A Unique Vyāghrī-jātaka Version from Gandhāra:
The *Foshuo pusa toushen* (yi) *ehu qita yinyuan jing*
佛説菩薩投身(飴)餓虎起塔因緣經（T172）

Junko Matsumura
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1. Introduction
The story of the Bodhisattva’s body-sacrifice to a starving tigress (Vyāghrī-Jātaka) is one of the most well-known Jātaka stories extolling the courageous deed performed by the Bodhisattva, and related in many Buddhist texts. I have already examined the various versions and classified them into two main groups; the group, in which Bodhisattva was Prince Mahāsattva, and the other, in which Bodhisattva was a Brahman ascetic. The texts belonging to these two groups are as follows:¹

Group 1: Versions in which Bodhisattva was uniformly named Prince Mahāsattva 摩訶薩埵:
(1) The Suvarṇā (pra)bhāsa-sūtra (金光明經 tr. by Tan wu-chen 暁無識 (Dharmakṣema), 385–433 CE (T663, 16.353c22–356c21); 合部金光明經, a revised version of the former, completed in 597 CE (T664, 16.396c2–399c21); 金光明最勝王經, a new translation by Yi-jing 義浄 completed in 703 CE (T665, 16.450c22–454b25).

* This article is the paper the author presented at the 16th Conference International Association of Buddhist Studies held at the Dharma Drum Buddhist Institute from the 19th to 25th June 2011. The present author prepares the edited edition of the T172 text and its English translation; and also will publish the detailed study of the proper names appearing in the 歴國傳 and the 外國傳 as a separate article.
¹ For the detailed discussion see Matsumura 2010.
(2) The Xian yu jing 賢愚經, or the Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish, compiled by Hui-jiao 慧覺 and others, based upon stories heard in the country of Gao-chang 高昌 (Turpan, or traditionally called Turfan), 5th century (T202, 4.352b19–353b16).


(4) The Pu-sa ben-sheng man lun 菩薩本生鬘論; late 10th century to the early 11th century CE (T160, 3.332b23–333b9). Except for a slight difference of the introductory narration, the content is apparently adopted from the Suvarṇa(pra)bhāsāṣṭra.

(5) The Fo-shuo yao-xing she-shen jing 佛説要行捨身經, Tang dynasty, translator unknown; probably a compilation made in China (T2895, 85.1415b6–7).

Group 2: Versions in which Bodhisattva was a Brahman Ascetic

(1) Āryaśūra’s Jātakamālā or the Bodhisattvāvadānamālā, 4th～6th century CE (Ed. H. Kern, 1–6).

(2) The Divyāvadāna (Ed. P. L. Vaidya, 310, 29–312, 20).

(3) The Liudu ji jing 六度集經, translated by Kan Seng-hui 康僧會, ?～280 CE (T152, 3.2b8–26).


2. The Fo-shuo pu-sa tou-shen (yı) e-hu qi-ta yin-yuan jing 佛説菩薩投身(胎)餓虎起塔因縁經

Among the versions listed above, the versions in the Suvarṇabhāsāṣṭra

2 Besides this story there is found another very unique version in the same book, No.95 Vyāghryavadāna (ed. Vaidya, vol.2, pp. 537–538) in which Bodhisattva was Prince Karuṇārekha, not Prince Bodhisattva. According to the recent research made by Okano 2009, the prince’s name is Karuṇāreṇu.
and in the *Sūtra of the Wise and the Fool* are most popular, both of which are, however, essentially the same story with the difference in the number of cubs the tigress gave birth to (seven in the former and two in the latter). Also, in these versions, the stūpa which contains the bones of the Bodhisattva appears from the ground at the start of Buddha’s sermon and disappears into the ground at its end.

In contrast to the above listed two types of versions, there exists a very interesting and unique version, in which Bodhisattva was first a crown prince called Candanamati who later joined a Brahman ascetics’ group. This text’s name is the *Fo-shuo pu-sa tou-shen (yi) e-hu qi-ta yin-yuan jing* 佛説菩薩投身（飴）餓虎起塔因縁經 (T172: 3.424b5-428a12). According to the colophon, this text was translated by a monk, Fasheng (ca. 406 to 479 CE), from Turfan in Northern Liang (北涼高昌國沙門法盛譯).

