

HUALIN SERIES ON BUDDHIST STUDIES I

# *Production and Preservation of Buddhist Manuscripts in Central and East Asia*

Edited by Ru ZHAN, Jinhua CHEN, Yun JI



world scholastic

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慷慨支持，謹表謝忱！

# *Hualin Series on Buddhist Studies:*

## Preface

釋迦文佛捨世迄今，已逾兩千餘載，余生也晚，宿世障重，徒嘆世間失此昏衢之明燈，度世之慈航。然每思佛陀駐世之際，龍象並出，未嘗不神馳心往，恨不得親炙之祚。是以雖自惟駑鈍無擬，猶且遠慕半偈捨身之喻，不憚疲極，志求寂定，故每於禪關戒守之餘，奮力於學，潛跡經藏，務窮至教。以鈍根之器，對深幽渺遠之學，雖如火中求蓮，欲以漸門熏習，冀僥得悟其萬一也。

Since Buddha passed into *nirvana*, more than two millennia has elapsed. Heavy with past karma, I was borne too late and could only lament the loss, in the present world, of the bright lamp that once illuminated the murky path, and the ark of compassion that ferried the sentient beings. Still, each time I envisage a world where Buddha was living and great masters abounded, I could not help but pine for it and moan for the blessing that eluded me to hear Buddha's teaching in the flesh. Hence, though my ignorance monstrous, I aspire to the example of Buddha who, in a past life, sacrificed his body in exchange for half a verse. So, unremittingly, I am resolved to persevere. In whatever time allowed to me outside meditation and observance of precepts, I dedicate myself to learning. I vanish into the ocean of scriptures, striving to approach the supreme teaching. With my retarded faculty, I pursue a teaching profound and subtle—this is not unlike beseeching a lotus in a blaze of fire, but I hope, by the perfuming of the gradualist path, I could somehow fathom a one-millionth of it.

僕不敏於思，未敢妄言上續慧命，下作津梁，然法運興衰，實繫乎人。故匪敢徒求乎自證，尚且望能襄助群倫，得超生死。剎土纖塵，往還古今，法門開闢，應幾擇人。若且大道難行，則化教導，拯世情，移易風俗，亦為濟世之一方。故廿載之初，余糾集群好，以華林嘉名，槧版為刊，期以翹誠渴仰，搜綴貝經；虔心佇望，撮採樞要。務使明解達源，三界無明，一時得頓盡於前；能仁古道，永世免斯淪沒。匪空綴翰墨，抑亦為世發顯圓教。今值學報重刊之際，又藉此新辟《華林佛學研究書系》，期以暢百世之凝滯，通永惑之迷情。

I, unwieldly in mind, do not dare to claim to be the bearer of the dharma past and the guide for the generations ensuing. And yet, the rise and fall of the dharma is incumbent on me. So, how could I seek only self-realization? It is my hope rather to assist beings of all kinds to be liberated from the cycle of life and death. In all lands, and across all times, the gate of the dharma closes and opens contingent on the capacity of the practitioner. Such rarity of chances parallels the difficulty for the Great Path to gain currency. Yet, by teaching, by elevating the spirit of the world, and by transmuting the propensity of the epoch, we are benefiting the world. Hence, with some cordial fellows, we convened; under the name of Hualin, we created the journal. Earnestly, we collected and edited pattra scriptures; devotedly, we polished their essence. So that their clear insights could evoke the truth, thus rendering the ignorance in all Three Realms instantly apparent and preventing the ancient way of Buddha from receding to oblivion. Such is not eloquent frill nor vain erudition: it is for revealing the Round Teaching. In this occasion of the reprint of the journal, we created the 'Hualin Series on Buddhist Studies'. We hope it could remove the stagnancy encumbering the future generations and rectify the bewitching doubts that forever confuse men.



當今東西學界，限於時地，各拘一方，執見參差，自闡其旨，疑端莫決。故本書系務以會通為基，力求東亞佛教研究之諸多領域，如佛教文學、史學、哲學、社會學、人類學、宗教學、藝術學等皆能兼包，斯堪參校於異同，決疑而釋滯。直旨趣歸，免其局狹之惑。

我佛金口一音，弟子隨類各解。法無偏執，因機設教，故天台淨土、相性二宗，漸頓二門，禪講顯密，萬法歸趣，皆離生死而得涅槃。佛門廣大，未許有我他之見，而為涅槃深解之障。佛門亦以斷除二障，五明洞達為尚。所謂先諳於內，兼令知外。務使偏知，以辯巧而利弘化故。本書系亦大闢四攝之門，廣納於諸有，容受無厭。凡各東亞佛教相關各領域之研究，尤以宗教史、佛教義理、佛教制度、敦煌學等，皆為吾等之所樂取，圖為東亞、歐美各地學者設一溝通之津樑，濟度之舟筏。

Nowadays, the academics in the East and the West are each bounded by their own province. Each preaches their own tenets, yielding doubts that are left un-resolved. Thus, this book series sets out to bridge the gap by encompassing in itself a multitude of disciplines in the East Asian Buddhist Studies—Buddhist literature, history, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, religious studies, arts, et cetera, so as to measure how they diverge and how they converge, and to sever doubts and release blockage. It points to the kernel of an issue, unaffected by the confusing delimitation of disciplines.

The Buddha adapted his sacred utterance to the diverse composition of his disciples, for the dharma is not petty-minded but remains flexible in response to the individual. For this reason, we have both Tiantai and Jingtū, both Madhyamaka and Yogācāra, both gradualist and suddenist approach, and both exoteric and esoteric Chan Buddhism. Because ten million teachings coincide in the same cause: to be liberated from saṃsāra to enter Nirvana. The gate of the dharma, being so vast, dissolves any egotistical preference and reveals it to be the hindrance to the profound attainment. Buddhism seeks the removal of the Two Hindrances and honours broad knowledge across Five Sciences. One shall, therefore, be deeply versed

in the Internal (Buddhist) Teachings, all the while cognisant of the External (non-Buddhist) learnings, for it is by extensive knowledge that one could be agile in benefiting all beings. This book series opens broadly its vast gate, welcoming all and shunning nothing. It takes delight in drawing from all disciplines of the East Asian Buddhist Studies. For instance, the religious history, Buddhist doctrines, Buddhist institutions and Dunhuang Studies. It aspires to be a bridge of communication for scholars from East Asia, Europe, North America and all places, and be a ferry that carries us to another shore.

本叢書由北京大學藝術與典籍研究中心督辦，英屬哥倫比亞大學之佛教與東亞宗教研究項目 (<https://frogbear.org/>) 襄助，而惠陽良井楊公釗為大檀越，諸方共相勸助而興立焉。旭日諸善士，皆弘道之人，雅以曠濟為懷，欲拯滯溺於沈流，救迷塗於失性。吾亦願法燈長耀，佛光永暉。鷲峰之音再傳，竹林之風更暢。後來賢哲，睹斯文不絕於今！

The Book Series is hosted by the Research Center for Buddhist Texts and Arts at the Peking University, administered by the Frogbear project at the University of British Columbia ([https://frogbear.org](https://frogbear.org/)). It is generously sponsored by His Honorable Yang Zhao of Liangjing in Huiyang, and helped by numerous others. Gracious ones of the Glorious Sun Group are those knowing and promoting the dharma. Bearing in heart the desire to benefit all, they extricate stagnant souls from viscous quagmire, and salvage confused beings from losing true nature. I share their desire: may the lamp of the dharma beam perennially and the light of Buddhism shine evermore. May the sound of the Vulture



愚辭乏清麗，道無可揚，  
恐世君子未知其緣由，姑  
聊記鄙懷，兼序其始末云  
爾。

會稽龍華衲子湛如  
庚子歲辜月序於京師

Peak resound again and may the wind  
blow from the Bamboo Grove circulate  
ever more freely. May the savants who  
come after us, upon reading this, feel  
the affinity with us today.

My humble words lack clarity and  
grace and contains no profundity  
worth showing. And yet, fearing that  
people in the world would not know  
the circumstances that gave rise to this  
Book Series, I wrote down this preface,  
recounting its origination and develop-  
ment.

Ru Zhan of the Longhua Monastery,  
Kuaiji  
December 2020, Beijing

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# 1

## Manuscript Network in Central and East Asia

# Distribution and Preservation of the *Shi Moheyan Lun* 釋摩訶衍論 Texts in East Asia: Did They Read the Same Text?\*

JIIYUN KIM 金知妍  
*Geumgang University*

**Abstract:** The *Shi Moheyan lun* 釋摩訶衍論 [Explanation of the Treatise on Mahāyāna], is the commentary on the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [*Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*]. The foreword claims the *SML* was written by Nāgarjuna 龍樹. However, doubts were expressed regarding the authorship from 8th century in Japan, and the description of *Shittan zō* 悉曇藏 [Treasury of *Siddham*] raises the possibility that Silla monk Woulchung 月忠 wrote the *SML*. Although we cannot discern the publishing time and author, it is possible to trace the *SML*'s distribution by examining extant texts in East Asia.

I compare the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscript and *Fangshan shijing* 房山石經 [*Fangshan Stone Sutra* (China)], the *Tripitaka Koreana* 高麗大藏經 (Korea), and manuscripts of Ishiyama-dera 石山寺, Tōdai-ji 東大寺, and Otani University 大谷大学, and the woodblock-printed book of Minobusan University 身延山大学 (Japan). I have identified seventy-three differences in the first volume and ten differences in the eighth volume. In the former, [房] and [麗] are distinguished thirty-three times from [石]·[東]·[大]·[身]. In the latter, I found eight differences between [敦] and [房]·[麗]. It verifies that one manuscript was transmitted from

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\* This work was supported by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Korea and the National Research Foundation of Korea (NRF-2017S1A-5B5A02026674).

China to Japan, whereupon an independent line was established in Japan. On the other hand, the text handed down from China to Korea did not form a unique line but included some differences.

**Keywords:** Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscript, *Tripitaka Koreana* 高麗大藏經, *Fangshan Stone Sutra* 房山石經, Ishiyama-dera 石山寺 manuscript, Tōdai-ji 東大寺 manuscript, Otani University 大谷大学 manuscript, Minobusan University 身延山大学 woodblock-printed book.

## 1. Introduction

The *Shi Moheyan lun* 釋摩訶衍論 [Explanation of the Treatise on Mahāyāna; hereafter abbreviated as *SML*] is one of many extant commentaries on the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith], but it differs from the other commentaries such as Wonhyo's 元曉 (617–686) *Gisil lon so* 起信論疏 [A Commentary on the *Qixin lun*] and Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) *Dasheng Qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 [Commentary on the *Qixin lun*] in various ways. These include the level of detail in its explanation through ten volumes, the original organization of thirty-three kinds of teachings, its inclusion of quotations from over one hundred sutras and treatises, its use distinctive concepts like ten sorts of *ālayavijñāna* 阿梨耶識, and the way it combines esoteric teachings with supernatural spells, etc.

The foreword to the *SML* claims that it was written by Nāgarjuna 龍樹 (2nd–3rd century) and translated by Vṛddhimata 筏提摩多在 401.<sup>1</sup> However, doubts were expressed regarding the text's authorship as early as 779, when the Japanese monk Kaimyō 戒明 brought the *SML* from Tang 唐 China to Japan. Omino Mifune 淡海三船 (722–785) and Saichō 最澄 (767–822) denied that Nāgarjuna was

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<sup>1</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592b15: '龍樹菩薩造'; 592a28: '翻譯人筏提摩多三藏'.



the author, while Kūkai 空海 (774–835) and Tokuitsu 徳一 believed he was.<sup>2</sup>

It was recently revealed that the *SML* was not written by Nāgarjuna and was not translated in the 5th century. One of the grounds upon which this argument is made concerns the sutras quoted in the *SML*. First, the *SML* cites the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* 楞伽經, specifically the *Lengqie abaduoluo baojing* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 translated by Guṇabhadra 求那跋陀羅 in 443, as well as the *Ru lengqie jing* 入楞伽經 translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流支 in 513.<sup>3</sup> It also quotes the *Shengman jing* 勝鬘經 [Skt. *Śrīmālā-sūtra*], which was translated into Chinese in 436 by Guṇabhadra.<sup>4</sup> These two sutras belong to the latter period Mahāyāna-sūtra group created after Nāgarjuna. Furthermore, the quoted sentences in the *SML* are the same as the sentences that were translated into Chinese. This proves that Nāgarjuna could not have written the *SML*, which returns us to the question of the text's true authorship.

The lack of accurate evidence regarding the author's identity makes it difficult to confirm who wrote the *SML*. However, Japanese monk Annen 安然 (841–899?) recorded his teacher Ennin's 圓仁 (794–864) comments in the *Shittan zō* 悉曇藏 [Treasury of *Siddham*]: 'My teacher said "I heard from Silla monk Jinchong 珍聰 that the *SML* was made by Silla monk Woulchung 月忠, who lives in Mount Jungjo 中朝山.'"<sup>5</sup> This description raises the possibility that Woulchung wrote the *SML*.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Refer to Mochizukī, 'Shaku Makaen ron no singi', 1–5; Kagawa, 'Shaku Makaen ron no sitekikenkyū', 32–44; Nakamura, 'Shaku Makaen ron no seiritsu mondaini tsuite', 534–39; Shioiri 'Shaku Makaen ron kaidai', 1–19; Kim Jiyun, 'Seogmahayeonlonvui juseogjeog yeongu', 16–22, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 32: 626b18–c3; 627a22–24; 627c13–15; 630b28–29; 632c3–8; 633a16–19; *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 32: 604c15–16; 604c28–605a3; 606a2–8; 606a25–27; 608b15–21; 611b18–20; 627a25–27; 627c11–13; 632c8–13.

<sup>4</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 32: 608b25–26; 608c4–6; 625b1–3.

<sup>5</sup> *Shittan zō*, T no. 2702, 374c7–8, '次我和上據大安寺新羅國僧珍聰口說是新羅國中朝山僧月忠偽作'.

In addition, the *SML* cites sutras that were translated after 401, including the *Mohe moye jing* 摩訶摩耶經 translated by Tanjing 曇景 between 479 and 502, and the *Buzeng bujian jing* 不增不減經 translated by Bodhiruci in 525.<sup>7</sup> The latter is the most recently translated sutra quoted in the *SML*, and its inclusion indicates the *SML* was written after 525. If this is true, when was the *SML* published? Table 1 (below) outlines the results of my research regarding the text's publication date.

TABLE 1 Study Regarding the *SML* Production Period

Researcher	Production period
Mochizuki Shinkō <sup>8</sup>	720 (Kaiyuan開元 8)–779 (Dali 大曆14)
Tanigawa Taikyō <sup>9</sup>	Before 700–704 when Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 translated <i>Dasheng ru Lengqie jing</i> 大乘入楞伽經
Morita Ryūsen <sup>10</sup>	712 (Fazang's late years) – 774 (Amoghavajra's 不空 death)
Kagawa Eiryū <sup>11</sup>	712 (Fazang's late years) – 780 (Zongmi's 宗密 birth)
Nasu Seiryū <sup>12</sup>	Between the middle and the end of the Tang dynasty when Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏, Vajrabodhi 金剛智 and Amoghavajra 不空 worked in China
Shioiri Ryōchū <sup>13</sup> Ishii Kōsei <sup>14</sup> Sato Atsushi <sup>15</sup>	712 (Fazang's late years) – 779 (the introduction of the <i>SML</i> to Japan)

<sup>6</sup> Woulchung is also mentioned as the author in Eichō 永超, *Tōiki dentō mokuroku* 東域傳燈錄, T no. 2183, 1158c15; Annen, *Shingonsbū kyōjigi* 真言宗教時義, T no. 2396, 375b2–4.

<sup>7</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 594b20–24; *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 608c14–17; 608c23–26; 609a1–4.

<sup>8</sup> Mochizuki, 'Shaku Makaen ron no singi'; 'Shaku Makaen ron gizō kō'.

<sup>9</sup> Tanigawa, 'Nyū ryōga kyō kenkyū nōto'.

<sup>10</sup> Morita, *Shaku Makaen ron no kenkyū*.

<sup>11</sup> Kagawa, 'Shaku Makaen ron no shi teki kenkyū'.

<sup>12</sup> Nasu, *Shaku Makaen ron kōgi*.

<sup>13</sup> Shioiri, 'Shaku Makaen ron kaidai'.

Kim Jiyun<sup>16</sup>

From Fazang's latter years to the time when *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* 大日經 (724) and *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* 金剛頂經 were translated in the Tang

Thus, presumably, the *SML* was published around the eighth century, but how was it distributed between the time of its initial publication and the present day? Is the current version of the text the same as the original? To this point, these questions have not been satisfactorily answered. The key to answering them lies in the extant *SML* texts. However, scholars have rarely undertaken thorough examinations of these texts. Only the Japanese scholar Nasu Seiryū 那須政隆 gave them any close attention, and only in service of putting the woodblock-printed book of the *SML* housed in the Narita 成田 Library into print.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, I would like to shed light on the various other *SML* texts.

In the second section, I consider the processes by which the *SML* was distributed by examining the extant texts, the commentaries on the *SML*, and the texts that reference the *SML* in China, Korea, and Japan. In the third section, I compare the *SML* texts: the Dunhuang 敦煌 manuscript and *Fangshan shijing* 房山石經 [Fangshan Stone canon] from China, the *Tripitaka Koreana* 高麗大藏經 from Korea, and the manuscripts of Ishiyama-dera 石山寺, Tōdai-ji 東大寺 Library, and Otani University Library 大谷大学図書館, and the woodblock-printed book of Minobusan University Library 身延山大学図書館 from Japan. I include tables comparing these texts and analyze the similarities and differences. The scope of these comparisons is limited to the foreword to the *SML* (*T* no. 1668, 591c27–592b9), the first (*T* no. 1668, 592b15–c26) and the last (*T* no. 1668, 601b7–602a14) pages of the first volume, and part of the eighth

<sup>14</sup> Ishii, 'Shaku Makaen ron no seiritsu jijyō'; idem, 'Shaku Makaen ron niokeru kakū kyōten'.

<sup>15</sup> Sato, 'Silla Kego to Shaku Makaen ron'.

<sup>16</sup> Kim Jiyun, 'Seogmahayeonlonui juseogjeog yeongu'.

<sup>17</sup> Nasu, *Shaku Makaen ron kōgi*.

volume (*T* no. 1668, 656b22–657a19).<sup>18</sup> In the last chapter, I infer the transfer route of the *SML* texts by examining their relation with one another.

## 2. The Distribution of the *Shi Mobeian Lun* in East Asia

### 2.1 The Transmission of the *SML* in China

Zongmi's 宗密 (780–841) *Yuanjue jing lüeshu chao* 圓覺經略疏鈔 [Abridged Subcommentary to the Sutra of Perfect Enlightenment] was the first Chinese text to mention the *SML*. In this book, he said that it is named '*SML*' and was written by Nāgarjuna for the purpose of interpreting a treatise (the *Dasheng qixin lun*).<sup>19</sup> Yanshou's 延壽 (904–975) *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 [Record of the Axiom Mirror] quoted the *SML* over ten times, using the phrase 'the *SML* said that ...'.<sup>20</sup> Zhiyi's 知禮 (960–1028) *Jingguangming jing xuanyi shiyiji* 金光明經玄義拾遺記 [A Record of Gleanings from the Profound Meanings of the *Golden Light Sutra*] referred to the *SML*, as did commentaries on the *Dasheng qixin lun* including Zixuan's 子璿 (965–1038) *Qixin lun shu bixiao ji* 起信論疏筆削記 [An Abridged subcommentary on the commentary on the *Qixin lun*] and Zhixu's 智旭 (1599–1655) *Dasheng Qixin lun liewang shu* 大乘起信論裂網疏 [Net-breaking subcommentary on the commentary on the *Qixin lun*].<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The comparison of *SML* texts is limited to the foreword, the beginning and end of the first volume that could be identified in the Ishiyama-dera manuscript, and the eighth volume that is part of the Dunhuang manuscript.

<sup>19</sup> *Yuanjue jing lüeshu chao*, *X* no. 248, 925c19: '就一經一部隨文解釋, 名為釋論準龍樹菩薩'.

<sup>20</sup> *Zongjing lu*, *T* no. 2016, 422c11; 471a4; 491a25; 571a27; 658a18, etc.: '釋摩訶衍論云...'

<sup>21</sup> *Jingguangming jing xuanyi shiyiji*, *T* no. 1784, 21a13–14: '故釋摩訶衍論云, 等覺已上有真僧寶'; *Qixin lun shu bixiao ji*, *T* no. 1848, 314b28–29: '摩耶等者

Subsequently, monk-scholars like Shengfa 聖法 and Fawu 法悟 produced several commentaries on the *SML*.<sup>22</sup> Above all, many commentaries were written during the Liao Dynasty because the emperor took an interest in the *SML* and supported related scholarship.<sup>23</sup>

These commentaries confirm that the *SML* was read and studied consistently during the Tang and Ming 明 dynasties. This fact is also supported by extant texts. Parts of *Dunhuang* and Turpan editions remain. In addition, the *SML* was included in the *Fangshan Stone Sutra* created during the Liao dynasty and in the *Zhaocheng Jin Tripitaka* 趙城金藏 [Jin canon of Zhaocheng] composed during the Jin 金 dynasty.

The Dunhuang edition is in the *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections* 11 as ㏎x03855(3-1)·㏎x03855(3-2)·㏎x03855(3-3).<sup>24</sup> These are parts of the 8th volume: ㏎x03855(3-1) is 656c19-29(③) and 656c10-19(②), ㏎x03855(3-2) is 657a12-19(⑤) and 656b22-c10(①), and ㏎x03855(3-3) is 656a29-657a10(④).<sup>25</sup> The Dunhuang

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準摩訶衍論說，有六馬鳴前後異出’；*Dasheng Qixin lun liewang shu*, T no. 1850, 439c14: ‘如釋摩訶衍論，引顯了契經云’。

<sup>22</sup> Shengfa 聖法, *Shi Mobeyan lunji* 釋摩訶衍論記; Famin 法敏, *Shi Mobeyan lunshu* 釋摩訶衍論疏 (Tang 唐); Fawu 法悟, *Shi Mobeyan lunzan xuanshu* 釋摩訶衍論贊玄疏; Zhifu 志福, *Shi Mobeyan lun ton xuan chao* 釋摩訶衍論通玄鈔; Shouzhen 守臻, *Shi Mobeyan lun tongzan shu* 釋摩訶衍論通贊疏; Xianyan 鮮演, *Mobeyan lun xianzheng shu* 摩訶衍論顯正疏 (Liao 遼); Puguang 普觀, *Shi Mobeyan lun ji* 釋摩訶衍論記 and *Shi Mobeyan lun ke* 釋摩訶衍論科 (Song 宋). Further consideration is needed on whether Famin 法敏 (579-645) is the author of the 釋摩訶衍論疏, or if another Famin 法敏 existed. If the former is the writer, the publishing time frame would be from the late 6th century to the early seventh century, and the text would have preceded the commentaries of Wonhyo and Fazang. Michael Radich also noted this problem in <http://www.buddhism-dict.net>. This is a problem I would like to consider later.

<sup>23</sup> Fujiwara, *Kittan Bukkyoshi no kenkyū*, 65, 73.

<sup>24</sup> St. Ptergurg Institute, *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections* 11, 67-68.

<sup>25</sup> The order was reversed in *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections* 11, so I have marked the order as ①②③. International College for Postgraduate

manuscript was composed using the format of 18 letters per line. Another Dunhuang manuscript can be found in the *Dunhuang mogaoku beiqu shiku* 敦煌莫高窟北區石窟,<sup>26</sup> vol. 2 as B125: 28<sup>27</sup> (T no. 1668, 668b16–17). This fragment includes only two lines of roughly 5 characters. A comparison with the *Taishō shinshū daizō kyō* 大正新脩大藏經, however, suggests there were 21 letters per line. This edition may diverge from the edition mentioned above because the shape of characters such as ‘li 利’ are dissimilar.

The Turpan manuscript was printed in the *Selected fragments of Chinese Buddhist texts from Xinjiang region in Lushun Museum Lüshun bowuguan cang Xinjiang chutu Hanwen Fojing xuancui* 旅順博物館藏新疆出土漢文佛經選粹 [Selected Fragments of Chinese Buddhist Texts from Xingjian region in Lushun Museum] as LM20\_1487\_19\_04 (T no. 1668, 609c24–610a1), LM20\_1487\_23\_07 (T no. 1668, 609c29–610a3), LM20\_1486\_31\_02 (T no. 1668, 610a5–7) using phototypography.<sup>28</sup> These parts correspond to the second volume, and it is speculated that every line contains 17 characters.

The *Fangshan shijing* edition of the *SML* (vol. 28, no.1073) was engraved by the monk Tongli 通利 between 1092 and 1093.<sup>29</sup> The source text is the *Qidan Tripitaka* 契丹大藏經, and the whole volume

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Buddhist Studies Library (Kokusai Bukkyō daigakuin daigaku fuzoku toshokan 国際仏教学大学院大学附属図書館) published *Taishōzō Tonkō shutsudo Butten taishō mokuroku* 大正藏・敦煌出土仏典対照目録 [A Concordance to the Taishō Tripitaka and Dunhuang Buddhist Manuscript], 3rd edition. This book says that D̄x03855(3–2) is 656b22–c10 and D̄x03855(3–1) is 656c19–657a19 (p.233). However, I confirmed that it is a mistake, so it would be fixed.

<sup>26</sup> Peng, *Dunhuang mogaoku beiqu shiku*, B125: 28.

<sup>27</sup> In the *Taishōzō Tonkō shutsudo Butten taishō mokuroku* (233), it is ‘北区3’, 125: 28, but this should be corrected to ‘北区2’.

I thank Prof. Dingyuan 定源 for his help with the *Dunhuang Mogaoku beiqu shiku* 敦煌莫高窟北區石窟 document and for telling me of the modifications of it.

<sup>28</sup> Lüshun bowuguan and Ryūkoku Daigaku, eds., *Lüshun bowuguan cang Xinjiang chutu Hanwen Fojing xuancui*, 196.

<sup>29</sup> Kim Younmi, ‘Goryeowa youi bulhyohyolyu’, 111.



is well preserved. There are 29 lines per block, and every line has 17 characters. The *Zhaocheng Jin Tripitaka* was drafted between 1149 and 1178, and its source texts were the *Kaibaoban dazang jing* 開寶版大藏經 of the Northern Song 北宋 and the *Qidan Tripitaka*.

## 2.2 The Arrival of the *SML* in Korea

In spite of the record that the Silla monk Woulchung wrote the *SML*, no trace of the *SML* appears in Korea before the Goryeo 高麗 dynasty. The monk Uicheon 義天 (1055–1101) shed light on the *SML* in his writing *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 [Newly Compiled Comprehensive Record of the Canonical Works of the Various Schools], stating, ‘*SML* in ten fascicles was narrated by Nāgarjuna (釋摩訶衍論十卷, 龍樹述).’<sup>30</sup> This book was a newly compiled, comprehensive record of the canonical works of the various schools that Uicheon gathered through exchanges with Song, Liao, and Japan. In particular, Uicheon put the *SML* first among the commentaries on the *Dasheng qixin lun*, and separately organized the *SML* with its commentaries, such as those by the Fawu 法悟, Zhifu 志福, and Shouzheng 守臻.<sup>31</sup>

The First Edition of the *Tripitaka Koreana* (*Chojo daejang gyeong* 初雕大藏經) did not include the *SML*. However, that edition was destroyed during the Mongol invasion, and the new *Tripitaka*, the *Tripitaka Koreana* (*Goryeo daejang gyeong* 高麗大藏經), carved between 1236 (Gojong 高宗23) and 1251 (Gojong 高宗38), included the *SML*. There are *Tripitaka Koreana* of the *SML*: the Haeinsa Temple 海印寺 collection and the Woljeongsa Temple 月精寺 collection. They were sculpted in 1246, and now exist as a whole, single volume (*K* no. 1397). Each woodblock measures 24 cm in height and 70 cm in length, and contains 23 lines with 14 characters per line.<sup>32</sup> For comparison, I use the Woljeongsa Temple edition reprinted in 1865.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok*, T no. 2184, 1174c29.

<sup>31</sup> Choi, ‘*Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok ui*’, 121.

<sup>32</sup> ‘The Research Institute of *Tripitaka Koreana*’, accessed July 29, <http://kb.sutra.re.kr/ritk/intro/introSutra05.do>.

## 2.3 The Circulation in Japan

The Japanese monk Kaimyō 戒明 took the *SML* from Tang China when he returned to Japan. Actually, following this record, the earliest record was found in Japan. After the *SML*'s introduction, Kūkai 空海 (774–835), who founded the Shingon School 真言宗 and believed Nāgarjuna wrote the *SML*, emphasized its importance and placed it on the list of books Shingon monks should study (*Shingon-shū shogaku ritsuron mokuroku* 真言宗所學律論目錄). Due to Kūkai's efforts, the *SML* spread all over the country, and many monks penned commentaries on the *SML*.<sup>34</sup> An examination of the authors of these commentaries—typically Shingon monks—reveals that the *SML* was read and studied consistently in the Shingon School.

The many existing *SML* texts in Japan reveal a similar tendency. According to my survey, the oldest is the Ishiyama-dera 石山寺 (Shingon temple) manuscript. It is estimated to have been created during 7th–8th century of Tang dynasty. Only five fascicles (from Fascicle 1 to Fascicle 5) remain; it measures 24.1 cm in height, 56.8 cm in

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<sup>34</sup> Kūkai 空海, *Shaku Makaen ron shiji* 釋摩訶衍論指事; Saisen 濟暹 (1025–1115), *Shaku Makaen ron ketsugi banan eshaku shogi* 釋摩訶衍論決疑破難會釋抄義; Kakuban 覺鑊 (1095–1143), *Shaku Makaen ron shiji* 釋摩訶衍論指事; Dōhan 道範 (1178–1252), *Shaku Makaen ron ungkyoshō* 釋摩訶衍論應教鈔; Raiyu 賴瑜 (1226–1304), *Shaku Makaen ron kaige shō* 釋摩訶衍論開解鈔; Sinken 信堅 (1259–1323), *Shaku Makaen ron shiki* 釋摩訶衍論私記; Raihō 賴寶 (1279–1330), *Shaku Makaen ron kanchu* 釋摩訶衍論勘注; Gōhō 杲實 (1306–1362), *Shaku Makaen ron shishō* 釋摩訶衍論立義分私抄; Shōken 聖憲 (1307–1392), *Shaku Makaen ron hyakujō daisanju* 釋摩訶衍論百條第三重; Chōkaku 長覺 (1340–1416), *Shaku Makaen ron junishō shiki* 釋摩訶衍論十二鈔私記; Yūkai 有快 (1345–1416), *Shaku Makaen ron ketaku shū* 釋摩訶衍論決擇集; Inyū 印融 (1435–1519), *Shaku Makaen ron myōmoku sishō* 釋摩訶衍論名目私鈔; Unshō 運敞 (1614–1693), *Shaku Makaen ron keimō* 釋摩訶衍論啓蒙.

length, and each line contains around 32 characters.<sup>35</sup> Another manuscript, housed at the Tōdai-ji 東大寺 Library, was made as a copy in 1208 (Jōgen 承元 2).<sup>36</sup> They have a complete set of the *SML*; it measures 23.9 cm in height, 30.8 cm in length, and each page contains 7 lines of about 21 letters.

The Otani University Library 大谷大学図書館 has another manuscript, but it now only consists of the first and ninth fascicles.<sup>37</sup> Determining when it was written is difficult because it lacks an epilogue. Each page contains 7 lines, with around 18 characters per line. Minobusan University Library 身延山大学図書館 has old books printed from woodblocks, which include all volumes.<sup>38</sup> The text measure 25 cm in height and 16.6 cm in length. Each page contains 6 lines, with 17 characters per line. The epilogue states that the monk Kaiken 快賢 of Mount Kōya (高野山金剛佛子快賢) produced the text in 1256 (Kenchō 建長 8).<sup>39</sup> However, the text might have been printed later from same block that was created in 1256 or carved later based on the 1256 edition.

In addition to these texts, woodblock-printed books of Mount Kōya abound; these include those held in the Tokyo University

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<sup>35</sup> Ishiyamadera, *Ishiyama dera kokyō shūei*, 162.

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<sup>39</sup> Imprint: ‘酬四恩之廣德, 興三寶之妙道, 此吾願也云云. 加之窺窬鑽仰之窓, 徒疲書寫校合之勞. 漬既踈千文義, 諳通之學業. 因茲且奉守高祖之遺誠, 且爲扶末學之稽古, 謹開印板, 敬報祖德矣. 于時建長八年二月日’.

Library 東京大学附属図書館, Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, Zentsū-ji 善通寺, and the National Diet Library Digital Collections 国立国会図書館.<sup>40</sup> The prevalence of these texts indicates that Mount Kōya—the head temple of the Shingon School—served as the center for the distribution of the *SML* texts.

### 3. Comparison of the *SML* Texts

#### 3.1 Comparing the Foreword and the First Volume of the *SML*

The manuscripts of Dunhuang and Ishiyama-dera are the oldest in China and Japan respectively, but determining the order between them is difficult because neither includes an imprint (*kanji* 刊記). However, because the extant parts of the Ishiyama-dera text differ from those from Dunhuang, I compared them separately.

First, I compared the Ishiyama-dera manuscript with the *Fangshan Stone Sutra* text, the Tōdai-ji manuscript, the *Tripitaka Koreana* text, the Otani University manuscript, and the Minobusan University woodblock-printed book. Accessing the Ishiyama-dera manuscript is difficult because it is a national treasure. I was only able to see three pages of the foreword, the end of the first volume, the beginning of the fifth volume in the *Ishiyama dera kokyō shūei* 石山寺古経聚英 [Collection of old (Buddhist) scriptures in the Ishiyama Temple]<sup>41</sup>, and one page with the foreword and the beginning of the first volume in the *Nippon no kokuhō* 日本の国宝 [National Treasures of Japan].<sup>42</sup> Therefore, I have limited the scope of the comparison to the foreword and the beginning and end of the first volume. I placed the results in three tables based on the scope of the comparisons, but have analyzed them together because they were included in the first volume.

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<sup>40</sup> All rights are reserved to the National Diet Library, Japan.

<sup>41</sup> Ishiyamadera, *Ishiyama dera kokyō shūei*, 23.

<sup>42</sup> Asahi Shimbun Company, *Nippon no kokuhō*.

## Legend

- \* Although I separated the tables according to the range of comparison, I gave them successive numbers to avoid confusion.
- \* The names of texts are displayed in horizontal rows following the group of pedigree.
- \* An added character is indicated by '+', and missing characters are marked with '-'.
- \* I put all possible cases into the 'Result' if there were no interpretative problems.
- \* I use the following abbreviations of each edition: the *Tripitaka Koreana* text [麗],<sup>43</sup> the *Fangshan shijing* text [房], the Ishiyamadera manuscript [石], the Tōdai-ji manuscript [東], the Otani University manuscript [大], the Minobusan University woodblock-printed book [身].
- \* The numbers in the tables are marked in '[ ]', such as [1].

TABLE 2 Foreword {*K* no.1397, 989c02}{*T* no. 1668, 591c27–592b9}

No.	[麗(K)]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]	<i>T</i> no. 1668	Result
1	天冊	天冊	𠂇回	𠂇回	𠂇回	𠂇回	天冊	𠂇回/天冊
2	於	於	于	于	于	于	於	于/於
3	昔	首	昔	昔	昔	昔	昔	昔
4	惘惘 想想	惘惘 想想	惘惘 想想	惘惘 想想	惘想 想想	惘想 想想	惘惘 想想	惘惘想想/ 惘想惘想
5	稱	稱	講	講	講	講	稱	講
6	佇	停	佇	佇	佇	佇	佇	佇
7	區	區	區	區	區	匳	區	區
8	羅+(網)	羅+(網)	羅-	羅+(網)	羅+(網)	羅+(網)	羅+(網)	羅/羅網

<sup>43</sup> In the Taishō footnote, the Gōya edition is marked [高], so I wrote the *Tripitaka Koreana* text as [麗] to avoid confusion.

No.	[麗(K)]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]	T no. 1668	Result
9	喜+(於)	喜+(於)	喜-	喜+(於)	喜+(於)	喜+(於)	喜+(於)	喜/喜於
10	獲	獲	雙	雙	雙	雙	獲	雙
11	蓮座	蓮座	菓坐	菓坐	菓坐	菓坐	蓮坐	菓坐
12	花	花	化	化	化	化	花	化
13	以	以	以	以	之	之	以	以/之
15	靈	靈	虛	虛	虛	虛	虛	虛
16	沙	法	沙	沙	沙	沙	沙	沙
17	+(先) 聖-	+(先) 聖-	-聖-	-聖+( 者)	-聖+( 者)	-聖+( 者)	-聖-	聖者
18	肅	蕭	簫	簫	簫	簫	肅	羅/羅網
19		簫	喜-	喜+(於)	喜+(於)	喜+(於)	喜+(於)	喜/喜於
20	誰	詎	詎	詎	詎	詎	誰	詎
21	敷	敷	敷	敷	敷	敷	敷	敷
22	源	原	原	源	源	源	源	原/源
23	輪	輪	淪	淪	淪	淪	輪	淪
24	於	於	乎	于	于	于	乎	於/于
25	扣	摺	和	和	和	和	和	和
26	可+(謂)	可+(謂)	可-	可-	可-	可-	可+(謂)	可/可謂
27	天+(下)	天+(下)	天-	天+(下)	天+( 下)	天+(下)	天+(下)	天/天下
28	上旬	上旬	上日	上日	上日	上日	上旬	上日
29	傳+(俗)	傳-	傳+(俗)	傳+(俗)	傳+(俗)	傳+(俗)	傳+(俗)	傳俗



No.	[麗(K)]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]	<i>T</i> no. 1668	Result
30	筆+(之)	筆-	筆-	筆-	筆-	筆-	筆+(之)	筆
31	淨	淨	淨	淨	靜	淨	淨	淨
32	奚	爰	爰	爰	爰	爰	爰	爰
33	彩	彩	綵	綵	綵	綵	彩	綵/彩
34	吐	吐	叱	叱	叱	叱	吐	叱
35	止	止	止	上	止	止	止	止
36	大	大	太	太	大	大	大	太
37	斷(?)	斷	濫	濫	濫	濫	斷	濫
38	兔	兔	菟	菟	菟	菟	兔	兔/菟

TABLE 3 Beginning of the First Volume {*K* no.1397, 990a19}{*T* no. 1668, 592b15–c26}

No.	[麗(K)]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]	<i>T</i> no. 1668	Result
39	姚秦三藏 筏提摩多 奉 詔譯	姚秦三藏 筏提摩多 奉 詔譯	-	-	-	-	姚秦三藏 筏提摩多 奉 詔譯	
40	+(欲)顯 +(示)	+(欲)顯 +(示)	-顯-	-顯-	-顯-	-顯-	+(欲)顯 +(示)	顯/欲顯 示
41	邪	邪	耶	邪	邪	邪	邪	耶
42	冥+(實)	冥+(實)	冥-	冥-	冥-	冥-	冥+(實)	冥/實冥
43	+(差)別	+(差)別	-別	-別	-別	-別	+(差)別	別/差別
44	摩迦	摩迦	摩迦	摩迦	摩迦	摩訶	摩訶	迦/訶
45	跋摩	跋摩	跋磨	跋磨	跋磨	跋磨	跋摩	磨/摩

No.	[麗(K)]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]	<i>T</i> no. 1668	Result
46	摩僧	摩僧	磨僧	磨僧	磨僧	摩僧	摩僧	磨/摩
47	論-	論-	論-	論-	論+(跋 提論)	論-	論-	論
48	摩-	摩-	磨-	磨-	磨+(磨)	磨-	摩-	磨
49	摩僧	摩僧	魔僧	魔僧	魔僧	摩僧	摩僧	摩/魔
50	數+(幾 有)	數+(幾 有)	數--	數+(幾 有)	數+(幾 有)	數+(幾 有)	數+(幾 有)	數/數幾 有
51	華	華	華	花	華	花	花	華

TABLE 4 End of the First Volume {*K* no.1397, 1000b05}{*T* no. 1668, 601b7–602a14}

No.	[麗(K)]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]	<i>T</i> no. 1668	Result
52	流	流	法	法	法	法	流	法
53	二者-	二者-	二者-	二者+ (二者)	二者-	二者-	二者-	二者
54	+(不)減	+(不)減	-減	-減	+(不) 減	-減	+(不)減	減/不減
55	-相	-相	-相	+(根) 相	-相	-相	-相	相
56	+(所)謂	+(所)謂	-謂	-謂	-謂	-謂	-謂	謂/所謂
57	能入 二種	能入 二種	二種 能入	二種 能入	二種 能入	能入 二種	能入 二種	能入 二種
58	+(別)門	+(別)門	+(別) 相	+(別) 門	-門	+(別) 門	+(別)門	別門
59	+(調)能	+(調)能	-能	+(調) 能	+(調)能	+(調) 能	+(調)能	能/調能
60	機+(根)	機+(根)	機-	機-	機-	機-	機+(根)	機根

No.	[麗(K)]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]	T no. 1668	Result
61	根+(故)	根+(故)	根-	根+(故)	根+(故)	根+(故)	根+(故)	根/根故
62	何-	何-	何-	何-	何+(河)	何-	何-	何
63	諸-	諸-	諸-	諸-	諸+(何)	諸-	諸-	諸
64	+(諸)佛	+(諸)佛	+(諸)佛	+(諸)佛	-佛	+(諸)佛	+(諸)佛	諸佛
65	機根	機根	根機	機根	機根	機根	機根	機根
66	+(何故)八	+(何故)八	-八	-八	-八	+(何故)八	+(何故)八	八/何故八
67	+(本)法	+(本)法	-法	-法	-法	-法	+(本)法	法/本法
68	-於諸佛 +(得)	-於諸佛 +(得)	+(得) 於諸佛-	+(得) 於諸佛-	+(得)於 諸佛-	+(得) 於諸佛-	-於諸佛 +(得)	得於諸佛
69	其-	其-	其-	其-	其+(秘)	其-	其-	其
70	等-	等-	等-	等-	等+(爲)	等-	等-	等
71	二	二	二	三	二	二	二	二
72	爲+(一)	爲+(一)	爲-	爲-	爲-	爲+(一)	爲+(一)	爲/爲一
73	有-	有-	有-	有-	有-	有+(一)	有-	有

The comparison revealed a total of 73 differences in Tables 2, 3, and 4. The results of the comparisons of editions can be placed in three categories. First, different characters were used; this occurred in three ways: using variant forms of characters, changing the expletive, and writing the wrong characters. Second, some characters were missed or added. Third, the order of characters was changed.

### 3.1.1 The Case of Different Characters

#### 3.1.1.1 The Use of Variant Forms of Characters

Variant forms of characters appeared 6 times: *tian ce* 天冊 [1], *bua* 化/*bua* 花 [12], *ya* 厓/涯 [25], *cai* 綵/彩 [33], *tu* 菟/*tu* 兔 [38], *bua* 華/花 [51].

[1] is the same character. ‘*tian* 天’<sup>44</sup> is the ancient style of ‘*tian* 天’, and ‘*ce* 冊’ is the same as ‘*ce* 冊’, which means a royal edict. This word ‘*tian ce* 天冊’ refers to the position of the emperor.<sup>45</sup> In [12], ‘*bua* 化’ and ‘*bua* 花’ are variant forms of characters, but they have different meanings when they are combined with the character ‘*yin* 因’. The word ‘*buayin* 化因’ means the seed of reformation<sup>46</sup>, referring to the incarnation of Buddha as a human to save mankind. The word ‘*buayin* 花因’ means the seed of a flower. Therefore, the former is suitable in this context.<sup>47</sup> Next, ‘*ya* 涯’ (riverside)’ is better than ‘*ya* 厓’ (slope) because [25] means the water’s edge. [33] signifies the painted picture by combining with ‘*bua* 畫’, so ‘*cai* 彩’ (color) is more appropriate than ‘*cai* 綵’ (silk). [38] indicates the turtle and the rabbit. Thus ‘*tu* 兔’ (rabbit) makes the meaning clearer although ‘*tu* 菟’ also means rabbit. The comparison indicates that the meaning did not change when the variant forms of characters were used, with the exception of [12]. It therefore appears that these alterations were intended to clarify the text’s meaning, as in [25], [33], and [38]. Among them, [房], [麗], [大], and [身] changed the letters in [25]; and [房] and [麗] used the variant forms of characters in [33] and [38]. It shows the possibility of a woodblock-printed book of the same line.

<sup>44</sup> Zdic.net, ‘天’, (2015):

<http://sf.zdic.net/sf/zs/0128/811d9ff14befca564080874abc0a6679.html>.

<sup>45</sup> Nasu, *Shaku Makaen ron kōgi*, 16. However, Seki Yurin mentioned that this letter seems like the Chinese characters of Empress Wu 則天文字. Seki, ‘*Shaku Makaen ron no seiritsu jijyō*’, 93–109.

<sup>46</sup> Shioiri, ‘*Shaku Makaen ron kaidai*’, 22.

<sup>47</sup> *Sbi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592a8–9: ‘茂口因於七覺之寶林.’

### 3.1.1.2 Changing the Expletive

I found three examples of altered expletives: *yu* 于→*yu* 於[2], *yi* 以→*zhi* 之[13], *hu* 乎→*yu* 于/於[23].

Among them, [2] was applied to the entire volume of [房] and [麗]. [大] and [身] wrote ‘*zhi* 之’ instead of ‘*yi* 以’ in [13]. In [23], I presume that [東], [大], and [身] wrote the character ‘*yu* 于’ instead of ‘*hu* 乎’ to match the following sentence.<sup>48</sup> However, I could not rule out the possibility of a typographical error in [石]. To sum up, [房] and [麗] exhibit the same tendency in the case of variant forms of characters. Meanwhile, there is the possibility of the same line between [大] and [身] in [13] and [23]. Furthermore, it could be surmised that the differences occurred during the time from [東] to [大] and [身] through [23].

### 3.1.1.3 Writing the Wrong Letter











































My comparison identified 30 cases of miswriting: *xi* 昔/*shou* 首 [3], *jiang* 講/*cheng* 稱 [5], *zhu* 佇/*ting* 停 [6], *qu* 區/*ke* 匱 [7], *shuang* 雙/*huo* 獲 [10], *maozuo* 菓坐/*lianzuo* 蓮座 [11], *xu* 虛/*ling* 靈 [14], *sha* 沙/*fa* 法 [15], *kong* 恐/*qi* 契/*gong* 功 [16], *xiao* 簫/*xiao* 蕭/*su* 肅 [18], *ju* 詎/*shui* 誰 [19], *yang* 敷/*fu* 敷 [20], *yuan* 原/*yuan* 源 [21], *lun* 淪/*lun* 輪 [22], *he* 和/*zhi* 摺/*kou* 扣 [24], *ri* 日/*xun* 旬 [28], *jing* 淨/*jing* 靜 [31], *yuan* 爰/*xi* 奚 [32], *tu* 吐/*chi* 叱 [34], *zhi* 止/*shang* 上 [35], *tai* 太/*da* 大 [36], *lan* 濫/*duan* 斷 [37], *ye* 耶/*xie* 邪 [41], *jia* 迦/*he* 訶 [44], *mo* 磨/*mo* 摩 [45], *mo* 磨/*mo* 摩 [46], *mo* 摩/*mo* 魔 [49], *fa* 法/*liu* 流 [52], *xiang* 相/*men* 門 [58], *er* 二/*san* 三 [71].

I divided these cases into two categories. The first includes instances of transliterated words such as [44], [45], [46], and [49]. In such cases, determining the correct word is difficult, but they should have written the same characters because [46] and [49] are the same word ‘*mo* 磨/摩/魔+ *sengna* 僧那’. The second category includes instances of frequently occurring mistakes. For instance, the letter ‘*xi* 昔’ of [3] was sometimes written as 𠂔, so it is possible that the writer

<sup>48</sup> *Shi Mobeyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592a22–24: ‘以輪星而過乎月珠...以錦華而達于日域...’

wrote ‘*shou* 首’.<sup>49</sup> The table below includes other examples examined from each text.

TABLE 5 The Comparison of Characters

No.	[麗]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]
3	 昔	 首	 昔	 昔	 昔	 昔
5	 稱	 稱	 講	 講	 講	 講
6	 佇	 停	 佇	 佇	 佇	 佇
7	 區	 區	 區	 區	 區	 匚 <sup>50</sup>
10	 獲	 獲	 雙	 51	 雙	 雙
11	 蓮	 蓮	 菓	 菓	 菓	 菓
	 蓮	 蓮	 蓮	 蓮	 蓮	 蓮



































































<sup>49</sup> Li Huailin 李怀琳, Cao shu 草书, *Ji Kang yu Shan Juyuan juejiao shu* 嵇康與山巨源絕交書:

<http://sf.zdic.net/sf/ks/0201/9fe6d50251e46e981d3ab866671c35fa.html>.













<sup>50</sup> The Zentsū-ji 善通寺 edition and the National Diet Library Digital Collections 国立国会図書館 edition, which are the same woodblock-printed books of Mount Kōya as [身] wrote 匚, but qu 區 was marked 區 in the other part.

<sup>51</sup> The letter was damaged to the extent that it is hard to identify.



No.	[麗]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]
11	 座	 座	 坐	 坐	 坐	 坐
14	 靈	 靈	 虛	 虛	 虛	 虛
15	 沙	 法	 沙	 沙	 沙	 沙
16	 功	 契	 恐	 恐	 恐	 恐
18	 肅	 蕭	 簫	 簫	 簫	 簫
19	 誰	 詎	 詎	 詎	 詎	 詎
20	 敷	 敷	 敷	 敷	 敷	 敷
21	 源	 原	 原	 源	 源	 源
22	 輪	 輪	 淪	 淪	 淪	 淪
24	 扣	 扣	 和	 和	 和	 和
32	 奚 <sup>52</sup>	 爰	 爰	 爰	 爰	 爰

<sup>52</sup> It is an error because the same letters of other parts were written as in [麗].

No.	[麗]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]
34	 吐	 吐	 叱	 叱	 叱	 叱
37	 斷	 斷	 濫	 濫	 濫	 濫

Some items in the above table warrant particular attention.<sup>53</sup> First, I divided the items into two positions, [石]·[東]·[大]·[身] and [房]·[麗]. I inferred which were correct from the context. The ‘*jiang-sheng* 講聲’ means the sound of reading or lecture, so ‘*jiang* 講’ fits the meaning of sentence ‘I’ve been waiting for the chance to reform by listening to the sound of □ of the street from old times’<sup>54</sup> in [5] and [6]. The word [11] means ‘the seat in *Jetavana-Vihara*’<sup>55</sup>, so the ‘lotus seat (*lianzuo* 蓮座)’ seems suitable. However, the verb in the sentence is ‘to throw away (*qi* 棄),’ so ‘the seat of argument with non-buddhist (*maozuo* 菓坐)’ proves more appropriate.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, as shown in <Table 5>, others, except [房] and [麗], distinguish ‘*mao* 菓’ and ‘*lian* 蓮’. [14] praises two authors, Aśvaghoṣa 馬鳴 of the *Dasheng qixin lun* and Nāgārjuna 龍樹 of the *SML*, likening them to Mount Sumeru and the air.<sup>57</sup> Therefore, ‘*ling* 靈’ is a miswriting of ‘*xu* 虛’. In [22], ‘*lun* 淪’ is wrongly written as ‘*lun* 輪’ because ‘□星’ means the star group such as the Milky Way.<sup>58</sup> In

<sup>53</sup> I marked the relevant parts of characters as □, and this applies below as well.

<sup>54</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592a3: ‘前聞街巷之稱聲, 佇教化之期.’

<sup>55</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592a6–7: ‘祇園之蓮坐, 棄來以企龜鏡.’

<sup>56</sup> *Shaku Makaen ron kanchu*, T no. 2290, 606a2–5: ‘菓座棄來者外道爭較之時座藉也, 勞度差呪出花果茂盛之大樹而莊嚴座床故云菓座也.’

<sup>57</sup> Nasu, *Shaku Makaen ron kōgi*, 24. ‘The mountain means the middle of Mount Sumeru where the bodhisattva of the first ground (*chudi* 初地) stays, but it indicates Nāgārjuna in this sentence. The air signifies roaming through the heavens 遊虛空天, and points to Aśvaghoṣa.’

<sup>58</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592a22: “以□星而過乎月珠...”

[28], ‘上□’ signifies the day when he began to translate the *SML* after receiving from the Emperor at the temple Da Zhuangyan si 大莊嚴寺, so ‘the first day (*shangri* 上日)’ is more suitable than ‘the first ten days of a month (*shangxun* 上旬)’, although a letter of [石] was damaged.<sup>59</sup> In [34], the character ‘scold (*chi* 叱)’ is proper because it fits rhyming couplet with ‘scold (*he* 呵)’ in the sentence.<sup>60</sup> In [52], it seems that the ‘*fa* 法’ is correct because this is the next part of the content about the two approaches and two dharmas.

Second, [石] differs from the others. We need to check the contents for whether [石] wrote them down wrong or if later texts miswrote. In the context, the goal is to expose the deep and impalpable ‘essence’, but the ‘right witness (*zhengzheng* 正證)’ is not given and the practice is not manifested as well.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, it seems that the word ‘*yexing* 耶行’ is correct since the word ‘*xiexing* 邪行’ is placed on the opposite side of the word ‘*zhengzheng* 正證’. [58] is included in the explanation of essence, characteristics, and function; the sentence ‘總標能入二種別門’ is repeated in each part. Thus, the letter ‘*xian* 相’ is a miswriting of the letter ‘*men* 門’. In brief, when the letters of [石]·[東]·[大]·[身] and [房]·[麗] are different, the former is correct based on the context. Then, the cases of [5]·[14]·[34]·[52] show that the original script of [麗] and [房] are the same. However, by comparison with other texts, it was also found that through [3]·[6]·[15] some letters were modified in [麗].

### 3.1.2 Missed or Added Characters

#### 3.1.2.1 The Omission of Characters

In the texts, certain characters were often omitted when people copied the original scripts. In the case of [29], ‘*su* 俗’ is left out from ‘*chuansu* 傳俗’, and in [64] ‘*zhu* 諸’ is missing from ‘*zhufo* 諸佛’. Moreover, I found that some letters were written at the right

<sup>59</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592a25–28.

<sup>60</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592b5–6: ‘語則淨名朕呵, 談則善吉朕□.’

<sup>61</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592b21–23: ‘爲欲顯示自師其體深玄其窮微妙, 未得正證未出口.’

side of the line as ‘*yi* <*zhe*> *tida* 一<者>體大’ (601b19) in [石], ‘<*wei*> *neng* <謂>能’ (601c2) in [大], and ‘*fa* <*ru shi*> 法<如是>’ (601c13) in [東].<sup>62</sup> I inferred that the last case was added at a later date by another person.

### 3.1.2.2 The Insertion of Characters

I identified 27 instances in which letters were interposed and I divided these instances into three categories. The first category includes instances in which letters were added by mistake: *batichi* 跋提論+(*batichi* 跋提論) [47], *mo* 磨+(*mo* 磨) [48], *erzhe* 二者+(*erzhe* 二者) [53], +(gen 根) *xiang* 相 [55], *he* 何+(*he* 河) [62], *zhu* 諸+(*he* 何) [63], *qi* 其+(*mi* 秘) [69], *deng* 等+(*wei* 爲) [70], *you* 有+(*yi* 一) [73]. These mistakes are discovered in a specific part. For example, the errors are found in the counterparts of ‘T no. 1668, 592c and 601c’ in [大], and the parts of ‘T no. 1668, 601b’ in [東].

The second category includes instances in which characters were inserted to clarify the meaning of the text: *luo* 羅+(*wang* 網) [8], *xi* 喜+(*yu* 於) [9], *ke* 可+(*wei* 謂) [26], *bi* 筆+(*zhi* 之) [30], +(yu 欲) *xian* 顯+(*shi* 示) [40], +(shi 實) *ming* 冥 [42], +(cha 差) *bie* 別 [43], *peng* 數+(*jiyou* 幾有) [50], *bu zeng* 不增+(*bu* 不) *jian* 減 [54], +(suo 所) *wei* 謂 [56], *ji* 機+(gen 根) [60], *gen* 根+(gu 故) [61], +(hegu 何故) *ba* 八 [66], +(ben 本) *fa* 法 [67], *wei* 爲+(*yi* 一) [72]. In [8], for example, the meaning of the bead of Indra 因陀羅 is the same as that of the bead of Indra’s net 因陀羅網, but the text used the word ‘the net of beads’ in the following sentences. Therefore, it indicates that ‘net’ was inserted for the purposes of clarification. In [60], the ‘*ji* 機’ and ‘*jigen* 機根’ of [60] have the same meaning, but it seems that ‘*gen* 根’ was added by following ‘*li jigen gu* 離機根故’ (601c7) in the preceding sentence.

The third category includes instances in which letters were interposed to fit a couplet: *sheng* 聖+(*zhe* 者)/ +(xian 先) *sheng* 聖 [17], *tian* 天+(*xia* 下) [27], +(wei 謂) *neng* 能 [59]. For instance, the letter ‘*sheng* 聖’ was inserted into ‘*ma ming sheng* 馬鳴聖’ to match the

<sup>62</sup> I did not show this in a table because the result remained the same after the addition. I used the mark < > to indicate the addition of characters.

four characters ‘*Longshu dashi* 龍樹大士’ in [17].<sup>63</sup> It seems that ‘*xia* 下’ was added to ‘*yi tian* 一天’<sup>64</sup> to adjust tune with ‘*yishan jie* 一山界’, which forms an antithesis in [27]. It is assumed that the ‘*wei* 謂’ is inserted in [59], which explains the three kinds of greatness (*sanda* 三大) since all three are described in same form of ‘謂... 故者 總標...’

### 3.1.3 The Alteration of the Order of Letters

I identified four cases in which the orders of letters were changed: *wangxiang wangxiang* 惘想惘想/ *wangwang xiangxiang* 惘惘想想 [4], *erzhong nengru* 二種能入/ *nengru erzhong* 能入二種 [57], *genji* 根機/ *jigen* 機根 [65], and *de yu zhufo* 得於諸佛/ *yu zhufo de* 於諸佛得 [68]. For example, [4] emphasizes the word ‘*wangxiang* 惘想’, so it is able to be used if the order is changed. In [65], the *SML* never used the word ‘*genji* 根機’, so ‘*jigen* 機根’ would be the proper word. Some cases require an examination of the contexts. For example, [57] is included in part of the explanation of three kinds of greatness, and each greatness is recounted in the same form as ‘一者體大者... 總標能入二種別門... 三者用大者... 總標能入二種別門...’<sup>65</sup> Given the pattern, [57], which corresponds to the second greatness, would be written as ‘*nengru erzhong* 能入二種’.

[68] explains the eight kinds of original dharmas (*bazhong benfa* 八種本法), and corresponds to the preceding sentence that accounts for the dharma of nondual Mahāyāna (*buer Moheyan fa* 不二摩訶衍法).<sup>66</sup> Therefore, this sentence would be, ‘Every Buddha obtains it, but it cannot gain from every Buddha 諸佛所得/得於諸佛不故’ to be equivalent to the preceding sentence, ‘It can be obtained from every Buddha, but every Buddha do not obtains it 能得於諸佛/諸佛得不故’.

<sup>63</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592a16–17: ‘馬鳴聖口光明之德... 龍樹大士妙雲之瑞.’

<sup>64</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 592a24–25: ‘一山界中在兩日月, 一天口中在兩皇帝.’

<sup>65</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 601b19–c3.

<sup>66</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 601c9: ‘能得於諸佛, 諸佛得不故.’

### 3.2. The Comparison to the Eighth Volume of the *SML*

Next, I compared the Dunhuang manuscript with the *Fangshan shijing* text, the *Tripitaka Koreana* text, and the Minobusan University woodblock-printed book. The Dunhuang manuscript preserves parts of the eighth and tenth volumes. However, as only 11 characters remain in the latter, I could not find any difference among them at all. Therefore, I only checked the ㄐx03855 (3-1)·ㄐx03855(3-2)·ㄐx03855 (3-3) in the *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections* 11 that corresponded to the eighth volume (*T* no. 1668, 656b22–657a19). I tabulated the results in Table 6, and analyzed them.

#### Legend

- \* The name of texts is displayed in horizontal rows following the group of pedigree.
- \* Added letters are indicated by ‘+’, and missing letters marked by ‘-’.
- \* I put all possible cases into the ‘Result’, if there were no interpretative problems.
- \* I use the following abbreviations of each edition: the *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections* 11 [敦], the *Tripitaka Koreana* [麗], the *Fangshan Stone Sutra* [房], and the Minobusan University [身].
- \* The numbers in the tables are marked in ‘[ ]’, such as [1].

TABLE 6 Part of Eighth Volume {*K*.1397, 631b16}{*T* no. 1668, 656b22–657a19}

No.	[敦]	[麗(K)]	[房]	[身]	<i>T</i> no. 1668	Result
1	即便	即彼	即彼	即彼	即彼	即便
2	輪字	字輪	字輪	字輪 <sup>67</sup>	字輪	字輪
3	修+(彼)	修+(彼)	修+(彼)	修-	修+(彼)	修彼

<sup>67</sup> The mark ‘∞’ means that the changing of the order is dimly visible.

No.	[敦]	[麗(K)]	[房]	[身]	T no. 1668	Result
4	大+(謂)	大-	大-	大-	大-	大
5	其-	其+(心)	其+(心)	其+(心)	其+(心)	其/其心
6	(來)+本	-本	-本	-本	-本	本
7	來	來	來	束	來	來
8	念-	念+(故)	念+(故)	念+(故)	念+(故)	念故
9	能-	能+(修)	能+(修)	能+(修)	能+(修)	能/能修
10	missed	其心~深法	其心~深法	其心~深法	其心~深法	其心~深法

I found a total of 10 differences, which I divided into three categories: using different characters, missing or adding characters, and changing the order of characters. First, the wrong word was written because the shape of the letter was similar, as in *jibian* 即便/ *jibi* 即彼 [1] and *lai* 來/ *shu* 束[7].



[敦] 便



[房] 彼



[麗] 彼



[身] 彼

The shape of character ‘*bian* 便’ resembles the letter ‘*bi* 彼’. Only [敦] wrote ‘*ji bian* 即便’, and the rest put ‘*ji bi* 即彼’ in [1]. In the *SML*, the sentence, ‘If you chant the mantra...immediately...’ follows the recital of the mantra.<sup>68</sup> According to the specific form, ‘*jibian* 即便’ would be proper. [7] would be a writing mistake; the character ‘*lai* 來’ looks similar to the letter ‘*shu* 束’ (see below).

<sup>68</sup> *Shi Moheyan lun*, T no. 1668, 655c27: ‘若誦此咒已訖, 即便...’; 656a19: ‘若此神咒誦一千五百遍已訖, 即便...’



[敦] 來 [房] 來 [麗] 來 [身] 東 ‘來’ [隋 智永《真草千字文》]<sup>69</sup>

Second, there were instances of missed or added characters. [3] and [10] are examples of missing characters. In the former, ‘*bi* 彼’ was omitted from the word ‘*xiubi* 修彼’, and the latter was left out the sentence, ‘其心決定不生不信, 或有衆生聞甚深法’ (T no. 1668, 657a9–10). The examples of instances of addition are *da* 大+(*wei* 謂) [4], *qi* 其+(*xin* 心) [5], (*lai* 來)+ *ben* 本 [6], *nian* 念+(*gu* 故) [8], *neng* 能+(*xiu* 修) [9]. [5] and [9] make the meaning clear, [8] conforms to form because the sentence ‘*ruben* 如本... *gu* 故’ is used when the *SML* quotes the *Dasheng qixin lun*. Following this form, [8] is an example of miswriting since the letter ‘*lai* 來’ is placed between ‘*ru* 如’ and ‘*ben* 本’. [4] is an error as well because the character ‘*wei* 謂’ is not needed in the word ‘*da* □ *ji xiang cao* 大□吉祥草’. In addition, I founded that some letters were written at the right side of the line as ‘*bai wu* 百五 <*shi bian* 十遍>’ (T no. 1668, 656b22) and ‘*ru ben* 如本 <*bu yi qi xi* 不依氣息> *bu yi* 不依’ (T no. 1668, 656c12–13).

Third, in some cases, like *lunzi* 輪字/*zilun* 字輪 [2], the order of characters was changed. In this case, the word ‘*erzi lun* 二字輪’ was mentioned again, so ‘*zilun* 字輪’ might be right.

In summary, the eight cases are different between [敦] and [房].[麗].[身]. Among them, the four are miswriting of [敦] and the remaining four are insertions by [房].[麗].[身] to clarify meaning or to follow the sentence form. It is worth noticing that even though they come from the same text, many editions of [高] as [身] have a slight differences. For example, the *Taishō Tripitaka* put the footnote that ‘*ci shuo* 次說’ (T no. 1668, 657a17) is ‘*jue shuo* 決說’ in [高], but was written as ‘*cishuo* 次說’ in [身]. Therefore, the [身] is a different edition from what the *Taishō Tripitaka* used.

<sup>69</sup> Zdic.net, ‘來’ (2015): <http://sf.zdic.net/sf/ks/0816/8c5237432a93e5d-949fa3510b082b385.html>.



#### 4. Conclusion

This article began with the question, ‘Did they read the same text of the *SML*?’ The results of my comparison of the text indicates that the answer is ‘No’. The answer to this question may have already been decided because the *SML* was not read only in one place but has been distributed in China, Korea, and Japan since the 8th century. Although it would be natural that there are differences in text made in other regions in different times, this question paves the way for research the text of the *SML* that has so far been studied.

This research is meaningful in that it allows us to read correctly and understand accurately, even if I examined only small parts of the *SML*. According to my comparison between parts of the extant texts, I identified 73 total differences in the first volume and 10 differences in the eighth volume. These differences do not change the point of the *SML*, but, in some cases, it is interpreted in a different way due to the differences in characters. For example, the word ‘*yexing* 耶行’ and ‘*xiexing* 邪行’ have totally different meaning, even though they are only one letter difference. Because these distinctions have led to different interpretations to the same sentence, I believe the work of comparing the texts is very important.

Furthermore, I could presume the historical lineage of the *SML*. From the research, I found that [房] of China and [麗] of Korea are distinguished from [石]·[東]·[大]·[身] of Japan. In addition, even if they was made in the same area, there is some differences between them: [敦] and [房] in China, and [石], [東], [大], and [身] in Japan. In the latter case, [石] and [東] differ from [大] and [身], and only [大] or only [身] is dissimilar to others. This shows us that some changes occurred when the original script was handed down, or they read different version of the *SML*.

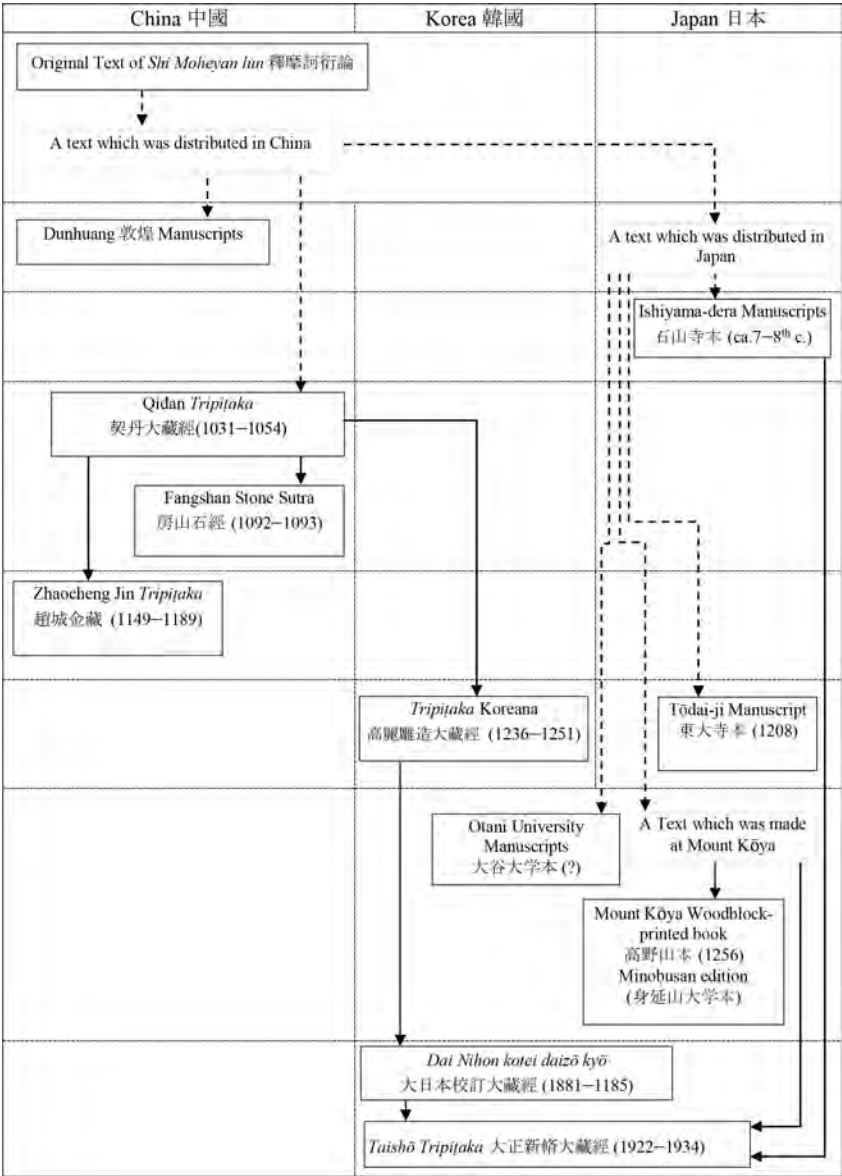
These connections could be thought of in relation to historical fact. Believed to have originated in the 8th century, various commentaries on the *SML* were published with the support of the emperor Daozong 道宗 (1032–1101) of the Liao dynasty in particular. Then, this trend influenced the Goryeo dynasty of Korea around 1090. It explains that why [房] and [麗] do not have much differences. However, [房] is distinguished from [麗] in some cases, and I could

assume two possibilities: First, the original script of [房] and [麗] is the *Qidan Tripitaka*, but [麗] was modified via comparison with other texts. Second, the original script of [麗] differed from [房], but was checked against the *Qidan Tripitaka* or [房]. To prove this, it needs to check other books such as the *Zhaocheng jinzang* text, *Shi Moheyan lun zan xuanshu*, and *Shi Moheyan lun tongxuan chao*, because their source text is the *Qidan Tripitaka*.

In Japan, Kaimyō brought the *SML* from Tang China in the 8th century and Kūkai regarded it as important. Thereafter, the *SML* was widely distributed and studied actively throughout Japan. Then, through Goryeo in 1105, the *SML* text of *Qidan Tripitaka* was transmitted to Japan by the king's request. It would be account for the reason that [石] and [東] differ from [身] which was made in 1256, in many parts. Nevertheless, to confirm that some alteration occurred when [身] was copied by comparing with the *Qidan Tripitaka* text, it is needed to consider the sentences of the *SML* in the commentaries of Japan which were made after 1105, such as *Shaku Makaen ron kaigeshō* 釋摩訶衍論開解鈔, *Shaku Makaen ron shiki* 釋摩訶衍論私記, and *Shaku Makaen ron kanchu* 釋摩訶衍論勘注.

By organizing these connections, the pedigree of the *SML* is as shown in the Table 7. In my research regarding parts of the *SML*, I learned that many texts of the *SML* have not yet been investigated. Therefore, I intend to compare other parts of the *SML* and to conduct additional research on extant manuscripts and wood-block-printed books in East Asia.

TABLE 7 The Pedigree of the *Shi Moheyan Lun*<sup>70</sup>



<sup>70</sup> I thank Prof. Ikeda Masanori 池田將則 for helping me find the *Shi Moheyan lun* texts and for giving advice on the pedigree of the *Shi Moheyan lun*.

## Appendix 1: The Comparison of the *Shi Mobeŷan lun* Texts

### Legend

- \* The original script is the woodblock-printed book of *Tripitaka Koreana* of the Woljeongsa Temple 月精寺 collection. The comparative texts are the *Taishō Tripitaka*, the Dunhuang Manuscripts, the *Fangshan Stone Sutra*, the Ishiyama-dera manuscript, the Tōdai-ji manuscript, the Otani University manuscript, and the Minobusan University block-printed book.
- \* If the *Taishō Tripitaka* is different from the *Dai Nihon kōtei daizō kyō* 大日本校訂大藏經 [Revised Tripitaka of Japan], I note the difference in a footnote.
- \* The name of edition is displayed in horizontal rows following the group of pedigree.
- \* An added letter is indicated by ‘+’, and missing letters are marked with ‘-’.
- \* I use abbreviations of each edition below: the *Tripitaka Koreana* ‘K.’, the *Taishō Tripitaka* ‘T’, the *Dai Nippon kōtei daizō kyō* [校], the *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections* 11 [敦], the *Fangshan Stone Sutra* [房], the Ishiyama-dera manuscript [石], the Tōdai-ji manuscript [東], the Otani University manuscript [大], the Minobusan University block-printed book [身].
- \* The numbers in the tables are marked in ‘[ ]’, such as [1], and are placed in the footnotes.

## Foreword {K no. 1397, 989c02}{T no. 1668, 591c27}

## 釋摩訶衍論序 漢

天冊<sup>71</sup>鳳威姚興皇帝製

蓋<sup>72</sup>聞月鏡日珠。居爰山王禪宮，履於雙道，遊於百國，乘於等觀，達於<sup>73</sup>恒刹，舉極喜之珠 [珎/(冗-几+(樂-白+丨))], 窺寂滅之靈宮。導聞在昔<sup>74</sup>，而猶弗覺其百恒之區，惘惘想想<sup>75</sup>，方於時始釋矣。前聞街巷之稱<sup>76</sup>聲，佇<sup>77</sup>教化之期，見像跡之虛形，瞻風散之，後果面<sup>78</sup>摩尼寶藏之區<sup>79</sup>，至於東境。當因陀羅網<sup>80</sup>之珠得於沙界，溢喜於<sup>81</sup>內獲<sup>82</sup>之心乎。祇園之蓮座<sup>83</sup>，弁來以企龜鏡，盈慶於外瞻之目乎。望舒之涌臺，勿返以欽星岸歟。朕方解茂花<sup>84</sup>因於七覺之寶林，植蓮種於八德之珠池。却歡往向，即急來後，加以<sup>85</sup>金輪東方自來，應於威門之區，道王之偈先冊。珠鏡山虛<sup>86</sup>已降，至於沙<sup>87</sup>界之面，摩

<sup>71</sup> [1] K. 989c02(T.591c27, [校]回)‘天冊’[房], 回[石], 回[東], 回[大], 回[身].

<sup>72</sup> K. 989c03(T.591c28 ‘蓋’) variant form.

<sup>73</sup> [2] K. 989c04(T.591c29 ‘於’, [校]于)‘於’[房], 于[石], 于[東], 于[大], 于[身].

<sup>74</sup> [3] K. 989c05(T. 592a1)‘首’[房], 昔[石], 昔[東], 昔[大], 昔[身].

<sup>75</sup> [4] K. 989c06(T. 592a2, [校]惘惘想想)‘惘惘想想’[房], 惘惘想想[石], 惘惘想想[東], 惘惘想想[大], 惘惘想想[身].

<sup>76</sup> [5] K. 989c07(T. 592a3)稱[房], 講[石], 講[東], 講[大], 講[身].

<sup>77</sup> [6] K. 989c07(T. 592a3)停[房], 佇[石], 佇[東], 佇[大], 佇[身].

<sup>78</sup> K. 989c08(T. 592a04 ‘面’) variant form.

<sup>79</sup> [7] K. 989c08(T. 592a4, [校]區)區[房], 區[石], 區[東], 區[大], 區[身].

<sup>80</sup> [8] K. 989c09(T. 592a5)羅+(網)[房], 羅-[石], 羅+(網)[東], 羅+(網)[大], 羅+(網)[身].

<sup>81</sup> [9] K. 989c09(T. 592a6)喜+(於)[房], 喜-[石], 喜+(於)[東], 喜+(於)[大], 喜+(於)[身].

<sup>82</sup> [10] K. 989c09(T. 592a6, [校]雙)獲[房], 雙[石], 雙[東], 雙[大], 雙[身].

<sup>83</sup> [11] K. 989c10(T. 592a6 ‘蓮坐’, [校]菓坐)蓮座[房], 菓坐[石], 菓坐[東], 菓坐[大], 菓坐[身].

<sup>84</sup> [12] K. 989c12(T. 592a8, [校]化)花[房], 化[石], 化[東], 化[大], 化[身].

<sup>85</sup> [13] K. 989c13(T. 592a10, [校]之)以[房], 以[石], 以[東], 之[大], 之[身].

<sup>86</sup> [14] K. 989c14(T. 592a11‘虛’)靈[房], 虛[石], 虛[東], 虛[大], 虛[身].

<sup>87</sup> [15] K. 989c15; T. 592a12)法[房], 沙[石], 沙[東], 沙[大], 沙[身].

耶之文曾記，以未來八萬，而輪之駕東，及過去五百，而覺之珠南至矣。其爲教也，於觀音中乞眼手之暇，而囑搜過恒，之教門其爲義也。於尸迦中借珠網之功<sup>88</sup>而曜羅塵數之義理。以馬鳴先聖光<sup>89</sup>明之德，於時具顯，龍樹大士妙雲之瑞，於方圓啓洋洋肅肅<sup>90</sup>。自非結僧那於山林中，植雙因於香池中，誰<sup>91</sup>懸演水之珠盖，於彌勒已前，敷<sup>92</sup>服膺之祕軌，於釋迦已後哉。釋摩訶衍論者，斯乃窮性海之源<sup>93</sup>密藏，罄行因之本淵詞。以輪<sup>94</sup>星而過於<sup>95</sup>月珠君子莫識其旨歸以錦華而達於日域，扣<sup>96</sup>疇莫測其涯<sup>97</sup>際。可謂<sup>98</sup>一山界中，在兩日月，一天下<sup>99</sup>中，在兩皇帝。朕聞其梵本，先在於中天竺。遣驍奉迎，近至東界，以弘始三年歲次星紀九月上旬<sup>100</sup>，於大莊嚴寺，親受筆削，敬譯斯論直翻譯人筏提摩多三藏傳俗<sup>101</sup>語人劉連陁等執筆之人<sup>102</sup>謝賢金等首尾二年方繕寫畢功，兩曜之面圓臨，群星之目具舒。江河之水澄淨<sup>103</sup>，大海之瀾泰然。朕未及詳，出金輪於坤之上，入妙高於掌

<sup>88</sup> [16] K. 989c18(T. 592a16, [校]恐) 契[房], 恐[石], 恐[東], 恐[大], 恐[身].

<sup>89</sup> [17] K. 989c19(T. 592a16 ‘-聖-’) +(先)聖-[房], -聖-[石], -聖+(者)[東], -聖+(者)[大], -聖+(者)[身].

The footnote 12 of T. 592 wrote +(先)聖[ [石], it is incorrect.

<sup>90</sup> [18] K. 989c21(T. 592a18, [校]簫) 簫[房], 簫[石], 簫[東], 簫[大], 簫[身].

<sup>91</sup> [19] K. 989c22(T. 592a19, [校]詎) 詎[房], 詎[石], 詎[東], 詎[大], 詎[身].

<sup>92</sup> [20] K. 989c22(T. 592a20, [校]敷) 敷[房], 敷[石], 敷[東], 敷[大], 敷[身].

<sup>93</sup> [21] K. 990a01(T. 592a21) 原[房], 原[石], 源[東], 源[大], 源[身].

<sup>94</sup> [22] K. 990a01(T. 592a22, [校]淪) 淪[房], 淪[石], 淪[東], 淪[大], 淪[身].

<sup>95</sup> [23] K. 990a02(T. 592a22 ‘乎’) 於[房], 乎[石], 于[東], 于[大], 于[身].

<sup>96</sup> [24] K. 990a03(T. 592a23 ‘和’) 和[房], 和[石], 和[東], 和[大], 和[身].

<sup>97</sup> [25] K. 990a03(T. 592a24) 涯[房], 厓[石], 厓[東], 涯[大], 涯[身].

<sup>98</sup> [26] K. 990a03(T. 592a24, [校]可-) 可+(調)[房], 可-[石], 可-[東], 可-[大], 可-[身].

<sup>99</sup> [27] K. 990a04(T. 592a24) 天+(下)[房], 天-[石], 天+(下)[東], 天+(下)[大], 天+(下)[身].

<sup>100</sup> [28] K. 990a06(T. 592a27, [校]上日) 上旬[房], 上日[石], 上日[東], 上日[大], 上日[身].

<sup>101</sup> [29] K. 990a07(T. 592a28) 傳-[房], 傳+(俗)[石], 傳+(俗)[東], 傳+(俗)[大], 傳+(俗)[身].

<sup>102</sup> [30] K. 990a08(T. 592a29, [校]筆-) 筆-[房], 筆-[石], 筆-[東], 筆-[大], 筆-[身].

之內。細哉喜門。周於法界，大哉靜室。入於毫端。厥若斯理，絕稱歟。奚<sup>104</sup>翰牘，離像歟。奚彩<sup>105</sup>畫。語則淨名朕呵，談則善吉朕吐<sup>106</sup>。然而導言住，絕理於諷誦，止<sup>107</sup>爽詞於默然。破其臺觀，莫弘大<sup>108</sup>虛，滅其鏡玉，勿釋像跡。朕將無以於[(迷-(這-言)+ 𠂇)\*下]<sup>109</sup>月，文請於龜兔<sup>110</sup>翰借，輒申鄙製，爰題序云。

## Beginning of the First Volume {K no. 1397, 990a19}{T no. 1668, 592b15}

### 釋摩訶衍論 卷第一

龍樹菩薩造 姚秦三藏筏提摩多奉 詔譯<sup>111</sup>

頂禮<sup>112</sup>圓滿覺，覺所證法藏，并造論大士及諸賢聖衆。欲開隔檀門，權顯往向位利益諸衆生，分報師恩故。論曰今造此論，重釋摩訶衍，爲欲顯示<sup>113</sup>自師其體深玄，其窮微妙，未得正證，未出邪<sup>114</sup>行，漠漠冥冥<sup>115</sup>絕窺[穴/(烈-歹+(跳-兆))]<sup>116</sup><莫昉反>域超思惟境故或爲欲令利鈍衆生，開頓入門，顯漸進位，趣入甚深所詮理故。或由

<sup>103</sup> [31] K. 990a09(T. 592b2) 淨[房], 淨[石], 靜[東], 淨[大], 淨[身].

<sup>104</sup> [32] K. 990a13(T. 592b5 ‘爰’) 爰[房], 爰[石], 爰[東], 爰[大], 爰[身].

<sup>105</sup> [33] K. 990a13(T. 592b5, [校]綵) 彩[房], 綵[石], 綵[東], 綵[大], 綵[身].

<sup>106</sup> [34] K. 990a14(T. 592b6, [校]叱) 吐[房], 叱[石], 叱[東], 叱[大], 叱[身].

<sup>107</sup> [35] K. 990a14(T. 592b6) 止[房], 止[石], 上[東], 止[大], 止[身].

<sup>108</sup> [36] K. 990a15(T. 592b7) 大[房], 太[石], 太[東], 大[大], 大[身].

<sup>109</sup> [37] K. 990a16(T. 592b8, [校]濫) 斷[房], 濫[石], 濫[東], 濫[大], 濫[身].

<sup>110</sup> [38] K. 990a16(T. 592b9 ‘兔’, [校]菟) 兔[房], 菟[石], 菟[東], 菟[大], 菟[身].

<sup>111</sup> [39] K. 990a19(T. 592b16) 姚秦三藏筏提摩多奉 詔譯[房], -[石], -[東], -[大], -[身].

<sup>112</sup> K. 990a20(T. 592b17 ‘禮’) variant form.

<sup>113</sup> [40] K. 990a23(T. 592b21, [校]-顯-) +(欲)顯+(示)[房], -顯-[石], -顯-[東], -顯-[大], -顯-[身].

<sup>114</sup> [41] K. 990a24(T. 592b23) 邪[房], 耶[石], 邪[東], 邪[大], 邪[身].

<sup>115</sup> [42] K. 990b01(T. 592b23, [校]冥-) 冥+(實)[房], 冥-[石], 冥-[東], 冥-[大], 冥-[身].

<sup>116</sup> K. 990b01, T. 592b23 is same as K.

師亭毒極深重故，小分爲報師大恩故，或祕觀察當來衆生，起百千淨壞論宗故，或親聽受阿世耶故，有如是等因緣，所以須造論。已說本趣，次說論差別<sup>117</sup>。論有幾數幾論，所攝摩訶衍論何所攝耶。頌曰十萬九千部，摠十論所攝，摩迦<sup>118</sup>羅跋提鄔舍摩闍他。筏那提舍論，阿部帝跋摩<sup>119</sup>呼呵摩僧<sup>120</sup>那，鍵婆摩迦攝。論曰凡集一代種種諸論，摠有十萬<sup>121</sup>九千部焉。如是諸論摠十所攝，云何爲十。一者摩迦羅論，二者跋提論<sup>122</sup>，三者鄔舍摩論，四者闍他論，五者筏那提舍論，六者阿部帝論，七者跋摩<sup>123</sup>論，八者呼呵論，九者摩僧<sup>124</sup>那論，十者鍵婆論。是名爲十摩訶衍論如意論攝。馬鳴菩薩所作之論，其數幾有<sup>125</sup>，幾文幾義，摩訶衍論何所攝耶。頌曰摠有一百部 九十九種文十種義所攝 斯論寶冊攝。論曰馬鳴菩薩所作諸論，摠一百部，於百部中，九十九種華<sup>126</sup>文論攝。餘十種論，攝義論攝。

<sup>117</sup> [43] K. 990b06(T. 592b29, [校]-別) +(差)別[房], -別[石], -別[東], -別[大], -別[身].

<sup>118</sup> [44] K. 990b08(T. 592c3 ‘摩訶’) 摩迦[房], 摩迦[石], 摩迦[東], 摩迦[大], 摩訶[身].

<sup>119</sup> [45] K. 990b09(T. 592c4) 跋摩[房], 跋磨[石], 跋磨[東], 跋磨[大], 跋磨[身].

<sup>120</sup> [46] K. 990b10(T. 592c5) 摩僧[房], 磨僧[石], 磨僧[東], 磨僧[大], 摩僧[身].

<sup>121</sup> K. 990b11(T. 592c6 ‘萬’) variant form.

<sup>122</sup> [47] K. 990b13(T. 592c8) 論-[房], 論-[石], 論-[東], 論+(跋提論)[大], 論-[身].

<sup>123</sup> [48] K. 990b15(T. 592c10, [校]磨-) 摩-[房], 磨-[石], 磨-[東], 磨+(磨)[大], 磨-[身].

<sup>124</sup> [49] K. 990b15(T. 592c10) 摩僧[房], 魔僧[石], 魔僧[東], 魔僧[大], 摩僧[身].

<sup>125</sup> [50] K. 990b17(T. 592c12) 數+(幾有)[房], 數--[石], 數+(幾有)[東], 數+(幾有)[大], 數+(幾有)[身].

<sup>126</sup> [51] K. 990b22(T. 592c17 ‘花’) 華[房], 華[石], 花[東], 華[大], 花[身].



