

ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUDDHIST PAÑCVĀRŚIKA PART II: CHINA

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Before we enter into a description of the pv.¹ in China it is quite reasonable to discuss one Chinese term which is generally supposed to correspond to it.

This most delicate expression which usually is identified with the pv. is 無遮會 *wuzhe-hui*, which generally still is explained as a phonetic rendering of the Sanskrit word *mokṣa-pariṣad* - a word which does not occur in the original Indian Buddhist literature and to which I therefore added an asterisk (*) in Part I of this paper. This identification goes back to Stanislas JULIEN's translation of the XUJ². Even a critical scholar like PELLIOT does not hesitate to equate 無遮會 and *pañcavārsika*³. So it seems that this identification is now generally accepted⁴.

The Chinese themselves at a very early period must have equated pv. and 無遮會⁵. This, however, does not mean that the equation should be accepted unquestioned without investigating the Indian origin of the word.

The *Mahāvvyutpatti* has under the "list of periodic celebrations" (時

¹ The full scale of Chinese translations and transliterations of the term pv. can be found in Part I of this Paper.

² Vol.I, 6, 38, 41, 252. The identification with pv. is however only made in the "Index des mots Sanscrits-Chinois", vol.II, 265, s.v. *Pañchapariṣad*: "nom d'une assemblée qu'on appelait aussi *Mokcha mahāpariṣad*" and only repeats the explanation of the translation of the "Vie et voyages de Hiouen-tsang" of 1853 (p.113), where "Grande Assemblée de la Délivrance (*Mokcha mahāpariṣad*)" was made equal with a "*Pañchapariṣad*" (note 3). Cp. also *Méthode*, 226, No.2218; LÉVI / CHAVANNES (1916), 42, note 1. Beside the entry in the PW compare also TSUJI / OGIHARA, *Bonwa-daijiten*, vol.2, 1067a., s.v. *mokṣa-mahā-pariṣad* (解脱大會議) 大きな教團會議.

³ Cp. (1929), 80f., note 8, in connection with *Xuanzang's* report on 無遮會 - obviously following JULIEN - : "Le *Wou-tchō-ta-houei* était originalement une grande assemblée quinquennale dont l'institution est rapporté à *Asoka*; au VII^e siècle, les régions de l'*Hindoukouch* la tenaient tous les ans, et parfois même deux fois par an [!]; *wou-tchō* est transcrit sur une forme *prācrite* de *mokṣa*." In (1929), 185, however, PELLIOT more carefully states: "*Hiuan-tsang* a adopté le nom chinois pour désigner les grandes assemblées primitivement quinquennales, mais souvent beaucoup plus fréquentes, des royaumes bouddhiques d'*Asie Central* et de l'*Inde*."

慶名錄 *shiqing-minglu*) only the word *pañcavārsīkamahā* (229.5) - there is, however, no word for (*mahā*-)*mokṣapariṣad*. This very fact raises some suspicion against the Indian origin of the word in the past⁶.

The old identification of 無遮會 as a transcription for *mokṣa*- seems still to be supported by the historical phonology of Chinese: PULLEYPLANK (325/399) gives us the reconstruction **muṣ-tṣia* for the Early Middle-Chinese pronunciation which could indeed indicate the transcription of a (*Prākṛt*) **mo/uc(ch)a*. However the examples for a development of Skt. *kṣ* -> *cch* are restricted to Central-Indian dialects⁷, while the North-West dialects from which the Chinese word could have been introduced do not have *kṣ* -> *cch*⁸. So the geo-linguistic situation does not really support the equation 無遮會 : *mokṣa*.

There is, as a matter of fact, also a semantic gap between the concept of "redemption" (*mokṣa*) and the one of "no limits" 無遮會 which only could have been done by a Buddhist interpreter who knew that redemption as a state of individual freedom means having no restrictions.

Now Mvp.137.18 gives a 無遮地 *wuzhedi* for the sacrificial call *vaṣaṭ*. If this equation is accepted the Chinese 無遮 could be the

⁴ An exception seems to be FRANKE 3, 278f., who - accepting the *mokṣa*-theory - points out that the word could also be interpreted semantically: "*ohne Ausschluss*", "*ohne Behinderung*" ("without exclusion") = 平等會 *pingdeng-hui*, because all the four groups (四部 *sibu*: *bhikṣu*, *bhikṣuṇī*, *upāsaka* and *upāsikā*) of the *saṅgha* were admitted. I could not find the "*zwei Stellen des Rāmāyana*" in the PW (V.916, s.v.) he is mentioning; so the fact still stands that the reconstruction leads to a word that has not come down to us. Similar also MOCHIZUKI, 4547b.1ff., s.v. *hōe* 法會, who - mainly according to *Vinaya*-sources - interpretes all festivals in the context of the Buddha-vita, and in the case of the historical pv. (only *Xuanzang*, not mentioning *Faxian*: cp. Part I) goes so far to assume a misinterpretation of an original 五歲會 *wusui-hui* into a 五年會 *wunian-hui*. It is quite clear that the sources MOCHIZUKI refers to are aitiological and are not able to invalidate the historical examples of pv. reported e.g. by *Faxian* and *Xuanzang*.

⁵ This is also seen in the most extensive Chinese buddhological dictionary of DING, 2191b.f., who s.v. 無遮會 gives as Skt.-meaning "*pañca-pariṣad*, *pañcavārsīkā-pariṣad*" (after ODA, 1704a, s.v. *musha-e*). Cp. also NAKAMURA, 1327b.f., s.v. *musha* 無遮; MOROHASHI, 19113.394-96 (無遮, 無遮會, 無遮大會).

⁶ Already PELLiot (1931), 434, pointed out, that *wuzhe-hui* was "*une expression purement chinoise*". In loc.cit. PELLiot also refers to the fact that the Uighur word for the ceremony is *pančvršik* and not a corresponding form of *wuzhe-hui* - which after our following investigations only shows that the Uighurs only followed the practice of the Chinese who made no clear difference any more between pv. and *wuzhe-hui*.

⁷ Cp. PISCHEL, 219ff. Only the Western Indian *Prākṛts* seem to prefer *ccha* (von HINÜBER, 114).

⁸ Von HINÜBER, 114, and BROUGH, 102.

rendering of a *prākṛtic* **vas(s)a*. This would also fit to the fact that there were annually events of the same type of ceremonies - but one has to add, also semestrial ones. But against this interpretation, which would prove that the word is really a transcription of an Indian word, stand the facts of Chinese historical phonology which do not allow the assumption of the shift of the original bilabial explosive *m*- to a fricative *v*- or a semivowel *u*-. 無遮 (地): *vaṣaṭ* (as in the *Mahāvvyutpatti*) belongs to the chronological stratum of Late Middle-Chinese⁹ where the closive *m* had already become open and fricative (and bilabial).

The overview of the problematic term *wuzhe-hui* is meant primarily to show that identifications of Sino-Indian transcriptions made in the early period of research in this field, generally accepted now, are not to be taken for granted. JULIEN's work definitely is representative of that period.

Nevertheless, it was the similarities between the real ceremonies and the use of the words in the Chinese texts which finally led to the identification. Even *Xuanzang* could not see it differently. He used it as a Chinese word, a synonym for *pū*.. There was, however, no way for him to identify it with an Indian word *mokṣa* - what he probably would not have hesitated to do¹⁰. It is true that *mokṣa* in the interpretation of JULIEN would somehow correspond semantically to the literal meaning of the Chinese 無遮 "*non restriction*", and that was probably the reason that this equation was hitherto accepted by the leading Japanese dictionaries and by Western scholars¹¹. The semantics would fit to the fact that the king or ruler who has given his treasures and even himself to the *saṅgha* must be bought free (*muc*) by his nobles and ministers or it was simply taken to mean the purchasing of a future redemption through donations¹². But they do not at all correspond to the explanation which the late Chinese encyclopedia, representing an already secondary interpretation, gives: "*donations without (social) limits*"¹³. The ceremony presents itself historically, quite the opposite, clearly as a ceremony connected to rulers (!) and royalty¹⁴.

⁹ Cp. the reconstruction of TODO (793) 無 *mu* (*mbu*) - *wu*; (1334) *tʃiʃ* - *tʃie*. For that later period - after 700 - also PULLEYBLANK (1983), 90, points out a *fanqie*-spelling indicating the initial *v* for 無. This could cope with the change *b* : *v* in *Prākṛts* (von HINÜBER, 98, par.183).

¹⁰ For instance using the transcription word for Skt. *mokṣa* 木叉 *mucha* (ODA, 437a., s.v. 解脱 *gedatsu*). These points have been already worked out by PELLLOT (1931), 433f..

¹¹ The ambiguity of the term, which is used phonetically and semantically, is emphasized by de VISSER (1935), 190f.. De VISSER, 191, also insists on the identity of *pū*. and *wuzhe-hui* (jap. *musha-e*).

¹² So already stated by KERN (1903), 240.

Again the crucial questions to consider are: is 無遮 really a transcription or a semantic word¹⁵ and what did it really mean? The solutions to these two questions are interdependent.

AGRAWALA has pointed out an interesting parallel in brahmanic rituals¹⁶. Already in the one-day (*ekāha*) soma-sacrifice *viśvajit*, not speaking of the various instances of excessive royal donations alluded to in the *R̥gveda*, the sacrificer (*yajamāna*) gives away a huge amount of his possession or even everything he owns¹⁷. This kind of sacrifice has been practiced since a relatively early time: ŚB.10.2.5.16. ... *tāsmiṇ [viśvajiti] sarvavedasām samdadyāt* ...¹⁸; JB.2.183f. describes the ascetic exercises the one who sacrifices (*yajamāna*) must undergo in the first twelve days after the *viśvajit*¹⁹. The ceremony therefore has a long pre-Buddhist tradition²⁰. As a later classical Sanskrit example, AGRAWALA refers to *Kālidāsa*, Rv.4.86, where the king of *Kāmarūpa* (Assam) concludes his conquests with a sacrifice of that kind: *sa viśvajitam ājahre yajñam sarvasvadakṣiṇam; ādānam hi visargāya satām vārimucām iva*²¹.

¹³ Cp. de VISSER (1935), 190: "The term "limitless" (*musha*) means that nobody was excluded from these meetings; even the poorest and lowest laymen were allowed to partake in them together with priests and noblemen, and all laymen had equal rights in distributing alms to the clergy, whereas all monks had the same in explaining the Law [?] (...)." FORTE (1988), 232, follows this line of argumentation. However, I failed to find an example of a *wuzhe-hui* where other laymen rather than kings, royal persons or people of the High Nobility were engaged even as the instigating and primary actors. It is quite reasonable that the clergy later on, as in Japan, used the ceremony as a means of increasing its donation-income by also including laymen; but originally this was not the case.

¹⁴ This is, besides the following Sanskrit- and Pāli-texts on *nirargaḍa* / *niraggala*, also shown by the relatively late (8th cent.) account of *Huichao* for *Gandhāra*, where, beside the king, only the direct members of the royal family, princes and princesses, perform the ceremony (see also below, note 61): (cit. after KUWAYAMA, 21, No.127) 兒女又然各各造寺設齋捨施 "The sons and daughters [of the king] do likewise: they all build temples and perform assembly [where] they give away [their possessions]." It maybe noticed here - as an addendum to Part 1 of this paper - that also in Hindu-tradition this kind of action was considered as the duty of a king: *Rāmāyana*, *Bālakāṇḍa* 14.43.ff. *Daśaratha* gives away the four parts his kingdom to the four chief-priests of the *aśvamedha*, but he is asked by them to buy it back.

¹⁵ It should be noticed that PELLIOU first accepted the general view that *wuzhe-hui* is a transcription of a *prākṛtic* word-form of Skt. *mokṣa* ((1928), 80f.), but (1929), 185, he changed his mind, suggesting a semantic interpretation "sans obstacle", and (1931), 434f., and stressed this point very clearly against de VISSER, pointing out the similar semantic term 無礙會 *wuai-hui*.

¹⁶ In connection with his discussion of the term *pv.* in the *Divy.* (1966), 73b.

¹⁷ Cp. HILLEBRANDT (1887), 138f.. In the *R̥gveda* the word already occurs, but only as an epitheton for *Soma* (RV.8.79.1), *Indra* (RV.2.21.1.) and as an attribute to *jyōtis*, 'light' = *Sūrya*, the sun (RV.10.170.3.).

¹⁸ Translation EGGELING: "... and at that (sacrifice) he should give away all his property ...".

AGRAWALA further states that the Buddhist term corresponding to these Brahmanical ceremonies is *nirargada*²². Indeed, a thorough investigation of this term uncovers the origin of the tricky Chinese word 無遮. According to EDGERTON²³ (and OGIHARA/TSUJI²⁴), *nirargada* - (or *nirgaḍa*²⁵) occurs in the following Buddhist texts: in the Lv.264.18ff.²⁶ and 282.23ff.²⁷. In the Mvu.²⁸ it is an argument in the plot of the defeat of *Māra*, and shows that *nirargada* (*nirgaḍa*) enjoyed high regard. In Lv.356.18, one reason why the Buddha is called by his various epithetons is that he had undergone the performance of sacrifices without limits for a long time²⁹. The identity of 無遮 and *nirargada* is clearly shown by the evidence of the well-known monumental compilation of several Buddha-vitae, the 佛本行

¹⁹ Cp. also PB.16.6. (and KB.25.15.). I question the correctness of CALAND's statement in (1919), 180, note 10, repeated in (1931), 437, note 2, that these exercises and restrictions are performed to avert the evil consequences of giving away everything; it would run counter to the very basic idea of such a sacrifice: gaining everything by giving everything, as *Kauṣītaki* is made to say in KB.25.14. "... the *Viśvajit* is all; by all may I obtain all". In practice the major part of the donations were probably redeemed and the twelve-day period may well have been a symbolic period of total poverty, as in the case of the Buddhist pv. and *wuzhe-hui*.

