

世界仏教文化研究

Journal of World Buddhist Cultures

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**Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures,
Ryukoku University**

— March 2020 —

Editorial Note

Eiji HISAMATSU

Director, Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures

The Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures carried out diverse research projects in the year of the 380th celebration of the foundation of Ryukoku University. In addition to various talks by Japanese scholars specialized in Buddhist Studies, we held numerous lectures by scholars invited from abroad—for example, “A Window into Sino-Tibetan Pure Land Practices at Dunhuang” by Johnathan Silk (Professor, Leiden University, Netherlands), “Mid-century Transnational Japanese American Buddhism” by Scott A. Mitchell (Professor, Institute of Buddhist Studies, United States), “What Metaphors Mean and Do within Buddhist Philosophical Texts?: A Yogācāra Perspective” Roy Tzohar (Associate Professor, Tel Aviv University, Israel), and “Mid-century Transnational Japanese American Buddhism” by Richard Jaffe (Professor, Duke University, United States). Also, the awardees of the 2019 Numata Fellowship San Tun (Professor, Dagon University, Myanmar) and MENG Qiuli (Associate Researcher, China Tibetology Research Center, China) presented their works at the university.

With other co-sponsors, the Humanities Korea Project at Dongguk University, the Institute for the Study of Buddhism and Religious Theory at Renmin University of China, and the School of Philosophy and Religious at Minzu University of China, the Center and the Research Center for Buddhist Cultures in Asia (BARC) sponsored the international symposium titled “Constructing East Asian Buddhist Thoughts: Ginen, Gyōnen, and Flower Garland Philosophy.” We also co-hosted several international symposiums with Ryukoku University’s Center for South Asian Studies (RINDAS).

Two years ago, the Center established an official partnership with the Institute of East Asian Studies at University of California, Berkeley; together with the Shin Buddhist Comprehensive Research Institute at Otani University the three institutions have been conducting a research project on the *Tannishō*. Two workshops are to be held each academic year, and this year one was held at Otani University in June, 2019 and the other at University of California, Berkeley in March, 2020.

Furthermore, the Center frequently invited scholars from other Japanese universities to hold lectures on diverse topics; for example, “History of Exchange between Japan and Myanmar in Pre- and Post- War” by Takayoshi Kojima (Associate

Professor, Tsudajuku University) and “A View on Realities about Buddhist Exchange: Relationship between Thailand and Japan” by Tadayoshi Murakami (Professor, Osaka University). Likewise, topics of the lectures the Center hosted included comparative studies on Islamic chanting and Buddhist chanting, an analysis on Buddhist texts interred in a sculpture of Prince Shōtoku preserved at the Harvard University Museum, and an examination of the significance of Buddhist statues in society. Also, as the director at the Center, I attended Ryukoku University’s 380th Anniversary Memorial Forum titled, “The Forum on World’s Religions: In Search of Introspective Altruistic Society Not Yet Coming” held on November 16, 2019.

Last but certainly not least, I am pleased to announce the Center’s new publication the *Journal of World Buddhist Cultures* Vol. 3 which includes four articles by scholars from Japan and other countries. I would like to express my gratitude to the contributors, and it would be a delight if the journal could contribute to the development of international networks among Buddhist scholars.

発刊の辞

久松 英二
世界仏教文化研究センター長

龍谷大学世界仏教文化研究センターは、龍谷大学創立 380 周年にあたる今年度も様々な研究事業を展開しました。まず、講演会については、邦人研究者によるいくつかの講演会のほかに、オランダ・ライデン大学教授 Johnathan Silk 氏による A Window into Sino-Tibetan Pure Land Practices at Dunhuang、米国仏教大学院教授の Scott A. Mitchell 氏による Mid-century Transnational Japanese American Buddhism、テルアビブ大学准教授 Roy Tzohar 氏による What Metaphors Mean and Do within Buddhist Philosophical Texts?: A Yogācāra Perspective、米国デューク大学教授の Richard Jaffe 氏による Mid-century Transnational Japanese American Buddhism と題する諸講演会のほかに、沼田研究奨学金 2019 年度受賞者ミャンマーのダゴン大学哲学科教授・同科長 San Tun 氏と中国の孟秋麗氏（中国蔵学研究中心副研究員）による講演会など、海外研究者による講演会も多数開催しました。

シンポジウムについては、アジア仏教文化研究センターとの共同主催のもと、韓国の東国大学校仏教文化研究院 HK 研究団および中国の中国人民大学仏教與宗教学理論研究所並びに中央人民大學哲学與宗教学学院の共催で、日中韓国際シンポジウム「東アジア仏教思想史の構築—凝然・明恵と華嚴思想—」を開催したほか、南アジア研究センター主催のいくつかの国際シンポジウムを共催しました。また、2 年前に協定を結んだカリフォルニア大学バークレー校東アジア研究所および大谷大学真宗総合研究所との間ですでに始動した『歎異抄』に関する年 2 回のワークショップが、6 月には大谷大学で、2020 年 3 月にカリフォルニア大学バークレー校で開催されたほか、学外の専門家、たとえば、小島敬裕氏（津田塾大学准教授）による研究セミナー「戦前・戦後における日本とミャンマーの仏教交流史」や村上忠良氏（大阪大学教授）による研究セミナー「仏教交流の実相への視座——タイと日本の関係より」が開催されたほか、イスラームのズィクルと仏教の念仏の比較やハーバード大学美術館所蔵「聖徳太子像」の胎内納入文書あるいは社会の中の仏像の意義など様々なテーマに関する他の研究会が頻繁に開催されました。そして、龍谷大学 380 周年記念事業の主要イベントとして、11 月 16 日に開催された世界宗教フォーラム「自省利他の社会を求めて」にはセンター長として参加しました。

本センターの「応用研究部門」では、2016 年度から「グリーンケア公開講座」を上智大学グリーンケア研究所と共催で開催し、さらに同研究所の協力を得て、「臨床宗教師研修」を研究面から推進し、研究成果を教育（実践真宗学研究科）と社会に還元しています。

さて、『世界仏教文化研究』第 3 号には、国内外から 4 名の研究者の論考を掲載することができました。投稿くださいました方々に御礼を申し上げますとともに、この E ジャーナルが国内外の研究者に広く行き渡り、仏教研究の国際的ネットワークの構築に寄与することができるよう願っております。

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凡 例

- 1, 本誌は、英語を主言語とするが、日本語による投稿もさまたげない。したがって、目次、巻末執筆者等は、英語と日本語を併記する。
- 2, 漢字表記については、翻訳を含む日本語原稿の場合、一部の人名、書名を除き、原則、常用漢字に統一する。
- 3, 本誌中に使用されている図版の無断コピーは固く禁ずる。

Articles 1



**A Study and Translation of *An Extensive Commentary*
on the *Four Immeasurables* (*Tshad med bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa*)
attributed to Buddhagupta, with a Note About the Author**

⟨in English⟩

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Abstract

This paper focuses on a short commentary attributed to eight-century Indian Buddhist master Buddhagupta titled *An Extensive Commentary on the Four Immeasurables* (*Tshad med bzhi rgya cher 'grel pa*). The Four Immeasurables (*catur-apramāṇa*) is a set of virtues common to all Buddhist traditions: benevolence (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*), joy (*muditā*), and equanimity (*upekṣā*). Buddhagupta's commentary is approximately seven pages long and summarizes the Mahāyāna and Abhidharma traditions related to the Four Immeasurables. It is also the longest work in the *Bstan 'gyur* devoted entirely to the subject. This paper will also explore the issue of the author's name; in most Tibetan sources, he is known as Buddhaguhya, though a minority of sources use Buddhagupta. Buddhagupta was a prolific and influential figure during the *snga dar* or early spread of Buddhism in Tibet. More than thirty texts are attributed to him preserved in the *Bstan 'gyur*, ranging from practical letters of advice to the rulers, ministers, and Buddhist clergy of Tibet to lengthy commentaries on esoteric topics such as advanced tantric practices. Despite his importance, little is known about his historicity, and many of the works attributed to him are of uncertain provenance. The presence of two very similar names—Buddhaguhya and Buddhagupta—across various recensions complicates matters further. This paper proposes that this is the result of mistranslations that took place as the Tibetan canon was revised across the centuries, and that the correct rendering of his name is in fact Buddhagupta.

A Study and Translation of *An Extensive Commentary on the Four Immeasurables (Tshad med bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa)* attributed to Buddhagupta, with a Note About the Author

Jake NAGASAWA

Keywords : caturapramāṇa, Four Immeasurables, Buddhagupta, Buddhaguhya

The Four Immeasurables (*caturapramāṇa*, *tshad med bzhi*) are a set of virtues ubiquitous among Buddhist traditions: benevolence (*maitrī*, *byams pa*), compassion (*karuṇā*, *snying rje*), joy (*muditā*, *dga' ba*), and equanimity (*upekṣā*, *btang snyoms*). Early Buddhist sources for these include descriptions from *suttas* in the Pāli Canon—where the term Divine Abodes (*brahmavihārā*) is preferred—such as the *Mettasuttas* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya* and the *Aṅguttara Nikāya*.⁽¹⁾ Moving toward the fifth century CE, we find extensive explanations of the meaning and practice of the Four Immeasurables in Buddhaghosa's *Visuddhimagga* ⁽²⁾ and Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*.⁽³⁾ In Tibet, the recitation of prayers invoking the Four Immeasurables is *sine qua non* for setting the proper motivation during Buddhist liturgies.⁽⁴⁾ The Four Immeasurables are also mentioned in the fourth-to-fifth century

⁽¹⁾ Leon Feer, ed., *Saṃyutta-Nikāya, Part V: Mahā-vagga* (London: Pali Text Society, 1898), 115 and Richard Morris, ed., *Aṅguttara Nikāya, Part II Catukka Nipata* (London: Pali Text Society, 1888), 128-129. In Pāli, the Four Divine Abodes and *mettā*, *karuṇā*, *muditā*, and *upekkhā*. For a study in Japanese on the Divine Abodes in the Pāli scriptures with an emphasis on their relationship to nirvāṇa, see NAWA Ryūken 名和隆乾, “Pāri minori ni okeru shimuryōshin no yobiteki kenkyū: shimuryōshin to nehan no kankei ni tsuite,” *パーリ聖典における四無量心の予備的研究：四無量心と涅槃の関係について*, *Shinshū bunka: Shinshū bunka kenkyūjo nenpō* 真宗文化：真宗文化研究所年報 25 (March 2016): 1-21.

⁽²⁾ C.A.F. Rhys-Davids, ed., *The Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa* (London: The Pali Text Society, 1975), 295-325. In the Theravāda tradition, the Four Divine abodes are connected to the four *jhānas* or levels of meditative concentration.

⁽³⁾ Prahlad Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu* (Patna: K.P. Jayaswal Research Center, 1975), 452-454.

⁽⁴⁾ For one of many examples, see fol. 3a6 Dbang phyugs rdo rje, Karma pa XI. *Sgrub brgyud rin po che'i phreng ba karma kaṃ tshang rtogs pa'i don brgyud las byung ba'i gsung dri ma med pa rnams bkod nas ngag 'don rgyun khyer gyi ri ma pa 'phags lam bgrod pa'i shing rta*, in *Gdams ngag mdzod*, ed. 'Jam mgon kong sprul Blo gro mtha' yas (Delhi: Shechen Publications, 1999). This is a *sngon 'gro* or preliminary practice in the Karma or Kaṃ tshang Bka' brgyud tradition.

Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali.⁽⁵⁾ And in contemporary times, psychologists have developed scales to measure the application of the Four Immeasurables in meditation, and have even compared the varying psychological effects of meditating on compassion versus joy.⁽⁶⁾ The Four Immeasurables even enjoy a cameo in the popular 1983 film *Star Wars: Episode VI—Return of the Jedi*.⁽⁷⁾

The history and importance of Four Immeasurables have already been noted in the scholarly literature, most notably Harvey B. Aronson's *Love & Sympathy in Theravāda Buddhism* and in Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi's comprehensive monograph, *Wohllwollen, Mitleid, Freude und Gleichmut*.⁽⁸⁾ There are also several studies in Japanese, including Masunaga Reihō's 1936 essay "Shimuryōshin no kenkyū" and Shima Yoshiatsu's "Shimuryōshin to ekō."⁽⁹⁾ This essay aims to contribute to this body of scholarship through a study and translation of *An Extensive Commentary on the Four*

⁽⁵⁾ See I.33 of the text in Edwin F. Bryant, *The Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali: A New Edition, Translation, and Commentary* (New York: North Point Press, 2009). The verse reads: *maitrī-karuṇā-muditopekṣāṇām sukha-duḥkha-puṇyāpuṇya-viṣayāṇām bhāvanātaś citta-prasādanam* ||.

⁽⁶⁾ Respectively, Sue Krause & Sharon Sears "Measuring the Immeasurables: Development and Initial Validation of the Self-Other Four Immeasurables (SOFI) Scale Based on Buddhist Teachings on Loving Kindness," *Social Indicators Research* 92, no. 1 (May, 2009): 169-181 and Xianglong Zeng, Vivian Y. L. Chan, Xiaoliu Liu, Tian Po Oei, & Freedom Leung "The Four Immeasurables Meditations: Differential Effects of Appreciative Joy and Compassion Meditations on Emotions" *Mindfulness* 8, Issue 4 (August 2017): 949-959.

⁽⁷⁾ The use of Tibetan language as an alien language in this film is mentioned in passing in Donald S. Lopez Jr., *Prisoners of Shangri-la: Tibetan Buddhism and West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 2. In scene 24, "An Ewok Trap," several of the protagonists of the film—Luke Skywalker, Han Solo, Chewbacca, R2-D2 and C-3PO are caught in a net set up by the teddy-bear-like Ewoks, the native species of Endor, a forested planet colonized by the Galactic Empire. Coming to collect their prey, the Ewoks approach the protagonists who have managed to free themselves from the net. Upon seeing C-3PO's golden metal exterior (he is a droid or robot), the Ewoks take him to be a god and begin bowing. A careful listener will hear that the Ewoks' hymn of worship includes the first verse Four Immeasurables prayer in Tibetan: *sems can thams cad bde ba dang bde ba'i rgyu dang ldan par gyur cig*, "May all sentient beings have happiness and the causes of happiness." See Richard Marquand, dir., *Star Wars: Episode VI – Return of the Jedi*, DVD (Beverly Hills: 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2013).

⁽⁸⁾ Harvey B. Aronson, *Love & Sympathy in Theravāda Buddhism* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1980) and Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi, *Wohllwollen, Mitleid, Freude und Gleichmut: Eine ideengeschichtliche Untersuchung der vier apramāṇas in der buddhistischen Ethik und Spiritualität von den Anfängen bis hin zum frühen Yogācāra*, vol. 50 of *Alt- und Neu-Indische Studien* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999). Maithrimurthi challenges Aronson's assertion that the *brahmavihārās* represent an altruistic ethics that encouraged monastic social engagement. Instead, Maithrimurthi argues that monks' and nuns' social activities were motivated by the possibility of increasing monastic wealth.

⁽⁹⁾ MASUNAGA Reihō 増永靈鳳, "Shimuryōshin no kenkyū" 四無量心の研究, *Komazawa daigaku jissen shūjō kenkyūkai nenpō* 駒沢大学実践宗乗研究会年報 4 (March 1936): 120-132 and SHIMA Yoshiatsu 島義厚, "Shimuryōshin to ekō" 四無量心と廻向, *Nippon bukkyō gakukai nenpō* 日本仏教学会年報 72 (May 2007): 43-55.

Immeasurables⁽¹⁰⁾ (*Tshad med bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa*, hereafter *Commentary*), which is the longest work in the *Btsan 'gyur* devoted entirely to the Four Immeasurables.

According to its colophon, the *Commentary* is attributed to Buddhagupta, a figure whose name, identity, and *oeuvre* has remained in question; it is in fact the only canonical text whose colophon records the name Buddhagupta rendered phonetically in Tibetan script (*bu ddha gup ta*). In the 812 CE *Dkar chag ldan kar ma*, the earliest catalog of Buddhist texts translated under the auspices of the Tibetan imperial government, we find three commentaries—all of which are on the *kriyā*, *caryā*, and *yoga* tantras—attributed to an author of the same name.⁽¹¹⁾ However, in the modern received recensions of the *Bstan 'gyur*, these commentaries are ascribed to Buddhaguhya (*Sangs rgyas gsang ba*). Moreover, in the Tibetan tantric manuscripts at Dunhuang, the name Buddhagupta is mentioned in connection with the *mahāyoga* and Dzokchen (*Rdzogs chen*) traditions. Yet again, however, certain recensions of the *Btsan 'gyur* preserve several *mahāyoga* treatises attributed to Buddhaguhya. The issue of the identity—particularly the name—of this illusive figure will be discussed in further detail below.

The first third of the *Commentary* consists of an explanation of the foci or focal objects (*dmigs pa*) of the Four Immeasurables: immeasurable sentient beings, immeasurable accumulations, immeasurable Dharma and immeasurable gnosis. In his *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*, Vasubandhu writes in similar terms, noting that “They are called Immeasurables because they apply to immeasurable numbers of beings, drawing

⁽¹⁰⁾ There are two translations of this text published independently online. See Lhasey Lotsawa Translations, “An Extensive Commentary on the Four Immeasurables,” Lhasey Lotsawa Translation and Publications, 2011, revised 2016, <https://lhaseylotsawa.org/texts/an-extensive-commentary-on-the-four-immeasurables> (accessed September 25, 2019) and William May, trans., “Extensive Explanation of the Four Immeasurables by Buddhaguhya,” Buddhist Open Online Translation Lab, <https://www.bootl.org/html/Buddhaguhya-caturapramanatika.htm> (accessed September 25, 2019). The former misattributes this text to Buddhaguptanātha, the sixteenth-century Indian master who worked closely with Jo nang pa Tāranātha (1575-1634). See <https://lhaseylotsawa.org/authors/buddhagupta>. A Buddhaguptanātha authorship is quite unlikely since the text is already mentioned in, *inter alia*, Bu ston Rin chen grub's (1290-1364) well-known history of Buddhism in India and Tibet of 1322. See NISHIOKA Soshū 西岡祖秀, “Putun bukkyōshi' Mokurokubusakuin 2” 『プトゥン仏教史』 目録部索引 II [=Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu-ston's 'History of Buddhism' 2], *Tōkyō daigaku bungakubu bunka kōryū kenkyū shisetsu kenkyū kiyō* 東京大学文学部文化交流研究施設研究紀要 [=Annual Report of the University of Tokyo Department of Literature's Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange] 5 (1981): 62. In this case, however, our text is ascribed to Buddhaguhya. This issue will be dealt with below.

⁽¹¹⁾ Adelheid Hermann-Pfandt, “The Lhan kar ma as a Source for the History of Tantric Buddhism” in *The Many Canons of Tibetan Buddhism* (Leiden: Koninklijk Bill NV, 2000), 129.

after them immeasurable merit, and producing immeasurable [retributive] results.”⁽¹²⁾ There seems to be, however, even greater resonance between the four foci in the *Commentary* and the “Four Universal Vows” (*shi hongshi* 四弘誓) common in Tiantai and Chan liturgies. As Robert Sharf⁽¹³⁾ has noted, one formulation of these vows is found in the *Skillful Means of Birthlessness in Mahāyāna* (*Dasheng wusheng fangbian men* 大乘無生方便門) by the seventh-to-eighth century Chan master Shenxiu (神秀):

Sentient beings are limitless, I vow to deliver them.
The defilements are limitless, I vow to destroy them.
The Dharma teachings are endless, I vow to learn them.
I vow to realize the unexcelled way of the buddhas⁽¹⁴⁾

Sharf notes that these vows eventually found their way, albeit with different wording, into the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (*Liuzu tanjing* 六祖大師法寶壇經)⁽¹⁵⁾ and it is likely because of this, the recitation of the Four Universal Vows continues to be practiced in contemporary Sōtō Zen liturgy.⁽¹⁶⁾ A five-fold formulation of these vows is found in the *Essentials of Meditation of the Tripiṭaka Master Wuwei* (*Wuwei sanzhan chanyao* 無畏三藏禪要), which presents itself as a record of teachings of the seventh-to-eighth century Indian master Śubhakarasiṃha. Sharf, however, concludes that Śubhakarasiṃha’s formulation is of Chinese provenance, based perhaps on the earliest source for the four vows, the works of the Tiantai master Zhiyi (智顓, 538-597).⁽¹⁷⁾ In any case, it is interesting, if not somewhat perplexing, that there is such

⁽¹²⁾ Louis de la Vallée Poussin, trans. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu, Vol 4*, translated from French by Leo M. Pruden (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), 1264.

⁽¹³⁾ Robert H. Sharf, “Buddhist Veda and the Rise of Chan” in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, edited by Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 104-105, n.35.

⁽¹⁴⁾ 衆生無邊誓願度。煩惱無邊誓願斷。法門無盡誓願學。無上佛道誓願證 (T 2834: 85.1273b14-15). I have reproduced Sharf’s translation, with a few minor changes. A similar formulation is found in the *Dasheng bensheng xindi guan jing* 大乘本生心地觀經: 衆生無邊誓願度。煩惱無邊誓願斷。法門無盡誓願學。無上佛道誓願證 (T 2834: 85.1273b14-15). Since this text was translated by Prajña (744-ca. 810), its presence in China postdates Shenxiu by a century or so and thus may not have been a source for him. On Prajña, see Paul Copp, “Prajña,” in *Esoteric Buddhist and the Tantras in East Asia*, edited by Charles Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 360-362.

⁽¹⁵⁾ 自心衆生無邊誓願度自心煩惱無邊誓斷。自性法門無盡誓願學。自性無上佛道誓願成。(T 2008: 48.354a11-13).

⁽¹⁶⁾ Soto Zen Text Project, *Soto School Scriptures for Daily Services and Practice* (Tokyo: Sotoshu Shumicho, 2001), 74 and 134. This is an English translation with Roman transliteration of the of the original Japanese text, *Sōtōshū nikka gongyō seiten* 曹洞宗日課勤行聖典.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Sharf *ibid* points out that they appear in, *inter alia*, Zhiyi’s *Shi chanboluomi cidī famen* 釋禪波羅蜜次第法門 (T1916:46.476b14-18): 一未度者令度。亦云衆生無邊誓願度。二未解者令

similarity between Buddhagupta's four foci and the four universal vows. If indeed *An Extensive Commentary on the Four Immeasurables* is a translation of an eighth-century Indian text, then it may suggest that the ideas behind the four universal vows may have drawn on some Indian source.

The remaining two-thirds of the text describes techniques for meditating upon each of the Four Immeasurables, with the balance focusing on benevolence. The author introduces three types of benevolence: 1) benevolence that focuses on the suffering of sentient beings; 2) benevolence focused on phenomena, which is practiced by bodhisattvas on the first to the seventh *bhūmis* or bodhisattva stages; and 3) benevolence without focus, which spontaneously arises in bodhisattvas on the eighth *bhūmi* and above. The *Akṣayamatīrdeśa Sūtra (Blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa'i mdo)*⁽¹⁸⁾ contains a similar explanation of these three types of benevolence:

Venerable Śāriputra, there are three [kinds of] benevolence: benevolence focused on sentient beings, benevolence focused on phenomena, and benevolence without focus. Benevolence focused on sentient beings is that of beginner bodhisattvas; benevolence focused on phenomena is that of a bodhisattva with practice experience; and benevolence without focus is that of a bodhisattva who has attained forbearance of the non-arising of phenomena.⁽¹⁹⁾

解。亦云煩惱無數誓願斷。三未安者令安。亦云法門無盡誓願知。四未得涅槃令得涅槃。亦云無上佛道誓願成。Sharf suggests that Zhiyi “goes to some length” to trace the four universal vows to scriptural sources such as the *Lotus Sūtra*, indicating a “felt need to legitimize his liturgical innovations.” For more on the four universal vows in Japanese, see KAGAWA Takao 香川孝雄, “Shiguseigaku no genryū” 四弘誓願の源流 [=The Origins of the “Four Universal Vows”], *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度学仏教学研究 [=Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 38, no. 1 (December 1989): 294-302.

⁽¹⁸⁾ The passage quoted below from Tibetan translation of the *Ārya Akṣayamatīrdeśa Mahāyānasūtra* is also found in the Chinese translation of this text, 無盡意菩薩, T397:13.14-19. With reference to the Chinese translation, Huimin Bhikshu, citing Nagao, notes that this text is the “source of the three kinds of objects for meditation on the Four Immeasurables. See “The Four Immeasurables in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* and their Implementation in a Measuring Scale for a Study of Brain Imaging.” *Dharma Drum Journal of Buddhist Studies* 16 (2015): 40 and n.12 & 13. However, the Chinese Buddhist canon contains more than one translation of the *Akṣayamatīrdeśa Sūtra*. For a discussion of these translations, see Jens Braarvig's introduction to *Akṣayamatīrdeśasūtra, Volume II: The Tradition of Imperishability of in Buddhist Thought* (Oslo: Solum Forlag, 1993), xvii-cxxxii.

⁽¹⁹⁾ *Ārya Akṣayamatīrdeśanāma Mahāyānasūtra*, 'Phags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po'i mdo, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, D 174, Mdo sde ma, fol. 132a: |btsun pa sha ra dwa ti'i bu| byams pa ni gsum po 'di dag ste| gsum gang zhe na| 'di lta ste| sems can la dmigs pa'i byams pa dang | chos la dmigs pa'i byams pa dang | dmigs pa med pa'i byams pa'o| |de la sems can la dmigs pa'i byams pa ni sems dang po bskyed pa'i byang chub sems dpa' rnam ky'i'o| |chos la dmigs pa'i byams pa ni spyod pa la zhugs pa'i byang chub sems dpa' rnam ky'i'o|

Much of this passage is quoted in Śāntideva's (c. seventh-to-eighth-century CE) pivotal work, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.⁽²⁰⁾ In contrast, the commentary on Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* attributed to Vasubandhu extends the three types of foci⁽²¹⁾ (*trividhālambana*, *dmigs pa rnam pa gsum*)—sentient beings, phenomena, and objectlessness⁽²²⁾—to all four Immeasurables. In his comments on chapter seventeen, verse eighteen, Vasubandhu states that

When their focus is sentient beings, they engage sentient beings who desire happiness and those who are afflicted. *Benevolence* has the feature of [wishing] happiness for sentient beings; *compassion* has the feature of [wishing] them freedom from suffering; *joy* has the feature of [wishing] they not be separated from happiness; and equanimity has the feature of ridding sentient beings of their afflictive emotions regarding their experiences.

When their objects are phenomena (*dharma*),⁽²³⁾ they engage phenomena that have manifested, that is, the states [of being] that have been taught.

When their focus is objectless, they engage suchness itself. They are objectless because they are devoid of conceptualization.⁽²⁴⁾

[*dmigs pa med pa'i byams pa ni mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa thob pa'i byang chub sems dpa' rnam kyī ste*].

⁽²⁰⁾ P.L. Vaidya, ed., *Śikṣāsamuccaya of Śāntideva* (Darbhanga: The Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Sanskrit Learning, 1961), 17: *sattvārambaṇā matrī prathamacittotpādikānāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ dharmārambaṇā caryāpratipannānāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ anārambaṇā matrī anuṣṭhādharmakṣāntipratilabdhanāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ* ||. This passage constitutes one of a few extant Sanskrit fragments of the *Akṣayamatīnirdeśa Sūtra*. For the Tibetan, see Śāntideva, Zhi ba lha, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *Bslab pa kun las btus pa*, Sde dge bstan 'gyur, D 3940, Dbu ma khi, fol. 120a2.

⁽²¹⁾ For more on the *trividhālambana*, see NAGASAKI Yōko 長崎 陽子, “Yuishiki ronsho ni okeru san'en no shimuryōshin ni tsuite” 唯識論書における三縁の四無量心について, *Bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 仏教学研究 5 (March 1999): 42-64.

⁽²²⁾ On objectlessness applied to compassion as discussed in chapter seventeen of the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*, see WAKAHARA Yūshō 若原雄昭. “Muen no jihi—Daijō shōgon keiron XVII aki wo chūshin ni” 無縁の慈悲 -- 大乘莊嚴經論 XVII 章を中心に. *Nihon bukkyō gakkai nenpō* 日本仏教学会年報 [=The Journal of the Japan Buddhist Research Association] 62 (May 1996): 91-108.

⁽²³⁾ Lobsang Jamspal et al. note that in Vasubandhu's commentary on the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra* “there seems to be confusion” between the two meaning of *dharma* as referring either to the teachings of the Buddha or phenomena. See *The Universal Vehicle Discourse Literature (Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra) by Maitreyaṅga/Āryasaṅga Together with its Commentary (Bhāṣya) by Vasubandhu* (New York City: The American Institute of Buddhist Studies, 2004), 229 n. 9.

⁽²⁴⁾ Sylvain Lévi, *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālamkāra, exposé de la doctrine du Grand Véhicule selon le système Yogācāra*, vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1907), 121: *satvālambanāḥ*

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, attributed to Asaṅga, also applies the three types of foci to the other three Immeasurables.⁽²⁵⁾

The author of the *Commentary* then proceeds to describe in detail how to cultivate benevolence by gradually extending the feelings of closeness and affection one has for loved ones first to people one likes, then to people one is indifferent toward, and finally to people one dislikes. A similar meditation is described in both the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*.⁽²⁶⁾ Moving to the next Immeasurable, the author explains that compassion means having sympathy for those who suffer, those who do wrong, and those who have not had the opportunity to practice Dharma. Joy entails rejoicing in the material wealth, happiness, and Dharma practice of both oneself and other. Finally, the author explains equanimity in terms of the eight worldly dharmas (*'jig rten chos brgyad*): he urges the reader to be neither happy nor unhappy in the face of gain or loss, happiness or suffering, praise or criticism, and fame or obscurity.

This brings us to the question of the provenance and dating of the *Commentary*. One possible early reference to the text is Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's (1227-1305) *An Ornamental Sunbeam for the Spread of the Teachings (Btsan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od)*, dated by Kurtis Schaeffer and Leonard van der Kuijp to the late 1260s to the early 1270s. This text is a history and survey of Buddhist literature in Tibet, the latter half of which contains scripture and treatises in organized lists. Chapter 30, which lists treatises composed by Tibetans (*bod kyis byas pa'i bstan bcos*) during the reign of the Tibetan emperor Khri Ral pa can (alias Khri gtsug lde btsan, reigned 815-841) contains a reference to a *Tshad med bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa* with no indication of an author.⁽²⁷⁾ Schaeffer and van der Kuijp associate this text with a non-extant, anonymous commentary of the same name in Bu ston Rin chen drub's history of Buddhism in India and Tibet.⁽²⁸⁾ A more stable, slightly later reference is found in the *Catalog of the*

sukhārthini yāvat kliṣṭe satvanikāye pravartante | tathā hi maitrī satveṣu sukhasaṃyogākārā | karuṇā duḥkhaviyogākārā | muditā sukhāviyogākārā | upekṣāsu vedanāsu teṣāṃ satvānāṃ niḥkleśatopasaṃhārākārā | dharmālambanāstadeśite dharme | yatra te vihārā deśitāḥ | anālambanāstattathatāyāṃ | te hyavikalpatvād anālambanā ivetyanālambanāḥ |.

⁽²⁵⁾ Maithrimurti, 306-307. Maithrimurti provides a critically edited Sanskrit text and German translation for the section of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* that discusses the Four Immeasurables.

⁽²⁶⁾ Vaidya, 151 and Pradhan, 454.

⁽²⁷⁾ Kurtis Schaeffer and Leonard W.J. van der Kuijp, *An Early Tibetan Survey of Buddhist Literature: The Btsan pa rgyas pa rgyan gyi nyi 'od of Bcom ldam ral gri* (Cambridge: The Harvard Oriental Series, 2009), 267, text. no. 30.93.

⁽²⁸⁾ NISHIOKA Soshū 西岡祖秀, “Putun bukkyōshi' Mokurokubusakuin 3” 『プトゥン仏教史』 目録部索引 III [=Index to the Catalogue Section of Bu-ston's 'History of Buddhism' 3], *Tōkyō*

Narthatang Tengyur (under the title *Bstan bcos kyi dkar chag*) by Dbus pa Blo gsal Rtsod pa'i seng ge (ca. 1270-ca. 1355), a disciple of Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri, and dated to the first quarter of the fourteenth-century. This catalog, however, records this text as “*An Extensive Commentary on the Four Immeasurables* by the *ācārya* Buddhaguhya” (*tshad med pa bzhi rgyas cher 'grel pa slaun* [=slob dpon] *sangs rgyas gsang ba'i mdzad pa*), returning us again to Buddhagupta/Buddhaguhya issue.⁽²⁹⁾ OCHI Junji has observed that there is some inconsistency between the catalogs (*dkar chag*) and the colophons of this text in D and Q. He notes that while colophons say the author is Buddhagupta, the catalogues ascribe the texts to Buddhaguhya.⁽³⁰⁾ This, as I will demonstrate below, is the result of mis-rendering and mistranslation of this figure's name across text catalogues from the Tibetan empire and to up to Dbus pa blo gsal's time. That said, I propose that the *terminus ad quem* of *An Extensive Commentary on the Four Immeasurables* is first quarter of the fourteenth-century. Determining a definitive *terminus a quo* is difficult, if not impossible, since there are no early references to the text in any of the Tibetan imperial period catalogs, nor are the Tibetan translators of the text mentioned in the colophon.

Translation

An Extensive Commentary on the Four Immeasurables

Benevolence, Compassion

Joy, and Equanimity—

These are the great Immeasurables that I shall explain herein

So that one may diligently meditate upon them.

The foci of these are immeasurable sentient beings, immeasurable accumulations, immeasurable Dharma and immeasurable gnosis.⁽³¹⁾ *Immeasurable sentient beings*

daigaku bungakubu bunka kōryū kenkyū shisetsu kenkyū kiyō 東京大学文学部文化交流研究施設研究紀要 [=Annual Report of the University of Tokyo Department of Literature's Institute for the Study of Cultural Exchange] 6 (1983): 117, text no. 3033.

⁽²⁹⁾ Dbus pa Blo gsal Rtsod pa'i seng ge, *Bstan bcos kyi dkar chag* (Publisher and date unknown) BDRC W2CZ7507, fol. 54b5.

⁽³⁰⁾ OCHI Junji 越智淳仁 “Buddhagupta to Buddhaguhya ni tsuite” Buddhagupta と Buddhaguhya について,” *Nihon chibetto gakkai kaihō* 日本西藏学会々報 [=Report of the Japanese Association for Tibetan Studies] 28 (1980): 5.

⁽³¹⁾ Cf. *Essentials of Meditation of the Tripiṭaka Master Wuwei* (*Wuwei sanzhan chanyao* 無畏三藏禪要, T917:18.943a13-16) associated with the Indian master Śubhakarasiṃha:

means that one is incapable of calculating them, saying, “This is how many or few sentient beings there are in the three realms.” As the Lord teaches in the *Noble Sūtra Teaching the Great Compassion of the Tathāgatas*:

O Child of Noble Birth, the sentient beings who dwell within this very space [the size of] the hole of a mere chariot wheel that are visible to the Tathāgatas are quite many. But the gods and humans in the world-systems of the trichiliocosm are not like that. Indeed, the realms of imperceptible sentient beings are immeasurable.⁽³²⁾

Therefore, since the realms of sentient beings are incomprehensible, sentient beings are said to be immeasurable. In meditating on the Immeasurables, one might ask: how then does one focus and meditate upon immeasurable sentient beings? In the following way: from beginningless time, all sentient beings in the three realms cycle through the higher and lower abodes through the power of their individual karmas; there is none among them who I have not been close to hundreds of thousands of times. Focusing on immeasurable sentient beings means [extending] the Four Immeasurables to all sentient beings and dwelling in equanimity, having thought “They are my dear ones!”

Immeasurable accumulations means immeasurable accumulations of merit and gnosis. The Four Dharmas⁽³³⁾ are the primary cause of these, since they are the cause or essence of immeasurable accumulations of merit and gnosis. As the Lord also teaches in

Sentient beings are limitless, I vow to deliver them.
Meritorious wisdom is limitless, I vow to amass it.
The Dharma teachings are limitless, I vow to learn them.
The Tathāgatas are limitless, I vow to serve them.
I vow to attain the unexcelled way of the buddhas.

衆生無邊誓願度。福智無邊誓願集。法門無邊誓願學。如來無邊誓願仕。無上佛道誓願成。 Translation from Sharf, 105 n. 35.

⁽³²⁾ Though the meaning is similar, the passage cited here differs from the wording of the canonical Ārya Tathāgata-mahākaruṇā-nirdeśa-nāma Mahāyāna-sūtra, *'Phags pa de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying rje chen po nges par bstan pa zhes bya ba theg pa chen po 'i mdo*, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, D 147, Mdo sde pa, 142a1-242b7. On f. 199a2-3 we find: *yang shing rta'i phang lo tsam gyis phyogs na snang bar ma gyur pa'i sems can gang dag de bzhin gshegs pa la snang bar gyur pa de dag ni ches mang gi |stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams kyi lha dang mi rnams ni de ltar ma yin te| |de ltar snang bar ma gyur pa'i sems can gyi khams ni tshad med do|*. According to its colophon, the text was translated into Tibetan by the dynastic period translator Ye shes sde with the Indian master Śilendrabodhi. This text is found in Chinese translation as T 398, 大哀經 and in chapters 1 & 2 of T 397, 大方等大集經.

⁽³³⁾ I take this term—*chos bzhi po*—to refer to the Four Immeasurables; this interpretation implied in the author's discussion of immeasurable gnosis further down in the commentary.

the sūtras:

O Child of Noble Birth, making offerings to someone who, not rising from their seat, meditates on the samādhi of benevolence, will generate incalculable merit.⁽³⁴⁾

Therefore, if one can obtain so much merit just by making offerings to a person who is meditating on benevolence and the rest of the Immeasurables, what need is there to mention one who meditates upon and practices the Immeasurables? The amount of merit generated thereby would be so much greater! This is how an immeasurable accumulation of merit and gnosis is generated. This becomes the cause of generating immeasurable accumulations of dharma, which in turn causes the generation of an immeasurable accumulation of gnosis.

Immeasurable Dharma is the tremendous qualities of a buddha, such as the powers, fearlessness, and the rest. The cause of obtaining these is abiding in the Four Dharmas because they give rise immeasurable accumulations of merit and gnosis. And since this in turn gives rise to and establishes the great qualities of a buddha, one should persistently endeavor in the Four Immeasurables.

The Four Dharmas is the focal object of the Tathāgata's *immeasurable gnosis*; it is also the gnosis itself that abides in the state, that is, the essence of benevolence and rest of the Four Dharmas. This is what is meant by "the essence is transformed" or "within the perceptual sphere of the object of cognition undifferentiated from cognition itself."⁽³⁵⁾

Now, regarding *benevolence*, there is a stage of aspirational practice consisting of the four factors of ascertainment: the obtainment of appearance, the enhancement of appearance, the partial engagement in the meaning of suchness, and unobstructed samādhi.⁽³⁶⁾ A bodhisattva remains in those four factors of ascertainment.⁽³⁷⁾ For a

⁽³⁴⁾ I have not been able to find a canonical source for this quotation. The author might simply be referring to general Buddhist ideas rather than quoting from any particular text.

⁽³⁵⁾ I have not been able to find the source of this exact phrase.

⁽³⁶⁾ These "four factors of ascertainment" (*nges par byed pa'i cha bzhi po*) are referenced by Ska ba Dpal brtsegs, the Tibetan dynastic period translator of the eight-century, and his unnamed coauthors in *Memorandum on the Enumeration of Phenomena* (*Chos kyi rnam grang kyi brjed byang*). See f. 265a7 of Ska ba Dpal brtsegs et al., *Chos kyi rnam grangs kyi byed byang*, Sde dge bstan 'gyur, D 4362, Mdo 'grel jo, 231b6-289a5. For an English translation of this work, see Thubten K. Rikey & Andrew Ruskin, trans., *A Manual of Key Buddhist Terms: Categorization of Buddhist Terminology with Commentary* (Dharamsala: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1992). And for a brief overview of the text in Japanese, see ISHIKAWA Mie 石川美恵, "Dpal

bodhisattva who dwells within the four factors of ascertainment, the gods, humans, pretas and others, as well as the beings of the hell realm, are all within the perceptual sphere of their supernormal faculties. Having seen the gods, humans, and others, and the beings in the lower states of rebirth whose very nature is suffering, [a bodhisattva] gives rise to great compassion. They understand that these beings have been cycling through saṃsāra from beginningless time and that all have been their friend at some point. They thus give rise to great benevolence towards all these sentient beings, considering them as their own children. They make aspirations to liberate all sentient beings from suffering and bring them to a state of happiness, while acting to benefit all sentient beings through the Dharma. This is the meaning of *benevolence focused on sentient beings*.⁽³⁸⁾

Bodhisattvas on the first to seventh bodhisattva bhūmis give rise to benevolence for sentient beings by having directly realized the immanent nature of phenomena. Although all phenomena do not have an essential nature, sentient beings do not realize as much and, by being attached to physical objects, they circle through the three realms. Therefore, these [bodhisattvas] give rise to benevolence for those who suffer in this way and make aspirations to understand the true nature of phenomena, while acting to benefit sentient beings through the Dharma. This is the meaning of *benevolence focused on phenomena*.⁽³⁹⁾

The eighth bodhisattva bhūmi up to and including the attainment of buddhahood are known as “the stage of spontaneous accomplishment without focus.” From the eighth bhūmi and onward, they give rise to benevolence for sentient beings while also acting for their benefit through the mode of non-conceptuality and spontaneous accomplishment. For example, they benefit sentient beings like a precious wish-fulfilling jewel or wish-fulfilling tree. Moreover, although they are free of conceptual thought, great benevolence for sentient beings still spontaneously arises

brtsegs no ‘chos kyi rnam grangs kyi brjed byang’ ni tsuite,” dpal brtsegs の“chos kyi rnam grangs kyi brjed byang”について, in *Indogaku bukkyōgaku kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 [=Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies] 12 (2008): 551-546.

⁽³⁷⁾ Implying that, by contrast, they remain aspirational for non-bodhisattvas.

⁽³⁸⁾ With this passage, the author begins describing the three types of benevolence. These are also mentioned in *Sūtra Teaching the Great Compassion of the Tathāgatas (Tathāgatamahākaraṇānirdeśa Sūtra)*, which the author quotes from in the *Commentary*. The sūtra states that “Benevolence focused on sentient beings and benevolence focused on phenomena are the roots of wisdom. Benevolence without focus is the application of wisdom” [sems can la dmigs pa dang| chos la dmig pa’i byams pa ni shes rab kyi rtsa ba’o| |dmigs med pa’i byams pa ni shes rab kyi las so|, fol. 235a3.

