないので、次の機会に譲ることにする。)

VI 付論 見宝塔品のチベット語訳にある付加文について

⁽¹⁸⁾ Kajiyama[1995], 15; 首楞嚴経、大正、XV, 629c ff. 取意。

⁽¹⁹⁾ Kaś. 231, b1-2: sādhu sādhu bhagavaṃs tām api vāyam tathāgatasy' ātmabhāvanirmitā(ṃ)s tathāgatavigrahān sarvān(ṃ) drakṣyāma(h) sarvān vandema.

中村瑞隆氏校訂の『チベット訳 法華経』の見宝塔品の始め、多宝塔が出現して
 中空に立ちのぼって静止して、その宝塔から声の流れ出す個所、同校訂本の 240, 2
 (KN. 240, 3) に多宝塔の声の最初の部分として、次のような付加がある。中村氏は
 そのチベット文を注記している。同氏によればこの部分はデルゲ・ナルタン・ラサ
 の三版にのみある。私はこの付加文が中村氏の指摘どおりにはデルゲ・ナルタン・
 ラサ版にあることを確かめたが、さらに御牧克己氏の助力により、それがトク・パ
 レス版にも存在することを知り、同氏よりコピーを入手することができた。また
 Peter Skilling 氏より Newark Museum 所蔵のKham's のバタン (Batang) からの写本の
 『法華経』, MDO BSDE A // 20,478-Kanjur (New.)⁽²⁰⁾ にもこの付加部分が存在する
 ことが分かった。北京版、チヨネ版、Phug brag Bka' 'gyur、およびウィーン大学の
 Institut für Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde より譲渡された Tabo 写本フィルムに
 は存在しない。British Library Or. 6724, Shel dkar Bka' 'gyur のマイクロフィッシュ
 には『法華経』そのものが欠落しているようである。この付加文は、何時、何処で、
 いかにして、成立あるいは挿入されたのかはまったく不明である。中村氏の校訂に
 いくつかの五本との相違があるので、ここにデルゲ(D)・ナルタン(N)・ラサ(L)・ト
 ク パレス(T)・Newark Museum の五版に、中村版(Na)を添えて校合し(ただし、
 シャッドおよび pa, ba; tu, du などの異同は、重要なもの以外は、無視する)、さら
 にそれを和訳して、コメントを付けておくことにする。New. は特に脱字と異同が
 多い。

(rin po che'i mchod rten) de las 'di 'dra ba'i sgra byung (N. L. T. 'byung) ste / de bzhin
 gshegs pa rnams la ni sems pa (N. can) med do/ rtogs (N. L. T. New. rtog) pa med do /
 spyod lam (Na. las)⁽²¹⁾ thams cad⁽²²⁾ kyang bstan to (New. chos 'chad do. for bstan to) //
 de bzhin gshegs pa rnams ni phung po dang // khams dang / skye mched las (New.
 dang kyi. for las) rab tu phye ba ma yin no // las dang nyon mongs pa dang pha ma
 dang / 'byung ba chen po las (New. pos. for po las) 'byung ba ma yin gyi / sha dang
 khrag dang chu (New. khu) ba las rnam par (New. om. rnam par) 'brel ba ma yin no
 (N. T. om.) // dbug nang du rgyu ba dang / phyi rol du (D. tu) rgyu ba dang / srog
 dang nye bar 'brel ba ma yin no // de bzhin gshegs pa rnams ni nam mkha' dang
 mtshungs (New adds pa) te / rtag pa ma yin (New. adds no) mi rtag pa yang (N. T.
 New. om.; L. pa'ng) ma yin no (N. T. om.) // 'on kyang de bzhin gshegs pa rin chen
 mang bskal pa bye ba khrag khrig (Na. khyig) brgya stong mang por yongs su mya
 ngan las 'das pa (New. adds dang) / rtog (N. rtogs) pa dang (New. om. rtog pa dang)
 rnam par rtog pa thams cad dang (D. om.) bral ba / (New. ba'i; om. /) sems can rnams

⁽²⁰⁾ Peter Skilling 氏が国際仏教学高等研究所、辛嶋教授に寄贈された法華経写本のフィルムによる。両氏に深く謝意を表す。なお、本研究所『年報』第4号掲載のSkilling論文参照。

⁽²¹⁾ チベット訳は五本とも spyod lam (威儀) であるが、Na の spyod las (行動より) も理解できる。

⁽²²⁾ New: tha?da (二字の中間に疑問符のようなマークがある) は thams cad の略字であろう。

kyi don gyi phyir / sngon gyi smon lam gyi dbang gis chos (New. om. chos) nyan pa'i (N. om.) phyir dang / sems can (T. adds rnams) yongs su smin par bya ba' i phyir mthong ste / de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku la ni cung (N.chung) zad kyang rtog pa (New. om. rtog pa) med do // (N. T. de; om. //) de bzhin gshegs pa rnams ni (New. gyi) yi ge (New. yid for yi ge) 'bru gcig kyang ma gsuns so // ji (New. ci) ltar 'dul (D. New. 'dus) ba'i sems can rnams (New. gyi) khams so so ba dang / mos pa so so ba rnams (N. T. add dang /) chos kyi gdam de (New. adds another de) bzhin gshegs pa la (New. las) nyan to // gang de bzhin gshegs pa (New. has another pa) de ni de bzhin nyid (New. adds do) gang (New. om.) de bzhin nyid de ni yang dag pa'i mtha' (New. mtha'o) / yang dag pa'i mtha' de ni chos kyi dbyings (New. adds so) / gang de bzhin (New. adds gshegs pa) nyid dang yang dag pa'i mtha' dang / chos kyi dbyings de ni dam pa'i chos padma dkar po'i chos kyi (New. om. chos kyi) rnam grangs so // de ltar (New. der. for de ltar) yongs su dag pa'i de bzhin gshegs pa rnams gang gi tshe gshegs pa dang (New. de bzhin gshegs pa for gshegs pa dang) / mthong ba dang smras (New. smon) pa ni / sngon (New. sma sngon) gyi smon lam gyi dbang gis bsam pa yongs su (New. yongsu) dag pa'i sems can rnams la / (New. om. rnams la /) dam pa'i chos padma dkar po'i chos (New. om. padma dkar po'i) kyi rnam grangs thabs mkhas pa chen po (New. adds chos) bstan to // yang rin po che'i mchod rten de las (New. adds 'di 'dra ba'i) sgra 'di gnyis byung ngo // bcom ... (D. 77, 3-78,3; N. 134b4-135b1; L. 140b5-141b1; T. 262,1- 263, 5; New. folio 100, a2-100, b2)

「(その宝塔から) 次のような声が生じた。如來たちには表象 (saṃjñā) もなく、概念 (saṃkalpa) もなくて、威儀 (īryāpatha) がすべてのことをも説く。如來たちは蘊と界と処 (skandha, dhātu, āyatana) によって分類されることはなく、業 (karman) と煩惱と父母、[地・水・火・風という] 要蘊 (mahābhūta) から生じるのではなく、肉と血と筋肉 (nahrū. New: 精子) から作られているのでもない。息を内に引くこと、外に出すこと、壽命に依存するのでもない。

如來たちは虚空 (ākāśa) と等しい。常住でもなく無常でもない。けれども多宝如來は多くの百・千・ナユタ・コーテイの劫のあいだ完全に涅槃に入っていて、あらゆる妄想 (kalpa) と分別 (vikalpa) を離れているけれども、衆生たちのために、本願 (pūrva-praṇidhāna) の力によって、法を聞くために、そして衆生たちを成熟させるために現れる (見られる) のである。如來たちの身体には少しの想念もない。如來たち (New: の心) は一シラブルの文字をも語らない。教化されるべき衆生たちが、それぞれの世界に属し、それぞれの信解 (adhimukti) をもつにしたがって、[それぞれ異なった] 法話を如來に聞くのである⁽²³⁾。

如來であるものそれはありのままの真理であること (如性, tathatā) であり、ありのままの真理たること、それは真実の究極 (実際, bhūtakoti) であり、真実の究極であるもの、それは法界 (dharmadhātu) である。如性・実際・法界なるもの、それは『白蓮のようなすぐれた教え』の法門である。

このように、きわめて清浄なる如來たちが、来り、見、話すときには、本願の力

⁽²³⁾ この言い方は『維摩経』第1章第10節第10偈に現れるいわゆる「一音説法」に近い。長尾、解説、423 参照。

によって、きわめて清浄な思いをもつ衆生たちに、大いなる、巧みな方便（善巧方便、*upāyakaṁśālyā*）に他ならない『白蓮のようなすぐれた教え』という法門を説くのである。また、かの偉大なる宝塔から次の二種のことばが流れ出た。」

このあとは、「よいかな、よいかな、釋迦牟尼世尊よ。あなたは、この『白蓮のようなすぐれた教え』の法門を巧みに説かれました。それはそのとおりです、世尊よ。それはそのとおりです、善逝よ」という宝塔の声に続く。「二種のことば」というのは「よいかな」という讃歎の語と「そのとおりです」という証明の語をいうのであろう。

この付加部分に語られる趣意と関係が深いと思われる経論を少しあげておこう。いずれも中観派所属の経・論である。

『如来祕密經』：「シャーಂತマティよ、如來が無上にして完全なさとりを覚ったその夜と、[生存に]執着せずに般涅槃するその夜と、その中間において如來によっては一語も発せられず、語られなかった。彼は語らず、語らないであろう。しかも、あらゆる衆生は、それぞれの心の傾向、多様な種類の志願に応じて、種々な如來のことばが流れ出てくるのを聞く。彼らの一人一人には、『この世尊はわれわれのためにこの教えを説いておられる。われわれは如來の説法を聞いているのだ』という考えが浮かぶ。そのとき如來は思惟せず、区別しない。というのは、シャーಂತマティよ、如來はあらゆる種類の概念の網の印象（熏習）より生ずる多様なことばを離れているからである...」（MMK., 539, 3-9 引用）

同上經：「あたかも魔法の楽器が風に揺られて奏でられるが、そこにいかなる奏者もいないのに、音が流れ出るように、仏陀のことばは、本來清浄なるために、あらゆる衆生の志願に動かされて流れ出るが、彼（仏陀）にはいかなる思惟もない、こだまの声は内にも外にもありはしない。人中の主（仏陀）のことばもそのように、内にも外にもありはしない。」（MMK. 366, 9-367, 4 引用）

龍樹『中論』：「あらゆる認識は寂滅し、多様なことば (*prapañca*) も寂滅して、平安である。仏陀はいかなる処でもいかなるものに対しても、いかなる教えをも説かれなかった。」（MMK. XXV, v. 24）

清弁 (*Bhāvaviveka*) 『般若灯論』：「如來身は思惟のないものであるけれども、[もと菩薩であったときの]あらゆるものに利益を与えんとして堪え忍び、他者のために利益と幸福を成就しようとする最勝心による廻向と本願力とにもとづいて、それ（如來身）から化身があらゆる形で現れる。それに依拠して音節と語と文に順応した形で、事物（法）と人にと自我（アートマン、実体）はないという、あらゆる異教徒・声聞・縁覚とに共通しないものを明らかにすることばが、（六）波羅蜜などを成就するために最上の乗り物によって行く者たちに対してあらわれる。それを大乘という。勝義としての仏陀（法身）があるときに[化仏を媒介として]説教のことばが生じるのであるから、教師もまた説教[の代行]者として存在すると認められる。だから世間の常識を害うこともない。」（PP.

『法華經』見宝塔品のなかには多宝如來の菩薩であったときの誓願（本願）がしばしば現れる。私はVの末尾で宝塔の中にあるものは多宝如來の化作した化仏如來の全身である、といったが、それに関連して、次の寂天（Śāntideva）の偈頌を最後に引用しておこう。

『入菩提行論』：「如意珠と如意樹が、人々の願いを満たすように、信者〔所化者の善行〕と〔仏の菩薩たりし時の〕誓願によって、仏陀の影像が仰がれる。あたかも蛇使いが、〔呪法を用いて〕柱を神聖化して死去するに、彼の死後も久しいあいだ、その柱が毒などを消す力をもつように、さとりを求める修行に随順して〔菩薩〕が成就した仏陀の柱も、菩薩の状態が過ぎ去った後になお、そのすべての作用をなす。」（BCA., IX, vv. 36-38.）

この付加部分では、如來を虚空に喩えている。『華嚴經』などでは法身はしばしば虚空に喩えられるから、ここでも如來は二身説の一つである法身として見られているようである。同じことは、すこし後に、如來は如性・實際・法界と同一視されている。ここでも如來は人格としてよりも真理あるいはその智慧自体として把握されている。これも如來を法身と見なしているようである。その法身としての多宝如來は無限ともいえる時間にわたって般涅槃に入っていた。その間の如來は虚空のごとくに、常と無常をとともに超越した、いわば空性そのものである。その法身としての如來は分別を離れ、ことばをも語らない。しかし多宝如來はその菩薩であったときの誓願の力によって、『法華經』を聞くためにこの世界に來り、清浄な思いをもつ衆生を成熟させるために世に現れる。『法華經』はそのような如來たちの巧みな方便である。もとより、この付加文自体には「法身」という語は現れない。

この部分の成立あるいは挿入の経緯についてはまったく分からない。現存の梵本のいずれにも此の箇所は存在しないから、チベットで挿入されたと考えられる。もっともこの挿入を含んだある梵本が存在した可能性をまったく否定することはできない。Peter Skilling氏はNewark Museumのチベット写本が十五ないし十六世紀のものであるという意見を否定してはいない。最古の旧ナルタン大蔵經（写本）は十四世紀始めに、新ナルタン版（版本）は十八世紀に開版されたものであるから⁽²⁴⁾、この挿入文もかなり後代のものであろうが、私は今回チベットの写本その他をすべて見たわけではない。他方、なぜ北京版その他に欠けているのかは理解できない。けれども、『法華經』の見宝塔品を読む人々が気にかけていながら、断定できない、仏塔の中の多宝如來の性格、いわばその仏身が化作、分身であることを明らかにしようとして、中観派の二身説に依りながら、この部分を書き加えられたのであろう。

⁽²⁴⁾ Mimaki[1987], 281-283.

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Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā-
***Vyākhyā* of Haribhadra**
— Preliminary Remarks —

Akira YUYAMA

Prefatory

Thanks to the painstaking efforts of Professor Chiang Chung-hsin / JIANG Zhongxin (蔣忠新) of Peking, my cherished wish to see Haribhadra's *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā-vyākhyā* in palm-leaf manuscript has been fulfilled at last. Without his meticulous study containing his remarks and transliteration I could not decipher the text in facsimile prefixed to his paper.¹

This manuscript is nothing but the very fragment discovered at the famous Monastery of Śva-lu Ri-phug (舍魯普), or Śva-lu dgon-pa (夏魯寺),² in the region of Gzís-ka-rtse (日喀則) City, by the versatile Indian Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana (09.IV.1893-14.IV.1963)³ during his second expedition to

¹ Zhongxin JIANG (Chiang Chung-hsin), "A Sanskrit Fragment of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā-vyākhyā* of Haribhadra: A Romanized Text", *ARILAB*, III (1999) (2000), p. 115-123, preceded by a facsimile of the fragment on a folded plate between pages 114-115.

² 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: 西藏自治區測繪局(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).

³ On Rāhul Sāṅkrtyāyana's autobiography *Merī jīvan yātrā* see e.g.: 田中敏雄, "ラーフルの『自伝』 — ヒンディー文学史の資料として —", 印度學佛教學研究, XXIV, 2 (1976), p. 932(106)-929(109); also Peter Gaeffke, *Hindi Literature in the Twentieth Century* (= *A History of Indian Literature*, VIII, 5) (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1978), p. 53f. and p. 76f. — One may also see a short obituary notice touching the points by Vishva Bandhu, *Vishveshvaranand Indological Journal*, II, 1 (Hoshiarpur 1964), p. 168f.

Tibet in search of Buddhist literature in the year 1936.⁴

Žva-lu, or Ža-lu, founded by Lce-btsun Śes-rab-'byuñ-gnas in the eleventh century, is situated about twenty kilometres in the south of Gżis-ka-rtse.⁵ This is well known as a residence of the celebrated Bu-ston Rin-po-che (1290-1364 CE).⁶ Bu-ston himself offers a brief but interesting description in his famed *Chos-'byuñ* in Tibet.⁷ It has thus played a far from negligible role in the history of Tibetan Buddhism. The Žva-lu dgon-pa seems to have been conserved to some degree or restored in recent years.⁸

⁴ Cf. A. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript: A Bibliographical Guide for the Use of Students in Buddhist Philology* (= *Bibliographia Indica et Buddhica*, Pamphlet, No. 2) (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1992), p. 27.

⁵ There are good geographical guidebooks in connection with the religious personalities. For Žva-lu see e.g. Alfonsa Ferrari (1918-1954), *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 1958), p. 19 (folio 17b) & 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 I: *General Description of the Temples* (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, CCLLI) (New Delhi: Aditya Prakashan, 1989), p. 71f.

On the genealogy of the Kingdom of Žva-lu see Giuseppe 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 in Bangkok: SDI Publications, 1999), p. 656-662: "From the Genealogies of Ža lu".

⁶ Due to this great scholar it has become a centre of the so-called Žva-lu-pa School, which is meticulously described by David Seyfort Ruegg, *The Life of Bu Ston Rin Po Che. With the Tibetan Text of the Bu ston rNam thar* (= *Serie Orientale Roma*, XXXIV) (Roma: IsMEO, 1966), "Introduction", p. 1-46 & "The Life of Bu ston Rin po che", p. 47-178 ('Addenda' et 'Corrigenda', p. 179f.).

⁷ This portion has fortunately seen a reliable edition in comparison with various block-prints (cf. footnotes 18-19 below): *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*, Band 569) (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.

⁸ On Žva-lu see e.g. two recent brief articles by Hsiung Wên-pin (熊文彬): 王堯·陳慶英 (主編): *西藏歷史文化辭典 / 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 "夏魯寺壁畫 (zhva-lu-dgon-pavi-ldeb-ris)" (each with a black-white photo).

In this connection the famous Lo-tsā-ba Gžon-nu-dpal (1392-1481 CE) often referred to Žva-lu in his *Deb-ther sñon-po*, the so-called “The Blue Annals”.⁹ Fortunately, the original Tibetan text has become available to us in the meantime.¹⁰ This background history may explain the existence of the treasured Buddhist Sanskrit materials preserved at Žva-lu Ri-phug.

To my great shame, I mistakenly cited his report as if it had been found at Spos-khañ Monastery near Gyañ-tse.¹¹ Immediately on appearance of my book I corrected my assertion in a privately circulated paper about this incomplete manuscript fragment. Tripitakācārya Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana paid a visit to a number of famed monasteries in the Province of Tsang in the year 1934, such as Spos-khañ, Žva-lu, N̄or and Sa-skya. From his list of manuscripts unearthed in this area I had carelessly picked up the information about the place of discovery in an entry under Žva-lu Monastery: Volume XI, Text 4 (Serial Number 42), 20²/₃ x 2¹/₃ inches in size.¹² As is mentioned by Chiang (*op.cit.*, p. 116f.), the final note on the very last portion may well have been jotted down by Rāhula himself: *XI.4. ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā (patra 1)*.

It is therefore a great pity that this extremely important manuscript fragment was not brought back from Tibet to India in photocopy by Rāhula

⁹ The reference to the place names in the *Deb-ther sñon-po* can be obtained, thanks to 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: Ža-lu (Žwa-lu), Ža-lu khañ-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), “Ža-lu khañ-gsar” on p. 214 (original Tibetan: N̄a fol. 5b1) and “Ž(v)a-lu” on p. 335 (Cha 4b6, Ža-lu and Ža-lu-pa), 338 (Cha 6a4), 366 (Ja 7a5), 417 (N̄a 8b), 423 (N̄a 10b5), 794 (Tha 19a7 end), and p. 342 (in Roerich's note),

¹⁰ For the corresponding original passages see *The Blue Annals composed in A.D. 1478 by Hgos-Lotsawa Gzhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481)*, reproduced by Lokesh Chandra from the Collection of Raghu Vira (= *Śatapitaka Series*, CCXII) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1974), serial folio numbers 192, 298, 301, 321, 370, 697.

¹¹ See A. Yuyama, *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. l-li, esp. §VII.1.a (on p. l). — “Bibliographical Notes” must now be revised with more updated materials which have come to my notice since then.

¹² Cf. Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana, “Sanskrit Palm-leaf Mss. in Tibet”, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXI, 1 (Patna 1935), p. 31. — Cf. also “Annual Report (dated 4 March 1937)” by J. L. Hill, the then Honorary Secretary to the Society, *ibid.*, p. 160f.: “Recovery of Buddhist Sanskrit Works in Tibet”.

Sāṅkrtyāyana.¹³ In connection with the Buddhist materials I wish to add here that Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana was also much interested in the works in Tibetan.¹⁴

The fragment in question seems to be now kept in the so-called China Ethnic Library (中国民族图书馆), formerly called the Library of the Peking Cultural Palace of Nationalities (北京民族文化宫图书馆). According to Chiang Chung-hsin, it is numbered 0018 in an unpublished list of palm-leaf manuscripts in Sanskrit preserved therein “民族圖書館藏梵文貝葉經目錄” 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.¹⁵

There seem to be more than two hundred palm-leaf manuscripts held in the China Ethnic Library of Peking. Some of them have fortunately appeared before us both in facsimile and in transliteration. They launched a new series to publish those palm-leaf manuscripts in facsimile form. One of the oldest manuscripts of the Lotus Sutra was thus reproduced as a limited edition of two hundred copies around 1983. It was indeed beautifully reproduced.

Following its publication, Professor Chiang Chung-hsin has brought out a careful edition of the same Lotus Sutra. It is one of the most illustrious

¹³ It is no wonder that this text is not mentioned in otherwise very interesting accounts of his collection by Frank Bandurski, “Übersicht über die Göttinger Sammlungen der von Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana in Tibet aufgefundenen buddhistischen Sanskrit-Texte (Funde buddhistischer Sanskrit-Handschriften, III”, *Untersuchungen zur buddhistischen Literatur*, bearbeitet von Frank Bandurski, Bhikkhu Pāsādika, Michael Schmidt, Bangwel Wang (= *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden*. Im Auftrage der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, herausgegeben von Heinz Bechert) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), p. 9-126.

Mention may also be made to a valuable work by Michael Torsten Much, *A Visit to Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana’s Collection of Negatives at the Bihar Research Society: Texts from the Buddhist Epistemological School* (= *Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde*, XIX) (Wien: Arbeitskreis für Tibetologie und Buddhistische Studien an der Universität Wien, 1988), 34 p (incl. 3 photos on p. 5f.).

¹⁴ See for example *The Catalogue of the Tibetan Texts in the Bihar Research Society, Patna*. Volume I: *Miscellaneous Series*, edited by Aniruddha Jha (and) compiled by Gopi Raman Choudhary (Patna: Bihar Research Society, 1965), xvi, 253 p., 1 frontisp. (Sāṅkrtyāyana’s photo).

¹⁵ For details see Jiang, *op.cit.*, p. 116: §1.3.

philological works to be published out of these rare materials to date.¹⁶

On this occasion it is eagerly hoped that such facsimile and critical editions will appear in quick succession. And there seem to be still many more important Buddhist texts in manuscript form in a dormant state in China and her surrounding regions.

Let us hope to see those remains of our human cultural heritage appear at no distant date! We must also remember that a great number of fragile materials are decaying! It is therefore to be regretted that these same specified persons and/or institutions have monopolized such rare treasures.

Title of the Text

Rāhula Sāṅkr̥tyāyana cites the fragment as “Ratna-guṇa-saṅcaya-gāthā-vyākhyā”, and remarks that it is to be found in Tibetan translation as reconstructed “Bhagavad-guṇa-ratna-saṅcaya-gāthā-pañjikā”.¹⁷ It may simply be a misprint for °ratna-guṇa°, as is rightly given in the Tibetan Tanjur texts: e.g. Peking edition No. 5190, Derge edition No. 3792:¹⁸

// rgya-gar-skad-du / bha-ga-bām (D: °bān) ratna-guṇa-saṅtsa-ya-gā-thā nāma pañji-ka (D: °kā) / bod-skad-du / bcom-ldan-'das yon-tan rin-po-che sdud-pa'i tshigs-su bcad-pa'i dka'-'grel źes bya-ba /¹⁹

Here arises a question whether Haribhadra wrote a “vyākhyā” or “pañjikā”. The colophons of the last two chapters in the fragment read as follows:

¹⁶ 蒋忠新(編著): 民族文化宮圖書館藏·梵文《妙法蓮華經》写本(拉丁字母転写本)(北京·中国社会科学出版社, 1988) [季羨林·序].

= *A Sanskrit Manuscript of Saddharmapūṇḍarīkasūtra kept in the Library of the Cultural Palace of the Nationalities, Beijing*. Romanized Text, edited and annotated by Jiang Zhongxin with the preface by Ji Xianlin (Beijing: China Social Sciences Publishing House, 1988), v, 16, 440 p. (including a plate of the obverse sides of folios 133-137).

In this connection reference may be made to Hirofumi Toda's works: 戸田宏文, “北京民族文化宮圖書館藏·梵文法華經貝葉写本”, 東洋學術研究, XXIII, 2 (1984), p. 260-247; --, “法華經梵文写本の諸様相”, 法華文化研究, XI (1985), p. 67-90.

¹⁷ Rāhula Sāṅkr̥tyāyana, *op.cit.*, p. 31 n. 2.

¹⁸ *Bstan-'gyur, Śer-phyin*: Peking edition No. 5190, Ja 1a1-3 (= Reprint edition, XC, p. 235), Derge edition 3792, Ja 1b1. For the Derge edition reference may be made to the Koyasan Microfiche Sheet Nos. 1281-1282, Tohoku Microfiche Sheet Nos. 2044-2046. Cf. also Narthang Tanjur Ja 1-88a (Mibu Catalogue p. 86).

¹⁹ Cf. P. Cordier, *Catalogue du fonds tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, III (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale / Ernest Leroux, 1915), p. 277f.: *Mdo-'grel*, VII, 1 (Tib. 202).— for further details see Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. 1: §VIII.1.b.2.

... // *ratna-guṇa-saṅcaya-gāthā-vyākhyāyān dharmodgata-parivartta eka-triṃṣat-tamaḥ* (recto, line 9): *Rgs XXXI* “Dharmodgata”.

°-*vyākhyāyāṃ parīdanā-parivartto dvā-triṃṣattamaḥ* // // ... (verso, line 9): *Rgs XXXII* “Parīdanā”.

And the scribe notes: // // *mātur vyākhyāṃ likhitvā* ... , “Copying the *Vyākhyā* of the Mother, ... ” (verso, line 10). This may possibly have led Rāhul-jī to think of Haribhadra’s original title as if it contained the word *vyākhyā*, not *pañjikā* as is seen in the Tibetan version.

In this connection it is a pity that an Indic original of Buddhaśrījñāna’s commentary on the *Rgs*, i.e. *Saṅcayagāthā-Pañjikā*, has not yet been unearthed. It exists in the Tibetan Tanjur: *Saṅtsa-ya-gā-thā-pañjikā*, translated by Vidyākaraśiṃha and Dpal-brtsegs: Peking edition No. 5196 Ña 135b5-223a8 (= Reprint edition, XCI, p. 118-153); Derge edition 3798 Ña 116a7-189b1:

// *rgya-gar-skad-du / saṅtsa-ya-gā-thā-paṅtsi-ka* (D: *paṅdzi*-°) // *bod-skad-du / stud-pa tshigs-su bcad-pa’i dka’-’grel* / (Peking Ña 135b5, Derge Ña 116a7)

Whether Haribhadra’s commentary was named *vyākhyā* or *pañjikā* still sounds uncertain to me. I must leave the question for my future research. And it is not my intention here to discuss textual problems.

It is nevertheless worth citing the catalogue compiled in 1322 C.E. by Bu-ston Rin-chen ’Grub (1290-1364) in his famed work *Bde-bar gsegs-pa’i bstan-pa’i gsal-byed chos-kyi ’byuñ-gnas gsuñ-rab rin-po-che’i mdzod*, or (*Bu-ston*) *Chos-’byuñ* in short. This treasured work had long been known but regrettably kept from sight.²⁰

The so-called Lhasa edition of this rare masterpiece became available to the public at last in 1971.²¹ To my great delight, Soshū NISHIOKA has carefully

²⁰ Cf. *A Catalogue of the Tohoku University Collection of Tibetan Works on Buddhism*, edited by Yensho Kanakura, Ryujo Yamada, Tokan Tada and Hakuyu Hadano (Sendai: The Seminary of Indology, Tohoku University, 1953), p. 72b: No. 5197.

²¹ *The Collected Works of Bu-ston*, Part 24 (YA), edited by Lokesh Chandra from the Collection of Raghu Vira (= *Śatapiṭaka Series*, LXIV) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1971), folios 633-1055 = YA 1-212a. The same text was separately circulated with a title *Bu-ston’s History of Buddhism* (New Delhi 1971). On other editions see e.g. *Bu-ston’s History of Buddhism in Tibet*. Critically edited with a comprehensive index by János Szerb (= *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte*, 569. Band) (= *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens*, Nr. 5) (Wien 1990), p. XIII-XV;

edited this text.²² In it one finds some brief but precise information, i.e. Bu-ston's Catalogue Nos. 518 (Haribhadra) and 519 (Buddhaśrījñāna). Needless to say, Bu-ston offers no title in Indic:

[Text No. 518] (folio 156b7 = Lokesh Chandra, folio numbered 944.7) *slob-dpon sen-ge-bzan-pos mdzad-pa'i sdud-'grel rtogs-par sla-ba sākya-'od-kyi 'gyur /* [Text No. 519] *slob-dpon sañs-rgyas-ye-śes-kyis mdzad-pa'i sdud-pa'i dka'-'grel bam-po drug dpal-*(157a1 = 945.1)*brtsegs-kyi 'gyur* (cf. ed. Nishioka, II p. 50).²³

In Appraisal of Haribhadra

It has always been regretted that Rāhula Sāṅkrtyāyana did not bring a photocopy of the fragment back to Patna. It was therefore an unprecedented pleasure for me to hear the news about the rediscovery of the manuscript in Peking. Let us pray for a future discovery of the remaining portion of the very manuscript!

Even with this amount of the text it gives us the flavour of Haribhadra's commentatorial works. Unfortunately, with the exception of the first word(s), he has not cited the original passages as it must have been.

In the case of Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*, for example, he has quoted a number of passages as they had been available before him. He has thus helped us a great deal to edit the original version, in many cases: *Rgs* II 3d = *Pras* p. 167 line 4; *Rgs* II 4 = *Pras* p. 353.7-354.2; *Rgs* XX 5 = *Pras* p. 166.11-167.2; *Rgs* XXII 6 = *Pras* p. 524.1-4.²⁴

Needless to say, Haribhadra's commentary offers us a lot of hints concern-

— for further details on the relevant materials see A. Yuyama, "Bu-ston on the Languages Used by Indian Buddhists at the Schismatic Period", *Die Sprache der ältesten buddhistischen Überlieferung* (= *Symposien zur Buddhismusforschung*, II, herausgegeben von Heinz Bechert) (= *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, III. Folge, Nr. 117*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1980), p. 175-181, esp. p. 175f. cum n. 1-9.

²² 西岡相秀, 『ブトン仏教史』目録部, I-III, 東京大学文学部・文化交流研究施設研究紀要, IV (1980), p. 61-92, V (1981), p. 43-94, VI (1983), p. 47-201.

²³ Nishioka reads the second *sdud* as *sdus*, which he emends to *bsdus* (II p. 50 fn. 8)!

²⁴ Cf. e.g. A. Yuyama, "Candrakīrti の *Prasannapadā* に引用された *Prajñāpāramitā-Ratna-guṇasamcayagāthā* (*Rgs* as quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Pras*)", *宗教研究 / Journal of Religious Studies*, XLIII, 2 (Serial No. 201) (Tokyo 1970), p. 75(237)-92(254), with an English summary on p. 124(286)-123(285); - - , *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. xlix: §VII; - - , " *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-samcaya-gāthā* (*Rgs*) quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* (*Pras*)", *IBK / JIBS*, XXVII, 1 (Tokyo 1978), p. 486(17)-483(20).

ing how we should understand the text. This is not always possible by consulting only the Tibetan version.²⁵ Therefore, I wish to edit this portion of the Tibetan text in close comparison with the Sanskrit version in the near future.

The Tibetan version did certainly exist most probably as early as the beginning of the ninth century C.E., as is attested in the Denkarma Catalogue (Serial No. 518):²⁶ *'phags-pa sdud-pa'i tshigs-su bcad-pa'i 'grel-pa / sl. 1800 Bp. 6.*

The year *'brug lo / 辰歲*, in which the Denkarma was compiled, could be every twelfth year in a range from 788 to 848 C.E. Accordingly, there are six theories about the year of compilation. I am not going into this complicated question.

Textual Questions

My expectation of finding the original text cited by Haribhadra has often been disappointed. He has quoted the first word(s) of every verse, i.e. the beginning of the first *pādas*. The passages shown in this folio are from XXXI 8 to XXXII 6. The first word(s) of these verses are most probably the same as those in the two recensions A and B. At this stage I have thus lost the criteria to judge whether Haribhadra depended for his commentary on Recension A or B.²⁷ It is really a great pity that Haribhadra did not quote more passages from the original texts.

²⁵ Cf. Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. li: §VIII.1.b.3.

²⁶ Cf. Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. li: §VIII.1.b.4. — for further details see Shyuki Yoshimura, *The Denlar-Ma, an oldest Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons* (Kyoto: Ryūkoku University, 1950), p. 49 (Section XVII). This book has been photomechanically reprinted in his collected works: 芳村修基, *インド仏教思想研究* (京都・百華苑, 1974), p. *165*. One may rather refer to Marcelle Lalou, “Les textes bouddhiques au temps du Roi Khri-sroñ-lde-bcan: Contribution à la bibliographie du Kanjur et du Tanjur”, *Journal Asiatique*, CCXLI (1953), p. 331 (Section XX); Rabsal, *Catalogue of Phodrang Lhankarma (gNah bo'i gTam la hJug pa'i pbo na)* (= *The Dalai Lama Tibeto-Indological Series*, XVIII) (Sarnath, Varanasi: Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies, 1996), p. 24.10.

— The editor of the last publication maintains the name “Lhan-dkar” instead of “Ldan-dkar”. This may not be the place to enumerate the works by Ernst Steinkellner on this topic, e.g. his “*Paralokasiddhi-Texts*”, *Buddhism and Its Relation to Other Religions: Essays in Honour of Dr. Shozen Kumoi on his Seventieth Birthday* (Kyoto; Heirakuji Shoten, 1985), p. 216, cum 221 n. 7 also 8 (with extensive remarks), and his subsequent works from Vienna in 1986-1988 (cf. further J. W. de Jong, *IIJ*, XXX, 1990, p. 66).

²⁷ Cf. Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. xxiii-xxv and p. xxv-xxix.

Furthermore, there has been a query regarding the problem of its canonical status.²⁸ The next question is whether the tradition about the revision of the *Rgs* made by Haribhadra is true or not.²⁹ These questions will have to remain unanswered at the present stage. Needless to say, I shall have to continue to investigate carefully such questions.

Recension A is represented only by one single manuscript: MS No. 10736, Asiatic Society (of Bengal), Calcutta. I have no doubt that this Recension A offers better readings in many verses.

It was Edward Conze, who for the first time drew the attention of scholars in the relevant fields of study.³⁰ Every scholar engaged in related subjects owes much to his prodigious efforts.³¹

In this connection one cannot forget to mention the name of Franklin Edgerton, who shed light on this literature. His work has induced me to study this particular text.³² In the meantime I have always felt uneasy at having only a single manuscript and was anxious to see a second manuscript (or more manuscripts) to offer Recension A. None has so far appeared.

At present there are five versions of the *Rgs*, if not recensions, i.e. two Indic, two Tibetan and a Chinese.³³ There is another text, which had made me presuppose a third Indic version. It is a small torn fragment of the so-called Peking street edition kept in the Turfan Prefectural Exhibition Hall (吐魯番縣展示館). This tiny fragment offers a unique reading.³⁴

²⁸ Cf. Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. xiv-xvii.

²⁹ Cf. Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. xvii-xix.

³⁰ Edward Conze, "The Calcutta Manuscript of the *Ratnagunasamcayagāthā*", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, IV, 1 (1960), p. 37-58.

³¹ See among others "List of Edward Conze's Publications on the *Prajñāpāramitā* Literature", edited by A. Yuyama, p. 127-138, in: Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior*, I) (Tokyo: Department for Scientific Publications, The Reiyukai, 1978), viii, 138 p.— on the *Rgs* in particular see p. 53-55.

³² Franklin Edgerton, "The *Prajñā-Pāramitā-Ratna-Guṇa-Samcaya-Gāthā*", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, V, 1 (1961), p. 1-18.

³³ Cf. Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. xxiii-xliii.

³⁴ I have discussed it in my paper dedicated to the Hirakawa Volume: 湯山明, "梵文宝徳藏般若木版本断簡", 平川彰博士古稀記念・仏教思想の諸問題 (東京・春秋社, 1986), p. 443-453. I am planning to freshly discuss it more in detail in my forthcoming article to appear in a commemorative volume in the near future: "A Hitherto Unknown Version of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-samcaya-gāthā*".

Textcritical Hints from Haribhadra

It is hoped that the *Rgs-Vyākhyā* of Haribhadra may offer precise emendations of some verses. At the same time, the utmost care is always needed. Chiang Chung-hsin has demonstrated the following example.³⁵

mātsarya preta bhavate upapadyayātī (*Rgs* XXXI 11c)

“Both editors of the Recensions A and B do not comment on this reading. Seemingly, they do not see any problem with it. However, it is strange that there isn’t any noun or pronoun as this sentence’s subject, while two almost synonymous verbs, namely *bhavate* and *upapadyayātī*, stand next to each other. Such a sentence does not make sense. Therefore, the reading is hardly acceptable, and should be emended. ... ” (Chiang p. 117f.)

Based upon the reading by Haribhadra (recto, line 3), i.e. *te mātsaryāt preta-bhavaneṣūpapadyante*, Chiang emends this *pāda* to:

mātsarya preta-bhava te upapadyayātī.

And Chiang continues: “This reading, having a subject *te* and only one verb *upapadyayātī*, is syntactically normal and its meaning is also clear, and therefore gives us no difficulty in translating it.” (p. 118)

Needless to say, two such synonymous verbs will bother any serious Sanskritist. It is not really strange to see the *pāda* missing the subject. It is quite apparent even when omitted.

When editing the text, these two verbs had naturally annoyed me a great deal. After all, I had to take them as a synonymous repetition. I may perhaps have had to confess this textcritical problem somehow in my footnote.

The question is not that simple! Haribhadra has commented in a generalized form using the plural. But our text apparently intends a singular form. This is clearly seen also in *pāda* d, whereas Haribhadra again generalized it all in plural forms. One may thus easily compare *pāda* d:

athavā manusyi tada bhoti daridra-bhūto (*Rgs* XXXI 11d)

Tib. AB *ci-ste* (only X: *ji-°*) *mir skyes-na-yañ de-tshe dbul-por 'gyur*.

Incidentally, the reading *bhonti* in MS. K (for *bhoti*, so other MSS = Ober-

³⁵ Cf. Chiang, *ARIRIAB*, III, p. 117f.: §1.5 (on *Rgs* XXXI 11c).

miller-Vaidya) is the only one which seems to be simply a scribal mistake.

It is too complicated to discuss all these questions here. How much more so when comparing with the other versions (see my footnotes to my edition on p. 126). In order to make it simpler, I will herewith quote the Tibetan and Chinese versions without notes:

Tib. A *ser-snas* (v.l. *ser-sna*) *yi-dvags gnas-su skye-bar byed-pa-ste*.

Tib. B *ser-sna-can-ni yi-dvags gnas-su skye-bar 'gyur*.

Chin. 或起嫉妬生鬼趣 (Taisho, Vol. IX, p. 684a28).

Tibetan A has doubtlessly understood this *pāda* better than B. In consultation with them, I would at the moment rather take this *pāda* c as follows. No doubt it satisfies the *Vasantatilakā*-metre without any problem:

mātsarya preta-bhavane upapadyayātī (Rgs XXXI 11c).

The emendation of the *akṣara* “ta” to “na” is not unusual graphically as attested in Indic manuscripts. Thus, *preta-bhavane*, loc.sg., sounds more probable. I must now delete *preta*, loc.sg., from my grammar.³⁶ In editing a Buddhist Sanskrit text it is always painful to see a singular oblique case in the stem form ending in *-a*. In the case of *bhava-* one may rather expect **bhavi*, loc.sg., in our text.³⁷ The plural *te* with a singular *upapadyayātī* is not impossible. It sounds nevertheless implausible in this case.

To be sure, there is an example of non-agreement of the subject with the predicate verb (Rgs XXX 8b-d; cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §5.6). But the confusion of numbers is relatively rare in our text (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §5.1-5). A very interesting example of transmission is to be found just before the verse in question, e.g. Rgs XXXI 2c *pariṇāmayantī*, 3 pl., is expected in the plural structure of Recension A but MS K reads °*yātī* (at the end of the *pāda*)! But all MSS belonging to Recension B read °*yamti* / °*yantī*, 3 pl., while the singular structure expects °*yātī*! Obermiller and Vaidya follow the manuscript reading of °*yantī*, where °*yātī* is a much better reading!

³⁶ A. Yuyama, *A Grammar of the Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (*Sanskrit Recension A*) (= *Oriental Monograph Series*, XIV) (Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press, 1973), §8.45. — abbrev. “Yuyama, *RgsGr*” hereinafter.

³⁷ Cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §8.48 and 8.45-47; also Edgerton, *BHSGr* §8.59-60 and 8.11.

Incidentally, it is to be noted that either °*ātī* or °*antī* (and °*tī* / °*ntī* preceded by other long vowels) is often seen at the ends of *pādas* (and lines). This phenomenon must be expressly preferred, for it is metrically indifferent either way: *anuprāpuṇātī* XIX 2c, *upādayātī* I 25a, XXX 1c, *kurvayātī* XXIX 1b, *nidarśayātī* XX 11c, *niśāmayātī* XXX 10c, *patātī* XXVII 8c, *pramodayātī* XXIII 3c, *prāpuṇātī* XIV 6b, XX 10c (v.l. °*notī* = Obermiller-Vaidya), XXVII 8d, XXX 7d, *marātī* XXVII 8b (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §33.7); *upasthibetī* XXIX 14d, *janetī* XXXI 5d, *bhotī* X 5c, XIX 2b, XXVI 5a, 6a, XXIX 10b (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §33.6); *anubuddhayantī* XII 4c, *janentī* XXXI 2a, *pariṇāmayantī* XXXI 2c, *prārthayantī* XXIX 6c, *saṃmahantī* XV 5a, *santī* XXXI 15a, *samāgamantī* XIX 3a (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §33.10); *parihāyisyantī* (v.l. °*anti* = Obermiller-Vaidya), 3 pl.fut., XI 2c (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §33.11 & 36.15). The following may also be referred to in this category: *utsahāmī* XXX 14c (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §33.1), *nāstī* XXIX 3b (but XVIII 5d *nāstī*, m.c.; cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §33.5).

Certainly, there may have been a confusion of numbers in the course of transmission, e.g. as already mentioned above, MS K *bhonti* must simply be a scribal mistake for *bhoti* as all MSS belonging to Recension B (= Obermiller and Vaidya). It seems to me that the singular is clearly prevalent throughout this chapter! In the context, furthermore, there is no reason why this particular *pāda* should be a sentence in plural number.

It may make it much clearer if Haribhadra's commentary is herewith quoted in full (recto, line 3-4 = Chiang p. 119.23-25):

evañ cet te mātsaryāt preta-bhavanaṣūpapadyante / athavā (Chiang: *atha vā*)
kathañ-cin (Chiang: *kathañ cin*) *manuṣyeṣūpapa(.4)(dyante ta)[dā] bhavanti*
dāridrya-prāptāḥ /

In translating the commentary of Haribhadra (Señ-ge bzañ-po) into Tibetan Śāntibhadra and Śākya'i 'od have put this portion on the line of Kanjur text:

... / *de-ñid-kyi phyir ser-sna-can de-dag-ni yi-dvags* (D: °-*dags*) (.2) *gnas-su skye-bar 'gyur-la / brgya-la ci-ste mir skyes-na-yañ de-tshe dbul-por 'gyur-ba* (D: 'gyur-te) *thob-po* (D: 'thob-°) / (*Tanjur – Śer-phyin*: Peking 5190 Ja 88b 1-2 = Reprint ed., Vol. XC, p. 271.4.1-2), Derge 3792 (Koyasan copy) Ja 74b6.

In this case the Peking edition seems to offer a better reading. To my regret,

I have not been able to consult the other editions of the Tibetan canon.

In any case, the translators have naturally mistaken Haribhadra's understanding of *mātsaryāt* as an ablative form, which should be the original meaning. As a matter of case, this is a rare example of the ablative ending in *-a* of the *a*-stem nouns (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §8.37). Once again I would repeat here: This kind of textcritical study needs more careful investigation. And I wish to revisit the matter in the near future with more reference materials, analyzing it with more care. Buddhaśrījñāna's commentary may become one of those materials to consult.

It is also to be noted here that the verses in Chapters XXIX-XXXII of the *Rgs* do not have texts corresponding to those of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*. This fact is extremely important when we consider the formation and the status of this literature.³⁸

Haribhadra's Citations

In the table appended to this paper I shall present Haribhadra's citations in comparison with those of the two recensions. He cites the first word(s) of each verse, i.e. the beginning of the first *pādas*. As mentioned above, Haribhadra has quoted the text faithfully. In some cases it is naturally indifferent with regard to the metre, e.g. either *tadā* or *tadā* with the following *ity-ādi* of the stock phrase of commentaries: i.e. *tadety-ādi* XXXI 12a.

Needless to say, some citations in his commentary are exactly the same passages as found in our original texts written in the Buddhist Sanskrit language: *yasyo na* XXXI 8a;³⁹ *yo eva-* XXXI 9a;⁴⁰ *aha-* XXXI 11a;⁴¹ *tada* XXXI 12a.⁴²

³⁸ Cf. Edward Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature* (= *Indo-Iranian Monographs*, VI) ('s-Gravenhage: Mouton & Co., 1960), p. 16f., esp. p. 17; the author requests now to consult its second revised and enlarged edition (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Maior*, I) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai, 1978), p. 9f., esp. p. 10. — see Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. xv-xvi, esp. p. xvi: §11.

³⁹ Cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §28.16 *yasyo*, gen.

⁴⁰ Cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §28.3: *yo*, nom., regardless of Sandhi; §2.126: *eva-*, cpd., for *evam-*.

⁴¹ Cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §25.2: *aha-*, as a, cpd-stem., for *aham*; cf. *aha-saṃjñatā* XXXI 6c, *aha-saṃjñā* XXXI 8a; also *abu-mahya-* XXII 5c, 6c, 7b (see Yuyama, *RgsGr* §25.1 & 25.3).

⁴² Cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §3.33: *tada*, m.c., for *tadā*.

Haribhadra's *tiryag-* in *śilena tiryag-gati-*, XXXII 2a, may well have been a scribal correction.⁴³ In the text his cited words are not found at the beginnings of verses XXXII 4 and 5, i.e. *parijñāya* (for *prajñāya*) 4a, and *paripūrya* (for *paripūryayitva*) 5a. The word *parijñāya* (instead of *prajñāya*) may well be a scribal change. Since this portion is illegible, it is probably Haribhadra's paraphrase of *parijānayitvā* at the end of the same *pāda*.⁴⁴ The latter case may indicate that Haribhadra himself had paraphrased the passages into normal Sanskrit form. Or, in this case, too, it is very probable that it is in the illegible portion of the fragment.⁴⁵ Because they are not followed by *ity-ādi*, which indicates the beginning of the comment. Metrically, *parijñāya* is not impossible (with two shorts for one long) at the beginning of the *pāda*. This may thus have existed in a certain version.

In the case of XXXI 15a Haribhadra has cited apparently *yāvanta*, as seen in *yāvantēty-ādi* (recto 6). This is exactly the reading of Recension B (so read all MSS = Obermiller and Vaidya).⁴⁶ The Calcutta MS reads however *yāvanti*, which looks almost like a generalized form regardless of the genders in our text.⁴⁷ Needless to say, the following masculine plural *satva tri-bhave nikhilena santī, te sarvi ...*, would normally expect the corresponding *yāvanta* (for *yāvantaḥ*):

yāvanti (B *yāvanta*) *satva tri-bhave nikhilena santī* (B *astī* !)
te sarvi dāna dadayanti ananta-kalpān / XXXI 15ab

It is thus paraphrased by Haribhadra: *yāvantēty-ādi* / *yāvantaḥ satvāḥ ... tri-bhave ... nikhile sambhavanti* / *te ca sarve dānaṃ dadanty* (Chiang: *dadaty*) *ananta-kalpān ...* (recto, line 6: Chiang p. 120)⁴⁸.