²⁰ It even entered the law-books (*dharmaśāstra*): in MDhS.11.75. it is one of the (heavy) penances for the slaughter of a brahmin, and GDS.5.21. decrees that the householder (*grhapati*) give money to someone who has performed the *viśvajit*.

²¹ "He began to spread the *Viśvajit* sacrifice of which the gifts (or *Dakṣiṇā*) were all that a man might possess; for of the good, as of clouds, acquisition is for bestowal." (Translation NANDARGIKAR (1971), 121). It is not clear to which king the text refers, but the connections the early ruler *Puṣyavarman* obviously had with Buddhism have to be considered: his royal seal with the title *mahārājādhirāja* was found at *Nālanda* (MAJUMDAR (1954), 90). It may be possible that *Kālidāsa* here describes a Buddhist pv.-ceremony interpreted through his hinduistic eyes, taking the term out of Brahmanic rituals which fitted most to the fact that all possessions were given away. The ceremony being performed after a series of conquests would well correspond to the *Aśoka*-tradition rather than to a *sarvamedha*, and so would the geographical setting in the Northern region of India.

²² The word occurs also in a non-appellative sense in non-Buddhist literature (MBh., Rāj., etc.): cp. PW IV, 175a., s.v. *nirargala*. NAKAMURA in a note in his Japanese translation of the Sn. (see below) (315, note 303) has already pointed out the possible equation of *wuzhe-hui* and *nirargala* / Pāli *niraggalo*, but was not able to find a Vedic-Brahmanical sacrifice corresponding to it.

²³ (1953), 299a., s.v..

²⁴ 682a., s.v., by which one can add to EDGERTON's entries quotations from Gvy. and Śikṣ..

²⁵ JONES II,97, note 1, following SENART, still considered the identification with *nirargada* only "tempting", but through the parallel occurrence of both word-forms in the LV (see below) EDGERTON's (1953), 300b., s.v., equation is to be followed. The confusion of both terms was probably caused by the semantic similarities between the basic words *argad(l)a* and *gaḍa*, "obstruction, obstacle" (PW II,634b., s.v., no.4) or "hook" (TURNER, 212a., No.3971.: Nepāli: 'lever').

集經 *Fo-benxing-jijing* (T.190) by *Jñānagupta* (闍那崛多 *Zhenaj-ueduo*)³⁰, a monk from *Gandhāra* who worked in China during the

26 *Atha bodhisattvo dhīragambhīrodāraslakṣṇamadhurayā vācā māraṃ pāpīyasam etad avocaṭ - tvayā tāvat pāpīyaṇṇ ekena nirgaḍeṇa yajñena kāmeśvaratvaṃ prāptam; mayā tv anekāni yajñakoṭīyutaśatasahasrāṇi nirgaḍāni yaṣṭāṇi; karacaraṇanayanottamāṅgāni ca nikṛtya nikṛtyā-rthibhyo dattāni; grhadhanadhānyāśayanavasanaṃ caṃkramodyānāni cānekaśo yācānebhyaṃ nīrṣṭāni sattvānāṃ mokṣārthinā. Atha khalu māraḥ pāpīyaṇṇ bodhisattvaṃ gāthayā pratyabhāṣat - yajño [] mayeṣṭas tvam ihātra sāksī nirargaḍaḥ pūrvabhava 'navadyah; ... ("Then the Bodhisattva addressed Māra, the wicked, with a wise, deep, exalted, soft, sweet voice: 'By one Nir[a]gaḍa-sacrifice, o wicked one, thou hast reached the superiority over lust. I, however, have sacrificed myriads of hundredthousand Nir[a]rgaḍa-sacrifices, have given to the needy ones my hands, feet, eyes, the upper limb [head] by cutting [them] off. Houses, treasures, grains, beds and clothes, promenades and parks to beggars many times by [me], who had as goal to rescue the beings.' Then Māra, the wicked, replied to the Bodhisattva with the verse: 'A blameless Nirargaḍa has been offered by me in a previous existence; thou art here and now [my] witness; ...")* Here it is clear that *nirargaḍa* means the utmost sacrifice someone can perform. The motive seems to be the extended version of the simple argument of *Māra* in the *Mvu.* The motivation for this rather clumsy change could have been, that in *Lal.* the first word had to be given to the Buddha. The *Mūlasarvāstivādin-Vinaya* has a similar plot but gives a simpler version: the Buddha counters *Māra*'s doubt that he will reach the utmost wisdom (*anuttara jñāna*) with the fact that he has made uncountable sacrifices (*anekāni yajñakoṭīni yutaśatasahasrāṇiṣṭāni*) in unnumerable aeons on behalf of the beings as a proof that he indeed will reach enlightenment. The term *nirargaḍa* is missing here totally (GNOLI (1977), 114f.). This episod would fit perfectly to the interpretation of the origin and development of sacrifice from a contestual to a ritual function as proposed by HEESTERMAN (1993). The Buddha rejects the value of a mere contest in favour of wisdom in a similar way as in the Brahmanical myth *Prajāpati* defeats *Mṛtyu* (death) by ritualizing the sacrifice (op.cit., 53ff.).

27 *yāvanti sattva nikhilā daśasu diśasu yat teṣu puṇya bala śīlu tathaiva jñānam; yajñā nirargaḍa ya yaṣṭa śataḥ kalibhiḥ te mahya roma śatimāṃ kala nopayanti ("As far as [there are] beings in the ten regions, any [of them] - what they have in merit, strength, discipline, such is my wisdom; the sacrifices, the Nirargaḍa [they have] performed hundreds in part do indeed not reach up to one hundredth of my piles").* The verse is difficult. I take *śataḥ* for *śata(m)* as a parallelism to *śatimāṃ* and would see *nirargaḍa* (pl.) here as a appositional noun, not as an attribute to *yajñā*.

28 *Mvu.II.237: atha bodhisattvaṃ dāni uruvilvāyāṃ tapovane nadyā nairamjanāyās tīre duṣkaracārikāṃ carantaṃ māro pāpīyaṃ upasaṃkramya vadayati; kiṃ prahāṇena kariṣyasi agāramadhye vasa; rājā bhaviṣyasi cakravartī; mahāyajñāni ca yajāhi aśvamedhaṃ puruṣamedhaṃ somaprāsaṃ nirargaḍaṃ padumamaṃ puṇḍarikāṃ ca; etāni yajñāni yajitvā pretya svargeṣu modīyasi bahu ca puṇyaṃ praśaviṣyasi; prahāṇaṃ ca duṣkaraṃ durabhisambhaṇam ... (JONES II, 224f.: "Now while the Bodhisattva was living his life of austerity in the forest of penance near Uruvilvā on the banks of the river Nairājanā, wicked Māra approached him and said, 'What wilt thou gain by this striving? Go and live at home. Thou wilt become a universal king. Perform the great sacrifices, the horse-sacrifice, the human-sacrifice, the "throwing of the peg", the "house-unbarred" [i.e.: nirargaḍa], the "red-lotus" and the "white-lotus" sacrifices. If thou wilt have performed these sacrifices, when thou diest thou wilt rejoice in heaven and wilt beget great merit. Striving is difficult and hard to surmount. ...")* Because of the Pāli-parallels (see below) I would suggest one think of the enigmatic "red-lotus" and "white-lotus" sacrifices as attributes of *nirargaḍa*.

29 *dirgharātraṃ nirargalayaññajanasamādapana- ... ("because of the undergoing the offering of nirargala-sacrifices over long nights")*

Liang- and Sui-dynasties³¹. Corresponding to the Mvu. is the part where *Māra* asks the *Bodhisattva* to go home and act like a king³². The correspondence to the argument between *Māra* and the *Bodhisattva* (see Lal.) is found in fasc.29³³. The compiler-translator *Jñānagupta* has extended the use of the word beyond the parallels which are found in the original Sanskrit texts: so, when the *Bodhisattva* goes to *Rājagrha* to talk to *Bimbisāra* and gives as one example for the correct actions of the kings of the past the establishment of *wuzhe-hui*³⁴. This extensive use of *wuzhe-hui* to show the right behaviour of a (Buddhist) king may well have been connected with the popularity that the ceremony enjoyed in *saṅgha*-circles, having been meant as a 'speculum', a mirror held before the kings and nobles in order to show them how to act.

In Divy.634.5ff.³⁵, the *Caṇḍāla*-king *Trśaṅku* demonstrates the uselessness of brahmanic rituals like *vājapeya*, *āsvamedha*, *puruṣamedha*, *śāmyapraśa* (or *-prāṇa* of the mss.?), *nirargaḍa*, etc. to the brahmin *Puṣkarasārin* who refuses to give his daughter *Prakṛti* to *Trśaṅku*'s son *Śārdūlakarṇa*. *Nirargaḍa* together with the other types of sacrifices is used in this context as an example of "platte Werkgerechtigkeit" and the superciliousness of the brahmanic caste. The final position of *nirargaḍa* in the enumeration may however

³⁰ According to CHAVANNES (1905), the name is *Jinagupta*.

³¹ The title, not the contents, corresponds to the Tibetan *Abhiṣkramaṇa-sūtra*. The Chinese work is compiled from several sources, was begun in 587, and was finished in 591 or 592 with the aid of several assistants (cp. BAGCHI (1938), 448).

³² Fasc.28 (785a.10f.) 僧門釋子仁至家中作無遮會別以王法 (*Śramana, Śākya-son, go home with piety and perform the wuzhe-hui and the other [ceremonies] in a king's fashion.*) An interesting detail is the fact that the Chinese version in spite of its tendency for longwindedness does not repeat the traditional enumeration of the sacrifices (cp. the Pāli-texts) of the Indian text.

³³ 791a.5ff.: 是時菩薩向魔波旬而說偈言 汝昔施一無遮會 今得如是大威權 我於無量億僧祇 爲諸衆生種種施 爾時魔波旬向菩薩而說偈言 我昔祭祀無遮會 汝今驗我既非虛 汝若干劫布施行 誰信此言欲降我 ("Then the Bodhisattva addressed Māra Pāpīyan and said the verses: 'Thou hast performed one 'assembly without limits' in former times and now achieved special power. I, in unnumberable aeons of [A]samkhyeya[kalpas] have performed [these assemblies] for the sake of all living beings.' At that time king Māra Pāpīyan addressed the Bodhisattva and said the verses: 'I in former times have celebrated the 'assembly without limits' [and] thou now knowst that I have not spoken untruly. [Even if] thou hast performed several [assemblies without limits], who would believe [your] claiming [that [thou] wilt defeat me?']". In 791a.26ff. the goddess of the earth witnesses this with the words: 向於菩薩白菩薩言最大丈夫我證明汝我知於汝往昔世時千億萬劫施無遮會 ("... [the earth] addressed the Bodhisattva and said to the bodhisattva: '[Thou art] the greatest. I am thine witness. I know thou. When thou walkst through former times, thou hast performed 'assemblies without limits' hundreds and thousands of aeons of kalpas.'"). BEAL (1875) does not translate this part.

³⁴ 761b.8. See also below.

turned around positively show the high estimation of the "without limits" ceremony already in Indian Buddhist circles, which becomes also clear through the fact that the word is found in a similar context in Pāli³⁶. Mvu. shows that *nirargaḍa* was brought into context with kings and royals. In the story of Prince *Sudhanu*, king *Sucandrima* performs donations "without limits"³⁷. In the Gvy.41.11., *Vijitāvin*, the son of King *Jayaprabha* from *Rativyūha*, motivated by compassion looted the royal treasury (*rājakośa*) to buy free prisoners³⁸. He is supposed to be killed for this but the queen asks the king to spare him. Finally he is allowed to make donations without limits (*nirargala*)³⁹ for the period of half a month⁴⁰; here the step from a real sacrifice to a donation party in the Buddhist sense is already made.

The Pāli-texts have several examples of the correspondent *niraggala*⁴¹, which usually occurs in combination with other brahmanical sacrifices⁴². It is usually placed at the end of the numeration⁴³, so that the Pāli-sources reflect the high rank of

35 ... *yad api te brāhmaṇa evaṃ syāt ye vājapeyaṃ yajñam yajanti aśvamedham puruṣamedham śāmyapraśam nirargaḍam samāprabhāram yajñam yajanti sarve te kāyasya bhedāt sugatau svargaloke deveṣūpapadyante iti ca punar brāhmaṇa tvayaivam draṣṭavyam; tat kasya hetoḥ; vājapeyaṃ brāhmaṇa yajñam yajamānaḥ, aśvamedham puruṣamedham śāmyapraśam nirargaḍam yajñam ca yajamānā bahuvidhān mantrān pravartayanto prāṇihimsām ca pravartayanti; tasmāt te brāhmaṇa bravīmi na hy eṣa mārگاḥ svargāya* ("If it, now, o Brahmin, came to your mind: those who sacrifice the Vājapeya-sacrifice, the Aśvamedha, the Puruṣamedha, the Śāmyapraśa, the Nirargaḍa, the Samāprabhāra-sacrifice, these all are reborn after the destruction of the body in the happy realms of heaven with the gods; why is that? As one, o Brahmin, who sacrifices the Vājapeya-sacrifice, as those who sacrifice the Aśvamedha, the Puruṣamedha, the Śāmyapraśa, the Nirargaḍa-sacrifice, reciting multiple mantras, die. That is, o Brahmin, why I tell you that this is not the way to heaven.") The function of the sacrifices and the structure of the argument in the seduction by *Māra* and the function here are so similar that one would suggest that one text has borrowed from the other, the Divy. probably from the vita (not necessarily the Mvu.).