⁽³⁹⁾ There seems to be some *śleṣa* or equivocation with the word *dharma* (*chos*), which carries the meaning of both phenomena and Dharma. On the other hand, see *supra* n. 23; Lobsang Jamspal et al. point out a similar slippage in Vasubadhu’s commentary on the *Mahāyānasūtrālamkāra*.

through the power of their past aspirations, while acting for the benefit of sentient beings. This is known as *objectless benevolence*.⁽⁴⁰⁾

But how, then, do ordinary individuals who are just beginners meditate on benevolence that is focused on sentient beings? Ordinary individuals who are just beginners should meditate on benevolence that is focused on sentient beings in the following way. There are three types of beings: 1) those one cares about, 2) those one is indifferent to, and 3) those one dislikes. Those one cares about are further divided into three: higher, middling, and lesser. Then there are ones is indifferent to, and those one dislikes can also be further divided into higher, middling, and lesser, for a total of seven divisions.⁽⁴¹⁾ Initially, you should meditate upon someone who you care about in a middling way as if they were someone you care about a lot, such as your parents or others. After you are familiar with this, you meditate upon all those one is indifferent to as if they were those you care a lot about. Then you meditate upon those you dislike only a little as if they were someone you care about a lot. Once you are familiar with this, meditate on someone you dislike in a middling way as if they were someone you care about very much. Then you [meditate] on some you really dislike as if they were your own parents. In this way, you can even take as the focus of your mediation all sentient beings without exception who, from beginningless time, have been your own parents or others who are close to you. Moreover, as you meditate in this way, meditating initially only on people from your own family, you then gradually [extend it to others]. This is the meaning of *limitless mediation*.⁽⁴²⁾

Regarding *compassion*, there is compassion that focuses on sentient beings who are suffering. There are three types of suffering such as the suffering of suffering and so on, or eight types of suffering such as birth and the rest.⁽⁴³⁾ [Focusing on] those sentient

⁽⁴⁰⁾ Or more literally, *benevolence without focus*.

⁽⁴¹⁾ Here, the Tibetan can easily be misread as implying that the people one is indifferent to can also be divided into divided into higher, middling, and lesser as well. However, this would result in nine groups, not seven. In his description of the meditation on benevolence from the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam*, Vasubandhu also treats the people one is indifferent to as a single group, not dividing them into three: *na cecchaknoti kleśasyodbhataṅgavṛttivāt sa mitrapakṣaṃ tridhā bhittvā 'dhimātre tatsukhamadhimucyate | tato madhye mṛdau ca | teṣu cetsamāṃ maitrīm labhate tata udāsīnapakṣe | tataḥ śatrūpakṣaṃ tridhā bhittvā mṛdau tat sukhamadhimucyate | tato madhye 'dhimātre ca | tataścedadhimātra iva mitrapakṣe sukhādhimokṣo na vyāvartate |*. See Pradan, 454.

⁽⁴²⁾ Buddhagosa's description of meditating on benevolence in the *Visuddhimagga* begins not with a person one cares about in a middling way, but rather with oneself: *sabbapaṭhamam pana: aham sukhito homi, niddukkho ti vā avero ayyāpajjo anīgo sukhi atthānam pariharāmi ti vā evam punappunam attani yeva bhāvetabhā*, C.A.F. Rhys-Davids, 296.

⁽⁴³⁾ The three types of suffering are: 1) the suffering of suffering, 2) the suffering of change and 3) the suffering of pervasive conditionality. The eight types of suffering are the suffering of: 1)

beings who suffer in these ways is known as *compassion that clears away the suffering of all*. As for compassion focused on beings who do wrong, *compassion that clears away all non-virtue* means [eliminating] the non-virtuous conduct of those sentient beings, which is the root or cause of the forms of suffering mentioned above. *Compassion focused on beings who are not liberated because they lack the necessary conditions* means [focusing on] those sentient beings who have not heard the Dharma because they lack a spiritual teacher. Moreover, as the tantras state, “Sentient beings who do not rely upon a spiritual teacher, who have not heard the Dharma, and are not liberated, are liberated through compassion.”⁽⁴⁴⁾

Joy is the joy experienced by sentient beings due to possessing various types of wealth: the wealth of material objects, the wealth of Dharma, and the wealth of happiness. *Joy focused on perfecting one's own accumulations* is the joy [that arises] from focusing on your own great accumulations of virtue. *Joy focused on the taste of the holy Dharma* is joy [that arises] though oneself and others attaining the taste of hearing, contemplating, and meditating upon the Dharma.

As for *equanimity*, there is equanimity of acting for the benefit of sentient being who are either fortunate and unfortunate. Acting for the benefit of both equally means not differentiating between the two, thinking, “I will act for the benefit of those who are fortunate and not for those who are unfortunate.” The phrase “eight worldly dharmas, such as gain and loss, and the rest” includes the following: happiness and suffering, praise and criticism, and fame and obscurity. Remain in equanimity being neither happy nor unhappy with these. The eight worldly dharmas include gain and loss and all the rest. The eight worldly dharmas are referred to as such because these eight things are known and exist in the world.

How does one dwell in equanimity when faced with the eight worldly dharmas?

In the following way: if I were to gain marvelous amounts of wealth, I should neither take joy in it nor be attached to it. And if this great wealth were diminished or lost, I

birth, 2) old age, 3) sickness, 4) death, 5) encountering that which is unpleasant, 6) separating from that which is pleasant, 7) not getting what you want, and 8) perpetuating aggregates. See Mgon po dbang rgyal, *Chos kyi rnam grangs shes bya'i nor gling 'jug pa'i gru gzings* (Chengdu: Sichuan Nationalities Language Press, 1988), 37 and 255 respectively.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ I have not been able to identify a source for these words. My translation suggests that author is stating that this is a general notion expressed in the tantras.

should be neither distressed nor unhappy. This is called *equanimity without happiness or sorrow regarding in gain and loss*. If a loving spouse were to anoint my body with perfume, sandalwood, and other [substances], caress me, serve and honor me, I should not take joy in or be attached to [this kind of] veneration. And if an enemy were to strike, beat, and do other [acts of violence] to my body, I should not become angry. I should accept the suffering of being struck and beaten, and not think of the pain. This is called *equanimity without happiness or sorrow regarding pleasure and pain*. If a good friend speaks well of me and praise me with sweet words, I should not take joy in them nor should I think of myself as superior. And if an enemy were to uncover and proclaim my faults, I should not become unhappy or discouraged. This is called *equanimity without happiness or unhappiness regarding praise and criticism*. If many people hear of and come to know my good qualities, I should not take joy in the fame of my good qualities, thinking, “Since many people know that I possess good qualities, my good qualities are famous, and I will not be forgotten!” And even if many people have not heard of or know about my good qualities, I should not become unhappy, thinking, “My good qualities are not well known, I will fade [from memory].” This is known *equanimity without happiness or sorry regarding the fame or obscurity of one’s of good qualities*.

The term *accumulations* was mentioned above. *Equanimity focused on completely fulfilling the accumulations during the fortunate and unfortunate times* means not making differentiations, thinking “I will practice the fulfilment of the accumulations of virtue at this time, but not at this time,” but rather practicing it always.

For the sake of sentient beings, I have composed this treatise

On the meaning of all the meditations

Of the Four Immeasurables, the Divine Abodes:

Through this, may all beings be freed from defilement and attain Buddhahood!

—This concludes *An Extensive Commentary on the Four Immeasurables* composed by the *ācārya* Buddhagupta—⁽⁴⁵⁾

Critical Edition of *Tshad med bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa*⁽⁴⁶⁾

[C19a7] [D19a6] [G26a] [N19a4] [Q18b7]

⁽⁴⁵⁾ The colophon does not name any translators or revisers.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ The layout of the critical edition follows that of the English translation so that the Tibetan reader can easily refer back to the Tibetan text.

|tshad med bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa bzhugs|⁽⁴⁷⁾

[G26b1]

|byams pa dang ni snying rje dang |

|dga' ba dang ni btang snyoms te|

|de dag chen po tshad med pa|

|'bad pas bsgom phyir 'dir bshad bya|

|'di ltar sems can tshad med pa la dmigs pa dang | tshogs tshad med pa dang | [Q19a]
chos tshad med [C19b] pa dang | ye shes tshad med pa'o | de la sems can tshad med pa
ni khams gsum pa'i sems can mang nyung de tsam zhig yod do zhes dpag par mi nus
pas nasems can tshad med pa zhes bya ste| ndi ltar bcom ldan 'das kyis 'phags pa de
bzhin gshegs pa'i snying rje chen po bstan pa'i mdo las 'di skad du|

rigs kyis [D19b] bu phyogs 'di nyid na shing rta'i 'phang lo tsam gyi bug pa na
gnas par gyur pa'i sems can gang dag de bzhin gshegs pas gzigs par gyur pa de
dag ni ches mang gi|stong gsum gyi stong chen po'i 'jig rten gyi khams kyis lha
dang mi rnams ni de lta ma yin te| de ltar snang bar ma gyur pa'i sems can gyi
khams ni tshad med do zhes gsungs te|

de lta bas na sems can gyi khams tshad med pa⁽⁴⁸⁾ gzung bar mi nus pas na⁽⁴⁹⁾ sems can
[N19b] tshad med pa zhes bya'o | tshad med pa bsgoms pas⁽⁵⁰⁾ sems can tshad med pa la
ci ltar dmigs par bya zhing bsgom zhe na| 'di ltar khams gsum pa'i sems can thams cad
thog ma med pa'i dus nas| so so'i las kyis dbang gis gnas mtho dman du 'khor ba 'di dag
bdag dang lan brgya stong du mar gnyen du [G 27a] ma gyur pa med de| 'di ni bdag gi
gnyen yin no snyam nas| sems can thams cad la tshad med pa bzhi pos btang snyoms su
gnas pa 'di ni sems can tshad med pa la dmigs pa zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go|

|de la tshogs tshad med pa ni| bsod nams dang ye shes kyis [C20a] tshogs tshad
med pa ste| rgyur gyur pa ni chos bzhi po yin la de ni bsod nams dang ye shes kyis tshogs
tshad med pa rnam pa gnyis bskyed pa'i rgyu'am ngo bo yin te| 'di ltar bcom ldan 'das
kyis kyang mdo dag las gsungs pa|

rigs kyis bu byams pa'i ting nge 'dzin bsgom pa stan las ma langs pa la yon

⁽⁴⁷⁾ tshad med bzhi'i rgya cher 'gral pa slob dpon buddha guptas mdzad pa'o GNQ

⁽⁴⁸⁾ om. GNQ

⁽⁴⁹⁾ mi nus pa GNQ

⁽⁵⁰⁾ pa'i GNQ

[Q19b] 'bul bar byed pa ni bsod nams dpag tu med pa bskyed par 'gyur ro zhes gsungs pa lta bu ste|

'di ltar byams pa la sogs pa tshad med pa bsgom pa'i mi la yon phul bas kyang bsod nams mang po 'thob na gang tshad med pa rnams su dngos su⁽⁵¹⁾ nyams su blangs te bsgom⁽⁵²⁾ pa lta smos kyang ci dgos te| bsod nams kyi phung po gong ma bas ches mang du bskyed do| |de ltar bsod nams dang ye shes kyi tshogs tshad med skyes pa dang | rgyu de las chos kyi tshogs tshad med pa bskyed la| rgyu de las ye shes kyi tshogs tshad med pa bskyed pa'o|

|chos tshad med pa ni sangs rgyas kyi che ba'i yon tan stobs dang mi 'jigs pa la sogs pa ste| de 'thob pa'i [D20a] rgyur 'gyur ba ni chos bzhi po la gnas pa'i sgo nas bsod nams dang ye shes kyi tshogs skyes⁽⁵³⁾ pa'i rgyus sangs rgyas kyi che ba'i yon tan rnams skye zhing 'grub par 'gyur bas na tshad med pa bzhi la nan tan [G 27b] du bya'o|

|chos bzhi po de rnams de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes tshad med pa'i dmigs pa'i yul du gyur pa'am| ye shes nyid byams pa la sogs chos bzhi po de dag gi ngang du 'am ngo bor gnas te| shes bya [N20a] dang shes pa tha mi dad pa'i spyod yul du 'am| ngo bor gyur pa'o zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go|

de la byams pa ni⁽⁵⁴⁾ mos pas spyod pa'i sa ni nges par 'byed pa'i cha bzhi po snang ba thob pa dang snang ba mched pa dang | de kho na nyid kyi don la phyogs gcig pa rjes su zhugs pa dang | bar chad med pa'i ting nge 'dzin zhes bya ba nges par 'byed pa'i cha bzhi la gnas pa'i byang chub sems dpa' ste| 'di ltar nges par 'byed pa'i cha bzhi la gnas pa'i byang chub sems dpa'i mngon par shes pa'i dbang po'i spyod yul du ni lha dang mi dang yi dwags la sogs pa dang sems can dmyal ba'i gnas rnams [Q20a] mngon sum du gyur te| lha dang mi la sogs pa dang ngan song gi gnas de dag na sdug bsngal ba'i rang bzhin can gyi sems can rnams mthong nas lhag par snying rje chen po skye zhing sems can de dag thog ma med pa nas 'khor bar 'khor ba na| bdag gi gnyen du ma gyur pa med par khong du chud nas sems can de dag thams cad la bu gcig pa dang 'dra bar sems pa'i byams pa chen po'i sems skyes⁽⁵⁵⁾ pa'i sgo nas sems can thams cad sdug bsngal las thar te bde ba la gnas par gyur cig ces smon lam 'debs shing | sems can thams cad la chos kyis⁽⁵⁶⁾ phan 'dogs par byed pa ni sems can [G28a] la dmigs pa'i byams pa zhes bya ba'i

⁽⁵¹⁾ om. GNQ

⁽⁵²⁾ bsgoms CD

⁽⁵³⁾ skyed C

⁽⁵⁴⁾ pa'i GNQ

⁽⁵⁵⁾ skyed C

⁽⁵⁶⁾ om. GNQ

tha tshig go|

byang chub sems dpa'i⁽⁵⁷⁾ sa dang po brnyes pa nas sa⁽⁵⁸⁾ bdun pa'i bar gyi byang chub [C20b] sems dpa' rnam ni chos kyi de kho nyid mngon sum du rtogs pa'i sgo nas sems can la byams pa skye ste| de yang 'di ltar chos thams cad rang bzhin nyid med pa yin na| sems can rnam kyi de ltar ma shes te dngos po la mngon par zhen pas khams gsum [D20b] du 'khor bar gyur pa re sdug pa de dag la byams pa'i sems skye zhing 'di dag gi chos nyid rtogs par shog ces smon lam 'debs shing | sems can thams [N20b] cad la chos kyi phan 'dogs pa byed pa ni chos la dmigs pa'i byams pa zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go|

byang chub sems dpa' sa brgyad pa brnyes pa yan chad nas sangs rgyas kyi sa brnyes pa man chad ni lhun gyis grub pa'i sa dmigs pa med pa zhes bya ba ste| sa brgyad pa yan chad na rtog pa med pa lhun gyis grub pa'i tshul gyis sems can la byams pa skye zhing phan 'dogs par mdzad de| dper na yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che [Q20b] dang dpag bsam gyi shing bzhin du sems can la phan 'dogs te| de yang rtog mi mnga' bzhin du sngon gyi smon lam gyi dbang gis sems can la byams pa chen po yang lhun gyis grub par 'byung zhing sems can gyi don mdzad pa de ni dmigs pa med pa'i byams pa zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go|

'o na so so'i skye bo las dang po pas [G28b] sems can la dmigs pa'i byams pa ji ltar bsgom zhe na| 'di ltar so so'i skye bo las dang po pas sems can la dmigs pa'i byams pa'i bsgom rim 'di ltar bya ste| sems can snying du sdug pa dang | tha mal pa dang | snying du mi sdug pa yin pa'i rnam pa 'di gsum yod pa las| sems can snying du sdug pa la yang gsum du dbye ste| rab 'bring tha ma gsum du'o⁽⁵⁹⁾ |⁽⁶⁰⁾ sems can tha mal pa dang | mi sdug pa la yang gsum du dbye ste| rab 'bring tha ma ste| bdun du dbye ba byas la| thog mar 'bring tsam du sdug pa de pha ma la sogs par rab tu bsgom mo| |de goms pa dang tha mal pa kun rab dang 'dra bar bsgom| de nas cung zad mi sdug pa sdug pa⁽⁶¹⁾ rab dang 'dra bar bsgom| de goms pa dang mi sdug pa 'bring sdug pa rab dang 'dra bar bsgom| |de nas shin tu mi sdug pa la yang pha ma dang 'dra [C21a] bar bya ste⁽⁶²⁾ | de ltar goms pa'i dmigs pa yang sems can thams cad thog ma med pa'i dus nas pha ma la sogs pa gnyen du ma gyur pa med pa dang | de ltar sgom pa yang thog mar yang khyim gang gi mi tsam la bsgoms⁽⁶³⁾ pa nas rim gyis te| de nas ni mtha' yas par [D21a] bsgom

⁽⁵⁷⁾ dpa' CD

⁽⁵⁸⁾ om. CD

⁽⁵⁹⁾ om. GNQ

⁽⁶⁰⁾ dmigs pa'i add. GNQ

⁽⁶¹⁾ om. GNQ

⁽⁶²⁾ byas te GNQ

⁽⁶³⁾ bsgom GNQ

mo zhes bya ba'i don bstan to⁽⁶⁴⁾|

|de la snying rje ni [N21a] sdug bsngal ba'i sems can la dmigs pa'i snying rje ni sdug bsngal gyi sdug bsngal la sogs pa⁽⁶⁵⁾ gsum mam| skye ba la sogs pa brgyad kyis⁽⁶⁶⁾ sdug bsngal ba'i sems can de dag kun gyi sdug bsngal snying rjes sel [G29a] zhes⁽⁶⁷⁾ bya ba'i tha [Q21a] tshig go| nyes pa byed pa'i sems can la dmigs pa'i snying rje ni gong gi sdug bsngal de dag rtsa ba'am| rgyu mi dge ba la spyod pa'i sems can de dag gi mi dge ba kun snying rjes sel zhes⁽⁶⁸⁾ bya ba'i don to| |rkyen dang mi ldan pas rnam par ma grol ba'i sems can la dmigs pa'i snying rje ni sems can dge ba'i bshes gnyen dang mi ldan pas chos ma thos pa ste| de yang rgyud las| dge bshes ma bsten chos ma mnyan bya ba dang | ma grol ba'i sems can snying rjes grol bar byed zhes bya ba'i don to|

|de la dga' ba ni de la sems can dag zang zing gi 'byor ba dang | chos kyi 'byor ba dang | bde ba'i 'byor ba dang ldan pas dga' ba'o| |bdag gi tshogs yongs su rdzogs pa la dmigs pa'i dga' ba ni bdag nyid dge ba'i tshogs che ba la dmigs nas dga' ba'i don to| |dam pa'i chos kyi ro la dmigs pa'i dga' ba ni bdag dang gzhan chos thos pa'i ro dang | bsam pa dang bsgom pa'i ro rnyed pa'i sgo nas dga' ba'i don to|

|de la btang snyoms ni sems can gyi don la spyod pa dag ni skal ba yod pa dang skal ba med pa'i btang snyoms ni| skal ba dang ldan pa'i don ni bya| skal pa dang mi ldan pa'i don ni mi bya zhes de ltar 'byed pa med par gnyis ka'i don snyoms par bya zhes bya ba'i tha tshig go| 'jig rten gyi chos brgyad po rnyed pa dang ma rnyed pa la sogs pa'i sgras bsdus pa 'di lta ste| bde ba dang | [C21b] sdug bsngal ba dang [G29b] | bstod pa dang | smad pa dang | grags pa dang | ma grags pa⁽⁶⁹⁾ la dga' ba dang mi dga' med par btang snyoms su gnas pa ste| de la 'jig rten gyi chos brgyad ni rnyed pa dang ma rnyed pa la sogs pa⁽⁷⁰⁾ la bya ste| chos brgyad po de dag 'jig rten na [N21b] grags shing yod pa'i phyir 'jig rten gyi chos brgyad do|

[Q21b] |chos brgyad po de dag la ji ltar btang snyoms su gnas she na|

'di [D21b] ltar bdag gis longs spyod phun sum tshogs pa rnyed pa na de la dga' ba ste

⁽⁶⁴⁾ te GNQ

⁽⁶⁵⁾ om. CD

⁽⁶⁶⁾ kyi GNQ

⁽⁶⁷⁾ ces GNQ

⁽⁶⁸⁾ ces GNQ

⁽⁶⁹⁾ dang add. GNQ

⁽⁷⁰⁾ om. GNQ

chags pa yang med la| longs spyod {'grib}⁽⁷¹⁾ sam ma rnyed na yang de'i yid chad pa med cing mi dga' ba med pa ni rnyed ma rnyed la dga' mi dga' med pa'i btang snyoms zhes bya'o| bdag gi mdza' bo byams pa zhig gis bdag gi lus la spos dang tsandan la sogs pa'i byug pas nyug cing bsnyen bkur dang bsti stang byed na bkur sti'i bde ba la dga' zhing chags pa yang med la| dgra bo zhig gis bdag gis⁽⁷²⁾ lus la brdeg brdung la sogs pa byed na yang de la'ang mi khro zhing brdeg brdung gi sdug bsngal dang du blang ba dang | sdug go mi snyam⁽⁷³⁾ ste| bde sdug la dga' mi dga' med pa'i btang snyoms zhes bya'o| bdag gi mdza' bo⁽⁷⁴⁾ zhig gis⁽⁷⁵⁾ bdag gis rigs las glengs te snyan pa'i tshig gis bstod na de la dga' zhing gzengs mtho bar 'gyur ba yang med la| dgra bo zhig gis bdag gi skyon brus⁽⁷⁶⁾ shing bsgrags na yang de la yang⁽⁷⁷⁾ mi dga' zhing dpa' zhum pa med pa ni bstod pa dang smad pa [G30a] la dga' ba dang | mi dga' ba med pa'i btang snyoms zhes bya'o| bdag gi yon tan yod pa skye bo mang pos thos shing shes par gyur pa na 'di snyam du bdag ni yon tan can du skye bo mang pos shes pas bdag gi yon tan grags te ma subs so zhes yon tan grags pa la dga' ba yang med la| bdag gi yon tan skye bo mang pos ma thos shing ma shes na yang bdag gi yon tan ma grags te| nub bo zhes mi dga' ba med pa ni yon tan grags pa dang ma grags pa la dga' ba dang mi dga' ba med pa'i btang snyoms zhes bya' ba'i don to|

|tshogs zhes bya ba ni gong gi tshig ste| tshogs yongs su bskang ba la dus dang dus ma yin pa la dmigs pa'i [C22a] btang [Q22a] snyoms ni bdag nyid dge ba'i tshogs bskang zhing spyad pa la dus 'dir ni bya| dus 'dir ni⁽⁷⁸⁾ mi bya zhes [N22a] 'byed pa med par dus kun tu spyod par byed pa'o|

|tshad med bzhi po dag ni tshangs pa'i gnas|
|bsgom⁽⁷⁹⁾ pa'i kun gyi don du bdag gis 'di|
|sems can don du byas shing bsdebs⁽⁸⁰⁾ pa des|
|'gro kun sgrib bral myur du sangs rgyas shog

|tshad med pa bzhi'i rgya cher 'grel pa slob dpon buddha⁽⁸¹⁾ guptas mdzad pa rdzogs so||

⁽⁷¹⁾ 'gribs CDGNQ

⁽⁷²⁾ gi Q

⁽⁷³⁾ pa add. GNQ

⁽⁷⁴⁾ mdza'o GNQ

⁽⁷⁵⁾ gi C

⁽⁷⁶⁾ bru GNQ

⁽⁷⁷⁾ om. C

⁽⁷⁸⁾ bya| dus 'dir ni om. GNQ

⁽⁷⁹⁾ sgom GNQ

⁽⁸⁰⁾ bsgrebs Q

⁽⁸¹⁾ buddhā GNQ

||

[C22a2] [D21b7] [G30a6] [N22a2] [Q22a2]

Note on the Names “Buddhagupta” (Sangs rgyas sbas pa) and “Buddhaguhya” (Sangs rgyas gsang ba)

As I alluded to above, there has been much uncertainty in the scholarship around the identity of this figure (or *these figures*)? Is the author of *Commentary*—Buddhagupta—the same as the author (*Sangs rgyas sbas pa*=Buddhagupta) of IOL Tib J 549, “The Small Hidden Grain” (*Sbas pa’i rgum chung*), and/or the Buddhagupta (*’bu ta kug ta*) who is mentioned in IOL Tib J 1774/2 and in Gñub chen Sangs rgyas ye shes’s *Lamp for the Eye in Contemplation* (*Bsam gtan mig srgon*) as a master of *mahāyoga* tantra?⁽⁸²⁾ Yet, there are no *mahāyoga* commentaries in the canon ascribed to a Buddhagupta, though there are several attributed to Buddhaguhya.⁽⁸³⁾ And is this the same Buddhaguhya⁽⁸⁴⁾ who has famously commented extensively *Vairocanābhisambodhi Tantra*⁽⁸⁵⁾ other tantras of the *kriyā*, *caryā*, and *yoga* classes? Determining the authorship of these expansive works requires deep textual-historical criticism and is beyond the scope of this essay. However, I argue that two determinations can be made: 1) that the name Buddhaguhya and its Tibetan translation *Sangs rgyas gsang ba* is a reconstruction of the early translators and compilers of Buddhist texts in Tibet and 2) that the name of the commentator whose is normally referred to as Buddhaguhya is in fact Buddhagupta. To be clear, the latter is a rather straightforward argument and has been proposed by Matthew Kapstein and recently advanced by Nicholas Schmidt.⁽⁸⁶⁾ Here, I will attempt to show how the name

⁽⁸²⁾ Gñubs chen sangs rgyas ye shes, *Rnyal ’byor mig gi bsam gtan* (Leh: S.W. Tashigangpa, 1974), fol. 112a1. Gñubs chen also uses the spelling *’bu ta kug ta*.

⁽⁸³⁾ For example, *Lam rnam par bkod pa sangs rgyas gsang ba’i man ngag*. Pe cin bstan ’gyur, Q 4736, Rgyud ’grel bu, ff. 465b-506b.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ For a synthetic biography of this figure and a condensed discussion of some of the issues discussed here, see Jake Nagasawa, “Buddhaguhya” in *Treasury of Lives: A Biographical Encyclopedia of Tibet, Inner Asia, and the Himalaya*, March 2017, <https://treasuryoflives.org/biographies/view/Buddhaguhya/10546>.

⁽⁸⁵⁾ *Mahāvairocanābhisambodhivikurvātī-adhiṣṭhānavaipulya-sūtra-indrarājā-nāma-dharmaparyāy a*, *Rnam par snang mdzad chen po mngon par rdzogs par byang chub pa rnam par sprul ba byin gyis rlob pa shin tu rgyas pa mdo sde’i dbang po rgyal po zhes bya ba’i chos kyi rnam grangs*, Sde dge bka’ ’gyur, D 494, rgyud *tha*, fols. 151b-260a.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ Matthew T. Kapstein, *The Tibetan Assimilation of Buddhism: Conversion, Contestation, and Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 62-63 n. 73, and Nicholas Schmidt, “The Jewel’s Radiance: A Translation of ‘*Ratnabhāsvara,’ an Extensive Commentary on the Vajravidāraṇa-nāma-dhāraṇī,” MA thesis, Kathmandu University, 2018, 149-155. I am

Buddhaguhya became the name associated with this commentator by tracing its development in early sources.

Returning to the 812 *Dkar chag ldan kar ma*,⁽⁸⁷⁾ three tantric commentators recorded therein are clearly said to be authored by Buddhagupta (*slob dpon bu ddha gu ptas mdzad pa*): the *Condensed Commentary on the Vairocanābhisambodhi Tantra*,⁽⁸⁸⁾ *A Word-by-word Commentary on the Durgatipariśodhana Tantra*,⁽⁸⁹⁾ and the *An Extensive Explanation of the Dhyānottaraṭṭalakrama*.⁽⁹⁰⁾ The other extant imperial text register, the *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma*, which dates to 842 at the earliest⁽⁹¹⁾ but was added to throughout the rest of ninth century and beyond,⁽⁹²⁾ contains a reference to the commentary on the *Dhyānottaraṭṭalakrama*, again attributed Buddhagupta (*bud dha gupta mdzad pa*). Here however, we see for the first time a reference to the name Buddhaguhya as the author (*sangs rgyas gsang ba mdzad pa*) of a treatise on essence extraction (*rasāyana, bcus kyis len*) or alchemy that is attributed to Buddhaguhya.⁽⁹³⁾ It is important to note that the Sanskrit words *gupta* (*sbas pa*) and *guhya* (*gsang ba*) in the name variants Buddhaguhya and Buddahgupta have similar meanings—“concealed,” “covered,” “hidden,” or “secret.” I also draw attention to Cristina Scherrer-Schaub’s suggestion that prior to 814, that is to say the period in which the texts found in the *Dkar chag ldan kar ma* were most likely translated, the imperial period procedures for approving and registering newly translated terms with the imperial translation board had

particularly grateful to Nicholas Schmidt for our scholarly exchanges and for his excellent thesis, which has helped me to completely rethink the Buddhagupta/Buddhaguhya name issue.

⁽⁸⁷⁾ Adelheid Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die lHan kar ma: Ein früher Katalog der ins Tibetische übersetzten buddhistischen Texte. Kritische Neuauflage mit Einleitung und Materialien*, vol. 367 of *Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2009), 176-180, text nos. 322, 324, 328.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ *Vairocanābhisambodhitrantraṭṭārtha*, *Rnam par snang mdzad mngon par rdzogs par byang chub pa'i rgyud kyi bsodus pa'i don*. Sde dge bstan 'gyur, D 2662, Rgyud nyu, 1b-65a. This commentary is translated in Stephen Hodge, *The Maha-Vairocana-Abhisambodhi Tantra with Buddhaguhya's Commentary*. London: Routledge, 2005.

⁽⁸⁹⁾ *Ngan song sbyong ba'i don gyi 'bru 'grel*, *Sde dge bstan 'gyur*, D 2624, rgyud cu, ff. 152b-231a.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ *Dhyānottara-ṭṭalakrama*, *Bsam gtan gyi phyi ma rim par phye ba*, Sde dge bka' 'gyur, D 808, rgyud wa, ff. 223a-225b.

⁽⁹¹⁾ Brandon Dotson, “Emperor” Mu rug btsan and the 'Phang thang ma Catalogue,” in *Journal of the International Association of Tibetan Studies* Issue 4 (December 2007): 4. Also in this article, Dotson notes that a later date for the aforementioned Denkar Catalogue may be possible, but this has yet to be definitely proven.

⁽⁹²⁾ Halkias, Georgios. “Tibetan Buddhism Registered: A Catalogue from the Imperial Court of 'Phang thang” *The Eastern Buddhist* 36, nos. 1-2 (2004), 77-79.

⁽⁹³⁾ KAWAGOE Eishin 川越 英真, *dDar chag 'Phang thang ma*. Sendai: (Tōhoku indo chibetto kenkyūkai, 東北インド・チベット研究会, Tōhoku Society for Indo-Tibetan Studies, 2005), 25 & 45. Unfortunately, the alchemical text is no longer extant.

not yet been in use.⁽⁹⁴⁾

The next major cataloging projects unfolded over the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The first was undertaken by Bcom ldan rig pa'i ral gri's in his aforementioned *An Ornamental Sunbeam for the Spread of the Teachings*. This catalog combines elements of both the *Dkar chag ldan kar ma* and the *Dkar chag 'phang thang ma*, containing references to the *Dhyānottarapaṭalakrama (buddha gu ta pa tas mdzad)* by Buddhagupta, the alchemical text by Buddhaguhya, and several other texts also attributed to Buddhaguhya, such as a text on Vajravidāraṇa.⁽⁹⁵⁾ But Dbus Blo gsal's *Catalog of the Narthang Tengyur* marks a major turning point—it is the first catalog to standardize the translation the name of our author. In this catalog, two of the tantric commentaries found in the *Dkar chag ldan kar ma* have the authorial statement “written by the ācārya Buddhaguhya” (*slob dpon sangs rgyas gsang bas mdzad pa*). In each instance, there is an interlinear note of uncertain origin pointing out that *sangs rgyas gsan ba* means *bud dha gu hya*.⁽⁹⁶⁾

The final stage of this development is the large scale *Bstan 'gyur* compilation project supervised by Bu ston Rin chen grub ay Zhwa lu Monastery and documented in his *Letter to the Editors (Yig mkhan rnam la gdams pa)*. As Schaeffer relates in his study and translation of this letter, Bu ston directed his editors to correct spelling mistakes, update remnants of old orthography, and emend texts “in accordance with his reasoned understanding of what the text *should* say.” This point, combined with Dbus blo gsal's standardizing likely led to back translations of *Snags rgyas gsang ba* in cases such as phonetic spelling of *Bu ddha gu hya* in the D & P colophons of *Condensed Commentary on the Vairocanābhīṣambodhi Tantra*. And since Bu ston's catalog served as the model for most succeeding text catalogs, the Buddhaguhya name error was replicated, resulting in all contemporary catalogs recording the author of all of the works mentioned above—except for the *Commentary*—as Buddhaguhya.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Cristina Scherrer-Schaub, “Enacting Words. A Diplomatic Analysis of the Imperial Decrees (*bkas bcad*) and their Application in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnis pa* Tradition,” *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 25, nos. 1-2 (2002): 283.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Schaeffer & van der Kuijp, 180-185.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ Dbud pa Blo gsal, fols. 28b6 and 29a1. This catalog also introduces numerous other texts, now attributed to *Sangs rgyas gsang ba*, including the text translated herein, and others such as a commentary on the *Subāhupariṣṛcchā Tantra*, and a text on yogic instructions.

Bibliography

Abbreviations, Sigla, and Signs

- C *Co ne Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*
 D *Sde dge Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*
 G *Gser bris Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*
 N *Snar thang Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*
 P *Pe cin Bka' 'gyur* and *Bstan 'gyur*
 T 大正新脩大藏經 *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*
 add. Adds
 fol. Folio
 n. Note
 no. Number
 om. Omits
 { } indicates emendation of the text

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**The Adaptation and Application of
Uicheon's *Kyochang* in Medieval Buddhism of Japan
A Philosophical View Based on the Kegon literature**

〈in Japanese〉

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Abstract

Uicheon 義天, a high-ranking priest of the Goryeo kingdom, collected various Buddhist commentaries 章疏 from such East Asian countries as Northern Song, Liao, and Japan in order to publish them. Since he compiled teachings of different Buddhist schools into one collection, it is referred to as *Kyochang* 教藏 in Korean. The *Kyochang* was introduced into Japan in the first year of Hōan era (保安; 1120) by Kakuju 覺樹, a priest at Tōdaiji Temple 東大寺 who imported hundreds of Buddhist texts from Goryeo. Today, eight types of copies are preserved at a number of Japanese sites, including Tōdaiji Temple, Kōzanji Temple 高山寺, and Shōkaiji Temple 性海寺. Some of them are considered to have been imported by Kakuju. They are representative of exoteric and esoteric Buddhist teachings. Two of them relate the *Kegonshoshō* 華嚴疏鈔 (Ch. *Huayan shu chao*, Kr. *Hwaeomsocho*) by Chōkan 澄觀 (Ch. Chengguan), and four copies, which include a considerable amount of quotation from the *Kegonshoshō*, are related to esoteric Buddhism of the Liao Dynasty.

Medieval Japanese Buddhism combines exoteric and esoteric teachings, and Uicheon's *Kyochang* offered primary information for interdisciplinary learning of the Kegon sect 華嚴宗 and esoteric Buddhism. Specifically, exoteric Buddhism made references to the *Kegonshoshō* as well as esoteric teachings by *shoshō* 疏鈔 from the Liao Dynasty. To sum, Uicheon's *Enshū-monrui* 円宗文類 (Kr. *Wonjongmullyu*) and Chōkan's *Kegonshoshō* were frequently quoted in the Kegon sect and esoteric Buddhist schools, and the *Kyochang* was regarded as an independent discipline consisting of exoteric and esoteric Buddhist teachings. Chōkan's teaching of Kegon 華嚴 (Ch. Huayan, Kr. Hwaeom) continued to be influential throughout the Liao Dynasty and in medieval Japan. However, the texts composed in the Liao Dynasty were later abandoned because of different understandings about original enlightenment, although it too was based on a syncretism of exoteric and esoteric Buddhist teachings.

