

Chán Buddhism in Dūnhuáng and Beyond

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John R. McRae (1947–2011)
PHOTO BY C. ANDERL

Chán Buddhism in Dūnhuáng and Beyond

*A Study of Manuscripts, Texts, and Contexts
in Memory of John R. McRae*

Edited by

Christoph Anderl
Christian Wittern



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Cover illustration: Entrance to Mògāo Cave #16/17, the so-called “Manuscript Cave”, where 10.000s of manuscripts, manuscript fragments, silk banners, etc. were found in the beginning of the 20th century. Photo by C. Anderl.

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Preface

John R. McRae (1947–2011) was a leading scholar in the field of Chán Buddhist studies, one who left his mark on the field from the late 1970s and until the moment of his untimely passing. After studying at Stanford University (BA 1969), John completed his master degree (1971) at Yale University, where he also commenced his PhD research under the guidance of Prof. Stanley Weinstein. During the work on his PhD thesis he spent an extended period of time in Japan, studying with the two leading Chán scholars of that time, Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 (1922–2006) and Iriya Yoshitaka 入矢義高 (1910–1998). After the completion of his PhD at Yale University (1983, “The Northern School of Chinese Ch’an Buddhism”), he taught and conducted research at several universities in the USA, including Cornell and Indiana Universities, before becoming a lecturer at Komazawa University, Japan. In the course of his life, he conducted research and taught at numerous academic institutions, including the Universities of Santa Barbara, Los Angeles, Princeton, Harvard, Hawaii, Stanford, Tokyo, Bangkok, Chengchi (Taiwan), and St. Petersburg State University.

As one of the most promising students of Yanagida Seizan, John is especially recognized for his contributions to what is commonly referred to as “Early Chán,” i.e., early sectarian formations of Chán Buddhism, including the Northern School 北宗, the Niútóu 牛頭 School and Shénhuì’s 神會 Southern School 南宗, and as such has left us several monographs and numerous illuminating articles on various related topics (for a list of John’s publications, please consult the bibliography at the end of this volume). His meticulous study of the primary sources has set a model for younger scholars to follow, and it is fair to say that Chán studies would not be what they are today without his sustained input.

John was a pioneer of Chán studies in the West and before the publication of the *Northern School* (1986) there was little available on Early Chán in a Western language.¹ As such, before its publication, it was difficult for young scholars

1 The chief works were Philip Yampolsky’s *The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch* (Columbia University Press, 1967) and the English translation of Heinrich Dumoulin’s *A History of Zen Buddhism* (Pantheon Books, 1963). Dumoulin’s work, Volume One on India and China, had only pages 85–121 on Chán before the appearance of the *Platform Sutra*. Robert Zeuschner’s PhD thesis on Northern Chán (University of Hawai’i, 1977) was another important work. For the last part of the Táng period and the early Sòng, there was Ruth Sasaki’s *The Record of Lin-Chi* (The Institute for Zen Studies, 1975) and Paul Demieville’s translation of the same text into French, *Les entretiens de Lin-tsi* (Fayard, 1972). All of these were heavily reliant on the

to find academic materials in English and French on the earliest texts of Chán Buddhism, and they had to rely primarily on Japanese materials, the majority of them provided by Yanagida Seizan. One of the contributors to this volume, John Jorgensen, recalls, when he went to Japan in 1974 in order to attend seminars conducted by Yanagida and Iriya Yoshitaka, John McRae and Bernard Faure were already there. At that time, training in mainland China was not an option due to the Cultural Revolution and an anti-Buddhist atmosphere, and even Chinese scholars in Taiwan like Yinshùn 印順 (1906–2005) relied heavily on the works of Japanese scholars.

Around 1983 there was a sudden flourishing of work on Chán in English and French, with Jeffrey Broughton editing *Studies in Ch'an and Hua-yen* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), in which John had a chapter on Niútóu, and David Chapell, editing *Early Ch'an in China and Tibet* (Asian Humanities Press, Jain Publishing Company, 1983), in which John translated an article by Yanagida ("The 'Recorded Sayings' Texts of Chinese Ch'an Buddhism"). In 1984, Bernard Faure finished his thesis in French ("La volonté d'orthodoxie: Généalogie et doctrine du bouddhisme Ch'an de l'école du Nord"), concentrating on the *Lèngqié shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記 and Northern Chán. Another scholarly work, on a much later period, Robert Buswell's *Korean Approach to Zen: The Collected Works of Chinul*, also was published in 1983 (University of Hawai'i Press). John's *Northern Ch'an* book of 1986 then significantly added to the impetus that was growing in Chán studies and made much available to those scholars who did not read French.

Thus, it was in the period between 1983 and 1986 that there was enough scholarly material available on early Chán to allow this field to flourish. The training and fostering of a younger generation of scholars by Yampolsky, McRae and Faure, among others, led to a surge on new works on Chán/Zen and a deepening of critical approaches, with more studies on Dūnhuáng materials and monographs on later periods.

Before the PC and the Internet, without many of the tools now available due to the digital revolution, it took much longer to write a work like John's 1986 book. To search for sources, one had to scan through volumes of the *Taishō* or other collections; to find articles meant hours perusing journals, and find-

works of Yanagida Seizan, and all of these scholars studied in Japan. In addition, there were other scattered articles in French by Demiéville (besides the earlier *Le Concile de Lhasa: Une controverse sur la quêtisme entre bouddhistes de l'inde et de le Chine au VII^e siècle*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut des Hautes Études chinoises, 1952). In addition to these scholarly works on early Chán, there were a few other works on later Chán/Zen, including the popular works of D.T. Suzuki and Charles Luk (Lu Kuan-yu).

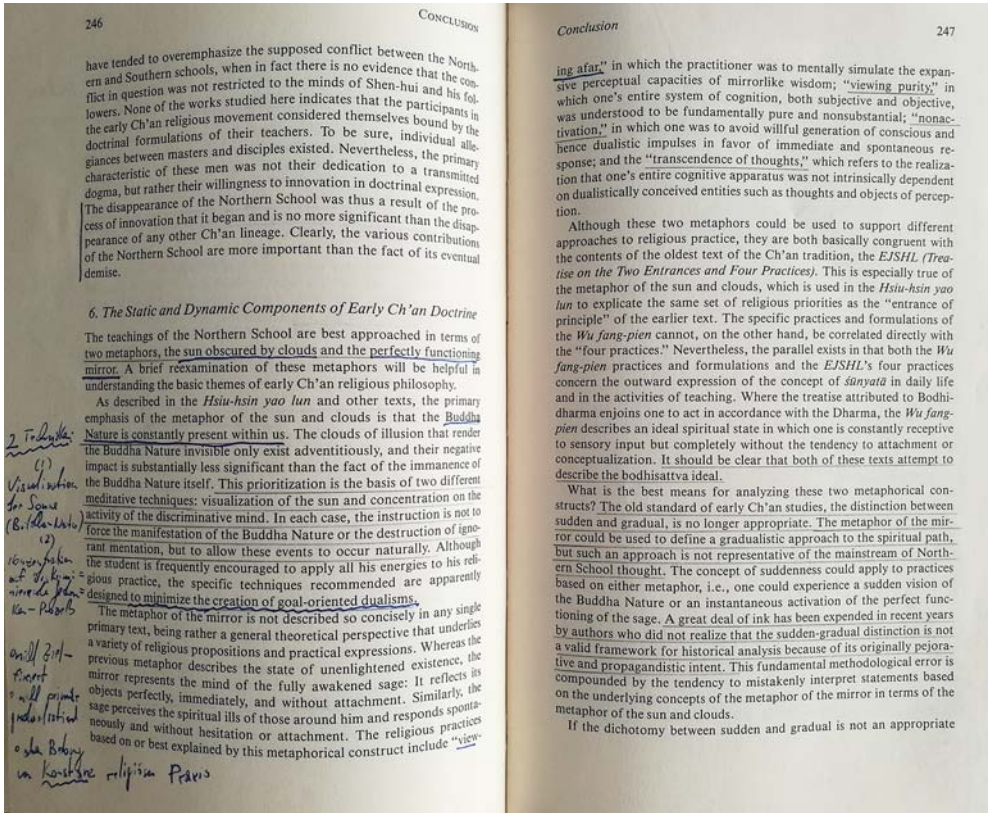


FIGURE P.1 As one of the contributors (C. Anderl) to this volume has pointed out, the *Northern School* was the single most important secondary source during his work in the early 1990s on early Chán Dūnhuáng documents in the framework of his master thesis.

ing out about articles not available in libraries, taking many months trying to obtain them from Japan, sometimes without success. Books in Japanese and Chinese were hard to buy; letters had to be sent in Japanese and details of how to pay for them worked out. It could take several months until the material finally would arrive. The best method was to go to Japan and buy them there, but airfares then were much more expensive than now. Communication among scholars was by letters, in what is now called snail mail. Therefore, the availability of a detailed study like that of the *Northern School* book was most welcome at that time.

The publication of this volume has its origin in a conference organized by the editors at Oslo University, Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, September 28th–October 2nd, 2009 (“Early Chán Manuscripts among



FIGURE P.2 Kirill Solonin with John McRae, at the conference “Early Chán Manuscripts among the Dūnhuáng Findings,” on a sunny Autumn day in Oslo, 2009. Solonin has also pointed out that John McRae was one of the first scholars recognizing the value of Tangut materials for the study of the history of Buddhism.

the Dūnhuáng Findings”),² in collaboration with the Institute for Research in the Humanities, Kyōto University. Several of the articles collected in this volume are directly based on papers presented at this conference on Dūnhuáng manuscripts and manuscript digitization. However, as the project developed, the editors became increasingly interested in the aspect of regional diversity and the multi-linguistic features of Chán Buddhism. In order to focus on these aspects and to produce a more coherent publication, several additional articles have been integrated in the years following the conference. This is also one of the reasons why the publication has been postponed several times.

The Oslo conference was one of the last conferences John attended, and we decided to dedicate this volume to the memory of this accomplished scholar who has had such a decisive impact on Chán / Zen studies in the West.

The Contributors and Editors

2 <https://www.hf.uio.no/ikos/english/research/projects/zen/participants/>.

Acknowledgements

Several of the contributions of the present volume are based on the international conference “Early Chán Manuscripts among the Dūnhuáng Findings,” organized by the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages (Oslo University), September 28th–October 2nd, 2009, in cooperation with the Institute for Research in the Humanities, Kyōto University. The conveners Christoph Anderl (presently: Ghent University) and Christian Wittern (Kyōto University) are very grateful for the grants provided by the **Norwegian Research Council** (NFR) and the **Chiang Ching Kuo Foundation for Scholarly Exchange** (CCK), Taipei (Taiwan), generously supporting the scholarly gathering; as well as for the organizational help by the Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages, **University of Oslo**. Financial support for the final editing of the manuscript was provided by the University of British Columbia project **From the Ground Up: Buddhism and East Asian Religions**, sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) of Canada, and the **Tianzhu Foundation**.

We also want to thank the participants of the conference, and the other scholars represented in this book, who contributed their fine pieces of scholarship to the present volume. The publication of this volume was delayed several times—for various reasons—and we apologize to the contributors who had to update their papers several times in order to integrate recent scholarship. We are deeply grateful for their patience.

We are also grateful to Brill Academic Publishing (Leiden) for accepting the volume in the Numen series, and in particular Tessa Schild for her continuous support during the publication process. Many thanks also to Pim Rietbroek (Leiden) for solving problems with the Tangut fonts, Philip Parr (London) for proofreading several of the papers, and Shan Bai (Ghent) for her help with editing the bibliographies.

Last but not least, our sincere thanks to two anonymous reviewers who kindly offered numerous suggestions to improve the volume as a whole.

We hope that this book contributes to our understanding of Early Chán in intra-religious and interreligious contexts, and of the processes and transformations which shaped the development of Chán in the Medieval Northwestern and Northern regions.

Christoph Anderl and Christian Wittern
Ghent and Kyōto, March 31st, 2020

Abbreviations

Beida	Dūnhuáng manuscript collection of Peking University
Beijing	Dūnhuáng manuscript collection at the National Library of Beijing
BT XIII	Zieme, Peter. 1985. <i>Buddhistische Stabreimdichtungen der Uiguren</i> . Berliner Turfantexte XIII. Berlin: Wiley-VCH
BT XXVIII	Yakup, Abdurishid. 2010. <i>Prajñāpāramitā Literature in Old Uyghur</i> . Berliner Turfantexte XXVIII. Turnhout: Brepols
CBETA	Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association (CBETA), based on the Taishō Tripitaka 大正新修大藏經 (Daizo Shuppansha 大藏出版株式會社) https://www.cbeta.org/ . [All citations of the T. canon are according to the digitized versions in CBETA.]
Ch.	Chinese
Ch/U	Chinese/Uighur
<i>Dūnhuáng gēcí</i>	Rèn Bántáng 任半塘. 1987: <i>Dūnhuáng gēcí zǒngbiān</i> 敦煌歌辭總編. Shànghǎi: Shànghǎi gǔjí chūbǎnshè 上海古籍出版社
EBTEA	Orzech, Charles D., Sørensen, Henrik H. and Payne, K. (eds.). 2011. <i>Eso-teric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia</i> . Handbook of Oriental Studies 24. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
ED	Clauson, Gerard. 1972. <i>An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish</i> . Oxford: Clarendon Press
DMCT	<i>Database of Medieval Chinese Texts</i> ; https://www.database-of-medieval-chinese-texts.be/
Dx	See ДХН
ДХН	Manuscript of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts collection, St. Petersburg (formerly Дх)
FDC	<i>Fóguāng dà cídiǎn</i> 佛光大辭典 [Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Buddha Light]. 8 volumes. Ed. by Hsing-yun 星雲. Taipei: Fóguāng chūbǎnshè 佛光出版社, 1989
Hirakawa	Hirakawa, Akira. 1997. <i>A Buddhist Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary</i> . Tokyo: Reiyūkai 靈友會
IDP	International Dunhuang Project (http://idp.bl.uk/)
IOl Tib.	Tibetan manuscripts of the India Office Library of the British Library
J.	Japanese
JDCDL	<i>Jǐngdé chuándēng lù</i> 景德傳燈錄 [Record of the Transmission of the Lamp Compiled in the Jǐngdé Era]; comp. by Dào Yuán 道原 in 1004; ed. T.51, no. 2076
Mathews	Mathews, Robert H. (ed.). 1975 (1943 ¹). <i>Mathews' Chinese-English Dic-</i>

	<i>tionary</i> . Revised American Edition. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
Nakamura	Nakamura Hajime 中村元. 1975. <i>Bukkyōgo daijiten</i> 仏教語大辭典 [Encyclopedic dictionary of Buddhist terms]. Tōkyō: Tōkyō shoseki 東京書籍
Ot.Ry.	Ōtani Collection of the Library of Ryūkoku Daigaku
P.	Pelliot Dūnhuáng manuscript collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see also <i>Pelliot chinois</i>)
Pelliot chinois	Chinese manuscripts among the Pelliot collection of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris (see also P.)
Pelliot tibétain	Tibetan manuscripts among the Pelliot collection of the Bibliothèque nationale, Paris
Ryūkoku	Dūnhuáng manuscripts in the depository of Ryūkoku 龍谷 University, Japan
S.	Stein Dūnhuáng manuscript collection at the British Library, London
SI	Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg
Skr.	Sanskrit
ST	Tachibana Collection of Saigōji Temple (西嚴寺藏橘資料)
T.	Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 et al. (eds.). 1924–1935. <i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新脩大藏經 [Newly revised edition of the Buddhist Canon in the Taishō-era]. 100 volumes. Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai 大藏出版會
Tang	Manuscripts of the Tangut Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Russian Academy of Sciences
Tg.	Tangut
QTW	Dǒng Gào 董誥 et al. (comp.). 1987. <i>Quán Táng wén</i> 全唐文 [Complete texts of the Táng Period]. Taipei: Dàhuà shūjú 大化書局
U	Uigur / Uighur
X	CBETA edition of the <i>Dainihon zokuzōkyō</i> 大日本續藏經 (zz)
Zengo jiten	Iriya, Yoshitaka 入矢義高 and Koga, Hidehiko 古賀英彦. 1991: <i>Zengo jiten</i> 禪語辭典 [Dictionary of Zen Buddhism]. Kyoto: Shibunkaku 思文閣
zz	Kawamura Kōshō 河村孝照 et al. (ed.). 1980–1988 (1905–1912 ¹). <i>Dainihon zokuzōkyō</i> 大日本續藏經. 90 volumes. Tokyo: Kokusho Kangyō-kai 國書刊行會

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Asiatic Journal 47 (2014); “Local Literatures: Xixia” in: J. Silk et al. eds., *Brill Encyclopedia of Buddhism*, vol. 1 (2015); “Recorded Sayings of Nanyang Huizhong in Tangut Translation” in: N. Hill ed., *Tibeto-Burman Linguistics*, Brill, 2009.

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Peter Zieme

worked until 2007 at the academic project Turfanforschung of the Berlin Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities and at the Institute of Turcology of the Free University in Berlin. His research focusses on the deciphering and editing of Old Uighur texts of the pre-Islamic cultures of Central Asia, mainly coined by Buddhism. Results were published in some volumes of the

series *Berliner Turfantexte* (Brepols Publishers) as well as in journals and other media. A number of studies were collected in “*Fragmenta Buddhica Uigurica*” (edited by S.-Chr. Raschmann and J. Wilkens in 2009, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, Berlin). Recently he publishes original papers online at <http://academia.edu/>.

Chán Buddhism in an Inter-religious and Cross-linguistic Perspective

Christoph Anderl

The papers collected in this volume aim to address various aspects of Chán studies that have previously received insufficient scholarly attention. The focus is on Chán developments in peripheral regions (from the perspective of the center of the Chinese Empire), and on the Buddhist centers in these areas' role in preserving, defining, and spreading Chán texts and ideas. To illuminate these issues, the publication introduces and analyzes manuscript material from Dūnhuáng, Turfan, and Karakhoto. It also presents high-quality reproductions of hitherto unpublished material (see, for example, Kirill Solonin's paper), critical editions, and translations. Through these case studies and the thorough investigation of extant manuscript material, we hope to enhance understanding of the complex interactions among Buddhists of different ethnic origins from different areas, and the transformations that took place in the Northwestern regions during the medieval era.

1 Focus on Dūnhuáng

As the book's title indicates, the region of Dūnhuáng is central to this project. This is not merely because of the tens of thousands of manuscripts that have been found in the "Library Cave"¹ (Mògāo Cave 16/17)—one of the main sources for the study of medieval Chinese culture and religion over the past century—but also because it is located on the western border of the Hélixī 河西 Corridor, and as such was a major hub on the eastern section of the Silk Roads. Originally the home of nomads, the region came under Chinese control for the first time during the Hàn 漢 Dynasty (206 BCE–220 CE).² At the end of the Eastern Hàn 東漢 Dynasty (25–220 CE), many families from Central China migrated to this rel-

1 The purpose of the "Library Cave" remains a matter of ardent debate among scholars, so it is safer to describe it as a "depository of written materials."

2 The earliest Chinese records on Dūnhuáng date back to 111 BCE, when a small military commandery was established there.

atively peaceful area, bringing with them the culture of the Chinese heartland.³ Thereafter, Dūnhuáng fell under the control of various Northern Dynasties. However, from the eighth century onward, when the early Chán movement started expanding, Dūnhuáng was again a city with a strong military garrison. Indeed, the third-largest army of the Táng 唐 Dynasty (618–907) was stationed there,⁴ and the city's economy and population gradually expanded. The location of Shāzhōu 沙洲 (as Dūnhuáng was known during the medieval period) enabled it to develop into a key hub for trade between China and the Western regions, and into a vibrant meeting point for various ethnicities, cultures, religions, and philosophies. Consequently, in addition to being an important strategic stronghold, a transit city frequented by traveling merchants,⁵ and a temporary dwelling place for itinerant pilgrims and monks, it developed into a religious center that not only passively received ideas from other regions but also molded its own distinctive Buddhist practices and produced a variety of ground-breaking Buddhist scriptures.⁶ Most importantly, it became a key player in the dissemination of specific Buddhist ideas and practices throughout the Northwest and North, while simultaneously receiving innovative concepts from the Central regions, the Twin Capitals, and the western sectors of the Silk Roads.

The discovery of the Dūnhuáng manuscripts around 1900 CE⁷ and the subsequent research into these documents have played a pivotal role in increasing our understanding of medieval Chinese literature, language, religion, and culture. Throughout the twentieth century and especially over the last few decades, “Dūnhuáng studies” (*Dūnhuángxué* 敦煌學) has developed into a major field of research.⁸ Moreover, because of the vast array of genres, texts,

3 Róng Xīnjiāng 2013: 23–24.

4 Ibid.: 36.

5 Dūnhuáng was a significant commercial hub from the Hàn Dynasty to the eleventh century. Thereafter, however, the continental Silk Roads were frequently blocked and the city's influence consequently declined.

6 For a concise study of influential monks who resided in Dūnhuáng, based on the city's historical records, see Qū Zhīmǐn 2004. For monasticism and the role of monks in the social life of the area during the Late Táng, Five Dynasties, and early Sòng periods, see Hǎo Chūnwén 郝春文 1998.

7 For a recent, detailed description of the discovery of the manuscripts and the contents of the “Library Cave,” see Rong Xinjiang 2013: 79–136. The Dūnhuáng manuscripts have proved to be invaluable historical sources, but they have also had far-reaching consequences for our understanding of the medieval Chinese language. Indeed, they have become our main sources for the study of the diachronic development of varieties of spoken Chinese in terms of semantics, syntax, and phonology. For an overview, see, for example, Anderl 2017 and Anderl and Osterkamp 2017.

8 For a survey of Dūnhuáng studies published between 1900 and 2007 (more than 17,000 papers and 1500 books), see Fán, Lǐ, and Yǎng 2010.

and topics covered by the manuscripts, this umbrella term now encompasses a growing number of increasingly specialized sub-fields.

The Dūnhuáng hoard—including a particularly rich trove of “non-canonical” sources that were not transmitted in any other form after the Táng, Five Dynasties, and Early Sòng periods—has provided a glimpse into myriad forms of Táng Chinese Buddhism in terms of doctrines, practices, and popular rituals (although it can be difficult to determine whether some of these forms of Buddhism were specific to the Northwestern region or rather were over-regional developments). Regarding the various Buddhist sectarian and doctrinal formations that flourished during the Táng Dynasty, the Dūnhuáng corpus is an especially rich source of texts representing the various “schools” (or rather factions) of the early Chán movement. Systematic study of these documents commenced more than fifty years ago, first in Japan, then in the United States (often among scholars who had trained in Japan) and (to a lesser degree) France. Subsequently, John McRae and others introduced these early Chán texts to a wider Western readership.⁹ Scholarly research into the formative period of Chán peaked during the 1980s and 1990s; thereafter, attention shifted to the formation of the institutionalized Chán schools during the Sòng Dynasty¹⁰ and—more recently—to developments during the Míng and Qīng.¹¹

Although the studies of the early Chán texts have challenged and corrected numerous stereotypes, misconceptions, and historical projections (many of which were based on the historiographical material of the Sòng Chán schools themselves, coupled with Japanese authors’ accounts of the origins of Chán/Zen when introducing Western audiences to the subject), many questions remain, and many aspects of Chán during the Táng demand more thorough and contextualized studies in the future.¹²

1.1 *Challenges in the Study of Early Chán*

Although our understanding of the development of Chán Buddhism during the Táng, Five Dynasties, and Sòng periods has improved dramatically over recent decades, a number of issues remain. Rather than trying to construct the notion of a historically *coherent* movement, we should focus on the actual

9 There is no need to dwell on the history of research into the early Chán schools here, as previous studies have thoroughly addressed this area (see, for example, McRae 1986). For a historical account of Early Chán, see John Jorgensen, this volume.

10 See, for example, Yü 1989, Foulk 1993, Gregory and Getz 1999, Levering 2002, Welter 2006 and 2008, Schlütter 2008, Morrison 2010, Brose 2015, Broughton 2017, Buckelew 2018, and Protes 2016 and 2019.

11 See, for example, Grant 2008a and 2008b, and Wu 2008.

12 For example, for a recent study that challenges the status of the Dūnhuáng versions of the *Platform Scripture*, see Anderl 2013.

circumstances under which Chán was practiced during its early phase of development, with an emphasis on specific locations and periods. Recent studies that have followed this approach have yielded some important results, identifying significant regional differences in doctrinal frameworks, lineage systems, and practice.

Buddhism in China should be seen not as a uniform structure, but as an amalgamation of a multitude of local traditions following their own specific courses of development. These local traditions could have preserved elements of Chinese Buddhist doctrinal and textual heritage not available, or otherwise neglected, in Song-era China.

SOLONIN 2013b: 83

Indeed, many of the most distinctive and local features of Táng Buddhism seem to have been preserved (or even developed) *outside* the core areas of China proper (for instance, in terms of Chán Buddhism, the Northwestern areas, Sìchuān, Fùzhōu, Hángzhōu, Jiāngxī, etc.).¹³ By contrast, in the Central regions, such features often fell victim to fragmentation or destruction due to rebellions and political unrest that targeted the heart of government,¹⁴ or—as happened at the beginning of the Sòng Dynasty—to standardization and “text sanitation”

13 The significance of “the periphery” in the development of Chán Buddhism is not confined to the Northern and Northwestern regions (see Meinert and Sørensen 2020 for in-depth discussion of the periphery in the context of Central Asian Buddhism). For example, Adamek 2007 focuses on the distinct forms of Sìchuān Chán. (Previously, Western scholars had paid scant attention to the various forms of Buddhism practiced in Sìchuān, and this remains a field of research that should be pursued with greater vigor in the future.) More recently, Welter 2011 has addressed another important question—the development of Chán between the Táng–Five Dynasties periods and the Sòng era, when orthodox and institutionalized schools were established, and the great significance of Hángzhōu and other regions of the Wú Yuè 吳越 kingdoms in this process (see also Brose 2015). As Brose (ibid.: 134) observes: “The ascent of Chan clerics appears instead to have been set in motion by the political and geographical reorientations taking place during the Tang–Five Dynasties transition. Although elite Buddhist exegetical traditions were disrupted by the upheavals of the late ninth century, they were neither destroyed nor irreparably damaged.”

14 Recent studies have suggested that regional centers profited from these developments in Central China as they were able to recruit influential monastics and members of the cultural elite: “In major urban centers like Chengdu and Hangzhou, newly named kings recruited former Tang officials as well as some of the same textual exegetes, ritual specialists, and Vinaya masters who had served Tang emperors. The relocation of these clerics from northern capitals to southern cities effectively distributed aspects of Chang’an’s Buddhist culture to the capitals of some southern states” (ibid.: 134).

processes that either neglected or actively erased “non-orthodox” features in official historiographies and transmission records.¹⁵ As such, the local forms of Buddhism that developed in the Northwest, Sìchuān, and various other regions have come into sharper focus over recent decades.¹⁶

1.2 *Isolation from the Central Regions*

The material found at various cave sites in the Dūnhuáng area (Shāzhōu 沙洲 in historical records) testifies that Buddhism had an increasing influence on the lives of the elite and the general populace in the region, especially during periods of relative isolation from the Central regions. Thus, the religion helped to define the area’s local identity and contributed to the establishment of regional alliances. The Ān Lùshān 安祿山 Rebellion (beginning in 755), which had a devastating impact on the population and culture of the Táng state, also affected Dūnhuáng, since troops left the area to fight the rebels in the Central regions.¹⁷ The Tibetans seized this opportunity to occupy Dūnhuáng, retaining control of the city and the surrounding area until 848.¹⁸ It was under their auspices that Buddhism started to flourish in the region, as Rong Xinjiang (2013: 40) observes:

At the beginning of the Tibetan rule, Shāzhōu [i.e., the Dūnhuáng area] had nine monasteries and four nunneries, with the number of clergy amounting to three hundred and ten. In contrast with this, at the end of the Tibetan rule, there were a total of seventeen monasteries and the number of clergy had escalated to several thousand, even though the entire population of Shāzhōu was only about twenty five thousand.

It is also important to note that the Huìchāng 會昌 persecution of Buddhism—which peaked in 845, with devastating consequences for Buddhist institutions in regions controlled by the central government—had relatively little impact on the Dūnhuáng area.

15 Early Chán texts associated with the so-called East Mountain (Dōngshān 東山) School and the Northern School (Běizōng 北宗) are good examples.

16 On the significance and characteristics of Liáo Buddhism, see especially Solonin 2013a and 2013b.

17 Rong Xinjiang 2013: 37.

18 The start of the Tibetan occupation is traditionally dated to around 786, but the Táng authorities may well have lost control of the area as early as the 760s (personal conversation with Henrik Sørensen).

1.3 *Chán Buddhism in the Dūnhuáng Area*

The caves in the Mògāo complex, Dūnhuáng, were first inhabited by monastic immigrants to the area.¹⁹ The northernmost section of Mògāo is characterized by the absence of wall paintings or Buddhist icons in the caves (with the exception of those in the “Tantric cave,” D-MG 465).²⁰ The many caves in this sector would have housed monks engaged in Buddhist practice, as well as a few burial sites.²¹

The Dūnhuáng communities’ fascination with Chán is demonstrated not only by dozens of manuscripts that present a wide variety of early Chán doctrines and lineages but also by numerous extant appraisals and Chán songs. In addition, the corpus features several Tibetan translations and Chán texts that were produced in the area itself, for example by the famous monk Mahāyāna (Móhéyǎn 摩诃衍), who was active there during the late eighth century. Furthermore, stele inscriptions and captions dating from the Late Táng and Five Dynasties periods are important sources of information on Chán activities. It was during this period that interest in Chán peaked in the area. As some recent studies have shown, Chán was frequently referred to as the “Great Vehicle of Sudden Enlightenment” (*dùnwù dàshèng* 頓悟大乘),²² and adherents could be

19 The caves of the early period of Mògāo (fourth–sixth century), such as D-MG 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, were rather small and therefore ideal sites for meditation and visualization practices. Typically, the wall paintings included scenes from Śākyamuni’s life and *jātaka* (i.e., previous births of the Buddha) narratives, Thousand Buddhas (*qiānfó* 千佛) motifs, depictions of scenes from key *sūtras*, etc. The sixth-century cave D-MG 285 also contains what seem to be eight small meditation niches, but it is unclear whether these were ever used for this purpose or were merely architectural imitations of Indian and Central Asian monastery structures. Therefore, the function of the early caves remains a matter of fierce debate among both Buddhologists and art historians.

20 Traditionally, the construction of this cave is dated to the Yuán Dynasty or the Tangut period.

21 On the northern sector of the Mògāo caves, see Péng Jīnzhāng 2011.

22 It is also known as *dàshèng dùnwù* 大乘頓悟 or simply *dùnwù* 頓悟 (“Sudden Enlightenment”) or *dùnjiào* 頓教 (“Sudden Teaching”). The term *dùnwù* appears frequently in Dūnhuáng Chán manuscripts, many of which are related to the Northern School or the Sìchuān Bǎotáng 保唐 School (see Mǎ and Yáng 2009). Mǎ and Yáng 2009 point out that *dùnwù* was a general appellation for Chán, including both “Northern” and “Southern” schools, in this period, and that Chán adherents would often associate themselves with both branches. See, for example, the stele inscription appraisals for members of the Sù 素 family preserved in P.3718, P.4660, and P.2021 (all produced during the late ninth century), which include references to both the Northern and the Southern branches. For instance: 南能入室，北秀昇堂。 “In the South [Huì]néng ‘entered the room’ (i.e., received transmission from the Fifth Patriarch), and in the North [Shén]xiù ascended the hall (i.e., went up to the front parlor, but was not accepted into the inner circle)” (P.4660). However, whereas in P.4660 Huinég is clearly preferred on account of belonging to the “inner cir-



FIGURE 0.1 Caves in the northern sector of Mògāo, previously used as residential, meditation, or burial sites

PHOTOGRAPH: C. ANDERL

found among both the general population and the elite.²³ Captions in several Mògāo caves also associate Chán monks and their meditation practice with specific caves.²⁴

cle” of Chán, in P.2021 the Northern and Southern branches seem to be on a more equal footing; 燈傳北秀，導引南宗。 “As for the transmission of the lamp (i.e., lineage), [Shén]xiù of the Northern [School]; as for [teaching] guidance, the Southern School [of Huìnéng].” In addition to this rather “ecumenical” material, a number of other songs and appraisals refer directly to specific Chán schools.

23 Mǎ and Yáng 2009 have shown that several generations of the Sù 素 family from Dūnhuáng were associated with Chán, with some members (both male and female) remaining in lay society and others becoming monastics. The family was also involved in several Mògāo cave renovation projects (e.g., D-MG 12 and 144). In the stele inscription texts, they are referred to as *dùnwù dàshèng xiánzhě* 頓悟大乘賢者 “worthies of the Great Vehicle of Sudden Enlightenment.” For an example of a female lay Chán follower, see the donor caption in D-MG 144: 修行頓悟优婆姨如祥[弟子]一心供养。 “The *upāsikā* [Kāng] Rúxiáng practicing the Sudden Enlightenment (i.e., Chán) is wholeheartedly paying her respects.”

24 This suggests that—contrary to the opinion of many scholars—family caves in Mògāo were also used as locations for Buddhist practice, and not only for rituals and ceremonies

2 The Structure of the Book

This collection of papers is divided into three parts. Part One, “Early Chán History Revisited,” comprises two chapters. In Chapter 1, John Jorgensen sets the stage for the rest of the book with an extensive study and reevaluation of the historical sources relating to early Chán. Chapter 2 then focuses on a genre that has received insufficient scholarly attention: early Chán songs and appraisals. This material is of great historical value as it provides ample evidence of the enduring appeal of many early Chán concepts and practices until the tenth century (in the Dūnhuáng area, at least).

Part Two, “The Spread of Chán in the Northwestern Region,” focuses on the transmission of Chán from an interregional, intercultural, and cross-lingual perspective. In Chapter 3, the *Siddham Song* studied in Chapter 2 is analyzed in its Uighur translation. Chapter 4 then reevaluates certain aspects of Tibetan Chán on the basis of a study of the cultural and multilingual context of Dūnhuáng in the final centuries of the first millennium. Finally, Chapter 5 presents a detailed study of Liáo and Tangut Buddhism through meticulous analysis of Karakhoto manuscripts.

The two chapters in Part Three, “Chán in an Interreligious Perspective,” focus on Táng (Chán) Buddhism from an intersectorian and interreligious perspective by studying relevant Dūnhuáng manuscripts and other textual material. Specifically, Chapter 6 investigates the interactions between Chán and Esoteric Buddhism, while Chapter 7 explores the connections between Táng Buddhism and Daoism.

2.1 Part One: Early Chán History Revisited

The volume opens with a thorough account of early Chán from a historian’s perspective. It is important to reassess many early sources on Chán with a critical eye in order to arrive at a more detailed understanding of its early history.²⁵ In his paper, Jorgensen reexamines the historical material on Bodhidharma and

relating to the owner family. In the caption texts, Chán monks who are linked with specific caves are termed *zhù kū chánshī* 住窟禪師 (“Chán master residing in the cave”), *zhù kū chánshēng* 住窟禪僧 (“Chán monk residing in the cave”), or simply *kū chán* 窟禪 (“cave Chán”).

25 In the 1980s and 1990s, several important studies—most notably the pioneering work of Bernard Faure (e.g., 1986, 1988, 1989, 1991)—helped to “deconstruct” the traditional Chán lineages and hagiographical material. Although these studies remain essential reading—in part because they provided a necessary corrective to the idealized and biased vision of Chán/Zen presented to the Western public in the postwar era—they do tend to drown in postmodernist theoretical analysis.

Huikē, asserting that a critical reading of the historical sources can reveal information that goes “beyond the myths and hagiographical patterns.” This is of great significance since many of the later developments in Chán were based on parameters established during the early historical phase of the formulation of Chán thought. Studying a variety of early Chán texts, Jorgensen attempts to reconcile several historical sources in order to clarify the stages of Bodhidharma’s life and the origins of the texts that are attributed to him. Likewise, when turning his attention to Bodhidharma’s disciple Huikē, Jorgensen presents a close reading of the available sources to explain that biographical descriptions should not be automatically dismissed as “hagiographies.” Indeed, he demonstrates that, if critically assessed, they may provide a wealth of important historical information. He also observes that early Chán figures are frequently linked to specific scriptures, such as the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*,²⁶ which remained a highly influential text over the course of many generations, as a number of tenth-century manuscript copies in Dūnhuáng testify.²⁷ (Other chapters in this collection also discuss the significance of this *sūtra* within early Chán.)

In Chapter 2, Anderl and Sørensen explore a genre that has previously received relatively little scholarly attention in the West—so-called “Chán songs” (*Chán-gē* 禪歌)—in order to demonstrate that early Chán doctrines and practices, including those traditionally associated with the “Northern School,” enjoyed unbroken popularity (at least on a regional level) until approximately the tenth century (see also Chapter 4, this volume). One particular text, the *Siddham Song*, is critically edited through collation of a number of extant manuscripts, and an annotated English translation is provided. Close analysis of this text reveals that many of the motifs that appear in the ninth- and tenth-century Dūnhuáng manuscript copies—including key terminology reminiscent of the Northern School—can be traced back to the earliest phase of the Chán movement. Moreover, the relatively large number of copies of the text that remained in circulation until the tenth century confirm the enduring appeal of early Chán concepts. Interestingly, the text was written in verse form, using a highly complex pattern of rhymes.²⁸ In addition to brief doctrinal statements and words of encouragement for Chán practitioners, it features

26 Several recent studies have explored the profound influence of *Prajñāpāramitā* literature on Chán from the eighth century onward (see, for example, Anderl 2013 and van Schaik 2016).

27 This *sūtra* is also central in the *Siddham Song*, studied in Chapter 2.

28 Numerous Buddhist “songs” are preserved in the Dūnhuáng corpus, many of them written as specific tunes (see Wáng Zhīpéng 2005). Since this genre was based on Indian traditions, the significance of Buddhist appraisals and exhortations in the form of poems and songs was already emphasized by Kumārajīva (*Gāosēng zhuàn* 高僧傳, T.50, no. 2059: 332b27).

a host of phonetic characters. The majority of these seem to be attempts to imitate foreign sounds that were thought to have powers of salvation similar to those of *dhāraṇīs*, rather than transliterations of actual Sanskrit words. In addition, the preface connects the text to Bodhidharma and the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, while the Siddham alphabet is reminiscent of Kumārajīva's *Tōngyùn* 通韻. Overall, the text reflects Chán adherents' multifaceted attitude to Buddhist teaching, and their willingness to employ a variety of genres depending on the target audience. As such, it is just one of many contemporaneous texts to display not only an acute awareness of the sectarianism within Chán Buddhism *but also a conscious decision to adopt a pragmatic, conciliatory approach toward rival factions*. This attitude is similarly evident in other Chán songs and eulogies, some of which were written by monks who were active in the Dūnhuáng area.

2.2 Part Two: The Spread of Chán in the Northwestern Region

2.2.1 Uighur Chán Buddhism

The extant sources provide only limited evidence of Buddhist activities during the First (552–612) and Second (692–742) Turkic Khaganates, and indeed during the Uighur Steppe Khaganate (744–840),²⁹ when Manichaeism became the state religion.³⁰ Closer contact with Buddhism probably did not emerge before the collapse of the last empire, followed by the Uighurs' expansion to the Gānsù Corridor and the Tarim Basin.³¹ Most of the extant Buddhist literature was produced in the West Uighur Kingdom between the ninth and the fourteenth centuries. Hundreds of these manuscripts lay undisturbed in Turfan and the Mògāo Library Cave for several centuries before a series of Western

29 This confederation of Orkhon Uighurs ruled over a large territory, with its capital at Karabalgasun (on the upper Orhon River in Mongolia). During the mid-Táng, the Uighurs had fought with the Chinese against the Turkic Khaganate and the Tibetans. In 755, Emperor Suzōng 肅宗 requested and received assistance from Bayanchur Khan in his fight against the Ān Lùshān rebels and the invading Tibetans. The successful Uighur military campaign generated rich tributes from the Táng court and the establishment of marital relations between the two dynasties.

30 The Uighur ruler Böğü Khan converted to Manichaeism in 763. By then, the Uighurs had well-established and highly profitable economic ties to the Sogdian trading communities who similarly controlled extensive sectors of the Silk Roads. The latter were instrumental in spreading Manichaeism. Several Sogdian Manichaean texts have been found among the Turfan manuscripts.

31 Many Uighurs converted to Buddhism during the Gānsù 甘肅 Uighur Kingdom (848–1036). There is strong evidence of Chinese and Sogdian influence in the Kingdom of Kocho (Qocho, Gāochāng 高昌; c. 856–1335).



FIGURE 0.2 Approximate locations of the Kingdom of Kocho (Gāochāng), Shāzhōu (including the oasis of Dūnhuáng), and the territory of the Gānsù Uighurs (c. 900). The dotted red line denotes the Silk Roads. The blue line shows the approximate maximum extent of the Tibetan Kingdom (c. 780–790).

and Japanese expeditions discovered them in the early 1900s.³² This corpus consists of a wide variety of Buddhist texts, translated from a number of languages, including Sanskrit, Chinese, Tocharian, and Sogdian, with the Chán Uighur texts comprising only a small portion of the total. The translations include Chán poems and songs, the apocryphal *Yuánjué jīng* 圓覺經, which was popular among early Chán practitioners, and the Northern Chán School text *Guānxīn lùn* 觀心論 (*Treatise of Contemplating the Mind*).³³ Peter Zieme (2012) has explored the relationship between Dūnhuáng and Turfan through

32 These documents are now housed in the British Library (as part of the Stein Collection), the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (which has the largest collection from the Albert Grünwedel and Albert Le Coq expeditions), the Ryūkoku University Library in Kyōto (from the Ōtani expedition), and the Bibliothèque Nationale and Musée Guimet, Paris. For detailed descriptions and analysis of these manuscripts, see especially numerous publications by Peter Zieme (e.g., 2012).

33 Other Uighur translations include the Maudgalyāyana Transformation text, the *Shí-èr shí* 十二時 (*The Twelve Hours*), etc.

detailed analysis of Berlin's collection of Turfan manuscripts. His research has revealed that Dūnhuáng Buddhism was the driving force behind Chinese-to-Uighur translation activities during the tenth and eleventh centuries (a period which witnessed a significant shift from Manichaeism to Buddhism in Uighur society).

In Chapter 3 of this volume, Zieme presents an annotated English translation of an Uighur translation of the *Siddham Song* (the subject of Chapter 2), comparing it with the original Chinese text and highlighting any variations and reinterpretations that were introduced during the translation process. His conclusion is that, notwithstanding several inconsistencies between the two versions, the Uighur translation helps to clarify several of the Chinese source text's more enigmatic passages.

2.2.2 Tibetan Buddhism in Dūnhuáng

The era that followed the Tibetan occupation of the Dūnhuáng area is usually known as the "Return of Righteousness Army" (*guīyì jūn* 歸義軍).³⁴ Although the Tibetan rulers had been ousted, Tibetan language and culture remained defining features of the period, and researchers believe that a large proportion of the populace were bilingual (see Takata 2000). As there are only a few native sources on the period of Tibetan rule, several Dūnhuáng manuscripts—such as the *Old Tibetan Annals* (P.t.1288; Or.8212.187) and the *Old Tibetan Chronicle* (P.t.1286, 1287)—have key roles to play in shedding light on the occupiers' impact on the region.³⁵ In addition, many manuscripts provide details on the local administration of Dūnhuáng during the occupation. These are of great significance because they allow researchers to reconstruct events that occurred during that period. By contrast, official Táng Dynasty historiographical sources on China's peripheral regions are very scarce. In addition to these administrative and historiographical texts, manuscripts written in Tibetan³⁶ are especially rich sources of material on Chán Buddhism. Recent research into these Tibetan Chán manuscripts has challenged the traditional narrative (which was mostly based on later Tibetan sources) concerning the so-called "Debate of Lhasa" between Indian and Chinese monks on the nature of enlightenment.³⁷ These

34 For thorough studies on this period, see Zhèng Bǐnglín 1997 and 2003.

35 For an overview, see Rong Xinjiang 2013: 316 f.

36 Tibetan manuscripts also contain bilingual texts as well as Chinese texts written in the Tibetan script. These important sources enable historical linguists to reconstruct the Medieval Northwestern Chinese dialect that was spoken in the region. For an overview (with further references), see Anderl and Osterkamp 2017.

37 See Van Schaik 2015 and 2014, respectively, for translations of the extant Tibetan Chán

studies have demonstrated that many of Dūnhuáng's Tibetan manuscripts date from *after* the Tibetan occupation, indicating that Tibetan influence persisted in the region for much longer than was previously thought. Moreover, as Sam van Schaik and Jakob Dalton point out, Chinese Buddhism continued to have a parallel impact on Tibetan Buddhists long after the period of Tibetan control of Dūnhuáng had come to an end:

With no controlling religious authority, Tibetans were able to develop their own Buddhist traditions, drawing upon those of their neighbours in China and India, as well as their own cultural concerns. Tibetans living in Dunhuang after it was regained by China loyalists were particularly well situated to absorb these various influences.³⁸

This “cross-fertilization” was especially dynamic during the tenth century, when Chinese Chán traditions merged with Tibetan Tantric Buddhist traditions. In this context, the role of multi-religious, multi-ethnic Dūnhuáng was crucial, resulting in “syncretism on a level one might expect in a vibrant and multicultural religious centre like Dūnhuáng.”³⁹ In the texts studied by van Schaik and Dalton, Mahāyoga practices are described using Chán Buddhist terminology, such as *kàn xīn* (Ch. 看心; Tib. *sems la lta*). Such techniques are usually associated with Northern Chán practice, providing further evidence that Northern Chán beliefs and methods continued to circulate in the Dūnhuáng region long into the tenth century. The Tibetan Chán manuscripts include translations of texts by two highly influential masters—the Indian monk Móhēyǎn 摩訶衍 (Skr. Mahāyāna) and Shénxiù from Central China—as well as doctrines that are characteristic of another early Chán school, the Bǎotáng School of Sìchuān (as represented by the work of Wúxiàng 無相; 684–762).

In Chapter 4 of this volume, Sam van Schaik presents a reconsideration of Tibetan Chán. First, he critically examines the accounts on the monk Móhēyǎn 摩訶衍 as well as the ongoing debates over simultaneous and gradual enlightenment. Next, he demonstrates that most of the Tibetan manuscripts recovered from Dūnhuáng date from *after* the Tibetan occupation, that Tibetan

manuscripts and a comprehensive catalogue. For a study of P. Tib.116, one of the most important manuscripts on Tibetan Chán, see van Schaik 2016. See Demiéville 1952 for an example of the traditional narrative.

38 Van Schaik and Dalton 2004: 63. One obvious question here is why they continued to replicate Sinitic Chán discourses that had long since fallen from favor in the Central regions.

39 Ibid.: 64–65.

Buddhists retained a strong interest in Chinese Chán texts, and consequently that the copying and translation of these texts continued for many years. As such, he concludes that Chán thinking probably exerted a powerful influence over Tibetan Buddhism until the eleventh century, when attention started to shift to new concepts from India. He also investigates key manuscripts associated with Tibetan Chán and highlights their focus on the *Diamond Sūtra*, as used in precept rituals in the context of ordination platforms. Finally, he presents a thorough reevaluation of the lineage system associated with Tibetan Chán.

2.2.3 Liáo and Tangut Buddhism

Kirill Solonin (2013: 93) has suggested that “Tangut Buddhism emerged under substantial Liao influences, so that one can even suggest that Buddhist traditions in Xixia [Xīxià 西夏] which were traditionally believed to originate from China had, in fact, penetrated from Liao.” As such, the expansion of Buddhism in the Northwestern regions after the tenth century should be seen as a highly complex phenomenon that was driven by multiple intersecting influences. Solonin observes the tendency to “unify” diverse traditions and practices and wonders whether this was a distinctive feature of Buddhism in the “border regions” on account of those regions’ complex contact patterns and waves of imported ideas. Presented with a wealth of choice, the inhabitants may have selected the most compatible elements from each of the rival systems of thought. Or perhaps their distance from the sectarian contexts in which the competing ideologies originated enabled them to focus on the elements they shared, rather than their more divisive aspects. Alternatively, the local Buddhist communities may simply have chosen whichever doctrines and practices best suited their specific needs and expectations. More research into Buddhism in the border regions is needed before a definitive conclusion may be reached.

As Solonin points out in his contribution, Chán Buddhism cannot be understood as an independent entity in the context of the Liáo. Liáo Buddhism was based on a version of Huáyán 華嚴 Buddhism intermingled with elements of Esoteric Buddhism (this combination is sometimes referred to as “perfect teaching,” *yuánjiào* 圓教) and certain doctrinal features of Chán Buddhism. This approach by the Liáo was adopted by Tangut Buddhists, who eventually incorporated some Tibetan Tantric practices into the system. Consequently, another fascinating transformation of Chán Buddhist thought is evident in the emergence of several forms of Tangut Buddhism, each of which conflated indigenous, Chinese, and Tibetan elements. A reconciliation with Huáyán Buddhism was achieved through selective translations and reinterpretations, providing evidence of alternative forms of Chán Buddhism that coexisted along-

side those documented in Northern Sòng texts.⁴⁰ Our main sources for the specific forms of Tangut Buddhism are manuscripts found inside a *stūpa* in Khara-Khoto in 1908–1909.

In Chapter 5, Solonin provides a detailed study of the Khitan (Liáo) influence on Tangut Buddhism, focusing specifically on the Khitan Buddhist master Héngcè Tōnglǐ. This monk does not appear in any of the standard Buddhist history works, but he surely exerted considerable influence during his lifetime and played a key role in the *sūtra* carving project of the Liáo Buddhist canon. Solonin concludes that Tōnglǐ was an adherent of a particular Liáo Dynasty form of Chán Buddhism that he promoted within the Tangut state. As such, he and several other important Tangut monks, such as Dào chēn, helped to formulate and disseminate their unique interpretation of Chán (sometimes labeled “Huáyán-Chán” 華嚴禪) in the Northern region.

Solonin presents translations of two previously untranslated texts (one based on a Chinese source and the other on a Tangut manuscript) as well as high-quality reproductions of material from the St. Petersburg collection. He concludes that the exchanges between the various forms of Buddhism in the Northern and Northwestern regions were highly complex, and admits that they can be difficult to trace in geographical and temporal terms. That said, the extant manuscript texts indicate that Liáo Buddhist texts were disseminated throughout these regions, reaching at least as far as Dūnhuáng and even influencing the Uighurs’ understanding of Buddhism. Moreover, they suggest that, in return, Uighur monks were highly active in the establishment of Tangut Buddhism.

2.3 *Part Three: Chán in an Interreligious Perspective*

The final part of the book explores the fact that early Chán evolved in an environment where multiple Buddhist and non-Buddhist factions competed for resources and attention from China’s political and cultural elites.⁴¹ From at

40 Kirill Solonin has studied these processes in depth in numerous publications. He suggests that eleventh-century Khitan Buddhists were suspicious of certain forms of Sòng Buddhism (Solonin 2013: 93). For example, the Khitan rulers ordered the destruction of the *Platform Scripture* and the *Bǎolín zhuàn* 寶林傳 because Liáo Buddhists regarded the establishment of Sòng Chán orthodoxy (during which the Sixth Patriarch was stylized into the creator of a *sūtra*) as heresy (e.g., the Sòng doctrine of “preaching Chán outside the teachings”).

41 Chán entered the public stage around the year 700, when Empress Wǔ Zétiān 武則天 adopted Buddhism as China’s state religion and generously supported a variety of relatively new branches of Buddhist schools (such as Huáyán 華嚴, Tiāntái 天台, and Chán 禪). In the process of constructing a distinctive sectarian identity, Chán borrowed heav-

least the mid-eighth century onward, many Chán masters engaged with a wider Buddhist audience, frequently at mass congregations where they administered the precepts during platform ceremonies (*tánjiè* 壇戒).⁴² As the Dūnhuáng manuscripts testify, Chán also actively engaged with Esoteric Buddhism, which was imported to China during the eighth century and quickly gained great popularity.⁴³

Henrik H. Sørensen investigates this conflation of Chán and Esoteric Buddhism in Chapter 6. Contrary to Sòng Dynasty accounts of the evolution of Chán, Táng Dynasty Chán was a highly complex amalgamation of multiple lineages and local transformations over which other Buddhist and even non-Buddhist schools exerted considerable influence. Based on a study of Dūnhuáng sources, Sørensen attempts to reconstruct the first contact between early Chán and Esoteric Buddhism, which occurred with the arrival of Indian masters such as Śubhākarasimha and Vajrabodhi in the early eighth century. His suggestion is that Chán's subsequent preoccupation with ceremonies connected with the ordination platform and the bestowal of Bodhisattva precepts (a topic that is analyzed from a variety of angles elsewhere in this volume) might have been prompted by these monks' promotion of Esoteric Buddhist rituals. Sørensen then turns his attention to the genre of *Siddham songs* (see also Chapter 2) as well as the spells and mantras that were chanted during med-

ily from earlier Chinese Buddhist doctrinal developments and practices, including basic interpretations of Buddha-nature and consciousness-only theories. In addition, early Tiāntái seems to have been an important source of inspiration, in terms of both practice (e.g., the embedding of traditional meditative techniques in a Mahāyāna ideological context) and the formulation of a lineage system that gradually developed into central hallmark of Chán. (See Young 2015 for an excellent study of the early formulation of Buddhist patriarchal lineages in China.) In addition, Chán adherents actively embraced earlier Northern meditation traditions, most importantly the system developed by Sēngchóu and his circle during the sixth century.

42 See, for example, Groner 2012. The *Platform Scripture* can probably be traced to a sermon that was held on one such occasion (Anderl 2013). The monk Shénhuì was renowned for addressing large groups of lay people; however, as several epitaphs of famous monks preserved in the *Quán Táng wén* 全唐文 testify, this phenomenon was widespread during the Táng.

43 Three monks—Śubhākarasimha, Vajrabodhi, and Amoghavajra—played crucial roles in the establishment of Esoteric Buddhism in China by translating key Indian scriptures and introducing Chinese practitioners to Esoteric rituals. (See Bentor and Shahar 2017 for further information on Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism.) One by-product of the introduction of this new form of Buddhism was that many Chinese Buddhist centers revived Sanskrit studies and retransliterated many Indian Buddhist words and phrases in order to match the Sanskrit readings (see Chapter 2, this volume).

itation, which leads to his conclusion that a number of esoteric texts must have circulated among Chán practitioners in the Dūnhuáng area.

In the second part of his paper, Sørensen demonstrates that Esoteric Buddhism had a significant impact on both Northern and Southern Chán. He also discusses the *Tánfǎ yízé* 壇法儀則—a text that synthesizes the Chán patriarchal lineage and Buddhist Esoteric thought (and features several of the deities who are associated with it)—which enjoyed great popularity in the Dūnhuáng area. This analysis includes the caveat that it is often difficult to classify the Dūnhuáng texts, because many of them are products of rearranging preexisting material and inserting it within new contexts (known as the “cut-and-paste” technique).

Although direct references to Daoism are relatively scarce in early Chán material, there is historical evidence that the former religion was flourishing when Chán adherents formulated key concepts and practices in a series of late seventh- and eighth-century treatises. Indeed, some scholars (e.g., Sharf 2002) have argued that several key scriptures, such as the *Bǎozàng lùn* 寶藏論 (*Treasure Store Treatise*), were direct results of interactions between Daoism and Buddhism.⁴⁴ In addition, the Dūnhuáng manuscripts include a handful of early Chán texts that make explicit references to Daoism,⁴⁵ longevity, and alchemical practices (which are usually presented as inferior to Buddhist practices).⁴⁶

In Chapter 7, Friederike Assandri investigates the complex interactions and “confluences” between Buddhists and Daoists in medieval China. She points out that there were frequent public debates between the two groups from the late Six Dynasties period to the Mid-Táng, so neither religion should be regarded as a hermetically sealed theology. Rather, their respective adherents engaged in a continual process of exchange during which each side appropriated concepts, terms, and scriptures from the other. In her paper, Assandri explores this process through a study of the development of the Twofold Mys-

44 For a more general study of Buddho-Daoist interactions during the Táng, see Mollier 2008.

45 See, for example, the *Lidài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記 (Adamek 2007: 8, 23, 44, 242f.). As Adamek (ibid.: 30) remarks: “the treatment of Daoism in the *Lidai fabao ji* reflects a milieu of sophisticated cross-borrowing and criticism among eighth-century Buddhists and philosophical Daoists that had its roots in fourth-century *xuanxue* [xuánxué 玄學].”

46 An example is the *Sēngchóu chánshī yàofāng liáo yǒulóu* 稠禪師藥方療有漏 in P. 3664/3559, which is written in the form of a medical/alchemical treatise, replacing the original medical terminology with Buddhist concepts. It also asserts that longevity practices are clearly inferior to Buddhist practices (see Anderl 1995: 80–83 and especially Anderl 2018). For details of another treatise with a similar structure (*Wǔ xīn wénshū* 五辛文書 in P. 3777, with fragments in P. 3244), see Li, Shi, and Wei 2007a and 2007b.

tery teaching and its impact on the development of early Chán Buddhism. This form of teaching employed an epistemological system based on Mādhyamaka teaching that was utilized during analysis of the *Dàodé jīng* 道德經. After analyzing various sources, Assandri concludes that interactions between Daoists and Buddhists in the sixth and seventh centuries were not only frequent but enthusiastic, and that proponents of the Twofold Mystery teaching made full use of all the relevant terms, concepts, and soteriological schemes that were available to them, regardless of whether they were Daoist or Buddhist in origin. Meanwhile, many of the ideas developed in the context of the Twofold Mystery teaching found their way into the emerging Táng schools of Buddhism, including “proto-Chán,” and scriptures such as the *Treasure Store Treatise*.

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PART 1

Early Chán History Revisited



Early Chán Revisited: A Critical Reading of Dàoxuān's Hagiographies of Bodhidharma, Huìkě and Their Associates

John Jorgensen

In recent decades it has been commonly asserted that we cannot reconstruct, or rather, represent the beginnings of Chán, or even the biography of Bodhidharma.¹ It has been claimed that all we can do is examine literary structures or hagiographical *topoi*.² More recently, John McRae has challenged the view that *nothing* can be ascertained from the hagiographies of Bodhidharma and his disciple Huìkě 慧可. He wrote against the “very notion of a historical nucleus to the story of Bodhidharma's life being untenable,” for “we can indeed say specific things about the historic personage Bodhidharma.”³ An historian is able, via correlation with other contemporary sources such as secular histories, gazetteers, inscriptions, and religious treatises, to disentangle and identify some relatively credible information about the subjects of hagiographies. By also keeping in mind the historiographical techniques used by the hagiographers, and by intratextual reading, more evidence can be gleaned and it becomes possible to go beyond the myths and hagiographical patterns by critical reading, which will be attempted here.

It is important to look at beginnings because in history initial conditions have an immense impact on later developments.⁴ While the choice of a starting point or genesis may be determined by the significance of the subject under discussion, such as the widespread and long-lasting Chán School, and a beginning cannot fully explain the present existence of that subject⁵ because of possible interruptions or discontinuities, the irruption of a new factor or an external intervention, such as a person like Bodhidharma, can form a starting point for following developments.

1 McRae 2003: 24.

2 Ibid.: 158, n. 4.

3 McRae 2014: 129.

4 Gaddis 2002: 79–81.

5 de Certeau 1988: 11.

Two examples of this importance of initial conditions are as follows, one of something seemingly insignificant and trivial, one of something major. First, the statement by the botanist Sir Joseph Banks, who was with James Cook's voyages in the Pacific Ocean, to the Commons Committee in 1779, based on superficial observation rather than inquiry, that in Australia the aborigines were purely nomadic and would abandon land, gave rise to the application of the doctrine of *terra nullius* (no person's land) to Australia. This statement convinced the British to declare that no one owned land in Australia, which resulted in the dispossession of Aboriginal lands and a lack of a treaty between the colonisers and the indigenous nations to this day.⁶ This was unlike in New Zealand, where the Maoris resisted and the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840.

The second example concerns the history of the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. At that time, Tibet was in conflict with the Chinese empire, and the fact that the Indian states were not a threat and that Tibet created an Indic-derived script, led the Tibetan leaders to prefer Indic Buddhism over Sinitic Buddhism, despite Tibetan translations being made of Chinese Chan texts.⁷

Pertinently, there was an abiding fascination in China with roots and genealogies, usually under the rubric of *zhuàn* 傳 ("transmission" or "tradition"), something Dào xuān 道宣 (596–667) subscribed to. For example, in the preface to his *Xù gāosēng zhuàn* 續高僧傳 (*Continued Lives of Eminent Monks*) he justified his classification of monks into types by referring to the examples of Confucius and Ban Gu 班固 (32–92).⁸ Moreover, Dào xuān stated that he had obtained the accounts of Buddhism in China, beginning with the "day of the dream of Emperor Ming of the Han Dynasty," which according to legend, inspired the emperor to send a mission to Central Asia and bring back Buddhist texts to China for the first time.⁹ Dào xuān also was concerned with the roots of his tradition.

One of the reasons Bodhidharma was chosen in later times to be the founder of Chan Buddhism was, I here argue, the account Dào xuān gave of Bodhidharma and his disciple. Evidence of this influence are the texts attributed to Bodhidharma that appeared almost immediately after Dào xuān wrote his first draft of the *Continued Lives* in 645. These include the Dūnhuáng manuscripts such as the *Dámó Chánshī lùn* 達摩禪師論 (*Treatise of Meditation Teacher [Bodhi]dharma*), which dates after 645 and before 681, the *Tiānzhúguó Pútí-*

6 Keneally 2009: 40, 405; Welsh 2004: 24–25.

7 Demiéville 1952: 180–185; Beckwith 1987: 26–36.

8 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 425a9–10.

9 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 425b7–8.

dámó Chánshī lùn 天竺國菩提達摩禪師論 (*Treatise of Meditation Teacher Bodhidharma of the Country of India*), dating sometime after 659, and the *Nán Tiānzhuóguó Pútídámó Chánshī guānmén* 南天竺國菩提達摩禪師觀門 (*Gateway of the Contemplation of Meditation Teacher Bodhidharma of the Country of South India*) that probably dates from the 650s to the 680s.¹⁰ More followed in the eighth century, as can be seen in the testimony of Jìngjué 淨覺 (683–ca. 750). Jìngjué wrote that besides the account of the “words and deeds of the master by his pupil Tánlín 曇林 (515–ca. 590s) collected in one fascicle and called the *Dámó lùn*,” there was also a commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* called the *Dámó lùn* and a forged *Dámó lùn* in three fascicles.¹¹ Jìngjué approved of Dào xuān’s account, naming it and the text by Tánlín among his sources.¹²

Clearly, there had to be something about Bodhidharma and Huìkě, and a text associated with them, the *Long Scroll* or *Bodhidharma Anthology* (these titles for the text are later coinages; the Korean print was titled *Pútídámó sìxíng lùn* 菩提達摩四行論, *Bodhidharma’s Treatise on Four Practices*), that induced later people to claim a genealogical link back to Bodhidharma and quote or refer to the text. Part of the reason such links were made had to lie in the descriptions of Bodhidharma and Huìkě, and the characterisations of their deeds and teachings written by Dào xuān in his *Continued Lives of Eminent Monks*, as well as in his quotes from the early sections of the *Long Scroll*, which had a preface by Tánlín, a known scholar-monk.

As time passed, the images Dào xuān had drawn of Bodhidharma and Huìkě were made increasingly hagiographical, that is, more miraculous and mysterious. For example, while Dào xuān said that Huìkě’s arm was cut off by enemy troops during a persecution of Buddhism, by the time of the *Chuán fǎbǎo jì* 傳法寶記 (*Chronicle of the Transmission of the Dharma-Jewel*), another text discovered at Dūnhuáng and dated around 712–713, declared that Huìkě had cut off his own own arm to show his determination to obtain the teachings of Bodhidharma.¹³ The *Chuán fǎbǎo jì* was implacably opposed to the *Continued Lives’* account, stating that the record that enemy troops had cut off Huìkě’s arm was false.¹⁴ It attacked Dào xuān’s biography of Bodhidharma and his ‘Evaluation’ of Bodhidharma’s teachings, without naming Dào xuān or the *Continued Lives*, for writing of ‘wall-like meditation’ (see later) and the ‘four practices.’ The author of the *Chuán fǎbǎo jì*, Dù Fěi 杜朏 (d.u.), was trying to transform Bodhidharma

10 Jorgensen 2016: 122, 142.

11 *Léngqié shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記 in Yanagida 1971: 133.

12 Ibid.: 127.

13 Yanagida 1971: 24–25 (for date), 365.

14 Ibid.: 355.

and Huikē into supernatural figures, with Bodhidharma supposedly rising from the dead and reappearing in the Pamir Mountains, leaving behind an empty coffin.¹⁵ Dù wanted to discredit the more mundane, less fabulous account by Dào xuān. Evidently, Dào xuān's accounts of Bodhidharma and Huikē were contested, showing their importance for the formation of early Chán.

Hence, the well-known context of the Northern Zhōu Persecution of Buddhism (574–577) for the loss of Huikē's arm was replaced by an ahistorical, fictional and hagiographical scene of zealous self-sacrifice, being totally decontextualized. Likewise, the earliest records of the alleged teachings of Bodhidharma and his pupils seem to have been gradually shortened. The *Long Scroll*, or at least the first section of it, was quoted by Dào xuān.¹⁶ It was also quoted ca. 716 and was said to have been compiled by Tánlín in the *Léngqié shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記 (*Records of the Masters and Disciples of the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*).¹⁷ The *Long Scroll* survived in various sections in nine Dūnhuáng manuscripts in Chinese and in Tibetan translation.¹⁸ The only Chinese text that has survived in full outside of Dūnhuáng is the *Pútídámó sìxíng lùn* printed by the Chosŏn Printing Office 刊經都監 (*Kangyŏng togam*, in operation 1461–1471). This was a 1464 reprint (重修 probably the same blocks were re-engraved, deepened and repaired) of the blocks that had probably been made by a private continuation of the Koryŏ Tripitaka Directorate 分司大藏都監 (*Bunsa Taejang togam*) that operated between 1236 and 1251. The editor of this printing in 1464 divided the text into the correct teaching 正說 and the circulation 流通 section.¹⁹ The Koryŏ print was made at the earliest after 1204 and probably after 1267.²⁰

However, inside China proper, the text of the *Long Scroll* probably survived to the time of Zōngmì 宗密 (780–841) or even Yǒngmíng Yánshòu 永明延壽 (903/4–976), but thereafter only the first section of the *Long Scroll* survived, as was the case in Japan.²¹ Whether copies of the later sections of the *Long Scroll* were destroyed in wars in the tenth century or were neglected as not being relevant to the transmission from Bodhidharma, that is, what was selected out and interpreted as the Chán teaching, is uncertain. The full text survived only outside of China proper in the oasis of Dūnhuáng, where the manuscripts were buried by the late tenth century, and in an obscure and never cited copy in

15 Ibid.:360.

16 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 551c5–23.

17 Yanagida 1971: 127, 132–133, 161–162; Broughton 1999: 137 n. 1.

18 Broughton 1999: 121, 141–142.

19 Shiina 1996: 190, 214.

20 Ibid.: 192–194; Jorgensen 2011.

21 Broughton 2009: 76–78, 122; Jorgensen 1979: 359–362, 379–380.

Korea, as well as in a Tibetan translation. This survival only of the first section in China proper and Japan may have been due to the fact that Dàoxuān's account had only sanctioned the first section of the *Long Scroll* by quoting that first section, while the last section contains quotes of otherwise largely unknown masters and that Zōngmì's alleged incorporation of the full text into a 'Chán Canon' also did not survive.²²

Thus, the contextualized, more sober accounts by Dàoxuān of Bodhidharma and Huìkě, and some of the texts associated with them, many discovered at Dūnhuáng over the last century, disappeared and the almost entirely fabulous hagiographical accounts that began to appear in the early eighth century came to predominate. For historians of Chán, the accounts by Dàoxuān are crucial in understanding why Bodhidharma was later chosen to be the founder of the Chán School.

As a consequence, this section of the *Continued Lives* about Bodhidharma, Huìkě, and their associates, has been subjected to increasingly-detailed critical readings, beginning with that by Hú Shì 胡適 in 1935. Most recently, in 2008 Eric Greene produced a critical reading of Dàoxuān's 'Evaluation of Meditators' (*Xíchán lùn* 習禪論) in the *Continued Lives* in which Bodhidharma appears, but not as a major figure. This reading undermined some of the views that thought Bodhidharma was being contrasted negatively with another meditation teacher, Sēngchóu 僧稠, and the idea that this was part of a dual/duel structure.²³ Rather, Greene argues that Dàoxuān saw Bodhidharma in a positive light, representing one aspect of the range of orthodox practices of meditation. Therefore, a corresponding re-evaluation of Dàoxuān's hagiographies of Bodhidharma is now needed. This article provides a new critical reading of these hagiographies and related materials, showing that more can be gleaned from these hagiographies than simple stereotypes.

1 Dàoxuān's Historiography

Comparing Dàoxuān's accounts of Bodhidharma and Huìkě with the hagiographies of Huínéng 慧能 (trad. d. 713) that were almost entirely fiction except for the fact that Huínéng was a disciple of Hóngrěn 弘忍 (601–674) and came from

22 Broughton 2009: 22–24.

23 Greene 2008: 49–114; for his comments about Bernard Faure's position (Faure 1986: 193), see p. 63; see also McRae 2003: 32 for the dual/duel structure. The idea that Dàoxuān was hostile to Bodhidharma is found in two works by Chen Jinhua, Chen 2002a: 332–395 and Chen 2002b.

South China, Dàoxuān's work is closer to the biography end of the biography-hagiography continuum.²⁴ In this, Dàoxuān was like Huìjiǎo 慧皎 (497–554), one of his models, of whom Arthur F. Wright has written, "To the extent that he conceived and wrote the lives within the conventions of Chinese historiography, he was a biographer. To the degree that his biographies sought to demonstrate the rewards of piety and faith, he was a hagiographer."²⁵

The historiography of Dàoxuān and Huìjiǎo was based on the Vinaya tradition, of which Dàoxuān was a master, and the Chinese, mainly Confucian, style of historiography. Vinaya texts adopted an historical approach in explaining the context of the introduction of a rule or prohibition. These texts included biographies of the Buddha, histories of the Buddhist councils, and lists of successions of patriarchs.²⁶ Vinaya masters were concerned that ordinations and transmissions from teachers to students were correct so as to safeguard the Dharma.²⁷ In China, Vinaya masters were also the cataloguers who tried to exclude apocrypha from the Tripiṭaka by examining the provenance of the text. Therefore, they were inclined towards history.²⁸

Moreover, from the commencement of Buddhist hagiography in China, the Vinaya masters, and others, adopted the Confucian historiography that gave weight to birth and death dates, secular clan origins, ancestry, lists of teachers, education, books written, eminent deeds, and pupils of the subject of the biography.²⁹ Confucians thought that histories and biographies transmitted a truth, a reality. Therefore, they attempted to portray that reality and thought that the act of writing history was a 'transmission,' although it was permitted to fabricate the speech and thoughts of some of their subjects and place them into stereotypical categories for didactic purposes.³⁰

Of course, as believers in the supernormal powers Buddhist practitioners could allegedly attain, the Vinaya master historians also included fabulous stories in their biographies, often basing them on the genre of miracle tales, but not of the supernatural kind.³¹ In many instances, these 'miraculous tales' can be easily detected, as for example in the biography of Dàoxuān in the *Sòng gāosēng zhuàn* 宋高僧傳 (*Lives of Eminent Monks Compiled in the Sòng Dynasty*) by Zànníng 贊寧 (919–1002). In it, after Dàoxuān's ancestry, including

24 For Huìnéng, see Jorgensen 2005.

25 Wright 1954: 385.

26 Lamotte 1976: 183–184; Jorgensen 2002: 82.

27 Satō 1986: 168–169.

28 Cao 1999: 29; Jorgensen 2002: 82.

29 Kieschnick 1997: 4–5.

30 Jorgensen 2002: 82.

31 Kieschnick 1997: 2, 68–69, 97.

his father's name and highest official post, Zànníng says that when Dàoxuān's mother was pregnant with him, she dreamt of an Indian monk who told her that the baby was a reincarnation of Vinaya master Sēngyòu 僧祐 (d. 518) and would venerate the Dharma.³² This is a common feature in hagiographies to show the operation of karma in explanation of the subject's future achievements.

Such hagiographical and fabulous elements were generally the products of Dàoxuān's sources, which ranged from factual prefaces for translations, catalogues, and accounts of conduct, to oral tales of miracles due to karma, meditative attainments, and faith, or stories of rebirths and interventions into lives by bodhisattvas and buddhas in response to supplications in life-threatening situations. Therefore, awareness of the nature of the sources is required in the analysis of the biographies in attempts to reconstruct 'historical biographies' rather than mere 'hagiographical images' that derive from a collective approach.³³ Dàoxuān distinguished between miracle stories and "the more authentic biographies, which also happened to contain stories of miracles."³⁴ In his preface to the *Continued Lives*, Dàoxuān described the sources he used and mentioned something of their limitations.³⁵

Lastly, analysis must be made of Dàoxuān's historiographical methods. A biography in a collection like the *Continued Lives* was not meant to be read in isolation as these collections were *lièzhuàn* 列傳 (connected traditions). The biography was to be read by correlating evidence of the person in their biography with mentions of that person found in the biographies of other individuals and in the judgements in the *lún* (evaluations) on the life of that person or category of person. This was called 'concealing and revealing'.³⁶ Furthermore, the technique of 'praise and blame' (*bāobiǎn* 褒貶) meant readers had to be alert to the careful choice of words that implied judgements.³⁷ This can be seen in the choice of the word Dàoxuān used for the burial of Bodhidharma.³⁸ Readers had to be also awake to the placement of materials about a person that did not conform to the classification that person was entered under by the biographer.

Thus, Dàoxuān, partly in response to his sources, revealed the verifiable or more factual accounts of a monk, such as translation activities, in one place

32 *Song Lives*, T.50: 790b10–14.

33 Welter 1988: 247–248, 261–262; Jorgensen 2002: 90.

34 Shinohara 1988: 213–214.

35 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 425b; discussed in Cao 1999: 110–112.

36 Jorgensen 2002: 90–91.

37 Cai 1964: 138, here as it applied to titles of rulers.

38 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 552a8.

under the appropriate category (translator) of biographies, and in another place, mostly in the biography of another individual (often under a different category such as thaumaturge), described that monk's other abilities or deeds. The sources for the latter, in accord with the category, were often miracle tales told about that monk. For example, Dàoxuān provides a brief but factual mention of Ratnamati's translation activities in an appendix 附 to the biography of Bodhiruci.³⁹ However, in the biography of Ratnamati (fl. ca. 513), which is the thaumatuge category, Dàoxuān relates a popular tale of Ratnamati's apparent supernormal abilities and his besting of an official.⁴⁰ It is unlikely that Dàoxuān was writing about two Indian monks with the same name in Luòyáng at the same time. As we shall see, this technique was used about the meditation teachings and the scholarship of Huikě.⁴¹

In addition, Dàoxuān wrote 'evaluations' for each category of monks. These were critical and analytical.⁴² Like the 'evaluations' by his predecessor, Huìjiǎo, these are described as "brilliant short accounts of the various aspects of Buddhist history which are the rubrics for his groups of biographies. [...] They point out the special contribution which each form of activity made to the spread of Buddhism."⁴³ Following the example of the secular histories, the reason for the 'evaluation' was to "resolve doubts and confusion and to remove dogmatism (lit. stagnation)."⁴⁴ They were also meant to supplement the biography but not to repeat information.⁴⁵ Therefore, Bodhidharma was selected by Dàoxuān to represent one type of meditator. His 'evaluation' added new information and probably tried to eliminate any possible misinformation about Bodhidharma and Huikě. Thus, this 'evaluation' clearly attracted the attention of those readers who sought legitimacy via a genealogical connection in most cases for their form of meditation. Bodhidharma was chosen undoubtedly because he was from India and because his meditation teachings were anointed as being of the highest level by Dàoxuān.

39 Ibid.: T.50:429a.

40 Ibid.: T.50: 644a–b; see Jorgensen 1979: 148–149.

41 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 552a, 480c20–22, 431c16–28.

42 Cao 1999: 104.

43 Wright 1954: 391.

44 Cai 1964: 104.

45 Ibid.: 105–106.

2 Bodhidharma

One source Dàoxuān used, somewhat sceptically, for his hagiography of Bodhidharma was the *Luòyáng qiélán jì* 洛陽伽藍記 (*Records of the Monasteries of Luòyáng*) of ca. 547 by Yáng Xuànzhī 楊銜之. Dàoxuān was careful because Yáng was prone to exaggeration.⁴⁶ In the entry on Yǒngníng 永寧 Monastery, which contained a nine-storey wooden pagoda built in 516, and which Yáng had climbed, probably around 518, Yáng wrote:

At that time there was a *śramaṇa* of the Western Regions, Bodhidharma, who was a barbarian of the country of *Bōsī* 波斯. Originating in the furthest wilds, he came to China, and seeing that the light of the golden circlets (on the spire) shining in the sun was reflecting onto the surface of the clouds, (and hearing the sound of) the large bells moving in the wind echoing beyond the heavens, he praised and lauded the monastery as being a really superhuman achievement. He said, “I am one hundred and fifty years old and have travelled through many countries. I have been everywhere, yet nowhere else in Jambudvīpa (the world) does the exquisite beauty of this monastery exist. Even in the highest realms of matter (seen in meditation) there is nothing like this.” He chanted ‘Namas’ (an expression of praise) and made prayerful gestures of obeisance for several days.

Then in 526 a great wind blew the vase from the top of the spire.⁴⁷ Because Yáng arranged his entries internally, especially the notes, in a chronological sequence, it is clear that Bodhidharma was at Yǒngníng Monastery after 517 or 518, more likely the latter.⁴⁸ Thus Bodhidharma was at Yǒngníng Monastery from ca. 518. The mention of the clouds (and rain) when Yáng climbed the pagoda, and in the record of Bodhidharma (when the sun came out?), may even hint that Yáng and Bodhidharma were there at the same time. The next

46 Jorgensen 1979: 138–139; concerning Yáng, see Wang 1984: xvi–xviii.

47 Jorgensen 1979: 31, with minor changes; Wang (1984: 20–21) gives no dates for the emperor and empress dowager ascending the pagoda, but he indicates by indentation that the entry on Yáng’s ascent was one of Yáng’s notes.

48 Jorgensen 1979: 31, n. 71; Fàn Xiángyōng (1958: 19, n. 43) quotes Wèi Shōu 魏收 (*Wèishū*: 4/67/1495), biography of Cui Guāng 崔光, to claim that the date the empress dowager ascended the tower was 517, but Yán Kējūn (1958: 3632a) quotes Cui’s admonition of the dowager for climbing the pagoda to argue that the date was 518. Wèi Shōu gives the second year of Shengui, which even suggests 519 as a possible date.

date provided is 526, which gives the period from 518 to 526 for Bodhidharma's presence at Yǒngníng Monastery.

As the monasteries within the walled city of Luòyáng were the exclusive preserve of the ruling classes, the monks would have needed an exemption from the rule.⁴⁹ Perhaps Bodhidharma was recruited into a group of seven hundred 'monks of pure conduct' (*fānsēng* 梵僧, probably not meaning 'Indian monks') who were ordered to live at Yǒngníng Monastery with Bodhiruci as the head of this translation team. This command was probably issued around 516, for according to the *Continued Lives*, this order was made by Emperor Xūanwǔ 宣武, who died early in 516.⁵⁰ Certainly, Bodhiruci required many assistants for his translation project because he had a vast number of Sanskrit manuscripts in his room, and the numbers of translated drafts filled (another) room.⁵¹ Perhaps, Bodhidharma, as an Indian monk (for this, see following), was useful as an occasional assistant.

Whether or not Bodhidharma was among the seven hundred monks in Bodhiruci's team, Bodhidharma was definitely living in the southern half of Luòyáng, for Yáng states that Bodhidharma visited Xiūfàn 修梵 Monastery and commented on a Vajrapāṇi (a fierce guardian deity) on which pigeons would not roost, saying, "It has attained its true appearance."⁵² This remark suggests that Bodhidharma had a penchant for witty comments or quips, which contributed to the enigmatic image of a one-hundred-and-fifty-year old man, something that probably endeared him to later generations of readers.

In Dào xuān's hagiography of Bodhiruci, following his quote of the *Luòyáng qièlán jì* on the construction of Yǒngníng Monastery, and after his reference to the dowager's ascent of the pagoda, when he reached the part on Bodhidharma, he instead paraphrased it, writing, "those who had come from the west of China and had travelled through many countries, all said, 'There is nowhere in Jambudvīpa that has a stupa-shrine like this!'"⁵³ I suspect he changed Yáng's account of Bodhidharma that said he came from *Bōsī* because it conflicted with Tánlín's 曇林 (ca. 515–590s) preface to the *Long Scroll* which asserted Bodhidharma came from South India.

49 Ho 1966: 83 f., but Jorgensen (1979: 33), citing *Luòyáng qièlán jì* (T51.1003b11), for doubts about this. It also reads: "There were over three thousand monks from many countries, from as far in the west as Syria." (T.51: 1017b29–c1).

50 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 428a26–27.

51 Ibid.: T.50: 428c25–26.

52 T51.1004a10–11; Jorgensen 1979: 137; for a freer translation, see Wang (1984: 57), ignoring 云.

53 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 428c2–3; similar quotes appear in *Lidài sānbǎo jì* 歷代三寶記 of 597, T.49: 82c28–29; *Hóngzàn Fǎhuà zhuan* 弘贊法華傳, T.51: 17b21 ff.

2.1 *Bodhidharma's Death*

Dàoxuān also tells us that Bodhidharma was over one hundred and fifty years old, repeating Yáng's comment. However, he did not know the circumstances or date of Bodhidharma's death, and Dàoxuān commented that he took traveling and teaching to be his duty.⁵⁴ However, later in the hagiography of Huikě, he says Bodhidharma passed away in Luòbīn 洛濱 and that Huikě simply (亦) buried (埋) his body on the river's edge (河浚).⁵⁵ 'River's edge' is glossed by Huilín in his *Yīqiè jīng yīnyì* 一切經音義 as 'river's shore',⁵⁶ and Luòbīn refers to an area just to the south of Luòyáng, probably on the other bank of the Luò River.⁵⁷ It has been suggested that Luòbīn may have been a place of execution based on the evidence that Zhīmìng 智命 was executed there ca. 619, and so Bodhidharma may have been executed there in the Hēyīn 河陰 massacre of 528 or in the late Northern Wèi rebellions.⁵⁸ Yet the evidence of the case of Zhīmìng is hardly persuasive. Zhīmìng deliberately went to Luòbīn and was executed there because he angered the anti-Suǐ rebel, Wáng Shìchōng 王世充 around 619.⁵⁹

The suggestion though that Bodhidharma may have been killed in the massacre of Hēyīn, but not on the banks of the Yellow River where the several thousand aristocrats were drowned on May 17th 528, does have some merit.⁶⁰ Many people fled from the attack and the invaders made their barracks in Yǒngníng Monastery,⁶¹ no doubt because it had a thousand rooms and large

54 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 551c25–26.

55 *Continued Lives* T.50: 552a7–8.

56 T.54: 894c12.

57 See *Continued Lives*, T.50: 454c9, 520a13, 676b29, 693a7, and *Wèishū*: 8/114/3041, which mentions that a sixteen 'foot' high statue of the Buddha was placed in Bàodé Monastery 報德寺 in Luòbīn. Bàodé Monastery was on the southern side of the Luò River. According to the map in Wang (1984: 14), this was also the ward for the four barbarians, for which see p. 148 ff., which may also be pertinent to Bodhidharma and his death. Also, Emperor Yáng of the Suǐ Dynasty built a translation centre in Shànglín Park 上林園 there in 604 (see Dàoxuān's *Dàtáng nàidiàn lù*, T.55: 407c7 and *Continued Lives*, T.50: 432a20, 437c11–14, and T.50: 435c7 that confirms that Shànglín Park was on the southern bank of the Luò River).

58 Satomichi 1978: 163, n. 102a; Broughton 1999: 139, n. 14. Satomichi suggested that an alleged student of Bodhidharma, Sēngfù 僧副, had an uncle who led loyalist forces against the invasion by Ērzhū Róng 爾朱榮 in 528, and that perhaps Bodhidharma was executed because of this association, which may explain why he was 'buried' on the river bank. Most of the two-thousand to three thousand people killed in this Hēyīn massacre though were thrown into the Yellow River, at least according to Okazaki 1977: 123. This would agree with Bodhidharma being buried on the river bank; the problem is, this was a different river.

59 *Continued Lives*: T.50: 683a7.

60 Wang 1984: 25.

61 *Ibid.*: 21, 27.

courtyards, and they probably stayed around a year. As this event is recorded almost immediately after the section mentioning Bodhidharma, with only the incident of the vase on top of the pagoda being blown down in 526 intervening, this invasion and occupation of Yǒngníng Monastery may have been the cause of Bodhidharma's death. Bodhidharma died before 534, for Dàoxuān tells us that Huikě went north to the new capital of the Eastern Wèi, Yè 鄴, around 534, after burying Bodhidharma.⁶²

Huikě buried Bodhidharma on the river bank without ceremony. (This is the import of the word *mài* 埋, which means to simply throw into a pit and cover with earth. Chinese have a hierarchy of technical terms for burial and funerals, and so Dàoxuān has deliberately selected this word following the conventions of 'praise and blame.') This suggests that Huikě had no support of followers or patrons, and so no ceremony was performed and no stele erected. A stele was not erected until sometime between 728 and 732, possibly by Jìngjué or someone associated with him.⁶³ Jìngjué, a brother of an empress, was the author of the *Léngqié shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記 that championed the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* as a core of Chán transmission and Dàoxuān's account of Bodhidharma.

After Bodhidharma died and was buried, Huikě sent a notification or summons to the region of the capital (i.e. Luòyáng)⁶⁴ because previously Bodhidharma had been praised and evaluated highly by people.⁶⁵ In other words, although Bodhidharma only had two or three pupils, Dàoyù 道育 and Huikě who studied with him for four or five years, and had initially been slandered for his meditation techniques and teachings by Buddhist scholastics,⁶⁶ he must have later been appreciated, for in response to Huikě's summons, lay people and monks came and formally (yí 儀) requested to be allowed to follow Bodhidharma's teachings. Huikě then mustered his brilliant oratory and presented them with the essentials of his teaching (*xīnyào* 心要).

62 *Continued Lives*: T.50: 552a7–8.

63 Jì Huázhuàn 2002: 27; for the text, see Kojima 2001: 127–134. There are other studies, such as that by Ishii Kōsei, that I have not seen. For a photograph of the stele, see *Asahi shinbun* 朝日新聞 (16/9/1999): 34, "Daruma no haka? Sekihi ni namae ダルマの墓? 石碑に名前."

64 A *xí* 檄 was originally a summons or proclamation written on a wooden slip. It was often used when summoning troops. It was also a circular used to enlighten people. Bāngjī 邦畿 means the region around the capital or the capital itself. Often it meant an area of a thousand *lǐ* (about a third of a mile) square around the capital, as in a set phrase in the Classics, *bāngjī qiān lǐ* 邦畿千里; see *Yīqiè jīng yīnyì*, T.54: 894c13–14.

65 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 552a7–8.

66 *Continued Lives* T.50: 551c1–3.

Therefore he was able (*gù dé* 故得)⁶⁷ to have his words fill the empire, but their meanings were not established. His profound texts had long been perused but they had yet to begin to move (people's) minds.⁶⁸

If this rendering is correct, it may imply that Bodhidharma's words had been compiled into a 'profound text,' but people, despite reading them for a long time, had yet to get the gist of it, and so "their meanings were not established." This lack of understanding of Bodhidharma's words is reiterated in Dào xuān's 'Evaluation of the Meditators' where he praises Bodhidharma for the profundity of his teaching, and that although many came to hear him, "it was difficult to reach the bottom of the words he spoke, so those who made a genuine effort were few."⁶⁹ Eric Greene thinks that 'difficult to understand' was praise, "an indication that Bodhidharma refused to lower the bar for his students," which is why he had so few students.⁷⁰

2.2 Origins

Very little more can be learnt about Bodhidharma, the person, except about his place of origin. Dào xuān stated, "Bodhidharma was a South Indian of the Brahmin caste,"⁷¹ basing himself on the preface to the *Long Scroll* by Tánlín,

67 Broughton (1999: 58) treats what follows as a quote, but seems to ignore *gù dé* 故得, which has the sense of 'therefore able to ...' in Dào xuān's text, as in *Continued Lives*, T.50: 609b21, where Paramārtha and another person were at "Ji'nan. Therefore, he was able to lecture and translate," and 628a21, where famous scholars came to "request debate and all gave rise to a mind of faith. Therefore, he was able to have his ideas spread throughout the empire." See also T.50: 505b4.

68 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 552a10–11. This translation is very tentative, because the subject is hard to determine. Is it still Huikē? 'Profound text' (*xuán jí* 玄籍) often refer to 'sūtras,' as in the *Zhàolùn shū* 肇論疏 by Yuánkāng 元康 (T.45.188c6), and Sēngzhào's *Zhù Wéimójié jīng* 注維摩詰經 says, "The ultimate in rhyme and the wordless, and yet the profound texts were fully distributed." (T.38: 327a19 and following). To 'long peruse' or 'read for a long time,' *xiáolǎn* 遐覽, see *Continued Lives*, T.50.441b2–4, quoting the preface by Huize to the *Bōrě dēng lún shì* 般若燈論釋, a commentary on verses by Nāgārjuna, "the text was profound and its tenets marvellous [...] the Dharma general of Mahāyāna embodied its Way and remained in sincerity, long perusing its true words, and so explained the śāstra." "Move minds" 經心 is problematic. It usually means 'heart/core of the sutra' as in *Fǎhuá zhuàn jì* 法華傳記, T.51: 90c28–29: "I heard the heart of the sutra." Occasionally it means 'to take notice of' or to 'move the mind,' as in Dào xuān's compilation, *Guǎng hóng míng jì* 廣弘明記, T.52: 279b5–6, "he abandoned his body to save beings and was not moved by/did not notice the suffering of cold."

69 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 596c9–10, translation by Greene 2008: 62.

70 Greene 2008: 74.

71 *Continued Lives*, T.50.551b27.

which writes, “The Dharma teacher was a South Indian of the Western Regions. He was the third son of a great Brahmin king.”⁷² This entry conflicts with the *Bōsī* 波斯 given by Yáng Xuànzhi as Bodhidharma’s country of origin. Dào xuān has followed Tánlín in his identification of Bodhidharma’s region of origin, for Tánlín was a scholar and translator who knew and worked with a number of Indian translators, beginning with Bodhiruci,⁷³ and thus was judged by Dào xuān as better able than Yáng, a lay official, to attest to Bodhidharma’s place of origin, especially as Tánlín became an associate of Bodhidharma’s chief disciple, Huikě.

One of the tasks of historians is to reconcile or explain differences in evidence. In this case, it seems too easy to think that there were two different monks called Bodhidharma living in Luòyáng at the same time, especially when Dào xuān did not think there were two monks going under the name Bodhidharma. Dào xuān was here exercising his role as an historian, and he judged Yáng to be in error.

I believe it is possible to reconcile the difference, and in the course of doing so to further specify Bodhidharma’s place of origin. *Bōsī* usually refers to Fārs, a heartland province of Persia. This would have meant the Sassanian empire at the time Yáng was writing. However, John McRae suggested this *Bōsī* was a *Bōsī* also known more properly as *Bōzhī* 波知⁷⁴ (the *Bōsī* here in the *Luòyáng qiélán jì* is a textual error as the *Wèishū* gives *Bōzhī*), modern Zebak,⁷⁵ to the north of Chitral, a very small territory that showed no evidence of Buddhism. Rather, *Bōsī* was clearly meant to be Sassanian Persia, for this empire was in diplomatic contact with Northern Wèi, with its capital at Luòyáng, during this period.⁷⁶ The *Luòyáng qiélán jì* also records that a lion was presented by the king of *Bōsī* to the Wei court. Although Wang thinks that this was given by *Bōzhī*, the fact that the text has *Bōsī* and it is not glossed as a textual error,⁷⁷ and that the

72 Jorgensen 1979: 239; Broughton 1999: 8 omits ‘Brahmin.’ See also Yanagida 1969: 25.

73 Broughton 1999: 68 and 143–144, n. 24. This was mostly in the period 541–543, and as Bodhiruci died ca. 537, Tánlín probably began with him as one of the seven-hundred member translation team of monks first assembled at Yǒngníng Monastery.

