

## THREE MORE LEAVES OF THE SANSKRIT–UIGHUR BILINGUAL *DHARMAŚARĪRASŪTRA* IN BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT\*

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Three leaves written in Brāhmī script and kept in the Dunhuang Research Academy turn out to be parts of a bilingual text of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* in Sanskrit and Uighur. After analysing several versions of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*, it can be inferred that these three fragments belong to the Northern Brāhmī recensions which were circulated along the Northern Silk Road and are different from the Southern Brāhmī recensions popular along the Southern Route, such as the Khotanese version. This paper attempts to transcribe these fragments and make a thorough research on *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*, taking five relevant Chinese versions into account.

*Key words:* Sanskrit, Uighur, Brāhmī, bilingual, manuscript, *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*.

### Discovery and Rediscovery of the Fragments

The three leaves studied here used to be among the collection of Ren Ziyi (任子宜), obtained by him when he served as head of both the Centre of Public Education and the Bureau of Education in Dunhuang County during the 1930s and 1940s. They are

\* In preparing this paper, we are grateful to several scholars for their kind support. First and foremost, Professor Duan Qing has overseen the first author's learning in Sanskrit, Uighur and manuscript study, without whose guidance this research could not have been completed. We would also like to extend our gratitude to Professor Jens-Uwe Hartmann and Dr. Klaus Wille for sending us a catalogue of the fragments of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* so far published, the transliterations of Pelliot Fragment divers D. A. G and Fragment Or. 15015, as well as other relevant materials and especially for their helpful remarks and suggestions. Besides, we are indebted to Dr. Dieter Maue who kindly sent us his unpublished transcriptions of two fragments of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*, No. 80TBI 764 + 772. Special thanks also go to Dr. Maue and Professor Peter Zieme for their pioneering research on the manuscript of Sanskrit–Uighur bilingual *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* and valuable comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Last but not least, we owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Rong Xinjiang for

now kept in the Dunhuang Research Academy. Xiang Da (向達), who visited Dunhuang in 1942 and 1944, wrote in his “Memoir of Westward Expedition” (西征小記):

“Most people in Dunhuang who possess manuscripts are not willing to share them with others, but Mr. Ren Ziyi is different, so I had the chance to have a look at his collection. There are six scrolls of manuscripts, as well as three volumes of fragments most of which are gathered from the Mogao Caves. These fragments include both manuscripts and prints, written in Chinese, Uighur, Tangut and other ancient languages from the western regions, sorted out and organized into three volumes.” (Xiang 1950/2011, p. 38)

In the early 1940s, all the documents in the Southern Area caves of Mogao had already been taken away. However, during an archaeological investigation of the Northern Area recently conducted by Peng Jinzhang, hundreds of fragments in different languages were found (Peng–Wang 2000–2004). Therefore, the fragments gathered by Ren Ziyi are most likely from the Northern Area caves of Mogao.

Early in the 1950s, Ren Ziyi donated the six scrolls of manuscripts and other fragments in his collection, respectively to the Museum of Dunhuang County (now the Dunhuang Museum) and the Dunhuang Institute for Culture Relics (now the Dunhuang Research Academy). Neither Mr. Ren nor the staff of the institute could read these fragments, so they were all labelled “manuscript fragments in ancient languages of the western regions” and buried in the storehouse, unknown to the world. In the spring of 2014, Peng Jinzhang, Liang Xushu and Wang Haiyun rediscovered them while investigating the documents preserved in the Dunhuang Research Academy. Then these fragments were handed over to relevant scholars for further study, among them were the three leaves in Brāhmī script numbered D203-1, D203-2 and D203-3 which will be dealt with in this paper.

### Format and Affiliation of the Fragments

The paper fragments are thick, coarse and uneven in texture, with large handwriting on them. The writing area is divided by thin red horizontal lines, and on both right and left sides, there are thick red vertical lines to indicate margins. The scribe wrote carefully within the margins; and the letters are exactly hanged on the horizontal lines. All three leaves are badly damaged. Folio No. D203-1 is 12 cm × 9.6 cm with five lines preserved on each side, and No. D203-2 11.7 cm × 6.5 cm with four lines, while No. D203-3 10.8 cm × 4.4 cm only with two lines.

Through careful examination of the format and content of these three leaves, compared with leaf No. 79 kept in the Fujii Yūrinkan Museum and published by Dieter Maue (2008), as well as other two leaves Nos 63 and 67 kept in the National Library

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showing us the photos of fragments No. 80TBI 764 + 772 and helping reading the draft in Chinese. And this study is also supported by the National Social Science Fund of China (Grant No. 12&ZD179).

of China and published by Maue and Zieme (2012), we can infer that these six leaves probably belong to one and the same manuscript, which is a Sanskrit–Uighur bilingual text of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*. Firstly, based on script analysis, Maue claimed that folio No. 79 was written in a Brāhmī script of type b alphabet u after Sander (1968, plates 29 ff), and this observation also applies to the other five folios. Secondly, and more importantly, these six folios bear two distinguishing characteristics. The first one is red lines helping defining the writing area and making the scribe write more neatly, as mentioned above. And the second one is red dots below the graphemes <c-> and <n->, since they are easily confused with <v-> and <t-> respectively. Maue and Zieme considered this to be a form of reading assistance to differentiate otherwise easily confused graphemes, unknown elsewhere. Thirdly, the Uighur text is not a word-for-word translation, but takes a keyword or phrase as a translation unit. After a Sanskrit phrase, a Uighur translation follows with a dot in-between to mark the boundaries of original and translated texts. This is a common practice in all six fragments.

Although the three leaves kept in the Dunhuang Research Academy are damaged, thanks to the help of the other three which are in good condition, we can infer that seven lines of text were written on both sides of the fragments and that there were 11 to 15 syllables in one line. In terms of content, fragment D203-3 talks about the ten powers of a Buddha (*daśa balāni*). This should be the preceding section of folio 63 which dealt with the Buddha's four fearlessness (*vaiśāradya*). Taking all these factors into consideration, it seems reasonable to assume that the six leaves mentioned above are all from one manuscript of a Sanskrit–Uighur bilingual *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*.

