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

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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 Tripițaka 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>•</sup> 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, *Tripiṭaka 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 Vrddhimata 筏提摩多 in 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;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 德一 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 *Laṅkâvatāra-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>

<sup>&</sup>lt;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; Shioirī 'Shaku Makaen ron kaidai', 1–19; Kim Jiyun, 'Seogmahayeonlonui juseogjeog yeongu', 16–22, etc.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;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説是 新羅國中朝山僧月忠僞作'.

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.

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)

TABLE 1 Study Regarding the SML Production Period

- <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'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;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, *Shingonshū kyōjigi* 眞言宗 教時義, *T* no. 2396, 375b2-4.

Shi Moheyan lun, T no. 1668, 594b20–24; Shi Moheyan lun, T no. 1668, 608c14–17; 608c23–26; 609a1–4.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Tanigawa, '*Nyū ryōga kyō* kenkyū nōto'.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Sato, 'Silla Kegon to Shaku Makaen ron'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Kim Jiyun, '*Seogmahayeonlon*ui juseogjeog yeongu'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;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 Moheyan 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) *Jinguangming 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 Abbridged 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>

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Jinguangming jing xuanyi shiyiji, T no. 1784, 21a13-14: '故釋摩訶衍論云, 等覺已上有眞僧寶'; 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 Tripița-ka* 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  $\exists x 03855(3-1) \cdot \exists x 03855(3-2) \cdot \exists x 03855(3-3) \cdot 2^4$ These are parts of the 8th volume:  $\exists x 03855(3-1)$  is 656c19-29(3) and 656c10-19(2),  $\exists x 03855(3-2)$  is 657a12-19(5) and 656b22-c10(1), and  $\exists x 03855(3-3)$  is  $656a29-657a10(4) \cdot 2^5$  The Dunhuang

<sup>22</sup> Shengfa 聖法, *Shi Moheyan lunji* 釋摩訶衍論記; Famin 法敏, *Shi Moheyan lunshu* 釋摩訶衍論疏 (Tang 唐); Fawu 法悟, *Shi Moheyan lunzan xuanshu* 釋 摩訶衍論贊玄疏; Zhifu 志福, *Shi Moheyan lun ton xuan chao* 釋摩訶衍論通玄 鈔; Shouzhen 守臻, *Shi Moheyan lun tongzan shu* 釋摩訶衍論通贊疏; Xianyan 鮮演, *Moheyan lun xianzheng shu* 摩訶衍論顯正疏 (Liao 遼); Puguan 普觀, *Shi Moheyan lun ji* 釋摩訶衍論記 and *Shi Moheyan 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. Ptergsurg 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

準摩訶衍論説, 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'.

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:  $28^{27}$  (*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 Hanwen Museum Lüshun bowuguan cang Xinjiang chutu 旅順博物館蔵新疆出土漢文佛經選粹 Fojing хиапсиі [Selected] Fragments of Chinese Buddhist Texts from Xingjian region Lushun Museum] as LM20 1487 19 04 (T no. 1668, in 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 Tripițaka 契丹大藏經, and the whole volume

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* 大正蔵·敦煌出土仏典対照目録 [A Concordance to the Taishō Tripiṭaka and Dunhuang Buddhist Manuscript], 3rd edition. This book says that Дx03855(3-2) is 656b22-c10 and Дx03855(3-1) is 656c19-657a19 (p.233). However, I confirmed that it is a mistake, so it would be fixed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Peng, Dunhuang mogaoku beiqu shiku, B125: 28.

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;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 Tripiṭaka* was drafted between 1149 and 1178, and it's source texts were the *Kaibaoban dazang jing* 開寶 版大藏經 of the Northern Song 北宋 and the *Qidan Tripiṭaka*.