74 This was in a conversation with John McRae at his “New Evidence for the life and thought of Bodhidharma, founder of Chinese Zen,” seminar of the Australasian Association of Buddhist Studies, Wednesday 6th April, 2011, University of Sydney. See also McRae 2014: 130.

75 Wang 1984: 227 and note 108, for textual error and location; see the map on p. 216.

76 Tashakori 1974: 29, 47 for a list of Sassanian missions to Northern Wèi, including those in 517, 518, 520 and 522.

77 Wang 1984: 152, n. 173, T.51: 1012b22–23. The capturing of the lion by a rebel was thought by the rebel to be a coup because the gift came from a major empire, not some insignificant mountain-locked state.

Wèishū tells us that Bōsī (not Bōzhī) was famed for its horses, white elephants and lions,⁷⁸ this would indicate Sassanian Persia. As Yuán Chēn 元琛, Prince of Héjiàn 河間, sent for horses as far distant as Bōsī, and obtained an excellent steed,⁷⁹ and in 534 the Northern Wèi emperor had a horse from Bōsī,⁸⁰ this confirms the thesis that the Bōsī of the Yǒngníng Monastery entry was Persia. An impoverished, narrow mountainous country beset by heavy snow and almost impassable in winter⁸¹ was scarcely likely to produce fleet horses, lions, and elephants. Besides, Sassanian art often depicts mounted horsemen, sometimes kings, hunting lions.

The *Wèishū* correctly identifies the capital of the Sassanian empire as Ctesiphon. The heartland of Persia was definitely Zoroastrian and by the time of Xuánzàng's travels between 629 and 645, Xuánzàng had learnt that there were only two or three Buddhist monasteries in Ctesiphon, with a few hundred monks and their followers, all Hīnayāna Sarvāstivādins.⁸² It is therefore unlikely that Bodhidharma, clearly identified by Dàoxuān and Tánlín as a Mahāyāna monk,⁸³ came from Ctesiphon, although it is possible he came from a region like Bamiyan that had been under Sassanian rule in earlier times (it was taken by the Hephthalites around 483). However, if Bodhidharma was from Bamiyan, a place known to Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Bodhidharma would probably have said so.

Rather, this identification with Persia was made due to a confusion of Pahlava, the people mentioned in ancient Indian texts as coming from the north-west, with the Pallavas, a ruling dynasty from south-east India.⁸⁴ Pahlavas (Parthians) even worked as administrators for the Śakas of Gujarat as early as 150 B.C.⁸⁵ The language of these Persians was Pahlavi. Given such confusion even in India, it is likely that if Bodhidharma called himself a Pallava, some of the Indians from other regions may have thought he meant Pahlava, which someone then translated as Bōsī or Persia. The Chinese of Northern Wèi were not in contact with the Pallavas because such trade went to south China, which made that mistake even easier to make.

78 *Wèishū*, 6/102/2271; Jorgensen 1979: 400–401.

79 Wang 1984: 192; T.51: 1016b16–17.

80 *Běishǐ*: 1/5/174.

81 See description in Wang 1984: 227.

82 *Dà-Táng xīyù jì* 大唐西域記, T.51: 938a19–20; Tashakori 1974: 58.

83 *Continued Lives*: 596c9, 'Mahāyāna *bìguān* 壁觀,' and Yanagida 1969: 25, "resolved to uphold the Mahāyāna Way," see Broughton 1999: 8.

84 Jorgensen 1979: 409; Takakuwa 1926: 269 ff.; see also Sastri 1966: 101.

85 Pollock 2006: 70.

The Pallavas were a dynasty from South India. Coincidentally, Persians (Pallavas) actually lived in Kāñcī, a capital of the Pallavas, in the sixth century.⁸⁶ The Pallavas had a kingdom in northern Tamil-nadu from ca. 300 to ca. 900 A.D., and they traded and had connections with Southeast Asia from the fourth century.⁸⁷ Tánlín's preface informs us that Bodhidharma was "a person of a South Indian country, the third son of a great Brahmin king,"⁸⁸ and Dàoxuān states he "was a South Indian of the Brahmin caste."⁸⁹ The Pallavas were one of the few South Indian dynasties who were members of the Brahmin caste, for kings were usually of the *kṣatriya* or warrior caste.

If a Brāhmaṇa family rises to royal dignity, it cannot quite naturally look back for past glory to the Sūrya and Candra *vaṃśas* [lineages] which were *kṣatriya* dynasties. They can however claim connection with Bhāradvāja Droṇa, the great epic king of northern Pāñcala, who was a Brāhmaṇa by birth but took the profession of *kṣatriyas*.⁹⁰

"[...] no dynasty in South India other than the Pallava belong to the Bhāradvāja gotra," one of the forty-nine subdivisions of the Brahmin caste, with the possible exception of the relatively minor dynasty of the Śālaṅkāyas, neighbours and perhaps relatives of the Pallavas.⁹¹ Therefore, as Bodhidharma was a member of a royal family of South India, and was a Brahmin by caste, the most likely candidate for Bodhidharma's homeland is the kingdom of the Pallavas that extended along much of the Coromandel Coast of India. It answers in part why Bōsī was used by Yáng Xuánzhī rather than India, and explains why Bodhidharma could be a son of a Brahmin king.

Moreover, the Pallavas were in contact with Southeast Asian kingdoms such as the Khmer Fúnán 扶南 and Cham Línyì 林邑 (Champa),⁹² which matches with Dàoxuān's mention that Bodhidharma travelled via South China⁹³ and Tánlín's "traversed a great distance over mountains and oceans." Some think

86 Basham 1969: 345, citing *Christian Topography*, a description written in Greek of the countries bordering on the northern Indian Ocean and Red Sea ca. 550 A.D. by the Alexandrian merchant and later Christian monk, Cosmas Indicopleustes.

87 Pollock 2006: 119, 123–124. He notes Kāñcīpuram was not captured until 671 (p. 153).

88 Yanagida 1969: 25.

89 *Continued Lives*: 551b27.

90 Sircar 1969: 156.

91 Mahalingam 1969: 23; see Sircar 1969: 155 ff. and 392 for the insignificance of Śālaṅkāyas; for Pallavas and Bhāradvāja lineage, see Pollock 2006: 63.

92 Pollock 2006: 123.

93 *Continued Lives*: 551b29–c1.

that the *Luòyáng qiélán jì*'s quote of Bodhidharma saying "I have traversed many countries," refers to travelling through Central Asia.⁹⁴ However, almost the same wording is used by Dàoxuān of the voyages of Paramārtha, who definitely came by sea from India.⁹⁵ Paramārtha came originally from West India but immediately from Fúnán and arrived in Nánhǎi (Guǎngzhōu) in 546. The Nányuè referred to by Dàoxuān, "(Bodhidharma) first arrived on the Sòng (Dynasty) border at Nányuè,"⁹⁶ in this period was under Sòng Dynasty control, a control that extended south from modern Guǎngdōng Province south into the Red River valley of Northern Vietnam, bordering on Línyì and Khmer Fúnán.⁹⁷ This suggests that Bodhidharma came via a route similar to that of Paramārtha and that this is not an interpolation into Dàoxuān's hagiography of Bodhidharma.

Kāñcī, the capital of the Pallavas from as early as 671, was a region that produced many scholar monks such as Nāgārjuna's disciple Āryadeva,⁹⁸ Buddhaghosa,⁹⁹ and later Vajrabodhi, whose father was a Brahmin who taught the Pallava king Narasiṃha Potavarman.¹⁰⁰ Vajrabodhi arrived in Guǎngzhōu in 719 via Śrī Lanka where he climbed 'Mt. Laṅka.'¹⁰¹ More pertinently, a lineage of Yogācāra masters was associated with Kāñcī, beginning with Dignāga who was from a Kāñcī Brahmin family, as was his pupil Dharmapāla, later dean of Nālanda.¹⁰²

The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, which came to be associated with Bodhidharma, also has a southern setting, namely the Mt. Laṅka thought to be in Śrī Lanka.

94 Yanagida 1969: 28; Broughton 1999: 53: "[...] probably do not refer to an ocean voyage from South India [...] but rather to the [...] Silk Road." Ibuki (2004: 130) thinks the line by Dàoxuān that "[...] he first arrived in Nányuè on the borders of the Sòng, and finally crossed north to Wèi," was an interpolation in the last version of the *Continued Lives* because it conflicted with the *Luòyáng qiélán jì*, and was made to associate Bodhidharma with the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* which was usually known as the Sòng translation. Yanagida thinks this line came from an earlier source (Yanagida 1970: 115–117, 138).

95 *Continued Lives*: 429c10–11.

96 *Continued Lives*: 551b29.

97 Holmgren 1980.

98 Majumdar 1954: 381. Kumārajīva says that he and Nāgārjuna were both from South India, *Lóngshù púsà zhuàn* 龍樹菩薩傳, T.50: 184a19, a Brahmin, and *Típó púsà zhuàn* 提婆菩薩傳, T.50: 186c11–12, also a Brahmin.

99 Mahalingam 1969: 47.

100 *Sòng gāosēng zhuàn*, T.50: 711b8.

101 *Sòng gāosēng zhuàn*, T.50: 711b15–17.

102 Majumdar 1954: 381; *Dà-Táng xīyù jì* 大唐西域記, T.51: 931c7–8, Dharmapāla's birthplace, and born as the eldest son of a chief minister. See also the Tibetan tradition in Lama Chimpa & Chattopadhyaya: 181, 213.

The theory of *tathāgatagarbha* that plays a part in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and the *Long Scroll* also has associations with South India. For example, the *tathāgatagarbhin sūtra*, the *Mahāmegha Sūtra*, contains a specific connection to Andhra (to the north of Pallava territory) and the Śātavāhana kings.¹⁰³ This sūtra also contains oceanic imagery.¹⁰⁴ Doctrinally, the *Laṅkāvatāra* preached the identity of the *tathāgatagarbha* and the *ālayavijñāna*, and so was on the periphery of Yogācāra (but was listed as a Yogācāra sūtra in China).¹⁰⁵ It was thus influenced by early Yogācāra, plus the *Śrīmālādevīsīmhanāda* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sūtras,¹⁰⁶ and also had an element of asceticism, such as opposition to meat-eating. Allied texts such as the *Angulimālīya*, *Mahābherihāraka* and *Mahāmegha* sūtras refer to the south.¹⁰⁷ There are passages in the *Long Scroll* similar to those in the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, and there are connections with the *Śrīmālā* and *Mahāparinirvāṇa* sūtras, plus the asceticism of Huikē and his associates.

3 Huikē

The hagiography of Huikē is contentious because it is generally thought that Dào xuān made additions to it after his first draft of the *Continued Lives* in 645, although it is agreed that the first part until the mention of Layman Xiàng (Xiàng jūshì 向居士) is part of the original.¹⁰⁸

Huikē was born into the Jī 姬 clan of Hǔláo 虎牢 (often written Wǔláo 武牢 in Táng texts), a town about fifty kilometres to the east northeast of Luòyáng. It was situated on the south bank of the Yellow River. Satomichi has suggested that this clan had separated from the famous Zhèng 鄭 clan of Kāifēng 開封. In Satomichi's theory, Sēngfù 僧副, sometimes thought to have been the first pupil of Bodhidharma, was a member of the Zhèng clan. Satomichi thinks Zhèng Sēngfù 鄭僧副 lived in the Mt. Sōng area near Luòyáng,¹⁰⁹ but this needs further verification.

There were several Jī 姬 clans during this period, one from Wǔchuān 武川 that began in the Northern Wèi, and another with a Xiānbēi 鮮卑 back-

103 Lamotte 1976: 382; Takasaki 1974: 282–283.

104 Takasaki 1974: 277, 279, 293, 298, n. 8 and 12.

105 Takasaki 1982: 545–546, 564–565.

106 Takasaki 1979: 60.

107 Takasaki 1974: 249, 253, 276, 282–283.

108 Broughton 1999: 57; Ibuki 2004, Section B: 125.

109 Satomichi 1978: 117–120.

ground. There was one clan native to Luòyáng that shifted its registration to Cháng'ān after the Northern Wèi split into two states in 534.¹¹⁰ It would seem that Huikě belonged to a branch of the Luòyáng-based Jī clan. It was common in this period for elite clans to have had “a dual structure, one in the capital and another at the local level,”¹¹¹ which would explain his registration in Hǔláo and the clan being listed as being from Luòyáng. As he is said by Dào xuān to have “read the works of the sage and saints (of Confucianism),”¹¹² his clan must have been part of the gentry class. As Huikě also studied Buddhism, probably as a monk, he would have been about twenty years old by that stage. Twenty was the usual age for full ordination.

Dào xuān states that he “silently observed the fashions (intellectual trends) of the period in the capital (Luòyáng),” but despite having a great understanding, if not enlightenment (*dàzhào jiěwù* 大照解悟), the leaders of the Buddhist establishment did not accept him because he lacked a teacher.¹¹³ This suggests that Huikě had already been self-enlightened and did not belong to any particular group, and so was criticised.

His is simply a Way of expedients (*quándào* 權道) but has no strategies (*móu* 謀). It is an apparent understanding, but is not far (seeing). He himself has come to his conclusions about the essentials (of practice), so who can tie themselves to him.¹¹⁴

However, Huikě was not deflected from this path, and when he met Bodhidharma, who was teaching in the region of Luòyáng and Mt. Sòng, likely after 518, Huikě adopted Bodhidharma as his teacher and served him for six years.¹¹⁵ Thus, if the 528 proposed death date for Bodhidharma is correct, the time Huikě was his student would be from ca. 522 to 528.

The idea held by Huikě's deniers that a teacher was required came to have great importance in Chán and is an illustration of the sensitivity of initial conditions. This may have influenced the theory in Chán of the necessity of a lineage, something that came to the fore at the end of the seventh century in the stele inscription for Fǎrú 法如, erected in 690. It may have also been inspired by the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.

110 *Yuánhé xìng zuǎn*, 元和姓纂 vol. 1: 660–661, and notes on entry number 326, pp. 791–792 for discussion.

111 Mao 1990: 96.

112 *Continued Lives*: 551c27–28.

113 *Continued Lives*: 551c28–552a1; Broughton 1999: 57.

114 *Continued Lives*: 552a1–2. Cf. also 構謀.

115 *Continued Lives*: 552a3–5; Broughton 1999: 57–58.

Thus, the stele says, “The transmission of India basically lacked letters; the entrance to this school was only a transmission of intent/ideas.”¹¹⁶ Yanagida glossed this in part with two passages from the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. The first is, “The Thus Come One did not preach a Dharma that had fallen into letters [...]. If you say that the Thus Come One preached a Dharma that had descended into letters that would be a false theory because the Dharma is divorced from letters.”¹¹⁷ The second gloss is, “What the former saints knew was handed down from one to the next.”¹¹⁸ Then, after listing a lineage from Bodhidharma to Fǎrú, the stele notes, “If not for this person, who could transmit it?”¹¹⁹

3.1 *What Did Huikē Learn and Practice?*

There are a number of analyses of the *Two Entrances* section of the *Long Scroll* that differ considerably. Some see the meditation practice of Bodhidharma as being in the image of “a typically Hinayanistic ascetic,” based on Dào Xuān’s description,¹²⁰ or that his practices were a Buddhist way of living.¹²¹ Yet Dào Xuān clearly states Bodhidharma was a follower of Mahāyāna¹²² and that his *bìguān* 壁觀 (‘wall meditation’) was Mahāyāna and of the highest merit.¹²³

John McRae stresses the idea of Buddha-nature, the potential for or “actual quality of enlightenment that is latent within all of us” that is hidden by adventitious contaminants. We need faith in this potential, and to realize it we need to behave correctly, responding to enmity and problems without being perturbed, not craving anything and practicing according to the Dharma without actually being conscious that it is practice.¹²⁴ Jeffrey Broughton largely agrees,

116 Yanagida 1967: 487.

117 Yanagida 1967: 492, citing T.16: 506c2–5.

118 Yanagida 1967: 492, citing T.16: 497b2.

119 Yanagida 1967: 488; cf. Cole 2009: 100.

120 Faure 1989: 31.

121 Matsuoka Yukako 1999: 230. Unfortunately, I have been unable to see several articles by her (e.g., Matsuoka 1998 and 2002).

122 *Continued Lives*: 551b28.

123 *Continued Lives*: 596c9. There is a considerable literature on *bìguān* and various theories. See Jorgensen 1979: 188–198; Broughton 1999: 66–68. I think that the problem of the divergence of the Chinese and the Tibetan translation for ‘wall,’ *tham-mer* (radiant light) may be explained in part by the intervention of Sanskrit. The Tibetan translator may have been perplexed by ‘wall meditation’ and sought for an explanation in Sanskrit. He may have found a word like *karabha*, which can mean ‘wall’ in Sanskrit, but which is also glossed as *hod mdzes* or “beautiful light” in Tibetan. See Edgerton 1953, vol. 2: 169a. This is of course, like all the theories, speculation.

124 McRae 1986: 29–30, 32.

but thinks the *Two Entrances* section reflects Tánlín's interpretation of the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* as was probably found in his commentary on the sutra.¹²⁵ Therefore this section may not have fully reflected Bodhidharma's teachings. Certainly, the *Śrīmālā* is a sūtra that teaches *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine as does the later *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, and the *Two Entrances* is full of *tathāgatagarbhin* terminology, and the duality of principle and practice in it also occurs in commentaries on the *Śrīmālā* from just this period, especially that of Jìngyǐng Huìyuǎn 淨影慧遠 (523–592) and Jízàng 吉藏 (549–623).¹²⁶

Moreover, this division of principle and practice was used by Dìlùn 地論 scholars, who were active in the time of Huìkě and Tánlín; Huìyuǎn was a member of this school. This is reported by Jízàng. They divided the Buddha-nature into 'nature in principle' and 'nature in practice.' In turn, 'nature in principle' existed originally; 'nature in practice' came into being by practice for the first time. This was also related to nirvana.

One master says, "The Buddha-nature of sentient beings is originally self-existent because it is nature in principle, the true spirit *ālayavijñāna*. Nirvana is also of two kinds: the pure in principle (*lǐjīng* 理淨) nirvana that is originally/fundamentally pristine; and the nirvana of expedient means that first forms due to practice."¹²⁷

Jízàng further describes the source of some of these ideas, though he is critical of them as only partial understandings of the sūtra sources:

But the Dìlùn master(s) say, "There are two kinds of Buddha-nature: one is the nature in principle and the second is the nature in practice. Because that in principle is not created by beings, it is called originally existent. Because that in practice is formed reliant on cultivation, it is called existing for the first time." If you have the mind that grasps (obtains), when you look at it, the text vanishes at once, and it seems as if you have grasped the tenet. But if you search for the intent of the sūtra, it is not necessarily like this. Why? It is simply that the great saint was very skilled in expedient means and so preached in accordance with what beings showed in order to defeat the illness. How then can you say that the nature in principle originally exists and the nature in practice exists for the first time?

125 Broughton 1999: 69.

126 Broughton 1999: 72–73.

127 Jízàng, *Dàshèng xuánlùn*, T45, no. 1853: 39a28–c1.

It is just like speaking of the meaning of the *tathāgatagarbha*. The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* says non-ego is the *tathāgatagarbha*; the *Nirvāṇa* says ego is the *tathāgatagarbha*, so which of these two texts is applicable? The idea of originally existent and for the first time existent is likewise. If you say that nature in principle is originally existent and not existent for the first time, and the nature in practice is existent for the first time and is not originally existent, that is grasping that forms an illness and the holy teaching will not be a cure.¹²⁸

This was clearly a topic of dispute in this period, and it continued on to the time of Kuījī 窺基, who allocated ‘nature in principle’ to the *tathāgatagarbha* of *Śrīmālā* and ‘nature in practice’ to the *tathāgatagarbha* of the *Laṅkāvatāra*.¹²⁹ The *Two Entrances* section in at least one place, on practice in accordance with the Dharma, reflects this language, saying, “The principle of the purity of the nature (*xìng jìng zhī lǐ* 性淨之理) is viewed as being the Dharma.”¹³⁰

Dàoxuān also described what Huikē learnt. During his six years of discipleship, Huikē “thoroughly investigated the One Vehicle.”¹³¹ One Vehicle or *ekayāna* is a theme in a number of sutras, the most famous of which were the *Lotus*, *Avataṃsaka*, *Śrīmālā* and *Laṅkāvatāra* sūtras. As Dàoxuān’s biography of Fāchōng (ca. 587–666) says that Fāchōng had met someone who had personally received instruction in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and so “relied on the South Indian One Vehicle theme (*zōng* 宗) to lecture on it,”¹³² it is likely that in Dàoxuān’s eyes the One Vehicle referred to the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.

A passage from the *Two Entrances* section quoted by Dàoxuān in his biography of Bodhidharma as,

Deeply believe that sentient beings share the one true nature, which is blocked by adventitious contamination. Therefore one ought to reject the counterfeit and return to the true (by) stabilizing oneself in wall contemplation, (in which) there is neither self nor other, the ordinary and the saint are equal [...] not influenced by other teachings,¹³³

128 *Dàshèng xuánlùn* 大乘玄論: 39b15–24.

129 Tokiwa 1973: 188–189, 249; translated in Ching 2009: 424.

130 Yanagida 1970: 92; Broughton 1999: 11; Jorgensen 1979: 243.

131 *Continued Lives*: 552a5.

132 *Continued Lives*: 666b5–6; Broughton 1999: 64; Jorgensen 1979: 134.

133 *Continued Lives*, T50.551c9–11; Jorgensen, p. 107; cf. *Two Entrances*, Yanagida 1970: 31–32, Broughton 1999: 9.

resembles several lines of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* or *Dàbān nièpán jīng* 大般涅槃經 that say,

All sentient beings obtain the One Vehicle. The One Vehicle is named Buddha-nature. It is for this reason that I say that all sentient beings have the Buddha-nature and all sentient beings have the One Vehicle. It cannot be seen because it is covered over with ignorance.¹³⁴

The ‘true nature’ then is the Buddha-nature, which is the One Vehicle. The *Laṅkāvatāra* tells us more about the practice of the One Vehicle:

Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas should alone in a calm place be self-aware (*zì jué* 自覺) and examine, and not depend on others. They are to be apart from views and false thoughts, advance and advance and enter the stage of the Thus Come One. This is called the attributes of the holy wisdom of the self-aware/awakened. Mahāmāti, what is the attribute of the One Vehicle? It is obtaining the One Vehicle Way and is awareness of the One Vehicle I preach. How do you obtain awareness of the One Vehicle Way? It is (by knowing) that the grasping and grasped false thoughts in reality are not produced false thoughts, which is called the awareness of the One Vehicle. Mahāmāti, awareness is not obtained by those others; the non-Buddhists, śrāvakas, pratyeka-buddhas, and kings of the Brahmin heavens and so on. The only exception is the Thus Come One. Therefore it is called the One Vehicle.¹³⁵

The next element of what Huìkě learnt, according to Dào xuān, was ‘principle and phenomena are merged’ (*lǐ shì jiān róng* 理事兼融).¹³⁶ This initially looks like Huáyán doctrine, but this and similar words only appear from the time of Fǎzàng 法藏 (643–712), with a hint of this in the *Huāyán jīngnèi zhāngmén děngzá kǒngmùzhāng* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章 by Zhìyǎn 智儼 (602–668), which also refers to ‘wall meditation’ as a Hīnayāna method.¹³⁷ Zhìyǎn used ‘principle and phenomena merged’ as a description of the doctrines of the

134 T.12, no. 371: 524c13–16.

135 Guṇabhadra translation, *Lèngqié ābádūluó bǎo jīng* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經, T.16, no. 670: 497b3–9; cf. the translation by Suzuki (1973: 115), and Takasaki (1979: 350–351).

136 *Continued Lives*: 552a5.

137 T.45, no. 1870: 587c20 for ‘merge principle and phenomena’ (*róng lǐ shì* 融理事) and 559a–b for ‘wall meditation.’ (see Yanagida 1967: 428 and Jorgensen 1979: 192).

Laṅkāvatāra and *Śrīmālā* sutras.¹³⁸ This material comes from a later date, and the later *Records of Masters and Disciples* by Jìngjué uses similar terminology, such as, “Ordinary and saint are not different, the sense-data and cognition are not two, principle and phenomena are both merged. [...] The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* says [...]”¹³⁹ This then is part of the One Vehicle, and there are hints from Zhìyǎn’s text that early Huáyán theorists such as Zhìyǎn were influenced by the Southern Dìlùn faction that started with Ratnamati and Huìguāng. Zhìyǎn used the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*¹⁴⁰ and there are hints that Zhìyǎn was critical of people who were associated with Huìkě’s ‘lineage.’¹⁴¹

Another part of what Huìkě learnt was “suffering and bliss did not hinder him.” This was a reminder of the first two of the four practices seen in the hagiography of Bodhidharma, such as in a quote from a sūtra: “If you meet with suffering do not be despondent,”¹⁴² or “suffering and bliss are influenced by conditions [...]. When the conditions are exhausted, why rejoice in their existence? [...] The winds of adversity are stilled.”¹⁴³ So, Huìkě’s “understanding was not that of expedient means; his insight emerged from his divine mind.”¹⁴⁴ This echoes Tánlín’s preface that said, “Thus the expedient means are to be banished and not attached to.”¹⁴⁵ Therefore, when “Huìkě related to (i.e. came across) sense-data (*jiù jìng* 就境),¹⁴⁶ he ground it up and refined the pure and the impure, but it was only when he moistened the clay (with insight) (*táo yán* 陶研)¹⁴⁷ did he know its strength and function, and that it was hard enough not

138 Takamine 1963: 234 f.; cf. T.45, no. 1870: 587c19–21, 29, writing of the *Huáyán jīng* 華嚴經, where the latter is also classified as One Vehicle that merges principle and phenomena (see also Ōtake 2007: 311, 314).

139 T.85, no. 2837: 1284b7–10.

140 Ōtake 2007: 397, 413.

141 Ishii 2007: 267–270.

142 *Continued Lives*: 551c15.

143 *Continued Lives*: 551c17–19.

144 *Continued Lives*: 552a5–6.

145 Yanagida 1969: 25; Jorgensen 1999: 239.

146 Cf. *Móhé zhìguān* 摩訶止觀, T.46, no. 1911: 85c23–24: “Again, the *Jīnguāngmíng* (*jīng*) 金光明經 declares that this is the response body realm (*jìng* 境) and wisdom corresponding. In reference to the sense-data/realm (*jiù jìng* 就境) it is the Dharma body; in reference to wisdom it is the recompense body.”

147 This seems to mean to study, as in *Continued Lives*, 574: c28, “He further continued to refine it and spent two years doing so.” Again, Zhìyǎn met a strange man who said, “If you wish to obtain an understanding of the One Vehicle [...]” Consequently (Zhìyǎn) refined it by calm thought.” See *Huáyán jīng zhuàn* 華嚴經傳記, T.51: 163c14–17. Similar words include 陶鍊, as in *Continued Lives*: 381b1 or 380b6: 陶思, and 470a16: 陶文利 ... 窮研. For 埴埴, see *Yīqiè jīng yǎn*, T.54: 414a13, ‘to soften, strike, and mix earth.’ Again, the *Shì Zhào xù* 釋肇序 says, “Like a potter moistening/sifting the clay and removing the sand and salt” (T.85:

to be damaged by conditions.”¹⁴⁸ There is a similar metaphor in Guṇabhadra’s translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra*. “It is like a potter using the skilful means of human technique, water, wooden wheel, and string on a lump of clay to make many kinds of implements. The Thus Come One does likewise.”¹⁴⁹

The *jìng* 境 here usually refers to *viśaya*, ‘percept,’ ‘sense-data’ or ‘sense-object.’ Thus, in a ‘letter’ found in the *Long Scroll* (there is a question as to whether this ‘letter’ was by Huikē or Layman Xiàng or even Tánlín), the author confessed, “Only then did I return to correctly dwelling in solitary tranquillity and settled down sense-data into the mind-king.”¹⁵⁰ The mind-king is noted in Bodhiruci’s translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra*: “If you contemplate the Dharma of the mind-king, you will be divorced from the mental sense-data (*viśaya*) and attributes of the *viññāna*.”¹⁵¹ Similar passages occur in Huìyuǎn’s commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*¹⁵² and the *Shèlùn* in Paramārtha’s translation:

If the settling of the realm of sense-data and the attributes of matter are not different from the settling of the mind, how does the *viññāna* take this *viññāna* to be the sense-data?¹⁵³

I interpret this line about Huikē’s dealing with sense-data to be his attempt to settle the sense-data and examine his own mind as the *ālayaviññāna*, which has both pure and impure perfuming seeds. As the *Laṅkāvatāra* in Guṇabhadra’s translation has it,

The ocean of the storehouse consciousness (*ālayaviññāna*) is always
present,
The winds of sense-data move it,
And there are all kinds of waves.
[...]
Green, red and various colours.¹⁵⁴
[...]

439a25). Yīxíng 一行, in his *Dàpílúzhēnà chéng Fó jīng shū* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏, T:39: 593a23, wrote, “Like a potter’s boy moistening/sifting ...”

148 *Continued Lives*: 552a6–7; Jorgensen 1979: 117–118; Broughton 1999: 58, which differ.

149 T.16, no. 670: 489b10–11.

150 Yanagida 1969: 47; Jorgensen 1979: 250; Broughton 1999: 12.

151 T.16: 565c1.

152 *Wéimó yì jì*, T.38.495a6.

153 *Shè Dàshèng lùn*, T.31: 118b29–c1; Jorgensen 1979: 202.

154 T.16: 484b9–13; Takasaki 1979: 89.

The *vijñānas* cognise what is cognised,
And the manifested sense-data are said to be five (in accord with the
five sense *vijñānas*).¹⁵⁵

Given these references and similarities, it would appear that Huikē was basing his practice, at least in part, on the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.

3.2 *Huikē in Yè and Its Vicinity*

Following Bodhidharma's death and Huikē's summoning those who had venerated the late master, Huikē went to the new capital of Yè in 534 when Northern Wèi was split into two dynasties. The rebel, Gāo Huān 高歡 (496–547), of Xiānbēi stock,¹⁵⁶ established his capital at Yè. This was because of the troubles in Luòyáng and the fact that Luòyáng was in a narrow, confined area. Gāo Huān diverted grain shipments from Luòyáng to Yè.¹⁵⁷ In the seventh month of 534, Gāo Huān took Luòyáng and stayed at Yǒngníng Monastery,¹⁵⁸ probably because it was a symbol of the Northern Wèi reign¹⁵⁹ and had a thousand rooms.¹⁶⁰ Gāo Huān feared that Luòyáng could be locked in up against the Yellow River by invaders. It was also closer to the borders with the Liáng Dynasty to the south and to the rival Western Wèi state in the west. Therefore he shifted the capital to Yè and ordered that forty-thousand households from Luòyáng be forced to move to Yè.¹⁶¹ Monks were included,¹⁶² some allegedly because Gāo Huān respected the clergy.¹⁶³ The monk translation team from Yǒngníng Monastery was probably located at Tiānpíng 天平 or Jīnhuā 金華 Monastery in Yè, and Tánlín was a leading member of that team.¹⁶⁴ Tánlín later seems to have headed the team.¹⁶⁵

155 T.16: 484b25; Takasaki 1979: 90; cf. Suzuki 1973: 42.

156 Holmgren 1981: 88.

157 *Běi-Qí shū*: 1/2/16.

158 *Ibid.*: 1/2/17.

159 *Ibid.*: 1/2/13; *Běishǐ*: 1/6/119; Jorgensen 1979: 28.

160 Wang 1984: 16.

161 *Běi-Qí shū*: 1/2/18; *Beishi*, 1/6/222 and 224.

162 *Luòyáng qiélán jì*, T.52: 999a16–17; Wang 1984: 6, “The emperor moved to Yeh, accompanied by monks of various temples.”

163 Tsukamoto 1974: 514 f.

164 Hurvitz 1956: 100. For Tánlín at Jīnhuā Monastery together with the sponsor of the translations, Gāo Zhòngmì 高仲密 (see later), see for example, *Kāyúan shǐjiàolù*, T55.543b1, 543a25, 543b17–20, and various prefaces to the translations, such as at T26.359a10–13.

165 *Continued Lives*: 552b18–19, “Each time he lectured people assembled, and he selected those who were versed in the three groups of the scriptures. He got seven hundred peo-

In Yè, Huikě “prolifically opened secret parks (*mìyuàn* 秘苑).”¹⁶⁶ This probably refers to monasteries¹⁶⁷ that the incoming Luòyáng aristocrats and rulers made from the mansions of older Yè residents. Such use of mansions as monasteries was made illegal according to a 538 decree,¹⁶⁸ which explains why they were secret. If this was so, Huikě had gained some support from aristocrats, probably from his home region of Luòyáng, but not from the ruling Gāo clan.

The group who were mired in texts argued the toss over right and wrong. At that time there was a meditation teacher, Dàohéng 道恒, who had previously studied meditation. Among the royal clan at Yè his pupils numbered in the thousands. When he encountered Huikě’s preaching of the Dharma he thought that in fact it conveyed nothing, regarding it to be the words of the Māra (tempter).¹⁶⁹

Therefore, he attempted to eliminate Huikě’s group by sending his best student there. This pupil was probably meant to defeat Huikě in a debate or challenge. We do not know who Dàohéng was, but it may be possible he was the Dàohéng who had Língxiān 靈僊 Monastery built between 500 and 502 in Luòyáng.¹⁷⁰ Because the most important meditation group in the Yè area was that of Sēngchóu 僧稠 (480–560), it has been suggested that Dàohéng was one of his followers who had support from the ruling elite,¹⁷¹ but this is unlikely because Sēngchóu did not come to Yè until he was ordered to do so in 550.¹⁷² Given the references to being mired in texts, having experience of meditation, and a connection with the lay elite, I suspect it may have been someone like a member of the Dìlùn faction such as Fǎshàng 法上 (495–580), who was ordered by Gāo Dèng 高澄 (son of Gāo Huān) to come to Yè where he gained many followers. Gāo Dèng made Fǎshàng a monastic official.¹⁷³

Whatever the case, Dàohéng’s pupil was instead won over by Huikě, and this pupil’s response to Dàohéng’s question, “I have used any amount of effort

ple to participate.” The seven hundred were probably the seven hundred members of the translation team first assembled at Yǒngníng Monastery.

166 *Continued Lives*: 552a11–12.

167 Park, after the Deer Park where the Buddha taught. See also *Continued Lives*: 591c4, on Sēngchóu and Sēngshí having ‘meditation parks’ (*dìngyuàn* 定苑).

168 Hurvitz 1956: 100 (*Wèishū*: 8/114/3047).

169 *Continued Lives*: 552a14–17; Broughton 1999: 58.

170 *Luòyáng qièlán jì*, T.51: 1015b11–12; Wang 1984: 182.

171 Chen 2002b: 150–151, 179.

172 *Continued Lives*: 554a19–20.

173 *Continued Lives*: 485a.

to open your eyes (*yǎnmù* 眼目),” reflects Huikē’s teaching. This pupil said, “My eyes were originally correct of themselves. They were incorrect because of you.”¹⁷⁴ This may refer to the idea that we are already enlightened; it only requires a change of attitude to realize this. Such ideas were summed up by the *Dàshèng qǐxìn lùn* 大乘起信論 (*Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*) with the terms ‘original awareness’ and ‘initial awareness.’ As *Long Scroll* section 85 says,

The Aware (Buddha) is the mind, but not the unaware mind. The mind’s relationship to awareness is like that of eye and eyeball (*yǎnmù* 眼目), different names for the same thing. When you understand, the mind is the Buddha. Therefore, I say, “The pristine mind, which from the beginning lacked frustrations, is like the being’s own nature.”¹⁷⁵

Again, *Long Scroll* section 18 says,

If you know that the mind-consciousness has been empty and calm from the beginning and do not recognise any basis for it, this is the practice of the Way.¹⁷⁶

Thus, the pupil was saying to Dàohéng that we are already latently enlightened, and that your teachings have obscured this fact and have contributed to my delusion, whereas Huikē’s teachings have assisted my understanding. The pupil’s response evidently offended Dàohéng, who probably used his connections with the Yè leadership and

[...] bribed a lay official to kill Huikē illegally/unjustly. From the start Huikē had not the slightest resentment as he came close to death. Dàohéng’s assembly rejoiced. Consequently, this caused those who realised what lay at the basis of the matter to cease their study of the fruitless and frivolous (*fúhuá* 浮華).¹⁷⁷ The calumniator turned the sword on him-

¹⁷⁴ *Continued Lives*: 552a18–19; Broughton 1999: 58. In later Chán Buddhism, “eye/s” often have the sense of “appreciation.”

¹⁷⁵ Jorgensen 1979: 354; Broughton 1999: 50; cf. Huìyuǎn’s commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, “The difference of eye and eyeball is the same as that of mind, *manas*, and *vij-ñānas*.” (T.38: 504a4).

¹⁷⁶ Yanagida 1969: 98; Jorgensen 1979: 277; Broughton 1999: 21.

¹⁷⁷ This word is found in Buddhist literature to mean useless words or practices. See *Fǎjù jīng* 法句經, T.4: 566a19–20; it is always something to be discarded.

self,¹⁷⁸ for this was the first time he awakened to what the one voice (of the Buddha) preached. Joy and fear were mixed in his mind. The depth of the ocean traces and the puddle in the footprint resides here.

Huikě then relaxed and conformed to worldly (mores). At that time he bestowed clear stratagems and for the first time relied on the composition of songs (*yáo* 謠) (to convey his message),¹⁷⁹ and sometimes he acted according to his thoughts and purged what [Dào]héng had harboured,¹⁸⁰ dispelling these troubles. Therefore, when the correct way is far off it is difficult to emulate; when it is mired in the close at hand it is easy to bring to fruition/connect with. This was the reason for this.¹⁸¹

Consequently (Huikě) wandered around the Yè region, frequently being exposed to cold and warm (treatment/weather). His Way was ultimately obscure and also profound. Therefore in the end his work/lineage (*xù* 緒) ended and he had no illustrious successors.¹⁸²

It would seem from this that Dàohéng 道恒 or his minion committed suicide once the facts of the attempted murder of Huikě became public. These events changed part of Huikě's attitude, for he probably stopped teaching in 'secret parks' and began to openly speak and write very clearly. A likely example of these songs or poetry is quoted as a response to Layman Xiàng.¹⁸³ Dàoxuān reiterates that Huikě gave clear counsel, saying, "he spoke about entering principle without adding corrections."¹⁸⁴ Another example of what may be his poetry is

178 See *Fǎyuàn zhūlín*, T.53: 484a16–17:

The assassin used his sword to cut the king, whose head fell into the boiling water. The assassin also cut off his own head (*zì nǐ jǐ tóu* 自擬己頭), and his head also fell into the boiling water.

See also the *Āpídámó shùn zhènglǐ lùn* 阿毗達摩順正理論, T.29: 710b4–5:

He had no regard for his own life, addicted to seeking release. He grasped a sword and cut himself to encourage his mind, which is like saying he used a blade to touch his own neck.

I suspect then that Dàohéng or the assassin killed himself.

179 The *yáo* genre was one of folk songs unaccompanied by music. Here it probably refers to those of North China in the period after the 420s. These were classified under the broader classification of *yuèfǔ* 樂府; see Běijīng Dàxué Zhōngguó wénxuéshǐ jiàoyánshì 北京大學中國文學史教研室 1962, vol. 1: 274.

180 Unclear; it could also mean what "he had always harboured." See *Zēngyī Āhán jīng*, T.2: 777c10–11, "The king always harboured a longstanding worry/illness."

181 This sentence is a set phrase.

182 *Continued Lives*: 552a19–27; Broughton 1999: 58–59, which differs on a number of points.

183 *Continued Lives*: 552b8–13.

184 *Continued Lives*: 552b13; Broughton 1999: 161, "without resorting to erasure and rewrites."

the ‘Gāthā on the Methods of Entering into the Way,’¹⁸⁵ although Broughton thinks it was rather by Tánlín.¹⁸⁶ However, I suspect that the following lines from the *gāthā* refer to Huìkě’s experience with Dàohéng:

The world is jostled and mobbed by diabolical (*māra*, mó 魔) people,
Who thoughtlessly rant and rave, engaged in pointless disputation.
They convert the masses by making preposterous explanations
And talking glibly of medicines while not effecting a cure.¹⁸⁷

Besides writing, Huìkě also began to wander around Yè, not staying in ‘secret parks.’ Yet the main hagiography ends with “he had no illustrious successors.”

3.3 *Textual Problems with the Continued Lives and Long Scroll in Regard to Huìkě and His Associates*

Issues have been detected with layers in the *Continued Lives* biography of Huìkě and his associates, and with who said what in the *Long Scroll* in the passages after the *Two Entrances* section. Comparing the two texts leads also to problems of attributions.

3.3.1 *Xù gāosēng zhuàn*

Because the main hagiography of Huìkě ends with “he had no illustrious successors,” most commentators think that this was the last sentence in the first or 645 draft of the hagiography of Huìkě by Dàoxuān.¹⁸⁸ According to Ibuki Atsushi, the repeated use hereafter of “at that time there was also” only indicates that the people specified lived at the same time as the subject of the main hagiography. Thus these individuals may not have had a direct connection with Huìkě.¹⁸⁹

Even so, in Dàoxuān’s hagiography and its subsidiary section, Huìkě replies to Layman Xiàng’s letter, Tánlín met Huìkě during the Northern Zhōu Persecution of Buddhism in Yè in 577, and meditation teacher Nà 那 encountered Huìkě. Thus, while it is possible that there were additions in this section, this is not definite proof that these passages were added after 645. This is because Dàoxuān quoted from the *Two Entrances* section of the *Long Scroll* in his hagiography of Bodhidharma¹⁹⁰ and there summarized the main explanation

185 Yanagida 1969: 47, 63; Jorgensen 1979: 250–252; Broughton 1999: 13–14.

186 Broughton 1999: 74–75.

187 Yanagida 1969: 53; Jorgensen 1979: 250; Broughton 1999: 13.

188 Broughton 1999: 60; Ibuki 2004: 125–126.

189 Ibuki 2004: 127–128.

190 Compare *Continued Lives*: 551c5–7 with the last two lines of text in Yanagida 1969: 25.

of the two entrances and four practices mentioned in Tánlín's preface.¹⁹¹ Moreover, in Dào Xuān's entry on Layman Xiàng he quoted a letter the Layman sent to Huikě that is found in the *Long Scroll*, although in the *Long Scroll* the author is not named.¹⁹² So if Dào Xuān had the text of the *Two Entrances* section with the preface by Tánlín in 645, and he does mention that Bodhidharma's pronouncements were recorded in a *juàn* (fascicle, scroll) that was in circulation,¹⁹³ this means that he had the first part of what is now called the *Long Scroll* by 645. Again, after Huikě's verse reply to Layman Xiàng's letter, Dào Xuān refers to a 'separate *juàn* (scroll)' that someone had compiled (as a continuation *zǔn* 續)¹⁹⁴ and made classifications/ categories in it.¹⁹⁵ As Dào Xuān quoted a verse by Huikě in reply to Layman Xiàng¹⁹⁶ that is not in the *Long Scroll*, it is possible that two separate scrolls, one with Huikě's verse reply and one without, were in circulation and available to Dào Xuān.

As the *Two Entrances* section is very short, that section alone would not be sufficient to form a *juàn* (fascicle, scroll). This supposition poses several questions. If the *Two Entrances* section of the Bodhidharma section of Dào Xuān's hagiography was not available to Dào Xuān by 645, that hagiography would only be ten lines in length, one of the shortest main hagiographies in the *Continued Lives*.¹⁹⁷ It would also be unlikely that Bodhidharma would have featured later in the evaluation of the meditators (*Xíchán lùn*), which was probably written in 645 as more hagiographies of meditators were added in the following chapters on meditators. This suggests that Dào Xuān read an earlier version of the *Long Scroll* by 645.

Again, the *Two Entrances* section with Tánlín's preface was very short, unlikely to have been formed into a single *juàn* that was circulated on its own. Tánlín's preface is 213 characters; the section on the two entrances and four practices (*Èrrù sìxíng*) is only 543 characters. It is unlikely that a preface of that length be written for such a short piece. This suggests that the text read by Dào Xuān was longer. As Dào Xuān also quoted the letter of Layman Xiàng after the end of Huikě's hagiography and he linked Tánlín to Huikě, he had much more of the *Long Scroll* than merely the *Two Entrances* section and Tánlín's preface. Since he probably had a fairly long version of the *Long Scroll* by 645, it is likely

191 Compare *Continued Lives*: 551c7–23 with Yanagida 1969: 33.

192 Compare *Continued Lives*: 552a29–b7 with Yanagida 1969: 53, last four lines.

193 *Continued Lives*: 551c24–25.

194 This character has two meanings; to compile or to continue.

195 *Continued Lives*: 552b13–14; Jorgensen 1979: 123; Broughton 1999: 61.

196 *Continued Lives*: 552b8–12.

197 Greene 2008: 79.

that Dàoxuān wrote the sections following the line “(Huikě) had no illustrious successors” for the 645 draft of the *Continued Lives*, and likely he also possessed another scroll (or different version of the *Long Scroll*) that contained Huikě’s verse reply to Layman Xiàng’s letter.

The key words are ‘illustrious successors.’ Layman Xiàng, otherwise unknown, not named even in the extant *Long Scroll* despite the letter attributed to him being present therein, does not count as an ‘illustrious successor’ because he only exchanged letters with Huikě around 550 (beginning of the Tiānbǎo era). Therefore the compilation of a ‘separate *juàn*’ dates from after 550. If this were the same as the text compiled by Tánlín, it would have to date after 577 when Tánlín met Huikě (see later). But as the *Long Scroll* lacks Huikě’s reply to Layman Xiàng, I suspect that this at least came from the ‘separate *juàn*.’

Dàoxuān resumed immediately after the mention of the ‘separate *juàn*’ with mentions of three minor figures, none of whom are found in the *Long Scroll*.

At the time there was also a Mr. Huà 化 and a Mr. Yàn 彦, and meditation teacher Hé 和. Each of them penetrated the outer husk of the profound mystery. What they said was pure and remote, and they relied on events/deeds to convey their thoughts. I have all sorts of stories, and although the time of these people was not long past, I have seldom heard of them having stele inscriptions. Since their subtle words were not transmitted, who can write of their pure virtue? This is very sad!¹⁹⁸

This information was clearly oral, and as there were no funerary inscriptions for them or teachings recorded, they were evidently not mentioned in either of the two different *juàn* that were in circulation, and so not in the *Long Scroll*. There is no mention of them here as meeting with Huikě, so they were not successors. As we shall see, such information was relayed orally by Bǎogōng 保恭 to Dàoxuān in Cháng’ān.

The above comment by Dàoxuān was immediately followed by the tale of Tánlín’s meeting with Huikě, which concludes with the sentence, “Therefore they questioned each other and so knew the merits of the other.”¹⁹⁹ Tánlín was also not a successor.

Following this, Dàoxuān provides an account of meditation teacher Nà 那, who, as a consequence of hearing Huikě preach became a monk.²⁰⁰ Dàoxuān

198 *Continued Lives*: 552b14–17; Broughton 1999: 61.

199 *Continued Lives*: 552b28; Broughton 1999: 62.

200 *Continued Lives*: 552c3–4; Broughton 1999: 62.

does not say that Nà became a pupil of Huìkě, and so Nà also was not an ‘illustrious successor.’ In turn, Huìmǎn became a pupil of Nà.²⁰¹

Dàoxuān concludes this section, saying, “This group are all in Huìkě’s lineage. Therefore, I have not separately described them.”²⁰² As none of these monks and laymen, with the sole exception of Nà, featured in the lineages given by Dàoxuān in his hagiography of Fǎchōng 法沖,²⁰³ this confirms the reading that Dàoxuān did not separately list them in a lineage from Huìkě. The Fǎchōng hagiography was added after the 645 draft, so if we accept that that the section was written in 645 and he meant that he did describe them in a separate genealogy, this would have to be a post-645 addition. As none of these persons were ‘illustrious successors,’ what would the point be in listing them? The use of ‘lineage’ here may have been loose, meaning instead something like “belonging to the same tendency.”

3.3.2 *Long Scroll*

The question of who said what in the *Long Scroll* is intractable, for after Tánlín’s preface and the *Two Entrances* section describing Bodhidharma’s practice, there is a long part where none of the speaker(s) or author(s) are named. This runs from section 3 to section 8, where a Trepitaka Dharma master is quoted in section 8. Sections 9 to 49 are a series of questions and answers (some answers rather long with different topics and so have been subdivided so as not to look like dialogues). Then follow a series of sayings or answers by named people, from sections 50 to 92.²⁰⁴ However, of the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, Stein 2715 ends with the words, ‘lùn, in one juàn,’ (論一卷) and Beijing sù 宿 no. 99 ends with a brief poem by a copyist. This follows section 74.²⁰⁵ Several other Dūnhuáng manuscripts in Chinese continue on to section 91, as do some Tibetan translations.²⁰⁶ Therefore, at least two versions, a longer and a shorter *Long*

201 *Continued Lives*: 552c8.

202 *Continued Lives*: 552c23–24; Broughton 1999: 63, “so they shall be entered into the genealogical sequence of another entry.” However, there is a textual variant of bù 不 for kě 可, which is followed by the Sòng, Yuán and Míng texts; only the Koryō has kě and not the negative.

203 *Continued Lives*: 666c16.

204 Broughton’s translation goes up to section 91, but the manuscript was incomplete. The number 92 is one more entry that is found in the Tiānshùn 天順 8 (1464) print by the Chosŏn Sūtra Printing Office of the *Pútídámó sìxíng lùn* 菩提達摩四行論. See Shiina 1996: 211–214.

205 Yanagida 1969: 250.

206 Broughton 1999: 121–122, n. 12. For Tibetan, *ibid.*: 141–142. The Tibetan translations have to date from after the 780s because they talk of a seven-generation lineage and of Bodhidharmatāra, a feature of the *Lidài fābǎo jì*.

Scroll existed in the Táng dynasty. Ever since the time of the editor of the Korean print of the *Pútídámó sixíng lùn* made subdivisions in the text, probably sometime after 1267,²⁰⁷ scholars have attempted to divide up the text and identify the speakers.²⁰⁸ The most difficult problem is that of sections 3 to 7 inclusive, because it includes embedded in a verse the letter (section 4) sent by Layman Xiàng to Huikě according to Dàoxuān. There is no indication it was by Layman Xiàng in the *Long Scroll*. Section 3 also includes the ‘Gāthā on the Expedient Means for Entering the Way.’ In my reconstruction, the Gāthā is an old-style poem (this is a specific form of poetry of this era) that runs from “You are sure to see your original nature by sitting in meditation [...]” to “so it is unmoving.”²⁰⁹ This is immediately followed by what Dàoxuān called Layman Xiàng’s letter, which is in a different poetic form. As Huikě’s subsequent reply in the *Continued Lives* does not seem to be a response to Layman Xiàng,²¹⁰ is in an old-style poetic form and is not included in the *Long Scroll*, I suspect that Dàoxuān has patched in a poem from a *juàn* different to that of the extant *Long Scroll*, and has confused the authorship of Huikě with that of Layman Xiàng. As there is no conclusive evidence, I will leave this issue for future research, although at the end of this article I will come back to the problems of who the people quoted in the end sections of the *Long Scroll* were.

3.3.3 *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and Interpolations

There are interpolations in the *Continued Lives* that concern the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. These are thought to have been added by Dàoxuān after obtaining information (or disinformation) from Fǎchōng (ca. 587–666+) after 645. They are interpolations because they were inserted clumsily into the text, breaking up the flow of the narrative. As Hú Shì indicated, these were originally one piece in sequence, but it was split into three.²¹¹ Hú thought the original read,

(1) Initially, meditation teacher Dharma gave the four-fascicle *Laṅkāvatāra* to Huikě saying, “As far as I can see, the land of Hàn only has this sūtra. You, sir, rely on (it for) practice and you will be able to liber-

207 Shiina 1996: 190. The dating is my own; see “Chan/Seon and a Goryeo ‘Continued Tripitaka’” in CD Rom of proceedings of the 2011 Korean Studies Association of Australasia Conference for my evidence.

208 They include the 1907 *Sōnmun chwaryo* printed at Pōm’ō Sa; Suzuki Daisetsu, Yanagida Seizan, John Jorgensen, Jeffrey Broughton, Nakagawa Taka, and most recently, by Nakajima 1996: 1–25, and Nakajima 1998: 1–29.

209 Jorgensen 1979: 250–251, 373; Broughton 1999: 13–14.

210 Jorgensen 1979: 376, 381.

211 Hu Shi 1975: 171–172; see also Greene 2008: 77, n. 93.

ate the world.” (2) Every time Huikě preached he concluded, “After four generations this sūtra will be changed into name and attributes. How deplorable!” (3) Therefore this caused (*gù shǐ* 故使) both teachers Nà 那 and Mǎn 滿 to always carry the four-fascicle *Laṅkāvatāra* with them, regarding it as their essential teaching. Wherever they travelled they did not fail to hand it down.

Hú also thought that the 使 here is an error or redundant, partly because Huimǎn, who died in 642, could not have lived at the same time as Huikě. However, the compound 故使 appears around sixty times in the *Continued Lives*, so it might not be an error. Meditation teacher Nà had heard Huikě preach, and Huimǎn was Nà's disciple.

The question is, was this note that had been possibly added to the side (or on a slip of paper pasted in) meant to be incorporated into the body of the text? As this note includes the names of Nà and Huimǎn, it was probably meant to come near the end of this section about them, probably after what Huimǎn said each time he preached:

The Buddha spoke of mind (*Fó shuō xīn* 佛說心) so that we would know that the attributes/appearances of the mind (*xīnxiàng* 心相) are false dharmas (*xūwàng fǎ* 虛妄法). Now you are adding further to the attributes of the mind, which is deeply contrary to the Buddha's intention, adding even more to (useless) debate (*prapañca*), which contradicts the great principle.²¹²

I suspect this preaching by Huimǎn reflects an interpretation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, which states,

唯願為說言說妄想相心經

I only wish you preach for me a mind/core sūtra about the attributes of false conceptions of language. (This is the same as all the Buddhas speaking of the mind 一切佛語心).²¹³

212 *Continued Lives*, T50.552c19–21. *Xīnxiàng* 心相 can mean ‘continuity of mind’ in some contexts, but here it seems to mean the appearances (*ākāra*) of the activities of the mind, its attributes, forms, outer signs.

213 Guṇabhadra translation, T16.490b12; Takasaki 1979: 98–99 for an interpretation, possibly, “the sūtra on the essence/mind of the attributes of false thought.” A few lines after this in the sūtra, the Buddha explains that there are four kinds of attributes of the false concep-

Again, the Bodhiruci translation speaks of false dharmas as follows:

The body of the false dharmas depends on caused dharmas (虛妄法體依因緣法) [...] (which) exist due to according with mental discriminations. Likewise, it is because of seeing the various delusions of the attributes of the mind 以見心相種種幻故.²¹⁴

This interpretation may have been part of a topic current in contemporary circles, for Zhiyán (602–668) wrote in his *Huáyán jīng nèizhāngmén děngzá kǒngmù zhāng* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章:

Now, what is meant by cessation is (as) the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* says, “It is only the attributes of the mind that cease, it is not the body/substance of the mind that ceases.” I interpret this to mean that the attributes of the mind are empty, so nothing ceases.²¹⁵

This appears to be an interpretation of a passage in the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra*.

It is not the cessation of one’s own *viññāna* of the true attribute; it is simply the cessation of the attribute of karma, for if one’s own *viññāna* of the true attribute ceases, then the *ālayaviññāna* would cease.²¹⁶

Indeed, this passage has resonances with a passage (section 45) in the *Long Scroll*, although here it is critical: “If you are diligent in observing the attributes of the mind you will see the attributes of the dharmas [...] which is to fall into a trap.”²¹⁷ A possible reason why this was a trap is outlined in the *Dàzhìdù lùn* 大智度論 compiled by Kumārajīva, which says, “Because adventitious frustrations attach to it, it is called the impure mind (and this) mind does not know

tions of language (有四種言說妄想相). The commentator Zōnglè 宗泐 in his *Léngqié ābádūluó bǎojīng zhùjiě* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經註解 glossed *xīnjīng* 心經 as “This is the primary mind that is shown by this sutra’s preaching of the false conceptions of name and attributes.” (T.39: 369a13–14).

214 T.16: 525a20–21.

215 T.45: 547a12–13.

216 T.16: 483b3–4; cited in Ōtake, p. 397.

217 Yanagida 1969: 178; Broughton 1999: 35. Note that Yanagi Mikiyasu (2011: 76) describes the trap and quotes similar passages to the above. He then links them to the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.

itself. Why? Because this mind and attributes of this mind (*xīnxiàng* 心相) are empty. This mind originally and in the future had no real dharma.”²¹⁸

Thus, what Huīmǎn preached was entirely consonant with the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and possibly with the *Long Scroll*, and this then is the link to the passage on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. If so, the information in this allegedly interpolated passage might not have depended on information gleaned from Fǎchōng. Even if this information came from Fǎchōng, who was claiming a lineage back to Huikě and Bodhidharma,²¹⁹ it does not mean he faked the information. Fǎchōng, like Huikě and some of his associates, apparently believed in rapid enlightenment, and practiced asceticism, devalued scholastic studies, and was partly outside the regular monastic system.²²⁰ Fǎchōng defied state regulations and argued against the hegemony and ideas of the new translations by the court favourite, Xuánzàng 玄奘 (600–664). He upheld the ascetic tradition and commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. He defied the authorities ca. 627 and had himself privately ordained when to do so was a capital offence, then presented himself to the local governor for punishment or to be given grain for the absconding and starving monks of the area.²²¹ This echoes Huikě’s difficulties with the Luòyáng Buddhist leadership and with Dàohéng and the Northern Zhōu persecution in Yè.

Moreover, as we have glimpsed, the content of the earliest anthology of Chán was influenced by the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*, and it possesses similarities in thought to the ideas of Jīngyǐng Huìyuǎn, and so was not only allied to the Madhyamaka/Sānlùn 三論 School.²²² It is possible though that Tánlín, who wrote a commentary on the *Śrīmālā Sūtra*, may have contaminated the records of Bodhidharma and Huikě with his own ideas.²²³ In fact, the *Two Entrances* attributed to Bodhidharma and likely recorded by Tánlín has similarities in structure and assumptions to his commentary on the sūtra, and Huìyuǎn in his commentary on the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* also makes a similar analysis.²²⁴ Moreover, Tánlín may have found it easy to use the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* as an interpretive guide to the teachings of Bodhidharma and Huikě because this sūtra is a *tathāgata-garbha* text whose central figure is referred to in the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. The

218 T.25: 203c29–204a; Yanagida 1987: 19.

219 *Continued Lives*: 666b13–17.

220 Chen 2002b: 172–177.

221 *Continued Lives*: 666a11–15.

222 For the view I am against, see Faure 1997: 147–148. Yanagi (2011: 83–84) supports the idea that the distinctive teaching of the *Long Scroll* was derived from the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.

223 Broughton 1999: 68–69.

224 Broughton 1999: 70–74.

Lankāvatāra belongs in the tradition of the *Śrīmālā Sūtra*, which unlike other scriptures of the *tathāgatagarbha* lineage, took up the issue of ‘the self-nature of the purity of the mind’ and the question of the *viññānas*.²²⁵

The influence of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* on the earliest Chan texts, the *Two Entrances* and the remaining sections of the *Long Scroll* is clear on the psychological and epistemological aspects. Thus in the *Two Entrances* section the theoretical basis for practice is outlined:

Believe deeply that life, both the ordinary people and saints, share an identical true nature, but due to adventitious contamination [literally “guest sense-data,” *kèchén* 客塵] it is covered in falsity and cannot shine forth. If one rejects the false and returns to the true, stabilising oneself in wall-contemplation, self and other, common person and saint, will be equal, one.²²⁶

This is akin to Guṇabhadra’s translation of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*: “Although one’s own nature is pure, adventitious contaminants cover it, so one only sees impurity.”²²⁷ In later parts of the *Long Scroll*, there is a direct reference to the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*,²²⁸ plus passages of a *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* hue, especially ‘objectification of one’s own mind’ which is specific to Guṇabhadra’s translation,²²⁹ as well as a quote from the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* and allusions to the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.²³⁰ While the overwhelming number of references is to the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa Sūtra*, and many observers think this sūtra is entirely Madhyamaka,²³¹ Yogācārins such as Vasubandhu wrote a commentary on it,²³² as did Jìngyǐng Huìyuǎn. Moreover, the *Vimalakīrti* also has hints of *tathāgatagarbha* thought in its chapter on the **tathāgatagotra* and the idea that the mind is pure, but in operation it suffers from *kleśa*.²³³ In my opinion, much of the *Long Scroll*’s

225 Takasaki 1974: 328; Suzuki 1930: 263; see Guṇabhadra, T16.510c4–6.

226 Jorgensen 1979: 242; Broughton 1999: 9.

227 T.16: 510c2.

228 Yanagida 1969: 228, section 63; Jorgensen 1979: 338–339; Broughton 1999: 43; cf. T.16: 486a26–29 and Bodhiruci, T.16: 525b16–c4.

229 Yanagida 1969: 95, 197, 103, 235; sections 17, 49, 19, 67; Jorgensen 1979: 267, 269, n. 7 and T.16: 491a16; Broughton 1999: 18, 124, n. 8, 38 and so on. See also Yanagi 2011: 77–82.

230 Yanagida 1969: 95, 31–32, 47; sections 17, 2 and 3; Jorgensen 1979: 275–276 for *Śrīmālā*; Broughton 1999: 20, 125, n. 29.

231 Lamotte 1962: 40, 60.

232 *Pósōupāndōu fāshī zhuàn* 婆藪槃豆法師傳 (*Biography of Vasubandhu*), translated by Paramārtha, T.50: 191a7.

233 Takasaki 1974: 485–488.

references to the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* have been interpreted via the ideas of Dàooshēng 道生 (ca. 360–434), who wrote on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* and claimed that all beings have the Buddha-nature, and via the theories of Huìyuǎn. Both wrote commentaries on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*, and Dàooshēng's ideas were so *tathāgatagarbha* in tenor that one of his pupils stated that “the ideas of the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* coincided with the ideas of the master.”²³⁴ Huìyuǎn's *Wéimó yì jì* contains a passage like that in the *Two Entrances* on the division into methods of principle and practice.²³⁵ Huìyuǎn also mentioned the ‘mind-king,’²³⁶ a term that appears in *Long Scroll* section 3.²³⁷ A letter writer, sometimes thought to be Layman Xiàng, said he was still producing karma after reading the scriptures:

Only then did I return to correctly dwelling in solitary tranquillity and settled down the percepts/sense-data into the mind-king. But I had long cultivated false concepts, being swayed by my emotions.²³⁸

As the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* states in Bodhiruci's translation, “You contemplate the dharma of the mind-king, separating oneself from the mental objects (sense-data) and the attributes of the *vijñānas*.”²³⁹ Huìyuǎn in his *Wéimó yì jì* wrote:

Although conceptions, sensations and mental operations are present at the same time as the mind-king, because their functions are separate, the eighth true mind is solely without particulars [...]. The mind is the mind-king, mentation (*niàn* 念) is the mental dharmas.²⁴⁰

Furthermore, the system of the eight *vijñānas* in the *Long Scroll* is basically the same as in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and Huìyuǎn's *Wéimó yì jì*.²⁴¹ The *Long Scroll*

234 Jorgensen 1979: 47 ff.; *Gāosēng zhuàn*, T.50: 374c11–12.

235 Jorgensen 1979: 217; T.38: 422c12–14; cf. a similar passage in his commentary on the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* mentioned by Broughton 1999: 73.

236 T.38: 495a6, 15.

237 Yanagida 1969: 47; Jorgensen 1979: 218.

238 Jorgensen 1979: 250; Broughton 1999: 12.

239 T.16: 565c1; cf. Suzuki 1932: 227, “one who is removed from thought and knowledge perceives the Mind-king.”

240 T.38: 495a5–7, 15.

241 Yanagida 1969: 98, section 18 and Huìyuǎn, T.38.496c15–17, and Guṇabhadra, *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, T.16: 510c1–20; Yanagida 1969: 188–189, section 48 (cf. Broughton 1999: 38), T.16: 484a12–14, 496a26–27; Yanagida 1969: 223 section 60, Huìyuǎn, T.38: 480b22–25; Jorgensen 1979: 353–354, section 85, cf. Huìyuǎn, T.38: 504a4.

then shares with the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* more than just occasional terminology; it shares basic concepts, though the *Long Scroll* has pared away quite a lot of the non-essential scraps of philosophy and numerical categories and the large numbers of synonyms that one concept was given in the Indian sutras. Even in organisation the *Long Scroll* and the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* are similarly jumbled, a collection of notes with changes in themes and a lack of a systematic approach.

Given these similarities it is quite possible that the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* was used by Huikē and his associates, and that Fāchōng was not fabricating this.

The person who entered parts of the passage about the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* that I consider originally came near the end of the entry on Huimǎn in the *Continued Lives*, may then have attempted to fit some lines of the passage back into the earlier text due to a number of prompts. Perhaps in the copying process this passage may have become detached, and the later copyist then tried to tidy up the text. The first prompt occurred where Tánlín and Huikē were “together protecting sutras and images”²⁴² during the Northern Zhōu persecution of Buddhism. The mention of sūtras may have prompted the scribe or interpolator to add the line about meditation teacher (Bodhi)dharma at the start giving Huikē the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* as the only sūtra worth having. However, the second interpolated line has no reason for being placed at that point, while the third is probably related to a likely identification of “the attributes of the mind” with ego, which is the reason Nà and Huimǎn always carried the sūtra with them to dispel such ideas. The second line on the change of the sūtra into name and form after four generations is clearly a post-facto prediction. This prediction was an attack on how the sūtra was interpreted after the time of Huimǎn or Fāchōng (counting from Bodhidharma or Huikē respectively). I suspect that this attack was aimed at Zhiyán 智嚴 (602–668) because Zhiyán was concerned to counteract the ‘Chán’ interpretation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* as the One Vehicle teaching and the ‘Chán’ denial of the ten stages of the bodhisattva career.²⁴³

This problem of interpolation then does not prove that Fāchōng was deliberately misleading Dào Xuān about the role of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* amongst the associates of Huikē, even though Fāchōng may have been trying to create a linkage of himself via a tenuous lineage back to Huikē. This evidence does not justify the assertion that Fāchōng was “rewriting the entry for Huikē in order to make Fāchōng’s post-facto lineage claim look more legitimate,”²⁴⁴ for if this

242 *Continued Lives*, T.50: 552b19–20.

243 Ishii 2007: 267–270.

244 Cole 2009: 84, also 96.

was so, the rewriting was so clumsy to be almost unbelievable. Rather, this was more due to confusion or textual miscopying.

In Fǎchōng's hagiography, Dào xuān does refer the reader back to Huìkě's hagiography.²⁴⁵ But Dào xuān frequently cross-references, even in the section on Tánlín after the first interpolation on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*: "Huìkě adhered single-mindedly to the profound principles as has been related previously."²⁴⁶ Therefore, this cross-reference was not specially added to highlight Fǎchōng's claims; it was just Dào xuān's usual practice. Moreover, as Dào xuān stated that he had "definite proof for what he had learnt" about Fǎchōng's claims about the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and related lineages,²⁴⁷ one would have to argue that Fǎchōng conspired to mislead Dào xuān and succeeded in doing so despite Dào xuān's considerable erudition and knowledge of sources, and that a later copyist, probably after Dào xuān's death, attempted to clumsily break up a linked passage and insert sentences into three different places in Dào xuān's original text to support Fǎchōng's claim. This seems implausible.

4 Northern Zhōu Persecution

Rather than end the analysis here, it will help to examine more about Huìkě's life around Ye. It seems, as noted earlier, that Huìkě exchanged letters with the hermit-ascetic Layman Xiàng ca. 550,²⁴⁸ and that these were collected into a scroll. Moreover, he was visited by and taught Huìbù 慧布, who came specially from South China to study Huìkě's method of meditation, possibly in the 570s (see later).

However, Huìkě's peaceful teaching career did not continue, for in 577, the Northern Zhōu dynasty under Emperor Wǔ conquered Northern Qí and its capital, Yè. Emperor Wǔ had already initiated a persecution of Buddhism, and Huìkě and Tánlín were caught up in it. No doubt Northern Zhōu troops carried out the policy started in 574 in Zhōu territory, during which "sutras and images were all destroyed, and the monks and Daoist priests laicized."²⁴⁹ It seems that Emperor Wǔ confiscated all Buddhist property and called Yè by the new name of Xiāngzhōu 相州.²⁵⁰ It is likely that Huìkě and Tánlín resisted this destruction

²⁴⁵ *Continued Lives*: 666b12.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*: 552b22.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*: 666b13.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*: 552a28.

²⁴⁹ *Zhoushu*: 1/5/49.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*: 1/6/101, 103.

and confiscation, for they were “both protecting the sutras and images.”²⁵¹ After the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* interpolation, Dào Xuān’s narrative resumes:

Huikē met with bandits²⁵² and had his arm hacked off. He used the Dharma to control his mind so that he did not feel the pain. He cauterized where he was struck and when the bleeding stopped, he bound it up in silk and begged food as before. He never told anyone. Later, Tánlín also had an arm hacked off by bandits. He screamed all night. Huikē bound (Tánlín’s stump) up to cure it and begged food for Tánlín. But Tánlín was annoyed that Huikē was unhelpful with his hand and got angry at him. Huikē said, “The dumplings are in front of you! Why don’t you wrap them up yourself?” Tánlín said, “I lack an arm. Don’t you know this?” Huikē said, “I also lack an arm. How can you be angry at me?” Therefore they questioned each other and so knew the merits of each other. For this reason he was known as “One-armed Lin.”²⁵³

Broughton describes this as asceticism and thaumaturgy, and uses this passage as evidence that this section belongs to Dào Xuān’s post-645 draft because Fǎchōng was included in the thaumaturges category in the *Continued Lives*.²⁵⁴ But people do survive having their arms cut off despite receiving no medical attention whatsoever, as evidenced by recent wars in West Africa and the Rwandan genocide. This is not proof of thaumaturgy. However, by 577 Huikē must have been in his seventies if he had served Bodhidharma between 522 and 528, and Tánlín would have been of a similar age, so their survival would have been unusual.

However, not only do the dates fit, but Jízàng (549–623) quoted a commentary on the *Śrīmālā-devī Sūtra* by an ‘Armless Lin.’²⁵⁵ Furthermore, Dào Xuān may have also had in mind precedents in the sutra literature that would indicate this ability to withstand pain was the conduct of an arhat or bodhisattva, and that this misfortune was also the product of karma, and that Huikē truly lived up to the teaching of Bodhidharma’s first two entrances via practice. The first was the requital of resentment that recognises such misfortune as due to

251 *Continued Lives*: 552b20.

252 Enemy troops are frequently called ‘bandits’ as was the case by the *Běi-Qí shū*, 1/8/111, for Northern Zhōu was the enemy in the eyes of the Northern Qí.

253 *Continued Lives*: 552b22–29; Jorgensen 1979: 124–125; Broughton 1999: 62.

254 Broughton 1999: 63–64.

255 *Shèngmǎn bǎokū* 勝鬘寶窟, T.37, no. 1744: 22a19, the exact same name can be found in *Continued Lives*: 552b29; see Broughton 1999: 69, 144, n. 26.

previous deeds and so should be willingly endured. The second is to realise that there is no ego and to accept all bliss and pain equally.²⁵⁶

The first sūtra story is found in the *Fóshuō Púsà běnxíng jīng* 佛說菩薩本行經, a translation made in the Eastern Jin period (317–420). It tells of a woman who asks a bandit to cut off the head of a monk. The monk pleaded with the bandit that as he had just become a monk, he had yet to understand the Dharma, so he requested not to be killed. When the bandit said he had to kill him, the monk offered his arm and asked the bandit cut it off instead. The bandit cut off one arm (*duàn bì* 斷臂) and the monk lived. This monk then went to see the Buddha and heard his sermon, which said that anyone who has a body will suffer. The monk understood, became an arhat, gave up his life and entered nirvana. When monks heard this tale, they had doubts and asked what evil the monk had committed that led him to have his arm cut off. The Buddha then told the story of a pratyeka-buddha who met a king who had lost his way. When the king asked the way, the pratyeka-buddha pointed out the path with his foot because he had ulcers on his arms. The king thought this disrespectful and so cut off the pratyeka-buddha's arm with his sword. It was this king who was reborn as the monk whose arm was cut off.²⁵⁷

The second story appears in the *Liùdù jí jīng* 六度集經 translated by Kāng Sēnghuì 康僧會 in 251. It tells of a bodhisattva who is tested by a king for his ability to withstand pain.

The king said, "Who are you?" "I am a person of forbearance." The king, angered, drew his sword and sliced off the bodhisattva's right arm. The bodhisattva thought, "My intention is the supreme Way; I have no dispute with the worldly [...]." The king said, "So then, who are you?" "I am a person of forbearance." So the king also cut off his left hand. For each question he cut off (another part of the bodhisattva's body), foot, ear, nose. [...] The pain was unlimited [...] "If you have doubts, look at what happened since you cut my arm off ..." ²⁵⁸

The implicit contrast is made between Huikě, who could control pain like a bodhisattva, and Tánlín, who could not. Both suffered this fate because of their previous karma, but only Huikě could deal with it because he had practiced meditation and taken to heart the message of Bodhidharma. It is the contrast of a meditator and a theoretician.

²⁵⁶ Yanagida 1969: 32; Jorgensen 1979: 241–242; Broughton 1999: 10.

²⁵⁷ T.3, no. 155: 111c16–112b1.

²⁵⁸ T.3: 25b3–9, 22.

5 Tánlín

Tánlín was associated with scholarly Buddhist enterprises in Yè that had sponsorship from the ruling elite. He worked as a translator from the mid-530s until 543²⁵⁹ and a fair number of these texts were by Yogācāra masters, especially Vasubandhu.

These translation projects at Yè were chiefly sponsored by Gāo Zhōngmì 高仲密,²⁶⁰ a man learned in literature and history, but also a strict governor. Around 532 to 534, Gāo Zhōngmì threw in his lot with Gāo Huān (no relative),²⁶¹ which helped Gāo Huān overthrow the Northern Wèi dynasty. However, Zhōngmì earned the enmity of Gāo Huān's heir-apparent, Gāo Dèng (521–549), a known womanizer,²⁶² because Zhōngmì discarded his wife, the daughter of a close confidant of Gāo Dèng. Zhōngmì's next wife was intelligent and beautiful. However, Zhōngmì happened to greatly value the monk Xiǎngōng 顯公, making the new wife jealous. She schemed against Xiǎngōng, with the result that Zhōngmì had the monk beaten to death. Gāo Dèng coveted Zhōngmì's wife and tried to rape or abduct her, but she would not go, and her clothes were torn apart in the struggle. She told Zhōngmì about the incident. Zhōngmì became resentful. Gāo Huān felt uneasy about this, and so sent Zhōngmì to Hǔláo 虎牢, coincidentally where Huìkě came from, in 543. Hǔláo was just to the east of the former capital, Luòyáng, close to the border with Western Wèi. Zhōngmì occupied the area and then defected, bringing this territory under the control of the Yǔwén de-facto rulers of Western Wèi. Zhōngmì took an official position in Western Wèi.²⁶³ The defection of Zhōngmì resulted in the sponsorship of the translation project largely ending in 543 and so Tánlín was no longer involved in translation work.

Dào xuān tells us a little about Tánlín's activities between the 543 loss of a patron and the 577 persecution:

At that time Dharma teacher [Tán]lín frequently lectured on the *Śrīmālā* (Sūtra) and wrote on the meaning of its passages in Yè. Each time he lectured people assembled, and he selected those who were versed in the three sections of the scriptures. He got seven hundred men to participate in his sessions.²⁶⁴

259 For a list of works he helped translate, see Broughton 1999: 143, n. 24.

260 Mentioned by John McRae in his seminar (see note 74).

261 Holmgren 1982: 7.

262 Holmgren 1981: 95.

263 *Běi-Qí shū*: 1/21/292–293; *Běishǐ*: 4/31/1143–1144; for dating of his defection, *Běishǐ*: 1/5/191.

264 *Continued Lives*: 552b17–19; Jorgensen 1979: 124; Broughton 1999: 61–62.

Therefore Tánlín had led the life of a scholar, with patronage from the ruling elite, and had become a specialist on the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* before he met Huikě. At least until 556, and possibly longer, this was a period of peace and relative prosperity,²⁶⁵ unlike what was to come.

It appears then that Tánlín wrote up or compiled the *Long Scroll* after 577, and some of his ideas derived from his study of the *Śrīmālā Sūtra* may have influenced his description or encapsulation of Bodhidharma's teaching, as there are some similar passages in his commentary on the sūtra.²⁶⁶

We have only one more scrap of information about Huikě's activities in Yè. At one time, Huikě was preaching in Xiāngzhōu 相州, a name for Yè²⁶⁷ that was introduced with the Northern Zhōu conquest in 577, where he met Nà 那, a Confucian scholar who had come south (?) from Dōnghǎi.²⁶⁸ Inspired by Huikě's preaching, Nà and ten other scholars became monks. Nà, a former lecturer on the *Lǐjì* 禮記 and the *Yìjīng* 易經, then became an ascetic.²⁶⁹ It is possible then that Huikě still taught for a while after the conquest in Yè. However, he soon fled to south China.

6 After the Northern Zhōu Persecution (577)

Huikě continued his work, probably fleeing south to the state of Chén to escape the Northern Zhōu persecution of Buddhism, for Dàoxuān writes of a Huikě 慧/惠郛 (郛 can be read Gě or Kě, and 可 as Kě, and 郛 is glossed as 可 in some dictionaries) in the biography of Zhìjiǎo 智敫 (mostly read Zhìfù 智敷, d. 601) of Píngděng 平等 Monastery in Xúnzhōu 順州,²⁷⁰ who became involved with a group of heirs of Paramārtha (499–569) sometime after Paramārtha had translated the *Mahāyāna-saṃgraha* (*Shèlùn* 攝論) in 564. Zhìjiǎo participated in the translation of the *Abhidharmakośa śāstra* into Chinese.²⁷¹

265 Holmgren 1981: 107.

266 Broughton 1999: 72–74.

267 It is about twenty kilometres north of modern Ānyáng; see Zhōngguó lǐshǐ dìtú jí biānjízú 1975, vol. 4: 44–45, 7/2.

268 Zhōngguó lǐshǐ dìtú jí biānjízú 1975, vol. 4: 42–43, 4/5, this town was southeast of Xiāngzhōu.

269 *Continued Lives*: 552c1–6.

270 Xúnzhōu was just to the east of Guǎngzhōu; seems to be a Táng Dynasty place name. Zhìjiǎo is mentioned in Keng 2009: 318.

271 *Continued Lives*: 431c7–9; Chen 2002b: 31, n. 56.

In the second year of the eleventh year of the Tāijiàn 太建 era (579), there was a certain Huikě, a pupil of the Trepitaka Bámóli 跋摩利, who had originally lived in the Central Plain (i.e., North China Plain). He there ran into the persecution of Buddhism by (Emperor) Wǔ of Zhōu, and so fled his country and took refuge in Chén. Later he accompanied the envoy Liú Zhāng 劉璋 to Nánhǎi (Guǎngzhōu). He had obtained a copy of the *Nièpán lùn* (*Nirvāṇa Śāstra*). Zhìjiǎo had been lecturing on this sūtra and was delighted that (Huikě) had already learnt it (*běn xí* 本習), and so he sought (Huikě's) assistance. Then (Huikě) began to preach it for him, but they only got through the preface and the seed (Skr. *bīja*) section, and the profound meaning of the first thirteen chapters (*zhāng* 章).²⁷² Later he (Huikě) returned to Mt. Hèlǐng 鶴嶺 in Yùzhāng 豫章,²⁷³ and Zhìjiǎo and Dharma teacher Jī 璣 accompanied him. Consequently, he (Huikě) again preached for them on the third section. They got through all of the ten oceans and ten paths, and they proceeded onto the remaining text. Because Huikě fell ill, he was not fit to teach and so he ordered Zhìjiǎo to go to the capital and seek out Dharma teacher Hǎicháo 海潮, who was always thoroughly investigating the sense of the śāstra.

In the fourteenth year (of Tāijiàn, 582), Zhìjiǎo went to Jiànyè 建業.²⁷⁴ He did not find the man he was looking for, but he came across meditation teacher Xiǎo 曉 of Xīxuán 栖玄 Monastery, who gave him Tánlín's *Jiě nièpán shū* 解涅槃疏 that explicated the latter half of the sūtra. [...] In the twelfth year of the Kaihuang era (593), Wáng Zhòngxuān 王仲宣 raised a rebellion, burned down the provincial capital, and Zhìjiǎo's room in the monastery. The text and the commentary (by Tánlín) were both destroyed.²⁷⁵

Although this identification with Bodhidharma's pupil Huikě has been contested,²⁷⁶ the coincidence of the time period (the Northern Zhōu persecution), the fact that this Huikě was from the north and had an Indian teacher with the title Trepitaka, and a tenuous association with Tánlín, all suggest they are one and the same individual. More than one monk fled from Northern Qí in 577 or soon thereafter when Northern Zhōu conquered Yè. Such monks included

272 This division into *zhāng* 章 may indicate a new style of dividing up sūtras during lectures. For a brief discussion and references, see Keng 2009: 152–153.

273 Near modern Nánchāng.

274 I.e., Jiànkāng 建康, modern Nánjīng, the capital of the Chén.

275 *Continued Lives*: 431c16–28; Jorgensen 1979: 131–132.

276 See Chen 2002a: 159, n. 26 for the positions.

Tánqiān 曇遷 (542–607) and Jingsōng 靖嵩 (537–614).²⁷⁷ Furthermore, as this Huikě fell ill around 582, this also suggests that he was elderly, as Bodhidharma's pupil would be by this time. Huikě probably died in the south, probably in Yùzhāng 豫章.

Although Bámóli 跋摩利 is attested nowhere else, he had the title Trepitaka, a title a person in *Long Scroll* section 8 has, probably Bodhidharma.²⁷⁸ Moreover, Dàoxuān was probably here using different sources, and may not have made the identification between the two Huikě. This was obscured because they were in two entirely different categories; one in the translators category, the other in the meditators category. However, Dàoxuān used a technique of 'concealing and revealing' in which the primary activities of the monk are described in his main biography in the category into which these activities belonged, and the secondary activities of that monk in the biography of another monk who belonged to another category.²⁷⁹ Thus, it is possible he also used this technique with Huikě. In his application of the technique of 'concealing and revealing' to the hagiography of Huikě, Dàoxuān made the primary hagiography of Huikě concentrate on meditation and asceticism, while the mention of Huikě in Fātài's hagiography deals with Huikě's lectures on scholastic materials. In the light of the categories of the 'Lives of Eminent Monks' (*Gāosēng zhuàn* 高僧傳), Huikě's scholarly activities seemed to be in conflict with his primary categorisation as a meditation master, especially given Huikě's troubles with scholastics, with the exception of Tánlín.

According to this separate account, Huikě went to Guǎngdōng, where the pupils of Paramārtha were active. Given the arguments over the *Dilùn* or *Daśabhūmika śāstra* in North China between the followers of Bodhiruci and Ratnamati, and thus the debates on the relationships of the *viññānas*, *ālayaviññāna* and *tathāgatagarbha*, Huikě may have gone to Guǎngzhōu to seek more information, some of which he may have learnt earlier from Huībù 慧布 who studied under him in Yè just prior to the Northern Zhōu conquest. Paramārtha had been in Yùzhāng in 554, and later shifted to Guǎngzhōu. Paramārtha translated the *Mahānirvāṇa sūtra śāstra*,²⁸⁰ and his merging of *viññānavāda* thought with *tathāgatagarbha* ideas has similarities to the content of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.²⁸¹ In fact, there were already relations between Paramārtha's pupils in Chén and the Dilùn scholars of Northern Qí, and that may have been why some

277 Ibid.: 15, 31, n. 56.

278 Yanagida 1969: 68–69; Broughton 1999: 68.

279 See above and Jorgensen 1979: 148–149 on Dàoxuān's historiography.

280 T.55: 141a14.

281 Takasaki 1966: 52.

of the Dìlùn scholars went south to join the pupils of Paramārtha.²⁸² Perhaps Huikē accompanied them. For example, Jìngsōng “propagated the *Shèlùn* first of all, and also preached the *Laṅkāvatāra*, *Awakening of Faith* [...] and was the pioneer of *Shèlùn* studies in the North.”²⁸³ And of course, Fāchōng tells us that the study of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and the *Shèlùn* was important among some of the associates of Huikē.²⁸⁴ Pertinently, the *Long Scroll* has references to the six *vijñānas*,²⁸⁵ the *manovijñāna*²⁸⁶ and *manas*,²⁸⁷ and it, particularly the end part, partly reflects some of the ideas found in these texts and debates.

The *Nièpán lùn* 涅槃論 that Huikē had studied has not been identified. However, the reference to the ‘profound meaning of the first thirteen chapters’ seems to have been referred to by Huìyuǎn (523–592) in his *Dàbān nièpán jīng yìjì* 大般涅槃經義記 which says, “This sūtra in all has a division in thirteen chapters.”²⁸⁸ There was a short text with the title *Nièpán lùn* translated by Dharmabodhi (fl. 550s) in eleven pages, but this does not seem to be the text used.²⁸⁹ It has also been argued that this text was a Chinese forgery and not a translation.²⁹⁰ It could be short for Āryadeva’s *Shì Léngqié jīng zhōng wàidào xiǎoshèng nièpán lùn* 釋楞伽經中外道小乘涅槃論 (On the Non-Buddhist and Hinayāna theories of Nirvana in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*) translated in the north by Bodhiruci, but this also seems improbable given the content.

However, ideas from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* were likely a core of Huikē’s thought. If we accept that the ‘Gāthā on the Expedient Means of Entering the Way’ in *Long Scroll* section 3 was written by Huikē, this is clear, for it begins, “You are sure in the end to see your original nature by sitting in meditation.”²⁹¹ Seeing the original nature is the same as the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*’s lines on seeing the Buddha-nature, which says that only recipients of the bodhisattva precepts can see the Buddha-nature (*jiàn fóxìng* 見佛性).

What is meant by “a bodhisattva cultivates and keeps the mind of pure precepts without regret and resentment, through to clearly see the Bud-

282 Chen 2002b: 15, 31 note 56; Jorgensen 1979: 91.

283 *Continued Lives*: 572b18–20.

284 *Continued Lives*: 666b.

285 Sections 79 and 80; Broughton 1999: 47–48.

286 Section 62; Yanagida 1969: 62; Jorgensen 1979: 337–338; Broughton 1999: 43.

287 Sections 73–75, 69; Jorgensen 1979: 343, 346–348.

288 T.37: 614c3–4; there are thirteen chapters in the Dharmakṣema translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*.

289 Jorgensen 1979: 131–133; see T.55: 186a3; T.55: 270b.

290 Fuse 1932–1936, vol. 8: 411–412.

291 Yanagida 1969: 47; Jorgensen 1979: 250; Broughton 1999: 13.

dha-nature?" [...] Because there is no release there is no seeing of the Buddha-nature. [...] Because (a bodhisattva) abhors birth and death they attain release. Because they attain release, they are able to see the Buddha-nature. Because they can see the Buddha-nature, they attain *mahā(pari)nirvāṇa*. This is called the pure precepts of the bodhisattva.²⁹²

Again,

If a person can think and understand the meaning of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra* like this, you should know that this person will see the Buddha-nature. The Buddha-nature is inconceivable, and is the realm of the buddhas and tathāgatas, and is not known by the śrāvakas and pratyekabuddhas.²⁹³

Note here the connection of being without resentment, the first of Bodhidharma's four practices, and seeing the Buddha-nature. This theme became important later in the linkage of seeing the Buddha-nature, meditation, and bodhisattva precepts, especially in material attributed to Dào-xìn 道信 (580–651) and then followed up in later generations.²⁹⁴ And, of course, 'seeing the Buddha-nature' became a feature of Chán, another example of the sensitivity of initial conditions. It is likely then that both Huikē and Tánlín, who is credited with a commentary on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra* in the passage cited above about teacher Xiǎo 曉 giving this text to Zhìjiǎo, were teachers of the doctrines of this sūtra who had fled south to Chén after the Northern Zhōu invasion of Yè and the subsequent persecution of Buddhism.

7 Huikē's Associates and the Named People in the End Sections of the Long Scroll

In the account of the reception of Tánlín's *Jiě nièpán lùn* 解涅槃論 by Zhìjiǎo who was asked to go to see Hǎicháo 海潮 by Huikē, the master who gave Zhìjiǎo the text was Huìxiǎo 慧曉 (d. 582+). Huìxiǎo taught meditation to Bǎogōng 保

292 Dharmakṣema's translation of the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*, the *Dàbān nièpán jīng* 大般涅槃經, T.12: 467a3–4, 11, b11–12.

293 T.12: 526a28–b2.

294 Tanaka 1983: 463–467, especially from the *Dàshèng wúshēng fāngbiàn mén* 大乘無生方便門: "(Keeping) the bodhisattva precepts is keeping the precepts of the mind, and is regarding the Buddha-nature to be the nature of the precepts" (quoted p. 467).

恭 (542–621).²⁹⁵ Huìxiǎo was a famous monk in the Chén territories who studied both Confucianism and Buddhism, and was known as an excellent meditator.²⁹⁶ He also wrote poetry.²⁹⁷ He was probably the Dharma teacher Huìyáo 慧堯 of section 85 of the *Long Scroll*,²⁹⁸ for Huìyáo uses a sentence, “The mind’s relationship with awareness is like that of eye and eyeball,” which is like the commentary on the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa* by Huìyuǎn (523–592) that says, “The difference of eye and eyeball is the same as the difference of mind, *manas* and the *viññānas*.”²⁹⁹ This may have been a common interpretation in this period. Here, the difference in characters of the monk’s name is only the dropping of the radical, a common error in scribal copying.

That this Huìyáo of the *Long Scroll* is the Huìxiǎo of the *Continued Lives* is supported by the fact that a meditation teacher Yīn 因 speaks of the six *viññānas* in *Long Scroll* (section 79).³⁰⁰ Huìyīn 慧因 (539–627) was a disciple of Huìxiǎo.³⁰¹ This seems more than coincidence, especially as the names appear so close together in the *Long Scroll*.

Several other monks appearing in the *Long Scroll* may also have been famous scholars of the Dìlùn and Shèlùn. Thus the Fàn 梵 of *Long Scroll* section 75 may possibly be identified with Zhìfàn 智梵 (528–613), who was an expert in Dìlùn, studied in Yè, and later taught in Cháng’ān, being ordered to live in Chándìng 禪定 Monastery in 609.³⁰² Another may have been Dàohóng 道洪 (568–646), a disciple of Tányán 曇延 (516–588) of Northern Zhōu. He was famous for his lectures on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.³⁰³ This would be consonant with the Hóng 洪 of *Long Scroll* section 73 who talks of the relationship of the sense to sensation or objects of the senses.³⁰⁴ The meditation teacher Lǎng 朗 of section 91 of the *Long Scroll* that talks of mental creation³⁰⁵ may be identified with Júelǎng 覺朗 (d. ca. 617), another disciple of Tányán. Júelǎng specialized in vinaya and the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.³⁰⁶ Alternatively, he may have been Fǎláng 法郎 (507–583),

295 *Continued Lives*: 512c11–12; Chen 2002b: 159, 192.

296 *Ibid.*: 572a16–18.

297 *Ibid.*: 572b3 ff.

298 Jorgensen 1979: 353–354; Broughton 1999: 48–49.

299 *Wéimó yìjì* 維摩義記, T.38, no. 1776: 504a4.

