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The "Perfect Teaching" and Liao Sources of Tangut Chan Buddhism: A Study of *Jiexing zhaoxin tu*

For John McRae

CONSIDERATIONS

During the last decades, scholars of Tangut and Central Asian Buddhism have observed that during the final years of the Xixia state (1038–1227) Tangut Buddhism developed into a complex system that combined a variety of Chinese and Tibetan Buddhist traditions.[1] Such a view has helped propel studies of the role of Tangut Buddhism and Tangut monks in the formation of Yuan-era Buddhism, as well as the early penetration of Tibetan Buddhism into China.[2] Modern scholar-

Basic research for this paper was accomplished during my fruitful but unfortunately too short stay in the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J. I am grateful to Robert Sharf and John McRae, who showed interest in a then imperfect work (not that it is anywhere near perfect now) and supported it throughout its initial stage. After I started editing the first draft, I realized how much of their precious time the two anonymous reviewers of this work had spent trying to make sense out of it. I am grateful, and the paper has benefited much from their suggestions. It goes without saying that all the mistakes and inconsistencies are solely my responsibility. Translations are mine if not otherwise specified.

[1] A brief overview of esoteric Buddhism in the Xixia state is provided by R. Dunnell, "Esoteric Buddhism under the Xixia (1028–1227)," in Charles Orzech, Henrik Sørensen, Richard Payne, eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, HdO ser. 4 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 466–77. One of the important findings concerning mutual developments in Buddhism between China and Tibet during the early Yuan and the role of Tangut Buddhists is the discovery of Mahâmudrâ texts translated from Tibetan into Chinese by Tangut monks. These were partially collected in *Dasheng yaodao miji* 大乘要道密集; see Shen Weirong 沈衛榮, "*Dasheng yaodao mij*" yu Xixia, Yuanchao suochuan Xizang mifa: *Dasheng yaodao miji* xilie yanjiu daolun"大乘要道密集與西夏元朝所傳西藏密法: 大乘要道密集系列研究導論 *Chunghwa Buddhist Journal* 中華佛學學報 20 (2007), pp. 251–303. Most of the above texts included in *Dasheng Yaodao miji* have counterparts among the texts discovered in Khara-Khoto. A research summary concerning the personal identities and ethnicities of these Tangut monks is given in Ruth Dunnell, "Translating History from Tangut Buddhist texts," *AM* 3d ser. 22.1 (2009), pp. 41–78. See also Herbert Franke, *China under Mongol Rule* (Brookfield: Variorum 1994).

[2] The monks of Tangut origin who occupied important positions in the Yuan system of Buddhist administration were large in number; they included such prominent ones as Guanzhuba 管主八 and Yanglianzhenjia 楊璉真加. Yixing Huijue 一行慧覺, a one-time abbot of the re-

ship for the most part has concentrated on a limited number of specific topics that emerge from these wider areas. Examples of the relatively more important of them are: the formation of the Yuan institution often referred to as "imperial preceptor" (*dishi* 帝師); the ethnicity of Tangut Buddhist monks; the role of those monks in compiling editions of the Buddhist Canon both in Chinese and Tangut; and the relationship between Tangut and Chinese texts discovered in the Yuan collection titled *Dasheng yaodao miji* 大乘要道密集.[3]

While research into these specific topics has helped to show some of the otherwise obscure mechanisms in the formation of Yuan Buddhism, it is of limited relevance for an understanding Tangut Buddhism. In order to avoid misconceptions concerning the nature of Mongol rule in China and the origins of Tibetan Buddhism, we must look very closely at the kernel of Tangut Buddhism that pertained specifically during the period of Xixia independent statehood. Doing so will turn out to be crucial for the proper analysis of certain processes that exceed the chronological limits of Tangut studies in *sensu stricto*, and involve a bigger geographical area than the actual territory of the state.