End of the First Volume {K no. 1397, 1000b05}{T no. 1668, 601b7}  
 釋摩訶衍論 卷第一 末

顯示一體摩訶衍法，作一法界心生滅門，能示自體自相自用摩訶衍法。由此義故，當知各具二門，二法，大覺契經中，作如是說。復次文殊師利，有二種法，甚深微妙，不可思議。何等爲二。一者體相平等摩訶衍，二者自相自然摩訶衍。若欲證得是二種法，當行二門。何等爲二。一者無斷無縛門，二者有斷有縛門，乃至廣說。今攝此文，作如是說。大摠地中，開八種門，分明散說。已說建立二種摩訶衍門。三大義中各略初二門立後一門馬鳴菩薩本趣意樂，舉後攝初中故，如是而已。復次比來次第分明顯了故，以上二頌本流<sup>127</sup>，應至於此。一者體大者，摠標所入二種本法，云何爲二。一者無量無邊諸法差別，不增不減摩訶衍，二者<sup>128</sup>寂靜無雜一味平等，不增不減<sup>129</sup>摩訶衍。謂一切法眞如平等，不增不減故者，摠標能入二種別門。云何爲二。所謂如本法名。門亦爾故。二者相<sup>130</sup>大者，摠標所入二種本法，云何爲二。一者如來藏功德摩訶衍，二者具足性功德摩訶衍。所謂<sup>131</sup>如來藏具足無量性功德故者，摠標能入二種<sup>132</sup>別門<sup>133</sup>。云何爲二。所謂如本法名，門亦爾故。三者用大者，摠標所入二種本法，云何爲二。一者能生一切世間因果摩訶衍，二者能生一切出世間善因果摩訶衍。謂能<sup>134</sup>生一切世間，出世間善因果故者，摠標能入二種別門。云何爲二。所謂如本法名，門亦爾故。三種大義別別分釋，如

<sup>127</sup> [52] K. 1000b16(T. 601b18, [校]法) 流[房], 法[石], 法[東], 法[大], 法[身].

<sup>128</sup> [53] K. 1000b19(T. 601b21) 二者-[房], 二者-[石], 二者+(二者)[東], 二者-[大], 二者-[身].

<sup>129</sup> [54] K. 1000b19(T. 601b22, [校]-減) +(不)減[房], -減[石], -減[東], +(不)減[大], -減[身].

<sup>130</sup> [55] K. 1000b22(T. 601b24) -相[房], -相[石], +(根)相[東], -相[大], -相[身].

<sup>131</sup> [56] K. 1000b24(T. 601b26 ‘謂’) +(所)謂[房], -謂[石], -謂[東], -謂[大], -謂[身].

<sup>132</sup> [57] K. 1000c01(T. 601b27) 能入二種[房], 二種能入[石], 二種能入[東], 二種能入[大], 能入二種[身].

<sup>133</sup> [58] K. 1000c01(T. 601b27) +(別)門[房], +(別)門[石], +(別)門[東], -門[大], +(別)門[身].

<sup>134</sup> [59] K. 1000c05(T. 601c2) +(調)能[房], -能[石], +(調)能[東], +(調)能[大], +(調)能[身].

摠地論本地品中，分明顯說。何故不二摩訶衍法，無因緣耶。是法極妙甚深，獨尊離機根故。何故離機根<sup>135</sup>。無機根故<sup>136</sup>。何<sup>137</sup>須建立。非建立故。是摩訶衍法諸<sup>138</sup>佛所得耶。能得於諸佛。諸<sup>139</sup>佛得不故，菩薩二乘一切異生亦復如是。性德圓滿海是焉。所以者何。離機根<sup>140</sup>故，離教說故。何故八<sup>141</sup>種本法從因緣起。應於機故，順於說故。何故應機。有機根故，如是八種本法<sup>142</sup>諸佛所得耶。諸佛所得。於諸佛得<sup>143</sup>不故，菩薩二乘一切異生亦復如是。修行種因海是焉。所以者何。有機根故，有教說故。何故依真如門，所趣入之摩訶衍法，唯立體名，依生滅門，所趣入之摩訶衍法，立自名耶。真如門中，無他相故，生滅門中有他相故。他謂一切不善品法，自謂一切清淨品法。若所對治他無，能對治自無故，唯言體不說自焉。若所對治他有，能對治自有故，名言自，不唯體焉。復次為欲顯示一法界體平等平等，無有其<sup>144</sup>私。無量性德自然本有，非得他力故。復次隨宜<sup>145</sup>安立，無有定故。何故別說門中，一心別為一，三大摠為一，而等<sup>146</sup>同各詮二<sup>147</sup>摩訶衍。三大義合，方應得詮二摩訶衍。大義之名通於三種故，摠為

<sup>135</sup> [60] K. 1000c10(T. 601c7, [校]機-) 機+(根)[房], 機-[石], 機-[東], 機-[大], 機-[身].

<sup>136</sup> [61] K. 1000c10(T. 601c7) 根+(故)[房], 根-[石], 根+(故)[東], 根+(故)[大], 根+(故)[身].

<sup>137</sup> [62] K. 1000c10(T. 601c8) 何-[房], 何-[石], 何-[東], 何+(河)[大], 何-[身].

<sup>138</sup> [63] K. 1000c11(T. 601c8) 諸-[房], 諸-[石], 諸-[東], 諸+(何)[大], 諸-[身].

<sup>139</sup> [64] K. 1000c11(T. 601c9) +(諸)佛[房], +(諸)佛[石], +(諸)佛[東], -佛[大], +(諸)佛[身].

<sup>140</sup> [65] K. 1000c1(T. 601c11) 機根[房], 根機[石], 機根[東], 機根[大], 機根[身].

<sup>141</sup> [66] K. 1000c13-14(T. 601c11) +(何故)八[房], -八[石], -八[東], -八[大], +(何故)八[身].

<sup>142</sup> [67] K. 1000c15(T. 601c13, [校]-法) +(本)法[房], -法[石], -法[東], -法[大], -法[身].

<sup>143</sup> [68] K. 1000c16(T. 601c14) -於諸佛+(得)[房], +(得)於諸佛-[石], +(得)於諸佛-[東], +(得)於諸佛-[大], +(得)於諸佛-[身].

<sup>144</sup> [69] K. 1001a01(T. 601c24) 其-[房], 其-[石], 其-[東], 其+(秘)[大], 其-[身].

<sup>145</sup> K. 1001a02(T. 601c25 ‘宜’) variant form.

<sup>146</sup> [70] K. 1001a04(T. 601c26) 等-[房], 等-[石], 等-[東], 等+(為)[大], 等-[身].

<sup>147</sup> [71] K. 1001a04(T. 601c26) 二[房], 二[石], 三[東], 二[大], 二[身].

一<sup>148</sup>義，無別意趣。今所開示十六法門，勝劣廣狹其相云何。頌曰平等平等一，皆無有別異，各攝諸法故然終不雜亂。論曰能入所入十六法門，圓滿圓滿，平等平等，周遍法界，無有差別。所以者何。各攝諸法，畢竟盡故。然終不雜本未能所。已說摠別二門。一切諸佛本所乘故，一切菩薩皆乘此法到如來地故者，即是通達軌則不動門。謂微塵數過去諸佛，微塵數現在諸佛，微塵數未來諸佛，皆悉乘此三十二種甚深安車，達於清淨無上地故。十方三世一切菩薩亦復如是。此中菩薩言通取三聚一切衆生。所以者何。無有<sup>149</sup>衆生而不通達如來地故。

### 釋摩訶衍論卷第一



<胡釘切簾也> □



<羅暗切水也> □



<莫昉切見也>

丙午歲高麗國大藏都監奉勅雕造

### Part of the Eighth Volume {K no.1397, 631b16}{T no.1668, 656b22} 釋摩訶衍論 卷第八

若此神呪誦四千六百五十遍已訖，卽彼<sup>150</sup>像中，付二字輪<sup>151</sup>。謂若邪人，付邪字輪，若正直人，付正字輪，以之爲別。言植善林樹因緣者，謂若爲修彼<sup>152</sup>止輪門人，自室前中，植二種大<sup>153</sup>吉祥草故。云何爲二。一者松木，二者石榴木。是名爲二。言字輪服膺因緣者，謂若爲修彼止輪門人，必當服[口@(王/(王\*王))]<sup>154</sup>字輪而已，服何處耶。謂方寸處故。以何義故，必付此輪。謂此字輪三世諸佛，無量無邊一切菩薩大恩師長，大恩父母，大恩天地 大恩海故，此因緣故，

<sup>148</sup> [72] K. 1001a05( T. 601c28) 爲+(一)[房]，爲-[石]，爲-[東]，爲-[大]，爲+(一)[身]。

<sup>149</sup> [73] K. 1001a19(T. 602a12) 有-[房]，有-[石]，有-[東]，有-[大]，有+(一)[身]。

<sup>150</sup> [1] K.1063b16(T. 656b22) 卽便[敦]，卽彼[房]，卽彼[身]。

<sup>151</sup> [2] K.1063b17(T. 656b23) 輪字[敦]，字輪[房]，字輪[身]。

<sup>152</sup> [3] K.1063b19(T. 656b25, [校]修-) 修+(彼)[敦]，修+(彼)[房]，修-[身]。

<sup>153</sup> [4] K.1063b19(T. 656b26) 大+(調)[敦]，大-[房]，大-[身]。

<sup>154</sup> K. 1063b22 . T. 656b28 is same as K.

爲修止人當付此輪。如是因緣，雖有無量，而今此摩訶衍論中，明第一因緣，不明餘者。舉初攝後故，如是而已。如本若修止者，住於靜處故。已說成就止輪因緣門，次說直示修行止輪門。就此門中，卽有七門。云何爲七。一者存心決定門，不生不滅，真空理中，其心<sup>155</sup>定故。如本端坐正意故。二者不著身體門，能善通達。此身空無。其本自性不可得故。如本不依氣息不依形色不依於空不依地水火風故。三者不著心識門。能善通達虛知之心。自性空無無所有故。如本乃至不依見聞覺知一切諸想隨念皆除亦遣除想故。自此已下作其身心空無因緣。如本以一切法本來無相念念不生念念不滅亦不得隨心外念境界故。四者不著不著門，能遣之心亦遣除故。如本<sup>156</sup>後以心除心故。五者集散會一門，攝散動心，置一中故。如本心若馳散，卽當攝來<sup>157</sup>，住於正念故<sup>158</sup>。六者顯示正念門，顯示諸法唯一心故。如本是正念者，當知唯心無外境界，卽復此心亦無自相，念念不可得故。七者不離恒行門，如是定心於一切時，於一切處，常恒相續，不捨離故。如本若從坐起去來進止所作，於一切時，常念方便，隨順觀察故。已說直示修行止輪門，次說修行止輪得益門。謂若有人，能修<sup>159</sup>此定，漸漸轉轉，竭煩惱海，崩業障岳，入真如定，達一切法，到不退故。如本久習淳熟，其心得住，以心住故，漸漸猛利，隨順得入真如三昧，深伏煩惱，信心增長，速成不退故。已說修行止輪得益門，次說簡入不入分際門。就此門中，卽有二意。云何爲二。一者入趣意，二者不入意。言入趣意者，所謂或有衆生，趣入深法，心無所疑。或有衆生，聞甚深法，其心決定，不生不信。或有衆生，聞甚深法<sup>160</sup>，卽便尊重，不生誹謗。或有衆生，無重業障。或有衆生，無我慢心。或有衆生，無懈怠心。如是六人，入佛種性，決定不疑。是名入趣意焉。言不入意者，所謂若有衆生，此六相違，永斷絕三寶之種子決定不疑。是名不入意焉。如本唯除疑惑不信誹謗重罪業障我慢懈怠，如是等人所不能入故。已說略問廣答散說門，次說讚歎三昧殊勝門。就此門中，卽有二門。云何爲二。一者體大無邊殊勝門，二者眷屬無盡殊勝門。是名爲二。言體大無邊殊勝門。

<sup>155</sup> [5] K.1063c07(T. 656c09) 其-[敦], 其+(心)[房], 其+(心)[身].

<sup>156</sup> [6] K.1063c16(T. 656c19) (來)+本[敦], -本[房], -本[身].

<sup>157</sup> [7] K.1063c18(T. 656c21, [校]束) 來[敦], 來[房], 束[身].

<sup>158</sup> [8] K.1063c19(T. 656c21) 念-[敦], 念+(故)[房], 念+(故)[身].

<sup>159</sup> [9] K.1064a02(T. 656c29) 能-[敦], 能+(修)[房], 能+(修)[身].

<sup>160</sup> [10] K.1064a10(T. 657a9-10) -[敦], 其心~深法[房], 其心~深法[身].

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### Abbreviations

<i>K</i>	<i>Koryō taejanggyōng</i> 高麗大藏經 [ <i>Tripitaka Koreana</i> ]
<i>SML</i>	<i>Shi Moheyan lun</i> 釋摩訶衍論
<i>T</i>	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
<i>X</i>	<i>Manji Shinsan Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō</i> 卅新纂大日本續藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Kawamura, eds.
[敦]	Dunhuang Manuscript of <i>Shi Moheyan lun</i> 釋摩訶衍論
[房]	<i>Fangshan Stone Sutra</i> 房山石經 of <i>Shi Moheyan lun</i> 釋摩訶衍論
[麗]	<i>Tripitaka Koreana</i> 高麗大藏經 of <i>Shi Moheyan lun</i> 釋摩訶衍論
[石]	Ishiyama-dera 石山寺 manuscript of <i>Shi Moheyan lun</i> 釋摩訶衍論
[東]	Tōdai-ji 東大寺 manuscript of <i>Shi Moheyan lun</i> 釋摩訶衍論
[大]	Otani University 大谷大学 manuscript of <i>Shi Moheyan lun</i> 釋摩訶衍論
[身]	Minobusan University 身延山大学 woodblock-printed book of <i>Shi Moheyan lun</i> 釋摩訶衍論

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# Glosses in Chinese and Japanese on Manuscript editions of Yijing's Translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama- sūtra* from Dunhuang and Japan\*

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**Abstract:** Based upon colophons to manuscript editions of Buddhist texts found at Dunhuang and in Nara and Heian (710–1185) Japan, Yijing's (635–713) translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* (Z no. 158, T no. 665) was unquestionably one of the most important scriptures for a variety of this-worldly reasons. While several important studies of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* in Tibetan, Khotanese and in Japan have been published, little to no attention has been awarded to how often and guardedly this scripture was copied in manuscript form across East Asia from the 8th to 13th centuries. In this paper I first provide an introduction to the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* from Matsuo shrine and explain why the glosses on the text to facilitate reading it in Japanese and to certain terms in Chinese that must have

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been added to an earlier exemplar on the continent are exceptional. Next I examine the historical context within which the reading glosses for [vernacular] Japanese were added to the Matsuo shrine manuscripts, introduce several aspects of manuscript studies to explain how texts in Sinitic were read in vernacular and consider why the glosses for Chinese readings were kept. Based upon a comparison with some of the extant editions from Dunhuang, I also discuss how the glosses in Chinese appear to be both keys to pronouncing terms transcribed from Sanskrit especially for spells (*dhāraṇī*) and a key remnant from the complicated process of translation during the early 8th century in the Chinese capital of Chang'an. Then I introduce interrelated glosses on 8th century editions from the Shōgozō from three of the translations of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* monastic codes attributed to Yijing. Finally, I address the question: what can this evidence of hand-copying the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* with glosses in medieval East Asia tell us about the people who used and produced it?

**Keywords:** *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing*, *Saishōkyō*, Yijing, Buddhist manuscripts China and Japan, Dunhuang manuscripts, old Japanese manuscript canons, Tang China, Matsuo shrine canon, Nanatsudera canon, vernacular glossing, *kundoku*, *fanqie*

## Vernacular Reading Glosses on Manuscripts from Matsuo Shrine

Colophons (*okugaki* 奥書 or *shikigo* 識語) to texts from the manuscript Buddhist canon (*issaikyō* 一切經)<sup>1</sup> copied for Matsuo shrine 松尾大社 during the 12th century in Kyoto, Japan, reveal that

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<sup>1</sup> The term canon literally means ‘all the *jing*’, which cannot be restricted to *sūtra* literature. In Chinese, a *jing* is a text that contains the teachings of ancient sages; hence the use of the term *shengjiao* 聖教 for Buddhism during the Tang (see below). But within the context of a canon, *jing* need not be restricted to

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Buddhists in China. Here is how Lewis Lancaster outlines the problem: ‘While the Chinese use the word *jing* in titles where the term *sūtra* appears, the meaning of *jing* in the catalogues and in the name for the canon of the Buddhists retains its Chinese meaning. This restriction of usage for the word *jing* means the exclusion of any works which could not be traced to the distant past...The word *jing* was not limited to the Confucian and Buddhist traditions, and later the Daoists, Christians, and Manicheans would also use *jing* to provide legitimacy to the title of their scriptures. It was this focus on the ancient nature of any work, which bore the title *jing*, that helped to create the situation where contemporary Buddhist works of China were denied an avenue for distribution...Later, the name for the canon was changed to *Dazang jing* 大藏經 (literally great-collection *jing*)...We know that the canon contains more than those texts designated as *sūtra*, so the term *jing* cannot be used solely as the equivalent for that one category’. Lancaster also points out that we can only date the use of the term *da zangjing* (*daizōkyō*) to mean a Buddhist canon to the Northern Song, when the first printed canon was sponsored by the state (*Shuban da zangjing* 蜀版大藏經 or *Kaibao zang*, comp. 983). *Dazang jing* or *da zangjing*, therefore, first meant all the *jing* from the great [monastic, private, or imperial] library. The Daoist canon (*Zhengtong dao zang* 正統道藏, comp. 1445), likewise, ought to be translated as the ‘Daoist library’ of White Cloud Abbey 白雲觀 in Beijing: Lancaster, ‘The Movement of Buddhist Texts from India to China and the Construction of the Chinese Buddhist Canon’, 234–36. Lancaster restricted his research to dynastic histories, which seems justifiable given post-Tang, imperial patronage for canon projects in China. See also Funayama, *Butten wa dou kanyaku sareta no ka*, 11–12. Funayama makes an important distinction between the East Asian Buddhist terms meaning ‘all the collected scriptures’ (*yiqie jing*, *issaikyō*), which he posits can be traced to the Taihe 太和 [3] reign period (ca. 479) of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534) and was in use during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (420–589). ‘Collected scriptures’ (*zhongjing*, *shukyō*) was used more prominently in southern China from the mid-6th century on, with canon [referring to the *tripitaka*] (*da zangjing*, *daizōkyō*), which was applied by the Tang government. See also Li, ‘An analysis of the content and characteristics of the Chinese Buddhist canon’, 107–08.

rolls four and eight of Yijing's (J. Gijō) 義淨 (635–713) translation—in ten rolls—of the *Suvarṇa[pra]bhāṣottama-sūtra* (Sūtra of Golden Light, *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing*, *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō* 金光明最勝王經, Z no. 158, T no. 665) were among the first to be copied at the request of chief shrine priest (*kannushi* 神主) Hata no Chikatō 秦親任 (*kannushi* on 1076/2/20).<sup>2</sup> Rolls four and eight were copied on 1115.3.10 and 1115.5.5 respectively. Hata no Chikatō and his son, Hata no Yorichika 秦頼義 (*kannushi* on 1128/8/12), had scriptures copied for the shrine-temple complex or multiplex (*jingūji* 神宮寺, alt. Jinguji 神供寺 or *miyadera* 宮寺) primarily over 23 years (1115 to 1138), but we also know that certain scriptures were checked, annotated, and marked up for ritual reading in subsequent years.<sup>3</sup> Because the Matsuo shrine canon has not yet been digitized and at present there are no plans to do so, it is only due to the kindness and patience of the abbot of Myōrenji 妙蓮寺, where the scriptures are kept, Otowa Ryūzen 音羽隆全 Shōnin 上人, that I was recently able to take pictures of these rolls and handle them with my own hands. The first thing that struck me when the abbot brought the box with the scrolls from the treasury house was how poor quality the paper is when compared to rolls I have seen of the *Saishōōkyō* and other manuscript *sūtras* in museum collections from earlier centuries in Japan. Still a scroll (*makimono* 巻き物), the first roll was probably printed during the Muromachi (1336–1573) period.<sup>4</sup> When we

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<sup>2</sup> Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, eds., *Kyōto Myōrenji zō* 'Matsuosha issaikyō' *chōsa hōkokusho*, 50. On the dates for Matsuo shrine priests, see *Matsuno'o jinja higashimoto keifu* in Matsuno'o taisha shiryōshū henshū iinkai, *Matsuno'o Taisha shiryōshū*, vol. 1, 230–31.

<sup>3</sup> On *jingūji* and *miyadera*, see Sagai, *Shinbutsu shūgō no rekishi to girei kukan*, 105–10. For the term 'multiplex' see Grapard, 'Institution, Ritual, and Ideology'. And his synopsis in Shively and McCullough, eds., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, Vol. 2, chapter 8. See below and McMullin, *Buddhism and the State in 16th Century Japan*, 8–32; Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 252–53. Cf. Keyworth, 'Apocryphal Chinese books in the Buddhist canon at Matsuo Shintō shrine', 1–2. Matsuo shrine-temple complex had seven shrines in the medieval period.

began to unfurl rolls two, four and six, we realized that doing so would have damaged these texts. Nakao 1997 has a good quality picture of the end of roll two and all of roll eight is similarly reproduced in black and white photographs.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, we opted to expend our time and energy on a scorching, humid summer afternoon on rolls nine and ten. Roll nine is approximately 8.8 m (28.9 ft) long, comprised of seventeen pages of paper; two pages measure 27.2 cm by 53.3 cm (10.7 x 21 in.). Roll ten is slightly shorter at 7.54 m (24.76 ft) long with similar paper dimensions.<sup>6</sup> Owing to the addition of vernacular reading glosses (*kanbun kundoku* 漢文訓読), some lines do not always follow the usual convention for medieval period Buddhist manuscripts in Sinitic of seventeen characters per line.<sup>7</sup>

We see the same phenomenon with examples of Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* from the so-called library cave (no. 17, *cangjing dong* 藏經洞) from the Caves of Unparalleled Heights (Mogao ku 莫高窟, a.k.a. Caves of a Thousand Buddhas, Qianfo dong 千佛洞) near the city of Dunhuang, in Gansu province, China. Unfortunately, S.180 is too short of an example of roll nine to compare with the same roll from Matsuo. In the case of roll ten, the Matsuo roll seems to match line by line those in S.6389, with several slight variations when compared with S. nos. 1025 and 1108. Like S.180, S.712 is too short for fruitful appraisal. There is also slight textual variation between our roll from Matsuo and these Dunhuang editions of roll ten with the edition in the Taishō, which provides further evidence that we are dealing with a copy (of a copy) of a manuscript from Tang (618–907) China in the Matsuo shrine canon.

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<sup>4</sup> Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, *'Matsuosha issaikyō' chōsa hōkokusho*, 93.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 92–93, 128–39.

<sup>6</sup> Nos. 1248–1249 in *ibid.*, 345.

<sup>7</sup> On vernacular reading glosses to Buddhist texts from China written in Sinitic in Korea and especially Japan, see Whitman et al., 'Toward an international vocabulary for research on vernacular readings of Chinese texts'; Whitman, 'The ubiquity of the gloss'; 'Raten-go kyōten no dokuhō to batten no kundoku'; and Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 162–75.

In addition to the marked difference in terms of paper quality (with evidently inferior paper from 12th century Japan), rolls nine and ten from Matsuo have the Sinitic logographs (characters) *Matsuo issaikyō* 松尾一切經 written on the back (verso) to indicate where the reader should stop unfurling each page for reading; these scriptures were copied to be read multiple times. It should also be noted that the handwriting of the Matsuo rolls is either sloppier or it is starting to tend toward cursive style (*caoshu*, *sōsho* 草書) than either 8th century editions of the *Saishōōkyō* written in gold ink on fine quality paper or S. nos. 180 (roll nine) and 6389 (roll ten). The handwriting on the Matsuo rolls looks more like that in S. nos. 1025 and 1108.

### Vernacular Reading Glosses on Yijing's Translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* in Medieval Japan

What makes the rolls of the *Saishōōkyō* from Matsuo stand out are the vernacular reading glosses in *katakana*. Given the length of these scrolls and the fact that they closely correspond to both the [digitized] Dunhuang and the Taishō editions (with slight variations discussed below), let me provide a succinct example of how the *katakana* reading glosses were used by 12th century aristocrats, shrine priests, and monastics to pronounce *dhāraṇīs* (*tuoluoni*, *darani* 陀羅尼). The *dhāraṇī* in chapter (*han* 品, *parivarta*) 25 after Jalavāhana used elephants given to him by King Sureśvaraprabhāsa to bring water to ten thousand fish without water in lieu of teaching the twelve marks of codependent origination is as follows with the *katana* readings and line breaks as provided in roll 9 from Matsuo shrine (*T* no. 665.16.449c22–450a3). Brackets indicate modern Japanese *on-yomi* 音読み readings not glossed in the text. Some syllables are underlined to indicate the presence of a small circle written at the top left hand corner (these do not appear to be *handakuten* 半濁点 as in *pa* パ or to end a sentence [*kuten* 句点]); two small circles seem to indicate *dakuten* 濁点 marks (e.g., *butsu* ブツ). I have omitted repeated Romanization where it is left out in the manuscript. Finally, where terms appear together (without sufficient spacing), this also follows the manuscript.



*Tajata* 恒姪他 [*bisetsu-*] *ni* 毗折你 毗折你 毗折你  
*Sōnkini* 僧塞枳你 僧塞枳你 僧塞枳你  
*Bishini* 毗尔你 毗尔你 毗尔你 *sobaka* 莎訶  
 恒姪他 *Damini* 那弭你 那弭你 那弭你  
*Shachini* 殺雉你 殺雉你 殺雉你  
*Safuririshani* 颯鉢哩設你 颯鉢哩設你 颯鉢哩設你 *sobaka* 莎訶  
 恒姪他 *Beidarini* 薛達你 薛達你 薛達你  
*Chikushinini* 室里瑟你你 室里瑟你你 室里瑟你你  
*Ubajhini* 鄔波地你 鄔波地你 鄔波地你 *sobaka* 莎訶  
 恒姪他 *Babini* 婆毗你 婆毗你 婆毗你  
*Shachini* 闍底你 闍底你 闍底你  
*Janinini* 闍摩你你 闍摩你你 闍摩你你 *soyaka* 莎訶.

For reference to what the Sanskrit text that Yijing was working with may have sounded like, here is the Sanskrit provided in the Taishō from a manuscript at the British Library:

*Tadyathā vicāni vicāni vicāni saṃścani saṃścani saṃścani bhiṣini*  
*bhiṣini bhiṣini svāhā, tadyathā nāmini nāmini nāmini svāhā, śatini*  
*śtini śatini svahā, sprśani sprśani sprśani*  
*svāhā, tadyathā vedāni vedāni vedāni svāhā, tṛṣṇi tṛṣṇi tṛṣṇi up-*  
*ādhini upādhini upādhini svāhā, tadyathā bhavini bhavini bhavini*  
*bvāhā, tadyathā jatini jatini jatini svāhā, jammanini jammanini*  
*jammanini svāhā.*

*Dhāraṇīs* are certainly not the only terms glossed with *katakana* glosses to indicate vernacular reading. Almost all sentences in rolls two, eight, nine and ten of the *Saishōōkyō* from Matsuo were glossed to be read in the vernacular.

Familiarizing oneself with Heian-era *katakana* is one thing. Reconstructing precisely how the vernacular reading glosses on the rolls of the *Saishōōkyō* work is a task I look forward to tackling in detail with experts in the field in Japan. There are vernacular reading marks of a sort on rolls of the *Saishōōkyō* dated to 889 from Ishiyamadera 石山寺 that have received considerable attention.<sup>8</sup> There are also marks to facilitate reading in the vernacular on an 8th century *Saishōōkyō* sponsored by Kudara no Toyomushi 白濟豐虫 preserved at Saidaiji 西

大寺 (in Nara).<sup>9</sup> Although there are more examples of colophons to, for example, rolls from Xuanzang's 玄奘 (c. 602–664) colossal translation of the \**Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* (*Da bore boluomiduo jing*, *Daihannya haramittakyō* 大般若波羅蜜多經, Z no. 1, T no. 220) in 600 rolls from 8th century Japan, the following colophon to the first roll of the *Saishōōkyō* from Saidaiji dated 762.2.8 is instructive both because it ties our *sūtra* to projects to copy the Buddhist canon at an early date and it establishes an early tradition of particular attention to the *Saishōōkyō*. I translate the colophon as follows:

Tenpyōhōji 6.2.8. Disciple of the Buddha who has taken the bodhi-sattva precepts, Kudara no Toyomushi, offers to [both] parents reverently copied [editions] of the complete *Lotus* and [Yijing's translation of the] *Golden Light sūtras*, and one roll [each] of the *Diamond Sūtra*, the *Sūtra that Transcends the Principle*, and the *Sūtra of the Original Vows of the Medicine Buddha of Lapis Lazuli*. These 21 rolls now finished [were copied] to ornament you.<sup>10</sup> I prostrate and vow this [act of copying] to purge your [karmic] seeds as assistance in the netherworld so you will be forever shielded by the *bodhi* tree, and travel the great distance ferried by perfect wisdom. I also [vow this act of copying] to the emperor above for prolonged good fortune and longevity and below the officials to all be proper and just. [I] Toyomushi also make a pledge to [endeavor to] save [myself and others] from sinking [further] into oblivion (*saṃsāra*) by diligently removing [all] obstacles [to awakening caused by] defilements to splendidly pursue all principles to develop awakening [as]

<sup>8</sup> Hironuma, *Isbiyamadera kyūzō Konkōmyō saishōōkyō*. Cf. Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 394–95; Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 172–75.

<sup>9</sup> Sōhon Saidaiji 総本西大寺 et al., *Kokubō Saidaijibon Konkōmyō saishōōkyō Tenpyōhōji rokunen Kudara no Toyomushi gankyō*. See also Zisk, 'Middle Chinese Loan Translations and Loan Derivations in Japanese'.

<sup>10</sup> On 'ornamentation' in East Asian Buddhist vowed texts, see Teiser, 'Ornamenting the Departed'; Lowe, 'Bukkyō shinkōmen kara mita Gogatsuichinichikyō ganmon no saikō'.

early [as possible]. That is, to transmit [the teachings of Buddhism] to others without fatigue and to spread the *Dharma* realm (*dharmadhātu*). By listening to the titles of these *sūtras* [that] I grasp, [I vow] to obtain blessings and ward off calamities, and to return to the path toward awakening if I stray toward [the path] of delusion.

維天平寶字六年歲次任寅二月八日菩薩戒佛弟子白濟豐虫奉為  
二親敬  
寫法華經一部金光明最勝王經一部金剛般若經一卷理趣經一卷奉  
願  
藥師經一卷廿合一卷莊嚴既了伏願憑斯勝因奉冥助永庇菩提之樹  
長  
遊般若之津 又願上奉聖朝恒延福壽下及寮采共盡忠節 又豐  
虫自發誓言弘濟沉淪勤除煩障妙窮諸法早契菩提乃至傳燈无  
窮流布法界聞名持卷獲福消灾一切迷方會歸覺路

Given the date of this colophon, the *Sūtra that Transcends the Principle* must be from roll 578 or the tenth assembly of the *Daihannyakyō*. This is the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 150 lines (*Adhyardhaśatikā* or *Prajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañcaśatikā* (*Liqu jing/Rishukyō* 理趣經). Taishō nos. 240–244 translate this later Perfection of Wisdom treatise.<sup>11</sup> The *Sūtra of the Original Vows of the Medicine Buddha of Lapis Lazuli* was also translated by Xuanzang, in 650, and is the *Yaoshi liuliguang rulai benyuan gongde jing* 藥師琉璃光如來本願功德經 (*Yakushi ruikō nyorai hongan kōtokukyō*, Z no. 209, T no. 450).

Another first-rate example of an even earlier *Saishōōkyō* copied in gold ink on indigo paper (it looks red today) is from a Kokubunji 國分寺 in Hiroshima that can be dated to 742. It has been displayed at Nara National Museum (DO26284).<sup>12</sup> In *The Weaving of Mantra*:

<sup>11</sup> Conze, *The Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, vol. VI, 78–79.

<sup>12</sup> On the establishment of Kokubunji in 741 as state temples to promote ritual recitation of the *Saishōōkyō* according to a strict [ritual] calendar, see de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 443–46; Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light*, 1–23. Cf. roll 10, here: [http://web1.kcn.jp/west\\_fields/kokuho/kokuho\\_nara.htm](http://web1.kcn.jp/west_fields/kokuho/kokuho_nara.htm), accessed August 5, 2018.

*Kūkai and the Construction of Esoteric Buddhist Discourse* (1999), Abé Ryūichi mentions in passing that of the 152 characters used to write Japanese sounds (*man'yōgana* 万葉仮名) in the *Kojiki* 古事記 [Record of Primordial Affairs, comp. 712], 19 correspond to *dhāraṇīs* from the *Saishōōkyō*.<sup>13</sup> And the earliest source we have in Japan that glosses words according to the 48 Iroha 伊呂波 syllables is a glossary to Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*: the *Konkōmyō Saishōōkyō ongi* 音義 [Sound and Meaning [Glosses] to the Golden Light Sūtra, ca. 1079], which provides *man'yōgana* readings, rather than in the *katakana* syllabary as on our rolls from Matsuo that are only 60 years older.<sup>14</sup> The invention of *katakana* is often ascribed to Kūkai 空海 (Kōbō daishi 弘法大師, 774–835; 804–806 in China) who, although almost certainly not the author of the Iroha poem in the *Konkōmyō Saishōōkyō ongi*, wrote at great length about the significance of the *Saishōōkyō* in his quest to retrain early Japanese monastics and members of the imperial family and the aristocracy about how effective esoteric Buddhist (*mikkyō* 密教) language could be.<sup>15</sup>

Vernacular reading glosses in *katakana* script began to be added to Buddhist scriptures in Japan by at least the 9th century, when glosses were added to an edition of the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō* from Saidaiji 西大寺 (in Nara) copied in 762.<sup>16</sup> There is a long tradition in Japan of ritually reciting the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō* that dates back to 741,

<sup>13</sup> Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 393.

<sup>14</sup> Suzuki, 'Konkōmyōsaishōōkyō shosai "iroha" no akusento'. The Iroha poem is translated and briefly discussed in Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 391–93. See also Bailey, 'Early Japanese Lexicography', 8–10, 13–15. A wealth of manuscript editions of other Buddhist scriptures with sound and or meaning glosses are preserved in Japan. With reference to texts included in seven of the eight manuscript canons preserved in Japan and indexed in 2006, op. cit., peculiarly omitting the Matsuo shrine canon, see Chen, Xu, and Liang, eds., *Fojing yinyi yu Hanzi yanjiu*, 50–66.

<sup>15</sup> Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 350–54.

<sup>16</sup> Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 172. See also Sōhon Saidaiji et al., *Kokuhō Saidaijihon Konkōmyō saishōōkyō Tenpyōhōji roku-nen Kudara no Toyomushi gankyō*.

when Emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇 (701–756, r. 724–749) ordered copies of the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō* that he had copied in gold ink deposited in pagodas (*stūpas*) in every province at newly established state-sponsored provincial temples (*kokubunji*) called Konkōmyō Shitennō gokokuji 金光明四天王護国寺 or Temples to Protect the State [to venerate] the Four Heavenly Kings and the *Sūtra of Golden Light*.<sup>17</sup> An example from the provincial temple in Hiroshima that can be dated to 742 has been displayed at Nara National Museum (DO26284).<sup>18</sup> One edict was issued by the court in Kyoto in 806 that required postulants to be able to read the *Lotus* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Miaofa lianhua jing/Myōhōrengekyō* 妙法蓮華經, Z no. 146, T no. 262) and *Golden Light sūtras* in ‘Chinese sounds’; but the order was being neglected by 869.<sup>19</sup> During the early 12th century, Fujiwara no Kiyohara 藤原清衡 (1056–1128) sponsored the copying of a manuscript canon in alternating gold and silver ink on indigo paper for Chūsonji 中尊寺 (in Ōshū Hiraizumi 奥州平泉 in Iwate prefecture), where one of the most famous examples of veneration of Yijing’s translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* was also written in gold ink on indigo paper in the shape of a treasure-pagoda to form a *maṇḍala* (*Konkōmyō saishōōkyō kinji hōtō mandara* 金光明最勝王經金字寶塔曼荼羅).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 448–49; Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light*, 1–23.

<sup>18</sup> See roll 10, here: [http://web1.kcn.jp/west\\_fields/kokuho/kokuho\\_nara.htm](http://web1.kcn.jp/west_fields/kokuho/kokuho_nara.htm), accessed August 5, 2018.

<sup>19</sup> Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 77.

<sup>20</sup> For the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō kinji hōtō mandara*, see no. 34 in Nara National Museum, ed. *Special Exhibit of Ancient Sutras from the Heian Period*, 65–66, 147. This image belonged to the Daichōju-in 大長寿院 of Chūsonji. For examples of the *Lotus Sūtra* written using gold ink on indigo paper from the 12th century with each character written inside a pagoda or in the shape of a pagoda as a *maṇḍala* from Tanzan (alt. Danzan) shrine 談山神社, see *ibid.*, nos. 33–34 and 35; 64, 66–67, 147–48. On *maṇḍalas* from Chūsonji and Tanzan shrine with copious references to secondary studies in Japanese, see O’Neal, ‘Written Stūpa, Painted Stūpa’, 52–104. On the history of Chūsonji, see Yieng-

## On the Use of Vernacular Reading Glosses at Matsuo *jingūji*

Perhaps the most revealing example of glossing a text written with Sinitic logographs in the *katakana* syllabary is the earliest edition of *Engishiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi Era, 901–923, comp. 927; utilized after 967), in which rolls nine and ten list the registry of 3132 official deities (*jinmyōchō* 神名帳) venerated at 2861 official shrines (*shikinaisha* 式内社).<sup>21</sup> This edition was kept at Amanosan Kongōji 天野山金剛寺 (in Ōsaka) and has a colophon dated to 1127.7.12.<sup>22</sup> Given the nearly synchronous date of a glossed edition of *Engishiki* with our glossed edition of the *Saishōōkyō* at Matsuo *jingūji*, it certainly looks like vernacular glossing must have been common practice during the 12th century at shrine-temple complexes. Only three texts with colophons from the Matsuo manuscript canon reveal that marks (*ten* 點) to allow for vernacular reading were added during the last ten days of the ninth lunar month of 1139 as follows:

9.20: *Saishōōkyō* rolls 8 and 10

9.21: *Saishōōkyō* rolls 2, 9 and *Daibirushanajōbutsu*

*jinbenkajikyō* 大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (\**Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhivikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtra*, *Dapiluzhena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing*, Z no. 503, T no. 848) roll 4

9.22: *Daibirushanajōbutsu jinbenkajikyō* roll 5:

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pruksawan, *Hiraizumi*. Cf. Ochiai, Girard, and Kuo, ‘Découverte de manuscrits bouddhiques chinois au Japon’. 370–71. On other copying efforts by members of the Ise Taira clan 伊勢平氏, and especially Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181) and his son, Taira no Shigehara 平重衡 (1158–1185), see Blair, ‘Rites and Rule’.

<sup>21</sup> On the use of ‘Sinitic’ to refer to the language of classical Chinese as used in medieval China, Korea, Japan and Vietnam but almost always read in vernacular languages, see Mair, ‘Buddhism and the Rise of the Written Vernacular in East Asia’; Kornicki, *Languages, Scripts, and Chinese Texts in East Asia*, 19–21.

<sup>22</sup> Gotō et al., eds., *Amanosan Kongōji zenpon sōkan*, 277. On the Kongōji manuscript canon, see Ochiai, ed. *Kongōji issaikyō no sōgōteki kenkyū to Kongōji-seikyō no kisoteki kenkyū: kenkyū seika hōkokusho*.

- 9.25: *Saishōōkyō* roll 6 and *Soshicchikarakyō* 蘇悉地羯羅經  
 (\**Sussidhikara-mahātantra-sādhanaopāyikapāṭala-sūtra*,  
*Suxidijieluo jing*, Z no. 509, T no. 893) roll 2  
 9.28: *Saishōōkyō* roll 4

These colophons state that monastic-scribes used ‘old editions with old marks’ from the library of the Kōenbō 香縁房 within the Southern Valley (Minamidani 南谷) division of the Eastern Pagoda (Tōtō 東塔) section of the massive monastery of Enryakuji 延暦寺 on Mount Hiei 比叡山 near Kyoto to proofread these rolls at a temple called Kannonji 觀音寺 (*ko-* [or *furui-*] *hon ni kyūten-hon o kō* [-*sei*] *ryō* [*shita*] 古本 [ニ]舊點本[ヲ]交[校正]了[シタ]).<sup>23</sup> As listed above, roll four has a date of 1139.9.28 when the manuscript was checked with an edition from Kannonji. But this roll came from another library: the Shunkei 春敬 [bō]. This roll was originally copied on 1115.3.10 by a scribe who copied—and proofread 同日以本批校了—many, many rolls for the Matsuo shrine canon: Seiron 西詣. In addition, the titles for each chapter included in each roll are written at the beginning of these rolls.<sup>24</sup> For reference, colophons to the rolls from Baogui’s 寶貴 (d.u.) combined translation (of three [maybe four] earlier editions; cf. T no. 663) of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*, *Hebu jinguangming jing* 合部金光明經 (Z no. 159, T no. 664) in eight rolls, completed in 597,<sup>25</sup> from Matsuo indicate that the

<sup>23</sup> For the *Saishōōkyō* colophons, see nos. 416/1243, 418/1246, 419/1247, 420/1248 and 421/1249 in Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, ‘*Matsuosha issaikyō*’ *chōsa hōkokusho*, 239–40. For the colophon to roll two of the *Soshicchikarakyō*, see no. 596/1667 and for the *Daibirushanajōbutsu jinbenkajikyō*, see nos. 592/1663, 593/1664, and 594/1665 in *ibid.*, 249. Note that roll 6 of the *Daibirushanajōbutsu jinbenkajikyō* (594/1665) says that the roll was proofread using an edition with ‘old marks’ as above but is undated.

<sup>24</sup> See nos. 416 (1243); 417 (1244); 418 (1246); 419 (1247); 420 (1248); and 421 (1249) in *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Da Tang neidian lu* 大唐內典錄 (Z no. 1178, comp. 664 by Daoxuan 道宣 [596–667]) 5, T no. 2149.55.278a25–279b25 [278a26–27]. Cf. K no. 128 in Lancaster and Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon*.



scribes—and proofreaders—used the precious books (*gohon* 御本) from Bonshakuji 梵釈寺 at Kannonji, which included one [actual] ‘Chinese manuscript for proofreading’ (*i Tōhon kōryō* 以唐本校了) roll four.<sup>26</sup>

Roll eight of the *Saishōōkyō* was also ‘marked’ once (*ichiten ryō* 一點了) on 1222.8.27 by a monk named Ryōtei 良呈. It is unclear if Ryōtei ‘marked’ this roll in the Godokyōjo 御読經所 (the building where scriptures were read or recited) at Matsuo shrine or at another temple. I have not yet been able to inspect the manuscripts from Matsuo of either the *Daibirushanajōbutsu jinbenkajikyō* or *Soshicchi-karakkyō*, but the vernacular reading glosses on rolls two, eight, nine and ten show that these must have been added in 1139 by monastics from the Sanmon 山門 or Mountain branch of the Tendai tradition on Mount Hiei. Two chronicles from the Jimon 寺門 or Temple Gate Tendai tradition based at Onjōji 園城寺 (alt. Miidera 三井寺) in the city of Ōtsu, in present-day Shiga prefecture, *Onjōji denki* 園城寺傳記 (Transmission Record of Onjōji, comp. 12th century, NBZ 86, no. 786) and Shikō’s 志晃 (1662–1720) *Jimon denki horoku* 寺門傳記補録 [Supplemental Record of the Transmission Record of the Temple Gate Branch, NBZ 86, no. 787], explain why either monastics or priests at Matsuo shrine-temple complex would have required vernacular reading glosses to be added specifically to the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō*. Table one illustrates which particular *sūtras* were recited at eight *jingūji* in Kyoto during the medieval period.

TABLE 1 Eight *Jingūji* listed in *Onjōji denki* and *Jimon denki horoku*

	Shrine / Deity	Scripture in <i>Onjōji denki</i>
1	Iwashimizu Hachiman 石清水 八幡宮	* <i>Vikurvaṇarājapariprcchā</i> ( <i>Jizaiōbosatsukyō</i> 自在王菩薩經, Z no. 92, T no. 420)

<sup>26</sup> See nos. 422–427 (1250–1255), especially 424 (1252) in Nakao Takashi and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, ‘*Matsuosha issaikyō*’ *chōsa hōkokusho*, 240–41.



2	Kamigamo 上賀茂 (alt. 鴨)	<i>Book of Humane Kings</i> ( <i>Ninnō hannyā haramitsukyō</i> 仁王般若波羅蜜經, Z no. 21, T no. 245)
3	Matsuo	<i>Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra</i>
4	Hieizan Sannō 山王	<i>Lotus Sūtra</i> ( <i>Myōhōrengekyō</i> 妙法蓮華經, Z no. 146, T no. 262)
5	Kasuga 春日	<i>Vajracchedikā-sūtra</i> ( <i>Kongō hannyahara-mitsukyō</i> 金剛般若波羅蜜經, Z no. 15, T no. 235)
6	Sumiyoshi 住吉	<i>Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra</i> ( <i>Daihatsunchangyō</i> 大般涅槃經, Z no. 135, T no. 374)
7	Shinra Myōjin 新羅明神	<i>Vimalakīrtinirdśā</i> ( <i>Yuimakitsu shōsetsukyō</i> 維摩詰所說經, Z no. 150, T no. 475)
8	Iwakura 岩座 <sup>27</sup>	[ <i>Amitāyus</i> ] <i>Contemplation Sūtra</i> ( <i>Kammuryōju butsukyō</i> 觀無量壽經, Z no. 223, T no. 365)

If the Matsuo shrine manuscripts of both the *\*Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-vikurvitādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtra* and *\*Susidhikara-mahātantra-sādhanaopāyikapāṭala-sūtra* translated by Śubhakarasiṃha (Shanwuwei 善無畏; 637–735) completed in 726 and 725, respectively, turn out to have vernacular reading marks like those found on multiple rolls of Yijing’s translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* then we would have considerable evidence to demonstrate what scriptures were attentively chanted at a prominent *jingūji* during the mid-12th century. That monastics from both the Sanmon and Jimon Tendai traditions probably competed for the privilege of contributing to the ritual recitation of these *sūtras* at Matsuo—and conversely at the seven other *jingūji* listed in Table one—speaks to how rituals established during the 8th century by the court in Nara were sustained by the Tendai tradition at shrine-temple complexes

<sup>27</sup> Thanks to a helpful hint from James Robson, I have located Iwakura shrine as the principal shrine in the Iwakura 岩倉 region of Kyoto, where it was once linked to Daiunji 大雲寺, and later to Jissōin 実相院, two prominent Miidera-branch Tendai temples. Modern inscriptions on site confirm this list of eight shrines of which Iwakura was an integral part. On Hokkeshū 法華宗-sponsored veneration of thirty *kami* that includes these eight, see Dolce, ‘Hokke Shinto’.

during the 12th century when exoteric and esoteric (*kenmitsu* 顕密) rituals surely took center stage. There is no need to repeat what is reported about early Japanese state-supported Buddhist practices and rituals in Marinus Willem de Visser's posthumously published and encyclopedic *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sutras and Commentaries in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and their History in Later Time* (1935)<sup>28</sup> or Bryan Lowe's *Ritualized Writing: Buddhist Practice and Scriptural Cultures in Ancient Japan*, except to underscore that at key state-sponsored temples, so-called 'state protection' (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家) rituals were performed with special attention to ritualized readings (either chanting [*dokuju* 読誦] or revolve-reading [*tendoku*]) of three scriptures—(1) Xuanzang's translation of the \**Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, (2) the *Suvarṇabhā-sottama-sūtra*, and (3) the *Renwang jing* (Book of Benevolent Kings, Z no. 21, T no. 245 and Z no. 22, T no. 246: *Shinyaku ninnōkyō* 新訳仁王經)<sup>29</sup>—usually on behalf of the *kami* (*shinzen dokyō* 神前読

<sup>28</sup> de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 38, 39–40, 418, 639.

<sup>29</sup> See 'Chingo kokka 鎮護國家' and 'Chinju 鎮守' in Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin*, IV: 322–27. The former entry explicitly points out that protection from or for *kijin* 鬼神 (a blanket term in Chinese for 'gods') almost always involved *dhāraṇī*, and particularly from the *Ninnōkyō* (see T nos. 245, 8: 829c29–830a4 [chapter 2] and 246, 8: 834c25 [chapter 1]) or *Konkōmyōkyō* (see T nos. 663, 16: 341b13–c3 [chapter 2]; 664, 16: 382c3–21 [chapter 5], and 665, 16: 427c6–27 [chapter 6]). Not only does de Visser pay ample attention to matters of 'state protection' Buddhism (*Chingo kokka*), but he provides the most thorough summary in English of the history of offerings of *issaikyō* [in Japan] from 651 to 1323; de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 226, 605–15. Furthermore, de Visser provides the first clue in any European language that I know of about shrines where an *issaikyō* was offered or vowed to the *kami*, 'From the beginning of the twelfth century the *Issaikyō* festivals were often held in Shintō sanctuaries (Hiyoshi, Kumano, Iwashimizu, Gion, Kamo)' (pages 611–12). His study also contains obliging references to how Enchin, see below, in particular, played an especially prominent role in promoting Tendai rituals—and orientated doctrines at debates and lectures—within the ritual system of Heian Japan.

On ritual readings of the *Dai hannyakyō*, see Sagai, *Shinbutsu shūgō no reki-*

経) to avert natural disasters and calamities and protect the state and powerful clans. Elsewhere I have addressed the evidence from the Matsuo manuscript Buddhist canon concerning the esteem awarded to the *Daihannyakyō*. But the extant rolls of this massive *sūtra* do not have any vernacular reading marks. Nor is there any evidence to suggest that any can be found on the *Shinyaku ninnōkyō*, which leads me to ask the question: are we looking at evidence of a longstanding tradition in early and medieval Japan of adding vernacular reading marks to the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō* or do these marks tell us something special about religious practice at Matsuo by Tendai monks during the 12th century?

The narrative about Tendai patronage of certain key *jingūji* in *Onjōji denki* that is reiterated in *Jimon denki horoku* suggests that by the medieval period, the role that especially Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottama-sūtra* played in state-protection rites at state-sponsored temples during the 8th and 9th centuries had

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*shi to girei kūkan*, 139–42; Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taiki*, 430–50 and 196–98. The precedent for ritual readings of this large compendium in Japan comes from a hagiographical biography of Xuanzang, *Da Cien sanzang fashi zhuān* 大慈恩三藏法師傳 (Z no. 1192) 10, T no. 2053.50.276b5–22, which says that a special lecture was delivered on this scripture and it was read at a ceremony on 663.10. Cf. Komine, Katsuzaki, and Watanabe, *Hannyakyō taizen*, 372–82. On *Issaikyō-e*, see Blair, 'Rites and Rule', 6; *Real and Imagined*, chapter 1.2 and 1.3. See also D. Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*, chap.4 cited in Blair, and 'The Archaeology of Anxiety'.

On the *Renwang jing* (*Ninnōkyō*) in China, see Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*. See below for the *Konkōmyōkō*.

'State' in 'state protection' Buddhism remains a problematical term, not only because of the European context for 'state' (Peace of Westphalia, 1648) in English, but also because *kuni* (*guo*) may not have meant a 'state' in premodern Japan or China. In Nara or Heian Japan, for example, *kuni* meant something much closer to province as in where Matsuo shrine was located: by the turn of the 8th century, the Kadono district (Kadono no koori 葛野郡) of Yamashiro [no kuni] province 山城国, which roughly corresponds to Nishigyōku 西京区 and southern Ukyōku 右京区 (wards) today.

passed to rituals performed at *jingūji* by Tendai monastics. Among the several studies of medieval Tendai institutional history, Mikael Adolphson's work provides unambiguous clues about how to interpret the changing political, economic, social, and religious context that elevated Tendai monks to an advantaged social position in which precise, vernacular recitation of the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō* at Matsuo almost certainly took place from the middle of the 12th century until at least the mid-15th century, when we see that a printed edition of roll one of this *sūtra* was added to the canon kept at Matsuo.<sup>30</sup>

### Chinese Pronunciation Glosses on Rolls of the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō* from Matsuo

The curious colophon on rolls two, six, eight, nine and ten of the *Konkōmyō saishōōkyō* and rolls four and six of the *Daibirushanajōbutsu jinbenkajikyō* and roll two of the *Soshicchikarakyō* from Matsuo may not necessarily indicate that the vernacular reading glosses were added to these *sūtras* in 1139. If we read the colophon to say that the text(s) were proofread following 'old marks on the manuscript' of an 'old edition', which more closely follows the implied Japanese grammar of the colophon instead of a Sinitic reading as I provide above,

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<sup>30</sup> Following closely in the tracks left by Kuroda Toshio's (1926–1993) pioneering work about the shared political power of aristocrats, warriors, and large monastic estates—namely Kōfukuji 興福寺 (in Nara), Enryakuji, Miidera, and Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺 (Kōyasan 高野山, in Wakayama prefecture) that promoted the *kenmitsu taisei* 顕密体制 (exoteric-esoteric [Buddhist] system)—as influential power blocs or elites (*kenmon* 権門) in Heian and Kamakura (1185–1333) society—several scholars' work in English is especially relevant: Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 10–20. See also the introduction to Breen and Teeuwen, eds., *Shinto in History*, 1–12. See also Shiba and Tonami, 'Keisei to Onjōji', 78; Wakabayashi, *The Seven Tengu Scrolls*, 127–28. Cf. McMullin, 'The Sanmon-Jimon Schism in the Tendai School of Buddhism'; Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*. On the power of Tendai 'warrior monks' (*sōhei* 僧兵), see Adolphson, *The Teeth and Claws of the Buddha*, chapter 7.

then Chinese phonetic readings given at the end of rolls two, six, eight, nine and ten of the Matsuo *Konkōmyō saishōkyō* deserve careful scrutiny. Based on the handwriting of these rolls, I do not think that these phonetic reading glosses to certain Sinitic logographs were added in 1139. My best guess is that the colophon does, in fact, point to the vernacular reading glosses discussed previously. These phonetic glosses to certain characters suggest not only that by ‘old edition’ (*ko-* or *furui hon*) the editors probably were referring to ‘old’ Tang dynasty Chinese editions, but also that they may have been aware of the significance of these Chinese phonetic reading glosses that are found only on Yijing’s translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* and, to the best of my knowledge, on three extant manuscript editions of Yijing’s translations of *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* texts. The three other texts are Yijing’s translations of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavibhaṅga* (*Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pi’naiye/ Konpon Setsuissaiubu binaiya* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶 [lū/ritsu 律], Z no. 1010, T no. 1442), *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayakṣudrakavastu* (*Genben Shuoyietqyoubu pi’naiye zashi/ Konponsetsu issaiubu binaiya zōji* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶雜事, Z no. 1012, T no. 1451) and *\*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayasamgraha* (*Genbensapoduobu lūshe yiqie/ Konponsappatabu risshō* 根本薩婆多部律攝, Z no. 1053, T no. 1458) from the Shōgozō 聖語藏, which date to 740.5.1 and means they were part of the manuscript canon copying project that Empress Kōmyō 光明皇后 (701–760) sponsored using the Buddhist canon recently brought to Japan from Tang China in 736 by Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746). Currently, 126 titles in 750 rolls survive from the Shōgozō repository for *sūtra* manuscripts located at the Tōdaiji 東大寺 compound next to the Shōsōin 正倉院 treasure house. It was originally a part of the Sonshōin 尊勝院, a sub-temple constructed in 955 that was the center for Kegon 華嚴 and Shingon 真言 studies at Tōdaiji. The building and scrolls were relocated to the Shōsōin compound in 1896.

The collection is currently managed by the Imperial Household Agency. Dated 740.3.15, the following colophon to roll five of Lokakṣema’s 支羅迦識 early (ca. 179) translation of the *Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* in 8000 lines (*Daoxing bore jing/ Dōgyōhannyakyō* 道行般若經, *Aṣṭasāha-śrīkāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, Z no. 8, T no. 224), vowed by Empress Kōmyō, reads as follows:<sup>31</sup>

740.3.15 by *shōsanmi* Lady Fujiwara who, out of filial respect, offers up to ornament her departed brother Fujiwara no Fusasaki 藤原房前 (681–737) and [living wife] Muro no Ōkimi 牟漏女王 (d.746), reverently [has had] copied one complete set of all the *sūtras*, monastic regulations, and commentaries, now complete. I set up a vegetarian feast to respectfully eulogize them and celebrate this triumphant karmic event.

維天平十二年歲次庚辰三月十五日正三位藤原  
夫人奉為 亡孝贈左大臣府君及見在  
內親郡主發願敬寫一切經律論各一部莊嚴已  
訖設齋敬讚藉此勝緣

Here it is significant that the empress names herself as a Fujiwara Lady and vows the canon on behalf of her brother and his wife. The phrase *kaku ichibu* 各一部 could be read to further qualify that each part of the canon—*sūtras*, *vinaya*, and *śāstras*—had been copied. We know that by the fourth lunar month of 740, Empress Kōmyō had had 3531 rolls of her vowed canon copied. The designation 5/1—as in the first day of the fifth lunar month of 740—canon (*Gogat-suichinichikyō* 五月一日經)—derives from a colophon with that date to the third roll of the anonymous translation (ca. 397–439) of the \**Daśacakraṣṭitigarbha-sūtra* (*Dafangguang shilun jing/Daibōkō jūringyō* 大方廣十輪經, Z no. 73, T no. 410).<sup>32</sup> She vows this scrip-

<sup>31</sup> Jōdai bunken wo yomu kai, ed. *Jōdai shakyo shikigo chūshaku*, 166–77. The remainder of the colophon reads: 伏惟 尊府君道濟//迷途神遊淨國見在 郡主心神郎慧福祚無//壇伏願//聖朝萬壽國土清平百辟盡忠兆人安樂及檀//主藤原夫人常遇善緣必成勝果俱出塵勞同登//彼岸。

<sup>32</sup> On the history of the 5/1 canon and its contents, see *ibid.*, 189–92. *ibid.*, 178–96. The colophon reads:

皇后藤原氏光明子奉為  
尊考贈正一位太政大臣府君尊  
妣贈從一位橘氏太夫敬寫一切  
經論及律莊嚴既了伏願願憑斯勝

ture using her imperial title as empress Kōmyō, and dedicates this reverently copied set of all the *sūtras*, commentaries, and monastic regulations to her departed father, Fujiwara no Fuhito, and her mother, Agata Inukai no Michiyo 県犬養 三千代 (d. 733). Eventually, it appears that the 5/1 canon had 4,243 rolls.<sup>33</sup>

When Yijing, who spent the years 671 to 695 on his voyage by sea to India and back to China, and his large translation team of ten to sixteen assistants completed translating the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* on 703.10.4 and perhaps the rules for monastic discipline (*vinayavibhaṅga*) from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda* order in India on the same day, it looks like a decision was made to leave transcription notes or phonetic reading glosses on the margins of all ten rolls of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* and certain rolls from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavibhaṅga*.<sup>34</sup> Similar transcription notes or phonetic

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回奉資冥助永庇菩提之樹長遊  
般若之津又緣上奉 聖朝恒延  
福壽下及寮采共盡忠節又光  
明子自發誓言弘濟沉淪勤除煩  
障妙窮諸法早契菩提乃至僧燈  
無窮流布天下聞名持卷獲福消  
灾一切迷方會歸覺路  
天平十二年五月一日記

<sup>33</sup> See Lowe, ‘Contingent and Contested’; Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō tekusuto taikai*, 155–56. Perhaps as many as 6,500 scrolls cited in Lowe, ‘Contingent and Contested’, 231. Rare examples from this canon have been preserved in the Shōsōin; see no. 57 *Bussetsu bosatsuzō kyō* 仏説菩薩藏經 (subsequently only in *Daibōshakkyō* 大寶積經, Z no. 32, T no. 310) dated 740.5.1 with a long colophon describing the contents of the 5/1 project—including the phrase *issaikyō*—in Nara National Museum, *The 69th Annual Exhibition of Shōsō-in Treasures*, 114–15. We have approximately 3,500 rolls from it today in the Shōgozō collection. Abe suggests that it must have been this canon which was recited—in part or in full—at the consecration of the state of Vairocana Buddha in Tōdaiji 東大寺 in 752.

<sup>34</sup> For the date 703.10.4, see no. 750 Ikeda, *Chūgoku kodai shabon shikigo shūroku*, 263. This is S. 523; see below. See also nos. 745–751 in Ikeda On, op.



reading glosses were also left on—or added to—certain rolls of the translations of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayaśūdrakavastu* and *vinayasamgraha*. These transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses can be found on many, many extant editions of Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* found in cave no. 17 at Dunhuang. Zhang Yongquan and Li Lingling published an article in 2006 in which they inspected more than 400 extant manuscripts of the *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing* from Dunhuang and refer to these transcription or phonetic reading marks or glosses as sound [reading] characters from scriptures (*jingyinzi* 經音字) or sound [reading] characters (*yinzi* 音字 or *yinshi* 音釋).<sup>35</sup> Glossed terms found at the end of manuscripts are often called 'difficult characters' (*nanzi* 難字) in Chinese. Zhang and Li were not aware of similar transcription notes or phonetic reading glosses on manuscripts from the Shōgozō. In Japanese studies, scholars including Tsukimoto Masayuki and John Whitman refer to these phonetic reading glosses as *kanmatsu onshaku* 卷末音釈.<sup>36</sup>

Neither Lionel Giles nor Ikeda On provide transcriptions for these characters on extant rolls of the *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing* in their catalogs to manuscripts from Dunhuang.<sup>37</sup> It may be instructive to note, however, that Ikeda uses the term *ongi* 音義 (*yinyi*)—[sound and meaning] glossaries—to refer to rolls with what Giles calls 'phonetic glossaries' and *Pelliot chinois 1: Nos. 2000–*

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cit., with similar 'colophons'. See Chen, 'Another Look at Tang Zhongzong's (r. 684, 705–710) Preface to Yijing's (635–713) Translations', for discussion of Yijing's translation team.

<sup>35</sup> Zhang and Li, 'Dunhuang ben *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing yin yanjiu*', 149. For *yinshi*, see Liao, 'Dunhuang P.2172 *Da bo niepan jing yin fanying de yuyin xianxiang*'.

<sup>36</sup> Whitman et al., 'Toward an international vocabulary for research on vernacular readings of Chinese texts'. See also Nakao and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, '*Matsuosha issaikyō*' *chōsa hōkokusho*, 93.

<sup>37</sup> Although I have not yet procured a copy of this article, perhaps some research has been done on this topic: Li, '*Jingguangming zuishengwang jing juanwei fanqie kao*'.



2500 calls ‘indications *fan qie* sur col. Simples ou dédoublées’ in the entry to P.2224.<sup>38</sup> Much more than a brief overview of early Chinese and Japanese dictionaries and historical linguistics lies beyond the scope of this study. I hope it will suffice to say a few words about the *fanqie* 反切 (*hansetsu*) system and a few relevant examples that could have been available to the scribes who copied the *Jinguang-ming zuisheng jing* at Dunhuang and for Matsuo shrine. First, *fǎn* literally means to turn back, which refers to the initial character with which to pronounce the initial consonant sound of the character in question. *Qie* means to correspond to or cut. Therefore, in the examples of manuscripts of Yijing’s translations of the *Suvarṇabhā-sottama-sūtra* from Dunhuang and Matsuo and the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavibhaṅga*, *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayaḥsūdrakavastu* and *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayasamgraha* from the Shōgozō and one example from Dunhuang, phonetic glosses are provided in one of three ways—all following the same basic structure. On examples of the *Suvarṇabhā-sottama-sūtra* in Chinese, the initial consonant of a character such as *yìn* 癰 is first glossed as *yú* 於, followed by *jìn* 禁. The pronunciation of this character, which means a type of heart disease, is *yìn* (in Mandarin), but neither any meaning nor the characters for *fan* or *qie* are provided. Only on rolls of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayasamgraha* and *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayaḥsūdrakavastu* from the Shōgozō are individual characters glossed with three when *fan* follows the two phonetic glosses. For example, roll four of the *Vinayaḥsūdrakavastu* (no. 904) has seven glossed terms. The sixth glossed term is *pàn* 襪, which is glossed by *pǔ huàn fǎn* 普患反, meaning that a button was probably pronounced something like it is today: *pàn*. Buttons are indeed discussed in roll 4 of the *Vinayaḥsūdrakavastu* (T no. 1451, 24: 223c24 and a button loop, *niupan* 紐襪, on 224a13). Many terms in the *Vinayaḥsūdrakavastu*

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<sup>38</sup> See no. 260 in Ikeda, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, 260. E.g., serial no. 1932 in Giles, *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, 53–54. Cf. Vetch et al., *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-Houang*, P.2224. Since all Pelliot chinois MSS are available online as are the catalogues from the BnF, see <http://idp.bl.uk>.

are also glossed with five characters as follows: the second glossed term is *dǔ* 堵, followed by *dǔ tóng dāng gǔ fǎn* 覩同當古反. This means that the character must be pronounced *dǔ*—with the initial consonant *d* and the ending *ǔ* as in *gǔ* (meaning old)—to emphasize how Yijing opted to transcribe *stūpa* with *sūdūbō* 率堵波 (e.g., *T* no. 1451, 24: 222c10 and 222c13). This gloss probably means that 堵 was pronounced *tu* rather than *du* in the Tang capital at the turn of the 8th century and it looks like the gloss was written to stress the long *u* of *stūpa* in Sanskrit.

The compound word *fanqie* probably dates to the Song dynasty (960–1279). *Guangyin* 廣韻 (Broad Rimes, comp. 1007–1008), for example, provides *fanqie* with two characters followed by *qie*; *fan* was used during the Tang and before as in the *Yupian* 玉篇 (Jade Chapters), compiled by Gu Yewang 顧野王 (519–581) or *Qieyun* 切韻, assembled by Lu Fayān 陸法言 in 601.<sup>39</sup> A lexicographer who assisted with Xuanzang’s translation team named Xuanying 玄應 (d. 661) also composed a glossary of terminology used in Chinese Buddhist texts (those included in bibliographies of the canon as of 650),<sup>40</sup> which provides *fanqie* readings ca. 649 called *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 (*Z* no. 1185) in 25 rolls. This text is not extant in the Matsuo manuscript Buddhist canon but is in the Nanatsudera 七寺 and Kōshōji 興聖寺 canons. Huilin 慧琳 (737–820) enlarged Xuanying’s text to 100 rolls in 807 (*T* no. 2128).<sup>41</sup>

I have not yet found the time to check Dunhuang manuscripts of

<sup>39</sup> See esp. Pulleyblank, ‘*Qieyun* and *Yunjing*’; Baxter, *A Handbook of Old Chinese Phonology*, 37–39; Takata, ‘The Chinese Language in Turfan with a special focus on the *Qieyun* fragments’, 333–37; Bottéro, ‘The *Qieyùn* manuscripts from Dūnhuáng’, 35–37.

<sup>40</sup> Regarding the order of texts included in the Chinese Buddhist canons up to the compilation of the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* in 730, see Li, ‘An analysis of the content and characteristics of the Chinese Buddhist canon’, 107–12.

<sup>41</sup> On the Kōshōji MS canon, see Utsunomiya, ‘Kōshōji *issai kyō* ni okeru kunten shiryō ni suite’ and Ochiai, ‘Découverte de manuscrits bouddhiques chinois au Japon’, op. cit. See also Chen, Xu, and Liang, eds., *Fojing yinyi yu Hanzi yanjiu*; Xu, *Xuanying he Huilin Yiqiejing yinyi yanjiu*.

Xuanying's *Yiqie jing yinyi* nor had the opportunity to investigate the rolls from Nanatsudera, but because it can be found in roll 29 of Huilin's expanded text (*T* no. 2128, 54: 499b09–503c21), I suspect that the *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* was not included in Xuanying's text.<sup>42</sup> Excluding a few instances, the transcription notes or phonetic reading glosses to rolls nine and ten of the *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* from Dunhuang—using the expanded references provided in Zhang and Li's article—do not match the glosses in Huilin's text. Huilin's text also glosses terms in binomials (*lianmianzi* 聯綿字), which we do not see on manuscripts from Dunhuang or Japan.<sup>43</sup>

Table 2 presents the transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses from rolls two, eight, nine and ten from the *Saishōōkyō* from the manuscript Buddhist canon from Matsuo. I include a few select examples from Dunhuang manuscripts that match these glosses. The order of the *fanqie* glosses are reversed to facilitate straightforward reading and I provide Middle Chinese pronunciations according to Baxter, followed by modern *Pinyin* readings for the *fanqie* readings.<sup>44</sup> I have numbered the glossed terms for each roll and provide the reference to where these terms can be found in the Taishō edition of the text.<sup>45</sup> Baxter Middle Chinese readings with an asterisk indicate that the reading is Baxter's; those at the front of the entries are the Baxter readings following the *fanqie* spelling indicated in the text.

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<sup>42</sup> Extant texts are listed and an overview is provided in Chen, Xu, and Liang, eds., *Fojing yinyi yu Hanzi yanjiu*, 44–50.

<sup>43</sup> There is a marvelous online resource at National Taiwan University which provides sound and meaning glosses to the *Yiqiejing yinyi* and later compilations: <http://cprg.esoe.ntu.edu.tw/cyj/index.py>, accessed on January 30, 2019.

<sup>44</sup> I have not opted to provide reconstructed readings from Tang Chinese, following Pulleyblank, because I am not convinced that these would be edifying for the reader; cf. Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*.

<sup>45</sup> Baxter, *Old Chinese*.

TABLE 2 Phonetic Glosses in Chinese on Rolls 2, 8, 9, 10 of *T* no. 665**Roll 2:**<sup>46</sup>

1. *khwangH* (*kuàng*) 礦 *kuX-macngX* (*gǔměng*) 古猛: *T* no. 665, 16: 2.409c29 [409c28–410a02]; 分別三身品第三: 譬如有人願欲得金, 處處求覓, 遂得金礦, 既得礦已, 即便碎之, 擇取精者, 爐中銷鍊, 得清淨金, 隨意迴轉, 作諸鍛釧種種嚴具, 雖有諸用, 金性不改。
2. *lenH* (*liàn* or *jiàn*) 鍊 *ljen-kenH* (*liánjian*) 蓮見: *T* no. 665, 2.16: 2.410a1 (see above) and 2.410a22 [410a21–23]: 譬如真金鎔銷治鍊, 既燒打已, 無復塵垢, 為顯金性本清淨故, 金體清淨, 非謂無金。
3. *tsyowk* (*\*yowng*, *róng*) 鎔 *tsyowng-yowk* (*zhōngyù*) 鍾欲: *T* no. 665, 16: 2.410a21 (see above).
4. *deng* (*tíng* or *tíng*) 渟 *daH-teng* (*dàdīng*) 大丁: *T* no. 665, 16: 2.410a24 [410a23–25]: 譬如濁水, 澄渟清淨, 無復滓穢, 為顯水性本清淨故, 非謂無水。
5. *phjbu* (*\*bjuw*, *fú*) 桴 *phjuwH-bu* (*fūbū*) 覆乎: *T* no. 665, 16: 2.411a22 [411a20–24]; 夢見金鼓儼悔品第四: 於夜夢中見大金鼓, 光明晃耀猶如日輪, 於此光中得見十方無量諸佛, 於寶樹下坐琉璃座, 無量百千大眾圍遶而為說法。見一婆羅門桴擊金鼓, 出大音聲, 聲中演說微妙伽他明儼悔法。411a29 [411a29-b1]: 世尊! 我於夢中見婆羅門以手執桴, 擊妙金鼓, 出大音聲, 聲中演說微妙伽他明儼悔法, 我皆憶持; and 411b10 (*gāthā*): 有一婆羅門, 以桴擊金鼓。
6. *swaX* (*\*swaex*, *sūo*) 鎖 [*su-khwaX* (*sūgǔo*)] 蘓果: *T* no. 665, 16: 2.413a11 (*gāthā*): 若受鞭杖枷鎖繫, 種種苦具切其身。
7. *kwenH* (*\*kjiwenH*, *juan*) 羈? *kuX-hwenH* (*gǔxiàn*) 古縣: *T* no. 665.16, 2.413b14 (*gāthā*): 一切眾生於有海, 生死羈網堅牢縛。

**Roll 8:**<sup>47</sup> and S. 523

1. *lijX* (*\*tsyijH*, *zbi*) 捌 *ling-lijX* (*línglǚ*) 陵? 履?: *T* no. 665, 16: 8.444a14–15; 堅牢地神品第十八: 怛姪他倆室里末捨羯擻 捺擻矩擻 勃地 勃地囉 婢擻婢擻 矩句擻 佉婆只里 莎訶。<sup>48</sup>
2. *tryuX* (*\*tsyuH*, *zbu*) 柱 *trju-tryuX* (*zhūzbǔ*) 誅主: *T* no. 665, 16: 8.441a3; 堅牢地神品第十八; [441a2–3]: 怛姪他只哩只哩 主嚕主嚕 句嚕句嚕 拘柱拘柱 覲柱覲柱 縛訶 縛訶 伐捨伐捨 莎訶。<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> No. 416/1243 in Nakao Takashi and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, *Matsuosha issaikyō' chōsa hōkokusho*, 239.

<sup>47</sup> No. 419/1247 in *ibid.*, 128–29, 239–40.

<sup>48</sup> The Taishō editors provide this Sanskrit for the spell: *Tadyathā niśiri maśakani nati kuti buddhi buddhire biti biti kukuti baciri svāhā*.

<sup>49</sup> The Taishō editors provide this Sanskrit for the spell (based upon a Tibetan edition) 以下呪缺梵本, 依蕃本出: *Tadyathā ciri ciri curu curu kuru kuru kutu kutu totu totu bhaha bhaha śavari śavari svāhā*.

## Roll 9:

1. *mawH* (mào) 耄 *maw-pawH* (máobào) 毛報: *T* no. 665, 16: 9.447c11; 除病品第二十四: 老耄虛羸·要假扶策.
2. *dam*, *tán* 痰 *du-kam* (túgān) 徒甘: *T* no. 665, 16: 9.447c25; same, pin 24: 眾生有四病·風黃熱痰癰; 447c28: 何時動痰癰? ; 448a19: 謂風熱痰癰; and 448a21: 春中痰癰動.
3. *'im* (\**'imH*, *yìn*) 癰 *'jo-kim* (yújìn) 於禁: see no. 2 and 448a27: 食後病由癰; 448b3: 癰病應變吐; 448b4: 風熱癰俱有; 448b13: 知風熱癰殊; and 448b19: 是癰性應知.
4. *khuH* (\**kjwak*, *júc*) 瞿 (with only *jù* 瞿 on the right) *kju-bjuH* (jùfū) 俱縛: *T* no. 665, 16: 9.449a6; 長者子流水品第二十五: 狐獾鵲鷺之屬食血肉者·皆悉奔飛一向而.
5. *kjiH* (\**kjieX*, *zbi*) 枳 *kjoH-zyijH* (jūbì) 居示: *T* no. 0665, 16: 9.449c23: 怛姪他 毘折爾 毘折爾 毘折爾 僧塞枳爾 僧塞枳爾 僧塞枳爾 毘爾爾.<sup>50</sup>
6. *mjyeX* (\**mjieX*, *mi*) 弭 *mjie-dzyeX* (míshì) 弥氏: *T* no. 665, 16: 9.449c24–25: 毘爾爾 毘爾爾 莎訶 怛姪他 那弭爾那弭爾 那弭爾 殺雉爾 殺雉爾 殺雉爾.
7. *pbejH* (\**hwonX*, *bùn* or *kùn*) 媼 *pbuX-ngejH* (pǔyì) 普詣: *T* no. 665, 16: 9.450a17–18: 毘囉 醫泥悉 悉泥沓 媼達沓 媼鄔悉怛哩 烏率吒囉伐底 頰刺娑伐底.<sup>51</sup>
8. *dejH* (dì) 睇 *dej-kejH* (tíjì) 啼計: *T* no. 665, 16: 9.450a13: 「怛姪他 卮里謎 揭睇健陀哩 旃荼.
9. *srjaewH* (\**sraew*, *shāo* or *shào*) 稍 *srjoX-kaewH* (sǎojiào) 所交: *T* no. 665, 16: 9.450a11: 頭破作七分·猶如蘭香梢.

<sup>50</sup> The Taishō editors provide this Sanskrit for the spell (based upon a Tibetan edition, see above) *Tadyathā vicani vicani vicani saṃścani saṃścani saṃścani bhiṣini bhiṣini bhiṣini svāhā, tadyathā nāmini nāmini nāmini svāhā, śatini śtini śatini svahā, sprṣani sprṣani sprṣani svāhā, tadyathā vedani vedani vedani svāhā, trṣṇi trṣṇi trṣṇi upādhini upādhini upādhini svāhā, tadyathā bhavini bhavini bhavini bvāhā, tadyathā jatini jatini jatini svāhā, jammanini jammanini jammanini svāhā.*

<sup>51</sup> The Taishō editors provide this Sanskrit for the spell: *Tadyathā hirini gate gandhārī candārī dhirijāṃvare śhibhare pure pure gugumati khiramati dadhimukhi laurubha murubha kucamurukante duru duru duru vīrya aidbisi dadheve dadhave uṣṭri uṣṭravati arsaprabati padmavati kusumavate (usumavati) svāhā.*

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**Roll 10: S.712, S.1025, S.1108, S.6389**

1. *khjaxX* (\**khjwɿH*, *qì*) 憩 *khjoH-tawX* (*qùdǎo*) 去倒: *T* no. 665, 16: 10.451b8; 捨身品第二十六: 為求花果, 捨父周旋至大竹林, 於中憩息。第一王子作如是言。
  2. *hang* (*háng*) 航 *bu-lang* (*húláng*) 胡郎: *T* no. 665, 16: 10.451c14: 生死海作大舟航, 棄捨輪迴, 令得出離。
  3. *dzrju* (*chú*) 鵠 *dzriX-hju* (*shiyú*) 仕于: *T* no. 665, 16: 10.452b8: 祥相, 被割兩乳, 牙齒墮落, 得三鵠鵠, 一為; 452c28: 又夢三鵠鵠, 一被鷹擒去; 453b22: 夢見三鵠鵠, 小者是愛子。
  4. *gjim* (\**gim*, *qín*) 擒 *gjoX-kim* (*jūjīn*) 巨今: *T* no. 665, 16: 10.452c28: 又夢三鵠鵠, 一被鷹擒去。
  5. *dengX* (\**thengX*, *tíng* or *díng*) 錠 *dat-tengX* (*dádíng*) 達頂 (S.6389 has *zào* 座 instead of *díng* 頂): *T* no. 665, 16: 10.455b27: 頗梨色, 鼻高修直如截金錠, 齒白齊。
  6. *tsjek* (\**dzjek*, *jí*) 瘠 *tsjeng-sjek* (*jīngxí*) 精昔 (note the Taishō ed. [oddly] gives *shòu* 瘦): *T* no. 665, 16: 451b17: 渴所逼, 身形羸瘦, 將死不久。第一王子; 451b24: 「第二王子聞此語已, 作如是言: 『此虎羸瘦, 飢渴所逼; 452a5: 無傷損。復作是念: 『虎今羸瘦, 不能食我。』; 452a23: 『我聞薩埵慈悲語, 見彼餓虎身羸瘦。
  7. *hwonX* (\**mwon*, *mén*) 捫 *bu-pwonX* (*húběn*) 胡本: *T* no. 665, 16: 10.452b22 with the characters [*wě*n] 攪 instead: 言: 『苦哉! 今日失我愛子。』即便攪淚慰喻夫。
  8. *kaengX* (*gěng*) 鯁 *kuX-baengX* (*gǔxíng*) 古杏: *T* no. 665, 16: 10.452b21 has [*gěng*] 哽 古杏 instead: 最小所愛之子。』王聞語已, 驚惶失所, 悲哽而。
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Readers familiar with Sinitic language manuscripts will already know that variant characters (*suzi* 俗字 or *itaiji* 異体字) are common, and the Taishō editors primarily cross referenced only variant readings from printed editions.

Taking only rolls nine and ten of Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* from Matsuo and Dunhuang into consideration, S.180 (roll nine) has an abridged title (*Jingguangming jing* roll 9 金光明經卷第九) and the transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses match what is listed above.<sup>52</sup> S. nos. 712, 1025, 1108, 6389 (roll ten) all have the full title at the end of the roll and match the Matsuo edition except for one variation. The last two transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses, *hwonX* (\**mwon*, *mén*) 捫 *bu-pwonX* (*húběn*) 胡本 and *kaengX* (*gěng*) 鯁 *kaeng-kaengX* (*gēngxíng*) 庚杏, are alternatively given as 哽古杏 and *mjunX* (*wě*n) 攪

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<sup>52</sup> I have checked readily available online search engines (e.g., <http://www.zdic.net/>) for *fanqie* 'definitions' for *Guangyun*, and so forth, to determine that these examples seem unique.

*mju* (*wú*) 無?, in order in S. nos. 712, 1025, and 1108. The Matsuo edition and S.6389 have the order of the last two reversed with the alternative characters *hwonX* (\**mwon*, *mén*) 捫 *bu-pwonX* (*búběn*) 胡本 and *kaengX* (*gěng*) 鯁 *kaeng-kaengX* (*gēngxìng*) 庚杏.

Even though I was not able to inspect rolls three through seven of the Matsuo shrine edition of our scripture, I have been able to examine digital editions of rolls five, six and seven from Dunhuang that have these transcription notes or phonetic glosses: P. 2224 lists four glossed terms with phonetic annotation; S.267 is roll six and glosses 19 characters (S.2369 is also roll six and has the same marks); and P.2274 lists 11 terms similarly glossed with two characters each and is dated 854.5.15. S.18 is also roll seven and the glosses match P.2224. It should be noted that not all rolls from Dunhuang have these glosses. For example, P.2224 (rolls three and four, but not five), S.294 and S.432 have no glosses, which may be significant.

Stein no. 523 is roll eight of Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* from Dunhuang and has a date in the colophons (verso and recto) that follows the two transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses that match the editions from the *Saishōōkyō* copied in gold ink on indigo paper from a Kokubunji in Hiroshima dated to 742 and the Matsuo edition.<sup>53</sup> Because this is the date provided in *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [Record of Śākyamuni's Teachings, Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era (713–741), Z no. 1183, T no. 2154, comp. 730] for when Yijing and his translation team completed their work and the 'colophon' lists eighteen of the names of the members of the translation team, I think this is probably not the date when the manuscript was copied.<sup>54</sup> S no. 1177 (roll one, chapters 1–2) with *fanqie* notation at the end and which has not yet been digitized is dated 900.6, as are several examples without *fanqie* marks to 905, 911.2 (P.3668), and 935.2 (S.5454). Investigating more than four

<sup>53</sup> Note 750 Ikeda, *Chūgoku kodai shabon shikigo shūroku*, 263. See other examples with similar 'colophons'.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid, see also notes 745–750 in *ibid.*, 260–63. Several 9th century examples are notes 1297–1319, 379–82. *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 9, T no. 2154, 55: 567a19.



hundred fragments from Dunhuang using paleographical analysis of the variant readings of these transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses to show several manuscript stemma within the so-called library cave at Dunhuang, Zhang Yongquan and Li Lingling demonstrate that these glosses were already on manuscripts at Dunhuang by 854 (P.2274: roll seven). Therefore, it seems almost certain that these transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses were still mostly copied—or added—during the late 9th and early 10th centuries at Dunhuang.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, Zhang and Li postulate that these sound glosses were written at the end of each roll of our *sūtra* (especially rolls four, six, seven, and nine) during the translation process or shortly thereafter by reader-scribes to provide phonetic transcription of certain sounds in Chinese used to transcribe spells—or *dhāraṇīs*—in Sanskrit.<sup>56</sup>

Given the examples from rolls two, eight, nine and ten of Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* above, it seems that Zhang's and Li's postulation is partially correct. Both glossed characters on roll eight annotate how to correctly pronounce characters used to transcribe *dhāraṇīs* from whatever Indic language edition Yijing and his team were working with. *LijX* (\**tsyijH*, *zhi*), for example, in *mat-syaeX-ket-ljiX* (*mòshějiezhi*) 末捨羯擻 and *nrae-ljiX-kyuX-ljiX* (*nàzhijǔzhi*) 捺擻矩擻 probably transcribe *maśākani* and *nati kuti*, which means that this character—and the terms to gloss it—could not have been pronounced as they are in modern Mandarin: it must have been pronounced something like *ti*. Incidentally, the vernacular reading glosses on roll eight of the edition from Matsuo read this character as *chi* 𠂔. The second term, *tryuX* (\**tsyuH*, *zhù*), seems more straightforward. It must have been pronounced like

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<sup>55</sup> See notes 2052, 2130–2131, 2156–2157, 2269, 2377, 2390, 2452–2456 in *ibid.* See also Giles, *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang in the British Museum*, 53–60. For their research, Zhang and Li looked at a sample of 257 out of a total of 436 manuscript fragments of the *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing* found at Dunhuang: Zhang and Li, 'Dunhuang ben *Jingguangming zuishengwang jing* yin yanjiu', 151.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*



*tu* in *kutu kutu totu totu* (in Mandarin: *gju-tryuX* (*jūzhù*) 拘柱 or *tux-tryuX* (*dūzhù*) 覩柱); the Matsuo edition marks this sound as *chu* チウ. Glossed terms five through eight on roll nine also annotate pronunciation for characters used to transcribe spells. But all seven glossed terms on roll two, half of those on roll nine and all eight on roll ten gloss how to pronounce characters in sentences in Chinese (Sinitic). Table 3 presents a preliminary survey of the chapters with glossed terms in rolls two, nine and ten.

TABLE 3 Chapters in T no. 665 with Phonetic Glosses

Chapter ( <i>parivarta</i> 品)	Roll and Gloss no. (Table 2)	Glossed Terms
3: 'Explanation of the Three Bodies [of the Buddha] ( <i>Fenbie sanshin</i> , <i>Bunbetsu sanshin</i> 分別三身)	2: no. 1 礦	Golden mineral describing the Tathāgata's body
3	2: no. 2 鍊	Strength of smelted metal ( <i>sjew-lenH</i> ) 銷鍊) describing golden mineral
3	2: no. 3 鎔	Molten metal describing golden metal
3	2: no. 4 淳	Quality of clear water
4: 'Confession of the Dream of the Golden Drum' in chapter four of roll two ( <i>mengjian jingu chanhui</i> , <i>muken konku sange</i> 夢見金鼓懺悔)	2: no. 5 桴	Drumstick used to beat Brāhmin's drum
4	2: no. 6 鎖 [鎖]	( <i>Gāthā</i> ) describing strength of drumstick beating drum like whipping with shackles ( <i>kae-swaX</i> 枷鎖)
4	2: no. 7 羅	( <i>Gāthā</i> ) describing the quandary of <i>samsāra</i> as a snare ( <i>kwenH-mjangX</i> 羅網)

24: Eradicating illness ( <i>Chubing, jobyō</i> 除病)	9: no. 1 耄	Describing poor sight of elderly
24	9: no. 2 痰	Describing phlegm as the third of four illnesses
	9: no. 3 癰	Heart disease as the fourth type of illness
25: On the Goddess who guards the <i>bodhi</i> tree (of enlightenment) ( <i>Changzhe Ziliushui, chōja Shiryūsui</i> 長者子流水)	9: no. 4 獲	Blood-eating ape
26: 'Self-sacrifice' ( <i>sheshen, shashin</i> 捨身)	10: no. 1 憩	Resting ( <i>khjaxX-sik</i> 憩息) in a large bamboo grove
26	10: no. 2 航	Great boat ( <i>tsyuw-hang</i> 周航) that fords the ocean of <i>samsāra</i>
26	10: no. 3 鵠	Three baby pigeons ( <i>kop-dzrju</i> 鵠鵠)
26	10: no. 4 擒	[Baby pigeons] seized by a hawk
30: 'Praise from the Great Goddess Sarasvātī' (Dabiancai tiannü zantan 大辯才天女讚, Daibenzaitenno santan)	10: no. 5 鋌	[The straightness of Sarasvātī's nose is compared to a] gold ingot
26	10: no. 6 瘠	Emaciated ( <i>ljwe-tsiek</i> 羸瘦) [tigress's body]
26	10: no. 7 拭 [alt. 捫]	Wipe away tears ( <i>mju-lwijH</i> 拭淚) [stroke away tears]
26	10: no.8 哽 [alt. 鯁]	Choked up with grief ( <i>pj-kaengX</i> 悲哽) [fishbone?]

