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新加坡佛学研究学刊

Singaporean Journal of Buddhist Studies

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目錄

CONTENTS

ANĀLAYO

Mahāyāna in the Ekottarika-āgama 5

XU JIANBIN

Buddhism-Based Coping with Elderly Loneliness 45
in the Singapore Context: Hope or Hype?

TSUI CHUNGHUI

Silk Road and Early Buddhist Scribal Culture 63
in China (3-5 C)

廣興

佛教對儒家和道教在孝道觀上批判的回應 109

传诚

佛教的六齋日——兼与萧登福先生商榷 149

纪赉

评介《善男寥寥：《郁伽所问经》中的菩萨道： 177
研究与翻译》*

顧偉康

〈須真天子經記〉考——竺法護早年是否懂中文？ 215

MAHĀYĀNA IN THE EKOTTARIKA-ĀGAMA

ANĀLAYO

NUMATA CENTER FOR BUDDHIST STUDIES, HAMBURG AND
DHARMA DRUM BUDDHIST COLLEGE, TAIWAN

Abstract

With the present paper I survey passages in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that reflect Mahāyāna thought, followed by a more a detailed study of one of these instances, which involves an occurrence of the term Hīnayāna.

Key Words Mahāyāna, Ekottarika-āgama, Buddhist Literature

Introduction

In what follows, I examine passages in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that show the influence of Mahāyāna notions.¹ This *Ekottarika-āgama*, now extant as entry no. 125 in the Taishō edition, was translated in the year 384 of the present era by Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念), based on a text recited by Dharmanandin.² Its school affiliation has been the

* I am indebted to Rod Bucknell, Sāmaṇerī Dhammadinnā, Paul Harrison, Antonello Palumbo and Bhikṣu Kongmu for commenting on a draft version of this paper. It goes without saying that I am solely responsible for whatever error may still remain in my presentation.

¹ I already drew attention to some of the late passages discussed below in Anālayo 2009b.

² Regarding the suggestion in some later catalogues that the translator was rather Gautama Saṅghadeva, Matsumura 1989: 364 notes that already Unebe in 1970 had observed that the translation terminology of T 125 indicates that this work was translated by Zhu Fonian, with which Matsumura 1989: 367 concurs; for similar conclusions cf. also Legittimo 2005: 3 note 7, Anālayo 2006: 146, and Nattier 2007: 195 note 48; cf. also Park 2012: 203.

subject of on-going discussion among scholars, a Mahāsāṃghika affiliation being the most often proposed hypothesis.³

While the term Mahāyāna can carry a range of meanings,⁴ what I intend with “Mahāyāna” in the present context is predominantly along the lines of the expression *bodhisattvayāna*, sometimes used in early Mahāyāna texts as an equivalent to the term Mahāyāna. Besides occurrences of explicit *yāna* terminology – Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna, and references to the three *yānas* – *Ekottarika-āgama* passages that reflect the existence of the developed bodhisattva ideal as a viable path in general would thus fall within the scope of my definition.⁵ I also consider references to Maitreya as a bodhisattva and the co-existence of more than one Buddha, found in different Buddha fields, as relevant to my present purpose.

My approach thus differs to some extent from Lamotte, who considers a reference to the diamond concentration in an *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse as reflecting Mahāyāna influence.⁶ The passage in question describes how Śāriputra, seated in this type of concentration, remains unhurt when a *yakṣa* hits him on the head. A parallel to this

³ Cf. Mayeda 1985: 102f and for recent contributions Pāsādika 2010, Kuan 2012, Kuan 2013a, Kuan 2013b, and Kuan 2013c.

⁴ Cf., e.g., the discussion in Silk 2002.

⁵ While in Anālayo 2010a I argue that the beginnings of what eventually was to become the bodhisattva ideal can be found already in the early discourses, these beginnings are distinctly different from passages in the *Ekottarika-āgama* that reflect the existence of the full-fledged *bodhisattvayāna*.

⁶ In relation to EĀ 48.6 at T II 793a13, Lamotte 1967: 114 comments that according to this passage “Śāriputra était entre dans la Concentration du Diamant (*vajrasamādhi*), concentration ignorée des anciennes Écritures, mais figurant dans la liste des 108 ou 118 *samādhi* dressée par les *Prajñāpāramitā* ... en faisant intervenir cette concentration, le Sūtra de Śāriputra trahit sa dépendance à l’endroit des Sūtra du Grand Véhicule.” Kuan 2013b: 140–149 similarly sees this passage as reflecting Mahāyāna thought.

tale in the *Udāna* speaks simply of him having entered “a certain concentration”.⁷ Parallels in the two *Samyukta-āgama* translations do not mention his concentrative attainment, but report that the Buddha spoke a stanza in relation to this event, highlighting that Śāriputra’s mind was solidly established like a firm rock or that his mind was like a great mountain.⁸

In the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse in question, the expression “diamond concentration”, 金剛三昧, occurs not only in the Śāriputra episode, but also in the description of another monk who remained unhurt by a fire while being in this concentration.⁹ In most parallel versions, the monk in question has entered the cessation attainment.¹⁰

The expression “diamond concentration” would seem to be a natural way of describing the attainment of cessation as a condition in which one cannot be hurt.¹¹ The notion that a diamond is harder than any other stone is reflected in a discourse in the *Aṅguttara-*

⁷ Ud 4.4 at Ud 39,22: *aññataraṃ samādhiṃ samāpajjitvā*.

⁸ SĀ 1330 T II 367b26: 心如剛石堅住 and SĀ2 329 at T II 485b16: 心如大山.

⁹ EĀ 48.6 at T II 793b21.

¹⁰ MN 50 at MN I 333,19, MĀ 131 at T I 620c22, T 66 at T I 864c19 and D 4094 *ju* 75b3 or Q 5595 *tu* 85a7 (cf. the reference to the cessation attainment in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan 1967: 75,3). Another parallel, T 67 at T I 867a28, only reports that the monk was in an unspecified concentration attainment.

¹¹ In relation to another such story in *Vism* 706,13, where a monk who has entered cessation remains unhurt by a fire that has broken out around him, Griffith 1986/1991: 12 comments that “external events, no matter how dramatic, could have no effect upon him”, which seems to be indeed a central feature associated with this attainment. Thus when Kuan 2013b: 148 comments on the description given in EĀ 48.6 that “this *samādhi* is endowed with specific magical potency, an empowerment typical of the Mahāyāna meditative traditions”, it needs to be added that this magical potency seems to be associated with the attainment of cessation already in early Buddhist texts and is also reflected in the Theravāda commentarial tradition.

nikāya, where the motif of the indestructibility of a diamond serves to qualify the eradication of all influxes accomplished by an arahant.¹² Thus references to the “diamond concentration” in the *Ekottarika-āgama* may simply be intending to convey the indestructibility with which one who has attained cessation was held to be endowed.¹³ The fact that similar ideas can be found in *Prajñāpāramitā* does not make the idea as such an instance of Mahāyāna thought.¹⁴

¹² AN 3.25 at AN I 124,20, a passage already noted by Frauwallner 1971: 96; cf. also the *Puggalapaññatti*, Pp 30,20 and for further references Anālayo 2011a: 301f note 180 and Martini 2011: 178 note 131.

¹³ Besides EĀ 48.6, the expression 金剛三昧 also occurs in the list of outstanding monks in EĀ 4.9 at T II 558b29, and in a listing of various concentrations in EĀ 42.4 at T II 753b13. Both instances are compatible with a reading of this expression as a referent to the attainment of cessation.

¹⁴ Lamotte 1967: 114 gives references to a *samādhi* qualified as *vajropama*, “like a diamond”, in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Dutt 1934: 142,12 and 199,3, and to a *samādhi* called *vajra* in the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Ghoṣa 1902: 826,13 and 1416,1, which the second instance further explains to be such that on staying in it one will not be destroyed, *vajro nāma samādhiḥ, yatra samādhau shitvā na bhidyate*. The expression *vajropama* in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* corresponds to the qualification *vajrūpama* used in AN 3.25. As noted by Kuan 2013b: 145 note 26, the *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* passage would convey the senses that one cannot be destroyed or harmed. I find it difficult to follow Kuan 2013b: 145, however, when he considers this to be a “new way instead of referring to the final stage of the path to liberation”. The problem I see is that AN 3.25 does not speak of any *samādhi*, but only compares the irreversibility of the destruction of the influxes to a diamond. It seems to me that this motif would lend itself equally well either to being applied in a physical sense to the cessation *samādhi*, or else to refer to a *samādhi* that leads to arahant-ship, without any need of positing one of these two lines of developments as the earlier one. In fact, considering the application of this motif to the attainment of cessation a “new way” in contrast to the Abhidharma usage, reflected in the *Dhammasaṅgaṇī*, Dhs 226,1, or the *Jñānaprasthāna*, T 1544 at T XXVI 922b22 (an idea also reflected in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, Pradhan 1967: 364,15), would require establishing that these texts are substantially earlier than the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and *Śatasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*.

My usage of the term Mahāyāna in the present paper also differs from a position taken by Kuan and Mizuno,¹⁵ who consider the description of the making of a Buddha image by King Udayana in the *Ekottarika-āgama* as a distinct Mahāyāna element.¹⁶

Yet Rowland, in his discussion of the invention of the Buddha image, does not consider the *Ekottarika-āgama* tale to be evidence of Mahāyāna influence.¹⁷ Similarly Soper, who in his study of literary evidence for early Buddhist art in China shows clear awareness of the intrusion of Mahāyāna elements in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,¹⁸ does not reckon the tale of the Udayana statue as being itself distinctly Mahāyāna. The same is the case for the detailed study of the Udayana tale and its development by Carter. In spite of her being clearly aware of the fact that the *Ekottarika-āgama* contains Mahāyāna elements,¹⁹ she does not consider this tale to be distinctly

¹⁵ This position is taken by Kuan 2013b: 150–163, based on Mizuno 1996: 436; my ignorance of Japanese prevents me from consulting Mizuno myself.

¹⁶ EĀ 36.5 T II 706a12; for a study of the fate of what was believed to have been the Buddha statue made at the behest of Udayana cf. Terentyev 2009.

¹⁷ Rowland 1948: 185, instead of proposing a relationship to the Mahāyāna, suggests that “the legend may have been invented to support the religious policy of Kanishka, which included the introduction of the Buddha image”.

¹⁸ Soper 1959: 259 comments that “the Chinese translation of the *Ekottarāgama* ... goes beyond any of the other sermon collections in fanciful elaboration. It is full of marvellous tales ... the details found are frequently those of early Mahāyāna; obviously the Sanskrit original was re-worked and greatly altered at a relatively late date.” Soper 1959: 260 then continues that “one other aspect of the lateness of the *Ekottarāgama* that helps to explain the Udyāna story is its occasionally shown interest in images.” That is, he clearly considers the interest in images to be something apart from the Mahāyāna influences he describes earlier.

¹⁹ In the course of her discussion of the passage in EĀ 36.5, Carter 1990: 6 notes that “the *Ekottarāgama* appears to be an elaborate Mahayanist[ic] rendering of the Pali *Āṅguttara-nikāya*”, following the indication made by Nakamura 1980/1999: 39 that the *Ekottarika-āgama* preserved in Chinese translation, “which mentions the ... *Mahāyāna*, *dharmakāya*, and deprecates *Hīnayāna*, must have been composed after the rise of Mahāyāna, probably in the 2nd or 3rd century A.D.”

Mahāyāna. Bareau, who elsewhere in his writings highlights the existence of Mahāyāna passages in the *Ekottarika-āgama*,²⁰ does not deem this passage as pertaining to the same category. In his partial translation and study of the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse in question, Bareau explicitly makes the point that the tale of King Udayana having a Buddha image made is evidently late, but it is not an instance of Mahāyāna influence.²¹ In sum, these scholars, who have studied this tale in detail, do not consider it to be in any way representative of Mahāyāna ideas.

The making of a Buddha image by King Aśoka is reported in texts like the *Mahāvamsa* and the *Samantapāsādhika*.²² Such a report would not naturally fall under the category of being evidence for Mahāyāna influence. Instead, the making of a Buddha image appears to be such a general feature of the Indian Buddhist traditions of the Middle Period that it would be difficult to sustain the position that it is of Mahāyāna origin. In his study of inscriptional data for

²⁰ Bareau 1987: 34 points out that “l’*Ekottara-āgama* contient, ici et là, des éléments nettement mahāyānistes qui furent insérés assez tard dans le texte ancien de ce recueil.”

²¹ In a footnote to his translation of the part of the discourse where King Udayana brings the Buddha image to the Buddha, apparently in order to get the Buddha’s approval, found in EĀ 36.5 at T II 708a27, Bareau 1997: 28 note 25 comments that “il s’agit très probablement, ici aussi, d’additions tardives, bien que l’inspiration n’en soit pas mahāyāniste.”

²² Mhv 5.94, translated by Geiger 1912: 34, and Sp I 44,5 report that the king carried out an *akkhipājā* for the image for seven days, which makes it clear that the tale is about an actual Buddha image being consecrated; for a study of the consecration of Buddha images cf. Swearer 2004/2007; on early Buddha images in Sri Lanka cf., e.g., Wikramagamage 2005.

the early image cult, Schopen does in fact not find evidence for associating this cult with the Mahāyāna.²³

In sum, it seems to me that references to the diamond concentration and to the making of a Buddha image in the *Ekottarika-āgama* need not be seen as the result of Mahāyāna influence merely because these elements feature in some Mahāyāna texts. It can be problematic to employ the term Mahāyāna as such a broad rubric that it includes even topics like diamond concentration and the making of a Buddha statue; this is exemplified, for instance, in the example of Subhūti. On adopting a wide definition of Mahāyāna, his prominent role as an interlocutor of the Buddha in *Prajñāpāramitā* literature could be considered a distinct Mahāyāna element. Yet it would make little sense to consider a Pāli discourse in the *Āṅguttara-nikāya*, where Subhuti appears as an interlocutor of the Buddha,²⁴ as being for this reason in some way influenced by the Mahāyāna.

²³ After a survey of relevant inscriptions, Schopen 2001/2005: 115 notes that “there is still nothing identifiably Mahāyāna in any of these records dealing with the early image cult. None of these inscriptions, for example, makes any reference or allusion to ‘la résolution de devenir des Bouddhas’, which should be the single most important and defining characteristic of any early Mahāyāna.” Schopen 2001/2005: 116 then even goes so far as to conclude that “the impression left by these inscriptional records [is] that the early Mahāyāna was neither involved with nor even interested in the early cult of images.” Kuan 2013b: 160, however, attributes the absence of inscriptional references to the fact that the members of the early Mahāyāna were still part of the various *nikāyas*, and then p. 161 proposes, based on textual evidence, that “the Mahāyānists may have been the first to allow or even advocate the making of ‘Buddha’ (not ‘Bodhisattva’) images.”

²⁴ AN 11.15 at AN V 337,12. Besides his role as a protagonist in this discourse, Subhūti also occurs in the listing of eminent disciples, AN 1.14.2 at AN I 24,8f and its parallel EĀ 4.8 at T II 558b16; he is referred to in MN 139 at MN III 237,15 and its parallel MĀ 169 at T I 703c8; he is described as sitting in meditation in Ud 6.7 at Ud 71,3; and he speaks a stanza in Th 1.

Thus for my discussion of Mahāyāna elements in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, I adopt a more stringent definition of the term Mahāyāna that does not include practices like the diamond concentration and to the making of a Buddha image under its rubric.

Mahāyāna Passages

An instance that does fall within the category of what I would consider as being directly related to Mahāyāna ideas is an occurrence of the term Hīnayāna, which I will be discussing in more detail later on in this paper. The discourse in question, found among the Fours of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, expounds four unthinkable matters in relation to the Tathāgata which, as the Buddha explains to Śāriputra, Hīnayānists are unable to understand.²⁵ In the beginning part of this discourse, Śāriputra discourses on the four *pratisamvids* to the monks, followed by referring to various other sets of fours, which would have earned the discourse a placing among the Fours.²⁶ The discourse gives the impression that its beginning parts, as well as perhaps the bare reference to the four unthinkables, could stem from an early discourse or earlier discourses by Śāriputra on sets of four. These appear to have been subsequently reworked into the discourse as it now appears, in the course of which elements that reflect Mahāyāna thought became part of the text.²⁷ As a result of this apparent development, the Buddha himself is shown to employ

²⁵ EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a4: 如來有四不可思議事, 非小乘所能知。

²⁶ EĀ 26.9 at T II 639a25. The respective *uddāna* at T II 643a24 refers to Śāriputra and thus gives the impression that some instruction by Śāriputra would have been the original nucleus of the discourse.

²⁷ Another Mahāyāna element in EĀ 26.9 can be found at T II 639c25, according to which a former Buddha in the distant past had established innumerable beings in the practice of the three vehicles and in the *avaivartika* stage, 立無量衆生在三乘行, 有在不退轉地住者。

the derogatory expression Hīnayāna – an entertaining element in a text that the ancient Chinese audience would have considered to be a Hīnayāna scripture – and Śāriputra appears almost in the role of being a disciple of the Mahāyāna.²⁸

While the Hīnayāna occurs only in this discourse, the employment of yāna terminology can be found in several *Ekottarika-āgama* discourses. One such instance reports how Mahākāśyapa, on being told by the Buddha to give up his undertaking of the ascetic practices, refuses to comply. The *Ekottarika-āgama* actually has two versions of this tale, found in the Chapter on Ones and the Chapter on Sevens,²⁹ which show some narrative differences.³⁰ The discourse on Mahākāśyapa's refusal found among the Ones concludes with the Buddha praising the undertaking of the ascetic

²⁸ According to Migot 1952: 486–491, this is precisely the role of Śāriputra in several Mahāyāna texts.

²⁹ EĀ 12.6 at T II 570a23 and EĀ 41.5 at T II 746a21. Other parallels are SN 16.5 at SN II 202,6, SĀ 1141 at T II 301c7 and SĀ² 116 at T II 416b8. A study of EĀ 12.6 is at present under preparation. EĀ 12.6 is allocated to the Ones, which could be related to the indication at the outset of the discourse at T II 570a25 that Mahākāśyapa took only one meal in a single session, 一處一坐; in the case of EĀ 41.5 a rationale for inclusion among the Sevens could be a reference at T II 746b23 to monks of the future who give up seven kinds of practices, 七種之法.

³⁰ The two versions are in fact located at two different places, as EĀ 12.6 at T II 570a23 takes place in the Squirrels' Feeding Ground in the Bamboo Grove at Rājagrha, while EĀ 41.5 at T II 746a21 has as its venue Anāthapiṇḍada's Park, Jeta's Grove, at Śrāvasti. EĀ 12.6 at T II 570b6 differs from its parallels by reporting that Mahākāśyapa explained his refusal by indicating that he would have become a Pratyekabuddha if the Buddha had not reached full awakening. EĀ 41.5 at T II 746b9 and 746c13 differs from the other parallels to SN 16.5 by recording the Buddha predicting what will happen a thousand years after his death and requesting that Mahākāśyapa remains in the world until the coming of the Buddha Maitreya; on this notion cf., e.g., Deeg 1999. This may well be why Kuan 2012: 187 comments that EĀ 41.5 "is too different to be counted as a parallel" to EĀ 12.6, SN 16.5, SĀ 1141 and SĀ² 116.

practices as leading to stream-entry, once-return, non-return and the awakening of the three vehicles.³¹ This praise gives the impression that what originally may have only been a listing of the four stages of awakening might have been changed, with the reference to the *arhat* being replaced by a reference to the three vehicles. Such references to the three vehicles are frequently found among discourses in the *Ekottarika-āgama*.³²

The three vehicles occur also in a discourse that describes various aspects of keeping the observance day, when the faithful lay disciple temporarily adopts the type of conduct observed always by arhats, such as celibacy, etc. One of these various forms of conduct concerns not using eight types of special seats that are not used by arhats. Three of these seats are the “Buddha seat”, the “Pratyekabuddha seat” and the “arhat seat”.³³ The listings of seats in the parallel versions have no comparable reference,³⁴ giving the impression that the seats of those who follow the three vehicles could be an addition to the *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse. This apparent addition seems to have been done without proper examination of the context, with the result that the discourse describes arhat seats that arhats do not use.

The *Ekottarika-āgama* also reports an instruction by the Buddha that the monks should have an attitude of gratitude and benevolence for those who give them alms. The instruction is then followed by a

³¹ EĀ 12.6 at T II 570b16: 成須陀洹, 斯陀含, 阿那含, 三乘之道。

³² EĀ 1 at T II 550b29, EĀ 3.3 at T II 554c27, EĀ 24.6 at T II 625c15, EĀ 26.9 at T II 639c25, EĀ 32.1 at T II 674a7, EĀ 43.2 at T II 757a13, EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a23, EĀ 48.3 at T II 788c26 and EĀ 48.5 at T II 792b12.

³³ EĀ 24.6 at T II 625c5: 佛座, 辟支佛座, 阿羅漢座 ... 阿羅漢不在此八種座; a reference to the 三乘 is then found a few lines below, T II 625c15. It is unclear to me what these three seats might be referring to.

³⁴ AN 3.70 at AN I 212,24, MĀ 202 at T I 771a3, T 87 at T I 911b7, T 88 at T I 912b27 and T 89 at T I 913b15.

set of stanzas. One of the stanzas indicates that through giving one will accomplish Buddhahood and be endowed with the thirty-two marks.³⁵

In the early discourses found in the other *Āgamas* and in the Pāli *Nikāyas* the function of the thirty-two marks is to provide visible evidence for contemporary brahmins to verify the Buddha's claim to awakening. Thus, from the perspective of these discourses, concern with the thirty-two marks is something characteristic of brahmins who are not yet followers of the Buddha and who need some aid that accords with their notions of spiritual accomplishment in order to gain sufficient faith to approach the Buddha and hear his teachings.³⁶ The idea that a disciple of the Buddha would aspire to have the same marks as part of a wish to accomplish Buddhahood is a later development that reflects a developed bodhisattva ideal.

Another discourse addressed to Anāthapiṇḍada takes up the topic of giving and culminates in the Buddha praising the eminent householder for giving to all equally and thus with the mental attitude of a bodhisattva.³⁷ Behind this praise also stands an already developed notion of the path of a bodhisattva and of the proper kind of attitude with which a lay bodhisattva should undertake the practice

³⁵ EĀ 10.3 at T II 564b16: 布施成佛道，三十二相具。The *uddāna* related to this discourse confirms that the main topic was recollecting [with gratitude] the alms [one has received], T II 566a22: 念檀 (adopting the variant 檀 instead of 壇), which is the topic taken up by the Buddha in the initial question that sets the direction for the rest of the discourse, EĀ 10.3 at T II 564a19: 當雲何觀檀越施主?

³⁶ Cf. in more detail Anālayo 2011a: 529.

³⁷ EĀ 10.5 at T II 565a20: 善哉，善哉，長者，汝乃以菩薩心，專精一意而廣惠施；the *uddāna* at T II 566a22 just notes that the present text is one of two discourses on *dāna*, 施. Eulogies of giving with the attitude of a bodhisattva can also be found in EĀ 48.5 at T II 792c17 (a discourse which also mentions the three vehicles, T II 792b12f and 792c9, and which concludes by reporting that the householder protagonist of the discourse attained stream-entry by just looking at the Buddha, T II 792c28) and in EĀ 52.6 at T II 826b25.

of giving. The *Ekottarika-āgama* is not concerned only with lay bodhisattvas, however, as the path of a monastic bodhisattva stands in the background of another discourse. This discourse highlights great compassion as the power of the Buddha, followed by exhorting the monks that they should also cultivate great compassion.³⁸ The bodhisattva path in general then manifests in another discourse in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, according to which one of the deeds that a Buddha will necessarily accomplish is to make beings cultivate the *bodhicitta*.³⁹

A term reflecting a mature stage of the bodhisattva ideal can be found among the Twos of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The discourse in question begins by praising the caring for one's father and mother and concludes with an injunction to the monks that they should train in always recalling their filial duty and in caring for their father and mother.⁴⁰ This final instruction gives the impression that the reason why this discourse came to be placed among the Chapter on Twos was because it referred to these two, namely one's father and mother. This does not hold for the preceding section of the discourse, however, since after the initial instruction to care for

³⁸ EĀ 38.1 at T II 717b25: 是故，比丘，常念修行此大慈悲，如是，諸比丘，當作是學。The parallel AN 8.27 at AN IV 223,16 does not refer to compassion at all, let alone “great compassion”, a notion not found in the Pāli discourses, but only in later Pāli literature, cf., e.g., Paṭi I 126,17, where this refers to a quality of the Buddha, not to something his disciples should cultivate.

³⁹ EĀ 35.2 at T II 699a7: 未發菩薩意，使發菩薩心 and EĀ 36.5 at T II 703b18: 未發菩薩心，令發菩薩意; EĀ 24.5 at T II 622c14 speaks of guiding worldlings so that they become established in the practice of a bodhisattva, 導凡夫人立菩薩行。In each discourse this is one of five aspects that accompany the appearance of a Tathāgata in the world; for a comparable listing of five such aspects in the *Mahāvastu*, cf. Senart 1882: 51,3. EĀ 35.2 then concludes with the Buddha enjoining the monks that, for this reason, they should have an attitude of *maitrī* towards the Tathāgata.

⁴⁰ EĀ 20.10 at T II 601a7: 諸比丘，常念孝順供養父母，如是，諸比丘，當作是學。

one's parents the discourse presents as an alternative the caring for an *ekajātipratibaddha* bodhisattva, that is, a bodhisattva who is only one lifetime away from becoming a Buddha.⁴¹ Since this concept does not occur in the final instruction, it could well be that this concept was subsequently added to an original treatment that really was only concerned with the topic of caring for one's parents..

The notion of the bodhisattva's path to Buddhahood stands also at the background to a discourse found among the Fours. In reply to a question by the bodhisattva Maitreya, the Buddha expounds four things to be undertaken by a bodhisattva *mahāsattva* for the purpose of accomplishing the six *pāramitās*.⁴² Here the ideas inherent in the above-mentioned discourse to Anāthapiṇḍada find a more explicit formulation, with the difference that this appears to be a discourse on its own right, not a case of a reworking of an earlier discourse.⁴³

⁴¹ EĀ 20.10 at T II 601a4: 若復供養一生補處菩薩. In regard to the present instance, Huyên-vi and Pāsādika 2002: 49 note 4 comment that "here, as in numerous other places, there is ample evidence in EĀ for Mahāyāna influence". Another occurrence of the same concept in the abbreviated rendering 補處菩薩 makes its appearance in EĀ 42.3 at T II 749c15; for a Sanskrit fragment parallel cf. Waldschmidt 1948/1967: 148.

⁴² EĀ 27.5 at T II 645b3, which has already been noted as one of several instances of "definite Mahāyānist influences" by Harrison 1997: 280.

⁴³ At times Maitreya does, however, occur as part of what looks as if it could be the result of a reworking of an early discourse. An example is the listing of the eight thoughts of a great man in EĀ 42.6, which at T II 754b17 illustrates the quality of making an effort with the example of Maitreya bodhisattva's striving for thirty aeons in order to become a Buddha. The parallels AN 8.30 at AN IV 234,7 and MĀ 74 at T I 541c24 instead explain the quality of energy by describing the effort to overcome what is unwholesome and develop what is wholesome, cf. also T 46 at T I 836a24. This makes it quite possible that the reference to Maitreya in EĀ 42.6 is the result of a reworking of the discourse; in fact, the other seven qualities do not receive a detailed illustration in EĀ 42.6 comparable to the passage on Maitreya. Another instance where Maitreya occurs as an illustration of making an effort is EĀ 20.6 at T II 600a20.

A case that gives the impression that an early discourse has been expanded with later material can be found among the Sixes. In this case, the first part of the discourse appears to be a product of later times. The discourse begins with the Buddha seated on a golden lotus flower with a stalk made of the seven jewels.⁴⁴ After some narrative episodes, Mahāmaudgalyāyana eventually visits another Buddha in a different Buddha field.⁴⁵ He then leads five hundred monks from that other realm to Śākyamuni Buddha, who gives them a teaching. This teaching is a basic exposition of the six elements and the six sense-spheres that culminates in the eradication of the fetters and underlying tendencies and the attainment of Nirvāṇa.⁴⁶ The Buddha then asks Mahāmaudgalyāyana to lead the five hundred monks back to their realm and the discourse concludes with the Buddha praising Mahāmaudgalyāyana for being foremost among his disciples in supernatural power.⁴⁷

Besides narrative details like the Buddha being seated on a golden lotus, the existence of another Buddha is an obvious

⁴⁴ EĀ 37.2 at T II 709a2: 世尊坐金蓮華，七寶爲莖。

⁴⁵ EĀ 37.2 at T II 709c28.

⁴⁶ EĀ 37.2 at T II 710b13.

⁴⁷ EĀ 37.2 at T II 710c2.

indication for a late stage in the development of Buddhist thought.⁴⁸ In contrast to these late elements, the instruction given to the five hundred monks reads like any other early discourse and thus might have been the text that was originally found in this section of the *Ekottarika-āgama*.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Early Buddhist doctrine holds that only one Buddha at a time can be found in the world; cf., e.g., MN 115 at MN III 65,14 and its parallels MĀ 181 at T I 724a1, T 776 at T XVII 713b18, T 1537 at T XXVI 502b14, D 297 *sha* 300a7 or Q 963 *lu* 329a4, D 4094 *ju* 188b3 or Q 5595 *tu* 215b2. Another reference to this impossibility can be found in DN 19 at DN II 225,3 and its parallels DĀ 3 at T I 31a15 and the *Mahāvastu*, Senart 1897: 199,10; further occurrences can be found in DN 28 at DN III 114,23 and its parallel DĀ 18 at T I 79a7, as well as in AN 1.15 at AN I 27,36. According to Guang Xing 2005: 62, however, “contemporaneous Buddhas’ are mentioned many times in the extant Chinese translations of the *Āgamas* such as the *Dirgha*, the *Samyukta* and the *Ekottara*”, page 205 note 49 giving the following references in support of his suggestion: “**Dirghāgama*: T1, 76c, 163b, 255b; **Samyuktāgama*: T2, 131a, 322a, 410a; **Ekottarāgama*, T2, 708c-710a, 773a”. While the first of the two references to the Ekottarika-āgama given by him is to EĀ 37.2, the discourse under discussion at present, a perusal of the other references brings to light that they do not support the claim made: DĀ 18 at T I 76c20, T 18 at T I 255b9, SĀ 498 at T II 131a1, SĀ 1188 at T II 322a22, and SĀ2 101 at T II 410a20 refer to “Buddhas of past, future, and present” with the expressions 過去, 未來, 現在諸佛; or 過去, 當來, 今現在諸佛; or 過去等正覺, 及未來諸佛, 現在佛; or 三世諸佛. The same expression is found in their parallels DN 28 at DN III 100,23 and SN 47.12 at SN V 160,15: *atītānāgatapaccuppannesu ... sammāsambuddhesu*, while SN 6.2 at SN I 140,11 takes the form: *ye ca atītā* (C^c: *cabbhatītā*) *sambuddhā*, *ye ca buddhā anāgatā*, *yo cetarahi sambuddho* (singular!). A similar reference in T 5 at T I 163b8 to 過去, 當來, 現在諸佛 has no counterpart in the corresponding part of DN 16 at DN II 93,11; nevertheless the point made in T 5 is simply that all beings are mortal, even Buddhas of past, future and present times). EĀ 45.5 at T II 773a25 also just speaks of Buddhas of the three times, 三世諸佛, although its lateness is evident in the fact that it proclaims they all teach the three *yānas*, 盡當說三乘之法. None of these references to Buddhas of the three times implies a substantial difference in doctrinal outlook compared to the Pāli discourses. EĀ 37.2 is the only one out of these passages that does reflect the notion that Buddhas can exist simultaneously.

⁴⁹ EĀ 37.2 at T II 709a17 reports a contest in supernatural powers between Śāriputra and Mahāmaudgalyāyana, a tale that is quoted in T 2121 at T LIII 73a29. T 2121 at T LIII 73c1 indicates that at the time of quotation this story was found in the 27th fascicle of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, whereas now EĀ 37.2 is in the 29th fascicle; for a study of such quotations from the *Ekottarika-āgama* in T 2121 cf. Su 2013.

The selected passages surveyed so far are at times far removed from early Buddhism.⁵⁰ A setting where the Buddha expounds the course of action to be taken by a bodhisattva is something foreign to the early discourses, which also do not yet know the notion of needing to accomplish certain qualities reckoned as *pāramitā*.⁵¹ Besides, in the early discourses the person qualified as a bodhisattva is usually Śākyamuni Buddha in the time preceding his awakening, not any of his contemporaries.⁵² Thus a setting where the Buddha addresses a bodhisattva is a foreign element in early Buddhist thought.

Lateness is also fairly evident in the way the protagonists in the above surveyed instances are described. Thus Anāthapiṇḍada has become a good lay bodhisattva, Śāriputra receives teachings that are beyond the ken of Hīnayānists and Mahāmaudgalyāyana teleports monks from another Buddha field so that they can receive teachings from Śākyamuni Buddha, who makes others cultivate the *bodhicitta*, tells his monks to care for the *ekajātīpratibaddha* bodhisattva, and also teaches the six *pāramitās* to the bodhisattva Maitreya. The same change of perspective involves Ānanda as well, whom the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* depicts as reflecting that those who have no faith in the practice of bodhisattvas are fools.⁵³

⁵⁰ On the probable date of closure of the discourses in the four Pāli *Nikāyas*, as far as doctrinal developments are concerned, cf. Anālayo 2012a.

⁵¹ For a survey of different listings of these qualities cf., e.g., Har Dayal 1932/1970: 165–269.

⁵² On the beginning stages in the evolution of the Maitreya motif cf. Anālayo 2010a: 95–113.

⁵³ EĀ 1 at T II 550a29: 阿難自陳有是念：菩薩之行愚不信。The present quote, as well as the one below, show a stylistic feature noted by Nattier 2012: 10, where the introduction throughout uses “seven-character verse; elsewhere Zhu Fonian uses five-character verse, with rare instances in four characters.”

The introduction in fact already has most of the Mahāyāna concepts mentioned above. Besides an occurrence of Maitreya, who has come down from heaven to applaud Ānanda's recitation at the first *saṅgīti*,⁵⁴ one can find references to the six *pāramitās*,⁵⁵ to the three vehicles,⁵⁶ to the wish of becoming a Buddha like Śākyamuni,⁵⁷ to bodhisattvas, and to the Mahāyāna.⁵⁸ Particularly telling is a passage in the introduction where the *mahāsattva* Maitreya tells the bodhisattvas of the present auspicious aeon that they should encourage all *kulaputras* and *kuladhītās* to memorize and recite the teaching of the *Ekottarika* and spread it widely so that gods and men will receive it respectfully. Once this has been said, devas, humans, *gandharvas*, *asuras*, *garuḍas*, *mahoragas*, and *kiṃnaras* each declare that they will afford complete protection to the good man or good woman who memorizes and recites the teachings of the *Ekottarika* and spreads them widely, so that they will not be discontinued.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ EĀ 1 at T II 550a10: 彌勒稱善快哉說。

⁵⁵ The six *pāramitās* are listed at EĀ 1 at T II 550a13, followed by a more detailed exposition of their significance.

⁵⁶ EĀ 1 at T II 550b29 refers to the three *yānas*, 三乘, and at T II 551a20 lists the teachings of each *yāna* individually, 佛之教, 及辟支佛, 聲聞之教。

⁵⁷ EĀ 1 at T II 552b10: 若欲成佛者, 猶如釋迦文。

⁵⁸ EĀ 1 at T II 550a12: 菩薩發意趣大乘。Two more reference to the Mahāyāna can be found in the introduction at T II 550b4 and 550c10; one reference occurs outside of the introduction in EĀ 19.8 at T II 595b13. Together with the reference to the Hīnayāna mentioned above, these occurrences testify to a fully developed stage in the formation of Mahāyāna self-identity and polemics.

⁵⁹ EĀ 1 at T II 550c23: 是時, 彌勒大士告賢劫中諸菩薩等: 卿等勸勵諸族姓子, 族姓女, 諷誦受持增一尊法, 廣演流布, 使天人奉行, 說是語時, 諸天, 世人, 乾沓和, 阿須倫, 伽留羅, 摩休勒, 甄陀羅等, 各各白言: 我等盡共擁護是善男子, 善女人, 諷誦受持增一尊法, 廣演流布, 終不中絕 (adopting the variant 摩休勒 instead of 摩睺勒)。

The similarities between this passage and the way Mahāyāna texts tend to ensure their own preservation is striking.⁶⁰ In this way, this passage exemplifies an agenda evident throughout the introduction to present the *Ekottarika-āgama* as something so special that its transmission to future generations has been recommended to bodhisattvas by none less than Maitreya, the one who is about to become the next Buddha. Such a transmission then can safely be expected to take place under the benevolent protection of a range of various extraordinary beings.

In sum, the *Ekottarika-āgama* shows clear signs of having integrated material of a Mahāyāna orientation. While a full study of all the passages mentioned above is not possible within the confines of an article, in what follows I will examine one example, namely the reference to the Hīnayāna.

Before examining this reference, however, I would like to note that the *Ekottarika-āgama* at times contains presentations that appear to be earlier than their Theravāda canonical counterparts.⁶¹ In other words, my presentation is not meant to give the impression that the *Ekottarika-āgama* is late in its entirety.

⁶⁰ Nattier 2012: 13 notes similarities between the reference in the above quoted passage to the promise of protection to the good man or good woman who memorizes and recites the *Ekottarika-āgama*, 我等 ... 護是善男子, 善女人, 諷誦, and a similar passage in Mokṣala's Larger *Prajñāpāramitā*, T 221 at T VIII 43c9: 我等當護是善男子, 善女人 ... 諷誦. Another similarity between these two works, noted by Nattier 2012: 14, concerns Ānanda's advising Uttara to memorize and recite the *Ekottarika-āgama* well, EĀ 1 at T II 551a1: 囑累汝, 善諷誦 (adopting a variant without 於), where in T 221 at T VIII 105a3 Ānanda is told in similar terms to preserve this text, 囑累汝 ... 善諷誦.

⁶¹ Kuan 2009: 172 explains that the *Ekottarika-āgama* "is profoundly influenced by the Mahāyāna, but it nevertheless contains very old sources, some of which may be more original than their parallels in other recensions"; cf. also Bareau 1987: 36f. For a few case studies where *Ekottarika-āgama* discourse have preserved presentations that seem to be earlier than their Pāli discourse parallels cf. Anālayo 2006, Anālayo 2009a, Anālayo 2010b, Anālayo 2011b and Anālayo 2011c.

A Reference to the Hīnayāna

The passage that employs the term Hīnayāna reads as follows:

“Śāriputra, you should know that there are four unthinkable things of the Tathāgata that the Hīnayānistis are unable to understand. What are the four? The world element is unthinkable, living beings are unthinkable, *nāgas* are unthinkable, and the domain of the field of a Buddha is unthinkable. Thus, Śāriputra, there are four unthinkables.”⁶²

That the domain of a Buddha and his knowledge are beyond being comprehended by others is a recurrent theme in Buddhist texts. According to the *Sampasādanīya-sutta* and its *Dirgha-āgama* and *Samyukta-āgama* parallels, Śāriputra had to admit that the virtue, wisdom and liberation of past, present and future Buddhas were beyond his ken.⁶³ As the *Cūlahatthipadopama-sutta* and its *Madhyama-āgama* parallel clarify, to know the Buddha’s wisdom one would have to be his equal.⁶⁴

The same theme continues in Mahāyāna works such as, for example, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, according to which the Buddha informed Śāriputra that the knowledge of a Buddha is profound, difficult to understand, and difficult to comprehend.⁶⁵

⁶² Éá 26.9 at T II 640a4: 舍利弗當知，如來有四不可思議事，非小乘所能知，雲何爲四？世界不可思議 (adopting a variant that adds 界 after 世)，衆生不可思議，龍不可思議，佛土境界不可思議，是謂，舍利弗，有四不可思議。

⁶³ DN 28 at DN III 99,15, DĀ 18 at T I 76c6 and SĀ 498 at T II 130c15.

⁶⁴ MN 27 at MN I 175,23 and MĀ 146 at T I 656b1.

⁶⁵ Kern and Nanjio 1884/1992: 29,1: *atha khalu bhagavān ... āyusmantam śāriputramāmantrayate sma: gambhīram śāriputra durdr̥ṣaṃ duranubodham buddhajñānam.*

This indication is followed by clarifying that such knowledge is beyond the ken of arahants as well as of bodhisattvas.⁶⁶ The *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* proclaims that the domain of a Buddha is unthinkable,⁶⁷ and Tathāgatas are without equal, similar to the reasoning proposed in the *Cūlahatthipadopama-sutta* and its parallel. The *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* then declares that all beings are indeed unable to know the infinite qualities of a Buddha.⁶⁸ Again, according to the *Sukhāvātīvyūha* only a Buddha can understand the qualities of a Buddha, unlike devas, *nāgas*, *asuras*, *yakṣas*, disciples or even Pratyekabuddhas.⁶⁹

Rawlinson (1977: 8f) distinguishes between the idea in these passages that all beings are unable to know the qualities or domain of a Buddha and what he identifies as a later development, where the possibility of such knowledge is attributed to bodhisattvas. An example noted by him is the *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprcchā*, which reports

⁶⁶ Stanza 2.8 in Kern and Nanjio 1884/1992: 31,7: *ye cāpi te lokavidusya śrāvakāḥ kṛtādhikārāḥ sugatānuvarṇitāḥ, kṣīṇāsṛavā antimadehadhārīṇo na teṣa viṣayo 'sti jināna jñāne*, which thus indicates that the knowledge of the Victor is beyond the domain of the disciples of the Knower of the World, who have done their duty and are praised by the Well-gone One, who have eradicated the influxes and bear their last body. Stanza 2.17 in Kern and Nanjio 1884/1992: 32,11: *avivartikā ye bhavi bodhisattvā analpakā yathariva gaṅgavālikāḥ, ananyacittāśca vicintayeyusteṣāṃ pi cāsmiṇ viṣayo na vidyate*, which in continuous reference to this knowledge proclaims that it does not fall into the domain of irreversible bodhisattvas as many as the sand in the Ganges who might [try to] examine it with a mind free from distraction.

⁶⁷ Stanza 2.23, Nobel 1937: 17,13: *acintyaṃ buddhaviṣayam asamāś ca tathāgatāḥ*.

⁶⁸ Stanza 3.68, Nobel 1937: 36,9: *buddhasya guṇā hy anantā, na śakya jñātum khalu sarvasattvaih*.

⁶⁹ Fujita 2011: 77,1: *buddho hi buddhasya guṇā prajānate na devanāgāsurayakṣaśrāvakāḥ pratyekabuddhāna pi ko gatīpatho*.

that a particular bodhisattva was indeed able to know the domain and the knowledge of the Buddha.⁷⁰

The *Ekottarika-āgama* passage quoted above reflects a development in this direction, since the specification that Hīnayānists are unable to understand qualities related to the Tathāgata would imply that those who are not Hīnayānists stand a chance of understanding them. That is, this reference to the Hīnayāna appears to belong to a stage of development that is not yet attested in the passages mentioned above from the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* and the *Sukhāvativyūha*. This is a significant indication that the *Ekottarika-āgama* passage testifies to a developed stage of doctrinal evolution of Mahāyāna thought. In fact, already the very occurrence of the term Hīnayāna on its own is a clear sign of lateness.⁷¹

Elsewhere in the same section of Fours in the *Ekottarika-āgama*, in which the above passage is found, another discourse takes up the four unthinkableables in nearly the same terms.⁷² After indicating that the Buddha was staying at Jeta's Grove, where he addressed the monks, the relevant passage runs as follows:

⁷⁰ Finot 1901: 4,9: *atha khalu prāmodyarājo bodhisattvo mahāsattvo ... acintyaṃ buddhagocaramanuvicārayamānaḥ, sarvadharmadhātuprasṛtaṃ tathāgatajñānamanucintayamānaḥ, asamasamaṃ buddhaviṣayaṃ sampaśyamānaḥ*, according to which the bodhisattva Prāmodyarāja, the great being was considering the inconceivable range of the Buddha, reflecting on the knowledge of the Tathāgata which spreads over the entire Dharma element, and inspecting the unequalled domain of the Buddha.

⁷¹ Harrison 1987: 80 notes that in early Chinese translations of Mahāyāna discourses the term *hīnayāna* occurs only rarely.

⁷² EĀ 29.6 at T II 657a19: 有四事終不可思議 (adopting the variant 議 instead of 惟). 云何爲四? 衆生不可思議, 世界不可思議, 龍國不可思議, 佛國境界不可思議, 所以然者? 不由此處得至滅盡涅槃.

“There are four things that are after all unthinkable. What are the four? Living beings are unthinkable, the world element is unthinkable, the field of nāgas is unthinkable, and the sphere of the field of a Buddha is unthinkable. The reason is that this is of no use for progress to the complete cessation of Nirvāṇa.”

