Features of the Kongō-ji version of the
Further Biographies of Eminent Monks 続高僧伝:
With a Focus on the Biography of Xuanzang
玄奘 in the Fourth Fascicle

SAITŌ Tatuya
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SAITÔ Tatuya

Introduction

The *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* 続高僧伝 by Daoxuan 道宣 is a collection of biographies of prominent Buddhist monks active in China and other Asian countries during the Southern, Northern, Sui and Tang Dynasties. After the first draft was completed in 645 C.E. (貞観 19), Daoxuan continued to expand and revise the text. It was also further modified after the author’s death. For this reason, there are multiple versions extant, differing from one another in degrees of additions and revisions.¹ Recent surveys and investigations of ancient manuscript canons kept at Japanese temples have revealed among them a number of unique hand-copied versions of the *Further Biographies* that differ substantially from versions found in the xylograph canons. One such manuscript is the Kongō-ji 金剛寺 version of the *Further Biographies*. Although previous studies have presented thorough bibliographical information on this manuscript, there have been no extensive examinations of its content to date.² I was

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* This paper is a revision of a presentation of the same title at the XVIth Congress of the International Association of Buddhist Studies (New Taipei City, Taiwán, June 23, 2011).

¹ For discussions of the content of the *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* and how the work was redacted and expanded upon, see [Tokiwa and Kimura 1979–80] pp. 1–7, [Shi Guodeng 1992], [Fujiiyoshi 2002] (Chapters 6 and 7), and [Ibuki 1990].

² The significance of the content of the Kongō-ji version of the *Further Biographies* is noted in part in [Ochiai 2007b] pp. 81–83.
given the opportunity to study this manuscript in full as part of research projects at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies 国際仏教学大学院大学.³ Here I shall discuss the basic characteristics of this version in light of my findings.

I. Basic description of the Kongō-ji and other versions of the Further Biographies

Abbreviations: Xylograph versions of the Further Biographies found in the Koryō 高麗, Song, Yuan, Ming canons will collectively be referred to below as “printed versions”. The Kongō-ji, Kōshō-ji 興聖寺, Second Koryō Tripitaka (Tripitaka Koreana), and Nanatsu-dera 七寺 versions will be abbreviated as KG, KS, SKR, and ND, respectively in the tables below as appropriate.

The Kongō-ji version:⁴

Contained in the Buddhist canon preserved at Amano-san Kongō-ji in

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³ The opportunity to conduct research on the Kongō-ji version of the Further Biographies was given to me by Professor Ochiai Toshinori (International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies). The research was conducted as part of the College’s Academic Frontier Project ‘Establishment of the Research Centre for the Buddhist Manuscripts copied in the Nara and Heian Periods’ and its Strategic Research Project ‘Establishment of the Research Centre for East Asian Buddhist Manuscripts’ (granted by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science & Technology in Japan). In my research, I received much kind assistance from many people at the school’s Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures 日本古写経研究所. Many courtesies were also extended by Kongō-ji, Kōshō-ji, Nanatsu-dera with regard to access to and permission to reproduce portions of their respective manuscript versions of the text. Additionally, I wish to acknowledge the many helpful comments and suggestions given to me by Professor Florin Deleanu (International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies) as I was writing this paper. I express my gratitude to all those who assisted me in one way or another with this research.
Kawachinagano City, Osaka Prefecture. Of the 30 fascicles, the tenth and twenty-first are missing, while the ninth, thirteenth, fourteenth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-eighth fascicles are damaged in many places. Extant fascicles are in scroll form. Black ink on paper. The colophon of the twenty-sixth fascicle gives a date of “嘉禎三年五月十九[ ]” (1237). None of the other fascicles is dated, but according to [OCHIAI 2007a], the manuscript as a whole was copied in the late Heian or Kamakura period. Neither the redactor nor the scribe is named. Overall, the manuscript contains many errors, including instances of the wrong characters being used as well as omissions of characters and phrases.

The text examined was in the form of digital images of the manuscript in the OBMJC Database in the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies Library.

Versions used for comparison with the Kongō-ji version are as follows.

The Kōshō-ji version:5
The relationships between the Kōshō-ji version of the Further Biographies (copied around the end of the Heian period; all 30 fascicles extant) and the printed versions have been studied by OGATA Kōshū, FUJIYOSHI Masumi, and IBUKI Atsushi,6 who concluded that the Kōshō-ji version is a variant text that preserves an older form with fewer monks written about than the printed versions, and that while most of the text consists of accounts of events that occurred before 貞観 23 (649 C.E.), the original was copied in 昇慶 3 (658) or later. Furthermore, they concluded that the biography of Xuanzang in the fourth fascicle was completed around the tenth month of

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5 For an overview and bibliographical information on each fascicle, see KS cat. pp. 281–282, 426–427, 455.
In the following I will reexamine this theory as it relates to Xuanzang’s biography, but it is clear that printed versions such as the Second Koryō version represent a later expansion upon the content seen in the Kōshō-ji version.

The text examined was in the form of digital images of the manuscript in the Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies. The biography of Xuanzang in Fascicle 4 is reprinted in [Fujimori 2002] pp. 202–244.

**The Nanatsu-dera version:**  
The manuscript was copied at the end of the Heian period (between 1175 and 1179). All 30 fascicles are extant. In this paper I quote only passages from the biography of Xuanzang in Fascicle 4. The text examined was in the form of micro-images of the manuscript in the Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures at the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies.

