The Chinese Texts and Sanskrit Text of the 
Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Seen by Wŏnch’ŭk

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INTRODUCTION

The Buddhist sūtra that is most widely known and most commonly recited in East Asia is probably the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya, or Heart Sūtra (Po-jo hsin-ching 般若心経). However, the text of the Heart Sūtra differs depending on the country and the sect. The following diagram shows by means of a cluster analysis the results of a comparison of various Chinese texts of the Heart Sūtra by means of the NGSM system using n-grams.1) The lower the horizontal line, the greater the similarity between the texts connected by that line, and in this diagram the texts connected by the lowest lines are identical.

![Dendrogram of Cluster Analysis](image)

Starting from the left, the Sung, Yüan, and Ming editions, which form a single cluster, are identical, and it is therefore evident that the Yüan and Ming editions

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adopted the Sung edition as it was. The next cluster includes the *Fo-shuo po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching tsan* 佛說般若波羅蜜多心經贊 by Wŏnch’ŭk 圓測 (613–696) and the *Po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching yu-tsan* 般若波羅蜜多心經幽贊 by Chi 基, or the Great Master of Tz’u-en Monastery (Tz’u-en Ta-shih 慈恩大師; 632–682). Chi was a disciple of Hsüan-tsang 玄奘 (602–664), while Wŏnch’ŭk was criticized by Chi’s disciples for being heterodox, but it has become clear that he was in fact extremely faithful to the new Yogācāra teachings transmitted by Hsüan-tsang.3 The Japanese temple Hōryūji 法隆寺 is well known for having preserved a tradition of the study of Fa-hsiang (Hossō 法相) doctrine, and therefore this cluster forms a group of the Fa-hsiang school. Hōryūji follows the text of the *Heart Sūtra* used in the commentary by Chi, the founder of the Fa-hsiang school. Next, the text given in the Taishō edition is unlike any other text and is an isolate, which means that it is a quite unusual text. The popular edition to the right of the Taishō edition is one widely circulating in Japan and differs considerably from texts used in China. It is close to the text used in the *Po-jo hsin-ching lüeh-shu* 般若心經略疏 by Fa-tsang 法藏 (645–712) of the Hua-yen (Kegon) 華嚴 school, and it is therefore possible that a version used at Tödaiji 東大寺 and other temples of the Kegon school in Japan spread throughout the country. The next text, a commentary by Wen-chao 文藻, has survived only in a Tun-huang 敦煌 manuscript. Nothing is known about Wen-chao, but the fact that the text used by him is similar to that used by Fa-tsang would suggest that he may have had ties with the Hua-yen school. In point of fact, Fa-tsang had a disciple named Wen-ch’ao 文超, and so the name “Wen-chao” given in the Tun-huang manuscript may be a scribal error for Wen-ch’ao,3 although there are some who reject this possibility.4

The texts taken up below are the text used by Wŏnch’ŭk in his commentary and two other texts that he says he saw, namely, another version of the Chinese translation and a Sanskrit text. An examination of these texts should also be helpful for demonstrating that Jan Nattier’s thesis that the Sanskrit text of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* is a back-translation based on Hsüan-tsang’s Chinese translation is

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2) Kitsukawa Tomoaki 橋川智昭, “*Enjiki ni okeru jissesu ichijō kesetsu sanjō to jissesu sanjō kesetsu ichijō* 図測における説説一乗説説三乗説説一乘 [Wŏnch’ŭk’s understanding of the teaching of one vehicle and three vehicles], *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* 印度學佛教學研究 49-2 (2001).

3) Ishii, “*Bukkyōgaku ni okeru N-Gram no katsuyō.*”

4) Ch’eng Cheng 程正, “*Bunshō chū Hanmya haramitta shingyō ni tsuite—toku ni shinshutsu no Roschia-bon nishu ni yoru saikentō* 文沼仏 『般若波羅蜜多心経』について——特に新出のロシア本二種による再検討 [Wen-chao’s commentary on the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya*: A reexamination of two texts newly discovered in Russia], *Komazawa Daigaku Daigakuin Bukkyōgaku Kenkyūkai Nenpō* 駒澤大學大學院佛教學研究會年報 38 (2005).
I. THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF THE WORD TENG