The discourse then continues by providing a more detailed exposition of the four unthinkables.⁷³ According to a parallel to this discourse in the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*, thinking about the four unthinkables will even lead to madness:⁷⁴

“Monks, there are these four unthinkables, which one should not think about; thinking about them one will partake of madness or frustration. What are the four?

⁷³ In relation to the fourth unthinkable, EĀ 29.6 at T II 657b20 brings up the topic of the life span of a Tathāgata: 如來壽爲短耶? 此亦不可思議. This is the topic that immediately precedes the reference to the Hīnayāna in EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a3: 然復衆生不能知如來壽命長短. The exposition on the four unthinkables recurs also in the 分別功德論, which shows awareness of the formulation in EĀ 26.9, as in relation to the fourth unthinkable T 1507 at T XXV 31b14 mentions the inability in this respect of the two *yānas*, 二乘所不能思議. As already pointed out by Mori 1970: 456, after the completed translation of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, “the commentary was done later consulting the former’s translation already made for their mutual concord”. Nattier 2012: 15 comments that T 1507 “originally thought to be a translation of a commentary on an Ekottarikāgama ... appears, at this point, to be a commentary on T125 itself”; cf. also Anālayo 2013: 36 note 108 and 40 note 114 for instances corroborating that T 1507, in the form it is now extant, reflects a version of T 125 that already had incorporated passages that appear to be later additions.

⁷⁴ AN 4.77 at AN II 80,13: *cattār’imāni, bhikkhave, acinteyyāni, na cintetabbāni; yāni* (following B^e, C^e and S^e against E^e: *yānici*) *cintento ummādassa vighātassa bhāgī assa. katamāni cattārī? buddhānaṃ, bhikkhave, buddhavisayo acinteyyo, na cintetabbo; yaṃ cintento ummādassa vighātassa bhāgī assa. jhāyissa, bhikkhave, jhānavisayo acinteyyo, na cintetabbo; yaṃ cintento ummādassa vighātassa bhāgī assa. kammavipāko, bhikkhave, acinteyyo, na cintetabbo; yaṃ cintento ummādassa vighātassa bhāgī assa. lokacintā, bhikkhave, acinteyyā, na cintetabbā; yaṃ cintento ummādassa vighātassa bhāgī assa. imāni kho, bhikkhave, cattārī acinteyyāni, na cintetabbāni; yāni cintento ummādassa vighātassa bhāgī assā ‘ti.*

“Monks, the Buddha-domain of Buddhas is unthinkable, which one should not think about; thinking about it one will partake of madness or frustration. Monks, the domain of absorption of one who is meditating is unthinkable, which one should not think about; thinking about it one will partake of madness or frustration. Monks, the result of karma is unthinkable, which one should not think about; thinking about it one will partake of madness or frustration. Monks, thinkings about the world are unthinkable, which one should not think about; thinking about them one will partake of madness or frustration.

“Monks, these are the four unthinkables, which one should not think about; thinking about them one will partake of madness or frustration.”

Another parallel is found in Śamathadeva’s compendium of discourse quotations from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, preserved in Tibetan translation:⁷⁵

“As for these four unthinkable topics, thinking about them will lead to madness, confusion and an agitated mind. What are the four? Thinking about the self, thinking about the world, the ripening of the deeds of beings, and the Buddha-field of Buddhas.”

⁷⁵ D 4094 ju 100a4 or Q 5595 tu 114b2: *bzhi po 'di ni bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i gnas te, bsam par byed na smyo bar 'gyur zhing mgo rmongs pa dang sems g.yengs ba thob par 'gyur ro. bzhi gang zhe na? bdag bsams pa dang, 'jig rten bsam pa dang, sems can gyi las kyi rnam par smin pa dang, sangs rgyas rnam kyi sangs rgyas kyi yul lo.* The passage provides the canonical context for the following quote in *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* 2.62, Pradhan 99,10: *acintyo hi buddhānāṃ buddhaviṣaya*; cf. also Pāsādika 1989: 46 (§138).

In addition to the three parallels translated above, a discourse in the *Samyukta-āgama* takes up one of the four unthinkableables mentioned in the other versions. This discourse indicates that thinking about the world will not result in wisdom and awakening, and does not accord with Nirvāṇa.⁷⁶

Judging from these discourses the point of setting out the four unthinkableables was to demarcate topics not fit for reflection, as thinking about them would not lead to Nirvāṇa or could even result in madness.⁷⁷ With the *Ekottarika-āgama* passage on the Hīnayāna, however, the four unthinkableables become something worthy of reflection for those who are not adherents of the Hīnayāna.

According to a standard pattern typical for orally transmitted discourses and found repeatedly in the Pāli discourses and their *Āgama* parallels, an introductory statement of the type “there are so and so many of such and such a quality” (e.g., “there are four unthinkableables”) will be followed by a detailed explanation, after which the introductory statement will be repeated in a similarly worded

⁷⁶ SĀ 407 at T II 109a3 indicates that thinking about the world does not [result] in enriching one’s purposes, does not [result] in enriching the Dharma, does not [result] in enriching the holy life, does not [result] in wisdom, does not [result] in awakening and does not concord with Nirvāṇa, 世間思惟非義饒益，非法饒益，非梵行饒益，非智，非覺，不順涅槃。

⁷⁷ The notion of a particular topic leading to going mad and becoming mentally disturbed acquires a somewhat different dimension in a passage in the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā*, Harrison and Watanabe 2006: 132, where such effects are associated with the attempt to describe the quantity of merit to be acquired. Harrison 2006: 152 note 79 comments that “the likely point here ... seems to be that it is those beings who are to take up the Vaj in the last days who would become unhinged by their excitement at the prospect of their future gains if they were to be spelled out in full.” In other words, while in the discourse passages quoted above the notion of going mad serves a warning, in the *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* passage it functions as an encouragement.

concluding statement of the type “these are the so and so many of such and such a quality” (e.g., “these are the four unthinkableables”).⁷⁸ In the passage under discussion, however, the concluding statement does not repeat the full introductory statement. Placing the two side by side, the introductory and concluding statements read:

“Śāriputra, you should know that there are four unthinkable matters of the Tathāgata that the Hīnayānists are unable to understand.”

“Thus, Śāriputra, there are four unthinkableables.”

The conclusion does not relate the four unthinkableables to the Tathāgata, nor does it mention the Hīnayāna. This makes it probable that the Hīnayāna remark was added in a written medium. Had such an addition happened during the oral transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, prior to its translation, it can safely be assumed that both statements would have been affected. Since during oral transmission the reciter(s) would naturally tend to repeat the full statement just recited earlier, the conclusion would have read like this: “Śāriputra, these are the four unthinkable matters of the Tathāgata that the Hīnayānists are unable to understand.”

The impression that an addition took place in the written Chinese medium could be further supported with the help of the part of the discourse that immediately follows, where a recapitulation of the Buddha’s exposition by Śāriputra reads as follows: “Indeed, Blessed One, there are four unthinkableables”, 如是，世尊，有四不可思議。⁷⁹ In comparison, the Buddha’s original statement that “there are four unthinkable matters of the Tathāgata that the Hīnayānists

⁷⁸ This pattern is so much standard that variations can be a sign of transmission errors; for a case study cf. Anālayo 2012b: 134-137.

⁷⁹ EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a8.

are unable to understand” reads as follows: 如來有四不可思議事，非小乘所能知。⁸⁰ Removing the punctuation from the Chinese and thus leaving the bare text in the way it would have been in the original, brings to light the following parallelism:

世尊有四不可思議
如來有四不可思議

Keeping in mind that a copyist or reviser can be expected to read an entire paragraph before copying it character by character, it seems to me possible that the formulation 世尊有四不可思議 led to the addition of 如來 to 有四不可思議. This would then have been followed by adding 事非小乘所能知 to arrive at the formulation 如來有四不可思議事，非小乘所能知.

While it is of course impossible to be sure what really happened, this hypothesis would explain the coming into being of the puzzling statement that relates the four unthinkables to the Tathāgata, even though only one of these can truly be considered a quality of the Tathāgata. While the four unthinkableables listed in the *Ekottarika-āgama* – the world element, living beings, *nāgas* and the domain of a Buddha – make sense as a list of topics unfit for reflection, only the last of these four could be reckoned an unthinkable matter of the Tathāgata. The other three are not qualities of the Tathāgata. This gives the impression that the original passage would have just listed the four unthinkableables, to which the idea that these are in some way related to the Tathāgata and thus something the Hīnayānists are unable to understand was added subsequently.

If my hypothesis about the coming into being of this formulation should be correct, then such an expansion of the text would have taken place in the Chinese medium, as the juxtaposition of the two passages above shows. In contrast, it would be rather improbable

⁸⁰ EĀ 26.9 at T II 640a4.

for the same to happen in an Indic original, where the fact that the Buddha is addressed in the vocative would not naturally give rise to the idea to relate the term *tathāgata* (如來) directly to the four unthinkableables.

In sum, it seems to me that the above indications make it fairly probable that the reference to the Hīnayāna is an addition to the discourse that took place in China. This suggestion is in fact nothing new. In what to my knowledge is the first discussion of this particular passage in Western scholarship, such a conclusion has already been suggested by Deeg, who commented that the degrading of the Hīnayāna in the present passage in the *Ekottarika-āgama* is probably a Chinese interpolation.⁸¹

The Introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*

The introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama* already provides a canonical placing for Mahāyāna texts on their own in the *Kṣudraka* collection.⁸² Thus there would be little need to continue adding Mahāyāna ideas to the *Ekottarika-āgama* just in order to give them canonical status. Now a theme quite prominent in the introduction is the need to ensure the transmission of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. The recurrent emphasis on the great value of the *Ekottarika-āgama* and on the importance of it being remembered and recited employs strategies similar to other Mahāyāna texts to ensure their own transmission.

⁸¹ Deeg 2006: 112: “daher haben wir es hier wohl mit einer chinesischen Interpolation zu tun”.

⁸² EĀ 1 at T II 550c10; which brings to mind the conception of a *bodhisattvapiṭaka*, on which cf. Pagel 1995.

When viewed from the perspective of fourth and fifth century China, the translation efforts during these times clearly document that Mahāyāna texts were seen as highly interesting and worthy of any effort at translation and study. Considered against this background, the addenda of Mahāyāna ideas to the *Ekottarika-āgama* would make sense as an attempt to enhance the value of the *Ekottarika-āgama* in the contemporary Chinese setting, making it more probable that this collection would be considered worthwhile the effort of being copied and passed on.⁸³

As already pointed out by Nattier (2012: 9), the Mahāyāna elements in the *Ekottarika-āgama* “are not evenly distributed throughout the āgama ... they are especially prominent in the introductory portion of the text.” This pattern can be exemplified by a digital search for occurrences of key terminology in the collection. The table below lists occurrences of the term bodhisattva, 菩薩 (except for instances where this refers to the pre-awakening period of a specific Buddha), and references to the three vehicles, 三乘, including also references to the Mahāyāna or the Hīnayāna, 大乘 or 小乘.⁸⁴ The references are placed in the right side column, while the left side column indicates the fascicle in which they are found (fascicles without any occurrence are not included). In each case, I give only the first reference for a particular column (a, b, or c) of

⁸³ The same would hold in general for places where Buddhism had recently arrived and where the Mahāyāna was predominant. Since according to Dao’an’s introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*, T II 549a10 (cf. also T 2059 at T L 328b19), the reciter of the *Ekottarika-āgama*, Dharmanandin, came from Central Asia, a scenario of this type could also have had an impact on the collection previous to its arrival in China; on the predominance of Mahāyāna in Southern Central Asia cf. Martini 2013

⁸⁴ Regarding references to the Mahāyāna, it is noteworthy that the same term, 大乘, also occurs once in the *Dirgha-āgama* by the same translator Zhú Fóniàn (竺佛念), DĀ 2 at T I 12c28, a version of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, where it forms part of a stanza that has no counterpart in the parallel versions; cf. Waldschmidt 1944: 65.

each term, leaving out repetitions of the same term within the same column in order to provide a survey that is not too influenced by repetitive occurrences within the same paragraph.

Table: Survey of References to the Bodhisattva Ideal and the *Yāna* Conception in T 125

1	549c09: 菩薩, 550a12: 大乘, 550a12: 菩薩, 550b04: 大乘, 550b29: 三乘, 550c10: 大乘, 550c24: 菩薩
2	554c27: 三乘
4	565a20: 菩薩, 565c18: 菩薩
5	570b16: 三乘
10	595b13: 大乘
11	599a07: 菩薩, 600b12: 菩薩, 601a04: 菩薩
15	622c14: 菩薩
16	625c15: 三乘
18	639c25: 三乘, 640a04: 小乘
19	645b01: 菩薩
24	674a07: 三乘
27	699a07: 菩薩
28	703b19: 菩薩
32	723a18: 菩薩, 723b25: 菩薩
36	749c16: 菩薩
38	757a13: 三乘
41	773a23: 三乘
44	787c06: 菩薩, 788c26: 三乘
45	792b12: 三乘, 792c09: 三乘, 792c17: 菩薩
51	826b25: 菩薩

In the above table the highest frequency of occurrences of the selected terms are located in the introduction found in the first fascicle of the *Ekottarika-āgama*. While the distribution of Mahāyāna ideas over the *Ekottarika-āgama* obviously needs more detailed research and the above is just meant to give a first impression, the occurrence of key terms related to the bodhisattva path and the *yāna* conception is particularly prominent in the introductory section. A prominence of Mahāyāna notions in the introduction would make sense as part of an attempt to enhance the value of the collection and make sure it will be passed on, as such an attempt would naturally focus on the first part to be encountered by the reader who is about to form an opinion of the value and interest of the collection.⁸⁵

Such a scenario would concord with my finding published in another paper that a whole discourse appears to have been added to the *Ekottarika-āgama* in China.⁸⁶ In view of this precedent, it seems possible that some of the more evolved Mahāyāna ideas among the passages surveyed in this paper also made their way into the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection only in China.

⁸⁵ While obviously more research on this introduction is required before being able to reach some degree of certainty about its nature, for the time being a possible scenario would be that this text has as its nucleus a commentarial exposition similar to what is found at the outset of the commentary on the *Dīgha-nikāya*, Sv I 2,10. This commentarial gloss provides some background to the canonical collection on which it comments with the help of an account of the first *saṅgīti*, a topic also taken up in the introduction to the *Ekottarika-āgama*. Dharmanandin, being a reciter of the *Ekottarika-āgama* collection, may well have memorized such basic information, in which case it would have been natural to include this as an introduction at the time of translation. This introduction may then have been ‘improved’ upon during a later revision by way of integrating Mahāyāna material. Legittimo 2012: 361 comments that the “‘first introductory chapter’ is highly particular ... as if it had been added to the collection to make it attractive and / or to promote it.”

⁸⁶ Anālayo 2013.

Conclusion

A perusal of the *Ekottarika-āgama* brings to light several passages that show the influence of Mahāyāna notions, in the sense of employing *yāna* terminology, reflecting the existence of the developed bodhisattva ideal as a viable path in general, referring to Maitreya as a bodhisattva and testifying to the notion that more than one Buddha can live at the same time, albeit in different Buddha fields. Closer inspection of one passage that employs the term Hīnayāna makes it fairly probable that this passage became part of the *Ekottarika-āgama* only in China.

Abbreviations

AN	<i>Aṅguttara-nikāya</i>
C ^e	Ceylonese ed.
D	Derge edition
DĀ	<i>Dirgha-āgama</i> (T 1)
Dhs	<i>Dhammasaṅgaṇī</i>
DN	<i>Dīgha-nikāya</i>
EĀ	<i>Ekottarika-āgama</i> (T 125)
MĀ	<i>Madhyama-āgama</i> (T 26)
Mhv	<i>Mahāvamsa</i>
MN	<i>Majjhima-nikāya</i>
Paṭis	<i>Paṭisambhidāmagga</i>
Pp	<i>Puggala-paññatti</i>
Q	Peking edition
SĀ	<i>Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 99)
SĀ ²	<i>partial Samyukta-āgama</i> (T 100)
SN	<i>Samyutta-nikāya</i>
Sp	<i>Samantapāsādikā</i>
Sv	<i>Sumaṅgalavilāsini</i>
T	Taishō edition (CBETA)
Th	<i>Theragāthā</i>
Ud	<i>Udāna</i>
Vism	<i>Visuddhimagga</i>

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BUDDHISM-BASED COPING WITH ELDERLY
LONELINESS IN THE SINGAPORE CONTEXT:
HOPE OR HYPE?

JIANBIN XU

(CENTRE FOR APPLIED RESEARCH,
SIM UNIVERSITY, SINGAPORE)

Abstract:

This article argues that through two pathways Buddhism can afford elderly Buddhists in Singapore the leverage to cope with loneliness. One pathway is concerned with social integration in that the Buddhist community persistently offers opportunities for cultivating and maintaining reliable social networks and sustainable social roles. The other pathway lies in transcendent integration inasmuch as Buddhism inherently accords a sense of transcendent belonging and spiritual companionship that counteracts feelings of isolation and loneliness. This article concludes with a discussion of how to enhance the Buddhist loneliness-reduction function by means of policy and practice.

Keywords: Buddhism, elderly loneliness, Singapore

Elderly loneliness is a reality rather than a myth in Singapore. This may lead those who care about the well-being of aged Singaporeans into thinking how to address and ameliorate elderly loneliness? Segmented into three parts, this article argues that Buddhism can provide the grist to older Singaporeans' mills when they cope with social attrition and loneliness. In the first part, several reasons for elderly loneliness in Singapore are proposed. The second part explores and elucidates double pathways Buddhism can offer towards grappling with elderly loneliness. Some recommendations on how to enhance the Buddhist loneliness-reduction function are presented in the final part.

Elderly Loneliness in Singapore

Older persons may be particularly in jeopardy of social isolation and loneliness. This is partly because losses such as the loss of loved ones or friends due to death and the loss of social engagement because of immobility or unemployment are more likely to occur in old age, putting older persons at risk for loneliness. In Singapore, one of the most rapidly aging countries in the Asia Pacific region (Mehta & Thang, 2008, p. 44)¹, many older persons are not immune from loneliness (Ang, 1995, p. 95; *The Sunday Times*, 2012; Wong & Verbrugge, 2008, p. 211). As Wong and Verbrugge (2008) pointed out, “Singapore’s problem lies not just in rapid aging, but in the numbers of elderly who live alone and do not benefit from traditional avenues of social support” (p. 211). From an empirical perspective, loneliness may negatively affect health and well-being. For example, loneliness is correlated with morbidity such as depression (Cacioppo, Hawkley, & Thisted, 2010) and heightened systolic blood pressure (Hawkley, Thisted, Masi, & Cacioppo, 2010), and even with a higher risk for mortality (Luo, Hawkley, Waite, & Cacioppo, 2012). In Singapore, loneliness, fear of becoming a burden, and physical disease, according to Chia, Chia, and Tai (2008), are three important factors responsible for elderly suicide. To sum up, it seems clear that elderly loneliness in Singapore is an issue that merits attention and action. To gain an insight into this issue, we need to first identify and ascertain the reasons for its existence. The following are three factors associated with the slice of this reality.

¹ The number of elderly residents aged 65 and above accounted for 9.3% of the Singapore population in 2011 (Department of Statistics, 2011, <http://www.singstat.gov.sg/stats/themes/people/elderly.pdf>). The proportion was projected to be 18.7% in the year 2030 (Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports, 2009, <http://app1.mcys.gov.sg/ResearchRoom/ResearchStatistics/StatisticalIndicatorsontheElderly.aspx>).

First, the government-directed urbanization and modernization drive has catapulted Singapore from a primarily rural society to a prosperous modern city-state, dramatically transforming the *Gemeinschaft*-oriented life into the *Gesellschaft*-oriented life. *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* are two concepts formulated by Toennies in 1887: *Gemeinschaft* is a relatively tight-knit community seething and teeming with strong cultural traditions, societal nexuses, and personal relations, which tends to be rural, while *Gesellschaft* often refers to an urban society of people in which considerable social diversity and impersonal relations lead to weak societal connections (Goodman, 1992, p. 298). For elders trapped in such a *Gesellschaft*-oriented society as Singapore, the satisfaction of their *Gemeinschaft*-based socio-emotional needs is woefully beyond their reach. This is mainly because Singapore's urbanization and modernization have broken *Gemeinschaft*-type social chains and spawned *Gesellschaft*-based alienation and dehumanization. In particular, the urbanization and modernization have disrupted the desire of older persons for "external continuity" (Atchley, 1999, p. 53), especially in terms of physical and social environments, thereby eroding their sense of belonging and community. For example, governmental housing policies as well as urban renewal programs have rendered many older persons' familiar environments defunct, in which they have invested time, energy, and emotional involvement. Another example is that the nuclear family model has gradually replaced the extended family structure, undercutting adult children's residential proximity and time commitment to aging parents. To a great extent, this has reduced the availability and accessibility of adult children's emotional company and psychological support for aging parents. The final example is that intergenerational bonding is difficult to establish due mainly to two facts. For one thing, the old generally embrace traditional values while the young are increasingly influenced by western values. For another, intergenerational interactions are stymied by an mounting language barrier (Jernigan & Jernigan, 1992, p. 31). A good portion of elderly Singaporeans do not understand and speak English, which is the dominant language in Singapore, while younger generations tend to use English. All these examples illustrate that many elderly

Singaporeans have been under stress to adjust to considerable changes in living arrangement, living environment, and lifestyle that are prone to cause loneliness.

Second, there seems little doubt that ageism haunts and plagues many older Singaporeans, which contributes to their marginalization. In Singapore, instances of ageism transpire from time to time, which may add stress to senior citizens, who have to tiptoe warily around ageist pitfalls. For example, according to AsiaOne (Feb. 3, 2012), the residents from two HDB blocks in Woodlands objected to establishing an elder care center at the void decks of these two blocks. One of the reasons for such objection was their concern that the area might witness more deaths. Another reason was their fear that its existence might cause the depreciation of their property value. AsiaOne (Feb. 9, 2012) also reported that the residents from Toh Yi estate in Bukit Timah were opposed to constructing a block of studio apartments in the area intended to house senior citizens. One of the reasons cited was that their public space might shrink. Such ageism would ostracize older Singaporeans, making them feel abandoned and isolated.

Last but not least, role changes associated with aging may sap older persons' social identity and self-worth. Role theory proposes two ways of role-related change that occur in the aging process: the abandonment of social roles typifying adulthood, and the adoption of novel roles suitable for late life (Jones, 1987, p. 83). However, losing roles is more likely to happen than securing new roles (Kart, 1997, p. 200). In other words, it is highly likely that new roles are not able to sufficiently make up for lost roles (Rosow, 1967, p. 254). These role changes would adversely affect older persons' social involvement and thus have much potential to inflict a sense of alienation and loneliness upon them.

The above analysis suggests that in the Singapore context older persons are susceptible to loneliness. For forlorn elderly Buddhists in Singapore, the Buddhist lights, however, can be lamps upon their lonely feet, leading them to circumvent loneliness.

How can Buddhism Help to Cope with Elderly Loneliness?

There are two prominent pathways whereby elderly Buddhists can come to grips with loneliness. First, religious involvement facilitates social integration by providing access to religiously based social networks and social roles. Second, religious involvement promotes transcendent integration by affording a sense of belonging to a transcendent community.

Religious involvement facilitates social integration

Social integration concerns “how the person is tied into the webs of beliefs and action in his society” (Rosow, 1967 p. 9). Religious involvement can offer dynamic opportunities for social integration of older persons. From a functionalist point of view, Durkheim argued that religion can reinforce social solidarity, social cohesion, and social order (Ritzer, 2008). He highlighted the importance of rituals by pointing out that participation in successful rituals engenders feelings of group solidarity, collective effervescence, and emotional energy (Collins, 2007, p. 29). According to Idler and Kasl (1992), religion can fortify socio-emotional support by virtue of fostering intimacy and belonging. In a similar vein, Atchley (2000, p. 302) explained that religious participation can provide a sense of belonging and security, and enrich social support resources whereby to cope with crises and challenges. Kivett (1979) found that elders tend to seek friendship and other loneliness-reducing resources through religious institutions. Fernandez (1982, p. 47) observed that older adults derive important socio-cultural support from religion. In their research into the support systems among elderly Singaporeans, Vasoo, Ngiam, and Cheung (2000) identified religious activity participation as the most common way for elders to engage in age-integrated activities. According to Mehta (1997, p. 111), group-level religious activities can lessen the sense of isolation, heighten self-esteem, and generate feelings of being liked and wanted. These findings as well as other similar findings from an expanding corpus of studies (e.g., Paloutzian & Ellison, 1982) suggest that religious involvement is greatly conducive to social engagement.

Religious involvement gave access to social networks

Elderly Buddhists in Singapore tend to establish and cultivate their social networks through the Buddhist community (Xu & Mehta, 2003, p. 494). Three factors may coalesce to account for why they attach importance to religiously based social relationships.

First, religiously based social networks are perceived as reliable. In general, individuals are inclined to associate with like-minded persons (Goodman, 1992, P. 60). It is therefore hardly surprising that elderly Buddhists in Singapore tend to develop associations and friendships with coreligionists (Xu & Mehta, 2003, p. 495). The trustworthiness and reliability of such networks may be underpinned by a common religious frame of reference and a shared sense of solidarity and *esprit de corps*. According to Atchley (2000, p. 124), individuals often confine their interactions to trustworthy persons so as to buttress positive self-assessment in emotional and moral terms. Anchoring themselves psychologically to religiously homogeneous persons who are trustworthy, elderly Buddhists can construct and maintain a positive sense of self.

Second, religiously based social networks are appraised as meaningful. The socioemotional selectivity theory (Carstensen, 1991, 2006; Carstensen, Fung, & Charles, 2003) proposes that a growing awareness of finitude of life accompanied by a concomitant change in time perspective among the elderly motivates them to be increasingly selective in social relationships and goals. Being growingly engaged in social interaction perceived as emotionally meaningful, they attempt to steer clear of knowledge-oriented social contact (e.g., social relationships aimed for information acquisition). This conscious selectivity in social interaction, according to the theory, can facilitate the regulation of affective states and optimize positive emotional experiences. Thus, it may be regarded as an adaptive attempt of older adults to cope with a subjective limited time horizon. In Singapore, elderly Buddhists tend to maintain their emotional equilibrium by developing emotional relationships through the

Buddhist community. Underlying this tendency is their perception that religiously oriented social relationships are more meaningful than secular social relationships.

Third, elderly Buddhists' *Gemeinschaft*-type socio-emotional needs may be satisfied through religiously based social networks. As White (1987) put it, older persons "do, in fact, have certain concerns which are motivated by and express *Gemeinschaft*-like feelings" (p. 198). It seems safe to say the Buddhist community in Singapore is a *Gemeinschaft*-like community, where shared beliefs, compassion, and loving kindness bond its members together, creating and catalyzing opportunities for sharing and ventilating feelings as well as for experiencing camaraderie and belonging. Particularly noteworthy is that it shows respect and compassion to older persons and displays unconditional acceptance of them, regardless of their social status, age, gender, wealth, health, and education. This is music to the ears of elderly Buddhists in Singapore, who can then remove their psychological masks and drop their psychological burdens, experiencing warmth, empathy, comfort, security, and support in the Buddhist community. Of practical significance here is that embeddedness in such a receptive, supportive, and caring social milieu allows access to religiously based social support. Numerous researchers (Moberg, 1997, pp. 193-194; McFadden, 1999, p. 1094; Koenig, 1994, p. 47) have highlighted the importance of religiously based social support for older persons such as befriending, counseling, meal provision, financial assistance, practical help, home visitation, and information sharing. In general, receipt of necessary social support is positively associated with one's sense of well-being (Atchley, 2000, p. 225).

The three reasons stated above may have galvanized elderly Buddhists into weaving social webs through the Buddhist community and into capitalizing on Buddhism-derived social capital. This would help to ensure their reliable and meaningful social engagement, meeting their socio-emotional needs.

Religious involvement gives access to social roles

According to Atchley (2000, pp. 165-167), among the three major adaptive approaches to the loss of not only roles but also activities – substitution, consolidation, and disengagement, consolidation seems to be the most common approach adopted by older persons in that it maintains continuity for them as well as those around them. Consolidation occurs when older persons rearrange their time and energy as well as emotional commitments among the roles and activities they have not lost rather than seeking new roles and activities to make up for lost roles and activities (Atchley, 2000, p. 165). In the Singapore setting, elderly Buddhists are inclined to employ consolidation by orchestrating daily life to pivot around religious pursuits. Participation in organized religious activities, as Pargament, Van Haitsma, and Ensing (1995, p. 57) argued, affords elderly persons a sustainable and viable social role. This is understandable if we know that the Buddhist community is in the first place a social entity, which, inter alia, carves out a social domain for older persons to continue assuming their religiously based social roles even though their other social roles are gradually eclipsed. Elderly Buddhists can, by being actively involved in public religious practices, gain an appreciable social scaffolding, which prevents the disruption of their social engagement. “Continuity of roles and activities is seen as an effective way to maintain one’s capacity to meet socioemotional needs for interaction and social support” (Atchley, 2000, p. 158). From an ecological perspective, what a continuous Buddhist role can bring to them is nothing less than a social “niche” fit for their “habitat” (social and physical settings) (Hepworth et al., 2006, P. 17). It seems safe to say that nowhere might religious participation be more socially significant to them than in offering a Buddhist role.

Besides, there is little ambiguity that a religious life is not a cloistered life, inasmuch as the daily enactment of religious life is embedded in larger socio-cultural contexts. Buddhism facilitates older

Buddhists' transactions with social systems by providing expanded and systemic perspectives on individuals, families, society, and the universe and by inculcating such Buddhist notions as interdependence, dependent origination, compassion, loving kindness, and collective karma. From a Mahayana Buddhist perspective, collective interests take precedence over individual interests. Thus, making individual contributions to collective interests is expected; fulfilling individual responsibilities for collective interests is sanctioned; and sacrificing individual interests in favor of collective interests is encouraged. This is best embodied in Bodhisattvas' altruistic spirit and compassionate behaviors. For elderly Buddhists who follow in Bodhisattvas' steps, one of the important compassionate behaviors they can engage in is volunteering. Krause (2008, p. 137) gave three reasons for the inclination of older persons to do volunteer work through religious organizations. First, the current older cohort is more religiously involved than the present young cohort. Second, all the main world religions emphasize giving help to others. Lastly, religious organizations often have an array of formal helping programs. Putting a high premium on the value of compassion to others, the Buddhist community in Singapore encourages elderly Buddhists to get involved in society by, among others, providing numerous volunteering opportunities. Not only would volunteer work assign elderly Buddhists viable and meaningful social roles, keeping them occupied and integrating them into society, it also would help them maintain a sense of usefulness, self-worth, competence, and continuity in this achievement-oriented and youth-centered society. Furthermore, experiencing compassion for others' suffering through volunteerism may weaken the strength of the self concept, or at least make one less preoccupied with the self concept (Salmon et al., 2004, p. 435). Less egocentrism would presumably moderate the bitterness of loneliness.

In a nutshell, for elderly Buddhists, the dynamics of religiously based social integration provide opportunities for gaining access to reliable social networks and viable social roles, thus sustaining a sense of integration, continuity, and well-being.

Buddhism promotes transcendent integration

Transcendent experiences are “potentially powerful agents of integration and transformation that may significantly enhance our psycho-social effectiveness, and thereby contribute to our survival as a species” (Noble, as quoted in Waldron, 1998, p. 104). Buddhism ipso facto connects elderly Buddhists to a transcendent dimension *sub specie aeternitatis*, so that they can achieve transcendent communion and integration with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas without temporal and spatial limitations. Especially important here is that the transcendent integration would foster feelings of cosmic at-homeness and a sense of belonging to a transcendent community (Xu & Mehta, 2003, p. 493) and nurture feelings of being accepted, attended, and valued. Thus, being alone is endowed with positive implications and ramifications, which, in turn, can reasonably facilitate acceptance and appreciation of the status quo without feeling victimized and enslaved by external constraints. Therefore, it should come as no surprise that although some elderly Buddhists in Singapore live alone, they actually do not feel lonely but rather enjoy their sought-after freedom of solitude (Xu & Mehta, 2003, p. 492).

In Singapore, it is not uncommon that physical disability or illness force some elderly Buddhists to be increasingly or solely engaged in private religious practices such as meditation. Herein, perhaps no other way is better suited to such circumstances than connectedness with a spiritually rich transcendent community that serves to loosen the hold of loneliness. In other words, elderly Buddhists who are more privately religious can still resort to the decidedly stable transcendent connectivity to preserve an optimistic outlook and to stay impervious to the extraneous constraints. The Duke Longitudinal Study of Aging (Blazer & Palmore, 1976) revealed that while there may be a gradual decline in religious activities in the aging process, there is stability in religious attitudes. Also found was a positive correlation between religious attitudes and adjustment outcomes, which may increase with age (Blazer & Palmore, 1976). Believing that they can directly associate

and communicate with a transcendent realm without let or hindrance at any time and in any place, elderly Buddhists assign positive value to introspective, contemplative, and meditative ways of practice. In this case, personal direct communion with a transcendent community would foster the transpersonal level of consciousness (Canda & Smith, 2001), and bolster a sense of intimacy with the transcendent. Such unrestricted communion also constructively breaks the monotony and tedium of being alone and clothes lives with a sense of peace, meaning, and empowerment. Therefore, the communion would buffer and defuse the effects of loneliness, at least for the time being. It is thus logical that those who due to disability or personal preference do not appear to be socially and physically active should not be counted as failures (Moberg, 1990, p. 8), and activism should by no means be viewed as the only suitable pathway to successful aging (p. 11).

In summary, connectivity and communion with a transcendent community can endow elderly Buddhists with a sense of spiritual companionship and transcendent integration. This spawns their reassurance and faith that they are not alone, thereby keeping loneliness at bay.

Conclusions

Elderly loneliness poses much threat to the health and well-being of older persons. In this sense, the importance of addressing elderly loneliness cannot be overemphasized. This article delineates two lines of argument to demonstrate that there is a possibility for Buddhism to perform the loneliness-reduction function. One line is that the Buddhist community goes a long way toward affording elderly Buddhists reliable social networks and sustainable social roles, which empowers and enables them to continue their social engagement. The other line is that Buddhism is instrumental in developing a sense of transcendent belonging and spiritual communion that neutralizes isolation and loneliness. In a word, Buddhism, by facilitating social and transcendent integration, can steer elderly Buddhists through the course between the *Scylla* of loneliness and the *Charybdis* of isolation. A caveat, however, is that

albeit Buddhism may serve as an antidote to elderly loneliness, it should not be viewed as a panacea for it.

Presented below are some recommendations on how to enhance the loneliness-reduction function of Buddhism in terms of policy and practice. At the policy level, notwithstanding Singapore claims itself a secular country, “the Singapore government has wielded significant influence on religious life in Singapore” (Tong, 2007, p. 2). This would provide a benign political environment for integrating older persons into society through religion. Although it is still premature to formulate concrete policies with reasonable certainty in this regard, there is reason for optimism. At this point in time, policymakers need to understand and appreciate the Buddhist loneliness-reduction function and to consider how to incorporate religious themes into the aging policy in Singapore so as to help mitigate elderly loneliness. Such questions are worth considering as how to get Buddhist institutions increasingly involved in community elder care, how to promote spiritual care in institutional facilities, how to foster a sense of meaning in social engagement among older adults, and how to empower lonely older persons.

In practice, the Buddhist community in Singapore needs to affirm and validate elderly Buddhists’ vital roles in the community proper. For example, the community can provide elderly Buddhists with opportunities to be religious mentors, so that they can impart their religious knowledge, experience, insight, and wisdom to younger generations. The community can encourage and assist aged Chinese Buddhists to be volunteers to stay connected with society. The notions of collective karma, compassion, and loving-kindness can be used to promote volunteering spirit and behavior, which conforms to the policy of active ageing formulated and promoted by MCYS (2012). Additionally, the Buddhist community in Singapore needs to accommodate elderly Buddhists’ special needs, delivering programs and services with a view to maintaining and enhancing their social integration. For example, it can create physical barrier-free environments for those disabled elderly to participate in religious

activities; it can design and implement religious outreach programs in favor of shut-ins. As a matter of fact, those who are home-bound or institutionalized anticipate regular contacts with religious peers. When these anticipations are not realized, they may feel abandoned and their sense of self-worth may be then mercilessly undermined. Thus, outreach activities such as regular home visits, telephone contacts, spiritual support, and peer counseling can facilitate their continued interactions with the Buddhist community without having to lapse into loneliness when they are unable to engage in public religious practices. Another area the Buddhist community in Singapore can get involved in is to help elderly Buddhists use the concept of dukkha to normalize and accept loneliness, viewing it as an opportunity for spiritual cultivation and growth.

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SILK ROAD AND EARLY BUDDHIST SCRIBAL CULTURE IN CHINA (3-5 C)

DR. TSUI CHUNGHUI

(LECTURER, CENTRE OF BUDDHIST STUDIES, HKU)

Abstract

The earliest existing Chinese Buddhist manuscript found in the world, the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra*, was excavated at Toyuq in Turfan, and was dated the sixth year of Yuankang 元康六年 (296 CE), in the Western Jin. It was a copy by Dharmarakṣa's (384-433) monk disciple Zhu Fashou 竺法首. (Figure1, 1a) Who was one of the distinctive Buddhist scribes in Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 translation team. During the period when Buddhism was initially transmitted into China, historical documentation and archaeological findings both demonstrated the sacred Buddhist writing by Buddhist monk scribes from Central Asia played a key role in transmission of Buddhism without borders. It also enhanced producing the diversity and vigorous calligraphic styles in China during 3rd to 5th century. However, before the 20th century, early Buddhist scribes or foreign calligraphers were unknown in history of Chinese calligraphy or official records. This paper aims to examine the early sacred writing culture with a broader and more in-depth study of the extent and nature of the role of the Central Asian Buddhist scribes, as well as the significance of their calligraphic expertise to the history of Chinese calligraphers and calligraphy.

This article is a revised and expanded version of a paper entitled “*The Sacred Writing by Central Asian Buddhist Monks in China (3-5 C)*”, published in the *Proceedings of the International Conference on Globalized Buddhism* (May 21-23, 2012), Bumthang, Bhutan, Edited by Dasho Karma Ura and Dendup Chopel, The Centre for Bhutan Studies, Thimphu, Bhutan, pp. 284–318.

Key words : Buddhist manuscripts, scribes, calligraphy, Dunhuang, Turfan

1. Introduction :

In the early 20th century, as many as 100,700 Buddhist manuscripts were excavated from Dunhuang and Turfan.¹ (Table 1) The time span of the Dunhuang and Turfan Buddhist manuscripts runs from the 3rd to the 13th centuries which makes it extremely valuable for the study of the historical, cultural, and religious development of the Silk Road, as well as for the historical development of Chinese calligraphy.

Table 1: Survey of number of Buddhist manuscripts excavated from Dunhuang and Turfan²

Place	China	Japan	Russia	Germany	UK	France	Others	Total
Dunhuang Manuscripts	19,000	1,000	19,000		13,300	6,000		58,300
Turfan Manuscripts	12,000	8,000		20000 ³	276		2,003 ⁴	42,400

¹ See Guo Feng 郭鋒, 1991. 〈敦煌西域出土文獻的一個綜合統計〉 (*General Statistics of Documents Unearthed from Dunhuang and the Western Region*), 《敦煌學輯刊》 (*Journal of Dunhuang Studies*), 1991-1, pp. 63-76. The exact total number of the Turfan and Dunhuang manuscripts is still a mystery because the manuscripts were scattered in different countries' collections, some were lost, and some are in private collections and unpublished. The data is mainly based on the statistics provided in Guo Feng 1991, Fang Guangchang 方廣錕 2003, and Xia Shengping 夏生平 2008.

² Ibid.

³ 3,400 pieces in Chinese.

⁴ 1,917 pieces in Chinese, Finland collection.

Among these numerous manuscripts, the earliest existing Chinese Buddhist manuscript found in the world, the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra*, was excavated at Toyuq in Turfan, and was dated the sixth year of Yuankang 元康六年 (296 CE), in the Western Jin. The manuscript was first recorded in the *Archive of Archeological Findings from the Western Region* (*Seiki kōko zufu* 西域考古圖譜)⁵ by Otani Kozui (大谷光瑞 1876-1948), a Japanese explorer, who conducted archaeological explorations of the ancient Buddhist sites in Xinjiang, Gansu, and Tibet three times between 1902 and 1914. It was a copy written by Zhu Fashou 竺法首.⁶ (Figure 2) Who was one of the *bishou* scribes in Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 translation team.

The translation of Buddhist scriptures into Chinese was the primary vehicle used to promote Buddhism from the early Eastern Han period (ca.1st century CE) onwards. During the initial stage, Buddhist scriptures were still transmitted and translated orally.⁷ Before the invention of printing technology, ancient texts were all copied or written by hand by scribes “*xiejingsheng*” 寫經生,⁸ who

⁵ 香川默識,《西域考古圖譜》卷下(日本:國華社,1915年6月),p. 3-4. (*The Archive of Archeological Findings from the Western Region – Seiki kōko zufu*).

⁶ Chen Guocan 陳國燦,1983,〈吐魯番出土的《諸佛要集經》殘卷與敦煌高僧竺法護的譯經考略〉,《敦煌學輯刊》(*Collected Articles on Dunhuang Studies*) 1983-4., p. 9

⁷ Ren Jiyu 任繼愈,1981.《中國佛教史》(*History of Chinese Buddhism*), Vol.1, p.91, (Beijing: 北京中國社會科學出版社 China Social Sciences Press) The Indo-Scythians conquered Bactria in the 2nd century BCE, and accepted the Bactrian culture. Buddhism was popular there at the end of the first century BCE. It is probable that the Buddhist scriptures were orally transmitted into Chinese by missionaries during that time.

⁸ The term “*xiejingsheng* 寫經生” or “*jingsheng* 經生” appeared in historical documents and archaeological evidences later than “*bishou* 筆受”. *Bishou* 筆受 (or 筆授) is the title of Buddhist scribe who takes down the oral recitation from the translation master. In the early Buddhist translation team, “*bishou*” was a title as well as a scribe who can write good calligraphy.

were either Buddhist monks, lay persons, professional calligraphers or scribes, named a “*bishou* 筆受, 筆授”, or “*shoushou* 手受.” In the early Buddhist texts translation team, the translation work can be basically divided into four parts, the main translator 主譯, the *chuanyan* 傳言 (oral transmission), *bishou* 筆受 (write and record), and *quanzhu* 勸助.⁹ The *bishou* should have good technique of writing Chinese calligraphy.¹⁰

Having done careful research on numerous Buddhist manuscripts in the Lüshun Museum, Chinese scholar Wang Zhenfen 王振芬 compared the calligraphy of the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* and *The Sūtra on the Metaphor* 譬喻經, dated the first year of Ganlu in the Former Qin 359 CE 前秦甘露元年), (Figure 3) and identified the calligraphic style of the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* by Buddhist monk scribe Zhu Fashou as being in the Zhong You 鍾繇 tradition of calligraphy,¹¹ which was mainly used in writing official government documents of the Western Jin, ‘*Jinshu Zhengxie* 晉書正寫’, or “*Zhengshu Jinyan* 正書晉言”.¹² Owing to its authority, solemnity and faster writing speed that the official style of calligraphy, Standard script, was not only used by government officials but was also adopted for

⁹ Wang, Wenyan 王文顏 2004, 《佛典漢譯之研究》A Study of Buddhist Text Translation, (Gaoxiang: Fo guang shan wen jiao ji jin hui Publish). p.140.

¹⁰ Ji Xianlin 季羨林, 2007. 《佛教十五題》(*Fo jiao shi wu ti*), Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, p.147..

¹¹ By the time of the Western Jin Dynasty, Zhong You’s 鍾繇 calligraphy of of the standard script (*zhangchengshu* 章程書) had been adopted as the government official writing style. In the Western Jin, the *zhangchengshu* 章程書 in Zhong You tradition was called ‘*Jinshu Zhengxie* 晉書正寫’, which was also used for writing sacred Buddhists texts.

¹² Wang, Zhenfen 王振芬, 2006. 〈從西晉元康六年 (296 CE) 寫本探寫經體之源〉, (*Research on the Origin of Buddhist Scripture’s Style:Based on the Manuscript of Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra Dated the 6th year of Yuankang Reign of the Western Jin*), 《書法叢刊》(*Calligraphy Series, 2006-6, Vol. 94*, 文物出版社, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House), p. 1.

copying sacred books and writings, such as the Confucian classics and Buddhist sūtras, i.e., the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra*.¹³

Reviewing literary evidences from *CSZJJ* that specifically indicate that the calligraphic style used by Dharmarakṣa and Gautama Saṃghadeva's translation team before the 4th century was that of the Western Jin language (正書晉言), or the Standard script *zhengshu* 正書. Among which there are four sūtras were written in the Standard script of the Western Jin language. The data from Table 2, enables us to confidently conclude that the Standard script was the main type of script used for copying Buddhist sūtras before the 4th century.