In the Chinese Buddhist Canon, the oldest scripture bearing the title “*Fashen jing*” (法身經, \**Dharmaśarīrasūtra* or \**Dharmakāyasūtra*) was perhaps *Baoji sanmei wenshushili pusa wen fashen jing* (寶積三昧文殊師利菩薩問法身經, T356, \**Ratnakoṭṣaśamādhi-Mañjuśrī-bodhisattva-paripṛcchā-dharmaśarīra-sūtra*), of which the translator was unknown according to *Chu sanzang ji ji* (出三藏記集, T2145, hereafter *CSZJJ*), while *Lidai sanbao ji* (歷代三寶紀, T2034, hereafter *LDSBJ*) attributed it to An Shigao (安世高). In *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* (開元釋教錄, T2154), *Ru fajie tixing jing* (入法界體性經, T355, \**Dharmadhātubhāvāvatāra-sūtra*) translated by She'na-jueduo (闍那崛多, \*Jñānagupta) in the Sui dynasty is regarded as a retranslation of this text, in which the term “*fashen*” became “*fajie*”. Then in *Du yiqie zhufu jingjie zhiyan jing* (度一切諸佛境界智嚴經, T358, *Sarvabuddhaviṣayāvatāra-jñānālokā-lamkāra*) translated by Sengjiapoluo (僧伽婆羅, \*Saṅghapāla) in the Liang dynasty, towards the end of the sūtra, the Buddha said in *gāthās*: “Whoever holds this subtle *Fashen jing* (若有受持此, 微妙法身經)”. However, the title “*dharmaśarīrasūtra*” or “*dharmakāyasūtra*” is absent in the extant Sanskrit manuscript of this sūtra. Reworking Sengjiapoluo's translation, Amoghavajra produced a condensed and versified version titled *Dasheng wenshushili pusa zan fofashen li* (大聖文殊師利菩薩讚佛法身禮, T1195, \**Āryamañjuśrībodhisattva-dharmaśarīra-stotra*). The last relevant version is *Fo shuo fashen jing* (佛說法身經, T766, \**Dharmakāya-sūtra*<sup>1</sup>) translated by Faxian

<sup>1</sup> In this sūtra, *dharmakāya* (法身) and *nirmitakāya* (化身) are two complementary terms side by side, so the Sanskrit original for “*fashen* (法身)” is more probably “*dharmakāya*” instead of “*dharmaśarīra*”.

(法賢, \*Dharmabhadra) in the Northern Song dynasty. All five translations are short texts, consisting of only one scroll.

In China's far-west province of Xinjiang, several manuscripts of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* in different ancient languages have been found. From the perspective of the scripts in which they were written, the manuscripts can be generally classified into two broad categories, one is Northern Brāhmī recensions circulated along the Northern Silk Road, while the other is Southern Brāhmī recensions popular along the Southern Route.<sup>2</sup>

Three groups of manuscripts belong to the Northern Brāhmī recension that circulated along the Northern Silk Road.

Four manuscripts belong to the first group. The first one is a one-page but complete Sanskrit manuscript from Idikutšahri published by Stöner (1904), also included in *Sanskrihandschriften aus den Turfanfunden* (hereafter *SHT*) numbered 596. Since it was a scroll, only the recto side was written on while the verso side was left blank. The text lists a number of important Buddhist terms, such as “*catvāri smṛtyupasthānāni*” (four foundations of mindfulness) and so on, without further explanation. *SHT III* 893 from Qizil corresponds closely to lines 11–21 of this text, while Or. 15015/301 in the Hoernle collection corresponds to the part from line 2 to line 25. These two fragments are slightly different from the Idikutšahri text in only two or three words, so perhaps they are different copies of the same text. Moreover, in Pell. fragment divers G from Douldour-Aqour, almost the same terminology appears, only the beginning and ending sections being a little different. It might also be a variant of the same text.

The second group is represented by *SHT I + IV* 623 from Yarghol (alias Yarḥoto) and *SHT VII* 1689 + *XII* 6991 from Šorchuk<sup>3</sup>. These manuscripts consisting of several folios seem to be different copies of the same text, overlapping each other: 623 Bl. [5] V5–R7 overlaps with 1689 Bl. a V1–3; 623 Bl. 27 V4–R7 with 1689 Bl. b R2–5; 623 Bl. 33 with 1689 Bl. d R3 to Bl. e V1; 623 Bl. (36)<sup>4</sup> with the recto side of 1689 Bl. f; and 623 Bl. 42 R4–5 with 1689 Bl. h V1. Shin'ichirō Hori inferred that they were probably from the same Sanskrit text of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* which corresponded partly to T766. Besides, six more Sanskrit fragments might be assigned to this group. One is the Ōtani fragment No. 627, corresponding to *SHT* 623 Bl. 40

<sup>2</sup> In his article “New Brāhmī Manuscripts from Bezeklik” (*The History behind the Languages: Essays of Turfan Forum on Old Languages of the Silk Road* 語言背後的歷史 – 西域古典語言學高峰論壇論文集), Dr. Maue classified the manuscripts into several groups. This paper adopts another classification based on the scripts and contents of the manuscripts, emphasising the differences between recensions circulated along the Northern Silk Road and those of the Southern Route.

