

Pei Xiu (791–864) and Lay Buddhism in Tang Chan

Jiang Wu | ORCID: 0000-0002-8148-0178

Professor, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Arizona,
Tucson, AZ, USA

jiangwu@arizona.edu

Abstract

Pei Xiu 裴休 (791–864) was a literati follower of Buddhist teachers, among whom the two most eminent were Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) and Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (?–850). These two teachers had notably different spiritual orientations: one was the synthesizer of Chan and Huayan teachings, the other a member of the more radical Hongzhou 洪州 school. Rather than passively patronizing Buddhist teachers, Pei Xiu served as an active agent of his own religiosity and influenced Buddhist communities broadly. Through examining Pei Xiu's *Quanfa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文 [Essay Exhorting the Generation of *Bodhicitta*], *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 [Essentials of The Transmission of Mind], which he prefaced and edited, and his various prefaces and epitaphs written for Zongmi and other monks, this study scrutinizes the transformation of early Chinese Chan communities before they were reimagined as 'mature' and 'classical' in later times.

Keywords

Pei Xiu 裴休 – Zongmi 宗密 – Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 – *Bodhicitta* – Chan – Huayan – Lay Buddhism – *Quanfa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文 – *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 – Tangut – Tang dynasty

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1 Introduction

In this essay I examine lay religious life during the late Tang dynasty (618–907) within the Chan Buddhist community through the case study of Pei Xiu 裴休 (791–864), a literati follower of Buddhist teachers, among whom the two most eminent were Zongmi 宗密 (780–841) and Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 (?–850).¹ Both were contemporaries of Pei Xiu but with notably different spiritual orientations: one was the synthesizer of Chan and Huayan doctrinal studies, the other a member of the more radical Hongzhou 洪州 school, which dominated much Chan discourse and historiography after the Tang. Not only did Pei Xiu devote himself to these two teachers, he also wrote extensively to promote the Buddhist teachings of these two masters. Most of his major works have survived. One of them, *Quanfa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文 [Essay Exhorting the Generation of *Bodhicitta*, abbreviated hereafter as the *Bodhicitta Essay*] circulated widely in China and Japan. It was even translated into the Tangut language together with Zongmi's works and many Huayan treatises popular in North China during the eleventh century.² This Tangut version was recently discovered and translated back into Chinese.³ Thus far, although many references to Pei Xiu are scattered in research about Zongmi and Huangbo Xiyun, there is no complete biography of him in English. Pei Xiu's life and thought, therefore, offer a fruitful angle to scrutinize the transformation of early Chinese Chan communities before they were reimagined as 'mature' and 'classical' in later times.

I show how an elite member of the Tang literati was actively involved in the production of religious texts and the pursuit of a coherent set of Chan Buddhist self-cultivation practices. As a witness to two distinctive Tang-dynasty Chan communities, Pei Xiu became an agent in the formation, transformation, and development of a unique lay Buddhist spirituality which foreshadowed later generations by synthesizing and reconciling key differences among various Chan masters active in his day. I emphasize that, rather than passively patronizing Buddhist teachers from afar, a layperson could advance his own brand of religiosity and influence Buddhist communities broadly, and particularly through his erudition.

1 For his short biography, see *Fozu tongji*, T no. 2035, 49: 389a; *JTS juan* 177, biography 127, vol. 14, 4593–4594; *XTS juan* 182, biography 107, vol. 17, 5371–5372. According to Peter Gregory, Henri Maspero may be the first to write a biographical sketch of him in 'Sur Quelques Textes Anciens de Chinois Parlé', 4–5. See Gregory, 'The Teaching of Men and Gods', 311, note 68.

2 See Wang, 'The Prevalence of Huayan-Chan 華嚴禪 Buddhism'.

3 Sun, 'Pei Xiu'.

In this essay, I analyze three types of Pei Xiu's writings. First and foremost is his little-studied *Bodhicitta Essay*; second is the *Chuanxin fayao* 傳心法要 [Essentials of The Transmission of Mind], which can be clearly attributed to his editorial hands; and third is his prefaces and epitaphs written for Zongmi and other monks, mostly preserved in the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 [Complete Collection of Tang Prose; comp. 1808–1814]. At the end of this essay, as appendices, I also provide a short chronological biography for Pei Xiu, a complete list of his writings, and the textual history of his *Bodhicitta Essay* in China, Japan, and Tangut for further studies.

2 Pei Xiu's Life, Career, and Buddhist Connections

2.1 *Pei Xiu in Historical Records and Anecdotal Notes*

Emphasis in traditional Chinese Buddhist historiographies was usually given to eminent monks, and therefore, literati followers were seldom recorded in any separate category. Yet the importance of these prominent figures has been frequently acknowledged and highly regarded by premodern Buddhist historians. The separate and systematic accounts of lay Buddhist devotees, such as Zhu Shi'en's 朱時恩 (fl. seventeenth c.) *Jushi fendeng lu* 居士分燈錄 [Separate Records of Lamp Transmission through Lay Buddhists, comp. 1632] and Peng Shaosheng's 彭紹升 (1740–1796) *Jushi zhuan* 居士傳 [Biographies of Lay Buddhists, comp. 1775] only appeared much later.⁴ These writings no doubt reflect lay devotees' self-consciousness of later eras. Among prominent figures, some literati devotees, such as Pei Xiu, Li Zunxu 李遵勗 (988–1038), Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1121), Li Chunfu 李純甫 (1177–1223), and Song Lian 宋濂 (1310–1381), among others, were remembered as 'waihu' 外護 [external protectors] of the dharma for their piety and prominent social status.⁵ Considered to have served as Grand Councilor during the reign of Emperor Xuanzong 宣宗 (Li Chen 李忱 [810–859]),⁶ Pei Xiu is listed as a major figure

4 For Zhu Shi'en's work, see Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, 200. For Peng's life and works, see Wu, 'Leading the Good Life' and 'Women, Bodily Transformation and Rebirth in the Pure Land'.

5 For Li Zunxu, see Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, 187–88. For Zhang Shangying, see Gimello, 'Chang Shang-Ying on Wu-T'ai Shan'. For Li Chunfu, see Kaplan, *Buddhist Apologetics in East Asia*.

6 In a later version of the *Wanling lu* 宛陵錄 [Wanling Record], Li Chen was recorded as a novice monk under Xiyun. See *X* no. 1325, 69:16c. A poem composed by Xiyun and Li Chen was preserved in *QTW* 4.50. The recovery of Buddhism, especially the quick recovery of Buddhism in Jiangxi, might be related to Li Chen's experience in the Jiangnan area. See Liu, 'Huangbo chanxue yu Pei Xiu, Li Chen'.

in the process to restore Buddhism after the Huichang 會昌 persecution of 845. His devotion to Buddhism was admired by many literati Buddhists in later times, although orthodox Confucian historiographers condemned Pei Xiu's indulgence in Buddhism.

Pei Xiu was a prominent member of the Tang literati who was born into one of the hereditary 'great clans'. He lived during a transitional period when the hereditary clan-based aristocracy transformed into a more locally-focused bureaucratic elite. Although the civil service exam was established centuries earlier, members of longstanding 'great clans' still maintained a strong presence in government office by taking advantage of marriage alliances, recommendation system (*yinbu* 蔭補, 'Yin privilege'), and nepotism.⁷ Members of the Pei lineage which Pei Xiu belonged to hailed from the Hedong area (Wenxi 聞喜 in modern Shanxi province) during the Han dynasty (202 BCE–220 CE). Especially during the period from the Eastern Han to the Tang dynasty (ca. 25–750 CE), members of the Pei family did exceptionally well attaining government offices, with 59 Grand Councilors, numerous *jinshi* 進士 [presented scholar] degree holders, and other high-ranking official posts.⁸ This prominent lineage was further divided into three branches: the *xijuan* 西眷 [Western Kinsmen], *zhongjuan* 中眷 [Central Kinsmen], and *dongjuan* 東眷 [Eastern Kinsmen]. Pei Xiu belonged to the aristocratic sub-lineage of the Eastern Kinsmen, a branch which considered Pei Cheng 裴澄 (d.u.), governor of Fenzhou 汾州刺史 and *Yinqing guanglu dafu* 銀青光祿大夫 [Grand Master for Splendid Happiness with a Silver Seal and Blue Ribbon] in the Northern (or Latter) Wei dynasty (386–535) as their common ancestor.⁹ His kinsmen held high-ranking government offices regularly under the Northern Wei, the Northern Zhou (557–581), and the Tang dynasty (618–907). Although their dominance in government offices had been eroded by recruitment through the standardized civil service exams in the eighth century, great clans managed to maintain their social status through social networking until their complete disappearance before the end of the Tang dynasty due to the violent dismantling of aristocratic networks.¹⁰

7 For a summary of such a transition, see Bol, *This Culture of Ours*, 32–75.

8 For the list of all these 59 Grand Councilors from *Peishi zongpu* 裴氏宗譜 [Pei Family Genealogy], See Wang, *Zaixiang shijia*, 8–13. See also Zhou, *Hedong Pei Shi*.

9 The Pei family also intermarried with other great clans such as the Boling Cui family to enforce their privileged social status. See Zhang and Yang, 'Tangdai Dongjuan Peishi Pei Gao muzhi'. Yano, 'Hai Kyū kenkyū'. For the Boling Cui family, see Ebrey, *The Aristocratic Families of Early Imperial China*. Pei Xiu's kinsman Pei Xu 裴谔 (719–793) was Mazu's follower. See Poceski, *The Ordinary Mind*, 89–90.

10 The disappearance of these aristocratic clans is one of the phenomena during the so-called Tang-Song transition. See Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy*, 237.

Pei Xiu's prominent political career and family origin merited a detailed biography in both the old and new Tang dynastic histories. According to the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 [Old Tang History], Pei Xiu was born in a Buddhist family that had revered Buddhist teachings for several generations. His father Pei Su 裴肅¹¹ was the prefect of Yuezhou 越州 prefecture (now Shaoxing 紹興 in Zhejiang province), among other posts. Pei Xiu's career as a scholar-official started with his success in the civil service exam.¹² Being selected through the *xianliang fangzheng neng zhiyan jijianke* 賢良方正能直言極薦科 (Recommendation Category for Worthy and Excellent in the Test for Selecting Righteous and Outspoken Civil Officials), he was recruited to the central government and was later appointed as *jiancha yushi* 監察御史 (Investigating Censor), *you buque* 右補缺 [Right Rectifier of Omissions], *shiguan xiuzhuan* 史館修撰 (Senior Compiler of the Historiography Institute), etc. During the Huichang reign (841–847), he was appointed Chief Governor in several prefectures.¹³

The unexpected death of Emperor Wuzong 武宗 (r. 840–846) brought Emperor Xuanzong (r. 846–859) to the throne. His reign has been regarded as a regeneration during the declining era of the Tang rule after the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (ca. 755–763). During Emperor Xuanzong's reign, Pei Xiu was appointed as Grand Councilor in 852 and remained in office until 856. Because of his performance in the recovery of the economy and active social life, Pei Xiu was recognized as the *shengping xiang* 昇平相 (Grand Councilor of Peace and Prosperity). His notable achievement during and before his tenure as Grand Councilor was the efficient administration of the salt and iron industry and transportation.¹⁴ After his term as Grand Councilor, he was appointed as prefect, among others in Bianzhou 汴州 and Taiyuan 太原. In the early Xiantong 咸通 period (860–874), he returned to central government and took *shangshu* 尚書 [(Minister) in the *hubu* 戶部 (Ministry of Revenue) and the *libu* 吏部 (Ministry of Personnel), and became *taizi shaobao* 太子少保 (Junior Guardian of the Heir Apparent). (For his official career and connections with Buddhism, see his brief chronology in Appendix 1.)

11 There might be two people with the name 'Pei Su' in the Tang time because the description and life span in the current epitaphs of Pei Su (?–734) and his wife do not match the biography of Pei Xiu's father in the official histories. See Beijing Tushuguan Jinshizu, comp., *Beijing tushuguan cang Zhongguo lidai shike taben huibian*, 23: 126 and 26: 50.

12 *JTS* 177.4593.

13 Jan has reconstructed the places and times where and when Pei Xiu assumed his office based on the colophons of his works. According to him, Mianzhou 綿州, Hongzhou 洪州, and Xuanzhou 宣州 were three major places where he sojourned. See Jan, 'Pei Xiu Fojiao shenghuo de yanjiu'.

14 His memorial, in which he suggested eight rules for regulating the sale of salt and iron, provides a detailed description of his policy. See *QTW* 743.7686. For Pei Xiu's official career, see Zhou, *Hedong Peishi*, 214–219.

Despite his achievements in government service, his image in history was largely 'tainted' by his devout Buddhist beliefs. His official biography in dynastic histories did not hide this fact. Jeffry Broughton has translated the following description of Pei Xiu from the *Old Tang History*:

[Pei Xiu was] good at literary arts, excelled at letter writing, and formed his own unique style in the art of calligraphy. His family had for generations embraced Buddhism. Xiu was even deeper into Buddhist books. Taiyuan [in Shanxi] and Fengxiang [in Shaanxi] are near famous mountains with many Buddhist monasteries. On the pretext of sightseeing he would wander on walks through the mountains and forests, carrying on discussions with Buddhist monks learned in the Buddhist doctrinal systems in search of the principles of Buddhism. After his middle years he did not eat garlic, onions, and meat, always observing the precepts of vegetarianism, and he put aside lustful desires. Incense burners and precious [Buddhist] books were always about his study. He took songs and chants of praise as music of the dharma. Both he and President of the Department of Affairs of State Hegan Gao 紇幹臯 took dharma names. People of the time respected his high purity but scorned his excessiveness [in matters Buddhist]. Many told stories ridiculing him, but Xiu did not consider these comments offensive.¹⁵

善為文，長於書翰，自成筆法。家世奉佛，休尤深於釋典。太原，鳳翔近名山，多僧寺。視事之隙，遊踐山林，與義學僧講求佛理。中年後，不食葷血，常齋戒，屏嗜欲。香爐貝典，不離齋中；詠歌贊唄，以為法樂。與尚書紇幹臯皆以法號相字。時人重其高潔而鄙其太過，多以詞語嘲之，休不以為忤。

This official biography suggests several characteristics of Pei Xiu's religious life: in addition to his devotion and piety, he seemed interested particularly in reading Buddhist books to acquire the 'principles' of Buddhist doctrines. He also enjoyed conversations with Buddhist monks. However, other Confucian literati were critical of his association with Buddhism. The *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 [New Tang History] compiled by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072), who harbored strong anti-Buddhist sentiments, criticized his indulgence in Buddhism.¹⁶ The biography cited above also indicates that there were 'stories ridiculing him', showing critical opinions or biases against him, as well as his popularity among

15 JTS 177, 4594. Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, 7–8. I have modified the translation of the last sentence.

16 XTS 182.5372. For Ouyang Xiu's editorial approach, see Sung, 'An Ambivalent Historian'.

certain factions. Although we do not know about the details of who mocked Pei Xiu, it is reasonable to surmise that certain orthodox Confucians may have criticized his indulgence in Buddhism.

Some of the stories about Pei Xiu's 'excessive' devotion to Buddhism have been preserved in miscellaneous notes, legends, and folklore. These stories that celebrated Pei Xiu's religious life must have started to circulate in the late Tang and the Five Dynasties Ten Kingdoms period (907–979) within Buddhist communities as recorded in one of earliest available Chan genealogical records, the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 [Collection of the Patriarch's Hall, comp. 952, fasc. 16]. The following note, in which Pei Xiu had a near-death out-of-body experience, is an appendix to the biography of Huangbo Xiyun and was translated by Christoph Anderl:¹⁷

One day Mister Péi felt slightly unwell, and not long afterwards he died. The master [Xiyun] happened to be in his residence and he did not throw [himself down] below the head of him [but] he knelt down and looked at him. Mister Péi woke up after a while, and after he had woken up he spoke about what happened when he was in the darkness (i.e. unconscious). 'When I entered the realm of darkness, I had legs which had never walked and I had eyes which had never seen. Having walked for 40 or 50 miles and after having become tired [I] suddenly saw a pond. I wished to enter the pond, when there was an old monk who did not let me enter the pond; then he shouted. Because of this I saw you, the Preceptor, again.' The master [Xiyun] said: 'If you had not met me, the old monk, you almost had seen a dragon.'

裴相公有一日微微底不安，非久之間便死。師恰在宅裏，不拋相公頭邊底，坐看相公。相公無限時卻惺，惺後說冥中事；'某一入冥界，有腳不曾行，有眼不曾見。行得個四五十里困了，忽然見一池水。某甲擬欲入池，有一個老和尚，不與某甲入池裏，便喝。因此再見和尚。'師云：'若不遇老僧，相公泊合造龍。'

17 Anderl, *Studies in the Language of Zu-tang ji*, 2: 798–799. Citation from Lan (comp.), *Da zangjing bubian*, vol. 25, no. 144: 609b9–610a1. Please note that I took this Mister Pei's identity as Pei Xiu himself judging from his close relationship with Huangbo Xiyun. See the next section for a detailed account of their relationship. At the end of the quotation, Anderl translated *zao long* 造龍 as 'turned into a dragon'. Since *zao* can also mean 'go to' or 'visit', I have altered the translation as 'see the dragon'. Bernard Faure, based on Paul Demieville's French translation, correctly translated the phrase as 'have gone to the dragon's abode'. See Faure, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*, 182, note 10.