300 Jorgensen 1979: 349; Broughton 1999: 47.

301 Chen 2002b: 193–194.

302 Broughton 1999: 46; Jorgensen 1979: 347–348; for Zhìfàn 智梵, see *Continued Lives*: 51b2–17; possibly referred to in *Sòng gāosēng zhuàn* as having discovered a spring on Mt. Sòng, T.50, no. 2061: 771c25–27.

303 *Continued Lives*: 547a–b; see Chen 2002b: 220–221.

304 Yanagida 1969: 246; Broughton 1999: 46; Jorgensen 1979: 346.

305 Broughton 1999: 51; Jorgensen 1979: 357.

306 *Continued Lives*: 612a–b; Chen 2002b: 220.

a.k.a. Dàlǎng 大朗,³⁰⁷ an heir of Sēnquán 僧詮 and fellow student with Huìbù. Again, he may have been the Fǎláng (d. 602+) who was a student of Tánqiān 曇遷 (542–607).³⁰⁸ Finally, meditation teacher Léng 楞 of section 64³⁰⁹ may have been the Dharma teacher Léng who taught the *Dilùn* to Dàojié 道傑 after 602. Dàojié also studied vinaya under Vinaya teacher (Dào)hóng 道洪 in Yè after 599.³¹⁰

There is another connection with Huikě via Bǎogōng 保恭. The connection is through Huìbù 慧布 (518–587), who studied Sānlùn (Madhyamaka) under Sēnquán on Mt. Shè 攝, located just to the northeast of the Chén capital Jiànkāng 建康. He loved to sit in meditation in solitary calm. He pursued knowledge of meditation by going north to Yè before the Northern Zhōu persecution and came to understand Huikě's views. Huikě told him that what he understood would destroy ego and eliminate views, and there was nothing more. However, this gave Huìbù confidence to write voluminously on the sūtras and his views, bringing six pack-animal loads of his texts back to his monastery on Mt. Shè. However, while lecturing on them there, he found lacunae, and so he again went to Northern Qí to copy what he had missed.³¹¹

The hagiography of Bǎogōng tells us that Huibu went north to Yè and when he first returned, at the start of the Zhìdé era (583), he earnestly asked Bǎogōng to establish a meditation centre or monastery. This Bǎogōng did, and the monastery became famous for its lineage of meditation. But Huìbù also continued to lecture on Sānlùn (the three treatises of Madhyamaka).³¹² Notably, Bǎogōng had previously studied meditation under Huìxiǎo and had received his imprimatur (yìnkě 印可).³¹³ Bǎogōng also met Dàoxuān in Cháng'ān, and so was able to tell Dàoxuān all of this.³¹⁴ Huìbù and Bǎogōng were associates and Bǎogōng was one of Dàoxuān's informants. This is why Huìbù is often mentioned by Dàoxuān.³¹⁵

307 Chen 2002b: 165.

308 Chen 2002b: 46–48; *Continued Lives*: 672a–b.

309 Yanagida 1969: 230; Broughton 1999: 44; Jorgensen 1979: 349–350.

310 *Continued Lives*: 529b24–25, c4–5.

311 *Continued Lives*: 480c, translated in full in Broughton 1999: 148–149.

312 *Continued Lives*: 512c15–20, translated in Broughton 1999: 149. I have made a few minor changes.

313 *Continued Lives*: 512c11–12. Note that this term, “imprimatur,” became a key element in the Chán theories of mind-to-mind transmission, and so once again it is possible that later readers of the *Continued Lives* used this to bolster their claims.

314 Broughton 1999: 149.

315 See also *Continued Lives*: 516a22, 539a10, which says Huìbù also lectured on the *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*. There are also references in the *Guǎng hóngmíng jì* compiled by Dàoxuān (T.52, no. 2103: 356b11, c22, 357a20).

Another related group appears in the *Long Scroll* and according to Dào xuān formed a lineage. This began with the meditation teacher Hé 和 who appears in the *Continued Lives* immediately after the main hagiography of Huìkě.³¹⁶ Meditation teacher Hé taught Jìng'ǎi 靜藹 (534–578), and although neither appears in the *Long Scroll*, several of Jìng'ǎi's pupils probably do. The Ān 安 of *Long Scroll* (section 71)³¹⁷ is possibly Pǔ'ān 普安 (530–609), an expert on the *Avatamsaka Sūtra* who retreated into the Zhōngnán Mountains during the Northern Zhōu persecution of Buddhism from 574,³¹⁸ and in turn the meditation teacher Yuān 淵 who features in section 68 of the *Long Scroll*³¹⁹ may be the meditation teacher Jìngyuān 靜淵 (534–578) who was a pupil of Pǔ'ān, and went with him into the wilds³²⁰ during the persecution. Another pupil of Jìng'ǎi was Zhìzàng 智藏 (541–625), who lived among the common people during the persecution. He may be the Dharma teacher Zàng of *Long Scroll* section 69, especially because his entry in the *Long Scroll* immediately follows that of Yuān.³²¹ Another person who was in a lineage from meditation teacher Hé was Xuánjué 玄覺, who lectured in Cháng'ān and specialised in the *Mañjuśrī-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. Xuánjué was student of Xuánjǐng 玄景 (d. 606) who studied with meditation teacher Hé before the Northern Zhōu persecution.³²² This Xuánjué may be the meditation teacher Jué of *Long Scroll* section 74,³²³ the last entry in the shorter version of the *Long Scroll* (Stein 2715 and Peking sù 宿 99).

There are a number of monks not members of the above groups who may be represented in the *Long Scroll*. For example, the meditation teacher Liàng of section 83³²⁴ could be Dào liàng 道亮 (589–645+), a vinaya teacher and pupil of vinaya teacher Fǎzàn 法瓚 (566–607), also a meditation master.³²⁵ The Tán 曇 of section 84³²⁶ could possibly be the Sēngtán 僧曇 (d. 604+), who at the end

316 *Continued Lives*: 552b14; Chen 2002b: 202.

317 Yanagida 1969: 242; Broughton 1999: 45.

318 Broughton 1999: 92; Chen 2002b: 202, n. 72; *Continued Lives*: 681a12. Possibly the same person as the Jingyuan of T.50: 51bff.

319 Yanagida 1969: 236; Broughton 1999: 45; Jorgensen 1979: 342.

320 *Continued Lives*: 681a15–16.

321 Broughton 1999: 92, 45; *Continued Lives*: 586c9–10, 23; Yanagida 1960: 239.

322 Broughton 1999: 92; *Continued Lives*: 569c17–18, 569b20, 625c21.

323 Yanagida 1969: 248; Broughton 1999: 46; note, there was another meditation teacher Jué who studied the *Avatamsaka* and *Lañkāvatāra* sutras and was associated with the Shèlùn faction. See Chen 2002b: 43, n. 90.

324 Broughton 1999: 49; Jorgensen 1979: 352–353.

325 *Continued Lives*: 619b–c; Chen 2002b: 169–170.

326 Broughton 1999: 49; Jorgensen 1979: 353.

of the Northern Qí (577) travelled as far as the Pamir Mountains and became involved in translation from 590.³²⁷

The most interesting entry is that for meditation teacher Xuān 暄 in section 67 of the *Long Scroll*, who is asked by someone, “What is meant by the substance of the Way?”³²⁸ This identifies him with Dharma teacher Xuān, for in 592, Yáng Guǎng 楊廣 sent a letter to Xuān asking, “What do you consider to be the substance of the Way?”³²⁹ The *Guóqīng bǎilù* 國清百錄 in which reference to this letter is found is a Tiāntái compilation made by Guàndǐng 灌頂 (561–632) to link his master Zhiyǐ 智顗 with imperial support for Guóqīng 國慶 Monastery,³³⁰ firstly by Yáng Guǎng, later to be Emperor Yáng of Suí. This I think clinches the proposition that the last part of the *Long Scroll* was a compilation of sayings of various teachers of meditation and doctrine. After all, out of the twenty-six names found there, fourteen or fifteen can be identified with figures known to Dào xuān and who were active in the late sixth century and into the early seventh century.

Two major groups can be differentiated; a group connected with Madhyama, including some with a lineage back to meditation teacher Hé,³³¹ and a group involved in some way with the studies of the *Dilùn* and *Shèlùn*. These were major intellectual trends in the Buddhism of the sixth century. There are a few individuals not affiliated with any group. Notably, no monks affiliated with the meditation teachers Sēngchóu and Sēngshí 僧寔 (476–563) who are contrasted with the meditation teachings of Bodhidharma by Dào xuān in this ‘Evaluations of the Meditators’ can be found in the *Long Scroll*.

I suspect that Dào xuān had a full text of the *Long Scroll* available to him by 645, for virtually all the figures identified above were dead by this time. Moreover, codicology informs us that the latest date for the copying of the shorter version of the *Long Scroll* at Dūnhuáng was ca. 671. This is because the Stein 3375, 1880, and Pelliot 4634 manuscripts were once one piece of paper on the reverse of which were written orders from Liángzhōu sent to Shāzhōu between 650 and 656.³³² As it seems that such papers were usually discarded after fifteen years,³³³ this gives a date of about 671 for the Buddhist scribe to have copied out the *Long Scroll*. However, as the *Long Scroll* was probably compiled inside

327 *Continued Lives*: 506a–b; Chen 2002b: 103 note 42.

328 Yanagida 1969: 235; Broughton 1999: 44–45; Jorgensen 1979: 342.

329 *Guóqīng bǎilù*, T.46: 805b15.

330 Penkower 2000: 275.

331 Broughton 1999: 90–92 describes the features that they had in common.

332 Jorgensen 1979: 359–360, 379; Tanaka 1983: 184–185.

333 Broughton 1999: 153.

China proper, we need to allow time for the text to reach Dūnhuáng, which would give us a date at the latest of the 660s for this text.

This may give us some hints about the compilation of the *Long Scroll*. As Tánlín wrote the preface, he would be the first candidate. Tánlín lived for some time after 577 when he lost an arm, for Jízàng referred to him as 'Armless Lin.' He may have been born ca. 515, given that he started participating in translation after 534. Moreover, Tánlín was associated with both meditators and scholastics or exegetes, and so may have been in a position to compile an anthology like the *Long Scroll* by around 600.

It is also possible that Tánlín compiled most of the *Long Scroll* and that some later person added to it, for we have a longer version of the *Long Scroll*, although it does not include monks who lived later than those quoted in the shorter version. In any case, the compiler has included the sayings of a broad spectrum of meditators and scholars; some connected to state or elite sponsors, others leery of power-holders. Of course, the quotes were selected to largely fit the themes found in the earlier parts of the *Long Scroll*. This therefore was a catholic text, and being so early, was formed before the concept of an exclusive lineage (or any lineage) from Bodhidharma was posited. It was a continual inspiration for the later Chán movement, as it was used by many figures.

8 The Transmission of the Long Scroll, the Continued Lives Hagiographies, and the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*

Moreover, the transmission of the *Long Scroll* was closely linked with the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. The reputation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* for the Chán tradition was allegedly reported in the capital by Xuánzé 玄蹟 (ca. 630–718+), a pupil of Hóngrěn 弘忍 (601–674), pupil of Dàoqín (580–651). Dàoqín's group, the Dōngshān Fǎmén, later made the orthodox lineage, does not seem to have been particularly supportive of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.³³⁴ Xuánzé supposedly wrote the *Léngqié rén fǎ zhì* 楞伽人法志 or 'Treatise on the Men and Dharma of the *Laṅkāvatāra*' between 708 and 710, and his pupil Jìngjué 淨覺 (683–ca. 750) wrote an expansion of this as the *Léngqié shīzǐ jì* (Record of the Masters and Disciples of the *Laṅkāvatāra*) between 713 and 716. Jìngjué quoted sections 1 and 2 of the *Long Scroll* in his hagiography of Bodhidharma. While 'Xuánzé' states that Hóngrěn had transmitted the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* to Shénxiù 神秀 (606–706), and he seems to have upheld the *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition, possibly that of

334 Faure 1997: 153.

Făchōng,³³⁵ his heir Jìngjué compromised with the champions of Sēngchóu's meditation and with the Dōngshān Fǎmén 東山法門 emphasis on the *Diamond Sutra*, making the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* merely a cipher.³³⁶ Likewise, Shénxiù is reported to have seen the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* as a “spiritual essence” (*xīnyào* 心要) or “essentials of the mind” and transmitter of those essentials, but this is not borne out by his own writings.³³⁷ However, Shénxiù's designated heir, Pǔjì 普寂 (651–739) studied the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.³³⁸ Meanwhile, a rival Chán text, connected by some with Pǔjì, the *Chuán fǎbǎo jì* 傳法寶記 of ca. 713 by Dǔ Fèi 杜朏, promoted the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and ridiculed Dàoxuān's account of Bodhidharma and his heirs.³³⁹ It intensified the reputed rivalry between Huikě's *Laṅkāvatāra* tradition and that of the conservatives typified by Sēngchóu.³⁴⁰ This again demonstrates how important Dàoxuān's hagiographies of Bodhidharma and Huikě, and his evaluation of their meditation teachings were for the development of Chán.

However, once Pǔjì died, the theories of Shénhuì (684–758) that claimed the *Diamond Sutra* was the sūtra of the Chán transmission came to prominence in the metropolitan region and the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* temporarily went into obscurity. However, it may have been circulated as part of a popular movement involving songs and rhymes. This can be glimpsed in the *Fóshuō Léngqíjīng Chánmén xītánzhāng* 佛說楞伽經禪門悉曇章, with a preface by a śramana Dìnghuì 定慧 of Huìshàn Monastery 會善寺 on Mount Sòng. Huìshàn Monastery was where Huīmǎn 慧滿 had met Tánkuàng 曇曠 in 642,³⁴¹ and was where Lǎoān (a.k.a. Dàoān 道安 or Huìān 慧安, ca. 581–708) resided.³⁴² The text's introduction is confused, both historically and grammatically.³⁴³ It reads, literally:

The Siddham stanzas are: The Siddham, in the past (when) Mahāyana was on Mt. Lanka, accordingly was obtained by Master Bodhidharma. He

335 Ibid.: 159; cf. McRae 1986: 37. Recently, Cole has argued strongly that Xuánzé and his text were an invention made by Jìngjué to advance his own position. However, we need a reason as to why Jìngjué chose *Léngqí* in his book titles.

336 McRae 1986: 90–91; Faure 1997: 137, 140–143.

337 Faure 1997: 28–29, 151, quoting Zhāng Yuè 張說 (667–730)'s inscription for Shénxiù.

338 Ibid.: 94.

339 McRae 1986 (translation): 256, 259, 261, 269.

340 Jorgensen 2005: 115, 117, 536–543.

341 *Continued Lives*: 552c12–14.

342 Jorgensen 2005: 51.

343 Some of the confusion derives from the T. edition. For a new edition, see the paper by Anderl and Sørensen in this volume.

brought the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* from the South Indian country to the Eastern Capital in the first year of the Sòng house.³⁴⁴ Trepitaka (Guṇa)bhadra, the Dharma Teacher, respectfully consulted and made his translation. This sūtra in total has five fascicles combined to form the book. Its letters are vast and its meaning difficult to know. The Master took pity and extensively saved the myriad types (of beings), and through the sūtra asked of the Way and consciously grasped the profound themes, ultimately penetrating to the original source. All accepted his instruction. Again, the śramana Dinghui of Huishàn (Monastery) on Mt. Sòng translated the Siddham stanzas, broadly revealing the Chán Gate without being an obstacle to insightful learning or being attached to letters. It is matched with the Qín (Chinese) pronunciations, and also with the *Tōngyùn* 通韻 of Kumārajīva that begins with the letters ɾ, ɿ, ɿ̃, ɿ̃̃.³⁴⁵

The dating of Bodhidharma's arrival is akin to that of the earliest accounts, the *Continued Lives* and not that of later accounts, which date his arrival in China to around 520 in most cases.³⁴⁶ The attempt to link Guṇabhadra and Bodhidharma is reminiscent of the account in the *Léngqíé shīzī jì* of ca. 713–716,³⁴⁷ and the assertion it was in five fascicles is either a mistake or an attempt to claim that it originally included the Siddham stanzas in a fascicle Guṇabhadra did not translate. However, the *Tōngyùn* may be a forgery dating from after 830 because of the similarity of one text (Stein 1344) with a work, the *Biàn Fàn wén Hànzì gōngdé jí chūshēng yīqiè wénzì gēnběn cìdì* 辨梵文漢字功德及出生一切文字根本次第 written in 830 by Quánzhēn 全真, an Esoteric Buddhist monk. However, this work, is only quoted in Annen's 安然 *Shittanzō* 悉曇藏.³⁴⁸ Although this similarity does not establish precedence for one text over the other, the fact that most of the dated copies of the *Chánmén xītánzhāng* are late Táng,³⁴⁹ and that it is an eight-section form with the nonsense syllables or

344 宋家元年; is this possibly an error for Yuánjià 元嘉 (424–453), since the Sòng was founded in 420? This is based on *Continued Lives*: 551b29.

345 T85.536a5–14; for a partial translation, see Faure 1997: 156–157, and other parts, with variations in characters, see Jao Tsung-i 1967–1968: 580–592, and 582. For an alternative translation and a thorough treatment of this text, see the paper by Anderl and Sørensen in this volume.

346 See Sekiguchi 1969: 108 ff.

347 Faure 1997: 157.

348 Zhōu Guǎngróng 2004: 315–317.

349 Ibid.: 237; the Taishō Tripiṭaka copy of the *Léngqíé jīng Chánmén xītánzhāng* has a date of 941 appended to Pelliot 2204 (from the catalogue of Dūnhuáng materials, Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn 1983).

flatus vocis,³⁵⁰ a feature shared with other texts in the *Xītánzhāng* genre such as those headed *Prajñā* or *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*, that likely date after 830,³⁵¹ suggest a strong likelihood this is a late Táng text. And yet it contains terms and phrases such as ‘resting the mind in the constant observation of purity’ and ‘observing the mind’ that are reminiscent of Northern Chán and of Shénhuì’s campaign against Northern Chán that began in 730.³⁵² This would seem dated in a post-830 composition.

Master Dìnghuì is known elsewhere in an undated fragment of a text from Dūnhuáng called *Praise of Chán Master of Dàxīngshān Monastery, the śramaṇa Dìnghuì* (*Dàxīngsì Chánshī shāmén Dìnghuì zàn* 大興善寺禪師沙門定慧讚) which reads in part:

Looking at the mind in the pond, observing the mist on the ranges, know that the body is empty illusion, and does not stain the flowers of the world [...]? *Samādhi* and *prajñā* are equal, the ten stages (of the bodhisattva) are undifferentiated [...].³⁵³

Dàxīngshān 大興山 Monastery was in Chángān and had been founded by Emperor Wén of the Suí in 582, and was where the famous Esoteric Buddhist translator and thaumaturge Būkōng 不空 (Amoghavajra) was based from 756,³⁵⁴ something alluded to by Quánzhēn.³⁵⁵ It had been a translation centre from as early as 590.³⁵⁶ Although coincidental, we find mention of the chorus or *héshēng* 合聲 at banquets mentioned by Wǔ Píngyī 武平一 (d. ca. 741), a relative of Empress Wú Zétiān 武則天,³⁵⁷ and this Wǔ Píngyī was alleged to have not only been ordered to supervise construction of a pagoda on Mt. Sòng, but was also attacked by Shénhuì for allegedly trying to erase Huìnéng, the Sixth Patriarch. He was a supporter of Pǔjì and it is interesting that some of the very lines about ‘resting the mind in observing purity’ appear just before Shénhuì

350 Jao 1967–1968: 585.

351 Zhōu Guǎngróng 2004: 398–399.

352 See Faure 1997: 157, 59 ff.

353 Stein 5809, in Ba Zhou 1965: 109–110; for the entry in the Dūnhuáng catalogue, see Shāngwù yìnshūguǎn 1983: 229.

354 Weinstein 1987: 57.

355 Zhōu Guǎngróng 2004: 317.

356 Chen 2002b: 17, 103, n. 42.

357 Jao 1967–1968: 586; from *Xīn Tángshū*, 14/119/4295, discussing rhyme schemes of barbarian (Central Asian) music which had become increasingly popular and lascivious, and the joint singing called *héshēng* 和聲.

slanders Wú in Shénhuì's corpus.³⁵⁸ I suspect then that this is a Northern Chán text and may have been made in the 730s, the idea being that the Siddham Stanzas were a missing part, rather like the *dhāraṇī* section of the Bodhiruci and Śikṣānanda translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* that were missing from the Guṇabhadra translation. The use of the meaningless syllables was similar,³⁵⁹ but now part of a Chán movement that popularised itself with verse, as Shénhuì also did, all around this time.³⁶⁰ This use of popular songs was justified by mention in the *Continued Lives* that Huikě sang or composed such songs.

The site of Mt. Sòng was also where Lǎoān 老安 lived and led a group of lay people, perhaps in a radical and demotic fashion, which led to a connection with Sīchuān and Wúzhù 無住 (714–774).³⁶¹ Nányuè Huáiràng 南嶽懷讓, reputed to have been a student of Huìnéng, also studied under Lǎoān, who enlightened him by moving his eye, a practice mentioned in the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* as occurring in some lands.³⁶² Lǎoān was allegedly enlightened in a similar way by Hóngrěn. Jìngzàng 淨藏 (675–746), another pupil of Lǎoān, also seems to have taught with lectures from the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and with sudden enlightenment. But above all, Mǎzǔ Dàoyī was also a pupil of Huáiràng.³⁶³ Moreover, Shénxiù seems to have used these paradoxical and wordless methods, possibly based on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, to teach.³⁶⁴ Wordless teaching and the universal nature are mentioned in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*:

Mahāmāti, see that in this world mosquitoes and ants and such sentient beings do not have language, and yet each can deal with matters.³⁶⁵

Whatever the pathway, Chán interest in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* reappears in Sīchuān in the *Record of the Dharma Treasure* of 774+ and this interest was in part a reaction against Shénhuì while adopting some of his propaganda.³⁶⁶

358 Yáng Zēngwén 1996: 31; Chen 2002c: 86–92; Jorgensen 2005: 34–36.

359 For the Bodhiruci and Śikṣānanda *dharanīs*, see T.16: 564c–565a and T.16.624c–625a.

360 For verses, see Ba Zhou 1965, *passim*; on those divided into five watches or twelve 'hours,' see Kawasaki 1980a and Kawasaki 1980b, with similarities to Northern Chán language of *Liáng Wǔdì wèn Zhìgōng héshàng rúhé xiūdào* 梁武帝問志公和尚如何修道 (p. 325).

361 Jorgensen 2005: 50–53.

362 T.16: 493a28–29: "There are Buddha countries that gaze upwards to illustrate the Dharma, or to make attributes, or raise eyebrows, or move eyeballs." Cf. Suzuki 1930: 107.

363 Ishii 2005: 110–111.

364 Jorgensen 2005: 366.

365 T.16: 493b4–5.

366 Jorgensen 2005: 561–564.

Wúzhù, while not rejecting the *Diamond Sutra* of Shénhuì outright, seems to have preferred the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, for in the *Record of the Dharma Treasure* of Wúzhù's group, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* "is by far the most frequently quoted source, with and without attribution."³⁶⁷ This revives the notion, as found in the *Record of Masters and Disciples* of the use of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* as an overarching symbol of Chán under which all synthesis could take place.³⁶⁸ The *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* is used to "criticize attachment to the forms of teachings and practice," i.e., the name and attribute of the interpolated prediction about the change in the use of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* after four generations.³⁶⁹ However, the *Record of the Dharma Treasure* began a process in which the *Shǒu Léngyán jīng* or pseudo-*Śurangama Sūtra* and the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith*, apocrypha which seem to be derived from the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, dominated Chán scriptural studies,³⁷⁰ as can be seen from Chán commentaries and references.³⁷¹ It is likely that Chán adherents created the *Shǒu Léngyán jīng* 首楞嚴經 based on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* via the *Awakening of Faith* and *Nirvāṇa Sūtra*.³⁷² As a Chán product, the *Record of the Dharma Treasure* used this forged sūtra to warn against false teachings about meditation.³⁷³

As a native of Sìchuān, it is likely that Mǎzǔ Dàoyī 馬祖道一 (706–786) took up ideas from Wúzhù's group, those of Northern Chán, including Lǎoān, and some from Shénhuì's group.³⁷⁴ Part of this was Dàoyī's reclamation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* and the use of the *Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith* and other *tathāgatagarbha* sutras, thereby creating 'Classical Chán'.³⁷⁵ Dàoyī used these texts

to construct the doctrinal framework [...] and further identified the ordinary, empirical human mind with the Buddha-nature, with the equivalence of the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ālayavijñāna* in the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*,

367 Adamek 2007: 166.

368 Ibid.: 435, n. 25, 515.

369 Ibid.: 27.

370 For the pseudo-*Śurangama*, see ibid.: 412, n. 44.

371 Yanagida 1987: "Kaisetsu 解説" ("Explanation"), 266, 270–271, 279, 293–295; Araki 1986: 361–364, 366, 370–372, 374–380.

372 Jorgensen 2005: 510–515.

373 Jorgensen 2005: 516.

374 Ibid.: 52, 487–488.

375 Jia 2006: 6, 67; Yanagida 1987: 285: "The former master seems to be Mǎzǔ. In content, it is common with the *Qǐxìn lùn* 起信論, *Shǒu Léngyán jīng* and *Yuánjué jīng* 圓覺經." For further analysis, see Ishii 2005: 112–118, who cites many cases and examples.

and the two inseparable aspects of one-mind in the *Awakening of Faith* (*Qǐxìn lùn*) in scriptural support.³⁷⁶

Dàoyī said that he transmitted the One Mind of Bodhidharma as found in the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*,³⁷⁷ and he also based much of his teaching on the *Long Scroll* that held much in common with the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. The heirs of Dàoyī continued to use ideas from the *Long Scroll* and sometimes quoted it, so this teaching was passed on as a fundamental teaching of Chán thereafter.³⁷⁸ Among these heirs was Huángbò Xiyùn 黃檗希運 (d. 850) who quoted the *Long Scroll* often in his *Wǎnlíng lù* 宛陵錄 and *Chuánxīnfǎyào* 傳心法要,³⁷⁹ although we must be wary as these texts were edited in the Sòng Dynasty.

The next monk to cite the *Long Scroll* extensively was Yǒngmíng Yánshòu 永明延壽 (904–975) in his *Zōngjìng lù* 宗鏡錄 of 961. He quoted the *Long Scroll* many times.³⁸⁰ Judging from his quotations of the *Zōngjìng lù*, a commentator on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, Zhèngshòu 正受 (1146), a Chán monk, seems to have thought that the *Zōngjìng lù*, a text that attempted to unify Chán and doctrine, was in its entirety a gloss on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*. This is because Zhèngshòu probably noted that the author of the preface to the *Zōngjìng lù*, Yáng Jié 楊傑 wrote:

The true words of the Buddhas take the mind to be the core theme (*zōng* 宗). Sentient beings believe in the Way, taking the theme to be the mirror (*jiàn* 鑑 = *jìng* 鏡) [...] The mind of the Buddha is the mind of the sentient beings, and causes enlightenment and so one becomes the Buddha. [...] Chán Master Yǒngmíng Yánshòu realised the supreme vehicle, and realised the prime meaning. He clearly penetrated the scriptures of doctrine and deeply discerned the Chan theme/lineage [...] Because he read the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* that says, “The mind/heart of the Buddha’s words is the theme” he wrote the *Zōngjìng lù*.³⁸¹

376 Jia 2006: 6.

377 Ibid.: 70, 88.

378 Ishii 2005: 118–122; note Jorgensen 1979: 236–237, where I suggest that the *Long Scroll* survived because of the Sichuan groups; see also Jia 2006: 82.

379 Ishii 2005: 120; for example, quote, T.48: 386b. Noted by Yanagida 1969 in his notes to his translation of each section.

380 Shown graphically in Tanaka 1983: 177–179; listed in footnotes to his translation by Broughton 1999: 124, n. 14; 125, n. 30; 126, n. 67; 128, n. 102; 131, n. 127; 132, n. 133; 147; 134, n. 152.

381 T.48: 415a7–15; *Zōngjìng lù* translates as “Record of the Mirror of the Core Theme.”

Even in the start of this huge text, Yánshòu cited the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* and Bodhidharma, probably reflecting the views of Mǎzǔ Dàoyī.³⁸²

Later, the *Jīngdé chuándēng lù* 景德傳燈錄 of 1004 incorporates hagiographies of Bodhidharma, Huikē, Layman Xiàng, meditation teacher Nà and Huimǎn, based on Dào Xuán's account (some of it almost word for word, especially in account of Layman Xiàng), plus many Chán inventions from the intervening centuries,³⁸³ as well as all of *Long Scroll* section 2 in fascicle 30.³⁸⁴

Such ideas also reached Japan in the eighth century. Part of the *Long Scroll* (sections 2, 8, 13, 19–20, 25–26, 30, 33, 49) is also found in the *Shōshitsu roku-mon* 少室六門 that was published in Japan in 1387.³⁸⁵ Moreover, there is evidence that commentaries on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* attributed to Bodhidharma reached Japan, some at least by 736, and could date from the mid-sixth to seventh centuries.³⁸⁶ According to the Nara period catalogues, there were copies of a *shū* 疏 commentary by Bodhidharma in five fascicles copied in 747 and 751, another on topic divisions copied in 739, plus a précis by a Fǎān 法安 and a commentary in thirteen fascicles by Shàngdé 尚德 copied in 740.³⁸⁷ This last is probably the Vinaya Master Shàngdé who followed the Shèlùn interpretation as listed in the Fǎchòng biography.³⁸⁸ The 'Bodhidharma commentary' may have been brought to Japan by the Northern Chán monk Dào Xuán (Dōsen) in 736.³⁸⁹ Like the commentary by the Khotanese Zhìyǎn, it was probably copied for the Kegon School of Tōdaiji.³⁹⁰ Based on bibliographic studies, it has to date from between 445 and 740, and shares much in common with the theories of Jīngyǐng Huìyuǎn of the Southern Dìlùn Faction, who quoted the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* as one of his authorities. It is likely also to have been produced before Xuánzàng's return to China in 645 and may thus have been a text of Fǎchòng's group.³⁹¹

382 T.48: 417b18, 29–c3; see also 418b citing Dàoyī and his heirs.

383 T.51: 217a–221c.

384 T.51: 458b–c.

385 These are noted in Yanagida 1969 in his notes to each section; see T.48: 369c–370c.

386 Ibuki 1999: 1–33.

387 Ishida 1966: 100.

388 *Continued Lives*: 666b21.

389 Ibuki 1999: 7–8.

390 Ibuki 1999: 10 ('jō'). Zhìyǎn and his commentary are studied in Jorgensen 2013: 1–60. Zhìyǎn was a Khotanese of Fèng'ēn 奉恩 Monastery who was ordained in 707 and did his last translation in 721. See *Kāiyuán shìjiào lù*, T.55: 571a–b, and *Sòng gāosēng zhuàn*, T.50: 720a1–12.

391 Ibuki 1999: 12–14.

Again, some reading of Dào xuān's hagiography of Huìkě and his linkage with the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra* seems to have occurred in Japan for Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653–1744) makes the intriguing comment that

亦有來由二祖弟子向居士就此經別（八十六分）。現在東福ノ三聖寺大藏。關師全依此矣

Kokan (Shiren) took the repeated dialogues and divided them into eighty-six sections, and he also had a source for them with the pupil of the Second Patriarch, Layman Xiàng, who separated this sutra into eighty-six sections. Currently (this commentary) is in the library of Sanshōji of Tōfukuji, and Kokan totally relied on this.³⁹²

This commentary by Layman Xiàng is otherwise unknown, but Layman Xiàng is known from the *Continued Lives* biography of Huìkě and a letter of his to Huìkě has survived in a quote therein and in the *Long Scroll*.³⁹³ It may have been a falsely attributed commentary, for there is no mention of it anywhere else that I am aware of. It must remain a mystery for the time being.

Therefore, it is clear that there was a long tradition in Chán that linked the *Long Scroll* with the transmission of the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. From my reading of the earliest source, the *Continued Lives* hagiographies, even in what was likely to have been the 645 draft, this was not a later fabrication, but genuinely reflected what Dào xuān had learnt and thought.

9 Conclusion

A close reading of the *Continued Lives* hagiographies of Bodhidharma and Huìkě in association with the *Long Scroll* tells us that these individuals were yet to be linked to any particular lineage or grouping. By taking into account Dào xuān's historiographical methods and correlating his biographies and his 'Evaluation' with other sources, more than just myths or hagiographical tropes, and definitely more than nothing, can be ascertained about the lives of Bodhidharma and Huìkě.

392 *Butsugoshinron kōshō*, mss., 1: 15a. Kokan Shiren 虎關師鍊 (1278–1346) wrote a commentary on the *Lankāvatāra Sūtra*. This commentary is studied in Jorgensen 2013: 1–60.

393 Jorgensen 1979: 121–122, 165, 251–252, 255, n. 28, 382; Broughton 1999: 60–61, 75.

Thus, Bodhidharma was a South Indian, probably from the Pallava kingdom and possibly a former prince. He travelled to south China by a maritime route and eventually, as an elderly monk, arrived in Luòyáng between 516 and 528. He probably resided for a time in Yǒngníng Monastery and possibly died in a massacre ca. 528. His disciple, Huikě, who had been denied a teacher's role by the monastic establishment, studied with Bodhidharma for six years, and buried his master without any formalities on a nearby river bank.

A few years later, after having summoned those who venerated Bodhidharma, taught them, and possibly recorded his master's words, Huikě left for Yè when the Northern Wèi state split into two rival puppet dynasties in 534. There he taught in unauthorised monasteries and was victimised by a certain Dàohéng, who thought Huikě's teachings were wrong, empty of content. Having sent his best pupil to defeat Huikě in a debate or contest, Dàohéng was incensed when he found that his choice student was converted by Huikě. Dàohéng tried to have Huikě assassinated, but Huikě survived, and Dàohéng or the would-be assassin committed suicide when the facts came to light.

These events convinced Huikě to preach openly and to write out his teachings clearly in verse and sermons. From this time, some of these texts were compiled into a scroll that circulated. However, in 577, the Northern Zhōu conquest of Yè led to a persecution of Buddhism there. Huikě assisted the scholar monk Tánlín when they were both attempting to protect Buddhist items from the Northern Zhōu troops. Both lost an arm while doing so. This eventuated in Huikě heading south, reaching the distant port of Guǎngzhōu in the state of Chén, where he taught some of the students of Paramārtha. Later he moved part the way back north to Yùzhāng, where he fell ill around 582 and probably died soon after.

It may have been a little later that Tánlín began compiling what became the *Long Scroll*, and he, or someone else slightly later, included quotes from many teachers who lived during the period ca. 550 to ca. 600, and who could possibly have been associated, even tenuously, with Huikě. This resulted in a heterogeneous anthology, although anchored in the themes of mind and meditation practice. Unlike most Buddhist texts produced during this period in China, it was not an exegetical text and contained colloquial language, for it included quotes of sayings.³⁹⁴

The early part of the *Long Scroll* and the account by Dào xuān, both in the biography of Bodhidharma and the 'Evaluation of the Meditators,' depict

394 For the colloquial, see Broughton 1999: 6, 80, 166–167. For contemporary colloquialisms, see Běijīng Dàxué Zhōngguó wénxuéshǐ jiàoyánsù 1962 vol. 2: 375–377; for the poetry by Yǔ Xìn 庾信 (513–581), see *ibid.*: 704.

Bodhidharma's teachings as consisting of a four-fold practice, with a theoretical basis in the *tathagatagarbha* doctrine, and the highest level of Mahāyāna meditation.

Later, the *Long Scroll* was distributed widely, reaching Tibet in Tibetan translation, Dūnhuáng in several versions, and into Sòng dynasty China and beyond, Korea by the Koryŏ dynasty at the latest, and parts of it reached Japan. This wide geographical distribution and the quotes from it by eminent Chinese monks over a long time span prove that it continued to have meaning for followers of Chán, although the later parts of the *Long Scroll*, those not connected with Bodhidharma, were lost by the tenth century in China proper.

However, it was the *Continued Lives* hagiographies of Bodhidharma and Huikē, and Dào xuān's 'Evaluation of Meditators' that praised Bodhidharma's meditation practice, that inspired later generations to recruit these monks as ancestors in proposed lineages. The occasional anti-authoritarian stance, avoidance of empty doctrinal study, the need for a teacher, asceticism and focus on the role of the mind, and valuing of the Guṇabhadra translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* can all be traced back to these hagiographies. Thus, the beginnings—as seen from the perspective of later readers—was critical in the development of the idea of Chán, and are not merely hagiographical *topoi* or structures.

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This is an early Chán transmission text which was written in ca. 712 by a member of the Northern Chán School. The text creates a connection between the 'Patriarchs' Dào xìn, Sēng càn, and Hóng rěn.

Dámó chánshī lùn 達摩禪師論 [*Treatise of Chán Master Bodhidharma*]; P. 2039; Beijing guò 55 (# 1254).

The text was composed during the late 7th century and consists of ca. 49 lines (on the Beijing ms., 47 lines); the text includes materials on the early Chán School; the header has the title: *Tiānzhúguó Pútídámó chánshī lùn yī juàn* 天竺國菩提達摩禪師論一卷; on P. 3018 there is also a short text introduced by the title *Pútídámó lùn* 菩提達摩論; however this is a excerpt from the *Èrrù sīxíng lùn* and does not show any parallels to P. 2039; there is another text by the same name discovered among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts stored in the Yakushi 藥師 monastery; the text consists of

ca. 107 lines and was edited in Sekiguchi 1969; also, this text is related to the Early Chán school and not to Bodhidharma; see *Zenseki kaidai*: 455. However, in “The Provenance of the *Dámó chánshī lùn*”, John Jorgensen argues for a date of origin between 645 and 681, as such being no “forgery.”

Dà Xīngshān sì chánshī shāmén Dīnghuì shī cǎn 大興山寺禪師沙門定慧詩贊 [*Poetic Verse by the Chán Master, Monk Dīnghuì of Dà Xīngshān Temple*], S. 5809.

Èrrù sìxíng lùn 二入四行論 [*Treatise on the Two Entries and Four Practices*]; by Bodhidharma (d.u.); S. 2715, 3375, 7159; P. 2923, 3018, 4634; Sù 宿 99.

Ed., tr. and annotated in Yanagida 1969; see also Suzuki 1968: 141–161; Jorgensen 1979; Faure 1986; tr. Red Pine 1989: 2–8; McRae 1986: 102–106; Broughton 1999: 8–52. Probably the only surviving work which is based on the teaching of Bodhidharma.

Fóshuō Léngqíé jīng chánmén xītán zhāng 佛說楞伽經禪門悉談章 [*The Siddham Chapter of the Gate of Chán [according to] the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra Expounded by the Buddha; hereafter Siddham Song*], mss. P. 2204, P.2212, P.3082, P.3099; S.4583v; Beijing *niǎo* 鳥64 (BD00041-1); Dx00492; ed. T.85, no. 2779.

For a detailed description, critical edition, and annotated translation, see the paper of Anderl & Sørensen in this publication. The text is also digitally edited in the *Database of Chinese Medieval Texts*.

Léngqíé shīzī jì 楞伽師資記 [*Record on the Masters and Disciples of the Laṅkāvatāra*]; by Jīngjué 淨覺 (683–?); P. 3294, 3436, 3537, 3703, 4564; S. 2054; ed. T.85, no. 2837.

This is a transmission text of the early Chán School; tr. Faure 1989: 87–182, Yanagida 1971: 49–326.

Lìdài fǎbǎo jì 歷代法寶記 (*Records of Dharma Treasure Through the Ages*), ed. T.51, no. 2075; tr. in Adamek 2007.

This early Chán transmission text was written some time between 780 and 800.

Long Scroll > *Èrrù sìxíng lùn* 二入四行論

Nán Tiānzhú guó Pútídámó chánshī guānmén 南天竺國菩提達摩禪師觀門 [*Meditation Methods of Chán Master Bodhidharma from Southern India*]; S. 2973, 6958 (ed. Komazawa *daigaku bukkyōgaku-bu kenkyū kiyō* 駒澤大學佛教學部研究紀要 23); S. 2583 (ed. T.85, no. 2832; *Meisha yoin*: 78 11); S. 2669 (ed. Suzuki 1968, vol. 2); P. 2050, P. 2058; Ryūkyō ms.

This short text consists of ca. 430 Chinese characters, dealing with Chán contemplation and seven kinds of proper practices; attached to the text are ‘10 kinds of merits connected to the loud recitation of Buddhas name.’ For references, see *Zenseki kaidai*: 455; Tanaka 1983.

Record of Masters and Disciples > *Léngqíé shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記

Record of the Dharma Treasure > *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記

Shǎoshì liùmén 少室六門 [*The Six Gates of [Mt.] Shàoshì*]; ed. T.48, no. 2009.

The text contains the following treatises: *Xīn jīng sòng* 心經頌; *Pòxiàng lùn* 破相論; *Èrzhǒng rù* 二種入; *Ānxīn fǎmén* 安心法門; *Wùxìng lùn* 悟性論; *Xuèmai lùn* 血脈

論; these were materials attributed to Bodhidharma and compiled during the Sòng period; however, the *Èr zhǒng rù* 二種入 (= *Èrrù sìxíng lùn* 二入四行論) is the only treatise which is closely connected to Bodhidharma.

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Northern Chán and the *Siddham* Songs

Christoph Anderl and Henrik H. Sørensen

1 Introduction

In this paper, we will examine a text that enjoyed great popularity in the north-western region of China, with multiple copies preserved in the Dūnhuáng corpus. Although probably authored during the eighth century and conveying typical Northern Chán ideas, the text was copied repeatedly in later years, evidencing that Northern Chán thinking remained *en vogue* in at least some sectors of the Chinese Buddhist sphere. As mentioned in the Introduction to this volume, Dūnhuáng Chán adherents were well aware of the “split” in the Chán School, resulting in the so-called “Northern” and “Southern” branches. However, in Dūnhuáng, Chán Buddhists could identify with both approaches, and seem to have had a reconciliatory attitude towards these sectarian developments. The text under discussion not only exemplifies early Chán terminology but also illustrates how Sanskrit versification appeared in material relating to Northern Chán.

The text in question is the *Fóshuō Léngqié jīng chánmén xītán zhāng* 佛說楞伽經禪門悉談章 (*The Siddham Chapter of the Gate of Chán [According to] the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra Expounded by the Buddha*; hereafter the *Siddham Song*), of which several copies have been identified.¹ This text was so popular that it was translated into Old Uighur several times (see Chapter Three, this volume). This suggests that early Chán thinking, concepts, and terms remained popular, an observation that is confirmed when we examine the translations in Tibetan (see Chapter Four, this volume).

The *Siddham Song* is ascribed to a previously unknown Chán master named Dinghui 定惠, who is variously said to have hailed from Dàxīngshān Monastery 大興善寺 in Luòyáng or Huìshān Monastery 會善寺 on Mt. Sōng 嵩嶽 in Hénán province.²

1 On the various manuscripts and editions, see below.

2 Another poetic text is ascribed to Dinghui: the *Dàxīngshān sì chánshī shāmén Dinghui shīcǎn* 大興山寺禪師沙門定惠詩贊 (*Poetic Verses by the Chán Master Śramaṇa Dinghui of Dàxīngshān Monastery*; S.5809). This text is briefly described in Demiéville and Jao, *Airs de Touen-houang*: 86–87 and 330–331. There is also a *Siddham Song* in eight strophes in Beijing

The *Siddham Song* texts appear to have originated in India as a development of standard Buddhist liturgy, but exactly how they were transmitted to China and the forms they assumed there remain unclear. What is clear, though, is that Chinese Buddhists copied—or perhaps more accurately drafted their own versions of—performative texts in which Siddham phonetics were incorporated.³ In any case, the text we are dealing with here is certainly one of this type.

Dinghui's instructions on Chán practice have been rendered in didactic verse form, with each section featuring a string of Sanskrit sounds, appearing to emulate the sounds of spells. However, their true function is evidently to serve as metric markers for rhyming in the incantation of the text. In India,

鳥 64 (ed. in *Dūnhuáng gēcí*, Vol. 2: 932–940), which is very similar in structure and content to the one we address here. Henrik Sørensen discusses this text in more detail in Chapter Six of this volume.

Among the *Dūnhuáng* manuscripts there are several “songs” and texts of the Chán School in verse form, including the *Wǔgèng zhuǎn–Nánzōng dìng xiézhèng wǔgèng zhuǎn* 五更轉–南宗定邪正五更轉 (S.2679, S.4634, S.6083, S.6923, S.4654, P.2045, P.2270, Beijing 咸 18, Beijing 露 6). This text is usually attributed to Shénhuì 神會 or his circle. Other Chán-inspired works in verse form include the *Wǔgèng zhuǎn–Nánzōng zàn* 五更轉–南宗贊, *Wǔgèng zhuǎn–dùn jiàn jìng* 五更轉–頓見境 (S.6103, S.2679), *Wǔgèng zhuǎn–Nánzōng zàn* 五更轉–南宗贊 (S.4173, S.4654, S.5529, P.2984, P.2963, Beijing 周 70, D.1363), *Qiú yīnguǒ–xiū shàn* 求因果–修善 (S.5588), *Zhèng wúwéi* 證無為 (P.3065, P.306), *Dì qī zǔ Dàzhào héshàng Jimìe rìzhāi zànwen* 第七祖大照和尚寂滅日齋贊文 (S.2512; *Dàzhào héshàng* is a reference to the Northern School master Pǔjì [651–739]), *Dà Jìn Héxí Dūnhuáng jùn–Zhāng héshàng xiě zhēnzàn* 大晉敦煌郡–張和尚寫真贊 (P.3972), *Wǔgèng zhuǎn–jiǎtuō Chánshī gè zhuǎn* 五更傳–假託禪師各專 (S.5996, S.3017, P.3409), *Qián Héxí dū Sēngtǒng Zhái héshàng miǎo zhēnzàn* 前河西僧統翟和尚遜真贊 (P.4600; a reference to Zhái Fǎróng 翟法榮, who was active in the middle of the ninth century in *Dūnhuáng* and probably practiced a mixture of Northern and Southern Chán), *Zhèng Dào gē* 證道歌 (S.2165, S.4037, S.6000, P.2104, P.2105, P.3360; by Zhēnjué 真覺 = Xuánjué 玄覺), a “Chán Song” (*Chánchāng* 禪唱) in P.3156, and the *Dòng zhū rén yī jié* 動諸人一偈 (S.3017, P.3409).

For an overview of this type of text, see Wáng Zhīpéng (2005), who points out that the texts include both “Southern” and “Northern” Chán material. Some texts even seem to blend elements from the two strands of Chán. Wáng concludes that *Dūnhuáng* Chán was probably characterized by a reconciliatory attitude towards factional Chán. The texts contain straightforward instructions on practice and exhortations, probably aimed at a more general audience. However, none of the aforementioned works boast the metric complexity of the *Siddham Song*.

- 3 For a useful concise discussion of the history and development of the Siddham song texts, including the work under discussion here, see Zhōu Guǎngróng 2001: 141–150. See also Mài Wénbiāo 2013, who focuses on the popular *Pǎn zhòu* 普庵咒. For a general overview of the introduction and development of Sanskrit writing and verse in China, see Chaudhuri 2011.

this genre was traditionally used as a teaching device for learning the Sanskrit alphabet, pronunciation, or grammar. Knowledge of it probably arrived in China at an early date, although the level of interest in “Sanskrit studies” among early medieval Chinese Buddhists remains unclear. However, the subject gained popularity during the Táng Dynasty, triggered by increasing interest in *dhāraṇīs* and their correct pronunciation. Knowledge of Indian writing not only enabled more direct access to the original Buddhist texts but was also thought to bestow great spiritual benefits, as each sound or group of sounds was accorded specific virtues.⁴

There is ample evidence of the popularity of Siddham material during the Táng Dynasty.⁵ However, there is an ongoing scholarly debate concerning the older history of Indic writing in China. Some scholars insist that the Siddham alphabet was interpolated into the *Mahāparinivāṇa Sūtra* at a later date, since no extant sūtras written in either Pāli or Sanskrit contain the Varṇamālā.⁶

4 According to Xuányīng 玄應's *Yiqiè jīng yīnyì* 一切經音義, the Siddham primers were produced in “Brahma's Heaven” (案西域悉曇章本是婆羅賀磨天所作), and 悉曇 is explained as meaning “accomplished” (*chéngjiù* 成就). There was also an awareness of the difficulties involved in transferring the phonetics of Indic languages into Chinese. Quán Zhēn 全真 (T.54, no. 2134: 1216b) states: 夫欲識兩國言音者。須是師資相乘。或是西國人亦須曉解悉曇童(懂)梵漢之語者。或是博學君子欲得作學漢梵之語者 “For those who wish to know the sounds of both countries [i.e., India and China], it should be that teachers and students develop them in sequence [i.e., that teachers should transmit them to the students]. Alternatively, people from the West should explain the Siddham to those who understand Sanskrit and Chinese. Or, to those gentlemen of broad learning who wish to engage in the study of the Chinese and Indic languages.” Not only were the pronunciations of Indian sounds very different depending on Indian regional dialects and the period of transmission (as well as the numbers of basic vowels and consonants, and the syllables composed from them) but, naturally, the transcription into a Chinese phonological system based on Chinese characters posed great difficulties, too. Among the various Siddham primers there are variations between 42 and 52 letters, with the vowels (usually standardized at 14) varying between 11 and 36. (On the system of 12 vowels and 4 liquids, see Lài Wénbiāo 2013: 197.) Among the various works on the Indian alphabetical system, Zhìguāng's 智廣 *Xītánzì jì* 悉曇字記 has probably enjoyed the highest reputation. It is also the only fully extant Chinese work of this kind (see Zhōu Guǎngróng 2001: 142).

5 The Japanese monk Annen 安然 produced a work entitled *Shittanzō* 悉曇藏 (corresponding roughly to Skr. *Siddham koṣa*) in 881, and there is an entry on *Xītán zhāng* in Yìjìng's travel diary (see Chaudhuri 2011: 16).

6 See Chaudhuri 2011: 23 f.

2 The Manuscripts

The following manuscripts contain the Chinese text of the *Xūtán zhāng*: P.2204, P.2212, P.3082, P.3099, S.4583v, and Beijing *niǎo* 鳥64 (BD00041-1). The most complete versions are P.2212 (with some sections where the paper is torn), P.2204,⁷ and P.3099 (with some damage to the initial part of the text). Fragments of the text are preserved on the verso side of S.4583 (from 看內外 until the end), with census records on the recto side. There is also a fragment in the St. Petersburg collection, ДХН 424 (formerly Дх492).⁸ There are great variations in the textual features, orthography, and arrangement across the manuscripts, especially between S.4583v and P.3082. This suggests the possibility that the extant copies are the result of extended textual transmission, and that the text was very popular and numerous copies were produced. The differences among the manuscripts are especially notable in the rendering of the phonetic passages. This may reflect attempts to adjust the phonology to new standards that had changed significantly with the introduction of Esoteric Buddhism,⁹ the translation of many new *dhāraṇīs*, and the “Sanskritization” of older versions of phonetic transcriptions. The effect of the song is dependent on the rhyme pattern, and as such it is of paramount importance to adjust the pattern both regionally and diachronically (i.e., in case the pronunciation of Chinese characters changed over time). The *Siddham Song* was critically edited in T.85, no. 2779, in which P.2204 and P.2212 were compared. However, the edition contains several mistakes and does not incorporate important information from the other manuscripts. P.3082 has been reproduced in *Airs de Touen-houang* (pls. 92–99). Beijing 北8405 (i.e., *niǎo* 鳥 64) has been edited and published with notes in the *Dūnhuáng gēcí* (Vol. 2: 933–940).

3 The Structure of the Siddham Song

The song (*gēcí* 歌詞) under discussion consists of eight sections (“strophes”), each of which consists of a recurring structure. Traditionally, a *gēcí* is divided into “head” (*tóu* 頭), “belly” (*fū* 腹), and “tail” (*wěi* 尾). However, our *Sid-*

7 The copy of P.2204 is dated to 941 and has the following colophon attached: 天福隆辛丑歲十二月十九日淨土著比丘僧願宗題。迷頭口上（尚）小自後再口口口堪知敦煌懸（縣）公所。

8 See the Appendix.

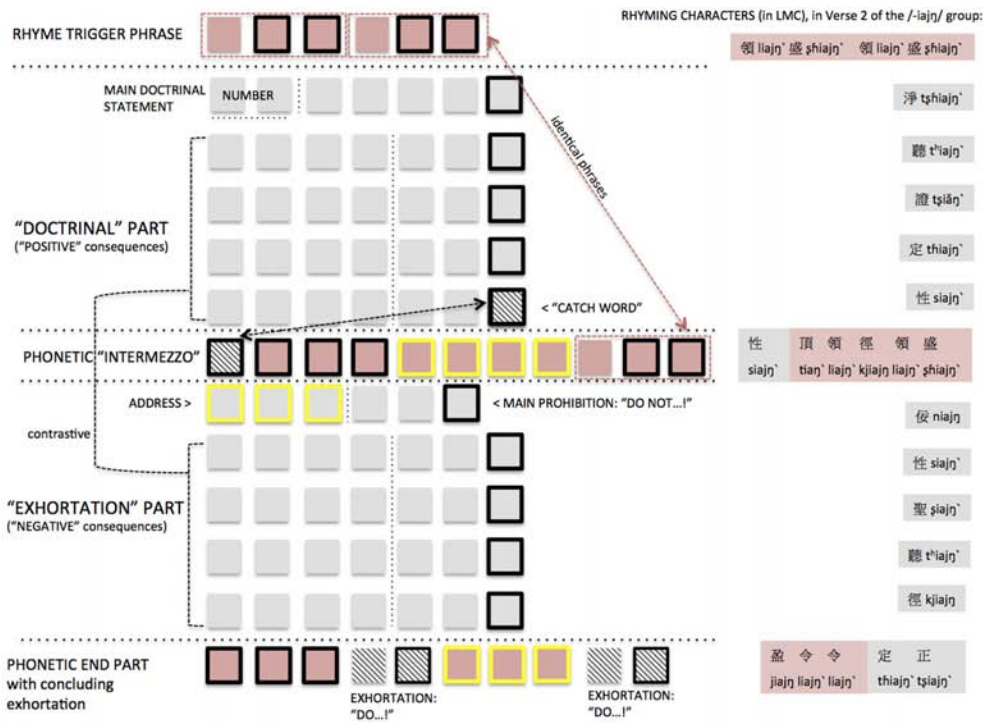
9 This is especially evident in transcriptions occurring in texts composed after Amoghavajra (705–774).

dham Song is structurally much more complex.¹⁰ The same rhyme pattern is employed within each strophe. Indeed, there is an “overuse” of rhymes, with each verse line ending with a rhyming character. In addition, many lines contain *several* rhyming characters.

The structure of the song is highly interesting, since it alternates between phonetic and semantic sections, with the two intermingling in other sections. There are three predominantly phonetic sections: One in the beginning, providing the rhyme scheme, for convenience’s sake we call it the “rhyme trigger phrase”; a second one in the middle (“phonetic intermezzo”), integrating a “catch word” from the preceding semantic section, and featuring the four recurring Sanskrit liquid vowels; and a third one concluding the strophe. According to the preface, the liquid vowels were placed at the beginning of Kumārajīva’s *Tōngyùn* 通韻 (which would have been atypical for a “Sanskrit primer,” since the liquids are the most “exotic” and rarely used vowels). In the “phonetic intermezzo,” the rhyme trigger phrase is repeated, introducing the second semantic part. The phonetic section at the end contains the final exhortations and the recurring “*svāhā*” (albeit written in an unconventional way, combined with the final particle *ya*). The choice of phonetic elements is unique, with many of the phonetic phrases found nowhere else in extant material. They may be related to the *Tōngyùn*, which is only partly preserved. Some of the characters in these sections probably refer to Sanskrit letters other than the four liquid vowels that occur in every verse. In fact, the Late Middle Chinese (LMC) reconstruction of the sounds suggests that some phonetically used characters might be only very loosely related to Sanskrit, and that they are rather included as non-meaningful sounds, in much the same way as “tra la la” might be used in an English song. For example, one sound sequence in Strophe 1 is 耶羅邏 (LMC /jia la la`/), which also neatly fits the overall rhyme structure of -(u)a that is used throughout the strophe.

As for the semantic sections, there are two main parts in each strophe, framed by the phonetic parts and following the rhyme scheme imposed at the beginning of each strophe. The “doctrinal” part starts with a “key phrase,” after which the number of the verse is provided. The key phrase usually consists of five characters, with the final one following the rhyme scheme. Thereafter, in most sections, there are 4×7-character phrases, each of which strictly follows the rhyme pattern. These elaborate on the phrase introduced in the first line, and comment on it in “positive” terms.

10 Zhōu Guǎngróng 2001: 141 differentiates three style types.



Explanations:

- Phonetically used character
- Semantically used character
- Phonetically used character which fits the rhyme pattern
- Semantically used character which fits the rhyme pattern
- "Catch word", which is repeated and integrated in the middle rhyme section
- Phonetically used character which is reoccurring in *all* verses (i.e., 魯留盧樓 *r f l l*, symbolizing the Siddham alphabet as the initial letters of the *Tōngyūn*; and 娑訶耶 *svāhā* preceding the final exhortation)
- Semantically used character which is reoccurring in *all* verses (i.e., 諸佛子莫, introducing the exhortation sections)
- Reoccurring identical phrase (the "rhyme trigger phrase" at the beginning of each verse, reoccurring in the middle phonetic section)

FIGURE 2.1 A schematic drawing of the structure of the *Siddham Song* strophes

After the subsequent “phonetic intermezzo,” there is a direct address to the “audience” of Buddhist disciples, then some prohibitions (i.e., what one should *not* do). Only the last two verses depart from this “Do not ...” structure. The exhortation part elaborates on the consequences for the practitioner if the prohibitions are ignored. As such, the doctrinal and exhortation parts are arranged in contrast to each other, and they usually have the same structure. (While some of the strophes divert from this structure,¹¹ this is probably due to textual transmission difficulties and copying errors.) They strictly follow the rhyme scheme and have a four-plus-three character structure within each sequence of seven characters. There is no strict grammatical or semantic parallelism across the lines (as opposed to poems written in regulated verse).

In Figure 2.1, we have provided an analysis of Strophe 2 and visualized it with a schematic drawing. As mentioned above, the rhyming characters are excessive in both the phonetic and the semantic parts. In Strophe 2, for example, there are no fewer than 25 rhyming characters (25 percent of all characters)!¹²

4 The Authorship of the Work

Several hypotheses have been proposed concerning the authorship of the text:¹³

1. The date of origination is between the Zhēnyuán 貞元 (785–805) and Yuánhé 元和 (806–820) eras, and the text was composed by the Northern Chán monk Dìnghuì 定惠.¹⁴
2. The text was composed by the Late Táng monk Shì Huán 釋寰.¹⁵
3. The text was produced during the Kāiyuán 開元 (713–741) era by Dìnghuì of the Dàxīngshàn Monastery 大興善寺.¹⁶

11 Especially Strophe 3.

12 For a short summary of the structure of the other strophes, see Kobayashi 2011.

13 Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that Dìnghuì may have been a monk who is not referenced in any other extant source, and as such cannot be identified.

14 Rèn Bàngtáng 1987.

15 See Rèn Bàngtáng 1987, whose conclusion is based on information contained in the JDCDL, fasc. 9, which states that the monk was a resident of Sōng-shān; his posthumous name was Dìnghuì.

16 Ráo Zōngyí 1993, whose conclusion is based on a date on S.4583r (either 740 or 746). The *Xītán zhāng* is written on the verso side of this manuscript. Ráo also argues that the author must have had a command of Sanskrit, and he identifies him as the Dìnghuì who features in S.580g, *Dàxīngshàn-sì chánshī shāmén Dìnghuì zàn* 大興山寺禪師沙門定惠贊. Mt. Dàxīng was a prominent translation center between the Suí and the Táng.

4. Zhōu Guǎngróng (2001: 143) points out that the text must have originated after the composition of the *Tōngyùn* 通韻 (traditionally ascribed to Kumārajīva). He assumes a date of composition after 830 on the basis of textual features.¹⁷ After analyzing information provided in the JCDL and comparing it with the preface of the *Xítáng zhāng*, he cites Shì Huáng as the author.

As stated above, the identity of Dìnghuì of Huìshàn Monastery (or Dàxīngshān Monastery) has long remained a mystery.¹⁸ As far as we have been able to ascertain, none of the traditional sources on Chán mentions a master by this name residing at Huìshàn Monastery on Mt. Sōng. There are other Chán monks with this honorific name including the celebrated Guǐfēng Zōngmì 圭峰宗密 (778–840), but it is difficult to make a case for him or any of the others being our Dìnghuì as they all lived in later times, as can be readily established on both historical and doctrinal grounds.

As far as we know, only Jao Tsong-yi and Paul Demiéville have taken serious note of Dìnghuì (in their study of the hymns and eulogies found at Dūnhuáng).¹⁹ However, even they remain uncertain regarding his identity and the precise religious context in which he operated. More recently, Chinese scholars such as Rèn Bàntáng 任半塘 and Zhōu Guǎngróng 周广荣 have suggested that Dìnghuì was the Chán monk Huánzhōng 寰中 (780–862).²⁰ However, this identification is certainly erroneous, for several reasons. Firstly, Huánzhōng was a Southern Chán monastic—a direct follower of Báizhàng Huáihǎi 百丈懷海 (730–814), descending from the Hóngzhōu School of Mǎzǔ Dàoyī 馬祖道一 (709–788).²¹ Secondly, none of the early sources on Huánzhōng mentions that he composed Siddham songs. Thirdly, in our opinion, Dìnghuì's song clearly dates from the first half of the eighth century: that is, before Huánzhōng was born. Fourthly, and most significantly, there are no traces of Southern Chán in the *Siddham Song* under discussion. On the contrary, it reflects mainstream

17 In addition, Zhōu Guǎngróng points out that the text specifically states that the four liquid vowels constitute the beginning of the list of vowels. This arrangement seems to have been employed for the first time in the *Nièpán jīng xīnán zhāng* 涅槃經悉曇章.

18 Contrary to what one might expect, neither Tanaka Ryōshō nor Yanagida Seizan—in their otherwise excellent studies on the history and literature of early Chán—pays much attention to Dìnghuì. Bernard Faure 1989: 58–60 discusses him briefly, but remains unclear about his identity.

19 Cf. Demiéville and Jao 1971: 86–87, 330–331.

20 Cf. *Dūnhuáng gēcí*, Vol. 2: 932, 940; Zhōu Guǎngróng 2001: 143–144.

21 For Huánzhōng's biographical entry, see JCDL, T.51, no. 2076: 263c–264a; see also T.50, no. 2061: 778a.

Northern Chán in its purest form. Hence, our Dìnghuì could not have been Huánzhōng, so we must look elsewhere for an accurate identification.

In 2010, Takise Shōjun published a concise study on the *Siddham Song*, focusing on the date of compilation. He notes the text's close relationship to Northern Chán thought²² as well as parallels found in Shénhuì's criticism of early Chán thought before suggesting that Shénhuì might have been familiar with the *Siddham Song* before launching his criticism in 732. Hence, he dates the text's composition to around 720. Takise also emphasizes the close relationship with Jìngjué's *Léngqí shízī jì*—which similarly constructs a patriarchal lineage between Guṇabhadra, the translator of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, and Bodhidharma—and argues that the compiler may well have been in the latter's circle of Chán adherents.

The contents of the manuscripts mentioned above and other primary sources all suggest that the author's doctrinal stance belonged firmly within the Northern Chán tradition. In fact, the *Siddham Song* contains almost every doctrinal feature that characterizes this denomination of Chán, including references to its main meditation practices, such as “meditating on purity” (*kànjìng* 看淨), “contemplating/viewing the mind” (*kànxīn* 看心), “one thought/one-pointedness (of mind)” (*yīniàn* 一念), the “contemplative method of being apart from mentation” (*xīn lí chánmén guān* 心離禪門觀), and being “without recollection” (*wúniàn* 無念). Most conspicuously, the reference to “sweeping of the mirror” (*mó jìng* 磨鏡) links the text directly to Shénxiù's famous verse in the *Platform Scripture* and, by extension, his lineage.²³ The statement on the difference between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* as well as the overall gradualist and dualistic attitude towards practice that is evident throughout the work similarly identify the text as belonging to Northern Chán. Interestingly, the doctrinal and practical stance of the *Siddham Song*, with its overwhelmingly gradualist approach, seems to justify Southern Chán adherents' traditional insinuations against and criticism of Northern Chán.²⁴

Having established the sectarian provenance of Dìnghuì on the basis of the doctrines that feature in the *Siddham Song*, we must now attempt to identify his historical and geographical milieu. The manuscripts relating to Dìnghuì state that he was a Chán master of either Dàxīngshān Monastery or Huìshàn

22 For more details, see the translation part.

23 Cf. T.48, no. 2007: 337c.

24 This ought to cause us to look critically at Yanagida's assertion that Northern Chán was as “sudden” as Southern Chán. Careful appraisal of the sources indicates that the Shénhuì's criticism of Northern Chán, as well as that found in the *Platform Scripture*, was justified, at least to a certain extent.

Monastery on Mt. Sōng. To the best of our knowledge, there has never been a Dàxīngshān Monastery on Mt. Sōng, although there was a major, well-known monastery of that name in Luòyáng proper.²⁵ By contrast, there was—and still is—a Huìshàn Monastery on the mountain. Hence, we suggest that whoever wrote down the *Siddham Song* confused the two institutions and that the master was probably a resident of Huìshàn Monastery. As this was also the residence of Pǔjì 普寂 and Yíxíng 一行, Dìnghuì's historical affiliation with Northern Chán seems rather obvious.

As the *Siddham Song* is of Northern Chán provenance and reflects some influence of Esoteric Buddhism in its use of versifying Siddham, we suggest that it was composed after Śubhākarasimha started to popularize Esoteric Buddhist rituals in northern China. Earlier Northern Chán scriptures (i.e., primarily the works ascribed to Shénxiù) show no Esoteric Buddhist influence whatsoever.²⁶ Consequently, we may conclude that Dìnghuì flourished after the death of Shénxiù, probably around the time when Śubhākarasimha and Vajrabodhi were teaching in the Twin Capitals. As we have already shown, the text of P.2212 must have been composed before Shénhuì launched his critique in 732. Moreover, it seems all but certain that Dìnghuì was at least acquainted with Pǔjì and Yíxíng. Indeed, he was probably identical with one or the other. However, as “Dìnghuì” was seemingly either an honorific or a sobriquet, it is unlikely that Pǔjì is our man because we already know his honorific—“Dàzhào”—as this appears on an extant stele inscription.²⁷ In addition, there is no evidence that Pǔjì ever incorporated Esoteric Buddhist elements or Siddham into his Chán teachings.

Yíxíng's own stele inscription gives his posthumous title as “Dàhuì” 大慧. It is unlikely that “Dìnghuì” is simply a modified or corrupted version of this honorific. However, in the *Dà-Táng Dōngdū Dàshèngshàn sì gù Zhōng-Tiānzhuó guó Shànwúwèi sānzàng héshàng bēimíng bīngxù* 大唐東都大聖善寺故中天竺國善無畏三藏和尚碑銘並序 (*The Central Indian Tripitaka Master, Venerable Śubhākarasimha's Stele Inscription from the Dàshèngshàn Monastery in the Eastern Capital of the Great Táng, with Preface*), the celebrated scholar Lǐ Huá 李華 (715–766) gives Yíxíng's style name as “Dìnghuì.”²⁸ We also know that Yíxíng dwelt on

25 For a useful presentation of the history of the Dàxīngshān Monastery, see Wáng Yàróng 1986. For an overview of the great Esoteric Buddhist monasteries and their functions under the Táng, see Chen 2011: 286–293.

26 Shénxiù's teachings and the works associated with him are discussed in McRae 1986: 148–234.

27 For a survey of Pǔjì's life and career, see *ibid.*: 65–67.

28 Cf. T.50, no. 2055: 291b.

Mt. Sōng for a number of years and that he studied Northern Chán under Pǔjì, which would explain the strong influence of that tradition in the *Siddham Song*. Therefore, he seems the most likely author of the text. Moreover, as it contains little in the way of Esoteric Buddhism proper, we may go further and suggest that he composed it prior to his exposure to the teachings of Śubhākarasīṃha in the 720s.

5 Text Edition and Translation²⁹

5.1 Title

佛說楞伽經禪門悉談章并序³⁰

5.2 Preface

諸佛子等合掌至心聽。我今欲說大乘楞伽悉談章。悉談章者，悉談昔大乘在楞伽山。因得菩提達摩和尚。宋家元年從南天竺國。將楞伽經來至東))都。跋陀三藏法師奉詔翻譯。其經總有五卷合成一部。文字浩汗意義難知。和上慈悲廣濟郡品。通經問道識攬玄宗。窮達本原皆蒙((指受。又嵩山會善沙門定惠翻出悉談章。廣開禪門不妨慧學。不著文字並合秦音。亦與鳩摩羅什法師通韻。魯留盧樓為首。













5.2.1 Textual Annotations

- The T. edition (included in CBETA and SAT) follows P.2212, with comparisons to P.2204. The orthography of P.2204, although neatly lined up, is rather strange and clumsy and gives a somewhat “non-Chinese” impression. In addition, the copyist might have used an unusual writing utensil.
- *Děng* 等 is functioning here as plural marker, as frequently in Buddhist texts, rather than meaning “and so on,” “and others,” etc.
- 悉談章者悉談昔大乘在楞伽山: the T. editors (who use P.2212 as basic text) are mistaken here. T. has 者悉談昔大乘在楞伽山, which does not make sense. P.2212 has repetition markers 𑖀 after the final three characters (悉

29 In the edition, passages that differ in the various manuscripts are marked with grey shading and commented upon. Longer passages that show major diversions are in boldface. We are grateful to Sven Osterkamp (Ruhr University, Bochum) for his many useful comments on a draft version of the edition. We also wish to thank Lin Jinghui 林靜慧 (DILA, Taiwan) for her comments on some of the variant characters. P.2212 and P.2204 have previously been critically edited and encoded in the Ghent University *Database of Medieval Chinese Texts*.

30 The first column of P.2204 consists of the title, with 并序 (“with preface”) added in small characters.

談章) of 我今欲說大乘楞伽悉談章 to indicate that these three characters should be repeated *as one phrase*. As such, the passage is resolved properly, topicalizing 悉談章 with 者: 我今欲說大乘楞伽悉談章。悉談章者, 昔大乘在楞伽山 “Today, I wish to expound [...] As for ‘Xītán Chapter,’ [it means] that formerly the Great Vehicle was situated on the Laṅkā Mountain.” P.3099 erroneously includes 者 twice in the passage: 我今欲說大乘楞伽悉談章者。悉談章者, 昔大乘在楞伽山。

- **Boldface** indicates the sections of P.3099 that are missing due to paper damage.
- T.: 宋家元年: P.2204 and P.2212 have the preposition 於: 於宋家元年 “In the first year of the Sòng-jia era.”
- T.: 竺: P.2204 and P.2212 have the homophonous 竹.
- }...{ marks any passage that is partly preserved in the fragment ДХН 424r (formerly: Дх492); the page is torn in the middle (see the Appendix).
- After 都, P.2204 has a break of two empty spaces. ДХН 424r: .
- 跋陀 is missing in P.2204.
- 合成一部 is missing in P.2204.
- 浩汗 (P.2204): the variant 浩湲  is used in P.2212 and ДХН 424r.
- *Jùnpín* 郡品 (P.2212): P.2204 has 群生 for “sentient beings.” Also note the variants  (P.2212) and  (ДХН 424r) for jì 濟 (P.2204: .
- 玄: following P.2204; P.2212 uses 懸 as phonetic loan for 玄 (“mysterious; profound”);  (ДХН 424r). These are commonly exchanged characters in Dūnhuáng manuscripts and have a long history of phonetic exchange.
- 原: ДХН 424r has 願  (“vow, wish”). There seems to be a problem with the preceding character, which is marked  as “deleted” with  (maybe, 願 was originally copied twice?).
- 會善沙門定惠 (P.2212): P.2204 has only 慧; however, on the left side of the preceding 又松山, the following characters are inserted *upside down*: 會善沙門定 (correcting the phrase to: 會善沙門定慧).
- 亦: following P.2204 and P.3099  (亦), which makes more sense than 彼 in T. The characters 音亦與鳩 are missing in P.2212 because of paper damage.
- 魯留: the manuscripts use variants for the recurring phonetic passages (see, for example, P.2212 and P.2204 to the right). In both manuscripts, the first of these characters is somewhat problematic: in P.2212 it resembles 曹, while in P.2204 it resembles 曾, rather than 魯. However, the reference to 魯 is clear.  

5.2.2 Translation

All of you sons (i.e., disciples) of the Buddha! Clasp your hands [in *āñjali*] and listen with a concentrated mind (lit. “utmost mind”). I now wish to expound the *Siddham Chapter (or: Primer) of the Mahāyāna Laṅkāvatāra [Sūtra]*. As for the *Siddham Chapter*, formerly the Mahāyāna [Scripture] was situated at the Laṅkā Mountain (i.e., Sri Lanka), whence it was obtained by the Venerable Bodhidharma, who brought the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* during the first year of the Sòng-jiā era (i.e., 424 CE) from South India to the Eastern Capital (i.e., Luòyáng).³¹ The Tripiṭaka and Dharma Master Guṇabhadra respectfully consulted and translated [the sūtra]; he assembled the altogether five fascicles into one volume (*bù*). The written text is extensive and difficult to comprehend. The Venerable [Master] was compassionate and [aimed at] universally saving the sentient beings; he penetrated (i.e., thoroughly understood) the scripture, investigating the Way (i.e., Buddhist truth), and his consciousness (i.e., mind) grasped the subtle doctrine (*xuánzōng* 玄宗).³² Fully arriving at (i.e., understanding) the origin, they (i.e., the sentient beings he instructed) all received [the sūtra’s] teaching. Furthermore, there was also the *śramānera* Dìnghuì from Huìshàn [Monastery] on Mt. Sōng, who rendered³³ [the sūtra into] a Siddham primer, widely opening the gate (i.e., teaching) of Chán, not impeding the study of *prajñā*, and not relying on written texts.³⁴ He harmonized it (i.e., the sounds of the Sanskrit) with the sounds of Qín (i.e., the Chinese pronunciation), corresponding to Dharma Master Kumārajīva’s *Tōngyùn*, the heading³⁵ of which was

31 We interpreted the phrase with *jiāng* as disposal construction.

32 In classical Chinese literature, *qióngdǎ* 窮達 is usually used nominally, meaning something akin to “failure and success.” However, we doubt that this is the meaning here. The phrase structure suggests that the element after 窮達 is the object of a transitive verb. Checking Buddhist literature, an object with positive connotations is usually attached after 窮達, e.g., 故須窮達幽旨妙得言外 (“Therefore, one should fully (lit. exhaustively) arrive at the mysterious teaching, and subtly attain what is beyond words”; *Gāosēng zhuàn* 高僧傳, T.50, no. 2059: 383a09). Cf. also 經由「守心」、「安心」的功夫，達到我所心滅，窮達法性，即得涅槃 (“Based on efforts [in the methods] of ‘preserving the mind’ and ‘pacifying the mind,’ one arrives at (i.e., attains) that the mind which assumes ownership [of things] is extinguished, and the Dharma-nature is fully penetrated; as such, one attains *nirvāṇa*”; see Huáng Qīngpíng n.d.).

33 Zhōu Guǎngróng 2001: 144 points out that 翻出 does not necessarily mean “to translate” here (providing examples from other texts), but rather “compose (a song)” by transforming teachings based on the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* into a popular song in order to instruct the common people.

34 It is interesting to find this famous dictum here, indicating the widespread notion of Chán Buddhism as constituting a “special transmission beyond the words of the canonical scriptures.”

35 Cf. T.85, no. 2779: 536a; *Dūnhuáng gēcí*, Vol. 2: 940.

lǚ-lú-lú-lóu (i.e., the four liquid vowels ㄌ ㄌ̥ ㄌ̃ ㄌ̄,³⁶ which headed the list of vowels in the *Tōngyùn*).³⁷

5.2.3 Comments

This introduction to the *Siddham Song* reveals a few basic points concerning its perceived origin, transmission, and development up to and into the Táng. It claims that the basic ideas concerning its introduction to China and subsequent transmission took place via the Chán Buddhist tradition, as indicated by the central position accorded to its legendary founder Bodhidharma, the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, and, by extension, the Indian monk and translator Guṇabhadra. When taken together, these features indicate a Buddhist context that we now associate with the so-called Northern School of Chán, and specifically

36 It is quite remarkable that the four liquid vowels were arranged at the beginning, since traditionally they concluded the list of vowels. Understandably, translators had problems with these four letters:

Conventionally, these four liquid vowels come after ū and before e. It might have been difficult for the foreign monks to convince their Chinese collaborators of the vocalic character of their four liquid vowels. Apparently Fa-hsien also failed. So they were shifted to the end saying that they were used rarely. Had the *Varṇamālā* been a part of the sutra [i.e., the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*] from the very beginning, then this manipulation would not have been done. The Chinese, however, were very much aware of their conventional position. (Chaudhuri 2011: 23)

37 The Japanese Buddhist catalogue *Rokugekyō-tō mokuroku* 錄外經等目錄 (*An Index of Non-canonical [i.e., not listed in the Kāiyuán Canon] Scriptures*), compiled by an unknown Japanese monk, contains a reference to a *Luóshí xītán zhāng* 羅什悉曇章 (*Kumārajīva's Siddham Text*), which in all likelihood is the book to which our text refers (cf. T.55, no. 2175: 1112a). In S.1344, there are fragments of a text with the title *Jiūmóluóshí fǎshī tōngyùn* 鳩摩羅什法師通韻 (*Comprehensive Rhymes of the Monk Kumārajīva*) as well as a reference to the *Xītán zhāng*. In the Tōyō Bunko collection (Tokyo), there is a copy with the title *Nièpán jīng xītán zhāng* 涅槃經悉曇章, dated 862 and supposedly written by Kumārajīva (for the arrangement of vowels there, see Chaudhuri 2011: 25). Most scholars believe that this is not an original work by Kumārajīva, partly because of its terminology, which was invented after Kumārajīva's lifetime (see *ibid.*: 26). Chaudhuri suggests that Kumārajīva did write both works, but the *Nièpán jīng xītán zhāng* was lost and "reinvented" at a later date. This fabricated version was then exported to Japan. In the case of the *Tōngyùn*, Chaudhuri asserts that it was dramatically altered over the years as successive generations of students added notes and technical terminology that eventually became part of the text.

The Japanese catalogue also mentions a *Zhānbō-chéng xītán zhāng* 瞻波城悉曇章 (*Siddham Text from Campā* [?]; cf. T.55, no. 2175: 1112a; Campā refers to a country or city on the banks of the Ganges, to the south of Vaiśālī). The fact that the catalogue bears a postscript with the date 930 CE (Enchō 8) indicates that the aforementioned two works were exported to Japan between the late Táng and the early Five Dynasties eras.

the transmission lineage outlined by Jìngjué 淨覺 in the *Léngqié shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記. Furthermore, the celebrated translator Kumārajīva is credited with originating the versifying use of Sanskrit that we find in this type of song. The introduction also suggests that the main tenets of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (a highly arcane text) were rendered into a rhyming song in order to make them accessible to the common people and lead them to realization.








5.3 *Strophe 1*

頗邏墮 頗邏墮

第一：捨緣清淨座。萬事不起真無我。直進菩提離因果。心心寂滅無殃禍。念念無念當印可。摩底利摩魯留盧樓頗羅墮
諸佛子莫嬾墮自勸課。愛河苦海須度過。憶食不喰常被餓。木頭不攢不出火。

耶羅邏端坐。娑訶耶莫臥。

5.3.1 Textual Annotations

-  頗邏墮: P.2212 has repetition markers instead of the second 頗邏墮. 頗邏墮頗邏墮 is missing from P.2204, which structures the text differently, taking 第一, 第二, as headers (usually on top of the columns) and inserting spaces before the exhortations starting with 諸佛子莫 (“All you sons (i.e., disciples) of the Buddha, do not ...”). P.3099 uses repetition markers and has no spaces either above or below; instead of 邏 it has 羅.
- 座: P.2212 has 坐 , routinely exchanged in Dūnhuáng manuscripts.
- The manuscripts have  for 萬.
- 無我直進 is missing in P.2212 (torn paper).
- 無: all occurrences in P.2122: ; P.2204 uses both 無 and 无.
- 菩提: P.2204 has the copying mistake 菩薩提; the tiny deletion marker  is visible to the right of 薩.
- 念當印可 and 過 are nearly unreadable in P.2212 because of paper damage.
- 不喰常被餓: in P.2212, 喰常 is added to the right of the column.
-  羅邏 (P.2212): P.2204 has 羅羅 ; indeed, the first character contains a tiny additional □ on the upper left: 囉羅. P.3099 also has 囉羅.

5.3.2 Translation

頗邏墮頗邏墮

[LMC: p^hua la' t^hua' p^hua la' t^hua']

Firstly, one must forsake [all activities that create] conditions and [instead practice] pure sitting.

[Thus,] the myriad phenomena will not arise [and this is] true no-self.

One will directly enter *bodhi* and become free from cause and effect (i.e., the results of karma).

Thought-moment after thought-moment one will enter quiet extinction, and there will be no calamity.

Thought after thought [dwelling in] no-thought, one shall [have enlightenment] approved.

摩底利摩魯留盧樓頗羅墮

[LMC: mua tiaj' li' mua luǎ liw luǎ ləw p^hua la' t^hua']

All you sons (i.e., disciples) of the Buddha! Do not be lazy but exert yourselves!

The river of affection and ocean of suffering—[you] should cross [them].

If one thinks about food but does not eat—then one is constantly suffering hunger.

Wood not being accumulated, one does not (i.e., is unable to) generate fire.

耶羅邏 [LMC: jia la la'] Sit upright in meditation! *Svāhā-ya* [LMC: ʃa: xa jia]³⁸

Do not lie down!

5.4 Strophe 2

只領盛只領盛

第二：住心常看淨。亦見亦聞無視聽。生滅兩亡由未證。從師授語方顯定。見佛法身無二性。

性頂領徑魯留盧樓只領盛

諸佛子莫瞋佞。三毒忽起無佛性。癡狂心亂惱賢聖。眼貪色塵耳縛聽。背却天堂向惡徑。盈令令修定。娑訶耶歸正。

38 In standard spells or *dhāraṇīs*, “*svāhā*” is a final, effectuating expression with a meaning akin to “so be it,” “effectuate,” etc. Here it is used in much the same way as signaling the end of each strophe (*svāhā-ya*).

5.4.1 Textual Annotations

- Also, here, P.2212 uses repetition markers. P.2204 has 質 for 只 and the phrase 質領盛(𪛗) is also the final phrase of the last section, with the new section starting with 第二. In addition, it is noteworthy that there are repetition markers only after the first two characters; strictly speaking, the phrase has to be read 質領質領盛 (which obviously was not the intention). P.3099 also has 質 for 只 and does not feature any spaces or new column in order to structure the text.
- 亦 (P.2212, P.3099): this is interesting, since the “standard” character is used for the first 亦, whereas the second 亦 uses the current variant 𪛗.
- 亡: variant 𪛗 (P.2212).
- 定見: missing in P.2212 (paper damage).
- Repetition marker for the second 性 in P.2212.
- 佛 (仏) is hardly readable in P.2212.
- 只: in contrast to the same phrase above, P.2204 and P.3099 also use 只 here. After the phonetic phrase, there is a space in P.3099 and 諸佛 starts with a new column.
- 瞋 (P.2204, P.3099): 嗔 (P.2212).
- 亂 (all occurrences in P.2212): 乱 𪛗; P.2204 and P.3099 prefer the variants 𪛗 and 𪛗, respectively, which seem to have somewhat unusual forms, especially the left parts of the characters; however, 亂 is a character with many differently shaped variants.
- 縛: P.2204 has 莫, which does not make sense (maybe a copying mistake triggered by the “context” as there is a 莫 in the column to the right). P.3099 has 真, which also seems to be a mistake. It is surprising that the manuscripts differ so significantly with regard to this phrase.
- 背: in P.2204, the character 𪛗 looks very similar to 皆, but it should probably be interpreted as 背, given the context.
- 却 (P.2212): 何 (P.2204); the character is unreadable in P.3099 (paper damage).
- 徑 (P.2212): 境 (P.2204, P.3099); “evil path” versus “evil realm.”
- 令: the T. editors interpret this as 今; however, we think it should be read as a somewhat careless 令, also in P.2212; P.2204 and P.3099 have 令令 (with the second 令 indicated by a repetition marker).
- 修: P.3099 has the variant 𪛗.

5.4.2 Translation

只領盛只領盛

[LMC: tɕi liajŋ`ʃhiajŋ` tɕi liajŋ`ʃhiajŋ`]

(質: LMC: /tri^h/)

Secondly, one shall settle the mind and constantly contemplate purity.

Then, when seeing as well as hearing, there will be nothing to look at and [nothing] to listen to.

Birth and death will both disappear, [but] still not yet realizing [enlightenment] (or: despite not yet being enlightened).³⁹

Having received instructions (lit. words) from the teacher, only then (*fāng* 方) one will be able to [manifest] concentration (*samādhi*).

Seeing the *dharmakāya* (i.e., dharma body) of the Buddha as being without duality (*èr xìng* 二性).

Nature! (性)頂領徑魯留盧樓只領盛

[LMC: (siajŋ`) tiajŋ` liajŋ` kiajŋ` luǎ liw luǎ ləw tɕi liajŋ`ʃhiajŋ`]

All you sons of the Buddha! Do not fall in rage and flattery!

[When] the Three Poisons suddenly arise [then] there is no Buddha-nature.

The state of mental confusion⁴⁰ is an annoyance to sagely persons.

[In this state] the eyes have desire for sensual forms (or: colors), and the ears are attached to hearing.

By turning one's back to the halls of Heaven, one faces towards evil circumstances (i.e., evil paths of rebirth).

盈令令 [LMC: jiajŋ liajŋ` liajŋ`] Practice concentration (*samādhi*)! *Svāhā*!

Return to the correct (or: rely on what is correct)!

39 We interpret 由 (“depend on”) as a phonetic loan for 猶 (“still”)—a common substitution. The phrase “not yet realized” is contrasted with the following statement that it is necessary to follow the instructions of a teacher (in order to reach enlightenment). However, the passage is problematic.

40 *Chikuáng xīnlùn* 癡狂心亂 (lit. “ignorant-crazy-mind-disturbed”) is a set phrase in Buddhist Vinaya literature, indicating a state of total mental confusion and insanity in which one is unable to control one's thoughts and deeds, and as such is not responsible for any transgressions (*fān* 犯). See especially T.22, no. 1428 and T.23, no. 1442.

5.5 *Strophe 3*

𠵿浪養𠵿浪養

第三：看心須併儻。掃却垢穢除災障。即色即空會無想。妄想分別是心量。體上識體實無謗。

謗底利謗魯留盧樓^(pb:T_T85n2779_0536b)𠵿浪養

諸佛子莫毀謗。一切皆有罪業障。他家聞聲不相放。三寸舌根作沒向。道長說短惱心王。心王不了說短長。來生業道受苦殃。羊良浪併當淨掃。堂中須供養。

5.5.1 Textual Annotations

- 𠵿浪養: repetition markers in P.2212, P.2204, P.3099; the new section starts with a new column in P.2212 and is preceded by an empty space in P.2204 and P.3099. The first character 𠵿 of P.2212 differs in P.2204 and P.3099: 復 (𠵿) (?). In handwriting, 復 is structurally similar to 𠵿.
- 儻: not discernible in P.2212 due to damage.
- 謗: interestingly, no repetition marker is used here.
- Repetition marker for second 心王.
- 良: looks like 浪 in P.2212.
- 謗 (P.2212): missing in P.2204.
- 利 (P.2212, P.2204): 裏 (P.3099).
- 𠵿 (P.2212): 復 in P.2204 and P.3099.
- 佛子 (P.2212): 子佛 (P.2204); the reversed sequence is corrected by the marker 𠵿 to the right of the characters. From 諸佛子 onwards, the text is extant in P.3082.
- 毀: P.2204 uses the interesting variant 𠵿 (similar to a character form used in P.2160).⁴¹ In P.3082, the character (𠵿) is nearly unrecognizable.
- 聲: in P.3082 there seems to be a 時 (𠵿).
- 沒: P.3082 has 罪.
- 說短: in P.2204, there is a space between these two characters.
- 惱: P.3082 has the strange form 𠵿.
- 良浪 (P.2212, P.2204): the T. editors mistakenly have 良良.
- 併當 (P.2212): 屏儻.⁴²
- 須: the T. editors have misinterpreted the character as 頃.
- 羊良浪併當淨掃堂中須供養: these final phrases in P.2212 and P.2204 are problematic because 掃 does not fit the phonological profile (see below) and

⁴¹ See Huáng Zhèng 2005: 167.

⁴² On 併當, see *Zengo jiten*: 414; meaning “to deal with/settle (a problem); put in order; get rid of” (also written as: 拼當, 屏當, 摒當, etc.; appearing in early vernacular literature such as *Zútáng jí* 祖堂集 and the *biànwén* 變文 transformation texts).

the “obligatory” 娑訶 is missing. Unfortunately, this section is not preserved in S.4583v. P.3099 has the same phrasing as the other manuscripts, except 併:屏 and 當:儻. P.3082 has 王良量併當淨掃堂中供養. Concluding, there is a textual problem with this passage as it fits neither the rhyme scheme nor the overall structure.

5.5.2 Translation

嘎浪養嘎浪養

[LMC ʃa: laŋ jiaŋ`]

(復 LMC: fŋjyw`)

Thirdly, when looking at the mind [in contemplation], it is necessary to get rid of [obstacles].⁴³

[Therefore, one must] sweep away all dirt, getting rid of calamities and obstacles (or: when interpreted as a dissyllabic word, just “calamities”).

Form is the same as emptiness, [when this is realized] one will be able [to attain] no-thought.

43 *Kànxīn* (kànxīn) 看心, one of the key terms in early (Northern) Chán, is closely related to *guānxīn* 觀心 (“contemplate the mind”). A description of this method appears in the *Rùdào ānxīn yào fāngbiàn fāmén* 入道安心要方便法門, which is included in *Jingjué zhuō* 淨覺 (683–?)’s *Léngqié shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記, one of the earliest transmission texts of the Chán School that was discovered among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts. The *Rùdào ānxīn yào fāngbiàn fāmén* is regarded as a product of Dàoxīn, who retrospectively became known as the “Fourth Patriarch” of the Chán School. In this text, *kànxīn* is described as “to view the mind which is neither within nor without and which is none other than Buddha” (Chappell 1983: 99). The term is also closely connected to the term *yīxíng sānmèi* 一行三昧 (“*samādhi* of One Practice”; see Faure 1986b; on the term, see also Kobayashi 1961). The method of *guānxīn/kànxīn* was supposedly used by the monk Mahāyāna (who was closely associated with the Northern School) to defend the concept of “sudden enlightenment” at the famous Council of Lhasa, where Chinese and Indian monks debated the nature of enlightenment and ultimately defined it as “non-reflection and non-examination” (*bù-sī bù-guān* 不思不觀):

To turn the light of the mind towards the mind’s source—that is contemplating the mind. This means that one does not reflect or examine whether conceptual signs are in movement or not. It also means to reflect on non-reflection. This is why the [*Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa*] *sūtra* explains: “Non-examination is enlightenment.” (P.4546, 135a; P.116, 16i; cited in Gomez 1983: 103–104)

The term also appears in other texts of the early Chán School (e.g., the *Dàshèng xīnxíng lùn* 大乘心行論, P.3559, 28, l. 14; cf. Anderl 1995: 84 and 90, fn. 412). However, the Council of Lhasa postdates our text by nearly half a century. It was convened in a time when Northern Chán was waning and Southern Chán was in the ascendancy.

The discrimination of false thinking constitutes the capacity (i.e., essential feature) of the mind.⁴⁴

As for “essence”: if one realizes the essence then there is no further slander-ing.⁴⁵

Slander! 底利 [LMC: tiaj' li']⁴⁶ Slander! 嘎浪養 [LMC: ʃa: laŋ jian']

All you sons of the Buddha! Do not commit slander!

All of you have the hindrance of karmic retribution.