Without analysis of rolls one and three through seven, it would be negligent to presume that most of these transcription notes or phonetic reading glosses either direct readers how to pronounce syllables transcribed in Sanskrit (for spells or *dhāraṇī*) or elucidate key aspects of the content of key chapters. But these examples demonstrate that these transcription notes or glosses do not seem to explain how to pronounce especially difficult characters. For example, the fifth glossed term to roll two, *phjhu* (\**bjuw*, *fú*) in *phjuwH-hu* (*fuhū*), which occurs in the ‘Confession of the Dream of the Golden Drum’ in chapter four of roll two, refers to the drumstick that a *brāhman* beats a golden drum with to generate sounds of confession in a dream by the bodhisattva-mahāsattva Ruciraketu (Miaochuang/Myōdō 妙幢).<sup>57</sup> Could the characters for minerals (chapter three, roll two), illnesses (chapter 24, roll nine), a blood-eating ape (chapter 25, roll nine), baby pigeons seized by a hawk, an emaciated tigress (chapter 26, roll ten), and expressions of anguish have been considered difficult to pronounce by either Yijing and his team of translators or scribes in 8th century China? The fact that these glosses are on manuscripts from Dunhuang and the edition from Matsuo suggests that they must have been written at the end of each roll for a reason that may or may not have been known to scribes or readers in later centuries in northwest China and Japan.

Could these phonetic reading glosses have been provided for only certain terms because they point or direct readers to specific sections of the text? If so, why do we find these annotations on this *sūtra* (and the three *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* texts from the Shōgozō)? Without countervailing examples from other sources from China apart from commentaries, which one can never presume were widely read, and bearing in mind the obvious problems with using content analysis to retrogressively seek for answers to these questions, restricting a cursory exploration into which chapters appear to be indicated by our *fanqie* terms to only rolls nine and ten, it appears that chapters 24, 25, 26, and 30 from the *sūtra* might deserve further consideration.<sup>58</sup> One independent clue comes from the title to just

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<sup>57</sup> T no. 665, 16: 411a22.

chapter 15 (.1, roll 7) from S.5238: *Anning jing juan diqi* 安寧經卷第七.<sup>59</sup> If this *sūtra* was also known as the *Sūtra [that Brings] Peace [to the Kingdom]*, then the chapter on eradicating illness (no. 24, *T* no. 665, 16: 447b22–448c22) certainly seems like an example of how reading this *sūtra* was probably understood to provide this-worldly benefits (*artha*: *liyi/riyaku* 利益 or *pāla*: *raoyi/nyōyaku* 饒益). Prescriptions about what to eat and when must have also been advantageous.<sup>60</sup> Instructions from the mouth of goddesses including Sarasvatī (Biancaitian/Benzaiten 辯才天, chap. 15), Śrī Mahādevī (Lakṣmī, Dajixiang tiannü/Daikichishōtēnyō 大吉祥天女, chaps. 16–17), and Bodhidruma (alt. Pippala, Putishu shen/Bodaijūjin 菩提樹神), the goddess who guards the *bodhi* tree (of enlightenment) in chapter 25 (*T* no. 665, 16: 448c23–450c21) could have been especially useful for lay and monastic readers—and listeners—alike. In chapter 25, Jalavāhana [the merchant’s son] uses elephants given to him by King Sureśvarabhāṣa 天自在光 to bring water to ten thousand fish without water—after providing nourishment to myriad suffering beings in a past life of Śākyamuni Buddha—and remains devoted to the Tathāgata Ratnaśikhī 寶髻, who extolls sustaining this *sūtra*. The [dead] fish are miraculously reborn in the Heaven of the Thirty-Three Celestials (*Trāyastriṃśa* 三十三天, ruled by Śakra Devānām-Indra [Dishi tian/Taishakuten 帝釋天] atop Mount Sumeru 須彌山) by means of two *dhāraṇī* recited to express the profound meaning of the twelvefold chain of codependent origination (*shier yuanqi xiangying* 十二緣起相應, *dvādaśāstanga pratītyasamutpāda*).<sup>61</sup> Rather than learning the list of twelve that proceeds from the basic premise of the Four Noble Truths (ignorance: *wuming* 無明, *avidyā*) through the five aggregates (*wuyun* 五

<sup>58</sup> An easy but useful survey of commentaries to our *sūtra* in China and Japan is provided in de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 434–38, 441–43.

<sup>59</sup> Note 2094 in Giles, *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, 58.

<sup>60</sup> See the trans. in R. E. Emmerick, *Sūtra of Golden Light*, 82.

<sup>61</sup> *Jingguangming zuishengguang jing*, *T* no. 665, 16: 9.449c22–450a3 and 450a13–450a19.

蘊, *skandhas*) through three [re-] births to emphasize the central teaching that everything is impermanent (*wuchang* 無常, *anitya*), a *dhāraṇī* unintelligible to readers and speakers of Chinese, but nonetheless presented as magically potent, bolsters the perception that the teachings in this *sūtra*—expounded from the mouths of all manner of Indic deities, male and female, and particularly Brahmā (Fantian/ Bonten 梵天) and Śakra—are designed for practical use by kings, aristocrats, and likewise monastics.

The chapters from roll ten that the glosses or transcription notes appear to point readers to from S. nos. 712, 1025, 1108, 6389 are Self-sacrifice (26, *T* no. 665, 16: 450c22–454b27) and Praise from the great goddess Sarasvātī (30, *T* no. 665, 16: 455b23–455c15). The Self-sacrifice chapter is also known as the story of ‘The Bodhisattva and [the] Hungry Tigress’ (translated by E. Conze in 1959). Here is a brief summary following Yijing’s translation in chapter 26.<sup>62</sup>

In a past life, the Buddha sacrificed his body to a starving, hungry tigress who had recently given birth to cubs. In this version of a familiar narrative (also presented in several Jātaka collections) king named Mahāratha 大車 has three sons: Mahābala 摩訶波羅, Mahādeva 摩訶提婆, and Mahāsattva 摩訶薩埵, who venture out to a large grove where they encounter the starving tigress. Śākyamuni was the third son, Mahāsattva, in this previous life when he sacrificed his body because he was aware of how disgusting and impermanent the body is. The tigress is too weak to eat Mahāsattva when he lies down in front of her, so he cuts his throat with a bamboo stick; the tigress regains her strength—to feed her cubs—by licking the blood gushing from Mahāsattva’s neck wound. Before the episode is recapped in verse form (*gāthā*), the other two sons and their father and mother, the king and especially the queen, describe their grief like a fish on

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<sup>62</sup> Conze, *Buddhist Scriptures*, 25; Speyer, *Jātakamālā or Garland of Birth-Stories by Āryasūra*, 3–12. On Sanskrit sources, see also Ohnuma, *Head, Eyes, Flesh, and Blood*, 7–9. On the later, problematical translation of the *Jātakamālā*, see Brough, ‘The Chinese Pseudo-translation of Aryasura’s Jātakamālā’.

shore or a cow (water buffalo 牛?) who lost her calf. The regal parents erect a *stūpa* for the [cremated] remains of their son, which the Buddha instructs Ānanda to open (seven) urn(s) within at the beginning of the chapter when he tells him it is because of these relics that he attained enlightenment in this lifetime. Previously, as the chapter opens, in front of one thousand *bhikṣus* rays of light emit from the Buddha which shine through the heavens and earth to reach even the flower-strewn place of Pancāla 般遮羅, the site where the *stūpa* of Mahāsattva was swallowed by the earth when his parents had it constructed; it rose from the ground when the Buddha touched the earth to start this discourse.

If we assume that the rolls of the *Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* from the library cave at Dunhuang were copied at one of the monasteries in the area of the Mogao caves (e.g., Sanjiesi 三界寺) then it may be significant that the narrative of the ‘Jātaka story’ of the bodhisattva Mahāsattva giving his body to the hungry tigress is represented on the south wall of cave 254 (ca. 475–490).<sup>63</sup> If we, furthermore, presume that the artist or artists who painted this cave would have required a text or texts in Chinese to know this story, then, in addition to an earlier translation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama*, we only need

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<sup>63</sup> Abe, ‘Art and Practice in a Fifth-Century Buddhist Cave Temple’. S.296, which is roll 103 of Xuanzang’s translation of the *Da bore jing* 大般若經 in 600 rolls, has a prominent stamp that reads: *Sanjiesi zangjing* 三界寺藏經. Cf. Ikeda, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, 353. No. 116 in Giles, *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*, 3. P.2889, which reveals that the work was copied or vowed by Shanhui, a librarian and expert on monastic regulations (*Vinaya*, *chijing seng falü* 持經僧法律善惠), [in or for] the canon of Kaiyuan monastery in Khotan (*Yutian Kaiyuan si yiqie jing* 于闐開元寺一切經) may provide another clue to where the contents of the library cave came from. See Ikeda, *Chūgoku kodai shahon shikigo shūroku*, 325: no.968; Hansen, ‘The Tribute Trade with Khotan in Light of Materials Found at the Dunhuang Library Cave’. Hansen follows Rong, ‘The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave and the Reasons for its Sealing’. See also Rong (trans. Imre Galambos), *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, 109–36.

to consider the fourth roll of *Xianyu jing* 賢愚經 (\**Damamūkanidāna-sūtra*, Sūtra of the Wise and the Foolish, Z no. 1103, T no. 202, 4: 352b19–353b16), which was translated by 445 by Huijiao 曇覺 (alt. Huijue 慧覺) at Tianansi 天寧寺 in Gaochang 高昌 (Kharakhoja),<sup>64</sup> or the third roll of the anonymous *Pusa benxing jing* 菩薩本行經 (Original Acts [Jātaka stories] of the Bodhisattvas, trans. ca. 317–420,<sup>65</sup> Z no. 475, T no. 155, : 3: 119a28–29). The latter only contains a reference to our story. It is possible, however, that Dharmakṣema's 曇無讖 (Zhu Fafeng 竺法豐, 385–433) *Jinguangming jing* (Z. n/a), which was probably translated ca. 414–421 in four rolls, in which the Mahāsattva self-sacrifice story comprises chapter 17 in roll four (T no. 663, 16: 353c21–356c21), could have reached Dunhuang by the mid-5th century. But the oldest rolls with colophons of any translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama* from the library cave are S.616, dated 568, and S. 539 (mid-6th CE).<sup>66</sup> Directing the reader to the chapter praising Sarasvatī certainly fits within the broader narrative of this scripture: she instructs a *brāhmaṇa* 婆羅門 named Kauṇḍīya 憍陳如 how to utter a *dhāraṇī*, prepare medicaments, and take a ritual bath to remove obstacles caused by malevolent planets, strife, quarrels and other misfortune attributable to Vināyaka or *vetālas* 厭魅.<sup>67</sup> All of this presumes, of course, that readers would have followed these

<sup>64</sup> *Da Tang neidian lu*, T no. 2149, 55: 3.256b27-c1 cited in K no. 983 in Lancaster and Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon*.

<sup>65</sup> *Zhenyuan Shijiao lu*, T no. 2157, 55: 5.806c14,807a20 cited as K. 403 in *ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> No. 400 in Ikeda, *Chūgoku kodai shabon shikigo shūroku*, 162. Cf. nos. 2195 and 2206 in Giles, *Descriptive catalogue of the Chinese manuscripts from Tunhuang in the British Museum*.

<sup>67</sup> *Vetālas* are demons that produce fevers: see *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 (\**Śūraṅgama-sūtra*, Z no. 502), T no. 945, 19: 7.141a1. Vināyaka 頻那夜迦 is another name for Gaṇeśa. Vināyaka is often a synonym for obstacles or hindrances 障礙; in certain texts, he leads an army of demons interred under Mount Sumeru. See 'Binayaka' in Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin*, vol. 1: 76. See also Frédéric, *Buddhism*, ch. 9, 233–50. Dreitlein, 'An Annotated Translation of Kūkai's Secret Key to the Heart Sūtra'.

transcription notes or phonetic reading marks to these sections of the *sūtra*—across a wide chronological and geographical span.

### Transcription Marks or Chinese Reading Glosses on Three of Yijing's Translations from the *Mūlasarvāstivāda Vinaya* from the Shōgozō

Presuming that researchers are correct about how the scribes who copied the 5/1 Canon in 740 on behalf of Empress Kōmyō used manuscripts from Tang China brought home by Genbō in 736, coupled with correspondence between the Chinese reading glosses on various extant editions of Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* from Kokubunji during the mid-8th century in Japan and editions from Dunhuang and even the Matsuo manuscript canon, we know these glosses were on at least four of the translations completed by Yijing and his team during the first decade of the 8th century. This leads me to propose that the Chinese phonetic glosses are transcription notes made by one or more members of the team working in Chang'an.<sup>68</sup> If, for example, Yijing's translations of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* and *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavibhaṅga* were completed on the fourth day of the tenth lunar month of 703, then the editions that Genbō returned to Japan with which were copied by the scribes employed by Empress Kōmyō in 740 could not have been more than thirty years old.<sup>69</sup> It stands to reason that the copies found at Dunhuang are copies of copies as well. But the 5/1 Canon editions are almost certainly at least one hundred years older than any fragments of the texts discussed here from Dunhuang. Unfortunately, Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* from the 5/1 Canon is no longer extant or perhaps it was never

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<sup>68</sup> On the translations and a key preface added to them, see Chen, 'Another Look at Tang Zhongzong's (r. 684, 705–710) Preface to Yijing's (635–713) Translations'.

<sup>69</sup> See Yamamoto, 'Genbō shōrai kyōten to "gogatsu tsuitachi kyō" no shosha (jō)'; idem, 'Genbō shōrai kyōten to "gogatsu tsuitachi kyō" no shosha (ge)'.



included in it. The only translations by Yijing in the 5/1 Canon that I have found which have similar transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses to the ones we have found on the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* are on the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavibhaṅga* (50 rolls, Z no. 1010, T no. 1442), *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayaṣṣudrakavastu* (40 rolls, Z no. 1012, T no. 1451) and *\*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayasamgraha* (14 rolls, Z no. 1053, T no. 1458). Only a few fragments of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* and *Vinayaṣṣudrakavastu* were found at Dunhuang.<sup>70</sup> I have only been able to examine roll 13 of the *Vinayasamgraha* from Dunhuang (P.2175), which is unfortunately not preserved from the 5/1 Canon in the Shōgozō.

There are either two copies of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavibhaṅga* from the 5/1 Canon or they were perhaps mis-catalogued by the editors who produced the *Shōgozō kyōkan* discs. SK. nos. 834–857 cover rolls 21–50 of this 50 roll text; SK. nos. 890–898 fill in the missing rolls with 23, 24, 25, 31, and 38, respectively. Roll 21 does not have any transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses, but the rest do. For example, roll 23 (SK. no. 890) has eight characters. Each one is glossed with one or two corresponding (*qiezi* 切字) annotation. In all fragments from Dunhuang or Matsuo of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* we find each term glossed with two corresponding characters. Roll 24 of the *Vinayavibhaṅga* from the Shōgozō has five characters, each one also glossed with one or two. Roll 25 has nine; 31 has six and 38 has only two. Translated in 710 by Yijing and his team, both the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayaṣṣudrakavastu* and *\*Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayasamgraha* from the Shōgozō also have transcription notes or Chinese phonetic reading glosses on multiple rolls. Roll one (no. 901) of the *Vinayaṣṣudrakavastu* does not have any, but roll two has six characters, which are each glossed not with one or two corresponding characters to annotate the sound, but with three or five characters: instances with three characters define each term as we have seen previously.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See Kokusai bukkyōgaku daigakuindaigaku fuzokutoshokan, *Taishōzō Tonkō shutsudo Butten taishō mokuroku Zantei daisanban*.

<sup>71</sup> The rolls from the Shōgozō that have Chinese phonetic glosses are as fol-

The manuscripts from the 5/1 Canon are among the best preserved anywhere in the world. And, unlike the Dunhuang manuscripts, we know who commissioned them and where they have been kept ever since the 10th century. *Vinaya* compendia certainly do not represent a genre of Buddhist literature that we presume was either widely recited—or ritually read—from one end of a roll to another anywhere in East Asia during the medieval period. Furthermore, because at least in China and in Korea, where Japanese monastics intermingled with experts on monastic discipline during the medieval period, the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* was not considered authoritative and the *Four-Part Vinaya* (e.g., *Sifen lü/Shibunritsu* 四分律, Z no. 1015, T no. 1428) of the Dharmaguptakas was primarily followed, it stands to reason that we ought not expect to find many copies—manuscript or otherwise—of Yijing’s translations of the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, I have not been able to locate any other texts with these Chinese phonetic glosses in the 5/1 canon, nor am I aware of any other Buddhist manuscripts with these glosses written after the title of any *sūtra*, commentary or any other type of text from Dunhuang. Lists of glossed terms tied to key scriptures do exist (e.g., P.2948 and P.3336) and glossed versions of the

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lows: (a) *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavinhaṅga* (T no. 1442) SK. Nos. 835–838 (rolls 22, 26–28), 841–844 (rolls 32–36), 846–848 (rolls 39–41), 850 (roll 43), 852 (roll 45), 855 (roll 48), 857 (roll 50) and again the same text in SK. Nos. 890–891 (rolls 23–24), 896–898 (rolls 25, 31, 38); (b) *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayaśaṅgraha* (T no. 1458) SK. Nos. 878–879 (rolls 1 and 7), 881–887 (rolls 8–10, 12, 15–16, and 19); and (c) *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinanaṣṭudrakavastu* (T no. 1451) SK. Nos. 902–909 (rolls 2–6, 8–10) and 911–912 (rolls 13, 15).

<sup>72</sup> For a solid discussion about the application of the Dharmaguptaka *Four-Part Vinaya* in China and Daoxuan, see Chen, *The Revival of Buddhist Monasticism in Medieval China*; Reinders, *Buddhist Rituals of Obedience and the Contestation of the Monk’s Body in Medieval China (Tang Dynasty)*. On adopting or rejecting various monastic codes in medieval and premodern Japan, see the essays in Bodiford and Weinstein, eds., *Going Forth*. See also Groner, ‘The Fan-wang ching and Monastic Discipline in Japanese Tendai’; Clarke, ‘Miscellaneous Musings on Mūlasarvāstivāda Monks’.

Chinese pseudo-*Śūraṅgama-sūtra* (*Shoulengyan jing/Shūryōgongyō* 首楞嚴經, Z no. 502, T no. 945; see P.3429) have been found at Dunhuang that are similar to the glossed sound and meaning editions of Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* discussed earlier from Japan.<sup>73</sup> But these rolls from the Shōgozō of three of Yijing's translations from the massive corpus of *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* texts suggests that glossing key terms, not necessarily those transcribed from Sanskrit, was probably a practice undertaken during the translation process by Yijing and his team. Therefore, I speculate that the same was probably true for the translation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*.

### Conclusion: What People Did with Yijing's Translation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*

It might not seem surprising that either Tendai monastics from Enryakuji or Miidera or shrine priests—or both—at Matsuo followed vernacular reading marks to ritually read or recite Yijing's translation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* there during the 12th century. Yet it strikes me that whomever copied these rolls at Kannonji from what were certainly copies of Tang dynasty original editions perhaps once safeguarded at Bonshakuji reproduced the Chinese or Sinitic phonetic glosses at the end of each roll. I have discussed elsewhere how we know that an edition of the Kaibao printed canon 開寶藏 (comp. 983) was available in Kyoto by the early 12th century, which did not have these Chinese phonetic glosses on this scripture. But it is clear that the *Saishōōkyō* was a special *sūtra* to the community at Matsuo and it is equally evident that

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<sup>73</sup> Zhang, *Dunhuang wenxian luncong*. For P.2948, which is a glossary to terms found in Kumārajīva's translation of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, see P. 2948 in *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-Houang, Vol. II: Nos. 2500–3000*, only available online at either the BnF or IDP, op cit. For P.3428 and P.3429, see Soymié and Équipe de recherche sur les manuscrits de Dunhuang at matériaux connexes, *Catalogue des manuscrits chinois de Touen-Houang*.

using a marked up copy of a Tang manuscript edition is evidence of fervent veneration at this key site.

*Sūtra* copying practices that we have evidence for in Japan from *jingūji* such as Matsuo, Atsuta 熱田神宮, or Natori Shingūji 名取新宮寺 preceded the establishment of doctrinal schools at separate temples during the 8th and 9th centuries, which were based upon precedents that Japanese pilgrims perceived they witnessed in China. Even though *jingūji* were certainly affiliated with large and powerful Buddhist monasteries by the 10th century, when we have the registry of 3132 official deities venerated at 2861 official shrines in rolls nine and ten of *Engishiki*, it makes little sense to subsume these practices—copying, reciting, and preserving the scriptures—within any doctrinal tradition of early or medieval Japanese Buddhism (e.g., Sanron 三論, Hossō 法相, Kegon 華嚴, and so forth). Colophons from both Matsuo and Nanatsudera, the manuscript canons I am most familiar with, are proximate evidence of how key monastics from the broader Tendai tradition saw appeasing and regulating the *kami* at eight shrine-temple multiplexes listed in *Onjōji denki* and *Jimon denki horoku* as previously discussed. Third in the list in both chronicles is Matsuo, where the *Saishōōkyō* is listed as the *sūtra* recited—or studied, probably at the Godokyōjo I also mentioned earlier—by Miidera monastics at the *jingūji*. Is there something about the *Saishōōkyō* that may have been especially pertinent to the Hata clan shrine priests at Matsuo? Based upon a long colophon to thirty-five scriptures sponsored by Hata no Chikatō in the early 12th century, oddly not including this one, it may be because Matsuo was a prominent shrine where female *kami* were worshipped alongside males that the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama* was especially popular there.<sup>74</sup>

One of the scriptures that Chikatō had vowed on 1117.7.19, the *Dvādaśadaṇḍaka-nāmāṣṭaśata-vimalikaraṇā-sūtra* (*Dajixiang tiannü shierqi yibaibaming wugou dashengjing*, *Dai kichijōtennyō jūni-kai ippyaku-myō muku daijō kyō* 大吉祥天女十二契一百八名

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<sup>74</sup> On the thirty-five titles vowed by Hata no Chikatō, see Keyworth, ‘Apocryphal Chinese books in the Buddhist canon at Matsuo Shintō shrine’; idem, ‘Copying for the Kami’.

無垢大乘經, *Z* no. 623, *T* no. 1253), also has a pronounced part for goddesses. I am grateful to Richard D. McBride II for sharing a copy of the journal where Karashima Seiji's article on a *The Twelve-Lined [list] of One Hundred and Eight Names which Purify* was published.<sup>75</sup> Karashima is '95.4' percent certain that these Sanskrit folios can be dated to 679–770, and because of their script ('Gilgit-Bamiyan type I'), they probably hail from either the Gilgit region or Haḍḍa. This rather short scripture in Sanskrit closely matched *T* no. 1253, and presents the Buddha in an assembly with Avalokiteśvara, Mahāsthāmaprāpta, Sarvaṇīvarṇaviṣkaṃbhin bodhisattvas revealing how recitation of these hymns of praise (*stotra*) of the names of Śrī Mahādevī 'in one's mind, would prosper without any danger from robbers, demons, and others.' Śrī Mahādevī then explains that, because she recited the names of the *tathāgatas*, she was able to generate sufficient merit to bring the six *pāramitās* to fruition. After the last name, Dharmarājaśrī, there is a *dhāraṇī*, which the Buddha states the myriad benefits of performing. Not only is this another scripture from the list Hata no Chikatō had vowed and copied for Matsuo that explicitly celebrates Śrī Mahādevī and receiving benefits from reciting another *dhāraṇī*, but it also establishes another widespread practice associated with Hinduism that I think must have been especially appreciated by lay shrine priests: reciting the name of deities to generate merit or this-worldly benefits.

Indic Mahāyāna scriptures that specifically teach how goddesses (*devīs*) can provide benefits to listeners, copyists, and worshippers may have received special attention in Chinese Central Asia and in Japan. The best known example of a Mahāyāna *sūtra* in which a goddess speaks on behalf of the benefits of engaging in what Gregory Schopen and others have called a 'cult of the book' in the Mahāyāna<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Karashima, 'Some Folios of the *Tathāgataguṇajñānācintyaviśayaśāvatāra* and *Dvādaśaḍaṇḍakanāmāṣṭaśatavimalikaraṇā* in the Kurita Collection', 13–17, 30–33.

<sup>76</sup> E.N. Tyomkin, 'Unique Fragments of the "*Sūtra of Golden Light*" in the Manuscript Collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Russian Academy of Sciences)'. Schopen, 'The Generalization of an

and reciting *dhāraṇīs* is the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra*: in several guises well-known across the Indian subcontinent and among Iranian speaking peoples prior to the introduction of Islam in Chinese Central Asia, Sarasvatī, goddess of composition, learning, music (she plays the *vīṇā*) and poetry, preaches on behalf of the Buddha and offers several of her own *dhāraṇī* to coincide with a ritual bath (reconstructed from Khotanese-Sanskrit):<sup>77</sup>

Old Yogic Attainment in Medieval Mahāyāna *Sūtra* Literature: Some Notes on *Jātismara*, 114. On the ‘cult of the book’ in the Mahāyāna, see Schopen, ‘The Phrase *sa prthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet* in the *Vajracchedikā*’. Updated for the 21st century by ‘On the Absence of Urtexts and Otiose Ācāryas’; Schopen, ‘Redeeming Bugs, Birds, and Really Bad Sinners in Some Medieval Mahāyāna Sūtras and Dhāraṇīs’; Drewes, ‘Revisiting the Phrase *‘sa prthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet’* and the Mahāyāna Cult of the Book’; Gummer, ‘Listening to the Dharmabhāṇaka’; Apple, ‘The Phrase *dharmaparyāyo hastagato* in Mahāyāna Buddhist Literature’. On the five practices of the preacher of the *buddhadharma* (*dharmabhāṇaka*)—preserving, reading, reciting, explaining, and copying *sūtras* or ‘nonmeditational’ or ‘meritorious’ acts (*kuśalena karmaṇā*)—to obtain what Gregory Schopen and others have characterized as a ‘cult of the book’ [in the Mahāyāna], see Lopez, Jr., *The Lotus Sūtra*, 69. See also the earliest discussion of the text in a European language: Burnouf, Buffetrille, and Lopez, *Introduction to the History of Indian Buddhism*, 284-291.

<sup>77</sup> Emmerick, *Sūtra of Golden Light*, 27, 49; Ludvik, *Sarasvatī*, 169-170.

*T* no. 665, 16: 435b23-c5 reads: 怛姪他 三謎 毘三謎 莎訶 索揭滯毘揭滯 莎訶 毘揭茶(亭耶反)伐底 莎訶娑揭囉 三步多也莎訶 塞建陀摩多也莎訶 尼擢建佗也 莎訶 阿鉢囉市哆 毘嚧耶也 莎訶 呬摩槃哆 三步多也 莎訶 阿儻蜜擢 薄怛囉也 莎訶 南謨薄伽伐都 跋囉甜摩寫莎訶 南謨薩囉酸(蘇活)底 莫訶提鼻裔莎訶 悉旬覩漫(此云成就我某甲)曼怛囉鉢拖莎訶 怛唎覩低姪哆 跋囉甜摩奴末覩 莎訶. The Taishō editors provide an alternate Sanskrit reading: *Tadyathā samme visamme svāhā, sugate vigate svāhā. Vigata* (蕃 *pamgaci*) *vatisvāhā, Sāgarasambuddhayā svāhā, skandā mātaya svāhā, nilakaṇṭāya svāhā, aparajita vīryāya svāhā, himavantāya svāhā, anīmilavāktāya svāhā, namo bhagavate Brahmaṇi svāhā, namo Sarasvatī-mahā devye svāhā, siddhyantu māṃ mantrapāda svāhādharata vacito Brahmānu man-ora(tha-vṛto)svāhā.*

*śame biśame svāhā / sagate bigaṭe svāhā / sukhatinate svāhā*  
*sāgarasambhūtāya svāhā / skandamātrāya svāhā*  
*nīlakaṇṭhayā svāhā / aparājitabīryāya svāhā*  
*himabatasambhūtāya svāhā / animilabakr̥tāya svāhā*  
*namo bhagabate brahmaṇe / namaḥ sarasvatyai debyai*  
*sidhyanta mantrapadā / taṃ brahmānumanyatu svāhā*

In Emmerick's translation, Sarasvatī continues: 'At the act of bathing, for the sake of the monk who preaches the Law [*dharmabhāṇa-ka*], for the sake of those who listen to the Law and to those who write it down, I myself will go there. Together with the multitude of gods, I will cause the removal of every disease in that village, city, district, or dwelling.'<sup>78</sup> The *brāhmaṇa* Kauṇḍinya then praises Sarasvatī, beseeching her to utter another *dhāraṇī* (following Emmerick):

*mure, cire, abaje, abajabati, hīṅgule, piṅgalabati, maṅguṣe, marīci, samati, daśmati, agrīmagrī, tara, citara, cabati, ciciri, śiri, miri, marīci, praṇye lokajyeṣṭhe lokaśreṣṭhe, lokapriye, siddiprite, bhīmamukti śuci khari, apratihate, apratihatabuddhi, namuci namuci mahādebi pratigr̥hṇa namaskāraṃ.* May my insight be unobstructed. May my knowledge prosper in such textbooks, verses, magic books, doctrinal books, poems. So be it: *mahāprabhāve hili hili, mili mili.* May it go forth for me by the power of the blessed goddess Sarasvatī. *karāṭe keyūre, keyūrebatī, hili mili, hili mili, hili hili.* I invoke the great goddess by the truth of the Buddha, by the truth of the Indra, by the truth of Varuṇa...<sup>79</sup>

<sup>78</sup> Emmerick, *Sūtra of Golden Light*, 27, 49.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 50. *T* no. 665, 16: 436a12-b7 reads: 怛姪他慕囉只囉 阿伐帝(貞勵) 阿伐吒伐底(丁里, 下同) 馨遇囉名具囉 名具羅伐底 鶯具師 末喇只三末底 毘三末底惡近(入) 喇莫近喇怛囉只 怛囉者伐 底質質哩室里蜜里 末難地 曇(去)末喇只 八囉拏畢喇裔 盧迦逝瑟跢(丑世反) 盧迦失囉瑟耻 盧迦畢喇裔 悉馱跋喇帝 毘麼目企(輕利反) 輪只折喇 阿鉢喇底喝帝 阿鉢喇底喝哆勃地 南母只 南母只 莫訶提鼻鉢喇底近(入) 喇昏(火恨) 拏(上) 南摩塞迦囉 我某甲勃地 達哩奢咽 勃地 阿鉢喇底喝哆 婆(上) 跋靺 弔婆謎 毘輪姪靺 舍悉怛囉輪路迦 曼怛囉畢得迦 迦婢耶地數 怛姪他 莫訶鉢喇



Sarasvatī is not the only goddess who offers a *dhāraṇī* in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa*; Śrī Mahādevī (*Kichijōten* in Japan) offers her own spell to provide treasures and spawn a bumper harvest:

*pratipūrṇapāre, samantadarśane, mahābīhāragate, samantabedanagate, mahākāryapratiprāṇe, sattvaarthasamantānuprapure, āyānadharmatāmahābbogine, mahāmaitripasambhite, hitaiṣi, saṃgrihite, tesamarthānupālani.*<sup>80</sup>

婆鼻 四里蜜里四里蜜里 昆折喇觀謎勃地 我某甲勃地輪提 薄伽伐點 提昆焰 薩羅酸(蘇活)點(丁焰[米]反)羯囉(魯家)滯雞由囉雞由囉末底 四里蜜里 四里蜜里 阿婆訶耶弭 莫訶提鼻勃陀薩帝娜 達摩薩帝娜 僧伽薩帝娜因達囉薩帝娜 跋嚩拏薩帝娜 裔[蘆>盧]雞薩底婆地娜 祇釤(引)薩帝娜 薩底伐者泥娜阿婆訶耶弭 莫訶提鼻 四里蜜[米]哩哩[米]哩蜜[米]哩 昆折喇觀 我某甲勃地 南謨薄伽伐底(丁利[米]反)莫訶提鼻 薩囉酸底 悉旬觀 曼怛囉鉢陀彌 莎訶. The Taishō editors provide an alternate Sanskrit rendering: *Tadyathā miri cyore avate avajevati hingule miṅgule piṅgalevati ankhuṣa māricye sammati viṣammati(dasamati)agrati makhye taraci taracivati cirsi ciri śirimiri manandhi damakhe mārīcyē prañāpārye lokajyeṣṭhā loka śneṣṭhī lokāvīrye siddha parate bhīmamukhi śucicari apratihate apratihātābuddhi namuci(mahā)namuci mahādevye prati-graha namaskāra mama buddhi darśabi(drasiki) buddhi apratihata bhavatu sirahame viśuddha cito śāstraśloka-mantra-piṭaka kapiyadiśo tadyathā mahāprabhava hili mili vicaratu vibuddhi mama buddhi (vi)-śuddhi bhagavatye deveyaṃ Sarasvatīm karati keyuramati hiri miri hiri miri abhaya me mahādevi buddha-satyena dharma-satyena saṅghasatyena Indrasatyena Varuṇasatyena yelokyasatyena satyena te,sām satyena satyavacāniya abhaya me mahādevi hili mili hili milivicaratu mama buddhi no namo bhagavati mahādeva Sarasvatya siddhyantu mantra pada me svāhā.*

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., 52-53. *T* no. 665, 16: 439c2-12 reads: 南謨室唎莫訶天女 怛姪他鉢唎脯嚩拏折囉 三曼頌 達喇設泥(去聲,下皆同爾)莫訶昆陀囉揭諦 三曼哆毘曇末泥 莫訶迦哩也 鉢唎底瑟佉鉢泥 薩婆頌 他娑彈泥 蘇鉢唎底脯囉 阿耶娜達摩多莫訶毘俱比諦 莫訶迷咄嚩 鄔波僧呬祇 莫訶頤唎使 蘇僧近(入聲)哩哩祇 三曼多頌他 阿奴波唎泥 莎訶. The Taishō editors again provide an alternate Sanskrit: *Namo śrī-mahādevī tadyathā paripūrṇa-care Samanta-darśanī mahāvīhāragare samanta pitamamati mahākārya prativīṣṭhapani sarvānthasamamtana(?)supratipure ayanadharmata mahābbāgena*



Not only is this another key scripture from the list that Chikatō had vowed and copied for Matsuo that explicitly celebrates Śrī Mahādevī and receiving benefits from reciting another *dhāraṇī*, the other being the *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra*, but this looks to me like tantalizing evidence of the book road that Wang Yong has written about that very well may connect communities in 12th century Japan with points—and peoples—along the earlier Silk Road(s).

Dr̥ḍhā 堅牢地神 (alt. Pṛthivī), an earth goddess, also provides her own spell,<sup>81</sup> which was almost certainly especially relevant to Hata clan members at Matsuo shrine. It is easy to imagine why a community whose primary focus was to venerate the *kami* of Matsuo, including a mountain deity, Ōyamakui no kami 大山咋神 (alt. Ōyamagui), as a *gohōjin* 護法神, or protector of Buddhism, and a female *kami* (goddess), Ichikishimahime no mikoto 市杵島姫命 (alt. Okitsushima), who protected the Kadonogawa 葛野川 (today called Katsuragawa 桂川), might find spells to expel pollution via a ritual bath, boost the rice harvest, or to cure diseases caused by epidemics useful.<sup>82</sup> We cannot probably ever know for certain if [ritual]

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*mahāmaitrī upasam̐bete mahākṛeśa susamgr̥hīte anupulana. svāhā.*

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 56-60. As mentioned earlier, Yijing probably translated from a more recent Sanskrit manuscript than the one Emmerick translated (or Skjærvø); *T* 665, 16: 440c21-441a8 (with introductory prose) provides the spell: 爾時,堅牢地神白佛言:「世尊!我有心呪,能利人天,安樂一切,若有男子女人及諸四眾,欲得親見我真身者,應當至心持此陀羅尼,隨其所願,皆悉遂心,所謂資財珍寶伏藏,及求神通,長年妙藥并療眾病,降伏怨敵,制諸異論。當於淨室安置道場,洗浴身已,著鮮潔衣,踞草座上,於有舍利尊像之前,或有舍利制底之所,燒香散花,飲食供養。於白月八日布灑星合,即可誦此請召之呪:怛姪他只哩只哩 主嚕主嚕 句嚕句嚕 拘柱拘柱 覩柱覩柱 縛訶(上) 縛訶 伐捨伐捨 莎訶。

<sup>82</sup> On *gohōjin*, see ‘Chingo kokka’ 鎮護國家 and esp. ‘Chinju dokkyō’ 鎮守読經 in Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin*, IV: 325-328. Kyoto National Museum, *Kamigami no bi no sekai*, 210. There is a statue of Ōyamagui and another of Ichikishimahime no mikoto in the Shinzōkan 神像館 at Matsuo today. The former statue was almost certainly enshrined no later than 866. See my forthcoming article, ‘Sustaining Tang Chinese Buddhist Rituals at Shrine-Temple Complexes (*jingūji* or *miyadera*) in 12th Century Japan’.

knowledge of precisely how to read and pronounce the *Saishōōkyō* in Japanese at Matsuo was considered essential to placate the *kami*, and especially female *kami*. But I do think it is crucial for historians of religion to bear certain questions in mind when comparing the closely related manuscripts from medieval Japan with those from Dunhuang, such as those posed by Sam van Schaik:

The manuscripts from the Dunhuang library cave are particularly well suited to this kind of enquiry. We know tantalisingly little about the cave: neither why it was filled with manuscripts, nor why it was sealed in the early 11th century. In fact, the word ‘library’ is misleading, for if one thing is clear, it is that this cache of manuscripts does not form any kind of coherent library collection.<sup>83</sup>

Let us not forget what looking at early (5th–7th century) Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Lotus Sūtra* from Gilgit inspired Oskar von Hinüber to say about the value of colophons: ‘particularly in very rich and sometimes even voluminous colophons a lot of cultural knowledge is hidden. For, much of the common cultural background of scribes and donors at the period when the copy was prepared is also unintentionally preserved in these texts...[C]olophons gradually gained importance as invaluable sources of information on cultural history otherwise lost.’<sup>84</sup>

## Bibliography

### Abbreviations

*NBZ*      *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 [Complete Buddhist Works of Japan]. 150 vols. Tokyo: Bussho kankōkai 佛書刊行會, 1912–1922. All references are to the rpt. ed., 100 vols. Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan 鈴木学

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<sup>83</sup> Sam van Schaik, ‘The Uses of Implements are Different’, 221.

<sup>84</sup> von Hinüber, ‘On the Early History of Indic Buddhist Colophons’, 57.

- 術財団 (Tokyo: Kōdansha 講談社, 1970–1973).
- P. Pelliot collection of Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: <http://idp.bl.uk>.
- S. Stein collection of Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang preserved at the British Library, London: <http://idp.bl.uk>.
- SK. Shōgozō manuscripts from *Shōgozō kyōkan* 聖語藏經卷, 117 discs to date, ed. Kunaichō Shōsōin Jimusho 宮内庁正倉院事務所 (Tokyo: Maruzen, 2000–)
- T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 100 vols., eds. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎, Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭, et al., Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1932. Rpt., Chinese Buddhist Electronic Texts Association 中華電子佛典協會, CBETA Electronic Tripiṭaka Collection 電子佛典集成, Taipei: 1998–2018 and SAT Daizōkyō Database: <http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php?lang=en>.
- Z *Zhenyuan xinding Shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 (Newly Revised Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures made during the Zhenyuan-era, T no. 2157), comp. 799 or 800 by Yuanzhao 圓照 (d.u.). Nos. follow the Nanatsudera MS in Miyabayashi Akihiko 宮林昭彦 and Ochiai Toshinori 落合俊典, ‘Zhengyuan xinding shijiao mulu juandi 貞元新定釋教目錄 29 30’ in *Chūgoku Nihon kyōten shōsho mokuroku* 中國・日本經典章疏目錄 [Catalogues of Scriptures and their Commentaries in China and Japan], ed. Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮, et al., Nanatsudera koitsu kyōten kenkyū sōsho 七寺古逸經典叢書 (The Long Hidden Scriptures of Nanatsudera, Research series) (Tokyo: Daitō shuppansha, 1998) and Gakujutsu Furontia jikkō iinkai 學術フロンティア実行委員会, ed. *Nihon genson hasshu issaikyō taishō mokuroku tsuke Tōkō bukkyō bunken* 日本現存八種一切經対照目錄 [付] 敦煌仏教文献 [Catalogue Comparing Eight Buddhist Canons Currently Available in Japan with Buddhist literature from Dunhuang] (Tokyo: Kokusai

Bukkyōgaku daigakuin daigaku 國際佛教學大學院大學,  
2006), rather than *T* no. 2157.

Titles in Japanese and [reconstructed] Sanskrit in the Taishō canon follow Paul Demiéville et al., *Répertoire du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais, Édition de Taishō (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō) : [Fascicule Annexe du Hōbōgirin]*, Éd. rev. et augm. ed. (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1978) and Lewis R. Lancaster and Sung-bae Park, eds., *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

### Primary Sources

*Da Piluzhe'na chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經 [Skt. \**Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhivikurvītādhiṣṭhāna-vaipulya-sūtra*]. 7 juan. Trans. by Śubhakarasiṃha (Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735) and Yixing 一行 (673–727) in 725. *T* no. 848, *Z* no. 03.

*Daoxing bore jing* 道行般若經 [Skt. *Aṣṭasāha-śrīkāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*]. 10 juan. Trans. by Lokakṣema (Zhiloujiachen 支婁迦讖, fl. 147–189) in 179. *T* no. 224, *Z* no. 8.

*Genbensapoduobu lüshe yiqie* 根本薩婆多部律攝 [Skt.

\**Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayasamgraha*]. 14 juan. Trans. by Yixing 一行 (673–727) in 710. *T* no. 1458, *Z* no. 1053.

*Genben shuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶 (lü 律) [Skt. *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayavibhaṅga*]. 50 juan. Trans. by Yixing 一行 (673–727) ca. 702–703. *T* no. 1442, *Z* no. 1010.

*Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu pi'naiye zashi* 根本說一切有部毗奈耶雜事 [Skt. *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinayakṣudrakavastu*]. 40 juan. Trans. by Yixing 一行 (673–727) in 710. *T* no. 1451, *Z* no. 1012.

*Jingguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經 [Skt. *Suvarṇa[pra]bhāṣottama-sūtra*]. 10 juan. Trans. by Yijing 義淨 (635–713) in 703. *T* no. 665, *Z* no. 158.

*Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經 [\**Sussidhikara-mahātantra-sādhanaopāyikapaṭala-sūtra*]. 3 juan. Trans. by Śubhakarasiṃha (Shanwuwei 善無畏, 637–735) in 726. *T* no. 893, *Z* no. 509.

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# An Investigation of the Relationship between Prince Shōtoku's *Shōmangyō-gisho* and Two Dunhuang Buddhist Manuscripts: A Debate over Originality and Canonical Value<sup>\*†</sup>

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**Abstract:** This article examines the relationship between *Nai 93* and *Tama 24*—two manuscript fragments discovered at Dunhuang—and the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, a Buddhist text written in classical Chinese that scholars traditionally attributed to Japan's Prince Shōtoku (574–622). This discussion focuses on Fujieda Akira's discovery that these Dunhuang manuscripts predate and closely resemble the text attributed to Shōtoku.

Fujieda's research caused heated scholarly debate by questioning the *Shōmangyō-gisho*'s authorship and value, leading to the production of a substantial body of research in the late 1960s and 1970s seeking to clarify the relationship between the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the Dunhuang manuscripts. Specialists in Shōtoku Studies saw these

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efforts as crucial because assertions of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*'s originality are central to its perceived value. One can view this research as part of the broader search for the 'true record', a goal that informed much of the scholarship on the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and two other Buddhist commentaries attributed to the prince. After discussing Fujieda's work, the article examines how those who accept Shōtoku's authorship of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* tried to respond to Fujieda's key findings, focusing on how they address the Dunhuang discoveries in modern translations and critical editions of the text attributed to the prince. It concludes by offering an alternative angle of critical vision on the relationship between these texts that differs in key ways from this received body of scholarship.

**Keywords:** Dunhuang manuscripts, false-composition-hypothesis, Fujieda Akira, Prince Shōtoku, *Sangyō-gisho*, *Shōmangyō-gisho*, true-composition-hypothesis

## Introduction

This article investigates the relationship between two manuscript fragments discovered at Dunhuang,<sup>1</sup> referred to as *Nai 93* 奈九三 and *Tama 24* 玉二四, and the *Shōmangyō-gisho* 勝鬘經義疏, a Buddhist text written in classical Chinese traditionally attributed to Japan's Prince Shōtoku 聖德太子 (574–622). The determination of Fujieda Akira 藤枝晃 and Koizumi Enjun 古泉円順 that the Dunhuang manuscripts predated and bore a striking resemblance to the

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<sup>1</sup> Dunhuang is located in northwest China's Gansu province. In 1900, the Daoist monk Wang Yuanlu 王圓籙 (c. 1849–1931) discovered a large cache of manuscripts in the Mogao Caves 莫高窟. Those manuscripts included a large number of Buddhist texts, many composed in classical Chinese, but also manuscripts written in other languages representing Buddhism and other religious traditions. See <http://idp.bl.uk> for a link to the International Dunhuang Project (IDP).

text attributed to Shōtoku caused a heated scholarly debate. Indeed, scholars spent much intellectual effort in the late 1960s and 1970s seeking to clarify the texts' relationship because the *Shōmangyō-gisho*'s originality is central to its perceived value and canonical status. We can view this scholarship, which continues in the present, as part of the broader search for 'the true record' (Japanese, *jitsuroku* 実録) of Shōtoku studies, which informs much, but not all, scholarship on the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and two other Buddhist commentaries attributed to the prince.

A little background information may help readers understand Prince Shōtoku's place in history. He appears in the *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (compiled in 720) and other early texts as an accomplished politician and key patron of the nascent Buddhist community in Japan, which was beginning to develop with the support of continental immigrants. These texts credit him with composing a seventeen-point constitution and promoting diplomatic contacts with the Chinese dynasties and Korean kingdoms from which Buddhist teachers brought their texts and traditions. To promote the local assimilation of Buddhism, the texts say Shōtoku donated land to the community, built temples, and collected texts written in classical Chinese. The texts also describe him as a brilliant and devout practitioner of the new faith who quickly mastered its teachings under the tutelage of Hyeja 慧慈, a Buddhist monk from Goguryeo (one of the Three Kingdoms of Korea). Although differing in details, these texts mostly agree that Shōtoku's tutelage under Hyeja led to lectures by the prince on key Buddhist texts at court; those lectures served, in turn, as the basis for his composition of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and two other Buddhist texts known collectively as the *Sangyō-gisho* 三經義疏 (Commentaries on the Three Sūtras).

In this earliest period of Japanese Buddhism, adherents recognized the *Sangyō-gisho* as valuable religious texts; for instance, Chikō 智光 (708?–780?), Saichō 最澄 (767–822), and other figures from this period used the *Sangyō-gisho* texts to understand and illuminate other Buddhist texts. But it seems that for many adherents it was the very act of their composition by a local Japanese author that was crucial to their perceived value. Some five hundred years after Shōtoku's death, Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321), a Kamakura-era Bud-

dhist monk of the Kegon school, wrote the first detailed treatises on each of the *Sangyō-gisho* texts, thereby inaugurating an exegetical tradition that survives into the present day as one key element of Shōtoku studies.

### The Search for the ‘True Record’

A key point in the modern period of Shōtoku studies is marked by the 1905 publication of Kume Kunitake’s 久米邦武 *Jōgū Taishi Jitsuroku* 上宮太子実録 (The True Record of Prince Jōgū).<sup>2</sup> Since its publication, scholars, artists, novelists, and others have produced a massive body of Shōtoku-related materials, including highly technical scholarly studies, *manga*, television dramas, and online blogs that depict, discuss, and debate key events from Shōtoku’s life, such as his patronage of Buddhism and study of Buddhist teachings with Hyeja.<sup>3</sup>

Many of these studies sought to recover the ‘true record’ of Shōtoku by sifting historical fact from rhetorical embellishment. This goal also sharply defined *Sangyō-gisho* scholarship, a subdiscipline within Shōtoku studies, wherein most scholars fall into one of two main camps known as the true-composition hypothesis and the false-composition hypothesis.<sup>4</sup> Proponents of the former position expended great intellectual effort trying to prove not only that

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<sup>2</sup> Jōgū Taishi is one of Shōtoku’s names. After publishing *Jōgū Taishi Jitsuroku* 上宮太子実録 [The True Record of Prince Jōgū] in 1905, Kume published *Shōtoku Taishi Jitsuroku* 聖徳太子実録 [The True Record of Prince Shōtoku] in 1919; it was reprinted in 1942.

<sup>3</sup> Examples include a three-hour NHK drama titled *Shōtoku Taishi* that was broadcast in 2001 and a large number of *manga* either dedicated to the prince or discussing his contribution to, for example, the history of Japanese Buddhism. There are also Shōtoku Taishi T-shirts, figurines, and jigsaw puzzles, among other such items of popular culture.

<sup>4</sup> There is a third position that posits joint authorship in which Shōtoku played some sort of meaningful role in their composition.

Shōtoku authored the three *Sangyō-gisho* texts, but that they are also original works of a brilliant Japanese mind, certainly deserving of their valued canonical status. Hanayama Shinshō 花山信勝, Kanaji Isamu 金治勇, and other scholars from this camp tried to defend the texts' canonical status by revealing their uniqueness, lucidity, and profundity, which requires, in part, detailing their distinctiveness from intellectual models and predecessors. In the case of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, for instance, these scholars scrutinized the relationship between Shōtoku's *Shōmangyō-gisho* and a text it refers to regularly as the *hongī* 本義, or 'model text', as well as its relationship to a group of texts it refers to as 'other commentaries'.

Many true-composition hypothesis scholars devoted their energies to responding to the assertions of Tsuda Sōkichi 津田左右吉 (1873–1961) and his false-composition hypothesis successors who reject Shōtoku's authorship of the three *Sangyō-gisho* commentaries. Their scholarship represents one part of a broader attack on the received narrative of Shōtoku as a pivotal figure of early Japanese history. Tsuda and other proponents of this position offer evidence they claim proves Shōtoku could not possibly have written the *Sangyō-gisho* texts, arguing instead that they were likely written by a continental author (or authors) and brought to Japan, or were composed solely or jointly by an immigrant monk (or monks) from the Korean peninsula residing in Japan, after which they were falsely attributed to Shōtoku. Since the publication of Tsuda's scholarship in the 1930s and 1940s, Fujieda Akira, Koizumi Enjun, and other false-composition hypothesis scholars have elaborated upon and refined his assertions.

### The Discovery of the Dunhuang Manuscripts

While rejecting Shōtoku's authorship of the *Sangyō-gisho* texts, Fujieda and Koizumi also challenged the *Shōmangyō-gisho*'s originality by revealing its high degree of correspondence with *Nai 93* and *Tama 24*—the two Dunhuang manuscripts mentioned above, which, scholars agree, pre-date Shōtoku's text.<sup>5</sup> Yang Yufei 楊玉飛 notes that *Nai 93* is thirty-six pages in length but is missing material that would

have appeared at the beginning of the manuscript, while *Tama 24* is thirteen pages and corresponds to material from the last section of *Nai 93*. He describes both manuscripts as being skillfully brushed in *gyōsho* 行書, a semi-cursive script.<sup>6</sup>

Scholars consider the revelation of this high degree of correspondence between the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and these Dunhuang manuscripts to be one of the most important modern discoveries in *Sangyō-gisho* studies.<sup>7</sup> Its significance is attested to by the flurry of subsequent scholarly activity seeking to determine the precise relationship between these manuscripts and the *Shōmangyō-gisho*.

In their initial findings, Fujieda and Koizumi identified the Dunhuang manuscripts as the *hongī* of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, and thus referred to them as the ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho hongī*’ 勝鬘經義疏本義 (the model text of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*).<sup>8</sup> But further study revealed

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<sup>5</sup> For a discussion of these findings, see Fujieda, ‘Hokuchō ni okeru’, 325–49; Fujieda, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho*’, 484–544; Fujieda and Koizumi, ‘Sankō E hon’, 429–62; and Koizumi, ‘Tonkōhon’, 59–141. For a discussion of the relationship between the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, the Dunhuang manuscripts, and the *hongī* from the perspective of the true-composition hypothesis, see Kanaji, ‘Tonkō hakken no *Shōmangyōsho*’, 835–41; Kanaji, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho* to *Shōmangyōsho*’, 270–73; Kanaji, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho* no “*hongī*”’, 25–38; Hirakawa, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho* to *Nai 93*’, 207–30; and Fujii, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho hongī*’, 142–43.

<sup>6</sup> See Yang, ‘Chūgoku Nanbokuchō Jidai’, 153–54.

<sup>7</sup> Its importance is evident in other ways: for example, Kanaji Isamu notes that these findings were reported in the August 28, 1968 edition of the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, one of the main Japanese daily newspapers. And the preface to one of the critical editions of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* notes that its production was motivated, in part, because none of the previous editions had been produced after the publication of Fujieda’s and Koizumi’s research. See Kanaji, *Shōmangyō-gisho no shisōteki kenkyū*, 23.

<sup>8</sup> Koizumi’s reconstruction of *Nai 93* can be found in ‘Tonkōhon *Shōmangyōsho hongī*’, 59–141. Fujieda notes that although *Shōman-gisho* 勝鬘義疏 would have been a more appropriate title, since other commentaries were already known by that name, the former was selected (Fujieda, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho*’, 487). Based on the brush work, Koizumi concludes that both manuscripts are

the existence of material in the *Shōmangyō-gisho* that differed from *Nai 93–Tama 24*, and thus seemed to point to a different *hongī* pre-dating the Dunhuang manuscripts. These differences led them to conclude that *Nai 93–Tama 24* and the *Shōmangyō-gisho* were composed based on the same *hongī*, which Koizumi labels the ‘hongī genpon’ 本義原本 (source text of the model text).<sup>9</sup>

Based on his reconstruction of *Nai 93*, the more complete of the two manuscripts, Koizumi estimates that of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*’s roughly 1,400 lines, only about three hundred differ from these manuscripts, and thus over three-quarters of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* came directly from the *hongī*.<sup>10</sup> He and Fujieda thus argue that because the *Shōmangyō-gisho* relies so heavily on this earlier text, it exhibits very little originality regardless of the latter’s identity and their precise relationship. This high degree of correspondence between the Dunhuang manuscripts and the *Shōmangyō-gisho* leads Fujieda to conclude that scholars should understand the latter as no more than a ‘revised text’.<sup>11</sup> These sorts of texts, he notes, are not uncommon in

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sixth-century texts from the Northern Dynasties period, but concedes that while it is possible they were transmitted from the south, they were, at a minimum, copied and read in the north. Although there are differences between *Nai 93* and *Tama 24*, Koizumi notes that the meaning of the text is not significantly altered by them and that they are clearly copies of the same text. Most of these differences are related to specific characters: variants that have the same sound or the omission of characters in one or the other manuscript. Koizumi, ‘Tonkōhon’, 69.

<sup>9</sup> Koizumi, ‘Tonkōhon’, 69.

<sup>10</sup> Koizumi, ‘Tonkōhon’, 67.

<sup>11</sup> Fujieda, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho*’, 504. In a similar way, Watanabe Shōkō describes the three commentaries as ‘notebooks’, which could have been written by a student studying with a Chinese master. See Watanabe, ‘*Sangyō-gisho* no sakusha mondai’, 154. In assessing the originality of the *Sangyō-gisho*, Hirai Shun’ei writes: ‘Because the *Sangyō-gisho* relies on the *hongī* for over two-thirds of its interpretations, and also draws on the [thought of scholars cited in the] work of Jizang, [these commentaries] should be considered patchworks. And because there are so few quotations of the *sūtras* and other commentaries, they are basic texts that are rather unsophisticated. In this way, as is pointed out by



the East Asian commentarial tradition and function mainly ‘to supplement, correct, and abbreviate their root texts’.<sup>12</sup> Fujieda further questions the originality of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* by noting that over half its differences with *Nai 93–Tama 24* occur in short summaries of the succeeding section that appear at the beginning of section breaks in the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, but which do not appear in the Dunhuang manuscripts.<sup>13</sup>

### The True-Composition Hypothesis Response to the Dunhuang Manuscripts

While Hanayama, Kanaji, and other true-composition hypothesis scholars acknowledge these relationships and the *Shōmangyō-gisho*’s reliance on its intellectual predecessors, they sought with great effort to prove that it is not, as Fujieda and Koizumi argue, simply a rehashing of the Dunhuang manuscripts and the *hongī*, but rather a valuable religious work in its own right. These scholars see the *Shōmangyō-gisho*’s reclassification as an unoriginal copy as a crucial blow to the large corpus of scholarship extolling Shōtoku’s great intellect and position as first patriarch of the nascent Japanese Buddhist tradition. Moreover, this proof is, naturally, crucial to maintaining the text’s value because even if scholars proved Shōtoku composed it, if it is little more than a restatement of the *hongī* and

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Ōno [Tatsunosuke], it would not be unusual if they were produced in the Asuka period. But in that case, just as is asserted by the false-composition-hypothesis, it is with the assumption that they were not the work of *Shōtoku Taishi* alone’. Hirai, ‘*Sangyō-gisho* no seiritsu’, 533.

<sup>12</sup> Fujieda, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho*’, 504.

<sup>13</sup> Fujieda, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho*’, 501–4. For example, the text uses the combination *raii* 來意 six times to summarize a chapter or a longer passage. For instance, *T* no. 2185, 56: 0016b08–9 reads: ‘The central subject of this chapter is that sentient beings, having heard [the teachings] on the tathāgatarbha described in Chapter 2, are encouraged to have faith in the Eight Noble Truths’ 此章來意者。物聞上第二如來藏章勸信八聖諦。

other commentaries, its value would diminish significantly. To this end, they stress that although the *Shōmangyō-gisho* is similar in some ways to *Nai 93–Tama 24*, and possibly to an even earlier *hongī*, a number of its passages do not agree with these manuscripts. Indeed, some appear to address the work of Chinese Buddhist exegetes whose work is lacking in the Dunhuang manuscripts, while still others are unique to the *Shōmangyō-gisho*.

Hanayama argues that while Shōtoku relies on the *hongī*, he does not ‘follow it blindly’,<sup>14</sup> and that although the prince accepts some of the interpretations of his Chinese predecessors, he criticizes them at other times, and thus exhibits a ‘critical attitude’ toward the work of these exegetes. He writes: ‘Based on my research into the thought, sentences, language, and so forth of the entire *Shōmangyō-gisho*, and on comparisons to other extant commentaries [on the *Srīmālā-sūtra* 勝鬘經], I estimate there to be approximately one hundred eighty passages that reveal the author’s own interpretations’.<sup>15</sup> Thus, for Hanayama, although the text attributed to Shōtoku participates in and transmits the Chinese exegetical tradition, it represents a crucial, locally produced interpretive development. Accordingly, Hanayama justifies it as an object of value and reverence that is worthy of detailed exegesis in the model established in the Kamakura era by Gyōnen.

While Kanaji also acknowledges that the *Shōmangyō-gisho* relies on this body of previous scholarship, he too argues that it exhibits unique interpretations,<sup>16</sup> writing:

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<sup>14</sup> Hanayama, *Jōgūōsen*, 405. In this regard, he cites Shōtoku’s use of phrases such as, ‘I believe that these views are insufficient’, among others, as proof of Shōtoku’s ‘critical attitude’. Hanayama, *Jōgūōsen*, 313.

<sup>15</sup> Hanayama, *Jōgūōsen*, 408.

<sup>16</sup> Kanaji discusses what he describes as the *Sangyō-gisho*’s ‘special characteristics’ in a number of articles and books, including *Shōtoku Taishi kyōgaku no kenkyū*, 27–52, 194–217. See also Kanaji, *Sangyō-gisho no Shomondai*, 75–94. See also Watanabe, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho* no tokuchō’, 126–32.

When we think in these terms, it is not then so important [to determine] to what extent the interpretations of the *hongī* [appear] in the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and to what degree they are the individual [ideas] of [Shōtoku] Taishi. Since there is no meaning to the *gisho* 義疏 apart from the *hongī*, a more important concern is how the *gisho* was composed based on [Shōtoku's] interpretation of the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*. If we search too deeply in this way, we will not only lose the vitality of the *gisho*, it is also possible that our understanding of the *sūtra* itself will become muddled. We must seek, therefore, to understand how, based on the *hongī*, Shōtoku read and interpreted the *sūtra*, and then to make his way of reading and accepting it our own as we too taste again the *sūtra* itself. If we do not, we have not truly read the *gisho*. And in this way, there are no obstacles to taking the *gisho* as a whole as the work of [Shōtoku] Taishi. That is, [while it is true] he used the *hongī* to understand the *sūtra*, it is still his own work because it is not simply [the repetition of the *hongī*'s ideas]; rather, [Shōtoku's commentary] surpasses the *hongī* by putting forth such new interpretations.<sup>17</sup>

In this way, the *Shōmangyō-gisho* participates in the East Asian commentarial tradition but exhibits a 'progressive, interpretive step forward'.<sup>18</sup> Even though Kanaji argues it is not so important to separate the interpretations of the *hongī* from those of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, the great intellectual effort that he, Hanayama, and others made to prove the latter's uniqueness seems to belie this claim. Kanaji also observes that determining the text's authorship is a complex project, and he writes: 'Even if we knew that a single individual wrote the *Sangyō-gisho*, proving conclusively that it was Shōtoku Taishi is difficult. Thus, even Hanayama's work must be understood as a hypothesis'.<sup>19</sup>

These comments raise the following questions that I plan to pursue as part of a broader project on the intellectual history and

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<sup>17</sup> Kanaji, *Shōmangyō-gisho no shisōteki kenkyū*, 24.

<sup>18</sup> Kanaji, *Shōmangyō-gisho no shisōteki kenkyū*, 23.

<sup>19</sup> Kanaji, *Sangyō-gisho no Shomondai*, 64.

exegetical tradition of *Sangyō-gisho* studies. Given this complexity and these seemingly inconclusive results, why have these and other scholars persisted in searching for the true record? What are the key assumptions regarding textuality, authorship, and canon formation that undergird that search? Furthermore, in focusing so intently on proving or disproving Shōtoku's authorship of the text and its inherent originality in pursuit of the 'true record', what intellectual roads have they foreclosed?

The rest of this article sketches out some preliminary answers to the second and third questions by first taking up the text's authorship through a broad lens. Having done so, we will then examine how this issue was addressed in six modern editions of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* in light of Fujieda's discovery. Here, we will consider these editions' responses to the Dunhuang evidence by focusing on how each one presents and interprets the text's initial declaration of authorship, which Fujieda and other scholars agree is an interpolation. Our investigation of these passages in the six editions will provide the material for the article's final section outlining an alternative way to understand the *Shōmangyō-gisho* that is unbound by the binaries—true-false, Japanese-Chinese, and so on—that undergird received scholarship. The term *unbound* gestures toward an 'unbinding' of the text from its 'original' form that is narrowly tied to a particular time, place, and person; this process will, in turn, 'unbind', or open up, other angles of critical vision on the *Shōmangyō-gisho* that will be articulated in the final section.

### Buddhist Scriptural Self-sufficiency

To better understand the significance of the Dunhuang discovery, we can place that declaration of Shōtoku's authorship in the context of efforts to create an authoritative local Buddhist tradition based on models brought to the archipelago in the prince's era by immigrant groups from the Chinese dynasties and the Korean kingdoms. Through a broad lens, we can identify helpful similarities among these attempts to assimilate Buddhism on the archipelago and attempts to do so in China, Korea, Tibet, and elsewhere, wherein local pro-

ponents of Buddhism sought to create, using diverse means, what Robert Buswell describes as scriptural and ‘cultural self-sufficiency’.<sup>20</sup> For instance, he and other scholars have shown how the composition of falsely attributed Buddhist texts in China fit this pattern. Buswell argues in this regard that ‘the composition of Chinese Buddhist apocrypha is but one example of a complex process of cultural hermeneutics whereby foreign Indian concepts were transformed into familiar Chinese ideas’.<sup>21</sup>

In the case of Silla, one of the Korean kingdoms, he argues that the ‘discovery’ of the *Vajrasamādhi-sūtra* 金剛三昧經 beneath the sea off the Korean peninsula by a kingdom envoy was meant to prove Silla Buddhism’s cultural and scriptural self-sufficiency relative to Chinese Buddhist models, as part of efforts to create legitimate local Korean Buddhist traditions.<sup>22</sup> That is, since the text was of local provenance, these indigenous Buddhist traditions no longer needed a constant influx of texts and interpreters from China. The process Buswell describes includes a complex negotiation between the legitimacy that Buddhists have sought in earlier or, preferably, the earliest forms of Buddhism, that often came from the west and across the sea or mountains, and what Charles Hallisey describes as the production of meaning in ‘local circumstances rather than in the origins of the tradition’.<sup>23</sup>

In the case of Japan, Buddhists in Shōtoku’s era and beyond often understood the legitimacy of Buddhist texts, teachings, and schools in relation to traditions that lay across the sea to the west. For instance, in the Kamakura era (1185–1333), a period of heightened interest in Shōtoku, major Buddhist thinkers like Gyōnen understood this relationship through the lens of the *sangoku* 三国, or ‘three lands’, paradigm, through which they saw Chinese Bud-

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<sup>20</sup> Buswell, *The Formation of Ch’an Ideology*, 58. Buswell identifies ‘cultural self-sufficiency’ as the phrase of Michael Rogers. He also uses this phrase in Buswell, *Cultivating Original Enlightenment*, 39.

<sup>21</sup> Buswell, ed. *Chinese Buddhist Apocrypha*, 13.

<sup>22</sup> Buswell, ‘Imagining “Korean Buddhism”’, 73–107.

<sup>23</sup> Hallisey, ‘Roads Taken’, 50.

dhist traditions as the proximate source of authoritative Buddhism, while Indian models provided legitimacy at further remove. Indeed, we can detect the earliest stage of this process of negotiation on the archipelago in the declaration itself, which asserts the prince's local authorship of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* but does so in what David Lurie describes as the 'transregional' Chinese language—we revisit Lurie's ideas on the development of writing and reading practices on the Japanese archipelago in the conclusion. Its ongoing negotiation plays out in relation to the text in several fascinating ways, including the production of a large body of scholarship written in Japan, but also through the transmission of Shōtoku's texts back across the sea as proof of Shōtoku's erudition and the assertion of Japanese Buddhism's cultural and scriptural self-sufficiency. As this process played out over the centuries, the *Shōmangyō-gisho* naturally diverged further from the Dunhuang manuscripts.

### Modern *Shōmangyō-gisho* Scholarship

Since the *Shōmangyō-gisho* served as just such a symbol of cultural and scriptural self-sufficiency, Fujieda and Koizumi's Dunhuang evidence struck at the very heart of the text's perceived value, which has, as noted above, depended not only on the veracity of the declaration of authorship itself but also on scholarly appraisals of its originality, its profundity, and even its inherent 'Japaneseness'. For instance, Nakamura Hajime 中村元 describes Shōtoku as 'one of the best and most benevolent of all the rulers of Japan and the real founder of Buddhism in Japan', claiming Shōtoku's spirit served as the foundation for the later development of 'Japanese thought'.<sup>24</sup> He contends, moreover, that the composition of the *Sangyō-gisho* was crucial to establishing Japanese Buddhism and that the prince's choice of the three texts was 'entirely based on the Japanese way of thinking'.<sup>25</sup> He argues that Shōtoku's text compares favorably to Jizang's 吉藏 (549–623)

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<sup>24</sup> Nakamura, *Japanese Thought*, 3.

<sup>25</sup> Nakamura, *Japanese Thought*, 17.

commentary on the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, asserting that while the work of the Chinese exegete is exhaustive, it represents a lifeless formalism and scholasticism, concurring with the assessment of the Japanese Buddhist monk Fujaku 普寂 (1707–1781). On the other hand, Shōtoku's text is concise and reveals the root *sūtra*'s central meaning.

In a particularly vitriolic defense of the *Sangyō-gisho* from Tsuda's scholarship of the 1930s and 1940s, Umehara Takeshi 梅原猛, a well-known proponent of *Nihonjin ron* 日本人論 (the theory of Japaneseness), attacked Tsuda for not reading the commentaries in any depth and relying mainly on 'external' evidence. Tsuda, writes Umehara, consequently 'brings Shōtoku down to his own level as he rejects the achievements of the prince because he cannot comprehend them based on his own limited capacity'.<sup>26</sup> Umehara inveighs against Tsuda's methods, writing:

Having barely even read someone's work, to then reject that person's authorship of it is extremely rude. This is the very height of rudeness toward an author. But Tsuda lacks any sense of this. That is, having read very little of the *Sangyō-gisho*, he inverts the very tradition that has respected them as the work of [Shōtoku] Taishi. But tradition is correct. Rather than rejecting Shōtoku's authorship of the text without reading it thoroughly, would it not be more scientific and ethical to admit that even though one had not read it, one does not believe [these accounts]. Lacking any understanding of this, Tsuda has done something that is very unethical and very unscientific.<sup>27</sup>

Although these statements of Umehara represent the more vitriolic end of the scholarly spectrum, the debates over Shōtoku's authorship of the *Sangyō-gisho* and their place in the canon have been atypically emotional in the generally staid world of Japanese Buddhist Studies. Indeed, similar, but more muted, sentiments about the important role Shōtoku played in establishing Buddhism on the archipelago inform much, but not all, of post-war *Shōmangyō-gisho*

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<sup>26</sup> Umehara, *Shōtoku Taishi*, 389.

<sup>27</sup> Umehara, *Shōtoku Taishi*, 393.

scholarship, including the post-Dunhuang versions of the text examined below, produced by scholars, temples, and Shōtoku-related associations who affirmed the declaration of authorship. Before doing so, however, we look briefly at key early editions of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and at the interpolated declaration of authorship to provide helpful context to those modern *Shōmangyō-gisho* editions.

### Premodern *Shōmangyō-gisho* Editions

Hōryūji 法隆寺, one of the temples closely associated with Prince Shōtoku, is the site of the first printing of the *Sangyō-gisho*. This printing, executed in 1247, served as the model for all future prints, and is, in the case of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* printing, the oldest extant version of the commentary. The colophon of the *Hokke-gisho* notes that the printing was produced in the first year of the Hōji era 宝治 (1247), and is thus referred to as the ‘Hōji printing’, and that ‘the original text of Prince Jōgū, which is extant in Hōryūji, was used as the model for this engraving’.<sup>28</sup> Since the prints of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the *Yuimagyō-gisho* 維摩經義疏 lack colophons, however, their dates are uncertain. Some scholars believe that because the commentaries were printed as a set, a postscript was added only to the *Hokke-gisho*, which they believe, following the traditional ordering of Shōtoku’s composition of the commentaries, was the last of the three printed. Hanayama Shinshō thus concludes that the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the *Yuimagyō-gisho* were likely printed before this date.<sup>29</sup> He also notes that the wood blocks used in the Hōji printing added markings to the text to aid in reading. Hanayama observes that this

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<sup>28</sup> Quoted in Hanayama, *Jōgūōsen*, 35.

<sup>29</sup> Since the Hōji print of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* lacks a colophon, however, it is unclear what manuscript was used as a model. Based on a comparison of the style of the characters found in the Kamakura prints of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the *Hokke-gisho*, Hanayama concludes that even if the Kamakura print of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* was not based on the original, it was, at a minimum, based on a very early manuscript. See Hanayama, *Jōgūōsen*, 127.



first printing did not, however, interpolate passages from other texts, such as the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* or Mingkong's 明空 (dates unknown) *Shengmanjing shuyi sichao* 勝鬘經疏義私鈔, as was done in later printed *ehon* editions.

Just as significant in this regard, Fujieda Akira points out that marginalia from the extant manuscript of the *Hokke-gisho*, claimed to be in Shōtoku's hand, were omitted when the wood blocks for the Hōji printing were engraved, and that the 'original text' was thereby altered in this and other significant ways.<sup>30</sup> He observes that although this manuscript exhibits two distinct styles of writing separated by over one-hundred years, this distinction was lost once the text was cut onto woodblocks. He also points out that these marginalia—which include red markings as well as paper pasted onto the text—were also lost in this printing.

Based on this high degree of fidelity between the extant original of the *Hokke-gisho* and the Kamakura print, Kanaji Isamu, Hanayama, and Fujieda believe the Kamakura prints of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the *Yuimagyō-gisho* likely exhibit a similar degree of fidelity to the manuscripts that were available at the time.<sup>31</sup> Since the original manuscripts of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the *Yuimagyō-gisho* are no longer extant, however, no one can confirm this point.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Fujieda, '*Shōmangyō-gisho*', 491.

<sup>31</sup> Hanayama discusses other similarities between the Kamakura prints of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and *Hokke-gisho*, noting, for example, that their characters are the same style, they have nineteen characters per line and seven lines per page, and both lack *kaeriten*, *okurigana*, or other types of markings that were added to later prints. He believes, moreover, that the high degree of fidelity between the Kamakura print of the *Hokke-gisho* and the extant 'original' suggests that it was engraved by a skilled artist who was knowledgeable about the text and was possibly a follower of Shōtoku. He adds that although there is no conclusive proof that the same individual engraved the blocks for the *Shōmangyō-gisho* print, the style of the characters suggests this to be a reasonable assumption. See Hanayama, *Jōgūōsen*, 97 and 128.

<sup>32</sup> Kanaji was able, however, to offer a degree of support to this hypothesis by comparing the *Yuimagyō-gisho* print with two extant, but incomplete, man-

Although it is unclear how many printings and copies were made, Hanayama notes that extant copies of the Kamakura printing of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* prove that the blocks were corrected and reprinted at least once.<sup>33</sup>

Fujieda also argues that a series of such alterations in the presentation of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* on the printed page transformed the reader's contact with the text. He cites, among other examples, the Kan'ei 寛永 edition of 1637, which added *kaeriten* 返り点 and *furigana* 振り仮名. Although meant to make the text more accessible to the reader, these and other changes, he argues, actually took it further from its original form.<sup>34</sup> Fujieda reminds us that although the Kan'ei print added *kaeriten* and *furigana*, 'In the time of Shōtoku

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uscripts: one housed in the collection of Hōryūji, dating to the Eiman era 永万 (1165–1166), and another at Ōtani University, dating to the Kangen era 寛元 (1243–1247). Based on these comparisons, Kanaji discovered that the Kamakura print of the *Yuimagyō-gisho*—just as was evident in a comparison of the *Hokke-gisho* original manuscript and Kamakura print—mixes the characters 身子 (forty-one times) and 真子 (seventeen times) to translate the name Śariputra. Since the appearance of these character combinations in the printed edition of the *Yuimagyō-gisho* matches their locations in the two manuscripts, Kanaji is able to offer limited proof for the claim that the three prints were all faithful to their models. See Kanaji, *Sangyō-gisho no Shomondai*, 59.

<sup>33</sup> By comparing the copies held in the collections of Ishii Kōyū and Hōryūji, Hanayama produces evidence for multiple printings by noting examples of these corrections that appear in one but not both prints; these corrections include the interpolation or elimination of characters that do not appear in Guṇabhadra's 求那跋陀羅 Chinese translation of the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*. The Ishii print, for example, includes a passage reading 無異所攝受正法者 ('is not different from the acceptance of the True Dharma') for which the corresponding passage in the Hōryūji print omits the character 所, and thus reads 無異「」攝受正法者. By creating a space between the characters 異 and 攝, and by deleting the character 所, the passage is altered so that it agrees with Guṇabhadra's translation. The passage, appearing at *T* no. 353, 12: 218b28, reads: 無異正法. 無異攝受正法. 正法即是攝受正法. See Hanayama, *Jōgūōsen*, 128.

<sup>34</sup> Fujieda, '*Shōmangyō-gisho*', 493.

and Empress Suiko, such markings were unavailable’, and ‘although the early reader would have memorized the *sūtra* and its reproduction was thus unnecessary, this is not the case with the modern reader’.<sup>35</sup> Fujieda cites, for example, the interpolation of a text map in the Meiji period’s 明治時代 *Shimada Bankon* 島田蕃根 printed edition (1895) of the text. He adds that in some cases these changes inadvertently shifted the reader’s focus back to the root text because the Chinese translation of the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, divided to match the corresponding sections of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, appear in the *ehon* as bold characters.

One of the key changes in the modern era that Fujieda highlights is the declaration of authorship, which in some editions became indistinguishable as an interpolation. That declaration, which also appears in the *Hokke-gisho* 法華義疏 (one of the two other *Sangyō-gisho* commentaries), reads: ‘This is from the private collection of King Jōgū of the Land of Yamato, it is not a text from across the sea’ 此是大倭國上宮王私集非海彼本.<sup>36</sup> As Fujieda observes, the interpolated declaration represents one of many important additions to the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, which has been altered in the modern era as it was reproduced in printed editions at temples associated with Shōtoku, as *ehon* 絵本 (also written as 會本) that combine the *Shōmangyō-gisho* with the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* and other related texts, and, finally, as modern translations, appearing in both print and digital formats. These additions, which Gérard Genette calls ‘paratexts’, include title pages and introductions, footnotes and endnotes, tables of contents and indexes, diacritic markings and text maps, and many other sorts of materials. In his description of the paratext, Genette observes that a text is rarely presented to the world in a ‘raw’ or ‘unadorned’ state since these and other sorts of ‘verbal productions’ generally accompany it.<sup>37</sup>


<sup>35</sup> Fujieda, ‘*Shōmangyō-gisho*’, 493.


<sup>36</sup> Hanayama Shinshō notes that the interpolations into the two texts differ slightly: while the *Shōmangyō-gisho* uses 倭 and 国 for ‘Yamato’ and ‘country’, the *Hokke-gisho* uses 倭 and 國. See Hanayama, ‘*Gyobutsu Hokkeso*’, 397–422.

<sup>37</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, 1.

## Modern Versions of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*

The modern editions of the text produced before the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts include the *Dai Nihon bukkō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 (1912) and the *Nihon Daizōkyō* 日本大藏經 (1917), which combines the *Shōmangyō-gisho* with Fujaku's *Shōman shishikukyō shūshō* 勝鬘獅子吼經宗鈔 in the form of an *ehon*. In 1929, the three *Sangyō-gisho* commentaries were included in Volume 56 of the *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, the most recent printing of the Chinese Buddhist canon and Japanese commentaries, digitized in 2005 as part of the SAT Daizōkyō Database project (SAT 大正新脩大藏經テキストデータベース), making the *Shōmangyō-gisho* freely available online.<sup>38</sup>

As reference for the following section and the conclusion, I reproduce below the first few lines of the Taishō edition of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* with my own translation.<sup>39</sup> The  icon serves as a hyperlink that brings up a copy of the printed text in the left-hand column of the screen, while ① and ② are footnotes: the first lists the Hōji and other earlier printed editions of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the second indicates the different ways that those versions present the declaration of authorship.

T no. 2185, 56: 0001a01: 

T no. 2185, 56: 0001a02: no. 2185 [cf. no. 353]

T no. 2185, 56: 0001a03: ①勝鬘經義疏

T no. 2185, 56: 0001a04:

T no. 2185, 56: 0001a05: ②此是 大倭國上宮王  
私集非海彼本

T no. 2185, 56: 0001a06: 夫勝鬘者。本是不可思議。

Translation:

T no. 2185, 56: 0001a03: *Shōmangyō-gisho*

T no. 2185, 56: 0001a05: This is from the private collection of King Jōgū of the Great Land of Yamato. It is not a text from across the sea.

<sup>38</sup> The database is available at: [http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index\\_en.html](http://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index_en.html). See also, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds., *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*.

<sup>39</sup> Dennis, *Shōmangyō-gisho*, 2011.

*T* no. 2185, 56: 0001a06: As for [Queen] Śrīmālā, she was originally inconceivable.

### Six Post-Dunhuang Editions of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*

In this section, we examine the presentation and interpretation of the declaration of authorship in six modern editions of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* presented in chronological order. We will compare those editions, each produced after the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts, to the Taishō edition's presentation of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and consider how each deals with the Dunhuang evidence. For each edition, I list the information appearing on the title page and the presentation of both the declaration of authorship and the first sentence of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* (*T* no. 2185, 56: 0001a06). I also offer a one-paragraph summary of the edition, focusing on its treatment of the Dunhuang evidence.<sup>40</sup> Although those summaries offer just a cursory treatment of this crucial issue, they provide useful material for constructing an alternative understanding in the conclusion of the fascinating process by which the Dunhuang manuscripts and the *Shōmangyō-gisho* diverged.

#### Example I. Shitennōji *ehon* 四天王寺會本 (1971)<sup>41</sup>

##### i. Title page:

聖德太子御撰 – [honorific] Composed by Prince Shōtoku  
 四天王寺 – Shitennōji  
 會本 – *ehon*  
 勝鬘經義疏 – *Shōmangyō-gisho*

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<sup>40</sup> I made several minor modifications to how this material is presented. For instance, I changed all vertical text to horizontal text to conserve space and modified some of the markings. I also added '[honorific]' to indicate the use of the character 御.

<sup>41</sup> *Shitennōji ehon*, 1971.

四天王寺蔵版 – Shitennōji printing

ii. Declaration of authorship:

此<sup>2</sup>レハ是<sup>レ</sup>大倭國上宮王ノ私集<sup>ニシテ</sup>非<sup>ズ</sup>海彼本<sup>一</sup>

‘This is from the private collection of King Jōgū of the Great Land of Yamato. It is not a text from across the sea’. The declaration matches the Taishō text although the editors inserted *katakana* to indicate Japanese syntax.

iii. Footnote from Declaration of authorship:

②ナシ<sup>㊦</sup>㊦大倭國上宮奉詔撰<sup>㊦</sup>上宮皇太子御製<sup>㊦</sup>

This footnote offers the same information as the Taishō edition about how the declaration of authorship appears in different printed editions. ㊦ refers to the An’ei 安永 printed edition executed in 1779, which renders the declaration as: ‘Written upon imperial decree by [King] Jōgū of the Land of Yamato’ 大倭國上宮奉詔撰.<sup>42</sup> ㊦ points to the 1895 Meiji edition, referred to above as the *Shimada Bankon* edition, and renders the declaration: ‘[honorific] Written by Prince Jōgū’ 上宮皇太子御製.<sup>43</sup>

iv. First sentence:

夫<sup>レ</sup>勝鬘<sup>ハ</sup>者<sup>、</sup>本<sup>ハ</sup>是<sup>レ</sup>不可思議。

‘As for [Queen] Śrīmālā, she was originally inconceivable’. The first sentence matches the Taishō text although the editors inserted *katakana* to indicate Japanese readings.

<sup>42</sup> *Shitennōji ehon*, 1.

<sup>43</sup> *Shitennōji ehon*, 1.

## v. Summary:

The editors state that they published the *Shitennōji ehon* to commemorate the 1,350-year anniversary of Prince Shōtoku's death, for which the temple had planned several activities. This edition includes a table of contents, introductory material, an afterword, index, and a text map divided into three fold-out sections. The afterword describes Shōtoku as the 'Preceptor of Yamato' 和国の教主,<sup>44</sup> an epithet found in the hymns of Shinran 親鸞 (1173–1263), the founder of Jōdo Shinshū 浄土真宗. In explaining their decision to produce the *ehon*, the editors mention the value of Shōtoku's teaching of 'harmony' in the turbulence of the present age that threatens humanity itself. Their decision was also due, in part, to *Shōmangyō-gisho* research entering a new phase because of the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts, although they do not examine the significance of the discovery. They do offer thanks to Fujieda Akira for his assistance with the Dunhuang texts, which they consulted in preparing their edition.

Example II. *Nihon Shisō Taikei* 日本思想大系 (1975)<sup>45</sup>

## i. Title page:

勝鬘經義疏 – *Shōmangyō-gisho*  
 早島鏡正 – Hayashima Kyōshō  
 築島裕 – Tsukishima Hiroshi  
 校注 – editors

## ii. Declaration of authorship-right hand page:

此は大倭国上宮王私集非海彼本

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<sup>44</sup> *Shitennōji ehon*, 172.

<sup>45</sup> Hayashima and Tsukishima, *Shōmangyō-gisho*.

‘This is from the private collection of King Jōgū of the Great Land of Yamato. It is not a text from across the sea’. This matches the *kanbun* of the Taishō text.

iii. Declaration of authorship-left hand page:

<sup>\*</sup>  
此(は)是(れ)大倭国上宮王ノ私ノ集(にして)海彼の本(に)非(ず)

‘This is from the private collection of King Jōgū of the Great Land of Yamato. It is not a text from across the sea’. This rendering offers an interesting combination of *hiragana* inside parentheses to indicate Japanese readings but also *katakana* to indicate the possessive.

iv. First sentence-right hand page:

夫勝鬘者本是不可思議。

‘As for [Queen] Śrīmālā, she was originally inconceivable’. This version matches the Taishō text.

v. First sentence-left hand page:

<sup>\*(ソ)</sup> <sup>しょうまん</sup> 夫レ勝鬘(は)[者] <sup>\*もと</sup>本は是れ不可思議なり。

‘As for [Queen] Śrīmālā, she was originally inconceivable’. *Kundoku* 訓読 version.

vi. Summary:

This edition reproduces the classical Chinese on the right-hand page and the corresponding *kundoku* version on the left-hand page. The asterisk appearing above the character 此 in the declaration of authorship in the *kundoku* version points to a note in the upper column of the page that reads: ‘It is believed that these two lines of the declaration were added by someone else. See the endnotes’.<sup>46</sup> That endnote states the



declaration of authorship was added to both the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the *Hokke-gisho* some time after 753, possibly to assert the legitimacy of the Japanese Buddhist tradition and mentions the arrival of the Chinese Buddhist monk Jianzhen 鑑真 (688–763) on the archipelago in 754. The translators then refer readers to the work of Fujieda Akira and Hanayama Shinshō that I described above. Additional endnotes take up the Dunhuang manuscripts, noting how, for instance, the *Shōmangyō-gisho* differs from those manuscripts in its division of the *sūtra*, and offers an extensive comparison of the differences found among the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, the Dunhuang manuscripts, and other commentaries addressing the root text.

### Example III. Hanayama Shinshō 花山信勝 (1977)<sup>47</sup>

#### i. Title page:

花山信勝校訳 – Hanayama Shinshō revised translation  
 勝鬘經義疏 – *Shōmangyō-gisho*  
 付解説宝治板勝鬘經義疏 (影印) – includes commentary and  
 a facsimile of the Hōji edition of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*  
 吉川弘文館刊行 – Publication of Yoshikawa Kōbunkan

#### ii. Declaration of authorship:

これ　こ　やまとのくに　かむつみやのみこ　わたくしにあつむるところ  
 此は是れ、大倭国上　宮王の　私　集　、

わたのあなた　ほん　あら  
 海　彼　の本には非ず(撰号は後人加筆)

‘This is from the private collection of King Jōgū of the Great Land of Yamato. It is not a text from across the sea’. *Kundoku* version.