<sup>3</sup> The original number of this fragment is T III S 9. Prof. Rong Xinjiang told me that the letter S represented Sāngim and that the number assigned should have begun with Š if the fragment had been found in Šorchuk. The annotation says that the finding place was indicated by a label attached to this fragment (“*Fundortsigel befindet sich nur auf dem aufgeklebten Schild*”). Therefore, information about the location of the fragment might be incorrect. According to Klaus Wille, *SHT XII* 6991 belongs to Bl. b of *SHT VII* 1689, cf. *SHT XII*, p. 313, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> The verso side of Bl. (36) had been published by Ernest Waldschmidt in *Von Ceylon bis Turfan* (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967, pp. 347–352) as an example for a category for his edition of *Daśabalasūtra* II., before its inclusion in *SHT*.

and *SHT* 1689 Bl. g., but has no counterpart in T766 (Hori 2003, 2005). Then Hori identified three other Sanskrit fragments of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* in the Krotkov Collection in St. Petersburg, SI 2Kr/9 (3), SI Kr IV/787 and SI Kr IV/788, which all corresponded to T766; but he did not edit these fragments. According to the information he gave about their counterparts in T766, these three fragments seem to be different copies of the same paragraph (Hori 2011). Two more are fragments Nos 80TBI 764 and 772 from Bezeklik, corresponding to *SHT* 623 Bl. [5] and *SHT* 1689 Bl. a, with Xuanzang's translation of *Mahāprajñāpāramitāsūtra* on the obverse. Compared to the Idikutšahri text, the text from which manuscripts of this group probably stem is more detailed, including explanations of Buddhist technical terms.

The third one is a Sanskrit–Uighur bilingual manuscript of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*. The three leaves already published and the three leaves kept in the Dunhuang Research Academy are all from this manuscript. It was written in Northern Brāhmī script; and the Sanskrit original corresponds closely to *SHT* 623 and 1689.

Two manuscripts belong to the Southern Brāhmī recension that circulated along the Southern Silk Road.

The first one is a Sanskrit manuscript consisting of five folios in the St. Petersburg collection, published by Bongard-Levin and Voroběva-Desjatovskaja (1985). Judging from the beginning and end of the text, this manuscript is complete. The major part lists Buddhist technical terms, but the list is different from that of the Idikutšahri manuscript. The inclusion of terms such as “*daśa bodhisattvabhūmayā*” (ten bodhisattva levels), “*daśa pāramitā*” (ten perfections) is remarkable, which might reveal different characteristics of Buddhism popular along the Southern Silk Road. The manuscript was written in Southern Brāhmī script and assigned to the 7th or 8th century by Bongard-Levin.<sup>5</sup> It is more detailed than the Idikutšahri manuscript, but less so than the text represented by *SHT* 623 and 1689. Nevertheless, the ending section of this manuscript is almost the same as that of *SHT* 623 and 1689, different only in a few words.

The second manuscript is a Khotanese translation, also kept in the St. Petersburg collection, published by Bongard-Levin and Tëmkin (1969). According to them, this incomplete manuscript composed of two folios, discovered in Kashgar and then sent to St. Petersburg, was probably written in the 6th or 7th century based on paleographical analysis. This Khotanese translation corresponds more closely to the Sanskrit manuscript in the same collection than to the one from Idikutšahri. However, after careful textual comparison, they believed that neither of them was the original text of the Khotanese translation, which must be “another hitherto unknown version” of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*.

Particularly noteworthy is the Khotanese translation's emphasis on “*mahāyāmnā*” by listing Mahāyāna sūtras such as *Prajñāpārami*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarī*, *Buddhavalāitsai*, *Laṃggāvatārā*, *Daśabhūmai* etc., reflecting the characteristics of

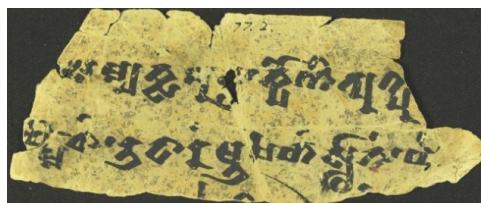
<sup>5</sup> Folio 5v was once exhibited at the Kyoto National Museum and assigned to the 1st to the 3rd century without giving a reason. Cf. *The Kyoto National Museum & The Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences*. 特別展覧会シルクロード文字を辿って – ロシア探検隊収集の文物, Kyoto, 2009, p. 48.

local Buddhism in Khotan. From about the 3rd century to the 11th century, Khotan had been the stronghold of Mahāyāna Buddhism in central Asia. As a result, many Mahāyāna Buddhist texts were circulated in this region. According to *CSZJJ*, Zhu Shixing (朱士行) obtained a copy of *Prajñāpāramitā* in Khotan some time after 260 CE. In 286 CE, a Khotanese monk Gītāmītra (祇多羅) took another copy of this text to China. Besides, *LDSBJ* recorded a certain Gītāmītra (祇多蜜), who translated *Daśa-bhūmisūtra* into Chinese. Unfortunately, we cannot tell whether these two were actually the same person or not. Around the beginning of the 5th century, Zhi Faling (支法領) got a copy of *Buddhāvataṃsaka* of 36,000 śloka from Khotan, the larger version of which would be translated by the Khotanese monk Śikṣānanda (實叉難陀) in the Tang dynasty. All these indicate that the sūtras mentioned in the Khotanese translation of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* were once very popular in this area. Up until today, some manuscripts of *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* have been recovered from this region.

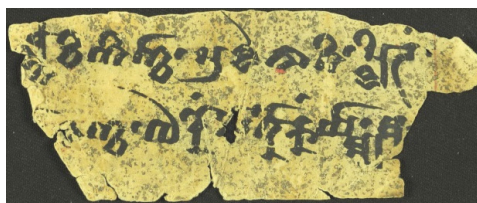
### Transliteration, Transcription with Commentary<sup>6</sup>

#### D203-3:

Recto



Verso



Transliteration:

- r1 [ + + ] sa mya ksaṃ bu *dd<sup>h</sup>a* · kyo ñi tyu zyu [ + ]  
 r2 [ + ] ymi -ṣ · u dā raṃ ā rṣa b<sup>h</sup>aṃ st<sup>h</sup>ā naṃ · ye  
 v6 [ + ] ltī ci ñi ñcā · pra jā nā ti · pli -ṛ  
 v7 [ + + ] ā na ñca · o roṃ so zo -g<sub>1</sub> ymyā · a [ + ]

	Sanskrit	Uighur
r1	samyaksaṃbuddha	köni tüzü[ni] (r2) [tu]ymš
r2	udāram āṛṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ	ye[g]
v6		[ka]lti činīnča
	prajānāti	b(i)lir
v7	[asth]ānaṃ ca	oronsozog ymä
	a[sthā]	

<sup>6</sup> Signs and symbols used in transliteration and transcription: [ ] lost text restored by conjecture; + equivalent of 1 akṣara; × 1 unreadable akṣara; ... lost akṣaras; ( ) line number or normalising addition in Uighur words, e.g. b(i)lir, spelled pli -ṛ; *italics* corrupted akṣaras.

