



Stefano Zacchetti

**The *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論
(**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*)
and the History of the Larger
*Prajñāpāramitā***

Patterns of Textual Variation in
Mahāyāna *Sūtra* Literature

Edited for publication by Michael Radich and Jonathan Silk



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For Yang Kan, Giulio, and Livio

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Foreword

Stefano Zacchetti, Yehan Numata Professor of Buddhist Studies and Professorial Fellow at Balliol College, University of Oxford, certainly needs no introduction from us. It is with profound grief, but also with pride and immense gratitude, that we present to the public his final monograph in the field of Buddhist Studies.

When Stefano suggested in July 2019 that he publish his investigation of the *Da zhidu lun* with *Hamburg Buddhist Studies*, we were thrilled. And like the rest of the Buddhist Studies community, we were shattered when we learned of Stefano's demise at the end of April 2020. It is no longer possible for us to express our appreciation to the author himself, but we shall remain ever grateful that he chose our series for his work. That this book should be his last study leaves us lost for words, and filled with sadness.

Stefano continued writing, and the manuscript grew over the months (especially through the addition of the magisterial Appendix 2). While he himself was no longer able to finish it, we could not imagine kinder, more suitable, and more knowledgeable editors than Michael Radich and Jonathan Silk. This publication was only possible due to their friendship with the author and their acquaintance with his work, as well as their scholarship, generosity, and untiring efforts. We take this opportunity to express our deepest gratitude to them.

* * *

In this ground-breaking study, Stefano Zacchetti addresses the *Da zhidu lun*, a commentary on the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* traditionally attributed to Nāgārjuna. Analyzing several passages from the commentary and their relation to various other texts in the “complex textual family” comprising the “*Larger Prajñāpāramitā* literature”, his findings illustrate a multidirectional interaction. Hitherto, the dominant conception was that an original source text was reworked and revised, and then commented upon. By contrast, the evidence presented here paints a much more complex picture of a complementary, indeed symbiotic relation between root text and commentary. Vividly revealing moments in the processes of stabilization, consolidation, and canonization that led to the corpora informing current images

of Buddhist schools, the study emphasizes the fluidity of sacred texts characteristic for the Mahāyāna tradition. Stefano's analyses throw new light not only on the textual history of the *Da zhidu lun*—e.g. with regards to questions of authorship, geography, the parameters of its origins and transmission, and the premises of its textual practices—but also on the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* literature as a whole. On an even more general level, the present study contributes essential insights to our understanding of the patterns of formation, transmission, exegesis, and recension of Buddhist texts.

Steffen Döll and Michael Zimmermann

Editors' Foreword and Acknowledgements

The untimely death on April 29, 2020, of Stefano Zacchetti, Yehan Numata Professor of Buddhist Studies and Professorial Fellow at Balliol College, University of Oxford, robbed the world of Buddhist Studies of one of its leading lights, and was greeted by an outpouring of shock and grief.¹ At the time, Stefano was on the brink of completing a monograph, and it is this work that we present here. Fortunately, the manuscript as Stefano left it was, even by the exceptionally high standards we have come to expect from all of his work, complete in all respects, except for a few details.

We have done our best to preserve the text as we received it, including maintaining Stefano's unique voice. In editing the work for publication, we have made the following changes, and observed the following principles:

Zacchetti had made a number of notes for himself in the margin of the manuscript (using the “Comment” bubble function of MS Word). Wherever possible, we have endeavoured to reflect the thinking reflected in those notes in additional notes that we added ourselves, as editors. In a couple of cases, we attempted to solve small problems that he had pointed to. All notes that we have added in this manner are presented in square brackets, and take the form [Note: ... —Eds.].

We have not undertaken the task of checking references. In only one or two cases, when we did notice a mistyped page reference, for instance, we silently corrected.

We have added volume numbers to references to Chinese Buddhist texts in the Taishō canon. Citation thus follow the following format: T (text number) [volume number, in roman numerals] p. (page, register and line number), e.g., T 1509 [XXV] p. 317a6–7. The single reference to the *Xuzangjing/Zokuzōkyō* 繢藏經 follows the same format, save that it is preceded by the siglum “X”. Variant readings attested in the critical apparatus of the Taishō are indicated as in Stefano’s draft, in-line, with the

¹ Obituaries and tributes to Zacchetti may be read here: <http://chinesestudies.eu/?p=4087>; <https://gloriusglobalnetwork.org/in-memoriam-stefano-zacchetti/>. Links to other tributes by individual scholars are included in Ester Bianchi’s contribution on the second of these websites. A list of Zacchetti’s publications, compiled by Zhao You, may be accessed here: <http://aisc-org.it/stefano-zacchetti-publications-list/> (all websites in this note accessed March 10, 2021).

sigla used in the *Taishō* itself, but in a smaller font, e.g., 意[意=心【宋】
【元】【明】【宮】].

The manuscript as we received it contained apparently inconsistent alternation between *prajñāpāramitā* and “Perfection of Insight”; for example: “train in the *prajñāpāramitā*” in some places, but “train in the Perfection of Insight” elsewhere. We were unable to determine whether there was a principle behind this variety, and thus we thought it best to leave Zacchetti’s usage as we found it.

Zacchetti’s manuscript was also inconsistent in capitalisation of the term “Perfection of Insight” (so important for the topic under discussion). We thought it possible that he was using the uncapitalised “perfection of insight” to refer to a practice or accomplishment, and the capitalised “Perfection of Insight” to refer to texts and the genre of literature to which they belong. However, even on this hypothesis, the manuscript was inconsistent; and it was easy to find cases in which it is difficult to decide which of these two alternatives is at issue, or the same usage may refer ambiguously to both. For these reasons, we took the liberty of emending to “Perfection of Insight” throughout.

Zacchetti’s usage for other “perfections” (giving, discipline) was also inconsistent, but here, the overall tendency was to lower case. We have changed to lower case throughout for consistency.

The manuscript was also missing cross-references, which Zacchetti had left blank, apparently with the intention of filling them in manually later. We believe that we were able to track down and supply the cross-references as he intended, but it is possible that in some cases we may have introduced errors.

Zacchetti had not got round to checking line numbers in some LPG references. We were able to supply some, but not all.

Our editing work required us to add a few references to the Bibliography. We have listed those items in [square brackets].

Unfortunately, although they were indicated in the Table of Contents, Stefano left no acknowledgements. We know that he would have wanted to thank Baba Norihisa, Vincent Eltschinger, Camillo Formigatti, Jan Nattier, Ingo Strauch, Andrea Schlosser, Andrew Skilton, and Vincent Tournier for comments on the draft, and/or references to useful publications; Zhao You 趙悠 (whom he mentioned several times in notes to himself as the source of an illuminating reading and a valued source of

advice); and students with whom he read the texts analysed in this monograph; and his colleagues at Balliol College and Oxford. We are certain that many more colleagues would have found themselves acknowledged by name, and we heartily regret that we cannot supply suitable appreciations.

For support in our editing work, we would like to acknowledge the following people and institutions. We are grateful for financial support from the Glorisun Global Network for Buddhist Studies, which was used to facilitate typesetting and indexing work. Michael Zimmermann and Steffen Döll were encouraging and accommodating in making it possible for the manuscript, as Stefano had planned, to appear in the Hamburg Buddhist Studies series. Ulrike Roesler and Nelson Landry were very helpful in arranging various practical matters at the Oxford end. Matthew Orsborn helped us tracking down missing references, and Péter Szántó helped resolve some problems with Sanskrit. Huynh Quoc Tuan spotted some lingering typos at the eleventh hour. We owe warm thanks to Francesco Bianchini, Cynthia Col, and Sophie Florence for their meticulous work on typesetting, indexing, and proofreading, respectively. Last but not least, we are very grateful to Yang Kan for graciously honouring us with the task of readying the manuscript for publication.

It has been a rare and sad privilege to see Stefano's last book through to publication. The author of this monograph was a rare scholar, a true humanist of the old school, a wonderful person, and a dear friend to both of the undersigned. The loss of our friend, colleague, and teacher is keenly felt in every line of the remarkable work before us, and it is our great joy, mixed with extreme sadness, to present it here to the reading public.

Michael Radich and Jonathan Silk

Introduction

Commentaries, in a conventional sense, are supposed to follow and reflect the texts they seek to explain. I am not sure that an ultimate sense applies here, but the empirical reality we experience in Buddhist literature is certainly very different. It is becoming increasingly clear that exegesis played a vastly more active role than we have generally appreciated in *shaping*—not just explaining and reflecting—all types of Buddhist scriptures.

The starting point of the present study was the realisation, long ago, of this reality with respect to one particular early commentary—the so-called *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*) T 1509, translated into Chinese by Kumārajīva at the beginning of the fifth century CE—and its base text, the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*. In my research on the earliest Chinese translation of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (Zacchetti 1999 and 2005), I came across a number of passages in which the *Da zhidu lun*'s explanations of the early text (as represented by the first three Chinese translations) appeared echoed by textual expansions found in the later witnesses of the base text—especially its various Sanskrit instantiations.

The present monograph presents the evidence of this interaction between commentary and base texts, and discusses its wider implications from the point of view of both the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* and the *Da zhidu lun*.

The latter also happens to be one of the most authoritative and influential texts in East Asian Buddhism. There is certainly no shortage of studies on this commentary, whether on its thought (e.g., Venkata Ramanan 1966; Takeda 2005), its authorship (Yinshun 1990; Katō 1996; Takeida 2000; Chou 2004), and its formation (Chou 2000), or more general studies encompassing various aspects (Saigusa 1969)—not to mention Étienne Lamotte's monumental partial translation (Lamotte I–V). This rich literature is an eloquent testament to the importance of this work from multiple points of view. The present monograph adopts a different perspective: It approaches the *Da zhidu lun* as a commentary, and does so from a predominantly historical-philological point of view.

Even this is, in fact, a vast and complex topic, which would require a work of a much greater scope than the present book. My aims are far more limited: First, I will try to use the *Da zhidu lun* as a source for reconstructing some aspects of the history of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*. While this, in itself, is not at all a new methodological approach, to the best of my knowledge, it has never been adopted for studying these particular texts. Second, I will use the evidence provided by my analysis of the interaction between the *Da zhidu lun* and the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* to explore some aspects of this immensely important commentary.

Thus the present work is not—and I would like to emphasise this point—a comprehensive study of the *Da zhidu lun*. I have tried to sail safely away from treacherous waters, avoiding some fundamental (and, at the same time, extremely complicated) issues posed by this text, such as its authorship and philosophical orientation. These should be left to scholars better qualified for such daunting tasks.

Still, I hope that my research will contribute something to our understanding of this fascinating commentary, and of its base text. Here I would like to highlight, in particular, two aspects of this monograph which probably represent my main contributions to the study of the *Da zhidu lun*.

First, my research provides new evidence—not used, to the best of my knowledge, by Lamotte or other authors who discussed this topic—on the *Da zhidu lun*'s historical background. The passages discussed in Chapter 3 and Appendix 1 of this book represent the only instances that have surfaced thus far of influence exerted by the *Da zhidu lun* (or, more accurately: by the exegesis transmitted in the *Da zhidu lun*) on any Indian sources. It is hard to miss the striking disproportion, in this commentary's historical trajectory, between the immense importance it has had in the East Asian Buddhist world since its translation into Chinese, and the absolute silence about it in Indian and Tibetan sources. For this reason, even the faintest echo of the *Da zhidu lun*'s voice in Indian texts represents an important piece of evidence for reconstructing its history. In particular, my analysis has evidenced a significant connection between some of the *Da zhidu lun*'s glosses and a specific recension of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, that chiefly represented in the Gilgit manuscript corpus. This connection has, in turn, important implications for our understanding of the milieu which produced this remarkable commentary. But from a broader perspective, it can also alert us to the discreet but important role

played in the development of Mahāyāna literature by spatially and temporally specific exegetical traditions (or “exegetical cultures”), from an early period possibly before (or in parallel with) the existence of the main “schools” recognised by doxographical sources.

Secondly, a close analysis of the exegesis incorporated in the *Da zhidu lun* can cast some light on one extremely important aspect of this multi-faceted commentary, which has been relatively overlooked by previous scholarship—thus bringing into relief its nature as a vast repository not just of Buddhist learning of all sorts, but also of a possibly even earlier and otherwise unattested rich tradition of exegesis on *Prajñāpāramitā* texts.

Outline

In Chapter 1, which provides a broad contextualisation for the analysis, I argue that exegesis has been an important factor in producing the textual fluidity which characterises many Mahāyāna *sūtras*. In a sense, much of this book could be taken as a case study based upon the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* to exemplify this point.

Chapter 2 introduces the main sources discussed in the book. Section 2.1 focuses on the *Da zhidu lun*, while Section 2.2 offers an overview of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* literature, providing a detailed introduction to the various recensions which form this complex textual family and their historical and geographical backgrounds.

Chapter 3 (together with Appendix 1, which represents its continuation) forms the research core of the book. Here I analyse in detail five passages, reflecting different typologies of textual variation and different ways in which the early exegesis preserved in the *Da zhidu lun* influenced the readings of later *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts. Another eleven passages reflecting similar patterns of textual development are analysed in Appendix 1. For ease of reference, these sixteen key passages are given a continuous numeration from Chapter 3 to Appendix 1. Both parts of the book, together, represent my main body of evidence, and should be regarded and used as a single whole.

The next two chapters draw out the implications of the facts presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 does so from the perspective of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*. I argue that the texts that form this scriptural family were open to the influence of exegesis from as early as we can follow

their traces. For this reason, it is inaccurate to depict the historical development of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts as a transition from a supposedly “unrevised” original text to the “revised” version produced at a later stage under the influence of a specific commentarial tradition (the *Abhisamayālamkāra*), and represented by the present Sanskrit *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (4.1). Rather, the general tendency underlying the history of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* can be described as a transition from a state of textual fluidity to a comparatively more stable state (4.2). This process of gradual (and relative) textual stabilisation, which seems to have mainly taken place between the fifth and seventh centuries CE, is probably related to parallel and wider historical developments that occurred, during the same period, in Indian Buddhism at large. In the shifting form of *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts, we probably see reflected mere fragments of much larger processes of progressive institutionalisation in Mahāyāna Buddhism and its literature.

The textual evidence analysed in Chapter 3 has also brought to light a significant connection between the exegetical traditions preserved in the *Da zhidu lun* (and the plural, here, is intentional), and the specific *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* recension represented primarily by the early seventh century manuscript from Gilgit. This specific relationship is very important for our understanding of this commentary’s historical background, strengthening, from a new angle, Lamotte’s hypothesis about its North-western origins (4.3).

Chapter 5 focuses on the nature of the *Da zhidu lun* as a commentary, taking as a starting point the issue of the concrete ways in which the osmosis between exegesis and textual transmission documented by this study could have taken place (5.1). I argue that an important function played by the *Da zhidu lun* is that of a repository of multiple interpretations—an often-overlooked characteristic of this commentary, which has shaped, in a profound and pervasive way, both its form and its exegetical approaches (5.2). In particular, I show how the *Da zhidu lun* has preserved a considerable number of fragments attesting to earlier,² and historically significant, exegetical traditions devoted to *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, which would otherwise be completely unknown (5.3). In an effort to historically contextualise these important features of the *Da zhidu lun*,

² [Note: A note in Zacchetti’s draft indicated that he was also contemplating the possibility that some of these traditions were coeval with DZDL, and intended to consider this possibility more fully in his final draft. See also Section 5.4, esp. p. 114.—Eds.]

I suggest that the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma genre represented by the so-called “*vibhāṣā* compendia” (to use Collett Cox’s term) may have provided the compilers of the *Da zhidu lun* with an established formal and methodological model for collecting and organising their innovative *Prajñāpāramitā* commentary (5.4).

Chapter 6, which I have termed my “Conclusions”, discusses the facts presented in this study from a more general angle, trying to analyse their implications from a religious point of view. Previous research has found, in various types of Buddhist scriptures, instances of interaction between exegesis and textual transmission in varying degrees similar to those investigated in this study. The systematic occurrence of these patterns of textual development points towards underlying notions of sacred scriptures as relatively “open” texts, informed by fundamental Buddhist ideas about the nature of *buddhavacana*.

The main part of the monograph is completed by two Appendices. The first, already mentioned above, complements Chapter 3, presenting the remaining examples of interaction between the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* and its early exegesis. Appendix 2 discusses the term “unhindered liberation” (*anāvaraṇavimokṣa*), which plays a considerable role in the *Da zhidu lun*, and is at the centre of one of the examples (Passage 4) analysed in Chapter 3.

1 The Life and Growth of Mahāyāna *sūtras*

It may sound like something of a truism to say that textual fluidity and recensional complexity are ubiquitous features of Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature,³ after the many important discussions of this issue which have been published in more or less recent years.⁴ In his influential overview of the study of Indian Mahāyāna, David Seyfort Ruegg criticised the application of the notion of a single *Urtext* to the study of these texts, describing the situation presented by our scriptural sources in these terms:

What we seem to have before us in such cases is, instead, records of a set of teachings/ideas/narratives in parallel wordings, oral or written, that are all somehow linked with a more or less compact—but nevertheless not univocally expressed—Sūtra tradition that came to be expressed in distinct recensions.⁵

And, indeed, it is a very common experience for anyone who approaches Mahāyāna *sūtras* from a philological point of view, comparing various witnesses of the “same” scripture (Sanskrit manuscripts, Chinese and Tibetan translations, etc.), to come across various (and often extremely complex) patterns of textual differentiation and variation (see, for example, Skilton 1999; Zacchetti 2005: 42–50; Schopen 2009: 206–214)—for example, just to mention some of the most common forms, addition of words and sentences, use of different wording, and transposition of passages.

In fact, in the context of the widespread, systematic variation reflected by this literature, even the deceptively self-evident notion of “same” scripture or text becomes difficult to define in a conceptually satisfactory

³ In this monograph I use “*sūtra*” and “*sūtra* literature” essentially as modern Buddhological categories. It is important to state this clearly, especially because for the class of texts discussed in the present study, *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures, the category of *sūtra* does not seem to be used in Indic manuscripts (see Karashima, 2015: 116). It is, however, used in commentarial literature (see below Chapter 2.2 with n. 66).

⁴ See, for example, von Hinüber 1980; Seyfort Ruegg 2004: 20–24; Schopen 2009; Silk 2015. Needless to say, this feature is also shared, to varying degrees, by other types of Buddhist literature (see also the Conclusions below).

⁵ Seyfort Ruegg 2004: 22–23.

way, and the notion of “the text” should be always taken as pointing to something dynamic and functional, rather than substantial. For these reasons, to describe Mahāyāna *sūtras* I prefer to adopt instead the notion of the “scriptural (or textual) family”: that is, a set, comprised of a plurality of textual instantiations (manuscripts, translations, etc.) and characterised by complex patterns of relationship (similarity and divergence). An analogy that springs to mind here is that of a set of variations based on the same musical theme. Indeed, V.S. Sukthankar used the same image in his memorable description of the situation and tasks confronting the editors of the *Mahābhārata*, whose textual tradition presents problems partly similar to those encountered in the study of Buddhist *sūtra* literature (cf. von Hinüber 1980: 32–33):

The *Mahābhārata* is not and never was a fixed rigid text, but is [a] fluctuating epic tradition, a *thème avec variations*, not unlike a popular Indian melody. Our objective should consequently not to be to arrive at an archetype (which practically never existed), but to represent, view and explain the epic tradition in all its variety, in all its fullness, in all its ramifications. *Ours is a problem in textual dynamics, rather than in textual statics.*⁶

As I have argued elsewhere (Zacchetti, 2015: 177–178), the notion of “scriptural family” is particularly appropriate for describing the situation we face in the study of the important subset of Mahāyāna literature known as the *Prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Insight), which is also the subject of this study.

While such textual fluidity is found reflected even in manuscripts of the “same” scripture (i.e., scriptural family) produced and used in the same area at the same time,⁷ naturally enough it tends to be magnified by the dimensions of the available textual tradition: the quantity and significance of textual variations is usually correlated to the number of available witnesses of a given scripture (Indic manuscripts, and translations, mainly in Chinese and Tibetan), and to the breadth of their geographical and temporal distribution.

⁶ Sukthankar 1944: 128.

⁷ See the enlightening analysis of the *Bhaisajyaguru-sūtra* manuscripts from Gilgit provided by Gregory Schopen (2009: 193 ff.). As we shall see, the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, likewise, presents a similar situation in the upper reaches of its long history (see Chapter 4.2 below).

What are the causes of this state of affairs? There has been a certain tendency, in some of the most important scholarly discussions of this subject, to focus on the origins of the textual transmission of Mahāyāna *sūtras* by framing the discourse in terms of a critique of notions such as (single) urtext or archetype.⁸ The rejection of these notions as useful categories for reconstructing the history of Mahāyāna scriptures has constituted a healthy reaction to an entrenched “classicist” notion of text which has for long informed, more or less consciously, the modern scholarly understanding of Buddhist texts and, more crucially, influenced the resulting editorial practices.

⁸ See, for example, Seyfort Ruegg 2004: 20–22. A particularly clear and vivid description of a possible scenario accounting for recensional differentiation, *ab origine*, of early Buddhist texts is offered by Silk 2015: 207: “Let us begin with a scenario: the Buddha wanders through various regions of the Gangetic plane, sharing his doctrine with a variety of individuals and communities. He does this, beyond a shadow of a doubt, *orally*, and he may have varied his linguistic presentation according to local dialects. We can probably also accept that he had a variety of themes to which he returned again and again. Or to put this another way: it is entirely plausible, if not overwhelmingly likely, that the Buddha, preaching far and wide, presented ‘the same’ sermon more than once, but in different terms, and perhaps organised somewhat differently.... then it seems entirely acceptable that the utterances of the Buddha, even if remembered by (some) members of his audiences verbatim, nevertheless circulated from the very beginning in *multiform*. It would simply be impossible to take a single presentation of a teaching of the Buddha—a single instance of a sermon delivered at a unique time and place—and then consider that other teachings around the same topic ... constitute mere variants or recensions of that arbitrarily privileged ‘original’ sermon. There is simply no way to assign such a priority to any given event—and thus, in this scenario, there is just no way to apply a stemmatic analysis to the resultant textual tradition” (cf. also Salomon 2018: 57–58 for a similar reconstruction).

In fact, a similar situation, entailing an almost aboriginally multiple codification of a text (in this case, a plurality of recensions starting with the transmission of the text immediately after its initial transcription under Pisistratus) was already described by Friedrich August Wolf with respect to Homer in Chapter xxxviii of his famed *Prolegomena*: “Nam fac, quod ne aliter quidem fingi per historiam licet, decem vel viginti exemplaria post primum illud scripturæ tentamen a viris privatis, ut puta a rhapsodis, facta esse: annon in ea statim plurimas variationes inferri oportuit, partim ex variis recitandi modis, partim ex ingeniosa libidine describentium?” (Wolf 1795: clxxi–clxii); for an English translation, see Wolf 1985: 156: “For suppose (what history does not permit us to imagine in any other way) that ten or twenty copies had been made by private men—for example, by rhapsodes—after that first attempt at writing: a number of variations would necessarily have been introduced into them at once, partly because of the various modes of recitation, partly because of the ingenious caprice of the scribes”.

Of course, not all the differences we can find among the various witnesses of a scriptural family can be explained as stemming from an original plurality of transmission lines. Another important factor is the *variation* of the original readings that occurred during the course of textual transmission. This becomes particularly clear when we face large textual traditions, attested by significant numbers of witnesses (both early and late). Here careful comparative analysis may allow us, at least in some cases (e.g., agreement of a number of early witnesses versus later ones), to infer with a reasonable degree of confidence the early reading of a particular passage (of course, not necessarily the original reading!), and, as a result, to identify later developments *based on it*.⁹ In other words, in this scenario it is not the case that, for example, two different readings of a given passage, A and B, were necessarily originally and (at least in principle) synchronically differentiated; rather, reading A was *changed* into reading B as the result of a diachronic process of variation.¹⁰

This—intentional diachronic variation, as distinguished from aboriginal recensional differentiation—is the focus of the present work. My aim in this monograph is not so much to investigate the morphology of this complex phenomenon, but rather, to discuss the formative process underlying it, and to analyse some of its causes.

We encounter many different types of textual variation in *Mahāyāna sūtras*, and as a result, one can think of several possible reasons to explain them.¹¹ The performative nature and modular structure of these texts obviously played a role in producing fluidity and recensional diversity.¹²

⁹ For a penetrating discussion of different typologies of addition to (or “interpolation” into) *Mahāyāna sūtras*, see Nattier 2003: 49–63.

¹⁰ It is important to stress that this diachronically linear process (from reading A to reading B) is not the only pattern of variation encountered in this literature. In his study of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra* manuscripts from Gilgit, Schopen (2009: 206–214) has analysed several instances of textual variation which are better explained as synchronic parallel developments. As he puts it in the concluding section of his article, “the very great differences in the linguistic shape of the various texts of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra* that can be seen at sixth/seventh century Gilgit cannot be a visible function of chronology or development over time”.

¹¹ See also the remarks in Seyfort Ruegg 2004: 22 n. 27.

¹² Silk 2015: 208; Zucchetti 2005: 44–46. In this connection, Paul Harrison’s characterisation of this phenomenon is worth quoting at length: “It is useful to think of *sūtra* texts not as fixed quantities, but as prompt books or scores, which could be performed *vistareṇa* or *saṃkṣiptena* (i.e., in amplified or condensed form), and therefore we might also expect this aspect of their character to be reflected in the manuscript tradition. A further consideration relates to the distinction between

But another, equally important factor was the fact that when these texts were recited, put to use for various purposes (ritual, etc.), or copied and transmitted across time and space, they were also *interpreted*. And at times, interpretations of words and passages (which we can call glosses) ended up being absorbed by the texts themselves, in the process modifying the texts to varying degrees. In this connection, it is important to clarify at the outset that while one can notice, in the diachronic development of many Mahāyāna *sūtras*, a general tendency towards textual expansion,¹³ this should not, by any means, be taken as a fixed rule.¹⁴

To exemplify these points, I will quote here one passage from Chapter Nine of the Sanskrit *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (§ 8), selected quite at random out of many similar examples one could quote from Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature. Here the Buddha Gandhottamakūṭa is giving some recommendations to a sizeable group of Bodhisattvas from his *buddhakṣetra* who are about to set off on a journey to the backward and dangerous Sahā world. He invites them to keep a low profile:¹⁵ during their excursion they should not arouse the jealousy of the inhabitants of the Sahā world by showing off their beautiful appearance, nor should they display contempt or hostility towards them. The reason for this is given by the Buddha with the following words:

*tat kasmād dhetoh | ākāśakṣetrāṇi hi buddhakṣetrāṇi, satvaparipākāya
tu buddhā bhagavanto na sarvam buddhaviṣayam saṃdarśayanti.*¹⁶

Why? Because Buddha-fields are fields of empty space, yet, for the purpose of bringing beings to maturation, the Buddhas, the Lords do not show [their] Buddha-domain/realm in full.

what we might call ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ parts of the text, i.e., those portions (the ‘hard’ or ‘firm’ parts) whose memorisation is not difficult, or which are so distinctive that little or no change can be expected, and those which are ‘soft’ insofar as they can easily have other, equally plausible elements substituted, without any loss of overall coherence” (Harrison 2010: 240–241).

¹³ This general pattern of textual development can be clearly perceived, for example, in the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā*: see Harrison and Watanabe 2006: 99–103; Harrison 2010: 241.

¹⁴ See for example Seyfort Ruegg 2004: 23; Zucchetti 2005: 46 with n.185.

¹⁵ For a parallel instance of this interesting motif in the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*, see GZJ § 1.82 in Zucchetti 2005: 164–165 and 272.

¹⁶ *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 56b3–4 (ed. 2006: 93).

The reading of the Sanskrit text is essentially confirmed, with some variants, by both the Tibetan and (less clearly) Kumārajīva's translations.¹⁷ However, it seems fair to say that the meaning of this passage remains, at first sight, a little cryptic.

In contrast with all the other versions, the third surviving Chinese translation, the one produced by the celebrated translator Xuanzang in 650 CE, presents, at this point (as is also the case elsewhere), a considerably expanded text (the portions missing from other witnesses are underlined):

所以者何？諸善男子，一切國土皆如虛空。諸佛世尊為欲成熟諸有
情故，隨諸有情所樂，示現種種佛土：或染或淨，無決定相，而諸

¹⁷ *de ci'i phyir zhe na* || *rigs kyi bu sangs rgyas kyi zhing ni nam mkha'i zhing ste* | *sems can rnams yongs su smin par bya ba'i phyir sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams ni sangs rgyas kyi yul thams cad mi ston to* (Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2004: 368). Kumārajīva: 所以者何？十方國土，皆如虛空。又諸佛為欲化諸樂小法者，不盡現其清淨土耳 (*Weimojie suo shuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 T 475 [XIV] p. 552b25–26; Lamotte 1962: 326 n. 11). One can notice here some discrepancies with the Sanskrit parallel: *buddhakṣetraṇī* appears rendered as “the [Buddha] lands of the ten directions” (十方國土); corresponding to *satvapari-pākāya* Kumārajīva's version has “in order to convert (化 = *paripāka*) those who are inclined to a lesser teaching” (為欲化諸樂小法者); “their [i.e., of the Buddhas] pure lands” (其清淨土) corresponds to *buddhavisaya*. All in all, I would not rule out that at least some of these discrepancies might be due to the translators' interpretative, rather than literal, way of rendering their original text.

The earliest Chinese translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 T 474) is transmitted in the canon under the name of Zhi Qian 支謙, but Michael Radich has argued, in a recent study (see He [Radich] 2019) that this “is a revision of a Zhi Qian original text by Dharmarakṣa or someone very closely associated with Dharmarakṣa's circle” (ibid. p. 16). T 474 differs, in the present passage, from Kumārajīva's version in that it seems closer to the Sanskrit text, with the exception of the very end of the passage: 所以者何？佛土虛空，諸佛世尊，欲度人故，為現其刹耳 (T 474 [XIV] p. 532b16–17); “Why? Buddha-lands are empty space, it is just that the Buddhas, the World-honoured Ones, in order to save people, show to them their [buddha-]kṣetras” (cf. *na sarvam buddhavisayam samdarśayanti* in the Sanskrit text). In my opinion, also the text witnessed by T 474, without *na sarvam*, makes sense, and could represent an original variant reading (rather than a translation error). It seems, in fact, also reflected by Xuanzang's expanded reading of this passage (示現種種佛土).

[Note: On a relatively minor point here, Tibetan *thams cad* following *sangs rgyas kyi yul* clearly understands *sarvam* as modifying *buddhavisayam*, rather than as a sentential adverb, as Zacchetti understood the Sanskrit, “in full”. However, Kumārajīva's 盡現 indeed agrees with this adverbial understanding.—Eds.]

佛土實皆清淨，無有差別 (*Shuo Wugoucheng jing* 說無垢稱經 T 476 [XIV] p. 579c25–28).¹⁸

Why? Good men, all the [Buddha] lands are like empty space. The Buddhas, the World-honoured Ones, in order to bring sentient beings to maturation, manifest all sorts of Buddha-lands in accordance with the beings' inclinations: [so] some [buddhakṣetras] are defiled, while some others are pure, without a defined characteristic; and yet all Buddha-lands are actually pure, without differences.

As we can see, while some parts of this passage correspond very closely to the Sanskrit text, especially in the beginning,¹⁹ it also contains some notable differences. First of all, Xuanzang's text presents a variant in the predicate of the second sentence of the passage: whereas the Sanskrit has *na sarvam buddhavīśayam saṃdarśayanti* (“[the Buddhas] ... do not show [their] Buddha-domain/realm in full”), it reads “[the Buddhas] ... manifest all sorts of Buddha-lands” (示現種種佛土). Since here Xuanzang's text agrees, in essence, with the reading found in the earliest version (T 474) (“show ... their [buddha]-]kṣetras”, see n. 17 above), whereas the reading attested in the Sanskrit is already found in Kumārajīva's version (不盡現), we can conclude that in this specific point, the textual tradition branched off at an early stage in the history of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*.

But apart from bearing witness to this early recensional variation, Xuanzang's text also contains what look like significant *additions* not found in any of the other surviving witnesses of this passage: the very statement that the Buddhas “manifest all sorts of Buddha-lands” is further specified by pointing out that they do so “in accordance with the beings' inclinations” (隨諸有情所樂), and then by fully unpacking the implications of this statement at the end of the passage.

Although it would not be impossible to think of alternative scenarios, the most likely explanation of Xuanzang's enlarged reading is that it

¹⁸ See also Lamotte 1962: 326.

¹⁹ The initial portion of Xuanzang's translation of this passage (所以者何？諸善男子，一切國土皆如虛空。諸佛世尊為欲成熟諸有情故...) seems a fairly literal translation of the corresponding Sanskrit text (*tat kasmād dhetoh | ākāśakṣetrāṇi hi buddhakṣetrāṇi, satvaparipākaya tu buddhā bhagavanto ...*). One can note only two minor differences: the vocative 諸善男子 (= **kulaputrāḥ*), which is missing from the Sanskrit but is found in the Tibetan translation (*rigs kyi bu*); and the elliptic 一切國土 for *buddhakṣetrāṇi*, probably influenced by Kumārajīva's parallel choice (十方國土, see n. 17 above).

reflects for the most part what he read in the original Indic manuscript he used for his translation.²⁰

²⁰ On the textually developed nature of Xuanzang's *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* translation in general, see Lamotte 1962: 12. In his analysis of the Chinese translations of the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā*, Paul Harrison noticed a similar tendency to textual expansion in Xuanzang's version of that scripture as well. He mentioned two possible interpretations of these expansions: "In some cases the Chinese translations contain material which we may assume was present in Indic versions still inaccessible to us, which may remain so indefinitely. This is especially true of X[= Xuanzang's translation]. However, there is another possibility, which is that Xuanzang in particular amplified the texts himself, i.e., 'performed' them *vistarena* as he translated them. There need not be anything inauthentic about the versions of the text so produced, especially if he did this in Sanskrit first (or even perhaps if he did it in Chinese). He would thus have been part of a long tradition of Indic text recitation, according to which it was regarded as appropriate and meritorious to give the *sūtra* one was reciting its most elaborate possible form, the 'full monty'." (Harrison 2010: 242; cf. also, on a similar tendency toward expansion in Xuanzang's *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* translations, Seishi Karashima's "Introduction" in Karashima and Tamai 2019: viii n. 3). This alternative scenario is perhaps more credible in the case of expansions of standard lists of terms, where, in a sense, the enlarged reading could be considered as being already virtually present in the shorter text. A well-known example from the *Vajracchedikā* is the list of notions (*saṃjñā*) of selfhood which occurs several times in this scripture: whereas all the other witnesses (Sanskrit manuscripts, Chinese and Tibetan translations) consistently have a list of four items, Xuanzang's translation presents an extended list of nine items (see for example T 220 [VII] p. 980c18–21), which has parallels in *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* texts (for references see Zucchetti 2005: 207 and 327–329 [§ 3.2]). The passage I have quoted here from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, however, is clearly a different case, as in this case we are confronted by far more conscious and complex set of exegetical interpolations, as opposed to the mere expansion or "activation" of stock lists. I would also rule out that these are glosses introduced into the text by the translator. While this did happen, as we shall see, in earlier translations, at the time of Xuanzang's "new translations", the organisation of translation teams had undergone important changes. One of the key aspects of this reform (see Tso 1990: 104–105; Funayama 2013: 56) was precisely the elimination from the translation process of oral exegesis for the audience's benefit (which had characterised the preceding, pre-Sui translation teams). Although the original scripture was still subject to an in-depth analysis (Tso 1990: 106), this was essentially functional to the production of the translated text. In this period, Buddhist translations were produced by selected state-sponsored (and state-controlled) teams of specialists through a complex, multi-stage assembly-line process, with multiple levels of checks and controls. While Xuanzang's translations were never mechanically literal (see Delhey 2016: 72–73), it is hard to believe that he could have felt free to tamper with his original text in such a significant way under the eyes of his team—all the more so, since during his last years he was under considerable pressure from (and unsympathetic scrutiny by) the Tang court [Note: Zucchetti indicated that he wanted to insert here a recommendation that readers see

While all this can give us a taste of the complexities in the textual history of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, as evoked at the beginning of this chapter, at least one thing seems sufficiently clear: Xuanzang's expanded reading looks like an attempt to make some sense out of a comparatively opaque passage, making explicit some of the ideas implicit in the original reading (which, in this case, was probably very close to the text found in the earliest version [T 474]). So, in other words, this textual expansion resembles—indeed *is*—a commentary, probably originating from glosses on the original reading, which at some point during the textual history of the *sūtra* (and in a particular branch of its tradition) was absorbed by the main text. Another noteworthy piece of information that we can extract from the comparison of all witnesses of this passage is that Xuanzang's enlarged text does not represent, in absolute terms, a later, but rather a *lateral* development—in other words, a side-branch (as far as this specific passage is concerned). This is an important point, because, as I will show below (see especially Chapter 4.3), paying attention to textual developments such as this can sometimes allow us to identify specific recensions, reflecting particular (local or otherwise) exegetical traditions and textual cultures, which we are occasionally able to pin down to specific historical and cultural contexts.

Liu Shufen, forthcoming, on events in 655 surrounding accusations of self-contradiction in the proceedings of Xuanzang's group, and for some interesting reflections on the dynamics at work behind this incident; and also on further tensions between Xuanzang and the throne in the period ensuing.—Eds.]. Martin Delhey has submitted to a very careful analysis Xuanzang's translation technique as reflected by a portion of his version of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (T 1579). In his conclusions (which, of course, do not necessarily apply to other translations), Delhey writes that Xuanzang “does not hesitate to make small additions or changes in order to make the sense more clear, but in the chapters considered here, he generally does not introduce major changes in the text in accordance with his own interpretation and dogmatic views. He also abstains from adding long comments on the original text” (Delhey 2016: 73).

2 The *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* and Its Earliest Surviving Commentary

The passage discussed at the end of the preceding chapter exemplifies a situation which is common in Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature. The reconstruction of the process of textual expansion underlying passages such that from Xuanzang's *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* translation must largely rely on our imagination, and hence remain, to a certain degree, speculative. There is, however, at least one notable exception: we have a unique set of sources which, due to a rare combination of historical circumstances, allows us a surprisingly direct glimpse into a process of textual development not too different from that sketched above.

2.1 Enter the *Da zhidu lun*

The main character of this story is the famous commentary to the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* generally known as the *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*;²¹ hereafter DZDL) and translated into Chinese by a team led by Kumārajīva at the beginning of the fifth century CE (between 402 and 406 CE).²² According to our sources,²³ only the

²¹ On this reconstruction of the DZDL's Sanskrit title, see Demiéville 1950: 374 n. 1 and Lamotte III p. vii–viii. On *upadeśa* as a fundamental exegetical genre, traditionally linked to the figure of Mahākātyāyana, see Tournier 2017: 342–344. The DZDL itself explains *upadeśa* as being characterised by the catechetical question-answer form (T 1509 [XXV] p. 308a17; tr. Lamotte V p. 2302; see also Tournier 2017: 342), widespread use of which is indeed one of the most salient formal characteristics of our commentary (see Chapter 5.4 below). In Sengyou's (僧祐, 445–518) *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 T 2145 (hereafter CSZJJ), the Chinese title of the commentary is mainly given as *Da zhi lun* 大智論 (see e.g., T 2145 [LV] p. 11a16 and *passim*).

²² These are the dates provided by the colophon to the DZDL (CSZJJ T 2145 [LV] p. 75b11–13; see n. 23), according to which the translation of the commentary was started in the summer of the fourth year of the Hongshi 弘始 era, and completed at the end of the seventh year, on the 27th day of the 12th month (corresponding to February 1st, 406 CE). Curiously for a document of this kind, Sengrui's preface to the DZDL (see n. 23) does not provide any date for the translation.

²³ Our main sources on Kumārajīva's translation of both LP (= KJ) and DZDL (the two translations were closely related) are (all first hand, and preserved in the

first part of Kumārajīva's version (which is the only available witness of this commentary)²⁴ represents a complete translation, while the rest was drastically abridged by the translator.²⁵ The text we possess nowadays confirms the traditional account, for there is little doubt that our extant DZDL consists of two very different commentaries, even from the point of view of their exegetical approaches: the first, consisting of extremely detailed comments on relatively short passages (at times even on single words), comprising the initial part of the text, from its beginning to the end of scroll 34 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 314b18; this is the part translated into French by Lamotte I–V); the second, starting from scroll 35, on average providing shorter comments on longer passages of the base text.²⁶

CSJJ): an anonymous note (*Da zhi lun ji* 大智論記—a colophon compiled after the translation of the DZDL, also entitled *chu lun houji* 出論後記; T 2145 [LV] p. 75b9–18); and Sengrui's prefaces to Kj and DZDL (T 2145 [LV] pp. 52c27–53b27 and 74c11–75b8 respectively; for a translation of the latter, see Shih 1980: 321–328). Both colophon and DZDL preface are also found at the beginning and the end of the commentary; a Japanese translation of all these documents is provided by Nakajima 1997: 90–96 and 291–296. There is a rather substantial literature on these documents and the complex translation process they describe: for example, see Demiéville 1950: 384–389; Lamotte III p. xlvi–xlviii; Shih 1980: 315–316; Chou 2000: 63–68; Felbur 2018: 209 n. 29 and 230 n. 140; for a recent annotated English translation of Sengrui's prefaces, see Felbur 2018: 209–234.

²⁴ A possible exception are the two manuscript fragments of a *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* commentary in Chinese found in Kuqa County (庫車縣, site of the ancient Kucha), Xinjiang Province, and datable on paleographic grounds to before the middle of the fifth century CE (Chou 1992: 96). These fragments (edition in Inokuchi 1980: 40–45, with facsimiles Pl. XXV–XXIX; cf. also Chou 1992: 67–70) bear the title *Mohebanreboluomi youbotishe* 摩訶般若波羅蜜優波提舍 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*), which is also attested in some Dunhuang manuscripts of the DZDL (Inokuchi 1980: xv). They are strongly reminiscent of the DZDL and yet display some considerable differences (for a summary, see Chou 1992: 96–98). On these manuscripts, whose obvious intrinsic interest equals the difficulties posed by their historical interpretation, see the detailed study by Chou Po-kan (1992), who seems to be the only scholar to have paid attention to these remarkable sources. Chou thinks that this commentary was translated (somewhere between Liangzhou 涼州 and Kucha) earlier than the canonical DZDL (between 385 and 400 CE), under the Later Liang 後涼, and possibly reflecting a different Indic original (Chou 1992: 96–97).

²⁵ See Sengrui's DZDL preface (in CSJJ T 2145 [LV] p. 75a16–17 and a28–b1) and the colophon (CSJJ p. 75b15–18). It is possible that Kumārajīva's choice to translate in full the first part of the text reflected a project in itself—to provide, in the countless, long definitions and discussions of key terms of the text, a reference work for the Chinese Buddhists of his age.

²⁶ See also Demiéville 1950: 388–389.

The DZDL is generally attributed by the East Asian Buddhist traditions to Nāgārjuna—an attribution which is completely unknown (as is the text itself) to Indian and Tibetan sources, and is not generally accepted by modern Western scholarship. The authorship of the DZDL, its nature, and its sectarian background have been hotly debated issues in the twentieth century, and for want of a scholarly consensus, they remain, to some extent, open questions even today.²⁷ Given the uniquely authoritative and even foundational role played in East Asian Buddhism by the DZDL, this is in fact an issue which transcends the boundaries of a purely academic debate.

While the issue of the DZDL's authorship is not particularly significant from the particular point of view adopted by the present study, I think that the facts I will present in the following chapters can cast new light on the geographical milieu and the nature of this fundamental commentary, and I will come back to these issues below. For the moment, suffice it to say that I consider the DZDL as being largely (with all the important qualifications suggested by Chou 2000 and 2004) the translation of an Indic text.²⁸ In this connection, it is also important to observe that both our main (and first-hand) sources on the DZDL's translation (Sengrui's preface and the colophon to the text; see n. 23 above) mention—if somewhat confusingly—the original Indic manuscript of the commentary.²⁹

²⁷ Important discussions of the DZDL's authorship include Lamotte III, viii–xlv; Hikata 1958: lii–lxxv; Yinshun 1990; Chou 2000: 10–14; Takeda 2000. For a detailed account of some of the main theories about the author of the DZDL, see Katō 1996: 35–42 (the author goes on to suggest that Kumārajīva might have been the author of the DZDL: see *Id.* pp. 46 ff.); Travagnin 2018: 255–257. The position assumed on this issue by Chou Po-kan is distinct from the traditional debate (although partly anticipated by Hikata's discussion), in that he rightly draws attention to the complexity of the translation process, and the active role played by the Chinese members of Kumārajīva's team in shaping the DZDL (Chou 2000: 62–102 and 2004). He certainly had the merit of constructively problematising the notion of authorship in this text, although only on the side of the translation process. By the same token, the nature of the original used by Kumārajīva should also be scrutinised (cf. Chapter 5.2 below).

²⁸ On the DZDL as a genuine translation of an Indic original, see also Saitō's conclusions to his analysis of the very interesting *Mūlamadhyamakārikā* quotations found in the commentary (Saitō 2003: 29).

²⁹ See CSZJJ T 2145 (LV) p. 75a15–16 (Sengrui's preface) and p. 75b14–18 (colophon). The descriptions of the original text and its size provided by these two sources are, however, in part unclear and contradictory, and remain open to different interpretations. On this issue see Chou 2000b: 156–157; on the original

Among the many peculiarities of this commentary, its history deserves a special mention. It has been, unquestionably, a history of success.³⁰ And yet, if we are to trust the silence of Indian and Tibetan sources, the DZDL may have started its impressive career as a rather marginal scripture. If so, then it is certainly fair to say that it was extremely fortunate in its encounters with translators: twice in its long life, the DZDL met the right person at the right moment—first Kumārajīva, and then, some 1540 years later, Étienne Lamotte. Interestingly, both these great translators approached this commentary with an agenda which seems to have been at least in part similar: both sought to make the DZDL the key reference work for the Buddhist studies of their time and place (fifth century Buddhist China, and twentieth century Western Buddhological academia).³¹

of the DZDL as described by Sengrui, see also Shih 1980: 315–316 and 325. In his DZDL preface, Sengrui refers, somewhat confusingly, to the original of the commentary—i.e., the full text, before Kumārajīva’s abridgment—as the “abridged text” (*lìe ben* 略本, CSZJJ T 2145 [LV] p. 75a15). What this characterisation precisely means remains uncertain (see also Chou 2000b, *loc. cit.*), but I tend to agree with Demiéville’s view that it probably reflects common ideas about the real archetypes of Mahāyāna scriptures as being of gigantic dimensions, of which those actually circulating are but reductions (Demiéville 1950: 389; see also Shih 1980: 325 n. 27). One could add that this notion is all the more plausible, given that the DZDL itself maintains similar ideas: see, for example, the interesting passage on texts found at the very end of the commentary (T 1509 [XXV] p. 756a26–b11), on which see Durt 1988: 131.

³⁰ For a detailed study of the use and influence of the DZDL in China down to the Tang, see Ōno 2001; on the early study and interpretation of the text, see Satō 1973. For a more general but nuanced appreciation of the cultural significance of the DZDL, see Durt 1993. On the role played by this commentary in modern Western and East Asian Buddhist studies, see Travagnin 2018.

³¹ On the implicitly programmatic nature of Kumārajīva’s translation, see Chou 2000: 6. Lamotte’s choice of the DZDL as a long-term project was initially dictated by temporary circumstance: according to Demiéville (1950: 376), during the Second World War, in occupied Belgium, Lamotte did not have access to Tibetan sources, and this fact initially led him to the study of a text not transmitted through a Tibetan translation (see also Durt 1985: 9). The first volume of his *Traité* appeared in the Spring of 1944, and a few weeks later Lamotte barely survived a bombardment of Louvain (Ryckmans 1987: 198–199). Even if his choice of the DZDL may have been dictated by these specific historical circumstances, the idea of providing, with his translation, access to a comprehensive reference work on Buddhist thought—clearly reflected by the structure of his annotated translation, with some notes amounting to “véritable articles” (Demiéville 1950: 379)—is already clearly expressed in the preface to the first volume of the *Traité* (1944: xvii–xviii). The systematic intention underlying Lamotte’s work further increased from the third volume of the *Traité* on, with the provision of monographic treatment of important

And, we have to say, both achieved a spectacular success, projecting, all of a sudden, the DZDL to the Buddhological forefront of their respective ages, and firmly establishing it as an authoritative exegetical work and even encyclopaedia, with deep, lasting, and often unacknowledged effects on, respectively, East Asian Buddhism and modern Buddhology.³² Rightly so, I should like to add, because the intrinsic merits of the DZDL are far greater than my narrative may suggest.

This bibliographical epic might obscure yet another remarkable feature of this commentary, which is crucial for my study: the fact that it has a unique position in historical terms. To the best of my knowledge, this is the earliest surviving Indian *Prajñāpāramitā* commentary,³³ and probably also one of the earliest Indian Mahāyāna *sūtra* commentaries in general.

2.2 The *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* Literature: An Overview

Before we discuss the implications of this fact, it is important to say few words on the text commented upon by the DZDL, the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* (Larger Perfection of Insight, hereafter LP). As already highlighted

topics in extensive separate introductory notes to the relevant sections of the translation (see e.g., Lamotte III pp. 1119–1137 and *passim*).

³² See, for example, Hubert Durt's general article on the Mahāyāna for the *Hōbōgirin* (1994), in which the DZDL plays an important role (see e.g., Id. pp. 771–772, 781, 783–786); on the DZDL's influence on modern Japanese Buddhological dictionaries, see Demiéville 1950: 378. One can speculate that the idea of a neat divide between Mahāyāna and “Hīnayāna”, often assumed by modern Buddhology before the late 1970s, may also have been influenced to some extent (and probably via Japanese scholarship) by the conceptualisation of the two vehicles typical of this commentary (see e.g., Durt 1988: 126 ff.), where their contraposition is systematic to the point of dictating the very structure of its exposition.

³³ Lamotte (III p. ix) considered the author of the DZDL to have been active at the beginning of the fourth century CE in Northwestern India, but his arguments were criticised by de Jong (1971: 109; cf. also Schopen 1999: 293 = 2005: 76). On pre-DZDL *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* exegesis, see below (Chapter 5.3). Mention should be also made of the early commentaries on the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā* ascribed to Asaṅga and Vasubandhu (see Conze 1978: 64; Zucchetti 2015: 194). We know from early bibliographical sources that a substantial exegetical literature based on translations of *Prajñāpāramitā* texts was composed in China before Kumārajīva's time, in the third and especially fourth centuries CE. Some fragments have survived either in the canon (the third century commentary to the first chapter of the early version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* known as the *Da mingdu jing* 大明度經 T 225, on which see Lai 1983), or in Dunhuang manuscripts (e.g., MS Stein 4313).

above, “text”, in this context, should always be understood in an intrinsically plural sense, as a collective noun—i.e., as a textual/scriptural family in the sense discussed before. And this is particularly true of the DZDL’s base text, the LP, which represents an extended family of closely related texts of varying length, usually classified according to the number of lines as the *Aṣṭādaśasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (Perfection of Insight in 18,000 lines), the *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (in 25,000 lines), and the *Śatasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* (in 100,000 lines). However, this classification is comparatively late, its earliest attestations dating to the beginning of the eighth century.³⁴ During the early documented phase of its history (third–fifth centuries CE) this scriptural family was still in a rather fluid state, and the size of LP manuscripts known to us varied from approximately 17,000 to 22,000 lines. For these reasons, it is preferable to use *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* as a general appellation for all these texts.³⁵

Apart from (and in parallel with) these quantitative variations, the texts, or witnesses, belonging to the LP family can also be subdivided into several groups—which I prefer to call recensions³⁶—on the basis of significant *qualitative* textual affinities (especially, shared distinctive wording, presence of converging textual developments, etc.).

I list below the most clearly defined of these recensions. It is important to stress that this provisional classification focuses on the content and wording of specific passages; other criteria may result in different classifications. As I pointed out elsewhere, LP witnesses also fall into two groups, depending on the character of their final portion—some have an extended conclusion, and others a shorter one. This distinction cuts across the recensions described here (see also the discussion of PvsP[TibPk] below).³⁷

³⁴ See Zucchetti 2015: 176, and cf. n. 65 below on Ārya-Vimuktisena’s use of the category *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā*. Some simple classifications of *Prajñāpāramitā* literature based on quantitative criteria are already attested in sources dating back to the fourth and fifth centuries (see Hikata 1958: xix–xxiii; cf. also Zurcher 2007: 339–340 n. 182).

³⁵ See Zucchetti 2005: 37–41 and 2015: 185.

³⁶ On the importance of this second classification of LP texts, see Zucchetti 2015: 186 ff. On LP recensions, see also Zucchetti 2005: 42–49.

³⁷ See Zucchetti 2005: 22–23 and 46 n. 184; cf. Karashima et al. 2016: viii.

1.

1.1 A particularly well-defined³⁸ and historically significant recension has as its chief representative the relatively complete (and still largely unedited) main *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript belonging to a Buddhist library discovered in 1931 in Naupur near Gilgit (von Hinüber 2014: 79)—perhaps the single most important LP text we have (hereafter LPG)³⁹—and several related texts. LPG, which originally consisted of 307 folios,⁴⁰ can be dated with considerable precision, on the basis of its colophon, to the first quarter of the seventh century,⁴¹ during the pro-Buddhist Palola Śāhi dynasty, which ruled in the Gilgit area between the late sixth and early eighth centuries CE.⁴² The title of the text, as attested by some chapter colophons, is simply *Prajñāpāramitā*.⁴³ It is worth noticing that this title may have already been something of a conservative feature at the time when LPG was copied, for, as pointed out above, we know that more specific titles reflecting a quantitative classification of *Prajñāpāramitā* literature had already been adopted in the previous century.

³⁸ See Zacchetti 2005: 42–43 n. 174; see also Yamaguchi 1984: 11–12.

³⁹ On this manuscript, see von Hinüber 2014: 102; Zacchetti 2005: 19–26. A new colour facsimile edition of LPG, much more legible than those available in the past, is provided by Karashima et al. 2016, plates 1–251. The text is simply called *Prajñāpāramitā* in some of the colophons found at the end of chapters (see Zacchetti 2005: 20 n. 59–60; see also von Hinüber 2017: 129).

⁴⁰ For details on the content of LPG, see Karashima et al. 2016: vii–viii. Parts of the original manuscript are missing or preserved separately, and not included in the new facsimile edition (this is the case for folios 218–263, currently in the Museum of Karachi).

⁴¹ On the date of this manuscript see Karashima et al. 2016: vii n. 2: the document mentions the king Vikramadityanandin, who reigned ca. 605–625 CE. For a new edition and interpretation of this colophon, see von Hinüber 2017.

⁴² For a study of this dynasty, see von Hinüber 2004; see also Jettmar 1993 and Neelis 2011: 171–179.

⁴³ See, for example, folios 8r6 (*prajñāpāramitāyām nidānaparivartah prathamah*), 50v6–7 (*prajñāpāramitāyām dvityyah parivartah*), etc., although several chapters, especially towards the end of the manuscript, are only marked with numbers (see e.g., folios 291v1 [end of *parivarta* 75], 295v5 [end of *parivarta* 76], etc.). Curiously, the manuscript also contains a second colophon marking the end of the first *parivarta*, on f. 40r2: *prajñāpāramitāyāh prathamah parivartah*.

Other LP witnesses belonging to this recension include the following texts:

1.2 The Sanskrit *Śatasāhasrikā* (mainly transmitted in late Nepalese manuscripts; hereafter Š).⁴⁴

1.3 Some incomplete Sanskrit texts can also be ascribed to this recension: these are the fragments of two additional LP manuscripts from Gilgit (hereafter LPG II and LPG III), edited by Karashima and Tamai (2019),⁴⁵ as well as a fragmentary palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscript found in Dunhuang and kept at the British Library, which has been edited by Suzuki and Nagashima (2015).⁴⁶

1.4 Another important source part of this group is the Tibetan translation of the *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā* included in the Kanjur, dating to the period between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century CE (hereafter PvsP[TibPk]).⁴⁷ My classification of this translation as belonging to the LPG recension is based on its sharing specific, significant readings with the other representatives of this family, as will

⁴⁴ The portion of Š relevant to the present study was edited by P. Ghoṣa (1902–1914); see p. 4 of the preface to this edition for a list of the manuscripts he used. The rest of this immense scripture is being edited by Kimura Takayasu, and the preface to the first volume of this edition (Kimura 2009: i–v) provides a description of the available manuscripts. Of particular interest is the rare partial palm-leaf manuscript of Š kept at the Potala in Lhasa (“ラサ写本”), which Kimura was able to check only cursorily (Kimura 2009: ii).

⁴⁵ For a description of LPG II–III see Karashima’s Introduction to Karashima and Tamai 2019 (cf. also von Hinüber 2014: 102–103). LPG II consists of 60 folios covering different parts of the text, whereas only seven folios of LPG III survive (Id., vii). Karashima hypothetically dates these manuscripts to broadly the same period as LPG, “i.e., around the 7th–8th centuries C.E.” (ibid.). Concerning the recensional affiliation of these two manuscripts, Karashima writes, “Among the various versions, the readings of LPG II and LPG III, principally, agree with those of LPG I, though they are not identical and contain discrepancies here and there” (Id., viii).

⁴⁶ As pointed out by the editors (Suzuki and Nagashima 2015: 593), this manuscript, which is written in the same script as LPG (the so-called Gilgit Bāmiyān type I), though found in Dunhuang, was “presumably written in northern India on account of the script and the material used”. They further remark that “the Dunhuang manuscript of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* is close to [L]PG in its contents, script and orthography”.

⁴⁷ *Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa* (D 9/P 731). For the present monograph I have mainly used the text included in the block-print edition of the Peking Kanjur (*sher phyin, nyi~di*). Conze (1978, 35) tentatively ascribes this version to the celebrated translator Ye shes sde (active between eighth and ninth centuries).

also be shown by the Passages discussed in Chapter 3 and Appendix 1 of this study.⁴⁸ It does, however, differ in one significant respect from LPG and Ś: it has a different concluding part, which includes the so-called Sadāprarudita story corresponding to Chapters 30–31 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, I am inclined to consider this discrepancy as an essentially extrinsic feature, less significant, for classification purposes, than this version's overall tendency to agree with LPG in significant readings mentioned above. The whole portion containing the Sadāprarudita narrative seems to have represented a textual module which could be added to or taken out of scriptures with considerable flexibility, as shown by the pattern of its attestation in *Prajñāpāramitā* literature.⁵⁰

To the best of my knowledge, we do not possess any direct historical information which could account for the striking proximity of this Tibetan version to LPG. However, the existence of close political and cultural ties between the area of Gilgit and Tibet is well documented from a time not too distant from the production date of LPG's manuscript. During the eighth century, this territory, ruled by the Palola Śāhi dynasty, “became a key battleground in the struggle between the Tibetan and Chinese empires for control of long-distance routes through the high mountain borderlands” (Neelis 2011: 176; cf. also Sen 2003: 25). Tibetan forces occupied Little Palūr/Balūr/Bolor (i.e., the Gilgit valley, see Jettmar 1977: 415) twice in the first half of the eighth century, in 722 and 737 (Beckwith 1993: 95 and 116; Neelis 2011, loc. cit.), and Tibetan influence in the area also remained strong in the following years, with ups and downs due to the Tang reaction.⁵¹ All this obviously must have also facilitated cultural exchanges with Tibet. For example, we know of a Buddha statue⁵² bearing the name of the Palola Śāhi king Surendrādityanandin (abbreviated form of Surendravikramādityanandin, r. ca. 625–

⁴⁸ See also Zaccetti 2005: 43–43 with n. 174.

⁴⁹ See Zaccetti 2005: 22–23; Karashima's Introductions to Karashima et al. 2016: viii and to Karashima and Tamai 2019: viii.

⁵⁰ In fact, although most texts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* family contain the Sadāprarudita story, this is not true of all of them: the two *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*-related sections of Xuanzang's *Da banreboluomiduo jing* lack this narrative component (see Zaccetti 2015: 183).

⁵¹ Beckwith 1993: 123; 132–137. On the Tibetan influence over Little Bolor, see also Jettmar 1977: 421–423 and 427; Jettmar 1993: 84 ff.

⁵² This is part of a larger group, on which Neelis (2011: 175) writes: “These dated bronze images donated by Palola Śāhi rulers and their families belong to a larger group of Buddhist bronze images that were produced by a local atelier of artists

644/655 CE: see von Hinüber 2004: 88–89 and 99), and thus datable to the first half of the seventh century, which was kept, for a time, in Tibet.⁵³ It is then not difficult to imagine that the same may have happened to a LP manuscript close to LPG, which is only slightly later than this statue and represented a fairly standardised text in the Gilgit area and beyond, as suggested by other texts belonging to this recension. The presence of a text close to LPG in Dunhuang (see Suzuki and Nagashima 2015), already mentioned above, is also not difficult to account for in the light of these historical circumstances, given that this area was under Tibetan rule from the end of eighth to the middle of the ninth century CE.⁵⁴

Of course, the similarities between LPG and this LP manuscript from Dunhuang could also be due to other historical reasons unknown to us at this stage. It is important to bear this caveat in mind. In the following pages, I will often refer to this group of witnesses as the “LPG recension”. This definition, however, is merely used for the sake of convenience, due to the fact that three early representatives of this recension (including the most important one) happen to come from Gilgit. It ought not to be taken as a reflection of the historical origins of this textual lineage, of which we know nothing certain.

2. Another recension is represented by the Sanskrit *Pañcavimśati-sāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā*, now edited in its entirety by T. Kimura and

whose output demonstrates important links between the stylistic heritages of Gandhāra and Swat and traditions of Buddhist art in Kashmir and Tibet". Cf. also von Hinüber 2004: 9 on the presence in Tibet of bronzes produced under the Palola Śāhi. This picture of intense cultural exchange between the Gilgit area and Tibet is corroborated by Klimburg-Salter's study of the painted covers of some manuscripts from Gilgit. These artefacts "belong to the same visual culture as the copper alloy sculptures which bear inscriptions identifying donors of the Palola Śāhi [sic] dynasty" (Klimburg-Salter 2015: 400) and exerted some influence on Tibetan art. Cf. also the bronze of a Prajñāpāramitā deity with a manuscript in her hand; von Hinüber (2007).

⁵³ See von Hinüber 2004: 190 (with image no. 36) and p. 9; cf. also Neelis 2011: 175 n. 346.

⁵⁴ However, depending on the period, the close relationship between the Palola Śāhis and the Tang empire could provide an alternative explanation (see e.g., Jettmar 1993: 84). The trade route between the Gilgit Valley and the Southern Silk Road (eventually reaching Dunhuang) remained important even at a later stage (tenth–eleventh centuries): see Sen 2003: 171–172.

for the most part transmitted in rather late Nepalese manuscripts (hereafter PvsP[K]).⁵⁵ The most evident distinctive feature of this scripture is that its text is subdivided into main sections and subsections, following the structure of an important exegetical work on the *Prajñāpāramitā*, the *Abhisamayālamkāra*.⁵⁶ For this reason, this recension has often been described as the “revised” *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā* (on the problems posed by this definition, see below, Chapter 4.1). This text is also referred to, in Tibetan sources, as the *Eight-Chaptered Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā*,⁵⁷ because of its subdivision into the eight main partitions, or “[stages of] realisation” (*abhisamaya*), characteristic of the *Abhisamayālamkāra*.⁵⁸ But even apart from this conspicuous but ultimately extrinsic feature, PvsP(K) clearly represents, from a textual point of view (in wording and structure), a different recension from that represented by LPG.

If we set the *Abhisamayālamkāra* section-headings aside, a number of LP fragments from Sri Lanka⁵⁹ can also be associated with this textual lineage. Apart from some small fragments inscribed on copper plaques from Indikātusāya,⁶⁰ the most important LP text from this area is represented by seven gold leaves from Anurādhapura, dating to the ninth century and containing parts of a LP scripture very close to PvsP(K). This source—hereafter referred to as PvsP(SL)—was edited by von Hinüber (1983).⁶¹

⁵⁵ There is also a Tibetan translation which represents this recension and is included in the Tanjur (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa stong phrag nyi shu Inga pa* [D 3790/P 5188]; see Karashima et al. 2016: ix n. 14), which I have not consulted in the preparation of this monograph.

⁵⁶ According to Conze (1978: 37), this “recast version” of the *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* might date to the fifth century, but Hikata (1958: 1) is probably correct in suggesting a later dating (perhaps the eighth century).

⁵⁷ Nakamura 2014: 30.

⁵⁸ As observed by N. Dutt in his preface to the *editio princeps* of the initial part of this text (PvsP[D], p. vi), the manuscripts have preserved some traces of an older chapter subdivision, partially corresponding with that found in other LP texts (cf. Conze 1978: 42).

⁵⁹ Zaccetti 2005: 29.

⁶⁰ Paranavita 1933, especially 201–202 on the relationship between the Indikātusāya fragments, the PvsP then being edited by N. Dutt (PvsP[D]), with which they generally agree, and Ś. On these tiny fragments (briefly mentioned in Salomon 1998: 151) see also Yamaguchi 1984: 10–11.

⁶¹ On PvsP(SL), see also Yamaguchi’s detailed study (1984). On the relationship between this text and the main Sanskrit PvsP (i.e., what is now edited as PvsP[K]), see Zaccetti 2005: 43–44 with n. 178. Yamaguchi (1984: 8–10; 13–20) lists

The earliest available evidence on this recension (again, here I am referring to its *text*, leaving aside the issue of the *Abhisamayālamkāra*'s section headings inserted into the text) is probably provided by Ārya-Vimuktisena's *Abhisamayālamkāravṛtti*, which is usually dated to the (early) sixth century.⁶² In this commentary, the lemmata (assuming, as seems likely, that they indeed reflect the text used by Vimuktisena) tend to agree with the PvsP rather than with LPG.⁶³ I have not been able to compare systematically these quotations with LPG and PvsP throughout the commentary, but its initial portion is already sufficiently telling.⁶⁴ It

several, mostly relatively minor, differences between PvsP(SL) and PvsP(K). However, generally speaking PvsP(SL) tends to be significantly closer to PvsP(K) than to LPG and related texts, as is particularly clear in the initial section of the text (see also Vetter 1993: 47 n. 5). The perhaps most significant instance of disagreement between PvsP(SL) and PvsP(K) occurs in the third leaf (*kham* a 16; ed. von Hinüber 1983: 200; see also Yamaguchi's analysis, 1984: 8–9): corresponding to PvsP(K) I-1 p. 101,17–18 (*so 'nutpādasāksātakriyābhijñājñānam abhinirharati*), PvsP(SL) reads (after Yamaguchi 1984: 8) *sa ā(s)ravakṣayābhijñā-sāksātakriyājñāna(m) abhinirharati*. In this passage, as noted by Yamaguchi (1984: 9), all LP witnesses agree with PvsP(SL) in reading *āsravakṣaya-* and not *anut-pāda-* (e.g., cf. LPG f. 36r10: *sa āsravakṣayasāksātakriyābhijñājñānam abhinirharati*). In this case we can obtain some additional information on the textual history of this passage from the testimony of the *Abhisamayālamkāravṛtti*: from one of the lemmata supporting his discussion of the six *abhijñās*, we can see that the PvsP text used by Ārya-Vimuktisena already had PvsP(K)'s reading, which he quotes, interestingly, with reference to the very notion reflected here by the other witnesses: *āsravakṣayajñānābhijñām adhikṛtyāha so 'nutpādasāksātakriyābhijñājñānam abhi-nirharati* (Lee 2017: 51,8–9; Pensa 1967: 48). This passage is noteworthy, as it could be taken to suggest, among other things, that Ārya-Vimuktisena might have used and compared two different LP recensions when composing his commentary. This hypothesis tallies with Tāraṇātha's account of Ārya-Vimuktisena's activities as a commentator of the PvsP (see below, n. 66).

⁶² On the date of Ārya-Vimuktisena's commentary, see Seyfort Ruegg 1968: 305–306; Nakamura 2014: 22–24. Tournier (2020, 887–888 with n. 92) discusses an inscription, dated to 536/37 CE, mentioning a Buddhadāsa who might be the homonymous grandfather of Ārya-Vimuktisena referred to in the colophon of his commentary (for which see below n. 67).

⁶³ See Lee 2017: 14: “He [viz. Ārya-Vimuktisena] ... quoted or paraphrased passages from the revised or the *Eight Chaptered* (*Ni khri le brgyad ma*) *Pañcavimśati-sāhasrikā*”; see also Nakamura 2014: 37–39. Lee's edition, commendably, also makes reference to LPG (and this is a substantial advantage over both Pensa 1967 and Nakamura 2014). On Ārya-Vimuktisena's use of the PvsP, see also Makranksy 1997: 128–131.

⁶⁴ For example, the passages quoted by Ārya-Vimuktisena to illustrate the concise and detailed teachings concerning benefitting others (*parārthasya samāsanirdeśo* ...

is also noteworthy that Vimuktisena explicitly refers to the base text as *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā*.⁶⁵

In view of the possibly early date of this PvsP text suggested by Ārya-Vimuktisena's commentary, it might be preferable to regard it as a parallel development of the LP text—perhaps, we may speculate, reflecting a specific, local, geographically delimited tradition—rather than a chronologically sequential development of an earlier LP text, as it is more or less explicitly suggested by the label “revised” attached to the current PvsP (more on this issue in Chapter 4.1 below). As a matter of fact, all the early evidence we have on this text comes from areas well to the South of areas to which the witnesses of the LPG recension are related.⁶⁶ This,

tasya vyāsanirdeśo; Lee 2017: 59 [7] 8–14; Pensa 1967: 16 [3a3–4]; cf. also Sparham 2006 [vol. 1]: 9) occur consecutively in the PvsP (K) I-1 pp. 28,22–29,1, with paragraph headings (here underlined) which agree with Ārya-Vimuktisena's commentary:

*punar aparam sāriputra daśasu diksū pratyeśam gaṅgānadibālukopameśu
lokadhātuṣu ye sattvās tān sarvān anupadhiśeṣanirvāṇadhātāu parinirvāpa-
yitukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam.
iti samāsataḥ parārthālambanaś cittotpādah.*

*evam matsarināḥ sattvān dāne pratiṣṭhāpayitukāmena duḥśīlān śīle vyāpā-
dabahulān kṣāntau kuśīdān vīrye vikṣiptacittān dhyāne duśprajñān prajñā-
saṃpadi pratiṣṭhāpayitukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāra-
mitāyām śikṣitavyam. iti vyāsataḥ parārthālambanaś cittotpādah.*

These two paragraphs have no exact parallel in LPG (cf. f. 8v3 ff., in Zaccetti 2005: 376) and related witnesses, which in a comparable position have a very different text. The same also holds true of the following passages in Ārya-Vimuktisena's commentary, introducing the twenty-two aspects of the *bodhicitta* (Lee 2017: 59–67 [7–15]; Pensa 1967: 16–22), which is generally close to the PvsP; for another example, see n. 61 above. On the influence probably exerted by Ārya-Vimuktisena's commentary on the current PvsP with its paragraph subdivisions, see also Makransky 1997: 132.