#### 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 Shouzhen 守臻.<sup>31</sup>

The First Edition of the *Tripițaka 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 *Tripițaka*, the *Tripițaka 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 *Tripițaka 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>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok, T no. 2184, 1174c29.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Choi, 'Sinpyeon jejong gyojang chongnok ui', 121.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> 'The Research Institute of *Tripițaka 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 眞言宗 and believed Nāgarjuna wrote the *SML*, emphasized its importance and placed it on the list of books Shingon monks should study (*Shingonshū shogaku ritsuron mokuroku* 眞言宗所學律論目錄). 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  $\overline{\Box}$   $\square$   $\mp$  (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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> All Rights are reserved to The Research Institute of *Tripițaka Koreana*. Do not quote or use the document without their permission. I thank The Research Institute of *Tripițaka Koreana* for providing this manuscript and for the permission to use it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;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 hanan eshaku shogi 釋摩訶衍論決疑破難會 釋抄義; Kakuban 覺鑁 (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 杲寶 (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 宥快 (1345-1416), Shaku Makaen ron ketaku shū 釋摩訶衍論之詞 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 paged 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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Ishiyamadera, Ishiyama dera kokyō shūei, 162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> All Rights are reserved to the Tōdai-ji 東大寺 Library. Do not quote or use the document without their permission. I thank the Tōdai-ji Library for providing the manuscript and the permission to use it. Regarding the manuscript at Tōdai-ji, the words '承元二年, 戊辰三月十五日於...' are written on the last page of the first fascicle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> All rights are reserved to the Otani University Museum 大谷大学博物館. Do not quote or use the document without their permission. I thank the Otani University Library for providing the manuscript and the permission to use it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> All rights are reserved to the Minobusan University Library 身延山大学図 書館. Do not quote or use the document without their permission. I thank the Minobusan University Library for providing the manuscript and the permission to use it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Imprint: '酬四恩之廣德, 興三寶之妙道, 此吾願也云云. 加之窺窬鑽仰之窻, 徒疲書冩挍合之勞. 漬旣踈千文義, 諳通之學業. 因兹且奉守高祖之遺誠, 且爲扶 末學之稽古, 謹開卬板, 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 *Tripițaka 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 寺古經聚英 [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.

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

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

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

Legend

- \* Although I separated the tables according to the range of comparision, 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 *Tripițaka 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].

No.	[麗(K)]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]	T no. 1668	Result
1	天冊	天冊	而回	而回	而回	而回	天冊	<b>杰</b> 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 惘想	惘想 惘想	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	Ē	H	<del>旧</del>		围	匼	圖	围
8	羅+(網)	羅+(網)	羅-	羅+(網)	羅+(網)	羅+(網)	羅+(網)	羅/羅網

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

14

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> In the Taishō footnote, the Gōya edition is marked [高], so I wrote the *Tripiṭaka 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	敭	敭	敭	敭	敭	敷	敡
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	抧	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	ıĿ	止	止
36	大	大	太	太	大	大	大	太
37	斷(?)	斷	濫	濫	濫	濫	斷	濫
38	兔	兔	菟	莵	菟	菟	免	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> по. 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+(寶)	冥-	冥-	冥-	冥-	冥+(實)	冥/寶冥
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> по. 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> по. 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)調	-調	-調	-調	-調	-調	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	+(謂)能	+(謂)能	-能	+(謂) 能	+(謂)能	+(謂) 能	+(謂)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]	<i>T</i> 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-	<del>等</del>
71	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	<u> </u>
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* 而回/天冊 [1], *hua* 化/*hua* 花[12], *ya* 厓/涯 [25], *cai* 綵/彩 [33], *tu* 菟/*tu* 兔 [38], *hua* 華/花 [51].

[1] is the same character. 'tian  $\overline{M}$ '<sup>44</sup> is the ancient style of 'tian  $\mathcal{F}$ ', and '*ce*  $\square$ ' is the same as '*ce*  $\square$ ', which means a royal edict. This word 'tian ce 天冊' refers to the position of the emperor.45 In [12], 'hua 化' and 'hua 花' are variant forms of characters, but they have different meanings when they are combined with the character 'vin 因'. The word 'huayin 化因' means the seed of reformation<sup>46</sup>, referring to the incarnation of Buddha as a human to save mankind. The word 'huayin 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 'hua 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>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Zdic.net, '天', (2015):

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Nasu, *Shaku Makaen ron kōgi*, 16. However, Seki Yurin mentioned that this letter seems like the Chinese characters of Empress Wu 则天文字. Seki, *'Shaku Makaen ron* no seiritsu jijyō', 93-109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Shioiri, *'Shaku Makaen ron* kaidai', 22.