<sup>46</sup> Hayashima and Tsukishima, *Shōmangyō-gisho*, 26.

<sup>47</sup> Hanayama, *Shōmangyō-gisho kōyaku*.

## iii. First sentence:

[総序] 夫れしょうまん勝鬘もと(夫人)は、本ふ(本体)は不可思議かしぎなり。

‘As for [Queen] Śrīmālā, she was originally inconceivable’.  
*Kundoku* version.

## iv. Summary:

This edition includes a table of contents, the text rendered in *kundoku*, commentary, a complete copy of the Hōji print, and an index. Among the nine notes Hanayama includes in the introduction, the last reads: ‘For the purpose of having as many people as possible read [this revised translation], I have attached many *rubi* ルビ markings, which do not necessarily represent the readings from ancient times’.<sup>48</sup> Hanayama mentions that he had started working on his earlier translation of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, which he describes as ‘our country’s first literary work’,<sup>49</sup> the day after World War II ended as the country turned from military might to humanistic endeavors. He produced this revised edition some thirty years later because of important changes in the modern Japanese language but also because of the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts, which he describes as quite valuable. In the commentary, while Hanayama admits the close connection between the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the Dunhuang texts, he argues that Shōtoku’s text differs in key ways, offering important critiques and unique interpretations of the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Hanayama, *Shōmangyō-gisho kōyaku*, 7.

<sup>49</sup> Hanayama, *Shōmangyō-gisho kōyaku*, 1.

<sup>50</sup> Hanayama, *Shōmangyō-gisho kōyaku*, 273.

Example IV. Inazu Kizō 稲津紀三 (1983)<sup>51</sup>

i. Title page:

上宮・聖徳太子撰 – Composed by Jōgū-Prince Shōtoku  
 改訂新版:勝鬘經義疏 (漢訳文 勝鬘經対照) – Newly revised  
 edition-*Shōmangyō-gisho* (Translation of Chinese text with  
 comparison to *Śrīmālā-sūtra*)  
 稲津紀三 釈注 – Translator Inazu Kizō

ii. Declaration of authorship:

これ こ やまとのくに じょうぐおう ししゅう うみ あなた ほん あら  
 此は是れ、大倭国上宮王の私集にして、海の 彼 の本に非ず

‘This is from the private collection of King Jōgū of the Great Land of Yamato. It is not a text from across the sea’. *Kundoku* version. This edition offers no notes explaining the declaration.

iii. First sentence:

そうじょ  
 総序

そ しょうまん 1もと ふ か し き  
 夫れ勝鬘 は、本 はこれ不可思議なり。

‘As for [Queen] Śrīmālā, she was originally inconceivable’. *Kundoku* version.

iv. Summary:

In his introduction, Inazu invokes Shinran’s description of Shōtoku as the ‘Preceptor of Yamato’ and includes copies of Shinran’s hymns to Shōtoku as an appendix. He writes: ‘The most important goal of this publication is to enable people to

<sup>51</sup> Inazu Kizō, *Shōmangyō-gisho kaitei shinpan*.

become directly familiar with Shōtoku Taishi's *Shōmangyō-gisho*'.<sup>52</sup> He also describes the discovery of the two Dunhuang manuscripts by Fujieda Akira as a valuable contribution to Shōtoku studies. Although he acknowledges that a comparison of Shōtoku's *Shōmangyō-gisho* to these manuscripts reveals many similarities, he, like Hanayama, highlights the differences, including Shōtoku's reinterpretation of the ten stages of the bodhisattva. He concludes that the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts 'does not diminish the original value of the prince's text since it was given expression through the remarkable individuality of Prince Shōtoku himself. Therefore, regardless of whatever other materials may be discovered, my interpretation of the [*Shōmangyō*]-*gisho* will not change'.<sup>53</sup>

Example V. Shōtoku Taishi Research Association 聖徳太子研究會 (1988)<sup>54</sup>

i. Title page:

国民文化研究會聖徳太子研究會著 – Produced by the National Culture Research Association-Prince Shōtoku Research Association

聖徳太子佛典講説 – Explication of Prince Shōtoku's Buddhist Texts

勝鬘經義疏の現代語訳と研究 (上巻) – Modern Translation and Research of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* (first volume)

大明堂發行 – Publication of Taimeidō

ii. Declaration of authorship:

'This is from the private collection of King Jōgū of the Great

<sup>52</sup> Inazu, *Shōmangyō-gisho kaitei shinpan*, 8.

<sup>53</sup> Inazu, *Shōmangyō-gisho kaitei shinpan*, 24.

<sup>54</sup> Shōtoku Taishi Kenkyūkai, *Shōmangyō-gisho no gendaigoyaku*.

Land of Yamato. It is not a text from across the sea'. This translation omits the declaration of authorship.

iii. First sentence:

[総序 その一『勝鬘経』の大意とその題名の御解釋](現代語譯)  
[Preface-Number 1-The central meaning of the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* and the (honorific) interpretation of its title] (modern translation)

そもそも、この<sup>きょうてん</sup>經典の主役として登場する<sup>しょうまん</sup>勝鬘<sup>かた</sup>という方は、その

<sup>もと(1)</sup>本 <sup>れいみょう</sup>は靈妙不可思議であって、

‘Originally, the person known as [Queen] *Śrīmālā*, who appears as the *sūtra*’s protagonist, is miraculously inconceivable....’

iv. Summary:

The Shōtoku Taishi Research Association comprised a group of nine men (two were deceased by the time the association published its translation) in their 60s and 70s who met regularly for some twenty years to study Shōtoku’s texts. After performing an exhaustive study of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* in which they read the text together multiple times, they produced a modern Japanese translation that is the most accessible of all these editions. Its ease of use is evident in the translation of the first sentence above, which presents Shōtoku’s text in modern Japanese and inserts helpful terms, adding ‘*sūtra*’, ‘protagonist’, ‘appears’ and ‘miraculously’. This two-volume edition, which includes a lengthy introduction, divides the *Shōmangyō-gisho* into short sections, with each section having three parts: a modern Japanese translation accompanied by endnotes; a *kundoku* version of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* with *furigana* and additional endnotes; and a research section that includes short explanations of key points not covered in the

notes. Unlike all the other editions, this translation omits the declaration of authorship but acknowledges the controversy over the text's authorship. Even so, the translators assert: "The more we have studied [the *Shōmangyō-gisho*], the more we have developed faith that Shōtoku authored it. While it may cause discomfort for those holding the contrary position, we ask that they kindly substitute "the author of the *Sangyō-gisho*" in the spots in our research where it says "Prince Shōtoku".<sup>55</sup> They also acknowledge the claim made by such contrarians that the Dunhuang manuscripts were the source of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*. In response, they assert that those texts offer a 'superficial' reading of the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*, while Shōtoku's text penetrates to its very essence.<sup>56</sup>

Example VI. Hayashima Kyōshō 早島鏡正 (1999)<sup>57</sup>

i. Title page:

早島鏡正 – Hayashima Kyōshō  
 勝鬘經-勝鬘經義疏 – *Śrīmālā-sūtra-Shōmangyō-gisho*  
 世界聖典刊行協会 – Association for the Publication of the  
 World's Scriptures

ii. Declaration of authorship:

この注釈書は大和国の上宮王聖徳太子がみずから撰述

したもので、海のかなたの書物ではない。<sup>1</sup>

'This commentary was written by King Jōgū-Prince Shōtoku of the Land of Yamato himself; it is not a book from across the sea'.

<sup>55</sup> Shōtoku Taishi Kenkyūkai, *Shōmangyō-gisho no gendaigoyaku*, 19.

<sup>56</sup> Shōtoku Taishi Kenkyūkai, *Shōmangyō-gisho no gendaigoyaku*, 21.

<sup>57</sup> Hayashima Kyōshō, *Shōmangyō: Shōmangyō-gisho*.

## iii. First sentence:

総序 – Preface

釈尊と勝鬘夫人 – Śākyamuni and Queen Śrīmālā

そもそも勝鬘<sup>しょうまん</sup>夫人(『勝鬘經』の主人公)の、本来の姿は、われわれの想像を超えた存在者である。

‘From the start, Queen Śrīmālā (the protagonist of the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*) was one whose original form surpasses our imagination’.

## iv. Summary:

Describing his work as a modern translation, Hayashima offers a lengthy introduction to the text that includes an examination of the *Śrīmālā-sūtra* in the history of Mahāyāna Buddhist texts, chapter-by-chapter summaries, and Shōtoku’s method of dividing the *sūtra*. Hayashima’s edition offers a translation of a small section of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* with *furigana*, footnotes, and explanatory notes inserted into his translation, as seen above, with the following interpolation: ‘(the protagonist of the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*)’. At the end of each section of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, he inserts a separate section surrounded by a border that contains the relevant passage from the *Śrīmālā-sūtra*. In footnote one at the end of the declaration of authorship, he repeats the information that appears in his joint translation with Hiroshi Tsukishima in the *Nihon Shisō Taikēi* edition described above. In the afterword, Hayashima mentions being introduced to Shōtoku’s teachings in 1942 in a seminar at Tokyo University with Hanayama Shinshō, and describes the significant changes that occurred in Shōtoku Studies since the end of World War II, mentioning that although some questioned Shōtoku’s authorship of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, there was, at the time, no consensus.

## Reflections on the Scholarly Field

Although the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the Dunhuang manuscripts have come down to us in the present day, their histories of preservation and reception are distinct, thereby offering us a fascinating case study of authorship, textuality, and canon formation. That is, someone in China clearly valued those manuscripts since they attempted to preserve them for posterity. Even so, Japanese *Shōmangyō-gisho* scholarship offers no evidence that they became foundational to the development of Chinese Buddhist traditions more broadly, unlike the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, which played just such a role in the development of Japanese Buddhism. Its valued status is evident in, for example, the effort scholars made to study, translate, and preserve it and the two other *Sangyō-gisho* texts, beginning with the treatises of Chikō, Saichō, and others. That value is also evident in the modern scholarship examined above, which has, in pursuing the ‘true record’, been forced to respond to Fujieda’s Dunhuang evidence.

As we have seen, the editors of the six editions mentioned different goals for producing them: for instance, Hanayama points to important changes in the Japanese language since he produced a translation immediately after the war. Publication of the *Shitennōji ehon* marked the 1,350th anniversary of Shōtoku’s death, while the Shōtoku Taishi Research Association intended its two-volume work to honor the memory of their teacher, Kurokami Masaichirō 黒上正一郎 (1900–1930). Despite these differences, each edition seeks to help readers recover and understand Shōtoku’s thought and, in so doing, show why the *Shōmangyō-gisho* has rightly been considered a classic, canonical text worthy of ongoing study and reflection.

The editors of these six editions also responded, in their own ways, to the uncomfortable questions about authorship and originality raised by Fujieda, Koizumi, and others because of the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts. Some scholars highlighted minor differences as the basis for maintaining the text’s valued, canonical status. As noted above, Hanayama Shinshō, for instance, identifies some one-hundred eighty distinct passages as evidence for the text’s distinctiveness and has, with other scholars, pointed to characteristically ‘Japanese’ word choice, suggesting the *Shōmangyō-gisho* could



not have been written, as Fujieda and other critics asserted, in China. The Prince Shōtoku Association acknowledges this evidence but maintains its belief that Shōtoku authored the text, inviting skeptical readers to simply substitute ‘author of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*’ for their references to Shōtoku as author when reading their two-volume translation. Others have obliquely acknowledged the Dunhuang evidence. For instance, the afterword to the Shitennōji *ehon* mentions the Dunhuang discoveries and notes that the editors consulted with Fujieda Akira in compiling the *ehon*, but it does not make any sort of statement about the significance of the Dunhuang evidence relative to the *Shōmangyō-gisho*.

These responses to Fujieda’s findings are instructive because they reveal contours of the scholarly field that has focused on recovering the ‘true record’ of Shōtoku as an author and the *Shōmangyō-gisho* as a text. In this approach, scholarship serves mainly an instrumental purpose for recovering facts about the past, whether those facts pertain to the question of authorship or to the qualities seen by many to abide in the text itself and to be the basis of its perceived value: originality, profundity, independent thought, Japaneseness, and so on. While the Dunhuang evidence put proponents of the true-composition hypothesis on the defensive, critics seem to have taken disproving Shōtoku’s authorship as the ultimate end of their scholarship.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> In Shōtoku studies more broadly, Ōyama Seiichi produced a number of provocative studies claiming that Prince Shōtoku was a fictitious figure created during the compilation of the *Nihon Shoki*, distinguishing Shōtoku Taishi from Umayato no miko (see, for example, *Shōtoku Taishi no shinjitsu*). Ōyama asserts that unlike the former, the latter is an actual historical figure about whom we can recover just a small number of details. In ‘The Thesis That Prince Shōtoku Did Not Exist’, Kazuhiko Yoshida, citing Ōyama’s work, writes about the early records like the *Nihon Shoki* that describe Shōtoku and asks: ‘What is one to make of these various episodes? Do they convey historical facts or are they mere fiction? More than one hundred years have elapsed since the birth of modern historiography in Japan, and during this time historians, basing themselves on the spirit of rationality and on positivism, have overturned past historical perceptions and rewritten history through the determination of facts. On the subject of Prince

Although this persistent focus on the question of authorship represents one form of valid historical inquiry, it seems to have foreclosed other productive and, for me, more interesting avenues, or ‘roads’, of scholarly study related to this long history of transmission and reception, whereby the text attributed to Prince Shōtoku has diverged from these manuscripts from ‘across the sea’. Indeed, if we view this question of authorship and the search for the ‘true record’ as simply one small part of *Shōmangyō-gisho* studies and adopt different assumptions about text and author, then other sorts of fascinating avenues of inquiry open up in relation to the Dunhuang discovery. By way of conclusion, I outline just a few of those avenues.

## Conclusion

To separate this debate over authorship from the subsequent 1,500-year history of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*’s reception and use in Shōtoku’s name, we can draw on the scholarship of Alexander Nehamas who makes the useful distinction between the *writer/text* and the *author/work*. In the former pair, the *writer* represents a historical person who acts as the ‘efficient cause of the text’s production’, and exists outside the *text* which he or she precedes ‘in truth and appearance’.<sup>59</sup> A *writer* does not have ‘interpretive authority’ over a *text*, even if it is her legal property. If a *text* were taken from a *writer*, she would not change as an individual. Nehamas writes: ‘Precisely for this reason,

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Shōtoku too historians have been unsparing in their evidential research and have been steadily clarifying the relevant facts’ (3). He also observes: ‘In school education too one finds, for instance, that in a history textbook used in many high schools, Prince Shōtoku has come to be referred to as “Prince Umayato (Prince Shōtoku)” and there is no longer any mention of his having been crown prince or regent, nor is there any reference to the commentaries on three Buddhist *sūtras* traditionally attributed to him. It would appear that the authors of this textbook have decided that these aspects of his career cannot be regarded as historical facts’ (1).

<sup>59</sup> Nehamas, ‘Writer, Text, Work, Author’, 272.

writers are not in a position of interpretive authority over their writings, even if these are, by law, their property. We must keep the legal version of ownership...clearly apart from what we might well call its “hermeneutical” aspect’.<sup>60</sup> The *text* is, then, the written material produced by a *writer* and put out into the world. In *Shōmangyō-gisho* studies, scholars concerned themselves almost exclusively with the *writer* and the *text*, framing their search for the ‘true record’ like lawyers presenting their arguments in a courtroom drama.

By contrast, Nehamas treats an *author* mainly as a product rather than a producer of a *text*—that is, a figure who evolves as a *text* like the *Shōmangyō-gisho* undergoes study, interpretation, and reproduction. The *author* then is a role or figure emerging with, not preceding, textual interpretation. In the case of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, then, scholars and critics have continually remade Shōtoku the *author* as they transmitted and transformed the *text* over the centuries, regardless of whether a historical figure known as Prince Shōtoku actually sat and composed it. Therefore, the *work* would include the *Shōmangyō-gisho* as others have studied, edited, and copied it since its appearance under Shōtoku’s name, including its presentations in the editions examined above.

If we adopt this distinction, we are no longer beholden to the legalistic, true-false binary that defined the search for the ‘true record’, and have instead a workable set of concepts with which to investigate aspects of the distinct reception histories of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the Dunhuang manuscripts, which are, in Nehamas’s language, similar *texts* but quite different *works*.

The following observation of Charles Hallisey is also helpful:

If the survival of any particular text is not self-explanatory, but in fact it is normally the case that texts fade in their significance as social change occurs, then we need to discover how those texts which do endure are maintained. In part, this will require us to look at the manner in which texts were circulated—the technology, practices, and institutions which made their survival possible—but espe-

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<sup>60</sup> Nehamas, ‘Writer, Text, Work, Author’, 272.

cially the processes by which certain texts were singled out as worth preserving. Discovering answers to such questions will require investigations about the extent to which the production and survival of a text is both dependent and independent of the audiences which receive it.<sup>61</sup>

By reversing our temporal perspective in this way, we can compare how different interpretive communities engaged and remade the *Shōmangyō-gisho* as a *work*. Brian Stock calls these sorts of groups who orient themselves around a particular text a ‘textual community’, which he defines as ‘a group that arises in the space between the written text and the formation of a particular form of social group: It is an interpretive community, but it is also a social entity’.<sup>62</sup> For example, I have written elsewhere about the quite different sorts of textual communities that developed in the Kamakura period at Tōdaiji around the figure of the polymath Gyōnen and in the modern period around the Shōtoku Taishi Association who produced the modern Japanese, two-volume edition of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* examined above.<sup>63</sup> A representative of the powerful Kegon school in the Kamakura era, Gyōnen defined his monastic identity in relation to the ability to interpret the *Sangyō-gisho* commentaries. The textual community that developed around him, and which transmitted his exegetical works, is distinct from the association’s modern textual community that developed, notes Ishii Kōsei 石井公成, out of a modern nationalist organization whose extremist forebears had organized attacks on Tsuda Sōkichi during the war for his contrarian views.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Hallisey, ‘Roads Taken’, 51.

<sup>62</sup> Stock, *Listening for the Text*, 150.

<sup>63</sup> See Dennis, ‘Serious Texts in Funny Places’, 2011.

<sup>64</sup> In ‘Why Do Debates About Shōtoku Taishi Get So Heated?’, Ishii Kōsei notes that students at ‘Tokyo University formed the Tōdai Seishin Kagaku Kenkyūkai 東大精神科学研究会 (Tokyo University Research Association for the Promotion of the Japanese Spirit) and they would call on various other universities and eventually formed the Nihon Gakusei Kyōkai 日本学生協会 (Japan

However, we can compare these two communities in other ways. For instance, Gyōnen's detailed *kanbun* subcommentaries on the *Sangyō-gisho* became foundational to the exegetical tradition of the three texts and students still study them today, notes Mark Blum, as primers at Japanese universities. From the perspective of the *work*, Gyōnen's commentary on the *Shōmangyō-gisho* is also relevant because he remarks that he added markings to Shōtoku's texts to help his disciples better understand their meaning.<sup>65</sup> Those markings added to the Chinese text represent the early stages of a process that developed over the centuries, culminating in the paratextual markings we examined above, including those appearing in the association's modern translation. In this way, we can see how a *text* written in the transregional Chinese language has become available as a *work*, through the association's two-volume translation, to the public in highly accessible modern Japanese with extensive *furigana*, notes, and other sorts of paratextual material that made it possible today for someone proficient in college-level Japanese to make sense of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* with no facility in its original language.

As Fujieda suggests, these sorts of changes to the presentation of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* can reorient the reader in important ways and are

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National Students Association). When Tsuda Sōkichi lectured at Tokyo University and was grilled by a mob of students it was mostly students from this organization. After the war the Tōdai Seishin Kagaku Kenkyūkai became the Kokumin Bunka Kenkyūkai 国民文化研究会 (National Culture Research Association). This organization continues to this day, and although they have calmed down considerably since the wartime they still conduct conservative "enlightenment campaigns" directed at students, publish the works and poetry of Kurokami, and even put together a research group that published a commentary on the *Shōmangyō-gisho*. See Ishii, Public Lecture. The commentary referred to by Ishii is one of the six texts examined above.

<sup>65</sup> Gyōnen recorded this activity in the colophon of a copy of the Hōji print of the *Yuimagyō-gisho*, writing: 'I have added markings to the text and given it to [my disciple] Zenmyō. This [version] can be used to aid in the transmission of [Shōtoku] Taishi's three commentaries'. He signs it as 'Gyōnen, Scholar of the Three Commentaries of Shōtoku Taishi'. Quoted in Hanayama, *Jōgūōsen*, 102.

thus worthy of scholarly attention, especially as we try to understand how these varied ‘technolog[ies], practices, and institutions’ influenced the process of textual divergence. We can also view these changes to the *Shōmangyō-gisho* as a *work* in light of broader linguistic and cultural changes that have taken place over the centuries since Gyōnen inserted paratextual markings to aid his students—indeed, Hanayama states that the revised edition he produced in 1977 was occasioned by such changes in the relatively short span of just over thirty years.

Future research that will build upon this material will consider these changes in light of the scholarship of David Lurie and others on the development of writing and reading practices on the archipelago. Lurie argues that reliance on the Chinese-Japanese binary discussed above is often misleading because it masks multiple, often complex, reading and writing practices and registers. In describing the development and uses of *kundoku*, which are crucial to understanding the broader Japanese Buddhist textual traditions of which the *Sangyō-gisho* are a part, he states that rather ‘than phonographic transcription, it was this method of reading/writing that dominated all modes of literacy in early Japan, from at least the mid-seventh century on. This means that we cannot describe texts arranged in accordance with Chinese vocabulary and syntax as being written “in Chinese” (no matter what their origins), a conclusion that has profound implications for Japanese cultural history, which has been framed by a linguistic opposition between Chinese and Japanese’.<sup>66</sup> So too, naturally, for the study of Buddhist texts like the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and the two other *Sangyō-gisho* commentaries.

Lurie argues, moreover, that scribes from the Korean peninsula likely brought the *kundoku* practices to the archipelago and that because they were so widespread, it is impossible to distinguish between Chinese and Japanese writing in early Japan because regardless ‘of how thoroughly a text might conform to literary Chinese style and usage, it could potentially be read in Japanese (or Korean) rather than Chinese’.<sup>67</sup> Lurie also mentions errors committed by Japanese

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<sup>66</sup> Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 5.

<sup>67</sup> Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 11.

authors when writing in a Chinese style that were ‘traditionally stigmatized as *washū*, “Japanese practice” 和(倭)習, sometimes more pejoratively written as the “reek of Japanese” 和臭’.<sup>68</sup> Hanayama Shinshō, Kanaji Isamu, and others identified these sorts of errors in the *Sangyō-gisho* as proof of Japanese authorship and they have been studied extensively by Ishii Kōsei in more recent scholarship.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 181.

<sup>69</sup> The debate generated by the Dunhuang evidence has spurred on additional inquiries into the language of the text itself. In his exhaustive studies of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* and *Hokke-gisho*, produced before Fujieda’s discovery, Hanayama Shinshō identified passages in the two texts he describes as being clearly influenced by the Japanese language, suggesting that a native speaker of Chinese could not have written them. This assertion, repeated by others, was used to argue against the claim that the *Shōmangyō-gisho* was written in China, brought to Japan, and falsely attributed to Shōtoku, as Fujieda and others claimed. Although Ishii Kōsei 石井公成 recognizes Fujieda’s research as ‘epoch-making’, he too argues against Fujieda’s conclusion about the text’s provenance. Ishii used N-gram searches of the SAT, CBETA, EBTC, and other textual databases to show clear commonalities in word choice across the three *Sangyō-gisho* texts, suggesting that the same author or group composed them. For instance, after listing the first several lines of the *Shōmangyō-gisho*, Ishii writes the following about one of the passages examined above: ‘among these [passages], “[As for Queen Śrīmālā,] she was originally inconceivable”, appears in the *Shōmangyō-gisho* twice, the *Hokke-gisho* once, and the *Yuimagyō-gisho* twice; it does not appear in any other literature. The following [passage], “[No one knows] whether she is a transformation body of the Tathāgata, or [the Great Dharma Cloud]”, appears only in the [*Shōmangyō-gisho* and] once in the *Hokke-gisho*. If we consider just this [information], it becomes clear that the *Sangyō-gisho* was written by the same author or by those from the same academic lineage’. See Ishii, ‘*Sangyō-gisho* no kyōtsū hyōgen’, 390. Ishii also identifies a significant number of phrases found only in the *Sangyō-gisho*, or in the *Sangyō-gisho* and a small number of others texts. In support of Hanayama’s assertion about Japanese-inspired turns of phrase, Ishii identifies a number of passages that seem to be influenced by the Japanese language, and criticizes Fujieda, writing: ‘The research of Fujieda and the other members of the Dunhuang Research Group was groundbreaking for

Lurie describes the role ascribed by historians to Shōtoku as providing a native origin to the imported Buddhist religion and that ‘Shōtoku guaranteed the domestication and naturalization of imported ideas and practices, among them various sacred (and secular) uses of writing’.<sup>70</sup> The attribution of the *Shōmangyō-gisho* to Shōtoku that we examined in the declaration of authorship and the *work*’s subsequent divergence from the Dunhuang manuscripts can be viewed in this light. As I suggested above, the *Shōmangyō-gisho* played a key role in the early process of assimilating the translocal Buddhist traditions in the local conditions of the archipelago, offering interesting points of comparison and divergence from that process in other parts of East Asia. That process on the archipelago includes, as Michael Como’s scholarship reveals,<sup>71</sup> the often underappreciated, and even elided, roles played in this process by immigrants from the Korean kingdoms and Chinese dynasties. From this perspective, we can consider how the translations and critical editions noted above, as well as the many other sorts of textual engagements and transformations have, over many centuries, transmitted and embedded the *Shōmangyō-gisho* in a particularly local context distinct from that of the Dunhuang manuscripts, while working through a shifting sense of the debt owed to the cultures and Buddhist traditions from across the sea and to the west.

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both research on the history of commentaries of Chinese translations of the *sūtras* and on the *Sangyō-gisho*; even so, possibly because the discovery of the Dunhuang manuscripts was so shocking, we maybe can surmise that they did not pay attention whatsoever to the Japanese-influenced language and special characteristics found in the *Sangyō-gisho*, beginning with the [work here in this article on] the *Shōmangyō-gisho*. See Ishii, ‘*Sangyō-gisho* no gohō’, 524. Jamie Hubbard translated into English some of Ishii Kōsei’s scholarship that can be found at: <https://komazawa-u.academia.edu/ISHIIKosei>. Ishii also maintains an online blog, titled, ‘*Shōtoku Taishi Kenkyū no Saizensen*’ 聖徳太子研究の最前線 at: <https://blog.goo.ne.jp/kosei-gooblog>.

<sup>70</sup> Lurie, *Realms of Literacy*, 141.

<sup>71</sup> See Como, *Shōtoku*.



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### Abbreviations

*T*            *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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*Hokke-gisho* 法華義疏 [Commentary on the *Lotus Sūtra*]. 4 *kan*.  
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## **Manuscript as Transmission Media**



# On Kambala's *Navaslokī* and Its Chinese translation\*

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**Abstract:** This paper tells the story of how a Buddhist Sanskrit manuscript—Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259—travelled from India and Nepal to Germany via Tibet, and investigates some issues related to the date and authorship of one of the texts contained in the manuscript: Kambala's *Navaslokī* (with auto-commentary). This paper also evaluates the canonical Chinese translation of Kambala's *Navaslokī*, and demonstrates how some readings of the Chinese translation may help us understand a corrupt Sanskrit text.

**Keywords:** Kambala, *Navaslokī*  
(*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāpīṇḍārtha*), *Ālokaṃālā*, Chinese translation of Buddhist texts during the Song dynasty, \*Dharmapāla (Fahu 法護)

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## Introduction

After the Muslim conquest of East India in the 12th century, many Indian Buddhist monks sought refuge in Nepal and Central Tibet, bringing their sacred books (i.e. Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts) with them. These palm-leaf manuscripts were subsequently studied and translated by Indian, Nepalese and Tibetan scholars of that time. However, several hundred years later the Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet were largely forgotten. They lay covered in dust on bookshelves in libraries and monasteries until the 1930s when Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana ‘rediscovered’ them over the course of three expeditions to Tibet. One of these Sanskrit manuscripts is Göttingen Cod. ms.sanscr.259, which Sāṅkṛtyāyana discovered in the Sakya monastery in 1936. Sāṅkṛtyāyana subsequently brought the manuscript back to India. Prof. Gustav Roth later bought the manuscript and brought it to Germany in 1978. It is now preserved in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen.

Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259 is a multi-text Sanskrit manuscript. It contains Kambala’s *Navaslokī* (*Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha*), together with the auto-commentary, and a fragment of Abhayākara Gupta’s *Āmnāyamañjarī*. *Navaslokī* is Kambala’s summary of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* in nine verses, which is extant in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese. It is an important text for our understanding of late Indian Buddhist philosophy. The Sanskrit text of the *Navaslokī* has been published several times (the root text at least two times, and the root text with commentary once), but none of the Sanskrit editions has made use of the Göttingen manuscript. The Sanskrit text of *Navaslokī* and its commentary, as transmitted in Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259, provide more suitable readings in many places. In this paper, I will present a few better readings to improve upon the existing Sanskrit editions. Additionally, I will investigate available textual evidence to attempt to answer the following complicated research questions: What are the dates of Kambala, the author of the *Navaslokī*? Was Kambala, the author of the *Navaslokī*, the same as Kambala, the author of the *Ālokaṃālā*? Was he Siddha Kambala? How many Kambalas were there?

The *Navaslokī*, together with commentary, was further translated

into Chinese by \*Dharmapāla (Fafu 法護, 963–1058) during the Song dynasty. This Chinese translation, which is included in the *Taishō Tripitaka* (*Shengfomu boreboluomiduo jiusong jingyi lun* 聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義論 [*The Essence Treatise in Nine Verses of the Noble Prajñāpāramitā[sūtra]*], T no. 1516, 25), has yet to be adequately studied. After comparing the Chinese translation of the text with the Sanskrit original and its corresponding Tibetan translation, I find the quality of the Chinese translation sufficient. I will conclude the paper by commenting on a few variant readings in the Chinese translation.

### ‘Rediscovery’ of Sanskrit manuscripts in Central Tibet

In the 1930s, the Indian scholar Rāhula Sāṅkrṭyāyana (a.k.a. Rahul Sankrityayan or Rahulji, 1893–1963) and the Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) ‘rediscovered’ many Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts during their expeditions to Central Tibet. Rāhula Sāṅkrṭyāyana was a phenomenal Indian Buddhist monk and scholar. After hearing numerous rumours concerning the existence of Sanskrit Buddhist palm-leaf manuscripts in Tibet, he set out for Central Tibet between 1929 and 1930 in search of them, but to no avail.<sup>1</sup> In 1934, on his second trip to Central Tibet, he found hundreds of Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts in the monasteries of Sakya (*Sa skya*), Shalu (*Zha lu*) and Ngor, as well as in a few monasteries and palaces in and around Lhasa.<sup>2</sup> Many of the Indian works contained in these Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts had been considered lost. Sāṅkrṭyāyana began copying the manuscripts but was unable to finish the job, so in 1936 he returned to Tibet with two cameras and four dozen film packs.<sup>3</sup> He reached Sakya in May 1936. He was granted access to the ‘Library-temple’ (*Phyag dpe lha khang*) of the Sakya monastery, where he found bundles of palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts mixed

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<sup>1</sup> Sāṅkrṭyāyana, ‘Sanskrit Palm-leaf MSS’, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 2.

with Tibetan manuscripts. In his report, Sāṅkṛtyāyana describes the moment he entered the Sakya ‘Library-temple’ as follows:

The red seal was broken and the archaic lock was opened. And the single paneled door was opened with a slight push and a cloud of dust arose. Our throats were choked with the thick dust and for a moment we could not see what was in the interior. The whole floor was covered with a thick layer of dust about one-third of an inch. We halted for a moment to let the dust subside. Then we saw in the three sides of the room (about 20' x 25') encircling rows of open racks, where volumes on volumes of MSS. were kept.<sup>4</sup>

Apparently, the Sanskrit manuscripts had been locked under seal in this special storehouse for many years.<sup>5</sup> During this trip, he was able to photograph some of the Sanskrit manuscripts.

In 1938, Sāṅkṛtyāyana went to the Central Tibet for the fourth time, together with the great Tibetan scholar Gendün Chöpel (dGe 'dun chos 'phel, 1905?–1951), Abhaya Singh Parera (a Sinhalese expert on Pali literature), the Indian photographer Phani Mukherjee, and the Indian artist Kanwal Krishna.<sup>6</sup> They spent four and a

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>5</sup> This special ‘Library-temple’ was probably destroyed during the cultural revolution. Most of the Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts in Sakya Monastery were relocated to Lhasa during the 1960s. See Saerji, ‘Indic Buddhist Manuscripts’; and Henss, *Cultural Monuments*, 753–55. The Tibetan manuscripts in the ‘Library-temple’ were less fortunate; many were left torn and damaged on the floors of the ruins of Sakya North, see Henss, *Cultural Monuments*, 755, esp. figure 1068. According to the official publication of the Sakya Monastery, there are currently 21 Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts in the whole monastery. See Dramdul and Deji Droma, *Sajia si*, 141; and Henss, *Cultural Monuments*, 754, 757n102.

<sup>6</sup> For Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s official report of his fourth trip to Tibet see Sāṅkṛtyāyana, ‘Search of Sanskrit MSS.’, 137. Stoddard, *Le Mendiant*, 189–97 and Schaedler, *Angry Monk*, 477–95 quote some accounts of Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s 1938 Tibet trip written or told by Mukherjee and Krishna, which contain many interesting details that are not mentioned in Sāṅkṛtyāyana’s official report. Gendün Chöpel

half months in Central Tibet and took about fourteen hundred photographs of Sanskrit manuscripts and important objects of art.<sup>7</sup> Sāṅkr̥tyāyana returned to India and presented the negatives of the photographs to the Bihar Research Society of Patna, where the negatives are now preserved. Sāṅkr̥tyāyana and his team also took some Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts with them to India, which I will discuss below.

At around the same time in the 1920s and 1930s, the great Italian scholar Giuseppe Tucci travelled extensively in Western Tibet and the Himalayan areas in India and Nepal, collecting numerous Tibetan manuscripts and artefacts. In 1939, he finally set his feet on Central Tibet. During his 1939 and 1948 trips to Central Tibet, Tucci visited the same monasteries that were earlier visited by Sāṅkr̥tyāyana, and photographed some of the same Sanskrit manuscripts that Sāṅkr̥tyāyana had photographed.<sup>8</sup> Tucci's photographs and manuscripts are now preserved in Rome.<sup>9</sup>

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also wrote about his trips with Sāṅkr̥tyāyana in his *rGyal khams rig pas bskor ba'i gtam rgyud gser gyi thang ma*. See Chöpel, *gser gyi than ma*. For an English translation of this work, see Chöpel, *Grains of Gold*.

<sup>7</sup> Sāṅkr̥tyāyana, 'Search of Sanskrit MSS.', 142.

<sup>8</sup> For Tucci's trips to Central Tibet see Nalesini, 'Assembling Loose pages'. In 1948, Tucci discovered two important Sanskrit Buddhist palm-leaf manuscripts (the *Abhidharmasamuccayakārikā* and the *Mañicūḍajātaka*) in Gong dkar chosde Monastery near Lhasa. The two Sanskrit manuscripts were apparently not found by Sāṅkr̥tyāyana. Only the photographs of one of the two manuscripts—the *Mañicūḍajātaka* by Sarvarakṣita—are now preserved in Rome (Sferra, 'Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tucci's Collection', 20–21 and Nalesini, 'Assembling Loose pages', 96). It is interesting to note that in Tucci's 1948 trip the chief-caravaneer was Tenzing Norgay, the famous Sherpa mountaineer who accompanied Edmund Hillary to reach the summit of Mount Everest in 1953. Tenzing mentioned the discovery of the two Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts in his autobiography, but his account is different from that of Tucci's (compare Nalesini, 'Assembling Loose pages', 96 and Norgay and Ullman, *Man of Everest*, 123–24).

<sup>9</sup> Sferra, 'Preliminary Report'; and Sferra, 'Sanskrit Manuscripts in Tucci's Collection'.

From 1968 to 1971, the Seminar für Indologie und Buddhismuskunde Göttingen procured from the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute a collection of prints produced from Sāṅkṛtyāyana's film negatives.<sup>10</sup> Some original Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts were procured by the late Prof. Gustav Roth (1916–2008) in India and were brought to Germany in 1978.<sup>11</sup> In 1979, prints from two more glass negatives were bought from the Bihar Research Society.<sup>12</sup> These manuscripts and prints of manuscripts are now preserved in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen.

Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen  
Cod.ms.sanscr.259

One of the Sanskrit manuscripts that Sāṅkṛtyāyana discovered in the 'Library-temple' (*phyag dpe lha khang*) of the Sakya monastery in 1936 is now called Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259. Sāṅkṛtyāyana and his team probably took the manuscript to India in 1938, as Tucci noted in his edition to the *Navasloki* that the manuscript was missing when he visited the monastery [in 1939].<sup>13</sup> It was later stored in the collection of Mr. Kanwal Krishna, one of Sāṅkṛtyāyana's travel companions during his 1938 Tibet trip, in India. Prof. Gustav Roth subsequently

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<sup>10</sup> Bandurski, *Übersicht*, 13.

<sup>11</sup> Bandurski, *Übersicht*, 16. There are more than one Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts 'rediscovered' by Sāṅkṛtyāyana in Tibet that were bought by Gustav Roth in India and are now preserved in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen. At least four bundles of Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript are listed in the Bandurski 1994 catalogue, viz. Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.256–259. Bandurski, *Übersicht*, 112–15; cf. Tomabechi and Kano, 'A Critical Edition', 25–26. I am currently working on one of the texts contained in Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.257—Dīpaṃkarabhadra's \**Gubhasamājamāṇḍalavidhi*—for my Ph.D. dissertation.

<sup>12</sup> Bandurski, *Übersicht*, 13.

<sup>13</sup> Tucci, 'Navasloki', 211n1.

procured the manuscript and brought it to Germany in 1978. It is now preserved in the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen.<sup>14</sup>

Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259 is a multi-text Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscript. It is comprised of the following Sanskrit texts:<sup>15</sup>

TABLE 1 Texts contained in Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259:

Cod. ms.sanscr.259a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Navasloki</i> (<i>Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha</i>), by Kambala (1v1–1v5, complete),<sup>16</sup> hereafter G<sup>1</sup>: Tibetan translations: Tōh. 3812/Öta. 5212 (version 1), and Tōh. 4462/Öta. 5210, 5906 (version 2); Chinese translation: 聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義論, <i>T</i>no. 1516, trans. *Dharmapāla (Fahu 法護)</li> <li>• <i>Navasloki</i>, by Kambala together with auto-commentary (1v5–4v5, complete), hereafter G<sup>2</sup>: Tibetan translation: Tōh. 3813/Öta. 5213; Chinese translation: <i>T</i>no. 1516, trans. *Dharmapāla</li> </ul>
Cod. ms.sanscr.259b	Fragment of Abhayākaragupta's <i>Āmnāyamañjarī</i> (1 folio, incomplete); <sup>17</sup> Tibetan translation: Tōh. 1198; Öta. 2328
Cod. ms.sanscr.259c	A cover folio

<sup>14</sup> See Bandurski, *Übersicht*, 16–17; and Tomabechi and Kano, 'A Critical Edition', 25.

<sup>15</sup> Here I follow the numbering of Bandurski, *Übersicht*, 115 and also of Tomabechi and Kano, 'A Critical Edition', 26. I checked the original palm-leaf manuscript of Cod.ms.sanscr.259 at the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen in July 2017. I thank the Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen for allowing me to make use of the high-resolution coloured digital images of the manuscript taken by the library staffs.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Bandurski, *Übersicht*, 115; and Tomabechi and Kano, 'A Critical Edition', 26. G1 and G2 are recorded in Sāṅkṛtyāyana's Sanskrit manuscript catalogue as no. 186 and no. 187 respectively. See Sāṅkṛtyāyana, 'Second Search', 21–22.

<sup>17</sup> The script of Cod.ms.sanscr.259b is different from that of Cod.ms.sanscr.259a; Cod.ms.sanscr.259b is probably a stray folio from another palm-leaf

Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259a measures ca. 54 x 4.8 cm, with 2 string-holes per folio (dividing the written space into 3 columns). There are 5 lines on each side. The manuscript is in good condition, and the *akṣaras* are mostly clear and legible; there are a few places where some of the *akṣaras* are slightly effaced. The texts G1 and G2 are written continuously in a beautiful Rañjanā script in the same scribal hand. The scribe apparently made many scribal mistakes, and there are numerous corrections by a second hand. The manuscript displays a range of orthographic features, many of which are common in medieval East Indian or Nepalese manuscripts, such as gemination and degemination of consonants before or after semi-vowels, identity of *v* and *b*, and the inconsistency of the use of *-m* in *pausa*.<sup>18</sup>



FIG. 1 Cod.ms.sanscr.259a fol. 1v. Photo credit: Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen.

Opening of G<sup>1</sup>:<sup>19</sup>

(1v1) *namo bhagavatyai āryaprajñāpāramitāyai ||*  
*prajñāpāramitāmbhodhau śubharatnākare svayaṃ |*  
*sarvāḥ ⊙ pāramitās tatra tādātmēna vyavasthitāḥ || ...*

Ending of G<sup>1</sup>:

(1v5) ... *iti cintayatas tatvaṃ sarvabhāveṣu anīśritaṃ |*  
*bodhipra ⊙ nidhicittasya jñānam eva bhaviṣyati || ⊗ || navaślokaḥ || ...*

bundle in similar size. Cod.ms.sanscr.259b—a fragment of Abhayākara Gupta's *Āmnāyamañjarī*—has been edited and published in Tomabechi and Kano, 'A Critical Edition', 22–44.

<sup>18</sup> That is, to say, an *anusvara* (*-ṃ*) is sometimes used instead of a final *-m* with *virāma* before a *daṇḍa*.



Opening of G<sup>2</sup>:

(1v5) ... *prajñāpāramitāmbhodhau śubharatnākare svayaṃ |*  
*sa ○ rvāḥ pāramitās tatra tādātmena vyavasthitāḥ || ...*

Ending of G<sup>2</sup> and colophon:

(4v4) *iti cintayatas tattvaṃ sarvabhāveṣv anāśṛtaṃ |*  
*bodhiprañidhicittasya jñānam eva bhaviṣyati || āryā*  
 (4v5) *ṣṭasahasrikāyāḥ piṇḍārtthaḥ kṛtir iyaṃ*  
*śrīkambalācāryapādānām iti || ⊗ || ⊗ || ⊗ ||*

The colophon of G<sup>2</sup> bears no date. On palaeographical grounds, I would suggest that Cod.ms.sanscr.259a was probably written in East India or Nepal during or after the 12th century.<sup>20</sup>

### The *Navaslokī*

The *Navaslokī*, also called the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha*, is Kambala's summary of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā* in 9 verses, accompanied by an auto-commentary. It is extant in Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese. It is an important text for us to understand the later stage of Indian Buddhist philosophy, especially the so-called Yogācāra-Madhyamaka thoughts.

There exist many Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Navaslokī*: a Rus-

<sup>19</sup> I aim to give a detailed description of each of the texts in Cod.ms.sanscr.259a here, improving upon entries in existing catalogues. In the passages quoted from the colophons of the texts, I have preserved without standardization the scribe's orthography in such matters as gemination or degemination of consonants before or after semi-vowels. The symbol ○ is used to represent string-hole, and the symbol ⊗ is used to represent the decorative motif used in the colophons.

<sup>20</sup> The script of Cod.ms.sanscr.259a is very similar to that of Cambridge University Library Add. 1355 *Vasudhārādhārāṇī*, dated in 696 Nepāla Saṃvat/ 1576 CE: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01355/3>, last accessed March 31, 2018. Cf. Cambridge University Library Add. 1680.8.1 *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha*, ca. 12–13th century: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-ADD-01680-00008-00001/4>, last accessed March 31, 2018.

sian manuscript (*Navaslaulikaprajñāpāramitāpindārtha*; root text only),<sup>21</sup> Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259a (with commentary), NAK 3/693 (= NGMPP A 936/11(7); with commentary), Kaiser Library 127 (= NGMPP C 14/5; root text only),<sup>22</sup> NAK 1/1697 (= NGMPP B24/24; with commentary, fragment),<sup>23</sup> and Cambridge University Library Add.1680.9.<sup>24</sup> There is also another Sanskrit manuscript of the *Navasloki* contained in a *Prajñāpāramitā* composite codex in Tibet, of which the China Tibetology Research Center (CTRC) Library in Beijing has a photostat copy.<sup>25</sup>

The Sanskrit text of the *Navasloki* has been published several times (the root text at least two times, and the root text with commentary once), but none of the Sanskrit editions has made use of the Göttingen manuscript.<sup>26</sup> The Sanskrit edition of the *Navasloki*

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<sup>21</sup> See Mironov, *Catalogus codicum*, 323–24 for a transcription of the whole text. I have not been able to check the Russian manuscript reported by Mironov. The text as reported by Mironov is very corrupt.

<sup>22</sup> I am grateful for Prof. Harunaga Isaacson and Dr. Bidur Bhattarai for sharing with me the digital images of NGMPP A 936/11 and NGMPP C 14/5.

<sup>23</sup> I owe thanks to Dr. Péter-Dániel Szántó for pointing out (e-mail message to author, September 27, 2018) the existence of this fragment of the *Navasloki* commentary and for kindly sharing his personal notes with me.

<sup>24</sup> I checked Cambridge University Library Add.1680.9 in September 2018. This palm-leaf manuscript has three leaves of fragments, containing works connected with the *Prajñāpāramitā*, all written in hooked script. It contains a fragment of the *Svalpākṣarā Prajñāpāramitā* (beginning only), a fragment of the *Pañcaviṃśatikā prajñāpāramitā hṛdayam* (the end only), a fragment of the root text of the *Navasloki* (verse 6 to the end) followed by four *ślokas* said to be composed by Nāgārjuna, followed by an unidentified text. See also Bendall, *Catalogue*, 170.

<sup>25</sup> I have not been able to check this composite codex or its photostat copy at the CTRC. Tomabechi, *Adhyardhaśatikā*, xxxi no. 3.

<sup>26</sup> An edition of the *Navasloki* (based on the Göttingen manuscript) was announced by the late Gustav Roth and Jagdishwar Pandey (Bandurski, *Übersicht*, 115), and it appeared in the list of works being prepared for the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute in Patna (Ojha, *Bihar*, Appendix III, 26). However, I have not been able to locate any publication of this edition.

(root text only) has been published in Tucci 1956 and *Dhīh*, vol. 8, p. 14 (excerpts only). The Sanskrit *editio princeps* of the *Navaslokī* auto-commentary is Pandey, *Bauddhalaghubugrantha*, 1–9. Tucci's edition of the root text of the *Navaslokī* is based on two Sanskrit Nepalese manuscripts (one of them is NAK 3/693 = NGMPP A 936/11(7)), two Tibetan translations, and the Chinese translation; his edition is of good quality. However, Pandey's *editio princeps* of the *Navaslokī* commentary is not as satisfactory, due to having only one rather corrupt manuscript (i.e. NAK 3/693 = NGMPP A 936/11(7)) at his disposal. The Sanskrit texts of the *Navaslokī* and its commentary, as transmitted in Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259a, provide better readings in many places, which I will discuss below.

The root text of the *Navaslokī* was translated twice into Tibetan: one translation by Rin chen bzang po (958–1055) and Śraddhākaravarman and another by Sumanahśrī and Bu ston Rin chen grub.<sup>27</sup> The root text, together with auto-commentary, was translated into Tibetan by Kamalagupta and Rin chen bzang po.<sup>28</sup>

The *Navaslokī*, together with commentary, was translated into Chinese by \*Dharmapāla (Fahu 法護) during the Song dynasty. This Chinese translation, which is included in the *Taishō Tripitaka* (*Shengfomu boreboluomiduo jiusong jingyi lun* 聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義論 [The Essence Treatise in Nine Verses of the Noble *Prajñāpāramitā*(*sūtra*)], T no. 1516, 25), has yet to be adequately studied.<sup>29</sup> In the future, I hope to contribute a new critical edition of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese texts of the *Navaslokī* (with commentary) based on all available sources.

<sup>27</sup> Tōh. 3812, 4462; and Ōta. 5212, 5210, 5906.

<sup>28</sup> Tōh. 3813; and Ōta. 5213.

<sup>29</sup> Tucci has published the Chinese translation of the root text of the *Navaslokī* in his 1956 edition, together with the Sanskrit original and two Tibetan translations. However, he did not publish the Chinese translation of the commentary.

## The Author Kambala

According to the colophon of Cod.ms.sanscr.259a, the name of the author of the *Navaslokī* is Kambala or Kambalācārya. The *Navaslokī* is attributed to Kambala without exception in all available Sanskrit manuscripts, as well as in Tibetan and Chinese translations (the author's name in Chinese translation is Shengde Chiyi 勝德赤衣). As Tucci has already discussed the variants of the name Kambala in detail in his edition of the root text of the *Navaslokī*, I have nothing new to contribute.<sup>30</sup> However, there are different scholarly opinions about the historical figure Kambala, the texts attributed to him, and the dates of the texts.

Tucci identifies the author of the *Navaslokī* as the Siddha Kambalācārya, who is equal to the master Kāmali in the *Dohākoṣa* of Sarahapāda.<sup>31</sup> Kambala is also quoted in Advayaavajra's *Dohākoṣapañjikā* and the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*.<sup>32</sup>

Lindtner, in his introduction to the *editio princeps* of the *Ālokamālā* by Kambala, states that Kambala (the author of the *Navaslokī*) is the same as the Kambala who authored the *Ālokamālā*; he believes that the *floruit* of the author of the *Ālokamālā* is

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<sup>30</sup> Tucci, 'Navaslokī', 212–14.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Tucci argues that the *Navaslokī* is attributed to the Siddha Kambala in the Tibetan tradition, and that Tāranātha makes the author of the *Navaslokī* a contemporary of King Gopīcandra, Ācārya Vinītadeva, and others. In Tāranātha's *bKa' babs bdun ldan*, Kambala is said to have been the teacher of Indrabhūti. Tucci does not give the dates for the abovementioned kings and ācāryas, and the accounts given by Tāranātha seem to contradict each other. King Gopīcandra and Ācārya Vinītadeva are said to be contemporaries of Dharmakīrti (*floruit circa* 6th or 7th century). If we accept that Kambala (the author of the *Navaslokī*) is a contemporary of King Gopīcandra and Ācārya Vinītadeva, then he should likewise date from that period. However, Indrabhūti was from a later period. There were probably more than one Indrabhūtis in the history of Buddhism, all of whom were late tantric masters, at least a few decades later than Dharmakīrti. Tucci, 'Navaslokī', 213, 215.

450–525 CE.<sup>33</sup> As already pointed out by several scholars, Lindtner's dating of the *Ālokaṃālā* is a bit too early.<sup>34</sup> I will discuss the date of the *Ālokaṃālā* in detail below. Additionally, I will investigate available textual evidence to attempt to answer the following complicated research questions: What are the dates of Kambala (the author of the *Navaslokī*)? Was Kambala, the author of the *Navaslokī*, the same as Kambala, the author of the *Ālokaṃālā*? Was he Siddha Kambala? How many Kambalas were there?

### The Textual Evidence for the Date of the *Navaslokī*

Let us briefly turn to the internal textual evidence for the date of the *Navaslokī*. Among all the Sanskrit manuscripts of the *Navaslokī*, only one is dated: the *Prajñāpāramitā* composite codex in Tibet.<sup>35</sup> According to Tomabechi, who consulted the photostat copy of the codex at the CTRC Library in Beijing, the colophon indicates that the codex was copied on the tenth day of the fourth month of the third regnal year of Śūrapāla II, which may correspond to the second half of the 11th century CE.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Lindtner, *A Garland of Light*, 7.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, Wedemeyer, *Āryadeva's Lamp*, 12; and van der Kuijp, 'Some Text-Historical Issues', 122, esp. fn16.

<sup>35</sup> The fragments of the *Navaslokī* in Kaiser Library 127 = NGMPP C14/5, another multi-text manuscript, do not bear a date. However, there is a date in the colophon of one of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* fragments in the same manuscript. According to the colophon of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* fragment, it was written in Nepalese Saṃvat 337 (i.e. 1217 CE). Based on palaeographical ground, we can perhaps say that the *Navaslokī* fragments in Kaiser Library 127 were probably written during the same period (i.e. during the 13th century). I am grateful for Dr. Bidur Bhattarai for informing me of the date in the colophon of the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* fragment. For a study of colophons and flourishes in Kaiser Library 127, see Bhattarai, 'Dividing Texts'. For a study of another text in Kaiser Library 127—Candragomin's *Prañidhāna*—and a brief overview of other fragments identified, see Szántó, 'Candragomin's Prañidhāna'.

The first Tibetan translation of the *Navaslokī* was translated by Rin chen bzang po and Śraddhākaravarman. The *Navaslokī* is not mentioned in the *lHan dkar ma* and the *'Phang thang ma* catalogues, so we can be quite sure that it was translated during the later propagation (*phyi dar*) period. Given the dates of Rin chen bzang po, we can say that the *Navaslokī* was translated into Tibetan during the late 10th to early 11th century CE.

The *Navaslokī* together with commentary was translated into Chinese by \*Dharmapāla during the Song dynasty. In the Song dynasty translation catalogue *Tiansheng Shijiao zonglu* 天聖釋教總錄 [Complete catalogue of the Buddhist teachings compiled during the Tiansheng era (1023–1032)] (composed in the fifth year of the Tiansheng 天聖 reign period of Song Renzhong 宋仁宗, i.e. 1027 CE), the Chinese translation of the *Navaslokī* is said to be translated after the fifth month of the fifth year of the Dazhong Xiangfu 大中祥符 reign period of Song Zhenzong 宋真宗 (i.e. after 1012 CE).<sup>37</sup> In *Jingyou xinxiu fabao lu* 景祐新修法寶錄 [Catalogue of Dharma-treasure newly compiled during the Jingyou era (1034–1038)] (composed in the third year of the Jingyou 景祐 reign period of Song renzhong 宋仁宗, i.e. 1036 CE), the Chinese translation of the *Navaslokī* is said to be translated “during the reign period of the present emperor” (*jinchao* 今朝, i.e. the reign period of Song Renzhong 宋仁宗, starting from 1023 CE).<sup>38</sup> Therefore the *Navaslokī* was translated into Chinese between 1023 to 1027; that is to say, in the early 11th

<sup>36</sup> Tomabechi, *Adhyardhaśatikā*, xxv–xxvi; see also xxx, esp. fn29.

<sup>37</sup> *Tiansheng shijiao zonglu* 天聖釋教總錄, in *Zhonghua dazang jing* 中華大藏經, vol. 72, 946b7–947a11: 又自大中祥符五年五月後續譯出經論等, 自《白衣金幢二婆羅門緣起經》至《海意菩薩所問淨印法門經》, 總一十七部一百七卷, 未經編收名錄, 今且以卷部年次, 勒成一十帙, 附《大中祥符法寶錄》後, 收所冀未再編修續錄已來不至湮墜。經本今列于左: .....《佛說大乘大方廣佛冠經》二卷。《聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義論》二卷。上四卷三藏法護譯。上二經一論共七卷同帙精字号。

<sup>38</sup> *Jingyou xinxiu fabao lu* 景祐新修法寶錄, *Zhonghua dazang jing* 中華大藏經, vol. 73, 527c1–528a11: 今朝所譯大小乘經律論集, 總九部八十五卷, 未編入錄。.....大乘論二部二十卷。《聖佛母般若波羅蜜多九頌精義論》一部二卷。

century CE.<sup>39</sup> From the above textual evidence, we can safely say that the *terminus post quem* of the *Navasloki* is the late 10th to early 11th century CE.

It is interesting to note that the introductory verse 2 and introductory verse 3a of the *Navasloki* are quoted by the Śaiva commentator Śivopadhyāya (18th century), in his commentary on the *Vijñānabhairavatantra* vv. 154–156.<sup>40</sup>

### The Textual Evidence for the Date of the *Ālokamālā* and the Name of its Author

The *Ālokamālā*, Kambala's *magnum opus*, is an influential text, since it is widely quoted by many late Indian Buddhist scholars (mostly in tantric texts). It is also quoted by medieval Śaiva masters and Jaina masters alike (see Table 2 below).

I will now return to Lindtner's arguments for placing the date of the *Ālokamālā* in 450–525 CE. His arguments are as follows:

1. Kambala's *Ālokamālā* is quoted once in the *\*Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* by one Bhavya, whom Lindtner equates with Bhāviveka, the author of the *Prajñāpradīpa*.<sup>41</sup>
2. The *Ālokamālā* is commented upon by one *\*Asvabhāva*, whom he equates with the commentator of the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* and the *Mahāyānasamgraha*.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Takeuchi states that the *Navasloki* was translated in the year 1024, but I have not been able to verify his source. Takeuchi, 'Sōdai hon'yaku', 52.

<sup>40</sup> See the KSTS 1918 edition of the *Vajrabhairavatantra*, page 140. There are also Śaiva parallels to introductory verse 2d of the *Navasloki* ('bindunādavi-varjitā'). See the *Saptaśatika* recension of the *Kālotaratantra* 21.7 (I have used an e-text), the *Niśvāsakārikā* 28.13 (e-text), and the *Sarvajñānottaratantra* 10.6 (e-text). My thanks to Prof. Isaacson for the references to the above Śaiva parallels.

<sup>41</sup> See Lindtner, 'Adversaria Buddhica', 175; and Lindtner, *A Garland of Light*, 7.

However, the author of the \**Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* cannot be Bhāviveka of the *Prajñāpradīpa* (6th century), since the \**Madhyamakaratnapradīpa* cites the *Pañcakrama* of the tantric Nāgārjuna (possibly 9th century; much later than Nāgārjuna the author of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā*).<sup>43</sup> Similarly, there were probably more than one \*Asvabhāva. The \*Asvabhāva who wrote the *Ālokaṃālāṭīkā* was probably not the same as the one who commented on the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and the *Mahāyānasamgraha*, because the author of the *Ālokaṃālāṭīkā* knew Dharmakīrti's works and must have lived after Dharmakīrti (*floruit circa* 6th or 7th century).<sup>44</sup>

I would like to add some personal observations here. The *Ālokaṃālā* was translated into Tibetan by Kumārakalaśa and Śākya 'od, during the later propagation (*phyi dar*) period. It is not mentioned in the Tibetan translation catalogues *lHan dkar ma* and the *'Phang thang ma*. If the *Ālokaṃālā* were really written during 450–525 CE as posited by Lindtner, then it would be very strange that it was not translated into Tibetan in the early propagation (*sngar dar*) period. Even the works of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, who according to Lindtner were later than Kambala, were translated into Tibetan during the early propagation (*sngar dar*) period and were recorded in the *lHan dkar ma* and the *'Phang thang ma* catalogues. It is also curious that no Chinese translation of the *Ālokaṃālā* can be found; if it was written so early and was so influential, then it is strange that Chinese masters who studied in India during the 7th century (e.g. Xuanzang, Yijing, etc.) did not translate the text into Chinese. Moreover, all the *testimonia* of the *Ālokaṃālā* are quite late:<sup>45</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Lindtner, *A Garland of Light*, 7.

<sup>43</sup> For a detailed discussion, see He and van der Kuip, 'Further Notes', 323–29, esp. 326–27.

<sup>44</sup> See Kurihara, 'Asvabhāva's Commentary'; and also Sinclair, 'On the date of the *Ālokaṃālā*'.

<sup>45</sup> See Scherer, 'Kambala's *Ālokaṃālā*', 261, Table 1 for a list of *testimonia* of the *Ālokaṃālā*. However, the *testimonia* collected by Scherer are not exhaustive; I attempt to give a fuller list of *testimonia* in Table 2 of the present article.



TABLE 2 *Testimonia of the Ālokaṃālā:*

<i>Ālokaṃālā</i> (verse no.)	Testimonia
1	NGMPP A 37/4 = NAK 3-737 vi. bauddhadarśana 42 <sup>46</sup>
3cd	Incorporated in Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna's <i>*Dharmadhātudarśanaḡīti</i> <sup>47</sup>
4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī ad Nāmasaṅgīti</i> 95<sup>48</sup></li> <li>• <i>*Pañcakramaṭikā-maṇimālā</i>, attributed to *Nāgabodhi<sup>49</sup></li> <li>• Bhāgavatotpala's <i>Spandapradīpikā ad Spandakārikā</i> 1<sup>50</sup></li> <li>• Jayaratha's <i>Tantrālokaṃiveka ad Tantrāloka</i> 1.33<sup>51</sup></li> <li>• <i>Gūḍhapadā</i> (commentary on the <i>Mañjuśrīnāmasaṅgīti</i>) attributed to one Advayavajra, f. 106r6<sup>52</sup></li> <li>• Vibhūticandra's <i>Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha</i><sup>53</sup></li> </ul>
6	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Jayaratha's <i>Tantrālokaṃiveka ad Tantrāloka</i> 1.24<sup>54</sup> and also <i>Tantrālokaṃiveka ad Tantrāloka</i> 4.6<sup>55</sup></li> <li>• Raviśrījñāna's <i>Amṛtakaṇikā</i><sup>56</sup></li> </ul>

<sup>46</sup> Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, October 14, 2019.

<sup>47</sup> D *zhi* 256b7. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center. See also Mochizuki, 'Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna', 247n40.

<sup>48</sup> Tribe, *Tantric Buddhist Practice*, 30n29.

<sup>49</sup> D *chi* 146a1–2.

<sup>50</sup> Dyczkowski, *Spandapradīpikā*, 8. This quotation of the *Ālokaṃālā* is not mentioned in Dyczkowski, *The Doctrine of Vibration*. For the dates of Bhāgavatotpala's *Spandapradīpikā* and Kṣemarāja's *Spandanirṇaya*, see Dyczkowski, *The Doctrine of Vibration*, 22.

<sup>51</sup> Shāstrī, *Tantrāloka*, vol. 1, 64. I am grateful to Prof. Isaacson for this reference.

<sup>52</sup> My thanks to Francesco Sferra for this reference (e-mail message to author, September 17, 2019).

<sup>53</sup> Lal, *Amṛtakaṇikā*, 174. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019.

<sup>54</sup> Shāstrī, *Tantrāloka*, vol. I, 56–57.

<sup>55</sup> Shāstrī, *Tantrāloka*, vol. 3, 7–8.

<sup>56</sup> Lal, *Amṛtakaṇikā*, 69. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019.

<i>Āloka</i> mālā (verse no.)	Testimonia
6–7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Advayaṃvāra's <i>pañjikā</i> to <i>Sarabapādasya Dobhakoṣaḥ</i><sup>57</sup></li> <li>• <i>Subhāṣitasamgraha</i> Part II, fol. 55<sup>58</sup></li> <li>• Vibhūticandra's <i>Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha</i><sup>59</sup></li> <li>• Vanaratna's <i>Rahasyadīpikā ad Vasantatilakā</i> 1.12<sup>60</sup></li> </ul>
6cd–7	Kṛṣṇa's <i>*Ālokacatuṣṭayaṭikā</i> <sup>61</sup>
10cd–11ab	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Nyāyakumudacandra</i> by Prabhācandra<sup>62</sup></li> <li>• Yaśovijaya's <i>Syādvādakalpalatā</i> (commentary on Haribhadrasūri's <i>Śāstravārtāsamuccaya</i>), stabaka 6 verse 56<sup>63</sup></li> </ul>
11–12	Bhavyakīrti's <i>*Pradīpodyotanābhisandhiprakāśikā</i> <sup>64</sup>
12c–13	Incorporated in Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna's <i>*Dharmadhātudarśanagīti</i> <sup>65</sup>
12–14	Bhavyakīrti's <i>*Pradīpodyotanābhisandhiprakāśikā</i> <sup>66</sup>
13	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bhavya's <i>*Madhyamakaratnapradīpa</i><sup>67</sup></li> <li>• Dharmendra's <i>*Tattvasārasamgraha</i><sup>68</sup></li> </ul>
14	Kṛṣṇa's <i>*Ālokacatuṣṭayaṭikā</i> <sup>69</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Bagchi, *Dobhakoṣa*, 95.

<sup>58</sup> Bendall, *Subhāṣita-samgraha*, 41.

<sup>59</sup> Lal, *Amṛtakaṇikā*, 160. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019.

<sup>60</sup> Rinpoche and Dwivedi, *Vasantatilakā*, 11. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019.

<sup>61</sup> D za 166b2–3. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>62</sup> Shastri, *Nyāyakumudacandra*, vol. 1, 131. My thanks to Prof. Isaacson for this reference.

<sup>63</sup> Bhuvanabhānusūriśvarajī, *Śāstravārttāsamuccaya*, stabaka 5–6, 209.

<sup>64</sup> D ki 137b6–7.

<sup>65</sup> Mochizuki, 'Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna', 247n47.

<sup>66</sup> D khi 131b3–5.

<sup>67</sup> D tsha 272b4–53; information from Lindtner, 'Adversaria Buddhica', 175.

<sup>68</sup> D tsu 92a6–7. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>69</sup> D za 179a4–5. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<i>Ālokaṃālā</i> (verse no.)	Testimonia
15cd	Abhayākara Gupta's <i>Āmnāyamañjarī ad Saṃputatantra</i> 6.12 <sup>70</sup>
16	Vibhūticandra's <i>Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha</i> <sup>71</sup>
18	<i>Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā ad Bodhicaryāvatāra</i> 9.2 <sup>72</sup>
25–26	Incorporated in Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna's <i>*Dharmadhātudarśanaḡīti</i> <sup>73</sup>
28–30	<i>*Guhyasamājjatantraṭikā</i> , attributed to one Nāgārjuna <sup>74</sup>
35	Vibhūticandra's <i>Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha</i> <sup>75</sup>
40	Munidatta's commentary to <i>Caryāḡīti</i> song 16 <sup>76</sup>
42	Vibhūticandra's <i>Amṛtakaṇikoddyotanibandha</i> <sup>77</sup>
53	<i>Tattvaratnāvalī</i> by Advaya Vajra (a.k.a. Maitreya nātha) 20 <sup>78</sup>
53–54	Advaya Vajra's <i>pañjikā</i> to <i>Saraha pādasya Dobākoṣa</i> <sup>79</sup>
57a–c	Vanaratna's <i>Rahasyadīpikā ad Vasantatilakā</i> 1.8 <sup>80</sup>
117–118	<i>Subhāṣitasamgraha</i> part II, fol. 91 <sup>81</sup>
118	Vanaratna's <i>Rahasyadīpikā ad Vasantatilakā</i> 1.8 <sup>82</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Tomabechi, 'Āmnāyamañjarī (3)', 84.

<sup>71</sup> Lal, *Amṛtakaṇikā*, 153. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019.

<sup>72</sup> de la Vallée Poussin, *Bodhicaryāvatāra pañjikā*, 352.

<sup>73</sup> Mochizuki, 'Dīpaṃkaraśrījñāna', 248n49.

<sup>74</sup> D sa 115a1–2.

<sup>75</sup> Lal, *Amṛtakaṇikā*, 201. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019.

<sup>76</sup> Kvaerne, *Anthology*, 144.

<sup>77</sup> Lal, *Amṛtakaṇikā*, 127. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019.

<sup>78</sup> Ui, *Tattvaratnāvalī*, 5. Information from Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 82n99.

<sup>79</sup> Bagchi, *Dobākoṣa*, 91.

<sup>80</sup> Rinpoche and Dwivedi, *Vasantatilakā*, 9.

<sup>81</sup> Bendall, *Subhāṣita-samgraha*, 64–65. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019.

<i>Āloka</i> mālā (verse no.)	Testimonia
128	Quoted by Vanaratna in the * <i>Siddheśvaramahāpañḍitaśrīvanaratnamukhāgamaratnasārāvalī</i> (Ōta. 5096) <sup>83</sup> = * <i>Mukhāgamaratnāvalī</i> (Ōta. 5099) <sup>84</sup>
128cd	Kṛṣṇa's * <i>Ālokacatuṣṭayaṭīkā</i> <sup>85</sup>
129–131	Dharmendra's * <i>Tattvasārasaṃgraha</i> <sup>86</sup>
140ab	Kṛṣṇa's * <i>Ālokacatuṣṭayaṭīkā</i> <sup>87</sup>
141cd–142	Bhāgavatotpala's <i>Spandapradīpikā ad Spandakārikā</i> 5 <sup>88</sup>
142	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kṣemarāja's <i>Spandanirṇaya ad Spandakārikā</i> 12–13<sup>89</sup></li> <li>• *<i>Bhagavatyaṃnāyānusārīṇī vyākhyā</i> by Zhi ba 'byung gnas<sup>90</sup></li> </ul>
142–144	Advayavajra's <i>pañjikā</i> to <i>Sarabapādasya Dohakoṣa</i> <sup>91</sup>
151–155	Advayavajra's <i>pañjikā</i> to <i>Sarabapādasya Dohakoṣa</i> <sup>92</sup>
174–177ab	Dharmendra's * <i>Tattvasārasaṃgraha</i> <sup>93</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Rinpoche and Dwivedi, *Vasantatilakā*, 9. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019.

<sup>83</sup> P *lu* 125a 1–3. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>84</sup> P *lu* 131a2–4. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>85</sup> D *za* 178b7–179a1. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>86</sup> D *tsu* 95a5–7. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>87</sup> D *za* 172a2. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>88</sup> Dyczkowski, *Spandapradīpikā*, 20.

<sup>89</sup> Shastri, *Spandakārikās with Nirṇaya*, 27–28.

<sup>90</sup> D *ba* 216a3. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>91</sup> Bagchi, *Dohakoṣa*, 100–01.

<sup>92</sup> Bagchi, *Dohakoṣa*, 126–27.

<sup>93</sup> D *tsu* 91b4–6. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<i>Ālokaṃālā</i> (verse no.)	Testimonia
176	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Tattvaratnāvalī</i> by Advayavajra (a.k.a. Maitreyaṇātha) 37<sup>94</sup></li> <li>• Āryadeva's <i>Sūtakamelāpaka</i> (a.k.a. *<i>Caryāmelāpakapradīpa</i>) Chapter 1<sup>95</sup></li> <li>• Śraddhākaravarman's *<i>Yoganiruttaratantvārthāvatārasaṃgraha</i><sup>96</sup></li> </ul>
189	Bhavyakīrti's * <i>Pradīpodyotanābhisandhiprakāśikā</i> <sup>97</sup>
204	Vanaratna's <i>Rahasyadīpikā ad Vasantatilakā</i> 1.9-11 <sup>98</sup>
205–206	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dharmendra's *<i>Tattvasārasaṃgraha</i><sup>99</sup></li> <li>• Śraddhākaravarman's *<i>Yoganiruttaratantvārthāvatārasaṃgraha</i><sup>100</sup></li> </ul>
206	<i>Subhāṣitasamgraha</i> part II, fol. 91 <sup>101</sup>
210	<i>Tattvaratnāvalī</i> by Advayavajra (a.k.a. Maitreyaṇātha) 13 <sup>102</sup>
235, 252	<i>Sekoddeśaṭīkā</i> by Nāropa <sup>103</sup>
236–246	<i>Prajñāpāramitābhāvanākrama</i> attributed to Ratnākaraśānti <sup>104</sup>
248	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa</i> by Advayavajra (a.k.a. Maitreyaṇātha) 17<sup>105</sup></li> <li>• Rāmapāla's <i>Sekanirdeśapañjikā ad Sekanirdeśa</i> 19–20<sup>106</sup></li> </ul>

<sup>94</sup> Ui, *Tattvaratnāvalī*, 8; information from Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 82n99.

<sup>95</sup> Wedemeyer, *Āryadeva's Lamp*, 348. Harunaga Isaacson, e-mail message to author, January 19, 2019. Note that the title \**Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* is not attested in Sanskrit.

<sup>96</sup> D *tsu* 112a6. Information from Sakai, *Mujōyuga*, 36–37.

<sup>97</sup> D *kbi* 103b5–6; information from Scherer, 'Kambala's Ālokaṃālā', 261.

<sup>98</sup> Rinpoche and Dwivedi, *Vasantatilakā*, 10.

<sup>99</sup> D *tsu* 93b3–5. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>100</sup> D *tsu* 111b5–7. Information from Sakai, *Mujōyuga*, 35–36.

<sup>101</sup> Bendall, *Subhāṣita-samgraha*, 64.

<sup>102</sup> Ui, *Tattvaratnāvalī*, 4; information from Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 82n99.

<sup>103</sup> Sferra and Merzagora, *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*, 138.

<sup>104</sup> Matsuda, 'Prajñāpāramitābhāvanākrama', 30–31.

<sup>105</sup> Mikkyō seiten kenkyūkai, 'Advayavajrasaṃgraha', 181 [54]; information from Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 82n99.

<i>Ālokamālā</i> (verse no.)	Testimonia
251–253	<i>Prajñāpāramitābhāvanākrama</i> attributed to Ratnākaraśānti <sup>107</sup>
252	Munidatta's commentary to <i>Caryāgīti</i> song 15 <sup>108</sup>
267	Dharmendra's <i>*Tattvasārasaṃgraha</i> <sup>109</sup>
274	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Pañcatathāgatamudrāvivarāṇa</i> by Advayavajra (a.k.a. Maitreyaṇātha) 19<sup>110</sup></li> <li>• Rāmapāla's <i>Sekanirdeśapañjikā ad Sekanirdeśa</i> 19–20<sup>111</sup></li> <li>• Quoted by Vanaratna in the <i>*Siddheśvaramahāpañḍitaśrīvanaratnamukhāgamaratnasārāvalī</i> (Ōta. 5096)<sup>112</sup> = <i>*Mukhāgamaratnāvalī</i> (Ōta. 5099)<sup>113</sup></li> </ul>
277	<i>Ratnaśrīṭikā</i> (Ratnaśrījñāna's commentary to Daṇḍin's <i>Kāvyaḍarsa</i> ) <sup>114</sup>
280	Advayavajra's <i>pañjikā</i> to <i>Sarabhapādasya Dobhakoṣa</i> <sup>115</sup>

The earliest *testimonium* is probably Vilāsavajra's *Nāmaman-trārthāvalokinī*, a commentary on the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti*, which quotes *Ālokamālā* verse 4.<sup>116</sup> The date of Vilāsavajra is not certain; Tribe puts Vilāsavajra in the period between the late 8th century

<sup>106</sup> Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 182.

<sup>107</sup> Matsuda, 'Prajñāpāramitābhāvanākrama', 29–30.

<sup>108</sup> Kvaerne, *Anthology*, 139.

<sup>109</sup> D *tsu* 95b2–3. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>110</sup> Mikkyō seiten kenkyūkai, 'Advayavajrasaṃgraha', 181 [54]; information from Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 82n99.

<sup>111</sup> Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 182.

<sup>112</sup> P *lu* 123b5–7. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>113</sup> P *lu* 130a5–6. My thanks to the search function of the Buddhist Digital Resource Center.

<sup>114</sup> Thakur and Jha, *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*, 63.

<sup>115</sup> Bagchi, *Dobhakoṣa*, 131.

<sup>116</sup> See Szántó, 'Early Works', 541n7; and Tribe, *Tantric Buddhist Practice*, 30n29.

and early-to-mid 9th century, which I think is reasonable since we are quite certain of Vilāsavajra's student Jñānapāda's date because of Jñānapāda's connection with the Buddhist master Haribhadra.<sup>117</sup>

The earliest dated *testimonium* of the *Ālokaṃālā* is Ratnaśrījñāna's *Ratnaśrīṭīkā*, a commentary on Daṇḍin's *Kāvyaḍarśa*, which quotes *Ālokaṃālā* verse 277.<sup>118</sup> The colophon of the single Sanskrit manuscript of the *Ratnaśrīṭīkā* bears a date of the 23rd regnal year of Rājyapāla, which corresponds to the 10th century CE.<sup>119</sup>

As noted by van der Kuijp, the religious name of Kambala, the author of the *Ālokaṃālā*, is probably Prajñāmitra, since the colophon of the Tokyo manuscript of the *Ālokaṃālā* (TUL no. 59) gives the name Ācāryaśrīprajñāmitra.<sup>120</sup> It is interesting to note that in Tibet there exists a Sanskrit manuscript of an *Ālokaṃālāpañjikā* (no Tibetan or Chinese translation, not yet edited), which is a commentary to the *Ālokaṃālā* by one Prajñāmitra.<sup>121</sup> If we agree that Prajñāmitra is another name of Kambala, this *Ālokaṃālāpañjikā* might be Kambala's auto-commentary on the *Ālokaṃālā*.

<sup>117</sup> Tribe, *Tantric Buddhist Practice*, 25.

<sup>118</sup> Thakur and Jha, *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*, 63.

<sup>119</sup> The colophon of the *Ratnaśrīṭīkā* is reported in Thakur and Jha, *Kāvyalakṣaṇa*, 282. It is also reported and translated into English in Dimitrov, *Legacy*, 68–69. According to Dimitrov's latest study of the Pāla chronology (Appendix I of Dimitrov, *Legacy*, 'On the Pāla chronology'), Rājyapāla reigned from c. 929–966. Therefore the twenty-third regnal year of Rājyapāla corresponds to 952 CE (see Dimitrov, *Legacy*, 756). My thanks to Prof. Isaacson for the reference on Dimitrov's study on Pāla chronology.

<sup>120</sup> van der Kuijp, 'Bodhicittavivarāṇa', 122. Cf. He and van der Kuijp, 'Further Notes', 326; and the colophon of the Tokyo manuscript of the *Ālokaṃālā*, fol. 26r2: *ity ālokaṃālāyāṃ samāptāṃ || kṛtīr iyaṃ ācāryaśrīprajñāmitreṇeti śubham ||* ⊗ ||

<sup>121</sup> See Ye, 'A preliminary survey', 323, item 8.2. The CTRC has a photostat copy of this manuscript.

## The Philosophy of the *Navaslokī* and its Relationship with the *Ālokamālā*

The philosophy of the *Navaslokī* can be classified as belonging to some kind of Yogācāra school. Tantric visualization can also be found in the *Navaslokī*; the commentary to verse 8 contains a short *sādhana*. The *Navaslokī* commentary is a nice example of a combination of philosophical discussion with tantric practice.

The *Ālokamālā* is generally classified as a Yogācāra work in the Kashmirian Śaiva tradition, but as a Madhyamaka work in the Tibetan tradition.<sup>122</sup>

After studying both the *Navaslokī* and the *Ālokamālā*, I find the philosophy of the two texts quite similar. And as Lindtner has pointed out, the wording of *Navaslokī* 9ab (*yoginām api yaj jñānam tad apy ākāśalakṣaṇam*) is very close to *Ālokamālā* 110a (*yoginām api yaj jñānam tad apy ajñānam eva hi*).<sup>123</sup> I agree with Lindtner that the author of both texts is probably the same Kambala.

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<sup>122</sup> Jayaratha explicitly quotes Kambala's *Ālokamālā* as a Yogācāra text in the *Tantrāloka*. See *Tantrāloka* 1.33 (Shāstrī, *Tantrāloka*, vol. 1, 64): *tatra "rāgādyakaluṣo 'haṃ bhavāmi" iti jñānam yogācārāṇām | yad ābuh "rāgādikalūṣaṃ cittaṃ saṃsāras tadvimuktatā || saṃkṣepāt kathito mokṣaḥ prabhīnāvaraṇair jinaiḥ ||" iti* |. However, Kṣemarāja seems to quote the *Ālokamālā* in the section refuting Buddhist Madhyamaka ideas in his *Span-danirṇaya*. I am grateful to Prof. Isaacson for pointing out to me that Jayaratha quotes the *Ālokamālā* as a Yogācāra text. The *Ālokamālā* is found in the Madhyamaka section of the Tibetan Tanjur. Tibetan doxographical works such as *Grub mtha' chen mo* also classify Kambala as some kind of a Mādhyamika. See Kurihara, 'Classification'. However, modern scholars generally regard the *Ālokamālā* as a Yogācāra text. See Lindtner, *A Garland of Light*, passim; Scherer, 'Kambala's Ālokamālā', 260; and Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 82.

<sup>123</sup> Lindtner, *A Garland of Light*, 6, esp. fn12.



## Other Works Attributed to Kambala

There are more than 10 texts attributed to Kambala in the Tibetan canon.<sup>124</sup> Among them the most influential ones are no doubt the *Ālokaṃālā* and the *Navasloki*. Another influential text would be the now lost *Ādhyātmasādhana*, which is quoted a few times in late tantric Buddhist texts.<sup>125</sup> Kambala's *Sādhanaṇidhi*, a commentary on the *Herukābhīdhāna* (a.k.a. *Laghusaṃvaratantra* or *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*), is also an important text in the Saṃvara tradition.<sup>126</sup>

There are also some relatively short texts, such as the *\*Prajñāpāramitopadeśavajropama* (*Shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i man ngag rdo rje lta bum*), which is a very short *sādhana* on the deity *Prajñāpāramitā*.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup> For a list of texts attributed to Kambala in the Tibetan canon see Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, *Tāranātha's History*, 408. Note that the *Saptaśloka* is probably not by Kambala.

<sup>125</sup> The Sanskrit text of the *Ādhyātmasādhana* is not extant, and it has not been translated into Tibetan or Chinese. One verse from the *Ādhyātmasādhana* is quoted in Āryadeva's *Sūtakamelāpaka* (a.k.a. *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*) (Wedemeyer, *Āryadeva's Lamp*, 451), the *Subhāṣitasamgraha* (Bendall, *Subhāṣita-samgraha*, 41), and the *Caryāgīti* commentary by Munidatta (Kvaerne, *Anthology*, 148). The verse as quoted in the *Sūtakamelāpaka* runs as follows:

*sthūlam śabdamayam prābhuḥ sūkṣmam cintāmayam tathā |*  
*cintayā rabitam yat tad yoginām paramam padam ||*

The same verse is also found in the *Samvarodayatantra* IV. 33.

According to Torella's article *The Word in Abhinavagupta's Bṛhad Vimarśinī* page 9, this verse could be found in the Śaiva *Kālotara* (*Sārdhatrisatikālottara* 1.8, see Bhatt, *Sārdhatrisatikālottarāgama*, 15).

<sup>126</sup> Tibetan translation: Tōh. 1401/Ōta. 2118. For the importance of the *Sādhanaṇidhi* in the Saṃvara tradition, see Gray, *The Cakrasaṃvara Tantra*, 23. For the critical editions of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of Chapters 4 to 7 of the *Sādhanaṇidhi*, see Sugiki, 'Kambala's Sādhanaṇidhi'. Kambala's *Sādhanaṇidhi* is quoted by one Bhavyakīrti in his commentary on the *Herukābhīdhāna*/ *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*, the *\*Vīramānoramā* (Tōh. 1405/Ōta. 2121). I owe this information to Dr. Sugiki, e-mail message to author, October 8, 2018.

The study of the contents of these other works attributed to Kambala remains a desideratum.

### The Date of Kambala

To conclude, the *terminus post quem* of the *Ālokamālā* is late 8th century to 9th century CE.<sup>128</sup> The *terminus post quem* of the *Navaslokī* is late 10th to early 11th century CE. I believe that the author of the *Navaslokī* is the same as the author of the *Ālokamālā*. Therefore the *Navaslokī* was probably also written in the late 8th century to 9th century.

The author of the *Sādhnanidhi* is likely to date a bit later. The *Herukābhidhāna* (a.k.a. *Laghusaṃvaratantra* or *Cakrasaṃvaratantra*) is probably compiled sometime between the 9th and 10th centuries.<sup>129</sup> The *Sādhnanidhi* is probably written slightly later in the 10th century.

The date of the Siddha Kambala is far less certain. Further research on the Indian and Tibetan hagiographical and historical accounts of the Siddhas would be necessary to ascertain the date of the Siddha Kambala.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Tōh. 2642; and Ōta. 3466/5123.

<sup>128</sup> Isaacson and Sferra opines that Kambala's *Ālokamālā* dates to 'no later than the early ninth century' (Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 82), which I believe is based on the fact that the *Ālokamālā* is quoted in Vilāsavajra's *Nāmamantrārthāvalokinī*. This very fact is also my evidence for arguing for the *terminus post quem* of the *Ālokamālā*.

<sup>129</sup> See Sugiki, 'Kambala's *Sādhnanidhi*', 20. Cf. Sanderson, 'The Śaiva Age', 158–65.

<sup>130</sup> The hagiographical or biographical accounts of the Buddhist Siddhas vary to a great extent. Both Sanskrit manuscripts (such as the Sanskrit Siddha lineage record in Kaiser Library 142) and Tibetan historical accounts of Indian Buddhism (such as Tārānātha's history) should be taken into consideration. For important previous studies on Siddha biographies, see Tucci, 'Sanskrit Biography'; Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*, vol. 1, 226–32; and Dowman, *Masters of*

Further research about the philosophical position(s) of Kambala(s) in Indian philosophy, especially his/their relationships with Śaiva and Jaina philosophical masters, is still a desideratum.

### Example of Better Reading in Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr. 259a and the Evaluation of the Chinese translation of the *Navaslokī*

It is often said the canonical Chinese translation of a Sanskrit Buddhist text is usually of inferior quality compared with the corresponding Tibetan translation. This is true in a way; since Chinese grammar is simple in comparison to that of Sanskrit or even Tibetan, during the process of translation many Sanskrit grammatical details are bound to be lost. The Chinese translations are oftentimes less precise than their Tibetan counterparts. However, this does not mean that the Chinese translations are necessarily faulty. After comparing the Chinese translation of the *Navaslokī* with the Sanskrit original and its corresponding Tibetan translation, I find the quality of the Chinese translation satisfactory. The Chinese translation of the *Navaslokī* conveys the correct meaning most of the time, albeit sometimes in a less precise way.

It is evident that the source texts of both the Chinese translation and the Tibetan translation of the *Navaslokī* commentary are different from extant Sanskrit manuscripts. Nevertheless, the Chinese translation can sometimes help us to understand the corrupt Sanskrit text and establish a correct text. There are several places where the two Sanskrit manuscripts are both corrupt and the Tibetan

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*Mahāmudrā*. For a brief study of the Siddha Kambala, see Gray, *The Cakrasamvara Tantra*, 23. For an exemplary study of the Siddha Maitreyaṇātha, see Isaacson and Sferra, *Sekanirdeśa*, 60–85, and also Appendix 7, 421–30. It is worth noting that a Hindu Siddha called Kambali (probably a variant of Kambala?) is mentioned in Hindu Alchemy texts such as the *Rasendra Maṅgala* and the *Rasaratnasamuccaya*. Cf. White, *The Alchemical Body*, 81–82, 391n22. Some of the names of the Siddhas are shared between the Buddhist and Hindu lists. The relationships between Buddhist and Hindu Siddhas await further study.

translation is not satisfactory, but the reading of the Chinese translation is good.<sup>131</sup>

For example, in the commentary to the *Navasloki* verse 6, we find in Pandey's Sanskrit edition an explanation of the cause of a mirage: *bhamatakhabhādityasamparkkād*. This does not make any sense and is clearly corrupt. The Göttingen manuscript reads *bhūkṣobhādityakiraṇasamparkād* ('because of the coming together of the shaking of the earth and the rays of the sun'), which makes more sense, but the word *bhūkṣobha*<sup>o</sup> ('the shaking of the earth') is still suspicious. The corresponding Tibetan translation *sa'i gyur ba* ('the change of the earth') for *bhūkṣobha*<sup>o</sup> is not at all satisfactory. The Chinese translation reads 謂地塵日光三事假合 ('it is said to be the false union of three things: the earth, dusts and rays of the sun'), which suggests the reading *bhūkṣodādityakiraṇasamparkād* ('because of the coming together of the dust of the earth and the rays of the sun') in the Sanskrit original that makes perfect sense.<sup>132</sup>

There is one expression in the Chinese translation of the *Navasloki* auto-commentary that is not as satisfactory. \*Dharmapāla uses the words 此義終竟 or 此義畢竟 ('this is the end of [the explanation] of this meaning') to translate the Sanskrit *śāstric* expression *iti yāvat* ('this is as much as to say that...'), which in my opinion is not very accurate.