⁶⁵ Lee 2017: 58 [6] 8–9; Pensa 1967: 15 (2b6): *ayam khaly asyāḥ Pañcavimśati-
sāhasrikāyāḥ prārthanety āha*, etc.

⁶⁶ An intriguingly tantalising reference to the southern origin of the *Eight-Chaptered* PvsP is also found in the account of Ārya-Vimuktisena contained in Tāraṇātha's *History* (see Nakamura 2014: 20–21; Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970: 189), according to which, inspired in a dream by Ārya-Maitreya, he went to the “Vihāra of Vārāṇasī; there he met the Upāsaka *Sāntavarman ... and found the *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā* in eight chapters ... which had been brought there from the South” (Seyfort Ruegg 1968: 307). The text says, specifically, “from Potala in the South” (*ho phyogs po ta la nas*: see Nakamura 2014: 22 n. 3; Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970: 189; see also pp. 191 with n. 66, 194–195). The mention of the *Eight-Chaptered* PvsP would seem to imply that the text obtained by Ārya-

of course, might be due to casual circumstances and mean nothing. It is, nevertheless, a fact worth noticing in the general dearth of data we are facing. In this respect, it is also important to mention that, as Vincent Tournier has shown in his penetrating discussion of the available sources, the *nikāya* to which Ārya-Vimuktisena belonged,⁶⁷ that of the Kaurukullas, was a regional branch of the Sāṃmitīyas located in present-day southern Gujarat.⁶⁸ The later transmission of this LP recension to Nepal as the PvsP could then be explained as an effect of the increasing dominance of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* as the *Prajñāpāramitā* commentarial tradition par excellence, which perhaps happened to be linked to this particular recension, precisely due to Ārya-Vimuktisena's authoritative work.⁶⁹

Vimuktisena had already been adapted to the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* eight-stage system, but it is hard to know to what extent this can be taken as an accurate factual record. There is, however, another passage in Tāranātha's account which might contain a kernel of historical truth. This occurs immediately before the dream leading to Vimuktisena's acquisition of the *Eight-Chaptered PvsP*: "Feeling tired of too many scriptural works, he wanted to remove his weariness in the meditation on the Prajñā-pāramitā. As a result of this meditation, he had a special form of bliss. He had no doubt about the significance [of the Prajñā-pāramitā]. Still he felt disturbed by certain discrepancies between the wordings of a *sūtra* and those of certain parts of the *Abhisamaya-alāṅkāra*. At that time, ārya Maitreya instructed him in dream, etc." (Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya 1970: 189; cf. Nakamura 2014: 20). The reference to Vimuktisena's perplexity caused by disagreement between the text of a *sūtra* (*mdo*)—obviously, in this context, a *Prajñāpāramitā* text—and the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* is noteworthy, as it might reflect his difficulties in dealing with different LP recensions. A possible scenario behind this narrative is that the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* (as a commentarial method centred on the *structure* of the text) might have been originally based on an early LP text (cf. Lethco 1976: 506 and 511), already close, to some extent (structurally and otherwise), to the current text of PvsP(K). One can then easily imagine Ārya-Vimuktisena's difficulties, if he had initially tried to reconcile the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*'s structure with an LP text close to the northern recensions (either LPG or the texts represented by the early Chinese translations), and his relief when he could later access a representative of the southern recension already close to the commentary (whether or not it was already subdivided in eight chapters, as suggested by Tāranātha). As a matter of fact, as noted above (n. 61), there is at least one passage in Ārya-Vimuktisena's *Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti* suggesting that he had had access to two different LP recensions.

⁶⁷ This is known thanks to the colophon appended to the *Abhisamayālaṅkāravṛtti*: see Lee 2017: 20–24; Tournier, forthcoming, 25.

⁶⁸ Tournier, forthcoming, 24–30.

⁶⁹ Ārya-Vimuktisena is considered the compiler of the *Eight-Chaptered PvsP* by some Tibetan sources (see Nakamura 2014: 39). [Note: At this point in his draft, Zacchetti had this note: "If further research confirms this provisional reconstruction, one could perhaps label this group of texts—PvsP(K) and PvsP(SL)—as

3. The first two divisions (*Śatasāhasrikā* and *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā*) of Xuanzang's summa of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature, the monumental *Da banreboluomiduo jing* (大般若波羅蜜多經) translated between 660 and 663 CE⁷⁰ (hereafter Xz[Ś], Xz[PvsP]), share some distinctive readings and thus seem to form another LP recension.⁷¹ As will be shown in this study, in a number of cases Xuanzang's LP translations share significant textual developments with the LPG recension, but often represent a more expanded text (see e.g., Passages 5.b.2 in Chapter 3.2 and 10.c.2, 11.c.2 in Appendix 1.1; cf. also Karashima and Tamai 2019: viii).

4. Finally, the three early Chinese LP translations⁷²—the *Guang zan jing* (光讚經 T 222), translated in 286 CE by Dharmarakṣa 竝法護 (hereafter Dhr); the *Fang guang jing* (放光經 T 221), translated in 291 CE by *Mokṣala (Wuchaluo 無叉羅, hereafter Mo); and the *Mohebanreboluomi jing* (摩訶般若波羅蜜經, *Mahāprajñāpāramitā, T 223), translated, as we have seen, in 403–404 CE by Kumārajīva (hereafter Kj)—appear, in general, relatively close to one another in content and structure (with many exceptions and many differences in matters of detail). However, given that in this case we are dealing with translations, and early ones at that (and thus, with texts characterised by considerable fluidity from a stylistic and terminological point of view), it is often difficult to determine the patterns of agreement and disagreement in their precise wording. For this reason, it remains unclear to what extent Dhr, Mo, and Kj can be considered to form a recension in the strict sense. Nonetheless, as far as the general development of the LP is concerned, these three translations can be provisionally grouped together.⁷³ While we do not

forming a Southern Recension of the LP, opposed to the Northern Recension constituted by LPG and related texts.”—Eds.]

⁷⁰ On this gigantic scripture, see Zacchetti 2005: 33 and 2015: 178–179.

⁷¹ See Hikata 1968: xxxxviii; Zacchetti, 2005: 43 with n. 176 and 47–49. The other LP text contained in Xuanzang's translation, the third section, which represents the version in 18,000 lines (*Aṣṭādaśāśasrikā*, hereafter Xz[Ad]), stands somewhat apart from Xz(Ś) and Xz(PvsP), and may reflect a later and doctrinally more elaborated text (see Hikata 1958: xxxxix–l). On the relationship between Xuanzang's translations and LPG manuscripts, see Karashima's remarks in Karashima and Tamai 2019: viii.

⁷² For some historical information and further references on these translations, see Zacchetti 2005: 30–32 (on Mo and Kj), and 51–60 (on Dhr).

⁷³ It is also worth noticing that during the translation of Kj, Kumārajīva's team consulted the earlier translations, and it is even possible that the translators of Mo were able to access Dhr (Zacchetti 2005: 34–35).

have precise information on the original used by Kumārajīva for his translation, according to early bibliographical sources, the original manuscripts on which both Dhr and Mo were based came from Khotan.⁷⁴ I will discuss below the implications of this fact. It is noteworthy that these two Indic manuscripts, though very close in time and space, were clearly already significantly differentiated (see below, Chapter 4.2 with n. 154).

It is important to stress that the classification offered above is just a provisional attempt to organise *some* of the main witnesses of the LP. It does not cover, for example, the many Central Asian fragments of this textual family that survive, which for the most part have not yet been systematically studied.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ See Zacchetti 2005: 31 (on Mo); 52 and 58 (on Dhr's original).

⁷⁵ For partial lists of Central Asian LP manuscript fragments see Zacchetti 2005: 17–18 with n. 53–54; see also Zacchetti 2015: 187 for further references. Detailed analyses of some of these manuscripts have been published, for example by Bongard-Levin and Hori (1996) and Watanabe (1994).

3 Exegesis and Textual Variation in the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*

3.1 Patterns of Textual Variation in the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* Literature

The rich and rare combination of sources described in the preceding chapter provides us with almost ideal conditions for studying the textual history of the LP:

a. First of all, we have three early (mostly) independent Chinese translations (group 4 above), which (generally speaking) allow us to get a reasonably clear idea of the early stages in the textual history of the LP family.

b. Then we have a rich and diversified mass of later witnesses: several Sanskrit texts, and Tibetan and Chinese translations, variously interrelated so as to form different recensions (1–3 above), which provide us with ample evidence concerning the textual developments of the LP family.

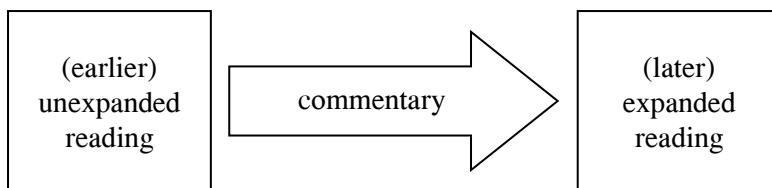
c. Last but not least, our real trump card: a very detailed, albeit idiosyncratic, Indian commentary (Indian, that is to say, with all the qualifications mentioned above) *right in between* these two chronologically defined groups—the earlier and later texts.

Right in between: the early date of the DZDL, and especially its temporal position with respect to the history of the LP, are extremely important, for—with the exception of Ārya-Vimuktisena’s *Abhisamaya-lamkārvṛtti* (sixth century), which, as we have seen, is based on the *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā*—most of the *Prajñāpāramitā* commentaries we possess date (to the best of my knowledge) to later periods, when their base texts were already showing a marked tendency to stabilisation (see below, Chapter 4.2). In other words, these commentaries are in general quite clearly distinguished from the *sūtras* upon which they comment, and lie largely downstream. The case is completely different with the DZDL, and this, in turn, is of crucial importance for our discussion: the DZDL reflects the image of a base text which is still, as it were, fully

alive, in a comparatively fluid state, and entirely open to change and development.

Now, if we carefully compare all the sources listed above (with a truly microscopic approach), we can observe that in a small but significant number of cases, when some or all of the later LP witnesses (and particularly in the Sanskrit versions: LPG, Š, and PvsP[K]) present an expanded reading with respect to the earlier ones (Dhr, Mo, and Kj), this expansion is partly or completely prefigured in the relevant DZDL gloss on the early, unexpanded reading.

Here is a crudely schematic representation of this process:



Thus, in these cases the DZDL allows us to trace, step by step, the process of textual development undergone by the LP.

I have analysed in this detailed way only a small part (approximately 10%) of what is truly an immense body of text, applying rather stringent criteria: I have only taken into account cases in which the expanded reading and the relevant DZDL gloss appear to share a specific interpretation, or even the same wording. As a result, I have identified fifteen instances of the pattern of textual development outlined above, of varying degrees of significance. It is highly probable that other occurrences have escaped my attention: apart from the number and sheer size of the texts involved, there are other distorting factors which may have a negative impact on an analysis of this kind. The most important such factor is the fact that our key source, the DZDL, only exists in a single Chinese translation, which is not always easy to interpret. This often makes it problematic to identify the precise Sanskrit wording underlying Kumārajīva's text.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ The numerous Sanskrit words peppering Lamotte's imposing translation of the DZDL might give the reader a different impression. While in many cases, perhaps even most (especially when stock canonical formulas are at play), Lamotte's reconstructions—generally not explicitly marked as hypothetical—are likely to be more

Other potentially distorting factors derive from the way in which the DZDL was translated and edited. In particular, as already remarked above, the second part of the DZDL is an abridged translation, which often tends to focus on the main points of interest in long passages from the LP, and is less concerned than the first part with explaining specific sentences or words. This is likely to have erased many traces of a phenomenon which often manifests itself at the level of minute details in wording.

It is also important to bear in mind that the DZDL as we read it today, including as it does the entire base text (i.e., Kj) subdivided into sections of varying length followed by the relevant commentary, might not reflect the original layout of this text, although this is far from clear.⁷⁷ Hence it is possible that in some cases the commentary might be based on a text different in some details from that quoted in the lemma. This obviously would alter our perception of the relationship between base text and glosses. If the glosses are based on a text which was already more

or less accurate, it is important to recognise that in many other instances they are at best educated guesses. Likewise, his Sanskrit reconstructions of the lemmata quoted in the DZDL before each gloss are also mere hypotheses (though, in these cases, they are at least based on the Sanskrit texts available to him: PvsP[D] and Š). Especially at the beginning of his lifelong work on the DZDL, the great Belgian scholar does not seem to have been fully aware of Kumārajīva's flexible approach to translation (on which see, for example, Harrison 2010b: 238–245; Zaccetti 2015b). Instead, he treated the Chinese text as a sort of *Mahāyutpatti*-based mechanical translation, even going as far as to reconstruct putative Sanskrit originals for Chinese idioms employed by Kumārajīva's translation team (see e.g., Zaccetti 2005: 250 n. 54). This approach is particularly problematic because, as shown especially by Chou Po-kan's research (2000 and 2004), the DZDL is, if anything, even less of a mechanical translation than other texts produced by Kumārajīva's workshop.

⁷⁷ According to some scholars (Shih 1980: 316–317, and more explicitly, Chou 2000: 65; 2004: 300), the DZDL and its LP root-text were originally separated: i.e., the commentary did not originally include the entire root text as it does in its current configuration, which, to some extent, resembles traditional Chinese interlinear (*zhu* 注) commentaries (cf. Kanno 2003: 302–303). However, it is not entirely clear to me on which evidence they base this assumption. While this scenario is certainly possible, and perhaps even likely, I am not sure that it is unequivocally supported by our main sources on Kumārajīva's translation of both LP and DZDL (see n. 23 above). As far as I can see, the only argument in support of this hypothesis seems to be the fact that base text and commentary were translated separately (as indirectly suggested by Chou 2000b, 157). This is a significant argument, but it is not irrefutable (and indeed Yinshun maintained the opposite view: see Yinshun 1990: 17–18). On the potential significance of the DZDL's original format, see also Chapter 5.4 (with n. 231).

expanded than Kj, the DZDL would not be actively anticipating but simply reflecting the expansions found in the later witnesses, which would then have to be regarded as variants already circulating when the text was commented on. There are at least a couple of instances in which this seems indeed to have been the case: one passage in which an expansion echoed by the DZDL is also attested by one of the early witnesses will be discussed in Appendix 1.2 below (see also Appendix 1.1, Passages 5.a.3 and 10.b with n. 289).

However, as we shall see, in several other cases the earlier, unexpanded reading is explicitly referred to in the relevant *commentarial portion* of the DZDL, and not just in the lemma (see Passages nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 11, and 15), thus seemingly ruling out this scenario.

3.2 The Influence of Early Exegesis on *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* Texts

In this section, I will present five passages exemplifying various types of textual development in the LP which appear to be anticipated by the relevant DZDL glosses. All the other occurrences of this phenomenon that I have been able to detect are given in Appendix 1.1 below, and all passages discussed in the main text or listed in the Appendix are given a continuous numeration for ease of reference.

Two important general caveats should be noted here. First, throughout this monograph, I have adopted the following schematic classification, which is applied to all the passages discussed below (both in this chapter and in Appendix 1.1): (earlier) unexpanded reading/(later) expanded reading. It is important to state clearly that this practical classification is entirely based on the particular expansion under discussion in each case, and hence ought to be taken with a pinch of salt: witnesses put in the same class may still display significant differences among themselves in a number of respects.

A second point to notice concerns my translation policy. In principle, I treat the Chinese sources translated as *Chinese* texts, trying to mirror, in my English renditions, the specific ways that those texts interpret the vocabulary and syntax of the underlying Indic originals.

Passage 1

The simplest form of this pattern of textual variation consists in the addition (hardly surprising, if not almost expected), in some or all of the later texts, of a common term, often in the instrumental, to express the cause of a certain event or state of things. A clear example is provided by a short passage from the narrative portion at the beginning of the LP:

1.a. (Unexpanded readings):

(1.a.1) Dhr: 諸天人民所散、供養諸華之具上在虛空，三千大千世界化為宮殿自然樓觀 (T 222 [VIII] p. 148a18–20; GZJ § 1.73).

The whole [mass] of the flowers scattered and offered by gods and human beings [to the Buddha] rose into the sky, and [thus] the Trichiliomegachiliocosm⁷⁸ was transformed into the spontaneously created⁷⁹ tower of a palace (樓觀, *kūṭāgāra*).

(1.a.2) Mo: 是時諸天香華、眾生香華所可供養散如來上者，於空中合化成大臺 (T 221 [VIII] p. 1c25–27).

Then all the heavenly perfumes and flowers [as well as] the beings' perfumes and flowers, which had been scattered as an offering on the Thus-come One, mingled in empty space, turning into a great terrace (= *kūṭāgāra*).

(1.a.3) Kj: 所散寶花，於此三千大千國土[國土, DZDL = 世界]上，在虛空中化成大臺 (T 223 [VIII] p. 218a10–11; T 1509 [XXV] p. 123b11–12; see under 1.b for a translation of this passage).

Although in this passage Dhr, Mo, and Kj differ in a number of details, they agree in describing the transformation of the flowers (and, in Mo,

⁷⁸ I have chosen this unquestionably clumsy translation in order to convey the flavour of the Chinese Buddhist idiom *sānqiān dà qiān shíjiè* 三千大千世界; “a world-system consisting of a billion [worlds]” (cf. n. 83 below) might perhaps be a better translation. Note that in the Sanskrit parallels and other Chinese translations, it is the flowers etc. which are transformed into a *kūṭāgāra*.

⁷⁹ On the use of *ziran* 自然 (which here I have rendered as “spontaneously created”) in Dharmarakṣa’s translations, see Huang 2001, and cf. also Karashima 1998: 613–614. This is, in all likelihood, a word added by the translators to better describe the miraculous nature of the tower. On Dharmarakṣa’s translation of this passage, see also Zucchetti 2005: 268 n. 217–218.

also perfumes) strewn on the Buddha as a spontaneous transformation—or, perhaps more accurately, in not making explicit the agency behind it.

The DZDL contains a gloss specifically devoted to this short passage, in the typical catechetical question-answer form. The answer to the second question introduces the idea of the Buddha's supernatural power as the cause of this miracle. I quote here the portion directly relevant to our discussion together with the lemma from Kr (the key passage is underlined):

1.b. (*Commentary on the unexpanded reading*)

【經】 所散寶華，於此三千大千世界上，在虛空中化成大臺。

【論】 … 問曰：何以故臺在虛空中住而不墮落？

答曰： 佛以神力欲示眾生，令知佛為福田，得報不失：乃至成佛，其福不滅 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 123b11–17).

Sūtra: The jewelled flowers which had been scattered [on the Buddha] were transformed into a great tower [floating] in empty space high up in this Trichiliomegachiliocosm.

Commentary: ... Question: Why does the tower remain suspended in empty space, without falling down?

Answer: The Buddha wishes to show [it] to the beings by means of his supernatural power (以神力, **adhiṣṭhāna?*),⁸⁰ to let them know that

⁸⁰ In his translation of this passage, Lamotte (1944: 524) took *shenli* 神力 as a translation of *rddhibala*, but this is certainly not the only possible interpretation. In Kumārajīva's translations, *shenli* is used to render a variety of Sanskrit terms (see also Karashima 2001: 232 on the use of this word in the translation of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*). Very often it corresponds to *anubhāva* (for example, see Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 310a3, corresponding to PvsP[K] II–III p. 177,16), and in other instances to *rddhyabhisamśkāra* (see *Weimojie suo shuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 T 475 [XIV] p. 553b19, corresponding to *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 60a3–4 [ed. 2006: 99]). Although, overall, the use of *shenli* as a translation of *adhiṣṭhāna* does not seem particularly common in Kumārajīva's corpus, it is nevertheless sufficiently well attested. For example, his translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* contains several very clear instances of this usage: e.g., in 即時天女還攝神力 (T 475 [XIV] p. 548c5–6; so also Xuanzang's version, T 476 [XIV] p. 574c5), which corresponds to *atha sā devatā tad adhiṣṭhānam avāśrjat* (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 44b7 [ed. 2006: 73]). Other occurrences of this rendition in this text are T 475 [XIV] p. 552a21 (= *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 54b7 [ed. 2006: 91]); p. 556b14 (= *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 73a2 [ed. 2006: 119]); p. 557a10 (= *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 75b5 [ed.

the Buddha is [such] a field of merit (福田, **punyakṣetra*) [that having made offerings to him] one obtains a retribution that will not be lost; the merit of that [action] will not be extinguished until one becomes a Buddha.

If we now turn to the group of later (specifically, post-DZDL) LP texts, we can observe how, at a certain stage, the same idea (and probably even the same word) made its way into the basic text. For example, this is what we read in the corresponding passage in the PvsP(K):

I.c. (Expanded readings)

(1.c.1) *tāni ca sarvāṇi uparyantarikṣe bhagavato 'dhiṣṭhānenā trisāha-sramahāsāhasralokadhātupramāṇam ekam kūṭāgāram*⁸¹ *samsthitham abhūt ...* (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 6,23–24; cf. also PvsP[SL] *kā* b5, ed. von Hinüber 1983: 196).

All those [flowers and other items which had covered the Buddha] came to form one single vaulted house⁸² of the size of a billion worlds⁸³ up in the sky, due to the Lord's power.

As we can see, the main difference with respect to the text commented on by the DZDL is the addition of *bhagavato 'dhiṣṭhānenā*.

The corresponding passage in LPG⁸⁴ and related texts, while differing from PvsP(K) in several details, also contains the same addition:

2006: 122]); p. 557b10 (= *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 77a6 [ed. 2006: 124]). Incidentally, in most of these cases, *adhiṣṭhāna* is also rendered as *shenli* in the corresponding passages of Xuanzang's version (T 476). On the notion of *adhiṣṭhāna*, see Watanabe Shōkō's monographic study (1982: 460–555; especially pp. 551–555 on *adhiṣṭhāna* in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, although this study, originally published in 1977, precedes the rediscovery of the Sanskrit text); Eltschinger 2001: 62–68; Schmithausen 2009: 172–173 n. 497; Tournier 2014: 8–11 and *passim*.

On the beneficial nature of the manifestations of *adhiṣṭhāna*, see Eltschinger 2001: 68.

⁸¹ PvsP(SL) *kā* b5: *kūṭāgārah*; cf. also LPG f. 5r2 and Š p. 22,8 as quoted below.

⁸² On *kūṭāgāra* see Yamabe 1999: 49–54.

⁸³ In the translation of *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu* I follow Radich 2015: 112 with n. 272; cf. also DZDL T 1509 (XXV) p. 113c16–24 (tr. Lamotte I p. 448).

⁸⁴ In the edition of all passages from LPG, I use the same conventions and symbols adopted in my edition of folios 1–27 (see Zucchetti 2005: 27); note, in particular: () = restored *aksara*(s); [] = damaged *aksara*(s); < > = omitted *aksara*(s); { } = superfluous *aksara*(s); ' = *avagraha* (not written in the MS); -* = *virāma*.

(1.c.2) *sarvāṇī ca tāni puṣpādīni yāvac chatradhvajapatākā bhagavaty avakīrṇāni • samanantaram eva bhaga[va](to) [’dhi]sthānenā trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātupramāṇo bhagavata upari vaihāyase mūrdhasandhau *mahāpuṣpādikūṭāgārah⁸⁵ saṃsthito ’bhūt** (LPG f. 5r1–2 [Zacchetti 2005: 371]; cf. Š p. 22,5–8; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 7b3–5).

And all those flowers, etc., parasols, banners, and flags scattered on the Lord, immediately, due to the Lord's power, formed a great vaulted house of *flowers, etc., of the size of a billion worlds in the space above the Lord, on [his] head opening (cranial suture?).⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Cf. Š p. 22,8; the manuscript reads *mahāditpuṣpakūṭāgārah*.

⁸⁶ The obscure compound *mūrdhasandhi* is not found in the parallels to this passage in either Š or PvsP(TibPk). This expression is attested in a handful of passages from other Mahāyāna *sūtras*, mostly in contexts very similar to the present one. One example is this passage from the Gilgit text of the *Samghāta-sūtra*: *tad bhagavato mūrdhasandhau kūṭāgārah saṃsthitah*, which is rendered as, “Then a pavilion appeared in a cleft of the Bhagavat’s head” (Canevascini 1993: 66, § 160.2.4). Other occurrences I could identify are found in the *Ratnaketuparivarta* (p. 21,14 and 22,3), in the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*[SI] p. 277,13; p. 335,9; p. 432,9), and in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (*sa ca muktāhāro [so MS; ed. em. tam ca muktāhāram] dusprasahasya mūrdhasamdhau muktāhārakūṭāgāram prādurbhūtam; Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* folio 26b2–3; ed. Taisho University, Tokyo 2006, p. 44).

As I mentioned elsewhere (Zacchetti 2005: 371 n. 26), long ago Prof. von Hinüber suggested to me that *mūrdhasandhi* might be a parallel of the similar expression *mūrdhacchidra*, “head opening”, attested in the fragmentary meditation text from Qizil usually referred to, after Schlingloff’s edition (2006 [1964]), as the *Yogalehrbuch*. According to Schlingloff (2003 and 2018: 63–66), this *mūrdhacchidra* has an iconographical counterpart in the hole found in the *uṣṇīṣa* of some Buddha statues from Gandhāra (but also China: cf. Rhi 2005: 173–183, who proposes a different interpretation of this feature). As far as I can see, the *Yogalehrbuch* and related materials contain only a couple of occurrences of the expression *mūrdhacchidra*. The clearest one is in a passage from a Pelliot Collection fragment edited by Nobuyoshi Yamabe (*Pelliot Sanskrit nos rouges* 9.1–6); see 9.1 recto 5 (reprinted in Schlingloff 2006: 330): *mūrdh(a)c(ch)i(dr)eṇa ca sarpistailābhyaṁ pūrayanti*, rendered by Yamabe as “they fill [the body?] through a hole on the head with ghee and sesame oil” (ibid. p. 331). Cf. also *Yogalehrbuch* 165R1 (in Schlingloff 2006: 178) for a close parallel: *tadā[śr](ayam) mūrdhna c[ch]idreṇa pūrayati*. This could also be taken as a compound, *mūrdhnac[ch]idreṇa* (see Schlingloff 2003: 124 n. 67 and 2018: 122 n. 54), after BHSG p. 100 § 17.23.

Although in my translation of the LPG passage I have tentatively interpreted *mūrdhasandhi* in the light of its possible parallelism with *mūrdhacchidra*, this remains, essentially, a hypothesis—and one which is not free of problems at that. The main problem is that, in most of the occurrences of *mūrdhasandhi* I have been able to identify, this expression clearly refers to a point *above* which something happens, not an opening which can be filled, as is the case with *mūrdhacchidra* in

Finally, the insertion of **adhiṣṭhāna* (using the same translation found also in the DZDL gloss) is also attested by the corresponding passages in Xz(Ś) and Xz(PvsP):

(1.c.3) Xz(Ś), Xz(PvsP), and Xz(Ad): ... 以佛神力，諸花鬘等旋轉上
踊合成花臺，量等三千大千世界 ... (T 220 [V] p. 2c24–25, [VII] p. 2c1–
3 and p. 428c3–5).

Due to the Buddha's supernatural power, all the flower garlands, etc.,
whirled and leaped up [in the sky], coming together to form a tower of
flowers, [whose] size was equal to a trichiliomegachiliocosm.

Other instances of this type of simple, straightforward textual development are found in Appendix 1.1 (Passages nos. 9 and 14). To be sure, commentarial additions of this kind may at first sight appear of little significance, and, from an aetiological point of view, could certainly be polygenetic.⁸⁷ But let us not lose sight of a crucial implication: no matter

the passages quoted above (that this is also the opening of out which figures emanate, as suggested by Schlingloff 2018: 64 and 66, apparently on the basis of the same passages, seems not entirely convincing to me). The only partial exception is one passage from the *Gaṇḍavyūha* (*Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*[SI] p. 432,7–11) describing nets of rays ([a]nekaratnavarṇāni raśmijālāni) which descended on the *mūrdhasaṃdhi* of Sudhana, then penetrating into all his pores, starting from the head (tāni ... sudhanasya śreṣṭhidārakasya mūrdhasaṃdhau nipatanti sma | tāni mūrdhānam upādāya sarvaromakūpeṣy anupravīṣya anuprasaranti sma). In the Chinese translations of this passage (see the versions by Buddhabhadra, *Da fangguang Fo-huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, T 278 [IX] p. 762b4; by Śiksānanda, T 279 [X] p. 414b6; and by Prajña, T 293 [X] p. 798b6), the nets of rays (光明網) are presented as entering the crown of Sudhana's head (入善財頂, where *ding* 頂 is the word corresponding to *mūrdhasaṃdhi* in all these versions).

⁸⁷ Indeed, some rather close parallels from other scriptures mention the Buddha's supernatural powers as the cause of similar miracles. A particularly interesting example, which presents some significant similarities to the LPG passage quoted under 1.c.2, occurs in the *Ratnaketuparivarta* (p. 21,10–13 with n. 12 for the suggested integration *te sarve*, etc.): *atha khalu (te sarve māraputrā māra)kanyāḥ saganapārṣadyā bhagavantam muktakusumair abhyavākirān* ↳ *tāni ca muktakusumāni bhagavata riddhyanubhāvenānekāni koṭīnyutasahasrāṇi gaṅgānadīvā(lukādhikāni)*puspacchatrāṇi saṃtiṣṭhamte sma.*

Another parallel occurs in Chapter 1 of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (folio 3a7–b2; ed. 2006: 4): *saṃtaraniḥsṛṣṭāni ca tāni ratnacchatrāṇy atha tāvad eva buddhanubhāvenākaṇāni mahāratnacchatrāṇi samsthitam | tena ca mahāratnacchatrenāyam trisāhasramahāsāhasro lokadhātuh sarvah samchāditali samdrṣyate sma.* In this case, the reference to the Buddha's power is already found in the earliest translation of this scripture: 佛之威神令一寶蓋，覆此三千大千佛國 (T 474 [XIV] p. 519c2–3).

how trivial they might be, nevertheless all these expansions (even the simplest ones, such as the one I have just discussed) do presuppose a certain specific *interpretation* of the original passage—they reflect, in other words, a certain *reasoning*, if an elementary one. Therefore, they are different, for instance, from the more mechanical addition of *mahā-sattva* after *bodhisattva* found in the later Sanskrit text of the *Vajracchedikā prajñāpāramitā* when compared to earlier witnesses.⁸⁸ There is nothing equally mechanical in the addition of *bhagavato 'dhiṣṭhanena* in the passage discussed above, simple or expected as it might be.

But the most important point to notice here is that the same interpretation implied by this textual amplification (or a very similar one) is also reflected by the relevant DZDL gloss (be this a coincidence resulting from polygenesis or not). In fact, in this case, the relationship between these two texts—the gloss and the subsequent expansion in the LP texts—is even closer: the latter seems to presuppose precisely the same question and answer found in the former.

Passage 2

Another example of this particular form of textual development, contextually similar to the previous one but entailing a greater degree of specificity, also occurs in the initial portion of the LP. Following the miracles narrated in the prologue of the scripture, the Bodhisattva Samantaraśmi sets out from the easternmost Ratnāvatī world with a large retinue to visit the Buddha Śākyamuni. While Dhr and especially Mo contain very short accounts of this episode, Kr already contains a few additions, witnessing a text which is, essentially, fairly close to PvsP(K):

2.a. (Unexpanded readings)

(2.a.1) Dhr: 普明菩薩即受其金色蓮華，與無央數億百千垓諸菩薩眾、男女大小、居家、出家，則以供養東方諸佛天中天，承事歸命，上諸華、香、雜香、搗香。次復詣釋迦牟如來，稽首足下，却住一面 (T 222 [VIII] p. 148b23–28; GZJ § 1.83).

The Bodhisattva Universal Radiance (Puming 普明, Samantaraśmi) took those gold-coloured lotuses and, together with a multitude of

⁸⁸ See Harrison and Watanabe 2006: 99–100; cf. also Nattier 2003: 53–54.

innumerable millions, hundreds of thousands of myriads of Bodhisattvas, men and women, old and young, home-dwelling and home-leaving, offered [the lotuses] to all the Buddhas, Gods-among-Gods,⁸⁹ in the East, waited on [them] and showed submission [to them], presenting [them] with all sorts of flowers, perfumes, mixed perfumes, and pounded perfumes; thereafter, he reached the Thus-Come One Śākyamuni, bowed his head to his feet, and then stood on one side.

(2.a.2) Mo: 是時普明菩薩與無央數百千菩薩、無數比丘、諸善男子、善女人眾，從東方來。所經[經=逕【宮】]諸佛，皆以香華供養禮事。來詣忍界，見釋迦文佛，稽首作禮 (T 221 [VIII] p. 2a21–24).

At this time the Bodhisattva Universal Radiance, together with a multitude of innumerable hundreds of thousands of Bodhisattvas, innumerable *bhikṣus*, good men and good women, came from the East. [Along the way] they offered perfumes and flowers to the Buddhas they encountered, and worshipped them. When he [Universal Radiance] arrived in the *Sahā* world and saw the Buddha Śākyamuni, he paid homage [to him] by bowing.

(2.a.3) Kj: 爾時，普明菩薩從寶積佛受千葉金色 [so T 222 【宋】 【元】
【明】 【宮】; T 223 + 光明]蓮花，與無數出家、在家菩薩及諸童男童女，俱共[共=時【宋】 【明】 【宮】]發引，皆供養、恭敬、尊重、讚歎東方諸佛，持諸花、香、瓔珞、澤香、末香[末香=未香燒香 T 222 【元】 【明】
【宮】]、塗香、衣服、幢[幢=幡【宋】 【元】]，=旛【明】]蓋，向釋迦牟[牟=文【宮】 【聖】]尼佛所。到已，頭面禮佛足一面立，etc. (T 223 [VIII] p. 218b10–15).

Then the Bodhisattva Universal Radiance, having received the golden coloured lotuses with thousands of petals from the Buddha Heap of Jewels (寶積, *Ratnākara*), set out together with innumerable Bodhisattvas, both home-leaving and home-dwelling, as well as young men and women; making offerings to, showing respect to, honouring, and praising all the Buddhas in the East, holding flowers, perfumes, strings of jewels, fragrant ointments, pounded perfumes, fragrant unguents, robes, banners, and parasols, he moved toward the place where the Buddha Śākyamuni was. Having arrived there, he prostrated in reverence to the Buddha's feet and stood on one side, etc.

⁸⁹ On *tian zhong tian* 天中天, an expression often found in texts by Lokakṣema, Dharmarakṣa, and other early translators as a rendition of *bhagavat*, see Karashima 2010: 482–483; Zucchetti 2005: 273 n. 256 (with further references).

(2.a.4) PvsP(K): *atha khalu samantaraśmir bodhisattvo ratnākarasya tathāgatasya sakāśāt tāni nānāratnamayāni padmāni gr̄hitvā suvarṇanirbhāsāni sahasrapatrāṇī anekair bodhisattvakotīniyutaśatasaha-srair gr̄hasthaiḥ pravrajitaiś ca dārakair dārikābhiś ca sārdham pari-vṛtah puraskṛtah pūrvasyām diśi teṣu gaṅgānadībālukopameṣu loka-dhātuṣu buddhān bhagavataḥ saikurvan gurukuryan mānayan piṭayan puṣpadhūpagandhamālyavilepanacūrṇacīvaračchatradhvajapatākā-vaijayanībhir yeneyām sahālokadhātus tena samprāptah, yena ca śākyamunis tathāgatas tenopasamkrāntah, upasamkrāmya bhagavataḥ pādau śirasābhivandyā ekānte 'tiṣṭhat ... (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 8,19–28; cf. PvsP[SL] ki b2–4 [von Hinüber 1983: 198–199]).*

Then the Bodhisattva Samantaraśmi, having received from the Tathā-gata Ratnākara those lotuses made of various jewels looking like gold and with a thousand petals, surrounded and attended by several hundreds of thousands of *niyuta* of *koti* of Bodhisattvas, both householders and renunciants, and by young men and women, honouring, worshipping, respecting, and revering the Buddhas, the Lords, who were in worlds in the East as numerous as the grains of sand of the Ganges river, with flowers, incenses, perfumes, garlands, unguents, scented powders, robes, parasols, banners, flags, and streamers, he reached the Saḥā world; and [then] he approached the place where the Tathāgata Śākyamuni was. Having done so and having bowed respectfully to the Buddha's feet, he stood to one side.

The DZDL, as is characteristic of its initial portion, provides a very extensive commentary, with no less than three separate sections devoted to this passage.⁹⁰ The first section focuses on the Bodhisattva's retinue, and is the one which is of interest to us. I only quote here its initial portion, which is relevant to our discussion:

2.b. (Commentary)

【經】 爾時，普明菩薩從寶積佛受千葉金色蓮花，與無數出家、在家菩薩，及諸童男、童女，俱共發引。

【論】 問曰：是普明菩薩大力神通故應能來；是出家、在家菩薩及_及+（諸）_{【宋】}_{【元】}_{【明】}_{【宮】}童男、童女，云何自致？多寶世

⁹⁰ T 1509 (XXV) pp. 130a20–131a15; tr. Lamotte I pp. 576–582.

界最在東邊，道里悠遠，是自用力行？為寶積佛力？是普明菩薩力耶？為釋迦牟尼佛力？

答曰：盡是四種人力。是出家、居家菩薩，或是不退五通成就菩薩，四如意足好修，先世釋迦牟尼佛因緣，亦自用己力。亦是普明菩薩力。何以故？是中力勢薄者，是普明菩薩力故得來。如轉輪聖王飛上天時，四種兵及諸宮觀、畜獸，一切皆飛；轉輪聖王功德大故，能令一切隨而飛從。此亦如是，力勢薄者，以普明菩薩力故皆亦得來... (T 1509 [XXV] p. 130a20–b4).

Sūtra: Then the Bodhisattva Universal Radiance (Samantaraśmi), having received the golden coloured lotuses with thousands of petals from the Buddha Heap of Jewels, set out together with innumerable Bodhisattvas, both home-leaving and home-dwelling, as well as young men and women.

Commentary: Question: [While] this Bodhisattva Universal Radiance should [certainly] be able to come [to the Sahā world] due to his great power and supernatural faculties, how can these householder and renunciant Bodhisattvas, as well as the young men and women, attain [the capacity to do so] on their own? The Ratnāvatī world (多寶世界), being the easternmost [Buddha-field] and a very long way [from here], do they move by availing themselves of their own power? Or is it the power of the Buddha Heap of Jewels (Ratnākara)? Or the power of the Bodhisattva Universal Radiance? Or that of the Buddha Śākyamuni?

Answer: It is the power of all these four persons. Some of these householder and renunciant Bodhisattvas are non-retrogressing Bodhisattvas who have attained the five super-knowledges (*abhijñā*), [by whom] the four bases of supernatural power (*rddhipāda*) have been successfully cultivated, [and who] in previous existences [have matured] causes [for meeting] with the Buddha Śākyamuni;⁹¹ [for

⁹¹ This passage is unclear and my translation remains tentative. Lamotte's translation (I, 1944: 576) is rather free: "Par les quatre fondements de pouvoir miraculeux (*rddhipāda*), ils ont bien cultivé les causes et conditions (*hetupratyaya*) à remplir durant les existences antérieures (*pūrvajanma*) pour pouvoir se render aujourd'hui auprès du buddha Śākyamuni". His interpretation, which seems based on the punctuation provided by the Taishō edition (T 1509 [XXV] p. 130a28: 四如意足好修先世釋迦牟尼佛因緣), is, however, syntactically implausible. That *si ruyizu* 四如意足 should be taken as the subject of the (passive) predicate *haoxiu* 好修 is also suggested by another passage in the DZDL (若有人四神足好修，可住壽一劫，etc. [T 1509 (XXV) p. 68a26–27]; "If there are persons [by whom] the four bases of supernatural power have been successfully cultivated, [those persons] could

these reasons these Bodhisattvas come] availing themselves of their own power. [But] it is also a question of the Bodhisattva Universal Radiance's power. Why? Those from this [retinue] whose strength is feeble are [only] able to come thanks to the Bodhisattva Universal Radiance's power. It is just as when a Wheel-turning saintly king (*cakravartin*) flies up to heavens, [his] fourfold army,⁹² as well as [his] palaces and animals, all fly [with him]: because the merit of the Wheel-turning saintly king is great, he is able to let all of [his retinue] fly along with him.⁹³ In the present case it is the same: those whose strength is feeble can all come due to the Bodhisattva Universal Radiance's power.

I will not analyse in detail LPG's reading of this passage. But when we compare it with its counterpart in the PvsP(K) and the early Chinese translations, we can observe, apart from a number of minor differences, an interesting addition (underlined below) which reflects with remarkable precision (in content if not in wording) the DZDL gloss:

2.c. (Expanded reading)

LPG: *atha samantaraśmi<r> bodhisatvo mahāsatvas tasya bhagavato ratnākarasya tathāgatasyārhata<ḥ> samyaksambuddhasyāntikāt tāni*

make their lifespan last for one *kalpa*, etc.”). However, I think that Lamotte's interpretation of *yinyuan* 因緣 in this context is, on the whole, correct, and I have followed it. It is also supported by a reference to this very passage found in a subsequent portion of the DZDL: “Question: If there are the Buddhas in the ten directions who are all expounding the *Prajñāpāramitā*, why do all the Bodhisattvas of the ten directions come here [to listen to Sākyamuni expounding the same teaching]? Answer: As it has been already explained in the section (*zhang* 章) on the Bodhisattva Universal Radiance's coming [to the *Sahā* world], they come because of a causal connection with the Buddha Sākyamuni” (問曰：若有十方諸佛，皆說般若波羅蜜，十方諸菩薩何以故來？答曰：如「普明菩薩來章」中已說，與釋迦牟尼佛因緣故來 [T 1509 (XXV) p. 134c4–7]).

⁹² *Si zhong bing* 四種兵 (**caturaṅgabala*), i.e., an army consisting of elephants, chariots, cavalry, and infantry.

⁹³ This simile is adopted also elsewhere in the DZDL: apart from another contextually similar passage (T 1509 [XXV] p. 123c20–29; tr. Lamotte I, 1944: 527), it is also used to illustrate the relationship between *prajñāpāramitā* and the other perfections (T 1509 [XXV] p. 638a19–23). For other parallels, see *Da loutan jing* 大樓炭經 (**Lokasthāna-sūtra*; on this and related texts, see Lin 1949: 127 ff.) T 23 (I) p. 281a15–19; *Apidamo da piposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 (**Abhidharma-mahāvibhāṣā*) T 1545 (XXVII) p. 916b29–c13.

suvarṇanirbhāsāni sahasrapatrāṇi padmāni gṛhitvānekair bodhisatva-koṭīyutaśatasahasraiḥ sārdham gṛhasthaiḥ prabrajitaiś ca dārakā-dārikārūpaīś ca tato buddhakṣetrād antarhitah yāvantāḥ pūrvasyān diśi buddhā bhagavantas tiṣṭhanti dhṛyante yāpayantī • tān sarvān satkurvan gurukurvan mānayan pūjayan puspair mālyair gandhair vil-lepanair yāvac chatradhvajapatakābhir mahatyā bodhisatvardhyā mahatā bodhisatvānubhāvena yena sa bhagavāmc chākyamunis tathā-gato 'rhan samyaksambuddhas tenopasāṅkkṛānta-r-upasāṅkkramya bhagavataḥ śākyamunes tathāgatasyārhataḥ samyaksambuddhasya pādau śirasā vanditvaikānte 'sthād (LPG f. 6r4–8; Š pp. 30,14–31,3; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 9b6–10a3).*

Then the Bodhisattva Samantaraśmi, having taken from the Lord, the Tathāgata, the Arhat Ratnākara those lotuses looking like gold and with a thousand petals, together with hundreds of thousands of *niyuta* of *koṭī* of Bodhisattvas, both householders and renunciants,⁹⁴ with the appearance of young men and women, having vanished from that Buddha-field, honouring, worshipping, respecting, and revering all the Buddhas, the Lords who existed, spent time, lived in the East with flowers, garlands, perfumes, unguents, etc. *until*: parasols, banners, and flags, due to the great supernatural power of the Bodhisattva, due to the great empowering force (*anubhāva*) of the Bodhisattva, approached the place where the Tathāgata, the Arhat, the Perfectly Awakened Śākyamuni was. Having done so, and having bowed respectfully to Śākyamuni's feet, he stood on one side.

As we can see, the passage underlined in this text seems to be addressing exactly the question posed in the DZDL gloss, by making explicit that the Bodhisattva Samantaraśmi and his retinue approach the Buddha Śākyamuni thanks to the Bodhisattva's great supernatural power (*rddhi*) and empowering force (*anubhāva*),⁹⁵ which closely matches one of the possibilities mentioned by the DZDL in its explanation of this passage quoted above.

⁹⁴ MS: *prabrajitaiś ca*; interchange between v- and b- is common in this manuscript, as in many others (see Zucchetti 2005: 24)

⁹⁵ This addition (*mahatyā bodhisatvardhyā mahatā bodhisatvānubhāvena*) is also found in Š pp. 30,20–31,1, and PvsP(TibPk) nyi 10a1–2 (*byang chub sems dpa'i rdzu 'phrul chen po dang | byang chub sems dpa'i mthu chen pos*).

The parallels to this passage found in the three LP scriptures included in Xuanzang's translation,⁹⁶ while differing in several details from Dhr, Mo, Kj, and PvsP(K), equally lack the expansion found in LPG. This fact suggests that we are probably facing a textual development limited to this particular recension. So, in this case, the relationship between gloss and expansion is certainly more meaningful than in Passage 1: this expansion addresses a more specific question, and—and this is particularly noteworthy, as we shall see below—it is only attested in a particular branch of the LP textual tradition (the LPG recension). Although this expansion still consists in the addition of very common terms, polygenesis seems much less likely to be at play in this case: we are beginning here to discern the contours of a *historical* relationship between a particular exegetical tradition and a specific group of LP texts.

Passage 3

This scenario becomes even more likely when we turn to other examples of expansions anticipated by the relevant DZDL glosses, which involve less predictable additions to the text, or modifications of it, and relatively speaking, a higher degree of conceptual complexity, hence implying an even more specific relationship between the commentary and the later expanded text.

A rather clear example is provided by a short passage occurring in Chapter 4 of Mo and Kj (but missing from Dhr), in a part of the LP which is devoted to describing in detail various typologies of the Bodhisattva career. Exactly as in the preceding example, in this case too the expanded reading appears in only a limited part of the LP's tradition—again, the LPG recension.

Since in this case all of the other witnesses are very clear in sharing, essentially, the same reading found in PvsP(K), I will quote here just the latter (3.a) alongside the corresponding lemma in the DZDL (= Kr) and part of the relevant gloss (3.b):

3.a. (Unexpanded readings)

*santi śāriputra bodhisattvā mahāsattvā ye prathamacittotpādam
upādāya dānapāramitāyāmī śīlapāramitāyāmī sthitvā naivāmī kadācid*

⁹⁶ See Xz(Ś), T 220 (V) p. 3b17–24; Xz(PvsP), T 220 (VII) p. 3a7–12; Xz(Ad), T 220 (VII) p. 429a10–16.

apāyadurgativinipāteśūpapadyante yāvad avinivartanīyabhūmim anuprāpnuvanti (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 86,21–23; cf. also Mo T 221 [VIII] p. 8b14–16; Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 226b28–c2;⁹⁷ Xz[Ś] T 220 [V] p. 41a7–9; Xz[PvsP] T 220 [VII] p. 20b1–3; Xz[Ad] T 220 [VII] p. 441a20–22).

There are, Śāriputra, Bodhisattvas, great beings who, having established themselves in the perfection of giving and in the perfection of discipline since [their] initial formulation of the intention [of attaining supreme awakening], in this way are never reborn into evil states, evil destinies, calamitous conditions [throughout the time] until they reach the stage of non-retrogression.

3.b. (*Commentary*)

【經】 舍利弗！有菩薩摩訶薩從初發心住檀波羅蜜、尸羅波羅蜜，乃至阿鞞跋致地，終不墮惡道。

【論】 … 問曰： 若持戒果報不墮惡道者，何以復說布施？

答曰： 持戒是不墮惡道根本，布施亦能不墮。 復次，菩薩持戒，雖不墮惡道中，生人中貧窮，不能自利，又不益人；以是故行布施 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 344c10–23).

Sūtra: Śāriputra, there are Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who, having established themselves in the perfection of giving and in the perfection of discipline since [their] initial formulation of the intention [of attaining supreme awakening], never fall into the evil destinies [throughout the time] until they attain the *avaivartya* stage.

Commentary: ... Question: If [the Bodhisattvas] do not fall into the evil destinies as a fruit of their observance of discipline, why does [the LP] also mention [the perfection of] giving?

Answer: While observing discipline is the root of not falling into the evil destinies, one can also obtain the same result through the virtue of giving.⁹⁸ Furthermore, if a Bodhisattva [only] observed discipline, even were he to avoid rebirth in the evil destinies, when born among

⁹⁷ [Note: Zacchetti noted that it is peculiar that there is no element corresponding to this passage in Dhr.—Eds.]

⁹⁸ This statement might echo a canonical passage; cf. for example *Majjhima-nikāya* III p. 205, 11–15, where giving of food, etc. to ascetics and brahmins is presented as being conducive, after death, to either a positive rebirth (*sugatim saggam lokam upapajjati*) or, in case of a human rebirth, to being wealthy (*mahābhoga*); see also n. 99 below for further references.

men, he would be poor, and could benefit neither himself nor others. It is for this reason that he practises [also the perfection of] giving [thus avoiding poverty in a future life].

Accounting for its base text's wording (especially when it may appear redundant, as it often does) is one of the main concerns of the DZDL. In that spirit, this gloss raises a question which is not entirely unreasonable: why does the LP mention here two forms of virtuous practice (two *pāramitās*), but only one type of karmic result? If we now turn to the corresponding passage in LPG, we can see that it contains an expansion (*na kadācid dāridryam nigacchaṇti*, “[having established themselves in the perfection of giving] ... they never become poor”) which seems to address precisely this issue, and it does so precisely along the lines suggested by the second explanation provided in the DZDL gloss:

3.c. (Expanded reading)

asti śāradvatīputra bodhisatvā mahāsatvā<ḥ> prathamacittotpādam upādāya dānapāramitāyāṁ śīlapāramitāyāṁ sthitvā na kadācid dāridryam nigacchaṇti • na durgativinipātam prapataṇti • yāvan nāvavartiyabhūmim anuprāpnuvantī (LPG f. 30v8–10; cf. Ś p. 280,3–6; PvSP [TibPk] nyi 69b7–70a1).

There are, Śāradvatīputra, Bodhisattvas, great beings who, having established themselves in the perfection of giving and in the perfection of discipline since [their] initial formulation of the intention [of attaining supreme awakening], never become poor nor fall into the calamity constituted by the evil destinies [throughout the time] until they reach the stage of non-retrogression.

The position of this addition (preceding *na durgativinipātam prapataṇti*, and thus symmetrically matching the—totally natural—position of *dānapāramitāyāṁ* before *śīlapāramitāyāṁ sthitvā*) makes it almost visually clear that this is intended as the specific outcome of the practice of the perfection of giving. Of course, from a doctrinal point of view, there is nothing surprising in the interpretation underlying this addition: the relationship established by the commentary between lack of giving and an impoverished rebirth is based on a common understanding of karma, and

in fact the DZDL is here, very probably, implicitly referring to a *sūtra* of the *Karmavibhaṅga* type.⁹⁹

And yet, again, this is not the point. From the perspective of the textual history of *this* particular scripture, what really matters is another fact: there seems to be little doubt that the expansion found in the LPG recension implies exactly the same line of thought we find spelled out in the DZDL gloss. Why should the transmitters of this text have added that sentence—*na kadācid dāridryam nigacchamti* (“[the Bodhisattvas] never become poor”—if they did not feel the need to introduce a grain of symmetry into the passage? And this is the same need we can also perceive in the question found in the DZDL’s passage: if the cultivation of the *śilapāramitā* (*śilapāramitāyām sthitvā*) can be clearly linked to the avoidance of an unfavourable rebirth (*na durgativinipātam prapataṃti*), then surely the practice of *dānapāramitā* should also lead to some specific consequences!

Passage 4

While my next example only involves the insertion of one single term, it has greater significance from a doctrinal point of view and, for this reason, in this case, the relationship between commentary and expanded reading is likely to entail an even higher degree of specificity. The passage in question is part of a long exposition of the faculties known as the “five eyes”, and deals specifically with the “pure Buddha eye” of a Bodhisattva (*bodhisattvasya ... pariśuddhaṃ buddhacaksuh*), which is described as the attainment, by the Bodhisattva, of a series of attributes or qualities typical of a Buddha. It is this list of attributes which is the important point for the purpose of our discussion. In typical LP fashion, each witness presents some variants and expansions not found in all the other versions, with rather complex patterns of agreement.

⁹⁹ For a convenient overview of this literature, see Anālayo 2011: 767–768, with notes. Our key passage in the DZDL gloss (生人中貧窮, “when born among men, he would be poor”) corresponds almost verbatim to *sace manussattam āgacchatī ... appabhogo hotī*, in the Pāli *Cūlakammavibhaṅga-sutta* (*Majjhima-nikāya* III [no. 135] p. 205,6–10; cf. Anālayo 2011: 772–773). See also the corresponding *sūtra* (no. 170) in the Chinese *Madhyamāgama* (*Zhong ahan jing* 中阿含經 T 26 [I] p. 705c19–20: 來生人間，無有財物). As pointed out by Anālayo (2014: 84–85 with n. 108), “The popular appeal of this simple correlation of karma and its fruit can be seen in the vast number of parallel versions extant for this discourse”.

A first group of witnesses—Mo (which has the shortest reading), Dhr, Kj, PvsP(K)—while containing more or less expanded versions of this passage, presents the same list of Buddha attributes with which the Bodhisattva becomes endowed:

4.a. (*Unexpanded readings*)

(4.a.1) Mo: 舍利弗白佛言：「何謂菩薩得佛眼淨？」

佛言：「已得金剛三昧，得薩云若、佛十種力、四無所畏，行四等心、十八不共、大慈大悲。是菩薩眼所見諸法一切眾事，無事不見，無聲不聞，無物不識[so 【宋】【元】【明】; T = 護]，無法不覺。舍利弗，是為菩薩得阿惟三佛，得最正覺眼。」(T 221 [VIII] p. 9b21–27).

Śāriputra asked the Buddha: “What is the Bodhisattva’s obtaining the purity of the Buddha eye?”

The Buddha replied: “Having attained the *vajrasamādhi*, [the Bodhisattva] acquires the *sarvajñatā*, the Buddha’s ten powers, the four forms of fearlessness, cultivation of the four equanimities,¹⁰⁰ the eighteen unshared [*buddhadharmas*], the great loving-kindness, and the great compassion. What this Bodhisattva’s eye sees are all the circumstances()<sup101 of all *dharmas*: there is no event he does not see, no sound he does not hear, no thing he does not remember,¹⁰² no dharma he is not aware of. This, Śāriputra, is the Bodhisattva’s attaining [the state of] *abhisambuddha*, acquiring the eye of supreme perfect awakening(?).”¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ 四等心 is a common early term used with reference to the four *brahmavihāras*; the other versions list here the expected four *pratisamvids*.

[Note: Zaccetti had here a fragmentary note showing that he intended to supply further references on the 四等心/four *brahmavihāras*. We cannot know what he had in mind, but as a start one might see e.g., T 222 (VIII) p. 153a16, and Zaccetti 2005: 337 for this particularly in Dhr; Maithrimurthi 1999 is a survey on the four *brahmavihāras* in general.—Eds.]

¹⁰¹ 一切眾事 is unclear: cf. PvsP(K)/LPG: *svavair ākāraiḥ/sarvākārair?*

¹⁰² 識, to be read *zhì*; cf. LPG: *nāsti kimcid ... asmytam*.

¹⁰³ Or, perhaps, “the eye of a supremely, perfectly awakened one”. It is interesting that while, on the whole, Mo presents the shortest version of this passage, its final sentence (是為菩薩得阿惟三佛，得最正覺眼), though not free of problems, seems to reflect, in part, the expanded reading found in Dhr, Kj, and S (300,22–301,2): *idam sāradvatīputra bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasyānuttarāmī samyaksam-bodhim abhisambuddhasya pariśuddhaṁ buddhacakṣuḥ* (cf. also PvsP[TibPk]!).

(4.a.2) Dhr: 舍利弗白佛言：「云何開士大士佛眼淨？」

佛告舍利弗：「開士大士所用因與無上道意，金剛之喻三昧正受，具足一切諸通慧、如來十力、四無所畏、四分別辯、十八不共諸佛之法、大慈、大悲，至于開士大士眼，普達一切佛法：於一切佛法，無所不見，無所不聞，無有限量，無所不通。是，舍利弗，開士大士逮得無上正真之道，成最正覺時，乃能具足得佛眼淨。」(T 222 [VIII] p. 159b7–15).

Śāriputra asked the Buddha: “What is the purity of the Buddha eye of the Awakener,¹⁰⁴ the Great Being?”

The Buddha replied to Śāriputra: ‘The Awakener, the Great Being, [...]¹⁰⁵ having attained the *vajropamasamādhi*,¹⁰⁶ [having become] provided with the all-penetrating insight,¹⁰⁷ the ten powers of the

¹⁰⁴ The precise meaning of *kaishi* 開士 (and the closely related form 開士, mainly occurring as variant), a translation of *bodhisattva* common in some early translations (see Nattier 2008: 96; 136), is not entirely clear, and provisionally I have adopted Arthur Link’s rendition (1957: 7; cf. also Zürcher 2014: 429 n. 15: “Revealer”). The earliest translation to use *kaishi* is the *Fa jing jing* 法鏡經 T 322 (a version of the *Ugrapariprcchā* translated by An Xuan and Yan Futiao in the late second century CE). While it does not provide a definition of this term, this text contains an occurrence of *kai* 開 (as part of the disyllabic word *kaidao* 開導) which might corroborate, albeit very indirectly, Link’s interpretation: 彼除餓，用無上正真道開導之 (T 322, p. 19b16–17); “as to that ‘hunger-dispeller’ (除餓, i.e., *bhiksu*; see Nattier 2008: 91), [the householder Bodhisattva] enlightens and exhorts him by means of the Supreme True Way (*anuttara-samyaksambodhi*)”. My rendition of this passage, which is very tentative, takes into account the corresponding passage in the Tibetan version (as rendered by Nattier 2003: 277 § 20F), although it is possible that the *Fa jing jing* reflects here a very different text.

¹⁰⁵ I am unable to understand the string 所用因與無上道意, which I leave untranslated; it might be partly corrupt. However, if we take 無上道意 as representing *bodhicitta*, this passage might correspond in part to *bodhicittānantaram* (“immediately after the thought of awakening”), which is found both in PvsP(K) and LPG.

¹⁰⁶ On the *vajropamasamādhi*, see n. 115 below. The odd syntax of the string 金剛之喻三昧正受, with the object ~三昧 construed, without preposition, before the verb 正受 (the string being a calque of *samādhiṁ sam-āśpad*), has several parallels in Dharmarakṣa’s corpus (see Karashima 1998: 586–587; Zucchetti 2005: 257 n. 105).

¹⁰⁷ 具足一切諸通慧 corresponds to *sarvākārajñatām anuprāpnoti* in PvsP(K)/LPG. Note, however, that the verb *juzu* 具足 in Dhr takes as objects the whole list of Buddha qualities (cf. *samavāgataḥ/samanvāgato bhavati* in the Skt. versions), and not just *sarvākārajñatā*. The extremely rare expression *yiqie zhutonghui* 一切諸通慧 (here = *sarvākārajñatā*) is a variation of *zhutonghui* 諸通慧, which is well

Thus-come One, the four forms of fearlessness, the four forms of discriminative knowledge, the eighteen unshared *dharma*s of the Buddhas, the great loving-kindness and the great compassion, as for the [Buddha] eye [obtained by] an Awakener, a Great Being,¹⁰⁸ he comprehends all *buddhadharma*s¹⁰⁹ without exception: with respect to the *buddhadharma*s, there is nothing he does not see, nothing he does not hear, without any limitation, there is nothing he does not penetrate. Śāriputra, it is when this Awakener, this Great Being, becomes supremely awakened, having attained the Supreme, Correct, and True Way,¹¹⁰ that he is able to obtain in full the purity of the Buddha eye.

(4.a.3) Kj: 舍利弗白佛言：「世尊，云何菩薩摩訶薩佛眼淨？」

佛告舍利弗：「有菩薩摩訶薩求佛道心次第入如金剛三昧，得一切種智。爾時成就十力、四無所畏、四無闇智、十八不共法、大慈、大悲。是菩薩摩訶薩用一切種智，一切法中無法不見、無法不聞、無法不知、無法不識。舍利弗，是為菩薩摩訶薩得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時佛眼淨 (T 223 [VIII] p. 228a16–24).」

Śāriputra asked the Buddha: “World-honoured One, what is the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva’s purity of the Buddha eye?”

The Buddha replied to Śāriputra: “There are Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who, after the intention of seeking awakening,¹¹¹ having entered in the

attested in Dharmarakṣa’s corpus as a translation of *sarvajñajñāna*, *sarvajñatā*, etc. (see Karashima 1998: 602–603; Zucchetti 2005: 288 n. 365).

¹⁰⁸ [Note: Zucchetti noted some hesitation about how to interpret the phrase 至于開士大士眼. (1) He considered the possibility that 至于 could mean “reach, attain”; or “with regard to”; or “so far as”, i.e., an ellipsis indicator like Pali *pe* (= *peyālam*); (2) he noted that although the “eye” here appears, on the surface, to be a so-called “**bodhisattva-mahāsattva-eye*”, context and parallels show that it should in fact be a Buddha-eye under discussion. We have tried to reflect in the translation we settled upon what appeared to be his preferred reading among these options, but note the others here.—Eds.]

¹⁰⁹ Note that in none of the other versions is the omniscience acquired by the Bodhisattva specifically focused on the *buddhadharma*s.

¹¹⁰ 達得無上正真之道，成最正覺 corresponds to (*bodhisattvasya*) ... *anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambuddhasya* in Ś (pp. 300,22–301,1); cf. also n. 103 above.

¹¹¹ 求佛道心次第 might correspond to *bodhicittānantaram* (“immediately after the thought of awakening”), on which see n. 114 below. It is true that, at first sight, the most natural way of punctuating this sentence from the viewpoint of Chinese syntax would be as 求佛道心，次第入如金剛三昧. However, it seems to make

vajropamasamādhi, attain the knowledge of all aspects (一切種智, *sarvākārajñatā*). Then they accomplish the ten powers, the four forms of fearlessness, the four forms of unobstructed insight,¹¹² the eighteen unshared *dharmas*, the great loving-kindness, and the great compassion. For these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas, due to the knowledge of all aspects, with respect to all *dharmas*, there is no *dharma* they do not see, hear, know, remember. Śāriputra, this is the purity of the Buddha eye when the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva has attained the *anuttara-samyaksambodhi-*.

(4.a.4) Xz(Ad): 時，舍利子復白佛言：「世尊，云何菩薩摩訶薩得淨佛眼？」佛告舍利子：「諸菩薩摩訶薩，菩提心無間，入金剛喻定，得一切相智，成佛十力、四無所畏、四無礙解、十八佛不共法、大慈、大悲、大喜、大捨，得淨佛眼。諸菩薩摩訶薩由得此眼，無所不見，無所不聞，無所不覺，無所不識。舍利子，是為菩薩摩訶薩得淨佛眼。」(T 220 [VII] p. 443b5–11).

Then Śāriputra asked the Buddha: “World-honoured One, how does the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva obtain the pure Buddha eye?”

The Buddha replied: “Śāriputra, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having entered, at no interval from the *bodhicitta*, the Vajra-like concentration, attain the knowledge of all aspects, [thus] accomplishing the ten forces of the Buddhas, the four forms of fearlessness, the four unobstructed understandings, the eighteen unshared *dharmas* of the Buddhas, the great loving-kindness, the great compassion, the great sympathetic joy, the great equanimity,¹¹³ [thus] obtaining the pure Buddha eye. Through the obtainment of this eye, there is nothing that all Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas do not see, nothing they do not hear, nothing they do not realise, nothing they do not remember. Śāriputra, this is the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas’ obtaining the pure Buddha eye”.

more sense to take the whole string *qiū fōdào* 求佛道 (a very common stock expression in both Kj and DZDL) as a modifier of *xīn* 心 (also in view of the Sanskrit parallel), rather than *qiū* 求 as an independent predicate and *fōdào xīn* 佛道心 as its object. On uses of *cidi* 次第 in Medieval Chinese which are partly similar to the present occurrence, see Dong and Cai 1994: 77 (even though all the examples they quote are rather late). One problem with my analysis, which remains a working hypothesis, is that before *cidi* 次第 one would normally expect a verbal sentence (such as 求, etc.).

¹¹² 無闇智 is a variant of 無礙智, which is a common translation of *pratisamvid* (see Lamotte III p. 1614).

¹¹³ *Da xi, da she* 大喜、大捨: cf. LPG: *mahāmuditayā mahopekṣayā*.

(4.a.5) PvsP(K): *Śāriputra āha: katamad Bhagavan bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya pariśuddham buddhacakṣuh? Bhagavān āha: yac Chāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo bodhicittānantaram vajropamam samādhiṁ samāpadya ekacittakṣaṇasamāyuktayā prajñayā sarvākāra-jñatām anuprāpnoti, daśabhis tathāgatabalaiḥ samanvāgataḥ, catur-bhir vaiśāradyaīś catasṛbhīḥ pratisaṃvidbhīḥ aṣṭādaśabhiḥ āvenikair buddhadharmaī mahāmaityryā mahākaruṇayā ca samanvāgataḥ, yena ca cakṣusā bodhisattvena mahāsattvena nāsti kiñcid adṛṣṭam vāśrutam vāmatam vāvijñatam vā sarvair ākāraih. evam hi śāriputra bodhi-sattvasya mahāsattvasya pariśuddham buddhacakṣuh* (PvsP[K] I-1 pp. 97,23–98,2).

Śāriputra asked: “What is, Lord, the pure Buddha eye of the Bodhisattva, the Great Being?”

The Lord replied: “Śāriputra, if the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, immediately after the thought of awakening,¹¹⁴ having entered the Vajra-like concentration (*vajropama- samādhi-*),¹¹⁵ attains the knowledge of all aspects [of *dharma*s] through insight associated with one

¹¹⁴ Given the context (attainment of the *sarvākāra-jñatā*), and in light of the DZDL gloss (with its mention of the tenth *bhūmi*), here *bodhicitta* does not seem to refer to the initial formulation of the intention of attaining awakening. If so, one wonders if this expression, *bodhicittānantaram* (not found in Mo), which puzzled Conze (see 1975: 79 n. 40), might not parallel specific doctrinal developments in the conception of *bodhicitta/cittotpāda*. One can think, for example, of classifications which included forms of *cittotpāda* linked to the final stages of the Bodhisattva’s career, such as the fourfold scheme found in the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* (IV.2, Lévi 1907–1911, vol. 1 p. 14,5–6 and 9), whose last item, called “without hindrances” (*āvaraṇavarjita/anāvaraṇika*) (and suggestively so, from the point of view of our discussion, as we shall see), is assigned to the *buddhabhūmi* (see Wangchuk 2007: 271–272, and more generally the whole of Chapter 8, pp. 235–275, on various traditional classifications of *bodhicitta*). However, I have not been able to find a more specific link with the present LP passage.

¹¹⁵ The attainment of the *vajropamasamādhi* (for useful references see Martini 2011: 178 n. 131) entails the complete severance of all defilements and hence constitutes a key juncture in the path to liberation as presented in the Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharma*: see *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* IV.112b (p. 267) and VI.44d (pp. 364–365); tr. de La Vallée Poussin 1923–1931, vol. 3 p. 231 (with n. 1) and vol. 4 pp. 227–229; see also Dhammadhoti 2015: 380, 382 and *passim*. The development of the notion of *vajropamasamādhi* in the Sarvāstivādin *Abhidharma* is discussed by E. Frauwallner (1995: 177–178), while on its use in Mahāyāna literature, see Watanabe 2005 (and especially pp. 199–202 on occurrences in LP texts) and Zhao 2018: 207 and 210–215. On this notion see also Radich 2011 (2012): 276–279, note also that the present PvsP passage is also briefly discussed by D. Seyfort Ruegg (1989: 167).

single moment of thought,¹¹⁶ he [then becomes] provided with the ten powers of the Tathāgata, the four forms of fearlessness, the four special knowledges, the eighteen special qualities of the Buddhas, the great loving-kindness, and the great compassion. And there is nothing that is not seen, or not heard, or not understood, or not known¹¹⁷ in all aspects by the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, by means of this eye. Such, Śāriputra, is the pure Buddha eye of the Bodhisattva, the Great Being”.

The DZDL comments quite extensively on this passage, but it is only the initial portion of the gloss that is relevant to our discussion. Here the commentary gives a concise summary of the process leading to the attainment of the qualities which are said to constitute the *buddhacaksus*:

4.b. (Commentary)

【經】 舍利弗白佛言：「世尊！云何菩薩摩訶薩佛眼淨？」 etc.
(as quoted above under Kj, in 4.a.3).

【論】 釋曰： 菩薩住十地中，具足六波羅蜜，乃至一切種智。菩薩入如金剛三昧，破諸煩惱習，即時得諸佛無礙解脫，即生佛眼。所謂一切種智、十力、四無所畏、四無礙智，乃至大慈、大悲等諸功德，是名「佛眼」(T 1509 [XXV] p. 350b19–23).

Sūtra: Śāriputra asked the Buddha: “World-honoured One, what is the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva’s purity of the Buddha eye?” etc.

The Commentary explains: a Bodhisattva, established on the tenth *bhūmi*, perfects the six *pāramitās* until [he attains] the knowledge of all aspects (**sarvākārajñatā*). When the Bodhisattva enters the *vajropamasamādhi* and destroys all the [residual] impressions of defilements,¹¹⁸ he immediately obtains the Buddhas’ liberation which

¹¹⁶ This expression, *ekacittakṣaṇasamāyuktayā prajñayā*, is found, in this passage, only in PvsP(K), though it occurs elsewhere in LPG (see f. 297r3; see Conze 1974: 102). It is noteworthy that it seems to have played an important role in Lokottara-vādin descriptions of the Buddha’s instantaneous awakening, as shown by some parallels from the *Mahāvastu* (see Tournier 2017: 35–36).

¹¹⁷ For a parallel of this formula occurring in Pāli commentarial literature (*Manorathapūraṇī*) to describe the Buddha’s omniscience, see Anālayo 2014: 119 with n. 67.

