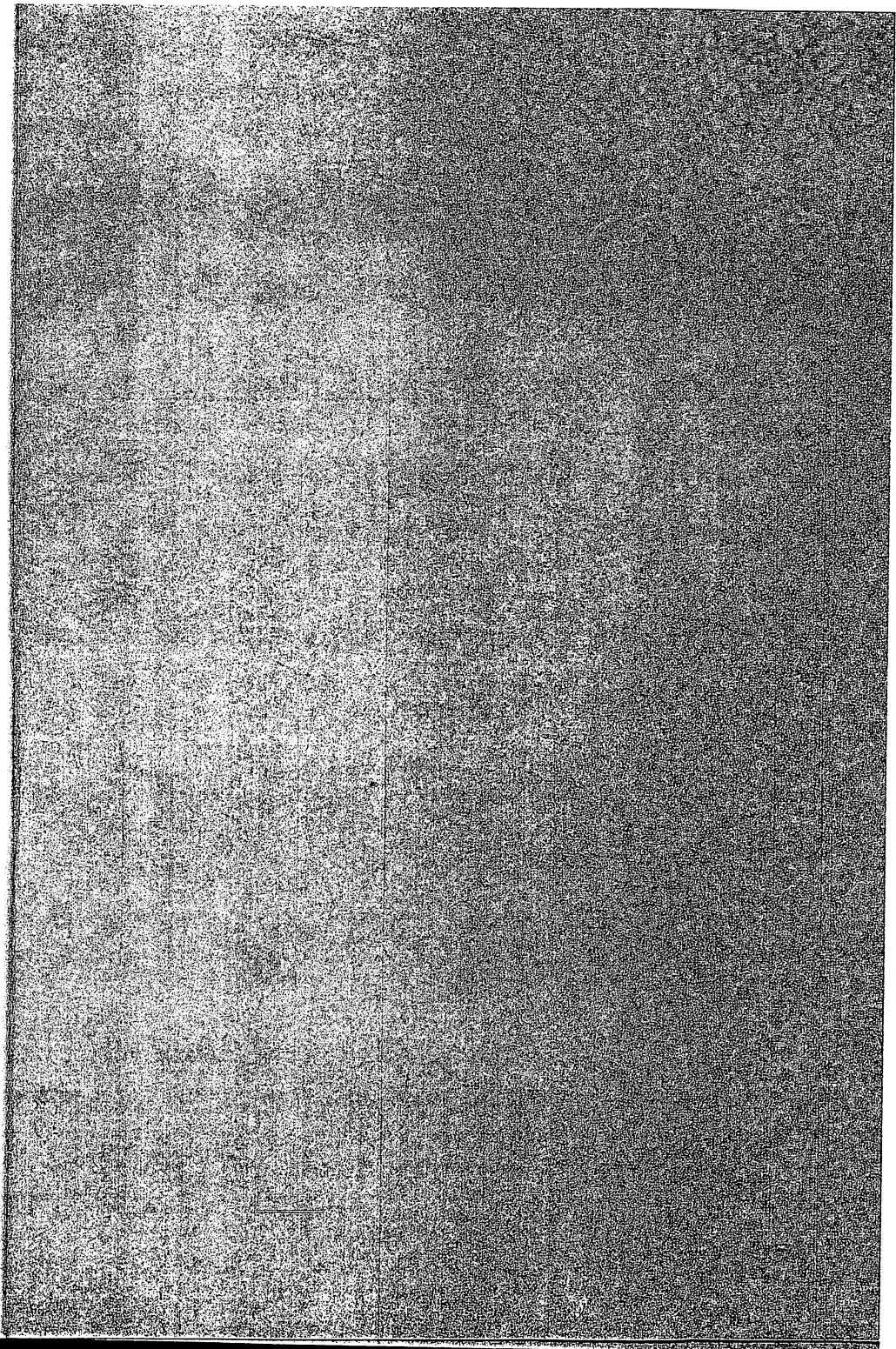


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THE TEACHING OF THE THREE LEVELS AND THE MANUSCRIPT TEXTS OF THE SAN CHIEH FO FA

by Jamie Hubbard

The Nanatsu-dera discovery of the *San chieh fo fa* 三階佛法, the longest and one of the most important texts of the San-chieh movement, provides yet another chapter in the story of the changing status of their texts¹. One cannot help but be struck by the existence of this text in downtown Nagoya, Japan, long after it had been excised from the official canon as heretical and subsequently lost in China, the birthplace of the San-chieh movement. The *San chieh fo fa*, or a work of the same textual lineage, is recorded in every catalogue that recorded San-chieh texts from the *Li tai san pao chi* 歴代三寶紀 (compiled 597) onward. Its importance is also underscored by the fact that in this early period the *San chieh [fo fa]* was the only work of Hsin-hsing, the founder of the San-chieh movement, to be given a separate name, his other works being grouped together in a "miscellaneous collection" (*tsa lu* 雜錄). In addition to the complete manuscript of the *San chieh fo fa* in five *chüan* preserved at the Nanatsu-dera several other manuscripts have also been preserved in Japan and two more fragments were discovered at Tun-huang. There remain, however, numerous problems with the identification of these various manuscripts. Let me begin with the records of the *San chieh fo fa* in the sutra catalogs.