Various texts of the Heart Sūtra are used in the countries of East Asia, but almost all of the differences involve variant characters or the use of different characters for transliterating the Sanskrit mantra, e.g., 呪 for 咒 (“spell”), 締帝 for 警諦 (gate), and 娑婆揭 for 娑婆訶 (svāhā). In these cases, the pronunciation of the Chinese characters is the same, and there is no difference in meaning. One exception is that whereas texts used in other countries have 遠離顛倒夢想 (“free from inverted views and illusory thoughts”), Japanese texts have 遠離一切顛倒夢想 (“free from all inverted views and illusory thoughts”), with the addition of the word i-ch‘ieh 一切 (“all”). One more exception is the addition of the word teng 等 (“and so on”) twice in texts used by the Fa-hsiang school in China and the Hossō school in Japan. For example, Hōryūji uses the following text. ⑥


6) Taken from the Shōtōkushū kaju 聖德宗課誦, a selection of texts for recitation prepared for participants at summer courses held at Hōryūji. I was sent a copy of this publication by Furuya Shōkaku 古谷正覚, chief administrative officer of Hōryūji (currently, abbot).
It can be seen that where other texts have "clearly saw that the five aggregates are all empty" and "sensation, representation, volition, and consciousness are also like this," the Hōryūji text adds "and has" 照見五蘊等皆空 ("clearly saw that the five aggregates and so on are all empty") and "sensation, representation, volition, consciousness, and so on are also like this").

Let us compare the Hōryūji text with the Sanskrit text as edited by Nakamura Hajime and Kino Kazuyoshi with reference to extant Sanskrit texts of Prajñāpāramitā sūtras and also with due regard to Hsüan-tsang’s transliterated text (T'ang-fan fan-tui tsu-yin po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching 唐梵翻對字音般若波羅蜜多心經) and a palm-leaf manuscript held by Hōryūji.8)

The bodhisattva Noble Avalokiteśvara, practicing [his] practice in the profound perfection of wisdom, observed that there are [only] five aggregates. And he saw that they are empty of their own [fixed] nature.... Whatever is form, that is something that is empty,10 and whatever is empty, that is form. So too for sensation, representation, volition, and consciousness.

When the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara was practicing the profound perfection of

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7) While the corresponding passage in the extant Sanskrit text can be translated into Chinese as "Hannyo shingyō o meguru shomondai." 8) This famous palm-leaf manuscript was not produced in India, but was transcribed in Devanāgarī script from a Chinese transliteration and contains many errors; see Yaita Hideomi 矢板秀臣, "Hōryūji baiyō Hannyo shingyō shahon ni tsuite no ichi hōkoku" 法隆寺貝葉『般若心経』写本についての一報告 [A report on Hōryūji’s palm-leaf manuscript of the Heart Sūtra], Chisan Gakuhō 智山學報 50 (2001).


10) Following Hitori Rishō 阿理生, "Hannyo kyōrui no sūnya to sūnyatā—Hannyo shingyō no kaiimei" 般若経類の「空・涅槃」— 『般若心経』の解明 [Sūnya and sūnyatā in the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras: An investigation into the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya], Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū 57–2 (2009), I interpret sūnyatā not as an abstract noun such as might be translated "emptiness," but as a concrete noun signifying something that is in a state of emptiness.
wisdom, he clearly saw that the five aggregates and so on are all empty and saved [people from] all suffering and adversity.... Sensation, representation, volition, consciousness, and so on are also like this.

It is well known that while the phrase 度一切苦厄 ("saved [people from] all suffering and adversity") in the Hōryūji text is found in all of the Chinese texts, there is no corresponding phrase in the Sanskrit text. However, as will be discussed below, it seems strange that Wŏnch'ŏk, who saw a Sanskrit text and points out differences with the Chinese translation, merely glosses this phrase and does not mention that it is absent in the Sanskrit text.

The above two instances of teng 等 in the Hōryūji text are based on the Po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching yu-tsan, the commentary by Chi, the founder of the Fa-hsiang school.

(1) 経曰，照見五蘊皆是空。

赞曰，此頃由行甚深般若得正慧眼。遍空名照。謂色受等諸有為法、皆有三世・內外・麁細・劣勝・近遠、積聚名蘊。此「五」、謂色・受・想・行・識。「等」言、等取處等諸法。(T33, 525b)

The sūtra says, "He clearly saw that the five aggregates and so on are all empty."