¹¹⁸ The DZDL interprets the expression *fannaoxi* 煩惱習 as “residual odour of defilements” (煩惱習名煩惱殘氣; T 1509 [XXV] p. 260c2; tr. Lamotte IV p. 1760). Kj contains several occurrences of this term, usually corresponding to the compound (*sarva*)-*vāsanānusamdhiklesa-* “(all) the defilements connected to

is free from hindrances (諸佛無礙解脫, **anāvaraṇa-* *buddhavimokṣa*),¹¹⁹ then producing the Buddha eye. All the various qualities [characteristic of a Buddha] such as the knowledge of all aspects, the ten forces, the four forms of fearlessness, the four forms of unobstructed insight, etc., up to the great loving-kindness and the great compassion, are defined as the Buddha eye.

In contrast with the descriptions found in the various LP versions of this passage quoted above (under 4.a.1–4), here this process is depicted as being centred on an attainment called **anāvaraṇa-* *buddhavimokṣa*, “unhindered Buddha liberation”. And it is precisely this term that we find added (alongside other items: *mahāmuditā* and *mahopekṣā* in LPG) in texts of the LPG recension, at the end of the list of qualities with which the Bodhisattva is endowed (the location of this addition at the end of the list may also be meaningful):

residues [of past deeds]”. See, for example, 欲 ... 斷煩惱習 (T 223 [VIII] p. 219a24) corresponding to *sarvavāsanānusandhikleśān prahātukāmena* in LPG (see GZJ § 1.109 in Zacchetti 2005: 173 and 288 n. 366); 斷一切煩惱習 (T 223 [VIII] p. 362b15) = *sarvavāsanānusandhikleśāprahāṇam* (LPG f. 233r, not included in the recent facsimile edition; see Karashima et al. 2016: vii–viii; ed. Conze 1962: 71); see also T 223 (VIII) pp. 375c27–376a3 and cf. LPG f. 253r, ed. Conze 1962: 149; 一切煩惱習永盡 (T 223 [VIII] p. 378b21) corresponding to *sarvavāsanānusandhikleśāḥ prahāsyante* in PvsP (K) V p. 137,24. I have not been able to study the use of *fannaoxi* 煩惱習 in Kumārajīva’s corpus with any degree of systematicity, but even so, its correspondence with *sarvavāsanānusandhikleśā* seems confirmed by other texts, although it also occurs corresponding to other related terms. For example, in Kumārajīva’s translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* there are two occurrences of this term: 離煩惱習 (*Weimojie suo shuo jing* T 475 [XIV] p. 542c3), corresponding to *sarvavāsanānusandhikleśavigatā* in the Sanskrit text (folio 21b3 [ed. 2006: 36]); and 如佛煩惱習 (T 475 [XIV] p. 547b9), corresponding to *tathāgatasya kleśavāsanā* (folio 39b5–6 [ed. 2006: 65]).

¹¹⁹ For a parallel supporting the obvious and semantically unproblematic equivalence *wu’ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 = *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* from Kumārajīva’s corpus, see his translation of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (T 475 [XIV] p. 537a13): 心常安住無礙解脫, corresponding to *anāvaraṇavimokṣapratīṣṭhitaiḥ* in the Sanskrit text (Chapter 1 § 3, folio 1b5, ed. 2006: p. 1). Note that Lamotte (IV n. 1 p. 1829) wrongly conjectured *asauigavimokṣa* (or *apratihitavimokṣa*) as the original of 無礙解脫. Compare also n. 388, n. 409, on other attempts by Lamotte to reconstruct the underlying Sanskrit for *wu’ai jietuo*. For the attainment of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* immediately after *vajropamasamādhi*, see also Passage 14 in Appendix 1.

4.c. (*Expanded readings*)

(4.c.1) LPG: *āha • katamat punar bhagavan bodhisatvasya mahā-satvasya pariśuddhaṇ buddhacakṣuh bhagavān āha •* *yac chāradvatī-putra bodhisatvo mahāsatvo bodhicittānantaram bajropamam samā-dhim samāpadya sarvākāraṇatām anuprapnoti •* *sa daśabhis tathā-gatabalaiḥ samanvāgato bhavati • caturbhīr v[ai]śāradyaś catasṛ-bhiḥ pratisaṇvidbhi{h}r asṭādaśabhir āvenikair buddhadharmair ma-hāmaitryā mahākaruṇayā mahāmuditayā mahopekṣayā anāvaraṇena ca buddhavimokṣena samanvāgato bhavati¹²⁰ • ta<d a>sya¹²¹ cakṣur yena cakṣuṣā bodhisatvena mahāsatvena sarvākārair nāsti kiṃcid ad-r̥ṣṭam aśrutam asmytam avijñātam || idam śāradvatīputra bodhisatva-sya mahāsatvasya pariśuddhaṇ buddhacakṣuh* (LPG f. 34v4–6; cf. Š pp. 300,13–301,2; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 77a8–b4).

[Śāradvatīputra] asked: “What, Lord, is the pure Buddha eye of the Bodhisattva, the Great Being?”

The Lord replied: “Śāriputra, if the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, immediately after the thought of awakening, having entered the Vajra-like concentration,¹²² attains the knowledge of all aspects [of *dharma*s], he [then] becomes provided with the ten powers of the Tathāgata, he becomes provided with the four forms of fearlessness, the four special knowledges, the eighteen special qualities of the Buddhas, the great loving-kindness, the great compassion, the great sympathetic joy, the great equanimity, and the unhindered Buddha liberation (*anāvaraṇa-buddhavimokṣa-*). That is his eye, by means of which there is nothing that is not seen, not heard, not remembered, or not known in all aspects by the Bodhisattva, the Great Being. This, Śāradvatīputra, is the pure Buddha eye of the Bodhisattva, the Great Being”.

¹²⁰ PvsP(TibPk) nyi 77b here reads *sangs rgyas kyi chos rnam par thar pa bsgribs pa med pa dang ldan pa yin*; cf. PvsP(TibD) ka 75b3, which has instead the expected *sangs rgyas kyi* [dots in a space of two letters] *rnam par thar pa bsgribs pa med pa dang ldan pa yin*. The mistaken insertion of *chos* in the Peking edition might perhaps be due to the influence of *sangs rgyas kyi chos ma 'dres pa* (= *āvenikair buddhadharmair* in LPG) in the previous line. [In a personal communication of 25 May, 2018, Jonathan Silk said that he thinks that the dots appearing in the Derge are likely to be a correction; cf. Lithang *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā* f. 73a5: *sangs rgyas kyi rnam par thar pa bsgribs pa med pa dang ldan pa yin*].

¹²¹ Cf. Š p. 300,21 and PvsP(TibPk) nyi 77b: *de ni de'i myig ste*.

¹²² MS: *bajropamam samādhīṇ*; cf. above n. 94.

This particular expansion—the addition of the term *anāvaraṇa-buddhavimokṣa*, or, rather, a related form (**anāvaraṇavimokṣa*?)—is also shared by Xz(Ś) and Xz(PvsP), with some interesting variants (especially in the former, which has the most expanded version of this passage):

(4.c.2) Xz(Ś): 爾時，舍利子復自佛言：「世尊，云何菩薩摩訶薩得淨佛眼？」

佛告具壽舍利子言：「舍利子，諸菩薩摩訶薩，菩提心無間，入金剛喻定，得一切相智，成就佛十力、四無所畏、四無礙解、大慈、大悲、大喜、大捨、十八佛不共法等無量、無邊、不可思議、殊勝功德。爾時成就無障無礙解脫、佛眼。諸菩薩摩訶薩由得如是清淨佛眼，超過一切聲聞、獨覺智慧境界，無所不見，無所不聞，無所不覺，無所不識，於一切法見一切相。舍利子，是為菩薩摩訶薩得淨佛眼。舍利子，諸菩薩摩訶薩要得無上正等菩提，乃得如是清淨佛眼。」(T 220 [V] p. 44, c16–27).

At that time, Śāriputra asked the Buddha: “World-honoured One, how does the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva obtain the pure Buddha eye?”

The Buddha replied to the Life-possessing (具壽, āyusmat) Śāriputra: “Śāriputra, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having entered, at no interval from the *bodhicitta*, the Vajra-like concentration, attain the knowledge of all aspects, [thus] accomplishing the ten forces, the four forms of fearlessness, the four unhindered understandings, the great loving-kindness, the great compassion, the great sympathetic joy, the great equanimity, the eighteen unshared *dharmas* of the Buddhas, and other such immeasurable, unlimited, inconceivable, excellent qualities. At that time, they accomplish the the unhindered, unobstructed liberation¹²³ [and(?)] the Buddha eye.¹²⁴ From the acquisition of such a pure Buddha eye, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas surpass the range of the

¹²³ I take *wu zhang wu ai* 無障無礙, found in both Xz(Ś) and Xz(PvsP), as just a varied rendition of *anāvaraṇa* (= 無障礙). One possible explanation of this variation is that, in this way, Xuanzang tried to differentiate the rendition of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* from the very similar 無礙解, his usual translation of *pratisamvid*, which occurs shortly before this very passage.

¹²⁴ Or: “the Buddha eye of [or: consisting in?] unhindered, unobstructed liberation”? My interpretation of the string 無障無礙解脫佛眼 remains tentative. In the parallel passage in Xz(PvsP), 無障無礙解脫 is simply listed after the other qualities accomplished by the Bodhisattvas, thus seemingly coming close to LPG’s reading. However, even there the presence of 佛眼 at the end of the list makes the context different from that of the Sanskrit parallels.

insight of all Disciples and Solitary Awakened Ones (*śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*), there is nothing they do not see, nothing they do not hear, nothing they do not realise, nothing they do not remember, seeing all aspects with respect to all *dharma*s. Śāriputra, this is the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas' attaining the pure Buddha eye. Śāriputra, it is only when they are about to attain supreme perfect *bodhi* that the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas obtain such a pure Buddha eye”.

(4.c.3) Xz(PvsP): 時，舍利子復白佛言：「世尊，云何菩薩摩訶薩清淨佛眼？」

佛言：「舍利子，菩薩摩訶薩，菩提心無間，入金剛喻定，得一切相智，成就佛十力、四無所畏、四無礙解、大慈、大悲、大喜、大捨、十八佛不共法、無障無礙解脫、佛眼。菩薩摩訶薩由此佛眼，超過一切聲聞、獨覺智慧境界，無所不見、無所不聞、無所不覺、無所不識，於一切法見一切相。舍利子，是名菩薩摩訶薩清淨佛眼。」(T 220 [VII] p. 22b25–c4).

Then Śāriputra asked the Buddha: “World-honoured One, what is the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva’s pure Buddha eye?”

The Buddha replied: “Śāriputra, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas having entered, at no interval from the *bodhicitta*, the Vajra-like concentration, attain the knowledge of all aspects, [thus] accomplishing the ten forces, (etc., as above) ... the eighteen unshared *dharma*s of the Buddhas, the unhindered, unobstructed liberation [and(?)] the Buddha eye (cf. n. 124 above). Through this eye, the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas surpass the range of the insight of all Disciples and Solitary Awakened Ones [etc., as above].... Śāriputra, this is called the pure Buddha eye of the Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas”.

The reading offered by Xz(Ś) (4.c.2) is of particular interest, for, unlike Xz(PvsP), it clearly sets the attainment of the **anāvaraṇavimokṣa* apart from that of the other categories listed here: by having it introduced by the formula 爾時成就 (“At that time, they accomplish”), this attainment is portrayed as a separate step leading to the attainment of the Buddha eye, thus coming closer to the DZDL’s interpretation of the passage.

A more detailed analysis of the term *anāvaraṇa- buddhavimokṣa* and related forms will be provided in Appendix 2 below, where I discuss the use of this term in the DZDL, as well as some of its occurrences in other sources, especially Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature. Here I will confine myself to two main remarks concerning this specific passage.

First, the series of Buddha attributes (ten forces, four assurances, etc.) is very frequent in LP texts, where it tends to form a textually stable list. However, as far as I have been able to determine, the *anāvaraṇa- buddhavimokṣa*/**anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is not at all common in *Prajñāpāramitā* literature. In other words, while the sequence of the ten *tathāgatabala*, four *vaiśāradya*, etc., up to the eighteen *āvenīkabuddhadharma* is a well-established stock list (often with the addition of *mahāmaitrī* and *mahākaruṇā*, and further expansions, such as *mahāmuditā mahopeksā* in the LPG recension and in Xz[PvsP] and Xz[Ś])—a *mātrikā*, in effect (cf. Lamotte III p. 1505)—the *anāvaraṇa- buddhavimokṣa*/**anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is *not* part of that list.¹²⁵ In fact, this expression does not seem to occur in the whole of the *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā* edited by Kimura. And in the entirety of the immense *Da banreboluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 T 220 translated by Xuanzang, apart from the passage discussed here, there seems to be only one other clear occurrence of this expression, as the name of a *samādhi*.¹²⁶ In T 223, moreover, it only occurs within the same list of *samādhis* (得無礙解脫三昧, T 223 [VIII] p. 417c29). This is all the more remarkable, given the well-known propensity of LP texts for repetition, especially of stock lists of terms.

Secondly, as will be detailed in Appendix 2, in contrast with the scenario described above, the notion of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* plays an important role in the DZDL, even more so from a qualitative point of view than from a merely quantitative (although the quantitative perspective too is far from insignificant, as the term occurs almost fifty times in the commentary). In particular, there are passages of the commentary

¹²⁵ Note, however, that the term occurs in two DZDL passages as part of lists of terms quite close to that found in our Passage 4: see T 1509 [XXV] p. 174c3–11 and p. 180a5–10. Yet these are passages from the *commentary* (and a commentary in which, as I have pointed out above and will show in detail in Appendix 2, this notion plays a uniquely important role), so I do not think that they have any bearing on my argument. Incidentally, in his translation of both passages, Lamotte (II p. 949 and 982)—wrongly, I think—interpreted 無礙解脫 as referring to the four *pratisamvids* (四無礙智) and the eight *vimokṣas* (八解脫), and not as forming, as it does, one single expression.

¹²⁶ This occurs in Xz(Ś), in the section corresponding to the Sadaprarudita chapter in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*: 無礙解脫三摩地 (T 220 [VI] p. 1061c14–15; cf. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 941,10: *anāvaraṇavimokṣapṛapto nāma samādhiḥ*). Another possible parallel is found in the sixth section of the *Da banreboluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經, which according to Hikata (1958: xv) has no Sanskrit or Tibetan parallel: 具足無礙諸解脫門 (T 220 [VII] p. 950b9)

which attribute important functions to this faculty. For example, according to one passage (T 1509 [XXV] p. 265c1–4; tr. Lamotte IV pp. 1829–1830), this is the form of *jñāna* which enables one to know the *citta* and *caitasika* of all the beings (see below, Appendix 2, Passage 2, p. 187).

In short, there are enough facts suggesting that the insertion of this term in the various witnesses quoted above (Passages 4.c.1–3) may reflect a specific doctrinal interpretation, arguably the same found in the corresponding DZDL passage. In other words, though it is equally limited from a quantitative point of view (just one word), this item is typologically completely different from the kind of textual development exemplified by Passages nos. 1–2 above, consisting in the addition of common terms. It is true that in PLG, Ś, and Xz(PvsP) the term *anāvaraṇa-budhavimokṣa* is simply added at the end of the list of terms (a list which, in Ś, is, as usual, also expanded in other ways), alongside the other terms, without being explicitly made to play the same important role it has in the DZDL gloss, where it is clearly described as an attainment *leading to* the acquisition of the other qualities. Still, it seems highly unlikely that this is due to a mere coincidence, given the rarity of the term in *Prajñā-pāramitā* literature. As already remarked above, this hypothesis is substantially corroborated by the occurrence of the term in Xz(Ś), where **anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is not part of the stock list, but is introduced with a separate statement and hence given a more prominent role, more closely connected with the attainment of the *buddhacakṣus*.

Passage 5

All the examples analysed thus far display a similarly linear pattern of textual development, consisting in the addition of one word (nos. 1, 2, 4) or a short passage (3) which can be traced to the relevant DZDL glosses. However, this is not the only form of exegetical influence on the development of the LP documented by the DZDL.

One case involving a more radical form of editing occurs in the first chapter of the three earliest Chinese translations. This is a short passage which reads as follows:

5.a. (*Unexpanded readings*)

(5.a.1) Dhr: 復次，舍利弗，若菩薩摩訶薩欲建立諸佛國土，令不斷絕 ... (T 222 [VIII] p. 149c25–26; cf. GZJ § 1.134, Zucchetti 2005: 180 and 295–296).

“Furthermore, Śāriputra, if a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to establish Buddha-lands, [in order to] prevent them from being interrupted [he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*]”.¹²⁷

(5.a.2) Mo: 菩薩摩訶薩欲護一切十方諸佛刹[+土【宋】【元】【明】
【宮】]，使不斷者，當學般若波羅蜜 (T 221 [VIII] p. 3a25–26).

“If a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to maintain all *buddhakṣetras* in all the ten directions, causing them not to be interrupted, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*”.

(5.a.3) Kj: 復次，舍利弗，菩薩摩訶薩[摩訶薩 not in T 223]欲使諸佛國土[佛國土 = 佛世界 DZDL]不斷者，當學般若波羅蜜 (T 223 [VIII] p. 219c6–8).

“Furthermore, Śāriputra, if a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to cause all Buddha-lands not to be interrupted, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*”.

Apart from some minor discrepancies, which, in all likelihood, are largely to be ascribed to the translation process, all these early witnesses agree in the main point: the Bodhisattva who wishes to prevent *buddhakṣetras* from being “interrupted” or “cut off” should train in the Perfection of Insight. Taking into account the Sanskrit parallels discussed below, I would reconstruct the original underlying Dhr, Mo, and Kj as **buddhakṣetrānupacchedāya sthātukāmena bodhisatvena mahāsatvena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam*,¹²⁸ or something similar.

¹²⁷ For remarks on this passage, see Zucchetti 2005: 295 § 1.134. The expected refrain 當學般若波羅蜜 (“[if the Bodhisattva wishes, etc.] he should train in the *Prajñāpāramitā*” = [*bodhisatvena*, etc.] *prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam*), repeated *usque ad nauseam* in this section of the text, in this case only occurs after several lines (T 222 [VIII] p. 150a2–3).

¹²⁸ Lamotte (IV 1988) reconstructed the Sanskrit underlying Kj’s reading, as attested by the DZDL lemma (i.e., 欲使諸佛世界不斷者; T 1509 [XXV] p. 284b20–21), a bit mechanically as *buddhalokadhātvanupacchedāya sthātukāmena*. In his translation of the gloss, however, he used the form *buddhakṣetrānupaccheda* (IV 1991). I think that **buddhakṣetrānupacchedāya* is preferable as a reconstruction, as it is

While the PvsP(K) does not contain any direct parallel to this sentence in a corresponding position (which is noteworthy),¹²⁹ LPG and related texts present the following passage:

5.b. (*Expanded readings*)

(5.b.1) LPG: *punar aparam śāradvatīputra bu[ddh](o)[tpā]dānupacchedāya¹³⁰ sthātukāmena bodhisatvakulam ārakṣitukāmena buddha-*

directly supported by Mo, whose translation, 佛刹/佛刹土, clearly seems to reflect this original reading. In fact, even *fo guotu* 佛國土 (the reading found in T 223) is commonly employed as a translation of *buddhakṣetra*, as shown (just to mention an example at hand from Kj) by the two passages which immediately precede the one we are discussing here (see T 223 [VIII] p. 219c2–6, and cf. LPG f. 10v6–11; see also GZJ § 1.132–1.133 in Zucchetti 2005: 179). The variant found in the DZDL lemma, *fo shijie* 佛世界, is also used to translate *buddhakṣetra* (alongside other words) in Kumārajīva's corpus: see, for example, *Xiaopin banreboluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經 T 227 [VIII] p. 579a8–9, corresponding to *Aṣṭasāhasrikā p.* 882,17–20.

¹²⁹ A partial parallel—but occurring in a different position in the text and even more different from the reading attested by Dhr, Mo, and Kj—is found in PvsP(K) I-1 32,22–23 (cf. also Š 71,3): *punar aparam śāriputra bodhisattvena mahāsattvena triratnavanśasyānupacchedāya sthātukāmena prajñāpāramitāyām śiksitavyam*. Interestingly, this reading is also found, with an expansion, in Xz(Ad), but occurring in the same position as the passages listed under 5a–b: 欲紹三寶種使不斷絕，利益安樂一切有情，應學般若波羅蜜多 (T 220 [VII] p. 430c1–3); “[If a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva] wishes to carry on the lineage of the triple jewel, without letting it be interrupted, [thus] benefitting and bringing happiness to all sentient beings, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*”. The most likely explanation of this complex situation is that the text found in Xz(Ad) and PvsP(K) represents a parallel development of the early passage attested in Dhr, Mo, and Kj (5.a), alternative to those witnessed (5.b) by the LPG recension, Xz(Š) and Xz(PvsP), but equally centred on the notion of *vamśa*/種.

¹³⁰ So also LPG III-3r11: *buddhotpādān(u)pa(cch)[e]///*. While the text of Š (p. 77,1) reads *buddhotpādānupacchedāya* with LPG, the apparatus records the variant *buddhotpādāya* attested in the Cambridge University Library manuscript collated by Ghoṣa.

[Note: All that Ghosa 1902 p. 4 has to say about his “Cambridge Manuscript,” which he called *ca*, is: “The Cambridge University Library manuscript is in Nepali characters. A neatly written copy. Character Nepali.” For the relevant portion of the text, it is not clear which manuscript was used. One, called Add. 1626, has 477 pages 14.5cm by 50cm (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01626/1>), another Add. 1633 in 494 folios of 13cm by 45cm (<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01633/1>). The latter is listed in Bendall’s catalogue (Cecil Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1883]: 148), but the former not.

*vamśānucchedāya*¹³¹ *sthātukāmena bodhisatvena mahāsatvena pra-*
*jñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam** (LPG f. 11r1–2; cf. LPG III-3r11–12; Š pp.
 76,22–77,5; PvsP[TibPk] *nyi* 32b1–2).

“The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who wishes to be prepared for the non-interruption of the coming into being of the Buddhas, who wishes to protect the family of the Bodhisattvas, who wishes to be prepared for the non-interruption of the Buddhas’ lineage should train in the Perfection of Insight”.

A partly similar textual development is also attested in Xz(Ś) and Xz (PvsP), though with some considerable variants and further expansions with respect to LPG:

(5.b.2) Xz(Ś): 若菩薩摩訶薩欲紹佛種令不斷絕，護菩薩家令不退轉，
 嚴淨佛土令速成辦，應學般若波羅蜜多 (T 220 [V] p. 13b19–21; cf.
 Xz[PvsP] T 220 [VII] p. 8b28–c1, with minimal differences).

“If a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to carry on the Buddhas’ lineage¹³² without letting it be interrupted; to protect the Bodhisattva’s family, causing it not to turn back; to purify [his own] buddha-land, causing it to be accomplished, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*”.

What sets this case apart from those analysed before is the fact that here the expanded reading witnessed by LPG, Xz(Ś) and related texts is not a linear development (via the addition of some words) of the earlier reading found in the first three Chinese translations: while both groups of readings are centred on the idea of “non-interruption” (which is the main tangible link between them), the expanded reading mentions the non-interruption not of Buddha fields (*buddhakṣetra*), but of the Buddhas’ arising (*buddhotpāda*, not in Xz[Ś] and Xz[PvsP]) and of the Buddhas’ lineage (*buddhavamśa*).

However, a more specific connection between the two readings can be established, again, through the DZDL. The commentary, reasonably

It seems impossible without careful comparison to determine which (if either) of these was made use of by Ghoṣa.—Eds.]

¹³¹ LPG III-3r12 and Š 77,4: *buddhavamśānupacchedāya*.

¹³² In translating *zhong* 種 as “lineage”, here and in the passages discussed below, I take into account its presumptive original *vamśa* (cf. also n. 133 below). But *zhong* can also mean “descendant” (see HD vol. 8 p. 107b no. 2), which supports my translation choice.

enough, explains the “non-interruption of the *buddhakṣetras*” as continuity in the arising of Buddhas in the various worlds, thus foreshadowing the wording of the later expanded reading. The gloss on this passage is rather long (T 1509 [XXV] p. 284b20–285a28; tr. Lamotte IV pp. 1988–1994), and I will quote here only the passages which are directly relevant to our analysis. The first sentence of the expanded text found in LPG, etc. (referring to *buddhotpādānupacchedāya*, or, perhaps, the variant reading *buddhotpādāya* found in Š’s apparatus) is clearly echoed at the beginning of the DZDL gloss:

5.c. (*Commentary*)

(5.c.1)

【經】 復次，舍利弗，菩薩摩訶薩欲使諸佛世界不斷者，當學般若波羅蜜。

【論】 「佛世界不斷」者，菩薩欲令國國相次，皆使眾生發心作佛 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 284b20–22).

Sūtra: Furthermore, Sāriputra, etc. (as quoted above in 5.a.3)

Commentary: As to [the phrase] “[to cause] the buddha-worlds (**buddhakṣetra*) not to be interrupted”, [it means that] the Bodhisattva who wishes to cause [buddha-]lands to succeed one upon the other causes all the beings [living there] to produce the intention of becoming Buddha.

While the DZDL gloss does not seem to contain an exact equivalent of *buddhotpāda*, it interprets “the non-interruption of *buddhakṣetras*” in essentially the same way (the Bodhisattva’s fostering *cittotpāda* in other beings means, essentially, making sure that there is a continuous coming into being of Buddhas: i.e., *buddhotpādāya* or *buddhotpādānupacchedāya*).

The second segment in LPG’s passage (5.b.1) quoted above (*bodhisatvakulam ārakṣitukāmena*) has no parallel in the DZDL gloss. But the situation is different for the third one (= the first in Xz[Š] and Xz[PvsP]), *buddhavamśānucchedāya* (LPG)/*buddhavamśānupacchedāya* (Š) *sthātukāmena*: not only does the idea of a succession, or lineage, of Buddhas permeate, quite naturally, the entire gloss, but the expression **buddhavamśānupaccheda* or a related form is, in fact, directly mentioned. At a

certain point the commentary argues for the necessity that all the Bodhisattvas, and not just one, should devote themselves to the “non-interruption of the *buddhakṣetras*” (DZDL p. 284c), for the following reason:

(5.c.2)

復次，十方世界無量無邊，不應一菩薩盡得遍諸世界，令佛種不斷
(T 1509 [XXV] p. 284c2–4).

Furthermore, the worlds of the ten directions are immeasurable and boundless; it is impossible that one single Bodhisattva could succeed in going all over the *buddhakṣetras*, [thus] causing the lineage of the Buddhas not to be interrupted (佛種不斷, **buddhavamśānupaccheda*).¹³³

Striving for the non-interruption of the *buddhavamśa* is, not surprisingly, a fairly common trope in Mahāyāna literature,¹³⁴ but the convergence be-

¹³³ That 令佛種不斷 in the DZDL does indeed correspond to **buddhavamśānupaccheda* or something of the sort (as, incidentally, was also supposed by Lamotte: see IV p. 1989) is supported by some passages from Kj. For example, see 是菩薩摩訶薩 … 不斷佛種 (T 223 [VIII] p. 356a12–13), corresponding to PvSP(K) V 21,11: ‘yam bodhisattvo mahāsattvas tathāgatavamśasyānupacchedāya sthito; cf. also LPG f. 222v (ed. Conze 1962: 29): ayam bodhisattvo mahāsa(ttvah) sarvākārajanātāvamśasya anupacchedāya sthi)ta(h). Another clear occurrence of this usage in Kj is 如是學，為學不斷佛種 (T 223 [VIII] p. 357b8–9; taken almost verbatim from Mo T 221 [VIII] p. 100c4), corresponding to LPG f. 225r (Conze 1962: 41): evam śikṣamāna(h) subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvas tathāgatavamśasya anupacchedāya śikṣate. These examples conclusively demonstrate that *fo zhong* 佛種, especially when occurring in conjunction with *bu duan* 不斷, can correspond to *buddhavamśa* (alongside other terms: see Karashima 2001: 100, but also Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 286b4, where 佛種不斷 corresponds to *na buddhanetri samucchidaye* in PvSP[K] II–III p. 69,7). For some parallels in other Chinese translations, see the *Kāśyapaparivarta* passage discussed in the next note.

¹³⁴ See for example another passage in the DZDL (T 1509 [XXV] p. 95a13–16; tr. Lamotte I p. 313), and cf. the preceding note for some parallels in the LP. An important early occurrence of this motif is found in the *Kāśyapaparivarta* (f. 42v4, § 83): *tat kasmād dhetoh sa hi buddhavamśasyānupacchedāya sthāsyati* (ed. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, 2002, p. 30); “Why? Because he will be prepared for the non-interruption of the Buddhas’ lineage” (cf. Weller 1965: 110: “Weil der [Bodhisattva] dazu dient, daß das Geschlecht der Buddha nicht abreißt”). This sentence does not occur in the Han translation (T 350), but is attested in the other Chinese versions (see von Staél-Holstein 1926: 122–123): see, for example, *Mohyan baoyan jing* 摩訶衍寶嚴經 T 351 [XII] p. 197a27–28: 所以者何？…不斷諸佛如來種故；and *Da bao ji jing* 大寶積經, “Puming pusa hui” 普明菩薩會, T 310(43) [XI] p. 634c13–14 : 所以者何？如是菩薩名紹尊位，不斷佛種。In

tween the reading found in LPG, etc. and the DZDL gloss on the corresponding passage as attested by the early witnesses remains striking and significant.

Unlike the other passages discussed in the preceding pages, in this case, the gloss was not added to the original reading, but for some reason it led to its complete reformulation. Perhaps the original expression **buddha-kṣetrānupaccheda* was deemed insufficiently clear or explicit. Be that as it may, this textual variation too presupposes an interpretation or unpacking of the original passage not too different from that found in the relevant DZDL gloss. In this connection, it is important to stress that the latter is clearly based on the early reading: apart from the lemma, which as we shall see should not be always taken at face value, the expression **buddha-kṣetrānupaccheda* is explicitly referred to in the gloss.¹³⁵

view of the very close correspondence, including the same verb with the same construction, one is tempted to speculate that this *Kāśyapaparivarta* passage might have been the ultimate source or model of the expansion found in LPG, etc. (possibly via a gloss such as that preserved in the DZDL). If so, this would be an interesting case of intertextuality, which is another important side of the interplay between exegesis and textual development documented in the present study. The *buddhavamśānupaccheda* motif is also attested in other scriptures: for example, in the *Suvikṛāntavikrāmipariprcchā prajñāpāramitā* (several occurrences, see e.g., Hikata 1958: 24, with some echoes of the *Kāśyapaparivarta* passage), in the *Gāndavyūha-sūtra* (several occurrences, for example: *Gāndavyūha-sūtra*[SI] p. 18,16; p. 72,20; p. 73,22; p. 260,19; p. 267,14–15; *Gāndavyūha-sūtra*[V] p. 13,12; p. 59,2; p. 201,28; p. 206,27–28), and in the initial section of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (folio 1b4–5, ed. 2006: p. 1: *triratnavamśānupacchetrbhīh*). A variation of this motif occurs in the *Larger Sukhāvatīvūha* (p. 13,10–11), in the description of the Buddha Lokeśvararāja’s exposition on Buddha-fields, which is said to have been imparted, among other things, “so that the law of the Buddhas is not interrupted” (*buddhanetryanupacchedāya*; cf. Gómez 1996: 68, § 22: “so that there might never be an end to the lineage of the buddhas”).

On *buddhavamśa* and related terms in Mahāyāna sources (including the *Kāśyapaparivarta* passage discussed above), see also Seyfort Ruegg 1969: 110–111.

¹³⁵ 是名「不斷佛國」(T 1509 [XXV] p. 285a4); 以是故，菩薩生願：「欲使佛世界不斷。」(T 1509 [XXV] p. 285a27–28).

4 The Textual History of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* Revisited

In Chapter 3.2 above, we have thus examined several instances of influence exerted by early exegesis on the development of the base text; further instances are described in Appendix 1.1 below. This evidence has some important implications for our understanding of the textual history of the LP, which I will try to unpack in this section of my study. As I will show, a detailed study of the DZDL glosses provides us with significant, fresh insights into the early phases of the textual history of this scriptural family.

In a sense, there is hardly anything new here, from a methodological point of view: the use of commentarial materials, broadly speaking, as sources for studying the development of texts marks the beginning of textual history as a recognised academic enterprise in its own right. It was the availability of the so-called Venice scholia¹³⁶ that made possible Friedrich August Wolf's memorable reconstruction of the transmission of the Homeric poems, especially during the Hellenistic period.¹³⁷

We have seen above (p. 28) how Ārya-Vimuktisena's commentary can provide us with important evidence on the early history of the PvsP. But

¹³⁶ On the commentarial nature of scholia (which are in fact the ultimate product of various types of scholarly activity on texts), see Wilson 2007: 40–45.

¹³⁷ See especially Wolf 1795: 174–280 (Chapters XXXIX–LI; tr. Wolf 1985: 158–219). Wolf's historical study of the Homeric text was made possible, above all, by Jean-Baptiste-Gaspard d'Ansse de Villoison's “publication of the vast corpus of the Venice scholia on the *Iliad*, still the richest source for our knowledge of the working methods of ancient Homeric scholars” (Introduction to Wolf 1985: 7; on the sources used by Villoison in his edition [*Homeri Ilias ad veteris Codicis Veneti fidem recensita. Scholia in eam antiquissima Ex eodem Codice aliisque, nunc primum edidit cum Asteriscis, Obeliscis aliisque Signis criticis Joh. Baptista Caspar d'Ansse de Villoison, etc.* Venezia, 1788], especially the famous tenth century *Codex Marcianus Graecus 454*, generally known as Venetus A, see Id. n. 15 p. 8). For an enlightening historical and cultural contextualisation of Wolf's scholarship, including a detailed analysis of his debts towards his predecessors (especially Biblical scholars) in developing his methods, see Anthony Grafton's study (“Prolegomena to Friedrich August Wolf”, in Grafton 1991: 214–243; 308–319 [notes]), especially pp. 226–233 on his reconstruction of the history of the Homeric texts (and of the scholarship on them).

it is from the earliest surviving LP commentary, the DZDL, that we can obtain the most precious pieces of information on the history of the entire LP literature.

4.1 “Revised” and “Unrevised” *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā*: A Misleading Dichotomy in the History of the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā*

The expansions in later LP texts analysed in this study perform a number of different functions. Some—the majority—are really explanatory in nature; that is, they involve the insertion of some additional information into the original sentence (Passages nos. 1–4), or even its reformulation (no. 5), to spell out in clearer terms its message.

In some instances (for example Passages nos. 6–7 in Appendix 1.1), we see that the interpretation of a certain passage, which in its original shorter reading was slightly ambiguous or in any case to some extent open, is turned to a specific direction under the influence of the exegesis mirrored by the DZDL, through the addition of some words or short passages.

But none of these textual developments represents a dramatic modification of the original reading or involves the addition to the text of important new ideas. With one or two possible exceptions (e.g., Passage no. 4), the alterations documented in the present study have little specific doctrinal significance, and I will discuss the implications of this fact for our interpretation of the nature of the DZDL in Chapter 5 below. The situation that we face in these LP passages thus seems different from that brought to light by Lewis Lancaster with respect to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in his pioneering studies (1968 and 1975), which involves the addition of doctrinally weighty terms and ideas, but which, by the very nature of these expansions, must have been the result of a process of textual accretion similar to that discussed here.¹³⁸

Rather, the importance of the facts presented here lies in their documentary value for understanding the history of the text of the LP, and

¹³⁸ Neither in his PhD thesis (1968) nor in his 1975 article does Lancaster analyse in detail the causes of the various types of textual variation that he documented in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* textual family. See for example his discussion of the pattern of textual development in 1968: 133, and the Conclusion to his thesis (1968: 310–318).

allowing us to cast a direct glance at a process of textual development which, as I said in the Introduction above, is widespread in Mahāyāna literature, but usually difficult to document.

Modern historical-philological scholarship on the LP, and particularly on the PvsP, has been strongly influenced by a dichotomy posited between an “unrevised” versus a “revised” PvsP,¹³⁹ the latter being represented by the Sanskrit PvsP(K) and its Tibetan translation, and characterised, as we have seen, by the systematic insertion of short commentarial passages mapping the text onto the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*. I have already argued elsewhere that this dichotomy is fundamentally misleading (Zacchetti 2005: 28; 2015: 188). Here I will present my arguments in greater detail.

Nobody would deny that the Sanskrit PvsP represents a revised or “recast” text, and some previous studies have given detailed accounts of the changes introduced into this recension by comparing it with other LP scriptures.¹⁴⁰ What I find problematic, rather, is the notion of an “unrevised” text qualitatively contrasted with the revised PvsP, especially when the former is more or less explicitly conceived of (or at least referred to) as if it were a *singular* “unrevised” text.¹⁴¹ The problem is compounded by a certain tendency in the relevant scholarship to take the PvsP, *a priori*, as a *sequential* development of this supposedly earlier and “unrevised” text, whereas, as pointed out above (Chapter 2.2), we have evidence suggesting that it probably represents a *parallel* recension (in fact

¹³⁹ See for example Conze 1978: 36–39; Watanabe 1994: 386.

¹⁴⁰ See N. Dutt’s preface to PvsP(D), pp. v–vi (cf. also n. 58 above on the remnants of an old chapter subdivision in the PvsP); Conze 1978: 37–39; Lethcoe 1976, Watanabe 1994. These studies have tried, sometimes rather convincingly, to identify changes introduced into the PvsP due to the influence of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*, which are particularly clear in the case of transpositions (see Conze 1978: 37 and Lethcoe 1976: 504–505). See also Makransky 1997: 128–145 for a convincing discussion of one specific instance of the influence of the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra* influence on the PvsP.

¹⁴¹ Note the use of the singular in the relevant literature when referring to this category: Lethcoe begins her excellent article with the words “the *Pañcavīṁśatisāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra* exists in both a revised and unrevised form” (1976: 499); these words are echoed by the incipit of Watanabe’s study (1994: 386). However, in spite of this language, it is fair to say that both Lethcoe and Watanabe’s studies show clear awareness of the complexities of the LP’s textual history, offering a number of penetrating observations on this subject.

probably attested earlier than LPG). All this represents an oversimplification which fails to account for the complex dynamics of textual transmission and the resulting rich recensional diversity of LP literature.

John Makransky (1997: 139) very aptly summarised the influence of the *Abhisamayālankāra* (abbreviated AA) on the PvsP as follows:

In other words, even though the AA is a commentary on the *PP* [*Prajñāpāramitā*] *sūtra*, portions of the *rP* [i.e., the “revised *Pañca-viñśatisāhasrikā*”] represent changes written into the *sūtra* in order to make it conform better to its commentary. The commentary was a force, over time, in the transformation of the *sūtra* upon which it had been based.¹⁴²

There is little one could add to this excellent characterisation of the relationship between “*sūtra*” and exegesis. Simply, as I hope to have demonstrated above, the same words could also be applied to other (and probably earlier) texts belonging to the LP family.¹⁴³

Indeed, the facts I have presented in this study provide us with additional detailed evidence to refute the myth of an “unrevised” PvsP (or, more accurately, LP). In several cases, the PvsP(K) agrees with the shorter and earlier readings of Dhr, Mo, and Kj against expansions attested in the LPG recension, which supposedly represents the “unrevised” text. This pattern is particularly clear in the series of compounds describing qualities of the Bodhisattvas found at the beginning of the LP, where LPG and related texts present considerable expansions (which could hardly be considered anything other than the outcome of some sort of revision), which are not found in the PvsP.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Makransky 1997: 139.

¹⁴³ In the Conclusions to his important comparative study of the PvsP, S. Watanabe (1994: 395) has identified four recurring patterns of textual variation, through which “the texts affiliated to the *PV* [= PvsP] underwent revision”. These “modes of textual revision” are: “1) The adjustment of format on the basis of traditional doctrinal categories ... 2) The explanatory elaboration of earlier texts ... 3) Standardization and formal adjustments towards this end within each text ... 4) The insertion of divisional indicators in the revised *PV*”. As Watanabe himself rightly observes, only no. 4 is exclusively found in the current Sanskrit “revised PvsP” (i.e., PvsP[K]).

¹⁴⁴ See T. Vetter’s remarks (1993: 48 n. 11) on the text of PvsP in this part of the scripture and, more generally, on the problematic nature of the notion of a “revised PvsP”.

Changes of the kind introduced into the current Sanskrit PvsP(K) under the influence of the *Abhisamayālambikāra* are probably unparalleled in scale and systematicity. But if read against the backdrop of the situation discussed in the present study, they appear to represent a far less ontologically dramatic shift than has been maintained in some previous studies on the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature.

As a matter of fact, even the earliest available witnesses of the LP occasionally show traces of significant textual developments unknown to later sources.¹⁴⁵ Although some of these expansions might be ascribable to the translators and could thus be considered glosses interpolated into the texts during the translation process,¹⁴⁶ in other instances they seem to reflect original early readings that were more expanded than those attested by the later parallels,¹⁴⁷ or even rearranged on the basis of an underlying exegetical pattern.

To put it differently, it is possible to point out passages in the supposedly “unrevised” early versions in which the text shows signs of having been uniquely rearranged following an implicit underlying commentarial intention. An example is the following passage from Kj:

菩薩摩訶薩欲具足道慧，當習行般若波羅蜜；菩薩摩訶薩[菩薩摩訶薩
not in 【宋】【元】【明】【宮】]欲以道慧具足道種慧，當習行般若波羅
蜜；欲以道種慧具足一切智，當習行般若波羅蜜；欲以一切智具足
一切種智，當習行般若波羅蜜；欲以一切種智斷煩惱習，當習行般
若波羅蜜 (T 223 [VIII] p. 219a19–25; see also Lamotte IV pp. 1735–1736).

If a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to fully accomplish the knowledge of the paths (道慧, *mārgajñatā*), he should cultivate the *prajñā-pāramitā*; if a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes, by means of the knowledge of the paths, to fully accomplish the knowledge of the aspects of the paths (道種慧, *mārgākārajñatā*), he should cultivate the

¹⁴⁵ This fact was already highlighted by Lethcoe (1976: 506).

¹⁴⁶ For a possible example in Dhr (GZJ § 1.100), see Zucchetti 2005: 282 n. 321.

¹⁴⁷ See Zucchetti 2005: 46 with n. 185. A rather clear example is offered by a fairly long passage found in Dhr (T 222 [VIII] p. 160a21–b4; see Zucchetti 1999: 325–325 with n. 133), occurring in the context of an exposition of the supernatural faculties (*abhijñā*). While having the appearance of a genuine translation, this passage does not seem to have a parallel in the Sanskrit versions—at least not in the same position (cf. LPG folio 36r; PvsP [K] I-1 pp. 101–102; Š p. 305). For other examples from the early LP texts see Zucchetti 2005: 283 n. 328 (concerning an expansion in Mo), and Zucchetti 2005: 182 (GZJ § 1.142) and 300 with n. 441; see also Lethcoe 1976: 506–507.

prajñāpāramitā; if he wishes, by means of the knowledge of the aspects of the paths, to fully accomplish omniscience (一切智, *sarvajñatā*), he should cultivate the *prajñāpāramitā*; if he wishes, by means of omniscience, to fully accomplish the knowledge of all aspects (一切種智, *sarvakārajjñatā*), he should cultivate the *prajñāpāramitā*; if he wishes, by means of the knowledge of all aspects, to remove the [residual] impressions of defilements (煩惱習, ¹⁴⁸ *sarvavāsanānusandhikleśa*), he should cultivate the *prajñāpāramitā*.

While each LP text presents some variants here, Kj is unique in having a more complex structure, with the repetition of the previous attainment presented as the condition for fulfilling the following one, thus seemingly reflecting an interpretation of this passage as the outline of a coherent ascending path consisting of successive attainments, and not just a list. And there is nothing, in Kj's text, suggesting that this could be due to the translator's intervention.

By way of comparison, here is the corresponding passage in LPG:¹⁴⁹

*sarvakāravaropetaṁ sarvajñā{m}jñānam abhisam̄boddhukāmena mārgākārajjñatām sarvajñatām sarvasatvacittacaritajñānākāratām paripūrayitukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsatvena prajñāpāramitāyām̄ yogāḥ karaṇīyah sarvavāsanānusandhikleśān prahātukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsatvena prajñāpāramitāyām̄ yogāḥ *karaṇīyah¹⁵⁰ (LPG f. 9r4–6; cf. Š p. 67,2–8; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 29a7–b2).¹⁵¹*

The Bodhisattva, the Great Being who wishes to thoroughly realise the knowledge of the omniscient one provided with the most excellent of all aspects, to fully accomplish the knowledge of the aspects of paths, the omniscience, the <knowledge>¹⁵² of [all] the aspects of all beings'

¹⁴⁸ On the expression 煩惱習, see above n. 118.

¹⁴⁹ For an overview of readings of this passage attested in various LP texts, see Zucchetti 2005: 173 n. 233.

¹⁵⁰ MS: *karaṇīkah*.

¹⁵¹ Cf. also PvsP(K) I-1 p. 30,14–18:

mārgajñatām̄ paripūrayitukāmena sarvakārajjñatām anuprāptukāmena sarvasatvacittacaritajñānākāratām̄ paripūrayitukāmena sarvavāsanānusandhikleśān utpātayitukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsatvena prajñāpāramitāyām̄ yogāḥ karaṇīyah.

¹⁵² Although the reading of the final part of this compound (-*jñānākāratām*) is attested in both LPG/Š and PvsP(K), its meaning is not entirely clear. In my translation I have followed the reading found in the Tibetan version of this compound: *sems can thams cad kyi sems dang | spyod pa dang | shes pa'i rnam pa'i shes pa nyid*

minds, actions,¹⁵³ and cognitions, should exert himself in the Perfection of Insight; the Bodhisattva, the Great Being who wishes to destroy all the defilements connected with the residues [of past actions], should exert himself in the Perfection of Insight.

Thus, even in our earliest versions of texts in this family, we encounter passages showing signs of expansions against other versions. For this reason, if we are to take seriously the notion of an “unrevised” LP, it seems sufficiently clear that no such text actually exists (or perhaps ever existed). One might be inclined to interpret this situation as a historical accident due to the vagaries of textual transmission. But I am rather inclined to think that the very notion of an “unrevised” text is simply conceptually inaccurate in the context of this literature, and no less chimeric than the idea of a single Urtext, criticism of which was discussed in Chapter 1: no sooner does the text take its first breath, and come to life, than it is transmitted in a fluid form, indeed, a form open to the influence of exegesis and other factors, to all sorts of additions and revisions. The notion of mechanical transmission—aimed at reproducing a fixed and

(PvsP[TibPk] *nyi* 29a8–b1). The final *shes pa nyid* suggests an original reading of the end of the compound as *-jñānākārajñātām* (I am grateful to Vincent Eltschinger for his suggestions on this passage). This reconstruction is perhaps also supported by Xuanzang’s translation of this passage: 若菩薩摩訶薩欲疾圓滿一切有情心行相智一切相微妙智，應學般若波羅蜜多 (Xz[S] T 220 [V] p. 12c2–4; so essentially also Xz[PvsP], T 220 [VII] p. 7c23–24). While some aspects of Xuanzang’s text are unclear to me, the reiteration of *zhi* 智 (**jñāna/jñatā*) is noteworthy, being reminiscent of the Tibetan version. The convergence of both LPG/S and PvsP(K)—forming, as they do, two recensions which tend to diverge in textual *innovations*—in the reading *-jñānākāratā* is, nevertheless, remarkable from a historical point of view, and makes it somewhat difficult to explain this away as a mere scribal error.

¹⁵³ Such is suggested by the Tibetan translation (*sems can thams cad kyi sems dang | spyod pa dang*). However, *cittacarita* could also be interpreted as “mental activities”, and this alternative interpretation is more likely in contexts which are clearly related to *paracittajñāna*, or “knowledge of other minds” (cf. also Zaccetti 2005: 290 § 1.114 with n. 372). A clear example is offered by Dharmākara’s ninth vow from the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* (p. 16,13–14):

*sacen me bhagavāns tasmin buddhakṣetre ye sattvāḥ pratyājāyerāms te sarve na paracittajñānakovidā bhavyeyur antaśo buddhakṣetrakotīnayuta-satasahasra-paryāpannānām sattvānām cittacaritaparijñānatayā etc (tr. Gómez 1996: 70, § 28.9; cf. also 眾生心念, corresponding to *sattvānām cittacaritaparijñānatā* in the *Wuliangshou jing* 無量壽經 T 360 [XII] p. 268a4).*

closed original by an ideally equally fixed apograph (identical apart from menial scribal errors)—has no place here.

At any rate, it seems completely misleading to describe the process of the development of the LP as a movement from a “pure” or “original” unrevised text—a conceptualisation which is implicitly, and perhaps even unconsciously rooted in a classicist view of texts which has little resemblance with the reality on the ground—to a “revised” one influenced by exegesis.

The history of this literature, rather, seems to reflect a movement from a fluid state, open to diverse exegetical influences, to a more stable text which, in one particular recension (the current Sanskrit PvsP[K]), came to be influenced by a single, coherent exegetical tradition (the *Abhisamayālankāra*). In other words (and this is an important point from the perspective of the present work), it would be a complete misunderstanding of this literature to consider exegetical accretions to the text as later interpolations or corruptions, to be contrasted to an original, purer state of the text: on the contrary, they represent the very life of this kind of texts—their essential feature at any stage of their *early* history.

4.2 From Textual Fluidity to Relative Stabilisation

At the end of the preceding paragraph, I deliberately emphasised the word “early”. For it is important to treat textual fluidity, too, as a historical phenomenon, resisting the temptation to conceive it in abstract or absolute terms. In fact, fluidity and openness to variations appear to be strongest in the upper reaches of the history of the LP family. This state of affairs becomes particularly clear when we compare Dhr, Mo, and Kj with the next clearly datable LP text, that is, LPG: there is little doubt that considerable changes—mostly expansions—had already taken place in the LP text between the early fifth (Kj) and the early seventh (LPG) centuries, as reflected by the important LPG recension.

Even the group of the early witnesses (Dhr, Mo, and Kj) projects, internally, an image of relative fluidity, which is particularly remarkable in the case of Dhr and Mo. Even if we discount discrepancies due to the very different policies adopted by the two translation teams, the Indic

originals of these two texts must already have been differentiated in many details, in spite of their closeness in both time and space.¹⁵⁴

In contrast, in the lower reaches of the history of the text we are confronted by a clear trend towards relative textual consolidation. The LPG recension already displays a remarkable stabilisation across both the spatial and the temporal dimensions, as evidenced by the Dunhuang LP manuscript, PvsP(Tib) (eighth–ninth century) and the later Nepalese manuscripts in which Ś has been transmitted. That this was a general trend is further confirmed by the other main recension, represented by PvsP(K) and PvsP(SL).¹⁵⁵ While the insertion of the *Abhisamayālamkāra*'s headings into the text certainly played a role in “freezing” the text of PvsP(K), the general convergence of PvsP(SL) with it—the fact that PvsP(SL) is unrelated to the *Abhisamayālamkāra* and yet is in general agreement with PvsP(K)—shows that the influence from commentaries like the *Abhisamayālamkāra* was not the only factor in bringing about textual stabilisation in PvsP(SL) also—nor, perhaps, even the main factor.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ As already remarked above, according to our sources, the originals of both Dhr and Mo came from Khotan, and were translated only few years apart, at the end of the third century (respectively in 286 and 291 CE). Although Dhr was translated earlier than Mo, we know that the original of Mo had already been dispatched from Khotan in 282 CE (see CSZJJ T 2145 [LV] p. 47c13–14); on the historical background of these translations, see Zucchetti 2005: 30–31 (on Mo) and 51–60 (on Dhr). On the existence of several LP texts circulating in Khotan, see also Watanabe 1994: 395; on the implications of this fact for the history of the LP, see Zucchetti 2005: 36. Interestingly, a similar situation may also have obtained, though at a much later time, for the *Kāśyapaparivarta*, which seems to have circulated in Khotan, around the sixth–eighth centuries, in two rather different “versions” (see the remarks by Schopen 2009: 190–191; cf. Silk 2009 [2013]: 182). On the Mahāyāna in Khotan see Martini 2013 (especially pp. 20–21 on the LP texts brought to China from Khotan).

¹⁵⁵ [Note: In a marginal note to the manuscript, Zucchetti cautioned that it is nonetheless important to bear in mind that this “trend” was precisely that—nothing more than a general tendency. Zucchetti further noted that we might contrast it with the situation documented by Shōji 2015 for the case of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, in which texts sometimes remained open to exegetical influence even at later stages. However, we may here face two different dynamics: one could argue that it was precisely the influence of exegesis that brought about stabilisation in later phases of the textual history of the root text.—Eds.]

¹⁵⁶ Needless to say, in order to sketch more fully the history of the LP, it would be important to study systematically all the numerous LP Central Asian fragments (see n. 75 above), trying to assess their relationship with the other witnesses (cf. Watanabe 1994, and Bongard-Levin and Hori 1996).

Thus, a bird's-eye-view of the entire history of the LP suggests a transition from an early phase of transmission, characterised by marked textual fluidity (so that even texts as close to one another as Dhr and Mo may show relatively significant differences) and a considerable porosity to exegetical influence, to a later one, during which each of the two main recensions of the Sanskrit LP (LPG/PvsP[K]) independently attained a considerable degree of stabilisation.¹⁵⁷ While our evidence does not allow us to link this transition with any degree of certainty to a specific historical context, the chronological data offered by our sources suggest that the main shift must have taken place, in different areas, in the period between the fifth and seventh centuries.

Even though, as I pointed out in Chapter 1, the fluid and unstable nature typical of the early history of Mahāyāna scriptures has attracted more attention in recent scholarship, the later tendency to stabilisation evidenced by the history of the LP is a no less interesting or significant process. In this study, I mostly discuss these developments from a purely philological perspective, but it is not difficult to imagine that they must reflect broader historical transformations undergone by Indian Buddhism at all levels (institutional, cultural, etc.), and that to be properly understood, they should be interpreted as comprehensive historical facts. Although it is impossible to address this complex issue here in any detail, one cannot fail to notice that the shift highlighted above in the history of the LP largely overlaps with a crucial period in the development of Buddhist (and particularly Mahāyāna) scholasticism, and with important changes in the organisation of learning.¹⁵⁸

It is probably not by chance that the changes we perceive in the LP at a textual level are also aligned, from a chronological point of view, with such important developments in Indian Buddhism at an institutional level.

¹⁵⁷ This corresponds rather closely to the situation highlighted by Schopen (2009) in his discussion of the Gilgit manuscripts of the *Bhaiṣajyaguru-sūtra* (see especially his conclusions, 214–215).

¹⁵⁸ While the full flourishing of the great Buddhist monastic centres of learning, or “universities” as they are often called, belongs to a later period, that of the Pāla dynasty (Sanderson 2009: 87–108; Delhey 2015), one of the most famous of these institutions, the great monastery of Nālandā, is much earlier, and may have already become an important centre in the sixth or early seventh century (on the early history of this institution see Kuwayama 1988: 7–11; cf. also Sanderson 2009: 92–93 n. 169). For an example of exegetical work produced in this learned milieu, the *Arthaviniścaya-dharmaparyāya* commentary by a monk from the Nālandā Mahāvihāra, Vīryaśrīdatta, see Skilling 2009: 416–427.

The developments in question can be inferred mainly from epigraphical data. From the fifth century on, one notices significant changes in epigraphical records, suggesting that the Mahāyāna was becoming a tangible presence, playing a role in motivating and orienting the support of donors. In Schopen's words (2000: 15 = 2005: 12), "In India it appears more and more certain that the Mahāyāna was not institutionally, culturally, or art historically significant until after the fifth century, and not until then did Mahāyāna have any significant impact on the intentions of Buddhist donors".¹⁵⁹

While it is probably impossible to determine how, precisely, these great historical and cultural processes influenced the textual history of the LP, the parallelism between these series of facts is highly suggestive. It is possible to speculate that new notions (and forms) of texts were gradually developed, which in the long run produced boundaries between base texts and commentaries that were neater and firmer, relatively speaking (and I would strongly emphasise this qualification!)¹⁶⁰—and hence, a greater textual stability. In addition, the systematic adoption of quantitative criteria (number of *ślokas*) as a main means for classifying *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures (such as *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, *Pañcavimśatisāha-sikā*, etc.), clearly documented from the early sixth century (Zacchetti 2015: 176; see also above, Chapter 2.2 with n. 65, on Ārya-Vimuktisena's use of the category *Pañcavimśatisāhasrikā*), attests to a gradual tendency towards the systematisation of this literature: accurate bibliographical

¹⁵⁹ Several aspects of Schopen's hypothesis concerning the marginality of Mahāyāna in India before the fifth–sixth centuries have been recently criticised by Paul Harrison (2018: 18–21), who mentioned several pieces of evidence suggesting a greater significance of the Mahāyāna movement, at various levels, even at an earlier stage. Caution is no doubt in order in this regard, but my focus here is mainly on the *general* tendency towards increasing institutionalisation. On the period spanning the fifth–sixth centuries as a crucial watershed, from several points of view, in the history of Indian Buddhism, see Tournier 2020b (Introduction); on epigraphical data from the sixth century onwards suggesting an increased institutional Mahāyāna identity, see also McCombs 2014: 391–394.

¹⁶⁰ However, these boundaries were never absolutely impenetrable even at later stages of *Prajñāpāramitā* history, as shown by Shōji's research on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (2007, 2014, and 2015), showing how the current Sanskrit text and the related recension of the Tibetan version were influenced by *Abhisamayālambikāra*-related exegesis.

classification suggests the existence of rich and well-ordered libraries,¹⁶¹ and, behind them, structured monastic communities able to rely on high-profile patronage. This trend, also—reflected with the greatest clarity by Xz T 220, collecting into a well-ordered monumental summa a large part of the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature—is probably related to the process of textual stabilisation discussed above.

It would be interesting to see whether the same situation also applies to other Mahāyāna scriptures or scriptural families,¹⁶² but this is a task for another time: no doubt at this stage it would be dangerous to indulge in wild generalisations.¹⁶³

4.3 Traces of a Northwestern Connection: The *Da zhidu lun* and the *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* from Gilgit

Thus far in this chapter, I have discussed the history of the LP in general terms. But the evidence provided by the DZDL also allows us to cast light on a more specific aspect of this history. If we consider all the instances of interaction between DZDL glosses and later expanded readings that I have been able to identify, we can easily notice a very clear pattern, from both a quantitative and a qualitative point of view: in a significant majority of cases (ten out of fifteen: see Passages nos. 2, 3, 4, 5 above, and 6, 8, 10, 11, 13, 15 in the appendix below), we can detect traces of influence of the given DZDL glosses not in PvsP(K), but *only* (among Sanskrit LP sources) in the readings of LPG and related texts (Ś and PvsP[TibPk]), with Xz (especially PvsP and/or Ś) concurring in a significant number of these passages (4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11). What is more, instances of this particular pattern of textual expansion (DZDL → LPG recension) include all the cases entailing a relatively high degree of specificity (e.g., Passages nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, etc.), which is particularly telling. In all these instances

¹⁶¹ For a general discussion of Buddhist libraries, see Fussman 2005; see also Delhey 2015 on the library of an important Buddhist scholarly centre of the Pāla period, the monastery of Vikramaśīla.

¹⁶² As I pointed out elsewhere (Zacchetti 2015: 178), the immense *Prajñāpāramitā* summa represented by Xuanzang's *Da banreboluomiduo jing* T 220 presents some formal similarities with other collections of Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the *Buddhāvatānsaka* or the *Mahāratnakūṭa* (note, however, that the latter was probably assembled in China: see Silk 2015c: 27).

¹⁶³ Schopen's 2009 study provides ample evidence to warn one against this risk.

(where the agreement of PvsP[K] with Mo, Dhr, and Kj shows that PvsP[K] has preserved the early reading), the reading found in LPG and related texts represent an *innovation* with respect to the other LP witnesses, and an innovation influenced by the specific exegetical tradition represented by the DZDL.

In three instances (Passages nos. 1, 7, 11) PvsP(K) shares the expansion with LPG and related texts. By contrast, in just one single case (no. 9) is the expansion anticipated by the DZDL found only in PvsP(K), and not in LPG. These relations are summarised in the following table.

Synopsis of the Passages discussed in Chapter 3 and Appendix 1.1:

1. Expansions found only in the LPG recension (LPG, Š, PvsP [TibPk]):	2. Expansions found in both the LPG recension and Xz(Ś)/ (PvsP):	3. Expansion found only in PvsP(TibPk):	4. Expansions found in both the LPG recension and PvsP(K):	5. Expansion found only in PvsP(K):
Passages nos. 2, 3, 13, 15.	Passages nos. 4, 5, 6 (Xz[Ś]), 8 (Xz[Ś] + Xz[Adj]), 10, 11.	Passage no. 14.	Passages nos. 1 (also in Xz[Ś] and [PvsP]), 7, 12.	Passage no. 9.

These data suggest a particularly close relationship between the DZDL and LPG's recension. But how should we interpret that relationship?

In the introduction to the third volume of his *Traité* (Lamotte III pp. ix–xiv; cf. also Demiéville 1950: 381–382), Lamotte argued (overall very convincingly, in my view)¹⁶⁴ for a Northwestern origin of the DZDL. Lamotte's hypothesis, largely based on an internal analysis of the commentary, can now be corroborated, from an entirely new angle, by the

¹⁶⁴ The strongest criticism of Lamotte's hypothesis of the Northwestern origins of the DZDL probably came from Ven. Yinshun, whose long and influential essay on the author of the commentary (1990) is largely an attempt to refute the reconstruction of the DZDL's background proposed by Lamotte in the introduction to Lamotte III.

data presented here. LPG was not just found in the area of Gilgit, but also copied there almost exactly two centuries after the DZDL's translation (as shown by its colophon mentioning a local ruler: see above, Chapter 2.2. § 1, with n. 41). It can thus be located in space and time with a precision which is rather an exception than a rule in the study of Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature. And while several aspects of the situation remain open to different interpretations, we are relatively well informed on the specific historical and cultural context of the Gilgit corpus.¹⁶⁵ Broadly speaking, Gilgit can be associated, at least from a geographical point of view, with the same Northwestern milieu which, according to Lamotte, produced the DZDL.

But apart from this objective geographical proximity, can we also identify features suggesting a specific *cultural* continuity between the DZDL and the Gilgit corpus?¹⁶⁶ While at this stage it is probably impossible to reach definitive conclusions, we can at least advance some conjectures by comparing the virtual library reflected in the copious references included in the DZDL and described by Lamotte¹⁶⁷ with the much smaller but more tangible library¹⁶⁸ found near Gilgit.¹⁶⁹ It is important not to lose sight of the many factors which make this comparison

¹⁶⁵ For a general introduction to the Gilgit corpus see von Hinüber 2014 (and 2017 on LPG); different interpretations of the nature and functions of the building in which the Gilgit manuscripts were discovered have been proposed by Fussman 2004 and Schopen 2009: 195–200; cf. also Neelis 2011: 171 with n. 335.

¹⁶⁶ Cf. Scherrer-Schaub 2018.

¹⁶⁷ See Lamotte III pp. xv–xlv. Lamotte's detailed analysis of the DZDL's sources—of immense value for the study of this complex commentary—appears still largely valid, and can be further corroborated by more recent scholarship. Elsewhere (Zacchetti 2002) I discussed an important set of sources whose close parallelism to the hermeneutical tradition mentioned in considerable detail by the commentary as **Petaka* (T 1509 [XXVI] p. 192b2–c8; tr. Lamotte II pp. 1074–1077; cf. also vol. I p. 109 n. 2), with all its important historical implications, had essentially escaped Lamotte's attention. It is true that, according to an interlinear gloss inserted in the DZDL and probably recording information provided by Kumārajīva, this **Petaka* was circulating (presumably at the time of the translation) in South India (see Zacchetti 2002: 77 with n. 56). However, recent research has shown that this particular exegetical tradition was well established in the Greater Gandhāra area (see Baums 2009 and 2014; cf. also Zacchetti 2002b).

¹⁶⁸ In using the word “library” with reference to the Gilgit corpus I follow von Hinüber 2014: 80 with n. 10; cf. also De Simini 2016: 146–156.

¹⁶⁹ For a convenient overview of the Gilgit corpus, subdivided into its main scriptural typologies, see Fussman 2004: 125–129; for a more up-to-date and detailed description, see von Hinüber 2014: 93–111.

at best speculative.¹⁷⁰ But, in spite of many differences in matters of detail, it is hard not to notice an intriguing parallelism between these two “libraries”, especially in the coexistence of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna (mainly Sarvāstivādin/Mūlasarvāstivādin) scriptures,¹⁷¹ although it would be wrong to reduce the DZDL’s background to its Sarvāstivādin component.¹⁷²

But then, if seen in the light of this possible shared background, the clear relationship existing between the DZDL (or, rather, the exegesis collected therein) and LPG seems to take the shape of a specific historical connection: what we are seeing here are the traces of a “Northwestern recension” of the LP, with distinctive readings probably reflecting, at least in part, a specific local exegetical tradition which came to be preserved in the DZDL.

This has important consequences for our understanding of the history of the LP as a whole. I have already pointed out elsewhere the importance of taking fully into account recensional diversity in the study of LP literature (Zacchetti 2015: 185–186). In this case it is possible to identify and roughly define from historical and geographical points of view the original background of one of the most influential LP recensions—that having LPG as its known earliest and most important representative—and to formulate a hypothesis about its historical trajectory, at least in

¹⁷⁰ Such as, for example, the likely huge loss of texts belonging to the Gilgit corpus (see Fussman 2004: 124).

¹⁷¹ While the presence of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma literature is much stronger in the DZDL than in the Gilgit library, it is also relatively well represented in the latter, and perhaps the original collection contained more Abhidharma texts than have survived (see von Hinüber 2014: 83; cf. Fussman 2004: 126). It is, however, difficult to determine with much precision the historical process that formed the Gilgit corpus, and to what extent the texts found in that site accurately reflect the doctrinal background of a specific group. In this respect, it is important to note that, as pointed out by Karashima (2015: 147), the scripts of Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna (Mūla-)Sarvāstivādin texts in the Gilgit corpus are generally neatly differentiated, the former being written in the so-called Gilgit/Bamiyan Type I, and the latter in proto-Śāradā (although the use of these scripts seems also to reflect a chronological pattern: cf. von Hinüber 2014: 88, who also mentions a text, the *Samghāta-sūtra*, attested in the Gilgit corpus by manuscripts in both scripts). In other words, paleographic evidence might suggest that these two scriptural bodies were not produced by the same group, but, like converging streams, flowed independently into the Gilgit library. Yet flow into it they did, and for this reason I think that the mixed composition of the Gilgit corpus still constitutes, if taken with all due caution, an important historical datum.

¹⁷² See, on this point, Yinshun 1990 (cf. also Zacchetti 2002: 68).

broad terms.¹⁷³ If we take into account the evidence provided by the DZDL, it seems reasonable to assume a Northwestern origin of this recension, which subsequently spread eastward, as attested by Ś (transmitted in Nepalese manuscripts) and the Tibetan translation (PvsP [TibPk]).

The occasional but significant agreement of Xz (Ś, PvsP, and, less frequently, Ad) with this recension in some distinctive expansions (e.g., Passages nos. 4, 5, 11, etc.) is also noteworthy, but less easy to assess from a historical point of view. Unfortunately we know very little about the origins of the 200,000-line text used by Xuanzang to produce his monumental *Prajñāpāramitā* translation, apart from the fact that he obtained three manuscripts “in the Western Regions” (*xiyu* 西域),¹⁷⁴ which could refer to any place visited by Xuanzang in his journey.¹⁷⁵ However, even if we cannot pin this text down in space, it is still worth noticing that its acquisition was relatively close to the production of LPG from a temporal point of view: Xuanzang’s travels to the Western Regions probably started in 628 (see Kuwayama 1988: 29–33), just a few years after LPG was copied (see above Chapter 2.2 with n. 41).

As we have just seen, the history of the LPG recension, as far as we can reconstruct it, reflects a general movement from the Northwest to the Northeast (as attested by PvsP[TibPk] and Ś). In fact, the Northwest, linking India and Central Asia, must have played an important role in the transmission and, possibly, the formation of the entire LP from a much earlier period, as is suggested by the fact that the first traces of this scriptural family we have come from Khotan. This impression is further strengthened by the abundance of manuscript fragments of the LP found in Central Asia or in the Gilgit area (see Zaccagnini 2005: 17–18 n. 53–54

¹⁷³ In fact, the other important LP textual family, the one represented by PvsP(K), may also be linked, at least for its earliest documented phase, to a specific area, and could perhaps be called the “southern recension” of the LP (see Chapter 2.2, § 2).

¹⁷⁴ See *Da Tang Da ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 T 2053 [L] p. 276a12–13; Li, 1995: 328; cf. also Zaccagnini 2015: 178–179.

¹⁷⁵ According to another passage of the *Da Tang Da ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, Xuanzang himself used this generic expression with reference to all the texts he brought back from his journey (玄奘從西域所得梵本六百餘部, etc.; T 2053 [L] p. 253c2; Li 1995: 179). On the provenance of the Sanskrit texts translated by Xuanzang, see also Delhey 2015: 7 n. 31, according to whom, “One can be fairly certain that most of the manuscripts he took with him, if not all of them, were copies made at the monastery of Nālandā”.

and 2015: 187), which contrast with the scarcity of *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* manuscripts (historically crucial as the few fragments of this family so far discovered may be¹⁷⁶). While this phenomenon can certainly also be explained in part by other causes (such as the particular historical trajectory of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*: see Zucchetti 2015: 180), it does suggest the great importance of Northwestern India (understanding this term along the lines suggested by Fussman 2005: 929–930) and Central Asia in the formation, elaboration, and transmission of the LP, especially during the early phase of its history.¹⁷⁷

Be that as it may, there seem to be enough arguments supporting the thesis that the Northwest was the centre from which radiated the specific textual innovations discussed in this study. And this brings us to our main source, the DZDL, and the *vexata quaesito* of its nature and historical background.

¹⁷⁶ [Note: Zucchetti wrote in 2015: 182, contrasting the case of Nepalese manuscripts of the text: “Several important manuscript fragments of a much earlier Sanskrit manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, probably coming from near Bamiyan, were discovered at the end of the 20th century and subsequently edited (Sander 2000: 2002). They are estimated on paleographical grounds to date to the second half of the 3rd century CE, and are of considerable interest for the textual history of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* subfamily, as its earliest Sanskrit witnesses. Although from a linguistic point of view these fragments display some features typical of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, they seem remarkably close from a textual point of view to the later complete Sanskrit version (Sander 2002: 3–5).”—Eds.]

¹⁷⁷ Another argument suggesting a connection between LP and, more specifically, the Greater Gandhāra area, which seems to me both clear and strong, has been mentioned (with reference to Conze 1978: 3) by Johannes Bronkhorst in a recent publication (2018: 134 n. 20). LP texts contain an exposition of the *arapacana* syllabary (see, for example, LPG f. 92r1–15; PvsP[K] I-2 pp. 85,25–87,1; cf. also Brough 1977: 86 [= 1996: 451]), whose letters “are treated as abbreviations of key words illustrating fundamental points of Buddhist doctrine” (Salomon 1990: 256), and whose Gāndhārī origin is now firmly established (see Salomon 1990: 258–271 and 1993). In this connection, it is important to observe that the *arapacana* passage is already found in the earliest LP sources (Dhr T 222 [VIII] pp. 195c17–196a27; Mo T 221 [VIII] p. 26b14–c20; Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 256a8–b11; on early Chinese translations of the *arapacana*, see also Brough 1977 [= 1996: 450–460]).