There are also places where the difference between the Chinese translation and the Sanskrit original cannot be easily explained. A short *sādhana* is included in the Sanskrit commentary to verse 8 of the *Navasloki*, where the *sādhaka* should visualize seed syllables, vowels, and consonants. The seed syllables to be visualized are *brīḥ*,

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<sup>131</sup> My impression is that late medieval Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts are more prone to textual corruption than the corresponding Tibetan and Chinese translations. Perhaps this is because palm-leaf manuscripts have to be copied from time to time, so scribal errors are bound to creep in. Medieval Tibetan and Chinese canonical Buddhist texts were mostly transmitted by xylographs, so the texts transmitted are fossilized in a way.

<sup>132</sup> I thank Prof. Isaacson for suggesting the emendation from *bhūkṣobha*<sup>o</sup> to *bhūkṣoda*<sup>o</sup>.

*a*, *ka* and *hūṃ* in the Sanskrit text, but in the Chinese translation the seed syllables are *brī* 紇哩, *ha* 訶, *ka* 迦 and *hūṃ* 吽. The Sanskrit version with the second seed syllable *a* (representing the 16 vowels) should be correct.<sup>133</sup>

With the help of Göttingen Cod.ms.sanscr.259a and both the Tibetan and Chinese translations, we can greatly improve the Sanskrit text of the commentary to the *Navaslokī*, which paves way for a further study of Kambala's philosophy and his position in Indian intellectual history.

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### Abbreviations

D	Derge
NAK	National Archives, Kathmandu
NGMPP	Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project
Ōta.	Ōtani Catalogue nos. of the Peking Canon. See Suzuki, <i>Catalogue &amp; Index</i> .
P	Peking
Tōh.	Tōhoku Catalogue nos. of the Derge Canon. See Ui, et al., <i>Catalogue</i> .
TUL	Tokyo University Library nos. of Sanskrit manuscripts. See Matsunami, <i>Catalogue</i> .

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<sup>133</sup> Either the Chinese translation is corrupt here, or the Sanskrit original which served as the basis of the Chinese translation was different from the Sanskrit manuscripts we have. The Tibetan translation omits the *sādhana* part altogether.

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# On the Transmission of the Verse-text of Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* and the *Rang 'grel*-Auto-commentary<sup>\*</sup>

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**Abstract:** The early thirteenth century *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* by Sa skya Paṇḍita is one of the best known works on Tibetan Buddhist logic and epistemology, and it was the recipient of numerous commentaries. It consists of a verse-text and an auto-commentary. The tradition recognized that their structure and textual histories, as well as the relationship between the verse-text and the auto-commentary, were not entirely unproblematic. In fact, as is indicated, we may have to reckon with three different texts: one in eight chapters, one in eleven, and one in thirteen chapters. It still needs to be determined whether these differences were due to variations in the structuring of the verses of the verse-text or to the presence of verse-texts with different lengths. This essay aims to shed some light on these issues and its goal is expository rather than exploratory.

**Keywords:** Buddhist logic, Dharmakīrti, Sa skya Pandita, *Tshad ma rigs gter*, 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge, textual criticism

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It is a truism that few indigenous Tibetan treatises were the recipient of the kind of sustained attention that the tradition has given to Sa skya Paṇḍita Kun dga' rgyal mtshan's (1182–1251) justly famous *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter* [hereafter *Rigs gter*].<sup>1</sup> To be sure, this may come as a bit of a surprise and may indeed even appear counter-intuitive to the uninitiated when we consider for a moment the subject-matter of the *Rigs gter*. After all, it is a rather abstruse work on epistemology and logic (*pramāṇa*, *tshad ma*), a subject that, beginning with the writings of Dignāga (sixth century) and Dharmakīrti (seventh century), enjoyed up to the era of Sa skya Paṇḍita a long and involved history in the Indian subcontinent and the Tibetan region. That notwithstanding, the *Rigs gter*'s popularity, if this be the right word, or, perhaps more accurate, its conceptual difficulty is amply borne out by the numerous commentaries that were written on the verse-text or on the auto-commentary. These began to be composed shortly after its appearance and in-depth studies continue to be written up to the present time.

The *Rigs gter* is undated and it shares this feature with most of Sa skya Paṇḍita's writings. Later writers of the Sa skya pa school surmised that it may have been composed around the year 1219.<sup>2</sup> They appear to have arrived at this conclusion on the basis of their inquiry into the relative chronology of his by and large undated

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<sup>1</sup> What I will henceforth call the *Rigs gter* comprises both the basic verse-text (*rtsa ba*) and what is ostensibly the auto-commentary (*rang gi 'grel pa*). For the *Rigs gter* commentarial literature, see Jackson, 'Commentaries on the Writings of Sa-skya Paṇḍita', 8–12, and, adding more titles to Jackson's already impressive dossier, Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho, *Rigs gter na tshod*, 45–48. The undoubtedly very recent but undated *Rigs gter na tshod* is possibly the last of these. Commentaries on the verse-text are much more plentiful than studies of the auto-commentary of which there are very few indeed.

<sup>2</sup> Jackson, *The Entrance Gate for the Wise (Section III)*, 64, 66–67. So far, the earliest one to have done so of whom I am aware is A mes zhabs Ngag dbang kun dga' bsod nams (1597–1659), the twenty-sixth abbot of Sa skya monastery, who suggested this in his 1638 study of the Cakrasamvara precepts; see A mes zhabs, '*Dpal sa skya pa'i yab chos kyi*', 170.

oeuvre. What must have been of help is that in some of his works Sa skya Paṇḍita directs readers to his other writings for further information. The obvious problem with the surmise of these writers is three-fold. Firstly, most of these later scholars simply write *Rigs gter* and thus make no explicit distinction between the verse-text and the auto-commentary. Secondly, they do not allow for the possibility that Sa skya Paṇḍita may have revisited either work at a later date to make revisions. Thirdly, we do not know when he wrote the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary. Was it at the same time that he conceptualized and articulated the verses, or did he write it much later?

We have no direct insight into these aspects of his workshop. However, we do know that the method Sa skya Paṇḍita employed in writing his auto-commentary was to preface his specific comments in prose with the pertinent verses from what appears to be the entire *Rigs gter* verse-text, and that, with some exceptions, his verses in turn were prefaced by a topic-statement.<sup>3</sup> What is more, it appears that in later times some of his lines of verse were forced, as it were, into the prose text of the auto-commentary (see below notes 71–76).

Sa skya Paṇḍita cited what he called the *Rigs gter* in the following four works that without a doubt issued from his pen:

1. *Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*<sup>4</sup>
2. *Mkhas pa rnams la 'jug pa'i sgo*<sup>5</sup>
3. *Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa*<sup>6</sup>
4. *Bka' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan*<sup>7</sup>

There is nothing in these to suggest that, with his laconic *Rigs pa'i gter*, Sa skya Paṇḍita intended either the verse-text or auto-commentary!

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<sup>3</sup> A user-friendly topical outline (*sa bcad*) of the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge] is given in Horváth, 'Structure and Content of the *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter*'.

<sup>4</sup> Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Thub pa'i dgongs pa rab tu gsal ba*', 92.

<sup>5</sup> Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Mkhas pa rnams 'jug pa'i sgo*', 28–29, 96, 99, 128.

<sup>6</sup> Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Nga brgyad ma'i 'grel pa*', 300.

<sup>7</sup> Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Bka' gdams do kor ba'i zhus lan*', 460. Sa skya Paṇḍita mentions his *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba* on page 463.

The majority of references to the *Rigs gter* occur in the *Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa* which, while attributed to Sa skya Paṇḍita in later circles and was thus included in the 1736 Sde dge xylograph edition of his collected writings, both Jackson and I independently concluded that it was not written by him.<sup>8</sup> However, what distinguishes these references from the ones in the above four works is that while the author of the *Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa* does not cite the auto-commentary, he does actually quote the *Rigs gter* verse text!<sup>9</sup> The first involves six lines from the ninth chapter of its received text:

*sems las gzhan la ltos med kyi //*  
*rtags kyi sngon mtha' thug med 'grub //*<sup>10</sup>

*rgyu tshogs tshang zhing gegs med pa'i //*  
*rtags kyi phyi mtha' thug med 'grub //*

*skye mched 'di las skye mched gzhan //*  
*de yi bzang ngan las kyis byed //*

In 1271, while residing in Shing kun, a place that is located in Gansu Province, 'Phags pa Blo gros rgyal mtshan (1235–1280), Sa skya Paṇḍita's nephew and close disciple, completed a versified tract for his patron Qubilai Qayan (r. 1260–1294) that he titled, *Rgyal*

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<sup>8</sup> Jackson, 'Two *Grub mtha'* Treatises of Sa-skya Paṇḍita', and van der Kuijp, 'On the Authorship of the *Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa*'. This is of course not to say that this is an uninteresting work. Indeed, it is, and it is certainly worthy of further attention.

<sup>9</sup> Sa skya Paṇḍita, '*Gzhung lugs legs par bshad pa*', 252–53, 262, 265–66, 278.

<sup>10</sup> This is the sole quotation that is characterized as deriving 'from the *Rigs pa'i gter* that was written by me' (*kho bos byas pa'i rigs pa'i gter las*). The second line is misquoted—it has *phyi mtha'* for *sngon mtha'*—in Stag tshang Lo tsā ba Shes rab rin chen's (1405–1477) 1467 polemical treatise on the Kālacakra literature; see Stag tshang Lo tsā ba, '*Gzhan dus kyi 'khor lo'i spyi don bstan pa'i rgya mtsho*', 482.

*po la gdams pa'i rab tu byed pa* (Tract that Instructs the Emperor). His aim with this little work was, so it would seem, to provide and familiarize Qubilai with the basics of Buddhist religion and philosophy. Writing in the East Tibetan monastery of Tsom mdo gnas sar, his student Shes rab gzhon nu composed a commentary on this work, which he completed towards the end of 1275. Shes rab gzhon nu followed the topical structure that 'Phags pa wrote for his work and cites an impressive array of canonical literature as he explains 'Phags pa's treatise. He also states that his comments were consistent with his master's own statements and that he verified this by repeatedly consulting with him. We know from the colophons of 'Phags pa's writings that he was indeed in the area during this time, and this adds a measure of confidence to the veracity of Shes rab gzhon nu's remarks. As a matter of fact, 'Phags pa left Shing kun in 1274 and was en route to his home monastery of Sa skya, which he reached in 1276. Shes rab gzhon nu's work is among the few thirteenth century treatises with which I am familiar that in fact cite the *Rigs gter* verse-text, albeit not entirely unproblematically. In his work, he states that the following quatrain stems from [the ninth chapter of] the *Rigs gter*:<sup>11</sup>

*thabs dang shes rab legs sbyangs pas //*  
*phan tshun rgyu dang rkyen gyur pas //*  
*ji lta ba dang ji snyed pa'i //*  
*ye shes gzigs pa 'grub par 'gyur //*

This quotation is unproblematic. He also cites two lines from what he explicitly states were taken from the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*, but these are *not* found in any of the sources used for this essay. The two lines in question read:

*phyi ltar don rig du ma yang //*  
*nang ltar rang rig nyid du gcig //*

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<sup>11</sup> Shes rab gzhon nu, '*Rgyal po la gdams pa'i rab tu byed pa*', 333, 373. Shes rab gzhon nu cites Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Sdom gsum rab tu dbye ba* on page 338.

Finally, Btsun pa Ston gzhon, another student of 'Phags pa, mentions the *Rigs gter* four times in his 1297 study of Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārttika*.<sup>12</sup> These will be discussed on another occasion.

Not least owing to the genius of Sa skya Paṇḍita, the obvious recognition of the *Rigs gter* as a first-rate work and its ensuing reputation came at a cost. Due to its growing popularity and the many places where it was taught<sup>13</sup>—there can be no doubt that this was in part a sociological and economic consequence of Sa skya monastery's close connections with the Mongol imperial family—the unchecked proliferation of manuscript copies of both the verse-text and the alleged auto-commentary resulted in a measure of textual contamination that in some quarters even led certain individuals to question whether the textual discrepancies between the verse-text and the verses cited in the auto-commentary might be indicative that these were written by two different authors. In what follows, I briefly deal with the problem of the auto-commentary's authorship and I will point to some of the philological problems one encounters in the study of the *Rigs gter* corpus.

The first complete set of printing blocks carved for the auto-commentary was accomplished in Dadu, China, is dated December 16, 1284, and is usually referred to as the 'Mongol xylograph' (*hor par ma*).<sup>14</sup> The preparation of these blocks began with the financial sup-

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<sup>12</sup> For this work, see van der Kuijp, 'Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of 1297, Part One', and 'Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of 1297, Part Two'.

<sup>13</sup> For some of the institutions where the *Rigs gter* had a place in their curricula, see van der Kuijp, 'Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhon's *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of 1297', 130ff.

<sup>14</sup> For details and the texts of the colophons of the 1284 and 1339 xylographs, see van der Kuijp, 'Two Mongol Xylographs (*Hor Par Ma*) of the Tibetan Text', 281, 283. In 1298, Dpal mo 'Bol gan, that is, the Empress Bulugan [= Boluhan], the wife of the Chengzong Emperor [= Öljeitü Qan] (r. 1294–1307), had two hundred copies printed from the 1284 printing blocks; see Ska ba Shes rab bzang po, 'Zangwen "Yuan ban" kao', 42–43 [= Kawa Sherab Sangpo, 'Analysis of Tibetan Language Prints Produced During the Yuan Period (*hor par ma*)', 202–

port of Čabi (?–1284), Qubilai’s senior wife, and the printing project was completed by her daughter-in-law, Kōkōčin, after Čabi passed on. Located in what is now Beijing, Dadu was the winter capital of the Yuan Dynasty. Another series of xylographs from these very same printing blocks, ostensibly therefore the second printing, dates from 1339.<sup>15</sup> It is safe to say that the xylographs from these blocks indicate that the manuscript[?] on which basis the printing blocks were carved had eleven chapters, from which we might in turn conclude that it was based on a *Rigs gter* verse-text that had eleven chapters as well. These chapters are identified as follows:

1.	<i>yul brtag pa</i>	– Investigating the object	[2a]
2.	<i>blo brtag pa</i>	– Investigating the knowing awareness	[9b]
3.	<i>spyi dang bye brag brtag pa</i>	– Investigating the universal and the particular	[17a]
4.	<i>snang ba dang gzhan sel</i>	– Appearance and exclusion	[22b]
5.	<i>brjod bya dang rjod byed brtag pa</i>	– Investigating the linguistic referent and – the linguistic utterance	[37b]
6.	<i>‘brel pa brtag pa</i>	– Investigating relations	[44a]
7.	<i>‘gal ba brtag pa</i>	– Investigating incompatibilities	[66a]
8.	<i>mtshan nyid brtag pa</i>	– Investigating the definition	[72a]
9.	<i>mngon sum brtag pa</i>	– Investigating perception	[103b]
10.	<i>rang don rjes dpag bstan pa</i>	– Showing inference for oneself	[125a]
11.	<i>gzhan don rjes dpag brtag pa</i>	– Investigating inference for others	[165b]

205] and Xiong, ‘Yuandai huangshi chengyuan shikande zangwen fojing’, 91, 94–95.

<sup>15</sup> See *Rigs gter rang ‘grel* [Dadu]. In the colophon of the ‘reprint’, read *sa mo yos bu*, ‘earth-female-hare’ (1339) and *not shing mo yos bu*, ‘wood-female-hare’ year (1325), as I had inadvertently done.



The xylograph itself presents us with a series of interesting paleographical features; these are mainly the following:

1. The use of a ‘reverse’ *gi gu* graph [= *i*] for the second *gi gu* when one follows immediately or too closely upon another as in, for instance, *gangs ri’i khrod* and *blo’i nyi ’od* [fol. 1b4, 1b5]; the *i* graph is used for reasons of spacing or must be interpreted as a ‘carvo’.
2. The inconsistent use of the spelling of *stsogs* and *rtsogs* instead of the ‘modern’ *sogs* [fol. 2a5, 2b2].
3. The occasional use of abbreviated expressions (*skung yig*) as in *nyidu* (< *nyid du*), *rang gi mchid* (< *rang gi mtshan nyid*), and *spyim* (< *spyi mtshan*) [fol. 3a6, 3b, 41a4].
4. The inconsistent use of the palatalizing *ya btags* as in, for example, *myi*, *myig*, *my-ing*, *myin*, *rmyi*, *dmyigs*, and *myed* instead of *mi*, *mig*, *ming*, *min*, *rmi*, *dmigs*, and *med* from the fourth chapter onward [fol. 38a6, 38b2, 40a3,6, 40b6, 41a1,6].
5. The use of the *bar tsheg*, intersyllabic dot, before a *shad* (✓).
6. The xylograph does not always clearly distinguish between *pa/pa’i/pas* and *ba/ba’i/bas* that occur after specific consonants.

While the xylograph of 1284/1339 suggests that the *Rigs gter* consisted of eleven chapters in all, I show elsewhere that this was by no means the case prior to its production. Glo bo Mkhan chen Bsod nams lhun grub (1456–1532) remarks in his 1482 study of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary that older *Rigs gter* texts (*gzhung rnying pa rnam*s) had not eleven but thirteen chapters. Thus, the chapter on the definition was split into two parts, one in which the general features of a definition was investigated and one that dealt with the definition of the valid means of cognition (*tshad ma*, *pramāṇa*) in particular, and it appears there was a spin-off chapter analyzing negation and affirmation (*dgag sgrub brtag pa’i rab tu byed pa*).

When Ldong ston Shes rab dpal, one of Sa skya Paṇḍita’s disciples, was working on his *circa* 1260 commentary, he most probably used a manuscript of the *Rigs gter* verse-text that contained these thirteen

chapters.<sup>16</sup> Thus, according to Glo bo Mkhan chen, Ldong ston's commentary was structured in the following manner:

	<i>bzhag bya – ngo bo</i>	<i>yul</i>	[1]
		<i>blo</i>	[2]
I.	<i>shes bya</i>		
	<i>jog byed – khyad par</i>	<i>spyi dang bye brag</i>	[3]
		<i>snang ba dang sel ba</i>	[4]
		<i>brjod bya dang rjod byed</i>	[5]
		<i>'brel pa</i>	[6]
		<i>'gal ba</i>	[7]
	<i>ngo bo</i>	<i>tshad ma'i mtshan nyid</i>	[8]
II.	<i>shes byed</i>	<i>mtshan gzhi</i>	[9]
		<i>rtogs tshul</i>	[10]
	<i>dbye ba</i>	<i>mngon sum</i>	[11]
		<i>rjes dpag</i>	[12]
		<i>rang don</i>	[12]
		<i>gzhan don</i>	[13]

Obviously, the sequence of the chapters of his work corresponds quite closely to the eleven-chapter text of the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu]. Glo bo Mkhan chen cites Ldong ston's work on a number of other occasions.<sup>17</sup>

It is a pity that we do not have access to Ldong ston's treatise. By contrast, we now have available to us a commentary on the verse-text by 'U yug pa Rigs pa'i seng ge (ca.1195–after 1267), who was yet another disciple of Sa skya Paṇḍita and therefore a contemporary of Ldong ston.<sup>18</sup> This work, which I will henceforth refer to as the *Rigs pa grub pa*, seems to be based on a manuscript of the *Rigs gter* verse-

<sup>16</sup> See van der Kuijp, 'Ldong ston Shes rab dpal', which is based on Glo bo Mkhan chen, 'Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel', 14–15, a study of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary. On this work, see briefly below.

<sup>17</sup> Glo bo Mkhan chen, *Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*, 47, 56, 111, 183, 223, 343–44.

<sup>18</sup> On him and his oeuvre, see van der Kuijp, 'Studies in Btsun pa Ston gzhan's *Pramāṇavārttika* Commentary of 1297'.

text that may have contained in all not eleven, not thirteen, but eight chapters! It is structured along the triad of beneficial at the outset (*thog mar dge ba*), in the middle (*bar du dge ba*), and at the end (*tha mar dge ba*), a triad that we find in various Indic sources, including the large compilation of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.<sup>19</sup> The section ‘beneficial in the middle’ forms the main body of the text and contains, according to the editor[s], the following eight chapter-headings:<sup>20</sup>

1.	<i>yul gyi ngo bo dpyad pa</i>	–	Analyzing the nature of the object	[2–40]
2.	<i>yul gyi khyad par dpyad pa</i>	–	Analyzing the particulars of the object	[42–67]
3.	<i>blo spyi'i rnam gzbag dpyad pa</i>	–	Analyzing an exposition of cognition in general	[68–116]
4.	<i>tshad ma spyi yi rnam gzbag dpyad pa</i>	–	Analyzing the exposition of the valid means of cognition in general	[117–172]
5.	<i>mngon sum dpyad pa</i>	–	Analyzing valid perceptual awareness	[173–222]
6.	<i>rang don rjes dpag dpyad pa</i>	–	Analyzing inference for oneself	[223–327]
7.	<i>gzhan don rjes dpag dpyad pa</i>	–	Analyzing inference for another	[327–355]
8.	<i>mtshan nyid dpyad pa</i>	–	Analyzing the definition	[356–372]

<sup>19</sup> Asaṅga, ‘*Yogācārabhūmi*’, 76.

<sup>20</sup> Truth be told, it is by no means clear whether these were found in the actual text or that, and I suspect that this is so, they were added by the editor[s]. The editors have on occasion misread the text, or the manuscript is not always pristine. The explanation of the status of the object (*yul*) at ‘U yug pa, *Rigs pa grub pa*, 2, begins with ‘Ka 1 First, an explanation of the nature (*rang bzhin*) of the knowable, the object...’ And it states that this item has three parts (*de la gsum ste*), that is, [1] The nature of the knowable, the object and [2] A conclusive analysis (*gtan la dbab pa*) of the definition[s] that are common to the [objects]. In other words, there is NO third part, one that would have had to do with an

Looking at his work's architecture, it would appear that 'U yug pa either took some liberties with the chapter sequence of the *Rigs gter* verse-text or that *his* text of the latter was quite different from what we know the sequence was at one time from the 1284/1339 Mongol xylograph of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary and, we should add, from all the later texts of the *Rigs gter* that have been published thus far. What is more, the *Rigs pa grub pa*'s topical outline is miles away from that of the auto-commentary and suggests a more far-reaching independence from Sa skya Paṇḍita than we might expect from a close disciple. For example, compare this outline of the opening of the first chapter with that of the auto-commentary:

*Rigs pa grub pa*, 4–6:

- I. *shes par bya ba yul gyi rang bzhin*
  1. *yul gyi mtshan nyid*
    - 1a. *mtshan nyid dngos*
    - 1b. *de'i skyon spang ba*
      - 1a1. *dngos med la ma khyab pa spang ba*
      - 1a2. *bde sogs la ma khyab pa spang ba*
  2. *mtshan gzhi'i dbye ba*
    - 2a. *gzhan gyi log rtog dgag pa*
      - 2a1. *kha cig na re....zhes zer ro //*
        - 2a1.a. *gzung yul*
        - 2a2.a. *zhen yul*
        - 2a3.a. *'jug yul*

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explanation of the typology of cognitive agents *shes byed* or *blo*. In fact, this is the theme of the third chapter. It is advisable to compare, which I did, the readings of this Beijing 'edition' of 'U yug pa's work with the text of *Rigs pa grub pa* [Chengdu].

*Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 167/3–167/1 [Da, 27a–b]<sup>21</sup>:

- I. *shes bya spyi ldog nas gtan la dbab pa*
  - 1. *shes bya'i yul*
    - 1a. *mtshan nyid*
    - 1b. *dbye ba*
      - 1b1. *gzhan gyi lugs dgag pa*
        - 1b1.a. *khas blang brjod [na]*

...

*Rigs pa grub pa*, Items 1a–2a, and *Rigs gter rang 'grel*, 1a–1b1a, comment on:

<i>yul gyi mtshan nyid blos rig bya //</i>	1a
<i>don spyi dang ni med snang gnyis //</i>	1b1a
<i>yul yin zhe na. .... //</i>	

The definition of an object is that of which the mind is aware.

Query: The two, an object-universal and a non-existent that appears,  
Are objects. ....

Sa skya Paṇḍita adds nothing to item 1a in his auto-commentary. 'U yug pa, on the other hand, leaves the auto-commentary at quite a distance, for he comments:<sup>22</sup>

*mtshan nyid dngos ni chos 'ga' zhig gi rnam pa blo la shar ba la brten  
nas nges par bya ba'o // de'ang kha cig ni rang gi [3] rnam pa shar  
nas nges par bya ba ste sngon po lta bu'o // kha cig ni dgag gzhi'am  
dgag bya'i rnam pa shar nas nges par bya ba ste / bum med lta bu'o //*

The actual definition of the object: What is ascertained on the basis of a sensum (*rnam pa*, *ākāra*) of some phenomenon that has emerged in a cognition. Further, some [suggested that] it is what is

<sup>21</sup> Horváth, 'Structure and Content of the *Chad-ma rigs-pa'i gter*', 271.

<sup>22</sup> 'U yug pa, '*Rigs pa grub pa*', 2–3.

ascertained after its own sensum has emerged [in a cognition]; like a blue object. Some [suggested that] it is what is ascertained after the sensum of the basis of a negation or of what is to be negated has emerged in a cognition; like the absence of a jug.

He then devotes item 1b to a rejection that a non-existent object is not implied and to a rejection that feelings, such as pleasure, are not implied in the definition, which reflects the two opinions he cited under item 1a. In this respect, ‘U yug pa seems a bit more sophisticated than his master.

Gzan dkar Rin po che Thub bstan nyi ma, the apparent author of the introduction to the *Rigs pa grub pa*, notes that ‘U yug pa’s commentary, which he calls a meaning (*don*)—as opposed to a word-by-word (*tshig*)—commentary, collapsed chapters two to seven of the received text of the *Rigs gter* into the third chapter of the *Rigs pa grub pa* titled *blo spyi’i rnam gzbag dpyad pa* (*Analysis of the Exposition of Cognition in General*). But this is not quite the case. Titled *yul gyi khyad par dpyad pa* (*Analysis of the Particulars of the Object*), the beginning of the second chapter suggests that it falls into four parts:

1.	<i>rdzas dang ldog pa</i>	– substance and property	[42–46]
2.	<i>dnegos po dang dngos med</i>	– thing and non-thing	[46–47]
3.	<i>spyi dang bye brag</i>	– universal and particular	[48–60]
4.	<i>dgag pa dang sgrub pa</i>	– negation and affirmation	[61–67]

Thus, the expectation is that we find these four parts embedded in the second chapter of ‘U yug pa’s text, and indeed we do. But this goes against the received verse-text and auto-commentary, where each of these receive their own very substantial chapters.

The fourth part foreshadows the more detailed discussion of the subject on concept formation or ‘exclusion’ ([*gzhan*] *sel*), [*anya*] *apoha*) of the third chapter.<sup>23</sup> Striking is the fact that separate chap-

<sup>23</sup> ‘U yug pa, ‘*Rigs pa grub pa*’, 84–116, especially 97–116.

ters on relations (*brel ba*) and incompatibilities (*gal ba*), that is, chapters six and seven of the received text of the *Rigs gter*, are entirely absent from the *Rigs pa grub pa*. Similarly missing from ‘U yug pa’s text is a chapter on the logic and epistemology of the notion of a definition (*mtshan nyid*) that precedes the discussion of the valid means of cognition. A chapter in which this topic is discussed forms the entire eighth chapter and occurs as such *before* the chapters on each of the valid means of cognition in all the other versions of the *Rigs gter* that have been published to date. I believe the received chapter sequence to be authentic, because it appears to me that the study of the logical structure of a definition (*mtshan nyid*) and the logical and epistemic relationships that exist among the definition, the definiens (*mtshan nyid*) and the definiendum (*mtshon bya*)<sup>24</sup> would need to precede the discussion of the valid means of cognition and their respective definitions and definitional instantiations (*mtshan gzhi*).

Roughly speaking, a preliminary characterization of the nature of a valid means of cognition is exactly what we find at the outset of Dharmakīrti’s *Nyāyabindu* and *Pramāṇaviniścaya*, and it is this that is echoed in the *Tshad ma bsdus pa* tradition of the intellectual traditions that first originated in Gsang phu sne’u thog monastery and then spread to other monastic institutions that were closely or even loosely affiliated with it.<sup>25</sup> ‘U yug pa’s fourth chapter begins with a discussion of the various definitions of the valid means of

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<sup>24</sup> See the valuable study of Hugon, ‘The Origin of the Theory of Definition and its Place’, 319–68. For ‘U yug pa’s discussion of its problematic, see ‘U yug pa, *Rigs pa grub pa*, 356–72.

<sup>25</sup> For details on these, see Everding, ‘gSang phu Ne’u thog, Tibet’s earliest Monastic School’ and Hugon, ‘Enclaves of Learning, Religious and Intellectual Communities in Tibet’. An interesting exception (and there are probably more) is Gtsang drug pa Rdo rje ‘od zer’s work which the author wrote under the inspiration of his teacher Gnyal pa Zhang Tshes spong, that is, probably Zhang Tshes spong Chos kyi bla ma, a disciple of Rngog Lo tsā ba Blo ldan shes rab (ca. 1059–1109), one of Phya pa Chos kyi seng ge’s (1109–1169) masters, and the third abbot of Gsang phu sne’u thog; see Gtsang drug pa, *Yang dag rigs pa’i gsal byed [sgron ma]*, 165.

cognition<sup>26</sup>—these are the definitions offered by Rgyan byed pa (\*Alaṃkārakara), that is, Prajñākaragupta (ca. 800), Devendrabuddhi (late seventh century), and Dharmottara (late eighth century)—and subjects these to a critique. He adds for good measure someone (*kha cig na re*) citing Śāṅkaranandana's (tenth century) point of view. Sa skya Paṇḍita signals their positions as well, but in a slightly different order, namely in the sequence of Devendrabuddhi, Rgyan mdzad pa, Dharmottara, and Śāṅkaranandana, after which he submits each of these to a critique.<sup>27</sup> We do have a separate chapter devoted to the notion of the definition at the very end of the *Rigs pa grub pa*, but it is remarkably thin on details and seems to be an afterthought without any obvious or critical connection to the text itself.

Now what can be concluded from the foregoing? For one, at least from the fifteenth century on, 'U yug pa's *Rigs pa grub pa* has been styled a commentary on the *Rigs gter*. Yet, obviously, it is not a work that comments on the version of the *Rigs gter* for which the printing blocks were carved in Dadu in 1284. It would appear that 'U yug pa was not entirely unaware of the auto-commentary, even if so many of his comments do not hint at or use its diction. Moreover, while 'U yug pa does pay homage to Sa skya Paṇḍita at the very end of his work, he nowhere mentions the *Rigs gter* by name, let alone that he conceived the *Rigs pa grub pa* as a commentary on it. This is hardly insignificant. Finally, in the eighth and last chapter of his work, he but once articulates a position explicitly held by Sa skya Paṇḍita and in doing so he uses his teacher's name. This position occurs in Sa skya Paṇḍita's very brief discussion of the need for a definiens (*mtshan nyid*) of a definiens after having rejected, in G.yag ston Sangs rgyas dpal's (1348–1414) opinion, the views on the matter that were expressed by such interpreters as Rngog Lo tsā ba, Phya pa and Gtsang nag pa Brtson 'grus seng ge (?–after 1193).<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> 'U yug pa, '*Rigs pa grub pa*', 118–22.

<sup>27</sup> *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 233–36; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 229–32; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 88a–89b; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 282–87; and *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 212/1–4 [Da, 115b–117a].

<sup>28</sup> 'U yug pa, '*Rigs pa grub pa*', 358; *ad Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 212;



We do not have access to the fourteenth century *Rigs gter* commentaries such as the ones written by Gnas drug pa Blo gros mtshungs med,<sup>29</sup> Byams mgon, alias Phyogs glang gsar ma, ‘the new Dignāga’, alias Te[‘u] ra ba,<sup>30</sup> or his student Bka’ bzhi pa Rigs pa’i seng ge (1287–1375) of Mi nyag.<sup>31</sup> However, four of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century commentaries, namely the ones by G.yag ston, Rong ston Smra ba’i seng ge (1367–1449),<sup>32</sup> ‘Jam dbyangs Shes rab rgya mtsho (1396–1474)<sup>33</sup> and the one allegedly by Rgyal tshab Dar ma rin chen (1364–1432),<sup>34</sup> all suggest that the

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*Rigs gter rang ‘grel* [Chengdu], 209; *Rigs gter rang ‘grel* [Dadu], 88a–89b; *Rigs gter rang ‘grel* [Dehradun], 249; and *Rigs gter rang ‘grel* [Sde dge], 206/4 [Da, 105a]; see also G.yag ston, ‘*Sde bdun gyi dgongs ‘grel tshad ma rigs*’, 328.

<sup>29</sup> Gnas drug pa Blo gros mtshungs med was *inter alia* a close disciple and amanuensis of Bla ma dam pa Bsod nams rgyal mtshan (1312–1375), the great Sa skya pa scholar and erstwhile abbot of Sa skya, and Glo bo Mkhan chen cites him several times; see his ‘*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa’i dgongs ‘grel*’, 9, 135, 294, 316, 352, 370. We do have a work of his on *tshad ma* which, however, is not a study of the *Rigs gter*. There he cites his senior contemporary, Phyogs glang gsar ma, and the *Rigs gter* verse-text. See, respectively, Gnas drug pa, ‘*Tshad ma’i don bsdu*’, 652, 657, 703.

<sup>30</sup> It would appear that Byams mgon was widely recognized as an expert in the *Rigs gter* and a manuscript in one hundred and thirty-seven folios of his study is listed in Bstan ‘dzin phun tshogs ed., 1461, no. 016466. It is titled *Tshad ma rig[s] pa’i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa sde bdun dgongs gsal rigs pa’i ’brug sgra*. Glo bo Mkhan chen’s commentary contains some eight fragments from it; see his ‘*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa’i dgongs ‘grel*’, 13, 26, 85, 95, 11, 135, 254, 262.

<sup>31</sup> For him, see below.

<sup>32</sup> For these two works, see Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement*, 373–74. Rong ston wrote his treatise at the behest of Nang chen Rab ‘byor bzang po. If he is none other than Nang chen Rab ‘byor ‘phags pa, then he must be identified as the younger brother of Rab brtan kun bzang ‘phags (1389–1442), the ruler of Rgyal mkhar rtse principality.

<sup>33</sup> For this work, see the ‘Jam dbyangs Shes rab rgya mtsho, ‘*Tshad ma sde bdun gyi dgongs ‘grel*’, and also van der Kuijp, ‘Apropos of some Recently Recovered Manuscripts’, 160–61.

number of chapters was eleven and that they basically had the very same chapter titles as the text of the Mongol xylograph.

Judging from *Glo bo Mkhan chen*'s text, critical remarks in his study of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary, the actual text of the verse-text was far from stable and he points to a large number of variant readings, the sources for which he unfortunately does not identify.<sup>35</sup> However, the number of his variants almost pales into insignificance when we compare those found in the *Rigs gter* verse-text of the 1736 *Sde dge* xylograph of his collected works with those embedded in the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary of the very same 1736 *Sde dge* xylograph.<sup>36</sup> This means, of course, that *Sde dge* texts of the verse-text and the auto-commentary are differently filiated. Thus, what we need to take away from these remarks is that the transmission of the *Rigs gter*, the verse-text as well as the auto-commentary, is particularly problematic. In fact, it was considered to be so problematic by members of the tradition itself that around the turn of the fifteenth century the authorship of the auto-commentary began to be questioned in some circles. Evidence for this is found in the colophon of the commentary attributed to Rgyal tshab, as well as in statements placed in the mouths of a Bsod nams skyabs and his contemporary Bo dong Paṅ chen 'Jigs med grags pa (1375–1451), alias Phyogs las rnam rgyal. Indeed, the former has it that:<sup>37</sup>

*'grel pa 'di la bdag gi bla ma mkhas pa'i dbang po kha cig*<sup>38</sup> / *cha 'di rang 'grel min zhes bzhag par dka'gsungs yang / mi shes pa kha cig gis*

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<sup>34</sup> For this commentary and its possible place in his complete oeuvre, see van der Kuijp, 'Gyaltsab Darma Rinchen and the *Rigs gter dar tik*'.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*', 11, 13–14, 60 ff.

<sup>36</sup> Dbyangs can seng ge, ed., *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rtsa ba dang 'grel pa*, 371–77.

<sup>37</sup> '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam bshad legs par bshad pa'i snying po*', 150a.

<sup>38</sup> The strangeness of the phrase *bdag gi bla ma mkhas pa'i dbang po kha cig* is preserved in my translation. It seems to me that that either *bdag gi bla ma* or, less likely, *mkhas pa'i dbang po kha cig* was originally a gloss that subsequently, and inadvertently, made its way into the text itself.

*rtsa ba dang 'gal ba skabs 'gar cung zad bcug pa yod par mngon pas /  
nor ba mi 'dor du mi rung ba rnam dor la 'grel pa dang mthun par  
byas so //*

As for this commentary, although someone, my teacher, a powerful scholar, has said that it is difficult to affirm that this piece is not an auto-commentary, since it is obvious that there were some ignoramuses who, in some passages, inserted some contradictions with the basic verse-text, I made the verse-text consistent with the commentary when I expelled errors for which it would not have been appropriate not to expel them.

Bo dong Paṇ chen's works and days are detailed in his biography by 'Jigs med 'bangs of 1453. Another study of his life was written by Ngag dbang grags pa (1418–1496), the twelfth abbot of Stag lung monastery and another one of his students, but it has, to my knowledge, not yet been recovered. We learn from 'Jigs med 'bangs that he met a number of senior luminaries in a series of public debates when he was still quite young. The first of these was G.yag ston, alias G.yag Mi pham pa, with whom he debated aspects of the perfection of insight literature in front of Ta'i si tu (Ch. *dasitu* 大司徒) Lha btsun skyabs, his patron and the castellan (*rdzong dpon*) of Shel dkar.<sup>39</sup> The second opponent of Bo dong Paṇ chen singled out by 'Jigs med 'bangs was a certain Bsod nams skyabs. They debated in Byang Ngam ring, Ngam ring of the North, and the public disputa-

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<sup>39</sup> See 'Jigs med 'bangs, *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 179–96. The narrative is evidently based on a record of the disputation (*rtsod yig*) that has its counterpart in the medieval European *quaestiones quodlibetales*; for a unique study of a fifteenth century *rtsod yig*, see Huang, 'A Record of a Tibetan Medieval Debate'. Diemberger et al., trans., *Feast of Miracles*, 50 suggests that the *Rigs gter* was the subject of debate between these two men, but 'Jigs med 'bangs makes no mention of this. An aside: the authors of the *Feast of Miracles* never make clear what one is actually reading in translation, Bo dong Paṇ chen's biography by 'Jigs med 'bangs or the narratives from 'Chi med 'od zer's (?–?) *Bo dong chos 'byung*, a work that is not accessible to me.

tion took place in the presence of its learned ruler Rnam rgyal grags bzang (1395–1475) and a potential rival of Lha btsun skyabs.<sup>40</sup> It appears that the local intellectual community was in uproar because it heard that the precocious Bo dong Paṇ chen—here also called ‘the young/little scholar from the South’ (*lho pa mkhan chung*)—objected to much of the *Rigs gter*, a text that was apparently cherished by this community, but this was not the case. He simply had a few problems with this work and above all with the question whether the auto-commentary was in fact Sa skya Paṇḍita’s. This issue was raised with a certain Bsod nams skyabs in view of the contradictions that existed between the verse-text and the auto-commentary.<sup>41</sup> A number of other problems were also addressed, including whether these and a few other issues might also cast doubt on whether Sa skya Paṇḍita was indeed the author of the verse-text. We also learn from ‘Jigs med ‘bangs that a certain Dge legs dpal was involved in a debate with Bo dong Paṇ chen as well.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, there exists a tradition among the Dge lugs pa that, as a youth, Mkhas grub Dge legs dpal bzang po (1385–1438) debated with the slightly older Bo dong Paṇ chen in Ngam ring, in circa 1400, and that one of the main subjects under dispute was precisely Bo dong Paṇ chen’s unrelenting critique of the *Rigs gter* in which connection he alleged there were ‘heaps’ (*phung po*) of internal contradictions between the *Rigs gter* verse-text and the auto-commentary. We are told that Mkhas grub was apparently able to defeat his opponent with little effort.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> ‘Jigs med ‘bangs, *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 196–207; see also the summary in Diemberger et al., trans., *Feast of Miracles*, 67–8, 71–2, 203–4. The narrative is in part based on a *rtsod yig*.

<sup>41</sup> He is probably identical with the Bsod nams skyabs who is said to have written a *Rigs gter* commentary; see Jackson, ‘Commentaries on the Writings of Sa-skya Paṇḍita’, 8.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Jigs med ‘bangs, *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 207–16.

<sup>43</sup> See, for example, Ary, *Authorized Lives*, 126–27. This circumstance is probably intended by the phrase, in Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho, *Rigs gter na tshod*, 46, that he authored a response to a critique (*dgag lan*) of the *Rigs gter*. It should be mentioned that none of the printed editions of Mkhas grub’s oeuvre

Dharmakīrti's *Rigs thigs* [*Nyāyabindu*] received some attention from 'Jigs med 'bangs, which most probably has to do with the fact that Bo dong Paṇ chen prefaced his large study of *tshad ma* with this précis of Dharmakīrti's thought.<sup>44</sup> Titled *Tshad ma rigs pa snang ba*, this sprawling treatise challenged the *Rigs gter* on numerous occasions.<sup>45</sup>

Hugon presented us with exceptionally fine surveys of the various editions of the *Rigs gter* verse-text and the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary that are thusfar available.<sup>46</sup> In addition, several chapters of the verse-text and the auto-commentary are now also available in edited form.<sup>47</sup> We need to single out two recent first steps towards a critical edition of the *Rigs gter* verse-text and the auto-commentary in their entirety. The first was published in Chengdu in 2005.<sup>48</sup> The volume in question is part of a newly launched series that was conceived by the indefatigable Gzan dkar Rin po che. It is the first volume of the *Gangs ljongs rig gnas gter mdzod*, subsection *Shes bya'i gter bum*. The full title of the volume is *Rigs gter rtsa 'grel dpe bsdur ma bzbug*s. Almost one of the one and a half pages devoted to a description of the three main witnesses of the auto-commentary's text by members of Sa skya's editorial office (*sa skya dpe sgrig tshan khang*) state the matter, as well as the editorial process that was followed, in succinct and confident terms. It is first pointed out that the Sde dge print of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary was taken as the point of departure, because it is the best known—this is of course hardly an argument

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contain a work in which he can be seen to defend the *Rigs gter*.

<sup>44</sup> 'Jigs med 'bangs, *Bo dong phyogs las rnam rgyal gyi rnam thar*, 234–35. Diemberger et al., trans., *Feast of Miracles*, 71, mistakenly has it that it was the *Rigs gter* that is at issue here.

<sup>45</sup> See Bo dong Paṇ chen, '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i snang ba*'.

<sup>46</sup> Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement*, 363–72, and now also Hugon, 'Sa skya Paṇḍita's Classification of Arguments by Consequence', under 2.2.

<sup>47</sup> See, lastly Przybyslawski, *Cognizable Object in Sa skya Paṇḍita*, who offers a critical edition of the first chapter of the auto-commentary. My thanks to Dr. Przybyslawski for having shared with me a copy of his valuable study.

<sup>48</sup> What follows is based on *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], \*4–\*5.

for giving it such a preeminent position in the editorial process, especially in view of its manifold textual problems. Leaving that aside, its readings were compared with a Mongol xylograph and a Zhwa lu manuscript, and the variants thus found are respectively marked [*ha*] and [*zha*]. The Mongol xylograph is dated to 1344 and stated that the Mongol empress, ‘Bol gan, ordered some two hundred copies to be printed. This is patently wrong on both counts, as can be gleaned from the colophons of both.’<sup>49</sup> It is also unfortunate that the paleographical features of the Mongol xylograph that I outlined above are entirely glossed over, so that the editorial policies that were apparently followed leave us feeling somewhat ill at ease and uncertain. Without giving any concrete evidence for this, they date the Zhwa lu manuscript to the second half of the fourteenth century. They note that two other witnesses, the 1445 Glang thang xylograph from the blocks that were carved at the behest of Kun dga’ rgyal mtshan, and a manuscript in the non-cursive *dbu can* script of unidentified provenance, were found to have the same readings as the Mongolian xylograph and were for this reason not used.<sup>50</sup> Again, I am not at all sure whether this was really the case. Half a page is devoted to a description of the verse-text and its editors. The editors, who out of politeness will remain unnamed, mention that they once again took the Sde dge xylograph as their point of departure and compared its readings with an old Zhwa lu manuscript of the same, whereby the variant readings are given in square brackets []. It must be said, and I do so with a sigh of profound regret, that this edition of the auto-commentary and the verse-text is not the success it could have been. Finally, the text of the verse-text is set off from the auto-commentary with a larger font, but here, too, there are some problems.

The second edition of the verse-text and the auto-commentary was edited by an institution calling itself the Dpal brtsegs bod yig dpe rnying zhib ‘jug khang, The Dpal brtsegs Research Institute for

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<sup>49</sup> See above note 14.

<sup>50</sup> For this xylograph, see van der Kuijp, ‘Apropos of some Recently Recovered Manuscripts’, 161–62.

Ancient Tibetan Writing, and was published in Beijing in 2007.<sup>51</sup> It figures as volume three of an edition of Sa skya Paṇḍita's collected writings that is based on the aforementioned Sde dge xylograph edition, as well as on manuscripts of his collected writings that were housed in Zhwa lu and Lu phu monasteries. The variant readings of the latter are given as [zhwa] and [lu].

Both the Chengdu and the Beijing editions offer separate texts of the verse-text and auto-commentary, whereby in the latter the lines of verse are isolated and identified by the use of larger graphs. The Sde dge xylograph does not do so and neither does the Dehradun text nor the Dadu xylograph of the auto-commentary. Striking is that the Sde dge xylograph's eighth chapter, which is devoted to the study of the definition, contains two fairly substantial glosses that are offset from the rest of the text in smaller graphs.<sup>52</sup> Their origin is as yet unclear, but suffice it to say that neither gloss is found in the Dadu and Dehradun editions, that the Beijing text only recognized the first and stated that it is found in the Zhwa lu and Lu phu manuscripts, and that the Chengdu text identified the second as being absent from the Zhwa lu manuscript and the Dadu xylograph.

Let us now briefly take a closer look at Glo bo Mkhan chen's study of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary that is filled with important information on the problematic transmission of the verse-text and the earliest commentaries that were written on it. The author completed this work in September of 1482 at the monastery of Thub bstan dar rgyas gling in Glo bo Smon thang, an area that is presently located in northern Nepal. He wrote this virtually unique study of the auto-commentary under the inspiration of his teacher Gser mdog Paṇ chen whom he thanks in the colophon—he is there styled 'Jam mgon bla ma—and thus prior to his falling out with him that marked a turning point in his career as an intellectual and commentator. The title of his work presents us with an unexpected problem.

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<sup>51</sup> What follows is based on *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], \*2.

<sup>52</sup> *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 206/3 [Da, 104b]; see also *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 209–10; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 88a–89b; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 246; and the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 206–7.

In the first place, we must account for the different titles of the Sde dge xylograph of his work and the manuscript which, unfortunately, cannot be merely blamed on a misplaced first page since these different titles are also echoed in their opening pages as well as in their respective colophons.<sup>53</sup> These read, omitting the standard prefatory phrase of *Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*, found in the titles of almost all the *Rigs gter* commentaries, as follows:

Xylograph: *Tshad ma rig[s] pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa'i rnam par bshad pa rig[s] lam gsal ba'i nyi ma*

Manuscript: *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa rigs pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo*<sup>54</sup>

The title of the xylograph clearly indicates that it is a study of the [auto-]commentary, whereas that of the manuscript simply suggests that it is a commentary on the *Rigs gter* verse-text. Striking is that the title of the xylograph of Glo bo Mkhan chen's work is virtually identical to the 1488 study of the *Rigs gter* verse-text by Mus chen Rab 'byams pa Thugs rje dpal bzang po, who was a disciple of Go rams pa. The title page of the undated Sde dge xylograph of Mus chen's work reads *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi 'grel pa rigs lam rab gsal*, but the title that appears in its colophon reads ...*rigs lam rab tu gsal ba'i nyi ma*. Both Mus chen and Glo bo Mkhan chen are cited in Mkhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags' *Rigs gter* verse-text commentary, which he completed in 1611 at his monastery of Thub bstan yangs pa can. Ngag dbang chos grags mentions several times the titles, or their short form, of their respective treatises, allowing us to determine, if not the actual title of Glo bo Mkhan chen's work, then at least the title that was known to him. Ngag dbang chos grags associates what he calls the *Rigs gter rnam bshad / rigs lam gsal ba'i nyi ma* and the *Sde bdun nyi 'od* with Mus chen. On

<sup>53</sup> See, respectively, Glo bo Mkhan chen, '*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel*', 413, and *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi rnam par bshad pa*, 421.

<sup>54</sup> For these titles, see also Kramer, *A Noble Abbot from Mustang*, 200, 202.



the other hand, he quite clearly writes elsewhere in his work that Glo bo Mkhan chen was the author of a work on the *Rigs gter* that had the subtitle *Rig[s] pa ma lus pa la 'jug pa'i sgo*.<sup>55</sup> In sum then, it appears that the editors of the manuscript(s) of Glo bo Mkhan chen's work were misled in taking its title to be that of the xylograph, whereas its factual title was in all likelihood that of manuscript. It is improbable that, had the title been that of the former, Mus chen would have chosen a virtually identical name for his *Rigs gter* commentary. We may assume, albeit not on the basis of text-immanent criteria, since he does not cite Glo bo Mkhan chen's work, that he knew of it, for he was also in several important respects Go rams pa's intellectual heir. Finally, Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho refers to the most recent commentaries:<sup>56</sup>

1. Smra ba'i dbang phyug Mkhan chen Blo gros rgyal mtshan
2. Mkhan chen Khang dmar Rin chen rdo rje
3. Mkhan chen Ngag dbang yon tan bzang po (1927–2010), alias Mkhan po A pad, 'a second Sa skya Paṇḍita'—an incomplete commentary (*rtsom 'phro can*)
4. Mkhan chen Ngag dbang kun dga' dbang phyug, an interlinear commentary (*mchan 'grel*)<sup>57</sup>

Hugon's listing of the available corpus of *Rigs gter* commentaries, including the auto-commentary, reflected the state of the art of research done on the *Rigs gter* verse-text and its auto-commentary up to 2008.<sup>58</sup> We can now update it with some additional texts that were published in the interim.

1. Mkhan chen Dbang phyug dpal bzang po (fourteenth century)  
*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi tshar bcad dang ltag chod brtag pa'i rnam par bshad pa rtsod pa'i rgyan*<sup>59</sup>

<sup>55</sup> See his *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dgongs don gsal bar*, 401, 624.

<sup>56</sup> Mkhan po Bsod nams rgya mtsho, *Rigs gter na tshod*, 48.

<sup>57</sup> See tbrc.org, W3CN4072; this work was completed in 1989.

<sup>58</sup> Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement*, 766–67.

2. 'Jam dbyangs Shes rab rgya mtsho  
*Tshad ma sde bdun gyi dgongs 'grel rigs pa'i gter zhes bya ba'i  
 dgongs don gsal bar byed pa legs bshad nyi ma'i 'od zer*<sup>60</sup>
3. Mang thos Klu sgrub rgya mtsho (1523–1596)  
*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' 'grel gnas kyi snying po gsal  
 byed*<sup>61</sup>

In what we have of his work on the *Rigs gter*, Mang thos is so far the only Sa skya pa scholar who explicitly reacted to several of Bo dong Paṇ chen's striking criticisms of the *Rigs gter* whereby he rose to its defense on a number of occasions. This stands in sharp contrast to the important commentaries by Rong ston, Go rams pa, Gser mdog Paṇ chen and Glo bo Mkhan chen, where no such reactions obtain. In addition, he severally cites two as yet unpublished *Rigs gter* commentaries, one by Byams pa chos grags (1433–1504), alias 'Bum phrag gsum pa, and the other by Paṇ chen Dngos grub dpal 'bar (1456–1527), alias Paṇ chen Gzhung brgya pa.<sup>62</sup> The latter work must be the *Rig[s] gter gyi shyor ti ka* (< *ṭīkā*), which is mentioned in the Paṇ chen's biography of 1528 by Byams pa Lha btsun Grags pa.<sup>63</sup> Of these eight chapters, two have their own colophons. Thus, on page 490 of Chapter 2, Mang thos pays his respects to a 'Jam dbyangs phyogs las rnam par rgyal ba Skyid gshongs pa chen po, who must certainly be identified as his teacher Blo gros rnam rgyal

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<sup>59</sup> This is the *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi tshar bcad dang ltag chod brtag pa'i rnam par bshad pa rtsod pa'i rgyan*; for a description of a [or the] manuscript of this work, see van der Kuijp, 'Apropos of some Recently Recovered Manuscripts', 159–60.

<sup>60</sup> See above note 32.

<sup>61</sup> See his *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' 'grel gnas kyi snying po gsal byed*, nd, [1] 420–54, [2] 455–90, [3] 491–510, [4] 511–42, [5] , 542–33 [6] 543–61, [7] 561–79, [8] 579–602.

<sup>62</sup> See, respectively, his *Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi dka' 'grel gnas kyi snying po gsal byed*, 474, 478, 507, 520, 539, 541 and 439, 477. Mang thos' 1587 study of Indo-Tibetan Buddhist chronology includes a capsule biography of Byams pa chos grags; see Mang thos, *Bstan rtsis gsal ba'i nyin byed*, 233–36.

(1505–1585). Another colophon is found on pages 541–542, at the end of Chapter 4, where he remarks that it was written in a chapel of Mnyam yod bya rgod gshongs monastery, an institution that Byams pa chos grags founded in 1489 and of which he himself became abbot. We also learn on pages 541 and 602 that a certain ‘Jam pa’i rdo rje of Bzang ldan functioned as his scribe. It is curious that the chapters on perception, inference, and disputation are absent from these studies, an inexplicable [to me] feature that is in fact shared with the *Rigs gter* commentaries by ‘Jam dbyangs Shes rab rgya mtsho and Mang thos’ own disciple Mkhan chen Ngag dbang chos grags.<sup>64</sup> Mang thos nowhere mentions Glo bo Mkhan chen’s exegesis of the *Rigs gter* auto-commentary, but he does mention Phyogs glang gsar ma twice, once in connection with the relationship between logical analysis and the articulation of universals and once in connection with the linguistics of formulating a logical argument (*rtags*) and a definition (*mtshan nyid*).<sup>65</sup> Only the latter reference is also found in Glo bo Mkhan chen’s work.<sup>66</sup>

Long ago, I drew attention to the fact that Gser mdog Paṇ chen had some problems with Sa skya Paṇḍita’s formulation of three verses of the *Rigs gter* verse-text, that he even suggested they ought to be rewritten and in fact he himself did rewrite them.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, he seldom draws attention to variant readings of the *Rigs gter* corpus to which he had access. It is markedly different with Glo bo Mkhan chen and this is what makes his work so valuable and also disquieting, since he signals a litany of variant readings and thus casts many doubts on the veracity of the corpus’ transmission. It now appears

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<sup>63</sup> Byams pa Lha btsun grags pa, *Dpal ldan bla ma dam pa gzhung brgya smra ba’i seng ge*, 74.

<sup>64</sup> See, respectively, the ‘*Tshad ma sde bdun gyi dgongs ‘grel rigs pa’i gter zhes bya ba’i dgongs*’ and the *Tshad ma rigs pa’i gter gyi dgongs don gsal*.

<sup>65</sup> Mang thos, ‘*Tshad ma rigs pa’i gter gyi dka’ ‘grel*’, 522, 589.

<sup>66</sup> Glob o Mkhan chen, ‘*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa’i dgongs ‘grel tshad ma rig[s]*’, 254.

<sup>67</sup> For these, see van der Kuijp, *Contributions to the Development of Tibetan Buddhist Epistemology*, 18–19.

that he was the first to draw attention to the fact that, in terms of its structure, the manuscript transmission of the *Rigs gter* verse-text was already problematic by the middle of the thirteenth century, as is indicated in his remark concerning the text Ldong ston apparently had at his disposal. Curiously, and I have no explanation for this, he does not mention the fact that ‘U yug pa not only used a different text from that of Ldong ston, but also from the one he himself was using. Glo bo Mkhan chen was also the first to draw attention to a problematic reading of a verse that evidently surfaced in the second half of the fourteenth century. He cites to this effect a remark made by Gnas drug pa,<sup>68</sup> who had puzzled over the line:

*chos dang bsgrub bya de dang ‘dra //*

The predicate and the probandum are similar to that,

This line occurred in the chapter on inference in some *Rigs gter* verse-text manuscripts (*gzhung dag*). These contained this reading as opposed to the following found in other manuscripts:

*bsgrub bya’i chos kyang de dang ‘dra //*

The predicate to be proven, too, is similar to that,

Gnas drug pa apparently decided to accept the veracity of the latter and Glo bo Mkhan chen was apparently quite willing to let his decision stand. I plan to take a closer look at this conundrum on a separate occasion.

Sa skya Paṇḍita’s arguments leading up to the verse with this variant line consist of the following. He first discusses<sup>69</sup> the foundation

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<sup>68</sup> Glo bo Mkhan chen, ‘*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa’i dgongs ‘grel tshad ma rig[s]*’, 352. I have not found this conundrum in Gnas drug pa, *Tshad ma’i don bsdus*.

<sup>69</sup> The relevant passage was thoroughly studied in Hugon, *Trésors du raisonnement*, 610–63. It is not unimportant to observe that Sa skya Paṇḍita does not appear to distinguish between *gtan tshigs* and *rtags*.

of valid logical reasons or indicators (*gtan tshigs, betu / rtags, liṅga*), that is, the three relations (*tshul gsum, trirūpa*) to which it must conform. In the rough, the three relations are (1) [that the logical reason must be present in the predicate (*phyogs chos [grub pa], pakṣadharma*), (2) that it must be present in similar instances of the predicate (*mtshun phyogs, sapakṣa*), and (3) that it must absent in dissimilar instances of the predicate (*mi mtshun phyogs, vipakṣa/asapakṣa*). The latter two are the foundations for positive (*rjes 'gro, anvaya*) and negative concomitance (*ldog pa, vyatireka*). He then turns his attention to the typology of these logical reasons. His analysis is three-pronged. (1) He begins his discussion with a series of rejections of a number of proposals towards what might consist of a definition of a valid logical reason, and he critically refers *inter alia* to the views of the Jaina philosopher Snod kyi rje [Pātrasvāmin] (early eighth century), Dbang phyug sde [Īśvarasena], Dignāga's alleged disciple, and Rgya ston.<sup>70</sup> (2) He follows this up with his own very succinct definition of a valid logical reason and (3) he ends with a brief discussion that is dedicated to potential counter arguments, but here we encounter an unexpected problem. The *Rigs gter* verse-text in all the available editions maintains uncontroversially:<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> See the ensuing discussion in *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 333–39; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 327–32; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 139a–141b; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 441–50; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 237/4–239/2 [Da, 167a–170a]. For Pātrasvāmin and Īśvarasena, see Steinkellner, 'Kumārila, Īśvarasena and Dharmakīrti in Dialogue' and Steinkellner, 'An Old Transmissional Mistake in Pātrasvāmin's Definition of the Logical Reason', 185–88. Another point of view discussed by Sa skya Paṇḍita in this passage is the one that G.yag ston and then Rong ston identified as belonging to Rgya ston, that is, Rgya dmar Byang chub grags (eleventh to twelfth century); see G.yag ston, '*Sde bdun gyi dgongs 'grel tshad ma rigs pa'i gter*', 392 [Rgya] and 393 [Rgya ston]; and Rong ston, '*Tshad ma rigs pa'i gter gyi*', 423–24.

<sup>71</sup> *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Beijing], 35; *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Chengdu], 32; *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Ms.], 65; and *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Sde dge], 164/2 [Da 19b].

*tshul gcig nas ni drug gi bar //* [a]

*nyi tshe'i tshul gzhan 'dod pa 'khrul //* [b]

*phyogs chos grub cing 'brel pa nges //* [c]

*gtan tshigs mtshan nyid skyon med yin //* [d]

{*phyogs chos grub pa tshul dang po //* [e]

*tshul gnyis pa dang rjes 'gro yis //* [f]

*ldog pa 'phen pa'i skyon gnyis med //* [g]}

From one relation to six,  
The claims of other partial relations are in error.

Present in the predicate and the interconnections  
of the positive and negative concomitance are determined.  
The definition of the logical reason is without error.

{And then there is a large text-critical problem!}

With these seven lines we have three finite sentences, the first ending in *'khrul*, the second in *med yin*, and third in *med*. The edition of the Dadu auto-commentary does *not* recognize that [e] is part of the verse-text, and distributes the following lines of verse for the second and third parts of the analysis:<sup>72</sup>

[2] My own position (*rang gi lugs*)

*phyogs chos grub cing 'brel pa nges //* [c]

*gtan tshigs mtshan nyid skyon med yin //* [d]

*phyogs chos grub pa tshul dang po /<sup>73</sup> yod na yod pa'i rjes'gro dang / log  
na ldog pa'i ldog pa tshang na 'brel ba grub pas tshul gsum gyi dgongs  
pa de yin no //*

<sup>72</sup> *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 139b.

## [3] Elimination of Counter Arguments (rtsod pa spang ba)

*tshul gnyis pa dang rjes 'gro yis //* [f]

*ldog pa 'phen pa'i skyon gnyis med //* [g]

The prose commentary then proceeds with the discussion of these two lines. The Sde dge xylograph of the auto-commentary and the Beijing edition are rather corrupt here and their editors, or their sources, evidently bled a portion of the commentary into the verse-text. They have:<sup>74</sup>

*phyogs chos grub cing 'brel pa nges //* [c]

*gtan tshigs mtshan nyid skyon med yin //* [d]

*phyogs chos grub pa tshul dang po //* [e]

*yod na yod pa'i rjes 'gro dang //* [f]

*tshul gnyis pa dang rjes 'gro yis //* [g]

*ldog pa 'phen pa'i skyon gnyis med //* [h]

Lines e and f do not belong in the verse-text! The Beijing and Chengdu editions of the text suggest that *phyogs chos hgrub pa tshul dang po //* was part of the verse-text but not *yod na yod pa'i rjes 'gro dang //*.<sup>75</sup>

As stated, Glo bo Mkhan chen was among the very few scholars to pay particular attention to variant readings of the *Rigs gter* verse-text. This begins with a phrase in the two verses in which Sa skya Paṇḍita explains what he intended to do with his work that is technically known as the *rtsom par dam bca' ba*; the two verses read:<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 443–44, has the same, but instead of having a regular *shad* [/] after ...*dang po*, it has an ornamental *shad*-punctuation mark.

<sup>74</sup> *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 238/1–2 [Da, 167b–168a].

<sup>75</sup> See, respectively, *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 335 and *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 328.

<sup>76</sup> See also Hugon, 'Inherited Opponents and New Opponents', 28.

*gangs ri'i khrod 'dir mkhas pa'i rgyu skar bye ba brgyas //* [a]

*dpal ldan grags pa'i gsung rab pad mo kha phye mod //* [b]

*gang blo'i nyi 'od snang bas ma khyab de srid du //* [c]

*gzhung lugs dgongs don ge sar snying po gsal ma nus //* [d]

*chos kyī grags pa'i bzhed gzhung ji lta bar //* [e]

*blo gros gsal ba'i mig gis legs mthong nas //* [f]

*shes ldan gzu bor gnas pa don gnyer ba //* [g]

*gzhan la brtse ba'i bsam pas 'di bshad do //* [h]

In this range of glaciated mountains, a billion constellations of scholars,  
Have indeed opened the surface of the lotus-like pronouncements of  
glorious Grags pa [\*{Dharma}kīrti],  
[But] so long as it was not enveloped by the radiant sun light of  
someone's intelligence  
The intended meaning of the system, the core of the perianth, could  
not be illuminated.

Having well observed with the eye of a luminous intellect,  
The exact textual claim of \*Dharmakīrti,  
I will explain it with a compassionate attitude towards other,  
Intelligent, upright, and diligent ones.

Glo bo Mkhan chen states here that 'some book' (*glegs bam kha cig*)  
had ...*gsung rab pad mo rab phye mod //*, 'Have indeed opened the  
lotus-like pronouncements...', for line b.<sup>77</sup> As pointed out by Hugon,  
Gser mdog Pan chen combines both readings in his study of 1482:

<sup>77</sup> 'Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa'i dgongs 'grel tshad ma rig[s]', 11. This reading is found in the Zhwa lu and Lu phu manuscripts of the verse-text and the auto-commentary and in the Lu phu manuscript of the auto-commentary; see the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Beijing], 1, 47. It is also found in the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dadu], 1a; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Sde dge], 167/3 [Da, 26b]; and the *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Chengdu], 44, with a nod to the Zhwa lu manuscript. The *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Chengdu], 2; *Rigs gter rang 'grel* [Dehradun], 3; has *kha phye*, as does the *Rigs gter rtsa ba* [Sde dge], 155/2 [Da, 1b].



*padmo kha rab tu phye mod*.<sup>78</sup> He also takes the phrase *ge sar snying po* as a *dvandva* compound, ‘*ge sar* and *snying po*’, which is quite possible. G.yag ston and Rong stong interpreted the phrase in the sense of ‘core like the perianth’ (*ge sar lta bu’i snying po*).<sup>79</sup> It think it is quite possible that the references to the sun, sunlight, illumination, and luminosity in these two verses had an influence on the titles of some of the studies of the *Rigs gter*.

Anyone familiar with Sa skya Paṇḍita’s *Rigs gter* alone must be struck by the extreme parsimony when it comes to the express identification of the individuals who apparently stood behind the numerous positions that he subjects therein to various registers of criticism. His references usually amount to *kha cig na re*, ‘some say’, *bod pa rnams*, ‘Tibetans’, etc. The earliest available *Rigs gter* commentaries, such as those by G.yag ston, Rong ston, and Rgyal tshab, identified some of these individuals. It is undeniable that these identifications reached a high point with the oeuvre of Gser mdog Paṇ chen and Glo bo Mkhan chen. In fact, Gser mdog Paṇ chen often cites long passages from the writings of such men as Rngog Lo tsā ba, Phya pa, and Gtsang nag pa, to name a few. Glo bo Mkhan chen is unique in that he cites passages from the oeuvre of Sa skya Paṇḍita’s very own students as well as from a host of early *Rigs gter* interpreters that were by and large ignored by Gser mdog Paṇ chen. What is more, as Hugon pointed out, in connection with Sa skya Paṇḍita’s auto-commentary, Glo bo Mkhan chen also referred to a work on *tshad ma*, the *Tshad ma sgron ma*, that was written by Mtshur ston Gzhon nu seng ge (ca.1150–1210),<sup>80</sup> Mtshur ston was a student of Gtsang nag pa and one of Sa skya Paṇḍita’s teachers. In fact, the evidence points

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<sup>78</sup> Hugon, ‘Inherited Opponents and New Opponents’, 28; see also Gser mdog Paṇ chen, ‘*Tshad ma rigs pa’i gter gyi rnams par bshad pa*’, 367. His teacher Rong ston did the same, for which see his ‘*Tshad ma rigs pa’i gter gyi*’, 438.

<sup>79</sup> See G.yag ston, ‘*Sde bdun gyi dgongs ‘grel tshad ma rigs pa’i gter gyi*’, 250, and Rong ston, ‘*Tshad ma rigs pa’i gter gyi*’, 438.

<sup>80</sup> ‘*Sde bdun mdo dang bcas pa’i dgongs ‘grel tshad ma rig[s]’*’, 252–53. For Mtshur ston’s dates and the passages in question, see Hugon in Mtshur ston, ‘*Tshad ma shes rab sgron me*’, vii–viii, xii–xv.

to the notion that Sa skya Paṇḍita may have studied the *Tshad ma sgron ma* with Mtshur ston himself. Indeed, Hugon concluded the following after careful consideration:<sup>81</sup>

Among the texts of early Tibetan logicians, it seems to be the *sGron ma*, a text he studied with mTshur ston himself, that had the most influence on him.

Yet, in spite of these and other influences, there is no question that the *Rigs gter* marked a paradigm shift in the Tibetan appreciation of the theories of Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. The steadily growing corpus of research into this fascinating work that over the last few decades has ever increasingly begun to consider its Tibetan antecedents and its later interpreters, amply bears witness to this fact. That said, in our research on this work, we cannot ignore the problematics of its textual history and transmission, the bare outlines of which I ventured to describe in this brief paper.

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<sup>81</sup> Mtshur ston, '*Tshad ma shes rab sgron me*', xv.

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# The Manuscript Culture of Confucianism and Buddhism in Medieval China

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**Abstract:** Medieval China was an age of manuscript culture. As the carrier of Confucian and Buddhist culture in the medieval period, manuscripts carried great importance. The Six Dynasties and Sui-Tang Dynasties documentary texts disappeared in China, but they have been preserved in Dunhuang collections in the West and in Japan in the East. Since the Wei and Jin Dynasties, Chinese Confucian classics were affected by Buddhism which was gradually flourishing. Furthermore, the method of explaining Buddhist scriptures was absorbed by the Confucian classics. Because of the particularity of Confucian interpretation, Confucianism and Buddhism were able to complement each other. *Yishu* study 義疏學 was very popular in the medieval period. Therefore, it was reasonable that the non-Buddhist texts used by Buddhism included a large number of texts from *Yishu* study.

**Keywords:** Medieval China, Manuscript culture, Indigenous classics, Oversea classics

## 1. The Division of Lost Classics in the Six Dynasties and Sui-Tang Periods

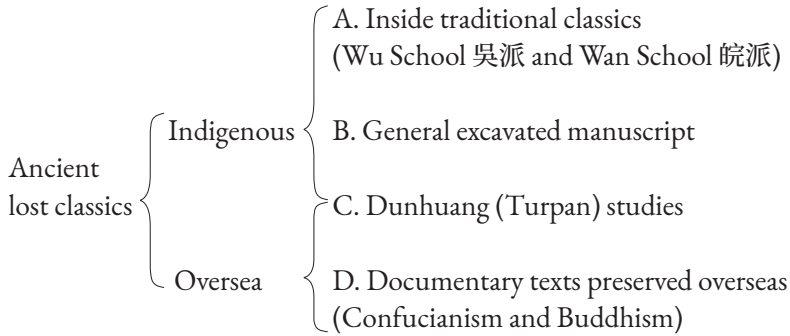
In the Chinese academic system, the term ‘Medieval China’ generally refers to the Wei 魏, Jin 晉, Northern and Southern Dynasties 南北朝, as well as the Sui 隋 and Tang 唐 Dynasties (or the Six Dynasties and Sui-Tang period 六朝隋唐). This great era consists of both a period of disunion between the Wei, Jin, Northern and Southern Dynasties over about four centuries, and a period of unification of the Sui and Tang Dynasties over about three centuries. Chinese academia during these seven centuries greatly differs in comparison to the Qin-Han period and the Song Dynasty. One of the biggest problems faced by scholars researching the Chinese medieval period is the lack of documentary texts.

After the rise of Qian-Jia Philological Tradition 乾嘉考證學, the Confucians in the Qing Dynasty worked to collect the lost parts of classics in the *jing* 經 (Confucian classics), *shi* 史 (history), *zi* 子 (philosophy) and *ji* 集 (literature) four divisions. Their achievements were remarkable, including texts such as Ma Guohan’s 馬國翰 (1794–1857) *Yuhan shanfang jiyi shu* 玉函山房輯佚書 [Lost Books Collected by Yuhan shanfang], Huang Shi’s 黃奭 (1809–1853) *Hanxuetang jingjie* 漢學堂經解 [Classics Collected and Annotated by Hanxue Tang], Ren Dachun’s 任大椿 (1738–1789) *Xiaoxue gouchen* 小學鉤沉 [Philology of Lost Texts], Yan Kejun’s 嚴可均 (1762–1843) *Quan shanggu sandai Qin Han Sanguo Liuchao wen* 全上古三代秦漢三國六朝文 [Collection of Proses of the Three Ancient Dynasties, Qin, Han, the Three Kingdoms, and Six Dynasties], and Wang Mo’s 王謨 (1731–1817) *Han Wei yishu chao* 漢魏遺書鈔 [Lost Books of the Han and Wei Periods]. However, due to the restriction of writing materials, there are still many problems that have not been adequately discussed in the field of literature and history of the Six Dynasties<sup>1</sup>, and Sui and Tang Dynasties.

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<sup>1</sup> The ‘Six Dynasties’ (Liuchao 六朝) in this paper is a general concept including the Southern Dynasty and the Northern Dynasty instead of a narrow term in parallel with the Northern Dynasty which is used in academia of East

The *Jiyi xue* 輯佚學 (the study of collecting the lost parts of classics) already appeared in the Song Dynasty, such as Wang Yinglin's 王應麟 (1223–1296) *Yuhai* 玉海 [Sea of Jade], and it flourished in the Qing Dynasty. In my book *Liuchao Sui Tang Hanji jiuchaoben yanjiu* 六朝隋唐漢籍舊鈔本研究 [Study on Manuscripts of the Six Dynasties, Sui and Tang Dynasties]<sup>2</sup>, I created the following division:



Among these divisions, literature preserved overseas was one of the most popular research areas in international academia during the past decade. Over time, many important documentary texts that disappeared in China were preserved in Japan. In particular, since the beginning of woodblock printing, the Chinese indigenous manuscripts of the Six Dynasties, Sui and Tang Dynasties were gradually scattered and lost<sup>3</sup>. However, the *Xiaojing* 孝經 [The Classic of Filial Piety], with annotations by Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (127–200), and Ren Xigu's 任希古 (fl. 650) *Xiaojing xinyi* 孝經新義 [New Annotation of the Classic of Filial Piety], were brought to China by a Japanese monk named Chōnen 喬然 (938–1016) and surprised the literati and officialdom of the Song Dynasty as early as the reign of Emperor Taizong of Song 宋太宗 (939–997, r. 976–997). In the middle and late Qing Dynasty, besides *Lunyu yishu* 論語義疏 [Elucidation of the Meaning of the Analects], other classics preserved in Japan with

Asia. For details on this distinction, see Kōzen, 'Rikuchō to iu jidai', 28–36.

<sup>2</sup> Tong, *Liuchao suiting hanji jiuchaoben yanjiu*, 2–3.

<sup>3</sup> Ikeda, *Chūgoku kodai shabon shikigo shūroku*, 3.



emendation or supplementation from Japanese sinologists, such as *Guwen Xiaojing Kongzhuan* 古文孝經孔傳 [The Ancient Classic of Filial Piety from Kong] emended by Dazai Shundai 太宰春臺 (1680–1747), and Yamai Kanae's 山井鼎 (1690–1728) *Qijing Mengzi kaowen* 七經孟子考文 [Annotated Seven Classics and the Mencius] supplemented by Ogyū Kan 荻生觀 (1670–1754), entered Chinese academia in succession. These texts greatly impacted the Confucians and were included in the *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 [Complete Library in Four Divisions].

Bamboo and wooden slips, alongside other mediums for records, were used in the early Medieval China. According to Wang Guowei 王國維 (1877–1927), 'the time it started and stopped cannot be determined' 至簡牘之用, 始於何時, 訖於何代, 則無界限可言.<sup>4</sup> However, it can be generally speculated that these mediums were gradually abolished in the late period of the Jin Dynasty and completely diminished at the end of the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Therefore, the most important cultural carrier of Confucian and Buddhist books are manuscripts from early medieval China.

According to the analysis elaborated in Ma Heng's 馬衡 (1881–1955) 'Zhongguo shuji zhidu bianqian zhi yanjiu' 中國書籍制度變遷之研究 [Study on the Transformation of Forms of Books in China], the use of Chinese mediums for documentary texts could be divided into three periods:

1. Bamboo and wood: from the time when books were first produced to the third or fourth century AD;
2. Silk: from the fifth or sixth century BC to fifth or sixth century AD;
3. Paper: from the second century AD to the present.<sup>5</sup>

This trichotomy is accepted by most academics<sup>6</sup> The material car-

<sup>4</sup> Wang, 'Jiandu jianshu kao', 104.

<sup>5</sup> Ma, 'Zhongguo shuji zhidu bianqian zhi yanjiu', 263–64.

<sup>6</sup> Qian Cunxun 錢存訓 (1910–2015) agrees with this taxonomy basically in his book *Shu yu zhubo* 書於竹帛 and says, 'The time of using bamboo is longer

riers of Medieval Chinese manuscript culture are mainly in sections (2) and (3) listed above.

## 2. The *Yishu* Studies of Manuscripts in Medieval China

Since the Wei and Jin Dynasties, Chinese Confucian classics were affected by the increasing spread of Buddhism. The method of explaining Buddhist scriptures was also absorbed by Confucian classics. If we look up the 'Jingji zhi' 經籍志 [Catalogue of Books] in the *Sui shu* 隋書 [Book of Sui], there are many Confucian texts named 'yi' 義 (meaning), 'yishu' 義疏 (elucidation of meaning), 'jiangshu' 講疏 (elucidation of lecture) and 'wenju' 文句 (textual explanation). As the medium to explain *jingzhu* 經注 or *jingzhuan* 經傳 (two forms of commentaries about Classics), they provided a lively discussion about the original meaning of Confucian classics. From the Six Dynasties to the Sui and Tang Dynasties, the study of elucidating *jingzhuan* and *jingzhu* flourished. The kind of annotation of the commentaries of Confucian classics is called 'yi' 義 or 'shu' 疏, and the study is named 'Yishu studies' 義疏學. Nevertheless, many texts of the *Yishu* studies included in the *Sui shu jingji zhi* have already been lost.

Earlier famous papers on *Yishu* studies can be reviewed from the perspective of academic history. This includes articles such as Liang Qichao's 梁啟超 (1873–1929) *Foxue yanjiu shiba pian* 佛學研究十八篇 [Eighteen Articles on Buddhist Studies]<sup>7</sup>, Dai Junren's 戴君仁 (1901–1978) 'Jingshu de yancheng' 經疏的衍成 [The Formation of Commentaries about Classics],<sup>8</sup> Mou Runsun's 牟潤孫 (1908–1988)

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and the beginning of using the silk is earlier than above. So, the period of coexistence of them is about 1000 years. And, the silk and the paper coexisted about 500 years.' 簡牘使用的時間較上述的年代更長; 而縑帛的使用, 其時期更早。因之竹帛摻雜使用的時期, 約達一千餘年; 帛紙共存約500年; 而簡牘與紙並行約300年。See Qian, *Shu yu zhubo*, 72.

<sup>7</sup> Liang, *Foxue yanjiu shiba pian*.

<sup>8</sup> Dai, 'Jingshu de yancheng'.

‘Lun ru shi liangjia zhi jiangjing yu yishu’ 論儒釋兩家之講經與義疏 [On Lectures and Commentaries of Classics of Confucianism and Buddhism]<sup>9</sup>, Zhang Hengshou’s 張恒壽 (1902–1991) ‘Liuchao rujing zhushu zhong zhi foxue yingxiang’ 六朝儒經注疏中之佛學影響 [The Influence of Buddhism on Commentaries of Confucian Classics in the Six Dynasties]<sup>10</sup>. These papers hold profound traditional knowledge and the scholars indicated important traits of the *Yishu* studies. Therefore, they are crucial to providing enlightenment on this topic. Despite this, there are still some problems. The most prominent issue is that the basic historical materials the authors relied on are mainly collections from *shishu* 史書 (historical texts) and *leishu* 類書 (encyclopedias) in the Six Dynasties, except for the *Lunyu yishu*, with a poor edition included in *Congshu jicheng chubian* 叢書集成初編 [The First Series of Complete Collection of Books from (Various) Collectanea]. That is to say, the literature of *Yishu* studies constituted the core of their papers on deficient, first-level historical materials.

*Kyōto teikoku daigaku bungakubu keiin kyūshōhon* 京都帝國大學文學部景印舊鈔本 [The Old Chinese Handwriting Classic Series, published by Kyoto Imperial University department of literature] is important in the academic history of Chinese classics in China and Japan. It includes *Jiang Zhouyi shulunjia yiji canjuan* 講周易疏論家義記殘卷 [Fragment Manuscript of the Commentary on the Classic of Changes] in its second volume. This fragment was collected in Kōfuku-ji temple 興福寺 in Nara 奈良. Kano Naoki 狩野直喜 (1868–1947) claims in his article ‘Kyūshōhon kō shūeki soronka giki zankan batu’ 舊鈔本講周易疏論家義記殘卷跋 [Afterword of the Fragment Manuscript of the Commentary on the Classic of Changes]:

The fragment manuscript of *Jiang Zhouyi shulunjia yiji* and ‘Liji shiwen’ 禮記釋文 [Explanation of the Book of Rites] in the *Jingdian shiwen* 經典釋文 [Explanation of Classics] is collected at the Kōfukuji in Nara. It was said that the fragments of the two texts

<sup>9</sup> Mou, ‘Lun Ru Shi liangjia zhi jiangjing yu yishu’.

<sup>10</sup> Zhang, ‘Liuchao rujing zhushu zhong zhi foxue yingxiang’.

originally belonged to the Tōdai-ji 東大寺. There was a monk named Shinkō 真興 (935–1004), who had a good knowledge of Buddhist scriptures, especially the Buddhist logic (Skt. *Hetuvidyā*; Ch. *yin-ming* 因明; Jp. *inmyō* 因明) in the period between Tenroku 天祿 (970–973) and Kankō 寛弘 (1004–1012). He wrote *Shishu sōi dan ryakuki* 四種相違斷略記 [Brief Notes on Four Contradictions] and *Inmyō sanyō ryakki* 因明纂要略記 [Brief Notes on the Key Points of Buddhist Logic], which were combined into one book entitled *Inmyō sōi dan san shiki* 因明相違斷纂私記 [Private Notes on the Four Contradictions in the Buddhist Logic] by someone later. The bound volume won overwhelming popularity, causing a shortage of paper. One monk of the Tōdai-ji wanted to transcribe it, so he cut the manuscripts of the two texts, bound them into one, and transcribed [the *Inmyō sōi dan san shiki*] on the back of it. As a result, there is one or two lines missing on each page of *Shiwen* 釋文.

舊鈔本《講周易疏論家義記》，《經典釋文·禮記釋文》殘卷，奈良興福寺所藏。相傳二書東大寺舊物。天祿寛弘間，興福寺有僧真興者，淹通釋典，尤通因明。著《四種相違義斷略記》一卷，《因明纂要略記》一卷。後人合編題曰《因明相違斷纂私記》。一時風行，紙價為貴。偶東大寺僧某欲寫之。即出所藏舊鈔二書。裁割卷子。顛倒表裡。裝作一冊逐錄其上。是以《釋文》每葉兩邊失一、二行。<sup>11</sup>

The afterword of Kano Naoki shows that the fragment manuscript of *Jiang Zhouyi shulunjia yiji* and *Jingdian shiwen liji shiwen* was collected in Kofuku-ji temple in Nara. There is also a part of the *Shishu sōi dan ryakuki* and the full text of *Inmyō sanyō ryakki* on the back of the it. Before Kano Naoki investigated the fragment, this document as *Shishu sōi dan ryakuki* was already regarded as Japanese national treasure in 1910.

In ‘Liuchao houqi Jiangnan yishuti yixue jianlun’ 六朝後期江南義疏體《易》學譎論 [A Discussion of *Yishu* Style *Yi* Studies Prevailing in the Lower Yangtze Regions during the Late Six Dynasties Period]<sup>12</sup>, I provided the following analysis. There are explanations of

<sup>11</sup> Kano, ‘Kyūshōhon kō shūeki soronka giki zankan batu’, 27–30.

nine hexagram symbols (*gua* 卦) named ‘Shi Gan’ 釋幹, ‘Shi Shike’ 釋噬嗑, ‘Shi Bi’ 釋賁, ‘Shi Xian’ 釋咸, ‘Shi Heng’ 釋恒, ‘Shi Dun’ 釋遯, ‘Shi Kui’ 釋睽, ‘Shi Jian’ 釋蹇 and ‘Shi Jie’ 釋解, respectively, in the *Jiang Zhouyi shulunjia yiji* manuscript. The name of this manuscript comes from the twelve characters on the first page of ‘Shi Xian’: ‘Jiang Zhouyi shulunjia yiji Shi Xian Dishu’ 講周易疏論家義記釋咸第十. However, the author and number of all volumes cannot be determined. The explanations of the nine hexagram symbols have varying degrees of detail: aside from ‘Shi Gan’, the other eight appear to be excerpts rather than full texts. According to the statistics of Fujiwara Takao 藤原高男, this fragment manuscript includes 158 items like the entries in Buddhist sutras<sup>13</sup>. To be specific, the total number of ‘Yaoci’ 爻辭, ‘Tuanzhuan’ 彖傳 and ‘Xiangzhuan’ 象傳 in ‘Shi Gan’ is 94, which accounts for about two-thirds of the total text. Whereas the respective number of items under the other eight hexagram symbols are ‘Shi Shike’ 3, ‘Shi Bi’ 2, ‘Shi Xian’ 17, ‘Shi Heng’ 18, ‘Shi Dun’ 1, ‘Shi Kui’ 3, ‘Shi Jian’ 8, ‘Shi Jie’ 4. Altogether, these come together for a total of 150. Furthermore, there are still several items of Wang Bi’s 王弼 (226–249) and Han Kangbo’s 韓康伯 (332–380) commentaries and *Zhouyi lüeli* 周易略例 [A Brief Annotation of *Zhouyi*] (Figure 1).

The *Jiang Zhouyi shulunjia yiji* fragment primarily includes three kinds of opinions: *shujia* 疏家 (the critics of *Yishu* Style), *lunjia* 論家 (the critics of *Lun* Style) and the compiler of this fragment. These opinions build a relationship similar to the triad: *Thesis*, *Antithesis*, *Synthesis*, which is often used to describe the dialectical method of Hegel<sup>14</sup>. The compiler often quotes the thoughts of *shujia* as the target, and cites the opinions of *lunjia* to express his own idea. It is useful for us to understand the method of argumentation in Confucian classics of *Yishu* style in the Southern Dynasty.

<sup>12</sup> Tong, ‘Liuchao houqi Jiangnan yishuti yixue jianlun’.

<sup>13</sup> Fujiwara, ‘Kō Shūeki soronka giki ni okeru ekigaku no seikaku’.

<sup>14</sup> Yang, trans., *Luoji xue*; He, trans., *Xiao luoji*. Actually, there is the analogical thought in Chinese traditional culture, see Pang, *Rujia bianzhengfa yanjiu*, 101–7.