In explication we say: This shows the obtaining of the eye of correct wisdom by practicing profound prajñā (wisdom). Mastering emptiness is called "clarity." That is to say, conditioned dharmas such as form, sensation, and so on all have [distinctions of] the three ages [of present, past, and future], inside and outside [the body], gross and subtle, inferior and superior, and near and far, and their accumulation is called an "aggregate." These "five" are, namely, form, sensation, representation, volition, and consciousness. The word "and so on" includes dharmas such as the [twelve] sense-fields [and eighteen elements].

(2) 経曰，受想行識等亦復如是。

赞曰，恐彼留執唯色不異空，唯色體即空、餘法不爾故。以受等亦例同色、能領納境起苦樂捨名受。⋯⋯「等」者，等取下處界等五種善巧。然大經言「色空乃至菩提亦空。設有一法過涅槃者、我亦說為如幻如化」故、此「等」言通攝一切。(T33, 537c-538a)

The sūtra says, "Sensation, representation, volition, consciousness, and so on are also like this."

In explication we say: Fearing that he will have doubts and assume that only form is not different from emptiness and only the essence of form is itself
empty and that the other dharmas are not so, it therefore also gives as examples sensation and so on and [says that] they are the same as form. Taking in objects and arousing [feelings of] suffering, pleasure, and indifference is called “sensation.” … “And so on” includes the five kinds of skillful [categories of] sense-fields, elements, and so on [mentioned] below. But because it says in the Great [Prajñāpāramitā] Sūtra,11) “Form is empty, through to bodhi is also empty. Even if there were a single dharma superior to nirvāṇa, I would again say that it is like a phantom and like a magical transformation,” this word “and so on” encompasses everything.

Chi thus interprets the text as if it were quite natural for it to include the word “and so on.” Chi’s second-generation disciple Chih-chou 智周 (668–723), regarded as the third patriarch of the Fa-hsiang school, similarly writes in his Ta-sheng ju-tao tz’u-ti 大乘入道次第:

故般若說「照見五蘊等皆空」故。(T45, 459b)

Therefore, the Prajñā[pāramitāhṛdaya] states: “He clearly saw that the five aggregates and so on are all empty.”

Chih-chou was using the same text as Chi.

But even though Wŏnch’ŭk was a scholar-monk who, like Chi, had been influenced by Hstán-tsang and espoused the new Yogācāra teachings, the explanation in his Fo-shuo po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching tsan differs from the above comments. After having given his interpretation of the standard text reading 照見五蘊皆空 (“He clearly saw that the five aggregates are all empty”), he writes:

(1) 或有本曰、「照見五蘊皆空」。雖有兩本，後本為正。撿勘梵本，有「等」言故。

後12) 所說「等」，準此應知。「度一切苦厄」者，此即第二顕利他用。此有三種。一曰、苦即是厄，故名「苦厄」。……(T33, 544c)

Again, there is a text that says, “He clearly saw that the five aggregates and so

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11) A reference to Ta po-jo ching 大般若經 531 (T7, 528c).
12) Kitsukawa Tomoaki (“Enjiki, Bussetsu hannya haramitta shingyō san” 図測 佛説般若波羅蜜多心經纂 [Wŏnch’ŭk, Fo-shuo po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching tsan], in Watanabe Shōgo 渡邊常悟 and Takahashi Hisao 高橋秀夫, eds., Hannya shingyō chūshaku shūsei: Chūgoku, Nihon hen 般若心經註釋集成 中國・日本編 [Collected commentaries on the Heart Sūtra: China and Japan; Urayasu: Kishin Shobō 超心書房, 2018], p. 186) translates this passage as follows: “On examining the Sanskrit text, there is the word “and so on,” and therefore [the correctness of] the latter’s “and so on” can be understood in accordance [with that text].” But here 後 refers not to the latter text but to a later passage in the sūtra.
transliteration of a Sanskrit text of the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya circulating at the time, the transliteration of skandhās reads 塞建二合搗引娑, with the final vowel lengthened, indicating the plural. Similarly, the section corresponding to 識等 (“consciousness and so on”) in 受想行識等 (“sensation, representation, volition, consciousness, and so on”) has 尾挾懸合裹襟, which represents, albeit inadequately, the plural form of vijñāna, i.e., vijñānāni (Fukui: 129-12b).