Compared to the other two Sanskrit versions of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*, i.e. the Idikutśahri text and the text of five folios in the St. Petersburg collection, the version represented by *SHT* 623 and 1689 is the most detailed. However, the beginning sections of both *SHT* 623 and 1689 are lost. The texts start with the Buddha's four *vaiśāradyas* (fearlessness, 623 Bl. [5] and 1689 Bl. a). And the Sanskrit original of the bilingual text in folios 63 and 67 kept in the National Library of China corresponds to this part.<sup>7</sup> Since the *daśa balas* precede the four *vaiśāradyas* in the term list in both the Idikutśahri and the St. Petersburg Sanskrit manuscripts, it is reasonable to assume that the preceding section of folio 63 most probably deals with *daśa balas*. Then this assumption is proved by folio D203-3, the content of which is exactly the *daśa balas*. Although the two complete Sanskrit manuscripts and Faxian's Chinese translation of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* only list terms without definition, leaving "*daśa balas*" unexplained, the passage illustrating the *daśa balas* is still preserved in *Daśabalasūtra*. The part to which folio D203-3 corresponds is as follows:

“*daśemāni bhikṣavas tathāgatasya balāni yaiḥ samanvāgatas tathāgato 'rhan samyaksaṃbuddha udāram ārṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ pratijānāti, brāhmaṃ cakraṃ vartayati, pariṣadi samyaksimhanādaṃ nadati. kathamāni daśa. iha tathāgataḥ sthānaṃ ca sthānato yathābhūtaṃ prajānāty asthānaṃ cāsthānato.*” (Waldschmidt 1932)

“Ten, oh monks, are the Tathāgata's powers, endowed with which the Tathāgata, the Arhat, **the rightly completely enlightened one** claims for himself **the high, excellent place**, sets the brahmic wheel in motion, roars rightly the lion's roar in the assembly. Which ten? Here Tathāgata **knows, in accordance with reality**, the possibility as possibility and **the impossibility as impossibility**.”

There are two Chinese translations titled *Daśabalasūtra* (十地經), one by Wutitixiyu (Utpalavīrya, 勿提提犀魚, T780) in the Tang dynasty and the other by Shihu (Dānapāla, 施護, T781) in the Northern Song dynasty.<sup>8</sup> Their translations of the above passage are as follows:

“You should know that the Buddhas, Tathāgatas, Arhats, rightly equally enlightened ones are endowed with ten powers, and that endowed with

<sup>7</sup> Maue and Zieme (2012) compared this passage with the *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* part quoted in *Sphuṭārthā abhidharmakośavyākhyā*. At the beginning of the corresponding passage in *Sphuṭārthā*, it says that the following part is a citation from a sūtra: “as the sūtra is (*yathāsūtram eva iti*).” If this citation is from *Abhidharmakośa* which *Sphuṭārthā* annotates, then the term “sūtra” seems a little out of order here, since *Abhidharmakośa* is a “śāstra”, not a “sūtra”. Meanwhile, in the citation which corresponds to folio 67, *Sphuṭārthā* employs a phrase “as aforesaid (*iti pūrvavat*)” to omit clichés. This omitted part in *Sphuṭārthā* is complete in folio 67, which corresponds perfectly to Bl. [5] of *SHT* 623.

<sup>8</sup> Sūtra 684 in the Chinese translation of *Samyuktāgama* (T99) elaborately illustrates the Buddha's *daśa balas*. But it corresponds more closely with another Sanskrit version of *Daśabalasūtra* than with the version cited above. Cf. Chung, Jin-il (2009): Ein drittes und ein viertes Daśa-bala-Sūtra. *Sanko Bunka Kenkyujo Nenpo* Vol. 40.

ten powers they are entitled Tathāgatas, Arhats, **rightly equally enlightened ones, noble, outstanding, bold and self-mastered**, being able to set the unsurpassed pure brahmic wheel in motion and roar rightly the lion's roar in the assembly. Which ten? The Tathāgatas, Arhats, rightly equally enlightened ones **know, in accordance with reality**, the possibility as possible and **the impossibility as impossible**.” (汝等當知，諸佛、如來、應、正等覺具足十力，具十力故得名如來、應、正等覺，尊勝、殊特、雄猛、自在，能轉無上清淨梵輪，於大眾中正師子吼。何等為十？所謂如來、應、正等覺，於是處如實知是處，于非處如實知非處。 T780 717 c11–16)

“You should know that the Tathāgata, Arhat, rightly equally enlightened one is endowed with ten powers, and that whoever endowed with these powers is able to know<sup>9</sup> **grand victorious places**, to roar rightly the lion's roar in the assembly and to set the wonderful brahmic wheel in motion. Which ten? The Tathāgata **knows, in accordance with reality**, all possibilities as well as **all impossibilities**.” (汝等當知，如來、應供、正等正覺有十種力，具是力者，即能了知廣大勝處，於大眾中作師子吼，轉妙梵輪。何等為十？所謂如來于一切處如實了知，一切非處亦如實知。 T781 718 c15–19)