36 See below.

37 Mvu.II.100.: *rājñāpi sucandrimena yathā sudhanunā kumāreṇa samdiṣṭam tathā nirgaḍam yajñam anavadyam; anekanāni śramana-brāhmaṇa-kripana-vanīpaka-sahasrāṇi annapānena santarpitāḥ ācchādanehi ācchādītāḥ* (JONES II, 97: "Following Prince Sudhanu's instructions King Sucandrima offered an objectionable [i.e.: nirgaḍa], blameless sacrifice. Several thousand recluses, brāhmaṇas, beggars and wayfarers were given food and drink, and clothed with garments.")

38 Gvy.274.11f. *atha khalu vijitāvi rājakumāras tān sarvān sattvāms tasmād bandhanāgārāt parimocayati sma ātmapartyāgena sarvapariavāreṇa sarvadhanaskandhena; ...* ("Then, indeed, the king's son *Vijitāvin* freed all these beings from that fetter-house [prison] by giving away himself, by the whole treasure, by the large amount of wealth; ...") Note the motive of giving away oneself.

39 Cp. also Gvy.276.5f. when the ceremony is mentioned as one of the eminent deeds of *Vijitāvin* before he is identified with the Buddha in a former birth: ... *sa ca nirargalo mahāyajño yaṣṭaḥ* ... ("... and this big Nirargala-sacrifice was sacrificed ...").

nirargaḍa / *niraggala* indicated by the other texts even when it is also here despised as being bad behaviour in the Buddhist sense. The *niraggala* is positively presented in the Vv. where *Mahāmoggalāna* on a trip to the *trayotiṃsa*-heaven asks the godly youth, *Gopāla*, how he has attained his high rebirth. *Gopāla* explains that this is because he once has delivered a *niraggala* to the former Buddha *Kassapa*⁴⁴. In the Sn., the Buddha tells the brahmins of *Kosala* the story of greedy brahmins who come to the King *Okkāka* and ask for more and more donations. The last abundant sacrifice which is acceptable is obviously the *niraggala*⁴⁵ before the intolerable animal-slaughters start and clearly show that the age has decayed in immorality.

From this evidence, we can clearly see that the word denotes a ceremony from originally brahmanical context. The terminological

⁴⁰ Gvy.274.28ff. *tena nirargalaṃ yajñaṃ yajatā ardhmāsaṃ vividhā dānavidhaya dattāḥ; annam annārthibhyaḥ pānavastrapuṣpamālyavilepanacūrṇacivaracchattradhvajapatākāratmā-bharaṇavividhaviḥhūṣaṇasarvopakaraṇaviśayas tad arthibhyo nīrṣṭaḥ* ("[Vijitāvin], sacrificing the Nirargala-sacrifice, for half a month multiple deeds of donations were performed; food was given to the needy ones, drinks, clothes, flower wreaths, annointment-powder, monks' robes, umbrellas, banners, flags, different jewels and jewelry, ornaton, all kind of things and objects to the needy ones.") The somewhat unlogical sequence of buying free the prisoners and then, instead of being punished, being allowed even to increase the donations may indicate that in a basic, more simple plot both events were one and the same.

⁴¹ Cp. RHYS DAVIDS / STEDE's dictionary, 369a., s.v.; an easy method to check all occurrences of a word in the Pāli canon by computer, which the author has used himself, is now the Pāli CD-ROM edited by the *Dharmakāya Foundation*, Thailand, with authorization of the PTS. I could not find an occurrence of either the corresponding terms for pv. or *wuzhe-hui* in the *Āgama*-portion (阿含部 *Ahan-bu*, T.1 & 2) of the Chinese Tripitaka.

⁴² Only in M.I.139 (22. *Alagaddūpamasutta*), the Buddha uses the word as an adjective, obviously describing the state of mind "without restrictions" of a monk: *Kathaṇ-ca bhikkhave bhikkhu niraggaḷo hoti: Idha bhikkhave bhikkhuno pañc' orambhāgiyāni saṃyojanāni pahināni honti ucchinnamūlāni tālāvathukatāni anabhāvakatāni āyatim anuppādadhammāni. Evaṃ kho bhikkhave bhikkhu niraggaḷo hoti.* (transl. HORNER, p.197: "And how, monks, does a monk come to be one who has withdrawn the bolts [niraggaḷa]? In the connection, monks, craving comes to be gotten rid of by a monk, [cut down to the roots, made like a palm-tree stump], made so that they can come to no future existence, not liable to rise again. In this way, monks, is a monk one who has withdrawn the bolts.")

⁴³ A.IV.151 (*Atthaka-nipāta* I): *Ye sattasaṇḍaṃ paṭhaviṃ vijetva rājāsaya yajamānānuparyayā; assamedhaṃ purisamedhaṃ sammāpāsaṃ vājapeyyaṃ niraggaḷaṃ, mettassa cittassa subhāvitassa kalam pi te nānubhavanthi soḷasim; candappabhā tāraṇā va sabbe.* (transl. HARE, p.104: "Those royal sages, having overcome The teeming earth, made ample sacrifices; But like the starry host beside the moon, The sacrifice of Horse, of Man, of Drink of Victory, the Throwing of the Peg, The Bolts Withdrawn [niraggaḷa] - are not a sixteenth part The worth of heart by amity enriched."). The meaninglessness of sacrifices for the true path is explained to the brahmin *Ujjaya* : A.II.42f. (*Cakkavagga* 39.3): *Assamedhaṃ purisamedhaṃ sammāpāsaṃ vājapeyyaṃ; Niraggaḷaṃ mahārambhā na te honti mahapphalā* [lect.var.: *Niraggaḷaṃ mahāyaññā mahārambhā na te honti mahapphalā*] ... (transl. WOODWARD, p.50: "The sacrifice of horse and human life, The throwing of the peg, the drinking-rite, The House unbarred, with all their cruelty Have little fruit.") = S.I.76 (where the Buddha says the same to king *Pasenadi* of *Kosala*). Sn. (see below).

shift from *viśvajit* to *nirargaḍa* may have been caused by the tendency to omit the typical sacrificial connotation of the word *viśvajit*⁴⁶ and to make it sound more 'buddhistic' by only keeping the feature of "(donations) without restrictions"⁴⁷. This is exactly the meaning Mvy.2867 under the heading '*tyāgādayaḥ*' ("donations, etc.") has preserved: *Nirargaḍa-yajñāḥ*, *Gtan-pa sri-ba med-pahi mchod-sbyin*⁴⁸ 無想報勝施⁴⁹. The word *argaḍa* means "bar, hindrance"⁵⁰,

⁴⁴ p.97 (Vv.1037ff.): 29. *Tamh' annapānaṃ athavā pi cīvaraṃ - sucīm paṇitaṃ rāsasā upetaṃ - pupphābhikkīṇaṃhi sake nivesane - paṭiṭṭhapesiṃ sa asaṅgamānaṃ*. 30. *Tam annapānena ca cīvarena ca - khajjena bhojjena ca sāyanena ca - santappayitvā dvipadānaṃ uttamaṃ*. - so *saggaso devapure ramāṃ' haṃ*. 31. *Eten' upāyena imaṃ niraggalaṃ - yaññaṃ yajitvā tividhaṃ visuddhaṃ - pahāy' ahaṃ mānusakāṃ samussayaṃ - Indūpamo devapure ramāṃ' ahaṃ*. (transl. HORNER, p. 125: "29. I, with detached mind, in my flower-bestrewn dwelling bestowed upon him food and drink and also robes pure and excellent in quality. 30. After I had refreshed the supreme among men with food and drink and with robe-material, with foods hard and soft and with lodgings, I am delighting in a deva-city going from heaven to heaven. 31. In such wise having made this unhampered sacrifice, thrice purified, getting rid of this mortal frame, I am delighting in a deva-city, like unto Inda.")

⁴⁵ Sn.52f. (Cūlavagga 302ff.): *Te tattha mante ganthetvā Okkākaṃ tad upāgamuṃ* - "pahūtadhaṇḍhañño si, - yajassu, bahu te vittaṃ, yajassu, bahu te dhaṇaṃ." - 303. *Tato ca rājā saññatto brāhmaṇehi rathesabho - assamedhaṃ purisamedhaṃ sammāpāsaṃ - vācāpeyyaṃ niraggalaṃ, - ete yāge yajitvāna brāhmaṇānaṃ adā dhaṇaṃ*. 304. *gāvo sayanaṃ ca vatthaṃ ca nariyo ca samalaṃkatā - rathe cājaññasamyutte sukate cittaṣibbane*, 305. *nivesanāni rammāni suvibhattāni bhāgaso - nānādhāññaṃ pūretvā brāhmaṇānaṃ adā dhaṇaṃ*. (transl. NORMAN, p.50: "302. Having composed hymns for this purpose, they then went up to Okkāka. "You have much wealth and grain. Sacrifice, (for) your property is much. Sacrifice, (for) your wealth is much." 303. And then the king, the lord of warriors, induced by the brahmins, having performed these sacrifices, the assamedha, the purisamedha, the sammāpāsa, the vācāpeyya, (and) the niraggala, gave wealth to the brahmins: 304. cows, and a bed, and clothes, and adorned women, and chariots yoked to thoroughbreds, well-made, with [variegated coverings]. 305. Having filled delightful dwellings, evenly proportioned, with various sorts of grain, he gave wealth to the brahmins.")

⁴⁶ This is clearly shown by the 'ritualistic' interpretations of the word already occurring in the Brāhmaṇa-texts: "conquering everything" (*viśva* + √*jī*) or "everything is born" (*viśva* + √*jan*) in *Kauṣītaki Br.* and *Pañcaviṃśa-Br.* (cp. DEEG (1995), 289). In the brahmanic ritual context the procedure of giving everything away is in accordance with the meaning of the word: by sacrificing everything the *yajamāna* gets or conquers everything.

⁴⁷ That this was the explanation of *wuzhe-hui* until a relatively late period is shown by the somewhat amusing anecdote which the FZLDTZ 22 (724a.18f.) reports about the *Yuan*-emperor *Khubilai-Khan* (世祖): 帝設無遮會詔信講主說總聖名目帝云既號無遮云何有數 ("The emperor performed *wuzhe-hui*. He ordered the expounder of the Faith to explain [the word by] the 'General Index of Holy Names' [?]. [After the explanation] the emperor said: '[If] it is already called 'without restriction', why [then] are there numbers?"). From this legendary episode it is not possible to derive a pv. performed by *Khubilai-Khan* nor can the date be fixed. But also the *Tang*-encyclopaedia FYZL 91, 954a.11 stresses this meaning when, after having specified all sorts of donations, it states: 無遮之會等招無限之福也 ("assembly without restrictions' means inviting [people for] prosperity without limits.")

⁴⁸ Note that the Tibetan expression includes both meanings of *argaḍa*, the concrete and the abstract one: "sacrifice without door-bar and retainment".

and together with the prefix *nih-/nir-* in the common meaning "without" the equation with 無遮⁵¹ is perfect.

Having solved the riddle of 無遮 (and at the same time that of the synonymic 無礙(會) *wuai(-hui)*: "no hindrance"⁵² being another translation of *nirargada*), one may go back to the still open question of the pv. in the edicts, the one performed by *Aśoka* in the legend and the *wuzhe-hui*. One may suggest that the Buddhist pv. of the *Aśokāvadāna* was the result of an amalgamation process of the historical quinquennial control tours and extensive donation parties like the *viśvajit-nirargada* performed by *Aśoka* all Buddhist texts concerning the subject including the Pāli tradition have preserved.

Notwithstanding the different origins of the 無遮會 and pv. there can be no doubt that in the Chinese context it was already at a very early date identified with the pv. concerning function and way of performance: a big donation party to the *saṅgha*⁵³. This is clearly shown when *Jñānagupta* uses the expression for pv. instead and beside of the original *nirargada* = 無遮會 (see above) in *Māra*'s discussion with the Buddha⁵⁴.

This fact, the pv. having become a mere donation assembly which

⁴⁹ The Chinese expression does not correspond at all to the Sanskrit and Tibetan and seems to show that for some interpreters the basic meaning of the term was already lost in the *Tang*-period. It can be rendered as "unthinkably [and un]expressably superior sacrifice". Note that the Japanese translation gives here 無遮の供養.