However, in the Mantravivṛtaprajñāhṛdayavṛtti, a Tibetan commentary on the longer version of the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya by Śrīṣimha and Vairocana, the interpretation of “five aggregates” reads as follows:

phung po lnga po de dag kyang rang bzhin gvis stong par rnam par rjes su bta’o zhes pa ni thun mong gi phung po lnga la sogs pa de rnam ni ye nas stong pa yin pas | (Derge no. 4353, 207b5–6)\(^{14}\)

The statement “He observed that the five aggregates are also empty by their own nature” is the ordinary five aggregates and so on, and because they are completely empty,...\(^{15}\)

Here, the word “and so on” (la sogs pa) has been added to “five aggregates,” but because this appears in the commentary, not in the text of the sūtra, there is no need to regard it as a variant text of the sūtra.

Another commentary apart from those by Chi, Chih-chou, and Wönch’ük that used a text reading “five aggregates and so on” is the Po-jo hsin-ching shū般若心經疏, written by Ching-mai 靖邁 (d.u.) of the monastery Ta-tzu'en-ssu 大慈恩寺 when he was sixty years old. Ching-mai had a broad learning based on Prajñāpāramitā thought and was involved in Hsüan-tsang’s translations of the Yogaśārābhūmi, Mahāvibhāṣa, Ch’eng wei-shih lun 成唯識論, Māhāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, etc. Hayashi Kana surmises that because his commentary does not quote from works such as the Ch’eng wei-shih lun and Māhāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra, it must have been written before these works were translated and is the oldest extant commentary on the Heart Sūtra, dating from between 649 and 659.\(^{16}\) Ching-mai’s commentary

\(^{14}\) I am indebted to Kanô Kazuo 加納和雄 for providing me with the Tibetan text.


\(^{16}\) Hayashi Kana 林善奈, “Seimai, Hannya shingyō sho no seiritsu ni tsuite” 靖邁『般若心経疏』の成立について [On the origins of Ching-mai’s Po-jo hsin-ching shū], Tōyōgaku Kenkyū 東洋学研究 51 (2014).
transliteration of a Sanskrit text of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* circulating at the time, the transliteration of *skandhās* reads 塞建二合擔引娑, with the final vowel lengthened, indicating the plural. Similarly, the section corresponding to 識等 (“consciousness and so on”) in 受想行識等 (“sensation, representation, volition, consciousness, and so on”) has 尾摩嫌二合複願, which represents, albeit inadequately, the plural form of vijñāna, i.e., vijñānāni (Fukui: 129-12b).

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Hayashi Kana surmises that because his commentary does not quote from works such as the *Ch’eng wei-shih lun* and *Māhāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, it must have been written before these works were translated and is the oldest extant commentary on the *Heart Sūtra*, dating from between 649 and 659.\(^{16}\) Ching-mai’s commentary

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includes the following passage:

照見五蘊等皆空〈此疏及基師幽贊、均等有字。他本無〉。……言「照見五蘊等皆空」者、色受想行識名為五蘊、等取十二處・十八界・十二緣起・四諦。此之五種皆空故、言「等皆空」也。……「受想行識等亦復如是」者、如色與空不二。餘四蘊等、理亦同然。(Z41, 599a, 600c)

“He clearly saw that the five aggregates and so on are all empty.” <This commentary and Master Chi’s Yu-tsan both have the character teng. Other texts do not have it.> … As for “He clearly saw that the five aggregates and so on are all empty,” form, sensation, representation, volition, and consciousness are called the five aggregates, and they include the twelve sense-fields, eighteen elements, twelve [limbs of] dependent arising, and four truths. Because these five are all empty, it says, “and so on are all empty.” … As for “Sensation, representation, volition, consciousness, and so on are also like this,” just as form and emptiness are not a duality, the other four aggregates and so on are in principle the same.

Like Chi, Ching-mai interprets the passages in question as if it were perfectly natural for them to include the word “and so on.” The passage enclosed in angle brackets (which appears as half-sized, two-column text in the original) is an interpolation that was probably added in Japan. Ching-mai was, like Chi and Wŏnch’ŭk, quite close to Hsian-tsang, and since his interpretation of the Heart Sutra is based on the new Yogācāra teachings, he may be considered to have belonged to the Fa-hsiang school in a broad sense.