Table 2: Sūtras in Standard script in *CSZJJ* 《出三藏記集》

Time	Buddhist Scribes	Nationalities	Buddhist Sūtra	Calligraphic style
284	Rong Xiye 榮攜業 Hou Wuying 侯無英	Chinese	<i>Yogācārabhūmi Sūtra</i> 修行道地經	Standard script 正書
290	Zhu Taixuan 祝太玄、 Zhou Xuanming 周玄明	Chinese	<i>Pañcaviśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra</i> 放光經 ¹⁴	Standard script 正書

¹³ A more detailed research about the use of Standard script in Zhong You tradition in the Eastern Han period, please see TSUI Chung-hui (2010), *A Study of Early Buddhist Scriptural Calligraphy—Based on Buddhist Manuscripts found in Dunhuang and Turfan (3-5 C)*, PhD thesis, Centre of Buddhist Studies, The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong. Chapter 1.

¹⁴ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集卷7·放光經記第三》“惟昔大魏潁川朱士行，以甘露五年(260 CE)出家學道爲沙門，出塞西至於闐國，寫得正品梵書，胡本九十章，六十萬餘言，乙太康三年(282 CE)，遣弟子弗如檀晉字法饒，送經胡本至洛陽，住三年，復至許昌二年，后至陳留界倉垣水南寺，以元康元年五月十五日(291 CE)眾賢者皆集議，晉書正寫，時執胡本者于闐沙門無叉羅，優婆塞竺叔蘭口傳，祝太玄周玄明共玄明共筆受，正書九十章，凡二十萬七千六百二十一言。”(*CSZJJ*, *CBETA, T55*, no. 2145, p. 47, c11-28)

291	Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠、 Nie Daozhen 聶道真	Chinese	<i>Tathāgatamahkaruōānirdeśa Sūtra</i> 如來大哀經 ¹⁵	Standard script 正書晉言
397	Gautama Saṃghadeva (translation) 瞿曇僧伽提婆 Daoci 道慈筆受 (Kang Hua 康化, Li Bao 李寶書寫)	Chinese/ Sogdian	<i>Mādhyamāgama</i> 中阿毘經 ¹⁶	Standard script正書
481	Dharma-jātayaśas 曇摩伽陀耶捨	Central India	<i>Sutra of Innumerable Meanings</i> 無量義經 ¹⁷	Clerical Script 隸書

2. Early Buddhist Scribes along the Silk Road

During the course of time, more and more Buddhist monks or laymen from Central Asia played important roles in translating and writing the Buddhist texts.¹⁸ However, these scribes were largely

¹⁵ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集卷9》“元康元年七月七日，燉煌菩薩支法護，手執胡經，經名如來大哀，口授聶承遠，道真正書晉言，以其年八月二十三日訖。護親自覆校，當令大法光顯流布，其有攬者，疾得總持暢澤妙法。”(CSZJJ, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 63, b14-18)

¹⁶ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷9“然後乃以晉隆安元年丁酉之歲十一月十日(397 AD)，於楊州丹楊郡，建康縣界，在其精舍更出此中阿含，請罽賓沙門僧伽羅叉令講胡本，請僧伽提和轉胡為晉，豫州沙門道慈筆受，吳國李寶唐化共書。至來二年戊戌之歲六月二十五日，草本始訖。此中阿毘凡有五誦，都十八品，有二百二十二經，合五十一萬四千八百二十五字，分為六十卷。時遇國大難未即正書，乃至五年辛丑之歲，方得正寫校定流傳。”(CSZJJ, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 64, a11-20)

¹⁷ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集卷9·無量義經序第二十二》“忽有武當山比丘慧表，生自羌胄，僞帝姚略從子，國破之日為晉軍何澹之所得，數歲聰黠，澹之字曰螟蛉，養為假子。俄放出家，便勤苦求道，南北遊尋不擇夷險，以齊建元三年(481 CE)復訪奇搜秘遠至嶺南，於廣州朝亭寺，遇中天竺沙門曇摩伽陀耶舍，手能隸書口解齊言。”(CSZJJ, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 68, a29-b6)

¹⁸ Ji Xianlin 季羨林 2007, p.143.

unknown in history. Who is their identity? If they were Chinese, their calligraphic style could also have the same aesthetic qualities of contemporary calligraphers who influenced them. If they were foreign Buddhists scribes or monks, quite obviously it would take a longer period of time for foreigners to practice and learn to write Chinese calligraphy than a native Chinese. Who, then, played the major role in teaching “foreign” Buddhist scribes to write Chinese calligraphy?

According to a comprehensive survey which focuses on the scribes (*bishou* 筆受) or monks who were able to write or copy Buddhist texts with Chinese calligraphy in early translation team in and before the 5th century, from literary records such as *CSZJJ* (出三藏記集), the *GSZ* (高僧傳), *A History of the Development of the Buddhist Canon from the Latter Han to the Sui Dynasties* (歷代三寶紀), *An Illustrated Record of Translated Scriptures Past and Present* (古今譯經圖紀), indicates that in the very early stages, foreign monks assisted in the transcription of Buddhist texts by local Chinese or monks. Historical documentation shows that an increasing number of Central Asian Buddhist scribes joined the translation team of Dharmarakṣa from the Western Jin. Of further significance is that after the time of Zhu Fashou in 292 CE, increasing number of some Central Asian Buddhist monks and scribes join the translation team in the late 3rd to early 5th centuries.¹⁹ (Table 3)

It is furthermore noteworthy that Dharmarakṣa was assisted by a group of various ethnics from Central Asia, India as well as native Han Chinese. A multi-ethnic cultural translation team included assistants or scribes from various geographical regions of Central Asia.²⁰

¹⁹ Wei Changhong 魏長洪 1998, pp. 42–43.

²⁰ Ibid.

Through a preliminary data collection from literary records and analysis of the Table 3, may classify the Buddhist scribes into three categories according to various ethnicities: (1) Chinese Buddhist scribes: the surnames of these scribes indicates they are Chinese; (2) Buddhist scribes from the Western Region (including Sogdian): the surnames of these scribes are Zhi 支, Zhu 竺, Bo 帛, Kang 康...; (3) Uncertain ethnicity: their ethnicity cannot be identified from their names. Based upon the above literary resources, information about the Buddhist scribes and script forms used by the scribes when they copied the sūtras can be learned from its scrutiny.²¹ Although the data in [Table 3] does not fully prove their geographical or ethnicity origin, however, it shows the foreign influence to a certain degree.

Table 3: Ethnicity & number of Buddhist scribes in the translation team

Date	Translation team	Buddhist Scribes	Number of scribes		
			C	W	U
Ca.181	An Xuan 安玄	Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調	1		
ca.-186	Lokakṣema 支識	Foda 佛大, Mengfu 孟福, Zhanglian 張蓮	2		1
224	Wei Qinan 維祇難	Zhi Qian 支謙 (active 223-253 CE)		1	
255	Zhi Qiangliangjie 支疆梁接	Zhu Daoxing 竺道馨			1
266-308	Dharmarakṣa 竺法護	Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠, Zhang Xuanbo 張玄伯, Sun Xiuda 孫修達, Rong Xiye 榮携業, Hou Wuying 侯無英, Zhang Shiming 張仕明, Zhang Zhongzheng 張仲政, Nie Daozhen 聶道真, Zhe Xianyuan 折顯元, Zhu Fashou 竺法首, Bo Yuanxin 帛元信, Zhi Fadu 支法度, Zhao Wenlong 趙文龍, Kang Shu 康殊, Bo Faju 帛法炬	10	4	1

²¹ See Appendix 4 in TSUI Chung-hui (2010). *PhD thesis*, pp. 423–425.

291	Zhu Shixing 朱士行	Zhu Taixuan 祝太玄, Zhou Xuanming 周玄明	2		
382-413	Zhu Fonian 竺佛念	Tanjing 曇景, Sengdao 僧導, Tanjiu 曇究, Sengrui 僧叡, Huili 慧力, Sengmao 僧茂, Daohan 道含, Huisong 慧嵩 (from Gaochang)	2	1	5
383	Samghabhadra 僧伽跋澄	Huisong 慧嵩, Zhimin 智敏, Zhao Wenye 趙文業	1	1	1
397-398	Gautama Samghadeva 瞿曇僧伽提婆	Daozu 道祖, Daoci 道慈 (筆受), Li Bao 李寶, Kang Hua 康化 (共書)	1	1 (S)	2
398	Buddhabhadra 佛馱跋陀羅	Faye 法業, Huiyi 慧義, Huiyan 慧嚴			3
Ca.406	Vimalākṣa 卑摩羅叉	Huiguan 慧觀			1
412	Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什	Huigong 釋慧恭, Sengqing 僧契, Sengqian 僧遷, Baodu 寶度, Huijing 慧精, Faqin 法欽, Daoliu 道流, Sengrui 僧叡, Daohui 道恢, Daobiao 道標, Daoheng 道恒, Sengzhao 僧肇, ²² Tangui 曇晷, Tanying 曇影, Bo Huirong 帛慧融		1	14
423	Buddhajīva 佛馱什	Daosheng 道生, Huiyan 慧嚴	2		
421-439	Dharmakṣema 曇無讖	Huisong 慧嵩, Daolang 道朗, Daoyang 道養		1	2
439	Buddhavarman 浮陀跋摩	Daotai 道泰			1

(Symbols of Nationalities: C–Chinese; W–Western Region; S–Sogdian; U–Uncertain)

²² 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷8, (CSZJJ, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 53, b3-11)

2.1. Chinese Buddhist Scribes

The first Buddhist monk to assist An Xuan 安玄 (active 181 CE) in the translating of Buddhist texts in the Eastern Han (25-220 CE), was the Chinese monk Yan Fotiao 嚴佛調 (ca.117-197 CE).²³ An Xuan was a Parthian merchant who went to Luoyang around the reign of Emperor Ling (168-190 CE).²⁴ Yan Fotiao joined An Shigao and An Xuan to translate the sūtras, and translated the *Ugradattapariprccha* (*Fajing jing* 法鏡經).²⁵ During the translation, Yan Fotiao wrote down *bishou* 筆受 the oral translation of An Xuan. Just as Jan Nattier noted “a foreign upāsaka whose knew both spoken Chinese and the language of the source-text (presumably a Prakrit vernacular) well enough to produce an oral Chinese translation of the scripture, assisted by a Chinese monk whose literary education was sufficient to enable him to record it in suitable prose.”²⁶ In such a small scale translation group, the quality of their translation was praised by Sengyou, “...*Yan Fotiao took down the dictation by An*

²³ Yan Fotiao was also the first monk in the history of Chinese Buddhism. 《出三藏記集》卷13: “玄與沙門嚴佛調, 共出法鏡經, 玄口譯梵文, 佛調筆受, 理得音正, 盡經微旨郢匠之義見述後代。佛調臨淮人也, 綺年穎悟, 敏而好學, 信慧自然, 遂出家修道, 通譯經典見重於時。世稱安侯都尉佛調三人傳譯, 號為難繼。” (CSZJJ, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 96, a14-18)

²⁴ Ma Yong 馬雍. 1990. 〈東漢後期來華中亞人考〉 (*Survey of Central Asian People went to China during the Late Eastern Han*) in 《西域史地文物叢考》 (*Essays on History and Cultural Heritage of Western Region*, 文物出版社, Beijing: Cultural Relics Publishing House), p. 5.

²⁵ Zurcher, 2007. *The Buddhist Conquest of China: The Spread and Adaptation of Buddhism in Early Medieval China*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.p. 34, ‘...the attribution is confirmed by Kang Seng-hui 康僧會 (mid. 3rd c.)’ of the Wu in the Three Kingdoms Period.

²⁶ Jan Nattier, 2008. *A guide to the earliest Chinese Buddhist translations : texts from the Eastern Han “Dong Han” and Three Kingdoms “San Guo” periods*, Tokyo : International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology, Soka University. p. 90.

Xuan 安玄, the language of what he transmitted was archaic but achieved the meaning of Buddha's doctrine", (...都尉 [An Xuan 安玄] 口陳, 嚴調筆受, 言既稽古, 義又微妙).

There were other Chinese scribes who assisted the foreign monks during the initial stages. Among these were Meng Fu 孟福, Zhang Lian 張蓮, and Foda 佛大, according to records from *CSZJJ*. The Buddhist text translation teams were still on a small scale during these early stages. In the translation team of Lokakṣema 支讖 (ca.167 CE), and Zhu Shufo, 竺朔佛 (active 178-189 CE), the texts were translated by the two foreign monks and then written down by the Chinese scribes Meng Fu 孟福 and Zhang Lian 張蓮 at Luoyang. The sūtras included the Pratyutpannasamādhisūtra in 179 CE,²⁷ the *Akṣobhya-buddha-kṣetra Sūtra* 阿閼佛國經, and the Mahāsaṃghata-sūtra 大集經²⁸ ... etc., in 186 CE. The translation team of two other Buddhist scribes consisted of Foda 佛大, and Lokakṣema, who participated in the oral translation of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra* 道行經 in 179 CE at Pusasi 菩薩寺 in the western Luoyang city.²⁹ Although Foda's 佛大

²⁷ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷7般舟三昧經記第八“般舟三昧經，光和二年十月八日 (179 CE)，天竺菩薩竺朔佛於洛陽出，菩薩法護時傳言者，月支菩薩支讖授與，河南洛陽孟福字元士，隨侍菩薩，張蓮字少安筆受，令后普著，在建安十三年，於佛寺中校定悉具足，后有寫者，皆得南無佛，又言，建安三年歲在戊子八月八日 (208 CE) 於許昌寺校定。”，(*CSZJJ*, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 48, c10-16)

²⁸ 《古今譯經圖紀》卷1 “沙門支婁迦讖，月支國人，操行純深性度開敏，稟持法戒諷誦群經，志在宣弘遊方化物，以桓帝建和元年歲次丁亥，至靈帝中平三年歲次丙寅，於洛陽譯阿閼佛國經（二卷）…，總二十一部合六十三卷，審得本旨曾不加飾，可謂善宣法要弘道之士，河南清信士孟福張蓮等筆受。”，(*GJYJTJ*, CBETA, T55, no. 2151, p. 348, c6-20)

²⁹ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷7道行經后記第二“光和二年十月八日，河南洛陽孟元士口授，天竺菩薩竺朔佛時傳言者譯，月支菩薩支讖時侍者南陽張少安南海子碧，勸助者孫和周提立，正光二年九月十五日洛陽城西菩薩寺中沙門佛大寫之。” (*CSZJJ*, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 47, c5-9)

nationality is unknown, Meng Fu 孟福 and Zhang Lian 張蓮 were native Chinese and pious Buddhists 清信士 of Henan Province.³⁰

2.2. Cultural Influence from Central Asia

From the above discussion we know that when Buddhism was transmitted to China from the Eastern Han onwards, many Buddhist monks or laymen from Central Asia played important roles in translating and writing the Buddhist texts.³¹ Most Buddhist texts were mainly introduced into China by Buddhist monks from the Western Region, such as **Kāśyapa Mātāṅga** 加攝摩騰 (active ca.67 CE–), Zhu Falan 竺法蘭 (active ca.67 CE–), An Shigao 安世高 (d.ca.170 CE),³² Lokakṣema 支讖 (or 支婁迦讖 147–185 CE)..... etc., from Yuezhi, Central India, Parthia, Kucha, or the ancient Kushan Empire of the Central Asia.³³ Ji Xianlin suggested there are sufficient evidences from linguistic research of Buddhist scriptures which indicated that Kucha area bridged the culture of the Central Asia and China.³⁴ Some scholars presumed that the Yuezhi were probably a branch of the Tocharian, who were active between

³⁰ See Appendix 4 in TSUI Chung-hui (2010). PhD thesis, pp. 423–425.

³¹ Lin Meicun 林梅村, 1995, 《西域文明——考古 民族 語言和宗教新論》(*New Theory of Civilization of the Western Region, Archaeology, Ethnicity, Language and Religion*), (Beijing : Dong fang chu ban she 東方出版社, 1995), p. 4.

³² Chen, Kenneth K.S., 1964. *Buddhism in China: a Historical Survey*, Princeton University Press, Princeton. p. 43. An Shigao 安世高 arrived at Luoyang during the reign of Emperor Huan 東漢桓帝 (ca.148 CE).

³³ Mizuno, p. 45, “Lokakshema, who went to China at about the same time as An Shigao, was born in Kushan, a large country that spread from Central Asia to northwestern India and was the most powerful nation in the area. ... Lokakshema went to China and at Luoyang translated into Chinese 12 scriptures in 27 fascicles.

³⁴ Ji Xianlin 季羨林, 1985, 《大唐西域記校注》(*Traveling Notes of the Western Regions in Great Tang Dynasty*), Zhonghua shu ju, Beijing, p. 2.

Dunhuang and the Qilian Mountain.³⁵ Due to their multicultural background these Buddhist monks were quite familiar with the various Central Asian languages. According to *GSZ*, Lokakṣema and Zhu Foshuo translated some Buddhist texts from Sanskrit to Chinese 傳譯梵文 during Emperor Ling of the Eastern Han period. However, according to archaeological evidences and academic research, scholars speculated the earliest languages of Buddhist scriptures probably used were Tocharian A (in Gaochang and Qarasahr 焉耆), and Tocharian B (which was popular in Kucha), not Sanskrit or Pali.³⁶

It is also noteworthy that the number of foreign Buddhist monks gradually increased from the 3rd century onwards. Buddhist translators or scribes' nationalities can be traced from their family names, since their various surnames represented their geographic origins. Those Buddhist monks and translators might be good with several different kinds of Central Asian languages as well as Chinese.

However, what kind of Chinese writing script was adopted by Buddhist monk translators to write down the sacred texts during the period when Buddhism was initially transmitted into China? According to Ouyang Zhongshi 歐陽中石, "Clerical Script 漢隸 evolved gradually from Seal Script 篆書 and was in common use among the people during the late Warring States period (221-207 BCE). It reached its mature stage after the reign of Han Emperor Wu (140-87 BCE)."³⁷ Scholars such as Hua Rende 華人德,³⁸ generally believe that the gradual transformation of the mature Clerical Script

³⁵ Lin Meicun 林梅村, 1995. pp. 3–4

³⁶ Ji Xianlin, 〈浮屠與佛〉 in 《季羨林學術論著自選集》, 北京師範學院出版社, 1991, p.12.

³⁷ Ouyang Zhongshi 歐陽中石, 2008, *Chinese Calligraphy*, p. 59.

³⁸ Hua Rende 華人德, 2009, 《中國書法史-兩漢卷》(*History of Chinese Calligraphy*), 江蘇教育出版社 Education Press of Jiangsu Province. P. 15.

隸書 into Running Script 行書, Draft Cursive Script 章草 and Standard script 正書 during the middle to late Han dynasty (25-220 CE) constituted the first peak in the history of Chinese calligraphy and exerted profound influence on the calligraphy of ensuing generations. As such, it led to a bloom of calligraphers during the Han Dynasty and marked the first peak period of calligraphy in Chinese history.³⁹ (Figure 4)

Due to the different cultural and language backgrounds, at the start the Buddhist scribes who assisted in writing the texts were local Chinese. As Buddhism grew in popularity more foreign monks or Buddhists also learned Chinese calligraphy as scribes and joined translation teams or copied sŝtras for circulation. One must take into consideration that it took time for foreign monks to become proficient in writing Chinese calligraphy. Some of them were also good in writing Chinese calligraphy because their ancestors had immigrated to China generations previously, such as Kang Senghui 康僧會, Zhi Qian 支謙,⁴⁰ and Dharmarakŝa 竺法護⁴¹ ... etc. They learned Chinese calligraphy with the utmost devotion, respect, and perseverance so that they may dedicate to spread the teachings of the Buddha. These Buddhist monks, translators or scribes from the Western Region really made great contributions to the transmission of the doctrine of Buddhism in Chinese history. However, they were largely unknown in the traditional history of Chinese calligraphy.

³⁹ Hua Rende 華人德, 2009, pp. 14-15.

⁴⁰ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷13支謙傳第六 (CSZJJ, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 96, a22-28)

⁴¹ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷13, (CSZJJ, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 97, c20-p. 98, a4).

2.2.1. Zhi Qian 支謙

One of the early foreign Buddhist *upāsaka* translators Zhi Qian 支謙 (active 223–253 CE) was of Yuezhi origin⁴² during the end of the Eastern Han until the period of the Three Kingdoms. Zhi Qian's ancestors had immigrated to China from Yuezhi in the time of the Emperor Ling in the Eastern Han, 東漢靈帝 (r.156–189 CE). As mentioned above, Jan Nattier also noted that “to be a member in the translation team, one should “whose literary education was sufficient to enable him to record it in suitable prose.” It may be presumable that Zhi Qian had been well educated in the traditional Chinese culture since childhood, and had also studied various foreign languages when he reached adulthood. In the latter period of the Emperor Xian of the Eastern Han 東漢獻帝 (r.189–220 CE), when the Luoyang area was in chaos, Zhi Qian escaped to the Wu Kingdom in the south.⁴³ In 224 CE, he joined the translation team of Wei Qinan 維祇難 and Zhu Jiangyan 竺將炎 who were both from India. These two Indian monks were not well versed in Chinese, which left the assigned task of writing down *Dhammapada* in the Chinese of the Wu Kingdom to Zhi Qian.⁴⁴ According to the *CSZJJ*, Zhi Qian escaped together with a group of his countrymen to the southern Wu Region during the latter period of the reign of the Emperor Xian of the Eastern Han, r.189–220 CE, when chaos was spreading in Luoyang throughout the northern area.

⁴² 梁·慧皎《高僧傳》卷1 (GSZ, CBETA, T50, no. 2059, p. 325, a13-p. 326),

⁴³ 元·覺岸《釋氏稽古略》卷1 “吳黃武二年 (223 CE), 西域月氏國優婆塞支謙, 字恭明, 博覽經籍游洛邑, 黑瘦眼多白睛黃。時語曰, 支郎眼中黃, 形雖小是智囊, 避地歸吳, 吳主悅之拜爲博士, 譯佛經一百二十九部凡一百五十二卷。謙受業於支亮, 亮字紀明, 亮受業於支識。世謂天下博知不出三支。” *An Outline of Historical Researches into the Śākya Family Lineage* (CBETA, T49, no. 2037, p. 770, b20-26)

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, same as footnote 41.

To be a scholar or government official in ancient China, the basic requirements are literacy and calligraphy. Zhi Qian was renowned for his linguistic skills, being fluent in six languages. Zhi Qian's talent and abilities greatly impressed the ruler Sun Quan, 孫權 (182–252 CE) of Wu and appointed him as a prince tutor.⁴⁵ This record illustrates the very high level achievement of Zhi Qian's traditional Chinese literature and calligraphy so that he was invited to be prince tutor in palace by Sun Quan.

The record in the *An Outline of Historical Researches into the Śākya Family Lineage* (*Shi shi ji gu lue*, 釋氏稽古略),⁴⁶ states that Zhi Qian went to the southern Wu area from Luoyang between 189 and 220 CE. He translated 129 volumes *bu* 部 with a total of 152 fascicles *juan* 卷 of Buddhist sūtras,⁴⁷ fifty-three of which are still in existence. Zhi Qian's translation project was mainly carried out in the south. Some early important texts, such as the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra* 維摩詰經 (T.474), and the *Taizi ruiying benqi jing* 太子瑞應本起經 (T.185), were translated by Zhi Qian.⁴⁸ There may have been other scribes working together as a collaborative team to assist in such a large project.

However, very little record is known about him and other foreign monks in official Chinese history because they were foreigners. There is no records about the scribes in Zhi Qian's translation team. Zhi Qian's translations and transcriptions of Buddhist texts were made in the south. Considering of writing down so many Buddhist

⁴⁵ 梁·慧皎《高僧傳》卷1“漢獻末亂避地於吳，孫權聞其才慧，召見悅之，拜爲博士，使輔導東宮，與韋曜諸人共盡匡益，但生自外域，故吳志不載。”(GSZ, CBETA, T50, no. 2059, p. 325, a13-p. 326),

⁴⁶ Ibid, same as footnote 44.

⁴⁷ For details of the number of Zhi Qian's texts, please see Jan Nattier (2008), pp. 121–122. The number of the texts are varied in different historical records as well as modern scholarly research.

⁴⁸ Jan Nattier (2008), p. 121

texts, it arose our question of what kind of script that had been used in Zhi Qian's translation team ?

A comprehensive review of the Dunhuang and Turfan Buddhist manuscripts did not find any fragments or manuscripts bearing dates before 300 CE which were attributed the sūtras translated by Zhi Qian. The earliest extant dated Buddhist manuscript of a sūtra whose translation is attributed to Zhi Qian was dated to 368 and 373 CE in the Former Liang 前涼 *Dhammapada* 法句經. (Figure 5) The calligraphic style of the manuscript of *Dhammapada* is very close to a non-Buddhist text – the manuscript *Biography of Sun Quan* (in History of the Kingdom of Wu) 三國志吳孫權傳, which was unearthed from ancient city Yingsha 英沙故城 in Turfan in 1965 and dated to the early fourth century. (Figure 5a, 5b) The calligraphy of both manuscripts still retained strong implication with the archaic style of bamboo slips in the Han dynasty.

As discussed above, the earliest Buddhist manuscript *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* was written in 296 CE in the Zhong You 鍾繇 tradition of calligraphy. (Figure 6, Figure 6a) We observed that some early fragments were Buddhist texts originally translated by Zhi Qian and then copied in the Zhong You calligraphic tradition. The calligraphy also preserved the archaic style of the usage of bamboo slips during the Han dynasty.

As from the Eastern Han to the Three Kingdoms period was an important turning point for the transformation of Chinese calligraphy from the Clerical to Standard script. It is possible that the Zhong You's standard script was used by Zhi Qian to write down or copy Buddhist texts. Because he received most of his formal education in Central China where the influence of Zhong You calligraphy was pervasive.⁴⁹

⁴⁹ In the early period of translation Buddhist texts, Zhong You's 鍾繇 standard script was adopted in writing and copying the sacred texts. For details, please see Tsui Chung-hui (2012), pp. 9–51.

New evidence can be found from archaeological excavation in 20th century, according to my research of early Buddhist scriptural calligraphy, the mature Standard script of the Zhong You tradition had been created in 176 CE during the Eastern Han period.⁵⁰ Archaeological findings proved that it was adopted as government official writing as well as for the public daily usage in north and south China.

2.2.2. Zhu Fashou 竺法首

According to a comprehensive survey from *CSZJJ* which focuses on the foreign monk translators and scribes in and before the 5th C (Table 2), historical documentation shows that an increasing number of foreign Buddhist scribes joined the translation team of Dharmarakṣa from the Western Jin. Of further significance is that after the time of Zhu Fashou in 292 CE, more foreign scribes had acquired the ability to write Chinese calligraphy and join the translation team in the late 3rd to early 5th centuries.

The Buddhist manuscript, *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra*, was excavated at Turfan in the early 20th century. This manuscript has been determined to be the earliest Chinese Buddhist manuscript in existence, translated by Dharmarakṣa and written by his disciples, Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 (from Luoyang) and Zhu Fashou 竺法首. It was written in the Western Jin style, using the Standard script “*zhengshu*” of the Zhong You 鍾繇 (ca.151-230 CE) tradition, dated 296 CE, four years later than the date of the original translation 292 CE. Hence, it was written about 60 years after Zhong You had passed away. It is the earliest example discovered to date of the Standard script style which includes the exact date and name written on paper from the Western Jin period.⁵¹

⁵⁰ See TSUI Chung-hui (2010). PhD thesis, Chapter 1.

⁵¹ Nishikawa, Yasushi, *Nishikawa Yasushi chosakushū* Vol.4, *Seiki shutsudo Shindai bokuseki no shodōshiteki kenkyū* 西川寧, 西域出土晋代墨跡の書道史的研究, 西川寧著作集 v. 4, Tōkyō: Nigensha, 1991–1993. p. 52.

According to records in the *CSZJJ* Zhu Fashou 竺法首 joined Dharmarakāś translation group three times. (Table 3) His first joining was in 292 CE, at Luoyang, to translate the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra*,⁵² his second in 294 CE (at Jiuquan 酒泉, to translate *Acaladharmamudrā Sūtra* 聖法印經). And the third time was to translate the *Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhi Sūtra* 佛說慧印三昧經 and *Sarvavaipulyavidyāsiddhi Sūtra* 佛說濟諸方等學經 respectively.

Table 3: Main Buddhist scribes in Dharmarakāśa's translation team

(The scribes listed in the table who had joined the translation team to write down more than two Buddhist sūtras)

Buddhist Scribes	Year	Sūtras
Nie Chengyuan, 聶承遠	266	<i>Suwikrāntacinti-devaputra-paripṛcchā Sūtra</i> 須真天子經
Nie Chengyuan,	286	<i>Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāramitā Sūtra</i> 光讚般若經
Nie Chengyuan,	286	<i>Saddharma-puṇḍarīka Sūtra</i> 正法華經
Nie Chengyuan,	289	<i>Vimaladattāparipṛcchā Sūtra</i> 離垢施女經
Nie Daozhen 聶道真	289	<i>Paramārthasamvṛtisatyānirdeśa Sūtra</i> 文殊師利淨律經
Nie Daozhen	289	<i>Mañjuśrīśrīvīkuryāṇapanvarta Sūtra</i> 魔逆經
Nie Daozhen	291	<i>Śūramgamasamādhi Sūtra</i> 首楞嚴三昧經
Nie Chengyuan, Nie Daozhen	291	<i>Tathāgatopattisambhavanirdeśa Sūtra</i> 如來興顯經

⁵² See Appendix 4 (Buddhist scribes/ calligraphic styles in translation teams, 181-439 CE) in TSUI Chung-hui (2010),. pp. 423-425.

Nie Chengyuan Zhu Fashou 竺法首	292	<i>Buddhasaṃgīti Sūtra</i> 諸佛要集經 ⁵³
Zhu Fashou	294	<i>Acaladharmamudrā Sūtra</i> 聖法印經
Zhu Fashou	294	<i>Tathāgatajñānamudrāsāmādhī Sūtra</i> 佛說慧印三昧經
Zhu Fashou	294	<i>Sarvavaipulyavidyāsiddhi Sūtra</i> 佛說濟諸方等學經
Nie Chengyuan	297	<i>Daśabhūmika Sūtra</i> 漸備一切智經

In 292 CE, Zhu Fashou and Nie Chengyuan worked together to write down the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* at Luoyang 洛陽. Because there is no record of Nie Chengyuan traveling to Dunhuang or Jiuquan 酒泉, Chen Guocan 陳國燦 speculates that the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* was copied by Zhu Fashou at Jiuquan first in 296 CE, and then brought to Turfan subsequently.⁵⁴ Thus, the manuscript of the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* was probably a copy made by Zhu Fashou primarily for circulation purposes. The colophon of the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra*, is the earliest record of the transcription of a Buddhist sūtra into Chinese. The fragment is still well preserved today, with 18 lines of characters written in ink, with five lines of colophons with the dates, names of the scribes, number of characters, and a wish for this sūtra to be spread widely. It was recorded that:

“On the twelfth day of the first month of the second year of the Yuan-kang (12th Jan. 292 CE), the Yuezhi bodhisattva Dharmarakśa (Fahu 法護), holding in his hand ...conferred

⁵³ The data is based on the colophon inscription on the manuscript fragment of *Buddhasaṃgīti Sūtra*. (see Figure 1)

⁵⁴ Chen Guocan 陳國燦, 1983. 〈吐魯番出土的殘卷與敦煌高僧竺法護的譯經考略〉, (*A Brief Examination of the Buddhasaṃgīti Sūtra Found at Turfan and the sūtra Translated by the Eminent Monk of Dunhuang Dharmarakśa*), 《敦煌學輯刊》(*Collected Articles on Dunhuang Studies*) Lanzhou, 1983–4, pp. 6–13.

it upon Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 and the *upādhyāya*, disciple, *śramaṇa* Zhu Fashou 竺法首 who took it down in writing *bishou* 筆[口]). May this sūtra be spread in ten directions [so that others] will carry out the magnanimous [work of] conversion (戴佩弘化) and quickly achieve.... this was copied on the eighteenth day of the third month of the sixth year of the Yuankang reign period (18th Mar., 296 CE). Altogether there are three scrolls and twelve chapters totaling 19,596 characters.”⁵⁵

“康二年正月十二日，月支菩薩法護手執
授聶承遠 和上弟子沙門竺法首筆
令此經布流十方，戴佩弘化，速成
元康六年三月十八日寫已
凡三萬（卷）十二章合一萬九千五百九十六字”⁵⁶

The inscription records that “Nie Chengyuan took down in writing *bishou*;⁵⁷ and the *upādhyāya* disciple, *śramaṇa* Zhu Fashou 竺法首 bi [wrote, copy].” (筆授聶承遠和上弟子沙門竺法首筆). (Figure 2)

Zhu Fashou deliberately wrote down his dedicatory prayer (*fayuanwen* 發願文) as a postscript of the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* which reads:

⁵⁵ English translation after Boucher, Daniel J. PhD thesis p.81. *Buddhist translation procedures in third-century China: A study of Dharmarakṣa and his translation idiom*, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA (0175), 1996.

⁵⁶ Boucher, Daniel J. 1996. p. 81, The character “萬” was a writing error by scribe. The correct character is “卷” (scroll).

⁵⁷ There is one character lost in this sentence, it could be “口授” or “筆授”. Nie Chengyuan helped both dictation and writing down the translation from Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 because he was also good in Sanskrit. 《出三藏記集》卷8: “持心經記第十出經後記，太康七年三月十日，燉煌開士竺法護在長安說出梵文授承遠。” (CSZJJ, T55, 57 c19-21)

“May this sūtra be spread in the ten directions so that others will carry out the magnanimous work of conversion (戴佩弘化) and quickly achieve...”

A close examination of the manuscript of the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* shows that it was copied in the very standard and reverent format of Buddhist sūtra calligraphy. Comparisons made with Zhu Fashou’s calligraphy of the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* show it too was done in a very orderly and precise handwriting using the Standard script. Each stroke was made in a very careful and deferential manner. Zhu Fashou’s calligraphy was described by Sengyou in Sengyou’s Catalogue as being, “very tidy calligraphy with a dense structure 書甚緊潔”.⁵⁸ This very short description of his calligraphy reflected the sublimely spiritual world of a Buddhist monk as well as a scribe. However, when examined more carefully, the calligraphy of Zhu Fashou’s manuscript reveals a static, hesitant, and over-cautious nature, one illustration being that the axis of the vertical lines lack fluent flow (*hangqi* 行氣) in the composition. This is because the manuscript was a copy from a model (*linxie* 臨寫) and not an original.

Meanwhile in 294 CE, Dharmarakśa 竺法護 translated the *Acaladharmamudrā Sūtra* 聖法印經, at Jiuquan 酒泉, with Ju Fashou as his scribe. Ju Fashou’s written vow was “may the profound dharma be disseminated in ten directions, and the great vehicle established forever.”⁵⁹ In the same year, the other two

⁵⁸ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷7慧印三昧及濟方等學二經序讚第十六 “...其軸題雲，燉煌菩薩沙門支法護所出，竺法首筆受，共爲一卷，寫以流通，軸用淳漆，書甚緊潔，點製可觀，究尋義趣，或微或顯” (CSZJJ, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 50, b12-p. 51, a5)

⁵⁹ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷7聖法印經記第十七（天竺名阿遮曇摩文圖）出經後記“元康四年十二月二十五日（294 CE），月支菩薩沙門曇法護，於酒泉演出此經，弟子竺法首筆受，令此深法普流十方大乘常住。” (CSZJJ, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 51, b4-7)

sūtras *Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhī Sṣtra* 佛說慧印三昧經, and *Sarvavaipulyavidyāsiddhī Sṣtra* 佛說濟諸方等學經, were also written down by Zhu Fashou. The written vow of *Buddhasaṃgītī-sūtra* and *Acaladharmamudrā Sūtra* is a decisive indicator that Zhu Fashou was a well-trained professional Buddhist scribe who adhered to a solemn *bodhicitta* (*bodhayecittampariṇāmya*) vow.

Turning back to the tradition of sacred writing culture, it raises the question: who taught the foreign monks to write Chinese calligraphy in the very early phase of Buddhist text translation team? Was his teacher the senior scribe Nie Chengyuan, who had been a member of Dharmarakṣa's translation team for the longest time? He was in fact the oldest and probably most skilled scribe and calligrapher in the group, Nie Chengyuan certainly would be a chief candidate. (Table 4) In order to clarify this point, we comprehensively surveyed the records from *CSZJJ* of the important Buddhist scribes who attended Dharmarakṣa's translation team and had written down at least two Buddhist sūtras as listed in the Table 3 below.

From the Table 4, it clearly shows that the earliest record of Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 in *CSZJJ* was his translation of the *Suvikrāntacintidevaputrapariprccha Sūtra* 須真天子經 in 266 CE, and the last record was his translation of the *Daśabhūmika Sūtra* 漸備一切智經 in 297 CE. The time span of his membership of the translation team was at least 30 years. According to *CSZJJ*,⁶⁰ Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 was intelligent and possessed a firm aspiration to help Dharmarakṣa promote Buddhism. He and his son devoted most of their lives to

⁶⁰ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷13竺法護傳第七“…初護於西域得超日明經胡本譯出，頗多繁重，時有信士聶承遠，乃更詳正文偈，刪為二卷，今之所傳經是也，承遠明練有才理篤志法務，護公出經多參正焉。”(*CSZJJ*, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 97, c19–p. 98, b2)

transcribing Buddhist texts.⁶¹ According to records in the *LDSBJ*,⁶² Dharmarakṣa's translation project began in 265 CE, the first year of the Taishi era, Emperor Wudi of the Western Jin 晉武帝太始元年, and lasted until 308 CE, the 2nd year of Yongjia, Emperor Huaidi 晉懷帝永嘉二年. A total of 154 sūtras and 309 fascicles *juan* 卷 were translated by Dharmarakṣa. Much of the responsibility pertaining to the assistance of the writing translation team was given to Nie Chengyuan “ [清] 信士聶承遠執筆助翻卷軸最多 (T49. 64 c19-20)”,⁶³ who had been working as a scribe for nearly thirty years before Zhu Fashou (292 CE), Bo Yuanxin 帛元信, Zhi Fadu 支法度 (297 CE), Kang Shu 康殊, and Bo Faju 帛法炬 (307 CE), joined Dharmarakṣa's translation team. Thirty years was unquestionably a long enough period of time for a dedicated and talented individual such as Nie Chengyuan to cultivate and achieve a very high level of expertise and artistry. He was probably the teacher of the other scribes, both Chinese and foreign monks. Who else amongst this group was more qualified than he? Dharmarakṣa translated these sūtras in Chang'an or Luoyang, two cities where Nie Chengyuan was also active. His calligraphic training may have been directly influenced by the Central China or Zhong You's model calligraphy.

The aforementioned information indicates that Nie Chengyuan was the oldest and most skilled scribe in Dharmarakṣa's translation team and was active until the end of the 3rd century. There is a very distinct possibility that he may have taught his students to write the

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² 隋·費長房《歷代三寶紀》卷6 “月支國沙門曇摩羅察，晉言法護，本姓支，歷游西域解三十六國語及書，從天竺國大齋梵本婆羅門經，來達玉門，因居燉煌，遂稱竺氏，後到洛陽及往江左，起武帝世太始元年，至懷帝世永嘉二年，其間在所遇緣便譯，經信士聶承遠執筆助翻，卷軸最多，而高僧傳唯雲護出一百六十五部，僧祐出三藏集記止錄一百五十四部三百九卷，其中釋道安錄，又闕四部祐足。” (*LDSBJ*, CBETA, T49, no. 2034, p. 64, c14-20)

⁶³ Ibid.

sacred teachings of the Buddha in the standard or the clerical script. We can reasonably assume that, after his death, Nie Chengyuan's calligraphy of these Buddhist texts would in fact be copied and modeled by other scribes and Buddhists. It is also noteworthy that in the above discussion of the scribes and early Buddhist calligraphy, the written vow in the colophon of the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra* (296 CE), and the *Acala dharmamudrā Sūtra* 聖法印經 (294 CE), written by Zhu Fashou, 竺法首 without question proclaims that Zhu Fashou was a well-trained professional Buddhist scribe.

In short, one of the most distinguished scribes, who worked as a scribe in the translation team of Dharmarakṣa 竺法護, was the Chinese Buddhist scribe Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠. He played an extremely important role in the translation team of Dharmarakṣa because most of the translated texts were directly transcribed; or he played some other role, in providing assistance to Dharmarakṣa's translation team. His calligraphy was probably modeled and learned by many foreign scribes in the translation team, and it may be presumed that Nie Chengyuan's own calligraphic style was similar to the manuscript, the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra*, which was copied by Zhu Fashou.

2.3. The Sogdian Buddhist Scribes

According to the *GSZ* 高僧傳, in the Three Kingdoms period, (220–280 CE), there were Buddhist monks from the Western Region of Kangju with the family name of “Kang 康” or “An 安” who were skilled in Chinese calligraphy.⁶⁴ They participated in translation teams to be translators or scribes, such as Kang Senghui, 康僧會 (?–

⁶⁴ Wang Naidong 王乃棟 1991. 《絲綢之路與中國書法藝術：西域書法史綱》 (*Silk Road and Chinese Calligraphic Art: Outline History of Western Region Calligraphy*), 新疆人民出版社 Xinjiang People's Publishing House, Wulumuqi. p.88.

280 CE), a son of Sogdian merchant,⁶⁵ whose ancestors came from India and immigrated to Kangju 康居 in the Western Region for generations.⁶⁶ (Table 4) Kang Senghui 康僧會 was an accomplished Buddhist monk with profound knowledge of traditional Chinese culture and classics. The Sogdian Buddhist monks, Kang Shu 康殊, and Bo Faju 帛法炬 transcribed the *Lalitavistarasūtra* 普曜經 in 308 CE. These surnames related to their geographical origins, Bo Yuanxin 帛元信 and Bo Faju 帛法炬, having the surname Bo 帛, came from Kizil. Zhi Fadu's 支法度 surname indicates he came from Yuezhi, and Kang Shu 康殊, with the surname of Kang, indicates he was a Sogdian from Kangju 康居. Both Bo Yuanxin 帛元信, and Zhi Fadu 支法度, collaborated with Nie Chengyuan 聶承遠 to transcribe the *Daśabhūmika-sūtra* 漸備一切智經 in 297 CE.

The colophon of the *Lalitavistara Sūtra* from *CSZJJ* recorded : “on the day *uposadha* 本齋, in the fifth month of the year wuchen (戊辰), the 2nd year of the Yongjia reign (308 CE), the *bodhisattva śramaṇa* Fahu 法護 was at the Tianshui Monastery, where he held the foreign (*hu*-version) text in his hand, and delivered it into Chinese orally. The *śramaṇa* Kangshu and Bo Faju were scribes, and they wrote down the (bishou 筆受) texts.”⁶⁷

⁶⁵ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》“康僧會,其先康居人,世居天竺,其父因商賈移于交趾。會年十餘歲,二親并亡,以至性聞,既而出家,礪行甚峻,為人弘雅有識量篤志好學,明練三藏博覽六典,天文圖緯多所貫涉,辯於樞機頗屬文翰。時孫權稱制江左,而未有佛教,會欲運流大法,乃振錫東游,以赤烏十年(247 CE)至建業,營立茅茨設像行道。”(*CSZJJ*, CBETA, T50, no. 2059, p. 325, a13–p. 326, b8)

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ 梁·僧祐《出三藏記集》卷7普曜經記第六 (*CSZJJ*, CBETA, T55, no. 2145, p. 48, b28–c1)

《出三藏記集》卷7普曜經記第六 “永嘉二年 (308 CE) 太歲在戊辰五月本齋，菩薩沙門法護在天水寺，手執胡本，口宣晉言，時筆受者，沙門康殊，帛法巨。”

Since both Kang Shu 康殊, who was Sogdian, and Bo Faju 帛法炬, who came from the Western Region, joined the translation team as scribes to transcribe the Buddhist texts into Chinese, they may have learned and studied Chinese calligraphy previously for many years.

A point to consider concerning the identity of the Buddhist scribes from the list in Table 3, is that there was an increasing number of scribes from the Western Region who joined Dharmarakśa's translation group after Zhu Fashou 竺法首. From the late Eastern Han onwards, the Sogdians immigrated to the Central Plain along the Hexi Corridor and inter-married with the Chinese.⁶⁸ They were astute merchants conducting business along the Silk Road, and were also accomplished horsemen, hunters, and craftsmen.⁶⁹ In the Northern and Southern Dynasties, the term “Hu” 胡 or “Zhaowu Jiuxing” 昭武九姓, referred to the nine family names of the Sogdians and represented families of the same origin, Kangju, such as Kang 康, He 何, Shi 史, Shi 石, Cao 曹, Mi 米, An 安...etc.⁷⁰ (Table 4)

⁶⁸ Wu Yugui 吳玉貴 1997, 〈涼州粟特胡人安氏家族研究〉 (*Research on the Sogdian An Family of Liangzhou*), 《唐研究》 *Journal of Tang Studies*, 1997-3, 北京大學 Peiking University, Beijing. p. 303.