日本中世における高麗「義天版教蔵」の受容と活用 に関する思想的考察⁽¹⁾

—華嚴学文献を中心に—

珩錫 (申 回貞)

キーワード：義天、教蔵、章疏、円宗文類、華嚴疏鈔、澄観

はじめに

高麗の大覚国師義天（1055～1001）は、仏教の東伝以来、中国五代の戦乱により失われた古今の仏書典籍が約200年間流通していないことに対し、仏法の衰退を心配した⁽²⁾。義天の護法の意志は、北宋、遼、日本など東アジア諸国を通して古今諸家の章疏を収集して刊行する事業として表出した。義天が刊行した著述と教蔵を合わせて「義天版」と通称する。目録に掲載された文献は、その刊行以後にさっそく日本と中国など東アジア社会へ再伝播していった。このように再び東アジア社会に流通した点を見ると、諸地域に共通する関心事が盛り込まれていると考えられる。

周知のように『円宗文類』と『新編諸宗教蔵総録』の誕生によって、東アジア仏教諸宗の教学水準を具体的に把握することのできる基礎的情報が提供された。義天編纂の『円宗文類』と『新編諸宗教蔵総録』は総合的な一章疏群であり、一つの統合仏典データを構築しようとする意図、または東アジアの諸宗までも一つにまとめようとする試みのように見える。明らかなことは、本書が東アジア漢文仏教文化圏の文献交流と出版史において、章疏目録の嚆矢と独自性を確保している点である。

しかし、義天の教蔵プロジェクトは単に目録および刊行のための作業ではなかったことを『文集』などの資料は伝えている。この点は『新編諸宗教蔵総録』の構成体系だけ

⁽¹⁾ 本稿は龍谷大学世界仏教文化研究センターの公開研究会「日本中世における高麗「義天版教蔵」の受容と活用に関する思想的考察」（2019年10月02日）において研究発表した一部を大幅に修正加筆した内容である。

⁽²⁾ “[卷一〇第一（～四張缺落）]。外所傳諸家教乘。或有絶本不行者。或有魚魯混淆者。或有關於鈔解者。兼以自五代。至今日。向二百年。諸師著述。未見流通。”『大覚国師文集』巻第10（H0062v4, p.543a17-a21）。

を見ても、義天が意図した教学的立場が含まれていることが分かる⁽³⁾。何より国際社会の関心分野は「標準化された最新の情報」であるという点であったと考えられる。これは義天が章疏を募集する際、高麗国における師匠から文献の真偽と内容を諮問されてきたことから窺われる。このように義天の例を通じて中世仏教は東アジアが一つの文化圏を形成していたことがわかる。

「義天版教蔵」の日本への伝来に関する遺存史料は数多く残されており、その記録は、主に華嚴宗と真言宗の系統、僧侶によって受容と活用がなされてきた。また数次にわたる書写を経て写本が諸寺に伝来している⁽⁴⁾。ところで、義天が4,700余巻の諸宗章疏を集めたが、今日の「義天版教蔵」の原刊本は3種のみが現存する。すべて華嚴の章疏であり、この中の2種類には、横内裕人(2008)が報告する8種の章疏が含まれている。このうち2種は、義天が最も注力した学問であり、章疏群の標準となる澄観の『華嚴疏鈔』である。さらに残りの6種についても、遼代の密教学と関係する。つまり、8種の特徴は当時のトレンドを反映した顕教と密教を代表する文献であったということである。これらが現存することは、日本の中世仏教において重要視されていたことが窺われる。

一方、日本中世社会の文化的特質が「顕密体制論」の特徴である「顕密融合」であることを踏まえると⁽⁵⁾、横内裕人(2008)が言及した顕密仏教が日本中世の正統宗教として認識されるに至るプロセスにおいて、この8種の文献がどのように関係するかが問題となる。したがって日本中世仏教の特質といえる顕密体制論を構成する共通の文化基盤に本覚思想があり、広い意味の本覚思想は再び仏教諸宗の顕密融合の教学から実体を採ることができる。

本稿では、日本中世の顕密融合の教学が対外関係の中で形成された意識として始まったという点に注目し、「義天版教蔵」に内包された「義天が意図した教学的立場」と8種の文献が、顕密融合の仏教とはどのように思想的に関係があるのかを考察したい。

(3) 김성수 「教蔵總錄經部 分類体系의 分析」 『한국문헌정보학회지』 第10輯、1983年6月。

(4) 「高麗統藏經と中世日本統藏經の輸入流通」で院政期伝来の統藏經には書写・伝来について東大寺・性海寺・仁和寺の所属僧の奥書と識語が書かれた。横内裕人『日本中世の仏教と東アジア』東京：塙書房、2008年、371-377頁。

(5) 「本書の視角」によると、日本古代から中世にまで国家、宗教、政治、経済、文化、民族、社会諸分野から民衆共通の文化基盤に顕密体制論が表われる。黒田俊雄氏が「顕密体制論」を提起して以来、顕密体制論についての研究は日本中世社会を構成する諸要素の解明に起爆剤の役割をする。そして、その形態と特徴としてどのように影響を与えたのか。顕密体制論の形成と影響について平雅行氏、曾根原理氏、島地大等氏、丸山眞男氏さまざまな批判と解明があった。横内裕人(前掲書)、3-9頁。

1. 義天に関する研究と資料

1.1 先行研究と最近成果

大覚国師義天（1055～1101）に関する研究は、1910年～30年代から日本学者たちによって開始された。既存の研究をもとに大屋徳城は『高麗統蔵彫造攷』で、義天の生涯や業績、思想などを総合的に扱った。特に『新編諸宗教蔵総録』（以下、『教蔵総録』）の内容と構成を解明し、収録された経・律・論とそれに伴う各章疏ごとに著者と文献の書誌事項などを簡略的に述べている。

このうち韓国では流通していない遼代の契丹本の密教章疏と著者に関する紹介がある。最も注目すべき点は、義天の生涯に関する内容の根拠と出典に『大覚国師文集』が参考になっている点である。また『円宗文類』を紹介している点も注目される。

「教蔵」文献については、記載された刊記と奥書をもとに刊行と筆写など「義天版」文献の伝来関係が把握できる。それだけでなく、義天に関する記述が文献書誌学的側面からも典型をなしていることから、義天に関する研究においては一種の教科書のような参考書として活用されている。

一方、韓国における義天の研究は、やはり彼の最大業績である教蔵を刊行した事実を紹介し、その内容を分析する研究が主流となっている。特に『教蔵総録』は東アジア漢文文化圏の文献の交流と出版の歴史における嚆矢であり、これを文化史・仏教史・仏典刊行史的側面から価値と意義を評価する研究もかなりのものである。このように最近10年間、義天が「教蔵」を刊行した背景と事実からその内容を究明するうえで、最も多くの成果を見せた研究者には「박용진」が挙げられる。

「教蔵」刊行の背景と目的を政治的次元で照らした言及も数多い。つまり、政治界と仏教界が絡み合った主導権争いで、教団の華嚴宗と法相宗が葛藤と対立で華嚴宗を優位に置こうとしたとする。また、教宗と禅宗の間の分裂を解消するために、天台宗の開創を通じて統廃合を実現しようとする試みのもとに行ったこととしての評価等であり、大部分が仏教界の改革と天台宗の改創のための意図であるという立場から言及している⁶⁾。

⁶⁾ 최병헌の論文は、義天が収集・刊行するようになった背景と目的が何なのかについて、高麗史、仏教史、政治史的立場から調べたものである。それだけでなく、講説と講学で天台学を重視した内容についても言及している。要するに、教団の宗派間の葛藤と政治的混乱による新しい宗派、すなわち天台宗を創宗するためのもの。新たに天台宗を改創することにより、教団・宗派間の理解と対立を解消する意図から天台宗の開創が求められたと、政治史的側面から検討している。

최병헌 「大覚国師義天의 天台宗創立과 宋의 天台宗」 『인문논총』 第47輯、2002年8月、29-57頁。

最近の研究動向の成果について紹介したい。この研究は、(社)高麗大蔵研究所が、この時代に必要な電算化された「教蔵」文献として「教蔵」を再び集めるという趣旨で高麗教蔵プロジェクト(2012.03~2017.02)を実施した⁷⁾。実施した学術報告会の主要日程とテーマを簡単に整理すると次のようになる。

2014년 4월 25일 오전 10시: 영주 (부석사)

テーマ: <제종교장과 화엄경 장소>등

2015년 4월 4일 오후 1시: 서울 종로 조계종 전법회관 3층 회의실

テーマ: <고려대각국사의친의『신편제종교장총록(新編諸宗教蔵総録)』과 법화·천태 장소(章疏) >

2017년 1월 13일(금) 오전 10시: 서울 종로 안국동에 위치한 월드컬처오픈 W 스테이지

テーマ: <東아시아 佛敎章疏와 大覺國師 義天의 諸宗教蔵>

2018년 2월 2일 오전 10시: 서울 한국불교역사문화기념관 국제회의장

-한일공동 고려교장(속장경)국제학술대회-

テーマ: <일본 일련종 총본산인 구온지 및 일련종 중립대학인 미노부산대학 도서관 소장 교장문헌>

上記のテーマに当てはまる詳細な発表内容は、<学術報告会結集資料集>に掲載されている。この中で論文として掲載されたものと資料集のみ所在する場合があります、内容を参考にするには制限がある。しかし、上記の主題は従来先行した研究とは異なり、華嚴・法華など大乘諸宗派の章疏の内容と目録をより具体的に検討発表している。

高麗時代に盛んに流通していた高麗興王寺の教蔵都監の原刊本や、朝鮮時代の刊経都監の重刊本も戦乱などで多く消失し、今日韓国内に伝存する量は少ない。しかし、教蔵本が中国と日本などに伝えられており、日本の場合、国内未伝の原刊本と筆写本または版本などが多く残っている。だからこそ、韓日の共同調査は国内未伝の本を把握する上で大きな意味がある。この教蔵文献の資料調査は2015年東京大学テキスト文献研究会、2016年名古屋大学、2017年身延山大学との日本所蔵の註釈書を検討する研究を行った。このような教蔵が諸宗の教僧を集めただけに、韓国を代表する新羅の元曉、義相、太賢の註釈書をはじめとするその特徴と現況を把握している。

特に文献資料の調査は本文の内容も重要であるが、刊記及び奥書、著述のように資料

⁷⁾ 最近の研究動向について総合的な成果は(社)高麗大蔵研究所で、2012年から2017年まで「高麗教蔵」に関する5年間のプロジェクトである。

상기(1959)、조명기(1964)、이영자(1982)、김성수(1983)、최병헌(1989)、천혜봉(1990)、허홍식(1991)、남권희(1997)、박용진(2006)など、様々な研究成果が発表された。

に記された内容の把握は、各文献の歴史とストーリーを知る上で重要な情報となりうる。

このように教蔵をデジタル化によって集成しようとするものは開始初期に 150 種あまりであったが、現在までに調査された文献は 550 種 3000 余り、調査と研究・撮影を通じた DB 構築は 300 巻あまりに上る。いわば『教蔵総録』の内容を実証的に確認できるようなデータになったのである⁽⁸⁾。しかし、残念ながら「義天版教蔵」の白眉とも言える澄観(738~839)の『華嚴経疏鈔』は簡単な書誌事項が確認されるだけで、その全体を見ることはできない。しかし、大屋徳城『高麗統蔵彫造攷』を参考にした『大覚国師文・外集』を同じく「디지털아카이브서비스시스템 (デジタルアーカイブサービスシステム)」にて原文とハンゲル訳が統合されている。以下では、『大覚国師文集』などを活用して、義天の生涯の中で形成された教学思想を検討し、これが教蔵収集と刊行にどのような影響を及ぼしたのかを述べることにする。

1.2 義天の生涯と教学形成

義天の生涯を記録した主な資料は、『大覚国師文集・外集』である。これは義天の死後に門徒によって編纂され、文の特徴と形式によって序、辭、表、狀、論、書、疏文、祭文、詩で構成されている。『大覚国師外集』は宋と日本、遼の僧・俗から受けた書翰と、記詩碑銘など 13 巻で構成されている⁽⁹⁾。これもまた義天の死後に門徒によって編纂された。

義天が教蔵や著述活動をするようになった理念と思想的基盤について、先に生涯を記録した「靈通寺大覚国師碑文」⁽¹⁰⁾ (1125 年) に基づき、内容を整理しながら見てみよう。

⁽⁸⁾ これらの研究の基盤は、過去の(社)高麗大蔵経研究所が高麗大蔵経知識ベース (<http://kb.sutra.re.kr>) サイトを通じて高麗大蔵経の初雕と再雕、そして敦煌本の実物確認と原文校勘に必要な原本写真と印経本など、様々な情報を提供したが現在は閉鎖されている。しかし、ここに蓄積されたデータは、<불교기록문화유산아카이브 서비스시스템> (<http://kabc.dongguk.edu>) に移管され、新たな体系化で運用されている。これは電子仏典専門サイトで、大蔵経と韓国仏教伝統文化遺産として残した多様な記録物の集成と訳注などが統合された運営体系で簡単に検索できる。

⁽⁹⁾ 現行本は慧観が書した「内集」20 巻と「外集」13 巻で体裁を備えた版本である。一方、異板があり、23 巻の「文」集と判断したこと。異板は「文集」と「外集」を分けず、23 巻以上に偏差し、ある本にまとめた版である。これで慧観が書した文集と外集の合集本、慧観が書した文集と「外集」が区分された別冊本など 2 種の板本そして召부식이言及した本に、義天の「文集」はすべて 3 種の板本が伝えられた。<불교기록문화유산아카이브 서비스시스템 (ABC)> は全体 23 巻で検索された。

⁽¹⁰⁾ 「靈通寺大覚国師碑文」『大覚国師外集』巻第 12 (H0063v4, p.590c03)。

1055年、義天は高麗文宗王の四番目の息子で生まれた。字は「義天」で、俗性は「王氏」、名は「釈煦」あるいは「煦」である。しかし、「煦」は宋の王である哲宗との避諱によって本名を呼べず、代わりに「字」を呼び、出家以降にも義天が法名となった。また、号は「祐世」であり、「大覚国師」と呼ばれるが、これもやはり彼が入寂した後に王が下した「号」である。義天は父親文宗の意によって、11歳1065（文宗19）年、母方の伯父な景徳国師、爛円（999～1066）の門下に出家以後三蔵と華嚴学を本格的に学ぶ。出家した後も学問を止めず、すでに成人の境地に至った。その頃、夢の中である人が澄観法師の文を伝えたが、それにより慧解が発展したという。靈通寺に滞在し、同じ年（1065）の10月、佛日寺で具足戒を受けた。13歳の1067（文宗21）年、国王から「廣智開宗弘眞祐世僧統」という法號を受けて僧統に上がった。そして、16～17歳頃から西方聖人の教に従事した。この時期は主に講学活動をしたものとみられる⁽¹¹⁾。19歳の1073（文宗27）年、「教蔵」結集をするという發願の（「代世子集教蔵發願鈔」）疏文を引き上げた後、17年が過ぎた。彼から義天31歳1085（宣宗2）年4月、本格的に教蔵収集を向けた活動に入るが、すぐに直接宋に向けて去るという要旨の「入宋求法表」文を王に捧げ入宋する⁽¹²⁾。そして、翌年32歳1086年6月に帰国して、そのとき各地で探し集めた経書や章疏3千巻を持ってきた後、すぐ本作業のために興王寺に教蔵都監を設置する。

義天は興王寺の主旨として働きながら、講説と収集した章のリストを作り、刊行する仕事を兼ねたものと見られる。これは当時までの東アジア諸国に散在していた章疏を網羅したもので、多くは4,000巻あまりにわたる分量を刊行することである。義天が宋に止まったのは1年あまりの短い期間だったが、彼が持ってきた章疏の量を見ると、長い間集めて準備したことを端的に知ることができる。

34～36歳（1088～1090年）の間、華嚴宗学研究と関係する主要文献の要文を内容別に抜粋した『円宗文類』22巻を編纂、そして取集一章疏を整理して目録化した『新編諸宗教蔵総録』3巻を編纂する。したがって、『新編諸宗教蔵総録』に載った教蔵雕印『円宗文類』を刊行した後、『新編諸宗教蔵総録』を編纂する準備期間に刊行したものとみなす⁽¹³⁾。

義天は23歳（1077年）に講義と講論を始め、46歳になる末（1100、肅宗5）年まで

⁽¹¹⁾ “頼以宿因。自十六七歳已来。從事于西方聖人之教。二十載于兹矣。”「與内侍文冠書」『大覚国師文集』巻第13（H0062v4, p.550c01-b24）。

⁽¹²⁾ 「請入大宋求法表」“城問友善財。垂範於務師。矧當像教之。”ように‘一百城を尋ねながら知識（善友）に法を訊ねた善財は師匠を求めにあたって模範を示した’に於いて、義天は求法のために宋へ行く自分を善財に喩えている。『大覚国師文集』巻第5（H0062v4, p.533c01）。

⁽¹³⁾ 朴鎔辰『義天: 그의 생애와 사상』、서울:혜안、2011年、78頁。

講説を廃しているのを知らずに続けた。こうした研究には『貞元新訳華嚴經』と「澄観の疏」そして元曉の撰述書が主に参照されている。

このような佛教中興と正法守護に向けて努力した義天は享年47歳、僧臘36歳(1101、肅宗6)の同年10月5日に短い一期で涅槃する。義天の短い生涯から分かるように、彼は師匠から早くから「華嚴經」と「華嚴教観」を学んだことを基盤に、入宋前後で華嚴師匠との交流が多い中でも、有誠法師と晋水淨源との関係に注目できる。さらに、入宋した当初に有誠を尋ねており、その対話が賢首と天台教判の同異に関する質疑問答である。義天は帰国前の約6ヵ月間(1086年2月まで)、晋水(淨源)門下で華嚴教観に関する談論と法を認可して受け取るなど、最も集中した学問が華嚴教学であった。義天が入宋前後から諸宗の師匠50人余りを尋ねて華嚴、天台、律宗派などの多様な学問を渉猟したことは、まるで善財童子の求法巡禮を連想させる⁽¹⁴⁾。

2. 「教蔵」刊行の趣旨と教学思想

2.1 著述の趣旨と教学の特徴

上述のように義天の教学の中心には華嚴学がある。以下では義天の著述を通して、その内容を具体的に見てみよう。以下は欠落によって題目が不明であるが、ある法師に義天を救うために急遽送った手紙文の一部内容である。

[卷一〇第一(～四張缺落)]. 外所傳諸家教乘。或有絶本不行者。或有魚魯混淆者。或有闕於鈔解者。兼以自五代。至今日。向二百年。諸師著述。未見流通。所以發憤忘遐。特來求法。今被本国王。催來之僉。還鄒在卽。伏望大法師。流通爲急。凡有古今諸家章疏出目示之。貴得還郷之日。聚集古今諸宗教乘。摠爲一蔵。垂於萬世。導無窮機。返本還源。是其本願也⁽¹⁵⁾。

上の文章は、義天が「教蔵」を作る理由を明らかにしている。「古今の諸家の章疏」がまともに流通していないこと、つまり仏法が全く伝わってこないこと、諸宗の教乗を結んで「教蔵」を作ることが、すなわち仏法を受け継いで伝えることであることを述べている。ここから、義天が単に章疏だけを集めるのではなく、原本がない場合や鈔解が抜けていることを正すことを目的としていることがわかる。

このように、義天が「教蔵」集成を発願した理由と、諸宗の教乗を通じて得ようとしたものが具体的に何なのか、義天の教学的立場をより具体的に見てみる必要がある。そ

⁽¹⁴⁾ “城之善友。徭尋眞教。全頼聖威。以至慈恩賢首之宗。台嶺南山之旨。濫傳爐拂。謬箕裘。”

『大覚国師文集』卷第8(H0062v4, p.540c01-c03)。

⁽¹⁵⁾ 『大覚国師文集』卷第10(H0062v4, p.543a17-a25)。

のために一次資料である『文・外集』に収録された義天が作成した主要な文章で、内容を検討したい。下記は便宜上番号をつけて文の著作順を表示した。

①「代世子集教藏發願疏」⁽¹⁶⁾ (1073)

右弟子虔心歸命。…漢庭肇迎。…四依間出。製疏以發揚。三藏誕生。伸鈔以輔翼。遺文蕃衍。舉世奉行。實可謂一代之能事畢矣。…顧茲桑木之區。素仰竺乾之化。雖經論卷一四第九張而具矣。然疏鈔以闕如。欲以于古于今。大遼大宋。凡有百家之科教。集爲一藏以流通。俾夫佛日增光。邪網解紐。重興像法。普利国家。共沙界之群生。播金剛之善種。僉學普賢之道。長遊盧舍之鄉。卷一四第一〇張。

ここでは、当時不足した疏鈔を収集し、学習し、流通させることで大藏経を補完しようという意志が強く示されており、疏鈔の重要性を明確に強調している。当時、高麗に伝存するか、新羅以来の著述されたものはもちろんのこと、宋と日本、遼などに散在している東アジア地域全体の章節を一藏に結集することを発願している。この仕事の目標は「皆で共に」という大乘的な理念に基づいた衆生教化と成仏にある。また方便として、疏鈔を通じた教学の伝承と発展のために努力しているのである。さらに義天の文には、盧舎那仏の世界と普賢の道を学ぶという表現が繰り返される。これは盧舎那仏法身境界と普賢行の実践を強調するもので、自分の教学思想と華嚴信仰が結合したキーワードになる。

②「新集円宗文類序」⁽¹⁷⁾

大□⁽¹⁸⁾藏之爲教也。…杜順□者…法界之經也。…著法界觀門。以授高弟智儼尊者。儼師得之變之爲五教。演之爲十玄。及乎賢首卷一第一張祖述於前。清凉。憲章於後。始可謂能事畢矣。故講大經者。咸以儼藏清凉三家義疏。永爲標準。而旁用諸家補焉。自我海東浮石尊者。求法之後。円頓之教。…而諸宗義學。未始不以論議爲先容也。但以至理幽微群言汗漫。問答之際。援引頗難。…精於教觀者。豈不爲之大息矣…□□王上知其然。乃集義學。伸議纂修。略彼廣卷一第二張文。爲茲要覽。以類鳩集。離爲二十二□。施於新學。可以者功。苟或因要略。以通疏鈔。以得經旨。因經旨。

⁽¹⁶⁾ 「代世子集教藏發願疏年十九作」『大覚国師文集』卷第 14 (H0062v4, p.552b22)。

⁽¹⁷⁾ 『大覚国師文集』卷第 1 (H0062v4, p.528a11-b23)。

⁽¹⁸⁾ 引用文にある「□」あるいは「□□」の表記は、『文集』の内容で脱落又は字が疑われるものを校正又は脚注処理していることである。本稿では校勘を省略して「…」で表示。

以證理性。則孰..孰爲略乎。…□□奏上。特賜名。曰円宗文類。仍命下□。爲之序引。…

この文には、この本を編纂する理由と目的を明確に叙述する中で、義天の教学的立場が明確であることが分かる。『円宗文類』は、義天が「教蔵」を聚集した後、最初に編纂刊行した著述である。「円宗」とは華嚴宗のことであり、『円宗文類』は華嚴の義理を把握するため諸宗の広文を種類別に要約した 22 巻で構成されたテキストである。構成の最も中心に華嚴学が位置している。華嚴教学は杜順、至相智儼、賢首法蔵、清凉澄観など中国華嚴宗の祖師の研究が基盤となっている。何よりも強調している教学方法論は、智儼と賢首と清凉三家の教義をテキストの標準とすることと、また諸家の解説を参考・補足することである。『円宗文類』は初心の学者の勉学のために作ったものだが、この要覽を見て、疏鈔に通達するためのものであり、疏鈔を参考にすることは、経旨を理解して理性を証得しようとするものである。

③「新編諸宗教蔵総録序」⁽¹⁹⁾ (1090)

功□□□嘗竊謂經論雖備。而章疏或廢。則流無由矣。輒效昇公護法之志。搜訪教迹□爲己任。孜孜不捨。僅二十載于茲矣。□□□得新舊製撰諸宗義章。不敢私秘。叙而出之。後有所獲。亦欲隨而錄之。脫或將。□□次函帙。與三蔵正文。垂之無窮。則吾願矣。時後高麗十三葉。在宥之八年。□□□午八月初八日。海東傳華嚴大教沙門某⁽²⁰⁾叙。

この序文の内容のように、仏法の過去と現在をつなぎながら広く流通させるには章疏の役割が重要であることを強調している。そして、疏鈔は当代最新の教学情報を伴っていること、義天が「教蔵」の結集においてこのような教跡を探索することが義天自身の發願であり、所任だという。また「教蔵」結集の理由は護法と伝承にある。最も主要なキーワードは教乗の伝承である。

④「代宣王諸宗教蔵彫印疏」⁽²¹⁾

右伏以。…且夫佛之說經。經由論顯。論待疏通。疏摠義章。義由師述。…故得智者立言於天台。遠公垂訓於淨影。慈恩安国。該衆說於三時。賢首清凉。會異端於五教。

⁽¹⁹⁾ 『大覚国師文集』巻第 1 (H0062v4, p.529a01-a06)。

⁽²⁰⁾ 「某」『T』巻 55 所載。『新編教蔵総録序』作「義天」。

⁽²¹⁾ 『大覚国師文集』巻第 15 (H0062v4, p.553b-c10)。

…竊念国家。自從元聖。迄至眇躬。敦衆善以保邦。…正文雖布於邇遐。章疏或幾乎墜失。苟存弘護。寔在…（卷一五第七張缺落）…⁽²²⁾

ここでは疏鈔を活用して義学を把握することを強調している。教学的な見方は賢主法蔵の五教、つまり教判論を基準とすることを提示している。元聖（元暁）と賢首と清涼の教学について「會通」することが重要であるとする。師によって義が伝えられ、悟りを与えることができるとし、義天は自分の使命は法師であり外護にあるとする。

⑤「刊定成唯識論單科序」⁽²³⁾

…以傳燈爲己任。因住興王寺。講演雜華。周於十編。…以謂起信唯識二論是性相兩宗之樞要。…但於唯識未盡其功。…迷其要義於是尋研本記。斟酌舊科。刊而定之勒爲三卷。儻同志者。持科玩論。先熟正文。後治疏鈔。則唯識之旨。…或曰。賢首五教中。判唯識瑜伽。爲大乘始教。而云固非究□□之□。法師克荷於華嚴。何必橫攻□□□□□□窮五教。故兼学也。盖華□□□□□□□一代枝末。從此而卷一第七張出故也。故慈恩疏。引例六經。而以華嚴。冠之最初。又云經爲根本。隨法相以宣揚。論是末宗。稟佛言而成理。…況清凉有言。性之與相。若天之日月。易之乾坤学兼兩轍。…是知不学俱舍不知小乘之說。不学唯識。寧見始教之宗。不学起信。豈明終頓之旨。不学花嚴。難入円融之門。…近世学佛者。自謂頓悟。蔑視權小。及談性相。往往取笑於人者。皆由不能兼学之過也。…。

高麗国。傳華嚴大教廣智開宗弘 [卷一第九張～（一四張缺落）]。

上の引用文には、義天が力を注ぐ華嚴の理解のために必須として兼学すべき科目 [テキスト] が詳しく書かれてある。これによると『起信論』と『成唯識論』は法性と法相の両宗の教学理解に基本的な主要テキストであり、同時に『俱舍論』などの諸教学科の兼学が重要であることを強調している。なぜなら、「華嚴は根本の教説であり一代の枝末は華嚴から始まるから」である。兼学は華嚴・円教に入る過程の学問として重要である。諸宗の章疏 [疏鈔] が重視される理由も五教の理解と志を同じくすることである。

このように、義天の教学と思想には華嚴が基盤にある。ここに義天の教学的立場が明確に表出されていると言える。

2.2 著述編著の構成体系と思想

義天の代表的な著述編著は、刊行年順で『円宗文類』、『新編諸宗教蔵総録』、『釈苑詞

⁽²²⁾ 김성수 (2014) で, 오윤희 『일꾼의친』 서울:불광출판사, 2012年, 274-275頁参照。

⁽²³⁾ 『大覚国師文集』巻第1 (H0062v4, p.529a08-c04)。

林』などがある⁽²⁴⁾。現存するものは『円宗文類』22巻中3巻と『教蔵録』3巻、そして『積苑詞林』僧侶らの碑文などを集めたもの(250巻中に5巻未完)である。これらは義天の死後に門徒によって編纂された。『円宗文類』は円宗つまり華嚴宗学と関係する多くの典籍の中核となる内容だけをかいつまんで集めた22巻の要覧である。しかし、現存は巻1、巻14、巻22の3巻だけである。義天が20年余り章疏を収集した中で一番先に内容を選別して編集したものであり、ここから義天の經典に対する理解、すなわち義学(教義)理解をうかがうことができる。

ただし遺存本が3巻のみであることから、それ以外の巻の内容は不明である。しかし、14巻には『探玄記』を要約した内容が載っている。その要約の形式は『探玄記』本文の構成体系である四門分別である1.積名、2.来意、3.宗趣、4.積文。1.2.3.の次の4の積文に該当する内容が本文となっている。このような点だけを見ても、義天が要覧を作った趣旨は、教義中心の宗学研究のための新しい形態のテキストの作成にあったと言える。

次に、収録された「教蔵」が刊行された現状については『新編諸宗教蔵総録』によって確認することができる。

周知のように「教蔵」とは大蔵経など仏典に関する註釈書及び戒律を含み、また諸宗撰の章疏、史伝・事彙類のなどを総合整理した叢書という概念付けを持つ⁽²⁵⁾。その内容は『新編諸宗教蔵総録』3巻にその大半が確認されている。そのため、「海東有本見行録」または「義天録」、「高麗教蔵」、「教蔵録」と、これは当時の高麗に現行する本などを収録するという意味である。そのため『教蔵録』は、性格上大蔵経目録につながるのではなく、「経律論」に対する章疏だけを別々にまとめたものであるため、続蔵目録と表現するのが適切でないという韓国研究者たちの考えもある。

収録されている章疏つまり疏鈔の配列順序を見ると、まず、巻一に経部の疏鈔、巻二に律部の疏鈔、巻三に論部の疏鈔を収め、当時流行している疏鈔を網羅するものとなっている⁽²⁶⁾。この経部には『華嚴経』の章疏が177部1,242巻に達し、律部は『梵網経』、『遺教経』などの順序、論部には『大乘起信論』34部85巻、『成唯識論』29部265巻、

⁽²⁴⁾ 『大覚国師文集』巻第1に“新集円宗文類序、新編諸宗教蔵摠録序、刊定成唯識論單科序、八師経後序、消災経直釈詳定記”がある。以外に『三家義疏』・『華嚴経』3本などがある。“二紀孜孜務講宣錦翻三百貫花詮懃勞愧乏傳燈力祇合匡廬種社蓮”『大覚国師文集』巻第20。

⁽²⁵⁾ “今奉勅賜聖考御容。并諸佛舍利。五十五知識像。花嚴大不思議論等。諸宗教蔵。三千餘卷。於今月十二日。離明州。十九日放洋。已到国境。”義天は自分が中国から収集して持ってきた新旧の章疏を「教蔵」と名づけた。『大覚国師文集』巻第8(H0062v4, p.540c05-c08)。박용진「교장의 성립과 역사적 변천」『서지학연구』第69輯、2017年参考。

⁽²⁶⁾ 大屋徳城『高麗続蔵彫造攷』京都: 便利堂、1936年、36頁。

天台関係章疏は39部140巻になる⁽²⁷⁾

経部に排列された体系の順序では、最も上位 A グループに般若部經典ではなく大華嚴經系が配列され、③毘盧神變經などが属している。そこには、義天が繰り返し言及する「毘盧遮那の理想世界と普賢行道の実践」を重視する態度が反映されていることがわかる。

それより以下の B 楞經界の經典は、『起信論』の一心思想との関係で「心性本淨說」が盛り込まれた唯心思論:般若(中觀)思想の經典がある。つまり、三界唯心・心性本淨・如来藏想の内容が重要であることが分かる。「教藏」の構成体系には義天の教学思想が盛り込まれたものであり、「義天録」という新しい形態のブランドと見なければならぬだろう。

- (A)大華嚴經： [円教] → ①華嚴經 ②涅槃經 ③毘盧神變經 ④法華經 ⑤無量義經 (唯心思想)
- (B)楞伽經： [終教] → ⑥楞伽經 ⑦首楞嚴經
[頓教] → ⑧円覚經 ⑨維摩經 ⑩金光明經 (楞伽經：起信論一心思想)
- (C)般若部： [空始教] → ⑪仁王經 ⑫金剛般若經 ⑬般若理趣分經 ⑭大品般若經
⑮般若心經 ⑯六波羅密經 (般若(中觀)思想)
- (D)金剛三昧經： [終教] → ⑰金剛三昧經 ⑱勝鬘經 ⑲不增不減經 ⑳諸法無行經
㉑般若(舟)三昧經 ㉒注思益經 ㉔無上依經 (如来藏)
- (E)： [相始教] → ㉓解深密經 (唯識思想)
- (F)： [其他群] → ㉕大宝積經 ㉖本生心地觀經
- (G)： [其他群] → 文殊說般若經 (文殊淨土思想)
- (H)： [彌陀信仰] → ㉗觀無量壽經 ㉘大無量壽經 ㉙小阿彌陀經 ㉚稱讚淨土經 (阿彌陀淨土思)
- (I)： ㉛彌勒上生經 ㉜彌勒下生經 ㉝彌勒成佛經 ‘彌勒經’ (彌勒淨土思想)
- (J)： ㉞藥師經 ㉟灌頂經
- (K)： ㊱方廣經 ㊲四十二章經 ㊳溫室經 ㊴孟蘭盆經 ㊵報恩奉盆經
㊶無常經 ㊷天請問經
- (L)： ㊸請觀音經 ㊹消災經 ㊺八大菩薩曼陀羅經 ㊻⁽²⁸⁾ (密教思想)

⁽²⁷⁾ 朴鎔辰「高麗義天撰『新編諸宗教藏總錄』과 동아시아의華嚴章疏」『한국학논총』第42輯、2014年、132頁。

⁽²⁸⁾ 김성우前掲書の場合は、‘彌勒經’を欠落していて、したがって㊻にならなければならない。

この「目録」体系の特徴⁽²⁹⁾は、華嚴学関係の文献が 177 部 1,247 巻で最も多く入蔵されている点である。これについて박용진은、『教蔵録』に見える企画、編集の意図からみて、「諸家の教乗」という別途の基準を定めており、これは義天が定義した諸宗「教蔵」の最も重要な点だとしている。また華嚴宗の立場で集録し、華嚴宗を中心に教相判釈を行ったものだという。また、配列の体系は義天が開宝蔵（971～983）彫成の根幹になった『開元釈教録』の撰者智昇の護法の意志を見習い、「教えの教迹を訪れることを自分の任務にして最善を尽くしてきてから 20 年に達した⁽³⁰⁾」と述べているにもかかわらず、その内容は『開元録』に基づかない体系だという。従来の目録と異なる經典章疏観という側面から義天の教学観が反映された体系であると捉えるべきであろう。

それでは義天の教学観が反映された文を簡略にみよう。

学徒示教観本末云。至相得之。演之爲十玄。変之爲五教。其言不誣也。其有義学君子。同志一乘。同修萬行。大心不變。弘誓在躬。掌握普賢之乘。優遊盧舍之境者。莫若先以三觀五教。研窮法義。用爲入道之眼目也。良由離此普法。更無異路。得成佛故⁽³¹⁾。

これは義天が自分の門下に新たに入ってきた弟子に教学研究に関する教示をした一部分である。文によると、分類体系の最大の基準は三観と五教判に依拠した入道の眼目を持つことである。これはつまり義天自分の教学観と思想に基づくものであることが言える。

3. 「義天版教蔵」の日本への伝来と受容

3.1 中世仏教の特徴と「義天版」華嚴章疏

中世の漢文仏教文化圏における「義天版教蔵」の流通関係を見ると、東アジアは一つの文化圏を形成していたといえる。現在「義天版教蔵」の伝来と流通において遺存する資料はたくさん残っているが、初版本（原刊本）は 3 種のみ現存している。そしてこの 3 種は、すべて『華嚴経』の註釈である。

澄観の「華嚴経疏鈔」は平安時代にすでに伝えられていたが、新たに浮上したのはむしろ「義天版教蔵」が受容されて以降といえる。義天の教学方式と思想を検討する過程において、『円宗文類』をはじめとする澄観の「華嚴経疏鈔」など華嚴学の文献が最も

⁽²⁹⁾ 김성우前掲書を参照。

⁽³⁰⁾ “昇公護法之志、搜訪教迹以爲己任、孜孜不捨、僅二十載于茲矣。”「新編諸宗教蔵総録序」（H0066v4, p.679b16-b18）。

⁽³¹⁾ 『□□□□文集卷』巻第 16（H0062v4, p.556a01）。

重要視されただけに、日本の中世仏教でどれほどその影響を受けているのか、8種の「遺存本」から分かる。

一方、横内裕人（2008）は、日本中世社会と仏教を構成する様々な要素の解明の起爆剤の役割に「顕密体制論」があり、やはり教義的特徴も顕密融合を基盤とすると指摘する。したがって、顕密仏教が日本中世の正統宗教と認識される過程にあって、この8種の文献がどのような関係があるのか考えてみなければならない。さらに、中世仏教諸宗の顕密融合の教学形態が、対外関係の中で形成された意識から始まったことは、「義天版教蔵」を例にみることで説得力を持つことができる。この「義天版教蔵」も対外関係の中で形成された認識の結果とみることができ、義天が意図した教学的な立場と思想が教蔵の日本への伝来ではどのように受け止められ活用されたのかが特に「遺存本」華嚴学の文献を中心にみていく必要がある。したがって、日本の中世仏教の特質とも言える「顕密体制論」を構成する様々な要素の共通基盤の一形態に「本覚思想」があり、広い意味の本覚思想は再び諸宗の顕教と密教が融合した教学体系にその実体を見出すことになる。以下に「遺存本」華嚴学の文献を中心に、日本中世諸宗の顕密融合の教学体制との思想的関係を究明したい。

3.2. 「教蔵」受容において8種類の「遺存本」

諸宗の章疏は、北宋・遼・高麗・日本における華嚴・天台・律等諸宗の交流を事実レベルで支え、また、義天は入宋の前後に日本の僧侶とも“善友縁”を通じて章疏を依頼しており、宋と遼の僧侶らと書信で交信しながら教学の内容を諮問した。義天が諸宗の章疏を募集して「教蔵」を刊行するにおいては国際社会があたかも公認されたように、だから「義天版教蔵」が日本への伝来も当然の傾向だったはずだ。

「義天版教蔵」の伝来については、保安元年（1120）、東大寺僧覚樹（1084～1139）が高麗より輸入した聖教は「数百余巻」であったといい、その全てが教蔵ではなかったにしても、大量の教蔵が日本に請来されたと推測される。しかし『教蔵総録』所載の合計1千余部4千余巻におよぶ章疏の内、日本に現存する教蔵は原本・書写本合せても僅か六部にとどまり、何らかの形で意識的に取捨選択されたと思わざるを得ない⁽³²⁾。これに伴う、日本に現存する一部の遺品を中心に「義天版教蔵」の開版年代と「義天版教蔵」の伝来を考えて見られる⁽³³⁾。現行の元録版の例のように安元2年（1176）と寛永21年、

⁽³²⁾ 横内裕人前掲書、377-378頁。

⁽³³⁾ 「義天版教蔵」の遺傳を知ることができる基準の情報『大正新脩大蔵経』の（T.55、No.2184）は2種類のテキスト校勘した校正テキストを収録している。原本は元録6年（1693）の刊本で、甲本は安元2年（1176）の寫本となっている。この版記は刊行された時期の遼の年号であり、日本で「義天教蔵」または「義天版続蔵」の遺傳と活用の流れを把握するためには、この略記が詳しく見られる。

元禄6年に開版する取旨の刊記がある。安元2年に高山寺系の明空が写した『新編諸宗教蔵総録』3巻が伝えられている。ここに巻2の奥書によってその伝来を分かる。

以後、寛永21年(1644)、運徹がそれを梅尾から得て元禄6年に開版したように、結局、高麗でどの時に仁和寺華嚴院景雅に伝達したのがお互いに貸借して書写したのである⁽³⁴⁾。

この中で現在、以下の8種類の原本・写本が東大寺や高山寺・石山寺などに所蔵されている⁽³⁵⁾。

- ①唐・慈恩窺基『阿弥陀経通贊疏』大安5年(1089)刊行
- ②唐・澄観『大方広仏華嚴経随疏演義鈔』大安10年(1094)～寿昌2年(1096)刊行
- ③唐・澄観『貞元新訳華嚴経疏』寿昌元年(1095)刊行
- ④遼・覚苑『毘盧遮那神変経義釈演密鈔』寿昌元年(1095)刊行
- ⑤遼・道{殿}『顕密円通成仏心要集』寿昌3年(1097)刊行
- ⑥遼・法悟『釈摩訶衍論贊玄疏』寿昌5年(1098)刊行
- ⑦遼・志福『釈摩訶衍論通玄鈔』寿昌5年(1098)刊行
- ⑧唐・慧祥『弘贊法華傳』天慶5年(1115)刊行

文献の特徴は、おおよそ三種に分類される。まず①の浄土教文献。次に②・③は澄観の華嚴経の疏鈔。現存しないが、東大寺尊勝院にあったという『大疏玄談』を合せてみても、すべて澄観の著述であることも注目される。さらに④・⑤・⑥・⑦の密教関係の章疏類は全て遼僧著述の章疏である。⑧『弘贊法華傳』は東晋から唐に至るまで法華経を購入して靈験を得た人々が因縁によって救われる記録たち、法華功德の靈験性を明らかにするもので、法華信仰に無知な人々を引導しようとする意志が反映されている。以上、文献の思想的特徴については下記で詳しく見てみよう。

①の慈恩は前述した義天の文に2カ所で言及されている。慈恩の場合も法相宗の始祖だが「梵本華嚴経」を調査したという記録のように華嚴を研究した兼学した人物として⁽³⁶⁾、ここに義天も法相宗の三時教判と『起信論』と『唯識論』の法性と法相、兩宗の樞

⁽³⁴⁾ 大屋徳城、「義天統蔵の日本傳來に就いて」、『朝鮮』100、1923。

⁽³⁵⁾ 横内裕人(2008)、p.371頁。

⁽³⁶⁾ 『華嚴経内章門等雜孔目章』巻4によると、「第八會説入法界法。若依大慈恩寺梵本增第九會。佛遊於樹下及普光堂處。説如来功德境界。上境界入品。」(T45, p.587c16-18)。そして『華嚴経探玄記』巻1、「六略本者。即此土所傳六十卷本。是彼十萬頌中前分三萬六千頌要略所出也。近於大慈恩寺塔上見梵本華嚴有三部。略勘竝與此漢本大同。頌數亦相似。」(T35, p.122b21-25)。

要を兼学する必要性を強調している⁽³⁷⁾。①『通贊疏』は⁽³⁸⁾、『阿弥陀経疏』よりもはるかに基の思想の影響を受けている浄土教文献である。西方浄土の教主で「憶念想見如来」という表現を八十華嚴から根拠としている⁽³⁹⁾。なお、『阿弥陀経疏』衆生が西方浄土に往生するために専ら念仏を兼行する修行を強調している。

しかし基は『義林章』仏土章において、西方浄土唯報説の根拠の一つとして「准撮大乘等。西方乃是他受用土。観経自言阿卑拔致不退菩薩方得生故。非以少善根因縁而得生故。(略)」と述べ、『通贊疏』は少善によっては往生できないとする経文に対して、十念即時往生とこの経文との整合性について問いを立て、十念往生を懈怠の衆生のための説とし、『阿弥陀経』に説かれる七日間の念仏など多善の因縁は精進する衆生のための説と解釈している。十念往生を懈怠の衆生のための説とみなす姿勢は、基と『通贊疏』に共通しており、道綽や善導らの流れとは異なる立場で『通贊疏』の作者が立っていることだ。また、『通贊疏』の作者は法相教学に対して深い理解を示している。たとえば、浄土の有漏無漏について、『通贊疏』では仏の本質であれば無漏、往生する有情や菩薩の第八識が現した浄土は有漏であると答えている。同じ問題について、基は『述記』において第八識に限れば、十地の菩薩や二乗凡夫所變の浄土は有漏であると説かれている。よって、『通贊疏』の見解は正しいことになる。一方、『通贊疏』では凡夫の浄土を高める記述はなく、より法相教学に忠実である⁽⁴⁰⁾。

②と③は原刊本の3種のうち、2種が澄観の『華嚴疏鈔』である。そもそも澄観の文献については「弘法大師御請来目録」には「疏論章等華嚴経疏一部卅卷、澄観法師撰」とあるため、空海により傳來されたことは明らかであるが、『演義鈔』については大部であり、また著されてから日が浅いため、十分に整理されるに到らないかつたと考えられる。『演義鈔』が請来目録に表れる初見は、智證大師請来目録に『大方廣佛花嚴経疏』

(37) “以謂起信唯識二論、是性相兩宗之樞要。”『大覚国師文集』卷第1(H0062v4, p.529a22-a23)。

(38) 『基疏』の日本への傳來については、円行(799~852)の『靈巖寺和尚請来法 門道具等目録』(839年成立)と円珍(814~891)の『智證大師将来目録』に記載がある。中国法相宗の初祖である基の著作として、『阿弥陀経疏』と『阿弥陀経通贊疏』という二本の『阿弥陀経』注釈書が現存している。この両疏は古来その撰者については真偽が疑われている。特に、『通贊疏』は智顛(538~598)に仮託された『浄土十疑論』や、懷感(生没年未詳・七世紀頃か)の『釈浄土群疑論』を引用していることなどから、偽撰と判断された。林香奈「基撰とされる『阿弥陀経』注釈書について」、『印度学佛教学研究第』55巻第1号、平成18年2月。

(39) 『阿彌陀経通贊疏』巻3、「又《華嚴》云：將欲沒者令其憶念想見如来，命終得生浄土。見有臨命欲終，勸念佛名，又示尊像，令其瞻敬，令生善念即得往生。」(T37, pp.343c28-344a2)。

(40) 林香奈前掲書参照。

20 卷（識語、観公）それに『大方廣佛花嚴經隨疏演義鈔』四十（識語、観公）と唐の
大中 12（857）年には四十卷として存在し、天安 3（859）年には円珍により日本に請来
されたのである。このことは東大寺円超の華嚴宗章疏目錄（延禧四十年）の中に記録さ
れている⁽⁴¹⁾。しかし、この澄観『華嚴經疏鈔』は、すでに日本に流入しているが、平安
期の華嚴宗においてその影響力は必ず高くなかったと思う。中世に「義天版」の伝来に
よってともなう注目され本格的に研究され始めたと考えられる。

④⑤⑥⑦は皆な日本にとっては未伝の章疏であり、とりわけ遼僧撰述「疏鈔」最新の
文献が伝わったことは日本中世仏教では注目すべき事柄である。「義天版教蔵」が伝来
した時期の中世仏教界の特質については、顕密体制仏教であると考えられている⁽⁴²⁾。九
世紀初頭、最澄による天台宗、空海による真言密教の伝来という 2 つの新潮流が日本に
移植された。のちに顕密仏教を構成する宗派的枠組みはここからすでに存在してきた⁽⁴³⁾。
⑥⑦『釈摩訶衍論』関係は『大乘起信論』の注釈書であり、『釈摩訶衍論』は『大乘起
信論』の思想と密接に関連している。奈良時代を代表する華嚴文献として、智憬『大乘
起信論同異略集』や寿靈『華嚴五教章指事』が注目されるが、やはり『法華經』や『起
信論』が重視になってきた⁽⁴⁴⁾。『釈摩訶衍論』と『大乘起信論』との関連は、『釈摩訶
衍論』の思想的特徴の中で述べられている。また、『大乘起信論』は本覚思想あるいは如
来蔵思想を説く論書で奈良時代から華嚴学と兼学されている。何よりも①～⑦の文献す
べてにおいて共通している思想は成仏に関する“疾得現前”であり、これに関する顕
密の教理と密教の修行法が融合して一緒に磨く方法について説明している。