⁴³ Cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §23.3 for *tīrya-* (instead of *tiryag-*), m.c.; also *tīrya-yama-* XXX 13b.

⁴⁴ Cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §42.14 for *parijānayitvā*, ger., with non-causative *-aya-* (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §45.6). The same example is to be found at XII 1d (end of line).

⁴⁵ This Buddhist Sanskrit gerund form is not unusual, but is to be noted: cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §42.14.

⁴⁶ Cf. Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. 127 (cum n. ad XXXI 15a).

⁴⁷ Cf. Yuyama, *Rgs A* (Cambridge 1976), p. 146 under "Index to Pādas".

⁴⁸ In this sentence *dadaty* is grammatically and metrically expected to be *dadanty*. It may well be a scribal mistake. Unfortunately, from the photo, I have not been able to judge definitely if the manuscript reads *dadaty* or *dadanty*. Incidentally, for the peculiar form of *dadayanti* (*Rgs* XXXI 15b) see Yuyama, *RgsGr* §45.8!

Closing Remarks

As is shown here, it is not easy to identify the original version on which Haribhadra based his commentary. It will be my future task to find it with a more careful study into the text in this fragment. A careful comparison of both Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of this text may help us understand not only Haribhadra's points but also the original *Rgs*.

In this paper I have tried to show only a few philological problems with regard to the *Rgs* and its related literature. There are still limitless questions. Many of them could be solved with the help of the historians of Buddhist ideas. I do not know why they do not pay much attention to this literature of vital interest.

It is therefore once again strongly hoped that the remaining portion of this commentary will show up among the heap of scriptural treasures, in particular in the libraries of Tibetan monasteries. This cultural heritage, common to every human being on earth, must be allowed to exist free of political barriers. Buddhist philology is, after all, for scientific progress in humanities and the bright future of human beings.

In concluding my humble remarks I wish herewith express my sincere gratitude once again to Professor Chiang Chung-hsin for his untiring service to the world of human knowledge.

**Haribhadra's Citations from the Rgs
in comparison with the two Indic recensions**

Rgs	Haribhadra*	Recension A	Recension B
XXXI.8	<i>yasyo na</i>	<i>yasyo na</i>	<i>yasyo asti</i>
.9	<i>yo eva</i>	<i>yo eva⁻¹</i>	<i>yo eva⁻¹</i>
.10	<i>jñātvā</i>	<i>jñātvā</i>	<i>jñātvā</i>
.11	<i>aba</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>aba</i>
.12	<i>tada</i>	<i>tada</i>	<i>tada</i>
.13	<i>dānam²</i>	<i>dānam²</i>	<i>dānam²</i>
.14	<i>na ca</i>	<i>na ca</i>	<i>na ca</i>
.15	<i>yāvanta</i>	<i>yāvanti³</i>	<i>yāvanta</i>
.16	<i>yaś ca</i>	<i>yaś ca</i>	<i>yaś ca</i>
.17	<i>kācasya</i>	<i>kācasya</i>	<i>kācasya</i>
.18	<i>yadi</i>	<i>yadi</i>	<i>yadi</i>
XXXII.1	<i>dānena</i>	<i>dānena</i>	<i>dānena</i>
.2	<i>śilena tiryag-gati⁴</i>	<i>śilena tiryā-gati</i>	<i>śilena tiryā-gati</i>
.3	<i>vīryeṇa sukla-</i>	<i>vīryeṇa sukla-</i>	<i>vīryeṇa sukla-</i>
.4	<i>parijñāya⁵</i>	<i>prajñāya</i>	<i>prajñāya</i>
.5	<i>paripūrya⁶</i>	<i>paripūrayitva</i>	<i>paripūrayitva</i>
.6	<i>vaidyottamo jagati</i>	<i>vaidyottamo jagati</i>	<i>vaidyottamo jagati</i>

Notes to the Table

- * Haribhadra's citation is naturally followed by *ity-ādi* (regulated by *sandhi* rules).
¹ *eva-*, cpd. stem, m.c. for *evam-*; cf. n. 40 above!
² Haribhadra's *dānam* is simply followed by *ity-ādi*; *dānam* is metrically correct!
³ For this generalized form *yāvanti* in Recension A see above (cum n. 47).
⁴ Haribhadra's *tiryag-°* is unmetrical (for *tiryā-°*); cf. n. 43 above!
⁵ Haribhadra's *parijñāya* is metrically possible as discussed above; cf. also n. 44-45 above.
⁶ Haribhadra's *paripūrya* must simply be a Sanskritized form; cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §42.14!

〈日本私立学校振興・共済事業団 平成 12 年度学術研究振興資金による成果の一部〉

The Sanskrit *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* fragment in the Mannerheim collection (Helsinki)

Klaus WILLE

The journey by the Finnish Baron Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim (1867–1951) through Central Asia and the northern provinces of China lasted almost two years from 29th of July 1906 to 20th of July 1908. Being a cavalry officer in imperial service C. G. Mannerheim was chosen by the Russian General Staff to obtain geographical and military information about the Chinese borderlands.¹ To cover up his mission he had to join the members of the Pelliot expedition. But he parted company with them already in Kashgar and travelled via Yarkand to Khotan on the southern Silk Road. From there he went back to Kashgar and then along the northern Silk Road via Kuldja, Qarašahr, Urumči, Turfan, Hami, and Ansi to Dunhuang and further on until he finally reached Beijing.²

Interested in scientific studies, Mannerheim got in contact with Otto Donner, then the President of the Finno-Ugrian Society. As a result funds were obtained from the Finno-Ugrian Society, and also the Trustees of the Antell Fund put aside funds to purchase from Mannerheim expected archaeological and ethnographical material as well as manuscripts for the State Historical Museum, later renamed the National Museum.

Reading through Mannerheim's "Records of the journey" one comes across only a few references to his own archaeological excavations³ or investigations⁴. The yield of antiquities, however, was rather poor. He found bones, pieces of clay vessels, and large clay jars, but not a single manuscript and only occasionally he

¹ Cf. Mannerheim 1940, vol. I, preface; Aalto 1971: 113; Aalto 1981: 6; Sandberg 1990: 7; Lahdentausta *et al.* 1999: 7 f.; Varjola 1999: 64 ff.; Ratia 2000: 1.

² Cf. the map in Mannerheim 1940, vol. I [reprint in Ratia 2000], Sandberg 1990, and the exhibition catalogue of the Museum of Cultures (cf. note 5).

³ Mannerheim 1940, vol. I (Mannerheim wrote his diary originally in Swedish. According to Halén 1999: 50, the English version is not always accurate); pp. 130 ff.: 12th to 13th February 1907 (Kelpin village), pp. 220 f.: 30th April 1907 (Kuldja).

⁴ Mannerheim 1940, vol. I; p. 292: 11th July 1907 (Qarašahr), p. 350: 25th September 1907 (Yarxoto), pp. 359 f.: 30th September (Idikutšähri and Astana), p. 360: 1st October (Murtoq and Sängim Ayiz), pp. 361 f.: 2nd October (Toyoq), p. 365: 5th October (Čiktim).

mentions the purchase of archaeological and ethnographical material as well.⁵ Concerning manuscript fragments he just refers to his largest acquisition from local inhabitants in the Turfan oasis.⁶ These fragments are supposed to be found in Yarıçoto, İdiqutşähri, and Čiktim. Among these purchases Chinese fragments are by far the majority, viz. about 2000 fragments.⁷ Some of them have texts in Tibetan or Uigur on the verso and one has some Brāhmī characters on the verso.⁸ Next in number are the Uigur fragments, some of which have Chinese text on one side.⁹ Besides these there are some Middle Iranian fragments in Sogdian script,¹⁰ one Mongolian fragment in 'Phags-pa script,¹¹ and one so-called *täzkirä* document in Eastern Turki.¹²

During his stay in Khotan and its vicinity from 29 November till 10 December 1906 Mannerheim bought with the help of Badruddīn Khān,¹³ the Aksakal of Indian and Afghan traders in Khotan, besides some antiquities also eight so-called *täzkirä* documents in Eastern Turki from local inhabitants.¹⁴ In his "Records of the journey" he does not mention any other purchase of further manuscripts. Never-

⁵ The most recent survey is found in the exhibition catalogue of the Museum of Cultures: *C. G. Mannerheim in Central Asia 1906–1908*, Helsinki 1999. The Museum of Cultures is a part of the National Museum of Finland.

⁶ Mannerheim 1940, vol. I, p. 350: 25th September 1907 (Turfan), p. 365: 5th October (Čiktim); in this context Mannerheim states (p. 350): "It is more difficult, however, to secure ancient objects here than at Khotan and the prices are considerably higher"; cf. also Halén 1999: 47 f. and Halén 1999 a: 59.

⁷ Cf. Halén 1978: 118 ff. (no. 461); for the identification of some of the fragments see Halén 1999: 48 f.

⁸ Cf. Halén 1978: 119 f. [nos. 461:29 (= p. 100, no. 345), 461:33, 461:34 (= p. 71, no. 214), and 461:147].

⁹ Cf. Halén 1978: 99 f. (nos. 344–346).

¹⁰ Cf. Sims-Williams/Halén 1980 and Halén 1999: 49.

¹¹ Cf. Halén 1978: 11 (no. 2), Halén 1999: 49.

¹² Cf. Halén 1978: 101 (no. 351).

¹³ Badruddīn Khān also sold many manuscript fragments to the British consul general Sir George Macartney in Kashgar, to S. H. Godfrey during his stay in Leh between 1895–98, to Sir Aurel Stein during his stay in Khotan on his three expeditions between 1901 and 1916, to Albert von Le Coq during his stay in Kashgar in December 1913, and to August Hermann Francke and Hans Körber during their stay in Khotan in August 1914.

¹⁴ Mannerheim 1940, vol. I: 89 ff.; for the *täzkirä* documents see Halén 1978: 100 f. (no. 350) and Halén 1999 a: 54 f.

theless, there are altogether eleven fragments¹⁵ in Brāhmī script which were acquired by Mannerheim in the Khotan region and then handed over to J.N. Reuter for edition.¹⁶ At that time it was not possible for Reuter to say anything definite about the find-spots of the fragments:¹⁷

“It is an unfortunate circumstance that the locality where these Mannerheim fragments, as I propose to call them, were found or acquired by purchase cannot be determined. The objects sent home by Baron Mannerheim were accompanied by notes giving the find-place and other data, but when the present fragments were handed over to me for inspection, no such notes, with one exception, came into my hands. The necessary data might, however, have been easily supplied from Baron Mannerheim’s notes, then in the possession of Senator Donner, had not the unexpected death of this distinguished scholar and ardent promoter of Oriental, and especially Ural-Altai research, made the identification of the notes impossible.

I am not even quite certain to what fragment the exception mentioned above has reference; but to the best of my recollection, it is to fragment 6. It was found, together with one coin and three button-like ornaments, in the sand, from which the top-most layer had been blown away, at Hangi (in some maps called Yangi) six stations South of Khotan.”

The find-spot of six other fragments is Khādaliq near the oasis of Domoko (Dumaqu), about 115 km east of Khotan.¹⁸ Since 1971 the fragments are housed in the Helsinki University Library as a deposit of the Finno-Ugrian Society.

Among the eleven fragments, fragment 10 is a Sanskrit-Khotanese bilingual, whereas fragment 11 is in Khotanese only and was identified by Sten Konow¹⁹ as belonging to the *San̄ghātasūtra*. The texts of fragments 1–9 are in Sanskrit: fragment 3 belongs to the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (identified by J.W. de Jong²⁰), fragment 5 to the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* (identified by J.N. Reuter), fragment 6 to the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* (identified by J.N. Reuter), fragment 7 and 8 belong to two

¹⁵ In a letter from Kashgar to Otto Donner Mannerheim speaks of only seven fragments (cf. Halén 1999 a: 54). Besides these, Mannerheim must have bought also some forged documents (cf. Halén 1978: 123, no. 473).

¹⁶ Reuter 1918; according to Halén 1978: 71 (no. 213), a short survey of the fragments is found in Donner 1934: 70–71, illustrations between pp. 40 and 41.

¹⁷ Reuter 1918: 1 f.

¹⁸ Cf. Halén 1999: 47 and Halén 1999 a: 54.

¹⁹ To the same folio belongs the fragment Hoernle 147 NS 112 in the Oriental and India Office Collections (British Library, London); cf. Canevascini 1993: 250 f.

²⁰ To the same folio belong the fragments Hoernle 143 S.B. 38 and Hoernle 143 S.B. 39 in the Oriental and India Office Collections (British Library, London); cf. de Jong 1977.

different manuscripts of the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (identified by J.N. Reuter)²¹. Attached to Reuter's edition are the complete facsimiles of fragments 1, 6, 10, 11, complete facsimile of only the reverse of fragment 4, only specimen of fragments 7-9. For fragments 2, 3, and 5 no facsimiles are given. Most regrettably there is neither a facsimile of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* fragment nor a transliteration of the text. During my recent work on several Central Asian Sanskrit fragments of different manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* I found the reference to that Mannerheim fragment in several surveys of extant fragments and decided to give a transliteration of it. Looking at the photos of the original I can only admire Reuter's skilfulness in reading the due to abrasion almost illegible script and identifying the text more than eighty years ago.

Description and identification by J.N. Reuter:²²

“*Fragment 5.* (Not figured) Length about 8 1/2 in.; breadth 3 1/8 in.; about one third of the right-hand side torn away; string-hole 3 1/8 in. from left-hand edge. Paper light yellow, thin, even texture, longitudinal waterlines. Script very good, but so worn as to make it almost illegible, especially on obverse. Six lines on each page.

This is a fragment from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, printed text p. 40¹⁶ to 41¹⁴, beginning thus: dikṣv=aprameyāsv=asaṃkhyeyāsu lokadhātuṣu etc., and ending: viditvā dharmam de[śaiṣyanti]. The reading of the fragment, as far as it [is] possible to decipher it, appears to differ but slightly from the edition. In the fragment lokadhātu is fem.; for Śāriputra the fragment has Śāradvatīputra, for samādāpanam : samādapanam, for nānādhātvo : anekadhātvo; saddharmah is written sadharmah; in the phrase sattvānām dharmam deśitavantaḥ the fragment leaves out dharmam.”

One may add that the blank space for the punch hole lies in the third and fourth line and is marked by a circle. According to an information by Marja-Leena Hänninen, who also supplied the photos, there is some thin protecting paper on the recto of the original.²³ The foliation number is illegible. The script is the South Turkestan

²¹ For a parallel to fragment 8 *recto*, line 1-7, see *Abisamayālamkāralokā Prajñāpāramitā-vyākhyā*, *The work of Haribhadra, together with the text commented on*, ed. U. Wogihara, Tokyo 1932 (repr. 1973), pp. 159.22 ff.

²² Reuter 1918: 7.

²³ The same procedure has been applied to the Uigur and Chinese fragments; cf. Halén 1978: 99 (no. 344), and p. 118 (no. 461), and Sims-Williams/Halén 1980: 3 (“... the fragments had been preliminarily restored and attached to thin sheets of rice paper or between them.”).

Brāhmī (main type).²⁴ For the diacritic sign *-e* both the “Indian” *-e* and the “Central Asian” *-e* are written. Once the superscribed Khotanese “*r*” is found.

It is not easy to assign the text of the fragment to one of the recensions of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.²⁵ For comparison we have evidence of only two other Central Asian manuscripts, namely the so-called Kashgar manuscript and one of the Lüshun manuscripts. The text of our fragment definitely differs in many cases from the text of the so-called Kashgar manuscript. Of the corresponding fragment of the Lüshun manuscript A, which belongs to group I, only scraps of some words are extant.²⁶ Our fragment seems to belong to the Gilgit/Nepal or Gilgit/Khotan/Nepal recension (group III).²⁷ The reading *śāradvatīputra* instead of *śāriputra* (line v 1) is found only in the Gilgit manuscripts, whereas the readings *samādāpana* instead of *samādāpana* (line r 6) and *anekadhātīvāsāya* (lines r 4 and v 6) are found only in the so-called Kashgar manuscript.

The text of our fragment covers the following passage in the KN edition (KN 40.15–41.14):

ye 'pi te śāriputrātīte 'dhvany abhūvan daśasu di(r 1)kṣv aprameyeṣv asaṃkhyeyeṣu
lokadhātuṣu tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksambuddhā bahujanahitāya bahujanasu-
(r 2)khāya lokānukampāyai mahato janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhāya devānāṃ ca
manuṣyānāṃ ca | ye (r 3) nānābhīnīrharānirdeśavividhahetukāraṇanidarśanāramba-
ṇaniruktyupāyakaūśalyair nānādhimuktānāṃ sattvā(r 4)nāṃ nānādhātīvāsāyanāṃ
āśayaṃ viditvā dharmam deśitavantaḥ | te 'pi sarve śāriputra buddhā bhagavanta

²⁴ Cf. Sander 1968, alphabet v.

²⁵ H. Toda [Saddhp(C): lv–lviii] established the following groups of Central Asian manuscripts: 1. The Khotan recension: 1 a. The so-called Kashgar manuscript represents the most complete manuscript of this text. 1 b. The Farhād-Bēg manuscript is very similar to the Kashgar manuscript, the Devadatta portion, however, is not included, neither as a part of the eleventh chapter nor as a separate twelfth chapter. 1 c. Manuscripts which mainly agree with the Kashgar manuscript (group II of Toda). 1 d. Manuscripts which are much older and generally shorter than the Kashgar manuscript (group I of Toda). 2. Manuscripts which are very similar to the Gilgit/Nepal recension (group III of Toda).

²⁶ Cf. note 35.

²⁷ According to Toda 1984: 211, the twelf palm-leaf manuscripts from Nepal can be classified into three groups: Group I. C 3, C 4 (fols. 1–107, 118–140), K, N1; Group II. C 5, C 6 (fols. 76–78, 83–131); Group III. T 2, T 6, C 4 (fols. 108–117), C 6 (fols. 1–75, 79–82), B, T 7, N 2, N 3. He further pointed to the similarity of the Gilgit manuscripts with the group I of this subdivision, and assigned the palm-leaf manuscript from Beijing to this group I (cf. Toda 1985: 245). For the classification of the paper manuscripts into eight or nine groups see Toda 1998 and 1997 respectively. However, our fragment cannot be assigned to one of these subdivisions.

ekam e(r5)va yānam ārabhya sattvānām dharmam deśitavanto yad idaṃ buddhayā-
nam sarvajñatāparyavasānam yad idaṃ tathāgata(r6)jñānadarśanasamādāpanam eva
sattvānām tathāgatajñānadarśanasamdarśanam eva tathāgatajñānadarśanāvātāraṇam
eva tathāgatajñānadarśanapratibodhanam eva tathāgatajñānadarśanamārgāvātā-
ra(v1)ṇam eva sattvānām dharmam deśitavantaḥ | yair api śāriputra sattvais teṣām
atītānām tathāgatānām arhatām samyaksambuddhānā(v2)m antikāt saddharmāḥ
śrutas te 'pi sarve 'nuttarāyāḥ samyaksambodher lābhino 'bhūvan* ||

ye 'pi te śāriputrānāgate 'dhvani (v3) bhaviṣyanti daśasu dikṣv aprameyeṣv
asaṃkhyeyeṣu lokadhātuṣu tathāgatā arhantaḥ samyaksambuddhā bahujana(v4)hitāya
bahujanasukhāya lokānukampāyai mahato janakāyasyārthāya hitāya sukhā(v5)ya
devānām ca manuṣyānām (ed. *manuṣmānām*) ca | ye ca nānābhinirhāranirdeśavivi-
dhahetukāraṇanidarśanārambaṇaniruktyupāya(v6)kauśalyair nānādhimuktānām
sattvānām nānādhātvāśayānām āśayam viditvā dharmam deśayiṣyanti |

Parallels: Ka 47b5–49a1; Otani (Lüshun) SLLMC A-1 r1; KN 40.16–41.14;
SMSR II-170–184; Toda 1999

recto

- 1 . . . (m)[eyā] [yāsu²⁸ lok](a)dhā [th]āgatā[h] arhantaḥ samya-
ksambuddhā [ba] . . + + + + + + + + +
- 2 . . . (l)[o] (p)[āyai] [kāyasyārthāya] . . (t)[āya s]ukhāya (d)[e]
+ + + + + + + + +
- 3 . . . (bh)[i](n)[ir](h)[āra]nirdeśavivi○. . . [t]u (n)[i]-
(r)[ukt]yu[p]ā . . + + + + + + + + +
- 4 . . . [neka](dh)[ā]tvāśayā[nā]²⁹○. [śay](am) [va]
[rve śā] + + + + + + + + +
- 5 .. [y]ā[na]m [ā]rabhyā satvā[nā](m) [yā]na(m)
sarvajñatā³⁰ + + + + + + + + +

²⁸ KN 40.16, SMSR II-170 (K, B, P1,2,3, T2,3,6,7, N2,3, D1), Ka 47b5: *aprameyeṣv asaṃkhyeyeṣu*; SMSR II-170 (C3,4,5, R, T4,5,8,9, A1,2,3): *aprameyāsv asaṃkhyeyāsu*; SMSR II-170 (N1): *aprameyāsaṃkhyeyeṣu*; SMSR II-170 (Pk, C1,2): *aprameyāsaṃkhyeyāsu*. — For the sigla see SMSR; Pk in SMSR = Pe in Toda 1999.

²⁹ Ka 48a1 ff.: *nānādhimuktikānām satvānām nānādhātvāśayānām anekadhātvāśayānām satvānām dhātvāśayam viditvā yathādhātvāśayānām satvānām dharmam deśitavantas*; KN 41.3 f. and all other MSS: *nānādhimuktānām satvānām nānādhātvāśayānām* (v.l. °*āśayānām/nānāsa-tvā*°) *āśayam* (v.l. *āśayam*) *viditvā dharmam deśitavantaḥ* (v.l. *deśi*°).

³⁰ Ka 48a5: *sarvajñajñāna*°; KN 41.5 and all other MSS: *sarvajñatā*°.

- 5 [ya] . . . (n)[ā](ṃ) ca [ma]nuṣyānām ca ye⁴³ n[ā](n)[ā]bhinir(h)[ā] .. (n)i(rd)[e]
.. [v]ividhahetukāra[ṇ](a)⁴⁴ + + + + + + + + + + +
- 6 [kau] .. [l](y)[ai]r⁴⁵ [n]ānādhimuktānām satvā[n]ām ane[kadhā]⁴⁶
yā(n)[ām] āśaya[m] vi(d)[itv]ā⁴⁷ dharmam de[ś](a) + + + + + + + + + + +

Symbols used in the transliteration

()	restored <i>akṣara</i>
[]	damaged <i>akṣara</i>
+	lost <i>akṣara</i>
..	illegible <i>akṣara</i>
	<i>danda</i>
·	punctuation mark for <i>visarga</i>
*	<i>virāma</i>
,	<i>avagraha</i> , not written in the MS
○	punch hole

Abbreviations

Ka	so-called Kashgar manuscript of the <i>Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra</i> actually found in Khādaliq but purchased in Kashgar. Facsimile edition: <i>Saddharma-puṇḍarika-sūtra. Kashgar Manuscript</i> , ed. Lokesh Chandra with a foreword by Heinz Bechert, New Delhi 1976 (Śata-Piṭaka Series, 229) [repr. Tokyo 1977]. Transliteration in Saddhp(C), pp. 3–225.
KN	<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarika</i> , ed. H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, St.-Petersbourg [1908–]1912 (Bibliotheca Buddhica, 10).
Saddhp(C)	<i>Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra. Central Asian Manuscripts. Romanized Text</i> , ed. Hirofumi Toda, Tokushima ² 1983.

⁴³ KN 41.12, SMSR II-182 (R, T9, A 2,3): *ye ca*; SMSR II-182 (K, Pk, C 1,2,3,4,5, B, P 1,2,3, T2,3,4,5,6,7,8, A 1, N 1,2,3, D 1,2): *ye*; Ka 48 b 5: *yair*.

⁴⁴ Ka 48 b 5: *nānābhinirhāranānānirdeśa°*.

⁴⁵ Ka 48 b 6: *°kośalyebhi* ·; all other MSS: *°kauśalyair* (v.ll. *°lyaiḥ/°lyai/°lye/°lyesa/°kuśalair*).

⁴⁶ Ka 48 b 6 ff.: *nānādhātvaśayānām anekadhātvaśayānām satvānām dhātvaśayaṃ viditvā yathādhātvaśayānām satvānām dharmam deśayisyanti*; KN 41.13 f. and all other MSS: *nānādhātvaśayānām* (v.l. *°āsayānām*) *āśayaṃ* (v.l. *āsayam*) *viditvā dharmam deśayisyanti* (v.ll. *desa°/deśayanti*).

⁴⁷ MS: *vidhitvā?*

- SLLMC *Sanskrit Lotus Sutra Fragments from the Lushun Museum Collection, Facsimile Edition and Romanized Text*, ed. Zhongxin Jiang, Dalian and Tokyo 1997.
- SMSR *Sanskrit manuscripts of Saddharmapundarika. Collected from Nepal, Kashmir and Central Asia. Romanized Text and Index*, ed. Keishō Tsukamoto, Ryūgen Taga, Ryōjun Mitomo and Moriichi Yamazaki, vols. I–II, Tokyo 1986–1988.

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**Random Remarks
on and around the Mannerheim Fragment
of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra***

Akira YUYAMA

These are intended to be random notes in appraisal of Dr. Klaus Wille's enlightening article printed before this: "The Sanskrit *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* fragment in the Mannerheim collection (Helsinki)". I am also much indebted to him for his readiness to read my remarks. He has given me learned suggestions and corrections useful for my further revisional work. Needless to say, I am alone responsible for any heresies of opinion and errors of facts to be found in my paper.

Whilst studying in Leiden for two years in 1963-1965, my interest in collecting the then hitherto-known Indic manuscripts of the Lotus Sutra grew up even more than before. I wanted to make good use of my stay in Europe before my departure for Canberra in June 1965. I was able to see a number of manuscripts kept in England and France and consequently obtained the microfilms of those manuscripts. The films were deposited for the use of my compatriot scholars.

Needless to say, I was eager to see the fragment brought back from Central Asia by the Finnish national hero, Field Marshal (the then Colonel) Baron Carl Gustaf Emil von Mannerheim (4.VI.1867-17.I.1951). In search of the so-called Mannerheim fragment of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* referred to in Julio Natanel Reuter's article.¹ I wrote to the Finno-Ugrian Society to ask about it in my letter dated 5 April 1965.

¹ J. N. Reuter, "Some Buddhist Fragments from Chinese Turkestan in Sanskrit and 'Khotanese'", *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XXX: 37 (1913-18), p. 7. = C. G. Mannerheim, *Across Asia from West to Asia in 1906-1908* (= *Kansatieteellisiä Julkaisuja : Travaux Éthnographiques*, VIII) (Helsingfors: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura / Helsinki: Société Finno-Ougrienne, 1940) [Reprinted by Anthropological Publications, in Oosterhout N.B., The Netherlands, 1969], Volume II, 'Reuter's Article' [= Fifth Article], p. 7. — cf. A. Yuyama, *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), p. 25.

On 19 April, in quick reply to my query, I received a kind letter from Professor Pennti Aalto in his capacity as Secretary to the Finno-Ugrian Society. He informed me that Mannerheim's other notes and materials were in the possession of the Society but he could not locate the fragment in question in its Archives. According to him, the Mannerheim fragments were preserved among the papers of the then President of the Society, Professor Otto Donner, and that they were then at the Finnish State Archives. Professor Aalto added that he would try to look for them. To my sorrow, no information about the fragment has since then come to my notice.

On arrival in Canberra I felt rather uneasy at having to work with limited library facilities. Thereafter I realized the necessity of having good bibliographical information in order to pursue serious philological work.² Being in the Southern Hemisphere, I also felt it important to look into the background history of Indian and Buddhist researches and to learn of the activities outside of the Continent. I began thus to devote much time and energy towards this goal.³ Indeed, this kind of work had led me to believe that the prime necessity is to have systematic and critical surveys of a specific topic or literature.⁴

With regard to the Mannerheim fragment, neither photographic reproduction nor information of its whereabouts was available. Under such circumstances I had to bring out a bibliography in order to facilitate the philological study of the Lotus Sutra with the maximum information then

² See e.g. A. Yuyama, "A Bibliography of the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*", *Indo-Iranian Journal*, XI, 1 (The Hague-Paris 1968), p. 11-23: - - , *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 Series*, VI) (Canberra 1967), viii, 124 p.

³ In the first instance I decided to make a fully annotated Japanese translation of J. W. de Jong, "Sanskrit Studies in The Netherlands", *Indian Studies Abroad*, edited by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, New Delhi (Bombay, etc.: Asia Publishing House, 1964), p. 60-64:- J. W. ドウ・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 (195), p. 382(73)-359(96).

⁴ 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). — also A. Yuyama, "A Report on a Göttingen Project: A Systematic Survey of Buddhist Sanskrit Literature", *Buddhist Research Information*, No. 10 (Stony Brook: The Institute for Advanced Studies of World Religions, October 1983), p. 7-13. This is a report delivered on request at the VIII Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies held at the University of Oxford on 17 August 1982.

available to me.⁵

This worry never went out of my mind. Towards the end of August 1992 I did not want to miss an opportunity to visit Helsinki in search of the very fragment on my way to Fagernes in Norway to participate in the Sixth Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies. My cherished dream to see it was not realized! However, I am now shocked to learn that its whereabouts were known at the time of my visit to the Helsinki University Library. It has been kept there since 1971 as a deposit of the Finno-Ugrian Society. At the same time, I regret very much that the information given explicitly by Harry Halén in his meticulous work had simply escaped my attention.⁶ I must add here, however, that I learned a great deal of interesting information on the Tibetan materials like *Mdo-man* kept therein.

To my great regret, I have not yet seen an exhibition catalogue under the editorship of Pirjo Varjola, which seems to offer a number of important facts in this connection.⁷ It was therefore an extremely pleasant surprise to see Dr. Klaus Wille of Göttingen publishing the present enlightening article under review here. I am much indebted to him for various important facts about Mannerheim's travels and the fragment in question.

On this occasion I must regrettably acknowledge that some geographers were rather uninterested in written documents. Most of the important materials were acquired just by accident.

A famed American geographer-explorer at Yale, Ellsworth Huntington (16.IX.1876-17.X.1947), obtained a small but extremely interesting fragment at Khādalik only by chance. I was much thrilled to find that the so-

⁵ On the Mannerheim fragment see e.g. A. Yuyama, *A Bibliography of the Sanskrit Texts of the Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* (= *Oriental Monograph Series*, V) (Canberra: Centre of Oriental Studies at the Australian National University in association with A.N.U. Press, 1970), p. 29. — I have also treated Buddhist Sanskrit literature found in Central Asia in my paper: “中央アジアの梵語仏典”, *東洋學術研究*, XXIII, 1 (Tokyo 1984), p. 78 (cum n. 73 on p. 91a).

⁶ Harry Halén, *Handbook of Oriental Collections in Finland. Manuscripts, xylographs, inscriptions, and Russian minority literature* (= *Scandinavian Institute of Asian Studies Monograph Series*, XXXI) (London-Malmö: Curzon Press Ltd., 1978), p. 71: No. 213. — cf. Yuyama, *Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscript Collections* (1992), p. 2.

⁷ C. G. *Mannerheim in Central Asia 1906-1908*, edited by P. Varjola (= *Exhibition Catalogue of the Museum of Culture*) (Helsinki 1999).

called "Huntington Fragment F" was nothing but a torn portion of the same folio kept then in the British Museum (now British Library).⁸

A German geographer-explorer Emil Trinkler (19.V.1896-19.IV.1931) brought back nine folios of the Lotus Sutra, which were missing from the so-called Kashgar Manuscript from Khotan kept in the Petrovsky Collection in Saint-Petersburg.⁹

Another example is the universally known Stockholm-born Sven Hedin (19.II.1865-26.XI.1952), who brought back an enormous amount of invaluable Tibetan documents to his hometown. It is a great pity, however, that the acquisition records of some important materials are very little known. They are all indispensable texts for Buddhist philology.¹⁰

In his diary on 4 December 1906 at Yotkan in the vicinity of Khotan, however, Mannerheim writes about his purchase of materials. Incidentally, the village named Yotkan should be on Map I among the folded maps. But I am unable to spot it there.

⁸ For further details see my "Introductory Remarks" in Akira YUYAMA and Hirofumi TODA, *The Huntington Fragment F of the Saddharmapundarikasūtra* (= *Studia Philologica Buddhica, Occasional Paper Series*, II) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1977), p. 1-4, 2 pl.

⁹ Cf. Heinz Bechert, *Über die „Marburger Fragmente“ des Saddharmapundarika (Mit einem Beitrag von Jonchay Rinpoche). Ernst Waldschmidt zum 75. Geburtstag am 15.7.1972* (= *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, I. Philol.-hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1972, Nr. 1) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1972), 81 p., incl. 4 plates on p. 67f. (= Honda-Deguchi Nos. 24, 27, 37 and 38); see the reviews esp. by Jacques May, *IJ*, XVII, 2-4 (1975), p. 270-273 and Ronald E. Emmerick, *OLZ*, LXXIII, 4 (1978), Sp. 390-392; — cf. also Yuyama, *SP-Bibl.*, p. 29f.

Unfortunately, I have long failed to consult Gerd Gropp, *Archäologische Funde aus Khotan, Chinesische Ostturkestan: Die Trinkler-Sammlung im Übersee-Museum, Bremen* (= *Monographien der Wittheit zu Bremen*, XI) (Bremen: Frisrich Röver, 1974), 409 p.: — cf. *Bibliography of Asian Studies*, 1975 (Ann Arbor 1978), No. 00841 (p. 32b-33a).

¹⁰ Cf. e.g. Nils Simonsson, *Indo-tibetische Studien. Die Methoden der tibetischen Übersetzer, untersucht im Hinblick auf die Bedeutung ihrer Übersetzungen für die Sanskritphilologie*, I (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri AB, 1957), 291 p., 2-page plates (between p. 16-17). — on this enlightening work see the reviews among others: — C. Régamey, *Kratylos*, III (1958), p. 146-150, J. W. de Jong, *IJ*, III, 3 (1959), p. 216-219, G. Uray, *AOH*, VIII (1959), p. 327-332.

Cf. also Helmut Eimer, "Tibetica Stockholmiensia (I-VII)", *ZAS*, VI (1972), p. 603-681 (incl. 1 colour pl. on p. 607), VII (1973), p. 301-352, VIII (1974), p. 179-240, IX (1975), p. 37-86, X (1976), p. 625-674, XI (1977), p. 507-554, XII (1978), 317-358. — This meticulous work has been privately reprinted in one volume with a subtitle: *Handliste der tibetischen Texte der Sven-Hedin-Stiftung und des Ethnographischen Museums zu Stockholm*.

“ ... Any discoveries of value had, no doubt, already been secured by the well-known archaeologist Dr Stein, who had visited this locality a couple months before us. It was only after they had foisted all kinds of rubbish on me, which I brought for want of anything better, that objects in a better state of preservation were produced. I secured the best ones as I was preparing to mount my horse and leave the village. This resulted in my buying practically all that could be had. With the help of Badruddin Khan, the former Indian aksakal of Khotan, to whom Mr Macartney had kindly given me a letter, the prices were beaten down considerably.”¹¹

It is said that Carl Gustaf Mannerheim wrote his diary originally in Swedish and that its English version is not always accurate (cf. Wille, *op.cit.*, n. 3).¹² Unfortunately, I have not been able to see the original Swedish version. Mannerheim's book of his travels across Asia on horseback, with its clear black-and-white photographs, is of immense interest. A Danish translation from the Swedish with a foreword by Sven Hedin, dated 20 May 1940 in Stockholm, followed by a message to the readers by G. Mannerheim (signed in February 1940), appeared in Copenhagen in 1941.¹³ In this book the diary covering the period from 29 November to 11 December 1906 at Khotan and its surroundings occupies pages 74-88. A nice photograph of Badruddin Khān with his relative (child) is to be found on p. 79. I have not seen the German version.

The Dutch version of Mannerheim's travels through Asia on horseback translated from the Finnish seems to be an abridged edition with some different photos in a different order. His expeditions to Asia must have occupied an important part in his career.¹⁴

In fact, in his memoirs Mannerheim devotes a lengthy section to the period between 1906 and 1908. Some different photographs of importance were

¹¹ See Mannerheim, *Across Asia*, I, p. 89.

¹² Cf. *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* (= *ABIA*): Volume XV for the Years 1940-1947 (Leyden: Kern Institute / Printed in Leyden by E. J. Brill Ltd., 1950), No. 2259 (p. 184); — cf. *ABIA*, XVI for 1948-1953 (1958), No. 3759 (p. 317b-318a).

¹³ C. G. Mannerheim, *Fra Samarkand til Peking paa Hesteryg*. Oversat fra Svensk efter “Resa genom Asien” af Jesper Ewald og Peter de Hemmer Gudme (København: Gyldendalske Boghandel – Nordisk Forlag, 1941), XII, 628 p. (including numerous photos and plans), 1 frontisp. (a portrait), 1 folded map.: — Sven Hedin, “Fortale”, p. V-IX; G. Mannerheim, “Til Læseren”, p. XI-XII.

¹⁴ C. G. Mannerheim, *Rit door Azië* (Geautoriseerde Nederlandsche Bewerking van A. Meijer-Forsberg en D. Hans) (With a preface by D. Hans written in January 1943 in The Hague) [Oorspronkelijke titel: *Ratsain balki Aasian*] (Amsterdam: A. J. G. Strenghtolt, n.d.).

published in this book written in Swedish.¹⁵

Incidentally, during his account of his stay in the village Yotkan Mannerheim mentions the Japanese at the end of his diary on 4 December 1906. No personal name is given there:¹⁶

“ ... The Japanese, who had been here a couple of years ago, and other travellers had bought up many these interesting documents and year by year it is becoming more and more difficult to find anything of value. ...”

Those Japanese may well be the second Otani expedition, which was conducted in 1908-1909. In fact, the young Zuichō TACHIBANA (橋瑞超: 7.I.1890-4.XI.1968) and his elder partner Eizaburō NOMURA (野村榮三郎) were around this area. However, both of them left Kashgar on 20 August for Kashmir across the arakhorum via Maral Baši and Yarkand. They arrived in Srinagar on 11 November 1908. From India Tachibana went to London, where he met Mark Aurel Stein (Budapest 26.XI.1862-Kabul 26.X.1943) after his return from the second expedition (1906-1908). He visited Stockholm to meet Sven Hedin on his return from the third expedition (1905-1908). To my regret, however, I have found no record of Mannerheim's meeting with the Japanese party. At least, they might have not met each other in Central Asia.¹⁷

Incidentally, on his return from his expeditions Mannerheim wrote a detailed ethnological report with many illustrations on plates.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that he collected a number of Yögur words (*ibid.*, p. 59-70), to

¹⁵ G. Mannerheim, *Minnen*, Del I: 1882-1930 (Helsingfors: Holger Schildts Förlag, 1951), p. 45-128 (incl. figures and 1 map of his routes covering two facing p. 89f.): “1906-1908: Ritten genom Asien”. — Incidentally, Volume II for 1931-1946 appeared in 1952 with “Personregister” on p. 449-459.

¹⁶ See Mannerheim, *Across Asia*, I, p. 89; its Danish version, p. 78. Incidentally, in its Dutch version no description of the Japanese is to be found.

¹⁷ In this connection I owe much to Nobuo YAMADA, who has left brief but very comprehensive comments for the reprint edition of the records of the Otani Expeditions in two large volumes: 大谷家蔵版・復刻 新西域記 (東京・井草出版, 1984), 別冊: 山田信夫, “解題”, p. 1-28. This article is supplemented by a detailed bibliography of the Otani Expeditions by Akio KATAYAMA: 片山章雄, “大谷探検隊中央アジア関係文献目録”, *ibid.*, p. 29-41 (mostly the works in Japanese). Incidentally, this reprint edition has been largely reduced in size (A4) of the first edition published almost in the present A3 format under the editorship of Yoshitarō UEHARA: 上原芳太郎編・新西域記 (東京・有光社, 1939).

¹⁸ C. G. E. Mannerheim, “A Visit to the Sarö and Shera Yögurs”, *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, XXVII (Helsinki 1911), p. 1-72 (incl. 33 photos), V tables (incl. 36 ill.).

which a famed Finnish Altaist Gustav John Ramstedt (22.X.1873-25.XI.1950) supplied the Mongolian equivalents (cf. *ibid.*, p. 3). We cannot overlook the importance of the contributions to the Japanese language by the latter.¹⁹

It may be added here that Dr. Klaus Wille has given a thorough description of the acquisition and find-spots of such materials in connection with the manuscript from Khādalik. He vividly describes the role played Badruddīn Khān of Khotan with extensive bibliographical information.²⁰

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Wille's skillfulness in reading the fragment is to be much admired, as he himself does Reuter's. As a matter of fact, Reuter's description of this same fragment is brief but indeed necessary and sufficient. In his introductory remarks he says:

“ ... It is an unfortunate circumstance that the locality where these MANNERHEIM fragments, as I propose to call them, were found or claimed by purchase cannot be determined. ... ” (Reuter, *op.cit.*, p. 3).

After his physical explanation of the folio Reuter writes as follows:

“Fragment 5 (not figured).

“This is a fragment from the *Saddharmapundarīka*, printed text p. 40¹⁶ to 41¹⁴, beginning thus: dikṣv ... de[śayiṣyanti] ... The reading of the fragment, as far as it is possible to decipher it, appears to differ but slightly from the edition. In the fragment lokadhātu is fem.; for Śāriputra the fragment has Śāradvatīputra, for nānādhātvo : anekadhātvo; saddharmaḥ is written sadharmaḥ; in the phrase sattvānām dharmaṃ deśitavantaḥ the fragment leaves out dharmaṃ.”(*ibid.*, p. 7).

Despite his painstaking research work on the Mannerheim fragments Reuter's name does not seem to appear in the writings of Mannerheim. The name Dr. G. J. Ramstedt, Professor of Altaic Languages at the Alexander

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. *Aufsätze und Vorträge von G. J. Ramstedt*, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Pentti Aalto (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrilainen Seura / Société Finno-Ougrienne, 1951), p. 112 – see esp. “Vorwort des Herausgebers”, p. 3-6. One may also refer to a detailed list of his work published on the occasion of his 125th birthday: *Gustav John Ramstedt, Philologe - Ausgewählte Literaturnachweise aus dem Bestand der Akademiebibliothek, 1988/89* (Berlin: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften / Akademiebibliothek, 1998), 6 p.

²⁰ *Fragments of a Manuscript of the Saddharmapundarīkasūtra from Khādalik*, edited by Klaus Wille (= *Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series*, III) (Published by the Soka Gakkai in cooperation with the Institute of Oriental Philosophy, Tokyo, and the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhistenkunde of the University of Göttingen, 2000), esp. p. 1-5.

University of Helsinki, has been cited here and there.²¹ Nor does he seem to make any reference to the Otani expeditions, either by personal or organizational name.

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Now, I am much pleased to see that Dr. Klaus Wille has added more to his elaborate paper. The reader will no doubt learn a lot from his writing. After a glance at the contents I herewith wish to make a few random notes.

Recto 1 and Verso 3: Reuter has taken *lokadhātu-* here as feminine. Wille may have preferred *aprameyāsv asaṃkhyeyāsu* with *lokadhātuṣu*, loc.pl., as he reads: (recto, line 1) ..(m)[eyā].. .. [yāsu lok](a)dhā.., and (verso, l. 3) *aprame[yāsv a]*.. .. [y]ā[su l]oka(dh)[āt](u)[śu tath]āgatā+ . Indeed, ā of ..[y]ā[su] supports the feminine ending in *-āsu*. He then carefully cites variant readings from Nepalese, Gilgit and Central Asian manuscripts (n. 27 & 41; cf. also Toda, *Saddhp(C)*, p. 24). The fragment may have preferred the feminine locative ending in *-āsu* to masculine *-eṣu*. However, there is no evidence that the ending *-āsu* must be the expected reading in all these cases.

In fact, °*-dhātu-* is often used both in feminine and masculine forms: cf. Edgerton, *BHSD*, p. 464a, *q.v.*²² One can easily dig out these occurrences by consulting the indices published to date.²³ Let us now hope to see a grammatical index based upon mathematical statistics, as demonstrated by the word index compiled by Zueiei ITOH and his group!

In this connection we eagerly await the other folios of the same manuscript, so we can examine this question more precisely. In the meantime it may not

²¹ See e.g. Mannerheim, *Minnen*, I (1951), p. 82 and 126.

²² Reference may also be made to A. Yuyama, *A Grammar of the Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā (Sanskrit Recension A)* (= *Faculty of Asian Studies: Oriental Monograph Series*, XIV) (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973), p. §6.26 (p. 53). — abbrev. *RgsGr* hereinafter.

²³ *Index to the Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra — Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese* —, edited by Yasunori EJIMA of The Society for Studies of the Lotus Sutra, Fascicle IX (Tokyo: The Reiyukai, 1991), p. 886f., *loka-dhātu*, s.v. — This index is based on the edition Kern-Nanjio. The following one is based on the edition Wogihara-Tsuchida. It is remarkably characterized as a word-index edited on the basis of mathematical statistics: 伊藤瑞叡・村上征勝・塚本貫康・五十嵐信彦(編): 梵文法華經荻原・土田本總索引 / *Comprehensive Index to Wogihara and Tsuchida's Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtram*, by Zueiei ITOH, Masakatsu MURAKAMI, Kankō TSUKADA (and) Nobuhiko IAGARASI (Tokyo: Benseisya, 1993), p. 308a-b, *loka-dhātu*, s.v.

be useless to refer to the examples found in the Turfan texts. With regard to these references we are much indebted again to Wille's untiring efforts, following those of his predecessors like Frau Dr. Lore Sander:²⁴

... ga[ṅgā-na]d[ī]-vālukā-sa[m]e[s]u loka-[dhātu]ṣv ... (masc.),²⁵ ... <buddha-kṣetra-pramā>nu-rajah samāṃ loka-dhātavāṃ ... (fem.sg./masc.pl.?),²⁶ ... [l]oka-dhātum paripūrṇam ... (masc.),²⁷ ... loka-dhā[t]au ... (masc.?).²⁸

Verso 6: The repetition of the perfect active participle *-ta-vat-*, closing the paragraph in the simple future form has a fresh and lively ring: *dharmam deśitavantah/ °vanto* (= KN 41.3-4, 4-5, 7) and *dharmam deśayiṣyanti* (= KN 41.14, 15, 18), etc. Thanks to the painstaking endeavours of Professor Chiang Chung-hsin of Peking, an extremely tiny torn fragment has been made available from the Otani-Lüshun manuscript: */// (dha) rmaṃ deśa(y)[i] ///*²⁹ The photograph on page 46 makes me somewhat suspicious that the “i” on top of the *akṣara* “śa” were just worm-eaten, damaged or worn out. This may be a mere guess of mine! One may perhaps read the supposed “i” on top of the damaged *akṣara* as “ya”! Then, the reading *deśayiṣyanti* may doubtlessly be expected.

Verso 2: On this line are found two *avagraha* signs, which are not written in the manuscript as noted by Wille himself: ... *te 'pi ... lābhino 'bbūvan ...*

The corresponding portion, in the so-called Kashgar Manuscript from Khotan reads: (folio 48b1) ... *te pi sarve nutta(.2)rāyāṃ ... lābhino babbūvu ye pi ...*; but Toda, *Saddhp(C)*, p. 24: ... *te 'pi sarve 'nuttarāyāṃ ... lābhino babbūvu(h)*

²⁴ Reference is made to *Sanskriithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (= *SHT*), begonnen von Ernst Waldschmidt (= *Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland*, X).

²⁵ *SHT*, Teil 3, unter Mitarbeit von Walter Clawiter und Lore Sander-Holzmann, herausgegeben von E. Waldschmidt (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1971), Kat.-Nr. 933-934, b R17 (p. 198).

²⁶ Cf. *SHT*, Teil 3, Kat.-Nr. 976, R6 (p. 238, cum n. 22; auch Tafel 91)!

²⁷ *SHT*, Teil 7, herausgegeben von Heinz Bechert, beschrieben von Klaus Wille (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), Kat.-Nr. 1643+1652, b A1 (p. 56).

²⁸ Cf. *SHT*, Teil 8 (2000), Kat.-Nr. 1967 (p. 137).