⁶⁹ It was said that Zhu Geliang 諸葛亮 cooperated with Sogdians to defeat Cao Cao 曹操 in the Three Kingdoms periods.

⁷⁰ Wu Yugui 吳玉貴 1997. p. 303.

Table 4: The most common Sogdian surnames and their place of origin :

(the region around Samarkand that straddles modern-day Tajikistan and Uzbekistan)

Clan	Chinese	Regions in Central Asia
An	安	Bukhara
Cao	曹	Kabudhan, Gubdan (north of the Zerafshan River)
He	何	Kushaniyah (between Samarkand and Bukhara)
Kan	康	Samarkand
Mi	米	Maimurgh (either southeast of the Zerafshan River or Panjikent)
Shi	史	Kesh (modern Shahrīsabz)
Shi	石	Chach (modern Tashkent)

(From Valerie Hansen, *The Impact of the Silk Road Trade on a Local Community: The Turfan Oasis, 500-800*, p.287)⁷¹

According to records from Buddhist literary resources, some types of script which were used for Buddhist calligraphy were standard script *Zhengshu* 正書 cursive 草書, and cursive-clerical *Caoli* 草隸.⁷² As cursive script was in the early 4th century that the now famous and accomplished Wang Xizhi, 王羲之 (ca.303–361 CE). Under the influence of cursive style by Wang Xizhi, a type of faster writing “cursive-clerical” was developed. According to the *GSZ*, there were two Sogdianas from the Western Region,

⁷¹ Valerie HANSEN 2005, *The Impact of the Silk Road Trade on a Local Community: The Turfan Oasis, 500-800, Les Sogdiens en Chine*, Paris : Ecole française d’Extreme-Orient, p. 287

⁷² See Appendix 4 in TSUI Chung-hui (2010) PhD thesis, pp. 423-425.

Kang Fashi 康法識 and Kang Xin 康昕, contemporaries of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (ca.303–361 CE), who were both famous for copying Buddhist sūtras and skilled at writing *Caoli* 草隸. The public was very impressed by their style of calligraphy. They had the ability to copy the Wang Xizhi style so precisely that it was impossible to distinguish theirs from the real thing.⁷³ There are no existing manuscripts or fragments of Kang Fashi 康法識 or Kang Xin 康昕 that have been found to date, but, given what is stated as historical record, it may logically be presumed that the Buddhist scribes from the Western Region were quite capable of writing Chinese calligraphy in the 4th century which was at an equally high level as that of the calligraphic sage Wang Xizhi.

As legend has it, a copy of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* made in Standard script was written by a Sogdian Buddhist monk, An Huize 安慧則 (active ca. 307–313 CE, a contemporary of Dharmarakṣa). The “GSZ” states that⁷⁴ An Huize was not a scholarly and determined boy but, upon reaching adulthood, he went on to become famous for his eloquence and skill at writing Standard script calligraphy 正書 during the Yongjia reign at the Dashi Monastery 大市寺 in Luoyang.⁷⁵ At one point he made a

⁷³ 梁·慧皎《高僧傳》卷4 “康法識 (c.374) 亦有義學之功，而以草隸知名，嘗遇康昕，昕自謂筆道過識，識共昕各作右軍草，傍人竊以為貨，莫之能別，又寫眾經甚見重之。” (GSZ, CBETA, T50, no. 2059, p. 348, b2-7)

⁷⁴ 梁·慧皎《高僧傳》卷10 “安慧則，未詳氏族，少無恒性卓越異人而工正書善談吐，晉永嘉中天下疫病，則晝夜祈誠，願天神降藥以愈萬民，一日出寺門見兩石形如甕，則疑是异物，取看之，果有神水在內，病者飲服莫不皆愈，後止洛陽大市寺，手自細書黃縑寫大品經一部，合為一卷，字如小豆，而分明可識，凡十餘本，以一本與汝南周仲智妻胡母氏供養，胡母過江齋經自隨，後為災火所延，倉卒不暇取經，悲泣懊惱，火息後乃於灰中得之，首軸顏色一無虧損，於時同見聞者莫不迴邪改信，此經今在京師簡靖寺首尼處，時洛陽又有康慧持者，亦神異通靈雲，” (GSZ, CBETA, T50, no. 2059, p. 389, b9-22)

⁷⁵ Ibid.

copy of the larger version of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* 大品經 (摩訶般若波羅蜜經), totaling ten volumes of work,⁷⁶ on a particular variety of very fine silk for the purpose of making it as an offering. The characters of his writing were small, the size of beans, yet they could still be clearly read.⁷⁷ He sent his manuscript on silk as a gift to a military general, Zhou Min 周閔, who was a pious Buddhist in the Western Jin.⁷⁸ Every indication from historical records indicates that An Huize studied and learned Chinese calligraphy during the late 3rd century in Central China. It would seem so unlikely as to make it almost an impossibility that his Standard script calligraphic style was not influenced by the Zhong You tradition.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ The larger version *Mahāprajñāpāramitā Sūtra* 大品經 copied by An Huize was probably the version translated by Dharmarakṣa 竺法護 in 286 C.E., it was *Pañcaviṃśati-sāhasrikā-prajñāramit* 光讚經 (*T 222.8.147a–216b.*) in ten fascicles with a total of 25,000 lines.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, same as footnote 79.

⁷⁸ 唐·道世《法苑珠林》卷18“晉周閔，汝南人也，晉護軍將軍，世奉法，蘇峻之亂都邑人士皆東西滅遷，閔家有大品一部，以半幅八丈素反覆書之，又有餘經數囊，大品亦雜在其中，既當避難單行不能得盡持去，尤惜大品不知在何囊中，倉卒應去，不展尋搜裴回嘆咤，不覺大品忽自出外，閔驚喜持去，周氏遂世寶之，今雲尚在，一說雲，周嵩婦胡母氏有素書大品，素廣五寸，而大品一部盡在焉，又并有舍利，銀甕貯之，并緘於深篋，永嘉之亂胡母將避兵南奔，經及舍利自出篋外，因取懷之以渡江東，又嘗遇火不暇取經，及屋盡火滅得之於灰燼之下，儼然如故，會稽王道子就嵩曾雲，求以供養，後嘗暫在新渚寺，劉敬叔雲，曾親見此經，字如麻大巧密分明，新渚寺今天安是也，此經蓋得道僧釋慧則所寫也，或云，嘗在簡靖寺，靖首尼讀誦之” (*FYZL*, CBETA, T53, no. 2122, p. 417, b5–21)

⁷⁹ Sun Chuanpo 孫傳波, 2007, 〈旅順博物館藏吐魯番出土北朝時期佛經殘片書體探源〉 (*Origin of the Calligraphy of the Buddhist Manuscripts of the Northern Dynasty Unearthed from Turfan in Lüshun Museum Collection*), 《大連文物》, 2007-11, http://www.whj.dl.gov.cn/info/158883_179189.vm. “對於寫經體的書法特色歷來方家多有論述。有的認為‘是從隸到楷衍變過程中，形形色色的楷書體’，有的認為寫經體是隸書體向楷體的過渡，但多數論者是從書法特點的角度來分析，且多以敦煌寫經為範本來進行研究，很少涉及吐魯番北朝寫經體的具體特點與其書體之源。”

3. Conclusion

In the history of Chinese calligraphy, the mature Clerical script 隸書 gradually developed into the Running script 行書, next to Draft cursive script 章草, and then into Standard script 正書 during the Eastern Han dynasty (25-220 CE), which marked the first peak period of the development of calligraphy in Chinese history. It occurred at that point in time when Buddhism was introduced into China. Examining of the calligraphic styles of Buddhist manuscripts based on an analysis of early Buddhist scriptures before 500 CE and the calligraphic styles used by Central Asian Buddhist translators, scribes or laymen in copying Buddhist texts, various calligraphic styles were adopted in copying Buddhist texts such as Standard script, running or cursive scripts. Therefore, the Standard script in Zhong You tradition was the main writing script form used in copying sacred sūtras before the 5th century.

Before the invention of printing technology, the ancient books, or Buddhist texts, were all dependent on scribes for copying. Despite their immeasurable importance, these scribes remain unknown and were ignored by historians or art historians. In the process of spreading Buddhism into China, Buddhist monks, translators, scribes, and members of the laity joined translation teams to translate, write down, or copy Buddhist texts. During the initial stage, the scribes were mainly local Chinese. From the late 3rd century and early 4th century onwards, there were more Buddhist scribes from Central Asia either joining the translation team or copying Buddhist texts for circulation. As Chinese calligraphy in the early Buddhist scribal culture received little scholarly attention in the history of Buddhism. The discussion in this paper is only a brief guide of Buddhist scribes and the scripts used in early translation team. Based on the new excavations from Dunhuang and Turfan, it still needs a further study of early dated manuscripts to shed light of the sacred writing culture along the Silk Road.

List of Abbreviation

Abbreviation	Titl of Books	Chinese
GSZ	<i>Biography of Eminent Monks</i>	高僧傳
CSZJJ	<i>Compilation of Notes on the Translation of the Tripitaka</i>	出三藏記集
FYZL	<i>Pearl Forest in Dharma Garden</i>	法苑珠林
LDSBJ	<i>The Record of the Historical Transmission of the Three Treasures</i>	歷代三寶紀
GJYJTJ	<i>An Illustrated Record of Translated Scriptures Past and Present</i>	古今譯經圖紀
ZYXDSJML	<i>Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures, Newly Authorized during Zhen Yuan</i>	貞元新定釋教目錄

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Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra Found at Turfan and the Sūtra Translated by the Eminent Monk of Dunhuang Dharmarakṣa), 《敦煌學輯刊》(Collected Articles on Dunhuang Studies) 1983-4, 敦煌學輯刊編輯部 Dunhuang Studies Series Journal Editorial Board, Lanzhou.

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List of Figures



Figure 1. The earliest existing Buddhist manuscript, the Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra, 諸佛要集經 dated 296 CE, was found at the Buddhist site, Toyuq, in Turfan in 1908 (From : Chinese Calligraphy, p.147.)

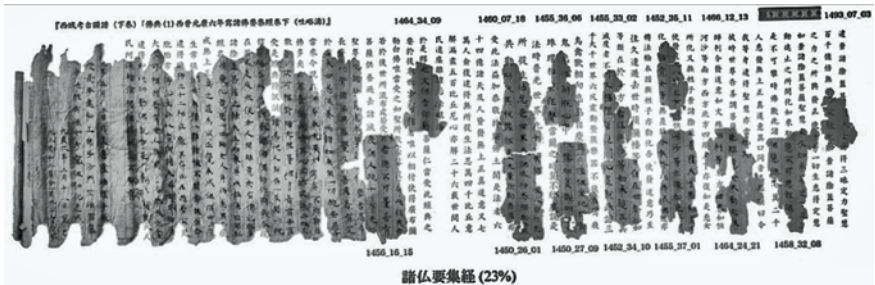


Figure 1a. Fragments of the Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra 諸佛要集經, Ink on paper.

Dated 296 CE (the 6th year of Yuankang reign in the Western Jin 西晉元康六年), excavated from Toyuq, Turfan.

(The picture was reconstructed from several fragments of the *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra*. The largest one on the left went missing after it was first published in 1915 in the *Seiiki kōko zufu*. The 14 smaller fragments on the right were rediscovered during a research project conducted by the Lüshun Museum and the Ryukoku University Library from 2003 to 2006.)

From : 旅順博物館藏新疆出土漢文佛經選粹 (Selections of Chinese Buddhist Manuscripts from Lushun Museum Collection) p.2

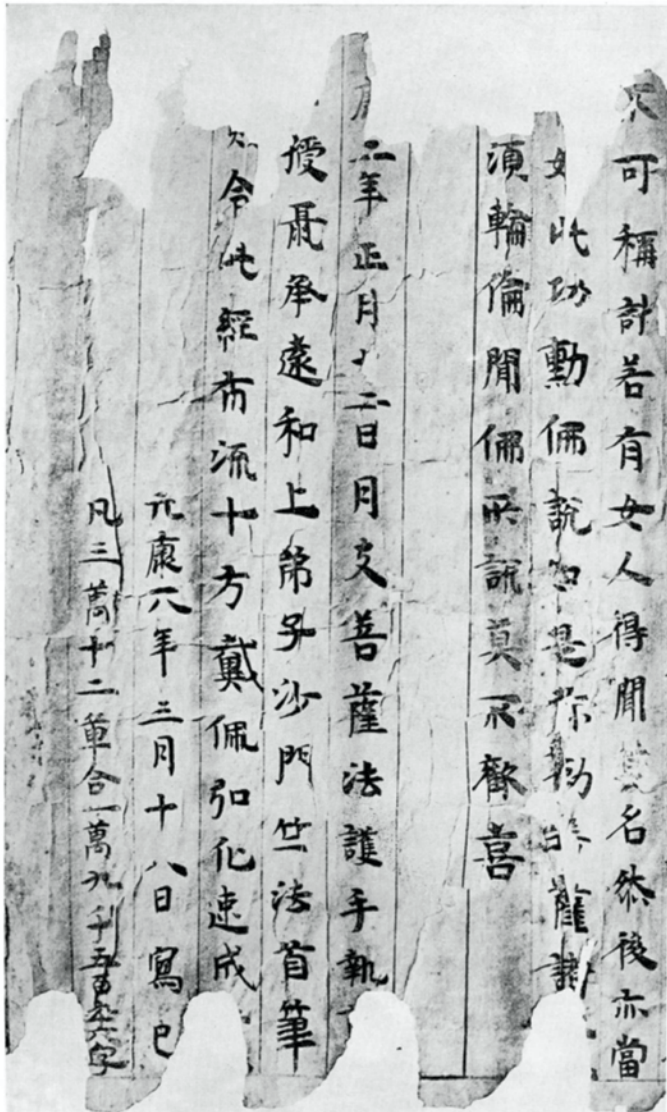


Figure 2. The colophon of *Buddhasaṃgīti-sūtra*.

From : Nigensha, 1967. *Rikuchō shakei shū* 六朝寫經集 (Collection of Buddhist Manuscripts of the Six Dynasties), p.1.

譬喻經第廿
出廣演品

昔佛在舍衛國說法教化天龍鬼神帝王人民三
 時聽經彼時國王名波斯匿為人憍慢放恣
 情欲日盛於色可訖於聲鼻著臭香口落五
 味身受細滑食餽極美初无厭足食遂多
 恒苦飢渴憂鬱而思處以食為常身體肥盛
 乘輦不暇臥起吟嘖苦極羸羸自輒絕
 驚經時驚覺坐臥身呻吟患苦身重不能轉
 側以身為患便勅羸駕往到佛所侍者扶持問
 信却坐又奉白佛言世尊遠侍覲省諮受无階

Figure 3. *The Sūtra on the Metaphor*, 譬喻經出廣演品

Dated the first year of Ganlu reign in the Former Qin (359 CE).
359.24 x 239.3 mm, ink on paper, (figure from Chinese Calligraphy,
p.170)

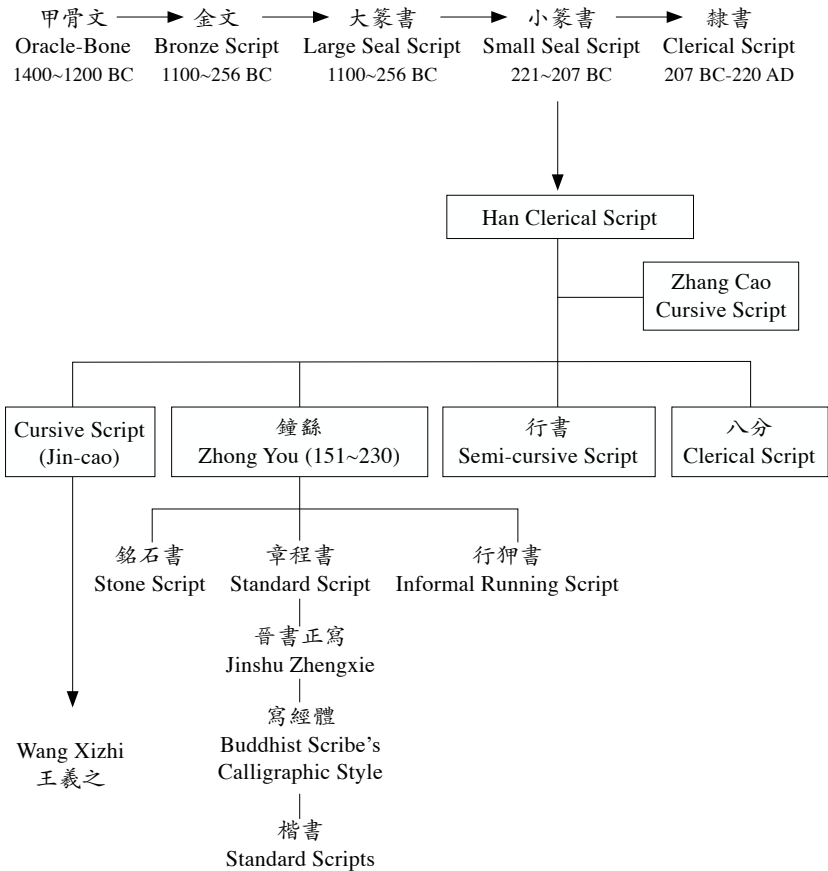


Figure 4. Evolution of styles of Chinese calligraphy

The transformation of various scripts from Clerical Script in the Han Dynasty



Figure 5. *Dhammapada* 法句經, translation attributed to Zhi Qian (支謙).

135 cm × 24.9 cm, scroll, ink on yellow hemp paper 黃麻紙,
Gansu Provincial Museum collection,

From: Xu Zufan 徐祖藩, 1985, 《敦煌遺書書法選》 (*Selection of Dunhuang Manuscripts Calligraphy*)



Figure 5a. Enlargement of calligraphy of *Dhammapada* 法句經



Figure 5b. *Biography of Sun Quan*

(in *History of the Kingdom of Wu*) 三國志吳志孫權傳, retaining strong influence from the writing of bamboo slips.

鍾元常像



Figure 6. Portrait of Zhong You
From : *Shodō zenshū*, V.3, p.24.



魏季直表(真賞齋帖)

Figure 6a. Rubbing of Zhong You Memorial Recommending Jhi zhi 薦季直表, 12.6 x 40.4 cm

Wei of Three Kingdoms, 221 CE, was a work of the later phase by Zhong You,

From Zhen Shang Zhai Tie 真賞齋帖, a model calligraphy book of the Ming dynasty, Palace Museum, Beijing.

From : *Shodō zenshū*, V.3, p.111.

佛教对儒家和道教在孝道观上批判的回应

广兴

香港大学佛学研究中心助理教授

当佛教初传入中国的时候，佛教就面对中国文化、尤其是儒家的挑战。儒家学者对佛教的批评主要是从伦理道德的角度展开的，因为佛教主张从个人道德修养开始，最后达到解脱，这与儒家主张的以家庭社会为主的教导不同的。特别是佛教主张僧人要独身、剃发、离家而出家修行，这与儒家的孝道相违背。儒家的《孝经》讲道：「身体发肤，受之父母，不敢毁伤，孝之始。」这些都在成书于公元二世纪的《牟子理惑论》中有记载。别外一个对佛教不利的因素是，从汉代开始，儒家成了统给中国的主要思想，「以孝治天下」的思想成为主流，经过各代相传直到明清。中国佛教徒从理论和实践的两方面作了积极的响应。因此，中国人最终接受了佛教，并且认为佛教是一个讲孝道的宗教。早期的佛教学者如陈观胜，认为孝道在中国佛教中占有特别的地位。实际上印度佛教也是讲孝道的。我在其它的文章中已经讨论过，早期佛教经典如《阿含经》中有很多讲孝道的经典。中国的佛教徒就是把佛经中讲孝道的部分摘录出来，对儒家作了响应，甚至认为，佛教的孝道在理论上和实践都甚过儒家。但是我们必需承认，儒家与佛教在孝道理论与实践上的分歧是永远都没有解决，因为儒家和佛教的人生哲学根本不同。在理论方面，中国佛教徒作了以下三方面的响应(1)翻译相关的经典，并在现有的经典中找出讲孝道的部分，(2)撰写论文来反驳，如牟子的《理惑论》和契嵩的《孝论》，(3)重新解释佛教的戒律，提出佛教的戒律与儒家的孝道相同。在实践方面，中国佛教徒作了

以下两方面的响应 (1) 编写讲孝道的经典，如《父母恩重经》，(2) 通过对大众的讲演，在墙壁上和绢上绘画变相图，每年举办盂兰盆节来普及讲孝道的佛教经典，如《菩萨睺子经》和《盂兰盆经》。前三种是佛教学者的响应，后两种则是普通佛教徒的回应。在这里我只讲 (1) 翻译相关的经典，(2) 撰写论文来反驳，(3) 普及讲孝道的佛教经典。因为其它两种，我已经撰写专门论文来讨论。¹

一、翻译相关的经典

翻译讲孝道的经典，可以说是对儒家批评佛教不讲孝道的一种最好的、直接的响应。从后汉到宋代，大约有十四种直接讲孝道的经典，三十二种相关的经典译成了中文（请看下表）。但是，这只是一个大约的数字，因为中译的佛教经典浩瀚，难以一下清理出来。

朝代	与孝道直接有关的经典	相关的经典	总数
1) 后汉 (25-220)	2	1	3
2) 三国两晋 (220-420)	8	10	18
3) 南北朝 (420-581)	5	10	14
4) 隋唐 (581-907)	3	10	13
5) 五代和宋 (907-1279)	0	2	2
总数	14	32	46

¹ 第一篇是：〈孝名为戒：中国人对佛教孝道观的发展〉，第二篇是：〈《父母恩重经》研究〉。

宋代以后，佛经翻译就停止了，所以没有新译的经典出现。这里我就以时间顺序来讨论有关讲孝道经典的翻译。

这里我把与孝道有关的经典分成两部分，第一部分是直接或间接讲孝道的经典，我们要讨论这些经典是如何讲孝道的和为什么讲孝道，第二部分是讲佛陀和佛陀的弟子对孝道的实践。有关孝道的经典的翻译，早在后汉就开始了。安世高首先译出《父母恩难报经》(大正藏第684经)与《尸迦罗越六方礼经》(大正藏第16经)。《父母恩难报经》与南传的《增支部》的〈知恩经〉相同，全经就是讲孝道的。本经讲到，父母对子女之恩浩大无比，子女是很难以依食住行等方面的服务来报答父母之恩的，子女只有通过引导父母做善事才能报答父母之恩。

闻如是，一时婆伽婆在舍卫城祇树给孤独园，尔时世尊，告诸比丘：父母于子有大增益，乳哺长养，随时将育，四大得成。右肩负父，左肩负母，经历千年，正使便利背上，然无有怨心于父母，此子犹不足报父母恩。

比丘当知，若父母无信心者令住正信，若父母无戒者令持禁戒，若父母性慳者令行布施，若父母无智慧者令生智慧。若子能如是，其能报恩，甚过父母之恩。

此经与瞿昙僧伽提婆所译的《增壹阿含经》的第11卷11经相同，只是《增壹阿含经》中的经没有提到四种报恩的方法。

这个经在印度一定是很普及，因为在很多的中译印度经典当中都引用此经，如姚秦竺佛念于374年译出的《出曜经》，僧伽跋澄等于385年译出的《僧伽罗刹所集经》，刘宋佛陀什共竺道生等于423 or 424年译出的《弥沙塞部和酰五分律》，《佛说阿速达经》求那跋陀罗于435-443年间译出的《佛说阿速达经》，北凉天竺沙门浮陀跋摩共道泰等于437-439年间译出的《阿毘昙毘

婆沙论》，元魏吉迦夜共昙曜于472年译出的《杂宝藏经》，唐玄奘650年译出的《本事经》和于656-659年间译出的《阿毘达磨大毘婆沙论》，唐地婆诃罗于676-688年间译出的《最胜佛顶陀罗尼净除业障咒经》，唐义净于700-711年间译出的《根本说一切有部毘奈耶》和《根本说一切有部毘奈耶药事》。

这说明孝的思想与实践在印度佛教，从早期到大乘都是一个很重要的伦理教育。以上的《父母恩难报经》最少在中译的二十多个印度传来经典与论著中引用。我们推论，《父母恩难报经》本应在《增壹阿含经》中，但是当安世高或者其它的译经者来到中国的时候，正值大力提倡孝道的汉代。而且佛教又受到以儒家为主的中国人的批评，说佛教徒不孝。这一点当然在《牟子理惑论》中已经提到。所以译经者或在中国佛教徒的请求下，或者是自己看到当时注重孝道的环境，因此把此经从《增壹阿含经》摘录出来，并以《父母恩难报经》为题以单本译出而流传。本经题目的撰择非常好，因为它直接说明了本经的思想。

以《父母恩难报经》为蓝本，中国佛教徒撰写了广为流传的《父母恩重经》，本书大约在公元七世纪末成书。《父母恩重经》出现之后就受到普通民众的喜爱和欢迎，所以它在普通民众当中以各种形式广为流传，如法师的讲经和唱经，根据经文的内容用绘画的形式把它画在墙上或洞窟里，这叫变相，也有把经文雕刻在石块上，以永久保存。到了八、九世纪的时候，就是有学问的佛教高僧如宗密也接受了它，所以宗密在其所写的《孟兰盆经疏》中大段的引用了此经。

佛教的《父母恩重经》甚至影响了道教，他们也编写了与佛教经典类似的三本有关孝道的经典：《太上老君说报父母恩重经》、《玄天上帝说报父母恩重经》、《太上真一报父母恩重经》。

第二是安世高译的《尸迦罗越六方礼经》，它的主要思想是教导在家佛教徒如何尊敬六个群体的人群：父母、妻子、老师、亲戚、工人和宗教师，而不是礼拜六个方向。其基本思想是教育人们遵守社会的法则和制度。所以本经在汉代是非常相应的，因为汉代的政府实行以人的行为，尤其是孝道的实践，来撰官的。本经后来又有竺法护译的《大六向拜经》但已经丢失。第三个译本是支法度于301年所译的《善生子经》。这三个都是独立的译本。此经本来是收集在《长阿含经》和《中阿含经》中，我们可以推论，把它译成独立的单行本，也是时代的需要。²在巴利三藏中的《长部经》也有此经。

《别译杂阿含第88经》也是讲孝道的，讲子女如何像尊敬天神一样的去尊敬父母。此经在巴利三藏中的《增支部》出现过两次，在《自说》出现过一次。本经重要是因为它讲如何尊敬父母，因为孔子讲道：「今之孝者，是谓能养。至于犬马，皆能有养；不敬，何以别乎。」（《论语·为政》）此经说明佛教也强调同样父母的尊敬。

三藏般若于790所译的《大乘本生心地观经》的第二品就名为「报恩品」，其中所讲的就如何报答四种恩：父母、众生、国王和三宝，以及母亲的十恩德。这四恩后来成了东亚佛教讲四恩的主要思想。这里我们可以看到，在孝道实践和理论方面由父母而发展到了四种人群。这一点很重要，因为在魏晋南北朝时，人们讨论僧人是否要礼拜皇帝的问题。当然最后僧人还是礼拜皇帝。

² 在《长阿含经》和《中阿含经》中的经名为《善生经》，分别是16号和136号。

瞿昙般若流支于元魏 (538-541) 时所译的《正法念处经》也讲到四恩，但是经中提到四个群体与《大乘本生心地观经》的四个群体不同：父、母、如来和师长。但是这个并没有在中国和东亚流行起来。此外《大方便佛报恩经》在其第二品〈孝养品〉中也讲到的孝道。

第二部分是讲对孝道的实践，我们可以把它分成三组。第一组是讲佛陀在此生的孝行，第二组是讲佛陀在前生的孝行，第三组是讲佛陀的弟子的孝行。有关佛陀在此生行孝的经典有由西晋 (265-316) 竺法护所译的《佛升忉利天为母说法经》，本经主要讲，佛陀的生母在生下太子七天后就死去而生在天上，佛陀在成道后上天为母讲法。这个故事在北传《杂阿含506经》，《增壹阿含经》〈36听法品〉的第五经都有讲到，在南传的巴利注疏中也有，如觉音写的《长部疏》(*Atthasālinī*)和《法句经疏》中都有。³这是一个典型的讲佛陀行孝的经典，但是中译的《佛升忉利天为母说法经》从经题上看是讲孝道的，但是从内容上看则是大乘佛教的思想的，与《般若经》相似。与此经相似的还有两个译本，西晋安法于306年所译的《佛说道神足无极变化经》和萧齐释昙景于479-502年间所译的《摩诃摩耶经》。

第二个经是沮渠京声于455年所译的《净饭王般涅槃经》。本经主要讲，佛陀的父亲净饭王要去世了，派使者请佛陀回家与父亲相见，于是佛陀就赶回去。但是当佛陀到家时，他的父亲净饭王已去世，于是佛陀参加了父亲的葬礼。这个故事也在南传佛典中有，说这是佛陀在成道五年后发生的事，并且说，佛陀为父亲在空中说法，净饭王听法后证得了阿罗汉果而后去世。

³ 南传佛教觉音《法聚论注》(*Atthasālinī*) (牛津：巴利圣典会，1979)，i.15；南传《法句经注》(牛津：巴利圣典会，1993)，iii, 47。

第三个是西晋白法祖所译的《佛说大爱道般泥洹经》，本经还有慧简于457年的异译本《佛母般泥洹经》，而且《增壹阿含经》的〈52 大爱道般涅槃品〉也与本经相同。根据佛教的传统，大爱道是佛陀生母摩耶夫人的亲妹妹，因为姐妹二人都嫁与净饭王，所以大爱道是佛陀的姨母。当摩耶夫人在生下太子七天就去世后，佛陀是由姨母大爱道抚养成人。本经主要讲，当佛的姨母大爱道去世后，佛陀来收了她的骨灰。这也是行孝的典型。南传佛教小部的《譬喻》的〈长老尼譬喻〉就收了这故事。根据南传佛教的《律藏》，当姨母大爱道生病时，佛陀亲自来看望她并为她讲法。⁴

讲佛陀在前生修菩萨行时孝行的经典有很多，最早的中文译本是圣坚译的《菩萨睺子经》。根据僧佑的518年完成的《出三藏记集》，道安的经录中无此经记录，于是僧佑把它附在了西晋录后。另外还有三个注明是「乞伏秦三藏法师释圣坚译」的《睺子经》。都收录在大正藏。此经也收录在僧伽跋澄等于385年译的《僧伽罗刹所集经》，⁵康僧会于251年译的《六度集经》的第四十三〈睺道士本生〉，⁶吉迦夜共昙曜于472年译的《杂宝藏经》中的第二个故事〈王子以肉济父母缘〉。本经是南传佛教《小部》的《本生经》的第五百四十个故事。本经主要讲，佛陀在前生修菩萨行时生在了婆罗门家庭，名叫睺子，他的父母双亲都双目失明，但是根据婆罗门教的教义，人到老年时

⁴ 南传佛教《律部》英译第二册第277页。

⁵ CBETA, T04, no. 194, p. 116, c27-p. 117, a10.

⁶ 《六度集经》所收录是佛本生故事。(CBETA, T03, no. 152, p. 24, b14-p. 25, a14).

要到森林里修行，叫森林期，是人生四个阶段的最后一个时期。睽子为了让他的双目失明的父母双亲，能够无忧无虑到森林里修行，于是他决定不结婚，跟随父母一起来到森林里，供养他们衣食。这当然是典型的行孝了。此故事在中国很普及，以致到宋代时儒家把它收录在二十四孝当中。⁷

《杂宝藏经》共收录一百二十一个故事，其中有十个故事是讲孝道的。除开上面已经提到的两个故事外〔（二）王子以肉济父母缘，（五）佛于忉利天上为母摩耶说法缘〕，其它的八个故事都讲的是佛陀在前生修菩萨行时以不同的身份行孝（1）普通人，（2）动物，（3）鸟类等。首先，佛陀在前生作为人行孝的有四个，第（四）弃老国缘，讲菩萨在前生曾说服国王废除一个不良的传统，这个传统是当人老了的时候就被抛弃了，因为他们没有用了。因此菩萨救了他父亲一命。第（一四）波罗奈国有一长者子共天神感王行孝缘，是讲菩萨在前生是一位长老的儿子，他和天神一起说服国王行孝。第（一六）波罗奈国弟微谏兄遂彻承相劝王教化天下缘，是讲兄弟两说服国家的臣相，再由臣相说服国王在其国内讲孝道。第（七）慈童女缘，是讲一个青年女子行孝。菩萨前生作为动物而行孝的有，（九）鹿女夫人缘，讲鹿母与其子女的故事。（一五）迦尸国王白香象养盲父母并和二国缘，是讲菩萨前生作为大象时也曾供养他的盲父母，并且让两个国家和好。（一〇六）鬼子母失子缘，是讲鬼子母受佛化的故事。（三）鸚鵡子供养盲父母缘，是讲菩萨前生作为鸚鵡子时供养盲父母的故事。

⁷ 陈观胜先生对《佛说菩萨睽子经》有很详细的研究，请读“Filial Piety in Chinese Buddhism” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol. 28 (1968), 81-97.

第三组是佛陀的弟子行孝的经典，竺法护于西晋(266-313)时所译的《盂兰盆经》，讲大目犍连救母的故事。这个经对中国佛教的影响最大。另外还有《佛说报恩奉盆经》，译者译时都已失，大约在东晋(317-420)。《盂兰盆经》是讲，佛陀的大弟子目犍连的母亲，由于在世时所作的不善业死后而生到地狱。目犍连由神通而知道他的母亲在地狱受苦，自己去救但是不成。于是目犍连请问佛陀，佛告诉他要在七月十五安居过后供僧，以此供僧的功德来救母。目犍连听了佛的教导后，并以教行事救了他的母亲。所以自从六世纪起，中国的民众每年的在农历七月十五，都依照这个故事举办盂兰盆会，期间人们所做的主要是祀祖的活动。到唐代目连救母的故事又被改编成戏剧，搬上了舞台，其主要的作用还是宣传孝道。盂兰盆会的普及也影响了道教，道教建立了中元节，并且在与佛教同一天进行。

实叉难陀于695-700年间所译的《地藏菩萨本愿经》也是讲孝道的。本经中讲到地藏菩萨前生时是一位婆罗门妇女的女儿，她到地狱救父行孝。此经在东亚被认为是典型的讲孝的经典。⁸到了唐代，人们代替去世的亲人用布做成地藏菩萨的形象，来帮助他们。⁹这尤其在妇女当中很流行，以鼓励人们行孝。

⁸ 另外还有一个从敦煌找到的版本，题为《地藏菩萨经》，收在大正藏第八十五册(T85.2909.1455)，现存大英博物馆斯坦英编号S. 197。

⁹ 对地藏菩萨的研究有智如的《中国中世纪地藏：菩萨救世主的形成》*The Making of a Savior Bodhisattva, Dizang in Medieval China*，夏威夷大学出版社2007。

除此之外还有很多经典，虽不是直接讲孝道，但其中有与孝道相关的内容。如支谦于222-280年间所译的《佛说未生冤经》，竺佛念于374年所译的《出曜经》，鸠摩罗什于402-412年间所译的《不思议光菩萨所说经》和《舍利弗问经》，昙无讖于414-421年间所译的《菩萨地持经》和《大般涅槃经》，于426-428年间所译的《优婆塞戒经》，竺道生和佛陀什于423年所译的《弥沙塞部和酰五分律》，强良耶舍于424-442年间所译的《佛说观无量寿佛经》。

由以上的分析可知，中国的佛教徒翻译了大量的直接或间接讲孝道的经典，这样他们就可以（1）对批评佛教不讲孝道的儒家和道教的人士讲，佛教徒不仅讲孝道，而且还实践孝道，（2）驳斥那些对佛教无理的批评。

二、撰写论文反驳

第二种是中国的佛教徒撰写论文，来反驳儒家和道教的人士说佛教不讲孝道的批评，如牟子的《理惑论》和契嵩的《孝论》。这些都是有学问的佛教徒所为。我认为佛教徒的反驳经过了三个阶段的发展，最后佛教学者论证，佛教所讲的孝道比儒家所讲的孝道要殊胜。第一个阶段是从《理惑论》开始到慧远（334-416）；第二个阶段是慧远以后的南北朝时期，这一时期以直接的反驳和论述为主；第三个阶段是隋唐到宋时期，佛教学者把佛教的孝道思想和儒家与道教的作比较。

第一个阶段的反驳是从后汉的牟子到五世纪的慧远，批评佛教的人士所提出的问题基本上是一样的，但是佛教学者的回答则有进一步的提升。他们的回答更加严密，而且直接从佛教经典中引用。这是因为，在这魏晋（220-420）两百多年的时间里，有大量的佛经译出，其次是玄学在文人士族中的盛行，而玄学又与佛

教的般若思想相近，因为前者讨论「无」后者讨论「空」。因此中国的文人对佛教的般若思想也产生了兴趣，并开始与有学问的僧人接蠲和交往。佛教与儒家和道教的不同也越来越分明，矛盾越来越尖锐。中国佛教学者也努力来解释佛教的立场，以响应他们的批评。

牟子的《理惑论》又叫《牟子理惑论》是记载佛教传入中国后受到儒家的挑战和批评的最早的书。后来在魏晋南北朝期间，儒道与佛教辩论的问题和领域都已经在本书中提到。我们从牟子的《理惑论》中知道，佛教的孝道观在三个方面受到了中国人的批评，牟子的反驳是从两个方面进行的，第一，牟子指出在中国历史上就有批评者所批评现象，第二牟子从大量的儒家和道家的经典与传统文化中找出例证，论证在中国也有类似的行为，但是并没有受到儒家的批评，反而赞扬那是具有崇高道德的行为。

第一，中国人批评佛教僧人剃除须发是不孝的行为，并引用儒家的《孝经》以证明。

第九问：「问曰：《孝经》言：『身体发肤，受之父母，不敢毁伤。』曾子临没，启予手，启予足。今沙门剃头，何其违圣人之语，不合孝子之道也。吾子常好论是非，平曲直，而反善之乎？」

牟子反驳到，道德比皮夫和头发更重要。牟子首先举例齐人乘船渡江的故事，父亲堕水后，儿子把父亲从水中救出来，然后把父亲头脚倒立，让水从口中流出，这样他的父亲就苏醒了。若以批评者所言，让父亲头脚颠倒是不孝，但是这样救不了父亲的命。如果以批评者所言，那么父亲命也没有了。牟子然后引用了同样的《孝经》说「先王有至德要道」，古人泰伯到了吴越之地时，也依照当地的风俗「祝发文身」，这也可以说是违背了

「身体发肤之义」，但是孔子称赞那是「至德」，而没有批评他「祝发文身」是毁伤身体的不道德的行为。由此可知，以大德为重，而不拘泥于小的行为。接着牟子又例举「豫让吞炭漆身，聂政剥面自刑；伯姬蹈火，高行截容」的四个例子。于是牟子讲道：如果我们把剃除须发的僧人和这四人相比，他们没有什么不同。牟子的反驳很有力，所以后来儒道人士很少在这方面批评佛教了。

第二，中国人批评佛教的僧人不结婚娶妻生子，所以无后是不孝。

第十问：「问曰：夫福莫踰于继嗣，不孝莫过于无后。沙门弃妻子，捐财货，或终身不娶。何其违福孝之行也？自苦而无奇，自拯而无异矣。」

牟子首先引用老子《道德经》第四十四章「名与身孰亲？身与货孰多？」论证，修身修德比名利和享受世间之乐更重要，所以看上古三代，儒墨两家所讲的「诵诗书，修礼节，崇仁义，视清洁」与修清净无为相比较，那就是普通人的行为了。

因此许由住在树木上，伯夷叔齐饿死在首阳山，孔子称赞他们是贤人，并说：「求仁得仁者也」《论语·李氏》(16.12)，而没有听到孔子批评他们无后。所以僧人以修道德为主，而不乐世间之乐也不为奇了，因为僧人的生活与中国贤人的行为没有什么区别。当然我们必需指出，独生作为一种生活方式在古代中国是不被认可的，尤其是从儒家论理来看，是绝对不赞同的。所以儒家从来也没有对佛教学者所讲的理由满意过。

第三，中国人批评佛教的僧人的穿著、礼仪和习俗与中国的不同，所以是违背了贤人黄帝和圣人孔子的教导。

第十一问：「问曰：黄帝垂衣裳，制服饰；箕子陈洪范，貌为五事首；孔子作孝经，服为三德始。又曰：『正其衣冠，尊其瞻视。』原宪虽贫，不离华冠；子路遇难，不忘结纓。今沙门剃头发，披赤布，见人无跪起之礼，威仪无盘旋之容止，何其违貌服之制，乖搢绅之饰也？」

牟子从两个方面作了回答。第一，上古之时，如三皇之时，人们住在洞穴，食的是肉，穿的兽皮，生活非常简朴，但是人们称赞他们的德行。这与僧人的行为是相似的。第二，中国人的生活方式和佛教的生活方式不同。尧、舜、周、孔等圣人的教导是以治世为主，而佛教和老子的教导是以无为为最高尚。所以孔子周游七十余国，而许由听到要禅位的事就去洗耳，表示不听。因此君子之道，不能以尊崇一种而唾弃别外一种。牟子的这种解释还不够有力，孙绰在其〈喻道论〉中给了有力的回答。

《牟子理惑论》中所论的这三个问题，第一和第三是关于文化传统和风俗习惯的，而第二个问题在儒家来说是重点。但是僧人不娶妻生子的问题，不是简单地引用中国古代历史上的几个孤立的例子就可以回答和解决的问题。

孙绰(314-371)的文章〈喻道论〉收在《弘明集》的第三卷。这篇文章是在《牟子理惑论》之后的一篇重要的讨论儒家与佛教的文章。文章的形式与《牟子理惑论》一样，以问答为主。我们在〈喻道论〉中只找到一个与孝道有关的问题，但它讨论了《牟子理惑论》中提到的三个问题当中的两个，僧人不娶妻生子和毁伤身体。

孙绰在反驳批评者时，他首先引用儒家的《孝经》和《礼记》论述了什么是孝的最高形式。《孝经》一开始就讲的很清楚：「立身行道，扬名于后世，以显父母，孝之终也。」《礼

记·祭义28》「大孝尊亲，其次弗辱，其下能养。」「小孝用力，中孝用劳，大孝不匮。」「博施备物，可谓不匮矣。」孙绰讲到，佛教的僧人出家也是立身行道，是光耀双亲的事。

「故孝之为贵，贵能立身行道，永光厥亲。若匍匐怀袖日御三牲，而不能令万物尊己，举世我赖，以之养亲，其荣近矣。」

然后孙绰讲到，如果忠与孝相比较的话，忠君甚过孝亲，道德甚过全身留后。孙绰进一步引用史书中的有关忠君而不顾亲的例子证明，但是史书的编撰者们并没有把他们的不孝看成是罪，因为这是顺应了大事，而违反了小事。以此为讲孝的基础，孙绰讲到，释迦牟尼佛是一位最好的实践孝道的典范，因为他在成道后，他又劝化了他的父亲，许许多多的人受到了他教化的益处。孙绰讲道：「（佛陀）还照本国，广敷法音，父王感悟，亦升道场。以此荣亲，何孝如之？」孙绰以此又进一步进论，那些离亲出家，为了社会的和平和人民的善益，献身于传播佛法的人，应该是最孝的人，而不是不孝的行为。

孙绰的论证比牟子的有力，因为他用儒家有关孝道的理论，来论证佛教的出家僧人不仅也行孝，而且他们的行为是提倡道德，以此促进社会和平。

孙绰和牟子所讨论的问题，在魏晋南北朝时期成了儒家道教和佛教讨论的中心问题，如「沙门不敬王者论」和「夷夏论」。

东晋时，「沙门不敬王者论」成为讨论的中心问题，但是这还是对孝道批评的继续，因为对儒家而言，孝亲与忠君是一回事，而忠君比孝亲还要重要。这些讨论都收在了《大正藏》五十二册《弘明集》中。庾冰是东晋时的大臣，他向皇帝上表说，沙

门出家之人也要像其它人一样，见到皇帝时要行跪拜之礼，不然国家的礼法就会中断。

因父子之敬，建君臣之序，制法度、崇礼秩，岂徒然哉。良有以也。既其有以，将何以易之，然则名礼之设，其无情乎。……（沙门）矫形骸，违常务。易礼典，弃名教，是吾所甚疑也。名教有由来，百代所不废。……抗殊俗之傲礼，直形骸于万乘。又是吾所弗取也。……礼重矣，敬大矣。为治之纲尽于此矣。万乘之君非好尊也，区域之民非好卑也。而卑尊不陈，王教不得不一，二之则乱。斯曩圣所以宁章体国，所宜不惑也。¹⁰

其实庾冰所代表的是东晋时保守的一派，希望重建儒家思想。何充代表新的一派，可以说是进步的一派。何充的思想正好与庾冰相反，他认为佛教教人行善积德，如五戒，它对君王的治化有帮助。僧人虽然有与普通人不同的生活方式，但是他们在诵经拜佛时，都首先为国家的和平和安定祈愿。所以让他们继续他们自己的生活方式，不用跪拜君王。

五戒之禁，实助王化。……直以汉魏逮晋，不闻异议，尊卑宪章，无或暂亏也。……（沙门）每见烧香咒愿，必先国家，欲福佑之隆。情无极已、奉上崇顺。出于自然礼仪之简。盖是专一守法，是以先圣御世，因而弗革也。……不令致拜于法无亏，因其所利而惠之，使贤愚莫敢不用情，则上有天覆地载之施，下有守一修善之人。¹¹

¹⁰ CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 80, a13-25.