The outline of the story in T172 is as follows:

Buddha once visited a large city, Pi-sha-men bo-luo 毘沙門波羅 (*Vaiśravaṇapāla*?), in the country of Gandhāra (乾陀越國) and there he related the following story:

Nine *kalpas* ago, Bodhisattva was born as Crown Prince Zhan-tan-mo-ti (栴檀摩提; *Candanamati*) of a great kingdom called Gan-tuo-mo-ti (乾陀摩提; *Gandhamati*). His father was King Gan-tuo-shi-li (乾陀尸利; *Gandhaśrī*), and his mother was Queen Cha-mo-mu-qu (差摩目佉; *Kṣemameghā*?). The Crown Prince was fond of practicing charity, but, fearing to put his family into destitution by using up all the riches of the royal house, he secretly went to another kingdom called Pei-ti-she (裴提舍; *Vidiśā*), where he sold himself as a slave to a Brahman for one thousand gold coins. These he then gave as alms to the poor. While he was collecting firewood on a mountain, he found a great amount of *gośirṣacandana* (the best *candana* wood, said to cure all diseases), with
which he then cured the king of Vidiśā who suffered from leprosy. The king was very pleased, and after freeing the prince from slavery, sent him back to his native kingdom. However, the prince again left the palace and went deep into the mountains to join a group of ascetics. One day, he saw a tigress with seven cubs, freezing in the snow at the bottom of a deep gorge. He told his teacher and five hundred fellow ascetics that he wanted to sacrifice his body to save the tigress and her cubs. Although his teacher tried to stop him, saying that he was still young and had much to learn, the prince replied that, in the distant past, he had made a vow to give his body a thousand times and had already done so nine hundred ninety-nine times in his former lives. This, then, was the final occasion to fulfill his vow. He climbed up to the top of a high precipice, threw himself off, and landed dead in front of the tigress. His parents, the King and Queen, built a stūpa there containing the prince’s bones.

As will be discussed below, the text’s translator, Fasheng法盛, surely visited the place by himself and probably obtained the original Sanskrit text there. And the facts that the name, Gandhāra, is mentioned in the text itself, and that Faxian法顯, who traveled to India about twenty-five year earlier than Fasheng法盛, reported that he visited the place which were two days journey towards east from Taxila and saw the stūpa, give proof that this version was the most well-known one in the 5th century Gandhāra. In the 7th century when Xuanzang玄奘 visited the same place, the stūpa and the temple were almost deserted. Although this text is very interesting and full of lively narration, it is regrettable that this text has so far slipped the attention of most scholars in spite of its historical and textual importance.
3. MSS from the Kongōji 金剛寺 Temple and the Shōgozō 聖護藏, and Their Relation to the Taishō Text

The text of this sūtra in the Taishō edition is collated with the three editions (三 = Song, Ming, and Yuan eds.), and with the Shōgozō (神護景雲 2 年 = 768 CE). Besides this material, the ICPBS’s research project to investigate old Buddhist manuscripts preserved in temples in Japan found that the MSS of this sūtra are included in the Buddhist manuscript collections in Kongōji 金剛寺, Nanatsudera Temple 七寺, Kōshōji Temple 興聖寺, Saihōji Temple 西方寺 and in the Matsuosha 松尾社一切經 (京都妙連寺). So far, however, only this text’s manuscript kept at the Kongōji Temple has been photographed. In addition to this manuscript, clear photographs of the Shōgozō Issaikyō have also been published in CD-Rs. Many variant readings for this text are noted in the Taishō edition itself (about one variant for each line), and if we add the variants found in the Kongōji MS and the Shōgozō MS (the collation with the Shōgozō in T is not exhaustive), the number of variant readings increases even more, and this means that as many other Chinese Buddhist texts, this text also needs critical re-editing. Here I would like to give a glance at the importance of these MSS in understanding the text transmission and in establishing an editorial principle by treating the following text part where we find a most remarkable difference among the variants. There is, for example, a puzzling phrase, “the Dan and Xiang (or Danxiang) books have a sequel 丹郷本續有”, found at the end of the text, which reads as follows:

丹郷本續有. (1) 爾時國王聞說已, 即於是處起立大塔, 名為菩薩投身餓虎塔. 今現在塔東面山下有僧房講堂精舍. 常有五千衆僧四事供養. 法盛, 爾時見諸國中有人癩病及顛(2)狂聾盲手脚躄, 及種種疾病, 悉來就此塔. 燃香然燈(3)香塗(4)塗地修治掃灑, 并叩頭懺悔百病皆愈. 前來差者便去後來輙爾. 常有百餘人不問貴賤皆爾終無絕時. 佛説(5)菩薩投身餓(6)虎起塔因縁經
The Dan and Xiang (or Danxiang) books have a sequel: The king [in the time of Buddha] built a great stūpa at the place, and named it ‘the Stūpa of the Bodhisattva’s throwing his body to the starving tigress’. Now, at the present time, at the east side of the stūpa, there are monks’ apartments, a preaching hall and a cloister. There live always five thousands of monks and [the people] venerate [the monks] with four kinds of necessity (food, cloth, mat for sitting and laying and medicines). Fasheng 法盛 saw, at that time [when he visited the place], that people from all countries who have illnesses of various kinds like leprosy, mental disease, deafness, blindness or lameness in hand or foot, came to this stūpa. They burnt incense, lit lamps, spread scented mud, repaired and swept; and [when] they kowtowed and confessed, all diseases were become cured. Immediately after the one that had come earlier left, the next one came and did in the same manner. There were always more than a hundred people without distinction of rank and who all did in the same way, [and thus] there was no interruption.

The Sūtra on the Cause of Erecting the Stūpa Commemorating the Bodhisattva’s Offering his Body for Feeding a Hungry Tigress, Told by the Buddha.
(T does not give the variant in 聖 for 1.)

We don’t know what the *Dan-xiang ben* 丹郷本 means, since this word does not appear anywhere else. 丹 may mean Qi-dan 契丹, but, as for 郷, I have no idea.\(^3\) However, when we compare this text part in the Taishō edition with other editions and with the Kongōji MS, we know that this phrase (丹郷本續有) is found only in the Kerean edition, and accordingly in the Taishō edition since, as is well known, the latter is based upon the former. Besides, in the Korean edition, this text part is engraved in smaller characters with an indent so as to truly look like an addition by a later hand. But as we see in Kongōji and Shōgozō MSS, this text part immediately follows the preceding text part, in the same size of letters, and, from the content itself, we can safely suppose that this part is also written by the translator, Fasheng, himself.

Concerning this text part, the Kongōji MS and Shōgozō MS look identical, and we might expect that the Kongōji MS is a copy from the Shōgozō MS. However, the Kongōji MS sometimes deviates from the readings in the Shōgozō MS. Here is shown an example:

Taishō ed. (=Korean ed.)
太子使人持錢出城布施貧人, 盡千數猶不周遍, 還白太子, 金錢已盡貧者尚多.

\(^3\) For the expression “丹郷本”, see Fujimoto (1996). According to his study “郷” is used to mean the local, i.e. the Korean first edition, and he gives many examples that Sugi 守其 corrected the word “郷” to “國” when he compiled the Gyojeong byeolnok 校正別錄 from the colophon of each text. For the information of Fujimoto’s article the author expresses her sincere gratitude to Mr.Uesugi Tomofusa 上杉 智英.
A Unique Vyāghrī-Jātaka Version from Gandhāra (Matsumura)
Kongōji MS
太子使人持錢出城布施貧人。盡十千數猶不周遍。還白太子言金錢已盡貧者尚多。