1. For the San-chieh texts in the catalog of the Nanatsu-dera canon see *Owari shiryô: Nanatsu-dera issaikyô mokuroku* (Nagoya: Nanatsu-dera issaikyô hozon-kai, 1968), p. 126 (in the catalog of extant texts) and p. 162 (a catalog reconstructed from the lists in the storage chests themselves); for general comments on the Nanatsu-dera canon and its discovery see Ochiai Toshinori, *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera: A Recently Discovered Treasure-House in Downtown Nagoya. With related remarks by Makita Tairyô and Antonino Forte*. Translated and edited by Silvio Vita (Kyoto: Italian School of East Asian Studies, Occasional Papers Series no. 3, 1991) and Ochiai Toshinori, "Nanatsu-dera issaikyô to koitsukyôten" in Ochiai Toshinori and Makita Tairyô, eds., *Nanatsudera koitsu kyôten kenkyû sôsho*, vol. 1: *Chûgoku senjutsu kyôten (sono ichi)*, 433-477.

あとがき

現存する七寺一切經の總卷數は四、九五四卷であるが、外見で區別すると折本が一、五五六帖、卷子本が三、三八八卷になっている。さらに折本は、室町時代後期に修復された紺表紙本と、江戸時代に修復された黄表紙本とに分けられる。これら折本も元來は卷子本であったのだが、使用の便から折本に修訂したのである。もっとも蠹害破損などの理由で裏打ちした後、折本仕立てに直したのも多い。そのため折本は原裝よりかさ張り唐櫃に入りきらない場合もあるが、尾題・奥書等を見るには大變便利である。それに比べて卷子本は開卷に時間がかかるうえに、巻き戻しにはより一層慎重にしなければならず不便である。しかし、やはり卷子本は書寫された當初の姿を留めているものであり、折本にはない不思議な魅力がある。

毎年の七寺調査で多くの經卷に目を通しほぼ全卷に目を通し終えた。この七寺一切經の調査を契機としてその後興聖寺一切經、大徳寺藏經、妙蓮寺松尾社一切經、天野山金剛寺一切經など各地の寫本一切經を手にとって見る機会に恵まれた。またフランス國立圖書館藏の敦煌本（ベリオ本）や台灣の國立中央圖書館藏の敦煌本、北京圖書館藏の敦煌本なども直接閲覽することができた。そのほかにも大谷大學圖書館藏の法隆寺一切經や知恩院藏の古寫經、永觀堂禪林寺の古寫經古寫本等夥しい一切經古寫本に觸れてきたが、全體を通して常々腦裏から離れないのは日本の佛敎文化の廣範さと奥深さである。

奈良・平安寫經の總卷數とその内容は敦煌の寫本寫經と雙璧をなすものである。この貴重な文化遺産を各地の機關

a) *San chieh fo fa* in the sutra catalogs

Even before the Nanatsu-dera discovery of San-chieh manuscripts, copies of the *San chieh fo fa* had been discovered in Japan, and Yabuki identified these Japanese manuscripts as copies of the *San chieh fa* in four *chüan*. A *San chieh fa* in four *chüan* 三階法四卷 is first mentioned in the *Ming pao chi* (ca 650)², and a *San chieh fo fa* in four *chüan* 三階佛法四卷 is recorded in the *K'ai yüan shih chiao lu* 開元釋教錄 compiled by Chih-sheng 智昇 in 730. Chih-sheng notes that this text is the same as that recorded in the *Ta T'ang nei tien lu* 大唐內典錄 as the *San chieh pieh chi* in four *chüan* 三階別集四卷³. By the *San chieh pieh chi*, Chih-sheng meant the *Ta T'ang nei tien lu* record of the four *chüan* *San chieh wei pieh lu chi* 三階位別錄集四卷⁴. Tao-hsuan 道宣, the author of the *Ta T'ang nei tien lu*, like Chih-sheng, states that this work was composed by the *Sramaṇa* Shih Hsin-hsing of the Chen-chi ssu 真寂寺沙門釋信行. The *Chen yüan hsin ting shih chiao mu lu* 貞元新定釋經目錄 (compiled in 800) also records the *San chieh fo fa* in four *chüan* and 160 pages, and a catalogue of San-chieh materials recovered from Tun-huang, the *Jen chi lu tu mu* 人集錄都目, records a "*San chieh fo fa*, four *chüan*, 138 pages"⁵. Although the *Li tai san pao chi* 歷代三寶紀, the earliest catalogue to record San-chieh texts, does not record any work in four *chüan*, it does have a work in three *chüan*, the *San chieh wei pieh chi lu* 三階位別錄集, which Chih-sheng calls a "three *chüan* *San chieh [fo fa]*"⁶. Another reference to a *San chieh fo fa* in four *chüan* can be found in a memorial stele for Hsin-hsing, the *Ku ta Hsin-hsing*

2. T no. 2082, 51.788b.

3. T no. 2154, 55.678b.

4. *Ta T'ang nei tien lu*, T no. 2149, 55.277c.

5. Yabuki, *Sangaikyō no Kenkyū* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1927; reprint 1974), appendix, 227 and 224, respectively; unless otherwise noted, all references to Yabuki indicate the separately numbered pages in the appendix. As a convenience to the reader not in possession of copies of the Nanatsu-dera manuscripts (and because the content of the Japanese mss are so nearly identical) I have given reference to Yabuki's edition of the Japanese *San chieh fo fa* wherever possible.