**The Second Koryō version:**  
Printed between 1236 and 1251. All 30 fascicles. The text quoted here is from an edition owned by the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies Library, reprinted in 1966–69 from the original woodblocks (vol. 1003–1010), though I also consulted a facsimile edition (Western-style binding) published by Dongguk University (vol. 32).

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7 For an overview and bibliographical information on each fascicle, see *ND cat.* pp. 118–119, 191–208.

8 For an overview and bibliographical information on each fascicle, see *Zōjō-ji cat.* pp. 1052–1055 and [Kanayama, Itō and Kawai 1982].
Other versions consulted in the Taishō text:

The printed versions consulted during the compiling of the critical edition of the Further Biographies in Taishō 50 are as follows:9 the Kunaichō version 宮内庁本 of 31 fascicles, Fascicles 16–23 of which are taken from the Chongning Canon version 崇寧蔵本 (printed at Dongchandengjue-yuan 東禅等覚院, Fuzhou 福州 in 1104), and Fascicles 1–15 and 24–31 of which are taken from the Pilu Canon version 毘盧蔵本 (printed at Kaiyuanchan-si 開元禅寺, Fuzhou 福州 in 1148); the ‘Song’ version 宋本, which is the Sixi Canon 思渓蔵 (completed c. 1126 but added to and repaired with newly engraved blocks around the middle of the 13th century) version consisting of 31 fascicles; the ‘Yuan’ version 元本, or Puning Canon 普寧蔵 (printed from 1277 to 1290) version of 31 fascicles; and the ‘Ming’ version 明本, or Jiaxing Canon version 嘉興蔵本 of 40 fascicles. For this investigation I did not consult these versions directly, but rather made textual comparisons based on the critical notes in the Taishō text.

Only the thirtieth fascicle of the Shōgozō 聖語蔵 version (copied in 天平 12 [740]) was consulted.10 This fascicle is the only one that has been

9 [Taishō cat.] pp. 541–544. For the Kunaichō version, see [Kunaishō cat.] p. 728. For the ‘Song’ and ‘Yuan’ versions, see Zōjō-ji cat. pp. 320–323, 647–649, and [KANAYAMA, ITÔ and KAWAI 1982]. The ‘Ming’ version that was consulted by the editors in redacting the Taishō text was the Jiaxing Canon version housed in the repository at Zōjō-ji 増上寺. Although this version could not be consulted directly, and therefore certain bibliographical details of this xylograph version remain unknown, another print is in the possession of the University of Tokyo. According to the information available from the University of Tokyo version, almost all of the fascicles of the Jiaxing Canon version of the Further Biographies would appear to have been printed in the Wanli 万暦 era of the Ming Dynasty. JX cat. vol. 1, pp. 282–284

10 Digital images of the text are available in SgCD, No. 30. Fasc. 28 of the same version is owned by the Kyoto National Museum. [AKAO 1989] pp. 33–34. This fascicle cannot be consulted directly.
published. Fascicles 1, 9–12, and 14–20 are reportedly extant, but the details of these portions are unknown. Because only the thirtieth fascicle of this version is available, and upon examination I determined that there are no passages that substantially differ from other versions, I decided not to include it in comparisons presented in this study.

II. Overall features of the Kongō-ji version of the *Further Biographies* and the development of the work: a comparison with the Kōshō-ji and Second Koryō versions

A comparison of the biographies in the three versions: Table 1 illustrates the differences in the people written about among the three versions. Of the three, the Kongō-ji version has the fewest number of biographies. All of the biographies contained in the Kongō-ji version can be found in the Kōshō-ji version, and all in the Kōshō-ji version are in the Second Koryō version. Hence, there are no biographies present that are unique to the Kongō-ji version.

Biographies with obvious differences in wording: There are particularly noticeable differences among the Kongō-ji, Kōshō-ji, and Second Koryō versions in the text of the biographies of Fatai 法泰 (Fascicle 1), Xuanzang (Fascicle 4), Huiyuan of Jingyingsi 淨影寺慧遠 (Fascicle 8), Daoxian 道仙 (Fascicle 25), Daoying 道英 (Fascicle 25), and Sengya 僧崖 (Fascicle 27). The biography of Xuanzang is discussed in more detail below. Most of the differences among these versions coincide with the places where variants are noted in the Taishō critical text, so in the following I make use of the Taishō footnote numbers where appropriate in comparing the three

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12 [Dingyuan 2008] illustrates minute differences in wording in the biographies of Huiming 慧明, Daoji 道紀, and Facheng 法称 between Fascicle 30 of the Shōgozō version and other versions. These comparisons show that this portion of the Shōgozō version is close to the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions.
versions.