Meanwhile, there is another commentary that uses a text that includes two instances of “and so on” and makes some use of Yogācāra terminology in its interpretations. This is the Po-jo hsin-ching huan-yüan shu 般若心經還源述 (S.3019; T85, 167bc, 168b), a Tun-huang manuscript of unknown authorship. However, this commentary contains no substantial discussion of Yogācāra theories and is more strongly colored by Madhyamaka views, and therefore it cannot be considered to be a commentary associated with the Fa-hsiang school. In Japan, the Hannyō shingyō jutsugi 殊若心經道義 by Chikō 智光 (709?-780?), a monk of the Sanron 三論 school during the Nara period who came into fierce conflict with the Hossō school, also used a text reading 照見五蘊等皆空 (“He clearly saw that the five aggregates and so on are all empty”; T57, 6a) and 受想行識等 (“sensation, representation, volition, consciousness, and so on”; ibid., 7b). But in Japan texts with these two instances of “and so on” did not circulate widely and seem to have gradually disappeared.
II. QUESTIONS RELATED TO “FREE FROM ALL INVERTED VIEWS AND ILLUSORY THOUGHTS”

Texts circulating in Japan, including the Hōryūji text, have 遠離一切顛倒夢想 (“free from all inverted views and illusory thoughts”), and it is well known that the inclusion of 一切 (“all”) here is a distinctive feature of only Japanese texts. The exception is Wŏnch’ūk, who, as in the case of “and so on,” mentions the existence of texts that include “all” and texts that do not.

First, Ching-mai’s commentary, thought to be the earliest commentary, has 遠離顛倒夢想 (“free from inverted views and illusory thoughts”; T33, 602c). The same can be said of the sūtra text as quoted in almost all other Chinese commentaries. An exception is Chi’s commentary, where we read:

経曰、菩提薩埵……遠離一切顛倒夢想、究竟涅槃。
贊曰、……於這修位、解行廣斷諸顛倒、遠離一切生死夢想、當無學道究竟涅槃。
……一切煩惱習氣隨眠、及所知障、在苦顛重、皆悉永斷、入如來住、名為「遠離顛倒夢想」。(T33, 541ab)

The sūtra says, “The bodhisattva … free from all inverted views and illusory thoughts, he ultimately attains nirvāṇa.”

In explication we say: … In the stage of cultivating the path, understanding and practice broadly increase, he severs inverted views, is free from all illusory thoughts about life-and-death, and reaching the path where there is nothing more to learn, he ultimately attains nirvāṇa… All mental afflictions, habituations, and latent predispositions, as well as cognitive obstructions and innate debilitations, are all severed in perpetuity, and he enters the abode of a tathāgata —[this] is called [being] “free from inverted views and illusory thoughts.”

The word “all” is thus included in the passage quoted from the text of the sūtra, but the commentary has only “free from inverted views and illusory thoughts,” without the word “all.” Iijima Tachio points to the possibility that the word “all” may have been added in Japan. 17 There are in fact no early Chinese texts with the word “all,” and texts that include the word “all” are all texts that are highly likely to have been compiled in Japan.

The Po-jo hsین-ching shu 般若心經疏 attributed to Ming-k’uang 明曁 of the T’ien-t’ai 天台 school has 遠離一切顛倒夢想 (“free from all inverted views and illusory thoughts”) in the text quoted from the sūtra, but Ôkubo Ryōshun suspects that the

word “all” may have been mistakenly added in Japan.\(^8\) In the Po-jo hsin-ching shu, the commentary on this section states only that “it clarifies the benefits to be obtained” (T33, 735a: 明得益也). But in the Chu Po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching 誡般若波羅蜜多心經 (Z26) attributed to “Devā of Middle India” we read:

「無有恐怖遠離一切顛倒夢想」…菩薩常諦、邪心不起、恐怖無從。正定心神、顛倒情息。故言「無有恐怖、遠離顛倒夢想」(Z26, 722b)

“He has no fear and is free from all inverted views and illusory thoughts.” …

The bodhisattva is always observant, wicked thoughts do not arise, and fear does not follow him. He properly settles his mind and spirit, and feelings due to inverted views cease. Therefore, it says, “He has no fear and is free from inverted views and illusory thoughts.”