6. *Li tai san pao chi*, T no. 2034, 49.105b; *K'ai yüan shih chiao lu*, T no. 2154, 55.678b. As the *Ta t'ang nei tien lu*, which follows the *Li tai san pao chi* almost to the letter, recorded this work in four *chuan* but made no note of it not being the same text, there remain questions about whether the text in the *Li tai san pao chi* corresponds to a "three *chüan* *San chieh fo fa*" or to the four *chüan* *San chieh fo fa*.

ch'an shih ming t'a pei 故大信行禪師銘塔碑, which some scholars believe to have been erected in 594, the year of Hsin-hsing's death⁷. In addition, a *San chieh chi lu* 三階集錄 in four *chüan* was recorded in both the *Ta Chou k'an ting chung ching mu lu* 大周刊定衆經目錄 (compiled in 695) and the *Sinp'yōn chejong kyojang ch'onngok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 (compiled in 1090)⁸. In sum we have the following records (the number in brackets represents the order of catalog entry):

1. *Ku ta Hsin-hsing chan shih ming t'a pei* 故大信行禪師銘塔碑 (594?)
 - 1.1. [2] *San chieh fo fa*, 三階佛法, 4 *chüan*⁹
2. *Li tai san pao chi* 歷代三寶紀 (597)
 - 2.1. [1] *Tui ken ch'i hsing tsa lu* 對根起行雜錄, 32 *chüan*
 - 2.2. [2] *San chieh wei pieh chi lu*, 三階位別錄集, 3 *chüan*¹⁰
3. *Ming pao chi* (ca 650)
 - 3.1. *San chieh fa* 三階法, 4 *chüan*¹¹
4. *Hsü kao seng chüan* (654??)
 - 4.1. *San chieh chi lu* 三階錄集¹²
5. *Ta t'ang nei tien lu* 大唐內典錄 (664)
 - 5.1. [2] *San chieh wei pieh lu chi* 三階位別錄集, 4 *chüan*¹³
6. *Ta chou k'an ting chung ching mu lu* 大周刊定衆經目錄 (695)
 - 6.1. [1] *San chieh chi lu* 三階集錄, 4 *chüan*
 - 6.2. [18] *Shih ta tuan ming i* 十大段明義, 2 *chüan* (or 3 *chüan* in

7. *Ku ta Hsin-hsing chan shih ming t'a pei*, included in Yabuki, p. 8; see also Hubbard, Jamie, "Chinese Reliquary Inscriptions and the San-chieh-chiao" in *The Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 14/2, December, 1991.

8. T no. 2153, 55.474c and T no. 2184, 55.1178b, respectively.

9. Hubbard, "Chinese Reliquary Inscriptions", 259-261; see also Nishimoto Teruma, *Sangaikyō no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Shunjūsha, 1998), 26-32.

10. T no. 2034, 49.105b.

11. T no. 2082, 51.788b.

12. T no. 2060, 50.560a.

13. *Ta t'ang nei tien lu*, T no. 2149, 55.277c.

variant mss)

- 6.3. [2] *San chieh chi lu* 三階集錄, 2 *chüan*
 6.4. [17] *Ken chi p'u yao fa* 根機不棄法 in 2 *chüan*
 6.5. [16] *San shih lueh chung tui mieh pu chih his fa* 三十六種對面不識錯法, 1 *chüan*¹⁴.

7. *K'ai yüan shih chiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (730)

- 7.1. [1] *San chieh fo fa* 三階佛法, 4 *chüan*; the *Nei tien lu* refers to this as the *San chieh pieh chi* in 4 *chüan*.
 7.2. [2] *Shih ta tuan ming i* 十大段明義, 3 *chüan*; the *Chang fang lu* [*Li tai san pao chi*] refers to this as the *San chieh pieh lu* in 3 *chüan*
 7.3. [3] *Ken chi p'u yao fa* 根機不棄法 in 2 *chüan*; in addition to this the *Ta chou lu* also lists a *San chieh chi lu* in 2 *chüan* which is a mistake [for this text]
 7.4. [4] *San shih lueh chung tui mieh pu chih hsi fa* 三十六種對面不識錯法, 1 *chüan*.

[Note:] Of the above four works of the San-chieh teachings, the first is the *San chieh* in four *chüan*, the next is the *San chieh* in three *chüan*, the third is the *San chieh* in two *chüan*, and the last is the *San chieh* in one *chüan*; the latter three texts are counted within the *Chi lu*¹⁵.

8. *Chen yüan hsin ting shih chiao mu lu* 貞元新定釋經目錄 (800)

- 8.1. [1] *San chieh fo fa* 三階佛法, 4 *chüan*, 160 pages
 8.2. [2] *Shih ta tuan ming i* 十大段明義, 3 *chüan*, 67 pages.
 8.3. [3] *Ken chi p'u yao fa* 根機不棄法 in 2 *chüan*, 135 pages
 8.4. [4] *San shih lueh chung tui mieh pu chih hsi fa* 三十六種對面不識錯法, 1 *chüan*, 19 pages¹⁶.

9. *Jen chi lu tu mu* 人集錄部目 (unknown compilation date)

14. T no. 2153, 55.474c.
 15. T no. 2154, 55.678b.
 16. Yabuki, appendix, p. 227.

- 9.1. [33] *San chieh fo fa*, 三階佛法, 4 *chüan*, 138 pages
 9.2. [34] *Jen chi lu ming shih chung wu chu tsu jen yeh cheng to shao chi hsing hsing fan ch'i fa* 人集錄明十種惡具足人邪正多少及行行分齊法, 3 *chüan*
 9.3. [31] *Ken chi p'u yao fa* 根機不棄法 in 2 *chüan*, 91 pages
 9.4. [30] *Ming i ch'ieh san shih lueh chung tui mieh pu chih hsi fa* 明一切三十六種對面不識錯法, 1 *chüan*, 20 pages¹⁷.