<sup>47</sup> Shi 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  $[\overline{B}]$  and  $[\overline{\mathbb{R}}]$ .  $[\overline{X}]$  and  $[\overline{B}]$  wrote '*zhi*  $\gtrsim$ ' instead of '*yi*  $\bowtie$ ' in [13]. In [23], I presume that  $[\overline{R}]$ ,  $[\overline{X}]$ , and  $[\overline{B}]$  wrote the character '*yu*  $\mp$ ' instead of '*hu*  $\oplus$ ' to match the following sentence.<sup>48</sup> However, I could not rule out the possibility of a typographical error in  $[\overline{A}]$ . To sum up,  $[\overline{B}]$  and  $[\overline{\mathbb{R}}]$  exhibit the same tendency in the case of variant forms of characters. Meanwhile, there is the possibility of the same line between  $[\overline{X}]$  and  $[\overline{B}]$  in [13] and [23]. Furthermore, it could be surmised that the differences occurred during the time from  $[\overline{R}]$  to  $[\overline{X}]$  and  $[\overline{B}]$  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 匼 [7], shuang 雙/huo 獲 [10], maozuo 葉坐/lianzuo 蓮座 [11], xu 虛/ling 靈 [14], sha 沙/fa 法 [15], kong 恐/qì 契/gong 功 [16], xiao 簫/xiao 蕭/su 肅 [18], ju 詎/shui 誰 [19], yang 敭/fu 敷 [20], yuan 原/yuan 源 [21], lun 淪/lun 輪 [22], he 和/zhi 抧/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/魔/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  $\frac{7}{8}$ , so it is possible that the writter

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Shi Moheyan lun, T no. 1668, 592a22-24: '以輪星而過<u>乎</u>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.

No.	[麗]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]
3	音	首	青	Ť. ŧ	清	<del>上</del> 音
5	稱	稱	講	調	<b>議</b>	講
6	佇	停	行	停	停	作
7	E	1000	E SCI	<mark>е</mark>	Line I	<b>运</b> 650
10	獲	獲	<mark>嫂</mark> <sup>雙</sup>	51	الله E	<b>雙</b>
11	連 <sup>蓮</sup>	運	<b>ب</b> <sup>‡</sup>	来 東	· 英	<b>族</b> <sup>東</sup>
	蓮	連	道	運 蓮	運	蓮

 TABLE 5
 The Comparison of Characters

<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>&</sup>lt;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 ke 匼, but qu 區 was marked 區 in the other part.

<sup>&</sup>lt;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	座	<b>生</b> 坐	文 坐	<b>坐</b>	坐
14	· · ·································	雷	重虛	虚	虚 <sup>虚</sup>	<b>唐</b>
15	沙沙	法	沙	<b>沙</b> 沙	<b>沙</b>	沙
16	<b>刀</b> 功	契	<b>次</b>	<b>次</b>	<b>怨</b> 恐	恐
18	肅	「「「「」」	斎	簫 簫	調	新
19	論	訂	診	記	言語	語
20	夷文	敡	教	敭	<b>秋</b>	影
21	源	原	京	源	派	源
22	輪	輪	淪	<b>派</b>	斎	淪
24	打	<del>れ</del>	和	<b>加</b>	着に	和
32	<b>奚</b> 52	爱爱	夏爰	<b>天</b> 爱	<b>没</b> 爱	爱爱

 $<sup>^{52}~</sup>$  It is an error because the same letters of other parts were written as in [ $\ensuremath{\mathbbm H}$ ].

No.	[麗]	[房]	[石]	[東]	[大]	[身]
34	吐	吐	vt	"ti	et.	Pb
	吐	吐	叱	叱	叱	叱
37	坐下	断	蓝	置	<b>邀</b>	盗
	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 'jiangsheng 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  $\Box$  of the street from old times<sup>254</sup> in [5] and [6]. The word [11] means 'the seat in Jetavana-Vihara'55, 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.56 Furthermore, as shown in <Table 5>, others, except [房] and [麗], distinguish 'mao 菓' and 'lian 蓮'. [14] praises two authors, Aśvaghosa 馬鳴 of the Dasheng gixin lun and Nāgārjuna 龍樹 of the SML, likening them to Mount Sumeru and the air.57 Therefore, 'ling 靈' is a miswriting of 'xu 虛'. In [22], 'lun 淪' is wrongly written as 'lun 輪' because '口星' means the star group such as the Milky Way.58 In

<sup>&</sup>lt;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>&</sup>lt;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, 勞度差呪出花菓茂盛之大樹而莊嚴座床故云菓座也.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;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>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Shi Moheyan lun, T no. 1668, 592a22: "以口星而過乎月珠...'