Shōgozō MS
太子使人持錢出城布施。盡十千數猶不得周（= 三）。還白太子言金錢已盡貧者尚多。

From this example, we can see that these two MSS belong to the two different text-transmissions.
4. The Translator, Fasheng 法盛, and his Travel Record, the *Li guo zhuan* 歷國傳
About the translator, Fasheng, much is not known. An early mention about Fasheng appears as an addition to the biography of Tan wu-chen 暗無識 (Dharmaksema) in the *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of eminent monks) by Huijiao 慧皎 (497〜554 CE): “Around the same time in Gaochang, there was a monk named Fasheng; he also traveled to foreign countries and composed an account of his travels, which consists of four volumes. 時高昌復有沙門法盛，亦經往外國立傳，凡有四卷” (T2059: 50. 337b1-3). Ochiai identifies Fasheng’s travel writings with the *Li guo zhuan* 歷國傳 listed in the *Daishōjō kyōritsuron shoki mokuroku* 大乗経律論疏記目録, preserved in Hōkongōn 法金剛院, Kyoto. Therefore his book was brought to Japan also and existed up to as late as the 12th century, but, unfortunately, no one knows what happened to it after that. However, in Japan, some abstracts from the lost *Mingseng Zhuan* 名僧傳, which precedes Huijiao’s *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 are preserved in the *Meisōden shō* 名僧傳抄 compiled by a Japanese monk, Sōshō 宗性 (1202〜1278). In this book we find a more detailed biography of Fasheng 法盛:

法盛本姓李，壟西人。寓于高昌，九歲出家。勤精讀誦。每日，“吾三壘未樹，五衆生滅。合會有離。皆由癡愛，若不斷三毒。何求勉脱。”年造十九，遇沙門智猛，從外國還，述諸神跡。因有志焉，辭二親。率師友與二十九人，遠詣天竺。經歷諸國，尋覓遺靈，及諸應瑞，禮拝供養，以申三業。憂長國東北，見牛頭栴檀彌勒像。身高八丈。一尋是此國一丈也。佛滅度後四百八十年中，有

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4 On 名僧傳 and 名僧傳抄, see: Takata 2000; Kiriya 1974; and Lin 1976.

5 Probably 可 for 呵。"呵利難陀羅漢, 翻曰呵利者師子難陀者歡喜 “ (翻梵語 T2130: 54. 1001a13). The *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 quotes a similar story about the Maitreya statue from 外國傳 (The travel account by Dan Wujie 暗無識): “外國傳, 佛滅度後四百八十年有神通羅漢名呵利難陀, 國王之子。於優長國東北造牛頭栴檀彌勒像。高八丈。將巧匠三人上兜率, 看真彌勒造, 然後得成, 甚有神驗 ” (T2034: 49.30a23).
Fasheng, whose family name was Li, a man from Longxi, lived in Gaochang. He took an ordination at the age of nine, and diligently studied and recited (Buddhist texts). Every day (he said to himself): “Although I have learned (take 吾 for 悟) three cores (三堅; does it mean 三學?), they are not yet established (in myself). Five aggregates (五衆 is an old Chinese translation for pañcaskandha 五蘊) arise and become extinct. Everything meets and separates. All are because of foolish attachment. If I cannot cut off the three kinds of poison, what shall I seek after in studying?” When he became 19 years old, he met a monk, Zhi-meng 智猛, who had just returned from (his travel in) foreign countries and related many miraculous experiences. Inspired by his story, he (Fasheng) made a resolution (to travel abroad). He took leave of his parents, and guiding his spiritual teacher and friends, altogether 29 people, he made a long pilgrimage far to India. He traveled through many countries, visited holy sites far and wide (connected with Buddha) and various auspicious places, and there, he paid homage and performed services by three kinds of actions (i.e. by his body, by his words and by his heart). In the northeast of Udyāna, he saw a statue of Maitreya made of gośīrṣacandana wood. Its height was 8 xun. 1 xun corresponds to 1 zhang of our country. 480 years after