¹¹ CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 80, a27-b10.

如此这次讨论就结束了。但是大约五十年后，到桓玄成为臣相时，「沙门不敬王者论」再一次提起。

桓玄的论证有以下三个方面：第一，儒家的教导是最善的、最好的，而蛮夷之教不好，第二，以前信佛教人都是外国人，而今天就是皇帝也信佛，第三，皇帝比老师更重要，佛教徒尊敬老师，更要礼敬皇帝。许多的大臣和僧人起来反对桓玄，其中以王谧代表官员，慧远代表僧人。作为僧人的领袖人物，慧远在其给桓玄的信中解释到，佛教支持帝王制度和统制，并且佛教和儒家的教义基本相同。佛教的僧人虽然其生活方式与普通人不同，但是其实质相同。所以佛教的僧人并没有放弃对父母行孝和对皇帝的尊敬，他们反而通过宣扬道德来支持君主对国家的统制。慧远清楚地解释了佛教的观点，因此桓玄并没有强迫佛教僧人跪拜君主。慧远共写了五份信给桓玄，以都以〈沙门不敬王者论〉为题，收集在了《弘明集》中。慧远讲道：

原夫佛教所明大要，以出处为异……在家奉法，则是顺化之民，情未变俗，迹同方内，故有天属之爱，奉主之礼。礼敬有本，遂因之而成教。本其所因，则功由在昔。是故因亲以教爱，使民知有自然之恩；因严以教敬，使民知有自然之重。¹²

出家则是方外之宾，迹绝于物。其为教也，达患累缘于有身，不存身以息患；知生生由于禀化，不顺化以求宗。求宗不由于顺化，则不重运通之资；息患不由于存身，则不贵厚生之益。此理之与形乖，道之与俗反者也。若斯人者，自誓始于落簪，立志形乎变服，是故凡在出家，皆遯世以求其志，变俗以达其道。变俗则服章不得与世典同礼，遯世则宜

¹² CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 30, a11-20.

高尚其迹。夫然暂，故能拯溺俗于沈流，拔幽根于重劫。远通三乘之津，广开天人之路。如令一夫全德，则道洽六亲，泽流天下，虽不处王侯之位，亦已协契皇极，在宥生民矣。是故内乖天属之重，而不违其孝；外阙奉主之恭，而不失其敬。¹³

是故悦释迦之风者，辄先奉亲而敬君；变俗投簪者，必待命而顺动。若君亲有疑，则退求其志，以俟同悟。斯乃佛教之所以重资生，助王化于治道者也。¹⁴

正如许理和指出的样，慧远的解说很有说服力，根据佛教的戒律，没有父母的允许，教佛是不接受任何人出家的。¹⁵但是这条戒的建立是为了避免冲突的，而不是为了行孝道，但是在结果上起了尊亲与尊君的效果。

从讨论沙门是否跪拜王者，后来到了南北朝 (420-577) 时期，就进入了〈夷夏论〉的讨论，这是第二个阶段。南北朝时期，由于社会的动荡和文人对佛教的喜爱，许多皇帝也开始信佛。这样他们也就影响了贵族和普通的百姓也开始信奉佛教，因此佛教发展很快。这一时期，佛教与儒家和道教的争斗在南朝和北朝表现出了不同的形式。在北方出现了两次大的血腥的灭佛运动，第一次是北魏 (386-534) 太武帝灭佛，第二次是北周 (557-581) 的周武帝灭佛。但是南方，出现了比较温和的，以写论文的形式的辩论。这些文章大部分都收集在了僧佑编写的《弘明集》中。

¹³ CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 30, b6-23。

¹⁴ CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 30, a28-b4。

¹⁵ 许理和: 283。

¹⁶ 根据汤用彤先生的研究，这些学者所讨论的问题可以分成以下的两大类：第一是以〈夷夏论〉为主的讨论，第二是以形神论为主的讨论。¹⁷ 第一类的讨论主要是围绕中国与中亚和印度在文化和传统上的不同，如孝道、生活方式、礼仪等。第二类的讨论则是哲学性的，主要讨论灵魂灭不灭的问题。

我们这里只讨论第一类问题，因为它与孝道有关。整个讨论从道教的道士顾欢所写的〈夷夏论〉开始。〈夷夏论〉中所讨论和批评的问题并不新鲜，因为这些问题在《牟子理惑论》中已经讨论过，而且，顾欢对佛教与道教的不同之处的评论也不恰当，但是它代表了那一部分维护中国传统文化有的尊严，而鄙视和排斥外来文化的一种民族情绪，所以他的论点受到了社会的重视。虽然顾欢写作其论文的目的是为了调和佛教与道教之间的矛盾，但是他从中国人传统的立场出发，把佛教看成是未开化的蛮夷文化，因此受到佛教学者的反驳。根据《南齐书》卷五十四顾欢传和《南史》卷七十五顾欢传，我们可以把他的论点总结为以下三点。第一，顾欢认为中国的传统是留发着好衣，而蛮夷的传统则是剪发旷衣，所以他说「是以端委搢绅，诸华之容；剪发旷衣，群夷之服。」第二，顾欢认为中国的传统是人死之后以棺木而埋葬，而西夷的传统则是火葬或水葬，所以他说「棺殡槨葬，中夏之制；火焚水沈，西戎之俗。」第三，顾欢认为儒家的思想是保全体，遵守礼教，这是继善的教导，而西夷的传统则是损坏容貌，改变性质，这是断绝恶的教义，所以他说「全形守礼，继善

¹⁶ 有关收集佛道辩论的文章的书有道宣的《广弘明集》和《集古今佛道论衡》，智升的《续集古今佛道论衡》，都收在大正藏的第五十二册。

¹⁷ 汤用彤：407。僧佑在其《弘明集》的后序中讲道：「一疑经说迂诞大而无征，二疑人死神灭无有三世，三疑莫见真佛无益国治，四疑古无法教近出汉世，五疑教在戎方化非华俗，六疑汉魏法微晋代始盛。」(CBETA, T52, no. 2102, p. 95, a17-21)

之教；毁貌易性，绝恶之学。」然后他批评中国人为什么会模仿西夷的生活方式，独身不娶，不拜祖先。这是什么道理？

顾欢的〈夷夏论〉引起了佛教界的广泛的反驳与讨论。我们可以从僧佑的《弘明集》中看到，最少四位居士和两位僧人撰写了七篇论文进行反驳。

作者	论文
明僧绍	〈正二教论〉
谢镇之	〈与顾道士书〉〈重与顾道士〉
朱昭之	〈难顾道士夷夏论〉
朱广之	〈谕顾道士夷夏论〉
释慧通	〈驳顾道士夷夏论〉
释慧愍	〈戎华论-析顾道士夷夏论〉

我们可以把他们反驳的论点总结为以下三点。

第一，他们首先驳斥了顾欢的中国文化比蛮夷文化优越的观点，认为人性都有共同之处，所以不应当以文化传统上的差异而批评对方。

谢镇之说：「七珍人之所爱，故华夷同贵；恭敬人之所厚，故九服攸敦，是以关雎之风行乎四国，况大化所陶而不洽三千哉。」（《弘明集》卷七）¹⁸

¹⁸ T52, no. 2102, 41c. 根据《周礼·夏官·职方氏》记载，九服的定义为，王畿京都四周方千里、侯服王畿外方五百里、甸服侯服外方五百里、男服甸服外方五百里、采服男服外方五百里、卫服采服外方五百里、蛮服卫服外方五百里、夷服蛮服外方五百里、镇服夷服外方五百里、藩服镇服外方五百里。

朱广之则在其〈疑夷夏论谏顾道士〉一文中批评了顾欢的「中夏之性与西戎之人，夏性纯善，戎人根恶」的观点，并指出中国人与外国人都好有恶，所不同之处只是习俗而已。因此我们不能用「狐蹲狗踞，荒流之肃」的言语来批评。顾欢在其〈夷夏论〉中对佛教有如此轻薄的言语，「夫蹲夷之仪，娄罗之辩，各出彼俗，自相聆解。犹虫嚙鸟聒，何足述效。」朱广之对此严厉的批评到，「夫礼以申敬，乐以感和。虽敬由礼申，而礼非敬也，和同乐感，乐非和也。」因此敬和是本，礼乐是末。「然则道义所存，无系形容」，「狐蹲狗踞，孰曰非敬，敬以申心，孰曰非礼」。而且「方俗殊韵，岂专胡夏，近唯中邦，齐鲁不同，权舆俶落，亦古今代述，以其无妨指录，故传授世习。」如果「汉音流入彼国，复受虫讟之尤、鸟聒之消、娄罗之辩，亦可知矣。」（《弘明集》卷七）。朱广之的观点可以说是在民族平等思想上的一种宽容的态度。

慧愍在其〈戎华论折顾道士夷夏论〉一文中则指出，顾欢在其〈夷夏论〉中所讲的「东有骊济之丑，西有羌戎之流，北有乱头被发，南有剪发文身，姬孔施礼于中，故有夷夏之别。」这是一种立足于中国疆域而形成的狭隘见识，我们应当站在全世界的角度上看中国，以中国和外国来讨论：「戎华者，东则尽于虚境，西则穷于幽乡，北则逾于溟表，南则极乎牢閤。如来扇化中土故，有戎华之异也。」（《弘明集》卷七）

第二，认为对于外来文化，人们应当以开放的思想来欣赏其理论与思想的价值，而不应当只从表面上看其风俗与传统。

明僧绍的〈正二教论〉是批评顾欢〈夷夏论〉的重要文章。明僧绍认为，大道不为方域所限，人们应当重视的是道理的价值，而不是地方风俗。他说：「在夷之化，岂必三乘，教华之道，何拘五教。冲用因感，既夷华未殊，而俗之所异，孰乖

圣则，虽其人不同，然其教自均也」，「理之所贵，宜无本礼俗。」（《弘明集》卷六）因此保全形体，尊守祭祀的人，不一定就都是高贵之人，而毁貌绝恶的人，不一定就全是真正的平贱之人，贵与贱不在俗礼形迹，而在是否得道。这样外来的佛教文化是否应当接受的问题，就从礼俗枝节的争论，而转为对这种文化理论的本身价值的实质性探讨。

第三，中国的佛教徒把以讲哲学思想为主的道家与以宗教理论的道教分开，赞扬以老子思想为主的自我的修养的道家，而批评以长生不老为宗教修持的道教，并批评长生不老是永远不可能的事。

明僧绍在其〈正二教论〉中指出：「老子之教，盖修身治国，绝弃贵尚，事止其分，虚无为本，柔弱为用，内视反听，深根宁极，浑思天元，恬高人世，浩气养和，失得无变，穷不谋通，致命而俟，达不谋己，以公为度。此学者之所以询仰余流，而其道若存者也。」明僧绍对老子的崇尚虚无，淡泊世情很欣赏，但是对于修长生不老之术的道教则多批评。「今之道家所教，唯以长生为宗，不死为主。其练映金丹，滄霞饵玉，灵升羽蜕，尸解形化，是其托术，验之而竟无覩其然也。」「至若张葛之徒，又皆杂以神变化俗，怪诞惑世，符呪章劾，咸托老君所传，而随稍增广，遂复远引佛教，证成其伪，立言舛杂，师学无依，考之典义，不然可知。将今真妄浑流，希悟者永惑，莫之能辩，诬乱已甚矣。」（《弘明集》卷六）

慧通在〈驳顾道士夷夏论〉中批评道教歪曲老子之说。「老氏著述，文只五千。其余淆杂，并淫谬之说也。」「老氏着文五千，而穿凿者众，或述妖妄以回人心，或传淫虐以振物性」，「仆闻老氏有五味之戒，而无绝谷之训矣。」慧通更进一步赞扬老子的慈柔思想，而批评了黄书紫录与房中术，「老子云：强梁

者不得其死，吾将以为学文。故人所以敷行诫籍显著文教，将为愚瞽之故，非为贤哲之施矣。违之者必凶，顺之者必吉，夫强梁刚愎之人，下愚之类也，大教慈愍，方便为之将非虚耶学文，慈柔虚受，仆谓宜空谈。今学道反之，陈黄书以为真典，佩紫录以为妙术，士女无分，闺门混乱，或服食以祈年长，或淫狡以为瘳疾，慈柔之论于焉何托。」（《弘明集》卷七）

《中国哲学发展史：魏晋南北朝卷》的作者孔繁评论道，「这些起为佛教辩护，而反对〈夷夏论〉的僧人和学者都是中国人，而且大都是受过儒学和玄学的熏陶，这本身就是三教汇合的表现。」¹⁹

另外南齐道士张融作〈三破论〉对佛教进行激烈的攻击甚至谩骂。本论已失，转引自刘勰的〈灭惑论〉。〈三破论〉主要从孝道的角度批评佛教：

「第一破曰：入国而破国者，谎言说伪，兴造无费，苦克百姓使，国空民穷，不助国生，人减损，况人不蚕而衣，不田而食，国灭人绝，由此为失。」

刘勰反驳说，国家衰落不在佛教，反而佛教有助于王化。僧顺〈释三破论〉中进一步讲到，佛教的伦理教导有助于王化，「不待刑戮而自淳，无假楚挞而取正，石主师澄而兴国，古王谿勃以隆道。」

¹⁹ 《中国哲学发展史：魏晋南北朝》865-866页。

「第二破曰：人家而破家，使父子殊事，兄弟异法，遗弃二亲，孝道顿绝，忧娱各异，歌哭不同，骨肉生讎，服属永弃，悖化犯顺，无昊天之报，五逆不孝，不复过此。」

刘勰反驳说，孝道不分在家出家，虽然表像不同，但其精神一至，「夫孝理至极，道俗同贯，虽内外迹殊，而神用一揆。」孝的道理「由乎心，无系于发」，佛教徒是「知瞬息尽养则无济幽灵，学道拔亲则冥苦永灭」，这是弃小孝而尽大孝。

僧顺则引用《善生子经》的思想讲到，「释氏之训，父慈子孝，兄爱弟敬，夫和妻柔，备有六睦之美，有何不善，而能破家。」

「第三破曰：人身而破身，人生之体，一有毁伤之疾，二有髡头之苦，三有不孝之逆，四有绝种之罪，五有亡体，从诚唯学不孝。」。（《弘明集》卷八）

刘勰解释说：「名教有二，搢绅沙门，所以殊也，但始拔尘域，理由戒定。妻者爱累，发者形饰，爱累伤神，形饰乖道，所以澄神灭爱，修道弃饰，理出常均，教必翻俗。」

僧顺则说：「夫身之为累，甚于桎梏。老氏以形骸为粪土，释迦以三界为火宅。出家之士，故宜去奢华，弃名利，悟逆旅之难，常希寂灭之为乐，流俗之徒，反此以求全。」

第三个解释是没有力量的，因为他们所用的是不为儒家和道家接受的佛教的道理。

第三个阶段是唐宋时期的反驳。唐初，儒家和道教一起来批评佛教为不孝。道士傅奕（555-639）于624年向皇帝上书，说佛教是不忠不孝的宗教，又不生产，所以应当把佛教从中国除去。

（武德）七年，（傅）奕上疏请除去释教，曰：佛在西域，言妖路远，汉译胡书，恣其假托。故使不忠不孝，削发而揖君亲；游手游食，易服以逃租赋。演其妖书，述其邪法，伪启三涂，谬张六道，恐吓愚夫，诈欺庸品。凡百黎庶，通识者稀，不察根源，信其矫诈。乃追既往之罪，虚规将来之福。布施一钱，希万倍之报；持斋一日，冀百日之粮。遂使愚迷，妄求功德，不惮科禁，轻犯宪章。其有造作恶逆，身坠刑网，方乃狱中礼佛，口诵佛经，昼夜忘疲，规免其罪。且生死寿夭，由于自然；刑德威福，关之人主。乃谓贫富贵贱，功业所招，而愚僧矫诈，皆云由佛。窃人主之权，擅造化之力，其为害政，良可悲矣！（《旧唐书》卷七十九（列传第二十九）《傅奕传》）

另外，道士李仲卿作〈十异九迷论〉和道士刘进喜作〈显正论〉二人也参与批评佛教。中唐时，又有儒家的大文豪韩愈（768-824）也批评佛教是，「口不言先王之法言，身不限先王之法服，不知君臣之义，父子之情。」断然提出「以此骨付之有司，投诸水火，永绝根本，断天下之疑，绝后代之惑。」（《谏迎佛骨表》）

佛教界对此的响应有两方面，知识分子的和大众的。普通佛教信众的响应是，普及佛教讲孝道的经典和思想。这一点我会在下面讨论，这里只讲知识分子的响应。佛教学者的响应有三方面，第一是写作论文直接反驳，如法琳作〈破邪论〉反驳傅奕的论点，又作〈辩正论〉对其他两名道士进行反驳。除此之外，还有慧净和智实两僧人也作文章进行反驳。第二，佛教高僧继续翻译与孝道有关的经典，如上面已经提到的般若于790年译的《大乘生心地观经》和实叉难陀于695-700年间所译的《地藏菩萨本愿经》就是。第三是宗密在其所《孟兰盆经疏》中对儒家和佛教的孝道实践作了比较，最后讲到两者都以孝道为宗。后来宋代的契嵩作〈孝论〉说，佛教所讲的孝道比儒家更要高一层。

宗密在《孟兰盆经疏》的一开始就讲道：「始于混沌，塞乎天地，通人神，贯贵贱，儒释皆宗之，其唯孝道矣。」²⁰他引用儒家的《孝经》说孝是「至德要道」，然后宗密引用佛经说，佛教也是以孝道为宗。宗密引用了两个最普及的经典，第一是《梵网经》，「孝顺父母，师僧三宝，孝顺至道之法，孝名为戒，亦名制止。」第二是《涅槃经》：

如彼婴儿，渐渐长大，常作是念，是医最良，善解方药，我本处胎，与我母药，母以药故，身得安隐，以是因缘，我命得全。奇哉我母，受大苦恼，满足十月，怀抱我胎，既生之后，推干去湿，除去不净，大小便利，乳哺长养，将护我身。以是义故，我当报恩，色养侍卫，随顺供养。²¹

以此为根据，宗密对佛教和儒家的孝道实践作了比较，认为有七项是相同的，五项是不同的。²²

宋代的契嵩根据儒家的《孝经》作了《孝论》，分十二部分讨佛教的孝道。「夫孝诸教皆尊之，而佛教殊尊也，」²³这是他的中心论点，其后的讨论都以此展开的。

²⁰ CBETA, T39, no. 1792, p. 505, a6-7.

²¹ CBETA, T12, no. 374, p. 419, c18-24. 北凉天竺三藏昙无讖所译的《大般涅槃经》在南北朝时期很受欢迎，有很多的注疏出现。因此本文中所引的这一段也是人所知。

²² 有关儒家与佛教孝道观的不同，请读拙着〈早期儒佛孝道观的比较研究〉

²³ CBETA, T52, no. 2115, p. 660, a25.

契嵩说，根据佛经说「孝名为戒」，这是说孝是戒的开始，因为万善以戒为本，其五戒就是孝的组成部。

五戒始一曰不杀，次二曰不盗，次三曰不邪淫，次四曰不妄言，次五曰不饮酒。夫不杀仁也，不盗义也，不邪淫礼也，不饮酒智也，不妄言信也。是五者，修则成其人，显其亲，不亦孝乎？是五者有一不修，则弃其身，辱其亲，不亦不孝乎？

契嵩说，世人所行之孝道是小，佛教所行之孝道是大，因为佛教所讲的孝道不只是这一世的父母，而是过去七世的父母。这正好与儒家所讲的孝道相合，「君子之所谓孝者，先意承志，谕父母于道。」因此经中说：「应生孝顺心，爱护一切众生，斯之谓也。」因为一切众都可能是我们过去世的父母。契嵩最后得出如此的结论，佛教的孝道实践具有普遍性的意义。「佛之为道也，视人之亲犹己之亲也，卫物之生犹己之生也。故其为善，则昆虫悉怀，为孝则鬼神皆劝。资其孝而处世，则与世和平，而亡忿争也；资其善而出世，则与世大慈，而劝其世也。」

中国佛教徒依据经典中的思想和例子响应了儒家与道教对佛教在孝道上的批评。最后说佛教在的孝道上的实践比儒家还要好。当然这一点并不为儒家所接受。

三、佛教孝道经典的普及

由于佛教传入中国后就一直受到儒家和道教的批评，中国佛教徒对佛教的孝道作了多方面的普及。

第一，建立佛教的孝道节日

佛教的孝道节日叫孟兰盆会，它是根据西晋竺法护所译的

《盂兰盆经》所讲的，佛陀的大弟子大目犍连从地狱救母的故事而来。所以每年的农历七月十五日中国的民众都要举行以祭祖为中心的盂兰盆会，这一传统一直延续到今天，甚至，随着华人的迁移，盂兰盆会在东南亚一代都很流行。佛教的这一节日，也影响了道教，道教成立了中元节，与佛教的盂兰盆节在每年的同一天进行。

人们一直认为，盂兰盆会起源于梁武帝(502-557)，这主要是因为宋代的志磐在其所著的《佛祖统纪》(成书于1269)中记载，梁武帝于大同四年(538)在同泰寺内「设盂兰盆斋」。²⁴ 但是，根据同样是宋代的高僧遇荣所著的《盂兰盆经疏孝衡钞》讲到，盂兰盆会源远流长：

南齐高祖，常于七月十五日，送盂兰盆往诸寺中供自恣僧。

《颜氏家训》云：七月十五日盂兰盆斋，望于汝等。依行不绝，自古圣贤所尚，其来远矣。

这里提到两个例子，第一个是南齐(479-502)的高祖就常于七月十五日盂兰盆供僧。第二个是《颜氏家训》也要后人于七月半盂兰盆会供僧而报恩。我们在《颜氏家训》的最后终制第二十找到了这一记载，「若报罔极之德，霜露之悲，有时斋供，及七月半盂兰盆，望于汝也。」这也就是说，盂兰盆会的流传早于梁武帝，就是在《颜氏家训》这样的非佛教的书都提到了它。

²⁴ CBETA, T49, no. 2035, p. 351, a26-29

盂兰盆会与佛教的传统雨季安居有关。根据印度佛教的传统，每年的雨季，僧人都会停止云游，住在一处长达三个月过夏，叫「安居」。到了三个月安居过夏结束之后的一个月內，寺院都要举行供僧，其主要供养的是僧依，迦絺那依，义为「功德依」。这一传统在南方的佛教国家如泰国、斯里兰卡、缅甸一直流传到今天。所以《盂兰盆经》讲道：

具清淨戒圣众之道，其德汪洋，其有供养此等自恣僧者，现在父母、七世父母、六种亲属得出三途之苦，应时解脱，衣食自然。若复有人父母现在者，福乐百年；若已亡七世父母，生天，自在化生，入天华光，受无量快乐。²⁵

因此这一仪式应当是与其它佛教的仪式一起从最初就传入中国。到了唐代，盂兰盆会兴盛起来。道世 (?-683) 在其所著之《法苑珠林》卷六十二〈祭祀篇〉云：「国家大寺，如长安西明、慈恩等寺，……每年送盆献供种种杂物及輿盆音乐人等，并有送盆官人，来者非一。」又云：「外有施主献盆献供，种种杂事。」

《旧唐书》卷198更提到，武则天当政时，皇宫中也送盂兰盆到寺院。当时初唐四杰之一的杨炯还作《盂兰盆赋》献给武则天。

则天初，坐从祖弟神让犯逆，左转梓州司法参军。秩满，选授盈川令。如意元年七月望日，宫中出盂兰盆，分送佛寺，则天御洛南门，与百僚观之。炯献《盂兰盆赋》，词甚雅丽。

²⁵ CBETA, T16, no. 685, p. 779, b19-24。

到了代宗时，盂兰盆会更加兴盛，而且成为每年皇家参与的常事。如《旧唐书》卷118讲道：

代宗七月望日于内道场造盂兰盆，饰以金翠，所费百万。又设高祖已下七圣神座，备幡节、龙伞、衣裳之制，各书尊号于幡上以识之，舁出内，陈于寺观。是日，排仪仗，百僚序立于光顺门以俟之，幡花鼓舞，迎呼道路。岁以为常，而识者嗤其不典，其伤教之源始于缙也。

就是宗密这样有学问的高僧也都参加每年举行的盂兰盆会，他在《盂兰盆经疏序》中讲道：「年年僧自恣日，四事供养三尊，宗密依之崇修，已历多载。」

日本圆仁在其《入唐求法巡礼行记》卷四记载，会昌四年（844）「（长安）城中诸寺七月十五日供养，作花蜡、花饼、假花果树等各竞奇妙。常例皆于佛殿前铺设供养。倾城巡寺随喜，甚是盛会。今年诸寺铺设供养胜于常年。」

自从唐代开始，在社会民众中目连救母的故事是家喻户晓，而盂兰盆会也成了一个全国性的节日，并且每年都举行，全国人民，包括政府和皇家也要到寺院供盂兰盆。这已经在《中国中世纪的节》有很好的讨论。盂兰盆会在中国已经成为了一个民间的节日，而参加的人也不只是佛教信众，也有不信佛的人，因为盂兰盆会已成为中国人祭祖的节日。在敦煌的石窟中发现，《盂兰盆经》被重新改写成〈讲经文〉而在寺院中讲说，而还般上了舞台。

到宋代，盂兰盆会都一直延续。志磐在其《佛祖统纪》卷41中讲道：「七月，诏建盂兰盆会，设高祖下七庙神座，自太庙迎入内道场，具幡华鼓吹迎行衢道，百僚迎拜，岁以为常。」又《佛祖统纪》卷41：「十五年七月，帝[德宗]幸安国寺，设盂兰盆供，宰辅皆从。」

在宋代盂兰盆会与道教的中元节相结合，更加成了民间的盛会。宋代的孟元老在其《东京梦华录》卷八〈中元节〉中描述了当时的情况：

七月十五日中元节，先数日，市井卖冥器、靴鞋、幞头、帽子、金犀、假带，五彩衣服，以纸糊架子盘游出卖。潘楼并州，东西瓦子，亦如七夕，要闹处亦卖果食、种生、花果之类，及印卖《尊胜》、《目连经》。又以竹竿斫成三脚，高三五尺，上织灯窝之状，谓之盂兰盆，挂搭衣服、冥钱在上焚之。构肆乐人，自过七夕，便般『目连救母』杂剧，道至十五日止，观者增倍。中元前一日，则卖练叶，享祀时铺衬桌面，又卖麻谷窠儿，亦是繫在卓子脚上，乃告祖先：秋成之意。又卖鷄冠花，谓之『洗手花』。十五日供养祖先素食，才明即卖糴米饭，巡门叫卖，亦告成意也。又卖转明菜，花花油饼，餛飩、沙馓之类。城外有新坟者，即往拜扫。禁中亦出车马，诣道者院谒坟，本院官给祠部十道，设大会、焚钱山、祭军阵亡歿，设孤魂之道场。

第二，通过变文与俗讲的形式来普及佛教的孝道

在敦煌的石窟中发现了大量的变文，这些变文都是根据佛经改写而成，其目的就是为了通过通俗易懂的讲演而宣传佛教的思想。在这许多的变文当中，宣传有关孝道的变文有很多，如《目连变文》五种，《大目犍连冥间救母变文》三种，《目连缘起》一种，《父母恩重经讲经文》一种，《十恩德》，《十种缘》（另外一个名字叫《父母恩重赞》），《孝顺乐》，《盂兰盆经讲经文》等。这些变文都是在唐代寺院中举行俗讲用的。到了宋代，俗讲才停止。这些在敦煌发现的变文证明了古代中国佛教徒在普及佛教孝道上的努力。

根据向达的〈唐代俗讲考〉，早在南北朝时期就有俗讲了，

它的目的就是教人为善，但是在唐代俗讲才开流行起来。²⁶日本圆仁在其《入唐求法巡礼行记》中讲到，在841年这一年，长安就有七座寺院举行长达一个月的俗讲，从正月十五日开始到二月十五日给束。²⁷

开成六年正月九日五更时，拜南郊了，早朝归城。幸在丹凤楼，改年号，改开成六年为会昌元年。又敕于左右街七寺开俗讲。左街四处：此资圣寺令云花寺赐紫大德海岸法师讲《花严经》；保寿寺令左街僧绿三教讲论赐紫引驾大德体虚法师讲《法华经》；菩提寺令招福寺内供奉三教讲论大德齐高法师讲《涅槃经》；景公寺令光影法师讲。右街三处：会昌寺令内供奉三教讲论赐紫引驾起居大德文淑法师讲《法华经》，城中俗讲，此法师为第一；惠日寺崇福寺讲法师未得其名。又敕开讲道教，左街令敕新从剑南道召太清宫内供奉，……从大和九年以来废讲，今上新开。正月十五日起首，至二月十五日罢。

圆仁在其《入唐求法巡礼行记》中记载俗讲的还有以下几处：

「〔（会昌元年841）九月〕一日敕两街诸寺开俗讲。」

「会昌二年(842)岁次壬戌正月一日家家立竹杆，悬幡子。新岁祈长命。诸寺开俗讲。」

「时僧云辨能俗讲，有文章，敏于应对，若祀祝之辞，随其名位高下，对之立成千字，皆如宿构，少师尤重之。云辨于长寿寺五月讲，少师诣讲院，与云辨对坐，歌者在侧。」

「（会昌二年842）五月日奉敕开俗讲。两街各五座。」

²⁶ 向达：286-327。

²⁷ 白化文：369。

从这些记载中，我们可以看到，唐代当时的俗讲与官方有关系。这很可能是唐武宗时已经对佛教有限制。从圆仁记载中，我们看到佛教僧人如海岸、体虚和文淑都参加了俗讲，特别是文淑是当时最知名的一位。当文淑讲经时，人们从四面八方赶来，以至街道都空了。可见其讲演成功了。圆仁在其书中提到与俗讲有关的文淑的名字多次。而且文淑的名字在赵麟的《因话录》中也出现过。²⁸根据《太平广记》卷二百四文宗条引《卢氏杂说》云：

文宗善吹小管。时法师文淑为入内大德，一日得罪流之。弟子入内，收拾院中籍入家具辈，犹作法师讲声。上采其声为曲子，号《文淑子》。（出《卢氏杂说》）

可见〈文淑子〉曲子以文淑的名字而来。²⁹虽然我们找不到有关文淑讲演有关孝道经典的记载，但是我们在向达的〈唐代俗讲考〉一文之后的附录二〈现存敦煌所出俗讲文学作品录〉中发现了《目连变文》的九个手抄本和《父母恩重经讲经文》的两个手抄本。这就证明唐代有关孝道的俗讲之流行。

唐代俗讲兴盛可以从诗人的诗中见到一般，如韩愈〈华山女〉诗中也讲到：「街东街西讲佛经，撞钟吹螺闹宫庭。广张罪福资诱胁，听众狎恰排浮萍。」姚合在其〈赠常州院僧〉诗人讲到：「一住毗陵寺，师应只信缘。院贫人施食，窗静鸟窥禅。古磬声难尽，秋灯色更鲜。仍闻开讲日，湖上少鱼船。」这就是说，佛教的俗讲不仅在长安等大城市盛行，就是在其它地方也很盛行。

²⁸ 文淑的名字在第三章中出现。

²⁹ 引自向达：291。

第三，通过在墙壁上、丝绸上、石头上绘画经变的形式来普及佛教的孝道

变相是一种以绘画的形式向普通的民众来宣扬佛教的方法，人们在敦煌和中国的其它地方都找到了很多的佛经变相，大部分都是在唐宋时期所作。而孝道是变相当中最普及的一个题目。敦煌石窟有六铺《父母恩重经》变相，四铺是壁画，在156、170、238和449石窟中，两铺是绢画，分别收藏在大英博物馆和甘肃博物馆。这些画的中央是说法的佛，四周则是《父母恩重经》的内容。根据孙修身的研究，以上提到的四个石窟中的变相是根据《父母恩重经》的早期的版本绘制而成，因为在这些绘画中没有提到十恩德。我在〈《父母恩重经》研究〉一文中已经讨论过，十恩德是后加进去的。³⁰根据孙修身的研究，敦煌156和170石窟中的变相分别是初唐和中唐所作，而238和449石窟中的变相分别是晚唐和五代所作。而两铺《父母恩重经》的绢画都是五代所作。此外在四川的大足也有《父母恩重经》的巨副而且完整的变相图，其中就包括了母亲对子女的十恩德。根据胡和文的研究，大足石刻变相是由大觉禅师慈觉领众于927前后而作。³¹此外大足还有《大方便佛报恩经变图》一铺，它与《父母恩重经》变相相似。另外在北京的房山，山东成武白浮图村和四川安岳都发现了《父母恩重经》的石刻或石碑。四川安岳石刻的《父母恩重经》完成于735年，山东成武白浮图村的《父母恩重经》石碑完成于984年。

³⁰ 孙修身：60-61，广兴〈《父母恩重经》研究〉。

³¹ 引自孙修身：58。

第四，通过抄写与印刷来普及佛教讲孝道的经典

印刷术虽在唐代已经有了，但是并不普及，人们还是以手抄的形式来流通佛经。人们在敦煌的石窟中找到许多手抄本的《父母恩重经》。根据北京大学马世长教授的研究，在北京、巴黎和伦敦共藏有敦煌手写本《父母恩重经》六十多个本子。³²而且《父母恩重经》还远传到韩国和日本，并一直流传到今天。³³当印刷术在宋代普及后，佛经开始大量传播，雕刻佛教的大藏经也成了国家大事。因此《父母恩重经》的大量印刷和流通也变的很容易。今天我们所见到的《佛说父母恩重难报经》，是在唐代出现的伪经《父母恩重经》的基础改写而成，其经名也是结合了伪经《父母恩重经》与安世高所译的《父母恩难报经》而成。在佛教的寺院中，我们经常可以看到有大量的赠品《佛说父母恩重难报经》。可见人们对此经的认同。另外还有讲孝道的《盂兰盆经》，也有大量的赠品。

第五，目连戏

由于盂兰盆会在中国的普及，目连救母的故事也家喻户晓。最早记载〈目连戏〉的是宋代孟元老的《东京梦华录》，他在讲述〈中元节〉时提到，每年七月十五都有〈目连戏〉上演，许多人来看戏。明代的郑之珍编写了《目连救母行孝戏文》，这是在〈目连戏〉剧本的基础上，又吸收来自不同出处的民间故事，如《西游记》等，因此增加了许多故事情节而编成长达一百零四折

³² 马世长：467-480页。

³³ 我于二零一零年十月去南韩参加〈普照国师涅槃800周年纪念〉国际学术研讨会时参观了松广寺，当时我发现在松广寺的大雄宝殿外墙上就有《父母恩重经变相》，一共十副。

的剧本。根据董含的《莼乡赘笔》记载，康熙在1684年花费「帑金一千两」在皇宫的后宰门架高台演《目连传奇》。张岱 (1597-1679) 在他的《陶庵梦忆》中的〈目连戏〉条目下更详细的描述当时社会上上演的〈目连戏〉情况，并说每次演出都会有大批的民众来观看。清代时，张照编写了《劝善金科》，长达二百四十折，这是中国历史上最长的剧本了。他在前言中说，他是依照《目连记》为蓝本而写成的，而《目连记》又依《盂兰盆经》的故事为主。其目的就是为了宣传孝道。今天，〈目连戏〉仍然在中国的乡村很流行，它已经成了戏剧史上的活化石，在戏剧史上有重要的地位。

第六，宝卷

有的学者认为，因为变文在宋代被禁止，但是它在乡村以宝卷的形式流行起来。但是也有学者反对。无论如何，宝卷与变文有相同的作用，也就是通过讲唱来宣传佛教的因果报应与孝道的思想。最早的宝卷也许是《目连救母出离地狱升天宝卷》，也叫《目连宝卷》或《生天宝卷》，收藏在北京国家图书馆。根据车锡伦的研究，此宝卷抄写于1372年，³⁴并且在说唱完故事后，宝卷中「普劝后人，都要学目连尊者，孝顺父母，寻问明师，念佛持斋，生死永息，坚心修道，报答父母养育深恩」，并劝人抄传这部宝卷。在敦煌也有《目连缘起》和《大目干连冥间救母变文（并图）》。《目连宝卷》与敦煌变文有许多关系，也许是敦煌目连变文的发展而来。

³⁴ 车锡伦〈佛教与中国宝卷(上)〉(《圆光佛学学报》第四期 (1999.12)页293-323)，312。

明代时宝卷发展到了它的高峰，许多新的宝卷出现，但大多数取才于佛教的经典。清代时政府对民间宗教进行限制，宝卷的发展也受到了限制，但是宝卷以地下的形式继续发展，因为人们认为抄写宝卷有功德。今天流传的有《地藏宝卷》、《香山宝卷》、《观音宝卷》和《药师本愿功德宝卷》等，都是宣传孝道的。

在这些宝卷当中，《香山宝卷》是最受大众欢迎的，因为它把观音信仰和孝道结合在了一起。《香山宝卷》所讲的是妙庄王的三女儿妙善的故事。妙善长大后拒绝成亲，由此她的父亲很生气，于是把她关在后花园，后来送到白雀寺做苦力，希望她能改变思想。但是妙善并没有改变，于是妙庄王火烧白雀寺，五百多尼众都死去了，只有妙善活着。最后妙庄王把妙善处以死刑，而妙善的身体被山神带到了「尸林」，地藏菩萨现身引她的灵魂游历地府，而妙善为地狱众生说法。然后妙善回到人间，到香山修道九年。这时妙庄王得了一种怪病，任何医生都治不好，于是妙善化装成僧人去见他。妙善说只有由心无憎恨之人的眼和手做成的药才能救他，然后又指示他去香山求「大仙」。当妙庄王的使者来时，妙善将自己的双臂和双眼给他带回去。国王吃下药后，身体很快就痊愈了，于是决定前往感谢救命恩人。当妙庄王和他的王夫人认出这无眼无臂的仙人正是自己的女儿时，他们深受感动并皈依佛教，他们并且发愿祈求妙善能回复到「全手全眼」，当下仙人宣称她其实是真正的观音。然后妙善现出她的真身，头戴真珠冠，璎珞绕身，手持杨柳枝及净瓶，立在一座金光闪闪的千瓣莲花台上。

中国民间很早就有妙庄王幼女妙善公主是大悲观音菩萨的传说，它成了中国人信仰观音的基础，主流的中国佛教也接受了这一传说，并且以故事中妙善的出生日二月十九日为观音的诞辰，六月十九日为成道日，九月十九日为出家日。

结论

从佛教传入中国时的汉代一直到明清时期，中国佛教徒在宏扬佛教的孝道观时做出了很大的努力，如举行盂兰盆会、公开讲演、绘制佛经变相，甚至上演〈目连戏〉来响应儒家和道教对佛教在孝道上的批评。他们不仅从佛教经典中取才，而且也融合了儒家的思想。最终，佛教被中国人所接受，成为了一个讲孝道的宗教。

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Abstract

When Buddhism was first introduced into China, it faced challenges from local Chinese culture, particularly Confucianism. The criticisms of Confucian scholars were mainly on ethical grounds, because the Buddhist way of life primarily focuses on individual liberation through moral perfection, which is very different from Confucianism, which chiefly focuses on family and society. In particular, the life of Buddhist monks, who were required to be celibate, shave their heads, and leave their homes

and families, was incompatible to Confucian practice of filial piety as found in the *Xiao Jing*. This is reflected in the *Mouzi Lihoulun*, a book written in the second century CE to refute such criticisms. Chinese Buddhists made much effort in responding to such criticisms both in theory and practice. As a result, Buddhism eventually has been accepted by Chinese society as a religion that also teaches and practices of filial piety. However, the incompatibility between Confucian and Buddhist concepts and practices of filial piety is never solved as they are two different philosophical views of life. Another force working against Buddhism in the Han dynasty was the fact that Confucianism had become the dominant ideology of Chinese society during this time. The idea of “ruling the state by using filial piety” was conceived of and implemented in this dynasty and continued through the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern, Sui, and Tang dynasties till Ming and Qing. Chinese Buddhists responded to the criticisms both in theoretical argumentation and in practice. In theoretical argumentation, Chinese Buddhists responded by (1) translations of and references to Buddhist sūtras that taught filial behavior, (2) writing scholarly refutations of the charges of unfilial practices, such as the *Mouzi Lihoulun* and Qisong’s *Xiao Lun*, and (3) interpreting Buddhist precepts as equal to the Confucian concept of filial piety. In practice they responded by (1) composing apocryphal scriptures, such as the *Fumu Enzhong Jing*, and (2) popularizing such stories and parables as the *Pusa Shanzi Jing* and the *Yulanpen Jing* by ways of public lectures, painted illustrations called *Bianxiang* or tableaus on walls and silk, and annual celebration of the *Yulanpen* festival, popularly known as the ghost festival. The first three were scholarly ways of dealing with criticism, whereas the latter two were popular ways of responding on the part of ordinary Chinese Buddhists. In this paper I will concentrate on three ways of responding to Confucian criticism of Buddhist being unfilial as I have already written separate papers for the other two: (1) translations of and references to Buddhist sūtras that taught filial behavior, (2) writing scholarly refutations of the charges of unfilial practices, (3) popularizing such stories and parables as the *Pusa Shanzi Jing* and the *Yulanpen Jing*.

Key Words: filial piety, Confucianism, Daoism, refutation, *Yulanpen Jing*.

佛教的“六斋日”——兼与萧登福先生商榷¹

传诚

新加坡佛学院助理教授

摘要：本文梳理汉译佛典中关于“六斋日”的材料，探讨“三斋日”和“六斋日”之间的关系，并利用巴利语佛教资料论证佛教中的“六斋日”和“斋日诸神巡察人间并向上天禀报”的观念属于印度佛教原有的文化，从而否定了道教学者所认为的这两种观念是沿袭自道教的说法。本文的研究也揭示了汉巴佛教文献的对比研究对佛教文献研究和道教与佛教之间的早期关系研究都有十分重要的意义。

关键词：“六斋日”、“斋日”、“天神巡察”、“佛教”、“道教”

“斋日”和“斋戒”在几种古印度语言中都叫“颇嘎达”（梵语：poshadha，巴利语：uposatha，佛教梵语：poṣadha）。跟其它佛教术语一样，因为出现在不同时代和不同翻译著作中，它的汉语译法有多种：从“斋戒”到“布萨”再到“褒洒陀”，等等。关于它的含义，曼尼尔-威廉斯（Monier-Williams）的《梵英辞典》和戴菲兹·瑞斯（Rhys Davids）的《巴英词典》都解释说，它指的是印度人用于开展宗教活动的特定的“神圣日子”，即“斋日”，也指在“斋日”里所进行的宗教活动

¹ 感谢两位匿名的台湾学者的建议。香港大学佛学研究中心助理教授广兴法师拨冗阅读了本文的草稿，并鼓励有加，特此致谢。

本身，也就是“斋戒”。²戴菲兹的词典还提供了别的信息：“颇嘎达”最早还是专指日期，即在吠陀时期它指的是“索玛”（soma）祭祀的前夜，而到佛教兴起之时，它已经发展成了代表月亮圆缺的每月的初一、初八、十五、和二十三。这些日子以及在这些日子里进行宗教活动的习俗，很快就被佛教所吸收。他们用这些日子来进行诵戒和说法，并且居士还在这些日子受持八戒。³

印度佛教中的“斋日”和“斋戒”这两个概念通过汉译佛典也在汉传佛教传统中得到了保留。法国道教学者苏远鸣（Michel Soyumié）曾撰文指出，在佛教“六斋日”思想的影响之下，我国道教才形成了“十斋日”的观念。⁴道教学者萧登福先生似乎是在未知前者研究成果的情况下坚称，佛教的“六斋日”及其“斋日中诸神巡察人间善恶并向上天禀报”的观念是源自道教的。⁵而我国大陆学者王承文博士也认为早期汉译佛典中出现“六斋”是道教《旨教经》所包含的“岁六斋”、“八节日”、“月十斋”等说法影响所致。⁶苏远鸣的研究通过他人著作利用了汉传以外的佛教资料作为部份证据，但没有直接呈现非汉语

² M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary* (Dehli: Motilal Banarsidass, 1999), p. 650b. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Pali and English Dictionary* (London: Pali Text Society, 1921), p. 150.

³ *Pali and English Dictionary*, pp. 150-151.