After the Tang, more legends about Pei Xiu gained currency in popular literature, especially during the Song dynasty. For example, the *Beimeng suoyan* 北夢瑣言 [Trivial Tales from My Dreams of the North], compiled in the tenth century, records a legend that Pei Xiu was reborn as the son of the Khotanese (Yutian guo 于闐國) King because of his pious vow to protect the Buddhist dharma.¹⁸ In popular imagination Pei Xiu seems to have been viewed among certain Daoists as a revered leader in legendary hermit communities. According to an anecdote in *Mozhuang manlu* 墨莊漫錄 [Extensive Records of the Ink Estate, *juan* 3] by the Northern Song scholar Zhang Bangji 張邦基 (d.u.), which resembles the famous *Taohuayuan ji* 桃花源記 [Peach Blossom Spring Record], on his way to the capital Kaifeng 開封 while on a northbound sea voyage from his hometown of Mingzhou 明州 (Ningbo 寧波), a Northern Song examination candidate named Chen 陳 was carried by a blown-away ship on to an island where the inhabitants, about three hundred, claimed that they had migrated from the mainland during the late Tang and identified Pei Xiu, an old man now, as their master and leader. For two hundred years since the late Tang they had been living as humans. Pei Xiu received this man, but recognized that he had unfinished business in the outside world. He therefore sent him away and urged him to cultivate himself by following the *Lengyan jing* 楞嚴經 [Skt. *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*]. The man soon returned to his hometown, but found that many years had passed simultaneously in the human world and his wife already had passed away. He regretted coming back and eventually died of insanity.¹⁹

In late imperial China, Pei Xiu was even associated with the famous *Baishhe zhuan* 白蛇傳 [White Snake Legend] in popular literature. Legend says that Pei Xiu granted permission to allow one of his sons to become a monk named Fahai 法海, who presided at Jinshan Monastery 金山寺 in Zhenjiang 鎮江. In popular folklore, this Fahai was none other than the famous ‘evil’ monk who appears in the story of the White Snake, which was circulated widely in the Jiangnan 江南 area. It tells the love story of a White Snake who transformed into a girl who, in turn, was subjugated by a monk named Fahai – believed to be Pei Xiu’s son. However, research shows that the second founder of Jinshan Monastery in Zhenjiang is named Pei Toutuo 裴頭陀, who had nothing to do

18 *Beimeng suoyan*, *juan* 6, 123.

19 *Mozhuang manlu*, *juan* 3, 83–85; and Halperin, ‘Men of the Way’, 113. Pei Xiu’s image remains positive among Confucian literati. For example, the renowned Song literatus Wang Sui 王隨 (975?–1039), one of the *JCDL* compilers, admired Pei Xiu and regarded him as his paragon. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, 204.

with the Pei family. This imagined association was likely created during the Late Ming (1368–1644) in the Hangzhou area.²⁰

2.2 *Pei Xiu and His Buddhist Teachers*

Pei Xiu was deeply involved in several Buddhist communities as a follower of Buddhist teachers. According to the *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 [Song Biographies of Eminent Monks], there were at least eight monks who had personal contacts with Pei Xiu,²¹ among whom Zongmi and Huangbo Xiyun were his closest teachers. However, in Chan history, these two monks represent two different spiritual paths and lineages. On the one hand, Zongmi, a monk based in the metropolitan capital of Chang'an, had devoted himself to mitigating tensions between Chan and Huayan teaching to promote Heze Shenhui's 荷澤神會 (684–758) Chan tradition (or lineage) that vanished quickly after the 845 persecution. Zongmi served as Pei Xiu's spiritual guide until his death two years before the Huichang persecution. On the other hand, Huangbo Xiyun, who captured Pei Xiu's interest after the persecution, was a locally-based Chan leader who belonged to the 'radical' Hongzhou school, and transmitted the *chuandeng* 傳燈 (Chan lamp, or dharma transmission) from Baizhang Huaihai 百丈懷海 (720–814) to Linji Yixuan 臨濟義玄 (810?–866), who is understood to have established the Linji (Jp. Rinzai) 臨濟 branch of Chan Buddhism. As a pious devotee, Pei Xiu maintained close master-disciple relations with both masters and wrote extensively about them.

Pei Xiu's acquaintance with Zongmi probably began in the year 828, when Pei Xiu passed the exam at the level of Recommendation Category for Worthy and Excellent. This was the same year when Zongmi was invited to the palace to preach the dharma and was bestowed the title of *dade* 大德 [Great Virtue, Skt. *bhadanta*] with a purple robe.²² After that, Pei Xiu maintained a very close relationship with Zongmi and wrote extensively about his studies with Zongmi. Most of Zongmi's essential works have prefaces written by Pei Xiu. Zongmi also showed his approval of Pei Xiu's understanding of Buddhism in

20 See Pei Wei, 'Pei Toutuo'. See also Idema, *The White Snake and her Son*; Wu, *The White Snake*.

21 Besides Zongmi and Xiyun, there were Duanfu 端甫 (770–837), Zhixuan 知玄 (811–883) (SGSZ, T no. 2061, 50: 6.744b), Lingyou 靈祐 (771–785) (SGSZ, T no. 2061, 50: 11.777c; and *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T no. 2076, 51: 264c), Yuanshao 圓紹 (811–895) (SGSZ, T no. 2061, 50: 13.784c), Chunan 楚南 (813–888) (SGSZ, T no. 2061, 50: 17.817c), Shenzhi 神智 (819–886) (SGSZ, T no. 2061, 50: 25.869c).

22 Japanese scholar Yoshikawa Tadao argues that the year might be 833. According to the SGSZ, this year was also the emperor's birthday (*Qingchengjie* 慶成節). However, Yoshikawa found in *juan* 17 of *JTS* that the celebration of the birthday was an event which occurred in 833. See Yoshikawa, 'Hai Kyū den', 133–134.

his preface to Pei's *Bodhicitta Essay*. In these writings, Pei Xiu expressed his admiration for Zongmi as a renowned monk and sincerely revered him as his spiritual teacher. The most persuasive evidence of their close relationship is the inscription composed and written out by Pei Xiu in 853, titled "Tang gu Guifeng Dinghui chanshi chuanfa bei" 定慧禪師傳法碑 [Dharma Transmission Stele for Chan Master Dinghui], which has been regarded as a masterpiece in the history of Chinese calligraphy and one of the most important sources for the study of Zongmi.²³ In this piece, Pei Xiu vividly described his relationship with Zongmi:

Pei Xiu and the master are brothers in terms of the Buddhist teachings, and are friends by virtue of righteousness; (we are) spiritual beneficiaries out of kindness, and are internal and external protectors of the teachings.

休與大師於法為昆仲，於義為交友，於恩為善知識，於教為內外護。²⁴

His encounter with Xiyun began in 842, one year after Zongmi's death in 841. Huangbo Xiyun, listed as Baizhang Huaihai's 百丈懷海 (720–814) dharma heir in later Chan genealogical records, was born in Fujian and was ordained in the Huangbo mountain in Futang 福唐 (now Fuqing 福清) county. When he later arrived in Jiangxi, he renamed the mountain where he resided as Huangbo to commemorate his home mountain in Fujian.²⁵ According to his preface to the *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind*, when Pei Xiu sojourned in Zhongling 鐘陵 (present day Nanchang 南昌) and Wanling 宛陵 (present day Xuancheng 宣城) as local prefects in 842 and in 848, respectively, he invited Xiyun to stay at Longxing monastery 龍興寺 in Zhongling and at Kaiyuan monastery 開元寺 in Wanling for a period of time. The result of these two meetings was the collection of his conversations with Xiyun, which preserves many of Xiyun's teachings.

There are, nevertheless, certain doubts about Pei Xiu's affiliation because the two masters he served represent two very different types of Buddhism. In later times, his associations with these two masters became a problem for Chan historians. As many Chan historiographers claimed, Pei Xiu was enlightened under the direction of Xiyun and therefore became a formal disciple of

23 The stele was carved in 855 and is preserved in Xi'an. For a rubbing of the stele, see <https://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL:2176015>, accessed on Jan. 15, 2021.

24 QTW 743.7694.

25 The Ōbaku (Huangbo) school in Japan, which was founded by Yinyuan Longqi/Jp. Ingen Ryūki 隱元隆琦 (1592–1673), was based on Huangbo mountain in Fujian, and was later transmitted to Japan in 1654. See Wu, *Leaving for the Rising Sun*.

the Hongzhou Chan school, rather than Zongmi, who was later excluded from mainstream Chan Buddhism as the result of sectarian contentions for orthodox dharma transmission. Evidence of an encounter dialogue between Pei Xi and Xiyun is preserved in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 [Jingde Records of Lamp Transmission], in which Pei Xiu was listed as Xiyun's dharma heir. This record creates the impression that Pei Xiu experienced a 'conversion' from Zongmi to Xiyun:

Although Guifeng (Zongmi) was well-versed in both Chan and doctrinal teachings and was revered by Pei Xiu, he was not comparable to Xiyun on whom Pei Xiu set his mind and in whom he wholeheartedly believed.

雖圭峯該通禪講，為裴之所重。未若歸心於黃檗而傾竭服膺者也。²⁶

This image of Pei Xiu created in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, became so influential in later times that many Chan histories described him as a follower of Chan Buddhism.²⁷ Jan Yün-hua 冉雲華 intended to correct this distorted picture in premodern Chan historiography by emphasizing Pei Xiu's close relationship with Zongmi. He argued that throughout his life, Pei Xiu was under Zongmi's influence and regarded Zongmi as his primary spiritual teacher. Therefore, for Jan, Pei Xiu consistently followed Zongmi's teachings throughout his lifetime.²⁸ However, as my study shows, Pei Xiu's association with Huangbo Xiyun cannot be dismissed as secondary.

John McRae was also intrigued by Pei Xiu's seemingly contradictory dual affiliation in the following remark:

It is interesting to note that Pei Xiu's evaluation of Huangbo would have been quite unacceptable to Zongmi, who posited sharp distinctions between mainstream and splinter interpretations of the Chan religious message. Zongmi was unready or unable to accept the novel spirit of Mazu's Hongzhou school, and it is intriguing to wonder whether Huangbo was responding to Pei Xiu's previous spiritual compatriot in some of the dialogues found in the *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind*.²⁹

26 T no. 2176, 51: 293b20–22.

27 *Jushi zhuan*, X no. 1646, 88: 13.208b02–209b15.

28 Jan, 'Pei Xiu fojiao shenghuo de yanjiu', 202. John Broughton also notes this in his *Zongmi on Chan*, 295, note 2.

29 McRae, 'Huangbo Xiyun's Essentials of the Transmission of Mind', 7.

Although Pei Xiu had extensive contacts with Buddhist monks active in his time, his writings are mainly concerned with these two Buddhist masters, whom he followed reverently. He was depicted in Chan historiographies as one of the major disciples and patrons of Xiyun. As a high official with a Buddhist background, Pei Xiu became a valuable example of 'symbolic capital' for Chan Buddhists. Because of his prominent social status that must have been profitable as a symbolic resource for members of the Chan tradition, his extant works are mixed with forged, erroneous attributions. (See Appendix 2 for a complete list of his compositions, including spurious ones.) However, two of his major works, the *Bodhicitta Essay* and the *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind* are extant and without a doubt can be attributed to him.

3 Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay*

3.1 *The Practical Dimension of Doctrinal Studies*

Pei Xiu lived at a time when the intellectual milieu in which the indigenous Chinese Buddhist schools had already taken shape. Since the sixth century, the emergence of the Tiantai, Huayan, and Chan schools marked a new Buddhist era in China. One salient feature was the systemization of different, or even contradictory, Buddhist doctrines. Thus, a unique *panjiao* 判教 [doctrinal classification] became the hallmark of any full-fledged school. Although there almost certainly were Buddhist devotees interested in more general Buddhist doctrines before the Tang, the appearance of lay devotees who followed a particular master, especially the one with a distinctive lineage transmission or in connection with a particular system of thought like Huayan philosophy, was a remarkable feature of Tang Buddhism. Lay devotees, including Li Tongxuan 李通玄 (635–730),³⁰ Li Hua 李華 (715–766),³¹ Liang Su 梁肅 (753–793),³² Pang Yun 龐蘊 (ca. eighth–ninth century),³³ took more active roles in terms of scholarly exegesis, no longer leaving authoritative doctrinal matters to members of the clergy. Accordingly, the interests of these literati were heavily influenced by their masters and focused more on the doctrinal matters. As Yamazaki Hiroshi 山崎宏 claims, Pei Xiu represents this new type of lay devotee because he primarily focused on *yijie* 義解, a doctrinal understanding of Buddhism.³⁴

30 Koh, 'Li Tongxuan's Utilization of Chinese Symbolism'. Gimello, 'Li T'ung-Hsüan and the Practical Dimensions of Hua-Yen'.

31 Vita, 'Li Hua and Buddhism'.

32 For Liang Su, see Kanda, 'Ryō Shoku nenpu'.

33 Sasaki et al., *The Recorded Sayings of Layman P'ang*. See also Pocesi, 'The Model of Lay Engagement'.

34 Yamazaki, 'Tōdai kōki no kōji Hai Kyū ni tsuite', 194.

Pei Xiu's interests in Buddhist doctrines, however, were not purely theoretical or limited to abstract discussions. In his *Bodhicitta Essay*, as I discuss below, he demonstrates a clear practical dimension which focuses on personal cultivation and learning. This intellectual orientation was certainly influenced by Zongmi, who adopted a strategy of unifying Chan and Buddhist doctrinal teachings, although this strategy obscured his image as a distinctive Chan master. According to Peter Gregory, Zongmi was an important synthesizer in the process of the Sinification of Buddhism and exerted significant influence upon the later Chinese philosophical tradition, especially on Neo-Confucian philosophy. His system of thought was greatly influenced by the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 [Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna], heralding a subtle departure from the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 [Skt. *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*] in the Huayan tradition. Zongmi, according to Peter Gregory's study, completed a significant intellectual turn within the Huayan tradition, namely, to shift intellectual discourse from *shishi wuai* 事事無礙 [no-obstruction among things] represented in the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* to *lishi wuai* 理事無礙 [non-obstruction between principle and things] represented by the *Awakening of Faith*.³⁵

In addition to his doctrinal erudition, Zongmi was also very interested in matters related to religious practice. On the one hand, he paid considerable attention to the philosophical writings regarding Buddhist doctrines; on the other hand, he formulated and systematized Buddhist rituals and meditation practices. His formulation of Buddhist rituals on the occasions of repentance, meditation, and contemplations was based on the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 [Sūtra of the Perfect Enlightenment], through which he underwent an 'enlightenment experience' when he was a novice.³⁶ This work, the *Yuanjue jing daochang xiuzheng yi* 圓覺經道場修證儀 [Cultivation Ritual of the Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment Altar] synthesizes Buddhist practice of his time and addresses many elements outside Zongmi's own tradition.³⁷ Zongmi's elaborations of the procedures for meditation were greatly influenced by Zhiyi's 智顗 (538–597) *Xiao Mohe zhiguan* 小摩訶止觀 [The Small Calming

35 Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 157–165. This distinction has been noted by many Japanese Kegon scholars. In a recent presentation by Sueki Fumihiko 木末文美士 (Jan. 26, 2021) at the Center for Buddhist Studies of the University of Arizona, he suggests that the Edo monk Hōtan 鳳潭 (1654–1738) might be the first person who pointed out this shift and called for a return to Fazang without recognizing Chengguan and Zongmi. See Sueki, *Kinsei no Bukkyō*, 119–126.

36 It was recorded that when Zongmi performed the *zhai* 齋 [(meager) fasting ritual] in the Guan 關 family after he became a monk, he was suddenly enlightened while reading the *sūtra*. In Zongmi's inscription written by Pei Xiu, this event was frequently alluded to. See QTW 743.7687.

37 Gregory, 'Tsong-mi's Perfect Enlightenment Retreat'.

and Contemplation].³⁸ Another important work is his commentary on the *Yulanpen jing* 盂蘭盆經 [Ullambana Sūtra] in which he emphasized that the Ghost Festival is the Buddhist expression of filial piety.³⁹ These examples demonstrate Zongmi's concern for Buddhist practice and the need to integrate Buddhist rituals with the path toward enlightenment. His attention to the balance between doctrinal studies and actual practice no doubt influenced Pei Xiu.

Pei Xiu's understanding of Buddhist doctrines can be seen in his preface to Zongmi's commentary on Dushun's 杜順 (557–640) *Huayan fajie guanmen* 華嚴法界觀門 [Gate of Contemplation of the Huayan Dharmadhātu],⁴⁰ where he reinterpreted the main points made by Chengguan 澄觀 (738–857), one of the famous commentators of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*.⁴¹ He believed that the dharmadhātu is the *benti* 本體 [original substance] of all sentient beings and the 'realm of non-obstruction of principles and affairs' is the only true existence. In his understanding, the dharmadhātu is the ineffable and invisible metaphysical entity without physical form. He also emphasized the importance of contemplation as the gate to enter the dharmadhātu. Because Dushun's essay and Zongmi's commentary are philosophical works that succinctly describe the three kinds of contemplation,⁴² there was no intention in their works to link the method of contemplation to certain miraculous powers that could be induced by the practice of contemplations. In Pei Xiu's preface, however, when he describes the function of the dharmadhātu, he stresses

38 Kamata, *Shūmitsu kyōgaku no shisōshi-teki kenkyū*, 499–523.

39 Teiser, *The Ghost Festival in Medieval China*, 91–95.

40 The attribution of this work to Dushun is still debatable because the content of the text also appears in Fazang's *Fa Putixin zhang* 發菩提心章 [Treatise on the Arousal of *Bodhicitta*]. Both Chengguan and Zongmi wrote commentaries on this work and regarded it as one of the essential Huayan teachings. This work continues to be influential in the Song. For an annotated study of a Song dynasty commentary on this work by the eleventh-century monk Bensong 本嵩, *Fajie guanmen tongxuan ji* 法界觀門通玄記 [Record of the Profundities of Complete Contemplation Gateway of Dharmadhātu], see Wang, *Huayan fajie guanmen jiaoshi*. For a short English summary, see Wang, 'The Prevalence of Huayan-Chan', 157–159.