Others hearing [your?] sound (i.e., words) [or: hearing the sound of others,] one will not be liberated by it.⁴⁷

The tongue of three-inch [size] constitutes the direction towards extinction (i.e., disaster).⁴⁸

[If the tongue] speaks long or talks short,⁴⁹ it will [all] be an annoyance to the Mind King.

44 *Xīnliàng* 心量 has several different meanings: synonymous with *wéixīn* 唯心 (“mind-only”; Skr. *citta-mātra* according to the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*); a reference to nine kinds of consciousnesses that give rise to deluded thinking when coming into contact with physical or mental objects; and, more generally, the “domain/sphere of mind” (see *Nakamura*: 770a). In the context of this passage, it probably refers to the human mind’s typical way of functioning (i.e., the production of deluded thoughts).

45 According to *Hirakawa*, *shítǐ* 識體 can refer to *viññāna* (“consciousness”). It is actually a term used in Bodhiruci’s translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* (實無識體法, T.16, no. 671: 567b17). This may explain why the term appears in our text. However, the meaning of the passage is unclear. (The Uyghur translation diverts significantly from the Chinese; see Chapter Three, this volume.) Tentatively, we interpret *shàng* 上 as a topic marker here (“concerning; as for”).

46 These phonetically used characters do not fit the rhyme scheme.

47 The Chinese is somewhat problematic here and the translation is very tentative. If we consider *tājiā* 他家 as topicalization, then we could also translate in the following way: “If hearing the words of others, do not depend on them.” The Uyghur makes more sense here: “If you hear speech from others, do not long for their words!” (see Chapter Three, this volume).

48 Again, the Uyghur is clearer here: “The speech organ of three inches is the only place of evil deeds.” It is possible that *mò* 沒 has been used for *mó* 魔 (“demonic; evil”) here; the phonetic profile does not quite fit the regular LMC readings /mut/ vs. /mua/, but the final -t probably had already disappeared in the ninth/tenth-century Northwestern Medieval dialect (see Anderl and Osterkamp 2017). Another, albeit very unlikely, interpretation would be to take 作沒向 as an interrogative pronoun; 作沒 is regularly used for an interrogative corresponding to Modern Mandarin 怎麼 in late Táng texts and 作沒向 could be a rendering of 作沒生 (“how about; what about”, Modern Mandarin 怎麼樣). However, semantically, this does not fit the context here.

49 We decided to use a rather clumsy literal translation here in order to preserve the meta-

[If] the Mind King is not understood, [then one will] speak short and long.
When seeking a future path of rebirth one will receive bitter disaster.

羊良浪 [LMC: jian lian lan]⁵⁰ Remove the obstacles! Having swept clean the hall one should make offerings.

5.6 *Strophe 4*

拂栗質拂栗質

第四：八識合六七。看心心本是禪室。法身身法智非一。五眼六通光慧
日。言下便悟實無密。密底利密魯留盧樓拂栗質
諸佛子莫放逸。無始已來居暗室。生死流轉不得出。只為愚迷障慧日。逸
栗密逸栗密娑訶直實。

5.6.1 Textual Annotations

- 拂栗質: repetition markers (P.2212, P.3099, P.3082). P.2204 and P.3099 attach this phrase to the last section and have 拂栗只; P.2212 has only two repetition markers (therefore: 拂栗拂栗只), distorting the phrase; P.3082 (第慄只) has spaces above and below.
- 心: P.3082 has repetition markers.
- 法身身法智非一: the phrase is missing in P.3082.
- 光 (P.2212, P.3082): 廣 (P.2204, P.3099).
- 日: this character was originally missing in P.3099; it was added between 慧 and 言 in tiny size.
- 慧 (P.2204): 惠 (P.2212, P.3082); these two characters are routinely exchanged in Dūnluáng manuscripts.
- 密: P.3082 has 蜜. The second 蜜 is indicated by a repetition marker.
- 底: P.3082 has the character 多 (probably 多, which would make sense here).
- 密: the 蜜(?) after 利 is scratched out in P.3082.
- 留: 流 (P.3082); the two characters are phonetically identical.
- 拂栗質: 第慄只 (P.3082).
- 逸栗密: repetition markers (P.2212). There may be something missing from this phrase.
- 訶: 耶 (P.2212).

phor of the “tongue.” More freely, one could translate this section: “If one engages in any kind of [idle] talk ...” The “Mind King” refers to a person’s cognitive functions (i.e., consciousness).

50 Alternatively: 王良量 LMC: yan lian lian.

- 利 (P.2212): P.2204 and P.3099 have 領, which would also conform to the rhyme in the Northwestern Medieval dialect in which endings with and without a final nasal are not differentiated.⁵¹
- 質 (P.2212): 只 (P.2204, P.3099).
- 居 (P.2212): P.2204 and P.3099 have 歸居, breaking the 7+7+7 rhythm of the three successive phrases.
- 暗: 闇 (P.3082). P.3082 has the cursive form 𪛗 for 室.
- 愚迷 (P.2212, P.3082): P.2204 and P.3099 have an additional character (breaking the 7+7+7+7 rhythm) between those two: 𪛗, 𪛗. We suspect this is a variant of 冥.⁵²
- 鄣: P.3082 is the only manuscript to use the form 障.
- 慧: 惠 (P.3082).
- 逸粟密: with repetition markers; P.3099 has 蜜 for 密. The phrasing is very different in P.3082: 逸多哩蜜訶斯耶真實.

5.6.2 Translation

拂粟質拂粟質

[LMC: fʃyt(fut) sywk tʃit fʃyt(fut) sywk tʃit]⁵³

Fourthly, the eight *vijñāna* (consciousnesses) encompass the sixth and the seventh [consciousnesses].

Contemplating the mind, the origin of the mind is the meditation chamber. The *dharma-kāya* (dharma-body; i.e., the absolute truth) and *kāya-dharma* (dharma of the body; i.e., the self), their wisdom is not identical.⁵⁴

⁵¹ See Anderl and Osterkamp 2017.

⁵² Cf. the characters listed in Huáng Zhèng 2005: 278. 愚冥 is listed as a term in *Hirakawa and Kōsetsu Bukkyōgo daijiten*.

⁵³ Alternatively: 𪛗𪛗只𪛗𪛗只 (LMC: /fʃyt sywk tʃi fʃyt sywk tʃi/) (last syllable without final stop!). This indicates that the *rùshēng* might have already disappeared in the northern and northwestern regions by this time, and that 質 and 只 had the same rhyme.

⁵⁴ The Uyghur makes more sense here: “[There are] dharma-body and dharma wisdom, but again they are not one” (see Chapter Three, this volume). However, the Uyghur translation corresponds to the Chinese 法身法智非一 and ignores the second 身. For the term *shēnfǎ* 身法, see *Hirakawa*: 1129. According to *Nakamura*: 773d, *shēnfǎ* was used by Ān Shīgāo to translate Skr. *ātman* (“self”). Anyway, the passage seems to be contrastive—absolute truth/wisdom as compared to mundane truth/wisdom. Perhaps, in the Chinese, 智 could also be interpreted as 知 (“know, they are not one!”), since these two characters are routinely exchanged in Dūnhuáng manuscripts. Kobayashi translates the passage as follows: *hosshin to shinhō, chi wa itsuni arazu* 法身と心法, 智は一に非ず (“Dharma-body and dharma of mind are in knowledge not one”; corresponding to 法身心法智非一). As such, he interprets the second 身 as a substitution for 心. This is feasible, since

The Five Eyes⁵⁵ and the Six Penetrations⁵⁶ are the bright sun of wisdom.
Hearing these words one is then enlightened, and truly there is nothing
secret⁵⁷

Secret! [LMC: mit]! 底利 [LMC: tiaj` li^h] Secret! [LMC: mit]
All you sons of the Buddha, don't be negligent!

Since the beginningless past you have dwelled in a dark room.
Birth and death follow one after the other, and you have not been able to get
out [of *samsāra*].
[It is] only because of foolish illusions, [that we] block the sun of wisdom.⁵⁸

逸粟密逸粟密 [LMC: jit suawk] Secret!—*Svāhā*! True Reality!⁵⁹

5.7 *Strophe 5*

曉療曜曉療曜

第五：實相門中照。一切名利妄呼召。如已等息貌非貌。非因非果無瞋
嘆。性上看性妙中妙。要底利要魯留盧樓曉療曜
諸佛子莫瞋嘆。憂悲瞋嘆是障道。於此道門無瞋嘆。澄心須看內外照。眼
中有翳須摩曜。銅鏡不磨不中照。
遙療料作好。娑訶耶莫惱。

in Northwestern Medieval Chinese the readings of the two characters are phonetically very similar. For example, several of these substitutions occur in the Dūnhuáng version of the *Platform Scripture* (心 < > 身; 心 < > 深; see Dèng and Róng 1999: 315, n. 1; 421, n. 4; 426, n. 11). Another reading is suggested by the scholar Huáng Qīngpíng 黃青萍 (personal communication), who reads 法身智 as three items commented on by 非一 (“As for the dharma-body, dharma, body, and wisdom are not one”).

55 The Five Eyes (Skr. *pañca cakṣuṃṣī*) are: human eye; divine eye; wisdom eye; dharma eye; and Buddha eye (cf. *FDC*, Vol. 2: 1151c–1152a).

56 The Six Penetrations (Skr. *ṣaḍabhijñā*) are those of: spiritual fulfillment; divine ear; knowledge of others' thoughts; knowledge of one's own and others' lifespans; divine eye; and full knowledge of and testimony to the cessation of rebirth (cf. *FDC*, Vol. 2: 1292c–1293a).

57 *Yán-xià biàn wù* 言下便悟 is frequently encountered in Chán Buddhist recorded sayings (lit. “under these words” > “based on these words, triggered/caused by these words”) is used in reference to words uttered by the master that cause awakening in the student (early examples in the *Shénhuì yǔlù* and the *Platform Scripture*).

58 There are only three verses instead of four in this strophe.

59 Alternatively: 逸多哩密 LMC jit ta li` mit 斯耶 (*Svāhā*!) True Reality!

5.7.1 Textual Annotations

- This section starts with a new column in P.2212.
- 曉燎曜: repetition markers (P.2212). P.2204 and P.3099 have 曉了曜; P.2204 is attached to the previous section, and P.3099 has spaces above and below. The repetition marker after 了 is missing in P.2204. P.3082 has 失(?)了曜 (with repetition markers, and spaces above and below).
- 利: P.3082 has 色. According to *Dūnhuáng gēcí*, 名利 is a mistake for 名字. However, the Uyghur translation supports the reading 色 (“name and form”).
- 息: P.3082 has 𑖦 (普?; if it were not for the lower element, one could also think about 苦), which certainly does not look like a variant of 息. The variant also resembles 昔.
- 貌: P.2212, P.2204, and P.3099 have the current variants 兒 𑖦, 𑖦, and 𑖦, respectively. P.3082 has 𑖦/𑖦.
- 貌非貌 (P.2212, P.3099, P.3082): only 貌 in P.2204 (> 貌非因非果).
- 因 (P.2212): here written with the “standard” 𑖦 instead of the previously used 𑖦, current in *Dūnhuáng* manuscripts (also used in P.3082).
- 咲: there is a dot on the right side 𑖦 (P.2212).
- 利: it is difficult to decipher the character in P.2212, but it seems to be 利; P.2204 and P.3099 have 裏.
- 燎: the T. editors read 燎 in P.2212, which is incorrect; all of the manuscripts have 燎.
- 道門 (P.2212): 門中 (P.2204, P.3082).
- 瞋 (P.2204, P.3099): 嗔 (P.2212, P.3082).
- 看 ...: the text is preserved in S.4583v from here onwards.
- 咲: 笑, using a phonetic loan 𑖦 as opposed to above (P.2212).
- 摩 (P.2212): 磨 (P.2204, P.3099, P.3082, S.4583v).
- 曜 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099; LMC: jiauw); 耀 (S.4583v; LMC: jiauw).
- 燎 (P.2204, P.3099): 僚 (P.2212; LMC: liauw).
- 遙燎料作好娑訶耶莫惱: there is a major diversion from this phrase onwards in S.4583v, integrating elements that appear in Strophe 3 in the other manuscripts (羊良浪併當淨掃堂中須供養). This is actually not arbitrary since 掃 does not fit the rhyme scheme (-ang) of this section; S.4583v has integrated it in the -ao group section in which the phonetic profile of 掃 fits much more neatly. The phrase in S.4583v is: 遙遼了若掃薩訶也(?)淨掃 (“if sweeping ... sweep [it] clean”). P.3082 also has a very different reading: 僚僚 (indicated by repetition marker) 𑖦(?) 𑖦(?) 掃斯訶耶淨掃. 遙 LMC: jiauw; 僚 LMC: liauw; 料 LMC: lew; 遼 LMC: liauw; 了 LMC: liauw'; 掃 LMC: saw'.

5.7.2 Translation

曉燎曜曉燎曜

[LMC: jiaw liaw jiaw jiaw liaw jiaw]

Fifthly, True Reality shines in this gate (i.e., teaching). All names and forms are false appellations.⁶⁰ In this kind of consciousness (mind)⁶¹ form is not form. There is no cause and there is no effect; do not laugh at this with scorn! As for Nature, view Nature as the utmost marvel (lit. “marvel among marvels”)!

要(> 妙) Marvel! [LMC: miaw`] 底利要(> 妙) [LMC: tiaj' li`] Marvel! 魯留盧樓
曉燎曜 [LMC: luǎ liw luǎ lǎw jiaw liaw jiaw]

All you sons of the Buddha, don't be scornful and ridicule others!
Grief, scorn, and ridicule with anger are hindering the [realization of the]
Way.

In this method of the Way there is neither scorn nor ridicule.

In order to illuminate the mind⁶² one should contemplate the inside and illuminate the outside.

If a hair comes into the eye, one should rub it [i.e., the eye] clean. If the bronze mirror is not polished, nothing can be reflected therein.⁶³

遙燎料 [LMC: jiaw liaw lew] Do good! (i.e., perform good deeds!) *Svāha-ya!* Do not have vexations!

5.8 *Strophe 6*

按賴畔按賴畔

第六：心離禪門觀。不來不去無崖畔。覺上看覺除定亂。佛與眾生同體段。本原清淨摩垢散。歎底利歎魯留盧樓按賴畔

60 Cf. *hūzhào jiǎmíng* 呼召假名 (“an agreed-upon appellation”; Skr. *āhvānāya saṃketaḥ*; DDB).

61 The Chinese is problematic here, and 息 seems to have been interpreted as 心 in the Uyghur translation (see Chapter Six, this volume). In Northwestern Medieval Chinese, 息 was sometimes used for 心 (no difference between endings with and without nasal). So it could also refer to 識 (“consciousness, mind”); there are examples of this in the *Platform Scripture*. In our translation, we opt for this interpretation. Originally, the passage may have read: 如已息心 (“If one is calming the mind like this [then form is no-form]”).

62 On *chéngxīn* 澄心, see Nakamura: 967b.

63 This passage recalls the famous pairs of *gāthas* on the mirror-mind attributed to Shénhuì and Huìnéng, as conveyed in the *Platform Scripture* (cf. T.48, no. 2007: 337c).

諸佛子莫慢看。道上大有羅刹喚。愚人來去常繫絆。染著色塵心僚亂。行住坐臥無體段。在於眾中漫叫喚。得他勸諫即慚難。耶羅邏茶灌。娑訶耶鈍漢。

5.8.1 Textual Annotations

- Space of approximately five characters before this paragraph in P.2212; spaces of one character above and one below in P.3099; spaces above and below in P.3082.
- 按賴畔: repetition markers (P.2212); P.3099 lacks the repetition marker of the middle character. In P.2204 and P.3099, the phrase is 賴崖畔, and in P.2204 it is attached to the previous section (this time “correctly,” with three repetition markers). S.4583v does not have two identical phrases but rather: 吐賴崖賴崖畔. P.3082 has repetition markers and the phrase 案崖畔. 按: LMC ʔan; 賴: LMC laj; 畔: LMC pʰuan; 吐: LMC tʰuǎ; 賴: LMC laj; 崖: LMC ŋja:j; 賴: LMC ʔan.
- 離 (P.2212, P.2204): 裏 (S.4583v, P.3099, P.3082).
- 覺: variant 𣎵 (P.2212); P.2204 uses two rather different variants in the same line, 𣎵 and 𣎵 (the latter form also appears in the next section). It is interesting that the same phenomenon can be observed in P.3099 (𣎵 and 𣎵); this shows the close interdependence of the two manuscripts. 𣎵 is the form of the last character of the text in P.2204. S.4583v has 𣎵. P.3082 has a very different reading of the phrase 覺上看覺除定亂: 不出入無定亂 (“As for realization: if one views realization then one gets rid of both concentration and confusion; no coming out and no entering, there is neither concentration nor confusion”).
- 與: 𣎵 (P.2212), 𣎵 (P.2204), 𣎵 (S.4583v), 𣎵 (P.3099), 𣎵 (P.3082).
- 佛: P.2212 and P.3099 have the correct 佛與眾生同體段 (“Buddha and sentient beings having the same characteristics”). The copying mistake 佛子與眾生 (“sons of the Buddha and sentient beings”) in P.2204 was probably triggered by the frequent occurrence of 佛子 in the manuscripts. As a minor observation, P.2204 consequently uses 佛 for “Buddha,” whereas P.2201, P.3099, P.3082, and S.4583v all prefer 仏.
- 段: P.3082 uses an interesting variant here: 𣎵.⁶⁴
- 原 (P.2212, P.3082): 元 (P.2204, P.3099), 源 (S.4583v).
- 摩 (P.2212): 磨 (P.2204, P.3099), 魔 (S.4583v, P.3082).
- 歎: P.3082 has a repetition marker after 歎(?) instead of 歡 (> 散散, possibly),

64 This is very similar to one that Huáng Zhèng 2005: 93 found in the *Wǔzǐxū biànwén* 伍子胥變文 (S.328).

but we are unsure whether 𪛗 refers to 散 or 歡.⁶⁵ The other manuscripts are problematic here, since 散 should be repeated at the beginning of the phonetic phrase; therefore, the line should probably read: 本原清淨摩垢散。散底利散(歎).

- 利 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3082; LMC /li/): 礼 (S.4583v; LMC /liaj/); 領 (P.3099); in the Northwestern Medieval dialect there is no difference in pronunciation between syllables with and without –ng /ŋ/, as such 利 and 領 are homophonous. The entire phrase in P.3082 is: 多利散魯流盧樓案崖畔 (多利 maybe corresponds to *tari* or *tali* in Sanskrit phonetics).
- 按 (P.2204): 桉 (P.2212); 頰崖 (S.4583v and P.3099; as such, repeating the “rhyme trigger phrase” from the beginning). There is no space before 諸弟子 in P.2212.
- 慢: the T. editors have an erroneous reading here: 楞. P.2212 and S.4583v both have 𪛗, which is a variant of 漫;⁶⁶ P.2204 has 𪛗 (楞); P.3099 has 𪛗 (慢); P.3082 has 𪛗.
- 看道: P.2212 has 道看 with a marker for reversed order on the right side. P.3082 has 𪛗 𪛗 instead of 看. 𪛗 is a variant form of 侃. We have found no precedent for using 𪛗 as phonetic loan for 看, although the LMC readings are similar: 看 *kān kʰan*, 𪛗 *kǎn kʰan*, differing only with respect to the tone.
- 喚: variants 𪛗 (P.2212), 𪛗 (S.4583v), 𪛗 (P.2204), 𪛗 (P.3099).
- 愚人來去常繫絆染著色塵心僚亂行住坐臥無體段: here, the text of P.3082 is much shorter: 愚人來時(?)常結伴.⁶⁷
- 常 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 相(?) (S.4583v).
- 染 (P.2212): P.2204 has 杂, which, according to the tenth-century *Lóngkān shǒujìng* 龍龕手鏡 dictionary, is a variant of 雜. Often, 杂 is also associated with 朵 (although that does not apply here). P.3099 has the variant 𪛗.
- 僚 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 遼 (S.4583v).
- 於: P.3099 uses the semi-cursive 𪛗.
- 眾中 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 眾生 (S.4583v).
- 漫: 𪛗 (P.2212). S.4583v has the character 𪛗, possibly referring to 𪛗, which is a variant of *hún* 憊. On 𪛗, the *Jíyún* 集韻 states: 心悶也 (“the mind is depressed”) and 心迷也 (“the mind is confused”). As such, the meaning is rather close to that of 漫. P.3099 has 𪛗.
- 即概: 須掘(?) (P.3082).
- 耶: 夜 (P.3082).
- 邏 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 囉 (S.4583v).

65 Although, after a comparison with forms listed in Huáng Zhèng 2005: 348, we favor 散.

66 On this character form, see Huáng Zhèng 2005: 264.

67 On *jié bàn* 結伴, see *Zengaku daijiten*: 274c.

- 灌 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 觀(?) (S.4583v, P.3082).
- 娑: 思 (P.3082).
- 耶 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 也 (S.4583v), 夜 (P.3082).
- 鈍: 𪛗 (P.3082). After 鈍漢, P.3082 has the following character: 𪛗. Originally, the copyist probably added the character 勃 before he realized that it is part of the phonetic phrase of the next section. Rather than scratching it out (which must have been esthetically unappealing for a copyist who in this case was obviously concerned with proper arrangement and calligraphy), he added a dotted circle and thereby “deleted” the character. 𪛗 is a variant of *tún* 屯. 屯 (LMC *thun*) has a similar phonetic profile to *dùn* (LMC *thun`*) and should be considered as phonetic loan here.

5.8.2 Translation

按賴畔按賴畔

[LMC: ?an' laj' pʰuan' ?an' laj' pʰuan']

Number Six, the Chán gate (i.e., method) of contemplation being apart from thought (i.e., leaving the sphere of thought).

There is no coming or going, and there are no boundaries.

As for realization: viewing realization, both concentration (*samādhī*) and confusion are eliminated.

As for the Buddha and the sentient beings, they have the same features.

The origin is clear and pure: rubbing [it clean], the filth is dispersing.

歎/歡(> 散) Disperse! 底利 [LMC *tiaj' li*] 歎/歡(> 散) Disperse! 魯留盧樓按賴畔 [LMC: *luə liw luə ləw ?an' laj' pʰuan`*]

All you sons of the Buddha! Don't be careless in contemplation! Although the Way is lofty, there are still *raṅṅas* (i.e., demons) who may appear.

Foolish people come and go, constantly shackled by [their own] fetters.

Polluted (i.e., impure) they grasp after form objects and their minds are thrown into confusion.

In all activities such as walking, standing, sitting, and lying down, there are not any [distinguishing] features.

In [the realm of] the sentient beings, there is boundless wailing.⁶⁸ If one manages to remonstrate (i.e., convince them of the correct way), then [they] will get rid of all difficulties.

68 In Buddhist texts, *jiàohuàn* 叫喚 ('to wail; to cry out;' originally translating Skt. *raurava*) is often used metaphorically for the suffering in hell.

耶羅邏茶灌(?) [LMC: jia la la` trha: guan] *Svāha-ya!* 鈍漢 Dull fellows [LMC xan`]!

5.9 Strophe 7

普路喻普路喻

第七：圓明大慧悟。四門十八離名數。生滅妙有懸(=玄)通度。三界大師實難遇。生死涅槃不合渡。愛河逆上不留住。即心非心魔自去。去底利去魯留盧樓普路喻

諸佛子))常覺悟。一念淨心無染污。一切魔軍自(pb: T_ T85n2779_0536c) 然去。閭閻屢專注。娑訶耶大悟。

5.9.1 Textual Annotations

- 普路喻: repetition markers (P.2212, P.3099). P.2204 has no repetition markers, and the phrase has empty spaces above and below. S.4583v uses repetition markers for the phrase 拂魯與. P.3082 has the phrase 勃路与(與), spaces above and below, and uses repetition markers. 勃 LMC: pʰut; 普 LMC: pʰuǎ` (> pʰu); 拂 LMC: fʰut; 路 LMC: luǎ` (> lu`); 喻 LMC: jyǎ` (> y`).
- 圓: 無 (P.3082).
- 四門十八離名數生滅妙有懸通度: P.3082 has a much shorter version: 四生妙有玄通度.
- 慧 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 惠 (S.4583v, P.3082).
- 生滅妙 (P.2204, P.3099): 生妙 (P.2212).
- 懸 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): phonetic loan for 玄 (S.4583v); these two characters are often exchanged in Dūnhuáng texts.
- 師 (P.2204): variant 𪛗 in P.2212.
- 遇: 愚 (P.3082).
- 生死涅槃不合渡: S.4583 diverts here (integrating elements from other passages): 生心動念勿令住 (“generating the mind and stirring up thoughts, do not let them reside!”). In P.3082, the passage differs even more: 生死涅槃不合渡愛河逆上不留住即心非心魔自去 is abbreviated to 則心非心魔自去 (“then the mind is not the mind and the demons disperse by themselves”).
- 涅槃: P.2212 has 涅槃; P.2204 has the contraction 𪛗; P.3099 has 𪛗, commonly used in Dūnhuáng manuscripts.
- 合度: P.2204 has 度合 (“corrected” by a reversal marker).
- 逆: variant 𪛗 in P.2212; 𪛗 in P.3099.
- 上 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 順 (S.4583v).
- 留 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 流 (S.4583v).
- 去: replaced by repetition marker in S.4583v.
- 底: 多 (P.3082).
- 利 (P.2212): 裏 in P.2204 and P.3099; 礼 in S.4583v; missing in P.3082.

- 留: 流 (P.3082).
- 普路喻 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 拂魯與 (S.4583v); 勃路与 (P.3082).
-))...((marks a passage that is partly preserved in the fragment ДХН 424r (formerly: Дх492); the page is torn in the middle (see the Appendix).
- 覺悟: P.3082 has a reversal marker between the two characters (悟覺?).
- 一念淨心無染污 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099, ДХН 424r): S.4583v has 淨心住立(?) 無染污 (“If the pure mind is firmly established then there are no impurities”). For the phrase 一念淨心無染污一切魔軍自然去, P.3082 has: 淨心住立無染惡切魔(repetition marker)軍自然去 (“if the pure mind is firmly established then there is no pollution, and the army of evil demons will disperse by itself”).
- 閻: replaced by a repetition marker in P.2204, P.3099, and ДХН 424r.
- 閻閻屢專注 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): S.4583v is very different here: 依閻呂專住. For 閻閻屢專注娑訶耶大悟, P.3082 has the following: 呂(?)呂專住思訶夜大悟. 閻/呂 LMC: liǎ / lyǎ` (> ly) 依 LMC: ?i (> ji) 屢 LMC: lyǎ` (> ly).
- 耶 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099, ДХН 424r 𑖦𑖩): 也 (S.4583v).
- 大 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): S.4583v has 待, which is very strange (“awaiting enlightenment” instead of “greatly enlightened”).

5.9.2 Translation

普路喻普路喻

[LMC: p^huǎ` luǎ` jyǎ` p^huǎ` luǎ` jyǎ`]

Seventh, concerning the awakening to the complete and bright great *prajñā*. The Four Methods and 18 [kinds of practice] transcend the numbering⁶⁹ [of doctrines, etc.]. Those [caught in the] marvelous existence [of the circle of] birth and death are mysteriously liberated.⁷⁰

Within the Three Worlds, a great master is truly difficult to encounter.

Saṃsāra and *nirvāṇa*, there is no need to cross over to.⁷¹

69 On the term *míngshù* 名數, see Nakamura: 1300c (DDB: “Name and number. A numbered term, such as ‘three realms,’ ‘ninth stage,’ etc.”). This could also be interpreted as an exhortation not to become attached to a particular doctrine (as discussed in Abidharma literature), but rather to find a good teacher for instruction.

70 *Miàoyǒu* 妙有 (“marvelously existing”) is sometimes enumerated as one of the three kinds of existence (*sānzhǒng yǒu* 三種有): i.e., *shíyǒu* 實有 (“really existing”), *jiǎyǒu* 假有 (“provisionally existing”), and *miàoyǒu* (“marvelously existing”). The latter often refers to the “emptiness-aspect” of all things (*zhēnkōng miàoyǒu* 真空妙有). 四生妙有玄通度 (P.3082): “The marvelous existence of the four kinds of beings is mysteriously liberated [?].”

71 The different versions of this passage in the various manuscripts suggest that the text is particularly problematic here.

The river of affections runs counter to the supreme [truth]; do not dwell in it!
If this mind [therefore] is without thought, the army of Māra (demons) will
depart by itself.

Depart! 底利 [LMC: tiaj' li'] Depart! 魯留盧樓普路喻 [LMC: luǎ liw luǎ ləw p^huǎ'
luǎ' / jyǎ']

All you sons of the Buddha! If you have a pure mind throughout every single
thought (or: one-pointedly pure mind), there will be no impurities, and the
entire army of Māra will depart by itself.



閻閻屢 [LMC: lyǎ' lyǎ' lyǎ'] Concentrate! (*zhuānzhù* 專注) *Svāhā-ya!* Great
Awakening!

5.10 *Strophe 8*

嘎略藥嘎略藥

第八：禪門絕針酌。不高不下無樓閣。不出不入無城郭。是想顯聲即初
學。生心(動念勿令著。久坐用功作非作。無樂可樂是常樂。慧燈一照
三千郭。定水常清八萬鑠。十方諸佛同開覺。覺底利博魯留盧樓嘎略藥
諸佛子自在作莫制約。四維上下不可度。住寂涅槃同門廓。甚安樂無著。
娑訶耶等覺。

5.10.1 Textual Annotations

- 嘎略藥: repetition markers (P.2212): P.2204 and P.3099 have 復畧藥 with three repetition markers; the phrase is separated by spaces above and below. S.4583 (also using three repetition markers) has a different first character that we are unable to decipher with any certainty: . It may be a strange cursive form of 復, although the *Zhōngguó cǎoshū dàzìdiǎn* 中國草書大字典 does not contain any similar form of this character. Osterkamp suggests that it may be a cursive form of 紇. P.3082 also singles out the phonetic phrase with spaces above and below, using repetition markers. It reads: 訶洛樂. 略 (LMC: liak), 藥 (LMC: jiak).
- 針 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099, ДХН 424r):  (S.4583v). The form looks like 劑 (one of its meanings being “to cut”); or it could be 割. P.3082 has 占. It might also be interpreted as a cursive form of 斟, a reading that would fit well within the context.⁷²

⁷² Suggestion by Sven Osterkamp.

- 酌 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099, S.4583v, ㄉㄒㄏ 424r): 勺 (P.3082).
- 墀 (P.2212): 郭 (P.2204, P.3099, S.4583v, P.3082); the same in the occurrence below.
- 是想顯聲即初學 (P.2204, S.2212, P.3099): S.4583v is very different as it has 視相見聲, but this actually makes more sense than the other three manuscripts: “gazing at form/features, seeing the sound.” P.3082 has the phrase: 是相聲最初學.
- 顯 (P.2212); 顯 (ㄉㄒㄏ 424r): 現 (P.2204), 顯 (P.3099).
- 學 (P.2212, S.4583v, ㄉㄒㄏ 424r): 本 (P.2204); 本 (P.3099): these are all “variants of the variant” form 孛.
- 非 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 不 (S.4583v, P.3082).
- 可樂 (P.2212, P.3099, S.4583v, P.3082): missing in P.2204.
- 慧 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 惠 (S.4583v, P.3082).
- 鑠 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099, S.4583v): 灼(?) (P.3082); 鑠 is used phonetically (abbreviated: *śe*) for Skr. *kṛśā* (“afflictions”).
- 覺: indicated by repetition markers in P.2212, P.2204, P.3099, S.4583v.
- 底 (P.2212, P.2204, P.3099): 得 (S.4583v).
- 利 (P.2212): 裏 in P.2204, P.3099, S.4583v.
- 嘎 (P.2212): 復 (P.2204, P.3099); 復 (S.4583v).
- 上: because of severe paper damage, in P.3099 only 廓甚安樂無 of the last part is extant. Originally, this manuscript had a colophon with the date of the copy. However, only a few characters are still recognizable (... 九月栽(?)日 扪(?)手.....耳).
- 槃: 盤 (S.4583v).
- 安: unrecognizable in P.2212 (torn paper).
- 樂: in P.2212, 樂 is repeated; there is also a repetition marker in S.4583v.
- 門廓 (P.2212, P.2204): 開覺 (“to awaken”) in S.4583v.
- 娑 (P.2212, P.2204): 薩 (S.4583v).
- 耶 (P.2212, P.2204): 也 (S.4583v).
- 十方諸佛同開覺覺底利博魯留盧樓噯略藥諸佛子自在作莫制約四維上下不可度住寂涅槃同門廓甚安樂無著娑訶耶等覺: P.3082 differs radically: 十方諸佛同開廓甚安樂(repetition marker)無看 (著?) 思訶夜等覺. 思 should probably be read as *sāi* here (LMC: *saj*), with similar phonetics as compared to *suō* 娑 (LMC: *sa*). 耶 (LMC: *jia*); 夜 (LMC: *jia*); 訶 (LMC: *xa*); 思訶耶 > Skr. *svāhā-ya*.

5.10.2 Translation

嘎(> 復)略藥嘎(> 復)略藥

Number Eight: The method of Chán cuts off random speculation.⁷³

Neither high nor low, there are no multi-storied buildings. There is neither leaving nor entering, and there is no city.⁷⁴

This thought manifested in sound (?), this is the initial learning (or: [for] beginning students).⁷⁵

When generating the mind and giving rise to thoughts, don't let [yourself] attach [to them]!

[When] making the effort to sit long time [in meditation], then action will be no-action.

There is no joy that can be enjoyed; this is [called] “eternal joy.”

The lamp of wisdom at once illuminates the 3,000 worlds.⁷⁶

The water of *saṃādhī*⁷⁷ is constantly purifying the 8,000 *kleśas*.⁷⁸

All the buddhas of the Ten Directions achieve enlightenment at the same time.

Enlightenment 底利 [LMC: tiaj' li'] Extensive!

All you sons of the Buddha! Remain self-so and do not [artificially] restrain [yourselves]!

73 *Zhènzhuó* 斟酌 has a specific meaning in Chán texts. Its original meaning is “to deliberate, consider.” In the Buddhist context, it can also mean “to serve alms food” (Meisig and Meisig 2012: 116). In their translation of the *Línjì lù*, Sasaki and Kirchner 2009: 139 translate it as “random speculation.” The term is also frequently used in the JDCDL (Christian Wittern, in a draft version of a German translation of the JDCDL, translates it as “irrigate Denkweise” = “deluded way of thinking”).

74 This may be a reference to the famous illusionary city of the *Lotus Sūtra*, a very popular metaphor for *upāya* (“skillful means”). One passage in this sūtra contains both 城郭 and 樓閣 (T.9, no. 264: 161c 化作大城郭 莊嚴諸舍宅 周匝有園林 渠流及浴池 重門高樓閣 男女皆充滿). Karashima 2013: 250 translates 樓閣 as “a lofty building, a storeyed building.”

75 This passage possibly should be modified according to the Uyghur translation, which has “sign; feature.” 相 and 想 are often exchanged in Dūnhuáng texts: “These signs/features appearing as sound [for] the new student.”

76 郭 should probably be interpreted as homophonous to 國. The expression 三千國 is frequently encountered in sūtra literature, corresponding to the Skr. *tri-sāhasra*.

77 For more on the expression “water of *saṃādhī*,” see Chapter Three, this volume.

78 鑠 is used phonetically here for *śa*, as an abbreviation for *kleśa* (cf. 僧吉隸鑠; Skr. *saṃ-kleśa*).

[Those with] the Four Bonds (Skr. *bandhanas*),⁷⁹ [whether they are] of high or low status, cannot be liberated.

When residing in *nirvāṇic* extinction, one achieves awakening together.⁸⁰

In utter quiet bliss there is no attachment.

Svāhā! May all be enlightened!

6 Final Note

The so-called *Siddham Song* is remarkable for several reasons. Written in the context of Chán Buddhism, it reflects early Chán thought, and especially the lineage associated with the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, in addition to integrating terms that are typical of the early phase of the movement. As a special feature, the preface not only connects the sūtra, its translator Guṇabhadra, and Bodhidharma (the founding figure of Chán), but also associates the text with the famous translator Kumārajīva, who is credited with introducing the Siddham material to China. Unfortunately, the entire text of the *Tōngyùn*, which is attributed to Kumārajīva, is not preserved. However, sections of the preface are extant among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, and these give us an insight into the importance attributed to the sounds of the Indian alphabet. Indeed, they are described as highly efficacious soteriological tools.

The preface to the *Siddham Song* also mentions the monk Dìnghuì, who is credited with composing the text. It explains its purpose of transforming the mysterious and difficult contents of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* into a short message that could be both “performed” and understood by the common people. The result is an interesting mix of phrases including doctrinal terms and statements, in addition to warnings, prohibitions, and exhortations. The various sections are connected by “trigger phrases” (which were probably designed to stick in the mind of the listener/reader), accompanied by characters that clearly have no semantic reference. Most significant is the structure of the text, which obviously had to be sung in a series of strophes. Its “didactic” build-up alternates between prescriptive sections and proscriptive sections, also illustrating the negative consequences of transgressions. It includes a high percentage of phonetically used characters, reflecting both “Chinese” and “Sanskrit” sounds, with a recurring focus on the four liquid vowels ㄖ ㄝ ㄌ ㄩ̇ (*lǚ-lú-lú-lóu*), which the

79 The four bonds are: desire, wealth, ignorance, and distorted views. Cf. *FDC*, Vol. 2: 1827b.

80 Following S.4583v (同開覺); the other manuscripts pose severe textual problems here.

Chinese audience may well have interpreted as extremely exotic and mystical. The rhyme patterns include both semantically and phonetically used characters, and nearly 25 percent of all of the characters rhyme (each strophe uses a different rhyme). Here, the intention was probably to increase the mnemonic and “musical” aspects of the text.

Finally, the numerous copies of the *Siddham Song* neatly illustrate that early Chán thought and doctrine remained highly relevant in the northwestern regions until at least the tenth century, and probably much later.

Appendix

Here, with the kind permission of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts at the Russian Academy of Sciences, we reproduce a manuscript fragment of the *Siddham Song* that is not readily accessible at IDP. The manuscript number is ДХН 424 (formerly Дх492). The fragment is a folio from a booklet with folded pages (i.e., each leaflet comprised two pages). The leaflet is torn, and the upper part is missing. However, parts of the introduction and parts of Strophe 8 of the *Siddham Song* are extant on the recto side. Based on an estimate of the approximate number of characters that could fit on one page, the extant pages must be page 2 and (probably) page 15 of the text. (Hence, the whole booklet probably contained about sixteen folded pages, with the leaflets stitched together in the middle.)

Dūnhuáng texts in booklet (rather than scroll) form were practical because there was no need to unroll them and it was much more easy to take them on travels. In contrast to many of the scrolls discovered at Dūnhuáng, booklets were often produced locally rather than imported from the central regions. This may be interpreted as an indication that our text enjoyed local popularity and was frequently copied in the Dūnhuáng area. Most of the extant booklets among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts can be dated to the late Táng/Five Dynasties period.

The text was probably written on only the recto sides of the leaflets, as the extant verso side contains no content related to the text. Indeed, the phrases we find on the verso cannot be associated with any extant Chinese Buddhist text. They might be interpreted as disconnected scribbles, or a random collection of Buddhist terms and phrases. On the left side of the verso, there is a drawing of an animal or more likely a demon. This material suggests that the *Siddham Song* was written exclusively on the rectos, with the versos left blank. As the extant passages are symmetrically “remote” from each other (i.e., the second page of the preface and the second to last page of the final strophe), the folio

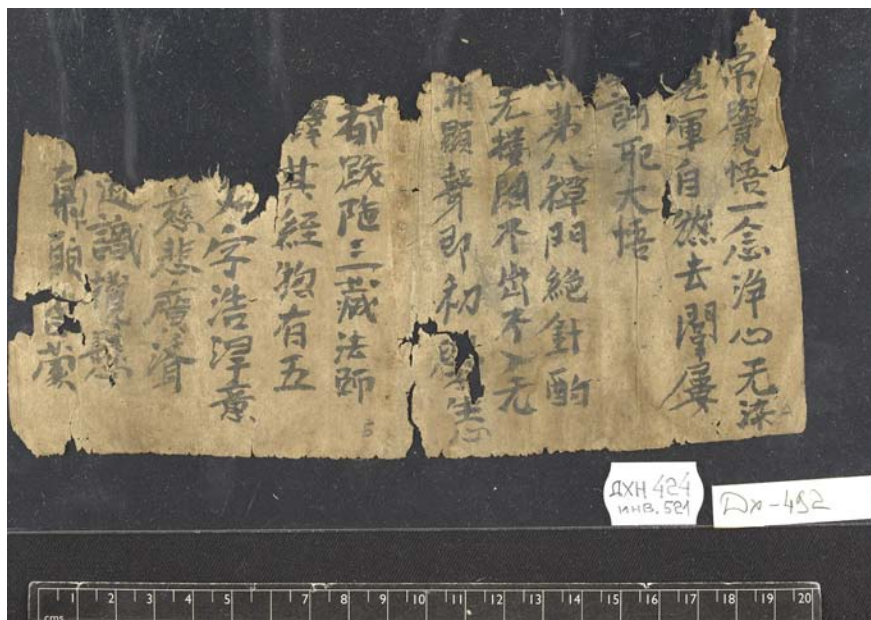


FIGURE 2.2 DXH 424 (formerly Dx492), recto

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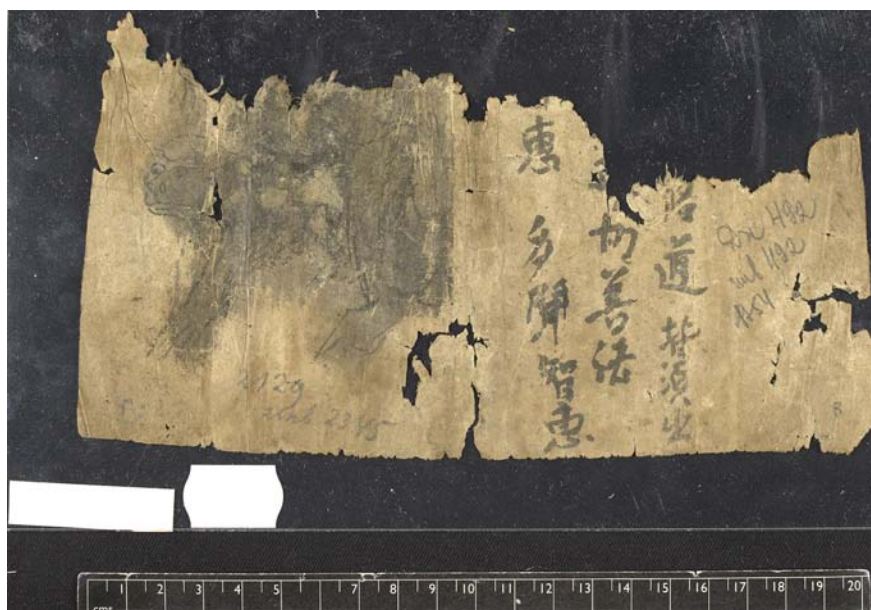


FIGURE 2.3 DXH 424 (formerly Dx492), verso

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must have been wrapped around other pages (atypical for booklets in butterfly format, in which double pages are usually arranged next to each other).⁸¹

Right part of the recto side, “page 2” of the text:⁸²

來至東都跋陀三藏法師
奉詔翻譯其經總有五
卷合成一部文字浩汗意
義難知和上慈悲廣濟
郡品通經問道識攬玄
宗窮達本原皆蒙

Left part of the recto side, probably the second to last page of the text (“page 15”):

諸佛子常覺悟一念淨心無染
污一切魔軍自然去閻(閻)屢
專注娑訶耶大悟
嘎略藥嘎略藥第八禪門絕針酌
不高不下無樓閣不出不入無
城墉是想顯聲即初學生心

Right part of the verso side:

... 道皆須出
... 協(=協)善法
... 惠多聞智惠

References

Manuscripts, Primary Sources, and Collections

Dà-Táng Dōngdū Dàshèng-shàn sì gù Zhōng-Tiānzhuó guó Shànwúwèi sānzàng héshàng bēimíng bīngxù 大唐東都大聖善寺故中天竺國善無畏三藏和尚碑銘並序 [*The Central Indian Tripiṭaka Master, Venerable Śubhākarasīṃha's Stele Inscription from the*

81 We wish to thank Sam van Schaik and Agnieszka Helman-Wazny for their very helpful comments on the physical features of the fragment.

82 The extant parts of the passages are in boldface.

- Dàshèngshàn Monastery in the Eastern Capital of the Great Táng, with Preface*]; ed. T.50, no. 2055.
- Dàbān nièpán jīng* 大般涅槃經; tr. by Tán Wúchèn 曇無讖 (Dharmakṣema, 385–433); ed. T.12, no. 371.
- Dàxīngshān sì chánshī shāmén Dīnghuì shīcǎn* 大興山寺禪師沙門定慧詩贊 [*Poetic Verse by the Chán Master, Monk Dīnghuì of Dà Xīngshān Temple*]; S.5809.
- Dàxīngshān-sì chánshī shāmén Dīnghuì zàn* 大興山寺禪師沙門定惠贊; S.5809.
- Fóshuō Léngqíe jīng chánmén xītán zhāng* 佛說楞伽經禪門悉談章 [*The Siddham Chapter of the Gate of Chán [according to] the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra Expounded by the Buddha; hereafter Siddham Song*]; P. 2204, P.2212, P.3082, P.3099; S.4583v, Beijing niǎo 鳥64 (BD00041-1), DX00492; ed. T.85, no. 2779. [*Siddham Song*]
- Gāosēng zhuàn* 高僧傳; by Huijiǎo 慧皎; ed. T.50, no. 2059.
- JDCDL; see *Jīngdé chuándēng lù*.
- Jīngdé chuándēng lù* 景德傳燈錄 [*Record of the Transmission of the Lamp Compiled in the Jīngdé Era*]; comp. by Dào Yuán 道原 in 1004; ed. T.51, no. 2076. [JDCDL]
- Jiūmóluóshí fǎshī tōngyùn* 鳩摩羅什法師通韻 [*Comprehensive Rhymes of the Monk Kumārajīva*]; fragments of the text are preserved in S.1344.
- Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*; see *Léngqíe ābádūoluó bǎo jīng*.
- Léngqíe ābádūoluó bǎo jīng* 楞伽阿跋多羅寶經 [*Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*] / *Léngqíe jīng* 楞伽經; ed. T.16, nos. 670, 671, 672; tr. by Guṇabhadra in ca. 443; ed. T.16, no. 670.
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- Mahāparinivāna Sūtra*; see *Dàbān nièpán jīng*.
- Nièpán jīng xītán zhāng* 涅槃經悉曇章; composed ca. 862; manuscript in the Tōyō Bunko collection.
- Shittanzō* 悉曇藏; by Annen 安然; composed in ca. 881; ed. T.84, no. 2702.
- Tōngyùn* 通韻; see *Jiūmóluóshí fǎshī tōngyùn* 鳩摩羅什法師通韻.
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PART 2

The Spread of Chán in the Northwestern Region



The Old Uigur Translation of the *Siddham* Songs

Peter Zieme

1 Initial Remarks*

Although many essential features of Chinese Chán Buddhism, such as discussions of the lineages of the masters, are unknown in Uigur Buddhist literature, the Uigurs—who adopted Buddhism around the turn of the second millennium, having settled in the Tarim region in the ninth century—devoted themselves to the Chán tradition, too. First of all, Buddhist monks learned about Chán from the literature that was flourishing in Dūnhuáng. Some treatises were translated, either strictly or in a rather liberal fashion. In the latter case, it is better to speak of “adoptions” rather than translations. This is especially true of the *Guānxīn lùn* 觀心論, a famous text that leads to the origins of Chán. Interestingly, the Uigur translation is not entitled *Guānxīnlùn*, but if we retranslate the Uigur words *ätözüg köñjülüğ körmäk atlıg nom bitig* into Chinese, we arrive at **Guān shēnxīn lùn* 觀身心論. This Uigur version of the text, which is preserved in a block-printed thirteenth-century edition, has copious additions and alterations when compared with the Chinese original. For instance, the short Chinese phrase “Cultivating the *pāramitās* means purifying the six senses” is changed insofar as the Uigur text first enumerates the six *pāramitās*. This loose handling of the Chinese text is also evident in the way in which the dialogue structure is neglected.

A better-preserved Uigur text is a treatise entitled 心 [köñjül] *tözin ukuttači nom* (“The sūtra that teaches the mind essence”). There is no trace of an original Chinese version of this text, although the Uigur version contains many Chinese characters that are used as heterograms, and from the suffixes attached to such words written in Uigur script it is evident that the Chinese characters were read as Uigur words. The text outlines three methods—or gates—to understand the “mind essence”: 1) all things are not different from the mind; 2) the mind cannot be mixed with any criteria; 3) the essence of the mind is not created. These three gates are exemplified by similes and metaphors. Textual analysis suggests

* I am indebted to Christoph Anderl and Henrik H. Sørensen for their meticulous translation of the Chinese text (see their co-authored paper in this volume), and for giving me the opportunity to commemorate John McRae’s great contribution to Chán studies.

that this scripture is an original Uigur work, composed by a Chán monk who had deep understanding of Chán philosophy.

These two examples not only indicate that Uigurs were involved in the Chán tradition but also suggest that they were responsible for some original compositions. The sūtra *Yuánjué jīng* 圓覺經 (“Sūtra of complete enlightenment”) played an important role in Uigur Buddhism, too. There is a “translation” of an unknown Chinese commentary on this sūtra. However, given that no trace of the Chinese text has ever been found, one may think of the Uigur commentary as an original composition. Uigur Buddhists must have held the sūtra itself in high regard, as fragments of several translations were edited.

Finally, the text that is the focus of this chapter has to be regarded as a true translation, although the Uigur version has some peculiar traits that become evident when we compare it to the Chinese original.

In a colophon attached to a printed folded book edited by G. Hazai,¹ then partly re-edited by A. Yakup,² the fourth of twelve listed scriptures appears under the title *sirdam čau*.³ It is evident that these words represent *Xītánzhāng* 悉談章. They belong to the title of the Chán tractate, but they are also a translation of the Sanskrit *Siddhavastu*—a text on pronunciation.⁴

When I started to read the verso side of Ch/U 7043, an Old Uigur text found by the second German Turfan expedition, it quickly became evident that it is just the beginning of a longer text. Furthermore, it was fascinating to see a note written by a modern hand: “T II S Preta Tempel.” This indicates that the fragment was found in Sängim, specifically in “Tempel Nr. 10,” which A. Grünwedel called “Cella mit dem Preta.” Characterizing the temple as a “grandiose Anlage Nr. 10,”⁵ he wrote:

Tempel Nr. 10 gehört zu den interessantesten Bauten des Gebietes und seine zahlreichen verschütteten Türme und Gelasse mögen bedeutende Dinge enthalten: hier zu graben, ist aber auch ganz außerordentlich schwer, da der Sand immer wieder nachrinnt und wegen der Felsabrut-schungen und der morschen Gewölbe und Terrassen, von denen man nie weiß, ob sie massiv sind, auch nicht ungefährlich.⁶

1 Hazai 1975. Cf. BT XIII.46.

2 Yakup 2010: Text G (pp. 235–236).

3 BT XIII.46.

4 SH 350a.

5 Grünwedel 1905: 153 (cf. the map on p. 117).

6 Ibid.: 159.

In his book *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*, A. Grünwedel calls the same building simply “Preta-Tempel.”⁷ Therefore, it is certain that the fragment originated in Sängim. There is less—if any—information on the places of origin for the other fragments.

2 The Chinese Text

The Chinese text entitled *Fóshuō lèngqiéjīng chánmén xītánzhāng* 佛說楞伽經禪門悉談章,⁸ translated by Jao [Rao] and Demiéville as “Strophes sur le Siddham, [traitant] du Dhyāna [qui s’inspire] du Sūtra de Laṅkā (*Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*) prononcé par le Buddha, avec préface,”⁹ is known solely from Dūnhuáng manuscripts. The T. edition is based on P.2212 and P.2204.¹⁰ Later, Wáng Zhìpéng examined manuscripts P.2204, P.2212,¹¹ P.3099, P.3082 and S.4583.¹² E. Kobayashi then added BD00041-1 and DX00492 to the list of Chinese manuscripts, so there are now seven in total.¹³ (For further information on these Chinese texts, readers should consult Anderl and Sørensen, this volume.)

Unfortunately, almost nothing of the introduction to this tractate is preserved in the Old Uigur version. Thus, it remains unclear whether it was translated at all. A single exception appears in the middle of the first section [1], where there is the following statement: *amti muntada basa kūsānlig kumaračivi ačari bāgniñ öti ārigi bo ārür* (“Now, from here onwards this is the advice and counsel (= teaching) of master Kumārajīva from Kūsān (Kucha”).¹⁴ The Chinese term *tōngyùn* 通韻 is translated as *öt ārig*, a compound meaning “advice.”¹⁵ The *tōngyùn* is attributed to Kumārajīva, known from a Dūnhuáng fragment that was written to explain Indic phonology in Chinese. The Old Uigur translator circumscribed the Chinese term, as neither *tōng* nor *yùn* really means “advice.”

7 Grünwedel 1912: 362b.

8 T.85, no. 2779.

9 Jao and Demiéville 1971: 87.

10 According to the colophon, the manuscript was copied on January 8, 942; cf. Catalogue Pelliot Chinois, No. 2204.

11 Catalogue Pelliot Chinois No. 2212.

12 Wáng Zhìpéng 2005: 99.

13 Kobayashi 2011: 1039.

14 Old Uigur *kūsān*. Ch. 彼與鳩摩羅什法師通韻.



15 ED 221b.

3 The Old Uigur Fragments¹⁶

Altogether, twenty-two fragments of twelve manuscripts (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K and L) can be identified as parts of one (or possibly several) Old Uigur translation(s) of the Chinese *Xītánzhāng*. This rather high number of manuscripts exceeds the Chinese text evidence and shows the great interest Uigur Buddhists had in this particular text, probably at the time when Dūnhuáng Buddhism was most influential in Turfan. With the exception of A, B and probably H, all of the manuscripts were written on the blank, verso sides of Chinese Buddhist scrolls. Thus far, no block print has been found. The manuscripts cannot be dated definitively, but A and B, at least, seem to belong to the pre-thirteenth-century period. Full details of the manuscripts are as follows:

- A. (Berlin) U 2454 (T II 574), fragment of a *pustaka* leaf. The leaf number on the verso side is 33. If one considers that approximately ten Chinese lines are translated into Old Uigur on one leaf, this fragment was part of a miscellany as only some twenty Chinese lines are missing from the beginning of the Chinese text. The number of lines on the page was either nine or ten, but only the right half is preserved. The script is very precise and resembles many other manuscripts of Old Uigur calligraphic type. The text extends from section III to the beginning of section IV.
- B. (Berlin) U 4962 (T II T Ohne No.), fragment of a scroll, with no text on the verso side. The lines are complete; only the upper margin is defective. This is a very carefully executed calligraphic manuscript, although the letters seem a little condensed. The preserved headline for section VIII is written in red characters. The text extends from the latter part of section VII to the major part of section VIII.

¹⁶ Although most of the fragments are housed in the Turfan Collection in Berlin, those from other collections also provided invaluable information, so I express my sincere gratitude to Irina F. Popova for allowing me to study the texts in the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, and to Kōichi Kitsudō for working on the fragment in the Tachibana Collection, Saigonji, Shiga Prefecture. All other fragments are accessible through the Turfan Archive of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften or the International Dunhuang Project. The following abbreviations are used throughout this paper: U (Uigurisch) and Ch/U (Chinesisch/Uigurisch) in the Turfan Collection of the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin; Beida = Library of the Běijīng Dàxué; ST = Tachibana Collection of Saigonji Temple (西嚴寺藏橘資料); Ot.Ry. = Ōtani Collection of the Library of Ryūkoku Daigaku; SI = Serindia Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg.

- C. (Berlin) Ch/U 7043 (T II S Preta Tempel), lower half of a Chinese scroll of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitāsūtra* (T.8, no. 225: 507a12–20). The verso side contains eighteen complete lines of the Old Uigur text, which means that the leaves of the original Chinese scroll were cut in the middle. The Uigur script is a condensed cursive type, but readable with little difficulty. The text extends from the beginning to the start of section II. The sections were later marked by  in l. 02 and  in l. 17.
- D. (Berlin) The fourth manuscript can be joined from four fragments of a Chinese scroll of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarikasūtra* (T.9, no. 262: 59a26–c4; 59c6–60a8). The fragments are as follows: Mainz 714 (the paper itself bears the signs 138, Ch 26, Ch 27) joined with Ch/U 8095 (T III T 476) and Ch/U 6356 (T III 173.116) (+) Ch/U 6855 (T III 153). In this case, the leaves were not cut in half. In the main, only the upper parts of the leaves are preserved; joins were found in only two cases, so some ten lines are nearly complete. The Uigur lines are written rather imprecisely in a cursive Uigur script. The text extends from the beginning to section V.
- E. (Berlin) Ch/U 7438 (T III T 470) + Ch/U 7463 + Ch/U 7399 (T II T 1506) (+) Ch/U 7408 (without original signature). The joined fragments Ch/U 7399 + Ch/U 7438 + Ch/U 7463 cover the whole height of the block print. Ch/U 7408 is an upper part of the print. They are from the *Guānshìyīn púsà shòu jì jīng* 觀世音菩薩授記經 **Māyopama-samādhisūtra*¹⁷ (T.12, no. 371: 355a29–b9; 355b18–c1).¹⁸ Opposite to the direction of the Chinese block print, the verso side bears the Old Uigur text, in the joined case partly to the full height of the lines. The cursive script is similar to that of manuscript D. The text corresponds to sections III and IV.
- F. (Beijing) Beida C 43,¹⁹ a middle fragment of a Chinese scroll of the *Mahāyāna Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (T.12, no. 374: 488c18–25). Twelve lines in Uigur cursive script are preserved on the verso side. The text corresponds to section I.
- G. (Kyoto) ST 159 + Ot.Ry. 7309 + Ot.Ry. 7075 + Ot.Ry. 7076, four fragments of a Chinese scroll of the *Guòqù xiànzài yīnguǒ jīng* 過去現在因果經 (T.3, no. 189: 624c5–9 + c9–13 + c5–11 + c12–14) that can be joined. The verso

17 Reconstructed title according to Hōbōgirin Répertoire: 47.

18 Cf. Nishiwaki 2014, catalogue numbers 0849–0852.

19 The facsimile is included in a volume edited by Shànghǎi Classics: *Běijīng Dàxué cáng Dūnhuáng wénxiàn* 大学藏敦煌文献 [*Dūnhuáng manuscripts preserved at the Peking University Library*], Shànghǎi 1995: 320.

side contains twelve lines in cursive Uigur script. The text corresponds to section I.

- H. (St. Petersburg) S1 4009 (4bKr 203). Upper part of a *pustaka* leaf written in calligraphic style. Very few words can be read on the other side of this fragment. It is unclear whether these are scribbles or part of another text. Originally, it was a Chinese scroll, but the characters have faded away. The Old Uigur text on the first or recto side corresponds to section v.
- I. (St. Petersburg) S1 1778 (Kr IV 251) + Dx 09578.²⁰ Upper part of a scroll fragment from a Chinese version of the *Vajracchedikāsūtra*, *Jīngāng bōrě bōluómì jīng* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (T.8, no. 235: 750c27–751a14). In opposite direction, the verso side contains the lower part of the Uigur lines. The text corresponds to sections III and IV.
- J. (Berlin) U 3573. Middle part of a *pustaka* leaf, with seven lines on each side. The script is similar to manuscript A, but not by the same hand. The text corresponds to sections III to v.
- K. (Kyoto) Ot.Ry. 1100. Upper part of a manuscript, probably a scroll. Upper margin is preserved; calligraphic script; verso side blank. The text corresponds to section v.
- L. Four fragments of a well-written, folded book preserved at the Dunhuang Academy can be joined into two units: D0901+D0910 (joined) + lacuna + D0900+D0911 (joined).²¹ A fifth fragment is known from the (Kyoto) Haneda photo 十七 [17; Verso Haneda 十八] now preserved at Haneda Kinenkan 羽田記念館.²² The text passages correspond to sections I to VI.

4 The Old Uigur Translation(s)

As mentioned above, a colophon of the Yuán period (thirteenth/fourteenth century) mentions the title, but previously the text itself has not been known. Now, however, I can present an almost complete version based on the rather large number of copies. No concrete information concerning the author and date of the translation(s) is available. As the original Chinese text is known only from Dūnhuáng, it may be assumed that the translation(s) date from the tenth

20 Facsimile in Volume 14 of *Dunhuang Manuscripts in Russian Collections*, Shanghai/Moscow 2000.

21 Not yet edited.

22 I am grateful to Mrs. Noriko Ohsaki for allowing me to include the text of this photograph.

or eleventh century, if it was based on contemporary Dūnhuáng texts. On the other hand, it may have been that the Chinese text had another life beyond Dūnhuáng. Both options are feasible.

Translating Chinese verses into Old Uigur was a difficult task. As it was often impossible to express five or seven syllables in a single translated “verse line” independent of rhyme and/or alliteration, the translator sometimes used two lines. Thus, a “new” text was created. K. Röhrborn²³ argues that it is not advisable to “create” a compiled text because this may lead to emending or complementing the text, resulting in passages that never existed in the original manuscript. Instead, the scholar should simply read the original—in this case, the Chinese text. However, the Old Uigur translation is a new text in itself, and I believe it is justifiable to “create” or recreate a text as much as possible by careful examination of filling in lacunae through consultation with parallel copies. Though the resulting “newly created” text might be defective in some ways, it helps to clarify how the Uigurs “created” their Buddhist literature.

The majority of the Chinese text is written in heptasyllabic verse. In many cases, though, the Uigur translator(s) split the lines consisting of 4 + 3 characters into two verses. Therefore, I have adopted this system here, even if in some cases this seems to be rather arbitrary when the translator(s) found a way to express a particular Chinese verse in a similarly short Old Uigur verse.

In the Old Uigur rendering, the translator was motivated to create a harmonious “verse” structure, so each verse tends to consist of 7, 8, 9 or 10 syllables (or, less frequently, more or less). Counting the syllables in the 119 verses results in the following table:

5 syll. verses	6 syll. verses	7 syll. verses	8 syll. verses	9 syll. verses	10 syll. verses	11 syll. verses	12 syll. verses	13 syll. verses
1	7	39	27	17	15	7	5	1

Therefore, it is obvious that most verses are structured along the usual metrical patterns.

Here, it is useful to explore how one Chinese heptasyllabic verse was translated into Old Uigur. The two syntagmas 愛河 and 苦海 were divided into two

23 Röhrborn 2012.

[I]

002 äñilki	536a15 第一: <i>dīyī</i>
bilip köñülüg	捨緣 <i>shě yuán</i>
003 ilinmäk yapşınmaklarig tarkargu ol	
004 atkanmaklarig ketärip	
005 arıgın süzükin olurgu ol	清淨座 <i>qīngjìng zuò</i>

C02”nk’ylyky pylyp kwnkwlwk ’ylynm’k y’psynm’q l’ryq t’rq’rqw C03’wl : ”dq’nm’q
 l’ryq kyt’ryp . ”ryq yn swyzwkyn ’wlwrqw C04 []
 Da01”nkylky pyly[] ((’k’ ’k’l pw)) Da02”dq’nm’q l’ryq kyd’ryp ”ryqyn swyzwkyn
 ’[]lwrqw []
 F02[]q l’ryq t’rq’rqw ’wl . []
 Ga01[]ky pylyp kwnkwl wk ’ylynm’k y’psynm’q [] Ga02 [] kyd’ryp ”ryq swyzw-
 kyn ’wlwrqw ’wl

(002–005) Firstly, realizing the mind, one should eliminate the bondings and bindings. Having abandoned the clinging, one should sit purely and cleanly.

Comment

The phrase *bilip köñülüg* (“realizing the mind”), which is an Old Uigur addition, shows that the strict rule of using a converb only at the end of a phrase can be broken when verse is intended. To create a new verse (004), the translator repeats 003 in a different wording. In total, here a single Chinese verse results in four Old Uigur verses. The Old Uigur rendering is not precise, as the word 緣 seems to be untranslated, but it clearly illustrates the starting point of meditation.

006 alku sakıñč turmasar	萬事不起 <i>wànshì bùqǐ</i>
007 m(ä)nsiz kertü ol ärür	536a16 真無我 <i>zhēn wúwǒ</i>

C04”lqw s’qynč twrm’s’r . mnsyz kyrdw ’wl ’rwr :
 Da03mn syz kyrtw ((kyrdw)) ’wl {’yrır}
 F03[] s’qynč twrm’s’r . mn []
 G02”[] G03kyrdw ’wl ’rwr

(006–007) When no thoughts arise, it is the true non-ego.

Comment

The phrase “myriad phenomena” is translated as “all thoughts,” probably induced by the idea that phenomena can be abandoned only through mental activity. This verse is a perfect rendering of the Chinese original.

008 köni tüz tuymakka ugrasar

直進菩提 *zhí jìn pútí*

009 tiltagıg tüşüg iratgu ol

離因果 *lí yīnguǒ*

C04¹kwyny twyz C05¹t[] 'wqr's'r . tylt'q yq twys wk 'yr'dqw 'wl .

Da03¹kwyny twyz twym'q q' 'wqr's'r ty[] Da04¹yr'dqw 'wl

F04¹[]yq twyswk 'yr'dqw '[]

G03¹kwyny twyz twym'q q' 'wqr's'r []

(008–009) If one directly²⁴ aims at *bodhi*,²⁵ one should eliminate cause and effect.

Comments

The translator transformed the Chinese verse into a conditional sentence. (It is debatable whether this was justified.) Accordingly, they chose to use the causative verb *ıra-t-* (“to eliminate”).

010 köñül üzä köñülüg

心心寂滅 *xīnxīn jìmiè*

011 öčürmək nom yeg ärür

無殃禍 *wú yānghuò*

C06¹kwnkwl 'wyz' kwnkwlwk 'wyčwrm'k nwm yyk 'rwr .

Da04¹kwnkwl 'wyz' kwnkwl wk : 'wyčwrm'k ywl²⁶ nw[]

Ga04¹wl kwnkwl 'wyz' kwnkwl wk 'wyčwrm'k nwm yy[]

(010–011) Extinguishing mind through mind: is a dharma which is excellent.

24 The phrase *köni tüz* is probably a translation of 直 if the latter is taken as an adverb, but the two words can also be epithets of *bodhi*.

25 Ch. *pútí* 菩提 (Skt. *bodhi*) is rendered as *tuymak* (“perception”) in Old Uigur.

26 Perhaps this *ywl* can be explained as 'wl *ol*.

Comment

If one follows Anderl and Sørensen (and I believe they are right), the Old Uigur rendering is a reinterpretation that merits attention. Formally, the word *öčürmäk* (“extinction”) belongs to the second line, but this can be considered as an enjambement. In the second line, the *nom* (“dharma”) is used simply in the sense of “matter.” The negative Chinese wording—“there will be no calamity”—is transformed into a positive expression: “this matter is excellent.”

012 öyü öyü ömäksizin
013 ötrü anı taplagu ol

536a17 念念無念 *niànniàn wúniàn*
當印可 *dāng yìnkě*

C06'wyw 'wyw C07'wym'ksyzyn []ytrw 'ny t'pl'qw wl.
Da05[]w '[]yw []k syzyn 'wydrw 'ny t'pl'qw 'wl
F05[] 'wyw 'wyw 'wym'ksyz 'w[]
Ga05 []wydrw 'ny t'pl'qw 'wl ::

(012–013) Thinking and thinking (results in the state of) without thinking, then one should accept it.

Comment

This strophe has eight syllables, and each line is replete with alliteration. The pronoun *anı* makes the verse a little unclear, but from the Chinese it is apparent that enlightenment is the goal to accept or favor.²⁷

014 bışrunmakıg säviñlär
015 bışrunmakıg taplañlar

摩底利摩²⁸ *mó dǐ lì mó*
魯留盧樓 *lǔ liú lú lóu*
頗羅墮 *pōluóduò*

27 Ch. *yìnkě* is “approval of the enlightenment of the disciple by the teacher” (DDB).

28 Ch. *mó dǐ lì mó*. Variant: *kě* (可) *dǐ lì mó*. Kobayashi (2011: 1037) translates as 摩底に摩を利す (*matei ni ma o risu*). But 摩多 (the twelve vowels of the Siddhaṃ alphabet) as well as 摩訶摩底 (Skt. Mahāmāti), the interlocutor in the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*, may have some kind of input here.

^{C07}pyšrwnm'qyq t'pl'nl'r . ^{C08}pyšrwnm[]q s'vynkl'r
^{Da05}pys[]m[]q yq ^{Da06}s'vynk pysrwnm'q yq t'pl'nk l'r
^{F06}[] pysrwnm'q yq s'vynkl'r 'm[...]
^{Ga05}[] pysrwnm'q yq s[]

(014–015) Love meditating, accept meditating!

Comment

In manuscript F, the phrase *säviñlär* can be emended to *säviñlär am[rañlar]*. The Chinese transcriptions of the sounds of the Siddham alphabet were not recognized as such by the translator; instead, he translated them into normal sentences.

016 amty muntada basa küsänlig kumaračivi ačari bägniñ öti äriği bo ärür
^{C08}mty mwnt'd' p's' kwys'n lyk ^{C09}[]l'r
^{Da06}mty {mwd} mwnd' p's' kwys'nlyk kwm'r'cyvy ^{Da07}c'ry {p'} p'k nynk 'wydy
 "ryky pw "rwr
^{F07}[]n "cry nynk 'wydky²⁹ "r[]
^{G06}[]nt'd' p's' kwy[]l[]kwm[] ^{G07}pw 'r[]

(016) Now, from here onwards this is the advice and counsel (= teaching) of master Kumārajīva from Kūsān.³⁰

Comment

This sentence is inserted between the strophes 14–15 and 17–18. It refers to the last part of the introduction, which is not preserved in this Old Uigur translation (see discussion above).

017 yaratınmakta yaratıñlar
 018 yaratınmaktın taymañlar

^{C09}y'r'dynm'q t' ^{C10}[]m'[]dyn t'ym[]l'r .
^{Da07}y'r'dynm'q t' y'r'dynkl'r y'r'dynm'q tyn ^{Da08}t'ym'nk l'r

29 Apparently, the word 'wydky was corrected to 'wydy.

30 Cf. T.85, no. 2779: 536a13. Kumārajīva (344–413) was a renowned Buddhist teacher from Kucha (Old Uigur: Kūsān).

F08[]r'dynm'q tyn t'ym'[]
 Gb07y'r'dynm'q t[]y'r'dykynkl'[]

(017–018) Practice in practice, do not deviate from practice!

Comment

There is no equivalent in Chinese, but the Siddham sounds transcribed in Chinese were reinterpreted as normal sentences (see previous comment).

019 burhan oġlanı kamagun	536a18諸佛子 <i>zhūfózi</i>
erinmäjlär	莫癩墮 <i>mò lánduò</i>
020 öz ät'özünjüzlärni ötläjlär	31自勸課 <i>zì quànkè</i>

C10pwrq'n 'wql'ny q'm'q C11[]wnkwzl'r ny 'wydl'nl'r.
 Da08((pw)) pwrq'n 'wql'ny ((pwrq'n pwrq)) q'm'qwn 'yrynmnk l'r 'wyz 'twyz
 wnkwx Da09l'r ny 'wydl'nl'r
 Ea01[]qwn 'r[] Ea02[]ny 'wy[]l'r
 F09[]twyz wnkwx l'r ny 'wy[]
 Gb08pwrq'n 'wql'ny q'm'q wn 'rynm'nl'r 'wyz []

(019–020) All you sons of the Buddha! Do not be lazy, instruct yourselves!³¹

Comment

The use of “instruct” in place of “exert” is a minor deviation; otherwise, the translation is perfect. Alliteration is again evident in line 20.

021 ämgäklig taloytın kächinlär	愛河苦海 <i>àihé kǔhǎi</i>
022 az nizvani ögüztin ününlär	須 ^{536a19} 度過 <i>xū dùguò</i>

C11nysv'ny C12[]z tyn []r. 'mk'klyk t'lwy tyn k'čynkl'r :
 Da09'mk'k lyk t'lwy tyn k'čynk l'r 's nyzv'ny 'wykwz Da10tyn : 'wynwnkl'r
 Ea02'mk'klyk t'lwy tyn Ea03[]
 F10[] 'mk'k lyk t'lwy tyn []
 Gb09 lyq 'wykwz tyn 'wynwnkl'r. 'mk'k lyk t[]

31 Originally “your own bodies.”

(021–022) Cross the ocean of suffering! Rise from the river of greed *kleša*!

Comment

As we saw earlier, these two verses show how the translator worked: he split the Chinese sentence into two by transposing the verb “cross” into synonymous Old Uigur verbs. A minor detail is that he changed the order of “river” and “ocean,” but retained the respective attributes. He also added *az* (“affection, greed”) to the general term *kleša* (Old Uigur *nizvani*).

023 aşıǵ bulup yemäsär

憶食不喰 *yì shí bù cān*

024 ač yoriyur uzatı

常被餓 *cháng bèi è*

C13[] pwlwp yym’s’r . ”č ywkwrwr ’ws’dy .

Da10 ”syq pwlwp yym’s’r ”č ywryywr ’ws’dy :

F11[] dy

G10”č ywryywr ’ws’[]

La01”šyq pwlwp yym’s’r .. []

(023–024) If one finds food and does not eat, one roams around³² hungrily for ever.

Comment

This is probably an example of the translator missing the point, because the Old Uigur verb *bul-* (“to obtain, to find”) does not correlate precisely with the Ch. *yì* 憶 (“to concentrate the mind on a single object”). Instead, he changed the text either to exaggerate the phrase or to make it more contradictory. The strophic alliteration may be unintentional.

025 yası ıǵačıǵ üšmäsär

木頭不攢 *mùtóu bùzǎn*

026 oot y(a)rukı közünmáz

不出火 *bù chū huǒ*

32 Different Old Uigur verbs are used in manuscripts C and D: *yügür-* and *yorı-*, respectively. In both cases the word is an additional predicate.

^{C13}y'sy 'yq'č ^{C14}[y]q 'wyšm's'r . 'wwt yrwqy kwyswnm'z .
^{Da10}y'sy 'yq'č yq 'wysm's'r ^{Da11}{typ yw} 'wwt y'rwqy 'ydy kwyzwnm'z
^{F11}y'zy 'yq'č y[]
^{G10}y'sy 'yq'č yq '[]
^{La02}'wysm's'r .. 'wt y'rwq y kwyswnm'z

(025–026) When one does not collect flattened wood, fire flame does not appear.

Comment

The translator added an adjective to “wood”—“flat, flattened” (ED 973 f.)—presumably to clarify the meaning: one can make fire only by collecting and rubbing *flattened* wood. Therefore, the phrase 不出火 is translated as 火不出. 火 (“fire”) is augmented with “bright, light,” thus deepening the picture of making fire by burning wood.

027 köni oluruṇlar b(ä)kürü	536a20 耶羅邏 yé luó luó
028 arkuru yatmaṇlar ärtürü bolzun	端坐 duànzuo
	娑訶耶 suō hē yé
	莫臥 mò wò

^{Da11}kwyny 'wlwrwnk l'r pkwrw { } ^{Da12}'rqwrw y'dm'nk l'r 'rdwrw pwlzwn
^{C14}kwyny 'wlwrwnk l'r ^{C15}pkwrw . 'rḳwrw y'dm'nk l'r 'rdwrw :: ::
^{F12}[]l'r : []kwrw 'rqwr[]
^{G11}kwyny 'wrwnk l'r []rw 'rḳwrw y'dm'nk l'r 'rdw[]
^{La}[] ^{La03}m'nk l'r 'rdwr w :: ::

(027–028) Justly sit tightly!³³ Do not lie down topsy-turvy! It should be conducted (in this way)!³⁴

Comment

The Siddham and *dhāraṇī* phonetic renderings are disregarded here. The translator addressed only the real sentences. The adverbs for the sitting and prone positions are both Old Uigur additions, as is the third sentence.

33 Old Uigur *köni* is the equivalent of *duàn* (“straight”), while *bäkürü* (“tightly”) is an addition.
 34 This expression is an addition.

[11]

536a21 只領盛只領盛 *zhǐ líng*
shèng, zhǐ líng shèng

Comment

This phrase was not translated.

029 ikinti	第二 <i>dì èr</i>
bilip iš küdüküg	
030 yänä yänä bütürgül	

Da13'ykynty pyly[] 'ys kwydwwk wk y'n' y'n' pwydwr[]
Ea06[] kyndy pylyp 'ys kwydwwk yn y'n' pwydwrkw
F13[] ydwwk y'n' y'n' []
G12'ykynty p[]l[] kwydwwk wk y'n' y[]
La03'ykynty [] La04[] kwl ..

(029–030) Secondly, one should know matters and affairs and complete them again and again.

Comment

These two verses are Old Uigur additions that introduce the next two verses. As there is no Chinese equivalent, it is difficult to explain how they fit into the context. However, they form part of the topic of “fixing the mind.”

031 köñül biligig ornatıp	住心 <i>zhùxīn</i>
032 uzatı arıgn körgülük ol	常看淨 <i>cháng kànjìng</i>

Da14'pylykyk 'wrn'dyp 'wz'dy ((pw k'k')) 'ryq yn kwyrkwllwk []
Ea07'kwllkwllwk pylykyk³⁵ yyk 'wrn'dyp 'ws'dy 'ry³⁶ Ea08'kwyrkwllwk 'wl

35 Although the accusative suffix is attached to both nouns here, it is one unit “the mind” only, as is also clear from the Chinese text.

36 The three letters are unclear. It is hard to believe that the scribe simply forgot to write the

G13[]ws'dy 'ryq []
 La04kwnkwl wk pylykyk 'rn't[]

(031–032) One should settle the mind and constantly contemplate in pureness.

Comment

If the final phrase in the Chinese text is translated as “contemplate purity” (see Anderl and Sørensen, this volume), my rendering of *arigin* must be incorrect, as it cannot be an adverb (“in pureness”). Rather, it should be translated as “its purity.” However, this would pose a problem regarding the entity to which the possessive suffix refers. But it may also be a question of how one can contemplate purity.

033 körmäkli äšidmäkli ikigünün³⁷

亦見亦聞 *yì jiàn yì wén*

034 iki ärmäz tözin bilgülük ol

536a22無視聽 *wú shìtīng*

Da15'ykykw nwnk 'yky []n pylkwłwk

Ea08kwyrm'kly 'sydm'kly 'ykykwny 'yky 'rm'z Ea09twysyn pylkwłwk 'wl

La05[] 'sytm'k ly 'ykykw[]

(033–034) One should acknowledge that both,³⁸ seeing and hearing, have the root of not being twofold.

Comment

This strophe is a complete reinterpretation induced by the perception of non-duality, but “seeing” and “hearing” are not such a pair. The Chinese text reads: “Then, when seeing as well as hearing, there will be nothing to look at and [nothing] to listen to” (see Anderl and Sørensen, this volume). It is hard to believe that the Old Uigur rendering has any basis in Chán thinking.

word in full as there is plenty of space at the end of the line. Therefore, I am inclined to read *anı* as “that.”

37 Manuscript E (Ch/U 7438, l. 08): *ikigüni*.

38 This “both” is an addition by the translator.

035 tugmaknı[ŋ öčmäknı] ³⁹	生滅 <i>shēngmiè</i>
036 iki ärmäz töz[in bilgülük ol]	兩亡由 <i>liǎng wáng yóu</i>
037 tuymak yol[] ⁴⁰	
038 inčip yänä köni ärmäz	未證 <i>wèi zhèng</i>

Da15twqm'q ny[] Da16'yky 'rm'z twyz[] twym'q ywl[] Da17y[] kwyny 'rm'z
 Ea09twqm'qly 'wym'kly [] dymk' Ea10'yncyp yñ' kwyny 'rm'z
 La06[] 'wym'k ly kyt'rm'k []

(035–038) [One should acknowledge] that being born [and being extinguished] have a root of not being twofold.⁴¹ Way of perception [...] is also not true.⁴²

Comment

As in the preceding strophe, the principle of non-duality was introduced, but the tone was different in the original Chinese text: “Birth and death will both disappear when still not having realized [enlightenment]” (see Anderl and Sørensen, this volume). The translator seemingly realized that something had gone wrong because he added the final two lines of verse, but they are largely illegible, so it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions.

039 bahšılartın oñarsar	從師授語 <i>cóng shī shòu yǔ</i>
040 temin ö[k közüñür dyan]	方顯定 <i>fāng xiǎn dìng</i>

39 According to Ch. *liǎng* 兩, one should probably expect *ikigünüy* (“of both”) in the lacuna.

40 There are significant differences between manuscripts D and E. I cannot explain the word after *öčmäklı* in E. If it is *ädrämkä*, this seems to bear no relation to the original Chinese text.

41 Apparently the Old Uigur translator wrote this phrase in analogy to the preceding one. The translator of manuscript E probably remained faithful to the original Chinese text as he wrote *tidimkä*, which means “through destruction (or: extinction).” Clauson ED 456b refers to data in KB where *titim(lig)* can mean both “destructive” and “brave”; perhaps these are two sides of the same word. In this verse, it would be: “through destruction of arising and extinguishing.”

42 Verses 037–038 must have been added by the translator as there is no equivalent in the Chinese text.

Da17 p'qsył'r tyn 'wnk'rs'r tymyn '[]
 Ea10 p'qsy l'r tyn 'wnk'rs'r
 La06[] tymyn 'wk pl[]

(039–040) If one perceives from masters, then [meditation becomes manifest].

Comment

Here, again, the Old Uigur translation agrees *grosso modo* with the original Chinese text.⁴³

041 körgülük ol burhan-lar-nıñ	536a23 見佛 jiàn fó
042 nomlug ät'öz töz[inin iki ärmäzin]	法身無二性 ⁴⁴ fǎshēn wú èrxìng

Da18 kwyrkwłwk 'wl pwrq'n l'r nynk nwmlwq 't'wyz twyz[]
 La07[]ky 'rm'zy[]

(041–042) One should regard the essence of the dharma body of the Buddha as not being twofold.

Comment

Here, the Chinese text also speaks of the non-duality (cf. the two preceding strophes in the Old Uigur version).

043 ^{D19} tözi bo ärür tüp-nün tüpi bo tetir	頂領徑 dǐng lǐng jīng
044 yaratin[makta yaratınıñlar]	魯留盧樓 lǔ liú lú lóu
045 [...] ^{D20} bütürüñlär	只領 ^{536a24} 盛 zhǐ lǐng shèng

Da19 twyzy pw 'rwr twyp nwnk twypy pw tydyr y'r'dyn[] ^{Da20} pwydwrwnkl'r
 Ea12[] twyz y pw [] ^{Ea13} [] t' y' [] dynk l[]
 La08[] wyzy pw 'rwr .. twyp ^{La09} [] y'r'tynkl'r y'r'tynm'q yq pwytrwnk
 La10[]

43 For the equivalent of the Chinese 方 (“only then”; DDB), see Röhrborn (2013: 344b): “erst dann, erst unter dieser Bedingung.”

44 Ch. Jiàn fó fǎshēn wú èrxìng (“One should regard that Buddha’s dharma body is of non-duality”).

(043–045) Its essence is this. The ground of the ground is this. [Strive] in striving, complete [...]!

Comment

The translator again attempted to translate the Siddham transcriptions as meaningful sentences, but it is difficult to understand why.

046 burhan oglanı kamagun

諸佛子 *zhū fó zǐ*

047 övkä []

莫瞋佞⁴⁵ *mò chén nìng*

Da20 pwrq'n 'wql'ny q'm'q wn 'wyvk' []

Ea13 y'n' 14 [] m'qwn y

La10 [] vk' kwnkwl twtm'nkl'r ..

(046–047) Sons of Buddhas, all! [Abandon] rage [and flattery!]

048 [üč agu] turgursar

三毒忽起 *sāndú hū qǐ*

049 burhan tözi [yok]

無佛性 *wú fó xìng*

Da21 twrqwrs'r pwrq'n t' 'wyzy []

Ea15 [] qwrs'r pwrq'n

La10 wyč''qw l'r La11 [] wr ..

(048–049) If [one suddenly] arouses [the three poisons], there is no Buddha essence.

Comment

Here, the Chinese verb 起 is translated as a causative verb. In manuscript D, it is translated as *burhanta özi* (“in the Buddha self”), but this does not fit with the original Chinese text.

45 Or emended to a heptasyllabic verse: *zhū fó dì zǐ mò chén nìng*. But this is not supported by the Old Uigur translation.

050 []	癡狂 ^{536a25} 心亂 <i>chīkuáng xīn luàn</i>
051 [tö]zün-lärig örlätür	惱賢聖 <i>nǎo xiánshèng</i>

Da22l'ryk 'wyrldwr
 Ea16 []yswn l'ryk
 La1l pylyksyz pylyk pwlq'ns'r .. twyzwn l'r La12 []

(050–051) [The foolish craving mind is in a state of confusion]⁴⁶ offending the [No]ble Ones.⁴⁷

052 köz bodulsar öñ kü[k-iñä]	眼貪色塵 <i>yǎn tān sèchén</i>
053 k[u]l[gak ...] savıg	耳縛聽 <i>ěr fù tīng</i>

Da22kwyz pwdwls'r 'wynk kwy[] q[]l[] Da23s'vyq⁴⁸
 La12 []k' .. qwlq'q yytrs'r 'wyn s'v yq

(052–053) The eye is contaminated by the dust of color,⁴⁹ the ear is [attached] to sound.

Comment

In the original Chinese text: “The eyes have desire for sensual forms, and the ears are attached to hearing.” The Old Uigur translator probably translated 塵 in a much more basic way—as “dust”—because he translated 色 as “color.”

46 From Anderl and Sørensen's translation; this passage is not preserved in Old Uigur.

47 As the DDB explains, the compound *xiánshèng* means “wise person,” but it is used to denote “enlightened sages, noble ones.”

48 The correction of this word, possibly at a later date, makes the reading as *savıg* doubtful. One expects an equivalent of *tīng* 聽 (“sound”). Old Uigur *sav* (“speech”; ED 782b) is not perfect, but possible.

49 On this expression, see Yakup (2010: 92, fn. 284). It is similar to Kudara and Zieme (1995: 49)'s translation of *wú míng yǎn mó* 無明眼膜: *ketärür bilıg[s]lig köznüñ kükin* (“er entfernt den Schleier des Unwissenheitsauges”). The Old Uigur word can be reconstructed as either *kü[k]* or *kü[g]* (cf. ED 710a).

054 täŋri yerin kämišip⁵⁰

背却天堂 *bèiqùè tiāntáng*

055 tilämiš bolg[u]l äsizl[ikig]

向^{536a26}惡徑 *xiàng è jìng*

Da23t^{nkry} yyryn k'msyp {ty'} tyl'mys pwlq[]l'syz l[]

Ea17[]q'r {wqšynd} Ea18[]yz l'r t'mw

La13[]l'r t'mw yyr yn .. dy'n t' pyšrwnwnk La14[]

(054–055) By eliminating the heaven's land⁵¹ one will become one who wishes⁵² the evil [paths].⁵³

056 bu[]üg-kä äviriŋlär

盈令令 *yíng lìng lìng*

修定 *xiūdìng*

Da24pw[]wk k' 'vyrynkl'r

(056) Turn to []!

Comment

Chinese: “Practice concentration (*samādhi*)!”

057 činu[yu]

娑訶耶 *suō hē yé*

歸正 *guī zhèng*

Da24cynw[]²⁵ []

50 The original text has k'msyp, but one should emend to *kämišip* (i.e., the y was forgotten). This can be supported by the expected number of syllables (not two, but three).

51 Ch. *tiāntáng* (“celestial palace”) refers to “the heavenly realm” (cf. DDB), translated into Old Uigur as “heaven's land.”

52 Ch. *xiàng* (“to tend toward”; cf. DDB). The Old Uigur *tilä-* (“to wish”) is stronger.

53 Ch. *èjìng* is one expression for the three evil paths (hell, hungry ghost, animal); cf. DDB. Manuscript E has another expression that may be read [äs]izlär (or: *lig*) *tamu* [...].

Comment

Chinese: “Return to the correct!” Old Uigur has a derivation of the verb *činu-*, ultimately derived from *čīn*, a loan-word from the Ch. *zhēn* 眞. In meaning, it is similar to *zhèng* 正 (“correct”).

[III]

	536a27 嘎浪養嘎浪養 <i>shà làng</i>
058 [üčünč]	<i>yǎng shà làng yǎng</i>
[kō]rgü köñül-üg ⁵⁴	第三 <i>dīsān</i>
059 asıg []	看心須併儻 <i>kànxīn</i>
	須併儻 <i>xū bìngtǎng</i>

Da26[]rkw pw⁵⁵ kwnkwl lwg ”syq []
 La14[] ’wyčwnč ”s’qwl ”s ’yčkwk .. pwy[]

(058–059) [Thirdly,] [loo]k at the mind, [one should unite the disheartened]!⁵⁶

Comment

Chinese: “Thirdly, when looking at the mind [in contemplation], it is necessary to get rid of [obstacles].” It is difficult to see how *asıg* (“profit”), if read correctly, fits into this verse. From manuscript L, it seems that *ašig*, the accusative of *aš* (“food”), is more likely, because there we see the compound *aš ičgü* (“food and drink”).

060 [ti]rinin kuvragın ketärip	掃却垢 ^{536a28} 穢 <i>sǎoquè gòuhuì</i>
061 kın [] adasın tarkarıp	除災障 <i>chú zāizhàng</i>

Ar01⁵⁷d’ syn t’rq’ryp

Da27[]rynyn qwvr’q yn kyd’ryp qyyn⁵⁷ s’[]⁵⁸ Da28[] ”d’syn t’rq’ryp

54 The original text has kwnkwl lwk, but given the Ch. *kànxīn*, one would expect the accusative of *köñül* (i.e., *köñül-üg*).

55 This pw = *bo* is not supported by Ch. and can probably be deleted.

56 The translation follows the Ch. *xū bìngtǎng* (for *tǎng* “disheartened”; cf. DDB).

57 The reading is unclear.

58 It is impossible to emend s’[].

(o6o–o6r) Eliminate the gathering and accumulation⁵⁹ of [dust] (for) extinguishing the pain and the calamity of [...].⁶⁰

Comment

Chinese: “[Therefore, one must] sweep away all dirt, getting rid of calamities and obstacles.”

o62 bi[ligig] k[] al[] b[är]kü[s]ä[r] tuts[ar] 即色即空 *jí sè jí kōng*
 o63 t[öz]üg uz oṅargay 會無想 *huì wúxiǎng*

Ar⁰¹pyl[...] Ar⁰²t[] zwk[] wnk'rq'y
 Da²⁸py[] q[] l[] y 'l[]⁶¹ Da²⁹p[] kws[] twts[] t[] wk⁶² 'wz 'wnk'rq'y

(o62–o63) When one confirms and holds the [...],⁶³ one will aptly recognize the es[sen]ce.

Comment

Chinese: “Form is the same as emptiness, and one will be able [to obtain] no-thought.” These lines are poorly preserved, so it is difficult to determine the extent to which they differ from the original Chinese text. That said, it seems that some misunderstanding might have occurred.

o64 igid sakınc̣ adırm(a)knıṅ ülgü[si] täṅi 妄想分別 *wàngxiǎng fēnbié*
 o65 bo ärür köṅül tözi 是心^{536a29}量 *shì xīnliàng*

59 Ch. *gòuhui* (“impurity, defilement”; DDB). The Old Uigur translation—*tirin kuvrag* (“gathering and assembly”)—is difficult to explain here, unless one assumes some kind of error or misunderstanding. Either it was an error by confusing *hui* 穢 (“dirt; dust; impurity”) with the homophonous *hui* 會 (“gathering (of, e.g., disciples)”) or the character 穢 was misread as *zàng* 藏 and then wrongly interpreted as “assembly.” Neither solution is particularly convincing, however.

60 Ch. *zāizhàng* 災障 is a binom meaning “calamity.” For example, *Yuánjué jīng* 圓覺經 (922a): “We will also exercise dominion over the lay community so that its members will never suffer calamity” (Gregory 2005: 108). However, in the lacuna of OU a word referring to “calamity” must be assumed.