²⁹ 蔣忠新編·旅順博物館藏梵文法華經殘片·影印版羅馬字版/Sanskrit Lotus Sutra Fragments from the Lüshun Museum Collection: Facsimile Edition and Romanized Text, edited by Jiang Zhongxin/旅順博物館所藏梵文法華經斷簡·写真版及びローマ字版(Lüshun Museum – Soka Gakkai 1997), p. 46-47: A-1 (Recto), line 3. — cf. Yuyama, *SP-Bibl.*, p. 30-32.

ye 'pi ...! In this manuscript is found no *avagraha* either.³⁰ But the expected *avagrahas* are always shown by Toda, *Saddhp(C)* as well.³¹

Incidentally, it is an important fact that this manuscript was actually copied in Khotan.³² Toda has corrected folio numbers and given a table of correspondence to edition Kern-Nanjio. This facilitates our study a great deal.³³

Scribes often try to keep the hiatus by reading *a-* in a number of cases when they think it absolutely necessary to make the meaning clear. It is therefore hoped that, when an author claims to offer a faithfully transliterated text, every door must be left open for further critical editorial work. A symbol like an apostrophe is frequently misleading, if not mistaken. Particularly when the *avagraha* denotes a negative sense, utmost care must be taken. Needless to say, this may add an idea opposite to the original intention.³⁴

In the case of *bbūvan* (for *abbūvan*, 3 pl.aor.), though this is less probable, it could be an augmentless preterite form. A possibility of *babbūvu*, 3 pl.perf., not *babbūvub* as is expected by Toda, *Saddhp(C)*, p. 24,³⁵ may not be excluded (cf. Edgerton, *BHSGr.* §33.2). But a very strange form of **babbūvan*, 3 pl.perf.,

³⁰ *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka-Sūtra. Kashgar Manuscript*, edited by Lokesh Chandra, with a foreword by Heinz Bechert (= *Śāta-Piṭaka Series*, CCXXXIX) (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1976; reprinted with a preface of Lokesh Chandra by The Reiyukai, Tokyo, 1978), p. 48.

³¹ On the orthography of the Kashgar Ms see Toda, *Saddhp (C)*, p. xiii (under §2).

³² See a stimulating article by Ronald E. Emmerick, "Some Khotanese Donors", *Mémorial Jean de Menascé*, édité par Ph. Gignoux et A. Tafazzoli (= *Fondation culturelle iranienne*, CLXXXV) (Louvain: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1974), p. 383-388, and Plates XIX-XXI.

³³ Hirofumi TODA, *Notes on the Kashgar Manuscript of the Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Minor*, II) (Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1977), ii, 39 p.

³⁴ See e.g. A. Yuyama, "The Tathāgata Prabhūtaratna in the Stūpa", *Amalā Vijñā: Aspects of Buddhist Studies — Professor P. V. Bapat Felicitation Volume*, edited by N. H. Samtani (Associate Editor: H. S. Prasad) (= *Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica*, LXIII) (Delhi: Sri Satguru Publications — A Division of Indian Book Centre, 1989), p. 181-186.

³⁵ Toda has examined a number of peculiarities in the Kashgar Ms in comparison with the so-called Kawaguchi Ms kept in the Toyo Bunko (cf. Yuyama, *SP-Bibl.*, p. 14). In the case of perfect forms he naturally reads *babbūvu(r)* by sandhi: cf. Kawaguchi Ms., folio 16b3: 'bbūvan, as in Kern-Nanjio 41.9 prose: 戸田宏文, "西域出土梵文法華經研究覚書(四)", 徳島大学教養部紀要 (人文・社会科学), VIII (1973), p. 85. — Incidentally, Kawaguchi Ms, one of the oldest manuscripts from Nepal, is dated Tuesday, 12 October 1070 by Claus Vogel, "The Dated Nepalese Manuscripts of the Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra", *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse*, Jahrgang 1974, p. 201.

may appear in other parts of the manuscript! It is a pity that the previous **abbūvan* (= ed. KN 40.16) or the like is illegible (probably missing) in our Mannerheim fragment. One must be open to every possibility!

In the case of *pi* (for *api*) the possibility of Middle Indicisms must not be simply ruled out before the final decision is made in editorial work. Otherwise, this kind of “faithful” transliteration is already a half-finished critical edition. It is not always easy to decide which reading is absolutely right. In the Lotus Sūtra itself hundreds of examples of *api* (*pi*) are reported in the indexes.³⁶ Two examples of *apī*, m.c., are reported by Ito and others in their index: ed. Wogihara-Tsuchida p. 250.15 (XIII verse 58d) and 316.9 (XVIII vs. 68a), where Kern-Nanjio (293.6 & 373.3) read *api*, unmetr.! Cf. Kern-Nanjio p. 373 n. 2: v.l. *apī*!

Specialists will naturally be interested to see the corresponding readings in the Gilgit manuscripts. As a matter of fact, they offer interesting readings. Group A as classified by Shōkō WATANABE reads: folio 134b8 *ekāṃ pi gāthāṃ śrūyāna* ... (ed. Watanabe II, p. 144), and Group B folio 97b2 *ekāṃ pi gāthāṃ pi śrūṇitva* ... (ed. Watanabe II, p. 274).³⁷

It is worthwhile to consult the corresponding portions in the so-called Kashgar Manuscript in such a case: in the former verse it offers a different reading, i.e. around folio 281a3 (cf. Toda, *Saddhp(C)*, p. 143). In the latter case it reads: *ekāpi gāthā śrūṇiyāna-m-eva* ... (folio 359a7), cf. Toda's emendation to *ekā(m) pi gāthā(m)* ... (Toda, *Saddhp(C)*, p. 177). The former case is the same in the Farhād-Bēg fragment: folio 25b (Honda-Deguchi, p. 37: Photo No. 106, line 5; cf. Toda, *Saddhp(C)*, p. 246).³⁸ The latter is not extant either in the F xii.7 or in the Khādalik fragments.

In connection with the Khādalik manuscript we are much indebted to the astounding efforts of Dr. Klaus Wille as quoted above. Fragment No. 66

³⁶ Cf. *Index to the Saddharmapūṇḍarikasūtra*, ed. Ejima, Fasc. I (Tokyo 1985), p. 69-71; also *Index to the edition Wogihara-Tsuchida*, ed. Itoh et al. (Tokyo 1993), p. 23c-24c. The former index to the edition Kern-Nanjio offers their equivalents in Tibetan and Chinese.

³⁷ *Saddharmapūṇḍarika Manuscripts Found in Gilgit*, edited by Shoko Watanabe. Part I: Photographic Reproduction. Part II: Romanized Text (Tokyo: The Reiyukai, 1972-1975).

³⁸ See Yuyama, *SP-Bibl.*, p. 22f. and 47, and *Honda-Deguchi*, p. XI and 97 for the so-called Farhād-Bēg fragments kept in the former India Office Library under the classification number F xii.7 (= KN 247.6-317.2).

corresponding to Kern-Nanjio 293.6 is regrettably a torn folio and thus offers no aid.³⁹

Herewith I must frankly confess how difficult it was for me to determine if *pi* after *-e/-o* must be read *'pi* or just *pi* as it is read in the manuscript, when I was editing the Recension A of the *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (abbrev. *Rgs* hereinafter).⁴⁰ As the title itself explicitly says, it is composed entirely in verse. From it I have thus collected every phenomenon of non-Sanskritic phonology and morphology (Yuyama, *RgsGr*: cf. n. 22 above). It was done so exactly because of my wish to make such analyses on each text after the model of Franklin Edgerton's monumental work.⁴¹

In order to satisfy the metre any form of *api* is to be found, i.e. either *api*, *apī*, *āpi*, *pi* (including *'pi* after *-e/-o*), or even *pi!* It becomes endless, if semantic, syntactical or stylistic analyses are to be discussed in addition! Let me quote all these occurrences in the *Rgs* here:

api: I.9a, 12b, 20a, II 9b, 10d, IV 2b, 3c, 5d (*sā api*), 6c (*viśeṣatāpi*), 7d (*apīha*), V 1a, 2a (*nāpi*), 9d (*kalāpi*), VI 1b, 9b, VIII 4b, XI 3a (*kāṅkṣāpi*; cf. B *kāṅkṣā ca*), 3c (*nāpi*), 7a (*cāpi*), XII 6d (*-saṃjñā api*), XIV 6a (*cāpi*), 9b (*cāpi*), 10b (*cāpi*), XV 3a, XVI 4b (*-satāpi*), XVIII 1a (*rūpa api*), 5c (*cāpi*), 8a (*cāpi*), XIX 4b (*cāpi*), XX 8b (*cāpi*), 15cd = 16cd (*cāpi ... api*), 17c (*cāpi*), 18c (*cāpi*), 19d (*athavāpi*), 22a, 24c (*nāpi*), XXI 8a (*athavāpy a-*), XXIII 1d (*-gaṇām api*), XXV 1b (*nāpi*), 3d (*akuśalaṃ api*, metr.), 6a (*cāpi*), 6c (*cāpi*), XXVII 6b (*nāpi*), XXVIII 3c (*cāpi*), XXIX 1c (*api kbo puna ...*), 10a (*kiṃ cāpi rūpam api*), 12b (*cāpy atihatāpy atha*, cf. Tib. ... *-'am ... -kyan-run*), XXXI 5c (*bhavate api!*), 7d, XXXII 5b-d (*api ... , api ... , tatha ...*); — cf. XXXI 5c *bhavate api!*

āpi in *yady āpi*: X 6c/d (*yady āpi ... , tatha pī ...* (cf. Tib. *kyan!*; also *pī* below), XVI 5a (*yady āpi ...*; Tib. *yan*, Chin. 雖; Taisho VIII 680b24 難!). — This may have escaped Edgerton's attention (cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §3.6; Edgerton, *BHSGr* §3.5-11).⁴²

³⁹ Cf. Wille, *Fragments of a Manuscript of the Saddharmaṣūṇḍarīkasūtra from Khādaliq* (Tokyo 2000), p. 89.

⁴⁰ A. Yuyama, *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā* (*Sanskrit Recension A*), edited with an Introduction, Bibliographical Notes and a Tibetan Version from Tunhuang (Cambridge / London-New York-Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1976), lxxii, 214 p., 1 frontisp.— abbrev. *Rgs A* hereinafter.

⁴¹ Cf. esp. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §1.4; also 湯山明, “エジヤトンの仏教梵語研究の学史的考察”, 渡邊文磨博士追悼論集・原始仏教と大乘仏教, II (京都・永田文昌堂, 1993), p. 45-83; — cf. J. W. de Jong, *A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America* (Tokyo: Kōsei Publishing Co., 1997), p. 80f. (also p. 49-56, et al.).

⁴² Cf. Franklin Edgerton, “The *Prajñā-pāramitā-ratna-guṇa-saṃcaya-gāthā*”, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, V, 1 (1961), p. 1-18. — This is based solely upon Edward Conze, “The Calcutta Manuscript of the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayagāthā*”, *Indo-Iranian Journal*, IV, 1 (1960), p. 37-58.

'pi: II 12b (*nāyako 'pi*, cf. Tib. B *ston-pas-kyan-ni*; cf. Rgs B *nāyako yaṃ*, Tib.A *ston-pa 'di-yis*, i.e. *yaṃ* = 'yaṃ); IV 4b (*yan-nirvṛte 'pi*); VI 2c (*ye 'pi*), 3d (*ye 'pi*), IX 2c (*no 'pi*; cf. Rgs B *nāpi*), XII 2a (*ye 'pi*), XVIII (*ete 'pi*), XX 22b (*-e 'pi*), XXII 12c (*puno 'pi* = Skt. *punar api*, unmetr.), XXIV 1a (*māro 'pi*), XXXI 2d (*-gūṇe 'pi*).

pi: This is not always easy (cf. *pi!*). Edgerton has carefully discussed it in his *BHSGr* (§4.1ff.):

pi after *anusvāra* (cf. Edgerton, *BHSGr* §4.3): XXI 3b *pūrvam pi* (so also ed. Vaidya!; cf. Skt. B *pūrve pi* / 'pi, so Obermiller).

pi after a vowel *-a* (cf. Edgerton, *BHSGr* §4.11): all but one case read a negative particle *na*, and the Tibetan version is indifferent: IV 6c *na pi* (or possibly *n'api?*; cf. Tib. *med-ciñ*); V 2b, X 4d, XVIII 2C, XX 11d, 12d, XXVI 5d, XXVII 6c, XXVIII 4d, XXIX 1b (*na ca ... na pi ca ...*; for *na ca* see Yuyama, *RgsGr*, Appendix §6-10), and XXX 7a. — *buddha pi* XII 1c (Obermiller prints in Devanāgarī *buddhapi* = *buddh'api?*: Tib. *sañs-rgyas-kyan*).

pī, m.c., for *pi*: *tatha pī* X 6d (cf. under *āpi* above; Obermiller prints in Devanāgarī *tathapī* = *tath'apī?* Vaidya *tathapī*, unmetr.!: Tib. *kyan* only).

pi after a vowel *-ā*, nom.pl.masc. (cf. also Edgerton, *BHSGr* §4.12): *buddhā pi yāvata* XXVII 1c (cf. Tib.A *sañs-rgyas ji-sñed-kyan*, B *sañs-rgyas ji-sñed-pa'an*); this may well be a result of a secondary sandhi, i.e. possibly *buddhāpi*; for *yāvata*, nom.pl.m., see Yuyama, *RgsGr* §22.18.

*

In spare moments during my work on this last portion I flipped through a book which had come to my hand a few days before. It is the fruit of truly international cooperation under the able editorship of Professor Jens Braarvig.⁴³ I am indeed pleased to see it appear at such a high speed and with this quality. While riffling through it quickly, two meticulous articles instantly caught my eye,⁴⁴ since I was just then treating *api* as shown above and my immediate interest lies in the *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*.⁴⁵

⁴³ *Buddhist Manuscripts*, Volume I, under the general editorship of Jens Braarvig (= *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, I) (Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2000), xxii, 302 p., XII facsimile plates.

⁴⁴ Torkel Brekke, "The Camgīsūtra of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins", *ibid.*, p. 53-62, esp. p. 54f. (cum n. 9) on *pi*; and Seishi Karashima, "A fragment of the Prātimokṣa-Vibhaṅga of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins", *ibid.*, p. 233-241.

⁴⁵ Cf. A. Yuyama, "Mahāvastu-Avadāna — Towards a New Critical Edition —", *ARIRIAB*, II (1998/1999), p. 21-38 (in Japanese); - - , "Mahāvastu and Mahāvastu-Avadāna", *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka: Festgabe für Adelheid Mette*, hrsg. von Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann und Volker M. Tschannerl (= *Indica et Tibetica*, XXXVII) (Swisttal-Odendorf 2000), p. 533-540.

For their grammatical analyses it may be worth looking at the *Rgs* as yet another good example, e.g. among many others: *-ebi*, instr.pl. (Brekke p. 54; cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §8.76-77, also 8.78) and its function as a locative-like instrumental (Karashima p. 236 n. 28; cf. Yuyama, *RgsGr* §7.26).

A new paragraph must now be made in my systematic survey of *Vinaya* literature.⁴⁶ Dr. Lore Sander of Berlin is to be commended for her initiative into this identification. She has drawn the attention of many serious scholars all over the world.⁴⁷ The Schøyen Collection indeed deserves the name of the “Dead Sea Scrolls of Buddhism”.⁴⁸ This amazing news reached these far-flung eastern isles through the able offices of Professor Kazunobu MATSUDA at Bukkyō University in Kyoto.⁴⁹

In this connection, mention must be made also of the British Library collection of Kharoṣṭhī manuscripts from Gandhāra. Such discoveries are not just for Buddhists and Buddhologists but for the world of knowledge. It had not escaped the attention of foremost specialist like Professor Richard Salomon of Seattle.⁵⁰ This news was spread through the mass media. A good example is from the National Geographic Society in Washington D.C.⁵¹ Richard Salomon’s comment is cited therein: “They won’t revolutionize our understanding of Buddhism, but they will clarify the origins and devel-

⁴⁶ A. Yuyama, *Vinaya-Texte* (= *Systematische Übersicht über die buddhistische Sanskrit-Literatur*. Im Auftrage der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, herausgegeben von Heinz Bechert, I) (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1979): one may place on p. 40 anew §1.65.S.1: “*Vinaya-Vibhaṅga* zum *Bhikṣuprātimokṣa* der *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādins*”!

⁴⁷ Cf. e.g. *Manuscripts from the Himalayas and the Indian Subcontinent: Catalogue 17* (London: Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, 1996), p. 46-47; also *Buddhist Manuscripts*, I (Oslo 2000), p. xiii-xv: “General Introduction”, by Jens Braarvig.

⁴⁸ Cf. a kind of private circulation in limited number of Martin Schøyen, *The Schøyen Collection: Checklist of Manuscripts 1-2393*, compiled by Elizabeth Gano Sørensen. 14th edition, 2nd revised issue (Oslo: In Principio Press, September 1997), p. 81: §5.17. “Dead Sea Scrolls of Buddhism” and Far East: MSS 2179, 2372-2386 & 2416.

⁴⁹ 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報, No. 13 (December 1997), p. 24-28, including 2 photos.

⁵⁰ Richard Salomon, “A Preliminary Survey of Some Early Buddhist Manuscripts Recently Acquired by the British Library”, *JAS*, CXVII, 2 (April-June 1997), p. 353-358.

⁵¹ Boris Weintraub, “Scrolls Offer a Glimpse into Buddhism’s Past”, *National Geographic (Magazine)*, CXCI, 3 (March 1997), p. 2c (with a coloured photo of a torn birch bark fragment).

opment of traditions and texts.”

To our great pleasure, those materials are now being examined by serious scholars in related fields of study.⁵² A group of scholars are occupied in deciphering and editing such materials. We can see the beautiful fruit of their hard labour under the leadership of Richard Salomon, who, in this book, gives a comprehensive survey of Buddhism and Buddhist literature more in detail.⁵³ The forthcoming volumes will be eagerly awaited by any scholar engaged in related fields of study.

I am very much looking forward to reading these volumes in print more thoroughly. I am personally interested primarily in the philological side of these materials. At the same time, my interest has always lain in the sphere of development of Buddhism — say, how far to the west Buddhism had spread or propagated in Central Asia. So far important archaeological excavations together with the unearthed written documentation have offered information on this topic.⁵⁴

The contributions begun by the Soviet Union cannot be neglected. Philologists learn a great deal from archaeologists in this regard.⁵⁵ Epigraphical works often offer important information.⁵⁶ The Soviet-Russian schol-

⁵² See e.g. Graham Shaw, “Buddhism Unrolled?”, *The Oriental and India Office Collections Newsletter*, LIII-LIV (London 1997), p. 2-5, including ills.

⁵³ Richard Salomon with contributions by Raymond Allchin and Mark Barnard, *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra. The British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments*. With a Foreword by His Holiness the Dalai Lama (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999), xx p. (incl. 4 pl.-col. ills.), 273 p., 34 ills., 59 figs., 3 maps.

⁵⁴ With regard to Buddhist literature from Central Asia I wish herewith to cite a comprehensive work: Lore Sander, “Buddhist Literature in Central Asia”, *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, IV, 1 (Colombo 1979), p. 52b-75b; 井ノ口泰淳, “シルクロード出土の仏典”, *シルクロードと仏教文化* (東京・東洋哲学研究所, 1979), p. 181-218 [first published in the *Tōyō Gakujutsu Kenkyū* / 東洋学術研究, XVII, 6 (Nov. 1978) and XVIII, 1 (Jan. 1979)].

⁵⁵ Among others see e.g. Grégoire Frumkin, *Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia* (Leiden-Köln: E. J. Brill, 1970), XVIII, 217 p., LXVII plates, 39 figs., 19 maps.

⁵⁶ Cf. e.g. V. V. Vertogradova, *Indijskaja epigrafika uz Kara-Tepe v Starom Termeze. Problemy dešifrovki i interpretacii* (Rossijskaja Akademija Nauk: Institut Vostokovedenija) (Moskva: Izdatel'skaja Firma “Vostočnaja Literatura” RAN, 1995), 160 p. (including 4 drawings and tables), 146 ills. between p. 128-129. — cf. an informative critical review by Richard Salomon, *JAOS*, CXVII, 2 (1997), p. 406-408. In this connection one may add a rich study published with extensive bibliographical remarks almost simultaneously by Richard Salomon, “An Inscribed Silver Buddhist Reliquary of the Time of King Kharosta and Prince Indravarman”, *JAOS*, CXVI, 3 (July-Sept. 1996), p. 418-452, including 23 figs.

ars have revealed for us rare materials for further studies.⁵⁷ The most welcome is their publications of the textual studies containing facsimiles of the hitherto unpublished Buddhist Sanskrit literature.⁵⁸

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Last but not the least, in connection with the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra* at issue, it is most interesting to learn of the existence of the manuscripts of this very literature in the Martin Schøyen Collection. I was thrilled to learn of it two years ago. It was announced by Professor Kazunobu Matsuda, who has really an extraordinary sharp nose to dig out unidentified Buddhist literature.⁵⁹ Every serious scholar without exception in the related fields of study must be amazed at the news and eager to learn more. Let us therefore hope to see these materials published as soon as possible! They will no doubt shed light on various unsolved problems.⁶⁰

〈日本私立学校振興・共済事業団 平成 12 年度学術研究振興資金による成果の一部〉

⁵⁷ Cf. e.g. G. M. Bongard-Levin and M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, *Indian Texts from Central Asia (Leningrad Manuscript Collection)*. With a Foreword by Akira Yuyama (= *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica: Series Minor*, V) (Tokyo: International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1986), v, 56 p.

⁵⁸ See among others e.g. *Pamjatniki indijskoj pis'mennosti iz Cwntrol'noj Azii*. Vypusk I: Izdanie tekstov, issledovanie i kommentarij G. M. Bongard-Levina i M. I. Vorov'eboj-Desjatovskoj / Vypusk II: Izdanie tekstov, issledovanie, perevod i kommentarij G. M. Bongard-Levina i M. I. Vorov'eboj-Desjatovskoj (= *Pamjatniki pis'mennosti vostoka*, LXXIII, 1-2) (= *Biblioteka Buddhica*, XXXIII-XXXIV) (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo «Nauka» Glavnaja Redakcija Vostočnoj, 1985-1990), 285 p., including facsimiles on p. 177-285, 439 p., including facsimiles on p. 315-439.

⁵⁹ 松田和信, “シアトル、そして再びオスロとロンドンへ”, 佛教大学総合研究所報, No. 15 (December 1998), p. 14-16, including 3 photos. — on the Lotus Sutra see esp. p. 15b!

⁶⁰ Cf. also J. Braarvig, J.-U. Hartmann, K. Matsuda and L. Sander, “Reports from the Kyoto Seminar for the Buddhist Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection, May 10-14, 1999”, *Newsletter/Research Institute of Bukkyo University*, No. 17 (December 1999), p. 10-15.

Aftermath Notes on Mannerheim's Travels 1906-1908

(1) Footnote 7:- Barely in time I have just received a copy with much difficulty:

C. G. Mannerheim in Central Asia 1906-1908, edited by Petteri Koskikallio and Asko Lehmuskallio (Helsinki: National Board of Antiquities, 1999), 128 p.

This book is not an 'exhibition catalogue' as I expected, but was published in conjunction with the exhibition "Mannerheim in Central Asia 1906-1908" (19.V.1999-7.I.2001). On the copyright page is found the name of Pirjo Varjola as Chief Editor of the Exhibition Catalogue at the Museum of Cultures. Contrary to my anticipation, no Indic manuscript fragment is introduced in facsimile. However, it is full of invaluable photos taken by Mannerheim himself. A facsimile of his diary is found on p. 52.

The following articles are of direct interest to my present research work:

Hedi Lahdentausta, Marjatta Parpola, Pilvi Vainonen, Asko Lehmuskallio, "Mannerheim in Central Asia", p. 7-45:

Page 20 "Tracking the Japanese" (in the Khotan region around November-December 1906): "Despite the rumours, there was no sign of Japanese agents in the area. Mannerheim returned to Kashgar for the New Year, and spent January 1907 making clean copies of his draft maps, developing his photographs and overhauling his equipment. He added to his collection of objects and sent what he had acquired so far by rail back to Finland." (p. 20b).

— Compare my description around notes 16 and 17 above!

Harry Halén, "Baron Mannerheim's hunt for ancient Central Asian manuscripts", p. 47-51:

Offering useful bibliographical notes on p. 51b.

-- , "C. G. Mannerheims brev till senator Otto Donner", p. 53-61:

Four letters from Mannheim to Professor Donner, a one-time President of the Finno-Ugrian Society, from Kashgar dated 7 January 1907, Kuldjsja (Kuča, 庫車 / 龜茲) 27 April 1907, Urumtschi (Urumchi) 4 August 1907, and from Lanchow (蘭州) on 17 February 1908.

Pirjo Varjola, "Marshal Mannerheim's Central Asian collection in the Museum of Cultures", p. 63-76.

An extensive bibliography is found on p. 76.

(2) At the same time, to my pleasant surprise, I learned of a beautiful publication of 1000 photos taken by Mannerheim in the form of CD-ROM with necessary texts cited from his diary and interactive records of sounds on the background scenes. All my wanted photos are found therein:

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

— On the name in Chinese 馬達漢 perfectly fit to Mannerheim's role a leaflet of the CD-ROM cites his words: "Pondering over the question of the name I was to bear, the Daotai of Kashgar seized a fine brush and added two beautiful characters after "Ma". I was now called Ma-da-han 'a horse who reaches the land of the Han-people, China'".

(1 February 2001)

近刊書数行紹介(1)

湯山 明

偶々筆者の目に触れて興味を惹く近刊書を、空白の一頁を利用して簡略に紹介しておきたい:

Invitation to Enlightenment. Letter to the Great King Kaniska by Mātṛceṭa. Letter to a Disciple by Candragomin. Translated with Introduction and Notes by Michael Hahn (= *Tibetan Translation Series*) (Berkeley: Dharma Publishing, 1999), lxxxiii, 379 pp.

まさに鶴首して期待を寄せていた精緻極まる書が、欲する所をすべて備えて完璧な形でついに刊行された。ケンブリッジ大学図書館所蔵の貴重な写本 *Śiṣyalekha* (Add. 1161) の覆刻もある (p. 361-366)。加えることはない。ただ、彼のもとで三分冊の大著にして博士論文をまとめ(Bonn 1980)、更に推敲を重ねて刊行された次著だけを、ここに書き留めておきたい。

Die buddhistische Briefliteratur Indiens. Nach dem tibetischen Tanjur herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von Siglinde Dietz (= *Asiatische Forschungen*, LXXXIV) (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1984), xv, 590 p.

Siegfried Lienhard, *Diamantmeister und Hausväter. Buddhistisches Gemeindeleben in Nepal* (= *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften*, 275. Band) (= *Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens*, Nr. 29) (Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), 261 p., incl. maps, ill., figs., tables. — ISBN 3-7001-2791-X.

著者は、インド学の種々の領野で、非凡な才能を発揮する。着手した対象には必ず新しく興味尽きない識見を提示する。本書 (A 4 判) は、堅実な文献学者が、現地でじっくりと生の資料を蒐集の上に成るもので、敬服するほかない。まさしく、関連分野に関心のある研究者必見の書であろう。これまでに日本でも手堅い研究報告が散見されるのは喜ばしい。すでに機を逸した筆者は、若手に堅固な方法をもって是非とも手を染めて欲しいと願うのみである。

Buddhist Manuscripts, Volume I (= *Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection*, I) (Oslo: Hermes Publishing, 2000), xxii, 302 pp., XII pl. — ISBN 82-8034-001-7.

[Editorial Committee: Jens Braarvig (*General Editor*), Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Kazunobu Matsuda, Lore Sander / Contributions to Volume I by Mark Allon, Jens Braarvig, Torkel Brekke, Paul Harrison, Jens-Uwe Hartmann, Seishi Karashima, Kazunobu Matsuda, Richard Salomon, Lore Sander, Nicholas Sims-Williams, Klaus Wille]

すでに日本でも松田和信教授の度重ねての報告で、極めて大きな反響を呼んでいるので、ここに経緯を反復する必要はあるまい。仏教の“死海の書”とまで騒がれ、多数の仏教の原典資料が知られて三四年というのに、これだけ精緻な研究成果が世に問われることは、文字通り奇蹟的ともいうべき快挙である。1996 年前後から、先ずは Sander 博士の示唆に富む幕開けがあり、Schøyen 氏の学界への寛大な好意、Braarvig 教授の献身的努力があり、精鋭の研究者たちの緻密な報告が相まって、素晴らしい成果を見るに至った。賜物を与えてくれた関係各位に満腔の敬意を表したい。かくなる上は、次巻の刊行の早からんことを念じてやまない。

Prātimokṣasūtra der Sarvāstivādin. Nach Vorarbeiten von Else Lüders* und Herbert Härtel herausgegeben von Georg von Simson. Teil II: *Kritische Textausgabe, Übersetzung, Wortindex sowie Nachträge zu Teil I* (= *Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden*, XI) (= *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philol.-hist. Klasse, III. Folge*, Nr. 238) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), VIII, 371 p. — ISBN 3-525-82510-2.

第一巻(1986)で貴重な未刊の資料を提供してくれた著者は、再び丹念に資料を蒐集し、精緻を極めた原典の校訂・独訳・語彙索引を続刊として江湖に贈ってくれた。ドイツの研究方法を正しく継ぐ著者は、あくまでも謙虚である。しかし、彼の業績は原典の批判的研究に範を垂れるばかりか、今後の律藏研究に資するところは計り知れない。前項の書に含まれるように新出の資料もあり、律藏文献の種々の角度からの研究も、新しい段階を迎えていると思う。

The Batang Manuscript Kanjur in the Newark Museum: A Preliminary Report

Peter SKILLING

This report is the fruit of a preliminary examination of Tibetan manuscripts from Batang (Acc. No. 20.468–491) in the Newark Museum in early October, 1992. I thank Valrae Reynolds, Curator of the Oriental Collections, for her enthusiastic cooperation. The report has been circulated privately for several years, and I am grateful to the International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhism for now making it available to a wider audience. I hope that despite its imperfections and inconsistencies it will be useful until it is superseded by the complete and thorough catalogue under preparation by Dr. Helmut Eimer (Bonn).

Introduction

One of the many treasures in the Tibetan Collection of the Newark Museum (Newark, New Jersey) is an incomplete manuscript Kanjur from Batang in Kham, donated by the American missionary doctor Albert L. Shelton in 1920. Only 23 volumes survive, as follows:¹

' <i>Dul ba</i> (Vinaya)	2 vols. <i>ga, cha</i>
<i>mDo sde</i> (Sūtra)	15 vols. <i>ja, ta, tha, pa, pha, tsa, tsha, dza, va, zha, za, 'a, ra, la, a</i>
<i>rGyud</i> (Tantra)	1 vol. <i>a</i>
' <i>Das mdo</i> ([Mahā-]Parinirvāṇa-sūtra)	1 vol. <i>kha</i>
<i>Phal po che</i> (Avatamsaka)	2 vols. <i>da, a</i>
<i>brGyad stong pa</i> (Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā)	1 vol. <i>ka</i>
' <i>Bum</i> (Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā)	1 vol. —

Olson gives the size of the folios as 7 inches by 22–26 inches. The original covers are lost. The divisions (*mdo*, etc.) and volume numbers (*ka*, etc.) are given on cloth tags, which are attached to the title pages. The title (or, when a text continues from a previous volume, the first) pages are divided into three boxed areas described in orange ink. The longer central

¹ Cf. Eleanor Olson, *Catalogue of the Newark Museum Tibetan Collection*, Vol. III, Newark, 1971, p. 114. Olson's mention of "Abhidharma—6 volumes" (one of the things that originally drew my interest to the collection) refers to the '*Das mdo*, *Phal po che*, *brGyad stong pa*, and '*Bum* of my list.

rectangle contains text written in large letters, opening with the Sanskrit title in the usual *rgya gar skad du* format, or with the continuation of the text from the previous volume. This rectangle is flanked by two squarish boxes; these are blank, although they may have been intended for miniatures. The text is written in silver on black, in nine lines to a regular page. The left hand margin of the *recto* gives the “volume letter” and page number but not the name of the division; the divisions are thus known only from the tags. The page numbers are written out up to 99; the hundreds are represented by a cruciform symbol or dagger plus the number. The right hand margin, *recto*, and both margins, *verso*, are blank.

Out of the 15 volumes of Sūtra (*mdo bsde*), 12 have tables of contents. As several of these were misplaced, either in the proper volume or in an entirely different volume, there is some hope that the 3 missing tables (for vols. *za*, *la*, and *a*) may still be found.² In most cases the tables are placed after the title page and numbered *cig* (“one”), with *verso* blank; such leaves are slightly smaller than those of the volume.³ Since the title pages are also numbered *cig*, the *cig* assigned to the contents pages makes a double pagination; this fact, coupled with the slightly smaller size, suggests that such pages are a later addition. The paper, ink, and calligraphy are, however, similar. In two cases (*va*, *ra*) lists of contents are given at the end of the volume, after the conclusion of the last text and on the same page. Some of the tables give the volume number (*ka*, etc.) but none the division: they simply list the texts, *glegs bam 'di'i nang na ... bzhugs so*. Such tables are not found in Kanjurs belonging to either the Tshal pa (Peking editions, Lithang, and Cone) or the Them spangs ma (London, Tokyo, and Stog Palace manuscripts) lineages. That the practice is ancient may be seen from the fact that a similar page, opening with the identical phrase, is found in the Pelliot collection of Tun-huang manuscripts.⁴ The contents are listed at the end of some volumes of the Tantra (*rgyud*: but not the Sūtra, *mdo sde*) division in the Phug brag manuscript Kanjur. The Phug brag prefers the term *po ti* to the *glegs bam* of the Newark Kanjur: *po ti 'di la ... bzhugs so*.⁵ The single volume of Tantra of the Newark Kanjur does not have a table of contents at the beginning or a list of contents at the end.

² But since *la* and *a* seem to contain only single texts, they may not have required tables of contents.

³ That is, *ja*, *ta*, *tha*, *pha*, *tsa*, *tsha*, *dza* are numbered *cig*; *pa*, *zha*, and *'a* are separate pages but unnumbered.

⁴ M. Lalou, *Inventaire des manuscrits tibétains de Touen-houang conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale (Fonds Pelliot tibétain)*, I, Paris, 1939, § 78 (p. 26).

⁵ Cf. Jampa Samten, *A Catalogue of the Phug-brag Manuscript Kanjur*, Dharamsala, 1992, Vols. *kha*, *ga*, *nga*, *ja*, *nya*, *ta*, *na*, *pa*, *ma*, and *tsa* (see also Helmut Eimer, *Location List for the Texts in the Microfiche Edition of the Phug brag Kanjur Compiled from the Microfiche Edition and Jampa Samten's Descriptive Catalogue*, *Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica*, Series Maior V, The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo, 1993). The colophons contain a wealth of information regarding the classification or nature of the texts or translations. Such remarks are absent in the Newark Kanjur, which simply lists the titles.

In some cases there is a discrepancy in text between the title page and the following page, though they seem to be contemporary (same ink, paper, hand?). Either the title or text will be incomplete, continuing on the following page with some small lacuna,⁶ or title or text will overlap, repeating some words on the next page. In the former case, missing text is sometimes supplied in smaller letters above the main text at the top of the second page.⁷ This discrepancy remains to be explained. The Sanskrit titles are very corrupt, as were the few pages of text that I have studied, which showed many lacunae, impossible spellings, and monstrous misunderstandings. The Sanskrit generally shows the older orthography (e.g. *prad nya ba ti* for *prajñapti*, *shag gya* for *śākya*). The Tibetan orthography belongs to the “middle period” (for want of a more precise term): no *da drag* or *myi*, etc., but *thos pa'i dus*, *la stsogs pa*, etc. The Kanjur employs contractions (*tshigsu*, *bcomdas*, *bzhugso*) and sporadically uses two dots placed vertically, similar to the colon (:), in place of the single stroke (*shad*, l). At the very end of the volumes are short auspicious wishes such as *yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig*, *dge'o*, and so on.

Since no overall *dkar chag* has been preserved (if such ever existed), it is impossible to know the sequence of the divisions or how many volumes they contained. The Sūtra and Tantra divisions each probably had at least 30 volumes, since in both cases the last available volume is *a* = 30. But one of the two available volumes of *Avatamsaka* is also described as *a*; this is impossible, since the *Avatamsaka* takes up only five or six volumes in other editions of the Kanjur.⁸ The Newark Kanjur treats the *Parinirvāna Sūtra* as a separate division (*'Das mdo*), as do the Them spangs ma (London, Tokyo, Stog, Ulan Bator) and Narthang editions, but not the Phug brag or Tshal pa (Lithang, Peking, etc.) editions, which include it in the Sūtra division.

The position and order of texts within the volumes of the Sūtra division and the single volume of the Tantra division is unique: it does not agree with either the Phug brag Kanjur (which is itself unique) or with the Kanjurs of the Them spangs ma or Tshal pa lineages. The Sūtra volumes do not discriminate between Mahāyāna and Śrāvakayāna texts, which are mixed together; furthermore, they include texts which other Kanjurs classify under Tantra. The only discernable principle of organization is that texts bearing similar words in their titles (*pariprcchā*, *Brahma*, *nāga*, *dharma*, etc.) are grouped together (a principle not entirely abandoned by the editors of the Tshal pa Kanjur). The point in the text at which the longer

⁶ See below, *mdo bsde 'a*.

⁷ See below, *mdo bsde dza*.

⁸ Five in the Phug brag, six in the Kanjurs of both the Them spangs ma (London, Stog Palace, Tokyo, Ulan Bator) and Tshal pa (Lithang, Peking, etc.) lineages.

collections (Vinaya, Parinirvāṇa, Avatamsaka) are broken up into several volumes also seems to be unique.

In common with the Them spangs ma Kanjurs, the Newark Kanjur contains a number of texts which were excluded from the Tshal pa Kanjurs, which relegated them to the Tanjur: the *Sthaviropāṇiṣṭa* (*gnas brtan spyan drang ba*, Vol. *pa*), the *Karmaprajñapti* (*las gdags pa*, Vol. *tsha*) and the *Lokaprajñapti* (*'jig rten gzhag pa*, Vol. *va*). On the other hand, it contains the (Lesser) *Śūnyatā-mahāsūtra* (*mdo chen po stong pa nyid*, Vol. *zha*) which is missing in the Them spangs ma and Phug brag Kanjurs but found in the Tshal pa Kanjurs.⁹ The Kanjur also contains one translation which, on the basis of the title, is found only in the Phug brag Kanjur: the *Pho brang 'khor skyong theg pa chen po'i mdo*, a different translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla-pariprcchā* found in other Kanjurs under the title *Yul 'khor skyoñ gis źus pa'i mdo*.¹⁰ The translation of *druma* in the title of the *Drumakinnararāja-pariprcchā* agrees with the Them spangs ma and Phu brag Kanjurs, *ljon pa*, against the *sdong po* of the Tshal pa Kanjurs.¹¹ My study of the *Mahāsūtras* suggests that the Newark Kanjur belongs to an old and independent textual transmission that predates the compilation of the Tshal pa and Them spangs ma collections. Thus, despite the many errors (surpassing even those of the Phug brag) that the Kanjur shows, it should be a valuable witness for the preparation of critical editions. Since the Sūtra division bears no resemblance to that of the Them spangs ma, Tshal pa, or Phug brag Kanjurs, it may be a copy, several generations removed, of one of the several Sūtra collections housed at various monasteries in Central Tibet. There is no doubt that many such collections existed (a number are listed, for example, in the Narthang Kanjur *dkar chag* [26a1–2] and in the colophon of the Sūtra division of the Lithang Kanjur); some of the more prestigious were used in the compilation of the Old Narthang Kanjur manuscript.

Olson dates the Kanjur to the 16th century, Valrae Reynolds to the 15th–16th centuries.¹² While such dates are not impossible, Tibetan manuscripts in a style that lasted for centuries are notoriously difficult to date in the absence of any historical records such as colophons or local chronicles. It is certain, however, that the Kanjur is a copy of a venerable exemplar, or perhaps venerable exemplars: different divisions and different volumes may have been

⁹ For the transmission of the (Lesser) *Śūnyatā* in various Kanjurs see Peter Skilling, *Mahāsūtras: Great Discourses of the Buddha*, Vol. I, The Pali Text Society, London, 1994, pp. xxi–xxii.

¹⁰ See Samten 1992, p. xviii and catalogue number 296.

¹¹ Cf. Paul Harrison, *Druma-kinnara-rāja-pariprcchā-sūtra*, Tokyo, 1992, p. xxxix, and Peter Skilling, “Kanjur Titles and Colophons”, in Per Kvaerne (ed.), *Tibetan Studies: Proceedings of the 6th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies FAGERNES 1992*, Oslo, 1994, p. 771.

¹² Valrae Reynolds, *Tibetan Buddhist Altar*, Newark, 1991, p. 30 (the photograph on p. 15 gives a general view of the volumes as housed in the altar).

transmitted independently, and only later been copied as a set. Its antiquity may be seen from the orthography (particularly the transliteration of Sanskrit), the arrangement of contents, and the inclusion of texts excluded from or missing in the comprehensive Tshal pa edition, which was compiled in CE 1347–51.

Description of individual volumes

In the following I describe the volumes of the Kanjur in the order Vinaya, Sūtra, Tantra, Nirvāṇa, Avataṃsaka, Prajñāpāramitā. The order is arbitrary since, as noted above, no overall *dkar chag* is available. During my brief stay in Newark, I was unable to examine the entire Kanjur, page by page. My goal was twofold: to determine whether or not the Kanjur is related to any of the known Kanjurs (as seen above, it is not), and to see whether it contained any of the texts that I was then studying. The information for the various volumes is therefore inconsistent, from the strictures of time and the bias of my interests. In some cases I was able to transcribe titles from the text itself and to note down folio numbers, in others only to note the titles from the tables of contents. Cross-references to other Kanjurs are given in some cases only.

I have used the following abbreviations and sigla:

TC = Table of Contents

IT = Indian Title

TT = Tibetan Title

tr. col. = translators' colophon

Bu = Bu ston: Soshū Nishioka, "Putun bukkyōshi Mokurokubusakuin" I, II, III ["Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu-ston's "History of Buddhism"'], in *Tōkyō-daigakubungakubu bunkakōryūkenkyūshisetsu kenkyū kiyō* 4 (1980, pp. 61–92; 5 (1981), pp. 43–94; 6 (1983), pp. 47–201.

D = Derge edition: H. Ui *et al.*, *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Canons*, Sendai, 1934.

F = Phug brag manuscript Kanjur: Jampa Samten, *A Catalogue of the Phug-brag Manuscript Kanjur*, Dharamsala, Library of Tibetan Works & Archives, 1992. Also Helmut Eimer, *Location List for the Texts in the Microfiche Edition of the Phug brag Kanjur*, Tokyo, The International Institute for Buddhist Studies (Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior V).

P = Peking Kanjur/Tanjur: D.T. Suzuki (ed.), *The Tibetan Tripitaka*, Peking Edition, Catalogues I–IV, Vols. 165–168, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1961.

S = Stog Palace manuscript Kanjur: Tadeusz Skorupski, *A Catalogue of the Stog Palace Kanjur*, Tokyo, The International Institute for Buddhist Studies, 1985 (Bibliographia Philologica Buddhica, Series Maior IV).

U = Ulan Bator manuscript Kanjur: Géza Bethlenfalvy, *A Hand-list of the Ulan Bator Manuscript of the Kanjur Rgyal-rtse Them Spañs-ma*, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982.

I have transcribed text as it appears, without any standardization. A few restored letters are enclosed in square brackets. When the *shad* appears as two dots (see above), it is represented by a colon (:).¹³

I. 'DUL BA

3. 'DUL BA GA // 20.480

Opens: 'dul ba gzhi | bam po lnga bcu gsum pa : glegs bam gsum pa || de nas gnas brtan gnas brtan | rnam kyis || (2a) tshe dang ldan pa sa ka la 'di skad ces smras so || tshe dang ldan pa yul 'khor skyong gis rang gi las kyi rgyu ba ...

Ends: (316a) chos nyid kyis gang gis tshe | byang chub sems dpa' bcom ldan 'das bltam pa de'i tshe | yangs sa chen po 'di dag g'yos par gyur to || zhes bya ba nas shes ldan dag sems can gzhan yang 'dir skyes zhes bya ba'i bar gong ma bzhin du'o || yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig | tshe ring nad med bde skid ldan par gyur cig | dge'o ||

Remarks: The opening passage is from the end of the *Sman gyi gzhi* (*Bhaiṣajyavastu*), the *Anavataptaḡāthā*, no. XIX, Svāti.¹⁴ In Phug brag and Stog Vol. *ga* opens with Bampo 55, also in *Sman gyi gzhi*; Bampo 53 is at the end of Vol. *kha* (Samten 1992, p. 2; Skorupski 1985, p. 2). In Peking the Bampo and passage in question occur at *ge* 276a7; Vol. *nge* opens with Bampo 55. Thus the distribution across volumes differs. The enumeration of the volume number after the Bampo number ("Volume 3", *glegs bam gsum pa = ga*) seems to be an old practice abandoned by the Them spangs ma and Tshal pa Kanjurs, but found in the longer *Prajñāpāramitās* such as the *Śatasāhasrikā* ('*Bum*) at Newark¹⁵ and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* at the Museum of Ethnology, University of Zürich.¹⁶ A 13th century date has been suggested for the latter two texts.

¹³ In the present report, in most cases it occurs as the first *shad* of a new line. In the pages that I have studied it also occurs in the body of the text, for example after *dang* or '*am*.

¹⁴ Cf. Heinz Bechert, *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Verssammlungen aus zentralasiatischen Sanskrithandschriften I, Die Anavataptaḡāthā und die Sthaviraḡāthā* (Sanskrittexte aus den Turfanfunden VI), Berlin, 1961, p. 158.

¹⁵ See Valrae Reynolds, "New Discoveries About a Set of Tibetan Manuscripts in The Newark Museum", *Orientalions*, July, 1987, figs. 1 and 2. Two of the same volumes are illustrated in Valrae Reynolds, Amy Heller, and Janet Gyatso, *The Newark Museum Tibetan Collection III: Sculpture and Painting*, 2nd ed., Newark, 1986, pl. 7.

¹⁶ See Pratapaditya Pal and Julia Meech-Pekarik, *Buddhist Book Illuminations*, Hong Kong, 1988, pl. 40: lower leaf, *glegs bam gnyis pa*.

6. 'DUL BA CHA // 20.469

Opens: de nas bcom ldan 'das kyis gdan de nyid la bzhugs bzhin du || 'dul ba la nyan thos rnams kyi bslab pa'i gzhi | gnyis pa bcu (2a) gnyis pa bca' bar bshad nas dge slong rnams la bka' stsal pa |

Ends: (270a) sa bon dang skyab gcod | pa'i ltung byed de bcu gcig pa rdzogs so || yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig |

Remarks: The volume probably belong to the *Vinayavibhaṅga*.

II. MDO BSDE¹⁷

7. MDO BSDE JA // 20.491

[1] ('phags pa) 'jam dpal gyi mtshan yang dag par brjod pa

D360 (*rgyud ka-1*); F410 (*rgyud ka-1*); S427; U492.

Last ('phags pa) chos kyi phung po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo

D245; F212 (*mdo dza*), F353 (*mdo gu/ka*); S114; U164.

translators' colophon; ye dharmā ...; bkra shis par gyur cig.

TC: separate leaf, *ja / cig*, "23 texts":

glegs bam ja pa 'di la

[1] mtshan brjod dang

[2] 'phags pa 'jam dpal gnas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang

D196; P863; S91; U141.

[3] 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyis dris pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

D172; P839; S56; U104.

[4] 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyis bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

D177; P844; S92; U142.

[5] 'phags pa 'jam dpal gyi mtshan brgya rtsa brgyad pa dang |

D462; P329; S511; U578.

[6] 'phags pa mar me 'bul ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

D204; P870; S78; U126.

[7] 'phags pa srid par 'pho ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

¹⁷ So spelt consistently on all tags.

D226; P892; S237; U286.

[8] 'phags pa gser 'od dam pa mdo sde'i dbang po'i rgyal pa(!) zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

D556; P175; S240; U289.

[9] 'phags pa chos thamd yang dag par sdud pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang

D238; P904; S113; U163.

[10] 'phags pa chos thamd 'byung ba med pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

D180; P847; S234; U283.

[11] dam pa'i chos kyi rgyal po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

D243; P909; S216; U265.

[12] 'phags pa chos kyi tshul zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

D244; P910; S112; U162.

[13] 'phags pa chos thamd kyi yon tan bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

D527; P782; S486; U553.

[14] 'phags pa don dam pa'i chos kyi rnam par rgyal ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

D246; P912; S131; U181.