10. *Sinp'yön chejong kyojang ch'ongnok* 新編諸宗教藏總錄 (1090)

- 10.1. [2] *San chieh chi lu* 三階集錄, 4 *chüan*¹⁸.

b) Tun-huang fragments of the *San chieh fo fa*

As mentioned above, there are several different manuscripts of this text extant today, two of which were recovered from Tun-huang. The first was brought to light by the famed explorer Aurel Stein during his 1907 expedition, and the second shortly after by Paul Pelliot¹⁹.

i) Stein #2684: *San chieh fo fa, chüan 2*

Although the first text (Stein no. 2684, Giles no. 5859) preserves no title (both the beginning and end of the ms are damaged), as Professor Yabuki pointed out long ago, it clearly corresponds to a part of the 2nd *chüan* of the *San chieh fo fa*. First of all, the manuscript contains many references to the second *chüan* which are always qualified as "this second *chüan* 此第二卷". The MS also contains many references to the "first *chüan*" or "*chüan* three and four", indicating that this fragment is part of the second *chüan* of a work in at least four *chüan*. In addition to the fact that the *San chieh fo fa* is the only known work of Hsin-hsing in four *chüan*, when we compare the content of this fragment and the references it makes to other *chüan* with the outline of the *San chieh fo fa* as preserved in a commentary recovered from Tun-huang, the *San chieh fo fa mi chi* 三階佛法密記, we can see that

17. Yabuki, appendix, p. 223-224.

18. T no. 2184, 55.1178b.

19. *San-chieh fo fa chüan 2*, Stein 2684, included in *Tun-huang pao-tsang*, 22.229b-248a and edited by Yabuki, appendix, 9-47; *San-chieh fo fa chüan 3*, Pelliot 2059, included in *Tun-huang pao-tsang* 113.313a-321a and edited by Yabuki, appendix pp. 49-70.

they are in complete agreement. For example, near the beginning of the fragment it states "Section two 第二段 explains the reasons for the differences, light and heavy, in the rewards and punishments of the monks and laymen in [each of] the three levels"²⁰. The text then proceeds to clarify this topic with regards the *sattva* of the first level²¹, the *sattva* of the second level²², and those of the third level²³. This corresponds to the contents of the three sub-sections of the second section of the second chapter of the second *chüan* of the *San chieh fo fa* as described in the *San chieh fo fa mi chi*²⁴. From this we can see that this manuscript corresponds to the last part of the first section (第一段) and first part of the second section (第二段) of the second major section (第二大段). References made in this fragment (e. g., Yabuki, p. 14) to the first *chüan* and to the 3rd and 4th *chüan* (e. g., Yabuki, p. 12) likewise correspond to the outline of the four *chüan* *San chieh fo fa* as given in the *San chieh fo fa mi chi*. Finally, the description of the contents of the four *chüan* *San chieh [fo fa]* contained in the *Tui ken chi hsing fa* 對根機行法 (Yabuki, p. 127) also corresponds roughly to the outline of the *San chieh fo fa mi chi*, giving further evidence that this fragment, Stein 2684, is part of a textual tradition of a four *chüan* *San chieh fo fa* known to the author(s) of the *San chieh fo fa mi chi* and the *Tui ken chi hsing fa*. Finally, as noted by Nishimoto, the manuscript contains material that would date it from when Hsin-hsing was fifty-four, that is, 593, the year before his death: "According to the scriptures it is taught that those whose faith is incomplete are called *icchantikās*. From the time I was twenty and heard of the Mahāyāna scriptures until my fifty-fourth year, all those that I have met of the way and of the world [i. e., monks/nuns and laity] that have the capacity to understand the Buddha-dharma believe in the highest virtue taught in the *Mahaparnirvana Sutra* and have therefore thought to themselves, 'I believe in the *Nirvana [Sutra]*, I believe in Buddha-nature, and therefore I know that I am not an

20. Yabuki, p. 12.

21. Yabuki, pp. 12-17.

22. Yabuki, pp. 17-22.

23. Yabuki, pp. 22 ff.

24. Yabuki, appendix, p. 77.

icchantika'²⁵. This would thus establish that this text corresponds to the earliest tradition of the *San chieh fo fa*, and by inference that the Tun-huang manuscripts of the *Tui ken chi hsing fa* and the *San chieh fo fa mi chi* were aware of this early text.

This fragment contains numerous references to other canonical sources, a feature of San-chieh-chiao literature noted by Fei ch'ang-fang in the *Li tai san pao chi*²⁶. Within the 30 leaves of the fragment (approximately 10 *Taishō* pages) there are over 130 references to 35 different canonical sources, including the *Mahāparinirvāna-sūtra* (31 references), *Daśacakraṣṭigarbha-sūtra* (16 references), the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* (17 references), as well as the *Hua yen ching*, *Kaśyapa-parivarta-sūtra*, *Srīmaladevī-sūtra*, *Ekottarāgama*, *Daśabhūmika-sūtra*, and numerous other sutras and sastras.

ii) Pelliot #2059, *San chieh fo fa chüan 3*

The second fragment of the *San chieh fo fa* discovered at Tun-huang is in the Pelliot collection. Although the beginning of the manuscript is missing, this fragment preserves the title "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. three 三階佛法卷第三" at the end. On internal evidence this fragment can be seen to comprise the first half of the third sub-section of the second section of the third chapter, the content of which again agrees with what is given in the *San chieh fo fa mi chi*. As with the Stein ms described above, this fragment makes many references to other sections and other *chüan* (presumably other parts of the *San chieh fo fa*) which also fit the outline given in the *San chieh fo fa mi chi*. In addition, the references made to the third *chüan* of the *San chieh fo fa* in Stein 2684, (*chüan* two of the *San chieh fo fa*), fit the actual content of this fragment; likewise, the references to the second *chüan* of the *San chieh fo fa* made in this fragment—Pelliot 2059—correspond to the actual content as found in Stein 2684, all of which indicates that both are fragments of the same text. As with the Stein ms, this manuscript too makes many references to canonical sources, a total of sixty-nine references to some twenty-three different texts.

25. *San chieh fo fa*, Yabuki edition, 41; *Pao tsang*, 22.245b; Nishimoto, 183.