41 For an English biography of Chengguan, see Hamar, *A Religious Leader in the Tang*. See also note 51.

42 They are *zhenkong guan* 真空觀 [Discernments of True Emptiness], *lishi wuai guan* 理事無礙觀 [Discernments of Mutual Non-obstruction of principle and phenomena], and *zhoubian hanrong guan* 周遍含容觀 [Discernments of Total Provisional Accommodation] (See Gimello, 'Chih-yen (602–668)'). For recent studies on the Huayan thought, see Hamar, ed., *Reflecting Mirrors*. Gregory, 'The Missing Link'; *idem*, 'Bridging the Gap'; *idem*, *Inquiry into the Origin of Humanity*. For Zongmi's responses to other literati followers, see Gregory, 'The Buddhism of the Cultured Elite'.

that these practical achievements of contemplation, such as the fusion of the profane and the sacred, and physical transformations, are all normal powers manifested through the mind. He wrote a brief note in his preface to defend his perspective:

When ordinary people were told that Buddha and Bodhisattvas are capable of miraculous transformations, they must contend that [this] is achieved through ‘relying on other techniques’ or this is a pretentious talk full of fabrications. These two kinds of doubts are both wrong. As for saying these are ‘relying on other techniques’, how could it be that the sage act without following principle and delude people by using demons and monsters? As for saying that these are pretentious talks of fabrications, since even monsters, demons, and spirits are capable of transforming miraculously, why would only the sage with dharma body could not achieve it?

世人見說諸佛菩薩神變，必謂假於他術，或謂虛誕之辭。此二疑皆非也。若言假於他術者，豈可聖人動不合理而假妖怪以惑人哉？若言虛誕之辭者，魔妖精魅尚能神變，況法身聖人獨不能為之哉？⁴³

For Pei Xiu, the doctrine of dharmadhātu was no longer an abstract philosophical theory, or ‘only a conceptual abstraction, an artful pattern of indifferent and lifeless doctrines’ as Robert Gimello describes it.⁴⁴ Instead, it has practical implications, similar to the intellectual orientation of Li Tongxuan, who developed the Huayan teachings with a strong ‘practical import’, meeting the needs of its lay adherents with more accessibility.⁴⁵ On the one hand, he fully understood the doctrinal significance; on the other hand, he emphasized the miraculous achievements through the contemplation of dharmadhātu.

Pei Xiu demonstrated his clear preference for concrete Buddhist practices as a pious lay devotee. If he had only alluded to his understanding of Buddhist practice in the preface to Zongmi’s sub-commentary to Dushun’s writing, his essay on the generation of bodhicitta fully displays his agenda of highlighting Buddhist practice and learning. Before we analyze his essay, let us briefly review *bodhicitta* thought in Tang Buddhism.

43 The Taishō canon does not include this original note in the main text but put it in a collocation note. The *QTW* edition includes this note. See *QTW* 743.7690. Cf. *T* no. 1884, 45: 683c14–15.

44 Gimello, ‘Li T’ung-hsuan and the Practical Dimensions of Hua-yen’, 324.

45 *Ibid.*, especially 365–366.

3.2 *The Popularity of Bodhicitta Thought in Tang Buddhism*

The notion of *bodhicitta* played a vital role in Mahāyāna doctrines and the program of cultivation in the path towards enlightenment. It refers to the beginning stage of bodhisattva practice to generate the thought of aspiring to achieve the final goal of Buddhahood. *Bodhicitta* thought is frequently alluded to in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese Buddhist literature.⁴⁶ Thus far, despite its ubiquitous references in East Asian Buddhism, there is no comprehensive study in English about *Bodhicitta* thought in Chinese and Japanese Buddhist literature. Japanese scholar Tagami Taishū 田上太秀 traces the concept of *bodhicitta* from the origins of Buddhism in India to the Mahāyāna tradition in China. According to him, although a similar concept of *bodhicitta* existed in early Buddhism, the use of the term '*bodhicitta*' only appeared and flourished in the Mahāyāna tradition because Buddhahood was no longer regarded as unattainable in the new Mahāyāna movement. In his survey of the popular Mahāyāna scriptures in China, he concludes that in all Mahāyāna Buddhist scriptures the term '*bodhicitta*' means the thought of Enlightenment rather than the thought to Enlightenment.⁴⁷

The popularity of *bodhicitta* thought in Tang times can be attributed to the popularity of the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra* and the *Awakening of Faith*, in which the arousal of *bodhicitta* was regarded as the most crucial Buddhist practice. Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) '*Huayan fa putixin zhang*' 華嚴發菩提心章 [The Huayan Treatise on the Arousal of *Bodhicitta*],⁴⁸ shows the influence of the *Awakening of Faith*, and classifies *bodhicitta* into three categories, namely *zhixin* 直心 [the straightforward mind], *shenxin* 深心 [the profound mind], and *dabei xin* 大悲心 [the great compassionate mind].⁴⁹ The popularity of

46 For a summary of the *bodhicitta* thought in Buddhist history, see Buswell and Lopez, 'Bodhicitta', in *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 130–31. For a survey of this concept in Sanskrit and Tibetan literature, see Brassard, *The Concept of Bodhicitta in Santideva's Bodhicaryavatara*.

47 Tagami, *Bodaishin no kenkyū*. Tagami's survey is limited to the Chinese translations of Indian texts. The Chinese writings about *bodhicitta* are beyond his investigation. Joseph Wasler recently points out that the Sanskrit word *bodhicitta* might be the result of haplography, the typo of an eye-skip, in the process of transcribing early Perfection of Wisdom texts. Wasler, *Genealogies of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 146–149.

48 Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (1837–1911) thought this essay was not the original composed by Fazang because it was interpolated with Dushun's work on the contemplation of Huayan *dharmadhātu* which was alluded before. See Shi et al. (comp.), *Zhongguo Fojiao sixiang ziliao xuanbian* 2: 78. See also the preface of this piece in *T* no. 1878, 45:651a. For a biographical study of Fazang, see Chen, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician*.

49 According to Paramārtha's 真諦 (499–569) 'translation' of the *Awakening of Faith*, there are three types of aspiration for enlightenment: the aspiration for enlightenment through *xin chengjiu faxin* 信成就發心 [The Perfection of Faith] the aspiration for enlightenment through understanding and deeds (*jiexing faxin* 解行發心), and the aspiration

the concept of *bodhicitta* has been also connected to the introduction of the esoteric Buddhist tradition during the Tang. In the *Jin'gangding yuqiezhong fa aruduoluosanmiaosanputi xinlun* 金剛頂瑜伽中發阿耨多羅三藐三菩提心論 [Treatise on Arousing the *Anuttarāsamyakṣambodhicitta* in the *Vajraśekhara* Yoga],⁵⁰ translated by Amoghavajra (Bukong 不空 [705–774]), the thought of *bodhicitta* was elaborated following esoteric texts such as the *Dari Jing* 大日經 [Skt. *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*, The Great Sun *Sūtra*], which explains three methods to attain *bodhicitta*, namely the method through fulfilling Buddhist vows (*xingyuan* 行願), the method through supreme Buddhist teachings (*shengyi* 勝義), and the method through esoteric incantations.⁵¹

Buddhist teachings and practices concerning the concept of *bodhicitta* were also addressed during the Sui and Tang periods. Huizhao's 慧沼 (650–714) *Quan fa putixin ji* 勸發菩提心集 [Collected Works Exhorting the Generation of the Aspiration for Enlightenment] in three fascicles is one example.⁵² Drawing broadly from scriptures concerning conceptions of *bodhicitta* available at the time, Huizhao intended to create a comprehensive framework based on the concept of *bodhicitta*. The first fascicle explains the theoretical issues concerning the character and phases of *bodhicitta*, various conditions favorable to the arousal of *bodhicitta*, and the benefits of cultivating *bodhicitta*; the second fascicle discusses different aspects of *bodhicitta* practice, such as receiving precepts, offering pūjā, and moral cultivation for women, and so forth. The final fascicle begins with the *Da Tang sanzang fashi chuan Xiyu zhengfazang shou pushajie* 大唐三藏法師傳西域正法藏受菩薩戒 [Ritual Manual for Receiving Bodhisattva Precepts Transmitted from the Western Regions by the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Tang]. It proceeds with detailed explanations of Buddhist rituals, virtuous deeds, and proper behaviors based on the Mahāyāna teachings of the six *pāramitās* (perfections). In short, this work is a compendium that

of enlightenment through insight (*zheng faxin* 證發心). The categories which Fazang adopted are the further classification of the first type of *bodhicitta*. See Hakeda, *The Awakening of Faith*, 80–91.

50 T no. 1665, 32: 572b–574a.

51 For brief introductions to esoteric Buddhism in China's Tang dynasty, see Orzech, 'Esoteric Buddhism in The Tang'; Lehnert, 'Amoghavajra'; Sharf, 'Buddhist Veda and the Rise of Chan'. Sharf suggests that the introduction of esoteric teaching and practice from South Asia may be the contributing factors of the formation of some Chan thoughts and practices such as lineage transmission, luminous mind, and precept altars.

52 T no. 1862, 45: 375a–408b. Huizhao is a neglected figure as in the Faxiang (Yogācāra) school. According to his biography, he first studied with Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664) and later with Kuiji 窺基 (632–682). See *sgsz*, T no. 2061, 50: 728c. For a biographical study of his life, see Yang, 'Huizhao shengzuan kao'. He was also well-versed in Buddhist logic and epistemology. See Lin, 'How to Attain Enlightenment Through Cognition of Particulars and Universals'.

reorganizes the theory and practice of *bodhicitta* based on various Mahāyāna texts and precepts, especially from the newly translated *Yuqie shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 [*Yogācārabhūmi Śāstra*] by Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664). This feature reflects the influence of Xuanzang and the Yogācāra doctrine he promoted.

3.3 *Pei Xiu Advocating for Bodhicitta*

Under the influence of prevalent doctrinal emphasis on the notion of *bodhicitta*, lay Buddhist practice during the Tang also demonstrates a tendency to reorganize ideas around the notion of *bodhicitta*. Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay* is his only work that systematically articulates his views of Buddhist practice. It is not a doctrinal treatise that deals with scholastic discussion of sophisticated Buddhist concepts. Rather, it is targeted at beginners to provide a comprehensive guide for practice. As its content suggests, this piece, addressed universally to both members of the clergy and the laity, explains the meaning of *bodhi*, *bodhicitta*, and the procedures for cultivation necessary to achieve *bodhicitta*. Its content has been arranged topically as follows:

Essay Exhorting the Generation of *Bodhicitta*⁵³

Preface by Chan Master Zongmi

1. Expounding the Term and Meaning of *Bodhi* 初明菩提名義
2. Expounding the Substance of *Bodhicitta* 次明菩提心體
3. Expounding the Three Types of Mind 次明三心
4. Expounding the Five Vows 次明五誓
5. Exhorting to Constantly Upholding *Bodhicitta* 次勸常持菩提心
6. Exhorting to Deliver all Sentient Being to Salvation 次勸度脫眾生
7. Exhorting to Accumulate Blessings and Merits 次勸積集福德
8. Exhorting to Cultivate and Study the Buddhadharma 次勸修學佛法
9. Exhorting to Serve in Person all Buddhas with Good Teachers 次勸親事諸佛善知識
10. Exhorting to Cultivate Solely for the Buddha-fruit 次勸修唯求佛果

53 The full title of this essay is 'Puquan sengsu fa putixin wen' 普勸僧俗發菩提心文 [Essay Exhorting for All Sangha and Laity to Generate *Bodhicitta*]. Alternative titles include 'Pei xiang quanfa putixin wen' 裴相勸發菩提心文 [Grand Councilor Pei's Essay Exhorting the Generation of *Bodhicitta*]. For a full English translation based on a popular Chinese edition, see Dharmamitra (trans.), *On Generating the Resolve to Become a Buddha*, 83–138. The master copy of this translation is based on X no. 1010, 58: 485c–489b and collated with a late Qing woodblock edition in *Fojiao zhongxue keben* 佛教中學課本 [Buddhist Middle School Lesson Book]. Colophons at the end of the master copy were not translated. I have consulted Bhikshu Dharmamitra's translation and adopted some of his renderings. See also Appendix 3 for various editions of this work.

11. Exhorting to Sustain Ties with Enlightened Clergy Members and the Laity 次勸結菩提道俗
12. Exhorting to Penetrate all Scriptures of the Perfect and Sudden Teaching 次勸通圓頓經典
13. Expounding all *Bodhi*-assisting Methods 次明一切助菩提法
14. Expounding the Four Methods of Bodhisattva's Indulgence 次明菩薩四懈怠法
15. Expounding the Four Methods of Bodhisattva's Fast and Quick Attainment 次明菩薩四速疾法
16. Expounding the Merit of Arousing *Bodhicitta* 次明發菩提心功德
17. Resolving Doubts Regarding the difference between the Mundane and Holy 次通凡聖差別疑

According to my reading, these seventeen topics can be grouped into five categories. Topics 1–3 discuss the doctrinal issues related to *bodhicitta* thought; topics 4–7 encourage practitioners to take vows in order to start the program; topics 8–12 address how to make learning and studying with teachers a central part of this practice; topics 13–15 introduce various methods to assist the process toward reaching enlightenment; finally, topics 16–17 conclude the essay by enumerating the benefits of generating *bodhicitta*.

Pei Xiu's work on *bodhicitta* is preceded by Zongmi's preface, which praises Pei Xiu's efforts to pursue the Buddhist course as *Rumen shangshi* 儒門上士 [an eminent figure in the Confucian tradition] and expresses Zongmi's approval of Pei Xiu's understanding and practice of the Buddhist teachings. According to Pei Xiu, the generation of *bodhicitta* is the correct Buddhist path for Buddhist believers to follow. A lack of *bodhicitta*, he argues, is the precise reason why sentient beings are deluded. Furthermore, Pei Xiu bases *puti xinti* 菩提心體 [the substance of *bodhicitta*] on the existence of *zhenxin* 真心 [the authentic mind], which is the source of all beings. The introduction of *zhenxin*, the pivotal concept in *the Awakening of Faith*, in the explication of the thought of *bodhicitta* demonstrates the influence of the *Awakening of Faith* he received through Zongmi.

Pei Xiu's essay shows that reading the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* deeply influenced him. And that his classification of *bodhicitta* is derived from the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* rather than the *Awakening of Faith*. He divides *bodhicitta* into the three minds that are necessary to maintain upon the indispensable paths to final enlightenment. According to Pei Xiu, *dabei xin* 大悲心 [the mind of great compassion] shows compassion towards all sentient beings. Buddhist followers should realize that the true mind is beyond birth and death, and concerns all sentient beings who have suffered in *saṃsāra*. Even if an individual

has not attained enlightenment, the mind of great compassion enables one to expect liberation from saṃsāra for all sentient beings. The *dazhi xin* 大智心 (the mind of great wisdom) refers to the will to learn all supreme Buddhist teachings; the *dayuan xin* 大愿心 (the mind of great vows) is the very beginning of Buddhist cultivation or practice. Among these three minds, Pei Xiu regarded the mind of great vows as the basis for *bodhicitta* because the vows are guides to the final attainment of enlightenment.⁵⁴

Pei Xiu's discussion of the generation of *bodhicitta* is a rare piece that was composed by a lay believer, and was thought highly of by later eminent monks, such as the Japanese Huayan (Kegon) master Myōe 明慧 (or Kōben 高辯, 1173–1232).⁵⁵ On the East Asian continent, similar writings composed by Buddhist monks like Huizhao are clergy- or monastic-centered. Pei Xiu's treatise, however, reflects issues that lay followers were far more concerned about. For example, in Huizhao's work, the importance of bodhisattva precepts was emphasized as a priority, while in Pei Xiu's writing, 'studying Buddhist doctrines' and 'penetrating the *sūtras* of sudden and perfect enlightenment' were effective methods to achieve enlightenment. As a Buddhist monk, Huizhao expected lay followers to respect members of the clergy and Buddhist institutions and to take the activity of regular donations as pivotal virtue; Pei Xiu, on the other hand, encouraged the formation of voluntary associations that both clergy members and the laity joined. This difference implies that monks in these associations only acted as spiritual benefactors rather than as institutional authorities.

Pei Xiu's emphasis on gradual procedures for Buddhist cultivation reveals common – or mainstream – Buddhist life in mid- to late-Tang times, which can be characterized by a close union of ordained members of the Buddhist clergy and the laity, in theory and in practice. The concept of *bodhicitta* functioned as a bridge to unite different schools among the clergy and laity. In contrast to *bodhicitta* doctrines advocated by clergy members, Pei Xiu's understanding was a more simplified and straightforward expression than the sophisticated philosophical writings of the ordained Buddhist scholastics. Pei Xiu's interpretation focuses more on the practical ramifications of Buddhist teachings in his life, namely, the life of literati Buddhist believers. Therefore, 'the mind' for him is not an abstract notion to be achieved through philosophical introspection or contemplation. His primary intellectual orientation further confirms 'the

54 *X* no. 1010, 58: 486b16–c8. See Dharmamitra's translation, *On Generating the Resolve*, 95–97.