61 Alternatively, one may read *k[ɪ]l[ga]y*, but this is not based on the Chinese.

62 This word is covered by a later Chinese character.

63 The reconstruction is difficult due to the poor state of the manuscript.

Ar02^{ykyd s'q̄y[...]} Ar03^{pw 'rwr : kwnkwl nwnk : twyzy [...]}

Da29^{ykyt s[]ync . "dyrmq nnk 'wylk[]} Da30^{t'nky pw 'rwr kwnkwl twyzy :}

(o64–o65) The measure⁶⁴ of separating⁶⁵ wrong thoughts—this is the essence of mind.⁶⁶

o66 öñ-üg [...]yu ayıglamak tsuyı

體上識體 *tǐ shàng shítǐ*

o67 argay ayıglamak-tın

實無謗 *shí wú bàng*

Ar04^{yyq l'm'q̄ tswy y "ryq'y [...]}

Da30^{wynk wk []yw "yyql'm'q t'swy} Da31^{"ryq'y "yyql'm'q tyn}

(o66–o67) The sin of [...] slandering form will be purified from slandering.⁶⁸

Comment

Here, more problems may have arisen due to misunderstandings. The Chinese text, which is difficult too, has: “As for ‘essence’: if one realizes the essence then there is no further slandering.”

o68 täziñlär

謗 *bàng*

底利 *dǐ lì*

謗 *bàng*

o69 [yarat]ınmakıg [tu]tuñlar

魯留盧樓^{536b1} 噯浪養 *lǔ liú lú lóu*

shà làng yǎng

o70 yaratınmakta yaratıñlar

o71 yaratınma[kta yara]tıñlar

64 Expressed by two words: *ülgü täñ*.

65 The Old Uigur *adurmaknuñ ülgüsi täñi* is a literal translation of the Ch. *fēnbié* (“discrimination; to distinguish right from wrong”; see DDB) by splitting into two words: “separate” and “measure(ment)” (*bié* means also “to divide, split”).

66 Ch. *xīnliàng* 心量 (“mental deliberation; or: mental capacity”; see DDB), freely translated as “essence of mind.”

67 There is space for another word, but it may have been that the line was not filled to the end, because manuscript A shows that no other word was written after *tswy y*.

68 In the Chinese text: “If one knows that the body is above the body, then there is really no slandering.”

Da31t'synkl'r []ynm'qyq []dwnk l'r y'r'dynmq t' y'rydynkl'r : Da32 y'r'dynm[
]tynk l'r
Lb01[]tynkl'r y'r'tynm'qyq "š'nk'l'r ::

(068–071) Escape [from doing evil], keep striving! Strive in striving, strive in striving!

Comment

The expression *dǐ lì* 底利 was apparently omitted. Again, the Siddham transcriptions were translated as if they were meaningful sentences. It is difficult to understand how the expression *ašarlar* (“enjoy!”) in manuscript L corresponds to the Chinese text.

072 burhan oġlanı kamag[un]
ayıglaman

諸佛子⁶⁹ *zhū fó zǐ*
莫毀謗 *mò huǐ bàng*

Ar05[...] ”yyq l'm'[...]
Da32pwrq'n 'wql'ny q'm'q[]n <t'> ”yyql'm'nk
I01[] 'wq[] I02[]' ”yyql'm'nk
Lb01pwrq'n Lb02[]

(072) All you sons of the Buddha, do not slander!⁷⁰

073 adınlarıg adınlar[ıg⁷¹ ayıgla]mak ärsär 一切皆有 *yīqiè jiē yǒu*
074 ayıg kılınč ol⁷² 罪業障 *zuìyè zhàng*

Da32”dyn l'r [] 33 ”dyn l[r]m'q 'rs'r ”yyq qylnc 'wl
I02”dynyq : 'dyn I03[]m'q 'rs'r ”yyq qylnc 'wl
Lb02[]l'r yq .. ”tyn l'r yq ”yyql'm'q .. ”qyr Lb03[]

69 The emendation to *zhū fó dǐ lǐ* is not supported by the manuscripts.

70 The Chinese text has the biverb *huǐ bàng* (“to defame, to slander”). The Old Uigur version has only one verb: *ayıgla-*. Otherwise, it is an almost perfect rendering.

71 The doubling of *adınlarıg* may be a dittography (beginning of a new line).

72 Unbalanced strophe: ten syllables in 073; five in 074.

(073–074) To slander others is an evil deed.

Comment

Chinese: “All of you have the hindrance of karmic sin.” Hence, the Old Uigur version refers specifically to slandering, while the Chinese text condemns more general wrongdoing. Manuscript L adds *agır* (“heavy”)—i.e., it is a heavy sin.

075 adın-tın sav äšidsär
076 söziñä kınm(a)ñlar

536b2 他家聞聲 *tājiā wénshēng*
不相放 *bù xiàng fàng*

Da33p[]dyn tyn s'v < >⁷³ »syds'r swys ynk' ³⁴qynmnkl'r
I03»dyn tyn I04[] s'v »syds'r 'nk'r y'ndwt qylm'nl'r :
Lb03[] »syds'r .. »nk'r y'ntwt qylm'nl'r ..

(075–076) If you hear speech from others, do not long for their words!

Comment

The Old Uigur translation is very different from the original Chinese text, which reads: “Others hearing sound (or: hearing the sound of others), one will not be liberated by it.” There is also a significant difference between manuscripts D and I. The latter has: *adın-tın sav äšidsär añar yantut kulmañlar* (“If you hear words from others, do not reply to them!”).

077 üč tsun k(ı)y-a til kačıg
078 ayıg kılınč-nıñ orıñ⁷⁴ ärür

三寸舌根 *sāncùn shégēn*
作沒向 *zuò mò xiàng*

Da34p>wyc tswn qy' tyl q'cyq 'yyq qylync nynk 'wrny 'rwr
I04p>wyc I05tswn qy' tyl q'cyq 'yyq qylync nynk 'wrwny I06p>rwr :
Jr01[]rny 'rwr : [...]
Lb04[] .. 'wrn'qy 'rwr ..

(077–078) The speech organ of three inches only is the place of evil deed.

73 The scribe wrote the start of *äšid-* incorrectly twice, possibly due to the variants *išit(-d)-*, *äšit(-d)-*.

74 Manuscript I has *orıñ*.

Comment

While the original Chinese text—作沒向—is rather ambiguous, the Old Uigur version is quite clear.

079 [uzun kɪ]zga sözläsär	道長說 ^{536b3} 短 <i>dào cháng shuō duǎn</i>
080 köñül hanı bulganur :	惱心王 <i>nǎo xīnwáng</i>

Da35[]z q' swyzl's'r kwnkwl q'ny pwlq'nwr⁷⁵ .
 I06'wzwn qyzq' swyzl's'r kwnkwl q'ny pwlq'nwr¹⁰⁷ :
 Lb04'wswn qysq' Lb05[]

(079–080) If [the tongue] speaks long⁷⁶ [or] short, the mind-king is vexed.

Comment

Chinese: “Talking at length and speaking short (i.e., engaging in idle talk) will be vexations for the Mind-King.” The mind-king is “the overall cognitive function of one’s consciousness” (DDB).

081 köñül hanı bulgansar	心王不了 <i>xīnwáng bùliǎo</i>
082 uzun kısqa sözläyür	說短長 <i>shuō duǎncháng</i>

Da35[kwnkwl q'ny pwlq'ns'r Da36 'wzwn qyzq' { } swyzl'ywr
 I07[kwnkwl q'ny pwlq'ns'r 'wzwn qyzq' swyzl'ywr :
 Jr02[...]n qys q' s[...]
 Lb05[] q'ny pwlq'ns'r .. 'wswn qysq' swyzl'ywr ..

(081–082) If the mind-king is irritated,⁷⁷ one speaks long or short.

75 The reading *bulganur* follows the Ch. *nǎo* 惱 (“to irritate”). The last three words were repeated by a later hand: *kwnkwl q'ny pwlq'ns'r* (instead of *pwlq'nwr?*).

76 Ch. *dào* 道 (“to say”).

77 Ch. *bùliǎo* 不了 is here the equivalent of the Old Uigur *bulgan-*.

o83 ken käligmä üdlärtä	來世(生)業道 <i>láishì (shēng)</i> <i>yèdào</i>
o84 açığ ämgäk ämgänür	受苦 ^{536b4} 殃 <i>shòu kǔyāng</i>

Da³⁶kyn k'lykm' '[] Da³⁷'mk'k 'mk'nwr
 I⁰⁸kyn k'lykm' 'wyd l'rt' 'cyq 'mk'k 'mk'nwr :
 Lb⁰⁶[]lykm' 'wyd l'r t' .. 'čyq 'mk'k 'mk'nwr ..

(o83–o84) In future times⁷⁸ one suffers heavy pain.

Comment

Chinese: “When seeking a future path of rebirth one will receive bitter disaster.”

o85 köñül karın aşılar	羊良良 <i>yáng liáng liáng</i>
o86 tirinin kuvragın ketärip	併當 <i>bìngdāng</i>

Da³⁷kwnkwl q'ryn 's'nk l'r ty[]
 I⁰⁹[...]nkl'r tyrynyn [...]
 Jr⁰³kwnkwl q'ryn 'šnkl'r
 Lb⁰⁶kwnkwl q'ryn 'šnkl'r .. Lb⁰ tyryn'nyk qwvr'qyq kyt'ryp

(o85–o86) Feed mind and stomach,⁷⁹ destroy convent and community!⁸⁰

Comment

Chinese: “Remove the obstacle!” Here, again, it seems that Siddham transcriptions were translated into real phrases.

78 The Chinese text has *lái shēng* 來生, while Kobayashi (2011: 1034) has 來世. Both are expressions for “future life” (cf. DDB). The Ch. *yèdào* 業道 (“course of karma;” DDB) was apparently omitted.

79 The Ch. characters *yáng* 羊 *liáng* 良 *liáng* 良 are Siddham transcriptions. The Old Uigur *aşılar* was probably based on an erroneous interpretation, with *yáng* 羊 and *liáng* 良 misinterpreted as *yǎng* 養 (“to nourish”).

80 Ch. *bìngdāng* 併當 (“arrange, make ready”). There is no connection to the Old Uigur translation.

o87 äv ičîn arig sipirip

淨掃堂中 *jìngsǎo tángzhōng*

o88 arig tapig udug kılıñlar ::

須供養 *xū gòngyǎng*

Da38^v []

II0^v 'ycyn "ryq sypyrp "ryq t'pyq 'wdwq ^{III} qylynkl'r ::

Lb07^v 'ycyn "ryq "rytyp .. "ryq t'pyq 'wdwq qylynkl'r ::

(o87–o88) Sweep clean the inner part of the house, make pure⁸¹ service and offering!

[IV]

536b5 拂粟質拂粟質 *fúsùzhì*

fúsùzhì

o89 törtünč taplagu ol

第四 *dìsì*

o90 säkiz bilig kavişip altı yeti

八識合六七 *bāshí hé liùqī*

Db01^{twy} [] Db02 t'pl'qw 'wl s'kyz pyl []

^{III}twyrtwnc t'pl'qw 'wl symt'q syz ^{II2}symt'q syzyq <ny>⁸² t'pl'qw 'wl s'kyz pylyk q'vyşyp ^{II3}"lty yyty "tytly :

Jr04 [...]^{twyrtwnc} pwlqwl [...]⁸³ Jr05 [...]p "lty yyty [...]

Lb08 twyrtwnč pwlqw lwq 'wl symt'q syz .. symt'qsyzyz t'pl'qw'wl .. s'kyz pylyk q'vyşyp .. ^{Lb09}"lty yyty "tylwr ..

(o89–o90) Fourthly, one should accept that the eight consciousnesses encompass [consciousnesses] six and seven.⁸⁴

81 Ch. *qǐng* 頃 ("instant, short time") is translated as *arig* ("pure"), probably as a result of oral transmission of the first character of the compound *qīngjìng* 清靜, notwithstanding the different tones of *qǐng* and *qīng*. Kobayashi (2011: 1034) reads *xū* 須 and translates as *subekaraku* 須く ("in any case"). Also, according to Anderl and Sørensen (this volume), this should be read as 須 (error by the Taishō editors).

82 Erased.

83 One expects t'pl'qw, but perhaps it is a variant and one should read *bulgul*[*uk ol*] ("one should find").

84 The last word in manuscript I is unclear: "tylwr, perhaps *ulalur*.

Comment

In manuscript I, *taplagu ol* (“one should accept”) is repeated in an enforced way: *sımtagsız sımtagsız taplagu ol* (“free from negligence neglectfulness, free from negligence,⁸⁵ one should accept”). However, this is not supported by the Chinese text and may be an attempt to translate the Siddhaṃ transcriptions 拂栗質拂栗質.

091 köz körsär köñülüg turkaru

看心心^{536b6}本 *kànxīn xīn běn*

092 köñül kántü dyan ärür

是禪室 *shì chánshì*

Db03|kwyz kwyr’s kwnkwlwk twrq’rw k’ndw dy’n ”rwr

I13|kwyr’s kwnkwlwk twrq’rw kwnkwl I14|k’ntw dy’n ”rwr :

Lb09|kwyr’s kwnkwl wk twrq’rw .. kwnkwl k’n[] d[]

(091–092) If one sees (by) eye⁸⁶ the mind, it is forever⁸⁷ by itself⁸⁸ *dhyāna*.

Comment

Chinese: “Contemplating the mind, the origin of the mind is the meditation chamber.”⁸⁹ Interestingly, the Old Uigur translator did not recognize the compound *chánshì* 禪室 as a room for meditation, even though this is an apposite simile. “The heart becomes the meditation room” is a well-known Zen saying.⁹⁰ Perhaps he read 禪室 as *chándìng* 禪定—a term for “meditation, *samādhi*”—as the characters 室 and 定 are quite similar.

093 nomlug ät’özli nom bilgä biligli

法身身法智 *fǎshēn shēnfǎ zhì*

094 inčip yänä bir ärmäz

非一 *fēiyī*

85 I do not understand the accusative in the second case.

86 The word *köz* (“eye”) is absent from manuscript I.

87 Old Uigur *turkaru* (“lengthy, forever”) is an addition by the translator.

88 The use of *kántü* (“self”) is reminiscent of the way it is used in Uigur Manichaean texts; cf. the analysis by J. Wilkens (2013).

89 Kobayashi (2011: 1034): *kanshin, shinhon to kore zenshitsu* 看心, 心本とはれ禪室.

90 Cf. <http://synchronicity.org/blog/item/the-heart-becomes-the-meditation-room>.

Av01p[...]_z ly nwm [...]_l[...]_l[...]
 Db[]_{Db04} pylk' pylykly 'yncyp y'n' pyr 'rm'z
 114nwm1wq 't'wyz ly nwm pylk' pylykly 115'yncyp y'n' pyr 'rm'z :
 Jr06[...]_z ly nwm pylk' [...]

(093–094) [There are] dharma body and dharma wisdom, but again they are not one.

Comment

The translator used two terms—*nomlug ätöz* (“*dharma-kāya*”) and *nom bilgä bilig* (“*dharma-jñāna*”)—by dropping the second 身. Chinese: “Dharma body and the knowledge of the body dharma are not one.” But, equally, this may be translated as: “Dharma body and body dharma, know they are not one.”⁹¹

095 beš közli altı ädrämlitä	五眼六通 <i>wǔyǎn liùtōng</i>
096 bilgä biliglig kün täñri y(a)ruyur	光慧 ^{536b7} 日 <i>guānghuì rì</i>

Av02pys kwyz ly 'lty'dr'm ly t[...] Av03tnkry yrwywr :
 Db04pys kwyz l[]_{Db05t'} pylk' pylyklyk kwyn tnkry y'rwywr
 115((pys)) kwyz ly 'lty'dr'm ly t' 116 pylk' pylyklyk kwyn y'rwywr :
 Jr07[...]_y kw wy [...]

(095–096) Through the five eyes and the six faculties the sun of wisdom shines.

Comment

Chinese: “The Five Eyes and the Six Penetrations are the bright sun of wisdom.”

097 birk(i)y-ä savta simtagsız bolur	言下便悟 <i>yánxià biàn wù</i>
098 çin kertü simtagsız b[olur]	實無密 <i>shí wúmì</i>

91 Kobayashi (2011: 1034) translates *hosshin to shinhō, chi wa itsuni arazu* 法身と心法, 智は一に非ず as: “Dharma body and dharma of mind are in knowledge not one.”

Av03pyr ky ' s' [...] Av04pw[]wr čyn kyrtw symt'q syz [...]
 Db05pyr ky[] Db06symd'q syz pwlwr cyn kyrdw symd'q syz p[]
 I16pyr ky ' s'v t' I17twyrws'r symt'q syz pwlwr cyn kyrtw :

(097–098) Through one word⁹² one is not negligent,⁹³ one is truly not negligent.

099 [simtagsızın] yorınlar	密底利密 <i>mì dǐ lì mì</i>
100 yaratınmakta yaratınlar	魯留盧樓 <i>lǔ liú lú lóu</i>
101 čin ker[tü]	拂 ^{536b8} 粟質 <i>fú sù zhì</i>

Av05syzyn ywrynk'l'r : y'r't[...]
 Db07ywrynk'l'r y'r'dynm'q t' y'r'dynkl'r cyn kyr[]
 I17symt'qsyz I18[]y symt'q syzyn ywrynk'l'r I19[]yyinkl'r symt'q syzt'

(099–101) Go [without being negligent]! Strive in striving! Truly [].

Comment

As before, an attempt has been made to translate the Siddham transcriptions.

102 burhan oġlanı kamagun	諸佛子 <i>zhū fó zǐ</i>
103 kogšak simtag [bolmañlar]	莫放逸 <i>mò fàngyì</i>

Db08pwrq'n 'wql'ny q'm'qwn qwqs'q symd'[]
 I20[]n 'wql'ny q'm'qwn symt'q
 Jv01[...]n q[]qs[]q [...]

(102–103) All you sons of the Buddha, don't be negligent!

Comment

Chinese: “All you sons of the Buddha! Do not be indulgent!”

92 The translator of manuscript I added *törüsär* (“if it appears”), which is not supported by the Chinese text.

93 Several misunderstandings of the Chinese text are evident here. As the word *simtagsız* appears in both verses, one may assume that 下 was read as *bù* 不 (“not”). But *bùbiàn* is not equivalent to *simtagsız*.

104 [i]lkisiztinbärü tugdumuz	無始已來 <i>wúshǐ yǐlái</i>
105 sansarlıg karangu äv iç[intä]	居暗室 <i>jū ànshì</i>

Db09 twqdwmmwz s'ns'r lyq q'rnkqw 'v 'yc[]
 121[]lkysyz dynp'rw twqdwmmwz s'ns'r []

(104–105) From primordial time we were born⁹⁴ in the dark house of *saṃsāra*.

Comment

The translator added the attribute *sansarlıg* to clarify the expression “dark room.”

106 tugmak öl[mäktä] tägzindimiz	生 ^{536b9} 死流轉 <i>shēngsǐ liúzhuan</i>
107 ünmädin []	不得出 <i>bù dé chū</i>

Db10 t'ksyndymyz 'wynm'dyn
 Jv02[...]nt' twqm'q 'w[...]

(106–107) In the *saṃsāra* (birth and death) we were rotating⁹⁵ without [any chance of] coming out.

Comment

Chinese: “Transmigrating through birth and death, not being able to escape.”

108 [] biligsiz [bolup]	只為愚迷 <i>zhǐ wèi yúmǐ</i>
109 bilgä [biliglig] kün täñri tidtımız	障慧日 <i>zhàng huìrì</i>

Db10 pylyksyz pylk' [] Db11 kwyn t'nkry tytdymyz
 Jv03[...]lwp : pylk' [...]

94 Ch. *jū* 居 (“to dwell in”).

95 The OU verb *tägzindimiz* corresponds to Ch. *zhuǎn* 轉 of *liúzhuan* 流轉, the expression for the everlasting migration (cf. DDB).

(108–109) We were ignorant, we hindered the sun of wisdom.

Comment

Chinese: “[It is] only because of foolish illusions [that we] block the sun of wisdom.”

nno simtag biz

536b10 逸粟密逸粟密娑訶 *yì sù mì*

yì sù mì suō hē

m simtag biz

直實 *zhí shí*

^{Db11}synd’q pyz symt’[]

^{Jv04}[...]t’q pyz :: pyz : [...]

(*nno–m*) We are negligent,⁹⁶ we are negligent.

Comment

It is unclear how 直實 (“true reality”) was translated here.

[v]

n2 bešinč

körgülük ol :

n3 yarudı ädgüti yar[udı] kapıgta :

536b11 曉燎曜曉燎曜

xiǎo liǎo yào, xiǎo liǎo yào

第五 *dìwǔ*

實相 *shíxiàng*

門中照 *ménzhōng zhào*

^{Db12}pysync kwyrkwlwk ’wl y’rwdw ”dkwty y’r[] ^{Db13}q’pyq t’

^{Jv05}[...] twyzlwk q̣[...]⁹⁷

96 Ch. *yì* 逸 (“lazy”; ^{DDb}), but the next two characters are indistinct. One may assume that all three characters are phonetic, judging by the doubling. The final *suō hē* 娑訶 might be an error, in place of *svā hā*.

97 Unclear.

(112–113) Fifth. One should regard⁹⁸ [the true reality], it shone, it shone well at the gate.⁹⁹

Comment

The translator probably understood the condensed Chinese phrase in a simple way: the true reality shines (becomes apparent) at the gate. The “gate” may be a reference to Buddhist teaching (法門)—a metaphor that is very common in Chán texts.

114 inčgä bakıp körzünlär	一切名 ^{536b12} 利 <i>yīqiè mínglì</i>
115 athl öñli b(ä)lgülär igi[d ärür]	妄呼召 <i>wàng hūzhào</i>

Db13”ynck’ p’qyp kwyrswñ l’r ”dly ’wynkly []
 H02”wynkly plkw l’r ’yky[...]
 K01l’r : ”t ly [...] K02’zwky

(114–115) Looking finely one may regard¹⁰⁰ the signs as name and form [are all] false.

Comment

The Old Uigur translation has “name and form” for *nāmarūpa*. This may be a reinterpretation of the unclear 名利. Indeed, in the Chinese manuscript P.3082, there is 色 instead of 利, which conforms better with the Old Uigur translation (see the notes in Anderl and Sørensen, this volume).

116 közüngäy bo köñjünlün b(ä)lgüsi	如已等息 <i>rú yǐ děng xī</i>
117 k(a)ltı yänä b(ä)lgü ärmä[z]	貌非貌 <i>mào fēi mào</i>

Db14lkwyswnk’y [] nkwl nwnk plkw sy qlty y’n’ p’l []
 H03kwyzwnk’y pw kwnkwl [] H04q[] y y’n’ plkw ’rm’ []

98 “One should regard” seems to be an addition. On the other hand, there is no equivalent for *shíxiàng* (“true reality”; DDB).

99 Ch. *zhào* (“to illumine”; DDB) is translated in two ways: *yarudı* and *ädgüti yar[udı]*.

100 Translator’s addition.

Jv06[...] 'kyty kwyz[...]
 K02kwyzw[]k'y [...] K03plkw sy q̣lty '[...]

(n6–n7) It will appear the mark of this mind as if there is no mark.

Comment

“It will appear” is not a translation but a reinterpretation. It seems that in *köñül-nün b(ä)lgüsi* (“mark of mind”), the translator mistook *xí* 息 for *xīn* 心 (“heart”). The Chinese text has simply *mào* (“form”), but this belongs to the second half of the verse: “form is no-form”. Anderl and Sørensen (this volume) suggest that the passage might originally have read 如已息心: “If one is calming the mind like this (then form is no-form).”

n8 [tɪltag] ärmäz tüš ärmäz
 n9 p'ryt[... kü]ldäči yämä ärmäz

非因非果 *fēi yīn fēi guǒ*
 無嗔^{536b13}笑 *wúchén xiào*

Db15y'm' 'rm'z
 H05'rm'z twys 'rm'z p'ryt[] H06yld'čy y[] 'rm'z :
 Jv07[...] twys 'rm[...]
 K04'rm'z twys [...] K05 'rm'z :

(n8–n9) No [cause], no effect, [... laugh]ing is not appropriate.

Comment

The Ch. *yīn* 因 is translated in other Old Uigur texts as *tɪltag* (“reason”).¹⁰¹ The word *pwryt*[...] remains undeciphered.¹⁰² The emendation of [...]ildäči to [kü]ldäči (“laughing”) is problematic,¹⁰³ but supported by the original Chinese text: “There is no cause and there is no effect, do not laugh at this with scorn!”

120 түзү тöz үзä ädgüdä ädgü yegdä yegi
 121 baštıñki baštıñkısın körzünlär

性上看性 *xìng shàng kànxìng*
 妙中妙 *miào zhōng miào*

101 See Shōgaito (2008: 671–672).

102



103 The line Ho6 begins with yld'čy; one has to assume that the letters kw appeared at the (unpreserved) end of the preceding line.

Db15[]wyzw []yz 'wyz' 'dkw []yyky Db16p'sdynqy p'sdy[] kwyrswn l'r
 H06t[] H07twyz 'wyz[]dkwd' 'd[] H08yykd' yyk p'stynq[] H09syn
 kwylzwn l'r¹⁰⁴ ;
 K05twyzwk k[...] K06[]d[]w d' [...]

(120–121) They shall contemplate about the whole essence (nature) that it is the best, the most precious.

Comment

Chinese: “As for Nature, view Nature as the utmost marvel (lit. ‘marvel among marvels’).”

122 yaratinmak[ta yaratinınlar]

要底利要魯留盧樓

yào dǐ lì yào lǚ liú lú lóu

123 yarudı yaratinlar

曉 536b14 撩曜¹⁰⁵ xiǎo liāo yào

Db16y'r'tynm'q [] Db17y'rwdy y'r'dynkl'r

(122–123) Strive in striving! It became bright, strive!

Comment

Again, the Old Uigur scribe attempted to translate Siddham transcriptions into meaningful phrases.

124 burhan oġlanı kamagun

諸佛子 zhū fózǐ

125 kuvra[g]

莫瞋笑 mò chén xiào

Db17pwrq'n 'wql'ny q'm'qwn qwvr'[]

(124–125) All you sons of the Buddha! [Do not laugh] at the [people of the] convent!

¹⁰⁴ The l-hook is incorrect, as manuscript D demonstrates.

¹⁰⁵ Alternatively: 魯留盧樓曉曜 (see the edition by Anderl and Sørensen, this volume).

Comment

Chinese: “All you sons of the Buddha, don’t be scornful and ridicule others!”

126 külmäk künilämäk törö ärsär

憂悲瞋笑 *yōubēi chénxiào*

127 tözün yol []

是障道 *shì zhàng dào*

Db18kwyrm’k¹⁰⁶ kwynyl’m’k twyrw ’rs’r twyswn ywl []

(126–127) Matters [such as] laughing and coveting [are obstacles to] the true way.

Comment

Chinese: “Grief, scorn, and ridicule with anger are hindering the [realization of the] Way.” There are no Old Uigur equivalents for the Ch. *yōubēi* (“sorrow and distress”), but it cannot be excluded that they stood at the end of the preceding line. The order of *chénxiào* 瞋笑 (“anger and laughing”) is reversed.

於^{536b15}此道門無瞋笑

yúci dàomén wú chénxiào

Comment

Chinese: “In this method/gate of the Way there is no scorn nor ridicule.” This verse seems to have been omitted from the Old Uigur translation.

128 süsüp turgurup

澄心須看 *chéngxīn xū kàn*

129 içtin taştın körünlär

內外照 *nèiwài zhào*

Db19swyswp twrqwrwp ’ycdyn t’sdyn kwyrwnkl’r

(128–129) Believe¹⁰⁷ and establish [the mind], look around inside, outside!

106 Here, an l-hook is missing, since one expects *kül-* (“to laugh”), Ch. *xiào* 笑.

107 The reading of this word is unclear; *süs-* is also not directly supported by the original Chinese text.

Comment

Chinese: “In order to illuminate the mind one should contemplate the inside and illuminate the outside.”

[lacuna]

130 [...] mu öŋ mäniz ..

536b16 銅鏡不磨不中照 *tóngjìng*

bù mó bùzhōng zhào

131 arıtınlar kontınlar .. [...]

遙燎料作好 *yáoliáo liào zuòhǎo*

娑訶 536b17 耶莫惱 *suō hē yé mò*

nǎo

Lc01mw 'wynk m'nkyz .. 'rytynkl'r qwntynklar [...]

(130–131) [If the bronze mirror is not polished], is there color and face (= reflection)? Clean and polish it! [Perform good deeds! *Svāhā!*]

[VI]

132 [...] bilip kıdıg-sızıg ..

536b18 按賴畔按賴畔 *ànlàipàn*

ànlàipàn

第六 *dìliù*

133 kıdıg-sız nomug tap[laŋlar]

心離 *xīnlí*

134 [...] kapıg-ıg körzünlär ..

禪門觀 *chánmén guān*

135 kälmäksiz barmaksı[z ...]

不來不 536b19 去無崖畔

bùlái bùqù wú yá pàn

Lc02pylyp qytyq syz ((yq̄)) .. qytyq syz nwmwq t'p[...] Lc03q'pyq yq̄ kwyrzwnl'r ..
k'lm'ksyz p'rmqsyz [...]

(132–135) [Chapter Six] Know the boundlessness! Acc[ept] the boundless dharma! They should contemplate the [Chán] gate [apart from mentation]! There is no coming, there is no going [...]

136 ün-māz kirmāz čin kertü ..	覺上看覺除定亂 <i>juéshàng kànjué chú dìng luàn</i>
137 kačınmaz artam[az ...]	
138 [...] uguš-ı birlä bir ärür ..	佛與眾生同 ^{536b20} 體段 <i>fó yǔ zhòngshēng tóng tǐduàn</i>
139 söödäbärü an[...]	本原 <i>běnyuán</i>
140 ariyur ulalmış kkiri sačilur	清淨摩垢散歎 <i>qīngjìng mó gòu sàntàn</i>

Lc04³wynm²z kyrm²z cyn kyrtw .. q²cynm²z ²rt²m[...] Lc05²wqws y pyrl² pyr ²rwr ..
 sww d²p²rw ²ry[...] Lc06 ((²ryywr ²wl²lmys)) kkyr y s²cylwr ..

(136–140) There is no going out, no going in, it is true and real! There is no escaping, there is no getting rotten. The stem [of the Buddhas and beings] is one. Since the beginning of time it is pure and was thus transmitted. Its filth is dispersing. The origin is clear and pure: rubbing [it clean], the filth is dispersing.

141 yaratınmakda yaratınıñlar [...]	底利歎魯留盧 <i>dǐ lì tàn lǔ liú lú</i> ^{536b21} 樓按賴畔 <i>lóu àn lài pàn</i>
142 burhan oğlan-ı kamagun ::	諸佛子 <i>zhū fózǐ</i>
143 kogšak k[...]	莫慢看 <i>mò màn kàn</i> 道上大 <i>dào shàng dà</i>
144 okıtaçı yäk içkäk-lär ..	有羅刹 ^{536b22} 喚 <i>yǒu luóchà huàn</i>
145 biligsi[z ...]-lar ..	愚人來去 <i>yú rén lái qù</i>
146 öñkä bodulup atkansar ..	常繫絆 <i>cháng xìbàn</i>
147 köñül-[läri ...]	染著色塵心僚亂 <i>rǎnzhúo sè chénxīn liáo luàn</i>

Lc06⁶y²r²tynm²qd²y²r²tyynkl²r Lc07²pwrq²n²wql²n²y²q²m²qwn².. qwqs²q²k[...] Lc08²/[q̃)
²wqyt²čy²y²k²yck²k Lc09²Pr .. ²wynkk² pwtwlwp ²tq̃ñs²r .. kwnkw² [...] Lc10²[...]

(141) Strive in striving!

(142–147) All you sons of the Buddha! [Although the Way] is lofty, there are crying demons [who may appear]. Ignorant [people come and go, shackled by their own fetters]. If they, polluted by *rūpa*, grasp [after form objects, their] minds [are thrown into confusion.]

[lacuna]

[VII]

148 [] 536b27 即心非心 536b28 心 *jí xīn fēi xīn*
 149 ketärlär ayıǵ šmnular ırak täzärlär : 魔自去 *mó zì qù*

^{B01}kyd'r l'r 'yyq smnw l'r 'yr'q ^{B02}t'z'r l'r :

(148–149) [If the mind is no-mind], they [i.e., evil forces] leave, the evil *māras* flee away.

Comment

Chinese: “If this mind [therefore] is without mentation, the army of Māra will depart by itself.”

150 yaratınmakta yaratıñlar : 去底利去 *qù dǐ lì qù*
 151 uz tuyunmakta yaratıñlar : 魯留盧樓普路喻 *lǔ liú lú lóu pǔ*
lù yù

^{B02}y'r'tynm'q t' y'r'tynkl'r : ^{B03}wz twywnm'q t' y'r'tynkl'r :

(150–151) Strive in striving! Strive in apt perception!

Comment

The Old Uigur scribe translated the Siddham transcriptions as one unit, then replaced it with the usual admonition to the Buddha's disciples.

152 burhannıǵ oǵlanı : 諸佛子 ^{536b29}*zhū fó zǐ*
 153 tuyunuñlar bilinlär 常覺悟 *cháng juéwù*

^{B03}pwrq'n ^{B04}nynk [] : t[]wnwnkl'r pylynk l'r

(152–153) You sons of the Buddha! Perceive, realize!

154 köñjülüğ turultursar arıgn
155 yukulmagay kirlärkä

一念淨心 *yīniàn jìngxīn*
無染污 *wú rǎnwū*

^{B05}[ĩnkwłwk twrwłtwrs'r ʔryq yn ^{B06}ywqwłmʔqy kyr l'rk' :

(154–155) If one calms the mind purely, one will not be infected by defilements.

Comment

Chinese: “If you have a pure mind throughout every single thought, there will be no impurities.” Therefore, there is no translation of 一念 in the Old Uigur version.

156 šmnw yäklär kuvragı :
157 kántün ök irak tarıkgay :

一切魔軍 *yīqiè mójūn*
自^{536c1}然去 *zìrán qù*

^{B06}smnw y'k ^{B07}l'r qwvr'qy : k'ntwn 'wk 'yr'q ^{B08}t'ryqq'y :

(156–157) The troop of *māra* demons will disappear by itself.

Comment

Chinese: “And the entire army of Māra will depart by itself.” Therefore, the Old Uigur version corresponds perfectly with the original Chinese text.

158 tarıktukta turulgay :
159 könisinčä tuyungay :: :

閻閻屢專注 *liú liú lóu zhuān zhù*
婆訶耶大悟 *suōhēyé dàwù*

^{B08}t'ryqtwtq't twrwłq'y : ^{B09}kwynysync' twywnq'y :: :

(158–159) When they disappear, it will become calm. Truly one will perceive.

[VIII]

536c2 𐰽𐰺𐰍(復)略藥𐰽𐰺𐰍(復)略藥 *shà*
lüè yào shà lüè yào

160 säkizinc ämlägü ot içip :
 161 tuyunmak ot üzä ämlägü ol :

B10s'kyzync 'ml'kw 'wt 'ycyp: B11twywnm'q 'wt 'wyz' 'ml'kw 'wl :

(160–161) Eighth. [Instead of] taking healing remedies one should heal by the remedy of perception.

Comment

The Old Uigur translator added both of these verses. There is no trace of them in the original Chinese text.

162 dyan kapıgı içintä 第八 *dībā*
 163 ilinmäk yapşınmak üzülür: 禪門 *chánmén*
 絕針酌 *jué zhēnzhúo*

B12dy'n q'pyqy 'ycynt' 'ylynm'k B13y'psynm'q 'wyzwlwr :

(162–163) At the *dhyāna* gate bonds and ties will be broken.

Comment

Although the Old Uigur translation does not perfectly match the Chinese text, it is clear and understandable. The relevance of “gate” is discussed above.

164 ediz bogrı boltukmaz : 不高不 536c3 下 *bùgāo bùxià*
 165 kalık ısırka közünmäs : 無樓閣 *wú lóugé*

B13y'ydiz pwqny B14pwltwqm'z : q'lyq 'ysyrq' kwyzwnm'z :

(164–165) There is no high, no low. Palaces¹⁰⁸ are not seen.

Comment

Compare *fǎ wú gāo xià* 法無高下 (“The dharma is without high and low”) in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa sūtra* (tr. McRae 2004: 86): T.48, no. 2009: 372a23: 法無高下。若見高下。即非法也。 (“Reality has no high or low. If you see high or low, it isn’t real”; Pine 1989: 65); also compare BT XXVIII: (C 279) *anta yana anuṇ on* (C280) *türlüg atı ärür* : *ediz bogrı bolmakı* (C281) *yangluk bilig tıltagı ol* (“There it has again ten kinds of names. / To be high or low is caused by deluded consciousness”).

166 ünmäk kirmäk yok ärür :

不出不入 *bùchū bùrù*

167 balık uluş ymä yok :

無城郭 *wú chéngguó*

B15⁵wynm’k kyrm’k ywq ’rwr : p’lyq B16⁷wlws ym’ ywq :

(166–167) There is no going out, no going in. There are also no cities, no countries.

168 bo b(ä)lgü-lär közünsär

是想顯 *shì xiǎng xiǎn*

169 yaŋı boşgutçı tıtsı-ka :

聲即^{536c4}初學 *shēng jí chūxué*

B16⁶pw plkw l’r kwyz B17⁷wns’r y’nky pwsqwtcy tytsy q’ :

(168–169) If these signs appear, they are for the new student.

Comment

Chinese: “This thought manifested in sound, this is the initial learning” (see Anderl and Sørensen’s comments on this phrase, this volume). In the preceding strophes we find quotations from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa sūtra*. So, this strophe might refer to that text, too. The translator might have mistaken 想 for 相, which is often translated as *bālgü* (“mark”). The Ch. *chūxué* 初學 is also a term for a beginner or a young student, as the Old Uigur translator interpreted it here.

108 This is a perfect translation of the Ch. *lóugé* 樓閣 (“multi-storeyed buildings”).

170 köñjülin eltip olar-ka
171 yapşınmazun arıtı :

生心動念 *shēngxīn dòngniàn*
勿令著(=着) *wù lìng zhuó*

^{B18}kwnkwlyn 'yltyp 'wl'r q' y'psynm'z ^{B19}wn "ryty :

(170–171) One should lead one's mind and not at all cling to them (i.e., the signs)!

Comment

Chinese: “Generating the mind and giving rise to thoughts, don't let [yourself] attach [to them].” In the Old Uigur version, “One should lead one's mind” seems to be a condensed translation of the first verse.

173 keč olurmazun simäkläp
174 işsiz küdüksüz işläyü :

久坐用功 *jiǔ zuò yònggōng*
作非作 *zuò fēi zuò*

^{B19}kyc 'wlwrm'zwn sym'kl'p ^{B20}yssyz kwydwkswz 'ysl'yw :

(173–174) Making efforts one should not sit for a long time, one should act in no-action.

Comment

Chinese: “Making the effort to sit for a long time [in meditation], then action will be no-action.” The Ch. *yònggōng* (“perform, exert oneself”) is translated as *simäklä-* (“to do, to make an effort, to execute some business”), which differs from *işlä-* (“to work”), the equivalent of the Ch. *zuò* 作. In an original Old Uigur tractate, the following saying (HTON, ll. 264–265) possibly reflects a Chán notion: *birök simäk üzä tägäyin tesär, simäklämişčä irak bolur* (“If you think to reach (=心性; cf. Yiğitoğlu 2011: 87) through effort, it will be distant as long as you make an effort”).

175 yok mänji mänji ärür :
176 mänjü mänji ol tutar :

無^{536c5}樂可樂 *wúlè kělè*
是常樂 *shì chánglè*

^{B20}ywq ^{B21}m'nky m'nky 'rwr : m'nkw m'nky 'wl twt'r :

(175–176) No-joy is joy, [this is] eternal joy—[one] holds [this view].

Comment

Chinese: “There is not joy which can be enjoyed, this is the eternal joy.”

177 bilgä biliglig bir yula :

慧燈一照 *huìdēng yī zhào*

178 üč miñ yertinčüg y(a)rutgay

三千墪 *sānqiān guō*

^{B22}pylk' pylyklyk pyr ywl' : 'wyc ^{B23}mynk yyrtyncwk yrwty'y :

(177–178) A candle of wisdom will enlighten the three thousand worlds.

Comment

The Old Uigur translation correctly refers to the 三千世界 in the Chinese version (“The lamp of wisdom at once illuminates the 3,000 worlds.”). The Ch. *huìdēng* 慧燈 (“torch of wisdom”) is an old expression that already appears in the *Āgama* literature.¹⁰⁹ According to Morohashi (p. 5425), *guō* 墪 is equivalent to *guō* (guó) 郭 (“outer wall of fortifications”; also cf. Mathews: no. 3746). Some of the Chinese manuscript versions also have 郭 instead of 墪, which in Old Uigur is generally interpreted as “world.” The formal expression is 三千大千世界 = Skt. *trisāhasra-mahāsāhasra-lokadhātu* (DDB).

179 dyan-lig suvı uzatı :

定水常清 *dìngshuǐ cháng qīng*

180 säkiz tūmān nizvanig artgay

^{36c6}八萬鑠 *bāwàn shuò*

^{B23}dy'n lyq ^{B24}swvy 'wz'ty : s'kyz twym'n nyzv'nyq ^{B25}rytq'y :

(179–180) The *dhyāna* water will forever clean the eighty thousand *kleśas*.

109 Cf. T.2, no. 100: 390c28: 於大黑闇中能燃智慧燈 (“who in the vast darkness [of ignorance] // can light the candle of wisdom”) (see Bingenheimer 2011: 239). For lamp symbolism in Chán Buddhism, see McRae (2003: 64).

Comment

Chinese: “The water of *samādhi* is constantly purifying the 8.000 *kleśas*.”¹¹⁰ The Ch. character 鑠 means “to melt” (Hirakawa: 3947 provides only the Sanskrit equivalent *śakti*). It is difficult to understand this: how can water clean *śakti* (“female energy”)? Does *śakti* symbolize *kleśa*? This seemed to be the Old Uigur translator’s understanding, as he translated 鑠 as *nizvani*—the usual Old Uigur expression of *kleśa* (see also the notes on this passage in Anderl and Sørensen, this volume). As explained in the DDB, the “eighty thousand” is an abbreviation of “eighty-four thousand”—i.e., “84,000 distresses” (*fǎnnǎo* 煩惱). The expression 八萬四千煩惱 is very common.

181 ontun sıǵarkı burxan (...)

十方諸佛同開覺 *shífāng zhūfó*
tóng kāijué

B25³ wntwn synk’rqy pwrq’n

(181) Buddhas in the ten directions [achieve enlightenment at the same time].

Comment

Chinese: “All the buddhas of the ten directions achieve enlightenment at the same time.”

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110 Here, the compound expresses “water of *dhyāna*” (cf. HT IX (Aydemir 2013: 2017–2018), or, similarly, BT XXVIII: “*samadīḡ suv* ‘*samādhi* water’” (C 103); see also the *Vimalakīrtinird-eśa sūtra*: “water of concentration” (McRae 2004: 137)).

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Reconsidering Tibetan Chán

Sam van Schaik

1 Introduction*

In Tibetan Buddhist literature, Chán Buddhism came to be identified with Chinese Buddhism, represented by a single Chinese teacher, known as Héchàng Móhēyǎn 和尚摩訶衍, and a single event, an eighth-century debate. The story of the debate is derived from an old history known as *The Testimony of Ba*, which represents the debate as a battle between exponents of the simultaneous and gradual approaches to enlightenment.¹ Héchàng Móhēyǎn is portrayed as representing the extreme position of rejecting all Buddhist practice apart from a recognition of the mind's true nature, which is said to lead to 'simultaneous entry' (*cig car 'jug pa*).² In later Tibetan Buddhist literature he became an emblem of an extreme and erroneous form of meditation, the suppression of all mental activity. It is in this latter role that Héchàng Móhēyǎn is best known in Tibetan Buddhist literature. According to the Tibetan narrative, the Chinese monk Móhēyǎn was thoroughly defeated by a representative of Indian scholastic Buddhism, after which the Chinese Buddhist teachers were forced to leave Tibet.

The narrative of the debate became so influential in Tibet that all discussion of Chán took place within its parameters. What is more surprising, perhaps, is

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1 The earliest version of the debate known to us, and apparently the source of the narrative in the later Tibetan tradition was that of the *Testimony of Ba* (*Sba bzhed / Dba' bzhed*). For a translation see Pasang and Diemberger 2000: 76–88. There is a great deal of secondary literature on the debate. Among those who have questioned the historicity of the debate, see Imaeda 1975 and Seyfort Ruegg 1992. On the debate narrative in later Tibetan culture, see van Schaik 2003, Bretfeld 2004, and Meinert 2006.

2 The Tibetan terms for simultaneous and gradual entry are *cig car 'jug pa* and *rim gyis 'jug pa*. Tibetans also use the loanwords *ton men* and *tsen men* (the orthography of these varies widely), representing Chinese *dùnmén* 頓門 and *jiànmén* 漸門.

that modern scholarly analysis of the Tibetan traditions of Chán, though drawing on a much wider range of material, has largely also remained within the framework of the debate. One reason for this seems to be the way the study of Tibetan Chán began. Paul Demiéville's monograph of the debate, *Le Concile de Lhasa* was a landmark work in the modern academic study of Chán in Chinese as well as Tibetan when it was published in 1952.³ Demiéville began with a single Dūnhuáng manuscript: Pelliot chinois 4646, titled *Dùnwù dàshèng zhènglǐ jué* 頓悟大乘政理決 (*Ratification of the True Principle of Instantaneous Awakening in the Mahāyāna*).⁴ The manuscript consisted of a series of questions and answers on Chán doctrines, with a preface by the monk Wángxī 王錫 stating that the background to these questions and answers was the patronage of Chán masters by the Tibetan emperor Tri Song Detsen and one of his queens. According to Wángxī there were a series of discussions between the Indian teachers at the Tibetan court and the Chán teacher Móhěyǎn. In contrast to the Tibetan debate narrative, Wángxī concludes his preface with an edict from the Tibetan emperor supporting Chán.⁵

The fact that traces of Tibetan Chán might have survived in the manuscript cache from the library cave at Dūnhuáng first became apparent in 1939, when Marcelle Lalou published her study of Pelliot tibétain 996, a brief account of a previously unknown Chán lineage, beginning in India, passing through Central Asia and ending in the Tibetan kingdom of Tsongka. But it was many decades later before anyone would to make a concerted effort to understand Tibetan Chán. The next phase came when a number of Japanese scholars began to work directly with the Tibetan Chán manuscripts from Dūnhuáng in the 1970s. Much of this was led by Daishun Ueyama who in 1968 published a discovery that the manuscript 10L Tib J 710 contained a Tibetan translation of a lineage history from the co-called Northern school, the *Léngqiè shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記 (*Record of the Masters and Disciples of the Laṅkāvatāra*). This discovery opened up the

3 The study of the Chinese Chán materials from Dūnhuáng had already been underway for many decades by this point, mainly thanks to the work of Japanese scholars; for an overview, see Tanaka 1989.

4 Another complete manuscript of the text is Or.8210/S.2672, which was identified and discussed by Demiéville in 1961 (see Demiéville 1973: 320–346). There is also a fragment of Pelliot chinois 4646, which has the number Pelliot chinois 4623. A Tibetan version of the early question and answer section of the text was later identified by Yoshiro Imaeda (1975), Pelliot tibétain 823. For a critical edition based on all of these, with a Japanese translation, see Ueyama 1990: 540–593. For an English translation based on all of the manuscript sources, see van Schaik 2015: 113–129.

5 Another important aspect in the study of these discussions has been the work on the work on the texts entitled *Bsgom pa'i rim pa* by Kamalaśīla. See Tucci 1978 and Gomez 1983.

possibility of the existence of a version of Chán in the Tibetan language, and suggested that Tibetan Chán could be affiliated with the Northern lineages known from Chinese Dūnhuáng manuscripts.⁶

In a later article (1971) Ueyama discussed a whole series of Tibetan manuscripts from Dūnhuáng which ostensibly presented the teachings of Héchàng Móhēyǎn, and offering a more complex and nuanced view of his teaching style. In another seminal article (1974), Ueyama presented the results of his work on a large miscellany of Chán texts, Pelliot tibétain 116, along with nine other related manuscripts. In discussing these works, he noted the presence of the term *mahāyoga* and suggested that these manuscripts might represent a version of Tibetan Chán that arose after the debate, when Tibetans tried to preserve Chán by incorporating elements of Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. Thus within a few years Ueyama had opened up the field of Tibetan Chán, defining its primary sources among the Dūnhuáng documents, and outlined some of the main concerns for its study, such as lineal affiliations and doctrinal characteristics. Over the years that followed other Japanese scholars provided new insights through the discovery of more sources for reconstructing Tibetan Chán, including some that survived in Tibet, and in the early 80s this work was drawn upon by American scholars like Jeffrey Broughton and Luis Gomez.⁷

In recent years there have been several advances in our understanding of the manuscript sources on which most of our knowledge of Tibetan Chán is based, and it seems timely to incorporate the insights based on this to the primarily textual work that has been done so far. Most previous studies of Tibetan Chán have assumed that the manuscript sources date from the period of the Tibetan occupation of Dūnhuáng, which ended in the middle of the ninth century. Yet much of the Tibetan material from Dūnhuáng has now been dated to after the end of the Tibetan occupation of Dūnhuáng. In fact, Tibetan Chán seems to have survived well into the tenth century, and perhaps beyond.⁸ This casts fur-

6 References to Tibetan Chán here are not intended to imply the existence of a discrete and self-consciously Tibetan school of Chán. Instead it refers to the existence of a corpus of literature in the Tibetan language that can be textually or thematically associated with Chinese Chán literature. For a complete catalogue of Tibetan Chan manuscripts, see van Schaik 2014.

7 For example, Katsumi Okimoto 1975 on the Chán quotations that appear in the hidden treasure (*gter ma*) text *Blon pa bka' thang yig* and the tenth century work *Bsam gtan mig sgron* by Gnubs Sangs rgyas ye shes. See also Satoru Harada 1976 and Gomez 1983 on the *Cig car jug pa nam par mi rtog pa'i sgom don* (attributed to Vimalamitra). More recently, see also the work of Carmen Meinert, which is discussed below.

8 On the later dating of the Buddhist manuscripts, see Takeuchi 2102. The only study of Chán manuscripts thus far which has placed them in the tenth century is van Schaik and Dalton 2004.

ther doubt on the Tibetan narrative in which Chán was banned at the end of the eighth century, and suggests that we might be better advised to put this narrative to one side. To do so might, in fact, allow us to be open to new ways of thinking about Tibetan Chán.

2 Ritual

The debate narrative casts Chán as a thoroughly rejecting gradualism, and by association, all rituals and meditation practices that imply a gradual approach to enlightenment. However, once we start to look into the social background of the Tibetan Chán manuscripts, this picture comes to look increasingly unlikely. A recent study applied the method of forensic handwriting analysis to identify a group of associated manuscripts apparently written by the same scribe.⁹ These included a commentary on a Chán text, and a series of tantric texts that allude to Chán doctrines and techniques. The content of the tantric texts suggested strongly that this scribe, and these manuscripts, probably date from the latter half of the tenth century. This study made clear the advantages of approaching the Chán manuscript sources in this way—it was possible to put forward a convincing date for the manuscripts, and to situate them into a social context.

The group of manuscripts in which we find Tibetan Chán texts is fairly small, around forty in number, although a few more may yet come to light. They vary between large manuscript collections of several texts to small fragments of single texts. There are a number of different types of text represented in the manuscripts, which mirror fairly closely the types found among the Chinese manuscripts: (i) teachings attributed to individual Chán masters and collected sayings of several Chán masters, (ii) anonymous treatises, including question-and-answer texts and collections of quotations from sūtras, and (iii) lineage histories.

As a compendium of several examples of the above, Pelliot tibétain 116 is a significant manuscript that has been the single most important source in the reconstruction of Tibetan Chán; yet its social function has never been addressed.¹⁰ It is a concertina manuscript, in which individual panels are either glued or sewn together with string. Its contents are as follows:

9 See van Schaik and Dalton 2004. This group of manuscripts is discussed in section 4 of this chapter.

10 See Ueyama 1983: 330–332; 334 and Faber 1985. More recently, I have touched on this aspect of Pelliot tibétain 116 in van Schaik 2015: 28–29 and in van Schaik 2016.

TABLE 4.1 The contents of Pelliot tibétain 116

Text	Title	Panels
I	<i>The Prayer for Benevolent Conduct (Bzang po spyod pa'i smon lam gyi rgyal po, Skt. Bhadracaryā-praṇidhanarāja)</i>	r.1–r.21
II	<i>The Diamond Sūtra (Rdo rje gcod pa theg pa chen po'i mdo Vajracchedikā-mahāyāna-sūtra)</i>	r.21–r.108
III	A treatise on the greater and lesser vehicles (no title)	r.108–r.117
IV	<i>A Concise Point-by-Point Exposition of the View (Lta ba rdor bsdus pa las 'byung ba'I don)</i>	r.117–r.118
V	<i>A Treatise on the Single Method of Non-Objectification (Dmyigs su myed pa tshul gcig pa'I gzhung)</i>	r.117–v.47
	(a) Questions and answers with quotations from scripture, r.119–v.23	
	(b) Questions and answers on non-conceptuality, v.23–v.41	
	(c) Quotations from masters of meditation, v.41–47	
VI	<i>A Brief Teaching on the Six and Ten Perfections in the Context of Non-Conceptual Meditation, by Master Mólhēyǎn (Mkhan po ma ha yan gyIs bsam brtan myI rtog pa'I nang du pha rol du phyind pa drug dang bcu 'dus pa bshad pa'I mdo)</i>	v.48–v.50
VII	Collected sayings of masters of meditation (18 sections)	v.50–v.67
	(a) Bhu cu (Wúzhù 蕪(無)住), (b) Kim hun (Kim Héshàng 金和尚), (c) Dzang, (d) De'u lim, (e) Lu, (f) Pab shwan, (g) Pir, (h) Dzva'i, (i) Tshwan, (j) Wang, (k) Dzvang za, (l) Keng shi, (m) Shin ho (Shén-huì 神会), (n) 'ByI lig, (o) Ma ha yan (Mólhēyǎn 摩訶衍), (p) De'u, (q) Bu cu	
VIII	<i>The Experience of the Fundamental Principle that is Instantaneously Perfect (Cig car yang dag pa'i phyi mo'i tshor ba); translation of Dìnnwù zhēnzōng yàojié 頓悟真宗要訣 by Zhidá 智達^a</i>	v.68–v.119
IX	<i>A short treatise on five errors in meditation (no title)</i>	v.119–v.122
X	<i>A song entitled A Brief Teaching on the Dharmadhātu (Chos kyi dby-ings nyid bstan pa'i mdo)</i>	v.123

a For the Chinese, see Or.8210/S.5533 and Pelliot chinois 3922. The text is briefly discussed in Faure 1997: 127–128.

Many of the Chán masters cited here, such as Wòlún 臥輪, Shénhuì 神會 and Wúzhù 無住, have been identified, though others have not. Manuscripts overlapping with Pelliot tibétain 116 are found throughout the Dūnhuáng collection.¹¹ Many of the same citations also appear in the chapter on Chán in *The Lamp for the Eyes of Meditation* (*Bsam gtan mig sgron*), a tenth-century work by Nub Sangyé Yeshé. This fact has led to *The Lamp for the Eyes of Meditation* being accepted as another valid source for early Tibetan Chán. An even later citation of the same sources is the fourteenth-century *Ministers' Edict*, though this seems to be mostly based on *The Lamp for the Eyes of Meditation*. In any case, as scholars have pointed out, these works suggest that the particular Tibetan Chán texts found in Dūnhuáng were known well beyond that particular area.¹²

The fact that Pelliot tibétain 116 begins with *The Prayer for Benevolent Conduct* places it alongside another group of manuscripts, compendia of prayers and *dhāraṇīs*, which very often begin with the same prayer. *The Prayer for Benevolent Conduct* has continued to be held in very high esteem in Tibetan and Chinese Buddhism, with the acts of copying and recitation being highly meritorious.¹³ In many of these, patrons are mentioned, with the prayers dedicated to their good fortune and long life. This suggests that these compendia were copied, and perhaps also recited by monks, at the behest of patrons who paid for this work. Where such patrons are mentioned in colophons, they appear to be post-imperial figures.¹⁴ Thus, Pelliot tibétain 116 is likely to have been sponsored by a patron of some standing, as it is a large and expensive production.

We should also consider the presence of the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Vajracchedikā*) at the head of the manuscript. This immediately puts us in mind of the famous *Platform Sūtra* of Huìnéng, which contains an ordination lecture in which

11 These include IOL Tib J 703, 706, 707 and 1372; Pelliot tibétain 21, 118, 813, 817, 821, 822 and 823.

12 See Ueyama 1983: 341–342. Katsumi Okimoto (1976b) has shown that many of the citations from Chán masters in these two texts that are not derived from the same source as Pelliot tibétain 116 are derived from another identifiable source, the *Èr rù sìxíng lùn cháng juànzi* 二入四行論長卷子 which is extant in several Chinese Dūnhuáng manuscripts, including Or.8210/S.1880, 2715, 3375, and 7159; and Pelliot chinois 2923, 3018, 4795, and 4634.

13 See van Schaik and Doney 2007, and the references therein.

14 See for example in Pelliot tibétain 98, verso, panel 9, which records a dedication to the patron, the minister 'Ba' Tse syong: yon bdag chab srid kyi blon po chen po 'ba' tse syong gi sku rim 'gror bzhangs gsol pa lags/ tshe dbang thams cad phun sum tshogs pa dang ldan par gyur cig/.

This 'Ba' Tse syong is otherwise unknown, but similar Sino-Tibetan names are found in the letters of passage in IOL Tib J 754, dated to the late 960s (see van Schaik and Galambos 2012).

the *Diamond Sūtra* plays the fundamental role. In a recent work Christoph Anderl has suggested that the title *Platform Sūtra* may have originally referred to the *Diamond Sūtra*, as the central text used in conjunction with ordination platforms (*jiètán* 戒壇) in Chán precepts ceremonies.¹⁵ These ceremonies extended the ritual of bestowing the precepts of a bodhisattva to include introducing the recipients to the practice of meditation according to the principles of Chán. This was part of a movement throughout Chinese Buddhism in the eighth century, in which the ordination platform and the rituals surrounding it became widely popular.¹⁶

If we look at the structure of Pelliot tibétain 116 in the context of such ceremonies, it throws a new light on the fact that the manuscript begins with the most popular prayer associated with the bodhisattva's vow in Tibetan, followed by the *Diamond Sūtra*, as the main scriptural basis for Chán practice, and then a series of increasingly complex texts from the Chán tradition. Thus, Pelliot tibétain 116 may well have had a ritual function, as a sermon read during a Chán precepts ceremony, with the pedagogical function of introducing the audience to the fundamentals of Chán practice.

When might these rituals have been practised? So far, Pelliot tibétain 116 has been treated as a product of the Tibetan imperial period. However, this is based on no more than an old, incorrect assumption that all Tibetan manuscripts from Dūnhuáng must date to the period of Tibetan occupation, between the years 786 and 848.¹⁷ Recent research by Tsuguhito Takeuchi has shown that many of the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, both secular documents and Buddhist texts, can be dated to after the end of the Tibetan occupation, some as late as the very end of the tenth century. In the case of the secular documents, Takeuchi has suggested that Tibetan language survived as a *lingua franca* used in diplomatic communications and in legal documents like contracts.¹⁸ Thus, with more and more Tibetan material from Dūnhuáng being dated from the mid to late tenth century, the burden of proof now rests with those who would place manuscripts in an earlier period. In the case of Pelliot tibétain

15 See Anderl 2013: 151–172. For a recent major study on the historical context and development of the *Platform Sūtra*, see Jørgensen 2005.

16 On the central role of the platform ordination in Tang dynasty Chán lineages, see Adamek 2007. See also the discussion of Revered Kim below.

17 The last panel of Pelliot tibétain 116 contains three sections of writing, two of which have been erased. One of these seems to have been a colophon, as the words 'year of the bird' are still visible at the beginning. Unfortunately, this does not help very much in terms of dating the manuscript.

18 See Takeuchi 2004 and 2012.

116, a later date shows that the ritual practices implied by the arrangement of texts on the manuscript—that is, the ritual of bestowing the bodhisattva precepts in the content of Chán meditation—continued through to the tenth century.

3 Patronage

For a convincingly early Tibetan Chán manuscript, we must go beyond Dūnhuáng to the manuscripts recovered from the Tibetan fortress of Miran, which was abandoned when the Tibetan empire collapsed in the middle of the ninth century. One of these (Or.15000/494) is a manuscript that appears to be a Chán text, though this has not previously been noticed. The manuscript is a fragment of a scroll written in the horizontal column format that was used in the Tibetan imperial period.¹⁹ On the basis of paleography as well, this manuscript is comparable to the sūtra scrolls produced in the first half of the ninth century in Dūnhuáng.

As Takeuchi has pointed out, the last five lines of the text on the recto of this scroll are from the *Laṅkāvatāra*. The rest remains unidentified; but whether it is a citation or a treatise, its content is strikingly close to the concerns of Tibetan Chán texts. The manuscript explains the view of simultaneous entrance (*cig car 'jug pa*), which entails the nonduality of all phenomena and the lack of graduated stages in the *dharmadhātu*. The text also contains the phrase 'without even an atom of meditation or activity.'²⁰ It concludes with a few lines from the *Laṅkāvatāra* which continue to converge with the themes of the Tibetan Chán documents from Dūnhuáng, being a valorization of the form of meditation called the 'meditation of the Tathāgata' (*bde bzhin gshegs pa'i bsam gtan*; Skt. *tathāgata-dhyāna*). This phrase, which was adopted by Shénhuì 神會 (684–758) and Zōngmì 宗密 (780–841) to designate the highest form of meditation, is also found in many Tibetan Chán texts.²¹

Whether this manuscript is a sūtra compilation, or a treatise citing the *Laṅkāvatāra*, it is clearly within the discourse of Chán. It is interesting to note that the verso of the scroll contains a tantric text written in another, more cursive, hand. The terminology of this text suggests that it is based on the Yoga tantras like the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgrāha*, rather than the later

19 See Takeuchi 1998, vol. 1, nos. 610 and 611. The site numbers for the two parts of the manuscript are M.I.xxviii.004 and M.I.xxviii.005.a.

20 Or.15000/494, r3: rdul tsam yang bsgom zhing spyad tu myed do.

21 See Adamek 2007: 485, n. 316.

Mahāyoga literature. This affiliation with Yoga tantra accords with what we know of the way tantras were translated in Tibet during the imperial period—with the yoga tantras preferred to the transgressive Mahāyoga tantras.²² In any case this fragment presents us with an early instance of the association between Tibetan Chán and tantric texts.²³

The existence of this manuscript written during the imperial period, in the same kind of paper and with the same style of handwriting as the imperially sponsored Tibetan sūtras, raises the question of patronage. Who was paying for the translating and copying of Chán texts in Tibetan? We do have some evidence of the interest of the Tibetan emperors in Chinese Buddhist literature in general, and Chán in particular. The *Twenty-Two Questions on the Mahāyāna* (*Dàshèng èrshíèr wènběn* 大乘二十二問本) was written at the end of the eighth century by a famous Dūnhuáng resident, the monk Tánkuàng 曇曠.²⁴ This treatise begins with an address to an unnamed ruler:

Having been lying on the sick-bed for a lengthy period, I experienced serious pains and my health has deteriorated to such an extent that I am unable to undertake any travels. My loving thought runs to Your Majesty's countenance, although I lay suffering from an ailment on the frontier. It was a pleasant surprise to my mind and spirit when your thoughtful questions suddenly reached me.²⁵

Although Ueyama and Pachow link this treatise to the debate narrative, the evidence for doing so is inconclusive. Tánkuàng is not generally associated with Chán, and his treatise deals with topics common to all Mahāyāna schools, only once and in passing touching on the issue of simultaneous and gradual enlightenment. The treatise seems to have been written in the year 787, which would be in the immediate aftermath of the Tibetan conquest of Dūnhuáng, following several years of siege. Given this fact, and the interest in Buddhism known to have been displayed by the Tibetan emperor Tri Song Detsen at

22 This is suggested by Tibetan historical sources, like the *Testimony of Ba*, which states that the *Mahāyoga* tantras in particular were banned during the imperial period. See Pasang and Diemberger 2000: 88–89.

23 On the association between Chán and tantric practices in the 10th century, see van Schaik and Dalton 2004.

24 On Tánkuàng and this text, see Pachow 1979 and Chapter 1 of Ueyama 1990. The four manuscripts used by Pachow for his study are Pelliot tibétain 2077 and 2576; and Or.8210/S.2720 and 2732.

25 Translation from Pachow 1979: 35.

this time, it is possible that the *Twenty-two Questions* were indeed handed to Tánkuàng—by then in his early 80s—soon after the Tibetan finally took the city.

Thus, Tánkuàng's treatise may be an early example of an interest of Chinese Buddhist masters at the Tibetan court. It certainly fits with Tri Song Detsen's project, stated in his own edicts, to establish what would be considered authentic and correct form of Buddhism in Tibet. Equally, Tánkuàng's treatise suggests that there was no reason for the Tibetans to equate Chinese Buddhism with Chán, or the doctrines of instantaneous enlightenment.

For another possible witness to the Tibetan emperor Tri Song Detsen's interest in Chán, we have a text found in the manuscript 10L Tib J 709 called *The Chán Book* (*bsam gtan gi yi ge*). After its title, the text has a further note saying 'The neck seal of the divine tsenpo Tri Song Detsen appears below.' This statement implies that the text is a copy of an original to which the Tibetan emperor had affixed his 'neck seal' (*mgur rgya*).²⁶ Whether the name indicates a seal worn around the emperor's own neck, or (in another reading of *mgur*), 'the seal of song' is unclear, but another Dūnhuáng manuscript, a description of Tibetan royal seals, makes it clear that this seal was considered to hold the highest authority.²⁷

Since this text carries an explicit note of imperial approval, it seems worth examining it in some detail. The language of the *Chán Book* is somewhat awkward, suggesting that it is a translation.²⁸ The opening lines situate the work in three ways: firstly intended for those practicing *mahāyoga*, secondly as a teaching on the meditation of the *tathāgatas*, and thirdly located within the lineage of the *Laṅkāvatāra*:

This is intended for those entering the *mahāyoga*. The *tathāgatas* taught innumerable gates to meditation. From among them, there are the meditations with coarse attributes like the *śrāvakas* and the extremists; the stages of meditation with and without focus points of the bodhisattvas endowed with faith, and those who reside on the *bhūmis*; and *tathāgata* meditation, beyond all extremes.

26 Of course, it could be a copy of a copy, or a copy of a copy of a copy, and so on.

27 Rolf Stein discussed this text briefly (Stein 1983: 154–156). Stein also analysed in detail the manuscript on the seals, 10L Tib J 506 (Stein 1984). See now also the English translations of these articles in Stein 2010. The manuscript in question, 10L Tib J 709, has also been studied by Ryūtoku Kimura (1976).

28 Stein (1983: 155–156) suggested that the text contains a mixture of the vocabulary used to translate Indic and Chinese texts.

Within the latter meditation, there is a distinction into three types: worldly, transworldly, and supreme transworldly. Among these meditations, *tathāgata* meditation is the best. Thus it is said in the transmission of the noble *Laṅkāvatāra*. Therefore without speaking of the attributes of the other types, I will teach how great yogins may cultivate the transmission of *tathāgata* meditation, day and night.²⁹

The hierarchy of meditation described here paraphrases chapter 3 of the *Laṅkāvatāra*; thus, the *Chán Book* is situating itself firmly within the authority of that sūtra. The appearance of the term *mahāyoga* here and in other Tibetan Chán manuscripts has previously been assumed to be a reference to the tantric texts known by the same name, but this is probably not the case. The term *mahāyoga* appears in certain sūtras, including the *Samdhinirmocana* and the *Laṅkāvatāra*, both of which are often cited in Chán treatises, with the *Laṅkāvatāra* being perhaps the pre-eminent sūtra in Chán.

The *Samdhinirmocana* speaks of 75,000 bodhisattvas attaining mental engagement in the great yoga (Tib. *Rnal 'byor chen po*; Skt. *mahāyoga*).³⁰ In the *Laṅkāvatāra* the phrase 'a yogin of the great yoga' (Tib. *Rnal 'byor chen po'i rnal 'byor can*; Skt. *Mahāyoga-yogin*) appears frequently in the first and second chapters in reference to a person of the highest insight into the nature of reality, usually in the phrase *bodhisattvā mahāsattvā mahāyogayogin*.³¹ Given the good pedigree for the term *mahāyoga* in the *Laṅkāvatāra*, there is no need to look elsewhere for a source. On the other hand, for Tibetans of the late ninth and

29 10L Tib J 709, 43r: //bsam gtan gl yI ge // lha btsan po khri strong lde btsan gl mgrur gl phyag rgya 'og nas 'byung ba' // rnal 'byor chen po la 'jug pa rnams la dgongs pa'I don // de bzhIn gsheg pas bsam gtan gyI sgo mo grangs myed pa gsu-ngs pa'I nang na // 'phags pa la lang kar ghegs pa 'I lung las // nyan thos dang mur 'dug la stsogs pa'I bsam gtan mtshan ma sbom po can dang / dad pa spyod pa dang / sa la gnas pa'I byang cub sems dpa'I bsam gtan dmyigs pa yod pa dang // dmyigs pa myed pa'I rim pa dang / de bzhIn gsheg pa'I bsam gtan mtha' / (43v) thams cad las 'das pa yod de // bsam gtan byed du 'dra ba las // 'jIgs rten dang 'jIgs rten las 'das pa dang // 'jIgs rten las 'da pa'I mchog mnam pa 'dI gsum gyI bye brag kyang mngon par 'byung ngo // de la bsam gtan gl nang na nI // de bzhIn gshegs pa'I bsam gtan dge 'o zhes gsungs pas na // da 'dIr nI nram grangs gzhan gl gtan tshigs myi smos kyI // de bzhIn gshegs pa'I bsam gtan gyI lung rnal 'byor chen po bas las su bsgom ba nyI tse mdo tsam zhIg bstan to/

30 *Samdhinirmocana* (Tib. *dgongs pa nges par 'grel pa*), ACIP KDO106M, p. 60b: byang chub sems dpa' bdun khri lnga stong gis ni rnal 'byor chen po'i yid la byed pa thob par gyur to/

31 In the Tibetan version see for example P.775, vol. 29, p. 27, f. 63b.7.

Sanskrit version (from the Vaidya edition) accessed on 12/03/10 at <http://www.uwest.edu/sanskritcanon/dp/>.

tenth century, increasingly exposed to the tantric texts going by the name of *mahāyoga*, the term would have carried strong connotations, at least, of tantric practice. We will return to this relationship between Tibetan Chán and tantric yoga below.³²

Like many Chán treatises, the *Chán Book* proceeds in a question-and-answer format. One of these questions addresses the nature of the commitments required for this practice:

‘How does one receive the commitments?’

One who has previously made offerings to many buddhas, and has pure aspirations must rely on the master-buddha, and upon no other. They are not to study the various terminologies for designation with the deluded who mentally engage with unborn and unobstructed phenomena.

‘Why is that?’

Since the meditations of the other vehicles, which are based on practising inner subjugation, have no power in themselves to bring about the great benefit of sentient beings, they are not sufficient. Among those whose meditation is based on apprehension, even if they have achieved special powers, their own supreme wisdom is darkened by their obscurations. Even when they have purified these a little bit, they are far from realization.³³

It is worth noting here that the term ‘commitments’ (*dam tshig* Skt. *samaya*) plays a central role in tantric Buddhism. In tantric Mahāyoga, the three main commitments are to venerate the master, to keep the teachings secret, and to avoid strife with fellow practitioners. These are not dissimilar to the commitments outlined here, which concern first of all the Chán master (identified as a

32 Conversely, it is interesting that the *Bsam gtan mig sgron*, which was written in part to distinguish Chán from Mahāyoga and Dzogchen, does not use the terms *mahāyoga* or *mahāyogin* in the Chán context at all.

33 10L Tib J 709, 79r: dam tshig jI ltar blang zhe na// sngon sangs rgyas mang po la/mchod bkur ba dang// bsam pa yongs su dag pa'I rnam kyis// slobs dpon sangs rgyas la rten gyI//gzhan la myI brten par bya 'o// chos myI skye myI 'gog pa'I chud par blo bya 'I// khrul pas/ sgro btags pa'I tha snyad sna tshogs myI bslab bo// cI'i phyir zhe na/ nang du thub pa la 'jug du 'dra ba las//theg pa gzhan gyl bsam gtan tsam gyis/ sems can gyI don chen po myi nus kyis// (8or) ma chog ste dmylgs pa can de dag/ mngon du khugs su zIn kyang/ rang gI mchog gI ye shes la sgrIb pa'I mun par 'gyur bas// chung ngu yongs su byang du zin kang// de ma yin ba'I rtog pa/

For a complete translation see van Schaik 2015: 159–161.

buddha) and second prohibitions on associating with those who do not follow the direct approach of Chán. However, as with the term *mahāyoga*, we should not assume that this is a direct reference to the tantras, as the same term appears in the *Laṅkāvatāra*, in the phrase ‘the commitments of those who practice the Mahāyāna.’ And the *Laṅkāvatāra*’s commitments are, as in this manuscript, directed at Mahāyogins.³⁴

The *Chán Book* is contained in IOL Tib J 709, a miscellany much like Pelliot tibétain 116.³⁵ The arguments outlined earlier for dating Pelliot tibétain 116 to after the Tibetan occupation of Dūnhuáng also apply here—there is no reason not to place IOL Tib J 709 in the tenth century. But we must distinguish between the dates of the manuscripts and the dates of the texts they contain. In the case of those Tibetan Chán texts that have been identified as translations from the Chinese, the original works are from no later than the early ninth century. This is in accord with other aspects of Tibetan Buddhism at Dūnhuáng.³⁶ Much the same situation applies in the case of Chinese Chán at Dūnhuáng, which after the ninth century was cut off from further developments in Chán occurring mainly in Southern China. As summarized by Jeffrey Broughton: ‘In the isolated oasis town, on the other hand, those doing the copying continued

34 P.775, vol. 29, p. 27, f. 64a.7: theg pa chen po dam tshig go/

35 The contents of IOL Tib J 709 are:

- (i) *Introduction to The Instantaneous Approach to Meditation* by Mólhēyǎn. This text begins in a separated part of the same manuscript, IOL Tib J 468, which comprises folios 1 and 2. Folio 3 has not been located.
- (ii) A treatise entitled *A Teaching on Faults in Meditation*. In an article on this manuscript, Ryūtoku Kimura (1976) identifies this as a work by Shénhuì (see also Ueyama 1983: 337).
- (iii) A dialogue between Brahma and Mañjuśrī on various topics;
- (iv) Questions and answers on aspects of meditation;
- (v) The teachings of the master *Bodhināgendra;
- (vi) A treatise on *śamatha* and *vipaśyana*;
- (vii) A treatise on means and wisdom;
- (viii) Teachings of the master *Haklenayāśas;
- (ix) The *Chán Book*.

As noted above, there is one more folio, IOL Tib J 667 (unnumbered) which concludes the manuscript. The verso of this contains some scribal practice, including the Chinese and Sanskrit names of a prayer to Avalokiteśvara and the line: *mkhan po ma ha yan rgyud dang bhyl sh+ni shid*. The first part of this appears to refer to the lineage of the master Mólhēyǎn.

36 For example, while tantric texts seem to have only become more and more popular after the end of the Tibetan empire, they continued to be based on works translated during the Tibetan empire, heedless of further major developments in Indic Buddhist tantra. This has been pointed out in Herrmann-Pfandt 2002 and van Schaik 2008a.

reproducing T'ang texts that were no longer circulating in China, and Ch'an continued to mix with Indian esoteric Buddhism, which had long been moribund in China.³⁷

Support for the existence of the *Chán Book* in the imperial period may be found in a Tibetan monastic library catalogue from the early eighth century, the *Lhan kar ma*. This text is an invaluable source of information for determining which Buddhist literature that was translated into Tibetan in the imperial period. It is organized thematically, and the part that concerns us here has the same heading as the text in IOL Tib J 709, 'Chán books' (*bsam gtan gi yi ge*):

1. *Three Stages of Meditation*, by Kamalaśīla;
2. *Stages of Meditation*, by Vajrakīrti;
3. *Stages in Meditation*, by Yeshé Nyingpo;
4. *Meditation on the Mind of Enlightenment*, by Gyalwa Ö;
5. *Meditation on the Mind of Enlightenment*, by Mañjuśrīmitra;
6. *Showing the Gate to Meditation*, by Kalyāṇavarman;
7. *Stages of Meditation*, by Dharmamati;
8. *The Chán Book*, by Bodhidharmatāra, translated from the Chinese.³⁸

The last text in the list also bears the same title as the text in IOL Tib J 709, and the ascription to Bodhidharma confirms that it was considered a Chán text.³⁹ The catalogue indicates that it was a fairly long text (in 900 ślokas), but since the text in IOL Tib J 709 seems to be incomplete, this does not rule it out. On the other hand, the title 'Chán Book' may be a generic one, and indeed is also the title of this group of texts. When we turn to the other texts in the group, it is clear that most are not Chán texts; in fact, five of the eight are treatises on graduated meditation practice by Indian masters (of which some have been identified).

37 Broughton 1999: 104. Note however, that here Broughton repeats that assumption that the Tibetan Chán manuscripts date to the period of the Tibetan occupation of Dūnhuáng.

38 Lalou 1953: 333–334. The Tibetan titles are: (i) *Sgom pa'i rim pa rnam pa gsum*, (ii) *Bsgom pa'i rim pa*, (iii) *Bsgom pa'i rim pa*, (iv) *Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa*, (v) *Byang chub kyi sems sgom pa*, (vi) *Bsgom pa'i sgo bstan*, (vii) *Bsgom pa'i rim pa*, (viii) *Bsam gtan gi yi ge*.

39 This version of the name of the patriarch, is similar to the usual form in the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, which is written *Bo de dar ma ta la*, or just *Dar ma ta la*. This probably represents a transliteration from the Chinese *Dámóduōluó* 達摩多羅, which has been reconstructed by Yanagida as *Dharmatrāta (Yanagida 1983: 27–28). Jeffrey Broughton (1999: 119 n. 5) adopts the reconstructed form *Dharmatāra, which I use here as it more closely approximates the Tibetan transliteration.

One of the two texts called *Meditation on the Mind of Enlightenment* is an early Dzogchen (*rdzogs chen*) work.⁴⁰

The presence of this group within the *Lhan kar ma* suggests that when the catalogue was compiled in the early ninth century, Chinese Chán texts were placed in the same genre as other instructional texts on meditation, including the more scholastically inclined and strongly gradualist Indian texts, and the tantric-flavoured poetry of early Dzogchen. According to the narrative of the debate, this should be after the Chinese teaching was banned in Tibet, yet here there is no sign of any sense of conflict between simultaneous and gradual approaches, or between Chinese and Indian sources.⁴¹

We now know that the sponsorship of scholars translating Chinese Buddhist texts into Tibetan continued after the reign of Tri Song Detsen, up to the end of the Tibetan empire. By the second quarter of the eighth century there was a translation bureau at Dūnhuáng headed by a monk known by both a Tibetan and a Chinese name—to the Tibetans he was known as Go Chödrup, and to the Chinese, Fǎchéng 法成. Some of his translations from Chinese, including the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*, were collected in the Tibetan canon.⁴² Daishun Ueyama, who worked extensively on the Dūnhuáng manuscripts related to Chödrup, believes that some are written by the hand of the translator himself. In any case, we have in these manuscripts colophons attesting to the patronage Chödrup received from the Tibetan throne. The colophon to his translation of a commentary on the *Laṅkāvatāra* reads:

By the royal edict of the glorious divine Tsenpo, the great editor-translator Go Chödrup translated, edited and finalized this based on the Chinese book.⁴³

As Chödrup was active during the middle of the ninth century, this act of patronage probably dates from the 830s or 840s, shortly before the end of Tibetan power in Dūnhuáng. Some of the other works by Chödrup give us a

40 The lists in the *Lhan kar ma* (also known as the *Ldan dkar ma*) and a later catalogue, the *Phang thang ma*, were discussed in Faber 1985: 50.

41 I do not see any reason, other than an uncritical acceptance of the traditional debate narrative, for Tucci's statement that the inclusion of only one Chán text in the *Lhan kar* catalogue is 'indirect proof' that Chán 'fell into disgrace' (Tucci 1978: 356–359).

42 Ueyama's work on Chödrup, collected in Chapter 2 of Ueyama 1990, is the most detailed and extensive study available. Ueyama identifies Chödrup with the Chinese translator Wú Fǎchéng 吳法成 and argues for his Chinese ethnicity.

43 10L Tib J 219, f. 144r: *dpal lha btsan po'i bka' lung gis / / / / zhu chen gyi lo tsa ba dge slon 'go chos grub kyi / / rgya'i dpe las bsgyur cing zhus te gtan la phab pa' / /*

picture of Tibetan interests in Chinese Buddhism in this period. Along with translations from the sūtra and dhāraṇī literature, we have a translation of a text on the bodhisattva precepts, and a number of texts composed by Chödrup himself, including a retelling of the story of Maudgalyāyana's trip to hell (10L Tib J 633), a bilingual catechism on the view of the Madhyamaka (10L Tib J 1772 & 1773), and a summary of the dharma compiled from sūtra, śāstra and vinaya (10L Tib J 683).⁴⁴

The last of these texts seems to have been requested by the Tibetan emperor, as the colophon states that the text was written 'due to the kindness of the Divine Son, the lord of men.'⁴⁵ Thus it is clear that patronage was forthcoming from the Tibetan emperors in the first half of the ninth century for Buddhist translation and the composition of explanatory texts at Dūnhuáng. This patronage of major translation work from Chinese sources belies the later Tibetan narratives of the debate which have Tri Song Detsen stating that Tibetan Buddhism will in future only be derived from Indian sources.⁴⁶

4 Lineage

It has become conventional wisdom to state that Tibetan Chán is a composite of the Bǎotáng 保唐 and the Northern schools. Yet this is almost certainly too simplistic. More comparative work between the Tibetan Chán manuscripts and early sources on Chinese Chán is needed before we can situate the former more precisely. We also need to keep in mind that the early Chán schools delineated in sources like Zōngmì were probably not as watertight—in terms of doctrine or personal affiliations—as these sources sometimes make them out to be. This is certainly true of the Chinese Chán manuscripts from Dūnhuáng.⁴⁷ I would argue that the Tibetan manuscripts also represent a composite of teachings from different lineages, including, but by no means exclusive to, the Bǎotáng and Northern lineages.

If we look at the Bǎotáng lineage in context, it was clearly only one of the Chán lineages that was flourishing in Sìchuān in the eighth century, and it was not necessarily the most important for the Tibetans. In the year 762 the

44 The bilingual (Sino-Tibetan) text has been transcribed, translated and discussed in Thomas, Miyamoto and Clauson 1929. The version of the Maudgalyāyana story has been discussed in depth in Kapstein 2007.

45 10L Tib J 683, f. 3v: lha sras myi rje bka' drin btsab [=btsal] pa'i phyir/

46 This is the version we find in Butön's influential *History of the Dharma*.

47 This point is argued in Sørensen 1989.

Tibetans conquered the Kingdom of Nánzhōu 南洲, giving them access to the Sìchuān region. According to the *Testimony of Ba*, a Tibetan called Ba Sangshi travelled to China in the latter part of the eighth century in order to find a Buddhist teacher, and met Reverend Kim 金 (684–762), one of the most famous Chán masters of the eighth century, in Chéngdū.⁴⁸ Kim was a Korean monk, also known as Wúxiāng 吳襄, who had become the head of the Jìngzhōng 精忠 temple in Sìchuān. According to the *Testimony of Ba*, Kim gave meditation instructions to Ba Sangshi and the other Tibetans in his party, before they returned to Tibet.

The practices associated with Kim's Jìngzhōng lineage were vividly described in the *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記 (*Record of the Dharma Treasure Through the Ages*) and in the works of Zōngmì. These practices included mass ordinations into the lineage of the bodhisattva vow, performed at night on ordination platforms. Another source on Reverend Kim describes his meditation practice as the recitation of a single character in an increasingly low tone, ending in the silent state of non-thought. This single word *niànfó* 念佛 is described in detail by Zōngmì in reference to another Sìchuān lineage, the South Mountain Niànfó Gate (*Nánshān niànfó mén chánzōng* 南山念佛門禪宗).⁴⁹ As we saw above, the platform ceremony seems to have been practised in the context of Tibetan Chán. And we will see below that the spirit of openness to a variety of practices would later lead to an overlap between Chán ritual and esoteric Buddhism.

In addition to the historical connection suggested by the *Testimony of Ba*, the Tibetan Chán manuscripts show some awareness of the Reverend Kim's particular teaching style. According to the *Record of the Dharma Treasure* and Zōngmì, the essence of Kim's instruction was encapsulated in three phrases:

48 Pasang and Diemberger 2000: 47–52 (ff. 8b–10b). This is the *Dbā' bzhed*, the earliest extant version of the *Testimony of Ba*. In a later version, the journey and the meeting with the Reverend Kim occur earlier in the narrative, during the childhood of Tri Song Detsen. As Pasang and Diemberger point out, the Chinese teacher is called Gyim Hwa shang in this text, whereas in a later version, the name is given as Kim, Nyi ma and Ki ya. The identity of the place as Chengdu is based on the Tibetan Eg chu, which has been identified by Demiéville (1979: 4) with Yìzhōu 益州, the ancient name of Chéngdū. Matthew Kapstein has argued that, in general, the *Testimony of Ba* is positive towards Chinese teachers, making the narrative of the debate a somewhat anachronistic part of the text (Kapstein 2000: 34–35).

49 See Broughton 1983: 30–38, 2004: 25–26, and 2009: 232 n. 160. See also Adamek 2007: 275–276, 337–338 (the latter being the translation of the relevant part of the *Lìdài fǎbǎo jì*). See also Faure 1997: 55–57; Faure concludes that the interest of most Chán masters in *niànfó* was 'fairly shallow.'

no-recollection (wú yí 無憶), *no-thought* (wú xiǎng 無想) and *do not forget* (mò wàng 莫忘). Although Kim is among the masters quoted in Pelliot tibétain 116, the three phrases are not mentioned there. Instead we have the following summary of Kim's teaching:

When the mind is equal, phenomena are equal. If you know purity itself, there is no other buddhadharma. When you understand the meaning, the ordinary world and the craving mind do not arise. As long as you never lose the pure sphere of activity, there is nothing to seek. Why is that? As it says in the *Prajñāpāramitā*, since everything is equal from the beginning, there are no reference points.⁵⁰

The other Sichuan lineage that influenced Tibetan Chán was that of Wúzhù 無住 and his disciples, from the temple of Bǎotáng. Wúzhù's lineage is described in great detail, and its legitimacy defended, in the *Record of the Dharma Treasure*, which describes how the lineage of the Reverend Kim was passed on to Wúzhù, despite the fact that the two never actually met. Though a Tibetan translation of this text has not emerged, the presentation of Wúzhù's teachings in Pelliot tibétain 116 closely follows the *Record of the Dharma Treasure*. The same presentation appears in the Tibetan works *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation* and the *Ministers' Edict*.⁵¹

Wúzhù is said to have taught Reverend Kim's three phrases with a minor alteration, changing *do not forget* (mò wàng 莫忘) to *do not allow the unreal* (mò wáng 莫妄).⁵² In the Tibetan manuscripts, Wúzhù's phrases are mentioned in Pelliot tibétain 116; here the third phrase is closer to the form taught by Wúzhù

50 Pelliot tibétain 116, 174r: \$://mkhan po kim hun shen shl'i bsam brtan gyi mdo las 'byung ba// sems mnyam na chos thams cad mnyam mo// yang dag pa nyid rlg na sangs rgyas kyí chos ma yIn ba myed do// don go ba'l dus na yang srid cing chags pa'l sems myl bskyed// yang dag pa'l spyod yul nyams su myl ldan ba'i tshe na yang myl 'tshal// jI'i phyir zhes bya na// shes rab kyí pha rol du phyin pa'i de bzhIn ni/ ye nas (175) mnyam pas dmyigs su myed pa'l phyir ro//.

51 These correspondences have been noted in Faber 1985: 73 n. 104. In addition, some Tibetan translations of Chinese apocryphal sūtras have been linked with the Bǎotáng lineage, due to the role these sūtras play the *Lǐdài fǎbǎo jì*. See Obata 1974 (and also Ueyama 1983: 332–333).

52 This might not have been a conscious change, maybe, since the two characters are often substituted for each other. They are structurally also very similar, so in copying processes they are often interchanged and mistaken for each other. In addition, they can be phonetic substitutions. 妄 is also substituted with 忘 in a version of the *Platform sūtra* (Dunbo version), being a phonetic substitution (Anderl 2012: 38). Personal communication from Christoph Anderl, January 2015.

than that of the Reverend Kim: *the non-emergence of the illusory mind* (*sgyu ma'i sems myi 'byung ba*).⁵³

What then of the 'Northern School' of Chán? We should remember that this name (*Běizōng* 北宗) was not a self-identification, but a polemical label imposed by Shénhuì and his followers, who identified themselves as the 'Southern School.' The Chán teachers criticized by Shénhuì are known to have identified their lineage as the 'East Mountain Dharma Gate' (*Dōngshān fǎmén* 東山法門).⁵⁴ A classic text of this lineage, the *Léngqiè shīzī jì* 楞伽師資記 (*Record of the Masters and Disciples of the Laṅkāvatāra*) is found in a truncated version in Tibetan translation in the manuscript IOL Tib J 710.⁵⁵ Although there was no Northern School as such, the lineages known under that name do seem to have been characterized by an openness to more gradual approaches to practice, and a greater variety of practices. Such an approach is also to be found in many of the Tibetan Chán texts.

The most important single figure for the Tibetan Chán tradition, Héshàng Móhēyǎn, has been identified with the Northern school since Demiéville.⁵⁶ All subsequent identifications of the importance of the Northern school for Tibetan Chán have been based on this idea. Surprisingly little weight has been given to the fact that Zōngmì's *Chán Letter* lists Móhēyǎn as one of the students of the influential Southern lineage teacher Shénhuì.⁵⁷ Bernard Faure and Jeffrey Broughton have both argued, on a doctrinal basis, that this cannot be the

53 Pelliot tibétain 165.4–166.1 and 173.4–174.1. For an English translation of the first of these, see Faber 1985: 73.

54 According to Zōngmì, they also called themselves the 'Bodhidharma lineage' (Broughton 2009: 71, 205 n. 21). See also Faure 1997: 178.

55 The Tibetan translation was studied in a groundbreaking article by Daishun Ueyama (1968), whose conclusions about its date have been contested by Bernard Faure (1997: 168–172). While Ueyama suggests a date before 781, Faure argues that it should be rather later, probably in the early ninth century. I believe Faure is correct in his argument that the inconsistency of the translation with the standards set in the *Mahāvīyūtpatti* does not mean that we have to assume that the translations predates that text, which was in any case compiled much later than Ueyama assumed (see Scherrer-Schaub 2002). On the other hand, given the interest in Chán texts during the reign of Tri Song Detsen (756–c. 800), it is quite conceivable that the *Léngqiè shīzī jì* was translated during this period. The two major English-language monographs on the Chinese original are McRae 1987 and Faure 1997.

56 On the teachers of Móhēyǎn, see Demiéville 1952: 161 and Demiéville 1973: 345–346 [26–27]. In the latter work, Demiéville states that the figures stated to be Móhēyǎn's teachers are associated with the Northern school, and notes that the Southern school is never mentioned in *Dùnwù dàshèng zhènglǐ jué*.