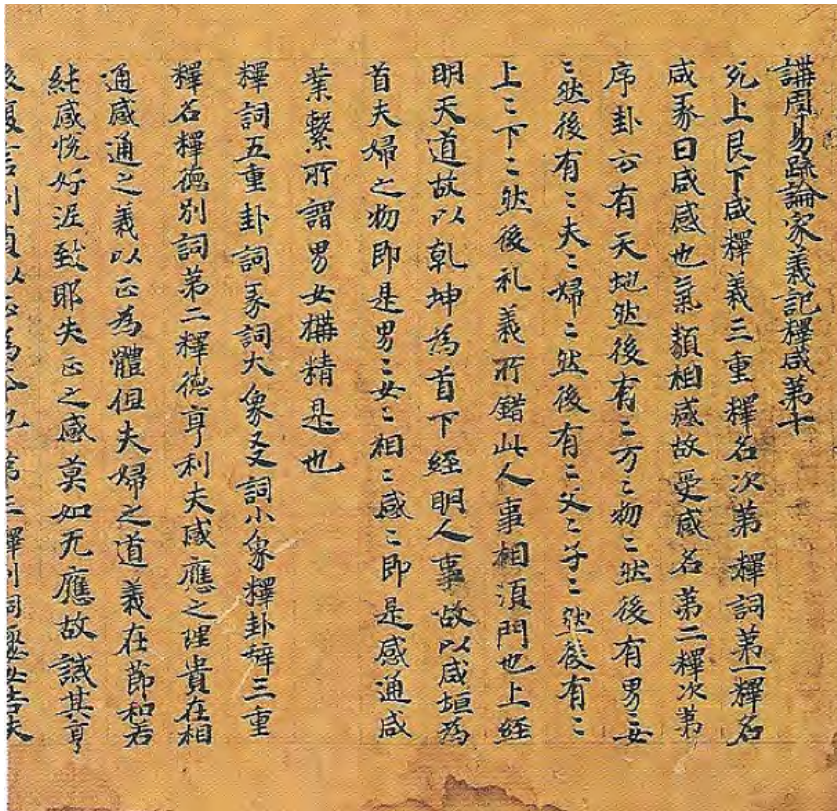


FIG. 1 *Zhouyi lüeli* 周易略例 [A Brief Annotation of *Zhouyi*].

### 3. Confucian Elements in Buddhist Classics

With respect to the Chinese Buddhist manuscripts, according to *Tō Daiwashō tōsei den* 唐大和上東征傳 [Record of the Eastward expedition of the Great Tang Monk], Master Jianzhen 鑑真 (J. Ganjin 鑑真, 688–763) brought the following Buddhist classics to Japan:

*Dafangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 [*Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaiṣṭhāna-sūtra*], 80 *juan*;

*Da foming jing* 大佛名經 [The Great Sutra of Buddhas' Names], 16 *juan*;

Golden letters version *Dapin jing* 大品經 [*Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*

*Prajñāpāramitā*], one copy;  
 Golden-letters version *Daji jing* 大集經 [*Mahāvaipulya mahāsamghāta sūtra*], one copy;  
 Southern-version of *Niepan jing* 涅槃經 [*Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*], one copy, 40 *juan*;  
*Sifen lü* 四分律 [*Dharmagupta-vinaya*], one copy, 60 *juan*;  
*Sifen shu* 四分疏 [Commentary of the *Sifen lü*] by Master Fali 法勵 (fl. 748), 5 volumes, 10 *juan* respectively;  
*Sifen shu* 四分疏 [Commentary of the *Sifen lü*] by Vinaya Master Guang tong 光統 (i.e. Huiguang 慧光; 469–538), 120 sheets of paper;  
*Jingzhong ji* 鏡中記 [Records of the Mirror], 2 volumes;  
*Pusajie shu* 菩薩戒疏 [Commentary of the Bodhisattva Precepts] by Master Zhizhou 智周 (678–733), 5 *juan*;  
*Pusa jielü* 菩薩戒律 [Bodhisattva Precepts] by Lingxi Shizi 靈溪釋子 (d.u), 2 *juan*;  
*Tiantai zhiguan famen* 天台止觀法門 [Tiantai Teaching of Calm and Insight], 40 *juan*;  
*Xuanyi* 玄義 [Profound Meaning (of the *Lotus Sutra*)], *Wenju* 文句 [Textual Explanation (of the *Lotus Sutra*)], 10 *juan* respectively;  
*Si jiaoyi* 四教義 [Outline of the (Tiantai) Four Teachings], 12 *juan*;  
*Cidi chanmen* 次第禪門 [The Gradual *Dhyāna* Method], 11 *juan*;  
*Xing fabua chanfa* 行法華懺法 [*Fabua* Repentance Ritual], 1 *juan*;  
*Xiao zhiguan* 小止觀 [Lesser Teaching of Calm and Insight], 1 *juan*;  
*Liu miaomen* 六妙門 [Six Excellent Approaches (for Practicing Meditation)], 1 *juan*;  
*Mingliao lun* 明了論 [Explanatory Commentary (on Twenty-two Stanzas of the Vinaya)], 1 *juan*;  
*Shi zongyi ji* 師宗義記 [Elucidation of the Meaning (of the Commentary of *Sifen lü*)] by Vinaya Master Dingbin 定賓 (fl. 733–735), 9 *juan*;  
*Bushi zongyi ji* 補釋宗義記 [Supplemented Elucidation of the Meaning (of the Commentary of *Sifen lü*)], 1 *juan*;  
*Jie shu* 戒疏 [Commentary on the Vinaya], two volumes, 1 *juan* respectively;  
*Yiji* 義記 [Explanation of Commentary] by Vinaya Master [Da]liang [大]亮 (fl. 717) from the Guanyin-temple 觀音寺, 2 volumes, 10

*juan*;

*Hanzhu jieben* 含注戒本 [*Pratimokṣa* with Annotation] by Vinaya Master [Dao]xuan [道]宣 (596–667) from Mount Zhongnan 終南, 1 *juan*, and the commentary;

*Jieben shu* 戒本疏 [Commentary on the *Pratimokṣa*] by Vinaya Master Huaidao 懷道 (fl. 705–757), 4 *juan*;

*Xingshi chao* 行事鈔 [Transcript regarding the Practice], 5 volumes;

*Jiemo shu* 羯磨疏 [Commentary on Karma Proceedings], 2 volumes;

*Jieben shu* 戒本疏 [Commentary on the *Pratimokṣa*] by Vinaya Master Huaisu 懷素 (624–697), 4 *juan*;

*Piji* 批記 [Notes and Annotation] by Vinaya Master Dajue 大覺 (d.u.), 14 *juan*;

*Yinxun* 音訓 [Study of the Sound and Meaning], 2 volumes;

*Biqiuni zhuan* 比丘尼傳 [Biographies of Nuns], 2 volumes, 4 *juan*;

*Xiyu ji* 西域記 [Records on the Western Regions] by Dharma Master Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), 1 volume, 12 *juan*;

*Guanzhong chuankai jietan tujing* 關中創開戒壇圖經 [Illustrated Scripture on the Precepts Platform Established in Guanzhong] by Vinaya Master [Dao]xuan [道]宣 (596–667) from Mount Zhongnan 終南, 1 *juan*;

*Ni jieben* 尼戒本 [*Pratimokṣa* of Nuns] by Vinaya Master Faxian 法銑 (d.u.), 1 volume, and the commentary, 2 *juan*;

48 texts in total.

.....

One piece of Wang Youjun's 王右軍 (i.e. Wang Xizhi 王羲之, 303–361) original semi-cursive writing 王右軍真蹟行書一帖;

three pieces of junior Wang's (Wang Xianzhi 王獻之, 344–386) original semi-cursive writing 小王真蹟三帖;

50 pieces of India Zhu He and others' miscellaneous writing<sup>15</sup> 天竺朱和等雜體書五十帖.

These Chinese works, according to *Tō Daiwashō tōsei den*, 'had been presented to the palace' 皆進內里<sup>16</sup>. However, Shōsō-in 正倉

<sup>15</sup> *Tō Daiwashō tōsei den*, 87–88.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*, 88.



院 in Nara now contains Wang Xizhi's *Sangluan tie* 喪亂帖 [Note of Distress and Indignation]. In 2006, the Shanghai Museum and Tokyo National Museum held a joint exhibition named 'Zhong Ri shufa zhenpin zhan' 中日書法珍品展 [China-Japan calligraphy treasure exhibition]. This exhibit contained the *Sangluan tie*.

According to the textual research in Tomita Jun's 富田淳 'Guanyu Riben xiancun *Sangluan tie*, Kong Shizhong tie, Meizhi tie' 關於日本現存《喪亂帖》、《孔侍中帖》、《妹至帖》 [On the *Sangluan tie*, Kong Shizhong tie, and Meizhi tie Now Preserved in Japan], the *Sangluan tie* should have been carried by Kibi no Makibi 吉備真備 (695–775) when he returned to Japan<sup>17</sup> and Jianzhen simply took the same boat to Japan. Therefore, the precious original writing, *Sangluan tie*, was probably the calligraphy that Jianzhen brought along, which was called 'Wang Xizhi's original semi-cursive writing'. Furthermore, on January 8, 2013, NHK broadcasted the big news that Japan found the double-hook copied version of Wang Xizhi's *Dabao tie* from the Tang Dynasty 雙鉤唐摹本《大報帖》.

Among the old Chinese manuscripts preserved in Japan, the category of Buddhist classics has a large quantity yet receives relatively insufficient research. Peter Kornicki has expanded discussion on this issue.<sup>18</sup> However, Buddhist researchers, and more specifically Japanese Buddhist researchers, are usually the only academics concerned with these documents.

The *Guketu geten shō* 弘決外典鈔 [Explanation of the Confucian Texts Cited in the (*Zhiguan fuxing chuan*)*hong jue*], which has a close relationship with Sui and Tang dynasties' Tiantai sect, is a good example. This text was written by the Imperial Prince Tomohira-shinnō 具平親王 (964–1008), who was skillful in poetry and familiar with Confucian classics and history. It is a reflection of upper-class intellectuals' attitude towards Chinese works (including Confucian texts and Buddhist scriptures) in the late Heian period. This text has four extant versions of manuscripts: (1) an incomplete

<sup>17</sup> Tomita, 'Guanyu Riben xiancun *Sangluan tie*, Kong Shizhong tie, Meizhi tie'.

<sup>18</sup> Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 78–87.

old manuscript preserved in Minobu library 身延文庫; (2) two copies of manuscripts in Minobu library; (3) a manuscript of the seventh year of the Kōan 弘安 era (1284) preserved in Kanazawa library 金澤文庫; and (4) a late Heian era manuscript preserved in Tenri Central Library 天理図書館. There is also one collated version by Tokutomi Sohō 徳富蘇峰 (1863–1957) in the third year of the Shōwa 昭和 period (1928)<sup>19</sup>.

Zhanran's 湛然 (711–782) [*Mohe*] *zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue* [摩訶止觀輔行傳弘決 [Commentary on *Mohe zhiguan*] is the commentary of Zhiyi's 智顗 (538–597) *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 [Great Teaching on Calm and insight], which has 20 volumes. Zhanran highly praised Zhiyi's work as the 'ultimate ever very theory' 終極究竟之極說<sup>20</sup>. Due to Zhanran's own academic structure, aside from Buddhist classics, he also cited numerous Confucian documentary texts. Thereby, Japan's Imperial Prince Tomohira-shinnō's *Guketu geten shō* is considered a secondary commentary book, which comments on the literal meaning and pronunciation of Confucian literature that Zhanran's *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue* cited. The format of *Guketu geten shō* is that big characters are used to copy Zhanran's original text, and double-row smaller characters of annotation are to supplement, explain, and enrich the original text by quoting Chinese classics. Many of the classics used in his annotation are from texts that have already been lost today.

In the second *juan* of *Guketu geten shō*, under Zhanran's original text 'therefore musicians compose music, play eight categories of musical instrument in ancient orchestra, to change people's evil thought, to complete their natural disposition, and to alter bad habits and customs' 所以作樂調八音, 改人邪志, 全其正性, 移風易俗, Tomohira-shinnō's annotation on this sentence is like this: '*Xiao-jing shuyi* 孝經述議 [Commentary on the Classic of Filial Piety]

<sup>19</sup> Ozaki, '*Guketu geten shō* insho ko narabini sakuin', 300; and Kōno, 'Tomohira shinnō *Guketu geten shō* no hōhō'. In this article, Kōno Kimiko 河野貴美子 considers that Minobu library's two copies of manuscripts dates back to around the sixteenth century.

<sup>20</sup> Okabe and Tanaka, eds., *Zhongguo fojiao yanjiu rumen*, 235.

says, utilize old good ethos, to replace bad customs nowadays' 移取昔之善風, 以代今之惡俗也.<sup>21</sup>

The above sentence of Zhanran's original text in *Guketu geten shō*, should be copied from the third part of the fourth *juan* of *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue* (Figure 2), where Zhanran says:

Since ancient times, when there was music, it cannot exceed eight kinds of ancient Chinese musical instruments 八音. Clay 土 is used to make *xun* 埙, even now boys would play it. *Lagenaria vulgaris* 匏 is used to make *sheng* 笙. Fur 皮 is used to make drum 鼓. Bamboo 竹 is used to make *guan* 管. String 絲 is used to make *xian* 絃, Stone 石 is used to make *qing* 磬. Metal 金 is used to make Bell 鍾. Timber 木 is used to make *zhu* 柷. Therefore, musicians make music and play eight kinds of instruments, to change people's evil thought, to complete their natural disposition, and to alter old habits and customs. Nowadays the music is like the music in Zheng 鄭 and Wei 衛 (an allusion referring to decadent music), because it makes people maniac and ruins the natural disposition, that's why it should be criticized.

自古有樂, 不出八音. 土曰埙, 今童子猶吹之. 匏曰笙、皮曰鼓、竹曰管、絲曰絃、石曰磬、金曰鍾、木曰柷. 所以作樂調八音, 改人邪志, 全其正性, 移風易俗. 今之樂者, 並鄭衛之聲, 增狂逸壞正性, 是故須訶.<sup>22</sup>

Comparing the above cited paragraph in *Guketu geten shō* and the original passage in *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue*, it is obvious that the narrative of the eight kinds of ancient Chinese musical instruments in Zhanran's writing was already cited from 'Chunguan' 春官 [The Official of Spring] in *Zhouli* 周禮 [Rites of Zhou]. As mentioned above, before becoming a monk, Zhanran was a Confucian. Therefore, there was no doubt he had a firm grasp on Confucian classics such as *Zhouli*. Tomohira-shinnō quoted Guo Pu's 郭璞

<sup>21</sup> See Japanese Hōei 寶永 era (1704–1711) version of *Guketu geten shō*. Professor Kōno Kimiko kindly let me consult this text in her family collection.

<sup>22</sup> *Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue*, T no. 1912, 46: 4.270a4–9.

於外典鈔卷第二 複三四

金澤福七子

第三

莊子云而世貴言傳書不足貴莊子云世之所貴

語有貴也語之所貴者意也意有所隨言之所貴者不可以

言傳也而世因貴言傳書也世雖貴之哉不足貴也非其

貴者也故視而可見者取與色也聽而可聞者名與聲也非其

貴也人以其色名聲為足以得彼之情注云其貴恒在言

意之表得彼情唯空言貴書者也耳成美疏云意之所出後

道而求道既非也非聲故不可以言傳說也夫書以戰言

以傳意而來世之心靈聞寒遂嚴既以言傳書則

貴言重書不能忘言求理嚴

FIG. 2 Third part of the fourth juan of Zhiguan fuxing chuanhong jue 止觀輔行傳弘決 [Commentary on Mohe zhiguan].

(276–324) *Erya zhu* 爾雅注 [Erya Commentary] when he annotated the sentence ‘even now boys would play it’ 今童子猶吹之, which was very precise and appropriate. Furthermore, when he annotated the sentence, ‘alter old habits and customs’ 移風易俗, Zhanran also precisely quoted the *Xiaojing Shuyi*<sup>23</sup>, a text of *Yishu* study which has long been lost.

For the Sui Dynasty that Liu Xuan 劉炫 (ca. 546–613) lived in, *jin* 今 (now; nowadays) probably had a particular meaning, especially referring to the period before the Sui destroyed the northern Qi and Chen<sup>24</sup>. However, after Liu Xuan’s *Xiaojing shuyi* became studied more frequently and developed popularity, the character *jin* must have been used as a more general reference. Due to the meaning of ‘alter old habits and customs’, it can be assumed that the sentence of *Xiaojing shuyi* quoted by Tomohira-shinnō, comes from ‘the twelfth chapter Guangyaodao’ 廣要道章第十二 of the *Xiaojing*. In that chapter, it states: ‘nothing can do better than music on altering old habits and customs’ (移風易俗, 莫善於樂), whereas Xing Bing’s 邢昺 (932–1010) *Xiaojing zhushu* 孝經註疏 [Commentary on the Classic of Filial Piety] points out that the allusion stems from Zixia’s 子夏 (507 BC–?) *Shixu* 詩序 [Commentary on the Classic of Poetry].<sup>25</sup>

David W. Chappell once said: ‘As the first major school of Buddhism in East Asia, T’ien-t’ai marked a watershed in Chinese philosophy. Subsequent developments in Buddhist thought defined themselves in terms of the position they took in its regard through their relationship with Tiantai.’<sup>26</sup> This is a precise localization of the Tiantai School from a philosophical, metaphysical layout. However, this analysis will pay more attention to the physical layer concerning

<sup>23</sup> Tong, trans., ‘Sui Liu Xuan *Xiaojing shuyi* fuyuan yanjiu jieti’.

<sup>24</sup> Arthur F. Wright has discussed on the public cultural undertakings of early Sui Dynasty. See Wright, *The Sui Dynasty*. There is a detailed discussion on study of Confucian classics of Liu Zhuo 劉焯 (544–610) and Liu Xuan in Chapter 5.

<sup>25</sup> *Xiaojing zhushu*, 42–43.

<sup>26</sup> Chappell, ‘Foreword’, vii. On historical writing of Tiantai, also see Chen, *Making and Remaking History*.

interpretation of specific texts. On the citation of Confucian texts, can literature of the Tiantai School also be called a ‘watershed’? At least Arthur Wright has subtly noticed that: ‘its primary means of reconciliation—a sort of historical relativism—dates back to the classical philosophies of the Chou period’<sup>27</sup>. Although Arthur Wright appeared to mention this in general terms, his insight was clearly meticulously developed, because his judgement parallels our analysis on the relationship of Tiantai’s usage of Confucian texts and *Yishu* studies.

Zanning 贊寧 (919–1001), a Northern Song monk, said in the *Da Song sengshi lüe* 大宋僧史略 [Great Song Topical Compendium of Monks]:

Hindrance is approaching, we have to withstand foreign aggression. When it comes to withstanding foreign aggression, nothing can compare with knowing the enemy’s situation. Who is the enemy? When it comes to India in the west, it would be the Veda. When it comes to China in the east, it would be Confucian classics. Therefore, there were not only the Four Veda Hall, but also Study Hall in Jetavana-vihāra, where all different kinds of writings were gathered together. The Buddha allow disciples to read those writings in order to subdue non-Buddhists but does not allow them to follow their views.

魔障相陵，必須禦侮。禦侮之術，莫若知彼敵情。敵情者，西竺則韋陀，東夏則經籍矣。故祇洹寺中有四韋陀院，又有書院。大千世界內所有不同文書並集其中，佛俱許讀之，為符外道，而不許依其見也。<sup>28</sup>

It is thus clear that, in Buddhist ideology, *waixue* 外學 (the studies outside of Buddhism), and the *waidian* 外典 (non-Buddhist texts) that embodied *waixue*, were initially regarded as the enemy. China’s

<sup>27</sup> Wright, *Buddhism in Chinese History*, 80. In regard to the research on the communication of Confucian and Buddhism in Tang Dynasty, see also Kubota, ‘Tōdai ni okeru Jubutu nikyō no kankei’, 194–211.

<sup>28</sup> *Da Song sengshi lüe*, T no. 2126, 54: 1.240c21–26.



Confucian classics undoubtedly refer to the literature mainly consisting of Confucian works. In the Chinese medieval period, because of the special method of interpreting Confucian classics, *Yishu* study was greatly popular. Therefore, it is reasonable that the non-Buddhist texts used by Buddhism included a large number of texts of *Yishu* studies.

The above analysis outlined the manuscript culture of Confucianism and Buddhism in medieval China. In addressing this topic, my works *Liuchao Sui Tang Hanji jiuchaoben yanjiu* and *Qin Han Wei Jin Nanbeichao jingji kao* 秦漢魏晉南北朝經籍考 [Analysis of Classical Texts in the Qin, Han, Wei, Jin and the Northern and Southern Dynasties] involve detailed analysis on this particular territory. Moreover, further investigations on the manuscript culture of medieval Buddhism will be conducted in the future.

## Bibliography

### Abbreviations

*T*                *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

### Primary Sources

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# 3

## Technical Aspects of Manuscript Culture

# Colophons by the Tōdaiji Monk Sōshō (1202–1278): The Threshold between Text and Paratext\*

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**Abstract:** Scholar monks of medieval Japan produced a vast body of manuscripts called *shōgyō*. This paper focuses on *shōgyō* of the Tōdaiji monk Sōshō (1202–1278), especially his colophons (*okugaki*). In examining medieval *shōgyō* manuscripts in general and Sōshō's in particular, modern scholars have tended to concentrate on what Markus Schiegg calls the 'assertive' aspect of a colophon, that is, a colophon that 'tells us something about the scribe and the scribal context'. Although this scholarship has contributed greatly to advancing a material-cultural approach to Sōshō's texts by situating them in their original contexts of production, little attempt has been made to explore the 'expressive' aspect of his colophons, that is, colophons expressing Sōshō's own feelings and wishes. Therefore, I compare Sōshō's assertive colophons with his expressive colophons, with an emphasis on the latter. In so doing I reveal the rich textual universe of Sōshō's colophons that defies our assumed distinction between a text and a paratext, or between the main text and its colophon that supplies information about the main text, the author, or the scribe. Sōshō's colophons often exceed these expected functions in their eloquent expression of feelings and wishes that are largely irrelevant to the main text.

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Keywords: Colophon, debate, *shōgyō*, Sōshō, Tōdaiji

Scholar monks of medieval Japan produced a vast body of manuscripts called *shōgyō* 聖教,<sup>1</sup> many of which were the products of their scholarly activities; these include notations and commentaries on *sūtra*, *Vinaya*, and *śāstra* (*shoshaku* 疏釈); debate scripts (*rongisō* 論義草); debate records (*mondōki* 問答記); excerpts (*shōmotsu* or *shōmono* 抄物); and written records of oral transmissions (*kikigaki* 聞書).<sup>2</sup> This paper focuses on one such scholar monk from thirteenth-century Japan, the Tōdaiji 東大寺 monk Sōshō 宗性 (1202–1278). Throughout his life, Sōshō produced over two hundred titles covering multiple schools, topics, and genres of Buddhism. Written in *kanbun kundoku* style (classical Chinese with Japanese reading marks) and preserved in their original manuscript form, many of his texts have been designated as Important Cultural Properties (*jūyō bunkazai* 重要文化財) in Japan.<sup>3</sup> As I have argued elsewhere,

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<sup>1</sup> ‘Sacred work’ is the translation of the term *shōgyō* by Brian Ruppert, who is a pioneer of the study of *shōgyō* in English-language scholarship. See his ‘A Tale of Catalogs and Colophons’.

<sup>2</sup> Nagamura, *Chūsei jiin shiryōron*, 56.

<sup>3</sup> The Tōdaiji Toshokan (Tōdaiji Library) in Nara has the original copies of Sōshō’s texts, and the Shiryō Hensanjo (Historiographical Institute) at the University of Tokyo has photographed copies of most of them. The photographed copies were produced in 1968–1971. See Kuwayama, Hariu, and Takazawa, ‘Tōdaiji Toshokan shozō Sōshō Shōnin kankei tenseki chōsa, satsuei’, 142. According to the Agency for Cultural Affairs, 99 handscroll volumes and 347 bound books produced by Sōshō have been designated as Important Cultural Properties. See Bunkachō (Agency for Cultural Affairs), ‘Tōdaiji Sōshō hitsu shōgyō narabini shōroku bon, 214 shu’. I would like to thank the Historiographical Institute for the access to the photographed copies of Sōshō’s texts, as well as Professor Kikuchi Hiroki of the Historiographical Institute and Professor Minowa Kenryō of the Tokyo University for their guidance on my research on this material.

despite the extraordinary volume of his oeuvre, Sōshō has received less attention than he deserves from modern scholars partly because he ‘copied’ (*shosha* 書写) and ‘excerpted’ (*shōshutsu* 抄出), but did not author most of these texts. In other words, the copyist Sōshō’s textual scholarship lacks the modern notion of ‘authorship’, which presumes an individual ‘author’ who creates and therefore owns a unified body of original writings called a ‘book’.<sup>4</sup>

While my larger work examines Sōshō’s manuscripts as the whole, here I focus specifically on his colophons (*okugaki* 奥書). In examining medieval *shōgyō* manuscripts in general and Sōshō’s in particular, modern scholars tend to concentrate on the ‘assertive’ aspect of a colophon, that is, a colophon that ‘tells us something about the scribe and the scribal context’, as defined by Markus Schiegg in his study of colophons of early medieval Europe.<sup>5</sup> Although this scholarship has contributed greatly to advancing a material-cultural approach to Sōshō’s texts by situating them in their original contexts of production, little attempt has been made to explore the ‘expressive’ aspect of

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<sup>4</sup> I discussed this issue in my paper for the Conference on Buddhist Manuscript Cultures, Princeton University, January 2017, titled, ‘The Power of Copying and the Materiality of Learning’. As Mark Dennis rightly points out in his study of Prince Shōtoku’s *Shōmangyō-gisho*, pages 1–46 in this special issue, although the question of authorship is a valid historical inquiry, it tends to obscure the importance of material cultural approach to texts, which would require us to analyze texts in their social and historical contexts. George Keyworth’s article, ‘Glosses in Chinese and Japanese on Manuscript editions of Yijing’s Translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* from Dunhuang and Japan’, originally presented to the manuscript conference held at Cambridge in the summer of 2018, and to be included in a volume on East Asian religious manuscripts, exemplifies such an approach by exploring the practices of reading and copying Buddhist scriptures at the Japanese Matsuo shrine during the twelfth century and after. These are the issues that I hope to explore more fully in my future work.

<sup>5</sup> Schiegg, ‘Scribes’ Voices’, 140. Schiegg argues that in terms of functionality, there are four different types of colophons: assertive, expressive, directive, and declarative. Following his typology, I focus here on the first two.

his colophons, that is, colophons expressing Sōshō's own feelings and wishes.<sup>6</sup> The following analysis therefore compares Sōshō's assertive with his expressive colophons, with an emphasis on the latter. In so doing it reveals the rich textual universe of Sōshō's colophons that defies our assumed distinction between a text and a paratext, or between the main text that is copied and its colophon that supplies information about the main text, the author, or the scribe. In fact, Sōshō's colophons often exceed these expected functions in their eloquent expression of feelings and wishes that are largely irrelevant to the main text.

### Sōshō's Colophons: Formal and Contextual Quality

In terms of formal quality, Sōshō's colophons usually follow the conventions of premodern Japanese manuscripts. Sōshō produced bound books (*sasshibon* 冊子本) and handscrolls (*kansubon* 卷子本), both of which were common formats of premodern Japanese manuscripts. A bound book was bound on the right-hand side, while a handscroll consisted of sheets of paper glued together in sequence, creating a horizontally long piece of paper on which to write. In either format, one wrote vertically from top to bottom, and from right to left. A colophon was added at the end, and was usually indented to distinguish it from the main text.

A colophon was written at the time when the author, editor, or scribe originally created the text. Then when someone else later copied the text, the copier would usually copy the existing colophon(s) and add a new one. When a text was not copied but transmitted from one person to another (usually from a master to his disciple, as we will see later), the transmitter also added a colophon. Thus, a manuscript could bear multiple colophons written by different individuals at different times. As I have discussed elsewhere, this challenges the modern view of the author as an individual who creates and owns a unified body of text. Rather, in this case a man-

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<sup>6</sup> Schiegg, 'Scribes' Voices', 140.



uscript constitutes a non-unified textual space that could involve multiple ‘authors’ over the course of time.<sup>7</sup>

The length of a colophon varied. For example, the colophon of the *Daijō-e gimon rōgi shō* 大乘会疑問論義抄 [Questions Discussed at the Mahāyāna Assembly] is very short for Sōshō. It simply states:<sup>8</sup>

I finished excerpting this text around the time of the monkey [i.e., between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m.] on the seventeenth day of the twelfth month of the first year of the Jōō 貞応 era [1222] at the Chūin 中院 of Tōdaiji. [I composed this text] for this year’s Daijō-e 大乘会 at Hosshōji 法勝寺 and the Hokke-e 法華会 at Enshūji 円宗寺. Those who will read this later [*kōran no tomogara* 後覧之輩] should feel pity [*awaremu beshi* 可哀] [for this is poorly composed].

Thus, here Sōshō succinctly provides the date and place of composition and the reason the text was composed (i.e., to prepare for the Buddhist rituals held at Hosshōji and Enshūji in that year). Then, after concluding with a formulaic expression of humbleness, which recurs in many of his colophons, Sōshō states his disciplinary specialization (‘Kegon shū’ 華嚴宗) and his temple affiliation (‘Tōdaiji’ 東大寺), and then signs his name, followed by his secular age (‘age twenty years’) and his dharma age (‘nine years [since being ordained]’).<sup>9</sup>

Thus, even this short colophon provides quite a bit of biographical information about Sōshō. In fact, Sōshō wrote several hundred colophons, many of which are much longer than this one. Sōshō himself left no autobiography. Also, although Sōshō copied and edited many texts, he authored very few. But from his colophons we can learn quite a bit about his life and scholarship.

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<sup>7</sup> Sango, ‘Power of Copying’. As Foucault famously asked, ‘If an individual were not an author, could we say that what he wrote, said, left behind in his papers, or what has been collected of his remarks, could be called a work?’ See Foucault, ‘What is an Author?’, 207.

<sup>8</sup> *Daijō-e gimon rōgi shō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 1, 301–02.

<sup>9</sup> *Gerō* 夏蘭. See Nakamura, *Kōsetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 1: 389c.

Sōshō was born in 1202 the son of a middle-ranking Fujiwara aristocrat and entered Tōdaiji temple at age thirteen, where he started his study of the Kegon shū, the main discipline of Tōdaiji, under the tutelage of Bengyō 弁曉 (1139–1202). In the following year, he started regularly attending the Kusha Sanjikkō 俱舎三十講 held at Tōdaiji, that is, a public debate (*rongi-e* 論義会) held within the Tōdaiji temple to discuss the *Abhidharmakośa bhāṣya*.<sup>10</sup> This marked the beginning of his writing career, as he began both to write down what he learned in preparing for and regularly participating in the Kusha Sanjikkō and to copy the relevant texts produced by other monks. Whereas this was a debate held within Tōdaiji, in Sōshō's time there was also a series of state-sponsored debates, such as the Daijō-e and the Hokke-e mentioned in Sōshō's colophon for the *Daijō-e gimon rongi shō*, that elite scholar monks would attend in seeking both academic recognition and monastic promotion.<sup>11</sup> Throughout his life, Sōshō was repeatedly invited to these state-sponsored debates, as a result of which he eventually gained a position in the Sōgō 僧綱 (Office of Monastic Affairs) in 1241, and was later appointed head of the Kegon school in 1246 and of Tōdaiji in 1260. Given his modest birth, Sōshō's career presents an example of a scholar monk who advanced his position based largely on his own merits.

Sōshō's success as an elite scholar monk also contributed to his academic accomplishments. Not only did he advance his scholarship through copying texts to prepare for state-sponsored debates, but he also met scholar monks of other temples at these debates, such as the Enryakuji 延暦寺 monk Chien 智円 (dates unknown) as well as the Kōfukuji 興福寺 monks Kakuhen 覚遍 (dates unknown) and Ryōhen 良遍 (1196–1252). They in turn trained Sōshō in their own areas of specialty—Chien taught him Tendai 天台 teachings, while

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<sup>10</sup> There are two Chinese translations of *Abhidharmakośa bhāṣya*: Xuanzang's (d. 664) *Apidamo jushe lun* (T no. 1558, 29: 1a–159b) and Paramārtha's (499–569) *Apidamo jushe shilun* (T no. 1559, 29: 161a–310c).

<sup>11</sup> For further discussion of such debates, see my 'Buddhist Debate in Medieval Japan'.

Kakuhen and Ryōhen taught him Hossō 法相 teachings—while allowing him to copy some of their texts. This is how Sōshō was able to become an interdisciplinary scholar of Buddhism.

Indeed, even a cursory look at Sōshō's scholarship reveals its incredible breadth. His manuscripts encompass the schools of Kusha 俱舍, Hossō, Tendai, Kegon, and Ritsu 律, as well as the topics of *inmyō* 因明 (Skt. *hetu-vidyā*) and the *Lotus Sūtra*, and the genres of prayer (*gammon* 願文) and hagiography. Revered as an erudite scholar, Sōshō also trained many talented young monks, the most famous of whom was the Tōdaiji scholar monk Gyōnen 凝然 (1240–1321), the renowned author of the *Hasshū kōyō* 八宗綱要 (*The Essentials of the Eight Schools*).<sup>12</sup> Thus his colophons suggest that for Sōshō, textual production was a central means of learning through which he studied not only the Kegon but also other major disciplines of Japanese Buddhism.

### Sōshō's Colophons Both Assertive and Expressive

In addition to providing rich biographical details of his life as a scholar monk, Sōshō's colophons are also a treasure trove of historical information concerning larger monastic society, and especially the intellectual, social, political, and devotional aspects of the life of elite scholar monks. For example, the colophons for the *Myōhonshō* 明本抄 (*The Essentials of Buddhist Logic*) demonstrate Sōshō's efforts to study *inmyō*.<sup>13</sup> Often called 'Buddhist logic', *inmyō* is the study of epistemology and logical reasoning. In Sōshō's time, the *Myōhonshō*, composed by the renowned *inmyō* scholar Jōkei 貞慶 (1155–1213), a Hossō

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<sup>12</sup> For more discussion of Gyōnen's life and thought, see Blum, *The Origins and Development of Pure Land Buddhism*; Green and Mun, *Gyōnen's Transmission of the Buddha Dharma in Three Countries*.

<sup>13</sup> Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 460–78. *Myōhonshō* survives in both the handscroll and bound-book formats. The current study uses the handscroll version, which is a twelve-volume work, though the third volume is missing and there are two copies of the twelfth.

monk of Kōfukuji, was known among scholar monks as ‘the most esoteric text about *inmyō*’, as Sōshō called it.<sup>14</sup> As he himself described in his colophon for the first volume of this work, the then twenty-two year old Sōshō ‘became the disciple of Kakuhen’ in 1225. Then, after thirty years of industrious study, Sōshō finally received ‘permission to copy all thirteen volumes [of the *Myōhonsbō*]’ from Kakuhen.<sup>15</sup>

In the same colophon, Sōshō also stressed the hidden nature of the *Myōhonsbō* by commanding that ‘monks of my lineage [i.e., those who belong to Sonshōin 尊勝院, a subtemple of Tōdaiji] must conceal this text [from outsiders]’.<sup>16</sup> To this end, Sōshō and subsequent recipients of this secret transmission signed a written agreement (*Myōhonsbō sōjō keijō* 明本抄相承契状). An example is Sōshō’s disciple Shōzen 聖禅 (b. 1202), who signed the agreement pledging to return the copy of the *Myōhonsbō* to Sonshōin after his death.<sup>17</sup> In this way, Sōshō limited circulation of the *Myōhonsbō* to only the members of his own subtemple.

Originally developed as residential spaces for monks, in medieval times subtemples grew into core institutional units that, although physically located within a temple, enjoyed a considerable degree of political and economic independence. They also served as the centers of the monks’ academic activities. For instance, Sonshōin, which Sōshō headed from 1246, was the center of Kegon studies. The secret transmission of the *Myōhonsbō* thereby worked to distinguish this

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<sup>14</sup> *Myōhonsbō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 460.

<sup>15</sup> *Myōhonsbō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 460.

<sup>16</sup> *Myōhonsbō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 465.

<sup>17</sup> *Myōhonsbō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 479. It is unclear whether, strictly speaking, there was a master-disciple relationship between Sōshō and Shōzen. According to the colophons of the *Myōhonsbō*, Sōshō and Shōzen were the same age (Hiraoka, 461–78). Also, the *Honchō kōsōden* 本朝高僧伝 describes Shōzen as a disciple of the Tōdaiji monk Songen 尊玄 (dates unknown), and not Sōshō (see DBZ 102, 220).

subtemple from others as the center of the Kegon discipline; this is the so-called *shishi sōjō* 師資相承—the transmission of cultural and social capital from a master to his disciple. Thus, the practice of writing and transmitting a text had the power to change both social and material reality.<sup>18</sup>

The colophons of the *Myōhōnshō* accordingly reveal an important aspect of the monastic society of Sōshō's time. In addition, those written by Sōshō in particular eloquently express his feelings and wishes. This explains why, as seen in his colophon for the seventh volume of the *Myōhōnshō*, his tends to be much longer than those of others.<sup>19</sup> In their colophons, Kakuhen, Sōshō's teacher, and a monk named Inkan 印寛 (dates unknown; probably Sōshō's disciple or grand-disciple) simply provided one or two lines of logistical information, such as the date or place it was copied and their names and ranks. Sōshō, meanwhile, wrote as many as ten lines describing not only such details, but also how this particular volume had already been lent to another monk when he had finished copying all the other volumes the previous year, causing him to wait until this year to copy it, and how he rejoiced at the rare opportunity to form *inmyō kechien* 因明結縁.<sup>20</sup>

I have finally finished copying a copy [of the seventh volume of *Myōhōnshō*]. I think of this as the memento of my study [of Buddhism] [*shugaku* 修学] in this life. How could it not be a good cause for the achievement of liberation [*tokudatsu* 得脱] in the next life? I respectfully pray that the small merit of my study will enable me to respond to [the opportunity to form] this *inmyō kechien*; that in the

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<sup>18</sup> I have discussed this issue in greater detail elsewhere. See Sango, 'Buddhist Debate and the Production and Transmission of *Shōgyō* in Medieval Japan'.

<sup>19</sup> *Myōhōnshō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 468. Kakuhen signed in 1235, Sōshō in 1255, Inkan in 1286.

<sup>20</sup> *Myōhōnshō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 468. Those who are familiar with Sōshō's handwriting would immediately notice that this colophon was not written by Sōshō himself. He may have asked somebody to copy it for him.

evening of the end of this life, I will finally be born in the autumn cloud of the Tuṣita Heaven; and that at the dawn when Maitreya [Miroku 弥勒] descends [to this world to hold] his three assemblies, I will reach the complete understanding based on wisdom [*egē* 慧解] on the top of the dragon-flower tree [blooming] in the spring.

Thus Sōshō expresses his excitement at being able to read and copy the text with the expression ‘*inmyō kechien*’. Used by Sōshō and other transmitters of the *Myōhōshō*, this phrase meant forming a connection (*kechien*) with *inmyō*, which would lead to awakening or a better rebirth. Thus for Sōshō, who committed himself to the worship of the future Buddha Maitreya, *inmyō kechien* was the way to be reborn into Maitreya’s Tuṣita Heaven and attend his assembly.<sup>21</sup> In short, for Sōshō, copying the *Myōhōshō* was a devotional act of *kechien*.

Thus, Sōshō’s colophons for the *Myōhōshō* are both assertive and expressive; not only does Sōshō explain the context of the text’s production and transmission, but he also elaborately and lengthily expresses his deep feelings and wishes related to both his *inmyō* study and Maitreya devotion.

### Sōshō’s Colophons Largely Irrelevant to the Text

Sōshō is by no means the only Buddhist author of medieval Japan who wrote expressive colophons. That said, some of Sōshō’s are unusual in describing events in his life that have little to do with the texts he copied. This is exemplified, for instance, by his colophon to the *Jijiron shijishō* 地持論指示抄 (Excerpts of the *Bosatsu jijikyō* 菩薩地持經; Ch. *Pusa dichī jing*; Skt. *Bodhisattvabhūmi sūtra*),<sup>22</sup> dated 1275.

<sup>21</sup> Sōshō repeatedly mentions the rebirth in Maitreya’s Tuṣita Heaven in the colophon of the *Myōhōshō*. See Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 455–81.

<sup>22</sup> T no. 1581, 30: 888a–959b.

In the eighth month of that year, Sōshō copied this text at Kasagidera 笠置寺, a temple located on Mount Kasagi, about thirty-four miles southeast of the imperial palace in the Heian capital (present-day Kyōto), and about eight miles northeast of Kōfukuji and Tōdaiji in the old capital of Nara. In Sōshō's time, it was considered the mecca of Maitreya worship. Thus, Sōshō often went to Kasagidera to leave behind the busy life of Tōdaiji and focus on his study and practice of Buddhism.

During the time he copied the *Jijiron shijishō*, he was at Kasagidera to mourn the death of his beloved acolyte Rikimyōmaru 力命丸, who had lived with Sōshō for several years.<sup>23</sup> '[He] was murdered for no fault of his own. The sadness makes me speechless'. Having taken care of Rikimyōmaru's cremation and burial, the then seventy-four-year old Sōshō left Tōdaiji to stay at Kasagidera in order to hold the memorial services.

Although he was thus extremely busy and emotionally distraught during this time, Sōshō decided to copy the *Jijiron shijishō* for the reason that 'I had borrowed this book from my original temple [*bonji* 本寺; i.e., Tōdaiji], but now that I am abiding by my intention of entering the life of reclusion [*inton* 隠遁] [at Kasagidera], it is no longer useful. Before sending it back to my original temple, I recorded the important parts [*yōsho* 要処]'.<sup>24</sup>

Thus the main event described here (i.e., the death of Rikimyōmaru) has nothing to do with the content of the main text. Although

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<sup>23</sup> In the elite monastic community of medieval Japan, an acolyte (*chigo* 稚児) often served a senior monk not only as his close attendant but also as his sexual and romantic partner (cf. Faure, *The Red Thread: Buddhist Approaches to Sexuality*). In fact, throughout his life, Sōshō had multiple acolytes, as evidenced by his *Kindan akuji gonju zenkon seijō shō* 禁断悪事勤修善根誓状抄. This is a collection of vows that Sōshō made in pursuit of good moral conduct while struggling to refrain from immoral deeds such as sexual indulgence. I have discussed this text in detail in 'Sōshō's (1202–1278) Vows to Refrain from Evils and Practice Good: A Minority Report of the Precept Revival Movement in Medieval Japan'.

<sup>24</sup> Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 3, 154; *Jijiron shijishō*.

the colophon still provides the date and place of its original composition, it otherwise does not serve its expected function of describing the original context of the textual production other than to say that he decided to copy the text while mourning Rikimyōmaru's death for an unrelated, rather practical reason (i.e., he wanted to return it soon to Tōdaiji). Indeed, the colophon has less to do with the text itself than with what was happening in Sōshō's personal life at the time.

For the rest of the year, Sōshō copied several more texts while remaining in reclusion at Kasagidera and mourning Rikimyōmaru's death. The colophons of all of these texts repeat the same narrative of Rikimyōmaru's unfortunate death and Sōshō's deep sorrow, which have no relation to the texts' content. Interestingly, however, read together these colophons show a process of grief. In the colophons of the texts produced in the eighth and ninth month immediately following the writing of the *Jijiron shijishō*, Sōshō simply related the death of Rikimyōmaru and expressed his grief.<sup>25</sup> From the tenth month onward, however, he began to describe his act of copying itself as memorial merit-making for Rikimyōmaru, wishing that 'the merits [produced by copying this text] help him [i.e., Rikimyōmaru] achieve liberation', and that Sōshō and Rikimyōmaru would be reunited in Maitreya's Heaven.<sup>26</sup> It is as though Sōshō had initially been so overwhelmed and consumed by his grief that he could see no purpose in copying texts (although he did so anyway), and yet gradually he came to terms with his loss and began to understand the act of copying itself as merit-making for the deceased.

Even more personal and idiosyncratic are those colophons describing Sōshō's intimate dreams; curiously, these are all colophons of the *Shunka shūgetsu shō* 春華秋月抄, a collection of liturgical texts such as prayers and ritual pronouncements (*hyōbyaku* 表白 or *keibyaku*

<sup>25</sup> *Kegon soshi den*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 3, 154–56.

<sup>26</sup> *Kegon shū kōkun shō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 3, 157–58; and *Kegon shū kōkun shō sō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 3, 164.



啓白) composed by Sōshō himself or by others. This complex text is subdivided with multiple colophons. What follows is an analysis of two sets of colophons to the first volume.

The first set consists of two colophons written in the fourth and fifth months of 1238. Both colophons are physically adjacent, and both are supposed to be related to the preceding text. The second one reads like a typical colophon with the date when Sōshō completed the text ('the first day of the fifth month of the fourth year of the Katei 嘉禎 era [1238]'), the place where he completed it ('at the Chūin of Tōdaiji'), and his name. Yet the first one, written the day before the second one (the last day of the fourth month), relates the 'most auspicious dream ever' (*musō no kichimu* 無雙之吉夢) that he had had that night. In his dream his grandmother appeared in order to tell him the whereabouts of the 'vase in which I [i.e., his late grandmother] hid about 300-kan of money'. He rejoiced in this dream, saying, 'I should be pleased; I should be gratified; I cannot but celebrate this'.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the second colophon was assertive while the first was expressive, having no relation to the main text itself.

In the second set of colophons, composed three months earlier, Sōshō used the same dual-colophon format. Before the straightforward colophon with the date, the place, and his name is an elaborate, expressive colophon that describes another 'most auspicious dream' he had had the previous day. It was the special day of Maitreya (*ennichi* 縁日), and so Sōshō had kept the eight precepts (*hassaikai* 八齋戒) and performed the *kōshiki* ritual in praise of Maitreya (Miroku Kōshiki 弥勒講式). That night, Maitreya revealed in Sōshō's dream that Sōshō would surely be blessed with the 'benefits of the two lives [*nise no yaku* 二世之益; i.e., this world and the next]' and 'live up to seventy-three years of age'. Upon hearing this, Sōshō found it 'very difficult to stop tears of joy'.<sup>28</sup>

Sōshō himself does not explain why he considered the colophons

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<sup>27</sup> *Shunka shūgetsu shō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Shunka shūgetsu shō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 1.

of this particular text, the *Shunka shūgetsu shō*, to be suitable for recording his auspicious dreams. Yet a thread that seems to weave these two expressive colophons together is Sōshō's interest in the 'benefits of the two lives' revealed to him through dreams by either the dead or the divine. Indeed, praying for the 'benefits of the two lives' is a major theme in the genres of prayer and ritual pronouncements, on which the main text of the *Shunka shūgetsu shō* focuses. Thus the experience of composing this text may have inspired Sōshō to have these dreams. That said, his reasons both for recording his dreams in these colophons and for separating the expressive from the assertive ones ultimately remain unknown.

Perhaps more importantly, his dream about Maitreya further reveals Sōshō's view of manuscripts, especially colophons. His description of this dream follows in its entirety:<sup>29</sup>

That evening, during the hours of the rabbit [i.e., from 5 a.m. to 7 a.m.], I dreamed the following. I was walking on the peak of a certain mountain. When I looked down, there was a big temple compound encircled by a long fence.... Then the three of us, Sōshō, Jikkō 實弘, and Jōshun 貞舜, together walked to and visited this temple compound. Thereupon, a monk came [to us] while holding a handscroll. Then, as I observed him rolling up [the scroll] from the innermost part [*oku* 奥] to the edge [*hashi* 端], I saw what looked like Sanskrit letters [*bonji* 梵字] written in small script. Then after rolling up [the scroll] to the edge, this monk said, 'I am showing this to you because it says "Sonshōin Minbukyō Tokugō 尊勝院民部卿得業" [i.e., Sōshō's byname].'<sup>30</sup> I, Sōshō, looked at it, and thought that it indeed said so. It seemed to describe my own two lives [*nise* 二世] [i.e., this life and the next]. [Then] I listened to the monk read it aloud. How wonderful was the part about 'Sōshō's practice of good conduct' [*zenkon* 善根]! [He said that] my merit [which would lead me to enlightenment] [*fukubun* 福分] is not nonexistent. In terms of

<sup>29</sup> *Shunka shūgetsu shō*; Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji Sōshō Shōnin no kenkyū narabini shiryō*, vol. 2, 2. Also, the draft of this colophon appears on p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Hiraoka, *Tōdaiji jiten*, 271.

my life expectancy, I will live up to seventy-three years of age. Like snow, [the merit of] my strenuous study has accumulated and filled the two valleys. In this life I attend the place of rituals [i.e., I was fortunate to encounter Buddhism], and in the next life I will achieve the liberation. As I thought [to myself] that this was [indeed] what he was saying, I woke up from my dream. This was the most auspicious dream ever. It was very difficult to stop tears of joy. The heavenly beings who protect the dharma wish to tell me that the Great Sage, Maitreya, will lead [me to his Tuṣita Heaven]. I deeply believe in and worship [Maitreya]. I will completely devote myself [to Maitreya] more than ever, and will never forget. I will receive the benefits of the two lives [*nise no yaku*] as my dream has now revealed.

To understand the full connotation of this dream, especially this mysterious manuscript revealed by the anonymous monk to Sōshō, we must remind ourselves of how a premodern Japanese handscroll was physically structured. As discussed earlier, a handscroll consisted of a number of pages arranged horizontally and glued together. On this long piece of paper, one wrote from top to bottom starting from the right edge, which the monk in Sōshō's dream called the 'edge' (*hashi*).<sup>31</sup> To the opposite end—or 'innermost part'—was usually attached a *jiku* 軸, a thin, cylindrical-shaped piece of wood (or other material) slightly longer than the height of the scroll to facilitate its unrolling (opening) or rolling (closing). This opposite end is where one finished writing and added a colophon. Once the scroll was written or read, it would be rolled back up to close it.

In Sōshō's dream, the anonymous monk rolled the scroll back as if to indicate that he had just finished reading it. Then at a quick glance Sōshō saw 'what looked like Sanskrit letters written in small script'.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> For the explanation of *hashi*, as opposed to *oku*, see Satō, *Komonjogaku nyūmon*, 95.

<sup>32</sup> Originating in India and later introduced to China and Japan, *bonji* (Ch. *fanzi*) are letters used to transcribe Sanskrit words (*bongo* 梵語; Ch. *fanyu*). In China, *bonji* or *fanzi* refers to Sanskrit grammar and hermeneutics while being distinguished from its script (*shittan* 悉曇; Ch. *xitan*; Skt. *siddham*). In Japan,

In addition to the use of ‘Sanskrit letters’ (also known as *siddham*), the uncertainty of his language (‘what *looked like...*’) generates an aura of secrecy, thereby marking as sacred the scroll itself as well as its content, which was hidden and yet were about to be revealed to Sōshō. Then the anonymous monk showed the scroll and read it aloud to Sōshō, who then realized that it revealed the ‘benefits of the two lives’ that he was to receive. Thus the mysterious revelation was mediated by the written text as well as the actions surrounding it (e.g., reading the scroll or rolling it back)—the object and actions that characterized the life of scholar monks such as Sōshō.

Furthermore, the anonymous monk’s act of rolling the scroll back up ‘from the innermost part [*oku*] to the edge [*hashi*]’ suggests the symbolic significance of colophons. *Okugaki*, the premodern Japanese word for ‘colophon,’ literally means ‘innermost writing’ (*oku-ga-ki*), or what is written in ‘the innermost part’ (*oku*) of the scroll. The anonymous monk performatively demonstrates this unique nature of *okugaki*—hidden from view when the scroll is rolled up, and revealed only at the end when it is unrolled.

The English word ‘colophon’ in its etymology means ‘summit’ or ‘finishing touch’, which concludes all that has been written.<sup>33</sup> Although *okugaki* similarly denotes conclusiveness, Sōshō’s dream suggests that it also conceives a textual space differently as that which extends not only two-dimensionally (from one edge of the paper to the other edge when open) but also three-dimensionally (from the innermost to the outermost part when closed). In this textual universe, as imagined by Sōshō, *okugaki* is not just a secondary space to add supplementary information; rather it is an ‘innermost’, hidden space imbued with sanctity.<sup>34</sup> This is where a copyist, compiler, and

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however, the term *shittan* was used to encompass them both, while the term *bonji* was used interchangeably with *shittan*. See Nakamura, *Kōsetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*, 2:1547b–c; and Nakamura et al., eds., *Iwanami Bukkyō jiten*, 367, 749.

<sup>33</sup> For the history of the term, see Schiegg, ‘Scribes’ Voices’, 130.

<sup>34</sup> According to Yamasaki Makoto, in Japan, the term *okugaki* is often used interchangeably with *daibatsu* 題跋 (Ch. *tiba*). However, he distinguishes *tiba* as a unique literary convention developed during the Song dynasty, and widely

transmitter of a text signed their names and, in Sōshō's case, added personal details that could be either relevant or irrelevant to the text. Strictly speaking, this rich symbolism of the colophon applied only to handscrolls, as illustrated in Sōshō's dream, but I speculate that colophons of bound books also derivatively took on this special connotation.

## Conclusion

The foregoing analysis of Sōshō's colophons challenges our common understanding of a colophon as 'a short paratext containing information about the production, internal organization and storage of a particular manuscript'.<sup>35</sup> How can we properly understand Sōshō's colophons that are not merely supplementary and secondary to the main text but that focus instead on Sōshō's own thoughts largely irrelevant to the text itself? Are his colophons paratexts or actual texts?

In his famous study of paratexts, Gérard Genette states, 'More than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a *threshold*'.<sup>36</sup> He continues: 'It is an "undefined zone" between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world's discourse about the text), an edge'. Thus colophons are paratextual in their mediation between texts and contexts, and in the case of Sōshō's colophons, between assertive and expressive modalities. This renders colophons both ambiguous and liminal. The 'liminality' (which etymologically means a 'threshold'), as initially conceptualized by Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner, refers to a passage from one's previous social status and identity to a new one.<sup>37</sup> As Turner said, 'The attributes of liminality or of liminal

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popularized in the Ming (see Yamasaki, 'Janru to shite no daibatsu'). Further research is necessary to determine the meaning and usage of *okugaki* in Japanese literary history.

<sup>35</sup> Ciotti and Franceschini, 'Certain Times in Uncertain Places', 59.

<sup>36</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, 1–2. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>37</sup> Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage*; Turner, *The Ritual Process*.

*personae* (“threshold people”) are necessarily ambiguous<sup>38</sup> because liminality dissolves and reorients one’s sense of identity while bringing about a new understanding of the world and one’s place in it.

Sōshō’s colophons can be understood as liminal in two senses. First, they bring Sōshō from one mode of writing (copying an existing text) to another mode (composing a new text by expressing his own thoughts). Second, the coexistence of both his assertive and expressive engagements in his colophons generates a transformative ambiguity that Turner spoke of, as exemplified by the way in which Sōshō processed his grief for Rikinyōmaru. Initially consumed by his grief, he became more in control of it as he began to understand the act of copying itself as a way of merit-making for the dead.

Furthermore, the liminality of the textual space of colophons seems appropriate for recording dreams. Dreams in general—even mundane ones—are liminal experiences. And so, it is fitting that Sōshō recorded in his colophons his extraordinary dream encounters with beings of the other world, such as his deceased grandmother and the mysterious monk with the mysterious scroll, both of whom bestowed on him a prophecy concerning his ‘benefits of the two lives’—be it the cash gift from his grandmother, longevity, or his future birth in Maitreya’s Heaven.

Why did he record these dreams in his colophons? How did Sōshō expect the reader to experience his texts and his colophons in particular? Although his true intentions are ultimately unknown, one can speculate that Sōshō’s records of his dreams helped legitimize him as a Buddhist author or scribe of the *Shunka shūgetsu shō*, where prayers for the benefits of the two lives were central.

Here Genette’s insight that a paratext is ‘a zone not only of transition but also of *transaction*’ is perhaps applicable; it is ‘a privileged place of pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that ... is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it’.<sup>39</sup> This is true not only of the colophons of the *Shunka shūgetsu shō*, which endorsed Sōshō’s textual

<sup>38</sup> Turner, *Ritual Process*, 95. Emphasis in the original.

<sup>39</sup> Genette, *Paratexts*, 2. Emphasis in the original.

authority, but also of those of the *Myōhōshō*, where Sōshō ensured a ‘more pertinent reading of it’ by emphasizing the significance of this text as ‘the most esoteric text about *inmyō*’. Of course, in the case of the *Myōhōshō*, the colophons helped generate, rather than ‘a better reception for the text’, the text’s secret transmission instead, while also providing a space for the transmitters to sign their names and legitimize both their lineage as well as themselves as Buddhist scholars.

On the one hand, one must not overemphasize the applicability of Genette’s and Turner’s theories because medieval Buddhist authors such as Sōshō themselves may not have perceived a distinction or a ‘threshold’ between a text and a paratext in the same way Genette and Turner conceptualized. Also, future research is necessary to determine how prevalent Sōshō’s style and view of colophons actually were. On the other hand, my analysis surely indicates a rich potential of studying colophons, not only as supplementary data, but also as the ‘innermost writings’ to be studied on their own terms.<sup>40</sup>

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### Abbreviations

- DBZ*      *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書 [Complete Buddhist Works of Japan]. Edited by Bussho Kankōkai 仏書刊行会. 151 vols. Tokyo: Bussho Kankōkai 仏書刊行会, 1912–1937.
- T*        *Taishō shinshu daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. Edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭. 85 vols. Tokyo: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai 大正一切經刊行會, 1924–1934.

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# The Establishment of Mongolian Buddhist Collections: Highlights of Physical Appearance and Production Processes

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**Abstract:** Mongolian Buddhist literature has a history of more than seven hundred years, including the Mongolian Buddhist collections which were established from the thirteenth to twentieth century. Mongolian Buddhist collections refer to the Mongolian Buddhist Canon, manuscripts and block-printed texts. As many countries did, Mongolians adopted scripts, book production technologies and translation methodology from other countries who previously imported Buddhism from India. However, every step in the development of book production and translation of Buddhist texts exemplified the Mongols own specific contributions to Buddhist culture. I will introduce a panoramic view of the Mongolian collections and discuss some important characteristics of their productions by reflecting upon essential aspects and information about Mongolian collections abroad. I expect this paper will be helpful to those who are interested in Mongolian Buddhism and collections.

**Keywords:** Mongolian script, Mongolian collections, manuscripts, block-prints, legacy of Mongolian woodblock production, Mongolian collections abroad

## Introduction

As many scholars agree, the written language of Mongolic people is divided into three periods: Pre-Mongolic, Pre-Classical and Classical. The Pre-Mongolic period refers to the period up to the thirteenth century when Chinggis Khan established the Great Mongolian State. Pre-Mongolic confederacies were established in the Mongolian territory, namely the Xiongnu state (209 BC–93 CE), Xianbei state (93–330 CE), Nirun state (or Rouran 330–555 CE), Turkic state (552–744 CE), Uighur state (742–848 CE) and Kitans (916–1125 CE). Archeological excavations found traces of these confederacies that indicate they adopted Buddhist culture to some degree. The transmission of Buddhism to Pre-Mongolic confederacies began the development of written culture for Mongols and was linked to the Silk Road transmission of Buddhism by Sogdian missionaries. Sümbe Qambo (1704–1788) recorded that Buddhism was introduced to the Mongolian land at the time of the Xiongnu, during the reign of the Fifth Emperor of the Han Dynasty (202–157 BC). He called this time an ‘auspicious initiation of Buddhism’ (*degedü nom-un eki oluysan čay*)<sup>1</sup>.

Ancient historical records show that Pre-Mongolian confederacies developed their own communication system (e.g. quasi-Aramaic or quasi-Runic scripts). According to Sühkbaatar’s claim, during the Xianbei and Tuoba Wei dominations, a title *bidejeni* was conferred on clerks. It is remarkable that *bidejeni* is etymologically similar to *bičigeči* which denotes ‘scribe’<sup>2</sup>. This evidence suggests that they used a script. Moreover, documentary evidence found in the Mongolian territory proves people in the Xiongnu used runic scripts. For example, this documentary evidence includes the inscriptions of the Orkhon valley, Tsenkher cave in Khovd province and a coin from a Xiongnu tomb of Bürenkhangai in Bulgan province of Mongolia. Written culture of the Pre-Mongolic period is mostly connected to the Mongols’ so-called ancestral tribes: the Xianbei, Tuoba Wei and Kitan.

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<sup>1</sup> Sümbe Qambo, *History of Buddhism*, 739.

<sup>2</sup> Sühkbaatar, *Ancestors of Mongols*, 102.

The Mongolian national writing system and script were established to meet the demands of composing and translating Buddhist scriptures. Popular western and Mongolian scholars, including Zava Damdin<sup>3</sup> (1867–1937) and Vladimirtsov<sup>4</sup> (1884–1931), claimed that Mongols adopted the Sogdian script at the same time as the Uighurs.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, there is a common conception derived from historical records, which Kara György (2005) agrees with, that Mongolian script originated from Tata-Tonga, a Uighur official who knew the written Uighur language well. They believe the Chinggis-era Mongols borrowed from this foreign Uighur writing system (Old-Turkic)<sup>6</sup>. However, this may not be a question of an explicit process of inventing a new writing system. When Tata-Tonga was obliged to teach Uighur script to Mongols, the Mongolian language was already established in terms of phonology and grapheme system. Alexander Vovin claims that Mongolic script came into existence in the late sixth or early seventh century.<sup>7</sup>

In the thirteenth century, Buddhism was introduced to the Mongols through the Uighur and Sogdian peoples. Generally, the development of Mongolian Buddhist collections is divided into two periods: Pre-Classical and Classical. The vertical writing system, Mongolian script, is also called ‘Uighur-Mongolian’ or ‘Qudma-Mongolian’ script. However, the earliest grapheme system of Mongolian script represents a Uighur-Mongolian or Qudma-Mongolian style which looks slightly different from the classical Mongolian script. Most of the Mongolian documents that belong to the Pre-Classical period are written in Uighur-Mongolian style. This is

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<sup>3</sup> The Mongols and the Uighurs adopted scripts from the Sogdians around the sixth to seventh century. For this reason, the Sogdians introduced Buddhism to the Mongols and the Uighurs at the same time, and the Sogdians taught the meaning of Good Dharma (*Sayin jarliy*) (Zava Damdin, *History of Mongolian Buddhism*, 31).

<sup>4</sup> Vladimirtsov, ‘Connection’, 328.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Shagdarsüren, *Mongolian language and scripts*, 22–25.

<sup>6</sup> György Kara, *Books of the Mongolian Nomads*, 29.

<sup>7</sup> Vovin, ‘Interpretation’, 11.

evidenced by scripts on fragments of Mongolian manuscripts found in Turfan collections<sup>8</sup>. Therefore, it is appropriate to conclude that Pre-Classical Mongolian manuscripts were written in Uighur style. In the history of the script culture of the Mongols, there were several modified forms of Mongolian scripts. Although most of them did not survive, classical Mongolian script did<sup>9</sup>. In other words, scripts grounded in provincial dialects did not survive because they did not meet practical needs. Thus, we can deduce that the Mongolian script is the language of Mongolian classical literatures. However, the Mongolian collection amalgamates all sources in the various scripts that were invented by the Mongols, such as the 'Phags-pa script, Todo script, Soyombo script and Vagindra script. This introductory section aims to illuminate the classical Mongolian script that acted as the authoritative written language of the Mongolian collection.

## I. Physical Appearance of Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs

### I.1 Manuscripts

During the early Pre-Classical period, translated and composed works were produced in manuscript form. According to historical records and evidences, Mongols started producing books in manuscript form from the thirteenth century. Unfortunately, most of them were destroyed due to centuries of wars and the fall of the Great Mongolian Empire. In particular, Mongolian sources imply that Mongolian written sources were destroyed due to complex changes throughout history. In 1920–1960, Communist movements destroyed Buddhist temples in Mongolian territory. As a consequence

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<sup>8</sup> The excavated materials contain texts and fragments belonging to the Pre-Classical period.

<http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/index.html>.

[http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/monght/dta\\_monght\\_index.htm](http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/monght/dta_monght_index.htm)

<sup>9</sup> Gyögy Kara, *Books of the Mongolian Nomads*, 136, 172, 190.

of this purge, many Buddhist scriptures and written documents were also burned and annihilated.

Most documents that are preserved at the present time were rewritten during the seventeenth century. For example, *Pañcaraksa sūtra* (*Baṅṣrayāci sudur*) was translated by both Choyji-Odsar and Sherab-Sengge, who were skilled translators in the fourteenth century, but the original versions have not been found. We identified two different block-printed versions that were recomposed in the seventeenth century. Sherab-Sengge's translation was restored and edited in the sixteenth century by Ayush Güüş. Choyji-Odsar's translation was restored and republished anonymously in the seventeenth century during the Kangxi Emperor's reign (1667–1722). Based on the recomposed Mongolian translations by authors who were active in the Classical period, we can discern the manner of translation of the Pre-Classical period. On the other hand, if some important translations were preserved up to the sixteenth century, their original or restored versions should have been included in the handwritten Mongolian Kanjur, completed during Ligdan Khan's reign (1603–1634).

According to their physical appearance, Mongolian written sources that belong to both the Classical and Pre-Classical periods were produced in two forms: manuscript and block-print. The manuscript writings vary based on materials and script styles. There are various types of materials for inscription including stones, silk, paper, coins, birch bark etc. This paper will focus on paper manuscripts and xylographs.

Script styles of manuscripts depend on the tools by which they were written: brush, wooden pen, iron pen, or bamboo pen. The manuscripts were produced with many kinds of paper imported from China, Korea and Russia. There is information that Mongols imported paper from Tibet, but the type of paper they imported is not distinguishable from other types of papers. Historical records imply that Mongolians had their own hand-made paper production technology using plants from the *stellera* family<sup>10</sup>. However, this

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. Wallace, 'Diverse aspects of the Mongolian Buddhist manuscript', 76–94.



theory lacks evidence and extant examples. During the Yuan Dynasty, Mongols produced paper with animal wool and this is evidenced by paper money with the 'Phags-pa script<sup>11</sup>. Mongols lived a nomadic lifestyle in a dry climatic zone which lacks suitable resources for producing paper. Hence, such factors contributed to an undeveloped culture of paper production.

The entire Mongolian collection is categorized into two groups: secular writings (non-Buddhist) and Buddhist writings. They differ in terms of format and methods of production. Mongolian wood-block producing craftsmen were banned from carving non-Buddhist texts. Because of this, xylographic works of non-Buddhist subjects are rarely found and are mostly preserved handwritten in notebook or folded formats. The secular books are primarily written on Chinese *muutuu* (rice paper) or Russian paper with a brush. Generally, rice paper is called soft *muutuu* paper and varies based on the materials, sizes, colors and use. In terms of use, *muutuu* paper (0.12–1.3 mm thick) varies on the basis of *sūtras*, official declaration and grey paper for government documents. Notebook formatted books belong to subjects such as history, literature, politics, laws, rituals, ethics, geography, astronomy, agriculture, folklore, decrees etc. From the Pre-Classical period, Mongols started translating non-Buddhist books into the Mongolian language, in particular Chinese historical sources, classical literatures, the works of Confucius, and the Christian Bible. These books were produced in the notebook format.

The multilingual and multicultural Yuan Dynasty began translation projects for cultural exchange and founded an organization called 'The Imperial Academy for Writing the History of the Yuan Dynasty' by order of Qubilai Khan at Khan-Balik in 1273<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>11</sup> National Library of Mongolia, *Restoration of paper-based documents*, 6.

<sup>12</sup> According to the historical records, the Imperial Academy for Writing the *History of Yuan Dynasty* (Hanlin guoshiyuan 翰林國史院) was the heart of the educational institutions (*History of Yuan Dynasty*, 7–19). Scholars have different positions regarding the year of establishment of the Imperial Academy, such as 1264 or 1275. The *History of Yuan Dynasty* (*Yuan ulus-un sudur*, *Yuanshi* 元史) was originally written in Chinese and then translated into Mongolian during



FIG. 1 Notebook formatted manuscript on *muutuu* paper with brush. A Document of governmental record. Preserved at the National Library of Mongolia.

This organization was the center for producing various types of books. Meanwhile, numerous foreign books were translated into Mongolian. Unfortunately, they were not preserved in their full versions. Non-Buddhist notebook-formatted books do not contain iconographic images or Tibetan marks (*yig mgo*) and they physically appear like a notebook (Figure 1).

Buddhist books were produced in both handwritten and block-printed forms with Tibetan style formats (*dpe cha*). Most religious books were written or printed on composite papers (*bolyaysan čayasu*). Tibetan and Mongolian traditions of producing papers represent a specific technology for making composite paper that avoids wrinkling pages and makes them stronger: the *dpe cha* formatted books. Mongols had a tradition of cherishing scriptures and paying high reverence to books. They considered producing books to be a wholesome action that multiplies immeasurable merits. Therefore, numerous Buddhist manuscripts were produced with precious materials, inks and valuable aesthetic figures as representations of their high reverence for books. The many types of papers (Chinese, Russian and Korean) on which Buddhist books were printed are distin-

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the Emperor Shunzhi's reign in 1644. Recently, in 1928, Demchigdorj, who was honored as Dandaa Chyansan, retranslated the complete text (210 volumes) of the *History of Yuan Dynasty* based on the Manchu and Chinese versions.

guishable based on physical appearance. At the present in Mongolia, there is no scientific technology for paper inspection. Papers are only defined on the basis of these physical factors.

The technology of composite paper makes paper stronger and more suitable for long-term preservation by sticking two to five sheets together. Mongols followed a special procedure for making composite papers based on the size of books. For large books, sticking papers together to form composite paper was done after the block-printing or handwriting procedures. For medium or small sized books, the procedure of composite-paper production was done before the block-printing or handwriting procedures. Composite papers vary based on colors, thickness and materials. Most of them were made with Chinese *muutuu* or Korean *hanji*. For example: yellow composite paper (0.8–1.2 mm thick), yellowish bright composite paper (0.6–0.9 mm), grey composite paper (0.4–0.6 mm), black composite paper (0.8–1.5 mm) (Figures 2 and 3).

The picture above represents the Mongols' tradition of writing Buddhist *sūtras* in black and red ink for aesthetic purposes. Before writing the large-sized *sūtras*, scribes planned the number of lines, and drew a margin and vertical lines for writing (Figure 4).

## I.2 Block-Printed Texts

Some researchers claim that the Mongols first adopted block-print culture in the period of the Liao Dynasty, which is considered one of the confederations of the ancestral tribes of Mongols. Many traces of Buddhism and inscriptions that belong to the Kitan period are preserved in current Mongolian territory, such as a stone pagoda in the Kerülen Bars Khota, and statues of the Buddha at Khalkhyn Gol and in Arkhangai province. The Kitans' language is considered a proto-Mongolic language and its writing system was composed based on Chinese characters. The Kitans developed two scripts that they called 'large' and 'small' scripts. These appear mostly on epitaphs and monuments. Kitans started compiling, engraving and printing the Kitan Tripiṭaka during the reign of Emperor Xingzong (1031–1054) and completed it during the reign of Emperor Daozong (1055–1100). There is a historical record that the Kitans sent the printed Kitan

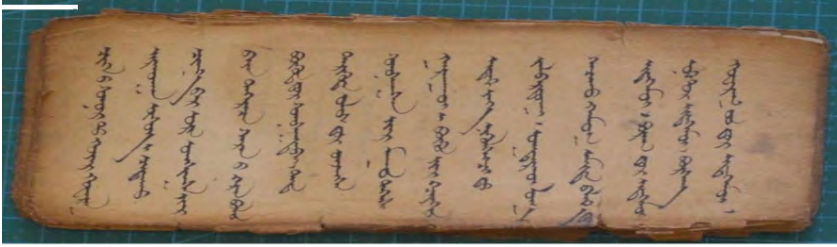


FIG. 2 Tibetan style formatted manuscript on Russian paper with iron pen, written without margin and writing lines. Buddhist work on the *Six-Syllabled Sanskrit Mantra*. Preserved at the National Library of Mongolia.

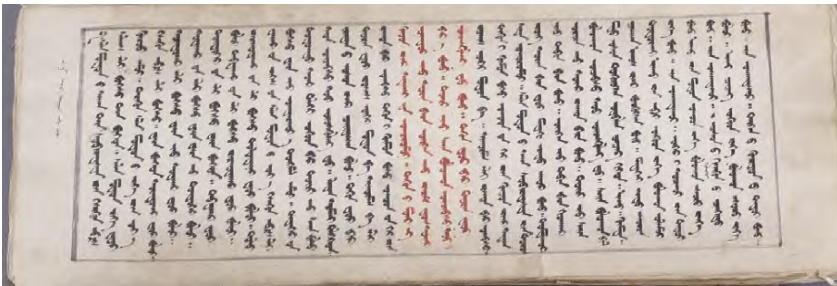


FIG. 3 Tibetan style formatted manuscript (Mongolian manuscript Kanjur that was written during reign of Ligden Khan) on yellowish bright composite paper with bamboo pen, written with margin and writing lines. Preserved at the National Library of Mongolia.



FIG. 4 Tibetan style formatted manuscript on black composite paper with golden ink. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. Preserved at the National Library of Mongolia.

Tripitaka to the King of Goryeo<sup>13</sup>. The history and ethnicity of the Kitan people is a complex issue and it has been interpreted from different perspectives.

The first Mongolian block-print product was a bilingual dictionary of Uighur and Mongolian produced by order of Qubilai Khan during the Yuan Dynasty<sup>14</sup>. From the time of Qubilai's reign, the Mongols began to produce Buddhist scriptures in Mongolian, in both handwritten and block-print forms. The Yuan State Preceptor, 'Phags-pa Lama (1235–1280), invented the 'Phags-pa script (*square script*) and it was proclaimed the official script. The law of the Yuan Dynasty legislated: 'All official documents must be written in 'Phags-pa script only; if someone uses Uighur script, they will be punished'<sup>15</sup>. There are numerous written official documents in 'Phags-pa script, but not many books. To my knowledge, fragments of books in 'Phags-pa script that were printed with blocks were found, namely *Explanation of the Knowable* (*Shes bya rab tu gsal ba*), *A Treasury of Aphoristic Jewels* (*Subhāṣitaratnanidhi*), *Encyclopedia for Aiding Government* (*Jasay-tur tusalaqu nebterkei toli*), *Selected Notes on Jade Seals* (*Songyomol qas-un temdeglel*), and *Anthology of Pearl Garlands* (*Subud erike-yin emkidkel*). Unfortunately, all books in 'Phags-pa script were destroyed in the past, and only fragments survived. Despite the occasional production of blocks for printing with other scripts, the major written system used was the Mongolian script. Historically, Mongols were involved with printing culture of stone, bronze, copper and wooden blocks. In the nineteenth century, Mongols used the technique of printing with movable type.

I will shed light on the woodblock printing culture that was most prevalently used by Mongols from the Yuan period. Producing blocks for printing with wooden materials was effective and editable rather than using other materials. Mongols used particular

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<sup>13</sup> Wu and Chia, *Spreading Buddha's word in East Asia*, 253. Cf. Shüger, *Book producing methods*, 25.

<sup>14</sup> *History of Yuan Dynasty*, 105–64; cited by Shüger, *Book producing methods*, 1976: 27.

trees for producing wooden blocks, including birch, fir, apple-tree and sandalwood. However, birch was the most common and handy material for producing woodblocks for printing.

According to Shüger (1976), for the preparation of woodblocks, they first cut young birch trees during the summer and dried them for three years. After the drying process, they cut the wood into appropriate sizes and engraved texts on the wood. After engraving and shaping the wooden blocks, they boiled the prepared wooden blocks in oil. Boiling new wooden blocks in oil is considered an effective method to avoid absorbing ink and damage occurring due to wetness or dryness. Woodblock producing workshops were mostly located in Buddhist temples. According to Shüger, 762 workshops existed for producing woodblocks in Tibetan and Mongolian in the Khalkha Mongolian territory. However, according to information from woodblock printed documents extant at the present time, only 23 printing workshops were active for publication in Mongolian language in temples in Mongolia, Buriat and Inner Mongolia<sup>15</sup>. Moreover, there were temples established for the sole purpose of producing books. For example, the White Mountain Temple (*Čayan ayula süme*) founded by Čaqar dGe-bshes bLo-bzang-tshul-khrims (1740–1810) in Inner Mongolia served only for producing books in Tibetan and Mongolian.

Mongolian Buddhist *sūtras* were printed with wooden blocks in Beijing and most Beijing prints (or Chinese prints) are distinguishable by the page numbers in Chinese in the paginations. Khalkha Mongolian, Inner Mongolian and Buriat Mongolian woodblock prints are quite hard to distinguish. Although some of them are possible to identify based on script styles and information in the colophons, there are also many block prints without colophons giving information about where they were printed. Some scholars argue that the origins of printings are distinguishable based on peculiarities in the proportions of graphic elements, but this seems to be inconsistent in the old and faded writings of the documents<sup>17</sup> (Figures 5 and 6).

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<sup>15</sup> *History of Yuan Dynasty*, 105–64.

<sup>16</sup> Shüger, *Book producing methods*, 41.



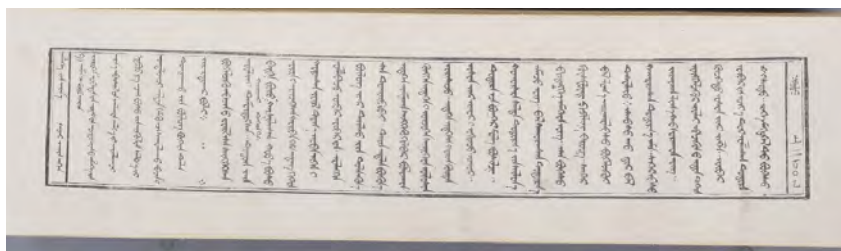


FIG. 5 Beijing print is distinguishable with the information in the colophon. However, there are some occasions where Inner Mongolian blockprints also put page-numbers in Chinese. *A Method on Medicine* (*Emnelge-yin ary-a*). Preserved at the National Library of Mongolia.

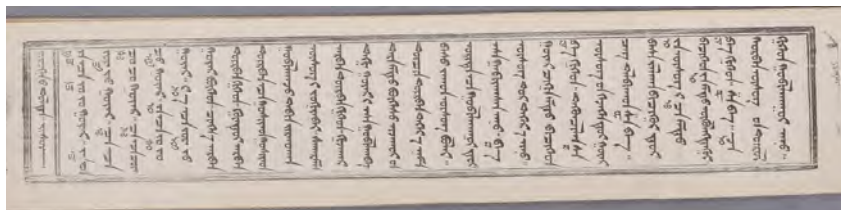


FIG. 6 For example, this print is difficult to distinguish with simple features where it was printed. Commentary of the Auricle of Heart (*Jirüken tolta-yin tay-ilburi*). Preserved at the National Library of Mongolia.

The fonts of scripts on the wooden blocks vary by the size of folios. Until the seventeenth century, Mongols used cursive-scripts (*kičiyenggüi üsüg*) for engraving scripts on blocks. Whereas, after the eighteenth century, they mainly used block-scripts (*darumal üsüg*). We are able to see this through comparison between evidence from the Turfan collections and block-printed *sūtras* after the seventeenth century. The fragments of block-printed *sūtras* from the Turfan collections are written in cursive-scripts. On the other hand, the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* produced during the Kangxi Emperor's reign (1666) was printed with block-scripts.

There are three standard sizes of books printed with wooden

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Gyögyri Kara, *Books of the Mongolian Nomads*, 104–60.

blocks: large, medium and small. The large-sized *sūtras* contain more than 1,000 pages and were intended for readers who can understand extensive meanings of Buddhist philosophy. The medium-sized *sūtras* contain 500 to 1,000 pages and were compiled for readers who can comprehend the average meanings of the Buddha's teaching. The small-sized *sūtras* are abbreviated versions of large or medium-sized *sūtras* and were intended for beginners in Buddhism. The beginners in Buddhism worshipped small-sized *sūtras* like a talisman that represents religious belief towards Buddha. The three sizes of *sūtras* and their dedications reflect the levels of learning of three representative practitioners towards enlightenment, namely *bodhisattva*, *pratyekabuddha* and *śrāvaka* in the *Prajñāpāramitā* perspective. Moreover, in the eighteenth century, not only Buddhist books were printed, but also scientific books were translated and published from Chinese and Tibetan languages.

Generally, Mongolian translation history is generally divided into two periods: Pre-Classical and Classical. The Pre-Classical period, from the late thirteenth century to the seventeenth century, refers to the period when Mongolian writing language was established and developed its own paradigm for the translation of Buddhist literatures from various sources. During this period, translation projects emerged in the newly established Great Mongolian Empire and numerous texts were translated into Mongolian from several source languages.

The 'Classical' or 'Canonical' period refers to the time spanning from the seventeenth century to the beginning of the twentieth century. During this period, Buddhist texts were mainly translated from Tibetan sources and it was marked by canonical translations and standardization of the Mongolian Buddhist terminology system, as well as of the classical Mongolian language. Most likely all Mongolian Buddhist manuscripts and xylographs preserved at the present time belong to the Classical period and are written in classical Mongolian script styles. In the eighteenth century, the Mongolian Kanjur and Tanjur were established and it marked the culmination of development in producing and translating Buddhist scriptures in Mongolian language.



## II. Legacy of Producing Woodblocks

Mongolia has a long history of producing woodblocks. According to the law of the Yuan government, individuals were prohibited from producing woodblocks and printing books. Only authorized workshops were allowed to produce and distribute books. This law was preserved until the end of the twentieth century. As stated above, in Khalkha Mongolian territory, 762 authorized woodblock producing workshops existed (Tib. *par khang*, Mon. *barqan*) and 23 of them were recognized for the production of Mongolian language woodblocks. Therefore, Mongols established their own legacy for woodblock production that was strictly followed at all producing workshops. Besides preparing the materials for the woodblocks with appropriate technologies, editorial procedure was the most important issue in Mongolian woodblock production. There are historical records that Mongolian woodblock producing offices organized a special training course for editors and scribes. The course provided training for people who were interested in working for woodblock production houses<sup>18</sup>.

### II.1 Editing Procedure of Woodblock Production

A Mongolian author, Shüger (1976), investigated Mongolian printing culture earnestly for a long time. According to his investigations, based on documents and interviews, the following editorial procedures of woodblock production after seventeenth century were identified. The editorial process of producing woodblocks is divided into five steps that must be completed in sequence: (1) General editing (*ariyudqan sigükü*), (2) Writing texts for engraving scripts (*keb-iyer bičikü*), (3) Editing before engraving (*urida sigükü*), (4) Engraving scripts (*keb seyilkü*), (5) Final editing (*qoyidu sigükü*) (Figure 7).

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<sup>18</sup> Schüger, *Book producing methods*, 38.



FIG. 7 Mongolian lamas producing books beside a yurt. From author's private collection.

### II.1.1 General Editing

Authors who composed or translated a Buddhist *sūtra* requested help from scholars skilled in Buddhist knowledge to edit the contents and composition of the text. This was the preliminary reviewing process for the quality of a text, which was either composed or translated based on materials in the source language and within adequate philosophical perspectives. Mongolian authors were very careful in writing books. Their principle was: 'If there is a mistake of using improper words and concepts, the entire meaning of the text will be polluted'<sup>19</sup>. After consulting with the editor about the contents, the author revised the initial version of the text and then decided the size of the woodblocks and the font of scripts for engraving. After the process of general editing, the author delivered the text to the woodblock printing workshops.

### II.1.2 Writing Texts for Engraving Scripts

Writing out texts for engraving on woodblocks was the second step of the production process. The scribes at the woodblock production workshops were highly skilled in handwriting and the grammar of the Mongolian language. The physical appearances of the woodblock printed *sūtras* depended on the scribes' skill in organizing pages and handwriting. Usually, the scribes worked with authors while copying texts. Authors dictated the texts and scribes wrote them down on thin paper or on an ashboard. After this preliminary writing process, scribes wrote out the text according to the authors' proposed fonts and sizes. The scribes were not allowed to change the contents, words, titles, page numbering and decorative images of the texts. The scribes decided margins, spacing between lines and words, and organization of texts according to the pagination. Scribes were also allowed to fix grammatical mistakes in the texts. Writing texts for engraving on woodblocks was very meticulous work, so woodblock producing workshops were careful in recruiting scribes.

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<sup>19</sup> ICang-skya Rol-pa'i-rdo-rje, *Dag-yig*, 19a.

### II.1.3 Editing before Engraving

Editing before engraving was an obligatory task that had to be done before the engraving procedure. The editors were highly skilled in the grammar of the Mongolian language and proofread written texts for grammatical or other mistakes. If authors wanted to take part in the proofreading process, they were welcome to participate in the editing process. If the editor found mistakes in the writing, they were allowed to correct the errors immediately.

### II.1.4 Engraving Scripts

Engraving scripts was done after the proofreading of the written text. It was meticulous work that determined the style of scripts and the quality of the woodblocks' production. Therefore, woodblock producing workshops recruited people who were masters of Mongolian traditional engraving culture. The engravers (wood carvers) carved scripts on wooden blocks according to the planned size and style that scribes wrote on thin papers or ashboards.

### II.1.5 Final Editing

Final editing was the concluding process of woodblock production. It was a process that checked if the scripts were engraved correctly. There were three kinds of methods to check the engraved texts: checking with sample printing on papers, checking with reflection in a mirror, and direct checking of reversed scripts on wooden blocks. The skilled and experienced final-editors were capable of reading reversed engraved scripts from the wooden blocks. If final-editors found errors in engraved scripts on the woodblocks, engravers corrected errors immediately based on the suggestions of the final-editors. The entire process of woodblock production was a well-organized and systematic editorial enterprise.

## II.2 Protection Policy for Woodblock Production

The ‘Imperial Academy for Writing the History of Yuan Dynasty’, established by order of Qubilai Khan in Khan-Balik in 1264, was the first authoritative organization for producing books in Mongolian book production history. Authors, translators, and people who worked for the Imperial Academy had to pass appropriate qualification tests regarding language proficiency and writing skills.

The first protection policy was reflected in the law of the Yuan government. It legislated: ‘If individuals produce woodblocks, or purchase papers and inks with the intention of producing books, or change scripts on previously produced woodblocks, or reprint books without permission of the book printing workshops—they must be executed and their family property will be confiscated’<sup>20</sup>. This provision of Yuan law served in Buddhist temples, where woodblock production was authorized until the twentieth century.

According to Shüger (1976), woodblock producing workshops kept a register of books printed in the workshop and shared information about newly published books with other workshops. The purpose of this was either to avoid reproducing books already published elsewhere or to ensure the copyrights of their products. In case of reproducing woodblocks of important books, the production workshops recorded the details of the previous publications and the date of reprints of the books. They also kept lists of published books and had traditions of putting the lists on the main gate of the temple where the woodblock production workshop was located and providing information about publications to people of high social status. This exemplifies how they provided open access to publications and how they organized the distribution of books.

Most Buddhist *sūtras* finish with concluding stanzas that illustrate the benefits (*phan yon*) of *sūtras* and praise Buddhist deities or persons. The names of authors, co-authors, translators, and scribes of the texts were usually written after the concluding stanzas. In

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<sup>20</sup> *History of Yuan Dynasty*, 105–9; cited by Shüger, *Book producing methods*, 32.

most cases, Mongolian translations of sources indicated the names of authors and affiliated persons who contributed to the production of the books. If authors edited and republished previously translated books, they always mentioned the name of the first author. They also mentioned names of people who helped their translation work.

The Mongolian Kanjur provides examples for these ending notes of texts. The Mongolian Kanjur was first compiled during Ligdan Khan's reign (1604–1634) and its translation involved more than 50 highly-skilled translators working under the guidance of Kundga' 'Odzer. Later on, in 1717–1720, the Mongolian Kanjur was revised and printed with woodblocks. This second publication of the Mongolian Kanjur mentioned the work of previous translators. For example, there is written as follows: '...monk Sangarav translated with help of Kundga' 'Odzer' (Mongolian Kanjur, Vol. 2), '...it was fully translated by Kunga-Odzer' (Vol. 53), '...translated by Samriv and edited by Samdansenge' (Vol. 77), '... translated by Anand based on previous translation of Choyiji-Odzer' (Vol. 84). These examples represent the Mongols' attitude of respect for authorship and rights-holders of scriptures. The *Origin of Sages*, composed in 1742, recorded the names of 26 co-authors and two scribes in the colophon of the work. This further exemplifies that it was obligatory to mention the names of all affiliated persons who contributed to composing books. The major principles of the protection policy followed by Mongolian authors parallels the copyright policy that serves at the present time in terms of respecting the intellectual property rights of others.