55 Myōe wrote a colophon to praise Pei Xiu's work. *X* no. 1010, 58:489b. See Appendix 3 for detail.

practical dimension' among lay devotees, which Robert Gimello identifies in the Huayan exegete Li Tongxuan.⁵⁶

4 Learning as Cultivation

4.1 *Pei Xiu's Emphasis on Learning*

One of the salient features in Pei Xiu's program for Buddhist doctrinal study and practice is his emphasis on learning through Topics 8–12. In his *Bodhicitta Essay*, after explaining the meaning of *bodhicitta* and the purpose of the *bodhicitta* practice, he created a special category called *Quan xiuxue fofa* 勸修學佛法 [Encouraging the cultivation and learning of the Buddha dharma].

Let it be known throughout the Great Community that, whether a member of the Saṅgha or laity, we should now vow that, from this present life on until gaining the buddha body, we shall strive to cultivate all of the dharmas of the Buddhas, exhausting all of the instructional gateways. Thus, in order to instruct and lead forth beings, we shall gain the six *pāramitās*, the deep and superficial meanings of dharma, cause and effect, existence and non-existence, the two doctrinal lineages which focus on the 'nature' and 'dharmic characteristics', and the two teachings of 'sudden' and 'gradual' [enlightenment]. Even though our powers have not yet reached this point, nonetheless we shall constantly implement this mind so that it remains continuous in thought-after-thought and is not allowed to be interrupted or cut off. Are you able to maintain this mind, or not? If one is able to maintain this [*bodhi*] resolve, then one will never retreat from and fail to realize *anuttarāsamyaḥ-sambodhi*.

普告大眾：若僧若俗，從今身至佛身，誓欲修一切佛法，窮一切教門。四無量心，六波羅蜜，法義深淺，因果有無，性相二宗，頓漸二教，悉皆通達。開導眾生，力雖未及，常運此心，念念相續，不令間斷。能持此心否？若持此心，則永不退失阿耨多羅三藐三菩提。⁵⁷

Pei Xiu encouraged followers to exhaust all the *jiaomen* 教門 (doctrinal teachings), follow the *xingxiang liangzong* 性相兩宗 (two schools of nature and characteristics), and follow the *dunjian liangjiao* 頓漸兩教 (two teachings of sudden and gradual) with the help of a learned community of fellow students and teachers. Slightly later in the *Essay*, by following the Huayan

⁵⁶ Gimello, 'Li T'ung-hsuan'.

⁵⁷ Dharmamitra, *On Generating the Resolve to Become a Buddha*, 103. X no. 1010, 58: 487a11–15.

teaching *panjiao* 判教, (classification system), he advocates a thorough understanding of scriptures of the *yuandun jingdian* 圓頓經典 (perfect and sudden teachings), citing the *Jin'gang jing* 金剛經 [Diamond Sūtra], *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 [Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment], *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 [Avataṃsaka Sūtra], and the *Niepan jing* 涅槃經 [Nirvana Sūtra]. In addition, for Pei Xiu, *duowen* 多聞 (broad learning)⁵⁸ is *zhu puti fa* 助菩提法, an auxiliary method to reach enlightenment.

By Pei Xiu's time, the primary source for reading Buddhist literature was the Buddhist canon. Pei Xiu had a clear understanding of the importance of the Chinese Buddhist canon, which has been standardized around 733 in Zhisheng's 智昇 *Kaiyuan Catalog* (*Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄, T no. 2154). In his preface to the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*, he referred to *sanzang shier bu* 三藏十二部 (Three Baskets and Twelve Sections) as the repository of all Buddhist teachings. He stated clearly that the three 'baskets' of *Sūtra*, *Vinaya*, and *Śāstra* literature had been transmitted to China, and resulted in a collection of more than 5,000.⁵⁹ The standard size of the canon in Zhisheng's catalog was set as 5,048 fascicles; thus, the entire Chinese Buddhist canon is often referred to as containing 5,000 fascicles of Buddhist scriptures. Pei Xiu's reference shows his awareness of the contents of the canon.⁶⁰ In the *Jingde chuan-deng lu*, it says that Pei Xiu even hand-copied the entire canon and donated it to a monastery in Yuezhou 越州.⁶¹

It became impractical for followers to read the entire canon. Very often, a selection of titles and their commentaries were treated as equivalent to reading the whole Buddhist canon. For Pei Xiu, Zongmi's selection of scriptures and commentaries provided a standard reading list. He was most familiar with his master Zongmi's works, which he must have read thoroughly. Zongmi's works had prefaces by Pei Xiu, who surely did not treat such a task merely out of any courtesy. Rather, he was passionate about Zongmi's writings and engaged deeply in serious theoretical discussions about Zongmi's teachings. He believed that Zongmi's commentaries on the *sūtras* represented the whole Buddhist canon and were therefore worthy of reading. In his preface to Zongmi's *Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduoluo liaoyi jing lieshu* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略疏 [Abbreviated Commentary on Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment], he equated the *sūtra* to the entire canon, and Zongmi's commentary as the commentary to the entire canon. He said, 'All of the Great Canon is the *Sūtra*

58 Dharmamitra, *On Generating the Resolve to Become a Buddha*, 103.

59 He described them as in the format of rolls 軸, a clear indication of the manuscript edition. QTW 743:7687.

60 For the history of the Chinese canon, see Wu and Chia (eds.), *Spreading the Buddha's Word*.

61 *JDCDL*, T no. 2076, 51: 12.293b25–26 and *SGSZ*, T no. 2061, 50: 25.869c.

of the *Perfect Enlightenment*; thus this commentary is the commentary of the Great Canon. Covering the words of five-thousand scrolls but penetrating it with only a few fascicles, isn't this the simplest? 然則大藏皆圓覺之經。此疏乃大藏之疏也。羅五千軸之文，而以數卷之疏通之，豈不至簡哉！⁶²

4.2 *Pei Xiu on the Relationship between Commentaries, Scriptures, and Contemplations*

Pei Xiu frequently quoted Buddhist scriptures as well as Confucian and Daoist classics, such as those containing the teachings of Confucius (551–479 BCE) and Laozi 老子 (d.u.). Pei Xiu did not write any commentaries, but had certainly read many written by Zongmi. His emphasis on learning was undoubtedly influenced by his teacher Zongmi, a learned monk with a background in Confucian learning. Zongmi's efforts to synthesize Chan and Huayan teachings was first rooted in his extensive reading of and research on the Buddhist scriptural and commentaries traditions, especially those from the Huayan lineage. Not only was he an avid reader, but Zongmi also wrote extensively, often commentating and anthologizing his teachings as pamphlets and books. In his preface to Zongmi's *Zhu Fajie guanmen xu* 注華嚴法界觀門 [Commentary on *Gate of Contemplation on the Huayan Dharmadhātu*], Pei Xiu echoed his teacher in defending the use of words to express the true nature of reality. His analogy of the map of a city in the preface vividly illustrates his linguistic view of written words. He used the relationship between a *tujing* 圖經 (illustrated guide)⁶³ to the capital city, the *men zhi shuyue* 門之樞鑰 (key to the gate) of high terrace on which one can view the city, and the *gaotai* 高臺 (high terrace) to explain the relationship between scriptures, commentaries, and the mind contemplation. In the following, Pei Xiu rephrases this simile according to what he heard from Zongmi:⁶⁴

If one wants to see the beauty of the imperial ancestor shrine and view the great elegance of the capital city, one must carry the illustrated guide to ascend a high terrace to get the full view. Without ascending high but only holding the illustrated guide, this cannot be called true seeing. Without holding the map but only ascending high, one has no clue about clear distinctions [of the buildings]. This is just like the dharma realm, which is complete with the three greatness and covers myriads of beings.

62 T no. 1795, 39: 523c29–524a4.

63 'Tujing' was an early form of local gazetteers. For a brief history, see Dennis, *Writing, Publishing, and Reading Local Gazetteers*.

64 According to the Taishō notes, the 1649 Ōtani University edition and the Song edition kept by the Kunaishō Zushoryō 宮内省圖書寮 [Library Archive of the Imperial Household Agency] all have this note.

Nature, characteristics, virtue, and function [of myriads of beings] are all-sufficient in the mind, but not in the scriptures. (Just like how the beauty of an imperial shrine and the capital city does not lie in the illustrated guide.) [However], the explanation of cause and effect, the arrangement of status and ranks, the expression of the teachings and the exegesis of the meanings, encouragement of the joyful generation of faith are all complete in scriptures, rather than in the contemplations. (This is just like how the distant and the close [perceptions] of the imperial shrine and the breadth and narrowness of the streets lie in the illustrated maps, rather than on the terrace.) Contemplation is the method to penetrate the scriptures. (Entering contemplation to penetrate scriptures in order to authenticate one's nature is just like ascending the high terrace with the illustrated guide in order to have a look at the capital city.) Texts are just the entrance to contemplation. (It is just like the gate under the high terrace through which one can ascend.) Commentaries are the key to the gate. Therefore, there is nothing other than the scripture, which can authenticate the nature and virtue of the dharma realm. (Nature and virtue, which are vast and broad, cannot be exhausted without thorough explanations in scriptures.) There is nothing other than contemplation that can penetrate the teachings and meanings of the scriptures. (Without contemplation, one cannot enter the teachings and meanings, which are broad, but cannot go beyond the threefold dharma realm.) Entering the double mystery of contemplation, one must go through the gate. (Without the gate, one cannot enter the deep and mysterious realm of contemplation.) One must open the secret gate of the threefold [dharma realm] by using the key.

夫欲觀宗廟之遳美，望京邑之巨麗，必披圖經而登高臺，然後可盡得也。不登高而披圖，則不可謂真見；不披圖而登高，則眊然無所辨。故法界具三大，該萬有。性相德用，備在心，不在經也。（如宗廟京邑之美麗在城中不在圖上）明因果，列行位，顯法演義，勸樂生信，備在經，不在觀也。（如宗廟遠近街衢之闊狹在圖不在臺）觀者，通經法也。（入觀通經以證性如登高臺披圖而望京邑也）文者，入觀之門也。（如高臺下有門得其門然後可昇也）注者，門之樞鑰也。故欲證法界之性德莫若經，（性德廣大非經備說不能盡也）通經之法義莫若觀，（法義雖廣不出三重法界非觀不能入也）入觀之重玄必由門，（觀境幽深無門不可入也）闢三重之祕門必由樞鑰。夫如其則經不得不廣，門不得不束矣。⁶⁵

65 T no. 1884, 45: 683c21–684a4. My translation. For Bensong's commentary and explanation on this paragraph, see Wang, *Huayan fajie guanmen jiaoshi*, 126–127.

Here, Pei Xiu takes a reductionist approach to analyze the most critical doctrinal categories concerning some easily misunderstood concepts: For him, the Great Canon is equal to the *Sūtra of the Perfect Enlightenment*, which is the same as Zongmi's commentary. But the scripture is only an illustrated guide to the city, which is the mind that comprehends all the truths. However, in order to have an overview of the city, which is likened to the Huayan concept of 'contemplation', one has to follow the illustrated guide (the scriptures). To 'contemplate', one must ascend the terrace through the gate that can be opened only with keys, which are represented by the commentaries. In this intricate metaphor Pei Xiu suggests that reading commentaries is the most crucial step to comprehend the ultimate truth.

4.3 Sources of Pei Xiu's Bodhicitta Essay

Anthologizing Buddhist scriptures was a long-standing textual practice in the Chinese Buddhist tradition and was particularly popular during the Tang dynasty. By 'categorizing', 'copying', 'extracting', 'quoting', 'summarizing', and 'prefacing', Buddhist authors created a new kind of genre which assembled and arranged Buddhist materials according to their own understanding.⁶⁶ Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay* is basically an anthology rather than an independent treatise, in which he assembled many paragraphs and phrases from various Buddhist scriptures, especially from the scriptures often read and cited by Huayan exegetes. For example, he notes the following scriptures in his essay as his sources: the *Faxin gongde pin* 發心功德品 [Merits Generated from the Arousal of Bodhicitta] chapter from the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*; and the *Yiqie puti fa* 一切菩提法 [All Bodhi Methods] and *Zhu pusa shouji pin* 諸菩薩授記品 [Prophecies for All Bodhisattvas] chapters from the *Beihua jing* 悲華經 [The Flower of Compassion Sūtra (or *Karuṇāpūṇḍarīka-sūtra*, T no. 157)].⁶⁷ Furthermore, he also mentions an obscure scripture, the *Xianjie qianfo jing* 賢劫千佛經 [Sūtra of the Thousand Buddhas of the Auspicious Kalpa].⁶⁸

In addition to these scriptures mentioned by Pei Xiu, many phrases are taken from the scriptures and paraphrased. He provided no annotation or

66 For this popular practice in Tang Buddhism, see Hsu, 'Practices of Scriptural Economy', especially Chapters 4 and 5, 194–288.

67 Ishii Shūdō also noticed this feature of Pei Xiu's essay. See his explanatory note in *Chūgoku zenseki*, vol. 2, 595–605. For *Beihua jing* 悲華經 [The Flower of Compassion Sūtra], see Silk, 'The Origins and History of the Mahāratnakūṭa Tradition of Mahāyāna Buddhism', 670; Ono et al. (eds.), *Bussho kaisetsu daijiten* 9: 125–129. Quoted from Radich and Norrish, 'Chinese Buddhist Canonical Attributions Database', <https://dazangthings.nz/cbc/>.

68 This *sūtra* might be *Xianzai xianjie qianfo ming jing* 現在賢劫千佛名經 [Sūtra of the Thousand Buddhas' Names of the Auspicious Kalpa of the Present], T no. 447, 14: 376–447. It was traditionally ascribed to Zhu Tanwulan 竺曇無蘭 as the translator.

simply noted: *jing yun* 經云 [The *sūtra* says]. Bhikshu Dharmamitra has identified several occasions when Pei Xiu quoted scriptures but did not add any interlinear notes. For example, Pei Xiu seems to have paraphrased from fascicle six of the *Śūraṅgama Sūtra*.⁶⁹

The *Sūtra* says about *bodhicitta*: ‘although one has not gained liberation oneself, one nonetheless wishes to liberate those who have not yet gained liberation.’⁷⁰

經云菩提心已：雖未度，願度未度。⁷¹

Sometimes Pei Xi omits a few lines in order to make his narrative read better, as the following example from *Beihua jing* shows:

The [five] ‘root-faculties’ are *bodhi*-assisting *dharma*s because, on account of them, one destroys all afflictions.

諸根是助菩提法，摧滅一切煩惱故。覺是助菩提法，覺如實法故。⁷²

The following fifteen characters from fascicle 5 of the *Beihua jing* are missing from Pei Xiu’s quotation: “Because, on account of them, one consolidates the faculties. The [five] powers are *bodhi*-assisting *dharma*s” 攝取諸根成就故；諸力即是助菩提法 (*T* no. 157, 3: 198c10–11). Bhikshu Dharmamitra suggests that Pei Xi did this deliberately to “[graft] the predicate of the subsequent sentence onto the subject of the preceding sentence, thus corrupting the intended meaning of both sentences.”⁷³ No matter what Pei Xiu’s intention may have

69 *T* no. 945, 19: 131c.

70 Dharmamitra, *On Generating the Resolve*, 95, 132 note 13. This sentence is similar to the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經[*Śūraṅgama Sūtra*], *T* no. 945, 19: 6.131c6: 我雖未度，願度未劫一切眾生. For other examples, see Dharmamitra, *On Generating the Resolve*, 132, note 20. Pei Xiu also quoted a passage from the 40-juan edition of the Chinese version of *Avatamsaka Sūtra* (*Da fangguangfo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, *T* no. 293, 10: 846c), and *Beihua jing* (*T* no. 157, 3: 198b–c). See Dharmamitra, *On Generating the Resolve*, 135, note 32.

71 *X* no. 1010, 58: 486b17.

72 *X* no. 1010, 58: 487c19–20.

73 Dharmamitra, *On Generating the Resolve*, 135, note 42. Similarly, in the section on ‘Four Boddhisattva Swiftness *Dharma*s’, 115 and 135, note 49, Pei Xiu may have dropped a few lines from the *Beihua jing* (*T* no. 157 3: 201a–b) and started to quote again in order to fit in his text. The section on ‘The Merit from Generating the *Bodhi* Resolve’ were extracted from the *Avatamsaka* Chapter 17 (‘The Merit from the Initial Generation of the *Bodhi* Mind’) (*T* no. 279, 10: 89a–c). Dharmamitra, *On Generating the Resolve*, 115 and 136, note 51.

been, these examples demonstrate that this essay is not his original work, and instead represent the process of anthologizing passages from scriptures.

Although Pei Xiu's essay is not a sophisticated doctrinal treatise, it represents a popular type of religious pamphlet with didactic readings, which seem to have circulated widely in East Asian Buddhist history. With the advent of the woodblock printing technology, Pei Xiu's work was printed numerous times in China. One of the printed editions we have today was brought to Japan as early as the twelfth century. This essay was also translated into the Tangut language. (See Appendix 3 for details about the various editions). Pei Xiu's anthologizing efforts aimed to encourage certain moral and religious merits as gradual methods for self-cultivation and learning.