57 See Broughton 2009: 79 (figure 1.1).

same person. Yet this does not seem sufficient to rule out the possibility entirely, considering the rather fluid nature of the doctrinal distinctions in the Chinese Dūnhuáng Chán manuscripts, not to mention the Tibetan ones.⁵⁸ More recently, John Jørgensen has simply stated that Móhēyǎn was a pupil of Shénhuì, who “tried to harmonize Northern Ch’an [...] with the Southern Ch’an of Shen-hui and the *Platform Sūtra*.”⁵⁹ This seems quite in line with the general trend in the generation after Shénhuì to bridge the doctrinal gap between sudden and gradual that he had opened up.⁶⁰

Several works, or perhaps several parts of one major work, by Móhēyǎn have survived among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts.⁶¹ These texts show Móhēyǎn trying to reconcile the importance of immediate access to the ultimate with the need for practices based on the conventional level. For example, in the Tibetan version of the questions and answers gathered in the *Ratification of the True Principle*, Móhēyǎn addresses this issue in his answer to the question ‘Is it necessary to practice the other dharma methods, like the six perfections?’:

In conventional truth there are six perfections, while in the ultimate teachings they are said to be [merely] methods. Yet that does not mean that they are unnecessary. The scriptures that speak of the ultimate truth beyond ordinary thinking do not even discuss whether other dharma methods such as the six perfections are necessary or not. This is explained extensively in the sūtras.⁶²

The access provided by the Dūnhuáng manuscripts to Móhēyǎn’s own work shows how the narrative of the Samyé debate in the *Testimony of Ba* distorted his position. The words put into Móhēyǎn’s mouth in the earliest known version are as follows:

58 On Móhēyǎn, see Faure 1997: 128–129, 219 n. 82 and Broughton 2009: 82 n. 45.

59 Jørgensen 2005: 596.

60 See McRae 2003: 56–60.

61 The major manuscripts of Móhēyǎn’s works have been discussed in Ueyama 1971 and Gomez 1983.

62 Pelliot tibétain 823: f. 2.4–3.3: pha rol tu phyin pa drug la stsogs pa’i chos kyi sgo gzhan dgos sam myl dgos/ smras pa/ kun rdzob ltar pha rol tu phyin pa drug kyang/ don dam par bstan pa’i phyir thabs su bshad de/ myl dgos pa yang ma yin// don dam par smra bsam las ’das pa’i gzhung ltar na/ pha rol tu phyin las stsogs pa chos kyi sgo gzhan dgos sam myl dgos shes smos su yang myed de/ mdo sde las kyang rgyas par bshad do/.

By the power of virtuous and non-virtuous acts generated by the mind's conceptualization, sentient beings circle round in saṃsāra experiencing their karmic results in the higher and lower realms. Whoever neither thinks anything nor does anything, will be liberated from saṃsāra. This being the case, do not think anything at all! As for teachings on the ten aspects of religious practice, such as generosity, they are to be taught solely to those lacking karmic virtue: those of the lower classes, and those with dull faculties and weak intellects.⁶³

This passage makes Mólhēyǎn an advocate of an anti-practice doctrine. In fact, rather than deprecating practice, Mólhēyǎn provides relatively detailed instructions on meditation. In the major treatise attributed to him, Mólhēyǎn describes how his students should engage in the practice known as 'gazing at the mind' (Tib. *sems la bltas*, Ch. *kànxīn* 看心):⁶⁴

When they engage in meditation, they should view their own mind. Since nothing exists there, they have no thoughts. If conceptual thoughts move, they should experience them. 'How should we experience them?' Whatever thoughts arise should not be designated as moving or not moving. They should not be designated as existing or not existing. They should not be designated as virtuous or non-virtuous. They should not be designated as afflicted or pure. They should not be designated as any kind of phenomena at all.⁶⁵

63 *Testimony of Ba*, f. 20v: hwa shang gis tshig las sems kyi nram par rtog pas bskyed pa dge ba dang myi dge ba'i las kyi dbang gis sems can rnam ngan 'gro dang mtho ris la sogs pa'i 'bras bu myong zhing 'khor ba na 'khor ro// gang dag ci la yang mi sems ci yang mi byed pa de dag ni 'khor ba las thar bar gyur ro// de lta bas na ci yang mi bsam mo// sbyin pa la sogs pa'i chos spyod pa nram pa bcu bshad pa ni skyed bor dge ba'i las 'phro med pa ma rabs dbang po brtul po blo zhan pa rnam kho na la bstan pa yin no//.

64 On the practice of viewing the mind in the work of Shénxiù, see McRae 1986: 196–218 and Faure 1997: 58–67. On related works by Wólún, and their influence on Tibetan Chán, see Meinert 2007b.

65 10L Tib J 468, f. 1v: bsam gtan nyid du 'jug pa'I tshe/ bdag gl sems la bltas na/ ci yang sems dpa' myed de myi bsam mo/ rtog pa'I sems g.yos na tshor bar bya/ ci ltar tshor bar bya zhe na/ gang g.yos pa'I sems de nyid/ g.yos pa dang ma g.yos par yang myi brtag/ yod pa dang myed par yang (2r) myi brtag/ dge ba dang myi dge bar yang myi brtag/ nyong mongs pa dang rnam par byang bar yang myi brtag/ ste// chos thams cad ci lta bur yang myi brtag go// sems g.yos pa de lta bur tshor na rang bzhin myed pa yIn te/ /de ni chos lam spyod pa zhes bya'//.

Here, Móhēyǎn complements the negative aspect of his meditation instructions ('do not ...') with positive language about the illuminating function of the mind. Rather than suppressing the mind's movement, he advocates instead a vivid awareness without analysis.⁶⁶ The Tibetan word is *tshor*, which is used here as a translation for the Chinese character *jué* 覺 meaning 'awakening,' 'illumination' or 'awareness.'⁶⁷

In the centuries after Móhēyǎn, the Tibetan tradition mythologized his memory. In the early tenth-century *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation*, Móhēyǎn is said to be the seventh in a lineage of Chinese masters, stemming from Kaśyapa and Dharmatāra.⁶⁸ Though there is no evidence among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts for a specific lineage for Móhēyǎn, there is a reference to a lineage consisting of seven masters in Pelliot tibétain 116, which refers to 'Bodhidharmatāra, the first in the lineage of seven.'⁶⁹ According to the two classic lists of six patriarchs this would place Móhēyǎn after Shénxiù 神秀 or Huìnéng 惠能. There is no other evidence for this, and it seems that Móhēyǎn's elevation to the status of seventh patriarch is something that happened only in Tibet, and probably not during his lifetime.⁷⁰

Much later, in the fourteenth century, *The Minister's Edict* reworked this passage from *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation* to present Móhēyǎn as an expert in the tantras:

66 In a passage quoted in the *Lamp for the Eyes of Meditation*, Móhēyǎn explicitly warns against suppression:

Therefore you should not suppress concepts. Whenever they arise, if you do not fabricate anything but instead let them go, then they will stay as they are and come to rest by themselves; thus you will not pursue them.

Bsam gtan mig sgron p. 165: de bas na 'du shes dgag par yang mi bya / 'byung bzhin ci la yang mi bcos par gyi na ye gtang ji bzhin du bzhag dang rang zhi ste rjes su mi 'brang ngo //.

67 This is in contrast to translations from Indic sources, in which *tshor* is the standard translation of Skt. *vedanā*, 'feeling', one of the five mental factors associated with the ordinary functioning of mind.

68 *Bsam gtan mig sgron*, p. 15: de la rgyu'i theg pa bcom ldan 'das sku mya ngan las 'da' kar 'od srungs la gdams ngag phog / de nas dar mo dh'a ra la sogs pa nas / rgya nag por bdun rgyud tha ma ha shang mah'a ya na la thug.

69 Pelliot tibétain 116, 164: bdun rgyud kyi dang po bo de dar ma ta las bshad pa las kyang/

70 A sevenfold lineage of Chinese masters (*rgya'i hwa shang bdun brgyud*) is also mentioned in the *Blue Annals* (Roerich 1996 [1949]: 167; *Deb ther sngon po*: 1.211). A much later Tibetan scholar, Kaḥ thog Tshe dbang nor bu, suggested in the 18th century that this sevenfold lineage began with Huikē and ended with Móhēyǎn. See his *Collected Works*, vol. 5, p. 432. See also Karmay 1988: 93 n. 42.

Héshàng Móhēyǎn practised the twelve methods. In the secret mantra of the Mahāyāna he received the many stages of initiation and displayed many *maṇḍalas*.⁷¹

Though some have seen this as a deliberate distortion, it is supported in a surprising place—the Chinese text of the *Ratification of the True Principle*, in which Wángxī 王錫, author of the preface, tells us that when Móhēyǎn arrived in Lhasa:

Our grand master conferred the esoteric initiation into Chán, and demonstrated brilliantly his magisterial authority.⁷²

What form might this ‘esoteric initiation’ have taken? We have already seen the role that the ritual of bestowing bodhisattva precepts on an ordination platform played an important role in Chinese Chán lineages during the eighth century. There is little doubt that tantric Buddhist concepts became associated with these ordination platform rituals; for example, Yixíng 義行 (683–727), a student of the tantric teacher Śubhākarasimha, established a platform with the title ‘Five Buddhas’ Correct Thought Platform,’ an explicit reference to tantric *maṇḍala* cosmology.⁷³ And from Dūnhuáng itself we have a popular text explaining in detail the rituals associated with ordination platforms, drawing on esoteric Buddhist practices, while at the same time explicitly associated with Chán lineages.⁷⁴

Given the competition for royal patronage between Móhēyǎn and the Indian masters that we see in the *Ratification of the True Principle* it is quite possible that Móhēyǎn would have employed the language and perhaps some of the rit-

71 *Bka' thang de lnga*: 570. For the text and translation see Tucci 1978 [1958]: 378–379, 391–393. See also the discussion in Karmay 1988: 90–96. Karmay shows how this text reworks the parallel passage in the *Lamp for the Eyes of Contemplation* (p. 15). The latter passage certainly does place Chán, Mahāyoga and Atiyoga in close proximity, however.

72 Demiéville 1958: 25. The Chinese is 我大師密授禪門. In a note on this sentence, Demiéville suggests that the author is referring to esoteric initiations: ‘le sens est plutôt qu’il s’agissait d’initiations ésotériques, et non de prédications publiques.’

73 John McRae (2005) has discussed the ordination platform movement in this period. See p. 86 and pp. 91–92 for a discussion of the esoteric aspect of Yixíng’s platform.

74 The abbreviated title of this text is *Tǎnfǎ yízé* 壇法儀則 or *Ritual Guidelines for the Platform Dharma*. The most complete manuscript is Pelliot chinois 3913; this was copied by Yuànshòu 願受, who also copied a number of other tantric manuscripts, including Pelliot chinois 3835, which is dated 978. Other manuscripts with parts of this text include Pelliot chinois 2791, 3213; Or.8210/S.2316, 5981. This text has been studied by Tanaka Ryōshū; see his summary of his work in English in Tanaka 1981.

uals of esoteric Buddhism when presenting himself to the Tibetan court. In Tibet, as in China, teachers of esoteric Buddhist methods would have been able to present a range of practices drawn from the sūtras and tantras, creating a pressure for Chinese teachers to match this in some way, even if only by presenting the initiation into the Chán lineage as equivalent to tantric initiations.⁷⁵

Now, given that Móhēyǎn is not so easily slotted into the ‘Northern school’ of Chán, it is not obvious that Tibetan Chán was particularly influenced by the teachings of the Northern school. It seems better to see Tibetan Chán texts representing the state of Chán in the post-Shénhuì period, in which Chán teachers attempted to harmonize the legacy of earlier texts with Shénhuì’s polemics. The mere presence of a précis of the teachings of Shénhuì along with those he criticized in Pelliot tibétain 116 and 813 suggests that Tibetan Chán lineages embraced both.⁷⁶

Now, many studies of Tibetan Chán have seen this trend towards harmonizing sudden realization with gradual practice as a result of the Samyé debate.⁷⁷ Yet this seems to me to be another case of this influential traditional narrative unduly influencing modern scholarship. We do not need the narrative of a debate in which Chinese Chán faced Indian scholastic Buddhism and lost in order to explain something that was occurring in both Chinese and Tibetan Chán, as a response to the growing complexity of the tradition itself.

75 The pressure on Chán teachers created by the sudden popularity of esoteric Buddhism in China during the eighth century is discussed in McRae 2003: 69–71. See also the ‘spirit of syncretism’ perceived by Faure in ‘Northern’ Chán (1997: 128–129). Later, by the latter half of the tenth century, Chán techniques of meditation were applied in tantric *sādhana* practice. See van Schaik and Dalton 2004.

76 Pelliot tibétain 116, 183–186 (where the name is given as *shen ho*) and Pelliot tibétain 813, 8a–9a. In addition, Ryūtoku Kimura (1976) has identified 10L Tib J 709/2 as a criticism of Northern lineage Chán by Shénhuì. See also Ueyama 1983: 337. In addition, there is at least one lineage known from the Tibetan manuscripts that seems to be entirely outside of the Chinese record. Pelliot tibétain 996 is a history of a lineage of Chán teachers that is otherwise completely unknown.

77 See for example Kapstein (2000: 75):

While this line of Chán teaching appears to have preserved a radical teaching of sudden enlightenment, it also seems to have contextualized it within a framework of normative Buddhist cosmology, emphasizing the doctrine of karma, and probably also to have transmitted it in association with some tantric ritual and contemplative disciplines. Assuming this to have been the case, the masters of this tradition may have successfully distanced themselves from some of the tendencies the monarchy is said to have found objectionable in the teaching of Moheyan, specifically, its radically antinomian character.

5 Conclusion

I hope to have shown that it might be better to consider Tibetan Chán without reference to the narrative of the debate in which it has been framed by so many previous studies. The manuscripts show that Chinese texts, including Chán texts, were of interest to the Tibetan court all the way through to the breakup of the Tibetan empire in the mid-eighth century. And after this, Chán texts continued to be transmitted and copied. We have seen that, again and again, the manuscript sources for Tibetan Chán belie its portrayal in the debate narrative as a radically anti-gradualist and devoid of any ritual or meditative content. Tibetan Chán texts partook of the general trend in Chán in this period to harmonize sudden with gradual. Ritual was part and parcel of the transmission of Chán, in the platform rituals in which the bodhisattva precepts were bestowed, rituals which may have overlapped at some points with tantric initiations.

Yet the reader would still be justified in pointing out that one difficult question is raised by this approach: if Chán was not banned in Tibet following the debate(s) of the late eighth century, when did Chán decline and eventually disappear in Tibet, and why? As we have seen, there is evidence from Dūnhuáng that Chán lineages were still flourishing into the tenth century. They seem to have been still active in the eleventh, when the Amdo master Aro Yeshé Jungné is said to have held two lineages, one Chinese and one Indian.⁷⁸ The contents of Chán texts were still known in the twelfth century when Nyangral Nyima Özer discussed several key Chán works in his history of Buddhism in Tibet.⁷⁹ At the same time, the influential teacher Gampopa and his students were incorporating elements of Chán into their practices. And as late as the thirteenth century, Chán practices were still being transmitted by the Sakya master Kün-pang Palzangpo.⁸⁰

78 *Deb ther sngon po*: 1.211: yang ldan glong thang sgron mar a ro ye shes 'byung gnas zhes bya ba grub pa'i skyes bu zhig byung ste/ de la rgya gar bdun brgyud dang/ rgya'i hwa shang bdun brgyud kyi gdams na mnga' zhing/.

In English, Roerich 1996 [1949]: 167. See also the discussions of Aro in Karmay 1988: 93 n. 42 and Davidson 2005: 75. The dates of Aro Yeshé Jungné are uncertain, but he is likely to have been active in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

79 Carmen Meinert has discussed this list of Chán texts as it appears in the work of Nyangral and Sakya Paṇḍita, and shown how by the time it was reproduced by Bütön in the 14th century, all of the texts were presented as works of Móhéyǎn, as evidence of the way the debate narrative came to dominate and distort the Tibetan understanding of Chán. See Meinert 2006.

80 See Kapstein 2000: 75–78 for elements of Chán in the teachings of Gampopa and his students, and Stearns 1996: 149 n. 78 for a discussion of the Chán teachings of Kün-pang.

We have little or no specific historical data that would allow us to say anything for certain about the demise of Chán in Tibet. Yet I would suggest that it was more than anything else the pressures of the ‘later diffusion’ of Buddhism in Tibet—the introduction of new lineages from India from the eleventh century onwards represented by influential teachers and authors like Sakya Paṇḍita—that led to the decline of Tibetan Chán lineages.⁸¹ The new (*gsar ma*) schools based on Indic lineages were often quite aggressive in promoting India as the only source of the authentic dharma. In this environment, it would have been increasingly difficult for those holding Chinese lineages to assert their authority. It was also during this period that the narrative of the debate, increasingly emphasizing the defeat of the Chinese side, became widespread in the histories of Tibetan Buddhism. No debate put an end to Chán in the imperial period, but the debate narrative certainly played a part in its eventual demise some centuries later.

6 Tibetan Names in Phonetic and Wylie Transliteration

Aro Yeshé Jungné	a ro ye shes 'byung gnas
Ba Sangshi	'ba' sang shi
Butön	bu ston
Dzogchen	rdzogs chen
Go Chödrup	'go/'go'/'gos chos grub
Gyalwa Ö	rgyal ba'i 'od
Héshàng Móhēyǎn	hwa shang mahayan
Künpang Palzangpo	kun spangs dpal bzang po
Nup Sangyé Yeshé	gnubs nam mk
Nyangral Nyima Özer	nyang ral nyi ma 'od zer
Samyé	bsam yas
Sakya Paṇḍita	sa skya paṇḍita
Tri Desongtsen	khri lde strong btsan
Tri Song Detsen	khri strong lde brtsan
tsenpo	btsan po
Tsongka	tsong ka
Yeshé Dé	ye shes sde
Yeshé Nyingpo	ye shes snying po

81 The best general work on the ‘later diffusion’ period is Davidson 2005.

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 IOL Tib J 710: The partial Tibetan translation of the *Léngqié shīzījì* 楞伽師資記, prefaced by an anonymous treatise on the simultaneous and gradual approaches.
 Pelliot tibétain 98: A compendium of Tibetan prayers and *dhāraṇī* literature.
 Pelliot tibétain 116: A compendium of Chán texts.
 Pelliot tibétain 813: A collection of the teachings of various Chán masters, also found in Pelliot tibétain 116/VIII.
 Pelliot tibétain 823: Tibetan translation of part of the question and answer section of the *Dùnwù dàshèng zhènglǐ jué* 頓悟大乘政理決.
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The Great Master Tōnglǐ: The Texts by a Liáo Buddhist Master among the Khara-Khoto Findings

Kirill Solonin

This paper is devoted to a preliminary research of several texts, discovered in Khara-Khoto, both in Chinese and in Tangut, which allow a better glance on the possibility of the Khitan influence on the formation of the Tangut Buddhism. The texts also provide a better understanding of Liáo Buddhism itself. The research primarily concentrates on the works by a Khitan Buddhist master Héngcè Tōnglǐ. The study of the Khitan and Tangut Chán materials allows a better understanding of the history of Chan Buddhism in Northern China from the 11th until the 13th century, especially from the perspective of the convergence between the Huáyán teaching and Chán practices. This particular moment in history is not sufficiently covered by the traditional Buddhist historical sources. The paper includes the translations of two of Tōnglǐ's works (one translation is done from Chinese, the other from Tangut), accompanied by the Chinese transcription of the Tangut text. This study is only a preliminary one, since a better-grounded conclusion requires more research into the Tangut texts.

1 Part I: Liáo and Xixià: General Considerations

The culture of the “Great State of White and High,” commonly known as the Western Xià or the Great Xià, emerged as a conglomerate of indigenous Tangut elements combined with a variety of Sinitic and Tibetan cultural and religious borrowings. Modern research based on the extensive reading of the extant Tangut texts sometimes allows a more detailed insight into the process of formation of the Tangut civilization, so that the origins of certain elements of the Xixià culture and religion can be validated against their Chinese or Tibetan source traditions, or otherwise identified as indigenous Tangut elements. This is especially true for the Tibetan mainstream of Tangut Buddhism: the Tibetan Buddhist texts often contain the lineages of the Dharma transmissions allowing us to reconstruct the process of penetration of certain teachings into Xixià.¹

¹ Such is the case with the so-called Tangut Mahāmudrā tradition in Tangut Buddhism (see

in turn, allows a better understanding of the evolution of not only the Liáo Buddhism, but also of the mainstream Sinitic Buddhism during the 11th–13th centuries.

As early as in the 1930s, N.A. Nevskij had suggested that certain Liáo influences could have contributed to the rise of Tangut culture and especially Tangut Buddhism. Nevskij did not further elaborate his idea and the reasons for his suggestion remain unknown. However, there is in fact some hard evidence which substantiates Nevskij's suggestion and demonstrates that cultural and religious interchange between Xixià and Liáo really existed. The "official exchange" between the two countries involved presenting specifically Buddhist items (including "the sūtras on the palm leaves" and even a description of a group of Uighur monks from the Tangut to the Khitan). At the same time, extant texts reveal that Buddhist teachings and texts originating from the Liáo were widespread throughout Central Asia as far as Dūnhuáng, and remained influential among the Uighurs.⁶

The presence of the Liáo editions of the Buddhist texts in Chinese in Khara-Khoto has been widely recognized by scholars, however, the fragments of the Liáo Buddhist Canon were not yet identified among the Tangut findings.⁷ As far as the Tangut translations of the Liáo are concerned, the prominent example of the presence of Liáo Buddhism in Xixià is the text known under the abbreviated title *The Mirror* (*Jing* 鏡, Tg. 纒). The text is the Tangut translation of an otherwise little-known work with the title *Jing xīn lù* 鏡心錄 by the Liáo Buddhist master Yuántōng Dàochēn 圓通道殿 or Fǎchuáng 法幢 (1056?–1114?).⁸

Apart from this most outspoken example, the Chinese part of the Khara-Khoto findings includes a number of texts generally relating to the tradition of *Shì Móhēyǎn lùn* 釋摩訶衍論, e.g., *Zhòngshēng xīn tú* 眾生心圖.⁹ The Liáo

6 These issues are discussed by Shǐ Jīnbō (1985). The relationship between the state and Buddhism in Xixià is discussed in R. Dunnell (1996). The important role of Uighur monks in the development of Buddhism in the Khitan Empire is widely recognized. However, recent scholarship indicates that the Liáo was in turn influential among the Uighurs as well (see Kōichi 2013: 225–248).

7 One of obvious cases is the Khara-Khoto version of the famous *Chán Chart* (*Zhōnghuá chuán xīn dì chán mén shī zī chéng xī tú* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖) by Zōngmì: as Chikusa Masa'aki (2003) has established, the Khara-Khoto version contains Liáo "tabooed characters," which allows tracing the text to the Liáo. For a survey of the extant Khara-Khoto texts in Chinese by the Liáo Buddhist masters, see Fēng and Lǐ 2011: 162–169.

8 Tang 413 #2548. A comprehensive study of the text is to be found in Solonin 2012a: 137–185; for a more detailed version of this study, see Solonin 2012b.

9 As far as I am aware, the fragments of the actual woodblocks used for publishing the Tangut translation of the *Shì Móhēyǎn lùn* were identified by Wáng Róngfēi 王榮飛 in Ningxià.

provenance of other texts (such as the *Jiěxíng zhàoxīn tú* 解行照心圖) can be established on the basis of their subject matter, especially their application of the “tripod paradigm” of “seeing the nature,” “calming the mind” and “fulfilling the practices” to describe the “correct” version of Chán.¹⁰ This paradigm originates from Guífēng Zōngmì (圭峰宗密, 780–841) commentaries on the *Sūtra of the Perfect Enlightenment* and was adopted by Yuántōng Dào chēn in *The Mirror*. This taxonomy later reemerges in some of the Buddhist compositions from Khara-Khoto.

One can formulate the outcome of the current state of the field in the following manner: among the many sources of Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia, the Liáo borrowings constitute a clearly identifiable cluster. The traditional paradigm of Liáo Buddhism, which was based on a late version of Huáyán Buddhism, presented itself as the so-called “perfect teaching” (*yuánjiào* 圓教). This “perfectness” implied the incorporation of various Buddhist doctrines and practices on the basis on the Huáyán concepts of “one-mind” (*yīxīn* 一心) and “four dharma worlds” (*sì fǎjiè* 四法界), which served as the framework for the doctrinal taxonomy. This strategy was borrowed by the Tanguts. One example of this Tangut synthesis was the incorporation of the Tibetan tantric practices as integral elements into the Huáyán repentance rituals promoted by the monks of Tangut descent during the Yuán Dynasty.¹¹

Generally, this means that in both the Liáo and the Tangut kingdoms Chán Buddhism was understood within a more general framework of the Huáyán teachings and not as an independent entity. In addition, some Tangut translations of Chán material had been edited in such a manner as to introduce Huáyán ideas not present (or not explicitly presented) in currently available versions of the Chinese Buddhist texts.¹²

What follows below is one more contribution to the Liáo hypothesis. This study introduces another example of the Khitan influence on Tangut Bud-

10 The Khara-Khoto texts of Liáo origin are discussed in Solonin 2013a: 79–120, especially 93–97; Solonin 2012c; Solonin 2012d. These texts are not mentioned by Féng and Lǐ (2011) in their survey.

11 One of the best examples here is the interpretation of the teaching of *dhāranī* as the manifestations of the practices which belong to the domain of “conditioned origination” (*yuánqǐ* 緣起) as opposed to the “contemplation” emerging from the “self-nature” (*xìngqǐ* 性起) as seen in the ritual manuals by Yíxíng Huìjué 一行慧覺, a Yuán Buddhist master of Tangut origin (Solonin 2013c: 37–38).

12 For a detailed review of this process, see Solonin 2012e: 534–563 and Solonin 2011. Another important example of introducing Huáyán concepts into Chán texts is the Tangut translation of the Recorded Sayings of Nányáng Huìzhōng 南陽慧忠, a prominent mid-Táng Chán master (for details, see Solonin 2012e: 274–352).

dhism: The Tangut translation of an otherwise unknown work by the once famous Liáo Buddhist master Tōnglǐ (Tōnglǐ dàshī 通理大師). The text known as *The Essence of the Mind According to the Complete and Luminous Teaching of the Supreme One-Vehicle* (Tg. 肩髻剎瓊崑徻鮮輝, *Jiūjìng yīshèng yuánmíng xīn yì* 究竟一乘圓明心義) forms the core of the present study. Other copies of the works by Tōnglǐ which originated from Khara-Khoto, once definitely numerous, are discussed only briefly. The present study also discusses the available data on Tōnglǐ's life and contains an outline of his teachings. The final part of the paper consists of the translation of two out of four extant works by Tōnglǐ: the *Tōnglǐ dàshī lìzhì míng* 通理大師立志銘 (translated from Chinese) and the aforementioned *Essence of the Complete and Luminous Mind According to the Teaching of the Supreme One-Vehicle* (translated from Tangut). The translations are accompanied by the transcriptions of the texts with modern punctuation (in the case of *The Essence of the Mind* I provide the Tangut text together with its “reconstructed” Chinese version).¹³

1.1 Background of Great Master Tōnglǐ

Although Tōnglǐ had the title of “Great Master,” his biography, as well as the biographies of other prominent Liáo masters, was not included in any of the Buddhist historical compilations. Therefore, the information on him is scattered throughout various epigraphical collections and gazetteers, thus allowing only a tentative reconstruction of his life. Most of the originally available materials on the Master and his activities were collected by Chén Yānzhū 陳燕珠 in her meticulous study of the “Stone sūtras” at Fángshān.¹⁴ Among Western scholars, Lothar Ledderose was the first to consider the importance of this figure.¹⁵

The basic sources on Tōnglǐ are the following two inscriptions: *Dà Liáo Zhuōzhōu Zhuōlùshān Yúnjūsì Xùmìzàng shījīng tǎjì* 大遼涿州涿鹿山雲居寺續秘藏石經塔記, compiled by the monk Zhìcái 志才 in the 8th year of the Tiānqīng 天慶 era (1118) of the Liáo to commemorate the burial of the stone texts, and the *Chóngyù dàshī fěntǎ jì* 崇昱大師墳塔記. The latter text mentions that the famous master Chóngyù 崇昱 (1038/9–1114)¹⁶ studied Chán Bud-

13 The procedure of creating the reconstructed Chinese originals of Tangut translations is discussed in detail in Solonin 2012e. Some remarks on “reconstructing Chinese originals” from this paper are reproduced in the present study. Here, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr. Niè Hóngyīn 聶鴻音 from the Academy of Social Sciences for his assistance in preparing these transcriptions. Mistakes are solely my responsibility.

14 Chén Yānzhū 1993: 38–52; see also Rèn Jié 1999, Vol. 3: 117–131.

15 See especially Ledderose 2004: 409–412.

16 This is based on a calculation by Chén Yānzhū (1993: 41).

dhism in Wángjiāodǎo 王家島 under Tōnglǐ during the Dàān 大安 reign period (1083–1092).

Another surviving account of Tōnglǐ's activities on Mt. Fáng, the stele commemorating the burial of the “spiritual remnants” of Master Jìngwǎn 靜琬 (d. 639), is dated to the 9th year of Dàān (1091).¹⁷ Other available sources include the colophone to the Fángshān version of the *Dàfāngděng Tuóluóní jīng* 大方等陀羅尼經 which mentions Tōnglǐ as “late” (*gù* 故, i.e., deceased) in the 7th year of Qiāntǒng 乾統 era (1108).¹⁸ Still another source on the Great Master is the stele from the Guānyīn Hall in Yánfú sì 延福寺 in Dàān shān (*Yánfú sì Guānyīn táng jì* 延福寺觀音堂記).

According to the above sources, the Master's biography can be reconstructed as follows: the master's lay surname was Wáng 王 and he was born in 1049. At the age of seven he entered Bǎofēng sì 寶峰寺, his “original temple” (*běnsì* 本寺), as Zhìcái's *Xù mizàng tǎjì* refers to it, and where the posthumous stele describing his accomplishments (*yíxíng bēi* 遺行碑) had been preserved at least during the time of the compilation of Zhìcái's inscription.¹⁹ In the Bǎofēng Temple, Tōnglǐ studied doctrinal Buddhism, with an emphasis on the *Bǎifǎ lùn* 百法論 (i.e., *Bǎifǎ míngmén lùn* 百法明門論, *Treatise on the Illuminating Teachings of the Hundred Dharmas*). His new Dharma name Héngcè 恒策 was adopted in 1071, under Shǒuzhēn 守臻 (d.u.) who emerges under the honorific *shūzhǔ* 疏主 (“Lord of the Commentary,” implying his authorship of a commentary to the *Shì Móhēyǎn lùn*). Later, he turned to the study of Chán and came to the Yúnjū Monastery in 1093, before he found his final refuge at Yánfú sì in 1098. He was well respected by the emperor, who bestowed on him the title of “Great Master” (*dàshī* 大師) and presented him with the purple robe.²⁰ All the available sources agree that Great Master Tōnglǐ was active during the second half of the reign of Liáo Dào zōng 道宗 (r. 1055–1101, also known as Tiānyòu Huángdì 天佑皇帝 or Tiānyòu Huángdì Púsà Guówáng 天佑皇帝菩薩國王)²¹ and his successor Tiānzhuò 天祚 (r. 1101–1125).

17 Standard dates for the Dàān period are 1083–1092, whereas Chén calculates the dates differently; thus, according to Chén (1993: 42), the 9th year of Dàān is estimated as corresponding to 1093.

18 Chén Yànzhū 1993: 38–41; for the punctuated texts of the inscriptions, see Rèn Jié 1999: 359–361; see also Rèn Jié 1999. For a comprehensive collection of the data pertaining to Tōnglǐ's biography, see Féng and Lǐ 2011: 163–165.

19 Chén Yànzhū 1993: 38.

20 Ledderose 2004: 409–411. I did not have the opportunity to personally examine the inscription and would like to thank Dr. Ledderose for his assistance. See also Féng and Lǐ 2011.

21 Lán Jífú 2001: 472–473.

1.2 *Tōnglǐ's Teaching in the Traditional Sources*

Most of the existing sources and research material concentrate on Tōnglǐ's efforts to accomplish the carving of the Buddhist canon. This enterprise was definitely his main achievement, especially considering the fact that he undertook this on his own, without substantial state support (which his predecessors had thoroughly enjoyed). To complete his private endeavor, Tōnglǐ resorted to a well-proven method of establishing the ordination platform (*jiètán* 戒壇). The *Xù mizàng tǎjì* explains the events in the following way:

[...] 有故上人通理大師，緇林秀出，名實俱高，教風一扇，草偃八宏。其餘德業，具載寶峰本寺遺行碑中。師因遊茲山，寓宿其寺。慨石經未圓，有續造之念，興無緣慈，為不請友。至大安九年正月一日，逐於茲寺開放戒壇，仕庶道俗入山受戒，叵以數知，海會之眾，孰敢評之？[...] ²²

The late reverend Great Master Tōnglǐ was especially illustrious among those in the black robes, and his fame was well deserved by the value of his real doings. The wind of his teachings made all the grasses in the eight great realms bend in obedience. The rest of his merits are described on the posthumous stele in his original temple Bǎofēng sì. Once the master visited this mountain (i.e., Fángshān) and stayed overnight in this temple (Yúnjū sì). [He] sighed with grief that the stone sūtras were not complete and had the intention to continue [the carving]. [He] developed unconditioned compassion, was the friend even to those who did not seek his friendship. On the first day of the first month of the ninth year of the Dàān reign period he established an ordination platform here in this temple, and both men of office and commoners, monks and laymen, who entered the mountains to receive the precepts, were so numerous that they could not be counted. [Among] the multitude of the ocean-like assembly who dares to measure it?

The ordination ceremony mentioned above was not the only one: the *Liáo History* mentions another occasion in the second year of the Shòulóng 壽隆 (1094) reign period when Dàoōng personally “honored the monk Héngcè (i.e., Tōnglǐ) by visiting his ordination platform and asking about the Buddhadharma.”²³ This major event probably took place in the Yúnjū sì.

²² Chén Yànzhū 1993: 362, with partially corrected punctuation.

²³ See *Liáo shǐ* 遼史, Chapter “Xíngyóu biǎo 幸遊表”: 92.

Another aspect of Tōnglǐ's Buddhist background is his relationship with Chán Buddhism. The *Chóngyù dàshī fěntǎ jì* has the following paragraph:

[崇昱] 首抵王家島，先有通理策師授以達摩傳心之要。²⁴

At first [Chóngyù] arrived to Wángjiādǎo, where Master Tōnglǐ Cè had originally transmitted the essence of mind according to [the teaching of] Dámó (i.e., Bodhidharma).

This short extract demonstrates Tōnglǐ's affiliation with Chán Buddhism, which might seem puzzling if one considers the ban on Chán Buddhism which once existed in the Liáo Empire.²⁵ The above observation can be contrasted to the *Inscription from the Guānyīn Hall in the Yánfú sì* which reads:

... 達磨來梁，玄風創扇，由是禪講隆興，久傳唐宋至我大遼，歷業已來，教傳盛而三惠齊生，宗未隆而一心闕，即致·唱教雖隆，見性得地者·矣。至康安二號，南宗時運，果有奇人來昌大旨，遂以寂照大師、通圓、通理此土三人捷生間出，· · ·中之龍焉。傳佛心印，繼累代之高風，建無勝幢，作不請文。俾祖光迴照，· · ·燈無昧者，始自三師。(two lines missing) 斯乃學·雖眾，原其根本唯三上人，乃曹溪的嗣，法眼玄孫，為此方宗派之原，傳心之首矣。(one line missing)

When Dámó (i.e., Bodhidharma) came to the Liáng, the mysterious wind started to blow, and since then the Chán preaching prospered. It has long been widespread in the Táng and Sòng and reached our Great Liáo. Since the deed was accomplished, the propagation of the Teaching of the scriptures flourished and three wisdoms emerged. But the fundamental tenet did not prosper, and [the understanding of] "One Mind" was missing.²⁶ Thus, it so happened that although the Teaching was widely praised and lauded, those who saw the nature and attained the [mind-] ground were [few?]. During the eras of [Tài]kāng and [Tài]ān (1075–1100), the Southern School was set in motion, and finally there appeared remarkable people who propagated the great intention. Then three people of this country, Great Master Jìzhào, Tōngyuán and Tōnglǐ, appeared suddenly as [?] [...] dragons. They transmitted the seal of the Buddha-mind, accumulated

24 Chén Yànzhū 1993: 365.

25 Chén Yànzhū 1993: 40, 52.

26 Here the text makes the standard contrast between *jiao* 教 and *zong* 宗, that is the teaching of the scriptures (doctrinal) and the basic tenet, which is the Chán idea of "One Mind."

the sublime style of many generations, rose the banner of invincibility and composed literary works without being asked to, so that the light of patriarchs will reflect back, and the light of the Lamp will never be extinguished. All this began from the three masters. [...] That is, although there had been many who studied, only these three men attained its root (i.e., root of the Southern School). They are descendants of Cáoxī (i.e., the Sixth Patriarch) and mysterious heirs to Fǎyǎn (i.e., Fǎyǎn Wényì 法眼文益, 885–958), founders of the [Chán] school in this land and the first in transmitting [the teaching of] the mind.

The inscription locates Tōnglǐ together with Tōngyuán and Jìzhào within the general framework of the development of Chán Buddhism during the Five Dynasties period, when the Fǎyǎn lineage was dominating the Chán agenda. Its presence, although not as prominent as in the South, in the areas of Northern China, adjacent to the Liáo is also attested, thus providing reliability to the information presented in the inscription. Tōngyuán and Jìzhào are identified as Tōngyuán Fǎzé 通圓法蹟 (1050–1104) and Jìzhào Gǎn 寂照感 (d. around 1100, the honorific name Jìzhào was awarded by Emperor Dàoōng).²⁷ The Tangut versions of the names Jìzhào and Tōngyuán emerge in the Khara-Khoto Tangut texts, however, their relationship to the Liáo masters remains uncertain: the colophon to the Tangut text *Mirror of the Perfect Mind* (𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰤, *Yuánxīn jìng* 圓心鏡) mentions that its author is the State Preceptor Yuántōng (圓通國師; 𐰇𐰆𐰏𐰤), and the translation according to the Tangut grammar will return the Chinese “Tōngyuán,” The identity of Jìzhào mentioned in the Tangut texts remains less certain.²⁸

27 Chikusa 2010: 115–148, esp. 132.

28 See Solonin, 2014. If one maintains that the name was translated literally, then it will be “Yuántōng,” i.e., Dàoōng’s honorific name. However, TK-150 *Sīfēn lǚ xíngshì jí xiǎnyòng jì* 四分律行事集要顯用記 contains the following colophon: 蘭山通圓國師沙門智冥集: “Compiled by the State Preceptor monk Tōngyuán [Zhīmíng?] from Lánshān.” At the same time the content of *The Mirror of the Perfect Mind* locates this text within the Liáo version of Chán. Jìzhào emerges in the Huáyán lineage preserved by Yíxíng Huìjué in his transmission lineage of the Huáyán teaching in the Great Xià as “The Imperial Preceptor Zhēngguó Miàojué Jìzhào who made the teaching of contemplation prosperous” (令觀門增盛者真國妙覺寂照帝師). The title can be interpreted in a variety of ways, however “Miàojué” is clearly the reproduction of Chéngguān’s honorific name. Yíxíng Huìjué quotes the Imperial preceptor Jìzhào’s saying: “Even if the original mind is realized, the precepts preached by the Buddha cannot be violated even to the slightest degree, even as small as a mosquito’s tear or a louse’s leg.” (寂照[sic]帝師云:縱使了悟本心,佛所說軌則之中,如蚊淚蟣脚,許亦不應犯). The use of the character *ling* 令 in the title suggests the reverse translation of the Tangut causative suffix *phoo*.

The generally known Chán aspect of Tōnglǐ's thought is presented in the *Three Disciplinary Regulations by the Late Master Tōnglǐ* (*Xiānshī Tōnglǐ sān zhìlǜ* 先師通理三制律), which also includes an exposition of Chán by the Master. The carved version of the *Regulations* had been discovered in Fángshān and is one of the few actual works by Tōnglǐ known from the traditional sources. According to Chén, the Fángshān version of Tōnglǐ's *Three Regulations* was carved on the reverse side of the *Púsàjiè jīng* 菩薩戒經 probably in 1010–1011,²⁹ thus implying that the text reveals some kind of actual practice carried out at Tōnglǐ's *bodhimanda*, but the nature of this practice remains uncertain. The Chán part of the Fángshān text reads as follows:

財念無交，見性乃真常寶藏；名心花卒，我嶽之高峰自摧；色貪不染，靈心是清淨法身。

When one is not affected by the thoughts of wealth, “seeing the nature” is true and [one] permanent[ly dwells in the] treasure house; when craving for fame vanishes as the flowers [do], then one will naturally abandon the summit of the mountain of “self;” when there is no pollution by the greed for the material world, the spiritual mind is the pure Dharma body.

In the original inscription, this paragraph is followed by a Chán *gōng'àn* which reads as follows:

幡頭上一池水，方圓八十里，深處沒腳板，淺處不得底³⁰

On the top of the banner pole there is a lake which spreads for eighty *lǐ*, in its deepest places [the water] only covers the feet. But when one probes the shallowest place, [one] cannot reach the bottom.

The *Three Regulations* are written as plain text, whereas the above sentence is separated, and thus forms the second paragraph, or might belong to a different text. However, the insertion of a Chán *gōng'àn* into a “doctrinal exposition” is a common feature of the Liáo-Xìxià Chán compositions and is observed at length

29 Ledderose 2004: 411 *et passim*. According to Masa'aki Chikusa, precept ceremonies constituted an important part of the Buddhist milieu in the Yánjīng area.

30 Chén Yànzhū 1993: 41–43. In her version of the text, Chén provides her own punctuation, which is not followed here. The relationship of the Chán phrase with the *Three Regulations* remains uncertain, since it does not seem to appear in the more complete Khara-Khoto text.

in such texts as the *Jiěxíng zhàoxīn tú*. As in case of the *Jiěxíng zhàoxīn tú*, the origin of this Chán saying remains obscure.

One could infer that the “three regulations” are “non-engagement in the thoughts of wealth,” “getting rid of the passion towards the material [world],” and “keeping the spiritual mind untainted by the material world.” Thus, the three poisons are the thoughts of wealth, fame and material world. This paragraph allows certain observations on the nature of Tōnglǐ’s Chán teaching: the positive (true and permanent) storehouse (probably Skr. *tathāgatagarbha*) is revealed through the practice of seeing the nature. If one abandons the passion for the material world and keeps one’s spiritual mind pure, one would thus realize the pure Dharmakāya. From the verse one can deduct that Tōnglǐ’s teaching is in general in accord with the doctrine exposed in the *Two Entrances and Four Practices* by Bodhidharma, as understood in the Liáo. That is, “the three gates” of seeing the nature, calming of the mind and following the practices can be inferred from Tōnglǐ’s short exposition.

The first of the three regulations implies “seeing nature,” whereas “non-craving for the fame” corresponds to “calming the mind.” Non-engagement with the material world is thus congruent with the aspect of “following the practices.” The notion of the “spiritual mind” (*língxīn* 靈心), generic for this kind of texts, might be regarded as an indirect indication of Tōnglǐ’s familiarity with the doctrines of Chéngguān and Zōngmì and of the Huáyán-Chán tradition of the late Táng in general. Mentioning Tōnglǐ as the one who “transmitted the mind-dharma of Bodhidharma,” formulaic as it is, also allows locating his teaching within the general framework of the Huáyán doctrinal learning combined with Chán practices as was the tradition common to the Liáo and the Xixà.

The Yánfú sì inscription mentions two other works by Tōnglǐ: The *Fànxíng zhíshì* 梵行直釋 (Direct Explanation of the Pure practices/*brahmacaryā*) and the *Jìwén* 記文 (*Recollections*), none of them extant.

1.3 Sources on Tōnglǐ Discovered in Khara-Khoto

Although the Chinese texts from Khara-Khoto are not as numerous as the Tangut ones, the Tangut collection at the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts contains several copies of otherwise unknown works by Tōnglǐ. As early as 1984, several of them were cataloged by L. Men’shikov who identified the author as the Great Master Tōnglǐ, but he could not determine who that person was. The first of the titles studied by Men’shikov was TK-134, titled *Tōnglǐ dàshī lìzhì míng xìng hǎi jiětuō sān zhìlǜ* 通理大師立志銘性海解脫三制律 which, according to the surviving title page, is a woodblock copy of two famous works of Tōnglǐ: *The Three Disciplinary Regulations for the Liberation*

of the *Sea of Nature*, which is the full title of the text discovered at Fángshān, and the *Admonition on Establishing the Will and Marking of the Mind by Great Master Tōnglǐ*.³¹ For some reason, Men'shikov believed that the text in question is an epitaph to a person called Lìzhì 立志, and the text was some sort of a eulogy, praising the superior qualities of the diseased person.³² According to Men'shikov, the date of publication is established as “before 1127,” but the reasons for this dating are not made explicit and the text is identified as a “Song publication.”³³ The text is not complete and only part of the *Admonition on Establishing the Will and Marking of the Mind* has survived.

The second Tōnglǐ source discovered in Khara-Khoto (call number A-26 in the St. Petersburg Collection) bears a title close to the above: *Lìzhì míng xīnjiè, wúshàng yuánzōng xìngzhāi jiětuō sān zhìlǜ* 立志銘心誠/無上圓宗性海解脫三制律.³⁴ According to Men'shikov, this second book, although lacking both beginning and end, is a manuscript copy of the above-mentioned woodblock original.

One text in this collection can be provisionally identified as a letter from the monk Héngrùn 恒潤, and reads: “*Héngrùn qǐjìn Shàndìng chù hùpěng Lìzhì míng xīnjiè, wúshàng yuánzōng xìngzhāi jiětuō sān zhìlǜ* 恒潤啟近, 善定處護捧《立志銘心戒/誠》, 《無上圓宗性海解脫三制律》...” (“Héngrùn reports: I have with reverence obtained the *Admonition on Establishing the Will and Marking of the Mind* and *The Three Disciplinary Regulations for the Liberation of the Sea of Nature* from Shàndìng ...”).³⁵ Judging from the Dharma name, Héngrùn must have been the personal disciple of Tōnglǐ (whose original Dharma name was Héngcè 恒策), or he was his former fellow student under Shǒuzhēn, while Shàndìng is one of Tōnglǐ's associates in the collation of the texts carved at Fángshān, and is mentioned in this capacity in the stele commemorating the “Lords of merit” who assisted Tōnglǐ in the carving project.

The text has not survived in its entirety: only several pieces of Buddhist poetry in the *cí* 詞 genre and some unspecified Buddhist text are preserved

31 The translation of the title is discussed below.

32 Men'shikov 1984: 268–269.

33 Ibid.

34 Ibid.: 269–270.

35 In the original, 啟 is written with the variant character 啓, a form probably current during the Liáo, since it was registered in the Liáo dictionary *Lóngkān shǒujiàn* 龍龕手鑑. In the 10th century dictionary, the character is defined as “modern” (*jīn* 今) form (“啓: 今, 康礼反, 與啟同, 開也, 二” based on the *Zhōnghuá shūjù* 2006 facsimile edition on p. 442; suggestion by C. Anderl). In reading this paragraph, I am following Féng and Lǐ 2011: 165–166.

the Tangut translation.⁴² The text is a woodblock print consisting of 17 butterfly pages (*húdié* 蝴蝶), 14 lines per page, 18 characters per line and bearing the colophon 繆鑾叢韻 (Tōnglǐ dàshījí 通理大師集): “collected by the Great Master Tōnglǐ.”⁴³ The identification of the name of the author (i.e., Tōnglǐ) was not without problem, since the name was translated into Tangut as 繆鑾 (Lǐtōng 理通), as required by the Tangut grammar.

The text also contains the final colophon, indicating the names of the translator and the distributor of the text: 叟毖毖龔龔龔龔 (*śramaṇa Huihù* 慧護 from *Dīngguāng shān* 定光山).⁴⁴ He is mentioned as the translator (*yì* 譯, 獺), while 龔龔龔龔龔龔 (The Mountain Dweller “Abiding in the Good,” Ch. *shān zhù jū shàn* 山住居善) is mentioned as the one who “distributed the text” (*shī* 施, 猊). Concerning the personality of the “distributor” of the text, several observations can be made: the characters of his name available from the Tangut translation can be rendered in a number of ways: 龔 can be translated by the Chinese *jū* 居, *zhù* 住, or *zuò* 坐 whereas 龔 could be rendered into Chinese by *dì* 諦 or *shàn* 善. If one accepts that the name is translated in the same manner as the name of Tōnglǐ according to Tangut grammar, then the original Chinese Dharma name would be Shànjū 善居 or Shànzuo 善坐. Considering the multiple meanings of the character *dīng* 定, one might suggest that the one who distributed the text is the monk Shàndìng, the one-time collaborator of Tōnglǐ and the addressee of Héngrùn’s eulogy.⁴⁵

Considering the fact that Tōnglǐ was active during the final period of the Liáo Dynasty, the possibility that a part of his community moved to Xixia following the collapse of Liáo is not totally implausible. The fact that the works of Tōnglǐ are found in great number in the Tangut state and nowhere else makes a hypothesis of Tōnglǐ’s special connection with the Tangut State (an ardent supporter of Buddhism) acceptable. This, of course, remains a pure hypothesis until more hard evidence is discovered.

The texts themselves do not allow any exact dating. However, considering the fact that many Liáo Buddhist texts were included into various Yuán editions of the Buddhist Canon, one can suggest that this work by Tōnglǐ was already unknown to Guǎnzhǔbā 管主八 or his assistants, who collected the Buddhist texts during the Yuán period, or they considered him as unimportant.

42 Solonin 2008a: 82.

43 For a preliminary study of the text, see Solonin 2008a: 81–82, 113–116.

44 This is probably a Chinese place name, since the first and the last characters are loan words. However, the place name remains unidentified.

45 Lederrose 2004: 417. Judging from the inscription at Yǔnjū sì, he was one of the highest-ranking clerics in Yǎnjīng.

The above is a more or less complete exposition of the sources discovered from Khara-Khoto, both in Chinese and Tangut, connected to the Great Master Tōnglǐ. Unfortunately, none of these texts, either in Tangut or in Chinese, provide any biographical data on Master Tōnglǐ, or on the whereabouts of his disciples after the fall of the Liáo. At the same time, these texts allow us yet another glance on the nature of Liáo Buddhism and its connections with the Buddhist complex of Xìxià.

1.4 *Outline of Tōnglǐ's Teaching*

This brief exposition is based primarily on the two texts by Tōnglǐ, discovered from Khara-Khoto: *The Admonition on the Establishing of the Will and Marking of the Mind* and *The Essence of the Perfect Luminous Mind According to the Teaching of the Supreme One-Vehicle*. This account remains tentative until all the sources are studied. The title of *The Essence of the Mind* (*xīnyào* 心要) appears not to be Tōnglǐ's own invention, but an imitation of the title of Chéngguān's famous work *The Dharma Gate of the Essence of the Mind* (*Xīnyào fǎmén* 心要法門), which is a record of a dialogue which once took place between Chéngguān and the future emperor Shùnzhōng 順宗 (761–806) sometime around 785. The texts apparently represent the two aspects of Tōnglǐ's thought: the first of the texts is probably a recorded sermon, with little or no Buddhist philosophical references, while the other one is somewhat more sophisticated and contains a doctrinal exposition. The two texts, however, demonstrate a stylistic unity: they employ similar metaphors (such as “the sun and the moon,” “wind in the gorge,” “bubbles in the water,” etc.) and similar rhetorical devices. The third composition, the *Three Disciplinary Regulations*, is a synthetic text, combining the aspects of doctrinal teachings, disciplinary regulations, and parables from Chinese history, aimed at supporting Tōnglǐ's disciplinary ideas. The extant titles of Tōnglǐ's works allow us to determine his scholarly affiliation: apparently, the master identified his teaching as the “supreme perfect teaching” (*wúshàng yuánzōng* 無上圓宗), the “teaching of the sea of nature” (*xìngghǎi* 性海), and the “ultimate one-vehicle” (*jiūjìng yīshèng* 究竟一乘). In the *Inscription* Tōnglǐ never quotes any doctrinal scripture, while in the *Essence of the Mind* he quotes several scriptural authorities, such as the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*, the *Suvarṇaprabhāṣottama sūtra* (*Jīn guāngmíng jīng* 金光明經), the apocryphal *Śūraṅgama sūtra* (*Shǒu Léngyán jīng* 首楞嚴經), and the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna* (*Dàshèng qǐxìn lùn* 大乘起信論), which in both Tangut and Chinese texts is mentioned as the *Treatise of the Horse Voice* (*Mǎmíng lùn* 馬鳴論, 𐰇𐰆𐰪𐰆𐰏 i.e. Treatise by Āśvaghoṣa). The most frequently cited sūtra is the *Mahāyāna Sūtra on the Contemplation of the Mind-Ground* (*Dàshèng běnshēng xīndì guānjīng* 大乘本生心地觀經), a text crucial for the Huáyán-Chán tradi-

tion. Also, the *Lotus sūtra* and the *Sūtra on Non-increasing and Non-decreasing* (*Fóshuō bùzēng bùjiǎn jīng* 佛說不增不減經) are mentioned by Tōnglǐ once. This is more or less the standard set of scriptures for the Huáyán-Chán tradition, and almost coincides with the repertoire of sources used by Dào chēn. One of the more obscure texts which both Tōnglǐ and Dào chēn mention (in the *Jìngxīn lù*) is *Bodhidharma's Notes on the Wall* (*Dámó dàshī bìjì* 達摩大師壁記, 楞嚴散記).⁴⁶

Unfortunately, in both Dào chēn and Tōnglǐ's texts this title occurs in the parts for which no Chinese parallel text is available, thus impeding identification, while the quotations in their exact form are also impossible to identify. But the fact that this text is mentioned by both authors demonstrates its importance and wide circulation in the Liáo.

In the *Three Disciplinary Regulations* Tōnglǐ presents a teaching similar to the *Essence of the Mind*, but almost without referring to any doctrinal authority. In the first few pages of this composition, Tōnglǐ formulates his idea, recurrent in other texts, and especially in the *Essence of the Mind* (the translation below is somewhat tentative since there seem to be some inconsistencies in the text):

聞夫靈心是佛，幻影元真，見聞之性難思；語默之源不測，三毒絕相，身即圓明，八識無蹤，性非生死，人靈本聖，蟻智同玄，倒見一迷，夢纏三有。人諸知識，了心即佛，神光照而無生；見性唯真，惠眼觀而絕跡。難思議，無狀無形，本自解脫，廓然清淨者矣。⁴⁶

I have heard: the spiritual mind is the Buddha, illusion and shadows originally are the true reality. The nature of hearing and seeing is hard to understand; the source of speech and silence cannot be determined, while the three poisons transcend characteristics. The substance is perfect and the eight consciousnesses leave no traces; the nature is not born and does not come to extinction, while the human spirit is originally sagely; an ant and a wise person are equally profound; one moment of perverted views makes one engulfed in the dreamlike three forms of existence.⁴⁷ [People attain] knowledge and understand that the mind is the Buddha, then the spiritual light is luminous, but it is not born; [the people] see that the nature is only the true reality, and then they contemplate through the eye of wisdom, and leave no traces. [This spiritual mind] is hard to imagine, it has no form and shape, it is original liberation, all vast and pure.

46 *Ēcáng Hēishuǐchéng wénxiàn*, Vol. 5: 308–309.

47 I.e., current, future, and intermediate existences.

According to Tōnglǐ, the Buddha nature which everyone possesses lies in the “bright spiritual mind” (*mínglíng xīn* 明靈心). In the Tangut translation this notion is rendered through 𐰇𐰏𐰐𐰑, which literally corresponds to the Chinese *míngjué xīn* 明覺心 (“the mind of luminous enlightenment”).

To illustrate the identity between the mind as the nature and the mind as the source of phenomenal activities, Tōnglǐ resorts to the metaphors of a house, a poet, and a painter: when the doors and windows of a house are open, the outside objects are visible. However, the one who sees is the person, and not the doors and the windows. In the same manner, the sense organs are only the devices for cognition, while the actual agent in the process of cognizing is the mind. The metaphors of the poet and the painter provide the same angle: verses and pictures are not found in the paper, ink or brush, nor are they seen in the mouth, hands or eyes, but they are only generated by the mind. The idea presented here is somewhat related to the notion of the “true self” (*zhēnwǒ* 真我) developed by Zōngmì on several occasions. The difference seems to be the idea that the “true mind” is directly responsible for all the phenomenal manifestations, that is, Tōnglǐ seems to be accepting the concept of the direct unity of “substance” (*tǐ* 體) and “function” (*yòng* 用, in the Tangut version rendered through 𐰇𐰏, equal to the Chinese *gōng* 功), without the mediation of the “characteristics” (*xiàng* 相), as would have been crucial for Zōngmì. If this observation is correct, this will place Tōnglǐ closer to the understanding of Chán found in the teachings of Mǎzǔ Dàoyī, rather than to those of Zōngmì. Although the enlightened mind is nowhere to be found, it abides in a state of innate enlightenment, and cannot be characterized through the notions of “presence,” “absence,” or “emptiness.” This enables the practitioners to carry out their Buddhist activities and finally attain the Buddhahood by “realizing” their nature. The main obstacle to this realization, according to Tōnglǐ, lies in the mistaken identification between the daily activities of the deluded mind and the true self and attachment to the physical self, which is taken to be the true identity of a person. To demonstrate this, Tōnglǐ resorts to another parable from the *Śūrangama sūtra*, where the actions of the human consciousness are explained through the works of a sorcerer, who creates illusionary images of men and women who at the first glance seem to be acting independently, but in reality are moved by a rope. However, when the rope is pulled out, the movement of the figures ceases. The human consciousness works in the same manner: all thinking, perception, etc., is based on the action of one’s enlightened mind. As soon as the mind is calmed, all other actions also cease, and phenomenal identity appears to be without the independent self-nature.

One of the crucial terms in the *Essence of the Mind* is “knowledge” (*zhī* 知) or sometimes “understanding” (*zhījué* 知覺, Tg. 𐰇𐰏𐰐), the most straightfor-

ward translation is 明𩇑 (míngzhī 明知), the direct translation of the Chinese língzhī 靈知. In the text, I reserved P. Gregory's translation "awareness" for this term.

Although both the *Essence of the Mind* as well as the *Admonition on Establishing the Will and Marking of the Mind* both share the general background of the doctrine of "original enlightenment" (běnjué 本覺) in its Huáyán-Chán version, in both of his works Tōnglǐ does not resort to the technical vocabulary developed within this tradition. For example, he does not mention the crucial concept of the "true reality transforming in accord with the circumstances but remaining immutable" (zhēnrú suíyuán bùbiàn 真如隨緣不變), which is otherwise widely used in Huáyán-Chán compilations, including those originating from Khara-Khoto. Although this idea can be somewhat voluntarily extracted from his text, the fact is that the master seems to be avoiding any scholastic discussions and tries to be as simple as possible.

Another, more important, observation is that Tōnglǐ does not mention the "tripod scheme" of Chán Buddhism, i.e., that Chán consists of the so called "three gates": "seeing the nature" (jiànxìng 見性), "calming of the mind" (ānxīn 安心) and "cultivation of practices" (fāxíng 發行). This system, generally based on the "two entries of Bodhidharma," was further explicated by Zōngmì, and elaborated on by Dào chēn in the Liáo, and finally found its way into Tangut Buddhism.⁴⁸ This view was probably dominant in the Tangut version of Chán, and the fact that Tōnglǐ does not share it warrants further research. That is, the *Essence of the Luminous Mind* is generally devoted to the "original nature" as the source of all the practices and dharmas, i.e., to the "seeing the nature" category of the threefold version of Chán current in the Liáo.

The *Admonition* is devoted to the representation of the Buddhist ideal, determined as a "great" or "supreme" being (shàngshì 上士, mahāsattva). As it is clear from the text (see the translation), although Tōnglǐ is certainly a Buddhist, in his sermon he refers to both Buddhist and traditional Chinese concepts: the power of the "supreme man" lies in non-action, through which he achieves everything. He is impartial like the sun and the moon and dwells in emptiness. This person is not a Buddhist recluse but—quite the opposite—he engages with society and employs all sorts of devices to deliver the sentient beings according to the occurring situation. The dominant emotion of the ideal person is the feeling of impermanence, and his goal is to both enter the realm of permanence and bliss and to assist the sentient beings, but at the same time he is nowhere to be

48 E.g., in the Tangut translation of Dào chēn's *Mirror of Mind*; and in the Chinese text *Jiěxíng zhàoxīn tú* from Khara-Khoto.

found, and his essence is as vast and as inconceivable as the nature of space. He focuses his will on overcoming delusions and delivering the sentient beings from the fear of mundane existence.

The important point here is that in the text Tōnglǐ does not address such famous Buddhist notions as “becoming Buddha,” “Buddha nature,” and other ideas, but limits himself to a description of the actual social conduct of the “supreme” man. Nor does he quote any Buddhist authority or include a sūtra quotation into his exposition. Although “the monks” (lǚ 侶) and “monastic tenure” (là 臘) are mentioned a couple of times, the general impression is that the sermon’s addressees are not monks or the monastic community, but rather lay people, probably the participants of the Dharma assemblies. The above analysis is by no means exhausting, but allows several preliminary conclusions. From the above one can assume that Tōnglǐ apparently belonged to the Liáo version of Chán and was instrumental in the transfer of the Liáo understanding of Chán to the Tangut State.

1.5 Conclusion

The works of Tōnglǐ probably enjoyed wide circulation in the Tangut state. The relationship between Tōnglǐ and other Liáo masters (e.g. Dào chēn) remains obscure, but in the Xīxià their works circulated together and contributed to the formation of the Tangut perception of Chinese Buddhism, especially of Chán. The repertoire of Khara-Khoto texts generally complies with the set of texts used by Dào chēn and Tōnglǐ and allows us to suggest that the understanding of at least part of the Chinese Buddhist heritage in Xīxià was determined by ideas similar to those expressed by Dào chēn and Tōnglǐ. This set of ideas evolved along the lines of the Huáyán-Chán tradition and was influenced by Chinese Buddhist thought not contemporary to Xīxià, but by the heritage of the Huáyán-Chán tradition as it was understood in the Khitan state.

Both Tōnglǐ and Dào chēn were representatives of this tradition, sharing a common doctrinal background and scholarly attitudes. The understanding of Chán, or rather of the teaching of the “contemplation of the mind,” influenced by the doctrines presented by Dào chēn and Tōnglǐ, was later reproduced in some compilations which might be considered originally Tangut. Thus, the texts discovered at Khara-Khoto allow another glance both at Tangut and Liáo Buddhism itself and add more features to the general picture of the complicated Buddhist system which once existed in the Khitan state.

After the discovery of the *Jìngxīn lù* and the *Essence of the Mind* by Tōnglǐ, one might suggest that the picture of Chán once presented by Dào chēn in his *Xiǎnmì yuántōng chéngfó xīnyào jí* 顯密圓通成佛心要集 was not merely a scholastic device designed for the sake of symmetry between esoteric and

exoteric practices, but had some concrete references to the actual Buddhist practice in Liáo and Xìxià. The fact that the “tripod scheme” was not mentioned by Tōnglǐ provides grounds for speculating on the evolution and development of Chán Buddhism in the Liáo and further in Xìxià.

This version of Chán might be provisionally labelled as “Bodhidharma Chán,” or the “teaching of the Mind-ground,” or the “Southern School of the Mind-ground.” All these terms are attested in the Tangut texts.

Considering that very few texts, both in Chinese and Tangut, belonging to traditions other than Huáyán-Chán have survived in Khara-Khoto, one might even suggest that this school became synonymous with the “Chinese” Buddhism in Xìxià. And such an understanding of “Chinese” Buddhism in Xìxià was determined, not completely, but to a very substantial degree, not by the Chinese Buddhists themselves, but by Liáo Buddhist masters who adhered to the paradigm of the “One-mind” and the “Perfect Teaching.”

The choice of texts for translation into Tangut (including even the works of Zōngmì), as well as the extant Chinese texts available from Khara-Khoto (even if they date from the time following the fall of the Tangut state) demonstrate that Tangut Buddhists maintained the interest in Huáyán-Chán thought throughout the last period of Tangut history, thus upholding the Liáo Buddhist heritage. The transformative influence of Huáyán-Chán thought might be seen in the rewriting of the works introducing the Hóngzhōu Buddhism of Mǎzǔ Dàoyī, and in the Tangut version of Nányáng Huìzhōng’s collected sayings.

The above discussion is followed by the translation of two of Tōnglǐ’s works and a reproduction of the Khara-Khoto originals.⁴⁹

2 Part II: Khara-Khoto Texts of Tōnglǐ’s Works

The purpose of the following part is to provide the scholarly audience with edited versions of Tōnglǐ’s works and preliminary translations. In this research I limit myself to two of Tōnglǐ’s available works: *Admonition on Establishing the Will and Marking of the Mind* and the *Essence of the Mind*. Both texts are reproduced in their original form (in Chinese and in Tangut), the *Essence of the Mind* is also provided with the Chinese reconstruction of the parts where no parallel Chinese is available.

49 For the edition of Tōnglǐ’s *Inscription* I am obliged to Dr. Niè Hóngyīn 聶鴻音 who assisted me with punctuation matters; for the input of the Tangut texts, I would like to thank Wáng Péipéi 王培培 for her generous assistance. All mistakes are solely my responsibility.

2.1 *Tōnglǐ dàshī lìzhì míngxīn jiè*⁵⁰

The text reproduced below is based on the woodblock version from TK 134, where the text occupies pages 4–8 in the original pagination (1–9 in modern). This means that only one part of a larger collection of Tōnglǐ's works has survived.⁵¹ The final part of the text is reproduced on the basis of the manuscript copy from A-26 (*Tōnglǐ dàshī lìzhì míng, xìngzhǎi jiětuō sān zhìlǜ* 通理大師立志銘, 性海解脫三制律). The title of the composition differs in two texts: *Lìzhì míngxīn jiè* 立志銘心誠 in TK-134 and *Tōnglǐ dàshī lìzhì míng* 通理大師立志銘 in A-26.

The text features many variant characters current in the Liáo, and the majority of them were converted to standard forms, using references from the *Hànyǔ dàcídiǎn*, the *Yīqiè jīng yīnyì* 一切經音義 by Huìlín 慧琳, and the *Lóngkān shǒujìng* 龍龕手鏡. Variant characters are provided in the footnotes, whenever necessary.

The translation of the title of the text is somewhat difficult: the genre is defined as *jiè* 誡, which translates as “admonition.” The compound *lìzhì* 立志 (which I translate as “establishing the will”) is traceable to the *Awakening of Faith in Mahāyāna: lìzhì jiānqiáng, yuǎnlí qièruò* 立志堅強，遠離怯弱 (“to establish the firm will and overcome the cowardice”). As for *míngxīn* 銘心 “marking the mind,” this is a popular Buddhist expression. In this context, it is traceable to Chéngguān's explanation of the expression *míngxīn shūshén* 銘心書紳 (“mark the mind and inscribe the belt”).⁵² Thus, the full translation of the title is *Admonition on Establishing the Will and Marking of the Mind*.

In its present form, the text of Tōnglǐ's inscription is not found in any collection of Buddhist scriptures known to me. However, the final part of the text has been located in the Qīng Dynasty compilation *Qīngzhūjí* 清珠集 (*Collection*

50 立志銘心誠 (TK-134). The text is reproduced below. The text is thus incomplete, but the extant parts are printed clearly and partially punctuated by a contemporary reader. Wherever possible, I am following this original punctuation with several changes as to adjust the text to the modern rules of punctuation; in addition, the variant characters were changed to standard character forms.

51 For a reproduction of the *Xìngzhǎi jiětuō sān zhìlǜ* 性海解脫三制律 text, see *Ècáng Hēishuǐchéng wénxiàn* 俄藏黑水城文獻, Vol. 3: 166–170.

52 In fascicle 33 of the *Dà fāngguāng Fó Huáyán jīng suǐshū yǎnyì chāo* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 Chéngguān explains: 言“銘心”者，猶如刻銘，長記不滅。“‘Marking the mind’ means the same as to carve an inscription (*míng* 銘) so as to remember for long and not forget.” (T.36, no. 1736, p. 256a20). The idiom of “inscribing the belt” refers to Confucius' *Analects*. In Chéngguān's interpretation, those who “mark the mind” are the followers of Chán, whereas those who “inscribe the belts” are the followers of doctrinal Buddhism. Thus, the two dimensions of Buddhism are effectively congruent.

of the Pure Pearl)⁵³ by Zhìzhào 治兆. According to the Preface by Zhìzhào, his work is the collection of Chán and Pure Land texts dating from various times, collected by him during his monastic tenure and published in the 9th year of the Tóngzhì 同治 reign period (1871).⁵⁴ The paragraph in question entitled “Yuànqīn” 怨親⁵⁵ is a reproduction of a part of Tōnglǐ’s text. However, although Zhìzhào supplied an exhaustive list of the sources for his compilation, he does not provide exact indications on the provenance of each separate paragraph.

53 ZZ.62, no. 1192.

54 Ibid.: 492b6–24.

55 Ibid.: 502a13–b02.

TK-134

4a 立志銘心誠

通理大師製

夫上士者，不以世名是貴，但可道德為榮。其世名也，一時暫美，其道德也，萬古恒清。暫美則入輪迴於千劫，恒清乃超流轉於多生。超流轉則常

4b

樂之鄉易往，入輪迴乃苦惱之路難行。| 未曾有慼，無為而濟，不作而施，有力能恩，無思可議。蓋日月也，無有作者，無我無依，無屬無思，力成大事。無作大用，亦乃如斯，窮處窮時，無休無盡。於中求索，何作何依？

5a

不知何物，尋討無根，力成大事。然復遇緣施作，對物翻心，廓尔如空，隨根利物。於諸方內，在|眾時中，榮乃推他，辱應歸己，卑⁵⁶心如地，奉友如天。年耆臘宿者，為父為師；歲幼新學者，如朋如弟。顏無慍色，

56 Originally 卑.

Admonition on Establishing the Will and Marking of the Mind by Great Master Tōnglǐ 4a

The “great being”⁵⁷ does not treasure the worldly fame; the Way and the virtue are the only glory. The worldly fame is temporary beauty, which happens only once, while the Way and virtue remain eternally pure. Temporary beauty leads one to *samsāra* for thousand kalpas; eternal purity makes one transcend the wheel of transmigration for many lifetimes. When one transcends the wheel of transmigration, it is easy for him to reach the realm of permanence and bliss; when one enters *samsāra*, the way of suffering and affection is hard to traverse. | Without greed, [one] helps through non-action, makes donation without doing, has power for benevolence but no thoughts which can be expressed or discussed. Just as for the sun and moon, there is no one who acts, [there are] no self and no reliance, no attribution and no thoughts, and [their] power is able to accomplish the great deed. The great function of spontaneity [of the great person] is also like this: [it acts] at whatever time and whatever place, without being exhausted or interrupted. If one looks for it, what does it do, and what does it rely on? I do not know what it is, search for it but cannot find its root, [but this] power accomplishes the great deed. 4b

Encountering circumstances, [the great being] starts to act, adjusts the mind according to the [requirements of] the sentient beings, is vast as space and benefits the beings according to their capacities. In all the places and at all times, | when there is a [chance] for fame, the great being pushes others forward, and turns humiliation onto oneself. The mind of self-humiliation is as low as the earth but the great being elevates friends as high as the limit of the sky. The great being treats those of old age and long monastic tenure as fathers and teachers and treats those who are young and just started learning as his friends and younger brothers. One’s face never shows signs of wrath, and his speech is the sound of compassion, the ground of his mind (*yìdì* 意地) is clear and soft; the field of emotions (*qíngtián* 情田) is [full of] loyalty and caution. The great being does not feel happy when glorified, nor is upset when humiliated. When there is merit, the great being recommends others [for reward], when there is transgression, takes the blame on oneself. He conceals the misdoings of others but does not hide his own faults. When he is promoted, he does not keep 5a

57 *Dàshì* 大士: Skr. *mahāsattva*.

- 語必慈音，意地明柔，情田忠慎。遇榮不喜，奉辱無憂，功必推人，罪當責己。他愆⁵⁸須掩，己過勿藏，位不自居，能不自伐。賢必為友，惡不為朋，不黨其親，不|欺有德。益人之事，誓必當行，危人之心，誓必當斷。願聞忠語，不納諂言，不受人惑，不掩人善。行不失信，住必依賢。恒察私心，不欺暗室，明天常照，隱罪難藏，邪欲纔生，鬼神先覺。心容不背，言行相符，作事防心，審思開口。虛詞不發，實語方陳；有益之事則談，無|益之言不說。但論道德，防禁是非，見諍必和，奉危須救。謗聲遮止美譽同揚，不念人愆，惟思人德。宿恩常憶，舊過莫追。怨⁵⁹不思讎，恩常加報。不念其失，但見其能，則天下皆親，天下皆德矣。而復處下不恥，位高不矜。贊⁶⁰恩不應輕，施恩不應付，⁶¹言動須慎。衣食勿|奢，居盛念衰，逢高思墜。悟一深理，嗟彼迷夫，得片名衣，愍其裸者。居松堂之下，念菰舍之中，獲溫室之安，

58 Originally 憊.

59 Originally 怨.

60 Originally 賁.

61 Originally 恃.

the position for himself, when he is able to accomplish something, he does not praise himself.⁶²

Meeting a sage, the great being befriends him, if meeting an evil person, the great being does not make friends with him. The great being does not establish a clique with the relatives and does | not deceive the virtuous. The great being takes a vow to perform deeds which benefit the people, and vows to cut off the intentions which could harm them. One is willing to listen to the speeches of the loyal but does not succumb to flattery. The great being does not accept the delusions of the people and does not conceal the virtues of others. In what one does, one never loses trust, and wherever he dwells he always relies on the wise. 5b

The great being always examines his own intentions and does not deceptively hide [them] as if in a dark chamber. The clear Heaven shines permanently, so the secret crimes are hard to conceal; as soon as evil desires arise, the ghosts and spirits are the first to know about them. For the great being's intentions and appearance do not contradict each other, [thus] what he says matches his deeds, [therefore] when doing something he acts with caution and speaks only after careful thinking. One does not utter empty words and speaks only what is true; when there is something beneficial, one talks about it, but never pronounces | useless words. The great being only talks about the Way and virtue, and refrains from establishing right and wrong; when one encounters a quarrel or a debate, one brings it to harmony; seeing danger one always saves [the endangered]. The great being stops calumny but praises the good fame; never remembers people's transgressions, but only thinks about their virtue; always remembers past good, but does not pursue old crimes; being abused one does not think about revenge, when good is done, the great being always rewards graciously. The great being does not think about the deficiencies of others, but only sees their abilities, so everyone under Heaven is like a relative and everyone under Heaven is virtuous [for him]. Again, the great being does not feel ashamed living in an inferior place, nor does he become arrogant been promoted to a higher status; in praising the grace one should not be negligent, in doing good one should not be reserved and careful in one's speech and deeds. 6a

The great being does not exceedingly indulge in [the pleasures] of | food and clothing; when one enjoys prosperity, one also should be aware of decline, when one is in a high position, one should be concerned with degradation. When one understands the profound truth, one regrets the delusion of others; when one gets fine garment, one is sorry for those who are naked. When one lives in a hall built of pinewood, one thinks of those who dwell in the pump- 6b

62 Allusion to *Lǎozǐ*: *bù zì fá gù yǒu gōng* 不自伐故有功.

憶眠霜之苦。身當富有，須思貧逼之人；口受瓊羞，必念餒乏之侶。得利防害，居安慮危。善不可不修，過不可不改，禍患過為本，福德善為根。福不可常依，^{7a} 無善則其福滅；禍不可常生，改過則其禍歇。或進或退，言動以和柔；居下居高，施為勿剛刺。為卑盡敬，在上竭慈，但進賢能，勿入人罪。以靈敬士，勿兒觀人，他以怨來，己須親應。人形毒害，自必恩加，人盡成剛，己心為水。人欲強者，便推為強，^{7b} 人欲高者，便推為高。動靜恒柔，方圓任器，豈有違順憎愛於其間哉？若遇含毒之輩，哀彼迷牽；忽逢危難之緣，知身罪得。於含毒之者，報之以恩：⁶³ “我昔惱君，君今怒我。我之宿罪，縱使殺身，亦合甘心，而況怒矣？”直饒有人，前世無罪，今輒怨憎，橫見欺陵，枉遭謗辱，應當思忖：^{8a} “彼有智耶？彼無智耶？彼有智者，欲令成就忍波羅密，是我恩師，云何遭遇？但應仰報，豈敢懷違？若無智者，乃是悲田，如母聞子返罵之時，母轉歡心，但更撫摩，曾何(=無)慍色。愍(=憐)其癡小，惟與

⁶³ See the discussion above. 他以怨來，己須親應。於含毒者，報之以恩。應作是觀：“我昔惱君，君今怒我。我之宿罪，縱使殺身，亦合甘心，而敢怒耶？”假饒前世無罪，今輒怨憎，橫見欺陵，應當思忖：“彼有智耶，彼無智耶？彼有智者，欲令成就忍波羅密，是我恩師，何遭遇，但應仰報，豈敢懷違。若無智者，乃是悲田，如母聞子返罵之時，母轉歡心，但更撫摩，曾無慍色。憐其癡小，唯與深恩。今亦如斯。彼蓋煩惱內攻，迷魔密使，性狂未歇，力不自由。以此悲心，但垂拔救，合念咎思以為鑑，若起違心，與癡何異。”

kin shells; when one is safe in a warm house, one remembers those who suffer sleeping in the cold. When one is rich, one should be concerned about those who are poor and in need; while consuming precious [food] donations, one should be thinking about the starving monks. Attaining benefit, one should prevent harm; being in safety, one should think about danger.

It is impossible not to practice good and it is impossible not to remedy the faults. Misfortune has its roots in faults, whereas the good is the foundation of happiness. Happiness cannot be relied upon for all time, | for if there is no good, 7a
then happiness comes to an end. Misfortune is also impermanent, for when the fault is corrected, misfortune exhausts itself. When coming in or out, the deeds and speech should be harmonious and soft, regardless of dwelling high or low, in one's doings one should not pierce [others] with steel.

Those who are inferior should be treated with superior dignity, those above with utmost compassion; one should only welcome the wise and the able, and never let in criminals. Respect the people according to their spirit and do not judge them by their appearance; when others come with abuses, respond to them with love; if others intend to harm with poison, one protects oneself with benevolence; when others become like steel, one always makes one's mind [as soft] as water. If people seek for the strong, one introduces them to the strong; if people seek for those of | high standing, one introduces them to 7b
those of high standing. One always remains calm in movement and in stillness, becomes round or square [like water which] adjusts to the shape of the vessel; [if one does so] how can then harmony and disagreement, love and hate appear?

If the great being meets someone, who is full of poison, he regrets for being driven by delusion; when one encounters a dangerous situation, one realizes that it is his own fault. [Seeing] one who intends harm, one rewards him with benevolence: "Long ago I have disturbed you, and today you are angry with me. Even if I am killed today, I gladly accept it, then why even mention wrath?" Even if there is someone whom one did not abuse previously, but who has now developed hatred, so that on the one hand one is slandered, and on the other hand humiliated, one must think in the following way: | "Is this person wise? 8a
Or is this person not wise? If wise, then this person wants me to achieve *kṣānti pāramitā* (i.e., the perfection of forbearance), he/she is my benevolent master, why did I meet him/ her? I have to welcome him/her with respect, how dare I doubt or contradict this person? If this person is not wise, then this is my field of compassion. Just like a mother hearing her child curse, develops a loving mind and soothes her child's hair. Does she show any sign of wrath? She is only anxious that the child is small and stupid and treats it with deep benevolence. In the same way as above, [this evil person] is attacked by affections from the

8b 深恩。前亦如斯，彼蓋煩惱內攻，迷魔密使，性狂未歇，⁶⁴ 力不自由。以
 9a 此悲心，但垂拔 (Continued from A-26, pagination continued, |) 濟，豈合念
 9b 咎，思欲心讎？若起違心，| 與癡何異？”若逢危難，慧眼當開，誰自誰他？
 何人何物？是危難耶？非危難耶？危於何人，難於何物？難在何方？危歸
 何所？是何夢影，幻焰⁶⁵ 空花，誑惑愚夫，谷響徒喧，三輪虛眩，是何恍
 惚？生死漚散，水本澄然；天|地崩摧，空元湛尔，狀名莫擬，危難何聲？
 水聒山嶠，風吟谷口，其誰能識而可驚哉？尅志當行，誓無違矣。
 立志銘心誠竟

64 Originally 性未狂歇.

65 Originally 焰.

inside, the devil of delusion and his secret messengers⁶⁶ make his nature crazy and restless, his power does not come from himself. (i.e. he cannot control himself). Through this compassionate mind, | I have to save and deliver this one. Is it appropriate to think about one's crimes and desire for revenge? If I think of confronting this person, how is it different from stupidity?" | 8b
9a

When one encounters danger, [one] opens the eye of wisdom: "Who am I? And who is the other? What is a person? And what is a thing? Is it dangerous or is it not dangerous? Danger from whom, and difficulty from what? Where did the difficulty originate from? And what does the danger lead to?"⁶⁷ It is a "dream shadow." Flames of illusion and flowers in emptiness mislead the simpleminded and throw them into delusion, the echo resonates in the gorges, the three wheels are empty and false [like dizziness in the eyes]. What kind of confusion is that? Life and death spread as bubbles on the water, but the water is originally pure; | Heaven and earth split and collapse, but the original emptiness⁶⁸ remains clear. Its name and form cannot be distinguished, what is the sound of danger? The water roars in the mountain streams, the wind is whistling in the gorges—who is the one who knows it and yet is startled? One must adhere firmly to his will and follow it, and vow to never abandon [this intention]. 9b

Admonition on Establishing the Will and Marking of the Mind

End.

66 Original: *mǐmó mìshǐ* 迷魔密使. *Mishǐ* can be literally translated as "rule secretly."

67 Lit.: 危歸何所 "Where it returns to?".

68 *Kōngyuán* 空元.

2.2 *The Essence of the Complete and Luminous Mind According to the Teaching of the Supreme One-Vehicle*

The Tangut text is based on the woodblock edition, which is slightly damaged by fire, as one can see from the attached images. The encircled Tangut characters are tentatively reconstructed by me depending on the context. Other than that, the original text is well preserved. The Chinese text follows the fragments of the Chinese text A-6V from P.K. Kozlov's holdings, whenever available. The extant Chinese covers less than one third of the Tangut text, thus the Chinese text after page 4b is my Chinese transcription of the Tangut. The Chinese text features the following editorial marks: "+" marks "addition," "dot" marks "deletion," "~" marks "reverse reading;" these are referred to in the footnotes. The Tangut woodblock printed text is clear and free from editorial marks. The squares represent the damaged characters, or the ones which I was not able to discern; the encircled graphs are the ones added by me on the basis of either the Chinese text or of the general context.

In transcribing the Tangut through Chinese, I used the following method: many Tangut graphs, representing auxiliary words, prefixes, suffixes, markers of verb agreement do not have independent meanings, but modify the relevant main words (verbs and nouns). For the sake of completeness of transcription, I have chosen to reproduce them depending on the context. Encircled graphs are added by me following the context.

𐰇 causative marker = *lìng* 令

𐰇 first person singular verb agreement = *wǒ* 我

𐰇 verb prefix, in the text is homonym, interrogative marker occurs more often = *hū* 乎

𐰇 interrogative marker = *hū* 乎 (although the two are rendered by one Chinese graph, the meaning and syntactic roles of the two are different)

𐰇 interrogative marker = *qǐ* 岂

𐰇, 𐰇 are both rendered = *suǒ* 所, adverbial marker

𐰇 depending on context is rendered = *suǒ* 所 (nominalizer) or *dāng* 當 with modal meaning

𐰇 directional/ locative postposition = *yú* 於

𐰇 temporal/ spatial postposition = *zhōng* 中

Specifics are referred to in the footnotes.

Tangut: Tang 283 #2848

順發利源能務綽綽

嫪毐散夥 嗣嗣

Chinese: A-6V and transcription by myself

究竟一乘圓通心要

通理大師集

- [illegible]

69 Tangut normally 𐞗 translates as *wéi* 唯. In our text the usage is as of a part of a composite predicate 𐞗𐞙, *jíshì* 即是.

70 Character marked with “+” in the original, indicates deletion.

*The Essence of the Complete and Luminous Mind According to the Teaching of the Supreme One-Vehicle.*⁷¹ 1a

Collected by the Great Master Tōnglǐ

The Buddha-nature is the luminous mind of Enlightenment of the practitioners.⁷² Look for it inside and outside, search □ for it in the ten directions; [you] will not see its root. [It] does not have real characteristics or form.⁷³ It is dark and obscure⁷⁴ and difficult to know or express; it is bright and luminous,⁷⁵ and [it] can hear and see. It is thus called the “nature of awakening.”⁷⁶ Now, [those of] the six paths are [erroneously] attached to [their] dreamlike body.⁷⁷ [They are] deluded about their own awakening and submerged in the sea of suffering. This body of illusory characteristics is a conventional⁷⁸ combination of the “Four Great” (i.e., four elements) and does not possess the true thing (i.e., existence),⁷⁹ its smallest roots are dust.⁸⁰ Where is its self-substance? Search [for it], | this nature will become divided and destroyed, and everything in it will be emptiness. While there is not even dust, how can “a person” exist?⁸¹ 1b

71 In the translation I provide only Chinese and Tangut equivalents of the crucial terms. The sūtra quotations are provided in their original form in the notes to the Tangut text. The translation here basically follows the Tangut text. The original text is slightly damaged, “□” marks missing graphs.

72 Note the difference between Tangut 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 (明覺心) and Ch. 明靈心.

73 The Tangut text often features compound 形相.

74 Ch. 黑黑昧昧, Tg. 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏.

75 Translated according to the Chinese text.

76 Ch. 菩提性, Tg. 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏.

77 Translated according to the Chinese text.

78 Added according to the Chinese text. Tangut for “conventional” (*jiǎ* 假) is 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏.

79 Ch. 實事, Tg. 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 is used to render Chinese 實是.

80 Compare Ch. 細粉為塵 with Tg. 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 (細根成塵).

81 Note that the Tangut text is a rendering here, rather than an actual literal translation of the Chinese text. Tg. 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 (此皆成空) is not an adequate translation of the Chinese 分析成空 (“the analysis will produce emptiness”). The Tangut uses concessive structure with 𐰇𐰺𐰍𐰏 “although.”

Furthermore, [if one] searches within this own body,⁹³ □□□ there is only dust, and the [substance of the body] cannot be obtained. [From] hearing, seeing, knowledge and understanding⁹⁴ up to attaining emptiness, the traces⁹⁵ of the luminous mind are nowhere to be found. If the practitioners contemplate the body according to this, [then] there will be no “person;” [if they] contemplate the mind [according to this], there will be no external objects. If it is like that, how can there be a “self” (lit. “I”)? Who is [the one] receiving suffering and joy, what is it which emerges and perishes? If this is like that, [“the nature”] is like space (虛空, Skr. *ākāśa*), there is neither coming nor leaving,⁹⁶ neither this nor that. [What] the practitioners realize is also not [actual] space, for space can be imagined,⁹⁷ while this luminous mind of enlightenment cannot be obtained through examination. Emptiness does not have characteristics; how can it be cognized?

Absence might be negated, however, absence is also not absent.⁹⁸ If [there is] “true absence,” | then who is the one understanding absence? Although there is no absence of understanding and absence is itself absent, what is then left to say about existence/presence? [One can] understand presence, [one can] understand absence, but understanding [itself] is neither present nor absent; again, understanding is not understanding; it is the great inconceivable, who dares to talk about it? The *Avatamsaka sūtra* says: “Like emptiness, without foundation.” It also says: “Empty nature is itself Buddha. It cannot be obtained

2a

93 Added according to the Chinese text.

94 Ch. 聞見知覺, Tg. 覈覈𪛗𪛗. Sometimes further in the text translation is reduced to “understanding.”

95 Added according to the Chinese text.

96 Ch. 無往無來.

97 Tg. 𪛗 “think.”

98 The Tangut and Chinese versions do not fully match: Tg. 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗, 𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗. (無或非也, 無亦非無, meaning: “Absence is negation, absence is also not absent”). Cf. Ch. 莫不是無亦非是 (“it might be so that absence is negated”). The translation follows the Tangut version. Chinese *mò bù shì* 莫不是 expressed through Tangut 𪛗, implying alternative.

through reason and measuring.” If that is so, then the bonds of the three worlds, net of affections of birth and death, taint of the six types of dust, the wind of the eight objects,¹⁰⁹ coming and leaving in life and death, can they really be obtained?¹¹⁰ Therefore pure *nirvāṇa* is permanent and blissful. If [you] can understand it this way, then, at all times, there will be nothing [which will] not be accomplished through non-action.

Compare it to seeing the material form: Who is that seer? [You] look for seeing, | [and find out that] all the characteristics [of the seer] are absent, it is not conditioned by the mind, and cannot be expressed by words, [and yet] the form is vividly seen. [We do not know who that seer is], it is unconceivable, for it is said: “There is no seeing, thus [one yet] is able to see.” Like space, which does not have the characteristic of space, this is seeing [through] non-action, seeing [through] Buddha-dharma. This “seeing of the objects” originally has no characteristics; searching inside or outside—there is nothing to be obtained.

Speaking about seeing with the eyes: then [imagine] today a person: when he opens his eyes while he is asleep, he does not see these material objects. When [someone] approaches the end of his life, although his eyes are open, [he] is not be able to see objects. Compare it with [somebody] deeply [immersed] in thought about something [important]: his eyes are open and there is a person opposite him,¹¹¹ but he cannot see [that person], there is sound in the ears, but [he] cannot hear it. As soon as [his] thought on [this other matter] has ceased, then [there is again] hearing and seeing. | One must know: all these sense organs are merely gates.

109 Objects of the eight types of consciousness and six sensual objects.

110 Tangut deviates from Chinese: 三界可纏，輪迴能轉 (“That in three worlds which can bind, that in the *saṃsāra* which can transform”) are translated into Tangut as nominal sentences. The missing parts of Tangut are based on Chinese in the translation.

111 The Tangut is not very clear here, and the passages is translated according to the Chinese.

Although seeing is seeing through the mind, if the mind does not see, the sense organ is not able to see, either. For example, a man lives in a house, and when [he] opens the doors and windows, the external objects become visible. It is only the man [who] sees, and not as if the doors and windows were able to see by themselves. If a man does not see, even if the windows and doors are open, [they] neither can see nor discriminate anything. This means [exactly] the same: seeing is seeing [through] the mind, the idea that if the mind does not see, [the sense organs] are able to see is wrong. The practitioners then should not contemplate the six sense organs, [they should] directly contemplate the nature. [The nature] is truly inconceivable: [if] you wish to talk about its form, it cannot be explained through words; if you wish to think about its appearance, spiritual¹²² light disappears by itself. As it is said in all the texts, in the reality of *dharmadhātu*, *bodhi* and *nirvāṇa* | the way of words ceases, and the path of thought is transcended. 3b

Now, [if one wishes] to see this nature, five eyes¹²³ will not grasp its characteristic, two ears will not hear its sound. If it is not the true reality, then what dharma is it? If [you] understand this, and contemplate all the sentient beings in the Dharma realm, [you will see that] among the sentient beings there is not even one who is not liberated, not one who is not pure, [they] are all true reality and are all *nirvāṇa*. The *Avataṃsaka sūtra* says: “When the Tathāgata accomplished the true awakening, in his body he saw that all the sentient beings have [already] entered *nirvāṇa*. All of them are of one and the same nature and therefore are of no nature.” In the *Treatise of the Horse Voice*¹²⁴ it is said: “All the sentient beings abide in permanence and have entered *nirvāṇa*. The ‘Dharma of Awakening’ cannot be practiced through characteristics

122 Added according to the Chinese text.

123 The “flesh eye,” “the divine eye,” “the eye of wisdom,” “the eye of Dharma,” “the eye of Buddha.”

124 Ch. *Mǎmíng lùn* 馬鳴論, i.e., the *Dàshèng qǐxìn lùn* 大乘起信論; Tg. 發龍鬚.

and | cannot be achieved through characteristics; and it is ultimate non-attainment.”¹³⁸ Therefore, [one] must know that [the sentient beings] are initially pure, and are in disorder due to the defilements. If [one] contemplates the nature of hearing, seeing and understanding, then [it is] bright and luminous and does not have a single characteristic, initially there is nothing which can be obtained through knowledge or expressed through words. From the great enlightenment above, to the ants¹³⁹ below, [if things are to be] examined in detail, there are no forms and characteristics; then how does the attachment to the discriminating differences [emerge]? This nature of bright enlightenment cannot be obtained and cannot be [identified as] existing, it is of one and the same nature, or [that is] to say: “of no nature.” In the *Avataṃsaka* it is said: “[...] are of one and the same nature and therefore of no nature.” [When] it is said: “the luminous nature exists,” how can it be imagined? If [you] can understand the nature of mind, then, when [you] are looking at form, | who is the seer? If it is all like the space, when saying “who is this,” what is the use of discrimination? In this seeing there are no self and no man, neither that nor this, there is no birth and no extinction, no leaving and no return. There is nothing to be conceived through the mind and nothing to be expressed through words. [If one] sees and hears, and understands in this way, [one has] to revere in this way, to praise in this way, venerate in this way, read mantras in this way, promote

¹³⁸ Cf.: 一切眾生常住入涅槃，普提之法，非可修相，非可作相，畢竟無得。

¹³⁹ Tg. 𧈧𧈧 (螞蟻 ‘ants’), cf. Ch. 含靈 (‘animated beings’).