若諸菩薩能與如是觀行相應，於諸法中不生二解，一切佛法疾得現前，初發心時即得

⁽⁴¹⁾ 平岡定海『「東大寺宗性上人之研究並史料下-九、宗性の華嚴教学研究とその影響につい
て「東大寺蔵高麗版華嚴經隨疏演義鈔」とその影響について」』東京:日本学術振興会刊、
昭和 35 年（1988（12 月））。

⁽⁴²⁾ この部分は、横内裕人の「本書の視角」で平雅行氏、曾根原理氏、島地大等氏、丸山眞
男氏の参考にして、民衆、民俗、社会、文化、宗教など社会諸分野の基盤に敷かれてい
る共通の形状を合わせて「顕密体制」といった、顕密体制論の形成と影響について仏教
界にも想定したものである。

⁽⁴³⁾ 奈良時代代、南都六宗を修多羅衆、「宗」の字を「衆」と呼んだ。今のところ、ある目的
の下、「必ず集まった集団」にすぎず、組織の段階まで進んでいないことを意味する。と
ころが、一方ではそれぞれが予算を計上する権利を持っていたことは、後代の宗派と非
常に似ている。まだ宗派という形は成っていないが、後代宗派の原形をすでに備えてい
た。宗派というよりも学派の概念とよほど類似したものである。石田茂作『「写経より見
たる奈良朝仏教の研究」-第二編、寫経より見たる奈良朝の各宗』1930、65 頁。

⁽⁴⁴⁾ 金天鶴『平安期華嚴思想の研究:東アジア華嚴思想の視座より』2015。

阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，知一切法即心自性，成就慧身，不由他悟。⁽⁴⁵⁾

このように澄観の『華嚴疏鈔』を引用して参考にしている。

4. 日本中世仏教における「遺存本」の思想

4.1 澄観の『華嚴経演義鈔』と遼代文献の関係

「義天版華嚴疏鈔」本は遼刊本の覆刻で、中国・高麗・日本で数多く刊刻あるいは伝写され、ひろく読まれることになる『演義鈔』は、最初に遼で開版され、それが高麗で覆刻されて中国や日本に流伝したのである。当時の遼の文化は東アジア文化圏の中で決して孤立した存在ではなく、むしろ一つの中心でさえであった。

『大方広仏華嚴経随疏演義鈔』の東大寺本は、保安元年（1120）ころ、東大寺東南院覚樹によって舶載されたものと推定されている⁽⁴⁶⁾。「義天版教蔵」の請来は四度にわたる請来があったらしい。特に澄観の『大疏玄談』と『大方広仏華嚴経随疏演義鈔』（以下『演義鈔』という）に注目したい。『演義鈔』の場合を見ると二度目の康和五年（1103）より、性海寺僧らが原本をもとに『演義鈔』を書写する。後にこの性海寺から東大寺尊勝院へと伝来した⁽⁴⁷⁾。四度目は東大寺覚樹により、⑦覚苑『演密鈔』、⑧慧祥『弘賛法華傳』が同時に請来された。

このような教学テキストを請来による流通を参考にするとき、中世においては真言宗の僧侶が華嚴学を研究し、また華嚴宗において密教が修学されるなど兼学の傾向が顕著である点に注目した。特に、華嚴宗において密教が修学されるなど兼学の傾向が顕著である。高山寺の明恵が密教文献である『演密鈔』によって華嚴と真言を融合し、新たな実践形態を創案したのがこうした例である。

しかし澄観の『華嚴経疏』、『華嚴経随疏演義鈔』がすでに将来しているにもかかわらず、再び浮上するきっかけの一つが「義天版華嚴疏鈔」を中心とした国際的なトレンドだったと思われる。トレンドの中で求められたものが日本中世仏教とどのような思想的影響関係があるのだろうか。

「義天版教蔵」の日本への伝来において澄観の『疏鈔』が中世の諸宗教学に与えた思想的影響は大きいにもかかわらず、その背景については十分に明らかにされてこなかった。中世華嚴宗・真言宗の教学形成に影響を与えた華嚴密教の兼学で密教文献に見ら

⁽⁴⁵⁾ 「梵行品」『華嚴経』巻17、(T10, pp.88c29-89a3)。

⁽⁴⁶⁾ 横内裕人前掲書、竺沙雅章「遼代華嚴宗の一考察：主に、新出華嚴宗典籍の文献学的研究」『宋元仏教文化史研究』、東京：石坂叢志、2000年、99頁。

⁽⁴⁷⁾ 平岡定海「東大寺蔵高麗版『華嚴経随疏演義鈔』とその影響について」、大和文化研究4(2)、1-29、1956年4月。

れる澄観の華嚴との関係性を具体的に把握しなければならない必要があるだろう。澄観の『疏鈔』と遼代文献の関係には④⑤⑥⑦の遼代文献により明らかにする⁽⁴⁸⁾。遼代仏教は、華嚴を中心としつつ、法相・密教・浄土・禅・律・『積摩訶衍論』（『積論』と略称）など幅広く行われていたことが知られているが、最も盛んであったのは華嚴宗であった⁽⁴⁹⁾。

ところで、遼代には密教も盛んであったが、その密教の形成に影響を与えたのは法蔵の華嚴思想でも、宗密の『円覚経』の哲学でもなく、澄観の華嚴学であったという⁽⁵⁰⁾。鎌田茂雄は『演密鈔』について、遼代密教を特徴づける典籍の一つとして言及している。鎌田は「華嚴的密教」に影響を与えたのが澄観の華嚴である点を新たに指摘し、「華嚴と融合した遼代密教」といえば高度な哲学的佛教を考えるが、遼代密教は決してそんな事だけではなかった」いう。

それについては、華嚴宗は「有教無観」ともように、精緻な教理体系を有しながら、その教理に基づく独自の実践を用意に備えていないことに比べて、『大日経義積演密鈔』に新たに密教の実践を持ち込むことで、従来の華嚴教学に対して新機軸を打ち出すことだ。

澄観以後の密教と華嚴の間の動向を窺うことに両者の関係を示す文献としては『大日経義積演密鈔』『顯密円通成佛心要集』がある。覚苑の『大日経義積演密鈔』には華嚴の関係性の具体的な把握に澄観の『疏鈔』が用いられている。『大日経疏』（『義積』）では、主要テーマの教理的根拠として、『大日経』を基盤として澄観の教理理解を全般的に反映し、華嚴と密教の関係性を考察して、円教としての密教の位置を説明する。ここに相当に華嚴教学が導入されている。『演密鈔』では『大日経』こそや円密を標示するものと位置づけている。ここでは澄観の五教判に基づき円教を示しているのであるが、『大日経』がまさしくこの円教に相当するものと判ぜられている⁽⁵¹⁾。文中に「但顯密爲異耳⁽⁵²⁾」とあるように、円教には顯と密の相違が有るのであり、この区分を円教の中に認め

(48) 志福：（積摩訶衍論）「通玄鈔」4巻（道宗の序文）、「通玄科」3巻、「大科」1。守臻：（積摩訶衍論）「通贊疏」10巻、「通贊科」3巻大科1巻。法悟：（積摩訶衍論）贊玄疏5巻、「贊玄科」3巻「大科」1巻。『新編諸宗教蔵総録』巻3、(T55, p.1175b6-12)。

(49) 応県木塔から、澄観の『華嚴経疏』含む『六十華嚴』巻第四十七と『八十華嚴』巻第二十四、二十六、五十一とが出ている。竺沙雅章（2000）、123頁。

(50) 鎌田茂雄著、『中国華嚴思想史の研究』東京：大学出版會、1965年、605頁。

(51) 『大日経義積演密鈔』巻1：「辨教攝者古来分教総有多岐且依清涼教類有五」（X23, p.524 c16-17）。

(52) 「円融具徳頓詮此理故名為頓五円教明一位即一切位一切位即一位十信滿心即攝五位成正覺等依普賢法界帝網重重主伴具足故名円教廣如彼疏今神変經典與此大同但顯密為異耳是故」（X23, p.525a1-22）。

るからこそ「是故此教、五教之中円教所攝。」ということになるのである。つまり、円密とは「円教の内でも密なるもの」を意味するものと解される。

⑤『顯密円通成仏心要集』でも同じように、賢首と清涼の五教で顯教を判釈する⁽⁵³⁾。両文献では澄観の『疏』註釈を借用する方式で解釈されている。教理の字句の解説については『演義鈔』の教義を借用しながら、澄観が「毘盧遮那佛」を説く、仏自内証を法身即「大方廣佛」を説くのは経題の中心となるのは仏が仏を説くことだ。経名の解釈を通し、法と、譬喩、二部分に分けて、説明する玄談方式を借用して説明する⁽⁵⁴⁾。

④と⑤でも、同様に多様な澄観の密教修法の一部、特に阿字観や月輪観などの行法についても澄観の玄談方式を借用する基本的な傾向がある。そのため、顯・密の教相については一經に顯と密の両側面を認めて、顯は諸經論を統括する一乘、密は字輪観行陀羅尼門であるとする。密は『大日經』、顯は『華嚴經』にして、顯密の差異を認めながらも両者は円教として共通すると判断している。以外の⑥『贊玄疏』⑦『通玄鈔』は『大乘起信論』の注釈書であり、『大乘起信論』は如来藏思想を中心に行っている、本覺思想あるいは如来藏思想を説く論書である。『釈摩訶衍論』の「本覺論」は『大乘起信論』とは相違し、華嚴の十玄などを多く引用している。また、義門は「華嚴宗趣」を成ずることだという⁽⁵⁵⁾。ただし華嚴と密教を融合したのではなく寧ろ「雙修」である。「融合」と言う場合、華嚴と密教が溶け合い一体化した状態を指すものことだが、覺苑の華嚴採用の状況はきわめて恣意的であり、且つ断片的であるため、密教に融合させたというレ

(53) 『顯密円通成仏心要集』卷 1、「謂賢首清涼。共判如来一代時教而有五種。一小乘教。謂阿含等六百餘卷經。婆沙等六百餘卷論。說一切法從因緣生。明三界不安。了人空真理。修自利之行。忻小乘之果。二大乘始教有二。一法相宗。謂深密佛地等數十本經。瑜伽唯識等數百卷論。說一切法皆是唯識。了二空真理。修六度萬行。趣大乘佛果。於中多談法相之義。二無相宗。謂諸部般若等千餘卷經。中百門等數本論文。說一切法本來是空無始迷情妄認為有。欲證菩提以為所得。修習萬行。於中多談無相空義。斯之兩宗。皆是大乘初門。故名曰始。始者初也。三一乘終教。謂法華涅槃等四十餘部經。宝性佛性等十餘部論。說一切眾生皆有佛性。從本已來靈明不昧。了了常知。無始迷倒不自覺悟。欲成佛果須先了悟自家佛性。後方稱性修習本有無量妙行。多談法性是大乘盡理之教。故名曰終。終者盡也。四一乘頓教。謂楞伽思益經文。達磨所傳禪宗。說一切妄相本空真心本淨。元無煩惱本是菩提。唯談真性不依位次成佛。故名曰頓。五不思議乘円教。謂華嚴一經。十地一論。全說毘盧法界普賢行海。」(T46, pp.989c25-990a18)。

(54) 『大毘盧遮那成佛經疏』卷 9:「復次阿是諸法本不生義。即是法界体性。娑是諦義。迷是三昧義。麼是自證大空亦是我義。世尊證此三昧時。諦觀一一眾生心力普門漫荼羅皆等於我。」(T39, p.675a6-9)。

(55) 鎌田茂雄著、『中国華嚴思想史の研究』東京：大学出版會、1965年、606-607頁。

ベルの問題として扱うべきではない⁽⁵⁶⁾。同じ理由か不明だが、実範『大経要義鈔』では覚苑の『演密鈔』がかなり批判的に研究引用されている⁽⁵⁷⁾。

4.2 『円宗文類』及び澄観の華嚴と顕密融合の思想

義天が20年余り章疏を収集した中で一番の最初に編纂したものが『円宗文類』である。初めから華嚴宗の立場、すなわち円宗の教学研究を行うことを目的に企画された出版であったと考えられる。高麗中期に流行した多様な華嚴文類を総合整理した点に意義がある。

義天は『円宗文類』を編纂しながら中国の華嚴祖師の章疏を参考にし、援用している。そのなかには智儼、法蔵、澄観などの著述が主に引用されている。これらの撰述書を通して華嚴教学を整理したのである。義天の華嚴思想は、初期には澄観の華嚴教学の影響を受けている。また入宋求法以後には法蔵の系統にある華嚴宗僧侶である浄源から法を受けて継承した。義天の華嚴教学に対する理解の範囲が、法蔵などの影響を受けて広がったが、すぐに『円宗文類』を通じて当代の華嚴学を整理したことと判断される⁽⁵⁸⁾。この要覽を作った理由は經典の義学（教義）理解にある。疏に通達して経旨を理解させるものであり、境地を理解して理性を証明することを目標としている。疏鈔とは智儼と法蔵と清涼の三家の義疏を標準としながら諸家の解説を参考に補っているのである。

『文類』は、全22巻中の多くが失われ、現在3巻が残っている。その巻1の奥書によると、朝鮮初期の重修本（1457～1463）である。その他、残りの巻14と22には奥書がない。日本では『円宗文類』と関係する書写処は主に東大寺・高山寺・仁和寺・称名寺に属している。

内容構成は巻第1に「諸部發願類」21編、巻第14に「諸文行位類上」21編、巻第22に「讚頌雜文類」50編の文が収録されている。特に第14編には法蔵の『探玄記』第1巻で第20編までの叢論と要旨などが収録され、智儼の『搜玄記』第1巻の要文、『孔目章』第2巻と第3巻の要旨、至相との問答が収録されている。この文献が1088年頃に編纂なった後、正確にいつ日本に伝わったか分からないが、『東域傳燈目錄』に書名が確認されるために少なくとも1094年以前には伝わって、活用されたことを確認することができる。

高山寺系の景雅（1103～1185）を師として仁和寺にて華嚴を学び、東大寺尊勝院に常住した聖詮は、『華嚴五教章深意鈔』において『円宗文類』巻20に収録された『遺忘集』を援用している。この文献は湛睿が書寫している。湛睿は「寄海東義湘師書」を援用したことがある。これは『教蔵総録』の『自防遺忘集』十巻に該当する。1176（安元2）

⁽⁵⁶⁾ 前の遠藤純一郎氏論文で三崎良周氏説を参考にした。

⁽⁵⁷⁾ 横内裕人前掲書 389頁。

⁽⁵⁸⁾ 朴鎔辰、「義天の『円宗文類』編纂とその意義」『사학연구』 제 82 호、2006年、参考。

年、高山寺の明空が仁和寺花厳院景雅の所持本を書写したものである。また、13～14世紀1250年靈典が『高山寺聖教目録』で書名を記録、1295年凝然が『華嚴法界義境』と『華嚴宗經論章疏目録』で『円宗文類』の書名をあげた。順高『起信論本疏聴集記』「集積記（元朗）」、「新華嚴經疏第1上（法銑）」、「華嚴經疏第1上（智正）」、「無性攝論疏1（智儼）演奥抄」、「起信論隨疏記卷上（傳奥）」、「華嚴經疏第1上（神秀）」など、『集積記』は『教藏総録』には『集積鈔』6巻、『隨疏記』は『教藏総録』にそれぞれ「演奥鈔十巻、科二巻延後述、隨疏記六巻傳奥述」と収録されている。このような引用の事例は18世紀まで続いている。日本仏教における『円宗文類』の伝承では高山寺系の明空と東大寺系の僧たちが華嚴学研究に資料として活用する。今後、東大寺図書館に所蔵されている宗性の『探玄記』註積書における『円宗文類』の引用関係を検討する必要がある。

前述のように『円宗文類』は逸失されて22巻中に3巻だけが伝えられている。ところでその註積書な廓心の『円宗文類集解』（以下『集解』⁵⁹）があつて少しでも内容がわかる。このように義天が円宗〔華嚴〕の教理が深くて援引しにくい点を解決するために膨大な経籍から広文を要約し、その教義を内容種類別に収集して要覧を作ったのであるが、一方で、なぜまた註積書が必要だったのか疑問が出来た。『円宗文類集解』は義天の法孫である廓心（？～1173～1181～？）が著述したものである。賢首と澄観の華嚴学説のみならず慧遠と慧苑および元曉まで、古来らの華嚴諸家の様々な説を集めた上で、廓心自身の解釈を加えている。

『円宗文類』の場合は編纂後すぐに刊行され、宋と日本の平安朝に流入されて流用された反面、『集解』は韓国と日本ではあまり知られていないようである。しかし、この文献の現存唯一本が天理大学今西文庫に所蔵されている。『円宗文類』と同じようにすぐ流入した可能性もある。それで日本では存在したのに記録がないが、伝来した可能性も排除できない。『集解』の内容構成は「類」を中心に構成された『円宗文類』に比べて「集解」は「義」という表現を使っている。

〔集解〕①宗要義②初會理智義③国土海義④宗趣義下の『円宗文類』巻14で『集解』巻中の註積の対象になる原文の始まり「宗要義探玄記」⁶⁰、内容上の第九（第六會）「十地品」‘宗要義’から始まっている。探玄記（第九）⁶¹）中で「十地品（宗要義）」内容を明かしている。「十地品」で、初地→四、積文→後、積文→六、請分。中の積文の内容を

⁵⁹ 『円宗文類集解』巻中（H0291v12, p.1b02）。

⁶⁰ 『円宗文類集解』巻中（H0291v12, p.1b05）。

⁶¹ ‘CBETA’では巻10の「説分」中で“此十地中宗要有六。”確認される。

『華嚴經探玄記』巻10「説大令其眾人得聞在今故云敬信也。頌中有十三頌半分二。初七頌半明義大。後六頌明説大。」（T35, p.295b14-16）

解釈している。因果二分について解釈としてこの二分の義は円宗の綱要になる⁽⁶²⁾。

『円宗文類』 卷 14 本文中の『探玄記』 部分		『円宗文類集解』 卷中
探玄記 (第九) 第六會 : 他化自在天宮會	十迴向 (四門) 十地品 (第二十二之一) (四門同前) : 来意、 釈文 (加分本分)	四釈文*内容始まり 『探玄記』:「 十地品 」宗要 義。-此十地中宗要有六。

上には十地品<初地>からの初,釈名→二,来意、三,宗趣、四釈文。四釈文で①先料簡②後釈文から義大 (初七頌半) と説大 (後六頌) の釈文まで註釈している。

『円宗文類』は『探玄記』を抄録した部分が多く、本文から「云云」に省略する方である。しかし、この部分の『集解』を見ると、省略せずにそのまま収録する傾向がある。ここで『円宗文類』と「集解」が日本中世仏教の宗学研究にどのような内容が参考活用されたのか簡略に見てみよう。

第一に、顕教と密教の宗派学で顕密融合の理論的体系を完成するために、兼学のテキストが必要だった。この点は遼代の密教文献では十分に満たされなかったと考えられる。第二に『円宗文類』は当代最新の「疏鈔」中心の教学情報を整理したものであり、また智儼と法蔵と清涼三家の義疏をテキストの標準としているためである。第三に顕密融合における理解と教理の根幹として諸家の解説を参考・補足して、異説については法蔵と清涼の華嚴学を中心として統合および融合している。特に、ここで「集解」の特徴は第三での清涼澄観の説であり、遼代文献で把握されるものは、すべての教理と教義・行法などが‘疾得現前と疾得成仏⁽⁶³⁾’又は、毗盧遮那の果分 (=佛果) の面で説明され、普賢の性海も因分の (十地) 證智について説明しているため、仏だけとなり、衆生がなくなる⁽⁶⁴⁾。そのため因分と果分では因分の縁起的立場が十分ではないと考える。言い換えれば澄観の「十地品」の因分については、果分としての (十地) 證智、因分としての方便寄法等である。これは「縁を基準に反顯し、その果の体を明らかにする」「本覺」の

⁽⁶²⁾ “此二分義。円宗綱要。”『円宗文類集解』 卷中 (H0291v12, p.3a24-b01)。

⁽⁶³⁾ 『演義鈔』「一切佛法疾得現前。初發心時。即得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。知一切法即心自性。成就慧身不由他悟。」、『通玄鈔』 卷4、「一切佛法疾得現前初發心時即得菩提等二是円教寄同終教亦說初住即得成佛故。」、『通玄鈔』 卷4、「初發心時即得阿耨菩提知一切法即心自性成就慧身不由他悟 (此即頓悟) 彼經復說三賢十聖歷位脩行 (此即漸脩)。」、『談玄抉擇』 卷3、「言疾得現前者。現在速證也。問何時現前初發心時。問何法現前即得阿耨多羅三藐三菩提也。」。

⁽⁶⁴⁾ “然法唯一味。本無能所。然以義分。有其二種。一法自余門。即所證法界。本具三大。染淨斯融者是也。二人成就門於中分二。一者染分。謂彼法界由無明縁舉體動成九相六染者是也。二者淨分。曲分爲二。一者果分。二者因分。”『円宗文類集解』 卷中 (H0291v12, p.3b02-b08)。

主体（能）と対象（所）に衆生とその縁起の方便寄する本有と修生法の理解にあると言えよう⁽⁶⁵⁾。したがって澄観の縁起的方便の説として諸説融合の立場があると考えられる。

おわりに

以上、義天の「義天版教蔵」における教蔵の収集と刊行及び流通による受容と活用事例を検討してきた。現在、日本で遺存する約8種の文献を対象とし、また最も多くの引用と活用が見られる『円宗文類』と「集解」も同時に検討した。義天の立場は華嚴学にあり、そこから大乘諸宗の教学を捉えていたことが明らかとなった。

澄観の『華嚴疏鈔』は東アジア諸宗の教学研究における「標準」のテキストとして、宗派の宗学研究における教理体系と思想の構築に重要な情報を提供してきたと考えられる。特に清凉の『華嚴経演義鈔』は高山寺の明空と東大寺の宗性によって、『円宗文類』と同じように兼学された⁽⁶⁶⁾。これは本中世仏教の特質といえる黒田氏の顕密体制論を構築するにあたって着目した本覚思想の「諸宗通有なる日本の特徴」ということの性格に付いて把握されたものと考えられる。

結びとして、義天の発願には「共々に普賢菩薩の道を学んで盧舎那佛の理想郷で遊ぶ」と述べているが、これは「本有の自覚と実践」を意味するだろう。日本中世仏教においては、これらの衆生への理解が深化した縁起的側面からの本覚の理解が受容され、その教学体系に澄観の思想が受容されたと考えられる。

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⁽⁶⁵⁾ “問。此中所論融三世間身之與土。爲即皆是自体果之身土耶。爲是其中有自体果有隨縁果之身土耶。此何所疑。若如前者。何故。清凉。將此十身。配三身云。衆生国土業報。聲聞縁覚菩薩等。唯是化身耶。若如後者。十身皆是三種熏習等萬行所感。何非報身自体果耶。答。有二説。一云。如前開説。何者。例如終教如来蔵中。大智定等相大功德。待了因現名爲報身。此教亦尔。既以三世間斯融一味十玄之相。以爲法界本具相大。何以此相待修而現非報身耶。由是言之。將此融三世間十身本有之義。名爲法身。修現之義。謂之報身。應機之義。名爲應身。是故。十身皆通自体隨縁二果。是實義也。而清凉以衆生身等配化身者。以衆生等報相隱而化相現故。”『円宗文類集解』巻中（H0291v12, p.12b21-c15）。

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The Harmonizing of the Multiple into a Single Flavor
(*ichimiwagō* 一味和合) and Buddhist Botany
A Translation of the *Kissa Yōjōki*

〈in English〉

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Abstract

Kissa Yōjōki (喫茶養生記, *A Record of Drinking Tea for Good Health*; hereafter *Yōjōki*) is a medieval Japanese esoteric (or Daoist) Buddhist manual that describes tea-drinking rituals, provides information about tea, and explains various methods for consuming the beverage. Its intended audience is the Japanese aristocracy, including Buddhist monks. Written by the monk Yōsai (alternately Eisai 榮西; 1141-1215), *Yōjōki* is one of the oldest Japanese records about tea and its uses, particularly for the purpose of achieving good health. While *Yōjōki*'s immediate focus is tea itself, the work reveals Yōsai to be a Vinaya and esoteric Buddhist monk who sought both to teach aristocrats and other monks how to use tea and to reform the existing tea-drinking culture in Japan. *Yōjōki* is best known for its celebration of the various health benefits of tea consumption, including perfect health and longevity. In addition, it asserts that refining one's sense of taste so that one can distinguish between different tastes – bitter (*nigami*, 苦味) and salty (*shiokarami*, 鹹味), for example – and knowing the various types of tea would help people improve on their unhealthy dietary habits. Furthermore, while many scholars have participated in the discourse about Japanese tea culture, *Yōjōki* includes discussions of imperial court rituals and Buddhist knowledge about the medical properties of plants. As such, this text can be read for a variety of purposes; it exerted influence well beyond the narrow concerns for individual health.

The Harmonizing of the Multiple into a Single Flavor (*ichimiwagō* 一味和合) and Buddhist Botany A Translation of the *Kissa Yōjōki*⁽¹⁾

Takuya HINO

Keywords : *Kissa yōjōki*, *ichimiwagō*, Buddhist botany, Medieval Japanese Buddhism, Philology

Introduction

Drinking tea was a religious custom popularized during the Tang dynasty, one aspect of Chinese culture (among many) that was imported to Japan. Tea was not simply a dietary matter; preparing a bowl of good tea was also part of a process of obtaining worldly merits through the worship of buddhas and local deities. Early descriptions of tea-drinking culture in Japanese literature and poetry show that drinking tea was associated with a contemplative state of mind.⁽²⁾ Japanese poems portrayed tea drinking as an act that led one to gain depth as a human being and had the practical benefit of providing positive mental effects. The Heian literatus Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真; 845-903) remarked on the physical effects of tea drinking, effects that were not associated with arts such as flower-arranging and incense appreciation and identification, which also flourished during this same period of monarchic government.⁽³⁾ Daily tea also came to be associated with a quasi-ascetic lifestyle in which one eschewed luxuries and cultivated satisfaction with one's circumstances. The emphasis on spirituality within tea-drinking culture led to profound changes in Japanese eating habits later on.

Aristocrats regarded drinking tea as a way to restore health. Indications of the consumption of tea as medicine are found in the *Shōyūki* (小右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Sanesuke 藤原実資; 957-1046). For instance, the diary entry for the eleventh day of

⁽¹⁾ This article is dedicated to the memory of Dr. Donald Keene.

⁽²⁾ *The Bunkashōreishū* (文華秀麗集, “Collection of Japanese Poetry written in Chinese”) entry for depicts the fact that one drinks tea while consulting (*Bunkashōreishū. Nihon koten bungaku teikei* 69: 246).

⁽³⁾ The description of the tea drinking culture appearing in Japanese literature depicts the fact that Sugawara no Michizane (菅原道真; 845-903) tried to refresh his feeling of discontentment by drinking tea (*Sugakegoshū. Nihon koten bungaku teikei* 72: 514-516).

the fifth month of the fifth year of Chōwa (長和; 1016) reads:

Sesshō (摂政, [Fujiwara no Michinaga 藤原道長; 966-1028]) said, “Since the third month [of the fifth year of Chōwa 長和], I have been constantly drinking rice water. Recently I have been drinking it excessively, particularly during day and night times My throat is dry, and my arm feels numb and weak. However, I eat my meals regularly. Because physicians say that it might be a fever, from past years, I have continually taken a medicated paste of cinnabar, as well as soybean juice, soybean decoction, condensed milk with honey (*somitsusen* 蘇密煎), and myrobalan (*karirokugan* 呵梨勒丸).” [Michinaga] drinks tea from today. As he drinks tea, he goes behind a reed screen, two or three times. He seems to drink water. He said, “Although I have limited [myself] to drinking water today, I do not have an ounce of strength.”⁽⁴⁾

This passage suggests that Michinaga may have suffered from diabetes and drank tea because he thought it to be effective. However, drinking tea was not efficacious for diabetes. He appeared worn-out and it seems that his condition had taken a turn for the worse. Thus, drinking tea was believed to bring essential vitality in one’s body and mind and to prevent against gastroenteritis, asthma, and sleepiness.⁽⁵⁾ A daily dose of tea had come to be associated with avoiding luxuries and being satisfied with one’s circumstances. This emphasis within tea drinking culture on spirituality rather than tea’s practical benefits led to great changes in Japanese eating habits later on.

The *Yōjōki*’s most significant feature is its distinction between tea’s use as a religious and luxury product on the one hand, and as a medicine of sorts on the other. This made tea-drinking culture popular among not only the aristocracy and Buddhist clergy but also among the warrior class.⁽⁶⁾ The influence of Buddhist Vinaya and

⁽⁴⁾ *Shōyūki. Zōho shiryō taisei bekkā* 2: 97-98.

⁽⁵⁾ Sen Sōshitsu, ed., *Sadō koten zenshū dai ni kan* (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1977), pp. 110–113.

⁽⁶⁾ There are many descriptions of the tea culture in medieval aristocrat diaries. For example, these references can be found in the *Taiki* entries for: 1) the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Hōen (保延; 1136) (*Taiki* 1. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 23: 7), 2) the thirteenth day of the tenth month of the second year of Kōji (康治; 1143) (*Taiki* 1. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 23: 100), 3) the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the first year of Ninpyō (仁平; 1151) (*Taiki bekkā* 5. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 25: 75), and 4) the twenty-seventh day of the first month of the second year of Ninpyō (仁平; 1152) (*Taiki* 2. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 24: 93). In addition, the *Fusō ryakki* entry for the ninth day of the sixth month of the ninth year of Tenryaku (天曆; 955) depicts the fact that Dai-Sōzu Zenki (大僧都禪喜; 874-955) carved a Buddhist image of his mother and made tea offerings to the statue when his mother passed away (*Fusō ryakki* 25. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 12: 229-230). Sōshitsu, ed., *Sadō koten zenshū dai ni kan*, pp. 74–75.

esoteric teachings made management of personal health important. By this time, cultivating tea had become an essential part of a monks' daily life.⁽⁷⁾ Among monks who practiced according to the four-part Vinaya-*piṭaka*, taking solid food after noon and drinking alcohol were not permitted. Monks cultivated and harvested tea to drink before meditation and while studying sutras.

In addition, tea was used as an offering to buddhas and local deities. For example, the *Kakuzenshō* (覺禪抄, “Collection of Kakuzen’s Studies on Esoteric Buddhist Rituals and Iconography”) notes that one needs to make a tea offering to the star mansion (constellation) in order to perform the prayers for the *hoshiku* (星供, the spirit star) as part of the *hokutohō* (北斗法, Seven Stars of the Northern Dipper Ritual).⁽⁸⁾ The tea offering to the spirit star was the same as the religious ceremony performed to pay homage to one’s natal star and the seven stars of the Northern Dipper.

Tea, which was sometimes offered as a calling present by visitors and pilgrims, was also given by monks to the imperial court when receiving imperial patronage.⁽⁹⁾ Japanese tea drinking left both a lasting tableware culture, for example, the ceramic bowls and tools used for preparing and drinking tea, and the *tōcha* (鬪茶, tea gathering),⁽¹⁰⁾ a game in which players taste different teas and try to guess the teas’ places of origin. Tea-drinking culture thus encompassed material, cultural, and intellectual elements and bound these together.

I The *Kissa Yōjōki*

Scholars generally agree that the original manuscript of the *Yōjōki* has been lost and that the two extant versions were both based on manuscripts copied during the early Kamakura period (1185-1333).⁽¹¹⁾ One version of the *Yōjōki*, entitled “the first in the form” (hereafter *shochihon*, 初治本), was copied on the third day of the first month of the fifth year of Jōgen (承元; 1211), the year of junior metal-goat (*kanoto-hitsuji*, 辛未). Two early manuscripts of the *shochihon* exist: one is held at Jufukuji 寿福寺 and the

⁽⁷⁾ Sōshitsu, ed., *Sadō koten zenshū dai ni kan*, pp. 76.

⁽⁸⁾ *Kakuzenshō*. *Dai nihon bukkyō zensho* 56: 285-294.

⁽⁹⁾ Sōshitsu, ed., *Sadō koten zenshū dai ni kan*, pp. 76.

⁽¹⁰⁾ *Tōcha* is the game which identifies the different types of tea among players. The descriptions of the *tōcha* appear in the seventh poetry of the *Jūmon saihishō* (十問最秘抄, “Selection of Most Secret of Ten Inquiries”) (*Jūmon saihishō*. *Nihon koten bungaku taikai* 66: 114). The rule of the game is very simple: players attempt to guess the Toganoo’s 梅尾 tea (*honcho*, 本茶) from other kinds (*hicha*, 非茶). Later, Uji’s 宇治 tea treated as the *honcha* which was equal to the Toganoo’s tea.

⁽¹¹⁾ Hada, Satoshi. “Chūsei no jiin to cha tonō kakawari” in *Kamakura jidai no kissa bunka*, Sadō shiryōkan eds, (Kyoto: Sadō Shiryōkan, 2008), 107-109.

other at Tawabunko 多和文庫.⁽¹²⁾ The first, the *tawabunkohon*, was discovered after the *jufukujihon*, and its discovery has allowed scholars to correct many of the typographical errors of the *jufukujihon* and better understand the “first in the form” version.⁽¹³⁾ Another version of the *Yōjōki*, entitled “the second in the form” (hereafter *saichihon*, 再治本), was copied in the first month of the second year of Kenpō (建保; 1214), the year of shell-dog (*kinoe-inu*, 甲戌). While the *shochihon* is said to have been written in or before the ninth year of Kenkyū (建久; 1198) and was made as an offering to the retired emperor Gotoba (後鳥羽上皇; 1180-1239; r. 1183-1198),⁽¹⁴⁾ the *saichihon* is believed to have been copied and offered to the third Shogunate of the Kamakura *bakufu*, Minamoto Sanetomo (源実朝; 1192-1219).⁽¹⁵⁾ Manuscripts of the *saichihon* version are currently held by Kenninji 建仁寺 and the Hōzōbunko 法蔵文庫.⁽¹⁶⁾

Yōsai, the head of Jufukuji, was the Gon-Risshi (権律師, supernumerary master of discipline) at that time.⁽¹⁷⁾ He visited the imperial court and requested to be granted the title of Daishi-gō (大師号, “great teacher”) on the second day of the sixth month of the first year of Kenpō.⁽¹⁸⁾ However, he was only promoted to the rank of Gon-Sōjō (権僧正, provisional highest position in the hierarchy of Buddhist monks) in the sixth month of the first year of Kenpō.⁽¹⁹⁾ These events have been established only through indirect clues linking the retired Emperor Gotoba to Yōsai, but they suggests two things: 1) Yōsai had close connections with the imperial court, especially retired Emperor of Gotoba, and 2) Yōsai’s attempt to receive a higher rank might indicate that Zen was flourishing at this time. On the basis of these concerns, it is generally accepted that the *shochihon* was transcribed in the fifth year of Jōgen, though it is not clear whether or not Yōsai offered the *Yōjōki* to the retired Emperor of Gotoba during his visit.

An entry in the *Azuma kagami* (吾妻鏡, “Mirror of the East”), dated the fourth day of the second month of the second year of Kenpō, notes that Yōjō[bō] Sōjō (葉上[房]僧正, Yōsai) performed incarnations and prayers for Sanetomo when he had a

⁽¹²⁾ Taga Munehaya. *Yōsai* (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1965), 177.

⁽¹³⁾ Hayashi, Samae and Yasui Kōzan. *Chakyō • Kissa yōjōki* (Tokyo: Meitoku Shuppan, 1975), 17

⁽¹⁴⁾ Hayashi and Yasui. *Chakyō • Kissa yōjōki*, 15-16. Hattori Toshirō also points out the same time of compliment as Hayashi and Yasui argues. Hattori Toshirō. *Nihon igakushi kenkyū yowa* (Tokyo: Kagaku Shoin, 1981), 324.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Hayashi and Yasui. *Chakyō • Kissa yōjōki*, 16.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Taga *Yōsai*, 177.

⁽¹⁷⁾ It refers to as the *Azuma kagami* entry for the fourth day of the sixth month of the first year of Kenpō *Azuma kagami* 21. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai azuma kagami* 2: 695.

⁽¹⁸⁾ It refers to as the *Azuma kagami* entry for the second day of the sixth month of the first year of Kenpō. *Azuma kagami* 21. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai azuma kagami* 2: 695.

⁽¹⁹⁾ It refers to as the *Azuma kagami* entries for the second day, third day, and fourth day of the sixth month of the first year of Kenpō. *Azuma kagami* 21. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai azuma kagami* 2: 695.

hangover, and that he offered a cup of tea delivered from the main temple and a single volume of writings describing the values of tea that he had written out by hand while practicing Zen meditation the month before the offering was made.⁽²⁰⁾ Yōsai became the *gon-sōjō* in the first year of Kenpō and was promoted to the rank of Sōjō next year.

In esoteric Buddhist texts such as the *Asabashō* (阿娑縛抄, “Compendium of Tendai Esoteric Buddhist Teachings and Practice”) and the “twenty-two secret doctrine matters” in the *Keiranshūyōshū*⁽²¹⁾ (溪嵐拾葉集, “Collection of Leaves Gathered in a Stormy Ravine”), the transcription of the *saichihon* is said to date to between the second year of Kenpō and the fifth year of Shōwa (正和, 1316). However, it remains unclear why the composition of the two versions of the *Yōjōki* corresponds to the aforementioned two historical events, given that the *Yōjōki* does not contain any information about these events. There are various theories as to why these two texts were compiled so close to each other, but none of these theories is conclusive.

The *shochihon* and *saichihon* are comprised of two volumes each, with an introduction to many examples of tea-drinking culture from Chinese documents, in particular the *Taipingyulan* (太平御覽, J. *taiheigyōran*), a Song-period work (eighth year of Taipingxingguo 太平興國, 983) of one thousand volumes with contents divided into fifty-five categories. A few references to the *Taipingyulan* survive in medieval Japanese literary sources. An entry in the *Taiki* 台記 (the diary of Fujiwara no Yorinaga 藤原頼長; 1120-1156) for the twenty-ninth day of the ninth month of the second year of Kōji (康治; 1143) says that Fujiwara no Yorinaga (藤原頼長; 1120-1156) had finished reading up to 138 volumes of the *Taipingyulan*.⁽²²⁾ An entry in the *Sankaiki* (山槐記, the diary of Nakayama Tadachika 中山忠親; 1132-1195) for the thirteen day of the second month of the third year of Jishō (治承; 1179) reports that, in accordance with Taira no Kiyomori’s (平清盛; 1118-1181) wishes, 260 volumes of the *Taipingyulan* should be offered to the imperial court.⁽²³⁾ The *Fusō ryakki* (扶桑略記, “Abbreviated History of Japan”) and the *Sankaiki* entries for the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the third year of the Jishō note that 300 volumes of the Song-period *Taipingyulan*, originally given to Taira no Kiyomori, were offered to the imperial court.⁽²⁴⁾ Some of the passages in the *Yōjōki* were quotations within quotations from earlier Chinese encyclopedias, such as the *Classic of Tea* and the *Record of Herbal Medicine*. Considering the fact that similar passages appeared in medieval Japanese

⁽²⁰⁾ *Azuma kagami* 22. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai azuma kagami* 2: 709-710.

⁽²¹⁾ *Keiranshūyōshū* 22. T2410_76.0571a1-T2410_76.0576a21.

⁽²²⁾ *Taiki* 1. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 23: 98-100.

⁽²³⁾ *Sankaiki* 2. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 27: 225.

⁽²⁴⁾ *Sankaiki* 2. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 27: 328. *Fusō ryakki* 8. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 12: 99.

sources, and that Yōsai made two trips to China in the third year of Nin-an 仁安 (1168) and in the third year of Bunji 文治 (1187), we can deduce that Yōsai probably knew of and perhaps even consulted the *Taipingyulan*, just as had other Japanese aristocrats during the medieval period.

The first volume of the *Kissa Yōjōki*, entitled the “Gate of the Five Viscera that Harmoniously Combine” (*gozōwagōmon* 五臟和合門), discusses plant varieties and various flavors of tea as they relate to the positive effects of drinking tea within the context of Japanese esoteric Buddhism and Daoism. It clarifies tea’s nutritional and tonic value and emphasizes the “five phases” (*gogyō shisō* 五行思想), a Chinese system used to describe relationships between phenomena. The second volume, entitled the “Gate of Seduction that Wards Off Unrighteous Divine Spirits” (*kenjokimimon* 遣除鬼魅門), explains the value of mulberry trees for a number of different remedies. This volume’s focus on mulberry indicates that there was a shortage of tea in Japan, particularly during the Kamakura period. The *saichihon*’s description of the value of drinking tea is similar to that of the *shochihon*, though much shorter, despite its brevity it is more descriptive and explanatory.

The *Yōjōki* and tea ritual have been of great importance in the study of Japanese religion and culture, despite the field’s relative silence on the history of tea consumption. Previous studies of the *Yōjōki* were concerned primarily with this text as a medical work.⁽²⁵⁾ It is important to also understand this work in the context of Vinaya-esoteric

⁽²⁵⁾ Kimiya Yasuhiko describes the *Yōjōki* as the oldest tea text of medicine that contains vinaya and Zen teachings in Tendai esoteric Buddhist tradition. Kimiya, Yasuhiko. *Nihon kissashi* (Tokyo: Tomiyamabō, 1940), 25-36. Yasui Kōzan focuses on developing a critique of what significant is the *Yōjōki*. He translates the *Yōjōki* into modern translation and focuses heavily upon assertions that Yōsai describes the *Yōjōki* as not giving manners and preparation for drinking tea but as medical effects of tea. Hayashi and Yasui, *Chakyō • Kissa yōjōki*, 15-19. Hattori Toshiro broadens Yasui’s critique of the *Yōjōki* as a book on a folk remedy by focusing on Yōsai’s interactions with the retired Emperor of Gotoba and the Kamakura Shogunate Minamoto no Sanetomo. Noting the widely spread of Zen teachings in collaboration with the tea-drinking culture in Kantō area, especially during the Kamakura period, he defines the *Yōjōki* as one of aspects to support the spread of Zen teachings and the tea-drinking culture. Hattori. *Nihon igakushi kenkyū yowa*, 323-325. Moreover, Taga Munehaya defines Yōsai as one of medieval Buddhist monks who heavily had an emphasis on vinaya and esoteric Buddhism in Tendai principle and that the drinking tea was a significant part of manners that were considered appropriate for Buddhists. Taga, *Yōsai*, 175-193. The tendency of these previous scholarships has tended to focus on the growing popularity of esoterically Daoist rituals in medieval Japan in relation to so-called Kamakura new-Buddhist movements and to the relationships between Tendai teachings (including esoteric Buddhism and Zen teachings) and local popular beliefs. Mori Shikazō explains the significance that Yōsai cited references to his tea knowledge in twenty-two texts from the *Taipingyulan* in support of his theory. He then concludes that the texts Yōsai saw could be a complete set of volumes in the Northern Song Dynasty. Mori Shikazō. “Kissa Yōjōki kaidai” in *Sadō koten zenshū dai ni kan*, Sen Sōshitsu eds., (Kyoto: Tankōsha, 1967), 143-147. Other current scholarship was characterized by similar tendencies. Enomoto Wataru realizes the significance of

Buddhist and Daoist thinking and practice.