Table 1: Biographies in the Second Koryô version of the Further Biographies of Eminent Monks that are missing in the Kongô-ji and Kôshô-ji versions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fascicle</th>
<th>Biographies in the Second Koryô version</th>
<th>Kôshô-ji version</th>
<th>Kongô-ji version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>那提</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>僧遷</td>
<td>○</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>宝海・智方・羅雲・法安</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Passages lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>功済・神照・道徳・神素・法護・玄徳・慧璧</td>
<td>× (Headings present for 道徳 and 神素）</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>義褒</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>法常・法京・法観・恵成・法忍</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>僧淵・真慧</td>
<td>○ (Headings missing）</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>慧詄</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>Fascicle lost</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>法凝・紹聞栄</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>法建・慧恭・法泰</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

○ → Indicates body text of biographies present
× → Indicates body text of biographies missing

The biography of Fatai in Fascicle 1: The only major differences among the three versions are in the presence or absence of a biography heading at the beginning of the fascicle and in the opening sentences of the biography itself. The respective passages from the end of the Paramârtha 真諦 biography to the introduction of the Fatai biography are shown below. In the Kongô-ji version, no heading for Fatai is given at the beginning of the fascicle, and as we can see from the opening, his “biography” is presented merely an ancillary detail of Paramârtha’s biography. In contrast, in the Second Koryô version there is not only a heading but a separate passage for
Fatai’s biography. The Kōshō-ji version has a heading for Fatai in the fascicle’s introduction, but the beginning of his biography exhibits textual features that place it between the other two versions.

**The biography of Huiyuan of Jingyingsi in Fascicle 8:** There are a considerable number of differences in wording among the different versions of the biography of Huiyuan of Jingyingsi. This is not only the result of scribal errors, but also because multiple texts with varying degrees of addition and revision very likely coexisted and were in circulation for a long period of time. Nevertheless, the main differences at the phrase and sentence levels can be placed into either one of the following two groups. The first group is characterized by minor differences in phrasing in the passage recounting the discourse between Emperor Wu 武帝 of Northern Zhou 北周 and Huiyuan on the banning of Buddhism (ten locations corresponding to Taishō 50, p. 490, fns. 14–17, 20, 22, 23, 25, 26 and 29). The other group consists of two sentences that are present in the Second Koryō version but absent from the other versions (corresponding to Taishō 50, p. 490, fn. 24 and p. 491 fn 28, with the former included in the discourse passage). Here I would like to narrow the focus of discussion to these main differences in wording, and from there offer some speculations on the stemmatic relationships among the texts of the different versions.13

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13 In terms of textual lineage, I provisionally position the Kunaichō, ‘Song’, ‘Yuan’, and ‘Ming’ versions of the biography of Huiyuan as follows, although a more rigorous investigation into these relationships would be necessary to arrive at any definitive conclusions. If we use the critical notes of the Taishō edition as the basis of reference
If we use the *Taishō* footnotes as a reference to compare the Kongō-ji, Kōshō-ji, and Second Koryō versions of Huìyuān’s biography, we see that the most easily traceable relationship is between the Kōshō-ji and Second Koryō versions. The Kōshō-ji version is missing the two sentences above seen in the Second Koryō version, but aside from that, there are no major differences between the two texts (I discuss differences in the discourse passage below). Moreover, it contains no unique information that differs from the Second Koryō version. In other words, the Second Koryō version basically follows the text of the Kōshō-ji version but features the addition of the two sentences mentioned above. Hence, it is reasonable to conclude that the Kōshō-ji version represents an older form of the text than that of the Second Koryō.

The discourse mentioned above plays a particularly important role in identifying the proper position of the Second Koryō version in the context of textual lineage.¹⁴ Corresponding passages also occur in the tenth fascicle of *Guāng hōng míng jí* 広弘明集 (“周祖平斉召僧叙债权抗拒事”) and in

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¹⁴ For a discussion of literature related to the discourse between the two, see [Nomura 1976] pp. 228–232.
the second fascicle of *Ji gu jin fo dao lun heng* 集古今仏道論衡 (" 周武平斉大集召僧徒問以興廃慧遠法師抗詔事第二 "), which were completed by Daoxuan in his later years. A comparison of the main differences in words, phrases, and sentences of the discourse show that they mostly agree with what appears in the Second Koryō version. Given the fact that two separate works by Daoxuan show text that is almost identical to that of the biography of Huiyuan in the Second Koryō version, we can not only characterize the Second Koryō text of the discourse passage as representing a relatively newer version, but also surmise that it is close to the text finalized by Daoxuan.

On the other hand, the Kongō-ji version shares the missing two sentences above in common with the Kōshō-ji version. Because of this it is not unreasonable to presume that, like the Kōshō-ji version, the Kongō-ji version represents a text that is older than the one given in the Second Koryō version. Still, while the Kōshō-ji and Second Koryō versions share seven of the ten variants noted above in the discourse passage, the Kongō-ji version differs from both of these ( *Taishō* 50, p. 490, fns. 14–17, 20, 25 and 29). Among the older versions, the discourse part of the Kōshō-ji version has more commonalities with newer texts that are closer to the attested writings of Daoxuan than the Kongō-ji version, so it stands to reason that the Kōshō-ji version reflects a newer text than the Kongō-ji version. It is

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15 In *Taishō* 50, pp. 153–154 and p. 374, respectively. The footnotes of the Taishō texts indicate no significant differences in wording among the printed versions. I checked both passages in the Kongō-ji Canon, but there were likewise no significant differences in the discourse sections between it and the printed versions. For a discussion on the relationship between *Guang hong ming ji* and the *Further Biographies*, see [Liu 2011] pp. 54–64.