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6 Zhimeng set out for his travel in 405 CE, left India for home in 422 CE and arrived in 蜀 in 436 CE. About his biography, see the ChusSanzang ji ji 出三藏記集 (T2145: 55.113b03–113c14).
Buddha’s nirvāṇa, there was an Arhat named Harinanda. In order to save people he ascended to the Tuṣita heaven to see (Maitreya) Buddha’s true figure, (and then he sculpted the statue). That is this statue. It always emitted rays of light; four kinds of musicians played music in four seasons. Because of the image all people from afar finally repent (their sins), and when they make a vow limitlessly (eagerly), they attain the first fruit of the right path in ten and several years. Monks and lay people from all directions, 500 altogether, made a vow to sacrifice their lives. If you see (the image of this) Maitreya, the wish can be fulfilled. Fragrant smoke (姻 must be a mistake for 烟) turns toward right and immediately all smoke gathers together to make a cover, and circumambulates three times to the right, and then it gradually disappears, etc.).

According to this short biography and other textual evidence Ochiai calculated Fasheng’s lifetime as from ca. 406 to 479 CE; and the year when Fasheng met Zhimeng can be safely settled from the above given information as around 425 CE. So Fasheng may have set out for the travel in ca. 426 CE and have returned to China by 439 CE at the latest. This date is about 25 years later than Faxian, who left on his journey in 399 CE (and returned to China ca. 412 CE). Unlike the Faxian’s case, Fasheng’s travel record, the Li guo zhuan 南國傳, was unfortunately lost, but the fragments (proper names in Sanskrit and their meanings; 59 words in total) are recorded in Baochang’s Fan fan yü 翻梵語 (T2130: 54. 981a4–1054c21). When we rearrange these citations according to the volume number of the Liguo zhuan 南國傳, they are as follows:

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7 On the authorship of the Fanfan yù, see Ono 1931. For the recently published editions of the text, see Raghu Vīra-Yamamoto (2009) and Chen (2004).
Vol.1 歴國傳第一
（翻梵語卷第二 比丘名第十一）
(1) 1001a09 佛陀多羅譯曰佛陀者覺多羅者濟亦云度也
(2) 1001a10 曇摩沙應云達摩耶舍譯曰法名聞也
(3) 1001a11 佛陀柳支譯曰覺乘
(4) 1001a12 曇摩練兒譯曰法都
(5) 1001a13 呵利難陀羅漢譯曰呵利者師子難陀者歡喜

（翻梵語卷第三 比丘尼名第十二）
(6) 1003a02 曇摩埗比丘尼譯曰法念
(7) 1003a03 僧伽難提比丘尼譯曰衆喜

（翻梵語卷第七 鬼名第三十三）
(8) 1030b14 呵利陀鬼子母應云可梨陀譯曰黃也
(9) 1030b15 毘魔鬼譯曰可畏
(10) 1030b16 佛陀波羅夜叉鬼王譯曰覺護

（翻梵語卷第八 國土名第四十三）
(11) 1037c18 伽沙國譯曰不正語也
(12) 1037c19 波盧國譯曰護也

（翻梵語卷第八 城名第四十四）
(13) 1039b19 婆盧瑟城譯曰勝住
(14) 1039b20 那竭呵城譯曰龍愛

（翻梵語卷第八 寺舍名第四十八）
(15) 1041c01 沙毘呵等寺沙毘呵等寺
(16) 1041c02 波羅寺譯曰護也
(17) 1041c03 離越寺應云離婆多譯曰星名
(18) 1041c04 陀林寺應云陀林摩傳曰石留
(19) 1041c05 迦延寺 諂曰一道

(翻梵語卷第九 山名第五十一)

(20) 1044b04 乾婆伽山 應云乾闥婆 諂曰樂神 fn.7 [應云乾闥婆] － ＜甲＞

(21) 1044b05 支多果梨山 諂曰功德聚山

(22) 1044b06 金毘羅山 諂曰孔非孔

Vol.2 歴國傳第二卷

(翻梵語卷第一 雜法名第六)

(23) 0991a18 大般舟瑟壇 諂曰曉也 (fn.1 [應云般舟沙] + 諂＜甲＞)

(翻梵語卷第四 婆羅門名第十九)