26. T no. 2034, 49.105c.

c) Japanese manuscripts of the *San chieh fo fa*

The most complete mss of the *San chieh fo fa* are those which were preserved in Japan. From records in the *Shōsō-in bunsho* 正倉院文書 we know that San-chieh texts had been transmitted to Japan by 743, and possibly as early as the mid- 600's²⁷. Although only four works of the San-chieh are mentioned in the *Shōsō-Bunsho*, the *Ming San chieh fo fa* 明三階佛法 is recorded over fifteen times²⁸. In addition to the complete manuscript discovered at Nanatsu-dera there are three partial manuscripts of this text preserved in temples in the Nara area.

1) Nanatsu-dera mss

- a) *chüan* one: title at beginning and end: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. one (first book) 三階佛法卷第一上本; Scribe: Rokuryōbō; collated by Eishun 筆師六良坊; 一校了榮俊"²⁹
- b) *chüan* two: title at beginning: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. two (end of the first [book]) 三階佛法卷第二上末;" same title at end with addition of "of five *chuan* 五卷内;" Scribe: Rokuryōbō; collated by Eishun 筆師六良坊; 一校了榮俊"

27. Ōya Tokujō, "Shōgozō no Shakyō ni tsuite", in *Nara*, no. 12 (Shōwa 4), p. 73; see also Ōya Tokujō, *Sangaiuppō* (collotype edition, Ryūkyō University Library), pp. 15-23. Ōya speculates that the San-chieh texts were brought to Japan by Dōshō 道昭 (d. 700), who had traveled to China in 653 (Ōya, "Shōgozō," p. 73), though he also notes that it is quite possible that San-chieh texts were carried to Japan on more than one occasion—another candidate is Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746), who traveled to the T'ang court in 716 and brought back more than five-thousand *chüan* of texts when he returned to Japan in 735.

28. In Tempyō 15 (743) it is recorded once (Tokyo Daigaku shiryō hensanjo, ed., *Dai Nihon komonjo*: Tokyo, Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai 1901-1940 [1987 reprint], vol. 24, p. 253); in Tempyō 19 (747) it is recorded eight times (*Dai Nihon komonjo*, vol. 2, pp. 709, 717, 729; vol. 9, pp. 589, 592, 594, 630, 631; vol. 24, p. 446), in Tempyō 20 (748) twice (*Dai Nihon komonjo*, vol. 3, p. 155, vol. 10, p. 415), in Tempyō Shōhō 1 (749) once (*Dai Nihon komonjo*, vol. 3, p. 313), in Tempyō Shōhō 2 (750) once (*Dai Nihon komonjo*, vol. 11, p. 422), in Tempyō Shōhō 5 (753) once (*Dai Nihon komonjo*, vol. 12, p. 534), and in the first year of Jingokeiun (767) twice (*Dai Nihon komonjo*, vol. 17, pp. 90, 93); see also Ōya, "Shōgozō", 71-72; the length, where given, is variously recorded as 65, 69, or 70 sheets for the first book and 35, 38, or 48 sheets for the second (the record of 750 gives 83 sheets for both books).

29. Rokuryōbō and Eishun are listed as collator and scribe for many of the Nanatsu-dera texts.

- c) *chüan* three: beginning slightly damaged; title at end: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. three of five *chüan* (beginning of the last [book]) 三階佛法卷第三下上五卷内; copied and established (?) by Rokuryōbō; collated by Eishun 筆師定六良坊; 一校了榮俊"
- d) *chüan* four: title at beginning and end: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. four (middle of the last [book]) 三階佛法卷第四下中;" colophon: "Scribe: Enjun Rokuryōbō; collated by Eishun 筆師圓順六即坊; 一校了榮俊"³⁰
- e) *chüan* five: beginning slightly damaged, starts from approximately line 32 of the Kōshōji ms; no title; colophon: "Compiled in K'ai-huang 12 [of the Great Sui] at the Chen-chi ssu in the capital [大隋] 開皇十二年在京師真寂寺撰; Scribe: Enjun Rokuryōbō; collated by Eishun 筆師圓順六即坊; [一校了]榮俊"³¹
- 2) Kōshōji 興聖寺 mss (folded book)
- a) *chüan* one: beginning damaged, text starts from approximately line 232 of the 1st *chüan* of the Nanatsu-dera ms (from line 239 of the Hōryū-ji ms); title at end: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. one (first book) 三階佛法卷第一上本"
- b) *chüan* two: beginning damaged, text begins from approximately line 34 of the Nanatsu-dera mss (line 30 of the Shōgozō and Hōryū-ji mss); title at end: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. two of five *chüan* (end of the first [book]) 三階佛法卷第二上末五卷内"
- c) *chüan* three: beginning damaged, starts from approximately line 92 of the Nanatsu-dera ms; title at end: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. three of five *chüan* (beginning of the last [book]) 三階佛法卷第三下上五卷内"
- d) *chüan* four: title at beginning: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. four 三階佛法卷第四;" title at end: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. four (middle of the last [book]) 三階佛法卷第四下中"³²
- e) *chüan* five: title at beginning: "*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. five

30. Begins from page 352 of Yabuki's edition.

31. Begins from page 388 of Yabuki's edition.

32. Begins from page 352 of Yabuki's edition.

(last of the last [book]) 三階佛法卷第五下下;” no title at end; colophon: “Compiled in K'ai-huang 12 of the Great Sui at the Chen-chi ssu in the capital 大隋開皇十二年在京師真寂寺撰”³³