II The Harmonizing of the Multiple into a Single Flavor (*ichimiwagō* 一味和合)

Ichimiwagō (一味和合), the “harmonizing of the multiple into a single flavor,” is a medieval Japanese Buddhist concept derived from tea-drinking rituals. Individual rank and status are leveled as everyone participating in the ritual partakes in the single flavor of the tea. Tea-drinking rituals generally include four steps: all participants gather together in one place, chant a sutra, promote solidarity, and share in drinking tea to make vows to buddhas and *kami*. As an imperial court ritual, drinking tea represented a way in which a group of people declare or pledge to be united in two ways: (1) forming bonds between humans and the buddhas and *kami*, and (2) bringing people together through contact with the buddhas and *kami*. Just as in a Buddhist community (*sangha*), the imperial court and aristocracy must maintain social order and cohesion in a dignified

the tea drinking culture, a sub-lineage of the principle Sung Dynasty culture that was introduced by the trade between Japan and the Sung Dynasty and begun to rise in its popularity during the thirteenth century. He believes that the *Yōjōki* proclaims an epoch-making way of the Sung Dynasty style in which a tea leaf is powdered with a mortar used to grind tea for servings and that Yōsai was not treated as the founder of medieval Japanese tea drinking culture but ones who introduced the tea drinking culture early in medieval Japan. Enomoto, Wataru. “Kissa Yōjōki no jidai ni okeru chūgoku no bunbutsu • bunka” in *Kamakura jidai no kissa bunka*, Sadō shiryōkan eds., (Kyoto: Sadō Shiryōkan, 2008), 90-92. Hada Satoru argues for a view of the *Yōjōki* as a pharmaceutical text that places a great emphasis on a powdered tea belonging to “sour taste” as the effect of a medicine to maintain one’s heart healthy. He insists that Yōsai’s credit for his major achievement is to write the *Yōjōki* in combination with Japanese and Chinese texts and to explain explicitly as to why drinking tea as a medicine is important. Hada. Chūsei no jii to cha tono kakawari” in *Kamakura jidai no kissa bunka*, 109. Nagai Susumu describes the *Yōjōki* as a manuscript that offers a counterargument against a commonly accepted theory of a government post held by a physician under the Imperial Court. He has a high evaluation that looks at Yōsai’s pioneering achievements on the tea drinking culture beneficial for Kamakura. Nagai, Susumu. “Sōron buke no miyako kamakura no cha” in *Buke no miyako kamakura no cha*, Kanagawa kenritsu kanazawa bunko eds., (Kanagawa: Kanazawa Bunko, 2010), 7. Furthermore, Takahashi Shūei examines in details a number of medieval Japanese Buddhist manuscripts in the Kanazawa Bunko archives that relates to a variety of religious virtues and uses for tea (and tea leaves). He claims that Yōsai becomes deeply interested about longevity and strives to gain enough knowledge of drinking tea in five categories: medicine for good health, medicine for shaking off one’s sleepiness, medicine for the promotion of health, offerings to the rituals of esoteric Buddhism, and offerings to deities and ancestors in (esoteric) Buddhist framework. Takahashi Shūei. “Kanazawa bunko bunsho ni miru cha no kōnō to yōto” in *Cha to Kanazawa Sadaaki*, Kanagawa kenritsu kanazawa bunko eds., (Kanagawa: Kanazawa Bunko, 2005), 5-13. Recently, the aforementioned characterizations were developed critically by Western scholars to study the *Yōjōki*. Edward Drott examines traditional Chinese medical thoughts which focus on the Five Phases and explains that the *Yōjōki* is a manuscript based on esoteric (or tantric) Buddhist sutras, not the Yellow Emperor tradition in the framework of Daoist tradition. He points out the significance that medical knowledge and sources available for Buddhist monks were limited; medieval esotericism was well functioned only for aristocrats and patrons. Edward Drott “Gods, Buddhas, and Organs: Buddhist Physicians and Theories of Longevity in Early Medieval Japan” in *Japanese Journal of Religious Studies*, 37/2 (2010): 264.

manner, under the protection of the true dharma.

The Japanese court and tea culture have shared a long, close relationship. An entry in the *Nihon kōki* (日本後記, “*Postscript of Japan*”) for the twenty-second day of the fourth month of the sixth year of the Kōnin (弘仁; 816) contains perhaps the first reference to this relationship. It notes that the Dai-Sōzu (大僧都; major prelate) Eichū (永忠; 743-816) made ceremonial tea and served it to Emperor Saga (嵯峨天皇, 786-842; r. 809-823) at Bonshakuji 梵釈寺.⁽²⁶⁾ Another description in the *Nihon kōki* entry for the third day of the sixth month of the sixth year of the Kōnin records that the *kinai* 畿内 region⁽²⁷⁾ and Ōmi 近江, Tamba 丹波, and Harima 播磨 provinces were ordered to plant tea trees, suggesting that there were official tea plantations in the regions close to the capital.⁽²⁸⁾ Furthermore, the imperial court began the practice of dispatching officials on the first day of the third month of every year to manage workers at tea plantations.⁽²⁹⁾ Descriptions of tea plantations also appear in the *Gonki* 権記 (the diary of Fujiwara no Yukinari 藤原行成; 972-1028).⁽³⁰⁾ Under the curator of the palace bureau (*kuraryō* 内蔵寮), there was an official tea plantation where tea manufactures played an active role in producing tea.

The *kinomidokyō* (季御読経, seasonal sutra-reciting ceremony) was one of the most important medieval Japanese Buddhist assemblies for ensuring the prosperity of the imperial court, protection of the country, and prevention of celestial calamities and misfortunes. The *Gōkeshidai* (江家次第, “*Ritual Protocol of Ōe Famil*”; 1111), which contained the most valuable court practices, gives detailed instructions on this rite: the *kinomidokyō* should be held both at the *daigokuden* (大極殿, the main hall), where twenty out of one hundred monks recite the full sentences of the *Ninnōgyō* (仁王経; *Humane Kings Sutra*), and at the *shishinden* (紫宸殿, alternatively *naden* 南殿; “southern hall”), where the remaining eighty monks recite the *Daihannya haramittakyō* (大般若波羅蜜多經; Sk. *Mahaprajnaparamita Sutra*).⁽³¹⁾ Although the *kinomidokyō* began as a series of seasonal ceremonies during the Jōgan era (貞觀; 859-877)⁽³²⁾, it became two seasonal ceremonies from the time of Gangyō (元慶; 877-885). Other descriptions of the *kinomidokyō* appear in such thirteenth-century texts as the

⁽²⁶⁾ *Nihon kōki* 24. *Shintei zōho kokushi taiki* 3: 132.

⁽²⁷⁾ The *kinai* region consists of Yamashiro, Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi, and Izumi provinces.

⁽²⁸⁾ *Nihon kōki* 24. *Shintei zōho kokushi taiki* 3: 133.

⁽²⁹⁾ *Saikyūki* 1. *Shintei zōho kojitsu sōsho* 6: 85.

⁽³⁰⁾ These descriptions can be found in: 1) the entry for tenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Chōtoku (長徳; 995) (*Gonki* 1. *Shiryō henshū* 57: 28-29) and 2) the entry for the sixteenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Chōtoku (995) (*Gonki* 1. *Shiryō henshū* 57: 28-29).

⁽³¹⁾ *Gōkeshidai*. *Shinto taiki chōgi saishi* 4: 306-310.

⁽³²⁾ It refers to as the *Sandai jitsuroku* entry for the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of the seventh year of Jōgan (貞觀; 865) (*Sandai jitsuroku* 11. *Shintei zōho kokushi taiki* 5: 161).

Nenjūgyōjihishō⁽³³⁾ (年中行事秘抄, “*Secret Notes of Annual Imperial Affairs*”) and the *Nenjūgyōjishō*⁽³⁴⁾ (年中行事抄, “*Notes of Annual Imperial Affairs*”), both of which have explanations of a monthly note about annual imperial affairs. These references demonstrate that the *kinomidokyō* was normally held only for four days, and the rite was said to originate with the imperial order for officials to work at tea plantations on the first day of the third month of every year. Thus, the annual frequency of the *kinomidokyō* was reduced from four times a year to biannually.

The most important tea-related court rite was the *incha* (引茶, alternately *hikicha*) ceremony, in which courtiers gave tea to monks during the *kinomidokyō* ceremony. In the thirteenth-century record the *Moromitsu nenjūgyōji* (師光年中行事, “*Moromitsu’s Note of Annual Imperial Affairs*”), Nakahara Moromitsu (中原師光; 1206?-1265) writes that the *incha* ceremony took place on the second day of the *kinomidokyō*.⁽³⁵⁾ Twelfth-century manuscripts of imperial customs and practices, the *Unzushō*⁽³⁶⁾ (雲図抄, “*Manuals of Clouds and Pictures*”) and the *Hōraishō*⁽³⁷⁾ (蓬萊抄, “*Manuals of Mt. Penglai*”), note that the *incha* ceremony was held at the morning and evening assemblies only in the spring season. Descriptions from other aristocrat diaries indicate that the date of the *incha* ceremony was held at the other Buddhist assemblies.⁽³⁸⁾ It is possible, then, that the date of the *incha* ceremony was fixed and had come to be part of Buddhist assemblies for reciting sutras.

The earliest description of the *incha* ceremony at the *kinomidokyō* appears in the *Nobuchikakyōki* (信親卿記, the diary of Taira no Nobuchika 平信親; 946-1017). The *Nobuchikakyōki* entry for the twentieth day of the eighth month of the third year of Tenroku (天禄; 972) says that the *incha* ceremony was held at every evening assembly while the *kinomidokyō* was held for three days in the spring season.⁽³⁹⁾ A similar

⁽³³⁾ *Nenjūgyōjihishō*. *Gunsho ruiju* 6: 495.

⁽³⁴⁾ *Nenjūgyōjishō*. *Zoku gunsho ruiju* 10 jō: 283.

⁽³⁵⁾ *Monomitsu nenjūgyōji*. *Zoku gunsho ruiju* 10 jō: 343. These descriptions can be found in the *Honchō seiki* entries for: 1) the nineteenth day of the seventh month of the third year of Kyūan (久安; 1147) (*Honchō seiki* 23. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 9: 559) and 2) the fourteenth day of the fifth month of the fifth year of Kyūan (1149) (*Honchō seiki* 25. *Shintei zōho kokushi taikai* 9: 654).

⁽³⁶⁾ *Unzushō* *Gunsho ruiju* 6: 298, 321-322.

⁽³⁷⁾ *Hōraishō* *Gunsho ruiju* 7: 463.

⁽³⁸⁾ The *Ten-en ninenki* entry for the sixteenth day of the twelfth month of the second year of the Ten-en (974) depicts the fact that there was the *incha* ceremony (*Ten-en ninenki*. *Zoku gunsho ruiju* 29 ge: 322-323). The *Gonki* entry for the tenth day of the tenth month of the first year of Chōtoku (995) depicts the fact that there was the *incha* ceremony at the Chūgūmidokyō (中宮御読経, Buddhist ceremony of reciting sutra for Fujiwara no Teishi (藤原定子; 976-1000) (*Gonki* 1. *Shiryō henshū* 57: 28-29).

⁽³⁹⁾ *Nobuchikakyōki*. *Dai nihon shiryō dai ippen no jūyon* 38-41.

description appears in the tenth-century *Ten-en ninenki* (天延二年記, “Records of the second year of Ten-en”).⁽⁴⁰⁾ Furthermore, this record notes that: (1) courtiers provided tea to monks at the main hall of the imperial court and (2) assistant officials made tea at the southern hall of the imperial court. At the *incha* ceremony, they made brink tea, a non-powdered tea made by steaming tea leaves and forming them into a dumpling-like shape that was then dehydrated; this is *sencha* 煎茶. There were three flavors of tea: (1) sweet tea (*amazurasen* 甘葛煎), (2) *magnolia obovate tea* (*kōboku* 厚朴), and (3) ginger tea (*shōga* 生薑).

It is important to note that the initial period of the *incha* ceremony was three days; this included the first and last day of the *kinomidokyō*. An entry in the *Heihanki* (兵範記, the diary of Taira no Nobunori 平信範; 1112-1187) for the twenty-third day of the third month of the first year of Kaō (嘉応; 1169) gives a description of the roles to be performed by five officials in the ceremony: one pours water into a pot of some sort; one puts the pot on a multi-square-shaped *hinoki* tray and carries it; one places the pot before a monk; and the remaining two carry two teapots—one with tea, and the other sweet tea—and they pour one of these two kinds of tea into the pot according to the monk’s preference. The participants then examine the tea utensils. The *incha* ceremony held at the southern hall of the imperial court is the same as that held at the main hall of the imperial court.⁽⁴¹⁾

Another similar *incha* ceremony was held only on the second day of the *kinomidokyō*, and lasted for four days. This ritual may have started at the end of eleventh century under the retired Emperor Shirakawa (白河天皇, 1053-1129; r. 1072-1086), who had authority over bureaucratic personnel matters and who revised many imperial manners and practices. Descriptions of these differing schedule appear in the *Chūyūki* (中右記, the diary of Fujiwara no Munetada 藤原宗忠; 1062-1141).⁽⁴²⁾ A

⁽⁴⁰⁾ *Ten-en ninenki*. *Zoku gunsho ruiju* 29 ge: 303-304.

⁽⁴¹⁾ *Heihanki* 4. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 21:359

⁽⁴²⁾ These descriptions can be found in the *Chūyūki* entries for: 1) the seventeenth day of the eighth month of the first year of Kahō (嘉保; 1094) (*Chūyūki* 1 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 9: 174), 2) the twenty-sixth day of the third month of the first year of Eichō (永長; 1096) (*Chūyūki* 1 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 9: 343), 3) the twenty-sixth day of the eighth month of the first year of Shōtoku (承德; 1097) (*Chūyūki* 2 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 10: 54), 4) the twenty-first day of the third month of the first year of Chōji (長治; 1104) (*Chūyūki* 2 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 10: 342), 5) the twenty-first day of the fifth month of the first year of Kashō (嘉承; 1106) (*Chūyūki* 3 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 11: 121), 6) the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the second year of Gen-ei (元永; 1119) (*Chūyūki* 3 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 11: 148), 6) the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month of the first year of Hōan (保安; 1120) (*Chūyūki* 3 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 11: 232), 7) the twenty-third day of the third month of the fourth year of Taiji (大治; 1129) (*Chūyūki* 6 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 14: 33-34), 8) the eighteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of Chōshō (長承; 1133) (*Chūyūki* 7 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 15:

similar description of the *incha* ceremony held on the second day of the four-day *kinomidokyō* appears in the *Tamefusakyōki* (為房卿記, the diary of Fujiwara no Tamefusa 藤原為房; 1049-1115),⁽⁴³⁾ the *Denryaku* (殿曆, the diary of Fujiwara no Tadazane 藤原忠実; 1078-1162),⁽⁴⁴⁾ the *Heihanki*,⁽⁴⁵⁾ the *Kitsuki* (吉記, the diary of Yoshida Tsunefusa 吉田経房; 1142-1200)⁽⁴⁶⁾, the *Gyokuyō* (玉葉, the diary of Kujō Kanazane 九条兼実; 1149-1207),⁽⁴⁷⁾ and the *Inokumakanpakuki* (猪隈関白記, the diary of Konoe Iezane 近衛家実, 1179-1243).⁽⁴⁸⁾ It was thus established that the *incha* ceremony was to be performed on the second day of the *kinomidokyō*.

If for some reason the *incha* ceremony was not carried out as scheduled, it would be postponed to the next day, according to precedent. An entry in the *Shōyūki* for the twenty-seventh day of the third month of the fifth year of Tengen (天元; 982) relates that the *incha* ceremony was held at the Southern hall of the imperial court on the third day of the *kinomidokyō* due to coinciding with a period of mourning.⁽⁴⁹⁾ In addition, an entry in the *Gyokuyō* for the twenty-sixth day of the second month of the second year of Kenkyū (建久; 1191) notes that because monks were required to participate in the celestial festivals called the *dokōsai* 土公祭 and *onikisai* 鬼気祭 three days from the writing of the entry, the *incha* ceremony had been postponed until the third day of the

43), and 9) the twentieth day of the sixth month of the third year of Chōshō (1134) (*Chūyūki 7 Zōho shiryō taisei* 15: 107).

⁽⁴³⁾ These descriptions can be found in the *Tamefusakyōki* entries for: 1) the twenty-second day of the seventh month of the first year of Kanji (寛治; 1087) (*Tamefusakyōki Dai nihon shiryō dai san hen no ichi*: 163) and 2) the twenty-ninth day of the sixth month of the fourth year of Kanji (寛治; 1090) (*Tamefusakyōki Dai nihon shiryō dai san hen no ichi*: 869).

⁽⁴⁴⁾ These descriptions can be found in the *Denryaku* entries for: 1) the sixteenth day of the fifth month of the second year of Tennin (天仁; 1109) (*Denryaku 3 Dai nihon kokiroku*: 24), 2) the fifteenth day of the intercalary seventh month of the first year of Ten-ei (天永; 1110) (*Denryaku 3 Dai nihon kokiroku*: 101), and 3) the eleventh day of the fifth month of the third year of Ten-ei (天永; 1112) (*Denryaku 3 Dai nihon kokiroku* 228).

⁽⁴⁵⁾ These descriptions can be found in the *Heihanki* entries for: 1) the ninth day of the third month of the second year of Hōgen (保元; 1157) (*Heihanki 2. Zōho shiryō taisei* 19:180), 2) the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the second year of Nin-an (仁安; 1167) (*Heihanki 3. Zōho shiryō taisei* 20:291), and 3) the eleventh day of the fifth month of the third year of Nin-an (仁安; 1168) (*Heihanki 4. Zōho shiryō taisei* 21:195).

⁽⁴⁶⁾ It refers to as the *Kikki* entry for the twenty-eighth day of the fifth month of the first year of Yōwa (養和; 1181) (*Kikki 1. Zōho shiryō taisei* 29: 201).

⁽⁴⁷⁾ It refers to as the *Gyokuyō* entry for the twenty-seventh day of the seventh month of the second year of Bunji (文治; 1186) (*Gyokuyō Toshoryōsōkan kujōkebon gyokuyō* 10: 109).

⁽⁴⁸⁾ These descriptions can be found in the *Inokumakanpakuki* entries for: 1) the twenty-third day of the sixth month of the second year of Kennin (建仁; 1202) (*Inokumakanpakuki 3 Dai nihon kokiroku*: 164) and 2) the twenty-sixth day of the fifth month of the third year of Shōgen (承元; 1209) (*Inokumakanpakuki 6 Dai nihon kokiroku*: 72).

⁽⁴⁹⁾ *Shōyūki. Zōho shiryō taisei bekkān* 1: 19.

kinomidokyō.⁽⁵⁰⁾ Moreover, an entry in the *Honchō seiki* (本朝世紀, “Chronicle of Imperial Reigns”) for the fifteenth day of the fifth month of the fourth year of Kyūan (1148) notes that although the *kinomidokyō* at the imperial court had begun just before the day, the fourth rank of officials was absent on the day the entry was written, and the *incha* ceremony would thus be postponed until the following day.⁽⁵¹⁾ Moreover, the *Gyokuyō* entry for the twenty-third day of the third month of the third year of Bunji (文治; 1187) says that the *incha* ceremony was postponed until the third day of the *kinomidokyō*, due to the late arrival of Yoshida Tunefusa (吉田経房; 1142-1200), who participated in a thirty-one-syllable Japanese poem ceremony.⁽⁵²⁾ This possibly accounts for the fact that participants were allowed a delay by following the precedent for the same incident on the twenty-fifth day of the third month of the fifth year of Tengen (天元; 982).

In contrast, an entry in the *Heihanki* for the nineteenth day of the eighth month of the second year of Ninpei (仁平; 1152) says that Taira no Nobunori (平信範; 1112-1187) had doubts about why the *incha* ceremony was not held at the southern hall of the imperial court on the second day of the *kinomidokyō*.⁽⁵³⁾ The same description appears in the *Sankaiki* entry for the twenty-second day of the eighth month of the second year of Ninpei and says that although the *incha* ceremony had been scheduled to be held in the southern hall of the imperial court, there was a shortage of tea.⁽⁵⁴⁾ These two entries highlight the significance of the *incha* ceremony at the imperial court: a shortage of tea would not result in cancellation of the ceremony, rather officials would be expected to find the necessary supplies and carry out the *incha* ceremony at a later day.

The serving of tea highlights the courteous nature of the event. The *Sankaiki* describes the formal wear for the occasion as tea-dyed, loose-legged, pleated trousers.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Accounts of the popularity of such clothing among bureaucrats appear in the *Kitsuki*.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Moreover, complementary accounts of bureaucrats’ recognition of tea-dyed

⁽⁵⁰⁾ *Gyokuyō* (*Gyokuyō Toshoryōsōkan kujōkebon gyokuyō* 12: 306)

⁽⁵¹⁾ *Honchō seiki* 24. *Shintei zōho kokushi taiki* 9: 619

⁽⁵²⁾ *Gyokuyō* (*Gyokuyō Toshoryōsōkan kujōkebon gyokuyō* 10: 321)

⁽⁵³⁾ *Heihanki* 1. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 18:138.

⁽⁵⁴⁾ *Sankaiki* 1. *Zōho shiryō taisei* 26:11.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ These descriptions can be found in the *Sankaiki* entries for: 1) the twenty-fifth day of the fourth month of the first year of Ōhō (応保; 1161) (*Sankaiki* 1 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 26:189) and 2) the twenty-first day of the tenth month of the fourth year of Jishō (治承; 1180) (*Sankaiki* 3 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 28:129).

⁽⁵⁶⁾ These descriptions can be found in the *Kikki* entries for: 1) the twenty-seventh day of the fourth month of the second year of Angen (安元; 1176) (*Kikki* 1 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 29:82), 2) the first day of the fifth month of the second year of Angen (1176) (*Kikki* 1 *Zōho shiryō taisei* 29:84), 3)

clothing appear in the *Heihanki*.⁽⁵⁷⁾ This suggests that those wearing such clothes were bureaucrats in court service who were engaged in routine tasks, especially the *incha* ceremony. It is possible, though, that wearing tea-dyed clothing was something they did identify themselves as bureaucrats. This was possibly part of a larger coordination between rank, occupation, and clothing type, and color. In any case, the wearing of tea-dyed clothing seems to indicate the close relationship between tea and court rites, or it was part of the ritual enactment of *ichimiwagō* to harmonize or level the status of bureaucrats and aristocrats.

III Buddhist Botany

In Mahāyāna Buddhism botanical descriptions (e.g., of seeds) were often used as metaphors for Buddhist teachings and practices. The use of metaphors drawn from botanical and natural world sources was bolstered by the idea that the buddhanature resides in every living being, just like a seed that can sprout given the right conditions. According to the *Vimalakīrti Sutra*, the metaphor of the lotus, a flowering plant that grows in marshy places from roots deep in the ground or mud, is likened to a buddha (bodhisattva) who dwells in the principle of absolute reality and has single-mindedly practiced Buddhist teachings in a world stained by defilement, without any loss of virtue.⁽⁵⁸⁾ The lotus is also likened to the figure of a buddha (bodhisattva) who takes on neither good nor bad. When a bodhisattva cultivates and practices the aspiration for attaining enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) in order to understand and alleviate other's suffering, he or she realizes that the dharmakāya (dharma-body buddha) presents eight types of manifestations. A bodhisattva who possess firm resolve for complete faith appears as the lotus (the Buddha) and preaches the accumulation of virtue to all sentient beings. The bodhisattva manifests as the Buddha in one part of the bodhisattva practice to attain Buddhahood, and also manifests in the turning of the wheel of the Dharma and in the entry into nirvana that leads suffering sentient beings to attain buddhahood. Entry into nirvana in particular indicates that all sentient beings accumulate virtue through

the eighteenth day of the eleventh month of the fourth year of Jishō (治承; 1180) (*Kikki 1 Zōho shiryō taisei* 29:143), and 4) the eleventh day of the eleventh month of the first year of Genryaku (元暦; 1184) (*Kikki 2 Zōho shiryō taisei* 30:108).

⁽⁵⁷⁾ These descriptions can be found in the *Heihanki* entries for: 1) the thirtieth day of the first month of the first year of Kyūju (久寿; 1154) (*Heihanki 1 Zōho shiryō taisei* 18: 231), 2) the second day of the second month of the first year of Kyūju (*Heihanki 1 Zōho shiryō taisei* 18: 239), 3) twelfth day of the first month of the second year of Hōgen (保元; 1157) (*Heihanki 2 Zōho shiryō taisei* 19: 165), and 4) the nineteenth day of the tenth month of the third year of Hōgen (1158) (*Heihanki 3 Zōho shiryō taisei* 20: 104).

⁽⁵⁸⁾ T0475_.14.0549b06-T0475_.14.0549b11.

cremating the Buddha's body and performing rituals for the Buddha's relics (ashes/remains). Although this is the means by which the Buddha enters nirvana, it is also explained as the manifestation of the bodhisattva. Thus, the interpretation of the lotus as the bodhisattva is a distinct position from which to understand the Buddhist teachings. Detailed knowledge of Buddhist theories about certain plants and fruits allows one to grasp the deep significance of attaining buddhahood. As the practitioner's learning deepens and he or she develops the aspiration for enlightenment through the perfection of faith, there is a concurrent realization of the equality of the "subject" who seeks enlightenment and the "goal" of enlightenment that transcends the scheme of the bodhisattva "stages" itself.

The numerous descriptions of food plants and fruits appearing in the *Yōjōki* indicate the important role of the study of plants in the history of Buddhism, which has yet to be fully appreciated. In the transmission of Buddhism from Northern India to East Asia, Buddhist botany became widely accepted. The *Yōjōki* makes reference to various kinds of tea plants produced in India, China, and Japan, and discusses the varying shapes and sizes of tea trees, flowers, and leaves; for example, the leaves of the "sweet" tea plant resemble hydrangeas and this type of tea is used for pouring over statues of the Buddha in Buddhist assemblies celebrating the Buddha's birth. Sweet nectar tea is also an offering for memorial services on the death anniversaries of the founders of certain Buddhist sects. In addition, the leaves of the mulberry tree, which are considered sacred, can be used as a substitute for tea leaves, especially for medicinal use.⁽⁵⁹⁾ Thus, tea varieties are selected according to a particular use.

Another example is areca nuts (檳榔子, *J. binrōji*), a juicy edible fruit thought to be effective for aiding digestion and alleviating migraines. A type of *galenica* that is very tough, has a bitter taste, and is used to make red dye is also used by adults. Garlic (蒜, *J. hiru*) is defined as one of five pungent tastes, along with Chinese chives (*hira* 薤), spring onion (*negi* 葱), shallot (*rakkyō* 薤), and ginger (*hajikami* 薑). All of these aromatic plants omit a strong smell. It was believed that evil disease is always repelled by raw-smelling vegetables, so someone who eats garlic is forgiven for his or her

⁽⁵⁹⁾ These descriptions of mulberry trees can be found in the entries of the *Keiranshūyōshū*. One entry entitled 'the twenty-two secret doctrine matters' of the *Keiranshūyōshū* depicts the tradition that one has used a mulberry tree as a crane for one year and won't get sick (*Keiranshūyōshū* 22. T2410_76.0573a5-T2410_76.0573a7). One entry entitled 'the twenty-two secret doctrine matters' of the *Keiranshūyōshū* demonstrates that mulberry tree sap must be served as a substitute for cow's milk used in rituals of Shingo and Tendai esoteric Buddhism (*Keiranshūyōshū* 22. T2410_76.0572c7-T2410_76.0572c14). One entry entitled 'the twenty-two secret doctrine matters' of the *Keiranshūyōshū* notes the widespread belief that a mulberry tree is a sacred tree represented as wind of the West in the five elements (*Keiranshūyōshū* 22. T2410_76.0573a12-T2410_76.0573a17).

mistakes and garlic is allowed to be used when one is ill. *Agalloch* (*jinkō* 沉香), as the name implies, grows submerged in water and gives off a strong fragrance. This plant is seen as a tree that produces an image of the Buddha land because it is believed to help one be born in a buddha land when it is burned or rubbed (as a powder) onto the skin. In this way, fragrant plants are believed to purify one of stench of death and bad odors. Accordingly, *agalloch* has been used as protection from various calamities and disasters.

Conclusion

Rather than simply looking at the *Yōjōki* as a text about tea, in this article, I have looked at it in relation to Vinaya-esoteric and Daoist theories, imperial court rituals, and Buddhist botanical theories that influenced both annual political-religious events and people's daily lives. Seasonal and customary court rites associated with plants and flowers in particularly the *incha* ceremony, indicate the importance of the visual component of court ritual. Such scheduled rites also reinforced a certain etiquette and, along with this, social roles and court hierarchy. The emphasis on etiquette and social harmony was later seen in poetry festivals and the tea ceremony as they developed during the Muromachi period.

Plants and fruits appearing in the Buddhist canon refer to, or symbolize, four different things: the botanical Buddhist principle, plant as food, botanical herbal incense, and plant as medicine. The link between Buddhism and botany goes far back in the tradition: Śākyamuni is said to have been born under the Asoka tree, to have meditated and attained enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, and to have entered nirvana under the Sal trees, and the other named six buddhas of the past are likewise associated with trees. In Mahayana Buddhism, the bodhisattva's compassion manifests in the designated shape of tree, flowers, and leaves.

Appendix

Kissa Yōjōki⁽⁶⁰⁾(喫茶養生記, *A Record of Drinking Tea for Good Health*)The First Volume, *A Record of Drinking Tea for Good Health*

Written by Yōsai, a pilgrim in Tang, Vinaya monk

As for tea, it is an elixir [made of powdered tea leaf] for everlasting good health and the secret of the duties of a human being and extending one's life. Peaks and valleys that produce this [tea] are then in the divine spirit of that place. If one gathers this [tea] for the duties of a human being, that person will live a long life. [People who dwell in] India and China also greatly value this [tea]. My realm, Japan, was very keen on this [tea]. Since ancient times, my realm and other realms have set a high value on this [tea]. It is hardly necessary to mention that [I, Yōsai,] make use of this [tea that is effective for one's humanity and longevity]. Tea is a good medicine for everlasting good health, and the fact that it is effective for one's humanity, and longevity makes it even more so.

It is said that in the beginning of this world, the robust health of the human body, which consists of four major elements (earth is flesh and bone; water is blood; fire is body heat; wind is the power of movement), is the same as that of various deities. People in a degenerate age experience their flesh and bone becoming weakened, like a rotting tree. Even when they are given moxibustion and acupuncture, they feel only pain. Taking a hot spring cure has no good effect on them. When one engages their interest in taking treatment, they gradually grow weak and decay after a while. Is this not to be feared?

I, [Yōsai,] wish to think respectfully that in creating all things in the universe, the worlds of [Buddhist] *devas* think highly of making a human being. In order that a person may live out a long lifetime, it would be well advised to put great value on his life. The essential basis of living for a long time, in other words, is to take care of one's health. A key to the preservation of one's health is maintaining the good functions of the five viscera—liver, lung, heart, spleen, and kidneys (which correspond to the system of allocation to the Five Phases). It is said that the heart of the five viscera is very valuable. The most effective method to keep one's heart healthy is none other than drinking tea.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ The *Kissa Yōjōki* (*A Record of Drinking Tea for Good Health*), referred to as the *shochihon*, is revised and annotated in two works, previously cited: Sōshitsu, eds., *Sadō koten zenshū dai ni kan*, pp. 4–23, and Hayashi and Yasui, *Chakyō—Kissa yōjōki*. I have also consulted the contemporary Japanese translation by Sōshitsu, eds., *Sadō koten zenshū dai ni kan*, pp. 42–149.

Not thinking of [the function of] the heart is to lose the vitality of the five viscera. Losing [sight of] the five viscera will prove fatal to one's life and body.

Incidentally, it has been about two thousand years since an old man, [a skilled doctor,] in India (Jīvaka-Komarabhrtya) passed away. Who should we ask about the secret of this treatment in a degenerate age? It has been about three thousand years old since the Emperor of the Five Grains (神農, *shinnō*), the founder of herbal medicine, was concealed. How should we understand the nutrition of herbal medicine? Therefore, just as no one asks precisely about the condition of a human being, people fall ill in vain and cease to exist one after the other for no purpose. The method of treatment that is taught is incorrect, and ineffective moxa treatments harm [one's body] to no avail. I am somewhat acquainted with medicine in the present time because taking herbal medicine means that one feels worse, so it is not the most effective medicine for illness. Because the strong irritation of moxa treatment is directly conveyed to the pulse, one dies at an early age by receiving this treatment.

[In regard to the methods of treatment,] it is best [for me] to examine those of the Great Country (China) and indicate what the appropriate treatment in the present time should be. Furthermore, I establish two gates, [the *gozōwagōmon* 五臟和合門 and the *kenjokimimon* 遣除鬼魅門], showing the human condition in a degenerate age, in order to transmit the tradition to posterity, and I am delighted to have been of service to all communities.

In spring, on the first day of the first month of the fifth year of Jōgen [承元, 1211], the year of junior metal-goat (辛未, *kanoto-hitsuji*), I respectfully wrote [this preface to the record].

The first [gate] is the gate of the five viscera, which mingles together as one. The second [gate] is the gate of seduction, which wards off unrighteous divine spirits.

The first, the gate of the five viscera, which mingles together as one, is that according to the *Sonshō darani hajigoku giki hishō* (尊勝陀羅尼破地獄儀軌秘鈔, “*Secret Notes on Ritual Procedures for the Supreme Dhāraṇī and Hell-conquering*”), “One is the liver, which prefers a sour taste; two is the lung, which prefers a pungent taste; three is the heart, which prefers a bitter taste; four is the spleen, which prefers a sweet flavor; five is the kidney, which prefers a saline taste.” The five viscera correspond to the Five Phases [of wood, fire, earth, metal, and water], and then the Five Cardinal Points, [the north, east, south, west, and center directions].

The liver is said to be the east, spring, the phase of wood, the color blue, the soul, and the eyes. The lung is said to be the west, autumn, the phase of metal, the color white, vigor, and the nose. The heart is said to be the south, summer, the phase of fire, the color

red, the spirit, and the tongue. The spleen is said to be the center, the end of the four seasons, the phase of the earth, the color yellow, the Yellow [Emperor], and the mouth. The kidney is said to be the north, winter, the phase of water, the color black, contemplation, the marrow, and the ears.

Each organ of the five viscera has its own taste. If one organ has a lot of a desired taste, that organ only becomes stronger and is superior to the other organs. This results in making people ill. There are always four different tastes, the pungent taste, the sour taste, the sweet taste, and the saline taste, so that [one organ] has these [four different tastes]. There is not always the bitter taste, so [an organ] may not have this [bitter taste]. That is to say, the four major organs are always strong but the heart is always weak. Therefore, [the heart] becomes ill; [this so-called illness is called *shinjo* 心助]. If the heart becomes ill, all five tastes are different. Eating is precisely to spit up one's taste. It no longer means eating anything. For the moment, tea used [for this occasion] prevents the disease [of the heart] and makes the heart stronger. When one has a serious heart disease, one's complexion and skintone are bad, and one's fate is said to be reduced by this. In regard to the taste of food for cooking, there is no difference between our country and other countries. All countries lack the bitter taste, don't they?

Although [people] in the Great Country (China) drink tea, [people] in my country do not drink tea. People in the Great Country do not have heart disease and live for a long time. It may be that they do not suffer from prolonged illness and lose their flesh. [On the other hand,] it may be that there are a great number of people in my country, who have heart disease, suffer from prolonged illness, and lose their flesh. This is probably the reason that they do not drink tea. If one's five viscera are in poor condition, or if one is of feeble mind, one should drink tea. [Drinking tea] makes one's heart well and removes [the risk of] all kinds of disease. Even if other organs have a disease, if one's heart is in good condition its condition won't worsen. At the same time, the *Gozō mandara gikishō* (五臟曼荼羅儀軌鈔, “*Secret Notes on Ritual Procedures for the Five-Organ Mandala*”) says that the mandala cures disease [as follows]:

The liver is said to be the immovable buddha (Akṣobhya), the east, the healing buddha, and is located in the Diamond Realm [of the perfected body assembly of the Diamond Mandala]. By making the single-pronged *vajra mudrā* 獨古印 with the fingers, reciting the seed syllable A 阿, and performing incantations and prayers, the liver will remain in good health for a long time.

The heart is said to be the five meditation buddhas, the south, the “boundless space treasury” [bodhisattva] (Ākāśagarbha), and is located in the Jewel Realm

[of the perfected body assembly of the Diamond Mandala]. By making the jewel *mudrā* 宝形印 with the fingers, reciting the syllable *Traḥ* 怛羅, and performing incantations and prayers, the heart will remain in good health for a long time.

The lung is said to be the buddha of immeasurable life and light (Amitābha), the east, the “perceiving the sounds of the world” [bodhisattva] (Avalokiteśvara), and is located in the Lotus Realm 蓮華 [of the perfected body assembly of the Diamond Mandala]. By making the eight-petaled lotus *mudrā* 八葉印 with the fingers, reciting the syllable *Hriḥ* 乞里, and performing incantations and prayers, the lung will remain in good health for a long time.

The kidney is said to be the buddha [Śākyamuni], the north, the future buddha [Maitreya], and is located in the premises of the Performance Realm 羯磨 [of the perfected body assembly of the Diamond Mandala]. By making the action *mudrā* 羯磨印 with the fingers, reciting the syllable *Aḥ* 惡, and performing incantations and prayers, the kidney will remain in good health for a long time.

The spleen is said to be the bliss body of the historical Gautama Buddha [Mahāvairocana], the center, the wisdom [bodhisattva] 般若菩薩 (Prajñāpāramitā), and is located in the Buddha Realm 仏 [of the perfected body assembly of the Diamond Mandala]. By making the five-pronged *vajra mudrā* 五古印 with the fingers, reciting the syllable *Vaṃ* 鑊, and performing incantations and prayers, the spleen will remain in good health for a long time.

These five realms of performing incantations and prayers are the methods of treatment for the internals. Five tastes for good health are the cure for the externals. The cooperation [for good health between the methods of both treatments] for the internals and externals is to be able to maintain one’s body and mind in health. The five tastes are as follows:

The sour taste is orange, mandarin orange, citron, and vinegar.

The pungent taste is ginger, pepper, and ginger root from Gaoliang (高良薑, *kōryōkyō*).

The sweet taste is sugar.

The bitter taste is tea and *aristolochia* root (青木香; *shōmokukō*).

The saline taste is salt.

The heart corresponds to a virtuous person of the five viscera. Tea is the highest rank in the classification of taste. The bitter taste is the most highly ranked of all tastes. For this reason, the heart prefers the [bitter] taste. Keeping this organ healthy through taking the [bitter] taste [of tea] maintains the safety of the other organs.

If one has an eye affliction, it indicates liver malfunction. The “sour” medicine will cure the disease. If one has an ear affliction, it indicates kidney malfunction. The “saline” medicine will cure the disease. If one has an affliction of the nose, it indicates lung malfunction. The “pungent” medicine will cure the disease. If one has a tongue affliction, it indicates heart malfunction. The “bitter” medicine will cure the disease. If one has an affliction of the mouth, it indicates spleen malfunction. The “sweet” medicine will cure the disease. If one has a weak constitution and falls into despondency, this also indicates heart malfunction. Drinking tea frequently precisely enhances the vitality and spirit.

Six articles describing [the remarkable pharmacological] effects of tea and the [proper] season for collecting and preparation follow.

The first is the chapter on clarifying the name [of tea].

The Erya⁽⁶¹⁾ (爾雅; *jiga*, “Literary Expositor”) says: *Jia* (檟; *ka*, “shrub”) is a bitter tea. One is named *mao* (萌; *bou*). One is alternately named *ming* (茗; *mei*, “second picking of tea”). The one that is picked early is [green] tea (茶; *cha*). The late picked one is [coarse] tea (茗; *mei*). People of Western Shu 西蜀 shall be designated as bitter tea.

[Western Shu] claims to be the provincial capital of Chengdu 成都府. This is a place that is about five thousand *li* to the west of the capital of the Tang dynasty. Things made here are all superior. The tea is certainly of superior quality.

The Record of Guangzhou⁽⁶²⁾ (廣州記; *kōshūki*) says, “*Gaolu* (皋廬; *kōro*)⁽⁶³⁾ is

⁽⁶¹⁾ *The Erya* is an ancient Chinese encyclopedia consisting of nineteen sections in four volumes, including illustrations of plants, animals, and insects. It is still unknown when and by whom this work was composed. Guopu (郭璞, 276–324) annotated the extant text. An entry in the fourteenth section of the third volume of the *Erya* says, “The [tea] tree is small and bears some resemblance to the tree of *gardenia jasminoides*. The leaves are out in winter and can be boiled to make tea as a broth. Now, it makes a clear distinction that the early picked one is [green] tea (茶, *cha*), the late picked one is [coarse] tea (茗, *ming*). One is named *mao*. Another name is *ming*. People of Shu are designated as bitter tea”; *Erya gekan mae* (Geigakuken, 1801), p. 40.