(24) 1008c06 邁闍桑彌婆羅門 應云羅闍桑彌多譯曰王所重也

(翻梵語卷第五 外道名第二十四)

(25) 1016a08 瞽摩道士 請曰寂靜

(26) 1016a09 鬱卑羅迦葉 請曰大薄

Vol.3 歴國傳第三卷

(翻梵語卷第二 比丘名第十一)

(27) 1001a14 摩摩末底道人傳曰法意

(翻梵語卷第四 剃利名第二十)

(28) 1012a09 摩賢王子譯曰化也

(翻梵語卷第六 雜人名第三十)

(29) 1027a16 因那羅人 請曰天王

(30) 1027a17 摩賢陀羅 請曰大天主也

(31) 1027a18 豆迦應云豆佐譯曰苦也
波羅河應云婆羅伽譯曰勝體
尸婆摩提譯曰安隱意也
迷伽拔摩譯曰雲鎧
比奢譯曰入也

（翻梵語卷第六 龍名第三十四）
須那摩龍譯曰好意

（翻梵語第八 國土名第四十三）
富那跋檀國譯曰豊滿
乾若國譯曰藏也
婆施彊國譯曰自在行也

（翻梵語第八 城名第四十四）
婆樓那城譯曰蛟也
裴提舍城譯曰四惟
摩訶舍城譯曰大樂五教反
多留羅城譯曰樹名也
須曼缽名城 譯曰金斗城也
摩頭羅城 譯曰美也
僧加沙城譯曰光明
多摩致城 譯曰多摩栗致譯曰樂著

（翻梵語卷第九 河名第五十二）fn.6 [卷]－＜甲＞

（51）1045a11 酔連然鉢底小河 譯云熙連若婆底譯曰有金
Although it is difficult to identify all of these proper names, we can roughly reconstruct the route by which Fasheng traveled from some of the place names which we can safely identify.

(11) 1037c18 Gasha guo 伽沙國 (Tashkurgan? or Chitral) may be same as Jiecha guo 竭叉國 in Faxian’s 高僧法顯傳; where it was famous for the Buddha’s spit pot that was preserved. Zhimeng 智猛 also visited the same country (“猛於 奇沙國 (Qisha guo) 見佛文石唾壺. 又於此國見佛鉢.” 高僧傳 T2059: 50.343b17–18).

(12) 1037c19 波盧國 (Bolor, Baltistan)

(14) 1039b20 那竭呵城  Nāgarahāra (那竭國 in Faxian, Jaralabad)

(42) 1039b22 裴提舍城  Vidiśā (today’s Bilsa; 四惟 must be a mistake for
As we see above, Fasheng 法盛's travel route is almost same as that of Faxian 法顯. The only difference is that after the appearance of the name of port-city, Tāmralipti, in Juan 3, two further country names, 波私國 and 阿那羅國 are mentioned in Juan 4. This may mean that, unlike Faxian 法顯, Fasheng 法盛 did not travel to Sri Lanka directly from Tāmralipti but further to South India, and then went to Sri Lanka.

Around the same time as Fasheng 法盛, Tan Wujie 曾無竭 (= Fayong 法勇, Dharmavikrama) also traveled to India starting out from his home province (幽州黃龍國) in 420 CE (宋永初元年) with 25 comrades and returning to China by sea in 453 CE, and he also wrote his travel account named the Waiguo zhuan 外國傳, which was also lost. However, from his biography in the Gaoseng zhuan 高僧傳 (T2059: 50.338b26–339a13), and

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8 Compare “裴提舍城此云四維出翻梵語集城” (多羅葉記 T2707: 84.580b23).
9 According to Ono (1936, Oct. 30), probably it is somewhere in Manchuria area.
from other evidences, I have become to suppose that Fasheng joined Tan Wujie's party and they travelled together. From the investigation of the 65 proper names from the *Waiguo zhuan* 外國傳 also cited in the *Fanfan yu* 翻梵語, we can have a more detailed geographical and historical sketch of 5th century Buddhist kingdoms in India. However, I would like to treat this topic at another time.

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Professor,
International College
for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies