



“Chan Contemplation” in the Tangut Buddhism

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Abstract The paper is an attempt to generalize the results of the previous scholarship concerning the nature and specific features of Sinitic Buddhism in the Tangut Empire. The major claim of the paper is that certain dimensions of Tangut Buddhism are traceable to their Sinitic parental tradition, the Buddhism in the Tangut Empire evolved in a specific manner, which was influenced by the Buddhism of the Liao Empire. This implies that Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia was modeled according to the model “perfect teaching,” promoted by the Liao Buddhists. Thus, the approach based

Abbreviations and Notes *Catalog*: Kyĉanov (1999). *T* with volume number, text number, and page number represents the electronic version of Taishō Tripiṭaka by CBETA; *ZZ* with volume number, text number, and page number represent the *Zōku Zokyo* edition, also by CBETA. Tangut graphs used in the paper are provided with their Chinese parallels, the transcription is provided only for the Tangut personal names and technical terms vital for the discussion.

The discussion presented in this paper is not entirely new; it is based on the results of the previous research both by me and colleagues worldwide; parts of it had been published under different venues throughout past years or presented at a number of conferences. However, I think that at the present state of research some sort of a general summary is vital so that one knows, at least, provisionally, where we are at. Previous attempt to summarize the state of the field (Solonin 2008) has become outdated in many respects, and some views presented there should be revised. Parts of this paper have been published in K. Solonin, “Sinitic Buddhism in the Tangut State,” *Central Asiatic Journal*, forthcoming; *ibid.*, “The “Perfect teaching” and Liao Sources of Tangut Chan Buddhism: A study of *Jiexing zhao xin tu*,” *Asia Major* 26 no 1 (2013): pp. 79–120; *ibid.*, “Buddhist Connections between the Liao and Xixia: Preliminary Considerations,” in *The Journal of Song-Yuan Studies*, forthcoming.

Throughout the paper, the terms “Tangut Buddhism” and “Xixia Buddhism” and terms derived therefrom are used as synonyms; the term “Tangut texts” implies the texts in the Tangut language; term “Chinese texts” indicates the texts in Chinese; and the term “Xixia texts” (or “Khara-Khoto texts,” etc.) implies the texts recovered from Xixia, regardless of their language affiliation. The term “Tibetan texts” in this paper means not the texts in Tibetan language, but the texts in Tangut and Chinese devoted to the Tibetan Buddhist subject matter.

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on the traditional “school” (including “Chan School”) paradigm is inappropriate for the study of Tangut Buddhism. In this stead I am suggesting a “perfect” approach, which allows grouping the available texts on the basis of their position in the scheme of the “perfect teaching” and explores the contents of these texts from this angle. Thus, the specific nature of the texts traditionally deemed as Chan in the Tangut Buddhist system is seen in their relationship to the ultimate practice of the “contemplation of the Dharma realm.” Finally, the paper introduces some new translations from Tangut.

Keywords Tangut Buddhism · Liao Buddhism · Chan · Tibetan Buddhism · Perfect teaching

1 Introduction: Sinitic and Tibetan Mainstreams in the Tangut Buddhism

Together with a variety of Tibetan Buddhist traditions, Sinitic Buddhism was one of the two mainstreams of the Buddhist faith in the Tangut State. In the course of the Tangut history, these two mainstreams shaped into a complex equilibrium which became known as the Tangut Buddhism. The research into the nature of the Tangut Buddhist conglomerate allows a deeper insight not only into the Xixia Buddhism itself, but also remains within the scope of scholarly attention due to the rich cache of materials, pertaining to both Sinitic and Tibetan Buddhism of the eleventh and twelfth centuries preserved within the Xixia textual corpus. In this sense, the Tangut Buddhism should be viewed not as a negligible marginal dimension of major East-Asian Buddhist mainstreams, but as an indispensable part of the process of Buddhist interaction and growth in East and Central Asia during the 300 years from the Northern Song to the Yuan dynasties. Rising simultaneously with the growth of the Tangut statehood, the Tangut Buddhism developed into a coalescence of traditions, beliefs, social, and legal practices; the whole of Tangut Buddhism had been formed through a unique combination of historical, religious, and geographical factors, none of which had been at work (or worked differently) during the formative periods of the Chinese or Tibetan Buddhist history.

The traditional approaches based on reproducing the paradigms of the Chinese of Tibetan Buddhist histories are only partially helpful for the research of the Tangut Buddhism.¹ That is, the “schools” (i.e., *zong* 宗 of Sinitic Buddhism, I use this term as a translation for the widely accepted term *Han chuan fojiao* 漢傳佛教) in the Tangut Buddhism probably did exist, but the “school system” of the Tangut

¹ This “traditional” approach is widely utilized by Shi Jinbo in his *Brief History of the Tangut Buddhism* (see Shi Jinbo 1988). Here, Shi applies Chinese “school” (*zongpai* 宗派) paradigm to the study of Tangut Buddhism. As a result, Tangut Buddhism emerges as a disguised version of Sinitic Buddhism with the same “schools” trends and traditions. For example, on the basis of the presence of the *Lotus Sūtra* in Xixia, Shi concludes that Tiantai Buddhism had been an important tradition in Xixia, whereas in reality Tiantai presence in Xixia was negligible. “Transmission lineages” which traditionally constitute the core of the Tibetan version of the history of Buddhism are applicable only in respect of the Tibetan traditions in Xixia; tracing of various Tibetan lineages in Xixia is useful not so much for understanding of the phenomenon of Tangut Buddhism *per se*, but for the purposes of a broader inquiry into the role of Tibetan Buddhism in East Asia during twelfth to thirteenth centuries.



Buddhism evolved according to a pattern different from that of China or Tibet. This means that although certain aspects of the Xixia Buddhism stem from the traditions from within the Sinitic Buddhism and claim lineage from the well-known figures thereof, they are not identical with their parental teachings. The following discussion will try to analyze some such traditions within the Sinitic mainstream in Xixia Buddhism, i.e., the teaching of "Chan contemplation," which might be considered among such specific Tangut "schools."

The term "Chan" and its derivatives (such as Huayan Chan 華嚴禪) in this paper are used as a matter of terminological expedience; the texts presented below actually do discuss the Chan Buddhism subject matter, but do so in an unconventional manner, that is the Chan discourse in the texts presented below is predominantly based on the Huayan doctrinal paradigm as it was developed during eighth and ninth centuries by such famous masters as Qingliang Chengguan (清涼澄觀, 737–838) and Guifeng Zongmi (圭峰宗密, 760–842). Contextualizing these texts is of primary importance for the study of Tangut Buddhism, to which this paper intends to make a contribution.

Being one of the many constituents of multifaceted phenomenon of Tangut Buddhism, the tradition of "Chan contemplation" is of paradigmatic nature; the correct interpretation of the "Chan system" in Xixia will allow for a better understanding of the peculiarities of the formation of Xixia Buddhism in general and its role in the evolution of Buddhism in East Asia.

Even a running scan of the textual treasure trove recovered from Khara-Khoto (Heishui cheng 黑水城) in 1908–9, and more recently from the Square Pagoda (*Fangta* 方塔) in Baisi gou (拜寺溝) and meditation caves in Shanzui gou (山嘴溝) reveals visible congruence between the texts available in Chinese and Tangut as well as the substantial degree of penetration of Tibetan traditions into the Sinitic language realm of the Tangut Buddhism. Most of the aforementioned textual finds date back to the Xixia period, and thus linguistic and doctrinal appropriation of Tibetan Buddhism outside of Tibet had begun during the decades preceding the rise of the Mongol Yuan dynasty,² when this process had culminated in the Yuan court Buddhism. Tangut Buddhists had been important intermediaries in this process.

Sinitic Buddhism had been rooted in the areas of Tangut domination for almost millennia before the Tangut resettlement during the Tang dynasty and further conquests of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The Buddhist rituals and

² Dating of the Khara-Khoto finds is not as univocal as before; although the majority of the texts belong to the Xixia period, certain art objects are traceable to the Yuan period (e.g., see K. Samosuyk 2006). On the basis of art historical evidence, K. Samosuyk dates several Khara-Khoto Buddhist images to thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The scholarly consensus about more recent finds in Baisi gou and Shanzui gou is that the texts discovered therein are datable to the Xixia period. By this logic, one cannot rule out the possibility that certain texts from Khara-Khoto might also be of the Yuan origin. However, at this moment no texts clearly datable to the Yuan had been discovered in Khara-Khoto, whereas certain Chinese texts, even available in Taishō Tripiṭaka, have been recognized as the translations made from Tibetan during the Tangut time. These texts made their way into the Chinese Buddhist collections during the Yuan. (e.g., Sun Bojun 孫伯君, "Zhenzhi yi Foshuo Dabai sangai zongchi tuoluoni jing wei Xixia yiben kao 真智譯《佛說大白傘蓋總持陀羅尼經》為西夏譯本考, in: Ningxia Shehui kexue 寧夏社會科學7 (2008), pp. 96–101). Another such example is the Chinese version of *Mañjuśrī-nama-saṃgiti* (*Zhenshi ming jing* 真實名經) by Shizhi 釋智. Dating and the origins of the text, proposed by Lin Ying-chin (2006), were challenged by Shen Weirong (2010), where he suggested to date the original translation of the text to the Xixia period and postulated that the Tangut translation predates the Chinese one.



beliefs had been appropriated by the Tangut elite early in its history. Buddhist inscriptions of the Tangut rulers even precede the official proclamation of the state.³ The evolution of Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia took usual course; currently, one is inclined to discriminate between “official Buddhism” and the Tangut “imperial cult,” which probably was the earliest aspects of Buddhism, appropriated in Xixia⁴; the “scholarly dimensions” of Sinitic Buddhism had been the result of later development. Mutual relations between the different aspects of the Xixia Buddhism require further study; in the course of present research, it is important to note that the textual finds from Khara-Khoto and elsewhere returned a variety of both Chinese and Tangut versions of texts (sometimes translations, sometimes sharing close subject matter) belonging to similar Tibetan or Sinitic parental traditions. The doctrinal congruence between the Tangut and Chinese parts of the Xixia textual corpus is most clearly demonstrated by the imperial publication of the important Mahāyāna sūtras in both Tangut and Chinese for the sake of distribution during the great Dharma Assemblies carried out in compliance with the official “state protection” policy and Tangut imperial cult.⁵ The utilitarian perspective of the unprecedented publication activities by the Tangut emperors determined the nature of the Xixia Buddhist sources; the majority of the texts produced by the Tangut authorities are ritual manuals published for ritual purposes, and not representatives of an integrated scriptural corpus such as the Chinese *Dazang jing*.

One of the crucial indicators of the doctrinal congruence between Chinese and Tibetan texts recovered from Xixia is the mutually complementary nature of sectarian texts belonging to the Tibetan bka' rgyud and Sakyapa traditions (predominantly, the ritual manuals and meditation instructions, although a small number of “root texts” have been identified as well). Texts with similar subject matter are available both in the Tangut and Chinese versions under various venues, that is both as actual excavated texts and within larger Yuan dynasty compilations such as *Dacheng Yaodao miji* 大乘要道密集.⁶ The dates of the Tangut texts as well as the relationship

³ One such example is Yuanhao's bilingual inscription on the Liangzhou bridge (see Shi Jinbo 1988; Wang Yao 1992).

⁴ The major source of the study of early political and ritual aspects of the Tangut Buddhism is the so-called “Liangzhou stele from the State Protection Monastery,” which reveals that the early Tangut official Buddhist rituals had a pronounced Sinitic affiliation. See English translation of the stele by (Nishida Tatsuo 1964) vol. 1: 67–176; translation of the Tangut text by Ruth Dunnell (1995), Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xixia Fojiao shilüe*: pp. 241–254. Further analysis of the Tangut imperial or official Buddhism see in Suo Luoning (2013).

⁵ This particular aspect is discussed by Shi Jinbo in *Xixiao Fojiao Shi lüe*.

⁶ This particular topic is beyond the scope of present paper; for the moment, it will suffice to indicate several research papers, dealing with the topic (e.g., Chen Qingying 2003; Shen Weirong 2007). Among the Tibetan traditions represented by the Chinese and Tangut texts alike, there are fragments of systems of Vajravārāhī (Tibetan: *rdo rje phag mo*, Chinese: *Jingang Haimu* 金剛亥母, Tangut: *xji njij gju mja* 藏席翫翫), Cakrasamvara (Tibetan: *bde mchog 'khor*, Tangut: *giuu rjur phju rejz dziej* 雜輯翫翫), Chinese: *Jixiang shangle lun* 吉祥上樂輪, and Hevajra (Chinese: *Xi jingang* 喜金剛, Tangut: *lhju xji njij* 雜藏席), “Path as the Fruit” (Tibetan: *lam 'bras*, Tangut: *tsja lji mjaa* 藏蔽筵, Chinese: *dao ji guo* 道及果), Mahāmudrā (Tibetan: *phyag rgya chen po*, Chinese: *da shouyin* 大手印, Tangut: *thà la tji* 散漫).



between the Tangut and Chinese texts are debatable and far from certain, but the number and diversity of available evidence that the daily life of the Tangut people had been deeply permeated with Buddhist rituals and practices.⁷

The above observations indicate that language affiliation is not the primary criteria for grouping the Xixia Buddhist texts; the texts in Chinese and Tangut often share common subject matter of specific Tibetan or Sinitic parental traditions. Thus, the differences (or similarities) between the texts in their subject matter are of immediate importance for the Buddhological research, whereas the fact that some texts had been preserved in Chinese while others are available only in Tangut reflects the random nature of the Tangut collections. In other words, in Xixia, “language did not represent religion.” The doctrinal congruence between Chinese and Tangut texts is also demonstrated by the transfer of terminology; in many cases, Tibetan terms had been directly translated simultaneously into both Chinese and Tangut from Tibetan; in the translations of Tibetan texts into Chinese, these novel Chinese terms had been preferred to the established Chinese synonyms available from the genuine Chinese texts. Some of these heterogeneous terms made their way into the Chinese translations of the esoteric texts of the Yuan dynasty.⁸ One can thus suggest an alternative approach to the reconstructing of the Xixia Buddhist system; instead of grouping, the texts on the basis of their language or affiliation with one of the Chinese “schools,” one could proceed from a different set of paradigms, e.g., “official” Buddhism versus “popular” beliefs; “esoteric” versus “exoteric”; “Sinitic” versus “Tibetan” traditions (in both Tangut and Chinese languages), “meditative” versus “ritual”; etc.⁹ In general, one can tentatively observe that many aspects of the Tangut official Buddhism had visible Sinitic foundations (including the cults of Maitreya and Amitābha), while popular Buddhism was in many ways based on various cults and practices of the Tibetan origin.

Modern scholarship had demonstrated that almost every single element (text or ritual practice) of the Tangut Buddhism can be directly or indirectly traced to its

⁷ The relationship between the texts from Khara-Khoto and the ones discovered in *Dacheng Yaodao Miji* indicates that some of the texts available in Tangut and Chinese from Khara-Khoto and in *Dacheng Yaodao Miji* originate from different sources; only one important Tangut compilation on the Mahāmudrā practice appears to be totally identical with a collection of Mahāmudrā texts available from *Dacheng Yaodao miji*, whereas other texts which sometimes are discovered under similar titles in Tangut and Chinese in *Dacheng Yaodao Miji* are in fact different compilations, as was recently observed by Sun Bojun in an unpublished conference paper. She also noticed that the transcriptions of Sanskrit terms and dhāraṇī in *Dacheng Yaodao Miji* bear the traces of the North-Western Chinese dialect, which allows identifying them as the Xixia period translations, or at least as the translations made by the inhabitants of Xixia (or their descendants), who maintained their original Chinese dialect during the Yuan period.

⁸ This question requires further study, some preliminary considerations, see “The “Perfect Teaching” and Liao Sources of Tangut Chan Buddhism: A Study of *Jiexing Zhaoxin tu*,” *Asia Major* 26.1 (2013):pp. 79–120. Bibliographical entries in the note 2 could provide some initial familiarity with the problem of the Tangut Buddhist terminology. See also (Nishida Tatsuo 1976), which is a pioneering study of the issue, and Nie Hongyin (2012).

⁹ Suo Luoning, “Xixia Fojiao zhi xitong xing chutan”: pp. 23–30.



source in the Sinitic or Tibet Buddhist realm. However, Buddhism of Xixia is by no means a replica of Buddhism of China or Tibet; its emergence should be viewed as a result of a complex process of interaction, appropriation, transformation, and recombination of various dimensions of Buddhist doctrine and practice. Simply put, the positions occupied by various “traditional” elements within the broader framework of the Tangut Buddhism differed from their habitually recognized places within their parental systems. It is the combination of elements, rather than their singular uniqueness, which distinguishes Xixia Buddhism from any other contemporaneous tradition and constitutes the essence of the “Tangut appropriation” of Buddhism.

Doctrinal compatibility between the Chinese and Tangut textual repertoire together with the absence of visible antagonism between Sinitic and Tibetan Buddhism¹⁰ further substantiate the hypothesis of a composite Sino-Tibetan “Great tradition” of the Tangut Buddhism, composed of a plethora of Tibetan and Sinitic elements. The “Great tradition” maintained its identity in various social and doctrinal contexts but the balance between Sinitic and Tibetan mainstreams depended on the particular social and religious circumstances; currently, one can suggest that Sinitic Buddhism had been the foundation of the Tangut official Buddhism and imperial cults, whereas Tibetan traditions provided more opportunities for individual practice and were instrumental in magic rituals.¹¹ By the

¹⁰ Nishida Tatsuo, one of the pioneers of the Tangut studies, (Nishida Tatsuo 1976–1978), had observed that closer to the end of the Tangut history, the power and authority of Tibetan monks in Xixia increased, so that the Chinese monks had been “defeated” by Tibetans. Nishida’s suggestion had been based on the growing importance of the Tangut institution of the “imperial preceptor” (Chinese: dishi 帝師, Tangut: *dzjwi dzjiij* 𐰇𐰏𐰤𐰚), which had been preserved for the Tibetan monks; another factor in Nishida’s judgment might have been that the last dated Tangut texts are the translations of the Tibetan works etc. However, as Nie Hongyin had shown, the concept of “imperial preceptor” is originally Chinese (even, Confucian) rather than Tibetan (see Nie Hongyin 2005; also Cui Hongfen 2008; Ruth Dannel 2009). The data on the publication and distribution of the Buddhist scriptures in Xixia, however, allow a suggestion that both Sinitic and Tibetan Buddhism had been of equal or close standing in the Tangut Buddhist system.

¹¹ This suggestion can be confirmed by a superficial observation; many Sinitic texts had been published as woodblocks for the wide distribution under the Imperial auspices, whereas Tibetan meditation manuals mostly circulated in the manuscript form, although many of them might have been widespread. Initial discussion of the structure of the Tangut Buddhism, (see Solonin 2012a). Here, the suggestion is made that the Tangut imperial cult was based on the Maitreya worship. However, the Northern Song influences on the Tangut Buddhism include several widely circulating translations and Chinese originals of esoteric scriptures produced by the *Sūtra Translation Bureau* (*Yijing yuan* 譯經院) in Xiangguo si (相國寺) in Kaifeng. As of now, there is no evidence that these scriptures arrived to Xixia within the Chinese collections of the Buddhist scriptures, purchased from the Song by the Tangut court. Although Shi Jinbo lists several such transactions between the Song and Xixia, their exact nature is not clear. Shi Jinbo’s opinion that the Tangut might have purchased the Song edition of *Kaibao zang* (開寶藏), in my opinion is speculative. The term *zhuan dazang jing* 轉大藏經 often used in the colophons of the Tangut editions of the sūtras as well as in various inscriptions represents a type of ritual recitation, which did not imply reading of the whole sūtra collection.

Tibetan esoteric rituals have played a certain role in the Tangut “state protection” rituals, but as of now this observation remains a pure speculation; the state sponsored Dharma assemblies had been mainly based on the Chinese Mahāyāna sūtras and rituals pertaining thereto, e.g., Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xixia Fojiao shi lue* 西夏佛教史略 (Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin chubanshe): pp. 37–43. A comparison between esoteric teachings as sources of “shamanic powers” for the Buddhist priests (as suggested by Abé 1999) in Nara and Heian Japanese Buddhism and esoteric Buddhism in Xixia seems tempting, but one should be conservative here, especially due to the different nature of the esoteric sources in Xixia and Japan.



same token, the linguistic variety among the Khara-Khoto texts marks the relevance of the “Great tradition” for all the linguistic groups of the multilingual Xixia society.

2 Subject Matter of Present Research

Alongside various Tibetan texts, another manifestation of congruence lies within the so-called Sinitic mainstream of the Tangut “Great tradition.” That is, the Xixia textual heritage includes a variety of texts pertaining to the Sinitic tradition of “Chan contemplation” based on the late Tang Huayan teachings of Qingliang Chengguan (清涼澄觀, 737–838) and Guifeng Zongmi (圭峰宗密, 780–841). Keeping in mind specific nature of the Xixia Sinitic textual corpus, I use the term “Chan” as a conventional denomination, rather than a direct indication of doctrinal affiliation of the texts in question.

My intention is to discuss the general outline of the Tangut Chan and introduce some new materials pertaining thereto. In other words, I would like to try to determine the position of the Sinitic Chan within the general framework of the Tangut Buddhism and contextualize Tangut Chan within a broader perspective of East-Asian Buddhism. The present paper will briefly summarize the repertoire and contents of some of the “Chan” texts from Xixia and offer suggestions concerning the timeframe of their penetration into Xixia. Since the “Chan” texts constitute a substantial part of the Xixia textual heritage, this research will inevitably touch upon broader issues of the Sinitic Buddhist legacy in Xixia.

The texts of Chengguan and Zongmi together with related materials constitute the bulk of the Sinitic “scholarly” heritage of the Tangut Buddhism. The texts of this tradition had been circulating in both Tangut and Chinese versions; many of them are available in the form of woodblock publications, which attests to their popularity and possible connection with the Tangut “official Buddhism.” Partial incongruence between the Chinese and Tangut parts of the Xixia repertoire is probably due to the random nature of the Tangut collections; none of them represents any sort of a “systematic library,” but emerged as gatherings of the “things at hand.”

Generally, the Huayan dominated “Tangut Chan,” whose image emerges with increasing clarity had substantially deviated from the Song dynasty mainstreams of

Footnote 11 continued

Although the state regulations for Buddhism in Xixia and in *ritsuryō* Japan had probably been not very different in terms of the request to promote the stability and well-being of the state, the textual repertoires of esoteric Buddhism in Japan and Xixia are the products of different times, and overlap only partially. Unlike Japan, apart from several Northern Song translations, the majority of the tantric texts in Xixia belong to the advanced cycles of anuttarayoga tantras (Tibetan: *bla na med pa'i rgyud*) imported from Tibet during the twelfth century, whereas the basic texts of East-Asian esoterism, such as *Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi* or *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* together with the ritual manuals and meditation guides based thereon, are not available within Xixia textual corpus. In fact, a Tangut transcription of Piluzhena (毗盧遮那), the Chinese Vairocana, is not known to me, while the translation of the Tibetan *rnam par snang mdzad* (Tangut: *mə swew dzju* 藏衍翁, i.e., 眾 (種) 明主) occurs in the texts. Also, we do not know the details of the interaction of the Tangut non-Buddhist ideology and Buddhism.



Chan Buddhism; the textual repertoire of the Tangut “Chan” available from Xixia consists almost entirely of the works discussing the agenda of the Tang dynasty Chan from the Huayan doctrinal perspective. By the same token, Tangut Sinitic tradition as a whole is untraceable to any specific parental tradition in the Chinese Chan of the Song and should be viewed from a different perspective, that is the perspective of the “revived” Huayan teaching resurrected during the Northern Song by Changshui Zixuan (長水子璿, 965–1038) and Jinshui Jingyuan (晉水淨源, 1011–1088). However, an even more immediate source of the Sinitic Buddhism for Xixia was the Buddhism of the Liao.¹² Thus, an inquiry into the nature of the Tangut Buddhism would imply a general probe into the Liao Buddhism, which is beyond the scope of the present paper.¹³ In what follows, I will briefly deal with a few aspects of the Liao Buddhism which are directly related to the present research.

3 “Perfect Teaching” in the Liao and its Tangut Connection

While the origins of Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia and details of its evolution during the Yuan emerge with increasing clarity due to the nature of Tibetan sources available from Khara-Khoto and elsewhere, the beginnings of Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia remain obscure and their research have not advanced beyond general observations such as that the Helan shan (賀蘭山, Tangut: *lā ɲər* 蘿桑, i.e., Lanshan 蘭山, there are other Tangut versions for this place name as well) and Liangzhou (涼州) areas had been the centers of the Sinitic Buddhism since at least the mid-Tang period, and therefore, the Buddhist traditions from these areas influenced the formation of the Xixia Buddhism.¹⁴ By the end of the tenth century, the Liangzhou area had been

¹² The issue of Liao borrowings in Xixia is discussed several publications: (Solonin 2007, 2008); Liao borrowing in connection with the “perfect teaching” are discussed in K. Solonin, “The “Perfect Teaching” and the Liao Sources of Tangut Chan Buddhism; also, Suo Luoning, 索羅寧, “Chanrong zai Liao yu Xixia: yi Heishui cheng chutu *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* he Tongli Dashi *Jiujing yicheng yuanming xinyi wei li*” 禪宗在遼與西夏:以黑水城出土《解行照心圖》和通理大師《究竟一乘圓明心義》為例, in Yixue 怡學 eds., *Liao Jin Fojiao yanjiu* 遼金佛教研究, (Beijing: Jincheng chubanshe 2012); see the discussion below.

¹³ Buddhism in the Liao had received substantial scholarly attention; among more recent works dealing with the Liao materials from an angle relevant for the present research, one should note Masaaki Chikusa 竺沙雅章, *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*, together with the works of Endo Junichiro, mentioned throughout this paper. Apart from this, Lü Jianfu 呂建福 devoted several paragraphs in the third volume of his *Zhongguo mijiao shi* 中國密教史 to the exposition of the Liao esoteric Buddhism (Lü Jianfu 呂建福, *Zhongguo mijiao shi* 中國密教史, vol. 1–3 (Taipei: Kongting shuyuan 2010); recently, a two-volume collection of essays on the Buddhism during the Liao, Jin, and Yuan had been published in China: Huang Xianian 黃夏年 eds., *Liao, Jin, Yuan Fojiao yanjiu* 遼金元佛教研究, vol. 1–2 (Zhengzhou: Daxiang chubanshe 2012), followed by another edited volume: Yixue 怡學 eds., *Liao Jin Fojiao yanjiu*. See also (Sørensen 2011).

¹⁴ The scholars who tried to clarify the origins of the Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia had to operate within a limited amount of textual evidence, covering the activities of Baotang Wuzhu (保唐無著, 714–774) in Helanshan area during 757–758, described in *Lidai Fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (see K. Solonin K. Солонин, *Обретение Учения: Традиция Хуаянь-Чань в буддизме тангутского государства Си-Ся*: 67–71. Other accounts, based on the similar set of source materials (with the addition of data pertaining to the Tangut period) see Shan'zui gou Xixia shiku 山嘴溝西夏石窟, vol. 1–2 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 2007), vol. 1: pp. 4–5; Editorial Board, *Baisi gou Xixia fangta* 拜寺溝西夏方塔 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 2005): pp. 6–8; the relevant paragraphs in these collective monographs had been written by Xie Jisheng 謝繼生 and Sun



densely inhabited by the Tibetan tribes, most of whom had been Buddhist devotees; several important monks from the area had been awarded purple robes by the Song government, with whom Tibetan allied in an attempt to contain Tangut advancement in Central Asia. The nature of the Buddhist beliefs of these Tibetans is not very clear; monastic life in the area had probably been based on the Chinese monastic regulations.¹⁵

Adjacent Wutai Shan had been the source of gravity for the Buddhists throughout East Asia, and inspired building of the Tangut own Wutai Shan in the Xixia capital area. One more consideration concerning the origins of the Tangut Buddhism might be that Xixia had been a major entry point on the great Buddhist route from the Ox-head Mountain (Niutou shan 牛頭山, i.e., Gostana (Chinese: 于闐), Khotan, Tangut: *gjuu thji* 朶勤, clearly derived from the Chinese version of the place name) to the Wutai Shan in the North.¹⁶ In any case, the Tangut familiarity with the Sinitic Buddhism had been produced by the long period of contacts between Tangut settlers and multiethnic population of the Ordos area, rather than through any type of systematic proselytization policy.

By the middle of the twelfth century, i.e., the period to which most of the Tangut sources belong,¹⁷ Tangut Buddhism appears as a conglomerate of Sinitic and Tibetan teachings. This research is based on the suggestion that the balance between a broad variety of diverse traditions in Xixia was maintained through adoption of a specific doctrinal paradigm or "doctrinal taxonomy" (*panjiao* 判教), which might be provisionally defined as the "perfect teaching" (*yuanjiao* 圓教 or *yuanzong* 圓宗). Originating from the doctrine of the *Avatamsaka-sūtra* and the Huayan school of Sinitic Buddhism in the Liao, "the perfect teaching" provided its specific "theory/practice" paradigm for the Sino-Tibetan "Great Tradition" of the Tangut Buddhism. The Xixia Chan texts can be interpreted as one of the aspects of the "perfect teaching" paradigm, which later developed to such a degree as to incorporate various esoteric practices of Tibetan Buddhism, as was demonstrated by the ritual compilations composed by the monks of the Tangut descent during the Yuan.¹⁸

Footnote 14 continued

Changsheng 孫昌盛, respectively. Lü Jianfu (2002) suggested the major source of borrowings of the Chinese culture and social institutions for the Tangut had been not China proper, but the Sinitized *tu* population of Ordos. Liangzhou (涼州), which later became one of the centers of the Tangut Buddhism, had been the area of Bukong (不空, Amoghavajra) activities since the Tang Xuanzong's period.

¹⁵ Buddhism among the Tibetans in Hexi is discussed by Iwasaki Tsutomu (1993). Iwasaki concentrates on the political aspect of Buddhism in the area; this bias is partially determined by the nature of the Chinese sources, which constitute the basis of his research. The role of the Tibetan tribes in the formation of the Tangut statehood and possibly formation of Tangut Buddhism during the eleventh century is one of the main objects of study by Ruth Dunnell (1996). Suggestion on the dominating (or at least important) role of Tibetan Buddhism in Hexi-Qinghai area is speculative; its only textual foundation known to me is the story of dGe-ba-gsal (Blo-chen-po), one of the promoters of the "rekindling the flame of Dharma" in Tibet, studied vinaya and other teachings in Minyag-yül, i.e., Xixia, and had been ordained with the assistance of two Chinese monks (see Гой-лоцзава Шоннубал, 'Gos lotsawa 2001; Davidson 2008).

¹⁶ Tangut relationship with Khotan should have been very important, especially during the formative period of the Tangut history. Details of this process are obscure, and the reliable information is limited. See Chen Wei (2012); (see also Rong Xinjiang 1996).

¹⁷ On the dates the Khara-Khoto texts: see Kyčanov, "Introduction to the Catalog," *Catalog*: pp. 13–31.

¹⁸ On this particular aspect, see Suo Luoning, "Xixia Fojiao xitong xing chutan": pp. 37–38



Within this paradigm, all the Buddhist practices, regardless of their origin, could have been viewed as the manifestations or different aspects of the single “perfect” Buddhist theory. In the Liao and Xixia, the role of “theoretical skeleton” had been assigned to a specific version of the Chinese Huayan teaching in the Tang version exemplified by Chengguan and Zongmi. In such a specific context, the term “perfect teaching” is a scholarly construct which implies not only the “ultimate” or “supreme” teaching in the sense generally used in the “taxonomical schemes” utilized by the Chinese “scholastic” Buddhism throughout its history; this term also implies an “integrative” scheme, appropriate for the accommodation of a broad diversity teachings and practices, including Sinitic and later Tibetan esoteric Buddhism and various denominations of the Chan. The emergence of the “perfect teaching” became possible due to the continuous vitality of Huayan Buddhism in the Northern China (probably in the Wutaishan area) during the late Tang—Five dynasties and later.

Another dimension of the history of Northern Huayan is its role in the Huayan revival during the Northern Song period.¹⁹ The Song Huayan tradition continued to be influential in Xixia even after the demise of the Liao. Several texts available from Khara-Khoto indicate that the Liao had not been the sole source for the Tangut Huayan Chan ideas; as mentioned above, the rise of the Huayan based “perfect teaching” in the Liao and later in Xixia probably was connected with the “Huayan revival” initiated during the Northern Song by Changshui Zixuan and Jinshui Jingyuan. That is, the Tangut translations of such basic Huayan texts as *The Golden Lion of Huayan* (*Huayan Jinshizi zhang* 華嚴金獅子章, Tangut: 級致齋貌駱駝; Tang 323 #739, *Catalog* # 301) and *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奧旨安盡還源觀 (Tangut: 寵貌貌貌, Tang 287, #6174, 2850, only abbreviated title survives) are based on the versions prepared by Jinshui Jingyuan from 1068 (editing and collation of *Huanyuan guan*) to 1080 (editing and collation of *The Golden Lion*) on the basis of other Fazang’s works.²⁰ In the case of the total Tangut dependence on the Liao, the Tangut translation should have been based on *Huayan jing jinshizi zhang zhu* 華嚴經金獅子章註 alternative earlier version of *The Golden Lion*, i.e.,

¹⁹ The Huayan tradition during the Song is still not a very well researched topic. However, one can be certain that original impact for the “Huayan revival” during the Northern Song also came from the North, specifically Wutai shan area; for the major figure of the Song Huayan movement Jinshui Jingyuan (晉水淨源, pp. 1011–1088) initial education in Huayan teachings came from his studies in the North, where he encountered a living Huayan tradition, unavailable in the South. See (Wang Song 2008). Other scholars who dealt with this issue (e.g., Masaaki Chikusa) limited themselves to the general observations about the Huayan domination of the Northern Sinitic Buddhism from the late Tang onward. R. Gimello in his pioneering study of Wutai Shan during the Jin dynasty examined biographical records of the several Indian and Central Asian pilgrims to Wutai Shan during the tenth to twelfth centuries from *Xū Qingliang zhuan* 續清涼傳 (R. Gimello, “Glimpses of Wutaishan in the Early Ch’in dynasty; Testimony of Chu P’ien” in *Chung-hwa foxue xuebao* 7 (1994): pp. 501–612). Gimello concluded that Wutai Shan was the center of Huayan Buddhism during the Liao-Jin periods. The issue of Huayan Buddhism during tenth to thirteenth centuries is, however, of the great importance not only for the study of the Tangut Huayan Buddhism, but also from the perspective of Huayan continuity during the Yuan. As Shi Faxian (釋法賢) had observed, the majority among the compilers of *Zhiyuan Fa bao kantong zongmu* 至元法寶勘同總錄 had been the natives of the former Liao territories, and the whole project had been headed by Longchuan Xingyu (龍川行育), the native of Jin (see Shi Faxian 2005).

²⁰ Jinshui Jingyuan described his editing and compilation of the two texts by Fazang in his “Editorial notes,” which are preserved within the modern editions of both works. On the nature of the Tangut translations thereof, see (Sun Bojun 2010).



the one by the Wutaishan monk Chengqian (五台山承遷). Of course, another explanation might be that the ban on the book trade between the Liao and Song had not been as strict to as include Buddhist works among the forbidden titles, and thus the Liao origin of the above texts is equally plausible.

As of now we do not have information on the popularity of Pei Xiu’s *Quan fa puti xin wen* in the Liao; the current version of the Chinese text is based on the Southern Song edition of the text by Jingzhao (淨照) dated by Shaoxing *rensheng* year 紹興壬申, i.e., 1152.²¹ Jingzhao’s version originates from an unspecified earlier text. Given the close proximity between the Tangut and Chinese text and difficulties of travel between Xixia and the Southern Song, I suggest that the Tangut is not a translation of the Chinese text of Jingzhao but both texts derive from a similar source. One might suggest that despite all odds, the Buddhist exchange in East Asia never ceased, and that the Huayan Buddhist universe was actually able to maintain its integrity.²²

3.1 The Liao Version of the “Perfect Teaching”

3.1.1 Textual Corpus

The basic tenets of the “perfect teaching” had been established by Qingliang Chengguan (Tangut: *gji bioo* 禪觀, translation of the Chinese: *Chengguan* 澄觀; or *gji sjuu* 禪叢, i.e., translation of the Chinese “qingliang” 清涼) in his commentaries to the *Avatamsaka-sūtra*, especially in the *Huayan jing Suishu yanyi chao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔²³ and minor works, such as the widely popular text *Da Shunzong xinyao famen* (答順宗心要法門).²⁴

²¹ ZZ 58 # 1010: 489b12-15.

²² Alternative explanation had been offered by Sun Bojun. See Sun Bojun (2011), where the author argues that Huayan teaching in Xixia owed its popularity in Xixia to the domination of the Baiyun school 白雲宗, which had been supported by the Yuan emperors during the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The influence of the White Cloud teaching had certainly been felt in Xixia; however, the overall tenor of the White Cloud Huayan is different from the one demonstrated by the Tangut texts. Detailed criticism of Sun’s observations, see in Solonin (2011).

²³ As Masaaki Chikusa has shown, Chengguan’s *Extended Commentary* had been an extremely authoritative text in the Liao, which had produced its own research literature. (See 砵 Masaaki Chikusa 1997); this paper had been reproduced in (2000) et passim and had produced its own research literature (*Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*: pp. 139–141). Chengguan’s works current in the Liao had further influenced the development of the Huayan thought during the Yuan (ibid: 158). Currently available Chinese text of *Suishu yanyi chao* is based on the Korean text, which in turn might have been imported from the Liao. On the basis of his examination of the texts of *Suishu Yanyi chao*, Chikusa had determined that two versions of the text circulated in the Liao during the eleventh century. The publication of the texts had been separated by several decades, and the latest of them (“B version” in Chikusa’s terminology) had later become the foundation of the Korean edition, which has later become the basis for the reproduction of the text throughout East Asia, including China and Japan. See *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* for details.

²⁴ A printed copy of this text is available from Khara-Khoto; the title is *Zhu xinyao famen* (TK186 *Zhu Qingliang xinyao* 注清涼心要註心要法門, *Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻, vol. 1 (Shanghai; Shanghai guji 1996). The text was edited by Fang Guangchang (方廣鎬) and included into CBETA edition (ZW 7, #58). In his introduction to the text Fang Guangchang quotes Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高, who believed that the Khara-Khoto text is a Liao edition. Although reasons of Iriya’s conclusion are speculative, this consideration is important for the following discussion.



The doctrinal factors which contributed into the formation of the “perfect teaching” were the wide reception of the Chan ideas and practice together by the Huayan masters, as well as their growing familiarity with esoteric Buddhism during the late Tang.²⁵ Still another set of factors included Huayan appropriation of the doctrines of the *Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經), *Vajarasamādhi Sūtra* (*Jingang sanmei jing*, 金剛三昧經, apocryphal *Sūrangama-sūtra*), and other texts by Guifeng Zongmi.

Generally, “the perfect teaching” proceeded by postulating the existence of the “true” or “perfect” mind (*yuanxin* 圓心, *zhenxin* 真心, or “one-mind,” *yixin* 一心), the absolute reality of the Dharmakāya as well as the source of the mundane existence (*Vajarasamādhi Sūtra* uses the term *xinwang* 心王). This “mind” is the ultimate goal of all practices and can be attained through a variety of methods, combining contemplation, ritual practices, and dhāraṇī incantations; that is, under certain circumstances, the “perfect Huayan” might have been able to appropriate esoteric Buddhism. These doctrines constituted the common theoretical foundation for the Huayan in both Song China²⁶ and the Liao, from where the “perfect doctrine” had penetrated Xixia and probably Korea. The Chan dimension of the “perfect teaching” had been developed by Chengguan’s disciple Guifeng Zongmi, who as well as his master Chengguan specifically addressed the issue of the rivalry, disagreement, and seeming incompatibility between the “doctrinal” (*jiang* 講, “doctrinal teachings” or *jiao* 教) and “practical” (i.e., “contemplative”) traditions of Buddhism (i.e., Chan, or *zong* 宗, or esoteric Buddhism; Chengguan used the terms *jingzong* 經宗 and *chanzong* 禪宗, respectively) during the Tang. That is, the doctrinal taxonomy developed by the Huayan masters had been modeled according the traditional “teaching/contemplation” (*jiao/guan* 教觀) paradigm.

Zongmi’s writings on Chan are a particularly well-known aspect of the “perfect teaching;” famous works such as *Zhu shuo Chanyuan Zhuquan jidu xu* (諸說禪源諸詮集都序, hereafter *The Chan Preface*) had long been the focus of scholarly attention. Apart from Zongmi, whose views betrayed a certain bias toward Heze Chan school and Chan Buddhism in general,²⁷ and which was not quite in tune with Chengguan’s reserved attitude, the concept of the “perfect teaching” had been concisely yet fully exposed in Pei Xiu’s (裴休, d. 860) *Quan fa puti xin wen* (勸發菩提心文, Tangut: 𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰐𐰏 only abbreviated title of the Tangut translation of the texts

²⁵ On Chengguan and esoteric Buddhism, among others see Endo Junichiro (2010).

²⁶ The doctrine of “one-mind,” “true mind,” etc., had been adopted by Jingyuan, generally as a result for his respect for the teachings of Chengguan and Zongmi, which he had acquired throughout his period of study in the North (See Wang Song, *Songdai Huayan sixiang yanjiu*: pp. 14–16; also: (Yoshida Go 2004). The list of Jingyuan’s works, provided by Wang Song clearly, indicates his interest in the later Huayan tradition of Chengguan and Zongmi. Jingyuan’s “practical” interest apparently lied in the repentance rituals and “contemplation of the Dharma realm,” and he did not show any interest in esoteric Buddhism of the Northern Song.

²⁷ Important factor here is that, as Broughton has shown (*Zongmi on Chan*: pp. 16–20), Zongmi’s critique of the Hongzhou school had been more of “pedagogical” than of “doctrinal nature” in terms of Hongzhou mistaking “seeing the nature” for the completion of the path. This particular consideration is valuable for the discussion of the Tangut and Liao Chan.



had survived), which had probably enjoyed a wide circulation in Xixia.²⁸ Pei Xiu even determines the list of the basic texts of the doctrine: *The Diamond sūtra*, *The Perfect Enlightenment sūtra*, and *The Avatamsaka* and *Nirvāṇa sūtras*.²⁹ Zongmi provided a laudatory “Preface” to this work, thus confirming its authenticity in terms of the “perfect teaching” as an all-embracing integrative paradigm.

“The perfect teaching” based on the Huayan discourse maintained its vitality as a local Buddhist tradition of the Wutai Shan area throughout the Northern Song and Liao period, when some of its most important texts (including *The Chan Preface*) was republished or rediscovered under the Liao imperial aegis. In the Liao, this “perfect teaching” reached its summit during the reign of the Liao Emperor Daozong (遼道宗, reign 1055–1101).³⁰

Such Liao texts as *Xianmi Yuantong Chengfo xinyao ji* (顯密圓通成佛心要集) by Yuantong Daoshen (圓通道殿, 1056–1114, fragments of the text available from Khara-Khoto), *Da Piluzhena Chengfo shenbian jiachi jing yishi yanmi chao* (大毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經義釋演密鈔, approximately 1077) by Jueyuan (覺苑)³¹ demonstrate a further development of the Huayan doctrinal taxonomy which incorporated “esoteric Buddhism,” which had been the dominant trend of the Tang heritage of the in the Liao Buddhism.³² Other Huayan affiliated texts, such as *The Treatise Expounding the Meaning of Mahāyāna* (*Shi Moheyan lun* 釋摩訶衍論), rediscovered during Daozong’s time³³ and texts based thereupon (such as *Zhongsheng xin tu* 眾生心圖, Chinese text available from Khara-Khoto) as well

²⁸ Tang 113 #6172; *Catalog* # 716. Suggestion of the wide circulation of the text is based on the fact that it is a woodblock print.

²⁹ The texts identified by Pei Xiu are the ones which Yoshihide considers to be the doctrinal foundations of Huayan Chan. ZZ 58 # 1010: 487b14-20. Yoshihide considers Pei Xiu one of the major members of the Huayan Chan lineage (*Kegon Zen no shisō-shi kenkyū*: 356); later he had been followed by Changshui Zixuan (長水子璿) and Jinshui Jingyuan (晉水淨源) during the Northern Song.

³⁰ This date had been proposed by Masaaki Chikusa, see 竺沙雅章, *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* 宋元佛教文化史研究: 153.

³¹ Both these texts are analyzed in the third volume of Lǚ Jianfū’s *History of Esoteric Buddhism in China*. See also Henrik Sørensen, “Esoteric Buddhism under the Liao.” A detailed exposition of Jueyuan’s teaching in its relationship with Chengguan’s Huayan doctrine is presented in also see (Endo Junichiro 2008). Endo’s observations are partially based on the earlier research of Kamata Shigeo and Kimura Kyotaka (木村清孝). The text is unavailable from Khara-Khoto or any of Tangut repositories.

³² On the relation of Chengguan’s thought and the Liao Buddhism, see (Kamata Shigeo 1965) which is one of the first attempts to deal systematically with the Liao materials (Kamata also discusses the works by Jueyuan and Zhifu, 志福); Endo Junichiro critiques of Kamata and Kimura Kyotaka for being overly abstract in their research; thus, in his “Kakuon su *Dainichikyō gishaku emmi sho*” Endo provides concrete examples of incorporation of Buddhist doctrines into the perfect teaching, the superiority of the teaching of dhāraṇī before other forms of Buddhism, its compatibility with the Huayan and indicates that “Huayan-esoteric relationship” in the Liao might be characterized as that of “theory and practice.” See also (Endo Junichiro 2010).

³³ See “Imperial Preface” (*vinwen* 引文) to *Shi Moheyan lun tongxuan chao* 釋摩訶衍論通玄鈔, ZZ 46 #775A: 110a6-22, where Daozong describes his familiarity with the text.



as several other commentarial compilations can be interpreted as “textual manifestations” of the “perfect teaching.”³⁴

Apart from the better known Liao commentaries on *Shi Moheyan lun*, one of the major explications of the “perfect teaching” known to me is the so-called *Four Questions and Answers on the Perfect Teaching* (*Yuanjiao simen wenda* 圓教四問答). Together with a variety of copies of *Huayan jing Suishu yanyi chao*, its commentaries and commentarial treatises on *Cheng Weishi lun*, this text originates from Timber Pagoda built by Liao Daozong.³⁵ The author of this work is unknown, but might very well be Wuli Xianyan (悟理鮮演, 1148–1118). The text requires much more research, but for the moment it will suffice to say that it is almost entirely dependent on Chengguan’s *Suishu yanyi chao* in both conceptual and terminological respects. Another example of the Liao “perfect teaching” text is a manuscript provisionally titled *Preface to Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao*, which also originates from the Timber Pagoda.³⁶ Being a brief introduction to *Suishu yanyi chao*, the text introduces the structure of Chengguan’s original text, and explains at length that only “our perfect doctrine” (*wo yuanzong* 我圓宗) can secure real “interfusion” (*yuanrong* 圓融), and therefore is legitimately (*dangti* 當體, “substantially”) called “perfect,” whereas other traditions are only imitations of that “perfect teaching.”

³⁴ The notion of the “perfect teaching” in the Liao had long since become the focus of scholarly attention. However, the scholars who discuss this particular dimension of Buddhism (esp. Lǚ Jianfu 呂建福 (see *Zhongguo mijiao shi* 中國密教史) and Endo Junichiro 遠藤純一郎, see his Endo Junichirō 遠藤純一郎 “*Kenmitsu entsū jōbutsu shinyō shū*” ni okeru kenmitsukan”: pp. 63–90; see also Henrik Sørensen, “Esoteric Buddhism under the Liao” in Charles Orzech, Henrik Sørensen, Richard Payne eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011): pp. 456–465) apparently concentrate on the most visible aspect of the Liao “perfect teaching,” i.e., the cohesion of the “perfect secret” (*miyuan* 密圓) and “perfect revealed” (*xianyuan* 顯圓) as it emerges in the extant Liao esoteric texts. Thus, the scholars especially focus on the explications of Yixing Jingxian’s (一行敬賢, 683–727) Commentary to *Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi-tantra* (*Da Piluzhena Chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經) by the Liao master Jueyuan 覺苑 (fl. during the reign of Daozong). Although the scholarship correctly traces the origins of this concept to the late Tang Huayan teaching of Chengguan, the contents of both Chengguan’s thought and Liao “perfect teaching” are broader than “simultaneous circulation of the secret and revealed” (*xianmi bingxing* 顯密並行), and include other aspects of Buddhist practices, such as “Chan contemplation.” By this token, another proponent of the “perfect teaching” in the Liao, Yuantong Daoshen devoted a special work to the Chan contemplation. (See Solonin 2012a). See the discussion below.

³⁵ Publication in *Yingxian Muta Liaodai mizang* 應縣木塔遼代秘藏 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe 1992), vol. 2: pp. 520–522. *Yuanjiao simen wenda* is a manuscript expounding the meaning of the “perfect teaching” on the basis of Chengguan’s *Expanded Commentary*. Certain specific terminology in the text allows suggesting that this in fact is a work by Yuantong Xianyan; however, more research is required. A description of the Liao Buddhist literature recovered from the Timber Pagoda see in Masaaki Chikusa, *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*: pp. 113–122.

³⁶ This text is found within a separate manuscript collection of minor Buddhist texts, discovered in the Timber Pagoda. The title of the collection had not survived, thus the publishers chose tentative title: *Da Fangguang Fo Huayanjing shuxū, quanshan wen hece* 大方廣佛花嚴經疏序, 勸善文合冊, see *Yingxian Muta Liaodai mizang*, vol. 2: pp. 532–538. The text contains “rubrics” of Chengguan’s *Suishu Yanyi chao*, explanation of the reasons why its teaching is “perfect,” Chengguan’s brief biography, etc. As far as I was able to determine in his account of the Timber Pagoda texts, Masaaki Chikusa did not specifically discuss this text.



3.1.2 Outline of the Contents of the "Perfect Teaching" in Relation to the "Chan Teachings":

Despite the doctrinal differences between them, Chengguan and Zongmi's works together with several affiliated texts of the Kitan origin present a "non-sectarian" teaching of the "true mind," the source of *bodhicitta*, which has to be attained through a combination of meditative effort and "ten thousand practices"—that is through a complete conformity between *jiewu* (解悟, understanding) and *zhengwu* (證悟, attainment).³⁷ Zongmi's particular version of Chan which had developed on the basis of the concept of the "true mind" of original enlightenment and the identity between the "mind" and "nature" (*xin ji xing* 心即性) and "original Buddhahood" of the sentient beings as the source of Chan (*chan yuan* 禪源). This type of Chan was recognized as the ultimate practice for the attainment the true mind, whereas Chengguan's stance toward the Chan had been more reserved as he warned against the negligence of other aspects of both doctrine and practice. Zongmi's version was labeled "Huayan Chan" by the modern scholarship.³⁸ However, in the exposition of the "perfect doctrine" by the Liao Buddhist masters, especially Daoshen, Chan does not enjoy a particularly high standing; in his quotations from Zongmi, Daoshen demonstrates his take on Zongmi as on a Huayan master, and not a Chan patriarch. Below I will briefly summarize aspects of the "perfect teaching" as it is presented in Daoshen's *Xianmi Yuanotong Chengfo xinyao ji*.

³⁷ Broughton translates the terms as "spiritual realization" (based on the meaning of Sanskrit *adhigama*) and "intellectual awakening" (derived from Sanskrit *mata*, see Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*: translation: 153; 276, notes 256, 257; however, none of these Sanskrit terms attests for the Chinese *wu* 悟). Yoshihide discusses the relevant paragraphs from Chengguan's *Commentary on the vows of Samantabhadra* and passages from Zongmi's *Great Commentary to the Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra* and analyzes the differences in understanding of "sudden" and "gradual" ("all-in-once" and "step-by-step" in Broughton's terminology).

³⁸ This term is an invention of a Japanese scholar Yoshihide Yoshizu. See (Yoshihide Yoshizu 1985). In Yoshihide's interpretation, the term "Huayan-Chan" is a polemic device, designed to discriminate between the teaching of Zongmi and the teaching of "original enlightenment," which spread in Japan from the Heian to Kamakura periods. Yoshihide mentions a certain incompatibility between the teachings of Zongmi and Chengguan, especially in the relationship to the "four-dharma realms" scheme. That is, according to Chengguan, Chan followers overestimate the value of "self-awakening." Yoshihide further sees Chengguan's idea of "knowing" (spiritual knowledge) as a critique of the Chan ideas of the direct identity between the mind and the Buddha (pp. 257–258, pp. 263–264). Thus, it was Zongmi, who had promoted the Chan to the highest ground, or otherwise attributed overall importance to the third realm of "interpenetration of things and principle" (*lishi wuai* 理事無礙) in the opposition to the highest realm of "unobstructed interpenetrations of things." (Observation suggested by Peter Gregory). The translator of Zongmi's works into English, J. Broughton seems to prefer the term "Guifeng Chan," which is no less a scholarly construct than Yoshihide's term. Broughton sees Guifeng Chan as a way to triangulate the difference between the "Buddha words and what is beyond the words," and thus create an integrated Chan system (Jeffrey Broughton 2009). Broughton is also aware of Chengguan's critical stance toward the Chan Buddhism (Northern and Southern School, *ibid*. 262–263, note 149). Critique and origins of the idea of Huayan Chan see in Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*: pp. 59–60; pp. 231–232.

Yoshihide Yoshizu in *Kegon Zen no shisō-shi kenkyū*: pp. 291–296 discusses Zongmi's six theories about attainment of the Buddhahood presented in Zongmi's *Yuanjue jing dashu* 圓覺經大疏 (actually, Yoshihide provides translations and discussion of the relevant parts of the text, ZZ 9 #243: 369c13-370a20). However, according to Zongmi's exposition, the Bodhidharma Chan does not qualify for the sixth teaching of the "original attainment of Buddhahood." This taxonomical slot is reserved for Huayan teaching only.



According to the “perfect teaching” theory based on Chengguan’s and Zongmi’s ideas, its major doctrinal tenet is the concept of the “true mind” (*zhenxin* 真心, Tangut: *riej njij* 麟緝, or “one-mind,” 一心) endowed with “spiritual knowledge” (“awareness” in P. Gregory’s terminology, “knowing” or “spiritual knowing”; Chinese: *lingzhi* 靈知, Tangut: *mijir nwā* 唎毗).³⁹ This mind encompasses all the dimensions of Buddhaddharma and constitutes common subject matter shared by all the true versions of Buddhism, “esoteric” (*mi* 密) and “exoteric” (*xian* 顯) alike.⁴⁰ Liao Buddhist masters tended to view Buddhism as the complementary combination of two aspects, i.e., “perfect exoteric” (*miyuan* 顯圓, i.e., *Avatamsaka* teaching) and “perfect esoteric” (*miyuan* 密圓, i.e., the teaching of *Mahāvairocana-abhisambodhi tantra* and its commentaries, or practice of Cundī Avalokiteśvara 準提觀音). Both these ultimate manifestations share common paradigm of attainment of “the realm of Vairocana” (*Pilu fajie* 毘盧法界) or “the sea of nature” (*xinghai* 性海) through fulfillment of the “sea of practices of Samantabhadra” (*Puxian xinghai* 普賢行海), which in turn relates to the realm of “one-mind.” One Liao text calls this process “the return of the mind of interfusion to the sea of nature” (*rongxin gui yu xingai* 融心歸於性海).⁴¹ Such division of the teachings and practices represents the inner structure and basic hermeneutic device for the interpretation of the *Huayan jing* itself, which by this token is the “perfect scripture” not metaphorically but in the literary sense. The doctrines and practices of Vairocana and Samantabhadra form a complementary whole in terms of “teaching/doctrine” (*jiao/zong* 教宗) opposition in the manner similar to Zongmi’s approach to the relations between “Chan” and “teachings” in *The Chan Preface*.⁴² Thus, “esoteric” and “exoteric” forms of Buddhism are fully compatible in terms of doctrine, whereas the difference between them mostly lies in the realm of “expedience of means,” i.e., “sudden” (*dun* 頓) esoteric versus “gradual” (*jian* 漸) exoteric ways of attaining the Buddha fruit.⁴³ Another factor in the “doctrinal taxonomy” is the advance in the attainment of the “true mind”; the adept’s ascend through the hierarchy of “four-Dharma realms” (*si fajie* 四法界)” provides an integrative paradigm and interpretative scheme for all other Huayan concepts.⁴⁴ Each of the stages of such spiritual advance is

³⁹ This Tangut term is a literal translation of the Chinese original term; there were other Tangut versions of this term with the same meaning. Although, as Yoshizu Yoshihide indicated (see above) there important doctrinal discrepancies between Chengguan and Zongmi in terms of their common acceptance of the idea of the “true mind,” their teachings had been univocal.

⁴⁰ Zongmi otherwise referred to this teaching as *xinzong* 心宗, “teaching of the mind.” The exposition of the “absolute true mind” occurs in the final part of the first chapter of *The Chan Preface* (the caption *juedai zhenxin* 絕待真心 is introduced by Kamata in his translation of *The Chan Preface* (Kamata Shigeo, 1971); English translation of Zongmi’s text see in Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*: pp. 140–141). However, the term does not occur in Zongmi or Chengguan, it is of crucial importance in the Liao texts, especially in the explication of the essence of Chan.

⁴¹ *Yingxian Muta Liaodai mizang*, vol. 2: p. 533.

⁴² Concerning this relationship, see Endo Junichiro, “*Kenmitsu entsū jōbutsu shinyō shū*” ni okeru kenmitsukan”: pp. 104–105. Endo sees here Chengguan’s influence. Endo does not mention Zongmi in this connection.

⁴³ On the Huayan esoterism in the Liao Buddhism, see Henrik Sørensen, “Esoteric Buddhism under the Liao” in pp. 456–465.

⁴⁴ This idea is exemplified by Chengguan’s representation of the “ten contemplations,” “ten profound gates” with the “four-dharma realms.” See *Suishu yanyi chao*: T35 #1736: 271a19-b5.



endowed with a specific set of "contemplations" representing various degrees of spiritual progress and sets of practices.

In accordance with such a layout, among the exoteric teachings, the highest position (i.e., the "realm of unobstructed interpenetration of things, *shishi wuai* 事事無礙) is allocated for the Huayan teaching; the highest esoteric slot is reserved for various esoteric practices (e.g., the cult of Cundī or Mahāvairocana *per se*, depending on the author). Basic doctrinal relationship between diverse teachings included into this scheme had been that of "incorporation" or "inclusiveness" (Chinese: *yuanrong* 圓融, Tangut: *'iō lwu* 苑融) and "identity and interpenetration" (Chinese: *xiangji xiangru* 相即相入, Tangut: *džjwi 'jij džjwi'o* 翦翦翦務) in terms that all of the teachings share common origin and abide in the same realm of "true mind"; thus, each following teaching encompasses the preceding one, and thus contributes into the common goal of sudden and complete "attainment" of the realm of "effect," i.e., the Buddhahood.⁴⁵ Thus, all the "contemplations" can be brought together under the rubric of "practices of the perfect teaching" (*yuanzong xing* 圓宗行).

Our primary concern is the universal system of exoteric practices. *Xianmi Yuantong Chengfo xinyao* Daoshen included the "Chan contemplation" in its true sense (i.e., the teaching of Bodhidharma) into his doctrinal system as an indispensable part of the process of attainment of the Buddhahood, but assigned it to an inferior position as compared to the esoteric practices and Huayan "contemplation of the Dharma realm."⁴⁶ That is, according to Daoshen, "Chan theories" (including famous Huineng's gatha from the *Platform Sūtra*) belong to the realm of the "absolute true mind" (*juedai zhenxin* 絕待真心), which in turn relates to the category of "sudden" teaching (*dun* 頓). Curiously enough, in Daoshen's explanation, the Tiantai practice of "three contemplations," "six identities" (*liu ji* 六即) ranks higher than Chan,⁴⁷ while the "no-thought" (*wunian* 無念) loses its Chan connotation and serves to indicate the core of Chengguan's teaching in its entirety. In the scheme of "five contemplations," which constitute the "sea of practices of Samantabhadra," Chan belongs to the second of the contemplations, i.e., "cutting of characteristics and contemplating tathatā" (*zhenru juexiang guan* 真如絕相觀), which corresponds to the "Dharma realm of principle" (*li*

⁴⁵ The idea of identity of all the contemplations in terms of their common origins is expressed in the final part of his exposition of "exoteric teachings." See T56 3 1955: 993b25-c3.

⁴⁶ This brief exposition is based on Daoshen's *Xianmi Yuantong Chengfo xinyao ji*, especially the first *juan* (T46 #1955: pp. 991–992). Sort of neglect for the Chan seems to be a deviation from Zongmi's views, but is in general tenor with Chengguan's thought.

⁴⁷ Interestingly enough, in Daoshen's explanation, Tiantai "three contemplations" in fact rank higher than Chan Buddhism; Daoshen puts into the category of "*shili wuai guan* 事理無礙觀," and relates the "middle contemplation" to "Dharma realm of unobstructed penetration of things and principle." (T46 #1955: 992b20–21). Tiantai system of "three contemplations" penetrates Daoshen's system of contemplations from bottom to the top, and "simultaneous contemplation of conventional, empty, and middle" (*jikong jijia jizhong* 即空即假即中) in fact ranks in the category of "inexhaustible Indra's net" in the subcategory of "maintaining and chanting" (*chisong* 持誦), which in fact is one of the highest among exoteric teachings and implies visualization of interpenetration of the "things" in the course of reciting sūtras (T46 #1955: 993a13–25). If properly fulfilled, the "three contemplations" would result in the realization of the "one-mind." This conclusion contradicts Zongmi's observation in the Great Commentary to the *Prefect Enlightenment Sūtra* (Yuanjue jing dashu 圓覺經大疏), where Zongmi criticizes Tiantai for the separation of subject and object in contemplation. In the same paragraph, Daoshen criticizes a primitive understanding of "no-thought" and invokes Chengguan's discourse on the true "no-thought."



fajie 理法界).⁴⁸ The highest realm in this taxonomy is occupied by the “one mind according to the specific teaching” (*biejiao* 別教), which is otherwise compared with the world of Indra’s net in the realm of the “sea of nature of Vairocana.”

Downplaying the position of Chan in this scheme probably indicates a closer adherence to Chengguan’s original ideas, but the one peculiarity of Daoshen’s exposition of the aspects of “one-mind” is that his explanations are saturated with the quotations from Huayan and Chan patriarchs, that is the demise of Chan in Daoshen’s scheme does not affect Zongmi’s authority. In Daoshen’s understanding, master Guifeng remains a master, followed Chengguan in promotion of the practices of “visualization” (*guanxiang* 觀想) of the “Dharma realm” through the devices of “ten profound gates.” This contemplation is the highest available “exoteric contemplation” of the “interpenetration between the things” and is complacent with esoteric teachings on contemplation by Yixing Jingxian (一行敬賢), a famous Tang dynasty proponent of esoteric Buddhism well-known in the Liao. That is, one can speculate that placing of “contemplation of the Dharma realm” on the highest position exemplified the restoration of the original Huayan scheme, which had been modified by Zongmi in tenor with his Chan sympathies.

The inferior status of Bodhidharma Chan in the Liao probably started to change some time during the last years of Daozong’s reign; probably, during the Taikang 太康 and Da’an 大安 reign periods, 1075–1100), when the elements of the Chinese Chan [in the form of the “teaching of Bodhidharma” and possibly Fayen Wenyi (法眼文益, 885–958) lineage] tradition started to penetrate into the Liao, and the Emperor Daozong himself developed some interest in this tradition.⁴⁹ Thus, the Emperor was credited with the promotion of both “secret and revealed perfections.”⁵⁰ Apparently, the Chan texts from Xixia reflect this new development of the Liao Buddhism and its further continuity. The majority of the Liao “perfect teaching”

⁴⁸ See K. Solonin, “The Teaching of Daoshen in Tangut Translation” for details. There are also partial expositions of this system by Chen Yongge (See Chen Yongge 2012) and the earliest brief exposition by Kamata Shigeo.

⁴⁹ This observation is based on the data from several Liao stele inscriptions; the most important of them is “Daan shan Lianhua yu Yanfu si Guanyintang jibei” 大安山蓮花峪觀音堂記碑. *Beijing Liao Jin shiji tuzhi* 北京遼金史跡圖志 (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe 2004) vol. 2: pp. 21–22. See also (Huang Chunhe 1999). The stele inscription speaks of the activities of several Buddhist leaders, especially Tongli, Jizhao (寂照), and Tongyuan (通圓), who introduced Bodhidharma’s teaching into the Liao, which had otherwise been dominated by the “doctrinal Buddhism.” Daozong’s interest in Chan is documented in another of Tongli’s eulogies from Fangshan: K. Solonin, 索羅寧, “Chanzong zai Liao yu Xixia: yi Heishuicheng chutu *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* he Tongli Dashi *Jiujing yicheng yuanming xinyi wei li*.”

Another evidence here is that Zhifu (志福), the author of *Shi Moheyan lun tongxuan chao* 釋摩訶衍論通玄鈔, which had been composed during Daozong’s reign, quotes several times from *Jingde Chuandeng lu* and mentions its title. So, at least by the time of Daozong this text had been available in the Liao. These facts indicate that Liao familiarity with Chan grew by the end of eleventh century. The above does not mean that Chan had not been known in the Liao at all; here, I am concerned with the official recognition of the tradition.

⁵⁰ T46#1955: b16-17. Daoshen addresses to Daozong here using his Buddhist name Tianyou Huangdi *pusa guowang* 天佑皇帝菩薩國王.



repertoire as well as the terminology pertaining thereto reemerge in the Khara-Khoto, Baisi gou, and Shanzui gou textual collections.

Thus, one can speculate that the Chan Buddhism in the Liao existed not as an independent tradition (or a variety thereof) alternative to some mainstream (*biezhuan* 別傳), but as a dimension of a broader paradigm of the Huayan "perfect teaching." That is, the Liao "Chan Buddhism" itself formed an integrative framework which brought together the teachings of Tiantai, Southern and Northern Chan, culminating in the practice of "contemplation of the Dharma realm." Another concern of the Liao and Xixia Buddhists had been to secure coherence between "understanding" and "practice" as prescribed by Chengguan in *Suishu yanyi chao*.⁵¹ In line with Chengguan's thought, this call for unity had been limited to the contemplation teachings of the Tang period with which Chengguan and Zongmi had been familiar. The versions of Chan, deviating from Chengguan's idea of Bodhidharma's transmission and his image of ideal Chan Buddhism, could not have been accommodated within this new "unity." Thus, as the texts by Daoshen and Xianyan demonstrate, the Liao idea of Chan for a long time had remained limited to the "Southern and Northern schools."⁵² If Wenyi's Chan teaching ever made its way to the Liao, then this was because of his clear Huayan sympathies. This is the picture of Chan, which can be also extracted from the repertoire of the Chan texts, retrieved from Khara-Khoto. By this token, the term "Chan texts" as it is used in this discussion should be understood from the perspective of the "perfect teaching" rather than as an indication of the popularity of a certain Song period Chan tradition in Xixia.⁵³

3.2 Tangut Texts on the "Perfect Teaching" and the "Chan"

The so-called Tangut "perfect teaching" and "Chan texts" can be divided into two groups, which sometimes overlap. The first group includes the texts, which belong to the "common" Chan Buddhist heritage of the Tang-early Song periods, and include the texts of Chan biographies, Bodhidharma treatise, the Tangut version of the *Platform Sūtra*, etc. The other group, more numerous and important from the scholarly perspective, includes the texts pertaining to the "exoteric dimension" of the "perfect teaching." Although neither Tangut translation nor Chinese original were unequivocally identified among the Tangut textual find, the dominating role of *Suishu yanyi chao* in the Xixia Huayan is clearly demonstrated by the contents of the so-called "Lineage of the Teachers who spread Huayan in the State of the Great Xia" (Da Xia Guo hongyang Huayan zhushi 大夏國弘揚華嚴諸師), discovered in the text of *Huayan Repentance Ritual*, compiled by Yixing Huijue, the Yuan monk of Tangut descent during the early Yuan and edited sometime in the early fourteenth century by Cangshan Purui (蒼山普瑞) in Yunnan. Almost all the members (eight

⁵¹ See *Da fangguang Fo Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T36 #1736: 17a7-12.

⁵² See Chen Yongge 陳永革, "Lun Liaodai Huayan de Chanjiao rongtong sixiang: pp. 79–95.

⁵³ Initial considerations see in 索羅寧 (K. J. Solonin), "Xixia Fojiao zhenxin sixiang" 西夏佛教真心想, in *Xixia xue* 西夏學 5 (2010): 163–173.



out of nine) of the list are associated with expounding, translating, and propagating of *Suishu yanyi chao*.⁵⁴

The Tangut Chan corpus includes a large collection of Zongmi's works on Chan⁵⁵ and commentaries to the *Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra*⁵⁶; texts on the practice of "contemplating the dharma realm" (*fajie guan* 法界觀)⁵⁷ as well as Fazang's *Contemplation of Returning to the Source* reemerge in Khara-Khoto, which is indicative of the overall reproduction of the "perfect teaching" Chan taxonomy, which also culminates in the practice of the "contemplation of the Dharma realm."

Several previously unknown Buddhist texts of the Liao origin (including otherwise unknown works by Daoshen and by the great Liao Chan master Tongli Hengce, the Chan master, whose Dharma assemblies had been personally attended by Daozong (通理恒策, 1049–1099, Tangut: *wo dar* 纒盤, a translation of Chinese Tongli 通理),⁵⁸ Liao master Sixiao 思孝,⁵⁹ as well as the Liao texts relating to the *Treatise Expounding the Meaning of Mahāyāna* (*Shi Moheyan lun* 釋摩訶衍論),⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Original texts see ZZ74 #1470: 356a7-b18. The first correct interpretation of the lineage preserved by Purui had been offered by Li Can 李燦 in his MA thesis from Beijing University (2011). See Solonin (2012c), hereafter *Huayan Repentance Ritual*: pp. 1–76 for details. The list of Xixia Huayan patriarchs had been compiled by Purui himself probably on the basis of the Xixia sources preserved during the Yuan. (See Solonin 索羅寧, Ibid: 40–55 et passim).

⁵⁵ List of Zongmi's texts on Chan see in Solonin (1998).

⁵⁶ The text of the Tangut translation of the *Perfect Enlightenment sūtra* is not attested among the Khara-Khoto texts; however, more recent discoveries in Baisi gou (拜寺溝) and Shanzui gou (山嘴溝) reveal the popularity of these texts and Zongmi's commentaries in Xixia. See details below.

⁵⁷ Fragments of Chinese text of Zongmi's *Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen* 諸華嚴法界觀門 is listed by L. N. Men'shikov in the *Catalog of the Chinese part of P. K. Kozlov's Collection from Khara-Khoto*: pp. 270–272, publication date estimated as 1152. Tangut versions of this work and related texts see in *Catalog*: 綴致禪苑執歸 (Chinese: *Huayan fajie guan guan* 華嚴法界觀貫, *Catalog* #305: p. 404), which is a schematic commentary to Zongmi's text (*kewen* 科文); 冠綴致禪苑執歸觀門通玄記 (Catalog # 306: pp. 404–405, Chinese: *Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen tongxuan ji* 註華嚴法界觀門通玄記) by Guangzhi Bensong 廣智本嵩 (fl. around 1040), translated by Huihai 慧海 (Tangut: *zjir njow* 菟箭 Kyčanov erroneously reads this title as *Zhu Huayan fajie guan shen* (註華嚴法界觀通深).

⁵⁸ Details on the Khara-Khoto texts by Tongli see in K. Solonin, 索羅寧, "Chanzone zai Liao yu Xixia: yi Heishuicheng chutu *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* he Tongli Dashi Jiujing yicheng yuanming xinyi wei li" 禪宗在遼與西夏:以黑水城出土《解行照心圖》和通理大師《究竟一乘圓明心義》為例, in Yixue 怡學eds, *Liao Jin Fojiao yanjiu* 遼金佛教研究, (Beijing:Jincheng chubanshe 2012). This volume also includes a paper by Li Hui 李輝 confirming the identity of Tongli known from Khara-Khoto texts with the famous Liao master. Tongli is otherwise known for his sūtra carving activities on Fangshan (See Chen Yanzhu i 1993; see also Ren Jie 1999).

⁵⁹ Details in Feng Guodong 馮國棟, "Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian Liaodai gaoseng Haishan Sixiao zhuzuo kao" 《俄藏黑水城文獻》遼代高僧海山思孝著作考 in *Fojiao wenxian yu Fojiao wenxue* 佛教文獻與佛教文學 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua 2011): pp. 190–202.

⁶⁰ Several Chinese texts were identified as Liao commentaries to *Shi Moheyan lun* or texts directly inspired by it. Text TK-74, known by its abbreviated title *Long lun* (龍論), is in fact an abridged version of *Shi Moheyan lun zanxuan shu* 釋摩訶衍論贊玄疏 (ZZ 45 no772) by the Liao monk Fawu (法悟). Discussion see Zongshun 宗舜, "Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian zhi hanwen fojiao wenxian niti kaobian" 《俄藏黑水城文獻》之漢文佛教文獻擬題考辨, in *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究, no1 (2001).

had been identified among the Khara-Khoto holdings. There is even strong reason to believe that the works of Xianyan had been translated into Tangut.⁶¹

Some of the texts are listed below. This is not a fully exhaustive repertoire; more texts might still be discovered in the future or the known ones correctly identified. However, this list is sufficient for an overall impression of the nature of the Tangut Chan lore.⁶² As “contextual rather than linguistic criteria” requirement demands, both Tangut and Chinese texts are listed together.

One peculiarity to be mentioned here is that terminological discrimination between the “meditation manuals” of Sinitic or Tibetan origin is sometimes complicated; the Tangut term for “dhyāna” and “contemplation”; *śjā bioo* 𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰐 is clearly derived from the Chinese term *changuan* 禪觀 (the first Tangut graph in fact represents a Tangut loan word for the Chinese *chan* 禪) and is more or less systematically used for rendering of the Chinese concept of “Chan” in Sinitic sense; another Tangut term for “contemplation,” (samādhi) *djij* 𐰇𐰏 (or *śjā djij* 𐰇𐰏𐰐𐰏, *chanding* 禪定) is also a loan word, reproducing the Chinese *ding* 定 (or *chanding* 禪定), but is frequently used in the translations of the Tibetan texts (e.g., such terms as *djij dzjij* 𐰇𐰏𐰇𐰏 i.e., *dingshi* 定師 would represent a master of a Tibetan tradition and is often paired with a place name *phə* [gu] *ljij* 𐰍𐰏𐰇𐰏 𐰍𐰏, i.e., *(Xi)fan Zhongguo* (西)番[中]國, i.e., the Tangut denomination of Tibet).⁶³ However, these terms had been used throughout the Tangut textual corpus and overlap in many ways; thus, the titles containing these graphs were sometimes identified as the Chinese “Chan texts,” while in fact they might relate to diverse Tibetan or Sino-Tibetan traditions.⁶⁴

Works by the Huayan patriarchs pertaining to the “Perfect teaching” and Huayan

1. *Answers to Shunzong about the Essence of the Mind (Da Shunzong xinyao famen 答順宗心要法門*, work by Chengguan (see footnote 17) with Zongmi's commentary;

⁶¹ The title of one of the Khara-Khoto texts (Tang 349, #7211, *Catalog* # 491): 撒般般律致致撰 撒般般律致致撰 can be read as *Da Fangguang Fo Huayan jing suishu yan yi ji* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義記 (possible translation for 尻 are *zhu* 註 (注) and *chao* 鈔). The text of the extant paragraph coincides with the *Suishu yanyi chao* by Chengguan, but the combination of the body text with the commentary indicates proximity with Xianyan's *Huayan jing tanxuan jueze* 華嚴經探玄決(決)擇. As is often the case with the Tangut texts, the number of *juan* in the Tangut text corresponds with neither of the possible originals.

⁶² The list is provided here only for the reference purposes, for details see 索羅寧 (K. J. Solonin), “Xixia Fojiao zhenxin sixiang,” “The Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism.” See also K. Solonin, “The Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism.”

⁶³ See Ruth Dunnell, "Translating History from Tangut Buddhist texts" for a brief discussion.

⁶⁴ One such example might be a Tangut text known as 淨觀論, Chinese: *Guanxin shun* 觀心順. Nishida Tatsuo had originally identified this text as the translation of *Guanxin lun* 觀心論 by Tiantai Zhiyi. This identification had been reproduced by Kyčanov (see *Catalog* 317, Tang 167 no 6775). In fact, this text is a collection of Mahāmudrā meditation manuals, which is clear from Kyčanov's own exposition of its contents. In the majority of the cases there are other marker terms which allow clearer identification of the origins of the texts. On the complex nature of Tangut Buddhist terminology, which incorporated both Sinitic and Tibetan elements, see (Nishida Tatsuo 1976–1978; also Nie Hongyin 2012).

- 545 2. *Notes to the Expanded Commentary to the Avataṃsaka-sūtra* 大方廣華嚴經疏義記 (Chinese: *Da Fangguang Fo Huayan jing suishu yan yi ji* 大方
546 廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義記), probably a work by Chengguan or Xianyan (see
547 footnote 46), manuscript fragment;
548
549 3. Shanzui gou manuscript fragment (see below in this paper);
550 4. *The Golden Lion of Huayan* 金獅子章 (Chinese: *Huayan Jinshizi zhang* 華
551 嚴金獅子章; Tang 323 #739, *Catalog* # 301), Jinyuan's version of the text;
552 5. *The Mirror of the Perfect Mind* 圓心鏡 (*Yuanxin jing* 圓心鏡), a composition by
553 the State Preceptor Tongyuan (通圓國師), probably a Tangut translation of a
554 Liao text, though Tangut origin of the text is also possible⁶⁵;
555 6. *Meaning of the Perfect Luminous Mind according to the Ultimate One-Vehicle*
556 究竟一乘圓明心義 (Chinese: *Jiujing yicheng yuanming xinyi* 究竟一乘圓明心
557 義), Tangut translation of the work by Liao Buddhist master Tongli Hengce
558 (1049–1099), a work exposing some of the basic Huayan Chan tenets, such as
559 “spiritual knowing,” “nature,” etc.⁶⁶;
560 7. Texts associated with the *Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra*; as far as I am aware, the
561 Tangut translation of the scripture itself had not yet been identified. However,
562 among the text itself and materials associated therewith are found among Baisi
563 gou and Shanzui gou texts. The repertoire includes a fragment of a woodblock
564 printed version of the Tangut translation of the sūtra (Tangut title did not
565 survive)⁶⁷; Chinese text of Zongmi's *Da Fangguang Yuanjue jing xiuduoluo*
566 *liaoyi jing lueshu* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略疏⁶⁸; original Chinese fragment
567 of the text from Khara-Khoto⁶⁹; fragment of the Tangut translation of the first
568 juan of *Da Fangguang Yuanjue jing lueshu* (*Additions to the Commentary to the*
569 *Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra* 圓覺經疏之略補第一上半), Chinese: *Yuanjue jing*
570 *shu zhi luebu diyi shangban* 圓覺經疏之略補第一上半), also a woodblock
571 (probably a moveable type) edition⁷⁰;
572 8. Chinese texts associated with *Shi Moheyan lun*, originating from the Liao.

65FL01 ⁶⁵ See discussion in K. Solonin 索羅寧, “Xixia wen Yuanxin jing kao” 西夏文《圓心鏡》考, *Zhongguo*
65FL02 *Chanxue* 7 (2013), forthcoming. Master Tongyuan is mentioned as one of the propagators of the Chan
65FL03 Buddhism in the Liao in the text of Da’an inscription (footnote 29).

66FL01 ⁶⁶ Study of the text see in K. Solonin, 索羅寧, “Chanzong zai Liao yu Xixia: yi Heishuicheng chutu
66FL02 *Jiexing zhaoxin tu he Tongli Dashi Jiujing yicheng yuanming xinyi wei li.*”

67FL01 ⁶⁷ *Shanzui gou Xixia shiku*, vol. 2: Fig. 29 reproduction of the original text; vol. 1: p. 56 Chinese
67FL02 transcription by Sun Changsheng.

68FL01 ⁶⁸ *Baishi gou Xixia Fangta*: 164–169 reproductions of the original texts and 169–172 transcription by Fang
68FL02 Guangchang.

69FL01 ⁶⁹ *Da Fangguang Yuanjue xiuduolu liaoyi jing lue shu, juan shang zhi er* 大方廣圓覺修多羅了義經略
69FL02 疏卷上之二 (TK-251), *Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian*, v. 4: p. 321. Superficial study confirms that the
69FL03 Khara-Khoto and Baisi gou are fragments of the same edition.

70FL01 ⁷⁰ *Shanzui gou Xixia shiku*: vol. 1: pp. 58–62 transcription of the text, vol. 2: fig. 36–43 reproduction of
70FL02 the original text. The editor concludes (vol. 1: p. 62) that this is a unique Tangut text; however, my search
70FL03 revealed that the texts is fully congruent with the corresponding fragments of Zongmi's original work.



9. *The Essence of Attaining Buddhahood according to the Secret, Revealed, Perfect and Penetrative Teachings (Xianmi Yuan tong Chengfo xinyao ji 顯密圓通成佛心要集)* by Daoshen (only the second *juan* of the original woodblock scroll had survived).⁷¹

Common Chan heritage:

1. The Tangut translation of the *Platform Sūtra*. The Tangut title did not survive⁷²;
2. *Essence of the Lamp 發發要* (Chinese: *Deng yao san*, 燈要三), the collection of Chan biographies, close to the contents of the fifth *juan* of *Jingde Chuandeng lu*.⁷³
3. Chinese fragments of *Jingde Chuandeng lu*;
4. *Treatise on the Mind contemplation by Bodhidharma 錫敗教觀心本母* (Chinese: *Damo dashi guanxin benmu* 達摩大師觀心本母), a version of Shenxiu (神秀) *Guanxin lun*.⁷⁴ The most important part of the Tangut publication is the Preface to the text, which allows suggesting Tiantai sympathies of its authors.
5. Collection of Chinese Chan texts (partially fragmented) cataloged under the call number A6 V, which contains fragments of Tongli Hengce's works as well as fragments from *Shaoshi Liu men* 少室六門, *Dasheng Qixin lun* 大乘起信論, together with other unidentified fragments.⁷⁵

⁷¹ See *Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian*, vol. 4: p. 358. Only a fragment of a woodblock scroll with the first *juan* of the text has survived. However, even a brief scan of the text demonstrates that the Khara-Khoto edition might have been substantially different from the currently available text (T 46 #1995). The extant part of the Xixia text apparently belongs to the opening part of the original edition (it contains the opening colophon indicating the authorship), but omits the whole exposition of "exoteric teachings" and the discussion on "perfect teaching" found in the modern version of the text. The extant part starts with 自欲欲持誦陀羅尼密呪者... followed by the explanation of and instructions for the mantra of "the seal of pure dharmadhātu" (*jing fajie yin zhou* 淨法界印呪), "the mantra of bodily protection" (*hushen zhenyan* 護身真言), "six characters mantra" (*liu zi zhou* 六字呪), and finally Cundī Buddhāmatri (*Fomu Zhunti* 佛母准提). The Xixia text corresponds with the 994a20-994c14 of the modern CBETA edition. The major difference is that the commentary paragraphs, constituting the bulk of the modern text are completely omitted from the Xixia edition, which appears to be little more than a laconic ritual manual and list of dhāraṇī, whereas all Buddhist theory and meditation instructions are missing. The modern text of Xianmi Yuan tong Chengfo xinyao is also of Tangut origin it was included into the Buddhist canon by Guanzhuba (管主八), a Tangut *senglu* 僧錄 in Hangzhou during Yuan times. This confirms that Daoshen's work in Xixia circulated in both complete and abridged versions.

⁷² Solonin (2009b).

⁷³ Солонин К.Ю. (K. Solonin), "По поводу тангутских чань-буддийских текстов из собрания СПбФИБРАН" [Concerning Tangut Chan Buddhist texts from the Holdings of IOS RAS] in *Петербургское востоковедение*. [Petersburg Journal of Oriental Studies] 7 (1995): pp. 390–412.

⁷⁴ The study of the text see in Sun Bojun (2012). One of Sun's major observations is the proximity between *Heishui cheng* text and one of the versions of the text from Dunhuang Pelliot collection (P. 4646). See also K. Solonin, "Xixia Fojiao zhenxin sixiang."

⁷⁵ For a brief introduction see Feng Guodong 馮國棟, "*Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian* Tongli dashi zhuzuo kao" 《俄藏黑水城文獻》通理大師著作考, in *Fojiao wenxian yu Fojiao wenxue*: pp. 179–180.



Zongmi's texts on Chan and "Contemplation of the Dharma realm" in Tangut translations:

1. *The Chan Preface* 諸說禪源集都序 (Chinese: *Zhushuo Chanyuan jiduxū* 諸說禪源集都序), i.e., *The Chan Preface* by Zongmi. The text enjoyed wide circulation; it is currently available in both manuscript and woodblock form (Catalog ##321, 322, 323, Tang 227, ##7554, 5172, 4731, 735).⁷⁶ This list includes the so-called 諸說禪源集都序之解 (Chinese: *Zhushuo Chanyuan jiduxū zhi jie* 諸說禪源集都序之解) specified by Nishida is in fact a publication of the first juan of *The Chan Preface* preceded by Pei Xiu's "Preface" and is included into the list above. Another printed fragment of the text is listed separately under the title 禪源 (Chanyuan 禪源, Catalog #749, Tang 292 #7119).⁷⁷ No Chinese version of the above texts from Khara-Khoto or elsewhere has been identified so far;
2. *The Chan Chart* 中華傳心地禪門師承襲圖 (Chinese: *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shi xucheng tu* 中華傳心地禪門師承襲圖), i.e., *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 by Zongmi (Catalog ## 759,760; Tang 407 ##2261, 2865; Tang 421 #2893). We are in possession of two different woodblock copies of the text, which also is indicative of its popularity.⁷⁸ Chinese version from Khara-Khoto available⁷⁹; Chinese text of *The Chan Chart* (TK-254, *Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian*, vol. 4: pp. 323–324, fragmented edition);
3. *Schematic Commentary to the Chan Chart* 諸說禪源集都序科文 (Chinese: *Zhushuo Chanyuan jiduxū*, 諸說禪源集都序科文), i.e., otherwise unavailable "schematic commentary" (kewen 科文) to *The Chan Preface*.⁸⁰ Woodblock print.
4. *Teaching of the Mind-Ground* 心地法門文 (Chinese: *Xindi famen wen*, 心地法門文), a manuscript of an otherwise unavailable commentary to *The Chan Preface*. The text is written in a highly cursive script, so its reading is problematic.
5. *Torch, elucidating the meaning of the Chan Chart* 諸說禪源集都序擇炬記 (Chinese: *Zhushuo Chanyuan jiduxū zezu ji* 諸說禪源集都序擇炬記, Catalog #625, Tang 227 #5172, 4919, 5174), a cursive manuscript, tentatively identified as a commentary to *The Chan Preface*;
6. *Commentary to the Contemplation of the Dharma Realm* (Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen 註華嚴法界觀門) and (see footnote 36) its Tangut commentary 華嚴法界觀門貫

⁷⁶ For the discussion and critical reproduction of the text, see (Nie Hongyin 2010), 6 (2011); also K. Solonin, "The Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism." Nie's observations demonstrate that the Tangut text of *The Chan Preface* is in some instances different from the presently available Yuan period version; the layout of the woodblock publication features a table of contents not available in the present day editions. One can speculate that the Tangut text reproduces the Liao version of the text.

⁷⁷ For the publication of the text, see K. Solonin, "Tangut Chan Buddhism and Guifeng Zongmi."

⁷⁸ See K. Solonin, "По поводу тангутских Чань-буддийских текстов из собрания СПбФ ИВ РАН."

⁷⁹ Л. Н. Меньшиков, *Каталог китайской части фонда П. К. Козлова из Хара-Хото*: 267, # 228.

⁸⁰ For a preliminary linguistic study of the text, see Zhang Peiqi 張珮琪, "Chutan Xiayi *Zhushuo Chanyuan jidu xū ji Zhushuo Chanyuan jiduxū ganwen*" 初探夏譯《諸說禪源集都序》及《諸說禪源集都序幹文》 in *Xixia yuwen yu Huabei zongjiao wenhua* 西夏語文與華北宗教文化國際學術研討會 Proceedings of the International Conference. Taipei: Academia Sinica and Foguang University, 2009.



(科, schematic commentary). This text is also a woodblock print, so one can suggest that the text had been rather widespread in Xixia. Chinese version of the text is listed among the Khara-Khoto findings (*Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen* 注華嚴法界觀門) together with the "schematic commentary";⁸¹

7. *Notes on the Understanding of the Profound meaning of the Commentary to the Contemplation of the Dharma Realm* 龍綴致禪苑觀門義疏 (Chinese: *Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen tongxuan ji* 注華嚴法界觀門通玄記, text seems to exist only in the Tangut translation) by Guangzhi Bensong 廣智本嵩.⁸² Currently available text is a lengthy manuscript, probably reproducing an earlier woodblock book, temporarily identified as a Chan commentary to *Fajie guanmen* by Dushun.⁸³ Bensong flourished sometime during the Northern Song (80s of the eleventh century) and was known to the Jin period Buddhists and Wansong Xingxiu (萬松行秀, 1166–1246). Yuan period Tangut Buddhist master Yixing Huijue (一行慧覺, Tangut: *lew dzji zjir dwewr* 𐰇𐰆𐰪𐰚𐰍𐰏𐰤) or his commentator Cangshan Purui (蒼山普瑞, active during the early fourteenth century in Yunnan) concluded the lineage of Chinese (*dongtu* 東土) Huayan succession with Bensong, thus elevating this otherwise unknown master to the level of Dushun, Zhiyan, Fazang, Chengguan and Zongmi.

8. *Contemplation of Returning to the Source* 龍曉純 (Chinese: *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀; Tang 287, #6174, 2850, only abbreviated title survives).

Texts of the "perfect teaching" and Chan contemplation:

1. *Luminous Mind of the True Way* 蔣藏鋒銳 (Chinese: *Zhen dao xin zhao* 真道心照) probably a Tangut compilation;
2. *Teachings and Ritual of Hongzhou school* 舜發禪經藏慨 (Chinese: *Hongzhou zongshi jiaoyi* 洪州宗師教儀) together with its expanded version 舜發禪藏經發義 (Chinese: *Hongzhou zongqu kaijie ji* 洪州宗趣開解記). The text is tentatively identified as a Tangut compilation which contains an attempt to reinterpret Hongzhou doctrine in the Huayan (and especially Zongmi) sense;
3. Chinese texts by Tongli available from Khara-Khoto: *Tongli Dashi mingxin jie* 通理大師銘心誠 (A-26), *Wushang Yuanzong xinghai jietuo san zhilü* 無上圓宗性海解脫三制律 (TK-134), and a fragment of Chinese original of *Jiujing yicheng Yuanming xinyi*.⁸⁴ The first of the three texts is probably a sermon concerning the qualities of the perfect Buddhist sage, who abides in non-

⁸¹ Л. Н. Меньшиков, *Каталог китайской части фонда П. К. Козлова из Хара-Хото*: pp. 270–272; TK-241, 242.

⁸² Bensong's another work *Huayan qizi jingti fajie guan sanshi song* 華嚴七字經題法界觀三十門 contains a brief biographical entry on the master, mentioning that he had been active in the Yuanfeng era 元豐 (1078–1085) of Shenzong of the Northern Song in Kaifeng area. Other than that, Wansong Xingxiu informs that Bensong had been a famous master of his time, but his collected sayings had never been put down.

⁸³ Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音, "Huayan Sanjie kao" 華嚴三偈考 in *Xixia xue* 8 (2011): pp. 1–9.

⁸⁴ Both these texts are mentioned in Men'shikov's *Catalog of the Chinese texts from Khara-Khoto*. However, Men'shikov mentions that *Tongli Dashi mingxin jie* is a posthumous eulogy for the monk Tongli, which is not correct.



- 660 attachment; the second is a disciplinary regulation, accompanied by a poetic
661 collection devoted to the master Tongli; some of the poetic pieces seem to have
662 been composed by Shanding 善定, Tongli's one-time associate in the Fangshan
663 carving works⁸⁵;
- 664 4. *The Mirror* 鏡 (Chinese: *Jing* 鏡, only the abbreviated title survived), the text
665 had been identified as the Tangut translation of the otherwise unknown text by
666 Liao master Yuantong Daoshen *Jingxin lu* (鏡心錄) on the basis of quotations in
667 *Huayan xuantan huixuan ji* 華嚴懸談會玄記 by Cangshan Purui (蒼山普瑞
668 active during early to middle fourteenth century in Yunnan)⁸⁶;
- 669 5. *Chart Elucidating the Mind through understanding and practice* (*Jiexing*
670 *zhaoxin tu* 解行照心圖), Chinese compilation, probably of Liao origin⁸⁷;
- 671 6. *Twenty-Five Questions and Answers on the Buddhist Principles by the State*
672 *Preceptor Zhong* while he was staying in the Guangzhai monastery 歸行隨彰殿
673 脩疏牒屏逐邪穢錄教律經叢經牒經教儀經牒 (Chinese: *Tang Zhong Guoshi zhu*
674 *Guangzhai si zhongren wen foli ershiwu wenda* 唐忠國師住光宅寺爾時眾人問
675 佛理二十五問答, see endnote 12). This text is by far the most popular Tangut
676 Chan text (*Catalog* lists 15 copies: numbers 719–734, one dated to 1189, all are
677 woodblock prints, another testimony of the popularity of the text).⁸⁸
- 678 7. *Key to the Three Gates of Nine Contemplations* 觀九門關鍵文 (Chinese:
679 *Sanguan Jiumen Guanjian wen* 三觀九門關鍵文), a composition by Baiyun
680 Shizi (繡紉叢經, Chinese: 白雲釋子); text of uncertain origin, probably an
681 original Tangut composition⁸⁹;
- 682 8. *Notes on various occasions by the Chan Master Bi xie from China*
683 粥殘羶臘燄影綴叢經 (Tentative Chinese: *Henan Bi Xie chanshi suiyuan ji*,
684 支那 Bi Xie 禪師隨緣集); the text features quotations from the *Yuanjue jing*,
685 hence its inclusion here;
- 686 9. *Essential exposition [explaining that] all the dharmas of contemplation and wisdom*
687 *are inconceivably complete in "One-mind"* 禪觀至純懷叢經觀經教律經叢
688 (Chinese: *Zhufa yixin dinghui yuanman buke siyi yaoyu* 諸法一心定慧圓滿不可
689 思議要語), see the discussion below.

85FL01 ⁸⁵ Л. Н. Меньшиков, *Каталог китайской части фонда П. К. Козлова из Хара-Хото*: pp. 268–269;
85FL02 Feng Guodong, “Ecang Heishui cheng Tongli dashi zhuzuo kao”: p. 178.

86FL01 ⁸⁶ Solonin (2012a).

87FL01 ⁸⁷ See K. Solonin, “Chanzong zai Liao yu Xixia”; the text contains indirect quotations from *Xianmi*
87FL02 *Yuantong Chengfo xinyao ji* by Daoshen.

88FL01 ⁸⁸ See K. Solonin, “The Chan teaching of Nanyang Huizhong (?–775) in Tangut Translation” in Nathan W.
88FL02 Hill eds., *Medieval Tibeto-Burman Languages IV* (Leiden: Brill 2012b). The identification of this text as of
88FL03 an original Tangut compilation in “The Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism” is incorrect.

89FL01 ⁸⁹ Baiyun Shizi had composed a book of Chan poetry, which is found under the same cover with Baiyun
89FL02 Qingjue (白雲清覺, the founder of the White Cloud teaching during the Northern Song) *Collection of*
89FL03 *Virtuous Behavior* (*Dexing ji* 德行集). Thus, Sun Bojun observed that Baiyun Shizi might have been some
89FL04 kind of patriarch of the White Cloud sect in Xixia. She connects his activities with the period following the
89FL05 demise of Xixia, whereas Kyčanov on the basis of the same textual fragments speculates of the Xixia
89FL06 pilgrimage to White Cloud sect. Be it as it may, Baiyun Shizi's text listed above demonstrates no
89FL07 intellectual or dogmatic proximity with the known White Cloud texts. Review of the problem see in
89FL08 Solonin (2011).



Apart from the above, one can mention a number of quotations from Zongmi, Nanyang Huizhong, and Chengguan which are found in the Tangut texts, but are untraceable in the traditional sources. From the above list, one can see that the Tangut texts represent all layers of the "Chan" aspect of the "perfect teaching," i.e., "actual Chan" and the "contemplation of the Dharma realm," just as prescribed by Daoshen. The only thing which is missing is the teachings of the Tiantai. However, sufficient information on Tiantai within the "perfect teaching" paradigm was provided in the Huayan Chan writings and texts of the Liao proponents of *yuan zong*. Thus, some of the Liao "perfect teaching" texts, even the ones not available from other sources, remerged in Xixia, thus demonstrating the continuity of this tradition in the Tangut State. In terms of the continuity of Chengguan's tradition, the Tangut repertoire is even broader than one surviving from the Liao, e.g., it includes the Tangut translation of Sengzhao's (僧肇, 384–414) *Baozang lun* (寶藏論, Tangut: 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄, Tang. 359 #46; *Catalog* # 301)—one important texts for Chengguan and later Song-Yuan Huayan tradition.⁹⁰

The association of the Tangut Chan tradition with Chengguan and Zongmi thought allows a better perspective on the Tangut Chan in general. The presence among the Tangut Chan compilations of such texts as the Tangut translation of the *Platform sūtra*, Guifeng Zongmi's⁹¹ texts on Chan, Tangut collection of the Chan biographies resembling *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (景德傳燈錄)⁹² alongside the fragments of *Jingde Chuandeng lu* itself, one work in the *yǐlu* genre 語錄 (The Tanguts probably used the term *ḡwuu tji* 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄 (Chinese: *liuyǔ* 留語) to represnt the Chinese term *yǐlu* 語錄),⁹³

⁹⁰ This text which is currently recognized as an apocryphal one had been considered genuine by the majority of Buddhist authors during Tang-Song periods. Chengguan paid serious attention to the study of Sengzhao's works, and this interest had further been continued by Jingyuan and Wencai during the Song and Yuan. (Kamata, *Chūgoku Kegon*: pp. 338–354).

⁹¹ Zongmi had been known in Xixia as *kjwi xjow* 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄, a transcription of the Chinese "Guifeng", or *sji jji* 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄, translation of the Chinese: *caotang* 草堂; and *djij zjir* 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄, translation of the Chinese *dinghui* 定慧.

⁹² This Tangut text is known under the abbreviated title *tjij tshji sō* 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄 (Chinese: 燈要三) is the Tangut translation of the third juan of a certain Chan Buddhist biographical compilation. The extant part of the text contains biographies of the first generation of Huineng's disciples, and as such is close, but not identical with the fifth juan of *Jingde Chuandeng lu*. Concerning this text, as well as Zongmi's works available in the Tangut translation, see (Solonin 2008; 1988); some of Zongmi's works on Chan from Khara-Khoto are available in Chinese: Men'shikov JI. H. Меньшиков 1984).

⁹³ This compilation is included into the *Catalog* (#669, Tang 398, ##2609, 2610) as *tsji na phij xieaj sjā dzjij* 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄 is a woodblock printed book, originally consisting of three juan, of which only the second and the third had survived. The major difficulty is identifying the place name and personal name mentioned in the title. *Catalog* translates the title as *Henan Pei Xiu Chanshi suiyuan ji* 和南裴休禪師隨緣集, and provides partial translation of the colophon. Nishida Tatsuo originally left the place name untranslated. However, the Tangut 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄 cannot be read as "Henan," more adequate reading will be "Ji-nan" or even "Chi-na." Due to the lack or corroborative evidence, there is no possibility to read the place name with certainty, while the most plausible version appears to be Zhi-na, i.e. indianized word for China. The personal name 裴休 can be read as "Pei Xiu," or *biqu* (比丘, *Catalog* at one point provides reading "Bixing," reading adopted by Kyčanov in the *Catalog*, where he treats it as a place name). However, the Tangut translation of Zongmi's *Chan Preface* features different version of the Tangut transcription of Pei Xiu's name, and nothing is known of Pei Xiu's "recorded sayings." Considering all this, I use "Bi Xie" as a tentative reading.

The text is rather long (about 90 "butterfly" pages) and strongly damaged, the parts which I was able to preliminary scrutinize consist of several parts: "Dazhong wenda" 大眾問答 (Questions and answers by the disciples), *sjwa sji ḡwuu tji* 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄, etc. In this last title two first graphs evade adequate translation, whereas 𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄 can be rendered as *yǐlu* 語留, thus can be understood in the sense of "recorded sayings"



the *Collected saying of Nanyang Huizhong* (南陽惠忠, ?–775) as well as several Chinese Chan compilations relating to various Chan lineages,⁹⁴ etc.) and texts on the “contemplation of the Dharma realm” is indicative that the “Tangut Chan” existed with the framework of the Huayan “perfect teaching” paradigm. Closer reading reveals that these texts share the common subject matter. The Tangut adherence to the diminishing the position of the Chan in favor of the “contemplation of the Dharma realm” is manifest in the “The Lineage of Huayan transmission in the Eastern Lands” (Dongtu zhengchuan Huayan zushi 東土正傳華嚴祖師) preserved as an appendix to the *Huayan Repentance Ritual* by Yixing Huijue; in this, lineage is concluded with the figure of Guangzhi Bensong, who is credited with compilation of the *Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen tongxuan ji* 註華嚴法界觀門通玄記, found in Tangut translation only⁹⁵; in this, lineage Zongmi figures as the Huayan patriarch and his Chan works are not even mentioned. In addition, the list of the Tangut Huayan teachers, the Chinese lineage had probably been compiled by Cangshan Purui (蒼山普瑞) the editor of Yixing Huijue’s *Huayan Repentance Ritual* the on the basis of the Liao

Footnote 93 continued

(yǔlǔ 語錄). The contents of the paragraph confirm this identification. Preliminary translation of the fragments of the text, see in K. Solonin K. Солонин, *Обретение Учения: Традиция Хуаянь-Чань в буддизме тангутского государства Си-Ся* [Appropriation of the Teaching: Huayan Chan tradition of Tangut Buddhism]. (St. Petersburg: St. Petersburg University Press 2007): pp. 90–93.

⁹⁴ Among these, the important texts are *Cijue chanshi quanhua ji* [Collection instructing in the Good] 慈覺禪師勸化集 (TK-132, *Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian*, vol. 2: pp. 82–126; see Li Hui李輝, (Feng Guodong 2004); *Zhenzhou Zhanglu Liao Heshang jiewai lu* 真州長蘆了和尚劫外錄 (TK-133, *Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian*, vol. 2: pp. 127–165; edition of the text and its comparison with the alternative versions thereof, see (Shi Huida 2002). The dating of Cijue’s *Collection* is complicated: Men’shikov (pp. 263–264) dates the publication to the Northern Song period (Chongning 崇寧 third year, 1104). However, the text includes the compilations by a Liao scholar monk Lang Sixiao (郎思孝), active during the Liao Xingzong (reigned from 1031 to 1055) period. This implies a longer history of the compilation of the text discovered in Khara-Khoto. See (Feng Guodong 2011), which presently is the most detailed research. Another study of the biography and works of this monk not mentioning the Khara-Khoto materials see in Nokami Shunjō (1980). In fact, Sixiao had not been a Chan monk, but rather a learned follower of Huayan and Esoteric Buddhism, so inclusion of his sermons into Cijue’s collection indicates his importance for the Liao and Jin period Buddhism. In his survey of the Chinese texts recovered from Khara-Khoto, (Zongshun 2004); reproduced in *Fojiao wenxian yu Fojiao wenxue*) had identified several fragments of the Northern Song Chan compilations, e.g., *Foyin chanshi xinwang zhan liuzei chu lunhui biao* 佛印禪師心王戰六賊出輪回表 by Liaoyuan Foyin 了元佛印 (1032–1098). According to Zongshun, this text is close to another compilation *Jiashan Wuai chanshi xiangmo biao* 夾山無礙禪師降魔表 (currently available as an appendix to *Biyan lu* 碧巖錄). Foyin’s career, at least as it is presented in *Xū chuandeng lu* 續傳燈錄 and other sources, had been connected with the South; he holds the honorific “Yunjū shān” 雲居山 attached to his name, indicating his relationship with the North. The text of *Xinwang zhan liuzei chu lunhui biao* is ritual text, and not a classical Chan “recorded sayings” text.

⁹⁵ Interestingly enough, Guangzhi Bensong’s another work *Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen song* 註華嚴經題法界觀門頌引, whose text is preserved in Chinese, does not seem to be known in Xixia.



sources during the Yuan and represents Liao version of Huayan succession and table of authorities.⁹⁶

Be that as it may, the Huayan lineages from China and Xixia clearly demonstrate the respect for Chengguan's teaching and especially *Suishu yanyi chao*, and affiliation with the "perfect teaching." Keeping this in mind, a more adequate definition for the Tangut Sinitic texts on contemplation would be "Chan of the perfect teaching." Inconvenient as it is, this term seems to accurately represent peculiar nature of the Tangut Chan.

4 Contents of the Tangut "Perfect Teaching Chan" Texts

Below I will try to summarize the contents of the Xixia tradition as it appears from the researched texts. Judging from the currently available sources, one can infer that Xixia Huayan Chan tradition continued to operate within the "Northern–Southern" agenda well into the twelfth century,⁹⁷ which clearly derived from the Liao. The Liao pattern would also imply the low esteem of the post-Tang Chan in general, and the *Platform sūtra* in particular; as the Korean princely monk Üich'öng (義天, 1055–1101) had indicated, this text was recognized as spurious in the Liao, thus its circulation together with the Hongzhou school "transmission of the lamp history" *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 had been prohibited. In Xixia, the circulation the *Platform sūtra* must have also been limited; only one manuscript of the text is currently available, whereas available Chan texts belong to Huayan Chan tradition.⁹⁸

In the realm of the "practices of Samantabhadra," the Chan of Bodhidharma and patriarchs belongs to the second among the "five contemplations"; it relates to the so-called *zhenru juexiang guan* (cutting off the signs of tathatā 真如絕相觀) and is denominated as the "way of tranquility of mind" (*anxin men* 安心門). Although Chan contemplation ranks relatively low in his classification system, i.e., below the "contemplation of the Dharma realm" and the esoteric practices of the Cundī bodhisattva and dhāraṇī recitation,⁹⁹ Daoshen devoted a special composition to the discussion of this

⁹⁶ Cangshan Purui, who had been active in Yunnan area sometime from early to middle of the fourteenth century and apparently had access to a variety of the Liao Huayan sources. As Masaaki Chikusa had demonstrated, Purui's other major compilation *Huayan xiantan huixuan ji* 華嚴懸談會玄記 contains quotations from the Liao sources; Purui twice quotes *Da Fangguang Fo Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao xuanjing ji* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔玄鏡集 by the Liao monk Siji (思積), a Liao text discovered in the Timber Pagoda. (See details in Masaaki Chikusa, *Sō Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*: pp. 140–145). Daoshen's work *The Mirror of Mind* had also been identified on the basis of quotations identified in *Huayan xiantan huixuan ji*. Concerning authorship of the Huayan Repentance Ritual and Purui's role therein, see K. Solonin, "Yixing Huijue jiqi Dafanggang Fo Huayan jing haiyin daochang shizhong xingyuan chanpian lichan yi."

⁹⁷ Initial discussion of the continuity of Chengguan's views on Chan in the Liao Buddhist texts, see in K. Solonin, "In search of the "Perfect Teaching." Possible Liao Sources of Tangut Chan Buddhism."

⁹⁸ K. Solonin, "The Fragments of the Tangut Translation of the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* Preserved in the Fu Ssu-nien Library, Academia Sinica." The issue of the Liao prohibition of the *Platform sūtra* had been widely discussed in various venues.

⁹⁹ See K. Solonin, "The Teaching of Daoshen in Tangut translation": pp. 144–145; pp. 154–157. Exposition of Daoshen's views on the Chan which is very close to presented above see in Chen Yongge, "Lun Liaodai Huayan de Chanjiao rongtong sixiang": pp. 92–95.



dimension of Buddhadharma. The appearance of this composition *The Mirror of Mind*, which now survives only in the Tangut translation, is probably a reaction to the penetration of Chan into the Liao during the last years of Daozong (see discussion above). In this respect, one particular aspect which motivated Daoshen's interest to the Chan was the complementary relationship between Chan contemplation and dhāraṇī practices.¹⁰⁰

In the Buddhist systems of the Liao and Xixia Chan, operated not as independent, or dominant tradition, but as a part of a broader system of Buddhist doctrine and practice based on the general "perfect teaching" framework. According Daoshen's "taxonomy" contained in *Xianmi Yuantong Chengfo xinyao ji*, the "Chan contemplation" (which includes also teachings of Tiantai) occupies a specific position in this "doctrinal taxonomy"; it belongs to the realm of the "absolute true mind" (*juedai zhenxin* 絕待真 (or 靈) 心, Tangut: 綴嫩鋒絳, might be retranslated into Chinese as *juebi lingxin* 絕比靈心). In the currently available Xixia texts, the "true mind" is exposed in the Tangut text *Yuanxin jing* 圓心鏡 (*The Mirror of Perfect Mind*) and *Jiujing yicheng yuanming xinyi* 究竟一乘圓明心義 (*Perfect Luminous Mind according to the Ultimate One-Vehicle*), both translations of the Liao texts. The "true mind" is capable of "hearing and seeing," and is the ultimate goal of cultivation.

Since the mind is endowed with "spiritual knowledge," it is able to produce "transformations" and thus manifest its ultimate identity with the Buddha-nature as well as illusions and discriminations.¹⁰¹ The fact that "the true mind" is the universal foundation (this notion rendered through the phrase "everything is true, each meeting is the Dao"), stresses the crucial nature of "transformations," thus formulating the perspective of attainment of the "dharma realm of unobstructed interpenetration between the things." Thus, the mind should be brought to "tranquility," therefore in Daoshen's classification the Chan teaching is called "the way of tranquility of mind," securing the state of "no-thought" (*wunian*, 無念, Tangut: 懶懶). "The true mind" is the foundation of all the practices and cultivations; however, its realization does not mean that the practices are no longer necessary; the general tenet of "the perfect teaching" is that "essence does not contradict practice." This means that Chan realization has to be followed by the variety of practices. That is, "the perfect teaching Chan" in Daoshen's version implies the concept of the "sudden enlightenment followed by the gradual cultivation," very much in tune with Chengguan and Zongmi's ideas.

This "way of tranquility of mind" had been awarded special treatment in Daoshen's work *Jingxin lu* (*The Mirror of Mind*, 鏡心錄, Tangut: 鏡, the text is available only in Tangut). From Daoshen's perspective, the Chan dimension of the

¹⁰⁰ Daoshen complains about the rivalry from the "Chan school" in the following words: "Chan master Yixing (i.e., Yixing Jingxian) is a Sage from the Middle Xia (i.e., China), but he expounded and praised the miraculous transformations and mantras; Chan Master Zhizhe (i.e., Tiantai) had knowledge of previous lives and broadly instructed in dhāraṇī and rituals. When asked about the Dharma of Supreme Vehicle, the master Qifu (契符, there are several persons with this name), directly instructed in recitation of the secret words. Is it not that the Chan masters of old allowed the recitation of spells? Then again, the Chan School says that all the dharmas are tathatā, so recitation of the matras is not tathatā? So, be it Chan or doctrinal teachers (*jiang* 講), when they see propagation of the secret dhāraṇī, they are afraid of losing their benefits and their minds are full of jealousy, I ask them to be careful about the evil retribution now and in the future." T46 #1955: 1002a19-21.

¹⁰¹ This exposition is based on K. Solonin, "Xixia wen *Yuanxin jing* kao" and K. Solonin, "Chan zong zai Liao yu Xixia: yi Heishuicheng chutu *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* he *Tongli Dashi Jiujing yicheng yuanming xinyi* wei li."



"perfect teaching" relies on the authority of Bodhidharma (Damo 達摩, Tangut: *tha mo* 筠賈), the Sixth Patriarch (i.e., Huineng 六祖, Tangut: 緡禪禪禪, i.e., 第六宗師) and Heze Shenhui (the Seventh Patriarch, 第七宗師, Tangut: 養禪禪禪, otherwise known in Tangut as *xow tshia* 穰穰禪禪, i.e., "the founding master Heze, 荷澤宗師") and Huangbo Xiyun (d. 850, Chinese: 黃檗, Tangut: *xow pie* 穰髡), whose teaching is quoted only in its relation to the doctrine of "one-mind." Apart from these teachings, the "perfect Chan" tends to incorporate the Tiantai teaching of "calming and contemplation" or rather "three contemplations" designed by Tiantai Zhiyi (Tangut: 翊胤毅彥, translation of the Chinese *Tiantai Zhizhe* 天台智者)) as one of the dimensions of Chan; this development is perhaps is more in tune with Chengguan than Zongmi.¹⁰²

Another Xixia text which clearly utilizes a "tripod" paradigm similar to that of *Jingxin lu* is a Chinese text *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* (解行照心圖). This text clearly reproduces Daoshen's "tripod" as he calls his Chan system; the text speaks about the combination of awakening through "understanding" (*jiewu* 解悟) and awakening through "realization" (*zhengwu* 證悟), i.e., through a combination of "seeing the nature" and fulfillment of the practices. These two are expected to culminate in the "no-thought" (*wunian* 無念), which implies the fulfillment of the "ten thousand practices." This text contains pronounced Chan layer, and it uses Chan verses and quotes from Zongmi and Nanyang Huizhong, thus traversing the distance between the two masters.

In both texts, Chan Buddhism is seen as a "complementary combination" of the three gates; "seeing the nature" (*jianxing men* 見性門, Tangut: 覓覓覓), "tranquility of mind" (*anxin men* 安心門, Tangut: 緡覓覓), and gate of "following the practice" (*faxing men* 發行門, Tangut: 覓覓覓), apparently discovered in the "Bodhidharma Chan." In reality, the term *jianxing chengfo* 見性成佛 apparently originates from *Suishu yanyi chao*. The "tranquility of mind" is the second of the Chan practices; in both Daoshen's and Tongli's interpretation this "tranquility" is achieved through "contemplating the wall" (*biguan* 壁觀, Tangut: 覓覓), which had been supposedly described in a composition 覓覓, Chinese: biji 壁記 *Notes on the Wall* by the Master *tsijj džjwa* 穰發, tentative Chinese: Wujing 悟竟). This text was allegedly current in the Liao.

The "teaching of practices" includes the "four practices" from the Bodhidharma's *Er ru si xing* 二入四行. These three constitute the Chan aspect of the "perfect teaching"; as Daoshen admits in the *Mirror of Mind*, his scheme is a reproduction of the scheme developed by Zongmi on the basis of his analysis of *Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra*.¹⁰³ In this scheme, "seeing the nature" represents the "realm

¹⁰² Both Chengguan and Zongmi and their Liao successors remained sensitive to the Tiantai teaching of "three contemplations," probably because this concept had been the foundations of an alternative version of the "perfect teaching," developed by Tiantai in his *Commentary to the Sūtra of Prajñāpāramitā of the Humane Kings* (Renwang Huguo banruojing shu 仁王護國般若經疏, T33 #1705: 273b15-c8). The relevant paragraph presents the three contemplations as the tokens of bodhisattva's progress from "ten stages" (*shi zhu* 十住) through "ten beliefs" (*shi xin* 十信) to the ten practices and "ten transfers" (*shi huixiang* 十迴想). However, this is the realization of the bodhisattva's ideal only if the bodhisattva has not heard the teaching of the Lotus, that is the before hearing the *Lotus Sūtra*, bodhisattva remains within the "separate" (*bie* 別) realm and is not following the "perfect teaching" (*yuan* 圓).

¹⁰³ K. Solonin, "The Teaching of Daoshen in the Tangut Translation."



of Vairocana,” whereas “tranquility of mind” and “following the practice” refer to the “realm of Samantabhadra,” thus securing the ideal combination of the expedient means on the way to Buddhahood, and is yet another representation of the “sudden enlightenment followed by gradual cultivation” doctrine promoted by Chengguan and Zongmi.

This tradition in general seems to have been known under a specific title “The Gate of the Mind-Ground of the Southern School” (Tangut: 茂麟辯結禪觀, *Nanzong xindi famen* 南宗心地法門), which occurs in the Tangut version of the recorded sayings of Nanyang Huizhong (Tangut: 歸衍演彰, i.e., *Tang Zhong guoshi* 唐忠國師),¹⁰⁴ and its realization led to attainment of the status of *Jingang dashi* (Vajrasattva 金剛大士), dwelling in the realm of “unobstructed interpenetration of things.” The wide circulation of the Tangut version of his recorded sayings, together with his commentary on the *Heart Sūtra*, available from Khara-Khoto in both Tangut and Chinese, make him the most popular Tangut Chan personality. As the study of the brief version of his records reveals, Huizhong’s sayings have been heavily edited in such a way as to incorporate even more Huayan thought than had been appropriated by Huizhong originally. Another editorial vector was to reconcile Huizhong with Zongmi, or to breach the gap between the two masters; thus, the Tangut version of his recorded sayings had been impregnated with the “perfect teaching” terminology, such as “spiritual knowledge” and “shining substance standing alone” (*zhaoti duli* 照體獨立, expression from Chengguan *Chuanxin yao*), as well as with the metaphors originating from Zongmi’s writings.¹⁰⁵

The process of incorporating Tiantai teachings into the “perfect teaching” culminated in the text of *Sanguan Jiumen Guanjian wen* 三觀九門關鍵文 (*Key to the Three Gates of Nine Contemplations*), which presents an all-embracing scheme of three contemplations; the “contemplation of Dharma realm” (i.e., Dushun’s teaching, “three contemplations of the Dharma realm” Tangut: 禪院觀執, Chinese: *fajie sanguan* 法界三觀), the “three contemplations of Tiantai” (Tangut: 剎院禪觀執, Chinese: *Tiantai sanguan* 天台三觀) and “contemplation Perfect Enlightenment” (Tangut: 圓覺觀執, Chinese: *Yuanjue sanguan* 圓覺三觀) based on the *Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra*. Each of the contemplations has its specific subject matter, but all of them are mutually encompassing and bringing about the attainment of the Buddhahood. According to the text, “contemplation of the Dharma realm” brings about the understanding of the mundane dharmas, Tiantai contemplations secure realization of the pure dharmas and Perfect Enlightenment is the “ultimate principle of sudden awakening.”¹⁰⁶ Chan Buddhism as such is absent from this scheme. Interestingly enough, however, few of Tiantai quotations identified in the Tangut texts are traceable to actual Tiantai works; most of the Tangut familiarity with the

¹⁰⁴ See K. Solonin, “The Chan teaching of Nanyang Huizhong (?–775) in Tangut Translation.”

¹⁰⁵ The above exposition is based on K. Solonin, “The Chan teaching of Nanyang Huizhong (?–775) in Tangut Translation.”

¹⁰⁶ This exposition is based on K. Solonin 索羅寧, “Xixia wen Baiyun Shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan.” In fact, here, the “contemplation of the Dharma realm” ranks as the lowest and not the highest of the contemplations.



Tiantai teaching came from the works of the “perfect teaching” by Chengguan and Zongmi.¹⁰⁷

A group of Tangut texts is associated with the the so-called “Hongzhou teaching” (*Hongzhou zong* 洪州宗, Tangut: 舜致麟), which represents of Mazu Daoyi (馬祖道一, 709–788, Tangut: *lew tsja* 劉截, i.e., translation of the Chinese: 一道 (for some reason, the Tangut translators understood Chinese *yi*— as a verb, hence the translation), otherwise known as *gij tju* 稊羗, translation of Chinese: *mazu* 馬祖). As the study shows, the subject matter of these text was radically modified to comply with Zongmi’s interpretation of “awareness” (*lingzhi* 靈知, Tangut: 鋒徹) and functions of the “self-nature” (i.e., *zixing benyong* 自性本用, Tangut: 翕毗麟蹄 and *suiyuan yong* 隨緣順用, Tangut: 緇羗羗蹄).¹⁰⁸ The result was such that the original doctrine of Mazu is unrecognizable. Specific terminology, in many cases borrowed from Zongmi’s writings on Hongzhou (e.g., 禪禪禪禪, Chinese: *yiqie zhen* 一切真, which clearly is a borrowing from Zongmi’s *The Chan Chart*), utilized in the Tangut “Hongzhou texts” reveals an attempt to rewrite the Hongzhou master in such a manner that his version Chan would comply with the doctrines from *Suishu yanyi chao*, especially concerning the equal importance of realization of the “principle” (*li* 理) and “following the practices” (*xing* 行), as prescribed by Chengguan and his Liao followers. This would allow locating Mazu within the “perfect paradigm” of the Huayan doctrine. Specific combination of the “Chan which follows the words,” “Chan which is beyond the words,” and the “Precious seal of the Great Antiquity,” which had been ascribed by the Tangut authors to the Hongzhou masters, seems to reflect the “realization/practice” paradigm of the “perfect teaching.”

5 Tangut Texts in Present Research

Apart from the above-mentioned texts there are several less well-known fragments, which appear to belong to the same tradition of the “perfect teaching.” Below I will introduce two manuscripts; a fragment and a complete although rather short exposition of the teaching of Chan contemplation. The first one is a damaged manuscript fragment discovered in Shanzui gou. The fragment had been identified as “Chan text” by its publishers, who had also provided the text with a preliminary translation.¹⁰⁹ The second is a brief treatise entitled “Essential exposition [explaining that] all the dharmas of contemplation and wisdom are inconceivably complete in One-mind” (Tang 228 #4824, *Catalog* 568, see also the above list of texts). This work is a part of a bigger collection of texts on meditation known as *Chanxiu yaolun* (禪修要論 (要語), Tangut 巖脣發羗; according to the colophon, the texts from this collection had been composed together by Vimalakīrti (Tangut: 禪跋駁, Chinese: 維摩詰) and Avalokiteśvara (Tangut: 龍執, i.e., Chinese: Guanyin 觀音; Tang 291 #

¹⁰⁷ Tangut familiarity with Tiantai grew during the Yuan; Yixing Huijue’s *Huayan Repentance Ritual* contains several correct quotations from *Mohe Zhiguan*.

¹⁰⁸ Solonin (2012d, 2003).

¹⁰⁹ See *Shanzui gou Xixia shiku* 山嘴溝西夏石窟; Reproduction of the text: vol. 1, fig. 134; translation: vol. 2: pp. 129–130.

4824, *Catalog* 590; for some reasons the *Catalog* separates the two texts). The title of
the treatise identifies the text as 要語 (要語), which corresponds with the Tibetan
“man-ngag,” but the contents of the texts are noticeably Sinitic.

904 5.1 Shanzui Gou Fragment

905 *5.1.1 Original text*

[illegible]

907
908 *5.1.2 Chinese Reconstruction*

909 [前缺]者，色等實性真如，無諸邊也；[中缺14字]以真智，理觀照也；以俗智，事觀照
910 也；以真俗雙和，理事雙照；俱留雙絕，觀照俱泯，按次成假空三觀也。《記》：“有
911 持即泯”者，即於有觀空也；說“□即止”者，即於空觀有也。《記》說：“玄靈測”後
912 等者，《略疏第五》曰：“不有真妄，不計有空，直直以靈知照成觀行故”，即玄淵
913 也。《記》：“導”者，引導往下，若不相導，則其二處俱存。《大疏十三》下半
914 說：“此者，大悲故，則常住生死，大智故，則居涅槃，是俱住義。今說“不住”者，悲智
915 相導故，見涅槃本自有，[中缺14字]生不住[中缺18字]二生死本”

916 5.1.3 Translation

917 [] the true nature of tathatā of rūpa and others does not have limitations; [] through
918 the ultimate wisdom is “illumination through contemplating the principle”;
919 [understanding] through mundane wisdom is “illumination through contemplating
920 the things”; when ultimate and mundane are in accord together, the principle and
921 things are both illuminated; there are illuminating contemplations when all (i.e.,
922 contemplations of the principle, things) are left, both are abandoned, both disappear;
923 in accordance with this sequence emerge three contemplations of the realm of space.
924 Note: “if there is attachment, then disappear.” [That is]: to contemplate emptiness in
925 existence; [there is a] saying: [] cessation.” [That is]: to contemplate emptiness in
926 existence. Note: [there is a] saying: “to measure profound and spiritual,” etc., *Short*
927 *Commentary*, chapter 5 says: “there is no true or false, there is no discerning between
928 existence and absence, through direct illumination by the spiritual wisdom the
929 practice of contemplation is attained,” this is the “profound. Note: “Guiding,” [that
930 is]: guidance and direction, if [absence and existence] did not direct each other, both
931 positions would have remained. *The Great Commentary*, chapter 13, part two, says:
932 “This is: due to the great compassion, [one] permanently abides in birth and death,
933 due to the great wisdom, [one] abides in nirvana, and this is the meaning of abiding

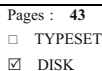


in both." Now it is said: "Not to abide," that is: compassion and wisdom guide each other; that is how one sees that nirvana originally exists [...] not abide in life [...] two life and death originally..." [].

5.1.4 Translator's Note

This text appears to be a fragment of a longer commentarial treatise; the surviving part is devoted to the exposition of the "three contemplations" (i.e., contemplations of "emptiness" (Chinese: *kongguan* 空觀; "contemplation of conventional existence" Chinese *jiaguan* 假觀, Tangut: 𐞓𐞐𐞓, Tangut 𐞓 is literal equivalent of the Chinese *xū* "虛", its rendering as *jia* "假" is based on occurrences in other texts). The third contemplation (i.e., "contemplation of the Middle way", Chinese *zhongdao guan* 中道觀, Tangut: 𐞓𐞐𐞓𐞐𐞓) is not mentioned in the text. The Tangut graph 壁 translated as "Note" (probably represents Chinese *chao* "鈔"), but the originals of the quotations in the Tangut text were not identified.

1. **Sources:** the first phrase (Chinese reconstruction "色等實性真如,無諸邊也") is similar to the phrase "色等實性真如,寂諸邊故中也" found in *Huayan Xiantan Huixuan ji* 華嚴懸談會玄記 (ZZ 08, #0236: 211b7) by Cangshan Purui (蒼山普瑞), however the meaning of the Tangut sentence is different from the Chinese original. The second surviving phrase, rendered into Chinese as "以真智, 理觀照也; 以俗智, 事觀照也" is a retelling of the Chinese phrase: "觀事當俗, 觀理當真" from *Zhu Huayan fajie guan men* (註華嚴法界觀門). However, the following paragraphs in the Tangut composition do not correspond with the either of the above texts. Text marked as 𐞓𐞐𐞓𐞐𐞓 (Chinese: 略疏第五) in all probability originates from the *Brief Commentary to the Perfect Enlightenment Sūtra* by Zongmi. The phrase "非關真妄, 不對有空, 直照靈知而為觀行" is found in the Zongmi's *Yuanjue jing dashu* (圓覺經大疏) and *Lüe shu chao* (略疏鈔), however, in different context related to the exposition of the crucial concept of "absolute spiritual mind" (絕待靈心) and never in the fifth juan. According to the Tangut text, the last quotation originates from 𐞓𐞐𐞓𐞐𐞓 (Chinese: 大疏十三), which in the Tangut usage represents Chengguan's *Huayan jing dashu* 華嚴經大疏. Chinese original is located in T36 #1236: 426a20-27 (juan 54, and not 13).
2. **Contents:** the surviving part of the text is devoted to the exposition of the relationship between the "three contemplations," "spiritual mind," and their mutual interdependence. The balance of the text is such that the "three contemplations" provide the practitioner with the insight into emptiness while preserving stance of existence; as well as insight into "existence" retains the understanding of "emptiness." According to the Tangut text, this is the meaning of the "profound" and of the "spiritual mind" which abides outside the oppositions while retaining them. The opposite views "guide" each other, just in the same manner as "compassion" and "wisdom." The concept of the "contemplations" which "illuminate" each other and are denied or removed (*min* 泯) by each other is based on the ideas of Zongmi and Chengguan, and seems to have been rather popular in the Northern Sinitic Buddhism; similar explications of "zhiguan" are





則是“法。”萬形宣明，各自即顯，心法不二，是“僧。”萬形體虛，顯在虛空，是“佛。”一遇皆道，宗不逆行；一心中道，不住二邊，頓顯真心，乃稱“不思議。”

二，“定慧不思議”者：法體不動，則“定”；諸法顯明，則“慧。”定中顯定，“定”者，以空寂至法界；了萬形空寂，一一皆定；“淨”，則能現諸定；諸現無礙，則顯一定中；定一一顯，相互無礙。慧中顯慧；“慧”者，定之用；顯照明諸法，事事即是慧；顯照慧，則諸慧顯一慧中；顯照慧，則諸慧顯一慧中；一慧顯顯一切諸慧。慧顯定中，定顯慧中。定無慧，則沒；慧無定，則亂。不動明明不暗，則定顯慧中；明顯不動，則慧顯定中；定慧不二，皆盡可斷，後說：“心識不起則“閒”，心識即寂，“大閒”無為，則淨；淨即無心，則定；定即玄照，則慧；定慧平等，頓現諸法，乃稱“智定不思議。”

三，“戒行不思議”者，“戒”者無著；“行”者可行。萬行合與心，內心即寂，外境宣明，不著萬形。乃戒行云云 四，“智慧不思議”，有四種：一，“分別智”：斷染顯淨，是權智。悟妄無形，則稱“斷。”生滅即除，不住念念，常顯智心。心不起智，染塵□滅，鏡體宣明，全顯諸形，各自無礙。相壞空往，是“初了智”，乃稱“分別無智”。二，“分別智”者，攝權智，入實智。以初智[之] 智，了我；不得我相，諸法無相，空空平等，成“真智。”分別跡斷，頓顯真空，諸萬相是一真智，乃稱“無分別智。”三，“分別智”者，真空即斷，令顯妙有；以一心，染淨互同無礙，無顯有中，顯明真心稱“有。”空離與寂，豈有實心？有顯無中，諸法空寂稱“無，”令顯“無住。”稱“染，”著染，染法淨法；“染”譬金作器，器器皆金，乃稱“分別慧。”四，“無分別慧”者，頓顯一心，無一切修證，是圓融法界。前三者，有一切修證，此慧攝□□一切顯，平時體備，剎那遍至法界。一音備萬音 以圓音，一切音皆了一真，塵塵皆真，了一了一切，一真，塵塵顯心中；一心，塵塵顯真中 一真法界，理事無礙 真心塵塵顯事中；塵塵，事法顯一心 理事無礙法界 塵塵，顯法事中 事事無礙 顯無礙法界種種。

諸法一心定慧圓滿不可思議要語 竟

5.2.3 Translation

Essential exposition [explaining that] all the dharmas of contemplation and wisdom are inconceivably complete in “One-mind”

Composed by Śakyaputra All-embracing

As for the “inconceivability,” there are four types [thereof]; the first is “the inconceivable true mind”: [it is] bright and always “knowing,” [endowed] with the completeness of all dharmas; [in it] mind and rūpa are unhindered, and it exceeds all analytic views; the true mind manifests itself “suddenly,” and there is not even one thing [in it]; [it] transcends ten thousand forms and holds the ten thousand forms together; the true substance does not have form, and the dharmadhātu remains unmoving; this is the “Dharma.” Ten thousand forms are illuminated, and each one clearly manifests itself, mind and dharmas are non-dual; this is “Saṅgha.” The substance of ten thousand forms is empty, and they manifest [themselves] in the space; this is “Buddha.” Each meeting is the Way, essence does not contradict the practice; the Middle way of One-mind does not abide by the two extremes, the true mind manifests suddenly, thus it is called “inconceivable.”

Second, “inconceivability of concentration and wisdom”: the essence of dharmas does not move; this is “concentration”; all the dharmas manifest clearly; this is



“wisdom.” Concentration reveals through concentration, “concentration” [means] to attain dharmadhātu through emptiness and tranquility; [when] the ten thousand forms one by one become “concentration”; “purity” is the ability to manifest all concentrations; [when] all the manifestations are unhindered, they manifest themselves in one concentration; [when] concentrations manifest one by one, they are unhindered. Wisdom manifests in wisdom, “wisdom” is the function of concentration; [it] illuminates and manifests all dharmas, thus all things are wisdom; when wisdom shines and illuminates, all the wisdoms manifest in “one wisdom”; “one wisdom” manifests all wisdoms. Wisdom reveals in concentration, concentration appears from wisdom. If concentration is deprived of wisdom, it is “sinking”; if wisdom lacks concentration, it is “disorder.” The unmovable shines brightly and is never dark, thus concentration appears from wisdom, the light appears and does not move, thus wisdom appears from concentration; wisdom and concentration are non-dual and thus can be entirely cut off. Then it is said: “The mind consciousness does not arise, thus it is “idleness,” the mind consciousness is tranquil, “great idleness” abides in non-action, this is “purity.” Purity is no mind, and thus is concentration, concentration is profound illumination, and thus is wisdom. Concentration and wisdom are equal and “suddenly” manifest all the dharmas, thus it is called “inconceivability of concentration and wisdom.”

Third, “inconceivability of precepts and practice,” “precepts” mean “non-attachment”; “practice” means “to fulfill.” When the ten thousand practices are in accord with the mind, the mind is tranquil inside and objects are illuminated in the outside, and there is no attachment to ten thousand forms. Thus it is precepts and practice...

Fourth, “Inconceivability of wisdom,” there are four sorts: first, “discriminating knowledge,” when pollution is removed and purity manifested, it is “provisional knowing.” Realizing that illusion does not have characteristics is called “removing.” When life and death are removed, and there is no abiding in thoughts, the mind of knowing is always manifest. If the mind does not develop knowing, pollutions and objects disappear; the substance of mirror shines and manifests all forms, free from obstacles to each other. When forms are destroyed and emptiness appears, this is “initial wisdom,” thus it is said: “there is no wisdom in discrimination.” Second, “discriminating knowledge” embraces “provisional wisdom” and enters “ultimate wisdom.” Through initial wisdom, one realizes “self,” that characteristic of self is unattainable, all is empty and equal, and thus “true wisdom” emerges. The traces of discrimination are cut off, and true emptiness manifests “suddenly,” ten thousand forms are “one true knowledge,” and this is called “wisdom of non-discrimination.” Third, “discriminating wisdom:” as soon as the true emptiness is removed, miraculous existence is thus made manifest; because of “one-mind,” the polluted and pure are together without obstacles, “absence” manifests in existence, clearly illuminated true mind is called “existence.” If emptiness had been separated from tranquility, how could the real mind be possible? “Existence” manifests in “absence,” when all dharmas are tranquil and empty, it is called absence so that “non-abiding” is manifested. “Pollution,” attachment to pollution, polluted dharmas, pure dharmas. “Pollution” compare with making vessels from gold: all the vessels are gold, this is called “discriminating wisdom.” Fourth, “non-discriminating wisdom”: one-mind



manifests "suddenly," and there are no "perfections and attainments," there is "all-inclusive dharmadhātu." First three [contain] "perfections and attainments," which are all embraced by this wisdom... [] Normally, its substance is complete, and in one *kšana* it embraces all dharmadhātu. One sound encompasses all sounds everyone understands everything from one perfect sound One truth [means] that all objects are true, understanding one means understanding all; One truth [means] that all objects manifest in the mind; One mind [means] that all objects manifest in the truth; One true dharmadhātu no obstacles between things and principle True mind [means] that all objects manifest in the things; All objects [mean] that dharmas and things manifest One-mind; no obstacles between things and principle All objects are manifested through dharmas and things no obstacles between things, and manifest all aspects of unobstructed dharmadhātu.

Essential exposition [explaining that] all the dharmas of contemplation and wisdom are inconceivably complete in "One-mind" ends.

5.2.4 Translator's Note

The message of the text is rather transparent and does not require much explication. Generally, it is one of the clearest manifestations of the "perfect teaching," introducing all the basic concepts pertaining thereto. Sources of the text are not easy to determine, since it contains no clear quotations. However, phrases that "everything is true" and "Each meeting is the Way, essence does not contradict the practice" (meaning that Chan realization "zong" does not remove the necessity of practice) are found in the "Hongzhou texts." This particular observation allows positioning of our text within the Tangut tradition of the "perfect teaching Chan." The four categories of "inconceivable" are indicative of the relative value of oppositions upon the notion of "understanding" and "practice" is dependent. That is, each particular manifestation is the complete representation of the reality of dharmadhātu. The final part of the text contains the idea of progress from the "Dharma realm of unobstructed interpenetration between the things and principle" to the ultimate realm of the "unobstructed interpenetration of things between each other." Another major idea of the text is the unobstructed transformation of false into the true within the realm of the "one true wisdom," which is generated by the "one-mind" or "the true mind." This "true mind" is a general term implying the unity of the three Buddhist jewels.

6 Conclusion

The "perfect teaching" originally emerged during the late Tang, but its vitality culminated in the Wutai shan area sometime during the eleventh century, and resulted in the revival of the Huayan teaching in the Northern Song, Liao, and Xixia. One of the features of this teaching was its specific "doctrinal taxonomy" based on the "theory/practice" paradigm. In the Liao, the "perfect teaching" evolved further; it adopted practices of esoteric Buddhism and had to reformulate its attitude to other forms of the Buddhist practices. This led to the elevation of the position allocated for



the esoteric teachings; this process had been followed by the demise of the doctrinal position of the Chan Buddhism, which enjoyed a much higher standing in the original Sinitic Buddhism.

The texts examined above are either Tangut native compilations or borrowings from the Liao. All of them demonstrate visible uniformity in terms of their subject matter. The “Chan contemplation” texts from the Liao and Xixia, including the ones traceable to certain Sinitic Buddhist traditions, share common doctrinal tenet of the “teaching of the perfect mind” (*yuanxin* 圓心) or the “true mind” (*zhenxin* 真心). Apart from the teaching of the “true mind” and “awareness,” the texts seem to share a common interest in the teachings of “zhiguan” (止觀) in combination with the “multitude of practices” (*wanxing* 衆務): a combination equally traceable to Bodhidharma’s *Two Entrances and Four Practices* (*er ru si xing* 二入四行) and *Perfect Enlightenment sūtra*. It is worth noting in passing, that although the Khara-Khoto sources mention *san zhiguan* 三止觀 together with the name of Tiantai Zhizhe and his school, Tangut familiarity with Tiantai had been exclusively based on the accounts found in the compendiums by Chengguan and Zongmi.¹¹⁰

The Tangut texts examined in this paper indicate that the basic tenets of the “perfect teaching” had been appropriated by the Xixia Buddhists both in the form of the translations of the Liao works and in the form of composition of their own works. Adoption of the Liao doctrinal taxonomy meant that the Chan in Xixia had not been the dominant form of practice, but rather one of aspects of the “perfect teaching.”

On the basis of the above exposition, one can suggest that a “paradigmatic transfer” between the Buddhist complexes of the Liao and Xixia took place during the early and middle twelfth centuries. In the Liao, the Chan movement gained momentum in the second half of the eleventh century, while the publication dates of several surviving Xixia texts of the “perfect teaching” tradition indicate that aspects of the Liao Buddhism had been imported to Xixia sometime in the middle of the twelfth century during the reign of the Tangut Emperor Renzong (仁宗, reign 1139–1193). That is, the adoption of the Sinitic traditions from the Liao took place simultaneously with the growing of Tibetan Buddhist expansion into Xixia. The main aspect which had been imported by the Tangut had been the taxonomy of the Liao Buddhism and its “exoteric” side; the doctrinal uniqueness of the version of Chan that circulated in Xixia had been determined by its position within the “perfect teaching.” This observation can account for the seeming “anachronism” of the Tangut Chan; in the twelfth century, the Tangut Buddhists continued to discuss the Tang agenda and tried to reconcile Hongzhou and Heze teachings, long since forgotten in the Song Buddhism. At the same time, one cannot rule out the hypothesis of the sustained Sino-Tangut Buddhist relations in terms of appropriating the newly appearing Huayan materials. In this process, again, the Tangut Buddhist must have been the initiators of this exchange.

¹¹⁰ See K. Solonin 索羅寧, “Xixia wen Baiyun Shizi Sanguan jiumen chutan.” This is a case of “Huayan appropriation”; in his eulogy for Chengguan (*Huayan Qingliang guoshi lizan* 華嚴清涼國師禮讚文). Zixuan credited Chengguan with the complete command of the three contemplations.



Although certain traces of the Liao esoterism can be discovered among the Tangut textual findings, the Liao esoteric cults had not been widely represented in the Tangut Buddhism; neither root texts of the Liao esoterism nor specific ritual maṇḍala instructions pertaining to Mahāvairocana of Cundī had been yet discovered, whereas other elements of Chinese esoteric Buddhism are present among the Xixia discoveries. This fact can be explained through a hypothesis that the Huayan based “perfect teaching” had been able to equally incorporate “esoteric” and “exoteric” practices of different origins, thus providing the framework for the survival and circulation of a broad diversity of Buddhist cults, practices, and lineages in Xixia, including the Tibetan traditions of Bka' rgyud.¹¹¹ At the same time, the “perfect teaching” was able to maintain its Huayan theoretical “identity.”¹¹² If that were really the case, the Huayan “perfect teaching” accommodated Tibetan tantric practices and included them into its own framework, where the Tibetan esoterism took the position originally occupied by the cults of Cundī and Mahāvairocana in the Liao Buddhist system. That is, the “perfect teaching” paradigm shaped the widely recognized uniqueness of the “Great Tradition” of the Tangut Buddhism, which was later transferred into the Yuan dynasty Buddhism, which initially prospered under the Tangut influence. It was this great tradition which had played an important role in the survival of the Tang Buddhist heritage throughout the difficult times of the tenth to thirteenth centuries. Combination of theoretical background and competence in the tantric rituals made Tangut monks attractive to the Mongol rulers of the Yuan in the period preceding the arrival of the Tibetan lamas.

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¹¹¹ Similar considerations partially based on K. Solonin, Shen Weirong, Nie Hongyin etc., are reproduced by Ruth Dunnell in Ruth Dunnell, “Esoteric Buddhism under the Xixia: pp. 1038–1227” in Charles Orzech, Henrik Sørensen, Richard Payne eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 2011): pp. 465–470.

¹¹² A brief but very informative exposition of the problem on the basis of several Liao sources see in Kamata Shigeo 鎌田茂雄, “Kegon shiso-shi yori mita Ryōdai mikkyō no tokushitsu” 華嚴思想史よりみた遼代密教の特質 in *Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies* 8 no 2 (1960): 241–246 (I am referring to the reproduction of this paper in the Felicitation volume for Tsukamoto Zenryū, off-print).



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