⁽⁶²⁾ *The Record of Guangzhou* must be an “apocryphal” text that explains the natural features of the Guangzhou region. It is unknown when and by whom it was written. The name appears in the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred and sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3845. The depictions of the aforementioned entry that appear in the *Shennongbencaojing* 神農本草經 refers to entries in the *Erya*, *Shennongbencaojing* 1 (Taipei: Yiwenyinsuguan, 1968), p. 50.

tea. One is named *ming*.” Guangzhou is a place that is about five thousand *li* to the south of the Song dynasty. It is near [foreign countries such as] Kunlun 崑崙 and India. [People] can acquire some of India’s valuable things there. [This place] is rich in farm products. The tea is of superior quality as well. This province is in a region with a mild climate and has no snow and frost most of the time. In winter [people] wear cotton clothes. Because of this, the tea is good to the taste. Precisely, people have the wonderful name of tea, *gaolu*. This province is a place of febrile disease. People from the north die of this nine times out of ten. Because all things from there are delicious people eat to excess. Before a meal one willingly takes areca nuts (檳榔子; *binrōji*) and insists that his guests also eat this [areca nut]. After a meal one drinks tea and insists that his guests drink [tea] whenever someone is visiting. This is due to precautionary measures not to lose one’s health and harm one’s mind. That is to say, tea and areca nuts are invaluable.

The Record of Nanyue⁽⁶⁴⁾ (南越志; *nan-etsushi*) says, “*Guoluo* (過羅; *kara*) is tea. One is named *ming*.”

The Classic of Tea (茶經; *chakyō*),⁽⁶⁵⁾ written by Lu Yu 陸羽, says, “Tea has five kinds of names; the first is *cha*, the second is *jia*, the third is *she* (設; *setsu*), the fourth is *ming*, and the fifth is *chuan* (筴; *sen*.) Adding *mao* to the list is the sixth.”

The Record of Flowers and Trees (花木志; *kabokushi*),⁽⁶⁶⁾ written by the King of Wei 魏王 says, “[Tea] is *ming*.”

The second is the chapter on clarifying the shapes of the [tea] tree, flowers, and leaves.

The annotation of the *Erya* says, “The [tea] tree is small and bears some resemblance to the tree *gardenia jasminoides*.”

⁽⁶³⁾ *Gaolu* is often called “Tang tea” and originates from the plant species of the great tea plantations of Yunnan.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ *The Record of Nanyue* is an “apocryphal” text that explains the natural features of the Nanyue region; it is unknown when and by whom it was written. The name appears in the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3845.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ *The Classic of Tea* is the first well-known manuscript of tea culture; it was compiled by Lu Yu (733-804) during the Tang dynasty. It consists of three volumes and ten chapters and provides instructions about tea drinking. The entry referred to is from the *Erya*, *Chakyō jō* (Kyoto: Tsujimoto Nihei, 1844), p. 1.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ *The Record of Flowers and Trees* of the King of Wei is another “apocryphal” text; it explains the species of flowers and trees in the period of the Wei kingdom. Its date of origin and composer are unknown. The name appears in the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3845.

The Record of Tongjun (桐君錄; *dōkunroku*)⁽⁶⁷⁾ says, “The shape of the tea flower is like the flower of *gardenia jasminoides*. The color [of the flower] is white.”

The Classic of Tea says, “[Tea] leaf is similar to the leaf of *gardenia jasminoides*. The white flower [of the tea tree] is like a rose.”

The third is the chapter on clarifying the virtues [of the tea tree].

The Record of Wuxing (吳興記; *gokōki*)⁽⁶⁸⁾ says, “There is a warm mountain in the west of Wucheng County where imperial *mao* is grown.” This is an offering to the imperial family (供御, *gongyu*; *kyōgyo*). All things offered to the emperor are named *kyōgyo*. How valuable tea is!

The Record of Song (宋錄; *sōroku*)⁽⁶⁹⁾ says, “This [tea] is nectar. Why does anyone say [this tea] is bitter tea?”

The Guangya (廣雅; *kōga*)⁽⁷⁰⁾ says, “Drinking tea helps to sober up and stay awake.” Drowsiness may be the beginning of all kinds of illnesses. Good health is not sleep-inducing.

The Record of Buwu (博物志; *hakubutsushi*)⁽⁷¹⁾ says, “Drinking fresh tea reduces drowsiness.” Sleepiness is the dulling of one’s awareness. By drinking tea, [the amount of time] one needs to sleep is reduced.

The Classic of Shennongsi (神農食經; *shinnōshokukyō*)⁽⁷²⁾ says, “[When] drinking bitter tea one should spend as much time with the tea as possible. This brings joy to one’s spirits.”

⁽⁶⁷⁾ *The Record of Tongjun* is an “apocryphal” text; its origin date and composer are unknown. The name appears in the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred and sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3845.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ *The Record of Wuxing* is no longer extant but the name appears in two texts: (1) the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3845; and (2) the second volume of the *Suishujingjizhi* (隋書經籍志, *zuishokeisekishi*) (Chengdu: Yufengying, 1882), p. 34.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ *The Record of Song* is another “apocryphal text” of unknown origins and authorship. The name appears in the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3843.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ *The Guangya*, compiled by Zhang Yi 張揖 during the time of Three Kingdoms, is a Chinese dictionary that appeared after the *Erya*. The *Guangya* does not have the entry that appears in the *Yōjōki*; the misattribution is probably due to annotation mistakes.

⁽⁷¹⁾ *The Bowuzhi*, compiled by Zhang Hua (張華; 232–300) during the Western Jin dynasty (西晉; 265–316) is a collection of legendary accounts about immortals, animals, and plants, which was taught to generations of Chinese youth. The term “awareness” that appears in the *Bowuzhi* is possibly described as the six sense perceptions of the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, body, and mind.

⁽⁷²⁾ *The Classic of Shennongsi* is another “apocryphal” text of unknown origins. The name appears in the twenty-fifth section of the eight hundred and sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3844.

The Record of Herbal Medicine (本草; *honzō*)⁽⁷³⁾ says: A tea that tastes bitter and sweet is not a poison in itself but [possibly] cools down [the human body]. Having [tea] removes abscesses and rashes. [The virtue of having tea is that it] accelerates the effects of diuretics, reduces one's [need for] sleep, prevents infection and thirst, and promotes digestion.

All [the root of diseases that] can be seen are those caused by food that remains [in the stomach, undigested]. (If digestion [is improved], [one suffers] no disease [and becomes healthy]. Indigestion is [a condition in which] food remains [in the stomach] from three to five days.)

The Commentary on Food (食論; *shokuron*),⁽⁷⁴⁾ written by Hua Tuo 華佗, says, "Having tea for a long time develops one's mind." (It may be understood that the development of the mind is due to a perfect state of health, mentally and physically.)

The Dietary Contraindication (食忌; *shokuki*),⁽⁷⁵⁾ written by Lujishi 壺居士, says, "One who partakes of tea for a long time is said to be one who grows wings [and ascends to Heaven]. Having tea with *allium tuberosum* makes one feel slow on their feet." *Allium tuberosum* herbs are a kind of Chinese chives that does not grow in this country.

The New Record (新録; *shinroku*),⁽⁷⁶⁾ written by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景, says, "Drinking tea makes one feel that a load has been taken off their mind and one eludes the suffering of bone [problems]." Beriberi is said to be a bone disease. Tea is nothing compared to a good medicine for beriberi.

The Record of Tongjun says, "Making tea by boiling and then drinking it allows one not to fall asleep." Not sleeping is taken as illness.

The Verse of Tea (薜賦; *senpu*),⁽⁷⁷⁾ written by Du Yu 杜育, says, "Tea is to take hold of oneself and maintain the harmony of the internals, recovering from exhaustion."

⁽⁷³⁾ *The New Record of Herbal Medicine*, produced a reprint with additions and emendations during the Tang dynasty, says, "A tea (*ming*) that tastes bitter and sweet is not a poison in itself but cools down [the human body]. [The virtue of having a tea is that it] accelerates the effect of diuretics, promotes digestion, prevents infection and thirst, and reduces one' [need for] sleep. The tea [can be] harvested in autumn." *Xinxiubencao* 新修本草, in *Toshoryōsōkan* 圖書寮叢刊 (Tokyo: Kunaichō Shoryōbu, 1983), p. 42.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ *The Commentary on Food* by Hua Tuo is an "apocryphal" text of unknown origins. The entry appears in the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred and sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3844.

⁽⁷⁵⁾ *The Dietary Contraindication* by Lujishi is another "apocryphal" text of unknown origins. The entry appears in the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred and sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3844.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ *The New Record* by Tao Hongjing is an "apocryphal text" of unknown origins. The name appears in the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred and sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3844.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ *The Verse of Tea* is the first collection of poems in praise of tea.

“Internals” is another name for the five viscera. Tea is the best way to adjust disharmony between the five viscera. The internals are said to be the five internals.)

The Poetry of Ascending to Chengdu Tower 成都樓, composed by Zhang Mengyang 張孟陽, says: A sweet-scented tea is the premium taste of six drinks.⁽⁷⁸⁾ The brimming taste is spread widely to nine divisions. If it is true that one’s life is even in the slightest degree comfortable, this earth is a place of pleasure.

The “six lucid sense organs” are said to be the six purifications. The “nine divisions” are said to be the nine provinces of the place of the Han. (The country of the Han is divided into nine parts and has established [nine] provinces. In the present time it consists of thirty-six districts and three hundred and sixty-eight provinces.) “One’s life even in the slightest degree” is said to be a condition in which with the help of fresh vegetables one’s body is made comfortable and one maintains good health. The “slightest degree” means the vegetables one consumes. The pleasure one experiences is to recreate oneself.

The Collection of Herbal Medicine (本草拾遺; *honzōshūi*)⁽⁷⁹⁾ says: *Gaolu* is bitter tasting and satisfying. Drinking [tea] slakes one’s thirst, removes [the risk of] pestilence, shakes off drowsiness, promotes urination, and one becomes wide awake. [Tea] grows in the mountains of the southern sea, and the people of the south find it quite valuable.

There is an isolated island in the sea of Guangzhou 廣州, called Hainan 海南 or Guangnan 廣南; there are many coastal areas near [the island]; all these areas are called Nan 南. The people who live there are called the people of the south. Guangzhou is a place of febrile diseases. (Fever is said to be a disease of the “red bug” [赤虫; *akamushi*]⁽⁸⁰⁾ in this country.) People of the capital of Tang China know the district by name and visit there. Nine out of ten do not return to the north. Because the food is delicious people suffer from indigestion. Therefore, one eats too many areca nuts and drinks too much tea. Overeating [areca nuts] without drinking [tea] causes bodily and organ trouble, with the result that many residents of that place [come] to this calamity. Furthermore, no one makes a pilgrimage to Mt. Kumano, located in the south, in the summer, due to it being a place of febrile diseases. Fever is also another name for

⁽⁷⁸⁾ This line from a poem appears in the twenty-fifth section in the eight hundred sixty-seventh volume of the *Taipingyulan* (Gakukaidō, 1892), p. 3845. It may be that the “six drinks” are as follows: water, rice water, (*shō*, 漿), a sweet drink made from fermented rice (*rei*, 醴), highly purified *sake*, soy sauce, and a sweet drink made from millet.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ *The Bencaoshiyi* is a collection of medical herbs compiled by Chen Cangqi 陳藏器, who says, “According to the *Record of Nanyue*, *gaolu* is tea. One is named *gualu*. The tea leaves look similar to *ming*. One is named *guoluo*. Another name is *wulu*. These names are referred to as [coming from] primitive languages.”

⁽⁸⁰⁾ This may refer to scrub typhus, a form of typhus caused by an intracellular parasite.

“warm disease.”

The Record of Tiantaishan (天台山記; *tendaisanki*)⁽⁸¹⁾ says, “One who has tea for a long time is said to be one who grows feathers and wings.” It is said that one moves one’s body lightly and is capable of flying.

The tea section in the *Six Volumes of Bai Juyi* (白氏六帖; *hakushirikujō*)⁽⁸²⁾ says, “[Tea] is an offering to the emperor.” (Farmers and lower-class people do not know [even] a little about [tea]. That is why [tea] is valuable.)

A poem in the *Collection of Bai Juyi* (白氏文集; *hakushimonjū*)⁽⁸³⁾ says, “Tea at the time of horse⁽⁸⁴⁾ is capable of sweeping away one’s drowsiness.”⁽⁸⁵⁾ The time of horse is at mealtimes. Tea drinking after meals is said to be tea in the time of horse.

The poem entitled “Early Summer” composed by Bai Juyi, says, “Perhaps one drinks one teacup of *ming*.”⁽⁸⁶⁾ Teacup is a good name for the teabowl, with a shape that has a wide rim and a narrow bottom. It is a small teabowl with a deep, narrow bottom for keeping the water hot for hot tea. Drinking tea with a teabowl that has a shallow bottom is not preferable. In addition, it says, “Suffering from eye trouble is to know the virtue of tea.”⁽⁸⁷⁾ Drinking tea, one does not suffer from bodily troubles even if one does not sleep through the night. Furthermore, it says, “The thirst of *sake* is one cup of deep tea in spring.”⁽⁸⁸⁾ Drinking *sake* means to be thirsty and yield to the desire to drink. At that moment, even if one is only capable of drinking tea, do not drink any other hot water drink because that may produce various diseases.

The fourth is the chapter on clarifying the season for harvesting tea.

The Classic of Tea says, “[The season of] tea picking is the period between the second, third, and fourth months.”

The Record of Song says: Newly picked tea is a gift presented [to the emperor

(81) The entry does not appear in the *Record of Tiantaishan (Tiantaishanji)* (Taipei: Yiwenyinsluguan, 1965).

(82) *The Six Volumes of Bai Juyi* is an encyclopedia compiled by Bai Juyi (白居易, 772–846) consisting of thirty volumes. The entry appears in the fifth section of the *Six Volumes of Bai Juyi, Baishiliutie 5* (Tokyo: Kyūkosho, 2008), p. 197.

(83) *The Poetry collection of Bai Juyi* is a collection of poetry selected by Bai Juyi in of seventy-one volumes. Yōsai quotes four phases from this work.

(84) The time of horse is the four-hour period two hours before and after noon.

(85) The entry referred to is a poem entitled “Sixteen Syllable Rhymes,” in the *Hakushimonjū dai jū kan* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2014), p. 209.

(86) The entry entitled “Early Summer” referred to is a poem entitled “Enjoying a Breathing Space in Early Summer,” in the *Hakushimonjū dai ni kan jō* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2007), p. 141.

(87) The entry referred to is a poem entitled “A Poem Given to the King of the Great Dali Kingdom,” “in the *Hakushimonjū dai kyū kan* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2005), p. 494.

(88) The entry referred to is a poem entitled “Taking an Elixir called Unmosan in Early Morning,” in the *Hakushimonjū dai jūichi kan* (Tokyo: Meiji Shoin, 2015), p. 253.

from the regions of] Wu 吳 and Shu 蜀 in the first month of the seventh year of Daihe (大和, 833). All tea is picked for this [offering] in accordance with the rules of etiquette during the winter season. An imperial ordinance says, “Newly picked tea offered to me (the Emperor) should be harvested at a certain time after the first day of spring.”

The intention is that harvesting tea during winter is troublesome. Since this decree, all [freshly picked tea that is to be presented to the emperor] is harvested and offered after the first day of spring.

The History of Tang (唐史; *tōshi*)⁽⁸⁹⁾ says, “Tea was first taxed in the spring of the ninth year of Zhenyuan 貞元 (793).” A good name for tea is “early spring.” In addition, it has [another name,] “tender green shoots,” [derived from] a seasonal [tea picking] ceremony. The rules of etiquette to harvest tea during the Song dynasty are as follows. There is a tea plantation at the rear of the imperial palace. During the first three days of the New Year lower-class people gather in the tea plantation and walk up and down, [calling out in] loud voices all day [on the first day of the New Year]. The next day, when one or two out of ten long, tender, green shoots begin to appear, they pick these [tender, green shoots] with a pair of silver tweezers and then make tea [from them]. [One spoonful of this tea is worth a thousand *kan* 貫.⁽⁹⁰⁾

The fifth is the chapter on clarifying the act of harvesting tea.

According to *the Classic of Tea*, do not pick tea when it is raining. Do not harvest, roast, or steam tea when it is cloudy, even if it is not raining. The tea’s efficacious vigor would be weakened.

The sixth is the chapter on clarifying the preparation [of tea].

The way of roasting tea during the Song dynasty is that one harvests tea in the morning and steams and roasts it while it is very fresh. Someone who cannot see anything through or who is neglectful is not suitable for this work. One spreads paper on a shelf and roasts the tea, exercising ingenuity by using a low cooking fire so as to not scorch the tea. Even without having to stay up all night, one finishes roasting the tea during the night, neither sooner nor later. [The just-fully roasted tea] is put in a fine bottle and then tightly sealed with bamboo leaves. This way the tea will not be damaged even after many years. When there is a great opportunity to pick tea, preparing enough laborers and food as well charcoal and firewood is required. With that in mind, one

⁽⁸⁹⁾ The entry of the ninth year of Zhenyuan 貞元 is referred to as both the *Old Book of Tang* and the *New Book of Tang*.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ One *kan* is equal to 3.75 kg.

should proceed to harvest the [tea].

As stated above, this provides an account of records about methods for [maintaining] good health in a degenerate age. Because those who participate in the act of healing do not know the way of picking tea, this [practice] is not used. On the contrary, they may express criticism that [tea] is not a medicine. This is because they do not know the virtue of tea. In the days when I, [Yōsai,] was in Tang China, I encountered many people who found tea valuable. Although there are many stories [about the value of tea], providing an explanation [in this record] is impossible. The emperor who has a loyal retainer always gives them tea. Tea is granted to a monk who preaches the Dharma to the Emperor. This is the same now as it was back then. Only the way of tea remains. Not drinking tea is due to the effects of various medicines. It is because the heart is weak. All people of the upper, middle, and lower classes for generations to come should know this. Now I am ordered to complete this book. The act of subsequently correcting or revising this work is prohibited.

[End of] The First Volume of *A Record of Drinking Tea for Good Health*

The Second Volume of *A Record of Drinking Tea for Good Health*

Written by Yōsai, a pilgrim in Tang, Vinaya monk

The second, the gate of seduction, wards off unrighteous divine spirits (遣除鬼魅門, *kenjokimimon*). According to the *Daigensui taishō gikihishō* (大元帥大將儀軌秘鈔, “*Secret Notes on the Ritual Procedure for the Great Commander-in-Chief*”):⁽⁹¹⁾

In a degenerate age, when one’s lifetime is one hundred years, the four assemblies⁽⁹²⁾ often violate religious precepts; when the teaching of the Buddha is disobeyed the country is desolated and devastated. When increasing numbers of people are dying, [humans and animals] morph into evil spirits that throw the country into chaos and harass people. When various calamities and diseases arise [in the country] there is no relief. Doctors clearly do not have a clue as to an effective medicine and the appropriate means to help [people] suffering

⁽⁹¹⁾ This text is assumed to be an “apocryphal” text; it describes the cult of the commander-in-chief on the fortune of the directions in the divination system based on the Daoist theory of the Five Phases.

⁽⁹²⁾ The “four assemblies” are ordained monks and nuns (*bhikṣus* and *bhikṣuṇīs*), and male and female lay devotees (*upāsakas* and *upāsikās*).

from a long illness who have become extremely fatigued. In such a case, chanting the *dhāraṇī* of the commander-in-chief will exorcise evil spirits and immediately cure their illness. A practitioner who resides at depth of this gate of seduction and pursues this practice certainly removes disease by adding some virtuous deeds. In addition, [people who] contract disease yet possess no religious efficacy in offering a prayer for the Three Treasures of Buddhism are those who make light of the teaching of Buddhism and have distrust. In such a case, by returning to the commander-in-chief and invoking the original vow, one calls upon the religious efficacy of the Buddhist teachings and is set free from disease, with the result that the teachings of Buddhism again arise. Especially, adding spiritual efficacy is precisely to attain enlightenment.

Considering the above, the aspects of disease these past few years are just like this. Therefore, there is only one *dhāraṇī* that appears in the text [entitled *Daigensui taishō gikihishō*]. By always following this implication, Yōsai pursues this [practice] and then experiences great religious efficacy [from the Buddhist teachings]. The aspect [of disease in recent years] is neither cold, nor heat, nor groundwater, nor fire-wind. Accordingly, those pursuing the way of medicine in recent years make many diagnostic errors.

The first is a disease of drinking water. This disease is caused by strongly flavored [food and drink]. [Having food and drink of] salty taste is dangerous [to the human body]. If one [who suffers from the disease of drinking water] takes mulberry rice porridge, the efficacy [of the treatment] [begins to] manifest within three to five days. Do not avoid eating Chinese chives (薤, *ōmira*), garlic (蒜, *hiru*), and spring onion (葱, *ki*) for a long time. I hear that evil diseases always dislike raw-smelling [vegetables].

The second is a disease of the spirit in which one loses the use of one's limbs from paralysis. This disease is caused by a feeling of chillness and humidity. Acupuncture, moxibustion, and hot spring treatment are dangerous [for one who contracts this disease]. If one [who suffers from this disease] does not go near fire, takes a bath, exposes himself to the wind, or eats food, he is gradually restored to health. Taking mulberry rice porridge and mulberry hot water is also [a good cure]. If one wishes to take a bath, heat mulberry hot water and then have a tub bath with one to two pails [of the mulberry hot water]. It is necessary to take a tub bath every three to five days. When taking a tub bath, if no sweat drips [from the body] this is the way to cure [the disease]. If one's body gives off steam, that person certainly has little appetite.

The third is a disease of fasting. This disease is caused by a feeling of being chilled. Being around fire and bathing is dangerous [if one contracts this disease]. During the summer and winter seasons, keeping the body refreshed during summer and winter seasons is a good cure. In addition, taking mulberry rice porridge and mulberry hot water is gradually effective [and helps one regain their health]. If one is in a rush [to warm oneself], there may be needed to take moxibustion and hot spring treatment, so this person has no chance of recovering [from the disease].

As stated above, all of these three kinds of diseases are caused by a feeling of chilliness. In addition, in this degenerate age evil spirits [cause disease]. The mulberry treatment is absolutely effective. There is no room to doubt [what I have said].

The fourth is a disease of a swelling. This disease is caused by [a swelling that contains] liquid and chilliness. However, it is not a malignant tumor such as subcutaneous swellings, which are called carbuncles and boils on the skin. People do not know [about the cause of this swelling] and many of them are mistaken about it. Because [swelling] is caused by a feeling of chilliness, large and small swellings are not susceptible to fire. Therefore, people are foolish enough to believe that [these swellings] are malignant tumors. These days burning moxa on the skin, regardless of the size of the swollen area, causes more swelling. [In such a case,] there is no cure because scorching poison is not capable of treatment. Cooling [this disease] with water and stones involves some risk. How can one who has the result of karma that they are doomed to die be cured by moxa treatment? Does one who still does not know whether they have the result of karma that they are doomed to death die without moxa treatment? Although there are [many diseases] that abate without moxa treatment, there are a few that disappear with moxa treatment. Consider [the reasons] very carefully. If a swelling appears, regardless of whether it is hard or soft, without knowing whether it is right or wrong, one grinds up the roots of achyranthes and squeezes [the moisture out of boiled achyranthes]. [Then] they put the sap on the swelling, and when it dries up, they reapply the sap to the swollen area. [If they do this] the surrounding areas [of the swelling] do not become swollen. The swelling only festers and pus flows out [when the skin covering the infection is broken]. It will not become a big problem. In such a case, [one should] take mulberry rice porridge and mulberry hot water as well as tea blended with five incenses.

The fifth is the disease of beriberi. This disease is caused by being satiated with the evening meal. Eating and drinking at night are accompanied by danger. In such a case, [one can] take mulberry rice porridge and mulberry hot water. In addition, taking the root of Gaoliang ginger and tea is good. A new book of medicine says that one who

suffers from beriberi has a full stomach in the morning and does not eat heartily in the afternoon. For this reason, one who avoids eating and drinking too much and considers their mealtimes carefully does not get beriberi.

As stated above, these five kinds of disease are said to be caused by evil spirits in a degenerate age. These [five diseases] are cured with mulberry; namely the mulberry tree is a sacred tree under which all past buddhas completed the path to buddhahood by attaining enlightenment. When small pieces of mulberry wood—firewood which contains plenty of the “milk-sap” of mulberry—are burned on an altar to invoke spiritual help, the evil spirits disperse immediately. In addition, mulberry trees are appropriate to pray to for good health and longevity. Evil spirits do not come close to mulberry trees. For this reason, this tree is a medicine for all kinds of diseases. If one uses the wood of this tree for a Buddhist rosary, a walking stick, or a pillow, that person is not at risk from evil spirits [of the six realms of desire who try to prevent people from doing good deeds]. Moreover, other cruel and evil spirits will not approach them.

Yōsai cures all kinds of diseases with this tree, and there is nothing that does not respond to treatment. All disease these days is caused by a feeling of chillness. Therefore, mulberry trees are the best treatment [for these diseases]. Many people who do not know this die at an early age. Pretending that a swelling is a malignant tumor or other various diseases such as beriberi is foolish. Giving an exaggerated name to a disease for which a method of treatment is unknown is a regrettable condition. Because there is no medicine that can be used on a malignant tumor and no treatment is used for beriberi, it is said that it is foolish and hardly worth discussing. [It has been said for some time that] there is no treatment for beriberi. These days foot pain is caused by a feeling of chillness. No appropriate treatment for a feeling of chillness is capable of curing beriberi for any length of time. [It has been said for some time that] there is no treatment for malignant tumors. These days there are no malignant tumors. If anything, [the disease] is due to the feeling of chillness and heat combined. Now, pretending that [a swelling] is a malignant tumor actually indicates that there is no treatment. Named [as a disease], [the swelling] becomes stronger and more powerful. This [disease] can be cured with mulberry trees; the virtue [of mulberry trees] is gradually efficacious. The methods of using mulberry trees [for medicine] are as follows.

The method of mulberry rice porridge: a handful of a black soybean, cut finely into many pieces the size of one *sun* 一寸, the cut end of a branch of a mulberry tree measuring three *sun* 三寸⁽⁹³⁾ (if it were applied to the measurement of the little finger), and beans are put [into a pot] and boiled with three *shō* 三升 of water. When the beans

⁽⁹³⁾ Three *sun* is approximately equal to 9 cm.

and [pieces of the branch of] mulberry tree are boiled, the [mulberry] is removed [from the pot] and a handful of a rice is added [to the pot]. Using the amount of water as one wishes boils the rice into a thin gruel. On a winter night, [begin boiling the mulberry rice porridge from] the time of the cock's crow.⁽⁹⁴⁾ On a summer night, [begin boiling mulberry rice porridge starting in] the middle of night and finish boiling before daybreak.

While fasting, and without adding salt, one eats some [of the mulberry rice porridge] and later on eats an accompanying dish. Do not neglect to take [mulberry rice porridge] every morning. [Mulberry rice porridge] that has been boiled a long time serves as a medicine. [Mulberry rice porridge] that has been boiled quickly does not serve as a medicine. If [the medicine] has no effect, one knows that [the mulberry rice porridge] was not boiled long enough. In the morning one eats the [mulberry rice porridge] and during that day one does not feel thirsty or get drunk. [Therefore,] one is at ease mentally and cultivates good health. [This cure] will certainly be effective if one has faith. A tough [mulberry] rice porridge is ineffective; the only thing [that distinguishes it] is that it looks different from the rest. (A fresh branch of mulberry tree that has grown this year is best for making and boiling rice porridge. If not, a sprout may be used.)

The method of boiling mulberry rice porridge: cut a branch of mulberry tree into small cubes the size of of *sugoroku* and grill it. Char the slightly burned surface of a piece of wood with a sharpened end and split it into two. [Then] separate it into three *shō* 三升 of bags and five *shō* 五升 of bags. Allowing it to sit for a long time is good. When the time is ripe, add one *shō* of water to half a *gō*⁽⁹⁵⁾ of the splintered wood and boil it. [Then] take this [as medicine]. It is possible to boil [a branch of mulberry tree] without holding it over the fire. “Fresh wood” is sufficiently not bitter [to taste]. All diseases such as dropsy, beriberi, malignant tumors, and paralysis can be cured [with this treatment].

The method of harvesting mulberry trees: when mulberry trees are cut with a saw, gather the sawdust by hand. [Then] put [the sawdust] into a good *sake* and drink it. This treatment is also capable of relieving menstrual pain. It is effective for all diseases of the inner body and the abdomen. It must be believed that there is a similar method in Daoist practice.

The method of chewing mulberry trees [in the mouth]: whittle a piece of mulberry tree into a toothpick and always put this in the mouth. [As a result,] one will

⁽⁹⁴⁾ The time of the cock's crow is approximately at 2:00 A.M.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ One *gō* is approximately equal to .3306 m2.

have no mouth diseases or loose teeth. [The mulberry toothpick causes] good smells in the mouth, and evil does not come close. Medicine in a degenerate age is excellent like this. Much more, making a toothpick from the root [of a mulberry tree] is good. [A mulberry tree root that is found] three *shaku* 三尺⁽⁹⁶⁾ beneath topsoil is particularly good. [It is obvious that the root of the mulberry tree] taken from the ground is poisonous, but [a mulberry tree root collected from] beneath topsoil has no poison. All disease related to the mouth and eyes are cured. All people of this world know this.

The method of making a mulberry tree pillow: [form mulberry wood into] a box shape and use it as a pillow. When one uses mulberry as a pillow, it removes headaches, one does not have nightmares, evil spirits do not come close, and one's eyes become brighter. [A mulberry tree pillow] is very effective beyond description.

The method of harvesting mulberry leaves: at the beginning of the fourth month pick mulberry leaves and dry them in a shady place. In the ninth month of autumn, when two-thirds of the mulberry leaves have fallen, take one-third of the best branches [of the mulberry tree] and dry them in a shady place. Grind them into powder and take one [cup of tea], following the rules of tea etiquette. One will have no abdominal diseases and will feel refreshed. Divide the mulberry leaves picked in the fourth month and in the ninth month into equal parts and measure them on a scale.

The method of harvesting a mulberry: when the mulberry is ripe, pick it and dry it in the sun. Grind it into powder and make it into a ball the length of a paulownia with honey. While fasting, consume thirty balls with *sake*. Continuing to take this daily brings ease to the body and removes illness.

The method of taking the ginger root of Gaoliang: this medicine is ginger root from Gaoling County in the Great Song country. It is greatly valued in the Great Country (China), Khitan 契丹, and Goryeo 高麗 as well. It is a good medicine that only exists in a degenerate age because it cures all kinds of disease in these times. Grind it into a fine powder and add a large spoonful, measuring about one-hundredth of a *yen*, of fine powder into some *sake*. [Then] drink this. Those who do not drink[alcohol] can take it with hot water. In addition, it can be infused by boiling and one drinks this. However, with this method of preparation its efficacy is weakened. The best way for all to take [this medicine] is added to cooked rice. As for the amount, many or few, and the time, fast and slow, these can be arbitrarily adjusted in consideration of the response on all such occasions.

The method of drinking tea: extremely hot water (it is simply said to be boiled water) is used to make tea and one drinks it. [Adding] two or three spoonfuls, each

⁽⁹⁶⁾ One *shaku* is approximately equal to 30.3 cm.

measuring about one-hundredth of a *yen*, of powder [is preferable but] one may add the amount of powder as one wishes. However, reducing the amount of hot water is preferred, though this is also as one wishes. Very rarely, strong tea tastes delicious. Drinking tea promotes digestion after eating food and drinking *sake*. When feeling thirsty, one always should drink tea, not other hot water. If one becomes thirsty, one contracts various diseases due to not drinking mulberry hot water and tea. The efficacy of tea is as stated above.

This tea is very attractive to various deities. When making an offering to various deities, tea is [always] used. If one does not offer tea [to various deities] one does not accomplish the rules [of etiquette]. A song composed in the Song dynasty says, “Evil spirits of plagues abandon their vehicles and show great respect and admiration to a tea tree.” *The Collection of Herbal Medicine* (the title of a book) says, “[Tea] prevents a parched throat and removes plague.” How precious tea is! [Tea is used] from the head, which is well informed about the boundary of spirits and various deities, down to the bottom, which is to give help to people living in what is called a satiation period. It is said that other medicines are efficacious for only one kind of disease. Tea is a medicine for all kinds of diseases.

The method of taking tea blended with five incenses: the first is *aristolochia* root, one *ryō* 兩.⁽⁹⁷⁾ It tastes bitter and pungent. The second is *agalloch* (沉香; *jinkō*), one *fun* 分.⁽⁹⁸⁾ It tastes bitter and pungent. The third is cloves (丁子; *chōji*), two *fun*. It tastes bitter and pungent. The fourth is *pistacia lentiscus* resin (薰陸香; *kunrokukō*), one *fun*. It tastes bitter and pungent. The fifth is musk (麝香; *jakō*), just a little, not a large amount, due to its great heat. It tastes bitter and pungent.

The five kinds of incenses described above are mixed together and then ground into powder. Every day one takes [tea made with this powder]. Heat a spoonful of water measuring one-hundredth of a *yen* and make tea with the water. It is possible that when one drinks the tea made [of the five kinds of incenses, the result is that] the efficacy [of the tea] is weakened (it is not powdered and one gets a taste of the tea itself). The aim of blending the five kinds of incenses [in tea] is to take the *aristolochia* root. Perhaps, the aim of taking *aristolochia* root is to cure heart disease.

Once when Yōsai was in Tang, I arrived at Mingzhou 明州 from Tiantai-shan 天台山 on the tenth day of sixth month. The weather was extremely hot and everyone was close to collapsing. A shopkeeper took a *sake* holder and put eight *fun*⁽⁹⁹⁾ of cloves

⁽⁹⁷⁾ One *ryō* is approximately equal to 41–42 g.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ One *fun* is approximately equal to .375g.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Eight *fun* is approximately equal to 3 g.

into it. He filled it with water and boiled tea for a good long while. I did not know for what this would be helpful. After making the tea, he brought a big teabowl filled with the clove tea and gave it to Yōsai. He said, “You are a learned Buddhist monk. In this time when the weather is hot, you (Yōsai) traveled so far. You sweated profusely and were afraid of an unpleasant feeling. Therefore, I (the shopkeeper) now give you this tea.” In the case that the amount of cloves to be boiled is equal to one *shō* 升,⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ the amount of water should be about one and a half *shō*. [The amount of clove tea] I took was about two *gō* 合. After drinking the [clove tea] I felt cool and refreshed. From [this experience] I learned that clove tea is capable of making one cool in times of intense heat, and it is also capable of making one warm in times of great coldness. One should know that each of these five kinds of incenses has such a virtue. The same may be said of [the virtue of tea] as the winter season approaches. The virtue of tea blended with five kinds of incenses is the same as that of tea itself. Therefore, one should drink this [tea]. In the situation that these five kinds of incenses are not all available, taking [tea made with] one kind of incense is possible.

As stated above, with Buddha’s protection the record [of drinking tea] for good health in a degenerate age has been discussed at length. This was [written through my] free conception, due to a secret method transmitted by word of mouth from the Great Country (China). The method of curing various diseases is as follows ([it is probably] safe to think in this way): the mulberry tree is an elixir. [The characteristics of] immortals are twofold: one is the immortals of mortifying the flesh; the other is the immortals of taking medicine. The immortals of mortifying the flesh means abstaining from delicious food and maintaining a long life only through eating grains of rice and millet. The immortals of taking medicine is to take various kinds of medicine and maintain a long life. Among the latter, the immortals of taking mulberry trees is capable of maintaining longevity. As stated above, the treatment made with mulberry trees is far superior to other treatments because it is an elixir.

The Record of Herbal Medicine says: Taking the powdered branch of mulberry trees is a cure for dropsy, lung diseases, beriberi, tumors and swells, and cold; taking it daily cures intense itchiness and dry skin over one’s body; taking it cures dizziness and coughing; taking it has an effect on digestion and diuresis; taking it brings ease of bodily movement; taking it one hears well and has good sight; taking it makes a bright complexion; taking it cures dry mouth.

The Classic of Immortals says, “One does not take any elixir without powdered mulberry.” First, take powdered mulberry. After that, take various elixirs. For this

⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ One *shō* is approximately equal to 1.8 liters.

reason, mulberry is an elixir of the highest excellence. Thinking to take tea made with mulberry, the great value of these teas is not arranged in grades. Both are the ultimate elixir of elixirs. This is an ingenious method for good health. These records are all quoted from descriptions that have been preserved to today in the Great Country [for many generations]. If one has doubts, then travel across the Great Country and inquire about the [efficacy of tea]. One becomes aware [of the efficacy of drinking tea]. Now I, [Yōsai,] am ordered to complete this book. The act of subsequently correcting or revising this work is prohibited.

[End of] The Second Volume, *A Record of Drinking Tea for Good Health*

The third day of the first month of the fifth year of Jōgen [承元, 1211], the year of junior metal-goat (Jpn. *kanoto-hitsuji* 辛未), I, [Yōsai,] respectfully wrote this manuscript for the record myself when I did the ascetic practice of silence.

Fifteenth rank: Gon-Risshi 権律師 (lit., “Supernumerary Master of Discipline”),
Hokkyō Shōnin 法橋上人 (the third highest rank for Buddhist priests), Yōsai.

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Articles 2

translation and annotation

翻訳研究

**A Critical Translation of the *Tōhō-ge* and the *Ruzū-ge*
in the *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing***

〈in English〉

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Abstract

This paper is the first annotated English translation of two verses, the *Tōhō-ge* and the *Ruzū-ge*, in the *Pingdengjue jing*, which had been translated into Chinese in the third century. In light of my recent research on the formation of the two earliest versions of the Larger *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha*, I conclude that (i) these two verses in the *Pingdengjue jing* correspond more closely to the Sanskrit version than any of the other Chinese translations; and (ii) the original Indian text of the *Pingdengjue jing* might be quite similar to the extant manuscript of the Sanskrit version, the earliest manuscript of which has been recognized to date from the middle of the twelfth century. Accordingly, the *Pingdengjue jing* is not a version which was simply reedited by the translator, but rather it provides a window by which we can approach the original Indian text. Thus, it plays a significant role in research on the formation of early Pure Land Buddhism. Without the *Pingdengjue jing*, we would not be able to determine the formation of the *Da Amituo jing*. This paper offers a bridge between the third century and the twelfth century. In addition to the translation, this paper will also discuss some significant concepts appearing in the two verses of the *Pingdengjue jing*, such as (i) the origin of the Buddha's name, *Wuliang qingjing* and the connection between this term and the term *Jingtu*; (ii) the diverse names of Amitābha's land, such as 須阿(摩)提, 淨処, 嚴淨国, 安樂国, 無量光明国土; (iii) 無量, 無際, 無量, 壽無極, 清淨.

A Critical Translation of the *Tōhō-ge* And the *Ruzū-ge* in the *Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing**

Yue XIAO

Keywords : the *Tōhō-ge*, the *Ruzū-ge*, the *Pingdengjue jing*, *Wuliang qingjing*, Jingtu

Introduction

This paper presents a study of the Chinese translation of the *Tōhō-ge* 東方偈⁽¹⁾ and the *Ruzū-ge* 流通偈 in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra with an annotated English translation, focusing on the version contained in the *Foshuo Wuliang qingjing pingdengjue jing* 佛說無量清淨平等覺經 (T12, no.361, hereafter the *Pingdenjue jing*, or *siglum*: 清淨), the second oldest version of this sūtra. With the exception of the *Da Amituo jing*,⁽²⁾ the *Tōhō-ge* and the *Ruzū-ge* appear in all versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra. In terms of contents, the *Tōhō-ge* in the *Pingdengjue jing* and the Tibetan translation parallel the Sanskrit version.⁽³⁾ Regarding the *Tōhō-ge* in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra, very few scholars in this field have studied it, especially the version in the *Pingdengjue jing*.⁽⁴⁾

* This article is dedicated with respect and admiration to Professor Emeritus INAGAKI Hisao 稻垣久雄. I would like to express my appreciation to an anonymous reviewer for providing his/her insight and helpful comments on the first draft. I have a special debt of gratitude to Mr. Petros THEODORIDES for the editorial assistance. Remaining errors are, of course, my responsibility.

⁽¹⁾ This verse is also labelled as *Ōgon-ge* 往觀偈, as well as *Sanjū-ge* 讚重偈 by Japanese *Jōdo shū*.

⁽²⁾ It is the earliest version of this sūtra, the *Foshuo Amituo sanyesanfo salou[fo]tan guodurendao jing* 佛說阿彌陀三耶三佛薩樓[佛]檀過度人道經 (T12, no.362, hereafter the *Da Amiuoto jing*, or *siglum*: 大阿). Although there is no verse found in the *Da Amituo jing*, it does not mean that the original Indian text of the *Da Amituo jing* did not contain a verse since there is also the possibility that the translator of the *Da Amituo jing* intentionally omitted it. According to FUJITA, it is possible to figure out that the verse might have been omitted by the translator of the *Da Amituo jing*, see FUJITA 2007, 88. Even though FUJITA's suggestion just concerns the *Tanbutsu-ge* 歎佛偈 in the *Da Amituo jing*, this possibility also applies to this issue. Regarding the *Tanbutsu-ge* in the *Pingdengjue jing*, see XIAO 2019b.

⁽³⁾ Although the *Tōhō-ge* appears in all versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra except for the *Da Amituo jing*, only the versions contained in the *Pingdengjue jing* and the Tibetan translation hold 21 stanzas (in the *Wuliangshou jing* version it consists of 20 stanzas). For example, in the *Rulai hui* version it consists of only 12.5 stanzas, while in the version of *Zhuanyan jing* there are only 10 stanzas. In this case the versions of the *Tōhō-ge* both in the *Rulai hui* and the *Zhuangyan jing* do not exactly parallel their counterpart in the Sanskrit version (see below).

⁽⁴⁾ For a Japanese translation of these verses in the Sanskrit version, see FUJITA 1975 (reedited in 2015, 126-133; 166-169). For an English translation of these two verses in the Sanskrit version, see

This paper aims to make some progress towards this goal, focusing on the version contained in the *Pingdengjue jing* from the perspective of the formation of this sūtra in that the *Tōhō-ge* and the *Ruzū-ge* in the *Pingdengjue jing* are the earliest among all versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra and these verses touch many significant concepts in Pure Land Buddhism, such as the names of the Buddha and His land, two concepts connected with the His Land.