5 Pei Xiu as a Chan Follower

5.1 *From Center to Periphery: Regionalization of Chan Buddhism in Pei Xiu's Time*

Buddhism in the Tang dynasty was characterized by generous imperial patronage. On the one hand, the imperial court excised effective control over the Buddhist clergy through appointing monk-officials, establishing new institutions, sponsoring new *sūtra* translations, and bestowing honorific titles on ordained monastics. Most of these patronages benefited eminent monks who resided close to or within the capital, making Chang'an and Luoyang Buddhist centers. On the other hand, based on newly translated scriptures such as the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and esoteric scriptures, Buddhism as a religion provided religious legitimization for imperial rule. As a result, this type of capital-based Buddhism was also doctrine-oriented and based on extensive Buddhist learning. Zongmi's rise to prominence as a figure among monks in the capital certainly benefited from his erudition, his relationship with Chengguan, the "national preceptor" at that time, and his claim to be an heir to Shenhui's lineage, the officially established seventh patriarch.⁷⁴

After the An Lushan rebellion (755–763), the institution of Chinese Buddhism underwent a subtle change along with the shift of political power to regional military governors and local oligarchs who patronized the kind of Buddhism with "popular characteristics," rather than the "elistist" philosophical schools of Buddhism whose members were mainly eminent monks working in imperially-endowed temples in the two capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang.⁷⁵

74 See Jørgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 64–66; McRae, 'Shenhui as Evangelist'.

75 Weinstein, *Buddhism in the Tang*, 62–65. See also Brose, 'Improvisation'; Jørgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 451–534.

Chan Buddhism undoubtedly benefited from this change and became a significant player in this process of regionalization.

In 732, Shenhui launched the famous Huatai 滑臺 debate to challenge the dominance of Shenxiu 神秀 (606–706) and Puji's 普寂 (651–739) "Northern Chan" and establish Huineng's teaching as the new orthodoxy. However, his phenomenal triumph did not settle all issues within the Chan tradition. Although the success of Shenhui at this debate and subsequent imperial recognition of his status as the "seventh patriarch" led to the spread of Shenhui's lineage in China, even as far west as Dunhuang, Tibet, and to the Nanzhao kingdom 南詔國 in the southwest, various social, political, and religious upheavals during the mid-Tang further divided the Chan school into locally based "sects," each of which had their own claims to orthodox lineage transmission.⁷⁶ During the An Lushan rebellion, the temporary transfer of the political center to Sichuan made the Sichuan Chan school extremely active in terms of claiming orthodox transmission. The *Lidai fabaoji* 歷代法寶記 [Record of the Dharma-Jewel Through the Generations, T no. 2075, 51: 179–96] documents the effort of master Wuzhu's 無住 (714–774) disciples to establish the Jingzhong-Baotang 淨眾保唐 tradition from which Zongmi emerged as a prominent figure. Under the auspices of local warlords, the Hongzhou school, which Xiyun belonged to, rose in the south under the leadership of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788), also from Sichuan, who distinguished himself by his radical claims of so-called subitism, which Zongmi characterized as *xianshi zhenxin jixingjiao* 顯示真心即性教 (direct revelation that mind is the nature).⁷⁷ His tradition spread well beyond Jiangxi and extended north to Central China, southeast to Zhejiang, and even to Korea.⁷⁸ Although there is no evidence to prove any direct affinity between the Jingzhong tradition in Sichuan and Mazu's Hongzhou school,

76 Although the standard Chan history after the Tang only recognized six patriarchs, Shenhui was indeed awarded the title of the seventh patriarch during his time as testified in Zongmi's record and Shenhui's newly discovered epitaph. It seems that there was a dispute about who should be the seventh patriarch because Shenxiu's disciple Puji and Huineng's disciple Qingyuan Xingsi 青原行思 (671–740) also claimed to be the seventh patriarch. See Jan, 'Chanzong diqizu zhizheng de wenxian yanjiu'; Wen, 'Ji xinchutu de Heze dashi Shenhui taming'.

77 Zongmi, *Chanyuan zhuquan du xu*, T no. 2015, 48: 402b19–20. This is one of the threefold taxonomy which Zongmi developed to classify Chan teachers in his time. He criticized the Hongzhou teachers for their radical non-dualism of focusing overwhelmingly on the *yong* 用 (function) rather than *ti* 體 (essence). See Pocski, *Ordinary Mind as the Way*, 197–198.

78 See Pocski, *The Ordinary Mind*, chapters 2 and 3, 45–124. See also Suzuki, *Tō Godai no zenshū*, 151.

Daoyi's background among Sichuan Chan school teachers suggests certain connections or mutual influence between the two traditions' teachings.⁷⁹

Pei Xiu's work and experience with Chan monks suggests that it was Zongmi and Xiyun who exerted the most influence upon him.⁸⁰ Zongmi and Xiyun represented two different Buddhist communities during the mid-Tang period. If Zongmi can be described as a capital monk who originated from Sichuan on the one hand, then Xiyun, on the other hand, was a locally based Chan teacher who belonged to the Hongzhou region of northern Jiangxi province. This regional and local focus necessitated new modes of monasticism that favored the ideal of self-reliance. According to premodern Chan historiographers, the Hongzhou school made remarkable contributions to Chan practice and established independent monastic codes for daily Chan practice. The so-called *Baizhang's Pure Regulations* was allegedly the product of this movement. According to the *Chanmen guishi* 禪門規式 [Regulations and Layout of Chan Monasteries] in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, Baizhang Huaihai reformed Chan institutions by establishing separate and independent settlements, which featured elimination of the Buddha Hall and the *puqing* 普請, a system of universal labor for all monastics. This new initiative, based on independent monastic regulations, certainly helped the Hongzhou school to survive in a regional area far from imperial patronage.⁸¹

5.2 *Pei Xiu's Encounter with Huangbo Xiyun*

Despite his close relationship with Zongmi, Pei Xiu has been portrayed as an exemplary Chan follower in Chan historiographies such as the *Jingde chuandenglu* because he also associated himself with Huangbo Xiyun. According

79 Daoyi's biographical materials indicate that he was ordained in Sichuan and was once Chuji's 處寂 (648–735, the second master in the Baotang school) disciple. See *SGSZ*, T no. 2059, 50: 10.768a, *JDCDL*, T no. 2076, 51: 6.245c, *QTW* 501.5106–5107. This was further confirmed by Zongmi although he indicated Daoyi was Master Kim's 金 (Wuxiang 無相, 680–757) disciple rather than Chuji's. See *Yuanjuejing dashu shiyi chao*, X no. 0245, 9: 3.534b and *Zhonghua chuan xindi Chanmen zhizi chengxi tu*, X no. 1225, 63:32. Daoyi left Sichuan after his teacher died in 734 and finally settled in Hongzhou around 770. See Poceski, *The Ordinary Mind*, 26, 31.

80 Pei Xiu has connection with Guishan Lingyou as well. For their interaction, see Poceski, *The Ordinary Mind*, 93.

81 Griffith Foulk believes that Baizhang's regulation was a myth created by the Song Chan historiography. He argues that during the Song the system of *puqing* (universal labor) was a common practice of all sects of Buddhism and the layout of Chan institutions was commonly adopted by almost all monasteries. See Foulk, 'Myth, Ritual, and Monastic Practice in Sung Ch'an Buddhism'. See also Yifa, *The Origins of Buddhist Monastic Codes*; and Jia, *The Hongzhou School*.

to these likely dubious descriptions, Pei Xiu was 'converted' by Xiyun, and became an advocate for the so-called radical Hongzhou Chan school. The most dramatic story is Pei Xiu's 'enlightenment experience' with Huangbo Xiyun, which is most likely a fabrication developed later and recorded in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.

The time when Pei Xiu was the prefect of Xin'an 新安 was the period when Chan master Xiyun first left the monks on Huangbo Mountain and entered Da'an 大安 monastery, where he disguised himself among servant monks and did cleaning jobs in halls. Pei Xiu, who visited the monastery to offer incense, was welcomed by the abbot. Because Pei Xiu saw a mural, he asked: 'what is this drawing about?'

The abbot answered: 'This is the true image of an eminent monk'.

Pei Xiu said: 'His true image is visible, but where is this eminent monk?'

The monks gave him no answer.

Pei Xiu continued to ask: 'Is there a person [who practices] Chan here?'

He was answered: 'Recently there is a monk sojourning in this monastery and carrying the routine duties. He looks like a Chan person'.

Pei Xiu said: 'May I ask him to entertain my inquiry?'

Therefore Master Xiyun was called in soon. Pei Xiu took one look and was delighted. He asked: 'I happen to have a question but these monks are too mean to give me an answer. Now I want to ask you to answer my question'. Xiyun replied: 'Please ask the question'. Pei Xiu thus repeated the former question. Master Xiyun shouted loudly: 'Pei Xiu'. Pei Xiu answered the call immediately.

The Master asked: 'Where are you?'

Pei Xiu suddenly understood the meaning as if obtaining a precious hair-bun like pearl⁸² and said: 'My master is truly a spiritual teacher. He shows us the way to succeed like this, why does he immerge himself in this place?' At that time, the mass was astonished.⁸³

82 The phrase 'hair-bun like pearl' (*jizhu* 髻珠) alludes to the story in the 'Anle pin' 安樂品 [Chapter of Peaceful Practice] of the *Lotus Sūtra*. It is said that the king of the dharma wheel can give house and land to those who have merits, except the pearl which decorates his hair. Only the most illuminated ones can obtain the pearl. This phrase is used to refer to the wonderful meaning of the *sūtra*. See *T* no. 262, 9: 39a–38c.

83 *T* no. 2076, 51:293a–b. My translation. This episode is based on the *Wanling lu*. See Blofeld, *The Zen Teaching of Huang Po*, 100–101. Please note that the origin and authorship of the *Wanling Record* are still undetermined. Although it might be created later than the *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind* and then attributed to Pei Xiu, its style and use of terminology are consistent with those in the *Essentials*. For a short overview of the recent discussion about its authenticity in the English academic world, see Leahy, 'The Wanling Record', 9–11. For a summary of the Japanese scholarship, see the next note.

守新安日，屬[希]運禪師初於黃檗山捨眾入大安精舍，混迹勞侶掃灑殿堂。公入寺燒香，主事祇接。因觀壁畫乃問：“是何圖相？”主事對曰：“高僧真儀。”公曰：“真儀可觀高僧何在？”僧皆無對。公曰：“此間有禪人否？”曰：“近有一僧投寺執役，頗似禪者。”公曰：“可請來詢問得否？”於是遽尋運師。公覩之欣然曰：“休適有一問諸德吝辭，今請上人代禱一語。”師曰：“請相公垂問。”公即舉前問。師朗聲曰：“裴休！”公應諾。師曰：“在什麼處？”公當下知旨如獲髻珠。曰：“吾師真善知識也。示人剋的若是，何汨沒於此乎？”寺眾愕然。

Similar legends preserved in Chan lamp records vividly demonstrate Pei Xiu's piety and how he was appropriated by later Chan historiographers to construct a lively *wenda* 問答 (encounter-dialogue). However, the only credible record about Pei Xiu's encounter with Xiyun was the preface he wrote for Xiyun's *Essentials*.⁸⁴

84 The textual history of the *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind* is extremely complex. It was usually composed of two parts: *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind* and the *Wanling lu*, because Pei Xiu stated in his preface that he had received Xiyun's teaching in Zhongling and Wanling respectively. According to Ui Hakuju, Yanagida Seizan, and Chuang Kuan-mu's 莊坤木 studies, there are the following notable facts about Xiyun's records attributed to Pei Xiu:

1. The so-called *Essentials* starts with 'the master said to me (Pei Xiu)' in the beginning of every entry, while the so-called *Wanling Records* begins with 'the Grand Councilor Pei Xiu asked the master'. This shows that the latter part was obviously not compiled by Pei Xiu himself. This part may be composed by Pei Xiu's assistants during his tenure in Wanling.
2. Part of the *Essentials* was preserved in the *JDCDL*, T no. 2076, 51: 9.270b2–273a23, including the preface and the first five paragraphs of *The Essentials of the Transmission of Mind*. In the end, the mind transmission verse (*Chuanxin ji* 傳心偈) of Pei Xiu was appended and it was noted that this insertion was made by monk Tianzhen 天真 in 1048.
3. In the Chinese Tripiṭaka printed in the Chongning 崇寧 (1080–1104) of the Northern Song, these two texts were first included.
4. There might be two types of the text: the old type, which was very close to the original form, was composed by monks in Guangtang 廣唐 monastery where Pei Xiu sent his collection of Xiyun's teaching, and the new type, which was enlarged in later times. The early text is composed of most parts of the *Essentials* and several passages of the *Wanling lu*. Later this edition was transmitted to Korea and preserved in the *Sōnmun ch'waryo* 禪門撮要 [Collected Essentials of The Chan Gateway]. It was also transmitted to Japan and thus was reprinted in 1632. See Yanagida, ed., *Kōrai-bon Zenmon satsuyō*, 30–43. Please note that the *Wanling lu* is arranged before the *Essentials* in this Korean compilation.
5. The received Ming version of the *Essentials* in China was more likely based on an enlarged edition and moved the recorded sayings of Huangbo Xiyun in *Tiansheng guangdeng lu* 天聖廣燈錄 [The Enlarged Records of Lamp Transmission of the Tiansheng Reign] to the end of the *Wanling lu*.

According to the preface he wrote for Xiyun's *Essentials* on the tenth day of the eleventh year of the Dazhong reign period (858), in the second year of the Huichang reign period (843), Pei Xiu was appointed the Prefect of Hongzhou, and stationed in Zhongling (today's Nanchang) in Jiangxi, which was a stronghold of the Hongzhou school. At that time, Xiyun resided at Mount Huangbo in the neighbouring Gao'an county. Pei Xiu extended an invitation to Xiyun and arranged for him to reside in Longxing monastery in Zhongling. In the second year of the Dazhong reign period (849), he was appointed as the Surveillance Commissioner of Xuanzhou and Shezhou, and again he invited Xiyun to reside in Kaiyuan monastery in Wanling.⁸⁵ During these two periods, Pei Xiu had opportunities to inquire about Xiyun's teachings and later compiled his notes into the *Essentials*. Because Xiyun had already passed away when the records were finished, Pei Xiu gave these records to Xiyun's two disciples, Dazhou 大舟 and Fajian 法建 of Guangtang monastery 廣唐寺 to check with the elder monks in the monastery.

Pei Xiu thought highly of Xiyun and expressed his admiration in the preface as follows:

There was a great Chan master of the religious name Xiyun, who lived beneath the Eagle Promontory on Mount Huangbo in Gao'an County in the region of Hongzhou. He was a direct successor to the Sixth Patriarch of Caoxi and the religious nephew of Baizhang [Huaihai] and Xitang [Zhizang]. Alone did he gird himself with the ineffable seal of the supreme vehicle. He transmitted only the One Mind, other than which there are no other *dharmas*. The essence of the mind is empty, and the myriad conditions are all serene. It is like the great orb of the sun climbing into space – the refulgent brilliance gleams in illumination, purity without a single speck of dust. The realization [of this mind] is without new or old, without shallow or deep. Its explanation depends neither on doctrinal understanding, on teachers, nor on opening up the doors and windows [of one's house to let in students]. Right now, and that's it! To activate thoughts is to go against it! Afterward, [you'll realize] this is the

See Ui, *Denshin hōyō*; Yanagida, 'Goroku no rekishi'; Chuang, 'Shilun Huangbo chanshi chuanxin fayao de chenglishi jiqi yiyi'. Iriya, *Denshin hōyō*, especially pp. 178–181 for a chronological history of the *Essentials*.

85 Pei Xiu spoke clearly about the invitation. In local records, Pei Xiu was closely associated with local temples. For the system of official monasteries in the Tang and the setup of Kaiyuan and Longxing temples, see Nie, *Tangdai Fojiao guansi zhidu yanjiu*, 113, 152. I want to thank Prof. Nie for these references and assistances.

fundamental Buddha. Therefore, his words were simple, his principles direct, his path steep, and his practice unique.⁸⁶

有大禪師，法諱希運，住洪州高安縣黃檗山鷲峯下，乃曹溪六祖之嫡孫，‘百丈之子，西堂之姪’。⁸⁷獨佩最上乘離文字之印，唯傳一心更無別法。心體亦空萬緣俱寂，如大日輪昇虛空中，光明照曜淨無纖埃。證之者無新舊，無淺深；說之者不立義解，不立宗主，不開戶牖，直下便是，動念即乖，然後為本佛。故其言簡，其理直，其道峻，其行孤。⁸⁸

Pei Xiu's close relationship with Xiyun during and after the Huichang reign causes certain difficulties in terms of how to interpret Pei Xiu's lineage affiliation. His writings about Zongmi reveal an overwhelming influence of Zongmi as his primary teacher. However, in his preface to the *Essentials*, he showed how highly he thought of Xiyun's Chan teachings and claimed that he took Xiyun's teaching as the *xinyin* 心印 (mind seal). His preface expresses vivid admiration for Xiyun. He claimed that only Xiyun carries the 'ineffable seal of the supreme vehicle'. Zongmi must have exerted far greater influence on Pei Xiu, but Xiyun and other Chan masters' presence may have triggered subtle changes in Pei Xiu's thinking about Buddhist teachings. He seems to have become more aware of the criticisms launched against Zongmi by other Chan masters. Although his encounter with Xiyun introduced him to a new understanding of the Chan tradition, there is no evidence to indicate that this encounter with Xiyun fundamentally changed his relationship with Zongmi. In Zongmi's epitaph written by Pei Xiu, Pei Xiu still revered Zongmi. Therefore, it is not accurate to use the word 'conversion' to describe Pei Xiu's encounter with Xiyun, as later premodern Chan historiographers suggest.⁸⁹ There are, however, several signs in his writings that demonstrate he was more aware of the criticism against Zongmi and intended to defend him. In his preface to Zongmi's posthumous but now lost work *Daosu chouda wenji* 道俗酬答文集 [Collected Correspondence with Laity and Clergy], Pei Xiu argued that although Zongmi

86 McRae, 'Huangbo Xiyun's Essentials of the Transmission of Mind', 11. For an earlier translation, see Blofeld, *The Zen Teaching of Huang Po*, 27. Dale Wright raised interesting and thoughtful questions, such as the role of printing, about the textual origins of Xiyun's work based on Pei Xiu's preface. I can not deal with these questions here and will explore them in the future. See Wright, *Philosophical Medications*, Chapter 1, especially pages 3–18.