[15] chos nyid rang gi ngo bo nyid las mi g'yo bar tha dad par thamd la snang ba'i mdo dang l

D128; P796; S193; U242.

[16] 'phags pa chos dang don rnam par 'byed pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

D247; P913; S116; U166.

[17] 'phags pa chos kyi phyag rgya zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

D203; P869; S185; U234.

[18] 'phags pa chos gsum pa zhes bya ba'i mdo dang :

[19] 'phags pa chos bzhi pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

D250; P916; S117; U167 or D251; P917; S133; U183.

[20] 'phags pa chos bzhi zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

see preceding entry.

[21] 'phags pa chos bzhi bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

D249; P915; S132; U182.

[22] 'phags pa chos thamd snying po'i gnas bzhi(?) bye brag bshad pa sgra brgyad kyis 'byed

pa (?) dang l

D—; F—; S—; U—.

[23] 'phags pa'i chos kyi phung po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

D245; P911; S114; U164.

nyi shu rtsa gsum bzhugso ll

Remarks: § 1 opens the Tantra division in both D and F, and also opens some mDo mangs collections. In Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* it opens the second section of Tantra in general as the Kriyā Tantra. §§ 1–5 have Mañjuśrī in their titles; §§ 6–8 are miscellaneous; §§ 9–23 have dharma in their titles. I have not traced § 22 (of which the title is not entirely clear) in other Kanjurs. All texts belong to the Mahāyāna.

9. MDO BSDE TA // 20.488

[1] 'phags pa bcom ldan 'das ye shes rgyas pa'i mdo sde rin po che mthar phyin pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo

D99; F83 (*ga*-whole volume); S43; U96.

Ends: ye dharma; yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cigl gsungs rab zhal(?) grol bar gyur cig l om ma ñi padme hūṃ hrī.

TC: separate leaf, *ta / cig*, “3 texts”:

glegs bam ta pa'i nang du l

[1] bcom ldan 'das kyi ye shes rgyas pa'i mdo sde rin po che mthar phyin pa dang l

D99; P767; S49; U96.

[2] rgyas po go pa btul ba dang :

S—. Read rgyal po?

[3] de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po zhes bya ba'i mdo' dang ll

D258; P924; S72; U120.

mdo 'di gsum bzhugs s'ho ll

10. MDO BSDE THA // 20.473

[1] 'phags pa rin po che'i mtha' zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo

D118 (*ja*); F315 (*khu*); S163; U213

Last mdo chen po sgyu ma'i dra ba zhes bya ba (Māyājāla)

Ends: verse *praṇidhāna*.

TC: separate leaf, *gcig pa'o*, “8 texts”—but 18 in volume:

glegs bam tha ma 'di la

[1] 'phags pa rin po che'i mtha' zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[-9b7] D118; P786; S163; U213.

[2] 'phags pa yang dag par spyod pa'i tshul namkha'i namkha' mdog gi 'dul ba'i bzod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

[9b7–113b9] D263; P929; S111; U161.

[3] rgyal po gdam pa zhes bya ba thig pa shes bya ba (?) thig pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[114a1–]

[4] 'phags byang chub semda'i spyod yul la rnam par 'phrul pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[-168b9; no tr. col.] D146; P813; S246; U294.

[5] 'phags pa byang chub semda'i spyod pa bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[169a1–174a9, tr. J, P, Y] S86.

[6] byang chub semda'i so sor thar pa'i chos bzhi bskub pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[174b1–184a, tr. Dīpaṃkara, etc.] S109.

[7] 'phags pa sa lu ljang ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

[184a–190b2]

[8] 'phags pa dkyil 'khor brgyad pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[190b2–229b]

[9] yang 'phags pa dkyil 'khor brgyad pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[229b–230a]

[10] 'phags pa bkra shis brgyad pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[230a–231b3] D278; P944; S100; U150.

[11] 'phags byams la 'jug pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[231b–225b8; tr. S, Y] S37.

[12] 'phags phung po gsum po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[226a1–192b?]

[13] 'phags pa sku gsum pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[102b?–203b?]

[14] 'phags pa bde ba can gyi bkod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo' dang :

[203b?–106b2?]

[15] mdo' chen po 'dus pa chen po zhes bya ba dang l

[106b2–112a10]: see Skilling, *Mahāsūtras*, No. 8.

[16] bsam gtan gsang ba'i mdo dang l

[–115a] not in DFPS.

[17] tshangs lha phan sems kyi zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo' dang l

[115a–116b]

[18] mdo' chen po sgyu ma'i dra ba zhes bya ba'i mdo dang

[117a–]: see Skilling, *Mahāsūtras*, No. 1.

spyir mdo sna brgyad bzhugso ll

Remarks: The pagination of the volume is confused. Titles containing the word bodhisattva (§§ 4–6) and titles containing the numbers eight (§§ 8–10) and three (§§ 12, 13) are grouped together. The volume contains two Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* (§§ 15, 18). The *Mahāsamāja-mahāsūtra* (§ 15) is classed under Tantra in Kanjurs other than the Phug brag. In the IDan dkar ma it is classed with the other *Mahāsūtras* under a class of that name. In Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* (Nishioka § 12) it is classed under Hīnayāna sūtras.

13. MDO BSDE PA // 20.477

[1] 'phags pa sangs rgyas kyi stobs bskyod pa'i cho 'phrul pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo

Ends: (301a) gnas brtan spyang drang ba rdzogs s'ho ll tr. col.; ye dharmā; yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig; om ma ni pad me hūṃ hrī ll dge'o

TC: separate leaf, unnumbered, “13 texts”:

glegs bam (illegible) 'di la l

[1] 'phags pa sangs rgyas kyi stobs bskyod pa'i ye shes cho 'phrul rnam par bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

D187; F303 (*khi*-1); S41; U88.

[2] thabs mkhas pa chen po sangs rgyas drin lan bsab pa'i mdo dang l

[3] 'phags pa thabs mkhas pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[4] 'phags pa ma skyes dgra'i gyod pa bsal ba zhes bya ba'i mdo dang l

D216; F289 (*ke*-1); S233; U272.

[5] 'phags pa dad pa'i stobs bskyed pa la 'jug pa'i phyag rgya zhes bya ba'i mdo dang l

[6] 'phags pa nges pa dang ma nges par 'gro ba'i phyag rgya la 'jug pa zhes bya ba theg pa

chen po'i mdo dang l

[7] 'phags pa 'jig rten gyi rjesu 'jug pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[8] 'phags pa rdo 'phags pa'i mdo dang l

[9] bsod nams kyi stobs kyi rtog pa brjod pa dang l

D347; F213 (dza); S253; U301.

[10] phag mo'i rdog(!) brjod pa dang l

D345; F312 (khi-end); S254; U302.

[11] arya bkres mos zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

[12] khang bu brtsegs pa'i mdo dang l

D332; F148 (pa/tsha); S258; U306. See Bentor.

[13] gnas brtan spyang drang ba dang l

Bu 895; D4199 (Tanjur only); F92 (*cha-5* = last); S269; U317.

spyir mdo sna bcu gsum bzhugs so ll

Remarks: In addition to Mahāyāna sūtras, the volume contains Śrāvakayāna texts: two *Avadānas* (§§ 9, 10), the *Kūṭāgāra-sūtra* (§ 12), and the *Sthaviropānimantraṇa* (§ 13). The last named is classed under sūtra in the Them spangs ma and Phug brag Kanjurs, but is excluded from the Tshal pa Kanjurs, which classify it under Tanjur.

14. MDO BSDE PHA // 20.487

Ends: ye dharma ... ; dge'o dge'o dgago(?); bkra shis par gyur cig.

TC: separate leaf, *pha / cig*, "7 texts": glegs bam pha'i nang du :

[1] 'phags pa blo gros rgya mtshos zhus pa dang l

D152 (*pha-1*); F153 (*pha/cha-1*); S134; U184.

[2] 'phags pa klu'i rgyal po ma gros pas zhus pa dang l

D156; P823; S309; U355.

[3] 'phags pa ma gros pa'i rgyal pos kun dris pa dang l

[4] 'phags pa klu'i rgyal po rgya mtshos zhus pa dang l

[5] 'phags pa sprin chen po dang :

D232; P898; S81; U131.

[6] 'phags pa sprin chen po lnga rlung gi dkyil 'khor kyi le'u dang :

D658; P335; S614; U683.

[7] klu thams cad kyi snying po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo l

bdun bzhugs s'ho ||

Remarks: The texts all or mostly involve *nāgas* (*klu*).

17. MDO BSDE TSA // 20.482

Ends: no maṅgala, etc.

TC: separate leaf, *cig gong ma*, “16 texts”:

(glegs) btsam (! = bam tsa) pa 'di la

[1] 'phags pa klu'i rgyal po tsha ba rgya mtshos zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[2] 'phags pa klu'i rgyal po rgya mtshos zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[3] 'phags pa tshangs pas zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[4] 'phags pa tshangs pas byin gyis zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[5] 'phags pa khyad par sems kyis zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[6] tshangs pa'i dra ba'i mdo dang :

[7] 'phags pa mi'i (= mi 'am?) ci'i rgyal po ljon pas zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

D157; F294 (mdo ke-6): see Paul Harrison, *Druma-kinnara-rāja-paripṛcchā-sūtra*, Tokyo, 1992.

[8] 'phags pa lha'i lha'i (!) bu rab rtsal sems kyis zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[9] 'phags pa rnam par 'phrul pa'i rgyal po'i zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[10] 'phags pa dpal dbyig gis zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

D162; P829; S261; U309.

[11] 'phags bram ze mo dpal ldan mas zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[12] 'phags pa spobs pa'i blo gros kyis zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[13] 'phags pa bde byed kyis zhus (or dus?) zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

D165; P832; S308; U354.

[14] 'phags pa byams pas zhus pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[15] kun tu brgyu sen r[i]ngs kyis zhus pa'i mdo dang |

[16] 'dus pa chen po theg pa chen po'i mdo sde las || de bzhin gshegs pa'i dpal gyi dam tshigs ces bya ba'i mdo dang |

mdo sna bcu drug bzhugs s'ho ||

Remarks: All texts in Vol. *tsa* contain *-pariṣcchā* (*zhus pa*) in their titles except §§ 6 and 16. The *Brahmajāla-sūtra* (§ 6), has been placed among *pariṣcchā* texts containing Brahma (*tshangs pa*) in their titles (§§ 3, 4, and, in its full title, § 5). The *Brahmajāla* and the *Dirghanakha-pariṣcchā* (§ 15) belong to the Śrāvakayāna, the remaining texts to the Mahāyāna.

18. MDO BSDE TSHA // 20.472

[1] IT: a bhi ni skra ma na su tra

TT: mngon par byung ba'i mdo¹⁸

[4] (138a2 foll.) IT | kar ma prad nya ba ti | = *Karmaprajñāpti*

TT | las gdags pa

kon mchog gsum la phyags 'tshalo || sdig pa ni ched du byas dang sems pa dang | 'das pa dang ni dge ba dang | dmigs pa dang 'dod pa'i khamts tshigsu bcaḍ dang las bsdu ba 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na | bcom ldan 'das mñan du yod pa na rgyal bu byed kyi tshal mgon med zas byin gyis kun dga' ra ba na bzhugso || de nas bcomdas kyis dge slong rnams la bka' stsal pa : dge slong dag nga ni ched du byas shing | bstasgs pa'i rnams par smin pa nyamsu myong bar sngon te | ... (ends 186a8) chos mngon par las las gdags pa bshad pa tshig bcu gcig pa ste | las gdags pa bshad pa gsum pa rdzogs s'ho ||

[5] (186a9) IT karma bi bha ga : TT las rnams par 'byed pa |

Ends: (260a) yon mchod bkra shis gyur cig | tshe ring bar gyur cig | nad med par gyur cig bkra shis phun sum 'tshogs par gyur cig |

TC: separate leaf, *cig*, "8 texts":

glegs bam tsha pa 'di pa |

[1] mngon par 'byung ba'i mdo dang |

[1–104b5]

[2] 'phags pa chos kyi rgyal mtshan zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[104b6–105a3] S802?

[3] 'phags pa nga bo che chen po'i le'u zhes bya ba chen po'i mdo dang :

[105a3–138a2] S94

[4] las gdags pa zhes bya ba'i mdo dang |

[138a2–186a8; no tr. col.]

[5] las rnams 'b[y]ed pa'i mdo dang |

¹⁸ The section of the *Abhiṣkramaṇa* corresponding to the *Bimbisārapratyudgamana-mahāsūtra* is 72a–76a2: see Skilling, *Mahāsūtras*, No. 2B.

[186a9–; no tr. col.]

[6] 'phags pa las kyis sgribs pa rnam par dag pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[203a3–] S128

[7] 'phags pa las kyis sgrigs(!) pa rgyun gcod pa zhes bya ba thegs(!) pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[213a4–; no tr. col.] S79

[8] 'phags pa zung gi mdo'i chos kyis rnam grangs dang

[220b3; no tr. col.] S76.

brgyad bzhugs so ||

Remarks: Texts with the word *karma* in their titles (§§ 4–7) are grouped together. The *Abhiniṣkramaṇa-sūtra* (§ 1), the *Karmavibhaṅga* (§ 5), and the *Karmaprajñapti* (§ 4) belong to the Śrāvakayāna. The last named belongs to the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma; it is included in Sūtra in the Them spangs ma Kanjurs, but excluded from the Tshal pa Kanjurs, which relegate it to the Abhidharma division of the Tanjur.

19. MDO BSDE DZA // 20.483

[1] IT | aya pra śan ta pa na sa tsa ya pra ta hā rya na ma sa ma dhi ma ha ya na su tra

TT | 'phags pa rab tu zhi ba rnam (2a) ting nge 'dzin ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo

Note: The rest of the title has been added at the top left of 2a. It is worn and not easy to read; the superscript vowels are effaced. I transcribed *gar ngas pa'i cham 'phal rgya*, for *par nges pa'i cho 'phrul gyi?*

Ends: (272a4) yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig.

TC: separate, slightly smaller leaf, *cig*, “16 texts”:

gleg bam 'di'i nang na |

[1] 'phags pa rab tu zhi ba rnam par nges pa'i cham(!) 'phrul gyi ting nge 'dzin ces bya ba'i mdo dang |

D129; P797; S68; U116.

[2] 'phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes kyis phyag rgya'i ting nge 'dzin ces bya ba'i mdo dang |

[3] 'phags pa dkon mchog sprin ces bya ba'i theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |

[4] 'phags pa dkon mchog 'byung gnas zhes bya ba'i theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :

[no tr. col.]

[5] mdo chen po gzungs(!) can snying po bsrung(!) ba zhes bya ba dang |

[216b4–220b1]: see Skilling, *Mahāsūtras*, No. 2A.

[6] mdo chen po kun tu rgyu dang | kun tu rgyu ma yin ba dang | mthun pa'i mdo dang |

[220b2–231a1; no tr. col.]: see Skilling, *Mahāsūtras*, No. 9.

[7] 'phags pa rgyal bu don 'grub kyī mdo bam po gcig pa dang |

[8] rten cing 'brel bar 'byung ba dang | rnam par 'byed pa bstan pa zhes bya ba dang |

[9] ltung ba sde lnga'i mdo dang | mi dge ba'i 'bras bu brtag pa'i mdo dang |

D304; P970; S301; U347.

[10] 'phags pa rta nad thams cad rab tu zhi bar byed pa'i gzungs dang |

[11] 'phags pa shes rab kyī pha rol tu phyin pa'i gzungs dang |

[12] shes pa thams cad mthar phyin pa'i grub pa'i mchod rten ces bya ba'i gzungs dang |

[13] 'phags pa shes rab kyī pha rol tu phyin pa yig cig ma dang |

[14] 'phags pa legs nyes kyī rgyud dang | 'bras bu bstan pa zhes bya ba'i mdo dang |

[15] legs pa (!) rdo rje snying po zhes bya ba'i gzungs dang :

[16] 'phags pa'i rnam par mi rtag(!) par 'jug pa zhes bya ba'i gzungs dang |

D142; P810; S170 (mdo dza–4); U220 (see Bu § 227, with note on Sūtra status).

bcu drug bzhugs s'ho ||

Remarks: Volume *dza* contains Mahāyāna and dhāraṇī texts (§§ 11, 12, 15, 16); the latter would be assigned to the Tantra division in other Kanjurs. The volume contains two Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* (§§ 15, 18); the *Āṭānāṭīya-mahāsūtra* (§ 6) is classed under Tantra in Kanjurs other than the Phug brag. In the lDan dkar ma it is classed with the other *Mahāsūtras* under a class of that name (Lalou § VIII); in Bu ston's *Chos 'byung* (Nishioka § 13) it is classed under Hīnayāna sūtras.

20. MDO BSDE VA // 20.490

[1] IT lo ka prad nya ba ta :

TT 'jig rten gzhag pa ||

F403 (ngu/na-2) 'jig rten gdags pa

thams cad mhkyen pa la phyag 'tshal lo ||

64b1 'jig rten bzhag las tshigs bcu gsum pa'o ||

77b6 'jig rten bzhag pa la(!) tshig bcu bzhi pa ste rdzogs s'ho || ||

Ends: conclusion of a maṅgala-gāthā; om̐ ye dharma; yon mchod ... ; beginning of a verse: gang gis lus med chos dag la ||

TC: at end, “16 texts”¹⁹

glegs bam va 'di nang na

[1] 'jig rten bzhags pa'i mdo |

[2] 'phags pa theg pa chen po'i man ngag dang | [77b6-?]

[3] 'phags pa chos kun tu 'grub ba dang ||

[4] da(!) bzhin gshegs pa'i 'gro ba dang : [?-229a7]

S182.

[5] mdo chen po stong pa nyid dang || [229a8–238a7]: see Skilling, *Mahāsūtras*, No. 4.

[6] mdo chen po lnga gsum pa dang | [238a8–246a8]: see Skilling, *Mahāsūtras*, No. 7.

[7] gsal rgyal (read rgyal) kyi tshigs su bcad pa dang [246a-?]

[8] mchod rten bskor ba'i tshigs su bcad pa dang :

[9] bkra shis pa brjod pa'i tshigs su brjod(!) pa dang |

[10] bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa dang ||

[11] de bzhin gshegs pa'i lnga'i bkra shis kyi tshigs su bcad pa dang |

[12] bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa dang ||

[13] dkon mam(!) chog(!) gsum kyi bde legs kyi tshigs su bcad pa dang |

[14] bkra shis dam pa gang gang zhig gi rtses pa dang |

[15] yang bkra shis dam pa rtsas dang :

[16] bde legs su tshigs su bcad pa dang :

bcu drug bzhugs so || yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig || ||

Remarks: Volume *va* contains an Abhidharma text (§ 1), two Mūlasarvāstivādin *Mahāsūtras* (§§ 5, 6), *gāthā* (§§ 7, 8), and *maṅgala-gāthā* (§§ 9–16). The *Lokaprajñapti* (§ 1) belongs to the (Mūla)Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma; it is included in Sūtra in the Them spangs ma Kanjurs, but excluded from the Tshal pa Kanjurs, which relegate it to the Abhidharma division of the Tanjur.

21. MDO BSDE ZHA // 20.481

[1] pho brang 'khor skyong theg pa chen po'i mdo

Cf. Samten 1992, p. xviii; F296 (*mdo ke*)

Ends: ye dharma; yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig | zhus so || dge'o dge'o ||

TC: separate unnumbered leaf, “21 texts”:

glegs bam 'di la |

¹⁹ A transcription and translation of the contents by Shelton is attached to the title page.

- [1] pho brang 'khor skyong theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |
- [2] 'phags pa 'da' ka ye shes kyi mdo theg pa chen po'i mdo |
- [3] 'du shes bcu bstan pa'i mdo theg pa chen pa dang (?)
- [4] mi rtag pa nyid kyi mdo dang :
- [5] sangs rgyas kyi sde snod tshul khirms 'chal pa'i(?) tshar gcod pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :
- [6] sangs rgyas kyi mdzod bshad pa'i yi ge'i le'u :
- [7] 'phags pa sangs rgyas thams cad kyi yul 'jug pa ye shes snang ba'i rgyan ces bya ba theg pa chen po'i mtho(!) dang |
- [8] 'phags pa sangs rgyas kyi rtog pa brjod pa shes ldan kyi mdo dang :
- [9] 'phags pa sangs rgyas kyi sa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |
- [10] 'phags pa sangs rgyas mi spang ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |
- [11] 'phags pa sangs rgyas bdun pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang :
- [12] 'phags pa sangs rgyas brgyad pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |
- [13] sangs rgyas bcu pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang
- [14] 'phags pa sangs rgyas bcu-is [= bcu gnyis] pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |
- [15] 'phags pa sangs rgyas rjesu dran pa dang |
- [16] 'phags pa phyr mi ldog pa'i 'khor lo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang
- [17] 'phags pa yongs su bsngo ba'i 'khor lo chen po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo' ||
- [18] 'phags pa mtshan mo bzang mo zhes bya ba'i mdo dang |
- [19] 'phags pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i mdo rgyal po'i mdo zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang |
- [20] snang brgyad zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo' dang |

[no tr. col.]

- [21] mdo'i(!) chen po stong pa nyid dang :

See Skilling, *Mahāsūtras*, No. 3.

- [22] mdo' chen po rgyal mtshan ces bya ba shes bya ba dang ||

See Skilling, *Mahāsūtras*, No. 6.

nyer nyis bzhugs sh'o ||

Remarks: Volume *zha* contains miscellaneous Mahāyāna sūtras including a group with Buddha in their titles (§§ 5–15), along with Śrāvākayāna sūtras (§§ 3,4) including two *Mahāsūtras* (§§ 21,22). The *Śūnyatā-mahāsūtra* (§ 21) is missing in the Them spangs ma and Phug brag Kanjurs.

22. MDO BSDE ZA // 20.475

[1] 'phags pa dge ba'i rtsa ba yongs su 'dzin pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo

D101; F84 (nga/za-1); S93; U143

Last: 'phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i gzugs brnyan gzhags pa'i phan yon yang dag par bstan pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs

D320; F127 (na); S232; U281

Ends: 'phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i gzugs brnyan gzhags pa'i phan yon yang dag par bstan pa zhes bya ba'i chos kyi rnam grangs rdzogs s'ho ll tr. col.; yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig l; dge'o; ye dharma.

TC: not available.

23. MDO BSDE 'A // 20.479

[1] 'phags pa dam pa'i chos dran ba nye bar gzhag pa l (2a) sems dpa' dang l rang sangs rgyas dang l 'phags pa'i nyan thos thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo ll 'di skad ...

Ends: (271a) de'i dus su sangs rgyas so ll yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig l.

TC: available: glegs bam 'di'i nang du dran pa nye bar gzhag gi bstod 'dug.

Remarks: The table of contents, which bears no marginal volume or page number, was found in 20.476 (*Avatamsaka nga*). It is impossible to say whether it was to be placed at the beginning or end. Since this is the first volume of the text, the second volume should have occupied Vol. 24 (*ya*), which is missing. The text could only have taken up two volumes, since Vol. 25 (*ra*) opens with a new text.

25. MDO BSDE RA // 20.487

[1] IT l arya su rya ga rbha na na ma ma ha ba'i pu lya su tra l

TT l shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i sde nyi ma'i snying po zhes bya ba (2a) bam po dang po l sangs rgyas dang l byang chub chen po'i khab na l 'od ma'i tshal bya ka lan da ka ...

Ends: ye dharmā; mantras

TC: at end (249b7):

glegs bam 'di la l

[1] 'phags pa shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i sde ll nyi ma'i snying po zhes bya ba'i mdo dang :

[2] 'phags pa shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i sa'i snying po 'khor lo bcu ba zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang ll

[3] 'phags pa 'a(!) (250a) phrags ma lnga brgya ces bya ba theg pa chen pa dang l

[4] 'phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa lag na rdo rje zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo dang l

[5] 'phags rnam par grol lam las sbyangs ba'i yon tan bstan pa zhes bya ba dang l
spyir mdo sde lnga bzhugs s'ho ll

Remarks: Numbers 1 and 2 contain Mahāvaipulya (*shin tu rgyas pa chen po*) in their titles. Number 5, a translation of a chapter of the *Vimuktimārga* or *Vimuttimaggā*, belongs to the Theravādin school.²⁰

26. MDO BSDE LA // 20.468

[1] IT l pū rna mu kha a ba da na śa ta ka

Ends: continuing text? (no *rdzogs'ho*). bkra shis par gyur cig; mantra.

TC: not available.

30. MDO BSDE A // 20.478

Tag: mdo bsde pad dkar

[1] IT l sad dharma pun da ri ka l na ma ma ha ya na su tra ll

TT l dam pa'i chos pad ma dkar po zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo ll

Ends: (196a) don dam pa bstan pa rdzogs s'ho ll; tr. col.; ye dharma; yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig l ll ma gha lam ll bskal pa drang(?) 'das pa'i dus kyi tshe l

TC: not available

III. RGYUD

30. RGYUD A // 20.485

[1] IT l ka ta ra tsa na ga dzva la da ha to ta sarba karma u ta sha ka ma tan tra (*Krodharāja-nāgajvālā ... sarvakarma ... tantra?):

TT l khro bo'i rgyal po klu bsreg par byed pa l las (2a) thams cad kyi khro bo 'byung po 'dus byed kyi rgyud

Not in DFPSU or Bu ston

Ends: (283a?) dpal khrag 'thung chen po mngon du 'byung pa zhes bya ba : phyi ma'i phyi

²⁰ See Peter Skilling, "Theravādin Literature in Tibetan Translation", *Journal of the Pali Text Society* XIX (1993), pp. 135–141.

ma'i rgyud kyi rgyal po ste | brtags pa brgyad pa rdzogs'ho || rgya gar gyi mkhan po jñā na ka
ra ka ti | bhan de'i zhal snga nas dang | dge slong bsod nams rgyal bas bsgyur cing zhus nas |
gtan la phab pa | dge'o || yon mchod bkra shis par gyur cig |

Cp. D374 (*ga*-1), F439 (*nga*), P21 (*ga*), S339 (*kha*-3), *Śrītherukābhūdaya* = *dPal khrag*
'thung mngon par 'byung ba. This seems to be a different translation by Advayavajra and
Chings Yon tan 'bar. In the Derge *dkar chag* the text is described as *rnal 'byor ma'i rgyud kyi*
rgyal po.

TC: not available.

IV. 'DAS MDO KHA // 20.486

Opens: 'phags pa yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i mdo' || bam po bcu gcig pa |

Ends: (226a) mya ngan las 'das pa chen po'i rgyu zhes bya'o || om ye dharma ... ; om ma ṇi
pad me hūṃ.

Remarks: In Stog (S333) Vol. *kha* opens with *bampo* 15. In Peking (P787) *bampo* 11 is in
the first volume (*ju*); the second volume (*nyu*) opens with *bampo* 29.

V. PHAL PO CHE

5. PHAL PO CHE NGA // 20.476

Opens: shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo' | sangs rgyas rnam dag cad ces bya ba las 'jig rten
las 'das bāi (sic) le'u bam po dang po

Ends: (315a) dge ba'o; yon mchod bkra shis par shog.

30. (!) PHAL PO CHE A // 20.471

Opens: shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo || sangs rgyas rmad ga cas ces bya ba las | sdong (2a)
bu nor bzangs byams pa sems can gyi kham tshad med par rgyas par dgang bas sems dang
ldan pa |

Ends: shin tu rgyas pa chen po'i mdo' | sangs rgyas phal po che zhes bya ba | byang chub
sems dpa'i sde snod kyi nang nas sdong pos brgyan pa zhes bya ba²¹ las | nor bzang kyi dge
ba'i bshes gnyen bsnyen bkur ba'i spyod pa phyogs gcig ste | ci snyed pa rdzogs so ||²² om ye
dha rma he du pra bā bā he dun te | ṣan ta tha ga to hu va tad te ṣaṅca yo ni ro dha e paṃ bha
ti ma ha śra ma na ye svāhā || dam chos 'di bzhings(!) bsod nams k[y]is yon mchod bk[r] shis

²¹ Stog (p. 41) adds *chos kyi rnam grangs chen po*.

²² Stog (p. 41) adds translators' colophon.

par gyur cig | XXX 'phel bar gyur cig | bsod noms 'phel bar gyur cig | yon bdag rnam ky
sgo XXX bshas gang byas bde ba can du skye bar shog.

VI. SHES PHYIN

[BRGYAD STONG] KA // 20.474

According to a note on the box (“no cover”), the title page—and hence the tag—is missing. The Sanskrit title is missing. The first page is *ka gnyis*, which gives the Tibetan title equivalent to *Ārya Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*: *'Phags pa shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa* |, followed by *bam po dang po || sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' dang | 'phags pa nyan thos dang | rang sangs rgyas thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo* |. A second *ka gnyis* opens with *byang chub sems dpa' thams cad la phyag 'tshal lo || 'di skad bdag gis thos pa'i dus gcig na* | The last page contains continuing text only. The volume is either incomplete or carried over in another volume. In all known Kanjurs the *brGyad stong pa* dwells in a single volume.

[’BUM] // 20.484

The title page has two miniature Buddhas; it has been discussed and illustrated by Valrae Reynolds.²³

Starts: *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag brgya pa | glegs bam lnga pa bam po dang po || dmigs (2a)*

Ends: continuing text. *Verso* blank.

²³ See *The Newark Museum Tibetan Collection III*, p. 151.

The Textual History of the *Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā*: Notes on its Third-Century Chinese Translation

Daniel BOUCHER

This paper is but a brief prospectus of a larger, ongoing study of an early Mahāyāna sūtra, the *Rāṣṭrapālapariṣcchā*. My interest in this text stems both from its provocative content and from the availability of an early Chinese translation that promises to tell us much about its Indian history. I will sketch some of the more interesting features of the text as well as note some of the data from the earliest Chinese translation that provide evidence for the shape of the Indian text in the late third century.

The extant materials for research on the *Rāṣṭrapāla* are manifold. A seventeenth-century Nepalese Sanskrit manuscript, edited in 1901 by Louis Finot,¹ may now be supplemented by additional, albeit still very late, manuscripts from the German-Nepali Preservation Project. It is my intention to reedit the Sanskrit text in light of these new manuscripts as well as our better understanding today of the nature of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit. The early ninth-century Tibetan translation was edited nearly fifty years ago by Jacob Ensink as an appendix to his English translation of the Sanskrit,² but his edition could hardly be called critical by the standards of today's Kanjur studies. All four of his textual representatives derive from the *Tshal pa* or Eastern recension branch. Thus a new edition that takes advantage of the *Them spangs ma* or Western representatives would be an obvious desideratum.³ We also have at our disposal three Chinese translations. The earliest, by the third-century Yuezhi monk Dharmarakṣa, has often not been

I would like to thank Prof. Jan Nattier for her judicious comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Her suggestions, large and small, have done much to make this a better paper, and when I have failed to adopt them, I fear that I have done so at my own peril.

¹Finot 1901. For a review of Finot's edition, see La Vallée Poussin 1903.

²Ensink 1952. Reviews of Ensink's edition and translation can be found in de Jong 1953, Edgerton 1953, Ch'en 1954, and Shackleton Bailey 1954. The overall conclusions of these reviewers point to the desirability of a new translation of this important work.

recognized by Western scholars as a translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla*.⁴ The sūtra was retranslated in the late sixth century by Jñānagupta⁵ and again in the late tenth century by Dānapāla.⁶ We have then a considerable variety of witnesses to the shape of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* over some fourteen centuries.

The Indian Text

Many of the major concerns of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* show it to be closely allied with a significant strand of early Mahāyāna literature, namely, the sharp criticism of sedentary monasticism and the elevation of ascetically-inclined forest dwellers.⁷ This strand has been encapsulated perhaps most clearly and succinctly in a recent article by Paul Harrison:

Far from being the products of an urban, lay, devotional movement, many Mahāyāna sūtras give evidence of a hard-core ascetic attempt to return to the original inspiration of Buddhism, the search for Buddhahood or awakened cognition. . . . they also display a strong and positive emphasis on the *dhuta-guṇas* (extra ascetic practices) and *araṇya-vāsa* (dwelling in the forest or jungle), which is surely rather strange in the documents of a supposedly lay-dominated movement (Harrison 1995, 65).

³Work on the recensional history of Kanjur texts has made rapid advancement in recent years, due notably to the work of scholars such as Helmut Eimer and Paul Harrison, among others. For an overview of the significance of this work, see Eimer 1992; Harrison 1992a and 1992b.

⁴*Deguang taizi jing* 德光太子經, T 170, 4.412a-418c. Most of the studies in the West, including Ensink's translation, have not been cognizant of this early translation. In Japan, T 170 has been recognized as a translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* at least since Itō 1938. De Jong also drew our attention to the importance of this early translation in his 1953 review of Ensink independently of Itō, whose work he had not seen (cf. de Jong 1967, 3, n. 3).

⁵Jñānagupta's text occurs within the *Mahāratnakūṭa* anthology in the Taishō edition as *Huguo pusa hui* 護國菩薩會, T 310.18, 11.457b-472b.

⁶*Huguo zunzhe suowen dasheng jing* 護國尊者所問大乘經, T 321, 12.1a-14c.

⁷More precisely, this is a critique which permeates the entire history of Indian Buddhism, being co-opted in particular ways by some compilers of Mahāyāna sūtras. In an interesting though not unproblematic monograph on this theme, Reginald Ray notes: "These 'Mahāyāna' forest texts do not present their kind of Buddhism as anything new. Instead, they see it as simply a continuation of the normative forest ideal established by the Buddha in the beginning, which they understand as his highest teaching. For them, this is the original bodhisattva Buddhism, and they understand it as nothing other than original Buddhism in its most quintessential form" (Ray 1994, 407). This point has also been made by Jonathan Silk in his recent study of another *Mahāratnakūṭa* text, the *Ratnarāśi* (Silk 1994). For example, in Chapter Three of his study (69-96), Silk discusses numerous passages from the *Ratnarāśi* and related texts that elevate the practice of the *dhuta-guṇas*, and here, particularly, the wearing of the refuse rag robe, to be emblematic of the serious renunciant.

Be that as it may, few early Mahāyāna sūtras rail quite like the *Rāṣṭrapāla*. The author and/or compiler of this text repeatedly characterizes his contemporaries as given to arrogance, envy, conceit, and pride. Such monks constantly engage in backbiting of their fellow recluses while shamelessly soliciting wealthy patrons in towns and villages. Indeed, our author tells us:

A householder is not as covetous with passions as these [corrupt monks] are after going forth. They would have wives, sons, daughters just like a householder.

At which house they are favored with robes, alms, and requisites, they are desirous of the [householder's] wife, for these ignoble ones are always under the power of defilements.⁸

What makes such behavior by these monks all the more reprehensible, he continues, is their hypocrisy:

They always say to householders: “These passions are not to be followed; they will cause you to fall into the realm of animals, of the pretas, or to the hells.” And yet, they themselves are undisciplined and without composure.⁹

Such corrupt monks are said to regularly fawn after the laity, exacting alms and seeking prestige through trickery and boasting. Even within the monastery these monks are said to be no less self-serving. Forsaking meditation and study, they busy themselves with monastery affairs.¹⁰ They reserve dwellings and materials for their companions, meanwhile turning away virtuous monks.¹¹ And perhaps most damning, they make no distinctions in the property belonging to the saṅgha, to the Buddha (i.e., the stūpa), or to individuals.¹²

If our author's description of his fellow monks seems harsh, he is no less reticent in having the Buddha predict the ultimate consequences of their behavior:

⁸Finot 29.11-14: *grddho grhī na tathā kāmair yādṛṣe pravrajitva te grddhāḥ / bhāryāḥ sutā duhitarāś ca teṣu bhaviṣya grhisamānaḥ // yatraiva satkṛta kule te cīvarapiṇḍapātaparibhogaiḥ / tasyaiva dāraparigrddhā kleśavaśānugāḥ sada anāryāḥ //* I follow Ensink in reading *grhī na* instead of *grhīna* in the first *pāda* of the first verse.

⁹Finot 29.15-16: *kāmā ime khalu na sevyāḥ prātana tiryakpretanirayeṣu / vaksyanti te sada grhīnām te ca svayam adānta anupaśāntāḥ //*

¹⁰Finot 31.1-2: *dhyānaṃ tathādhyayanaṃ tyaktvā nitya vihārakarmaṇi niyuktāḥ / āvāsagrāhrabhṛkūṭikāś te ca adāntaśiṣyaparivārāḥ //* (Having given up meditation and study, they are always engaged in the affairs of the monastery. Desirous of dwellings, scowling [at others], they are surrounded by undisciplined pupils.)

This teaching of mine, a treasure of virtue, the source of all good qualities, that which is most delightful, will now pass away to destruction on account of the failure of morality and the sins of envy and pride.¹³

Such a destruction of the dharma occurs during the dreadful final period. And these undisciplined monks will cause the ruin of this teaching of mine.¹⁴

One can see in these few citations, which could be easily multiplied, that the tone throughout is severe and ascerbic. But I should note here also that this vitriol is not specifically directed at *śrāvaka-yānists*. This is not, in other words, a Mahāyāna critique of the so-called “Lesser Vehicle.” The author is clear that these very pitfalls also await the bodhisattva who lets his guard down, is slothful, or who remains uncommitted to enlightenment.¹⁵ Instead, these criticisms are directed at monks of all stripes, perceived to be all too complacent in the comforts of monastery life.¹⁶

We must agree, I think, with Finot in seeing these charges--all too graphic and precise--as reflecting real conditions known to and, in all probability, affecting the author or subsequent editor(s) of the text. As we learn more about the social and economic life of Indian monasteries, due in no small measure to the recent studies on

¹¹Finot 31.3-6: *na ca karmiko hy ahaṃ vihāre ātmanahetur eṣa hi kṛto me / ye bhikṣavo mamānukūlās teṣv avakāśam asti hi vihāre // ye śīlavanta guṇavanto dharmadharā janārtham abhiyuktāḥ / damasaṃnyame satata yuktāḥ saṃgraha teṣu te na kurute ca //* ([Thinking] “I am not a menial laborer for the monastery; it [the monastery] was made for my sake. There will be room in the monastery for those monks who are favorable toward me.” Those who are endowed with good conduct and good qualities, who preserve the Dharma, diligent for the sake of mankind, who are always disciplined in self-control and restraint, to them they show no favor.)

¹²Finot 29.7-8: *naiṣāṃ anāryam api vācyam naiva ca kiṃcid asti yad akāryam / stauṇḍhikāṃ hy api ca vittaṃ paudgalikāṃ ca tac ca samam eṣāṃ //* (There is nothing to them [i.e., corrupt monks] that is ignoble or reproachable; nothing that is prohibited. What belongs to the stūpa, to the saṃgha, and what is acquired for oneself is all the same to them.)

¹³Finot 32.1-2: *ima śāsanam guṇanidhānam sarvagūṇākaram paramaramyaṃ / nāśam prayāsyati mameha śīlavipatti-r-īrśyamadadoṣaiḥ //*

¹⁴Finot 32.5-6: *etādṛśāś carimakāle dharmavilopa varttati sughore / ta cāpi bhikṣava adāntā nāśayitāra śāsanam mamedam //*

¹⁵In the opening to Chapter Two (Finot 34.1-36.14), the author/editor charges some of his coreligionists, those following the bodhisattva career (*bodhisattvayāniya*), with being deceitful (*śaṭha*), fond of worldly goods (*āmiṣapriya*), selfish with regard to a family [of regular patrons] (*kulamatsara*), hypocritical (*kuhaka*), covetous of good reputation (*jñātraguru*), etc.--all faults which obstruct the path toward enlightenment.

¹⁶For this reason, it is important not to mistake the pro-forest position of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* as an anti-monastic stance, as Ray occasionally does in his 1994 monograph (see esp. 260-66 for his discussion of the *Rāṣṭrapāla*). It is almost certain that forest *bhikṣus* must have had ongoing relationships, however intermittent and ambivalent, with a monastery and its settled inhabitants. Otherwise the criticisms make little sense: why trouble yourself with corrupt individuals who have no influence on you or your associates?

the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* by Gregory Schopen, our author's complaints become a little easier to understand. If what Schopen has termed the Middle Period of Indian Buddhism, roughly the first half of the first millennium, can be characterized by a highly organized, sedentary monasticism with a complex administration governed by an equally complex legal system, and if the monks living in these monasteries were bound in a tangled web of relationships to lay donors and their fellow monks, relationships that required the constant negotiation of property rights and ritual obligations, then the strident objections of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* are not only understandable, but almost predictable.¹⁷ The *Rāṣṭrapāla*, and other Mahāyāna sūtras participating in this "renunciant" genre, may well reflect minority voices crying out for the good old days, a time when life was simpler if more rigorous, when public expectations of monks were few.

In such a context, we might expect that the strident criticisms of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* would not have been well received by many of the author's contemporaries. Indeed, in what is a striking interpolation within a Mahāyāna sūtra, the editor of the extant Sanskrit text lets slip the fact that his teacher--and his teacher's teacher--called the very authenticity of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* into question:

My teacher was an ocean of knowledge, very learned, the best of expounders [of the dharma]. And yet this [sūtra] was forbidden by him, for (he said) it was by no means the word of the Buddha.

Moreover, he also had an aged teacher, possessed of an unlimited abundance of virtues, and this [sūtra] was also not accepted by him: "Do not apply yourself to it; it is false."¹⁸

Mahāyāna sūtra compilers regularly allude to the fact that their contemporaries refused to accept such texts as *buddhavacana*, often ridiculing those who circulated them.¹⁹ But this passage above from the *Rāṣṭrapāla* is extraordinary in that it demonstrates that a later

¹⁷Cf. Schopen 1995a, 477: "Unless we know what landed, institutional monastic Buddhism had become when Mahāyāna sūtras were being written, it is difficult to understand the attacks on 'abuses' associated with sedentary monasticism found most stridently in Mahāyāna texts like the *Rāṣṭrapālapariprcchā*; it is also difficult to understand similar, if less shrill, criticisms in Mahāyāna texts like the *Kāśyapa-parivarta*, or the constant calls in such texts to return to a life in the forest, or why long sections of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* are given over to extolling ascetic practices, and why the necessity and value of these same practices is a topic of sharp debate in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā*."

¹⁸Finot 28.7-10: *ācāryo me śrutasaṃudro āsi bahuśrutaḥ kathikaśreṣṭhaḥ / tenāpi caiṣa pratiśiddho buddhavaco hi naiṣa tu kathamcit // parato 'py abhūd api ca vṛddhaḥ tasya guruḥ sa amitaguṇaughah / tenāpi naiṣa hi grhīto mātra prayujyatha vitatham etat //* On the reading *amitagūṇaughah* (MS: *sāmīta-*), see Shackleton Bailey 1954, 81; Tibetan reads *dpag med yon tan*.

editor or compiler, already circulating some primitive version of the *Rāṣṭrapāla*, had difficulties convincing his personal teacher of its validity. In this regard it seems difficult to assume, as some have tried, that exponents of Mahāyāna sūtras--those who authored the texts as well as those who circulated or recited them--lived in entirely separate dwellings from their Mainstream (i.e., *śrāvakayānika*) confreres. Indeed, this passage confirms what has by now become a consensus among Western scholars: monasteries in classical India--and here we mean roughly Schopen's Middle Period (ca. 0-500 CE)--were multifarious places, housing individuals of different persuasions and spiritual orientations.²⁰ Needless to say, such cohabitation was not always harmonious.

Even assuming some exaggeration on the part of the author or editor of the *Rāṣṭrapāla*, it is clear that Buddhist monasteries in his day had become intimate parts of the religious, social, and economic lives of many Indian towns and villages. Dating these criticisms then from the *Rāṣṭrapāla*--and by extension the circumstances to which they respond--would be of some value for the history of Indian religions generally and for Buddhist monasticism, not to mention Mahāyāna literature, specifically. Here we are dependent upon the Chinese translations for fixing more precise dates to developments within the text. And we are particularly fortunate in this case to have an early translation by the Yuezhi translator-monk Dharmarakṣa.

Dharmarakṣa's Third-Century Chinese Translation

Dharmarakṣa was born at Dunhuang, where his family had been settled for

¹⁹Cf. Finot 28.3-6: *hāsyu bhaviṣyati ima śrūṇitvā śāsanam etad eva ca tadānīm / āhāramaithunaparās te middhasadābhībhūta śathadhvāṅkṣāḥ // dharmadvīṣaḥ sada anāryāḥ śāsanadūṣakā guṇavīhināḥ / śrutvā ca dharmam ima śāntaṃ naiṣa jinokta ity abhivadanti //* (There will be laughter when these contemptuous rogues--concerned with nothing but food and sex and always overcome by sloth--hear this teaching at that time. These ignoble ones, who are hostile to the Dharma, who offend against the teaching, and who are devoid of good qualities, declare that it is not spoken by the Victorious One when they hear this tranquil Dharma.) For the last compound of the first verse, Finot reads *śatakāṅkṣāḥ* (those possessed of hundreds of doubts), though in a note he indicates that the MS reads *-dhvāṅkṣāḥ*. The Tibetan confirms the above reading: *khva ltar g.yo ngan 'gyur* (lit. "deceitful like a crow").

²⁰The scholar who is perhaps the most notable in consistently arguing for the institutional independence of those first identifying themselves as bodhisattvas is Akira Hirakawa; see Hirakawa 1957; 1963; 1989-90, esp. 108 ff.; 1990, 270-74. Hirakawa's opinion is, of course, directly connected to his view that the first Mahāyāna adherents were located among groups of lay followers, particularly those who congregated in the vicinity of Buddhist stūpas. For a critique of Hirakawa's views on this question, see Schopen 1975; Silk 1994, esp. 2-51; Sasaki 1995, 1997; Jan Nattier has a forthcoming study and translation of the *Ugraparipṛcchā-sūtra* which will also discuss Hirakawa's theories in detail vis-à-vis this text. For alternative opinions, especially those recognizing that monks of different persuasions cohabitated in the same monasteries, see Bechert 1973; Harrison 1995; Mitsuhashi 1996.

generations, and studied there under an Indian teacher during the second quarter of the third century. He was the most prolific of the early translators, rendering over 150 texts into Chinese over a forty year career.²¹ His translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla*, dated to the year 270, stands out as one of the earliest of his works as well as one of the few for which there is an extant Sanskrit version. I would like to suggest here two ways in which Dharmarakṣa's translation may provide important clues about an earlier state of the Indic text.

Composition and Structure

First, the composition of Dharmarakṣa's translation differs significantly from our extant Sanskrit manuscripts, Tibetan translation, and later Chinese translations. There are numerous passages and whole sections which have no parallel in his third-century translation. These missing sections can be charted in outline as follows (numbers refer to page and line of Finot's edition):

Chapter 1:

- I. 1.7-4.19 (verses eulogizing the Buddha)
- II. 5.7-8.6 (Rāṣṭrapāla's verses in praise of the Buddha)
- III. 10.10-11.2; 11.6-17; 12.4-15; 13.4-15; 14.2-12; 15.1-8; 17.7-17; 18.6-16; 19.4-15; 20.1-10; 20.16-21.8 (verses recapitulating the various sets of the four kinds of dharmas)
- IV. 21.9-27.18 (allusions to 50 *jātaka*)
- V. 28.1-33.6 (reproaches of corrupt *bhikṣus*)

Chapter 2:

- VI. 37.13-39.7 (verses by Śuddhāvāsakāyika gods to Puṇyaraśmi)
- VII. 50.7-53.18 (verses by Puṇyaraśmi eulogizing the Buddha Siddhārthabuddhi)
- VIII. 54.12-56.2 (verses by King Arciṣmat eulogizing Siddhārthabuddhi)

Missing parts of Chapter One include stanzas eulogizing buddhas, verses recapitulating prose descriptions of the virtues and pitfalls of the bodhisattva career, a large set of verses detailing the Buddha's heroic efforts as a bodhisattva during fifty of his former

²¹For a fuller account of Dharmarakṣa's life and translation career, see Zürcher 1959, 65-70; Tsukamoto/Hurvitz 1985, 193-230; Boucher 1996, 22-43.

lives,²² and a section containing the most strident reproaches of monastic corruption. Missing from Chapter Two are three sets of verse recapitulations of interactions between the bodhisattva Puṇyaraśmi and the Buddha Siddhārthabuddhi. In all, approximately 50% of our extant Sanskrit recension is not represented in our earliest Chinese translation. Most noticeably omitted are some 248 of 353 verses, reminding us that the often assumed historical priority of metrical sections in Mahāyāna sūtras may need to be qualified.²³ Many of the strongest criticisms of the Sanskrit text--invective aimed at arrogant and greedy monks who usher in the imminent destruction of the dharma--are missing, giving Dharmarakṣa's version of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* a decidedly less caustic tone.