### III. Information on Mongolian Collections Abroad in Mongolia

Many of these Mongolian sources are now scattered around the world. Expeditions and excavations by western scholars in Central Asia discovered numerous Buddhist scriptures and fragments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As result of these expeditions, Paris, London, Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Japan preserve numerous Mongolian scriptures.

Vladimirtsov (1884–1931) first published information about



Mongolian texts preserved in Russia<sup>21</sup>. Following this, Puchkovsky<sup>22</sup> published a catalogue of the Mongolian texts in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. In 1988, Sazykin<sup>23</sup> published a catalogue of the Mongolian texts in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. In 1988, Sazykin published a catalogue of Mongolian manuscripts, including the Mongolian Kanjur and Tanjur, preserved in the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg. He mentioned that Russia preserves more than 8,000 Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs. In 2001, Uspensky<sup>24</sup> published a catalogue of Mongolian scriptures, containing 964 titles, preserved in the Library of St. Petersburg State University.

An Austrian Mongolist, Heissig<sup>25</sup> (1913–2005), investigated Mongolian xylographic collections in Beijing and published a catalogue of Mongolian collections in German, which contains 853 titles in 23 categories. Heissig<sup>26</sup> also published a catalogue with 46 titles of Mongolian texts preserved in Brussels. He mentioned in this catalogue that there are about 500 Mongolian texts in the Scheut-Brussels. Heissig and Bawden<sup>27</sup> investigated Mongolian collections in Denmark and co-authored a catalogue that contains 560 titles. Heissig<sup>28</sup> also investigated Mongolian texts that were found in the excavation of *Olon-süme* in Inner Mongolia and published a catalogue containing 37 titles. Furthermore, Heissig<sup>29</sup> published a catalogue of

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<sup>21</sup> *Известия Российской Академии Наук*. 1918. Петербург.

<sup>22</sup> Пучковский А. С. *Монгольские, бурят-монгольские и ойратские рукописи и ксилографы Института Востоковедения*. Академия Наук СССР, 1–2 Том, 1956.

<sup>23</sup> Сазыкин А. Г. *Каталог монгольских рукописей и ксилографов Института востоковедения Академии Наук СССР*. Том 1–3. Ответственный редактор Д. Кара. М.: Наука ГРБЛ, 1988.

<sup>24</sup> Uspensky and Inoue, *Catalogue of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs*.

<sup>25</sup> Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten*.

<sup>26</sup> Heissig, 'The Mongol Manuscripts and Xylographs', 161–90.

<sup>27</sup> Heissig and Bawden, *Catalogue of Mongol books*.

<sup>28</sup> Heissig, *Die mongolische Steininschrift und Manuskriptfragmente*.

<sup>29</sup> Heissig, *Zur Bestandsaufnahme und Katalogisierung*.

230 Mongolian texts preserved in the Toyo Bunko of Japan with the collaboration of several scholars, namely Poppe, Hurvitz and Okada. Aalto<sup>30</sup> gave information on 99 Mongolian manuscripts in Helsinki and published a catalogue of 45 Mongolian texts found by the Sven Hedin<sup>31</sup> expedition. Krueger<sup>32</sup> published a catalogue of 50 Mongolian texts in the Chicago Museum, which were identified by Laufer. Farquhar<sup>33</sup> published a catalogue of 80 Mongolian texts preserved in Washington. Gyögrý<sup>34</sup> published a catalogue of 326 Mongolian texts preserved in Hungary. China preserves the biggest collection abroad and has published catalogues of Mongolian collections several times. The latest catalogue was published in 1999 and it contains 13,115 items<sup>35</sup>, including a handwritten Mongolian Kanjur.

Mongolian manuscripts have been catalogued all over the world, and many countries, namely Russia, China, Germany, Belgium, England, United States of America, Norway, Finland, Sweden, Japan, Austria, France, Hungary, and Denmark, preserve authentic Mongolian manuscripts and xylographic texts. Undoubtedly, most of those texts consist of Buddhist content.

The Mongolian Kanjur is preserved in manuscript and block-print forms. The handwritten Mongolian Kanjur was composed by order of Ligdan Khan of Čaqar in 1629. The handwritten Mongolian Kanjur is preserved in the Mongolian National Library (70 volumes), in the University Library of St. Petersburg State University (113 volumes), in the Library of the Academy of Social Sciences of Inner Mongolia (115 volumes), and in Ulan-Ude of the Buriat (109 volumes)<sup>36</sup>. Twenty volumes of the Mongolian Kanjur in golden

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<sup>30</sup> Aalto, 'G.J. Ramstedt and Altaic linguistics', 161–93.

<sup>31</sup> Aalto, Catalogue of Hedin Collection of Mongolian Literature.

<sup>32</sup> Krueger, 'Catalogue of the Laufer Mongolian Collections', 156–83.

<sup>33</sup> Farquhar, 'A description of the Mongolian Manuscripts and Xylographs', 161–218.

<sup>34</sup> Gyögrý, *The Mongol and Manchu Manuscripts and Blockprints*.

<sup>35</sup> Ürin-kiray-a, ed., *Catalogue of Ancient Mongolian Books and Documents of China*.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Kirill, Tsyrempilov and Badmatsyrenov, *Ulan-Ude Manuscript Kanjur*, 241–69.



ink are preserved in Inner Mongolia<sup>37</sup>. Catalogues of the Mongolian Kanjur and Tanjur have been made several times and compiled by different scholars<sup>38</sup>. Mongolian Tanjur was produced in block-printed formats in 1729. The most recent complete catalogue of Mongolian Kanjur and Tanjur was established in Inner Mongolia<sup>39</sup>. In addition, Inner Mongolia preserves a complete version of the xylographic Mongolian Kanjur and Tanjur.

The Mongolian scholar, Damdinsuren<sup>40</sup>, gave information on 27 manuscripts produced before the sixteenth century and published a book with 100 titles<sup>41</sup> of Mongolian classical literature. Rinchen<sup>42</sup> launched the cataloguing of the Mongolian Tanjur and published 1,320 titles in 25 volumes. Unfortunately, Rinchen passed away and could not finish the cataloguing work. In 1930, Shagj and Bat-Ochir published titles of the Mongolian Tanjur with approximately 4,000 Tibetan and Mongolian titles<sup>43</sup>. This catalogue was based on the Tibetan catalogue of the Tibetan Tanjur and the authors added Mongolian equivalents based on comparison with the Mongolian Tanjur. The Institute of Language and Literature of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences published and preserved a catalogue of 1,258 titles of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs<sup>44</sup>. The National Library of Mongolia published and preserved a catalogue with 6,153 titles<sup>45</sup> of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs. Currently, the National Library of Mongolia holds more than 21,000 Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs including the Mongolian Kanjur (108

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<sup>37</sup> Cf. Kirill, Turanskay and Yampolskaya, *Mongolian Golden Kanjur Fragments*.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Rona-Tas, 'A Review', 449–55.

<sup>39</sup> *Catalogue of Mongolian Ganjuur and Danjuur/ Mongyol*.

<sup>40</sup> Damdinsuren, *Review of Mongolian Literature*.

<sup>41</sup> Damdinsuren, *Anthology of hundred literatures of Mongolia*.

<sup>42</sup> *Catalogue du Tanjur mongol imprime, par Rinchen*.

<sup>43</sup> Shagj B, *Catalogue of Mongolian Tanjur*.

<sup>44</sup> Otgonaatar, ed., *Catalogue of manuscripts and xylographs in the Institute of Linguistics and Literatures*.

<sup>45</sup> Akim, ed., *Catalogue of manuscripts and xylographs in Mongolian*.

volumes) and Tanjur (226 volumes). However, the complete catalogue has not been released.

These facts demonstrate that Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs are great in number and scattered around the world. There is a high likelihood that duplicate copies exist in different countries. Despite complex changes throughout the history of Mongolia, manuscripts and xylographs in Mongolian handed down to the present time are a diverse and rich collection.

## Conclusion

The Mongols used various scripts going back to the Xiongnu period when they used runic scripts, whose traces are preserved only on monuments and epitaphs. In the history of the scripts of Mongolic peoples, primarily classical Mongolian script survived because it demonstrated practical usefulness. Classical Mongolian script has been accepted as the national writing system since the thirteenth century. As a result of the establishment of a straightforward grapheme system and grammar, translation of foreign sources into Mongolian was made possible. Since the fourteenth century, numerous secular and non-secular sources were translated into the Mongolian language and a vast collection in Mongolian was established. It is clear that the adaptation of Buddhist culture brought a revolution in the development of Mongolian manuscript culture. Although original manuscripts produced in the Pre-Classical period of translation were totally lost and destroyed, many of these manuscripts were restored in the Classical period.

In the Classical period, Mongols acquired their own methodology for producing and translating books. Mongols composed a translation standardization titled, the *Origin of Sages* (*Dag yig mkhas pa'i 'byung gnas*). Because of this, Buddhist canonical texts and other works were translated into Mongolian, and a unique culture of Mongolian collections was established. Therefore, Mongolian book production culture was emancipated from foreign influences and developed its own evolution. However, due to the strong influence of Tibetan Buddhism and monasticism, Mongolian scholar-monks

mostly did not write their collected works in Mongolian. There are many occasions where Mongolian monks translated their major works into Mongolian.

In short, Mongols acquired their own methodology of translating Buddhist sources adequately and their own technology of producing books. Moreover, in the history of the development of a written culture, there also persisted a legacy that served copyright policy. Although a great number of Mongolian manuscripts and xylographs are currently scattered around the world, Mongolian Buddhist collections remain rich and diverse. Except for a few Mongolists, Buddhist collections in Mongolian have not been studied satisfactory and there is still a great deal of work to be done.

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# 4

## Prayers and Rituals

# Offerings and the Production of Buddhist Scriptures in Dunhuang during the Tenth Century<sup>\*</sup>

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**Abstract:** This study explores the production of Buddhist scriptures in Dunhuang during the late medieval period, with a focus on the period when Hexi was ruled by the Guiyijun 歸義軍 regime from 848 to c. 1038 CE. The study is divided into five parts which deal with the historical background and the nature of the sources, typologies of scriptural production as an integral part of Buddhist offerings, official donations of Buddhist scriptures in Dunhuang, privately produced scriptures as offerings, and finally, a case study regarding the celebrated lay-Buddhist and scholar Zhai Fengda's copy of the *Vajracchedikā*.

**Keywords:** Scriptural production, Dunhuang, offerings, donations, Guiyijun, Buddhist scriptures, Zhai Fengda

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## Introduction

There are numerous ways to approach the celebrated cache of manuscripts from cave no. 17 in the Mogao Caves 莫高窟 at Dunhuang 敦煌, and indeed a number of such have been explored since the study of this rich and intriguing material began more than a full century ago. Given that the bulk of said material pertains to Buddhism and Buddhist scriptures, combined with the fact that donor colophons and other data throw light on how they were produced—and how this production further informs us regarding beliefs and practices surrounding it—we are now in a fairly good position to formulate relatively precise overviews as well as access more in-depth information.

In this paper I shall be looking at the production and copying of Buddhist scriptures in Dunhuang during the late medieval period as part of donations, with the purpose of understanding who their initiators or agents were, how they conceived of the projects they undertook, and on what occasions, for what reasons, and what the concrete outcomes of this were. I shall base my findings on a series of case-studies, all of which pertain to scriptural production, including examples that reflect on both the diversity typologically as well the social backgrounds of the agents involved. I hope that such an approach shall inform us in the greatest possible detail how Buddhist scriptures were produced locally on the eve of what was perhaps the single-most significant event in Chinese Buddhist history, namely the printing of the first officially sanctioned canon, the *Kaibao Tripiṭaka* 開寶大藏經 in Sichuan in 982 CE.

I do not intend to discuss the situation of the Buddhist libraries in Dunhuang here, as I am primarily interested in scriptural production from the perspective of donations, i.e. as offerings. Even so, further knowledge of how the temple libraries and their scriptoria functioned will be a most welcome addition to our current knowledge.

Given the great number of primary sources in Chinese on Buddhism in Dunhuang available to us today, I have limited my field of investigation to the production and re-production of canonical *sūtras* and apocryphal scriptures, i.e. works with *sūtra*-status written

or composed in China.<sup>1</sup> It goes without saying that this material only covers a fraction of the sources in Chinese—not to forget those written in other languages—thus leaving the discussion of other Buddhist texts typologies such as treatises (*lun* 論), transformation texts (*bianwen* 變文), lecture texts (*jiangwen* 講文), ritual works, and poetry, including local compositions, for others to deal with.

## 1. The Historical Background and the Nature of the Sources

Dunhuang during the tenth century is characterised by the lengthy period when the Guiyijun 歸義軍 regime—especially that of the Cao clan 曹氏—ruled over the area known at that time as Hexi 河西, but which was essentially a relatively small territory comprising the prefectures of Shazhou 沙州 and Guazhou 瓜州.<sup>2</sup> The primary sources from this period found among the Dunhuang manuscripts offer us an abundance of detailed information on how practices surrounding the production of Buddhist scriptures played out, and for that very reason I shall mainly be dealing with this material in the following discussion. As pious Buddhists, the Cao, as well as the other prominent clans in Shazhou, Dunhuang's principal seat of government, undertook numerous activities for the sake of Buddhism, both for pious reasons as well as for self-promotion. Many of the pious works they initiated and carried out involved the up-keep of Buddhist institutions, the excavation of new votive caves, the repair and maintenance of old ones, replacement of religious paraphernalia, including votive paintings, and last but not least, providing donations of holy scriptures to the libraries of the temples. While we

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<sup>1</sup> For more on this, see Liu, 'Dunhuang xiejuan zhongtu zao jing de jiushu sixiang tiyao'. See also Fang, ed., *Fojiao wenxian yanjiu*. This compilation features the most recent work primarily by Mainland scholars on apocryphal Buddhist scriptures.

<sup>2</sup> There are several important studies discussing the situation in Dunhuang during the reign of the Guiyijun. Even so, the best overview is still Rong, *Guiyijun shi yanjiu*.

may surmise that such donations made up the bulk of scriptures that entered into the monastic library-holdings—what one could refer to as official donations—the donations of scriptures given or organised on an individual basis were equally significant. A famous example of this is the Buddhist monk Daozhen's 道真 (c. 915–987) decade long attempt at amending the library of his monastic home, the Sanjie Temple 三界寺.<sup>3</sup>

The primary sources when dealing with the production and donations of Buddhist scriptures in Dunhuang are, of course, the manuscripts from cave no. 17. Many scriptures found here were made specifically for the purpose of donation and often feature colophons with their makers' dedications. In these dedicatory texts donors express their motives for having a given scripture copied. These dedications or statements concerning scriptural production serve a number of purposes. First of all, they indicate the reasons and circumstances behind the copying. Secondly, they often, but not always, bear statements concerning the practice of merit transference. Thirdly, they function as a sort of self-presentation, in which the pious act is being communicated to whoever comes into contact with the copied book. The latter motive may thus be understood as a mainly social function, but one which nevertheless underscores the donor's religious status. We can also see this in the closely related act of offering votive paintings, in which portraits of the donor as well members of his or her families are often included. In some cases the donor-portraits take up as much space in a given painting as the main icon itself.<sup>4</sup> It would appear that self-promotion, as well as the kind of self-presentation we see in the growing importance of including

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<sup>3</sup> Daozhen's attempt at restoring the library holdings of his temple has been discussed in Rong, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, 79–108. For a more detailed study of Daozhen and his activities, see Sørensen, 'The Life and Times of Daozhen'.

<sup>4</sup> A compilation of these donor inscriptions have been collected and commented upon in Ma, 'Dunhuang juanhua tiji jilu'. A more recent study is Soymié, 'Les donateurs dans les peintures de Dunhuang'. See also Sørensen, 'Donors and Image at Dunhuang'.

portraits in religious paintings in Dunhuang, reflects a new trend wherein the performance and documentation of 'good deeds' took on a more public function in society. This also becomes evident when compared with earlier donor-portraits from the Tang dynasty, which appear relatively small and modest in comparison with those of the Five Dynasties period and the early Northern Song.

## 2. Typologies of Scriptural Production as Part of Buddhist Offerings

Having presented a historical overview of the situation in Dunhuang during the tenth century in regard to scripture-production, let us now turn to the actual cases to see what information they may offer. However, before doing so, let us dwell briefly on the issue of categories and typologies in the creation of Buddhist scriptures. It is quite easy, even self-evident, to observe in the surviving documents that the production of holy books happened on many levels and in a variety of ways. Therefore, we may distinguish between at least two major categories of such donations, namely official and private.

'Official' indicates donations made by the Guiyijun government as part of a formal legitimization strategy whereby it worked in symbiosis with local Buddhism, as both protector and the protected. While the government supported Buddhism, it was at the same time in a position to harness the religion for its own specific purposes. Furthermore, during the tenth century, many of the leading Buddhist monks and temple-officials hailed from important local clans, which meant that the ruling class and the formal make-up of local Buddhist power-structures were completely integrated on a functional level. We should also keep in mind that by supporting Buddhism, the government was nurturing an important economic generator in so far as Buddhism brought significant revenue to the area through its important sanctuaries.

'Private donations' signal those made by individuals or family-based donations. Of course, a private donation could also be made for pious reasons by a member of the government, and indeed they were. However, in those cases we may conceptualise this type of donation

as 'both and' cases, i.e. as donations which, while they may have been motivated by personal religious sentiments, at the same time played into local legitimization and power. This is also why private donations made by members of the ruling Cao clan were often lavish and on a grander scale than those made by the commoners. For instance, we see a marked difference between, on the one hand, the quality and intent of votive paintings donated by the Cao and other nobility, and those made by the much larger group of common lay-Buddhists in Dunhuang.<sup>5</sup>

While donor colophons attached to books, whether printed ones or manuscripts, tend to reflect individualised concerns, in many cases they were made by rulers or members of the local elite, who thereby signal their acts of piety in a manner that went well beyond the more narrow, personalised motives of ordinary Buddhist believers. This is because a member of the political and social elite in a given locale made their donations or offerings not only as individuals, but as leading members of society, namely as persons of significance. As someone belonging to a specific and noteworthy group at the top of the social hierarchy, norms including codes of behaviour were dispensed to the larger community in a hegemonic manner. Therefore, as soon as such events of donation became 'public' in the sense that they displayed a specific ordered system of power and status, they tended to take on a more distinctly official character.

Clearly stated motives for making scriptural donations vary considerably in our sources, and these motives are of course most notable in cases of private donations, where colophons often provide us with an insight into the sentiments of the donor. It is beyond the scope of this essay to go into detail with these motives, a study in its own, wherefore I shall limit myself to providing a listing of the most evident concerns, which are as follows:

- Repose and bliss for deceased parents and ancestors
- Healing of self and others
- Blessings for the ruler and the territory

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<sup>5</sup> Sørensen, 'Donors and Esoteric Buddhism in Dunhuang'.



- Blessings for society at large
- Blessings for self (religious merit)
- Ascend to the Pure Land for self and others
- Avoidance of descent into the hells
- Getting rid of suffering
- Being protected from harm
- Seeking longevity
- Harmony in the family

While this list of motives covers many aspects of Buddhist life, it is clear that those relating to mortuary practices and beliefs tend to dominate the sources. In other words, scriptural donations were in many cases directly concerned with the creation and transference of merit on behalf of a deceased family member.

Shifting the discussion to the Buddhist institutions in Dunhuang, it goes without saying that the production and copying of Buddhist scriptures were primary activities for the monasteries in Dunhuang, both for own use but also for paying customers, and that most of the concerted efforts to replenish and amend their libraries were taken care of by the monastics themselves. The Dunhuang manuscripts provide us with numerous examples of individual or groups of monks concerned with scriptural production, but in any case we should expect that during the period of manuscripts, i.e. before entire sets of the *Tripitaka* were available in printed form, the writing and copying of manuscripts was a major activity of the Buddhist institutions.<sup>6</sup> As monastic production of Buddhist scriptures in

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<sup>6</sup> For a highly useful compilation and annotation of the library holdings and related records from the temples in Dunhuang, see Fang, ed., *Dunhuang fojiao jinglu jixiao*. See also Fang, *Zhongguo xieben Dazang jing yanjiu*; and Fang, 'Dunhuang siyuan suo zang dazang jing gaimao'. Fang presents many arguments in favour of the existence of a complete *Tripitaka* in Dunhuang during the late Tang and Five Dynasties period. I remain unconvinced that there were complete sets comparable to the listing in the celebrated *Kaiyuan Catalogue*, (T no. 2154, 55), even though we do know that some of the Tang catalogues were indeed available there.

Dunhuang is a topic unto itself, I shall not dwell on this at length here, but limit myself to providing a few illustrative examples of how this took place.

In 964 CE, various monks including the monk-controller (*seng-zheng* 僧政), together with the librarian (*sijing* 司經), Huiyan 惠宴 (fl. second half of tenth century) hailing from an unnamed temple, revised the scriptures in their library and found that many were without their wrappers and were in a general state of disarray. We must surmise that the idea behind this survey was to reorganise the collection. At that time, the monk Haiquan 海詮 (fl. second half of tenth century) requested that a copy of the abbreviated *Pseudo-Śūraṅgama Spell* (*Da foding lüe zhou* 大佛頂略咒)<sup>7</sup> to be added to the collection, while the monk Huici 惠慈 (fl. second half of the tenth century) requested that two rolls of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra*<sup>8</sup> be entered as well.<sup>9</sup> We can imagine that activities of this kind were commonplace, and that the keeping of order in these medieval manuscript collections required a great deal of sustained effort. It was of course on such occasions that old scriptures were repaired and missing parts of sets of rolls were amended with new copies. As such this case is largely similar to that which led the celebrated Daozhen to amend the library at Sanjie Temple as briefly mentioned above.

### 3. Official Donations of Buddhist Scriptures in Dunhuang

When compared with the great number of privately donated Buddhist scriptures, those large-scale, government-sponsored sets of *sūtras* bestowed upon select monasteries were, in contrast, relatively

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<sup>7</sup> The exact spell intended here is uncertain, but I presume that the reference is to this spell, i.e. that of the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 (*Pseudo-Śūraṅgama-Sūtra*), *T* no. 944A, 19 or *T* no. 944B, 19, of which several copies have been found among the Dunhuang manuscripts. Cf. eg. S. 1326, S. 2326, S. 3782, S. 4359, Beijing 7417, etc.

<sup>8</sup> *T* no. 665, 16.

<sup>9</sup> S. 2142.

few and far between. One notable exception to this was the scriptural donation in 966 by Cao Yancheng 曹延晟 (fl. mid-to late tenth century), a son of the important Guiyijun ruler Cao Yuanzhong 曹元忠 (r. 944–974). It is recorded that Yancheng had the *Mahāprajñāpramitā-sūtra*<sup>10</sup> copied and donated to the local Xiande Temple 顯德寺.<sup>11</sup>

Another case of an official donation, in this case of a single, short *sūtra*, is the carving and printing of the *Vajraceedikā* by Cao Yuanzhong in 949 CE.<sup>12</sup> The colophon accompanying this printing is terse and includes few emotional or formalistically pious outbursts. It simply reads:

The disciple, Guiyijun Governor and Emissary, Censor, Grand Tutor Conjointly [of the Compilation of] the Imperial History, Great Person and Duke Establishing the Nation, Cao Yuanzhong widely bestows [this scripture] for upholding. Recorded on the 15th day in the 5th month of the 15th *yíyou* year of the Tianfu [reign-period] (i.e. 949 CE). The printing block carved by Lei Yanmei 雷延[美] (fl. mid-10th cent.).<sup>13</sup>

The official nature of this donation of a Buddhist scripture is further underscored by the fact that the printed copies of the *Vajraceedikā* were meant for wide distribution among the faithful.<sup>14</sup> In other words, the event represents a public gesture of generosity, pious or otherwise, from the local ruler and extended to the Buddhists of Dunhuang. Nowhere does Cao Yuanzhong mention any personal

<sup>10</sup> T no. 220, 4.

<sup>11</sup> Beijing 1429. See Zheng, ‘Wan Tang Wudai Dunhuang diqu *Dabanruo jing*’.

<sup>12</sup> Further information on the development of printing as evidenced in the Dunhuang material may be had from Barrett, ‘Transcribed Printers’.

<sup>13</sup> P. 4514: 弟子，歸義軍節度使，特進檢校，太傅兼御史，大夫譙郡開國侯，曹元忠普施受持。天福十五年己酉歲五月十五日記。雕板押衙 雷延美。

<sup>14</sup> For additional information of the use and circulation of this scripture, see Fang, ‘Dunhuang wenxian de zhong Jingang jing’.

wishes or prayers in connection with his act of donation, and it is only through the fact that he declares himself ‘a disciple’, i.e. a Buddhist, that we may glimpse a religious motive behind the event.

We also find that production and transmission of Buddhist scriptures took place as a part of diplomatic gifts and exchange of goods. In 942 CE when receiving a legate from Khotan on his way to the court of the Later Jin 後晉 (936–946) at Shazhou, local monks recited prayers for three days at the behest of Cao Yuanshen.<sup>15</sup> On that occasion, Khotanese texts, including an outline of the *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* (*Fabua jing gangyao* 法華經綱要),<sup>16</sup> as well as texts featuring *dhāraṇīs* (Ch. *tuoluoni zhou* 陀羅尼呪),<sup>17</sup> were presented at Dunhuang.<sup>18</sup> Obviously these texts were nothing like formal scriptures for a Buddhist library, but more like pious presents given as tokens of religious sentiment.

On the Chinese side of such use of scriptural production, we can note an example in which the Guiyijun ruler Cao Yuanzhong and his wife worshipped at the Mogao Caves together with a Khotanese prince, who had arrived as a diplomatic emissary, and in the case of an Uyghur leader, most probably from the Ganzhou 甘州 Khagkanate, i.e. the Eastern Uyghur Kingdom.<sup>19</sup> On that occasion, local monks were requested to copy out the *Buddhanāmas sūtra*.<sup>20</sup> Afterwards, each of the sixteen major temples in Dunhuang received a set of the scripture.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. P. 4046.

<sup>16</sup> This is not the actual title, but rather a description of what the text featured.

<sup>17</sup> This may simply refer to the chanting of *dhāraṇīs* and spells.

<sup>18</sup> Examples of such texts are P. 2782, and P. 5535. The latter of these provides the name in Chinese of Liu Zaisheng 劉再昇, the Khotanese ambassador, whom Cao Yuanshen and Cao Yuanzhong accompanied to China.

<sup>19</sup> Dunhuang yanjiuyuan, ed., *Dunhuang Mogao ku gongyang ren tiji*, 32.

<sup>20</sup> T no. 441, 14.

<sup>21</sup> Duan and Shi, eds., *Gansu cang Dunhuang wenxian*, 1: 207.

#### 4. Privately Produced and Donated Scriptures

When discussing private donations of scriptures, it is interesting to observe that there were no real differences between those made by the common lay-Buddhists and those by monastics. Not only are the motives largely the same (cf. the list above), there is also a great deal of overlap between the choice of scriptures copied on such occasions.

Despite being a member of the ruling Cao clan in Dunhuang, a donor could also make a scriptural offering in a strictly private capacity. One such example may be found in the lengthy colophon appended to an offering of an entire series of Buddhist scriptures:

On the 13th day of the 10th month of the 6th *xinchou* year of the Tianfu [reign-period], (i.e. 941 CE), the female disciple of pure faith, the young woman of the Cao family commissioned the copying of the *Hṛdāya-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*<sup>22</sup> in one roll, the *Xuming jing* 續命經 [Scripture on the Extension of the Span of Life]<sup>23</sup> in one roll, the *Yan shouming jing* 延壽命經一卷 [Scripture on Longevity and the Span of Life],<sup>24</sup> and the *Marīcī-devī sūtra*<sup>25</sup> in one roll, respectfully offered on behalf of herself, as she suffers from difficulties. Today she presents a number of scriptures [as offerings] since the medicine dumplings (*yao'er* 藥餌)<sup>26</sup> that were bestowed again and again in

<sup>22</sup> T no. 251, 8.

<sup>23</sup> T no. 2889, 85.

<sup>24</sup> T no. 2888, 85.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. T no. 1256, 21 (P. 2805, P. 3136, P. 3824, etc.). Most of the copies of this scripture found among the Dunhuang hoard of manuscripts are short, abbreviated versions deriving from the translation by Amoghavajra. Cf. T no. 1255, 21.

<sup>26</sup> These medicinal buns can be documented in the Chinese primary sources from the early Tang onwards. One early Buddhist case of their use can be found in Sengchou's 僧稠 (480–560) biography in the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (Continuation of the Histories of Famous Monks), T no. 2060, 50: 16.554c4; and in Bodhiruci's monumental version of the *Amoghapaśākalparāja*. Cf. T no. 1092, 20: 18.324b6. They are also to be found in the celebrated *materia mater*, *Qianjin yifang* 千金醫方 [Medical Prescriptions Worth a Thousand

the morning, still has not made her well, and she now lies sick [in bed]. Beginning to realise her former misdeeds, she humbly begs the Great Holy Ones to relieve her hardships and lift her out of danger, and that the mirror (*jian* 鑒)<sup>27</sup> will reflect the virtue of the copying of scriptures. She [therefore] hopes to be protected, and that this troublesome danger will be eliminated, that deceased family debtors (*zhaizhu* 債主)<sup>28</sup> will receive their capital [when] the merit is divided, and that they will [subsequently] go for rebirth in the Western [Pure Land]. With a mind full of prayer she eternally supplies these as offerings on behalf of her deceased, former parents [so that they will be] well and healthy, and that everyone will in this realm<sup>29</sup> [adhere to] the tradition (*chuantong* 傳統) of the path of filiality (*xiaodao* 孝道), and that more than anything extend to and include seven generations of former dead [in the family], benefiting them by using the copying [Buddhist] scriptures [as a means of] exhausting filial piety.

In the colophon appended to these copied scriptures is expressed the clearest and superior display of sincerity, which is [hereby] brought to the attention of society.<sup>30</sup>

From this text of dedication we learn that the Cao donor's primary motive is to recover from her sickness, and that since the medicinal dumplings have failed to effect a cure, she has resorted to the donation of holy scriptures. It is significant that she also prays that the enemies of her family will be appeased by the offering, and that they will attain rebirth in the Pure Land of Sukhāvātī as well. She also wishes for her deceased parents and former generations to be at ease.

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Gold Pieces] from 682 CE. For an easy-to-access version of the *Qian jin yifang*, see <http://seirouuoosone.web.fc2.com/SennkinnYokuhouHanantai.pdf>, 417, 459, etc., accessed April 3, 2018.

<sup>27</sup> This undoubtedly refers to the Mirror of Karma in the Netherworld in which King Yāma can see the karmic deeds of those coming before him. For more on this see Sørensen, 'The Meeting of Daoist and Buddhist Spatial Imagination'.

<sup>28</sup> I read this to refer to so-called unresolved karmic debts from the past.

<sup>29</sup> I.e. being reborn again in the country.

<sup>30</sup> P. 2805.

Clearly, family issues play a dominant role in this dedication, something which surely reflects on the deep-seated adherence to and support of traditional Chinese cultural and ethical values.<sup>31</sup> One can say that such a display of different forms of piety expressed here matches, in many ways, those we find in the colophons on religious paintings from Dunhuang.<sup>32</sup> The scriptures copied as offerings on this occasion, i.e. the *Hṛdāya-prajñāpāramitā sūtra*, the *Xuming jing*, the *Yanshou ming jing*, and the *Marīcī-devī sūtra*, are all short scriptures, and as such suitable for reproduction on a relatively short notice. It is noteworthy that of the four, half of them are apocrypha, a trend which appears to have been especially common in tenth century Dunhuang with regard to private offerings of Buddhist scriptures.

Another case of a scriptural offering, this time by a Buddhist nun, involves the copying of the *Pariṇāmacakra-sūtra* (*Huixiang lun jing* 迴向輪經).<sup>33</sup> It bears a short colophon the text of which reveals the following:

On the 16th day in the 1st month of an *yichou* year (965? CE) at Guazhou the nun Zhiqing 智清 (fl. mid-10th century) decided to have [this scripture] copied, so that she on a daily basis may recite it, [hoping that her] former karma and transgressions may be reverted and all sentient beings may quickly attain enlightenment.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Even though it is well-established that traditional Indian Buddhism also promoted filial piety, including the respect for elders, its manner of conceptualisation and role in Buddhist practice is of quite another order. Here, and in the related material from Dunhuang, it is quite clear that Sinitic norms were the most common *modus* (it would be strange otherwise, as the population of Dunhuang during the medieval period, such as that we deal with here, was dominated by Chinese).

<sup>32</sup> For a good example of the motives for dedicating a religious painting, see Sørensen, 'Donors and Image at Dunhuang'. See also the classical study by Soyumié, 'Les donateurs dans les peintures de Dunhuang'.

<sup>33</sup> T no. 998, 19. See also Cf. Lin and Shen, *Dunhuang mizong wenxian jicheng*, 291–96.

<sup>34</sup> Beijing 7321: 乙丑年一月十六日在瓜州, 比丘尼智清發心, 於寫常日轉讀, 前業罪回顛, 皆情眾其世速登心覺.

Given that the accumulation of good karma is Zhiqing's primary motive of, her choice to have the *Pariṇāmacakra-sūtra* copied makes good sense. In this particular case, she wants to have the scripture copied for her own use and not as a donation to be given away. Even so, she clearly states that she intends to recite it on a daily basis for the expiation of her own evil karma and with the wish that the merit be extended to all sentient beings.

Another similar case, and also without other motives than the generation of good karma, involves the copying of three popular scriptures:

On the 8th day in the 4th month of the 6th year of the Xiande [reign-period] of the Great Zhou (i.e. Later Zhou, 959 CE), Master Huiguang of the Chengdian Chan Cloister in Guazhou respectfully decided to have the three rolls of the *Yanshou ming jing*, the *Xuming jing* and the *Devatā-sūtra*<sup>35</sup> copied, in a total of forty-nine rolls. At the same time wanting to be a donor, [hereby] announcing appropriately the pure auspiciousness. Eternally bestowed as an offering.<sup>36</sup>

In connection with this copying of scriptures, one may speculate that the number of forty-nine rolls is hardly coincidental as it corresponds to the pattern of the Seven-seven Rite (*qiqi* 七七). In other words, this undertaking may very well reflect on mortuary beliefs and practices as well.

The *Guanshiyin jing* 觀世音經 [*Avalokiteśvara Scripture*] is another popular scripture, which enjoyed considerable popularity among Dunhuang's Buddhists. It is in fact not a proper *sūtra*, but is the celebrated *Pumen pin* 普門品 [Pumen Chapter] of the *Saddharma-puṇḍrika*,<sup>37</sup> which circulated as an individual scripture. It was copied numerous times locally by lay-people as well as by clerics. One case involving a member of the latter has a colophon which reads:

<sup>35</sup> T no. 592, 15.

<sup>36</sup> P. 2374: 維大周顯德六年四月八日, 瓜州承典禪院師惠光, 發心敬寫《延壽命經》,《續命經》,《天請問經》三卷, 計寫四十九卷。同發心施主, 報宜清吉, 永充供養。

<sup>37</sup> T no. 262, 9: 56c2–58b7.



The time being the 28th day of the 11th month in the 3rd<sup>38</sup> successive *wuyin* year [i.e. 918 CE], the monk Haiman of the Baoen Temple decided to have this scripture in one roll copied. Respectfully on behalf of the previously deceased parents, [praying that] they will not drown in the netherworld, but be transported on this good cause, eventually reaching [the assembly of] Maitreya, and that those in existence will likewise have their karmic screens utterly eliminated. Eternally given as an offering. Copied from the hand of the monk Shengzhi.<sup>39</sup>

Here we have a case which shows that the motives for scriptural donations of both clerics and laity were by and large the same. Here the donated scripture, i.e. the *Avalokiteśvara Scripture*, is not specifically related to mortuary practices, although as a bodhisattva, Avalokiteśvara is of course a major saviour. Although Maitreya's paradise or assembly in the future is invoked, it is interesting that an entirely different scripture was offered. Although it is not stated explicitly, it is highly possible that Haiman personally copied out the scripture in question.

Another case concerns the *Foshuo zhaifa qingjing jing* 佛說齋法清淨經 (Buddha Utters the Zhaifa Scripture on Purification), yet another popular apocryphal scripture, which circulated among the Buddhists in Dunhuang.<sup>40</sup> A donor dedication appended to a copy of this scripture from 960 CE provides the following terse piece of information:

*Foshuo zhaifa qingjing jing* in one roll. On the 3rd day of the 1st month in the 7th *gengshen* year of the Xiande reign-period of the Later Zhou, [this scripture was offered by] the faithful disciple Yao Xian, who with a disposition of piety continues to recite this one-roll scripture.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Actually the fourth year of that reign-period.

<sup>39</sup> S. 3054: 時貞明三年歲次戊寅十一月廿八日, 報恩寺僧海滿, 發心敬寫此經一卷。奉為先亡考妣, 不溺幽冥, 乘此善因, 早過彌勒。現存之者, 所有業郭並皆消滅。永充供養。比丘僧勝智手寫。See also the translation in Giles, 87a.

<sup>40</sup> T no. 2900, 85.

<sup>41</sup> Ryūkoku University Library no. 739: 《佛說齋法清淨經》一卷。後周顯德七年庚申歲次正月三日。信士弟子姚賢者信心讀誦此經一卷。

Just like the example quoted above involving the nun Zhiqing, this layperson also had the scripture copied for personal use; as a means of creating good karma. This is yet another example that Buddhist scriptures of this type, were produced for a variety of purposes: not only for purposes of donation in connection with transference of merit, but also as part of personal religious cultivation. Brief as this information is, it does inform us about Buddhist practice on the proverbial ground.

From the perspective of patronage and provider of donations to the local Buddhist community, the Zhai clan 翟氏 stands out among the powerful families in Shazhou. The history of this clan and its involvement with Buddhism goes back to the late Nanbeichao period and grew exponentially in the course of the Tang.<sup>42</sup> The clan is known to have been behind the excavation of at least two caves in Mogao, nos. 85 and 220.<sup>43</sup> In addition, its members participated in various collective works, including the excavation of cave no. 61, which appeared to belong to the Cao clan because Cao Yuanzhong 曹元忠 (r. 944–974) was married to a lady of the Zhai clan.<sup>44</sup> Women of this clan also appear among the donors in the Yulin caves (nos. 19, 25 and 36).<sup>45</sup>

We have additional information on Lady Zhai in a colophon dated to 953 CE, which records the donation of forty-three copies of the *Yan shouming jing* 延壽命經 [Scripture on the Augmentation of the Span of Life]<sup>46</sup> on the occasion of the death of her son. It goes:

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<sup>42</sup> For a highly important study of the history of this clan, see Chen, *Dunhuang Zhai shi yanjiu*. This remarkable and dense study documents the history of the Zhai clan on the basis of the Dunhuang manuscripts and other epigraphical material, as well as religious paintings.

<sup>43</sup> Dunhuang yanjiuyuan, *Dunhuang Mogao ku gongyang ren tiji*, 29–30, 101–4. Cave 220 is the main topic of the monograph by Ning, *Art, Religion and Politics in Medieval China*.

<sup>44</sup> Dunhuang yanjiuyuan, *Dunhuang Mogao ku gongyang ren tiji*, 20–25. See also Chen, *Dunhuang Zhai shi yanjiu*, 189–94.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Chen, *Dunhuang Zhai shi yanjiu*, 194–95.

<sup>46</sup> T no. 2888, 85, etc.

On the twenty-third day of the first month in the third *guichou* year of the Guangshun [reign-period] (i.e. 953 CE) under the Great Zhou, the Great Protector and Lord of the Yamen (Ch. *fuzhu dabao* 府主大保)<sup>47</sup> together with his wife, on behalf of the deceased male prince early in the morning in the annex to the royal palace (*bie wanggong* 別王宮), had forty-three volumes of the *Yan shouming jing* copied. With the power of the merit of the meagre feast they pray that he will surpass the path to enlightenment. Eternally bestowed as an offering.<sup>48</sup>

Here we have a good example of a private donation made by the ruling family. The choice of copying and donating the *Yan shouming jing* in relation with a death in the family of course appears to be an obvious one. Moreover, as we shall presently see, this particular apocryphal scripture was evidently enjoying a considerable popularity among local Buddhists in Dunhuang during the mid- to late tenth century.<sup>49</sup>

## 5. Zhai Fengda and the *Vajracheedikā*

One case of scriptural production as offerings by a private agent that stands out from among the other ones discussed previously, concerns a leading member of the same Zhai clan dealt with in the previous case. Namely the case of the local government official Zhai Fengda 翟奉達 (881–961?),<sup>50</sup> who produced a series of different Buddhist scrip-

<sup>47</sup> This refers to Cao Yuanzhong.

<sup>48</sup> Ryūkoku Library No. 2343: 維大周廣順三年當癸丑正月廿三日, 府主太保及夫人, 為亡男太子早別王宮, 棄辭火宅, 遂寫《延壽命經》四十三卷, 以濟福力。願超覺路, 永充供養。

The text has been taken from Wang, *Dunhuang wenxian tiji bian nian ji qi fenxi*.

<sup>49</sup> For the importance of apocryphal scriptures in Dunhuang, see the survey in Liu, 'Dunhuang xiejuan zhongtu caojing de jiushu xixiang tiyao'.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Li, ed., *Dunhuang xue da cidian*, 363b. See also, Tao and Jiang, comp., *Dunhuang suijin*, 92–93.

tures on a variety of occasions, the most celebrated case being those presented as part of the commemoration rites accompanying the passing of his deceased wife Madame Ma 馬氏 (fl. tenth century).<sup>51</sup> Here the focus will be on one of the earliest Buddhist scriptures produced by Zhai Fengda, namely the copy he made of the *Vajraceedikā-sūtra*,<sup>52</sup> together with a record of miracle stories centering on the same scripture, the *Chisong Jingangjing lingyan gongde ji* 持誦金剛經靈驗功德記 (Records of the Merit of Divine Response from Chanting the *Vajraceedikā*).<sup>53</sup> Zhai Fengda's copying of the *Vajraceedikā* an interesting example of how a popular canonical scripture in the course of time could evolve and change from a primarily important doctrinal work to one in which the core message fell somewhat in the background, and where its ascribed numinosity and transcendent status came to the fore. Fengda's colophon that accompanies his copy of both texts reads:

Written on the 9th day in the 4th month in the 8th *wuchen* year of the Tianhou reign-period of the Tang<sup>54</sup> by the commoner (*buyi* 布

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<sup>51</sup> Zhai Fengda's case has been studied extensively in Teiser, *The Scripture of the Ten Kings*, 102–21.

<sup>52</sup> T no. 235, 8.

<sup>53</sup> T no. 2743, 85. This work is a short collection of miracle tales meant to highlight the *Vajraceedikā-sūtra*'s claim to fame. It was ostensibly compiled sometime during the Kaiyuan period, as it features a lengthy accompanying verse attributed to Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–741): the Kaiyuan Huangdi zan Jingang jing gongde 開元皇帝讚《金剛經》功德 [Praising the Virtue of the *Vajraceedika Sutra*]. Cf. T no. 2743, 85: 159a27–159c9.

<sup>54</sup> This year does not exist in formal Chinese chronology as this Tang dynasty reign only lasted three years ending in 903 CE. Hence Tianfu 8 actually corresponds to the second year of Kaiping 開平 of the Later Liang 後梁 (907–922). In regard to the date in Zhai Fengda's colophon, it is interesting that he was seemingly unaware that the Tang dynasty itself had ended a full two years prior. This means that Shazhou and the rest of the western parts of Hexi 河西 were effectively cut off from contact with the central provinces of China between 902 CE and well into the second or third reign-periods of the succeeding Liang dynasty,

衣) Zhai Fengda. This scripture of extolling the records of the merit for [divine] responses [is meant] to increase its circulation. Moreover [it was copied] on behalf of the faithful, as well as the departed souls (Ch. *wang wangling* 往亡靈), and his parents, who are still alive (Ch. *jianzai* 見在) to be joined by [the people] of the district, so that they may [all] share in the blessings. As certain as [the sprouting] Spring grasses, transgressions surely will resemble the autumn's harvest. May all come together and appear in the assembly of [Maitreya] Buddha.<sup>55</sup>

The text of the dedication is reasonably plain, and underscores Zhai Fengda's piety and fervent wishes for his fellow human beings and the members of his own family in particular. However, despite the fact that it shares most of the same concerns as other donor dedications, it is also a bit more serious, even a bit more philosophical, and it leaves us in no doubt that he was a devoted Buddhist and adherent of the *Vajracchedikā*.

Following the dedication and its wish for transference of the accrued merit, Zhai Fengda's editorial note following the main text of the *sūtra* states:

The commoner, the disciple Zhai Fengda relying on the contents of the edition of the Sichuan printed text, has copied the numbered divisions and the mantras from this *sūtra* [thereby] augmenting it by combining the diverse parts that have [previously] been left out.<sup>56</sup>

The printed Sichuanese edition of the *Vajracchedikā* mentioned by Zhai Fengda here undoubtedly refers to the celebrated version of the *sūtra*, which was published by a person named Wang Jie 王玠 (d.u.) on behalf of his parents in 868 CE.<sup>57</sup> The additional material

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or at least until the time of the de facto collapse of rule by the Zhang clan in or around 910–915 CE.

<sup>55</sup> P. 2094. See also Teiser, *The Scripture of the Ten Kings*, 119. My reading differs greatly from his.

<sup>56</sup> 布衣弟子翟奉達，依西川印出本內，抄得分數及真言，於此經內添之，兼遺漏分也。

which Zhai Fengda added to the printed version of the *sūtra*—or as it were—to its liturgical parts is especially interesting for us here. A comparison with these same texts from the printed Sichuanese edition of the *Vajracheedikā* (here referred to as the beta text), reveals that it features a significantly different arrangement in which the scripture was meant to be performed.

The printed text of Sichuan begins by stating:

Those who wish to recite the scripture must first invoke the *Jing kouye zhenyan* 淨口業真言 (Mantra for Purifying the Karma of the Mouth):

*Suri suri mahāsuri susuri svāhā*.<sup>57</sup>

脩唎 脩唎 摩訶脩唎 脩脩唎 娑婆訶.

Then follows the invocations of the Eight Vajrapālas:

I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Remover of Calamities  
 I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Deviant Poison  
 I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Yellow  
 I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Clear Pure Water  
 I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Red Voice.  
 I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Fixed Remover of Adversities.  
 I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Purple Virtue.  
 I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Great Spirit.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Or. 8210/P.2

<sup>58</sup> 凡欲讀經先念淨口業真言一遍.

<sup>59</sup> 奉請 除災金剛  
 奉請 闍毒金剛  
 奉請 黃隨求金剛  
 奉請 白淨水金剛  
 奉請 赤聲金剛  
 奉請 定除厄金剛  
 奉請 紫賢金剛  
 奉請大神金剛.

After this invocation follows the text of the *Vajracheedikā* itself. At its conclusion comes the mantra:

*Namo bhagavate prajñā<sup>60</sup> pāramitāya oṃ īriti īṣiri śruta viśāya viśāya svāhā.*

In contrast to this, Zhai Fengda's arrangement of the liturgical text accompanying the *sūtra* places all the performative aspects relating to the *Vajracheedikā* before the text of the *sūtra* itself. It reads as follows:

As for those who wish to revolve and recite (*zhuannian* 轉念) the *Vajracheedikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, it is necessary first to invite the Eight Great Vajrapālas by their names, and extend one's mind to 發至誠心. Afterwards one may revolve and recite the scripture. These Eight Vajrapālas will come on their own accord and always render protection to the person, who upholds the scripture.<sup>61</sup>

Then follows the invocation of the Eight Vajrapālas:

1. I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Green Remover of Calamities, who is able to remove astral calamities (*suzai* 宿災), disasters and punishments of all sentient beings. Make sure to cause the obliteration of calamities (Note: He dwells in the great ocean).
2. I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Deviant Poison, who is able to remove the sufferings of all sentient beings caused by fever, poison and diseases (Note: He is the lord, who removes calamities caused by poison).

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<sup>60</sup> *boluorang* 鉢羅壤. This is a slightly odd rendering of the Sanskrit '*prajñā*', but not entirely unheard of.

<sup>61</sup> 凡欲轉念金剛般若波羅蜜經者。先須啟請八大金剛名字。發至誠心。然後轉念經。此八金剛自來常當擁護持經之人。

3. I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Yellow One According with Wishes, who is able to cause all sentient beings to obtain what they seek in accordance with their prayers (Note: He is the lord of underground sources of virtue).
4. I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla, Clean and Pure Water, who is able to remove the sufferings caused by hot anger of all sentient beings, make sure to obtain the removal and elimination of them (Note: He is the lord of all treasures).
5. I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Red Voice, who is able to illumine all sentient beings with bright light, so that they may behold the Buddha (Note: He is the lord able to create wind).
6. I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla, Remover of Fixed Calamities, who is able to remove the three kinds of calamities of all sentient beings as well as the sufferings of the Eight Hardships.<sup>62</sup> (Note: He is the lord of precious things).
7. I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Purple Virtue, who is able to cause the minds of all sentient beings to become awakened and give rise to the mind of enlightenment (Skt. *bodhicitta*) (Note: He is the lord of prisons and dungeons).
8. I respectfully invite the Vajrapāla Great Spirit, who is able to cause all sentient beings [to have] wisdom teeth, so that they may accomplish the power of knowledge and the augmentation of everything (Note: The is the lord of the Dragon Kings [Skt. *nāgarāja*]).<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> I.e. those reborn in the hells, as a *preta*, as an animal, in the Northern Continent of Uttarakuru, in the heavens, as someone with impaired faculties (i.e., deaf, blind and dumb), as a philosopher and as someone born in the period between the appearance of two Buddhas.

<sup>63</sup> 第一. 奉請青除災金剛, 能除一切眾生宿災殃咎悉令消滅 (主大海).  
第二. 奉請僻毒金剛, 能除一切眾生熱毒病苦 (主除災毒).



Immediately following the invocation and invitation to the Eight Vajrapālas, Zhai Fengda's text presents an extended series of spells as follows:

*Dashen zhenyan* 大身真言 [Mantra of the Great Body<sup>64</sup>]:

*Namo bhagavate prajñā<sup>65</sup> pāramitāya om īriti īṣiri śruta viśāya viśāya svāhā.*<sup>66</sup>

This is followed by the

*Suixin zhenyan* 隨心真言 [Mantra for According with One's Intentions]:

*Namo bhagavate prajñā<sup>67</sup> pāramitāya duṣṭa om huṃ vajra svāhā.*

那謨 薄迦筏帝 鉢喇惹 波羅蜜多曳 怛姪他 唵吽<sup>68</sup> 筏折羅 襪麗 娑婆訶。

第三. 奉請黃隨求金剛, 能令一切眾生所求如願所願皆得 (主墮灑功德).

第四. 奉請白淨水金剛, 能除一切眾生熱惱苦悉得消除 (主一切寶).

第五. 奉請赤聲金剛, 能照一切眾生光明所得見佛 (主能生風).

第六. 奉請定災除金剛, 能除一切眾生三災八難之苦 (主瑠璃寶).

第七. 奉請紫賢金剛, 能令一切眾生心開悟解發菩提心 (主堅牢藏).

第八. 奉請大神金剛, 能令一切眾生智牙成就惠力增具 (主龍王).

<sup>64</sup> *Dharmakāya*? This spell can be found added to Kumārajīva's celebrated translation of the Vajracchedikā from 401 CE. Cf. *T* no. 235, 8: 752c5. However, it is rather unlikely that the *sūtra* and the spell were part of the same textual complex at such an early time.

<sup>65</sup> *boluorang* 鉢羅壤. This is a slightly odd rendering of the Sanskrit 'prajñā', but not entirely unheard of.

<sup>66</sup> 那謨娑伽筏帝 鉢羅壤 波羅蜜多曳 唵 伊利底 伊室利 輪盧駄 毘舍耶 毘舍耶 娑婆訶. An alternative, and perhaps more meaningful rendering could be: *Namo bhagavatī prajñā pāramitāya om hrīh śrī śruti vijaya svāhā*. However, the spell-text in Zhai Fengda's rendering does not really allow for it.

<sup>67</sup> Ch. *bolare* 鉢喇惹. This is a slightly odd rendering of the Sanskrit 'prajñā', but not entirely unheard of.

Next come the,

*Xin zhong xin zhenyan* 心中心真言 [Heart of Hearts Mantra]:

*Oṃ karuṇisa*<sup>69</sup> *svāhā*.<sup>70</sup>

Followed by the,

*Jingang er zhou* 金剛兒呪 [Spell of the Vajra Lad]:

*Namo Vajrakumāra kaṇi dhan*<sup>71</sup> *svāhā*.<sup>72</sup>

Followed by the,

*Fomu zhou* 佛母呪 [Spell of the Buddha Mother]:

*Namo dhaśa namo dha/takunaṃ oṃ huru huru siddha locani*  
*sarvārtha sadhani svāhā*.<sup>73</sup>

And finally we have,

*Wenshu pusa xinzhong zhenyan* 文殊菩薩心中真言 [Mañjuśrī's Heart Mantra]:

<sup>68</sup> Here the *Taishō* text wrongly has ‘*bu* 呼’. Cf. *T* no. 2743, 85: 2.160a6.

<sup>69</sup> This would seem to be the result of a simple copyist mistake, and should in all likelihood read, *karuṇikā*, i.e. ‘Compassionate One’. It is also possible that the *sha* 沙 as found here occurred as a doubling of the following *suo* 莎.

<sup>70</sup> 唵 鳴倫泥沙 莎婆訶.

<sup>71</sup> This should read ‘*dhuni*’ in Sanskrit. It may be a case of phonetics gone wrong, or simply a spell that has been differently transmitted. When comparing this with the original spell from the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra*, this seems the most likely explanation for the anomalously written spell in Zhai Fengda’s text.

<sup>72</sup> 南無 跋折鳩魔囉 迦爾 度闍 莎訶.

<sup>73</sup> 南謨 陀舍 南無 陀俱南 唵 戶嚕 戶嚕 死陀 盧遮爾 薩囉 娑囉他 娑達爾 莎訶.

*A ra pa sa na.*<sup>74</sup>

Those persons, who set their minds on chanting this mantra, will be similar to having chanted the entire *Tripitaka* once.<sup>75</sup>

This ends the instructions for the liturgical procedure in preparation for the recitation of the *Vajracheedikā* itself. After this a short note appended the end of the text states:

In Sanskrit it is stated: How may we with this *sūtra* reach the other shore? We pray that the Buddha will open its secrets (*weimi* 微密) to us, and that he will widely, on behalf of all sentient beings, discourse on it while turning the Great Dharma Wheel.<sup>77</sup>

The first in the series of spells constituting the major part of Zhai Fengda's beta text is the *Dashen zhenyan*. Its origin is somewhat oblique, but it would appear to have been composed in India (or an Indic cultural setting) some time between the late seventh century and the early eighth century. It is the primary spell accompanying the *Vajracheedikā*, and as such reflects the growing interest in magic and soteriological shortcuts that took place in mainstream Mahāyāna from the fourth century onwards. This spell first appears in the Chinese sources around the beginning of the eighth century, and at that time it was already an appendix to the *Vajracheedikā*. The Fangshan 房山 stone-carved edition from 683 CE does not have the spell, nor any other liturgical aspects.<sup>78</sup> At a closer look the spell—or mantra as it is referred to in the Dunhuang manuscript under discussion—appears to be at least partly based on the *Bodoṣṇīṣa-dhāraṇī* translated by Bodhiruci. In any case it is conspicuous how several consecutive segments of phrases in the two spells correspond. Note

<sup>74</sup> 阿羅波遮那。

<sup>75</sup> 凡人至心誦此真言者。猶誦天下藏經一遍也。

<sup>76</sup> The text has 'weimi' 微蜜, which would appear to be a scribal mistake.

<sup>77</sup> 梵音云: 何於此經究竟到彼岸。願佛開微蜜。廣為眾生說轉大法輪。

<sup>78</sup> For this version, see *Fangshan Yunju si shijing*, pl. 17a.

that both this spell and the two ones following it are referred to as ‘mantras’. As a category of spells, mantras are one of the hallmarks of mature Esoteric Buddhism and only appear in primary sources with this designation after the beginning of the eighth century.

The *Suixin zhenyan*, as we have it here, is obviously derived from the *Dashen zhenyan*, as it features a similar structure and shares primary elements. As such, it represents a spell sub-category meant as an accessory to a major spell of a given rite such as the *Dashen zhenyan*.

As for the *Xin zhong xin zhenyan*, it is very short and carries nothing in it, which may lead one’s thoughts directly to the *Vajracheed-ikā*. While there certainly is a tradition for appending it to the *sūtra* in question, it is unclear from which source it originally derived.

The *Jingang er zhou* as we find it here is in a variant form, one that has not been similarly documented in any of the Chinese canonical compilations. Its earliest form is undoubtedly that found in the *Vajrakumāra tantra* complex of scriptures, where it appears as part of a much longer and complete spell.<sup>79</sup> A comparison reveals that the spell used by Zhai Fengda is the same as a minor mantra used in connection with the forming of a *mudrā* in the variant version of Amoghavajra’s translation of the *Vajrakumāra tantra*, but rendered in an entirely different transcription.<sup>80</sup> We do not know exactly how the spell in Zhai Fengda’s beta text came about. But given that the textual tradition of the *Mahāvairocana-sūtra* was not transmitted to Dunhuang, we may exclude that as the possible source for the spell he used. *Vajrakumāra* otherwise occurs in a number of other texts found among the Dunhuang manuscripts.<sup>81</sup>

A comparative look at the *Fomu zhou* indicates that it is largely identical with another spell, the *Libai miezui mingzhong zhu fo laiying zhou* 禮拜滅罪命終諸佛來迎呪 [Spell for Making Prostrations for the Elimination of Wrongdoings so that at the End of One’s Life One will be Welcomed by all the Buddhas], found in the spell-compendium, the *Zhongzhong za zhou jing* 種種雜呪經 [Scripture Con-

<sup>79</sup> T no. 1223, 21: 132c4.

<sup>80</sup> T no. 1222B, 21: 121a29.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. P. 3861, S. 3783, etc.

sisting of Various Kinds of Spells].<sup>82</sup> Again, it is almost certain that this spell-collection was not available to Zhai Fengda, or anyone else in Dunhuang for that matter, wherefore we may rule out any direct link between the two as we have them now. Obviously the *Fomu zhou* represents a sort of hybrid text, possible slightly garbled, but also one that shifted ritual context in the course of time. Not only does this demonstrate the volatile and disenfranchised nature of many Buddhist spells more generally speaking, something which is likely to have been further engendered through translation into Chinese, its transmission and replication by people who had no mastery of Sanskrit or knowledge of the original context for which it was used. The identity of the ‘Buddha Mother’, whose spell it is, is debatable, but the name most likely refers to Prajñāpāramitī, the Goddess of Wisdom, who the spell connects with the cult of the *Vajracchedikā*.

The *Wenshu pusa xinzhong zhenyan* we encounter in Zhai Fengda’s spell list consists of five seed syllables (Skt. *bijā*), each of which represent a potent, spiritual quality. The origin of this mantra is the most probably the *Jin’gangding jing yuqie Wenshushili pusa gongyang yigui* 金剛頂經瑜伽文殊師利菩薩供養儀軌 [Ritual Proceedings for Making Offerings to the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī in Accordance with the Yogā of the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra*], another translation by Amoghavajra, which forms part of the *Vajraśekhara*-cycle of Esoteric Buddhist scriptures. The five letter spell occurs a number

<sup>82</sup> T no. 1337, 21: 638b24–638c1:

*Namo buddhāya om huru huru siddha locani sarvārtha sadhani svāhā.*

南謨-母駄野 唵 戶嚕 戶嚕 悉駄 盧者爾 娑囉 嚩囉他 娑駄爾 娑婆訶。

The same spell also circulated in a another variant form, as part of the Southern Song compilation, the *Rulai guangxiao shizhong baoen daochang yi* (W no. 68, 8: 7.313a9). There it appears as:

*Namo dhakanam buddhāchinam om huru huru siddha locani sarvārtha sadhani svāhā.*

南無, 陀舍喃, 蒲陀俱知喃, 唵, 護嚕, 護嚕, 悉陀, 盧者你, 薩婆羯他, 娑達你耶, 娑婆訶。

As can be seen, this version—especially its first part—is closer to the one used by Zhai Fengda, although it would appear to be more correct.

of times in this ritual text.<sup>83</sup> It is peculiar that the cult of Mañjuśrī was grafted onto the *Vajracheedikā* as we see it here, especially because this otherwise important bodhisattva is normally not associated with this *sūtra*. Even so, we must assume that, like most of the other spells in Zhai Fengda's beta text, it was added on as an extra, auspicious, and protective factor.

As far as the information and presence provided by these spells go, we may note that by the early ninth century, spell-related practices had found their way into virtually all forms of Buddhist practice, even appearing in new textual contexts in which they were not originally found. However, within the context of tenth century Buddhism in Dunhuang, we can find a cluster of Buddhist practices such as these that were originally part of distinct textual and performative complexes, which have been de-contextualised and rearranged to function in a variety of new ways. I would see this trend as reflecting on the increasing popularity and significance of Esoteric Buddhism in Chinese Buddhism broadly understood, i.e. as a ritualisation of textual practices, and not just as the addition of a few magical words to an already profound and holy scripture.

As is immediately clear, we can see that Zhai Fengda's text is not only much more extensive than that of the printed Sichuan edition, it also displays a number of variations, including the texts for invoking the Vajrapālas, and the opening spell. Furthermore, the *Mantra for Purifying the Karma of the Mouth* is entirely absent. We may also note that the applied method of transcribing the spells differs considerably, although roughly the same phonetic structure applies. Moreover, it is interesting—although not entirely surprising—that several of the spells in Zhai Fengda's beta text correspond with those we encounter in the *Liangchao Fu dashi song Jingang jing* 梁朝傅大士頌金剛經 [Fu Dashi of the Liang Court's Song on the *Vajracheedikā*]. This lengthy text features a blend of the printed Sichuan version's spells and those of Zhai Fengda.<sup>84</sup> This indicates that the spells appearing in connection with the *sūtra* were circulating in

<sup>83</sup> T no. 1175, 20: 722c13.

<sup>84</sup> T no. 2732, 85: 8c13–8c20.

Dunhuang in more or less fixed forms during the early tenth century. It would appear—although this is based on conjecture—that Zhai Fengda's text actually more geared towards ritual or performative practice than the printed Sichuan version with its much-reduced beta text.

What is perhaps even more significant than the texts in the manuscript themselves, is the fact the manuscript was copied by Zhai Fengda himself. Therefore, this represents and expresses his personal devotion to the *sūtra* in question, and the related cultic activities that surrounded the cultivation of its teachings, not the least the chanting of its text and the spells that go with its worship.

## Conclusion

Public and, more specifically, organised monastic projects for producing and re-producing Buddhist scriptures, were by their very nature would be more labour intensive and also more costly. They were evidently the most efficient manner of transmitting and preserving Buddhist scriptures in Dunhuang during the period of manuscripts. Being focused projects undertaken by Buddhist specialists, often assisted by outside funding, such reproduction primarily aimed to supply and amend the holdings of the local monastic libraries. This, of course, does not exclude the fact that sets of scriptures produced for monasteries by the local leaders, including the powerful clans, were not also donated with the idea of religious merit behind them. In contrast, the copying of individual Buddhist scriptures was often the result of private undertakings. As I have shown here, these individual enterprises were also aimed at achieving different objectives, namely the accumulation of merit for the agent, and for a variety of other purposes as outlined above. While we may imagine that most of these many scriptures reproduced in this manner ended up in monastic libraries as donations, some were surely kept by the agents for personal use. Indeed, many are likely to have been brought away from Dunhuang by pilgrims and travellers, which secured that a given scripture would potentially have enjoyed a wide circulation.

Among ordinary clerical and lay Buddhists, the sources show that it was popular to have short apocryphal scriptures copied. In fact, we

may even go so far as to insist that when it came to private, small-scale scriptural donations, the surviving donors' colophons clearly indicate that apocryphal scriptures were indeed favoured over canonical *sūtras*. The only major exceptions to this being the *Vajracchedikā*, the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdāya-sūtra*, and less commonly the *Pumen Chapter* of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*.

It is an indisputable fact that many donations and offerings of scriptures that we see at Dunhuang during the period under discussion took place as part of merit-making. Especially in the context of the transference of merit. This means that these scriptural donations and offerings were often, although not always, related to mortuary practices.

In the case of Zhai Fengda copying the *Vajracchedikā* and its accompanying volume of miracle tales, we see how individual scriptural production could, in some cases, alter the format or change the manner in which a given Buddhist scripture was being perceived. In the case given here, we see how the additional material added to the *sūtra* itself, what is referred to as the beta text, reflects a heightened sense of its ritual importance. It is not clear to what extent Zhai Fengda was an adept of spell-lore per se, but based on our reading of the beta text, it certainly appears that he had a special interest in Esoteric Buddhist practices. This tallies rather well with what we otherwise know about Buddhism in Dunhuang during the tenth century.

Finally, and although this is not an issue discussed in any detail in this paper, it would appear that Dunhuang never had what amounted to a complete set of the Buddhist *Tripitaka* in Chinese, at least not in manuscript form. While this observation is admittedly based on the extant material from cave no. 17, I believe we still have to see documentation to the contrary. When it came to manuscript production and re-production, Dunhuang evidently had what amounted to a partial *Tripitaka* only. However, it had an abundance of extra-canonical material to make up for this.



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### Abbreviations

P.	Pelliot Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale
S.	Stein Collection in the British Library
<i>T</i>	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
Tianjin	Dunhuang manuscript collected in the Tianjin Library
<i>W</i>	<i>Zangwai fojiao wenxian</i> , first series, 1–10
<i>ZZ</i>	<i>Dai Nihon zōkuzōkyō</i> , 98 vols. (modern edition)

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# The *Discourse Record of Layman Ruru* and Its Transformations in Canonical Liturgical Materials

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**Abstract:** The writings of literatus and lay Chan Master Yan Bing 顏丙 (d. 1212), collected in a thirty-four fascicle manuscript entitled the *Discourse Record of Layman Ruru* (*Ruru jushi yulu* 如如居士語錄), comprise a remarkably wide range of genres including essays, verses, prayers, detailed ritual protocols, Pure Land texts, a meditation manual, and formal ‘seated’ Zen teachings. Here we consider how some pieces from this collection were integrated into later liturgical texts, often being edited, reworked, and repurposed in the process. In addition to the inclusions already known in the *Ritual Amplification of the Diamond Sūtra* (X no. 1494), we find at least sixty-seven texts by Yan in Deyin’s 德因 (d.u.) *Assembled Sages Discourse Record* (X no. 1277), scattered across a variety of different liturgical ‘modules’. We also uncover a third source, *Zhongfeng’s Rites for the Three Periods of Attentive Recitation* (X no. 1465), a cycle of daily Pure Land rites associated with Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263–1323) which excerpts Yan’s invocation for Amitābha’s birthday and includes an essay attributed to him.

**Keywords:** Yan Bing 顏丙, Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本, *Jin’gang jing keyi* 金剛經科儀, *Gaofeng Longquanyuan Yinshi jixian yulu* 高峰龍泉院因師集賢語錄, *Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan* 中峯三時繫念儀範, Chinese Buddhist ritual literature, Buddhist manuscripts

## Introduction

The history of Buddhism during the Song dynasty (960–1279) is marked by the expanding participation of laity in religious practice, in large part through the many new forms of public and private ritual which developed during this period. These include daily rites of confession, repentance, and devotion, often centred on Amitābha; annual celebrations such as the Hungry Ghost (*yulanben* 盂蘭盆) festival and the birthdays of major Buddhas and bodhisattvas; occasional events like the elaborate Water-and-Land (*shuilu* 水陸) rite or ones devoted to the veneration of particular sūtras; and punctual services, especially those to assist deceased relatives in their passage through the underworld. Scholarly work on these practices and on the rich body of liturgical literature associated with them (some of which remains in use today, essentially unchanged) is still in its early phases, as we have only begun to appreciate their importance and to uncover the processes which led to their development.

The present study contributes to our understanding of this history by exploring how the contents of one multi-volume 13th-century Chinese manuscript, the collected writings of literatus and lay Chan Master Yan Bing 顏丙 (d. 1212), were transformed as they were incorporated into canonical liturgical and ritual materials. The *Discourse Record of Layman Ruru* (*Ruru jushi yulu* 如如居士語錄), which circulated throughout East Asia in woodblock and handwritten editions up to thirty-four fascicles in length, comprises a remarkably wide range of genres including essays, verses, prayers, detailed ritual protocols, Pure Land texts, a meditation manual, and records of the Layman's formal 'seated' Zen teachings. This collection was thought to have been lost in recent centuries, leaving most of these materials completely unknown to scholarship until the 1980s, after copies of the *Discourse Record* were uncovered in Japan.<sup>1</sup> A careful examination of these sources reveals in turn that some of their con-

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<sup>1</sup> The first description of the extant copies of Yan's collected works to appear in the scholarly literature is a very short article by Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄, published in 1981.

tents have in fact also been transmitted via their assimilation into other works, though usually without attribution and often edited or reworked.

Here we shall look closely at three prominent examples: two liturgies (or ‘ritual protocols’) which incorporate elements from Yan’s writings, and one large compendium of ritual texts that includes dozens of pieces selected from his works. The principal objective of this study is documentary in nature: to bring to light previously unknown intertextual relationships, and thereby better to appreciate the spread and influence of Yan Bing’s writings during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, as well as the importance of this unique manuscript as a source for understanding this period’s textual history. Furthermore, close attention to how these selections were edited and transformed will open a window upon the processes through which Buddhist liturgical literature developed in late medieval China, while also raising questions of how properly to understand and attribute the authorship of such composite texts. This survey does not aspire to be comprehensive, but constitutes rather one additional step toward a more complete catalogue of these textual inclusions and a fuller awareness of Layman Ruru’s role in the development of Chinese Buddhist literature and practice.

### Yan Bing and the *Discourse Record* Manuscript

Published materials offer us precious few details about Yan Bing’s life. Local gazetteers from Fujian Province tell us that he was from Shunchang 順昌 in Nanping Prefecture, and that he participated in the official examinations at the provincial level before abandoning Confucianism and turning to Buddhism.<sup>2</sup> Chan lineage records note that he was the sole dharma-heir of Ke’an Huiran of Xuefeng 雪峰可庵慧然 (d.u.), who was in turn a disciple of Dahui Zonggao 大慧宗杲 (1089–1163),<sup>3</sup> one of the most prominent and influential Chan Mas-

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<sup>2</sup> *Qianlong Yanping fu zhi*, 595 (*juan* 31, 17); *Fujian tongzhi*, 4964 (*juan* 263, 52). See Wagner, ‘Practice and Emptiness’, 14–15.

ters of the entire Song period. Aside from these, the most valuable and direct source for information about Yan's biography is his own collected writings. Nagai Masashi 永井政之 attempts to reconstruct some details of his life from these texts, by looking at the places he visited, the people with whom he had contact, and his family history.<sup>4</sup> Of chief importance is the evidence for the date of Yan's death, which is found in the account of his formal teaching at Qingliang Chan monastery 清涼禪院, at the end of which he passes away.

The introduction by Yu Wenzhong 俞聞中 (d.u.) indicates that this teaching took place during the sixth lunar month of the fifth year of the Jiading 嘉定 reign era, July 1212, while its title locates the monastery in Shaowu 邵武, also in Nanping Prefecture.<sup>5</sup> Among the various texts in this section, the last one is a day-by-day account of Yan's preaching and conversations while there, starting with the tenth day of the month and going to the fifteenth.<sup>6</sup> This record concludes with a dialogue between Yan and a monk named Liaoshan 了善, who starts things off by saying, 'This morning it is the fifteenth day of the sixth month,' as though to emphasise the date.<sup>7</sup> The dialogue ends as follows:

The monk asked, 'How can one transform the great earth into the Land of Ultimate Bliss,<sup>8</sup> and return the true mind to the start of a vast aeon?'

The Layman said with a cunning look, 'Like this, like this.'<sup>9</sup> Sitting upright, he passed away.

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<sup>3</sup> *Xu Chuandeng lu*, T no. 2077, 51: 33.701a24–25; *Zengji Xu Chuandeng lu*, X no. 1574, 83: 1.275a18–22. See Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 15–17.

<sup>4</sup> Nagai, *The Chinese Chan Order*, 666–74.

<sup>5</sup> *Ruru jushi yulu*, 7:1.4.06, 1.02-03.

<sup>6</sup> *Ruru jushi yulu*, 7:2.6–12; *Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu*, 1.69–72.

<sup>7</sup> *Ruru jushi yulu*, 7:2.11.08–09; *Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu*, 1.72.15: 今朝六月一十五.

<sup>8</sup> The 'Land of Ultimate Bliss' (*jile zhi guo* 極樂之國) is an epithet for Amitābha's Pure Land.

僧云, '怎麼則變大地為極樂之國, 回真心於浩劫之初.'  
居士即點頭云, '如是々々.' 端然而化.<sup>10</sup>

While this account implies that Yan had achieved the ability to choose his own time and manner of passing away, due to his exceptional spiritual attainments—a trope familiar to readers of Buddhist hagiographic literature—this does not in itself give reason to call into question the date upon which the event occurred. I agree with Nagai that in the absence of other evidence, to the best of our knowledge Yan Bing died on July 15, 1212, while at a Chan monastery in Shaowu giving formal teachings.<sup>11</sup>

Yan's collected works are extant today in two editions. The most extensive one is a manuscript collection of over 400 pages, entitled the *Discourse Record of Layman Ruru* (as above), which appears to have been produced in Japan during the Muromachi period (1336–1573).<sup>12</sup> It is divided into seven volumes (*ji* 集), thirty-four fascicles (*juan* 卷) and fifty-eight chapters (*men* 門), with a table of contents at the start of each volume and a brief preface by Shi Ji 師稷 (d.u.), dated 1194, at the outset. In terms of its physical characteristics, the *Discourse Record* manuscript appears to be in an excellent state of preservation; nearly all the characters are legible, and there is little wear or damage visible. The only physical problem of which I am aware is in fascicles 3:4 and 3:5, where some pages are missing

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<sup>9</sup> Yan's final words have a double meaning. They can be interpreted as a straightforward answer to the monk's question: 'Do it this way—by dying.' Or they can be understood in terms of the Chan/Zen trope 'like this,' which indicates mental processes or attitudes that take things as just they are, without colouring them with one's own opinions and sentiments. Under this interpretation Yan's response serves to indicate the ideal of how the enlightened person thinks and acts.

<sup>10</sup> *Ruru jushi yulu*, 7:2.12.06–07.

<sup>11</sup> Nagai, *The Chinese Chan Order*, 672–73.

<sup>12</sup> The manuscript itself does not provide any information about the time, place, or circumstances of its production; the Muromachi dating is Shiina's best estimate (Shiina, 'Research on Chan Texts', 251).

and others are out of order. Apparently that part of the text fell apart at some point and four pages (two leaves, recto and verso) were lost, 3:5.5–8, leaving us with only seven of the twenty-three ‘Various Teachings’ (*zabua* 雜化) listed in that fascicle’s table of contents. To compound the problem, four pages from the preceding fascicle, 3:4.9–12, were bound in their place, leaving an apparent gap between 3:4.8 and 3:4.13. There is also an important inconsistency in the listing of contents for the last two fascicles of volume 4. The third and fourth fascicles of our manuscript contain a double-length chapter of 102 ‘Verses on Buddhism’ (*Song Shijiao men* 頌釋教門), whereas the table of contents shows all of these together in the third fascicle, with the fourth containing three other chapters of essays and verses on the harmony of the ‘Three Teachings’ (*sanjiao* 三教), Buddhism, Daoism, and Confucianism.

The text is written in fairly clear block characters, in a mixture of traditional and simplified forms, with some of the common features of handwritten Chinese, such as strokes being merged. The actual handwriting style shows significant variation from the beginning of the text to the end. In the first volume the graphs are small, with a lot of space around them, written with fine strokes; at the end the graphs are clearly much larger and heavier, such that there often is no vertical space between them at all. However, this does not necessarily indicate that different people performed the copying, as there is no sharp break in style at any point; indeed, the gradual change in handwriting from beginning to end gives rather the impression of a scribe growing progressively more and more weary of the project. The characters are laid out for the most part in 13 or 14 columns per page, with 22 to 25 characters per column; the primary exceptions to this are the three texts in the first fascicle of volume 7: Yu Wenzhong’s preface to Yan’s formal teaching at Qingliang, and two of the letters exchanged in the course of arranging for his visit. Here the characters are larger than elsewhere, with 17 per column in the second text, and only 9 columns of 14 characters, with much larger margins, on each page in the other two. This suggests that these texts came from different sources than the other materials, with the copy preserving their layout. A study of the various colophons found from one volume to another further

indicates that this collection unites a number of written sources which circulated separately.<sup>13</sup>

One of the most fascinating aspects of the *Discourse Record* manuscript is the way that accumulated scribal errors preserve information about the history and techniques of the text's transmission and reproduction. For the most part these errors are cases where a character appears to have been replaced by one of similar form, such as *se* 色 ('colour') replaced by *ye* 也 ('also'),<sup>14</sup> or *qiu* 囚 ('prisoner') by *yin* 因 ('cause').<sup>15</sup> However, there is at least one case where the mistake cannot be due to similar forms, but must be explained by the characters' pronunciation: the substitution of *yuanjue* 圓覺 ('perfect enlightenment') for *yuanjue* 緣覺 ('enlightened by contemplation on dependent arising') in the standard phrase *shengwen yuanjue* 聲聞緣覺 ('śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas'), a common term for those following the two non-Mahāyāna paths to enlightenment.<sup>16</sup> This error would not be caused by the scribe confusing the written characters *yuan* 緣 and 圓, suggesting that the copying was done by someone listening to the text being read aloud, without always understanding or following the meaning of what they were writing. This is not necessarily how the extant *Discourse Record* manuscript was produced—the error could have been introduced in an earlier generation of the text, and preserved in subsequent copies. On the other hand, all of the other errors which are due to misreading could equally have occurred by someone reading the text aloud, and the scribe copying down the misread character. At the very least it seems clear that this technique must have been used at some point in the successive reproductions of these texts.

Another type of error we find demonstrates how these may

<sup>13</sup> For a complete discussion, see Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 36–40.

<sup>14</sup> *Ruru jushi yulu*, 3:3.3.03; c.f. *Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.67b06.

<sup>15</sup> *Ruru jushi yulu*, 1:2.9.06; c.f. *Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu*, 1.29.08. See Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 188.

<sup>16</sup> *Ruru jushi yulu*, 3:3.3.06; c.f. *Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.67b08. This portion of the manuscript text is reproduced and transcribed in Appendix 1, and is translated below.

accumulate over time as the text is copied repeatedly. These are cases where a marginal correction in the source text has become incorporated, out of place, at the end of the corresponding line in the copy. The *Discourse Record* itself contains over two dozen such marginal corrections; typically, a small circle will mark the erroneous character or the place where a character is missing, and the correct character will be written in the margin, directly above or (more rarely) below the corresponding line, sometimes also marked with a small circle (Figure 1).

We also find at least two instances where a character has shifted out of place, to the end of its line. At 1:1.6.14–7.01, ‘爭人爭我, 到底成空. 誇會誇能, 必/竟非實.’ has become ‘爭人我, 到底成空. 誇會誇能, 必爭/竟非實.’, with the second *zheng* 爭 moving to the end of the line;<sup>17</sup> and at 1:1.18.14, *hun* 昏 has made a similar move, from the beginning of the two phrases ‘昏睡散思无間斷. 不除二病坐徒勞’ to the end.<sup>18</sup> These are not corrections of the kind just described; the characters appear not in the margin but in the regular body of the text, aligned with the final characters in the other lines on the page, and there is no indication of any problem higher up. In my view the most plausible explanation for this is that a marginal correction in the source text was copied not in its correct place earlier in the line, but as though it were supposed to be the last character in the line (Figure 2).

The other extant source we have is a woodblock edition of 121 pages, published in China in 1386 as the *Great Complete Discourse Record of Layman Ruru on the Three Teachings* (*Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu* 如如居士三教大全語錄).<sup>19</sup> It is divided into two fascicles

<sup>17</sup> C.f. *Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu*, 1.5.12; *Jin'gang jing keyi*, X no. 1494, 74: 1.646a23. The latter has *bi* 畢 in the place of *bi* 必 here, possibly another example of a character being read aloud and written down incorrectly at some point in this text's transmission. See Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 157.

<sup>18</sup> C.f. *Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu*, 1.17.04. See Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 195.

<sup>19</sup> This text likewise does not itself offer any information about its production; Shiina has deduced the year 1386 from publication records dating from that time (Shiina, 'Research on Chan Texts', 253–54).



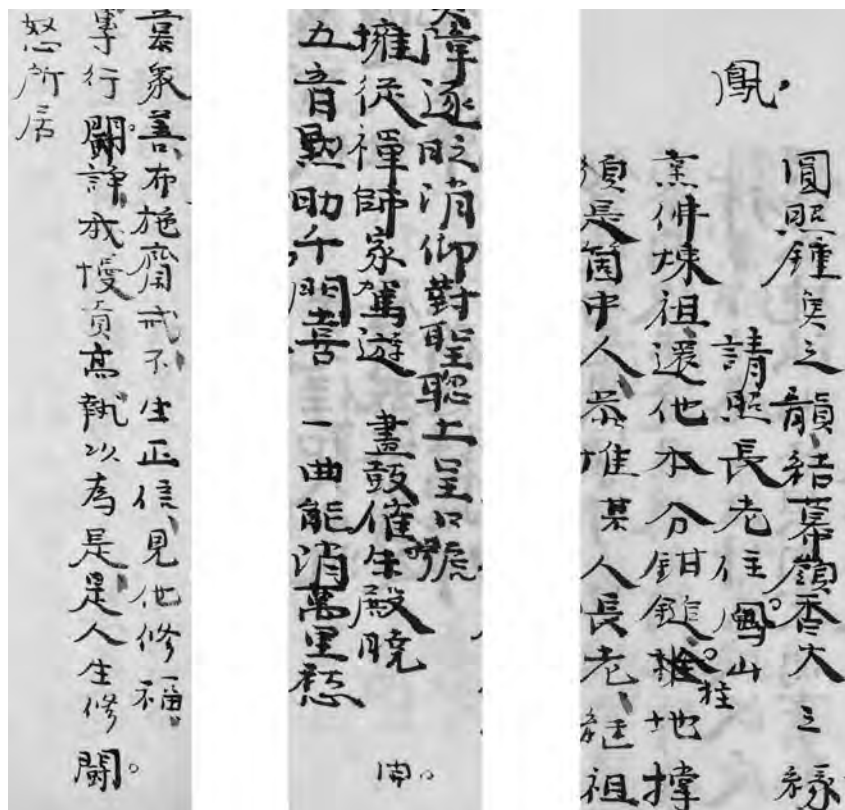


FIG. 1 Marginal corrections in the *Discourse Record* manuscript. Photographs courtesy of the Main Library, Kyoto University (*Ruru jushi yulu*, details).

Left: 1:2.12.01-03 (panel 25), *dou* 鬥 correcting a botched character above.

Centre: 6:4.12.05-07 (panel 201), *shen* 申 missing above (between 值 and 生).

Right: 3:4.2.07-10 (panel 103), *feng* 鳳 correcting a botched character below; *zhu* 柱 correcting a botched character in place.

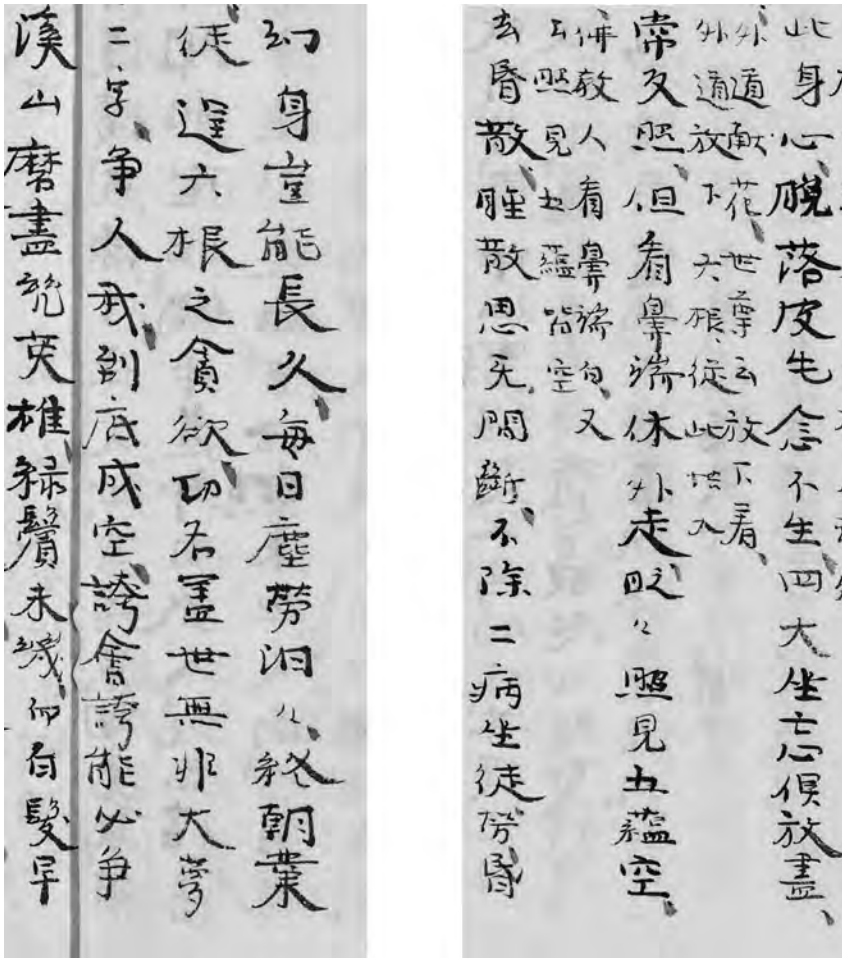


FIG. 2 Marginal corrections incorporated out of place in the *Discourse Record* manuscript. Photographs courtesy of the Main Library, Kyoto University (*Ruru jushi yulu*, details).

Left: 1:1.6.12-7.01 (panel 12), *zheng* 争 has moved to the end of its line.

Right: 1:1.18.10-14 (panel 18), *hun* 昏 has moved to the end of its line, and the regular punctuation of the seven-character verse here is disrupted.

of unequal length, seventy-four and forty-one pages respectively, which are preceded by Shi Ji's 1194 preface and a table of contents. It includes thirteen of the manuscript's fifty-eight chapters, as well as the three 'missing' chapters on the harmony of the Three Teachings listed for fascicle 4:4. Its final chapter, 'On the Various Heavens and Worlds' (*Zhutian shijie men* 諸天世界門) is likewise not part of the *Discourse Record*. Here we find a complex, six-page diagram of the three-fold Buddhist cosmos, followed by two essays on the events of the past and future cosmic ages. Notably, this document does not reproduce the evidence for the date of Yan Bing's death: Yu Wenzhong's preface is not included, and the account of Yan's teaching at Qingliang is missing its final page, at the end of the text's first fascicle.