87 The original phrase is 西堂百丈之法姪 in the Taishō edition. Iriya inserted the phrase in the brackets according to the Yuan dynasty print of *JDCDL*. See Iriya, *Denshi hōyō*, 3–5.

88 *T* no. 2012A, 48: 379b26–c12.

89 The perception of Pei Xiu's conversion depicted by the *JDCDL* has influenced modern scholarship as well. See Welter, *Monks, Rulers, and Literati*, 37.

was preoccupied with writing essays to explicate Buddhist doctrines, he never 'laid his mind on those words' (*yi wenzi weinian* 以文字為念).⁹⁰ This is because Zongmi was not merely an exegetical Huayan master but also a Chan lineage holder who was well-placed within Chan genealogy during the mid-Tang era. Although he claimed to be the fifth generation in Shenhui's lineage whom he believed to be the immediate successor to the Sixth Patriarch Huineng, even in his own time his image of a Chan master was debatable. In the following epitaph written by Pei Xiu, he hinted at disputes without naming the accusers:

Some contenders said that my master did not observe the Chan practices and instead lectured extensively about the Buddhist doctrines. He took the construction of monasteries as his task when he traveled among famous metropolitans. Is this because he is enslaved by *duowen* 多聞 (excessive knowledge)? How could it be that he did not abandon fame and profit?⁹¹

議者以大師不守禪行，而廣講經論，游名邑大都，以興建為務，乃為多聞之所役乎？豈聲利之所未忘乎？

Although we do not have any details about who these contenders might be, it is reasonable to surmise that Hongzhou Chan masters may have been among the accusers. Consider also the following remarks by Xiyun that Pei Xiu recorded in the *Essentials*:

People nowadays only want to attain great knowledge and many [different] interpretations [of the dharma], and they seek extensively the meanings of texts. They say they are practicing but they do not understand that great knowledge, and many interpretations will on the contrary form a barrier [to enlightenment]. It is like feeding a child great amounts of milk and yogurt while being completely unaware of whether or not he can digest it.⁹²

今時人只欲得多知多解，廣求文義，喚作修行。不知多知多解翻成壅塞，唯知多與兒酥乳喫，消與不消都總不知。⁹³

90 According to Jan Yün-hua, this piece was written not earlier than 855. That is to say, it was composed after his encounter with Xiyun. See Jan, 'Pei Xiu fojiao shenghuo de yanjiu', 192.

91 QTW 743:7692b. Pei Xiu's defense of Zongmi has been incorporated in *SGSZ*, T no. 2061, 50: 6.742b.

92 McRae, 'Huangbo Xiyun's Essentials of the Transmission of Mind', 33.

93 T no. 2012A, 48: 382c16–20.

Xiyun suggests that Zongmi's approach to doctrinal studies will not contribute to final realization. Although Xiyun was critical to Zongmi's approach, Pei Xiu's willingness to invite Huangbo Xiyun and write down his words indicates that he must have approved of Xiyun's Chan teaching.

5.3 *Pei Xiu's Inclusive View of Chan Lineages*

Pei Xiu considered the *fayan* 法眼 (dharma eye) transmitted from the Śākyamuni Buddha as the essence of Chan Buddhism, as long as the teaching and practice of the Chan masters derived from *yixin* 一心 (One Mind). He remarked in the inscription written for Zongmi as follows:

One Mind is the summation of a myriad of teaching. It splits into Precepts, Meditation, and Wisdom, opens as six Pāramitās, and disperses as a myriad of practice. The myriad of practice is none other than One Mind and One Mind is none other than the myriad of practice. Chan is only one of the six Pāramitās, how can it comprehend all teachings? Furthermore, Tathāgata transmitted to Kaśyapa the dharma Eye instead of teaching and practice. Therefore, verifying [one's enlightenment] from one's own mind becomes the teaching; acting by following one's vows becomes the practice. These are not always the same. However, this very 'One Mind' is what originated from the myriad teachings but does not belong to them. One who obtains it becomes free from these teachings. One who sees it has no obstruction with doctrine. [The Chan teaching] is basically not teaching and therefore can not be articulated as teaching. It is not doctrine either and thus can not be transmitted as doctrine. How can it be sought after by tracing its trajectories?

夫一心者萬法之總也，分而為戒，定，慧，開而為六度，散而為萬行，萬行未嘗非一心，一心未嘗違萬行。禪者六度之一耳，何能總諸法哉？且如來以法眼付迦葉，不以法行。故自心而證者為法，隨愿而起者為行，未必常同也。然則一心者，萬法之所生而不屬於萬法。得之者則於法自在矣，見之者則於教無礙矣。本非法，不可以法說；本非教，不可以教傳。豈可以軌迹而尋哉？⁹⁴

According to Pei Xiu, Chan masters should not be judged by their teaching and practice if they have achieved the ultimate understanding based on their

94 QTW 743, 7692. For the partial Japanese translation of this passage and discussion of Pei Xiu's view of Indian Buddhist historiography, see Saitō, *Chūgoku Zenshū Shisho No Kenkyū*, 253–256, esp. 254.

mind. By implication, they should all represent the true 'dharma eye' of One Mind. Here, Pei Xiu clearly suggested an inclusive view of Chan lineages.

Zongmi and Xiyun represent two drastically different schools or *zong* 宗 in the Chan Buddhist tradition. Both Zongmi and Xiyun had lineage transmission, and Pei Xiu was aware of them. He regarded Zongmi as Heze Shenhui's *disun* 嫡孫 (legitimate heir) through Nanyin 南印 (d.u.) and Daoyuan 道圓 (d.u.) with the *Nanzong miyin* 南宗密印 (secret seal of the Southern School) as members of the thirty-fifth generation after Śākyamuni Buddha.⁹⁵ He delineated Zongmi's dharma transmission in his inscription: Bodhidharma, Huike 慧可 (d. 593), Sengcan 僧璨 (d. 606), Daoxin 道信 (580–651), and Hongren 弘忍 (601–674). Under Hongren, he recognized the existence of the Oxhead or Niutou lineage 牛頭宗 as a collateral transmission. Understood to have received transmission from Hongren, Huineng became the Sixth Patriarch. Hongren also transmitted to Shenxiu 神秀 (606–706), who established the so-called Northern Lineage (Beizong 北宗), which Pei Xiu duly acknowledged.⁹⁶ Huineng then transmitted the dharma to Shenhui, who established the Heze lineage, and was inaugurated as the 'Seventh Patriarch'. Huineng also transmitted to Nanyue Huairang 南嶽懷讓 (677–744), who then handed the teaching to Mazu Daoyi, who in Pei Xiu's words, established the Jiangxi lineage, or the Hongzhou school. Shenhui transmitted his lineage to Zizhou Faru 資州法如 (d.u.), and then Jingnan Zhang 荆南張 (d.u.), and then Suizhou Yuan 遂州圓 (d.u.). Shenhui also transmitted his lineage to Dongjing Zhao 東京照 (d.u.). Suizhou Yuan transmitted his lineage to Zongmi, who was the fifth-generation dharma heir in Shenhui's lineage, which means that he was in the eleventh generation of Bodhidharma's lineage and in the thirty-eighth generation in Mahākāśyapa's lineage.⁹⁷ In addition to acknowledging Shenhui as Huineng's legitimate heir and status as the Seventh Patriarch, Pei Xiu also recognized the existence of the Oxhead or Niutou lineage after the Fifth Patriarch Hongren, Mazu's Chan lineage in Jiangxi, and even a lineage of Tiantai teachings. Moreover, he appreciated Xiyun's teachings and praised him as a direct heir to the Sixth Patriarch (Huineng) with Xitang and Baizhang as his dharma ancestors.⁹⁸

The lineage of Zongmi that Pei Xiu recorded faithfully was not accepted without any doubts in later Chan histories. The eminent Chinese historian and expert in early Chan Buddhist history, Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962), raised suspicions about Zongmi's claim of dharma transmission from Shenhui. He

95 'Yuanjue jing lüeshu xu', *QTW* 743.7687.

96 van Schaik, *The Spirit of Zen*, 31–46.

97 *QTW* 743.7692.

98 'Chuanxin fayao xu', *QTW* 743.7688.

believed Zongmi falsely claimed his identity as Shenhui's heir. According to Hu Shi, Zongmi, as a disciple from the Jingzhong tradition in Sichuan, actually profited from his 'fabrication' of the transmission from Shenhui whom Zongmi regarded as the immediate successor to the Sixth Patriarch Huineng. Both Jan Yün-hua and Yanagida Seizan, arguably the most respected Japanese scholar of Chan and Zen Buddhist history during the twentieth century, refuted Hu Shi's conclusions.⁹⁹ To understand Zongmi's connection to Shenhui, Nanyin Weizhong 南印惟忠 (ca. 705–782) is a crucial figure. Peter Gregory argues that if it was not Zongmi who fabricated this lineage, then it must have been his teacher Nanyin Weizhong who first made this lineage claim. A scroll from the Nanzhao kingdom preserved in the National Palace of Taipei provides further evidence to this argument. Based on this scroll, Peter Gregory explains how Weizhong's intention to establish a new sect was based on the history of Shengshou monastery 聖壽寺, which took advantage of the confusion of his master's name Jingzhong Shenhui 淨眾神會 (720–795) and Heze Shenhui. The scroll discovered in Nanzhao also depicts Weizhong (a.k.a Zhang Weizhong 張惟忠) as a disciple of Heze Shenhui, indicating that his claim had gained currency in some regions. Therefore, as Gregory suggests, a 'Shengshou' school could have also been derived from the Jingzhong tradition, but one that emphasized its members' connection with Shenhui. This new tradition was thus different from its rival, the Baotang school, which was criticized for its radical teachings and practices.¹⁰⁰

As Zongmi's faithful student, Pei Xiu did not see any problems with Zongmi's lineage claims. In his preface for the *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 [Prolegomenon to the Collection of Expressions of the Chan Source], under the influence of Zongmi, Pei Xiu systematically expressed his view about sectarian rivalries within different Chan traditions or lineages. He acknowledged multiple transmissions of the Buddha's teachings and collateral dharma lineages among Chan practitioners. For example, in his view, both Huineng and Shenhui transmitted Bodhidharma's 'Mind' with different teachings ('*juchuan Damo zhi xin* 俱傳達摩之心').¹⁰¹ Their differences lay simply in their dissimilar responses to human beings' dispositions and capacities ('*touji sui qi* 投機隨器').

Pei Xiu believed that during his time, Chan communities faced the serious problem of balancing *tong* 通 (comprehensiveness) and *ju* 局 (limitedness) in

99 See Hu, 'Ba Pei Xiu de Tang gu Guifeng dinghui chanshi chuanfa bei'; Jan, 'Zongmi chuanfa shixi de zaijiantao', 287; and Yanagida, *Shoki no zenshū shisho no kenkyū*, 335–349.

100 Gregory, *Tsung-mi and the Sinification of Buddhism*, 37–54. See also Adamek, *Mystique of Transmission*, 258–59.

101 QTW 743.7688.

terms of Chan masters' teachings. For him, although all Chan teachings are the *zhengwu zhimen* 證悟之門 (gate of realization and awakening), representing the *zhengzhen zhidao* 正真之道 (authentic Way), few teachers within each lineage achieved 'comprehensiveness' and many fell into the trap of 'limitedness' ('*tongshao juduo* 通少局多'). The result was hostility towards the *jinglun* 經論 (scripture and commentaries) and the 'gradual decline of Chan masters' pedagogy over the past decades' ('*shu shinian lai shifa yihuai* 數十年來師法益壞'). His teacher Zongmi, however, was *huijiao zhiren* 會教之人 (the person who harmonizes the teachings) who could synthesize Chan and doctrinal studies.¹⁰² Here, Pei Xiu advocated for a balanced approach, rather than a one-sided sectarian model that limited the comprehensive understanding of the Way.

6 Conclusion

Pei Xiu's involvement with Zongmi and Xiyun indicates that he was a serious *qiudaozhe* 求道者 (pursuant of the Way), according to Suzuki Tetsuo's typology of intellectuals who favored Chan Buddhist teachings.¹⁰³ He was also a friend of these two masters and maintained a master-disciple relationship through frequent literary exchanges with them. Pei Xiu's high literary accomplishments and strong doctrinal orientation were undoubtedly the main characteristics of his spirituality. Nonetheless, Pei Xiu's pious Buddhist practice suggests that he was not only interested in doctrinal studies, but he also favored disciplined Buddhist cultivation through learning. Pei Xiu's agenda for generating *bodhicitta* reveals his conscious endeavor of Buddhist cultivation. Moreover, his theoretical understanding of Buddhist doctrines such as the mind and *dharmadhātu* implies a strong practical dimension that is characterized by the concrete manifestation of these theoretical concepts in the real world. Viewed from Pei Xiu's perspective, it is difficult to justify the popular image of his 'conversion' to the more 'radical' Chan tradition as indicated in premodern – mostly the Song dynasty – Chan historiographical compilations such as the *Jingde chuandeng lu*. Rather, Pei Xiu remained a Chan practitioner who followed a more 'gradual' approach toward enlightenment throughout his life. This depiction is certainly consistent with Pei Xiu's inclusive view of the Chan tradition.

In this essay, I have focused on the lay Buddhist life within Chan communities during the late Tang and revealed an important, but overlooked aspect of

102 For a translation of Pei Xiu's preface, see Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, 192–195.

103 Suzuki, 'Hoku Sō-ki no chishikijin no Zenshū shikō taipu', 45–46.

the history of lay Buddhism by comparing Pei Xiu's intellectual involvement with Guifeng Zongmi and Huangbo Xiyun from the perspective of a learned layman. As Mario Poceski has pointed out, model Tang literati followers of Chan Buddhism, including Pei Xiu, developed a distinctive style of lay practice and were not just passive 'patrons' of Chan.¹⁰⁴ Through his involvement, mostly learning from eminent Chan teachers and producing his own Buddhist texts, he also created his version of doctrinal exegesis and practice, which can be fruitfully applied to the history of lay Buddhist life in the ninth century. For Pei Xiu, intellectual, literary, and textual pursuits were his main interests within the Buddhist tradition, while self-cultivation practices are also an integral part of his novel spiritual configuration.

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Abbreviations

CBETA	<i>Chinese Buddhist Electronic Tripitaka Association</i>
JSL	<i>Jinshi lüe</i>
JTS	<i>Jiu Tang shu</i>
QTS	<i>Quan Tang shi</i>
QTW	<i>Quan Tang wen</i>
SGSZ	<i>Song gaoseng zhuan</i>
SKQS	<i>Siku quanshu</i>
JDCDL	<i>Jingde chuandeng lu</i>
T	<i>Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō</i>
THY	<i>Tang huiyao</i>
X	<i>Xu zangjing</i> 續藏經 [Shinsan dai Nippon zokuzōkyō]

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¹⁰⁴ Poceski, 'Lay Models of Engagement', 39.

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Appendix 1. Pei Xiu's Chronological Biography¹⁰⁵

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|---------------------|--|
| 791 (Zhenyuan 貞元 7) | Born in Jiyuan 濟源 (now Henan province);
Received education in Pei Family Villa 裴氏別墅 in the following years. |
| 800 (Zhenyuan 16): | Pei Xiu's father Pei Su 裴肅 had been appointed as Prefect of Changzhou 常州刺史 concurrently Vice Censor-in-Chief 御史中丞, Prefect of Yuezhou 越州刺史, and Surveillance Commissioner for Military Training in Eastern Zhejiang 浙東團練觀察史. |
| 802 (Zhenyuan 18) | Father died. |

105 I have consulted various secondary scholarship and reprinted versions of Pei Xiu and Zongmi's works to compile this list. In particular, I benefited from Gregory, *Tsung-mi*; Broughton, *Zongming on Chan*; Yoshikawa, 'Hai Kyū den'; Jan, 'Zongmi nianpu'; and a brief chronological biography compiled by Ishii Shūdō (Ishii, *Chūgoku zenseki*, vol. 2, 590–591). Translations of imperial official titles are based on Hucker, *Official Titles*.