Texts in Chinese and Tangut that were discovered by P. K. Kozlov during his expedition of 1908–09 to the ruins of Khara-Khoto probably represent the oldest stratum of Tangut Buddhist writing. The texts, from inside a stūpa there, possess intellectual traits that fall into two major doctrinal categories: those belonging to certain Tibetan tradi-

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stored White Horse temple in Luoyang, also belonged to the most influential group of Tangut monks during the yearly Yuan. While the personal history of Guanzhuba remains generally unexplored, Yanglianzhenjia recently has received scholarly attention; e.g., Chen Gaohua 陳高華, *Yuanchao shishi xinzheng* 元朝史事新證 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou daxue chubanshe, 2010), esp. pp. 143–49, and 154–57. Also see R. Linrothe, "The Commissioner's Commissions: Late Thirteenth-century Tibetan Buddhist Art in Hangzhou under the Mongols," in Mathew Kapstein, ed., *Buddhism between Tibet and China* (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2009), pp. 73–97. We know about Yixing Huijue from Chinese and Tangut texts; for a general survey of his activities see Cui Hongfen 崔紅芬, "Xixia yiseng 'Huijue' kaolüe" 西夏遺僧慧覺考略, in K. Solonin and Lin Yingchin, *2009 nian Heishuicheng huiyi lunwenji 2009* 年黑水城會議論文集 (Taipei: 2009), pp. 197–211. Masaaki Chikusa 竺沙雅章 was the first to introduce Huijue's materials to the scholarly public in his *Sō-Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū* 宋元佛教文化史研究 (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2000), pp. 195–99. Shi Jinbo 史金波 has specifically discussed Huijue's appearance in the Tangut texts from the Yuan dynasty; "Xixia wen *Jin guangming zuisheng wang jing* xüba kao" 西夏文金光明最勝王經序跋考, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 3 (1983), pp. 45–53; and idem, "Xixia wen *Guoqu zhuangyanqie qianfo ming jing* fayuan wen yizheng" 西夏文過去莊嚴劫千佛名經發願文譯證, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 1 (1981), pp. 64–76.

[3] The matter of the nature and status of "imperial preceptor" is one of the oldest discussions in the field of Tangut studies. For a summary, see Ruth Dunnell, "The Hsia Origins of the Yuan Institution of Imperial Preceptor," *AM* 3d ser. 5.1 (1992), pp. 85–111. Some new hypotheses concerning both the institution and possible identities of these preceptors are presented in Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音, "Xixia dishi kaobian" 西夏帝師考辯, *Wenshi* 文史 3 (2005), pp. 205–14.

tions, and those which can be tentatively associated with certain types of Sinitic Buddhism.

Among the various dimensions of Sinitic Buddhism present in Xixia, a dominant position is occupied by texts generally affiliated with the Huayan tradition. At first, scholarship tended to arrange the Khara-Khoto texts according to their Chinese or Tangut language affiliation. However, I believe that the classification according to subject-matter is of more immediate importance: in many cases Chinese and Tangut texts belong to similar traditions and share common vocabulary. In several cases we can suggest that the Tangut versions of the texts (especially of Tibetan origin) predate the Chinese ones, and that the Chinese terminology emerged as translations of the related Tangut terms.[4]

The present study engages itself not with an overall exposition of the diversity of Tangut Buddhism, but limits itself to a discussion of a particular Chinese text, titled *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* 解行照心圖, whose contents are indicative of a specific outlook toward Chinese Chan Buddhism by people in the Xixia state.[5] The title can be translated as "The Chart Illuminating the Mind according to [the Ways] of Understanding and Practice." The text is preserved in Kozlov's collection of Khara-Khoto texts, housed now in the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts Research (Russian Academy of Sciences), under catalog number A4V. The original has been reproduced in the fifth volume of *Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻,[6] where it is given the short title *Zhaoxin tu yiben* 照心圖一本. Despite the implication of the title, the text contains no actual chart. The characters *jie* 解 and *xing* 行 apparently, by context, belong to the title, so I have modified the title accordingly. The text adheres to a Chan Buddhist paradigm advocated by Qingliang