[28], '上口' 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 '*xiang* 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] is missing 'zhu 諸' is missing from 'zhufo 諸佛'. Moreover, I found that some letters were written at the right

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Shi Moheyan lun, T no. 1668, 592b5-6: '語則淨名朕呵, 談則善吉朕口.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;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 <調>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* -) [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>&</sup>lt;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] explaines 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>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Shi Moheyan lun, T no. 1668, 592a16-17: '馬鳴聖□光明之德... 龍樹大士 妙雲之瑞.'

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;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 *Tripițaka 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  $\exists x 03855(3-1) \cdot \exists x 03855(3-2) \cdot \exists x 03855(3-3)$  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 *Tripiţaka Koreana* [麗], the *Fangshan Stone Sutra* [房], and the Minobusan University [身].
- \* The numbers in the tables are marked in '[]', such as [1].

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

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

 $<sup>^{67}</sup>$  The mark ' $\infty$ ' means that the changing of the order is dimly visible.

No.	[敦]	[麗(K)]	[房]	[身]	<i>T</i> 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].



The shape of character '*bian* (#)' resembles the letter '*bi* (#)'. Only [?] wrote '*ji bian* 即(#)', and the rest put '*ji bi* 即(#)' 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 (#)' would be proper. [7] would be a writing mistake; the character '*lai*  $\pi$ ' looks similar to the letter '*shu*  $\pi$ ' (see below).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Shi Moheyan lun, T no. 1668, 655c27: '若誦此咒已訖, 卽<u>便</u>...'; 656a19: ' 若此神咒誦一千五百遍已訖, 卽<u>便</u>...'



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 ' $da \square ji xiang cao$ 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 + 4a >' (T no. 1668, 656b22) and '<math>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 Tripiṭaka* 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 Tripiṭaka* used.

<sup>&</sup>lt;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  $[\overline{B}]$  of China and  $[\overline{B}]$  of Korea are distinguished from  $[\overline{\alpha}]\cdot[\overline{p}]\cdot[\overline{\lambda}]\cdot[\overline{\beta}]$  of Japan. In addition, even if they was made in the same area, there is some differences between them:  $[\overline{\beta}]$  and  $[\overline{B}]$  in China, and  $[\overline{\alpha}]$ ,  $[\overline{p}]$ ,  $[\overline{\lambda}]$ , and  $[\overline{\beta}]$  in Japan. In the latter case,  $[\overline{\alpha}]$  and  $[\overline{p}]$  differ from  $[\overline{\lambda}]$  and  $[\overline{\beta}]$ , and only  $[\overline{\lambda}]$  or only  $[\overline{\beta}]$  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 Tripițaka*, but [麗] was modified via comparison with other texts. Second, the original script of [麗] differed from [房], but was checked against the *Qidan Tripițaka* 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 Tripițaka*.

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 Tripițaka* 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 Tripițaka* 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 woodblock-printed books in East Asia.

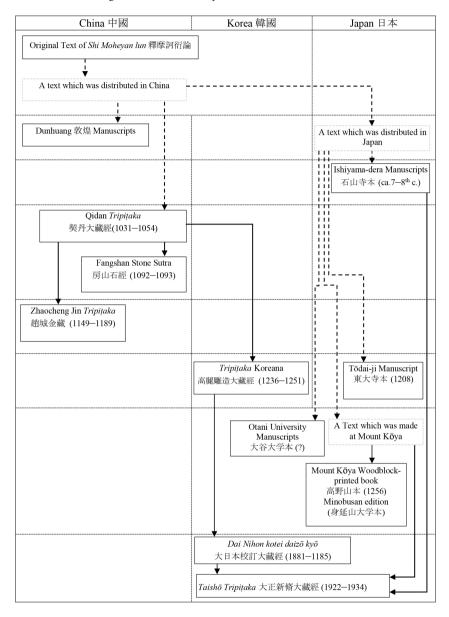


TABLE 7 The Pedigree of the Shi Moheyan Lun<sup>70</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;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 Moheyan lun Texts

Legend

- \* The original script is the woodblock-printed book of *Tripițaka Koreana* of the Woljeongsa Temple 月精寺 collection. The comparative texts are the *Taishō Tripițaka*, 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 Tripițaka* is different from the *Dai Nihon kōtei daizō kyō* 大日本校訂大藏經 [Revised Tripițaka 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 Tripițaka Koreana 'K.', the Taishō Tripițaka '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71鳳威姚興皇帝製

盖<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>恒剎, 擧極喜之珠 [珏/(冗-几+(樂-白+ 1))], 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, 後果靣<sup>78</sup> 摩尼寶藏之區<sup>79</sup>, 至於東境. 當因陁羅網<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>, 弃來以企龜鏡, 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, 卽急來後, 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(T591c28 '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] 惘想惘想) '惘惘想想'[房], 惘惘想想[石], 惘惘 想想[東], 惘想惘想[大], 惘想惘想[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] ⑥) 區[房], 區[石], 區[東], 區[大], ⑥[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].