⁵⁰ Cp. PW I, 422b., s.v. *argada* "ein vorgeschobenes Hindernis" and s.v. *argala* "1) Riegel ..." and EDGERTON (1953), 65b., s.v. *argada*: "bolt, bar"; to Bengali *agla* 'to restrain ...' cp. TURNER (1966), 28b., no.629. For the unclear etymology of the word (non-Indoaryan) cp. MAYRHOFER (1986), 114, s.v. *argada*. Pāṇini, *Aṣṭādhyāyī* 5.1.4. (*Gaṇapāṭha* 9.17) teaches the denominative of *argala*. This concrete meaning seems to be even found in Lv.165.21 when *Suddhodana* orders the doors of the palace to be closed in order to prevent the departure of the Bodhisattva-prince: *dvārām pithetha sarvām suyantritānirgaḍām dṛdhakapātām*; ... ("Close all the door(s) well crafted and without lack of bars, hardwinged; ...") For the concrete meaning in the Buddhist monastic context ("Riegel") cp. von HINÜBER (1992), 14ff.. I emendate with EDGERTON, BHSD, 300b., s.v. *nir-gaḍa*, for LEFMAN's *suyantritām nirgaḍām*; lect.var. of Rājendrālāl MITRA's edition: *sayantritaḡaḡām* metri causa not possible. For my translation of *-kapāṭa* see TURNER, 150bf., No.2963, s.v. *kavāṭa*.

⁵¹ The same semantic field is pointed out when in JLYX 50, 262c.7, 阿鼻地 *abidi* = Skt. *Avici* (-hell) is glossed as 無遮 *wuzhe* or 無間 *wujian* "nothing inbetween", *avici* obviously being falsely analysed as *a-* "non-" + *vīti* "separation".

⁵² I therefore can not follow FORTE (1988), 232, who under different premisses stated that the *wuzhe-dahui* "emphasizes its nature of opening up to all social classes" while *wuai-dahui* "stresses its nature of "indiscrimination." It should be pointed out that *wuai* is an expression that is already found in Chinese pre-Buddhist literature, in 揚雄 *Yang Xiong*'s (53 B.C. - 18 A.D.) 法言 *Fayan* ("Model Sayings"), where it is stated that the actions (行 *xing*) of a gentleman (君子 *junzi*) are non-restricted (無礙 *wuai*) like water (see MOROHASHI, no.19113.112). In GHMJ 23, 271b.18f. *wuai* is similarly used of a miraculous light which spreads over the whole world "without limits".

could be already observed in the Indian texts (Part I, p.73ff.), becomes also clear in the cases where only the word for pv. occurs in *Jātaka*-like texts and the Chinese translations or compilations cannot be back-checked with the Indian original⁵⁵: T.158 大乘悲分利經 *Da-shengbeifentuoli-jing*, *Mahākaruṇāpundarīka-sūtra* (vol.3, 249a.13f.; 4th cent.?). Another one is found in *Kumārajīva*'s translation of the *Sūtrālamkāra* T.201 大莊嚴論經 *Da-zhuangyan-lunjing* (vol.4, 279a.19f.) ascribed to *Aśvaghōṣa* (馬鳴 *Maming*), which was probably *Kumāralāta*'s *Kalpanāmaṇḍitika*⁵⁶. The same *Avadāna* is found in T.203 雜寶藏經 *Zabaozang-jing* (vol.4, 468a.)⁵⁷. In T.203 寶愚經 *Xianyu-jing*, compiled by 慧覺 *Huijiao* in the middle of the 5th century, there is an account of a pv. (般遮于瑟 *banzheyuse*) presented by a king to the former Buddha *Vipaśyin* (毘婆尸 *Piposhi*)⁵⁸.

Nevertheless, in the *Tang* period there was still a relatively clear distinction between a 無遮會 and the pv., represented in Chinese by the semantic rendering 五年會 or by the various transcriptions. This is

⁵³ See also FYZL 512b.8 where the terminological amalgamation process is perfect: 五年無遮施會 "five year-wuzhe-donation-assembly" and where it is only one assembly *inter aliud*. The term is even reduced to a more general meaning "exuberant donations" in the biography of the *Tang*-monk 法常 *Fachang* (XGSZ 15, 541b.18f.). Sometimes the donations were made for individual monks as in the case of 息塵 *Xichen* for whom the emperor performed about five 無遮大齋 *wuzhe-dazhai* around the year 905 (SGSZ 23, 857c.28).

⁵⁴ T.190, 791c.16: 十方我作諸功德 般遮于瑟及檀那 ("In the ten directions I [the Buddha] have performed all good deeds: pv. and donations (*dāna*).")

⁵⁵ In all cases only the words for pv. are given without relation to the original meaning of the Sanskrit word as could be already seen in AvŚ. (cp. Part I of this paper, p.74f.). In one case, T.211 法句譬喻經 *Faju-piyu-jing* (*Dharmapada* or **Udānavarga*), translated by 法炬 *Faju* and 法立 *Fali* at the end of the 3rd cent. (?), vol.4, 589b.18ff., it is even taken to be a 5 year long donation campaign as in *Tārānātha* (cp Part I, p.69), but at least has a feature of the pv. in the *Aśokāvadāna* when the rich householder *Rāmadatta* (the text has one younger 羅摩達 *luomouda* together with an older transcription *lanmo* 藍摩 which causes some doubt about the authenticity of the text preserved) gives away everything: ... 盡家之財持用布施作般闍于瑟供養婆羅門五千人五年之中 ... 盡所愛惜諸梵志等五年之中 ... ("took all his possessions and used them for giving it as a pv. to 5000 brahmins in a period of 5 years; ... lent away to Brahman and others everything he loved in a period of 5 years; ...")

⁵⁶ Cp. WINTERNITZ (1927), 267.

⁵⁷ Translated by 吉迦夜 *Jijiaye* / *Kimkārya*, 2nd half of the 5th century. Translated into French by CHAVANNES III, 40. The story of the painter *Karṇa* (T.201: 羯那 *jiena*; T.203: 罰那 *jina*), who gives away everything after having assisted to a pv. (T.201: 般遮于瑟 *banzheyuse*; T.203: 般遮于瑟 *banzheyuse*).

⁵⁸ Vol.4, 383b.17ff.. Other examples for pv.: 般遮于瑟 *banzheyuse* performed by a merchant in FYZL 45, 632c.14, quoted from a 法藏因緣經 *Fazang-yinyuan-jing* and a 五年大會 in obviously the same *Avadāna* quoted in the encyclopedia JLYX 17, 89c.21f. u. 90a.23, claimed there to be a citation of an 阿含經 *Ahan-jing*, fasc.25.

shown by the pilgrims. Faxian, the first pilgrim travelling through Central Asia to India of whom we have an account, only gives the transcription. As far as I know this is the first time in Chinese literature that the actual performance of such a ceremony is mentioned⁵⁹. The Korean monk 慧超 Huichao, who toured North-India about 726, tells us about assemblies sponsored by the king of Gandhāra twice a year and calls these 無遮會⁶⁰. The features described by Huichao relate without any doubt to the ones given in the locus classicus, i.e., the pv. of Aśoka in the *Aśokāvadāna*⁶¹. These travel accounts and the greater popularity of the term wuzhe-hui in the Tang period have certainly given way to the more geographical distinction that the pv. itself⁶² was a phenomenon typical of Central Asia [and India]⁶³.

So wuzhe-hui seems to have become the more generic term under which a pv. could be subsumed and this can be clearly demonstrated by the frequency of occurrences in Sino-Buddhist historical literature (see below). It is also demonstrated by Xuanzang being followed by his biographer who, when describing the famous ceremony of Harṣa, defines this wuzhe-hui as quinquennial⁶⁴. The increasing number of

⁵⁹ This is beside the name already mentioned at an earlier period in AWZ. About details cp. Part I of this paper.

⁶⁰ FUCHS (1938), 445f., who emendates 會 for 齋 and renders "*Kirchenversammlung*"; KUWAYAMA's text (1992), 21 (no.125), and translation, 38, have 無遮大齋 wuzhe-dazhai. KUWAYAMA, 122, note 124, points out the problems of the relations and textual reality between pv. and wuzhe-hui in the accounts of the pilgrims, concluding that the differences are geographical ones and caused by historical change. YANG, etc., 49, only render "*Wu-che assembly*" without a note on the term.

⁶¹ (cit. after KUWAYAMA's text, 21, No.125ff.) 此王每年兩迴設無遮大齋但是緣身所愛用之物妻及象馬等並皆捨施唯妻及象令僧斷賈王選自贖自餘駝馬金銀衣物家具聽僧貨賣自分利養 ("This king [of Gandhāra] establishes a 'Great assembly without limits'. On that occasion he gives away everything of his beloved things around him - his wife and elephants, horses, etc.. Only concerning the wife and the elephants he has the monks fix a price, and then the king buys them back again. He allows the monks to sell the other [things like] camels, horses, gold, silver, clothes and furnitures for their own profit and their subsistence.") FUCHS' translation (446) of the last phrase: "... und dadurch verschafft sich (der König) selbst einen Gewinn." is certainly wrong: the selling is performed for the profit of the monks and not for that of the king.

⁶² The transcription was not fully comprehensible to some Buddhists at a perhaps early period, as is shown by the strange entry in FFY 1, 987b.11: 般闍婆瑟會：應云般遮羅婆亦云般闍于瑟譯曰般遮者五羅婆者聲 ("Banzhepose-hui [pv.]: it should read banzheluopo [or] also banzheyuse; translated banzhe means 'five', luopo means 'sound'.") The compiler, BKDJ 10, 213b. suggests 寶唱 Baochang (483-518) of the Liang dynasty, shows a strange conception of Indic languages to replace a -pose by -luopo which he obviously identified with -rāva (from √ru- 'to cry, sound').

⁶³ See SBL 8, 625a.17f.: 聖人悅而教之顯博施濟衆福與心遠其樂無窮也故西域有鉢遮于瑟 [Huibao's gloss explains:] 即大供會 ("Saints are joyful and teach it. [They] show great generosity, help people to [get] rich, bestow a broad mind: this delight is without limit, [and that is why] there are pv. in the Western Regions [gloss:] which means 'Great Donation Assembly'.") Note the term 鉢遮于瑟 bozheyuse for pv..

wuzhe-hui (and *pv.*) is even shown in the Chinese translations of the *Vinaya*, e.g. in the story of the King *Bimbisāra* (影勝 *Yingsheng*) sending Buddha's picture to King *Udrāyaṇa* (仙道 *Xiandao*) of *Roruka* (勝音 *Shengyin*)⁶⁵ found in the *Mūlasarvāstivādin-Vinaya* where a *wuzhe-hui* is inserted which is not there in the original⁶⁶. However it has to be emphasized that the total number of *wuzhe-hui* in the *Vinaya*-texts is relatively low; the prevailing term here is *pv.* as transcriptional term or as a translation "*quinquennial assembly*".

The 無遮會 *musha-e* performed in early medieval Japan of the *Nara*- (奈良時代) and *Heian*-periods (平安時代) do fully comply with the features of *wuzhe-hui*⁶⁷, but are not quinquennials⁶⁸. It seems even that the ceremony in the Japanese context has lost its original meaning of a '*pravāraṇa*'⁶⁹ when members of the *saṅgha* themselves performed it⁷⁰ or when it was performed on behalf of the soul of a dead Emperor⁷¹. There is even one example of the Japanese pilgrim monk 普照 *Fushō* who during his stay in *Tang*-China had beyond a lot of other donations a *wuzhe-dahui* performed for the monks at 五臺山 *Wutai-shan*⁷².

The first⁷³ historically confirmed performances of *pv.*⁷⁴ in the realms of the Chinese Empire are these of the famous *Liang Wudi* (who reigned from 502 - 549). It was held in 519 (18th year of the

⁶⁴ Cp. Part I, 79f., notes 64 and 65. Another example is found in *Xuanzang's* 大阿羅漢難提蜜多羅所說法住記 *Da-aluohan-nantimiduoluo-suo-shuofa-zhuji* (*Nandimitravadāna*), T.2030, vol.49, 13b.19, where he puts both terms together as one: 五年無遮施會.

⁶⁵ An abbreviated version is found in SGYL 1 (827c.23ff.); the *wuzhe-hui* part in 828c.4. For the Tibetan version see PANGLUNG (1981) 151.

⁶⁶ Cp. Divy.565ff. which has to stand for the missing part in the *Gilgit-Vinaya*: cp. PANGLUNG (1981), XVf.. Also missing in the version in ZBJJ, translated in CHAVANNES (1962), III, 127ff. (No.420).

⁶⁷ See the examples in de VISSER, 194ff. for the years 596, 649, 686, 688, 693, 697, 745, 861, 926, 966, 1007. It should be pointed out to the fact that de VISSER, 196, sees a connection between the *musha-e* and droughts in the respective years (693, 697, 745) which reminds of the episod in the *AvŚ*, where the king exorted a plague (*iti*) by performing a *pv.* (see Part I, 75), but this seems to be only a coincidence rather than to depict genetic connections.