In addition to Chinese translations, there is also a Uighur translation of *Daśabala-sūtra*. And in the extant fragments of this Uighur translation, the corresponding part is as follows: “*köni tüz (qamayay) tuyuyli uluy baštın mungadınčıy titimlig alp ärdäm-lig ärksinmäkin*” (Shōgaito 2002, pp. 295–296). The phrase *köni tüz (qamayay) tuyuyli* is a translation of *samyaksambuddha*, while *uluy baštın mungadınčıy titimlig alp ärdäm-lig ärksinmäkin* might correspond to *udāram āṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ*. The Sanskrit phrase *udāram āṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ* appears in folio D203-3 as well, but the Uighur equivalent is lost. Judging from folio 63 kept in the National Library of China, it is probably *yeg üstünki udlar eliginiñ ornın*. Then it seems that the Uighur *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* and *Daśabalasūtra* have different translations of the same phrase. The translation of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* corresponds more closely to the Sanskrit original: *āṣabha* comes from *ṛṣabha* which means a bull, and *ud* also means an ox in Uighur. To the contrary, the Uighur *Daśabalasūtra* shows more similarities with the Chinese version. The Uighur adjectives *mungadınčıy* (wonderful) *titimlig* (brave) *alp* (bold) *ärdäm-lig* (virtuous) *ärksinmäkin* (mighty) correspond to the Chinese words 殊特 (outstanding) 雄猛 (bold) 自在 (self-mastered), while *uluy baštın* has a similar meaning as 尊勝 (noble) according to Shōgaito. This text comparison is another proof that the Uighur *Daśabalasūtra* is a translation from the Chinese instead of the Sanskrit version.

The ten powers of the Buddha are recurrent motifs in the discourses in Buddhist scriptures, and so is the cliché “*udāram āṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ*”. A parallel passage can also be found in *Mahāsīhanādasutta* of *Majjhima Nikāya* in the Pāli canon:

<sup>9</sup> Shihu's translation of “*pratijānāti*” is “is able to know”, different from the common understanding of this word.

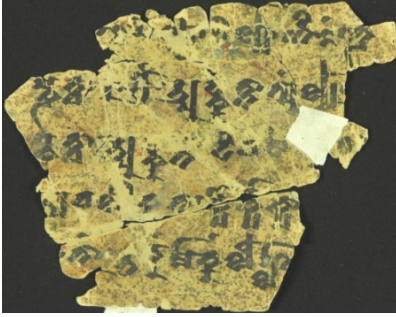


“*dasa kho pan' imāni sārīputta tathāgatassa tathāgatabalāni yehi balehi samannāgato tathāgato āsabhaṇ ṭhānaṃ paṭijānāti, parisāsu sīhanādaṃ nadati, brahmacakkaṃ pavatteti. katamāni dasa. idha sārīputta tathāgato ṭhānaṃ ca ṭhānato aṭṭhānaṃ ca aṭṭhānato yathābhūtaṃ pajānāti.*” (MN, ed. PTS, I 69, 31 ff.)

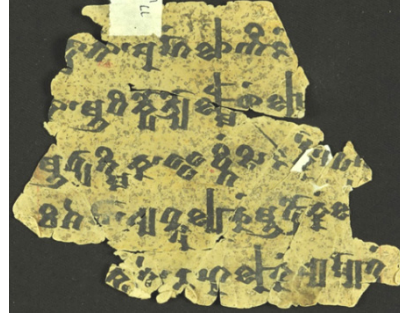
This passage corresponds to the Sanskrit version cited above, and is only slightly different in the background of the Buddha's teaching: someone doubts whether the Buddha really possesses superior knowledge, then the Buddha enumerates the Tathāgata's wonderful and marvelous qualities including ten powers and four fearlessnesses in order to dispel people's doubts. The ten powers and four fearlessnesses of the Buddha are also illustrated in *Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, *Abhidharmakośa* etc.

### D203-1:

Recto



Verso



### Transliteration:

- r3 [ + + ] ... lyā ṇi -ñ · ṭṛ  
 r4 ṣkṛ tvā rā trau · uyu cka ttā tyuṃ lyā [ + ]  
 r5 ṣk[ ] tvā · uyu cka [ ] tā · di va se [ + ] × [ + ]  
 r6 vya va lo ka na · kyo rkyo kyā [ ca. 2–3 akṣ. ]  
 r7 × nām · u zām mā -k lī hlā [ ca. 2–3 akṣ. ]  
 v1 [ + ] dd<sup>h</sup>ā nām · bu rhām lā ṇi -ñ · [ + + + ]  
 v2 tā[?] · ā d<sup>h</sup>i kyo tryo lmī -ṣ lyā [ + + ]  
 v3 ā d<sup>h</sup>yā tmi ka · i ctiṃ si nā rki · gu ṇ[ ]  
 v4 vi še ṣā · eya d<sup>h</sup>kyu lyu -g<sub>1</sub> ā d<sup>h</sup>ro -k l[ ] [ + ]  
 v5 [ + + ] ky[ ] te · u hu lu -k eya rmya -z

Sanskrit	Uighur
r3 [ + + ]	... lārniṃ
r4 tri(r4)ṣkṛtvā rātrau	üč kata tünlā
r5 [tri](r5)ṣk[r]tvā	üč kata

	divase	[ + ] × [ + ]
r6	vyavalokana	körgökä [ ca. 2–3 akṣ. ]
r7	× nām	uzanmaklıgla[rın]
v1	[bu]ddhānām	burhanların
v2	[bhagava](v2) rā[m]	atı kötrölmişlā[rın]
v3	ādhyātmika	içtin sınırkı
v4	guṇ[ā](v4)viśeṣā	ädgölüg adrokl[arın]
v5	[na śa]ky[a]te	uguluk ärmäz

The content of this folio cannot be found in extant Sanskrit texts of *Dharmaśarīra-sūtra*. But in Faxian's translation, there is a corresponding passage:

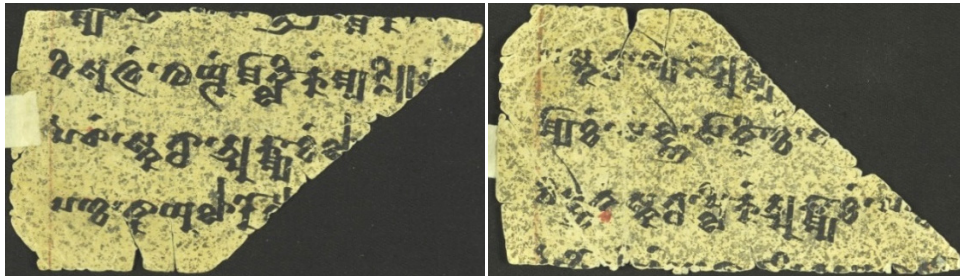
“Then and there, I am **good at observing the Buddhas' such inner natural qualities three times in the day and three times at night. Nobody is able to** widely announce them. Therefore, I briefly preach this quality now.” (于時方處，晝三夜三常善觀察如是諸佛內功德法，無有能者而為廣說，是故我今略說此法. T766 699c 13–15)

In this case, apart from the above-mentioned Sanskrit manuscripts of this sūtra, perhaps there existed another Sanskrit version of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* which might be the original text of Faxian's translation and the Uighur translation. However, since the Sanskrit text represented by the *SHT* 623 and 1689 and the Sanskrit–Uighur bilingual text are not complete, it is difficult to tell.