Among other T'ang-period texts, the Hsin-ching sung 心經頌 at the start of the Shao-shih liu-men 少室六門, a collection of works attributed to Bodhidharma, also has 遠離一切顛倒夢想 (“free from all inverted views and illusory thoughts”). However, the extant text of the Shao-shih liu-men, held by the College of Religion (Shūkyō Daigaku 宗教大學), dates from Japan’s Tokugawa period and is a text transmitted in Japan. Again, the Po-jo hsin-ching san-chu 般若心經三注, which combines three commentaries on the Heart Sūtra by Hui-chung 惠忠 (675–775) of the T'ang, Tao-k’ai 道楷 of the Sung, and his disciple Huai-shen 懷深, has 遠離一切顛倒夢想 (“free from all inverted views and illusory thoughts”) in Hui-chung’s commentary, but an early version of Hui-chung’s commentary among texts from Kara-khoto held in Russia does not include the word “all.”\(^9\)

Of considerable interest in this regard is that the Fo-shuo sheng fo-mu po-jo po-lo-mi-to ching 佛說般若波羅蜜多經, translated by Dānapāla (Shih-hu 施護) during the Sung, includes the similar phrase “free from all inverted views and deluded thoughts” (T8, 852c: 遠離一切顛倒妄想), and several examples of this wording are found in works of the Sung and Ming periods. I hope to examine this issue in greater detail in the future.

Of importance here is the fact that, as in the case of “and so on,” Wŏnch’ŭk also discusses the presence or absence of the word “all.”

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\(^8\) Ōkubo Ryōshun 大久保良俊, trans., “(Den) Myōkō, Hannya shingyō sho” (侍)明喩 般若心經統 [Po-jo hsin-ching shu, attributed to Ming-k’uang], in Watanabe and Takahashi, eds., Hannya shingyō chūshaku shūsei: Chūgoku, Nihon hen, p. 295.

\(^9\) Ch’eng Cheng, “Echū, Hannya shingyō chū” 惠忠 般若心經注 [Hui-chung, Po-jo hsin-ching chu], in Watanabe and Takahashi, eds., Hannya shingyō chūshaku shūsei: Chūgoku, Nihon hen, p. 357.
As for "free from inverted views and illusory thoughts, he ultimately attains nirvāṇa," this is the second [section] and expresses the result to be obtained. There is also a text that says, "free from all inverted views and illusory thoughts." Although there are two texts, the latter text is superior.

Here, Wŏnch’ŭk makes no mention of the Sanskrit text, but he had seen two different Chinese texts. This probably means that his commentary was written later than Ching-mai’s and Chi’s commentaries, after there had emerged a text that differed from that which they had used. There is no denying that such comments may have been interpolated in Japan, but a text search for the expression 雖有兩本 ("Although there are two texts") used in the section discussing the presence or absence of "and so on" comes up with only the single example in Wŏnch’ŭk’s commentary. The similar expression 雖有二本 is found, in addition to the above passage in Wŏnch’ŭk’s commentary, only in the Sam Mīrūkyōng so 三彌勒經疏 by Kyŏnghŭng 慶興 (–681–) of Silla, which has “Although there are two texts, the latter is correct” (T38, 315c: 雖有二本、後為正), and in the anonymous Fo-shuo kuan Mi-le p’u-sa shang-sheng tou-shuo-t’ien ching shu-tsan 佛說觀彌勒菩薩上生兜率天經述贊, which has “Although there are two texts, the former follows [×××]” (Z21, 818b: 雖有二本、前隨 [×××]). When one considers that the usage in this latter text tallies with that of Wŏnch’ŭk and Kyŏnghŭng and that the Maitreya (Mi-le / Mirūk 彌勒) cult was popular in Silla, there is a strong possibility that the latter text was composed in Silla. Therefore, the passages in Wŏnch’ŭk’s commentary discussing the presence or absence of the words “and so on” and “all” may be considered to have been written by Wŏnch’ŭk himself.

If that is the case, there then arises the question of when and in what circumstances a text differing from that used by Ching-mai and Chi emerged.