Given our current state of knowledge about the earliest period of Mahāyāna sūtra literature, it may still be premature to assume that Dharmarakṣa's translation represents a kind of Ur text to which accretions were subsequently added. But with Jñānagupta's Chinese translation of the late sixth century, the *Rāṣṭrapāla* appears to undergo fewer changes by the time of its ninth-century Tibetan translation, its tenth-century Chinese translation by Dānapāla, and its much later Nepalese Sanskrit manuscripts.²⁴ The crucial period then for understanding significant developments in the history of the text can be placed roughly between 270 and 550 C.E., corresponding approximately to the Indian Gupta period. We should expect then that further research will enable us to corroborate some of these developments with changes in Gupta-period Buddhism.²⁵

Dharmarakṣa's Source Text

Secondly, Dharmarakṣa's translation may also inform us about the language of his

²²On the *jātaka* tales recorded in the Sanskrit *Rāṣṭrapāla*, see Okada 1991 and 1993. Okada 1991 provides an extensive list of parallel *jātakas* from other Buddhist literature.

²³Cf. de Jong 1977 with regard to the textual history of the *Kāśyapaparivarta*: "The *Kāśyapaparivarta*, in which the verse parts are later than the prose parts, offers an interesting example of a text in which the verses, written in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, are definitely later than the prose parts, the language of which is much closer to standard Sanskrit" (255).

²⁴This is not to say, however, that there are no significant differences between the versions post-dating Dharmarakṣa's translation. A detailed account of those differences will be provided in my fuller study and translation.

²⁵Gregory Schopen has led the way toward appreciating the important developments of this typically underappreciated period of Indian Buddhism. His work, particularly on the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, has attempted to demonstrate, successfully in my opinion, that much of what we today think of as classical Indian Buddhist monasticism developed only in this Middle Period (ca. 0-500 CE), and not, as commonly asserted, in the generations immediately following the death of the Buddha. See, for example, Schopen 1994; 1995b; 1996.

underlying Indic manuscript. Most valuable in this regard is the evidence for misreadings of his Indic text that suggest confusions in the Chinese rendering which cannot be described as free or loose interpretations of an Indic locution. That is to say, these are instances where Dharmarakṣa's translation departs from our extant Sanskrit and Tibetan versions in ways that are neither predictable nor in most cases even sensible. Because of the multiple problems involved in discerning the relationship between the extant Chinese translations and their underlying Indic source texts, I will focus here only on a few examples that appear to reflect graphically-induced misreadings of an Indic text, misreadings which allow us to discern the underlying script of Dharmarakṣa's source text.

The first example is drawn from the middle of the first chapter in a set of verses recapitulating the ways in which a bodhisattva may purify his course toward enlightenment:

Finot 16.15-16: *pratipadati*²⁶ *yathā ca bodhimārge sa tu pariśodhayate sadāśayaṃ ca /
dhāraṇīpratilābham eṣamānaḥ sabati ca duḥkhasatāṃ guṇābbhikāṅkṣī //*
(As he sets out on the path to enlightenment, he always purifies his intentions. Seeking the obtainment of *dhāraṇīs*, one who desires good qualities endures hundreds of afflictions.)

Dh 413a.5-6: 假使得佛覺道意 常為清淨無疑難
總持辯才一其心 忍一切苦不想報
(If he obtains the aspiration for enlightenment, he will always be pure, without doubts or difficulties. With *dhāraṇīs* and eloquence he unifies his mind and endures all miseries without thinking of recompense.)

As one notices immediately, there are a number of problems in Dharmarakṣa's rendering here, not all of which are easily explainable. The phrase I would like to call to attention here is in *pāda c*, *dhāraṇīpratilābham eṣamānaḥ*, "seeking the obtainment of *dhāraṇīs*," rendered by Dharmarakṣa as "with *dhāraṇīs* and eloquence he unifies his mind." First, it would appear that Dharmarakṣa's Indic manuscript read *-pratibhānam*, "eloquence," or as Graeme MacQueen terms it, "inspired speech," instead of *pratilābham*.²⁷ Dharmarakṣa's reading, moreover, is confirmed by the Tibetan and Jñānagupta's translation.²⁸ More problematic, however, is Dharmarakṣa's misconstrual of *eṣamānaḥ*, a present middle

²⁶MS reads *prativadasi*. Ensink (1952, 17, n. 89) reads *pratipadati*, largely on the basis of the Tibetan translation (*sgrub byed*).

²⁷On the term *pratibhāna* in Mahāyāna sūtra literature, see MacQueen 1981 and 1982.

participle, as seemingly *eka-manas*, “of one mind, concentrated.” Certainly these two words are not semantically confusable, but if we assume Dharmarakṣa to have been reading a *kharoṣṭhī* manuscript, then it is not impossible that he could have confused some later forms of the *akṣara ka* 𑀓 with those of *ṣa* 𑀅. This would have been especially likely if his *ka* resembled the later form found on such inscriptions as the Wardak Vase and in some of the recently discovered *kharoṣṭhī* manuscripts held in British Library.²⁹ Such a misreading, to say the least, wreaks havoc with the resulting translation.

A second example is drawn from early in the second chapter, where the faults of those who claim to follow the bodhisattva career are enumerated at length. The Buddha contrasts these shortcomings with his own exertion and heroic sacrifices during former lives. To illustrate his former commitment to the dharma, the Buddha declares:

Finot 36.11: *mahāprapātaṃ jvalitaṃ butāśanaṃ subhāṣitārthe patito 'smi pūrve /*
śrutvā ca tasmīn pratipattiye sthito vibhāya sarvāṇi priyāpriyāṇi //
 (Formerly I fell into a great abyss that was ablaze and on fire for the sake of the well-spoken [doctrine]. After listening to it and relinquishing all that is dear and disliked, I was established in good conduct.)

Dh 414a.4: 有大燈明無能見 我本求索善義說
 適聞所教即奉行 斷絕一切諸愛欲
 (There was a great illumination which was unable to be seen [sic!]; I formerly sought the superb and righteous doctrine. Just as I heard the teaching, so I put it into practice, cutting off all desires.)

Clearly Dharmarakṣa did not see the first *pāda* as the object of the verb *patito 'smi* (I fell). This may have contributed to his misreading *butāśanaṃ*, literally “oblation-eater,” thus “fire,” as *wuneng jian* 無能見 (unable to be seen). If Dharmarakṣa was unfamiliar with this Indian metaphor, it is not inconceivable that he could have read the initial *bu-* 𑀧 in a *kharoṣṭhī* manuscript as *a-* 𑀅, which, with normal Prakritic voicing of the intervocalic dental, would have led him to recite the text as *a-da(r)śanaṃ* (invisible).³⁰

²⁸The Tibetan reads *gzungs dang spobs pa tshol bar byed pa na* (Ensink 1952, 75.19) and Jñānagupta (T310.18, 12.460c.3) reads 求陀羅尼及辯才 (“seeking *dhāraṇī*s and eloquence”).

²⁹For the Wardak Vase inscription, see Konow 1929, 165-70 and esp. plate XXXIII (e.g., line 1, Kamagulyapu[tra] and line 3, *avaśaḍ(r)igana*). Some of the British Library manuscripts use, albeit only intermittently, the later form of *ka* with a stroke curving from top to lower right; see Salomon 1999, 116-17 and Salomon 2000, 63.

In a final example, also from the beginning of Chapter Two, the Buddha elucidates the karmic consequences that indolent, conceited monks can expect:

Finot 35.19-20: *apāyabbhūmiṃ gatim akṣaṇeṣu daridrātām nīcakulopapattim /
jātyandhadaurbalyam³¹ athālpasthāmatām grhṇanti te mānavaśeṇa
mūḍhāḥ //*

(These fools, on account of their arrogance, will be subject to an evil state, a destiny among inopportune rebirths, poverty, and rebirth in a lowly family; they will be blind from birth and weak, having little strength.)

Dh 413c.21-22: 不見道住隨亂行 生於貧窮卑賤家
在醜惡中無力勢 墮於貢高愚癡地
(Not seeing the stage of enlightenment, they follow corrupt practices and are born in a poor and lowly family, into an ugly state, without strength. They fall on account of their conceit to the level of stupidity.)

Once again there are several syntactical problems that make Dharmarakṣa's rendering difficult to understand. For our purposes, I will only note the possibility that the initial *apāya-* may have been read as *apaś(y)a-*, "not seeing," given the very close graphic similarity between late forms of the *kharoṣṭhī ya* 𑀧 and *śa* 𑀧 . These *akṣaras* in fact are often nearly indistinguishable in records dating from the beginning of the Common Era.³² There are other examples elsewhere in this text as well as in other translations by Dharmarakṣa that exhibit this same confusion between *ya* and *śa*.³³

These examples are by no means unambiguous, but they do demonstrate that Dharmarakṣa had great difficulties in reading his Indic manuscript of the *Rāṣṭrapāla*. We are not dealing here in most cases with true textual variants, although obviously Dharmarakṣa's text looked quite different than the Sanskrit version that has come down to us. In fact, passages like those cited above strongly suggest that a number of the

³⁰This confusion assumes that the *hu-* in Dharmarakṣa's manuscript had been damaged or that the vowel *mātra* and right arm at the base of the *akṣara* were indistinct. There may be an analogue for this in the recently edited Gāndhārī **Khargaviṣaṇa-sūtra*, in which one instance of a *ha akṣara* closely approximates the form of the unmarked vowel *a*; see Salomon 2000, 70.

³¹Here the Tibetan reads *mdog ngan pa* (*durvarṇam*), confirming Dharmarakṣa's *zai chou e zhong* 在醜惡中, "into an ugly condition." Jñānagupta's *e se* 惡色 ("of bad appearance") would also seem to support this reading.

³²On the close graphic similarity of these two *akṣaras* in *kharoṣṭhī* records from the first century C.E., see Konow 1929, cxxiii; Rapson and Noble 1929, 308; Fussman 1989, 465; Salomon 1998a, 55; and Salomon 1999, 116-17.

translation infelicities within Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* can best be explained as misreadings of a *kharoṣṭhī* manuscript.

This supposition, however, requires some immediate caveats. First, evidence for an underlying *kharoṣṭhī* manuscript is not necessarily evidence for an Indic text in Gāndhārī Prakrit, as has been presumed by some scholars. It is entirely possible, as I have suggested elsewhere, that a Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit manuscript could have been transmitted in *kharoṣṭhī* script, as evidenced by Niya documents 510, 511, and 523 as well as by fragments brought to light more recently from the Pelliot and Schøyen collections.³⁴ Given the absence of Mahāyāna texts in the recently acquired British Library *kharoṣṭhī* manuscripts, our most significant find of Gāndhārī Buddhist literature in a century, it is likely that a careful use of the early Chinese translations will go a long way toward filling out our knowledge of Buddhist literature originating from--or at least transmitted through--northwest India and eastern Afghanistan.

The Translation Process

Additionally, we must never lose sight of the problems affecting the production of these texts in China, particularly during the translation process itself. We know from

³³For a detailed discussion of one such example from Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, see Boucher 1998, 499-500 and Boucher 2000, 12-14. There are two other examples of possible misapprehensions of *kharoṣṭhī ya/śa* in the *Rāṣṭrapāla*, though both are somewhat more ambiguous. The first occurs at Finot 14.14-15: *prāntaśayāsānābhiraṭiḥ sā ca lābhasatkārānapekṣatayā* (takes pleasure in beds and seats in [secluded] border regions on account of his indifference to profit and honor). Dharmarakṣa renders this as follows (4.412c.9-10): 樂受教命其心不著財利 (happy to receive decrees, his thoughts are not attached to wealth or benefits). Obviously something is seriously amiss here. Dharmarakṣa's *shou* 受 seems to have confused *prānta-* with *prāpta* (< *pratta*, Gdh. *prata*) and his *jiaoming* (teachings, decrees) may have been the result of a mistaken reading [*śa*]*śāsana* (teaching), which also appears in the Gāndhārī *Dharmapada* as *śāśana* (cf. Brough 1962, vv. 69, 70, 77, 123, and 258). Another, also ambiguous example can be found at Finot 34.11: *iha śāsane tuṣṭim utpādayisyanti* (they will take pleasure in the doctrine here [only for profit]). Dharmarakṣa reads (4.413b.17-18): 其所在處不能得安 (wherever they are, they will not be at ease). If we suppose that Dharmarakṣa misread the initial *śa* of *śāsane* as *ya* (with long vowels typically unmarked in *kharoṣṭhī* script), then it is possible that he understood this clause as *iha yasa* (= *yasya/yasmin*) *na* . . . Such a supposition--and that is all this can be--also accounts for Dharmarakṣa's unexpected negative marker (*bu* 不), which is not represented in the extant Sanskrit or Tibetan. Neither of these two examples are without problems.

³⁴For an edition of Niya 510, see Boyer et al. 1927, 184-85 and also Hasuike 1997; for Niya 511, see Boyer et al. 1927, 185-87 and Hasuike 1996; on Niya 523, see Boyer et al. 1927, 191 and Boyer et al. 1918. I have argued elsewhere for the possibility of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit texts transcribed in *kharoṣṭhī* script; see Boucher 1998, esp. 498-503. For examples of *kharoṣṭhī* manuscript fragments from the Pelliot collection written in Sanskrit, see Salomon 1998b. Mark Allon and Richard Salomon have more recently reported on a partially Sanskritized Gāndhārī version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* preserved in the Schøyen collection; see Allon and Salomon 2000.

numerous colophons and indigenous bibliographies that Buddhist translations in China were carried out orally and by committee, often by individuals of very questionable expertise, to put it charitably.³⁵ Although no colophon to Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* appears to be preserved in our extant records,³⁶ we do have a record of the translation procedures for a text within Dharmarakṣa's corpus, the *Suvikrāntacintidevaputrapariṣcchā*, completed approximately three and a half years prior to his translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla*. The intrinsic interest of this colophon and the possible light it may shed on the only slightly later translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* merit its citation in full:

Xuzhen tianzi jing 須真天子經 [*Suvikrāntacintidevaputrapariṣcchā*]: On the eighth day of the eleventh month of the second year of the *Taishi*³⁷ reign period [= December 21, 266], in the White Horse Monastery (*baima si* 白馬寺)³⁸ inside the Azure Gate in Chang'an, the Indian³⁹ bodhisattva Dharmarakṣa (*tanmoluocho* 曇摩羅察) orally conferred and issued it (*kou shou chu zhi* 口授出之).⁴⁰ At that time the ones who transferred the words (*chuanyanzhe* 傳言者) were An Wenhui and Bo Yuanxin. The ones who took it down in writing⁴¹ were Nie Chengyuan, Zhang Xuanbo, and Sun Xiuda.⁴² It was completed on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month [= February 11, 267] during the second watch of the afternoon

³⁵On the translation process in China, see Fuchs 1930; Ch'en 1960; Tso 1963; and Boucher 1996, esp. 62-102.

³⁶We have only a brief record within Sengyou's list of Dharmarakṣa's translations noting the title and translation date of the *Rāṣṭrapāla*; see *Chu sanzang ji ji*, 出三藏記集 [*Collection of Notices on the Translation of the Tripiṭaka*, hereafter *CSZJJ*] (T 2145) 55.7c. The date for the completion of the translation is recorded as the sixth year of the *Taishi* reign period, ninth month, thirtieth day (=October 31, 270).

³⁷The text reads *taishi* 太始 here for *taishi* 泰始, a reign period encompassing the years 265-274 CE.

³⁸Tokiwa 1938, 611 assumes that this record is mistaken, having confused some monastery in Chang'an with the famous *Baima si* of Luoyang. I have difficulty, however, in finding anything approaching an explanation in his remarks. I see no reason why a monastery in Chang'an could not have been named after the famous translation center of Han Buddhism, especially if it too served as a regular site for Dharmarakṣa's translation work.

³⁹This is the only colophon to my knowledge that identifies Dharmarakṣa as an Indian. All other sources regard him as Yuezhi. We might expect that his ethnicon *zhu* 竺, adopted from that of his teacher, could have led to such a confusion, but his Indian monastic name is here transcribed without the use of the ethnicon.

⁴⁰It is difficult to know exactly how to take *ch'u* 出 here; for a more detailed discussion of the significance of *chu* in these colophons, see Boucher 1996, 89-94 and Boucher 1998, 487, n. 73.

⁴¹The text reads here *shou shou* 手受, but this almost certainly must be a mistake for *bishou* 筆受 which occurs throughout Dharmarakṣa's colophons to designate those who wrote down the oral translation.

(*weisbi* 未時 = 2-4 p.m.).⁴³

There are several points with regard to this colophon that deserve to be highlighted. First, Dharmarakṣa is described as “orally conferring and issuing” the Indian text. The record does not tell us whether he held an actual manuscript in his hands or recited the text from memory.⁴⁴ What the colophon does emphasize, however, is that Dharmarakṣa is the principal translator precisely because he is able to recite the text from its Indic script--to draw it out of its foreign guise and into a form that can be transformed into literary Chinese. It does not--and this is an important point here--tell us that Dharmarakṣa translated the text himself, at least not in the sense we speak of “translation” today. In fact, the colophon is explicit in naming two collaborators, the Parthian An Wenhui and the Kuchean Bo Yuanxin,⁴⁵ as those who “transferred the words.” That is to say, it seems almost certain that it is they who listened to Dharmarakṣa’s recitation of the Indic text and converted their understanding of his recitation into vernacular Chinese, presumably while conferring with Dharmarakṣa concerning the precise meaning of many words and phrases. These are the individuals, then, who we would normally take to be the real translators.⁴⁶ Finally, the colophon tells us that three individuals, all presumably native Chinese, shared in the task of “taking down with the brush” the oral rendering of the bilingual intermediaries. This must have involved some kind of conversion of the oral draft translation of the Parthian and Kuchean assistant into the semi-literary text that has come down to us. It may also be the case that these scribes would have contributed in important ways to the substance of the translation, both in their own limited apprehensions of Dharmarakṣa’s recitation of the Indic text as well as by

⁴²In a separate notice to Sengyou’s list of Dharmarakṣa’s translation corpus (*CSZJJ*, 55.9c.9-11), An Wenhui and Bo Yuanxin are described as “receiving [the text] with the brush” (*bishou* 筆受), not as those “who transfer the words”; no mention is made of the three scribes of this colophon. Given the apparent incompleteness of this separate notice in comparison to the colophon translated here, it seems preferable to accept the reading of the colophon.

⁴³*CSZJJ*, 55.48b.22-26.

⁴⁴Colophons to other translations, for example to those of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the *Avāivartikacakra-sūtra*, and *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, state explicitly that Dharmarakṣa held an Indic text in his hands and conferred a recitation of it upon a scribal assistant. For a translation of these colophons see Boucher 1996, 65-88. Though it can not be proven in the case of the *Suvikrāntacintidevaputraparipṛcchā-sūtra*, I presume that here too Dharmarakṣa worked from an actual Indic manuscript.

⁴⁵The Kuchean layman Bo Yuanxin would continue to be an active participant on Dharmarakṣa’s translation committees. He is named, for instance, as one of the collators of the finished translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*; on this colophon, see Boucher 1998, 485-89.

interpolating native Chinese understandings of Buddhist technical terms.⁴⁷

Given that the *Suvikrāntacintidevaputrapariṣcchā-sūtra* was translated very close in time to the *Rāṣṭrapāla*, we have good reason to believe that the circumstances of translation would not have been dissimilar. If that is so, then we may be in better position to understand the source of some of the translation confusions we encountered above in the final product of these committees. We can assert with considerable confidence, for instance, that the confusions between *akṣaras* with close graphic similarity in the *kharoṣṭhī* script can only be due to misreadings by Dharmarakṣa, who, we have reason to believe, would have been principally responsible for the reading of the Indian manuscript and its recitation to the bilingual intermediaries who collaborated with him. That such mistakes remained in the finished work--as they did in subsequent translations for years to come--suggests that no member of the translation team was in a position to check both the Indian text and the literary rendering of the Chinese scribes. In fact, colophons to other translations appear to indicate that Dharmarakṣa's skills in Chinese would remain questionable for many years to come, necessitating his reliance on translation assistants from India, Central Asia, and China.⁴⁸

There is also evidence that some of the translation anomalies could have resulted from mishearings of Dharmarakṣa's recitation of the Indic text by his collaborators. Consider the following verse, the first in Dharmarakṣa's translation:

Finot 8.14-15: *bodhisattvacaryā sumiścitā tattvato bhavati yo 'sya sambhavaḥ /*
 jñānasāgarakathā viniścayaṃ bhāṣatām mama jino narottamā //
(May the Victorious One, the Most Excellent of Men, relate to me a disquisition, a narrative containing an ocean of knowledge, on the well-determined bodhisattva career which has its origin in truth.)

⁴⁶The fact that the Chinese translations are nearly always attributed to one, usually foreign, translator, in our case Dharmarakṣa, and not to members of his committee has more to do with concerns for legitimation and orthodoxy in China than with historical accuracy. Antonino Forte has astutely observed: "The assignment of the responsibility for a translation was an extremely important matter as its purpose was to reassure the Buddhist establishment and the government of the full authenticity and orthodoxy of a work. This need to make one person responsible often meant that the actual contribution of other members of the team tended to be unacknowledged. The paradox thus often arose of the accredited translator, usually a foreigner, being unable to speak or write Chinese, while the actual translators received so little attention that, but for the colophons at the end of a number of translations, we would often not have even known their names" (Forte 1984, 316).

⁴⁷For examples of both kinds of scribal intrusions, including some from the *Suvikrāntacintidevaputrapariṣcchā-sūtra*, see Boucher 1998, esp. 489 and 497-98.

⁴⁸On the development of Dharmarakṣa's linguistic skills as evidenced by our extant colophons and prefaces to his translations, see Boucher 1996, esp. 88-102.

Dh 412a.19-20: 云何菩薩滿所行 何謂所作而審諦
 具足智慧功德願 今人中尊解說是
 (How does the bodhisattva fulfill the practice, which is [well] accomplished and fully known, replete with wisdom and meritorious aspirations? [May] the most honored among men today explain it.)

Obviously, Dharmarakṣa's translation of this verse departs in manifold ways from our extant Sanskrit text. The single term I would like to highlight here, however, is Dharmarakṣa's rendering of *-sāgara* (ocean) as *juzu* 具足 (accomplished, replete). To explain this incongruity, at least two translation scenarios are possible. First, if Dharmarakṣa's Indic manuscript was indeed written in *kharoṣṭhī* script as seems likely, then we might expect that this same manuscript would have been transcribed--although not necessarily composed--in a Gāndhārī Prākṛit-using environment. Under such circumstances, Dharmarakṣa's Indic text could have had *-saghara* in place of *-sāgara*, reflecting the weakening of the distinction between aspirated and unaspirated intervocalic consonants in Gāndhārī Prākṛit, not to mention the general loss of marked long vowels.⁴⁹ The word *saghara* is well attested in the Khotan *Dharmapada* as an equivalent for *saṃskāra*.⁵⁰ And we know from elsewhere in the translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* that Dharmarakṣa's team used *juzu* to render *saṃskṛta*, *saṃskāra* (completed, accomplishment).⁵¹ It is also possible that the Indic manuscript had, in fact, our attested *-sāgara*, but that the translation assistants misheard Dharmarakṣa's recitation of the word as the Gāndhārī *-saghara* (= *saṃskāra*) and conveyed such an understanding to the Chinese scribes. This would have been especially understandable if these translation assistants had encountered the word *sagara/saghara* in other contexts with the meaning of *saṃskāra*. At the very least we can appreciate the difficulties encountered by these early translators as they attempted to decipher texts reflecting an already mixed linguistic heritage, in all probability composed, transcribed, and translated across multiple regions using different hybrids of Middle Indo-Aryan and Sanskrit languages.

If we have seen ways in which oral/aural confusions could have crept into the

⁴⁹The loss of this distinction between aspirated and unaspirated consonants, especially common in the cases of *g/gh* and *d/dh*, may have been due to the influence of Iranian speakers neighboring Gāndhārī-using regions; see Konow 1929, ci-cii and Brough 1962, 100-101. We have no way to determine, however, the degree to which non-native readers of Gāndhārī texts would have been aware of these orthographic habits.

⁵⁰See Brough 1962, vv. 10, 70, 106, 107, 163, and 181; for the form *sagara* = *saṃskāra*, see v. 303.

⁵¹Cf. 4.413a.3: 種種具足審寂寞 corresponding to Finot 16.13: *vicaratisaṃskṛta sarva māyabhūtam* ("he considers all compounded things as like illusions").

finished translation, we should also consider the possibility that the Chinese scribes might have attempted to accommodate third-century Chinese sensibilities from their end. This would be all the more likely given that these scribes were ultimately responsible for the shape of the literary Chinese text, as indicated in the colophons. One example of a culturally responsive translation that occurs repeatedly in Dharmarakṣa's translation of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* is the binome *xianju* 閑居 (“dwelling idly”) within passages calling for bodhisattvas to dwell in the wilderness (*aranya*).⁵² Although this binome is not unique to Dharmarakṣa's translations, being known already from his predecessors, it is clear from the Chinese side that the expression *xianju* has strong associations with the antinomian reclusion so often praised in the poems and essays of such third-century literati as Xi Kang, Ruan Ji, and other members of the famous Seven Sages of the Bamboo Grove.⁵³ For example, in Xi Kang's poem *Youfen shi* 幽憤詩 (“Resentment”), we find the following line: 仰慕嚴鄭樂道閑居 (“Exalting Yan [Junping] and Zheng [Zizhen], who, taking pleasure in the Dao, live tranquilly”).⁵⁴ And while such a translation would have effectively resonated with an interested Chinese reader of the late third century, it is doubtful that it would have equally conveyed the sense intended by the Indian text. In this regard the cultural gulf between the kind of forest asceticism espoused by some early Indian Mahāyāna sūtras and the carefree wandering exalted by some Chinese literati of the Wei-Jin period (3rd-4th cents.) was lost to the Chinese scribal assistants. The author of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* was engaged in an often ascerbic critique of his monastic contemporaries, monks who were more interested in fawning over donors than in cultivating the path toward enlightenment. Put another way, this author, and others like him, were arguing for essentially conservative values, a return to the stricter--and in their opinion, original--path laid out by the Buddha.⁵⁵ The Chinese literatus, on the other hand, pines not just for a

⁵²Examples include the following: 412c.4-5: 習閑居野處 (habituated to quiet living in the wilderness) = Finot 13.17: *araṇyavāsānutsarjanatā* (not abandoning residence in the forest); 412c.14: 樂在閑居 (takes pleasure in quiet living) = Finot 15.10-11: *araṇyavāsaḥ* (dwelling in the forest); 412c.22: 閑居寂寞無所起 (dwelling quietly, tranquil and alone, without origination [?]) = Finot 16.3: *araṇyavividhaprānta sevamāno* (inhabiting the manifold border regions in the wilderness); 413c.19: 在閑居 (dwells in a quiet place) = Finot 35.17: *raṇyam upeti* (he enters the forest); etc.

⁵³On the literary figures of the Seven Sages of the Bamboo grove generally, see Holzman 1956; for the essays of Xi Kang, see Hendricks 1983; on Ruan Ji, see Holzman 1976, esp. 110-36 for poems challenging conventional values in favor of a life of carefree wandering.

⁵⁴*Zhaoming wenxuan* (juan 23), 315. I have also benefitted from HANAFUSA Eiju's Japanese translation (1974), 380-82. Yan Junping was a Han literatus from the state of Shu who studied the works of Yang Xiong and practiced divination; he is the author of the *Laozi zhihui* 老子指揮 (*The Commands of Laozi*); see Morohashi 4589.278. Zheng Zizhen held an official post under Emperor Cheng of the Han (r. 33-6 BCE) and was famous for cultivating the Dao by maintaining tranquility; see Morohashi 39647.404.

simpler life, but one free of conventional mores. In fact, an open disregard for traditional norms of behavior became a virtual *sine qua non* among the most prominent figures of this movement. By using *xianju* to refer to forest asceticism, the Chinese scribes on Dharmarakṣa's translation committee aligned, perhaps only subtly, the *Rāṣṭrapāla* with this third-century rhetoric. What would have been a call to the intense discipline of the homeless ascetic to an Indian reader is in the Chinese text made to look like the free and easy wandering of the *Zhuangzi*, the Daoist classic that was read with great gusto during this period.

Conclusion

My discussion here merely adumbrates the richness of both the content of the *Rāṣṭrapāla* for our understanding of early Mahāyāna Buddhism and the promise of its early Chinese translation for uncovering its textual history. My fuller study and translation will discuss both in greater detail. At the very least, the examples cited above from Dharmarakṣa's translation demonstrate that the complexities of the translation process itself--the recitation of the Indic text, its transfer via bilingual intermediaries, and its reception by Chinese scribes--must all be taken into account if we are to use these documents effectively for the history of early Mahāyāna sūtra literature. It should be clear now that our early Chinese Buddhist translations represent an invaluable and largely untapped repository of data also for advancing our understanding of the scripts and languages involved in the transmission of Buddhism from northwest India through the Tarim Basin, and for the reception of these texts in China during the first few centuries of the Common Era.

⁵⁵That some of early Mahāyāna sūtra literature should be seen as essentially conservative polemic, arguing for a retrenchment of monastic excesses and a return to the rigorous life of the forest, has generally gone unnoticed in most discussions of the early Mahāyāna. A strong case for this view has been made most forcefully by Schopen 1999, esp., 287 ff.

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**The *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* and the *Karmavibhaṅgasūtra* (3)*:
Transliterations of the Original Manuscripts
Preserved in the National Archives of Nepal**

Noriyuki KUDO

Symbols used:

+	lost <i>akṣara</i>
()	restored <i>akṣara</i>
[]	damaged <i>akṣara</i>
< >	omitted <i>akṣara</i>
{ }	superfluous <i>akṣara</i>
{ { }	erased <i>akṣara</i>
<< >>	interlinear insertion
..	illegible <i>akṣara</i>
.	single element missing
*	<i>virāma</i>
○	punch hole
◎	double circle with a rosette used to indicate the end of a chapter
m̐	unclear mark, appears as combination of <i>anusvāra</i> and <i>virāma</i>
'	<i>avagraha</i>
;	<i>visarga</i> -like sign to fulfill a blank, mostly at the end of line or before a punch hole

Abbreviations follow the system established by H. Bechert, *Abkürzungsverzeichnis zur buddhistischen Literatur in Indien und Südostasien*, Göttingen, 1989 (Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden, Beiheft 3).

In addition, quotations marks — straight or not — have been added to the text for convenience of reading, especially in case of the conversation in the text.

In the footnotes, all the references, whatever related closely or not, concerning to the *prākṛitic* forms or orthographical/sound-oriented mistranscriptions are given. Bibliographical references which seem to be parallel to the quotations in the text are also given in the footnotes but their reading will be taken into a consideration at the next stage of a critical revision.

* The present writer must express his thanks to the former Director of the National Archives of Nepal, Professor B.D. Dangol, for his kind support in providing him with the microfilms of the MSS and other forms of assistance.

1. ta○tra katamañ karmmalpāyuhṣaṁvarttanīyañ || ucyate |

prānā¹tipātaḥ <l> prānāti;(10v.4)sya² samanumo<<da>>ṇaṁ | prānātipātasya
varṇṇa○vādītā | amitramar<aṇ>ābhinandanaṁ | amitramaraṇasya samādāpanaṁ |
amitra(10v.5)marāṇavarṇavādītā³ | garbhasātanāṁ | garbhasātanasya varṇṇavādītā |
ṣṭhaṇḍila⁴pratiṣṭhāpanaṁ {l} yetra⁵ bahava⁶ prāṇini⁷ ghātyante {l}
maḥiṣapaśuśū(11r.1)karakukkuṭādayas tasya yajñapravarttakasya putrā⁸ pautrās cānyeś⁹ ca
janāḥ phalārtheṇo¹⁰ bhayabhītās cānuvṛttim ku(r)vānāḥ satvā¹¹ nirghātaya ..i¹²;

¹ For *prāṇā*^o. Interchange between *n*- and *ṇ*- is found elsewhere in this MS. Hereinafter, this type of oprthography will not be mentioned.

² Read *prānāti(pāta)sya*.

³ Read *amitramaraṇa(sya) varṇṇavādītā*.

⁴ *ṣṭh-* for *sth-*. Cf. BHSG §2.61. Consonant cluster *-ṣ t(h)-*, whether it appears in case of one word or in case of the external sandhi, is written as *-ṣ ṭ(h)-* elsewhere in this MS. Hereinafter, this type of oprthography will not be mentioned.

⁵ For *yatra*.

⁶ For *bahava(h)*.

⁷ Read *prāṇino* (= *prāṇino*).

⁸ For *putrā(h)*.

⁹ Read *cānye*.

¹⁰ For *phalārthino*. Cf. BHSG §3.59: *e* for *i*. However, in this case, this happens not due to the metrical reason but to a mere scribal error: the vowel sign *-i* is usually attached to the left side of the base letter and the sign *-e* (which is attached to *akṣara th-*, in this case) is also placed on the left side (but with slightly curved line).

¹¹ For *sa(t)tvā(n)*. [m.pl.Ac.] BHSG §8.92. The word *sattva* is normally written as *satva* in this MS. No further note, except a reconstruction, will be given hereinafter.

¹² Read *nirghātaya(ni)i*.

1. tatra kataman¹ ka○rma {yad} ālpāyuhṣaṃvarttanīya² || ucyate ||

prāṇātipātikah <|> prāṇātipātyānumodanāt <|> prāṇātipāte varṇṇavādi(6v.5) + + + +
+ +³ bh[i]nandanam <|> ⁴ amitramaraṇasya varṇṇavādītā | garbhaśāta○nam⁵ varṇṇavādītā
| sthaṇḍilapraṭiṣṭhāpanam yatra bahavaḥ prāṇino mahiṣapaśuśūkarakukkuṭādayo ghātyante
tasya;(6v.6) + + + + + +⁶ trās cānye ca janāḥ phalārthino bhayabhītās cānuvṛttiḥ⁷
kurvanti | satvāni ca ghātayanti |

¹ For *kataman*.

² For ° *saṃvarttanīya(m)*.

³ Read (*tā | amitramaraṇā*).

⁴ Before this, one phrase “*amitramaraṇasya samādāpanam*” which is found in MS[A] is omitted.

⁵ Here is also a confusion. Add (*garbhaśātanasya*) as found in MS[A].

⁶ Read (*yajñapṛavartakasya pu*).

⁷ Read *cānuvṛttiḥ*.

a) (11r.2) [yathā] Kāsmīrāyām¹ mahānagare² bhikṣuḥ ki;○lārhan anyatramasmin*³
gṛhadvāre tiṣṭhati | tasya gṛhasya pārśvana⁴ rājapathaḥ ṭe;(11r.3)na paśu⁵ ravamāno nīyamte⁶
|

sa bhikṣu⁷ taṃ dṛṣṭvā ○

"hāhā dhik kaṣṭam" iti vadati |

puruṣaḥ pṛcchaty

"ārya kim ayaṃ dhik kaṣṭaśabdā" iti |⁸

¹ For *Kāsmīrāyām*. Though Lévi reads this MS[A] as *Karmārāyām* in his footnote 11, p. 32, the ligature *smī* is clear.

² For *mahānagaryām*. [f.sg.L.] Cf. BHSG §6.15-17: "one gender agreeing with nouns of another."

³ For *anyatarasmin* or *anyatamasmin*. BHSD s.v. *anyatara*. It says: "as equivalent of Skt. *anyatama* (which is also used in BHS in the same way, notably in *Dīvy* and *Av*)" [p.41].

⁴ Read *pārśvena*. A careless mistake by the scribe.

⁵ For *paśū*. The form *paśu* shows a drop of *visarga* without the lengthening of a preceding short vowel (cf. BHSG §3.44) or it itself is m.sg.N. form ? Cf. BHSG §12.13: m.sg.N. form of *u*-stem.

⁶ For *nīyate* [3rd.sg.]. Cf. BHSG §25.30.

⁷ For *bhikṣu* (*h*).

⁸ This *danḍa* is written on the right margin of this side.

a) yathā Kāśmīrāyāṃ mahānagaryāṃ bhikṣu¹ kilārhan sarvānyatarasmin gṛhadvāre
sthitaḥ <l> tas[yai](7r.1) + + + + + +² vamāno nīyate ।

sa bhikṣus taṃ dṛṣtvā {l} āha ।

"hā dhik* kaṣṭam" iti ॥

puruṣās taṃ pṛcchanti ।

"ārya kim ayaṃ "hā dhik* kaṣṭam" iti śabdaḥ ।"

¹ For *bhikṣu* (*ḥ*).

² It is impossible to have such a long passage here as is found in MS[A]: (*gṛhasya pārsvena rājapathas tena paśū ra*).

sa āha ||

"na vaktavyam etad aśrāddhānām kāryā(7r.2) + + + + ..¹ [e]ṣa paś[ū] ravamāno
niyate | anena purā vaṇigīśvare○ṇa bhūtvā sthaṇḍilaṃ pratiṣṭhāpitaṃ | samvatsarika²
{sā} paśuṃ yajñāḥ pravarttitaḥ tatrānena bahavaḥ pasavo³ ghātitaḥ (7r.3) + + +⁴ [k]āle
[p]u[t]rān āhūya, āha || "putrā yady asti mayi sneha⁵ ya eṣa ma○yāsamvatsarika⁶ paśuyajñāḥ
pravarttitaḥ | eṣa mayi kālagate⁷ anupravarttayitavya⁸" iti <|> putrais "tathāstv" i;(7r.4) +
+⁹ tīsrutaṃ || sa kālagatas tena mohajena prāṇātipātena samanvāga○taḥ sve grhe paśuṣu
pratyājātaḥ | sa tatra jātau jātau ghātyate¹⁰ idaṃ tv ekaśaṣṭitama¹¹ vāram upa niyata" iti |

(7r.5) + +¹² sa bhikṣus taṃ paśuṃ karuṇāya{{na}}māṇa āha ||

"svayam eva te sthaṇḍi○laṃ kṛtaṃ svayam eva {{|}} yajñam pravarttitaṃ¹³ bahava¹⁴
paśavaś ca ghātita¹⁵ ki¹⁶ ravase sarvam idaṃ nirarthakaṃ |"

¹ Read (*ritam tu bravīmi | ya*).

² Read *sāmvatsarika(b)*.

³ For *paśavo*.

⁴ Read (*marāṇa*).

⁵ For *sneho*. Cf. BHSG §8.22: - *a* for sg.N. ending.

⁶ Read *sāmvatsarika(b)*.

⁷ Hiatus remains.

⁸ Original written: °*pravarttiyitavya*, and then a vowel sign -*i* of *tti-* is erased.

⁹ Read (*ti pra*).

¹⁰ Hiatus remains.

¹¹ For *ekaśaṣṭitama(m)*.

¹² Read (*atha*).

¹³ Read *yajñāḥ pravarttitaḥ*. This neuter ending is used throughout these two phrases while MS[A] takes masculine ending.

¹⁴ For *bahava(b)*. Cf. BHSG §12.49: -*ava* for pl.N. of *u*-stem (but only in verse).

¹⁵ For *ghātita(b)*. Cf. BHSG §8.78: -*ā* for pl.N. of *a*-stem.

¹⁶ For *ki(m)*. Cf. BHSG §21.12: *ki* for *kiṃ*.

b) yata evamvidham ṣṭhaṇḍī¹lah² pra;(11v.5)tiṣṭhāpanam | tathā yuddhadarśanam | yatra bahavaḥ satvā ghātyante hastyaśvamahiśādayaḥ | yuddhapratibaddhānām ca śāstrānām abhinandanam* ||³

c) (12r.1) yathā coktam Bhagavatā Vaisālyām {sa}Kalikāsūtre⁴ | prāṇātipāta Ānanda āsevito⁵ bhāvītau⁶ bahulīkṛto niraya⁷saṃvarttanīyo (')pi bha(12r.2)vati | tirjag⁸yonisaṃvarttanīyo (')pi bha○vati | pretaviśaya<saṃ>varttanīyo (')pi bhavati | yaḥ sarvvālpaprāṇātipātasya (12r.3) vipākamḥ⁹ {l} sa manuṣyabhūtasya sataḥ {l} a○lpāyuhṣa(m)varttanīyo (')pi bhavati |

¹ Originally written: -ṇḍī-. Rewritten.

² Read *ṣṭhaṇḍīlam* or *ṣṭhaṇḍīla-*.

³ This double *daṇḍa* is written on the right side margin.

⁴ Read {sa} *Kālikāsūtre*? Is this title confused with *Kokālika*? If this emended title is correct, it corresponds to the *AN* V.164-169 [a story of monk Kālaka (x.87)] (Ed. by E. Hardy, 1900 [rp. 1979]); Ch. *Zhōngāhājīng* 『中阿含經』卷二十三「黑比丘經」(*Hēibīqiūjīng*), tr. by 瞿曇僧伽提婆 (Gautama Saṃghadeva) [397-398 CE.], T. No. 26 (94), vol. 1, 576a16-577b1. However, since the motif of the story of the *AN* (also of the Ch.) is “disputation (*adbikaraṇa*),” its content does not become parallel to the MKV.

The passage narrated below is a typical phrase which prescribes the results caused by a murder: *AN* IV. 247 (ed. by E. Hardy, 1899 [rp. 1979]. Ref. given by Lévi [1932], p. 33, fn. 6): *pāṇātipāto bhikkhave āsevito bhāvīto bahulīkato nirayasamvarttaniko tiracchānāyonisaṃvarttaniko pittivīsayasamvattaniko yo sabbalābho pāṇātipātassa vipāko manussabhūtaṃ appāyasaṃvattaniko hoti; Jātaka* No. 55 Pañcavudhajātaka, I. 275 (ed. by V.Fausbøll, 1887 [rp. 1990]): *pāṇātipātakammaṃ nāma niraye tiracchānāyoniyam pēttivīsaye asurakāye ca nibhatteti, manussesu nibhattatthāne appāyukasamvattanikaṃ hotīti*. See also the *Kathāvatthu* XXII.7 (Vols. I+II, p. 618, ed. by A.C. Taylor, 1894-97 [rp. 1979]) wherein above passage of the *AN* is quoted. In the texts of the Sectarian Buddhism, for example, the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* refers to “result of murder” as follows: *sarve ’dbipatinīṣyandavipākaphaladā matāḥ* | [IV, 85ab] *akuśalais tāvat sarvair evāsevitaḥ bhāvītabahulīkṛtaiḥ narakeśūpapadyate* (almost same comment is given in the *Abhidharmadīpa* with *Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti*, ed. by Padmanabh S. Jaini, Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series Vol. IV, K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1977, p. 177). La Vallée Poussin gives further references on this phrase (*L’Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, Mélanges Chinois et Bouddhiques Vol. XVI, tome III, p. 186, fn. 3).

⁵ Lévi’s text reads “*sevito*” but, as stated in the previous note, it should be read as it is in the MS.

⁶ For *bhāvīto*. A mere careless mistake.

⁷ Lévi [1932], p. 33, footnote 7: A *naraka*^o. This reading is wrong.

⁸ For *tiryag*^o. BHSG §2.34: *y* for *j*.

⁹ For *vipākamḥ*.

b) ya¹ evaṃvidhaṃ sthaṇḍi(7r.6) + + + ..² ṣṭhāpanaṃ tathā yuddhadarśanaṃ | yatra bahavaḥ satvā ghātyante hastyaśvamaṇuṣyādaya³ yuddhapratibaddhānān ca śastrām⁴ abhinanda(na)m | |

c) yathā coktaṃ Bhagavatā Vaiśalyāṃ Kā[|]jikā ...⁵ <l> .[ā]ṇātipāta⁶ Ā(7v.1) + .āśevito⁷ bahulikṛto⁸ narakasamvarttanīyo bhavati | tiryaggati⁹ samvarttanīyo (')pi¹⁰ yasmād alpaprāṇātipātasya vipāko maṇuṣyabhūtasya alpāyuhṣamva(r)ttanī[y]o [bh]. ...¹¹ [|]

¹ Read *ya(thā)*.

² Read (*lasya prati*).

³ Read °*ādayo*. Cf. BHSG §10.154: -*aya* for pl. N. of *i*-stem (but only in verse).

⁴ Read *śastrā(ṇā)m*.

⁵ Read *Kālika(sūtre)*.

⁶ Read (*pr*)*āṇātipāta*.

⁷ Read *Ā(nand)āsevito*.

⁸ After this, add *bhāvito*. See the footnote 4 on MS[A].

⁹ Originally written: *gatī*, then vowel sign is corrected to *gati*.

¹⁰ After this sentence, one more phrase “(*bhavati* |) *pretaviṣayasamvarttanīyo 'pi bhavati* |” is omitted.

¹¹ Read *bb(avati)*.

d) tathā daśādīnavā Nandikasūtre¹ uktāḥ prā(12r.4)nātipātasya ||

idaṃ karma² alpāyuhṠsa(m)vartta<nī>yam || ◎ ||

¹ This *sūtra*, as is noted by Lévi ([1932], p.33, fn. 12), seems to survive neither in Sanskrit nor in Chinese translation. Its Tibetan translation (?) alone is available (see the French translation of it, Léon Feer, “Fragments Extraits du Kandjour,” in *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Tome V, pp. 244–245). Although we do not have any complete Sanskrit or Chinese text of this *sūtra*, there is a quotation in the *Dāzhibidūlūn* 『大智度論』 wherein the Buddha told “ten evil results of murder” to a layman Nandika (Nāntījīa, 難提迦): 「如佛語難提迦優婆塞。殺生有十罪。何等為十。一者心常懷毒世世不絕。二者衆生憎惡眼不喜見。三者常懷惡念思惟惡事。四者衆生畏之如見蛇虎。五者睡時心怖覺亦不安。六者常有惡夢。七者命終之時／狂怖惡死。八者種短命業因緣。九者身壞命終墮泥梨中。十者若出為入常當短命。」 (T. No. 1509, vol. 25, 155c13–19). As for the translation of above passage and other references, see Lamotte, *Mpps* [*Le Traité de la Grande Vertu du Sage De Nāgārjuna (Mahāprajñāpāramitāsāstra)*], tome III, pp. 792–793 and a footnote 1 of p. 792. (This passage is also quoted by two other Chinese texts mentioning its source as the *Dāzhibidūlūn*: the *Fāmwāngjīng Púsàjièběn Shū* 『梵網經菩薩戒本疏』 第一, by 法藏 Hōzō, T. No. 1813, vol. 40, 611c27–612a5; the *Quānfāpútīxīnjí* 『勸發菩提心集』 卷中, by 慧沼 Eshō, T. No. 1862, vol. 45, 384c16–23). At this point, the present writer would like to express his thanks to Mr. Hsiao Chenkuo (蕭鎮國) who kindly allows to use his “Taisho Tripiṭaka CD-Rom” (inputted on the base of the first edition of the Taisho Tripiṭaka, vols. 1–55 + 85. Big5, CJK). References in the *Taisho Tripiṭaka* are found by searching on his CD-Rom.

In the Turfan manuscripts collection, a part of fragment is identified as the *Nandikasūtra* although it has only a beginning portion of this *sūtra* (Kat.-Nr. 162 [K 446 (TIII MQR)], aR4–9). In SHT I (1965), only its description is given whereas its transliteration is supplied in SHT IV (1980), pp. 99–100. This text, according to the information in SHT I (p. 92, note 4), corresponds to the Ch. *Zāāhánjīng* 『雜阿含經』 卷三十, tr. by 求那跋陀羅 Gunabhadra, 435–443 CE., T. No. 99 (855), vol. 2, 217c18–218a8; Pāli SN, Nandiya, V. 397–8 (ed. by Feer, PTS, 1898 [rp. 1976]). Unfortunately, these does not correspond to the MKV nor to above quotation in the *Dazhi du lun* since there is no story about “ten results of the murder.”

We have different story related to Nandika. It is included in the *Sthaviragāthā* (ed. by H. Bechert, *BBV* [*Bruchstücke buddhistischer Versammlungen aus zentralasiatischen Sanskrithandschriften*, 1. *Die Anavatapta-gāthā und die Sthaviragāthā*], 1961, pp. 136–138). Its Chinese parallels, as shown by Bechert, are the *Fówúbāidizǐzìshuōběnqǐjīng* 『佛五百弟子自說本起經』, tr. by 竺法護 (Dharmarakṣa), T. No. 199, vol. 4, 193a13–b8 and the *Gēběnshuōyīqièyǒubù Pīnàiyē Yāoshì* 『根本說一切有部昆奈耶藥事』, tr. by 義淨 (Yìjīng), T. No. 1448, vol. 24, 81b4–28. The name Nandika is translated in the former as “Nāntuó 難陀” (*Nanda) and in the latter “Yōuxǐ 有喜.” This story of Nanda/Nandika does not correspond to our MKV. For the details, see above *BBV*.