84 [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].

86 [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,而矚搜過恒,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.可調<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.遣騻奉迎,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,兩曜之靣圓臨,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

88 [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) 蕭[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]敭) 敭[房], 敭[石], 敭[東], 敭[大], 敭[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)輪[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') 拱[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+(謂)[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 而噵言住, 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)+└)\*下]<sup>109</sup>月, 文請 於龜兔<sup>110</sup>翰借, 輙申鄙製, 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111

頂禮礼<sup>112</sup>圓滿覺,覺所證法藏,幷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.論日今造此論,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, 漠漠冥冥實<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

103 [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].

105 [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 '免', [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-[月].

114 [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.

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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 靜壞論宗故,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.頌日 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.論日凡集一代種種諸論, 摠有十万<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,四者閣他論,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. 頌日摠有一百部 九十九種文 十種義所攝 斯論寶冊攝.論日馬鳴菩薩所作諸論, 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].

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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, 擧後攝初中 故,如是而已.復次比來次第分明顯了故,以上二頌本流127,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128寂靜無雜一味平等,不增不減129 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130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. 調能134生一切世間, 出世間善因果故者, 摠摽能入二種 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) +(謂)能[房], -能[石], +(謂)能[東], +(謂)能[大], +(謂)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.何故依眞如門,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.眞如門中,無他相 故,生滅門中有他相故.他調一切不善品法,自謂一切淸淨品法.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.復次爲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,一心別爲一,三大摠爲一,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,摠爲

<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].

137 [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].

144 [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+(爲)[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. 頌日平 等平等一,皆無有別異,各攝諸法故然終不雜亂. 論日能入所入十 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. 然終不雜本末能所. 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. 調微塵數過去諸佛,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,達於淸淨無上地故. 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

秦 <胡釘切簾也>□ ぶ <羅暗切水也>□ 煎 <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, 即彼<sup>150</sup>像中, 付二字輪<sup>151</sup>. 調若 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, 調若爲修彼<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, 調 若爲修彼止輪門人, 必當服[囗@(王/(王\*王))]<sup>154</sup>字輪而已, 服何處 耶. 調方寸處故. 以何義故, 必付此輪. 調此字輪三世諸佛, 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].

- 149 [73] K. 1001a19(T. 602a12) 有-[房], 有-[石], 有-[東], 有-[大], 有+(一)[身].
- <sup>150</sup> [1] K.1063b16(*T*. 656b22) 即便[敦], 即彼[房], 即彼[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+(謂)[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,擧初攝後故,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155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, 能善诵達慮知之心, 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156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, 即當攝來157,住於正念故158.六者顯示正念門,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.調若有人, 能修159此定, 漸漸轉轉, 竭煩惱海, 崩業障岳, 入眞如定, 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, 即有二意. 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160, 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 子决定不疑,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 [5]</sup> K.1063c07(T.656c09) 其-[敦], 其+(心)[房], 其+(心)[身].

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

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

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

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

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

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# Abbreviations

Κ	Koryŏ taejanggyŏng 高麗大藏經 [Tripiṭaka Koreana]
SML	Shi Moheyan lun 釋摩訶衍論
Т	Taishō shinshū daizōkyō 大正新脩大蔵経. See Bibliography,
	Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
X	Manji Shinsan Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō 卍新纂大日本續藏
	經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Kawamura , eds.
[敦]	Dunhuang Manuscript of Shi Moheyan lun 釋摩訶衍論
[房]	Fangshan Stone Sutra 房山石經 of Shi Moheyan lun 釋
	摩訶衍論
[麗]	Tripiṭaka Koreana 高麗大藏經 of Shi Moheyan lun 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</i>
	lun 釋摩訶衍論
[身]	Minobusan University 身延山大学 woodblock-printed
	book of Shi Moheyan lun 釋摩訶衍論
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