3) Shōgozō 聖語藏 MSS

- a) *chüan* two: title at beginning: “*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. two 三階佛法卷第二;” title at end: “*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. two 三階佛法卷第二”
- b) *chüan* three: beginning damaged; includes *chüan* three and app. 30% of *chüan* four of the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji mss; title at end: “*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. three 三階佛法卷第三”
- c) *chüan* four: includes the latter part of *chüan* four and all of *chüan* 5 of the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji mss; title at beginning: “*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. four 三階佛法卷第四;” title at end: “*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no; four 三階佛法卷第四”

4) Hōryūji 法隆寺 MSS

- a) *chüan* one: title at beginning: “*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. one 三階佛法卷第一”
- b) *chüan* two: title at beginning: “*San chieh fo fa, chüan* no. two 三階佛法卷第二”

Although each of the mss is damaged in places or incomplete, Ōya Tokujō published a colotype edition of the Nara texts arranged in two *chüan* and Yabuki used all three Nara mss and testimonium from the *Shaku Jōdo Gungiron Tanyōki* 釋淨土群疑論探要記 in order to construct a four *chüan* version of the text³⁴.

There are many interesting aspects to these texts. First, with the exception of scribal differences in individual characters, the content of all four sets of mss matches in spite of two being comprised of four

33. Begins from page 388 of Yabuki's edition.

34. Ōya Tokujō, *Sangaibuppō*, *op. cit.*; *San chieh fo fa*, ed. Yabuki Keiki, included in *Sangaikyō no Kenkyū* (Tokyo, 1927), appendix, pp. 257–415; Because of damage to *chüan* 3 in the Kōshōji ms neither editor was able to completely reconstruct this part of the text; the Nanatsu-dera ms now allows us this reconstruction.

chüan and two of five *chüan*³⁵. However, these mss do not match the texts of the *San chieh fo fa* discovered at Tun-huang, nor do they match the outline of the *San chieh fo fa* as preserved in the *San chieh fo fa mi chi*. There are good reasons to believe, however, that while the Tun-huang mss are fragments of the four *chüan San chieh fo fa*, the Japanese texts are from a two *chüan* tradition.

First of all, the records of the Shōsō-in describe not a four *chüan* but a two *chüan San chieh fo fa* (二卷上下, also given as 二弓), variously listed as being made up of 105, 108, and 83 sheets (where both *chüan* are present)³⁶. As described above there is indeed a tradition of a *San chieh* work in two *chüan* in the Chinese sutra catalogues: the *Ta chou k'an ting chung ching mu lu* records a *San chieh chi lu* in two *chüan* (in addition to a four, three, and one *chüan San chieh chi lu*)³⁷, which the *K'ai yüan shih chiao lu* states is a mistake for the *Ken chi p'u yao fa* 根機普藥法 in two *chüan*³⁸. The *Ken chi p'u yao fa* is also recorded in the Ryūkoku ms of the *Chen yüan hsin ting shih chiao mu lu* with the additional information of 135 sheets³⁹, and in the *Jen chi lu tu mu* in 91 sheets⁴⁰.

Now, though the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji mss are actually made up of five *chüan*, as Ōya pointed out long ago regarding the Kōshōji ms, *chüan* one (of both mss) is marked as the “first book (卷第一上本)”, *chüan* two as the “end of the first [book] (卷第二上末)”, *chüan* three as the “beginning of the last [book] 卷第三下上”, *chüan* four as the “middle of the last [book] 卷第四下中”, and *chüan* five as the “end of the last [book] 卷第五下下”⁴¹. Thus it is possible that both the four and five

35. As described under C. 3 above, *chüan* 3 of the Shōgozō ms corresponds to *chüan* 3 and the first part of *chüan* 4 of the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji mss; *chüan* 4 of the Shōgozō ms corresponds to the latter part of *chüan* 4 and all of *chüan* 5 of the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji mss.

36. Ōya, “Shōgozō”, 71–72.

37. T no. 2153, 55.474c.

38. T no. 2154, 55.678b.

39. Yabuki, appendix, p. 227.

40. Yabuki, p. 223. The *Shōsō-in Bunsho* variously gives 83, 105, and 118 pages for the two *chüan* work.

41. Ōya Tokujō, “Shōgozō”, p. 75; mention of a *San chieh chi lu* in five *chüan* is found in Gyōnen's *Kegon gokyōshō tsūroki* 華嚴五教章通路記 (T no. 2339, 72.384a).

chüan versions of the Japanese mss represent a two *book* version of the *San chieh fo fa*, with *chüan* one and two corresponding to the first book and *chüan* three-five corresponding to the second book, as is the case with the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji texts. There is also internal evidence that indicates that the Japanese mss are part of a two-book textual lineage: as with the Tun-huang mss, the Japanese mss make regular reference to other parts of the same text, and in a fashion similar to the English use of *supra* and *infra*, always indicate where in the text these references are to be found. One area of the text oft-referred to in this fashion is that containing 16 sub-sections (十六子段) describing the commonality of the sentient beings of the third level; these sixteen sub-sections are found in *chüan* three and four of the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji mss and in *chüan* three of the Shōgozō ms, which is thus in the second "book" as divided by the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji mss. And so in fact we do find that whenever any of the manuscripts makes reference to these sub-sections from within *chüan* 1 or two it always refers to them as in "the other *chüan* 餘卷" whereas references from within *chüan* three-five refer simply to "as above 如上" or "as below 如下", eliminating the reference to "the other" *chüan*. For example:

Chüan one:

如餘卷第一大段第十五子段內五部經等說⁴²

Chüan two:

如餘卷第一大段第九子段內十三部經等說⁴³
 如餘卷第一大段第九乃至第十四六子段末說⁴⁴
 如餘卷第一大段第九子段內十三部經等說⁴⁵

Chüan three:

如下第十六子段內大方廣十輪經具足廣說⁴⁶

42. Yabuki, p. 272.
 43. Yabuki, p. 314.
 44. Yabuki, p. 315.
 45. Yabuki, p. 317.
 46. Yabuki, p. 333.

等如下第十五子段內五部經等說⁴⁷
 如下十六子段內所說經等說⁴⁸

The sixteen sub-sections start at end of Yabuki, p. 335 and run to p. 372; in a reference made from within the sixteen subsections we find, as expected:

如下第十五子段內五部經等說... 如上第一子段內說⁴⁹

Chüan four (Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji ms) *chüan* three (Shōgozō MS):

又明於上一切十六子段等內⁵⁰
 如上第十五第十六兩子段內五部經等說⁵¹

Chüan five (Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji ms) *chüan* four (Shōgozō MS):

如上第一大段第十五子段內五部經等說⁵²
 如餘卷第一大段第十五子段內五部經等說⁵³
 如餘卷第一大段內八部經此卷上第一大段第九子段內十三部經等說⁵⁴

Hence the Nanatsu-dera text strengthens my original impression that the Japanese mss represent a two *chüan* tradition of the *San chieh*

47. Yabuki, p. 334.

48. Yabuki, p. 335.

49. Yabuki, p. 343.

50. Yabuki, p. 372.

51. Yabuki, p. 373.

52. Yabuki, p. 406.

53. Yabuki, p. 407; this obviously presents a problem, as it refers to the fifteenth sub-section of the first major section of "the other *chüan*" and both the Nanatsu-dera and the Kōshōji mss have this reading; as there are no other examples of a fifteenth sub-section in the "other" *chüan*, at the moment I take this to be a simple mistake for "as in the above fifteenth sub-section of the first major section 如上第一大段第十五子段".

54. Yabuki, p. 414; this refers to eight texts cited in the first major section (第一大段) of the first "book" (卷上) in *chüan* 1 (Yabuki, p. 262 ff); in the complicated structure of the Japanese *San chieh fo fa* there is a "first major section" in the first book (pp. 261-265) as well as in the second book (卷下, pp. 330ff).

fo fa rather than the four *chüan* text as edited by Yabuki⁵⁵. If the Nanatsu-dera and Kōshōji colophons are accepted and this text was indeed compiled in K'ai-huang 12 (592), then at that time it would have been part of what the *Li tai san pao chi* called "Miscellaneous Records", that is, the *Tui ken chi hsing tsa lu* 對根起行雜錄, a large number of works grouped together in thirty-two *chüan*⁵⁶. These "Miscellaneous Records" were only later enumerated separately, and so perhaps the Japanese manuscripts titled *San chieh fo fa* correspond to what Chih-sheng called the "*San chieh* in two *chüan*", that is to say, the *Ken chi p'u yao fa* 根機不棄法, also recorded in the *Ta chou lu* (see above, A. 6. 3-4, A. 7. 3 and note, A. 8. 3, and A. 9. 3); the number of sheets recorded for the *Ken chi p'u yao fa* in the *Chen yüan lu* and the *Jen chi lu tu mu* (135 and 91, respectively) also fit well with the length of the Japanese manuscripts.

Still, there are other parts of the text that give the impression that its form was perhaps even more variable, as we read towards the end of the manuscript:

Again, the *Jen chi lu* 人集錄 is also called the *Yen i ch'ieh ti san chieh fo fa te t'ung so yu fa* 驗一切第三階佛法得通所由法 in one *chüan*. The first item clarifies that this is because the two *chüan* are put together and made into one *chüan* . . .⁵⁷

Further, within the scriptural citations in this one *chüan* *Jen chi lu*, with the exception of fifty words of the commentator (又明此一卷人集錄經文內唯除減五十字是人語已外), all of the rest are scriptural citations . . .⁵⁸

It is hard to know what to make of this—on the one hand, as with the "*San chieh* in two *chüan*" there is also a record of a "one *chüan* *San*

55. Hubbard, *Salvation in the Final Period of the Dharma*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation (University of Madison-Wisconsin, 1986), p. 201; see also Yabuki, p. 162; Ōya ("Shōgozō", 75-76 and his edition in two *chüan*); Nishimoto (*Sangaikyō*, 186).

56. T no. 2034, 49.105b; the fact that the colophon puts the compilation at the Chen-chi ssu lends an aura of authenticity to its 592 date of compilation, as the name of the temple was changed to Hua-tu ssu in 620.

57. Yabuki, p. 414; the 人集錄 is a general name for Hsin-hsing's works, appearing in several catalogs as well as here.

58. Yabuki, p. 415.

chieh" (also called the *San shih lueh chung tui mieh pu chih his fa* 三十六種對面不識錯法; see above, 6.5, 7.4, 8.4, and 9.4) in 19 or 20 sheets; on the other hand, it apparently was not unusual that several different texts would be put together in the same "wrapper" (帙), as, for example, the *Chen yüan lu* reports the *San shih lueh chung tui mieh pu chih his fa* in one *chüan* and the *Ken chi p'u yao fa* in two *chüan* (together with four other "collected records 集錄")⁵⁹. Thus, it is also possible that the Japanese mss of the *San chieh fo fa* are variants of a textual tradition of "miscellaneous records" of which the titles were "not clearly defined" from the beginning, as the *Li tai san pao chi* puts it: "These records quote the accurate words of the sutras and *sāstras*, but the different titles are not clearly defined 此錄並引經論正文而其外題無定准的"⁶⁰. This lack of structural delineation is no doubt related to the fact that Hsin-hsing's teachings were originally not written but oral teachings. According to Tao-hsüan's biography of Hsin-hsing's disciple Pen-chi, before Hsin-hsing came to the capital, when he was "east of the mountains" (present day Honan and Hopei provinces, near the area of Hsin-hsing's early life) he had orally transmitted a *Chi lu* for Pen-chi though there was no written text⁶¹. The *Hsü kao seng chuan* 續高僧傳 biography of Hsin-hsing also records that his early teachings were all written down by his close disciple P'ei Hsüan-cheng 裴玄證⁶². Thus the record of the *Li tai san pao chi* simply records the "Miscellaneous collection of the *Tui ken chi hsing*" in thirty-two *chüan* and the *San chieh wei pieh chi lu* in three *chüan*, all of which together likely constitutes the thirty-five works in forty-four *chüan* enumerated individually in the later catalogs. This lack of textual definition was likely exacerbated as the movement experienced frequent persecutions and was unable to establish a strong commentarial continuity⁶³.