² Hiatus remains.

d) [t]. thā¹ daśādīnavā(7v.2) + .. kasūtre² ukta³ {l} prāṇātipātasya <l>

idaṃ karma⁴ alpāyuhṣamvarttanīyaṃ ○ || ||

¹ Read *t(a)thā*.

² Read *(Nandī)kasūtre*. Hiatus remains.

³ Read *uktāḥ*. Cf. BHSG §8.79 but this phenomenon is concerned to “mainly in verses m.c., metrical shortening of the preceding.”

⁴ Hiatus remains.

2. tatra katamaṁ karmma dī(r)ghāyuh{I}sa(m)varttanīyaṁ | ucyate |¹

(12r.5) prāṇātipātānivr̥ttis² tadvarṇṇavādita³ | tatra samādāpanaṁ <|> tadvarṇṇavāditaḥ⁴
| vadhyaprāptānām manuṣyapaśuṣṛkara⁵kukkuṭādīnām {{sa}} (12v.1) <parimocanam |>
bhītānām satvānām⁶ abhayapradānaṁ | anāthānā⁷ satvānām marthe⁸ kārūnyacitrata⁹ |
glānā¹⁰ satvānā¹¹ madhye maitraciṁttatāḥ¹² | anyeṣāñ ca bālavṛddhānā¹³ (12v.2) teṣāṁ eva
bhojanapradānaṁ | pratigrāhake○ṣu maitracittatā¹⁴ | eta¹⁵ evaṁ pūrvvoktaṁ {I}
ku<śa>lapakṣeṇa vuddha¹⁶darśana¹⁷ <|> tathā stupa¹⁸c[ai](12v.3)t[y]avihārānām
visirṇṇānā¹⁹ pratisa(m)skā○raṇaṁ | ata evoktaṁ |

akālamṛtyur nna²⁰ bhavet tasya
yo bhagnaśirṇṇam²¹ pratisa(m)skaroti (12v.4) |

¹ This *danḍa* is written on the right side margin.

² For °*nivr̥ttau*. Addition of -*r* after a vowel -*r* is common phenomenon in this MS.

³ For °*vādītā*.

⁴ For °*vādītā*.

⁵ For °*sūkara*°. Cf. BHSG §3.93: *r* for *ū*.

⁶ For *satvānām*. Cf. BHSG §2.69.

⁷ For *anāthānā*(*m*).

⁸ Read *madhye*.

⁹ For *kārūnyacittatā*.

¹⁰ For *glānā*(*nām*).

¹¹ For *sa*(*t*)*tvānā*(*m*).

¹² For °*ci*{*m*}*ttatā*.

¹³ For *bālavṛddhānā*(*m*).

¹⁴ Originally written: °*cittetā*. Vowel sign -*e* is erased.

¹⁵ For *ata*?

¹⁶ For *yuddha*°.

¹⁷ Read °*ādī*.

¹⁸ For *stūpa*°. Cf. BHSG §3.46.

¹⁹ For {*vi*}*śirṇṇānā*(*m*).

²⁰ For *na*. Duplication of a consonant after -*r*.

²¹ For °*śi*(*r*)*ṇṇam*.

2. tatra karamaṃ karma dīrghāyuhṣamvarttanīyaṃ <l> ucyate ||

prāṇātipātā¹ nirvṛtīḥ² <l> prāṇātipātānirvṛttau³ varṇaḥ;(7v.3) + + [tā]⁴ | tatra samādāpanaṃ
<l> tadvarṇavādītā <l> vadhyaprāptānām manuṣyapaśusūka○rakukkuṭādīnām
parimocanaṃ <l> bhītānām satvānām abhayapradānaṃ anāthānām satvānām madhye
kāruṇyacittatā⁵ | (7v.4) + + ..⁶ ..tvānām⁷ madhye maitracittatā | anyeṣāṃ ca bālavṛddhānām
<l> teṣāṃ eva ○ bhojanapradānaṃ <l> pratigrāhakeṣu maitracittatā | tad eva pūrvoktaṃ
satvaṃ⁸ kuśalapakṣeṇa yuddhadarśanādi <l> tathā stūpacaitya(7v.5) + + + +⁹ [śī]rṇānām
pratisaṃskarakaraṇaṃ <l> ata eva coktaṃ ||

akālamṛ○tyuṃ¹⁰ na bhavet{a}¹¹ tasya
yo bhagnaśīrṇaṃ pratisaṃskaroti |

¹ For *prāṇātipātā(n)* [pl.Ac.].

² For *nirvṛtīḥ*.

³ For *nirvṛttau*.

⁴ Read (*varṇavādītā*).

⁵ After this word, there is one letter's open space.

⁶ Read (*glānānām*).

⁷ Read (*sa*)*tvānām*.

⁸ Omit (*satvaṃ*).

⁹ Read (*viḥārānām*).

¹⁰ For *akālamṛtyur* [sg.N.]. Cf. BHSG § 12.12.

¹¹ *Virāma* is omitted.

a) tathā śrāvakapratyekabrahmasūtram¹ varṇṇayam○ti sma | tena kila² ṛṣibhūtena
pañcābhigena³ tṛṣ(ṇ)ārttaḥ sārthapathād apabhramuḥ⁴ | (12v.5) tasyopari ṛddhā⁵ varṣaṇam⁶
pātitaṃ⁷ | tadarthaṃ Bhagavatā gāthā bhāṣitā ||

tat te purāṇam vataśīlavṛttam <|>
svapnā⁸ vibuddho 'nusmarāmi ||⁹

tatra sā(13r.1)¹⁰rthe bodhisatvaḥ¹¹ sārthavāho (')bhūt* |

ya Eṇikūle janatām gṛhītām |¹²

¹ The title of this *sūtra* is corrupted. The verses quoted in this subsection can be traced in the text of the Pāli canon whose title begins with “Bakabrahma-” Parallels: *SN* [vi.1.4 Bakabrahmasuttam] I, 142-144 (ed. by Léon Feer, PTS, 1884 [rp. 1991]; vol. 1, pp. 310-314, A critical Apparatus by G.A.Samarathe, PTS, 1998); *Jātaka* No. 405: Bakabrahmajātaka, vol. III, pp. 358-363, Ed. by V.Fausbøll; Ch. *Zāābhānjīng* 『雜阿含經』卷四十四, T. No. 99 (1195), vol. 2, 324b3-c16; *Biéyi Zāābhānjīng* 『別譯雜阿含經』卷六, T. No. 100 (108), vol. 2, 412b6-c18. For the further references, see Lévi [1932], p. 34, fn. 7.

² Hiatus remains.

³ For -*ṣṇena*.

⁴ Read *tṛṣṇārtta(sya) sārtha(sya) pathād {apa}bhraṣṭasya*. Or these ending -*ah/-a* for Genitive case ending ? Cf. BHS §8.10: ending -*a* as a Genitive case.

⁵ For *ṛddh(y)ā*. Cf. BHS §2.17: loss of semivowel -*y* in triconsonantal clusters.

⁶ Read *varṣam* (rain), not *varṣaṇam* (raining).

⁷ Originally written: *pātini*. An *akṣara tam* is rewritten on the sign *m* (combination of *anusvāra* and *virāma*).

⁸ For *svapnā(d)*. Cf. BHS §8.46.

⁹ The second half verse is metrically incomplete while in MS[B] it is complete. Two short syllables are necessary after *vibuddho*. See Pāli: *tan te purāṇam vatasīlavattam | suttappabuddho va anussarāmi ti*; Ch. 是則汝過去 所受持功德 我悉憶念知 久近如眠覺 (324b28-29); 慈仁好惠施 復能持戒行 汝於睡及寤 宜憶本所行 (412c6-7).

¹⁰ This folio has four lines par side.

¹¹ Lévi [1932, p. 34, fn. 10] notes: A *tatra pārthivausadhisattvaḥ*. His reading is based on some misunderstandings of the letters: he reads *pā* for *sā*; *thi* for *the* (both signs -*i* and -*e* are written on the left side of the base *akṣara* but the latter is slightly curved); *vau* for *bo*; *sa* does not exist.

¹² Pāli: *yam enikūlasmiṃ janam gahītam* | (Feer ed. p. 143; Somaratne ed. p.313. In the footnote of the former, we have a variant of *enī°* for *enī* and in that of the latter *janatam* for *janam*). Chs do not have.

a) yathā ca Pratyekabrahmasūtram¹ varṇayanti | tena kila riṣi²bhūtena {l} (7v.6) + + + + + .. [sy].³ sārthasya pathabhraṣṭasyopari⁴ rddhyā varṣām⁵ pātitaṃ <l> tadarthañ ca Bhagavatā gāthā bhāṣi{{va}}tā ||

tat te purāṇaṃ vrataśīlavṛttaṃ <l>

svapnā vibuddho (')ham iha smarāmi ||

tatra ca sārthe bo;⁶

¹ Read (*Baka*)*pratyekabrahmasūtram*.

² For *ṛsi*-. Cf. BHSG §3.94.

³ Read (*pañcābhijñena trṣṇārta*)*sy(a)*.

⁴ Hiatus remains.

⁵ For *varṣam*.

⁶ MS[B], folio 7 ends here. Following 3 folios are missing.

Eṇī nāma ṇadī yasyānukule¹ rājā kaścit* gṛhītaḥ <|> pratyamitreṇa Hima(13r.2)vantam
anupravisya {1} sabalavāhanaḥ sa nīya○mā<<na>> eva vadhyaprāptaḥ sabalavāhana² <|>
tena³ ṛṣibhūtena⁴ ṛddhyā vātavarṣa⁵ muktaṁ <|> (13r.3) sa co⁶pāyena pratyamitrajanakāyo
vibhrā○mitaḥ || sa rājā mokṣitaḥ ||

tat te dvtīyaṁ vrataśīlavṛttam <|>
svapnād vibuddho '(13r.4)nusmarāmi |⁷

sa ca rājā bodhisatvo babhūva ||

Gaṅgāśotasi⁸ nāvā gṛhītā <|>
nāgena ghorena mardhikena⁹ |¹⁰

sa ca tadā ṛṣir Ga¹¹(13v.1)ṅgākule¹² maharddhikaḥ pañcābhijñāḥ pratisarati¹³ || tena ja¹⁴
kāyaḥ krandamāṇo jīvitena nirāśas tato moṣitaḥ¹⁵ ||

¹ For *yasyā anukūle*. Cf. BHSG §3.45-46: *u* for *ū*.

² For *sabalavāhana(h)*.

³ Hiatus remains.

⁴ Hiatus remains.

⁵ For *vātavarṣa(m)*.

⁶ This *akṣara co* is rewritten but original letter cannot be read.

⁷ Pāli: the verse is the same as previous one; Ch.: 是則過去世 所受持福業 我憶此因緣 久近如眠覺 (324c3-4); 慈仁好惠施 復能持戒行 汝於睡及寤 宜憶本所行 (412c6-7).

⁸ For °*i(r)otasi*. Cf. BHSG §21.16: sibilant plus *r* to single sibilant.

⁹ Read *ma(ha)rdhikena*. See the succeeding passage.

¹⁰ Pāli: *gaṅgāya sotasmim gahītavāvam | luddhena nāgena manussakamyā* ||; Ch.: 過去有人衆 乘船恒水中 惡龍持彼船 欲盡害其命 (324c5-6); 又有人乘船 於彼恒河中 惡龍提船人 盡欲加毒害 (412c8-9).

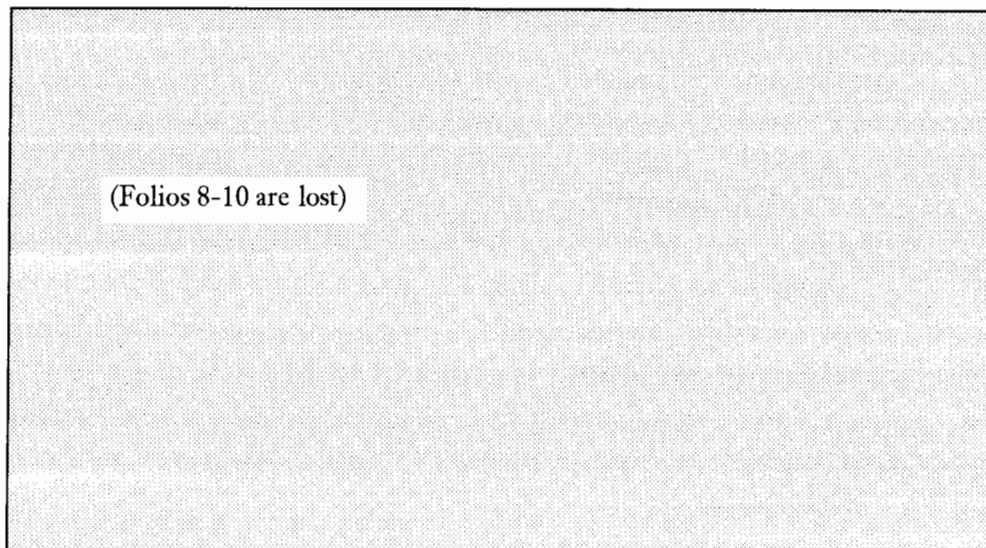
¹¹ Here, one *akṣara* is erased but unclear.

¹² For °*kūle*. Cf. BHSG §3.46: *u* for *ū*.

¹³ For *pratisarati*.

¹⁴ Read *ca*.

¹⁵ For *mokṣitaḥ*. Cf. BHSG § 2.26.



tatre¹ ṛṭīyaṃ (13v.2) vrataśīlavṛttaṃ <|>
svapnā bhībuddho² ’nu{sa}ma○rāmi ||³

tasyāñ ca nāvāyāṃ nausvāmī bodhisatvas tena kālenābhūt* || e;(13v.3)vaṃvidhaṃ te
trividhaṃ karmma kṛtaṃ <|> tenāti○va dīrghāyuh ||

b) yathā keś⁴cid ācāryāḥ kathayanti |

Bhagavān āha | bhūta;(13v.4)pūrvva⁵ bhikṣavo Jambudvīpe sarvvaJanapada⁶mārī
varttate sma | athānyatareṇa satvenānyalokadhātau ṣṭhitena⁷ ṛddhimataḥ sakāsā(14r.1)c⁸
chrutaṃ | yathā Jambūdīpe sarvvaMārī pati{1}teti | tena kṛtapuṇyena praṇidhānaṃ
kṛtaṃ | “Jambūdīpe⁹ upa<pa>dyayaṃ¹⁰ sarvvasatvānāṃ vyādhiprā;(14r.2)mojyāye”ti¹¹ |
sa tatropapannaḥ | yena¹² satvā○s ṛṣitās teṣāṃ pānīyena vyādhiṃ nāsayanti¹³ | ye ca
bhūṣitās¹⁴ teṣāṃ bhakte(14r.3)na vyādhiṃ nāsayaṃti¹⁵ | evaṃ yena yasyarthas¹⁶ te;○naiva
{vyā} tasya vyādhir nāsayati |

¹ Read *tat te*. Originally written: *tatro*, and then only the vowel sign on right side is erased (> *tatre*).

² Read *vibuddho*.

³ Pāli: the verse is the same as the first one; Ch.: 是則汝過去 所受持福業 我憶是因緣 久近如眠覺 (324c8-9); 此汝昔日時 修戒之所致 (412c11. This Ch. has only ab pāda.)

⁴ On this *akṣara*, we can see a sort of sign which is apparently not a stain of the folio but it does not seem to indicate a correction of *keś*^o to *kāś*.

⁵ For °*pūrvva(m)*.

⁶ Vowel sign is rewritten. Originally written: -*padi*-.

⁷ Hiatus remains.

⁸ For *sakāsāc*.

⁹ Hiatus remains.

¹⁰ Read *upa<pa>dyāham*.

¹¹ Corruption? Lévi notes: *apapadyāyām ... prāmānyājjāyeyeti* (p. 36, fn. 1) and reads: *upapadyāham ... pranāsāya jāyeyeti*.

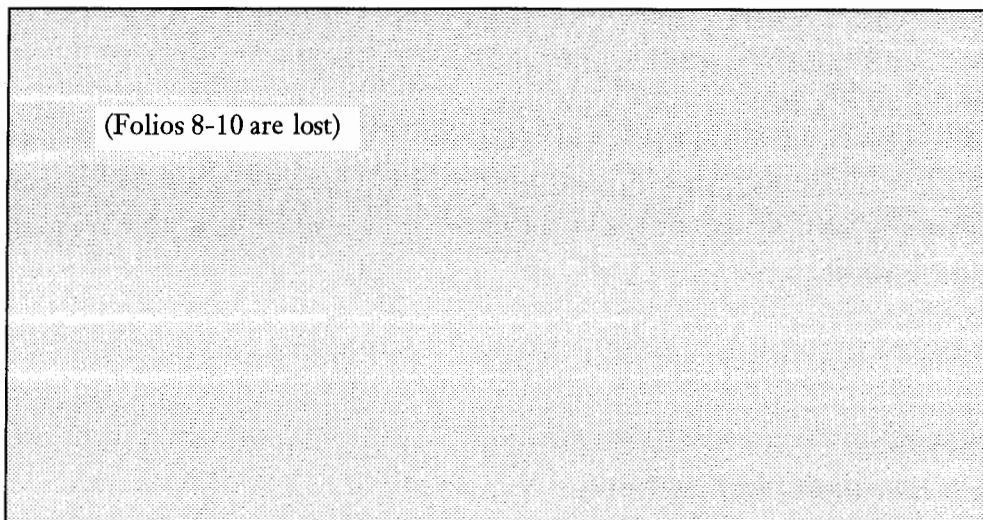
¹² Read *ye ca*.

¹³ For *nāsayati* [3rd.sg.]. Is this 3rd pl. form conjugate in accordance to the plural forms of the relative pronouns? Cf. BHSG §25.30.

¹⁴ For *bhūṣitās*. BHSG § 2.26: ṣ for kṣ. Lévi reads *bubhūṣitās* but the form *bhūṣita-* (> *bhūṣita-*) is possible, see BHSD s.v. *bhūṣita*.

¹⁵ For *nāsayati* [3rd.sg.]. Is this 3rd pl. form conjugate in accordance to the plural forms of the relative pronouns? Cf. BHSG §25.30.

¹⁶ Read *yasyārthas*.



na nāma tasya kiñcid apy anauṣadham | yad ya(14r.4)d eva gṛhya prayacchati {l} tat tad evauṣadham | ta○sya Jā(m)būdvipakair manuṣaiḥ¹ Sarvvoṣadhi² ekanāma kṛtaṃ | |

<<a>>³tha bhikṣavaḥ Sa;(14r.5)rvoṣadhi⁴vaidyārājo bahūnām satvasahasrāṇā⁵ jīvitāni datvā⁶ kāla⁷gataḥ <l> kālāntareṇa Mi<<thi>>lāyām rājakule⁸ upa⁹pannaḥ | tatrā(14v.1)pi tena Mahādevabhūtenāśītikṣitriya¹⁰sahasrāni dharmadesanayā pravrajitāni <l> Jambudvīpe śītivarṣasahasrāni maṇuṣyāṇām āyur nna parikṣiṇaṃ | (14v.2) tataḥ cyutaḥ kālāntareṇa Kusi¹¹nagaryā¹² Mā○dhātā¹³ savṛtaḥ¹⁴ | bhūyaś ca Saptasūryopa{ma}dese¹⁵ Sunetro nāmā māṇave¹⁶ vijñayaḥ¹⁷ |

¹ For manuṣ(y)aiḥ.

² For Sarvvoṣadhi(r). Cf. BHSG §3.78: o for au.

³ This akṣara is inserted from the next line and because of it the next line is intercepted.

⁴ For Sarvvoṣadhi-. Cf. BHSG §3.78: o for au.

⁵ For °sahasrāṇā(m).

⁶ For da(t)tvā. Same scribal error as in case of sa(t)tvā.

⁷ Vowel sign is rewritten. Originally written: kālā-.

⁸ Hiatus remains.

⁹ Three akṣaras' open space between upa and pannaḥ due to the inserted letter <<a>> of 4th line.

¹⁰ For °kṣitriya°. A mere scribal error.

¹¹ Vowel sign is rewritten. sā > śi.

¹² For Kuśīnagaryā(m).

¹³ Sic. Cf. Divy.210.20-21: anye kathayatnti kecin Mādātā iti samjānīte. BHSD s.v.

¹⁴ For sa(m)vṛt(t)ah.

¹⁵ For Saptasūryopadeśe. References of this text: Pāli AN, IV. 103-105 [7.62.9-10]; IV. 135-136 [69.1-3]; III.371-374 [54.7-9]. Ch. Zhōngābānjīng 『中阿含經』 卷八「七日經」(Qīrījīng), T. No. 26(8), vol. 1, 428c7-429c27, esp. 429b11 ff.; ibid. 卷十四「教曇彌經」(Jiàotánmījīng), T. No. 26(130), 618b18-620b6, esp. 619b28 ff.; Fósuō Sàbōduōsūlīyúnàiyējīng 『佛說薩鉢多酥哩踰捺野經』, tr. by 法賢(Fǎxián), T. No. 30, vol. 1, 811c19-813a2, esp. 812c5 ff. The name “Sunetra” is translated in the Zhōngābānjīng as 善眼 (Shānyǎn) and in the Fósuō Sàbōduōsūlīyúnàiyējīng as 妙眼 (Miàoeyǎn). This text is also referred in the Āpīdāmó Dàpīpóshālùn 『阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論』, tr. by 玄奘 (Xuánzàng), T. No. 1545, vol. 27, 424c15 ff.; the Āpīdāmó Shūnzhenlilùn 『阿毘達磨順正理論』, by 眾賢 (Saṅghabhadra), tr. by 玄奘 (Xuánzàng), T. No. 1562, vol. 29, 703b14 ff. The title of this text is also referred by Yaśomitra in his Vyākhyā on the Abhidharmakośa (p. 710): sunetro nāma śāsteti. Saptasūryodaya-sūtre 'yam eva bhagavān ṛṣiḥ Sunetro nāma babhūveti. See la Vallée Poussin, L'Abhidharmakośa de asubandhu, tome V, pp. 271-272, fn. 2.

¹⁶ For māṇavo [sg.N.]. Cf. BHSG §8.25: ending -e for N.sg. of a-stem.

¹⁷ Read vijñeyah. A mere scribal error.

(Folios 8-10 are lost)

ahaṃ (14v.3) sa bhikṣavas tena kālena Sarvoṣadhi¹vaidyarā○jo 'bhūt* | tasya karmmaṇo vipākena Mahādevasya²yuḥpramāṇaṃ yojayītavyaṃ³ | Mā(14v.4)ndhātṛSuletrā⁴bhyāṃ apy evāyuḥpramāṇaṃ yojā○yī⁵tavyaṃ ||

idaṃ karmma dirghāyuhṣa(m)varttanīyaṃ || ◎ ||

3. katamat{a} karmma bahvābā(14v.5)dha⁶saṃvarttanīyaṃ ucyate ||

khaṭacapeṭapradānaṃ | khata⁷capeṭapradānaṃ⁸ anumodanaṃ | khaṭacapeṭapradāṇasya varṇṇavāditā{m} || teṣāṃ pradānena tuṣṭiḥ | (15r.1)⁹mātāpitroś cittaśarīre pīḍākaraṇaṃ¹⁰ | tathānyeṣāṃ pravrajītānāṃ śīlavatā¹¹ cittasaṃkleśaḥ | amitravvyādhinā tuṣṭiḥ | (15r.2) amitravvyādhivyutthānena tuṣṭiḥ¹² | vyādhi○tānāṃ abheṣajya¹³pradānaṃ | tathā¹⁴ aparijīrṇṇabhojanaṃ ||

idaṃ karmma bahvābādha¹⁵(15r.3)saṃvarttanīyaṃ || ◎ ||

¹ For *Sarvvaṣadhi-*. Cf. BHSG §3.78: *o* for *au*.

² Read *-syāyuh°*.

³ Read *yojayitavyaṃ*. A simple scribal error attested by the next appearance of this word which is corrected by the scribe himself.

⁴ Read *°sunetrā°*.

⁵ Vowel sign is rewritten. *yī* > *yī*.

⁶ For *bahvābādha°*.

⁷ For *khaṭa°*.

⁸ Read *°pradāṇasya* [sg.G.].

⁹ This folio has four lines par side.

¹⁰ Originally written: *-ḥ*. *Viśarga* is erased and *anusvāra* is added. After this *akṣara* there is an open space for approximate 8 letters.

¹¹ For *°vatā(m)*.

¹² Read *atuṣṭiḥ*, otherwise this does not match to the context.

¹³ For *abhaiśajya°*. Cf. BHSG §3.67-68.

¹⁴ Hiatus remains.

¹⁵ For *bahvābādha°*.

(Folios 8-10 are lost)

4. katamat* karmma ○ alpābādha¹saṃvarttanīyaṃ ucyate ।

khata²capetapradānān nivṛtiḥ³ । tatra samādā(15r.4)panaṃ । tadvarṇavādītā । tadabhyānumodanaṃ । glānānām mātāpitṛṇām upaṣṭhānakaraṇaṃ ॥ tad apy anyeṣā⁴ grhaṣṭhapravrajitānā⁵ । ami(15v.1)travyādhinā'nātta{maṇa}manaskatā । tasya vyutthānena cāttamanaskatā ॥ bhaiṣajyapradānaṃ । pariḥiṣṭābhōjanaṃ ca ॥

idaṃ karmma alpā;⁶(15v.2)bādha⁷saṃvarttanīyaṃ ॥ ◎ ॥

5. katamat* ka○rmma durvarṇa⁸saṃvarttanīyaṃ । ucyate ॥

krodhaḥ ॥ upanāhaḥ । mraḥṣaḥ । pradādyah⁹ । mā(15v.3)tāpitror avarṇavādītā । anyeṣān ca grha○ṣṭhapravrajitānā¹⁰ bālavṛddhānām । stūpānḡaṇacetra¹¹grhavihārāṇān ca bhūme¹² viśodha(15v.4)naṃ¹³ । stūpānā¹⁴ pratimānān ca dīpavyucchedaḥ । durvarṇānām satvānām avahasanaṃ । tathā'caukṣasamudācārātā ॥

idaṃ karmma durvarṇasamvartta(16r.1)nīyaṃ ॥ ॥

¹ For *alpābādha*°.

² For *khaṭa*°.

³ For *nivṛt(t)ih*.

⁴ For *anyeṣā(m)*.

⁵ For *-tānā(m)*.

⁶ Here is an open space for approximately three letters.

⁷ Read *alpābādha*°.

⁸ For *du(r)varṇa*°.

⁹ Read *pradāsaḥ*.

¹⁰ For *-tānā(m)*.

¹¹ Read *-caitya-*.

¹² For *bhūme(r)*.

¹³ Read *(a)viśodhanaṃ*, otherwise it does not match to the context. Or *bhūme (')viśodhanaṃ* ?

¹⁴ For *-tānā(m)*.

(Folios 8-10 are lost)

(To be continued)

Who Composed the Lotus Sutra?

— Antagonism between wilderness and village monks — *

Seishi KARASHIMA

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1. Verses in the *Utsāha-parivarta*

The *Śloka*-verses in Chapter XII, the *Utsāha-parivarta*, in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, give us a great deal of evidence as to the composition of the Lotus Sutra. However, their importance for the historical research of this scripture and consequently that of so-called Mahāyāna Buddhism has not really been taken into true consideration. I assume that the prime reason for this is that not only modern translators of the Sanskrit version, but also the authors of ancient Chinese commentaries on Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra, whose interpretations have significantly influenced Japanese Buddhist scholars and consequently Western translators of the Chinese version, interpreted these verses incorrectly.

1.1. Sanskrit Text

The verses in question in the Kern-Nanjio Edition of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* read as follows:

KN.271.9~274.6

ākrośāms tarjanāś caiva daṇḍa-udgūraṇāni ca ^{1/}
bālānām saṃsabhiṣyāmo 'dhivāsisyāma nāyaka // 3
durbuddhinaś ca vaṅkāś ca śaṭhā bālādhibimāninaḥ^{2/}
aprāpte prāpta-saṃjñī ca ghoṛe kālasmi paścime^{3/} // 4
araṇyavṛttakāś caiva kaṅthām prāvariyāṇa ca /
saṃlekhaḥcaritā asme^{5/} *evaṃ vaksyanti durmatī* // 5

¹ Hereafter, I shall refer to the readings of five relatively old manuscripts only when their readings differ significantly from those in the Kern-Nanjio Edition. They are namely:

- (1) Pk = MS. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, formerly kept in the Library of the Cultural Palace of Nationalities (民族文化宮图书馆), Beijing. A photographic edition: Míngzú-wénhuàgōng 1984; transliteration: Jiang 1988; Toda 1989-1991.
- (2) D2 = Gilgit MSS. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, kept in the National Archives of India (New Delhi). Facsimile edition and transliteration: Watanabe 1972-1975.
- (3) D3 = Gilgit MSS. of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, kept in the National Archives of India (New Delhi), the British Museum (London), and in the possession of Mr. M. A. Shah (Lahore). Facsimile edition and transliteration: Watanabe 1972-1975. Verses 3~5 are missing in D3.
- (4) O = the so-called Kashgar manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, actually found in Khādaliq but purchased in Kashgar. Facsimile edition: Lokesh Chandra 1976; transliteration: Toda 1981: 3-225.
- (5) F = the Sanskrit Manuscripts of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, discovered in Farhād-Bēg, romanised in Toda 1981: 229-258.

Moreover, the sign "****" is used here to designate a missing portion in a Sanskrit manuscript.

Pk. *ākrośānām tarjanām tāḍanām caiva daṇḍa-udguruṇāṃni ca*; D2. *ākrośāms tāḍanāms caiva daṇḍa-udgiriṇāni ca*; O. *ākrośā tāḍanā bhīkṣmā daṇḍāni mudgarāni*; F. *ākrośā tāḍanā bhīkṣmā daṇḍā mudgarāṇāṃni ca*.

² O. *durbuddhīnām ca vaṅkānām caṇḍābālādhibimānīnām*; F. *durbuddhīnām ca vaṅkānā śaṭhābālādhibimānīnām*.

³ O. *aprāpte prāptasamjñīnām bhīkṣūṇām kāli paścime* (= F)

⁴ Pk. *araṇya-cintakāś* (= D2); O. *araṇya-vṛttakāś*; F. *araṇya*****.

rāseṣu gr̥ddhā saktās⁶ ca gr̥bhīnām dharma deṣayī /
satkṛtās ca bhaviṣyanti ṣaḍabbijñā yathā tathā⁷ // 6
raudracittās ca duṣṭās ca gr̥ba-cintā⁸-vicintakāḥ /
aranyaguptim praviṣitvā asmākaṃ parivādakāḥ⁹ // 7
asmākaṃ caiva¹⁰ vaksyanti lābha-satkāra-nīritāḥ /
tīrtbhikā vat¹¹ ime¹¹ bhikṣū svāni kāvyāni¹² deṣayuh // 8
svayaṃ sūtrāṇi grantbitvā¹³ lābha-satkāra-betavaḥ /
parṣāya¹⁴ madhye bhāṣante asmākaṃ anukūṭtakāḥ¹⁵ // 9
rājeṣu rājaputreṣu rājāmātyeṣu cā(← vā) tathā¹⁶ /
viṣrāṇām¹⁷ gr̥bapatīnām ca anyeṣām cāpi¹⁸ bhikṣuṇām // 10
vaksyanty avarṇam asmākaṃ¹⁹ tīrtavyādāṃ ca cārayi²⁰ /
sarvaṃ vayaṃ kṣamiṣyāmo gauraveṇa maharṣiṇām // 11
ye cāsmān kutsayiṣyanti²¹ tasmim kālasmī²² durmatī /
ime buddhā bhaviṣyanti²³ kṣamiṣyāma 'tha²⁴ sarvaṣaḥ // 12
kalpa-saṃkṣobha-bhīṣmasmin²⁵ dāruṇasmi mahābbaye /

⁵ Pk. *saṃlekha-vṛtti-dhārāya*; D2. *saṃlekha-vṛtta-cāri* (?)*sma*; O. *saṃlekha-caritā asme*; F. *saṃlekha-cāritā asmai*.

⁶ Pk. *gr̥ddhā saktās ca*; D2. *gr̥ddhāḥ saktās ca*; O. *gr̥ddhā ūtmane*; F. *gr̥ddhā : ātmāne*.

⁷ O. *yathāiva te* (= F).

⁸ D2. *gr̥bhī-citta-*; A3. *gr̥bhavittā-*; several Nepalese MSS. read *gr̥bhacittā-*. The Tibetan translation reads *khyim dang nor* (= *gr̥bhā-vittā-*), s. Nakamura 1986: 272.7. Presumably, the original reading was *gr̥bhā-vittā-*, which was mistakenly changed to *gr̥bhā-cittā*, *gr̥bhacintā*. Cf. Karashima 1992: 160. For the alternation *v / c*, cf. Norman 1971: 59(vs. 12); *do.* 1990: 169, 215; *do.* 1995: 146-147(vs. 38); *do.* 1997: 74(vs. 50).

⁹ O. *parikuṭṭakāḥ* (= F).

¹⁰ Pk. *asmākaṃ ca evaṃ* (= D3); D2.***; O. *asmākaṃ e***; F. *asmākaṃ eva*. As the metre requires a short vowel, *evaṃ* changed to *eva*. The same situation is also seen in other Buddhist texts, cf. BHSD, s.v. *eva*; Norman 1971: 168.

¹¹ D2. *tīrtbhikā vata 'me* (= D3); O. *tīrtbhikevādi 'me*; F. *tīrtbhikāvādi 'me*.

¹² Some Nepalese MSS. read *vākyāni* instead of *kāvyāni*. Cf. Toda 1984: 239; Karashima 1992: 160.

¹³ Pk. *kaṭṭitvā*; D2. *gaṇitvā*; D3. *gaṇṭhitvā*.

¹⁴ D2. *pariṣāya* (= D3, O, F).

¹⁵ Pk. *anukūṭanām*; D2. *anukūṭtanām*; D3. °*kuṭṭanām*; O. *parikuṭṭakā*; F. °*kuṭṭakāḥ*.

¹⁶ Pk. *rājeṣu rājāmātreṣu rājāmātyeṣu cottamā*; D2. *rājeṣu ****jāmātyeṣu vā tathā*; D3. *rājeṣu rājaputreṣu rājāmātyeṣu vā tathā*; O. *rājānām rājaputrāṇām rājāmātyāna ca tathā* (= F). The form *cā*, which is m.c. for *ca*, seems to have been confused with *vā*. For the alternation *v / c*, see note (8)

¹⁷ O. *brāhmaṇa-* (= F).

¹⁸ O. *caiva* (= F).

¹⁹ O. *asmākāvarṇa bhāṣanti*; F. *asmākaṃ avarṇa bhāṣanti*.

²⁰ Pk. *tīrtavyādāṃ ca cārayi*; D2. *tīrtva-vādāṃ ca cārayet* (= D3); O. *tīrtbhikā vāca cārayi*; F. *tīrtbhikāṃ vāca cārayi*.

²¹ O. *kupsayiṣyanti*; F. *(ku)p(sa)yiṣyanti*.

²² Pk. *kālesya*; D2. ***; D3. *kālesmi* (= O, F).

²³ O. *ime buddhā 'ti vaksyanti*; F. *ime buddhā 'ti vaksyanti*. Parallels in the Chinese translations agree with these readings. Cf. Karashima 1992: 161, 335.

²⁴ Pk. *kṣamiṣyāyusa* (a corruption?); O. *adbivāsiṣyāma* (= F).

yakṣarūpā babū bhikṣū asmākaṃ paribhāṣakāḥ // 13
gauraveṇēha²⁶ lokendra utsahāma suduskaram /
kṣāntīya kaksyāṃ²⁷ bandhitvā sūtram etaṃ prakāśaye²⁸ // 14
anarthikā 'sma kāyena jīvitena ca nāyaka /
arthikāś ca 'sma bodhīya²⁹ tava nikṣepadhārakāḥ // 15
bhagavān eva jānīte³⁰ yādṛśāḥ pāpabhikṣavaḥ /
paścime kālī bheṣyanti saṃdhābhāṣyam ajānakāḥ // 16
bhṛkuṭī sarva³¹ soḍhavyā aprajñaptiḥ punaḥ punaḥ /
niṣkāsanam³² viharebhyo babukutṭī³³ bahūvidhā // 17
ājñaptiṃ lokanāthasya smarantā kālī paścime /
bhāṣiṣyāma idaṃ sūtram paṛṣan-³⁴madhye viśāradāḥ // 18
nagareṣu ca grāmeṣu³⁵ ye bheṣyanti³⁶ ihārtikāḥ³⁷ /
gatvā gatvāṣya dāsyāmo nikṣepam tubhya³⁸ nāyaka // 19

1.2. Kern's English translation

Kern translated these verses as follows (1884: 259-261)³⁹:

3. We will suffer, patiently endure, O Lord, the injuries, threats, blows and threats with sticks at the hands of foolish men.
4. At that dreadful last epoch men will be malign, crooked, wicked, dull, conceited, fancying to have come to the limit when they have not.
5. 'We do not care but to live in the wilderness and wear a patched cloth ; we lead a frugal life;' so will they speak to the ignorant
6. And persons greedily attached to enjoyments will preach the law to laymen and be honoured as if they possessed the six transcendent qualities.
7. Cruel-minded and wicked men, only occupied with household cares, will enter our retreat in the forest and become our calumniators.
8. The Tīrthikas, themselves bent on profit and honour, will say of us that we

²⁵ O. -bhikṣasmiṃ; F. -bbi***.

²⁶ Pk. gauraveṇa te; D2. gauraveṇa ti (= D3); O. goraveṇā ti; F. goravaina tu.

²⁷ Pk. kakṣam; D2. kakṣām (= D3); O. kaksyām; F. kaccha.

²⁸ Pk. prakāśayi; D2. prakāśayī (= D3); O. prakāśaye; F. prakāśayī.

²⁹ Pk. arthikāś cāsma bodhāya; D2. arthikā cāsma bodhāya (= D3); O. arthikā vāya bodhāya; F. arthikā vāyam bodhāya.

³⁰ O. jānāti (= F).

³¹ D2. bhṛkutī sarvi (= D3); O. bhṛkuṭī tīvrrā; F. bhṛkuṭī tīvra.

³² O. niṣkālanā (= F).

³³ Pk. babu-kutṭa; Other Nepalese MSS. read baddha-kutṭī, °-kūṭī, °kūṭā etc. (cf. Toda 1984: 239; Karashima 1992: 161); D2. baddhra-kutṭā (= D3); O. upākrrausā; F. upākkrośā.

³⁴ O. pariṣa- (= F).

³⁵ Pk. nagareṣu atva grāmeṣu (= D2, D3, O, F).

³⁶ O. bhaviṣyanti; F. bhaviṣya(nt)i.

³⁷ O. arthikā; F. (a)rtthikāḥ.

³⁸ Pk. tava (= D2, D3); O. tubhya (= F).

are so, and—shame on such monks ! They will preach their own fictions.

9. Prompted by greed of profit and honour they will compose Sûtras of their own invention and then, in the midst of the assembly, accuse us of plagiarism.

10. To kings, princes, king's peers, as well as to Brahmans and commoners, and to monks of other confessions,

11. They will speak evil of us and propagate the Tîrtha-doctrine. We will endure all that out of reverence for the great Seers.

12. And those fools who will not listen to us, shall (sooner or later) become enlightened, and therefore will we forbear to the last.

13. In that dreadful, most terrible period of frightful general revolution will many fiendish monks stand up as our revilers.

14. Out of respect for the Chief of the world we will bear it, however difficult it be ; girded with the girdle of forbearance will I proclaim this Sûtra.

15. I do not care for my body or life, O Lord, but as keepers of thine entrusted deposit we care for enlightenment.

16. The Lord himself knows that in the last period there are (to be) wicked monks who do not understand mysterious speech.

17. One will have to bear frowning looks, repeated disavowal (or concealment), expulsion from the monasteries, many and manifold abuses.

18. Yet mindful of the command of the Lord of the world we will in the last period undauntedly proclaim this Sûtra in the midst of the congregation.

19. We will visit towns and villages everywhere, and transmit to those who care for it thine entrusted deposit, O Lord.

1.3. Kumārajīva's Chinese translation

In Kumārajīva's translation of the Lotus Sutra, we find verses corresponding to the above-cited Sanskrit ones (*Taishō*, vol. 9, No.262, 36b23~37a1)⁴⁰. I shall cite only the part, parallel to Sanskrit verses 5~11, here.

³⁹ Burnouf translated verses in question (i.e. 5~11) as follows(1852: 165-166):

5. « Ne songeant qu'au désert, couverts d'un morceau d'étoffe, nous passerons « notre vie dans la pauvreté : » c'est ainsi que parleront les insensés.

6. Désirant avec avidité tout ce qui flatte le goût, et pleins de cupidité, ils seront honorés, quand ils enseigneront la loi aux maîtres de maison, comme s'ils possédaient les six connaissances surnaturelles.

7. Pleins de pensées cruelles et de méchanceté, exclusivement occupés des soins de leur maison et de leur fortune, ils pénétreront dans les retraites des forêts pour nous accabler d'outrages.

8. Avides de gain et d'honneurs, ils nous parleront d'une manière conforme à leurs sentiments ; ces religieux Tîrthakas nous exposeront leurs propres pratiques.

9. Composant eux-mêmes des Sûtras dans le but d'obtenir du gain et des honneurs, ils parleront au milieu de l'assemblée pour nous insulter.

10. Auprès des rois, auprès des fils de roi, auprès de leurs conseillers, auprès des Brâhmanes, des maîtres de maison et des autres Religieux,

11. Ils nous blâmeront dans leurs discours, et feront entendre le langage des Tîrthakas; mais nous supporterons tout cela par respect pour les grands Rîchis ;

⁴⁰ In another Chinese translation of the Lotus Sutra, namely Dharmarakṣa's *Zhèngfāhuā Jīng* 正法華經, one can also find relevant verses: *Taishō*, vol. 9, No.263, 106c29~107b8.

或有阿練若 納衣在空閑 自謂行真道 輕賤人間者：“貪著利養故 與白衣說法”
 爲世所恭敬 如六通羅漢 是人懷惡心 常念世俗事
 假名阿練若 好出我等過 而作如是言 “此諸比丘等 爲貪利養故 說外道論議”
 自作此經典 誑惑世間人 爲求名聞故 分別於是經”
 常在大衆中 欲毀我等故 向國王大臣 婆羅門居士 及餘比丘衆 誹謗說我惡
 謂：“是邪見人 說外道論議” 我等敬佛故 悉忍是諸惡

Hurvitz translated these Chinese verses as follows (1976: 205-206):

Or there are *āranyakas* [forest-dwelling hermits], clothed in patched rags and living in the wilderness, who say of themselves that they are treading the True Path, holding mankind cheaply.

Because they covet profit and nourishment, they preach Dharma to white-robed laymen, and are held in humble reverence by the world, as though they were arhants of the six penetrations.

These men, harboring evil thoughts, constantly mindful of the affairs of the world, borrow the name of *āranyakas* because they love to display our faults.

Then they make such talk as this: “These bhikṣus, out of greed for profit and nourishment, preach the arguments of external paths.

Having themselves created this scriptural canon to deceive worldlings and lead them astray, in the quest for name and renown they preach this scripture with much discrimination.”

Since within the great multitude they ever wish to ruin us, turning to kings and great ministers, to Brahmans and householders, and to multitudes of other bhikṣus, they slanderously speak evil of us, saying, “These fellows of wrong views preach arguments of external paths.”

Out of veneration for the Buddha, we will endure all these evils.

1.4. Who slandered whom?

The Sanskrit and Chinese verses which are given above in boldface, have been wrongly understood, as I shall explain in the following sections.

In particular, there is a great deal of confusion between those who slandered and those who were slandered, which is found not only in the modern translations of the Lotus Sutra but also in ancient Chinese commentaries, resulting presumably from the lack of marks or words which would indicate a quotation (such as *iti* in Sanskrit or 曰 in Chinese), in the verses in question. The cause of this confusion may also be attributed to these modern translators’ insufficient understanding of past antagonism between wilderness and village monks.

In the following section, we shall see the dichotomy and antagonism between these two groups, found in various texts.

2. Antagonism between wilderness and village monks

2.1. *araṇya* (“wilderness”)⁴¹ and *grāma* (“village”)

Since Vedic and Brahmanical times throughout the Hindu tradition, we find a dichotomy in Indian culture, namely *araṇya* (“wilderness”) and *grāma* (“village”).⁴² Regarding this, Olivelle writes:⁴³

... the two religious paths, Vedic ritualism and asceticism, are symbolised by the places—village and wilderness.

This opposition is also to be found in the Buddhist tradition as we shall see below.

2.2. *Araññavāsī* (wilderness monks) v. *Gāmaṇvāsī* (village monks) in Sri Lanka

In ancient Sri Lanka, three schools (or *nikāyas*) of monks, namely the *Mahāvihāra*, the *Abhayagiri* and the *Jetavana*, are known to have existed which are often mentioned in Pali chronicles. According to Rahula⁴⁴, long before these, records from around the latter part of the first century B.C.E. show there were two groups of monks, known as *Pamsukūlika* (lit. “one, who wears clothes made of rags”) and *Dhammakathika* (lit. “one, who preaches the *Dhamma*”). The former maintained that the practice (*paṭipatti*) of the *Dhamma* was the basis of Buddhism (*sāsana*), while the latter held that learning (*pariyatti*) was of more importance. They argued with each other, bringing forth reasons in support of their theories, and, in the end, the *Dhammakathikas* won.⁴⁵ It must be remembered that they were not two different schools but rather two groups of monks living in the same community, holding different opinions and leading two different lifestyles.⁴⁶ However, when the three schools—namely the *Mahāvihāra*, the *Abhayagiri* and the *Jetavana*, were later formed, they had their own *Pamsukūlikas*.⁴⁷ As well as this,

⁴¹ The Sanskrit word *araṇya* is usually rendered as “forest”, but, following Sprockhoff (1981, 1984) and other, I use the English word “wilderness” for *araṇya* in contrast to *vana* (“forest”) in this paper. Citing P. Thieme’s definition of *araṇya*: “Es ist dabei — nicht etwa an einen undurchdringlichen Dschungel, sondern — an eine unbesiedelte, menschenleere Steppenlandschaft zu denken, die ausschließlich wegen ihrer Einsamkeit und der bei Eintritt der Dunkelheit drohenden Angriffe bössartiger Wesen die Fruchtbarkeit erregt und das Bewußtsein der Gefahr erzeugt.”, Sprockhoff, himself, describes the picture of *araṇya* as follows: “Im Araṇya gibt es bergendes Gebüsch (*kakṣa*) und Dickicht (*gabanāni*), tückische Erdspalten (*svabhra*) und Gruben (*kūpa*); Dornen und Splitter durchbohren die Füß dessen, der sich dorthin traut.” (Sprockhoff 1981: 33-34). Cf. also von Hinüber 1996: 106. The *Visuddhimagga* (PTS ed., p. 72, l. 11f.), however, gives us other definitions: “‘Forest’(*arañña*), according to the Vinaya method firstly, is described thus: ‘Except the village and its precincts, all is forest’ (Vin.iii,46). According to the Abhidhamma method it is described thus: ‘Having gone out beyond the boundary post, all that is forest’ (Vbh. 251; Ps.i,176). But according to the Suttanta method its characteristic is this: ‘A forest abode is five hundred bow-lengths distant’ (Vin.iv,183).” (Ñāṇamoli 1956: 71).

⁴² Cf. Malmoud 1976; Olivelle 1990; Sprockhoff 1981, 1984.

⁴³ Olivelle 1990: 131.

⁴⁴ Rahula 1956: 195.

⁴⁵ Rahula 1956: 158-159.

⁴⁶ Rahula 1956: 195.

according to Rahula, from about the 6th century C.E., another “pair” of groups of monks, namely the *Araññavāsī* (Skt. *Āraṇyavāsin*; lit. “dweller in the wilderness”; also known as *Vanavāsī* [“forest dweller”]) and the *Gā mavāsī* (Skt. *Grā mavāsin*; lit. “village dweller”), are referred to in Pali chronicles as distinct groups, though not as separate schools.⁴⁸ He tells us that the *Pamsukūlika* and the *Araññavāsī*, both of which were practitioners of the *dhutaguṇas* (ascetic practices), were regarded as separate groups⁴⁹, though he remains silent on the relationship between the *Dhammakathika* and the *Gā mavāsī*.

Therefore, from Rahula’s study, it is clear that since olden times, there have been, broadly speaking, two types of groups of monks, namely, those who, practising *dhutaguṇas*, lived outside the village in the wilderness, and those who lived in (or nearby) towns and villages.