⁶⁸ This is also not the case for the ceremonies held in 688 and 693 which de VISSER (196) obviously takes as an argument for the equation *pv.* = *musha-e*. However, the ceremonies were not performed by the same persons and in the same place and in one year, 693, there have even been two *musha-e* in the "*inner precincts of the Palace*". De VISSER obviously felt the shortcomings when he states (195): "*A musha-daie or "Great Unlimited Meeting" was (theoretically) [!] held once in five years.*"

⁶⁹ So de VISSER, 190: "*distribution of presents on a large scale*". This is also the case in the *Song*-historiographies as in the biography of the 24th patriarch *Shizi* 師子 (*Simhaputra?*): cf. CFZZJ 4, 735c.7 (無遮齋 *wuzhe-zhai*).

era 天監 *Tianjian*) when the emperor took the *Bodhisattva*-vows in the 等覺殿 *Dengjiao-dian*⁷⁵; then, after the one in the 同泰寺 *Tungtai-si* in 527⁷⁶, the ones [sic!] in the years 529⁷⁷, 530⁷⁸, 531⁷⁹ and 532⁸⁰, followed by the ones in 535⁸¹, 545 and 547⁸² clearly showing that this was at least not conceived of as a strictly periodically held

⁷⁰ 649: performed by the Indian *Tendai*-monk [?] 法道 *Hōdō* (de VISSER, 195); 966: performed by the *Tendai*-priest 良源 *Ryōgen* (loc.cit., 197); 1007: performed by the *Tendai*-priest 平願 *Hyōgan* (loc.cit.). This practice seems to have been usual also in *Tang* China: the monk 澄觀 *Chengguan* (died around 810) is said to have performed a *wuzhe-dahui* 12 times (十二中) in his more than 70 years: SGSZ 5, 737c.11f.. A 'canonical' legitimation may be found in FYZL 38, 589a.21, where *Nāgārjuna* (龍樹 *Longshu*) is said to have performed *wuzhe-dahui* every five years in Benares: 五年一設無遮大會 [!]. For *Yuan*-China cp. the 無遮法會 *wuzhe-fahui* the master 竹筵 *Zhu'an* is asked to perform in the year 1368 (SSQGLXJ 2, 928b.19). The *wuzhe-dahui* of the layman (大師) 善慧 *Shanhui* around the year 525 related in the *Song*-work JDCDL 27, 430b.10f. (1004 A.D.: cp. SCHMIDT-GLINTZER (1982), 52), is of spurious historical value, and in its ductus it is typical for the *Chan* school, but may well indicate that the ceremonies where later even ascribed to contemporaries of *Liang Wudi*, the 'initiator princeps' in China?

⁷¹ De VISSER, 196: 693 for Emperor 天武天皇 *Temmu Tennō*.

⁷² In the 21st year of 開元 *Kaiyuan* (733): TDWTZ, 992b.22f..

⁷³ See LÉVI / CHAVANNES (1916), 42, note 1. I cannot take into consideration the early *wuzhe-dahui* ascribed to the third year of 文帝 *Wendi* of the *Wei* 魏 (222 A.D.) in FYZL 89, 945a.6f.. This would predate the translation of the AWZ by *An Faqin*!

⁷⁴ It should be noted that I take mostly citations from Buddhist works. I did not verify the citations from the official historiographical works; these I took from MOCHIZUKI's "*Chronological table*" in vol.6 of his voluminous dictionary. So there is a chance that I missed the one or more ceremonies described or alluded to in that genre of literature.

⁷⁵ SSQGL 2, 796b.21.f.: ... 復設無遮大會 ... ("... again performed the *wuzhe-dahui* ...")

⁷⁶ See FZTJ 37, 350b.6f.; after the SSQGL 2, 798b.18ff.: 大捨 "the great throwing away [of the body]" and redeeming of the emperor by the ministers in this year took place in the 9th month; according to *Nanshi* 2 in the 3rd month. Cp. also FRANKE II, 167.

⁷⁷ According to *Nanshi* 7 one in the 9th and one in the 10th month; they may have been the same.

⁷⁸ In the 8th month of the 4th year of 大同 *Datong*. GHMJ 15, 203c.15f.: the first one, called 無疑法喜食 *wuai-fa-xishi* "the happy feast of the unrestricted dharma", is performed on occasion of the reconstruction of the *Asoka-stūpa* (阿育王塔 *Ayu-wang-ta*) in the 長干寺 *Chang'an-si* where the model-character of *Asoka* is explicit: *Wudi* refers to the *cakravartin*-ideal of the great Buddhist monarch and also to the construction of the 84000 *stūpas*. He declares (說 *shuo*) another ceremony (無疑會 *wuai-hui*) in the *Asoka*-monastery (阿育王寺 *Ayu-wang-si*). *Daoxuan* repeats that account in JSSGL 1, 405c.10 (here the ceremony is called 無疑法會 *wuai-fahui* and performed in the monastery 辛寺 *Xinsi*) and 18f. (without year).

⁷⁹ SSQGL 2, 799a.3f.: 2nd month of the 5th year 大同 *Datong*; the account gives the incredible number of 319642 monks and laymen. See also GHMJ 19, 236c.18f.

⁸⁰ On the 27th day of the 3rd month in the 4th year of 中大同 *Zhongdatong*, probably also in 同泰寺 (the gloss gives the alternative 中興寺 *Zhongxing-si*): JSSGL 2, 416a.5f. and FYZL 13, 385c.2.

pv.⁸³ In these historical events the amalgamation process of the idea of "redemption" and the original pv. (of *Asoka*) is already complete. The pattern of the *Asoka* legend fits well to the life and personality of the *Liang* emperor. After having achieved the throne by means of murder and intrigue, he became a devote Buddhist⁸⁴.

Besides the ceremony of the year 519, there may be evidence for an earlier event of this kind not related in the official histories. Already GERNET⁸⁵ has pointed out that in a manuscript PELLLOT found in Dunhuang (P.2189), which the colophon dates to the year 537, there are formulas for repentance, confession, and vows. As the emperor here acts under his personal name 蕭衍 *Xiao Yan* - which of course may also mean that he acted as a layman - and because it would be strange if he had only started the ceremonies after his declaration of *bodhisattvahood* in 519, one may conclude that the *wuzhe-dahui* referred to in the document has been held before⁸⁶ and was not entered into the official historiography because the declaration of *bodhisattvahood* was made the turning point in the "Buddhist" career of the emperor. Because the document shows the personal attitude of an individual performer which does not come through in the short wordings of Buddhist encyclopaedical or official texts I give here a (tentative) translation of the relevant passage⁸⁷: "Further, similarly, now

⁸¹ *Nanshi* 7. FRANKE II, 167. FRANKE III, 279, sees in the interval between 529 and 535 the five years of the pv.. Can we conclude that there was another real pv. in the year 540 ?

⁸² FZTJ fasc.37, 351b.15; *Liangshu* 3. The last two ones are also mentioned by GERNET (1957), 235.

⁸³ CHEN (1972), 125, mentions six assemblies between 520 and 549. The ones held in 527, 531, 535 could cope with the five-year-period.

⁸⁴ For a description of the personality see FRANKE (1936), 163.

⁸⁵ (1956), 258. Cp. also JANOUSCH (1995), 21.

⁸⁶ The *wuzhe-hui* indicated by the 復 *fu*, "again, another", in SSQGL 2 (see above)? The fact that the vows to extinguish disasters as war, killing, flooding (P.2189.419a.2ff.; cp. GERNET (1956), 258) may indicate that this *wuzhe-dahui* may have been performed between 516 and 519. This is a period (cp. FRANKE II, 165f.) in which the emperor obviously gained a more pacifistic position, but also a period in which the *Liang*-troops flooded the city of 壽陽 *Shouyang* at the river *Huai* 淮河, a strategy which was to be payed with the lives of hundreds of thousands of people. In 517 *Wudi* also released the edict by which he prohibited animal sacrifices exactly as his Indian model had done in his edicts.

⁸⁷ In the document this is repeated three times. This probably is supposed to underline the importance of the event. I only give the first passage (a) to which I add the different readings of b and c in (.). It has to be emphasized that my translation does not agree with GERNET's who stresses the social character of the assembly in the sense of "without social limits" which - as has been shown above - is not compatible with the basic character of the ceremony as well in Indian texts as in Chinese reports.

[Xiaoyan performed] this wuzhe-dahui: as one which first excels⁸⁸ in sympathy⁸⁹ and secondly excels in altruism. Xiao Yan now performed it all and gave his possessions away indiscriminately, gave it all as one thing, one donation, one time, [with] one heart, one thought. Following both, sympathy and altruism, he had now a wuzhe-dahui performed: merits [he] attained so, the two great kinds [of precepts⁹⁰ he] fulfilled so, the great merits [he] attained so, the great wisdom (*mahāprajñā*) [he] attained so, the great magical power (*rddhi*) [he] attained so: [he attained] the inconceivable unsurpassed great fruit."⁹¹

It should be also be noted that in the list of the 梵唄 *fanbai*, recited "Sanskrit chants"⁹², in CSZ 12 (55.92a.19), in the title of the first chant there can be reconstructed the name pv.: 帝釋樂人般遮 (干) 瑟歌唄第一出中本起⁹³. The *Taishō*-edition has the term 般遮琴 *banzhe-qin* which would be a hybrid term composed of the transcriptional 般遮 *banzhe* = *pañca*- and 琴 for '(Chinese) *Brettzither*'⁹⁴. I was not able to find such a word in any reference work. So it seems justified to follow the lectio 般遮瑟⁹⁵ of the *Song*-, *Yuan*- and *Ming*-editions

88 毫 in this sense.

89 I take the readings of b. and c. 隨喜 *suixi* in the sense of *anumodanā* (NAKAMURA, 808b., s.v. *zuiki*): happiness for the good accomplishments of others as a typical *mahāyānistic Bodhisattva*'s virtue.

90 大類 *dalei* here seems to refer to the terms sympathy and altruism. NAKAMURA, 931a., s.v. *darui*, cite 最澄 *Saichō*'s 山家學生式 *Sangegakushōshiki* (T.2377), where the word stands for somebody who observes the precepts of *Mahāyāna* (the most general being actually compassion and altruism).

91 P.2189.419a.15ff.: 又類以今日此(b:興)無遮大會若有一毫隨意(b+c:喜)一毫歡(c:勸?)助者弟子蕭衍今日興此一切共和合無分別想無分別財共成一物一共一心一憶類此二隨喜助者各各令愛今日無遮大會功德滿足(var.!)如是大類滿足如是大功德滿足如是大智慧滿足如是大神力滿足如是不思議無上大果

92 On *fanbai* see TSUKAMOTO (1985), 326ff. and notes 589ff.; also Hōbōgirin, 93a.ff., s.v. 梵唄 *bombai*.

93 See TSUKAMOTO (1985), 328, and HURVITZ' note on page 591, who take it for granted that 般遮琴 *banzhesi* is pv..

94 The misinterpretation may well have been caused by the fact that there were in fact Chinese five-stringed 琴 *qin* (cp. ROBINSON/ECKARDT (1980), 260) and five-stringed lutes of Central-Asian origin (cp. LIU (1969), 106 and 260f.). It could also be a reflex of the fact that the heavenly musician *Pañca* played the lute (Hōbōgirin, art.cit., 95b.). On the other hand the orthodox *fanbai* seem to have been unaccompanied by instruments in China (Hōbōgirin, art.cit., 96a.).

95 As also HAYASHIYA in the *kanbun*-version does: *Kokuyaku-issai-kyō*, *Shiden-bu* 1 國譯一切經、史傳部, 347.

which then has to be reconstituted 般遮于瑟 *banzheyushi* in the way shown above, what beyond any doubt is a transcription of *pañcavārśi(ka)*. Whatever is the origin of this term⁹⁶, at least it provides some evidence to support the fact that 僧佑 *Sengyou*, the compiler of the CSZ⁹⁷ and contemporary of *Liang Wudi*, closely connected to the court in the last years of his life, is mentioning here a pv.-hymn which could well have been performed on occasion of a ceremony performed before the time of *Liang Wudi* we have no account of⁹⁸.

In the list in the GHMJ, a ceremony "without limits" is mentioned for *Liang Wudi*'s third son, the second emperor of the *Liang*-dynasty⁹⁹.

Almost the same pattern as shown by *Liang Wudi* is followed by *Wudi* of the 陳 *Chen*-dynasty in *Nanjing*. In the first year of the era 永定 *Yongding* (557), he performs a *wuzhe-hui*¹⁰⁰, a year later even two ceremonies¹⁰¹. His successor, 文帝 *Wendi* (560-566), performed one in the year 563¹⁰² and a high official, the prefect of *Jiangzhou* (江州刺史 *jiangzhou-cishi*), performed one on behalf of the Indian monk 月婆首那 *Yueposhouna*¹⁰³ in the year 565¹⁰⁴. In the later years of the dynasty (14th year of the era 大建 *Dajian*, 582) two other cases of

⁹⁶ Cp. Hōbōgirin, art.cit., 95b.f.. Already in the text appears a personality called 般遮 *banzhe* or having it as a part of his name, which is called the "artist *Pañca*, musician of the gods" (天樂般遮伎 *tian Yue-banzhe-ji*).

⁹⁷ Compiled 515 and revised shortly before *Sengyou*'s death 518 (ZÜRCHER (1972), 10).

⁹⁸ It seems that *fanbai*-compositions became more and more popular at the end of the fifth century in the southern dynasty (南齊 *Nanqi*; cp. Hōbōgirin, art.cit., 97a.). *Sengyou*'s accounts show that under *Liang Wudi* this tradition was continued.

⁹⁹ GHMJ 28, 321c.24 設無疑福會教梁蕭綸 "*Liang Xiaolun's message on the establishment of a 'welfare assembly without restrictions' (wuai-fuhui)*" and 325b.19ff. the whole text of the edict. The name 蕭綸 of the passage stands without a doubt for 蕭綱 *Xiaogang*, which was the personal name of the second *Liang* emperor 簡文 *Jianwen*, to whom are ascribed the 5 edicts before and the 2 edicts after. 綸 for is 綱 e.g. found in a commentary to the *Yijing* (cp. MOROHASHI, no.27583 (綸), meaning 7). The fact that the emperor is not recorded here under his imperial name may indicate that the ceremony was performed before ascension to the throne in 549 which becomes even more probable through the fact that the edicts before do also not give the imperial name but either 臣綱 "*minister (Xiao)gang*" or the full name *Xiaogang*. Unfortunately the text does not give a concrete year but only gives the day (10th) and the place 西賢寺 *Xixian-si*.