如此讀持，如此令¹⁴⁰興三寶，如此救治有情，如此慈孝，如此正真，如此斷治，如此渡苦，如此救禍，如此授樂，如此令安，如此施戒忍精定慧，八萬四千波羅蜜海，無量願海，

5a 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤¹⁴¹ 𐰽，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。
𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤? 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。
𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤? 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。
𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。
𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。

5a 無盡法海，無邊功海，以此如行，以此如滿，以此如明，圓明正全。此知者誰？行不有為，空不無為。萬德光明，普及最上，大知無說，豈不安也？今真如佛性，清靜法身，一大法界，皆是虛名。豈有所謂¹⁴³人身以外，有異如來可證？今修者聞見知覺，本性清靜，凡無生滅，非性非相，萬德圓明，唯是一性，本不思議。隨其六根，分成諸識，即是真覺。

5b 𐰽。《𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤》𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤：“𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤¹⁴⁴ 𐰽。𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤¹⁴⁵ 𐰽，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。
𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，¹⁴⁶ 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。
𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。¹⁴⁷ 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。
𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，¹⁴⁸ 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤，𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。
𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤。𐰽

140 To maintain original meter, I have preserved *ling* 令, the Chinese rendering of the causative verb suffix 𐰽.

141 Throughout this paragraph, I have preserved the Tangut 𐰽, instrumental case marker (Chinese 以).

142 Tangut 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤 seems to be a literal translation of the Chinese *suǒwèi* 所謂.

143 Here I translate the quotation markers.

144 According to the Chinese text, Tangut 𐰽 (“string, rope”) represents Chinese *jīchōu* 機抽, “pulling spring.” Tangut 𐰽 as a marker of causation “because.”

145 Tangut 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰆𐰏𐰤 (“accordingly”, “thus”) is normally found in the beginning of the sentence, where it indicates that the previous clause is nominalized and the following clause is its result; here this conjunction/ causative conjunction is in the middle of a clause, which is rarely observed.

146 The Chinese original probably used a compound predicate *fēnchéng* 分成: *因一明識，六和合分成 (as in the quotation below). Tangut apparently divided the predicate into two independent verbs and assigned different subjects.

147 Cf.: 《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》: 如世巧幻師，幻作諸男女，雖見諸根，動要以一機抽，息機歸寂然，諸幻成無性，六根亦如是，元依一精明，分成六和合，一處成休復，六用皆不成。塵垢應念銷，成圓明淨妙，餘塵尚諸學，明極即如來。(T.19, no. 945: 131a27–b4).

148 Quotation marker. Translated literally as *shuō* 說.

the prosperity of the Three Gems (i.e., Buddha, Dharma, Sangha) in this way, save and protect sentient beings in this way, be benevolent and pious in this way, be upright in this way, heal and cut [delusions] in this way, deliver from suffering in this way, save from the evil in this way, give joy in this way, pacify in this way, and [exercise the Six Perfections of] generosity, precepts, forbearance, zeal, contemplation and wisdom. [Then] the sea of eighty-four thousand *pāramitās*, the immeasurable sea of vows, | the inextinguishable sea of Dharma, the limitless sea of merit will through this be accomplished. Through this, all will be bright, perfect, luminous and full of merit. Who is the [one who] knows? 5a

Practices do not imply action, and emptiness does not exclude action. The ten thousand merits are bright and reach the ultimate top, the great knowledge has no words; is it not tranquility? Now, the Buddha-nature of the true reality, the pure Dharma-body, one great Dharmadhātu; all those are conventional names. Is there such a thing, as when it is said that outside the human body there is another Tathāgata to be obtained? Now, for the practitioners the original nature of their hearing, seeing and understanding is initially pure, [that it] neither possesses birth nor extinction; it is neither nature nor characteristics, [its] ten thousand merits are complete and bright, and is the one-nature, initially inconceivable and inexpressible. The [forms of] consciousness arise separately following the [actions] of the six [sense] organs, which is the true awakening. | 5b

The *Śūraṅgama sūtra* says: “Imagine a sorcerer in the world who creates illusory [images] of men and women. The sense organs perceive them and move, but it is all because of the string [attached] inside. When it is pulled out, the [figures] stop and illusions appear to be without nature. The sense organs are like that, too: depending on the division of the one enlightened consciousness, there emerges the combination of six. [When] the single one (enlightened consciousness) calms and stops, the other six do not emerge. Depending on the extinction of the thoughts of dust and dirt, the perfectly bright miraculous purity is established. Those for whom the objects (dust) persist, are the various categories of those who still have to study, ultimate enlightenment is the Tathāgata.”

Only because of the attachment of the sentient beings arises [the concept] of self, and [the sentient beings] abide in the ultimate illusion of the material body. When it is said, that in this body there are movement, birth and extinction, leaving and coming back, and forms of consciousness; this is only because [the sentient beings] do not know that [they] are the sea of the Womb of the

Tathāgata and the pure Dharma-body. | If [one] investigates, then [there is] the 6a
 body inside and the world outside. Are there things to see? Seeing itself does
 not see, so what is this Dharma? Following this, [one] understands that in birth
 and extinction, leaving and coming back and [in] this movement there is noth-
 ing to be obtained. *The Sūtra on the Contemplation of the Mind-ground* says:
 “Good men, teachings of the mind and the dharmas related to the mind should
 be like this: there is neither inside nor outside, the middle is also non-existent.
 Among the dharmas [the mind] cannot be obtained, it cannot be found neither
 in the past nor in the present, it exceeds the three worlds and is neither present
 nor absent.” Again, the *Treatise of the Horse Voice* says: “Mind does not see the
 mind; there are no characteristics and no attainment.” And again, in this trea-
 tise it is said: “The mind does neither have form nor characteristics; looking in 6b
 the ten directions, there is no way to obtain it.” If the practitioners | are able to
 understand this, they will know that initially *saṃsāra* neither has [the feature
 of] “birth” nor “extinction.” If [one] thus knows, that initially there is no-mind,
 then through what does the mind emerge? *The Sūtra on the Contemplation of
 the Mind-Ground* says: “The inner nature to be obtained; external character-
 istics of these dharmas cannot be obtained; there is nothing to be obtained in
 the middle of these dharmas. The dharma of the mind initially abides nowhere;

the dharma of the mind initially does not have form or characteristics. While even all the Tathāgatas do not see the mind, what is there to say about other people, who do not see the dharma of mind?" Therefore, [one] has to know, the dharma of the mind is initially empty by nature and cannot be obtained. If this is thus [understood], it is called "no-mind." In the *Notes on the Wall* by the great master Bodhidharma¹⁵⁸ it is said: "If there is the mind, | then during many kalpas [one remains] submerged among the ordinary people, if there is no-mind, then within an instance [one] will realize the true enlightenment."¹⁵⁹ Again, the *gāthā* in the *Sūtra on the Contemplation of the Mind-ground* says: "Thus, the nature of mind is originally non-existent, since the sentient beings cling to delusions, [it] is not absent. If one contemplates the mind [in this way], the substance and nature [of mind] will be empty and delusions and afflictions will not arise: this is liberation." This is the Dharma-body of the king of emptiness.

7a

There are no Buddha merits which are not complete, the enlightenment is clear and apparent. Although there is nothing to be obtained, yet the words [which one] is able to speak, and whatever actions one performs: moving of the eyebrows, veneration, following the way of reciting sūtras and adhering to the scriptures, propagating the three Gems, establishing (embellishing) the land, being benevolent □ to the people and creating benefit for the sentient beings, delivering [them] from evil and saving [them] from disaster, giving them joy and tranquility, awakening the knowledge of following the true [way] of filial

¹⁵⁸ Possibly *Notes on the Bodhidharma's Wall*.

¹⁵⁹ This text is unidentified; the quotation is not located in any other source.

piety, establishing compassion | and preaching the Dharma [in order] to resolve 7b
the illusions and transfer the sentient beings [to the other shore], [also] giving,
precepts, endurance, zeal, concentration and wisdom, the four collections,¹⁶¹
ten thousand practices, compassion and joyful giving, the four thoughts,¹⁶² the
four types of diligence,¹⁶³ the four divine feet,¹⁶⁴ five roots and five powers,¹⁶⁵
seven [components of] enlightenment and eight[fold] path,¹⁶⁶ the limitless
sea of actions, inexhaustible sea of vows, immeasurable sea of Dharma, inex-
haustible sea of merit, sea of all wisdom, gift of eloquence and spiritual powers,
the bright auspicious signs—all this can be achieved following the transforma-
tion of this Buddha-nature of bright enlightenment. Thus emerged the name
of merits of nature, [which are] as many as [the sands of] the Ganges.

If there is no self-nature, then words and practices, and all the seas of merit
are non-existent. The merits of nature, [as numerous] as the sands of the
Ganges, are complete and [yet] have no characteristics, and cannot be grasped.
[The nature] is like a mirror, which can reflect green and yellow, although its
nature is neither green nor yellow. | The Buddha-nature of the bright enlight- 8a
enment is likewise: the substance and nature¹⁶⁷ are not the sound, [although]
there is no sound, yet the echo arises. The substance and nature are not the
form, [although] there is no form, yet an image appears. As in the case of
a painter (writer)—the mind does not paint, and yet can produce ten thou-
sand images. It is [also] like a poet: the mind is not a verse, and yet the words
become poetic works without exhaustion, and [we] do not know where [they]
come from. [We] do not know how these books of verses emerged. Ink, brush
and paper initially do not contain any verses; [you] deeply search outside and
inside, in the eyes, hands, face or mouth or in any other of the five groups of
internal organs, there is nothing to be really found. [You] search the ten thou-
sand images and the entire space in [great] detail—[still] there is nothing.
[The verses] are produced by the mind only, and really there is nothing to be
obtained. The mind does neither have form nor characteristics, it is like the
emptiness of space, [which] manifests itself through the absence of character-

161 Ch. 四攝, Tg. 網羅. I.e. “collection of giving,” “benevolent speech,” “benevolent action,” and “adoptive actions.”

162 Ch. 四念, Tg. 網羅. Probably the “four points of mindfulness.”

163 Ch. 四精, Tg. 網羅. No definite Chinese correspondence.

164 Ch. 四神足, Tg. 網羅. Probably four types of “divine feet” as discussed in the *Āgamas*.

165 Ch. 五根五力, Tg. 網羅. Five roots: root of faith, root of zeal, root of mindfulness, root of contemplation, root of wisdom; five supernatural powers.

166 Ch. 七覺八道, Tg. 網羅. Seven components of enlightenment and the eightfold noble path.

167 Ch. 體性, Tg. 網羅.

istics. [It is] the great inconceivable; look for it outside and inside, | the mind 8b
 which creates verses originally has neither form nor characteristics, is neither
 old nor young, neither big nor small, neither good nor evil, neither male nor
 female, has neither eyes nor ears, no nose, tongue or body, is neither form nor
 sound, it is not the smell, taste or feeling, not this and not that, does not leave
 and does not return, and its nature cannot be obtained. The way of language is
 cut off; the workings of mind come to extinction.

Investigate it yourself—who is the poet? The nature exceeds space, if the
 mind does not arise, where do the delusive thoughts come from? [One] is
 attached to oneself and the other, and thus is submerged [in attachment] to
 the illusory body. [One] has illusion about [one's] nature, and therefore is cap-
 tured by the wheel of birth and death, [where] the suffering and defilements
 never end, and leaving and coming back never cease. [Those who] submerge in
 the sea of delusion and suffering [while their] original nature is liberated, are
 truly worthy of compassion. | Thus, all the sentient beings assume the name 9a
 of the sentient beings.¹⁷¹ This is the space-like pure Dharma-body of Buddha
 nature.

Every fly and every ant—there is nobody, [who] does not have the nature
 of enlightenment. If there is no nature, how [could one] hear sound and see?
 There is the nature of enlightenment, thus there can be knowledge and under-
 standing. This is why the sentient beings initially are Buddhas. It is said: “[Those
 who] do not know themselves, are called Buddhas when they realize [their]
 own one-nature.” If [you] are mistaken about your own one-nature, [you will
 dwell in] the five paths and in the wheel of rebirth. Thus, the *Sūtra of Non-*
increasing and Non-decreasing says: “The Dharma-body transforming along the
 five paths is called ‘sentient beings.’”¹⁷² If [one] is mistaken about one's own
 one-nature, then there is *samsāra*. If there is no nature, who is the one who
 transforms? This is the nature of transformation being one's own Dharma-

171 The translation here is tentative: the Tangut text uses here two different compounds, both
 meaning “sentient beings” (*zhòngshēng* 眾生; Tg. 羣衆; 羣衆). One of the solutions might
 be the suggestion that Tangut 羣 is used here by mistake for 羣 (Ch. *wù* 悟), which will turn
 the whole composite into “bodhisattva,” thus complying with the tenor of the phrase.

172 This is a famous saying, but I was not able to identify it in its present form: 法身五道流
 轉，名為眾生.

body. | Only in this sūtra it is said: “The nature is the Buddha; the nature is the Dharma-body.” One does not realize it [since he] is deluded about [his] own mind. 9b

Further, in the *Directions*¹⁸¹ it is said: “The sentient beings [which] boil [like water] all possess Buddha-nature. [Among those] nine [forms of existence]: born in water, domestic animals, people, wild birds and animals, [the beings] of four types of birth—who is devoid of nature? Who does not have Buddha-nature and who is not the Dharma-body? [One] must know—there is no one who is not Buddha.” Again, the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* says: “Wonderful! Wonderful! I have seen, that all sentient beings are Tathāgatas and not different from the Buddha. Why do they not see it?” And again, the *Lotus sūtra* says: “The Tathāgata appeared in the world to explain one thing: that the sentient beings all have in their bodies the knowledge and understanding of the bright enlightenment and are the Buddhas.” | [The Buddha] thus appeared in the world and made the parable of a treasure [which indicates] the self-nature in order to promote knowledge and understanding. [He made the] parable of a poor person, [who] hides a precious pearl in his clothes, [but] does not realize that. [He] goes begging, is harassed by various [wild] beasts, works and suffers in vain. And then [this] person meets a benevolent friend, who explains to him about the pearl of nature in his clothes. [This] person originally was under illusion and did not realize that. The sentient beings are just like that—in [their] bodies there is the shining light of the Dharma-body, the light of consciousnesses of the six paths does not have form or characteristics; [they] see form and hear sound, perceive smell and feel the taste, receive sensation and love the objects. [All this] and other inexhaustible actions initially do not emerge and do not come to extinction, the self-nature is pure, [it] exceeds the measure of space and overcomes the light of sun and moon. 10a

181 Ch. 詔(聖教), Tg. 續; this character is used to introduce a quotation from an unspecified source.

Imagine a man sitting in the blackness of night, with [his] eyes closed,¹⁸⁹ and | [his] consciousness calm. The ten thousand forms are seen distinctly, and rivers and mountains are clear and vivid. This is like a mirror manifesting the images or the “ocean seal.” Night cannot be black, eyes cannot be shut, [the nature of mind] [covers] a thousand miles in a moment, departing and returning without leaving any traces, and one thought¹⁹⁰ embraces everything. Leaving and returning exceed the characteristics, [the nature of mind] does not sink in the water and does not burn in the fire. From top to bottom, ten thousand transformations neither have form nor characteristics, [the mind] is neither born nor is it getting old. The three realms are permanently bright, the “four great” (i.e., elements) are not heavy, the six types of dust are not contagious, and can be investigated with the five eyes. This Dharma-king is present inside one’s own body and has never left it during many passed kalpas. If [a person] does not understand this himself—can one not be sorry (i.e., is that not regrettable)? 10b

Like this poor man keeping the treasure of nature in his clothes. If he could take it out, it would have been of great merit. [He] is under delusion, | experiences suffering, and does not realize it; is that not regrettable?¹⁹¹ The sentient beings during all of their days,¹⁹² permanently exercise the one-nature of the Tathāgata, [but] due to their perverted views¹⁹³ there emerges illusionary *saṃsāra*. Now, within the six paths there is not even one [sentient being] who is not the Buddha; only due to the delusion about [their] own mind [the sentient beings] attach to this material body, which leads to the emergence of the self, which is [similar to] the shadow of emptiness.¹⁹⁴ Thus emerge birth and extinction and this and that. Because of this body, [which discriminates] between this and that, emerge the mind of love and hatred, “holding” and “rejecting” are established, as well as “accordance” and “contradiction.”¹⁹⁵ Based on concord and contradiction, there emerges discrimination between love and hate; the actions, body, speech and mind multiply; greed, wrath and stupidity [thus] emerge. [Then] the eighty-four thousand small defilements fully arise; one is tied up with the rope of karma and is submerged in the flow of the six paths. [One] enters the net of the three realms and is confined to the hell of the four 11a

189 Translation extremely tentative. In my conjecture, the paragraph implies that in the state of concentration, the seeing is dependent of the self-nature and not sense organs. Thus, the blackness of night is not a factor here. I translate the paragraph literally.

190 Ch. 一念, Tg. 楞惛.

191 It is not clear where this passage belongs to: Ch. 實慈不慙, Tg. 毘毘毘毘.

192 Tg. 禪禪禪禪.

193 Ch. 顛倒, 迷失 Tg. 顛顛.

194 Causative clause.

195 Ch. 逆順, Tg. 顛顛.

births, [he] abandons the river of joy and floats in the sea of suffering, | moves 11b
back and forth like an insect, or throws oneself into the fire like a butterfly.

If [one] analyzes the root of this delusion, it occurs because of the attachment to the self. [One] does not see the Buddha nature of the enlightened Dharma-body and this is why the wheel of birth and death will never have its final day (i.e., will never cease). [I] only wish to instruct you, [my] friends: If [we] are not deluded about the purity of the Buddha-nature and light of the Dharma body, then we will ultimately destroy the roots of *saṃsāra* and forever abandon the sea of suffering. If [we] realize the Buddha nature and the purity of the Dharma body in this way, then the non-attachment to the self will be established. And if there is no “me,” then there is also no “you and me.” If there is no “you,” then there is no mind of attachment and rejection, the thoughts of love and hatred will cease, love and hate become the same, mind and body will be empty and tranquil, the same as the emptiness of space. One no longer will be submerged in the six paths, the ten directions will be pure and calm, the fire of greed, wrath and stupidity will be instantly extinguished, and will reduce to ashes. Body, language and mind | □□□ understood, and vision and hearing 12a
do not move. When the tongue is silent, it is always correct. The practices are like the space, the seal of wisdom¹⁹⁸ is like the ocean. There is no attachment to the source of mind,¹⁹⁹ [for] the nature has no name, and [thus] all sorts of actions which one performs will turn into great merits, thus the characteristics of the true reality are transcended, and the manifestations of merits²⁰⁰ are inexhaustible.

When [one] encounters an object,²⁰¹ one’s consciousness is luminous, and there is nothing which does not become a benefit. [On the contrary] if one is moved by [the concept] of an existing self, then defilements arise. [For those] on the six paths of *saṃsāra*, the [nature of mind] remains unattainable. If [one’s] actions [proceed from the idea] of the original absence of self, there will be nothing, which is not the True Way. Only when [one] understands one’s own mind, then this is the pure emptiness and tranquility of the Dharma body, absence of characteristics and bright and luminous hearing and seeing, knowledge and understanding. There will be no “person” and no “I,” [all will be] like the emptiness of space, vivid and clear. There will no one who sees the external objects, and yet everything will be seen, and [the nature] seeing cannot be

198 Ch. 明印, Tg. 明印.

199 Ch. 心源, Tg. 心源.

200 Ch. 動功, Tg. 動功.

201 Ch. 遇境, Tg. 遇境.

grasped. | When seeing cannot be grasped, then there is also no seer. This [kind of] seeing received the name of “Buddha’s vision.” When one hears like that, hearing cannot be obtained. When hearing cannot be obtained, there is also no listener. This hearing is called the “hearing which resembles space.” This [type of] hearing cannot be expressed and thus is “hearing of the Dharma body.” Perceiving smell, feeling taste, receiving sensation and developing affections to the external objects, the rise of consciousness based on seeing the objects—none of that can be obtained. 12b

When [one] acts, [one treats things] as if they were existing, when □ [then everything appears] as absent. In the *Bùsīyì jīng* it is said: “The true Dharma body of the Buddha resembles the emptiness of space: [in reaction to] what happens,²⁰⁶ images appear, as the reflections of the moon [appear] in the water.” Therefore, although various actions of merit □□ all can be clearly seen through the nature of mind of the bright enlightenment, yet this bright enlightenment □□□ is tranquil, [it itself] cannot be grasped, and cannot be seen. 13a This is the inconceivable pure Dharma body of the sentient beings, the king of emptiness, the perfect luminous empty nature, [which all the sentient beings] possess from the beginning. In the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* it is said: “The Dharma nature is pure and tranquil, cannot be grasped and cannot be seen; and empty nature is the Buddha, and cannot be conceived or measured.” Can the practitioner measure and conceive the nature of mind? Is it not empty and tranquil? Is there any attachment in it? Can it be seen? Is it not similar to the emptiness of space? [If] the mind is not Buddha, or not the Dharma body, then that is another²⁰⁷ teaching. The nature of the mind of the practitioner: is it old, again, [or] is it young, does it emerge and come to extinction, does it have form and

206 The original has 𐰇𐰏𐰐, which normally translates as “practices,” “what is done,” etc. According to the Chinese source quotation, this Tangut compound represents wù 物 (“thing”). In my conjecture, 𐰇𐰏𐰐 is a verb-noun, thus I translated it as “what happens.”

207 I.e., heterodox (*yiduan* 異端).

13b 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤²⁰⁸

13b 亦何有大小，是顯顯明明乎，是黑黑昧昧乎，是聞見知覺乎？以火燒乎，沉水中乎，世界壞時，此性壞乎。一切山河皆能障礙乎，剎那千里，有足跡乎。欲說[其]有，十方三界一切法中，求而無所得，無形無相。如何為有？若言“無”則，千變萬化順歸自主。無相光明甚於日月，顯顯明明，包容天地，則印□□隨，萬相緣和千現，玄伏明照，以最密知

14a □□𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, ²⁰⁹ 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤? 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤? 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, ²¹⁰ 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, □𐰽𐰍𐰏𐰤? 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤²¹¹ 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤²¹² 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤. 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤, 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤

14a □□而無心，能包二相而思，如何無？無定如此，有明心如何為無？²¹³ 唯聞其音，不見其相，唯現其功，不睹其形。修人心性者，是僧乎是愚乎？如何是相，□所有乎？此心性形相，足跡行相，有可說乎，有可思乎？當知，修人明明性者即是法身，言語道斷，超分別道。大悟此，則行住坐臥等所作，皆是法身。日行不知，實可驚訝。唯常見法身清靜覺性，

208 The rest of the sentence is damaged; thus, my punctuation is not certain.

209 There is a possibility that Tangut used 𐰽 (to think) instead of 𐰽 (to be able).

210 Tangut “alternative question”: 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤𐰏𐰤 “is it monastic, or is it profane?”

211 Tangut 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 both implying “discriminating knowledge,” thus translated as *fēnbíe* 分別.

212 Nominalizing clause: 𐰽𐰺𐰍𐰏𐰤 corresponds to *suǒ zuò* 所作 “what is made.”

213 Tentative reading.

characteristics? | Is it big or small, bright or clear, dark or obscure? Does it have hearing, seeing, knowing and understanding? Does it burn in fire and drown in water? When the world is destroyed, is this nature also destroyed? Can all the mountains and rivers be obstacles [for it]? [It covers] a thousand miles in a [single] moment, but are there any traces left? 13b

[If you] wish to say that it exists, [then] look for it among all the dharmas of the ten directions and three realms—and there is nothing to be obtained. [It] has neither form nor characteristics, how can it become existent? If [you] say that it does not exist, then [you should say] that the thousand changes and ten thousand transformations are all in accord and govern themselves.²¹⁴ The light of the formless exceeds [the brightness] of the sun and moon, it is bright and clear and embraces Heaven and Earth. Then the seal following □□□, the causes of the ten thousand characteristics come together;²¹⁵ thousand reflections conceal the profound and shine brightly, so that the utmost secret is known. [...] | □□□ and there is no mind, it can be imagined [that the nature of mind] embraces two characteristics,²¹⁶ [so] how can it be non-existent? It cannot be established (understood) in this way: the luminous mind is present; how can it be made inexistent? 14a

That is only [like] hearing a sound and not seeing the characteristics [of the thing which produces the sound], only as when an action manifests itself and the [actual] thing [which produces this action] is not seen. The nature of the mind of the practitioners, is it only for the monks or is it [the same as] as the ordinary [people] have?²¹⁷ What is its characteristics? □ does it have? The form and characteristic of the nature of mind, its traces and signs of its actions, can these be expressed verbally or imagined? [One] should know—the bright nature of the practitioner is the Dharma body, [it] cuts off the way of verbal expression and exceeds the way of understanding. If you understand this, then walking, standing, sitting and lying down, and any other action will be the Dharma body. [We] practice it every day without knowing, this is really surprising.

214 Ch. 自主, Tg. 翫翫 i.e. “exist independently.”

215 Ch. 因和, Tg. 繖繖.

216 Existence and non-existence. Alternative translation: “is able to embrace.”

217 Tentative translation.

Only if | [one] permanently sees the awakened nature of the pure Dharma body, then there will be no attachment to the characteristics of the illusory body which was turned into the real self; [thus, there will be] original liberation and absence of birth and extinction. For what reason do we not realize the purity of the Dharma body? Because of perverted opinions and erroneous views, [we] are floating in the great sea of defilements. If [we] come to a permanent understanding of the pure Dharma body, and trace back and examine the material body through the miraculous enlightenment of luminous nature, then [the body] will be neither present nor absent, like an illusory shadow in space □; [it] will be like a body in a dream, [which is] neither present nor absent. Thus, is there any real “person”? 14b

Imagine a bubble of water, emerging from the ocean—it is neither present nor absent. When we look at it, it seems to be real; [when we] seize [it] we do not obtain it, it is all water. [When] the bubble emerges, the water never increases [in quantity]; [when] the bubble disappears, the water never decreases. | The bubble can emerge or disappear, but water neither emerges nor disappears. This shadow body is also not different from this. What is projected by mind to the outside, is like a body [seen] in a dream. In a dream [one] becomes perversely attached to [what was] transformed by the dreaming mind, and [these transformations] are taken to be real. When [one] investigates [the visions] in the moment of awakening, the characteristics of the body become clear: when you think of them [they] appear real, when [you] seize them, they have no reality. There is only the nature of illusion and there is no other self-nature. If the mind manifests [the phenomena], they are present, if the mind does not manifest [them], they are absent. This body is likewise; it is only what is manifested by the mind, in the same way as the bubbles emerge from the water. The body emerges and disappears, but its nature is originally the same, just as while the bubbles emerge and disappear, the nature of water is permanently tranquil. 15a

Therefore, the ten thousand dharmas are all but the nature of mind. [If] you realize this, they are similar to the objects [seen] in a dream, which are all like

[the productions] of the dreaming mind. The mind cannot be obtained, | 15b
 how, then, can all the dharmas be obtained? Therefore, the understanding
 of ten thousand dharmas [is as such]: [they] all are luminous awareness.²²⁴
 If they are cognized, they exist, [if] they are not cognized, they do not exist,
 in the same way as water becomes bubbles, [whose] self-substance is that of
 water. All the dharmas are the luminous awareness of the awakened nature
 of the true reality (*tathatā*). Therefore, the practitioners □□□□ which is not
 the Dharma body. There is nothing which is not true reality, nothing which is
 not *prajñā*, not the Buddha things ... □□□□. Former patriarchs²²⁵ said: “The
 bamboo leaves are green, [they] are true reality.” In the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* it
 is said: “□□□ ... no.” And again it is said: “Among all which is seen, here is
 nothing which is not the Buddha thing; every step, □□□□□ luminous aware-
 ness”. Since [one] knows, that self-nature does not emerge and does not dis-
 appear, thus the ten thousand dharmas □□□ | are all luminous awareness, do 16a
 not emerge and do not come to extinction. Thus, in the *sūtra* it is said: “All
 the dharmas □□□ I will today explain.”²²⁶ In the *Avataṃsaka sūtra* it is said:
 “All the dharmas do not emerge; all the dharmas do not disappear. If [you]
 can understand this, then all the Buddhas will appear before you.” [One] must
 know: the ten thousand dharmas are only the mind. Indeed, these ten thou-
 sand dharmas cannot be expressed through language, cannot be conceived by
 the mind, how can they be born and disappear? How can *saṃsāra*, the three
 realms, this and that, love and hatred, you and me, hate and friendship be
 obtained? In all these cases, [one] must always be aware that the nature of
 the mind cannot be obtained. There is neither “person” nor “I,” self or other,
 love or hatred. All the characteristics are thus calm and pure, there is no

224 Ch. 明智, Tg. 禪機.

225 Ch. 祖師, Tg. 禪師.

226 The quotation belongs to the damaged part, so I could not identify it.

- 16b 非彼非此，默默昧昧，明明分分，能起利益，全修萬行。救度眾生，有願皆滿，及至數恒劫海，無行不起。無人無我，脫苦拔禍，大智真空，大悲妙□。有不為有，空不為空。有空一源，動靜不二，不惡死[生]，究竟涅槃，元明清淨，不愛涅槃。一切時中，□□見，知覺心如虛空，包容法界，不見行跡。行[跡見]□，身如夢影，本不可得。自體明源，法性真

leaving and coming back, there is no birth and extinction, | there is neither this nor that, [the nature of the mind is] dark and obscure and [yet] bright and clear; it can produce the benefit and fully exercise ten thousand practices. The vow to save the sentient beings is fully accomplished; in the sea of kalpas as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, there will be no practices which will not be exercised. [When] there is no “person” and no “I,” [there is] delivering from suffering and salvation from peril; the great wisdom and true emptiness, great compassion and miraculous □. 16b

Existence dwells in non-action²²⁷ and there is nothing which is not accomplished by emptiness.²²⁸ Presence and emptiness have one source; calmness and movement are non-dual, [there is no] hatred towards birth and death, and no love for *nirvāṇa*, the ocean of pure and bright enlightenment and ultimate tranquility. At all times □□ seeing and understanding. The mind is like the emptiness of space, [it] embraces all the Dharma realm, and its traces are not to be seen. The traces of movements □□, body is like a shadow in a dream, originally [it] cannot be obtained. The bright source of self-substance, Dharma nature’s true | □□□ no liberation.²²⁹ Attachment to the body leads to the creation of [the notion of] “I” and [one will be] wandering during eternal *kalpa*. If [you] understand that the mind does not emerge, then [you] will once and forever abandon the ocean of suffering. The mind originally is the Buddha, as soon as defilements and delusions of many kalpas are discarded, the delusion will be the true reality. 17a

If [you] arrive [at an understanding] of this, then [you will understand] that enlightenment is neither born nor extinguished, does neither have form nor characteristics. The understanding of the nature of hearing, seeing and others²³⁰ is hard to express in words and its source cannot be fathomed. [The nature of the mind?] transcends the characteristics of the three poisons, its substance is complete and bright, the eight forms of consciousness leave no traces. The nature is neither born nor extinguished. The human nature is originally sacred; the ant’s wisdom (i.e. even the smallest) is equally real.²³¹ [But] once [you] are seduced by perverted views, [you] are engulfed by the illusion of three forms of existence.²³² According to this, [practitioners] understand the

227 Ch. 有不為有, Tg. 龍龍慨移.

228 Ch. 空不為空, Tg. 靈靈慨移.

229 Reconstructed word.

230 I.e. “awakening” and “understanding.”

231 This phrase is difficult to interpret; Ch. 蟻智同真, Tg. 蟻散移翳.

232 The worlds are *kamadhatu*, *rūpadhatu* and *arūpadhatu*.

𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗²³³𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗。𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗。
𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗。𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗，
𪛗

- 17a 𪛗𪛗𪛗無脫。執身作我，永劫漂浮。悟性無生，永離苦海，心本來是佛。多劫常迷背，妄即是真。至此即覺，不生不滅，無形無相，聞見等性，知難語難之源無量。度三毒相，自體圓明，八識無跡，性非生滅，人性本聖，蟻智同真。一迷顛見，夢縛三有。因此修人悟心是佛，以性光照，見不生性。唯以真慧眼觀，絕跡分分明明，行住坐臥無人，寂

- 17b 𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗，𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗。𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗。
𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗。
𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗
𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗𪛗

- 17b 寂妙妙，見聞知覺常明，非空非有，難說難知，本自解脫。因此清靜也。
究竟一乘圓明心義
定光峰沙門慧護譯
居山善定施

233 Tangut 𪛗 “wild duck” probably a mistake for 𪛗, “ant.”

mind and become Buddhas; through “luminous contemplation”²³⁴ of nature [they] see the unborn nature. Only [by] contemplating with the eyes of true wisdom, practitioners exceed the traces. Everything becomes bright and clear, and in walking, standing, sitting and lying there is no “man.” All is calm | and 17b
 miraculous, and seeing, hearing, awakening and understanding are permanently bright. [The nature of the mind] is neither empty nor present, is hard to elaborate and hard to know. Original liberation is thus calm and pure.

The Essence of the Complete and Luminous Mind According to the Teaching of the Supreme One-Vehicle

234 Ch. 光照.

Appendix: Facsimile Reproductions

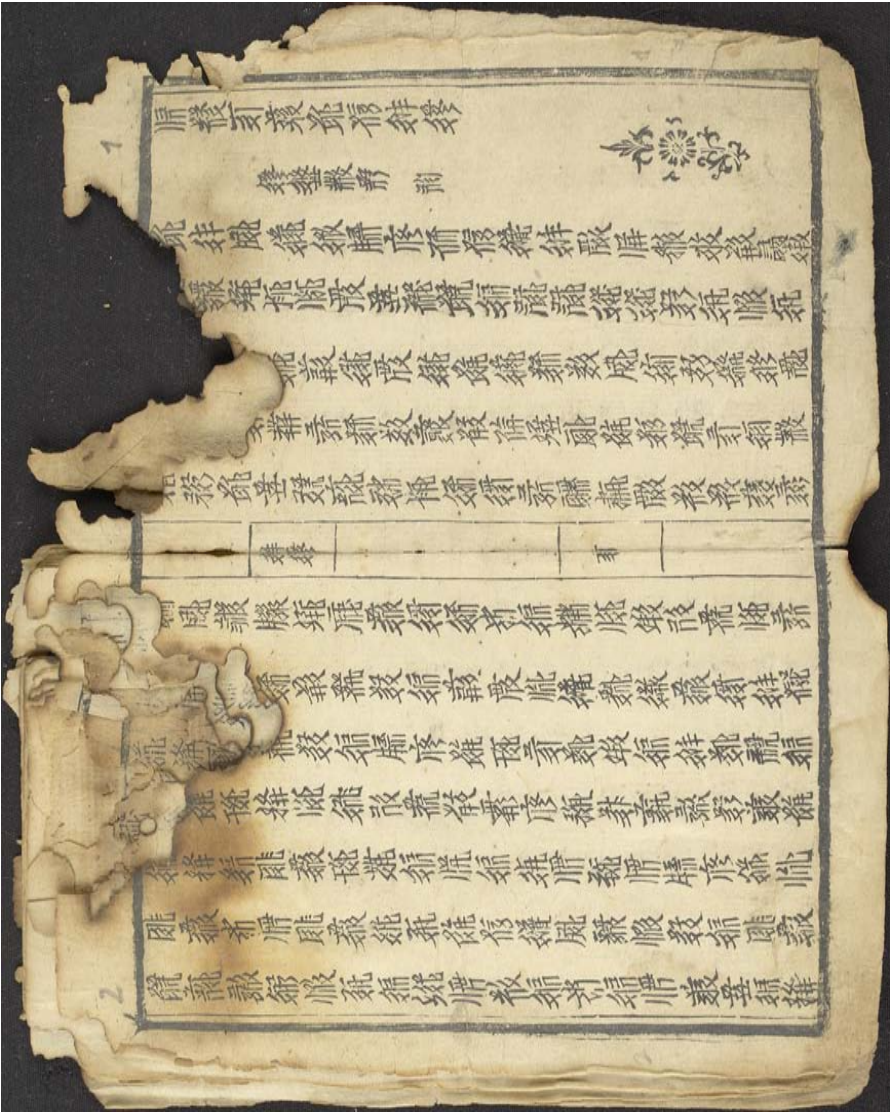


FIGURE 5.1A Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.1B Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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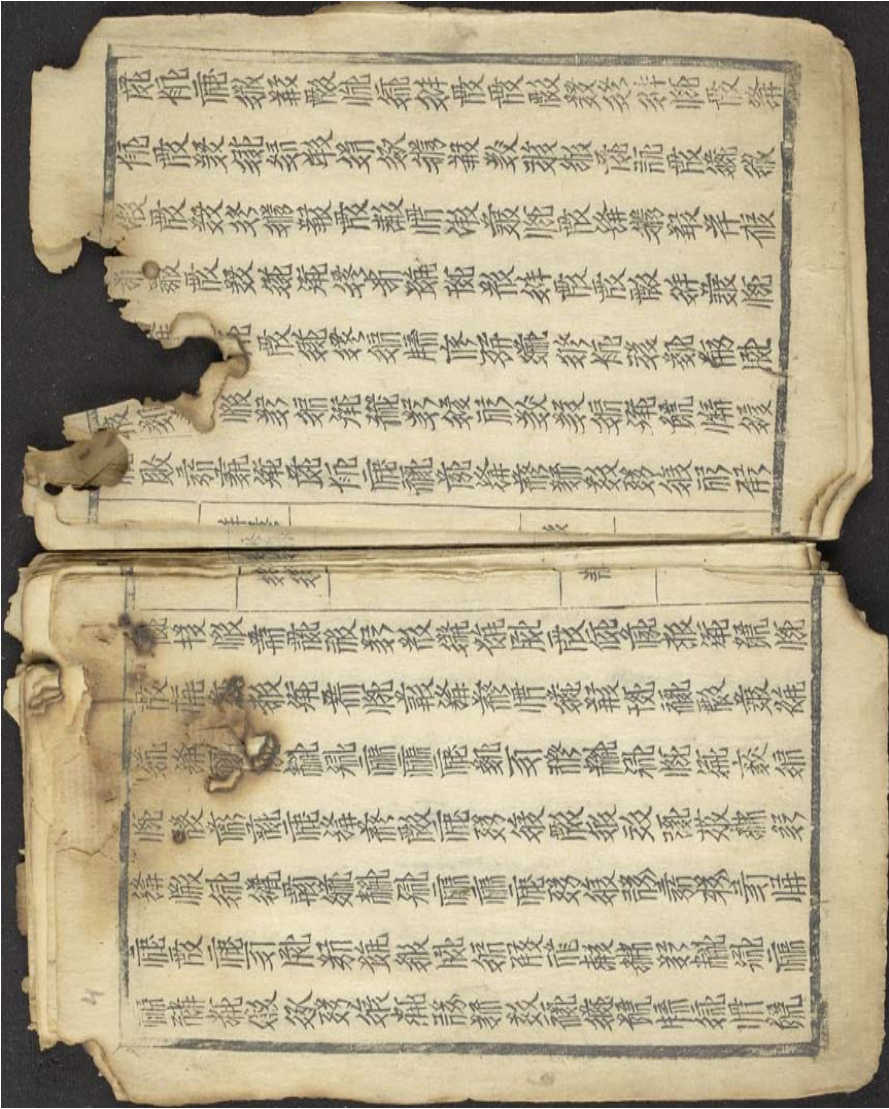


FIGURE 5.1C Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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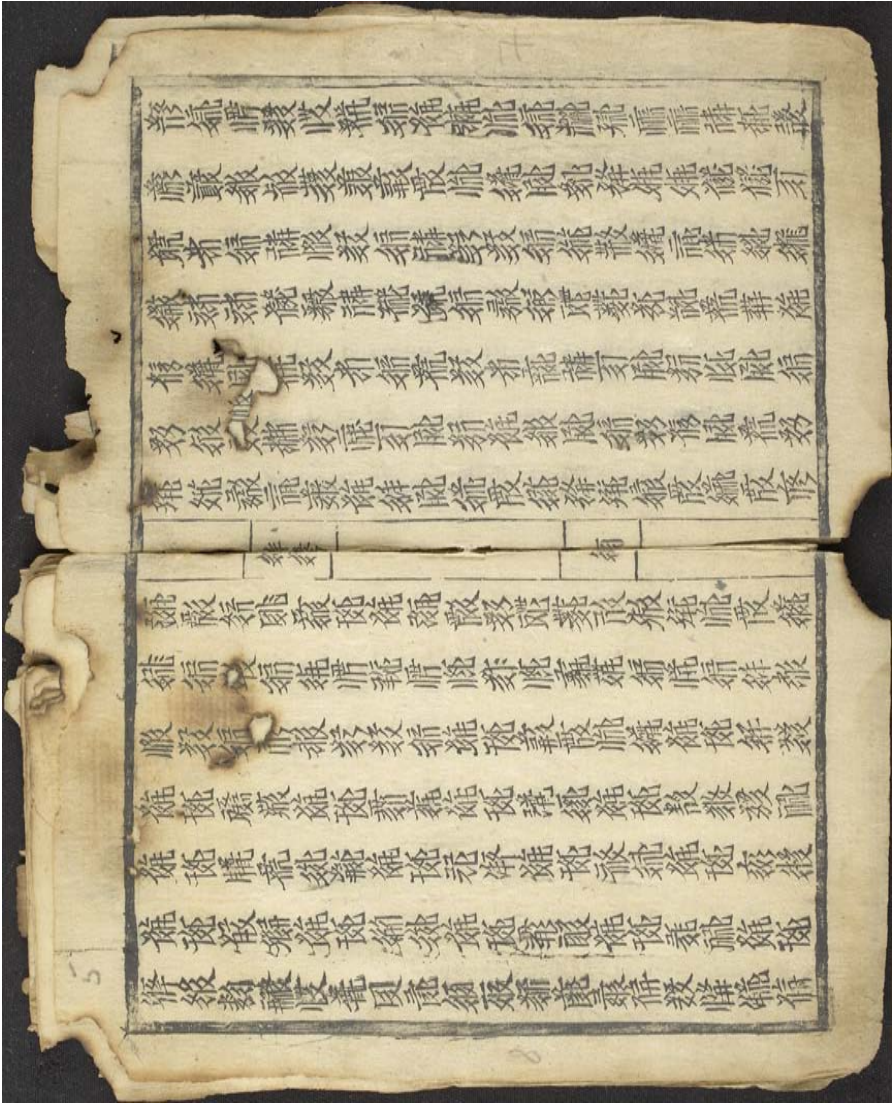


FIGURE 5.1D Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.1E Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.1F Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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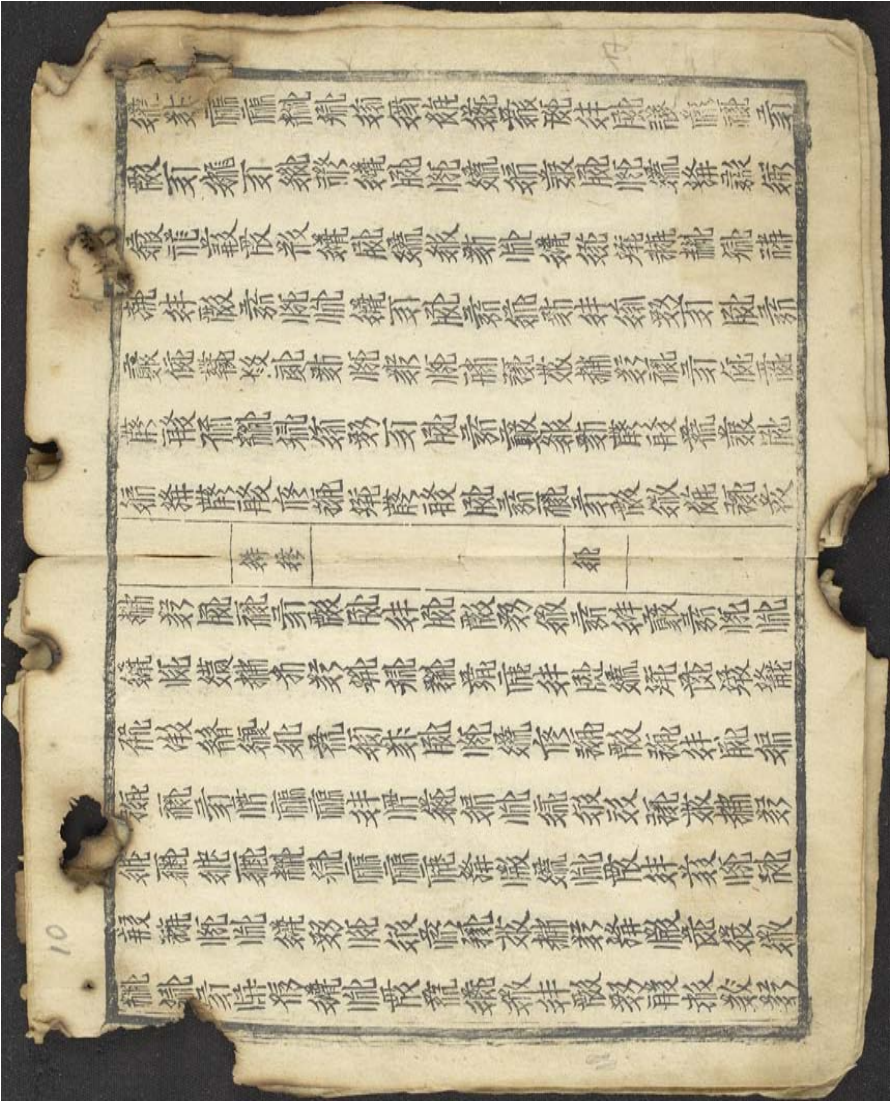


FIGURE 5.11 Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.1J Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.1K Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.1L Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.1M Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.1N Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.10 Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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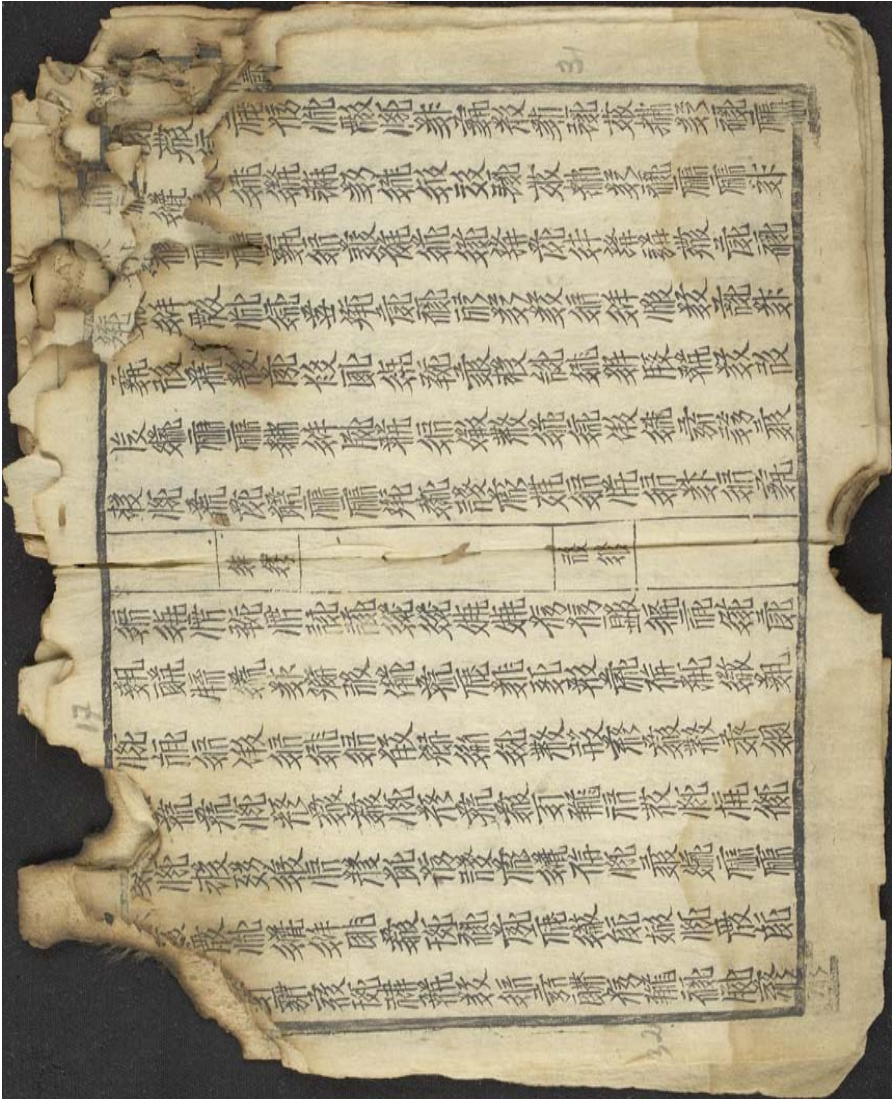


FIGURE 5.1P Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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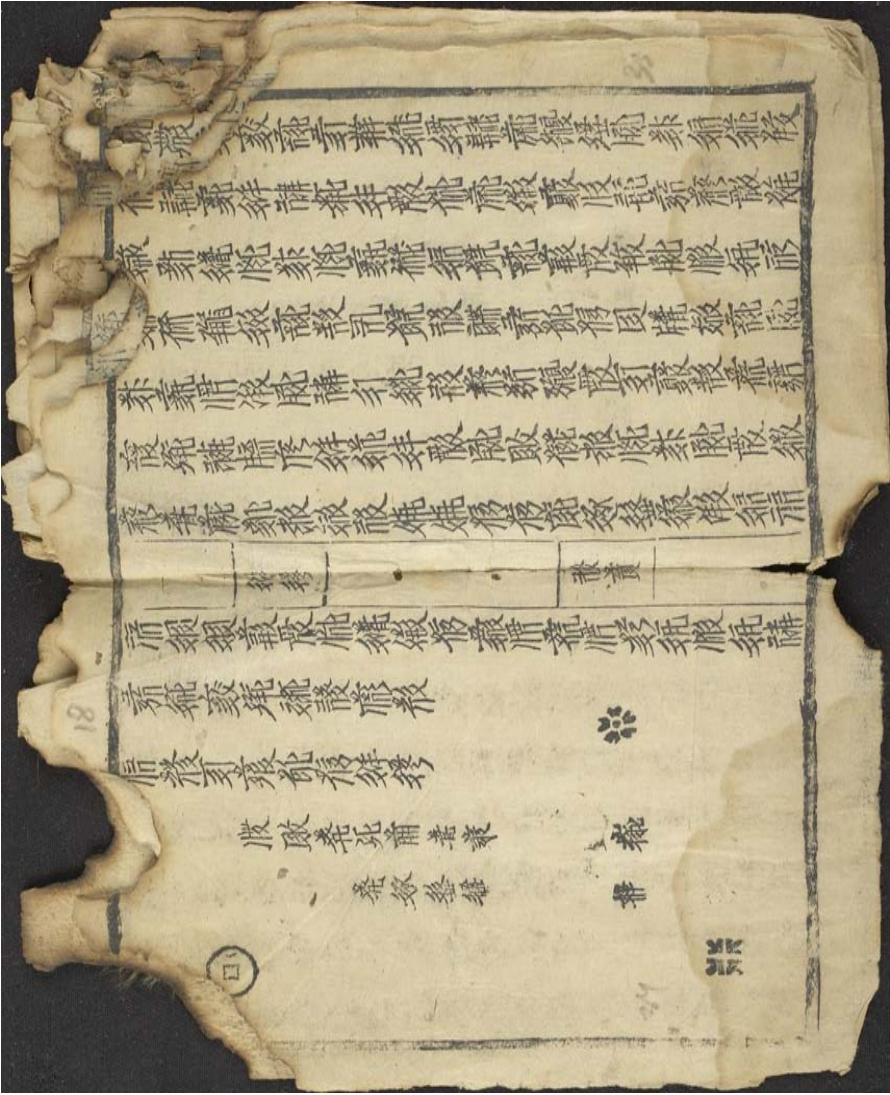


FIGURE 5.1Q Manuscript Tang 183 #2848
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FIGURE 5.1R Front page of Tang_183
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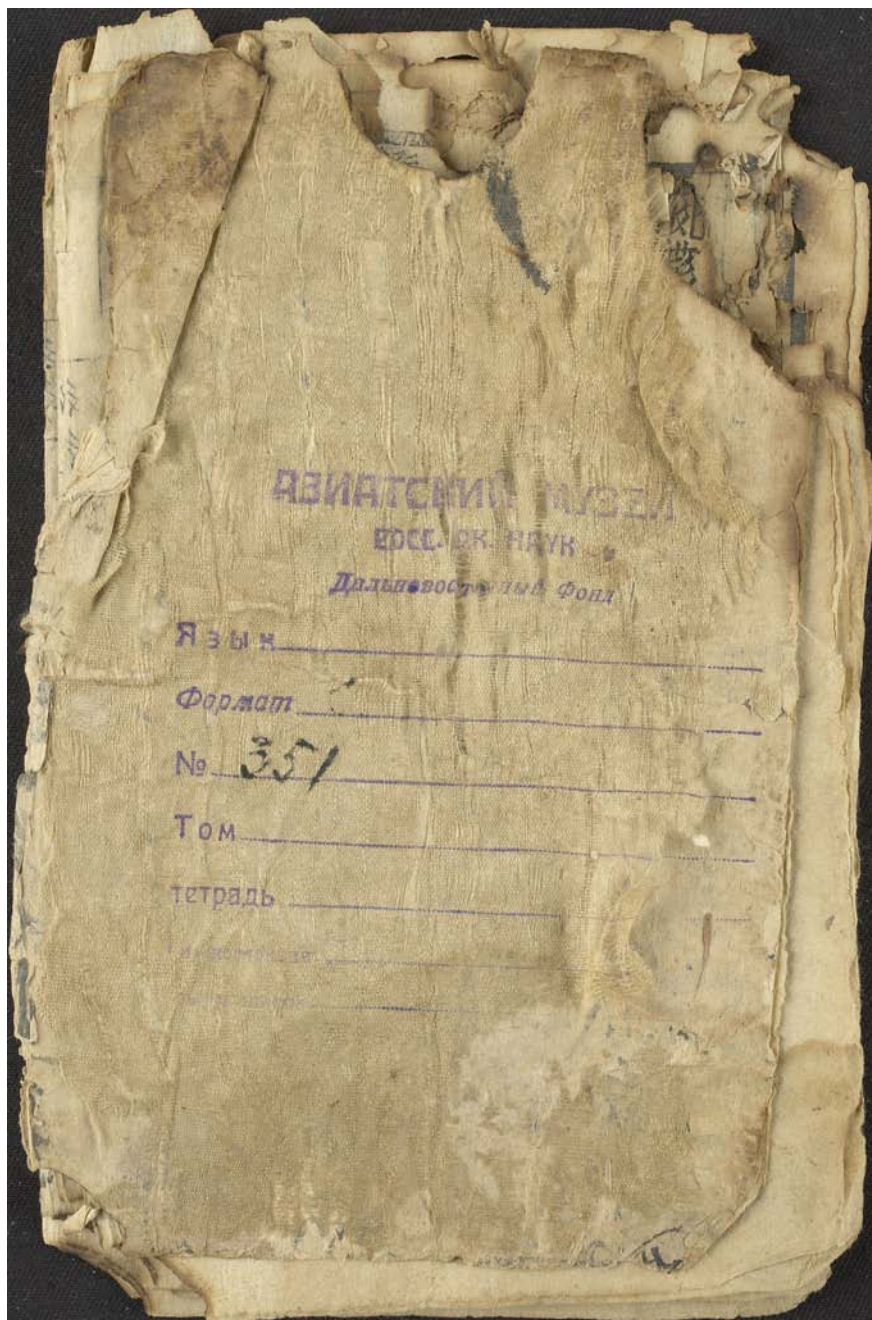


FIGURE 5.1S Last page of Tang_183
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立志銘心誠

通理大師製

夫上士者不以世名是貴但可道德
為榮其世名也一時暫美其道德也
萬古恒清暫美則入輪迴於千劫恒
清乃超流轉於多生超流轉則常樂
之鄉易往入輪迴乃苦惱之路難行

曾有恡無為而濟不作而施有力能
恩無思可議蓋日月也無有作者無
我無依無屬無思力成大事無作大
用亦乃如斯窮處窮時無休無盡於
中求索何作何依不知何物尋討無
根力成大事然復遇緣施作對物翻
心廓尔如空隨根利物於諸方內在

FIGURE 5.2A

Facsimile reproduction of Manuscript TK 134

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衆時中榮乃推他辱應歸己卑心如
地奉友如天年者臘宿者爲父爲師
歲幼新學者如朋如弟顏無愠色語
必適音意地明柔情田忠慎遇榮不
喜逢辱無憂功必推人罪當責己他
僣湏掩已過勿藏位不自居能不自
伐賢必爲友惡不爲朋不黨其親不

欺有德益人之事誓必當行危人之
心誓必當斷願聞忠語不納諂言不
受人惑不掩人善行不失信住必依
賢恒察私心不欺暗室明天常照隱
罪難藏邪欲纔生鬼神先覺心容不
背言行相符作事防心審思開口虛
詞不發實語方陳有益之事則談無

FIGURE 5.2B Facsimile reproduction of Manuscript TK 134

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益之言不說但論道德防禁是非見
 諍必和逢危須救謗聲遮止美譽同
 揚不念人慙惟思人德宿恩常憶舊
 過莫追恐不思讎恩常加報不念其
 失但見其能則天下皆觀天下皆德
 矣而復處下不耻位高不矜負恩不
 應輕施恩不應恃言動須慎衣食勿

上

六

有居盛念衰逢高思墜悟一深理差
 彼迷夫得片名衣賒其輟者居松堂
 之下念茨舍之中獲溫室之安憶眠
 霜之苦身當富貴有須思貧賤之人口
 受珍羞必念餓乏之侶得利防害居
 安慮危善不可不修過不可不改禍
 患過為本福德善為根福不可常依

FIGURE 5.2C

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無善則其福滅禍不可常生改過則
其禍歇或進或退言動以和柔居下
居高施為勿剛刺為卑盡敬在上竭
恭但進賢能勿入人罪以靈敬士勿
兒觀人他以怨來已須觀應人采毒
害自必息加人盡成剛已心為水人
欲強者便推為強人敬高者便推為

立

士

高動靜恒柔方圓任器宜有違順憎
愛於其間哉若遇含毒之輩哀彼迷
牽忽逢危難之緣知身罪得於含毒
之者報之以恩我昔惱君君今怒我
我之宿罪縱使殺身亦合甘心而況
怒矣直饒有人前世無罪今輒怨憎
橫見欺陵枉遭謗辱應當思忖彼有

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FIGURE 5.2D

智耶彼无智耶彼有智者故全成就
 忍彼羅蜜是我恩師去何遭遇但應
 仰報宜敢懷違若無智者乃是悲田
 如母聞子返罵之時母轉歡心但更
 撫摩曾何愠色慙其癡小惟與深恩
 前亦如斯彼蓋煩惱內攻迷魔害使
 性未狂歇力不自由以此悲心但垂按

立

八

FIGURE 5.2E

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Transmission of the Lamp; see *Jǐngdé chuándēng lù* 景德傳燈錄.

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PART 3

Chán in an Interreligious Perspective



The Meeting and Conflation of Chán and Esoteric Buddhism during the Táng

Henrik H. Sørensen

1 Introduction

Chán Buddhism stands as one of the most important Buddhist traditions in Chinese history, being a formation of lineages that all originated in China on the basis of mainly native interpretations of Buddhism. Whether of the so-called “Northern” or “Southern” persuasions, the core of Chán practice during the Táng (and later) was meditation focusing on the mind, in some cases involving the purification of mental habits, in other cases aiming at transcending them via various soteriological strategies to reach a state of no-mind, identified as identical to the Mind of the Buddha (*fóxīn* 佛心).

Contrary to the manner in which the Chán tradition has presented itself, especially via its Sòng dispensation of Recorded Sayings literature and lineage histories, its teachings and practices during most of the Táng were neither uniform nor reflective of a linear development going from primitive beginnings to increasingly sophisticated states of transcendence through a streamlined patriarchal succession. Rather, the rise and development of Chán Buddhism in China came about through a series of convoluted and round-about events, including regressions, discontinuations, and elaborations of previously existing forms of Buddhism, and even certain forms of Daoist thought. Hence, we are better served to see Chán Buddhism as a religious phenomenon expressing a special Chinese interpretation of the Buddhist path, a path that was simultaneously flexible and creative. When seen from this perspective, the polyvalent and almost experimental modes of meditation evident in early Chán stand in sharp contrast to the highly formalistic and structured forms we see playing out in the mature Chán Buddhism of the Five Dynasties period and the Northern Sòng.¹

1 The study of Chinese Chán Buddhism has undergone considerable developments in the past three decades, including the wholesale rejection of the sometimes neat, and partly ahistorical, self-presentation of the tradition based on mainly Northern Sòng sources. See, for example, Schlütter 2008: 13–17; and Foulk 1993: 147–208. Unfortunately, this revision and

This presentation aims at elucidating an aspect of Chán Buddhist history and practice under the Táng that has so far received relatively little attention, namely the relation between Chán and Esoteric Buddhism (*mìjiào* 密教).² Here I shall trace the impact of Esoteric Buddhism on Northern Chán and provide examples of how this played out in practice. Much of the material on which I base my findings belongs to the hoard of manuscripts recovered from the Mògāo Caves at Dūnhuáng.

2 Background

Around the turn of the eighth century, the Chinese denomination of Chán Buddhism (*chánzōng* 禪宗) commonly known as the Northern Chán School (*běizōng* 北宗)³ was extremely influential in the area around the Twin Capitals of the Táng Empire (618–906). It was represented by several collateral branches, each of which was founded by a leading disciple of Master Shénxiù 神秀 (605?–

deconstruction has largely resulted in a rejection of all sectarian forms of Chán Buddhism as historical phenomena of the Táng, something that stands in sharp and glaring contrast to the information provided by the primary sources from the eighth–ninth centuries, including the rich Chinese and the closely related Korean epigraphic sources from this period. For different takes on Chán Buddhism during the Táng, see: Poceski 2003 and 2018; Adamek 2007; and Jia 2012. Regarding early Chán and the practices endorsed by its different strands, see Sharf 2014.

- 2 “Esoteric Buddhism” is a scholarly construct used to designate those forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism that were based on the practice of ritualized magic, and which by the late seventh century had coalesced into full-blown Tantric Buddhism. In China, Esoteric Buddhism can be traced back to the mid-Nanbeichao, i.e. fourth century. Cf. Henrik H. Sørensen, “Spells and Magical Practices as Reflected in Early Chinese Buddhist Sources (c. 300–600 CE) and Their Implications for the Rise and Development of Esoteric Buddhism,” in *Chinese and Tibetan Esoteric Buddhism*, ed. Yael Bentor and Meir Shahar (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017), 41–71. See also Sørensen, “On Esoteric Buddhism in China: A Working Definition,” in *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, ed. Charles D. Orzech, Henrik H. Sørensen, and Richard K. Payne (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2011), 155–175.
- 3 The designation *zōng* 宗 has often led to the impression that the Northern School was a distinct and self-contained denomination of Chán, basing itself on a particular set of teachings and with a fixed history. In fact, the name “Northern School” did not cover just one line of transmission, but was a general designation for several collateral Chán lines, many of which had their own history of transmission, and in some cases also stressed different aspects of doctrine and practice, as evidenced by the extant sources. While most of the Northern Chán lines were descended from Hónggrén 弘仁 (601–674), later considered the Fifth Patriarch by all lines, considerable differences, both historically and doctrinally, are known to have existed among them. For the most comprehensive studies on the Northern School of Chán, see McRae 1986 and two works by Bernard Faure (Faure 1988 and 1989).

706).⁴ The doctrines and meditation practices of the Northern Chán lineages have been explored by several scholars previously, so I shall limit myself to a brief discussion of the main points.

Taken as a whole, the teachings of Northern Chán were based on a number of standard Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*,⁵ the *Vimalakīrti Sūtra*,⁶ and the *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*,⁷ as well as on various apocryphal scriptures, the most well known of which were the *Kūṃgang sammae kyōng* 金剛三昧經 (*Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*),⁸ the *Yuánjué jīng* 圓覺經 (*Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*),⁹ the *Fǎjù jīng* 法句經 (*Scripture of the Sentences of the Dharma*),¹⁰ the *Fànwáng jīng* 梵王經 (*Brahmajāla Sūtra*),¹¹ and the highly important *Dàshèng qǐxìn lùn* 大乘起信論 (*Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*).¹² As they stand, none of these scriptures contains explicit Esoteric Buddhist elements aside from occasional *dhāraṇīs*, which are commonly found in many Mahāyāna sūtras. All the Northern Chán lineages stressed seated meditation or *zuòchán* 坐禪 as the foundation of the cultivation of the Buddhist path. This can be readily testified through the fairly large number of meditation texts attributed to the masters of the various lines. Many of the Dūnhuáng manuscripts pertaining to Northern Chán consist of exhortations and instructions to be used in the cultivation of meditation. However, surprisingly few of the meditation texts go into technical details concerning the actual practice of meditation; rather, they tend to confine themselves to a discussion of the correct mental attitude with regard to the practice. Generally speaking, most of them indicate that the practice of meditation or contemplation is primarily to be carried out while sitting in the cross-legged manner commonly known as the “lotus position.”

There has been some discussion in the scholarly community concerning the spiritual “outlook” of the followers of Northern Chán. The traditional view held by the followers of Southern Chán—that the basic Northern Chán approach to practice was dualistic (i.e., concerned with purification of the mind and recovery of the “true nature”)—has been criticized and amended by a number of

4 For details on his life and career, see McRae 1986: 44–56.

5 T.16, nos. 671 and 672.

6 T.14, no. 475.

7 T.10, nos. 278 and 279.

8 T.9, no. 273. Robert E. Buswell (1989) has argued extensively for the Korean origin of this scripture.

9 T.18, no. 842.

10 T.85, no. 2901; also known as the “Pseudo Dharmapada.”

11 T.24, no. 1484.

12 T.32, no. 1666.

scholars following Ui Hakuju 宇井佰寿, Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山, and others.¹³ However, to the extent that the surviving primary records reflect their spiritual stance, there can be little doubt that the followers of Northern Chán were preoccupied with preserving or maintaining a “one-pointedness of mind” (*shǒuyī* 守一/*shǒuxīn* 守心), “being apart from thought” (*líniàn* 離念), “seeing purity” (*kànjìng* 看淨), and “contemplating the mind” (*guānxīn* 觀心/*kànxīn* 看心), all indicators of a soteriological process envisaged as a progression of stages leading to increasing purification of the adventitious mind and the final attainment of Buddhahood.¹⁴ For these reasons, the primary criticism leveled against Northern Chán by Shénhuì 神會 (670–762)¹⁵ and later adherents of Southern Chán—that the followers of Northern Chán were maintaining a gradualistic approach (i.e., their essential practices consisted in “wiping clean the proverbial mirror”)—certainly has some justification.¹⁶ However, it must be borne in mind that not all lines of Northern Chán maintained exactly the same concepts of practice. Moreover, their teachings developed over time, eventually approximating those of Southern Chán.

3 Śubhākarasīmha and Northern Chán's Meeting with Esoteric Buddhism

As far as we can tell from the sources, it was only well after the death of Shénxiù that Northern Chán's interactions with Esoteric Buddhism took place on a

13 Cf. Ui Hakuju 1939–1943, vol. 1: 269–375; Yanagida 1971, vol. 1: 82–92, 102–111, 205–260, etc. Both John McRae and Bernard Faure appear to support this view, too. Cf. McRae 1986: 101–234; Faure 1986: 99–128 and 1988: 140–204.

14 Most of these are discussed in McRae 1986: 118–147. While it is true that Northern Chán employed absolutistic statements in its rhetoric, and in principle advocated non-dualism, in the face of the available sources, it is hard to maintain that this was also the case in its teaching of meditation.

15 The celebrated champion of Southern Chán 南禪. A few years ago, his tomb was found in Lóngmén 龍門, outside of Luòyáng. Among other things, this tomb contained the master's stele, which revealed his correct dates; see Luòyáng-shī wénwù gōngzuòduì 1992: 64–67 and Li Xuéqín 1992: 71–75. For a study of Shénhuì's brand of Chán and a discussion of the implications of sudden enlightenment found therein, cf. McRae 1987: 227–278.

16 This metaphor appears prominently in the celebrated *Tán jīng* (*Platform Scripture*) ascribed to Huínéng 慧能 (638–713), the so-called Sixth Patriarch (cf. Yampolsky 1967: 132–133). Bernard Faure (1991) has attempted to gloss over the practical differences regarding the gradual/sudden approaches by reducing the issue to a question of semantics and rhetoric in his important work, *The Rhetoric of Immediacy*. However, in this process he revealed considerable ignorance of the “internal dimension” of actual Chán practice and belief (cf. Faure 1991: 32–52).

noticeable and deeper level. This is not to say that the followers of Northern Chán were necessarily unaware of Esoteric Buddhist practice before that time. Rather, it did not play an important role until after the arrival of the Indian *ācārya* Śubhākarasimha (637–735)¹⁷ in Cháng'ān in 716 CE and his subsequent rise to prominence at the Táng court. From that time onwards, there is evidence that a number of monks who were descended from Shénxiù's lineage of immediate disciples were attracted to the new brand of imperially sanctioned Buddhism, and that several of them were eventually initiated into the higher *arcana* of this tradition by Śubhākarasimha himself and later Vajrabodhi (671–741).¹⁸

The earliest treatise of Zhēnyán 真言 that connects mature Esoteric Buddhism with Northern Chán is Śubhākarasimha's *Wúwèi sānzàng chányào* 無畏三藏禪要 (*Tripitaka Master [Śubhākarasimha's] Essential [Instructions] for Meditation*),¹⁹ compiled around 717–718 in Cháng'ān, shortly after the master's arrival. It opens with a note that the text records Śubhākarasimha's responses to a series of questions that the Chán monk Jǐngxián 景賢 (660–723)²⁰ put to him on various “subtle” points of doctrine. In answering these questions, the Esoteric Buddhist master presented his teaching in the form of eleven basic methods of practice. Following these eleven methods, in an additional section that we may call *Shòu guānzhi mǐyào chándìng fāmén dàshèng miào zhǐ* 受觀智密要禪定法門大乘妙旨 (“The Secret Essential Dharma Door of *Samādhi* for Receiving the Wonderful Mahāyāna Contemplation of Wisdom”), Śubhākarasimha offered a detailed explanation of the essentials of Esoteric Buddhist meditation, as he saw it.²¹ This is not the place for an in-depth discussion of Śubhākarasimha's methods of meditation; suffice it to say that they are representative of the elaborate and highly ritualistic approach to Buddhist practice we

17 His most well-known biography appears in *Sòng gāosēng zhuàn* 宋高僧傳 (*Sòng Records*), T.50, no. 2061: 714b–716a. However, the oldest—and probably more trustworthy—biography is that of his stele inscription, the *Dà-Táng dōngbù dà Shèngshàn sì gù Zhōngtiānzhu guó Shànwúwèi sānzàng héshàng bēimíng bǐngxù* 大唐東都大聖善寺故中天竺國善無畏三藏和尚碑銘并序 [*Stele Inscription with Preface for the Tripitaka Master, the Ven. Śubhākarasimha from Central India of the Great Shèngshàn Temple in the Eastern Capital of the Great Táng*], T.50, no. 2055: 290b–292a. It was composed by the renowned literatus Lǐ Huá 李華 (c. 715–c. 766) in 744. For additional information, see Pinte 2011: 339–341; see also the classic study by Chou Yi-liang (1945: 241–332).

18 See Orzech 2011: 345–350.

19 T.18, no. 917: 942b–946a.

20 Biographies in *Sòng Biographies*: 711b–712a; and in the *Dà-Táng zhēnyuán xù Kāiyuán shìjiào lù* 大唐貞元續開元釋教錄 (*Continuation of the Kāiyuán Catalogue of the Buddhist Teaching of the Zhēnyuán Period of the Great Táng*), T.55, no. 2156: 875b–876b.

21 Ibid.: 944a–946a.

tend to encounter in developed Indo-Chinese Esoteric Buddhism. It is more important to note that it was primarily the initiation and the ritual for receiving the Bodhisattva Precepts, as promoted by Śubhākarasimha, that attracted the practitioners of Northern Chán. There is precious little, if anything, that suggests a direct influence of the *Wúwèi sānzàng chányào* on contemporary Chán. The same would seem to be true of the numerous other Esoteric Buddhist scriptures Śubhākarasimha translated. As they stand, the elaborate Esoteric Buddhist *sādhana*s, with their complex visualization practices, *mudrā*s, and mantric incantations, seem rather remote from the austere and ascetic Northern Chán methods of prolonged meditation. Perhaps the Northern Chán monks' interest in Esoteric Buddhist initiations indicates that the ritual side of their practices was relatively underdeveloped. Or perhaps it suggests that many adherents of Northern Chán had a relatively open attitude to new Buddhist practices? Either way, the rich and extensive ritual material of the newly introduced Zhēnyán tradition, as represented by Śubhākarasimha, promised a rapid path to the attainment of enlightenment in the present life. Perhaps it was this aspect of his teaching that attracted the followers of Northern Chán.

Of all the Northern Chán monks who embraced the Esoteric lore introduced by Śubhākarasimha and subsequently Vajrabodhi, perhaps the most famous is Yíxíng 一行 (673–727).²² Although celebrated as a cultural hero on the basis his achievements in mathematics and astronomy, both of which he studied under Śubhākarasimha and Vajrabodhi, he was originally a disciple of Pǔjì 普寂 (651–739),²³ one of the primary successors of Shénxiù. Indeed, Yíxíng trained at Pǔjì's domicile—the Shàolín Temple 小林寺 at the foot of Mt. Sōng 嵩山—before being called to Cháng'ān around 717 to assist Śubhākarasimha in his translation of a number of Esoteric Buddhist scriptures, the most important of which is the *Mahāvairocana Sūtra*.²⁴ Even so, among Yíxíng's extant writings, there is virtually no hint of his initial relationship with Northern Chán. This makes it very difficult to determine the degree of Esoteric Buddhist influence on his practice of Chán, if any. For this reason, we can merely say that Esoteric Buddhism was of major interest to Yíxíng during the latter part of his career, as has been well documented.

22 Biography in *Sòng Records*: 732c–733c. Yíxíng also figures prominently in a late Táng work on Esoteric Buddhist history, the *Liǎngbù dà fǎxiàng chéng shīzī fùfǎ jì* 兩部大法相承師資付法記 (*Record of Successive Masters Transmitting the Methods of the Great Dharma Characteristics of the Two Classes [of Maṇḍalas]*), T.51, no. 2081: 785c, 586c. For a full monograph devoted to Yíxíng, see Osabe 1963. See also Lǚ Jiānfú 2011: 224–245; and the biographical note by Keyworth 2012: 342–344.

23 For a biographical discussion, see McRae 1986: 65–67.

24 T.18, no. 848; for a fine translation of this important work, see Giebel 2005.

Another Chán monk for whom Śubhākarasimha's teachings appear to have been a useful addition to his Northern Chán practice was the aforementioned Jǐngxián. He was also a disciple of Shénxiù and first came into contact with Zhēnyán Buddhism during the final years of his life, when he met Śubhākarasimha in Xímíng Temple 西明寺 in Cháng'ān. The reason for their meeting is not known, but it may have been that Jǐngxián, like many other Chinese monks, traveled to Cháng'ān around 720 to receive initiation from the newly arrived *ācārya*. As we have seen, Jǐngxián seemingly engaged Śubhākarasimha in a discussion on various aspects of doctrine and practice, with the *ācārya*'s answers transcribed by another Chán monk by the name of Huǐjǐng 慧警 (n.d.).²⁵ This may be the core of the material we find in the *Wúwèi sānzàng chányào*. Unfortunately, Jǐngxián's questions have not survived. Aside from the brief note at the start of this text, there is no further information on Jǐngxián's subsequent adoption of the methods expounded by Śubhākarasimha. Even the inscription on the stele raised for Jǐngxián's burial *stūpa*, the *Sòngshān Huìshàn sì gù Jǐngxián dàshī shēn tǎ shíjì* 嵩山會善寺故景賢大師身塔石記 (*Stone Inscription for the Burial Stūpa of Jǐngxián, the Great Master at Huìshàn Temple on Mt. Sòng*),²⁶ makes no mention of his connection to Esoteric Buddhism.

Yìfú 義福 (d. 732),²⁷ another important disciple of Shénxiù, also seemingly exhibited at least some interest in Esoteric Buddhism. For example, Vajrabodhi's biography in the *Sòng Biographies* mentions that both Yìxíng and Yìfú received *abhiṣeka* from him. This ceremony probably took place around 720.²⁸ However, from the little we know of Yìfú's teachings, there is no suggestion of any direct Esoteric Buddhist influence. Although this does not rule out that he may have entertained some devotion towards its teachings, it could also indicate that he was primarily interested in the Bodhisattva Precepts and the *abhiṣeka*, rather than Esoteric Buddhist practice, as such.

With regard to Pǔjì, the main successor of Shénxiù, we have no evidence of any involvement with Esoteric Buddhist practice. However, one of his direct disciples, the monk Shǒuzhēn 守真 (700–770),²⁹ appears to have studied a combination of Northern Chán and Śubhākarasimha's teachings. Shǒuzhēn's epitaph, the *Táng Hángzhōu Língyǐn shān Tiānzhū sì gù dà héshàng tǎmíng* 唐

25 T.18, no. 917: 946a.

26 Cf. *Quán Tāng wén*, fasc. 362: 1649bc. It was composed by the government official Yáng Yú 羊愉 (n.d.). The entry note mentions that he was an official who lived at the time of Emperor Xuánzōng.

27 Brief bibliographical note in McRae 1986: 64–65.

28 For the traditional view of Yìxíng's study of astronomy and mathematics, see Osabe 1963: 285–296; see also Ch'en 1964: 481–482. See also Jeffrey Kotyk, "Buddhist Astrology and Astral Magic in the Tang Dynasty," Doctoral dissertation, Leiden University, 2017.

29 Biography in QTW, fasc. 918: 4291bc.

杭州靈隱山天竺寺故大和尚塔銘 (*Stūpa Inscription of the Great Venerable of Tiānzhú Temple on Mt. Língyǐn at Hángzhōu of the Táng*),³⁰ reveals that “Wúwèi 無畏 [i.e., Śubhākarasimha] bestowed upon him the Bodhisattva Precepts and the Great master Pǔjì transmitted the mind seal of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra* to him, and he discoursed on the *Qǐxìn zōng lùn* 起信宗論 (*Treatise on the Rise of Faith in the [Buddhist] Tradition*).”³¹ Pǔjì was almost certainly acquainted with Esoteric Buddhist practices, but it is not known to what extent, or if they influenced his brand of Northern Chán. It is possible that Yixíng introduced him to Zhēnyán, but a lack of evidence means that this must remain mere speculation.

Other sources indicate that Northern Chán and Zhēnyán Buddhism shared followers. One interesting case is that of the important court lady Zhāng Gōngzhù 張公住 (686–734),³² who is said to have studied Chán meditation under Yífú before receiving “*dhāraṇīs* and *abhiṣeka* (*tuólúóní guàndǐng* 陀羅尼灌頂) from the Tripiṭaka Master Vajrabodhi.”³³ Such cases reveal that, at least in the region of the Twin Capitals, Northern Chán and Esoteric Buddhism functioned within the same social circles and catered to many of the same clients.

4 The Use of Spells and Sanskrit Phonetics in Chán Buddhist Texts

Among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts relating to Northern Chán, we also encounter scattered traces of Esoteric Buddhist influence. In this regard, one text entitled *Xītán sòng* 悉曇頌 (*Siddham Song*)³⁴ merits particular attention. First of all, it bears the imprint of Northern Chán insofar as it refers to meditation practices we tend to associate with that denomination of Chán Buddhism. Secondly, its style of verse rhythm, employing Sanskrit phonetics, links it with at least three similar texts, of which one, the *Fóshuō Léngqié jīng chánmén xītán zhāng* 佛說楞伽經禪門悉談章 (*Methods of Chán with Siddham [According to] the Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*),³⁵ attributed to a certain Dìnghuì 定惠 (fl. first half of

30 Ibid.: 4291b.

31 Cf. *ibid.* The *Qǐxìn zōng lùn* referred to in this passage is the *Dàshèng qǐxìn lùn* 大乘起信論, T.32, no. 1666.

32 Personal name Lǐhuá 李華, the fourth concubine of Ruìzōng 睿宗 (710–712) and younger sister of Xuánzōng (stele extant in situ); cf. QTW, fasc. 279: 1265c–1266c.

33 Ibid.: 1266a.

34 Beijing *niǎo* 鳥 64; modern edition in *Dūnhuáng gēcǐ*, vol. 2: 1019–1024.

35 The most useful modern edition is that of the *Dūnhuáng gēcǐ*, vol. 2: 940–954, which is based on P.2204 and P.2212; see also P.3082, 3099. The first of these manuscripts has been edited and published as T.2779, no. 85. The other ones are either partly mutilated or otherwise incomplete. P.3082 has been reproduced in Demiéville and Rao 1971: pls. 92–99.

eighth century) of Mt. Sōng 嵩山, is clearly of Northern Chán provenance, given its prescribed methods of meditation and doctrines.³⁶ The commentarial text accompanying the latter set of verses claims that the use of Sanskrit phonetics in Chinese Buddhist verses originated with the famous Buddhist translator Kumārajīva (344–413).³⁷ In any case, the Northern Chán connection with these “Siddham songs” is the important point to note here. Thirdly, a close reading of Beijing *niǎo* 64 reveals that the Sanskrit phonetics used in the Chinese, rhythmic structure have been mixed with a proper Sanskrit text in the form of an important spell or mantra extracted from the final part of the celebrated *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya Sūtra* in Xuánzàng’s 玄奘 translation.³⁸ As far as I know, this feature is unique in Chinese Buddhist literature, and it provides evidence of a special type of didactic, spell-like text in verse form that evidently flourished during the eighth century.³⁹ On the conceptual level, the text in question reveals a degree of integration between Chán meditation and Esoteric Buddhist mantra, combined with elements that may have originated within Pure Land visualization.⁴⁰

For a new, annotated edition and translation, based on all extant manuscripts, see Chapter 2, this volume. Another poetic text is ascribed to Dìnghuì, the *Dà Xīngshān sì chánshī shāmén Dìnghuì shī cǎn* 大興山寺禪師沙門定慧詩贊 (*Poetic Verse by the Chán Master, Monk Dìnghuì of Dà Xīngshān Temple*), S.5809. It is described briefly in Demiéville and Rao 1971: 86–87, 330–331; see also Faure 1989: 58–60.

- 36 This is evident throughout the text as we find references to primary meditation practices associated with this denomination of Chán, including “constantly contemplating purity” (*cháng kànjìng* 常看淨, “contemplating the mind” (*kànxīn* 看心), “illumine” (*zhào* 照), “polishing the mirror” (*mó jìng* 磨鏡), etc. Cf. T.85, no. 2779: 536ab.
- 37 T.85, no. 2779: 536a. A scripture catalogue, the *Roku gai kyōtō mokuroku* 錄外經等目錄 (*An Index of Listed Scriptures from Abroad*), compiled by an unknown Japanese monk, contains a reference to a *Luóshí xītán zhāng* 羅什悉曇章 (*Kumārajīva’s Siddham Text*), which in all likelihood is the book to which our text refers (cf. T.55, no. 2175: 112a). The catalogue also mentions the existence of a *Zhānbōchéng xītán zhāng* 瞻波城悉曇章 (*Siddham Text from Campa*); cf. *ibid.*: 112a. The fact that the catalogue bears a postscriptum with the date 930 (Enchō 8) indicates that these two works reached Japan between the late Táng and the early Five Dynasties periods, so such Siddham texts must have been in wide circulation at that time. The *Fóshuō Léngqié jīng chánmén xītán zhāng* is translated and thoroughly discussed in Chapter 2 of this volume.
- 38 T.8, no. 251. For a detailed discussion of this important scripture as found among the manuscripts from Dūnhuáng, see Fukui 1984. Incidentally, he fails to mention our Siddham text.
- 39 For the relationship between the application of Sanskrit phonetics and Buddhist spells, see the short but thought-provoking essay by Jao Tsung-yi (2003: 234–238).
- 40 For further discussion, see two recent studies on Esoteric Buddhism, both of which highlight the use of *dhāraṇī* in Chinese Buddhism, Copp 2014 and Shinohara 2014. It should be noted, however, that neither of these studies deals with the wider use of spells and

Let us now turn to the text itself, the first six parts of which are missing:

[...] ⁴¹ 吁 〈□+閭〉 路 吁 〈□+閭〉 路
xu lǚ⁴² lu xu lǚ lu

Seventh *Vidyā*: Nirvaṇic liberation depends on the *prajñāpāramitā*-enlightenment. Contemplate the mind (*guānxīn* 觀心)⁴³ without impediments, which does not perish, is unborn (*wúshēng* 無生) and without fear.

怖 怛 路 俱 俱 怛 路 怖 魯 留 盧 樓 吁 〈□+閭〉 路
Bu da lu ju ju da lu bu Lu liu lu lou xu lǚ lu

If one keeps away from foolishness and inverted, dream-like thoughts, in the end *nirvāṇa* without infecting impurities and quiet extinction will be accomplished, and one will naturally cut off perverse obstruction.

喻 〈□+閭〉 路 怛 路 胡 輸 莎 呼 喻 咤 俱 嘎 囉 囉 嘎
Yu lǚ lu da lu hu shu sha hu, yu du⁴⁴ ju Sha luo luo sha
 囉 囉
luo luo

Eighth *Vidyā*: *Prajñā* and illusion merge in harmony.⁴⁵ All the past Buddhas of the three worlds,⁴⁶ all depended on the *prajñāpāramitā* in order to obtain *annutara*- [text continues]

波 怛 邏 哆 哆 怛 邏 波 魯 留 盧 樓 嘎 囉 囉
Po da luo duo duo da luo po⁴⁷ Lu liu lu lou sha luo luo

Samyak sambodhi,⁴⁸ the great awakening, with which one is able to ben-

Esoteric Buddhist ritual techniques in other forms of Chinese Buddhism. Moreover, Shinohara's book does not include a reading of a single spell.

41 The first six verse-sections, or *vidyās* (*míng* 明), as they are called, are missing from the manuscript; cf. *Dūnhuáng gēcí*, vol. 2: 1019.

42 I read the text's 〈□+閭〉 as *lǚ* 閭.

43 One of the primary practices in Northern Chán; see McRae 1986: 207–208.

44 Here, the text has the rare character 咤, which may be read as either *du* or *duo*. Given that the verse should rhyme, the former reading seems more apposite.

45 This may be an alternative way of saying that emptiness and form are identical. If so, this recalls the opening passage of the *Hṛdaya Sūtra*.

46 That is, the worlds of form, no-form, and desire. Here, it simply means “all the Buddhas of the past.”

47 Repeated and inverted rhythmic structure.

48 The sentence “all the Buddhas of the three times depend on the *prajñāpāramitā* in order to obtain *annutara samyak sambodhi*” is a direct quote from the *Hṛdaya Sūtra* (cf. T.8, no. 251: 848c).

efit oneself and others. It is compassion and wisdom [combined], perfect and complete. Hence *mahā* (great). All must rely on *prajñā* if they wish to attain Buddhahood.

耶 囉 囉 怛 邏 和 奢 莎 訶 耶 茶 迦 嚩 囉 浪 嚩 囉
Na luo luo da luo he she suo He na cha jia Sha luo lang sha luo
 浪
lang.

Ninth *Vidyā*: The *Prajñā* divine spell of vastness is the great *Vidyā* spell, which is able to open the dazzling light that illuminates Māra's army so that it scatters and self-destructs.

蕩 怛 迦 迦 怛 浪 蕩 魯 留 盧 樓 嚩 囉 浪
Dang da jia jia da nang dang Lu liu lu lou sha luo lang

It is the highest spell without beginning or end (lit. without back or front), the unequaled spell⁴⁹ without limit, which surpasses the great, perfect shapes of the sun and moon, and which enables one to get rid of all suffering and falsehood. This is the truth, and not falsehood.⁵⁰ Having pronounced the divine spell,⁵¹ one may penetrate all of the ten directions [of the cosmos], transmitting it, chanting it aloud everywhere, praising it.

揚 良 浪 怛 浪 黃 餉 娑訶 揚 長 逛 奚
Dang liang lang da lang huang xiang svahā yang zhang guang Xi
 利 異 奚 利 異
li yi xi li yi

Tenth *Vidyā*: Penetrating, divine spell spread in the world! *Gate*,⁵² it cannot be conceived. *Para gate*,⁵³ mysterious and profound. *Para saṃgate*,⁵⁴ realize non-doing (*wúwéi* 無為). *Bodhi*⁵⁵ *svahā*.⁵⁶

49 Partial quote from the final part of the *Hṛdaya Sūtra* (cf. T.8, no. 251: 848c).

50 Direct quote from the *Hṛdaya Sūtra* (cf. T.8, no. 251: 848c).

51 The translation is tentative here.

52 Skr. *Gate* means "going." It is the first part of the celebrated mantra of the *Hṛdaya Sūtra*. In accordance with the wording of the scripture, "*gate*" should be repeated: i.e., *gate, gate* ("going, going"). In a somewhat unconventional manner, the author of the text has inserted an explicative word or short sentence for each segment of the Sanskrit spell.

53 *Para gate* means "gone."

54 *Para saṃgate* means "completely gone beyond."

55 The text here reads *púsà* 菩薩 ("bodhisattva"), which makes no sense in the context. It is probably a scribal mistake for *pútí* 菩提 ("*bodhi*"), according to the reading of the *Hṛdaya Sūtra*. The idea is that, with the *prajñā* insight afforded by the scripture, the practitioner with the mantra transcends and attains enlightenment, or *bodhi*.

56 The text here reads *pōhē* 婆訶, which is obviously a mistake for *suōhē* 娑訶 ("*svahā*").

間 利 啞 啞 怛 例 雞 雞 怛 例 啞 魯 留 盧 樓 奚 利 異
Jian li ye ye da li ji da li ji ye Lu liu lu lou xi li yi

These four sentences⁵⁷ are extremely compassionate, as they are able to reject the heterodox Māras of inverted views and doubts. Intoning them aloud while contemplating and reflecting so that *bodhi* will be achieved. One may then diffuse them, causing them to be transmitted, received, and upheld. The one who seeks thus will accord with the mind, and obtain release from the Threefold Worlds [in a way] that cannot be conceived.

移 離 利 怛 利 奚 屢 娑 啼 移 唎 計 悉 談 悉 談 摩 嘎 囉
Yi li li da li xi xi so xi yi ti gai Xi tan⁵⁸ xi tan mo sha lu
na

The Tathāgata's multiple practices, as many as the sands of the Ganges,⁵⁹ refine and transform [sentient beings of] the three-thousand [thousand-fold world systems] without remainder, each one with his basic mind diligently seated in the lotus position. Some succeed while others fail, unable to bring a stop to it (i.e., the mind). [Like] stopping the carriage at the city gate, incited by delicacies [there].⁶⁰

魯 留 盧 樓 嘎 囉 耶
Lu liu lu lou sha lu na

The divine, pervading brilliance is used when he (i.e., the Tathāgata) sits on the lotus [throne], and from his mouth issues forth the pure, brightness which dazzles the crowd. Below it extends to the Avīci [Hell], above [...]