⁴ 见其《道教的十斋日》（收入《法国汉学》第二辑，辛岩译，清华大学出版社，1997年），第28-49页。

⁵ 见其《道教与佛教》（台湾：东大图书股份有限公司，第二版，2009年），第138-186页。

⁶ 王承文，《敦煌古灵宝经与晋唐道教》（北京：中华书局，2002年），第357-419页。

佛教的原始文献，而且其主要论题也不是“六斋日”。萧王二氏的研究虽然参考了大量的道教和其它汉语古籍，但都存在对原始印度佛教经典的不了解的问题。另外，三种研究都基本上以道教的资料为主，这也是其共同的遗憾。所以，佛教的“六斋日”以及它与道教“斋日”的关系问题，都还有必要作重新考查。

本文将利用汉译佛典和与其对应的巴利语佛典来考察“六斋日”在佛教中的出现、使用情况，以及“斋日诸神巡察人间善恶并向上天禀报”的观念。因为萧先生的论证也包括了王博士所论证的观点，而他们二者的研究所存在的关键问题都一样，所以本文最后一个部份将集中剖析和回应萧先生的相关说法和论断。

一、三斋日

汉传佛教的“六斋日”是以半月三个“斋日”说法而具体化的。虽然，早在东汉康孟祥所译的《中本起经》就有了“斋日”这个词，⁷最能清楚地反映佛教斋日的形成的资料是其戒律文献。先讨论《四分律》的资料。频婆沙罗王见其它宗教团体在“月八日、十四日、十五日”聚会一处布萨说法因而“多有众人来往供养”，就给佛陀建议，希望他的僧团也这样做，以便于他及其官属“听法供养”。佛陀采纳其意见，并宣布了新规。但是，僧众聚集时又不知道说什么，佛陀又教导他们应该讲经。该律的另一个地方则说比丘们天天都说戒，非常疲劳，佛陀就规定只有在“月初日、十四，十五”说。另一处又说，佛陀表示，这些日子可以随国王的意愿而变更。⁸很明显，这里佛陀并没有

⁷ 《大正藏》册4，页157下。

⁸ 《大正藏》册22，页816下-818上，页998上-下。

强调只能在十四日或十五日说戒，而是三日都可以。此外，该律也显示，初八、十四和十五日还是居士送饭到寺庙里来供养僧人的日子。⁹原来，律典规定，出家人的生活必需遵循四个原则（即“四依”），其中一个就是“以乞食为生”。¹⁰送饭大概是因为这几个日子是僧众聚集在一起说法和说戒的时候，民众尤其是佛教居士来僧众聚集处听经也就顺便带饭到寺庙供养僧人，所以这几天不外出乞食也不算犯戒。

《萨婆多部毗尼摩得勒伽》所说也与《四分律》的记载基本相同，日子一样，只是活动内容变成了“呗诵说法”。¹¹这种“月八日、十四日、十五日说法”的传统在后汉支楼迦讖（167活跃于中国）翻译的《道行般若》中也反映了出来。¹²

《五分律》中“布萨法”一节说的与上面两部律典所说的相近，略异有二。第一，缘起中并没有频婆沙罗王想听法供养的这部份。第二，《四分律》说佛陀最终规定在“八日、十四日、十五日”讲经说法，而《五分律》则说这些日子是用来“布萨说戒”。“布萨”就是“poṣadha”的一种简略音译。尽管本律说有五种“布萨”，即“一心念口言、二向他说净、三广略说戒、四自恣布萨、五和合布萨”，但它通常指僧众聚在一起“诵戒”。¹³

⁹ 《大正藏》册22，页758中—下。

¹⁰ 如《五分律》，《大正藏》册22，页112中；《十诵律》，《大正藏》册22，页156下。

¹¹ 《大正藏》册23，页602下—603中。

¹² 《大正藏》册8，页443下。

¹³ 《大正藏》册22，页121中，122上。

此外，属于大众部的《摩诃僧祇律》和属于萨婆多部的《十诵律》都说，其它宗教徒因为佛教僧团没有定期“布萨”而进行毁谤，佛陀于是就规定僧团要在“十四、十五”日布萨。¹⁴ 而关于说法日子，二者的表述略有不同。《摩诃僧祇律》跟以上诸律一样，显示说法日就是“月八日、十四日、十五日”而且多处表明它们就是“斋日”。¹⁵ 而《十诵律》所提供的缘起虽然仍是因为外道集聚说法，频沙王建议，佛陀才制定僧众说法，日期则是一个笼统的“六斋日”（正如《毗尼母经》和属于上座部的《善见律毗婆沙》），而且，还特别强调，僧人在这“六斋日”聚会才是合法，余日聚会则是“非法”。意外的是，该律的另外一个地方列出了“六斋日”的具体日子。律文说：“僧上座会坐法者，月六斋，所谓八日、十四日、十五日、二十三日、二十九日、三十日，于是日无病比丘，应和合一处说法”。¹⁶ 这就是明确地讲“六斋日”是僧人聚会和说法的日子。这些日子，在本律的另外两个地方分别谈“乞食”和“布施”时也提了出来，尽管没有明确标注它们为“六斋日”。¹⁷

综上所述，律典规定“十四日”和“十五日”是僧团“布萨说戒”的日子，“初八、十四、十五日”和“八日、十四日、十五日、二十三日、二十九日、三十日”都是“斋日”，僧团用以

¹⁴ 《大正藏》册22，页446下，450中，469中-下，499b中，541中，等等；册23，页158上-160上。《大正藏》误将一处‘一十五日’录成‘二十五日’见，页158中-159下。

¹⁵ 《大正藏》册22，页274中，281上，301下，328下，380下，等等。

¹⁶ 《大正藏》册23，页420下-421上；册24，页833上，782上。

¹⁷ 《大正藏》册23，页156下，200下。

聚会说法。现在的问题是，律典为什么会有“三斋日”和“六斋日”两种说法？“六斋日”这个概念的文化源头原本就是印度佛教吗？虽然苏远鸣在他的《道教的十斋日》（第28–29页）中通过引用第二手资料强调了这是古印度的宗教习俗，本文开篇也呈现了印度学及佛学研究领域中两部权威词典的解释，但为了更准确和明晰地证明“六斋日”及其相关观念的文化渊源，我们必须借助上座部的巴利语律典。巴利语藏经是目前学术界公认的直接从印度传到古代斯里兰卡的现存最古老而且相对完整的佛文献，它是经过几个世纪的师徒口传之后大概于公元前一世纪的锡兰（今斯里兰卡）才形成书面文献的，没有受中国文化影响的可能性，至少目前还没发现任何证据。¹⁸更重要的是，该传统的根本律典还是汉译佛典中没有包括的；《善见律毗婆沙》虽然来自同一个部派且也提到了“六斋日”，为避免被怀疑在翻译时有篡改妄加之嫌，所以不作证据。这两方面对于解决佛道之间关于“六斋日”源头之辨显然都具有最直接最有效的帮助。

二、六斋日

巴利语律典中，佛陀规定僧团“布萨”和“说法”的日子的完整记载是这样的。频婆沙罗王见其它宗教团体在“每半月的第十四、第十五和第八日”聚集说法因而“信众增多”，就给佛陀建议，让他的僧团也加以效法。佛陀于是召集僧众，宣布允许

¹⁸ 参看K.R. Norman, *Pali Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), p. 5.

他们在那几天聚会。当僧人集聚在一起时，又默不作，被居士讽为“无声的猪”，佛陀知道后，又要求他们说法。紧接着，律本又说佛陀告诉僧人应该诵“波罗提木叉”（即诵戒）并规定如何诵。于是，僧众天天都诵，疲劳不已。佛又说只能在“斋日”诵，结果，僧众就在每半月的第十四、第十五和第八日诵。佛陀知道后，又规定说半月只能诵一次，要么在第十四日要么在第十五日诵。¹⁹这就是南北传佛教僧团共有的每月初一和十五诵戒的传统源头。

这份巴利资料至少表明两点。其一，佛陀对“说法”和“诵戒”是分别规定的，这一点跟上面介绍过的《四分律》完全一致，跟《摩诃僧祇律》和《十诵律》也差别甚小。其二，每半月的第八、第十四、第十五是“斋日”。事实上，在巴利语佛教经典中，这几个日子常常以“吉祥夜”而提及。²⁰第二点对我们当前的讨论最有价值，因为它直接透露出了“六斋日”的构成。也就是说，如果每半月的第八、第十四、第十五是“斋日”，那么，上半月就是初八、十四、十五，下半月就是二十三、二十九、三十。这六个日子完全跟汉译佛典中的“六斋日”的具体

¹⁹ I. B. Horner, *The Book of the Discipline (Vinaya Piṭaka)*, Vol. 4 (London: Pali Text Society, 1949), pp. 130-137. 在同一页，日子的排列有两种顺序：开始是“第十五、第十四、和第八日”，然后一直是“第十四、第十五和第八日”，这其中的理由还不得而知。汉译《立世阿毗昙》也表明，佛制十五日布萨（《大正藏》册32，页177上-下）。

²⁰ Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Middle Length Discourses of the Buddha* (Wisdom Publications, 1995), pp. 104, 692...。

内容相吻合。因此，到此为止，我们可以确定一点，汉译佛典中的“六斋日”或“六斋”从概念上讲是印度佛教原典所有的。而且，印度现存最早的可以解读的考古性文字实物，即阿育王（活跃于公元前268-239）的政令碑刻，还规定说每半月的“第八日、十四和十五日”这三个“斋戒日”不能杀生。²¹

上面的巴利语资料同时也说明，那些只说三斋日的汉译律典其实只说了半个月的斋日，而且，它们的多数译者还将原文中的“pakkhassa”（每半月的）的信息要么省略了要么错译为“月”，并同时把原文的序数变成了基数，所以，译文就成了“月八日、十四日、十五日”而不是“每半月的第八日、第十四日、第十五日”。²²这就是我们在很多汉译佛典中找不到六个“斋日”的根本原因。不过，不是所有含有“斋日”信息的汉译佛典都存在这个失误因为我们还有其它译典也明确指出三斋日仅限于“半月的”，甚至还出现了“白月”和“黑月”两个半月的各三斋日的说法。对“白月”和“黑月”这两个概念，《佛说立世阿毗昙》的集中谈论最值得介绍。论文说：

“云何黑半？云何白半？由日黑半，由日白半。日恒逐月行，一一日相近，四万八千八十由旬，日日相离亦复如是。若相近时，日日月圆被覆三由旬，又一由旬三分之一，以是事故十五日日被覆则昼是日黑半满。日日离月亦四万八千八十由旬，月日日开三由旬，又一由旬三分之一，以是事故十五日月则开净圆满，世间则名白半圆满日月。若最相离行

²¹ 见Aśoka's Pillar Edict V, in Radhagovinda Basak ed., *Aśokan Inscriptions* (Calcutta: Progressive Publisher, 1959), p. 103.

²² *Pali and English Dictionary*, p. 380.

是时月圆，世间则说白半圆满日月。若共一处是名合行，世间则日黑半圆满。若日随月后行日光照月光，月光麤故被照生影，此月影还自翳月，是故见月后分不圆，以是事故渐渐掩覆。至十五日覆月都尽，随后行时是名黑半。若日在月前行，日日开净，亦复如是。至十五日具足圆满，在前行时是名白半。”²³

这就是说，印度人认为，太阳跟着月亮走，巡回往来，离它渐近直到其光芒全部覆盖月亮时就是人间的黑半月，离它渐远而且最终其光线错过月亮显出其整体时就是人间的白半月，各需十五天。所以，白半月是初月到满月，为上半月，黑半月就是从满月到无月之日，为下半月。

这种白黑半月各有三斋日的观念，好几部译典都有陈述。比如竺佛念译的《长阿含经》，隋闍那崛多等翻译的《起世经》，²⁴《优婆塞戒经》就直言“善男子，如来先说，白黑月中，各有三斋，随外道故。诸外道辈常以此日供养诸天，是故如来说有三斋。”²⁵这不仅说明了六斋日在白黑两个半月各占三日，而且还明言这种“斋日”的观念是佛陀效仿其它宗教的。这一点正好跟律典所说一致。此外，《佛本行经》多处说有龙王常于“白黑月八日、十四、十五”而上岸求法、布施或持斋。²⁶这里的“白

²³ 《大正藏》册32，页197中-下。

²⁴ 《大正藏》册1，页346下-347上。

²⁵ 《大正藏》册24，页1064中。

²⁶ 《大正藏》册3，页826中-下，853下，855上；《四分律》，《大正藏》册22，页791上。《根本说一切有部毘奈耶》的说法是四日，即再加月末一日（《大正藏》册23，页843上，867下）。

黑月八日、十四、十五”应该如同其它译典一样，是误将序数说法变成了基数，即，原意应该是“[分别]于白黑月的第八日、十四、十五日”，如此一来也刚好是“六斋日”。正因为半月各有三个斋日，才有译典只提“半月三斋”。²⁷玄奘（602-664）翻译的《大般若波罗蜜多经》开始说白黑半月的三斋日另有用途：“是善男子、善女人等，于黑白月各第八日、第十四日、第十五日，读诵宣说如是般若波罗蜜多。”²⁸其实，明确地把这六个日子叫作“六斋日”，早在本经早期版本，由鸠摩罗什（344-413）翻译的《摩诃般若罗蜜多经》中就已经有了。²⁹而更早的后汉时翻译的版本，即《道行般若经》如前所说，只译出了“月八日、十四日、十五日”。罗什所翻译的《十住毗婆沙论》直白地说“斋日者，月八日、十四日、十五日、二十三日、二十九日、三十日”，他的其它译典也基本一致。³⁰更值得一提的是，出现“六斋日”或“六斋”等术语的佛典还有别的早期译典。³¹

²⁷ 《长阿含经》解说“半月三斋”为“月八日斋、十四日斋、十五日斋”（《大正藏》册23，页134b中）。《阿育王息坏目因缘经》直接讲“半月三斋”（《大正藏》册50，页174下）。

²⁸ 《大正藏》册6，页504中，587中，804中，886下-887上。

²⁹ 《大正藏》册8，页310下。

³⁰ 《大正藏》册26，页60上。又见《大智度论》（《大正藏》册5，页515上）。他译的《小品般若罗蜜多经》在内容相对应的地方也提到了那六个日子，但并没有使用“六斋”或“六斋日”（《大正藏》册8，页553上）。

³¹ 《斋经》《大正藏》册1，页912上；《六度集经》《大正藏》册3，页3下，12中，35上，35中，48下，49上-中；《佛说四辈经》《大正藏》册17，页705下，706上；《毗尼母经》《大正藏》册24，页832下；《正法念处经》《大正藏》册17，页154下；《那先比丘经》《大正藏》册32，页694中。

在所有那些提到“斋日”、“六斋日”或“六斋”的经典中，斋日中的活动不完全只是上面律典显示的僧人布萨、说法、受食物供养等，还有别的项目。如上所示，律中规定僧人斋日布萨说法，之后应该就有了僧人斋日诵经和居士斋日听经的劝诫。³²《根本说一切有部毘奈耶》甚至还交待了斋日诵经的缘起。³³除了以上这些活动外，更多的包括律藏在内的佛典表明，斋日主要是用来受持斋戒的，具体地讲就是受持“八关斋戒”，即在家居士从出家人那里接受八条戒并在一日一夜之间严格遵守。³⁴事实上，很多汉译佛典甚至直接将“六斋”跟“八关斋戒”等同起来。比如康僧会（死于280）翻译的《六度集经》多处出现这些短语“正月奉六斋”、“身自六斋”、“持五戒，月六斋”、“令奉八戒，月六斋”、“人无尊卑，令奉六斋”、“月六斋八戒自修”。竺法护（229-306）译的《四辈经》两处也说“当受持五戒，月六斋”，以及《成具光明定意经》、《佛本行集经》、《贤首经》、《优婆夷净行法门经》、《耶祇经》等等。³⁵此外，

³² 斋日说法，除了上文所列的律典，经典也有类似的规定。比如《大明度经》《大正藏》册8，页478中；《佛说梵摩难国王经》《大正藏》册14，页794上。斋日听经见《六度集经》《大正藏》册3，页35中；《般泥洹经》《大正藏》册1，页188上。

³³ 《大正藏》册23，页839上。《根本萨婆多部律摄》也说作为徒弟的僧人应该在这四个日子里为自己的师傅的卧具作清洁卫生（《大正藏》册24，页579上）。

³⁴ 诸如《四分律》《大正藏》册22，页775中；《十诵律》《大正藏》册23，页105中；《增一阿含经》《大正藏》册2，页809上-中；《根本说一切有部毗奈耶》只说到四个斋日（《大藏经》册23，页815上-中，867下）。同样因为上文所讨论过的翻译失误，《杂阿含经》和《别译杂阿含经》也只谈到半月三斋日持八关斋戒（《大正藏》册2，页364上-中；482上）。

³⁵ 《大正藏》册3，页3下，12中，35上，48下，49上，49b中；册17，页705下，706上；册15，页457下；册3，页855上；册14，页943下，958中；册14，页829中。

含有同样意思的“六斋”也出现在“岁三月六”的短语中。所谓“岁三”就是指每年正月、五月和九月的前十天用来连续奉行八关斋戒。³⁶出现“岁三月六”的经典也有好几部，最早的是西晋译典。兹不一一罗列。³⁷当下，最需讨论的既不是细究“岁三月六”整个观念也不是八关斋戒的起源和内容，因为它们都非专论无以说明，而是“为什么‘六斋日’会用来作‘持斋’的日期？”。³⁸这样的讨论不仅可以介绍关于“六斋日”来源的另一说法而且也能纠正萧王二氏关于佛教斋日的另一个错误论断，即佛教中“斋日诸神巡察人间善恶并向上天禀报”之说是来源于道教。³⁹

三、“六斋日”中诸神巡察人间善恶并向上天禀报

鸠摩罗什翻译的《大智度论》在解释“六斋日”和为什么要在“六斋日”持“八关斋戒”的时候提出了几个理由，其中一个与我们讨论的主旨最为相关。原来，这几天四天王及相关诸神会下降人间巡视，了解人们行善或为恶的情况，然后禀报帝释天。该论还概括性地引述了《四天王经》的内容，以资左证。根据其概述，该经大概就是说“月六斋日，使者太子及四天王，自下观

³⁶ 参见东晋希超的《奉法要》（《大正藏》册52，页86中）。

³⁷ 萧登福先生也断称（185-186页）：“佛教又以正月、五月、九月为长三月，断屠，吃素，这也是出自中土，与道教有关。”见其《道教与佛教》。这一点还有待进一步研究，因为据笔者的初步了解，汉译佛典中“神变月”这个概念也是古印度原有的。

³⁸ 佛教藏经中，《斋经》（《大正藏》册1第87经）是专门介绍“八关斋戒”的起源和具体作法的。本经有多个版本，笔者将另撰专文论述。

³⁹ 《道教与佛教》，第139页。

察众生，布施、持戒、孝顺父母少者，便上忉利，以启帝释；帝释、诸天心皆不悦，言：‘阿修罗种多，诸天种少。’若布施、持戒、孝顺父母多者，诸天、帝释心皆欢喜，说言：‘增益天众，减损阿修罗’”。⁴⁰由此可见，这部经至少表明三点：四天王使者、四天王太子和四天王自身会在六斋日来人间视察众生的善恶行为，然后如实向帝释天汇报；第二，其中一个行善的表现就是持斋；第三，人们行善恶直接影响到天人数量的多少。

虽然，现存汉传《大藏经》收录了一部由刘宋凉州沙门智严和宝云（活跃于427）共译的《佛说四天王经》的单行本，但这部严格意义上只能算是编译的佛经明显参入了很多中国民间宗教信仰的元素，而且内容上也并不完全包含了我们以上总结的三点，所以不宜用来做说明材料。内容上真正基本符合以上三点的其实是收录在《杂阿含经》和《增一阿含经》的一部经。首先谈《杂阿含经》中的第1117部没有独立经名这个本子。本经开篇说，佛陀告诉比丘，“月八日”四天王就派遣大臣巡视人间，看他们有没有在“月八日、十四日、十五日、及神变月受戒布萨”，有没有“供养父母、沙门、婆罗门、尊重宗亲和行施作福”。⁴¹然后，在第十四日又派遣自己的太子做同样的视察，在第十五日他们亲自下界巡察，最终将巡察结果汇报给帝释。帝

⁴⁰ 《大正藏》册25，页516上，160上。关于四天王及其官属巡查人间的叙述，译者似错译了苏远鸣的概述。见其《道教的十斋日》，《法国汉学》第二辑，第30页。

⁴¹ 在一个特定的日子里视察其它日子里有没有做什么，似乎不合常理，应该是翻译有误。

释听了汇报，根据人间行善之人的多少而喜忧，原因是行善人多，天众就增加而阿修罗数量就减少，反之，行善人少，天众就减少而阿修罗就会增加。⁴²类似的叙述，在《长阿含经》的“世纪经”中也有，只不过经文对斋戒日期说得更清楚，直接讲“半月三斋”，分别是“八日、十四日、十五日”，然后四天王使者是在“八日”见人间巡察，他们的太子及他们自则分别是在“十四日”和“十五日”巡察。略有不同的是前二者的巡察都是汇报给四天王，而四天王他们自己的巡察则直接汇报帝释天。⁴³跟《长阿含经》的说法相似的还有《增一阿含经》卷第十的“高幢品”和《佛说立世阿毗昙论》。⁴⁴但《增一阿含经》在“汇报”这方面比《杂阿含》和《长阿含经》的版本都要长，因为它是将四天王使者、四天王太子和四天王自己的三次视察结果各从天人忧喜两方面都作了叙述。此外，两部分别署名《起世经》和《起世因本经》的译典也详细提供了同样的说法，略有不同的是它们都把“六斋日”完整地列了出来。⁴⁵

至于天神巡察教化人间的这一思想，早在《六度集经》就有了，尽管斋日不具体。该经说：“昔者菩萨，位为天王…每到斋

⁴² 《大正藏》册2，页295中-296上。帝释天会因为天人数量的增减而喜忧是一个印度佛教的信念：据说天人常与阿修罗作战，天人众多则能战胜阿修罗，反之则败。这种观点分别见于《正法念处经》（《大正藏》册17，页107上-中，121上-中，154下，402上）。

⁴³ 《大正藏》册1，页134中-135上。

⁴⁴ 《大正藏》册2，页624中-625上；《大正藏》册32，页184中-185中。

⁴⁵ 《大正藏》册1，页346下-347中；《大正藏》册1，页401下-402中。

日，乘于马车巡四天下……”。⁴⁶《摩诃僧祇律》也说天神在三个斋日巡察，一处说第三次巡察是帝释出巡，另一处简略地说帝释乘白龙象巡察人间。⁴⁷值得一提的是，同样是罗什翻译的《十住毗婆沙论》就增加了“天神护念善人”的思想。⁴⁸说法最不一样的是玄奘翻译的《阿毗达磨大毗婆沙论》。这部论典介绍说，三十三天（即帝释天）在白黑半月的三个斋日聚会在善法堂“称量世间善恶多少”而且也经常“伺察造善恶者”，并拥护善者，嫌毁恶者。⁴⁹

以上这些说法中，究竟有多少是属于印度佛教原有的呢？答案仍旧只有在巴利语藏经的帮助下才能明确显露出来。在巴利语佛经中，内容上完全跟《智度论》所引的《四天王经》和《杂阿舍经》的版本相对应的是其《增支部》中的“Catumahārāja-Sutta”，即《四大天王经》。下面是该经的梗概。佛陀告诉比丘说，在每半月的第八日，十四日，十五日，四天王的大臣，四天王的儿子和他们自己分别来到人间，巡察人们孝父母、尊沙门婆罗门、敬长辈、守斋戒、精进、行善，等情况。然后四天王就会报告正在“正法堂”聚会的三十三天神。如果人间“孝父母…行善”者少，诸神就会不高兴因为诸天神众会减少而阿修罗

⁴⁶ 《大正藏》册3，页36下-37上。

⁴⁷ 《大正藏》册22，页232下-233上，259上。

⁴⁸ 《大正藏》册26，页60a上。

⁴⁹ 《大正藏》册27，页211下。又见《佛说顶生王因缘经》《大正藏》册3，页398下。

会增长；如果“孝父母…行善”者多，诸神就会高兴因为诸天神众会增加，阿修罗众会减少。⁵⁰将这个说法跟以上汉译诸本所说加以对照，就不难发现，汉巴两种材料所说基本一致，尤其是跟《杂阿含经》的版本观点上完全对应。如果必须要说有什么不同，那就是几部汉译本在翻译时并没有体现出原本中每半个月的“第八日、十四日、十五日”，而只是“八日、十四日、十五日”。这一点前面已经指出，故不需多言。因此，我们现在可以肯定地说，“天神在六斋日巡察人间善恶并向帝释汇报巡察结果”的观念也是印度佛教原有的。这自然就意味着萧登福先生的第二个观点也必须重估。

四、驳议萧先生的论断

萧先生在他的书中反复强调说佛教的“六斋日”是来自道教的，因为道教的“汉世纳甲法及《参同契》所强调的修炼日：朔（初一日）、夕见（初三）、上弦（初八），望（十五日），下弦（二十三日）、晦（卅日）。这些日期，对道教修炼内、外丹者而言，极为重要。”所以“六斋日即：初八，十四，十五，二十三，二十九，三十……六斋十斋也都出自道教”。也说：“在六朝，司命属神检记善恶的日期，由《净度三昧经》所说的八王

⁵⁰ F. L. Woodward, *trns.*, *Grudual Sayings*, I (London: Pali Text Society, 1979), pp.126-127。为什么天人会因为人间善人的增减而喜忧呢，原来行善者少，投身为天人者少，即天众数量减少，行恶者多则投生阿修罗者多，而天人和阿修罗时常战争，其数量增减必然影响战争的胜负结果。参见广兴法师《早期佛教孝道观》，收入方立天学愚主编《佛教传统与当代文化》，北京：中华书局，2006，页285-306。

日及《大智度论》所讲每月六斋日，以及《提谓经》所讲的主日期。这些日期，都是沿承道教而来。…六斋日即：初八，十四，十五，二十三，二十九，三十……六斋十斋也都出自道教”；又说：“……考核的日期，主要的则有《明真科》及《洞玄灵宝》所言的三元，八节，六斋，十直。佛教之司命系统仿自道教，系以人世帝王之行政结构，来加以组织……而佛陀所谨守的六斋十直，也是直接沿承自道教而来”。⁵¹ 我们下面会专门讨论他所谓的佛教“司命系统”是不是仿自道教，这里先讨论他的关于“六斋日”的论断。萧先生的这个观点可以轻易地被三个事实否定。其一，上面我们通过利用在公元前一世纪形成书面文献的巴利语佛经清楚地证明了“六斋日”是印度佛教原有的“斋戒日”，其形成时期远远要比萧先生所追溯到的“汉世纳甲法”的道教斋日要早得多。其二，从具体的日期来说，佛教的“六斋日”中只有“初八”、“十五”“二十三”“三十”跟道教“修道日”重合，显然，说它沿承自道教是很牵强的。其三，他说道教司命“核阅人世”的日期包括了“六斋日”，所引用的最早道经证据却是《明真科》和《洞玄灵宝》。但是，早已有道教学者的研究表明，这两部书是在南北朝时期受佛教刺激和影响之下形成的，时间上既晚于印度佛教的“六斋日”，也晚于“六斋日”这个概念传入中国的时间。⁵² 逻辑上讲，道教这两部

⁵¹ 萧登福《道教与佛教》，第138，144，168，184页。

⁵² 参见Stephen Eskildsen, *Asceticism in Early Taoist Religion* (Albany: State University of New York, 1998), pp. 95, 190-91。关于佛教影响道教的研究已经很深入和广泛，最典型可以参见 Eric Zürcher, 'Buddhist Influence on Early Taoism: A Survey of Scriptural Evidence,' *T'oung Pao* 66, 1980, pp. 84-147。

经中“六斋日”的说法抄袭佛教的可能性似乎不容置疑。即便是王博士所认定的后汉形成的《旨教经》中包含有“月十斋”的说法，也没有具体日期。最为有趣的是，有学者已颇具说服力地证明了张天师出《旨教经》之说纯属伪托。⁵³如果仅就“斋日”这个词语来说，汉时译典《中本起经》中就已经出现了。⁵⁴更何况，佛教之传入中国而流传于民间比现存最早译典的时期还要早得多，它的，主要是为居士设计的“斋戒”和“六斋”思想和习俗也会随之传入。⁵⁵从现有的考古发现来看，佛教传入中国后在民间无疑对我国本土宗教——包括最初形式的道教——产生过不同程度的影响。⁵⁶汤用彤的考证甚至表明作为道教最早的经典《太平经》都有袭用佛教文化的痕迹。⁵⁷所以，《旨教经》透露出一些佛教的思想观念，也并非不可能。

萧先生也主张佛教中诸神“巡察人间记录人民善恶，向天禀报”的观念也是源自道教。他首先承认，道教核计善恶功过的做法是沿袭汉代行政组织上，考核臣民功过的方式而来。根据他的阐述，这种思想的根本源头在《礼记-祭法》中，然后，从

⁵³ 吕鹏志，〈天师道旨教斋考〉（上），《中央研究院历史语言研究所集刊》80:3，2009，页355-402；〈天师道旨教斋考〉（下），《中央研究院历史语言研究所集刊》80:4，2009，页507-553。

⁵⁴ 《大正藏》册4，页157下。

⁵⁵ 鱼豢的《魏略》中关于西汉哀帝元狩元年（公元前2年）佛教传入中国的说法是学术界广为接受的。

⁵⁶ 四川发现的东汉初“摇钱树”以及东汉崖墓佛像都是可靠的证据。参见，范小平：〈四川汉画及摇钱树所反映的中国早期佛教艺术〉，《中华文化论坛》1998年，第3期，第66-70页；向玉成：〈乐山崖墓佛像与佛教传入中国的问题〉，《四川师范大学学报》，2004年，第3期，第126-130页。

⁵⁷ 参见其《汉魏两晋南北朝佛教史》（增订本），北京大学出版社，2011，页59-64。

《风俗通义》、王充《论衡》就开始有了上天派神在特定日子来考察人间善恶。根据他的说法，这种信仰，加上“汉代行政组织”的影响，就形成了道教的司命核阅的观念。不过，真正包含神灵上报天庭的最早的道教文献是葛洪的《抱朴子》：“又月晦之夜，灶神亦上天白人罪状”。从此可以看出，不是玉帝定期遣神下降人间视察记录人的善恶，而且，甚至都没有包含“斋日”一词。⁵⁸最后，他断称：“有汉代的官吏上计，形成道教的考核机构，这种情形在受道教影响的佛经中仍可以看到，如敦煌写卷斯2051号《佛说提谓经》云：“八王日、月八日、十四日、十五日、二十三日、二十九日、三十日，皆是天地用事之日。上下玄、望、朔、晦，皆是录命上计之日，故使于次日，自守持斋，以道自救，使不犯禁，自致生善处。”⁵⁹在进一步引述他的更多阐述之前，我们有必要先稍作回应。首先，从他的讨论可以看出，“司命”和“录命”等信仰或观念与其说是道教的，不如说是中国先秦宗教文化的，而且他也承认是道教吸收了中国文化原来就有的观念。其次，它所指出的抄袭道教司命信仰的《佛说提谓经》是十足的佛教伪经，只是民间佛教信仰的表现。⁶⁰

萧先生接着又说：“基本上佛教讲业，也成为一种往生的力量，所以不须要令有考核的官吏存在。佛教司命察司人世善恶的说法，乃是受道教的影响，承受汉代的上计观念而来。”并声称，诸阿含“经中所言天神下巡人世，察记善记之说，和道教司

⁵⁸ 王明，《抱朴子内篇校释》增订本，北京：中华书局，1985，页125。

⁵⁹ 萧登福《道教与佛教》，第139，142，144页。

⁶⁰ 关于本经是伪经的研究，见汤用彤《汉魏两晋南北朝佛教史》第十章，北京大学出版社，2011年。亦见苏远鸣《道教的十斋日》，第30页；杨白衣译牧田谛亮《疑经研究》，《华岗佛学学报》1985年第4期，第293-294页。

命神之职司相同，而所察记者，竟然是中土道德主流的‘慈孝父母，敬顺尊长’，与佛教的自业自受观念相违；这些皆疑是受中土道教之影响而来。”但他也承认“《中阿含经-卷十四-大善见王经》亦有‘奉持法斋，月八日，十四日、十五日修行布施，施诸穷乏沙门、梵志、贫穷、孤独、远来乞者’等语，但无四天王遣使者巡行天下善记之说，应较原始之形貌，未受中土道教影响者。四天王使者记善恶之说，当是译者采中土风习以译经，以便于传教”。最后，他干脆说“佛教司命系统的建立，据史料所示，大概在西晋永嘉年间已形成。又，其中姚秦-佛陀耶舍和竺佛念所以的《佛说长阿含经-卷二十一-世纪经-忉利天品》所述月三斋帝释暨四天王按行天下察记世人善恶一段记载，似乎是印度古已有之，但经察南传藏经中并无《世纪经-忉利天品》及所述文字，则更可证明六斋十直察司善恶之观念，出自中土，系中土僧人所妄加。”⁶¹

萧先生这些话，可以归纳为两点：其一、佛经中原本没有“六斋日诸神察人间善恶并向上天禀报”的观念，而包含有这种观念的佛经都是佛教徒根据道经从西晋时期开始妄加的；其二、佛教主张业力说，跟“考核官吏的存在”的思想相矛盾。根据我们上面的讨论，萧先生的第一个论点是根本不成立。虽然跟汉译《佛说长阿含经-卷二十一-世纪经-忉利天品》大致对应的巴利语《世纪经-忉利天品》没有斋日四天王使者、他们的太子、及他们自己案行天下察记世人善恶的字句，但他明显是没有找到正确的对应经典，尽管我们也承认部份汉译佛典十分明显地在翻译过程中加入中国文化元素。这，对于一个道教学者来说似乎无可

⁶¹ 萧登福《道教与佛教》，第155 - 169页。

厚非，一个重要原因是汉译和巴利语经典的对应本来就不是现成而一目了然的，毕竟他们各自代表不同的佛教传统和部派（汉译佛典甚至保存了多个佛教部派的文献），加之口传等其它历史的因素，他们对经典编排各有一定方式。除此而外，我们还必须知道，佛教梵本或“胡本”传来中土，也有个“错简”的问题。总之，如前所示，真正完整反映“六斋日诸神察人间善恶并向上天禀报”这一观念的经典是《杂阿含经》第一一一七经，此经包含“六斋日诸神察人间善恶并向上天禀报”这一观念的部分跟巴利语的《四天王经》完全对应。也就是说，萧先生说这个观念是佛教沿承自道教，是完全错误的。

萧先生的第二个论点也毫无道理。佛教有这种“天神巡察”观念的同时并不跟它信奉“业力论”相冲突。因为，这种视察人间善恶的观念并没有说天神依视察的结果而有能力赏罚世人，而是说天神依人间行善或行恶人的多少而喜忧，或者顶多不过拥护行善者嫌弃恶者。至于萧先生说汉译佛经的“慈孝父母，敬顺尊长”“与佛教的自业自受观念相违”所以“疑是受中土道教之影响而来”，更是错谬之极。首先，“慈孝父母，敬顺尊长”并非好事的译经者所加，而是印度佛经本有，因为巴利语的版本也有这样的词句：“...metteyyā petteyyā sāmaññā brahmaññā kule jettḥāpacāyino...karontī”（孝敬父母、尊敬沙门婆罗门、敬重耆老）。⁶² 其实，这思想还似乎影响了阿育王，因为相近的思想也

⁶² 见 *Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Part I*, revised ed. by A. K. Warder (London: Pali Text Society, 1961), p. 142。

出现在他的一份碑刻政令中。⁶³其次，主张“慈孝父母，敬顺尊长”为什么又跟“自业自受观念相违”？难道“慈孝父母，敬顺尊长”不是应该提倡的善业？

五、结论

上面的讨论可以总结成以下三点。

第一，佛教的“斋日”概念是直接来自印度当时其它宗教那里借用来的，它在汉代佛教译典就已存在了。但是，就具体日子而言，它在很多汉译佛典中的出现因为翻译等客观历史原因并非直接而明显，多数情况被错误地呈现为“三斋日”，尽管交待和讨论“六斋日”最迟在鸠摩罗什的译典中就已出现。本文前一部分的论证不仅显示了“三斋日”出现的原因，理清了它与“六斋日”之间的关系，还证明了“六斋日”这个概念及其附带的宗教含义，既不是萧先生所说的“沿承自道教”，也不是其它学者所认为的是道教影响之下而产生的；事实应该恰好相反。

第二，在“六斋日”这几天四大天王及其官属会依次下降人间巡察善恶之事，然后向帝释天汇报，这一观点也是印度佛教原有的，主要出现在《四大天王经》中。汉译单本的《佛说四天王经》无疑是汉僧的编译，充满了中国本土的宗教信仰和观念，但印度原来的《四大天王经》的主要内容却多次出现在其它汉译佛典中。所以，这个观念也根本不是萧先生及其它学者所断言的是来自道教。能充分证明第一和第二点的有力证据是现存的古老的巴利佛教经典，其中清楚地反映了佛教既有“六斋日”，也

⁶³ 参见 Richard Gombrich, *Theravada Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Beneras to Modern Colombo*, (London: Rutledge, 2006), p. 131.

有“诸神下降人间巡察善恶，并向帝释天禀报”的观念。

第三，本文也意外地揭示出一个属于“佛教文献学”领域的事实，那就是凸现了展开汉巴佛教文献对比研究的重要性。本文通过几部佛典的简单对比，发现一些意义。首先，汉译佛典的可信度可以通过其它较原始的印度语佛典来证实，虽然它只能准确到思想而不是字句的程度。本文所讨论的两个被道教学者所误会观念就证明巴利语的佛典正好印证了汉译佛典的内容是来自印度而不是在翻译过程中受中国本土宗教观念编造出来的。其次，经名相对应的汉巴经典内容上的不完整对应也似乎表明，巴利语传统的佛教文献和汉译佛典所依据的印度佛教原典在内容的分类编排上存在区别。这是汉巴佛教文献的比较研究应该特别注意的问题之一。再其次，汉译佛典存在误译问题。比如，本文所论及的汉译本将原著中“半月”的含义省略和将序数变成基数都是最好的例子。造成这种译文或多或少失真于原著的客观因素可能包括汉语和古印度语本质上的巨大不同，或者诵出原典的人没有表达清楚，或译者所依据的原典本来就有问题。不管是哪种情况，汉巴佛教文献的对比研究都能起到解决问题的关键性作用。所以，开展这种本质上应该称为“文献对比研究”狭义上讲可以帮助理清汉译佛典的真伪问题，同时对体现汉译佛典的价值和了解佛教文献的内容也有显而易见的好处，广义上讲对整个印度佛教研究都会有意义重大的收获，因而值得鼓励。⁶⁴最后，本文也显示，汉巴文献对比研究对佛教与道教之间的经论对比研究也有直接的益处，至少它能更好地理解佛道二教之间的早期交流，更能准确显示出佛教的概念和思想对道教的具体影响，或者相反的情况。

⁶⁴ 在早期佛经汉巴比较研究方面，过去有的主要是在汉巴两种藏经中寻求对应经典，而仔细对比其内容的研究，尤以德国汉堡大学佛学研究中心的无著(Anālayo)比丘值得一提。

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2. 现代学术研究成果

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Abstract:

This study deals with the concept of the Buddhist 'Six Observance Days' and a related belief. It investigates the connection between the 'Three Observance Days' and the 'Six Observance Days' in some Chinese Buddhist translations. It argues with the aid of the Pali literature that rather than being results of Daoist influence, as suggested by some Daoist scholars, both the concept of the Buddhist 'Six Observance Days' and the belief in the Four Great Kings' inspection in the human world on the observance days are Indian culture by origin. As an unintended outcome, this study also indicates that a comparative study of Chinese Buddhist translation and the Pali literature is quite significant to the study of Buddhist literature as whole as well as to the study of the early relation between Buddhism and Daoism in China.