59. Yabuki, p. 227; that this is actually the case is seen in the extant fragment of the *Hsin-hsing i wen* which also contains a portion of the *Wu chin tsang lueh chi* (Stein #2137, *Tun-huang pao tsang* 16.188b).

60. T no. 2034, 49.105c.

61. T no. 2060, 50.578a.

62. T. no. 2060, 50.560a.

63. Cf. Kimura Kiyotaka, "Shingyō no Jikikan to sono igi" (*Nippon Bukkyō Gakkai Nenpo*), No. 49, pp. 173-174, who argues that the Tun-huang MSS correspond to the original compositions of Hsin-hsing.

d) Content of the Nanatsu-dera *San chieh fo fa*

The structure and content of the Nanatsu-dera *San chieh fo fa* reinforces the impression that this text was transcribed from a lecture or otherwise composed in a somewhat haphazard fashion. Structurally, for example, we have the unusual arrangement of *chüan* as described above. Further, although the text is made up of an introduction and four major sections (大段), between the second major section (pp. 265–330) and the third major sections (pp. 399–402) the text circles back to give scriptural references for the first and second major sections; similarly, in the middle of the fourth major section the text circles back to give scriptural references for the second major section⁶⁴. There is also no balance to the length of each section, with the first, third and fourth major sections proper comprising approximately 10% of the total text while the second major section alone takes up approximately 45% of the total text.

In terms of content, the Nanatsu-dera *San chieh fo fa* has much in common with other San-chieh works—extensive scriptural citations buttressing its descriptions of the sentient beings clinging to views of emptiness and existence (一切利根空見有見衆生), references to the “sangha of mute sheep 瘖羊僧”, the four universal Buddhas (如來藏佛, 佛性佛, 當來佛, and 佛想佛), and the like. Again, however, the handling of these ideas does not seem to be as organized as in other texts. The four Buddhas, for example, are treated as a group within the fragments of the Tun-huang *San chieh fo fa* (e. g., pp. 22, 23, 25, *passim*), whereas in the Japanese texts they are broken up and treated less systematically (e. g., pp. 294, p. 305, *passim*). There is no mention of the Inexhaustible Storehouse 無盡藏 nor of “recognizing evil 認惡” (though the companion concept of “universal respect 普敬” is found, e. g., p. 286, 288). One area of the text that deserves further study is the long description of retribution for various categories of practitioners, including the sovereign (pp. 273 ff). No doubt a sustained study of the content of the *San chieh fo fa* would yield many interesting insights

64. For an outline based on the Nara mss see Nishimoto, *Sangaikyō*, 184–185; I have also placed a copy of the text based on Yabuki's edition together with the outline at <http://www.smith.edu/~jhubbard/ThreeLevels/etexts>.

into their doctrines.

Finally, there is the question of how a text banned and subsequently lost in China continued to be copied as late as the twelfth century in Japan. Although the details of this investigation must await another time, the simple conclusion is likely that the Nanatsu-dera canon, as with other Japanese collections of the time, follows the *Chen-yüan lu*, a catalog in which the San-chieh texts were restored to canonical status⁶⁵. Indeed, the thirty-five titles of San-chieh texts as listed in the *Chen-yüan lu* are recorded on the inside cover of one of the chests in which the Nanatsu-dera texts were stored⁶⁶. Hence the existence of the *San chieh fo fa* in the Nanatsu-dera underscores the importance of the Chinese catalogs in the study of Buddhist notions of heretical and canonical, and it is to be hoped that in the future more research will be undertaken in this area.

65. Hubbard, *Salvation in the Final Period*, 180–187; Yabuki, *Sangaikyō*, 227–230; on the *Chen-yüan lu* and the Nanatsu-dera canon, see the *Catalogue*, pp. 210–212; Ochiai, “Nanatsu-dera issaikyō to koitsukyōten”, pp. 437 ff and Ochiai, *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera*, pp. 47–48.

66. *Catalogue*, p. 162. Although the team that compiled the *Catalogue* thought that this must mean that at one time the texts themselves were contained in the Nanatsu-dera canon (p. 211), I find this highly doubtful as two other records of the 13th century note that the majority of the San-chieh texts had already been lost: the *Kōzanji engi* 高山寺縁起 records that the *San chieh fo fa* and forty-four *chüan* of other texts of Hsin-hsing are missing though a portion (一部) was re-copied on the occasion of Myoei's 13th memorial (1244; *Dai Nippon Bukkyō Zensho*, no. 629, vol. 11, p. 279); the *Shaku Jōdo Gungiron Tanyōki* 釋浄土群疑論探要記 of Dōchū (d. 1281) notes that other than the *San chieh chi lu* in four *chüan* and the *Fa chia'i chung sheng ken chi ch'ien shen fa* 法界衆生根機淺深法 in one *chüan* the other 39 *chüan* of San chieh texts have not been seen (*Shaku Jōdo Gungiron Tanyōki*, cited in Yabuki, *Sangaikyō*, part 1, p. 152).