5 A Complex Commentary: The Nature and Historical Background of the *Da zhidu lun*

As I have tried to show in the preceding Chapter, the facts documented in this study show that there is a clear and specific relationship between some expansions found in later LP witnesses (especially LPG and related texts) and some comments preserved in the DZDL. This is important, because we are now able to place the DZDL in continuity with the Indian context—more accurately: with a specific historical context whose temporal and special coordinates we are able to determine with considerable precision (the Gilgit valley in the early seventh century). Thus, this finding strengthens, from a fresh angle, Lamotte’s hypothesis on the original background of this commentary.

But how can we explain—in concrete, historical terms—the relationship between the commentary and the expanded LP passages? And, perhaps more crucially, what does all this tell us about the DZDL *as a commentary*? In this part of the book I will try to address these and other related questions. Unfortunately, to the best of my knowledge, we do not possess much additional evidence about these issues beyond what the texts themselves tell us. But we can, at least, put forward some hypotheses which, in turn, will allow us a reconsideration of the nature of the DZDL.

5.1 How Was the *Da zhidu lun*’s Exegesis Incorporated into Larger *Prajñāpāramitā* Texts?

An important fact, which we can take as the point of departure of our discussion, is that, as already mentioned above, the DZDL is completely unknown to Indian and Tibetan sources. In fact, I believe that the evidence presented in this monograph offers the only documented traces of an influence of some sort exerted by this work on any Indian source (in this case, the Sanskrit LP sources attesting the textual developments discussed above—especially LPG). However, the instances of the interaction between the DZDL’s exegesis and later LP texts that I have been thus far able to identify are few and isolated, relative to the huge size of

the sources involved. And, perhaps more importantly, as already observed above, while they are often sufficiently specific, they are for the most part of little doctrinal significance: they mainly concern details in the wording, or the general sense of a passage, rather than involving the addition of philosophically significant ideas.

But then, *direct* influence of the DZDL as such, while not impossible, might not be the only possible or even most likely scenario. This commentary is characterised by a highly distinctive hermeneutical approach¹⁷⁸ and ideas.¹⁷⁹ Had the DZDL, as an individual work, been the direct source of the expansions discussed above, we would expect to find many more examples than the few I have been able to identify, at least in the portion of the LP corresponding to the part of the DZDL translated by Kumārajīva in full (and they should be doctrinally more significant). Moreover, there is a substantial number of expansions in later LP texts, and particularly in the LPG recension, often of a marked exegetical nature, which have no parallel in the DZDL. Hence, systematic influence by the specific commentary which came to be called DZDL, even just on LPG and related texts, seems unlikely.

The DZDL is a complex, multi-layered commentary, and its glosses perform a variety of functions: apart from giving (especially in its first, unabridged portion) extremely detailed expositions of key categories of Buddhist thought and practice, and providing in-depth analyses of the philosophical implications of a given passage, the commentary also seeks—as do nearly all commentaries—to account, often in rather basic

¹⁷⁸ The DZDL often adopts a characteristic two-step exposition: approaching a given topic or doctrinal category first from the standpoint of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma (which tends to be predominant from a quantitative point of view), and then from that of the Mahāyāna, and particularly of Mādhyamika philosophy (see Lamotte III pp. xli–xlii).

¹⁷⁹ One of the most salient features setting the DZDL apart from other *Prajñāpāramitā* commentaries (as well as Madhyamaka in general), at a doctrinal level, is the systematic adoption of a semantically positive designation of absolute reality (cf. Seyfort Ruegg 1981: 33), namely, *shixiang* 實相, the “real characteristic”, which is also an important term in other translations produced by Kumārajīva (see Lamotte III pp. xlvi–xlvi; Shirato 1957; Zucchetti 2015b: 183–184). The most detailed and systematic attempt (not always convincing) to analyse the thought of the DZDL is Venkata Ramanan 1966. A more recent contribution in this area is represented by Takeda 2005 (which, unfortunately, I could only cursorily consult). Mention should also be made here of the detailed discussion of the philosophical aspects of Kumārajīva’s corpus found in the second volume of the history of Chinese Buddhism edited by Ren Jiyu (1985: 318–414).

terms, for the literal meaning of the base text. It is this down-to-earth form of exegesis, embodied by numerous glosses of the DZDL, that is mostly at play in the passages analysed in Chapter 3.2.

Yet, I do not think that approaching these facts in terms of interaction between a structured, autonomous written commentary and the base text is necessarily the only explanation, or even the best. We could also think of a common lore of glosses, probably reflecting local exegetical traditions (as suggested by the specific connection between DZDL and LPG highlighted in the preceding section), and perhaps originating as uncodified oral explanations on the LP. We can imagine that these glosses, on the one hand, influenced the base text(s) in the ways documented by this study, while on the other hand, they happened to be *independently* incorporated and preserved in the DZDL. As I will show below, there are some features of the DZDL which support this reconstruction.

There is also another important related question: If we rule out the direct influence of a specific individual commentary, how, precisely, did these glosses (or pieces of exegesis on specific passages) end up being materially incorporated into the base texts? One could perhaps imagine that the glosses were written in the margins of manuscripts—like scholia in Greek and Latin manuscripts (cf. Wilson 2007)—whence, at some point, they crept into the base text.¹⁸⁰ But marginal commentarial glosses do not seem to be a common feature of early Indian Buddhist *sūtra* manuscripts.¹⁸¹ While this could of course be due to the relative paucity of such manuscripts available to us, at least we can say that interpolation of

¹⁸⁰ For several examples of interpolations of marginal notes into a classical text (Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*), see Dalfen 1978: 9 ff. For an instance of undue influence wrongly exerted by scholia on the text of a modern edition (a lexicographical gloss mistaken as an ancient variant), see Wilson 2007: 51. According to Colas (1999: 34) this situation is common in premodern Indian texts (but he does not discuss Buddhist materials); see also Ratié 2018: 310.

¹⁸¹ Von Hinüber (2014: 83) mentions “interlinear corrections and notes found here and there” in the Gilgit corpus, but from his description one has the impression that these notes are rather occasional presences. On commentaries and commentarial portions in Buddhist manuscripts, see Scherrer-Schaub 2017: 263–266. For possible instances of marginal glosses that crept into the text of the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, see Harrison 2010: 246 with n. 39. Dr Camillo Formigatti (personal communication of February, 2018), to whom we owe the first systematic study of annotated Indian manuscripts (Formigatti 2015), informs me that while marginal and interlinear annotations are not uncommon in pre-modern north Indian (especially Jain) manuscripts, they are extremely rare in Buddhist specimens. On marginal annotations in Kashmirian Sanskrit manuscripts, see Ratié 2018.

marginal glosses does not seem to be the most likely scenario behind the textual developments I have described in Chapter 3.2.

Everything we know about the ways in which Mahāyāna texts were used and transmitted during the early phase of their history (which, admittedly, is not much) points in another direction. Recent research has drawn attention to the importance retained by oral textual practices in the context of Mahāyāna literature (Nance 2008; Drewes 2011 and 2015). Nance's study, in particular, has highlighted the role played by preaching—also entailing oral explanations of scriptures to an audience—in several Mahāyāna texts (Nance 2008: 142–143 and 147–148). Close association between textual transmission and exegesis (i.e., more precisely, “explaining to others”) is expressed with great clarity by many *Prajñā-pāramitā* passages.¹⁸² It is then possible to imagine that it is precisely at this level that the osmosis between commentary and expanded LP texts may have taken place: that is, at the level of a humbler, doctrinally less elaborated and probably originally oral¹⁸³ exegesis accompanying the recitation of the scriptures—an exegesis which was probably concerned, to a considerable extent, with the explication of details at the level of literal meaning.

¹⁸² In Mahāyāna scriptures, we frequently find passages which describe, and often prescribe, textual practices, centred on the verbs *udvgrah*, *vdhr*, and *paryavāvāp*. I will not tackle here the issue of how precisely these verbs are to be understood (for a recent detailed discussion, see Drewes 2015, who argues, generally convincingly, that these verbs refer primarily to oral practices). What is important for my discussion is that these and other expressions referring to textual transmission are often followed in *Prajñāpāramitā* literature (and in other Mahāyāna texts) by the expression *parebhyāś ca vistareṇa samprakāśayati* (and related verbal forms), “explaining in full to others”, which shows the close connection between the two areas of textual transmission and interpretation. See, for example, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 220,8; 221,16 and *passim*; PvSp (K) I-1 p. 40,11–17; PvSp (K) II–III p. 63,27–64,1 (particularly interesting as it clearly distinguishes between one set of practices of transmission and exposition, arguably oral, and another explicitly based on the written text and consisting in the worship of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*), etc. On the use of these materials as historiographical sources, see Nance's judicious discussion (2008: 138–140).

¹⁸³ I am not thinking here of a context of oral *transmission* of the LP, which I consider highly unlikely even for the earliest formative period of this scriptural family (in my view wholly belonging to the phase of manuscript transmission of the texts). It is wrong to construe the distinction between oral and manuscript practices as an absolute dichotomy, and even a context of predominant manuscript transmission involves an oral use of the texts (see Zucchetti 2015: 186).

It is then possible to approach these facts with a different model of commentary in mind:¹⁸⁴ that is, as reflecting a “fluid” form of exegesis, produced in the context of the uses of the texts described by Mahāyāna *sūtras* themselves (recitation, explanation, transmission), and not necessarily (or, rather, not yet) codified into a “structured” written commentary, materially and neatly separated from the base text, but rather, embodied in a plurality of anonymous glosses, floating in the *mare magnum* of Buddhist intertexuality.¹⁸⁵

But then, as we have seen, fragments of this exegesis, apart from influencing the development of the base texts, did also end up being included in the DZDL. Even if we will probably never know precisely how this process of inclusion happened—i.e., whether the compiler(s) of the DZDL directly incorporated into their commentary oral explanations on the LP circulating in their area, or they absorbed them from some unknown already written commentaries, or, again, as a result of both processes, as is more likely—the very fact that the DZDL may in part reflect this kind of anonymous exegetical tradition has important implications for our understanding of this commentary. For this scenario entails a reconsideration of the nature of the DZDL—that apart from being, as it

¹⁸⁴ For a very interesting and convincing reconstruction of a similar scenario in the context of non-Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature, see Anālayo 2010: 13–16.

¹⁸⁵ Further, albeit indirect, corroboration for this scenario can be obtained from a completely different quarter. There is at least one specific form of textual transmission pertaining to Buddhist scriptures about whose concrete circumstances we are well informed: Chinese Buddhist translations. Of course, the distinctive translation technique employed to produce these texts (on which see, for example, Tso 1990: 95–120; Wang 1984: 121–202; Funayama 2013: 53–86) is the result of many different factors. But given the background of most of the main translators active in China, it makes sense to assume that Indian textual practices played an important role. And, as shown with particular clarity by Tso’s research (1990: 96–103), in the period preceding the so-called “New Translations” (*xinyi* 新譯) of the Sui and Tang periods, oral exegesis played a crucial role in the translation process. This particular way of rendering Indic scriptures into Chinese occasionally influenced the translated text, leading to the incorporation of explanations delivered by the main translator-exegete presiding over the translation team (Demiéville 1953: 418 § 2068 and Zucchetti 2005: 17 with n. 52 and, for a possible example, p. 282 with n. 321–322). In the light of the present research, I am now inclined to take these “interpolations” not so much as being Chinese aberrations, but rather, at least to some extent, reflections of traditional Indian Buddhist practices of textual transmission, entirely in line with the examples of textual developments discussed in this book. In other words, the translation of Buddhist texts into Chinese should also be seen as a further stage in essential continuity with the preceding transmission process.

certainly is, a philosophically sophisticated and, to a point, doctrinally systematic commentary, it is also a repository of fragments of an earlier, multi-authored, and possibly in part previously uncodified exegesis.

5.2 A Polyphonic Commentary: The Nature of the *Da zhidu lun* Reconsidered

The issue of the authorship of the DZDL, indirectly evoked at the end of the last section—i.e., whether (and to what extent) it can be considered the work of the great philosopher Nāgārjuna, the author of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*—has disproportionately monopolised the scholarly debate on this commentary (see above n. 27). While this emphasis is not difficult to explain, given the prestige of the name involved and the importance of the DZDL for East Asian Buddhism, it has had the effect of obscuring other, equally important, issues. Even authors who, like Lamotte, rejected Nāgārjuna’s authorship, often did so with another individual author in mind, without really questioning their fundamental assumption about the underlying model of authorship: the idea that the DZDL is the work of an individual author has been largely taken for granted.

However, from the particular perspective of the present study, the key question is not so much “Who composed the DZDL?”, as “What kind of commentary is this?” Chou Po-kan, in his important studies devoted to the DZDL (1992, 2000, 2000b, and 2004), has provided a fresh perspective on these issues. He focused on the Chinese side of the complex process underlying the production of this unique text, rightly underlining the significance of the translation process in shaping the DZDL as we have it today. This, however, only tells us part of the story. What I would like to focus on here is, rather, the issue of what kind of text the Indic *original* of the DZDL was.

A comprehensive reconsideration of the DZDL and its background is entirely beyond the scope of this monograph. Here I intend to focus on just one particular aspect of this commentary, which does not seem to have attracted much attention,¹⁸⁶ and yet is directly relevant to the topic of the present study.

¹⁸⁶ See, however, the perceptive discussion offered by Choong 2018 (especially pp. 7–9).

A striking recurring feature of the DZDL is that many of its glosses (probably most) provide multiple interpretations of specific questions, terms, and also—crucially—passages in the base text. Expressions like *fuci* 復次 or *you* 又 (“furthermore, again, etc.”) are employed literally thousands of times in the commentary, often in replies to questions, to present a particular topic from several different angles.

The following example (from the first commentarial passage in scroll 35, at the beginning of the second, abridged part of the DZDL), will suffice to make my point:

問曰：前品說已具[+足【宋】【元】【明】【宮】【石】]，今何以重說？

答曰：前雖歎歎讚歎【宋】【宮】【石】般若波羅蜜，事未具足，聞者無厭，是故復說。復次，初品但讚般若波羅蜜力，今讚行者，能作是功德，四天王等歡喜奉鉢。復次，以菩薩能具諸願行，故佛安慰、勸進，言有此果報，終不虛也。復次，般若波羅蜜有二種果：一者、成佛度眾生；二者、雖未成佛，受世間果報。轉輪聖王、釋、梵天王主=生【宋】【宮】【石】三千世界，世間福樂、供養之事，悉皆備足。今以世間果報以示眾生，故說是事... (T 1509 [XXV] p. 314b29–c9).

Question: In the previous chapter [the *sūtra*] has already completed the exposition [of the virtues of the *prajñāpāramitā*];¹⁸⁷ why does it expound [it] again now?¹⁸⁸

Answer: Although in the preceding part [the *sūtra*] has extolled the *prajñāpāramitā*, [this] matter was not yet exhausted, and given that the listeners are not tired [of listening, here the LP] expounds it again.

Furthermore, the initial chapter only praised the power of the *prajñāpāramitā*, whereas now [the *sūtra*] praises the practitioner: [that is, when the practitioner] is able to produce these qualities, the four Heavenly Kings rejoice and offer [him] the bowls.

¹⁸⁷ Here the commentary is probably referring to a long passage in the initial portion of the LP (cf. Zucchetti 2005: 172–199 and 287–317, §§ 1.106–1.189).

¹⁸⁸ The LP passage on which the DZDL is commenting here is this:

佛告舍利弗：「若菩薩摩訶薩行般若波羅蜜能作是功德，是時四天王皆大歡喜，意念言：『我等當以四鉢奉上菩薩，如前天王奉先佛鉢。』」(Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 221a22–25), corresponding to LPG f. 16r9–10 (Zucchetti 2005: 386); S p. 114,16–20; PvsP(K) I-1 51,11–15; cf. also GZJ § 2.1 (Zucchetti 2005: 200 and 319).

Furthermore, the Buddha comforts and exhorts the Bodhisattvas, so that they can fulfil their vows,¹⁸⁹ saying that there is this retribution [for their efforts, so that they] will never be in vain.

Furthermore, the *prajñāpāramitā* has two kinds of fruit: the first is becoming a Buddha to save living beings, the second is receiving worldly retributions even when one has not yet become a Buddha. In the case of the Saint King who turns the wheel (轉輪聖王, **cakravartin*), and of Śakra and Brahmā, the sovereigns of the gods who rule the Trichiliomegachiliocosm, [and] are fully provided with offerings and worldly happiness;¹⁹⁰ the present passage expounds this fact to demonstrate worldly retribution [for Bodhisattvas] to living beings.

Surely, in many cases these look like additional or complementary explanations. But in several other passages the commentary proposes what are clearly *alternative* interpretations of the topic to hand. While it is possible to think that in some cases these additional comments may represent different points of view expressed by a single author to explain a certain topic as comprehensively as possible, this is not the most likely explanation in all instances, especially when mutually exclusive views are mentioned side by side. In such cases, it seems preferable to take these as references to interpretations by other commentators.

In a significant number of cases this need not be framed as a hypothesis: as a matter of fact, this scenario is directly evoked by numerous passages of the DZDL which explicitly mention the views of other unnamed individuals. To the best of my knowledge, these anonymous glosses, usually introduced by the formula *you ren yan* 有人言 (in the examples below, I have always rendered this as “some say”) or similar expressions, have not received much attention by scholars who have discussed this commentary and its authorship.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ The expression *yuan xing* 願行 (not in HD) is not entirely clear (maybe “practices [related to/motivated by, etc.] the vows”?). There is one other occurrence in the DZDL (T 1509 [XXV] p. 191b3–4): 先世福德、願行; Lamotte II p. 1068 translates: “Les mérites (*punya*) et les voeux (*pranidhāna*) des existences antérieures”.

¹⁹⁰ 世間福樂、供養之事，悉皆備足; I am not entirely sure about the interpretation of this sentence, and my punctuation is tentative. I take the passage to mean that the Cakravartin, etc., are fully provided with offerings and similar worldly rewards, and that the root-text here is showing that Bodhisattvas also have access to similar benefits.

¹⁹¹ One exception is Gwo’s very interesting study, although the presence of these quotation glosses is mentioned only in passing (1997: 97).

Needless to say, reference to alternative interpretations, even explicitly attributed to other authors, is a typical feature of Indian Buddhist exegetical and scholastic literature at large,¹⁹² including *Prajñāpāramitā* commentaries such as Ārya Vimuktisena's *Abhisamayālambikāravṛtti*¹⁹³ and Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālambikārālokā prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā*,¹⁹⁴ which in most respects are completely different from the DZDL. So these anonymous "quotation glosses", as I will collectively refer to them for ease of reference, can by no means be considered, in themselves, a distinctive feature of the DZDL. My point, rather, is that they can provide us with some important information on this commentary and, more generally, on the early developments of *Prajñāpāramitā* exegesis. As such, these glosses deserve a careful and systematic analysis.

It is important to observe at the outset that there is nothing in the form and content of these passages (or at least of most of them) to suggest that

¹⁹² See, for example, Stefan Baums's description of the early specimens of Buddhist exegetical literature in Gāndhārī: "A prominent feature of both the Gandhari verse commentaries and the Gandhari *Samgtisūtra* commentary is their systematic collection and presentation of alternative interpretations for the same part of the root text, sometimes simply introduced by the expression 'alternatively', in other cases attributed to 'some' or 'others'. No preference is usually expressed for any of these alternatives, other than possibly by the order in which they are presented" (Baums 2015: 412).

¹⁹³ See, for example, Lee 2017: 11,1–8 (= Pensa 1967: 18–19), quoting five different interpretations of the expression *buddhakula*, "the family of the Buddhas". The third of these alternative explanations is of particular interest: *pratyutpannasarvabuddhasamāmukhāvasthitasamādhir mahākāruṇā cobhayam buddhānām kulam ity apare* (Lee 2017: 11,5–6, Pensa 1967: 18–19), "Others maintain that both the 'samādhi of direct encounter with all the Buddhas of the present' and the great compassion are the family of the Buddhas". Interestingly enough, this interpretation, which has a partial parallel in the DZDL (佛以般若為母、般舟三昧為父, "The Buddhas have the *prajñāpāramitā* as mother, and the *pratyutpannasamādhi* as father", T 1509 [XXV] p. 314a22–23), is also mentioned in the **Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā*: 有人言: 般舟三昧及大悲名諸佛家, 從此二法生諸如來。此中般舟三昧為父, 大悲為母。(Shi zhu piposha lun 十住毘婆沙論 T 1521 [XXVI] p. 25c3–5), "Some say: the *pratyutpannasamādhi* and the great compassion are called the family of the Buddhas: from these two *dharma*s are born the Tathāgatas. Of them, the *pratyutpannasamādhi* is the father, the great compassion the mother". On these definitions of *pratyutpannasamādhi*, see also Harrison 1990: xxiv–xxv n. 24–25; Huynh 2019: 47–49 (§ 5.2).

¹⁹⁴ Just to mention a couple of examples (references are to Wogihara's edition = *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* in the list of abbreviations), pp. 3,25 ff.; 11,22–12,5. The expressions *ity eke ... ity apare ...* ("some say ... others say ..."; cf. *you ren yan* 有人言 in the DZDL), used to quote alternative interpretations, are not rare in Haribhadra's commentary (see also n. 221 below for more references; also n. 216).

they are the outcome of the translation process. In other words, this seems to have been, at least to a considerable extent, a feature of the original of the DZDL (the **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*), not an addition by Kumārajīva and the other members of his translation team. These “quotation glosses” are by no means a rare occurrence, even in a text of the size of the DZDL: there are literally hundreds of them in the commentary.

While the distributional patterns of these quotation glosses remain to be studied, it is easy to see that in a substantial number of cases, they occur in replies to questions, but of course, this could well be due to the pervasive adoption of the question-answer form in the DZDL.¹⁹⁵ It is, however, noteworthy that in several instances a certain quotation gloss is given as the initial—or sometime even sole—answer to a question, which would seem to indicate that the compilers took that gloss as an authoritative answer.¹⁹⁶

5.3 Fragments of a Lost World: Early *Prajñāpāramitā* Exegesis Quoted in the *Da zhidu lun*

In many cases, these anonymous alternative opinions are quoted in contexts discussing some basic terms or specific doctrinal questions—that is, they are not necessarily related to the LP as the base text and object of the commentary.¹⁹⁷

However, in several other instances, the expression *you ren yan* 有人言 introduces individual interpretations of *specific passages* of the LP. It is important to distinguish this second typology of glosses and to treat it

¹⁹⁵ For a monographic study of this aspect of the DZDL, see Gwo 1997.

¹⁹⁶ In some cases (in the second, abridged part of the DZDL), one or more quotation glosses occur in reply to a question marking the beginning of an entire commentarial portion, immediately after the relevant lemma (see e.g., T 1509 [XXV] p. 353c6–15; p. 361c13–19; p. 362c20–25; p. 443b4–9).

¹⁹⁷ Here are some examples of this particular type of quotation gloss: T 1509 (XXV) p. 87a29–b24 (tr. Lamotte I pp. 250–252; the commentary here quotes several opinions concerning the *buddhalakṣaṇas*, reflecting debates on this matter which, as pointed out by Lamotte [I n. 1 p. 251], are also attested in Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma sources); p. 139a24–c25 (tr. Lamotte II pp. 650–656; on *prajñāpāramitā*); p. 241a5–10 (tr. Lamotte III p. 1564; on the best of the ten forces, *daśa balāni*); p. 656b19–c7 (various definitions of *bodhi*); p. 710c18–27 (five lexicographical glosses on the expression 百味食 [*śatarasāni bhojanāni*] in T 223 [VIII] p. 408c21–25 = PvsP[K] VI–VIII p. 127,21–25; cf. *Sāratamā* p. 92 for a different interpretation).

separately from the previous one, because the two have different implications: while interpretations of specific terms in many cases merely constitute further examples of the DZDL's debt towards scholastic literature, and particularly Abhidharma, the quotation glosses specific passages of the base text clearly suggest that the DZDL is referring to the views of other commentators (not necessarily of *commentaries*!) on the LP. In fact, since a considerable portion of the LP overlaps with that of its model, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and related texts (see Zacchetti 2015: 184), we cannot rule out that, at least in some cases, these quotation glosses might reflect exegesis originally devoted to the shorter, and earlier, *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptural family (I will come back to this issue below). But, at any rate, these glosses constitute a precious testimony of an early, otherwise undocumented stage in the development of *Prajñāpāramitā* exegesis, with the record of dissenting opinions on specific points of the base texts reminiscent of the Abhidharmic debates recorded in works such as the **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* (a telling similarity, as I will show below). Given the relatively early date of the DZDL, these fragments (either coeval with or earlier than the commentary translated by Kumārajīva) represent, in all likelihood (and barring the discovery of new manuscripts from Greater Gandhāra or Central Asia), the earliest surviving testimonies of *Prajñāpāramitā* exegesis produced outside China (cf. n. 33 above).¹⁹⁸

A clear example of a quotation gloss specifically referring to the base text occurs already in the initial portion of the DZDL, where the LP narrates how the Bodhisattva Samantaraśmi, having seen from the world Ratnāvatī the emission of light and the other manifestations of Śākyamuni's power, asks the local Buddha, Ratnākara, for an explanation (cf. Passage no. 2 above). In the DZDL's commentary on this passage,¹⁹⁹ the

¹⁹⁸ [Note: Zacchetti had a marginal note here reading: "Apart from this historical primacy, the glosses referred to in the DZDL are also interesting as reflections of the concerns and interests of early *Prajñāpāramitā* interpreters, showing us which issues were felt to be controversial and debated. As such, these quotations certainly deserve systematic study, as an important source of information on the development of Mahāyāna thought."—Eds.]

¹⁹⁹ T 1509 (XXV) p. 127a24–b13; tr. Lamotte I pp. 557–558. This is the relevant lemma, immediately preceding the commentarial portion:

【經】見此大光，見地大動，又見佛身，到寶積佛所，白佛言：「世尊，今何因緣有此光明照於世間，地大震動，又見佛身[+者【宋】【宮】
【石】1? (T 1509 [XXV] p. 127a22–24; cf. Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 218a25–28;
GZJ § 1.79, in Zacchetti 2005: 162–163).

question is raised why Samantaraśmi—who, being the most eminent Bodhisattva in his world, should know the reason for these miraculous events—asks Ratnākara. After having provided three different explanations (not mutually exclusive and indeed partly concurring, especially the last two), the DZDL quotes a fourth interpretation, alternative to the preceding three and ascribed to an unnamed author:

復次，有人言：是菩薩自有神力能知，亦是釋迦牟尼佛力令知；但為諸小菩薩不知故問佛。諸小菩薩怖難未除，不能問佛，是故為之發問。是普明菩薩發其世界，與諸小男子、小女人俱，以是故知不能問佛。譬如大象能勝[勝=躉【宋】【元】【明】【宮】]大樹，令諸小象得食枝葉 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 127b5–11; cf. Lamotte I p. 558).

Furthermore, some say: This Bodhisattva is able to know [the reason of Śākyamuni's miraculous performances] being provided with his own supernatural power, and also [because] the Buddha Śākyamuni's power causes him to know. It is just because the other²⁰⁰ lesser Bodhisattvas [who live in the same *lokadhātu*] do not know that he asks the Buddha. All the other lesser Bodhisattvas, not having yet dispelled their fear,²⁰¹ are not able to ask the Buddha, and for this

This corresponds to PvsP(K) I-1 p. 7,21–28 (cf. LPG f. 5v4–7 in Zacchetti 2005: 372):

atha tatra lokadhātau samantaraśmir nāma bodhisattvo mahāsattvas tam mahāntam avabhāsam drṣtvā tañ ca mahāntam prthivīcālam tañ ca bhagavato 'secanakam ātmabhāvam drṣtvā yena bhagavān ratnākaras tathāgato 'rhan samyaksambuddhas tenopasaṅkrāmad upasamkramya tasya bhagavataḥ pādāv abhivandyā tam tathāgatam ratnākaram etad avocat: ko bhagavan hetuh, kah pratyayo 'sya mahato 'vabhāsasya loke prādurbhāvā-yāsyā ca mahataḥ pṛthivīcālasyāsyā ca tathāgatasyāsecanakātmabhāvasya saṃdarśanāyā? (tr. Conze 1975: 42).

²⁰⁰ On this particular meaning of *zhu* 諸, see Dong and Cai 1994: 657–658.

²⁰¹ The expression *bunan* 怖難 (not recorded in HD) is fairly rare in the canon. Lamotte (I p. 558) interpreted it as a verb-object construction (“par peur des objections”). However, some parallels in other translations suggest that we should rather take it as a single disyllabic word:

今在怖難、恐懼之處 (*Da zhuangyan lun jing* 大莊嚴論經 [tr. Kumārajīva], T 201 [IV] p. 269a11–12).

臨死之日亦不畏懼，無所怖難 (*Chu yao jing* 出曜經 [tr. Zhu Fonian 竹佛念] T 212 [IV] p. 725c3–4).

As shown by these passages, *bunan* is primarily a verb, although in the DZDL sentence (怖難未除) it is used as a noun. This disyllabic word is made up of two

reason [Samantaraśmi] asks on their behalf. This Bodhisattva Samantaraśmi sets out from his world together with the other lesser male and female [Bodhisattvas], and for this reason he knows that they are not able to ask the Buddha. [He] is like a great elephant who is able to break a big tree, [thus] enabling the other smaller elephants to eat branches and leaves.

The following is another interesting example occurring in *juan* 40 of the DZDL, this time featuring multiple quotation glosses on one single passage of the LP:

【經】 說是般若波羅蜜品時，三百比丘從坐起，以所著衣上佛，發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心 … (T 1509 [XXV] p. 353b18–19; cf. Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 229b15–17).²⁰²

【論】 問曰：如佛結戒，比丘三衣不應少，是諸比丘何以故〔故〕 – 【宋】【元】【明】【宮】破尸羅波羅蜜，作檀波羅蜜？

答曰：有人言：「佛過十二歲然後結戒，是比丘施衣時未結戒。」有人言：「是比丘有淨施衣，心生當受，以是故施。」有人言：「是諸比丘多知多識，即能更得，事不經宿。」復次，有人言：「是諸比丘聞佛說諸菩薩行檀波羅蜜，諸〔諸〕 – 【石】功德力勢無量故，得與般若波羅蜜相應，心大踊躍，即以衣施，無復他念，不故〔故〕 = 顧【石】破戒。」復次，諸比丘知佛法畢竟空，無所著，斷法愛；為世諦故結戒，非第一義。是比丘從佛聞第一義及布施等〔等 = 得】【宋】【元】【明】六波羅蜜；聞諸菩薩種種大威力，愍眾生為諸煩惱所覆，不能得是菩薩功德；是故生大悲心，為眾生故發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提意；以是故，以衣布施。若人以貪欲、瞋恚、怖畏、邪見、不恭敬心、輕佛語而〔而〕 – 【石】不持戒〔戒〕 – 【宋】【元】【明】【宮】，是名為破戒；是諸比丘都無此心，是故無破戒罪 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 353c6–23).

near synonyms, since *nàn* 難 can also mean “to fear, to worry” (see HD, vol. 11 p. 899b s.v. 難 II *nàn*, no. 7).

²⁰² Here I quote only the beginning of the long lemma, relevant to the initial part of the commentarial portion, where these glosses occur. Cf. the corresponding passage in LPG f. 37r11–12: *asmin khalu punah prajñāpāramitānirdeśe nirdis-yamāne trīṇi bhikṣuśatāni yathāprāvṛtais cīvaraī bhagavantam abhicchādayanti sma • anuttarāyai ca samyaksambodhave cittam utpādayanti* (cf. Ś pp. 308,2–309,1; PvsP[K] I-1 p. 103,19–22 [with the variant *trīṇi bhikṣuśatāni*; PvsP[SL] *khah* a2, ed. von Hinüber 1983: 201–202].

Sūtra: When [the Buddha] expounded this version of the *Prajñā-pāramitā*, three hundred *bhikṣus* rose from [their] seats and offered to the Buddha the robes they were wearing, formulating the intention of [attaining] the *anuttara-samyaksam̄bodhi*- ...

Commentary: Question: According to the rule established by the Buddha, a *bhikṣu* should not want for [any of the] three robes;²⁰³ why [then] do all these *bhikṣus* violate the *sīlapāramitā* in order to accomplish the *dānapāramitā*?

Answer: Some say: The Buddha established the rule only after twelve years; when these *bhikṣus* donated the robes, he had not yet done so. Some say: These *bhikṣus* possessed “purely donated” robes [which they had received in addition to their regular three ones]; since [their] minds had produced [the idea that they] will receive [a retribution],²⁰⁴ for this reason they donated [their extra robes to the Buddha]. Some say: these *bhikṣus*, having many acquaintances,²⁰⁵ were immediately

²⁰³ I.e., *saṃghāṭī*, *antarvāsas*, and *uttarāsaṅga* (waist-cloth, inner garment and upper robe); see for example *Si song lü* 十誦律 (T 1435 [XXIII] p. 195a15–17).

²⁰⁴ I follow here Jizang’s LP commentary, the *Da pin jing yishu* 大品經義疏, which refers to this passage of the DZDL (X 451 [XXIV] p. 225b9–11). Unfortunately, I cannot understand Jizang’s paraphrase of the second part of this obscure gloss, and my translation of this sentence (心生當受) is tentative. [Note: Zacchetti had a note to self indicating that he also considered the alternate translation “... that they will receive [new ones]”.—Eds.]

²⁰⁵ The expression *duo zhi duo shi* 多知多識 is rare in the canon, and essentially limited to Later Qin translations and related exegetical literature (for a thematically close parallel, see for example *Shi song lü* 十誦律 T 1435 [XXIII] p. 45a24–27). I take it as a stylistic variant for 多知識, which is more common and also attested in Kumārajīva’s corpus; see e.g., Kj (T 223 [VIII] p. 229c7) 諸多知識比丘, corresponding to PvsP(K) I-1 p. 104,27–28: *ete cānye ca sambahulā abhijñātā abhijñātā bhikṣavo* (LPG 37v12, S p. 310,17 and PvsP[SL] *khaḥ* b1 [von Hinüber 1983: 202]: *abhijñātābhijñātā*). An interesting occurrence of 多知多識 can be found in a gloss by Kumārajīva included in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* commentary, the *Zhu Weimojie jing* 注維摩詰經 (T 1775) and attached to a sentence found in the initial portion of the base text (眾所知識, in *Weimojie suo shuo jing* T 475 [XIV] p. 537a8–9): “Kumārajīva said: The Sanskrit text reads ‘having many acquaintances’ (多知多識). Because [the person of] illustrious virtue [is able to] conform to circumstances, all beings get to befriend him, and because of this, those who respect him are a multitude” (什曰：梵本云：「多知多識」。顯德應時故，物咸知識；物咸知識故，敬之者眾, T 1775 [XXXVIII] p. 328c2–4). The edited Sanskrit text here has been emended (unnecessarily, I think) to read *abhi-jñānābhijñātaiḥ* (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 1b3, ed. 2006: 1). The manuscript, however, reads *abhijñātābhijñātaiḥ*, “each being well known” (cf. *Critical Pāli Dictionary* vol. I.8 p. 347), which is supported by parallels in Sanskrit (cf. *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* p. 4,8 with n. 5 and p. 5,3 with n. 2) and Pāli (cf. DN I p. 235,7–

able to get other [robes, so that] the matter [of the transgression] did not [last] through the night. Furthermore, some say: these *bhikṣus* had heard the Buddha teach that because the power of the merit of Bodhisattvas who cultivate the *dānapāramitā* is infinite, they achieve accordance with the *prajñāpāramitā*,²⁰⁶ [so] they greatly rejoiced in their heart and then [gave their] robes [to the Buddha] without further thought; they [therefore] did not break the precepts intentionally. Furthermore, all these *bhikṣus* know that the Dharma of the Buddha is absolutely empty, [and] without anything to cling to, and [as a result] they cut off craving for the Dharma; it is [only] from the viewpoint of the conventional truth that [the Buddha] established rules, not of the supreme reality.²⁰⁷ These *bhikṣus*, having heard from the Buddha [the teachings concerning] supreme reality and the six *pāramitās*, such as generosity, etc., having heard of the various forms of the Bodhisattvas' great power, having taken pity on the beings who, due to the fact that they are overwhelmed by all defilements, are not able to obtain [i.e., benefit from?] the Bodhisattvas' meritorious virtue, [those *bhikṣus*] therefore generated a great compassion, and for the sake of beings formulated the intention of [attaining] the *anuttara-samyaksambodhi*; for these reasons, they [donated their] robes [to the Buddha]. If someone does not observe discipline due to desire, hatred, fear, wrong views, disrespect, [or] by making light of the Buddha's word, this is defined as breaking discipline. [On the other hand,] these other *bhikṣus* [mentioned by the base text] had no such [negative] states of mind, and therefore [their action] does not entail any offence of breaking discipline.

This is one of the clearest examples of multiple interpretations of a specific passage of the base text by several anonymous exegetes, providing

8), and which might also well be what Kumārajīva read in his manuscript. While the expression *duo zhi duo shi* 多知多識 conforms to standard Chinese patterns of lexical formation, I wonder if the repetition of 多 might not also reflect an attempt to evoke the reduplication in the Sanskrit parallel. In my translation of 多知多識 I have followed Kumārajīva's interpretation, but Jizang seems to have interpreted this expression differently (apparently in the sense of "having much knowledge": see *Da pin jing yishu* X451 [XXIV] p. 225b11–12). [Note: Zucchetti also considered translating "[since they were] of great renown", i.e., "widely known".—Eds.]

²⁰⁶ 得與般若波羅蜜相應, presumably corresponding to **prajñāpāramitāyām yukta-* or something similar (see Zucchetti 2005: 339 n. 75).

²⁰⁷ One can speculate that this last explanation, characteristically resorting to the notion of emptiness (畢竟空, cf. *at�antaśūnyatā*) as a fundamental explanatory strategy, probably reflects the position of the author(s)/compiler(s) of the DZDL.

us with an excellent illustration of the polyphonic commentarial style typical of the DZDL. The short passage of the LP that is the object of these glosses (which has no parallel in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*) must have attracted the attention of commentators from the earliest stages of transmission of the LP, and it is not difficult to imagine the reason. Here the text presents a problem vis-à-vis a basic point of monastic discipline, and accounting for apparent problems in the base text (including seeming contradictions, or repetitions—of which there is no lack in the LP) is a key concern for the exegesis embodied in the DZDL.

Passages of this kind, making reference to this early anonymous LP exegetical tradition, are far from rare in the commentary. I mention here some clear instances of quotation glosses introduced by the formula *you ren yan* 有人言, and specifically related to the LP text (the list is by no means exhaustive):

- Three anonymous definitions are quoted at the beginning of the section on *anupalambhaśūnyatā* (*bukede kong* 不可得空; T 1509 [XXV] p. 295c7–11; tr. Lamotte IV p. 2145). This term, not attested in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, belongs to the list of eighteen forms of *śūnyatā* which is typical of the LP (see Lamotte IV pp. 2027–2041).
- T 1509 (XXV) p. 443b4–9: two alternative interpretations of the emission of light from the Buddha's body described at the beginning of Chapter 27 of Kj (T 223 [VIII] p. 273b6 ff., corresponding to PvsP[K] II–III pp. 1,1–2,1), which could be seen as a repetition of the LP's incipit.
- T 1509 (XXV) p. 451c12–16: a quotation gloss containing an alternative interpretation of a prodigiously created vaulted house made of the flowers scattered by Indra and the other gods on the Buddha (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 277a12–13; cf. PvsP[K] II–III p. 20,18–20), ascribing it to the power of the Buddha and not of the *devas*, as in the first explanation provided by the DZDL.
- T 1509 (XXV) p. 523a11–18: a question is raised in the commentary about one passage of the base text, according to which persons who consider the *prajñāpāramitā* to be rejected also did so in the past (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 313b23–25, corresponding to PvsP[K] IV p. 9,10–13): surely these persons must have been reborn in the hells due to their former slander of the *prajñāpāramitā*; how then can they get another chance to listen to its teaching (and thus reject

it again)? In the reply, three anonymous glosses are quoted, offering different, though partly overlapping, answers. Note, however, that this passage has a parallel in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*,²⁰⁸ so it is not impossible that the glosses originally referred to the shorter version.

- T 1509 (XXV) p. 548b13–21: three answers are offered to a question about a seeming inconsistency in the LP’s narrative—a group of gods asking about the characteristics of the *prajñāpāramitā* (T 223 [VIII] p. 325, b16–17 = PvsP[K] IV p. 67,26–27), i.e., something that had been already explained at length in the scripture. The last of these answers is a quotation gloss.
- T 1509 (XXV) p. 548c17–19 and 549a2–5: two quotation glosses on as many sentences from a passage of the base text (T 223 [VIII] p. 325b25–26, corresponding to PvsP[K] IV p. 68,11–12).
- T 1509 (XXV) p. 588c2–13: two anonymous glosses are quoted to provide additional alternative explanations of the way Maitreya replies, in typical *prajñāpāramitā* style, to a question by Śāriputra (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 347b3–9, corresponding to PvsP[K] IV p. 180,11–23). Note that this LP passage also has a parallel in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (pp. 734,21–736,1).
- T 1509 (XXV) p. 603c20–25: four quotation glosses providing explanations of an expression found in a LP passage (餘心、心數法雜) (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 355c21, corresponding to PvsP[K] V p. 19,25–26 and LPG f. 222r, ed. Conze 1962: 27).²⁰⁹
- T 1509 (XXV) p. 643a4–7: a single, rather interesting quotation gloss, interpreting three questions asked by Subhūti (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 373, a10–12, corresponding to PvsP[K] V p. 110,25–26):

²⁰⁸ See *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 461,25–462,2; this passage is already found, in a slightly shorter reading, in the earliest Chinese translation: see *Daoxing jing* 道行經 T 224 (VIII) p. 444c5–6 (Karashima 2011: 207).

²⁰⁹ This DZDL passage has been analysed by Chou Po-kan (2000b: 158–159), though without specifically discussing the quotation glosses. I must say that, in this case, his argument is not entirely clear to me. If I understand his point correctly, he seems to take the text of Kj (不雜餘心、心數法者) as a “detailed explanation” (詳述) of the shorter reading (無著想) attested by Mo (T 221 [VIII] p. 99a14): that is, as a sort of textual expansion introduced into the Chinese translation by Kumārajīva on the basis of the earlier Chinese version. However, here Kumārajīva is just providing a fairly literal translation of the corresponding Sanskrit (*na cānyesām cittacaitasikānām dharmāṇām avakāśām dāsyanti*, found in both LPG and PvsP[K]).

subhūtir āha: katham bhagavan prajñāpāramitāyāñ caritavyam? katham prajñāpāramitābhinirhartavyā? katham prajñāpāramitā bhāvayitavyā?) as referring to different stages of the Bodhisattva's career.

- T 1509 (XXV) p. 687a24–b2: in the answer to a question concerning the fact that a passage of the base text only mentions two forms of *śūnyatā* instead of giving the full list of eighteen terms (T 223 [VIII] p. 396, c1–3 = LPG f. 282v9 [ed. Conze 1974: 54]; cf. PvsP(K) VI–VIII p. 68,12–14 which does not mention any type of emptiness here), the commentary quotes an anonymous gloss in addition to its own explanations.

For some reason, the portion of the DZDL commenting on the story of the Bodhisattva Sadāprarudita, which is attested in some LP texts²¹⁰ including Kj, and in most representatives of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* family (cf. Zucchetti 2015: 183), presents a particularly high number of “quotation glosses”, some of which are of great interest. These are some of the most interesting examples (again, the list is far from being complete):

- T 1509 (XXV) p. 732a12–b6: three quotation glosses on the origins of the name Sadāprarudita and the character himself. A fourth gloss is quoted in the reply to a subsequent question concerning the nature of the voice from the sky inviting Sadāprarudita to set out on his quest for the *prajñāpāramitā*.
- T 1509 (XXV) p. 735c10–15 (but it is not clear where the gloss actually ends): a gloss is quoted in reply to a question about the nature of the Buddha who appears in the sky reassuring Sadāprarudita and describing to him the town of Gandhavatī (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 417a4 ff.; cf. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 932,10 ff.; on this passage see Radich 2007: 727–729). The anonymous commentator states that it is not a real Buddha who appears, but only an image (有人言：非真佛，但是像現耳), and, interestingly, this interpretation might be reflected by what we read in the corresponding passage of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (*tathāgatavigrahah*, p. 932,11). Note, however, that in the earliest Chinese version belonging to this textual family, Lokakṣema's *Daoxing jing* 道行經, this is presented as a “conjured-up Buddha” (化作佛, T 224 [VIII] p. 471b16–17;

²¹⁰ See Karashima et al. 2016: viii; Zucchetti 2005: 22–23. Neither LPG, nor Š, nor PvsP(K) contains the Sadāprarudita story.

Karashima 2011: 469) and not a real one, while the reading with -*vigraha* is already reflected in Kumārajīva's version (佛像, T 227 [VIII] p. 580c18).

- T 1509 (XXV) p. 736a17–b9 (again, the second gloss quoted here might be longer): two anonymous interpretations are quoted in reply to a question concerning the nature of the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata. According to the first gloss, Dharmodgata is a Bodhisattva with a “body of birth” (生身菩薩),²¹¹ i.e., a Bodhisattva in flesh and blood, though a particularly advanced one, possessed of supernatural faculties and capable of adopting antinomian behaviours, in order to attract the beings he wishes to save, without losing meditative concentration. According to the second of these glosses (p. 736b3–9), which is of particular interest from a historical point of view (see the discussion below, p. 109), Dharmodgata has a body produced from (or by?) *dharma* nature (*faxing sheng shen* 法性生身) and has been created (*bianhua* 變化) in order to save the people of Gandhavatī, and “hence one knows that [Dharmodgata's body] is the transformation body of a great Bodhisattva” (是故知是大菩薩變化身). The term *faxing sheng shen* 法性生身 was reconstructed by Lamotte (e.g., IV p. 1818) as **dharmadhātujakāya*, in view of the equivalence *faxing* 法性 = *dharmadhātu*, which is well established in the DZDL (see e.g., Lamotte V p. 2182).²¹² The classification of Bodhisattvas reflected by these two glosses seems typical of the DZDL.²¹³ The term “body produced from (by?) *dharma* nature” is essentially limited,

²¹¹ Lamotte II p. 972 reconstructs this as **janmakāya-bodhisattva*; the expression *janmakāya* is attested, see e.g., *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* XI.59, Lévi 1907–1911, vol. 1 p. 70.9; cf. Radich (2007: 673 and 2010: 130 with n. 40), who suggests **sāmbhavikakāya* or **sāmbhavakāya* as possible originals underlying *shengshen* 生身. On the notion of the “body of birth”, see Radich 2007: 852–871 and 2010: 129–133; Zhao 2018: 139–140.

²¹² Another similar term, equally well attested in the DZDL, is *faxing shen* 法性身 (on this notion, see Radich 2007: 762); see e.g., T 1509 (XXV) pp. 121c26–122a3. In his translation of this passage, Lamotte (I p. 513) suggested an original **dharmaṭākāya* as the original of *faxing shen*, but in subsequent volumes he opted for *dharmadhātukāya* (see Lamotte II p. 969 n. 1). On these categories in the DZDL, see also Zhao 2018: 138–146.

²¹³ Cf. Radich 2007: 868–869; the DZDL passages discussed by Radich concern the bodies of the Buddha, but the same classification also applies to advanced Bodhisattvas: see e.g., T 1509 (XXV) p. 264a29–b7, tr. Lamotte IV p. 1818; T 1509 (XXV) p. 273b17–20, tr. Lamotte IV p. 1908.

in the canon, to the DZDL²¹⁴ (see also the relevant entry in Mochizuki 1960: vol. 5, 4620b–c). For a very helpful overview of ideas about embodiment in the DZDL, see Radich 2007: 1330–1332 (§ 6.2.5).

- T 1509 (XXV) p. 741c7–13: three glosses quoted in reply to a question on the causes of Sadāprarudita's poverty.²¹⁵
- T 1509 (XXV) p. 741c18–22: two glosses answering a question about another point of the Sadāprarudita narrative.²¹⁶

This part of the DZDL certainly deserves further study: perhaps by carefully analysing these glosses it might be possible to detect patterns of continuity (in ideas, exegetical approach, etc.) between certain glosses on different passages of the story. In other words, it might be fruitful to try to look beyond these glosses as anonymous exegetical atoms, and keep ourselves open to the possibility that, with a certain dose of close and careful reading, we might be able to identify traces of distinctive commentarial styles, and hence the *disiecta membra* of the lost works of individual commentators. Interestingly, in at least one case this is explicitly suggested by the DZDL itself:

問曰：曇無竭有六萬妓女、五欲、宮殿，云何能以所散花物化爲花臺？

答曰：有人言：諸佛神力，因薩陀波崙所供養物作此[此—【宋】
【元】【明】【宮】]變化。有人言：曇無竭是大菩薩法性生身，爲

²¹⁴ [Note: The only other translation scripture containing this term is the partial *Gandavyūha* 羅摩伽經 ascribed to Shengjian 聖堅 (fl. ca. 388–408): T 294 (X) p. 861b7, 871a8–9. The ascription of this text is problematic; see e.g., CSZJJ T 2145 (LV) p. 21c17; Sakaino 1935: 96–98. The ascription dates from Fajing's 法經 *Zhongjing mulu* 署經目錄 T 2146 (LV) p. 119c14.—Eds.]

²¹⁵ See the lemma at T 1509 (XXV) p. 738b2–6 and cf. also *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 944,9–19.

²¹⁶ “If [Sadāprarudita] sold his body to others, who would [then] have carried the goods [purchased by Sadāprarudita] to make offerings to the teacher [Dharmodgata]?” (問曰：若賣身與他，誰齋[so 【宋】【元】【明】【宮】【石】]；T 1509 = 賣]此物往供養師？). A similar question is also implicitly posed by Haribhadra in his commentary on the Sadāprarudita narrative (see *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 961,10–12): according to him, Sadāprarudita only sold himself for a limited time, otherwise there would have been no worship at all, it being impossible for him to go to see Dharmodgata (*yāvajītvam ātmabhāvavikraye parapratibaddhatayā tatra gamanā-sambhavān nitarām pūjāvaikalyam iti*, etc.). After this explanation, Haribhadra quotes three other alternative interpretations (ibid., ll. 15–17).

度眾生故受五欲，如曇無竭菩薩名字義中說 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 744a22–27).

Question: Dharmodgata enjoyed [more than] sixty-thousand palace maids, the five desires,²¹⁷ [and his luxuriant] palace; how could he turn the flowers and [other] objects scattered [on him] into a flower tower?²¹⁸

Answer: Some say: It is the supernatural power of the Buddhas which, relying on the things offered by Sadāprarudita, effected this transformation.²¹⁹

Some [others] say: Dharmodgata has the body produced from (by?) *dharma* nature of a great Bodhisattva, and experiences the five desires [only] in order to save beings, as [already] explained in the [commentary on] the meaning of the name of the Bodhisattva Dharmodgata.

The second of the glosses quoted here by the DZDL is of extraordinary interest, as it contains a reference to the same anonymous commentator whose opinion has already been mentioned in a preceding quotation gloss (T 1509 [XXV] p. 736b3–9; see p. 107 above). So, in this particular case, behind the usual anonymity, we can guess the vague contours of a *certain* early *Prajñāpāramitā* commentator as an *individual*, with very specific ideas concerning the nature of Bodhisattvas, who was possibly influential on the thought of the DZDL as a whole.²²⁰

²¹⁷ Cf. Kj: 曇無竭菩薩與六萬八千婬女，五欲具足共相娛樂, etc. (T 223 [VIII] p. 417b17–18); cf. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* pp. 934,29–935,2: *tatra ca dharmodgato bodhisattvo mahāsattvah saparivāro* 'śtaśaṣṭyā strīsaḥsraih sārdham pañcabhiḥ kāmaguṇaiḥ samarpitah samanvāṅgibhūtah kriḍati ramate paricārayati.

²¹⁸ The question refers to this passage from the base text: 是時, 諸華、香、寶、衣於曇無竭菩薩上虛空中化成華臺, 碎末栴檀、寶屑、金銀、寶、華化成寶帳, 寶帳之上所散種種寶、衣化為寶蓋, 寶蓋四邊垂諸寶幡。(Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 421a4–7 = DZDL T 1509 [XXV] p. 740c4–7; cf. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 957,1–5).

²¹⁹ Cf. Passage no. 1 above (especially 1.b) for a similar interpretation.

²²⁰ The notion of *faxing shen* 法性身 is important in the entire DZDL (see above n. 212). Theoretically, it is not impossible to think that this particular gloss might just be a reference, by the compiler(s) of the DZDL, to the gloss already quoted in the preceding passage. However, the fact that the previous gloss does not say that Dharmodgata “experiences the five desires [only] in order to save beings”, suggests that this is rather to be taken as another gloss by the same anonymous commentator.

As already mentioned above, it is possible that in this section of the DZDL, its compilers were also drawing on a pre-existing exegetical literature based on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, rather than on the LP, and this might account on the relatively high frequency of quotation glosses on the Sadā-prarudita story.²²¹

5.4 The *Da zhidu lun* and the *Vibhāṣā* Compendia

All this has probably only an indirect bearing on to the question of who was/were the author(s) of the DZDL—or, perhaps more accurately, its compiler(s)—and I will not address this issue here. But it certainly has important implications for the other question, far more important for this study, of the *nature* of this commentary: for there is little doubt, in the light of the evidence presented here, that the DZDL is to be regarded, at least to a certain extent, as the storehouse of a vast and heterogeneous anonymous exegetical tradition directly concerning the LP text, *inter alia*.

In other words, quite apart from the complexities introduced into this commentary by the translation process, and discussed by Chou Po-kan (see e.g., Chou 2004), it seems fair to say that the DZDL was already in its original form a complex and heterogenous work—that is, it was, to some extent, a compilation collecting various exegetical materials (although in most cases it will remain impossible to determine what, precisely, these materials originally were).

In this connection, some authors have suggested that Kumārajīva may have compiled the original of the DZDL, thus being, in a sense, its “author” (as argued, for example, by Katō 1996: 46). But even if Kumārajīva had had a more active role in shaping the DZDL than that of a mere translator, it would still be possible to account for the influence exerted on some Sanskrit LP texts by the exegesis included in the DZDL, as documented by the present study. For example, if Kumārajīva compiled the DZDL on the basis of exegetical materials collected during his travels in North India and Kashmir (cf. Choong 2018: 10), it is conceivable that the resulting commentary may have “intercepted”, as it were, fragments of the fluid exegetical tradition described above, which

²²¹ Interestingly, the section of Haribhadra’s *Abhisamayālamkārāloka* on Sadā-prarudita also contains a relatively high number of references to other commentators’ views (see, for example *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 937,5–6; p. 938,10–11; pp. 938,124–939,1; pp. 960,26–961,6; Ib. 13–17; Ib. 21–23, etc.). Cf. Mak (2011, 2013).

could also have influenced the Sanskrit versions downstream in the process of textual development, entirely independently from the DZDL as such.

As pointed out above, the quotation glosses found in such considerable numbers in the DZDL by no means represent a *unicum*. At the same time, this and other salient features of this commentary, which really set it apart from other *Prajñāpāramitā* exegetical works (such as its early date and, especially, the widespread use of “*fuci* 復次 passages” to systematically present various viewpoints on a question or passage), do suggest that its compiler(s)—whoever they were—may have been following a specific model.

In a footnote buried in the long introduction to vol. III of his *Traité*, Lamotte remarked:

On pourrait se demander si l'*Upadeśa* [i.e., the DZDL], comme la *Mahāvibhāṣā* qu'il combat, n'est pas une œuvre collective. C'est une question à laquelle je ne suis pas en mesure de répondre.²²²

I think that we now have enough new elements to reconsider and refine this hypothesis.²²³ The DZDL reflects an early, perhaps even embryonic stage in the development of Mahāyāna *sūtra* commentaries: for all we know, when this work was composed, there was probably not yet an established tradition of commentaries specifically devoted to *Prajñāpāramitā* (or even Mahāyāna) scriptures, so it is natural to imagine that its compiler(s) had to experiment with new forms, and may have looked elsewhere for a well-established model.

As we have seen above, the facts presented in this study corroborate Lamotte's hypothesis that the DZDL was produced in a Northwestern milieu. Now, in the area and at around the time the DZDL was presumably composed, there would have been a very obvious and authoritative Buddhist commentarial model to hand—indeed, the very model tentatively suggested by Lamotte himself in the passage quoted above: I am referring to what Collett Cox calls the “*vibhāṣā* compendia” (Cox 1998: 229–239), which marked a crucial phase in the development

²²² Lamotte III p. lv n. 2 (cf. also Durt 1985: 20 and especially 22). See also Ruegg 1981: 33 and Chou 2000: 13 for similar views.

[Note: Rendering Lamotte in English, we might suggest: “One might ask oneself whether the DZDL, like the *Mahāvibhāṣā* which it opposes, is not a collective work. This is a question to which I am not in a position to respond”.—Eds.]

²²³ See also Zaccetti 2002: 78 with n. 63.

of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma.²²⁴ These compendia (nowadays represented by three works surviving in Chinese translation: T 1545, T 1546, and T 1547)²²⁵ are collective exegetical works on the (various recensions of the) *Jñānaprasthāna*²²⁶ characterised by a distinctive “style and method of exegesis” that is analysed with admirable clarity by Collet Cox (1998: 237–238). One point in Cox’s description of how the compendia approach a given topic is of particular interest for our discussion:

The text [of the *vibhāṣā* compendia] will often cite the positions of different groups or masters, often with several different positions apparently deemed acceptable. The title of these compendia may reflect this guiding compositional intention to assemble alternative interpretations; in grammatical literature *vibhāṣā* can mean option, as when different syntactic but equivalent semantic constructions can be freely substituted for one another. However, not infrequently, a *vi-*

²²⁴ The *terminus ante quem* for the existence of these compendia is the late third–early fourth century; Cox 1998: 149. While this chronology is tentative, as it is essentially established on the basis of Chinese translations, it fits the scenario that I paint here of an existing established model available to the compilers of the DZDL. On the *Vibhāṣā* and the DZDL, see also Scherrer-Schaub 2018: 119–120.

²²⁵ See Cox 1998: 232–233; the earliest of these translations is the *Piposha lun* 鞍婆沙論 T 1547, translated by Saṅghabhadra and others in 384 CE. The next in chronological order is Buddhavarman’s partial version, the *Apitan piposha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 T 1546, translated between 437 and 439 CE (see Cox loc. cit. on the vicissitudes of this text); followed by the *Apidamo da piposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 T 1545, translated by Xuanzang in 656–659 CE.

[Note: Further support for the idea that the situation with these *vibhāṣā* compendia might in interesting ways parallel the situation that Zacchetti argues for in the DZDL can be seen in Fumio Enomoto, “A Sanskrit Fragment from the *Vibhāṣā* Discovered in Eastern Turkestan.” *Sanskrit-Texte aus dem buddhistischen Kanon: Neuentdeckungen und Neueditionen III. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch der buddhistischen Texte aus den Turfan-Funden* Beiheft 6 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996): 133–143.—Eds.]

²²⁶ The relationship between the existing *vibhāṣā* compendia and their respective root-texts represents a complex issue (see Cox 1998: 234–237). According to Cox (1998: 234), T 1546 and T 1545 “appear to be more or less straightforward commentaries on a *Jñānaprasthāna*/**Āśṭaskandhaśāstra* root-text. They preserve the same structure of chapters and sections, but add much interpretative material”. On the differences between these three texts, see also Sasaki 2000: 86 and 92. On the possibility that the *vibhāṣā* compendia were based upon differing recensions of the root text, see again Cox, esp. 150–159, 222–224, 230–231, 235.

bhāṣā text will select through its “arbiter” one interpretation as preferred: that is, in the case of the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, the interpretation representing the Kaśmīra Sarvāstivāda perspective.²²⁷

All this looks very familiar from the perspective of the DZDL—a familiarity further enhanced by the pervasive adoption, in both *vibhāṣā* compendia and DZDL, of the question-answer form.²²⁸ Apart from these formal similarities, the hypothesis of a close connection between the DZDL and its possible Abhidharma exegetical models is further strengthened by the well-known acquaintance of the DZDL with the doctrines of the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma in general, and of the *vibhāṣā* compendia in particular.²²⁹

Another important point made by Cox in her discussion of these compendia deserves our attention:

It would appear that the three extant *vibhāṣā* compendia represent a much larger group of *vibhāṣā* texts that are no longer extant and whose content, therefore, is virtually unknown. In all probability, these other *vibhāṣā* were not limited to commentaries on the *Jñānaprasthāna*/**Aṣṭakandhaśāstra*. Instead, the name *vibhāṣā* undoubtedly described the purposes and method of exegesis that these texts employed, rather than any specific content.²³⁰

The fact that these texts constituted, as suggested by Cox’s description, an exegetical genre in principle applicable to different root-texts lends

²²⁷ Cox 1998: 237–238. It would also be interesting to compare in detail the distinctive two-step commentarial approach typical of the DZDL (see above n. 178) with the exegetical style of the *vibhāṣā* compendia described here by Cox. She further comments (1998: 238) that these compendia “became the repository of virtually every possible position on every controversial doctrinal issue”. This also seems true of the DZDL at at least two different levels: first of all, in its presentation of specific topics from the viewpoints of first the Abhidharma and then of its distinctive form of Madhyamaka (the two-step approach alluded to above); and then, as we have seen from the examples I have quoted, in its presentation of multiple alternative interpretations of specific passages of the base text (be they ascribed to anonymous authors or not).

²²⁸ On the use of the traditional Abhidharma “catechetical method” in the compendia, see Cox 1998: 237; see Gwo 1997 for the use of this method in the DZDL; see also n 21 above on this form as being, according to the DZDL itself, one of the features of the *upadeśa* genre.

²²⁹ See especially Lamotte III pp. xix–xxii; of particular interest in this connection is Mitomo’s study (2009), which compares some Abhidharma teachings expounded by the DZDL with the three existing *vibhāṣā* compendia.

²³⁰ Cox 1998: 230.

support to the idea that they may have offered a well-established commentarial model even to someone seeking to interpret a completely different base text such as the LP.²³¹

Thus, if we take into account certain key features—*pervasive* features, I would like to stress again—of the DZDL’s commentarial style, such as its *systematic* tendency to record multiple and even alternative interpretations of specific elements of its root-text (terms, passages, etc.),²³² including the opinions of other commentators, as well as its likely historical background, we can conclude that the relationship of the *vibhāṣā* genre’s commentarial style with this seminal Mahāyāna commentary is much more significant than previously thought. In other words, though the application of the conventions of the genre in the DZDL may have been contemporaneous or coeval with the textual culture witnessed by the **vibhāṣā* compendia, it also seems possible that the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma (and particularly the *vibhāṣā* compendia) influenced the DZDL, not just in its doctrinal content, as it is most evident and usually acknowledged by modern scholars, but also at the level of exegetical technique.²³³

²³¹ A problem which has some bearing on the question of the possible models followed by the DZDL is that of its original format. If, as maintained by some scholars (see above, Chapter 3.1 with n. 77), the original of the DZDL indeed did not feature the base text in full, then it must have resembled a collection of comments of varying character (and at times, as we have seen, reflecting diverging interpretations), following the LP’s structure/sequence of topics, and perhaps containing abbreviated lemmata establishing precise connections with the root-text. If this hypothetical reconstruction is correct, then we can say that this original **Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa* would have been even more similar to the *vibhāṣā* compendia than appears to be the case now, after the addition of the entire root-text (and especially to the two *vibhāṣā* which are more clearly commentaries on the *Jñānaprasthāna*, i.e., T 1545 and T 1546; see Cox 1998: 234).

²³² This commentarial style is also ubiquitous, for example, in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* translated by Xuanzang (*Apidamo da piposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 T 1545), where, exactly as in the DZDL, series of additional interpretations or explanations of a given topic, of varying length, introduced by the expression *fuci* 復次, are extremely common, especially in answers to questions; see, for example, T 1545 (XXVII) p. 10a13–28, p. 10b14–20, p. 14b4–c8, p. 210b14–c11, etc.

²³³ See also Chou 2000: 74–75, and cf. Durt 1985: 22 and 1993: 6. According to an intriguing anecdote reported by biographical sources (*Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 T 2059 [L] p. 332c3–6 [tr. Shih 1968: 78–79; Funayama and Yoshikawa 2009–2010, vol. 1 p. 173]; CSZJJ T 2145 [LV] p. 101c15–18), “Kumārajīva was deeply fond of [the teaching] of the Great Vehicle and had the aspiration to expound and propagate [it]. [He] often sighed, ‘Had I written an Abhidharma on the Great Vehicle, nothing by Kātyāyaniputra could rival it. Now, in the land of Qin, where the well-learned are scarce, [I am but a bird with] clipped wings: What more could

Let me be clear on this point: I am not claiming that introducing multiple explanations of a topic and quoting previous interpretations are unique features of either the DZDL or *vibhāṣā* compendia, nor that they constitute, on their own, sufficient evidence of the structural and methodological influence of the *vibhāṣā* compendia on the DZDL. These features are, to varying degrees, typical of all Indian Buddhist commentaries, including other exegetical works on *Prajñāpāramitā* (cf. n. 221 above).²³⁴ My point is, rather, that these exegetical techniques are applied, in both the DZDL and *vibhāṣā* compendia, much more systematically than in *Abhisamayālāmkaṛā*-related commentaries such as Ārya-Vimuktisena's *Abhisamayālāmkaṛavṛtti* or Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālāmkaṛā-lokā prajñāpāramitāvyākhyā*. Moreover, as pointed out above (n. 229), the connection between the DZDL and the *vibhāṣā* compendia is a historical fact, which does not have to be demonstrated. These considerations, and the probable relative dates of the works in question (see n. 224 above), mean that the hypothesis of a direct influence of the Sarvāstivādin *vibhāṣā* compendia on the DZDL, in matters of exegetical approach as well as content, is the most plausible explanation for the striking formal similarities between these works—even if several aspects of their shared commentarial style are also common to other types of Buddhist commentaries.

There is no doubt that the DZDL has a coherent method and distinctive ideology, which it is reasonable to take as the product of an individual

I say?’ Therefore he dejectedly ceased [his pursuit]” (quoted from Yang 2004: 31). It is not entirely clear what Kumārajīva had in mind when he formulated this slightly enigmatic remark. But this passage is of some interest for our discussion, because it specifically mentions the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma (evoked through the name of Kātyāyanīputra) as a term of comparison (if not a model) for a scholastic work on Mahāyāna doctrine. In a sense, this is an aspiration which happens to be reflected by the reality of the DZDL, and indeed some authors have seen the mention of a “Mahāyāna Abhidharma” (大乘阿毘曇) as a coded reference to the great commentary (Katō 1983: 154–155 and 1996: 46; Chou 2000: 13 and 2004: 284–285; cf. also Durt 1985: 20–21).

²³⁴ I am grateful to Norihisa Baba for his insightful comments on this issue. He rightly pointed out (personal communication of 14 January, 2019) that the polyphonic style of DZDL seems to be a more general feature of the oral exegetic tradition in Indian Buddhism, and is also “very similar to the Pāli commentaries. For example, the function of 復次 is almost same as *atha vā* in Pāli commentaries”. As a matter of fact, most the features of the DZDL’s commentarial style described in this section are also common in Pāli commentaries.

author or at least a specific group. But the individual side of this commentary is not the whole story (needless to say, this is true of most of Buddhist literature!). While it would be completely wrong to consider the DZDL as being *just* a repository of inherited exegesis, there seems to be little doubt that it is *also* this.²³⁵ Since its introduction into China, the DZDL, has enjoyed such a high status as an unsurpassed model of Buddhist exegesis that it is a little difficult to think of it as an experimental work. But that is what it probably was in its original form: the fruit of the erudition and inventiveness of author(s)—whoever they may have been—who had to experiment with existing exegetical genres, adapting them in creative ways to their specific needs.²³⁶

²³⁵ The inclusive character of the DZDL has been rightly stressed, from a different angle, by Yinshun (1990: 54).

²³⁶ Another early example of an exegetical text on a Mahāyāna *sūtra* which should be mentioned in this context is the commentary to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* called *Shi zhu piposha lun* 十住毘婆沙論 (**Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā*) T 1521. Apart from its highly suggestive title, directly evoking the *vibhāṣā* genre, this is another early Mahāyāna *sūtra* commentary traditionally ascribed to the same author as the DZDL (Nāgārjuna), and also translated (partially) by Kumārajīva. On the issue of the authorship of the *Shi zhu piposha lun* compared with that of the DZDL, see Hirakawa 1957. In a recent contribution, Chen Ruixuan has underlined the composite nature of the **Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā*, speaking of its “indebtedness to the various bodies of pre-existing material” (Chen 2018: 227 n. 31)—a feature which is strongly reminiscent of the DZDL. Interestingly, the *Shi zhu piposha lun* does not contain the base text, as might have been the case with the original **Mahā-prajñāpāramitopadeśa* (cf. n. 77 above), but instead, uses stanzas to summarise its content (on the relationship between this commentary and its base text, see Hachiriki 1992).

6 Conclusions

In the preceding sections I discussed instances of influence exerted by the exegesis preserved by the DZDL on the development of the LP scriptures, and the implications from different angles of these instances for all the sources in question. I tried to show (Chapter 4) how these findings cast new light on the entire history of the LP literature. This history has often been narrated by modern scholarship as a development from an “unrevised” to a “revised” PvsP. Instead, we are in fact confronted by a transition from a state of textual fluidity (and permeability to exegetical influence) to one of relative textual stabilisation (4.2). This fundamental shift (both in textual practices and underlying notions of text) becomes perceptible, in our sources, between the fifth and seventh centuries (between Kj and the LPG), and can be hypothetically correlated to important historical developments taking place in that period in Indian Buddhism as a whole.

A particularly important point emerging from the data analysed in this study is that there is a clear relationship between the exegetical tradition represented by the DZDL, and the later LP recension chiefly represented by LPG and some related texts (4.3). This recurring pattern of connection has important implications for our understanding of the history of both the DZDL and the LP as a whole, especially because it corroborates, from a new angle, Lamotte’s hypothesis of a Northwestern origin of the DZDL.

The implications of my findings for our understanding of the DZDL have been explored in Chapter 5. Starting from a discussion of the specific modes (and levels) of interaction between exegesis and base texts likely to have been involved in the passages here presented (5.1), I argued that the DZDL should be seen as an inclusive, polyphonic commentary, to a greater degree than has normally been the case in modern discussions of this work excessively concerned with the issue of its authorship (5.2). I also suggested that more attention should be paid to the numerous quotations of anonymous glosses contained in the DZDL (5.3): these passages attest to an often overlooked side of this commentary, as a rich repository of an otherwise lost (and still largely unexplored) lore of early *Prajñāpāramitā* exegesis. Finally, I went on to suggest that the form and hermeneutical approach displayed by the DZDL might have been

influenced by the Sarvāstivādin “*vibhāṣā* compendia”, which would have constituted an obvious commentarial model at the time when, and in the area where, the DZDL was presumably composed (5.4).

However, the various facts that I have presented in this study also pose some questions of more general import, whose implications go beyond the specific sources I have discussed so far. The porosity of the boundaries between base texts and exegesis that I have documented in this study is by no means an exclusive feature of the LP family.

A number of important, more or less recent studies have explored this phenomenon in various types of scriptures, composed and transmitted in different areas and at different times. For example, one could mention here the important works by Anālayo (2010; 2014: 78 ff.) and Baba (2004, 2004b and 2008: 196–203), documenting interesting examples of convergence between readings attested in *sūtras* belonging to various Āgamas translated into Chinese and passages from commentaries on the Pāli parallels to those *sūtras*. Discussions of the influence exerted by exegetical traditions on the text of Mahāyāna *sūtras*—and, indeed, *Prajñāpāramitā* scriptures—include Takahashi 1999 (on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*'s influence on LP texts) and Shōji 2015 (documenting, *inter alia*, the influence of *Abhisamayālamkāra*-related exegesis on the current Sanskrit text of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and the related Tibetan translation: see *idem* pp. 66–69). In a similar vein, Lambert Schmithausen has suggested that the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* was influenced, already in its earliest attested form, by *Yogācāra* treatises (1987: 263–264 n. 102). Moving to yet another scriptural typology, Péter-Dániel Szántó (2016) has shown how even in the case of Buddhist *tantras*, the boundaries between the categories “scripture” and “commentary” were often fluid, having identified “several further grey areas between scripture/tantra and exegesis/sāstra in the literature of late tantric Buddhism” (Szántó 2016: 325). Finally, mention should also be made of Sasaki Shizuka's study (2000) of Vinaya quotations in Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma “*vibhāṣā* compendia” (to use, again, Collett Cox's definition), which has identified two instances in which the abhidharmic explanations of Vinaya passages appear to have been incorporated, at a later stage, into the Vinaya texts themselves (Sasaki 2000: 92–93). This suggests, again, the possibility of a crossing—in this

case a particularly spectacular one—of supposedly defined scriptural boundaries.²³⁷

In sum, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that in this widespread interaction between textual formation (and transmission) of base texts and various forms of exegesis, we are confronted with an essential feature of Buddhist (and not just Mahāyāna) *sūtra* literature at large, at least for part of its history. Thus, it is important to try to investigate the factors at play, at various levels and from different angles, in producing this state of affairs.

In the case of Mahāyāna *sūtras*, it is possible to think of some specific historical factors which may have further amplified this general phenomenon. It is widely believed that the early Mahāyāna did not have a separate institutional identity, but rather, “ran across *nikāya* boundaries right from the start” (Harrison 2018: 17).²³⁸ In other words, if this is true, Mahāyāna *sūtras* were not bound to (and owned by) well-structured organisations in the way the various Āgamas/Nikāyas were. It is not difficult to see that an institutional scenario of this kind should be mirrored by an accentuated fluidity at a textual level, with different and only loosely related communities owning different versions of the “same” texts—a situation obviously prone to facilitate recensional differentiation.

In the case of Āgama/Nikāya literature, we face a relatively linear relationship between a particular set of texts (a specific canon) and a given institutional community (or Nikāya). This institutional background can account for a considerable degree of textual stability/identity, so that—even having factored in a certain amount of variation in space and time (local variants, etc.)—we can still speak, for example, of a Sarvāstī-vādin version of the *Daśottara-sūtra*, clearly recognisable even through

²³⁷ See also Anālayo 2014: 130–136 for a discussion of possible Abhidhamma influence on a Pāli *sutta* (the *Mahācattārīsaka-sutta*).

²³⁸ See Harrison 2018: 16–17; also Silk 2002; Nattier 2003 Chapter 4, “The Institutional Setting”, esp. pp. 88–93 with n. 24, 26, p. 100; Skilling 2004:145–146; Skilling 2013: pp. 98 and 148 n. 156. On the coexistence of Mahāyāna and Nikāya identities side by side, see also Tournier 2018: 45–46. A completely different interpretation of this issue was proposed by Seishi Karashima (2015), who maintained that the Mahāsāṃghika school played a preeminent role in the initial phase of Mahāyāna Buddhism. A detailed and interesting discussion of the relationship between Mahāyāna and the various Nikāyas is offered by Wang Bangwei in the introduction to his annotated critical edition of Yijing’s 義淨 *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 (T 2125); see Wang 1995: 66–108.

textual instantiations which are located at a considerable temporal distance from one another (de Jong 1966: 4–5). In contrast, the patterns of textual variation we encounter among different instantiations (or recensions) of some Mahāyāna texts (for example, LPG and PvsP[K], or the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, on which see Karashima 2003: 85–86)—not only diachronically, but also synchronically, among texts transmitted in different areas—seem to be, at least in some cases, more akin to those existing between versions of the “same” mainstream *sūtras* transmitted in the Āgamas/Nikāyas of different schools.

However, as we have seen above (Chapter 4.3), this situation changed over time—at least as far as LP texts are concerned: when we consider the history of this textual family from a bird’s-eye view, we can clearly notice a tendency towards textual consolidation (roughly, from the sixth–seventh centuries on),²³⁹ with the few recensions we can identify remaining, from then on, relatively stable over space and time.²⁴⁰

But in the early segment of the history of the LP (third–fifth centuries CE, from the earliest extant witnesses to the DZDL, comprising the age of textual fluidity), characterised as it is by systemic interaction between exegesis and textual transmission, we are confronted by what I would call a model of “diffused authoriality”. By this I mean that—as shown by the facts discussed in this monograph—for texts such as the early LP scriptures, authorship is better conceived as not being *entirely* concentrated in a single focal point constituting the “origin” of the text, but to some extent

²³⁹ Another process which ran parallel to textual consolidation—hardly perceptible in the LP (cf. Zucchetti 2005: 41 n. 168), but extremely important in other Mahāyāna scriptural families (e.g., the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, see Karashima 2001b: 222–223)—was that of *linguistic* consolidation, reflected by the general historical tendency of Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature towards a progressive Sanskritisation (see e.g., Karashima 2015: 113–114).

²⁴⁰ At first sight, LP texts might seem to confront us with a paradox, for their historical tendency towards textual stabilisation was not correlated to the *same type* of strong institutional counterpart as in the case of Āgama/Nikāya literature. But this process can still be linked to a process of progressive institutionalisation of Mahāyāna Buddhism (see Chapter 4.2 with n. 159). Simply put, institutionalisation did not occur in the form of the traditional ordination lineages (i.e., by establishing a new, legally defined Mahāyāna monastic identity). In this connection, one should also mention the role probably played by centres of Buddhist learning like Nālandā (cf. again n. 158), which included as part of their curricula the study of Mahāyāna texts and thought, and hence may have acted as an academic “surrogate” of traditional Nikāyas in strengthening this relative consolidation and “institutionalisation” of Mahāyāna scriptures.

spread over what should probably be considered an organic, complex, and tangled process of interpretation (and subsequent alteration of the text)-cum-transmission. Or, to put it in more simple terms: for this literature, authorship should be seen more as a continuous *process* than a punctual act, and a process strongly influenced by commentarial practices at that. Therefore, to some extent (and, again, especially in the upper reaches of their textual histories), it is very hard (and indeed futile) to draw neat lines separating “authors”, “interpreters”, and “transmitters” of the texts.

What is true of the base texts—the *sūtras*—also applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to exegesis itself: in the context of the production and transmission of *early Mahāyāna* Literature, exegesis too is to be seen as a continuous process of textual formation, symbiotic with that I have just described for the base texts, and certainly not reducible to the temporally punctual creation of a distinct text, downstream from the base text, that we can call “commentary”.²⁴¹ In fact, as we have seen (Chapter 5.2), even when early LP exegesis solidified into a commentary—such as the earliest known commentary, the DZDL itself—it retained the relatively open character of a choral, multi-layered text, in a context of “diffused authoriality” which includes the translation team led by Kumārajīva (Chou 2000 and 2004), but is certainly not limited to it: rather, it was already a fundamental feature of the original they rendered into Chinese (see above, Chapter 5.2 and 5.3).

We must also consider one additional factor which sets the LP apart from other *Mahāyāna* texts. In this case, the interplay between transmission and exegesis documented by this study was probably magnified by the very nature of this textual family: it is important to bear in mind that the LP as such (I mean: even its earliest instantiations, quite apart from the textual developments described in this monograph) already has an intrinsic, marked exegetical character. In a sense, the LP, being largely an expansion—on a massive scale—of the early text of the “*Asṭasā-hasrikā* family” (see Zaccetti 2015: 184–186; Shi Huifeng 2017 32–35; Nattier 2003: p. 62 n. 19), can often be regarded as a *de facto* commentary to it, very much in the ways exemplified by the passages discussed in this study (entailing reformulation of passages, addition of words, etc.). It is thus possible to argue that, in this way, the borders between the categories

²⁴¹ That this scenario is, in fact, not limited to *Mahāyāna sūtra* literature is demonstrated with a wealth of arguments by Anālayo (2010: 13–16).

“*sūtra*” and commentary were, in this particular case, further blurred. As a matter of fact, that LP texts (such as the PvsP) were used in exactly this way in commentarial literature on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*²⁴² is shown by some passages of Ratnākaraśānti’s *Sāratamā*.²⁴³

This brings us to another possible factor underlying textual variation in the context of Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature: intertextuality between Mahāyāna *sūtras*²⁴⁴ functioning also as a form of exegesis. Some of the passages analysed in this study suggest that—especially in the early stages of production and transmission of this literature, when few formal commentaries were probably available—other Mahāyāna *sūtras* may have

²⁴² On the possibility that the *Abhisamayālambikā*-influenced PvsP[K] may, in turn, have influenced the current text of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, see Shōji 2015: 68.

²⁴³ A clear example is provided by a short passage in Chapter 17 (*Avinivartanīyā-kāralinganimittaparivarta*) of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (p. 691,4–6):

punar aparam Subhūte 'vinivartanīyo bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ saddhar-maparigrahasya kṛtaśā ātmaparityāgam api karoti | jīvitaparityāgam api karoti (“Furthermore, Subhūti, an irreversible Bodhisattva, a Great Being gives up even himself and his life in order to obtain the true teaching”).

This passage is glossed by Ratnākaraśānti as follows (*Sāratamā* p. 116,7–10):

ātmanah parityāgo vikrayādi | jīvitasya parityāgo maraṇam | buddhair bhagavabhadir deśito dharmah sarvadharmaḥ śūnyā iti | tam eva mohapuruṣāḥ pratiksipanti | tasya svayam paraīś ca parigrahāya jīvitam api tyajati (“[In this passage] ‘giving up oneself’ means selling [one’s body (possibly a reference to Sadāprarudita: cf. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 944,22–24 and ff.)], etc.; ‘giving up [one’s] life’ refers to death. Foolish persons reject the very teaching (dharma) taught by the Buddhas, the Blessed Ones, that all dharmas are empty, [while the irreversible Bodhisattva] gives up even his life so that he himself and others can obtain it.”

The second part of this gloss clearly echoes the LP parallel (probably the PvsP, given that Ratnākaraśānti was familiar with the “revised” PvsP; see Seton 2015: 214) to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* passage; see PvsP(K) IV p. 162,11–17 (cf. LPG f. 201v8–10), especially the passage underlined:

tatra kataro dharmo yasya kṛtena bodhisattvo mahāsattva ātmaparityāgam api karoti jīvitaparityāgam api karoti? iha Subhūte tathāgato 'rhan sam-yaksambuddhah sarvadharmaḥ śūnyā iti dharmam deśayati, tatraike mohapuruṣāḥ pratikroṣanti pratīvahanti naiṣa dharmo na vinayo naitac chāstuh śāsanam, asya subhūte kṛtaśo bodhisattvo mahāsattva ātmaparityāgam api karoti jīvitaparityāgam api karoti.

On Ratnākaraśānti’s use of the PvsP to explain the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, see also Seton 2015: 222 with n. 483.

²⁴⁴ On intertextuality in (especially early) Mahāyāna literature see Nattier 2003: 54–55; Apple 2015: 16–19; Harrison 2018: 15–16.

been used as sources for interpretation and textual expansion (see Passages no. 5, with n. 134, no. 8).

I would like to conclude this journey where it started. Commenting on the existence of multiple recensions of Mahāyāna scriptures, Seyfort Ruegg also remarked, “We are seemingly confronted here with a remarkable and highly important phenomenon in the history of religio-philosophical literature that has still to be fully addressed by modern scholarship”.²⁴⁵ Indeed, the way in which Mahāyāna *sūtra* literature was transmitted, shaped by the active interventions into the texts that we have discussed at length in this study, also has profound implications from a religious point of view. These practices of textual transmission reflect an image of sacred text—the *buddhavacana* embodied by the LP—which is anything but inalterable and untouchable. The idea that a text of this kind should be transmitted mechanically, in a form as close as possible to its original, has no place here. Quite the opposite, in fact: alteration and expansion were essential components of the way the texts were conceived and used, especially in the early phase of their history. In these texts, we do not face occasional, accidental “interpolations”, but a pervasive attitude.

From a more general perspective, it is probable that such a textual flexibility is also the reflection of deeply ingrained Buddhist notions of truth and language. A well-known distinctive feature of Buddhist canonical literature is the idea that a specific form/configuration of the text (including the use of a specific idiom) has no particularly strong normative value. To quote Richard Salomon’s characterisation of this general attitude:

In comparison with many other religious traditions, Buddhists seem to have been concerned less with the precise wording of the *buddhavacana* than with the general sense and spirit of the *dharma* they embody.... the Buddhist canons in general place far less emphasis on the precise wording of the texts.... One rarely finds an attitude in the Buddhist tradition that minor errors, variants, or corruptions in a text destroy its meaning or lessen its value, and in practice one often finds a surprising degree of textual variation in the manuscript versions of canonical Buddhist texts. In short, in Buddhism there is an underlying

²⁴⁵ Seyfort Ruegg 2004: 20–21.

sense, and sometimes even an explicit acknowledgement, that the spirit of the law outweighs its letter.²⁴⁶

In other words, in the case of Buddhist *sūtra* literature at large, we are confronted by a religious, philosophical, and cultural context in which a certain degree of linguistic and textual flexibility was, probably *ab origine*, part of a set of core values (cf. Salomon 2018: 58).

A key aspect of this context was a dynamic notion of “word of the Buddha” (*buddhavacana*), what Salomon (2011: 162; see also Anālayo 2014: 148 ff.) describes as

the widespread (though not unanimous) acceptance of an expanded conception of *buddha-vacana*, according to which anything which was said by reliable disciples or interpreters of the Buddha could also be considered as “words of the Buddha”, in the sense that they were inspired by, though not actually spoken by the master himself.

It is not difficult to imagine how the acceptance of such a conception could potentially empower persons dealing with *sūtras* (commentators/transmitters) to modify them even downstream, thus making possible the model of “diffused authoriality” discussed above.²⁴⁷

In a way, all this need not be seen as merely past history. In a fascinating study, Christoph Emmrich (2009) has described the complex process of restoration and renovation carried out at regular intervals in recent times²⁴⁸ on a manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* dating to the twelfth or thirteenth century and owned by the Kvābhāhāḥ, an important temple in the Kathmandu Valley of Central Nepal and the center of “an elaborate cult centred on the public reading of the text” (Emmrich 2009: 141). The context, here, is that of the cult of manuscripts of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* which, while it is of ancient origin (Schopen 2000: 4–5 = 2005: 5–6), remains a living feature of contemporary Newar Buddhism (Gellner 2001: 179–193). The restoration process—carried out after the ritual extraction of the Prajñāpāramitā deity from the manuscript (considered to be her embodiment)²⁴⁹—also includes significant interventions into the *text*,

²⁴⁶ Salomon 2011: 167–168.

²⁴⁷ In fact, this situation is not limited to the Buddhist world: as convincingly shown by Francesco Sferra (2011), textual fluidity constitutes a pervasive feature of Indian religious (and not just religious) literature at large.

²⁴⁸ The restoration activities documented by Emmrich took place in 2004 and 2007.

²⁴⁹ Emmrich 2009: 144.

such as the integration of passages into damaged portions of the manuscript, but also “corrections” to the latter.²⁵⁰ While in the past the scribes in charge of the restoration used to collate other manuscripts, in recent years they have resorted to Vaidya’s printed edition of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (Vaidya 1960).²⁵¹

What is important for our discussion is not the appropriateness of these practices—from a certain point of view justifiably called “a philologist’s nightmare”²⁵²—but their ideological background. While in his analysis Emmrich focuses on the use of Vaidya’s modern edition as a point of reference for the scribes, and on the influence of Western-style Buddhology it reflects,²⁵³ if we consider these practices within a broader historical context, it is hard not to notice some similarities with the handling of the LP during its long history. Of course, the case of the Kvābhāhāḥ manuscripts does not entail textual transmission, nor does exegesis *stricto sensu* play any role here. Rather, it is a matter of preservation, restoration and correction. But the fact that these scribes are prepared to modify a sacred manuscript remains extremely interesting.²⁵⁴ Under their supposed modernist veneer, the alterations introduced by these contemporary scribes into the Kvābhāhāḥ *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* manuscript appear to be entirely part of an old tradition.

The textual practices described by Emmrich pose a number of important problems and could be interpreted in different ways. But, at the same time, they also cast some light on an idea of sacred text—in this specific case, sacred in a very concrete sense—which is in some ways “open”.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁰ Emmrich 2009: 146–148.

²⁵¹ Emmrich 2009: 148–149.

²⁵² Silk 2010: 292.

²⁵³ Emmrich 2009: 148–151.

²⁵⁴ Textual accuracy is felt to be an important component of the “manuscript maintenance and care of the deity” (Emmrich 2009: 149).

²⁵⁵ Of particular interest, in Emmrich’s analysis, is the positive conceptualisation of errors in the manuscripts (and hence of the alterations required to remove them): “It appears to be crucial that the manuscript in itself—due to its size, age, use, the fact of the word of the Buddha in its corporeal aspect being subject to the laws of an impermanent world, and, finally, due to its own charisma—is perceived as an inexhaustible source of errors that yield inexhaustible opportunities for emendation. The manuscript thus functions as a field of merit for those involved in its maintenance and care, those who ensure that it can be read and worshipped to its greatest effect. Mistakes are necessary, because the reason for the entire enterprise of restoration lies in their elimination. Hence, mistakes within the text must be

While it would be completely unwarranted to assume full continuity between the ideas underlying the facts described by Emmrich and the textual practices centred on the LP that I have discussed in the present study, one thing seems to be shared by these two sets of facts: the idea that a dynamic dimension of change and openness is an essential component of the underlying notions of sacred text.

understood as only an aspect of a condition that enables and warrants improvement” (Emmrich 2009: 153).

Appendix 1 Other Instances of Interaction between *Larger Prajñāpāramitā* Texts and the *Da zhidu lun*

In this Appendix I have listed and analysed other passages in which the DZDL can be used as an important source for reconstructing the history of the LP. The first section (Appendix 1.1) includes the remaining instances I have been able to find of the pattern of textual development discussed in the main body of the monograph, where an earlier reading appears to have been expanded through the addition of words which are “anticipated” in the relevant DZDL glosses. The second section (Appendix 1.2) presents one passage in which an expansion echoed by the DZDL is, instead, also shared by one of the *early* witnesses.

Passages are listed according to their order of occurrence in the LP. For ease of reference, the numbering carries on that of the passages analysed in Chapter 3.2 (nos. 1–5).

1.1 Instances of Chronologically Linear Textual Expansion (Earlier Reading → *Da zhidu lun* Commentary → Later Expanded Reading)

Passage 6

This passage occurs in the initial portion of the LP, containing a long list of often elaborated compounds describing qualities of the Bodhisattvas who have gathered to attend the Buddha’s preaching (see Vetter 1993). The earliest Chinese translations, but also PvsP(K) and PvsP(SL)—as is often the case in this portion of the LP²⁵⁶—agree in a shorter reading:

²⁵⁶ As remarked by Tilmann Vetter in his study of the prologue of the LP (1993: 49), LPG has a particularly expanded text in this section. Some of the passages analysed in this Appendix (nos. 6–8) suggest that this initial portion of the text is of particular interest for the study of the relationship between the DZDL and the LPG recension, and would be worth a more systematic investigation.

6.a. (*Unexpanded readings*)

(6.a.1) Dhr: 意不懷害 (T 222 [VIII] p. 147a25; GZJ § 1.43, in Zacchetti 2005: 148 and 251).

[Their] minds did not harbour harmful [intentions].²⁵⁷

(6.a.2) Mo: 意無罣礙 (T 221 [VIII] p. 1a23).

[Their] minds did not have obstructions.

(6.a.3) Kj: 意無罣[=絆【宋】【宮】]闕²⁵⁸ (T 223 [VIII] p. 217a24–25); same meaning as Mo.

²⁵⁷ On Dhr's translation of *apratihatacitta*, see Zacchetti 2005: 251 n. 61.

²⁵⁸ [Note: Zacchetti suggested in a marginal note that 罣闕 should be considered further. He was troubled by the observation that the word is not recorded in HD, and asked whether the reading might be incorrect.

The form 罣礙 is indeed far more common (and recorded in HD, but only from the Tang). However, it is attested as a v.l. for 罴闕, e.g., at T 99 (II) p. 48c9 (【宋】【元】【明】), 237c29, 238b2 (【元】【明】); T 309 (X) p. 1009b13; T 310(1) (XI) p. 19c7 (【宋】【元】【明】); T 585 (XV) p. 8c6 ff. (【宋】【元】【明】【宮】), 20a26 (【聖】); T 626 (XV) p. 389a12 ff. (【宋】【元】【明】【宮】【聖】). This pattern establishes the equivalence between the two forms, at least in the minds of later scribes. The more common form, 罴礙, is old, being attested in several works of Lokakṣema, including *Asṭa* T 224; see also Karashima 2010: 190–192. The form seen here, 罴闕, is found before Dharmarakṣa only in a work of Lokakṣema, the abovementioned locus in T 626; on this work as a “third-tier” text in the Lokakṣema corpus, with various deviations from the style represented by T 224 (as the benchmark Lokakṣema text), see Nattier 2008: 84–85. In Dharmarakṣa, 罴闕 is found in three works (including the loci with v.l. cited above), T 310(1), T 403 (XIII) p. 595a11 (with no v.l.); and T 585 (see above, and two further additional without v.l., T 585 [XV] p. 15b4–5, 15b20). The fact that some of these instances have no attested v.l. (at least as far as the Taishō apparatus informs us), and that it is the *lectio difficilior*, suggest that this rarer form is authentic to at least parts of the Dharmarakṣa corpus, and so older than T 223. After Dharmarakṣa, it appears seldom: in Zhu Fonian (T 309 cited above, T 384); Dharmakṣema (T 157), and Gunabhadra (T 99, cited above).

The present instance in T 223 is almost unique in texts in the Kumārajīva corpus, at least in their extant form, whereas 罴礙 is far more common. This might indeed suggest that 罴礙 is more likely to be the authentic reading here. However, one other instance of 罴闕 occurs in the *Zhu Weimojie jing*, (in a citation from the root text: 善於知見, 無所罣闕, T 1775 (XXXVIII) p. 347b17, with no v.l.); an accompanying comment by Sengzhao also features the problematic 関: 諸法無罣闕, 347b18. Notably, at this same locus, the transmitted root text reads 善於知見, 無所罣礙, T 475 (XIV) p. 540a20–21. This fact, and again, the fact that 罴闕 is the *lectio difficilior*, suggests that there may have been instances where an original reading 罴闕 was so thoroughly “corrected” by later scribes that no trace of the

(6.a.4) PvsP(K): *apratihatacittair* (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 1,26–27; PvsP[SL] 1a6, ed. von Hintüber 1983: 194).

Their minds unaffected.²⁵⁹

original reading was transmitted in the witnesses recorded by the Taishō editors; it is, conversely, much more difficult to imagine that scribes would somehow, in a few instances distributed in the clustering pattern sketched above, have substituted an incorrect 罡闕. It is possible, then, that this reading in T 223 might have been inherited by Kj from Mo, even though the present T 221 bears no trace of such a reading in the corresponding locus (as we see above).

Zacchetti was also concerned that perhaps 閣 might differ in meaning from 碩. However, 碩 and 閣 are treated as cognate by Wang Li (1999: 87; 2000: 1566; cf. also n. 470 below). In the *Yiqiejing yin yi* 一切經音義, Huilin 慧琳, glossing 罡礙 (as it features in other texts) also notes the equivalence: 又作闕, 郭璞以為古文礙字, T 2128 (LIV) p. 431a13; see also 484c6, 570b6. Indeed, elsewhere, Huilin gives a gloss on 無闕 precisely for another text ascribed to Kumārajīva, the *Fo zang jing* 佛藏經 T 653, T 2128 (LIV) p. 607c16; but the present text of T 653 again preserves no instances of this reading (the locus glossed is probably 富樓那法師得四無礙智, T 653 [XV] p. 796a11). Elsewhere in Kumārajīva's works, moreover, including T 223, the form 無闕 is reasonably frequent, though very often with the v.l. 無礙; and clearly corresponds in meaning to 無礙 (cf. also Passage 26.b in Appendix 2 below). In sum, there are no compelling reasons to reject the reading we find in the present passage.

Finally, note further that the even more peculiar v.l. 紋闕 found in this T 223 passage (【宋】【宮】—still, we note, incorporating 閣!) is extremely rare, but also appears in the revised “Southern” *Mahāparinirvāna-mahāsūtra* by Xie Lingyun 謝靈運, Huiyan 慧嚴 et al., as a v.l. (【聖】) for 罡礙, T 375 (XII) p. 828b15, b17, 829a3, 846c10 (in the first three of these loci also have v.l. 罡闕 in 【宋】【元】【明】). Remarkably, the first instance of the peculiar reading 紋闕 is even echoed in a remark by Sengliang 僧亮 collected in the *Da baniepan jing ji jie* 大般涅槃經集解, T 1763 (XXXVII) p. 599a19–21.

A final caveat is in order: as scholars gain more and more access to earlier manuscripts, including not only those preserved in Dunhuang but also those found in Japan, such as the Shōgo-zō texts preserved in the Shōsōin, it becomes more and more apparent that the Taishō editors often limited their corpus to blockprints belonging to one and the same lineage, and this of course limited their vision of the actual textual diversity of the traditions of, in particular older, Chinese translations. As more careful editions are compiled (and Zacchetti's 2005 *In Praise of the Light* is exemplary in this regard), we will no doubt gain a more refined picture of issues such as that discussed in the present note.—Eds.]

²⁵⁹ I have followed the interpretation, suggested by the DZDL (see 6b), of *apratihata* as “unaffected”. Other possible interpretations of this word are “free from hostility” (cf. Dhr under 6.a.1), and “free from obstructions”: cf. Vetter 1993: 74 n. 102; see also Conze 1975: 38 n. 3.

The DZDL's commentary makes clear that the compound can be interpreted in two ways, as referring to a mental attitude with respect to both living beings and *dharma*s:

6.b. (Commentary)

【論】 云何名「意無罣礙」？ 菩薩於一切怨、親、非怨非親人中，等[〔等〕—【宋】【宮】]心無有礙。 復次，一切世界眾生中，若來侵害，心不恚恨；若種種恭敬，亦不喜悅。如偈說：

「諸佛菩薩，心不愛著；外道惡人，心不憎恚。」

如是清淨[淨+（心）【元】【明】]，名為意無罣礙。 復次，於諸法中心無礙 ...

(T 1509 [XXV] p. 106b10–17; cf. Lamotte I pp. 391–392).

Commentary: What is defined as “[Their] minds did not have obstructions”? The Bodhisattva, with respect to all persons—either hostile, or dear, or neither hostile nor dear—[maintains] an equanimous mind and has no obstructions [towards them] (*apratihata*). Furthermore, [his] mind does not feel hatred towards the living beings of all worlds if they come to do harm [to him], nor does he rejoice should they show respect [to him] in various ways. As a *gāthā* says:

[One's] mind does not cling to all the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, nor does it feel hatred towards evil people who follow other religions (外道, **tīrthya*).²⁶⁰

²⁶⁰ Lamotte (loc. cit.) could not identify this stanza. A partial parallel occurs in Mātrceta's *Satapañcāśatka*:

naivāhatsu na tīrthyeṣu pratighāṇunayam prati |
yasya te cetaso 'nyatvam tasya te kā stutir bhavet || 48

See Shackleton Bailey 1951: 69 and 161 for the relevant translation and notes: “What praise could be found for you in whose mind was no movement of revulsion or inclination towards Arhat or *tīrthika*?”

I am not sure if this is really the source quoted by the DZDL. But although there are some differences, the initial portion of Mātrceta's stanza matches sufficiently well with the DZDL quotation, if we take into account the difficulties of rendering Sanskrit verses into Chinese, and perhaps a dose of ideological adjustment. The main discrepancy between the two texts is DZDL's 諸佛菩薩, corresponding to *arhatsu* in Mātrceta. But even Yijing's 義淨 version of the *Satapañcāśatka* renders the Sanskrit rather freely, though remaining closer in spirit to the original: 於聖弟子眾 / 及外道師徒 (*Yi bai wushi zan fo song* 一百五十讚佛頌 T 1680 [XXXII] p. 759c4). The same idea expressed by this quotation is also

Such purity [of mind] is referred to as “[one’s] mind being without obstructions”.

Furthermore, [the Bodhisattvas’] mind is without obstructions with respect to *dharma*s.

The initial part of the DZDL gloss is of interest to us, especially the phrase “the living beings of all worlds” (一切世界眾生中), as this explication is partly reflected by the expanded text found in the LPG recension and Xz(Ś):

6.c. (*Expanded readings*)

(6.c.1) LPG: *sarvasatvāpratihatacittaiḥ* (LPG f. 1v4; so also Ś p. 5,11 and PvsP[TibPk] nyi 2b5).

Their minds not hostile towards all beings.²⁶¹

(6.c.w) Xz(Ś): 於諸有情，心無罣礙 (T 220 [V] p. 1c7–8).²⁶²

echoed by another passage, in prose, from the DZDL: 復次，佛於舍利弗、彌勒菩薩等順佛法行亦不愛，提婆達多、富羅那、外道六師邪見等亦不憎。是為佛於無量阿僧祇劫修熏心故，是眾生中寶，如真金不可令異 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 248a13–16; tr. Lamotte III p. 1634). Although in my translation of the stanza quoted in 6.b I have interpreted the string 外道惡人 as referring just to *tīrthikas* (along the lines of Mātrceṭa’s stanza), this parallel from the DZDL suggests the possibility of an alternative interpretation. Since it also mentions, on the negative side, Devadatta in addition to the six *tīrthika* masters (such as Pūraṇa [Kāśyapa], etc.), 外道惡人 in the stanza might perhaps be interpreted as referring to two categories: “followers of other religions [and other] evil people” (I am grateful to Michael Radich for this suggestion).

²⁶¹ Here I follow the interpretation suggested by the Tibetan translation (*sems can thams cad la sdang ba med pa'i sems dang ldn pa*), which is particularly close to the first part of the DZDL’s discussion of the compound. Some occurrences of (*a*)-*pratihatacitta* in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* corroborate this interpretation. See, for example *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* p. 242,15: *serve te ... pratihatacittā upasamkramitukāmā abhīvan* (see also Haribhadra’s commentary, Ib. 242,21: *pratihatacittā iti vidiṣtacittāḥ*; and cf. *Sāratamā* p. 42,15: *pratihatacittā iti *sadveśacittāḥ*). For a different interpretation of the compound *sarvasatvāpratihatacittaiḥ*, both from a semantic and syntactic point of view, see Vetter 1993: 73–74 with n. 102 (“their minds not obstructed by all beings”).

[Note: Zacchetti left himself a marginal notation here to reexamine Vetter’s treatment, and the possibility that one should understand “unaffected by”.—Eds.]

²⁶² At this point Xz(PvsP) has a very different text (see T 220 [VII] p. 1b27–28?), although it contains the expression *wu'ai* 無礙, which would seem to correspond to *apratihata*. The same also holds true of Xz(Ad), see T 220 [VII] p. 427c6).

It is noteworthy that, at the end of the passage quoted above, the DZDL mentions an alternative interpretation of *apratihatacitta* (“Furthermore, [the Bodhisattvas’] mind is without obstructions with respect to *dharma*s”), as this implies that the expansion *apratihatacitta* → *sarvasatvā-pratihiatacitta* is by no means a predetermined textual development, but reflects a specific interpretation, thus strengthening the hypothesis of a historical connection between the DZDL’s commentary on this passage and the reading witnessed by LPG and related texts.

Passage 7

A more interesting example, showing a partly similar pattern of textual development, is provided by another compound occurring in the initial portion of the LP. In this case, too, the three earliest witnesses reflect a shorter reading (again, the passage is describing the Bodhisattvas forming the Buddha’s audience):

7.a. (*Unexpanded readings*)

(7.a.1) Dhr: 摄取佛土無限之願 (T 222 [VIII] p. 147a26; GZJ § 1.46, in Zacchetti 2005: 148 and 252).

They had taken on²⁶³ endless vows [concerning] the lands of the Buddhas.

(7.a.2) Mo: 願攝無數無量佛國 (T 221 [VIII] p. 1a23–24).

[Their] vows embraced innumerable, immeasurable Buddha-lands.

(7.a.3) Kj: 願受無量諸佛國土[=世界【宋】【元】【明】【宮】] (T 223 [VIII] p. 217a25–26).

[Their] vows encompassed immeasurable Buddha-lands.

²⁶³ Dhr’s *shequ* 摄取, Mo’s *she* 摄, and Kj’s *shou* 受 are almost certainly all translations of *parigr̥hīta*, a complex word which also occurs in other texts in contexts similar to the present one (on 摄取 as *parigr̥hītyām* [T 360 (XI) p. 267b21 = Larger Sukh. p. 12,21], and other examples, see n. 267 below). None of these Chinese renditions is particularly clear, and my interpretations remain tentative. [Note: Zacchetti also had a note to self here suggesting that Dhr’s 摄取 might be interpreted, not in line with Chinese syntax, but on the basis of the expected Indic original, as a “rigid calque” of a *bahuvr̥ihi* reading of the compound: “[having] endless vows *embracing* [comprising?] the lands of the Buddhas ... This would certainly bring Dhr closer to Mo and Kj”.—Eds.]

Lamotte (I p. 404; cf. also Vetter 1993: 57)—no doubt on the basis of the attested Sanskrit readings (see 7.c below)—reconstructed the original underlying Kj’s translation as **apramāṇabuddhakṣetrapraṇidhānapari-*
grīhūtaiḥ. Even if perhaps it might be preferable to read the initial part of the compound as **anantabuddhakṣetra-*, as suggested by LPG (see below; cf. also Vetter 1993: 57), I think that all in all Lamotte’s proposal represents an acceptable working hypothesis, which essentially can also be extended to Mo and Dhr, although Dhr reflects a different syntactical analysis of the compound.²⁶⁴

The DZDL comments extensively on this short passage (T 1509 [XXV] p. 108a28–c20; tr. Lamotte I pp. 404–408), but it is only the first part of the gloss, before the series of questions and answers, which is of interest to us. I quote here the parts more directly relevant to our point:

7.b. (Commentary)

【論】 諸菩薩見諸佛世界無量嚴淨，發種種願。有佛世界都無眾苦，乃至無三惡之名者^a；菩薩見已，自發願言：我作佛時，世界無眾苦，乃至無三惡之名，亦當如是。…如是等無量佛世界^b種種嚴淨，願皆得之。以是故名「願受無量諸佛世界」^b (T 1509 [XXV] p. 108a28–b14; cf. Lamotte I pp. 404–405).

[a]者，—【石】[b]世界=國土【石】

Commentary: When the Bodhisattvas see the measureless adornments and purities (嚴淨, **vyūha*)²⁶⁵ of all Buddha worlds (佛世界, **buddhakṣetra*), they formulate various kinds of vows. [For example,] there are

²⁶⁴ If (building on Lamotte’s suggestion) we reconstruct the original reading underlying the early Chinese translations of this passage as **anantabuddhakṣetrapraṇidhānapari-*
grīhūta, then Mo and Kj may have interpreted *-prāṇidhāna-* as representing an instrumental: “having embraced, though their vows, etc.” [Note: See also n. 263 above on Dhr.—Eds.]

²⁶⁵ The term *yanjing* 嚴淨, which I have rendered literally (and rather clumsily) as “adornments and purities”, is relatively well attested in Kumārajīva’s corpus as a translation of *vyūha* (as well as of other Indic terms; see also Karashima 2001: 317). See, for example:

Kj T 223 (VIII) p. 229b25–26: 此間四部眾見十方面各千佛。是十方國土嚴淨，此娑婆國土所不及。 This corresponds to LPG f. 37v5–7 (cf. Š p. 309,21–310,2; PvSP[K] I-1 p. 104,10–13): *yāvat samantād daśasu dikṣy ekaikasyān dīśi buddhasahasram buddhasahasram paśyanti sma • na ca tā[n] kṣetraguṇavyūhān iha Sahāyām lokadhātau paśyanti sma • yā<n>*

Buddha worlds which are entirely without any suffering, to the point that there is not even the name of the three evil [rebirths]. Having seen [this], a Bodhisattva formulates [the following] vow: “When I become Buddha, [my] world will be without any suffering: it will be just like this one, down to the fact that names of the the three evil [rebirths] will not exist”.... As for such various sorts of adornments and purities of immeasurable Buddha worlds, [the Bodhisattva] vows to obtain all of them; therefore [the text] says: “[Their] vows encompassed immeasurable Buddha-lands”.

As can be seen from this quotation, the DZDL’s explanation of this compound centres—quite naturally, to be sure—on the notion of *vyūha*. While Xuanzang’s translations reflect, in this passage, a reading essentially in line with that of the earliest witnesses,²⁶⁶ both LPG (and related texts) and PvsP(K) have slightly different expanded readings which clearly mirror the DZDL’s interpretation:

7.c. (*Expanded readings*)

(7.c.1) LPG:

anantabuddhakṣetra *vyūha* *pranidhāna* *prasthāna* *parigṛhitair* (LPG f. 1v7–8; cf. Š p. 5,17; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 3a2).

Who had embraced²⁶⁷ the setting-out [in the Great Vehicle] by means

buddhakṣetraguṇavyūhāṁś teṣāṁ buddhānāṁ bhagavatāṁ teṣu loka-
dhātuṣu paśyanti sma.

Weimojie suo shuo jing T 475 (XIV) p. 538c23–25: 佛告舍利弗：「汝且觀是佛土嚴淨？」舍利弗言：「唯然，世尊！本所不見，本所不聞，今佛國土嚴淨悉現。Cf. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 8a2–3 (ed. 2006: 13): *tatra bhagavān āyuṣmantāṁ sāriputram āmantrayate sma: paśyasi tvam sāri-*
putra imān buddhakṣetraguṇavyūhān | āha: paśyāmi bhagavan adrṣṭā-
śrutapūrvā ime vyūhāḥ samdrṣyante.

²⁶⁶ Cf. Xz(Ś): 摄受無邊佛國大願 (T 220 [V] p. 1c10–11); Xz(PvsP): 摄受大願無邊佛土 (T 220 [VII] p. 1b28–29); Xz(Ad): 摄受無邊大願佛土 (T 220 [VII] p. 427c7). If these translations are indeed based on the same original (of which I am not sure), then Xuanzang seems to have hesitated strangely about how to interpret this compound.

²⁶⁷ The *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* contains some occurrences of forms of *parigr̥ah* used in similar contexts, which are helpful to understand the possible implications of *parigṛhita* in this LP passage (see also Gómez 1996: 230, n. 10 on the first passage quoted below; Fussman 1999, especially pp. 569 ff.). In most cases in this scripture, the verb refers to the acquisition of the accomplishment, or possession (*sampad*), of the qualities of a Buddha-field, as in the following passage (*Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* p. 12,20–21): *tāṁś ca me bhagavān ākārān parikīrtayatu yair*

of a vow [to contribute to]²⁶⁸ the marvellous arrangement of endless Buddha-fields.²⁶⁹

(7.c.2) PvsP(K): *sarvabuddhakṣetrānanta vyūha pranidhāna prasṭhāna parigṛhīta* (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 1,28; PvsP[SL] 1a6, ed. von Hinüber 1983: 194).²⁷⁰

It is revealing to compare the sentence concluding the DZDL passage quoted above under 7.b (T 1509 [XXV] p. 108b13: 如是等無量佛世界種種嚴淨，願皆得之) with these expanded readings. This passage of the commentary prefigures, even in the word order, LPG's text of this compound:

如是等無量佛世界 [= *anantabuddhakṣetra-*] 種種嚴淨 [= -*vyūha-*]，願 [= -*pranidhāna-*] 皆得之 [-*parigṛhīta*-?].²⁷¹

aham buddhakṣetrasya guṇavyūhasampadām parigṛhītyām; “and may the Lord proclaim to me those characteristics by means of which I could acquire possession of the marvellous arrangement of qualities of a Buddha-field” (cf. Gómez 1996: 67, whose translation I have in part adopted). A similar interpretation is applied by Conze to the compound in PvsP(K), for which see n. 270 below. In another passage, however, the object of the verb is *pranidhāna*: *śinhanādaṇa nada yan śrutvā bodhisattvā mahāsattvā etarhy anāgatē cādhvany evanrūpāni buddhakṣetrasampatti pranidhānāni parigṛhīsyanti* (Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha p. 14,16–18); “Do produce the lion’s roar, having heard which the Bodhisattvas, Great Beings will adopt, now and in the future, vows such as [yours] to accomplish Buddha-fields” (cf. Gómez 1996: 69).

²⁶⁸ The string *-pranidhāna prasthāna-* appears to echo an important classification of the notion of *bodhicitta* into *bodhipranidhīcitta*, and *bodhiprasthānacitta*, which was much debated in Buddhist treatises and commentaries; for a detailed discussion see Wangchuk 2007: 246–251. The expansion in LPG and PvsP(K) may reflect awareness of this classification (taking *pranidhāna* as being essentially an synonym of *pranidhi* in the context of this compound). Then, if we follow the interpretation of the compound suggested by the Tibetan translation (PvsP [TibPk]; see the next note), this passage might then be taken as an attempt to unpack the functional relationship between the two categories: the vow about adornments of Buddha-fields being a motivating force that allows the (effective) embracement of the Bodhisattva path (*prasthāna*).

²⁶⁹ The translation is quoted from Vetter 1993: 75. Vetter’s interpretation of the compound is based on the Tibetan translation (PvsP[TibPk] nyi 3a2): *sangs rgyas kyi zhing mtha’ yas pa rnam par dgod pa’i smon lam gyis ’gro ba yongs su zin pa* (see Vetter 1993: 75 n. 108).

²⁷⁰ This is translated by Conze (1975: 38) as: “acquiring through their vows and their setting-out the endless harmonies of all the Buddha-fields”.

²⁷¹ The equivalence between this *de* 得 and *-parigṛhīta* is less clear, since in the lemma the latter is rendered as *shou* 受. Nevertheless, 得 is certainly congruent,

And yet it is followed by the words “therefore [the text] says: ‘[Their] vows encompassed immeasurable Buddha-lands’” (以是故名「願受無量諸佛世界」), which clearly demonstrate that the expansion had not yet taken place in the base text of DZDL.²⁷²

Passage 8

The next passage occurs a few lines after the preceding one, at the very end of the list of compounds describing the qualities of the Bodhisattvas forming the Buddha’s audience in the prologue to LP. While in PvsP(K) and PvsP(SL) the last compound is followed directly by the names of some of these Bodhisattvas (p. 1,31), in both the earliest texts (Dhr and Mo), the list is followed by an identical, very short formula:

8.a. (Unexpanded reading)

(8.a.1–2) Dhr and Mo: 諸菩薩者，德皆如是 (T 221 [VIII] p. 1a26–27; T 222 [VIII] p. 147a29–b1; GZJ § 1.51, in Zucchetti 2005: 149 and 253).

The qualities of all [these] Bodhisattvas were all such as these.

This passage already appears in expanded form in the next text in chronological order, Kj, as well as in the second of the LP scriptures contained in Xuanzang’s summa:

8.b. (Partially expanded readings)

(8.b.1) Kj: 諸菩薩如是等種種無量功德成就 (T 223 [VIII] p. 217a28–29).

Such various, immeasurable meritorious virtues (功德, **guṇa*) of(?) the Bodhisattvas had been attained.²⁷³

from a semantic point of view, with *parivṛgrah*, and it is not inconceivable that in the context of a commentarial passage like this, the translation was varied to bring out a particular nuance of the original word.

²⁷² This passage from the DZDL gloss seems to bear witness to a transitional form of the compound (with *vyūha* but without *prasthāna*) between the early readings and those attested by LPG and PvsP(K), reflecting an interpretation of this passage similar to that underlying Conze’s translation (see above n. 270), and perhaps supported by most occurrences of forms of *parivṛgrah* in the *Larger Sukhāvatīvyūha* (see n. 267 above).

²⁷³ This construction is unusually rigid (by Kumārajīva’s standards), with the syntactically awkward *zhu pusa* 諸菩薩 at the beginning of the sentence and *chengjiu* 成就 at the end. This suggests that Kj already reflects a compound converging with

(8.b.2) Xz(PvsP): 是諸菩薩摩訶薩眾具如是等無量功德 (T 220 [VII] p. 1c3–4).

The group of these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas was endowed with such immeasurable meritorious virtues.

The DZDL comments on this short passage as follows:

8.c. (*Commentary*)

【論】 是諸菩薩共佛住，欲讚其功德，無量億劫不可得盡。以是故言「無量功德成就」 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 110c19–20; cf. Lamotte I pp. 427–428).

Commentary: These Bodhisattvas were dwelling with the Buddha, [and] if one wanted to praise their meritorious virtues, not [even] in immeasurable **koṭis* of *kalpas* could [their praise] be exhausted. Therefore [the LP] says: “immeasurable meritorious virtues had been attained”.

This gloss is closely mirrored by the reading of this passage found in some of the later texts (as already mentioned before, there is no parallel in PvsP[K] and PvsP[SL]):

8.d. (*Expanded readings*)

(8.d.1) LPG: *aparyantakalpāksīnagunavarnasamanvā[ga]tai<h>* (LPG f. 1v9–10; Š p. 6,4; PvsP[TibPk] *nyi* 3a4–5).²⁷⁴

Accompanied by praise of [their] qualities not exhausted [even if continued] for unlimited *kalpas*.²⁷⁵

the LPG reading, with *-samanvāgata* as its last member (cf. Lamotte I p. 427 for a different reconstruction). Xz(PvsP) is probably based on a very similar reading, even if here the verb corresponding to *-samanvāgata*, *ju* 具, is placed in a syntactically smoother position.

²⁷⁴ The LPG manuscript clearly reads *-kalpaksīna-*, but I have corrected it on the basis of Š which has the expected reading *-kalpāksīna-* (cf. also PvsP[TibPk]: *mi zad pa*).

²⁷⁵ Vetter (1993: 76) translated this compound as “endowed with [other] qualities the praise of which [even if it were continued] for innumerable Kalpas would not be exhausted”. He then remarked (n. 112): “Here I assume that the order of *guṇa* and *varṇa* has to be changed. ... Originally the text only wanted to say that it needs endless time to praise all *bodhisattva* qualities. The praise of the *guṇas* is not exhausted by innumerable *kalpas*. ... But this remark got itself the status of a *bodhisattva* quality by the addition of *samanvāgataih*. This only makes sense

(8.d.2) Xz(Ś): 此諸菩薩具如是等妙功德海，設經無量俱胝大劫歎不能盡 (T 220 [V] p. 1c15–16).

These Bodhisattvas were endowed with an ocean of such wonderful meritorious virtues, [of which] one would not be able to be exhaustive in [one's] praise even through immeasurable *kotis* of great *kalpas*.

(8.d.3) Xz(Ad): 是諸菩薩摩訶薩眾具如是等無量功德，經無數劫歎不能盡 (T 220 [VII] p. 427c12–14).

The group of these Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas was endowed with such immeasurable meritorious virtues, [of which] one would not be able to be exhaustive in [one's] praise [even] through innumerable *kalpas*.

Similar passages, which are also found, in parallel contexts, in other Mahāyāna scriptures, may have exerted some influence on the DZDL gloss and (either directly or, perhaps more likely, through the latter) on the expanded reading found in LPG and the other texts. Of particular interest is the situation presented by the *Daśabhuñika-sūtra*. While the earliest Chinese translation, by Dharmarakṣa, presents an extremely short *nidāna*-section, merely mentioning the presence of an incalculable group of Bodhisattvas together with the Buddha,²⁷⁶ the second, by Kumārajīva and Buddhayaśas, already contains a section detailing the qualities of these Bodhisattvas which is comparable to that found in the Sanskrit text.²⁷⁷ The list is concluded by the following sentence:

一切菩薩所有功德具足修習，如是諸菩薩摩訶薩功德無量無邊，於無數劫說不可盡 (*Shi zhu jing* 十住經 T 286 [X] p. 497c23–25).

when *samanvāgata* is directly connected with *guṇa*, and *guṇa* is qualified by *akṣiṇavarṇa*". However, the evidence provided by earlier witnesses on the development of this passage does not support this historical reconstruction: the initial seed, as it were, of the compound attested by LPG is a statement concerning the Bodhisattvas' possession of such qualities, as we can see from Kj's reading (see n. 273 above). This reading, probably under the influence of parallel passages in the initial sections of other Mahāyāna scriptures (see below), then attracted the statement on the inexhaustible praise of the qualities that is conveyed by the interpretation reflected by the DZDL gloss.

²⁷⁶ See *Jian bei yiqiezhi de jing* 漸備一切智德經 T 285 (X) p. 458a21–24, which corresponds only to the very beginning of the scripture in the Sanskrit version: cf. *Daśabhuñika*(K) p. 1,6–8; *Daśabhuñika*(R) p. 1,5–8.

²⁷⁷ *Shi zhu jing* T 286 (X) p. 497c9–24; cf. *Daśabhuñika*(K) p. 1,7–2, 8; *Daśabhuñika*(R) p. 1,8–2,4.

The meritorious virtues of all Bodhisattvas having been cultivated [by them] in full, such meritorious virtues of [these] Bodhisattvas Mahā-sattvas were immeasurable and unlimited, [so that even] in innumerable *kalpas* they could not be expounded in full.²⁷⁸

²⁷⁸ The syntax of this passage (especially of its initial portion) is far from clear. The corresponding compound in the edited Sanskrit text—which represents an extreme expansion of this trope—reads:

sarvabodhisattvagunapratipattisupariपूर्णानभिलाप्याकल्पाधिष्ठानासम्प्रकाशनापरिक्षिणगुणवर्णा-निर्देशकाई (Daśabhūmika[K] p. 2,7–8; Daśabhūmika[R] p. 2,2–4).

In the old palm-leaf manuscript of the *Daśabhūmika* (MS A) whose photographs have been published by Matsuda (1996) and which should date to “the sixth century at the latest” (Harimoto 2011: 95; cf. also Matsuda 1996: xvi–xviii), this compound occurs on ff. 1v6–2r1, and appears already close to this reading. Unfortunately, in the published reproduction, the initial portion is either missing (on f. 1v6) or difficult to read (beginning of f. 2r1). However, the end of the compound is sufficiently clear (especially with the help of a better image kindly made available to me by my colleague Prof. Diwakar Acharya):

-[*nabh*](*i*)[*lā*]pyakalpādhishṭhānasa(*m*)-[*pra*]kāśanāparikṣīna[*gu*]na{*m*}-
varṇanānirddeśaiḥ.

The meaning of *adhiṣṭhāna* in this compound is problematic (and I am grateful to Vincent Eltschinger for advice on this point). In fact, the word does not seem to occur (at least, with its usual meanings) in any of the parallel versions of this passage. Some help in solving this problem is provided by the Tibetan translation of the compound (D 44, no. 31, *kha* 166b–167a):

*byang chub sems dpa'i yon tan dang nan tan yongs su rdzogs pa thams cad
bskal pa brjod du med par rgyun mi chad par yang dag par bstan pa la yon
tan bsngags shing brjod pa zad mi shes pa sha stag ste.*

The word corresponding, by position, to *adhiṣṭhāna* is *rgyun mi chad par* (“uninterruptedly”), which yields a much better sense in this context. Now, the *Mahāyutpatti* records the word *aviṣṭhāna* as corresponding to *rgyun mi chad pa* (Sasaki 1916–1925: 410 no. 6364; Ishihama and Fukuda 1989: 302 no. 6343). This word is attested, with the meaning of “non-interruption, non-hindrance”, in Yaśomitra’s *Abhidharmaśavyākhyā* (see Wogihara 1932–1936: 277,3: *gamanaviṣṭhānād iti gamanavirāmāt*). Note that this gloss refers to *Abhidharmaśabāhya* p. 123,15, which mistakenly reads *-adhiṣṭhāna-*, but cf. Paramārtha and Xuanzang’s translations: 行無礙故 (T 1559 [XXIX] p. 202b17 and T 1558 [XXIX] p. 45b26). As shown by this parallel, miscopying of *aviṣṭhāna* as *adhiṣṭhāna* is likely to have easily occurred: the former is a rare word (cf. Brough 1962: 220), which is distinguished from a very common one by just one *akṣara* (and *-vi-* and *-dhi-* are certainly not difficult to confound)—clearly a recipe for confusion. Thus, taking into account the Tibetan and Chinese translations (see below), I would render the Sanskrit *bahuviṛhi* compound as: “All the qualities and practices (cf. Tibetan: *yon tan dang nan tan*) [characteristic of] all Bodhisattvas having been

The close similarity between the second part of this sentence and the DZDL gloss, as well as the resulting expanded readings quoted above (8.c–d) suggest, that in this case, too, intertextuality between different Mahāyāna *sūtras* may have been the ultimate source of the expansion (cf. above n. 134, p. 122).²⁷⁹

fully accomplished [by these Bodhisattvas], the manifestation of praise [they received] for their qualities could not be exhausted [even] by an exposition [continuing] uninterruptedly for untold *kalpas*" (cf. Tatsuyama 1938: 2–3; Honda 1968: 118). I have to admit that the syntactical relationship of the initial part of the compound (up to *suparipūrṇa*) with the following portion is not clear to me, and in my translation I have followed the interpretation suggested by the Chinese translations (the Tibetan version is not helpful from this point of view). Perhaps it might also be possible to take *suparipūrṇa* as syntactically parallel to *aparikṣīṇa* and referring to *guṇa*: "endowed with (i.e., the object of) a praise of qualities not exhausted [even] by an exposition [continuing] uninterruptedly for untold [number of] *kalpas*, [and] fully accomplished through the practice of all the qualities [characteristic of] Bodhisattvas". However, no parallel version supports this alternative interpretation.

The third Chinese translation of the *Daśabhūmika*, included in Buddhabhadra's version of the *Buddhāvatamsaka*, is of little help, as here it merely reproduces Kumārajīva's text (T 278 [IX] p. 542a22–24; cf. also Yuyama 1996: 275). However, the two remaining Chinese versions are worth quoting. Śikṣānanda translated this passage thus:

一切菩薩所有功德悉已修行而得圓滿，於不可說劫說不能盡 (*Da fangdeng Fohuayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 T 279 [X] p. 178c16–18), i.e., "The meritorious qualities of all the Bodhisattvas having been fully accomplished after having been [properly] cultivated, they could not be expounded in full [even] in an untold [number of] *kalpas*".

Śiladharma's translation (on which see Yuyama 1996: 275–276) is not far from this:

一切菩薩所有祕藏功德正行悉已圓滿，設加無量不可說劫讚其功德亦不能盡 (*Shi di jing* 十地經 T 287 [X] p. 535b19–21), i.e., "The correct practices of the secret meritorious virtues possessed by all the Bodhisattvas having already been completely fulfilled, even if one were to praise their qualities for immeasurable, untold *kalpas*, they still could not be exhausted".

²⁷⁹ Another scripture whose *nidāna* displays a similar pattern of gradual textual development is the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. While the earliest version moves directly from the *bodhisattvaguṇa*-section to the list of names of the Bodhisattvas in the assembly (T 474 [XIV] p. 519b4–5), Kumārajīva's translation presents a short concluding formula (T 475 [XIV] p. 537a29–b1): 如是一切功德皆悉具足 ("all such meritorious virtues had been fully accomplished [by these Bodhisattvas]"). In contrast with these earlier witnesses, the Sanskrit text has here an expanded compound expressing the usual motif of the praise of the qualities: *aparimitakal-*

Passage 9

In the initial portion of the LP, describing the various miracles preceding the Buddha's preaching, we read—as attested in the three early Chinese translations—the following passage:

9.a. (Unexpanded readings)

(9.a.1) Dhr: 於時諸天適生彼間人中天上，即識宿命，歡喜悅豫，往詣佛所 (T 222 [VIII] p. 147c19–21; GZJ § 1.64, in Zucchetti 2005: 155 and 263).

At that moment all the gods [and those other beings], as soon as they were reborn in those [favourable conditions, namely] among human beings or as gods, remembered their previous lives, felt happy and blissful, and went towards the place where the Buddha was.

(9.a.2) Mo: 適生歡喜亦識宿命，各各自至其國佛所 (T 221 [VIII] p. 1c7–8).

As soon as [those beings] had been reborn [as gods and humans], they rejoiced and remembered their previous lives; [then] each went to the place where the Buddha of their own world was ...

(9.a.3) Kj: 是諸天人自識宿命，皆大歡喜，來詣佛所 (T 223 [VIII] p. 217c11–12).

All these gods and humans naturally remembered their previous lives and greatly rejoiced; [then] they came towards the place where the Buddha was ...

pakotīniyutaśatasahasragunaparikīrtanāparyantagunaughaiḥ (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 2a6–7, ed. 1996 p. 2), “having an unlimited quantity of qualities, whose praise [could last] for infinite hundreds of thousands of *niyutas* of *kotis* of *kalpas*”; so too, essentially, reads Xuanzang's translation (T 476 [XIV] p. 558a6–7). In a note to his translation of this passage, Lamotte (1962: 100 n. 11) quotes, as a parallel, a passage (referring to the exposition of the Buddha's qualities) from the beginning of Chapter 5 of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (ed. Kern and Nanjio p. 121,3–4: *ete ca kāśyapa tathāgatasya bhūtā guṇā ataś cānye 'prameyā asaṃkheyeyā yeṣām na sukarah paryanto 'dhigantum aparimitān api kalpān bhāṣamāṇaiḥ*) which is also found in the two earliest Chinese translations, by Dharmarakṣa (*Zheng fahua jing* 正法華經 T 263 [IX] p. 83b3–6) and Kumārajīva (*Miaofa lian-hua jing* 妙法蓮華經 T 262 [IX] p. 19a20–22). This is not a compound, and might perhaps be the ultimate source of this trope.

Similar readings are also found in Xuanzang's translations of this passage.²⁸⁰

The DZDL's commentary on this passage begins with a question on the ability of human beings to remember their previous existences:

9.b. (Commentary)

問曰： 諸天生時，有三事自知[知—【宋】【宮】]：知所從[從—【宋】
【元】【明】【宮】]來處，知所修福田處，知本所作福德。是人生時，
無此三事，云何識宿命？

答曰： 人道不定，或有識者，有[有=或【元】【明】【石】]不識者。
復次，假佛神力，則識宿命 (T 1509 [XXVI] p. 118a8–13; cf. Lamotte I
pp. 482–483).

Question: There are three things that the gods, when they are born, naturally know: they know their provenance, they know the place in which they will cultivate the field of merit (福田, **punyakṣetra*) [in their present life], and they know what merit they have formerly produced. [However,] when these human beings are born, they lack [knowledge of] these three things; how do they remember their previous existences?

Answer: The human state of existence is not fixed [in its characteristics]: there are some who remember, there are some who do not. Furthermore, if they rely on the Buddha's supernatural power (神力, **anubhāva*?),²⁸¹ they then [are able to] remember their previous existences.

The second reason given by the DZDL, which is typical of the elaboration of *jātismara* (remembering one's former births) found in Mahāyāna literature,²⁸² is reflected by the expanded reading of PvsP:

²⁸⁰ Xz(Ś), Xz(PvsP), and Xz(Ad): 皆憶宿住，歡喜踊躍同詣佛所 (T 220 [V] p. 2b19; [VII] p. 2a25–26 and p. 428a27–28).

²⁸¹ As pointed out above (n. 80), Kumārajīva's team used *shenli* 神力 to translate several different Sanskrit terms, including *anubhāva*.

²⁸² See Schopen 1983: 112 (= 2005: 192) and *passim*; see also *idem* p. 128 (= 2005: 205) on this particular LP passage.

9.c. (*Expanded reading*)

(9.c.1) PvsP(K): *atha khalu te manusyās te ca devā bhagavata evānu-bhāvena pūrvajanmāny anusmaranti sma, anusmṛtya ca tenaiva prīti-prāmodyena yena bhagavāṁs tenopasamkrāntāḥ* (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 4,18–20).

Then those humans and those gods, due to nothing other than the Lord's empowering force, remembered their previous lives, and having so done, [moved] by that very delight and joy, they went where the Lord was.

This is a rare instance in which an interpretation proposed by the DZDL is found in PvsP(K) and not the LPG recension,²⁸³ although this expansion is so generic that it would be completely unwarranted to assume, in this case, a direct link between exegesis and later textual development.

Passage 10

In a subsequent passage of the same narrative, the LP describes the offering made to the Buddha by the gods and men witnessing the miracles performed by the Buddha:

10.a. (*Unexpanded readings*)

(10.a.1) Dhr: 時此世界，首陀衛淨居諸天，梵天、波羅尼蜜天、尼摩羅天、兜術天、鹽天、忉利天、四天王天及三千大千世界所居人民，自然見身親近如來，皆得自然天華傅飴、天香、天雜香、天搗香、天青蓮、芙蓉[芙蓉=扶容【宋】【宮】1]、衡[衡 = 蘭【元】【明】; 鮮 T 222]華諸妙天華，莖葉具足，各各發行齋詣如來，稽首佛足，各散佛上 (T 222 [VIII] p. 148a11–17; GZJ § 1.71 in Zaccetti 2005: 158–159 and 267–268).

At that moment, in this world-system, all the gods of the Śuddhāvāsa-Pure-Abode, the Brahma-gods, the Paranirmitavaśavartin gods, Nirmāṇarati gods, Tuṣita gods, Yāma gods, Trayastriṃśa gods, gods [belonging to the class of the] Four Heavenly Kings, as well as the

²⁸³ Cf. LPG f. 3v5–7 (Ś p. 14,3–5; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 5b1–2):

atha te manusyās te ca devās tenaiva prītiprasādaprāmodyena paurvikīṁ jātim samanusmaranti sma • samanusmṛtya prītiprasādaprāmodyapratilabdhaḥ yena bhagavāṁs tenopasamkrāntā.

people living in the Trichiliomegachiliocosm, miraculously saw the Tathāgata being very close to themselves;²⁸⁴ [then,] having taken spontaneously created heavenly flowers, heavenly perfumed unguents, heavenly mixed perfumes, heavenly pounded perfumes, heavenly blue lotuses, hibiscuses, fragrant flowers,²⁸⁵ and all other [sorts of] wonderful heavenly flowers, complete with stalks and leaves, they set out, one by one, to bring [these gifts] to the Thus-come One, bowed their head at his feet, and each scattered them on the Buddha.

(10.a.2) **Mo:** 諸首陀會天及諸梵天、第六天王、釋天、四王天，其中諸天及諸眾生悉見師子座，聞佛所說，各持天上所有種種名香、種種名華來詣佛所，供養如來、無所著、等正覺 (T 221 [VIII] p. 1c19–23).

All the gods of the group of the Śuddha[-āvāsa], as well as the Brahma-gods, the king of the Sixth [class of] gods,²⁸⁶ the gods [led by] Śakra,²⁸⁷

²⁸⁴ [Note: Zucchetti originally tentatively translated 自然見身親近如來 as “miraculously saw the Thus-Come One in his familiar body”. However, a marginal note indicates that he subsequently changed his mind to prefer the translation seen in the text. His decision to make this change was based upon the reasoning expressed in the following note.—Eds.] 身親近如來, while not entirely clear, seems to reflect, at least in part, the reading found in PvsP(K) I-1 p. 6,9–10: *tam tathāgatasyāsecanakam ātmabhāvam* (cf. LPG: *simhāsananisannam tathāgatam*), “the pleasing bodily form of the Tathāgata”; cf. Zucchetti 2005: 267 n. 205. However, *qinjin* 親近 (lit. “close to, intimate with”) is clearly not an accurate rendition of *āsecanaka*, and I would not rule out that something went wrong during the translation process. My interpretation of this passage is largely based on the assumption that *shen* 身 corresponds to *ātmabhāva*. But if one were to set aside this hypothetical Sanskrit parallel, it would also be possible to interpret the sentence 自然見身親近如來 in a completely different way, taking *shen* as a reflexive pronoun: “they miraculously saw the Tathāgata being very close to themselves (身)”. This alternative interpretation can be corroborated by other occurrences of *qinjin* 親近 in Dhr, where it is usually used as a verb meaning “to approach, to come close to”. See, for example: 則速自然無量之德，親近諸佛 (T 222 [VIII] p. 163c11; cf. Zucchetti 1999: 380), corresponding to PvsP(K) I-1 p. 131,11–12: *tenaiva kuśalamūlena teṣāṁ buddhānāṁ bhagavatāṁ cāntika upapadyate*. [Note: We might thus also consider the translation “miraculously saw themselves draw close to the Tathāgata”.—Eds.]

²⁸⁵ For the reasons supporting this reading, *henghua* 衡華 (lit. the name of a specific kind of fragrant flowers), instead of *xianhua* 鮮華, the reading found in the Taishō text and in several early editions of the canon, see Zucchetti 2005: 268 n. 211.

²⁸⁶ 第六天 refers to the Paramirmitavaśavartin gods, usually listed as the sixth and highest class of *kāmāvacara* gods; their chief, here referred to as *wang* 王, is called Vaśavartin (see BHSD s.v., p. 473b).

²⁸⁷ 釋天, i.e., the Trāyastriṃśa.

the gods [belonging to the class of the] Four [Great] Kings—all the gods included in this [list], as well as all other living beings, having seen the Lion-seat and heard what the Buddha was expounding, each of them, holding various kinds of renowned heavenly perfumes and flowers, came to the place where the Buddha was and offered them to the Thus-come One, the One Without Attachment (無所著, *arhat*), the Perfectly Awakened One.

(10.a.3) Kj: 是時，首陀會天、梵眾天、他化自在天、化[=自化【元】，DZDL]樂天、兜率陀天、夜摩天、三十三天、四天王天及三千大千國土人與非人，以諸天花、天瓔珞、天澤香、天末香、天青蓮花、赤蓮花、白蓮花、紅蓮花、天樹葉香持詣佛所，是諸天花乃至天樹葉香以散佛上 (T 223 [VIII] p. 218a4–10).

At that time, the gods of the group of the Śuddha[-āvāsa], as well as the multitude of the Brahma-gods, the gods Masters of Others' Magical Creations (他化自在, *Paranirmitavaśavartin*), the gods Enjoying Magical Creations (化樂天, *Nirmāṇarati*), the Tuṣita gods, the Yāma gods, the Thirty-three gods, and the gods [belonging to the class of the] Four Heavenly Kings, as well as humans and non-humans in the cosmic system consisting of a billion [worlds], carried all sorts of heavenly flowers, heavenly strings of jewels, heavenly fragrant ointments, heavenly powdered perfumes, heavenly blue lotuses, red lotuses, white lotuses, crimson lotuses, and perfumes made from leaves of heavenly trees to the place where the Buddha was, and scattered on the Buddha all these heavenly flowers, etc.

(10.a.4) PvsP(K): *atha khalu ye 'smīms trisāhasramahāsāhasre lokadhātau śuddhāvāsakāyikā devāḥ śubhakṛtsnā ābhāsvarā brahmakāyikā devāḥ paranirmitavaśavartinaś ca nirmāṇaratayaś ca tuṣitāś ca yāmāś ca trāyastriṃśāś ca cāturmahārājākāyikāś ca devāś te tam tathāgatasyāsecanakam ātmabhāvam drṣṭvā divyāḥ puṣpadhūpagandhamālyavilepanacūrṇacīvaračchattrā-dhvajapatākāvaijayantīr gr̥hītvā divyāni utpalakumudasaugandhikapuṇḍarīkapadmāni gr̥hītvā divyāni ca keśarataṁlapatrāni gr̥hītvā yena tathāgatasyāsecanaka ātmabhāvas tenopasāñkrāntāḥ, ye ceha trisāhasramahāsāhasre lokadhātau manusyāś te 'pi tam tathāgatasyāsecanakam ātmabhāvam drṣṭvā sthalajalajāni puṣpāni gr̥hītvā yena tathāgatasyāsecanaka ātmabhāvas tenopasāñkrāntāḥ atha khalu te devāś te ca mānuṣāś tābhīr divyābhiḥ puṣpadhūpagandhamālyavilepanacūrṇacīvaračchattrādhvajapatākāvaijayantibhis taiś ca sthalajalajaiḥ puṣpais tam tathāgatakāyam avakiranti sma, abhyavakiranti sma (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 6,6–20; cf. PvsP[SL] kā a9–b4, ed. von Hinüber 1983: 196).*

Then the gods [living] in this Trichiliomegachiliocosm belonging to the class [of gods] Having a Pure Abode, the Śubhakṛtsnā, etc. [various classes of gods up to:] the gods belonging to the group of the Four Great Kings, having seen that pleasing bodily form of the Tathāgata, having taken heavenly flowers, perfumes, garlands, ointments, pound-ed perfumes, robes, parasols, banners, pennons, flags, heavenly water-lilies,²⁸⁸ white water-lilies, *sauvandhika* water-lilies, white lotuses, lotuses, and heavenly leaves of *kesara* and *tamāla*, went to the place where the pleasing bodily form of the Tathāgata was; and so also did the humans who [were living] in this Trichiliomegachiliocosm, having seen that pleasing bodily form of the Tathāgata, having taken flowers growing on dry land and water. Then those gods and those humans, scattered on and covered that body of the Tathāgata with those heavenly flowers, etc.

The DZDL contains a short gloss devoted specifically to the final part of this passage, discussing the reasons for the offerings made to the Buddha:

10.b. (*Commentary*)

【論】 問曰： 何以以華散佛身上？

答曰： 恭敬供養故。又佛光照，皆遙見佛，心大歡喜。供養佛故，皆以諸華而散佛上。 復次，佛於三界第一福田，以是故華散佛上 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 123b6–10; cf. Lamotte I p. 524).

Commentary: Question: Why do [the gods, etc.] scatter the flowers on the Buddha's body?

Answer: Because they [want to] offer [these things] out of respect. Moreover, [due to] the Buddha's irradiating light [throughout the cosmos], having all seen²⁸⁹ the Buddha from afar, they greatly rejoiced in their hearts; [hence,] in order to make offerings to the Buddha, they scatter on him all sorts of flowers. Furthermore, the Buddha is the foremost field of merit in the triple world, and for this reason they scatter the flowers on him.

²⁸⁸ See Hanneder 2002: 301–303; Rau 1954: 507.

²⁸⁹ Interestingly, the text of Kj (10.a.3) does not say that the beings saw the Buddha; however that passage is already attested, apart from PvsP(K) (see 10.a.4: *te 'pi tam tathāgatasyāsecanakam ātmabhāvam drṣṭvā*), in Dhr and Mo (10.a.1–2). This suggests that in this passage, the base text of the DZDL was slightly different from that quoted as the lemma.

The second reason adduced by the commentary is subsequently found incorporated in the expanded reading attested by the LPG recension:

10.c. (Expanded readings)

(10.c.1) LPG: *atha yāvanto 'smīm̄ trisāhasramahāsāhasre [l](o)ka-dhātau śuddhāvāsakāyikā devanikāyāḥ yāvad brahmakāyikā para-nirmitavaśavartinaḥ nirmānaratayah tuṣṭā yāmāś trāyastrimśāś cā-turmahārājākāyikā d[e]vanikāyāś te sarve siṁhāsananiṣaṇṇām̄ tathā-gatam paśyanti sma • [te] tuṣṭā udagrā āttamanasah pramuditāḥ prītisaumanasyajātā divyāni puṣpāny ādāya divyāni mālyāni divyān gandhān divyāni vilepanāni divyāni cūrṇāni divyān vāsān divyāny ut-palapadmakumudapundarīkanādinasaugandhikāni • divyāni kesarata-mālapatrāni divyāni cīvarāni • divyāny ābharaṇāni • divyāni cchatrāni divyām dhvajān* divyāḥ patākā gr̄hitvā yena bhagavāṁs tenopasam-krāmanti sma • upasam̄kramya taiḥ puṣpādibhir yāvac chatradhvaja-patākābhir bhagavantam avakira<n>ti smābhavakiranti smābhipra-kiranti sma.*

ye ceha trisāhasramahāsāhasre lokadhātau manuṣyā vineyā bhāja-nibhūtās te jalajasthalajāni puṣpāṇi gr̄hitvā yena bhagavāṁs tenopas-(sa)m̄kramya tathāgatam abhipūjayānti sma • sarvāni ca tāni puṣpā-dīni yāvac chatradhvajapatākā bhagavaty avakīrṇāni (LPG f. 4v5–5r1; Š pp. 21,15–22,5; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 7a4–b3).

Then as many classes of gods as there were in the Trichiliomegachiliocosm, from the class of gods Having a Pure Abode, etc., all of them saw the Tathāgata sitting on the Lion Seat; [then,] being pleased, joyful, delighted, full of joy and gladness, having taken heavenly flowers, heavenly garlands, etc., went to the place where the Lord was. Having done so, they covered, etc., the Lord with those flowers, etc. And those humans who, in this Trichiliomegachiliocosm, were to be trained, [and worthy] vessels [of the teaching], having taken flowers growing on dry land and water and gone to the place where the Lord was, paid homage to the Tathāgata, and scattered on the Lord those flowers, etc.

Note how, exactly as in the DZDL gloss, the beings' state of joy is introduced in this passage—possibly using the same words²⁹⁰—in close

²⁹⁰ Here LPG uses the common formula *tuṣṭā udagrā*, etc. That the expression found in the DZDL gloss (10b), 心大歡喜, could indeed correspond, as an abbreviated rendition, to this formula is supported by some parallels from other translations by Kumārajīva, such as, for example:

connection with their sight of the Buddha, occurring as it does immediately after the sentence *śinḥāsananiṣannam tathāgatam paśyanti sma*.

A similar reading is also attested in Xuanzang's versions, with the passage paralleling the DZDL gloss even more expanded than in LPG:

(10.c.2) Xz(Ś), Xz(PvsP), and Xz(Ad): 皆見如來處師子座，威光顯曜如大金山，歡喜踊躍歎未曾有 (T 220 [V] p. 2c15–24; [VII] p. 2b22–c1 and p. 428b26–28).

[All of the gods, etc.], having seen the Tathāgata sitting on the Lion Seat, his imposing light radiating like a great golden mountain, rejoiced, jumped for joy, exclaimed in amazement ...

Passage 11

The narrative portion at the beginning of the LP contains a passage very similar to that from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* discussed at the beginning of this book, in Chapter 1 (see above p. 11). Here the Buddha Ratnākara recommends to the Bodhisattva Samantaraśmi, who has expressed his intention of visiting Śākyamuni, caution in his interactions with the Bodhisattvas of the Sahā world. The part of interest to us is the explanation provided by Ratnākara.

The shortest reading is that found in PvsP(K) and related texts, with which Kj too is essentially in agreement:

11.a. (Unexpanded readings)

(11.a.1) PvsP(K): *samprajānakārī²⁹¹ ca tvam kulaputra tatra buddha-kṣetre bhūyāḥ²⁹² tat kasya hetoh? durāsadā hi te bodhisattvā ye tatra*

爾時彼諸菩薩聞說是法，皆大歡喜 (Weimojie suo shuo jing 維摩詰所說經 T 475 [XIV] p. 554c21–22), corresponding to *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 66a3 (ed. 2006: 108): *atha khalu te bodhisatvā imam nирdeśam śrutvā tuṣṭā udagra āttamanasah pramuditāḥ prītisaumanasyajātā ...*

薩陀波崙菩薩聞空中聲，心大歡喜 (Xiaopin banreboluomi jing 小品般若波羅蜜經 T 227 [VIII] p. 585b25–26), corresponding to *Aśtasāhasrikā* p. 981,27–29: *atha khalu sadāprarudito bodhisattvo mahāsattvas taṁ divyam nirghoṣam śrutvā tuṣṭā udagra āttamanāḥ pramuditāḥ prītisaumanasyajātā ...*

²⁹¹ So also the PvsP fragment from Indikatusäya no. 34 (Paranavitana 1933: 208): //jānakārī ca [tvam] kulaputra ta//; PvsP(SL) = *samprajānatkārī* (see Yamaguchi 1984: 21 n. 5).

²⁹² PvsP(SL) = *bhaves*.

sahāyām lokadhātāv upapannāh (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 8,16–18; PvsP[SL] *ki b1–2*, ed. von Hinüber 1983: 198).

But do act thoughtfully, gentleman, in that Buddha-field. Why? Because the Bodhisattvas who are born in that Sahā world are difficult to approach.

(11.a.2) Kj: 生彼娑婆國[國=世界【宋】【元】【明】【宮】*passim*]中諸菩薩難勝難及，汝當一心以[以—【宋】【元】【明】【宮】]遊彼國 (T 223 [VIII] p. 218b9–10).

The Bodhisattvas born in that Sahā land are hard to overcome and hard to match;²⁹³ you should focus your mind to travel in that land.

Interestingly, already in the earliest LP texts we find here some interesting variants or expansions—Mo’s reading, in particular, is completely different from all the other LP texts:

11.b. (*Early variants*)

(11.b.1) Dhr: 善男子，欲往修寂然行，忍界菩薩，生彼土者，甚有患難亦難值遇 (T 222 [VIII] p. 148b22–23; GZJ § 1.82 in Zucchetti 2005: 164–165 and 272).

Good man, as you are about to go [there], adopt a quiet mode of conduct: the Bodhisattvas of the Forbearance world (忍界, Sahā *lokadhātu-*), having been born in that land, live in extremely hard conditions²⁹⁴ and are [thus] difficult to approach.

²⁹³ Lamotte (I p. 567) mechanically reconstructs the original of *nansheng nanji* 難勝難及 as *durjayā durāsadā ca*, but I think that this is just a double translation of *durāsada*, attempting to convey the semantic complexity of this word (on *durāsada* as “hard to attack” see Cone 2001: 352a, s.v. *āsada*¹). Yet another interpretation of this word (*nanjin* 難近) is provided at the end of the DZDL passage quoted below (see Passage 11.d with n. 305).

²⁹⁴ This short remark on the hardship endured by the Bodhisattvas born in the Sahā world (甚有患難) is only found in Dhr and, as I have remarked elsewhere (Zucchetti 2005: 272 n. 253), echoes part of the DZDL’s commentary on this passage, which devotes considerable space to describing this world’s dire conditions—presented, nevertheless, as being more favourable to spiritual progress than those of a more refined world (T 1509 [XXV] pp. 129c26–130a14; tr. Lamotte I pp. 574–575). I think that there are two possible explanations of this parallelism between this early expansion and the commentary: Dhr’s original may have had, in this point, an original variant reading influenced—at an early stage of the LP’s history and in a particular line of its textual tradition—by an interpretation of the passage similar to that recorded in the DZDL (which is, in

(11.b.2) Mo: 汝詣彼國，攝持威儀，無失法度。所以者何？彼國菩薩奉持律行，是以生彼 (T 221 [VIII] p. 2a20–21).

When you get to that land, control²⁹⁵ [your] demeanour and do not neglect [appropriate] norms. Why? The Bodhisattvas of that country (i.e., the *Sahā* world) observed discipline,²⁹⁶ and for this reason are born there.

It is, however, the reading attested in LPG and related texts that is of interest for the purpose of our discussion. When compared with PvsP(K), LPG presents a curious addition at the end of the passage, clearly reflecting an interpretation of *durāsada* as “dangerous to approach”:

11.c. (*Expanded readings*)

(11.c.1) LPG: *samprajānaccārī*²⁹⁷ ca *kulaputra tatra buddhakṣetre bhavet*²⁹⁸ *tat kasya hetoḥ durāsadā hi kulaputra te bodhisatvā mahāsatvā ye tatra lokadhātāv upapannā mā tatra kṣanyethā*²⁹⁹ (LPG f. 6r3–4; Š p. 30,11–13; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 9b5–6).

itself, rather common and unremarkable). Or, perhaps, this is an exegetical gloss orally imparted by Dharmarakṣa during the translation process and reflecting a common understanding of the *Sahā* world. Another instance of agreement between the DZDL and the early LP witnesses will be discussed in Appendix 1.2 below.

²⁹⁵ If taken in the sense of “controlling” (or perhaps also “restraining”), *shechi* 攝持 might reflect a form of *samjhṛ* or of a related verb in Mo’s original text. Cf., in a very similar context, 攝汝身香 (*Kumārajīva, Weimojie suo shuo jing* 維摩詰所說經 T 475 [XIV] p. 552b22), corresponding to *api tu gandhān kulaputrāḥ pratिसम्हर्त्या*, etc., in *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 56b1–2 (ed. 2006: 93).

²⁹⁶ Mo (which lacks anything which could reflect the *durāsada* of the Sanskrit parallels) is alone in giving this (somewhat unexpected) reason for the need to keep a restrained behaviour in the *Sahā* world.

²⁹⁷ Cf. f. 7v3 (in the repetition of this passage): *saṃprajānacārī*; cf. also Š p. 30,11: *saṃprajānavihārī*.

²⁹⁸ In my edition of this passage, I emended the manuscript’s reading, *bhavet* (also found on f. 7v3 and significantly confirmed by Š p. 30,12) to *bhaves* (see Zucchetti 2005: 373 with n. 32). However, this emendation is unnecessary if one interprets this as an instance of the use of third person singular forms with any person or number, a feature of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit described by Edgerton as “especially common, indeed standard, in the optative and the aorist” (BHSG § 25.5 p. 129; see also § 25.7).

²⁹⁹ On the passive of *ksan*, see BHSG § 37.30 p. 184. Note that the *danda* at the end of the passage does not interfere with the sandhi (the word following *kṣanyethā* is *atha*).

But you should act thoughtfully, gentleman, in that Buddha-field. Why? Because the Bodhisattvas, the Great Beings who are born in that world are difficult to approach. I hope you won't get hurt down there!³⁰⁰

The last sentence (*mā tatra kṣanyethāḥ*) is also found in Xz(Ś), Xz(PvsP) and Xz(Ad), which are, however, more expanded, including as they do increasingly long explanatory passages (curiously, Xz[Ad] even more than the former):

(11.c.2) Xz(Ś) and Xz(PvsP): 汝至彼界，應住正知。觀彼佛土及諸大眾，勿懷輕慢而自毀傷³⁰¹。所以者何？彼諸菩薩，威德難及，悲願熏心，以大因緣而生彼土 (T 220 [V] p. 3b14–17 and [VII] p. 3a4–7).

When you reach that world, you should stay aware. As you observe that Buddha-land and all the masses of people³⁰² [living there], do not harm yourself by harbouring a disparaging attitude [towards them]. Why? The awe-inspiring virtue of those Bodhisattvas is hard to match: the compassionate vow [they have formulated] has impregnated [their] minds, and they are born in that land for an important reason.³⁰³

(11.c.3) Xz(Ad): 汝至彼界，應住正知，勿以慢心觀彼佛土及諸大眾而自毀傷。所以者何？彼諸菩薩得無礙解、陀羅尼門、三摩地門，神通自在，住最後身堪紹佛位，威德難及，悲願熏心，以大因緣而生彼界 (T 220 [VII] p. 429a6–10).

When you reach that world, you should stay aware. Do not harm yourself by regarding that Buddha-land and all the masses of people [living there] with arrogance. Why? Those Bodhisattvas have obtained the [four] unobstructed understandings (無礙解, **pratisaṇvid*), the gateways to *dhāraṇīs*, and the gateways to *samādhis*; they have full mastery of supernatural faculties; they are in their last existence

³⁰⁰ Cf. PvsP(TibPk) 9b6: *der nyams par gyur ta re.*

³⁰¹ In this sentence, Xz(PvsP) has the same text as Xz(Ad): 勿以慢心觀彼佛土及諸大眾而自毀傷 (for a translation, see 11c.3).

³⁰² This is a meaning of *dazhong* 大眾 attested in non-Buddhist sources (see HD, vol 2 p. 1377a); an alternative interpretation would be “great assemblies”.

³⁰³ [Note: It seems at least equally, if not more, likely that 以大因緣 (here and in the next passage) actually means something more like “by dint of [a] powerful [set of] causes and conditions”, i.e., the point is not that the “reason” is “important”, but rather, that the past causes and conditions to bring such a thing about are no trivial matter.—Eds.]

[before] being equal to the task of succeeding to the Buddha's position;³⁰⁴ [for all these reasons, their] awe-inspiring virtue is hard to match: the compassionate vow [they have formulated] has impregnated [their] minds, and they are born in that land for an important reason.

The possibility of being hurt, especially if approaching with hostility the Bodhisattvas of the Sahā world, is explicitly evoked by the DZDL in its gloss on the *durāsada* passage:

11.d. (Commentary)

復次，何以故言「一心敬慎」？是菩薩難勝、難及、難破、難近，譬如大師子王，難勝、難破；亦如白象王及龍王，如大火焰，皆難可近。是菩薩大福德、智慧力故，若人欲勝欲破，是不可得，正可自破，是故言「難近」(T 1509 [XXV] p. 129c20–24; cf. Lamotte I p. 574).

Furthermore, why does [the text] say “focus your mind and be respectfully cautious”?³⁰⁵ These Bodhisattvas are hard to overcome, hard to match, hard to crush, hard to approach; they are like the great lion king, who is hard to overcome and hard to crush. They are also like the white elephant king and the dragon king, like the blaze of fire: they are all hard to approach. Because of these Bodhisattvas’ great power of merit and insight, anyone who wanted to overcome or crush them would not be able to do so, but would merely destroy himself. For this reason [the text] says “they are hard to approach” (難近, *durāsada*).

Thus, it seems likely that the expansions found in the LPG recension (*mā tatra kṣanyethāḥ*) and in Xz(Ś)/(PvsP)/(Ad) reflect an interpretation of *durāsada* along the lines of the DZDL gloss.

Passage 12

The initial portion of the LP contains a fairly long passage enumerating all sorts of attainments and advantages, to obtain which a Bodhisattva

³⁰⁴ This sentence (住最後身堪紹佛位) might perhaps just be an elaborate paraphrastic rendition of *ekajātipratibaddha.

³⁰⁵ This is different from the lemma, which reads (as in some editions of Kj: see 11.a.2 above) 汝當一心遊彼世界 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 128c5–6). Similarly, at the end of the passage, *durāsada* is rendered more literally as 難近, and not as 難勝難及, as in the DZDL lemma and in Kj (cf. n. 293 above).

should “train in the Perfection of Insight” (*bodhisattvena ... prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam*).³⁰⁶ Among the numerous instantiations of this formula, we find a passage concerning the reception and retention of the teaching imparted by the Buddhas of the ten directions. The unexpanded reading is attested, in this case, by some of the Chinese translations:

12.a. (Unexpanded readings)

(12.a.1) Dhr: 復次，舍利弗，菩薩摩訶薩，諸佛世尊普在十方說經法者，欲得聽聞而不斷絕至阿耨多羅三耶三菩者，當學般若波羅蜜 (T 222 [VIII] p. 150c20–23; GZJ § 1.170 in Zacchetti 2005: 191–192 and 310).

Furthermore, Śāriputra, if a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to hear the Dharma³⁰⁷ which the Buddhas, the World-Honoured Ones, are expounding everywhere in the ten directions, without interruption³⁰⁸ until [his attainment of the] *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

(12.a.2) Mo: 菩薩摩訶薩欲聞十方諸佛所說，不斷乃至阿耨多羅三耶三菩者，當學般若波羅蜜 (T 221 [VIII] pp. 3c28–4a1).

If a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to hear what all the Buddhas of the ten directions are expounding without interruption until [his attainment of the] *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

(12.a.4) Xz(PvsP) and Xz(Ad): 若菩薩摩訶薩欲得普聞十方世界諸佛說法，乃至無上正等菩提而不斷絕，當學般若波羅蜜多 (T 220 [VII] p. 9c21–23 and p. 431c16–18).

If a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to hear the Dharma expounded by all the Buddhas everywhere in the ten directions without interruption until [his attainment of the] supreme perfect *bodhi*, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

³⁰⁶ See, for example, PvsP(K) I-1 pp. 28,21–51,9 (tr. Conze 1975: 47–54) and LPG ff. 9r4–16r9 (Zacchetti 2005: 377–386).

³⁰⁷ On the expression *jingfa* 經法, frequently used in early translations to render *dharma*, see Vetter and Zacchetti 2004.

³⁰⁸ It is not entirely clear how to interpret this expression *bu duanjue* 不斷絕, “not being interrupted, cut off, etc.”, also found in Mo (不斷) and Xz(PvsP), but it might be indirectly related to the word *anācchedya* (i.e., *anāchedya*, on which see BHSD p. 22a) which is found, albeit in a different context, in the expanded reading. Note that Kj and Xz(Ś) here read instead “not forgetting”.

Kj's version of this passage already contains a significant addition (mentioning the Bodhisattva's not forgetting what has been preached by the Buddhas), which paves the way to the further textual developments attested by the Sanskrit witnesses. Since the reading found in Xz(Ś) is also close to Kj (albeit with further additions), I list both of them here:

12.b. (Partially expanded readings)

(12.b.1) Kj: 欲聞十方諸佛所說法，聞已乃至阿耨多羅三藐三菩提不忘者[者—【宋】【元】【明】【宮】]，當學般若波羅蜜 (T 223 [VIII] p. 220b20–22).

If [a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva] wishes to hear the Dharma expounded by all the Buddhas of the ten directions, and, having heard, not to forget [it] until [his attainment of the] *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

(12.b.2) Xz(Ś): 若菩薩摩訶薩欲於十方殞伽沙等諸佛世界一一佛所聽聞正法，常無懈廢，隨所聞法乃至無上正等菩提終不忘失，應學般若波羅蜜多 (T 220 [V] p. 15b14–17).

If a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to hear the correct Dharma in the presence of each of the Buddhas from Buddha-worlds equal [in number] to the sands of the River Ganges in the ten directions, constantly, without weariness, and, in conformity to what he has heard, never to forget it until [his attainment of the] supreme perfect *bodhi*, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

When we turn to the main Sanskrit LP texts, we can notice how both in PvsP(K) and in LPG (and related texts) the same phrase has been added to express the reason for the Bodhisattva's feat of memory:

12.c. (Expanded readings)

(12.c.1) PvsP(K): *punar aparam śāriputra bodhisattvena mahāsattvena yām te buddhā bhagavantaḥ samantād daśasu dikṣu sarvalokadhātuṣu dharmān bhāṣante tāñ chrutvā anācchedyena smṛtibalādhānenā sarvān samdhārayitukāmena yāvad anuttarām samyaksambodhim abhisambuddha iti prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam* (PvsP[K] I-1 pp. 39,29–40,3).

Furthermore, Śāriputra, a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who, having heard the teachings expounded by those Buddhas, [those] Lords everywhere in the ten directions, wishes to retain them all by means of the

uninterrupted possession of the power of memory until he is fully awakened in the Supreme Perfect Awakening, should train in the Perfection of Insight.

(12.c.2) LPG: *punar aparam śāradvatīputra bodhisatvena mahāsatvena yan te buddhā bhagavantah samantād daśasu dīkṣu gaṅgā-nadīvālukopameṣu lokadhātuṣu dharmam bhāṣante tam śrutvānācchedyena smṛtibalādhānenā sandhārayitukāmena yāvad anuttarām samyaksaṃbodhim abhisambuddha etasmīn antare sarvam aviprāṇāśayitukāmena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam** (LPG 14r4–6; cf. LPG III-4v9–12 [damaged]; Ś p. 100,1–5 [with minimal differences]; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 37a6–37b1).

Furthermore, Śāradvatīputra, a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who, having heard the teaching expounded by those Buddhas, [those] Lords in worlds equal [in number] to the sands of the River Ganges everywhere in the ten directions, wishes to retain it all by means of the uninterrupted possession of the power of memory until he is fully awakened in the Supreme Perfect Awakening, and in the meantime not to allow it to be lost, should train in the Perfection of Insight.

The DZDL, too, provides an explanation for the Bodhisattva's feat of memory, and although its commentary on Kj's unexpanded reading does not contain the exact expression *anācchedyena smṛtibalādhānenā*, it does partially converge with it, containing a reference to both *smṛti* and *bala* (and perhaps even to *ādhāna*):

12.d. (Commentary)

【論】 問曰：一佛所說，猶尚難持，何況無量諸佛所說，欲憶而不忘？ 答曰：菩薩以聞持陀羅尼力故能受堅憶念，陀羅尼力故不忘 (T 1509 [XXVI] p. 306b7–9; cf. Lamotte V, p. 2276).

Commentary: Question: If even what one single Buddha preaches is hard to retain, how much less should one wish to remember and not to forget what innumerable Buddhas preach?

Answer: Due to the power of the *dhāraṇī* retaining [what has been] heard,³⁰⁹ the Bodhisattva is able to obtain (受, *ādhāna?) a firm

³⁰⁹ The expression *wenchi tuoluoni* 聞持陀羅尼 occurs several times in the DZDL, within various classifications of *dhāraṇīs*. For a definition, see T 1509 (XXV) p. 96a6–8 (cf. Lamotte I p. 318): “Those who obtain this *dhāraṇī* do not forget any of the *dharma*s they hear in any formulation(?)”. Lamotte (I p. 318 and 328; IV p. 1865 with n. 2; and V p. 2276) reconstructs this term as Śrutadharadhāraṇī,

memory, [and] because of the power of [this] *dhāraṇī* he does not forget.³¹⁰

In this case there seems to be only a partial and indirect connection between the DZDL gloss and the expansion attested by PvsP(K), LPG, etc., underlined in 12.c. While, as already pointed out above, some words appear to be shared by all these sources, we do not seem to be confronted

“Dhāraṇī retenant ce qu’on a entendu”. However, it is not clear whether this compound is actually attested in Buddhist Sanskrit literature, or is just Lamotte’s back-translation of the Chinese term.

As usual, things prove a bit more complex when we turn to actually attested lexical correspondences. I could find two occurrences of *wenchi tuoluoni* 聞持陀羅尼 in translations by Kumārajīva with Sanskrit parallels. One is at the beginning of Chapter 17 of the *Miaofa lianhua jing* 妙法蓮華經, where 菩薩摩訶薩得聞持陀羅尼門 (T 262 [IX] p. 44a10–11) corresponds only to *odhisattvānām mahāsat-tvānām dhāraṇīpratilambho ’bhūt* in *Saddharma-pundarīka* p. 327,5; this reading is essentially confirmed by a Central Asian fragment (Hoernle MS no. 142, SB 53, recto 6, in Toda 1981: 319): (*bo*)*dhisatbānām mahāsatbānām dhāraṇīpratilābhā abhūṣūt*.

Another, more interesting occurrence is in the *Shi zhu jing* 十住經, where 得聞持陀羅尼 (T 286 [X] p. 530a14–15) corresponds to *śrutagrahanadhāraṇīprati-labdo bhavet* in the Sanskrit text (*Daśabhūmika*[R] p. 89,12–13; *Daśabhūmika*[K] p. 189,12–13; note that there are some differences between the two versions in the rest of the sentence).

³¹⁰ In this case I have followed, with some hesitation, Lamotte’s syntactic analysis of this passage (Lamotte V p. 2276), which is based on the punctuation adopted in the Taishō edition (菩薩以聞持陀羅尼力故。能受堅憶念。陀羅尼力故不忘)。An alternative and perhaps more natural punctuation from the point of view of the Chinese text, relying as it does on a possible parallelism between the two occurrences of the string 陀羅尼力故, is that adopted in the CBETA Reader 2016 edition of the DZDL: 菩薩以聞持陀羅尼力故能受，堅憶念陀羅尼力故不忘 (“The Bodhisattva is able to receive [the Buddhas’ teaching] due to the power of the *dhāraṇī* retaining [what has been] heard, [and is able] not to forget [it] due to the power of the *dhāraṇī* which makes memory firm”) [Note: This is the punctuation actually presented by Zaccetti in the text of 12.d above; it is peculiar that he has presented this punctuation alongside a translation that represents a differing interpretation, but being unable to determine which option he would have preferred in the end, we have left his text as we received it.—Eds.]. The main problem with this interpretation is that, unlike *wenchi tuoluoni* 聞持陀羅尼 (see the preceding note), the expression *jian yinian tuoluoni* 堅憶念陀羅尼—a hapax not just in Kumārajīva’s corpus, but in the entire canon—does not seem to refer to a specific type of *dhāraṇī*, thus weakening the argument in support of this alternative analysis. [Note: In fact, even 堅憶 alone occurs in only one other independent instance in the canon, again in a text ascribed to Kumārajīva: 堅憶不忘, T 614 (XV) p. 271b16.—Eds.]

by an instance of linear textual development. The main difference between the two sets of sources is that the DZDL explanation centres on the category of *dhāraṇī*, which is not mentioned in the later LP reading of this passage.

Nevertheless, a closer analysis shows that the connection is probably closer than it may appear at first sight, and sufficiently significant to warrant the inclusion of this passage in the present study. Apart from the general relationship between *dhāraṇī* and memory, which is obvious and important,³¹¹ one can also adduce more specific arguments suggesting a possible close link between Passages 12.c and 12.d.

Of particular interest is a passage from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* introducing a fourfold classification of *dhāraṇī* (pp. 272,12–273,3; cf. also Braarvig 1985: 19–20). The first form is called *dharmadhāraṇī*, which is defined as follows:

tatra dharmadhāraṇī katamā. iha bodhisattvas tadrūpāṇi smṛtiprajñā-balādhānatāṇi prati labhate yayā śrutamātreṇaivāmnātān vacasā aparicitān nāmapadavyāyanjanakāyasaṃgrhītān ... apramāṇān gran-thān apramāṇānam kālām dhārayati (*Bodhisattvabhūmi* p. 272,15–19).

Among these, what is *dharmadhāraṇī*? In this case the Bodhisattva acquires such a possession of the powers of memory and insight, that thanks to it, just by merely hearing [them], he retains for infinite time infinite texts not [previously] mentioned [to him],³¹² not thoroughly familiarised with through recitation, collected in sets of names, phrases, and syllables ...³¹³

This passage is noteworthy in that it appears in some respects to come close to the DZDL gloss (dealing, as it does, with a form of *dhāraṇī*), and in other respects to the expanded reading of LPG and PvsP(K), thus bridging, to some extent, the two sets of sources (e.g., note the expression

³¹¹ See Braarvig 1985; apart from the passage quoted in 12.c, the close relationship between *dhāraṇī* and memory is emphasised several times by the DZDL (see e.g., T 1509 [XXV] p. 99b1–3; tr. Lamotte I p. 339).

³¹² Cf. Xuanzang's translation of this passage: 未曾聞言 (*Yuqieshi di lun* 瑜伽師地論 T 1579 [XXX] p. 542c20).

³¹³ See Cox 1995: 164 ff.

smṛtiprajñābalādhānatāmī, and cf. *smṛtibalādhānenā*³¹⁴ in the LP texts). It is thus possible to think that the textual development we can see in 12.c was influenced by an exegetical tradition close to both the DZDL gloss and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* passage.³¹⁵

Passage 13

The next example, occurring immediately after Passage 12, deals with the Bodhisattva's ability to see *buddhakṣetras* of the three periods of time—past, future, and present.

13.a. (*Unexpanded readings*)

(13.a.1) Dhr: 復次，舍利弗，菩薩摩訶薩若欲得見過去多呵【宋】
【宮】；=訶【元】；阿 T 222 竭、阿羅訶、三耶三佛，欲得見於諸佛國
土I〔土〕—【宋】【元】【宮】者、當來現在十方世界、今現在佛，欲
得追見國土所有，當學般若波羅蜜 (T 222 [VIII] p. 150c23–27; GZJ §
1.171, in Zacchetti 2005: 192 and 310).

Furthermore, Śāriputra, if a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to see the Tathāgatas, the Arhats, the Samyaksam̄buddhas of the past; if he wishes to see [their] various Buddha-lands, [and] the worlds in the ten directions of the future and of the present, [as well as] the Buddhas of the present;³¹⁶ if he wishes to observe everything found in those lands,³¹⁷ he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

(13.a.2) Mo: 復次，舍利弗，菩薩摩訶薩欲見過去諸佛、現在諸佛
世尊刹土者，當學般若波羅蜜 (T 221 [VIII] p. 4a1–3).

³¹⁴ This expression *smṛtibalādhāna* (“possession/application of the power of memory/mindfulness”) is attested in various texts: see, for example, *Abhidharma-kośabhāṣya* p. 342,9; *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*(V) p. 414,11; *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*(SI) p. 521,17.

³¹⁵ In this connection, it is interesting to note that Takahashi Kōichi (1999) has discussed one instance of possible influence exerted by the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* on LP texts (he mentions PvsP[K] IV pp. 172,29–173,3 and Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 345c8–13), consisting in the addition of the expression *anabhilāpya*.

³¹⁶ On the problems posed by this passage, see Zacchetti 2005: 310 n. 516.

³¹⁷ The string 欲得追見國土所有 is not found in the other witnesses listed in 13.a; it is hard to say whether this is an addition due to the translators, or it reflects an already partially expanded original.

Furthermore, Śāriputra, if a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to see the *ksetra*-lands of the World-Honoured Ones, the Buddhas of the past and the Buddhas of the present,³¹⁸ he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

(13.a.3) Kj: 復次，舍利弗，菩薩摩訶薩欲見過去、未來諸佛國土及見現在十方諸佛國土，當學般若波羅蜜 (T 223 [VIII] p. 220b22–24).

Furthermore, Śāriputra, if a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to see the lands of the Buddhas of the past and the future, and to see the lands of the Buddhas [who exist] at present in the ten directions, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

(13.a.4–5) Xz(Ś), Xz(PvsP) and Xz(Ad): 若菩薩摩訶薩欲見過去、未來、現在十方世界種種佛土³¹⁹，應學般若波羅蜜多 (T 220 [V] p. 15b17–19; [VII] p. 9c23–25 and p. 431c18–20).

If a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva wishes to see the various Buddha-lands in the past, future and present worlds in the ten directions, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

(13.a.6) PvsP(K): *punar aparam śāriputra bodhisattvena mahā-sattvena atītānām buddhānām bhagavatān buddhakṣetrāni draṣṭu-kāmena, anāgatānām api buddhānām bhagavatān buddhakṣetrāni draṣṭukāmena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam. ye caitarhi samantād daśadiśi loke buddhā bhagavantas tiṣṭhanti dhriyante yāpayanti teṣām api buddhānām bhagavatān buddhakṣetrāni draṣṭukāmena prajñā-pāramitāyām śikṣitavyam* (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 40,4–9).

Furthermore, Śāriputra, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who wishes to see the Buddha-fields of the Buddhas, the Lords of the past, and even the Buddha-fields of the Buddhas, the Lords of the future, should train in the Perfection of Insight. And [the Bodhisattva] who wishes also to see the Buddha-fields of the Buddhas, the Lords who at present are, live, and exist in the world with its ten directions, should train in the Perfection of Insight.

In contrast with all these witnesses, LPG and related texts present a different reading, shorter in some respects but also containing some additions (although LPG itself presents here a small textual problem):

³¹⁸ Mo is alone in not having any reference, in this passage, to the Buddhas of the future.

³¹⁹ Instead of 十方世界種種佛土, Xz(PvsP) has 十方一切諸佛國土, while Xz(Ad) has 十方諸佛所有國土.

13.b. (*Expanded reading*)

LPG: *punar aparam sāradvatīputra bodhisatvena mahāsatvenātītānā-gatapratyutpannānām buddhānām bhagavatām buddhakṣetrāṇi ca buddhakṣetrapariśuddhiś*³²⁰ ca [Ś p. 100,7 + draṣṭukāmena] *pariniś-pādayitukāmena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam** (LPG f. 14r6–8; LPG III f. 4v12–13 [badly damaged]; Ś p. 100,5–8; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 37b1–2).

Furthermore, Śāradvatīputra, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who wishes <to see (so Ś)> [and] to accomplish both the Buddha-fields and [all the] purities of the Buddha-fields of the past, future, and present Buddhas, Lords, should train in the Perfection of Insight.

The text of Ś is supported by the Tibetan translation which, too, reflects a reading *buddhakṣetrapariśuddhiś* (see n. 320) *ca draṣṭukāmena pariniś-pādayitukāmena*.³²¹ This strongly suggests that LPG is simply defective here, lacking the expected *draṣṭukāmena*. I say “expected”, not just because it is found in other witnesses of this recension,³²² but especially because of the context: there is a clear pattern underlying this part of the LP (cf. GZJ in Zacchetti 2005, §§ 1.169–1.172), which deals with the Bodhisattva’s acquisition, through the cultivation of *prajñāpāramitā*, of supernatural powers related to hearing and seeing. So the action of seeing seems naturally required by the text at this point.

However, the interesting point here, from the perspective of our discussion, is the compound *buddhakṣetrapariśuddhi-* (here occurring in the plural), which is clearly echoed by DZDL’s explanation of the unexpanded reading:

³²⁰ Ghoṣa, in his edition of Ś, printed in the text *buddhakṣetrapariśuddhiś ca* (p. 100,7), but recorded in the apparatus the reading found in LPG, *-pariśuddhiś ca*, as being attested in four of the five manuscripts he had used (see the preface to his edition, p. 4). This reading is also supported, apart from LPG, by the Tibetan translation (*yongs su dag pa mang po*). I interpret this simply as a way to express the idea of the purification of a plurality of worlds. For a parallel to the use of *pariśuddhi* in the plural see *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 7a1 (ed. 2006: 11): *yāvanta upāyās tāvanyāḥ kṣetrapariśuddhayaḥ*.

³²¹ See PvsP(TibPk) nyi 37b1–2: *sangs rgyas kyi zhing yongs su dag pa mang po mthong bar 'dod pa dang yongs su bsgrub par 'dod pas*, etc.

³²² Unfortunately, LPG III only covers the initial part of this passage, up to *bhaga-va(tām)*.

13.c. (Commentary)

【論】 問曰： 若見十方佛，則已見世界，今何以復說「欲見世界」？

答曰： 菩薩未深入禪定，若見十方世界山河、草木，心則散亂；故但觀諸佛，如念佛義中說。行者但觀諸佛，不觀土地、山河、樹木；得禪定力已，隨意廣觀。 復次，諸₁諸—【宋】【元】【宮】₁清淨佛國難見，故言：「欲見諸佛國，當學般若波羅蜜。」 又一佛有無量百千種世界，如先說：有嚴淨、有不嚴淨、有雜；有畢竟清淨世界難見故，以般若波羅蜜力，乃能得見 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 306b23–c3; cf. Lamotte V, pp. 2279–2280).

Commentary: Question: If one sees the Buddhas of the ten directions [as stated in a previous passage³²³ of the LP], then one has [also] already seen [their] worlds, so why does now [the LP] state in addition, “[If a Bodhisattva] wishes to see [the Buddhas’] worlds”?

Answer: If a Bodhisattva who has not yet been deeply absorbed into the concentration [resulting from] *dhyāna* were to see mountains and rivers, plants and trees [and other features] of the worlds of the ten directions, his mind would then be distracted. For this reason, he only contemplates the Buddhas [of all these worlds], as it is explained in the section on the meaning of *buddhānusmṛti*.³²⁴ [So, initially] the practitioner [should] only contemplate the Buddhas and not the land, mountains and rivers, plants and trees [of their *buddhakṣetras*]. Once

³²³ See Kj T 223 (VIII) p. 220b17–18, and cf. DZDL T 1509 (XXV) p. 306a9 ff.

³²⁴ The text is referring here to the section of the DZDL containing a detailed discussion of this category, i.e., T 1509 (XXV) pp. 219b2 ff. Lamotte (V p. 2279) apparently took the following sentence (行者但觀諸佛, etc.) as a quotation from this section, referring the reader to the beginning of it as it appears in his translation (Lamotte III p. 1340). This is a little baffling, since that part of the DZDL does not seem to contain a parallel to the present statement that the Bodhisattva should only contemplate the Buddhas and not the features of their *buddhakṣetras*. So I take the sentence “as it is explained in the section on the meaning of *bud-*
dhānusmṛti” (如念佛義中說) as meaning that the Bodhisattva should contemplate/visualise the Buddhas *in the ways* which are detailed in that section.

[Note: Although Zacchetti here seems to hedge his bets on the interpretation of *guan* 觀 as “contemplate”/“visualise”, there are several reasons in this case perhaps to favor the former: visualisation implies an irrealis of the object of the visualisation, and there is no hint here that what is being contemplated does not exist (in as much as anything exists for this literature), and secondly, visualisation refers to a strongly willed and directed practice, and likewise there is no indication that this is the case here.—Eds.]

he has obtained the power of the concentration [resulting from] *dhyāna*, [the practitioner can] broaden [his] contemplation at his pleasure, [including all the features of *buddhakṣetras*]. Furthermore, all pure Buddha-lands are difficult to see, and therefore, [the LP] says: “[if a Bodhisattva] wishes to see all Buddha-lands, he should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*”. Moreover, one single Buddha has immeasurable hundreds of thousands of types of worlds, as was previously said;³²⁵ there are pure [*buddhakṣetras*], impure and mixed. Because worlds having complete purity (畢竟清淨, **pariśuddhi*/^{*atyantaviśuddhi}?)³²⁶

³²⁵ As pointed out by Lamotte, the passage being referred to here is probably DZDL T 1509 (XXV) p. 302c5–7 (tr. Lamotte V p. 2230).

³²⁶ The function of *you* 有 in 有畢竟清淨世界 is not entirely clear. Lamotte (V p. 2280) linked this phrase to the immediately preceding passage (有嚴淨、有不嚴淨、有雜, “there are pure [*buddhakṣetras*], etc.”) [so that the text is in fact posing a fourfold typology—Eds]: “il y a des Buddhakṣetra purs (*viśuddha*), impurs (*avīśuddha*), mixtes (*miśra*) ou absolument purs (*atyantapariśuddha*): ces derniers étant difficiles à voir ...”. But his translation effectively glosses over a syntactical problem for his analysis [Zacchetti seems to be saying that Lamotte’s reading requires reading as if the text were punctuated: 有嚴淨、有不嚴淨、有雜、有畢竟清淨世界, 難見故, 以般若波羅蜜力...; on which reading the subject of 難見故 is not clear—Eds]. Lamotte glosses over this problem by adding “ces derniers” [but presumably Zacchetti could see no justification for this move—Eds]. A further problem is that the threefold classification of *buddhakṣetras* into pure, impure, and mixed introduced here by the DZDL is well established (see Lamotte 1962: 397–398). On this basis, the string 有畢竟清淨世界 should rather constitute a separate statement—as a matter of fact, here the DZDL echoes the sentence found at the beginning of this gloss (諸清淨佛國難見). For all these reasons, I have opted for the interpretation reflected by my translation, which brings the DZDL’s passage somewhat closer to the expansion witnessed by the texts of the LPG recension.

[Note: In a marginal note, Zacchetti also conceded that another DZDL passage might support Lamotte’s interpretation: 法積比丘, 佛雖將至十方觀清淨[=國【石】], *passim*]世界, 功德力薄, 不能得見上妙清淨世界, 以是故, 世界不如, T 1509 [XXV] p. 134b8–10). He suggested that this passage may indeed make a distinction between a land that is merely “pure” 清淨 and one that is “absolutely pure” 上妙清淨世界, and state that the absolutely pure land is invisible to a Bodhisattva without adequate faculties. Zacchetti noted further, that even this possible cross-reference might not obviate the difficulties of punctuation presented in the present passage, but he then contemplated the possibility of punctuating: 有嚴淨、有不嚴淨、有雜, 有畢竟清淨世界；難見故, 以般若波羅蜜力... Note that none of the ways of punctuating at issue here is precisely that of the Taishō, which reads 有嚴淨不嚴淨。有雜有畢竟清淨世界。難見故以般若波羅蜜力... If anything, the Taishō punctuation is more in line with Lamotte’s reading; but it would also seem most natural then to read 難見故 as referring to all the types of worlds, and it remains difficult to see any reason for Lamotte’s narrowing of the

are difficult to see, it is only through the power of *prajñāpāramitā* that [the Bodhisattva] is able to see them.

There is a clear emphasis, in this commentarial passage, on the idea that purified Buddha-fields are difficult to see,³²⁷ which directly links this gloss of the DZDL to the expanded reading found in LPG's recension: this is exactly the sort of reasoning which we might assume to be behind the expansion. The last sentence in the DZDL passage quoted above is particularly significant from this point of view, as it singles out the

reference to only the fourth of the four types of worlds he sees in the passage.—
Eds.]

Lamotte reconstructed the Sanskrit original of *bijing qingjing* 畢竟清淨 as *atyantapariśuddha*, which would bring the commentary close, at least in part, to LPG's expansion. However, I have not been able to find parallels supporting this reconstruction. Elsewhere in Kj, the expression 畢竟清淨 occurs in correspondence to *atyantaviśuddha*, e.g.:

佛言：一切法畢竟清淨故，般若波羅蜜清淨（T 223 [VIII] p. 310b29–30）；= PvsP(K) II–III p. 180,30–31：*bhagavān āha: rūpasya yāvat sarvajñatāyā atyantaviśuddhatvāt pariśudhā* [sic] *prajñāpāramitā*.

何以故？色畢竟清淨故；受想行識乃至一切法，若有為、若無為，亦畢竟清淨故（T 223 [VIII] p. 397a19–20）= PvsP(K) VI–VIII p. 70,16–19：*tat kasya hetoḥ? tathā hy atyantaviśuddhaṇi rūpam, vedanā saṃjñā saṃskārā vijñānam atyantaviśuddham, evam skandhadhātāvāyanapratiṣyasamutpādāḥ pratītyasamutpādāṅgāni ca yāvat sarvadharmaṇi laukikā lokottarāḥ, sāsṛavā anāśravāḥ saṃskṛtā asaṃskṛtā dharmāḥ ...*

This equivalence is further corroborated by a passage from Kumārajīva's translation of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*: 以是資糧令此一切眾生得住畢竟清淨，乃至使得一切法中佛無礙智力（*Shi zhu jing* 十住經 T 286 [X] p. 512a26–28），corresponding to the following passage in the Sanskrit text:

yathārūpena puṇyajñānasambhāropacayena saṃbhṛtena ime sarvasatvāt atyantaviśuddhim anuprāpnuyuḥ | yāvad daśabalabalaṭām asaṅgajñāna-niṣṭhām anuprāpnuyur iti (*Daśabhūmika*[K] p. 83,15–16; *Daśabhūmika*[R] p. 44 § G).

However, it is not inconceivable that 畢竟清淨 could also correspond to just *pariśuddha/pariśuddhi* (with the prefix *pari-* taken in the sense of “fully”, etc., and rendered as *bijing* 畢竟). This hypothesis is supported, in part, by a passage from Kumārajīva's *Xiaopin banreboluomi jing*: 賢聖畢竟清淨，當知般若波羅蜜亦如是（T 227 [VIII] p. 579b29–c1），corresponding to *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* pp. 896,25–897,1: *sarvadharmaṇā āryārhantah prakṛtipariśuddhā iti prajñāpāramitā anugantavyā* (although in this case the presence of *prakṛti-* might of course have influenced the translators' lexical choice).

³²⁷ This idea is also expressed elsewhere in the DZDL: see T 1509 (XXV) p. 134b8–10 (Lamotte I p. 601); cf. Ducor 2004: 398.

Buddha-fields endowed with complete purity/purities as those whose vision specifically requires *prajñāpāramitā* training.

Passage 14

In a part of the LP largely devoted to contrasting Bodhisattvas to Śrāvakas and Pratyekabuddhas, the Buddha is asked by Śāriputra/Śāradvatīputra about the way in which a Bodhisattva surpasses the two lower stages of śrāvaka and *pratyekabuddha*, and reaches the stage of non-retrogression. The initial part of the Buddha's reply—which is the passage of interest here—is essentially identical (apart from minimal variants) in most of the witnesses, although they present more significant differences towards the end of the sentence (with the most significant expansions occurring, as usual, in Xz[Ś]).

14.a. (Unexpanded readings)

(14.a.1) Dhr: 於是菩薩摩訶薩，從初發意行六波羅蜜，過於空法、無相[T = 想]、無願，則為超越聲聞、辟支佛地，住阿惟越致地 (T 222 [VIII] p. 153a8–10; GZJ § 3.16 in Zaccetti 2005: 213 and 335).

As to this, if a Bodhisattva Mahāsattva practises the six *pāramitās* from the initial production of the intention [of attaining awakening, and] goes through the *dharma* of emptiness, signlessness, and aimlessness,³²⁸ he will then surpass the stages of Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas and dwell in the *avaivartika*-stage.

(14.a.2) Mo: 菩薩從初發意以來，常行六波羅蜜，住空、無相、無願之法，過阿羅漢、辟支佛地，逮阿惟越致地 (T 221 [VIII] p. 5b24–26).

The Bodhisattva, constantly practicing the six *pāramitās* from the initial production of the intention [of attaining awakening] on, having established himself in the *dharma*s of emptiness, signlessness, and aimlessness, surpasses the stages of Arhat and Pratyekabuddha and reaches the *avaivartika*-stage.

(14.a.3) Kj: 菩薩摩訶薩，從初發意[意=心【宋】【元】【明】【宮】]行六波羅蜜，住空、無相、無作法，能過一切聲聞、辟支佛地，住阿

³²⁸ On this sentence, corresponding to *chunyatānimittāprañihiteṣu dharmeṣu sthitivā* in LPG, see Zaccetti 2005: 335 n. 56.

惟越[惟越=驛跋【宋】【元】【明】【宮】]致地，淨於佛道 (T 223 [VIII] p. 222b15–18).³²⁹

The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva practising the six *pāramitās* from the initial production of the intention [of attaining awakening], having established himself in the *dharma*s of emptiness, signlessness, and non-production,³³⁰ is able to surpass the stages of all the Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, establishes himself on the *avaivartika*-stage, and purifies the path to Buddhahood.³³¹

(14.a.4) LPG: *iha sāradvatī[put]ra bodhisatvo [mahā](satvah) pratha-macittotpādam upādāya śatru pāramitāsu carāmc chunyatānimittā-pranihiteṣu dharmeṣu sthitvā śrāvakapra[ty](e)[ka](b)u(d)dha(bh)[ū] - mī atikkramya buddhabhūmim anuprāpnoti*³³² (LPG f. 19v11–20r1; cf. Š p. 132,4–7).

In this regard, Śāradvatīputra, the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, being engaged in the six perfections from the initial formulation of the intention [of attaining awakening], having established himself in the *dharma*s emptiness, absence of signs, and absence of aim, reaches the

³²⁹ In this passage, Kj's reading is also essentially shared by the following three texts: PvsP(K), for which see 14.a.5 below; Xz(PvsP): 舍利子，諸菩薩摩訶薩從初發心，修行六種波羅蜜多，住空、無相、無願之法，即能超過一切聲聞、獨覺等地，能得菩薩不退轉地，能淨佛道 (T 220 [VII] p. 13a12–15); and Xz(Ad), with the same text as Xz(PvsP) apart from some minor lexical differences (T 220 [VII] p. 434c10–13).

³³⁰ *Wuzuo* 無作 is a common translation of *apraṇihita* in Kumārajīva's corpus, and in fact, is already attested in Lokakṣema (Karashima 2010: 523). However, in spite of its widespread use, the rationale behind this terminological choice remains somewhat obscure. The DZDL's explanation of 無作/*apraṇihita* runs as follows: 無作者，既知無相，都無所[—【宋】【元】【明】【宮】【石】]作，是名無作門 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 206c16–17); this is translated by Lamotte (III p. 1219 with n. 1): “Il y a non-prise en considération (*apraṇihita*) quand, ayant connaissance de l'inexistence des caractères, on n'a plus aucune réaction [n. 1: Ou aucun effort (*abhisamskāra*)]. C'est cela la porte de la non-prise en considération (*apraṇihita-dvāra*”). Cf. the straightforward definition provided by Ratnākaraśānti (*Sāratamā* p. 24,20): *traidhātuke praṇidhānaṇ prañihitam | tatkṣayād aprañihitah*. For an extensive discussion of *apraṇihita* and its translations, both ancient and modern, see Deleanu 2000: 93–95 n. 23.

³³¹ 淨於佛道: cf. PvsP(K) I-1 as quoted below (14.a.5): *bodhimārgaṇ ca pariśodhā-yati*.

³³² *śrāvakapra[ty](e)[ka](b)u(d)dha(bh)[ū]mī atikkramya buddhabhūmim anuprāp-noti*; Š p. 132,7 = *śrāvakapratyekabuddhabhūmīr atikramyāvāivartikabodhisat-tvabhūmīm anuprāpnoti*.

stage of the Buddha, having surpassed the stages of Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas.

(14.a.5) PvsP(K): *iha śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvah prathama-cittotpādam upādāya ṣaṭsu pāramitāsu caran śūnyatānimittāprañihis̄eṣu *dharmeṣu³³³ sthitvā śrāvakapratyekabuddhabhūmim cātikrāmati, avinivartanīyahbhūmim anuprāpnoti bodhimārgam ca pariśodhayati* (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 60,1–5).

In this regard, Śāriputra, the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, being engaged in the six perfections from the initial formulation of the intention [of attaining awakening], having established himself in the **dharma*s emptiness, absence of signs, and absence of aim, surpasses the stage of Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, reaches the stage of those incapable of retrogression, and purifies the path to awakening.

(14.a.6) Xz(Ś): 舍利子，諸菩薩摩訶薩從初發心修行布施、淨戒、安忍、精進、靜慮、般若、方便善巧、妙願、力、智波羅蜜多，住空、無相、無願之法，即能超過一切聲聞、獨覺等地，能得菩薩不退轉地，能淨無上佛菩提道 (T 220 [V] p. 19c15–20; for Xz[PvsP] and Xz[Ad] see n. 329 above).

Śāriputra, Bodhisattvas Mahāsattvas who, from the initial formulation of the intention [of attaining awakening], cultivate the *pāramitās* of giving, pure discipline, calm acceptance, intense exertion, calm meditation, *prajñā*, skilfulness in means, marvellous vow, power, and knowledge,³³⁴ having established themselves in the *dharma*s of emptiness, signlessness, and aimlessness, are able to surpass the stages of all the Disciples and Solitary Awakened Ones, are able to attain the stage of non-retrogression, and are able to purify the path to the supreme *bodhi* of the Buddhas.

The DZDL discusses the issue seemingly posed by the presence of the three “gateways to liberation” in this passage—that is, in a context where the goal of *nirvāṇa* is implicitly rejected:

³³³ Here PvsP(K) I-1 p. 60,3 reads *sarveṣu*; I take this to be a mere *lapsus calami*, and restore the expected reading *dharmeṣu* on the basis of PvsP(D) p. 41,18.

³³⁴ Here Xz(Ś) presents the extended list of *pāramitās* including, after the usual six, *upāyakauśalya, prañidhāna, bala, and jñāna* (see BHSD p. 342).

14.b. (Commentary)

【論】 … 問曰： 入三解脫門則到涅槃，今云何以空、無相、無作能過聲聞、辟支佛地？

答曰： 無方便力故，入三解脫門，直取涅槃。若有方便力，住三[三，－【宮】【石】]解脫門，見涅槃；以慈悲[悲，－【宋】【宮】]心故，能轉心還起[起，－【宮】【石】]，如後品中說：譬如仰射虛空，箭箭相拄，不令墮地；菩薩如是，以智慧箭仰射三解脫虛空，以方便後箭射前箭，不令墮涅槃之地。是菩薩雖見涅槃，直過不住，更期大事，所謂阿耨多羅三藐三菩提；今是觀時，非是證時 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 322c28–323a8)。

Commentary: ... Question: If one is absorbed in the three gateways to liberation (解脫門, *vimokṣamukhāni*), one reaches *nirvāṇa*; why, then, does [the LP] here state that [the Bodhisattva] is able to surpass the stages of Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas by means of emptiness, signlessness, and non-production?

Answer: Without the power of expedient means, being absorbed into the three gateways to liberation, one directly acquires *nirvāṇa*. If, [on the other hand,] one has the power of expedient means, one establishes oneself in the three gateways to liberation, and sees *nirvāṇa*. [Then,] thanks to [one's] compassionate mind, one is able to turn [one's] mind away [from the goal of *nirvāṇa*], and to emerge [from the absorptions constituted by the gateways to liberation in order to proceed towards awakening],³³⁵ as is explained in a subsequent chapter [of the LP].³³⁶ just as if [a skilled archer] were to shoot upward into the empty sky, so that the arrows [he shoots] in sequence were to support each other, not letting them fall to the ground; the same happens to the Bodhisattva who shoots the arrow of insight upward into the empty sky of the three gateways to liberation, and shoots the subsequent arrow of expedient means into the previous arrow, not letting it fall to the ground of *nirvāṇa*. Although this Bodhisattva sees *nirvāṇa*, he proceeds straight

³³⁵ My interpretation of this phrase 能轉心還起 is tentative, and based on the assumption that *huan qi* 還起 might reflect to a form of *vyuttiṣṭhati* or a similar expression.

³³⁶ Here the DZDL is referring to a passage occurring in Chapter 60 of Kumārajīva's version of LP: see Kj T 223 (VIII) p. 350c2–11 (= DZDL T 1509 [XXV] p. 592c14–22; see also p. 594b2–7 for the relevant commentary), corresponding to PvSP(K) IV p. 196,1–13. The ultimate source of this passage is in the *Aśṭasāha-srikā* group of texts: see e.g., for the Sanskrit text, *Aśṭasāha-srikā* p. 755,11–26 (Chapter 20).

past it, without dwelling, and instead looks forward to the important matter,³³⁷ namely the *anuttarasamyaksambodhi*; [thus he thinks:] “Now is the time to contemplate, it is not the time to achieve realisation”.³³⁸

In other words, the commentary maintains that here, these three practices are meant to be conducive to the *contemplation* of *nirvāṇa*, not to its attainment, which is avoided thanks to the Bodhisattva’s *upāyakauśalya*. Interestingly enough, the Tibetan translation of the PvsP shows that its Sanskrit original here had an addition which presupposes the same interpretation:

14.c. (Expanded reading)

PvsP(TibPk): *sha ra dwa ti'i bu 'di la byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po ni sems dang po bskyed pa nye bar bzung nas pha rol tu phyin pa drug la spyod pa'i tshe | stong pa nyid dang | mtshan ma med pa dang | smon pa med pa'i chos la gnas te | thabs mukhas pas | nyan thos dang | rang sangs rgyas kyi sa las 'das nas | phyir mi ldog pa'i byang chub sems dpa'i sa 'thob ste | byang chub kyi lam yang sbyod do* (PvsP[TibPk] nyi 48a8–b2).

Śāriputra, in this regard, when the Bodhisattva, the Great Being, is engaged in the six perfections from the initial formulation of the intention [of attaining awakening], establishing himself in the *dharma*s of emptiness, signlessness, and aimlessness, he, having surpassed, through skilfulness in means (*upāyakauśalyena), the stages of Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, obtains the stage of the irreversible Bodhisattva, and also purifies <reading *sbyong ngo> the path to awakening.

Needless to say, this is hardly a surprising textual development: mention of the *vimokṣamukhas*, in a *Prajñāpāramitā* text, could automatically attract the notion of *upāyakauśalya*, given the importance that the connection between these concepts has in early *Prajñāpāramitā* teaching (with

³³⁷ [Note: The term *dashi* 大事 is in fact quite significant, generally understood as an abbreviation of *yidashi yinyuan* 一大事因緣, the single most important thing, namely the goal of practice, attainment of buddhahood, as indeed it is glossed here with “[attainment of] unexcelled perfect awakening”. In this light, one might consider treating it as a technical term and capitalising the words, Important Matter.—Eds.]

³³⁸ 今是觀時，非是證時; this is in fact a paraphrase of the base text: cf. Kj T 223 (VIII) p. 350a21: 我今學時，非是證時, corresponding to PvsP(K) IV p. 193,12–13 (*parijayasyāyām kālo nāyām kālah sākṣātkriyāyā iti prat�avekṣate*).

Chapter 20 of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* as a *locus classicus*; see Zucchetti 2015: 174–175). In other words, this might well be a polygenetic expansion. But even so, it presupposes the same interpretation reflected by the DZDL gloss. Evidently this addition, obvious as it is, only took place in the particular branch of the LPG recension represented by the original of the Tibetan PvsP.³³⁹

Passage 15

The next example occurs in a section of the LP devoted to the analysis of the five *skandhas* from different points of view.

15.a. (Unexpanded readings)

(15.a.1) Mo: 亦不見色與痛合，亦不見痛與想合，亦不見想與識合，亦不見識與行合。所以者何？初不見有法與法合者，性本空故 (T 221 [VIII] pp. 5c29–6a3).

[The Bodhisattva] neither sees that matter combines with feeling, nor that feeling combines with ideation, nor that ideation combines with consciousness, nor that consciousness combines with impulses.³⁴⁰ Why is it so? The fact that one absolutely does not³⁴¹ see that there is any *dharma* which combines with [another] *dharma* is due to the fundamental emptiness of [their] nature.

(15.a.2) Kj: 不見色與受合，不見受與想合，不見想與行合，不見行與識合。何以故？無有法與法合者，其性空故 (T 223 [VIII] p. 223a7–9).

[The Bodhisattva] does not see that matter combines with feeling, that feeling combines with ideation, that ideation combines with impulses, that impulses combine with consciousness. Why? The fact that there

³³⁹ This is a relatively rare instance (at least in the portions of the LP I have been able to examine in detail) of disagreement between each of three texts which usually converge: LPG, Ś, and PvsP(TibPk). In fact the latter, in this particular case, is closer to PvsP(K) than to LPG.

³⁴⁰ Note the alteration of the expected sequence, with the combination of *saṃjñā* with *vijñāna* instead of *saṃskārāḥ* (cf. PvsP[K]: *na saṃjñā saṃskāreṣu samavasarantī samanupaśyati | na saṃskārā vijñāne samavasarantī samanupaśyati*).

³⁴¹ On this meaning of *chu* 初 in negative sentences, see Dong and Cai 1994: 71; “one never sees” would also be a possible interpretation (see ibid. p. 70).

is no *dharma* which combines with [another] *dharma* is due to the emptiness of their nature.

(15.a.3) Xz(Ś), Xz(PvsP) and Xz(Ad): 舍利子，是[是=見【宋】【元】]菩薩摩訶薩不見色與受合，不見受與想合，不見想與行合，不見行與識合。何以故？舍利子，無有少法與少法合，本性空故³⁴² (T 220 [V] p. 22a24–27; [VII] p. 14a5–7 and p. 435b20–23).

Śāriputra, this Bodhisattva Mahāsattva does not see that matter combines with feeling, that feeling combines with ideation, that ideation combines with impulses, that impulses combine with consciousness. Why? Śāriputra, there is not the slightest *dharma* which combines with the slightest [other] *dharma*, because of the emptiness of their fundamental nature.

(15.a.4) PvsP(K): *punar aparam śāriputra bodhisattvo mahāsattvo na rūpaṇi vedanāyāmī samavasaratīti samanupaśyati, na vedanā saṃjñāyāmī samavasaratīti samanupaśyati, na saṃjñā saṃskāreṣu samavasaratīti samanupaśyati, na saṃskārā vijñāne samavasarantīti samanupaśyati, na vijñānam dharme samavasaratīti samanupaśyati, na dharmah kvacid dharme samavasaratīti samanupaśyati, tat kasya hetoh?* *na hi kaścid dharmah kvacid dharme samavasarati prakṛtiśūnyatām upādāya* (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 63,23–29).

Furthermore, Śāriputra, the Bodhisattva Mahāsattva does not consider that matter comes together with feeling, that feeling comes together with ideation, that ideation comes together with impulses, that impulses come together with consciousness, that consciousness comes together with a *dharma*, nor that a *dharma* comes together with any [other] *dharma*. Why? Because no *dharma* comes together with any [other] *dharma*, due to [their] emptiness of nature.³⁴³

In this passage, Dhr stands apart from all the preceding witnesses, due to some distinctive renditions³⁴⁴ and a textual development which, interestingly, comes close, at least from a doctrinal point of view, to the expanded reading (see the discussion below):

³⁴² The final sentence (essentially identical, with very minor variants in Xz[PvsP]) is slightly different in Xz(Ad): 無有少法與法合者，以一切法本性空故。

³⁴³ On *prakṛtiśūnyatā*, which is part of the list of the various forms of *śūnyatā* expounded by LP texts, see Lamotte IV pp. 2110–2111 n. 1 and ff.

³⁴⁴ For a discussion of the problems posed by this passage, see Zucchetti 2005: 341–342 notes 93–96.

15.b.

不見與色而俱遊居，不見與痛痒、思想、生死、識而俱遊居，不見與生死而俱遊，亦不見不與生死而遊居也。所以者何？永無有法而與俱，緣起諸事，本淨為空 (T 222 [VIII] p. 153b27–c2; GZJ § 3.30 in Zacchetti 2005: 219 and 341–342).

[The Bodhisattva] does not perceive coexistence with matter, he does not perceive coexistence with feeling, ideation, [forces leading to] birth-and-death,³⁴⁵ [nor] consciousness; he does not perceive coexistence with [forces leading to] birth-and-death; nor does he perceive non-coexistence with [forces leading to] birth-and-death. Why? There is absolutely no *dharma* which comes together with [other *dharmas*]; as to all things arisen through conditions, [their] fundamental purity³⁴⁶ is empty.

The short commentary on this passage provided by the DZDL, while not without problems, is important for the history of the text:

15.c. (Commentary)

【論】 釋曰： 心、心數法無形；無形故則無住處，以是故色不與受合。如四大及四大所造色二觸和合；心心數法中無觸法，故不得和合。

問曰： 若爾者，何以說受、想、行、識不共和合？

答曰： 佛此中自說「無有法與法合者」。何以故？一切法性常空故。若無法與法合，亦無有離 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 327c3–9).

The Commentary explains: mind and mental factors (心數法, *caitasika) are immaterial; being immaterial, they have no place where [they could] stay, and for this reason matter does not combine with feeling. It is like the four great elements and the matter produced (**upādāyarūpa*) by the four great elements: [these] two are combined

³⁴⁵ On *shengsi* 死生 as a rendition of *samskārāḥ* in early translations and exegetical texts, see Zacchetti 2004: 199 n. 7, and cf. Karashima 2010: 421 n. 227–228.

³⁴⁶ On the interpretation of *prakṛti* reflected by this rendition, *benjing* 本淨, which is typical of Dharmarakṣa's translations, see Zacchetti 2005: 14 n. 36; Zacchetti 2008: 138–144; cf. also Silk 2015b: 135–140. For a full discussion of this sentence (緣起諸事，本淨為空, corresponding to *prakṛtiśūnyatāṁ upādāya* in the Sanskrit parallels), and the possible underlying pun *upādāya/utpāda*, see Zacchetti 2005: 342 n. 96.

through contact(?). [But] between mind and mental factors there is no *dharma* [called] “contact”(?),³⁴⁷ therefore they cannot be combined.

Question: If so, why does [the LP] [also] say that feeling, ideation, impulses, and consciousness are not combined together?

Answer: The Buddha himself explains here that “there is no *dharma* which combines with [another] *dharma*”. Why? Because the nature of all *dharma*s is constantly (eternally?)³⁴⁸ empty. [And] if there is no *dharma* which combines with [another] *dharma*, there is also no [dharma which] is separated [from other dharmas].

The last sentence of this passage is also reflected by an expansion found, in a corresponding position, in LPG and related texts:

15.d. (Expanded reading)

LPG: *na rūpam vedanayā sārdham*³⁴⁹ *samanavasaratīti samanupaśyati* • *na vedanā saṃvijñayā na samyñā saṃskārai*<*r*> *na saṃskārā vijñānenā sārdham samavasarantīti samanupaśyati* • *na vijñānam samiskāraih sārdham samavasaratīti samanupaśyati* • *tat kasya hetoh tathā hi na sa kaścid dharmah kenaci*<*d*> *dharmena sārdham samavasaratī*³⁵⁰ *na*

³⁴⁷ I am not sure about my interpretation of this passage. Since *sparśa* (which I assume to be the original reflected by *chu* 觸) is in fact a *caitasika*, I have tentatively taken this sentence (心心數法中無觸法) to mean that between the two categories of mind and mental factors there is no “contact” in the same way as with material elements. I am not sure whether this makes sense from an Abhidharma point of view, but perhaps here the DZDL reflects a Prajñāpāramitā rather than an Abhidharma standpoint. At any rate, that is clearly the position adopted by the answer to the subsequent question.

³⁴⁸ This enlarged rendition of *prakṛtiśūnyatā/prakṛtiśūnya*, with the addition of *chang* 常, is already introduced at the beginning of DZDL’s main discussion of this form of emptiness: 性空者，諸法性常空 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 292a28); tr. Lamotte IV p. 2110: “Vacuité des essences (*prakṛtiśūnyatā*).—La Prakṛti des dharma est éternellement vide (*sūnya*, etc.”. The expression is also used in Kumārajīva’s LP translation to render *prakṛtiśūnya*; see Kj (p. 272a16 and ff.): 色性常空，不依內、不依外、不依兩中間，etc., corresponding to PvsP(K) I-2 p. 167,15–16 and ff.: *rūpam ... prakṛtiśūnyam tam nādhyātmaniśritam na bahirdhāniśritam nobhayam antareṇopalabhyate*, etc.

³⁴⁹ Š: *saha* (throughout). Note also that the formula applied in LPG to the last pair of aggregates is used in Š for the entire set: *na rūpam vedanayā saha samavasaratīti samanupaśyati | na vedanā rūpeṇa saha samavasaratīti samanupaśyati*, etc. (idem for the other *skandhas*).

³⁵⁰ MS: *samanavasaratī*.

*visarati*³⁵¹ • || *na yujyate na viyujyate prakṛtiśunyatām upādāya* (LPG f. 21r7–10; cf. Ś p. 139,11–19; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 51a2–5).

[The Bodhisattva] does not consider that matter comes together with feeling, feeling with ideation, [nor] ideation with impulses; he does not consider that impulses come together with consciousness; nor that consciousness comes together with impulses. Why? Because no *dharma* [either] comes together with any [other] *dharma* [or] departs [from it]; [it is thus] neither joined nor disjoined because of the emptiness of nature.

In order to correctly assess the significance of the convergence between the expansion in LPG and the DZDL explanation—and hence to rule out polygenesis—it should be observed that while expressions like *na yujyate* and *na viyujyate* are common in LPG (see e.g., ff. 24v7–8; 26r3; 27r1), this is the only occurrence of *na visarati* in this part of the text.³⁵² So this does not seem to be an instance of casual convergence in a recurring term (of which there is no lack in the text). And while I am not able to mention a specific example of *li* 離 (“to separate, to part from, etc.”) being used as a translation of *visarati* in Kumārajīva’s corpus, the two words do obviously overlap from a semantic point of view.

It is not easy to evaluate Dhr’s testimony in this passage (15.b). It is true that its unique expansion (亦不見不與生死而遊居也, “nor does he perceive non-coexistence with [forces leading to] birth-and-death”) seems to converge—at least in spirit, as it were, if not in the letter—with the expansion found in the LPG recension and foreshadowed by the DZDL gloss (see also Zucchetti 2005: 342 n. 94). However, it does not occur in the same position: the textual development shared by the DZDL and LPG occurs in the final portion of the passage (following the question *tat kasya hetoh* and dealing with *dharma*s in general), which is meant to

³⁵¹ In this final sentence, the Tibetan translation does not align entirely with LPG and Ś, in that it seems to have an additional verb without any correspondence in the Sanskrit parallels:

*de ci'i phyir zhe na | de ni 'di ltar chos gang yang chos gang dang yang
lhan cig kun du rgyu ba med (= na ... samavasarati) de | rang bzhin gyis
stong pa'i phyir 'gro ba med do | rnam par 'gro ba med do (= na visarati?)
'du ba med do | rnam par 'du ba med do (= na yujyate na viyujyate) ||*
(PvsP[TibPk] nyi 51a4–5).

The string *'gro ba med do* seems redundant vis-à-vis LPG and Ś.

³⁵² Incidentally, this verb does not seem to occur in the entire PvsP(K).

provide an interpretation for the state of things described in in the preceding portion (which is where, instead, we find Dhr's passage).

The real, and much more meaningful, agreement is between the DZDL and the texts of the LPG group, which share similar expressions (*wu you li* 無有離/*na visarati*) in a corresponding position. While it is impossible to rule out that here—as in other cases (see above n. 289, and Passage no. 16 in Appendix 1.2 below)—the DZDL might be echoing an expanded reading already circulating in some witnesses of the LP, certainly Dhr's testimony alone does not constitute conclusive evidence of this scenario.

1.2 An Example of Chronologically Non-Linear Textual Expansion (An Earlier Expanded Reading Reflected by the *Da zhidu lun* Commentary)

In at least one case, we seem to face a different pattern of textual variation, with textual expansions mirrored by the DZDL also being found in one of the *earliest* LP texts (Mo).

Passage 16

This passage occurs at the beginning of what is marked as Chapter 3 in the early Chinese versions of the LP (Dhr, Mo, Kj). The text presents a list of near synonyms of the term *ātman*. The shortest reading is that attested in PvsP(K):

16.a. (Unexpanded reading)

PvsP(K): *tadyathāpi nāma śāriputra ātmeti cocyate, na cātmā upalabhyate, na sattvo na jīvo na poṣo na pūruṣo na pudgalo na manujo 'py upalabhyate, anupalambhaśūnyatām upādāya* (PvsP[K] I-1 p. 54,15–17).

Just as, Śāriputra, [the word] “self” is uttered, and yet no self is [actually] apprehended, no being, no living principle, no individuality, no soul, no person, no human being are apprehended, on the basis of emptiness [established through] non-apprehension.

Dhr, Kj, Xz(Ś) and Xz(PvsP) already present partially expanded readings, with a sentence added at the end of the passage, reaffirming the merely linguistic nature of the categories of selfhood listed here by the LP. Below, in quoting these sources, I will confine myself to the portions directly

relevant to our discussion, which encompass the beginning and the end of this passage, without quoting and discussing all the terms included the list, whose Chinese translations pose considerable problems of interpretation.³⁵³

16.b. (*Partially expanded readings*)

(16.b.1) Dhr: 皆由吾我：所謂我者，適無所有；無我，無人、...如此輩類，皆不可得，空無所著，³⁵⁴悉由假號，但有虛言 (T 222 [VIII] p. 152b6–10; GZJ § 3.2 in Zacchetti 2005: 207 and 327–329).

[Categories such as “Buddha”, “bodhisattva” and the *skandhas*³⁵⁵] are all like the self: the so-called “self” is absolutely non-existent: there is no self, no person ... All such categories, not being liable of appropriation, are empty, and there is nothing that [can] be clung to; they are all like provisional designations, with nothing but empty words.

(16.b.2) Kj: 舍利弗，如我但有字，一切我常不可得，眾[（如）+眾
【宋】【元】【明】【宮】]生...,是一切皆不可得，不可得空故，但以名
字說 (T 223 [VIII] p. 221c15–19).

Śāriputra, just as “self” is merely a nominal [entity], [but] a self cannot ever be apprehended at all, [so are] living being (眾生, *sattva*) [etc., ...]: all these [categories] cannot be apprehended, on account of the emptiness of non-apprehension (不可得空, *anupalambhaśūnyatā*), they are merely spoken of by means of names.

(16.b.2) Xz(Ś) and Xz(PvsP): 舍利子，如我但有名，謂之為我，實
不可得；如是有情...見者亦但有名，謂為有情乃至見者[Xz(P) + 實不可

³⁵³ See Zacchetti 2005: 327–329, n. 5–14.

³⁵⁴ As I pointed out in a note to my translation of this passage (Zacchetti 2005: 329 n. 15), this sentence corresponds to *anupalambhaśūnyatām upādāya*. Here I have adopted the punctuation provided in CBETA Reader 2016 (cf. Zacchetti 2005: 207), which is certainly more natural from a point of view of Chinese syntax, while still allowing an interpretation which reflects reasonably well the spirit of the Sanskrit text.

³⁵⁵ See the immediately preceding passage in Dhr (GZJ § 3.1, in Zacchetti 2005: 207 and 327).

得], 以不可得空故，但隨世俗假立客名；諸法亦爾，不應執著
(T 220 [V] p. 18a29–b5 and [VII] p. 11c20–25).³⁵⁶

Śāriputra, just as the self is merely a nominal [entity], and while one calls it “self”, in actuality it cannot be apprehended; so too “sentient being” [etc., ... *up to:*] “seer” (見者, **paśyaka*) are merely nominal [entities], and while one calls them “sentient being” and so on *up to:* “seer”, <in actuality they cannot be apprehended> on account of the emptiness of non-apprehension:³⁵⁷ it is merely that one provisionally establishes accidental designations in accordance with worldly conventions.³⁵⁸ This holds true for all *dharma*s, which should not be clung to.³⁵⁹

When we turn to LPG and related texts, we can see that their reading of this passage contains further additions:

16.c. (Expanded reading)

LPG: *tadyathāpi nāma śāradvatīputra ātmātmeti vyavahṛyate sa ca parigavesyamāṇo nopalabhyate • evam satvo jīvaḥ poṣa<ḥ> pudgalo manujo mānavāḥ kārakah kārāpako vedako vedayitṛkah utthāpakaḥ samutthāpako³⁶⁰ jānakah paśyakah sparśako vijānakah sarva ete ya-thābhūtaṁ parigavesyamāṇā<ḥ> sarvena sarvan nopalabhyante • anupalaṁbhaśunyatām upādāya • yāvad eva nā<ma>saṅketena vyavahriyante* (LPG f. 18r6–8; cf. Ś pp. 120,8–121,8; PvsP[TibPk] nyi 45b2–7: both reflect, essentially, the same text as LPG, but even more expanded through repetitions).

³⁵⁶ The same text is also found in Xz(Ad), T 220 [VII] p. 433c2–7), but with an abbreviated list of terms.

³⁵⁷ The fact that the string 實不可得 (cf. *na ... upalabhyate* in PvsP[K]; *sarvena sarvan nopalabhyante* in LPG [see below, under Passage 16.c]) is missing from Xz(Ś) while occurring in Xz(PvsP) is probably just due to a scribal error.

³⁵⁸ Note that in a preceding passage (Xz[Ś] T 220 [V] p. 17c12–13; Xz[PvsP] T 220, [VII] p. 11c12–13), the expression 假立客名 is seemingly used to render āgantuka- *nāmadheya-* (see Zaccetti 2005: 205–206 § 2.13 with n. 45). Here the Sanskrit text corresponding to 但隨世俗假立客名 is *yāvad eva nāmasaṅketena* [v.l. Ś, PvsP(TibPk): *nāmasaṅketamātreṇa*] *vyavahriyante* (see below LPG under 16.c).

³⁵⁹ This sentence, 諸法亦爾，不應執著, is only found in Xz (including Xz[Ad], in T 220 [VII] p. 433c6–7).

³⁶⁰ Ms: *samutpāko*.

Just as,³⁶¹ Śāradvatīputra, [the word] “self, self” is named,³⁶² and yet, when carefully searched for, that [self] is not apprehended; the same holds true for being, living principle, individuality, person, human being, young man, doer, one who causes to do, subject of feelings, one who causes to feel, one who causes to arise, producer, knower, seer, subject of touch, subject of awareness: none of these, when carefully searched for, according to truth, is apprehended, on the basis of the emptiness [established through] non-apprehension, they are merely designated through names and conventional designations.³⁶³

The expression *parigavesyamāna-* (*yathābhūtam parigavesyamāna-* in the second occurrence, but cf. Ś and PvsP(TibPk) where *yathābhūtam* is used throughout the passage), not found in any of the other witnesses listed above (see 16a–b), is of considerable interest, as it explicitly presents “non-apprehension” (*nopalabhyate*, etc.) as being the (negative) outcome of a process of careful analysis.³⁶⁴

The addition of this word is also interesting from a text-historical point of view, as it is clearly echoed by relevant commentary from the DZDL. Its gloss on this passage starts, as is typical of the DZDL, by trying to answer a question on why the text deals here with the notion of emptiness, which has already been dealt with in previous sections. Among the arguments adduced by the commentary we read the following:

³⁶¹ In LPG, *tadyathāpi nāma* is answered by *evam eva bodhisatvo mahāsatvah prajñāpāramitāyām caran bodhisatvan na samanupaśyati*, etc. in the following passage (f. 18r 8–9 and ff., in Zacchetti 2005: 389).

³⁶² [Note: This translation might be somewhat improved. The repetition in *ātmātmeti vyavahṛyate* does not mean “[the word] ‘self, self’ is named”, which itself is slightly hard to understand, but rather, to offer a slightly colloquial rendering, “people are always throwing around the term ‘self’”. This pattern is rather common.—Eds.]

³⁶³ Note that Ś (p. 121,8) here reads *nāmasaiketamātreṇa*, “only through names and conventional designations”, and this reading is also confirmed by the Tibetan translation (PvsP[TibPk] *nyi* 45b6–7: *ming dang brda tsam du*). In rendering the LPG reading, I have tentatively followed the interpretation suggested by the Tibetan version, taking *nāmasaṅketa* as a *dvandva*, and hence, given the context of this passage, *-saṅketena* as a collective singular. Alternatively, one could also perhaps interpret *saṅketa* in the sense of “convention”, rendering the compound as “through the conventional [use] of names”.

³⁶⁴ On *anupalabdhī* and related terms and notions, see Steinkellner 1992.

16.d. (Commentary)

復次，我空易知，法空難見。所以者何？我，以五情求之不可得，但以身見力故憶想分別為我。法空者，色可眼見、聲可耳聞，是故難知其空 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 319b22–26).

Furthermore, the emptiness of the self is easy to recognise, that of *dharma*s is difficult to perceive. Why? The self, when one searches for (求, **parigavesate*)³⁶⁵ it by means of the five senses, cannot be apprehended; it is merely that, due to the force of the [wrong] view about personality (身見, **satkāyadrṣṭi*), one mentally construes [*dharma*s as] constituting a self. [On the other hand,] in the case of the emptiness of *dharma*s, forms can be visually perceived, sounds can be heard [and so on for the various kinds of sensorial data], and therefore it is hard to recognise that they are empty.

Prima facie, this would seem to be a classic case of exegetically influenced linear textual expansion, showing, yet again, the particularly close relationship between the DZDL and LPG recension. However, Mo's reading of this passage makes the picture a little more complicated:

16.e.

Mo: 舍利弗，一切有言吾我者，亦皆字耳。索吾我亦無有吾我[吾我 = 我吾【宮】]，亦無眾生...何以故？一切諸法無所有，用空故 (T 221 [VIII] p. 5a3–7).

Śāriputra, whenever one speaks of “self”, it is also always just a matter of words: even if one searches for a self, there is no self [to be found], nor is there a living being [etc., ...]. Why? All *dharma*s have no existence whatsoever, due to [their] emptiness.³⁶⁶

³⁶⁵ The same expression occurs again further down in the same commentarial portion of the DZDL: 如是諸法皆說是「神」。此神，十方三世諸佛及諸賢聖求之不可得，但憶想分別，強為其名。諸法亦如是，皆空無實，但假為其名 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 319c13–16); “All such *dharma*s [sic; it refers to the various terms of the list] are said to be the ‘spirit’ (神, **ātman*?). As for this spirit, [even if] all the Buddhas of the ten directions and the three times, as well as all the saints, were to search for it, it could not be apprehended; [it is] merely discrimination [resulting from false] imagination that arbitrarily produces this name. The same holds true for all *dharma*s: they are all empty and without reality, [but people] falsely produce their names”.

³⁶⁶ A first sight, the string 一切諸法無所有 seems to correspond to LPG's *sarva ete ... sarvena sarvan nopalabhyante*, so it might seem hard to account for 用空故 as a

Considering how *nopalabhyate* is translated (here and elsewhere) in this text (無有/無所有;³⁶⁷ see also n. 366), it seems safe to assume that Mo's 索吾我亦無有吾我 should reflect an original reading not too different from LPG's *sa ca parigavesyamāṇo* (索) *nopalabhyate* (無有). In other words, the expansion *parigavesyamāṇa* could already be read by Mo's translators in their late third century manuscript (see above n. 74)—in effect the earliest LP witness about which we possess any information.

How can we explain the convergence in this passage of this early LP text with the DZDL? Given the relative chronology of our sources—as far as we can reasonably reconstruct it—in this case we cannot easily resort to the hypothesis presented, in a schematic form, above (p. 34), explaining this textual expansions as being influenced by exegesis incorporated by the DZDL.

In the light of Chou Po-kan's research (2004) one might think that here the DZDL was influenced by what Kumārajīva's team could read in Mo. However, the fact that the text expanded with *parigavesyamāṇa* is also attested in part of the Sanskrit tradition of the LP suggests a different scenario.

One possible explanation is that, in this case, the DZDL gloss does not anticipate a textual development downstream in the LP textual tradition, but reflects one that had already taken place upstream, in a specific branch of the tradition. To put it differently, in this case the LP text quoted in the lemma and the one actually used by the authors of the commentary were different.³⁶⁸ This has some implications for our understanding of the process of formation of the current text of the DZDL (cf. above, Chapter 3,1, p. 35).

Or, alternatively, it is also possible that the DZDL (given its nature as an “exegetical repository”, as seen in Chapter 5) might have recorded a gloss originally composed much earlier than the composition of the

rendition of *anupalambhaśūnyatām upādāya*. However, if we consider that in a subsequent passage this expression is rendered as 用無所有空故 (T 221 [VIII] p. 5a10), it is possible to think that, in our passage, Mo's translation might represent a synthesis, or conflation, of *sarva ete ... nopalabhyante* and *anupalambha-* in the subsequent compound. Note that elsewhere in Mo, in the context of the list of forms of emptiness, *anupalambhaśūnyatā* is rendered as 無所倚空 (T 221 [VIII] p. 3a29; cf. Zaccetti 2005: 298 n. 428, GZJ § 1.135).

³⁶⁷ This interpretation of *anupalambha* and related forms is also essentially the same as that adopted by Lamotte: see Steinkellner 1992: 399.

³⁶⁸ For examples of this scenario in the case of Classical texts, see Pasquali 1988: 189.

commentary itself—sufficiently early to have influenced (as a “lateral” development) the original of Mo in this particular passage.

Appendix 2 A Note on the Term *anāvarana-* (*buddha*)- *vimokṣa-*

The term *wu'ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 (**anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, also [諸]佛無礙解脫, **anāvaraṇa-* *buddhavimokṣa*-),³⁶⁹ “unhindered liberation” (on this translation, see below n. 380), the centrepiece of Passage 4 in Chapter 3.2, has considerable importance in the DZDL.³⁷⁰ It occurs in thirty-nine passages, in a variety of different contexts, and it does so, overall, with considerable doctrinal consistency, although, as I will show, some aspects of the concept were apparently open to different interpretations. Clearly this was an important notion in the milieu which produced our commentary, especially for the treatment of the specific qualities of the Buddhas (*buddhadharmas*) and the advanced stages of the Bodhisattva path.³⁷¹ And while the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* also occurs in several other sources, especially Mahāyāna *sūtras* (see Section 2 below), in no other text known to me does it seem to have the same significance that it has in the DZDL, which is probably also the most important source for interpretation of this category in other scriptures.

³⁶⁹ As we shall see in section 2 below, in the works of other translators we also find different renditions of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*/*anāvaraṇa-* *vimokṣa*-, such as *wu-zhang'ai jietuo* 無障礙解脫.

³⁷⁰ The equivalence between *wu'ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 and *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is well established, as shown by the passages discussed in Chapter 3.2 (Passage 4) and in the present Appendix. Concerning, in particular, Kumārajīva's corpus, this equivalence is supported by passages having clear Sanskrit parallels from the *Daśabhūmika* and the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (see below, Passages nos. 21 with n. 442 and 26a–b). It is important to underline this point, because in his *Traité* Lamotte conjecturally suggested various other equivalents, such as *asatīgavimokṣa*, *apratihatavimokṣa* (see, for example, n. 374, n. 388 below; also n. 119 above), *avyāhatavimukti* (Lamotte III p. 1564), *avyāhatavimokṣa* (III p. 1656), but also *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (V p. 2205), which I consider to be the correct Indic equivalent underlying all the occurrences of *wu'ai jietuo* in the DZDL.

³⁷¹ It is, however, interesting that the first occurrence of *wu'ai jietuo* 無礙解脫/ **anāvaraṇavimokṣa* that we encounter in the DZDL is found in a passage describing *arhats* (T 1509 [XXV] p. 67c14; tr. Lamotte I p. 92). Incidentally, here Lamotte translated *wu'ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 as “la délivrance sans les doutes”, probably misreading 無礙 as 無疑. [Note: Further on possible ambiguity between these two readings, see also n. 397 below.—Eds.]

Indeed, the patterns of distribution seen in this term are very interesting, and where it *does not* occur is just as noteworthy as where it does. For example, I have been unable to trace any occurrence of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in Xuanzang's translation of the **Mahāvibhāṣā* (*Apidamo da piposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論 T 1545),³⁷² which is suggestive, in view of the close connection between DZDL and the *vibhāṣā* compendia (see above, Chapter 5.4), but also because, as shown by Michael Radich (2010), the *Mahāvibhāṣā* has quite a lot to say on qualities or constituents of Buddhas (*buddhadharma*s), which, as we shall see, is precisely one of the key motifs in the DZDL's use of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (see below, Section 1.2).

The term seems equally unattested in Xuanzang's version of the massive *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuqie shi di lun* 瑜伽師地論 T 1579), which is also noteworthy. On the other hand, there are a couple of interesting occurrences of the compound *anāvaraṇavimokkha* in Pāli commentarial literature.³⁷³

³⁷² While there are some occurrences of the string *wu'ai jietuo dao* 無礙、解脫道 in Buddhavarman's *Apitan piposha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論 (e.g., T 1546 [XXVIII] pp. 68a18, p. 115c17, p. 129a24, etc.) and in other Sarvāstivadin Abhidharma works, these reflect, in fact, a different set of terms: i.e., *ānantaryamārga* and *vimuktimārga*: see e.g., *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論 (**Samyuktābhidharma-hṛdaya*) T 1552 (XXVIII) p. 913b3 and cf. Dessein 1999 vol. 1 p. 352 and vol. 2 n. 354 p. 277; *Apitan ganlu wei lun* 阿毘曇甘露味論 (**Amṛtarasa*) T 1553 (XXVIII) p. 974b24 (無礙解脫兩道), and cf. Van den Broeck 1977: 173; for another occurrence of the string with yet another meaning, see T 1553 (XXVIII) p. 970b18 and cf. Van den Broeck 1977: 126. A passage in the third of the *vibhāṣā* compendia preserved in the Chinese canon might represent a different case (see *Piposha lun* 韶婆沙論 T 1547 [XXVIII] p. 516a27–b5). The precise meaning of this passage and its connection with the notion of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* remain, however, to be investigated.

³⁷³ This expression is found in a gloss on the word *vimokkha* occurring in two of Buddhaghosa's commentaries, both times with reference to a stanza uttered by Anuruddha after the Buddha's final *nibbāna* (I would like to thank Norihisa Baba for directing me to these occurrences). The stanza in question occurs in both the *Dīgha-nikāya* (vol. 2 p. 157; *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*) and the *Samyutta-nikāya* (vol. 1 p. 159). I quote it, with a minor correction, from the former: *Asallinena cittena vedanāñ ajjhavāsayi || Pajjotass' eva nibbānañ vimokkho cetaso ahūti*. The stanza also occurs, as no. 906, in the *Theragāthā* (p. 83), and is rendered by Norman (2007, vol. 1, p. 94) as "With undisheartened mind he endured sensation; like the quenching of a lamp was the release of his mind".

In the relevant *Atṭhakathās*, Buddhaghosa glosses *vimokkha* as follows (*Sumanгалavilāsinī* vol. 2 p. 595; *Sāratthappakāsinī* vol. 1 p. 225): *Vimokkho ti kenaci*

In spite of its many features of interest, the category of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* does not seem to have attracted much attention, and for this reason I thought that it might be worth devoting a note to this term, with a predominant focus on its use in the DZDL and without any pretension of exhaustiveness. This will hopefully provide some background for assessing the connection between the DZDL and the later LP witnesses discussed in Passage 4 of Chapter 3.2.

Another reason for devoting an Appendix to the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is that this term also seems, surprisingly, to have largely escaped Lamotte's attention. He did, of course, notice the commentary's use of *wu'ai jietuo* 無礙解脫, since it occurs in several passages he translated. But his explanations of the term are uncharacteristically succinct, somewhat hesitant, and not always entirely accurate at that.³⁷⁴ He certainly did not

dhammena anāvaraṇa-vimokkho sabbaso apaññatti-bhāvūpagamo pajjota-nibbāna-sadiso jāto ti ("[In the sutta] 'liberation' refers to unhindered liberation from whatever state, in every respect approaching a condition beyond designation, [and] similar to the quenching of a lamp").

Discussing the origins of Buddhaghosa's adoption of the term *anāvaraṇa-vimokkho* and tracing the possible underlying influences would go beyond both the scope of this Appendix and my limited expertise. But there are two points one can make on the basis of these Pāli sources, which present a certain interest for my study of the "unhindered liberation". The first point, almost too obvious to be made, is that, in clear contrast with Mahāyāna sources (especially the DZDL), here the expression *anāvaraṇavimokkho* is used with reference to total liberation (*nibbāna*), and not to an empowering attainment. This unsurprising point is further confirmed by the sub-commentary on the *Sumāṅgalavilāsinī* (DAT vol. 2 p. 240), which gives the following explanation of the expression "unhindered liberation": *Anāvaraṇavimokkho sabbaso nibbutabhbhāvato*. Second, it is interesting that even in the Pāli sources the *anāvaraṇavimokkho* is nonetheless used to describe, specifically, the Buddha's liberation. At least in this respect, they converge with Mahāyāna sources, where, as will be detailed below, the unhindered liberation is indeed mainly (though not exclusively) ascribed to Buddhas and advanced Bodhisattvas.

³⁷⁴ The most detailed discussion this term provided by Lamotte seems to be that found in the note accompanying the translation of what is, indeed, one of the most significant occurrences of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in the DZDL (T 1509 [XXV] p. 265c1–9; see below, Passage no. 2): "Wou-ngrai-kiai-t'ouo 無礙解脫 'libération ou délivrance sans obstacle' rend probablement un original sanskrit *asaṅgavimokṣa* ou *apratihatavimokṣa*. Elle appartient en propre aux Buddha et aux grands Bodhisattva qui, grâce à elle, connaissent le passé et le futur ... Comparer les *acintyavimokṣa* (tib. *rnam par thar pa bsam gyis mi khyab pa*) du *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, tr. p. 250–258" (Lamotte IV p. 1829 n. 1).

[Note: It is not impossible that at least part of Lamotte's unusual brevity is due to the fact that Japanese reference sources, upon which he relied to a degree greater

offer, for the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, one of his usual masterful terminological “mises au point d’ensemble” (Demiéville 1950: 379) which so often mark the beginning of our explorations in the realm of Buddhist words. This is, in itself, a telling fact. It is probably related to the circumstances mentioned above, viz. that the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* does not figure prominently elsewhere in the scholastic literature which nourishes many of Lamotte’s notes.

It is also clear that *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* was not part of standard Mahāyāna terminology: I have already mentioned in my discussion of Passage 4 its nearly total absence from *Prajñāpāramitā* sources, and with the exception of few occurrences in texts belonging to the *Buddhāvatamsaka* tradition (see below, sections 2.3–2.4), it seems to have remained, overall, a fairly rare and isolated term—which makes its relative prominence in the DZDL all the more remarkable.

All the passages quoted in this Appendix, both from the DZDL and other sources, are numbered in a continuous series for ease of reference.

2.1 The *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in the *Da zhidu lun*

An important point which should be made clear at the outset is that, as far as occurrences of the string *wu’ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 in the DZDL are concerned, the adjective *wu’ai* 無礙/**anāvaraṇa* is not an occasional qualification of *jietuo* 解脫/**vimokṣa*, although I would not rule out that this might be the case in other sources where this expression occurs. In other words, in the DZDL the expression *wu’ai jietuo*/**anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is clearly a technical term, and designates a specific type of attainment or quality: *the “unhindered liberation”*.³⁷⁵ Apart what we can

than is generally recognised, have not picked up this term for consideration. While it would certainly be wrong to criticise Lamotte for the use he made of Japanese scholarship, chiefly the great *Bukkyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典 of Mochizuki Shinkō 望月信亭, he in fact did not acknowledge his debt in a manner that today we would consider appropriate and necessary.—Eds.]

³⁷⁵ Again, Lamotte’s treatment of the term is *wu’ai jietuo* is also inconsistent from this point of view. In some passages he rendered *jietuo* as plural (e.g., Lamotte V p. 2205: “les libérations sans obstacles [*anāvaraṇavimokṣal*]”), and in other as singular (V p. 2311: “les Bodhisattva pratiquant la Prajñāpāramitā ‘sans obstacle’ [*apratihata* ou *anāvaraṇa*], s’ils obtiennent la délivrance [*vimokṣa*] ‘sans obstacle’, deviennent Buddha”).

infer from the way in which the term is used in the commentary, some passages make this point explicitly. Here is one example:

I.

【經】 得無礙陀羅尼^a。

【論】 問曰： 前已說諸菩薩得陀羅尼，今何以復說「得無礙陀羅尼」？

答曰： 無礙陀羅尼最大故。如一切三昧中，三昧王三昧最大，如人中之王；如諸解脫中，無礙解脫大^b 丹注云：得佛得道時所得也^c；如是一切諸陀羅尼中，無礙陀羅尼大，以是故重說 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 97c5–10; Lamotte I p. 328).

[a]尼+（者）【宋】【宮】【聖】【石】[b]〔大〕－【宋】【元】【明】【宮】[c]
(丹注云得佛得道時所得也)十一字=(得佛道時所得)六字【聖】，=(得佛得道時所得也)【石】，〔丹注云得佛得道時所得也〕十一字－【宮】

Sūtra: [these Bodhisattvas] had obtained the unhindered *dhāraṇī*.³⁷⁶

Commentary: Question: [The LP] having already stated before that the Bodhisattvas had obtained the *dhāraṇīs*, why [then] it does state again that “they had obtained the unhindered *dhāraṇī*”?

Answer: Because the unhindered *dhāraṇī* is the greatest [of the *dhāraṇīs*]. Just as the *samādhirāja samādhi* is the greatest of all *samādhis*, like a king among men, [or] the unhindered liberation is pre-eminent among all liberations (A note in the [Qi]dan [canon] says: [This liberation] is obtained at the time when one attains buddhahood and attains awakening);³⁷⁷ in the same way, the unhindered *dhāraṇī* is pre-eminent

³⁷⁶ Cf. PvSP(K) I-1 p. 1: *asaṅgadhāraṇīpratilabdhair*; LPG f. 1r6–7: *asamgaprani-dhāna(sa)manvāgataih*.

³⁷⁷ Here the so-called Second Koryō Canon (on which see Zacchetti 2005: 101; reproduced, for this portion of the DZDL, in ZH: see vol. 25 p. 197c), on which the Taishō edition is based, is quoting, as it does occasionally, a variant from the almost entirely lost Liao Canon (*Liao zang* 遼藏 or *Qidan zang* 契丹藏). On these sporadic but extremely interesting text critical notes, which are an exclusive feature of the Koryō Canon, see Zacchetti 2005: 101–102 and 106–107. Now, DZDL(Fsh) is one of the texts from the Fangshan “Stone Sūtras” corpus that were carved in small-size slabs resembling xylographic blocks during the Liao period (the date of DZDL[Fsh]’s carving is 1094: see Kegasawa 1996: 458), and it is believed to reflect the Liao Canon from a textual point of view (mainly though not exclusively: see Zacchetti 2005: 107–109). And as it turns out, in this passage DZDL(Fsh) does indeed contain a small-character interlinear gloss reading 得佛

among all *dhāraṇīs*, and therefore [the text] repeats its exposition [of a *dhāraṇī* in this case].

In the DZDL, the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is systematically presented as an important attainment conducive to the acquisition of specific states or special powers in several different areas, which I will analyse in the following sections. As such, this category reflects a tendency in the interpretation of *vimokṣa* which is well attested in Buddhist literature. In this context, *vimokṣa* refers not so much to the practices of progressive mental detachment and purification directly signified by this term,³⁷⁸ as, rather, to the powers resulting from their cultivation.³⁷⁹ In other words, in the context of compounds such as *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* or *acintyavimokṣa*, *vimokṣa* could be taken as a synecdoche, signifying the state achieved through reference to the practice producing it. For this reason, although in this Appendix I will always translate *wu'ai jietuo/anāvaraṇavimokṣa* and related terms as “unhindered liberation”, this should be seen as nothing more than a conventional designation, which does not fully and accurately reflect the entire semantic range of *vimokṣa* in all the contexts within which this term occurs.³⁸⁰

得道時所得也 (vol. 15 p. 56, slab no. de 11 德十一, col. 7). It is telling that the witness from the Shōgo-zō 聖語藏 collection quoted here (as 聖) by the Taishō apparatus has a very similar reading (得佛道時所得). Although I have not been able to access the reproduction of the Shōgo-zō, texts included in this collection often reflect, directly or indirectly, Tang official manuscript canons (cf. Zaccetti 2005: 84–85), to which the Fangshan corpus is also close (see He 1996: 272).

³⁷⁸ Such as the canonical eight liberations (*aṣṭau vimokṣāḥ*, listed, for example, in PvsP[K] I-2 pp. 25,31–26,13), on which see Lamotte III pp. 1281–1299.

³⁷⁹ See Lamotte’s discussion of the related term *acintyavimokṣa* (“inconceivable liberation”; on the relationship between the two categories, see below Passage 25), which figures prominently in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (1962: 250–251 with n. 11).

³⁸⁰ In his discussion of a passage from Fazang’s *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記 (T 1733 [XXXV] p. 430b21 ff., especially b24) which comments “on the bodhisattvas’ miraculous exploits (*vikurvita*) concerning the environment (*kṣetra*)”, Lambert Schmithausen renders 得解脫力能迴轉故 (one of the reasons mentioned by Fazang to explain the Bodhisattvas’ exploits) as “their having obtained the power of freedom [from limitations] (**vimokṣa*) enabling them to transform things” (2009: 229 n. 273). In many ways, this translation of *vimokṣa* (“freedom [from limitations]”) is semantically and conceptually more satisfactory than “liberation” in most of the contexts in which the compound *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* occurs, better accounting for the ideas of empowerment (cognitive and otherwise) that are central in this concept. My main reason for sticking to the translation of *vimokṣa* as “liberation” is that some sources discussed in this Appendix explicitly make a connection between the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* and the canonical eight *vimokṣas* (see

2.1.1 The Cognitive Functions of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*

Coming now to examine the main functions ascribed to the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* by the DZDL, a first significant thematic cluster surfacing in several passages is the enhancement of cognitive powers produced—or, perhaps, “liberated”—by the attainment of this *vimokṣa*.³⁸¹ This idea is expressed very clearly by the following passage:

2.

【經】 欲知一切眾生意所趣向，當學般若波羅蜜 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 265b17–18 = Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 219b1–2; corresponding to LPG f. 9r8–9; Ś p. 67,17–68,1; PvsP[K] I-1 p. 30,21–22) *sarvasatvacittacaritavispanditāni jñātukāmena*³⁸² [... *bodhisatvena mahāsatvena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam**]).

【論】 …問曰： 以何智能知一切眾生心、心數法？

答曰： 諸佛有無礙解脫，入是解脫中，能知一切眾生心、心數法。諸大菩薩得相似無礙解脫，亦能知一切眾生心、心數法。新學菩薩欲得是大菩薩無礙解脫及佛無礙解脫，以此無礙解脫知一切眾生心、心數法。大菩薩欲得佛無礙解脫。以是故，雖已說知他心通，更說「欲知一切眾生心所趣向，當學般若波羅蜜。」(T 1509 [XXV] p. 265c1–9; cf. Lamotte IV pp. 1829–1830).

below, Passage no. 8) or the three *vimokṣamukhas* (see below, n. 443), which are all, essentially, techniques of detachment and “liberation”. Interestingly, a clear connection between the parallel category of *acintyavimokṣa* and the traditional set of eight *vimokṣas* is also established in the earliest Chinese version of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*, where, corresponding to *asti bhadanta sāriputro tathāgatānām bodhisatvānām cācintyo nāma vimokṣah* in the Sanskrit text (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 36a1–2, ed. Tokyo 2006, p. 59), we read: 唯然，舍利弗，諸如來、諸菩薩有八不思議門 (*Weimojie jing* 維摩詰經 T 474 [XIV] p. 527b13–14). I disregard here the variant 入 = 入 offered by the so-called Jiaxing Canon (= Ming 明 in the Taishō apparatus) for the reasons given in Zucchetti 2005: 132 with n. 258.

³⁸¹ Apart from the passages quoted in this section, on this facet of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* see also T 1509 (XXV) p. 524c8–13, p. 564, b10–14, p. 643b3–8, p. 649b25–27 (see below, Passage 18).

³⁸² PvsP(K): *vijñātukāmena*.

Sūtra: [The Bodhisattva Mahāsattva who] wishes to know the inclinations³⁸³ of all beings' minds should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*.

Commentary: ... Question: By means of what [kind of] insight does one know the mind and mental factors (心數法, *caitasika) of all beings?

Answer: All Buddhas possess the unhindered liberation (**anāvaraṇavimokṣa*); upon entering into (being absorbed in?)³⁸⁴ this liberation, they are able to know the mind and mental factors of all beings. The great Bodhisattvas obtain an unhindered liberation similar [to that of the Buddhas], and they, too, are able to know the mind and mental factors of all beings. Bodhisattvas in their initial training³⁸⁵ want to obtain both the unhindered liberation of these great Bodhisattvas and the unhindered liberation of the Buddhas (佛無礙解脫, **anāvaraṇabuddhavimokṣa*-), [so that] by means of these [forms of] unhindered liberation they [can] know the mind and mental factors of all beings. [In turn,] the great Bodhisattvas want to obtain the unhindered liberation of the Buddhas. For this reason, although [the LP] has already referred to the supernatural power consisting in knowing other persons' thoughts (知他心通, **paracittajñānābhijñā*),³⁸⁶ [here] it states again

³⁸³ The Sanskrit corresponding to 一切眾生意所趣向 is *sarvasatvacittacaritavispanditāni*, “the activities and tiny motions of all beings’ minds”. Kj, sharing the same rendition as Mo (T 221 [VIII] p. 2c27–28), might reflect a shorter reading (possibly just **sarvasatvacittacarita*-), with *carita* perhaps interpreted in the sense of “disposition”, cf. Cone 2010: 119a), as it is clearly the case with Dhr (T 222 [VIII] p. 149b20–21; GZJ § 1.114 in Zucchetti 2005: 174 and 290 with n. 372). On *cittacarita* see also n. 153 in Chapter 4.1 above.

³⁸⁴ The verb *ru* 入 in 入是解脫中 might be used here with a technical meaning (similar to its use with *sanmei* 三昧 [*saṃādhi*] as its object), suggesting some affinities between the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* and a *saṃādhi*-like state (cf. the use of -*sthita* with this compound in some of the sources examined in section 2 below).

³⁸⁵ Lamotte (IV p. 1830) gives *ādikarmika* as the original of *xinxue pusa* 新學菩薩 (“les Bodhisattva débutants”). However, some passages in Kj suggest a different interpretation; see, for example, 如是般若波羅蜜義 … 不應為新學菩薩說 (T 223 [VIII] p. 298a22–24), corresponding to *na khalu punar iyaṇi bhadanta subhūte prajñāpāramitā evam upadiṣṭā navayānasamprasthitasya bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya purato bhāsitavyā*, PvsP(K) II–III p. 125,26–27. In fact, the correspondence between 新學菩薩 and *navayānasamprasthita*- *bodhisattva*- is corroborated even by some early translations: see Karashima 1998: 502 and 2010: 544.

³⁸⁶ Here the commentary is probably referring to the immediately preceding passage in the base text: 菩薩摩訶薩欲住六神通, 當學般若波羅蜜。(Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 219a29–b1), corresponding to LPG f. 9r8: *śaḍabhijñatāyām sthātukāmena*, etc. (see GZJ § 1.113 in Zucchetti 2005: 174).

that “[The Bodhisattva who] wishes to know the inclinations of all beings’ minds should train in the *prajñāpāramitā*”.

This passage is also interesting in that it introduces different varieties (or degrees) of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, including one which is said to be characteristic of Buddhas (cf. the expression *anāvaraṇa-* *buddhavimokṣa-* attested in LPG; see Chapter 3.2, Passage 4.c.1), a point to which I will return below.

Another passage presents the cognitive function of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as the fundamental constituent of awakening:

3.

有人言：無礙解脫名菩提。何以故？得是解脫，於一切法皆通達。
(T 1509 [XXV] p. 656b20–22).³⁸⁷

Some say: the unhindered liberation is called *bodhi*. Why? [Because] obtaining this liberation [enables] thorough penetration with respect to all *dharma*s.

An interesting feature of this gloss, which occurs within a passage listing various definitions of *bodhi*, is that it is presented as the view of a particular exegete. As we shall see, this is not the only “quotation gloss” (cf. Chapter 5.3) found in the DZDL that centres on the notion of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, and I will discuss the possible implications of this fact below.

A recurring subset of this first motif is attested by some passages presenting the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as a factor empowering other faculties,³⁸⁸ such as, for example, *prajñāpāramitā*:

³⁸⁷ The lemma relevant to the commentarial portion where this gloss is quoted forms the whole of Chapter 72 in Kj (T 1509 [XXVI] pp. 654c25–655c20 = T 223 [VIII] pp. 378c19–379c20), corresponding to Chapter 65 in LPG (ed. Conze 1962: 167–172); cf. also PvsP(K) V pp. 139,5–143,20.

³⁸⁸ Another interesting example is the following passage on the fact that the Buddha’s *smṛti* has no diminution, occurring in the context of the DZDL’s discussion of the eighteen āvenika buddhadharmaś: 佛以一切智、無礙解脫守護念，是故無減 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 250b10–11; cf. tr. Lamotte III p. 1653, who reconstructs the original of *wu’ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 as *apratihatavimukti*), “a Buddha protects [his] mindfulness through omniscience and unhindered liberation, therefore it has no diminution”.

4.

【經】 須菩提白佛言：「世尊，是諸菩薩摩訶薩解^a深般若波羅蜜者，當趣何所？」

佛告須菩提：「是菩薩摩訶薩解深般若波羅蜜者^b，當趣一切種智。」(T 1509 [XXV] p. 561a1–4 = T 223 [VIII] p. 334a3–6).³⁸⁹

【論】 問曰： 般若波羅蜜非趣、非不趣，須菩提何以故問「行般若者趣至何處」？又佛何以答「趣薩婆若」？

答曰： 外道言：「諸法從因趣果、從先世入今世、從今世趣後世。」破是常顛倒故，言「無趣不趣」。此中，須菩提以無著心問，佛以無著心答。般若波羅蜜畢竟空，於諸法無障無礙；得無障無礙解脫故無障無礙。因果相似故，故^c言：「解深般若^d者，趣一切種智。」(T 1509 [XXV] p. 561a25–b4).

[a] (能) + 解【元】【明】[b] [者] – 【元】【明】【宮】 , T 223 [c] [故] – 【宋】
【元】【明】[d]般若+（波羅蜜）【聖】【石】

Sūtra: Subhūti asked the Buddha: “World-honoured One, as for these Bodhisattvas who understand the profound *prajñāpāramitā*, where will they tend³⁹⁰ to?”

The Buddha told Subhūti: “These Bodhisattvas who understand the profound *prajñāpāramitā* will tend towards the knowledge of all aspects”.

Commentary: Question: The *prajñāpāramitā* neither tends nor does not tend to [any destiny], [so] why does Subhūti ask, “As for those who

³⁸⁹ Cf. LPG f. 185v2–3 (cf. PvsP[K] IV p. 107,1–4, essentially identical):

āha: kiṃgatikā bhagavām te bodhisatvā mahāsatvā bhaviṣyanti • ya imām
gaṇbhīrām praṭīpāramitām ājñāsyantī • bhagavān āha • sarvākāra-
jñatāgatikās te subhūte bodhisatvā mahāsatvā bhaviṣyantī • ya imām gaṇ-
bhīrām praṭīpāramitām ājñāsyante.

³⁹⁰ It is not easy to render *qu* 趣 in this passage in a satisfactory way, not least because various meanings are at play here—as in its Sanskrit counterpart, *-gatika* (rendered by Conze 1975: 372 as “destined for”): for example, it is worth noticing that *qu* 趣 is a common translation of *gati* in the sense of “existential state, rebirth, etc.”. I have opted for “tend to”, mainly as a convenient semantically broad placeholder.

practice *prajñāpāramitā*, where will they tend to”? And why does the Buddha reply, “They will tend to *sarvajñatā*”?³⁹¹

Answer: Followers of other religions claim that all *dharma*s [proceed] from causes and tend to fruits, from the past time³⁹² enter into the present time, and from the present time tend towards the future time. In order to refute this eternalist distortion, it is said [that *prajñāpāramitā*] has neither tending to nor not tending to. Here, Subhūti asked [his question] without thoughts of attachment, and the Buddha replied without thoughts of attachment. *Prajñāpāramitā* is absolutely empty, [and hence] has no hindrances³⁹³ with respect to all *dharma*s;³⁹⁴ [it is] because one has obtained the unhindered liberation [that the *prajñāpāramitā* he cultivates] has no hindrances [with respect to all *dharma*s as stated in the immediately preceding sentence]. Because cause and fruit are similar, [the LP] states that “those who understand the profound *prajñāpāramitā* tend towards the knowledge of all aspects”.³⁹⁵

³⁹¹ Prima facie, it would seem that the commentary here is being simply imprecise in its summary of the base text: apart from the transcription 薩婆若, usually corresponding to *sarvajñatā* (Kj reads *sarvākārajñatā* with LPG and PvsP[K]), note also 行 in 行般若者趣至何處, whereas both PvsP(K) and LPG read *ājñāsyanti*, which also seems reflected by Kj’s 解. However, here Mo, too, has a similar reading: 當趣薩云若 (T 221 [VIII] p. 82c21–22), so it is possible that here, too, the commentary is based on a text partially different from the lemma preceding it.

³⁹² [Note: A marginal note shows that on the basis of a personal communication from Zhao You, Zaccetti was also considering the translation “past *existence* ... present *existence* ... future *existence*”.—Eds.]

³⁹³ On the expression *wu zhang wu ai* 無障無礙, see Chapter 3.2, n. 123.

³⁹⁴ The idea expressed here, that the possession of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* allows one to be without hindrances “with respect to all *dharma*s”, is a common motif which surfaces in other passages (see e.g., below, nos. 6 and 7; cf. also no. 23).

³⁹⁵ This conception of the relationship between *prajñāpāramitā* (cause) and *sarvākārajñatā* (effect) is also expressed by other passages of the DZDL, for example: 一切種智是無障礙相, 若菩薩觀一切法如虛空無障礙, 則是學一切種智, 因果相似故 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 453b14–16); “The knowledge of all aspects is characterised by absence of hindrances; if a Bodhisattva contemplates all *dharma*s [through *prajñāpāramitā*] as [also] being without hindrances like empty space, then this [too] constitutes training in the knowledge of all aspects, because cause and fruit are similar”. Cf. also T 1509 [XXV] p. 190a20–22 (tr. Lamotte II p. 1058) and p. 471b10–16. These parallels are the main reason for interpreting the passage as I have done in my translation; it is, however, perhaps also possible to punctuate this passage in another way, linking 因果相似故 to the preceding sentence: 得無障無礙解脫故, 無障無礙, 因果相似故; 故言, etc. (“because one has obtained

In the following example, the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is introduced in the third of three quotation glosses on a particular *samādhi*, as the key factor connected to (and empowering) it:

5.

散疑三昧者... 有人言：無礙解脫相應三昧是。諸佛得是三昧已，於諸法中無疑^a，無近、無遠，皆如觀掌中^b (T 1509 [XXV] p. 401b6–12).

[a]疑=礙【宋】【元】【明】【宮】[b]〔中〕—【宋】【元】【明】【宮】【聖】

As for the “*Samādhi* dispelling doubts”,³⁹⁶ ... Some say: it is the *samādhi* connected to unhindered liberation. Having obtained this *samādhi*, the Buddhas have no doubt [v.l. hindrance]³⁹⁷ about all *dharmas*;

the unhindered liberation, [*prajñāpāramitā*] has no hindrances [with respect to all *dharmas*], because cause and fruit are similar; therefore [the LP] states..., etc.”).

[Note: In a marginal note to self, Zucchetti, citing a personal communication from Zhao You, contemplated yet another alternate reading on the basis of this punctuation, reading the clauses 得無障無礙解脫故 and 無障無礙 as having the same implicit object, so that one might also translate: “... because *one has* obtained the unhindered liberation, *one is* without obstacles, [because] cause and fruit are similar; therefore...” We cannot tell which of these various readings Zucchetti might ultimately have preferred, and therefore simply present them as is.—Eds.]

³⁹⁶ This refers to the following passage from the base text (part of a long list of *samādhis* introduced by the LP: see e.g., PvsP[K] I-2 pp. 63–75): 云何名散疑三昧？住是三昧得散諸法疑，是名散疑三昧 (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 252c18–19 = T 1509 [XXV] p. 398a28–29), corresponding to LPG 87r5–6 (cf. Š 1422,20–22; PvsP[K] I-2 p. 72,18–20):

tatra katamo vimativikirano nāma samādhiḥ yatra samādhau sthitvā sarva-dharma-vimati-vikiranatām (cf. PvsP[TibPk] ... ; Š: sarvasamādhi-nām sarvadharma-mānān ca vimativikiranatām; PvsP[K] = sarvasamādhi-vimativikiranam) anuprāpnoty ayam ucyate vimativikirano nāma samādhiḥ.

³⁹⁷ I am not sure about the correct reading here. In view of the name of this *samādhi*, 散疑三昧 (and of the reading **vimativikirana-* found in LPG and Š, with *sarvadharma-*; see the preceding note), 無疑 at first sight seems to be the correct reading (confirmed also by Fsh vol. 16 p. 20b). However, both the context of the sentence and another parallel from the DZDL (T 1509 [XXV] p. 649b25–27: see Passage no. 18 below) might support the reading 無礙. If *yi* 疑 is the correct reading, in view of its obvious graphic similarity with the character for *ai* 碾 (and of the possible etymological connection between the two words: see Schuessler 2007: 150 and 567), one is tempted to speculate that a pun (both visual and perhaps also semantic) might be at play in this passage (I am grateful to Michael Radich for this suggestion). [Note: Cf. again n. 371 above.—Eds.]

regardless of distance, it is as if they were contemplating all of them on the palm of their hand.

The idea that the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is a factor acting synergetically with (or, perhaps, on) other faculties is expressed with great clarity by a passage occurring in the commentary on the Sadāprarudita story, towards the end of the DZDL (this is, in fact, the last occurrence of the expression *wu'ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 in the entire text). Here the commentary is discussing the list of characteristics of a Buddha which, Sadāprarudita says, he will obtain after his awakening:

6.

大慈乃至六神通義，如先^a說。不可思議清淨戒、禪定、智慧，如佛戒等五眾中說。「於諸^b法中得一切無礙知^c見」者，諸佛有無礙解脫，是解脫相應知^c見，一切法中無所礙^d (T 1509 [XXV] p. 742c17–21).³⁹⁸

[a]先=前【宋】【元】【明】【宮】[b]諸=說【宋】【元】【明】【宮】[c]知=智
【宋】【元】【明】【宮】[d]礙=現【宋】【元】【明】【宮】

³⁹⁸ This is the relevant part of the lemma:

薩陀波崙答言：『善女人！是人善學般若波羅蜜及方便力，是人當為我說菩薩所應作、菩薩所行道。我學是法、學是道，得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提時，為眾生作依止，當得金色身、三十二相、八十隨形好、丈光、無量明、大慈大悲大喜大捨、四無所畏、佛十力、四無礙智、十八不共法、六神通，不可思議清淨戒、禪定、智慧，得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，於諸法中得無礙一切[無礙一切=一切無礙【宋】【元】【明】【聖】]智見，以無上法寶分布與一切眾生。如是等諸功德利，我當從彼得之。』 (T 223 [VIII] p. 419, a19–29).

Cf. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (p. 948,12–18)—I quote here only the portion directly relevant to Passage 6: *aṣṭādaśa c'āvenīkabuddhadharmān pratilapsyāmahe pañca cābhijñām* [read *cābhijñā-m-?*] *acintyām ca sīlavisuddhim acintyām ca samādhivisuddhim acintyām ca prajñāvisuddhiṁ daśa ca tathāgata-balāni pratilapsyāmahe | anuttaram ca buddhajñānam abhisamphotsyāmahe | anuttaram ca dharmaratnam pratilapsyāmahe yena ca sarvasat-tvānām saṃvibhāgam kariṣyāma iti.*

Note that there is in this *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* parallel nothing corresponding to Kj's 於諸法中得無礙一切知見 (cf. also Karashima 2011: 487 with n. 452); a similar expression (無障智見) occurs, however, in the corresponding (and much expanded) passage from Xz(Ś), immediately after the complete list of the five “uncontaminated *skandhas*”: … 淨戒蘊、定蘊、慧蘊、解脫蘊、解脫智見蘊、無障智見、無上智見 … (T 220 [VI] p. 1063b14–15).

The meaning of [the Buddha qualities from] the great loving-kindness to the six supernatural faculties is as explained before,³⁹⁹ as for the inconceivable pure discipline, concentration [resulting from] *dhyāna*, and insight, it is as explained [in the section] on the Buddhas' five [uncontaminated] aggregates, [namely,] discipline, etc.⁴⁰⁰ As for "I will obtain completely unhindered knowledge and vision with respect to all *dharmas*", all Buddhas possess the unhindered liberation, and the knowledge and vision (知見, **jñānaradaraśana*) connected to this liberation are unhindered with respect to all *dharmas*.

A point of special interest presented by this passage is its reference⁴⁰¹ to the category of the five "uncontaminated *skandhas*" (*anāsravaskandha*),⁴⁰² which are also associated elsewhere in the DZDL with the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (see Passages 7–8), and are important for understanding this term. Indeed, the motif of the "uncontaminated *skandhas*", directly evoked here, is also echoed by other Mahāyāna sources on the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (e.g., the *Samādhirāja* passage discussed below in section 2.2).

The "activation" of a higher modality of insight, in the Buddhas, through their "unhindered liberation" is explicitly mentioned by another passage (very close in meaning to Passage 3):

³⁹⁹ See DZDL T 1509 (XXV) pp. 256b13 ff. (tr. Lamotte III pp. 170 ff.) and pp. 264a21 ff. (tr. Lamotte IV pp. 1809 ff.).

⁴⁰⁰ See DZDL T 1509 (XXV) pp. 220a8 ff. (tr. Lamotte III pp. 1349 ff.).

⁴⁰¹ While Kj's passage relevant to this portion of the commentary only mentions some of these *skandhas* (and so does the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* parallel quoted in n. 398), the full list is quoted in the corresponding passage from Xz(Ś) (locus also given in n. 398), but also, curiously, in the corresponding passage from Kumārajīva's translation of the *Smaller PP* corresponding to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*:不可思議清淨戒品、定品、智慧品、解脫品、解脫知見品 ... (*Xiaopin banreboluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經 T 227 [VIII] p. 582c3–4).

⁴⁰² On these categories (i.e., *śilaskandha*, *samādhiskandha*, *prajñāskandha*, *vimuktiskandha*, and *vimuktijñānaradaraśanaskandha*; see, for example, PvSP[K] I-1 p. 37,6–10; LPG f. 15r2–3), see Lamotte III pp. 1233 n. 3 (canonical references) and 1349–1361, as part of the discussion of *buddhānusmṛti*; Makransky 1997: 25–26; Radich 2007: 465; 528–538; 741 ff. (on these categories in Lokaksema's DXJ); 913 ff. (§ 4.4.9 The "aśaikṣadharmas comprising *bodhi*" and the five *anāsravaskandhas* as the *dharmaśāya* in Sarvāstivāda materials"; on this subject, see also Radich 2010: 138–141).

7.

復次，諸佛得無礙解脫故，於一切法中智慧無礙 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 220c19–21).

Furthermore, because all Buddhas have obtained the unhindered liberation, their insight (*prajñā*) is unhindered with respect to all *dharma*s.

This short gloss, too, occurs in the context of a discussion of the five “un-contaminated *skandhas*”—indeed, the main such discussion included in the DZDL. And this motif provides us with a natural transition to the analysis of the second important thematic cluster in the DZDL’s treatment of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*.

2.1.2 The *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as a Quality of Buddhas

As can be already seen from the passages quoted above, the cognitive function of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* only applies to Buddhas and advanced Bodhisattvas. Indeed, this form of liberation is presented by the DZDL both as an essential characteristic of Buddhas, but also as a key constituent of the advanced Bodhisattva path.

I will focus in this section, at first, on passages which discuss the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as one of the key attributes of Buddhas (*buddhadharma*s). The first occurs immediately after Passage 7 quoted in the preceding section, and it is also part of the DZDL’s discussion of the five *anāsrava-skandhas*. Here, the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is introduced as a key facet of the Buddhas’ liberation (i.e., of their *vimuktiskandha*):

8.

復次，念佛解脫眾具足。佛解脫，諸煩惱及習根本拔故，解脫真不可壞；一切智慧成就故，名^a為無礙解脫；成就八解脫，甚深遍得故，名為具足解脫 (T 1509 [XXV] pp. 220c29–221a3; cf. Lamotte III p. 1357).

[a] [名] – 【宮】

Furthermore, one [should] call to mind the fact that the Buddhas’ aggregate of liberation (解脫眾, **vimuktiskandha*) is [also] fully accomplished. Because in the case of the Buddhas’ liberation, all

defilements and [related residual] impressions (習, *vāsanā)⁴⁰³ are extirpated at the root, [hence this form of] liberation really is indestructible; because [with it] omniscience is accomplished, it is called “unhindered liberation”; because [the Buddhas] accomplish the eight liberations, which are extremely profound and far-reaching, [all this] is called “accomplishing [the aggregate of] liberation”.

Several passages of the DZDL do indeed refer to the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as a fundamental *buddhadharma*, and here I will just quote one example.⁴⁰⁴ This is part of a passage illustrating the application of the highly meritorious method of rejoicing (隨喜, *anumodanā*) at the Bodhisattvas' career:⁴⁰⁵

9.

末後成佛，得福德果報，身有三十二相、八十種^a隨形好、無量光明，觀者無厭；無量清淨、梵音柔和、無礙解脫等諸佛法，於三事^b示現，度無量阿僧祇眾生 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 488a4–7).

[a] [種] – 【宋】【元】【明】【宮】【聖】 [b]事=乘【聖】

Eventually, they obtain the fruit of [their] merit: [their] body has the thirty-two marks, the eighty secondary beautiful corporeal features, and the infinite radiance, [so that] those who contemplate it will never tire [of doing so]; [they will also obtain] the immeasurable purity,⁴⁰⁶ the sweetness of the brahmic voice (梵音, *brahmaśvara), the unhindered liberation and other such *buddhadharmas*; they will save immeasurable, innumerable (阿僧祇, *asañkhyeya) beings, instructing [them] about the three [negative] matters.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰³ See n. 118 to Passage 4.b (Chapter 3.2).

⁴⁰⁴ For other DZDL passages mentioning the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as one of the main qualities of Buddhas, alongside more usual categories such as the eighteen āvenīkadharmas, etc., see T 1509 (XXV) p. 180a7–10, p. 244a22, p. 619b15–16, p. 636c14–20, p. 720b16–18.

⁴⁰⁵ For the relevant lemma, see DZDL T 1509 (XXV) p. 487a7–b23 = Kj T 223 (VIII) pp. 297b22–298a10; cf. PvsP(K) II–III pp. 122,21–125,11.

⁴⁰⁶ Cf. DZDL T 1509 (XXV) p. 106c1–6 (tr. Lamotte I p. 393).

⁴⁰⁷ The meaning of *san shi* 三事 in this context is made clear by a preceding passage in the same section of the commentary listing three things which human beings devoid of merit share with animals (viz. lust, [desire for] drink and food, and fighting): 若離福德，人與畜生同行三事，三事者：婬欲、飲食、戰鬪 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 487c7–8).

In the context of the DZDL's buddhology, too, the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is singled out as a factor grounding other attributes of Buddhas, not unlike its supporting function with respect to cognitive faculties already discussed above. So, for example, the following passage is found at the end of a series of glosses providing alternative answers to the question of which of the ten powers of the Tathāgata (*daśa tathāgatabalāni*)⁴⁰⁸ is superior:

10.

論者言：是十力皆以無礙解脫為根本，無礙解脫為增上 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 241a8–10).

A commentator(?)⁴⁰⁹ says: [since] all these ten powers have the unhindered liberation as their root, the unhindered liberation is the dominant [factor].

The *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is also described by some passages of the commentary as the factor bringing about the complete destruction of defilements. In the following passage we find the expression *wu'ai jietuo zhi* 無礙解脫智, presumably corresponding to the compound **anāvaraṇavimokṣajñāna*, which echoes the last of the five uncontaminated *skandhas* (*vimuktijñānadarśana*, see n. 402 above) and is attested in some Sanskrit sources (see below, Passages 20, 21).

11.

問曰： 大慈、悲雖是佛法根本，故是有漏；如淤泥 ^a 中生蓮華，不得言泥亦應妙；大慈、大 ^b 悲亦如是，雖是佛法根本，不應是無漏。

答曰： 菩薩未得佛時，大慈、悲，若言有漏，其失猶可；今佛得無礙解脫智故，一切諸法皆清淨，一切煩惱及習盡。聲聞、辟支佛，

⁴⁰⁸ On the ten forces see Lamotte III pp. 1506 ff.; Radich 2010: 136 (as constituents of the *dharma-kāya* according to the Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma).

⁴⁰⁹ It is not clear precisely what *lun zhe* 論者 means. In his translation—which, incidentally, is syntactically wrong—Lamotte, (III p. 1564) rendered 論者 as just “des docteurs”, and reconstructed *wu'ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 as *avyāhatavimukti*. This expression is also used elsewhere in the DZDL, as it is here, in a context of quotation glosses, alongside *you ren yan* 有人言: see e.g., T 1509 (XXV) p. 240a22–23 (tr. Lamotte III p. 1554) and p. 400a23–25.

不得無礙解脫智故⁴¹⁰，煩惱習不盡，處處中疑不斷故，心應有漏。諸佛無是事，何以故說佛大慈、悲應是有漏？(T 1509 [XXV] p. 257b10–19; cf. Lamotte III p. 1715).

[a]淤泥=汚泥【宋】【宮】，淤=汚【石】[b]〔大〕—【宋】【元】【明】【宮】
[c]〔故〕—【宋】【元】【明】【宮】

Question: Although the great loving-kindness and compassion are the roots of the Buddhas' qualities (*buddhadharma*), they are still⁴¹⁰ attended by contaminants (有漏, **sāsrava*). It is just like a lotus grown in mud: one cannot say that the mud, too, should be beautiful; the same holds true for the great loving-kindness and great compassion: although they are the roots of the Buddhas' qualities, they should not be without contaminants.

Answer: If, when a Bodhisattva had not yet achieved buddhahood, one were to say that [his] great loving-kindness and compassion had contaminants, this error would still be excusable. However, to a Buddha, because he has obtained the insight related to unhindered liberation (無礙解脫智, **anāvaraṇavimokṣajñāna*? cf. Passages 20 and 21 below), all *dharma*s are pure, all defilements (*kleśa*) and all [related residual] impressions (*vāsanā*) alike are exhausted. For Disciples and Pratyekabuddhas, because they have not obtained the insight related to unhindered liberation, [the residual] impressions of the defilements are not exhausted, and because [their] doubts about various matters are not cut off, their minds necessarily have contaminants. Since the Buddhas do not share this situation, why then would you say that the great loving-kindness and compassion of the Buddhas must be contaminated?

Thus, this key function ascribed to the unhindered liberation, as presented by this passage, is not just a component of what Buddhas are, but also includes an important dynamic aspect: by bringing about complete eradication of defilements (both *kleśas* and *vāsanās*), the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* also comes to play an important role in the process of becoming Buddha. This brings us to the third main thematic area in the DZDL's treatment of this category: the acquisition of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as a key juncture in the process of awakening.

⁴¹⁰ On this meaning of *gu* 故, see Dong and Cai 1994: 202–203.

2.1.3 The *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as Part of the Advanced Bodhisattva Path

The DZDL contains several passages (including the one already discussed in Chapter 3.2) describing the final stages of the Bodhisattvas' path to awakening, in which the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is mentioned as a crucial factor.

Here is one example, occurring in a dialogical and polemical context, contrasting different opinions about the destruction of the *kleśas* and the *vāsanās* (see Lamotte IV pp. 1775–1783). According to Lamotte's analysis of the text, this passage represents the “correct theory” from the viewpoint of the DZDL:

12.

菩薩得無生法忍^a，煩惱已盡；習氣未除故，因習氣受{及}法性生身，能自在化生。有大慈悲，為眾生故，亦為滿本願故，還來世間具足成就餘殘佛法故；十地滿，坐道場，以無礙解脫力故，得一切智、一切種智，斷煩惱習 (T 1509 [XXVI] p. 261c22–27; cf. Lamotte IV pp. 1780–1781).

[a]法忍=忍法【宋】【元】【明】【宮】

[When] Bodhisattvas obtain the acceptance of [the principle of] non-arising *dharma*s (無生法忍, **anutpatti**kadharma**kaṣānti*), defilements are already exhausted. [However,] because [their residual] impressions (習氣, **vāsanā*) have not yet been eliminated, on the basis of [these] residual impressions, [Bodhisattvas] obtain⁴¹¹ a body produced from (or by?) *dharma* nature (**dharma**dhātujakāya*, see above, Chapter 5.3, p. 107), [thus] being able to be reborn by transformation (化生, **aupapāduka*) at will. Having the great loving-kindness and compassion, for the sake of living beings and in order to fulfil their original vow [to attain Buddhahood], they come back into the world to fully achieve the remaining *buddhadharma*s. The ten stages being fully accomplished, they sit on the platform of awakening (道場, **bodhi-māṇḍa*): due to the power of the unhindered liberation, they obtain omniscience, the knowledge of all aspects [etc.], and cut off the [residual] impressions of defilements.

⁴¹¹ I cannot understand *ji* 及 in the string *shou ji* 受及, and I suspect a scribal error.

The following is another example, taken from the commentary on the description of the tenth *bhūmi* provided by the LP:

13.

爾時，菩薩作是念：「欲界魔王心未降伏。」放眉間光，令百億魔宮闈蔽不現。魔即瞋惱，集其兵眾，來逼菩薩。菩薩降魔已，十方諸佛慶其功勳，皆放眉間光，從菩薩頂入。是時，十地所得功德，變為佛法，斷一切煩惱習，得無礙解脫，具十力、四無所畏、四無礙智、十八不共法、大慈大悲等無量無邊諸佛法 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 419b26–c4; cf. Lamotte V p. 2445).⁴¹²

At that moment, the Bodhisattva thinks thus: “The mind of King Māra[*sovereign*] of the realm of desire has not yet been subdued”. [Then] he emits the light [emanating from] between the eyebrows, causing hundreds of myriads of Māra’s palaces to be obscured and not to appear. Māra is then angered and gathers his troops to come to attack the Bodhisattva. Once the Bodhisattva has brought Māra down, all the Buddhas of the ten directions will celebrate his achievement, and will all emit light [emanating from] between the eyebrows, which will enter from the top of the Bodhisattva’s head. At this moment, all the merit obtained [during the practice carried out] in the ten stages will transform into *buddhadharmas*, he will cut off all the [residual] impressions of defilements [and] obtain the unhindered liberation, [thus becoming] endowed with the ten powers, the four forms of fearlessness, the four forms of unobstructed insight, the eighteen unshared

⁴¹² For the relevant lemma, see:

Kj T 223 (VIII) p. 259c6–10 = T 1509 (XXV) p. 417a15–19: 「云何菩薩住十地中當知如佛？」「若菩薩摩訶薩具足六波羅蜜、四念處，乃至十八不共法、一切種智具足滿，斷一切煩惱及習，是名菩薩摩訶薩住十地中當知如佛」.

Cf. PvsP(K) I-2 p. 102,23–29 (cf. LPG f. 97r13–15): *tatra katham bodhisattvo mahāsattvo daśamyāḥ bhūmau sthitah sams tathāgata eveti vaktavyah?* *yadā bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasya daśapāramitāḥ paripūrṇā bhavanti, yāvad aṣṭādaśāveṇikā buddhadharmāḥ paripūrṇā bhavanti, sarvākārajanatājñānaṃ ca sarvavāsanānusamdhiklesāprahāṇyāḥ bhavati, mahākarunā ca sarvabuddhadharmāḥ paripūrṇā bhavanti, evam hi subhūte bodhisattvo mahāsattvo daśamyāḥ punar bodhisattvabhūmeh param tathāgata eveti vaktavyah.*

*dharma*s, the great loving-kindness, and the great compassion and other immeasurable, unlimited *buddhadharma*s.

An even more succinct version of the awakening process, presented by another passage, includes the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (mentioned, in this case, after the *vajropamasamādhi*, exactly as in the Passage examined in Chapter 3.2):

14.

菩薩住金剛三昧，斷一切煩惱微習，令無遺餘，得無礙解脫，故言「一切種智」(T 1509 [XXV] p. 497c9–11).⁴¹³

The Bodhisattva, established in the *vajra*-[*upama*-]*samādhi*,⁴¹⁴ cuts off all the subtle [residual] impressions of defilements, so that there is no residue, [and] obtains the unhindered liberation; therefore [the LP] mentions [here] the “knowledge of all aspects”.

Clearly, we are confronted by a consistent pattern, with some passages from the DZDL describing a relatively consolidated schematic representation of the final steps of the Bodhisattva career, from which we can extrapolate the following basic sequence:

Attainment of the *vajropamasamādhi* (see Passage 4.b in Chapter 3.2, Passage 14 above and Passage 18 with n. 426 below) → destruction of all *kleśas* and *vāsanās*⁴¹⁵ → attainment of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* → attainment of *buddhadharma*s.

⁴¹³ The relevant lemma (part of a passage providing various definitions of *Prajñā-pāramitā*) reads: 世尊，般若波羅蜜是一切種智，一切煩惱及習斷故 (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 302a27–28 = T 1509 [XXV] p. 496b5–6), corresponding to PvSP(K) II–III p. 142,32–33 (cf. LPG): *saṃvākārajñatākaraṇī bhagavan prajñāpāramitā sarvavāsanānusāṃdhiklesaprahānaṭām upādāya* [Note: we were unable to track down this reference.—Eds.]

⁴¹⁴ My interpretation of the term *jin'gang sanmei* is based on the parallel analysed as Passage 4.b in Chapter 3.2; cf. Radich 2011: 277.

⁴¹⁵ In the DZDL passages describing these final steps leading to awakening that mention the *vajropamasamādhi* (Passage 4.b in Chapter 3.2, Passages 14 and 18 in this Appendix 2), attainment of the *samādhi* is listed before that of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, and is presented as the step directly leading to the destruction of *kleśas* and *vāsanās* (which is in line with the functions normally ascribed to this *samādhi*: see Chapter 3.2 n. 115). However, as we have seen above, the DZDL elsewhere seemingly ascribes the destruction of these defilements to the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* itself (see Passages 11–12 in this Appendix).

An interesting aspect of this recurring motif is that the inclusion of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* makes this scheme partly different from, for example, Sarvāstivādin descriptions of the awakening process (cf. Radich 2010: 138–142; 2011: 177–179). This reinforces the impression that in the DZDL’s use of the “unhindered liberation” we might face a distinctive doctrinal development. This, in turn, may have important implications for our interpretation of Passage 4 in Chapter 3.2, and I will come back to this issue below (Passage 18) and in the Conclusions at the end of this Appendix.

At any rate, the role ascribed by the DZDL to the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in the context of the tenth *bhūmi* explains why this state, or faculty, is attributed by some passages of the commentary to both Buddhas and advanced Bodhisattvas.

The following example occurs in the commentary on a LP passage describing the Bodhisattvas’ need to train in the Perfection of Insight in order to acquire mastery—cognitive and otherwise—over the material elements (cf. GZJ § 1.142 ff., in Zacchetti 2005: 182 ff.).⁴¹⁶

15.

復次，諸佛及大菩薩得無礙解脫故，過於是事，尚不以為難，何況於此！(T 1509 [XXV] p. 299c2–4; cf. Lamotte V p. 2205).

Furthermore, since the Buddhas and the great Bodhisattvas have obtained the unhindered liberation, they would not consider it difficult even to surpass these deeds [described by the LP], let alone [perform] them!

Another example mentions only Bodhisattvas, although the context is, again, that of the final stages before awakening:

⁴¹⁶ This gloss seems to be specifically referring to the following passage from the base text: 復次，舍利弗，菩薩摩訶薩欲數知三千大千國土中大地諸山微塵，當學般若波羅蜜 (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 219c16–18 = T 1509 [XXV] p. 299a22–23).

The Sanskrit versions are, here, quite different: LPG f. 11r9–10 (Ś p. 81,11–14): *punar aparaṇ śāradvatīputra yāvanyas trīśāhasramahāśāhasre lokadhātāu gaṇ-gānaḍīvālukās tāḥ sarvā jñātukāmena bodhisatvena mahāsatvena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam**. PvsP[K] I-1 p. 34,1–3: *punar aparam śāriputra trīśāhasramahāśāhasralokadhātāu ye pr̄thiviyaptejovāyuparamānavas tāñ jñātukāmena bodhisattvena mahāsattvena prajñāpāramitāyām śikṣitavyam*.

16.

「無礙智」者，菩薩得般若波羅蜜，於一切實、不實法中無礙；得是道慧，將一切眾生令入實法。得無礙解脫，得佛眼，於一切法中無礙 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 418a2–5).⁴¹⁷

As for “unhindered knowledge” (無礙智, *apratihatajñāna*), a Bodhisattva, obtaining [mastery of the] *prajñāpāramitā* [method],⁴¹⁸ has no hindrance with respect to all real and unreal *dharma*s. Obtaining this knowledge of the paths (道慧, **mārgajñatā*), he allows all beings to gain access to real *dharma*s. Obtaining the unhindered liberation, obtaining the buddha eye, [a Bodhisattva] has no hindrance with respect to all *dharma*s.

Incidentally, this passage is also interesting in that it shows that there is an established connection between *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* and the attainment of the Buddha eye (which is directly mentioned by the base text which this gloss comments on: *buddhacakṣuḥpratilambhah*; see n. 417), exactly as in Chapter 3.2, Passage 4.

2.1.4 The Status of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*

As made clear by Passage 2 quoted at the beginning of this Appendix, the DZDL maintains the existence of different types of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, respectively characteristic of Buddhas and advanced Bodhisattvas. However, elsewhere the DZDL introduces a neater distinction, seemingly presenting the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as a category exclusive to Buddhas, and ascribing Bodhisattvas’ supernatural powers to a distinct, specific *samādhi*:

⁴¹⁷ This is a commentary on this passage: 云何菩薩無闇[T 1509 = 碜]智？得佛眼故。云何菩薩無礙智？得佛眼故 (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 259a28 = T 1509 [XXV] p. 416c9–10); this corresponds to PvSP(K) I-2 pp. 99,33–100,2: *tatra katamad bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasyāpratihatajñānam?* yo *buddhacakṣuḥpratilambhah*, *idam bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasyāpratihatajñānam*; LPG f. 96v6: *tatra katamad bodhisattvasya mahāsattvasyāpratihatajñānam* *yad uta: buddhacakṣuḥpratilambhah*.

⁴¹⁸ At first sight, this sentence, 得般若波羅蜜, is a bit puzzling (although it is not uncommon in the DZDL), as the *prajñāpāramitā* is not usually conceived as an attainment (nor could it be, since the whole point in its cultivation is precisely the non-reification of any attainment, practice, etc.!). So, in my translation I have tried to render what I think this expression should probably mean.

17.

佛有無礙解脫，菩薩有不可思議三昧，能令多時作少時、少時作多時，亦能以大色入小、小色作大 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 420b23–25).⁴¹⁹

Buddhas have the unhindered liberation, Bodhisattvas have the inconceivable *samādhi*,⁴²⁰ [which] can cause a long time to become short time, or a short time to become a long time; they can also cause large material [things] to enter into small ones, and small material [things] to become large.

In this connection, it is possible that the expression [諸]佛無礙解脫, “the unhindered liberation of the Buddhas”, which occurs in some passages of the DZDL,⁴²¹ might have a technical meaning more specific than it appears at first sight, being perhaps employed precisely to distinguish the type of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* characteristic of Buddhas (cf. Passage 2 above). If this is the case, the connection between the DZDL gloss (Passage 4.b) and the LPG expansion (Passage 4.c.1: *anāvaraṇa- buddhavi-mokṣa-* in LPG and related texts) analysed in Chapter 3.2 (Passage 4) would be historically even more significant.

While the inconsistencies in the treatment of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* highlighted above might not appear particularly serious, and could be explained away in one way or another, they still deserve our attention in the light of the discussion of the DZDL as a repository of varied exegesis offered in Chapter 5. They also strengthen the impression that the nature and status of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (a category which, as we have already observed above and in Chapter 3.2, remained peripheral in *Prajñāpāramitā* texts and exegesis outside the DZDL) were to some extent open to different interpretations, even within the doctrinal milieu reflected by this commentary (see on this the Conclusions below).

⁴¹⁹ This short passage is quoted from the commentary on a rather long lemma, corresponding to the initial part of Kj Chapter 21 (T 223 [VIII] pp. 259c17–260b24 = T 1509 [XXV] pp. 419c14–420b17; cf. PvsP[K] I-2 pp. 103,8 ff.).

⁴²⁰ This might be the same *samādhi* listed in the *Xiaopin banreboluomi jing* 小品般若波羅蜜經 at the end of the Sadāprarudita narrative: 諸法不可思議三昧 (T 227 [VIII] p. 586b4; see also the corresponding passage from Kj, T 223 [VIII] p. 423c1), and cf. *Aśṭasāhasrikā* p. 987,26: *sarvadharmaś cintyaś ca nāma samādhiḥ*.

⁴²¹ Apart from Passage 2 above, see also T 1509 (XXV) p. 240a7, p. 558a3–4, and p. 619b16.

This impression is further corroborated by the occurrence, already briefly mentioned above (see also Passages 3 and 5 above), of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in several “quotation glosses” recording the opinions of specific unnamed commentators (cf. Chapter 5.3). A particularly interesting example occurs in the context of a discussion of the highest form of omniscience (*sarvākārajñatā*).⁴²²

18.

有人言：十力、四無所畏、四無礙法、十八不共法，盡是智慧相，和合名為一切種智。復有人言：金剛三昧次第得無礙解脫故，若大小、近遠、深淺、難易，無事不知。如是等種種無量因緣，名一切種智 (T 1509 [XXV] p. 649b23–27).

Some say: the ten powers, the four forms of fearlessness, the four unhindered [knowledges, the first of which concerns] *dharma*s,⁴²³ and the eighteen unshared *dharma*s are all characterised by insight and, combined together, are called the knowledge of all aspects (一切種智, *sarvākārajñatā*).

Some others say: because [when a Bodhisattva approaches awakening he] obtains the unhindered liberation in succession, after the *vajra* [-*upama*-]*samādhi*, there is no event, either big or small, close or far, deep or shallow, difficult or easy [to perceive] that he does not know.

[Due to] diverse, innumerable reasons like these, it is called “knowledge of all aspects”.⁴²⁴

⁴²² The passage to which these glosses specifically refer to is 一切種智是諸佛智 (Kj T 223 [VIII] p. 375b26–27 = T 1509 [XXV] p. 646b24), corresponding to LPG f. 252v (ed. Conze 1962: 147; this part of the manuscript is not included in Karashima et al. 2016): (*sarvākārajñatā tathāgata*)nām arhatām samyaksambuddhānam; cf. also PvsP(K) V p. 124,22–23. This lemma is picked up, with a minimal variant, in the middle of the commentary, shortly before the two glosses I have quoted as Passage 18 (一切種智是佛智, T 1509 [XXV] p. 649b16).

⁴²³ *Si wu'ai fa* 四無礙法 is a rare alternative rendition of *pratisaṃvid*, instead of the more common *wu'ai zhi* 無礙智; I tentatively interpret it by taking *fa* 法 as a reference to the first item of this fourfold category, i.e., the *dharma**pratisaṃvid*.

⁴²⁴ For the correct interpretation of the second of these two quotation glosses, it is essential to determine where precisely this final sentence (如是等種種無量因緣，名一切種智) belongs. If it is part of the second quotation gloss, it might to some extent weaken my analysis of this important piece of testimony. However, it seems certain that the string 如是等種種無量因緣，名一切種智 is outside the second gloss, being, rather, a conclusive sentence added by the compilers of the DZDL

The second of these two glosses represents, for various reasons, an important piece of testimony. First of all, it is noteworthy from a doctrinal point of view, as it shows with great clarity the close connection established by this anonymous commentator between the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* and the highest form of omniscience.

But the historical interest presented by this short commentarial fragment is even greater. It is singularly close to the description of the attainment of the Buddha eye provided by Passage 4.b, as discussed in Chapter 3.2, which was the starting point of our exploration of the unhindered liberation. As such, its potential implications are significant. In fact, intriguingly enough, this gloss looks like a summary of the *base text* of Passage 4,⁴²⁵ but combined with the *exegetical addition* of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (as in the DZDL passage quoted under 4.b). Thus this gloss significantly approaches, in its essential content, the expanded readings of that passage attested by LPG (4.c.1) and, especially, Xz(Ś) (4.c.2),⁴²⁶ except that here this is explicitly presented as still being an individual commentator's *interpretation*, and not part of the LP base text.

In other words, this quotation gloss seemingly suggests that the introduction of *anāvaraṇa-* *buddhavimokṣa-* in the commentarial portion of Passage 4 (4.b) and, even more importantly, its subsequent interpolation into the texts of LPG recension, Xz(Ś) and Xz(PvsP) (Passages 4.c.1–

to summarise the points made by the preceding two quotation glosses. Not only is this suggested by the overall context of the passage (which, as pointed out above, is a part of discussion of the notion of *sarvākārajñatā*). It is also confirmed by several other passages showing that 如是等種種無量因緣 (or, much more frequently, 如是等種種因緣) is a recurring formula used, in the DZDL, to conclude the analysis of a certain topic: see, for example, T 1509 (XXV) p. 150a24–25, p. 168a26–27, p. 260a26, p. 370c21–22, etc.

⁴²⁵ Not surprisingly, given that both texts were produced by the same translation team, the wording of this gloss is particularly close to Kj's version of that Passage (see 4.a.3, p. 54 above). Note, in particular, 金剛三昧次第得無礙解脫 ... 無事不知, and cf. 求佛道心次第入如金剛三昧 ... 無法不知 in Passage 4.a.3 (although the content of the process sequenced here is obviously different).

⁴²⁶ This parallelism between the two passages is probably best represented as follows:

Quotation gloss:

復有人言：金剛三昧次
第得無礙解脫故... 無事
不知。

Passage 4.c.1 (LPG f. 34v4–6; see p. 59):

*bodhisatvo ... bajropamam samādhiṃ samā-
padya sarvākārajñatām anuprapnoti • ... an-
āvaraṇena ca buddhavimokṣeṇa samanv-
āgato bhavati • ... bodhisatvena mahāsatve-
na sarvākārair nāsti kiṃcid ... avijñātām.*

4.c.3), may reflect an even more specific exegetical tradition than that represented by the DZDL as a whole—indeed, a particular view of omniscience which is explicitly presented elsewhere in the DZDL (i.e., in the present Passage 18 of this Appendix 2) as reflecting the position of a particular commentator.⁴²⁷

2.2 The *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in Other Mahāyāna Sources

In the second part of this Appendix I will confine myself to analysing some passages from other Mahāyāna sources mentioning the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*. The term occurs in texts such as the *Lalitavistara*, the *Rāstrapālapariprcchā*, and other important Mahāyāna *sūtras*.⁴²⁸ My treatment

⁴²⁷ It is interesting, though, that in Passage 4.b, this interpretation of the attainment of the omniscience represented by the Buddha eye (entailing the sequence *vajropamasamādhi* → *anāvaraṇa-* *buddhavimokṣa*-) is presented merely as the comment of the DZDL. If the two glosses (that quoted under 4.b and that included in Passage 18 in this Appendix) are really saying the same thing, this might demonstrate the presence of different layers in the DZDL.

⁴²⁸ All the occurrences of the term in the Sanskrit *Lalitavistara* are clustered in Chapter 26 (Dharmacakrapravartanaparivartah). The Buddha, when asked by the Bodhisattva Maitreya to explain to Bodhisattvas gathered from all the directions what sort of wheel he has turned, lists a number of qualities of the Dharma Wheel. The fifth of these, according to the Sanskrit text (*Lalitavistara* vol. 1 p. 422,14) is: *anāvālam tac cakram anāvaraṇavimokṣapratilabdhatvāt* (“that wheel is not polluted due to the acquisition of unhindered liberation”); cf. Divākara’s late seventh century translation, rather different from the Sanskrit in this passage: 法輪不雜，斷除二障方能證故 (*Fangguang da zhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經 T 187 [III] p. 608b24–25). According to an immediately following passage introducing a long list of appellatives and qualities of the Buddha, “He is said to be one who abides in unhindered knowledge and liberation, due to the complete cessation of various factors causing hindrance” (*anāvaraṇajñānavimokṣavihārīty ucyate nānāvaraṇīyadharmaṣupraḥīnatvāt*, *Lalitavistara* vol. 1 p. 424,18–19; cf. T 187 [III] p. 609a3: 除一切法障故名住無障智, apparently reading **anāvaraṇajñānavihārin*). Finally, the term is also found in another passage occurring further down the same list: *anāvaraṇavimokṣapratilabdhatvād anāvaraṇavimokṣapratilabdha ity ucyate* (ib. p. 435,6–7; cf. T 187 [III] p. 610c14, which simply reads: 名得無礙解脫). None of these passages has a parallel in Dharmarakṣa’s earlier version, the *Pu yao jing* 普曜經 T 186 (see Okano 1988: 37, section on Chapter 24 of Dharmarakṣa’s version with n. a).

[Note: In the revised edition of the *Lalitavistara* published by Hokazono, the passage in Lefmann’s edition at 424,18–19 is read (432,16–17): *anāvaraṇajñānavimokṣavihārīty ucyate sarvāvaraṇīyadharmaṣupraḥīnatvāt*, taking the reading *nānāvā*^o as a variant, and noting Tib. *thams cad*. Note further that this also agrees

of this issue in the following pages will necessarily be limited to a few important occurrences, without any pretension of exhaustiveness or conceptual systematicity. My aim here is just to give an approximate idea of the use of this term outside the DZDL.

2.2.1 The *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra*

Remarkably enough, the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (or, rather, its Gāndhārī counterpart *anāvaraṇavimoha*) is already attested in one of the earliest textual witnesses of Mahāyāna Buddhism that we possess, the so-called *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra*, a birch-bark fragment (no. 2) in Gāndhārī from the Bajaur Collection of Kharoṣṭī manuscripts (datable to the first-second centuries CE).⁴²⁹

The term occurs, as part of a compound, in the section on the four “unbreakable confidences” (Gāndhārī *abhejaprasada*, corresponding to Sanskrit *abhedyaprasāda*,⁴³⁰ the first of which is centred on the Buddha:

with the Chinese 一切. The subsequent passage cited by Zacchetti is read in the new edition (458,17–18): *anāvaraṇavimokṣapratilabdhatvād anāvaraṇavimokṣaprāpta ity ucyate*, with the notation that this is the reading of all manuscripts. See Hokazono 2019.—Eds.]

In a passage at the beginning of the *Rāṣtrapālapariprcchā*, the Bodhisattva Prāmodyarāja is described as, among other things, “desiring the liberation of the buddhas that is free from obstruction” (see *Rāṣtrapālapariprcchā* p. 4,15–16: *anāvaraṇam ca buddhavimokṣam abhilaṣamāṇah*; tr. Boucher 2008, 116). On the Chinese versions of the *Rāṣtrapālapariprcchā*, see Boucher 2008: xviii–xix. This portion of the Sanskrit text has no parallel in the earliest textual witness of this scripture, namely, Dharmarakṣa’s third century translation, the *Deguang taizi jing* 德光太子經 T 170 (see Boucher 2008: 108). However, the passage on unhindered liberation is attested in the late sixth century translation by Jñānagupta and Dharmagupta: 愛樂諸佛如來無礙解脫之門 (this version is included in the *Mahāratnakūṭa*, *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經 T 310(18) [XI] p. 458a14–15). The late tenth century translation by Dānapāla does contain the expression *wu’ai jietuo* 無礙解脫, corresponding to *anāvaraṇa- buddhavimokṣa-* (see *Huguo zunzhe suo wen dasheng jing* 護國尊者所問大乘經 T 321 [XII] p. 1c13), but the passage in which it occurs, and its relationship with the Sanskrit text, are far from clear.

⁴²⁹ For an introductory study of the *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra* and an outline of its content, see Schlosser and Strauch 2016; on the Bajaur Collection as a whole, see Strauch 2008, especially, concerning the date of the collection, p. 111: “it seems possible to place the manuscripts of the Bajaur Collection stylistically between the BL and Senior scribes which would speak in favour of a date within the first and second centuries AD with a preference to the later half of this period”.

⁴³⁰ See Schlosser and Strauch 2016: 315: “According to the conventional interpretation, the four *avetyaprasādas* are based on an active conceptualisation of the four

19.

[152] *anāvaraṇavimohāṭhanāṭhi[do] vi tasagado ṇa samanupaśati* ◇
 He also does not perceive the Tathāgata as abiding in⁴³¹ liberation free
 of obstructions.⁴³²

In view of the early date of this manuscript, and the area of its provenance (i.e., the Bajaur District in Northern Pakistan; for detailed information see Strauch 2008: 103–105), this passage is an extremely important piece of testimony for our understanding of the later adoption of the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in the DZDL. The context within which the passage occurs in the *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra* is also noteworthy: this part

categories that are included here: by forming the right understanding with regard to the three jewels (*buddha*, *dharma*, *samgha*), and morality (*śīla*) as the fourth, the advanced disciple obtains the quality of ‘faithful trust’ (*avetyaprasāda*) in each of them. The *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra* redefines this concept according to the teaching of emptiness”. For a detailed study of these categories, see Schlosser and Strauch 2016b, especially pp. 78–98. This fourfold set corresponds (in spite of the semantic difference of the first member in the Gāndhārī compound) to similar categories attested in Pāli (*aveccapasāda*) and Sanskrit (*avetyaprasāda*) sources. In the *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra*, “the *abhedyaprasādas* played a key role in the concept of an *āryaśrāvaka*” (Schlosser and Strauch 2016b: 78).

⁴³¹ A more literal translation, including *ṭhāna* = *sthāna*, might be “abiding in the state/abode of the liberation free of obstructions”. For some parallels to the expression *anāvaraṇavimohāṭhanā-*, see below, Passages nos. 21–22. More generally, this particular usage (-*ṭhānaṭhido*-/*sthānasthita*) fits a general pattern in our sources, whereby the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* often occurs in conjunction with derivatives of $\sqrt{s}thā$ (see e.g., below, Passage nos. 26, and the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra* passage quoted in n. 459); note also the expression *anāvaraṇajñānavimokṣavihārin* attested in the *Laṭitavistara* (see n. 428).

[Note: Zacchetti noted that Schlosser and Strauch render *vi/*api* “also”. He wanted to discuss this with them. They confirmed that this still seems the more plausible reading to them (personal communication, March 2021).—Eds.]

⁴³² This corresponds to Sanskrit: *anāvaraṇavimokṣasthānasthitam api tathāgatam na samanupaśyati*. This Sanskrit rendering (*chāyā*), as well as the edition and English translation of this passage, are all quoted from an unpublished draft by Andrea Schlosser and Ingo Strauch, kindly made available to me by the authors (personal communication of 15 January, 2020): see their *Bajaur Fragment 2: Reconstruction* p. 11 and *Bajaur Fragment 2: Translation* (January 2020 draft), p. 11.

The passage immediately following in the manuscript (Schlosser and Strauch, ibid.) is also thematically related to the “unhindered liberation”, although it uses a different expression: *sarvadharmaśāṅghavimohāṭhanāṭhido vi* ◇ *tasagado na sama*[153](*)*ṇupaśati*; i.e., “He also does not perceive the Tathāgata as abiding in liberation unattached to all dharmas (*sarvadharmaśāṅgavimokṣasthānasthita*)”.

of the text mentions a series of features of the Buddha which are said not to be “perceived” (in a style reminiscent of *Prajñāpāramitā* texts),⁴³³ so that, due to the resulting correct understanding, the disciple becomes “endowed with unbreakable confidence in the Buddha”.

One conclusion we can draw from the *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra* testimony is that already at this early stage in the formation of *Mahāyāna* literature, as later more systematically in the DZDL, the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* seems to have been conceived as a typical feature of Buddhas, at least in some sources (and, perhaps, in a certain geographic area). Interestingly, the section on the four *abhedyaprasādas* in the *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra* is also concluded by a reference to, *inter alia*, the five “uncontaminated *skandhas*” (Schlosser and Strauch 2016b: 96) which, as discussed above, also play a significant role in the DZDL’s conceptualisation of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*. In this connection, it is also worth noting that Schlosser and Strauch (2016b: 97–98) have identified a significant convergence between the treatment of the four *abhedyaprasādas* in the *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra* and in the DZDL.

2.2.2 The *Samādhirāja-sūtra*

One of the most interesting occurrences of the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in *Mahāyāna sūtra* literature is found in the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*. When, at the beginning of the text, Candraprabha manifests his intention to query the Buddha, the latter replies that he can answer any question:

20.

sarvajño 'smi kumara, sarvadarśī sarvadharma-balavaiśāradadyavṛṣa-bhitām anupraptah. anāvaraṇavimokṣajñānasamanvāgataḥ. nāsti kumara, tathāgatasya kim cid ajñātam vā 'drṣṭam vā 'śrutam vā 'viditam vā 'sākṣātkṛtam vā 'nabhisambuddham vā 'nantāparyantāsu lokadhātuṣu (*Samādhirāja-sūtra*, ed. Matsunami 1975: 232–233).⁴³⁴

⁴³³ On the distinctive treatment of the four *abhejaprasada/abhedyaprasāda* in the *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra*, see Schlosser and Strauch 2016b: 95–97.

⁴³⁴ The Gilgit manuscript of the *Samādhirāja-sūtra* is, unfortunately, damaged in this point, as half of the folio is missing. However, the initial part of the compound containing *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is clearly legible at end of line 2 on f. 4r (See Kudo et al. 2018: 2):

Young man, I am omniscient and all-seeing,⁴³⁵ I have obtained mastery of all *dharma*s through the [ten] powers and the [four] forms of fearlessness,⁴³⁶ I am endowed with the knowledge of the unhindered liberation:⁴³⁷ [hence] in infinite, unlimited worlds, there is nothing

<f. 4r1> /// ... • *sarvajño smi*

<4r2> /// (sa)[my]aksam̄buddha sarvadharmavalavaiśāradyavṛṣabhitām anuprāptah anāvaraṇavimokṣa-

<4r3> /// (ku)māra tathāgatasya sarvadharmeṣv ajñātam vā adr̄ṣṭam vā aśrūtam vā aviditam vā

<4r4> ///[bu]ddham *vā¹ anantāparyanteṣu lokadhātuṣu [...]

[1] MS: va

I am grateful to Andrew Skilton for assistance in accessing textual sources for the *Samādhirāja-sūtra*, including his unpublished edition of part of this passage from the Gilgit manuscript.

⁴³⁵ For a partial Pāli parallel to this formula (*samano gotamo sabbaññū sabbadassāvī*, etc. in *Majjhima-nikāya* I 482,4–5 and ff.), see Anālayo 2014: 119 with n. 68. Interestingly, in the Pāli text this is presented as a false claim made by people of the Buddha’s omniscience, and rebuked by the Buddha himself (see loc. cit. lines 14–18).

⁴³⁶ Cf. the Tibetan version: *chos thams cad la stobs dang mi 'jigs pas khyu mchog tu gyur pa rjes su thob pa*. My interpretation of *sarvadharmavalavaiśāradyavṛṣabhitā-* might also be supported by Narendrayāśas’s translation: 於一切法有能力、無畏而得自在 (*Yuedeng sanmei jing* 月燈三昧經 T 639 [XV] p. 549a18–19).

⁴³⁷ Here I have provisionally adopted the interpretation suggested by the Tibetan version: *sgrib pa med pa'i rnām par thar pa'i ye shes dang ldn pa*. However, this is not the only possible understanding of this compound. Perhaps, in their interpretation of the string *anāvaraṇavimokṣajñāna* the Tibetan translators were influenced, by association, by a more common, partly parallel term, the compound *vimuktijñānadarśana*, the last of the five “uncontaminated *skandhas*”, which is usually interpreted as “knowledge and vision of liberation” (Tibetan *rnām par grol ba'i ye shes mthong ba*, or *rnām par grol ba'i ye shes gzigs pa*), where *vimukti* is clearly conceived as the object of knowledge (see also the DZDL explanation, in Lamotte III pp. 1358–1359). Interestingly, the Chinese version of this passage (*Yuedeng sanmei jing* T 639 [XV] p. 549a19) presents a variant here: 與無障礙解脫知見相應, with the addition of 見, **darśana*. The resulting string, 解脫知見, seemingly reflecting **vimuktijñānadarśana*, would thus explicitly connect this compound with the set of five “uncontaminated *skandhas*”.

However, I wonder if, in the light of the DZDL understanding of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, analysed in the first part of this Appendix (see especially Passages nos. 5–7 discussed above), as a factor *empowering* knowledge (and not its object), it might not be possible to understand *anāvaraṇavimokṣajñānasamanvāgata* as “endowed with knowledge *through* the unhindered liberation”.

Yet another interpretation of this compound is offered by Gómez and Silk 1989, who render it as: “I possess unobstructed freedom *and* knowledge” [our emphasis—Eds.], which is, of course, also possible and might be supported by a

which is not perceived, or seen, or heard, or known, or realised by the Tathāgata, or to which he has not fully awakened.⁴³⁸

The main feature of interest offered by this passage from the point of view of this Appendix lies in its convergence with the DZDL conception of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as a factor related to the Buddhas' omniscience (cf. above, § 2.1.1 of this Appendix), but also in its significant proximity to the context of the LP passage (Passage 4) analysed in Chapter 3.2.⁴³⁹

2.2.3 The *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* and Related Sources

One group of Mahāyāna sūtras in which we come across some interesting passages⁴⁴⁰ employing the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is represented by the texts which came to be included in the *Buddhāvatamsaka* collection.⁴⁴¹ Here I can only discuss some examples, starting from a couple of passages found in the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*.

parallel in the Sanskrit text of the *Daśabhūmika* (see below, Passage 21 with n. 442 on the possible interpretation of the relevant compound as a *dvandva*).

⁴³⁸ For a translation of this passage, cf. also Gómez and Silk 1989: 52–53.

⁴³⁹ Note, in particular, LPG's expanded reading of this passage (see Chapter 3.2, Passage 4.c.1): *anāvaraṇena ca buddhavimokṣeṇa samanvāgato bhavati • ta<d a>syā cakṣur yena cakṣuṣā bodhisatvena mahāsatvena sarvākārair nāsti kimcid adr̥stam aśrūtam asmr̥tam avijñātam* (the string *nāsti kimcid adr̥stam*, etc. is found, with variants, in PvsP[K] and in the various Chinese translations of this passage: see 4.a). This is another interesting case of intertextuality, whatever the source of this trope.

⁴⁴⁰ Here I can only provide a rough and entirely provisional assessment of the potential presence of this term in the *Buddhāvatamsaka*, based on a CBETA search of two common Chinese renditions of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, *wu'ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 and *wuzhang'ai jietuo* 無障礙解脫 in the two main Chinese translations of this large textual body (on which see Hamar 2007: 142–150). The *Da fangguang Fohuayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 T 278, translated by Buddhabhadra in the early fifth century, contains fifteen occurrences of *wu'ai jietuo* and one of *wuzhang'ai jietuo*, while Śikṣānanda's homonymous version (T 279, end of the seventh century) also contains fifteen occurrences of *wu'ai jietuo*, and four of *wuzhang'ai jietuo*. Of course, only a detailed analysis of the available parallels could determine whether these expressions are indeed, as it seems *prima facie* likely, translations of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in all the occurrences.

⁴⁴¹ This body of text(s) has significant connections with Central Asia, even if it did not originate there (see Ōtake 2007: 92–95; see also pp. 87–91 on the meaning and origin of the title *Buddhāvatamsaka*).

The most interesting of these passages occurs in the third *bhūmi*:

21.

*... evam vyupaparīkṣate | katamena khalūpāyamārgeṇa śakyā ime sattvā evam bahuduhkhopakleśaprapatitā abhyuddhartum atyanta-sukhe ca nirvāṇe pratiṣṭhāpayitum | sarvadharmanīḥsamśayatām cā-nuprāpayitum iti | tasya bodhisattvavyaivam bhavati | nānyatrānāvara-navimokṣajñānasthānāt | tac cānāvaraṇajñānānavimokṣasthānām*⁴⁴²

⁴⁴² The alternation of *anāvaranavimokṣajñāna-* and *anāvaraṇajñānānavimokṣa-* in the two subsequent occurrences of this compound (if this is accepted as a genuine reading) could suggest an interpretation of *vimokṣa* and *jñāna* as forming a *dvandva*. Tatsuyama (1938: 70 n. 1), followed by Honda 1968: 157 with n. 8 (whose translation, incidentally, is neither entirely accurate nor complete in this passage), also emended the first occurrence to *anāvaraṇajñānānavimokṣa*, as suggested by the Tibetan version (D 44, no. 31, *kha* 196b-197a), which reads *bsgris pa med pa'i ye shes rnam par thar pa'i gnas* in both sentences. This reading is also supported by the last Chinese translation, by Śīladharma: 此皆不離以無障礙智解脫處；此無障礙智解脫，etc. (T 287 [X] p. 545b26-27) and, more importantly, by the old palm-leaf manuscript of the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* (cf. above, Appendix 1.1, Passage 8, n. 278), not used by any of the editors of this text. I transcribe here the relevant passage (folio 17a5; I use <> to mark an interlinear insertion found in the manuscript):

nānyatrānāvaraṇajñānānavimokṣasthānāt tac cānāvaraṇa<>jñāna>>vimo-kṣasthānām*

However, as usual, the situation turns out to be more complex and fluid as soon as one extends the analysis to other, especially earlier sources (for Dharmarakṣa's reading of this passage, see n. 443 below). As a matter of fact, Kumārajīva's version fully support the reading of the Sanskrit text, with the alternating sequence *-vimokṣajñāna-/jñānānavimokṣa:* 即時知住無礙解脫智慧中者乃可得此。是無礙智慧解脫，etc. (*Shi zhu jing* 十住經 T 286 [X] p. 507b21-23).

Both the Buddhabhadra and the Śikṣānanda translation (*Da fangguang Fo-huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 T 278 [IX] p. 551b27-29 and T 279 [X] p. 187c16-17) reflect a reading that developed in the opposite direction than the Tibetan version, with *anāvaraṇānavimokṣajñāna-* (T 278: 無礙解脫智慧；T 279: 無障礙解脫智). The same reading is also attested by the lemma quoted in Vasubandhu's commentary: 經曰：是菩薩作如是念：不離無障礙解脫智處；彼無障礙解脫智處，etc. (*Shi di jing lun* T 1522 [XXVI] p. 155a5-6; on the relevant commentarial passage, T 1522 [XXVI] p. 155a10-14, see the next note). Otherwise, Buddhabhadra's text here is identical with that of Kumārajīva (cf. Yuyama 1996: 275). And, incidentally, it is interesting that, according to the Taishō apparatus to T 278, a witness belonging to the so-called *Shōgo-zō* 聖語藏 Collection (cf. Zaccetti 2005: 84-85) here reads 智慧解脫 in the second occurrence of the compound, which clearly suggests conflation with Kumārajīva's version.

nānyatra sarvadharma-yathā-vadava-bodhāt | sa ca sarvadharma-yathā-vadava-bodho nānyatrá-pracārā-nut-pāda-cāriṇyāḥ prajñāyāḥ | sa ca prajñā-loko nānyatra dhyānakauśalya-viniścaya-buddhi-pratyavekṣaṇāt | tac ca dhyānakauśalya-viniścaya-buddhi-pratyavekṣaṇām nānyatra śruta-kauśalyād iti (*Daśabhūmika*[K] pp. 53,15–54,5; *Daśabhūmika*[R] p. 32 § G–H).

[A Bodhisattva on this stage] reflects in this way: “Through what method of expedient means can those living beings, who have in such a way fallen into extremely painful defilements, be rescued, and established in the *nirvāṇa* which is absolutely blissful, and made to attain certainty with respect to all *dharma*s?” That Bodhisattva [then] thinks [answering his own question]: “Not without abiding in unhindered liberation and knowledge;⁴⁴³ and that abiding in unhindered knowledge and liberation is not [achieved] without right understanding of

⁴⁴³ Dharmarakṣa’s version (the earliest textual witness of the *Daśabhūmika*) presents here a very interesting variant or, more likely, interpretative translation (my punctuation is tentative): 令無復異住無礙三脫之門已立斯法，開化他人，以無罣礙三脫慧門，etc. (*Jian bei yiqiezh de jing* 漸備一切智德經 T 285 [X] p. 469a2–4). I will not comment here on Dharmarakṣa’s rendition of the expression *nānyatra*, etc. (令無復異), which is not entirely clear. Two points in this passage deserve attention. First of all, if we are to take this testimony at face value, *jñāna* seems to have occurred, in the text used by Dharmarakṣa, only in the second occurrence of the compound (無罣礙三脫慧門, which corresponds by position to *tac cānāvaraṇajñānavimokṣasthānam* in the Sanskrit text). Of course, one could dismiss the testimony of this archaic translation, but it is interesting that in one of the manuscripts collated by Kondō (see *Daśabhūmika*[K] p. 54 n. 5; MS T is a manuscript from the Takakusu Collection kept at the Tokyo University Library; cf. Yuyama 1996: 268 n. 10), *jñāna* is also missing from the first occurrence of the compound.

But the main feature of interest presented by this passage from T 285 is the rendition, in both occurrences, of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* as 無礙三脫之門/無罣礙三脫 ... 門 (“the three unobstructed gateways to liberation”). There is little doubt that here the text is referring to the three canonical *vimokṣamukhas* (i.e., *śūnyatā*, *ānimitta/animitta*, and *apraṇihita*), as is shown by several occurrences of the expression 三脫門 in Dharmarakṣa’s corpus (see e.g., *Puyao jing* 普曜經 = *Lalitavistara* T 186 [III] p. 496a5: 常行三脫門，空無相諸願; Dhr T 222 [VIII] p. 179c24: 及三脫門，空、無想、無願). All in all, in view of the other available witnesses of this passage (but also of other parallels from T 285: cf. n. 444 and 447 below), I am inclined to take this reference to the *vimokṣamukhas* as reflecting the translator’s interpretation rather than a variant in his original Indic text. Be that as it may, this interpretation of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, evoking, through the mention of these categories, a notion of “liberation” as *nirvāṇa*, rather than empowerment, is rare in the sources I have analysed, and, in particular, seems very far from the DZDL interpretation of this term. It is, however, interesting that

all *dharma*s; and that right understanding of all *dharma*s is not [achieved] without insight observing (engaged with? attuned to?) non-manifestation and non-arising; and that light of insight is not [achieved] without thorough consideration through skilfulness in meditation and understanding due to doctrinal analysis; and that thorough consideration through skilfulness in meditation and understanding due to doctrinal analysis is not [achieved] without skilfulness in (through?) [Buddhist] learning”.

The compound *anāvaraṇavimokṣajñānasthāna/anāvaraṇajñānavimokṣasthāna*, being placed at the beginning of what appears to be a descending chain of learning practices and achievements, is in effect presented as a culminating cognitive and spiritual status, in a way reminiscent of the DZDL treatment of “unhindered liberation” as an important quality or attainment of Buddhas and advanced Bodhisattvas. This passage also displays significant similarities with other sources analysed above, such as the string *anāvaraṇavimokṣajñāna*, already encountered in Passage 20 from the *Samādhirāja*, and the use of *-sthāna*, as in the Bajaur manuscript (Passage 19). This terminological consistency in the use of the word *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in Mahāyāna sources is certainly worth noticing.

There are two other explicit references to this category in the Sanskrit text of the *Daśabhūmika*: the first occurs in the final verse portion relevant to the fifth *bhūmi*, while the second occurs in a list of “liberations”.⁴⁴⁴

at the beginning of its explanation of this passage of the *sūtra*, the *Daśabhūmika* commentary ascribed to Vāsubandhu and translated by Bodhiruci at the beginning of the sixth century seems to interpret the expression *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in a way not too dissimilar from Dharmarakṣa’s translation, if I understand it correctly: 論曰：證畢竟盡者，住無障礙解脫智中，如經「是菩薩作如是念：不離無障礙解脫智處」故 (*Shi di jing lun* 地論 T 1522 [XXVI] p. 155a10–12); i.e., “Commentary: One who has realised absolute extinction abides in the unhindered liberation and(?) knowledge, because, as [stated by] the *sūtra*: ‘This Bodhisattva thinks as follows: not without abiding in unhindered liberation and(?) knowledge’.”

⁴⁴⁴ In the stanzas describing practice at the level of the fifth *bhūmi*, the text mentions the Bodhisattvas’ cultivation of the truths (*Daśabhūmika*[K] pp. 89–90 [stanzas nos. 6–7]; *Daśabhūmika*[RS] pp. 356–357 [stanzas nos. 16–17]). The first part of the following stanza reads:

evam ca satya parimārgati sūkṣmabuddhir na ca tāva nāvaraṇa prāptu vimokṣaśreṣṭham (*Daśabhūmika*[K] p. 90,6–7 [stanza 8];

cf. *Daśabhūmika*[RS] p. 357,2–3 [stanza 18], with the reading *tāvas* ‘*nāvaraṇa*’; “Thus the person with keen intellect searches for the truth, yet the best of the liberations which is free from hindrances is not at first attained [by him]”.

However, this scripture also contains another passage of some interest for our discussion. In the Sanskrit text of one of the final stanzas of the fourth *bhūmi*, we read:

22.a.

*... gambhīramārgaratanam ca vimokṣasthānam
mahatām upāyasamudāgama⁴⁴⁵ bhāvayāmṛti ||*

See also the translations by Dharmarakṣa (以微真雅心，修治若斯諦；智慧脫門尊，不惱無陰蓋，T 285 [X] p. 474c28–29); Kumārajīva (如是觀諸諦，心微妙清淨，雖為未能得，無障礙解脫，T 286 [X] p. 513b2–3); Buddhabhadra (T 278 [IX] p. 557a28–29; same text as T 286, apart from a minor variant); Śikṣānanda (如是觀諦雖微妙，未得無礙勝解脫，T 279 [X] p. 193a10–11); and Śīladharma (T 287 [X] p. 552a4; same text as T 279).

The chapter on the tenth *bhūmi* contains a passage enumerating ten “Bodhisattva liberations” (*bodhisattvavimokṣa*) obtained—together with infinite other liberations, as we are told immediately after this passage—by a Bodhisattva who has reached this stage. The “unhindered liberation” is mentioned immediately after the “inconceivable (*acintya*) liberation” as the second item of this list: *sa khalu punar bho jinaputrā bodhisattva evam imām bodhisattvabhūmīm anugato ’cintyam ca nāma bodhisattvavimokṣam pratilabhatte | anāvaraṇam ca nāma*, etc. (*Daśabhūmika*[K] p. 187.8–9; *Daśabhūmika*[R] p. 88 § G). Although this is just a list of terms, this passage is important because it shows the relationship between the attainment of this *vimokṣa* and the tenth *bhūmi* (cf. above, Passage 13 from the DZDL), but also for its connection with the *acintyavimokṣa*, which is also discussed by Kumārajīva in one of his glosses on the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* (see below, Passage 26), perhaps influenced by this *Daśabhūmika* passage. The term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is already attested in the earliest Chinese version of this passage, Dharmarakṣa’s *Jian bei yiqiezhi de jing*: 又彼佛子，菩薩以入如是道地，入於菩薩不可思議所立脫門，有名無蓋門，etc. (T 285 [X] p. 491b23–25). It is noteworthy that here, too (cf. n. 443 above, and n 447 below), with the addition of *men* 門 (= -*mukha*), Dharmarakṣa rendered this term (and indeed the whole list of liberations) in a way that seems to imply a reference to the “gateways to liberations” (*vimokṣamukhāni*). This clearly suggests a consistent interpretative pattern in Dharmarakṣa’s version of the *Daśabhūmika*.

The commentary ascribed to Vasubandhu glosses the “unhindered liberation” in this list as follows: “The second [of these liberations: the Bodhisattva] is able to reach worlds beyond measure [and his] knowledge resulting from resolve (願智= **prajñihī-jñāna*; cf. Conze 1967: 271; Nakamura 2014: 614) is unhindered, because as [stated in] the *sūtra*: ‘[he obtains] unhindered liberation’”. (二，能至無量世界，願智[v.l. 知〔宋〕〔元〕〔明〕〔宮〕]無礙，如經「無障礙解脫」故，*Shi di jing lun* 十地經論 T 1522 [XXVI] p. 196c28–29).

⁴⁴⁵ *Daśabhūmika*(RS) prints this as *upāya samudāgama*; but, for *mahatām*, cf. BHSG § 23.11 p. 126.

(*Daśabhūmika*[K] p. 76,12–13 [stanza no. 7]; *Daśabhūmika*[RS] p. 352,3–4 [stanza no. 13]; cf. Tatsuyama 1938: 94).

[The wise ones] cultivate the jewel of the profound path, the abiding in liberation, the production of great expedients.

The interesting element in this passage is the compound *vimoksasthānam*, which echoes several passages we have already analysed (see above, Passages nos. 19 and 20). The reading of the Sanskrit text is confirmed by the Tibetan translation⁴⁴⁶ and most of the Chinese versions.⁴⁴⁷ However, Kumārajīva's translation of this stanza presents, at this point, a notable variation:

22.b.

甚深妙道法，及無礙解脫，大智慧方便 (*Shi zhu jing* 十住經 T 286 [X] p. 511a1–2).⁴⁴⁸

[Bodhisattvas accomplish]⁴⁴⁹ the extremely profound, subtle teaching of the path,⁴⁵⁰ as well as the unhindered liberation, the great insight [and] expedients.⁴⁵¹

It is, of course, theoretically possible that the original manuscript used by Kumārajīva had a variant in this verse, where his translation diverges from the Sanskrit in more than one way.⁴⁵² But this is far from certain and

⁴⁴⁶ *rnam par thar pa'i gnas rnams ...*

⁴⁴⁷ See the translations by Dharmarakṣa (脫門之處所, T 285 [X] p. 472b19), Śiksā-nanda, and Śiladharma (both reading 解脫處, see T 279 [X] p. 190c28 and T 287 [X] p. 549b21).

⁴⁴⁸ Kumārajīva's translation of this passage is reproduced verbatim in Buddhabhadra's version (T 278 [IX] p. 554c23–24).

⁴⁴⁹ The nouns in the passage I have quoted are objects of the verb *cheng* 成 occurring shortly before (T 286 [X] p. 510c29).

⁴⁵⁰ Here I interpret *daofa* 道法 in the light of the corresponding Sanskrit. This expression, which is also used in early translations to translate a variety of terms, often corresponds just to *dharma*: see Karashima 1998: 88; 2001: 62; 2010: 116–117.

⁴⁵¹ Cf. for example 能到一切菩薩智慧方便彼岸 (*Shi zhu jing* T 286 [X] p. 497c15–16), corresponding to *sarvabodhisattvaprajñopāyaparamapāramitāpraptaiḥ* in *Daśabhūmika*(R) p. 1 § A (cf. *Daśabhūmika*[K] p. 2,1 where this is joined to the following compound in the list).

⁴⁵² Note, in particular, 甚深妙道法 for the *gambhīramārgaratanam* of the Sanskrit text, 大智慧方便 for *mahatām upāyasamudāgama*, and the absence of *-sthānam*

indeed unlikely, given that *vimokṣasthānam* is already attested in the earliest Chinese version (see n. 447). All things considered, I am inclined to take the mention of *wu'ai jietuo* 無礙解脫 as an example of Kumārajīva's flexible and hermeneutically active approach to translation, and of his readiness to make explicit doctrinal contents that he considered implicitly present in the original text (see Zucchetti 2015b). If this hypothesis is correct, then Kumārajīva's unpacking of the Sanskrit text's simple *vimokṣa* into "unhindered liberation" would be eloquent testimony to the importance of this notion for the translator (and for the specific exegetical tradition he represented)—and certainly not unexpected, given his well-documented reliance on the DZDL in doctrinal matters.⁴⁵³

The early commentary to the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, also translated by Kumārajīva and transmitted in the Chinese canon under the title of **Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā* and the name of Nāgārjuna (see p. 19 above), contains an important discussion of the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*. It occurs in a section of the commentary devoted to a list of forty distinctive qualities of Buddhas, the last of which is, exactly, the unhindered liberation:⁴⁵⁴

in Kumārajīva's rendition of these lines. But, of course, a certain degree of variation in the translation of verses must be factored in when one evaluates these divergences, especially in the work of a translation team with little inclination for literal rendition, such as that led by Kumārajīva.

⁴⁵³ As his disciple Sengrui puts it in his preface to the DZDL, Kumārajīva constantly relied on this commentary (常杖茲論焉, CSZJJ T 2145 [LV] p. 75a4; cf. Demiéville 1950: 383; Felbur 2018: 227; Shih 1980: 324 with n. 14).

⁴⁵⁴ This category of "forty unshared *dharma*s" (四十不共法) is important in the **Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā*, where it is introduced as a focus of *buddhanusmyṛti* practices in addition to the Buddha's bodily features: "The Bodhisattvas, having called to mind in this way the body of birth (see above p. 107 with n. 211) of the Buddha through the thirty-two marks (*lakṣaṇa*) and the eighty beautiful [secondary characteristics] (*anuvyañjana*), should now call to mind all the meritorious qualities of the Buddha. [As] it is said [in this regard]:

[Bodhisattvas] should again call to mind the Buddha through the forty unshared *dharma*s/
For the Buddhas are [also] *dharma* body, not just body of flesh.

(菩薩如是以三十二相、八十種好念佛生身已，今應念佛諸功德法。所謂：又應以四十 不共法念佛 諸佛是法身 非但肉身故 (Shi zhu piposha lun T 1521 [XXVI] p. 71c12–15).

The commentary then goes on to list all these forty *dharma*s, up to the last, the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (T 1521 [XXVI] pp. 71c19–72a2).

23.

無礙解脫者，解脫有三種。一者，於煩惱障礙解脫；二者，於定障礙解脫；三者，於一切法障礙解脫。是中，得慧解脫阿羅漢得離煩惱障礙解脫；共解脫阿羅漢及辟支佛得離煩惱障礙解脫，得離諸禪定障礙解脫。唯有諸佛具三解脫，所謂煩惱障礙解脫、諸禪定障礙解脫、一切法障礙解脫。總是三種解脫故，佛名無礙解脫 (*Shi zhu piposha lun* 十住毘婆沙論 [**Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā*] T 1521 [XXVI] p. 83a24–b3).

As for the unhindered liberation, there are three types of liberation: the first is liberation from the hindrances [constituted by] defilements (於煩惱障礙解脫, **kleśāvaraṇa*);⁴⁵⁵ the second is liberation from hindrances to absorptions;⁴⁵⁶ the third is liberation from hindrances related to all *dharma*s. Among these, *arhats* who have obtained the liberation of insight (慧解, **prajñāvimukti*) obtain the liberation from the hindrances [constituted by] defilements; doubly liberated (共解脫, **ubhayatobhāgavimukta*)⁴⁵⁷ *arhats* and *pratyekabuddhas* obtain the

⁴⁵⁵ See Yaśomitra's commentary (Wogihara 1932–1936: 597,9) on the *Abhidharma-kośabhbāṣya* passage quoted in the next note: *tatra kleśāvaraṇam iti. kleśā ev'āvaraṇam*.

⁴⁵⁶ The expression *yu dingzhang'ai* 於定障礙 could correspond to *samāpattyāvaraṇa*, mentioned in the *Abhidharma-kośabhbāṣya* (VIII.33, p. 456,2; cf. de La Vallée Poussin 1923–1931, vol. 5, p. 207 with n. 5) in an alternative definition of the *samjñāveditanirodha* as the eighth *vimokṣa*: *samāpattyāvaraṇavimokṣaṇād vimokṣa ity apare* (“according to others, it is called liberation because it liberates from the obstacles to attainments”). The term *samāpattyāvaraṇa* is rendered as *dingzhang* 定障 by both Paramārtha (*Apidamo jushe shilun* 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論 T 1559 [XXIX] p. 303a7) and Xuanzang (*Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論 T 1558 [XXIX] p. 151b20). However, the alternative formulation of this form of liberation found in Passage 23, *zhu chanding zhang'ai jietuo* 諸禪定障礙解脫, if taken at face value, might suggest a different original.

⁴⁵⁷ The expression *gongjietuo* 共解脫 is not particularly common, although it occurs a few times in the DZDL; on its equivalence to *ubhayatobhāgavimukta* (“liberated in both respects”), see for example T 1509 (XXV) p. 270b16 and cf. Lamotte IV p. 1885. On this category, see *Abhidharma-kośabhbāṣya* VI.64 (p. 381,1–4; cf. de La Vallée Poussin 1923–1931, vol. 4, p. 276):

ko 'yam ubhayatobhāgavimukta ity ucyate kaś ca prajñāvimuktah | ... yo nirodhasamāpattilābhī sa ubhayatobhāgavimuktah | prajñāsamādhibalā-bhyāṁ kleśavimokṣāvaraṇavimuktatvāt | itarah prajñāvimuktah | prajñā-balena kevalam kleśāvaraṇavimuktatvāt (“Who is said to be liberated in both respects and who is liberated by insight? ... The person who has obtained the attainment of cessation is liberated in both respects, because

liberation from the hindrances [constituted by] defilements and the liberation from hindrances to *dhyāna*-absorptions. Only the Buddhas are provided with [all these] three liberations, namely the liberation [from] hindrances [constituted by] defilements, the liberation [from] hindrances to *dhyāna*-absorptions, and the liberation [from] hindrances related to all *dharmas*. Because [his attainments] include all these three types of liberations, a Buddha is called [one who is endowed with] unhindered liberation.⁴⁵⁸

This is an important passage: it provides a precise definition of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* (here too presented as an important *buddhadharma*) in a way in which the DZDL, for all the importance it ascribes to this term, does

he is liberated from [both] the hindrances [constituted by] defilements and [those] to liberation [respectively; see Yaśomitra's commentary in Wogihara 1932–1936: 597,6–8] through the powers of insight and concentration. The other [is called] liberated by insight, because he is liberated only through the power of insight from the hindrances [constituted by] defilements”).

⁴⁵⁸ I tentatively take the last sentence (佛名無礙解脫) as reflecting an original *bahu-vrīhi* compound. The idea expressed by this passage is also summarised in the verse portion following this part of the commentary (in the next scroll): 煩惱諸禪障 一切法障礙 三礙得解脫 號無礙解脫 (*Shi zhu piposha lun* T 1521 [XXVI] p. 84b21–22).

[Note: In a marginal note, Zacchetti asked himself whether he should refer to “the new translation of this text”. He was probably referring to Bhikshu Dharmamitra 2019: 839–841: “As for unimpeded liberation, there are three types of liberations. The first is the liberation from the obstacles of the afflictions. The second is the liberation from the obstacles to meditative concentration. The third is the liberation from the obstacles to [the knowledge of] all dharmas. Among these, an arhat who has achieved liberation through wisdom gains liberation from the obstacles of the afflictions. Both the doubly-liberated arhat and the *pratyekabuddha* succeed in achieving both the liberation from the obstacles of the afflictions and the liberation from the obstacles to the *dhyāna* concentrations. It is only the Buddhas who have completely achieved all three of these liberations, namely liberation from the obstacles of the afflictions, liberation from the obstacles to acquisition of the *dhyāna* concentrations, and the liberation from the obstacles to [the knowledge of] all dharmas. It is because he brings together all three of the liberations that the Buddha is designated as having achieved unimpeded liberation”. Further, this translation includes, as Zacchetti did not, a further sentence as part of the same thought, namely (T 1521 [XXVI] p. 83b3) 常隨心共生,乃至無餘涅槃則止, “This [unimpeded liberation] always accompanies the mind all the way up to the point of entry into the *nirvāṇa* without residue”.—Eds.]

not. Unhindered liberation is defined here against the backdrop of a specific classification of hindrances (with parallels in Abhidharma literature), as liberation from all possible types of hindrances.

2.2.4 The *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in Other *Buddhāvatamsaka* Scriptures

A comprehensive discussion of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in the rest of the *Buddhāvatamsaka* tradition would exceed the scope of this Appendix, and here I will confine myself to few references. The term occurs, for example, in the *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*,⁴⁵⁹ which is noteworthy, given the possible influence exerted by this scripture on the DZDL (see below, p. 228).

Another interesting passage is found in Chapter 28 of Buddhabhadra's translation of the *Buddhāvatamsaka*,⁴⁶⁰ providing a list of ten forms—or manifestations—of the Buddhas' unhindered liberation, which are essentially displays of supernatural powers:

⁴⁵⁹ In one passage, Māyādevī, Śākyamuni Buddha's mother, is referred to as, *inter alia*, “abiding in universal radiance (manifestation?) and unhindered liberation”: *māyādevī bhagavato mātā bodhisattvajanani samantāvabhāsānāvaraṇavimokṣapratiṣṭhitā ...* (*Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*[SI] p. 420,13–15; *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*[V] p. 330,8–9). I have not been able to find a clear parallel to this passage in the translations by Buddhabhadra (cf. *Da fangguang Fohuayan jing* T 278 [IX] p. 760a6–7) and Śiksānanda (cf. T 279 [X] p. 411c21). It does, however, occur in Prajñā's late eighth century version: 今此佛母摩耶夫人得幻智光明無礙解脫 ... (*Da fangguang Fohuayan jing* T 293 [X] p. 794c24–25).

In another passage listing Sudhana's several spiritual attainments after having seen the miracle of Vairocana's great vaulted house (*mahākūṭāgāra*), he is described as one “having the resolve to follow the guidance of the unhindered liberation” ([a]nāvaraṇavimokṣanayanānusarāṇabuddhiḥ; *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*[SI] p. 512,10–11; *Gaṇḍavyūha-sūtra*[V] p. 408,11–12). The compound does not occur in Buddhabhadra's version, which has a much shorter reading of the whole passage (cf. T 278 [IX] p. 780b25–28), but has parallels in the two later translations: Śiksānanda has 入於無礙解脫之門 (T 279 [X] p. 435a29–b1), “entered in the teaching of unhindered liberation”, which is closely mirrored by Prajñā's rendition (入於無礙解脫法門, T 293 [X] p. 832a8).

⁴⁶⁰ This is the “Chapter on the inconceivable *dharma* of the Buddhas” (*Fo busiyi fa pin* 佛不思議法品), corresponding to Chapter 33 (same title) in Śiksānanda's version, and to Chapter 39 (*sangs rgyas kyi chos bsam gyis mi khyab pa bstan pa*) in the Tibetan translation (P 761/D 44).

24.

佛子，一切諸佛，有十種無礙^a解脫。何等為十？一切諸佛，於一微塵中，悉能普現不可說不可說諸佛出世；一切諸佛，於一微塵中，悉能普現不可說不可說諸佛轉淨法輪；一切諸佛，於一微塵中，教化調伏不可說不可說眾生；一切諸佛，於一微塵中，普現不可說不可說佛刹；一切諸佛，於一微塵中，授不可說不可說菩薩記；一切諸佛，於一微塵中，普現三世諸佛出世；一切諸佛，於一微塵中，普現三世一切佛刹；一切諸佛，於一微塵中，普現三世自在神力；一切諸佛，於一微塵中，普現三世一切眾生；一切諸佛，於一微塵中，普現三世一切諸佛佛事。佛子！是為一切諸佛十種無礙解脫 (*Da fangguang Fohuayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 T 278 [IX] pp. 600c29–601a14).⁴⁶¹

[a]礙 = 閣【聖】，*passim*

Son of the Buddha (佛子, **jinaputra*), all Buddhas have ten types of unhindered liberation. Which ten? All Buddhas are able to completely manifest, in one single atom, an untold number⁴⁶² of Buddhas appearing in the world; all Buddhas are able to completely manifest, in one single atom, an untold number of Buddhas turning pure dharma wheels; all Buddhas convert through teaching and tame, in one single atom, an untold number of living beings; all Buddhas completely manifest, in one single atom, an untold number of *buddhakṣetras*; all Buddhas confer, in one single atom, prophecies to an untold number of Bodhisattvas; all Buddhas completely manifest, in one single atom, all the Buddhas of the three times appearing in the world; all Buddhas

⁴⁶¹ This is the corresponding passage in Śiksānanda's version:

佛子，諸佛世尊有十種無礙解脫。何等為十？所謂：一切諸佛能於一塵現不可說不可說諸佛出興於世；一切諸佛能於一塵現不可說不可說諸佛轉淨法輪；一切諸佛能於一塵現不可說不可說眾生受化調伏；一切諸佛能於一塵現不可說不可說諸佛國土；一切諸佛能於一塵現不可說不可說菩薩授[授=受【宮】【聖】]記；一切諸佛能於一塵現去、來、今一切諸佛；一切諸佛能於一塵現去、來、今諸世界種；一切諸佛能於一塵現去、來、今一切神通；一切諸佛能於一塵現去、來、今一切眾生；一切諸佛能於一塵現去、來、今一切佛事。是為十 (*Da fangguang Fohuayan jing* T 279 [X] p. 251b5–17).

⁴⁶² The expression *bukeshuo bukeshuo* 不可說不可說 must reflect an original *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya*, designating a very high number (see BHSD p. 20). My rendition of this as “an untold number of” is a mere placeholder and not an entirely accurate one at that, since *anabhilāpyānabhilāpya* refers to a specific number.

completely manifest, in one single atom, all the *buddhakṣetras* of the three times; all Buddhas completely manifest, in one single atom, the masterful supernatural powers⁴⁶³ of all the Buddhas of the three times; all Buddhas completely manifest, in one single atom, all the living beings of the three times; all Buddhas completely manifest, in one single atom, the *buddha-deeds*⁴⁶⁴ of all the Buddhas of the three times. Son of the Buddha, these are the ten types of unhindered liberation of all the Buddhas.

The *Buddhāvataṃsaka* scriptural tradition (with related commentaries) represents the second most important source on the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* after the DZDL itself, and I will discuss possible connections between these sources in the Conclusions to this Appendix. While here I cannot offer a detailed doctrinal analysis of this fact, it is an easy guess that it is probably a reflection of the key role that the idea of non-obstruction and dissolution of any form of limitation plays in *Avatamsaka* and East Asian Huayan 華嚴 thought in general (see, for example, Gimello 1976: 23–27, and especially 473; Schmithausen 2009: 229–230).

2.2.5 The *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the *Zhu Weimojie jing*

The last set of sources I would like to discuss in this Appendix are the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* and the commentary based on Kumārajīva's version of this scripture known as the *Zhu Weimojie jing* 注維摩詰經 (T 1775). The latter is particularly important for the present study. This invaluable exegetical work, a compilation of glosses by Kumārajīva and some of his

⁴⁶³ This expression, *zizai shenli* 自在神力, also occurs in Kumārajīva's corpus. See, for example, *Weimojie suo shuo jing* T 475 (XIV) p. 543b27–29: 維摩詰有如是自在神力, 智慧辯才, 故我不任詣彼問疾, and cf. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 25a2–3 (ed. 2006: 41): *ime bhagavan vimalakīrter licchaver vikurvanavīśeṣāḥ, yān aham nājñāsiṣam | tan nāham bhagavan utsahe tasya satpuruṣasya glāṇapari-prcchako gantum.*

⁴⁶⁴ [Note: Zacchetti contemplated the possibility that there might be a link between the tenfold categorisation listed here and notions of *buddhakṛtya/buddhakārya*, for which he referred to Tournier 2017: 239–246; and discussion of “systèmes ... des caryā”, *idem* 196 ff.—Eds.]

prominent disciples,⁴⁶⁵ provides unique insight into the doctrinal background of one of the most influential translation teams in the history of Chinese Buddhism, to which we owe, among other things, the DZDL.

The scripture usually known as *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* is referred to in ancient sources under a variety of different titles, several of which are built around the expression *acintyavimokṣa*, “inconceivable liberation”,⁴⁶⁶ a condition conducive to advanced supernatural powers which is the topic of Chapter 5 of the Sanskrit text (*Acintyavimokṣasamāḍarśana-parivarta*, *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* pp. 56–63). In one of the first glosses collected in this commentary, Kumārajīva discusses at length this alternative title, also mentioning, *inter alia*, the unhindered nature of the “inconceivable liberation”. Although it does not explicitly mention the term “unhindered liberation”, this passage is important because provides direct evidence of Kumārajīva’s understanding of *vimokṣa*, which comes close to several passages from the DZDL analysed above in section 1.

25.

一名不可思議解脫。 什曰：亦名三昧，亦名神足。或令脩短改度，或巨細相容，變化隨意。於法自在解脫無礙^a，故名解脫。能者能然，物不知所以故曰不思議。 亦云：法身大士念即隨應，不入禪定然後能也。心得自在，不為不能所縛故曰解脫也。若直明法空，則乖於常習，無以取信，故現物隨心變，明物無定性。物無定性，則其性虛矣。菩薩得其無定，故令物隨心轉，則不思議乃空之明證。將顯理宗故，以為經之標也 (*Zhu Weimojie jing* T 1775 [XXXVIII] p. 327c15–25).

[a]無礙=於闐【甲】

⁴⁶⁵ The *Zhu Weimojie jing* is traditionally ascribed to Sengzhao 僧肇 (374–414 CE; cf. Robinson 1967: 123 and 254 n. 2), one of the brightest stars in Kumārajīva’s circle, but modern research has shown that, in its present form, the text must be a later compilation, which shows signs of subsequent redaction even within individual glosses transmitted under Sengzhao’s name (Hanazuka 1982: 203). Through a careful analysis of the available sources, Hanazuka (1982: 207–211) dates the compilation of this collection of glosses in its earlier eight-scroll format (as opposed to the closely related later ten-scroll edition represented by T 1775) to the sixth century, hypothetically ascribing it to Emperor Wu of the Liang dynasty (梁武帝, 464–549 CE).

⁴⁶⁶ See Lamotte 1962: 31–32, 392–393 with n. 42; cf. also Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2004b: 12–13.

An alternative title is Inconceivable liberation (**acintyavimokṣa*).

Kumārajīva said: [This *vimokṣa*] is also defined as *samādhi*, and also as basis of supernatural power (神足, **yddhipāda*). Sometimes [this attainment] causes the length [of things] to be altered, sometimes [it causes] large and small [things] to encompass each other, transforming [them] at will. Because [this power entails] mastery and freedom with respect to [all] *dharma*s, without [any] hindrance, it is called ‘liberation’. Because the one who has the capacity [to exert this power] is able to be so without [other] beings understanding how [that happens], it is called “inconceivable”.

It is also said that for Great Beings with the Dharma body (**dharma**kāya*),⁴⁶⁷ [these supernatural powers] are manifested [merely] by thinking;⁴⁶⁸ it is not that they are able [to display these powers] only after being absorbed in meditative states. Because [their minds] acquire mastery, without being trammelled by inability, [this state] is called “liberation”. If one were to illustrate [the principle of] the emptiness of *dharma*s in a direct way, then [this] would be in [total] contrast with [people’s] customary [experience], [and, as a result,] there would not be any means to win [their] conviction. Therefore, one shows that things change in accordance with the mind, to illustrate [the principle] that things lack a defined nature. If that is the case, then [their] nature is clearly unreal. If Bodhisattvas grasp the fact that [*dharma*s] are without a defined [nature], thus being able to make things transform in accordance with the mind, then [this] inconceivable [power] is indeed a clear proof of emptiness. In order to manifest [this] fundamental principle, it has been adopted as a label of the *sūtra*.

The expression *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* occurs only once in the Sanskrit text of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*. The section in question, at the beginning of the

⁴⁶⁷ The expression *fashen dashi* 法身大士 (大士 being a common equivalent of Mahāsattva) occurs several times in the *Zhu Weimojie jing*. It is clearly related to the term “Bodhisattva with the Dharma body” (法身菩薩) used in the DZDL with reference to advanced Bodhisattvas (see e.g., T 1509 [XXV] p. 146b22–24 and *passim*; cf. also Zhao 2018: 140).

⁴⁶⁸ A more literal translation of 念即隨應 would be “[as soon as these Mahāsattvas] apply [their] thought, [the supernatural powers] conform”, i.e., they are manifested at will. Cf. Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism of Taishō University 2000: 6.

text, describes the qualities of the Bodhisattvas accompanying the Buddha (Chapter 1 § 3), and contains a compound which is very close to the passage from the *Bajaur Mahāyāna Sūtra* quoted above (cf. Passage 19):

26.a.

anāvaraṇavimoksapratiṣṭhitaiḥ (*Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* folio 1b6, ed. Tokyo 2006, p. 1).⁴⁶⁹

They were abiding in unhindered liberation.

The commentary contains two glosses on this passage, one by Kumārajīva (who explicitly equates the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* with the *acintya-vimokṣa*) and one by Sengzhao:

26.b.

心常安住無闇⁴⁷⁰解脫。

什曰：不思議解脫即其類也。於事無闇故言^a無闇。無闇故解脫^b。或於一事乃至百千，或於一國至恒沙國，於中通達，自在無闇，未能如佛一切無闇。

肇曰：此解脫七住^c所得。得此解脫，則於諸法通達無闇，故心常安住也 (*Zhu Weimojie jing* T 1775 [XXXVIII] p. 329a22–27).

[a]言=名【甲】[b]脫+（也）【甲】[c]住+（於）【甲】

[*Sūtra*: These Bodhisattvas'] minds were constantly well established in the unhindered liberation.

⁴⁶⁹ While the earliest Chinese translation simply reads 脫無罣礙, “[their] liberation was without hindrances” (T 474 [XIV] p. 519a15), Xuanzang’s version (建立無障解脫智門, T 476 [XIV] p. 557c14–15) reflects an expanded reading **anāvaraṇavimokṣajñāna-*, which has parallels in other passages analysed above (cf. Passages nos. 20–21). On Kumārajīva’s translation (心常安住無礙解脫, T 475 [XIV] p. 537a13), see Passage 26.b. Lamotte (1962: 98–99) rendered the Tibetan version as “fondés sur des libérations sans obstacle (*anāvaraṇavimokṣa*)”, with the plural “libérations” presumably reflecting an interpretation of this passage as containing a reference to the eight *vimokṣas*. However, the Tibetan text does not really support this interpretation: *sgrib pa med pa'i rnam par thar pa la gnas pa* (Study Group on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature 2004: 4).

⁴⁷⁰ The character 閔 can be considered interchangeable with 碍 (and indeed the two often occurs as variants): see Wang Li 2000: 1566 [Note: For a detailed discussion, see n. 258 above—Eds].

Kumārajīva said: The inconceivable liberation (**acintyavimokṣa*) is of the same category [as the unhindered liberation]. Because it is unhindered with respect to [any] matter, it is said to be unhindered, and because it is unhindered, it is a [form of] liberation. Either with respect to one single matter, and so on *up to*: with respect to a hundred thousand; or in one single land (**lokadhātu*), and so on *up to*: in lands [as numerous as] the sands of the Ganges; [yet, even if] with respect to [all of these things, these Bodhisattvas] are penetrating, [with full] mastery and without hindrances, they are still not able to be as utterly free from hindrances as are the Buddhas.

[Seng]zhao said: This liberation is achieved [by Bodhisattvas] on the seventh stage (*bhūmi*).⁴⁷¹ Having achieved this liberation, [Bodhisattvas] are penetrating, without hindrances, with respect to all *dharmas*, therefore their minds are constantly well established [therein].

2.3 Conclusions

We can now reassess the significance of the DZDL's use of the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* and, above all, of its addition to later LP texts in the passage discussed in Chapter 3.2 (Passage 4). As the survey offered by this Appendix has shown, while the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* occasionally occurs in several Mahāyāna *sūtras*, it seems to have left few traces in Mahāyāna treatises and exegetical texts.

Daśabhūmika commentaries—the **Daśabhūmikavibhāṣā* (see Passage 23 above) and the commentary traditionally attributed to Vasubandhu (see n. 443 and 444)—represent another strand of Mahāyāna exegetical literature, besides the DZDL, which discusses the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*. But the significance of this term's presence is different in these

⁴⁷¹ This statement is in contrast with other authoritative sources which place the attainment of the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in the tenth *bhūmi* (e.g., the DZDL, in Passage 4.b in Chapter 3.2 and in Passages 13 and 14 in this Appendix 2, or the *Daśabhūmika*, in the passage quoted in n. 444 above), and one might at first be tempted to take Sengzhao's 七住所得 as a scribal error for *十住所得. However, the seventh *bhūmi* is consistently presented as a key juncture in many of the glosses (mainly those by Sengzhao, but also in some by Kumārajīva) collected in the *Zhu Weimojie jing* (see e.g., T 1775 [XXXVIII] pp. 329b12–16, 329c26–27, 335a12–13, 339b1–2, p. 343b22–24, 379a3–4, etc.), and a similar idea is also expressed by the DZDL in discussing the acquisition of the **dharmadhātujakāya* (see T 1509 [XXV] p.273b17–18; cf. Lamotte IV p. 1908 and Zhao 2018: 141).

sources. For quite apart from the much higher frequency and doctrinal importance it has in the DZDL, in the *Daśabhūmika* commentaries the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* is mentioned because, as we have seen (see Passage 21 and n. 444), the term already occurs in the base text, whereas in the LP, the base text commented on by the DZDL, it does not (with the limited exceptions discussed in Chapter 3.2, Passage 4). In other words, there is no doubt that in ascribing an important role to the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*, the DZDL was not following either its specific base text or the *Prajñāpāramitā* literature in general. Hence the relative prominence that this concept has in the commentary must reflect the specific exegetical tradition within which it was produced.⁴⁷²

This, in turn, has important implications for our interpretation of the textual expansion discussed in Chapter 3.2. We can now say that the addition of the term *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in LPG and other sources presented in Passages 4.c.1~3 was influenced by a distinctive exegetical tradition also reflected—in a very systematic way—by the DZDL, where this notion plays a uniquely important role.

But if this particular feature of the DZDL’s complex ideology was not shaped by its most direct and important scriptural authority—*Prajñāpāramitā* literature—we must look elsewhere for other possible sources of inspiration.

As we have seen above in this Appendix (2.3–2.4), the *Buddhāvatamsaka* is the one class of Mahāyāna sūtras in which the notion of “unhindered liberation” seems to have had a relatively greater importance than in other scriptures. A systematic study of the influence exerted by *Buddhāvatamsaka* texts on the DZDL must be left for future research. However, Zhao Wen (2018: 142–151) has already suggested the possibility that the *Gandavyūha-sūtra*,⁴⁷³ specifically, may have exerted some influence on the DZDL with respect to another important idea employed by

⁴⁷² In this connection, it is also important to note that Vasubandhu (if he was indeed the author of the *Daśabhūmika* commentary) interpreted the notion of *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in a completely different way from the DZDL: on this point, see n. 443 above.

⁴⁷³ Discussing “References to the *Gandavyūha* in Indian Buddhist Literature”, Gómez (1967: xxxiii–xxxiv; see also ibid. p. ii, and cf. Lamotte III p. xxxvi) lists eight quotations from, or mentions of, this scripture found in the DZDL, under the titles of **Acintya-sūtra* or *Acintyavimokṣa-sūtra* (which however, as pointed out by Durt 1994: 785b, could also refer to the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa*: cf. section 2.5 in Appendix 2 above).

the commentary, that of **dharmadhātuja-kāya* (*faxing sheng shen* 法性生身) What makes Zhao's hypothesis potentially important for our analysis is that the **dharmadhātuja-kāya* happens to be thematically related to the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa*: both play a role in the DZDL's discussion of attributes of Buddhas and advanced Bodhisattvas, and, as a matter of fact, the two terms even occur together in a couple of passages.⁴⁷⁴

But it is the *quality* of their presence in the DZDL that is of perhaps even greater significance: as we have seen, both figure in some interesting quotation glosses (see Chapter 5.3, p. 107 for **dharmadhātuja-kāya*, and Passages 3, 5, and 18 in this Appendix). Apart from other considerations (such as the general distributional patterns of these terms), this fact alone suggests that both these categories belong, within the DZDL's hugely complex doctrinal geology, to a more dynamic layer, including notions which are, to varying degrees, distinctive of this commentary. This layer, we can add, still bears the imprint of debates and, as such, is only partly assimilated to the DZDL's more fundamental and "stable" doctrinal core (mainly represented by *Prajñāpāramitā*, Madhyamaka, and Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma sources); hence, it was probably relatively close in time to its compilation.

All this, again, points to the composite nature of the DZDL, and reminds us of the importance of reading this commentary not as a doctrinal monolith, but as a complex and dynamic multi-layered text. A greater awareness of this side of the DZDL can only add to the richness and fascination of this extraordinary trove of Buddhist learning and history.

⁴⁷⁴ See above, Passage no. 12 in this Appendix. For another passage mentioning the *anāvaraṇavimokṣa* in close conjunction with the **dharmadhātuja-kāya*, see T 1509 (XXV) p. 309b4–12 (Lamotte V pp. 2310–2311; Zhao Wen 2018: 138).

Bibliography and Abbreviations

List of Abbreviations⁴⁷⁵

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- CSZJJ: Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518). *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 T 2145.
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⁴⁷⁵ I have generally adopted the abbreviations used in the new facsimile edition of LPG (see Karashima et al. 2016: xv).

- Dhr: *Guang zan jing* 光讚經 T 222, translated by Dharmarakṣa (286 CE).
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- DZDL: *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*) T 1509, translated by Kumārajīva (402–406 CE).
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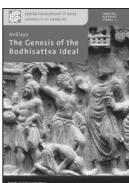
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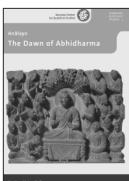
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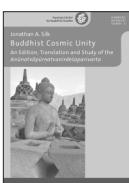
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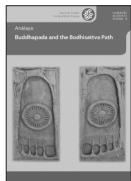
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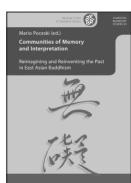
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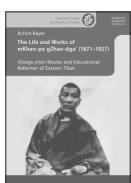
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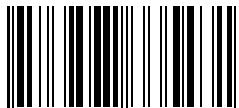
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