- 807 (Yuanhe 元和 2) Zongmi 宗密 became a novice under Daoyuan 道圓 and fully ordained under Vinaya master Zheng 拯律師; Zongmi sought guidance from Nanyin Zhang 南印張.
- 811 (Yuanhe 6) Zongmi became Chengguan's 澄觀 disciple.
- 822 (Changqing 長慶 2) Passed *Jinshi* exam;
In the spring, Zongmi rewrote *Commentary on the Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* 圓覺經解 and wrote *Compendium on the Avataṃsaka Sūtra* 華嚴綸貫 in five fascicles at Fengde monastery 豐德寺 in Mount Zhongnan 終南山.
- 828 (Dahe 2) Took Special Exams 制舉 and ranked first in the Recommendation Category for Worthy and Excellent in the Test for Selecting Righteous and Outspoken Civil Officials 賢良方正能直言極諫科;
Awarded the title of Imperial Redactor 拾遺.
Acquainted with Zongmi who was summoned to the palace for the celebration of the Emperor Wenzong's 文宗 birthday – The Day of Auspicious Accomplishment (*Qingchengjie* 慶成節) on the tenth day of the tenth month.¹⁰⁶
- 830 (Dahe 4) Inquired teaching with Zongmi who composed *Pei Xiu shiyi wen* 裴休拾遺問 (Imperial Redactor Pei Xiu's Inquiry) or known as *Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* (Chart of the Master-Disciple Succession of the Chan Gate that Transmits the Mind Ground in China) 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖.
- 832 (Dahe 6) Junior Compiler in the Historiography Institute 史館編修;
Assisted in the compilation of *Emperor Muzong's Veritable Records* 穆宗實錄 in twenty fascicles.
Around this time, also appointed as Investigating Censor 監察御史 and Right Rectifier of Omissions 右補闕, Secretariat Drafter 中書舍人.
- 835 (Dahe 9) Zongmi was implicated in the Sweet Dew Incident and was soon acquitted.
- 836 (Kaicheng 開成 1) Wrote inscription for eminent monk Duanfu 端甫 who passed away on the first day of the sixth month.

106 Yoshikawa believes it should be the year 833. See his 'Hai Kyū den', 133.

- 838 (Kaicheng 3) Prefect of Mianzhou 綿州刺史;
Wrote *Essay Exhorting the Generation of Bodhicitta* 勸發菩提心文 dated to the twentieth day of the sixth month.
- 841 (Huichang 會昌 1) Zongmi passed away in Caotang Monastery Jianfu Pagoda Cloister 草堂寺薦福塔院;
Wrote inscription for eminent monk Dada's 大達 pagoda (*Xuanmi tabei* 玄密塔碑) on the twenty-eighth day of the twelfth month;
Holding titles such as Chief Surveillance Commissioner Supervising Military Training in the West Circuit of Jiangnan 江南西道都團練觀察處置使, Grand Master for Closing Court 朝散大夫 concurrently Vice Censor-in-Chief 御史中丞, Supreme Pillar of State 上柱國 with Imperially Bestowed Purple Robe and Goldfish Bag 賜紫金魚袋.
- 842 (Huichang 2) Prefect of Hongzhou 洪州刺史, Surveillance Commissioner of Jiangxi 江西觀察使;
Invited Huangbo Xiyun 黃檗希運 to Longxing Monastery in Zhongling 鐘陵龍興寺.¹⁰⁷
- 843 (Huichang 3) Prefect of Mianzhou 綿州刺史,¹⁰⁸
Around this time, wrote prefaces to Zongmi's commentary on *Huayan fajie guanmen* 注華嚴法界觀門序, and preface for Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu* 禪源諸詮集都序 [Prolegomenon to the Collection of Expressions of the Chan Source]
- 843–847 (Huichang 3 – Dazhong 大中 1) Prefect of Tanzhou 潭州刺史 and Surveillance Commissioner of Hunan 湖南觀察使.¹⁰⁹
- 845 (Huichang 5) Persecution of Buddhism by Emperor Wuzong 武宗.
- 846 (Huichang 6) Met Guishan Lingyou 為山靈祐.
- 847 (Dazhong 大中 1) Prefect of Shezhou 歙州刺史;
In the third month, Emperor Xuanzhong 宣宗 ordered to restore Buddhism.
According to Chan legends, before Emperor Xuanzong ascended the throne, he was once ordained as a novice

107 He was also listed as Hongzhou Prefect Concurrently Vice Censor-in-Chief 洪州刺史兼御史中丞 and Mianzhou cishi in other sources. See Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, 294, note 1.

108 See Yu, *Tang Cishi kao quanbian*, 3006.

109 See Yu, *Tang Cishi kao quanbian*, 2423.

- under State Preceptor Qi'an 齊安 in Haichang Cloister 海昌院 in Yanguan, Hangzhou 杭州鹽官 and met Huangbo Xiyun who was the head monk.
- 848 (Dazhong 2) Prefect of Xuanzhou 宣州刺史, Surveillance Commissioner of Xuanzhou and Shezhou 宣歙觀察使; Invited Huangbo Xiyun to Kaiyuan Monastery 開元寺 in Xuanzhou; Memorialized that government officials and visitors should be forbidden to reside in Buddhist monasteries because of their disturbing activities.
- 850 (Dazhong 4) Huangbo Xiyun passed away; In the seventh month, rebuilt Mazu Daoyi's pagoda by the imperial order.
- 851 (Dazhong 5) Iron and Salt Transport Commissioner 鹽鐵轉運使; Transferred from Vice Minister of the Ministry of Revenue 戶部侍郎 to Vice Minister of the Ministry of War 兵部侍郎; In the ninth month, transferred as Vice Minister of the Ministry of the Rite 禮部侍郎.
- 852 (Dazhong 6) Proposed a new taxation system on tea; In the eighth month, appointed as Grand Councilor Managing Affairs Jointly with the Secretariat and Chancellery 同中書門下平章事.
- 853 (Dazhong 7) Memorialized to name Zongmi's pagoda as "Blue Lotus Flowers of Master Calming and Insight" 定慧禪師青蓮之塔; Guishan Lingyou passed away.
- 855 (Dazhong 9) In the thirteenth day of the tenth month, wrote the inscription for Zongmi; Holding titles as Grand Councilor, Gold and Purple Grand Master of Splendid Happiness 金紫光祿大夫, Vice Minister of the Secretariat 中書侍郎 concurrently Minister of the Ministry of Revenue 戶部尚書, Grand Academician of Academy of Scholarly Worthies 集賢殿大學士.
- 856 (Dazhong 10) Petitioned to resign but was denied; On the seventh day of the sixth month, appointed as Xuanwu Military Commissioner 宣武軍節度使, Prefect of Bianzhou 汴州刺史; In the winter, retired as Junior Guardian of the Heir-Apparent 太子少保 at the branch office of Eastern Capital (Luoyang) 分司東都.

- 857 (Dazhong 11) On the eighth day of the tenth month, wrote the preface for Huangbo Xiyun's *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind* 傳心法要;
In the twelfth month, appointed as Acting Minister of the Ministry of Revenue 檢校戶部尚書, Chief Administrator of Luzhou Chief Governor's Office 潞州大都督府長史, Vice Military Commissioner of Zhaoyi Managing Military Affairs 昭義軍節度副大使知節度事, Surveillance Commissioner of Luzhou, Cizhou, Xingzhou, and Mingzhou 潞磁邢洺觀察使;
Wrote in hand Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu* and gave it to elder monks at Yanchang Monastery at Wudang Mountain in Jinzhou 金州武當山延昌寺.¹¹⁰
- 859 (Dazhong 13) Governor of Taiyuan 太原尹, Regent of the Northern Capital 北都留守, Surveillance and Supervisory Commission of the Administrative Region of Hedong 河東節度管內觀察處置使;
Associated with Scholarly monks in doctrinal studies; founded Huacheng Temple in Taishan in Taiyuan 太原太山化成寺.
- 860 (Xiantong 咸通 1) Governor of Fengxiang 鳳翔尹, Military Governor of Fengxiang and Longyou 鳳翔隴右節度使.
- 862–864 (Xiantong 3–5) Military Governor of Jingnan 荊南節度使.
- 863 (Xiantong 4) Built Huacheng Monastery 化城寺 on the site of his family villar in his hometown Jiyuan 濟源 at the court order.
- 864 (Xiantong 5) Passed away.
- 867 (Xiantong 8) Zheng Chuhui 鄭處晦 wrote and Han Cong 韓琮 transcribed 'Grand Preceptor of the Heir Apparent Pei Xiu's Graveyard Path Stele' 太子太師裴休神道碑.

Appendix 2. List of Pei Xiu's Writings

The following works were composed, compiled, or attributed to Pei Xiu:

Works written by Pei Xiu:

1. 'Memorial for Eliminating Unreasonable Taxes and Banning Tea Smuggling' (qing ge hengshui sifan zou 請革橫稅私販奏), *QTW*, Fasc. 743, 7686.

¹¹⁰ This is based on the colophon at the end of Zongmi's *Chanyuan zhu quanji duxu*, *T* no. 2015, 48: 1.397c18–398a1.

2. 'Preface to the *Outlined Commentary on the Mahā-vaipulya Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*' (*Dafangguang yuanjue xiuduolu liaoyijing lueshu xu* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略疏序), *QTW*, Fasc. 743, 7686–7687 and *X* no. 243, 9: 323a–c. *T* no. 1795, 39: 523–4.
3. 'Preface to Collected Correspondence with Laity and Clergy' (*Daosu chouda wenji xu* 道俗酬答文集序),¹¹¹ *QTW*, Fasc 743, 7687–7688.
4. 'Preface to the *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind* by Master Xiyun' (*Huangbo shan duanji chanshi chuanxin fayao xu* 黃檗山斷際禪師傳心法要序), *QTW*, Fasc. 743, 7688; *T* no. 2012A, 48: 379–380.
5. 'Preface to Prolegomenon to the Collection of Expressions of the Chan Source' (Shi Zongmi *chanyuan zhuquan xu* 釋宗密禪源諸詮序). *T* no. 2015, 48: 398b; *X* no. 1006, 58: 428c. *QTW*, Fasc. 743, 7688–7689.¹¹²
6. 'Preface to the Commentary to the Huayan Dharma-Realm Contemplation' (*Zhu huayanfajie guanmen xu* 注華嚴法界觀門序), *QTW*, Fasc. 743, 7689–7691, *T* no. 1884, 45: 683b–648b.
7. 'Stele Inscription of Master Guifeng with Preface' (*Guifeng chanshi beiming bingxu* 圭峰禪師碑銘並序, *QTW*, Fasc. 743, 7691–7694; and in *Jinshi Cuibian* 金石萃編 compiled by Wang Chang 王昶 (Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian 中國書店, 1985), Fasc. 114.
8. 'Stele Inscription with Preface for the Dark Mystery Pagoda of the Past Tang Dynasty Clergy Superintendent under the Left Boulevard City Administration, Palace Attendant, Discussant of Three Teachings, Imperial Carriage Usher with the Title of Great Virtue, Abbot of Anguo Monastery with Imperially Bestowed Purple Robe, Dharma Master Duanfu' (*Tang gu zuojie senglu neigongfeng sanjiao tanlun yinjia dade An'guosi shangzuo ci zifangpao Dada fashi yuan(xuan)mita beiming bing xu* 唐故左街僧錄內供奉三教談論引駕大德安國寺上座賜紫方袍大達法師元/玄密塔碑銘並序), *QTW* Fasc. 743, 7694–7695.
9. 'Stele Inscription of National Preceptor Qingliang (Chengguan)' (*Qingliang guoshi beiming* 清涼國師碑銘), *QTW*, Fasc. 743, 7696.
10. 'Essay Exhorting the Generation of the Aspiration for Enlightenment (*Bodhicitta*)' (*Quanfa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文), *X* no. 1010, 58: 486a–489b.
11. 'Zou zhi Huachengsi biao' 奏置化城寺表 (Memorial for Building Huacheng Monastery), dated to 863, in Chen Liangjun, 'Henan Jiyuan xinfaxian chongxiu Yanqing Huachengsi bei kaoshi'.

111 This piece in *QTW* was entitled incorrectly as 'Huayan yuanren lun xu' 華嚴原人論序 [Preface to Inquiry into the Origin of Man]. See Peter Gregory's English translation of Zongmi's work in Gregory, *Inquiry*.

112 For an English translation, see Appendix 2, 'Preface to the Prolegomenon to the Collection of Expressions of the Chan Source', Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, 192–196.

12. 'Shuwen liangdao' 疏文兩道 (Two Reports), in Chen Liangjun, 'Henan Jiyuan xinfaxian chongxiu Yanqing Huachengsi bei kaoshi'.
13. 'Xie Zhi Huachengsi biao' 謝置化城寺表 (Memorial Thanking for Building Huacheng Monastery), dated to 864, in Chen Liangjun, 'Henan Jiyuan xinfaxian chongxiu Yanqing Huachengsi bei kaoshi'.

Poems written by Pei Xiu:¹¹³

14. 'Poem on Lake Letan' (*Ti letan* 題渤潭) *QTS*, Fasc. 563, 6530.
15. 'Poem Presented to Xiyun, the Monk of Mount Huang Bo' (*Zeng Huangbo shan seng Xiyun* 贈黃檗山僧希運), *QTS* Fasc. 563, 6530.¹¹⁴
16. 'Poem Written for Tongguanshan Temple' (*Ti Tongguanshan miao* 題銅官山廟), in Chen Shangjun 陳尚君, ed., *Quantangshi bubian* 全唐詩補編 (Supplemented Collection for the Complete Works of the Tang Dynasty), vol. 1, 417;
17. 'Poem Written for Taiping Xinglong Monastery' (*Taiping Xinglong si shi* 太平興龍寺詩), in Chen Shangjun, ed., *Quantangshi bubian* (Supplemented Collection for the Complete Works of the Tang Dynasty), vol. 1, 232.
18. 'Poem Written for Auspicious Appearance of Śākyamuni in White Deer Monastery' 白鹿寺釋迦瑞相詩, in Chen Shangjun, ed., *Quantangshi bubian* (Supplemented Collection for the Complete Works of the Tang Dynasty), vol. 1, 417–418.
19. 'Huacheng Temple in Yanqing' (*Yanqing huacheng si* 延慶化城寺), in Chen Shangjun, ed., *Quantangshi bubian* (Supplemented Collection for the Complete Works of the Tang Dynasty), vol. 2, 1124.
20. 'Flying Spring in White Water Cave' (Baishui dong feiquan 白水洞飛泉), in Chen Shangjun, ed., *Quantangshi bubian* (Supplemented Collection for the Complete Works of the Tang Dynasty), vol. 2, 1124.
21. 'Stone Bridge Pavilion in Wulin (Hangzhou)' (*Wulin shiqiao ting* 武林石橋亭), in Chen Shangjun, ed., *Quantangshi bubian* (Supplemented Collection for the Complete Works of the Tang Dynasty), vol. 2, 1125.

¹¹³ We should be cautious about the attribution of these poems because some of them were collected from local sources. For example, 'Eulogy for Duanji Chan master Huangbo' 頌黃陵 (檗) 斷際禪師 (題擬) has been mistakenly attributed to Pei Xiu. See Chen, ed., *Quan Tang shi bubian*, vol. 2, 1124.

¹¹⁴ The earliest version of this poem was preserved in the 'Biography of Master Huangbo Xiyun' in *Zutang ji* 祖堂集, compiled by Monks Jing and Yun, reprinted in Beijing, 1993, Vol. 16, 318a. But it was only attributed to the prefect of the Gao'an county rather than to Pei Xiu.

Recorded Sayings compiled by Pei Xiu:

- 22a. *Essentials of the Transmission of Mind* (*Chuanxinfayao* 傳心法要), T no. 2021A, 48: 379a–384a.
- 22b. *The Wanling Record* (*Wanling lu* 宛陵錄), T no. 2021B, 48: 384a–387b

Works involving Pei Xiu:

23. *The Chart of the Master-disciple Succession of the Ch'an Gate that Transmits the Mind Ground in China* (*Zhonghua chuanxindi chanmen shizi chengxitu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖)¹¹⁵ X no. 1225, 63: 31a–36a.
24. *Muzong shilu* 穆宗實錄 (Veritable Records of Emperor Muzong), edited by Su Jingyin 蘇景胤 and Wang Yanwei 王彥威, compiled in 833 (Dahe 7).

Works forged by others:

25. 'The Mind Transmission Verse of Pei Xiu' (*Peixiu chuanxiji* 裴休傳心偈), *JDCDL*, T no. 2076, 51: 273a
26. 'Poem of Sending off My Son for Joining the Sangha' (Songzi chujia shi 送子出家詩), X no. 1214, 62: 870a15–20.

Works that no longer exist:

27. 'Stele of Words in the Patriarch Hall' (Zutang zi bei 祖堂字碑), recorded in *Jinshi lue* 金石略 (Abbreviated as *JSL*).¹¹⁶
28. 'Stele of the Repository of the Remaining Classics of the Three Vehicles' (Sancheng yidian zhi zang bei 三乘遺典之藏碑) in *JSL*.
29. 'Poem Written for Daji Imperial Chan Monastery' (Chi Daji chansi ti 敕大寂禪寺題), recorded in *JSL*.
30. 'Stele for Dharma Master Huiyuan in the Jin Dynasty' (Jin Huiyuan fashi bei 晉慧遠法師碑), recorded in *JSL*.
31. 'Stele for the Abbot of Kaiye Monastery Dharma Master Chongxuan' (Kaiyesi zhu Chongxun fashi bei 開業寺主崇絢法師碑) (759). *Baoke chongbian* 寶刻叢編, fasc. 3, 36a; *Siku quanshu*, 682:634a.
32. 'Collection of Pei Xiu's Memorials' (Pei Xiu zhuang 裴休狀), 3 fascicles. Jiao Hong 焦竑, *Guoshi jingji zhi* 國史經籍志, fasc. 5, page 6, Beijing University Library.