III. EMBELLISHMENT OF THE HEART SŪTRA

In the first month of 656 (Hsien-ch’ing 順慶 1), the emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 of the T’ang approved a request by Hsūan-tsang and gave orders for literary embellishments to be made to Hsūan-tsang’s translations. According to the Ta-tz ‘u-en-ssu san-tsang fa-shih chuan 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳,

勃曰、「大慈恩寺僧玄奘所翻經論，既新翻譯，文義須精。……時為通開，有不聞便處，即隨事潤色。」 (T50, 266b)
The imperial decree said: “The scriptures and treatises translated by the monk Hsüan-tsang of Great Tz‘u-en Monastery are new translations, and they should be precise in both style and meaning…. When I have read them from time to time, there have been some unsuitable passages. Embellish each problematic passage.”

The scriptures and treatises translated by Hsüan-tsang not long after his return to China contained numerous stylistic infelicities, but because the translations had been carried out on the orders of the emperor T’ai-tsung 太宗, the emperor’s approval was needed to make any changes. Akagi Takayuki claims that the phrase 度一切苦厄 (“saved [people from] all suffering and adversity”) was added to the Heart Sūtra as a result of stylistic improvements made on this occasion.\(^{20}\) There is no evidence to support this conjecture, but there is a strong possibility that around this time the rather literal wording of 照見五蘊皆空 (“He clearly saw that the five aggregates and so on are all empty”) was altered to 照見、五蘊、皆空 (“He clearly saw that the five aggregates are all empty”), with the bounding rhythm of two-character phrases that was easier to chant. According to the Ta-tz‘u-en-ssu san-tsang fa-shih chuan, on the fifth day of the twelfth month of the same year (656) Hsüan-tsang offered a copy of the Heart Sūtra written in golden characters along with other gifts in celebration of the birth of a son, named Prince Buddha Light (Fo-kuang-wang 佛光王), to the emperor Kao-tsung (T50, 272b). Then, when the Heart Sūtra was engraved five years later on a stone stele at the temple Yün-chü-ssu 雲居寺 in Fang-shan 房山, it read:

照見五蘊皆空、度一切苦厄……受想行識亦復如是……遠離顛倒夢想……。
頗慶六年二月八日造。\(^{21}\)

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\(^{20}\) According to Akagi Takayuki 赤木隆幸, “Genjō yaku Hanmya shingyō no denrai to rufu” 仏教雑談 兼別注流布 [The transmission and circulation of Hsüan-tsang’s translation of the Heart Sūtra], Shikan 史観 172 (2015), p. 7a, as a result of this embellishment “the phrase ‘saved [people from] all suffering and adversity’, which does not exist in the Sanskrit text, is considered to have been interpolated in the sūtra text.” Akagi then quotes Hibino Takeo 日比野丈夫 (“Shū Ō shōgyō jo no hi ni tsuite” 総觀表敬序の時について [On the stele of the Chi Wang sheng-chiao hsū], in Shodō zenshū 筆道全集 [Complete collection of writings on calligraphy], vol. 8 [Tokyo: Heibonsha 平凡社, 1957]), but Hibino states only that “it must have been at least after this year that the Heart Sūtra was fixed in its present form, even if only formally, by these embellishers” (p. 37), and he makes no mention of the phrase “saved [people from] all suffering and adversity.”

He clearly saw that the five aggregates are all empty and saved [people from] all suffering and adversity.... Sensation, representation, volition, and consciousness are also like this.... free from inverted views and illusory thoughts.... Carved on the eighth day of the second month of the sixth year of the Hsien-ch'ing [era] (661).

Thus the word “all” is missing in 遠離顛倒夢想 (“free from inverted views and illusory thoughts”), and the word “and so on” has been removed from 五蘊 (“the five aggregates”). It is not known whether the Heart Sūtra in golden characters presented to the emperor by Hsüan-tsang had “the five aggregates and so on are all empty” or “the five aggregates are all empty,” but when engraving the text on a stone stele, an authoritative text would presumably have been used. This engraving of the Heart Sūtra was, moreover, done while Hsüan-tsang was still alive. Further, the Heart Sūtra added at the end of the Chi Wang sheng-chiao hsūi 集王聖敘序, which brings together a preface written by T'ai-tsung for one of Hsüan-tsang’s translations, an essay by the crown prince (the future emperor Kao-tsung) known as “Notes to the Preface,” etc., and was carved eleven years later on a stele with characters selected from the calligraphy of Wang Hsi-chih 王羲之, has the same wording as the above stone stele at Yün-chū-ssu.