¹⁰⁰ FZTJ, fasc.37, 352b.7f.; *Chengshu* 2, *Nanshi* 9; this seems to be the 8th ceremony FRANKÉ (1936), 177, dates to the year 559.

¹⁰¹ FZTJ 37, 352b.9ff., SSQGL 2, 802c.16; *Chenshu* 2: in the 5th month he "*threw his body away*" (舍/捨身), a kind of synonymic expression for *wuzhe-hui*, in the 莊嚴寺 *Zhuangyan-si* and the ministers had to buy him back; in the 12th month he performed the *wuai-dahui* = *wuzhe-hui* in the same place where he again "*throws away his body*" (大舍). Here it is clear that the ceremonies were held on only one day, because according to the FZTJ the court goes back to the palace on the next day (翌日).

wuzhe-hui in one year are recorded¹⁰⁵. This Southern dynasty gives a good paradigm for the use of the *wuzhe-hui* in the establishing period of a new dynasty and in the period of decay as well¹⁰⁶.

Another *wuzhe-hui* was performed by the emperor *Wendi*, the founder of the *Sui*-dynasty, in the year 601¹⁰⁷ in the temple 興善寺 *Xingshan-si*. The ceremony in the year 606 was performed on the occasion of the ordination of 120 nuns from noble families¹⁰⁸. The example of *Wendi*, who was raised in a Buddhist temple by a nun, clearly shows the effort of a ruler of a new dynasty. After having attained power by means of political and physical brutality, he claimed his legitimation by directly referring to *Asoka*: repenting the bad deeds of the past (*Asoka*: conquest of the *Kalinga* - *Wendi*: 'coup d'État'), venerating the relics and performing pv. / *wuzhe-hui*, supporting the *dharma*, regarding himself as a *cakravartin*, a world ruler¹⁰⁹. There may also have been some competition with the Southern *Chen*-rulers, *Wendi* claiming his right to the throne in Buddhist terms. The last ruler of the *Chen* repeated that pattern in the year he followed

102 In the 4th month in the 大極殿 *Daji-dian*; *Nanshi* 7. The edict belonging to this event is probably the one in GHMJ 29, 334c.7ff., esp. 18f.: 今僅於太[大]極殿設無疑大會百僧一夕娑羅大齋 ("Now [the emperor] finally established a *wuai-dahui* in the *Tai[=Dai]ji-dian*; 100 monks [took part in the] 'Great Hospitality Feast') (娑羅大齋 *suoluo-dahui* = Skt. *sārāyaṇīya*: cp. EDGERTON, 593a., s.v., there ignorantly connected with 娑羅樹 *suoluo-shu* = *Śāla-vṛkṣa* in 1.14). The next edict reads: 陳文帝爲皇太后大捨寶位 ("Chen *Wendi* performs the Great Abandoning of the Jewel-Seat (throne) for the Emperor-Mother"). In the same text (335a.9.) he is said to have performed another one in a side-palace (前殿 *qiandian*) which is not datable. Both texts seem to have allusions to the *Asoka*-complex: 334c.15: *Jambu(dvīpa)* 閻浮 *yanfu*; 24: *cakravarta* (輪轉 *lunzhuan*).

103 *Upasūnya* or *Urdhvasūnya*, according the biographies (see BAGCHI (1927), 265f.) a prince of the Central-Indian region *Ujjayini*.

104 7th month of the 6th year of 天嘉 *Tianjia*: KYSJL 7, 547a.13ff., repeated in: ZXSM 10, 845b.13ff..

105 FZTJ 37, 353b.9f., *Chenshu* 6: the crown-prince, the later 後主 *houzhu* "last ruler", 陳寶 *Chen Shubao*, a corrupt and excessive personality (cp. FRANKE (1936), 179f.), "throws away his body" (舍身) in a *wuzhe-dahui* ceremony in the 大極殿 *Daji-dian*, in the 9th month again (*Chenshu* 6; *Nanshi* 10).

106 The BZL 3, 503c.8f. reports for the five rulers of the dynasty an high number of *wuzhe-dahui*.

107 2nd day of the 12th month of the 1st year of 仁壽 *Renshou*, a year full of religious activities as the erection of *stūpas*: SSQGL 2, 809c.10f.; the text gives a typically exaggerated Buddhist expression for the number of the participants: "myriads of monks and laymen" (道俗萬億 *daosu-wanyi*) reflected already in the epitheton 極大之會 *Jida-zhi-hui*, the "Extreme Great assembly", for *Asoka*'s pv. in AWZ (105a.18f.). This ceremony is also alluded to in GHMJ 17, 217a.23f. and FYZL 40, 604a.7f..

108 4th month of the 2nd year of 大業 *Daye* in the Eastern capital *Loyang*: SSQGL 2811a.4f. in a state-supported monastery (道場 *daochang*, see below note 110).

his father on the throne (see above). One or more additional ceremonies were performed by the second *Sui*-emperor 煬帝 *Yangdi*¹¹⁰, who was already as a crown-prince a fervent Buddhist¹¹¹.

The first *Tang*-ruler 高祖 *Gaozu*, the former *Sui*-general 李淵 *Li Yuan*, at the very beginning of his official reign in May, 618, performed a *wuzhe-dahui* in a state-run monastery¹¹² in spite of his inclination of Daoism¹¹³. This event shows again the importance which was given to the *wuzhe-hui* in the legitimation process of a new emperor or a new dynasty.

In a later example, the ceremony is even made part of a real legitimation process and integrated into old Chinese imperial concepts. The empress 武昭 *Wu Zhao* or 武則天 *Wu Zetian* (reign, 684-705)¹¹⁴, who set up the interregnant *Zhou*-dynasty (周) and considered herself a *cakravartin* and reincarnation of the *Bodhisattva Maitreya* (慈氏 *cishi*), performed a *wuzhe-hui* in the 明堂 *Mingtang*¹¹⁵. Even if this is a singular conglomeration of Buddhist and imperial concepts it shows, as has been already pointed out in Part I of this paper¹¹⁶, that the pv.

109 輪轉王 *zhuanlun-wang*: cp. DEMILLE (1986), 869. See in general CH'EN (1973), 200f. and the recent discussion of this complex by WANG-TOUTAINT (1994), 75ff.; still readable is WRIGHT (1978), esp. 54ff. and 126ff.. Considering these patterns FORTE (1988), 323, is right to put forward the sometimes 'pacifistic' nature of ceremony, due to the *Asokan* tradition: after repenting the bad and evil deeds some emperors perform the pv. / *wuzhe-hui* as an act of "purification".

110 BZL 3, 509c.1, only states: 又於道場設無遮大會 ("Further [he] performed *wuzhe-dahui* in the *daochang*(s)."). Under the *Sui*, 道場 *daochang* were state-supported monasteries (HURWITZ (1962), 153f.); so because no name is given here may be taken as an indication of several ceremonies having been performed. It probably does not refer to the feast on the occasion of the receiving of the *Bodhisattva* vows (s. below): the text of the BZL runs in some chronological order and gives the 1st year of 大業 *Daye* (605) as terminus post quem; it concentrates on the actions of the emperor not of the crown prince (the name *Zhiyi* does not appear at all).

111 As a prince he took the *Bodhisattva* vows from 智顗 *Zhiyi*, founder of the *Tiantai*-school, with whom he had an extensive correspondence, in 591: WRIGHT (1978), 159f., and more detailed HURWITZ (1962), 142ff.

112 SSQGL 3, 812b.28., BZL 4, 511b.13f., the latter repeated in FYZL 100, 1026b.24f.. BZL gives as place 善建道場 *Pujian-daochang* in the South of the capital.

113 See WEINSTEIN (1987), 5ff..

114 Cp. WEINSTEIN (1987), 37ff. To her relation with *Xuanzang* see MEYER (1992), 257, note 275.

115 In the year 694. See FORTE (1976), 164, and FORTE (1988), 231f.. FORTE's books deal in details with the whole legitimation process of the empress in context with the apocryphic 大雲經 *Dayun-jing*, *Mahāmeghasūtra* and the *Mingtang*. For *Mingtang* see FORTE (1976), 189f., note 47, and a more detailed discussion in FORTE (1988), *passim*.

116 p.78f.

was easily brought together with original Chinese patterns of politico-ritual periodization¹¹⁷. In the case of Empress *Wu*, the period between the ceremonies is not mentioned¹¹⁸ but it is clear that she tried to copy the *cakravartin Aśoka*¹¹⁹ and his imitator *Liang Wudi*, a trend which may have well been supported by *Xuangzang's* report on the Indian and Central-Asian ceremonies. In the early part of *Wu Zetian's* reign (687; 3rd year of 垂拱 *Chuigong*) falls the *wuzhe-dahui* performed on occasion of a lecture on the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* (華嚴經 *huayan-jing*) in the famous 大慈恩寺 *Da-ci'en-si*¹²⁰, which was probably supported by the empress.

After that short interregnum of the *Zhou*-empress, the next *Tang*-emperor 中宗 *Zhongzong* ordered a *wuzhe-hui* to be performed in the 4th year of his reign (神龍 *shenlong*, 710) in the 化度寺 *Huadu-si*¹²¹. This certainly has something to do with the re-establishment of the *Tang* dynasty¹²².

In the year 738 (26th year of 開元 *Kaiyuan*), an envoy 齊澣 *Qigan* (or: 齊公 *Qigong*), the commander-in-chief of *Yuezhou* (越州都督), beside some other religious actions including the ordination of new monks performed a *wuzhe-dahui* in 新安 *Xin'an*¹²³. The event, or even the events, may have to be connected with the orders of Emperor *Xuanzong*, who had rather an "antipathy toward traditional forms of Buddhist doctrine and practice", to establish state monasteries that bore the name of the era: 開元寺 *Kaiyuan-si*¹²⁴ and could show that, in spite of the emperor's disdain, other officials did well comply with

117 It should be pointed out that the *Mingtang* had an immense central pillar (FORTE (1976), 190f., note 48), another feature that could easily brought together with the pv. in the *Aśoka*-legend where the ruler is said to perform the ceremony at the *bodhi*-tree, another evident case of 'axis mundi' (see Part I, 72ff.).

118 ZZhtJ 205.6499.

119 For instance in the "*Great-cloud-sūtra*" (*Dayun-jing*): see FORTE (1976), 40f., and on the *cakravartin* concept 262f.; on the *Aśokan* symbolism of the central pillar in the *Mingtang* cp. FORTE (1988).

120 DGHGZ, 175c.13, biography of the Indian monk *Divākara* 日照 *Rizhao*; the text gives no name of a sponsor, but from the connection this monk had to the empress it is clear that this event was officially sponsored.

121 FZTJ 40, 372c.20f. and 51a.19f., and probably also the short entry in DSSSL 1, 241c.8 (無遮齋 *wuzhe-zhai*); for FZTJ see JAN's translation (1966), 52, whose statement in note 20, identifying *wuzhe-dahui* with "*Panch-varṣika-pariṣad*", is of course wrong; Jiu-tangshu 7.

122 See WEINSTEIN (1987), 47f..

123 SGSZ 14, 795c.22ff., esp. 24: 設無遮大會十筵 ("... [he] established 10 *wuzhe-dahui* ..."). It is not quite clear, whether or not 筵 *yan* as a classifier for "places" or "events" here means that he performed the ceremony 10 times subsequently or ten ceremonies at the same time.

the old Buddhist tradition of pv. / *wuzhe-hui*.

Later ceremonies in the *Tang* -period include that of the emperor 代宗 *Daizong* who had a *wuzhe-hui* performed in the year 765¹²⁵ expressing his new favorization of the religion after having instigated some oppressive movements against Buddhism and Daoism in favour of Confucian traditions before¹²⁶. Emperor 宣宗 *Xuanzong*, a devoted Buddhist, after the suppression of Buddhism by his father 武宗 *Wuzong*¹²⁷, performed a ceremony called the "*unrestricted excellent donation*" (無遮精妙供養 *wuzhe-jingmiao-gongyang*) in the year 853¹²⁸.

The latest ceremony I could find in the records is that of the first *Ming*-emperor 太祖 *Taizu* recorded in the DMGSZ 3 (910a.20f.) in the biography of 大同 *Datong*¹²⁹.

As far as one can trace the history of the pv. and its related ceremonies which later on, according to the above presented theory, have amalgamated with it, it seems to be closely related with a propagandization of the *Asoka*-legend. This certainly had its origin in the attempts of the Chinese *saṅgha* to attract the rulers in their own country by holding before them the mirror of a ideal Buddhist emperor who at the same time was a world-ruler (*cakravartin*).

The beginning of this "*Asoka-boom*" was literally marked by the first *Asoka*-text, the translation of the 阿育王經 *Ayu-wang-jing* made by 安法欽 *An Faqin* (306 A.D.)¹³⁰.

Lying in the general apologetic trend of Chinese Buddhism¹³¹ is the fact that images, relics, and *stūpas* related to *Asoka*¹³² were

¹²⁴ See WEINSTEIN (1987), 54. On state monasteries in general cp. FORTE in: HOBGIRIN 6 (1983), s.v. *daiji* 大寺, 679b.ff., and for the *Kaiyuan*-monasteries in special see FORTE (1992), 224ff. and 235ff..

¹²⁵ ZXKSL 1, 752c.21.