## D203-2:

Recto

Verso



Transliteration:

r4	my[] × × [ + ] × × [ + ] × []r[] × m[] []k̄[] [ + + ]
r5	d <sup>h</sup> i su k <sup>h</sup> am · tu yūṃ mā k̄li -g <sub>1</sub> mya ni    pam [ + ]
r6	pe -ṣ · ska nd <sup>h</sup> ā · uyu g <sub>1</sub> myā -k̄ l[] [ + + + ]
r7	pa ṇca · k̄ā yu lā ro l[?]e [ ca. 5–6 akṣ. ]
v1	pa ska nd <sup>h</sup> a · oya -ñ uyu g <sub>1</sub> my[] [ ca. 5–6 akṣ. ]
v2	myā -k̄ · sam jñā · sā k̄i -ñc · s[] [ ca. 3–4 akṣ. ]

v3 vi jñā na ska nd<sup>h</sup>a · pli -g<sub>1</sub> uyu g<sub>1</sub>myā -k · pa ñc[] [ +?]  
 v4 pe śo l[] × × × ā × × i × × × ×

	Sanskrit	Uighur
r4		māk
	u[pa]ś[a]m[a]	a[m]r[1]lm[a]k
r5	[saṃbo](r5)dhisukhaṃ	tuyunmaklıg māñi
	paṃ[ca]	(r6) beš
r6	skandhā	üGmäkl[är]
	[katame]	(r7) kayular
r7	pañca	ol [b]e[š]
v1	[rū](v1)paskandha	öñ üGm[äk]
	[vedanā]	[tägin](v2)mäk
v2	saṃjñā	sakinč
	s[aṃskāra]	...
v3	viññānaskandha	b(i)lig üGmāk
	pañc[a]	(v4) beš ol[ar]
v4	[an]ā[g]āmin[a]	

This folio corresponds to *SHT* 623 Bl.33 V. and *SHT* 1689 Bl. d R3.<sup>10</sup>

1 vekopaśamasambodhīsukhaṃ|| paṃca skandhā X  
 2 katame pañca| rūpaskandhaḥ vedanāskandhaḥ saṃ-  
 3 jñāskandhaḥ saṃskārāskandhaḥ vijñānaskandhaḥ X paṃ  
 4 ñc=ānāgāmīnaḥ aṃtarāparīnirvāyy=upa- (*SHT* 623 Bl.33 V.)

3 /// [n] (ai)śkramyapra[v]i[v]eko<sup>o</sup> (pa)śamasambodhisukhaṃ|| pañca  
 [s]ka[n]dh[ā] katam[e] pañca [rū]pave[da]nāsaṃjñā[s]aṃ + + +  
 [jñ]ānaskandhaḥ pañc=ānāgāmī[na]ḥ a .. [r]. + + .. /// (*SHT* 1689  
 Bl. d R3)

“..... the happiness of resignation, solitude, tranquility and enlighten-  
 ment. (There are) five aggregates. Which five? Aggregate of form, ag-  
 gregate of sensation, aggregate of perception, aggregate of activity  
 and aggregate of consciousness. (There are) five non-returners ...”

Faxian’s translation of this passage is a simple phrase “**five aggregates** of those who are still at the stage of learning” (有學五蘊. T766 700b 3), without explaining which five, while the Sanskrit and the Uighur versions list them in detail.

<sup>10</sup> Dr. Maue has suggested in an email correspondence that this folio is closer to *SHT* 1689 than to *SHT* 623.

## Glossaries<sup>11</sup>

### 1. Sanskrit–English–Uighur

- ādhyātmika-** “relating to self, inner”: D203-1 v3 ~içtin sıñarkı  
**anāgāmin-** “not coming”: D203-2 v4: []  
**ārṣabha-** “belonging to a bull, excellent”: D203-3 r2 ārṣabhaṃ sthānaṃ (acc.) “excellent place”: []  
**asthāna-** “non-place, impossibility”: D203-3 v7 [asth]ānaṃ (acc.) ~oronsozog  
**bhagavat-** “honourable”: D203-1 v1–2 [bhagava]tā[m] (gen. pl.) ~atı kötrölmişlā[rıñı]  
**buddha-** “awakened, enlightened”: D203-1 v1 [bu]ddhānām (gen. pl.) -burhanlarını  
**ca** “and”: D203-3 v7 ~ ymä  
**divasa-** “day”: D203-1 r5 divase (loc.): []  
**guṇa-** “virtue, merit”: D203-1 v3 ~ädgölüg  
**kṛtvā** (adv.) “time(s)” D203-1 r4, r5 -kata  
**na** (adv.) “not” D203-1 v5 ~ärmäz  
**pañca-** “five”: D203-2 r6–7, v3–4 -beş  
**prajñā** “to know”: D203-3 v6 prajānāti -b(i)lir  
**rātri-** “night”: D203-1 r4 r[ā]trau (loc.) -tünlä  
**rūpa-** “form”: D203-2 r7–v1 [rū]paskandha “aggregate of form” -öñ üGmä[k]  
**śak** “to be able to”: D203-1 v5 [śa]ky[a]te ~uguluk  
**saṃ-** (in saṃbuddha-) “completely”: D203-3 r1 -tüzü[ni]  
**saṃbodhi-** “complete knowledge or enlightenment”: D203-2 r4–5 [saṃbo]dhisukhaṃ  
 “happiness of complete knowledge or enlightenment” ~ tuyunmaklıg mänji  
**saṃjñā-** “perception”: D203-2 v2 -sakinç  
**samyak** “rightly, properly”: D203-3 r1 -köni  
**samyaksaṃbuddha-** “rightly and completely awaken, or enlightened”: D203-3 r1–2  
 -köni tüzü[ni] [tu]ymıš  
**skandha-** “aggregate”: D203-2 v1, v3 -üGmäk D203-2 r6 skandhā(h) (nom. pl. masc.)  
 -üGmäkl[är]  
**sthāna-** “place, possibility”: D203-3 r2 sthānaṃ (acc.): []  
**sukha-** “happiness”: D203-2 r5 -mänji  
**tris-** “thrice”: D203-1 r4, r5 triṣ (sandhi form<<sup>o</sup>s followed by gutturals) -üç  
**triṣkṛtvā** “three times”: D203-1 r4, r5 -üç kata  
**udāra-** “raised, excellent”: D203-3 r2 udāraṃ -[]  
**upaśama-** “tranquility”: D203-2 r4 -a[m]r[i]lm[a]k  
**vedanā-** “sensation”: D203-2 v1: [tāgin]mäk  
**viññāna-** “consciousness”: D203-2 v3 -b(i)lig  
**viśeṣa-** “excellence”: D203-1 v4 viśeṣā(h) (nom. pl. masc.) ~ adrokl[arın]  
**vyavalokana-** “observing”: D203-1 r6 ~körgökä