嘑 咤 咤 他 茶 怛 拏 嘎 囉 爛 嘎 囉 爛
 [...] *ni⁶¹ xu xu ta cha da na sha lu lan sha lu lan*

The bright light is without distinction and illumines what is in the world. Those who behold it, because of it brightness, get rid of the self grad-

57 Here the text is probably referring to the lines of the mantra.

58 As a compound, *xītán* 悉談(曇) is of course a transcription of the Sanskrit word *siddham*. It is curious that the author should have employed this word as part of his rhythmic structure. It may reveal that the use of Sanskrit we find here is not only very basic but also somewhat countrified.

59 The text renders this standard phrase in short form, almost code.

60 A metaphor for failing to enter into real practice due to worldly distractions.

61 The rare character 嘑 occurs here. It is usually defined as a variant of *ní* 呢 (explained as syn. to 喃 "to mutter"), but here it is obviously used phonetically.

ually.⁶² Each will rise as a bodhisattva separated from the bustle of the unreal [world] [...]

幻 怛 爛 難 難 怛 爛 幻 魯 留 盧 樓 叻 囉 爛
*Huan da lan nan nan da lan huan*⁶³ *Lu liu lu lou sha luo lan*
 [...]⁶⁴

Aside from its interesting format and peculiar structure, several other aspects of this text merit attention. Evidently, the phonetic parts that emulate Sanskrit are meaningless as text; their primary function is to maintain the musical rhythm of the verses. In other words, they should not be understood as spells. However, the integrated spell of the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya Sūtra* in the text is significant as it reveals the considerable importance of this scripture within the context of Chán Buddhism around the middle of the Táng.⁶⁵ Incidentally, Jìngjué 淨覺 (683–c. 750), another renowned Northern Chán monk, produced a full commentary on precisely this scripture, hence there was a precedent for followers of Northern Chán to integrate their teachings on meditation with both *prajñāpāramitā* thought and, as is the case here, Esoteric Buddhism.⁶⁶ Other sources reveal that the *Vajracheddikā*⁶⁷ was especially favored by the nascent lineage that formed around Shénhuì 神會, the self-proclaimed successor to Huìnéng 惠能, the famed Sixth Patriarch.⁶⁸ However, beyond the mantra of the *Hṛdaya*

62 This may be taken to mean that the practitioner gradually allows his dualistic self-reflection to fade away as he increasingly embraces the all-pervading brightness.

63 Another example of the repeated inversion of the tonal structure of the verse.

64 Here, the manuscript breaks off; cf. *Dūnhuáng gēcí*, vol. 2: 1019–1020.

65 We also find the sūtra and its spell prominently integrated into the doctrinal framework of the Bǎotáng School's 保唐宗 *Lidài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記 (*Record of the Dharma Treasure in Successive Generations*). Cf., e.g., T.51, no. 2075: 195c.

66 Jìngjué's commentary also touches upon the magical qualities of the mantra or spell, but does not appear to have directly influenced Beijing *niǎo* 64. His commentary also does not reveal any overt influence from Esoteric Buddhism; cf. *Jìngjué zhù Bōrěbōluómìdù xīnjīng* 淨覺註般若波羅蜜多心經 (*Jìngjué's Commentary on the Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya Sūtra*), S.4556. For a modern, annotated edition of this manuscript, see Yanagida 1967: 595–624. The tradition of writing commentaries on the *Hṛdaya Sūtra* in early Chán Buddhism is also testified by the *Xiǎoshì liùmén* 小室六門 (*The Six Methods of the Small Chamber*), a compilation mainly consisting of Northern Chán texts. Cf. T.48, no. 2009: 365a–366c. See also the other commentary on the *Hṛdaya Sūtra* preserved in S.2121 (cf. T.85, no. 2747).

67 T.8, no. 235.

68 For the role of the *Vajracheddikā* in the context of Shénhuì's teaching of Chán, see Jorgensen 2006: 611–612 and Poceski 2002. Recent studies also reveal that the so-called *Platform Sūtra*, traditionally ascribed to Huìnéng, was in large part built around the *Vajracheddikā* (see Anderl 2013).

Sūtra, the Esoteric Buddhist dimension of this so-called Siddham text is somewhat oblique. While the terminology reveals some familiarity with Esoteric Buddhist thinking and visualization practices on the part of the author, the degree to which the text reflects a conscious integration of the two forms of Chinese Buddhism remains unclear. It may be better understood as a didactic Chán text with added spell elements taken from the *Hṛdaya Sūtra*. However, we must not ignore the fact that *prajñāpāramitā* scriptures provided Esoteric Buddhism of the middle and late Táng with much of its doctrinal impetus, and it is hardly a coincidence that this was also the case with respect to Chán Buddhism, whether Northern or Southern.

5 Śubhākarasimha's Spell Aids for Chán Meditation

Another example of Esoteric Buddhism's influence on Northern Chán is the appearance of a pair of mantras—the *Chūshuì zhòu* 出睡咒 (*Mantra for Getting Rid of Drowsiness*) and the *Rùdìng zhòu* 入定咒 (*Mantra for Entering Samādhi*)—in manuscripts featuring several texts on Chán meditation and doctrine.⁶⁹ The mantras in question are accompanied by a short note which asserts that they were “translated by Śubhākarasimha (Wúwèi sānzàng yì 無畏三藏譯)” and should be “recited every day one hundred and eight times.”⁷⁰ The same note includes a quote from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*: “Only to contemplate one's own body is good, otherwise it will not be good cultivation.”⁷¹ From the context, we know that these mantras were used by cultivators of meditation, presumably Chán monks affiliated with the Northern School. I have been unable to find matching mantras in any of Śubhākarasimha's canonical works or translations, but, in any case, they are invocations to two specific spirits, the names of which constitute the mantras themselves. They read as follows:

- a: *Namo, jīte, mīte, Vyākaraṇa ja[?]te, buddha, svahā!* 南謨吉帝⁷² 伊帝, 毗伽羅⁷³ 賦帝, 婆陀, 薩婆訶。

69 Cf. S.2669v, etc.

70 S.2669v.

71 T.12, no. 374: 426c. The original meaning, as given in the *sūtra*, is of course rather different from the way “body contemplation” (*guānshēn* 觀身) has been interpreted in the text of the manuscript. The latter reflects a more Esoteric Buddhist view of the body.

72 This segment occurs as part of a string of identical, meaningless sounds in a spell found in an early translation of the *Saptabuddhaka Sūtra* (cf. T.21, no. 1333: 563a).

73 This part of the spell is identical to the name of Vyākaraṇa, one of the twelve zodiacal spirits in the entourage of Baiṣajyaguru (cf. F.88.3, p. 2b).

b: *Om, sabhamite, svahā!* 唵薩婆彌帝薩婆訶

So far, I have found no other Northern Chán scriptures—outside of the Dūnhuáng manuscripts—that contain either of these mantras, but the way they occur and the manner in which they appear in conjunction with the Dūnhuáng Chán material more than once allows us to consider them part of a Northern Chán curriculum, possibly reflecting developments that took place around 750 or even slightly later. As mentioned above, the mantras are found in manuscripts with texts traditionally identified as belonging to Northern Chán as well as the Tiāntái School 天台宗. On the basis of their attribution to Śubhākarasīnha—regardless of whether this is historically correct—we may consider them part of the general influence of Esoteric Buddhist practices on Northern Chán.

Before leaving our discussion of these spells and their role in Chán Buddhism, it should be noted that the *Mantra for Getting Rid of Drowsiness* also appears in a much later Chán source that dates from the Northern Sòng. The text in question is the *Chánmén zhūzǔ jìsòng* 禪門諸祖偈頌 (*All the Patriarchs of the Chán School's Verses and Songs*),⁷⁴ a work in two chapters supposedly compiled by Zǐshēng Rúyòu 子昇如祐 (n.d.), who is said to have flourished during the early Northern Sòng Dynasty. In chapter two of this mainly poetic compilation, we find an interesting piece entitled *Zuòchán chúshuì zhòu* 座禪除睡咒 (*Mantra for Getting Rid of Sleepiness while Sitting in Meditation*).⁷⁵ Although the wording is not identical to the mantra found in the Dūnhuáng manuscripts, it is sufficiently close for us to consider it a descendant of the earlier spell against drowsiness. The later mantra reads:

*Namo, kite, ite, mite, Vyākaraṇa, gate, gate, Buddha (bodhi?), svahā.*⁷⁶

This case shows that spells of this kind entered Chán Buddhist practice relatively early in the formation of the tradition, probably as early as the mid-seventh century, and remained important as auxiliary aids to meditation practice for several centuries thereafter while still retaining their original function. It also reveals that spells or mantras were not immutable texts; rather, they could be modified to suit specific circumstances. It is also evident that a mantra that was first used in a Northern Chán context could be seamlessly inserted into another (in this case, that of the later Southern Chán School).

74 ZZ.66, no. 1298: 720a–758a.

75 See *ibid.*: 738b.

76 *Nanwu, idi yidi, midī pijiadi, jiedi jiedi, potuo shahe* 南謨伊帝彌帝毗伽帝羯帝羯帝波陀莎訶.

6 Bodhidharma's Meditation Instructions and Esoteric Buddhist Practice

One of the many Chán texts retrieved from the Dūnhuáng hoard of manuscripts is the *Nán Tiānzhú guó Pútídámó chánshī guānmén* 南天竺國菩提達摩禪師觀門 (*Meditation Methods of Chán Master Bodhidharma from Southern India*).⁷⁷ This text, which is essentially a Northern Chán discourse on seven different types of meditation, exists in a number of versions, some more complete than others, and some with additional material. There is nothing in the core of the text that even remotely connects it with Esoteric Buddhism, although it does display some affinity with Pure Land practices, as Tanaka Ryōshō and others have pointed out.⁷⁸ It features many of the basic forms of meditation associated with Northern Chán, such as mind contemplation (*kànxīn* 看心) and one-pointedness (*yīxīn* 一心), as well as a substantial portion of *prajñā*-negation. Therefore, it may be considered a basic scripture of this form of Chán Buddhism. However, at least one of version of the text (S.6958) features an appended ritual text with an Esoteric Buddhist contents. This manuscript demands close attention.

The Esoteric Buddhist text in question consists of a series of mantras for purification of the Three Karmas, followed by a visualization of all the Buddhas of the ten directions of the cosmos. After this, the practitioner scatters flowers and makes offerings to the Buddhas (still visualizing), prostrating while he intones the mantra for prostration. Next he visualizes a *homa* fire in which precious incense is burnt while intoning of the mantra for offering incense. In the visualization, all kinds of banners, streamers, incense, and food feature as offerings. This is followed by the mantra for making offerings. Then, with a pure mind, the practitioner once again visualizes the Buddhas of the ten directions while from his own body a great light shoots forth to illuminate the cosmos with all its great world systems. The practice culminates with the practitioner visualizing himself as Śaḍakṣarī-Avalokiteśvara,⁷⁹ complete with all attributes we know from later-established iconography. At this point, the text reads:

77 T.85, no. 2832: 1270b; S.2973 and S.6958, etc.

78 For a lengthy discussion and analysis of this text, see Tanaka 1983: 213–236. For some reason, Tanaka pays little attention to the rather important Esoteric Buddhist aspects of the extended version of the text, as represented by S.6958.

79 This is the four-armed form of the bodhisattva that became the most common in the later Sino-Tibetan tradition. It does not occur in the standard iconographical material from the Táng Dynasty.

Visualize your own body as that of Avalokiteśvara, on the head is [a crown with] the Five Buddhas,⁸⁰ and the body with four arms. [The central pair of hands] held in *anjali*, the [upper] left hand [holds a *mala* with] several beads, the right hand [holds] the stem of a lotus flower. Sitting correctly with erect body [in the lotus position] great bright luminous form.⁸¹

Next, the light from Avalokiteśvara/the practitioner illuminates the three evil modes of existence (Skr. *gati*), exterminating all suffering therein. Then follows the important mantra associated with Avalokiteśvara, *Oṃ manī padme huṃ* (*ǎn móní bōtè [... mó] ōu* 唵磨尼鉢特摩吽), which is to be uttered 108, 1080, or even 10,800 times.⁸² After this, numerous pearls will appear in the hand of the practitioner, who will visualize how all sentient beings attain Buddhahood. The formal rite ends with the *Mantra for Arousing the Body* (*Chùshēn zhēnyán* 觸身真言).⁸³ Scriptures may be recited according to one's own wishes as well as transference of merit.

This text is interesting in its own right as it is a prime example of a particular type of Esoteric Buddhist ritual (Skr. *sādhana*) during which the practitioner attains identification with the divinity. Moreover, it is one of the earliest documented instances in Chinese Buddhist sources where we encounter Śaḍakṣarī-Avalokiteśvara and his famous, six-syllable mantra.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, and the tantalizing nature of the material notwithstanding, it is unclear what sort of connection existed between the *Nán Tiānzhú guó Pútídámó chánshī guānmén* and the ritual text, or indeed between the cult of Śaḍakṣarī-Avalokiteśvara and Chán. Were the instructions they set forth meant to be practiced simultaneously? Or one after the other? Were they even related, except as we find them

80 The Five Buddha Crown is of course an important element in the regalia of Esoteric Buddhist ritual, reflecting the Five Dhyani Buddhas.

81 S.6958; see also Tanaka 1983: 216–217.

82 See also its use in S.5587, which mainly consists of excerpts from ritual texts.

83 No mantra with this name can be found in the Chinese canon, so it may have been transmitted via the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. In any case, the idea is to use the mantra before ending the meditation as a means of demarcating the holy state from normal consciousness.

84 Given that both S.6958 and S.5587 date from the late eighth to the early ninth century, we have evidence here that the cult of Śaḍakṣarī-Avalokiteśvara and his six-syllable mantra was current in China almost two centuries before the translation of the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, which has traditionally been considered the source of the mantra and the primary scripture for this form of bodhisattva (cf. T.20, no. 1050: 61b). Since the mantra is obviously Sanskrit in origin, it must have had an Indian (as well as a Tibetan) pre-history before being translated into Chinese and meeting with Bodhidharma in Dūnhuáng, in all likelihood during the Tibetan occupation of Shāzhōu.

in S.6958? Perhaps the Esoteric Buddhist ritual was added later and the scripture was used in a different religious context? We shall probably never know. However, we do know that both existed as independent texts, as is well documented in the Dūnhuáng manuscripts. Hence, at some point in time, the two works—a Northern Chán meditation manual and a ritual text of Esoteric Buddhist provenance—were combined to form a single instructional document.

One might be inclined to consider S.6958 as an isolated case, perhaps even as a personal copy of two texts for practice. However, as several near-identical Dūnhuáng manuscripts contain the same compilation of texts, we may assume that this was a standardized Buddhist manual or anthology that was widely circulated among the members of the *saṅgha* in Shāzhōu 沙州. Hence, it may be considered as a clear example of the integration of Chán Buddhist practices with those of Esoteric Buddhism.

The ritual text is an interesting example of Esoteric Buddhist practice in which the practitioner visualizes himself as Avalokiteśvara. Moreover, it explicitly states that he becomes identical with the bodhisattva. This is very interesting. In Esoteric Buddhist rituals current in Táng China, we find this form of ritual identification between practitioner and the object of worship only in sources relating to the Three Ācāryās, and of course in later Tantric Buddhist texts. Here, the main phase of most ritual proceedings (i.e., *sādhana*s) is precisely the moment when the identification with the deity takes place.⁸⁵ Hence, I am inclined to believe that the text on which S.6958 is based was composed during the Tibetan occupation of Shāzhōu (i.e., between 780 and 848), a time when the Chinese Buddhist community was exposed to full-fledged Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhism. We may never know which scripture(s) served as the basis for the rituals outlined in S.6958 and similar manuscripts, but it seems all but certain that we are dealing with a prime example of Indo-Tibetan Tantric Buddhist influence.

Another text, entitled the *Dàshèng sì wúliàng ānxīn rùdào fǎyào lüè* 大乘四無量安心入道法要略 (*Abbreviated Dharma-Essentials of the Four Immeasurable Calming States of the Mahāyāna for Entering the Way*), was found among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts.⁸⁶ This relatively short work deals with visualization practice involving *bīja/siddham* syllables of the kind we normally associate with Esoteric Buddhist rituals. In the view of Tanaka Ryōshō, it represents a fusion of Chán and Esoteric Buddhism through the medium of Pure Land practice. I am not entirely convinced by this interpretation as few, if any, aspects

85 For a discussion of the practice of self-identification with the divinity (i.e., the object of devotion), see Copp 2011: 141–145.

86 For one version, see S.522, which is partly translated and discussed in Tanaka 1983: 510–513.

of the text can be linked directly to Chán Buddhism, even though Pure Land beliefs also formed part of Northern Chán practice. Instead, I see the text as an example of Pure Land practice transmitted within the Esoteric Buddhist tradition.

7 The *Tánfǎ yízé* and the Southern Chán Lineage of Patriarchs

The followers of Northern Chán were not alone in being influenced by Esoteric Buddhist practices and adapting them to their own system of meditation. In the biography of the monk Wúzhù 無住 (714–774),⁸⁷ the *de facto* founder of the Bǎotáng School 保唐宗, based in Yìzhōu 益州 (modern-day Chéngdū, Sìchuān province), we find repeated references to and citations from both the *Shǒu léngyán jīng* 首楞嚴經 (*Pseudo-Śūraṅgama Sūtra*)⁸⁸ and the *Mahāprajñā-pāramitā*.⁸⁹ However, Wúzhù also rejected the use of spells in connection with rituals of repentance, deeming them worthless.⁹⁰ Overall, Wúzhù's biography indicates his familiarity with Esoteric Buddhist practices, although the text provides no details of how and to what extent these were integrated into the fabric of his teaching.

There is very little information on the conflation of Esoteric Buddhism and Southern Chán, although one early Korean source does provide some clues. A stele inscription dedicated to the monk Hyesō 慧昭 (774–850),⁹¹ an important Sōn (Ch. Chán) master associated with the founding of the Ssange 雙溪寺 Temple on Mt. Chiri 智理山, refers to his use of Esoteric Buddhist practices based on teachings ascribed to Śubhākarasimha.⁹² Hyesō evidently adopted these methods while residing in Táng China, where he trained under the Chán master Yúnxiù Shénjiàn 雲秀神鑑 (d. 844),⁹³ a first-generation disciple of Mǎzǔ 馬祖

87 For biographical information on Wúzhù, cf. the *Lidài fǎbǎo jì* 歷代法寶記 (*Records of Dharma Treasure through the Ages*), T.51, no. 2075: 186a–196b. For an excellent study of this text, including a full, annotated translation, see Adamek 2007. See also Féng Xuéchéng 1991: 11–16.

88 T.19, no. 945: 179a, 183b, 187a, 189b, etc.

89 T.51, no. 2075: 180a.

90 Ibid.: 195b.

91 *Chōsen kinseki sōran* (*A General View of Epigraphical Material from Korea*), 2 vols, ed. Chōsen sōtōfuku, Keijo (Seoul), 1920 (reprint, Seoul: Asea munhwasa, 1976), vol. 1: 66–72. The text for this inscription was composed by Ch'oe Chiwŏn 崔致遠 (857–?), a famous Silla scholar and poet who studied for several years in Táng China. Hyesō's connection to Chinese Esoteric Buddhism is discussed briefly in Sørensen 1994: 73–96.

92 Ibid.: 69.

93 Biography in T.50, no. 2060.50: 842a.

(709–788), the founder of the Hóngzhōu 洪州 Branch of Southern Chán. Since Mǎzǔ hailed from Sìchuān, where he was associated with the Bǎotáng School, a dominant force in the region during the second half of the eighth century, there may well have been a connection between Esoteric Buddhist practices transmitted in that tradition and those of the Hóngzhōu Branch.⁹⁴ However, further research is necessary before any firm conclusions can be drawn on this issue.

This leads us to a lengthy, apocryphal scripture that was found among the Dūnhuáng hoard, namely the *Jīngāng jùnjīng jīngāng dǐng yīqiè Rúlái shēnmào mīmì jīngāng jiè dà sānmèiyē xiūxíng sìshíèr zhǒng tánfǎ jīng zuòyòng wēiyí fǎzé*—*Dà Pílúzhēnà jīngāng xīndì fǎmén mì fǎjiè tánfǎ yízé* 金剛峻經金剛頂一切如來深妙秘密金剛界大三昧耶修行四十二種壇法經作用威儀法則大毘盧遮那金剛心地法門秘法戒壇法儀則 (*The Lofty Vajra Scripture, Vajraoṣṇīṣa of All the Tathāgatas, the Deep and Wonderful, Secret Vajradhātu, Great Samaya, the Scripture for Cultivating the Forty-two Kinds of Methods [for Setting up] the Altar Employing the Awesome Methods of Ritual Proceedings—The Mahāvairocana Vajra Mind Ground Dharma Door, Esoteric Dharma Precepts Altar Methods of Ritual Proceedings*; hereafter *Tánfǎ yízé*), attributed to Amoghavajra.⁹⁵ This interesting scripture appears in several manuscripts, indicating its relative popularity in the Buddhist community at Dūnhuáng.⁹⁶ The extant text consists of thirty-five chapters, all but one of which comprise a large and comprehensive ritual manual bearing the imprint of mature Esoteric Buddhism of the second half of the Táng. One of these chapters, entitled *Fù fǎzàng pǐn* 付法藏品 (“Chapter on Entrusting the Dharma Treasure”),⁹⁷ outlines the patriar-

94 Representatives from the Bǎotáng School are known to have entered Tibet during the second half of the eighth century, whereupon their brand of Chinese Chán was disseminated with some success. It is highly probable that the inevitable encounter with Indo-Tibetan Tantrism had some influence on the teachings of the Bǎotáng School, too (cf. Broughton 1983: 1–68).

95 ZWF, vol. 11: 17–231. The *Tánfǎ yízé* and its relationship with Southern Chán have been studied by Amanda Goodman in “The Ritual Instructions for Altar Methods (*Tanfǎ yize*): Prolegomenon to the Study of a Chinese Esoteric Buddhist Ritual Compendium from Late-Medieval Dunhuang” (Doctoral dissertation, University of California-Berkeley, 2013). Although her thesis deals with the scripturally complex *Tánfǎ yízé*, a lengthy and heterogeneous, apocryphal work based partly on the *Sarvatathāgata-tattvasaṃgraha* (T.865, no. 18), Goodman’s main focus is on the scripture’s use and integration of the patriarchal lineage of Southern Chán, rather than the ritual aspects pertaining to Esoteric Buddhism.

96 Facsimile versions of several of the Dūnhuáng manuscripts can be found in Lín Shitián and Shén Guóměi 2000, vol. 1: 96–300. For a brief survey of the *Tánfǎ yízé* as well as a modern text-critical version by Hóu Chōng 侯冲, see ZWF, vol. 11: 99–136.

97 Ibid.: 99–136. This intriguing and enigmatic part of the *Tánfǎ yízé* has been the subject of a thorough study by Tanaka Ryōshō (1983: 135–168). Unfortunately, Tanaka was primar-

chal lineage of Southern Chán with accompanying verses of praise. Recent research has suggested that the Chán history *Shèngzhòu jí* 聖胄集 (*Collection of Sagely Descendants*)⁹⁸ provided the compilers of the *Tánfǎ yízé* with the verses and concepts associated with the patriarchal transmission of Southern Chán.

To understand the doctrinal and ritual context of the *Tánfǎ yízé*, we should begin by looking at its elaborate and lengthy title, which contains markers that indicate a specific context and sectarian filiation. While it is possible to break the title down into smaller units, here I shall focus on five major themes or concepts.

First of all, there is the obvious and undisclosed reference to the tradition of the *Vajrasāekhara*, a major scripture of Esoteric Buddhism that was introduced to China and partially translated by Vajrabodhi and his disciple Amoghavajra.⁹⁹ It is in this work that the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and the associated ritual lore are outlined. This alone positions the *Tánfǎ yízé* right in the middle of Táng mainstream Esoteric Buddhism, albeit only by association.

Secondly, there is the central presence of Mahāvairocana Buddha, the primary divinity in the mature Esoteric Buddhism of the Táng. This confirms the *Tánfǎ yízé*'s sectarian affiliation, which is then underlined in the introductory colophon, where the author is named as Amoghavajra.

Thirdly, the title refers to the Vajra-Mind ground (*jīngāng xīndì* 金剛心地), a fundamental Esoteric Buddhist concept that is encountered in Yixing's *Dà pílúzhēnà chéngfó jīngshū* 大毘盧遮那成佛經疏 (*Commentary on the Mahāvairocana Sūtra*)¹⁰⁰ and the *Pílúzhēnà chéngfó shénbiàn jiāchí jīng yìshì* 毗盧遮那成佛神變加持經義釋 (*An Explanation of the Meaning of the Vairocana Sūtra*).¹⁰¹ Interestingly, this concept appears to have been even more common in Chán Buddhist contexts: it is mentioned in both the *Vajrasamādhi Sūtra*¹⁰² and the *Zōngjìng lù* 宗鏡錄 (*Records of the Mirror of the [Chán] School*).¹⁰³

Fourthly, the phrase "Secret Vajradhātu" is a direct reference to the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala and its related ritual procedures.

ily interested in the construction of the Chán lineage, including its textual sources, and largely ignored the significance of the *Tánfǎ yízé* itself. He later revised some of his views on the *Fù fǎzàng pǐn* and provided a more precise contextualization for it, as is evident in Tanaka 2002: 31–52.

98 For a discussion of this text, see *ibid.*

99 T.18, no. 865; see also Giebel 2001: 1–108.

100 T.39, no. 1796: 621b.

101 ZZ.23, no. 438: 312a, 402c, 472b.

102 T.9, no. 273: 369c, 749a, etc.

103 T.48, no. 2016: 895a.

Fifth, the “Great Samaya” is a concept that encompasses all the initiations, vows, and empowerments that a practitioner must undertake before becoming a certified adept of Esoteric Buddhism.

In terms of underlying doctrine, ritual procedures, the pantheon of divinities it invokes, and overall concepts, the text itself primarily reflects orthodox Esoteric Buddhist practices that were current during the second half of the Táng. Indeed, it is only in the *Fù fǎzàng pǐn* that there is any evidence of merging Chán concepts with Esoteric Buddhist doctrine and practice. In that chapter, the orthodox patriarchal lineage of Southern Chán Buddhism is integrated with the formal transmission of the *Vajraśekhara* and the Vajradhātu Maṇḍala, and by extension with the dispensation of Amoghavajra’s brand of Zhēnyán Buddhism.¹⁰⁴ On the functional and conceptual levels, this is done by inserting a standard phrase into each verse of transmission, to the effect that the practitioner must “Enter Mahāvairocana’s Vajradhātu (*dēng Dàpílú jīngāng jiè* 登大毘盧金剛界)” during the ritual. In this way, the Chán patriarchal succession from Mahākāśyāpa to Huìnéng¹⁰⁵ is turned into a guarantor and inheritor of the *Vajraśekhara* tradition. Moreover, the verses and associated text also refer to the “secret transmission of the Buddha Mind (*mì chuán fóxīn* 密傳佛心)” and the “highly secret and comprehensive transmission (*mìmì xuānchuán* 祕密宣傳).”¹⁰⁶ Both of these may be seen as representing a sort of “esoterification”—or an Esoteric Buddhist interpretation—of the classical concept of a “separate transmission outside the established teaching (*wàijiào biéchuán* 外教別傳)” —the hallmark *par excellence* of Southern Chán.

The rest of the *Fù fǎzàng pǐn* constitutes a veritable history of the introduction of Buddhism to China, and as such borrows heavily from a classical Chinese work, the *Fù fǎzàng yīnyuán zhuàn* 付法藏因緣傳 (*Transmission of the Dharma Treasury*),¹⁰⁷ to the extent of copying entire passages verbatim.¹⁰⁸ Even so, the imprint of Esoteric Buddhism continues to crop up in the text, as do certain elements of formal Daoism.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps the best way to approach the *Fù fǎzàng pǐn* is to view it as an Esoteric Buddhist version of the history of Buddhism in China.

Following the list of Chán patriarchs, which ends with Huìnéng, the Sixth Patriarch, the *Fù fǎzàng pǐn* presents two short Esoteric Buddhist texts, nei-

104 Amoghavajra is mentioned as the translator of the *Tánfǎ yízé* (cf. ZWF, vol. 11: 99, etc.).

105 Ibid.: 106, etc.

106 Ibid.: 105, 113.

107 T.50, no. 2058 (an early Chinese Buddhist history compiled in 472 under the Northern Wèi).

108 For a discussion of this, see Wáng Shūqìng and Yáng Fúxuē 2008: 94–106.

109 ZWF, vol. 11: 117.

ther of which seems to have any logical connection to the preceding material. Both of these texts provide guidelines for the practice of ritualized meditation in much the same way as S.6958 (see above). The first, which has no discrete title, follows immediately after the transmission verse spoken by Huìnéng and focuses on the liberation of suffering beings in the three impure *gatis* (i.e., the realms of animals, *pretas*, and the hells). The full text reads as follows:

For the perfected body to merge with the form body (*chéngshēn hé sèshēn* 成身合色身; i.e., the *dharmakāya* with the physical body),¹¹⁰ cordon off the area, and thereafter arouse your body and mind. Sit with erect body [in the correct meditation posture] and imagine that this body emanates a great, bright light, which illuminates the ten directions, [thus] putting to rest the sufferings of the Three Dusts (*sān tú* 三塗 “Evil *gatis*”), and blocking off the sufferings of the hells. From the right shoulder issues upwards one path of birth light that illuminates all the heavens,¹¹¹ so that everybody will be released from all hardships and sufferings. From the left shoulder issues upwards one path of rebirth light that illuminates all the heavens. Everybody will be released from all hardships and sufferings. All gods and men in the worlds of the ten directions testify to the fruits of the True Way. From the right ribs below issues forth one path of rebirth light, illuminating all [domestic] animals, causing them to be reborn in Heaven. From the left ribs below issues forth a path of light for rebirth, illuminating [the realm of the] *pretas*, causing them to attain rebirth in Heaven. From the right knee below issues one path of purifying, cool, and soothing light for rebirth, destroying all the eight hot hells, whereupon all the sentient beings suffering there without exception are reborn in Heaven. From the left knee below issues one path of warming light of rebirth illumining all the eight cold hells, whereupon all the suffering sentient beings there will obtain removal from their sufferings, and all will be reborn in Heaven. When all has been finished, there will be no sentient beings in the worlds of the ten directions that will be subject to suffering.

Visualize my body-seal (*shēnyìn* 身印), which is the same as that of all the Buddhas. Wherefore all the Buddhas are the same as my body, outside of which there is nothing else.¹¹²

110 I interpret this as a reference to the merger of the practitioner with the divinity during visualization.

111 The exact same sentence can be found in the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*, which may indicate some textual connection between this scripture and the *Tánfǎ yízhé* (cf. T.16, no. 663; 342c).

112 ZWF, vol. 11: 134–135.

This passage represents a type of visualization practice that accompanies a rite for the salvation of suffering sentient beings in the lower realms of rebirth, similar to the *yànkǒu* 焰口 and *shīshí* 施食 rites, as well as the later *shuǐlù* 水陸 rite.¹¹³ As such, it forms part of mainstream Esoteric Buddhist eschatological practice, which, in the Chinese context, owes much to the activities of Amoghavajra. Nothing here even remotely resembles what we normally associate with Chán Buddhist meditation, so it is difficult to understand why it was placed directly after Huìnéng's verse on the Mind-ground.

The second Esoteric Buddhist ritual text, which follows immediately after the first and is entitled *Jīngāngzàng púsà sānzì guānxiǎng* 金剛藏菩薩三字觀想 (*Vajragarbha Bodhisattva's Contemplation of the Three [Bija] Letters*),¹¹⁴ is associated with the "First Patriarch."¹¹⁵ It reads as follows:

The practitioner sits in the correct meditation posture facing the western direction, and contemplating these three Siddham letters (i.e., *om* 唵, *hum* 吽, and *ya* 押).¹¹⁶ The *om* letter must be visualized on the hip issuing forth a yellow light. The *hum* letter on top of the heart issuing forth a white light. The *ya* letter should be visualized on the tongue issuing forth a red

113 For a discussion of these rituals, see Orzech 1994a: 51–72. The first two rites are concerned with feeding the hungry ghosts and other unfortunate spirits. The third is a large-scale, communal ritual for the salvation of the souls of those who have died violent deaths.

114 In P.3835v, a booklet featuring a compilation of short ritual texts associated with Esoteric Buddhism, the same Vajragarbha meditation is appended as a separate text, disassociated from Huìnéng and the other Chán patriarchs. This may indicate that it, like other texts, was inserted into different contexts depending on the individual requirements of those who compiled and wrote the manuscripts. As is the case here, these works have the character of personal compilations in the form of manuals. P.3835v contains the following texts:

1. 妙色身如來真言
2. 甘露王如來真言
3. 水散食一本
4. 佛頂心咒
5. 火部禁方
6. 符咒真言
7. 入觸真言
8. 金剛藏菩薩三字觀想
9. 文殊菩薩觀想
10. 佛說大輪金剛物持陀羅尼法
11. 題記雜寫.

115 This may refer to Śubhākarasimha.

116 Undoubtedly meant to indicate *om*, *hum* 吽, and *ā* (i.e., the seed-syllables for body, speech, and mind in accordance with the Three Mysteries concept of Esoteric Buddhism). See Orzech and Sørensen 2011: 83–86.

light. [Afterwards] these lights extend to all the worlds in the cosmos, illuminating the entire *dharmadhātu*. All the Buddhas of the ten directions see this bright light, returning their blessings to the practitioner, who then intones the Mantra for the Verification of the Light:

*Sa, ni, ha, ra, na, hum.*¹¹⁷

Having finished the invocation, the three lights return from afar to their original positions, i.e. on the thighs, in the mind, and on the tongue of the practitioner. The three characters are then visualized as hanging in empty space with the *ya* character on top, the *hum* in the middle, and the *om* below. Thereafter, the *om* letter produces a path of light that enters the *hum* character, and the *ya* character produces a path of light that enters the *hum* character. Following this, the *hum* character produces a path of light that dissolves the light of the two other characters, and when this is accomplished, the light of the *hum* character itself dissolves. Then the practitioner is able to access the *Samādhi* of Thoughtlessness (*wúniàn chándìng* 無念禪定).¹¹⁸ Thus he remains sitting in meditation for a long time. If he becomes drowsy, it is necessary to contemplate emptiness. After this he intones a mantra [for staying awake?] which says:

*Sa, pa, ra, na, ba.*¹¹⁹

And thereafter the Mantra of Light:

*Sa, ni, ha, ra, na, hum.*¹²⁰

Having finished the mantras, the three lights are transformed; their light becomes [respectively] a half moon, the *a* character also becomes a half moon, together they become the moon and the sun. [Then] the *Mudrā* for the Boundary of the Altar is made, followed by the *Mudrā* for Purification.¹²¹

As this passage demonstrates, the *Jīngāngzàng púsà sānzì guānxiǎng* provides straightforward guidelines for the practice of visualization, and as such it resembles a number of other Esoteric Buddhist scriptures that cover meditation on the *bīja* letters. Hence, the text is entirely consistent with Amoghavajra's

117 薩泥呵囉那吽: This mantra and the two that follow read as strings of Siddham *bīja* with the attributed meaning attached to each sound. Note the slight variation compared with the mantra below.

118 See Yampolsky 1967: 137–139.

119 悉鉢囉那吽: As a spell, this is typologically close to the celebrated mantra of Mañjuśrī—*A, ra, pa, sa, na*—which also consists of monosyllables.

120 薩泥呵囉那吽: Note the slight variation compared with the mantra above, which otherwise has the same reading.

121 ZWF, vol. 11: 135–136; Tanaka 1983: 164–165.

Zhēnyán teachings, which were current in China in the final century of the Táng Dynasty. However, the context in which it appears is a very different matter, because the vast majority of the *Fù fǎzàng pǐn* is devoted to the edification of the orthodox lineage of Chán patriarchs, starting with Śākyamuni Buddha. As with the preceding ritual text, I am at a loss to explain *Jīngāngzàng púsà sānzì guānxiǎng*'s connection to the rest of the chapter and Chán Buddhism, if indeed one existed in the first place.

As it forms part of the *Tánfǎ yízé*, the *Fù fǎzàng pǐn* obviously belongs in an Esoteric Buddhist context. Therefore, the Chán material it contains may be considered inserted or “outside” material. Given that the *Tánfǎ yízé* is a full-blown Esoteric Buddhist text, it would be illogical to argue that it belongs in a Chán context. Admittedly, in the *Jīngāngzàng púsà sānzì guānxiǎng*, there is a reference to the “*Samādhi* of Thoughtlessness”—a concept that could be taken to indicate a certain degree of Chán Buddhist influence. However, in light of the *Tánfǎ yízé*'s overall scope and sense we are still dealing with a lengthy Esoteric Buddhist text that belongs firmly within the *Vajrasekhara* tradition onto which a Chán Buddhist lineage has been grafted.

We may also view the Chán material in the *Tánfǎ yízé* as another example of the “cut-and-paste” technique that is evident in many other Dūnhuáng manuscripts: that is, the practice of lifting material from other sources and contexts and rearranging it to form new texts.¹²² This may also explain why the Chán passages appear as discrete blocks of text rather than fully integrated parts of a unified discourse. Given that the *Tánfǎ yízé* is known only in the context of late Táng Buddhism at Dūnhuáng, there is good reason to consider it a local compilation, at least in its extant form.

Before concluding this brief excursion into the “secrets” of the *Tánfǎ yízé*, it is worth mentioning that this text promotes the “historical” transmission of Chán, rather than that of Amoghavajra's Esoteric Buddhist lineage. We do not know why or how this happened. By the time the *Tánfǎ yízé* was compiled, probably during or shortly after the Tibetan occupation of Shāzhōu in the ninth century, there were already a number of official and semi-official lineages for the Esoteric Buddhist transmission in circulation in China.¹²³ Could it be that there was no knowledge of any of these lineages in Dūnhuáng during the Tibetan

122 For a discussion of this, see Sørensen 1989: 115–139.

123 This lineage was established in the *Jīn tái liǎngjiè shī xiàngchéng* 金胎兩界師相承 (*Masters in the Succession of Inheritance of the Two Realms of the Vajra and the Womb*), by Hǎiyún 海雲 (fl. 828–874). This is a lineage chart setting out the transmission of the Vajradhātu and Dharmadhātu Maṇḍalas in accordance with the Jīngzhǔ Temple 淨住寺 lineage. It is dated 833 (cf. ZZ.59, no. 1073). See also the lineage in the slightly later ZZ.59, no. 1074.

occupation, and that news of them reached the western parts of the Gānsù Corridor long after the Táng recovery of the area (i.e., after 848)? Or perhaps the Huìchāng Suppression of Buddhism (845–846), which coincided with the final years of Tibetan control over western Gānsù and severely disrupted the functioning of the great Esoteric Buddhist temples in the Twin Capitals of the Táng Empire, was a concomitant factor? Both seem plausible explanations, either individually or in combination. Otherwise, we may simply have to accept that, rather than utilizing the officially sanctioned lineages for the transmission of the lineage from Amoghavajra and his primary disciples, the tradition that produced the *Tánfǎ yízé* grafted the Chán patriarchal lineage onto a ritual compendium of Esoteric Buddhism based on the *Vajraśekhara*, then used the resulting text to lend historical validity to its own lineage.

8 Conclusion

The cases presented in this chapter reveal that during the middle of the Táng, Esoteric Buddhism exerted a degree of influence on Chán Buddhism in and around the Twin Capitals. On a practical level, it would appear that the elaborate and comprehensive rites performed by Esoteric Buddhist masters attracted Buddhists from all walks of life. In particular, the initiations and investments of the vows of the bodhisattva that were central to Esoteric Buddhism came to the attention of the followers of Northern Chán. Moreover, indirect evidence suggests that certain other aspects of Esoteric Buddhist practice, such as the use of mantras and *dhāraṇīs*, were also transmitted to these practitioners. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Esoteric Buddhism had a significant impact on Chán doctrine. Hence, we must conclude that it was primarily the ritual side of Esoteric Buddhism that affected certain aspects of Chán practice.

Although relatively solid historical documentation links Northern Chán with Esoteric Buddhism as transmitted via Śubhākarasimha and Vajrabodhi, we have precious little information on how and to what extent the doctrines of the two traditions influenced each other. It may have been that the impact of Esoteric Buddhism was limited to formalistic ritual matters, and that the monks of Northern Chán, with a few noticeable exceptions, such as Yixing, remained largely uninterested in it as a soteriological path. Nevertheless, the material presented here suggests an interrelationship and some degree of influence, especially in the direction of Esoteric Buddhism to Chán. By contrast, Chán influence over Esoteric Buddhism seems to have been minimal. That said, certain aspects of Chán doctrine may have entered Esoteric Buddhist discourse through the terminology used by Yixing and others. One example of this is the

important concept of “Mind-ground” (*xīndì* 心地), which in the Esoteric Buddhist context became the “Vajra Mind-ground.”

The relationship between Chán and Esoteric Buddhist practices that is evident in the Dūnhuáng manuscripts raises one crucial question. Do these sources reflect a development that was limited to the Buddhist communities of Shāzhōu, and by extension those in the western part of the Gānsù Corridor, or was it echoed throughout China during the second half of the Táng Dynasty? Unfortunately, it is not easy to provide a straight answer to this question. Given that the information in the Dūnhuáng manuscripts is unique and can be only partly corroborated by other sources, I find it problematic to ascribe general significance to it, or to take it as representative of a situation that prevailed throughout the country. So, while the Dūnhuáng material presented here may well be indicative of widespread inter-sectarian relations, we simply do not know whether such exchanges were common or not.

What we do know is that when Esoteric Buddhist practices were incorporated into another Buddhist context during the Táng, they were usually grafted onto a doctrinal core that was representative of that type of Buddhism, rather than integrated with it. In other words, such practices were treated as accessories, rather than given a primary function or meaning. Moreover, although the use of spells or mantras was relatively common in a variety of Buddhist sectarian contexts during the Táng, something which suggests at least some level of Esoteric Buddhist influence, their importance varied greatly from context to context. In any case, it is difficult to argue for full integration of Esoteric Buddhist practices with those of the Jìngtǔ 淨土 or the Tiāntái School. A case such as that afforded by the *Tánfǎ yízé* with its appropriation of the orthodox Chán lineage is in fact exceptionally rare, even if the doctrinal approach in the text itself remains squarely within the parameters of Esoteric Buddhism.

A rapprochement and partial integration of Chán and Esoteric Buddhism of the kind we have explored here can also be documented for the Náncháo 南朝 and especially the Dàlǐ 大理 Kingdom in Yùnnán, although this evidently occurred slightly later and was obviously formulated on the basis of different textual and sectarian transmissions.

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- Kúmgang sammae kyōng* 金剛三昧經, ed. T.9, no. 273.
- Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*; see *Léngqié ābádūoluó bǎo jīng*.
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Buddhist–Daoist Interaction as Creative Dialogue: The Mind and Dào in Twofold Mystery Teaching

Friederike Assandri

When Master Fǎchōng 法沖 came back to Ānzhōu 安州 [in Húběi], there was the Daoist Cài Zǐhuàng 蔡子晃, who liberally studied the inner and outer teachings and socialized freely with the monks. Clerics and laymen had crowded into a Buddhist monastery, and they arranged for [the Daoist] Cài to expound a Buddhist sūtra.

T.50, no. 2060: 666b

This episode, which Dào xuān 道宣 relates in his biography of Master Fǎchōng (589–665), was probably not an isolated event. The late Six Dynasties and early Táng saw an intense and productive interaction and exchange between Daoists and Buddhists. In the account cited, Fǎchōng successfully contested that a non-Buddhist could publicly present a Buddhist text. Nevertheless, the fact that a Daoist master would be invited to give a public lecture in a Buddhist monastery on Buddhist scriptures is significant. It underscores that when we speak of Buddhism and Daoism in early medieval China, we are not referring to two hermetically closed, separate cultural and intellectual entities. While discrete in terms of the social institutions of the Buddhist and Daoist clergy, there was considerable overlap or “confluence” (Sharf 2002: 71) when it came to concepts, terminology, and scriptures.¹

Fǎchōng, whom Dào xuān mentions in a lineage of Chán masters, was famous for his interpretation of the *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*.² The Chán patriarch Huikě 會可 is said to have relied on his interpretation. Fǎchōng's biography also mentions that he was in contact with two ministers at the court of Emperor

1 This overlap with regard to scriptures not only relates to the fact that Buddhists and Daoists read each other's scriptures. They also produced scriptures that resembled those of the other religion. Examples are the Buddhist *Treasure Store Treatise* (*Bǎozàng lùn* 寶藏論; T.45, no. 1857) discussed in Sharf 2002, the texts presented in Mollier 2008, and the Daoist *Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Elevation to Mystery, which Protects Life and Averts Disaster* (*Tàishāng língbǎo shēngxúan xiāozāi hùnmìng miàojīng* 太上靈寶升玄消災護命妙經; DZ 19, P.2471, and S.3747), discussed in Assandri 2009b.

2 Cf. Dumoulin 1993: 36.

Táng Taizōng 唐太宗—Fáng Xuánlíng 房玄齡 and Dù Zhènglún 杜正倫 (T.50, no. 2060: 666b)—who were involved in the imperially sponsored translation projects of the illustrious monk and translator Xuánzàng 玄奘 (Mayer 1992: 126). McRae (1986: 29) assumes that Fǎchōng was also interested in Madhyamika teachings.

The ninth-century author Dù Guāngtíng 杜光庭³ lists Cài Huàng (or Cài Zihuàng) as a representative of the Daoist Twofold Mystery teaching (*chóng-xuánxué* 重玄學). Cài, who was a prominent figure in early Táng Daoism, was invited to participate in the prestigious project of translating the *Dàodé jīng* 道德經 into Sanskrit, which the emperor had entrusted to Xuánzàng (T.52, no. 2104: 386c). Like other representatives of Twofold Mystery teaching, he socialized with Buddhists as well as laypeople and participated in many public debates (cf. T.50, no. 2060: 443a, 444a; T.52, no. 2104: 383). During the early Táng, public debates between Buddhists and Daoists were frequently held at the imperial court, in private mansions, and in monasteries. Comparing Dào-xuān's contemporary account in *Jí gǔjīn Fó Dào lùnhéng* 集古今佛道論衡 (T.52, no. 2104, fasc. 3 and 4; cf. Assandri 2005) and Dù Guāngtíng's later list of Daoists he associates with Twofold Mystery teaching indicates that a number of the latter were present at these events, as table 7.1 shows.

1 Twofold Mystery Teaching

Several authors have noted that Chán Buddhism owes a debt to, or at least has a kind of affinity with, the Chinese autochthonous philosophies, in particular those of Lǎozǐ and Zhuāngzǐ.⁴ Curiously, though, the possibility that contemporary Daoist religion may have influenced the development of Buddhism, leading to the formation of Chán Buddhism, has been rather neglected. An exception is Robert Sharf's (2002) study of the *Treasure Store Treatise*. Sharf notes the close resemblance between the *Treasure Store Treatise* and the teachings of the Oxhead (Niútóu 牛頭) Chán School. He groups the text with several other early Chán texts, namely the *Juéguān lùn* 絕觀論, *Wúxīn lùn* 無心論, *Xīnxīn míng* 信心銘, *Xīnmíng* 心銘, and *Xīnwáng míng* 心王銘, and points out the links between these eighth-century "proto-Chán" Buddhist texts and Daoist Twofold Mystery teaching (Sharf 2002: 47–51).⁵

3 Dù Guāngtíng 杜光庭 (850–933), *Dàodé zhēnjīng guǎngshèng yì* 道德真經廣聖義, DZ 725, 5: 12.

4 See, e.g.: Ch'en 1964: 361 f.; Wright 1959: 78; Chan 1957; Knaul 1986; Wu Yi 1985.

5 Sharf 2002: 61–71. His short discussion of Twofold Mystery teaching focuses on a critique of

TABLE 7.1 Daoist court debaters and representatives of Twofold Mystery teachings

Daoist debaters at the courts of the early Táng according to <i>Dàoxuān, Jí gǔjīn Fó Dào lùnhéng</i> , T.52, no. 2104, 3 and 4	Daoist representatives of Twofold Mystery teaching according to <i>Dù Gāngtíng, Dàodé zhēnjīng guǎng-shèng yì</i> , DZ 725, 5: 12a
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Fù Yì 傅弈 – Liú Jìnxǐ 劉進喜 – Lǐ Zhòngqīng 李仲卿⁶ – Chéng Xuányīng 成玄英 – Cài Zǐhuàng 蔡子晃 – Huáng Xuányí 黃玄頤 – Lǐ Róng 李榮 – Zhāng Huìyuán 張惠元 – Huáng Shòu 黃壽 – Yáo Yìxuán 姚義玄 – Fāng Huìcháng 方惠長 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Mèng Zhìzhōu 孟智周 – Zāng Xuánjìng 臧玄靜 – Zhū Róu 諸糴 – Liú Jìnxǐ – Chéng Xuányīng – Cài [Zǐ]huàng – Huáng Xuányí – Lǐ Róng – Chē Xuánbì 車玄弼 – Zhāng Huìchāo 張惠超 – Lí Yuánxīng 黎元興

Daoist Twofold Mystery teaching originated in the area of the southern capital Nánjīng. The earliest proponents were Mèng Zhìzhōu and Zāng Xuánjìng, who were active in the south during the Liáng 梁 (502–557) and Chén 陳 (557–587) dynasties.⁷ After reunification, the main proponents lived in the capital Cháng’ān 長安, where Twofold Mystery teaching probably became the mainstream Daoist teaching of the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Other representatives were based in Sichuān.⁸ The teaching’s popularity in the early Táng capital Cháng’ān was due not only to its sophistication but also to the fact that it managed to reconcile crucial issues that arose in the process of

the thesis that it can be called a “full-fledged religious lineage” (ibid.: 58), as Sunayama 1980a had proposed, and on a concise description of Buddhist influence and terminology in the texts ascribed to Twofold Mystery teaching.

6 While Dù Gāngtíng does not mention Lǐ Zhòngqīng as a commentator, we know that he and Liú Jìnxǐ co-authored the *Běnjì jīng* 本際經, a major salvational scripture that is representative of Twofold Mystery teaching (T.52, no. 2112: 569c).

7 See Assandri 2009b: 33–39. See also ibid.: 29–33 for a discussion of the (erroneous) attribution of Sūn Dēng 孫登 from the Jìn 晉 Dynasty to this tradition.

8 See Assandri 2009b: 15–39 for a detailed discussion of the origins and spread of this teaching.

TABLE 7.2 The *tetra lemma* (sìjù 四句)

-
- All dharmas are existing (yǒu 有)
 - All dharmas are empty (kōng 空)
 - All dharmas are existing and empty (yì yǒu yì kōng 亦有亦空)
 - All dharmas are neither existing nor empty (fēi yǒu fēi kōng 非有非空)
-

integrating the fragmented traditions of the Six Dynasties into the formally structured and state-supported religion of Daoism. Moreover, Daoism was sponsored by most of the Táng emperors (Assandri 2005). After an intense flourishing in this period, however, Twofold Mystery teaching declined and thereafter resurfaced only occasionally, such as in the writings of later Daoists like Dù Guāngtíng. Scholars rediscovered Twofold Mystery in the twentieth century.⁹ By then, though, the most important texts—mainly commentaries on the *Dàodé jīng* and Daoist salvational scriptures—were scattered in bits and pieces in various parts of the Dàoàng, and many of them had survived only as fragmented citations in later compilations or among the Dūnhuáng manuscripts.

2 The *Dàodé jīng* and Buddhist Mādhyamika Teaching

Twofold Mystery teaching's most salient feature is its use of a technique of reasoning based on the *tetra lemma* (sìjù 四句) logic derived from Mādhyamika Buddhism. The *tetra lemma* consists of four statements in ascending order, each of which negates the preceding statement, as table 7.2 shows.

9 Méng Wéntōng 1946; 1947 reconstructed Chéng Xuányīng's and Lǐ Róng's commentaries on the *Dàodé jīng*. Yán Língfēng 嚴靈峰 1965 published another reconstruction in a collection of commentaries on the same text. Isabelle Robinet's 1977 study was based on these works. Yoshioka Yoshitoyo 1959 and Kamata Shigeo 1963; 1966 both studied several early Táng Daoist scriptures with strong Buddhist influence; Wu Chì-yü (1960) published a facsimile edition of the Dūnhuáng manuscripts of the *Bénjì jīng* 本際經. However, these scholars did not consider a relationship of these texts to the Twofold Mystery *Dàodé jīng* commentaries. The connection between Twofold Mystery thinking in *Dàodé jīng* commentaries and Buddhist influence in Táng Daoist scriptures was established only in the 1980s by Japanese scholars (see: Fujiwara 1983; 1985; Sunayama 1980, 1990; Rén 1990; Kohn 1991; Qīng 1994; Lú 1993; 1997; Lǐ 2005; Robinet 1998; 1999; Sharf 2002; Assandri 2005; 2009b).

TABLE 7.3 The *tetra lemma* and the twofold truth

<i>shìdì</i>		<i>zhēndì</i>	
Being	←negation→	Non-being	
		<i>shìdì</i>	<i>zhēndì</i>
		Non-being	Being
			and
			non-being
		<i>shìdì</i>	<i>zhēndì</i>
		Being	←negation→ Neither
		and	being nor
		non-being	non-being

The *tetra lemma* was combined with the theory of two levels of truth,¹⁰ which postulates that any statement about being (such as “everything exists” or “everything is non-existent”) has two levels of truth—“worldly truth” (*shìdì* 世諦) and “highest truth” (*zhēndì* 真諦)—depending on the capacities and state of spiritual insight of any being.

The notions of continuing negation of any statement exemplified in the *tetra lemma* and the two levels of truth were combined into a soteriological model, where each step of the *tetra lemma* served as a step towards a final realization of the absolute (see table 7.3.). This absolute or “highest truth”—in Buddhism often termed “enlightenment”—was interpreted as the realization of Dào (*dédào* 得道) in the terminology of Twofold Mystery teaching.

This soteriological model as well as the techniques of *tetra lemma* reasoning gained attention in China with Kumārajīva's translation of the main treatises of Mādhyamika teachings at the beginning of the fifth century.¹¹ Even-

10 *Zhōnglùn* 中論 (*Mūla-mādhyamaka-kārikā*; T.30, no. 1564). See especially chapter 24.

11 Between 401 and 404, Kumārajīva translated Nāgārjuna's *Dàzhìdù lùn* 大智度論 (T. 25, no. 1509) as well as the three basic treatises of the Mādhyamika School, *Zhōnglùn* (T. 30, no. 1564), *Shī'ěrmén lùn* 十二門論 (*Dvādaśadvāra-śāstra*; T. 30, no. 1568), and *Bǎilùn* 百論 (*Śata-śāstra*; T. 30, no. 1569). While the *tetra lemma* logic, which was rather common in India, is also present in texts that were translated earlier, it was from these treatises that the Chinese Mādhyamika School (*sānlùn zōng* 三論宗) took its name.

tually, it became popular among literati monks and laymen of the Southern Dynasties: educated gentlemen who were active in the court or princely mansions, and monks who lived and worked in monasteries with close ties to the court.¹²

Here, facilitated by a vibrant culture of debate, it became popular not only with Buddhists but also among Daoists (Assandri 2009b: 14–19). The earliest Daoist commentator on the *Dàodé jīng* who is representative of Twofold Mystery teaching is Mèng Zhìzhōu, who was active in the southern capital from the end of the fifth to the start of the sixth century.¹³

Daoists adopted the logical method of thinking that they had come to know through the Buddhist teachings of the Middle Way in the teachings of Twofold Mystery. They claimed that Lǎozǐ 老子 had already employed the method of the *tetra lemma* in the *Dàodé jīng*, and they exemplified this in their interpretations. In fact, the term “Twofold Mystery” derives from the repeated occurrence of the word *xuán* (“mysterious”) in the final paragraph of the first chapter of the *Dàodé jīng* (玄之又玄, 眾妙之門).

The idea of an affinity between the philosophy expressed in the *Dàodé jīng* and *tetra lemma* logic was possibly introduced by the great Kumārajīva himself. Like several other early medieval Buddhists, Kumārajīva wrote a commentary on the *Dàodé jīng*.¹⁴ Fragments of this commentary, which have been analyzed by R.G. Wagner (1999), show that when commenting on chapter 48’s 損之又損—a sentence that grammatically resembles 玄之又玄 in the first chapter—Kumārajīva indeed uses *tetra lemma* logic (Assandri 2009b: 88–90). Jízàng 吉藏 (549–632), in his *Sānlùn xuányì* 三論玄義 (T.45, no. 1852: 2a–b), documents that interpretation of the *Dàodé jīng* remained a central concern in debates between Buddhists and Daoists in the south throughout the sixth century (cf. Assandri 2009b: 90–97).

The term “Twofold Mystery” came to designate the process of rejecting all possible statements about reality, thereby guiding the adept to realize *Dào*.

Chéng Xuányīng, a major representative of Twofold Mystery teaching in the early seventh century, comments on the last sentence of the *Dàodé jīng*, ch. 1 as follows:

12 In fact, Tāng 1991: 732 maintains that the teaching’s breakthrough can be traced not to monastic activity but rather to an essay written by a lay literatus, Zhōu Yǒng 周顒 (d. 485); cf. Hurvitz 1975.

13 For a discussion of his life, see Assandri 2009b: 53–55 and Bumbacher 2000: 257–258, 447.

14 See Robinet 1977 and Wagner 1999 for discussions of Buddhist commentaries on the *Dàodé jīng*.

有欲之人唯滯於有，無欲之士又滯於無，故說一玄以遣雙執，又恐行者滯於此玄，今說又玄，更祛後病，既而不但不滯於滯，亦乃不滯於不滯，此則遣之又遣，故曰玄之又玄。

The man who has desires is being hindered only by his [one-sided clinging to] being. The gentleman who has no desires instead is hindered by his [one-sided clinging to] non-being. Thus, he [i.e. Lǎozǐ] says the first *xuán* in order to eliminate these two [one-sided] views. But then he is afraid that the adept may be hindered by this *xuán*. So, when he says the *xuán* again, he also eliminates this last illness. Thus, he not only obtains that there are no more hindrances, but he also obtains that being without hindrance in itself does not become a hindrance. This is the twofold rejection; that is why he says *xuán* and again *xuán* [...].

CHÉNG XUÁNYĪNG, quoted in MÉNG 2001: 377; YÁN 1983: 303

This typical way of reasoning, which was probably developed first in the interpretations of the *Dàodé jīng*, soon found its way into salvational Daoist scriptures. In this context, it was associated with Daoist deities other than Lǎozǐ, such as the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning (Yuánshǐ tiānzūn 元始天尊), the main deity of the Daoist Sāndòng 三洞 tradition, which had come to integrate the main lineages of the southern Chinese Daoist traditions, especially the traditions based on the Línghuáng 靈寶 and Shàngqīng 上清 scriptures.

The *Běnjì jīng* 本際經, a Daoist scripture dating from the Suí and early Táng, which has been reconstructed based on numerous Dūnhuáng manuscripts (Wu 1960; Wàn 1998), says:

太極真人。 。 。 告帝君：‘元始天尊修習妙行無量無邊，不可稱說，非是譬所所能宣示。今為卿等略述其要。 。 。 夫十方天尊發心之始，皆了兼忘重玄之道，’。 。 。 帝君又問：‘何謂兼忘？’太極真人答曰：一切凡夫從煙煴際而起愚癡，染著諸有，雖積功勤，不能無滯，故使修空，除其有滯；有滯雖淨，猶滯於空，常名有欲，故示正觀，空於此空，空有雙淨，故曰兼忘。是名初入正觀之相。帝君又問：何謂重玄？太極真人曰：正觀之人，前空諸有，於有無著，此遣於空，空心亦淨，乃曰兼忘。而有既遣，遣空有故，心未純淨，有對治故。所言玄者，四方無著，乃盡玄義。如是行者，於空於有無所滯著，名之為玄；又遣此玄，都無所得，故名重玄，眾妙之門。

The Perfected of Great Ultimate [...] said to the Lord Sovereign of Great Tenuity: “The wonderful practice which the Heavenly Worthy of Primordial Beginning observes is immeasurable and limitless, one cannot name

it and there is no analogy that could illustrate it. Today I will explain to you its essence [...] The beginning, from which the Heavenly Worthies of Primordial Beginning of the ten directions start out [in their quest for enlightenment], is that they all understand the Dào of equally forgetting [*jiānwàng* 兼忘]¹⁵ and Twofold Mystery [...]"

The Lord Sovereign of Great Tenuity asked: "What is it, which is called 'equally forgetting'?"

The Perfected of Great Ultimate answered: "Since the beginning of the creative forces [*yīn* 陰 and *yáng* 陽], delusion has always arisen in all ordinary beings. Thus, they are influenced by [the conception that] all [phenomena are real] being; even if they accumulate religious merit, they cannot be without the hindrance [of clinging to a concept of being].

This is why the Heavenly Worthy makes them observe emptiness, in order to eliminate their hindrance of clinging to being. Although thus their hindrance [of clinging to] being is eliminated, they are still hindered by their clinging to emptiness; this is called just 'having desire' like before.

Therefore, he shows the correct contemplation [*zhèngguān* 正觀] and makes this emptiness [to which the adept is clinging] empty [itself]. Thus, emptiness and being are both still [i.e., eliminated]; therefore, it is called equally forgetting. This is the first entry into the correct vision."

The Lord Sovereign of Great Tenuity asked again: "What is it, which is called Twofold Mystery?"

The Perfected of the Great Ultimate answered: "The person with the correct contemplation first makes all being empty; thus, there is no clinging to being. After, he eliminates [the clinging to the concept of] emptiness. Thus, the [one-sided] vision of [a real existence of] emptiness is still too; this is then called equally forgetting. But once the [attachment to] being is rejected, there is the rejection of emptiness and being, and therefore the heart/mind is not yet pure, because there is an antidote [i.e., the rejection]. What is called *xuán* [means] not to have attachments in all four directions, this then exhausts the meaning of *xuán*. He who practices like this clings to neither emptiness nor being. This is then called the Mystery. Then, again, he eliminates also this Mystery, and nothing that could be obtained remains. This is called Twofold Mystery, the gate of all mysteries."

P.3674; WÀN 1998: 455–456

15 The term *jiānwàng* ("equally forgetting") goes back to Zhuāngzǐ, ch. 14. Chéng uses it several times in his *Dàodé jīng* commentary (chs. 2, 6, 12, 25), always in the combination *wùwǒ jiānwàng* 物我兼忘 ("things and self [object and subject] both forgotten").

Daoist Twofold Mystery thus designates a way of cultivating the mind in order to overcome one-sided attachments to realize *Dào*. At first sight, this seems to be a rather Buddhist-inspired goal.

3 Daoist Teaching with Buddhist Concepts

In fact, Twofold Mystery teaching did employ many Buddhist concepts and tenets, ranging from the appropriation of the Pure Land with a *Jātaka*-like story in the *Běnjù jīng* (see ch. 6, P. 286o; Wàn 1998: 449–452) to the use of the sophisticated *tetra lemma* logic mentioned above.¹⁶

This use of Buddhist terms and concepts is challenging for researchers, because it invites the conclusion that Daoists simply plagiarized Buddhist teachings. In fact, medieval Buddhists accused Daoists of doing precisely that,¹⁷ albeit as a polemic device, not as a consequence of careful scholarly deliberation. Much later, twentieth-century scholars arrived at a similar conclusion.¹⁸

However, shifting attention from the question of provenance of concepts to the issue of the function of those concepts within an overall frame of soteriology and philosophy, a more complex picture emerges. Although the Twofold Mystery's main characteristic was its use of Buddhist logic, the system relied on a Daoist worldview.

Hence, the following discussion attempts to present the conception of mind and the cultivation of mind of Twofold Mystery teaching in a “Daoist” context. In many instances, it could be argued that there are elements of Buddhist influence, especially the Buddha-nature concept. I consciously avoid doing this here, because I think looking at these teachings as Daoist, rather than hybrids, may be a useful step towards a better understanding of the interaction between Buddhist and Daoist teachings.

16 Cf. Sharf 2002: 65–71 for a list of what he terms “borrowings” from Buddhism.

17 Cf., e.g.: T. 52, no. 2103, 9: 150c22 (cf. Kohn 1995: 130); T. 52, no. 2104, 4: 392a5; T. 52, no. 2110, 8; T. 52, no. 2112, 1; T. 52, no. 2051, 3.

18 Cf. Bokenkamp 2004: esp. 320–322 for a critical discussion of scholarly approaches to Daoist–Buddhist mixtures. He argues against the prevailing trend to interpret such mixtures in terms of a “mixing is contamination” paradigm, where we “tend to assume that Taoism is what is left after we have stripped away all the outside influences” (ibid.: 322). With regard to Japanese scholarship on Daoism, Fukui 1995: 9 points out that “many Japanese researchers of Taoism have been Buddhist scholar priests. There was thus a time when all Taoist phenomena were interpreted in relation to Buddhism.”

4 Dào and Cosmogony

Twofold Mystery thinkers start from the premise that the indefinable Dào is ontological substrate and origin of being. Following the logical considerations proposed by the great third-century Xuánxué 玄學 scholar Wáng Bì 王弼¹⁹ in his interpretation of the *Dàodé jīng*, they equated Dào with “negativity” (*wú* 無) or “non-being,” because anything that contains all “things” must necessarily be empty, a “no-thing” or “non-being”—equally termed *wú* 無. This follows logically from the fact that Dào is the origin of all being, because, if it had any definite characteristic (or “thing-ness”), it would automatically exclude the opposite. The ontological consideration entails epistemological consequences: what “is not” cannot be “said” or defined through human language or thinking.

Chéng Xuányīng writes in his commentary on the first chapter of the *Dàodé jīng*:

常道者不可以名言辯不可以心慮知。妙絕希夷理窮恍惚。故知言象之表方契疑常可道可說非常道也。

The “eternal Dào” cannot be discussed with words and names, and it cannot be known with deliberation of the mind. Its marvel is beyond the invisible and the inaudible. Its principle goes to the depths of the elusive and indistinct.²⁰ Therefore, only when one knows that words and images merely scrape the surface can one conceive the unchanging eternal. Whatever can be said, whatever is talked about, is not the eternal Dào.

CHÉNG XÚANYĪNG, ch. 1; YÁN 1983: 297

Epistemological considerations such as this provided fertile ground for a cooption of *tetra lemma* thinking, which not only introduced new stimuli to the discussion on being or non-being—a prominent topic during Xuánxué and Pure Talk (*qīngtán* 清談) meetings—but also offered a constructive soteriological model.

19 Wáng Bì (226–249) was one of the most brilliant *Dàodé jīng* commentators history has seen. The early Táng Emperor Tàizōng included him among the twenty-one “sages and teachers of antiquity” who are honored in the imperial university (*Jiù Tángshū* 189.595a). We can thus assume that his interpretation was both current and well known among intellectuals of the early Táng. For the particular point in question, compare Wáng Bì’s commentary to the first chapter of the *Dàodé jīng*. See Wagner 2003: 82–83 for a critical edition with English translation.

20 This couplet refers to *Dàodé jīng*, ch. 14.

However, *Dào*, while its main attribute is “negativity” (*wú* 無), was not intended as a negation of the existence of the myriad things. On the contrary, it is their very source—an ultimate reality that embraces all being. This is one of the most fundamental conceptions expressed in the *Dàodé jīng*, notably in chapter 42:

道生一，一生二，二生三，三生萬物。

Dào generated one, one generated two, two generated three, three generated the ten thousand beings.

Chéng Xuányīng comments:

一，元氣也。二，陰陽也。三，天地人也。萬物，一切有識無情也。言至道妙本，體絕形名，從本降跡²¹，肇生元氣。又從元氣，變生陰陽。於是陽氣清浮，升而為天；陰氣沈濁，降而為地，二氣升降，和氣為人。有三才，次生萬物。

One is the original *qì*. Two is *yīn* and *yáng*. Three is heaven, earth, and man. The ten thousand things are all sentient and non-sentient beings. This says that the wondrous origin [that is] the highest *Dào* in substance is beyond [any] form or designation, from the origin come down the traces, first it generates the original *qì*. Then, from the original *qì*, *yīn* and *yáng* are generated through transformation. Upon this, the *yáng qì*, being clear and light, rose upwards and became heaven. *Yīn qì*, being turbid and heavy, sank down and became the earth. With the two *qì* [of *yīn* and *yáng*, respectively] sinking and rising, the mixed *qì* [that was generated in the process] became humanity. Once there were the three powers [of heaven, earth, and man] then the ten thousand things were generated.

CHÉNG XUANYING, ch. 42; MÉNG 2001: 462

21 Chéng Xuányīng uses the terms “origin” and “traces” to refer to *Dào* in its aspects as “unnamable beginning of heaven and earth” (cf. ch. 1: 無名，天地始, where he comments: 始，本也) and “having a name, being the mother of all beings” (cf. ch. 1: 有名，萬物母, where he comments: 有名，迹也 [Chéng Xuányīng, ch. 1; Méng 2001: 376]).

5 Dào, Dào-Nature, and the Mind

Dào—as generative force and origin of all that is—is also present in all things that are generated; in fact, it is their true nature. Chéng Xúanyīng emphasizes this in his commentary on the very first sentence of the *Dàodé jīng*:

道以虛通為義，常以湛寂得名。所謂無極大道，是眾生之正性也。

“Dào” takes emptiness and pervasiveness as its meaning. “Eternal” derives its name from clarity and stillness. What we call the limitless great Dào is the true nature of all beings.

CHÉNG XÚANYĪNG, ch. 1; MÉNG 2001: 375

Also, when commenting on the first sentence of chapter 62, Chéng Xúanyīng remarks:

道者，虛通之妙理，眾生之正性也。

Dào is the marvelous principle of unimpededness, it is the true nature of all beings.

CHÉNG XÚANYĪNG, ch. 62; MÉNG 2001: 502

This “true nature” is also called Dào-nature.²² Analogous to the correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm, Dào exists within every human being, where it is called Dào-nature. Much like Dào in the macrocosm, Dào-nature is ineffable non-being that is both the source of and embraces all being. The *Běnjì jīng* dedicates a whole chapter to this important concept:

言道性者，即真實空，非空不空，亦不不空；非法，非非法，非物，非非物，非人，非非人，非因，非非因，非果，非非果，非始，非非始，非終，非非終，非本菲末，而為一切諸法根本，無造無作，名曰無為；自然而然，不可使然，不可不然，故曰自然。悟此真性，各曰悟道，了了照見，成無上道。一切衆生皆應得悟，但以煩倒之所覆蔽，不得顯了，有理存焉，必當得故。理而未形，名之為性。

22 Sharf (2002: 68) has rightly argued that the concept of Dào-nature owes much to the concept of Buddha-nature. However, it is also possible to read this concept in the light of the traditional Chinese conception of correspondence between macrocosm and microcosm, which permeates much of Daoist thinking.

Dào-nature is true reality; it is empty and not empty. It is not empty and not not empty; it is not dharma and not not dharma. It is not thing and not not thing; it is not man and not not man. It is not cause and not not cause; it is not result and not not result. It is not beginning and not not beginning; it is not end and also not not end. It is not root and not branch, yet it is the origin of all things. It is not created and does not create.

[Therefore,] it is called non-action. It is naturally of itself so; it cannot be caused to be so. It cannot but be so, therefore, it is called “of itself so.” Realizing this true nature, everybody says, this is realizing the Dào. Understanding this in the mind, realizing and seeing it, this is completing the highest great Dào.

All beings should be able to attain this enlightenment, but since they are on the contrary covered and clouded by tribulations, they cannot manifest understanding. [Yet,] since the principle [that is the Dào-nature] is existing [in them], they must be able to attain it. The principle has no fixed form; this is why one calls it “nature.”

Běnjì jīng, ch. 4, P.2806; WÀN 1998: 423

Returning to Dào can be achieved by realizing Dào-nature. However, while Dào-nature exists in all beings, it is obscured. Yet, its mere hidden presence opens the possibility of salvation, because “if it is there, it must necessarily be possible to attain it,” as the text postulates.

Dào-nature is not manifest in beings because they are “covered” and clouded by tribulations. Overcoming these tribulations is a process that is focused on the mind and interpreted as “returning to the origin” (that is, to Dào):

若知諸法本性清淨，妄想故生，妄想故滅，此生滅故，性无生无滅。了達此者，歸根復命，反未生也。

If one knows that the original nature of all things²³ is clear and still, and that they are born because of illusory thinking and they die because of illusory thinking, [then it becomes clear that] this [illusory thinking] is the reason for birth and death, the inner nature does not have any being born or dying. He who understands this returns to the root and goes back to his [original] vital force,²⁴ he returns to the “not yet born.”

Běnjì jīng, ch. 4, P.2806; WÀN 1998: 423, ll. 172–174

23 The term *zhūfǎ* 諸法 is Buddhist in origin. However, by the early Táng, Daoist authors were using it synonymously with *wànwù*—“the ten thousand beings/things.”

24 For the medieval Daoist interpretation of the term *mìng* (“vital force”), see Robinet 2008:

The terms “returns to the root” and “goes back to his vital force” refer to a passage in chapter 16 of the *Dàodé jīng*. Chéng Xúanyīng’s commentary implies that the return to “the root” (Dào) in this early Táng Twofold Mystery Daoism was related to a form of cultivation that focused on “making the mind still”:

命者，真性惠命也。既屏息羈塵，心神凝寂，故復于真性、反于惠命。

Vital force is the vital force that true inner nature bestows. Since one holds one’s breath [being cautious] in the bustling world, mind and spirit are concentrated and still, therefore one returns to the true nature, and goes back to one’s [originally] bestowed vital force.

CHÉNG XÚANYĪNG, ch. 16; MÉNG 2001: 408

6 Cultivation of the Mind to Realize Dào-Nature: The Example of the *Pañca-skandha* Reception in Daoism

It is especially in the context of achieving “stillness” of mind and feelings that Twofold Mystery thinkers use Buddhist terminology and theories, including the *pañca-skandha* concept. The reception of this concept in Twofold Mystery philosophy is instructive to elucidate the way Buddhist concepts were used as philosophical tools for Daoist ends. *Pañca-skandha*, a concept at the core of Buddhist teaching, is closely related to the Buddhist vision of being or existence as impermanent (*anitya*), suffering (*duḥkha*), and not-self (*anātman*). Focused on an analysis of the condition of man and the reasons for his suffering, the Buddhist theory postulates that the self does not have real substance; rather, it is an aggregate of five components (*pañca-skandha*, *wǔyīn* 五陰, *wǔjù* 五聚, or *wǔyùn* 五蘊), which are kept together by desire and ignorance of their true

1104: “*Xing* (‘nature’) is thus the celestial self, a trace of transcendence. The principle that corresponds to *xing* is that of *ming*, the vital force (the term also means ‘destiny’ and ‘order,’ ‘mandate,’ or ‘decree’). *Xing* and *ming* are the Breath (**qi*) and Spirit (**shen*), the former in relation to the Earth, the latter to Heaven [...] For others, *xing* represents the Dao, quietude, while *ming* embodies the dynamic aspect of life [...] They are two aspects of Dao, which is transcendent; yet the Dao contains life and dispenses it, hence it is also immanent. While certain texts present *xing* as intrinsic salvation that exists fundamentally within each of us, they similarly emphasize the importance of *ming*. In this case, *ming* is corporeality, a nature incarnate that requires practice of necessary effort through which *xing* is actualized.”

empty nature and non-substantiality. The terminology varies slightly; one frequently used set of terms is:

1. *Rūpa* (sè 色): form, which implies the organs of the senses, but also outside “things” or fields.
2. *Vedanā* (shòu 受): contact or reception, which occurs when six internal organs (eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind) come into contact with external things or objects (sight, sound, smell, taste, touch, mental object). Each of the first five organs has a specific object, while the mind can come into contact with all six external fields simultaneously. The contact with their corresponding external objects gives rise to the activity of the organs of the senses. This contact results in a sensory reception, which may be good, bad, or neutral.
3. *Samjñā* (xiǎng 想): perception, which occurs when the mind, considered the sixth sense, connects the sensation with conscious discernment or perception of an external object.
4. *Samskāra* (xíng 行): mental “bringing together” or “mental processing,” which combines the mind functioning in processes of like or dislike and conscious will.
5. *Vijñāna* (shí 識): consciousness, also of personhood itself.

In Buddhism, the theory underscores that the self is ultimately illusory and non-substantial. Given the propensity of Daoist teachings to affirm that individual immortality is attainable, this concept, which articulates the impermanence and non-substantiality of the self, seems to run counter to those teachings. Yet, we find it in the *Běnjì jīng*.²⁵ The process described and the terminology used are not identical to the Buddhist concept, but they are very close:

[是故說] 從真父母生，展轉生長而有身形，寄附胞胎。

Born from the true father and mother,²⁶ one proceeds aimlessly to increase and grow and physical form enters the womb as embryo.

25 It seems that the *pañca-skandha* was rather popular in Daoist circles. In addition to the *Běnjì jīng*, it appears in two late seventh-century texts: the *Dàojiào yishū* (DZ 1129, 4, 1ab) and the *Tàishàng yíchéng hǎikōng zhicáng jīng* (DZ 9, ch. 2). The former, like the *Běnjì jīng*, was authored in Cháng’ān; the latter probably originated in Sichuān.

26 This is a reference to Dào. Cf. Chéng Xúanyīng’s commentary on *Dàodé jīng*, ch. 52 (Méng 2001: 481), where he refers to this passage in the context of an explanation of Dào as the mother.

世間父母而得生育，具足諸根，是名色聚。

From the worldly parents one is born and raised, this completes all organs. Therefore, it is called the aggregate of form (*sè jù* 色聚).

六根成就，對於六塵，生六種識，是名識聚。

Once the six organs are completed, they come into contact with the six dusts [i.e., external objects] and bring forth six kinds of consciousness; this is called the aggregate of consciousness (*shí jù* 識聚).

既妄取塵，分別假相，是男是女，山林草石，種別名字，去來動轉，從心相生，故名想聚。

Since one arbitrarily chooses external objects and distinguishes unreal appearances, such as this is male, this is female, mountains and forests, grass and rocks, categories, names and styles, coming and going or moving around—all these [distinctions] are born from the deliberations of the mind, this is why they are called the aggregate of deliberation (*xiǎng jù* 想聚).

倒想聚已，妄生憎愛，分別校計，善惡，好醜，[領納在心，故名心聚]。

Pouring out from the aggregate of deliberation, in vain the differentiations between hating and loving are generated, contesting good and bad, beautiful and ugly are accepted in the mind, this is why it is called the aggregate of the mind (*xīn jù* 心聚).

既生心已著於所見]²⁷而起貪欲，瞋恚，愚癡，諸惡過處，造顛倒業，起罪福報，往返無窮，名為行聚。

Since the generating mind is already attached to opinions, there arises with regard to what is seen [or perceived] greed and desire or hate and rejection. Ignorance and stupidity and all the evil and vices create counterproductive [reversed] actions that influence the future lives (karma),

27 The bracketed section is missing from P.2806; it is added following the citation in *Dàojiào yìshū* 道教義樞 (DZ 1129, 4, 1).

bad and fortunate retribution go back and forth without end; this is why it is called the aggregate of the deeds (*xíngjù* 行聚).

所言聚者，稍相聚合而得堅成，蔭蓋衆生，令居闇(暗) 苦，[此即五蔭義也]。

Aggregate means that small things aggregate together and become solid, [thus] they create a cover that obscures the beings and lets them live in darkness.²⁸

Běnjì jīng, ch. 4, P.2806, WÀN 1998: 424, ll. 193–203

Did the Daoists genuinely subscribe to the Buddhist theory of the ultimate non-existence of the self? Or did they merely co-opt “fashionable” terminology and concepts, paying little thought to the ultimate implications?

Closer scrutiny suggests that neither conclusion is correct. In the *Běnjì jīng*, the concept appears as part of a sequence that describes the coming to being of man. The text continues to emphasize the mortality of humans:

[... 令居闇(暗) 苦] 造作眾惡，淪沒三塗，漂浪苦海，不能自出，以是義故名為入死。

[... so they live in darkness] and commit evil deeds and fall into the three bad rebirths [in hell] and they float in the sea of bitterness, out of which they cannot escape by themselves. Because of this meaning, it is said they enter death.

Běnjì jīng, ch. 4, P. 2806; WÀN 1998: 424, ll. 200–202

Establishing a clear chronological sequence, beginning with generation from *Dào* and ending with death, introduces a subtle change in the function of the Buddhist *pañca-skandha* concept: rather than emphasizing the ultimate non-substantiality of the self, the account relates the process of generation from birth to decay, and thus presents a detailed, step-by-step analysis of how human beings move from their original, pure nature towards death. Only the first of these steps is concerned with the physical development of the body. All of the others—both here and in the Buddhist versions of the concept—focus on mental processes.

28 Mèng Ānpái 孟安排 quotes this in *Dàojiào yìshū* 道教義樞 (DZ 1129, 4, 1ab) and adds “this is the meaning of the five aggregates.”

The text then offers a complex outline of the many steps that lead the adept to salvation, all of which relate to the development of the mind. This salvation is expressed in a range of terms, including Daoist soteriological ideals such as “rising up in broad daylight” 白日騰舉, “Twofold Mystery” 玄之又玄, “enjoying unlimited lifespan” 享無期壽, “returning to the origin and reverting to the [original] vital force” 反根復命 (see above), and “securing a place in the realm of the Middle Way of the correct contemplation” 安位中道正觀之域 (*Běnjì jīng*, ch. 4, P. 2806; Wàn 1998: 425, ll. 221–224).

Reading the *Běnjì jīng* in light of the Twofold Mystery focus on the cultivation of the mind in order to “make the mind still,” realize Dào-nature within, and thereby return to Dào helps to clarify the concept in its context: salvation (and immortality) means reaching the Dào, the source and origin of all being. The method for doing this (the Way) is “returning” to Dào. Since Dào is the origin and beginning, this return comprises reversing the process of cosmogony.²⁹ In order to do this, the process of cosmogony needs to be clarified in all its details. *Pañca-skandha* offered an explanation of the process of becoming human, with much detail on how the movements of the mind arise. Thus, the Buddhist concept, far from showing the non-substantiality of being, is used here to explain in detail the mechanisms that lie at the core of the being’s transition from Dào to mortality—an explanation that serves as a guideline for the return to Dào.

Writing in the mid-seventh century, Lǐ Róng, in his commentary on chapter 50 of the *Dàodé jīng*, describes how dissoluteness, desire, and one-sided nourishing of the physical body lead to death. He concludes:

夫生我者神，殺我者心。心為死地。若能灰心息慮，不橫有為，無死地也。

Thus, what brings forth the self is the spirit, what kills the self is the mind. The mind is the place of death [in the body].³⁰ If one can make the mind like dead ashes and stop thinking,³¹ then one does not construct being and non-being and there is no place of death.

Lǐ RÓNG, ch. 50; MÉNG 2001: 631

29 Cf. Saso 1977.

30 Lǐ Róng’s image works on two levels: on the physical level, when the heart organ stops beating, the physical body usually dies; on the metaphysical level, the mind is the “place” where the distinctions between life and death emerge, and thus the departure from original oneness begins. Since in a Chongxuan perspective, life and death exist because they are conceptualized in the mind, the heart/mind is the “place” where a concept of death can exist.

31 This refers to a well-known metaphor in the opening passage of *Zhuāngzǐ*, ch. 2.

Feelings and the discriminating mind both have a place in the organ called *xīn* 心 (“mind/heart”). There is no assumption of a separation of reason and emotion, of cognitive mind and feeling, based on a concept of the duality of body and mind (cf. Hansen 1992: 16–20). Emotion and cognition arise from a single faculty—the mind/heart. They are the main reason for the “clouding” of *Dào*-nature, so a focus on overcoming the tribulations of the mind is an essential step on the path to return to *Dào*. To accomplish this ultimate goal, and overcome mortality, human beings must understand the process of generation from *Dào* in order to retrace it. The mind itself and its cultivation play a crucial role in this process. Whereas ancient precepts such as “make the mind like dead ashes” are rather vague in terms of explaining how this might be achieved, the Daoist interpretation of *pañca-skandha* offers a step-by-step explanation of the mind’s development into a functioning organ—the very explanation that adepts need in order to retrace their steps and return to their *Dào*-nature, or *Dào*.

What does this imply with regard to the relationship between Daoism and Buddhism, and early Chán in particular? Idiom is one important aspect of this relationship. In the processes of co-option described above (and it should be stressed that this is only one example among many), we find in early medieval China a field of religious discourse in which terminology was increasingly shared. This must have facilitated the lively exchanges in formal court debates between Buddhists and Daoists, as described in *Dào*xuān’s *Jí gǔjīn Fó Dào lùn-héng*, countless discussions in monasteries, such as the one described at the beginning of this chapter, as well as simple meetings among religious people.

7 The Metaphor of the Mirror

Finally, a word or two on conceptual metaphors. In the context of Daoist cultivation of the mind, we find the metaphor of the mirror, which John McRae considered of great importance in the development of early Chán.³² He cites a passage from the *Rùdào ānxīn yào fāngbiàn fǎmén* 入道安心要方便法門 to illustrate the use of this metaphor in early Chán texts:

正如來法性之身。清淨圓滿。一切類悉於中現。而法性身。無心起作。如頗梨鏡懸在高堂。一切像悉於中現。鏡亦無心。能現種種。

Léngqié shīzī jì 楞伽師資記; T.2837, 1287b1–3

32 For the importance of the metaphor of the mirror in early Chán, see McRae 1986: 144 ff.

Truly, the Tathagata's body of the Dharma Nature is pure, perfect, and complete. All forms (*hsiang-lei*) are manifested within it, even though that body of the Dharma Nature is without any mental activity. It is like a crystal mirror suspended in an elevated building: All the various objects are manifested within it, but the mirror is without any mind that can manifest them.

Tr. MCRAE 1986: 145

Chéng Xúanyīng employs this metaphor in a similar way in his commentary on a passage in the *Dàodé jīng*, ch. 47:

Dàodé jīng: 不窺牖，見天道。He does not look out of the window[, yet he] sees the way of heaven.

Commentary: [...] 隳體坐忘，不窺根竅，而真心內朗，睹見自然之道。此以智照真也。戶通來去，譬從真照俗。窗牖內明，喻反照真源也。

[...] Smashing up the body and sitting in forgetfulness, one does not look outside from the openings of the faculties of the senses, but one's true mind is clear inside and observes the *Dào* of the self-so. This is illuminating the true with cognition. A door is a thoroughfare for coming and going, it is a metaphor for coming from the true and illuminating the common. Windows bring light to the interior, this is a metaphor for returning the reflection backwards to the true origin [...]

Dàodé jīng: 是以聖人不行而知。Therefore the sage knows without going out

Commentary: 不行者，心不緣曆前境。而知者，能體知諸法實相，必竟空寂。譬懸鏡高堂，物來斯照，照而無心也 [...]

He who does not go out, his mind is not conditioned by going after objects apparent to the mind. And he who knows can experience and observe that the true appearance of all dharmas must ultimately be empty and still. This is like a mirror hanging in a high hall, the things come and it reflects them, but his reflecting has no intentional mind [...]

CHÉNG XÚANYĪNG, ch. 47; MÉNG 2001: 471

Chéng Xúanyīng also uses the image of the high-hanging mirror on four separate occasions (in chapters 3, 6, 7, and 15) in his commentary on the *Zhuāngzǐ*.

8 Concluding Remarks: A Multi-level Constructive Dialogue between Daoists and Buddhists

In the sixth and early seventh centuries, interactions among Buddhists, Daoists, and lay intellectuals were vibrant and open. Proposing their own solutions for the issues of their times, Daoist representatives of Twofold Mystery teaching used all of the concepts that were available to them to formulate their philosophy. While many of these concepts had become known in China through Buddhism, they relied strongly on the text of the *Dàodé jīng*, proposed a soteriological model that centered on the idea of *Dào* as the ineffable origin of all being, and advocated a return to this source to mediate the condition of human mortality, achieve immortality, and overcome the cycle of life and death.

Considering *Dào* as *Dào*-nature, and building on ancient cultivation concepts and ideals promoted by *Lǎozǐ* and *Zhuāngzǐ*, such as “make the mind like dead ashes” and “block the doors,” as well as more recent, frequently Buddhist, conceptions and strategies, such as *tetra lemma* and *pañca-skandha* (to name but two), entailed a strong focus on cultivation of the mind, which was necessary to realize the “true inner nature”—*Dào*. While there are clearly “confluences” and overlaps with contemporary Buddhist concepts, it should be noted that all the concepts were integrated into a coherent soteriological scheme that required the adept to retrace his steps in the process of cosmogony. In this soteriological context, the activities of the mind and feelings were crucial. Twofold Mystery teachers therefore advocated calming the tribulations of the mind in order to reach true nature—*Dào*.

Twofold Mystery texts tend to be exoteric in that they propose salvation in theoretical terms. In contrast to many esoteric Six Dynasties Daoist texts, which promote specific physical and mental exercises, Twofold Mystery authors provide a framework for all the different ways of cultivation as well as for an integration of the various “Daoisms”³³ that were current at the time. Thus, while

33 About the integration of different strands and schools of Daoism by Twofold Mystery teachers see Assandri 2005 and Assandri 2009b, 8–25.

they do not describe in detail any meditations or exercises to “make the mind still,”³⁴ quieting the mind and the feelings is a central aspect of the teaching. This harks back to ancient notions, such as Zhuāngzǐ’s “mind like dead ashes,” but it also builds on more recent ideas relating to the functioning of the mind that had become known in China through Buddhism, such as the concept of *pañca-skandha*.

Thus, Twofold Mystery teaching exemplifies a dialogue between Daoist and Buddhist traditions that provided the backdrop not only for the development of Daoist Twofold Mystery teaching but possibly also for the emergence of eighth-century Buddhist texts such as the *Treasure Store Treatise* (see above), which Sharf (2002: 51) has characterized as “early Chán (or ‘proto-Chán’).” In the course of this dialogue, ideas and concepts but also formal features of scriptures were exchanged, elaborated, co-opted, and incorporated into new contexts.³⁵ Mutual borrowings and conceptual adaptations of terminology led to a field of religious discourse in which the participants shared a common language to elaborate their respective ideas and positions.

This dialogue can be traced on the level of historical interaction, such as debates, which are documented in historiographical sources, on the level of conceptual philosophy, as shown above, and on the level of scriptural production. Examples for the latter are the *Treasure Store Treatise* (see Sharf 2002), which can be read as a Buddhist answer to the *Dàodé jīng*, and the Daoist *Tàishāng língbǎo shēngxuán xiāozāi hùnmìng miào jīng* 太上靈寶升玄消災護命妙經 (Marvelous Scripture of the Most High Elevation to Mystery, which Protects Life and Averts Disaster),³⁶ which represents a Daoist elaboration on the theme of the *Bōrěbōluómìduō xīnjīng* 般若波羅蜜多心經 *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya-sūtra* (*Heart Sūtra*; T.8, no. 251). Central to the dialogue were presumably not only a competitive attempt to “lay exclusive claim to common

34 Dào xuān states in his preface to the section on “Meditation Masters” in the *Xù Gāosēng zhuàn* (T.50, no. 2060: 596a) that meditation was practiced by Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike (see Chen Jinhua 2002: 335–336).

35 In the context of Daoism, this process has often been described as “borrowing” or even as plagiarism. However, this view is based on a neat conception of two separate entities, each with its own ideas, concepts, and scriptures. Such a notion may be refuted through careful scrutiny of early Chán texts, such as the *Treasure Store Treatise* and the *Juéguān lùn*, similar eighth-century texts (see Sharf 2002), and mainly seventh-century Daoist texts containing Twofold Mystery thinking.

36 DZ 19 and Dūnhuáng manuscripts P.2471 and S.3747. For a complete translation, see Assandri 2009b: 216–218. Shipper and Verellen 2004, Vol. 2: 554 date the text to the first century of the Táng Dynasty, whereas Rén 1991, no. 19 dates it to pre-Táng.

conceptual terrain” (Sharf 2002: 71) but also issues of common interest, primarily the question of how the mind could be “made still.”

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