Key Words:

Observance Days, Six Observance Days, Heavenly Inspection, Buddhism, Daoism

书评

评介《善男寥寥：《郁伽所问经》中的菩萨道：
研究与翻译》*

纪赟

新加坡佛学院助理教授、教务主任、图书馆馆长

此书主体分为两部分，即《分析》（页3-206）和《翻译》（页207-324），另有《附录》（页325-351）以及《参考书目》（页352-368）和《索引》（369-383）。

1. 作者献词

那体慧在此介绍了此书的写作背景，此项研究可以追溯到她在哈佛读研究生（1974-5年）时，当时导师为永富正俊（Masatoshi Nagatomi），研究专题是《八千颂般若经》。结果却发现了一些按照正统教科书不应该发现的材料，因此就决定了那体慧以后的研究方向。另外，那体慧此书即是献给出版3年前刚刚去世的永富。

* 此書出版信息如下：A Few Good Men: The Bodhisattva Path According to the Inquiry of Ugra (Ugraparipṛcchā): a Study and Translation, University of Hawaii Press, 2003。對其漢譯名《善男寥寥》，特說明如下，根據此經的內容，菩薩道只為少數人所能行，並且祇為了少數“男性”所能行，作者題名中的主標題即為此意，故而作了相應的翻譯。另外，我也提請讀者注意那體慧為此書所起之名也受到1992年好萊塢同名電影的影響。

而真正这个研究项目的开端则是在此二十年之后，当那体慧到达印第安纳大学之后，与布歇（Daniel J. Boucher）、柏夷（Stephen R. Bokenkamp）、康若柏（Robert F. Campany）等人组成了读书研究班，以研究竺法护等早期关键性的佛教译师。这个研究班的一个兴趣所在就是竺法护版的《郁伽所问经》（Ugraparipṛcchā），因为此经汉译有三种，并有晚期的藏译本可作比较。此一研究班后随布歇前往日本而解体，但那体慧的兴趣却一直保留了下来，故而认为应该全译《郁伽所问经》。（页xvii-viii）

到了1995-6年那体慧拿到一笔基金资助，就随其夫马克瑞（J. MaRae）来到了中国，此文初稿不少部份便是她在中国云南下关撰成。1996年那体慧回到美国之后继续此一研究，一直到1999年完成。

2. 第一章：序言

那体慧首先指出《郁伽所问经》（Ugraparipṛcchā，此后简称《郁伽经》）在大乘经之中的重要性，此经属于最初的汉译大乘经典之一，并且从二到五世纪就至少被译出过六次。在三世纪中期此经如此流行，故而康僧会为之撰写了序言与注释。在印度方面，被归名为龙树所撰的《十住毘婆沙论》（*Daśabhūmikavibhāṣa，仅存汉译本，T1521）之中，征引此经的数量就超过了所有其它经典。而数百年之后的公元8世纪时，在寂天（Śāntideva）的《大乘集菩萨学论》（Śikṣāsamuccaya）之中《郁伽所问经》依然还是征引最多的经典。但此经却长期被西方学者所忽视，重要的研究专著以及一般的标准教材之中都付之阙如，也没有对此经的翻译和多少研究曾经出现过。（页3-4）

作者就提出疑问为什么这么重要的经典却得不到西方学者的重视呢，她发现在西方最为人所知的大乘经典包括《法华经》、《心经》、《金刚经》和一些其它般若类经典（如《八千颂》和《二万五千颂》）、大、小《阿弥陀经》和《维摩诘经》等，这些经典之所以被西方重视，其原因大体要么是因为还有梵语本存在，要么就是在当代日本非常流行，或者两者兼备。（页4-5）

产生这种现象的原因，据那体慧分析还是与西方对佛教的接受与研究史有关，因为最早西方语言对佛教的接受还是从梵语、巴利语的经典文献。并且西方学界还有一种倾向，即认为印度语本是“原始”材料，而任何其它翻译经典都是二手材料，即使这些翻译要远早于印度语经典或者只有这些翻译经典存世的情况，但这种对之轻视的态度还是会决定了西方佛教学界对汉译经典的忽视。

如果说西方最早的佛学研究主要是对梵、巴佛教文献的消化，那么十九世纪末开始日本与西方佛教的互动又影响了西方学者对经典研究的取向。（页5-6）

除了上述两个要素之外，西方学界对经典也有自己的价值偏好。那体慧指出，有些经典，如《金光明经》和《入楞伽经》都既有梵语本，又在日本非常流行，但在西方佛教学界中都并不十分受重视，这或者是因为与西方当代读者的兴趣无关，或者是与西方实用主义与此岸性有隔阂。（页6）

故而那体慧总结，在西方佛教学界较受重视的经典大体都是那些与西方价值观有相通之处的经典，如“平等主义”（egalitarianism）（如《法华经》中的众生皆有佛性）、“居士中心的宗教”（如《维摩诘经》中居士可以挑战长老僧人的地位）、“宗教实践中的朴素与个性”（如《阿弥陀经》中对阿弥

陀佛的个人崇信为核心）、“反智主义”（anti-intellectualism）（《心经》、《金刚经》与其它般若类经典之中对理性思考有效性的反驳）。总而言之，之所以这些经典受到重视，就是因为不仅仅它们有梵本或者在日本受到重视，还因为它们与当代西方的宗教趣味有一致之处。（页6-7）

因此欧美佛教学界起码在过去对大乘佛教经典的研究得出的印象就是并不完整，甚至是扭曲的。那体慧举《法华经》为例，指出此经正好符合上述三个原因，故而被广泛认为是“典型，甚至是根本性的大乘经典”。但将之与印度大乘佛经相比，就会发现很多方面的差异。如此经讲“一乘”，而大乘经典中大多数说的是“三乘”；此经讲甚至一个小孩聚沙成塔奉献佛陀都可在未来成佛（即成佛甚易），却与早期绝大多数大乘经典中对菩萨道的理解相异，即菩萨道是艰辛甚至是折磨人的难行之道，只能为意志坚定的勇敢的少数所能行；而此经之中出现了释迦牟尼佛与久远涅槃的过去佛—多宝佛（Prabhūtaratna）一起出现，也违背了标准的大乘教义，即“一佛一世界”。也即是与早期大乘经典加以比较，就会发现《法华经》绝非典型，故而应对过去整个西方学界对大乘经典的研究取向作出重新的检视。（页7）

也正是由于上述原因，《郁伽经》既没有完整的梵本存世，在日本并不流行，并且也不符合西方的审美趣味（既没有提倡平等主义；其中所描绘的菩萨道也远非容易，只能为少数“男人”所奉行；并且也并不偏向在家修行，而是鼓励出家；而且也休想在此世证得佛道，需要无数世的艰苦努力；还不符合现代西方人喜欢的逆向思维与反智主义，其对菩萨道的描述直截了当，基本都是三学等传统修行方式），故而在过去虽然重要，但并不受重视。

而对为什么要选择此经加以研究，那体慧的回答也就是：此经既影响深远，同时也是流传至今的最早的菩萨类经典。而就实际意义而言，无论现在的佛教徒思想如何，我们都不能忽视这些最早的大乘经的存在。（页8-9）

3. 第二章：《郁伽经》的成型

《郁伽经》是在印度形成的一部由自认为是行菩萨行的“男众”所撰出的经典。它曾被归类于《大宝积经》类之中，但这只是后来的追溯，作者在此更愿意使用“菩萨经”这一名称。因为在此经之中并未有明显的大乘身份意识，只是将自己作为普通的佛教僧团成员，不过选择了一条最为艰巨的、最为荣光的修行之路：通过无数世的修行以获得成佛的全部要素。（页10）

3.1. 作为文献资料的《郁伽经》

《郁伽经》的最初情况，即是否被当作一部“佛经”来撰出我们目前并不清楚。之所有有这样一个问题是因为在佛经的文献成立史之中，非常明显可以找到不少“佛经”最初只是一些“非佛”所说出，后来经过了“佛经化”（*sūtrafication*）才成为了“佛经”。（页11-13注3）但对《郁伽经》，我们目前能找到的此经的最早形式，就是公元2世纪末的汉译本之中就已经以“佛经”的形式存在了，当然我们不能说这就是最早的经典原型。反之，至少这部经的某些部份最早也是以口传形式形成并流传开来的，因此我们也就几乎无法完全复原这一原型。

并且也不能假定此经的文献是以单一线性的方式演进的，因为一部经可能在不同人群之中以口传方式流传，各自有自己的发展变化，增加、删改和错误，最后又在某个时间点与其它传本融合，并进一步发展下去。这些都为了一部佛经的源头追溯带来了巨大的困难。（页14-15）

就《郁伽经》而言，此经则并没有任何印度的祖本存世，只有三个汉译本、一个藏译本存世，故而虽然可以为我们校勘提供帮助，但需要小心使用，并对其印度原本不做过度的推定。除此之外，此经还有后世的引用，包括梵语本之中的征引。但就时代而言，这些梵语引用的时代都相对较晚。这些都为我们研究《郁伽经》带来了不小的局限。（页15-16）

3.2. 《郁伽经》的版本

《郁伽经》的版本如下（前为缩写）：

AY: 《法镜经》（T322），由安息居士安玄与中国沙门严佛调于公元180-190年间译出；

Dh: 《郁伽迦罗越问菩萨行经》（T323），月支沙门竺法护于三世纪末或四世纪初译出；

R: 《郁伽长者会》（T310[9]），归名为康僧铠，但译者情况至今仍未最终解决。（页17，注9和10）

Tib: Phags-pa Drag-shul-can-gyis zhus-pa zhes-bya-ba'i theg-pa chen-po'i mdo（北京版 760[19]；德格版[63]；奈塘版[51]；朵宫版11[19]）。

蒙古语译语版，译自藏语本。

征引情况则有：

Dbhv: 《十住毘婆沙论》（T1521,26.20a-122c），罗什于公元402-412年间译出。此论的第14-17品和32品之中对此经有大量的征引。并且罗什在翻译这些部份之时并没有参考另外三个汉译本。（页18-19）

Śikṣā: 寂天的《大乘集菩萨学论》，撰成于八世纪，现在存有尼泊尔14-16世纪的梵语本。此经在8世纪末或9世纪初被译成了藏语。在1058-1072年间由日称、法护译成了汉语（T1636,32.75b-145a）。此经中的征引并不如《十住毘婆沙》之中多，但证明了印度语本的存在。（页19-20）

3.3. “郁伽”的名称

在梵语本《大乘集菩萨学论》之中曾经提到过9次Ugradattapariṣcchā和13次Ugrapariṣcchā。并且此经的经名出现也没有规律可循。所以到底“郁伽”的原名是Ugradatta（纪按：所增加的datta意为授予、赐予、施授）还是Ugra就值得研究。那体慧指出在汉、藏译的经文内文之中，根本找不到其名为Ugradatta的痕迹。在《法镜经》之中，郁伽的名称被译为“甚”，这看起来很怪，但很肯定是为了表达梵语Ugra“可怕的、凶猛的”意思。在Dh和R本之中，都作了音译而非意译（分别为郁迦和郁伽）。而藏译则翻译成Drag-shul-can，即“性格凶猛”，也是对应Ugra。也就是说“所有此经现存版本都一致支持其名称为‘Ugra’，而‘Ugradatta’这个名称则似乎代表晚近的（并且明显非常次要的）印度发展。”（页21-22）

3.4. Gr̥hapati的称号

Gr̥hapati这个称号直译即是“家主”，则值得注意。此一称号在此经之中使用非常广泛，用来称号郁伽以及他的男性朋友。在三个汉译本之中，有的意译为“长者”，或音译为“迦罗越”。在此那体慧试图建立起此词在当时历史背景下的含义。

梵语gr̥hapati及其巴利对应gahapati，其意思都比较明显，即表示“居家之主人”，故而首先他当然是相对于出家人而言，

是指在家居士。但此称号还具有一些特殊的背景内涵。首先，此词是指经济上大富之人，艾哲顿甚至建议将之翻译成“资本家”；（《佛教混合梵语辞典》，页214b）其次，此词还带有种姓意味，在巴利藏经与菩萨经典之中常常是跟在“婆罗门”或“刹帝利、婆罗门”之后；第三，与gr̥hapati相联系的职业常常是商人或者是行会的领袖；第四，gr̥hapati还是转轮王的七宝之一，在此前后文背景之中gr̥hapati是指“守藏者”或“财务顾问”；第五，至少在菩萨类经典之中，那体慧发现此词只表示“成年男性”。

当然此词也表示在家之人，但这个意思在梵语之中还有一个更单纯的表达，即gr̥hin，而本经中谈到的gr̥hapati则明显带有上面提到的更多的附加意思。（页23-24）

3.5. 作为文学人物的郁伽：早先文本中的先例

郁伽并非只是在《郁伽经》中才有出现，在梵、巴、藏的经典之中都出现过这个或轻或重的角色。这些郁伽生活在不同年代（有些生活在过去佛时，有些与释迦牟尼同时代）；生活在不同地域；但都被描绘为家资巨富；大多数都被称为“长者”。因此有些学者就认为《郁伽经》是在更早的经典基础上发展起来的。不过，那体慧认为并不清楚到底哪一部或多部阿含类经典是这部经的原型。（页25-26）

3.6. 经题

佛教经典，尤其是大乘的佛经，其经名问题非常复杂，同一部经典，经常会以多个名称加以流通，并且即使在经文内文中提到的本经题名，有时也与实际的经名并不一致。《郁伽经》也是如此，如最早的版本就题名为《法镜经》。（页28注41）而藏语

本则称《圣郁伽所问大乘经》，而法护本是《郁伽迦罗越问菩萨行经》，以及作为《大宝积经》之中一部份的《郁伽长者会》。

法护本这个较长的名字，那体慧猜测是在中国撰出，因为其它地方找不到如此对应的经名。另外值得注意的是，那体慧还发现了藏语版中的北京版中出现了在印度此经经题中没有出现过的 *gr̥hapati*，那体慧经过考证，认为是受到了汉语译经的影响，这也可以说是汉语佛教反过来影响藏传佛教的一个例证。（页29-32）

3.7. 作为《大宝积经》的《郁伽经》

在汉语藏经之中，《郁伽经》都被归入《大宝积经》之中，这种归类的原因却一直不清楚。在印度语境之中，*Ratnakūṭa*（宝积）是作为单经之名，而非是一些经的集群，这部单经指的就是现在大本《大宝积经》中的《迦叶品》（*Kāśyapaparivarta*）。这种情况至少一直到公元八世纪的寂天为止，其《大乘集菩萨学论》*Ratnakūṭa*依然还是指这部单经。而藏语佛经的情况也类似，这种情况一直持续到公元9世纪为止。而汉语藏经，则公元7世纪的后半叶就已经有了这种集成的概念。（页32-33）

而真正集成并翻译大本《大宝积经》则又要到数十年之后的唐中宗时，由南印度僧人菩提流支（*Bodhiruci*）完成（公元706-713年）。这部大本共49部小经，其中22部只是编入以前的旧译，而另外27部则是他的译经团队的重译或新译。

根据拉露（*Marcelle Lalou*）的研究，藏译大本《大宝积经》的结构源自汉译，并且有些经典还是直接从汉译转译而成，故而非常明显藏译的这种集成是受到了汉译的影响。而那体慧自己在查阅藏语本时，也有此经的题记之中找到了另外的佐证。（页34-36）

3.8. 经本在历史中的发展

由于到目前的四个版本之间并无确定的相互借鉴关系，故而就可以通过比较来获得此经演进的历史。并且，那体慧再次强调佛经的发展并非一定是单线条发展，确切地说，就是不能在没有分析之前就假定安玄所使用的版本也是竺法护所使用版本的祖本。而反之，那体慧认为这四个版本之间的关系正好并非是单线条关系。

而将这四个版本按照时间排列开来，非常有意思的是这四个版本的长度正好与之相吻合，越晚的也篇幅越大。也就是说，和很多其它佛经一样，随着时间的发展，其经本的篇幅在拉长。（页36-37）

3.9. 结构与风格

虽然篇幅有增长，但此经整体结构一直保持大体不变。只有一处显著的变化，即《法镜经》之郁伽等请求出家是在经末，而另外三个版本都在中部。那体慧猜测这是因为印度的编辑者觉得郁伽应该是在出家之后，再受教法。但非常有意思的是，虽然以后的版本将出家放到了经中，却未能作出其它相应的调整，以至于在出家之后的部份，郁伽及其它还是被指为长者居士。（页38）

故而这也显示，《法镜经》的版本确实最为古老，虽然还是不能将之当作“祖本”。而就内容而言，此经也是非常典型的佛经，三分具足，是主角也即佛陀与其弟子（郁伽）之间的对谈。

虽然不少佛经是散体与韵体兼具，但此经却并无偈颂。也没有证据表明印度原始的版本有分品分节的情况存在，藏译本有三分，汉译本中的竺法护本则有分品和品名存在，但现在看来这是

他自己的创造。（页39）但此经的内容却大体可以分为两部份，分别处理在家居士和出家菩萨的相关内容。（页39-40）

3.10. 时间与出处

要考证一部印度经典的撰成时间，一般而言，有三种证据可供使用：外在证据、内在证据、语言。外在证据包括其它经典引用到了、提到了、对其注释、以及翻译成其它语言。这些证据当然只有在其它经典可以确切系年的情况下才有用，最常见的情况不过就是该经译成汉语的时间。如果有上述情况存在，起码就可以提供这部经典形成的最晚时间。

内在证据包括经中提到了历史人物与事件，以及基于何部经典或从哪部经典中有过引用等。还有更难确定的另一类内在证据，就是从此经中表现出来的思想、实践和历史背景来推定其形成时间。但这种证据却存在太多问题，要谨慎使用。（页41-42）

最后就是从语言的角度来加以分析，当一个印度语本存世时，通过语言与文字就有可能确定其年代。就总体而言，佛教语言的演进线路是俗语也即各种方言本，到佛教混合梵语再到非常标准的梵语。这样，如果发现俗语本，一般而言，会认为其时代较早。但即使如此，还是要注意问题的复杂性，如说一切有部采用梵语就比其它部派要早，而上座部则采用了巴利这种人造的俗语来作为其经堂语，一直持续到了现代。（页42-43）

但就《郁伽经》的外在证据而言，则只有最早的译本，即安玄在公元180-190年间的翻译，对此经的撰成时间并无太大帮助。就内在证据而言，《郁伽经》也没有提到历史人物与事件（佛陀、阿难等人物并不能表明问题），但此经之中出现了比较次要的角色—弥勒，这样就可以确定此经形成于弥勒信仰兴

起的迦腻色伽王（Kanishka）时期之前（公元后一世纪晚或二世纪初）。在其它方面，此经也显得比同时期汉译的经典要更为古老，比如此经正文之中没有提到观自在和文殊（只存于序分之中，而这种“结构性”部份常常是后来增加或更动过的）；也没有提到过女性菩萨（开始和结尾的部份有 *kulaputra vā kuladuhitr vā*，也即“善男子与善女子”也是后来增加的产物）；其中没有提到菩萨道对众生皆为普适；也没有提到这是易行道，比如《八千颂般若经》中的经卷崇拜，或观想阿弥陀佛等；另外此经还没有提到其他人对菩萨道的攻击。总之就内容而言，那体慧认为此经是到公元200年为止汉译菩萨乘经典之中最为古老的之一。至于具体时间，那体慧的估计是“公元前一世纪”，而其它相对更为成熟的大乘经如《八千颂般若》、《般舟三昧经》、《阿闍佛国经》等都要晚一个世纪或更多。（页45-46）

至于地点，此经之中也完全没有提到，就语言而言，则可以确定绝非是梵语，而是俗语。但此经之中曾经提到过四藏的说法，即经、律、阿毗达磨和菩萨藏，而在佛教部派之中只有法藏部有此藏。非常有趣的是，在此经的安玄与竺法护译本之中，还有一个四“圣依”（*āryavaṃśa*），此处的说法与汉译法藏部的《长阿含经》（T1）相合（另外就是相对较晚的两处巴利注释）。而相对较晚的《郁伽长者会》之中，则作了修订，而与说一切有部以及上座部经藏中的格式相符。因此那体慧判定《郁伽经》早期至少在法藏部之中流传过。（页46-47）

4. 第三章：作为历史资料的《郁伽经》：方法论的考虑

本章那体慧提出了一系列非常重要的佛教历史学的研究方法论问题，非常值得汉语佛教学界，尤其是史学界加以借鉴。

4.1. 文本分层的问题

在此节之中，那体慧首先指出佛教史学界的一个非常不好的研究倾向。固然，佛经文献的发展确实有一个大的趋势，即经本会像滚雪球一样规模越来越大，但哪些是后来加入的，则过去佛教研究界的判定非常随意，并过于曲从于自己的个人偏好与研究取向，那体慧以般若学研究大师孔策（E.Conze）为例对这种倾向作了批评。（页49-50）

与之相反，作者提出了一些确定经本分层原则，即用结构与风格的标准，如果发现在此方面有明显的文本割裂，则可能是后来的插入；同样，如果有些段落有明显的语言、语法或风格差异，也同样有理由怀疑这可能是后人的增加。（页50-51）

与以上这些相比，更可靠得多的还是能通过对同一部经典不同语言的版本比较来加以确认。而这正是作者用来处理《郁伽经》的方法。（页51）

4.2.《郁伽经》文本窜入的类型

在《法镜经》以后版本之中增加的内容，大多数都只是细小的区别。除了下面部分（段落号为那体慧由藏译本译出的编号）。

§13段中的大部分，此段之中（男性）在家菩萨被指示要将其妻想成非常负面的形象，如鳄鱼、黑蛇、魔鬼等，以消除从她那里的影响；

§19段中全部，比较在家与出家的生活，以表明后者的殊胜；

§31段中全部，郁伽供养佛陀，佛陀表明即使在家，也可以效法出家生活；

§32段中的A和B部分，佛陀放大光明，引起阿难的发问；

§33段中的大部分，盛赞《郁伽经》本身，认为供养此经的功德甚至比供养佛塔、过去诸佛或现在的僧团还要殊胜。

以上这些增加，那体慧指出除了最后两部分，其余都没有增加新的思想，而只是重复旧有的东西。那么作者就发出疑问，既然多数增加为无关紧要，那增加的目的又是什么呢？作者认为这是过去学界盛行的观点，即只要是增加就一定会是为了某种思想上的改变，或者增加一定是有意识的增加。而那体慧分析《郁伽经》的大多数情况却表明并非如此，并且认为这种情况也在“佛教文献发展史”上有普遍意义。此下，那体慧详细分析了《郁伽经》的文本窜入类型。（页51-53）

这些类型包括：佛陀尊号的重复（页53）；佛教标准清单的完整化（指四圣谛、八正道这类清单的增加与完善）（页53-54）；从他处征引一段（页54-55）；填补空白。在这些情况之中，绝大多数是可以由当时此经是以“口传”形式传播的背景有关。（页55-59）

4.3. 省略与缩写的可能性

在此节之中，作者提出是否有另外一种可能？即并非是后来的版本增加，而是是早期的版本如《法镜经》自己省略或缩写？因为在古代就曾有过对译经师的这种指责，如道安对无罗叉，以及过去也曾错误地认为罗什译《金刚经》有省略（随着新梵语本的发现，可以知道罗什还是忠实于他可能译自的那个本来就不同的版本）。但就总体而言，一部特定佛教经典的较晚版本与较早版本相比较时，往往会发现后者篇幅要更大，而《郁伽经》在此方面又非常典型；其次，当一些相对较早的印度语写本可资利用时，一些过去被认为是喜欢删减的译者会被证明其实只是使用了较早也篇幅较小的版本。（页9-61）

4.4. 移动的片断：文本次序的改变

在佛经之中经常会发生不同版本之间有内容前后顺序发生变化的情况存在，比如大《阿弥陀经》以及《法华经》。（页61-62）而《郁伽经》的各版本之间总体则保持一致，只有前面曾提到的一处变动。即《法镜经》中郁伽等人出家的情节是出现经末，而在其它版本则移到了经的中部，但还是留下了没有全部改变过来的痕迹。（页62-63）

4.5. 从规范化源头提取历史资料

大多数佛教经典都是为了在其宗教团体之中建立某种思想与实践的规范（norm），故而如果想把这些材料来当作历史数据来对待，可能就在方法论上显得不够明智了。但另一方面，由于数据本身的匮乏，除了使用这些材料，我们又没有太多的其它选择。因为根据绍本的研究，在碑铭类考古材料之中提到有自我“大乘”意识的佛教僧团的情况，则要晚到公元4世纪。而法显对印度菩萨践行者存在的记录，则要到4世纪末。（页63-64）

而远在此之前，就有大量倡导菩萨道（被现代人追溯为“大乘”）的经典译成了汉语。故而如果想要对早期大乘以及菩萨行的经典有所理解，这些都是我们必须依靠的材料。而所要注意的则是如何使用这些材料，在此那体慧提出了一系列极其重要的材料使用原则，这些对我们的佛教研究具有方向性的意义，分别为：

4.5.1. 尴尬律（The Principle of embarrassment）

此条原则的定义大体即是“当一位作者在讨论过程中透露出某些事情，而这些事情对这位作者所代表的团体或立场有些不敬

时，那么这个陈述就有很大可能是基于事实。”那体慧举例道，比如《八千颂般若经》之中提到很多佛教徒并不认为般若类经典是真经，或者《法华经》中提到此经刚刚宣出时，有不少听众当场离席，这些都非常可能是反映了当时僧团内部对这些经典的容受问题。其它还有不少相关的例证可以说明此一规律。（页65-66）

4.5.2. 非相关律 (The Principle of irrelevance)

这种情况是指“当（经文中）偶然提到的事情之中有偏离作者主要意图的条目时”，这些条目所叙述的事情很有可能是真的。那体慧举例，在《相应部》之中有一部小经提到佛陀说，无论是刹帝利、婆罗门还是大富长者，都难逃老、死。这段经文的主旨是讲人世的无常，而并非是当时的种姓情况，但却反映了“长者”这个术语所具有的种姓阶层内涵。

同样的情况，当《郁伽经》中提到菩萨应该将其财富也赐于其男性与女性奴隶时，其作者并非是要支持或反对奴隶的存在，但客观上却反映了当时的一种社会实际。（页66-67）

4.5.3. 抗辩律 (The Principle of counterargument)

即当作者在经文中提到“某某不应该相信某某思想”或“某某不应该做某件事”时，表明这些都是与其主张相违背，因此这些陈述表明当时“至少有人”相信某某思想，或做某件事。但那体慧又指出这种情况对广律中的记载不适用。

那体慧以《郁伽经》为例，比如其中提到了不应该向声闻众的僧人不敬，这就表明当时行菩萨道者，至少有这种对声闻众僧侣不礼貌的情况存在。（页67-68）

4.5.4. 相关证据律 (Principle of corroborating evidence)

这是指需要依靠其它领域中的材料来证实或证伪材料，其中最重要的就是人类学、考古学和碑铭学。即使这些材料在时间与地域上非常零星分散，但这些材料，比如东南亚当代人类学的报告都可能对我们的研究提供新的视野。（页68-69）

4.6. 反证的缺乏：对缺失的解释

另外一个重要的问题就是《郁伽经》之中很多大乘佛教重要概念的缺失，比如佛塔信仰、菩萨道十地、一乘观等。就历史学家而言，对这些概念的缺失可以有三种解释：一，谈到的条目实在太为人所熟知，没必要再多作解释；二，这些条目作者并不知道，因为这些晚于作者的年代或在他的地域不为人所知；三，作者知道这些，但认为他们无法让人接受，或与其对佛教的理解相违，故认为勿需提及。

而对这些可能，作者又各提出了一个问题，即首先，这个缺失的条目是否“确实”对经本之中意思起到至关重要的影响；其次，经本是否对于所缺失的条目而言是一个更早期的版本；第三，缺失的条目是否与经中的观点有冲突。这三条正好可以用来验证上面缺失的原因。（页69-70）

4.7. 一面遥远的镜子：通过汉语与藏语经本来研究印度佛教

由于没有《郁伽经》的印度语本，再加上早期译语的复杂性，以及译师人为的错误都为人所共知，故而在多大程度这些汉译与藏译本能够反映印度佛教的情况就是一个问题。

但除非我们放弃这些数量庞大的汉语数据，否则我们就应该严肃地对待这些汉语材料。更何况这些汉语译本还常常有多次翻译，故而在用多次不同的译本我们有时就能够定位原始印度语的语汇。

那体慧举了一个例子，在三个汉译之中有一组不同的翻译，即AY的“息心（译者：息心是指沙门）求”；Dh的“沙门之义”；和R的“沙门之义理”这里的“求”、“义”和“义理”的印度语语源作者通过交叉锁定为“artha”。

作者总结，当只有一个汉译本时，就应该极为谨慎地处理，而当有众多译本可以参照时，则可以通过对勘来提高其确定性。（页71-72）

5. 第四章：僧团的背景

那体慧在此章开始先简单回顾了菩萨乘的研究，譬如平川彰等。并且提出问题，即什么是菩萨运动的组织基础、社会环境等。在此章之中，作者主要是作用前面的“非相关律”来研究这一问题。（页73-74）

5.1. 定义范畴：居家相对出家生活

整部《郁伽经》之中，居家与出家的概念是如此重要，以至于整部经都是围绕此二概念来建构，即先是描述在家菩萨，后是论述出家菩萨。但这种二分法并非是《郁伽经》首创，而此经中引人注目之处却在于，并没有指出出家、在家之间的矛盾。而只是反映了当时印度宗教生活的大体制度特点。

而另外应该注意的是此经的叙述对象是出家以及在家的“菩萨众”，而对“非菩萨众”则基本没有涉及（曾提到了一点应如何对待出家的“菩萨众”）。而对女众，无论是出家与否，也都没有提到。（页74-75）所以此后那体慧就分别讨论此三部分佛教徒。

5.2. 在家菩萨

超过一半的《郁伽经》内容是针对在家菩萨，那体慧注意到一个非常重要的缺失，即在经中并“没有提到”这些居士菩萨会在任何时候、任何地方作宗教性的集会，并相互分享激励修行。也就是他们之间没有平行的相互联系，而只有纵向的关系，即与比他们地位高的僧人。这也就不难得出结论，这时所反映的菩萨行者大多处在相互独立的阶段。（页76）这一点，我想指出的是，这就与中国在以后出现的大量佛教民间结社行为形成了巨大的反差。

而真正重要的则是这些单独修行的在家菩萨行者与寺院之间的紧密联系，在《郁伽经》之中有大量细节描述。包括，他们需要前往寺院；并向僧人学习各种专门佛教知识；仿效僧人的修行实践；不向外部透露僧团内的情况等。但这些都是“非个人”的联系，是强调与整个僧团之间的关系，而非如后来那种对某位特定上师之间的特殊关系。这也与后来的佛教发展有显著区别。（页76-77）

对在家居士的生活，也有不少篇幅涉及。其中提到了的是这些在家“男”菩萨应该对其妻子生起“厌恶”（*revulsion*）之心，而对子息则应漠视其存在，这都显示此经将家庭生活视为修行的危险对立面。但另一方面，虽然这些在家居士被鼓励弱化其家庭关系，但另一方面，又被告之应向认识的人宣扬佛法修行。就如医生没有治好病人的疾患，如果这些人未能皈依正法，并因此而受到恶报，则在家菩萨也有责任。（页77-78）

5.3. 寺院菩萨

在对出家菩萨的描述也与正常僧人的日常行仪无甚区别，但要注意在其中有一段特别提到要行“四依”，并鼓励僧人行阿兰若行，而非居于寺院。除此之外，总体而言，《郁伽经》中出家菩萨的行为与任何部派佛教时期僧人的生活大体相当。

并且《郁伽经》之中并无对僧人的批评，也就是说这些出家菩萨并没有在僧人内部形成自己的独立修行团体，并与其他僧人之间形成了团体性的对抗。反而《郁伽经》的作者尽量放低姿态，对无论是声闻众还是菩萨众都非常恭敬。（页79）

那体慧接着指出在《郁伽经》中提到了一系列当时佛教僧人的分工，我这里引用《法镜经》以作说明，此段各种版本翻译的差异，请参《附录三》，页349。

何等除馊为多闻。何为明经者。何为奉律者。何为奉使者。何为开士奉藏者。何为山泽者。何为行受供者。何为思惟者。何为道行者。何为开士道者。何为佐助者。何为主事者。（T12, 19a28-b3）

从上段可以看出菩萨行者只是僧团中的一种，换言之，这也证明了中国求法僧人如法显、玄奘在印度的观察无虚，即菩萨行者与声闻众混居于僧团之中，并无区分。另外，前面已经提到了，此段中提到“菩萨藏”（即“开士奉藏”）对确定此经最少曾经在法藏部中流传过提供了佐证。（页80-81）

另外与前面提到的《郁伽经》提倡独居的阿兰若行相应，在此经其它地方也出现了很多类似的提法，即希望菩萨行者能乐于独居。但对于其中一类却提出应给予特别的尊重，即能颂出般若波罗蜜多经典者。这一点对我们研究佛教史的发展，无疑也具有重要的启示。（页82-83）

5.4. 僧团中的菩萨众与声闻众

此节那体慧主要是针对平川彰的大乘兴起理论中的大乘是与声闻众处于相互敌对的状态的理论。那体慧指出平川混淆了作为

思想派别的大乘与作为宗教职业上的大乘，而前面已经提到了《郁伽经》之中显示并没有这种敌对的情况出现。并且目前在东亚以及佛教研究界将“一乘”与“大乘”划上等号的行为，那体慧认为是受到《法华经》的影响，而这部经在印度次大陆的重要性则要小得多，甚至并没有多少影响。（页84-86）

菩萨众与声闻众在理想状态上可以共存于一个僧团之内，但并不代表不会有实际上的，由于修行道路选择不同所带来的各种摩擦。并且，《郁伽经》之中也有调和这些技术性冲突的倾向。这也在某种程度上为未来更多的冲突埋下了伏笔。（页86-89）

5.5. 寺院与林居

在前面提到的那段在家菩萨在寺院中会碰到的不同人之中也有阿兰若行者（山泽者，*āraṇyaka*）颇出人意料之外。在《郁伽经》的后半讨论的就是阿兰若行，并且此经作者对阿兰若行非常积极。但依然很是奇怪会在寺院之中碰到阿兰若行者。在此，那体慧先转述了平川彰的大乘居士起源说（页89-93），此一理论相信学界已然非常熟悉，我就不再转述了；赖依（Reginald Ray）的林居比丘起源说，此一理论上汉语学界介绍相对较少，我略说几句。赖依的理论主要来自他1994年的著作《印度佛教诸圣：佛教价值观与倾向的研究》，牛津大学出版社（*Buddhist Saints in India: A Study in Buddhist Values & Orientations & Oxford University Press*）。此书中赖依提出大乘起源于林中禅修者，和平川一样，他也认为大乘佛教起源于寺院僧团之外。但他并不认同平川的居士与僧人的分裂，而认为原因是僧人中寺住与林居之间的分裂导致了大乘的起源。起码就《郁伽经》所反映的情况来看，赖依的理论是更贴近事实的。因为这个理论反映了早期菩萨行者所处的那样一个更为严格的禁欲苦行氛围。不过，那体慧指出无论是平川彰还是赖依都有一个共同的理论缺陷，即

将“寺院”当成了铁板一块，如平川就没有考虑到《郁伽经》之中的菩萨也可以是出家人；而赖依则认为寺院僧侣没有时间从事禅修，并将旷野阿兰若行者看成了与寺院毫无联系的独行者。（页93-96）

5.6. 性别问题

就性别而言，《郁伽经》之中最显著的一点就是，无论出家、在家还是声闻众与菩萨众这些佛教徒之中，都没有提到一位女性（藏语本中提到过kuladuhitr（善女），但其它版本皆无，明显是后世所添改）。

这并非是普通的缺失，因为在此经之中提到过女性，主要是修菩萨行的居士妻子，事实上所有的这些女子都被看成是对行道的障碍、执着之物，故应视其为“无择之地狱”、“观其恶露之相”并视其“非我所有”等。并且很重要的是，这还是继承了此前佛教的传统倾向。只不过区别在于，过去这种视女人为障道之祸的观点主要是针对出家人，而《郁伽经》却是将之实施到了在家居士的菩萨行者身上。也就是说在《郁伽经》的作者看来，行菩萨行的在家居士也应该实施严格的“禁欲”。（页96-97）

并且非常有意思的一点就是，那体慧发现随着拥护佛果而非阿罗汉果群体的兴起，可以发现“女人地位的显著降低”。就语言学而言，早期修行者如upāsaka（优婆塞）、bhikṣu（比丘）、arhant（阿罗汉）都有指代女性的阴性变格，而Buddha（佛）和bodhisattva（菩萨）都没有阴性形式，也就是说从语言学的角度来看，起码反映了这个早期阶段女性成佛、菩萨不具可能性。

与《郁伽经》的情况相同，这同样不是无意的忽略。从早期印度菩萨的造像，以及形容菩萨特点的语词选用都具有男性特

点。这种情况甚至如绍本所观察的，就碑铭材料而言，随着大乘佛教的兴起，女性施主的比例有着急剧的下降。（页99-100）

5.7. 结论：部派背景中的菩萨行者

故而那体慧就此总结，《郁伽经》为我们研究“当菩萨道已经作为一个显著不同的选择而崛起，但还未成为一个独立的宗教团体的基础之时的印度佛教”提供了一扇窗户。这个时期也是各种部派佛教藏经关闭以及最早的“大乘”佛经撰出之前。（页100）

虽然《郁伽经》之中同样关注在家与出家二者，但更重视后者，它认为居士应该效仿出家以后在林中从事苦修的僧人。在《郁伽经》之中，僧团内部的菩萨行者与声闻众虽然共同居止，但二者之间的紧张局势正在形成。并且在菩萨众之中，也显示并没有共修等集体活动。而相反，他们一般自己独自修行。最后此经之中还提到了菩萨藏，即由专人持颂的倡导菩萨行的经典，但并没有提供一个详细的经目。“总之，《郁伽经》中描绘的是传统佛教教团中的一群精英，他们寻求比其同伴更高的理想，但同时尽力避免地位的不同所造成的不适当分裂。我们看到一个紧张的团体，但并未分裂，它正极力来容纳其中的这个新的宗教选择。”（页101-102）

6. 第五章：菩萨的实践：菩萨道指南

在《郁伽经》之中并未对所有的菩萨行者都作泛泛之谈，而是对在家与出家菩萨行者分开叙述。此时作者再次对其数据是否可以部分地反映早期佛教发展的史实作了精细的考察。（页103-106）

6.1. 居士菩萨

在《郁伽经》之中在家菩萨应该持守的包括：三皈依，但将其中注入了菩萨行的精神（页107-108）；持守十一戒，其中即使对自己的妻子也不应执着（页107-111）；檀施，这是属于此经中所倡导的六度之一，但只有此度被单独列了出来，并且其檀施应以《本生经》中的极端形式为仿效目标，而最高的施舍则是完全放弃在家人的身份（页111-114）；功德转让（页114-115）；不执着于人与物，包括自己的妻子儿女（页115-117）；奉行三品经法事（页117-121）。

6.2. 出家的必要性

虽然《郁伽经》中花费了大量的篇幅讨论在家菩萨众可以修行的方式，但此经非常清楚地表明了在家众由于修行的不便和各种障道之法从而在地位上低于出家众，故而强烈推荐在家众舍家修行。并且屡次强调在家不能获得至高的佛果，还提醒听众注意过去诸佛都曾离家并行阿兰若行，因此而得以悟道。（页121-122）

当然这并不是指在家菩萨众应该直接去旷野修行，和绝大多数印度大乘经典中的观点相同，此经也认为在此生获证佛果几无可能，而应加入僧团以获得帮助为未来的证果作好准备。（页122）

6.3. 寺院菩萨

对于出家的菩萨行者，《郁伽经》也有一套践行的准则，虽然这些践行在声闻众之中也并无多少新意，但《郁伽经》则认为菩萨众应该比声闻众更为精进。

6.3.1. 四依

那体慧用“四大神圣传统”来译āryavamśa，这个语词汉译《长舍》中译为“贤圣族”，《法镜经》作“圣典”，竺法护译

为“贤圣”，《大宝积经》中则译为“圣种”。（页127注45）这是指出家后菩萨众应持守的四种修行实践，也就是原始佛教中的“四依”。菩萨行者需要持此四依，即代表对最为刻苦、精进又简朴生活的追求。

6.3.2. 林住

在所有出家菩萨行者的描述之中，林住是篇幅最长的一种，也显示了《郁伽经》撰者对林住修行的热诚，他认为林住是行菩萨道的理想场所。即使如此，哪怕最严格的林栖者也会有时回到寺院，比如听法、与师父会面或诊病等。

值得注意的却是，僧团中部份成员可以实行这最为刻苦的修行，但这种最为刻苦的修行却未必适合僧团中的每一个人，林住者必须符合某几项特殊的条件。吊诡的是，此经还认为林住是通往佛道的必要环节，因为“过去所有成佛的菩萨，都是在林住之后方才悟道。”

最后，那体慧还指出，菩萨经典对林住的重要性并无共识。有些甚至认为林住是“魔罗欣闻的贪执”。但《郁伽经》却正好是偏好林住的那一部份。（页130-131）

6.3.3. 避免接触他人

林住生活的一个关键就是离群索居，菩萨行者可以避开所有人世的纠葛。但这与我们常见的对菩萨行的理解就有了极大的反差，我们一般认为菩萨行就很自然地包括对现世的关怀，对众生的同情，关注世人的福利。不过，这种后世的菩萨观在中世印度也是非常陌生的，而《郁伽经》则是这种背景的反映。

与我们所认为的相反，出家菩萨行者甚至比声闻比丘更为弃

世！其实这也和前面我们对出家菩萨的分析部份契合，即在修行方面出家菩萨行者应比声闻比丘更为刻苦，故而在“离世”方面，出家菩萨同样也应该走得更远。（页132）

《郁伽经》之中的旷野，也与人类群居完全不兼容，因为提到林居时，其所交往者即已绝无人类，而顶多只是一些诸天、龙、夜叉等。那么如何调和佛教济世度人的目标呢，在此经，以及很多此一时期及稍后的印度佛教大乘经典之中，都是持这样一种观点，即修行之时的完全弃绝人世，是为了将来更好地重返人间，而非是在未成道果之前就将自己的修行与传道混杂在一起。（页133-135）

6.3.4. 保持谦恭

《郁伽经》之中还有一个重要内容就是提醒菩萨行者保持谦卑，出家菩萨被提醒在进入寺院时、对待任何其它僧人时都应该心存尊敬。那体慧指出这种态度并非是无的放矢，因为有些经典中就声称即使是初发心菩萨也要优于阿罗汉，或者以轻蔑地口吻称那些声闻乘为“下劣乘”（Hīnayāna）。（页135-136）

7. 第六章：菩萨生涯的结构：内含的假定

在此章之中，那体慧试图处理《郁伽经》之中表达出来的菩萨道的整体结构，即持续时间、组成的阶段、表明菩萨道发端、成型与完成的特别事项等。

7.1. 三乘：异道异果

《郁伽经》的诸版本之中都有“大乘”或“大道”（mahāyāna）及相关词汇，这表明当时此词已经广为人知，并且还证明有些其它的修行之道相对而言被视为更为低级。但这并不

表明他们是一个独立的僧团组织，“也即，使用‘大乘’的表达暗示只有这个所指的实践道路被视为特别崇高，而并非是其践行者组成了一个另外的宗教组织。”

《郁伽经》中提到声闻乘时，是提醒菩萨行者莫退转入其道中。而辟支佛道，因为现实之中没有证据表明确实有人践行此道。（页138-140）

“总之，《郁伽经》认为此为理所当然，即两条各异但有重迭的佛教践行选项，导向两个分开又不均衡的目标：导向证悟（有限但真实的）阿罗汉果的声闻道；导向伟大得多的佛果的菩萨道。但佛道的特点并非只是证悟更高这一点。《郁伽经》也（总体如佛教徒一样）认为获得佛果还会牵涉到一个独特的身体变化，会有‘大人’（mahāpuruṣa）的‘相好’（lakṣaṇa）。就一种实在与身体的意义而言，成佛也就超越了人类的普通界限。需要巨量的功德以生出此一身体，这也需要难以想象的长时间的菩萨道修行。”（页141）

7.2. 此生不可能获得佛果

在《郁伽经》之中还不断强调在此生之中很难获得佛果，这不仅是因为成佛需要只有通过无数世才能积累的巨量功德，而且也因为佛陀涅槃本身，也意味着在一个没有佛的世界上需要自己证悟佛果，而这也同样需要经历累世的艰苦修行，故而获得佛果也就不可避免地被看成了未来世方能实现。而且很重要的一点就是，在《郁伽经》中并不是说菩萨自己有意推迟他的证悟。这和后世盛传的“不度尽众生，誓不成佛”的说法就有了很大的差别。正如有些学者所指出，后一种说法既不能获得一些佛教历史与传统的支持，而且在逻辑上也存在缺陷。（页142-143）

7.3. 菩萨道的动机

菩萨道不仅需要无比长的时间，还需要各种超常的行履，如严格遵守戒律、苦修禅定以及无数世的自我牺牲。那么是什么使这些菩萨行者放弃此生即有可能获得的罗汉果而去追寻一条更长、更艰辛的道路呢？那体慧指出所有现代学界讨论都指向一个原因，即菩萨对众生的悲心。也就是说选择了这条道路是因为强烈感受到了众生的疾苦，希望能帮助他们获得解脱。但前面已经提到了《郁伽经》中强调断绝与他人的接触，也就是说此经中的菩萨行者并非是社会活动家，而是在林间艰苦隐修以获未来佛果的孤独修行人。（页144-145）

那么真正又是何种原因成为这些菩萨行者的内在驱动力呢，那体慧认为就是“（菩萨）行者自身的（成佛）抱负”。故而在此经之中就告诫行者应该想到成就佛道，并具备佛陀的32相好，当进入寺院礼佛之时应该想到自己也应该成佛等等。正是因为成就佛道的艰辛，故而佛道也就从来都不会对所有人都具备吸引力，只会被“少数”精英所奉行。而最初引入菩萨道也并不是作为罗汉道的“替代”，而是“增加”了一条修行之路。（页146-147）

7.4. 菩萨誓愿

在《郁伽经》之中菩萨发誓愿集中在前面在家菩萨的部份，而出家菩萨的部份则完全没有出现过，这是引人注意的。除此之外，此经之中提到的“菩提心”（bodhicitta）并非是后代所理解的那样意味着“发心欲证佛果”，而只是表明一种心理状态。但《郁伽经》之中确实曾提到了有四大誓愿，并且其源头可以追溯到阿含类经典。也就是说“再次表明，菩萨道的思想并没有与以前的传统有一个根本性的割裂，而只不过是佛陀

的此生经历（以及前世）当成不仅仅是一个崇仰的理想，而是当作需要不折不扣执行的脚本，起码对少数勇敢者是如此。”

（页147-151）

7.5. 菩萨道的阶位

和大多数印度佛教经典一样，《郁伽经》认为证悟过程是渐修的结果，并且可以至少在理论上分为不同的阶位，比如4、6、10甚至52个阶位。而《郁伽经》与《八千颂般若经》类似，都只有比较原始的两阶位，即有无退转。并且，在《郁伽经》的阶位分配上，也依然可以看出此经中始终如一的思想，即出家比在家更加殊胜。（页151-152）

7.6. 六度

在《郁伽经》之中，般若波罗蜜多也有六种，但其文本的注意力主要是集中在六度中的檀施之上，并且集中在在家菩萨的部份之中。故而对此经而言，般若波罗蜜多已然是菩萨道之中一个被接受的了的，并早已成为定见。（页153-154）

7.7. 方便法门

和六度一样，方便善巧（*upāya-kauśalya*，纪按，即汉译“沍和拘舍罗”）的概念现在一般都被认为是对待说法对象因材施教的教学方式，因此即是一种人际关系。但在一些最早期的大乘佛教经典，比如《般若八千颂》之中，方便善巧则是指菩萨禅定尤其是四禅时，以及转移功德时的技巧，并且这是个人之间的行为，并无人际关系牵涉在内。而《郁伽经》之中的方便善巧也是这种意思，即在独自禅定之时以此种技能来避免其成佛之道受到干扰。（页154-156）

故而与后来的经典，如《法华经》等相比，《郁伽经》中的方便善巧至少有两个根本性的区别，即前者之中的方便善巧是“佛陀”所使用的技巧以适应听众因材施教的要求；而后者则是菩萨所为，以避免意外地在天界重生或退转。（页156）

7.8. 佛陀与践行者

传统认为大乘佛教是由于居士希望能建立与佛陀更为紧密的崇拜关系，但在菩萨道初起之时，却并非如此。在此问题上，那体慧将注意力转到了《郁伽经》的作者所想象的佛陀与菩萨行者之间的关系上来。

那体慧首先解决的问题是在不同文化之中对崇拜形式（如归敬、檀施、近侍、念佛等）的认知差异，并且逐项分析在《郁伽经》之的反映。（页156-168）

7.9. 结论：模仿相对于关系的培养

通过上述分析，那体慧得出结论，在《郁伽经》中并没有对佛陀与菩萨行者之间特殊关系的培养特别在意。比如在三归依中的对佛陀的归依时，《郁伽经》就特别指出自己应该成为未来的佛，而获得如此同样的崇仰。而这与后来佛教的发展，尤其是净土真宗藉助“他力”这种与阿弥陀佛之间的紧密关系就有了巨大的差别。（页168-170）

8. 第七章：说明问题的缺失：《郁伽经》中缺少了什么？

在此书的开始部份，那体慧就强调《郁伽经》不应该被称为“大乘佛经”，而应该是一部菩萨经典，这是因为此经之中缺少了一些我们应该在大乘佛经之中见到的要素。下面就是这些所缺要素的分析。

8.1. 术语“下劣乘”

虽然《郁伽经》现存所有版本之中都广泛存在“大乘”（mahāyāna）一词，但值得注意的是并没有其对应的术语“下劣乘”（hīnayāna，纪按：此即什译‘小乘’，但此译不够准确。这是非常典型的，据何离巽统计，在后汉十一部译经之中此词只出现过四次。

而根据其它学界的研究，最早通用的是“菩萨乘”（bodhisattvayāna），再到“大乘”成为主流，再到“大乘”的对应面“下劣乘”出现。（页172-173）

前面提到了虽然出现“大乘”一词，但《郁伽经》所表现出来的当时宗教组织情况是菩萨众与声闻众共居同处。而“下劣乘”一词的出现则与此不同，此词则表明菩萨众已然有了自己的独立组织，因为声闻众当然不太可能会与一些视自己的修行为“下劣”的人共处一寺。而《郁伽经》中由于缺乏“下劣乘”这种带有污辱性的称呼，显示当时的僧团还没有发展到此一阶段。（页174）

8.2. 菩萨的普遍主义

既然在《郁伽经》中，声闻乘与菩萨乘各有自己的修行道路与目标，因此此经之中也就没有东亚佛教中影响深远的“一乘”观。更重要的是此经之中还缺乏那体慧所称的“菩萨的普遍主义”，也即“菩萨道对所有人皆广泛适用，所有的佛教徒或者已处于此道，或者应行于此道。”也即只有佛果才是唯一值得渴求的目标，也只有菩萨乘才是值得尊敬的修行之道。（页174-175）

但正如前面已经指出的，这种主义在印度早期大乘佛教经典之中并不普遍。很多经典如《般若八千颂》甚至早期版本的大

《阿弥陀经》都承认阿罗汉果是一个值得追求的精神目标。并且他们还都认为并不是所有人都具备成佛的能力，是声闻乘而不是菩萨乘对这些人更为适合。也就是说在早期大乘佛经成立时，“非普遍主义”也即并非所有人都广普适用的观点才是更为主流的思想。

《郁伽经》非常明显就是属于更为保守的“非普遍主义”的阵营，虽然此经清楚地认为佛道比罗汉道更高，并敦促菩萨行者努力获得佛果，但《郁伽经》还是认为佛果只是对少数人适宜，并且也只有这些少数人才能获得。所以佛教修行的“默认”选项，或者说是通常结果，依然还是阿罗汉果，而且阿罗汉果也具有完全的合理性。因此《郁伽经》又一次与传统佛教显示了惊人的延续性。（页175-176）

8.3. 超世的佛陀

虽然此经之中描述的佛陀具有32相好、一切智等，远比阿罗汉和辟支佛殊胜，但《郁伽经》之中却远没有其它一些重要的大乘佛教的概念，比如“三身佛”（trikāya），以及大众部说出世部（Lokottaravādin）和部份大乘经典中对佛陀超世性的描绘。在此经之中，佛陀还是处于一位世俗的人所能获得的顶点，故而也能够为其他人所能够成就。与此相应，此经之中佛陀的寿算也非为无央，而与此相反，《郁伽经》中描绘了菩萨众通过无数世刻苦修行之后，可以一世成佛，其时间也是普通人的一世，不会更多，这也与传统佛教的思想相应。（页176-178）

8.4. 空性的雄辩之词

此经之中，另一个值得注意的缺失是对“空性”（śūnyatā）哲学讨论。其对自我的否定，还是采用阿含类经典中非常传统的

方式，而并没有采用后代不少般若中观类文献之中的遮诠的修辞手法，来破斥自我体现空性。（页179-180）

那体慧接着指出这种缺失，同样也存在于其它一些经典，如《阿闍佛国经》和大《阿弥陀经》之中，而其它经典之中空性的出现也有逐渐增加的规律可循。故而作者猜测，“《郁伽经》代表了菩萨乘出现的早期阶段，此一阶段主要集中在‘构建’菩萨修行的思想工程，后又推进到了一个晚期的‘解构主义者’（或更准确地说是抽象化）的运动。”（页181-182）

8.5. 佛塔崇拜

此节作者主要是针对平川的大乘佛塔起源说，在《郁伽经》之中佛塔的作用完全缺失。在最初的版本之中，佛塔这个词甚至都没有出现过。而考虑到佛塔崇拜是自佛陀入灭之后就在佛教界盛行的，故而这种缺失就非常说明问题。“《郁伽经》的作者只不过认为佛塔崇拜是理所当然，决不是‘大乘佛教’的独特实践（如果真是如此，则至少会有一个肯定的背书），更不必说是菩萨乘自身的源头了，而是认为佛塔是公元初左右印度佛教生活中的既定部份之一。”（页182-184）

8.6. 典籍崇拜

此节主要是针对学界关于大乘起源之中，典籍崇拜曾经起到了重要作用的观点。因为有些经典之中，包括《郁伽经》表明并不清楚这种后来比较常见的崇拜行为，虽然大乘典籍的阅读、背诵以至抄写在印度佛教之中确实扮演了非常重要的角色。

并且在比较《郁伽经》不同的版本之后可以发现，在最早的版本，也就是二世纪的《法镜经》之中并没有提到保持此经本身的功德，而在后来的版本之中却被加入了相关的内容。也就是

说，典籍崇拜的思想是后来渗入此经之中，这提供了这种思想的一个时间上的考察点。（页184-185）

而真正重要的是那体慧更指出了大乘佛经其实不是菩萨实践的最初原因，而是结果。因为菩萨行需要模仿过去佛的修行，因此就需要搜集、编辑佛的本生故事。“故而假如我们真想看看处于形成期阶段的大乘佛教，我们就应该求助于本生类故事（从早期就大量以雕塑与石刻铭文形式存在，在大乘经典之中经常被明确引用或被暗引），或是密切相关的譬喻（avadāna）文献等过渡性文献。”（页186）

8.7. 对天上诸佛的信仰

大乘佛教的一个巨大革新就是追求往生于另外一个世界，这些乐土之中由“天上的佛陀”执掌，比如阿弥陀佛就居于西天极乐世界，而这吸引了无数东亚地区的佛教徒。这些乐土在形式上与天界相仿，并且历史上也确实有可能以原始佛教的天界为蓝本。不过应该注意的就是它们当然并不是天界，而是自成系统的世界，并且也有自己的天界。（页187）

但在《郁伽经》之中，却毫无这种思想的痕迹。并且《郁伽经》的作者也并未鼓励菩萨众去寻求往生于各种净土世界，以此来缩短自己需要的无数世修行以成就佛果。（页188）

8.8. 对天上诸菩萨的信仰

这所谓“天界诸菩萨”是指观自在、地藏、度母等众圣，信众可以通过信仰和崇拜他们来获取额外的宗教功德，以便在面临饥馑、战争、盗匪、野兽等世间灾难时可用以获益。并且有趣的是，与天上诸佛往往有自己的特定地方不同，这些天上诸菩萨则存于我们这个世界之中。

同样在《郁伽经》之中也找不到这些诸菩萨，虽然在序分之中有这些菩萨的名称，但在正宗分之中却并非有过出现，故而可能是后来的增加。同样《郁伽经》之中也没有提到应求助于这些天上诸菩萨的帮助，当遇到困难之时，《郁伽经》告诉读者应该自我依止并依靠自己的内省力。这都与后来的大乘经典中，尤其是净土类经典中的救助于佛力等思想有着截然不同的区别。（页189-190）

8.9. 结论：缺失的意义

无疑《郁伽经》是一部大乘经典，但此经之中又缺乏一系列大乘经典中经常看到的因素，而这种缺失正好可以给我们提供线索，将之放在大乘佛经发展史上的某一个合适的地方。但这种缺失是否即意味着《郁伽经》就代表大乘佛教的“最早阶段”呢？

那体慧的回答是否定的，因为她认为此经之中还缺少另一个要素。《郁伽经》之中“从未”清楚地表明，更不要说以争论的方式来支持菩萨乘的实践了。而恰好相反，《郁伽经》只不过是认为成佛是理所当然，而直接去描绘应该如何走上成佛之道。也就是说这里并没有描绘到这种思想新兴时可能碰到的人们的惊讶、质疑等，故而《郁伽经》显然就不是“最早的”大乘经典。（页190）

但并非只是《郁伽经》中有这个问题，我们现在所遇到的“现存的”所有大乘经典都是如此，也就是说菩萨乘思想最初发生的情况目前我们并不清楚。

那体慧并且强调，我们现在学界有一种错误的倾向，即把一些经典中描绘的对菩萨行者某些思想或行为的抵制当成了对“大乘”的抵制，从而将之当成了大乘初兴时的记载。比如对《八千颂般若》的反对其实是对其中宣称般若文献是佛说；而《护国

尊者所问经》(Rāṣṭrapālapariṛcchā)中对戒律癯弛的批评被错当成了对作为大乘集团对立面的整个声闻乘的批评。简而言之,这些经典包括《郁伽经》都无法提供菩萨乘形成阶段的数据,因为“大乘经典是大乘运动的结果,而不是原因”。(页191)

“大乘经典确实提供给我们的,就是一个万花筒似的集锦。这个集锦包含,或缺失了到目前为止被广为接受,但也错误地被接受成为是‘大乘’的诸种重要因素。因此我们就会发现一部经(《阿闍佛国经》)之中同时倡导声闻乘与菩萨乘的修行,提出往生净土的可能性,并且热情地推荐典籍崇拜,但似乎对空性的理论、十地或三乘等一无所知。而另外一部经典(《菩萨本业经》则提出了菩萨地的观念,并只是讨论菩萨道,但并没有提及般若波罗蜜多。一部中观论著(龙树的《中论》)热衷于讨论空性,却完全不涉及菩萨道。而一部瑜伽行论著(世亲的《中边分别论》Madhyānta-vibhāga-bhāṣya)可能仔细探究三乘思想的个别条目,却避开不谈一乘的观念。也就是说即使是在印度,我们也要对大乘的多样性作好准备,更不要说在东亚和西藏了。《郁伽经》是其中包含了最为简单抽象的所谓‘大乘’要素的诸经之一,这强烈表明它是目前我们所能获得的最早的大乘经典之一,但再次提醒我们应该清楚地知道它产生于菩萨道已然确立的时期,因而并不反映大乘佛教自身的最初阶段。碍于无法发现全新的资料,或者除非可能是对本生与譬喻类文献的全新学术解读,看起来这个大乘佛教的最初阶段可能会永远都成为无解的秘密。)”(页192)

9. 第八章:《郁伽经》反映的大乘佛教

在《郁伽经》之中大量使用了“大乘”这一词,但前面提到过了,此经之中缺乏很多现代学者用来定义大乘的要素。那么我们在《郁伽经》之中又能对公元初印度如何看待大乘知道点什么呢?

明显《郁伽经》作者意味的大乘与我们英语学界所使用的一些术语如“学派”(school)、“派别”(sect)，甚至“运动”都有点隔阂。首先《郁伽经》中的大乘不是一个哲学或教义上的学派，因为在这些方面它与早先的佛教有联系。后来的中观、瑜伽行、净土中的一些思想在这里都找不到。(页193)

在社会学上，《郁伽经》中的大乘也不是一个派别，即由于改革的需要而从主流教团之中分裂出来而自成一体。在《郁伽经》之中，菩萨行者恰恰是居于传统僧团之中，并且《郁伽经》还敦促其听众与声闻众和谐共处。

它也不是一个大乘的“运动”，即一群思想接近的个体共同参与来完成某一目标。在《郁伽经》之中，也看不到在传统教团内部的这种亚团体，而只是一些个体独立的修行行为，而最极端的例子就是此经所提倡的林居隐修活动，这都与集体的“运动”相差甚远。(页194)

那么在《郁伽经》之中“大乘”指的是什么呢，那体慧认为就是“菩萨道”！在此经之中，大乘不是一个学派、派别或运动，而是一个在既有的佛教教团之中追寻的“特别的精神使命”。成为一名大乘信徒，也就是成为一位菩萨行者，并不意味着是追随某种新的“佛教”，而只不过是有一种最严格、苛求的形式来从事佛教修行。(页195)

假如《郁伽经》并不能提供最早期的大乘佛教，但还是可以提供最早的大乘佛教发展阶段之一的图景。它所描绘的一个佛教教团之中，菩萨道被视为只供少数人的选项；其中菩萨众与声闻众之间的张力是显而易见的，但还没到教团分裂从而产生一个独立的大乘教团的阶段；其菩萨乘被认为是一个只供少数善男子才适合修行的法门。这也正是此书题目的来源。(页196)

〈须真天子经记〉考——竺法护早年是否懂中文？

顾伟康

新加坡佛学院助理教授

摘要：依据《出三藏记集》中的〈须真天子经记〉，可以得出竺法护早年不懂中文，从而他不是“世居敦煌”，所以他是先入长安后去西域等等结论，以致《出三藏记集》之〈竺法护传〉所述法护行迹，几乎全部被推翻。本文经考据，认为〈须真天子经记〉出处可疑，而且是《出三藏记集》中唯一一条自相矛盾，同时又与僧祐所述处处对不上号的经记，所以对该〈经记〉不能轻信而随意引用。

关键词：竺法护 昙摩罗察 《出三藏记集》 〈须真天子经记〉

一、问题的提出

梁僧祐（445-518）撰《出三藏记集》（后称《祐录》），其中有未明作者之〈须真天子经记第五〉（后称〈经记〉）云：

《須真天子經》，太始二年十一月八日，於長安青門內白馬寺中，天竺菩薩曇摩羅察口授出之。時傳言者安文惠、帛元信，手受者聶承遠、張玄泊、孫休達，十二月三十日未時訖。¹

¹ 《祐录》，CBETA, T55, no.2145, p84b。

应当是依据此<经记>，《祐录》另有单独的一条：

《須真天子經》二卷（或云《須真天子問四事經》，太始二年十一月八日出。）

右一部二卷，晋武帝世，天竺菩薩沙門曇摩羅察口授出，安文惠、白元信筆受。²

但在《祐录》的竺法护所译经录里面，另有一条：

《須真天子經》二卷（泰始二年十一月出）³

僧祐的重复录出，传递的信息是“同本异译”。所以，隋法经《众经目录》（撰于开皇十四年，594）把两条记录列在一起，明确说是“同本异译”：

《須真天子經》二卷（晋太始年竺法護譯）。

《須真天子經》二卷（亦名《須真天子問四事經》）。

（晋太始二年，沙門曇摩羅刹共文慧等譯）。

右二經同本异譯。⁴

假如大家一直承认《须真天子经》是被不同的译者译出二次，那就没有问题了。

² 《祐录》，CBETA, T55, no.2145, p09c。

³ 《祐录》，CBETA, T55, no.2145, p07b。

⁴ 《众经目录》，CBETA, T55, no.2146, p117b。

但是，隋费长房《历代三宝记》（撰于开皇十七年，597）就认为：

曇無羅察，晉言即是法護。⁵

费长房的逻辑应当很容易理解——经名、卷数、时间都一样，不可能是“同本异译”。

至唐智升《开元释教录》（撰于唐开元十八年，730）则直接批评道：

祐錄所譯，條例可觀，若細尋求，不無乖失。……又如，曇摩羅刹與竺法護乃是一人，曇摩云法，羅刹言護，分為二人，二誤。⁶

不管费长房的说法是对是错，重要的是，从此后代的僧传经录，基本都是先称“竺昙摩罗刹（察）”，后说“此云法护”，竺法护即是昙摩罗刹（察），遂成史界定论。

照理说，法护多一个梵文名字，也不是什么大事。作为中国佛教史上第一本完整保存下来的经录，《祐录》中出现漏缺和差错，是很正常的。但问题在于，正是这条<经记>，微言大义，引出了学术界对法护其人其事的很多新解，以至于把僧祐所写的<竺法护传>中关于法护一生行迹，几乎全盘推翻。

⁵ 《历代三宝记》，CBETA, T49, no.2034, p045a。

⁶ 《开元释教录》，CBETA, T55, no.2154, p575a。

《祐录》〈竺法护传〉述法护行迹如下：

竺法護，其先月支人也。世居敦煌郡，年八歲出家，事外國沙門高座為師。誦經日萬言，過目則能，天性純懿，操行精苦。篤志好學，萬里尋師，是以博覽六經，涉獵百家之言，雖世務毀譽，未常介於視聽也。是時晉武帝之世，寺廟圖像雖崇京邑，而方等深經蘊在西域。護乃慨然發憤，志弘大道，遂隨師至西域，游歷諸國。外國異言三十有六，書亦如之，護皆遍學，貫綜古訓，音義字體，無不備曉。遂大齋胡本，還歸中夏。自敦煌至長安，沿路傳譯，寫以晉文。所獲大小乘經，《賢劫》、《大哀》、《法華》、《普耀》等，凡一百四十九部。孜孜所務，唯以弘通為業。終身譯寫，勞不告倦。經法所以廣流中華者，護之力也。護以晉武之末，隱居深山。……後立寺於長安青門外，精勤行道，於是德化四布。……宣隆佛化二十餘年，後值惠帝西幸長安，關中蕭條，百姓流移。護與門徒避地東下，至昆池遘疾卒，春秋七十有八。⁷

所谓“新解”，是经考据推理，以为僧祐所述有误者。兹列于下：

首先，法护就是竺昙摩罗刹（察），僧祐没有察觉，《祐录》把一人误以为二人，犯了一个低级错误。

其次，据〈经记〉，泰始二年（266）法护在长安译经时，用了“传言”，说明他不懂汉语，所以僧祐的“世居敦煌郡”，就要怀疑。换言之，他是外来的“胡”人，不是土生土长的敦煌人。

⁷ 《祐录》，CBETA, T55, no.2145, p97c.

又次，既然法护泰始二年在长安还不懂汉语，所以僧祐说他早年“博览六经，涉猎百家之言，虽世务毁誉，未常介于视听也。”是溢美之辞，不符合事实。

再次，既然法护泰始二年在长安还不懂汉语，那他就可能先去西域，再“自敦煌至长安沿路传译”。所以他只能是先到长安之后，再去西域，然后再“自敦煌至长安，沿路传译。”所以《祐录》所述的法护译经路线，也是有漏缺的。⁸

一一对照，僧祐所述，几乎就“体无完肤”了。

上述对《祐录》中法护行迹的质疑，其源头上的证据，就是这条<经记>，而且是唯一的。其他所有的“证据”，都是在此基础上才能成立。所以有必要对<经记>作一番考察。

在开始正文之前，有一问题必须讲清楚。

对于<经记>所说的“传言”，如果把眼光扩展到整部中国翻译史，例如宋人所记录的译场中的分工，那么用了“传言”，是否就能说明法护不懂汉语，还是有讨论的余地的。但检索《祐录》，“传言”一词凡五见，除<经记>外，其余四次都是在译主（竺朔佛、竺将炎）不懂中文的前提下使用的。故本文就不对“传言”的意义作扩展的讨论，而是循着“新解”的思路作对应的检讨。

⁸ 上述观点，请参阅陈国灿：〈吐鲁番出土的《诸经要集经》残卷与敦煌高僧竺法护的译经考略〉，《敦煌学辑刊》总第4期，1983年。梅乃文：〈竺法护的翻译初探〉，《中华佛学学报》第9辑，1996年。王惠民：〈竺法护“世居敦煌”辨析〉，《兰州大学学报》（社科版），2008年第4期。

二、“曇摩罗刹”考

曇摩罗刹系梵文Dharmarakṣa之音译，梵汉对应，“曇摩”是“法”，“罗刹”为“护”，

因《祐录》中〈经记〉和法护经录闹了双包，所以法护就是曇摩罗刹。从《高僧传》开始，历代僧传经录，都不假思索地接受了竺法护和曇摩罗刹（察）就是一个人的说法，并以此诟病僧祐和法经。

这是历史上常见的、一种习而不察的现象。因为早期译经者，是外来“胡僧”的天下，而法护不是汉人，所以他有一个“胡名”，被认为是理所当然的事。在此心理暗示下，只要一条“证据”，星星之火，马上燎原，他又名曇摩罗刹（察），是很自然的、极容易被接受的事情。

需要指出的是，先辈们得出这个结论，是因他们相信〈经记〉所说是“真”的，但并不能反过来证明其“真”。恰恰相反，他们的结论的合理性，是以〈经记〉之“真”为前提的。

虽然法护是个月氏“胡”人，但他更是个土生土长的敦煌人。这一点上，所有的经录都没有新的材料或否定的证据，故都照抄《祐录》：“其先月支人也。世居敦煌郡，年八岁出家，事外国沙门高座为师。”首先，汉代敦煌已立郡，而且他们是“世居”，所以他出生在敦煌，其“国籍”是中国人；其次，他祖籍月支，所以他本姓支。后来被称为竺法护，是从师姓。唐圆照《贞元新定释教目录》就此在“竺曇摩罗刹”条中，作了如此说明：

沙門竺曇摩羅刹，晉言法護。其先月氏國人，本姓支氏，世居敦煌郡。年八歲出家，事外國沙門竺高座為師，遂稱竺姓

（秦晋以前，沙門多隨師稱姓，後因彌天道安，遂總稱釋氏）。……眾錄或云月氏菩薩，亦云天竺菩薩者，斯皆重其德稱美其號也。然法護者，此土翻名曇摩羅剎，西方梵稱。⁹

既然法护的竺姓是出家后随师而有，他不是天竺人，那怎么可能有个梵文的名字？

从人们取名的角度看，一个人姓名的来源，不外三种情况：一是父母所取，从小就有（即“户籍”本名）；二是长大之后，为某种需要而自取（如现在在外企工作的中国人，往往来个查理、露西什么的）；三是后来人家给取的，而被普遍接受（如古代皇上封的，以及后人的尊称）。

放在法护身上，一、他的本名：支法护；二、长大之后：从师姓，竺法护；三、人家给取的：月支菩萨、敦煌菩萨；都没有问题。以此标准，<经记>中曇摩罗剎这个名字，包括天竺菩萨的尊称，是否也属于第三种情况呢？

曇摩罗剎（察）被普遍接受，是后来的事，至于僧祐时代的“当时”，<经记>就是孤零零的一条，更没有被普遍接受的证据。

首先，整部《祐录》，称竺法护三十七次，称支法护六次，称曇摩罗剎唯一次。另有一次称“月支菩萨沙门曇法护”（<圣法印经记>），但查《大正藏》（该藏的底本是《高丽再

⁹ 《贞元新定释教目录》，CBETA, T55, no.2157, p794a。

雕藏》)，就可以知道，宋、元、明诸本都没有“昙”字，所以汤用彤先生说“似误”。因此，说法护就是昙摩罗刹（察），〈经记〉是孤证。

同样，《祐录》中，法护被称为“月支菩萨”、“敦煌菩萨”各二次，“敦煌月支菩萨”一次，称“天竺菩萨”的，只有〈经记〉一次。所以，作为法护有一个梵文名字或他来自天竺的证据，〈经记〉又是孤证。

另一个证据，笔者将整部《祐录》中所有的支姓月支人——支讖（支娄迦讖）、支越（支谦、支恭明）、支亮（支纪明）、支曜、支敏度、支法领、支昙、支昙籛、支昙谛、支施仑、支遁（支道林）、支僧纯——在电子版《大正藏》中全部检索了一遍，结果是没有一个把自己“支”姓去掉，而另有一个梵文名字者。这有力说明《祐录》所覆盖的时代，月支人没有把“支”姓去掉，另给自己弄个梵文名字的习俗，更谈不上被普遍接受了。这样，昙摩罗察这个名字的来源、从而〈经记〉的“真”，就非常可疑了。

是否另有一种可能——真的有一个叫昙摩罗察的人，也是在太始二年十一月，于长安青门内白马寺中译出了《须真天子经》。因为法护同他的名字正好梵汉对上，于是在《祐录》中，闹了双包。答案是不可能的，因为该〈记〉中所说的那几个助手，特别是聂承远，是常年追随法护的“御用班子”。

那么〈经记〉中的昙摩罗察到底从何而来呢？

无论是僧祐亲自从文本中录出，还是他从前人的经录中抄出，这两条《须真天子经》的记录不可能出于同一抄本之中。如果是同一抄本中见到，任谁也不会把译者看作二位。

既然是不同抄本中出，所说时间一样，显然有一共同的出处，或者是一条出自另一条。无论是出于同源，还是一条出自另一条，那么一简一繁，是删去详细的时间和助手的可能性大，还是增加些什么的可能性大？就佛教文献目录的通例而言，答案是不言而喻的，只可能是后者。

这儿我们先引《祐录》中的一个例子。

王僧孺所撰的<《慧印三昧》及《济方等学》二经序赞>，说一个叫何规的人，在山中采药，遇神仙给他这样的一本佛经：

名為《慧印三昧經》，經旨以至極法身無相為體，……故以三昧為名。後又有《濟諸方等學經》，……方等者大乘之通名，究竟之弘旨。其軸題云：敦煌菩薩沙門支法護所出，竺法首筆受，共為一卷，寫以流通。¹⁰

僧祐看了，哭笑不得：

祐少尋經律，竊窺諸部之奧。但一切變易，萬事遷訛。所以古今同異，觸類皆有。故魚謬為魯，陶誤成陰。案晉末以來，關中諸賢經錄云：《慧印三昧經》，支謙所出。《濟方等大乘學經》，法護所出。《聖法印經》後記云：「晉元康四年，菩薩沙門支法護，於酒泉出此經。弟子竺法首筆受。」而何規所得經本二經同卷，題「方等」於法護，亂「三昧」於支謙，實由編寫成，然非為誣濫，而一往觀覽，容生疑惑。聊記所憶，存之末塵，故出別記。¹¹

¹⁰ 《祐录》，CBETA, T55, no.2145, p50c.

¹¹ 《祐录》，CBETA, T55, no.2145, p51a.

此类民间的流通本，把两本不同译者的经印在一起，又把第三本经的“出经后记”窜入，虽然他们编写的动机“非为诬滥”，但僧祐还是感叹“一切变易，万事迁讹。所以古今同异，触类皆有。故鱼谬为鲁，陶误成阴。”

所以，同何规所得的那本“二经同卷”一样，最大的可能是，那篇<经记>是个别僧人随意拼凑出来的。

这是宗教典籍在流传过程中常见的现象，为了让经典更可信、更有权威，那位未明作者就给原来简单的“《须真天子经》二卷（泰始二年十一月出）”添加上详细的时间地点和助手；因为认为法护是个“胡”人，他就不管法护祖籍月支的事实，顺手把汉文“法护”翻成了梵文“昙摩罗察”，还给他带了顶“天竺菩萨”的帽子。

但不知道是什么原因，面对那篇明显有问题的<经记>，僧祐还是不小心上了个大当，被人诟病至今。连带而来的，就是这凭空而有的“昙摩罗察”却因一条孤证而被普遍承认，虽然合情却不合理。

三、“泰始二年，长安译经”考

如前文所述，从<经记>引出种种“新解”的关键，则是法护到底有没有于泰始二年，在长安译经。这一点可以独立于法护的姓名问题之外，就算“昙摩罗察”这个名字是后人拼凑的，也不能证明<经记>所说的时间地点和助手都是假的。

如果相信《祐录》，问题就很简单。法护是晋武帝之世（265起）“随师至西域，游历诸国”，他最早也得公元265年出发，然后学好了“外国异言三十有六”，才“自敦煌至长安，沿路传

译”，那无论如何，以古代的交通条件，他都没有可能于泰始二年（266），在长安译经。其他所有的推论，就都无法立足。

但现在这些“新解”是宁信<经记>而不信僧祐，那就必须对这样的立场作些讨论，也即要对<经记>所说的时间地点作些考证。

除了前文已经找到的二个<经记>是孤证的证据，我们又找到了第三个证据：整部《祐录》中，“传言”出现了四次，其中一次出于<经记>；一次出于<般舟三昧经记>，该经是支谶译于汉光和二年（179），其中提到了法护，显然是误植；另外二次于法护无关。所以，说法护翻译需要传言，<经记>还是孤证。

所谓孤证，就是没有其他材料证明其真。所以，要用作推论的出发点，去推翻作为原始材料的《祐录》，就会不自觉地陷入自我论证的逻辑怪圈：

因为<经记>，法护泰始二年在长安不会汉语——所以法护不是土生土长的敦煌人——所以他不需要去西域就懂“胡语”——所以他是先到长安再去西域——所以他可以在泰始二年出现在长安。

更重要的是，根据<经记>，坚持法护泰始二年在长安译经时不懂中文的人，或者坚持法护是先到长安后去西域的人，在论述他们的新解时，往往不得不面对一些无法回避的逻辑矛盾。

在展开例证之前，我们需要二个分析问题的参照点。一个是法护的早期译品之一《超日明经》。

《祐录》中，《超日明经》凡四见：

(一) 在法护所译经录里面, “《超日明经》二卷”, 属于“今阙”。¹² 没有具体的时间地点和助手。

(二) 超日明经二卷(旧录云《超日明三昧经》):

右一部, 凡二卷。晋武帝时, 沙门竺法护, 先译梵文, 而辞义颇, 优婆塞聶承远整理文偈, 删为二卷。¹³

(三) <新集异出经录>:

《超日明经》(竺法护出《超日明》二卷, 聶承远出《超日明》二卷, 即删整护公所出者。)

右一经, 二人异出。¹⁴

(四) <竺法护传>云:

初护於西域得《超日明经》胡本译出, 颇多繁重。时有信士聶承远, 乃更详正文偈, 删为二卷, 今之所传经是也。¹⁵

另, 《历代三宝记》则从《聂道真录》中录得:

《超日明三昧经》三卷(太始七年正月译, 初出或两卷, 或直云《超日明经》。见《聶道真录》)¹⁶

¹² 《祐录》, CBETA, T55, no.2145, p08c.

¹³ 《祐录》, CBETA, T55, no.2145, p09c.

¹⁴ 《祐录》, CBETA, T55, no.2145, p14b.

¹⁵ 《祐录》, CBETA, T55, no.2145, p97c.

¹⁶ 《历代三宝记》, CBETA, T42, no.2039, p62b.

又，《大正藏》第十五册，no.0638《佛说超日明三昧经》二卷，题名为“西晋清信士聂承远译”。

综合起来，则可知法护于泰始七年（271）正月在西域译出《超日明经》二卷（或三卷），聂承远嫌其“繁重”，删为二卷，就是现在《大正藏》所收的《佛说超日明三昧经》。虽然对上述记录有许多可以探讨的问题，如造成法护译品“义烦”的原因是因他中文不好还是“胡”文不好，还是经文本身“繁重”；以及聂承远是什么时候“删整”该经的等等；但首先需要注意的是：泰始七年（271）正月，法护已在西域。

另一个时间点是：太康五年（284）法护在敦煌翻译《阿维越遮致经》时，已经“口敷晋言”。

以这两个时间点为参照，可以有两个推论：

一是相信《祐录》之<竺法护传>，法护本来就懂中文，在西域十余年，学的是“外国异言三十有六”。

另一是相信<经记>，法护本不懂中文，那就只有一个很荒谬的推理——他在西域十余年，学好了中文！

在此基础上，我们看看几个“新解”中有代表性的例子：

例一、陈国灿的<吐鲁番出土的《诸佛要集经》残卷与敦煌高僧竺法护的译经考略>，因对<经记>丝毫不疑，所以他对法护西行的轨迹总述如下：

肯定法护西游是在晋武帝世，而且是在到过京邑洛阳和长安之后，感到许多深经不完备，才发愤去“葱外”的。晋武帝统治廿五年，在太始十年以前的九年时间里（266-273），

基本上有法护在国内内地活动的记录，在太康五年以后的这六年（284—289），又有他译经的逐年题记，证明他也在国内，唯有中间的十年（274—283），他去向不明，也无译经，说明晋武之世、发愤西行正发生在这十年里。¹⁷

虽然没有正面触及法护早年是否懂中文的事，但既然以《经记》为推论的前提，那回答必然是否定的。这样法护学习中文的时间地点只剩下一个答案——就是他西去西域的那个十年。去西域学中文？

例二、梅乃文《竺法护的翻译初探》中，《经记》居于非常重要的地位，好多论述，都以该《记》为立论的基础。

首先是关于法护的汉文化修养从何而来，作者如是说：

因为根据经序，他来华之初，连晋言也不会说，需要人翻译他所说的话，之后再由汉人笔录下来，可见他来华之初根本没有中文基础。但是他翻译的时间很长，如果永嘉二年（公元308年）真是他译经最后的一个记录的话，从他经序第一个记录是太始二年（公元266年）来计算，那他译经至少有四十三年。在这期间，他的晋言进步很多，从不会说晋言到可以“手执梵书，口宣晋言”，到最后能够自己校对。所以如果他真的能“博览六经，涉猎百家”，也只能是从抵达到中原以后学的。此外，他八岁出家，家中也不太可能再供给他良好中国古典教育的机会。¹⁸

¹⁷ 陈国灿：《吐鲁番出土的《诸经要集经》残卷与敦煌高僧竺法护的译经考略》，《敦煌学辑刊》总第4期，1983年。p7。

¹⁸ 梅乃文：《竺法护的翻译初探》，《中华佛学学报》第9辑，1996年。p52-53。

因为坚持法护“来华之初根本没有中文基础”，所以首先要否定僧祐的说法：法护出家之后“笃志好学，万里寻师，是以博览六经，涉猎百家之言，虽世务毁誉，未常介于视听也。”中国僧人重视学问，是一贯的传统，法护沉湎于外学，招致教内非议，也是常情。就看《祐录》中的法师传记，帛法祖、道安、慧远、道生、竺佛念……哪一个不是“研味方等，妙入幽微，世俗坟索，多所该贯。”¹⁹ 所以，作者还加上一个风牛马不相及的理由，“他八岁出家，家中也不太可能再供给他良好中国古典教育的机会。”实际上正说明作者明白自己论证的无力。

那么法护的中文到底是什么时候学的呢？作者含糊其事地说：“（法护）译经至少有四十三年。在这期间，他的晋言进步很多，从不会说晋言到可以‘手执梵书，口宣晋言’，到最后能够自己校对。”

其实作者能有明确的时间考证，只是她无法接受。在讨论法护的译经速度的时候，作者说道：

从《须真天子经》的翻译可以看出……这时他连晋言都不会，需要传言、手受的人。在翻译《正法华经》时，距离他翻译《须真天子经》二十年，这时候他已会说晋言。²⁰

既然注意到《正法华经》的翻译年代，那作者为什么不提《超日明经》和《阿维越遮致经》的翻译年代呢？

¹⁹ 《历代三宝记》，CBETA, T42, no.2039, p107a。

²⁰ 梅乃文：〈竺法护的翻译初探〉，《中华佛学学报》第9辑，1996年。p56。

按作者的逻辑，法护在泰始七年于西域翻译《超日明经》，还是疙疙瘩瘩的“颇多繁重”，中间经过十年的“空白”，到太康五年一下子就“手执梵书，口宣晋言”。作者或许看出了一旦具体考证年代，就会得出法护在西域学中文的荒谬结论。但因要坚持法护早年不懂中文，除此以外又找不到时间给他学习中文，所以就只能含糊其词了。

其次是关于法护被称“菩萨”，作者也是依据<经记>，认为这“菩萨”是法护自称的：

从他的经序中不断重覆出现的一个对他的尊称“菩萨”。他最初译的经典是须真天子经（公元266年）那时候他还不会说晋言，他的名字的中文意义还没有翻出来，但是他却有一个称谓“天竺菩萨昙摩罗察”。在他翻译的经典的序中，他被称为菩萨的次数为12次，十五篇经序中有十二篇称他为“菩萨”，另有一篇称他为“开士”，这个次数就很值得注意。很有可能是法护自称“菩萨”，否则不太可能当他还不会说晋言时就有菩萨这个称谓了。所以法护的“菩萨”称谓是有意义并值得注意的。²¹

就是因为这一条<经记>——“不太可能当他还不会说晋言时就有菩萨这个称谓了”，就只能置其余十条经记于不顾，找了一个“自称”的理由，为<经记>堵漏。

笔者统计了一下《祐录》中法护被称菩萨的情况，除了《般若三昧经》中的“菩萨法护”是明显的误写，以及<经记>中的“天竺菩萨昙摩罗察”外，另外十条按年序排列如下：

²¹ 梅乃文：〈竺法护的翻译初探〉，《中华佛学学报》第9辑，1996年。p53。

- 《阿维越遮致经》：太康五年（284），“菩萨沙门法护”。
- 《正法华经》：太康七年（286），“敦煌月支菩萨沙门法护”。
- 《持心经》：太康七年（286），“敦煌开士竺法护”。
- 《魔逆经》：太康十年（289），“月支菩萨法护”。
- 《勇伏定经》：元康元年（291），“敦煌菩萨支法护”。
- 《如来大哀经》：元康元年（291），“敦煌菩萨支法护”。
- 《圣法印经》：元康四年（294），“月支菩萨沙门（昙）法护”。
- 《渐备经》：元康七年（297），“护公菩萨人也”。
- 《贤劫经》：永康元年（300），“月支菩萨竺法护”。
- 《普曜经》：永嘉二年（308），“菩萨沙门法护”。

时间，都是太康五年之后；称呼，没有一家是“天竺菩萨”；姓名，没有一家用“昙摩罗察”。之所以会只见树木不见森林，说法护的菩萨称号是自加的，就是因为被<经记>绑架了。

只要把<经记>排除在外，则这十条记录，同《祐录》的记录“自敦煌至长安，沿路传译”和《高僧传》所说“护世居敦煌，而化道周给，时人咸谓敦煌菩萨也”，可谓丝丝入扣，分毫不差。

例三、王惠民<竺法护“世居敦煌”辨析>，敢于用隋代的《历代三宝记》和唐代的《古今译经图纪》去否定三个世纪前的《祐录》，<经记>是他极其重要的依据。²²

²² 王惠民此文，值得商榷的地方颇多，本文仅就与<经记>有关的部分展开。

请看他认为法护是“天竺菩萨”的三点理由：

首先，敦煌是个汉族为主的居住区域，而“法护”是梵文“昙摩罗刹”（Dharmraka）之意译，如果世居敦煌，为何有西域名字，没有汉文名字？……

其次，从佛教发展的背景上看，法护年8岁出家，时为236年，假设世居敦煌，这样幼小的年龄，出家后不可能马上西域取经，则应当在敦煌受到良好的汉语训练。……

再有，从翻译的过程看，法护汉语能力可能有问题。译经多出弟子之手，说明他是西域胡僧。依据《祐录》卷7记载，法护译经生涯中，早年译有《须真天子经》2卷……²³

不用分析，一眼就能看出，他这三条理由的根据，就是一条<经记>。在此基础上，作者认为法护不是“世居敦煌”，而进一步作了“合理的推测”：

“天竺菩萨”法护是天竺人，自幼出家，后来于3世纪60年代到中原，最早翻译的一部经是265年译出《无尽意经》。由于所带佛经有限，“是时晋武帝之世，寺庙图像虽崇京邑，而方等深经蕴在西域。护乃慨然发愤，志弘大道。”予3世纪70年代返回西域，“游历诸国”，西行求法10余年，“遂大费胡本，还归中夏”，“所获大小乘经，《贤劫》、《大哀》、《法华》、《普曜》等，凡一百四十九部。”于284年到达敦煌，“来达玉门，因居敦煌”，不久前往中原，“自敦煌至长安，沿路传译，写以晋文”。这就可以解

²³ 王惠民：<竺法护“世居敦煌”辨析>，《兰州大学学报》（社科版），2008年第4期。p28。

释法护译经为何集中在284-291年间，并且是在中断译经10多年后，首先从敦煌开始译经的。²⁴

且不说为什么不信其他十条记录，而只信一条“天竺菩萨”；为什么前文还说法护是“从西域来到敦煌”的“西域月支人”²⁵，这里就变成“天竺人”了；还是一个老问题，法护在何时何地学的中文？

既然以<经记>依据，逻辑的必然，作者提及《超日明经》时，坚持认为：

前揭《祐录》、《高僧传》均提到法护翻译《超日明经》时，颇多烦重，聂承远删正，得今行二卷云云，说明法护未必精通汉语。²⁶

结果还是一样荒谬——法护在西域十年，学好了汉语！

* * * * *

综上所述，<经记>所说，于僧祐所录的法护行迹，有全面的矛盾。为了相信<经记>就不得不否定僧祐，然后又要为了自

²⁴ 王惠民：<竺法护“世居敦煌”辨析>，《兰州大学学报》（社科版），2008年第4期。p29。

²⁵ 王惠民：<竺法护“世居敦煌”辨析>，《兰州大学学报》（社科版），2008年第4期。p27-28。

²⁶ 王惠民：<竺法护“世居敦煌”辨析>，《兰州大学学报》（社科版），2008年第4期。p28。

圆其说而处处补漏——明明法护从小居住敦煌，于汉文化兼通内外；后随师去西去遍学西域文化；然后“大赉梵经，还归中夏，自敦煌至长安，沿路传译。”线索清楚的记录，偏要剑走偏锋，弄得支离破碎。

其实只要花些功夫，把《祐录》中法护译品作一排列，就能发现，凡是有年代地点记录者，对照僧祐所说法护行迹，无一自我矛盾。唯一的例外，只有<经记>一条，其所说的时间和地点既自相矛盾，同时又与僧祐所说全部对不上号。因此，只要让《须真天子经》的记录还归原样：“《须真天子经》二卷（泰始二年十一月出）”，不让法护在泰始年间硬到长安去兜一圈，就能够将法护一生译品，按时间和地点，顺利地按序列出。

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Abstract

On the basis of researching *XU ZHEN TIAN ZI JING JI* (<须真天子经记>), some scholar firmly believed that ZHU FA HU (竺法护) was't understand Chinese and he wouldn't live in DEUN HUANG (敦煌) in his early life. Than he should be in CHANG AN (长安) before he went to western regions etc. All these conclusion are totally different from the Biography of ZHU FA HU in *Collection of Records Concerning the Translation of Tripitaka* (《出三藏记集》).

This paper makes a textual criticism and arrival at a conclusion that *XU ZHEN TIAN ZI JING JI* (<须真天子经记>) is a self-contradictory recode and has no any historical value.

Key words

ZHU FA HU (竺法护) Dharmarakṣa *Collection of Records Concerning the Translation of Tripitaka* (《出三藏记集》) *XU ZHEN TIAN ZI JING JI* (<须真天子经记>)

《佛教文獻研究》稿約

爲促進漢文佛教文獻學的發展，上海師範大學哲學學院敦煌學研究所特編輯出版《佛教文獻研究》學術刊物。本刊每年一輯，歡迎海內外學者不吝賜稿。

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附：《佛教文獻研究》來稿格式

- (一) 來稿由標題、作者、作者單位名稱、內容摘要、關鍵詞、正文組成。文末所附參考文獻請按中、日、西、俄文順序排列，同一文種參考文獻請按作者姓名首字音序排列。
- (二) 內容摘要以300字左右爲宜，關鍵詞不超過5個。
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- (五) 來稿一律採用新式標點符號，繁體橫排。註釋一律採用腳註，每頁重新編號，腳註號碼用阿拉伯數字1、2、3……表示。註釋號碼在句中的位置如下例所示：xxx¹，xxx¹。“xxx”¹，“xxx。”¹
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標註格式如：CBETA（2011），T04，no.200，p.213c23。引用紙質本藏經時，標註順序為藏經名、卷數、經號、頁碼、欄次、行數，例如：《大正藏》第4卷，第200號，第213頁下23。頁碼連接號以“~”表示，例如：CBETA（2011），T04，no.200，pp.213c23~214a13。或：《大正藏》第4卷，第200號，213頁下23~214頁上13。
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例1：湯用彤：《漢魏兩晉南北朝佛教史》（增訂本），北京大學出版社，2011年1月，第10頁。
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例3：敦煌研究院編：《敦煌遺書總目索引新編》，中華書局，2000年7月，第10頁。
- 4、引用論文集、文獻匯編等編輯作品時，要標出析出文獻（文章）的作者與析出文獻的名稱。標註順序為作者名、篇名、編輯者名、書名（含卷冊數）、出版社、出版時間、頁碼。文章作者與編輯者一致時，後者可略去。
例1：徐自強、張永強：《〈房山石經〉中的遼代佛教史料》，黃夏年主編：第二屆河北禪宗文化論壇論文集《遼金元佛教研究》（上），大象出版社，2012年11月，第101頁~128頁。
例2：陳垣：《校書法四例》，張舜徽選編，《文獻學論著輯要》，中國人民大學出版社，2011年3月，第308頁。
例3：麻天祥：《慧思住關山年表考析》，《中日韓天臺學術對話》，人民出版社，2011年4月，第3頁。
- 5、引用期刊論文時，標註順序為作者名、文章名、期刊名（含卷冊數或期號）、頁碼。例如：施萍婷：《讀〈淨土教概論〉札記一則》，《敦煌學輯刊》，2009年第4期，第127頁。
- 6、引用學位論文時，標註順序為作者、文題（括註所屬學術機構及論文性質）、完成時間、頁碼。例如：蔣宗福：《敦煌禪宗文獻研究》（四川大學博士論文），2002年10月，第10頁。
- 7、引用未正式出版的會議論文時，標註順序為作者、文題、會議名稱、地點及時間、頁碼。例如：楊維中：《藥師經典的翻譯新考》，“中國福山首屆藥師佛與健康文化論壇”論文集，山東福山，2013年5月，第17頁。
- 8、除了“CBETA中華電子佛典集成”外，如引用網絡資料，應為僅見於網絡之資料。標註格式請參照上列相關文獻格式，並請標註網頁地址，括註下載時間。

(八) 文中第一次出現帝王年號時，請括註公元紀年。第一次提到外國人名的漢譯時，請括註外文名。引用敦煌遺書時，請用“北敦”、“斯”、“伯”等中文首字指代收藏單位。

(九) 文中如有錄文，請參照《藏外佛教文獻》總第十六輯的《錄文校勘體例》。