16 The three other variants are as follows. The text of the Kunaichō, ‘Song’, ‘Yuan’, and ‘Ming’ versions corresponding to *Taishō* 50, p. 490, fns. 22 and 26 is the same as the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions. *Taishō* 50, p. 490, fn. 23: 帝曰 = 武帝云 (Kongō-ji, Kunaichō, ‘Song’, ‘Yuan’, and ‘Ming’ versions); 帝云 (Kōshō-ji version).
reasonable to conclude that the differences in the discourse passage were the result of Daoxuan himself revising the phrasing in what we now see in the Kongō-ji version, and in doing so changing it to the wording reflected in the Kōshō-ji version.\footnote{As for the differences in wording between the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions in the sections relating the discourse between Emperor Wu and Huiyuan (Taishō 50, p. 490 fns. 14–17, 20, 25, and 29), it is hard to determine from the different wording alone which section is newer and has been subject to more revision. If we look at this fact alone, it would not be unreasonable to hypothesize that the text in the Kongō-ji version of the biography of Huiyuan is a result of a later editor relying on the Kōshō-ji version to alter mainly the discourse portion, and therefore the Kongō-ji version belongs to a different stemma from the Second Koryō version. As I state above, however, there is little doubt that there was a separate text of the discourse completed by Daoxuan himself. If we take this into account, such a hypothesis would mean that a later editor of the original represented by the Kongō-ji chose to draw on the original represented by the Kōshō-ji version but not the existing completed version of the discourse section, and that he made arbitrary changes to the wording of the discourse section, without expanding upon the text as a whole. It is difficult to imagine such a process occurring in the redaction of the Further Biographies. It is more natural to conclude that, as I state above, the Kongō-ji version represents the oldest text, followed by the Kōshō-ji and Second Koryō versions, respectively.} With regard to the biography of Huiyuan, it is safe to assume that the Kongō-ji version represents an older textual form than the other two versions.

The biography of Daoxian in Fascicle 25: The variants noted in Taishō 50, p. 651, fns. 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 14, 20, 23 [absent in the ‘Song’, ‘Yuan’, and ‘Ming’ versions], 24, and 27 represent portions of text that appear in the Second Koryō version but, like the Kunaichō version, are either absent or expressed in briefer form in the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions. Footnote 3 of the same shows that the relevant section has been expanded upon in the ‘Song’, ‘Yuan’, and ‘Ming’ versions, but like the Second Koryō and Kunaichō versions, the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions indicate no such expansion. Accordingly, the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions are similar to one another,
as well as briefer than the Second Koryŏ version.

**The biography of Daoying in Fascicle 25:** The variants noted in *Taishō 50*, p. 654, fns. 8, 10, 12, 15, 25, 28, 29, 35, 36, 44 [absent in the ‘Song’, ‘Yuan’, and ‘Ming’ versions], and 49 represent portions of text that appear in the Second Koryŏ version but, like the Kunaichō version, are either absent or expressed in briefer form in the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions. Footnotes 21 and 40 of the same show that the relevant sections have been expanded upon in the ‘Song’, ‘Yuan’, and ‘Ming’ versions, but like the Second Koryŏ and Kunaichō versions, the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions indicate no such expansion. The word “龍臺澤” in *Taishō 50*, p. 654b12 occurs in neither the Kongō-ji nor Kōshō-ji version. Accordingly, the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions are similar to one another and both briefer than the Second Koryŏ version.

**The biography of Sengya in Fascicle 27:** The variants noted in *Taishō 50*, p. 678, fns. 27 and 28, p. 679, fns. 20 and 21, and p. 680, fns. 4, and 8, represent portions of text that appear in the Second Koryŏ version but, like the Kunaichō version, are either absent or expressed in briefer form in the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions. *Taishō 50*, p. 679, fns. 14 and 16 show that the relevant sections have been expanded upon in the ‘Song’, ‘Yuan’, and ‘Ming’ versions, but like the Second Koryŏ and Kunaichō versions, the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions show no such expansion. Accordingly, the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions are similar to one another and both briefer than the Second Koryŏ version.

There are particularly noticeable differences between the Second Koryŏ and Kongō-ji versions in the text of the biographies of Fatai and Huiyuan, with the Kōshō-ji version exhibiting intermediate features. The text of the biographies of Daoxian, Daoying and Sengya in the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji are similar to one another, and are both shorter than the corresponding text in the Second Koryŏ version. In the biographies with
obvious differences in wording among the different versions, we can see that, overall, the accounts tend to grow more elaborate from the Kongō-ji version to the Kōshō-ji version, and from the Kōshō-ji version to the Second Koryō.

**Relationships among the three versions:** Judging from the presence or absence of biographies in and the characteristics of the versions described above, it can be concluded that the original text represented by the Kongō-ji version is the oldest, the original of the Kōshō-ji version represents an expansion upon that, and the Kōshō-ji version was further expanded upon to produce what is represented by the Second Koryō version. In Section III below I look at whether this conclusion also applies to the biography of Xuanzang in these three versions.