¹²⁶ Cp. WEINSTEIN (1987), 77 u.175f., n.1.

¹²⁷ See WEINSTEIN (1987), 136f.

¹²⁸ 7th year of the era 大中 *Dazhong*; see SGSZ 27, 881b.5f., related in the biography of 智顗 *Zhijun*.

¹²⁹ This ceremony must have been performed between 1368 and 1371, the year of the ascension of the emperor and the dead of the monk.

¹³⁰ To be more accurate one should say, the first text that still exists. There could have been other texts or oral traditions about which we have no knowledge.

¹³¹ Regarding these "*traditions concerning 'Indian' images appearing in China*" in general see ZÜRCHER (1995), 12f., and especially the discussion of FONTEIN (1995).

¹³² See especially (GRANOFF/) SHINOHARA (1992), 201ff. on images and other examples in (GRANOFF/)SHINOHARA (1988), 148-171.

discovered whenever legitimative connections with the famous Indian *cakravartin* or with Buddhist concepts of a *dharma*-ruler was claimed by the actual ruler. Beside the apologetic efforts of the Buddhists themselves these pseudo-archaeologic evidences contributed to proof of the existence of Buddhism on Chinese soil in early periods of Chinese history. The legitimation process of founders of new dynasties as the *Sui*-emperor *Wendi*¹³³ or usurpators¹³⁴ who were inclined to Buddhism¹³⁵ and the ideal of a *cakravartin* represented by *Āśoka* played most certainly major roles in these discoveries¹³⁶. They could easily be substantiated by the legend that *Āśoka* collected the relics (*śarīra*) which were distributed by the brahman *Drona* after the cremation of the Buddha and spread them in 84000 *stūpas* all over the realm of *Jambudvīpa*¹³⁷. The fact that in the most cases where an emperor performed *wuzhe-hui* or pv. and that at the beginning of his reign relics and *stūpas* claimed to be related to *Āśoka* were found shows that the identification process with the great Indian ruler was a one more complete than is, quite understandable, reflected by the dynastic historiography.

Once the *Āśoka*-legend and its elements and motives¹³⁸ were established, the pv. / *wuzhe-hui* also came into more outstanding use and received more attention in the Buddhist literature than in Indian texts. This is clearly shown when *Jiānagupta* inserts *wuzhe-hui* into his version of Lal. where the original Sanskrit texts, not only the Lal. but also the other versions of the *vita*, have it not. After the interpretation of *Māyā*'s dream by the astrologers Buddha's father *Śuddhodana* performs the ceremony (大無遮義會 *da-wuzhe-yi-hui*)¹³⁹, giving people everything he has and which they need. The same

¹³³ WRIGHT (1978), 136; EICHHORN (1973), 242.

¹³⁴ This is a term which naturally reflects the standpoint of the orthodox Confucian state-ideology and that of the ones who were deprived of their power.

¹³⁵ Cp. EBERHARD (1952), 81, and for the *Toba* (1949) 236f..

¹³⁶ Cp. ZÜRCHER's examples on pp.277ff., and his statement (p.280): "It is a remarkable fact that many of the "relics of *Āśoka*" were found by people who had close connections with the court. We may conclude that the "relics of *Āśoka*" and the miraculous happenings connected with their discovery served a dual purpose: they proved the existence of a Buddhist period in ancient Chinese history, thus providing the Buddhist clergy with the necessary pedigree and thereby enhancing its prestige, and at the same time they could be interpreted as auspicious omens evoked by the virtuous conduct of the secular ruler." A thorough study of the impact of the *Āśoka* legend on apologetic ideas and those of legitimation and popular beliefs, as e.g. the image of *Āśoka* installed at 長沙寺 *Changsha-si* in 394 (cp. TSUKAMOTO (1985), 696), reflected in legends, terminology, etc. spread over the vast Chinese material would certainly be valuable but it goes beyond the frame of this study.

¹³⁷ Cp. FONTEIN, op.cit., 22b. ff..

happens after the birth and *Māyā*'s return to the palace when *Asita* gives his prophecy (as 大無遮會 *da-wuzhe-hui*)¹⁴⁰. Then, when King *Bimbisāra* urges the *Bodhisattva* to give up his spiritual search and to join his reign and the *Bodhisattva* refuses, *Jñānagupta* inserts a passage having the *Bodhisattva* explain the (right) conduct of a king which also includes the performance of *wuzhe-hui*¹⁴¹. Considering the inclination of *Sui Wendi* to Buddhism, his efforts to imitate *Asoka* and his connections to *Jñānagupta* whom he called back from his exile in the Western Regions to take a leading position in the translation work of Buddhist texts¹⁴², it is difficult to imagine that *Jñānagupta*'s insertions into the text were not done with an intention of motivating the ruler in this direction.

The performances of *wuzhe-hui* by *Liang Wudi* do fully comply with the features given in the *Asoka*-legend: making donations to the *saṅgha* and giving all the precious things away, even himself. The fact that he did perform it irregularly, at least not in periods of five years, corresponds with the legend, too, because, as Part I already pointed out, there is not any indication of a strict periodization in the case of *wuzhe-hui*.

After the prosperous times of the *Tang*, the pv. seems to have fallen into oblivion, a fact which is quite understandable considering the strength of the Neo-Confucianist impact on state affairs. The *Song*

138 E.g. the legend of the *stūpas*. How far the practice of taking monks (*kalyāṇamitra*) as advisers (*Upagupta*, *Pinḍola Bhāradvāja*, *Yaśas*) had an influence on Chinese rulers who also had close contact with eminent monks is a subject which, however, cannot be discussed in this paper. A clear indication that the building of *stūpas* and the donations to the *saṅgha* including pv. was considered as the most acknowledged actions of *Asoka* is found in the *Tang* Buddhist encyclopedia FYZL 43, 622c.28ff.: 時王起八萬四千佛塔於彼——塔中復施百千金復作五歲大會會有三百千比丘用三百億金供養於彼 ("Then the king built 84 000 *stūpas*, put into each of them 100 000 gold[-pieces], and performed a five-year-assembly; on this assembly were 300 000 *bhikṣus* and he donated them 30 000 000 000 gold[-pieces]; ..."). Another quotation from a *Sūtra* about *Asoka*'s pv. is found in FYZL 19, 425a.24, where paradoxically it is stated that the king "often performed a pv." (常作般遮于瑟) but subsequently the singular pv. of the *Asoka*-legend is described. Here obviously the knowledge of pv. performed in regular terms and the version of the legend collided (see also ZJYJ, 17c.18f.).

139 683c.27ff..

140 698b.8. Almost identically repeated in FYZL 8, 342.22ff..

141 761b.7f.: 又復仁者往昔諸王頭戴寶冠嚴飾身禮常在家內祭祀諸天行於法立無遮會 ("And further, Your [majesty], all former kings bore a jeweled crown on the head, gorgeously adorned their body, often performed at home sacrifices for all gods, maintained lawful conduct and set up *wuzhe-hui*.") The final position of *wuzhe-hui* and its non-identity with 'sacrifices' show the stress the compiler put on it. A *wuzhe-hui* not correctly performed is found in an inserted legend (747a.20ff.), where a kind of *Mithila* wants to offer killed animals to the gods as a 無遮之會 *wuzhe-zhi-hui*.

142 XGSZ 434c.9ff.

monk 贊寧 *Zanning* considers the ceremony to be a special feature of the Buddhism of the Western Regions (西域 *xiyu*)¹⁴³ and in the Buddhist dictionaries of the *Song* period only two short entries about pv. are found¹⁴⁴. There are no longer records of performed *wuzhe-hui*. It seems that the transcriptional word for pv. which has been at least from the *Liang* period on the variation 般遮于瑟 *wuzheyuse* had to be explained in the dictionaries because it was still found here and there in Buddhist literature.

There are even relatively late post-*Tang* examples of pv. on occasion of the ordination of new monks (*upasampadā* 度僧 *duseng* "enter the *saṅgha*") supported by the crown-prince (皇太子 *huangtaizi*) of the *Jin* dynasty¹⁴⁵. These cope fully with the presented model of interpretation: a barbarian dynasty (*Jin-Jurchen*) using the Buddhist pattern of pv. in the framework of a legitimation-process.

It should have become clear that the pv. and related ceremonies were an important tool, beyond the fiscal importance, for the Chinese *saṅgha* to show its strength and connections with the official rulers. On the other hand, for the emperor the Buddhist ceremony could become an integral part of the legitimation process legalized by the example of the idealized Buddhist universal monarch (*cakravartin*) *Aśoka*, especially in the case of usurpators and foreign, barbarian dynasties.

Addenda to Part I

After Part I of this paper was published, I discovered some materials¹⁴⁶ which I had not used at that time. I also received reaction and bibliographical comments from Prof. Dr. O.v. HINÜBER (University of Freiburg, Germany) and from Dr. Seishi KARASHIMA (Kyōto, Japan)¹⁴⁷ who both introduced me to the article of de JONG in the

¹⁴³ DSSSL 1, 237b.5f.: 每秋分後十日間一國僧徒皆赴五年大會西域謂之般遮于瑟 ("After each winter solstice everybody of the *saṅgha* of one [i.e.: countries like Khotan, Kucha, etc.] country goes to the great five-year-assembly; (in the Western Regions [they] call it pv. ..."). Note that *Zanning* refers to *Faxian* (237a.26) but gives the common transcription instead of *Faxian*'s.

¹⁴⁴ Cp. FMJ(S) 5, 1138a.15f. = Taipei-ed., 197b.18: 般遮于瑟或般遮跋利沙此云五年一大會 "banzheyuse oder banzhebalisha: that means every five years one big assembly."

¹⁴⁵ In the 8th year of the era 大定 *Dading* the *Jin*-Dynasty (金, 1168) 500 monks were ordained in the 清安禪寺 *Qing'an-chansi* of the capital 東京 *Dongjing* and a pv. 無遮于吒 *wuzheyuzha* (the last character was obviously an adaption to a Early Mandarin pronunciation, the shortened form in the earliest text T.2035 is certainly a mistake) was performed (FZTJ 48, 437c., 20ff., repeated in FZLDTZ 12, 691b.1f. and SSQGL 4, 894a.10ff., without mentioning the crown-prince).

¹⁴⁶ E.g. PRZYLUŠKI (1926).

Festschrift HORNER which I had overlooked myself. It is my pleasure to express my gratitude to both scholars for their help. I then tried to get all of the material listed in note 6 of de JONG's article and to work it into Part II and into this 'addenda'.

Generally, it may be noted that these articles and materials do not conflict with the already presented and discussed texts and results in Part I, but only bolster these results.

There is one Indian *Vinaya*-text preserved in which pv. occurs, the *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya* of the *Mahāsāṅghika* or the *Mahālokottaravādin*. This *Bhikṣuṇīvinaya* seems to use the word as a *bāhuvrīhi*-adjective in the sense of "every five years". It does refer obviously to a kind of festival but there is now further information how and by whom among the laymen the festival was performed¹⁴⁸. What is important is that there is no allusion to *Asoka* at all. The relatively early Chinese translation of the *Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya*¹⁴⁹ however may show that this school propagated a pv., a huge donation ceremony for wealthy *dānapatis*, through their monastical codex already in India, in the Northwest, where it was present¹⁵⁰. And this was a region where the *Asoka*-tradition with the pv. as a major subject may have survived longer than elsewhere. In this *Vinaya* are also two passages where rules for the pv. are given exclusively (without the other *mahāpariṣad* 大會 *dahui*)¹⁵¹. The amalgamation between the edicts' five-year-tours

¹⁴⁷ To Dr. KARASHIMA I also owe the reference to the "pv." in *Huichaos* travel record (cp. also ZHANG and the edition of WANG Zhongluos text by ZHENG).

¹⁴⁸ ROTH (1970), 314 (Par.281): ... *atha dāni mālyopahāro bhavati jātimahā vā bodhi-mahā vā dharma-cakra-mahā vā Ānanda-mahā vā Rāhula-mahā vā pañcavārśikā; mahā-pañca-vārśikā; ...* ("... then there is [the ceremony] of the donation of flowers or the great [ceremony] of [Buddha's] birth or the great [ceremony] of the enlightenment or the great [ceremony] of the [turning] of the Wheel of the Law or the great [ceremony] of Ānanda or the great [ceremony] of Rāhula or the great quinquennial [ceremony that is] the great pañcavārśikā ...") By its use in the feminine gender and through the parallelism one can clearly see that here, too, pv. is used as an adjective which is then explained by the interpolation '*mahā-pañca-vārśikā*'. This proves the idiomatic use of the term not only in the legends but also in clerical circles without of course being able to show what this pv. really was in an actual context. NOLOT (1991), 356, is obviously not aware of the problems the text shows when she translates: "... du festival quinquennal ou du grand festival quinquennal ...".

¹⁴⁹ T.1425, vol.22, translated by *Buddhabhadra* and *Faxian*, has almost the same enumeration: 279a.13ff.; 357c.6ff.; 454b.27ff.; 494a.20ff.; 495c.1f.; 498b.28f.; 498c.13f.; 546c.25ff.: 五年大會 *wunian-dahui*; 247c.16ff. (殷闌于瑟); 249c.5f.; 250a.29ff.; 267c.1ff.; 382b.8ff.: note that the transcription is the "common" one 殷遮于瑟 *banzheyuse*, not the one Faxian uses in his travel account (see part I).