As I have repeatedly highlighted, the *Pingdengjue jing* plays a significant role in the research of the formation of the earliest version of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra in that: (i) its translation period was very close to that of the *Da Amituo jing*⁽⁵⁾ and even though the vows in both the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing* are twenty-four, their contents and order present marked differences;⁽⁶⁾ (ii) the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing* share a close relationship.⁽⁷⁾ Meanwhile, the *Pingdengjue jing* also shares a close relationship with the two Chinese versions containing forty-eight vows.⁽⁸⁾ Although there are a couple of comparative studies regarding all the different versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra, unfortunately, it is very likely that there is no research on the formation of the *Pingdengjue jing*. Accordingly, no one can understand the relationship between this version, which was translated into Chinese in the third century, and the Sanskrit version, whose earliest extant manuscript is regarded as written in the middle of the twelfth century. Without the *Pingdengjue jing* we may not be able to determine that the *Da Amituo jing* does not represent the earliest form of devotion to Amitābha that formed in India.⁽⁹⁾ Without an objective understanding of the formation of

GÓMEZ 1996, 93-96; 108-110. In addition, for a discussion on the *Tōhō-ge* in the Sanskrit version, see FUKUI 1995, 1999, and 2001. According to FUKUI, the versions of the *Tōhō-ge* in the *Pingdengjue jing* and the Tibetan translation are more corresponding in meaning to the those in the Sanskrit version than those in other Chinese translations (FUKUI 1995, 1).

⁽⁵⁾ According to FUJITA, the authorship of the *Da Amituo jing* is attributed to Zhi Qian 支謙 and is supposed to have been translated between 222/223-228/253; the *Pingdengjue jing* is attributed to Boyan 帛延 or BaiYan 白延 and is supposed to have been translated in 258 (see FUJITA 1970; and 2011, xvi). Accordingly, the translation period of the two versions was no more than forty years. For different suggestions, see (i) YIN SHUN 1980, 759-774; (ii) KAGAWA 1984, 17-24; and HARRISON 1998, 556-557.

⁽⁶⁾ Regarding the annotated English translation of the two versions of the twenty-four vows in the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing*, see XIAO 2018a, and 2018d. For a comprehensive study of this crucial issue, see forthcoming.

⁽⁷⁾ In fact, almost all of the prose passages in the *Pingdengjue jing* are simply copies, with some slight revising, of their counterparts found in the *Da Amituo jing*.

⁽⁸⁾ These two versions are (i) the *Foshuo Wuliangshou jing* 佛說無量壽經 (T12, no.360, hereafter the *Wuliangshou jing*, or *siglum*: 無量) and (ii) the *Wuliangshou rulai hui* 無量壽如來會 (T12, no.310.5, hereafter the *Rulai hui*, or *siglum*: 如來).

⁽⁹⁾ That is to say, two hypotheses which have been commonly believed in the field are incorrect. These two hypotheses are: (i) the formation of the vows in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra evolved from the first twenty-four vows in the *Da Amituo jing*, to the second twenty-four vows in the *Pingdengjue*

the *Pingdengjue jing*, it is hard to believe that the conclusions on the formation of the *Da Amituo jing* are objective, and credible in that the *Pingdengjue jing* is the most integral text with its formation period being close to that of the *Da Amituo jing* and the later Chinese translations and the Sanskrit version.⁽¹⁰⁾ In comparison with the *Da Amituo jing*, there are at least three significant differences, which are regarded as the most significant issues in this version, and need more attention: (1) the first one concerns the origin of the Dharmākara narrative of this version and its relationship with the extant Sanskrit version; (2) the second one concerns the formation of the twenty-four vows in this version;⁽¹¹⁾ (3) and the third one concerns the three verses found in this version.⁽¹²⁾ This paper will discuss the Chinese translations of the *Tōhō-ge* and the *Ruzū-ge*, focusing on their versions in the *Pingdengjue jing* so that we can recognize the characteristics of the translator, which can help us determine what the original form of the *Pingdengjue jing* was. I will also explore its influence on the later Chinese translations, including those in the *Wuliangshou jing*, the *Rulai hui* and the *Wuliangshou zhuanyan jing* 無量壽莊嚴經 (T12, no.363, hereafter the *Zhuangyan jing*, or *siglum*: 莊嚴), a version with thirty-six vows which was translated into Chinese during the Song dynasty.

1. The characteristics of the *Tōhō-ge* in the *Pingdengjue jing*

There are six verses in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra: (i) the *Kikyō-ge* 歸敬偈, (ii) the *Tanbutsu-ge*, (iii) the *Jusei-ge* 重誓偈, (iv) the *Monshin-ge* 聞信偈, (v) the *Tōhō-ge*, and (vi) the *Ruzū-ge*. In addition to the fact that the number of the stanzas of the *Tōhō-ge* in the *Rulai hui* (12.5) and the *Zhuanyan jing* (10) are nearly half the number of stanzas in the Sanskrit version (21) and the *Pingdengjue jing* (21),⁽¹³⁾ there is another characteristic which may be related to the issue of the formation of the *Pingdengjue jing* and should have been noted more. The structure of the two verses, the *Tōhō-ge* and the *Ruzū-ge*, in the *Pingdengjue jing* and the *Wuliangshou jing* is continuous, for there is no prose separating the two verses in these versions. By contrast, over ten paragraphs of prose are

jing and then to the forty-eight vows system in the later versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* (XIAO 2018a; and forthcoming), and: (ii) the vows of Amitābha in the *Karunāpūṇḍarīka* were derived from the system of the forty-eight vows in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* (see XIAO 2014a; and 2016c, 998).. However, no evidence can support these two assumptions at all.

⁽¹⁰⁾ For example, the twenty-four vows of the *Pingdengjue jing* are parallel with the first part of those forty-eight vows in the *Wuliangshou jing* and the *Rulaihui* respectively, as well as the first part of those vows in the Sanskrit version and the Tibetan translation.

⁽¹¹⁾ For the annotated English translations of the two versions of the twenty-four vows of the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing*, see XIAO 2018a, and 2018d.

⁽¹²⁾ In addition to the *Tōhō-ge* and the *Ruzū-ge* discussed below, the first verse is the *Tanbutsu-ge*, which I have discussed in my recent research see XIAO 2019a.

⁽¹³⁾ For a table regarding the numbers of the stanzas in each verse in the different versions, see FUKUI 1998, 1-2.

found between the two verses in the Sanskrit version and the Tibetan translation. The key question is whether this difference comes from the original Indian texts of the *Pingdengjue jing* and the *Wuliangshou jing* or the translators of the two versions intentionally edited them. The following discussion will be undertaken with a focus on this issue. According to the translation by GÓMEZ,⁽¹⁴⁾ (i) the *Tōhō-ge* in the Sanskrit version can be divided into three parts based on the meaning. The first seven stanzas, the first to the seventh, concern “Worship;” the next three stanzas, the eighth to the tenth, regard “Great Gain;” and the next six stanzas, the eleventh to the sixteenth, concern “Smiles and Prophecy;” and the last five stanzas, the seventeenth to the twenty-first, concern “The Vow” and (ii) the *Ruzū-ge* in the Sanskrit version can be divided into the following four parts: The first three stanza labelled as “Who Can Hear The Dharma;” the next five stanzas, the fourth to the eighth, titled as “Only Buddhas Understand;” the ninth stanza concerns “Rare And Precious Things;” the last stanza, the tenth, regards “Companions in the Path.”

2. The prose regarding offerings to the Buddha by the bodhisattvas from the ten quarters

There is a long paragraph in prose regarding offerings to the Buddha *Wuliang qingjing* 無量清淨, “Measureless Purity,”⁽¹⁵⁾ by the bodhisattvas from the measureless Buddha-lands of the ten quarters. Even though the counterpart of this passage appears respectively in all versions of this sūtra, the physical length of the one in the *Pingdengjue jin* is at least two times greater than the one in the other versions.⁽¹⁶⁾ The paragraph in the *Pingdengjue jing* is distinctly a detailed version of its counterpart in the *Da Amituo jing*. In addition, this paragraph might touch the following two significant issues; (i) whether there was a verse in the original text of the *Da Amituo jing* but was omitted by its Chinese translator; and (ii) the relationship between the Larger and the Smaller *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra.⁽¹⁷⁾ This paragraph reads as follows.

【清淨 2.1】則東方無央數佛國不可復⁽¹⁸⁾計：如恒水邊流沙，⁽¹⁹⁾一沙一佛，其數如是——諸佛各遣諸菩薩無央數不可復計，皆飛到無量清淨佛所，則為無量清淨佛作

⁽¹⁴⁾ See GÓMEZ 1996, 93-96; 109-110.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Regarding the origin of the Buddha’s name, *Wuliang qingjing*, and the connection of this term with the term *Jingtu* 淨土 “Pure Land,” see XIAO 2012b.

⁽¹⁶⁾ For a comparison of the text of this paragraph in the different versions, see KAGAWA 1984, 254-255, and ŌTA 2004, 188-189.

⁽¹⁷⁾ I would like to discuss this issue in a separate paper instead of here.

⁽¹⁸⁾ For the term 可復 *kefu*, “possible, able”, see KARASHIMA 2001, 417, and HD:3, 37.

⁽¹⁹⁾ For the phrase 恒水邊流沙 which is equivalent to *gaṅgānadī-vālukā*, see KARASHIMA 2004, 81.

禮，以頭面著佛足，悉却坐一面聽經。⁽²⁰⁾聽經竟，諸菩薩皆大歡喜，悉起為無量清淨佛作禮而去。⁽²¹⁾ (T12, 287c18-23)

In the eastern quarter, there are innumerable Buddha-lands, which are impossible to count, many as the sands by the side of River Ganges. Should one grain of sand represent one Buddha, the number [of the Buddhas] would be as high. [All those numerous Buddhas] respectively dispatch their innumerable bodhisattvas to fly to the land of Measureless Purity Buddha for offering their reverence and worship by kneeling with their faces to the Buddha's feet, and sit back listening to the sūtra. After hearing the sūtra, all those bodhisattvas experience great joy, and stand up offering their reverence and worship to the Measureless Purity Buddha, and then leave.

【清淨 2.2】則西方無央數諸佛國——復如恒水邊流沙，一沙一佛，其數如是——諸佛各復遣諸菩薩無央數都不可復計，皆飛到無量清淨佛所，則前為無量清淨佛作禮，以頭面著佛足，悉却坐一面聽經。聽經竟，諸菩薩皆大歡喜，起為無量清淨佛作禮而去。(T12, 287c23-29)

In the western quarter, there are innumerable Buddha-lands, as many as the sands by the side of River Ganges. Suppose one grain of sand is equal to one Buddha, the number [of the Buddhas] would be as high. [All those numerous Buddhas] respectively dispatch their innumerable bodhisattvas to fly to the land of the Measureless Purity Buddha for offering their reverence and worship by kneeling with their faces to the Buddha's feet, and sit back listening to the sūtra. After hearing the sūtra, all those bodhisattvas experience great joy, and stand up offering their reverence and worship to the Measureless Purity Buddha, and then leave.

【清淨 2.3】則北方無央數諸佛國——復如恒水邊流沙，一沙一佛，其數如是——諸佛各復遣諸菩薩無央數都不可復計，皆飛到無量清淨佛所，則前為無量清淨佛作禮，以頭面著佛足，悉却坐一面聽經。聽經竟，諸菩薩皆大歡喜，起為無量清淨佛

⁽²⁰⁾ Regarding the character *jing* 經, see XIAO 2018a, 121. Cf. KARASHIMA 1999, 137.

⁽²¹⁾ The first part of this paragraph is just a duplication of its counterpart in the *Da Amituo jing*, which reads: 【大阿】即東方無央數佛國，其數不可復計；如恒水邊流沙，一沙一佛其數如是。諸佛各遣諸菩薩無央數，不可復計，皆飛到阿彌陀佛所，作禮聽經，皆大歡喜，悉起為作禮如去(T12, 307b09-13). 【宋】=而去. It is of interest that the last sentence of the *Da Amituo jing* in the version edited in the Song dynasty was changed to 作禮而去 from 作禮如去, despite the fact that all of the times it was used, 6 overall, in the counterpart of the *Pingdengjue jing*, it was written as 作禮而去. That is to say, the phrase 作禮而去 appears as early as the time of the *Pingdengjue jing* which was translated in the third century. Thus, the editor of the *Da Amituo jing* of the Song version modified it to 作禮而去 referring to its counterpart in the *Pingdengjue jing*, or in accordance with the language habits of Song dynasty. Additionally, this line corresponds to the first stanza of the *Tōhō-ge* discussed below.

作禮而去。(T12, 287c29-288a5)

In the northern quarter, there are innumerable Buddha-lands, as many as the sands by the side of River Ganges. Suppose one grain of sand is equal to one Buddha, the number [of the Buddhas] would be as high. [All those numerous Buddhas] respectively dispatch their innumerable bodhisattvas to fly to the land of the Measureless Purity Buddha for offering their reverence and worship by kneeling with their faces to the Buddha's feet, and sit back listening to the sūtra. After hearing the sūtra, all those bodhisattvas experience great joy, and stand up offering their reverence and worship to the Measureless Purity Buddha, and then leave.

【清淨 2.4】南方無央數諸佛國——復如恒水邊流沙，一沙一佛，其數如是——諸佛各復遣諸菩薩無央數都不可復計，皆飛到無量清淨佛所，則前為無量清淨佛作禮 [?]⁽²²⁾而去。(T12, 288a5-9)

In the southern quarter, there are innumerable Buddha-lands, as many as the sands by the side of River Ganges. Suppose one grain of sand is equal to one Buddha, the number [of the Buddhas] would be as high. [All those numerous Buddhas] respectively dispatch their innumerable bodhisattvas to fly to the land of the Measureless Purity Buddha for offering their reverence and worship, and then leave.

【清淨 2.5】則復四角無央數諸佛國——各復如恒水邊流沙，一沙一佛，其數各如是——諸佛各復遣諸菩薩無央數都不可復計，皆飛到無量清淨佛所，前為無量清淨佛作禮已，頭面著佛足，悉却坐一面聽經。聽經竟，諸菩薩皆大歡喜，起為無量清淨佛作禮而去。⁽²³⁾ (T12, 288a9-14)

Likewise in [each of] the four intermediate quarter, there are innumerable Buddha-lands, as many as the sands by the side of River Ganges. Suppose one grain of sand is equal to one Buddha, the number [of the Buddhas] would be as high. [All those numerous Buddhas] respectively dispatch their innumerable bodhisattvas to fly to the land of the Measureless Purity Buddha for offering their reverence and worship by kneeling with

⁽²²⁾ It seems that a line following the words 作禮 was missed. According to the context, this line should be reverted to the following 32 characters: 以頭面著佛足悉却坐一面聽經聽經竟諸菩薩皆大歡喜起為無量清淨佛作禮. In general, each line of an ancient manuscript roughly consists of 16 or 17 characters, 32 characters are simply two lines, and the line preceding these 32 characters similarly contain the words 為無量清淨佛作禮. Accordingly, this interesting phenomenon should be derived from the negligence of the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing* while duplicating the lines above. This random characteristic of the translator can be found in the text below (2.6-2.8).

⁽²³⁾ The counterpart of the *Da Amiuto jing* reads: 【大阿】西方、北方、南方、四角諸佛，其數各如恒水邊流沙，各遣諸菩薩無央數，飛到阿彌陀佛所，作禮、聽經亦復如是 (T12, 307b13-16).

their faces to the Buddha's feet, and sit back listening to the sūtra. After hearing the sūtra, all those bodhisattvas experience great joy, and stand up offering their reverence and worship to the Measureless Purity Buddha, and then leave.

【清淨 2.6】佛言：“八方、上、下諸無央數佛，更遣諸菩薩飛到無量清淨佛所，聽經供養，轉更相⁽²⁴⁾開避。(T12, 288a15-17)

The Buddha said: “there are measureless Buddhas in the eight quarters, above and below, who respectively dispatch their bodhisattvas to fly to the land of the Measureless Purity Buddha for listening to the sūtra and making offerings, [in an orderly way to avoid] impeding each other.

【清淨 2.7】如是，則下面[諸八方]⁽²⁵⁾無央數佛國——一方者各復如恒水邊流沙，一沙一佛，其數復如是——諸佛各遣諸菩薩無央數都不可復計，皆飛到無量清淨佛所，前為阿彌陀佛作禮，以頭面著佛足，悉却坐聽經。聽經竟，諸菩薩皆大歡喜，起為無量清淨佛作禮而去。(T12, 288a17-22)

Likewise, below, there are measureless Buddha-lands, as many as the sands by the side of River Ganges. Suppose one grain of sand is equal to one Buddha, the number [of the Buddhas] would be as high. [All those numerous Buddhas] respectively dispatch their countless bodhisattvas to fly to the land of the Measureless Purity Buddha for offering their reverence and worship by kneeling with their faces to the Buddha's feet, and sit back listening to the sūtra. After hearing the sūtra, all those bodhisattvas experience great joy, and stand up offering their reverence and worship to the Measureless Purity Buddha, and then leave.

【清淨 2.8】上方諸佛更⁽²⁶⁾遣諸菩薩飛到無量清淨佛所，聽經供養。相開避，⁽²⁷⁾前來者則去避後來者，後來者供養亦復如是，終無⁽²⁸⁾休絕極時。(T12, 288a22-25)

The Buddhas from above, respectively dispatched their countless bodhisattvas to fly to the land of the Measureless Purity Buddha for hearing the sūtra and making offerings. They arrive [in an orderly way to avoid] impeding each other. Those bodhisattvas in the front row leave to avoid impeding the ones in the back, and the bodhisattvas in the back also make offerings to the Buddha in the same way, [making offerings in this way] without

⁽²⁴⁾ The term *gengxiang* 更相 means “one after another, in succession, each other.” Cf. KARASHIMA 2004:81, n.20.

⁽²⁵⁾ The words 諸八方 is probably a superfluous phrase and should be deleted.

⁽²⁶⁾ The character *gen* 更 is a continuation word, which means “moreover, also.”

⁽²⁷⁾ 【宋】【元】【明】=更+相。

⁽²⁸⁾ The term *zhongwu* 終無 means “never end.”

end.

3. The *Tōhō-ge* in the *Pingdengjue jing*

3.1 Worship

- 1) 譬若如恒沙剎， 東方佛國如是，⁽²⁹⁾
各各遣諸菩薩，⁽³⁰⁾ 稽首禮無量覺；⁽³¹⁾

For example, there are Buddha-lands as numerous as the grains of the sand of River Ganges.

Likewise, the Buddha-lands in the eastern quarter;

Those bodhisattvas are respectively dispatched from [those numerous Buddhas Lands], [In order to] offer their reverence and worship by falling on their knees with their faces [to the ground in front of] the Immeasurably Enlightened One.

⁽²⁹⁾ The counterpart in the Sanskrit version reads: *yathaiva gaṅgāya nadiya vālikā | buddhāna kṣetrā purimeṇa tāttakāḥ | yato hi te āgami buddha vanditum | sambodhisattvā amitāyu nāyakam* |1| (FUJITA 2011, 50). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 44. For an English translation of these Sanskrit lines, see GÓMEZ 1996, 93-94. The counterpart of this verse in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】東方諸佛國，其數如恒沙，彼土諸菩薩，往觀無量覺 (T12, 272c12-18). For an English translation regarding this stanza, see INAGAKI 1995: 32, and GÓMEZ 1996:189. This stanza is more corresponding to the Sanskrit version than the one in the *Pingdengjue jing* as the character *qian* 遣 is deleted. The counterpart in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】東方諸佛剎，數如恒河沙，如是佛土中，恒沙菩薩眾，皆現神通來，禮無量壽佛 (T11, no.310.5:98a24-25). This stanza consists of six praises. A tentative translation of these lines is as follows. “There are Buddha-lands as numerous as the grains of sand of River Ganges in the eastern quarter; likewise, bodhisattvas as numerous as the grains of sand of River Ganges in those numerous Buddha-lands. They all demonstrate their supernatural powers in order to offer their reverence to the Immeasurable Life Buddha.” The counterpart in the *Zhuanyan jing* reads: 【莊嚴】東方世界恒河沙，一一剎中無數量，菩薩聲聞發勝心，各以香花寶蓋等，持至莊嚴佛剎中，供養如來無量壽 (T12, 323c27-29). This stanza is parallel with the first four stanzas of the *Pingdengjue jing* with the exception of the third and fourth stanzas (underlined), which parallel the third stanza of the *Pingdengjue jing* below.

⁽³⁰⁾ This stanza corresponds to the prose 【清淨 2.1】 above. From this sentence, we can determine one of the characteristics of the translator, in addition to corresponding to the Sanskrit version, the translator also refers to the prose above, according to the character *qian* 遣 “dispatch.” Additionally, according to the prose 【清淨 2.1】 above, the subject *gege* 各各 should indicate the Buddhas in the measureless lands.

⁽³¹⁾ It is noteworthy noting that the origin of “Amitāyu” is the Buddhist Sanskrit form of “Amitāyus” that only appears in the verses. The parallel of this word in the first stanza of the Tibetan translation is ‘Od dpag med (=Amitābha) (see FUJITA 2015: 238). Regarding why the term *wuliangshou* 無量壽 “measureless life” did not appear in the verses of the *Pingdengjue jing*, we should not overlook that each stanza is composed of four praises, and each praise consists of six characters. Accordingly, the character “壽” might have been omitted in order to conform with the restricted number of characters reserved for each praise.

- 2) 西、南、北面皆爾， 如是恒沙數土，
是諸佛遣菩薩， 稽首禮無量覺。⁽³²⁾ (T12, 288a26-29)

Likewise, in the South, West, and North,

There are Buddha-lands as numerous as the grains of sand of River Ganges.

All the Buddhas respectively assigned their bodhisattvas,

To offer their reverence and worship by falling on their knees with their faces [to the ground in front of] the Immeasurably Enlightened One.

- 3) 此十方菩薩飛， 皆以衣械⁽³³⁾諸華，
天拘蠶種種具， 往供養無量覺。⁽³⁴⁾

⁽³²⁾ The translator of the *Pingdengjue jing* appears to have reversed the order of the second and the third stanzas with the third and the second stanzas in the Sanskrit version. That is to say that the second stanza in the *Pingdengjue jing* is parallel with the third stanza in the Sanskrit version. And this error also affects the translators of later Chinese translations, such as the *Wuliangshou jing*, the *Rulai hui* and the *Zhuang yan jing*. It is not clear whether it was intentionally adjusted to follow certain literature rules or if it is a scribal error. In this case, this stanza should correspond to the third in the Sanskrit version. The counterpart in the Sanskrit version, the third stanza, reads: tatha dakṣiṇāpaścima-uttarāsu buddhāna kṣetrā diśatāsu tāttakāḥ | yato yato āgami buddha vanditum sambodhisattvā amitāyu nāyakam | 3 (FUJITA 2011, 51). A standard Japanese translation of this stanza see FUJITA 2015, 127. For an English translation of this stanza, see GÓMEZ 1996, 94. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量 2】南、西、北四維，上、下亦復然。彼土菩薩眾，往觀無量覺 (T12, 272c19-20). Obviously, the translator of the *Wuliangshou jing* follows the second stanza of the *Pingdengjue jing* with some minor modifications, such as the fact that each praise is modified to contain five characters instead for six characters as in the *Pingdengjue jing*. The third praise of this stanza, 彼土菩薩, is more equivalent with the Sanskrit version than the one in the *Pingdengjue jing*. For an English translation, see INAGAKI 1995, 33 and GÓMEZ 1996, 189. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來 2】三方諸聖眾，禮觀亦同歸。The next stanza has not a counterpart in the other version. It reads: 【如來 3】彼於沙界中，道光諸辯論；住深禪定樂，四無所畏心。In addition, this stanza also corresponds to the prose 【清淨 2.2-2.5】 above.

⁽³³⁾ The term 衣械 is equivalent with the Sanskrit puṭa “container,” which means a container with legs for offering flowers in front of the Buddha. See *Daiji rin* 大辭林. This term also appears in the *Foshuo Amituo jing* 佛說阿彌陀經 (T12, no.366), and the *Zheng fahua jing* 正法華經 attributed to *Zhu Fahua* 竺法護 “Dharmarakṣa” (see KARASHIMA 2007, 453, and FUJITA 2015, 238). It is noteworthy that this term can be considered one of Dharmarakṣa’s translating characteristics.

⁽³⁴⁾ This stanza parallels the second stanza in the Sanskrit version, which reads: bahuṣṣapapuṭām grhītvā te nānavarṇa surabhī manoramān | okiranti naranāyakottamaṃ amita-āyu naradevapūjitaṃ | 2 | (FUJITA 2011, 50). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 127. For an English translation of the Sanskrit stanza, see GÓMEZ 1996, 94. This stanza is a variant version of stanza (4), from which it differs by only one word. It is not clear whether it was intentionally introduced as a refrain of sorts or if it is a scribal error (see GÓMEZ 1996, 238). According to FUKUI, this stanza follows the rhythm *vaitālīya*, and the fourth stanza follows *aparāntikā*. These kinds of rhythm are different to those of the remaining stanzas in the *Tōhō-ge* (see FUKUI 1995, 2). Regarding the Buddha’s name, due to the rhythm, it is separately written as Amita-āyu. It is noteworthy that the counterpart of the second stanza in the Tibetan translation is Tshe dpag med pa (=Amitāyus), but the fourth stanza in the Tibetan translation changes to ’Od dpag med pa, the same with the first

These bodhisattvas flying from the ten quarters [of the Buddha-lands],
All bring a variety of offerings,
[Such as] exquisite heavenly flowers and offering wares (substances),
And go to make offerings to the Immeasurably Enlightened One.

- 4) 諸菩薩皆大集， 稽首禮無際光，⁽³⁵⁾
 遶三匝叉手住， 歎國尊無量覺。⁽³⁶⁾

The bodhisattvas assemble together,
Offering their reverence and worship by falling on their knees with their faces [to the
ground in front of] the Immeasurable Light [Buddha],
And walking around him three times, and joining their palms in worship,
And praising the World Honored, the Immeasurably Enlightened One.

- 5) 皆持華散佛上， 心清淨稱無量，⁽³⁷⁾

stanza. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】一切諸菩薩，各齎天妙華，寶香無價衣，供養無量覺 (T12, 272c21-22). For an English translation of these lines, see INAGAKI 1995, 33; and GÓMEZ 1996, 189. There is no counterpart in the *Rulai hui* and the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽³⁵⁾ The counterpart of the term 無際光 is *Amitaprabha* and also appears later in the twentieth stanza. Its counterpart in the Tibetan translation is dPag med 'od (Cf. FUJITA 2015, 239). The first two praises of this stanza do not have a counterpart in any other Chinese translation.

⁽³⁶⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version is the fifth stanza which reads: pūjivā cā te bahubodhisattvā, vanditva pādām amītaprabhasya | pradakṣiṅkrītya vadanti caivaṃ aho 'dbhutaṃ śobhati buddhakṣetraṃ |5| (FUJITA 2011, 51). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 128. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 94. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】恭敬遶三匝，稽首無上尊。見彼嚴淨土，微妙難思議 (T12, 272c28-29). It is noteworthy that the constitution of this stanza is not very regular, these four praises in the *Wuliangshou jing* are in combination with the second part of the sixth stanza and the first half of the seventh stanza. The sentences between the end of the third stanza and the first half of the sixth stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* are unique and do not have a counterpart in any other versions. The texts read: 【無量】咸然奏天樂，暢發和雅音，歌歎最勝尊，供養無量覺。究達神通慧，遊入深法門，具足功德藏，妙智無等倫。慧日照世間，消除生死雲 (T12, 272c23-27).

⁽³⁷⁾ Undoubtedly, this praise is not parallel with that of the sixth stanza in the Sanskrit version (underlined of no. 38 below), but was rather created by the translator. It is noteworthy that the term *qingjing* 清淨 must be a creation by the translator. As I have repeatedly highlighted, the Buddha's name, *Wuliang qingjing* 無量清淨 “Measureless Purity”, was created intentionally and does not constitute a genuine translation, by the translator of the *Pingdeng jue jing*. This term plays a pivotal role in Chinese early Pure Land Buddhism. According to KARASHIMA, by contrast, the origin of the *Wuliang qingjing* must be derived from a misunderstanding of the term *Amitābha-vyūha* by the translator of the *Pingdeng jue jing*, Zhi Qian. The following two prerequisites, however, must be synchronized based on KARASHIMA's suggestions: (i) the original Indian text of the *Pingdeng jue jing* is the *Amitābha-vyūha*; (ii) the translator of the *Pingdeng jue jing* is Zhi Qian. Unfortunately, both of them cannot be correct simultaneously, given that more and more evidence shows that there are many translated features found in the *Da Amituo jing*. One of the vivid examples is that those

於佛前住自說：願使我刹如此。(38)

All of them shower the Buddha with their handfuls of flowers,
To Praise the Immeasurably Enlightened One with their pure mind.
And they aspire [to take a vow] before the Buddha,
Wishing to fulfill [the creation of] a land like His.

6) 所散華止虛空，合成蓋百由旬，
其柄妙嚴飾好，悉遍覆衆會上。(39)

Those flowers were scattered and floated in mid-air,
Forming a canopy of a hundred *yojanas*,
Whose pole is beautifully adorned with a splendid color.
It could cover all the body [of the Buddha] in the assembly.

3.2 The Great Gain

7) 諸菩薩都往至，諸尊刹難得值，
如是人聞佛名，快安隱得大利。(40)

All those bodhisattvas go to Buddha-lands,
Where they are extremely hard to encounter.
Those people who have heard the names of the Buddhas,

paragraphs on the Five Evils, the so called *Goakudan* 五惡段, present typical characteristics of Zhi Qian's style.

In addition, the character *cheng* 稱 should be the abbreviation of the term *chengzhan* 稱讚 “praise.”

(38) The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: *te puṣpapūṭehi puno kiranti udagracittā atulāya prītiye | vācam prabhāṣanti purasta nāyake asmāpi kṣetram siya evarūpaṃ* |6| (FUJITA 2011, 52). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 128. For an English translation of this stanza, see GÓMEZ 1996, 94. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】因發無量心，願我國亦然 (T12, 273a01). The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】願速成菩提，淨界如安樂 (T11, 981b09). The counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing* reads: 【莊嚴】各各俱發菩提心，願出塵勞登彼岸 (T12, 324a17).

(39) The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit (7) version reads: *taiḥ puṣpapūṭā iti kṣipta tatra cchatraṃ tadā saṃsthihi yojanāśataṃ | svalaṃkṛtaṃ śobhati citradaṇḍaṃ chādeti buddhasya samantakāyam* |7| (FUJITA 2011, 52). For a standard Japanese translation of this stanza, see FUJITA 2015, 128-129. For an English translation of this stanza, see GÓMEZ 1996, 94. According to GÓMEZ (1996, 238), the idea of a one-hundred-league parasol covering the whole body of the Buddha may also imply that the Buddha's body was of superhuman size, a common hyperbolic or mythic attribute in scriptural descriptions of buddhas. There is no counterpart in the *Wuliangshou jing* and the *Rulai hui*. But the counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing* reads: 【莊嚴經】復以天花供養佛，花散虛空為傘蓋，縱廣量等百由旬，色相莊嚴無有比(T12, 324a6-7).

(40) The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: *te bodhisattvās tatha satkaritvā kathā kathanū itī tatra tuṣṭaḥ | sulabdhā lābhāḥ khalu tehi sattvaiḥ yehī śrutam nāma narottamasya* |8| (FUJITA 2011, 52). For a standard Japanese translation of this stanza, see FUJITA 2015, 129. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 94. There is no counterpart found in the *Wuliangshou jing*.

Promptly attain the great benefits of serenity.

- 8) 吾等類得是德, 諸此刹獲所好,
計本國若如夢, 無數劫淨此土⁽⁴¹⁾

Our assembly attains this great merit;

And [we] can attain benefits from the [Buddha]-lands,

Imaging [the merit] of this dreamlike land which He [the Buddha] manifested, the land which He purified through innumerable *kalpas*.

- 9) 見菩薩遶世尊, 威神猛壽無極,⁽⁴²⁾
國覺衆甚清淨,⁽⁴³⁾ 無數劫難思議。⁽⁴⁴⁾

Behold, the World-Honored One surrounded by the bodhisattvas,

Possesses dignified and brave merit, and his life is endless.

The bodhisattvas in that land are also of extreme purity,

[and the amount of their merit] is inconceivable even if [we] ponder it for innumerable *kalpas*.

⁽⁴¹⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: *asmehi pī lābha sulabdha pūrvā | yad āgatā smā ima buddhakṣetraṃ paśyātha svapnopama kṣetra kīdrśaṃ yat kalpitaṃ kalpasahasra śāstunā* [9] (FUJITA 2011, 52-53). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 129. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 94. There is no counterpart found in the *Wuliangshou jing*, the *Rulai hui*, and the *Zhuangyan jing*.

In addition, the phrase 淨此土, “purified the land,” is equivalent with “cultivating the bodhisattva path to perfection.” That is to say, there are two kinds of *Jingtu* 淨土 simultaneously found in the *Pingdengjue jing*; one is a verb, “purified the land;” the other is the origin of the term *Jingtu* as an adjective in “Pure Land.”

⁽⁴²⁾ It is of interest that the phrase 壽無極 is an abbreviation of the term *shouming* 壽命 “life-span”. 無極 “life-span is endless” is equivalent with “measureless life” found in the second and third praises of this stanza. This might be the only one clearly referring to ‘measureless life’ in the two earliest Chinese translations of the Larger *Sukhāvativyūha* sūtra. The term *wuji* 無極 “endless” is a typical Daoist term which frequently appears in the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing*, Cf. XIAO 2018a, 122.

⁽⁴³⁾ The term *qingjing* “purity” must be an intentional creation by the translator, rather than a genuine translation from the original Indian text of the *Pingdengjue jing*. Obviously, this term is not a misunderstanding of the Sanskrit *vyūha*, but provides us with concrete evidence that the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing* had a strong willingness to use the term *qingjing* as a characteristic of the Buddha, the bodhisattvas, and *Amituo*’s land etc.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ The counterpart of this stanza found in the Sanskrit version reads: *paśyātha buddho varapunyaarāśiḥ parivṛtaḥ śobhati bodhisattvaiḥ| amitāsyā ābhā amitaṃ ca tejaḥ amitā ca āyūr amitaś ca saṃghaḥ* [10] (FUJITA 2011, 53). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 129. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 94-95. There is no counterpart found in the *Wuliangshou jing*.

- 10) 時無量⁽⁴⁵⁾世尊笑， 三十六億那術，⁽⁴⁶⁾
此數光從口出， 遍照諸無數刹。⁽⁴⁷⁾

At that time, the Immeasurably Enlightened One smiled,
And thirty-six hundred millions *nayutas* of rays came out from His mouth,
Illuminating thoroughly the innumerable lands.

3.3 Smiles and Prophecy

- 11) 則迴光還遶佛， 三匝已從頂入，
色霍然不復現， 天亦人皆歡喜。⁽⁴⁸⁾

These rays of light returned, encircling the Buddha three times,
And entered his body through the crown of his head.
Then, these rays disappeared without trace,
And all devas and humans were filled with joy.

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Regarding the name of the Buddha in this stanza, in the Sanskrit version, it is labelled as *amitāyu*, while in the *Wuliangshou jing*, the name was revised as 無量尊, with one character having been deleted. It is of interest that the term 無量尊 in the counterpart of the *Wuliangshou jing* has been translated in diverse ways. It has been translated as *Amitayus* by INAGAKI; but as “Measureless, the Worthy One” by GÓMEZ (190); and was translated as “the Immeasurable One” by MACK. In the original Indian text of the *Pingdengjue jing*, it is probably, almost certainly, *amitāyu*, but the translator appears to avoid using “無量壽” here in order to avoid contradiction with *Wuliang qingjing* which is used in the rest of the *sūtra*, especially in the proses 【清淨 2.1~2.8】 above. Meanwhile, the translator seems to avoid using *Wuliang qingjing* here so that the name will not diverge significantly from the original text.

⁽⁴⁶⁾ It looks like this term is a typical characteristic frequently found in the translations attributed to *Zhu Fahua* 竺法護 “*Dharmarakṣa*.” For example, (i) *Foshuo deguang taizi jing* 佛說德光太子經 (T3, no.170); (ii) *Puyao jing* 普曜經 (T3, no.186); (iii) the *Zheng fahua jing* 正法華經 (T9, no.263); etc.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: *smitaṃ karontī amitāyu nāthaḥ ṣaṭtriṃśakoḥīnayatāni arcīṣāṃ | ye niścāritvā mukhamaṇḍalātaḥ sphuranti kṣetrāṇi sahasrakoṭīḥ* [11] (FUJITA 2011, 53). For a standard of this Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 129-130. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】應時無量尊，動容發欣笑，口出無數光，遍照十方國 (T12, 273a1-2). For an English translation, see INAGAKI 1995; and GÓMEZ 1996, 190. This Chinese version seems to have been reedited by its translator in that there is no counterpart of the second praise of *Pingdengjue jing* appearing here. It appears that there is no text exactly paralleling this stanza in the *Rulai hui*. By contrast, the counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing* reads: 【莊嚴】三十六億那由他，照俱胝千佛刹 (T12, 324a14) .

⁽⁴⁸⁾ The stanza well corresponds to the counterpart of the Sanskrit version, which reads: *tāḥ sarva arcīḥ punar etya tatra mūrdhne ca astaṅgami nāyakasya | devā manuṣyā janayanti prītiṃ arcis tadā astamitā viditvā* [12] (FUJITA 2011, 54). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 130. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】迴光圍遶身，三匝從頂入，一切天、人衆，踊躍皆歡喜 (T12, 273a4-5). For an English translation, see INAGAKI 1995; and GÓMEZ 1996, 190.

- 12) 盧樓亘⁽⁴⁹⁾從坐起， 正衣服稽首問，
白佛言：何緣笑？ 唯世尊說是意。⁽⁵⁰⁾

Avalokiteśvara stood up from his seat,
To Rearrange his robes, and then prostrated himself on the ground to ask [a question].
Then he said to the Buddha: “Why are you smiling?
I only beseech the World-Honored One to explain the cause and condition [of the smile].

- 13) 願授我本空⁽⁵¹⁾菟， 慈護成百福⁽⁵²⁾相。 日：菟➡別
聞是諸音聲者， 一切人踊躍喜。⁽⁵³⁾ 日：是諸➡是語

Wishing to teach the original emptiness,
He compassionately blesses [all beings].
All people who have heard the sound of the [Dharma],
Will rejoice so greatly that they would feel like dancing.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ The origin of the term *È lóu gèn* 盧樓亘 is Avalokiteśvara who is the most famous bodhisattva in Eastern Buddhism. This term is written as *Gài lóu gèn* 蓋樓亘 in the *Da Amituo jing*. It is noteworthy that although the bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprapta is also found both in the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing*, it is hard to determine whether the Buddhist Three Saints of the West 西方三聖 originated directly from the original Indian text of the earliest version of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*, the *Da Amituo jing*, because the term 盧樓亘 appears only three times in the *Da Amituo jing*, and at least one of these texts might have been added intentionally by the translator of the *Da Amituo jing*. Accordingly, the concept of the Three Saints of the West in the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha* sūtra is not as important as people believed, unlike in the *Guan wuliangshou jing*. For some comments regarding the passages containing the term 盧樓亘 in the *Da Amituo jing*, see XIAO 2016a. For a brief discussion regarding this bodhisattva by HARRISON (2000, 172, n.24), see below. Cf. NATTIER 2007b197-205 (cf. no. 94 of this paper below).

⁽⁵⁰⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: uttiṣṭhate buddhasuto mahāyāsā nāmnātha so hī avalokiteśvaraḥ | ko hetur atrā bhagavan ka pratyayaḥ yena smitaṃ kurvasi lokanātha |13| (FUJITA 2011, 54). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 130. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】大士觀世音，整服稽首問，白佛：“何緣笑？唯然願說意。”(T12, 273a6-7). For an English translation, see INAGAKI 1995; and GÓMEZ 1996, 190. There is no counterpart found in the *Rulaihui* and the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽⁵¹⁾ The term *benkong* 本空 might originate from *paramārtha-kovid*, which also appears in the *Ruzūge* (6) below. This term is frequently used in the group of the *prajña sūtras*. This term was translated as ‘fundamental emptiness of all things’ by GÓMEZ, and ‘original emptiness’ by INAGAKI; and ‘the basis of emptiness’ by Karen.

⁽⁵²⁾ The term *baifu* 百福 is a traditional Chinese term, meaning “happiness,” “blessing.” An example in the *Shijing* 詩經 reads: 千祿百福，子孫千億。

⁽⁵³⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version (14) reads: taṃ vyākarohī paramārthakovidā hitānukampī bahusattvamocakaḥ | śrutvā ti vācaṃ paramāṃ manoramāṃ udagrācittā bhaviṣyanti sattvāḥ|14| (FUJITA 2011, 54-55). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 130. For an English translation of this stanza, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. There is no counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing*, the *Rulai hui* and the *Zhuangyan jing*.

- 14) 梵之音及雷霆， 八種音⁽⁵⁴⁾深重聲。
佛授盧樓亘⁽⁵⁵⁾決： 今吾說， 仁諦聽。⁽⁵⁶⁾

The Buddha's voice [is] just like the sound of thunder,
Solemn and far-reaching, [manifesting] the eight qualities of sound.
The Buddha is about to give predictions to Avalokiteśvara,
I now explain to you. Listen to me with care.

- 15) 衆世界諸菩薩， 到須阿提⁽⁵⁷⁾禮佛，
聞歡喜、廣奉行， 疾得至得清淨處。⁽⁵⁸⁾ 【宋、元、明】 ➔ 清淨處

⁽⁵⁴⁾ The term *bayin* 八(種)音 “eight qualities of sounds” is a general name for musical instruments and music in ancient Chinese, which is made of eight different materials, such as 金(metal), 石(rock); 絲(thread); 竹(bambuseae); 匏(calabash); 土(soil); 革(leather); 木(tree), similar to symphony in modern society. An example in the *Baopu zi* 抱朴子 reads: 故離朱剖秋毫於百步， 而不能辯八音之雅俗 (Cf. HD2, 15). Also, an example in the *Yaodian* 堯典 reads: 三載， 四海遏密八音 “Within the four seas all the eight kinds of instruments of music were stopped and hushed.” (see <https://ctext.org/>).