Both of these documents are held by the Kyoto University Library, and are now accessible online in its Rare Materials Digital Archive. A detailed inventory of their contents may be found in my doctoral thesis,<sup>20</sup> which remains to this day the only substantial Western-language study of these works and one of the few available sources for Yan's writings. Among the texts examined here which have been assimilated into canonical sources, just two of them are among those included in the woodblock edition, thus underscoring the uniqueness of the larger manuscript as a source for understanding the development of the Chinese Buddhist tradition.

### *The Ritual Amplification of the Diamond Sūtra*

The only one of our three canonical texts to have been previously recognised as a source for Yan's writing is the *Ritual Amplification of the Diamond Sūtra* (*Jin'gang jing keyi* 金剛經科儀, X no. 1494), a liturgy in one fascicle composed by the Chan monk Zongjing 宗鏡 (d.u.) in 1242. Daniel Overmyer has described this text as an antecedent to the 'precious volumes' (*baojuan* 寶卷) genre which flourished among popular sectarian religious groups from the fifteenth century onward, through its influence upon Luo Qing 羅清 (1442–1527), a

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<sup>20</sup> Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 21–36.

layman who wrote some of the earliest true *baojuan* and came to be regarded as the founding patriarch of the sectarian *Wuwei jiao* 無為教 tradition.<sup>21</sup> The *Ritual Amplification* divides the *Diamond Sūtra* into thirty-two sections and treats each part with a commentary, a question, and an answer in seven-character verse. This material is bookended by lengthy introductory and concluding sections containing a mixture of invocations, doctrinal exposition, verses, and scripture (including the entire *Heart Sūtra*).

Embedded within the introduction we find a complete essay by Yan, 'A General Exhortation to Bring Forth the Aspiration [for Enlightenment]' (*Puquan faxin wen* 普勸發心文),<sup>22</sup> as well as at least twenty-eight of his verses scattered throughout the text. These inclusions have been helpfully summarised by Maekawa Toru 前川亨,<sup>23</sup> while a translation and discussion of the full essay is available in my dissertation.<sup>24</sup> The prose is in a sophisticated, highly parallel style, with paired phrases of equal length, having the same parts of speech (adverbs, adjectives, verbs, etc.), often of the same type (number words, names of animals, verbs of motion) in the same positions in both phrases. (A typical example: 'Ten thousand fish heard the name of the Buddha and were transformed into deities. Five hundred bats listened to the sound of the Dharma and all became arhats.'<sup>25</sup>) This essay occupies a prominent position in Yan's collected works, appearing as the third item in the very first fascicle of both extant editions. Starting with a lengthy evocation of impermanence, not only of this life's blessings and enjoyments but also of life itself, it turns next to a consideration of what awaits when this life is over, vividly

<sup>21</sup> Overmyer, *Precious Volumes*, 34–35.

<sup>22</sup> *Jin'gang jing keyi*, X no. 1494, 74: 1.646a20–c14; *Ruru jushi yulu*, 1:1.6.11–9.03; *Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu*, 1.5.09–7.08. This is one of the two texts that are also found in the woodblock edition.

<sup>23</sup> Maekawa, 'Creation of the Precious Scrolls', 241–42, 259 note 27.

<sup>24</sup> Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 155–67.

<sup>25</sup> *Jin'gang jing keyi*, X no. 1494, 74: 1.646b23–24; *Ruru jushi yulu*, 1:1.8.06–07; *Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu*, 1.7.13–14: 十千游魚, 聞佛號, 化為天子. 五百蝙蝠, 聽法音, 總作聖賢.

describing the tortures of hell and continuing with the miseries of life as an animal. The text then makes an abrupt shift, rattling off a list of more than two dozen exemplars, human and non-human, who demonstrate the potential for enlightenment inherent in everyone, and concludes by offering some general advice on how to cultivate this potential.

Overmyer identifies the material in the essay portion of the *Ritual Amplification* as especially significant for the history and development of the *baojuan* genre, though without realising that it comes from Yan. He shows that the vision of enlightenment presented here, a solution to the problem of karma that is available to all beings without distinction, had a profound influence upon Luo Qing, both in his personal religious journey and in the popular sectarian teachings he developed. Overmyer furthermore sees the combination of homage paid to non-Buddhist deities and exemplars, the inclusion of Pure Land and Chan elements, and (Yan's) insistence upon the One Vehicle as the only path to salvation as an initial step in the transformation of the Buddhist evangelistic tradition into a new form.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, Layman Ruru's essay is transformed here as well, from an argument to be read and discussed into a liturgy to be recited, in the process reaching a much wider audience than its author could have imagined.

Although Zongjing does not acknowledge his sources in the text of the *Ritual Amplification*, his borrowings were well-documented in the several commentaries which were written on it over the course of the following centuries. These were collected and edited together in the sixteenth century by the monk Juelian 覺連 (d.u.) into a nine-fascicle work, the *Commentary for Understanding the Essentials of the Ritual Amplification that Explains the Diamond Sūtra* (*Xiaoshi Jin'gang jing keyi buiyao zhujie* 銷釋金剛經科儀會要註解, X no. 467). It breaks the text of the *Ritual Amplification* into short snippets, each followed by comments ranging in length from a few lines to more than two registers. In the process it offers a detailed exposition of Yan's essay, which it cites as 'An Exhortation to Bring

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<sup>26</sup> Overmyer, *Precious Volumes*, 36–38.

Forth the Aspiration for Bodhi' (*Quan fa putixin zhi wen* 勸發菩提心之文),<sup>27</sup> providing valuable insights by explaining the essentials of his argument as well as the many allusions and references he makes. As we shall see below, the illumination it offers even extends in some cases to other texts in this study which share the same tropes, constituting a wide-flung web of intertextual relationships around this work within the canonical Chinese Buddhist liturgical corpus.

### *Zhongfeng's Rites for the Three Periods of Attentive Recitation*

The *Ritual Amplification of the Diamond Sūtra* is not the only popular liturgy to assimilate some of Yan's work by taking it from its original context and weaving it into a new one, altering its use in the process. We observe the same phenomenon in *Zhongfeng's Rites for the Three Periods of Attentive Recitation* (*Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan* 中峯三時繫念儀範, X no. 1465), a cycle of daily Pure Land rites associated with Chan Master Zhongfeng Mingben 中峰明本 (1263–1323). This liturgy presents three programs (for morning, noon, and evening) composed of variously alternating sections of veneration, confession, repentance, doctrinal exposition, taking vows, and recitation, some spoken by the dharma-teacher (*fashi* 法師) conducting the rite and others by the whole congregation (*dazhong* 大眾). These daily programs are preceded by an opening section that presents generic liturgical elements—blessings for ritual water and incense; veneration of the Pure Land, Amitābha, and various bodhisattvas; along with other litanies—and they are followed by two essays that could be read to the congregation. The full rite for each of the three programs would be composed by combining these different parts together as needed. This corresponds to the 'modular' structure of Chinese Buddhist liturgy described by Daniel Stevenson, with the 'common use of what seem to be prefabricated and transposable units of litany and gesture. Most of these template modules involve

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<sup>27</sup> Xiaoshi Jin'gang jing keyi huiyao zhujie, X no. 467, 24: 1.656b09–10. The full commentary runs from 1.656a21 to 2.668b07.

phases of the rite that peripherally frame the core cultic activity',<sup>28</sup> as is the case here.

The authorship of *Zhongfeng's Rites* is not entirely clear. While historically it has been attributed to Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975), now Mingben—a prominent, elite Chan Master who was also known for Pure Land practice—is generally considered to be the author. Natasha Heller notes that while it is not included in the primary collections of Mingben's works, his monastic rules do mention three daily periods of recitation, which would use a liturgy such as this one.<sup>29</sup> Further complicating the picture is a similar liturgy with a similar title, *National Teacher Zhongfeng's Buddha-rite of the Three Periods of Attentive Recitation* (*Zhongfeng Guoshi sanshi xinian foshi* 中峰國師三時繫念佛事, X no. 1464), which was likewise traditionally attributed to Yanshou but might also be Mingben's. Its three liturgical programs are shorter and simpler than those in *Zhongfeng's Rites*, with a quarter of the whole document simply reproducing the *Shorter Sukhāvati-vyūha Sūtra* (*Amituo jing* 阿彌陀經) as an inclusion.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that either of these texts could have originated with material from Yanshou that was reworked and combined with other elements by Mingben and/or others, even in several stages over the course of time. (As evidence of this ongoing evolution, we see that later editors have changed the date reference embedded within *Zhongfeng's Rites* to say 'the Great Ming state' (*Da Mingguo* 大明國), from whatever it was originally.<sup>31</sup>)

The two elements in this liturgy which may be attributable to Yan are quite different in nature, with each presenting distinct problems and questions. The most recognisable one is the first of the two essays at the end of the text; it appears just after the evening program under

<sup>28</sup> Stevenson, 'Buddhist Ritual', 383.

<sup>29</sup> Heller, *Illusory Abiding*, 418–20; see *Huanzhu an qinggui*, X no. 1248, 63: 1.586a08–12.

<sup>30</sup> *Zhongfeng Guoshi sanshi xinian foshi*, X no. 1464, 74: 1.56b09–57c07; c.f. *Amituo jing*, T no. 366.

<sup>31</sup> *Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.62c19; noted in Heller, *Illusory Abiding*, 420.



the heading 'Exhorting People [to Practice] Attentive Recitation' (*Quan ren nianfo* 勸人念佛).<sup>32</sup> The essay opens with an extensive discussion of the impermanence of the physical body, its degeneration and death, followed by the decomposition of the corpse. It then turns to the judgment one will face before the Ten Kings of the underworld, and the tortures of hell one will suffer before commencing the long process of migration through the paths of ghosts and animals, until finally attaining a human birth once again. The concluding section urges people not to waste the precious opportunity they have, and to seek liberation through both Chan and Pure Land practice. Interspersed throughout the text we find eight citations inserted as half-width comments, reproducing for the most part 'old verses' (*gu song* 古頌) which are attributed to Hanshan 寒山 (d.u.), Xuefeng Yicun 雪峰義存 (822–908) and others. Appended to the end of the essay appear brief instructions for its liturgical use: 'Having presented the exhortation, offerings of food [are made]' (*fengquan* (bi), *shishi* 奉勸 (畢). 施食.)<sup>33</sup>

As is the case with *Zhongfeng's Rites* as a whole, the authorship and provenance of this essay is not clear. It has circulated widely under Yan's name, owing to its inclusion in the appendix to the *Expanded Pure Land Tracts of Longshu* (*Longshu zengguang jingtu wen* 龍舒增廣淨土文, T no. 1970), a popular collection of writings by the layman Wang Rixiu 王日休 (1105–1173). Here it appears at the start of the twelfth fascicle as 'Exhorting [People] to Cultivate Pure Karma, by Ruru, Yan Bing of Lion's Peak' (*Shizifeng Ruru Yan Bing quan xiu jingye wen* 獅子峯如如顏丙勸修淨業文),<sup>34</sup> and as such it has become the most well-known work in his corpus. It eventually came to circulate as an independent text, and was even translated into Manchu in the late eighteenth century.<sup>35</sup> However, it is not found in either of the two extant editions of Yan's collected works, raising the

<sup>32</sup> *Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.70b22–71b08.

<sup>33</sup> *Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.71b08.

<sup>34</sup> *Longshu zengguang jingtu wen*, T no. 1970, 47: 12.286b09–287a16.

<sup>35</sup> *Shizifeng Ruru Yan Bing quan xiu jingye wen*, ca. 1792. I am grateful to Guillaume Lescuyer for bringing this work to my attention.



question of whether this attribution of authorship is indeed reliable. Maekawa has studied this issue and notes that the themes and content of the essay are consonant with what we find elsewhere in his writing.<sup>36</sup> While I agree on this point, we may nonetheless observe that the phrasing here frequently departs from the formal parallelism (described above) that Yan follows so rigorously elsewhere. In any event, given that the twelfth fascicle was appended to the *Pure Land Tracts of Longshu* only during the Ming (1368–1644) period,<sup>37</sup> if *Zhongfeng's Rites* does indeed date from Mingben's era then it must stand as our earliest witness to this essay, and as a possible source for its inclusion in the appendix, with the attribution to Yan there a mystery. On the other hand, it is also possible that both the creator of this liturgy and the compilers of the appendix drew this text from some other unknown edition of Yan's works.

Whatever the provenance of this particular element, the influence of Yan Bing upon *Zhongfeng's Rites* and its author may be established independently on the basis of a section in the middle of the noon liturgy entitled 'Causes and Conditions' (*Yuanqi* 緣起).<sup>38</sup> This passage, which would be recited by the dharma-teacher to review the basic doctrines and beliefs upon which Pure Land devotional practice is founded, is excerpted from an invocation for 'Amitābha's Birthday' (*Mituo shengri* 彌陀生日) found in fascicle 3:3 of Yan's *Discourse Record*.<sup>39</sup> Since this text has not previously been published, I am including a reproduction of the manuscript source in Appendix 1, along with a transcription and the canonical parallel texts, in addition to the translation below. The notes to the translation detail three scribal errors which appear in the manuscript text; one of these (*yuan* 圓 in place of *yuan* 緣, in the phrase *shengwen yuanjue* 聲聞緣覺, 'śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas') has already been discussed above as evidence that at some point a copy of the manuscript was produced by a scribe listening to the text being read aloud.

<sup>36</sup> Maekawa, 'Creation of the Precious Scrolls', 259–60 note 30.

<sup>37</sup> Maekawa, 'Creation of the Precious Scrolls', 259–60 note 30.

<sup>38</sup> *Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.67b04–14.

<sup>39</sup> *Ruru jushi yulu*, 3:3.2.13–3.08.

In the *Discourse Record* this invocation appears together with nine other short texts in a section entitled ‘On the Sages’ Birthdays’ (*Shengdan men* 聖誕門), a collection of introductory declamations to open services for such events: the birthdays of Buddhas, bodhisattvas, and Daoist immortals. This group is just one of several sets of liturgical ‘modules’ found in Yan’s *Discourse Record*, with multiple variant invocations that could serve to customise a generic rite in order to celebrate a particular occasion. Like his essay on ‘Bringing Forth the Aspiration for Enlightenment’, this one is also written in a sophisticated parallel style, which I have sought to bring out in the translation. Yan starts by setting the scene, evoking the season and the date: the seventeenth day of the eleventh lunar month. He then reviews the fundamentals of Pure Land devotion, describing Amitābha Buddha, his vows and virtuous attainments, and the country of Ultimate Bliss that he has created. Much of this imagery is taken from the *Contemplation Sūtra* (*Guan Wuliangshou fo jing* 觀無量壽佛經, T no. 365), which Yan cites frequently in his writings. He concludes with an encouragement to devotional practice, emphasising the promise of rebirth in Amitābha’s Pure Land.

‘[For] Amitābha’s Birthday’<sup>40</sup>

The calendar of Xia becomes new again; at its start we encounter the first *yang* month.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> I am grateful to Michael Radich for his many insightful comments and suggestions on the initial draft of this translation.

<sup>41</sup> Yan begins by evoking the date, the seventeenth day of the eleventh lunar month, in terms referring to the classical Chinese tradition. This would be the month when the winter solstice occurs; in the ancient Zhou 周 calendar it was also the first month of the year. The ‘calendar of Xia’ (*Xiali* 夏曆) is a different early calendar in which the start of the year is located two months after the solstice, as it was in Yan’s time and is today (Wilkinson, *Manual*, 171). Yan’s reference here clearly intends to mean ‘an old calendar which took this as the first month of the year’, even if the name is wrong. The ‘first *yang* month’ (*yi yang zhi yue* 一陽之月) refers to the application of the system of *yin* 陰 and *yang* 陽 to the solar year, treating the six months of increasing daylight as *yang* months, and the other six as *yin* months.

On high Yao displays good omens, for they have just received the Calendar Plant's second pod.<sup>42</sup>

Among men, snow covers the pavilions with jade; beyond the mountains the plum opens and makes the world fragrant.

Now at the time of the Northern Emperor's austere frozen spectacle,<sup>43</sup> we celebrate the moment of Amitābha's birth.

Together we heat [incense to make] smoke for birthday celebrations,<sup>44</sup> and in unison express our sincere congratulations.

We revere Amitābha Buddha:

His three incalculable aeons of practice have reached completion,<sup>45</sup> and he has perfected the ten thousand virtues.

By transforming [himself], he manifests the sixteen-foot [Buddha-] body,<sup>46</sup> and has broadly proclaimed the forty-eight vows.<sup>47</sup>

His tuft of hair is bright like white jade, and his colour is yellow gold.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>42</sup> This plant, *mingjia* 蓂莢, which grew in the palace of the legendary Sage-king Yao 堯, would produce one seed-pod every day for the first fifteen days of each month, and then would drop one seed-pod every day from the sixteenth to thirtieth days of the month. 'Receiving the second pod' (*shou erjia* 收二莢) thus precisely identifies the seventeenth day of the month.

<sup>43</sup> The 'Northern Emperor' (*Beidi* 北帝) is a name of the Daoist divinity Xuanwu 玄武, who lives in the north and can control the elements.

<sup>44</sup> The characters in the manuscript are difficult to discern clearly here; my reconstruction and translation of this phrase should be considered tentative.

<sup>45</sup> *Sanqi* 三祇 here is an abbreviation for *san asengqi jie* 三阿僧祇劫, 'three incalculable aeons'.

<sup>46</sup> The *Contemplation Sūtra* explains that by his supernatural powers, Amitābha can manifest himself in different forms: as large as the entire sky, or in a 'small body' only sixteen or eight feet tall (*Guan Wuliangshou fo jing*, T no. 365, 12: 1.344c01–02).

<sup>47</sup> These are the vows detailed in the *Longer Sukhāvati-vyūha Sūtra* which guarantee rebirth in Amitābha's paradise and so form the foundation of Pure Land devotion (*Wuliangshou jing*, T no. 360, 12: 1.267c17–269b06).

<sup>48</sup> I am taking *ye* 也 ('also') here as a scribal error for *se* 色 ('colour'), following the text in *Zhongfeng's Rites* (*Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74:

In the western regions he has long been named Amitābha; now in the East he is called the ‘Buddha of Infinite Life’.<sup>49</sup>

Avalokiteśvara serves as his minister; Mahāsthāmaprāpta attends upon him.<sup>50</sup>

His land occupies the western region; his country is named ‘Ultimate Bliss’.<sup>51</sup>

On all sides are stairs and paths in beryl and lapis, and at every level gates and railings of gold and jade.<sup>52</sup>

In seven-jewelled ponds the dharma-water is easily contained;<sup>53</sup> while from nine [types of] lotus platforms celestial perfume richly issues forth.<sup>54</sup>

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1.67b06.) The *Contemplation Sūtra* describes Amitābha’s full form as having a white tuft of hair between his eyebrows, and his body shining like innumerable gold nuggets (*Guan Wuliangshou fo jing*, T no. 365, 12: 1.343b17–19).

<sup>49</sup> This line plays on the contrast in how this Buddha’s two primary names are rendered in Chinese: ‘Amituo’ 阿彌陀 is a transcription of ‘Amitābha’ (‘Infinite Light’), while ‘Wuliangshou’ 無量壽 is a translation of ‘Amitāyus’, ‘Infinite Life’.

<sup>50</sup> The *Contemplation Sūtra* describes in extensive detail the visualisation of the Buddha’s two attendant bodhisattvas in the Pure Land, Guanyin 觀音 and Shizhi 勢至 (*Guan Wuliangshou fo jing*, T no. 365, 12: 1.343c12–344b14).

<sup>51</sup> In this context, *guo* 國 (‘country’) should be taken as meaning *foguo* 佛國, a ‘Buddha-land’.

<sup>52</sup> Here I am reading *jie dao* 皆道, ‘all the paths’, as a scribal error for *jiedao* 階道, ‘stairs and paths’, which is what *Zhongfeng’s Rites* has (*Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.67b08). This reading is based on ‘stairs and paths’ making a much better parallel with ‘gates and railings’ (*menlan* 門闌) in the second phrase; it also aligns with the case below where the scribe wrote a homophonous character for a word which was presumably being read aloud. Here however, the possibility of the scribe having dropped the radical from a written word he was copying must be entertained as well.

<sup>53</sup> The *Contemplation Sūtra* describes how eight ponds in the Pure Land are fed by fourteen streams of water which emerge from a wish-fulfilling jewel (*Guan Wuliangshou fo jing*, T no. 365, 12: 1.342b24–c02). Yan’s curious phrase here, *kankan qingrong* 堪堪輕容 (something like ‘up to the task, they easily contain’), may refer to the fact that no outflows from these ponds are mentioned—there is

The śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas all feel delight;<sup>55</sup> groves of trees in the water all recite the Buddha's name.<sup>56</sup>

On earth, [if someone] can invoke the names of [all] the Buddhas, then inside a flower[-bud] that person's own name will be inscribed.<sup>57</sup>

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no sea or ocean in the Pure Land where all this water eventually runs—suggesting that they have some kind of miraculous capacity to receive a constant influx without ever filling up. (One might alternately read *kankan* 堪堪 as a scribal error for *zhanzhan* 湛湛, 'deep', 'clear', which is what *Zhongfeng's Rites* has. See *Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.67b09.) As the streams flow along their sound proclaims the central Buddhist truths of suffering, emptiness, impermanence, and no-self, a feature which seems to be expressed by the term 'dharma-water' (*fashui* 法水) here. The description of the ponds as 'seven-jewelled', a standard term which recurs often in the sūtra, means that they are made of seven types of gems and precious metals.

<sup>54</sup> Yan is referring here to the nine grades of rebirth in the Pure Land described in the *Contemplation Sūtra* (see note 58 below), which occur variously within lotuses, upon platforms, and in one case on a 'lotus platform' (*lianbua tai* 蓮花臺, *Guan Wuliangshou fo jing*, T no. 365, 12: 1.345b14–15).

<sup>55</sup> Here I am taking *yuanjue* 圓覺 ('perfect enlightenment') as a scribal error for *yuanjue* 緣覺 ('enlightened by contemplation on dependent arising'), one Chinese rendering of pratyekabuddha, as previously discussed. *Shengwen yuanjue* 聲聞緣覺, a standard term for those following the two non-Mahāyāna paths to enlightenment, is how the text appears in *Zhongfeng's Rites* (*Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.67b08).

<sup>56</sup> The *Contemplation Sūtra* specifies that the streams of water flowing from the wish-fulfilling jewel pass among the jewelled trees, and twice mentions the trees among those elements in the Pure Land which 'proclaim the wonderful Dharma' (*shuo miaofa* 說妙法) (*Guan Wuliangshou fo jing*, T no. 365, 12: 1.342b29, 343b07–08, 345a01).

<sup>57</sup> The belief that those who sincerely recite Amitābha's name will cause a lotus to grow in the Pure Land, marked with their name as their future destination, appears elsewhere in Yan's writings, as well as in some texts in the *Expanded Pure Land Tracts of Longshu* (T no. 1970); see Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 178.

At another [later] time, [they will be reborn] in the highest birth of the highest class, [for] an eternal aeon with the same name and same title.<sup>58</sup>

Those who keep [Amitābha] always present in their minds eliminate eight billion kalpas;<sup>59</sup> those who praise him—their merit is tallied in units of hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands.<sup>60</sup>

With ten recitations it will be complete;<sup>61</sup> a single syllable is universal praise.

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<sup>58</sup> This line refers to the nine possible grades of rebirth in the Pure Land described in the *Contemplation Sūtra*, where people spend varying lengths of time closed up inside a lotus bud before it opens (*Guan Wuliangshou fo jing*, T no. 365, 12: 1.344c09–346a26), based upon their level of virtue and spiritual readiness. Yan connects it to the previous line by assuring us that they will still have the same name which identifies the bud that is reserved for each of them. The ‘eternal aeon’ (*yongjie* 永劫) refers to the essentially unlimited lifespans of beings reborn in the Pure Land, as guaranteed by Amitābha’s fifteenth vow (*Wuliangshou jing*, T no. 360, 12: 1.268a20–21).

<sup>59</sup> One normally would understand this to mean eliminating eight billion kalpas (aeons) of time spent in hell; though it could also just mean shortening the total time spent on the path to liberation by that amount, in whatever conditions it would be spent.

<sup>60</sup> I take this to refer to the practice of counting one’s recitations of the Buddha’s name over time by filling in a ‘recitation chart’ (*nianfo tu* 念佛圖), a pattern of empty circles on a sheet of paper, which Yan calls ‘treasury spaces’ (*zangyan* 藏眼). His ‘Discourse on Treasury Spaces’ (*Zangyan yu* 藏眼語) provides instructions for use: one writes 100 (*bai* 百), 1000 (*qian* 千), or 10,000 (*wan* 万) in the circle depending on how many recitations one has done (Wagner, ‘Practice and Emptiness’, 92–93, 188). The version of this line in *Zhongfeng’s Rites* changes *suan* 筭 (‘to count, to calculate’) into *bei* 倍 (‘to multiply’), thus reading ‘their merit is multiplied a hundred, thousand, or ten thousand-fold’.

<sup>61</sup> Amitābha’s eighteenth vow specifies that anyone who calls his name ten times will be reborn in his Pure Land (*Wuliangshou jing*, T no. 360, 12: 1.268a26–28). The *Contemplation Sūtra* also refers to this teaching (*Guan Wuliangshou fo jing*, T no. 365, 12: 1.346a18–19).

The portion of this invocation included in *Zhongfeng's Rites* is about two-thirds of Yan's text, from 'His three incalculable aeons of practice have reached completion...' to '...their merit is tallied in units of hundreds, thousands, and tens of thousands.'<sup>62</sup> The intent of the liturgy's author appears quite clear in this case: because this material is to be used on a daily basis, he has removed the part referring to the occasion of Amitābha's birthday while retaining the doctrinal exposition and advice on practice. In the process, what was originally a 'birthday celebration module' has now been fashioned into a 'doctrinal foundations module' which could be used in any Pure Land liturgical context.

We find about twenty small changes of wording scattered throughout the excerpted text; for the most part these do not substantially alter its meaning. For example, 'forty-eight vows' (*sishiba yuan* 四十八願) becomes 'forty-eight great vows' (*sishiba dayuan* 四十八大願.) The most significant change is that 'groves of trees in the water all recite the Buddha's name' (*shui li shulin jie nianfo* 水裏樹林皆念佛) becomes 'the water, birds, and groves of trees proclaim the wonderful Dharma' (*shui niao shulin xuan miaofa* 水鳥樹林宣妙法).<sup>63</sup> It should be emphasised that this textual inclusion is only a preliminary finding—further investigation may reveal other pieces of Yan's writing that have also been incorporated into *Zhongfeng's Rites for the Three Periods of Attentive Recitation*. At the very least, we can say with confidence that the author (or composer) of this liturgy, in its present form, was not Yanshou, who predates Yan by more than two centuries. Furthermore, it now appears imperative to reexamine the whole of Mingben's collected works, to see if there may be additional evidence of his familiarity with and use of Yan's writing. The answer to these questions will help us to understand better not only

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<sup>62</sup> *Zhongfeng sanshi xinian yifan*, X no. 1465, 74: 1.67b05–14. As noted above, in *Zhongfeng's Rites* the last line has been changed to read 'their merit is multiplied a hundred, thousand, or ten thousand-fold'.

<sup>63</sup> These differences are all marked in the text cited in Appendix 1. The version of this line in *Zhongfeng's Rites* paraphrases the list found in the *Contemplation Sūtra* (*Guan Wuliangshou fo jing*, T no. 365, 12: 1.343b07–08).

the authorship and textual history of *Zhongfeng's Rites*, but also the extent of Layman Ruru's influence well into the Yuan (1279–1368) period.

*Master Yin's Assembled Sages Discourse Record*

Both Yan's invocation for Amitābha's birthday as well as his essay on arousing the aspiration for enlightenment have also found their way into our third canonical source, along with at least sixty-five other pieces of his writing. This collection in fifteen fascicles, the *Assembled Sages Discourse Record of Master Yin of Longquan Temple on Mount Gaofeng* (*Gaofeng Longquanyuan Yinshi jixian yulu* 高峰龍泉院因師集賢語錄, X no. 1277), commonly known as *Master Yin's Assembled Sages Discourse Record*, was compiled from multiple sources by a monk named Deyin 德因 (d.u.). While the exact date of the collection is not known, it does have a preface written by Dharma Master Lingbao 靈寶法師 (d.u.) in 1287. The contemporary published edition (*Chanzong quan shu* 禪宗全書 [Complete Works of the Chan School], vol. 47) presents this volume as a somewhat curious discourse record, explaining that Master Deyin 'often used gāthās, hymns, poems, and literary works to teach his students.'<sup>64</sup> This description appears to be based upon that in the *Bussō kaisetsu dai-jiten* 佛書解説大辭典 [Encyclopaedia of Buddhist Literature], which further explains that Deyin selected these pieces from the Buddhist books he had collected and 'used them to reveal the profound principles of the Buddha's teaching' to his disciples.<sup>65</sup>

These characterisations may appear to be rather misleading, for the briefest examination shows this compendium to be first and foremost a very extensive and complete manual for ritual specialists. The texts are primarily liturgical 'modules' grouped by category, with the majority of them pertaining to the different stages of funeral celebra-

<sup>64</sup> Lan, *Complete Works*, 47.2-3: 德因常以偈頌詩文來說示後學。

<sup>65</sup> Ono, *Encyclopaedia*, 1.182: 宋の德因和尚が佛書を會萃し、偈頌詩文を以て佛法の深理を顯はし...



tions; there are also prayers for health, for various sorts of blessings, for changes in weather, and for giving thanks when these things are granted; as well as hymns for assorted holidays and festivals. Large portions of Yan's *Discourse Record* exhibit the same structure, especially in volumes 2 and 3. The bulk of his works that have been found in Deyin's collection so far come from six such modular groups, which share similar titles, content and organisation in both places. The following Table 1 summarises these inclusions. (A detailed table listing all sixty-seven known inclusions appears in Appendix 2.)

TABLE 1 Major Groups of Yan Bing's Texts in *Master Yin's Assembled Sages Discourse Record*

<i>Master Yin's Assembled Sages Discourse Record</i>		<i>Discourse Record of Layman Ruru</i>		
Section title	Number of texts	Section title	Number of texts	Texts in common
諸般佛事門：散花偈 Various Buddha-rites: Gāthās for Scattering Flowers	10	音聲佛事門：散花偈 The Buddha's Preaching Work: Gāthās for Scattering Flowers	7	7
陳意伏願門 Expressing Wishes and Humbly Beseeching	25	陳意門 Expressing Wishes	22	18
薦亡偈讚門 Verses for Funeral Sacrifices	63	拋偈門 Gāthās for Abandoning [the Dead]	17	13
涅槃法語門 Dharma-words for Nirvāṇa	41	涅槃門 Nirvāṇa	21	14
秉炬 Subsection: Holding the Torch	(12)	秉炬 Subsection: Holding the Torch	(11)	(8)
抄題雜化門 Notes on Various Teachings	34	雜化門 Various Teachings	7 (23)	2
		化抄題門 Notes on Teachings	15	4

<i>Master Yin's Assembled Sages Discourse Record</i>		<i>Discourse Record of Layman Ruru</i>		
Section title	Number of texts	Section title	Number of texts	Texts in common
入壇敘時景門 Evoking the Time and Season at Interments	66	聖誕門 The Sages' Birthdays	10	4
		一年景門 Scenery Throughout the Year	21	1

In the first of these groups, a set of ten four-line *gāthās* for Buddha-rites of scattering flowers (*Zhuban foshi men: sanhua jie* 諸般佛事門:散花偈), Deyin takes all seven texts from Yan's corresponding section and combines them with three from another source.<sup>66</sup> He reorders the sequence of Yan's verses, changes lines in two of them and renames some, but keeps them together as a group. The themes in this set of invocations includes prayers for the dead (*jianwang* 薦亡), for the protection of a foetus (*baotai* 保胎), for the flourishing of silkworms (*qican* 祈蠶), and for the festival of the Cowherd and the Spinster (*qiqiao* 乞巧).<sup>67</sup>

We see a similar process at work on Yan's section entitled 'Expressing Wishes' (*Chenyi men* 陳意門), which contains twenty-two prose entreaties and expressions of gratitude, written in highly parallel style. The topics include the same kind of concerns as in the previous group: the protection of foetuses, sick people, silkworms, and sprouts; wishing for a boy and giving thanks for one (*qinan/xiennan* 祈男/謝男); avoiding disasters (*rangzai* 禳災); celebrating birthdays; etc. One set of six form a little sub-group for weather-related issues: praying for rain and thanks for rain, praying for clear skies and thanks for clear skies, praying for snow and thanks for snow. Deyin selects eighteen of these and likewise reorders them, adds lines to

<sup>66</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinshi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 9.35b12–c08; see Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 44–45.

<sup>67</sup> The seventh day of the seventh lunar month.

some or amends them (in one case he takes just a short excerpt), and combines them with seven texts from elsewhere to make a set of twenty-five invocations for ‘Expressing Wishes and Humbly Beseeching’ (*Chenyi fuyuan men* 陳意伏願門).

The most straightforward of these four groups is a section of sixty-three eight-line ‘Verses for Funeral Sacrifices’ (*Jianwang jiezan men* 薦亡偈讚門), which covers forty-eight different cases in Deyin’s collection, offering up to four alternate verses for some of them. These include gāthās for deceased parents, spouses, siblings, children, and in-laws, as well as for classes of persons like a monk, a military officer, a young Confucian scholar or an old one. We find that thirteen of these have been selected from Yan’s set of ‘Gāthās for Abandoning [the Dead]’ (*Pao jie men* 拋偈門), out of the seventeen there. In this case their wording is unchanged, except for two that show minor variations.

The fourth group is the most complex: a highly-structured set of prose modules for the main phases of the funeral process, under the heading ‘Dharma-words for Nirvāṇa’ (*Niepan fayū men* 涅槃法語門) in Deyin’s compendium. These forty-one texts cover raising lamentations (*ju’ai* 舉哀), removing the coffin from the house (*qikan* 起龕), holding the torch (*bingju* 秉炬) and applying the flame (*xiabuo* 下火), on to interment in a tomb or *stūpa* and the scattering of earth or ashes. In each invocation there is a place to ‘fill in the blank’ with the deceased person’s name (the text reads ‘a certain person’ (*mouren* 某人) at these points).

In the section on ‘holding the torch’, we find a sub-module with options including ones for any of the four seasons, for young and old, and for a Daoist or a Buddhist monk. Among Deyin’s twelve texts in this sub-section these eight are from Yan, where they appear together at the start of a section labelled ‘Nirvāṇa’ (*Niepan men* 涅槃門). Yan’s collection also includes two for a man or woman, while Deyin has ones instead for farmers, artisans, and merchants, and each has a different one for Confucian scholars. In the *Discourse Record* this ‘holding the torch’ set is followed by ten more invocations for other phases of the rite, of which six likewise appear under their corresponding headings in Deyin’s collection, including one for the special case of putting two monks’ remains into a *stūpa* together (*erseng*

*ruta* 二僧入塔). Here again the texts appear essentially unchanged between the two collections.

The final two groups here in Deyin's compendium each take pieces from two distinct but related sections in Yan's. One of these is his 'Notes on Various Teachings' (*Chaoti zahua men* 抄題雜化門), thirty-four short texts which include at least two texts from Yan's 'Various Teachings' (*Zahua men* 雜化門), though there may be more since this is the part of the *Discourse Record* where four pages have gone missing, leaving only seven of the original twenty-three entries. Deyin also selects four of the fifteen texts in Yan's 'Notes on Teachings' (*Hua chaoti men* 化抄題門)—those pertaining to a celebration for Amitābha, assemblies on the *Flower Garland Sūtra* and *Diamond Sūtra*, and the Hungry Ghost festival—and places them together at the end of this group.<sup>68</sup>

The other is his section on 'Evoking the Time and Season at Interments' (*Rutan xu shijing men* 入壇敘時景門), a module of sixty-six very short texts which serve to introduce funerary rites, whatever their circumstances. It proceeds systematically through the calendar, with evocations for the twelve months and the major holidays, then through the six times of night and day, various weather conditions (sun, rain, snow, clearing skies...) and finally five birthdays: those of the Buddhas Śākyamuni and Amitābha, the bodhisattvas Guanyin and Lotus-Radiance, and the Sage Emperor. The last four texts come from Yan's set of ten invocations for birthday celebrations described above, in which the one for Amitābha's birthday is found. However, since their purpose in this module is not to introduce birthday celebrations, but rather to introduce *interment rites that happen to fall on* major, widely-celebrated birthdays, Deyin has excerpted only the portions which evoke the date and season. Accordingly, for Amitābha's birthday we read:

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<sup>68</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinsbi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 52c04–21. The first of these is a selection from Yan's notes on the 'Assembly on the Jewelled Trees' (*Ti Baolin hui* 題寶林會), referring to one of the features of the Pure Land.

The calendar of Xia becomes new again; it starts with the first *yang* month.

On high Yao displays good omens, for they have just received the Calendar Plant's second pod.

Among men, the snow creates jade pavilions; beyond the mountains the plum perfumes the world.

Now at the time of the Northern Emperor's austere frozen spectacle, we celebrate the moment of Amitābha's birth.<sup>69</sup>

In other words, Deyin has excluded precisely the section of doctrinal exposition that is included in *Zhongfeng's Rites*, and has retained just the date-specific portion of Yan's text that is in turn excluded from the daily Pure Land rite. The same kind of transformation has been performed on Yan's other three birthday celebration texts in this group as well. We see here a remarkable illustration of the fluidity of this Buddhist liturgical corpus and the complexity of its textual history as materials are reused and reworked to serve a variety of liturgical functions in different modules and across different contexts. This section also contains one text for the festival of the Cowherd and the Spinster (*qi xi* 七夕), taken from Yan's group of twenty-one non-religious texts on 'Scenery Throughout the Year' (*Yinian jing men* 一年景門).

The four remaining inclusions of Yan's work in this collection point to an even higher degree of creative composition in some places. One of them, an invocation for a father on the thirty-fifth day after death (*Jianfu wuqi* 薦父五七), has been partly preserved in fascicle 12 of the *Assembled Sages Discourse Record*.<sup>70</sup> However, Deyin has truncated the text and changed the first two lines, stripping out

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<sup>69</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinsbi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 1.7b14–17. There are three small changes in wording with respect to Yan's original version, which are marked in Appendix 1.

<sup>70</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinsbi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 12.43c13–c17. This is one of the two texts that are also found in the woodblock edition. See *Ruru jushi yulu*, 6:3.9.08–10.02; *Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu*, 2.12.11–13.03; and Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 168–73.

all the explicitly Buddhist content from it and transforming it into a non-sectarian invocation that anyone could use, Buddhist or not.

The two liturgies in fascicle 7 of Deyin's compendium also merit attention. One of them, a rite for 'Opening the Way' (*Fadao wen* 發道文), or 'leading the deceased toward rebirth in the Buddha-Land and for comforting spirits',<sup>71</sup> incorporates a few lines from Yan's essay on 'Bringing Forth the Aspiration for Enlightenment'—the same one that is in the *Ritual Amplification of the Diamond Sūtra*, but in quite a different context here and with much different ritual objectives. The lines read:

'Unaware of the perfect clarity of the one Nature, one gives free rein to the appetites of the six senses.

Peerless merits and renown are never anything other than one instance of a great dream; astonishing riches and honours are hard-pressed to escape the two words "not [for] long".'

'How many heroes have fallen victim to torrents and mountains? There is no old or young when the wind-blown fires are spreading.'

'A hundred years of existence are all in an instant. The illusory body, [composed of] the four elements—how can it long endure?'<sup>72</sup>

Such a pattern of inclusion suggests that this liturgy for 'Opening the Way' may be a composite work, with pieces from various sources woven together to create the whole text. We see one example of how such a work may be put together later in the same fascicle, in Deyin's liturgy for 'Summoning the Departed' (*Zhaowang wen* 召亡

<sup>71</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinshi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 7.27a04: 人所召引亡魂往生佛地及安慰靈座用。

<sup>72</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinshi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 7.27a18–21, c11 (c.f. *Jin'gang jing keyi*, X no. 1494, 74: 1.646a20–24; *Ruru jushi yulu*, 1:1.6.12–7.01; *Ruru jushi sanjiao daquan yulu*, 1.5.10–13; and see Wagner, 'Practice and Emptiness', 157):

不知一性圓明，徒逞六根貪欲。功名蓋世無非大夢一場，富貴驚人難免無常二字。… 溪山磨盡幾英雄，風火散時無老少。… 百年光景全在剎那，四大幻身豈能長久。

文),<sup>73</sup> which appears to be built around Yan's liturgy for 'Leading the Deceased to Enter the Bath' (*Yin wanghun ruyu men* 引亡魂入浴門). Its opening paragraph is composed of excerpts from Yan's opening two paragraphs, and we find at least two substantial citations several lines in length further along in Deyin's text. At the same time, most of Yan's material here has been excluded or replaced with something else to create this new text—as though it served as a starting point for a later author who went along and kept what he wanted, preserving the overall structure of Yan's liturgy while changing much of the specific content.

To conclude our discussion we should briefly examine Yan's 'Liturgy for Freeing Living Beings' (*Fangsheng wen* 放生文),<sup>74</sup> which is by far the longest single text of his known in any canonical source, though a thorough treatment would require an entire study of its own. It appears immediately after the set of 'Gāthas for Scattering Flowers' in both Yan's and Deyin's collections, suggesting that the latter here took an entire block of texts directly from the Layman's works. This liturgy testifies to marked differences both in soteriological belief and in cultic practice when compared to better-known programs for freeing living beings from the Tiantai tradition. There we find rites structured around the principle that animals are incapable of understanding human speech and are therefore unable to receive the Buddhist teachings. However, by invoking the power of the Three Jewels these impediments can be lifted so that the animals may then be taught the fundamentals of the Dharma.<sup>75</sup>

Yan's text, by contrast, starts by affirming that the Buddhas'

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<sup>73</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinshi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 7.29c07–30c12.

<sup>74</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinshi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 9.35c09–37b06.

<sup>75</sup> See Stevenson, 'Buddhist Ritual', 413–17 for a detailed description of this ritual logic, which applies to other non-human beneficiaries such as ghosts and deities as well as to animals. As an example of this form, see Tiantai patriarch Siming Zhili's 四明知禮 (960–1028) 'Liturgy for Freeing Living Beings' (*Fangsheng wen* 放生文), *Siming Zunzhe jiaoxing lu*, T no. 1937, 46: 1.863a24–864a27.

skilful means (*fangbian* 方便) can cause all beings to experience true awakening, due to their inherent Buddha-nature. He then rattles off a list of ten examples of animals who demonstrate the ability to make merit by their actions and even became devas or arhats, including a myna bird who could recite the name of Amitābha, a sea slug who saved a copy of the *Diamond Sūtra* from the water and returned it to its owner, and the bees and ants who maintain the (Confucian) propriety of relationship between Ruler and Subject.<sup>76</sup> Two of these examples are also among the ones which Yan uses in his essay on ‘Bringing Forth the Aspiration for Enlightenment’, and Juelian’s *Commentary* is equally illuminating in these cases—an unexpected connection among these canonical texts with quite different histories, through the common vision of the underlying lay author. Further on in the rite, rather than teaching the animals Buddhist doctrine, participants recite four *dhāraṇī* (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼) spells for the animals to remove their fears and to help purify their evil karma.<sup>77</sup> Just before each one, the celebrant tells the animals to listen alertly and to remember what they hear.<sup>78</sup> Again we see that the problem is not with the animals’ minds or their receptiveness to the Dharma; the implication is that the animals are just physically unable to pronounce such spells properly, otherwise they would go ahead and do so themselves. The same admonition is repeated later in the liturgy, when the celebrant explains the twelve steps of dependent origination and recites the names of seven Buddhas for the animals to hear.<sup>79</sup> This text thus represents a quite different approach to the entire relationship between humans and non-humans compared to that which animates Tiantai rites, and deserves an in-depth study of its own.

<sup>76</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinshi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 9.35c11–17.

<sup>77</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinshi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 9.36a08–12, b11–24.

<sup>78</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinshi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 9.36a09–10: 汝等靈類志心諦聽志心聽受。

<sup>79</sup> *Gaofeng Longquan yuan Yinshi jixian yulu*, X no. 1277, 65: 9.36c11–37a05.



## Conclusions

It must be stressed that any conclusions that could be reached at this point about the influence of Layman Ruru and his *Discourse Record* upon the development of Buddhist liturgical literature and ritual practice during the Song and Yuan can only be preliminary at best, for we are just beginning to uncover and understand the contents of the collection itself. The list of inclusions presented here should likewise be considered a work in progress, and we should fully expect that further research will turn up many more occurrences of Yan's writing, both in *Master Yin's Assembled Sages Discourse Record* and in other texts. We have also identified Zhongfeng Mingben's works as a particular area to investigate, to learn if Yan did in fact have a substantial impact there or not. Even from this limited viewpoint it is clear that the Layman did play a significant role in this history and that a fuller understanding of his works will have much to teach us about the development of popular Chan and Pure Land liturgies from the thirteenth century onward. I would suggest that the transcription of Yan Bing's whole corpus, to enable detailed study and automated cross-referencing across a wide body of published texts, would be an important next step in advancing our knowledge of this unique manuscript and its author's thought.

We may also reflect upon how this evidence illuminates the practice of popular ritual during this period: the range of topics and practical concerns that these rites focus on, from the birth and death of family members to illness, weather, crops, and silkworms; the level of sophistication and variety of modules that have been developed for ritual specialists to use, even for when a funeral might fall on Guanyin's birthday; and the substantial degree of repurposing and reworking of liturgical elements, creating a highly composite literature where questions of authorship become murky and where the same words may serve quite different liturgical purposes. We certainly still have a great deal to learn about this corpus, as we are just beginning to appreciate its internal complexity, its historical development, and the important role played by laypeople like Yan Bing in both of these areas.

Appendix 1: '[Invocation for] Amitābha's Birthday' (*Mituo shengri* 彌陀生日)

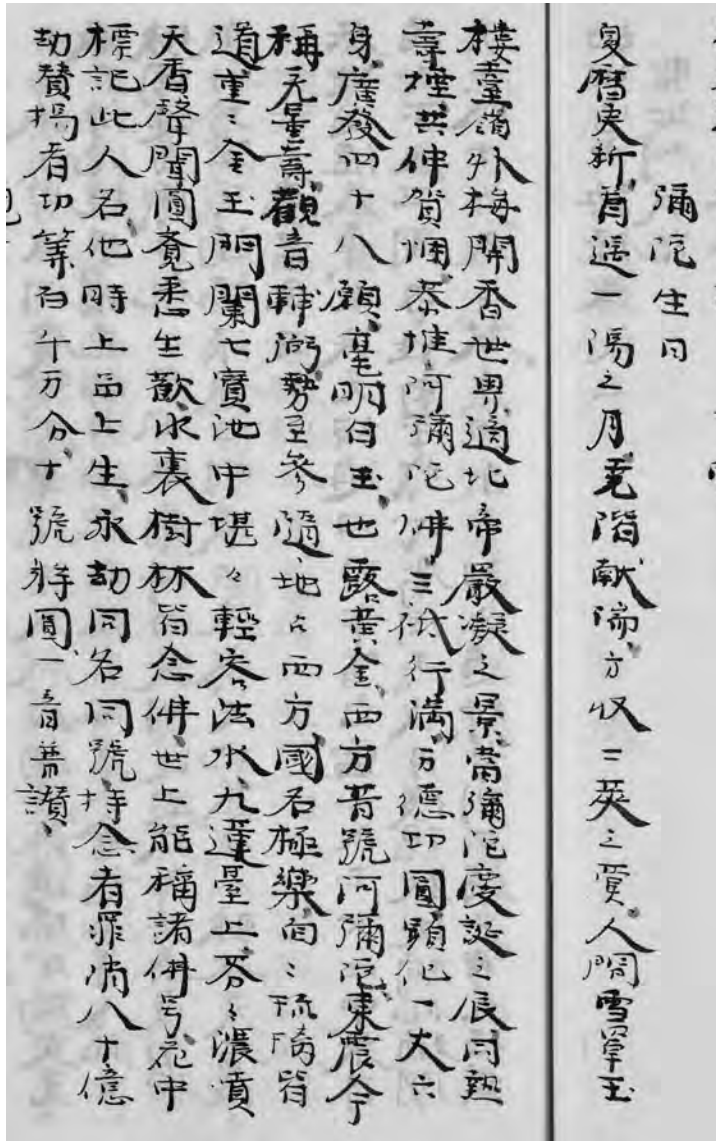


FIG. 3 In the *Discourse Record of Layman Ruru*, 3:3.2.13-3.08. Photograph courtesy of the Main Library, Kyoto University (*Ruru jushi yulu*, panel 97, detail).

Transcription: *Discourse Record of Layman Ruru* 3:3.2.13–3.08, with excerpted sections and three suspected scribal errors indicated

彌陀生日

『夏曆更新，首遇一陽之月，堯階獻瑞，方收二莢之蓂。人間雪罩玉樓臺，嶺外梅開香世界。適北帝嚴凝之景，當彌陀慶誕之辰。』同熱壽煙，共伸賀悃。恭惟阿彌陀佛。『三祇行滿，萬德功圓。顯化一丈六身，廣發四十八願。毫明白玉，**也**露黃金。西方昔號阿彌陀，東震今稱無量壽。觀音輔弼，勢至參隨。地占西方，國名極樂。面面琉璃**皆**道，重重金玉門闌。七寶池中，堪堪輕容法水，九蓮臺上，芬芬濃噴天香。聲聞**圓**覺悉生歡，水裏樹林皆念佛。世上能稱諸佛號，花中標記此人名。他時上品上生，永劫同名同號。持念者，罪消八十億劫，贊揚者，功筭百千万分。』十號將圓，一音普讚。

Excerpt in *Zhongfeng's Rites for the Three Periods of Attentive Recitation* (X no. 1465, 74: 1.67b04–14), with variations from the manuscript version indicated

緣起(法師鳴尺)

蓋聞西方教主。九品導師。『三祇行滿，萬德功圓。顯**見**一丈六**金**身，廣發四十八**大**願。毫**輝**白玉，**色**露黃金。西方昔號阿彌陀，東**土**今稱無量壽。觀音輔弼，勢至參隨。地占西方，國名極樂。面面琉璃**階**道，重重金玉門闌。七寶池中，**湛湛**澄融于法水，九蓮臺上，**紛紛**濃噴于天香。聲聞**緣**覺悉生驩，水**鳥**樹林**宣**妙法。世上能稱**尊**佛號，華中標記此人名。他**日**上品上生，永劫同名同號。**稱**念者，罪消八**萬**億劫，**禮**讚者，功**倍**百千萬分。』功實難論。稱揚有盡。懇懃至請。願望光臨。大眾運誠。同音禮讚。

Excerpt in *Master Yin's Assembled Sages Discourse Record* (X no. 1277, 65: 1.7b14–17), with variations from the manuscript version indicated

彌陀生日(十一月十七日)

夏曆更新，首**屆**一陽之月，堯階獻瑞，方收二莢之蓂。人間雪**作**玉樓臺，嶺外梅**薰**香世界。適北帝嚴凝之景，當彌陀慶誕之辰。

## Appendix 2: Inclusions of Yan's works in *Master Yin's Assembled Sages Discourse Record* (X no. 1277)

These 67 citations should be considered a preliminary list, with more discoveries to be expected.

TABLE 2

<i>X 1277: ref</i>	<i>lines</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Ruru: ref</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1.05b12–b15	4	入壇敘時景門	七夕	2:3.8	一年景門	七夕	first half nearly verbatim
1.07b14–b17	4	入壇敘時景門	彌陀生日	3:3.2–3	聖誕門	彌陀生日	first lines
1.07b18–b22	5	入壇敘時景門	觀音生日	3:3.3	聖誕門	觀音生日	first lines reworked
1.07b23–c01	3	入壇敘時景門	聖帝生日	3:3.5	聖誕門	聖帝生日	first lines
1.07c02–c05	4	入壇敘時景門	華光生日	3:3.6	聖誕門	華光菩薩生日	first and last lines
5.19a04–a09	6	陳意伏願門	生日	2:3.3	陳意門	生日	verbatim
5.19b02–b08	7	陳意伏願門	送星	2:3.2	陳意門	送星	verbatim
5.19b09–b13	5	陳意伏願門	還願	2:3.1–2	陳意門	還願	verbatim
5.19b14–b18	5	陳意伏願門	祈男	2:3.6	陳意門	祈男	verbatim
5.19b19–b22	4	陳意伏願門	謝男	2:3.6	陳意門	謝男	verbatim
5.19b23–c04	6	陳意伏願門	保胎	2:3.4	陳意門	保胎	nearly verbatim, with 4 words added at start
5.19c11–c17	7	陳意伏願門	保病	2:3.3	陳意門	保病	nearly verbatim, with amendments

<i>X 1277: ref</i>	<i>lines</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Ruru: ref</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Notes</i>
5.19c18–c23	6	陳意伏 願門	祈安	2:3.3	陳意門	同前(保 病)	verbatim
5.20a03–a07	5	陳意伏 願門	禳灾	2:3.2	陳意門	禳灾	verbatim, with 2 lines added at start
5.20a23–b02	4	陳意伏 願門	保苗	2:3.6	陳意門	保苗	nearly verbatim, with 2.5 lines added at start
5.20b03–b07	5	陳意伏 願門	保蚕	2:3.6	陳意門	保蚕	verbatim
5.20b08–b12	5	陳意伏 願門	修造	2:3.4	陳意門	修結	verbatim, with part of interlinear note
5.20b13–b18	6	陳意伏 願門	解結	2:3.1	陳意門	解結	verbatim
5.20b19–b21	3	陳意伏 願門	祈雨	2:3.4	陳意門	祈雨	verbatim, with a line added at end
5.20b23–c02	4	陳意伏 願門	謝雨	2:3.4–5	陳意門	謝雨	verbatim
5.20c05	1	陳意伏 願門	祈晴	2:3.5	陳意門	祈晴	short excerpt
5.20c15–c16	2	陳意伏 願門	祈雪	2:3.5	陳意門	祈雪	last 2 lines
5.20c17–c20	4	陳意伏 願門	謝雪	2:3.5	陳意門	謝雪	nearly verbatim, with small changes at end
6.23a05–a09	5	薦亡偈 讚門	父母	2:6.7	拋偈門	薦父母	nearly verbatim, with a few words changed
6.23a15–a19	5	薦亡偈 讚門	薦父	2:6.7	拋偈門	薦父	verbatim

<i>X 1277: ref</i>	<i>lines</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Ruru: ref</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Notes</i>
6.23b01–b05	5	薦亡偈讚門	薦母	2:6.7	拋偈門	薦母	verbatim
6.23b21–c01	5	薦亡偈讚門	薦夫	2:6.7	拋偈門	薦父	verbatim
6.23c07–c11	5	薦亡偈讚門	薦妻	2:6.8	拋偈門	薦妻	verbatim
6.23c17–c21	5	薦亡偈讚門	薦兄	2:6.8	拋偈門	薦兄才	verbatim
6.24a18–a22	5	薦亡偈讚門	薦男	2:6.8	拋偈門	薦男	verbatim
6.24b19–b23	5	薦亡偈讚門	薦女	2:6.8	拋偈門	薦女	verbatim
6.24c10–c14	5	薦亡偈讚門	姊妹	2:6.9	拋偈門	薦姊妹	verbatim, except where name is filled in
6.24c20–c24	5	薦亡偈讚門	丈人	2:6.8–9	拋偈門	薦丈人	verbatim
6.25a06–a10	5	薦亡偈讚門	丈母	2:6.9	拋偈門	薦丈母	verbatim
6.25a11–a15	5	薦亡偈讚門	薦女壻	2:6.9	拋偈門	薦女婿	verbatim
6.26a14–a18	5	薦亡偈讚門	薦僧	2:6.10	拋偈門	薦僧	verbatim
7.27a18–a21, 27c11	4	諸般佛事門	發道文	1:1.6–7	諸文門上	普勸發心文	a few lines from the beginning
7.29c07–30c12	30	諸般佛事門	召亡文	2:4.5–9	引亡魂入浴門	引亡	extensive selections, mixed with other material
9.35b12–b14	3	諸般佛事門:散花偈	保胎	2:1.11	音聲佛事門:散花偈	保安	first 3 lines

<i>X 1277: ref</i>	<i>lines</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Ruru: ref</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Notes</i>
9.35b15–b17	3	諸般佛 事門：散 花偈	乞巧	2:1.12	音聲佛 事門： 散花偈	乞巧	verbatim
9.35b18–b20	3	諸般佛 事門：散 花偈	懺髮	2:1.12	音聲佛 事門： 散花偈	懺髮	verbatim
9.35b21–b23	3	諸般佛 事門：散 花偈	祈蠶	2:1.12	音聲佛 事門： 散花偈	祈蚕	verbatim
9.35b24–c02	3	諸般佛 事門：散 花偈	薦亡	2:1.11	音聲佛 事門： 散花偈	薦母	verbatim
9.35c03–c05	3	諸般佛 事門：散 花偈	薦亡	2:1.12	音聲佛 事門： 散花偈	祈男	first 2 lines, order reversed
9.35c06–c08	3	諸般佛 事門：散 花偈	奉道	2:1.12	音聲佛 事門： 散花偈	奉道	verbatim
9.35c09–37b06	117	諸般佛 事門	放生文	2:2.1–8	放生科 儀門	放生文	nearly verbatim
12.43c13–c17	5	追薦陳 意門 (讚靈通 用)	父五七	6:3.9– 10	吉凶燈 疏門	薦父五 七	early lines, reworked
13.47a23–b03	5	涅槃法 語門	舉哀	2:5.6	涅槃門	舉哀	verbatim
13.47b04–b10	7	涅槃法 語門	起龕	2:5.5–6	涅槃門	起龕	verbatim
13.48a05–a10	6	涅槃法 語門	雙棺	2:5.4	涅槃門	舉棺	verbatim
13.48a12–a17	6	涅槃法 語門	秉炬： 春	2:5.1	涅槃門	秉炬： 春	verbatim
13.48a18–a22	5	涅槃法 語門	秉炬： 夏	2:5.1	涅槃門	秉炬： 夏	verbatim
13.48a23–b04	6	涅槃法 語門	秉炬： 秋	2:5.1–2	涅槃門	秉炬： 秋	verbatim

<i>X 1277: ref</i>	<i>lines</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Ruru: ref</i>	<i>section</i>	<i>title</i>	<i>Notes</i>
13.48b05–b08	4	涅槃法語門	秉炬：冬	2:5.2	涅槃門	秉炬：冬	verbatim
13.48b09–b14	6	涅槃法語門	秉炬：僧	2:5.3	涅槃門	秉炬：僧	verbatim
13.48b15–b20	6	涅槃法語門	秉炬：道	2:5.3	涅槃門	秉炬：道	verbatim
13.48c21–49a02	6	涅槃法語門	秉炬：老	2:5.2–3	涅槃門	秉炬：老	verbatim, with 1 line removed
13.49a03–a06	4	涅槃法語門	秉炬：少	2:5.3	涅槃門	秉炬：少	verbatim
13.50a09–a15	7	涅槃法語門	入塔	2:5.6	涅槃門	入塔	verbatim
13.50a16–a22	7	涅槃法語門	二僧	2:5.6–7	涅槃門	二僧入塔	verbatim
13.50b15–b22	8	涅槃法語門	散灰	2:5.5	涅槃門	撒灰	verbatim
14.51c11–c15	5	抄題雜化門	化米開路疏	3:5.9	雜化門	化米開路	verbatim (title missing)
14.52b18–b22	5	抄題雜化門	化鍋疏	3:5.9	雜化門	化鍋	verbatim
14.52c06–c08	3	抄題雜化門	題彌陀會疏	3:3.9	化抄題門	題寶林會	last half, with reworking
14.52c09–c12	4	抄題雜化門	題華嚴會疏	3:3.7	化抄題門	結華嚴會	verbatim
14.52c13–c16	4	抄題雜化門	題金剛會疏	3:3.9	化抄題門	題金剛會	verbatim
14.52c17–c21	5	抄題雜化門	題孟蘭盆會疏	3:3.9–10	化抄題門	孟蘭盆會	verbatim



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### Abbreviations

- T*            *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, et al.
- X*            *Shinsan Dai Nihon zoku zōkyō*. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Kawamura.

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# Prayers for Mediation: Thirteenth-Century Textual Culture between Kōya and Kamakura\*

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**Abstract:** This paper examines several esoteric doctrinal texts printed on Mt. Kōya in the late 1270s by the shogunate official Adachi Yasumori (1231–1285). Conventional histories of Japanese xylography follow a developmental sequence from devotional printing by wealthy aristocrats in the classical (Heian) period, through limited educational printing by temples in the medieval period, to the arrival of widespread commercial printing in the early modern period. This paper examines the complex interplay of soteriological, practical, political, and commercial elements in one medieval printing project to both critique an ‘ends’-based typology of textual reproduction and further develop recent arguments on the role of esoteric Buddhism in coordinating medieval power centers.

**Keywords:** Printing, Japan, shogunate, esoteric Buddhism, Shingon

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The largest corpus of premodern Japanese primary sources has survived in temple libraries across the archipelago, which institutionally were more successful than state and aristocratic actors at preserving documents through centuries of wars, disasters, and natural decay. Manuscripts that form the core of these archives were comprised not just of quotidian records and messages (including deeds, letters, ledgers, contracts, wills, contracts, and bills), but innumerable religious, practical, and literary titles, many of which circulated exclusively by manuscript even after the growth of commercial printing from the seventeenth century onward.<sup>1</sup> Further categories of writing lay somewhere in between instrumental documentation and authored ‘works’: in recent years, Buddhology has profited from a renewed interest in so-called *shōgyō* 聖教—lecture notes and guides to rituals—which were transmitted in manuscript, often handed down in secret master-disciple lineages.

It is therefore natural to consider medieval Japan in terms of ‘manuscript culture’, but as a term of analysis that invites several difficult questions, in particular the parameters of the category. In academic discourse, ‘manuscript culture’ is a back-formation from ‘print culture’, a term that still carries a McLuhanian teleology of modernization. While scholars such as Harold Love have emphasized the continued importance of manuscript well into Europe’s early-modern period, the explosive growth of print in Europe following the introduction of the printing press and crowding out of manuscript production encouraged European history’s treatment of manuscript and print as developmental historical stages. By contrast, the rapid growth of commercial printing in Japan during the early modern period came after centuries of circulating domestic and imported imprints within a primarily manuscript-based textual culture. How then to think about the boundaries and relationships between manuscript and print during this long period of time? There has been a great deal of rewarding research in the last decade on the properties of manuscript reproduction and circulation in Japan. However, to further assess the historical conditions that shaped textual culture

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<sup>1</sup> Kornicki, ‘Manuscript, not Print’.

demands a consideration of manuscript and print together and in relation to each other, to historicize and de-essentialize the categorical difference between them.<sup>2</sup>

Historically speaking, print in Japan began as a supplement to manuscript production, oftentimes quite literally, as described in prayer texts like the following:

I have erected life-size statues of Amitābha, Avalokiteśvara, and Mahāsthāmaprāpta. I have hand-copied 書寫 in gold ink one set of the *Lotus Sūtra* in 8 scrolls, the *Innumerable Meanings Sūtra* (*Muryōgikyō* 無量義經) in 1 scroll, the *Samantabhadra Meditation Sutra* (*Kanfugenkyō* 觀普賢經) in 1 scroll, the *Amitābha Sutra* in 1 scroll, and the *Heart Sutra* in 1 scroll. I have printed 摺寫 in black ink 60 sets of the *Lotus Sutra*, and 20 scrolls each of the *Innumerable Meanings Sutra* and *Samantabhadra Meditation Sutra*.<sup>3</sup>

Here, printing expands upon and multiplies the splendor of an originary manuscript's production. Early printing in Japan, the overwhelming majority of which seems to have consisted of sutra reproduction, is characterized by its fidelity to manuscript conventions, imitating both the scale and calligraphic style of manuscript sutra-copying, but also imitating, for example, the practice of pre-assembling the sheets of the scroll to which text was then added (the printing blocks stamped onto the complete scroll one after another).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Particularly notable recent examples of research on the material history of manuscript in Japan include, in English, Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*, and in Japanese, Sasaki, *Nihon koten shoshigakuron* and Uejima, *Chūsei ākaibuzu-gaku josetsu*.

<sup>3</sup> 1085 prayer on behalf of Minamoto no Suemune 源季宗 (1049–1086) for Crown Prince Sanehito 實仁親王 (1071–1085), attributed to Fujiwara no Arinobu 藤原有信 (1039–1099). *Honchō zoku monzui*, vol. 13.

<sup>4</sup> Thus, the ink imprint frequently extends across the point at which two sheets of paper are pasted together in the scroll. See for example the Kamakura-period edition of the *Daihannya haramittakyō* 大般若波羅蜜多經 held in Waseda Library, viewable at [http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/bunko30/bunko30\\_e0293/bunko30\\_e0293\\_p0003.jpg](http://archive.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kosho/bunko30/bunko30_e0293/bunko30_e0293_p0003.jpg).



Furthermore, the practice of textual multiplication itself was understood primarily through a logic of devotional merit-making, in parallel with large-scale sutra transcription projects. While few actual examples survive, contemporary testimony like the above indicates a fad for devotional sutra printing among the nobility in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.<sup>5</sup> Imprints were provided for dedication at Buddhist assemblies, most typically funerals. During this same period, however, we see the first flashes of a different use of print: the reproduction of Buddhist scholastic texts, undertaken by temples to facilitate their monks' education. An edition of Xuan-zang's 玄奘 (602?–664) *Treatise on the Perfection of Consciousness Only* (*Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論) published in 1088 by the Nara temple Kōfukuji 興福寺 is the earliest example of this application, which soon spread outward to other large temple complexes in Kyoto and beyond. In historiography of printing in Japan, the publication of scholastic texts is seen as a medieval development away from purely devotional printing practices towards more practical applications, setting the stage for the commercial printing of the early modern period.

One important locus of this expanded scope of printing in the thirteenth century was the mountain complex of Kongōbuji 金剛峯寺, or Mt. Kōya 高野山, the central temple of Shingon. Located on a massive plateau in the middle of a mountain range, the isolated temple complex was a site of pilgrimages and other devotions by noble—and later warrior—elites from its foundation in the ninth century by Kūkai 空海 (774–835). Textual records of printing at Mt. Kōya go back to the mid-twelfth century, but a burst of rapid printing activity occurred in the late thirteenth century, with at least fifteen different titles carved and printed between 1276 and 1282, and another eight titles between 1287 and 1293.<sup>6</sup>

Many of these texts were not sacred sutras as such, but scholastic commentaries and guides to ritual, employed by monk-scholars in preparation for the lectures and debates that were central to their

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<sup>5</sup> Kawase, 'Heian-chō surikyō no kenkyū'.

<sup>6</sup> See the chart in Koakimoto, 'Kōyaban to wa nanika', 14.

career advancement.<sup>7</sup> Their aim and utility thus suggests a break from the devotional printing of the mid-Heian period. However, instead of representing a unique development within printing, many aspects of these texts display strong continuity with the wider manuscript culture. Just as sutras for dedication were printed on rolls, commentaries for study like Yixing's 一行 (683–727) commentary on the *Mahāvairocana Sutra*, the *Dainichikyō-sho* 大日經疏, were printed in a paste-bound codex format (*detchōsō* 粘葉装), the most important medium of scholarly manuscripts in monasteries from the twelfth through fifteenth centuries. Reproducing the double-sided leaves of this format in woodblock print required an extremely complicated carving procedure, but here again, manuscript practice dictated print form.<sup>8</sup>

The close continuity between print and manuscript formats throughout the eleventh through thirteenth centuries troubles deterministic assumptions about the effects or roles of print. In contrast to the developmental model that tends to govern book history, the thirteenth-century Mt. Kōya printing projects suggest multivalent aims and effects. I will argue that the devotional printing model remained fundamental to the sponsorship of printing, and that print nevertheless was treated very differently than manuscript, but that to understand these differences we cannot rely on anachronistic assumptions about efficiency, or about publication as integral to printing technology.

### Adachi Yasumori's Printing Projects

Little direct documentation of early publication activities on Mt. Kōya survives, so the history of printing has largely been reconstructed through colophons inside surviving texts. The earliest dated publication is a copy of Kūkai's literary work *Sangō shiiki* 三教指歸 dated to 1253, followed by several other titles printed in the 1250s.

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<sup>7</sup> On the importance of debate in medieval Japan, see Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light*.

<sup>8</sup> Sumiyoshi, 'Nihon chūsei no hangi to hanpon'.

The *Dainichikyō-sho*, the longest text printed by the temple, was part of a second burst of publication activity beginning in 1276. Its first volume concludes with the following note:

建治三年〈丁丑〉五月四日於金剛峯寺信藝書  
 為續三寶慧命於三會之出世、廣施一善利益於一切之衆生、是則守  
 大師之遺誠、儉令遂小臣之心願、謹以開印板矣  
 建治三年〈丁丑〉八月 日  
 從五位上行秋田城介藤原朝臣

Written out by Shingei at Kongōbuji on the Fourth Day of the Fifth Month, Kenji 3 (1277).

In order to carry forward the wisdom of the three treasures unto the manifestation of [Maitreya's] three assemblies, [I will] broadly extend the merit of one [act of] goodness unto all sentient beings. This is to satisfy the final vow of the Great Teacher [Kūkai] and incidentally fulfill my own heart's desire. I humbly set these blocks for publication.

Kenji 3, 8th Month, - Day

Junior Fifth Rank Upper Superintendent of Akita Fujiwara no *ason*<sup>9</sup>

Superintendent of Akita was the title of Adachi Yasumori 安達泰盛 (1231–1285), a powerful official in the Kamakura military government. His name appears in several other texts published on Kōya during these years, which include two *sūtras* (*Vajrasekhara Sūtra* and *Susiddhikara Sūtra*) that seem to have been printed as scrolls, but were mostly scholastic texts printed as codices, including *Goshōrai mokuroku* 御請來目錄 (a bibliography of texts brought back to Japan by Kūkai), a Sillan commentary on ritual instructions in the *Mahāvairocana Sutra* (the *Kuyō shidaibō sho* 供養次第法疏), and two treatises on Sanskrit (the *Shittan jiki* 悉曇字記 and Kūkai's *Aji gishaku* 阿字義釋). Based on the large increase in titles between Mt. Kōya printer's catalogues dated 1260 and 1300, he likely sponsored several other works at this time as well.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Mizuhara, *Kōyaban no kenkyū*, 649–50.

<sup>10</sup> Mizuhara, *Kōyaban no kenkyū*, 129–49.

The rise of the Adachi began with Yasumori's great-grandfather Morinaga 盛長 (1135–1200), a follower of Minamoto no Yoritomo 源頼朝 (1147–1199). Morinaga's origins are unclear, though he and his descendants would frequently claim Fujiwara ancestry. The Adachi became one of the most important houseman (*gokenin* 御家人) lineages within the Kamakura shogunate. Morinaga's son Kagemori 景盛 (d. 1248), a favored ally of the third shogun Sanetomo 實朝 and his mother Hōjō Masako 北條政子, married his daughter to Hōjō Yasutoki 北條泰時 (1183–1242), the third shogunal regent (*shikken* 執權), thereby becoming grandfather to two succeeding regents. Yasumori's father Yoshikage 義景 (1210–1253) died relatively young, but Yasumori adopted his half-sister and married her to the eighth regent, Tokimune 時宗 (1251–1284), continuing this form of marriage politics.

Following the death of the powerful fifth regent, Hōjō Tokiyori 北條時頼 (1227–1263), Yasumori was able to exert growing control over the military government, his resources and familial relationship to the Hōjō allowing him to supplant their power in much the way the Hōjō had themselves supplanted the shogun. Tokiyori's underage heir Tokimune was forced to rely on a clique composed of Yasumori, the aged Hōjō Masamura 北條政村 (1205–1273), and Hōjō Sanetoki 北條實時 (1224–1276). After the latter two men died in the 1270s, Yasumori displayed a corresponding increase in direct power over the Kamakura government, administering the distribution of rewards to warriors returning from the 1274 Mongol invasion.<sup>11</sup> In 1282, he claimed the title of Governor of Mutsu, an office that had previously been the prerogative of the Hōjō, making an unmistakable display of his power. This *de facto* authority became absolute with the death of Tokimune in 1284, and Yasumori responded by issuing a series of new laws.<sup>12</sup> These were cut short, however, by the assassination of Yasumori and the eradication of his power base in the so-called 'Midwinter Unrest' (*Shimotsuki sōdō* 霜月騒動) of 1285, one of the deadliest internal battles of the Kamakura period, killing hundreds of the Adachi and their allies over the following months. The Kōya

<sup>11</sup> Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune*, 79–82.

<sup>12</sup> On these laws, see Conlan, *State of War*, 115–16.

imprints correspond to the period in which Yasumori's power in the eastern military government was reaching its peak.

Yasumori's relationship with Mt. Kōya and patronage of esoteric Buddhism was long-standing. His grandfather Kagemori took vows and retired to Kōya in 1225, receiving esoteric initiation rites from the Daigoji monk Jitsugen 實賢 (1176–1249). The Adachi temple Muryōjuin 無量壽院, built on the grounds of Yoshikage's manor, became a center of Shingon learning in Kamakura, absorbing the library of Zenpen Kōgyō 禅遍宏教 (1184–1255) on his death. Yasumori himself became a lay initiate into esoteric rites at ceremonies held here.<sup>13</sup> A letter from Hōjo 法助 (1227–1284), the former abbot of the imperially sponsored Shingon temple Ninnaji 仁和寺, to one of his students suggests that Yasumori was viewed by the capital establishment as the most important patron of Shingon in the east.<sup>14</sup>

The colophons in Yasumori's imprints invoke the same language of devotional copying found in hand-copied sutras from the earliest surviving examples onward. As in the example above, textual reproduction is described in terms of an individual's vow whose merit will produce benefits, usually dedicated to all sentient beings. However, most of the imprints contain not the sacrosanct sutras typically associated with devotional copying, but scholastic texts. Kūkai authored or imported many of the titles, so it is noteworthy that the colophons also frequently mention Kūkai (Kōbō Daishi), the founder of Mt. Kōya whose cult had grown over the second half of the Heian period. The choice of works associated with Kūkai for publication recalls the publication of during the same period of the three sutra commentaries attributed to Prince Shōtoku at the Shōtoku-cult center Hōryūji 法隆寺 (Nara).<sup>15</sup> If there is a break here from manuscript copying

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<sup>13</sup> Fukushima, *Adachi Yasumori*, 108–10.

<sup>14</sup> *Kamakura ibun*, no. 15145, 20: 8106–09. This letter is discussed in Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune*, 204–206. Yasumori's father Yoshikage conspired with Hōjō Tokiyori to appoint Hōjo, the son of Kujō Michiie 九條道家 (1193–1252), to the position of abbot over the objections of rivals. See Fukushima, 'Adachi Yasumori to Kamakura no jiin', 6–7.

<sup>15</sup> Yamamoto, *Kichō tenseki*, 298.

patterns, it might be characterized as a kind of monumental function accorded to printing; glorifying a religious patriarch while generating merit for the world and, of course, the sponsor.

### Kōya, Kamakura, and Kyoto

The monumentalizing application of print becomes clearer through comparison with other projects sponsored on Mt. Kōya by Yasumori. The most well-documented of these is a set of stone stupas erected beginning in 1265, replacing the wooden markers along the fifteen-mile path from the mountain complex's entryway to Kūkai's tomb in the Inner Hall (*oku-no-in* 奥院).<sup>16</sup> Over the course of twenty years, 217 stone stupas, each extending about two meters above ground and with the familiar five-ring structure (*gorintō* 五輪塔), were placed at one-*chō* intervals along the path and around the Inner Hall; most of these can still be seen there today. Yasumori seems to have been the most important sponsor of this enormous undertaking. In a 1285 prayer offered at the project's completion by its organizer, Kakukyō 覺教 (dates unknown), Yasumori is singled out as a 'third-generation great contributor' 三代大施主, and a list of deceased at the prayer's end pays tribute to Yasumori's father and grandfather alongside Emperor GoSaga and several of the Hōjō.<sup>17</sup> Each stupa contains an engraving naming a particular sponsor, and Yasumori is named on six of them—more than any other individual.<sup>18</sup> This project was not simply infrastructure maintenance conducted by the temple: a 1265 prayer by Kakukyō at the project's beginning emphasized the personal safety and longevity of the imperial household, the shogun, and the Hōjō regency: a group

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<sup>16</sup> The origin of these wooden markers is unclear, but at least by the late eleventh century they were referred to as 'stupas', perhaps imitating in appearance the wooden placards (*sanrōfuda* 参籠札) often left at medieval pilgrimage sites. Aikō, *Kōyasan chōishī no kenkyū*, 54–59.

<sup>17</sup> Aikō, *Kōyasan chōishī no kenkyū*, 62–71.

<sup>18</sup> See the detailed list of sponsors in Aikō, *Kōyasan chōishī no kenkyū*, 90–110.

that expanded to include the Adachi by the project's end in 1285.<sup>19</sup> This discourse on safeguarding the ruling elite characterized the construction as protection of the state: Kakukyō explains that 'when the Buddha's law triumphs the sovereign's law 王法 will prosper; when the sovereign's law prospers the Buddha's law will triumph—it is like the two wings of a bird or two wheels of a cart'.<sup>20</sup> The effort furthermore itself serves as evidence of the court's unified harmony: the donations that funded the construction are attributed to 'all the islands and provinces,' 'great and lowly', and most importantly 'capital and hinterland'—the dual polity of Kyoto and Kamakura joined through ritual.<sup>21</sup>

The intimate connection between these Kōya-based monuments and the sovereignty of the imperial household is crystalised in a special stupa erected in conjunction with the path-marker set, containing a prayer for the late Emperor GoSaga (1220–1272) on the one-year anniversary of his death. Located just outside Kūkai's tomb, this stupa commemorates GoSaga's pilgrimage there in 1258, when the sin-expiating *rishu zanmai* 理趣三昧 service was performed for the retired emperor's benefit.<sup>22</sup> GoSaga's sustained efforts to strengthen imperial influence over the major temple-shine complexes is one of

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<sup>19</sup> Mizuhara, *Kōyasan kinseki zusesetsu*, 25–27.

<sup>20</sup> On the ideology of 'mutual dependence of the law of the sovereign and law of the Buddha' (*ōbō Buppō sōiron*) as a medieval conception of the relationship of Buddhism to worldly power, see Kuroda, 'The Imperial Law and the Buddhist Law'.

<sup>21</sup> On the Kamakura period's 'dual polity', see especially Mass, *Yoritomo and the Founding of the First Bakufu*.

<sup>22</sup> GoSaga's pilgrimage is dated to Shōka 1 and 2 (1257 or 1258) in various sources; there may have been two separate pilgrimages, but it is curious that each source gives either one year or the other, with none listing both. I am tentatively taking the later date as supported by a larger number of older sources. Detailed descriptions of GoSaga's pilgrimage(s) to Mt. Kōya can be found in *Kōyasan gyokō gyoshutsu ki*, 293–94, and *Masukagami*, 'Oriiru kumo', 2:35–40. The performance of the *rishu zanmai* rite at the Inner Hall is recorded in 'Kōyasan kengyōchō 高野山検校帳', document no. 1661 in *Kōyasan monjo*, 7: 424.

the key themes of his career, and this pilgrimage perhaps represented a rapprochement between him and Kongōbuji, with whom he had a series of conflicts in the 1240s.<sup>23</sup>

At the summit of the sequence of stone stupas set up along the Mt. Kōya pilgrimage path, GoSaga's stupa serves as an avatar of the project's most prestigious sponsor, symbolizing the mutually supportive relationship of state and samgha. However, the prayer on the stupa, offered in Yasumori's name, devotes primary attention to the personal relationship between Yasumori and GoSaga. The prayer is couched in language of gratitude, positioning Yasumori as beholden to the favor of GoSaga for his position. This indebtedness is abstracted to a moral teaching: 'To reward grace with goodness is the Buddha's teaching, the golden sage's sayings are before my eyes; to repay virtue with filial piety is mankind's law, the uncrowned king's [Confucius] lesson is etched on my liver'.<sup>24</sup> GoSaga's favor is materialized in a fetish, a set of classical Chinese books from GoSaga that Yasumori weeps over after the former's demise. The vow expressed in the prayer is that Yasumori's devotional act of erecting the stone stupa will aid toward repaying his debt by easing GoSaga's transition to paradise, with Yasumori's personal gratitude toward the late emperor presented as an isomorphic transformation of the relationship of obligation inhering between sentient beings and the Buddha.<sup>25</sup> In this way, the prayer recasts GoSaga from sponsor to beneficiary, inserting Yasumori at the crux of the court-temple/King-Buddha axis.

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<sup>23</sup> On GoSaga and Mt. Kōya, see Adolphson, *The Gates of Power*, 200–2. In 1248, GoSaga attempted to appoint a political enemy of Kongōbuji's to the position of *chōja* 長者 or head of Tōji 東寺, the Shingon temple in Kyoto, which would also have included jurisdiction over Kongōbuji. See Ebina, 'Chūsei zenki ni okeru Kōyasan', 13–16.

<sup>24</sup> *Kamakura ibun*, no. 11189, 15: 6044. The phrase 'to repay virtue' appears as 訓德 in this edition, but can be corrected to 酬德 based on the rubbing facsimile preserved in the Edo-period antiquarian collection *Shūko jissbu*, 2:111–12 (酬 is a variant for 酬).

<sup>25</sup> On the role of indebtedness discourse in medieval Japanese Buddhism, see Ruppert, *Jewel in the Ashes*, 36–42.



Yasumori was a warrior whose life and career were based in Kamakura; he can only be documented traveling to the capital of Kyoto twice as a youth.<sup>26</sup> However, as the office of shogun passed to nobility and then imperial princes, the shogunal household's reliance on the Adachi brought the latter into contact with Kyoto circles. Yasumori took over patronage of a Kyoto temple founded by Minamoto no Sanetomo's widow in 1272, and in 1275 helped rebuild a Hachiman shrine there associated with Yoritomo's lineage.<sup>27</sup> Despite his geographic basis in the east, the capital aristocracy was cognizant of Yasumori's growing power, and he increasingly sought to exert influence directly upon them: in 1279, a courtier diary relates that Yasumori had sent a gift of horses, a sword, and fifty *ryō* of gold to the capital regent Takatsukasa Kanehira 鷹司兼平 (1228–1294), as he sought to induce him to sign over management of an estate in Ōmi Province.<sup>28</sup>

Yasumori's printing on Mt. Kōya—which began in 1277, the year that fundraising for the stone stupas was completed—continued the latter's coordination of relationships among the Shingon establishment, the imperial household, and wealthy eastern warriors, part of a larger pattern of Yasumori's involvement in Shingon devotional acts with links to the imperial household. According to a colophon at the end of Yasumori's *Dainichikyō-sho* imprint, he was able to obtain a proof text for use in publishing the work from GoSoga's son, Prince Shōjo 性助 (1247–1283), the princely abbot (*monzeki*) of Ninnaji.<sup>29</sup> Yasumori's religious endeavors at Kōya served the imperial household by facilitating its sponsorship of esoteric Buddhism. The repeated discourse of 'capital and hinterland' or 'sovereign's law and Buddhist law' surrounding his sponsorship of these rituals parallels the Ada-

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<sup>26</sup> *Azuma kagami*, Kangen 2 (1244)/6/17, 33:321; *Yōkōki*, Kangen 4 (1246)/6/15, 1: 178. For Yasumori's military exploits, see *Azuma kagami*, Hōji 1 (1247)/6/5, 33: 380–81.

<sup>27</sup> Murai, *Hōjō Tokimune*, 77; Fukushima, *Adachi Yasumori*, 77.

<sup>28</sup> *Kanchūki*, Kōan 2 [1279]/2/2, 2:79.

<sup>29</sup> Mizuhara, *Kōyaban no kenkyū*, 651–52. Fukushima argues that a letter dated to the early 1270s sent to Hōjō Sanetoki describes a meeting between Prince Shōjo and Yasumori. *Adachi Yasumori*, 107–08.

chi's own position as an essential link in the complex negotiations of thirteenth-century power-sharing.

## Conclusion

In content, period, and format, thirteenth-century Kōya imprints like the *Dainichikyō-sho* are clear examples of the turn to pedagogical and practical printing in medieval Japan. However, the text itself insists upon the soteriological motive of Yasumori's production, not simply as an indirect support of Buddhist ritual and learning, but a noble act that in itself generates merit. Moreover, in tracing the records of Yasumori's patronage of Shingon Buddhism, one repeatedly encounters connections with Retired Emperor GoSaga and his own ritually ensured sovereignty. Yasumori's publication projects occurred as he was reinventing himself as the head of the Kamakura shogunate, an authority bolstered by his ability to position himself as a revered sponsor of sacred works both in his own right and on behalf of the imperial household. These soteriological and monumental aspects of the Kōya imprints seem to have been compounded by their printed format. As discussed above, devotional manuscript reproduction has a long history in Japan, specifically authorized in texts like the *Lotus Sutra* that insist on the merit of their own reproduction. In the case of Yasumori's publications it seems that this aura of merit is extended to scholastic, non-ritual texts such as Sanskrit treatises through the employment of print reproduction, the engraving of woodblocks demanding recognition like the stone-carving of the path markers.

The discourse surrounding these printing projects suggests that this legitimation might be understood as a function of the project's technical complexity, the numerous layers of mediation that produce the printed object (sources borrowed, texts compared, funds appropriated, prayers offered, blocks carved, etc.), each step linking the sponsor into a wider circle of patronage. Nor did this network cease with a single run of imprints: a Mt. Kōya catalog dated 1300 lists page numbers and production prices (for paper and printing) for a number of texts, including several titles that had been spon-

sored by Yasumori, connecting Yasumori's sponsorship of Shingon scholasticism to the finances of the temple.<sup>30</sup> We might say that for thirteenth-century elites, print was important because it enabled new types of social relationships to be integrated into textual reproduction; however, it is clear that the conditions of this possibility were cultural and arbitrary, not a function of print's 'efficiency', 'economy', or 'reliability'.

In the discussion above, I attempted the beginning of a critique of historiography of the Japanese book, which has relied on an ends-based, chronological typology of development from early devotional printing to medieval educational printing to early-modern commercial printing. The aims of Yasumori's printing projects are overdetermined, with devotional, practical, and political goals and outcomes inextricably linked. However, they do provide some clues for an alternative framework of the historical changes in print reproduction in Japan. Most important is the ineluctable sociality of printing: as an expensive and labor-intensive enterprise, printing only occurs through group alliances, which perhaps contribute to the web of motivations seen above, but also suggest that shifts in social configurations will have immediate ramifications for opportunities and uses for printing. This consideration of the growth of printing in the medieval period and its extension to new kinds of texts therefore demands that we begin from the reconstruction of human relationships.

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<sup>30</sup> *Kūkai kara no okurimono*, 88–91.

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FRONT COVER IMAGE: ‘Zhao Mengfu xiejing huancha tujian’ 趙孟頫寫經換茶圖卷 [Scroll painting featuring Zhao Mengfu’s 趙孟頫 (1254–1322) copying a *sūtra* in exchange for tea], by Qiu Ying 仇英 (1494–1552) of the Ming. Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art, accessed December 25, 2020, <https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1963.102>.

BACK COVER IMAGE: Dunhuang manuscript of the *Diamond Sūtra* copied at the commission of Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705) for the posthumous welfare of her mother, dated 676 (Yifeng 儀鳳 1). Currently preserved in the National Library of China. Courtesy of the Shuge Digital Library 書格數字圖書館, accessed December 25, 2020, [https://new.shuge.org/view/yifeng\\_yuan\\_nian\\_jin\\_gang\\_jing/](https://new.shuge.org/view/yifeng_yuan_nian_jin_gang_jing/).



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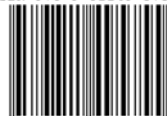


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