¹⁵⁰ BAREAU (1955), 36f.; ROTH, Xff.. This goes against the PRZYLUŠKI's idea of a strict geographical separation of the sects, the *Mahāsāṅghikas* being the Eastern one.

¹⁵¹ 446b.12ff.: how the monks should sit and how the food should be distributed; 548a.14ff.: on the way the nun, *bhikṣuṇī*, should sit on such an occasion.

and the donation assembly may have taken place in the North or North-West. This may have happened at a time when schools propagating *Āśoka's* legend as a propagator of the Buddhist *dharma* and defender of the unity of the *saṅgha* and the *Mahāsāṅghika*, a group evolving together with the *Sthavira* from the first schism, which is probably not the one *Āśoka* instigated at *Vaiśālī*¹⁵², lived side by side. In a climate of competition for donations and with the *Āśoka*-legend growing, one of the big ceremonies was connected with the great king's donation at the *bodhi*-tree and the name was reminiscent of his five year control-tours: pv.¹⁵³. This is totally lacking the tradition of the *Sthavira* who never had a stronghold in this region. It would explain the strange situation we have for the earliest Indian text in which pv. occurs. On the one side we have the pv. performed by a merchant in the AvŚ and on the other side the locus classicus in the *Āśokāvadāna* in Divy: in one tradition the pv. - and this may be the one reflected in the *Mahāsāṅghika-vinaya* - has become a donation ceremony for wealthy laymen while in the other tradition it became exclusively connected with *Āśoka* and the royal circles.

One North-West-Indian, rather late (first half of the 8th century) ceremony (*Gandhāra*) has to be added to Part I from *Huichao's* travel account¹⁵⁴.

In the 大智度論 *Da-zhidu-lun* (T.1509), the commentary on the *Pañcaviṃśati-sahasrikā-prajñāparāmitā* said to have been written by *Nāgārjuna* and "translated" by *Kumārajīva*¹⁵⁵, the pv. is mentioned in connection with the *saṅghabheda*, the first schism of the *saṅgha*. *Āśoka* initiates the great assembly of the Buddhist masters with a pv. 般闍于瑟 *banzheyuse*¹⁵⁶. It shows, however the authenticity of this text is judged, that the 2nd or 3rd century was the *terminus ante quem* when the ceremony was already closely interwoven into the legendary *Āśoka*-tradition to an extent that it could move from its original place in the legend, the visit paid to the *bodhi*-tree, to other places, here the opening ceremony of the Great Assembly quite similar to the Pāli-chronicles and to the Tibetan accounts the former only differing in not mentioning the pv..

¹⁵² Cp. still FRAUWALLNER (1952), 245ff..

¹⁵³ Under which name it then entered the "reshaped" (FRAUWALLNER (1956), 207) *Mahāsāṅghika-Vinaya*.

¹⁵⁴ See the discussion above p.66, note 14.

¹⁵⁵ For this work cp. CONZE (1978), 93ff.

¹⁵⁶ PRZYLUSKI (1926), 72. LAMOTTE (1944), 107, in his translation does not comment on the term pv..

AGRAWALA's remarks on the term pv. in the Divy.¹⁵⁷ add the tradition of giving away all possessions in the Brahmanical tradition (see the discussion above) and gives the very important clue to the identification of *nirargada* and 無遮會 (see above).

Page 70, ad rock-edict 3 and first separate rock-edict: SCHARFE (1989), 137, points out that *mahāmātras*¹⁵⁸ in the described function, he calls them *dharmamahāmātras*, were "*Aśoka's special creation*". One can conclude from that that this administration rank fell into oblivion after the emperor's death and there remained only the "*five years*" integrated with other features of the *Aśoka*-legend as described in part I. SCHARFE, op.cit., takes the tours as purely secular.

Page 79, note 63: This account of *Sengyou* is quoted in fasc.6 of the *Tang*-catalogue KYSYL (T.2154, 539c.3f.).

Page 78, line 6ff.: For the iconographical meaning of the number 5 (pentade) in Buddhism cp. also GRÖNBOLD (1984), 472, s.v. *Tathāgatas, Die Fünf*.

Page 80 and 81, note 72: In an article which was brought to my attention by the kindness of Dr. Anna Maria QUAGLIOTTI (Napoli)¹⁵⁹, Prof. TADDEI¹⁶⁰ has identified a pv.-scene on a painting in the vault of the famous colossal Buddha at Bāmiyān. TADDEI interprets the image of the decorated Buddha and a row of figures approaching or venerating him as a depiction of the moment when the king gives away everything he owns. If this identification is right, the final decision I have to leave to the specialists in the field of Buddhist iconography and history of arts, we would get another politico-ideological feature of the pv. in the synoptical area between India and Central Asia. The pv. in which the donations were made to the Buddha (directly or symbolically for the *saṅgha*) then would have been a means of functional self-definition of the ruler. By bestowing everything to the *cakravartin*-Buddha and redeeming it afterwards, the king achieves the identification and legitimation as a universal ruler (*cakravartin*) himself¹⁶¹. The ceremony would have been transferred to a level of political and religious legitimation which

¹⁵⁷ (1966), 73.

¹⁵⁸ SCHARFE, op.cit., 140, also comes forward with a new suggestion for the basic meaning "*almost great*" taking *-mātra* as a suffix "*denoting the full measure of what the first word said; ...*" instead of the usual interpretation "*having great measure*". This meaning accepted, it would show the high rank of the *mahāmātra*.

¹⁵⁹ I have to thank Dr. QUAGLIOTTI for having procured my with a copy of Prof. TADDEI's article.

¹⁶⁰ Actually a reinterpretation of the scene, which was already equated with pv. by Deborah KLIMBURG-SALTER (cp. TADDEI (1992), 459a.). Strictly speaking, pv. has to be corrected into *nirargada*, because the Chinese text has 無遮會.

became a main feature of the 無遮會 *wuzhe-hui* (see above) in China.

Page 81, note 75: Recent considerations and research have brought me to the conclusion that *Faxian's* kingdom of 竭叉 *Jiecha* has to be a former kingdom in the area of the Karakoram-range, with a centre probably around today's Baltistan. For more details and for a thorough discussion see my forthcoming translation and monograph (in German) on the GFZ¹⁶². This localization would only contribute to the conclusions drawn in Part I of this paper. It would exactly, geographically and historically, match with the fact that the *Asoka* legend was an essential element in the history of the Buddhist mission in the Northwest. It would have been preserved even more conservatively in an area which after the second half of the 4th century became more and more secluded from the mainstream of Buddhist traffic towards Chinese-Turkestan. One may even go so far to suggest that the predilection for horses of the inhabitants in this area, in religious and everyday's terms, already found in early sources like Chinese historiographic writing and in rock carvings on the other side of the Karakoram range may give a hint to the explanation of the preservation of the "archaic" feature of horse-riding in the pv. described by *Faxian*.

Corrigenda to Part I:

- p.68, line 18: read "般遮于瑟 *banzheyuse*, 般闍于瑟 *banzheyuse*" instead of "般遮于瑟 *banzheyuse*, 般者于瑟 *bansheyuse*, ...".
- p.70, line 6f.: read: "... on an inspection-tour every five years for that purpose ..." instead of: "... on an inspection-tour every to that purpose ..."
- p.74, note 38, line 6f. read "The venerable said: ..." instead of "The said: ..."
- p.86: Abbreviations: change order AWJ - AWZ into AWZ - AWJ and read: Ayu-wang-zhuan (T.2042) instead of Ayu-wang-zhuan (T.2043).

Additional abbreviations:

| | |
|-------|--|
| A | Aṅguttara-nikāya (ed. MORRIS, HARDY; transl. WOODWARD / HARE) |
| BSL | 北山錄 Beishan-lu, T.2113, vol.52 (唐 Tang, 神清 Shenqing, commentated by 慧寶 Huibao) |
| BKDJ | 佛書解說大辭典 Bussho-kaisetsu-daijiten, Tōkyō 1963ff. |
| BZL | 辯正論 Bianzheng-lun, T.2110, vol.52 (唐 Tang, 法琳 Falin) |
| CFZZJ | 傳法正宗記 Chuanfa-zhengzong-ji, T.2078, vol.51 (宋 Song, 契嵩 Qisong) |

¹⁶¹ TADDEI, loc.cit., 459b..

¹⁶² NAGASAWA's new translation and commentary - see esp. (1996), 21b.f., note 8 - of FGZ does not bring a new identification; he sticks to the old site Tashkurghan.

- DGHGZ 大方廣佛華嚴經感應傳 Dafang-guangfo-huayanjing-ganying-zhuan, T.2074, vol.51 (唐 Tang, 慧英 Huiying)
- DMGSZ 大明高僧傳 Daming-gaoseng-zhuan, T.2062, vol.50 (明 Ming, 如惺 Ruxing)
- DSSSL 大宋僧史略 Dasongseng-shilüe, T.2125, vol.54 (宋 Song, 贊寧 Zanning)
- FFY 翻梵語 Fan-fanyun, T.2130, vol.54 (?)
- FMJ(S) 翻譯名義集 Fanyi-mingyi-ji (宋 Song, 普馴潤 Purun, reprint Taipei)
- FYZL 法苑珠林 Fayuan-zhulin, T.2122, vol.53 (唐 Tang, 道世 Daoshi)
- FZLDTZ 佛祖歷代通載 Fozu-lidai-tongzai, T.2036, vol.49 (元 Yuan, 念常 Nianchang)
- FZTJ 佛祖統紀 Fozu-tongji, T.2035, vol.49 (宋 Song, 志磐 Zhipan)
- GDhS. Gautamadharmasāstra
- GHMJ 廣弘明集 Guang-hongming-ji, T.2103, vol.52 (唐 Tang, 道宣 Daoxuan)
- Gvy. Gaṇḍāvyūha
- It. Itivuttaka
- JB. Jaiminiya-Brāhmaṇa (ed. RAGHU VIRA / LOKESH CANDRA; transl.
- CALAND)
- JDCDL 經德傳燈錄 Jingde-chuandeng-lu, T.2076, vol.51 (宋 Song, 道元 Daoyuan)
- JLYX 經律異相 Jinglü-yixiang, T.2121, vol.53 (梁 Liang, 寶唱 Baochang)
- JSSGL 集神州三寶感通錄 Ji-shenzhou-sanbao-gantong-lu, T.2106, vol.52 (唐 Tang, 道宣 Daoxuan)
- KB. Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa (transl. KEITH)
- KYSJL 開元釋教錄 Kaiyuan-shijiao-lu, T.2154, vol.55 (唐 Tang, 智昇 Zhisheng)
- LV. Lalitavistara (ed. BAGCHI; transl. MITRA)
- M. Majjhima-nikāya (ed. TRENCKER; transl. HORNER)
- MBh. Mahābhārata
- MDhS. Mānavadharmasāstra
- MSV. Mūlasarvāstivādin-Vinaya (Saṅghabhedavastu ed. GNOLI)
- Mvy. Mahāvīyutpatti (ed. SAKAKI)
- Mvu. Mahāvastu (ed. SÉNART; transl. JONES)
- P. Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī (ed. BÖTHLINGK)
- PV. Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa (transl. CALAND)
- PW. Petersburger Wörterbuch (cp. bibliography Part I, s.v. BÖTHLINGK / ROTH)
- Rv. Raghuvamśa (Kālidāsa), cit. after V.P.JOSHI (ed.), The complete works of Kālidāsa, Leiden 1976
- S. Saṃyutta-nikāya (ed. FR)
- Sn. Sutta-nipāta (ed. ANDERSEN / SMITH; transl. NORMAN)
- ŚB. Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (Mādhyandina-recension; transl. EGGELING)
- SGSZ 宋高僧傳 Song-gaoseng-zhuan, T.2061, vol.50 (宋 Song, 贊寧 Zanning)
- SGYL 三寶感應要略錄 Sanbao-ganying-yaolüe-lu, T.2084, vol.51 (宋 Song, 非濁 Feizhuo)
- Sikṣ. Śikṣāsamuccaya
- SSQGL 釋氏稽古略 Shishi-qigu-lüe, T.2037, vol.49 (明 Ming, 覺岸 Jiaolan)
- SSQGLXJ 釋氏稽古略續集 Shishi-qigu-lüe-xuji, T.2038, vol.49 (明 Ming, 幻輪 Huanlun)
- TDWTZ 大唐和上東征傳 Tō-daiwajō-tōsei-den, T.2089.7 (元開 Genkai)
- Vv. Vimānavatthu (ed. JAYAWICKRAMA; transl. HORNER)
- XGSZ 續高僧傳 Xu-gaoseng-zhuan, T.2060, vol.50 (唐 Tang, 道宣 Daoxuan)
- ZBJZ 雜寶藏經 Za-baozang-jing, T.203, vol.4 (魏 Wei, 吉迦夜 Jijaye + 曇曜 Tanyao)
- ZXKSL 大唐貞觀續開元釋教錄 Datang-zhenkai-xu-kaiyuan-shijiao-lu, T.2156, vol.55 (唐 Tang, 圓照 Yuanzhao)
- ZXSM 貞觀新定釋教目錄 Zhenkai-xinding-shijiao-mulu, T.2157, vol. 55 (唐 Tang, 圓照 Yuanzhao)
- ZJYJ 諸經要集 Zhujing-yaoji, T.2123, vol.53 (唐 Tang, 道世 Daoshi)
- ZZTJ 資治通鑑 Zizhi-tongjian (宋 Song, 司馬光 Sima Guang)

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