**The lower limit in time for the redaction of the Kongō-ji version of the Further Biographies:**

As shown in Table 2 below, the Second Koryō version makes many mentions of regnal years and events on or after 永徽 1. With one exception, the events recorded in the Kongō-ji version span to “貞観 23” or the “last year 末年 of the 貞観 era”. The exception is one passage in the biography of Sengche 僧徹 (Fascicle 20). Put differently, one of the features of the Kongō-ji version is that there are almost no accounts of the events after 永徽 1 that we find in the Second Koryō version.18

Based on the above, we can make the following conclusions about when the original represented by the Kongō-ji version was redacted. To begin with, the phrase “last year of the 貞観 era” could not have been written until after the change in regnal years to 永徽. On the other hand, there is almost no mention of events occurring after that. The Second Koryō version mentions an event occurring “ 永徽 2” in the biography of

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18 In this respect, the Kōshō-ji version is largely the same. [Fujiyoshi 2002] pp. 182–183.
Table 2: Xuanzang and related passages in the *Further Biographies*, especially

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Xuanzang-related</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>閏 grim (629)</td>
<td>贞観 3 (629) Leaves for the Western Regions (age 26 according to 聖恩伝, age 29 according to 行状)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>貞観 19 (645)</td>
<td>Arrives in Chang'an in the 1st month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>貞観 20 (646)</td>
<td>贞観 20 (646) [Begins translating <em>Yogācarabhūmi-sūtra</em>. (聖恩伝). It was on 5/15 according to 閏元祈教錄.] Completes Records on the Western Regions 『大唐西域記』 in the 7th month</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>貞観 21 (647)</td>
<td>贞観 21 (647) [Begins translating Yogācarabhūmi-sūtra on 5/15 「瑜伽師地論後序」]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>貞観 22 (648)</td>
<td>贞観 22 (648) Completes translation of *Yogācarabhūmi-sūtra on 5/15. 「大唐三藏聖教序」、「述聖記」</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>貞観 23 (649)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>永徳 1 (650)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>永徳 2 (651)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of 永徳 to early 齋慶</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>齋德 1 (664)</td>
<td>贞観 22 (648) Died on the 5th day of the 2nd month. [Died at the age of 63 according to 行状] [Died at 69 if his age is calculated from 聖恩伝]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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around the end of the 貞觀 era

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Excerpts from the biography of Xuanzang in the fourth fascicle of the Further Biographies</th>
<th>Other accounts in the Further Biographies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[No mention of year of birth.]</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 21= (KS), (SKR) 武德 5</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decides to go to India = (KS), (SKR) &quot;He was 29 at the time&quot; 「時二十九歳也」</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leaves for the Western Regions (KG), (ND), (KS), (SKR)</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrives in Changan in the 1st month</td>
<td>First draft of the Further Biographies completed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Kongō-ji version; see <Fig.>)
"[Xuanzang] is now translating an excess of 30 fascicles of the Yogācārabhūmi. This śāstra comprises about 100,000 verses in Sanskrit, and if translated into Chinese, it would exceed more than 100 fascicles. At 45 years of age, he has advanced in years and virtue..." (當今正翻論 [論] 伽師地論餘卷。或論梵本可十萬偈, 若度唐文, 應出百卷。春秋冊百 [有] 五, 年德俱盛 [盛], ……)
Similar passages: ND, KS.

Accounts from this year on:
None in Kongō-ji, Nanatsu-dera, or Kōshō-ji versions

KG, ND, KS, and SKR all have "11th day of the 8th month of the last year of the 貞觀 era" (貞觀末年八月十一日) in the biography of Huimin 慧泯 (Fascicle 22), as well as mention of the "13th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of 貞觀" (貞觀二十三年十月十三日) 10th in the biography of Zhitong 智通 (Fascicle 29).

Accounts from this year on:
Many in SKR and other printed versions.
It appears that the following mention is the only one in KG, ND, and KS.

Second Koryō contains passages with the words "second year of the 永徽 era" and other mentions of later dates.

KG, ND, KS, and SKR all have the name of the "Minister of Revenue Tang Lin" (度支尚書唐臨) in the biography of Sengche 僧徹 (Fascicle 20).

Second Koryō:
"On the 1st year of the 麟德 era he said to other monk-translators and disciples, Samskrta dharma inevitably end in cessation. How can things with the [transient] qualities of bubbles and illusions last for long? I will die at the age of 65 in Yuhua.” （麟德元年告翻經僧及門人曰，有為之法必歸窮滅。泡幻形質何得久停。行年六十五矣。必卒玉壺。）
Xuanzang, but not even this appears in the Kongō-ji version. If we take these facts into account, we can surmise that at least most of the content of the original represented by the Kongō-ji version was compiled by the early years of the 永徽 era (650-656) and not long after the final year of the貞観 era.

That said, as noted above, there is an exception in the Kongō-ji version in which a subsequent event is mentioned. It is in the biography of Sengche 僧徹, where Tang Lin 唐臨 is mentioned as Minister of Revenue 度支尚書. Research byUCHIYAMA and colleagues tells us that Tang Lin’s term of office was around 永徽 7 / 顕慶 1 or 2 (656-7).21

Judging from this, we can conclude that at least most of the content of the original represented by the Kongō-ji version was compiled by the beginning of the 永徽 era (650-656), and that lower limit in time for its compilation goes back to early in the顕慶 era (656-661).