2.3. *Araññavāsī* (wilderness monks) v. *Gā mavāsī* (village monks) in Myanmar

Though Rahula’s study does not say anything concerning the attitudes of the two groups towards each other, a later Pali chronicle, the *Sāsanavaṃsa*, written in Myanmar in 1861, reports of a separation and conflict between wilderness monks (*araññavāsī*) and village ones (*gā mavāsī*) in the Maramma-saṃgha or the Community of Myanmar.

In the thirteenth century⁵⁰, a king, named Ujana, built seventy-seven monasteries (*vihāra*) and dedicated many fields and much land (*khetta-vatthu*) in support of these monasteries. Then, monks began to quarrel on account of these fields and land. On hearing of the quarrel, one elder, who was a holder of the teaching (*sāsanadharathera*), and two others, who were exerting themselves (*parakkamathera*), left there and took up residence in the mountains. They were called those who walked alone (*ekacāra*), while the remaining monks were known as village-dwellers who walked with many (*gā mavāsī bahucāra*). Since then, there have been two groups of monks, namely wilderness dwellers (*araññavāsī*) and village dwellers (*gā mavāsī*).

Much later⁵¹, in 1698, an elder monk (*thera*), named Guṇābhilaṃkāra, ordered his novices to cover only their left shoulders when entering a village, which the traditionalists thought as an offence against monastic rules. He, also, did not allow them to use palm leaves for head-dresses, which seems to have been the custom of village monks.⁵² After

⁴⁷ Rahula 1956: 196.

⁴⁸ Rahula 1956: 196.

⁴⁹ Rahula 1956: 197.

⁵⁰ *Sāsanavaṃsa* 83.10f. An English translation of this part is found in Law 1952: 91-92.

⁵¹ *Sāsanavaṃsa* 118.1f.; Law 1952: 123f.; cf. also Hinüber 1995: 39f.

⁵² Cf. *Sāsanavaṃsa* 116.27f.; Law 1952: 122.

this happened, Guṇābhilaṃkāra's group, which was named "the group which covers one shoulder", and the traditionalists, known as "well-covered", began disputing and quarrelling over this matter. As the "one shoulder" group could not find any textual evidence supporting their stance, they bribed (*lañchaṃ datvā*) a lay devotee to compose a book (*gandha*) in accordance with their views. This quarrel was intensified by a conflict between village monks (*gāmaṃvāsī*), who used palm leaves for their head-dresses, and wilderness monks (*arañṇāvāsī*). A group of village monks (*gāmaṃvāsibhikkhugaṇa*) was reported to have destroyed this book (*gandha*) and driven the wilderness monks out from the place, saying: "Let there be no inauspicious monks in the religion (*sāsana*), who do not put on head-dresses". Then, other village monks took up arms and also went forth to drive away the wilderness monks who were at that time dwelling in a monastery (*vihāra*). The king, having heard of this matter, sent a royal writ stating: "The group of village monks is one and that of the wilderness is another. The former should not harass the latter. They should dwell in their own places according to their own views." Thus, the wilderness monks could live happily. However, even after these incidents, the "one shoulder" group and the traditionalists still continued the dispute until it was finally settled by the king in 1784.

Here, we can see an instance of antagonism between village and wilderness monks, which even took the form of an armed attack. It is also noteworthy that a group forged a text — in this case a text of discipline — and another group destroyed it.

The *Sāsanavaṃsa* also tells us of a well-learned elder monk (*thera*), who had formerly been a village monk and followed the tradition of his teacher, but later gave up such a practice and became a wilderness monk.⁵³ From this, we learn that it was possible for a monk to alter his mode of living in the midst of his religious practice.

The dichotomy of wilderness monks and village ones is found not only in the history of Sri Lanka and Myanmar, but also in Thailand.⁵⁴

2.4. *Ārañṇaka* (a wilderness monk) and *gāmantavibārī* (a village monk) in Pāli literature

In Pāli scriptures, we come across some instances in which *ārañṇaka* (a wilderness monk) and *gāmantavibārī* (a village monk)⁵⁵ are mentioned along side each other. For instance:

Vin. III 171.-2f. *yo icchati ārañṇako hotu, yo icchati gāmante vibaratu, yo icchati piṇḍapātiko hotu, yo icchati nimantanam sādīyatu, ...* ("Whoever wants, let him be a

⁵³ *Sāsanavaṃsa* 116.27f.; Law 1952: 122.

⁵⁴ As to the evolution of this dichotomy in Southeast Asia, cf. Tambiah 1976, 1984.

wilderness monk; whoever wants, let him **dwell in a village**; whoever wants, let him a be beggar for alms; whoever wishes, let him accept an invitation”)

MNI 30.-3f. *kiñcāpi so hoti āraññako pantasenāsano, piṇḍapātiko sapadānacārī, paṃsukūliko lūkhacīvaradharo, atha kho naṃ sabrahmacārī na sakkaronti kiñcāpi so hoti gāmantavibhārī nemantaniko gahapaticīvaradharo, atha kho naṃ sabrahmacārī sakkaronti...* (“then for all he may be a **forest dweller**, a frequenter of remote abodes, an almsfood eater, a house-to-house seeker, a refuse-rag wearer, a wearer of rough robes, still his fellows in the holy life do not honour, then for all he may be a **village dweller**, an acceptor of invitations. a wearer of robes given him by householders, yet his fellows in the holy life honour” [Ñāṇamoli 1995: 112]).

MN I 473.1~3. *āraññakenāpi kho āvuso Moggallāna bhikkhunā ime dhammā samādāya vattitabbā, pag-eva gāmantavibhārīnā* (“Friend Moggallāna, these things should be undertaken and practised not only by a **forrest-dwelling bhikkhu**, but by a **town-dwelling bhikkhu** as well” [Ñāṇamoli 1995: 576]).

The following scriptures show explicitly that the opposition between wilderness monks and village ones existed in early times.

Ānguttara-Nikāya III 341f. runs as follows. The Buddha, on hearing the tumult of the people who came to pay homage to him, told his attendant Nāgita that he preferred the bliss of seclusion to homage. He said further: “Whosoever cannot obtain the bliss of seclusion, of calm, of enlightenment, should enjoy profit, honour and praise (*lābha-sakkāra-siloka-sukha*) which is to be likened to the pleasure of drowsing or filthy pleasure”, then he disparaged life in villages in the following way (AN III 342.-1f.):

“When I see a village monk (*gāmantavibhārī*), seated in concentration, I think: ‘Presently, a park attendant or a novice might disturb and distract him from his concentration.’ Therefore, I am not pleased with his dwelling in the village (*gāmantavihāra*).

When I see a wilderness monk (*araññaka*), seated nodding in the wilderness, I think: ‘Presently, he will get rid of this sleepiness and fatigue, then surely ponder on the wilderness as a single object.’ Therefore, I am pleased with his dwelling in the wilderness (*araññavihāra*).

Or I see a wilderness monk, seated uncomposed in the wilderness, I think: ‘Presently, he will compose his uncomposed mind, or will keep his mind composed.’ Therefore, I am pleased with his dwelling in the wilderness.

Or I see a wilderness monk, seated composed in the wilderness, I think: ‘Presently, he will liberate his unliberated mind, or will keep his mind liberated.’ Therefore, I

⁵⁵ The *Visuddhimagga* (PTS ed., p. 71, l. -4f.) defines the Pāli word *gāmantā* as follows: *tattha saddhim upacārena gāmo yeva gāmantasenāsana* (“Herein, a village abode is the village itself with its precincts.” [Ñāṇamoli 1956: 70]). Cf. also SN IV 37.11~14. *kiñcāpi gāmante vibarati ākiṃṇo bhikkhūhi bhikkhūhi upāsakehi upāsikāhi rājūhi rājamahāmattehi titthiyehi titthiyasāvakehi, atha so ekavibhārīti vuccati* (“Even if he dwells in a village [*gāmantā*], crowded with monks, nuns, laymen, laywomen, kings, royal ministers, heretics and their followers, yet he is called ‘one, who dwells alone’.”).

am pleased with his dwelling in the wilderness.

Or I see a village monk, who, having obtained robes, alms, beds, chairs, medicaments and utensils, and delighting in their profit, honour and praise, abandons the solitude, the wilderness and woodlands (*arañña-vanapatthāni*), solitary lodgings (*pantāni senāsanāni*), and then enters a village, town or the capital, and dwells there. Therefore, I am not pleased with his dwelling in the village.

Or I see a wilderness monk, who, having obtained robes, alms, beds, chairs, medicaments and utensils, but warding off their profit, honour and praise, does not abandon solitude, the wilderness, woodlands, solitary lodgings. Therefore, I am pleased with his dwelling in the wilderness.”

We find a similar description also in AN IV 343.23f. These two scriptures are apparently on the side of wilderness monks, disparaging the lifestyle of those of the village.

In contrast to the above, a scripture named *Migajālena* in the *Samyutta-Nikāya* (SN IV 35.-4f.) seems to pay due respects to life in the village. Being questioned by a monk named Migajāla about the meanings of “dwelling alone” (*ekavihārī*) and “dwelling with a partner” (*sadutiya-vihārī*), the Buddha replied in the following way:

“There are forms, sounds, odours, flavours, tangibles and mental objects which are wished for, desired, agreeable, and provoking lust. If a monk delights in them, welcomes and clings to them, pleasure and passion will occur to him, and finally, he will be bound with the fetter of pleasure. Such a monk is called ‘dweller with a partner’. Even if he frequents the wilderness, woodlands, solitary lodgings, which are free from sound and uproar, hidden away from people (*manussa-rāha-seyyaka*), and fit for solitary meditation, he is still called ‘one, who dwells with a partner’.

On the contrary, if a monk does not delight in agreeable forms, sounds *etc.*, pleasure and passion will not occur to him, and he will not be bound with the fetter of pleasure. Such a monk is called ‘one, who dwells alone’. Even if he dwells in a village (*gāmanta*), crowded with monks, nuns, laymen, laywomen, kings, royal ministers, heretics and their followers, yet he is called ‘one, who dwells alone’.”

From these descriptions in the Pāli scriptures, we learn that the opposition between wilderness monks and village ones already existed in early times.

2.5. *Āraṇyakas* (wilderness monks) v. *Grāmāntikas* (village monks) in the *Abbisamācārikā-Dharmāḥ*

In the *Abbisamācārikā-Dharmāḥ*, a portion of the *Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravāda-Vinaya* for which we have an extant Buddhist Sanskrit text (I am preparing a new transliteration and an annotated German translation of this text), we find very good descriptions which may help to clarify the relationship between these two groups in olden times.⁵⁶

A chapter in this text deals with rules of conduct of wilderness and village monks concerning having meals.⁵⁷ Namely, the following rules were laid down by the Buddha, after knowing that these two groups of monks quarrelled on the occasion of the common

meal (*ekabhaktatarppaṇa*): When both groups have meals together, whether it is in a monastery of wilderness monks (*āraṇyaka~ vihāra~; āraṇyaka~ śeṣyāsana~*) or that of village monks (*grāmāntika~ vihāra~; grāmāntika~ śeṣyāsana~*), residing monks should wait for any visiting ones until the very last moment and, even if the latter do not appear, the former should keep food reserved for them; When a lay devotee (*upāsaka*) invites the community (*saṃgha*) for a meal, making village monks inform wilderness monks about it, the former should inform the latter and the latter should go there on time; When someone invites village monks for a meal, they should ask him to also invite the wilderness monks, and so on.

The Buddha also told the two groups not to abuse one another but to please each other in the following way:

Now, wilderness monks must not revile village monks in any situation (by saying): “You have much to do, you are very busy, (because) you seek for the most tasty (foods) with the tip of your tongue.” (Wilderness monks) rather should please (the latter) by saying: “O venerable ones, you do good. You do much by bearing burdens (and) by preaching the *Dharma*. You take care of cloisters, burn incense, please (lay) families (, so that they become Buddhist).” Thus (village monks) should be pleased.

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Now village monks must not revile or abuse wilderness monks in any situation (by saying): “You live in an empty house, //hoping to gain fame//. (However,) jackals also live in the wilderness. You sit (there) all day long, while you (just) accumulate (the number of) years (counted since ordination).” (Village monks) should say to (the latter): “It is hard to live in lodgings in the wilderness, which are secluded, isolated, devoid of humans (*vigata-janapada*), in which one can dwell, hidden away from people (*manuṣya-raba-śayyaka*), (and) fit for solitary meditation. It is difficult and unpleasant

⁵⁶ A facsimile edition of this text was published in Beijing 1996. A new transcription of it was also published: *A Guide to the Facsimile Edition of the Abhisamācārika-Dharma of the Mahāsāṃghika-Lokottaravādin*, ed. Abhisamācārika-Dharma Study Group, the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism, Taishō University, Tokyo 1998; “Transcription of the Abhisamācārika-Dharma, Chapter V-VII” ed. Abhisamācārika-Dharma Study Group, in: *The Annual Report of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism* 大正大學綜合研究所年報, vol. 21, 1999, 234(1)-156(79).

⁵⁷ Facsimile edition 30B5f.; Jinananda 1969: 140.2ff.; cf. Prasad 1984: 146f.

⁵⁸ *Abhisamācārikā-Dharmāḥ* 31B5. *nāpi dāni āraṇyakeḥi grāmāntikā kutsetavyā, “babukṛtyā babukaraṇīyā jibvāgre<na> yūyaṃ rasāgrāṇi paryeṣatva”*. | *atva khalu saṃrādhayitavyā, | vaktavyaṃ, “āyuṣman”, sobhanam* (read: śobh) *kriyati, babukarā yūyaṃ bhāraṃ vabatva*. | *dharmmadeśanāṃ karetha*. | *saṃghārāmo kelāpiyati, | dbūmo kriyati, kulāni prasādiyanti” ti*. | *evaṃ saṃrādhayitavyāḥ* |. A parallel in the Chinese translation of the *Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya*, reads as follows: *Taishō*, vol. 22, No. 1425, 510a23f. 阿練若比丘不應輕聚落中比丘言: “汝(v.l. 如汝)必利舌頭, 少味, 而在此住.” 應讚: “汝聚落中住, 說法教化. 爲法作護, 覆蔭(v.l. 陰)我等”(Wilderness monks should not despise village monks by saying: “You must have certainly sharpened the tip of your tongue and //refined your sense of taste//[少味. The meaning of the phrase is not clear], and therefore you dwell here.” [The former rather] should praise [the latter] by saying: “You live in the village, preach the *Dharma* and teach [the people]. You guard the *Dharma*, and protect us.”).

for one (to stay) one (or) more nights in solitude, controlling one's mind or one's own self.”; (and also) “O venerable ones, you do good; you take care of lodgings in the wilderness. The Blessed One also said: ‘As long as monks shall dwell in lodgings in the wilderness, only an increase in good things is expected not a decline.’ With you, not even *Māra*, the Evil One, will find an opportunity of causing the true doctrine to disappear (and) confusing (you concerning it).” (Village monks) should please (wilderness monks) in this manner and leave.⁵⁹

From the above descriptions, it is evident that there was antagonism between wilderness and village monks, who belonged to one and the same community.

2.6. Wilderness monks v. village monks in Mahāyāna texts

2.6.1. Praises for the *Āraṇyakas* in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*

As Ray(1994: 251f.), Mochizuki(1988), Silk(1994) and others have demonstrated, there are several early Mahāyāna texts which praise seclusion in the wilderness.

For instance, the eleventh chapter, *i.e.* the *Āraṇyasamvarṇana* (“Praise of the Wilderness”), in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* or A Compendium of Buddhist Doctrine, attributed to Śāntideva of the eighth century, cites many passages from early Mahāyāna sutras, which praise seclusion in the wilderness.⁶⁰

2.6.2. Praises for the *Āraṇyakas* in the *Ugraparipṛcchā Sūtra*

One such early scripture, the *Ugraparipṛcchā Sūtra*, which is also completely preserved in Tibetan and Chinese, proclaims that a bodhisattva should enter the wilderness in order to attain enlightenment.

⁵⁹ *Abhisamācārikā-Dharmāḥ* 32A6f. *nāpi dāni grāmāntikebi āraṇyakā kutsetavyā | paṃsetavyā* (MS. *yaṃ*°), | “*sūnyāgaragatā* (MS. °*āgāranātā*) *yūyam prajñā*(32A7)*vaitakṣiyā* (a corruption?) *śṛgālāpi āraṇye vasanti. divasaṃ yūyaṃ varṣāṇi piṇḍentā āsatha*”. | *atha khalu vaktavyā*, “*durāvāsakāni āraṇyakāni seyyāsanāni prāntāni* (MS. *prāptāni*) *viviktāni vigatajanapadāni manusyarahasāyākāni pratisaṃlayanāsāropyāni, duṣkaram pravivekena* (MS. *prativekena*) *durabhiramaṃ ekaṃ paraṃ rātri vinayamāno mānasam ādhyātman vè*” ti. | “*āyusman{a}, sobhanam kriyati, āraṇyakaṃ seyyā*(32B1)*sanam kelāpīyati, | uktaṃ cēdam bhagavatā »yāvākīyaṃ ca bhikṣavo āraṇyakāni seyyāsanāni adhyāvasīyatha, | tāva vṛddhī yeva pratikāṃkṣitavyā | kuśalebi dharmmebi no parihāṇi. « na ca vo māraḥ | pāpīyāṃ avatāram adbigamīyati | saddharmmasya antarddhānāya sa<ṃ>mobhāya.”* ti (MS. *nti*) | *evam saṃrūdhīya* (MS. *saṃrūviya*) *gantavyaṃ* |. A parallel in the *Mahāsāṃghika-Vinaya* reads as follows: *Taisbū*, vol. 22, No. 1425, 510a25f. 聚落比丘不應輕阿練若言：“汝在阿練若處住，希望名利。羣鹿、禽獸亦在阿練若處住。汝在阿練若處，從朝竟日，正可數歲(v.l. 數歲耳)，數月耳”。應讚言：“汝遠聚落，在阿練若處，閑靜思惟，上業所崇。此是難行之處，能於此住而息心意” (Village monks should not despise wilderness monks by saying: “You live in the wilderness, hoping for fame and gain. Roe-deer, deer, birds and beasts also live in the wilderness. In the wilderness, you just count the number of years and months [since ordination] all day long from morning.” [Village monks] should praise [the latter]: “Far away from the village, in the wilderness, you meditate in the stillness. // [This is] an excellent, admirable deed. // It is a place for hard practices, but [能] [you] dwell here and quiet your thoughts”).

⁶⁰ An excellent analysis of the chapter concerning wilderness and village monks, is found in Ray 1994: 252-254.

“Bodhisattvas who stay at home will never be able to rightly attain supreme enlightenment. All of them, having left their homes, thinking of the wilderness (*dgon pa*), applying their minds to the wilderness, go to the wilderness and then attain supreme enlightenment. The multitude (*tsogs*) (of bodhisattvas) was thus formed.”⁶¹

In another place in this scripture where the twelve *dbutagūṇas* (ascetic practices) are explained in detail, “living in the wilderness” is included in the following way.

“An ordained bodhisattva, having realised merits, should not stop dwelling in the wilderness as long as he lives.”⁶²

The text also tells that a wilderness monk occasionally visited village monks and even stayed in their monastery primarily to learn.

“Then, householder, if a bodhisattva, who dwells in the wilderness, goes to a lodging in a village (*grāmāntika śayanāsana*), wishing to listen to the *Dharma*, to meet teachers (*ācārya*) and instructors (*upādhyāya*), or in order to visit a sick person, he should think: ‘I should go back in the evening.’ If he, relying on others in terms of instruction (*upadeśa*) and recitation (*svādhyāya*) (of Buddha’s teachings), stays in a monastery (*vihāra*), should keep the wilderness and hillsides in his mind. When he thinks of the wilderness at (the sight of) everything, and seeks the *Dharma* untiringly, it is regarded as a (true) wilderness life (*araṇyavāsa*).”⁶³

“When an ordained bodhisattva goes amongst the multitude (*gaṇa*) for the purpose of (receiving) instructions (*uddeśa*) and recitation (*svādhyāya*), he should be courteous there, respectful towards teachers and instructors, he should respect (in terms of years since ordination) elder, middle-ranked, and newly-ordained monks.”⁶⁴

A wilderness monk is also said to practise the six perfections (*pāramitā*) in the wilderness.⁶⁵ After having done so together with other practices, and “having established a root of good (*kuśalamūla*), then he will enter a village, town, market-place, kingdom and capital and preach the *Dharma*”.⁶⁶

From these descriptions, we learn that wilderness monks, dwelling alone, practised the six perfections and meditated, while village monks engaged in preaching the *Dharma*.

⁶¹ *byang chub sems dpa' khyim na gnas te bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa ni gang yang med de, de dag thams cad kyang khyim gyi gnas nas mngon par byung nas dgon pa la sems, dgon pa la gzhol, dgon par song nas bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas so. tsogs de yang yang dag par bsgrubs so* (D[T], vol. 9, p. 324, 541.7f.; Q, vol. 23, p. 265, 313b8f.).

⁶² *byang chub sems dpa' rab tu byung bas phan yon bcu mthong nas ji srid 'tso ba'i mtha'i bar du dgon pa la gnas pa yongs su mi gtang bar bya ste* (D[T], vol. 9, p. 326, 555.5.; Q, vol. 23, p. 269, 322b2f.).

⁶³ Śiks.200.7f.; cf. the Tibetan translation of the *Ugraparipṛcchā Sūtra*, D(T), vol. 9, p. 326, 556.1f.; Q, vol. 23, p. 269, 322b7f.

⁶⁴ Śiks.199.15f.; cf. D(T), vol. 9, p. 327, 565.2f.; Q, vol. 23, p. 271, 328a2f.

⁶⁵ D(T), vol. 9, p. 327, 562.7f.; Q, vol. 23, p. 270, 326b5f.

⁶⁶ Śiks.199.14f.; cf. D(T), vol. 9, p. 327, 565.1f.; Q, vol. 23, p. 271, 328a1f.

2.6.3. Wilderness bodhisattvas v. monastery monks in the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā Sūtra*

Another early Mahāyāna text, also cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, praising life in the wilderness, is the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā Sūtra*, which is preserved in Buddhist Sanskrit — edited by Louis Finot (1901) and translated into English by Ensink (1952) — as well as Tibetan and Chinese translations.

In this scripture⁶⁷, those who seek enlightenment are advised to dwell in mountains, the wilderness (*araṇya*) or caves.⁶⁸ Bodhisattvas thus abandon their homes and dwell in a desolate wilderness, in which they find pleasure.⁶⁹ They live alone without the company of women or men, like a rhinoceros.⁷⁰ They are satisfied with whatever they obtain, like birds they do not store up things, they have no home anywhere in the world.⁷¹ They are indifferent to gain or respects (*lābha-satkāra*) as well as obtaining acquaintances with good families (*kula-saṃstava*).⁷² They, who seek the Buddha's wisdom, abide in generosity (*dāna*) and self-control (*dama*); they have attained the perfection of meditation (*dhyaṇa*) and the virtue of energy (*vīryaguṇa*).⁷³ The practice of the six perfections is said to be one of the main factors which leads to Buddhahood.⁷⁴ A bodhisattva lives with his mind, centred on emptiness (*śūnyatā*) and “causelessness” (*ānimitta*), delighting in tranquillity (*śama*) and self-control (*dama*).⁷⁵ The Buddha tells us that in his former lives, he gave his flesh, skin, marrow, blood and everything forming his body as well as all his possessions, thus he practised generosity along with good conduct, patience, vigour, meditation, expedients and wisdom.⁷⁶ In short, he practised the six perfections and expedients. He also practised *dhutas* (ascetic practices) constantly, when he was a bodhisattva.⁷⁷

Therefore, to sum up, in this scripture, true bodhisattvas are expected to dwell alone in the wilderness, mainly practising *dhuta*, the six perfections and meditation without associating with lay people. They are not expected to preach to people. A passage: “they do not look for the stuttering of Dharma-preachers (*dharmabhāṇaka*)”⁷⁸

⁶⁷ Ray (1994: 260f.) has gathered descriptions concerning the wilderness bodhisattva from this text and carefully summarised them.

⁶⁸ RP. 59.7 (Ensink 58).

⁶⁹ RP. 13.5 (Ensink 14); RP. 14.5 (Ensink 15). Cf. Ray 1994: 261.

⁷⁰ RP. 13.6-7 (Ensink 14).

⁷¹ RP. 16.5-6 (Ensink 17).

⁷² RP. 12.17-13.1 (Ensink 14).

⁷³ RP. 13.10-11 (Ensink 14).

⁷⁴ RP. 21.7 (Ensink 21).

⁷⁵ RP. 16.13-14 (Ensink 17).

⁷⁶ RP. 27.13-15 (Ensink 27-28).

⁷⁷ RP. 27.18 (Ensink 28).

may also indicate that their way was different from that of the latter, as Ray points out (1994: 263). Thus, in the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā Sūtra*, ideal bodhisattvas are depicted as wilderness monks.

This scripture also tells us that these monks had antagonists. When bad monks, we are told, see a patient one absorbed in meditation, they expel him from the monastery, beating him with sticks.⁷⁹ They are said to be intent upon worldly things, alms-bowls and robes, and always zealous in obtaining acquaintances with good families.⁸⁰ They, desiring gain, are thus bound by the ties of such acquaintances.⁸¹

This text also describes in detail the activities of degenerate monks in later times, when the Dharma decays (RP.28.17ff.). They are said to serve householders, holding the banner in their hands; having abandoned the multitude of virtues which the teaching brings, they always carry a scripture (*lekha*) with them.⁸² They go around to houses in villages (*grāmakuleṣu*), intoxicated by alcohol and pride.⁸³ “You should not indulge in delights”, thus they always tell householders, but they themselves are uncontrolled, groups of their pupils are equally uncontrolled; they spend days and nights with talk of food and sexual intercourse.⁸⁴ Even when they live in the forest (*vana*), their minds still dwell in the village.⁸⁵ Having abandoned meditation (*dhyāna*) and study (*adhyayana*), they are always occupied with the administration of monasteries (*vihāarakarman*), desirous of a dwelling, surrounded by unrestrained pupils; they say: “I am not a worker (*karmika*) in the monastery. It is built for my sake. Only the monks who are obedient to me shall get a room in the monastery.”; they are not kind to those who conduct themselves well and are well-restrained, they say to the latter: “This cell (*layana*) is allotted to me, this for my fellow-pupil, and that for my companion. Go away, there is no dwelling place for you. Lodgings (*śayyāsana*) are completely distributed, many monks are taken in here. There is also no chance of getting anything here. What will you eat here? Go away, monk!”; they do not allocate lodgings (*śayyāsana*), but store up things like householders, possessing many utensils and attendants.⁸⁶ Being maltreated and despised in this manner, true bodhisattvas leave villages and capital cities and dwell in the wilderness.

⁷⁸ RP. 15.11-12 (Ensink 16).

⁷⁹ RP. 18.8 (Ensink 19).

⁸⁰ RP. 19.10 (Ensink 21).

⁸¹ RP. 21.1 (Ensink 21).

⁸² RP. 29.3-4 (Ensink 28-29).

⁸³ RP. 29.2 (Ensink 28).

⁸⁴ RP. 29.15-30.2 (Ensink 29).

⁸⁵ RP. 30.13 (Ensink 30).

⁸⁶ RP. 31.1-12 (Ensink 30).

In brief, in this scripture, the antagonists of wilderness bodhisattvas were those who stayed in monasteries in or near villages and associated with lay people and gave them teachings. Also, judging from the description of allotments of lodgings, we can assume that both of them originally belonged to the same community.

2.6.4. *Dbutaḡuṇa* monks v. village-oriented monks in the *Sarvadharmaṇṇapṛavṛttinirdeśa Sūtra*

Recently, Sanskrit fragments of the *Sarvadharmaṇṇapṛavṛttinirdeśa Sūtra* have been discovered in Afghanistan which are now kept in the Schøyen Collection in Norway. Prof. Jens Braarvig has meticulously edited them in juxtaposition with their Tibetan and Chinese parallels as well as an English translation, mostly from the Sanskrit (Braarvig 2000: 81-166). This text, which, according to Braarvig, belongs to the middle period of the Mahāyāna sūtra literature, provides very remarkable testimony to the antagonism between *dbutaḡuṇa*-practising monks and village-oriented ones.⁸⁷

The antagonism is demonstrated in the two *vyākaraṇa* parts in the text, namely §6 and §12, based on Braarvig's division of the text. The first one (pp. 125-131) is about a *dbutaḡuṇa*-practitioner called Cāritramati and a Dharma-preacher (*dharmabhāṇaka*), Viśuddhacāritra.

There was once a monk named Cāritramati, who believed in very severe practices (*lābhādhimukta*), was perfected in the rules of the most pure morality, had attained the fivefold worldly supernatural knowledge, was an expert in monastic rules, and was a practitioner of severe austerities (*ugra-tapas*). He founded a monastery (*vihāra*), where he stayed, practising meditation.

The *Dharma*-preacher, Viśuddhacāritra, came with his followers to the monastery where the monk Cāritramati lived, and stayed there. From there, they went into the town out of compassion, and when they had conducted the rituals of meals, they returned. He and his followers thus made many people believe in Buddhism, while Cāritramati and his followers were only intent on meditation, without going for rounds in the town.

Cāritramati, out of hatred for these other bodhisattvas, prohibited dwellers in the monastery going to the village, while, at the same time, criticised Viśuddhacāritra and his followers for not practising properly, and talking too much. Saying that the Buddha praised life in the wilderness (*āraṇya*), he urged them to practise meditation without going into the village.

After three months, Viśuddhacāritra and his followers moved to another monastery, from which they went again to towns, villages and the capital in order to preach the *Dharma* to people. Knowing Viśuddhacāritra's activities, Cāritramati blamed him, saying: "He has bad morality, perverted morality. How can he attain enlightenment?"

⁸⁷ I wish to thank Dr. M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya for directing my attention to this text.

His enlightenment is far away. He lives associating with lay people (*'du 'dzir gnas gnas pa*).”

Because of this misdeed, Cāritramati later fell into the great hell of Avīci.

The second story (pp. 158-164; cf. also pp. 84-85), of which no Sanskrit fragment is extant, is about a *dbutaguna*-practitioner, Jayamati by name, and a Dharma-preacher, called *Pramuditendriya.

There was a *dharmabhāṇaka* named *Pramuditendriya, who did not teach people the practices of small passion, contentment, restraints (*sdom pa*), solitary life, disassociation from lay people (*'du 'dzi ma mchi pa*), but rather taught that all *dharmas* had the nature of craving, aversion and ignorance, and that they were, therefore, by no means hindrances. He taught also that all practices were of one characteristic (type).

At that time, there was a bodhisattva named Jayamati, who was also a Dharma-preacher. He had attained the four states of meditation and practised the twelve *dbutagunas*. One day, by mistake, he visited a householder who was an adherent of Pramuditendriya, and praised the practices of small passion, contentment, restraints, solitary life, disassociation from lay people, blaming Pramuditendriya for teaching heresy. The intelligent householder asked him in return about craving, whereupon he answered that craving was an impurity. The householder, however, said that craving was to be found nowhere, hence, there was neither an impurity nor a purification.

Jayamati became angry and slandered Pramuditendriya, saying that the latter taught the Buddhist teachings the wrong way round, and then he left the house. Having returned to the wilderness (*dgon pa*), he criticised Pramuditendriya in front of other monks for teaching perverted ideas. Pramuditendriya, thereupon, elucidated his teaching in the form of 43 verses. After having heard these, many of those present gained intellectual receptivity into the truth that states of existence have no origination (*anutpattika-dharma-kṣānti*), others attained emancipation of the mind which is absolutely free from afflictions, whereas Jayamati fell into a great hell.

In the verses, uttered by Pramuditendriya, we come across the following expressions which disparage the practices of wilderness monks:

“For someone, who, reflecting in a lodging in the wilderness, praises himself, despises others, and (thus) sticks to the false view concerning the wilderness, there is no (hope to attain) heaven, not to say of enlightenment.”⁸⁸

“If a layman with the five qualities of desire (*kāmaguṇa*) hears this teaching but does not become afraid, he is superior to one who, after entering this religion, holds the (heretical) view of (reliance on) imagination (*upalambha-dṛṣṭika*), and boasts of the qualities of *dhuta*.”⁸⁹

From these stories, we learn the following points:

⁸⁸ *gañ žig dgon pa'i gnas la rtog byed ciñ || bdag la stod byed gžan la smod byed pa || dgon par kta la rab gnas de la ni || mtbo ris med na byañ chub ga la yod | 7 | (Braarvig 2000: 160).*

⁸⁹ *cbos 'di thos sñ mi dnāñ gañ gyur pa'i || 'dod pa'i yon tan kha chags khyim pa'an bla'i || bstan pa 'di la rab tu byuñ gyur ciñ || dmigs kta sbyaṅs pa'i yon tan rlom pa min | 41 | (Braarvig 2000: 163).*

- (1) Wilderness monks also built monasteries in the wilderness.
- (2) There were *Dharma*-preachers who dwelt (in monasteries) in the wilderness and entered villages to preach to lay people.
- (3) There were *Dharma*-preachers who kept moving from one monastery to another.
- (4) There was antagonism between practitioners of *dhutaṅgas*, who also practised meditation in the wilderness, and *Dharma*-preachers who entered villages to preach.
- (5) From the second story, we learn that traditional Buddhists and Mahāyāna monks used to dwell together in monasteries, slandering each other.

Thus, in this text, *dhutaṅga*-practitioners are antagonistic towards monks who dwell in the wilderness, possessing village-oriented minds. The rivalry depicted here is different from that in the *Ugraparipṛcchā* and *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā Sūtras*. I assume that the descriptions in this text reflect more or less the realities of the situation at that time when so-called Mahāyāna Buddhism was gradually forming in and around monasteries. We can assume, in conclusion, that this Sutra was composed by those who belittled *dhutaṅga*-practices. We shall, henceforth, call such monks, who themselves did not dwell in villages but were inclined to be active there, “village-oriented monks”.

2.6.5. Antagonism between wilderness and village(-oriented) monks in Mahāyāna texts

As we have seen in §2.6.2 and §2.6.3, the composers of the *Ugraparipṛcchā* and *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā Sūtras* were themselves presumably wilderness monks or at least their sympathisers. Apart from these Mahāyāna texts, the *Kāśyapa-parivarta* and the *Ratnarāśi* were also evidently composed from the point of view of these monks, as both of them, praising more or less the *dhutaṅgas* or ascetic practices, call for dwelling in the wilderness.

These sutras of “wilderness monks” show antagonism towards those who stayed in monasteries in or near villages and associated with lay people, and they present a picture of conflict between “wilderness monks” and “village monks” not only with regard to the living areas but also to their activities. The wilderness monks were preoccupied primarily with meditation and the *dhutaṅgas*, while village monks associated with lay people, taught the Dharma and managed monasteries. The conflict within these two groups as well as the antagonism between them are basically the same as those described in the *Abhisamācārikā-Dharmāḥ* which we have already seen above.

On the other hand, the two opposing groups in the *Sarvadharmāpravṛttinirdeśa Sūtra*, namely the *dhutaṅga*-practitioners and the village-oriented monks, dwelt together (in monasteries) in the wilderness, though the latter did not seem to have stayed there

permanently. Therefore, the dual structure of wilderness / village monks does not exactly fit in here. However, if we pay attention to the division of their activities, namely *dbutaḡuṇas* and meditation on one hand and preaching and association with lay people on the other, the opposing theme found in this text is exactly the same as that of wilderness / village monks.

3.1. Further to the verses in the *Utsāba-parivarta*

Now, we shall return to the verses in the *Utsāba-parivarta* in the Lotus Sutra. As there is no quotation marks in the Sanskrit original, it is quite difficult to discern the spoken word from narrative description, which has confused not only modern scholars but also the ancient Chinese and Tibetan translators. If we take the antagonism between wilderness and village(-oriented) monks into consideration and, at the same time, pay attention to the use of the aorist forms (*deśayī*, *deśayuh*, *cārayī*) with an optative meaning, which presumably mark the spoken word here in contrast to future forms in the narrative parts, we may translate verses in question (5~11) as follows:

Ignorant practitioners of austerities⁹⁰, who dwell in the wilderness⁹¹ and wear patched garments, will say of us as follows⁹²: (vs. 5)

“They, greedily attached to tastes (*rasa*), preach (*deśayī*) the *Dharma* to householders.”(vs. 6ab)

They (*i.e.* the wilderness monks) will be honoured as if they were those who possess the sixfold supernatural knowledge (*ṣaḡabhijñā*)⁹³. (vs. 6cd)

They are (in reality) cruel-minded, wicked, occupied with thoughts of houses⁹⁴ (vs. 7ab)⁹⁵

⁹⁰ O. *saṃlekha-caritā* (= F); D2. *saṃlekha-vṛtta-cūri*.

⁹¹ *araṇyavṛttaka-*. Nepalese and Gilgit MSS. read *araṇyacintaka-* (“reflecting upon [the life in] the wilderness”).

⁹² *asme evaṃ vakṣyanti* (= O); F. *asmai evaṃ vakṣyanti*; D2. (**)sma evaṃ vakṣyanti*. The form *asme* appears in the so-called “Kashgar” MS. not only as a nominative but also as an accusative plural form of the first person, e.g.: KN. 147.10. *asmo* / O. *asme* / K’. *asmai* (nominative); KN.190.12. *asmāṃ* / O. *asme* (accusative). The *asmai* in F. is probably its hyper-sanskritised form. For the accusative plural form *asma* in D2 (here the initial vowel is lost in saṃdhi), see BHSG §20.45. The phrase *asme(or asma) evaṃ vakṣyanti* in this verse is similar to that of vs. 8: *asmākaṃ caiva* (Pk, D2. *asmāṃs ca evaṃ) vakṣyanti*. The expression *asme evaṃ vakṣyanti durmatī* in the verse in question is comparable also with verse 12. *ye cāsmān kutsayiṣyanti durmatī*. Therefore, I take *asme(or asma)* not for the nominative but for the accusative, though the Tibetan and modern translators took it for nominative.

⁹³ A man with sixfold supernatural knowledge was regarded as the highest in the hierarchy of the community, cf. Vin II 161.8f. *khattiyakulā pabbajito ... brāhmaṇakulā pabbajito gahapatikulā pabbajito suttantiko vinayadharo dhammakathiko paṭhamassa jhānassa lābhī dutiyassa jhānassa lābhī tatiyassa jhānassa lābhī catuttbassa jhānassa lābhī sotāpanno sakadāgāmi anāgāmi ... arabā tevijjo chalaḡbhijñā (= ṣaḡabhijñā).*

⁹⁴ *gr̥ba-cintā-vicintakāḡ*. Or “thinking upon house and property” (*gr̥ba-vittā-vicintakāḡ*, see note [8]).

Having entered (their) retreat in the wilderness, our slanderers, (vs. 7cd) //who are (themselves) bent on gain and honour //⁹⁶, will say of us as follows (*eva[ṃ]*)⁹⁷: (vs. 8ab)

“For sure these monks are heretics! They preach (*deśayuh*) their own verses (*kāvyaṃ*)!” (vs. 8cd)

Prompted by (greed for) gain and honour, they compose sutras by themselves and preach in the midst of the assembly (*parṣā*).” (vs. 9abc)

Our revilers (vs. 9d)⁹⁸ will speak evil of us (vs. 11a) to kings, princes, king’s ministers, Brahmins, householders, as well as to other monks (vs. 10) (saying:) “They are propagating a heresy!” (vs. 11b)

We shall endure all these out of reverence for great seers (*i.e. buddhas*). (vs. 11cd)

The part, parallel to this in Kumārajīva’s Chinese translation, can be understood in a similar way.⁹⁹ On the other hand, the Tibetan parallel differs from my understanding concerning verse 6ab.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁵ I cannot exclude the possibility that verses 6cd and 7ab could be also slanderous words uttered by wilderness monks towards “us”.

⁹⁶ *asmākaṃ caiva vaksyanti lābha-satkāra-nisritāḥ*. Or “They will say of us as follows: ‘[These] are bent on gain and honour. ...’”. This interpretation goes with the Tibetan translation: *bdag cag la ni ’di skad mchi* “*rnyed dang bkur sti gnas pa ste, dge slong ’di dag mu stegs can, bdag gi rang bzo rab tu ’chad*”.

⁹⁷ see note (10).

⁹⁸ Vs. 9 of the Tibetan version reads: *rnyed pa dang ni bkur sti’i phyir / rang gi mdo sde byas nas su // ’khor gyi dbus su ’chad byed ces / bdag cag rnams la shin tu ’phyi* // (They abuse us greatly: “Having composed sutras by themselves for the sake of gain and honour, [they] explain [them] in the midst of the assembly”). Here, I temporarily follow the Tibetan translator’s interpretation. However, I cannot exclude the possibility that this verse is not slanderous, spoken by wilderness monks, but a narrative description concerning these monks. If that is the case, then we may translate verses 8~9 as follows: “(The wilderness monks say of us:) ‘For sure these monks are heretics! They preach their own verses!’ (However,) our revilers (themselves), being prompted by (greed for) gain and honour, compose sutras by themselves and preach in the midst of the assembly.”

⁹⁹ The parallel verses in Kumārajīva’s translation can be interpreted as follows:

Or there are wilderness monks, wearing patched rags and dwelling in the wilderness, who claim that they are practising the True Path, and despise (monks who dwell) amongst people (人間*), (saying:) “Because they desire gain, they preach the Dharma to lay people”.

(Wilderness monks) are revered by people, as though they were arhats who possess transcendental powers. (However,) they bear evil thoughts, constantly thinking of worldly matters.

In the name of wilderness monks, they like to expose our faults, saying: “These monks, out of greed for gain, preach heretical doctrines.

Having themselves composed this scripture to delude lay people, they preach it, hoping to obtain fame.”

Wishing to defame us in the assembly, they slander and speak evil of us towards kings, ministers, Brahmins, householders and towards other monks saying: “These are of wrong views and preach heretical doctrines.”

Because we revere the Buddha, we shall endure all these evils.

* The word “人間” in Chinese has meant “amongst people; in the world” since olden times, while in Japanese, it means “human being[s]”. However, all the modern translators of Kumārajīva’s Lotus Sutra, including Hurvitz, have interpreted this word incorrectly to mean “human beings”.

Though I must admit that there is still uncertainty as to the distinction between slanderous words and descriptive parts, we can still learn the following points from these verses:

- (1) Wilderness monks¹⁰¹ blame “us”. (vs. 5~6ab; vs. 7cd)
- (2) Wilderness monks are ignorant (*durmati*). (vs. 5d)
- (3) “We” are blamed for preaching to householders. (vs. 6b; vs. 8cd; probably also vs. 9c)
- (4) “We” are blamed for composing scriptures. (vs. 9a; probably also 8d)
- (5) “We” are blamed for being attached to tastes. (vs. 6)
- (6) “We” are Buddhist monks. (vs. 8c)

Apart from these, we learn another two facts from verses 18~19 in the same chapter (cited in §1.1 and §1.2):

- (7) “We” shall preach this Sutra, *i.e.* the Lotus Sutra, in the assembly. (vs. 18cd)

¹⁰⁰ The Tibetan translation reads here as follows (Nakamura 1986: 272,3~273.4):

*dgon pa dag la rab sems shing tshim(v.l. tshem) bu dag kyang bgos nas ni /
yo byad bstyungs tshul spyod do zhes blo ngan de skad smra bar 'gyur // (vs. 5)
ro bro chags shing zhen pa rnam khyim pa dag la chos kyang 'chad /
mngon shes drug can ji bzhin du bsti stang dag kyang bgyid par 'gyur // (vs. 6)
gtum pa'i sems dang sdang sems ldan khyim dang nor la rnam par sems /
dgon pa dben par rab zhugs te bdag cag rnam la skur pa 'debs // (vs. 7)
bdag cag la ni 'di skad mchi rnyed dang bkur sti gnas pa ste /
dge slong 'di dag mu stegs can bdag gi rang bzo rab tu 'chad // (vs. 8)
rnyed pa dang ni bkur(v.l. bskur) sti'i phyir rang gis mdo sde byas nas su /
'khor gyi dbus su 'chad byed ces bdag cag rnam la shin du(v.l. tu) 'phyi // (vs. 9)
rgyal po dang ni rgyal bu dang de bzhin rgyal po'i blon po dang /
bram ze dang ni khyim bdag dang dge slong gzhan dag drung du ni // (vs. 10)
bdag(v.l. dag) cag rnam la mi bsgags brjod mu stegs can zhes tsig kyang brjod /
drang srong che la gas pas na thams cad bdag cag bzod par bgyi // (vs. 11)*

The following is my provisional translation of the Tibetan parallel:

Thinking of the wilderness and also wearing patched garments, the wicked-minded will say: “We practise the minimum of necessities.”(vs. 5)

Those, who are attached to tastes, also preach the *Dharma* to householders.

Like those who possess the sixfold supernatural knowledge, they will be honoured also. (vs.6)

They, who are furious and ill-minded, thinking of houses and properties, enter into a calm wilderness and abuse us. (vs.7)

They say of us as follows: “Adhering to gain and honour, these monks, who are heretics, preach self-made verses. (vs.8)

Having composed sutras by themselves for the sake of gain and honour, (they) explain (them) in the midst of the assembly”, thus they abuse us greatly. (vs.9)

To kings, princes, king’s ministers, Brahmans, householders, and to other monks, (vs. 10) they speak evil of us. They even say: “They are heretics!” Out of reverence for great seers, we shall endure all these. (vs. 11)

I take 6ab for slanderous words uttered by wilderness monks towards “us”, while the Tibetan translator took it for a narrative which describes wilderness monks.

¹⁰¹ The word “(Buddhist) monk” does not occur here. However, from the context, it is obvious that the practitioners in the wilderness, described here, are none other than Buddhist wilderness monks.

(8) “We” shall visit people in towns and villages in order to further transmit what the Buddha consigned “us” to do (*i.e.* the Lotus Sutra) (vs. 19)

In short, the “we” are monks who preach the *Dharma* to lay people in villages and towns, being blamed by “our” antagonists, namely wilderness monks, for the composition of new scriptures. In future, “we” shall bear and preach the Lotus Sutra.

According to the prose which proceeds the verses in question, eighty hundred thousand bodhisattvas uttered these stanzas. In the Sutra, these bodhisattvas are meant by the word “we”, but, in reality, the “we” here is none other than the composers/holders of the Lotus Sutra.

Therefore, we may conclude that those who composed and preached the Lotus Sutra were village or village-oriented monks.¹⁰² Also, it is to be noted that the wilderness monks’ slander against “us” in the Lotus Sutra is similar to that against village(-oriented) monks found in the *Abhisamācārikā-Dharmāḥ* (e.g. “You seek for the most tasty [foods] with the tip of your tongue.”) and the *Rāṣṭrapālāparipṛcchā Sūtra* (e.g. “They always carry a scripture [*lekha*] with them.”).

4. Composers and holders of the Lotus Sutra assumed from other chapters

4.1. The *Bodhisattvaprthivivivarasamudgama-parivarta*

In the preceding section, we concluded that the composers of the Lotus Sutra were village(-oriented) monks, of whom wilderness monks were critical. When we understand this as the background to the Lotus Sutra, we can then realise why Maitreya and his fellow bodhisattvas were surprised at the sight of so many unknown bodhisattvas emerging out of the earth, which is described in Chapter XIV, the *Bodhisattvaprthivivivarasamudgama-parivarta*.

In this chapter (KN. 297ff.), we are told that countless bodhisattvas, headed by four others namely, Viśiṣṭacāritra, Anantacāritra, Viśuddhacāritra, and Supratiṣṭhitacāritra, suddenly emerged out of the earth and paid homage to the Buddha, Prabhūtaratna-buddha and other buddhas who had gathered at the Buddha’s assembly. Maitreya and other bodhisattvas in the assembly were surprised at the sight and wondered, whence they came and who they were as they had neither seen nor heard of them before. Thereupon Maitreya asked the Buddha about them, to which the latter replied that he, himself, had taught and converted them long before and that they were, therefore, his “sons”. Further, the Buddha gave Maitreya (= Ajita) a presentation of these bodhisattvas who had emerged out of the earth as follows:

“And these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, Agita, occupy in this Saha-world the domain

¹⁰² Mochizuki (1988: 36f.) and Okada (2001: 378) seem to be of the opinion that the Lotus Sutra stands on the side of wilderness monks.

of the ether-element below. Only thinking of the lesson they have to study, and devoted to thoroughly comprehend it, these young men of good family have no liking for social gatherings. nor for bustling crowds; they delight in seclusion, are fond of seclusion. These young men of good family do not dwell in the immediate vicinity of gods and men, they not being fond of bustling crowds.”

“All have devoted themselves to a hermit life (*āraṇya-dhuta-abhiyukta*)¹⁰³ and are assiduous in shunning places of bustle (*saṃsargabhūmi*); they walk detached (*asaṅga-cārin*), these sons of mine, following my precepts in their lofty course (*caryā*). (vs. 39) They dwell in the domain of ether, in the lower portion of the field, those heroes who, unwearied, are striving day and night to attain superior knowledge. (vs. 40) All strenuous, of good memory, unshaken in the immense strength of their intelligence, those serene sages preach the law (*dharmu kathenti*), all radiant, as being my sons.” (vs. 41) (Kern 1884: 292-293. The Sanskrit words in brackets are added by the present author.)

In short, these bodhisattvas were wilderness monks who practised *dhuta-guṇas*.

In the Lotus Sutra, Maitreya is depicted as the representative of bodhisattvas who had a close association with lay people, preached the Dharma to them, and propagated the Lotus Sutra. Therefore, his activities were, in the above-stated system, none other than those of a village(-oriented) monk.

We are told that these *dhuta-guṇa*-practising bodhisattvas dwelt spatially as well as temporally far away from Maitreya, and that he had, therefore, neither seen nor heard of them before. Here, again, we come across another piece of evidence of the dichotomy between wilderness monks and village(-oriented) ones, and we can assume with certainty that the composers as well as the bearers of the Lotus Sutra, symbolised by Maitreya, were on the side of village(-oriented) monks.

4.2. The *Puṇyaparyāya-parivarta*

Verses 17~32 in the *Puṇyaparyāya-parivarta* (KN. 334~336) describe the unlimited merit (*puṇya*) for those who, upon hearing this religious discourse (*dharmaparyāya*) which elucidates the duration of the *Tathāgata*'s life — namely the *Tathāgatāyus-pramāṇa-parivarta* which precedes this *Puṇyaparyāya* chapter —, believe in it for a single moment. We are told this merit far surpasses that acquired by the practices of the five *pāramitās*. I shall cite here Kern's English translation to give a convenient explanation.¹⁰⁴ The Sanskrit words in brackets are added by the present author.

17. Let a man who is seeking after this knowledge, superior Buddha-knowledge, undertake to practise in this world the five perfect virtues (*pāramitāḥ pañca*);

18. Let him, during eight thousand kotis of complete *Æons* (*kalpa*), continue giving

¹⁰³ The Central Asian manuscripts read as follows: O. *āraṇya-dhuta-dhimuktāḥ*; F. *ādhimuktāḥ*.

¹⁰⁴ Kern 1884: 318-319.

repeated alms to Buddhas and disciples ;

19. Regaling Pratyekabuddhas and kotis of Bodhisattvas by giving meat, food and drink, clothing and lodging ;

20. Let him build on earth refuges and monasteries of sandal-wood, and pleasant convent gardens provided with walks (*caṅkramasthāna*) ;

21. Let him after so bestowing gifts, various and diversified, during thousands of kotis of Æons, direct his mind to enlightenment ;

22. Let him then, for the sake of Buddha-knowledge, keep unbroken the pure moral precepts which have been recommended by the perfect Buddhas and acknowledged by the wise ;

23. Let him further develop the virtue of forbearance, be steady in the stage of meekness (*dāntabbūmi*), be constant, of good memory, and patiently endure many censures ;

24. Let him, moreover, for the sake of Buddha-knowledge, bear the contemptuous words of unbelievers who are rooted in pride ;

25. Let him, always zealous, strenuous, studious, of good memory, without any other preoccupation in his mind, practise meditation, during kotis of Æons ;

26. Let him, whether living in the forest (*aranyavāsi tiṣṭhanto*) or entering upon a vagrant life (*caṅkrāme abhiruḅya*), go about, avoiding sloth and torpor, for kotis of Æons ;

27. Let him as a philosopher (*dbāyī*), a great philosopher (*mabūdbāyī*) who finds his delight in meditation (*dbyānārāma*), in concentration of mind (*dbyāyet*), pass eight thousand kotis of Æons ;

28. Let him energetically pursue enlightenment with the thought of his reaching all-knowingness, and so arrive at the highest degree of meditation (*dbyāna-pāramitāṃ gataḥ*) ;

29. Then the merit accruing to those who practise the virtues oft described, during thousands of kotis of Æons ,

30. (Is less than that of) a man or a woman who, on hearing the duration of my life (*āyus*), for a single moment believes in it ; this merit is endless.

31. He who renouncing doubt, vacillation, and misgiving shall believe even for a short moment, shall obtain such a reward.

Thus, the merit acquired through the practices of the perfection of giving (*dāna-pāramitā* : verses 18~21), good conduct (*sīla-pāramitā* : verse 22), patience (*kṣānti-pāramitā* : verses 23~24), vigour (*vīrya-pāramitā* : verse 25), and meditation (*dbyāna-pāramitā* : verses 26~28) is said to be far inferior to that of a (lay) man or woman who hears the Buddha's discourse, concerning the duration of his life and believes in it for even a single moment. In the verses, in boldface, we may clearly see that the composers of the Lotus Sutra depreciated the practices of wilderness monks (Kern's "living in the forest") compared to lay people's belief in the Sutra.¹⁰⁵ Here, again, we may conclude that these composers were on the side of village(-oriented) monks who supposedly

preached the Sutra to lay people in the name of the Buddha.

4.3. The *Dharmabhāṅaka-parivarta*

In the preceding sections, we assumed that the composers and holders of the Lotus Sutra were most probably village(-oriented) monks of whom wilderness monks were critical. Did the composers and holders of the Sutra constitute a powerful faction in the community and hence held power in the monasteries? Presumably, this was not the case. They seemed to have been a fringe group. It is repeatedly alluded to in the text itself that the bearers of the Lotus Sutra used to be rejected in the community, suffer terrible persecution, be expelled from monasteries. For instance, verses in the *Utsāha-parivarta* read¹⁰⁶:

“We will suffer, patiently endure, O Lord, the injuries, threats, blows and threats with sticks at the hands of foolish men.” (vs. 3)¹⁰⁷

“One will have to endure frowns, repeated disapprobation, banishment (*niṣkāšana*) from monasteries, manifold bindings and reviling¹⁰⁸.” (vs. 17)¹⁰⁹

Passages, found in Chapter X, the *Dharmabhāṅaka-parivarta*, also indicate that holders of the Lotus Sutra in early times, received constant rejection in the community.

In this chapter, the Buddha told a bodhisattva named Bhaiṣajyarāja the following:

A *Dharma*-preacher in future should propound the Lotus Sutra with confidence in the assembly. The Buddha would send a magically-conjured audience who would not reject nor contradict the preacher. If (*sacet*) the preacher stayed in the wilderness (*araṇya*), then the Buddha would send large numbers of gods, dragons, spirits, gandharvas, asuras, and others to listen to him preach. If the preacher forgot words or expressions of the Lotus Sutra during recitation, the Buddha would remind him.¹¹⁰

These descriptions, concerning the preacher of the Lotus Sutra, are repeated in verses 25~33 in the same chapter.¹¹¹ I shall cite Kern’s English translation of these verses here.¹¹² The Sanskrit words in brackets are added by the present author.

25. Where clods, sticks, pikes, or abusive words and threats fall to the lot of the

¹⁰⁵ The verses, cited above, are important also for the consideration of the relationship between the Lotus Sutra and *prajñāpāramitā* thought. In the latter, *prajñāpāramitā* is given the highest position. However, in the case of these verses in the *Puṇyaparyāya* chapter, the acts of hearing the Sutra and believing in it, are placed at the highest position. We may assume that the composer(s) of the chapter, being aware of the *prajñāpāramitā* thought system, modified it and gave pride of place to that of the acts of hearing and believing in the Sutra, which was usually suited for lay people.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. also, KN. 285.1~2; 293.5~6.

¹⁰⁷ KN. 271. 9-10; Kern 1884: 259.

¹⁰⁸ *baddha-kuttī* or *baddhra-kuttā*. Cf. note (33) in this paper.

¹⁰⁹ KN. 274.1-2.

¹¹⁰ KN. 234.10~235.7.

¹¹¹ KN. 236.11~237.14.

¹¹² Kern 1884: 224-225.

preacher, let him be patient, thinking of me.

26. My body has existed entire in thousands of kotis of regions ; during a number of kotis of Æons beyond comprehension I teach the law to creatures.

27. To that courageous man who shall proclaim this Sutra after my complete extinction I will also send many creations.

28. Monks, nuns, lay devotees, male and female, will honour him as well as the classes of the audience.

29. And should there be some to attack him with clods, sticks, injurious words, threats, taunts, then the creations shall defend him.

30. And when (*yadāpi*) he shall stay alone, engaged in study (*svādhyāyat*), in a lonely place, in the forest (*aṭavi*) or the hills (*parvata*),

31. Then will I show him my luminous body and enable him to remember the lesson (*svādhyāya*) he forgot.

32. While he is living lonely in the wilderness (*vana-cārin*), I will send him gods and goblins in great number to keep him company.

33. Such are the advantages he is to enjoy ; whether he is preaching to the four classes, or living, a solitary, in mountain caverns (*vana-kandara*) and studying his lesson (*svādhyāya*), he will see me.

From the descriptions in the *Utsāha-* and *Dharmabhāṅaka-parivartas* cited above, we can recognise the harsh realities of those who preached the Lotus Sutra in early times. They often received rejection and were persecuted in the Buddhist community. There were even cases where they were expelled from monasteries and had no choice but to dwell in forests or the wilderness, reciting the Sutra.

There are certain scholars who take the verses in the *Dharmabhāṅaka-parivarta*, cited above, for indicating that the holders of the Lotus Sutra were wilderness monks who practised in recluse.¹¹³ However, it must be noted that the text itself reads “Even when (*yadāpi*) he shall stay alone, in the forest”, which shows that they dwelt in the forest because of some special reason. Further, their practices, namely reciting (*svādhyāya*) the Lotus Sutra and preaching it to non-human spirits, are evidently different from those of true wilderness monks, namely *dhutaḡaṇas* and meditation. Moreover, according to the Lotus Sutra, preachers or holders of the Sutra had (and still have) a particular mission in life entrusted by the Buddha, that is, to go to villages and towns everywhere, where there was a person who sought the Dharma, and to preach this Sutra.¹¹⁴ This mission evidently contradicts the lifestyle of wilderness monks who abstained from associating with lay people and merely concentrated on practising austerities and meditation.

¹¹³ For instance, Okada 2001: 379.

¹¹⁴ Vs. 19 in the *Utsāha-parivarta* (KN. 274.5-6).

4.4. Composers of the Lotus Sutra

In conclusion, we may assume that the composers of the Sutra as well as its holders in early times were village monks or those who dwelt outside villages while possessing village-oriented minds. They seemed to have constituted a minor group in the monasteries. They were criticised by wilderness monks on one hand and persecuted by factions in power in the monasteries on the other.

In history, we come across many cases where those who dared to state the truth loudly in public were simply ignored, or even persecuted by those in power or by the masses which were, in their turn, often manipulated by the latter. I assume that the composers and holders of the Lotus Sutra in early times were such courageous people.

The truth, which they proclaimed openly, in my opinion, was that everyone could equally obtain the Buddha's knowledge (*buddha-jñāna*; or *mahā-jñāna* "the great knowledge" as it is also known) and should, therefore, aim at obtaining it.¹¹⁵ Such a view is by no means shocking to us who are familiar with Mahāyāna Buddhism nowadays but it must have been a complete antithesis of Nikāya Buddhism in those days, in which knowledge of the Buddha, that of *pratyekabuddhas* and *śrāvakas* were strictly graded. Probably, these composers and holders were criticised and persecuted because they uttered this simple and self-evident truth openly in public.

¹¹⁵ In support of my assumption, we find a passage in the Central Asian MSS. and the Chinese translations of the Sutra, which proclaims that the Sutra is a scripture which shows the equality of the great knowledge (*mahājñāna*):

KN.240.3. *sādbu sādbu bhagavān Śākyamune* (= the Nepalese MSS. The Gilgit MSS. are missing here).

O. *sādbu sādbu bhagavān cchākyamune(r) yad imaṃ bodhisattvasaṃgrahaṃ mahājñāna-samatā-nirdeśaṃ sarvabuddha-parigrhītaṃ dharmaparyāyaṃ deśayasi samprakāśayanti* (read °*kāśayasi*) ("It is excellent, excellent, Lord Śākyamuni, that you show and expound this religious discourse which is a compendium for *bodhisattvas*, an elucidation of equality of the great knowledge, and which all *buddhas* embrace.").

Lü(B-11.Recto 7).///[v]āṃ Śākyamuniṃ ya imaṃ bo[dhi]satva[h sum]grahaṃ mahājñāna-samata[ni](r)de /// ("[It is excellent], O Lord Śākyamuni, [that you show and expound this religious discourse which] is a compendium for *bodhisattvas*, an elucidation of equality of the great knowledge, ...").

Kumārajīva's translation: *Taishō*, vol. 9, No.262, 32b28. 善哉！善哉！釋迦牟尼世尊！能以平等大慧教菩薩法，佛所護念《妙法華經》為大眾說("Excellent! Excellent, O Śākyamuni, O World-Honoured One, that you teach the *bodhisattva-dharma* with impartial great wisdom, [and] preach the Lotus Sutra, which *buddhas* keep in mind, to the great assembly.").

Cf. Karashima, forthcoming §2.7.

5. Searching for the origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism

5.1. The position of the Lotus Sutra in the history of Mahāyāna Buddhism

As I have written elsewhere¹¹⁶, I assume that the Lotus Sutra was shaped gradually to its present form. Based on results of the research of our predecessors¹¹⁷ as well as my own, I have tentatively divided the process of formation of the Sutra into four stages as follows:

- (1) Triṣṭubh-Jagatū verses, found in chapters from the *Upāyakaṣāya-* (II) to the *Vyākaraṇa-parivarta* (IX)
- (2) Śloka verses and prose, found in those chapters
- (3) Chapters from the *Dharmabhāṣya-* (X) to the *Tathāgatarddhyabhisamkāra-parivarta* (XX), as well as *Nidāna-* (I) and *Anuṣarīdanā-parivarta* (XXVII)
- (4) The other chapters (XXI-XXVI) and the latter half of the *Stūpasamdarśana-parivarta* (XI), i.e. the so-called *Devadatta-parivarta*

While exact dates of formation are impossible to determine, I assume that the Sutra came into existence in this order, apart from some exceptions such as the verse portion of the *Samantamukha-parivarta* (XXIV) which probably existed as an independent text but was later incorporated into the Lotus Sutra.¹¹⁸

Further, I have assumed that when the *prajñāpāramitā* thought system developed in southern India, Gandhara region or elsewhere, the earlier stages of the Lotus Sutra, namely (1) and (2) in the above list, were composed in another area completely unrelated to it. Sometime later, and probably in North-Western India, these two texts met with the result that the Lotus Sutra was influenced by *prajñāpāramitā* literature and the third stage was appended to it.¹¹⁹ After that, the fourth stage was added when it came across other beliefs, such as in Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha, Samantabhadra, *dhāraṇīs*, and so on.

Therefore, if we compare the Lotus Sutra in the present form and *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, the former definitely appears much newer than the latter. However, the earlier stages of the Lotus Sutra were probably composed not later than the formation of this said literature.

Moreover, I have pointed out¹²⁰ that there are at least seventeen instances in which

¹¹⁶ Karashima 1991, 1993. Prof. Kajiyama has cited my theory in detail in his article in Japanese, which was later translated into English by Wayne Yokoyama (Kajiyama 2000). I use his English translation here with some revision.

¹¹⁷ Especially, Fuse 1934 and Rawlinson 1977.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Karashima 1999.

the Nepalese and Gilgit manuscripts of the Lotus Sutra read *jñāna* and (*buddha-*, *tathāgata-*, *sarvajña-*)*jñāna*, while the Central Asian ones read *yāna*, (*buddha-*, *tathāgata-*, *sarvajña-*)*yāna* instead, which lead me to the assumption that, in the earliest stage of transmission of the Lotus Sutra, the Middle Indic form *jāṇa* or **jāna* (< Skt. *jñāna*, *yāna*) had previously stood here, and that later, some redactors back-formed it to *jñāna* (“knowledge”), while others sanskritised it to *yāna* (“vehicle”). At the same time, I have shown that there is a word play between *jñāna* (“knowledge”) and *yāna* (“vehicle”) in the famous parable of the burning house, found in the *Aupamyā-parivarta* of the Lotus Sutra. I have also assumed, further, that the Mahāyānist terms, *buddha-yāna* (“the Buddha vehicle”), *mahāyāna* (“the great vehicle”), *bhīṇayāna* (“the inferior vehicle”) originally meant *buddha-jñāna* (“buddha-knowledge”), *mahājñāna* (“great knowledge”), *bhīṇajñāna* (“inferior knowledge”) respectively, and that the term *mahāyāna* (< **mahājāna* < *mahājñāna*), which originally meant “great knowledge, buddha-knowledge” in the earliest stage of the Lotus Sutra, was later interpreted as “the great vehicle”, and was then adopted by composers of scriptures to designate the new idea of “Mahāyāna Buddhism”. Presumably, the word play of *yāna* / *jñāna*, found in the parable of the burning house, may have given rise to this misinterpretation.

¹¹⁹ Only when we assume in this way, we can explain the following phenomena:

- (i) The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (hereafter as *Aṣṭa*), which has been deemed as one of the earliest Mahāyāna sutras, emphasises the performance of *pūjā* for sutra scrolls but rejects it for stupas, while the earlier stages of the Lotus Sutra, namely (1) and (2) in the above list, positively recommends the building and veneration of stupas. From the *Dharmabhāṇaka-parivarta* (X) and onwards, however, the building of sutra burial mounds (*caitya*), representing the performance of *pūjā* to sutra scrolls, was recommended.
- (ii) In the *Aṣṭa*, the dharma practices of holding, professing, expounding, copying, and the performing of *pūjā* are explained, but in the first two stages of the Lotus Sutra, the practice of copying does not appear, and it is not until the third stage that copying is first mentioned.
- (iii) In the *Aṣṭa*, Bodhisattvas Mañjuśrī and Maitreya appear. In the Lotus Sutra, these two appear only in the third and fourth stages not before.
- (iv) In the *Aṣṭa*, the term preacher of the dharma, or *dharmabhāṇaka*, appears, and it is used frequently in the third stage of the Lotus Sutra, whereas in the first two stages, there is no clear-cut instance of the term.
- (v) In verses in the first two stages, *sūnyatā* (emptiness) is mentioned, but since it does not go beyond the treatment found in Āgama and Nikāya literature, it is merely an artifact. The portion in the Lotus Sutra where we can clearly see the influence of the *sūnyatā* thought system, is in the second half of the *Oṣadhi-parivarta* (V). Hence this verse portion, which is not found in Kumārajīva’s translation, is thought to have been interpolated at a much later time.
- (vi) The *Aṣṭa* from the beginning explains the *prajñā-pāramitā* (perfection of wisdom) as the basis of the five *pāramitās*, while in the Lotus Sutra the six *pāramitās* are merely enumerated. It is not until the third stage, in the *Puṇyaparayāna-parivarta* (XVI), that the *prajñā-pāramitā* thought system is first mentioned as the basis of the five *pāramitās*.
- (vii) The notion of a bodhisattva is first explained in the third stage and not before.

Cf. Karashima 1993: 176-178; Kajiyama 2000: 75-76.

¹²⁰ Karashima 1991, 1993, and forthcoming §2.7. Cf. also Boucher 1998: 491-492.

Also, I have demonstrated elsewhere¹²¹ that the old Sanskrit fragments of the Lotus Sutra are much more Middle Indic in nature than other manuscripts, and that some of these forms show the peculiarities of Eastern dialects. These facts lead me to agree with the hypothesis of H. Lüders and Prof. Dschi Hiän-lin (or Ji Xianlin) that “the original text of the Saddharma-puṇḍarīka was written, if not in pure Māgadhī, in a ‘mixed Sanskrit’ which was based on that dialect”¹²².

As well as this, it is to be noted that the descriptions, which tell us that the composers and holders of the Lotus Sutra were rejected, criticised, and even persecuted, occur in the third stage, which means that probably the composers and holders of the first two stages, who had been, in reality, rejected, criticised, and persecuted by other groups of Buddhists, described these unfortunate experiences together with their strong resolve to further propagate the Sutra under such adverse circumstances. However, the first stages, primarily dealing with the equality of the “great knowledge”, as it is known from the Sutra’s own subtitle “An Elucidation of Equality of the Great Knowledge” or *Mahājñāna-samatā-nirdeśam*¹²³, contain by no means sophisticated ideas compared with other Mahāyāna texts. The fact that the composers and holders of the Sutra with such primitive ideas were severely criticised and persecuted seems to indicate that the earlier stages of the Sutra date back to the time of the very formation of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Therefore, in conclusion, I assume that the formation of the earlier stages of the Lotus Sutra dates back to much earlier times than is supposed, maybe even back to the period when the earliest Mahāyāna came into existence, as it indicated above.

5.2. The origins of Mahāyāna scriptures

It is very difficult to say who were the first who proclaimed themselves as Mahāyānists: wilderness monks, village(-oriented) ones or others. As we have already seen, there are several early Mahāyāna texts which praise seclusion in the wilderness, like the *Ugraparipṛcchā*, the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchā*, the *Kāśyapa-parivarta*, the *Ratnarāśi*, and the *Akṣobhyavyūha*¹²⁴. Based on this fact, some scholars have been inclined to think that the Mahāyāna originated as a tradition of wilderness (or forest) monks.¹²⁵

However, as we have already seen above, we know of two Mahāyāna sutras which reject *dbutaḡaṇa*-practices in the wilderness, namely the *Sarvadharmāpravṛtti-nirdeśa Sutra* and the Lotus Sutra. As well as these, in my opinion, there are at least two more

¹²¹ Karashima 1991, 1993, and forthcoming §1.

¹²² Hoernle(ed.) 1916: 162; Dschi, Hiän-lin 1944: 139-143.

¹²³ See note (115).

¹²⁴ All of them are contained in the *Mahāratnakūṭa* collection, which is possibly not a coincidence.

¹²⁵ E.g. Ray 1994: 404f.; Harrison 1995: 65; Deleanu 2000: 81f.

Mahāyāna scriptures which are critical of such practices, namely the *Ratnaguṇasamcayagāthā* and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.

Verses 3~8 in Chapter XXI in the *Ratnaguṇasamcayagāthā* evidently demonstrate that the Sutra is not on the side of wilderness monks. I shall cite Conze's English translation of these verses here¹²⁶:

3. If he is one who has behaved in accordance with the ascetic practices, a devoted Yogin,
[Mara will tell him:] 'Formerly [in your past lives] you have also had these very same qualities.'
The Bodhisattva who, on hearing this, becomes conceited,
One should know him to be possessed by Mara, of little intelligence.
4. Though he might practise quite detached from villages or cities in a mountain cave,
In a remote forest, or in isolated woods,-
The Bodhisattva who exalts himself, who deprecates others,
One should know him to be possessed by Mara, of little intelligence.
5. Although they may constantly dwell in a village, a royal city [or] a market town;
If therein they do not generate longing for the vehicle of the Arhats and Pratyekabuddhas,
But are devoted to enlightenment for the sake of maturing beings:
Then this has been preached as the detachment of the Sugata's sons.
6. Though he may reside in mountain caves, five hundred miles wide,
Infested with wild beasts, for many kotis of years:
That Bodhisattva does not know this [true] detachment
If he dwells contaminated by conceit.
7. When he feels superior to Bodhisattvas who practise for the weal of the world,
And who have attained the concentrations, emancipations, faculties, trances and powers,
On the ground that they do not course in the detachment of the remote forest,-
Of him the Jina has said that 'he is established in Mara's sphere.'
8. Whether he dwells in the neighbourhood of a village, or in the remote forest:
If he is free from the thought of the twofold vehicle and fixed on the supreme enlightenment,
Then this is the detachment of those who have set out for the weal of the world.
As one whose self is extinct should that Bodhisattva be considered.

In my view, these are a summary of prose passages found in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* pp. 192.1f~196.14 (Conze 1973: 230~235), rather than the other way round. From these verses and passages in which *dbutaguṇas* are depreciated, it is evident that the *Ratnaguṇasamcayagāthā* as well as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, presumably upon which the former is based, are not on the side of wilderness monks, but rather on village(-oriented) monks.

Thus, there are also several early Mahāyāna scriptures which were apparently composed by those who were critical of the wilderness tradition.

¹²⁶ Conze 1973: 49-50.

Therefore, my preliminary hypothesis is that those, who were frustrated by groups of monks who were dogmatic as well as formalistic in the community, gradually removed themselves from the latter and finally began to compose texts according to their own ideas—they could have been *dbutaguna*-practitioners, monks who were occupied with meditation, village(-oriented) monks or others. Though they may have been critical of the established monasticism of the day, they may have remained within the community, at least in early times, criticising each other. The following description found in the *Ugraparipṛcchā* presents a picture of various groups of monks living together in one community.

When he (*i.e.* a householder bodhisattva) enters a monastery (*vihāra*), he should discern all the practices of the community of monks: who is a learned monk?; who is a Dharma-preaching monk (*dge slong chos brjod pa*)?; who is a monk who observes discipline?; who is a monk who holds the *mātrkā*?; who is a monk who holds the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka*?; who is a wilderness monk?; who is one who lives by alms?; who is one who wears rag-robles, one who has few desires, one who is content with oneself, or one who lives in solitude?; who is a monk who practises *yoga*?; who is a monk who meditates?; who is a monk who belongs to the *Bodhisattva-yāna* (*dge slong byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa pa*)?; who is a monk who is in charge of the buildings (*lag gi bla*; Skt. *navakarmika*)?; who is a monk who supervises (the monastery) (*zhal ta byed pa*; Skt. *vaiyāpṛtyakara*)?; who is a monk who is the head (of the monastery) (*dpon sna byed pa*; Skt. *vihārasvāmin*)? After having discerned all this, he should dwell rightly in harmony in order to get along well with all of them.¹²⁷

New scriptures, composed by monks who were disillusioned with the established monasticism, might have been later labelled as Mahāyāna texts all in all, regardless of their origins.

As in the case of the Lotus Sutra, each Mahāyāna text must have its own complex background and history. Therefore, before we can come to a final conclusion concerning the origins of Mahāyāna Buddhism, we need many more careful, philological studies into all the sutras relevant to this theme.

While writing this article concerning the history of Buddhism, I have noticed anew the importance of Buddhist philology. Historical research on Buddhism is, in my opinion, like building a house, while philological study—identification, editing, translation of manuscripts, or compilation of grammar, glossaries, dictionaries—is likened to making the bricks, which must be made solid and applicable for any design, otherwise they are useless. When we possess such bricks, we can build a sound house

¹²⁷ D(T), vol. 9, p. 325, 547.5f.; Q, vol. 23, p. 267, 317b5f. These passages were minutely studied by Hirakawa 1968: 524f. = 1990: 123f.; Shizutani 1974: 368f.; cf. Silk 1994: 238.

according to our design. If we use very weak material, we merely build castles in the air. After having baked many solid bricks myself, while possessing good ones made by others, I shall, one day, come back to the question as to the formation of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

Abbreviations of the titles of Pāli texts are those adopted by CPD. Editions are those of the PTS.

Other abbreviations:

BHS(D, G) = Edgerton 1953

D(T) = *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Taipei Edition* 台北版西藏大藏經, ed. A. W. Barber, 72 vols, Taipei 1991 (SMC Publishing 南天書局).

KN = Kern and Nanjio 1908-12

Lü = Jiang 1997

O = the so-called Kashgar manuscript of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra*, see footnote (1).

Q = *The Tibetan Tripitaka, Peking Edition* 影印北京版西藏大藏經, ed. Daisetz T. Suzuki, 168 vols, Repr. under the Supervision of the Otani University, Kyoto, Tokyo 1955-1961 (Tibetan Tripitaka Research Institute).

RP = *Rāstrapālapariṣcchā. Sūtra du Mahāyāna*, ed. Louis Finot, St. Petersburg 1901(Academy of Sciences); reprint: Tokyo 1977 (Meicho-Fukyū-Kai) (Bibliotheca Buddhica II)

Śikṣ = *Śikṣāsamuccaya : A Compendium of Buddhistic Teaching, Compiled by Śāntideva*, ed. Cecil Bendal, St. Petersburg (Académie imperiale des sciences); Reprint Tokyo 1977 (Meicho-Fukyū-kai) (Bibliotheca Buddhica I)

vs = verse

~ = stem of a word, e.g. *dharmā-*.

° = except for letters, following or preceding the sign, the word is the same as the preceding one.

← = $\alpha \leftarrow \beta$: the Sanskrit form β should be changed to α .

//A// = the meaning of A is unclear.

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Identification of Some Buddhist Sanskrit Fragments from Central Asia (2)

Recently, I have been able to identify the following Buddhist Sanskrit fragments from Central Asia.

(1) Two Tiny Fragments of the *Saddharmapundarikasūtra*

In his recent work: *Fragments of a Manuscript of the Saddharmapundarikasūtra from Khādaliq*, Tokyo 2000 (Soka Gakkai) (Lotus Sutra Manuscript Series 3), Klaus Wille provides us with a meticulous edition of the Central Asian fragments of the Lotus Sutra from Khādaliq and Turfan, including smaller but not yet identified fragments. Recently, I have been able to identify two amongst these fragments.

Fragment 108: SHT 4303.37.8 (transliteration: p. 127; photo: Plate 73) probably should be transliterated as follows:

A	B
3 /// r. {{.}} ma .. ///	2 /// + ++ ///
4 /// ○ [t]nadvīpa ///	3 /// [○] nivarti ///
5 /// + ///	4 /// ○ drakṣyaṃ .[i] ///

We find parallel passages in the so-called Kashgar manuscript 181a5f. (Hirofumi Toda, *Saddharmapundarikasūtra, Central Asian Manuscripts, Romanized Text*, Tokushima 1981, p.94):

181a

5 *cyamti // tad yathā 'pi nāma bhikṣava iha syā pañcayojanaśatikam aṭavīkāntāraṃ*
mahākāntāra=

6 *paṭhaṃ śunyaṃ bālānāṃ bhīṣaṇakaṃ mahāṃś cātra janakāya[ṃ](h) pratipanno bhaved*
rratnadvīpa= gamanāye

181b

6 *nivartitukāmān viditvā evaṃ vicintayet* mā haiva ime vapasvinaḥ tādṛśaṃ ma(hā)ratna-*
dvī=

7 *paṃ na drakṣyamīti . sa teṣāṃ anukampārtham upāyakośalyaṃ prayojayet* tasyām*
aṭavyāṃ ma=

My colleague, Mr. Noriyuki KUDO, found that this tiny fragment belongs to Fragment 44 (SHT 4303.11 + 4303.24.1; Wille op. cit., p. 68) in the following way:

(The transliteration of Fragment 108 is given in boldface)

recto

- 3 naśati[kam̐ aṭav](ī)[kānt](ā) ○ r. {{..}} ma[h]ā¹ + [nt]ārapatham* śunyaṃ
na(ka)ṃ [m](a)[bāṃ] + + + + +
4 yaṃ pranīpan[n]o bhav[e]d ra ○ [t]nadvīpa + .. [n]ā[y]a [d]eśi + + .. +
+ + + + +

verso

- 3 ku[śa]las [t]ām̐ p[uruṣ]ām̐ prati ○ nivarti + [kā]mān v[idit]v[ā] + + [v](i)[ci]nta[y]e
+ + + + + + + + + + +
4 dṛśa mahā[rat](n)[adv]ī[pam̐] na ○ drakṣyam̐[ā]² + [sa] teṣāṃ anuka[m̐]pārtham̐
[u]pāya[k](au)[śal]yaṃ + + + + + +

Fragment 117: Hoernle box 27.4b.8.2 is transliterated by Dr. Wille as follows (transliteration: p. 129; photo: Plate 32):

A

- 5 /// t. .. bh. ///
6 /// lokenā ///

We find parallel passages in the so-called Kashgar manuscript 157a6~7. (Hirofumi Toda, *op.cit.*, p. 82):

157a

- 6 nubbavata . tatra lokāntarikāsu tasmim̐ś ca samaye mahato 'vabbāsasya mahataś c'
ālokasya prādu=
7 rbbāvo babbūva : ye 'pi tatra lokāntarikāsu satvā hy upapannās te 'pi ten' ālokenānyonyam̐
pa=

(2) A Fragment of the *Ratnamegbasūtra*

Recently, I have been also able to identify SHT III 945 in *Sanskrithandschriften aus den Turfanfunden*, hrsg. Ernst Waldschmidt, Wiesbaden 1971 (F. Steiner), Teil 3 (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland Bd. X, 3), p. 206~207, which had remained unidentified, as a fragment of the *Ratnamegbasūtra*. Its parallels in the Chinese translations are as follows: T.659.246a28f.; T.660.288a14f.

Seishi Karashima

¹ A part of the *akṣara h-* is found in Fragment 108A3.

² A part of the *akṣara t-* is found in Fragment 44 (SHT 4303.24.1verso 4).

活動報告

平成12年4月以降の研究所のあゆみ

「国際仏教学高等研究所運営委員会」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員の主要な活動を記す。

- 4月1日(土) 工藤順之 専任講師として着任
- 4月3日(月) 辛嶋静志教授
北京大学東方学研究院にて講演
テーマ「關於漢訳佛典的研究——語言・方法及文献学的問題」
- 4月12日(水) 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11年度(第3号)[3月31日付]
・Akira YUYAMA, *Eugène Burnouf - The Background to his Research into the Lotus Sutra*,
Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica III, 2000, xiv + 192 pages.
- 4月28日(金) 梶山雄一所長・辛嶋教授・工藤講師
佛教大学総合研究所「佛教と自然」研究班研究会に出席
(於：佛教大学総合研究所)
- 5月19日(金) 湯山明教授
国際東方学会会議出席
(於：神田・教育会館／東方学会主催)
- 5月26日(金) 第11回仏教学懇話会
北京大学東方学系教授王邦維博士を招聘
テーマ「義浄の旅と根本説一切有部律のインドに於ける伝承」
- 5月27日(土) 湯山教授
パリ学仏教文化学会・学術大会に参加／会員総会議長を務む
(於：花園大学)
- 6月2日(金) 梶山所長・辛嶋教授・工藤講師
佛教大学総合研究所「佛教と自然」研究班研究会に出席
(於：佛教大学総合研究所)
- 6月3日(土) 辛嶋教授
「金剛寺一切經の基礎的研究と新出仏典」研究会に出席
(於：華頂短期大学)
- 6月8日(木) 第12回仏教学懇話会
コーネル大学アジア研究学部助教授ダニエル・ブッシュェー博士を招聘
テーマ「胡本の中国への伝来-初期カローシュティー經典を比定するもうひとつの手
がかり」

- 6月14日(水) 湯山教授
立正大学法華經文化研究所・平成12年度第一回講演会出席
- 6月23日(金)～7月6日(木) 湯山教授 オランダ、デンマーク出張
6月24-30日 第9回国際チベットの学会学術大会に出席(於:オランダ・レイデン大学
国際アジア研究所) / 仏教部会議長を務む / 各国研究者と意見交換・学術交流
7月1-4日 デンマーク国立コペンハーゲン大学アジア研究所にて『批判的パーリ語辞
典』編集出版について討議 / 王立図書館所蔵ヤコブソン蒐集インド系未公開写本類に
関する意見交換 / デンマーク駐在インド大使と文化交流に関する意見交換
- 6月30日(金) 梶山所長・辛嶋教授・工藤講師
佛教大学総合研究所「佛教と自然」研究班研究会に出席
(於: 佛教大学総合研究所)
- 7月1日(土) 辛嶋教授
「金剛寺一切經の基礎的研究と新出仏典」研究会に出席
(於: 華頂短期大学)
- 7月13日(木) 湯山教授
宮内庁正倉院事務所蔵正語藏經卷カラーCD-ROM版・第1期隋唐經篇出版記念会
出席(於: 東京、ガーデンパレス / 丸善主催)
- 7月14日(金) 辛嶋教授・工藤講師
佛教大学総合研究所「佛教と自然」研究班研究会に出席
(於: 佛教大学総合研究所)
- 8月13日(日)～19日(土) 辛嶋教授 中国出張
『紀念王力先生誕辰一百周年語言学国際研討会』に出席し、「漢訳佛典的語言研究—
—『道行般若經』與異譯及梵本對比研究」と題して発表(於: 北京大学)
北京大学東方学系、社会科学院等の訪問
- 10月3日(火)～31日(火) 湯山教授 デンマーク、ドイツ出張
3-10日 デンマーク国立コペンハーゲン大学アジア研究所にて『批判的パーリ語辞典』
編集出版の再構築に関する会議に出席 / 王立図書館所蔵ヤコブソン蒐集インド系未公
開写本類に関する調査研究 / 『インド・イラン学誌』編集再構築に関して討議
10-30日 ベルリン官立図書館・プロイセン文化遺産基金所蔵の『マハーヴァス
トゥ・アヴァダーナ』諸写本の調査研究 / インド美術館(官立博物館群・プロイセン
文化遺産基金)改装再開記念内覧会 / プロイセン・ドイツ中央アジア探検二百年記念
学会「吐魯番再訪」(プロイセン文化遺産基金所屬機関: ベルリン・ブランデンブル
グ学士院・ベルリン官立図書館・インド美術館共催) 準備討議 / 『インド・イラン学
誌』編集再構築に関して討議
- 11月10日(金) 工藤講師
佛教大学総合研究所「佛教と自然」研究班研究会に出席
(於: 佛教大学総合研究所)
- 11月13日(月) 辛嶋教授
佛教大学総合研究所「アフガニスタン出土梵語写本研究会」に出席
「バーミヤン渓谷出土『摩訶僧祇律』の梵文断簡について(2)」と題して発表

- 11月18日(土) 湯山教授
「唐代史研究会」秋期シンポジウム(敦煌研究)出席
(於: 国学院大学)
- 11月28日(火) 第13回仏教学懇話会
元ベルリン・インド美術館学芸員ローレ・ザンダー博士を招聘
テーマ「ガンダーラ文化圏におけるブラーフミー書体の展開を見る上でのスコイエン・コレクションの持つ意味」
- 12月7日(木) 第14回仏教学懇話会
ベルギー・ゲント大学教授チャールズ・ウィルメン博士を招聘
テーマ「説一切有部アビダルマの広がり」
- 12月22日(金) 梶山所長・工藤講師
佛教大学総合研究所「佛教と自然」研究班研究会に出席
梶山所長「Sattvaloka: 業報輪廻説批判」と題して発表
(於: 佛教大学総合研究所)
- 平成13年
- 1月10日(水)～3月18日(日) 平成12年度外国籍研究員
ロシア科学アカデミー東洋学研究所研究員
マルガリータ・ヴォロビョーヴァ＝デシャトフスカヤ博士、共同研究の滞在
- 1月18日(木) 湯山教授
龍谷大学仏教文化研究所・共同研究「サンスクリット仏教写本の文献学的研究」に出席
「梵語仏典写本類研究備忘」と題して研究報告
- 1月26日(金) 梶山所長
佛教大学総合研究所「佛教と自然」研究班研究会に出席
(於: 佛教大学総合研究所)

国際仏教学高等研究所所員の著作
(List of Publications of the IRIAB Fellows
during 1999-2000)

梶山雄一 (Yuichi KAJIYAMA)

「他人は存在するか—付：ラトナキールティ『他人の心流の論破』試訳」『創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報』第3号(1999)、2000, pp. 3-35. (“Do Other People’s minds Exist? — With a Japanese Translation of Ratnakīrti’s *Santānāntaradūṣaṇa*,” in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 1999*, 2000, pp. 3-35).

“The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* and *Śūnyatā* Thought,” in: *The Journal of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 10, 2000, pp. 72-96 (Tr. by Wayne YOKOYAMA).

“Buddhist Cosmology as Presented in the *Yogācārabhūmi*,” in: *Wisdom, Compassion, and the Search for Understanding: The Buddhist Studies Legacy of Gadjin M. Nagao*, edited by Jonathan Silk (= *Studies in the Buddhist Traditions: A Publication of the Institute for the Study of Buddhist Traditions*, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, ed. by Luis O. Gómez), Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000, pp. 183-199.

湯山 明 (Akira YUYAMA)

Eugène Burnouf: The Background to his Research into the Lotus Sutra (= *Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica* III), Tokyo: The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University, 2000, xiv + 192 pages.

“An *Uṣṇīṣa-Vijayā Dhāraṇī* Text from Nepal,” in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 1999*, 2000, pp. 165-175.

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“*Mahāvastu* and *Mahāvastu-Avadāna*,” in: *Vividharatnakaraṇḍaka: Festgabe für Adalheid Mette*, Herausgegeben von Christine Chojnacki, Jens-Uwe Hartmann und Volker M. Tschannerl (= *Indica et Tibetica* 37), Switsttal-Ondorf: Indica et Tibetica Verlag, 2000, pp. 533-540.

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- 「パーリ語・仏教梵語研究ノート」『創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所・年報』第3号 (1999)、2000, pp. 37-64. (“Notes on Some Pāli and Buddhist Sanskrit Words,” in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 1999, 2000*, pp. 37-64).
- “Brief Communication: Identification of Some Buddhist Sanskrit Fragments from Central Asia,” in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 1999, 2000*, pp. 213-214.
- 「『大阿弥陀經』訳注(二)」『佛教大学総合研究所紀要』第七号, 2000年3月, pp. 95-104. (“An Annotated Japanese Translation of the Earliest Chinese Version of the *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* (2),” in: *Bulletin of the Research Institute of Bukkyo University*, No. 7, 2000, pp. 95-104).
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工藤順之 (Noriyuki KUDO)

- “A Study on Sanskrit Syntax (4): *Śabdakaustubha* on P.1.4.45-48 [*Adhikaraṇa*],” in *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Sambhāṣā*, vol. 20, 1999, pp. 63-87.
- 「*Kāśīkāvṛtti*に見られる文章分割技法—*vākyabheda* と *yogavibhāga*—」『印度學佛教學研究』第48巻第1号, 1999, pp. (43)-(47) [pp. 530-526] (“*Vākyabheda* in the *Kāśīkāvṛtti*,” in *Journal of the Association of Studies in Indology and Buddhism*, vol.48, part 1, 1999, pp. 530-526).
- “The *Mahākarmavibhaṅga* and the *Karmavibhaṅgasūtra* (2): Transliterations of the Original Manuscripts Preserved in the National Archives of Nepal,” in: *Annual Report of The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology at Soka University for the Academic Year 1999, 2000*, pp. 149-164.

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 叡山学院研究紀要、第22号
 漢語史研究集刊、第3輯
 感性福祉研究所年報、第1号
 汲古、第37-38号
 教化研究、第121-122号
 教学研究所紀要、第8号
 キリスト教文化・東洋宗教研究所紀要、第18号
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 国際仏教学大学院大学研究紀要、第3号
 佐賀医科大学一般教育紀要、第17-18号
 四天王寺国際仏教大学紀要、第32号
 浄土宗学研究、第26号
 シルクロード研究、第2号
 成田山仏教研究所紀要、第23号
 西山学報、第48号
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 中華佛学学報、第13期上・下
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 鶴見大学佛教文化研究所紀要、第5号
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 東洋学論叢・東洋大学文学部紀要、第53号
 東洋文化研究所紀要、第139-140号
- Editions du Centre d'Anthropologie Sirindhorn
 UK Association for Buddhist Studies
 南山宗教文化研究所
 Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), Universiteit Leiden
 Istituto Italiano per L'Africa e L'Oriente
 International Akademy of Buddhism Hsi Lai University
 International College for Advanced Buddhist Studies Library
 Academic Affairs, Chulalongkorn University
 名古屋大学文学部インド文化化学研究室
 The Institute of Oriental Philosophy
 The Asiatic Society of Japan
 Franz Steiner Verlag GMBH
 Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyusho. Kyoto University
 北海道印度哲学仏教学会
 叡山学院
 四川大學漢語史研究所
 東北福祉大学感性福祉研究所
 古典研究会編汲古書院
 真宗大谷派教学研究
 浄土真宗教学研究
 上智大学キリスト教文化・東洋宗教研究所
 智山伝法院
 国際仏教学大学院大学
 佐賀医科大学一般教育
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編集後記 (Editorial Postscript)

本誌第4号をお届けする。今号には和文論文1篇、英文論文7篇、計8篇を掲載することが出来、更に写本の同定・リアトリビューションを公表する Brief Communication 1篇と近刊書紹介を加えることが出来た。

学外から、ドイツ、グッティンゲン科学アカデミーのクラス・ヴィレー博士は『法華經』マンネルハイム写本に関する研究論文を御寄稿下さった。周知の如く、この写本はその存在が知られていたにも拘わらず、これまでローマ字転写はおろかその写真すらも公表されたことのないもので、今回ヴィレー博士の論文によって写真共々初めて学界に紹介されることとなり、『法華經』研究にまた新たな資料が加わることとなった。

ピーター・スキリング博士からはアメリカ、ニューアーク博物館所蔵のチベット大蔵經(Kanjur)の予備調査カタログをご寄稿頂いた。近年、チベット大蔵經諸版本の系統を明らかにしようとする研究が数多く生み出されているが、中でも、ニューアーク博物館所蔵のものについては博士のカタログで今回初めてその全体を俯瞰しうる資料が公表されたことになる。発表の場として本誌を選んで下さったことに心より感謝申し上げる。

コーネル大学のダニエル・プシュー博士からは *Rāstrapālapariṣcchā* と竺法護訳『佛說徳光子太子經』の対照研究を寄せて頂いた。サンスクリット原典から漢訳が為される過程でどのような文献学的改変が生じたのかをまとめた成果で、博士が現在準備されている *Rāstrapālapariṣcchā* 再校訂・新訳本に先行して発表された論文である。

本研究所からは、先ず梶山所長による『法華經』第11章「見宝塔品」を中心とした資料を用いた論考である。仏塔観と仏塔に納められる象徴的存在の変遷を問題とし、『法華經』における真理がいかに具象化されたかについて『般若經』に見られる「仏母」思想との関連から論じたもので、また付論として蔵訳『法華經』の「見宝塔品」冒頭に見られる付加文をチベット大蔵經の諸版本を対照した上で提示されている。

湯山教授からは、写本研究に関係する二篇を纏めて頂いた。そのうち一篇は、中国社会科学院・蒋忠新博士によって本誌第3号に公表されたハリバドラ『宝徳藏般若釈』梵語写本を含めた同書の文献学的研究に向けての予備的調査であり、もう一篇では今号に掲載されているヴィレー博士寄稿論文の『法華經』マンネルハイム写本に関して、教授をおいて他には論じ得ないであろう当該写本の研究学史を概観して下さい。更に、近刊書紹介として学術性の高い四冊を取り上げて頂いた。今後、欧米書を和文で、和書を欧文で紹介する欄を充実させたい。

辛嶋教授は *Bibliotheca Philologica et Philosophica Buddhica* 第4巻を編纂執筆し、本誌と共に出版された。この叢書第4巻は同第1巻と併せて漢訳『法華經』のグロッサリーの両輪となるもので、『法華經』研究に必須の文献になるものと信ずる。また、叢書執筆の傍ら『法華經』の中から、比丘集団の有り様を記述した偈頌を読み直し『法華經』編纂者たちの姿を明るみに出そうとする精緻な論考を纏められた。また『法華經』他の写本を同定した Brief Communication を急ぎまとめていただいた。

ご多忙の中、本誌に寄稿下さった先生方にここであらためて感謝申し上げます。

編集担当としては些か個人的になる事どもについて言及することを諒とされたい。京都から関東に居を移し、本号が届けられる頃には一年が経つことになる。全く新しい環境の中で研究に専念出来る場を与えて頂いたことを関係者各位に感謝したい。就中、赴任して以来頂いた梶山所長、湯山教授、そして辛嶋教授、更に学内外の諸先生からの叱咤激励と、事務方の出井土鶴事務長、前担当課長の岸さん、図書管理の岡松陽子さん、川崎健三さん、蔵書整理の鈴木直子さんと及川弘美さん、各国からの留学生諸師の協力なしには日々の活動もこの年報の編集も進められなかった。年度を締め括る本誌の発刊に当たり、茲に記してお礼申し上げます。

インドでは、本来は師が弟子に与えるものであるが、知識が学に志すものを守護することを祈念するマントラをここに掲げて、新たな年度に向け、また研究の日々に帰ろう。(5, Feb., 2001/N.K.)

*Om saha nāṃ avatu || saha nau bhunaktu || saha vīryaṃ karavāmahai || tejasvi nāṃ adhitam astu || mā vidviṣāmahai ||
om śāntiḥ śāntiḥ śāntiḥ || (Taittirīyopaniṣat, brahmavallyadhya)*

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Suggested Abbreviation:

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Volume IV

A GLOSSARY
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KUMĀRĀJĪVA'S TRANSLATION of the LOTUS SUTRA

妙法蓮華經詞典

by Dr. Seishi KARASHIMA / 辛嶋靜志
*Professor of Sino-Indian Buddhist Philology,
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology
Soka University*

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