The character 種 was purposely inserted since each praise must consist of six characters. Regarding the eight sounds, there are several interesting explanations. For example, (i) according to GÓMEZ, the “eight good qualities” refer to a traditional Chinese list of forensic [rhetoric? revised by XIAO] virtues: pleasant speech, intelligible speech, comforting or soothing speech, soft speech, inerrant speech, imposing speech, and speech in a voice with good projection (Gómez1996, 251); and (ii) according to KAREN, the eight qualities of voice are (1) beautiful, (2) distinct, (3) supple, (4) harmonious, (5) venerable, (6) unerring, (7) exquisite, (8) not effeminate (i.e. manly) (KAREN 2014, 148). On the other hand, this term also frequently appears in early Chinese Buddhist translations. An example in the *Fan moyu jing* 梵摩渝經 (T1, no.766), which attributed to Zhi Qian reads: 阿難整服稽首而問， 即大說法， 聲有八種： 最好聲、易了聲、濡軟聲、和調聲、尊慧聲、不誤聲、深妙聲、不女聲 (T1, 884b23-25, also see JDJT) . In addition, some usages frequently appear in *Zhu Fahu's* translations, such as the *Xianjie jing* 賢劫經 (T14, no.415).

⁽⁵⁵⁾ Although this great bodhisattva repeatedly appears in the *Tōhō-ge*, it does not mean that (i) these usages originated from the original Indian text of the *Pingdengjue jing*; (ii) the concept of the Three Saints of the West had been formed in the original Indian text of the *Pingdengjue jing*. The fact bodhisattva Mahāsthāmaprāpta does not appear in the *Tōhō-ge* exactly means that the Chinese translator of the *Pingdengjue jing* was willing to highlight Avalokiteśvara once again here. It is hard to believe that it is a genuine translation from the original Indian text of this version.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ There is no counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】 梵聲猶雷震， 八音暢妙響， 當授菩薩記， 今說仁諦聽 (T12, 273a8-9). For an English translation of this stanza, see Inagaki 1995; and Gómez 1996. There is no counterpart in in the *Rulai hui* or the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ The origin of the term 須阿提 is *sukhāvātī*, which is the formal name of Amitābha's land, which is also labelled as (*Qing*)*jing chu* 清淨處 “pure abode (Pure Land)” in the last praise of this stanza. In addition, in the last stanza of this *Tōhō-ge* (21) in the *Pingdengjue jing*, Amitābha's land is also written as 須摩提.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: ye bodhisattvā bahulokadhātuṣu sukhāvātīm prasthita buddha paśyanā te śrutva prītiṃ vipulāṃ janetvā | kṣipraṃ imaṃ kṣetra vilokayeyuḥ |15| (FUJITA 2011, 55). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 130-131. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95.

All the bodhisattvas from the various worlds,
Go to *Sukhāvātī* to respectfully revere and worship the Buddha.
They rejoice while hearing [the Buddha's voice], and intensively pursue [the Dharma].
They instantly come in the pure abode [Pure Land].

16) 已到此嚴淨國，⁽⁵⁹⁾ 便速得神足俱，⁽⁶⁰⁾
眼洞視、耳徹聽，⁽⁶¹⁾ 亦還得知宿命。⁽⁶²⁾

And, upon arriving in the majestic and pure country,
They instantly possess the divine feet;
The Divine eye which enables them to see thoroughly and the divine ear so that they can

The character *de* 得 might be a superfluous letter and these words should be revised as 清淨處. It is noteworthy that no Sanskrit term corresponding to the term (*Qing*)*jing chu* 清淨處 can be found in the Sanskrit version, even though the first three praises of the 15th stanza above are quite corresponding to those of the *Pingdengjue jing*. Especially, considering the fact that the Buddha's name has been revised as *Wuliang qingjing* 無量清淨 “measureless purity,” and the Buddha's land is labelled – based on his name – as *Wuliang qingjing (fo) guotu* 無量清淨佛國土, it is quite possible that the term (清)淨處 was intentionally chosen by the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing*. Also, it is of interest that a similar term, *qingjing yechu* 清淨業處 “the abode of pure karma” appears in the *Guan wuliangshou fo jing* 觀無量壽佛經 (T12, no.365, the *Guan-jing*). Regarding a preliminary study of the connection between the nine-grade rebirth system in the *Guan-jing* and the three-grade rebirth system in the *Da Amituo jing*, see XIAO 2017c.

In addition, although GÓMEZ categorized that the 17th~21th stanzas concern Amitābha's vows, this stanza and the next stanza (17th) are actually connected to the vows in the *Pingdengjue jing*. That is to say that this stanza corresponds to the fourth vow of the *Da Amituo jing* (T12, 301b8-13), and the latter part of the seventeenth vow of the *Pingdengjue jing*, which reads: 諸天人民蠕動之類聞我名字，皆悉踴躍來生我國。不爾者我不作我 (T12, 281b27-c1). For an annotated English translation of these two vows, see XIAO 2018a, 129; and 2018d, 185. For a comprehensive study of the two versions of the twenty-four vows, see XIAO (forthcoming). Moreover, this stanza also corresponds to the 43rd vow of the Sanskrit version, and the 44th vow in the *Wuliangshou jing* and the *Rulai hui*.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ The term *yanjing guo* 嚴淨國 “a majestic and pure country” represents the translator's main designation for Amitābha's land. Undoubtedly, the translator has a strong willingness to express “high, lofty, exalted (udāram)” using the terms 莊嚴和清淨 “majesty and purity.” Cf. n. 43 above. For the origin of the term *Jingtu* 淨土, see XIAO 2012b.

⁽⁶⁰⁾ This praise corresponds to the eighth vow of the *Pingdengjue jing*, the fifth vow in the Sanskrit version, and the ninth vow in both the *Wuliangshou jing* and the *Rulaihui*.

⁽⁶¹⁾ This praise corresponds to the sixth and the ninth vows in the *Pingdengjue jing*, and the seventh and the eighth vows of the Sanskrit version.

⁽⁶²⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version (16) reads: āgatya ca **kṣetram idaṃ udāraṃ** rddhībalaṃ prāpuṇi kṣipraṃ eva| divyaṃ ca cakṣus, tatha śrotra divyaṃ jātismarāḥ paramatakavidāś ca|16| (FUJITA 2011, 55). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 131. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】至彼嚴淨土，便速得神通(T12, 273a20-21). It appears that there is no counterpart in the *Rulai hui* and the *Zhuangyan jing*.

In addition, the counterpart of this praise corresponds to the fifth vow in the *Pingdengjue jing*, and the sixth vow in the Sanskrit version.

hear thoroughly,

As well as the psychic power to know the destinies of their past lives.

3.4 The Vows

- 17) 無量覺授其決， 我前世有本願，
一切人聞說法， 皆疾來生我國。⁽⁶³⁾

Then the Immeasurably Enlightened One explains:

It is due to the original vow in a past life.

All people who have heard the Dharma,

Will be born instantly in my land.

- 18) 吾所願皆具足， 從眾國來生者，
皆悉來到此間， 一生得不退轉。⁽⁶⁴⁾

All of my aspirations have been fulfilled,

And the beings who [aspire to] be reborn in my land from other counties,

Will all come to my land,

And will attain the stage of non-retrogression within one lifetime.

- 19) 若菩薩更興願， 欲使國如我剎，
亦念度一切人， 令各願達十方。⁽⁶⁵⁾

⁽⁶³⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: **amitāyu buddhas** tada vyākaroṭi mama hy ayaṃ praṇidhir abhūṣi pūrva | katham pi sattvāḥ śruṇiyāna nāmaṃ vrajeyu kṣetraṃ mama nityam eva |17| (FUJITA 2011, 55-56). For a standard Japanese translation, see 2015, 131-131. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】必於無量尊，受記成等覺。其佛本願力，聞名欲往生 (T12, 273a21-22). For an English translation, see Inagaki1995, and Gómez. There is no counterpart in the in *Rulai hui* and the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽⁶⁴⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: sa me ayaṃ praṇidhi prapūrṇa śobhanā sattvāś ca eṅtī bahulokadhātutaḥ | āgatya kṣipraṃ mama te 'ntikasmin avivartikā bhontiha ekajātiyā |18| (FUJITA 2011, 56). For a standard Japanese translation, see 2015, 132. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】皆悉到彼國，自致不退轉 (T12, 273a23).

It is noteworthy that the term *butuizhuan* 不退轉 is a significant concept both in Pure Land Buddhism and in early Mahāyāna Buddhism. The 46th vow of the Sanskrit version concerns this doctrine. This term is translated as 阿惟越致 (Skt. *avivartika*, or *avivartya*) in the 18th vow in the *Pingdengjue jing*, which refers to its counterpart, the 7th vow in the *Da Amituo jing*. For some comments regarding the seventh vow of the *Da amituo jing* and the 18th vow in the *Pingdengjue jing*, see XIAO 2018a, 133, and 2018d, 185. In addition, for some comments regarding the Sanskrit term *ekajātiyā* Cf. FUKUI 1999, and FUJITA 2015, 240.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: tasmād ya icchātiha bodhisattvaḥ mamāpi kṣetraṃ siya evarūpaṃ | ahaṃ pi sattvā bahu mocayeyaṃ nāmena ghoṣena 'tha darśanena |19| (FUJITA 2011, 56). For a standard Japanese translation, see 2015, 132. For an English translation,

Some bodhisattvas might aspire to take further vows;
 May their lands be like my land.
 Also, keeping their mind to constantly deliver all people [out of all suffering],
 May all of their vows reach the ten quarters.

20) 速疾超便可到, 安樂國之世界, ⁽⁶⁶⁾
 至無量光明土, ⁽⁶⁷⁾ 供養於無數佛。 ⁽⁶⁸⁾

They will be able to instantly arrive
 To this Peaceful World,
 The Land of the Immeasurable Light,
 And, make offerings to countless Buddhas.

21) 其奉事億萬佛, 飛變化遍諸國,
 恭敬已歡喜去, 便還於須摩提。 ⁽⁶⁹⁾

After making offerings to myriads of billions of Buddhas,
 They will fly over all the lands,
 To express their reverence and then leave full of joy,
 And return back to *Sukhavati* [*Jingtu*].

4. The *Ruzū-ge* in the *Pingdengjue jing*

4.1 Who Can Hear the Dharma

1) 非有是功德人, 不得聞是經名 ;

see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】菩薩興志願, 願己國無異, 普念度一切, 名顯達十方 (T12, 273a24-25). The counterpart of this stanza in the *Ruqi hui* reads: 恒發誓莊嚴, 當成微妙土, 菩薩以願力, 修勝菩提行 (T12, 98b13-14). There is no counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽⁶⁶⁾ For the term *anle* 安樂, see XIAO 2009b.

⁽⁶⁷⁾ The origin of this phrase 無量光明土 is “*amitaprabha*,” and its Tibetan counterpart reads: ‘*Od dpag med*.’ For some comments regarding this phrase, see FUJITA 2015, 240.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: *sa śīghraśīghraṃ tvaramāṇarūpaḥ sukhāvātīm gacchatu lokadhātum | gatvā ca pūrvaṃ amitaprabhasya pūjetu buddhāna sahasrakoṭī* [20] (FUJITA 2011, 56). For a standard Japanese translation, see 2015, 132. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. There is no counterpart in other Chinese translations.

⁽⁶⁹⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: *buddhāna koṭīm bahu pūjayitvā rddhībalenā bahu kṣetra gatvā | kṛtvāna pūjām sugatāna santike bhaktāgram eṣyanti sukhāvātī ta iti* [21] For a standard Japanese translation, see 2015, 132-133. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 95. The origin of the term *Xumoti* 須摩提 should be *sukhāvātī*, and this term appears two times in the *Pingdengjue jing*. Also Cf. *Xuati* 須阿提. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】奉事億如來, 飛化遍諸刹, 恭敬歡喜去, 還到安養國 (T12,273a26-27).

唯有清淨戒者，⁽⁷⁰⁾ 乃逮聞此正法。⁽⁷¹⁾

If people have not cultivated enough good merit,
It will not be possible for them to hear the title of this sūtra;
Only someone abiding completely by the precepts,
Will be able to hear this right Dharma.

2) 曾更見世尊雄， 則得信於是事，
謙恭敬、聞奉行， 便踊躍大歡喜。⁽⁷²⁾

Only people who have encountered the Sovereign of World-Honored One in a past life,
Can believe in this,
Only those who are modest, and respect [the Dharma] can pursue the Dharma upon

⁽⁷⁰⁾ In general, this stanza is not different from the corresponding stanzas in other versions, except for the prerequisite of hearing the Dharma. In the Sanskrit version, it is “heroes who have attained the goal” (Cf. the text underlined below), to which the counterpart in the *Rulai hui* corresponds well. However, in the *Pingdengjue jing* and the *Wuliangshou jing*, the prerequisite becomes “someone abiding completely by the precepts.” Regarding the phrase 清淨戒, it is a combination of the term 清淨 and the character 戒. Obviously, the phrase was purposely edited by the translator because *zhaijie qingjing* 齋戒清淨 is a significant prerequisite for rebirth in Amitābha’s land, which has been purposely highlighted in both the *Da Amito jing* and fully inherited by the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing*. For the term *zhaijie qingjing*, see XIAO 2011. For the connection between *zhaijie qingjing*, *Wuliang qingjing* 無量清淨 and the term *Jingtu* 淨土, see XIAO 2012b.

In addition, it is of interest that this prerequisite has been revised as 已曾供養諸如來 “those who have made offerings to the measureless number of tathagatas” in the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽⁷¹⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: neme akṛtapuṇyānām śravā bheṣyanti īdṛśāḥ | ye tu te śūra siddhārthāḥ te śroṣyanti imāṃ girāṃ |1| (FUJITA 2011, 75). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 166-167. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 109. 【無量】若人無善本，不得聞此經；清淨有戒者，乃獲聞正法 (T12, 273a28-29). For an English translation of this stanza, see INAGAKI 1995, 35; and GÓMEZ 1996, 191. Likewise, each praise of the *Ruzū-ge* in the *Wuliangshou jing* consists of five characters. This stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* might have referred to the counterpart of the one in the *Pingdengjue jing*. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】若於福德初未修，終不聞斯微妙法；勇猛能成諸善利，當聞如是甚深經 (T11, 101b11-12). The stanza in the *Rulai hui* is more corresponding to the one in the Sanskrit version than the one in the *Pingdengjue jing* and the *Wuliangshou jing*. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Zhuanyang jing* reads: 【莊嚴】若不往昔修福慧，於此正法不能聞；已曾供養諸如來，是故汝等聞斯義 (T12, 326b4-5).

⁽⁷²⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: dr̥ṣṭo yaiś ca hi sambuddho lokanātha prabhaṃarah | sagauravaiḥ śruto dharmāḥ prītiṃ prāpsyanti te parāṃ |2| (FUJITA 2011, 76). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 167. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 109. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】曾更見世尊，則能信此事，謙敬聞奉行，踊躍大歡喜 (T12, 273b1-2). Likewise, this stanza should be the one referring to its counterpart in the *Pingdengjue jing*. For the English translation, see INAGAKI 1995, 35, and GÓMEZ 1996, 191. The counterpart of the stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】彼人曾見諸世尊，能作大光拯濁世，多聞總持如巨海，彼獲聖賢喜愛心 (T11, 101b13-14). The counterpart of this stanza in the *Zhangyan jing* reads: 【莊嚴】聞已受持及書寫，讀誦、讚演并供養，如是一心求淨方，決定往生極樂國 (T12, 326b6-7).

hearing it,

And will rejoice so greatly that they will want to dance.

- 3) 惡驕慢、弊懈怠， 難以信於此法；
宿世時見佛者， 樂聽聞世尊教。⁽⁷³⁾

For people whose spirit is full of evils: arrogance; and corruption: slackness,

It is hard to believe in this Dharma.

Only people who have encountered [and made offerings to] Buddhas in their past lives,

Will rejoice in hearing the teaching by the World-Honored One.

4.2 Only Buddhas Understand

- 4) 譬從生盲冥者， 欲得行開導人，
聲聞悉或⁽⁷⁴⁾大乘， 何況於俗凡諸？⁽⁷⁵⁾

Just like people born blind,

Who wish to know how to show the way to other people,

Even *śrāvakas* are still all bewildered by Mahāyāna thought,

How could normal people not?

⁽⁷³⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: na śakya hīnebhi kuśīdadṛṣṭibhiḥ buddhāna dharmeṣu prasāda vinditum | ye pūrvabuddheṣu akārṣu pūjām te lokanāthām caryāsu śikṣiṣu |3| (FUJITA 2011, 76). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 167. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】 憍慢弊懈怠， 難以信此法； 宿世見諸佛， 樂聽如是教 (T12, 273b3-4) . For the English translation, see INAGAKI 1995, 35; and GÓMEZ 1996, 191-192. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】 懈怠邪見下劣人， 不信如來斯正法， 若曾於佛殖眾善， 救世之行彼能修 (T11,101b15-16). By contrast, the latter part of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* has been revised as “[only] one who has planted the seeds of vast good merit in front of the Buddhas would like to cultivate the Dharma leading to salvation (Cf. the praise underlined above). There is no counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ The character *huo* 或 is a synonym of 惑 “be bewildered.” An example in the *Mengzi* 孟子 reads: 孟子曰：無或乎王之不智也 “Mencius said, ‘It is not to be wondered at that the king is not wise!’” (see <https://ctext.org/>).

⁽⁷⁵⁾ The counterpart in the Sanskrit version (4) reads: yathāndhakāre puruṣo hy acakṣuḥ mārgam na jāne kutu samprakāśayet | sarve tathā śrāvaka buddhajñāne ajānakāḥ kiṃ punar anya sattvāḥ |4| (FUJITA 2011, 76). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 166. For an English translation of this stanza, see GÓMEZ 1996, 109. The counterpart in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】 聲聞或菩薩， 莫能究聖心， 譬如從生盲， 欲行開導人 (T12, 273b5-6). For an English translation of these Chinese lines, see INAGAKI 1995,35; and GÓMEZ 1996. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】 譬如盲人恒處闇， 不能開導於他路， 聲聞於佛智亦然， 況餘有情而悟解 (T11, 101b17-18). There is no counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing*. It is noteworthy that the order of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* is reversed compared to the order followed in the *Pingdengjue jing* and the Sanskrit version (the first two and the last two praises). This case might reflect the translator's intentions.

- 5) 天中天⁽⁷⁶⁾相知意， 聲聞不了佛行，
辟支佛亦如是， 獨正覺乃知此。⁽⁷⁷⁾

Only the Gods of Gods (Buddhas) can understand the profound teachings of each other.
Neither *śrāvakas* can fully understand the cultivation of the Buddhas,
Nor *pratyekabuddhas*.
Only the Fully Enlightened One can know this.

- 6) 使一切悉作佛，⁽⁷⁸⁾ 其淨慧智本空，⁽⁷⁹⁾
復過此億萬劫， 計佛智無能及。⁽⁸⁰⁾

⁽⁷⁶⁾ The term *tian zhong tian* 天中天 “god of gods” is one of the typical terms frequently found in early Chinese Buddhist texts. For instance, (i) the *Da Mingdu jing* 大度經 (T8, no.225) considered to have been translated by Zhi Qian, (ii) the *Daoxing Banruo jing* 道行般若經 (T8, no.224) which is attributed to *Zhi Loujiachen* 支婁迦讖 “Lokakṣema;” and (iii) the *Puyao jing* 普曜經 (T3, no.186), and the *Shengjing* 生經 (T2, no. 152), which are both attributed to *Zhu Fahui* 竺法護 “Dharmarakṣa.” The phrase “*buddho hi buddhasya guṇā prajānate,*” frequently appears in the Mahāyāna sūtras, for instance in the Chinese translation of the Lotus sūtra, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka Sūtra*, which reads: 唯佛與佛乃能究盡諸法實相 (T9, 5c, Cf. FUJITA 2015, 251). In addition, for some comments regarding this term from a different perspective, see IWAMATSU 1985.

⁽⁷⁷⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: *buddho hi buddhasya guṇā prajānate* na devanāgāsuraśrāvakāḥ |pratyekabuddhāna pi ko gatīpatho buddhasya jñāne hi prakāśyamāne |5| (FUJITA 2011, 77). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 167-168. For an English translation see GÓMEZ 1996, 110. The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: 【無量】如來智慧海，深廣無崖底，二乘非所測，唯佛獨明了 (T12, 273b7-8). For an English translation of these Chinese lines, see INAGAKI 1995,35; and GÓMEZ 1996, 192. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】如來功德佛自知，唯有世尊能開示，天龍夜叉所不及，二乘自絕於名言 (T11,101b19-20). The counterpart of this stanza in the *Zhuangyan jing* (4) reads: 【莊嚴】假使長壽諸有情，命住無數俱胝劫，稱讚如來功德身，盡其形壽讚無盡 (T12, 36212-13) It is noteworthy that the counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing* concerns “praising the merits of the Buddhas” (稱讚如來), a significant element in the Smaller *Sukhāvatyūha* sūtra.

⁽⁷⁸⁾ The Sanskrit *sugata* “going well,” which is one of Buddha’s ten names, was translated into “佛” in the *Pingdengjue jing*. The term *zuofu* 作佛 appears over 70 times. Obviously, most of them follow their counterparts in the *Da Amituo jing* in that this term appears about 100 times in the *Da Amituo jing*. It is noteworthy that in the beginning of each vow, it has been revised to 我作佛時 from 設我得佛 in the *Da Amituo jing*. For a further discussion on the phrase 我作佛時 in the vows of the *Pingdengjue jing*, see forthcoming.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ The term *benkong* 本空 originates from “*paramārtha-kovida.*” Cf, note 51 above.

⁽⁸⁰⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: yadī sarvasattvāḥ sugatā bhavyeṣu viśuddhajñānā paramārthakovidā |te kalpakotīr atha vāpi uttare ekasya buddhasya guṇām katheyuḥ. |6| (FUJITA 2015, 77). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 168. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 110. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】假使一切人，具足皆得道，淨慧如本空，億劫思佛智 (T12, 273b9-10). For an English translation of these Chinese lines, see INAGAKI 1995, 36; and GÓMEZ 1996, 192. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】若諸有情當作佛，行超普賢登彼岸；敷演一佛之功德，時逾多劫不思議 (T12, 101b21-22). It is noteworthy that the first two praises underlined, which

Even if all beings become Buddhas,
And obtain pure wisdom knowing original emptiness,
They will not be able to calculate the depth of the Buddha's wisdom, despite the passing
of myriads of billions of *kalpas*.

7) 講議說無數劫， 盡壽命猶不知，
佛之慧無邊幅， 如是行清淨致。⁽⁸¹⁾

Even if they expound for immeasurable *kalpas*,
They will still not be able to grasp [the profundity of the Buddha's wisdom], despite
exhausting their lifespan,
The width of the Buddha's wisdom is thus boundless,
And can be fulfilled by pure cultivation.

8) 奉我教乃信是， 唯此人能解了，
佛所說皆能受， 是則為第一證。⁽⁸²⁾

Only people who pursue my teaching can believe in it,
Only such people can fully comprehend it,
And desire to adopt the Dharma which the Buddha(s) expounded.
They will be the first to witness its profound meaning.

4.3 Rare and Precious Things

probably refer to the last chapter of the *Avatamsaka Sūtra*, do not have a counterpart in any other versions. There is no counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽⁸¹⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: *atrāntare nirvṛta te bhavyeṣu prakāśamānā bahukalpakoṭīḥ | na ca buddhajñānasya pramāṇu labhyate tathā hi jñānāścariyaṃ jinānām | 7 |* (FUJITA 2011, 77). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 168. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 110. A counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】窮力極講說，盡壽猶不知。佛慧無邊際，如是致清淨 (T12, 273b11-12). For an English translation of these Chinese lines, see INAGAKI 1995, 36; and GÓMEZ 1996, 192. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】於是中間身滅度，佛之勝慧莫能量，是故具足於信聞，及諸善友之攝受 (T11, 101b23-24). There is no counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽⁸²⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: *tasmān naraḥ paṇḍita vijñajātiyaḥ yo mahya vākyam abhiśraddhadheyuḥ | kṛtsnām sa sāksī jinajñānarāśim buddha prajānā ti girām udīrayet | 8 |* (FUJITA 2011, 77-78). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 168. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 110. There is no counterpart in the *Wuliangshou jing*. The following stanza in the *Rulai hui* appears to correspond partly to this stanza, and reads: 【如來】得聞如是深妙法，當獲愛重諸聖尊，如來勝智遍虛空，所說義言唯佛悟 (T11, 101b25-26). There is no counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing*. A similar praise can be found in the *Tanbutsu-* (9) in the *Pingdengjue jing*, which it reads: 幸佛見信明，是我第一證 (T12, 280c8-9).

- 9) 人之命⁽⁸³⁾希⁽⁸⁴⁾可得， 佛在世甚難值，
有信慧不可致， 若聞見精進求。⁽⁸⁵⁾

The human life is a rare thing and hard to get.

Encountering the period when the Buddha is living in the world is extremely rare,

It is impossible [for people] to manifest only by believing and wisdom,

You should diligently pursue [the Dharma] upon hearing the Dharma or encountering the Buddha.

4.4 Companions in the Path

- 10) 聞是法而不忘， 便見敬得大慶，
則我之善親厚，⁽⁸⁶⁾ 以是故發道意。⁽⁸⁷⁾

Never forget the Dharma after hearing it.

Respect to the Buddha and let great joy arise upon hearing it.

Such people are my friends from previous lives.

For this reason, you should awaken the aspiration for Enlightenment.

⁽⁸³⁾ For the term 人之命, see Cf. FUJITA 2015, 251-252. The term 人之命 is the abbreviation of 人之壽命, which is equivalent with 人身, “human body.”

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Xi 希=*xi* 稀 “rare.” An example appears in Chinese traditional texts, such as *Laozi* 老子; and *Lunyu* 論語. An example found in the *Laozi* reads: 不言之教，無為之益，天下希及之 “There are few in the world who attain to the teaching without words, and the advantage arising from non-action.” In addition, an example found in the *Lunyu* reads: 子曰：“伯夷、叔齊不念舊惡，怨是用希。” “The Master said, ‘Bo Yi and Shu Qi did not keep the former wickednesses of men in mind, and hence the resentments directed towards them were few.’” Cf. <https://ccontext.org/>

⁽⁸⁵⁾ The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: kadāci labhyāti manuṣyalābhaḥ kadāci buddhāna pi prādurbhāvaḥ | śraddhātha prajñā sucireṇa lapsyate tasyārthaprāptyai janayātha vīryaṃ |9| (FUJITA 2011, 78). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 169. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 110. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】壽命甚難得，佛世亦難值；人有信慧難，若聞精進求 (T12,273b13-14). The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】人趣之身得甚難，如來出世遇亦難，信慧多時方乃獲，是故修者應精進 (T11, 101b28-29). There is no counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing*.

⁽⁸⁶⁾ The origin of the term *shanqinhou* 善親厚 is *mitra* “friend.”

⁽⁸⁷⁾ For the phrase *fadao yi* 發道意, there are two other similar phrases appearing in the *Pigndengjue jing*. (i) 發菩薩意, (ii) 發意欲求無上正真道最正覺 (for a discussion on the phrase 發菩薩意, see XIAO 2014b and 2015). The counterpart of this stanza in the Sanskrit version reads: ya īdṛśāṃ dharma śruṇitva śreṣṭhāṃ labhyanti prītiṃ sugataṃ smarantaḥ | te mitraṃ asmākam aṭitam adhvani ye buddhabodhāya janenti cchandam iti |10| (FUJITA 2011, 78). For a standard Japanese translation, see FUJITA 2015, 169. For an English translation, see GÓMEZ 1996, 110. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】聞法能不忘，見敬得大慶，則我善親友，是故當發意 (T12, 273b15-16). The counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui* reads: 【如來】如是妙法已聽聞，常念諸佛而生喜，彼人往昔真吾友，善能樂欲佛菩提 (T11, 101c1-2). The counterpart in the *Zhuangyan jing* reads (6): 【莊嚴】大聖法王所說法，利益一切諸群生；若有受持恭敬者，佛說此人真善友 (T12, 326b14-15).

4.5 The Importance of This Sūtra

11) 設令滿世界火。 過此中得聞法，
會當作世尊將， 度一切生、老、死。⁽⁸⁸⁾

Even if the whole world is on fire,
Be sure to surpass it to hear the Dharma.
You will surely become the general of the World-Honored One,
And deliver all beings from reincarnation and the pains of birth, old age and death.

Conclusion

In light of the annotated English translation above, the following conclusions can be reached:

The *Tōhō-ge* and the *Ruzū-ge* in the *Pingdengjue jing* are more corresponding to the Sanskrit version than any other Chinese translation.⁽⁸⁹⁾ But the structure of the two verses, the *Tōhō-ge* and the *Ruzū-ge*, in the *Pingdengjue jing* and the *Wuliangshou jing* is continuous, for there is no prose separating them in these versions. By contrast, over ten paragraphs of prose are found between the two verses in the Sanskrit version and the Tibetan translation, as well as the *Rulai hui* and the *Zhuangyan jing*. It is hard to believe that this difference comes from the original Indian text of the *Pingdengjue jing* and the *Wuliangshou jing*, but was rather an innovation by the translator who wanted the *Ruzū-ge* next to the *Tōhō-ge*, and this feature was later followed by the translator of the *Wuliangshou jing*.⁽⁹⁰⁾

Moreover, in light of my recent series of research on the formation of the two earliest versions of the Larger *Sukhāvātīvyūha*,⁽⁹¹⁾ I would like to point out that the

⁽⁸⁸⁾ A similar praise to the last one can be found in the *Tanbutsu-ge* (4), which reads: 【清淨】過度於生死，無不解脫者 (T12, 280b15-18). Cf. a short paragraph in the *Da Amituo jing*: 【大阿】其曇摩迦菩薩至其然後，自致得作佛，名阿彌陀佛，最尊、智慧勇猛、光明無比，今現在所居國土甚快善。在他方異佛國，教授八方、上下諸無央數天人民及蜎飛蠕動之類，莫不得過度解脫憂苦 (T12, 301a16-20).

This stanza has no counterpart in the Sanskrit version, but it was followed by all later Chinese translations. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Wuliangshou jing* reads: 【無量】設滿世界火，必過要聞法，會當成佛道，廣濟生死流 (T12, 273b18-19). There is no counterpart of this stanza in the *Rulai hui*. The counterpart of this stanza in the *Zhuangyan jing* reads (3): 【莊嚴】假使大火滿三千，及彼莊嚴諸牢獄；如是諸難悉能超，皆是如來威德力 (T12, 326b8-9) .

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Owing to space constrains, the two verses in the Tibetan translations can not be considered here, even though I hope to do so in a subsequent paper.

⁽⁹⁰⁾ It is noteworthy that these two versions contain the paragraphs on the Five Evils (*Go-akudan* 五惡段). For the formation of the paragraphs on the Five Evils, see XIAO 2012b.

⁽⁹¹⁾ For the vows in the *Pingdengjue jing*, see XIAO 2018d; for the Dharmākara narrative in the *Pingdengjue jing*, see 2019b. For the two versions of the twenty-four vows in the sūtra, see forthcoming.

original Indian text of the *Pingdengjue jing*, which was translated into Chinese in the 3rd century, might be quite similar to the extant earliest manuscript of the Sanskrit version, which has been recognized as written in the middle of the twelfth century.⁽⁹²⁾ This research serves as a bridge between the third century and the twelfth century so that we can present a further study of the formation of the *Da Amituo jing*. We also reached additional conclusions which are the following:

Firstly, the *Pingdengjue jing* is not merely a “modified version” as suggested by KARASHIMA (2009, 123). Without the *Pingdengjue jing*, we would not be able to determine the formation of the *Da Amituo jing*. Accordingly, the *Pingdengjue jing* plays a significant role in the research of the formation of early Pure Land Buddhism.

Secondly, regarding the term *qingjing* 清淨, this term appears in the 5th, 9th, 15th stanzas of the *Tōhō-ge* and the first stanza of the *Ruzū-ge*. All these examples have no counterpart in the Sanskrit version. Accordingly, we understand that the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing* strongly wished to describe the Land of Amitābha using the term *qingjing*. Therefore, it is hard to believe what Nattier (2007) and KARASHIMA (2009) suggested about the origin of *Wuliang qingjing* being a result of Zhi Qian’s misunderstanding.

Thirdly, regarding the name of Amitābha’s land, it has been described in diverse ways. For example, we can find the following terms in the *Tōhō-ge*: 須阿提(15), (清)淨處(15), 嚴淨國(16), 安樂國(20), 無量光明國土(20), 須摩提(21). Accordingly, we can clearly understand that the translator of the *Pingdengjue jing* has the willingness to stress the feature of “purity” of the Buddha’s Land.

Moreover, the name of the Buddha is also expressed in diverse ways, such as 無量覺(1, 2, 4, 17), 無際光(4), 無量(5), 壽無極(9), 清淨(9: for the bodhisattvas). It is hard to deny that “amitāyu” has appeared in the original Indian text of the *Pingdengjue jing*. As I pointed out above (note 32), the reason why the term *wuliangshou* 無量壽 “measureless life” did not appear in the verses of the *Pingdengjue jing* is that the character “壽” may have been omitted in order to conform with the restricted number of characters reserved for each praise. On the other hand, *wuliang* 無量 is a neutral term which is more corresponding to the term *Wuliang qingjing* 無量清淨.

Furthermore, there are two kinds of concepts regarding the Buddha’s land in the *Pingdengjue jing*. There is a verb, purified the land, such as 淨此土 found in the 8th stanza of the *Tōhō-ge*. The second is an adjective, pure land, such as *anle* 安樂 found in the 20th stanza, and (清)淨處 found in the 15th stanza. The first corresponds to the phrase *zuo pusa dao* 作菩薩道 “cultivation of the bodhisattva path to perfection” which is one

⁽⁹²⁾ See FUJITA 1984; and KARASHIMA 1999.

of the significant features of the *Da Amituo jing*. The second corresponds to the phrase *wuliang qingjing fo guo tu* 無量清淨佛國土. The term *Jingtu* must be the abbreviation of the phrase 無量清淨佛國土→淨土.⁽⁹³⁾

Finally, regarding the term *È lóu gèn* 廬樓亘, as I pointed out (note 49 above), the concept of the Three Saints of the West in the Larger *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* sūtra is not as important as people thought, unlike in the *Guan Wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽佛經. It is hard to determine whether the image of the Three Saints of the West originates in the original Indian text of the Larger *Sukhāvāṭīvyūha* sūtra. Undoubtedly, the combination of iconography 圖像學 and philology 文獻學 is a very valuable methodology which should be considered more from now on. But there is a prerequisite: accuracy in both parts of this methodology. Unfortunately, scholars who currently try to approach this issue are far from meeting this requirement,⁽⁹⁴⁾ at least in the study of the philology of the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing*.

⁽⁹³⁾ 【大阿】齋戒清淨→【清淨】齋戒清淨、無量清淨、安樂、無量清淨佛國土、（清）淨處、嚴淨國→淨土。

⁽⁹⁴⁾ In fact, HARRISON does not believe that the second passage containing the bodhisattva *Guan-yin* 觀音 in the *Da Amituo jing* (T12, 290a26-28) was a genuine translation from the original Indian text of the *Da Amituo jing*, but was rather a creation of the Chinese translator (see NATTIER 2007b, 197-205, cf. n. 49 of this paper above). However, HARRISON's suggestion was merely based on the phrases 世間人民……一急恐怖遭縣官事 (see HARRISON 2000, 172, n.24). Even though I agree with HARRISON's suggestion at this point (for a discussion on the bodhisattva *Guan-yin* in the *Da Amituo jing* in detail, see XIAO 2016a), HARRISON appears to not realize that (i) this suggestion contradicts his main idea on the formation of the *Da Amituo jing* that the *Da Amituo jing* represents the earliest form of Indian Pure Land Buddhism; and (ii) it is hard to believe that the translator of the *Da Amituo jing* only inserted one paragraph. There must be other evidence that has been overlooked by HARRISON. In fact, the syntax and the morphology of the first paragraph mentioning that bodhisattva (T12, 308b15-19) corresponds to those 129 special characters found in the Dharmākara narrative of the *Da Amituo jing*, which has been purposely compiled by the translator of the *Da Amituo jing* based on his own notions (for a discussion regarding those terms, see XIAO 2016a, 9-13); and (iii) HARRISON does not discuss the vows, the paragraphs on the Five-Evils, and the bodhisattva thought found in the *Da Amituo jing* (for the formation of the paragraphs on the Five-Evils, see XIAO 2012; for the formation of the Dharmākara narrative in the *Da Amituo jing* and the *Pingdengjue jing*, see XIAO 2012a; 2016b; 2018a; 2019b). A completely different conclusion on the formation of the *Da Amituo jing* may be reached if these clues can be taken into account together.

In addition, it is hard to believe that there is any information related to the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (*Guanyin*) containing the title of the *Da Amituo jing*. KARASHIMA referred to Chen Jinhua's suggestion that *sàlóu{fó}tán* 薩樓{佛}檀 is a corruption of *hélóugèn* 廬樓亘, which is an incomplete transliteration of *Avalokitasvara* (see KARASHIMA 2009, 125). Obviously, this is simply KARASHIMA's hypothesis and it seems to be a little bit hasty, I think, because bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara merely appears three times in the *Da Amituo jing*, unlike Amitābha and the importance of the cultivation of the bodhisattva path to perfection which are purposely highlighted throughout the entire sūtra.

Abbreviation

- HD = *Hanyu dacidian* 漢語大詞典, 13 vols. Shanghai: Hanyu dacidian chubanshe 漢語大辭典出版社, 1989–1994.
- JDJT = *Shinsan Jōdoshū daijiten* 新纂淨土宗大辭典. Ed. Jōdoshū daijiten henshū iinkai 淨土宗大辭典編集委員会. Kyoto: Jōdoshū, 2016.
- 日 = Data of the Japanese ancient manuscripts preserved at Kongō-ji 金剛寺, preserved at the Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscript of Buddhist Scriptures, the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies.

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*Journal of
World Buddhist Cultures*

Purpose of the Journal

The Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures at the Ryukoku University was established with the aim of forming an international research institute for Buddhism, which could respond to serious problems of modern world. It is the important mission of the Center to accomplish a wide variety of academic projects on Buddhism and thereby contribute to this increasingly globalized society. All knowledge is expected to be transformed into information in such globalized society. Thus, since being established last year, the Center also has aspired to publish an electronic journal and disseminate the research results widely in order to attain its main purpose. They seem the indispensable devices for the Center to mutually interact with researchers, Buddhists, and adherents of other religious traditions outside Japan, or to cooperate with foreign universities and research institutes.

In order not to miss the global trends of internationalization and informatization, the Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures starts a new electronic journal, *Journal of World Buddhist Cultures*. In its long history, the Ryukoku University has gradually accumulated the broad knowledge and characteristics concerning Buddhism. The Center hopes to develop further and disseminate them actively all over the world by means of this electronic journal, through which the Center will also attempt to encourage international intellectual exchange even more and seek the solution to various problems of the people who live in contemporary society.

In contemporary society, a sense of values is significantly diversified and complicated, and we are hardly able to recognize what is “true” indeed. *Journal of World Buddhist Cultures* will include not only scholarly articles on Buddhism but also those which respond, as a kind of guide, to various urgent problems that arise in every part of the world. Buddhism has been circulated all over the world over a long period of time more than 2500 years. The Center will widely invite the papers in which this universal religion is discussed from a “global point of view.”

In addition, *Journal of World Buddhist Culture* will also include the reviews of books on Buddhism, records of lectures organized by the Center, and a wide variety of translation works. It especially welcomes a paper written in English. Through this electronic journal, the Center strongly hopes to form the international platform for Buddhist Studies and contribute to their further development.

Objective of the Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures, Ryukoku University

1. Comprehensive Academic Research of Buddhism.

Our objective is to contribute to the advancement of academic research on Buddhist philosophy, history, and culture and other relevant fields while searching for ways to respond to the problems facing our modern world. By using effective and appropriate research methodology, we aim to explore Buddhist topics that meet the needs and concerns of our modern world.

2. Interdisciplinary Research that Combines the Three Fields of “Humanity, Science, and Religion” and the Creation of a New Wisdom.

By combining the three fields of “humanity, science, and religion” we will explore the prospects of creating a new wisdom for the 21st century. We will aim at becoming a global research hub where scholars both from Japan and abroad can converse and interact in order to provide guidelines that can help address social issues and global crises from the standpoint of Buddhism.

3. Building a Global Platform for Buddhist Studies.

By collaborating with universities and research institutions in Asia, America, and Europe, we will carry out projects with overseas scholars, Buddhist priests, and academics of religion. We will then publish our research results through our website and publications and provide them in English and other languages. Also, by using the Information and Communication Technology (ICT), we will connect ourselves with overseas universities and research institutions in real time in both the graduate and undergraduate programs. In addition, we will build a system that can quickly respond to requests from overseas research institutions who may ask for information about local historical sites by employing various views from across the university.

4. Benefitting the Undergraduate and Graduate Schools’ Education with the Research Results.

By collaborating with the curriculum for each academic area, we will aim at building an integrated program that spans across the departments. We will also promote participation in educational collaboration programs not only within our university but with other educational institutions as well. We will recruit limited-term research fellows from the graduate and post-graduate programs in and outside of our university, providing research grants (scholarships) and publishing their findings online or on print.

Significance of the Publication of *Journal of World Buddhist Cultures* in the Center

The Research Center for World Buddhist Cultures consists of following three research divisions: Basic Research Division, Applied Research Division, and International Research Division. Among them, the International Research Division plays a central role for the publication of this electronic journal.



International Research Division

This division will be responsible for sharing information about the overall activities of the center to the international community while continuing the project of translating and publishing Buddhist canons and texts that were originally carried out by the Research Institute for Buddhist Culture. In addition to the publication of E-journal and website management, the division will promote exchanges with overseas scholars, other Buddhists, and religious specialists through the Information and Communication Technology (ICT). The division will encourage collaboration with universities and research institutes in different parts of the world and engage in the sponsorship of international symposiums that will invite scholars from overseas.

As religion becomes more global and multi-dimensional in contemporary society, there has been a growing awareness of the need for inter-religious dialogue. The division will encourage these conversations and interactions by collaborating with various religious research institutions abroad. With the theme of “inter-faith education” the division will carry out research at institutions of higher education.

In the international context of inter-religious dialogue this division will explore how Japanese Buddhist ideology is viewed in the eyes of the outside world as well as what Japanese Buddhism can further contribute to inter-religious education. Through these activities, the division will work as its core focus to not only develop young scholars to understand the importance of having an international mindset but also to promote global interactions of scholars.

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