III. The Kongō-ji version of the biography of Xuanzang in the fourth fascicle

The structure of the different versions of Xuanzang’s biography and the redaction process:

The left side of Table 3 illustrates the structure or arrangement of the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions of Xuanzang’s biography, while the right side shows that of the Second Koryō version. On the left side, aside from the portions in blue, there are no major differences between the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions. Put differently, their overall structures are more or less common to the two. Furthermore, events in the two conclude with the production in 貞観 22 (648) of the Preface to the Holy Teachings of the Great Tang Dynasty and the Preface to the Holy Scriptures, and the both versions make no mention of events in Xuanzang’s life from 貞観 23 onward, his death (664), or the burial of his remains. The blue indicates phrases seen in the Kōshō-ji version but not in the Kongō-ji version (See the attached Appendix Tables). All of the blue portions are found in the Second Koryō version.

Let us now compare the right side to the left side. The yellow portions are where content of the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions partially differs from the Second Koryō version, while the green indicates passages in the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions whose position or order has been changed in the Second Koryō version. The red portions on the right side indicate recorded events and phrases that are found in the Second Koryō version but not in the Kongō-ji or Kōshō-ji versions. When we examine these red portions, and in particular recorded events such as Xuanzang’s death that occurred from 貞観 23 onward, which are not mentioned in the Kongō-ji or Kōshō-ji versions, it is readily apparent that the left was revised, expanded upon, and restructured to produce the right. In fact, Fujyoshi has already

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22 In preparing Table 3 here, I consulted [Yoshimura 1995] Table 2 and [Fujyoshi 2002] pp. 202–244.

23 In terms of the overall composition and wording at the phrase and sentence
examined the relationship between the Kōshō-ji version and the Second Koryō version and has shown that the latter is an expanded and revised version of the former and that the former is older than the latter, although he did so before the rediscovery of the Kōngō-ji version.²⁴ Hence, judging by the commonalities in structure with the Kōshō-ji version it can be concluded that the Kōngō-ji version is likewise older than the printed versions.

Next, let us examine the differences between the Kōngō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions, or more precisely the portions that appear only in the Kōshō-ji version, shown in blue. It consists of years, Xuanzang’s age, proper names, and detailed quantities of things. It seems unlikely that such things are absent from the Kōngō-ji version due to carelessness in copying or intentional omission. The reason is that these passages are scattered throughout the work, and in addition they contain Xuanzang’s age at different times, which is information that would be important to a biographical work, so it is hardly possible that a scribe would forget to copy or purposefully omit only those kinds of details. It is likely instead that these phrases were not present at the time the original represented by the Kōngō-ji version was written, and that the original of the Kōshō-ji version came about when these details were added. In addition, the overall textual composition of Xuanzang’s biography in the Kōshō-ji version, which was previously thought to be unique to this version, was most likely patterned after that of the Kōngō-ji version. Hence, it can be concluded that the Kōngō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography is a variant text that represents a

### Further Biographies

#### Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions

| [Xuanzang’s given name and ancestors] | 446c8:1- |
| [From childhood to departure for Western regions] | 446c12:1- |
| 兄素出家…住東都净土寺… | 446c12:1- |
| … | 446c12:1- |
| … | 446c12:1- |
| [In Turfan]… | 447c1:8- |
| 梵文ifteru… | 447c1:8- |
| … | 447c1:8- |
| [In Kashmir]… | 447c1:8- |
| 梵文ifteru… | 447c1:8- |

#### Second Koryō version (Equivalent passages in Taishō 50)

| [Xuanzang’s given name and ancestors] | 446c8:1- |
| [From childhood to departure for Western regions] | 446c12:1- |
| 兄素出家…住東都净土寺… | 446c12:1- |
| … | 446c12:1- |
| … | 446c12:1- |
| [In Turfan]… | 447c1:8- |
| 梵文ifteru… | 447c1:8- |
| … | 447c1:8- |
| [In Kashmir]… | 447c1:8- |
| 梵文ifteru… | 447c1:8- |

#### Table 3: The structure of Xuanzang’s biography in the Kongō-ji, Kōshō-ji, and Second Koryō versions of the fourth fascicle of the Further Biographies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions]</th>
<th>Second Koryō version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Xuanzang’s given name and ancestors]</td>
<td>446c8:1-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[From childhood to departure for Western regions]</td>
<td>446c12:1-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>兄素出家…住東都净土寺…</td>
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<td>446c12:1-</td>
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<tr>
<td>[In Turfan]…</td>
<td>447c1:8-</td>
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<tr>
<td>梵文ifteru…</td>
<td>447c1:8-</td>
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<td>…</td>
<td>447c1:8-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[In Kashmir]…</td>
<td>447c1:8-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>梵文ifteru…</td>
<td>447c1:8-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Notes

- [ ] Phrases found in the Kōshō-ji but not the Kongō-ji version
- ( ) Emendation cf. Appendix Tables
- [ ] Portions where content of the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions partially differs from the Second Koryō version
- [ ] Passages in the Kongō-ji and Kōshō-ji versions whose position or order has been changed in the Second Koryō version
- [ ] Events and phrases that are found in the Second Koryō version but not in the Kongō-ji or Kōshō-ji versions
slightly earlier stage of the redaction process than the Kōshō-ji version.

**When was the Kongō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography redacted?**

When we examine the content of the Kongō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography for clues as to when it was redacted, we should keep in mind that at the time the first draft of the *Further Biographies* was completed in the year 貞観 19, Xuanzang had just returned to China, so his biography would not have been written yet. Furthermore, the descriptions of Central Asia and India clearly borrow from the *Records on the Western Regions* 大唐西域記, so there is little question that the penning of Xuanzang’s biography began sometime after the completion of the *Records* in the seventh month of 貞観 20.\(^\text{25}\) Regarding the lower limit, the Kongō-ji version makes mention of Crown Prince Li Zhi 李治, who would later become Emperor Gaozong 高宗, writing the *Preface to the Holy Scriptures* around the eighth month of 貞観 22, so it is probably sometime late in that year.

**The relative position of Kongō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography:** Based on the observations above, we can conclude that the original represented by the Kongō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography was completed during the subject’s lifetime, and that among the extant biographies of Xuanzang, it is the oldest one, as it does not show any evidence of later modifications. The Kōshō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography, on the other hand, represents a newer version, which, even if completed during Xuanzang’s lifetime, postdates 貞観 22. The following is a simple diagram of the chronological order of the versions:

→ First draft of the *Further Biographies* (貞観 19 = 645), which did not contain Xuanzang’s biography → original text of the Kongō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography (redaction completed in 貞観 22) → [blue portions

\(^{25}\) For example, there are borrowed expressions in the general geographical description of Tokharistan (*Taishō* 50, p. 448a1–6) on the route to India. Fujimori has discussed the relationship between borrowed passages from the *Records on the Western Regions* and the writing of Xuanzang’s biography. [Fujimori 2002] p. 200.
of Table 3 added] → original of the Kōshō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography → [after Xuanzang’s death, yellow portions of Table 3 revised, green portions reordered, and red portions added] → Xuanzang’s biography represented by the Second Koryō version of the Further biographies

The relative position of the Kōshō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography hypothesized is in agreement with the discussion above (Section I) of other fascicles.

IV. Biographical studies of Xuanzang and the Kōshō-ji version of the Further Biographies of Eminent Monks

Regarding the dates of key events in Xuanzang’s life and his age at different times, including when he died, there are many inconsistencies and contradictions among Xuanzang’s biography in the Further Biographies of Eminent Monks, the Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Cien Monastery 大唐大慈恩寺三蔵法師伝, and the Acts of the Late Tripitaka Master Xuanzang 大唐故三蔵玄奘法師行状. These inconsistencies can even be found within a single work.

One example is the age at which Xuanzang died in 麟德 1 (664). Three main theories exist, namely that he died at 63 (derived from the Acts of the Late Tripitaka Master Xuanzang), at 65 (from printed versions of the Further Biographies) or at 69 (calculated from the Biography of the Tripitaka Master of the Great Cien Monastery). As already shown, the Kōshō-ji version of Xuanzang’s biography was completed during the subject’s lifetime, but it does contain a unique passage relevant to his age at the time and age at death: “[Xuanzang] is now translating an excess of 30 fascicles of the Yogācārabhūmi. This śāstra comprises about 100,000 verses

26 For a more detailed discussion, see [KUWAYAMA and HAKAMAYA 1981] pp. 146–147.
in Sanskrit, and if translated into Chinese, it would exceed more than 100 fascicles. At 45 years of age, he has advanced in years and virtue...” 當今正翻論[瑜]伽師地卅餘卷, 其論梵本可十萬偈, 優度唐文, 應出百卷。春秋廿百[有]五, 年德俱盛... (See Fig.) The corresponding portion of the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshō-ji versions read …春秋卅有五… 27 The passage containing this phrase was likely deleted after Xuanzang’s death over the course of the revisions that culminated in the printed versions.

In the following, let us consider when Xuanzang was born and how long he lived based on these comments. If taken at face value, there arise problems over when he translated Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra. We know he finished the translation in the fifth month of 貞観 22 (648), but there are two traditional theories about when he began translating it: according to the Kaiyuan Catalogue of Buddhist Teachings 開元釈教録 it was on the 15th day of the fifth month of 貞観 20 (646), but according to the afterword of the translated Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra 瑜伽師地論後序 it was on the 15th day of the fifth month of 貞観 21 (647). 28 Shōgozō version of the Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra stored in the Shōsōin 正倉院 collection contains a unique passage relevant to this problem. At the end of the seventy-first fascicle of this version it reads “Commissioned translation by Tripitaka Master Xuanzang of the Institute for Scripture Translation in Hongfu Monastery in Changan, on the 23rd day (庚戌) of the first month of 貞観 21（丁未）of the great Tang” 大唐貞観廿一年歳次丁未春正月戊子朔廿三日庚戌於長安弘福寺翻経院三蔵法師玄奘奉 詔譯. 29 This likely refers to the date on which the


translation of this fascicle was completed, and also means that translation work had already progressed by the first month of 貞観 21. This contradicts the assertion in the ‘Afterword’ that translation work began in the fifth month of 貞観 21, and would tend to support the Kaiyuan Catalogue instead. We can allow for the possibility that the translation work began in 貞観 20. Further, if more than 30 fascicles were translated that year, then:

・Xuanzang would have been 45 in 貞観 20 (646), meaning he was born in 602, was 21 in 武徳 5, and died at age 63.

However, if we consider the possibility that the translation of more than 30 fascicles was completed in the following year, then

・Xuanzang would have been 45 in 貞観 21 (647), meaning he was born in 603, and died at the age of 62.

Put differently, if translation was begun in 貞観 20, the above passage in the Kongō-ji version may be consistent with the theory that he died at age 63. However, the Kongō-ji version makes mention of Xuanzang in 貞観 22. We can therefore allow for the possibility that one or two years had passed after his age of 45 was recorded, yet it was not revised, and the text went through revisions and expansions without the corrected age.