Calligraphical Works:

33. 'Dharma Transmission Stele for Chan Master Dinghui' (Tang gu Guifeng dinghui chanshi chuanfa bie 唐故圭峰定慧禪師傳法碑), preserved in Caotang Monastery 草堂寺 in Xi'an, numerous reprints of rubbings.

¹¹⁵ The original name of the piece is *Peixiu shiyi wen* 裴休拾遺問. See Ishii, 'Shinpuku-ji bunko shozo'.

¹¹⁶ *Jinshi lue*, *Shike shiliao xinbian* 24: 18063.

- 34 'Calligraphic Album titled "Bensi"' (Bensi tie 本寺貼), in the collection of Ruzhou Album (Rutie 汝貼).¹¹⁷
- 35 'Stele Record of the Huishan Monastery of the Great Tang' (Da Tang Huishan si beiji 大唐慧山寺碑記) (851), unknown private collection.

Appendix 3. Editions of Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay* in China, Japan, and Tangut

The *Bodhicitta Essay* was written by Pei Xiu on the twentieth day of the sixth month in the third year of the Kaicheng reign (838) 開成三年六月二十日 when he was the governor of Mianzhou 綿州刺史 in today's Sichuan. The current edition reprinted in the *Zokuzōkyō* (*X* no. 1010, 58: 485–489) is based on a version preserved by the Kōzanji 高山寺 founder Myōe 明恵 (Gōben 高辯, 1173–1232) who obtained a printed edition brought back from Hangzhou, China.¹¹⁸

This edition contains a colophon (*X* no. 1010–B) dated to the sixteenth day of the sixth month 季夏既望日 of 1152 (the 22nd year of the Shaoxing reign 紹興壬申) and was written by a monk named Jingzhao 淨照. According to this short colophon, Jingzhao lamented the destruction of Buddhist texts during the Jurchen invasion in the early Southern Song dynasty and vowed to reprint Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay* which he admired deeply.

There were at least two monks named Jingzhao who were active in Hangzhou during this period. According to *Zhongguo Fojiao renming dacidian* 中國佛教人名大辭典, his full name is Jingzhao Chongxin 淨照崇信 who hailed from Shenxian 慎縣 (today's Anhui Feidong 肥東). He was ordained by Yongcheng 用成 in Chengtian Temple 承天寺 and received full ordination at the age of 20. Later he received recognition from Yuanzhao 圓照 (d. 1116) at Jingci Monastery 淨慈寺 in Hangzhou. He resided in Zisheng temple 資聖寺 in Xiuzhou 秀州 and Changlu temple 長蘆寺 in Zhenzhou 真州 (now in Jiangsu).¹¹⁹ Because his teacher Yuanzhao was active in the Northern Song, it is unlikely that Jingzhao Chongxin was responsible for reprinting Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay*. Ishii Shūdō, however, believes that he was the abbot of *Jingjin jiaoyuan* 精進教院 who specialized in Huayan teaching based on a colophon (*X* no. 1477–A) at the end of *Shoulengyan tanchang xiuzheng yi* 首楞嚴壇場修證儀 (Rite of Cultivation and

117 Qi, ed., *Zhongguo fatie quanji*, vol. 4, 19.

118 Emperor Go-Toba granted Kōzanji to Myōe in 1206. Myōe was deeply influenced by the Chinese Huayan Thought and was also familiar with Zongmi's work. See Tanabe, *Myōe The Dreamkeeper*, 73–76, 112, 115, 123, 141–43. See Gimello, 'Li T'ung-hsuan and the Practical Dimension of Hua-yen', 350–366.

119 Zhenhua, ed., *Zhongguo Fojiao renming dacidian*, 648.

Realization on the Śūraṅgama Altar) dated to 1148.¹²⁰ In a later Japanese transcription dated to 1838 (see below), this Chinese monk was identified as ‘Monk Jingzhao at Fengxian Monastery in Shengzhou’ 昇州奉先沙門淨照. Jingzhao’s real identity can not be decided based on the available sources.

Following this colophon, Myōe’s note (No. 1010–C), probably handwritten on the original text, was recorded. Because the original master copy preserved in Kōzanji is not available for research, it is not certain if his note was correctly transcribed and punctuated. The current Zokuzōkyō note suggests that Myōe obtained this version from Song China on the eighteenth day of the fourth month in 1215 (建保三年四月十八日). Because he was fond of Pei Xiu’s work, a month later, he printed this version in Taisōan 臺艸菴 at Kōzanji, punctuating the text and adding *kana* reading marks 切句加假字.¹²¹ Although this original copy is not available for research, its existence has been confirmed by various catalogs and bibliographic surveys.¹²²

In addition to this primary and oldest version preserved in Kōzanji, there are the following rare editions derived from it and held in Japan:

Shinpukuji 真福寺 edition, probably early Kamakura handwritten copy¹²³

Taishō University Library 大正大學圖書館 edition, copied by Myōu 妙有 in 1838 based on Myōe’s edition.

It is clear that Pei Xiu’s essay was still popular during the Northern Song and was mentioned in the entry for year 874 in *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀.¹²⁴ The Tiantai monk Siming

120 Ishii, ed., *Chūgoku zenseki*, vol. 2, 596–7. According to this colophon to *Shoulengyan tanchang xiuzhengyi* 首楞嚴壇場修證儀, this Jingzhao was recorded as ‘Abbot of Jingjin Doctrinal Monastery in Northern Mountain in Lin’an Prefecture of Both Sides of the Zhe River, Jingzhao, the monk who transmitted the Xianshou (Huayan) teaching and contemplation’ 兩浙臨安府北山精進教院住持. 傳賢首教觀比丘(淨照) (*X* no. 1477, 74: 520c4–5). According to Hangzhou local sources, the temple was located to east of the Liushui Bridge 溜水橋. It was founded in 944 with the name ‘Jingxiu’ 精修. In 1065 its name was changed to ‘Jingjin’ 精進. See Bao, *Nan Song Lin’an Zongjiao*, 167.

121 I have punctuated Myōe’s colophon differently. *Lianruo* 練若, referring to *Alanruo* 阿蘭若 (*aranya*) was mistakenly punctuated into two separate sentences.

122 See the various catalogues of the Kōzanji collection (Kōzanji Seikyō mokuroku 高山寺聖教目錄) in *Shōwa Catalogue* (Takakutsu, *Shōwa hōbō sō mokuroku* 昭和法寶總目錄), vol. 3, no. 67, 912c. I also checked another catalogue in *Kōzanji Komonjo* but did not find this piece yet. See Kōzanji Tenseki Monjo Sōgō Chōsadan, *Kōzanji Komonjo*. Most of the Song texts were listed in vol. 2, cases 39–55.

123 Facsimiled and reprinted in Ishii, *Chūgoku zenseki*, vol. 2, 349–402. Only one paragraph at the end is missing.

124 See *Fozu tongji*, *T* no. 2035, 49: 42.389a3–5. Thomas Jülch translates this record as follows: ‘The chancellor Pei Xiu died. [Pei] Xiu studied with [Xiyun 希運 from Mount] Huangbo, and understood his intention. Usually he did not touch wine or meat. He composed

Zhili 四明知禮 (960–1028) also mentioned Pei Xiu and his work in an unknown source entitled *Guifeng houji* 圭峯後集 [Later Collections of Guifeng (Zongmi)], which was mostly likely transmitted from North China.¹²⁵ Although it was reprinted in the early Southern Song by Jingzhao, it seems that the text has been lost after the Song and no circulation information can be found in available sources. In his *Biographies for Buddhist Laymen* (*Jushizhuan* 居士傳), Peng Shaosheng during the late Qing quoted a short paragraph from Chao Jiong's 晁迥 (950–1034) *Daoyuanjiyao* 道院集要 [Essentials from the Dao Cloister] compiled in the Northern Song. Chao quoted one paragraph on 'Explaining the substance of *Bodhicitta*' (*X* no. 1010, 58: 486a21–b14). Because Chao's work was only rediscovered and reprinted in the late Ming, this paragraph seems to be the only source for later lay Buddhists to quote from.¹²⁶ There is no evidence that they had seen Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay* in its entirety. In late imperial China, an essay with the same title by the commonly recognized eleventh Pure Land patriarch Xing'an Shixian 省庵實賢 (1686–1734) from Hangzhou were extremely popular. There are also

[an essay entitled] *Quanfa putixin* 勸發菩提心 [Persuasion to developing *bodhicitta*, *X* no. 1010, 58] to stimulate the people of the world'. Jülch, *Zhipan's Account of the History of Buddhism in China*, vol. 2, 285. I want to thank Prof. Jülch for sharing his work with me.

- 125 Siming Zhili 四明知禮, *Siming zunzhe jiaoxing lu* 四明尊者教行錄 [Record of the Teaching and Practice of Venerable Siming], *T* no. 1937, 46: 895a1–5, 895c18–19, 896c10, 897a12–13.

- 126 *Daoyuanjiyao*, SKQS edition, *juan* 1. For a study of Chao Jiong, see Gimello, 'The Buddhism of a "Confucian" scholar'; Wu, *Enlightenment in Dispute*, 54–56; Skonicki, 'Getting It for Oneself'. The following later compilations all quoted exactly the same passage: Peng Shaosheng's *Jushi zhuan*, *X* no. 1646, 88: 13.209a24–b15; *Jingtu zhigui ji* 淨土指歸集 [Collection Leading to the Pure Land], *X* no. 1154, 61: 2.396a1–11; *Guiyuan Zhizhi ji* 歸元直指集 [Collection Pointing Directly to the Return of the Primordial Source], *X* no. 1156, 61: 2.471a5–14. *Wudu fachen* 吳都法乘 [Buddhism in the Wu Capital (Suzhou)], in *Dazangjing bubian*, no. 193, 34: 13.444a4–7. *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 [Collection of Meanings of Terms for Translation] compiled in 1143, *juan* 5 also quoted a short phrase on the meaning of *Bodhi* which was not mentioned in later sources (*T* no. 2131, 54: 1130a14–b7). *Lengyan jieyuan shijie daochang yi* 楞嚴解冤釋結道場儀 [Ritual Proceedings of Śūraṅgama Altar for Resolving Rancor and Releasing from Conflicts], fasc. 6 compiled by a Song dynasty monk also quoted this paragraph but included the entire section rather than the commonly quoted excerpt. It is unlikely that the Ming and Qing Buddhist compilations quoted from this source which was only available in the end of the twentieth century among the Achali monks 阿吒力僧 sources discovered in Yunnan. See Zuzhao 祖照, *Lengyan jieyuan shijie daochang yi* 楞嚴解冤釋結道場儀, edited by Zhao Wenhuan 趙文煥, Hou Chong 侯冲, 8 fascicles. (*Zangwai Fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻 no. 51, 6: 64a14–66a4). This edition has been collated with a 1786 printed edition and a 1885 hand-copied edition. In addition, Solonin also identified the Yuan dynasty monk Yuanjue's 圓覺 *Commentary on The Huayan Origin of Humans* (*Huayan Yuanren lun jie* 華嚴原人論解) (fasc. 3) also quoted a few lines on the substance of *Bodhicitta* from Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay*. See Suoluoning (=Solonin), 'Baiyun shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan', 17. *X* no. 1032, 58: 765b16–20. It is not clear about Yuanjue's source of this quotation.

numerous Chinese editions of Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay* printed in the late Qing and the Republican period. It is most likely that it was based on a Japanese edition reimported back to China. The most widely distributed is the *Jinling kejingchu* 金陵刻經處 edition. There are the following modern Chinese prints.

1916 Gushan 鼓山 edition reprinted by Guyue 古月.

1937 *Peixiang quanfa putixin wen* 裴相勸發菩提心文 [Grand Councilor Pei's Essay Exhorting the Generation of *Bodhicitta*], in *Foxue congkan* 佛學叢刊 [Series of Buddhist Studies]. Series 1, no. 15. Shanghai: Guoxue zhengli she 國學整理社.

2008 Wenshu jiangtang 文殊講堂 edition of *Quanfa putixin jiangyi* 勸發菩提心講義 [Lecture Notes of Exhorting the Generation of *Bodhicitta*]

Undated, 'Pei Xiu jushi puquan sengsu fa putixin wen' 裴休居士普勸僧俗發菩提心文 [Layman Pei Xiu's Essay Exhorting the Generation of *Bodhicitta* for All], in *Quanfa putixin wen* 勸發菩提心文 [Essay Exhorting the Generation of *Bodhicitta*], 150–166. Hualian: Henan temple 和南寺.¹²⁷

In addition, Bhikshu Dharmamitra (Shi Hengshou 釋恒授) also collated the *Zokuzōkyō* edition (*X* no. 1010 58: 485c–489b) with a late Qing woodblock edition in *Buddhist Middle School Lesson Book* (*Fojiao zhongxue keben* 佛教中學課本), which I don't have access to. Dharmamitra also identified several scribal errors in the *Zokuzōkyō* edition.¹²⁸ It may indicate that an unknown edition had been circulated in China independent of the Japanese version.

It should be noted that some of Zongmi's works, including Pei Xiu's prefaces to them, were translated into the Tangut language with other Huayan texts. Also, some lost Hongzhou Chan texts such as *Teachings and Rituals of the Hongzhou Lineage Masters* (*Hongzhou zongshi jiaoyi* 洪州宗師教儀, Tangut 111–2529; Nishida 226–291) were also translated into Tangut, showing the influence of the Hongzhou thought in which Pei Xiu also played a role.¹²⁹

127 Ping Yanhong has collated the *Zokuzōkyō* edition with the Shinpukuji edition, the Taishō University edition, the 1916 and 2008 Chinese editions in a preliminary study. See Ping, 'Puquan sengsu fa putixin wen jiaozhu'. I am indebted to her research for writing this section. According to her study, the variations among different editions are minimal and the *Zokuzōkyō* edition can be used as the primary edition for research.

128 Dharmamitra, *On Generating the Revolve*. The collation results are scattered in his notes from pages 131–137. See particularly notes 2, 12, 16, 26, 29, 34, 45, 50, 59.

129 For an English translation of the text, see Suoluoning (=Solonin), 'Hongzhou Buddhism in Xixia'; 'Tangut Chan Buddhism and Guifeng Zong-mi'. For a Chinese translation of this text, see Suoluoning (=Solonin), 'Heshuicheng Xixiawen Hongzhou chan wenxian chubu fenxi'. See also Suoluoning (=Solonin) and Xie, 'Xixia fodian tixi liangzhong'. Solonin, 'The Teaching of Daoshen in Tangut Translation'.

Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay* was translated into the Tangut language as well. Although the translation date is not known, it must have been completed before the fall of the Tangut Kingdom in 1227. According to Sun Bojun 孫博君, fragments of two different printed editions in the butterfly binding style are extant in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences (no. 6172 and no. 036) in which Pei Xiu was listed as Prefect of Mianzhou (*Mianzhou cishi* 綿州刺史). The basic content is the same as the Chinese version. Subheadings were numbered and wordings were changed occasionally but not much. It is not clear from which Chinese edition it was translated.¹³⁰ Pei Xiu also appeared in the frontispiece of the Tangut translation of the *Chart Chart* (*Pei Xiu Shiyi wen*), in which he was portrayed as Zongmi's close disciple, together with two monks named 'White Cloud Monk' (*Baiyun shizi* 白雲釋子) and Chan Master Zhang (Zhang Chanshi 張禪師).¹³¹

There is another obscure Tangut text which some scholars have cited (Jeff Broughton for example) as *Collection of Encounters of the Chan Masters Pei Xiu* (*Pei Xiu chanshi suyuanji* 裴休禪師隨緣集) (Institute of Manuscript of the Russian Academy of Sciences Tangut collection no. 398, Nishida Tatsuo 西田龍雄, 'Catalogue of Tangut translations of Buddhist texts', no. 159), apparently a Tangut translation from an unknown Chinese original.¹³² However, according to Solonin's preliminary study of this text, which was a printed edition in the butterfly binding style, the translation of person's (*phi xi*) and place's (*tsi na*) names in the title can not be ascertained. The person's name in the title could be translated into Chinese as Biheng 比恒. Therefore, an alternative translation of the title could be *Zhina Biheng chanshi suyuanji* 支那比恒禪師隨緣集. Currently only fasc. 2 (47 pages) and fasc. 3 (38 pages) of this text are extant. Fasc. 2 is a collection of koan and encounter dialogues which can be found in the Northern Song Chan sources; fasc. 3 is a treatise on the unity of three teachings. Solonin surmises that it was based on a lost Chinese original text most likely composed after 1040s or 1050s.¹³³

130 Sun, 'Pei Xiu'.

131 Sun Bojun believes that this Baiyun shizi was Qingjue 清覺 (1043–1121), the founder of the White Cloud sect active in the Hangzhou area. See Sun, 'Yuandai Baiyunzong yikan Xixia wen wenxia zongkao'. Solonin is more cautious about this identification. He also notes that some of the Huayan thought in a Tangut text attributed to this Baiyun, 'Three Contemplations and Nine Gateways' (*Sanguan jiumen* 三觀九門), resembles those in Pei Xiu's *Bodhicitta Essay*. See Suoluoning (=Solonin), 'Baiyun shizi *Sanguan jiumen* chutan', especially 17.

132 Information retrieved from 'A Web of Tangut Catalogues' by Andrew West at <https://www.babelstone.co.uk/Tangut/Catalogs.html>, accessed Sept. 3, 2021.

133 Suoluoning (=Solonin), 'Xixiawen "Suiyuanji" yu Xixia Hanchuan Fojiao liuchuan wenti'.