照見五蘊皆空⋯⋯受想行識亦復如是⋯⋯遠離顛倒夢想⋯⋯
咸亨三年十二月八日京城法侶建立。
He clearly saw that the five aggregates are all empty.... Sensation, representation, volition, and consciousness are also like this.... free from inverted views and illusory thoughts....
Erected in the capital by companions of the Dharma on the eighth day of the twelfth month of the third year of the Hsien-heng [era] (672).

On the basis of the above, it is evident that, at least in Hsüan-tsang’s final years, the Heart Sūtra did not include the word “and so on” in “He clearly saw that the five aggregates are all empty” and “sensation, representation, volition, and consciousness,” and “all” had not been added to “free from inverted views and illusory thoughts.” Wönch’ük may have expressly stated that the text with “and so on” was correct because a new text was starting to circulate but its authority had not yet been established.

Another person who, like Wönch’ük, discusses the presence or absence of “and so on” and “all” is Kūkai 空海. In his Hannya shingyō hiken 般若心經祕鍵, he mentions that there are several versions of the Heart Sūtra and writes:
次唐遷覺三藏翻，題無『佛說摩訶』四字、「五蘊」下加「等」字、「遠離」下除「一切」字。(T57, 11b)
Next, there is the translation of the Tripitaka Master Pien-chüeh (Hsüan-tsong) of the T'ang. The title does not have the four characters fo-shuo mo-ho ("spoken by the Buddha, Mahā"), after "five aggregates" the character t'eng ("and so on") has been added, and after "free from" the characters i-ch'ieh ("all") have been removed.

The results of our above inquiries are summarized in the table below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Japanese popular text</th>
<th>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離一切顛倒夢想</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sung, Yüan, Ming, and</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koryō editions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ching-mai's text</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tz'ü-en's text</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wönch'ük's text</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wönch'ük's second text</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huan-yüan shu</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
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<td>Chi Wang sheng-chiao hsü</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fang-shan lithic canon</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wen-choo's text</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ching-chüeh's 淨覺 text</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hui-chung's text</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chih-jung's 智融 text</td>
<td>unknown 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ming K'uang's text</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離一切顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(spurious/interpolated)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deva's commentary</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 度一切苦厄 受想行識亦復如是 遠離一切顛倒夢想</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(spurious)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hsüan-tsang's text quoted</td>
<td>五蘊皆空 unknown unknown 遠離顛倒夢想</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>translated by Kumārajīva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**IN CONCLUSION**

As we have seen, the text used by early scholar-monks of the Fa-hsiaung school based on the new Yogācāra teachings brought back from India by Hsüan-tsang had "the
five aggregates and so on” and “sensation, representation, volition, consciousness, and so on,” and Wōnch’ük considered “and so on” to be supported by the Sanskrit text. But the Sanskrit text did not have any word such as ādi that directly corresponded to “and so on,” and it is to be surmised that Wōnch’ük placed importance on the plural forms skandhās and vijñānāni when giving this assessment. It is, however, strange that Wōnch’ük says nothing about the phrase “saved [people from] all suffering and adversity,” which is not found even in any extant Sanskrit text. It is possible that the Sanskrit text seen by Wōnch’ük included a corresponding phrase, but there is no equivalent of this phrase in the T’ang-fan fan-tui tsu-yin po-jo po-lo-mi-to hsin-ching, which gives a Chinese transliteration of a Sanskrit text of the Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya circulating at the time.

As for the phrase “free from all inverted views and illusory thoughts,” Wōnch’ük states that there are texts with and without “all” and that the wording with “all” is correct. But the extant Sanskrit text has viparyāsātikrānto (“passed beyond error”), and there are no equivalents of “all” or “illusory thoughts.” Even if “illusory thoughts” has been supplemented by the translator, it is unclear why Wōnch’ük considered the wording with “all” to be more appropriate when the Sanskrit text does not include any word such as sarva. Harada Wasō surmises that the phrase “free from all inverted views, illusory thoughts, and suffering” (遠離一切顛倒夢想苦惱) in Kumārajīva’s translation (Ta ming-chou ching 大明呪經) may have had an influence on Hsüan-tsang’s translation and the popular text of the Heart Sūtra.22)

At any rate, Wōnch’ük’s commentary shows how the text of the Heart Sūtra changed, and it provides us with valuable material.

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