If, on the other hand, he died at 65 or 69, he would not have returned to China at age 45, meaning that the passage in the Kongō-ji version concerning the translation of Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra would not fit. Needless to say, the assertion that he was 35 in the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshō-ji versions is most certainly an error, as this is contradictory to all other records of Xuanzang’s life. Relatively speaking, the comment in the

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31 DELEANU has compared numerous records concerning when this work was translated and takes the position that translation began in 貞観 20 and took two years. [DELEANU 2007] pp. 630–631.
Kongō-ji version that he was 45 at the time of translating more than 30 fascicles of Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra favors the theory that he died at 63. However, because over the course of later revision and expansion Daoxuan eventually settled on the notion that Xuanzang died at 65, it is necessary to maintain some reservations about the trustworthiness of the passage above in the Kongō-ji version.

Conclusion
The observations made in this paper can be summarized in the following three conclusions:

1) Judging by the number and detail of the biographies as a whole, as well as the characteristics of the biography of Xuanzang in the fourth fascicle, it is likely that the Kongō-ji version of the Further Biographies preserves a form that is not only older than the printed versions, but older than the Kōshō-ji version. Further, from the content we can deduce that at least most of the content of the original represented by the Kongō-ji version was compiled by the early 永徽 era (650–656), and that the lower limit for redaction is early in the 顕慶 era (656–661).

2) The original text of the biography of Xuanzang represented by the Kongō-ji version was redacted between 貞観 20 and 22 (646 and 648). It was completed during the subject’s lifetime, and, among the extant biographies of Xuanzang, it is the oldest one, as it does not show any evidence of later modifications.

3) The biography of Xuanzang in the Kongō-ji version of the Further Biographies states that he was 45 when translating more than 30 fascicles of Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra, which is an assertion unique to this text and important for reexamining biographies of Xuanzang.

33 This error in the Kōshō-ji version is noted in [Fujiyoshi 2002] p. 197.
In the above, I have illustrated the basic features and the textual value of the Kongō-ji version of the *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*. The findings here suggest that substantial revisions should be made to conclusions drawn to date from studies on the process of redaction and expansion of the *Further Biographies*, and that there are certain assumptions that should be reexamined in studies of biographical works on Xuanzang in light of these findings. These are important issues, but unfortunately they are beyond the scope of this paper. I intend to conduct a more detailed textual examination of the *Further Biographies*, publish the text of the biography of Xuanzang in the fourth fascicle of the Kongō-ji version, and address those issues more thoroughly in future studies.
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(Published Sources and Catalogues)

OBMJC Database: Old Buddhist Manuscripts in Japanese Collections—Database—. International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies Library.

Second Koryŏ version: 高麗蔵再雕本


[KG cat.]: “Kongō-ji issaikyō mokuroku” 金剛寺一切経目録. In OCHIAI Toshinori ed. 落合俊典研究代表, Kongō-jiissaikyō no sōgōteki kenkyū to Kongō-ji shōgyō no kisoteki kenkyū 金剛寺一切経の総合的研究と金剛寺聖教の基礎的研究 (General Research on the Kongō-ji Manuscript Canon and a Basic Survey of the Kongō-ji Sacred Texts), vol. 2, Grant-


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資料集, Tokyo: The International College for the Postgraduate Buddhist Studies 国際仏教学大学院大学, pp. 77-87.

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Features of the Kongō-ji version of 続高僧伝 (SAITÔ)


Library Staff,
International College
for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies
Features of the Kongō-ji version of the "Further Biographies of the High Priests" (SAITO, Fasc. 4, OBMJC Database)
Appendix Tables: Main phrases present in the Second Koryō (SKR) or Kōshō-ji (KS) versions but not in the Kongō-ji (KG) or Nanatsu-dera (ND) versions of the fourth fascicle of the Further Biographies of Eminent Monks 続高僧伝

[↩]…Indicates that the text proceeds without interruption in the relevant version.
[■]…Indicates characters that are partially missing or damaged in the manuscript.
[■]…Indicates characters that are completely missing or damaged in the manuscript and that have been emended from other versions.
[Words]…Indicates phrases present in the SKR or KS versions but not in the KG or ND versions

**Bold**…Characters that differ from the SKR version. **Underline**…Scribal error.

Dotted underline…Reading of character uncertain.

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<th>KG</th>
<th>ND</th>
<th>KS</th>
<th>SKR</th>
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<tr>
<td>①</td>
<td>兄素出家、即長捷法师也。容貌堂堂儀局壤秀。講釋経義、聴班群伍。←←←←←以奘少罹窮酷、偏意携守。</td>
<td>兄素出家、即長捷法师也。容貌堂儀局壤李。講釋経義、聴班群伍。←←←←←以奘少罹窮酷、偏意乃守。</td>
<td>兄素出家、即長捷法师也。容貌堂儀局壤秀。講釋経義、聴班群伍、住東都浄土寺。以奘少罹窮酷、←←携以將之。</td>
<td>兄素出家、即長捷法师也。容貌堂堂儀局壤秀。講釋経義、聴班群伍、住東都浄土寺。以奘少罹窮酷、←←携以將之。</td>
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*Taishō 50 p46c12–15*
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