<sup>11</sup> Special signs and symbols: - is exactly corresponding to; ~ is slightly different from; [] (possible) equivalent is lost; Ø has no equivalent; \* equivalent restored by conjecture.

## 2. Uighur–English–Sanskrit

- adrok** “excellence” adrokl[arın] -viśeṣā  
**amrılmak** “the state of being pacified” -upaśama  
**at** “name” -Ø  
**atı kötrölmüş** “whose name is sublime” -bhagavat  
**ädgölüg** “virtue” ~guṇa  
**är-** “to be” ärmäz ~na  
**beş** “five” -pañca  
**bil-** “to know” -prajñā  
**bilig** “consciousness” -vijñāna  
**burhan** “Buddha” -Buddha  
**čınınča** “in reality” kaltı čınınča “in accordance with fact, according to the truth”  
     \*yathābhūta  
**ič** “the interior” ičtin sıǵarkı ~ādhyātmika  
**kaltı** “such as” \*yathā  
**kata** “times” -kṛtvā  
**kayu** “which” kayular \*katame  
**köni** “rightly, properly” -samyak  
**köni tüzüni tuymış** “rightly and completely enlightened” -samyaksaṃbuddha  
**kör-** “to observe” -vyavalok  
**mäñji** “happiness” -sukha  
**ol** “that” -Ø  
**orun** “place” -sthāna oronsozog “non-place” -asthānam  
**öǵ** “form” -rūpa  
**sakınč** “perception” -saṃjñā  
**sıǵar** “in the direction, towards” -adhi  
**täǵinmäk** “sensation” -vedanā  
**tün** “night” -rātri tünlä “at night” -rātrau  
**tuymış** “having perceived, enlightened” -buddha  
**tuyunmak** “enlightenment” ~saṃbodhi  
**tüzüni** “completely” -saṃ (in saṃbuddha)  
**u-** “to be able to” uguluk är ~śakyate  
**uzan-** “to be good at”: []  
**üč** “three” -tri  
**üč kata** “three times” -triṣkṛtvā  
**üGmäk** “aggregate” -skandha  
**ymä** “and” -ca

## Some Remarks on Chinese Versions of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* and the Manuscript

As mentioned above, there are five versions of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra* in the Chinese Buddhist Canon, among which *Fo shuo fashen jing* translated by Faxian corresponds most closely to the bilingual text, in spite of several differences.

The content of the earliest version, *Baoji sanmei wenshushili pusa wen fashen jing* attributed to An Shigao, is very different from that of the extant Sanskrit manuscripts. But the core theme is more or less the same, which is *dharmaśarīra* of the Buddha. It says: “The Buddha is the *dharmaśarīra*, to which the *balas*, *vaiśāradyas* all belong to (佛者則法身，諸種力、無所畏，悉法身之所入, T356 237b 21–22)”, “just as four major rivers flow into the ocean, separate *dharma*s become one *dharmaśarīra* (譬如四瀆悉歸於海，合為一味，若干名法為一法身, T356 237b 25–26)”. She’najueduo’s *Rufajie tixing jing* is a retranslation of this text, even though it replaces the term “*fashen* (法身)” with “*fajie* (法界)”.

In Sengjiapoluo’s *Du yiqie zhufu jingjie zhiyan jing*, the circumstance of the Buddha’s teaching is the same as in An Shigao’s translation: Mañjuśrī proposed a question and the Buddha answered. But this translation is more elaborate, using a lot of similes to illustrate the idea that “*Buddhaśarīra* is without action. It is not produced, not rising, not exhausted, and not perishing. It is neither form nor non-form, neither visible nor invisible, neither worldly nor unworldly, neither mind nor non-mind (佛身無為，不生不起不盡不滅，非色非非色，不可見非不可見，非世間非非世間，非心非非心, T358 251a 17–19)”. Towards the end of the *sūtra*, a *gāthā* says: “Whoever holds this subtle *Fashen jing* (*\*dharmaśarīrasūtra*) will accumulate countless merits and benefits (若有受持此，微妙法身經，所得功德利，不可得稱量, T358 253b 24–25).” This indicates that “*Fashen jing*” is another title of this *sūtra*. And it is also remarkable that this translation shows Mahāyāna tendencies in putting forward the concept of *bodhisattvacaryā* (菩薩行).

Amoghavajra’s *Dasheng wenshushili pusa zan fofashen li* is basically a condensed and versified version of Sengjiapoluo’s translation. In the preface, Amoghavajra made his motivation clear: there were forty-one *stotras* in the Sanskrit original, but only ten of them were preserved in the previous Chinese translation, so he was determined to make them complete in his new version.<sup>12</sup> “Homage to contemplation of nonsubstantiality (敬禮無所觀)” appears forty times in this new text, while the last *strotra* is a summary “all flow into the body of reality (同歸實相體)”. It seems that Amoghavajra intended his version to be a ritual text used for contemplation of the Buddha.

In the beginning of *Fo shuo fashen jing* translated by Faxian, without being asked, the Buddha claims that Tathāgatas have both *nirmitakāya* (化身) and *dharma-*

<sup>12</sup> “竊見《大聖文殊師利菩薩贊佛法身經》，據其梵本有四十一禮。先道所行，但唯有十禮。于文不備，歎德未圓。恐乖聖者懇誠，又闕群生勝利。不空先有所持梵本，並皆具足。今譯流傳，庶裨弘益。” (T1195 936c 18–22)

*kāya* (法身); then he explains *dharmakāya* in detail.<sup>13</sup> According to *Dazhong xiangfu fabao lu* (大中祥符法寶錄, T1501), this sūtra was selected and translated from Mahāyāna sūtras (大乘經藏收, 析出別譯), and then presented to the emperor during the Hungry Ghost Festival in 998 CE along with six other translations. It is interesting to note that the Sanskrit originals of six other translations were from Kucha (天竺語龜茲國書), while the Sanskrit original of *Fashen jing* was from Central India (中天竺梵本所出). Does this imply that *Fashen jing* was somewhat related to Kucha, since it was grouped with six texts, the originals of which were from Kucha?

Generally speaking, various versions of *Fashen jing* enjoyed high popularity in Chinese Buddhism. The Chinese translation of *Abhidharmavibhāṣā* quoted *Fashen jing* six times, but the quotations cannot be found in any extant versions of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*. Even earlier, Sengrui (僧叡) in the Eastern Jin dynasty mentioned *Fashen jing* in his essay “Clarification of the Doubts (喻疑論)”:

“Although *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* had not been translated during Kumārajīva’s life time, *Fashen jing* already declared that the Buddha’s dharma body (\**dharmakāya*) was *parinirvāṇa*, which was in complete accord with *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. If he had heard the saying that the Buddha had a true self and that all living beings had the Buddha nature, he would have been satisfied and pleased, with his doubts being clarified.”<sup>14</sup>

Huizhao (慧沼) in the Tang dynasty attributed *Wenshushili wen fashen jing* to Buddha’s teachings of the fifth period, while classifying the Buddha’s doctrines into five periods: “(These sūtras) make clear that *Tathāgata-garbha*, Buddha nature and dharma body do exist.”<sup>15</sup> Then perhaps we can infer that *Fashen jing* was regarded as a text illustrating the Buddha nature and the Buddha’s dharma body in the Chinese Buddhist tradition.

In the Sanskrit fragments, the title of the sūtra was “*Dharmaśarīra*”. *Śarīra* means the body, while in Buddhism it especially signifies the Buddha’s relics. The tenth chapter of *The Lotus Sutra* (“Teacher of the Law”) says:

“where a roll of it (the sūtra) exists, in all such places there should be erected towers made of the seven kinds of gems, and they should be made very high and broad and well adorned. There is no need to enshrine the relics of the Buddha there. Why? Because in such towers the entire body of the Thus Come One is already present.” (Watson 1993, p. 165)

According to this passage, the sūtra serves the same function as Buddha’s relics. And the ninth chapter of *Records of Western Countries* also says:

<sup>13</sup> Then perhaps the title of the Sanskrit original of this text was *Dharmakāyasūtra* instead of *Dharmaśarīrasūtra*?

<sup>14</sup> “什公時雖未有《大般泥洹文》，已有《法身經》明佛法身即是泥洹，與今所出若合符契。此公若得聞此佛有真我、一切眾生皆有佛性，便當應如白日朗其胸衿、甘露潤其四體，無所疑也。” (T2145 42a 16–20)

<sup>15</sup> 《能顯中邊慧日論》：“皆廣明如來藏佛性法身一切生有，如今者云第五時說於佛性。” (T1863 411a 27–29)

“It is a custom in India to make little stūpas of powdered scent made into a paste; their height is about six or seven inches, and they place inside them some written extract from a sūtra; this they call a *dharmasārīra*.” (Beal 1906, p. 146)

Here *dharmasārīra* refers to a sūtra extract, in other words, Buddha’s teachings. From this perspective, *Dharmasārīrasūtra* is not only a homage to the Buddha’s *dharmakāya*, but also a summary of Buddha’s teachings.<sup>16</sup> Originally it might have been some kind of *māṭṛkā*, listing important Buddhist terms, such as the four foundations of mindfulness, the five faculties, the seven factors of enlightenment and so on, then amplified in the process of spreading.<sup>17</sup> And because it is both a homage to the Buddha’s *dharmakāya* and a short summary of Buddha’s teachings, this sūtra is very popular along the Northern and Southern Silk Roads. Stöner (1904, p. 1282) mentioned that the Idikutšahri manuscript was rolled up in the same way as the mantra was usually done when it was found. Since mantras were always used to fill the hollow part of a copper Buddha statue, perhaps this manuscript served the same function. This information is noteworthy, indicating the purpose of copying *Dharmasārīrasūtra*, which is probably accumulating merits. Besides, compared to the versions circulated along the Northern Silk Road, those which were popular along the Southern Route, such as manuscripts found in Khotan, bore the imprint of Mahāyāna Buddhism. It suggests that instead of being static, the sūtra underwent ongoing textual modifications to better fit new cultural and religious contexts.

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<sup>16</sup> It seems to have nothing to do with the *dharmakāya gāthā*.

<sup>17</sup> When Stöner published the Idikutšahri manuscript of *Dharmasārīrasūtra*, he said that he had intended to translate the title to “the Sūtra which contains the basis of the religion (*das Sūtra, das die Grundlage der Religion enthält*)”.



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