[4] There is an impression, though unconfirmed with textual data, that parts of the Tangut Buddhist terminology, especially technical repertoire pertaining to Tibetan esoteric texts were translated during the early Yuan. This especially concerns the origin of the Chinese word "tantra" 本續 (Tib. *rgyud*), for which the direct Tangut equivalent is "*mərtwę*" 䕤䊳. In Chinese canonical writings this word is attested in texts definitely associated with Yuan-era Tangut monks, especially Yixing Huijue. Tangut translations of Tibetan tantras normally predate this period, and there are indications that the Tangut language had been familiar with the fourfold classification of tantras 四種本續 as early as 1312. See Shi Jinbo 史金波, *Xixia Fojiao shilue* 西夏佛教史略 (Yinchuan: Ningxia Renmin, 1988), pp. 316–24, esp. 321. Perhaps, then, the Chinese term *benxu* 本續 emerged as a translation of the Tangut word during the early Yuan.

[5] I have already discussed certain peculiarities of Tangut Chan Buddhism in earlier publications, e.g., K. J. Solonin, "Hongzhou Buddhism and the Heritage of Zongmi (780–841): A Tangut Source," *AM* 3d ser. 16.2 (2003), pp. 57–103. However, since then, due to advances in Tangut studies, my views have changed substantially. As will be clear from the following, I suggest that the specific doctrinal makeup of the text discussed in this paper was determined by the process of transition of Huayan Chan ideas into the Xixia state from the Liao state.

[6] Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1998, pp. 131–34.

Chengguan 清涼澄觀 (737–838) and may be considered a representative of the later era of the Huayan tradition in northern China during the tenth to thirteenth centuries, a tradition that was popular in the Kitan Liao empire (907–1125). My opinion is that this text as well as several others, for example, the so-called *Hongzhou Texts*, demonstrate a radical re-thinking of the Hongzhou Chan teaching of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788) in order to reconcile it with the Huayan Chan doctrine of Chengguan and Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841; he is discussed below). Moreover, *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* importantly represents a version of Sinitic Buddhism current in northern China prior to the Mongol conquest.

If one accepts the view that the Song period was the period when Buddhism in China was dominated by what is sometimes deemed "radical" versions of Chan, as well as by the "revived" Tiantai School which had subjugated or at least overshadowed other Buddhisms,[7] then one must notice that, contrary to expectation, only a limited number of textual materials associated with those two traditions is available among the Khara-Khoto findings. Moreover, although the Buddhist compilations from those finds have been linked in modern scholarship to Northern Song trends, those are most often the minor lines of Northern Song Buddhism thought rather than the mainstream.[8] Since the majority of Khara-Khoto texts date back to the roughly 1150–1200 period of the

[7] The adequacy of the above-stated view of Song Buddhism is beyond the scope of the present paper, however it should be noted in passing that the Huayan School, which is of special concern here, experienced a certain withdrawal during the Song, coming after its period of revival chiefly under the leadership of Jinshui Jingyuan 晉水凈源 (1011–1088). Although there is some research into the role of Huayan Buddhism during the Song, there remains a lack of understanding of the actual role which Huayan and Huayan-oriented traditions played after the Tang. Huayan revival constitutes the subject of several recent studies, e.g., Wang Song 王頌, *Songdai Huayan sixiang yanjiu* 宋代華嚴思想研究 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2010).

[8] One example of such "out of mainstream" Huayan texts is the Tangut text 𗍫𗥤𗏁𗍊𗥞𗥤𗏁𗍊𗥞𗥤𗏁𗍊 (Tang 395, no. 242, St. Petersburg Collection). This is a translation of a nonextant compilation *Zhu Huayan fajie guanmen tongxuan ji* 註華嚴法界觀門通玄記 by Huayan Chan master Guangzhi Bensong 廣智本嵩, known to have been active during 1083–1086. The identification of the text as Bensong's was first suggested by Li Can 李燦, "Yuandai Xixia ren de Huayan Chanfa, yi Huayan haiyin daochang chanyi wei zhongxin" 元代西夏人的華嚴懺法以華嚴海印道場懺儀爲中心, MA thesis (Beijing University, Department of Philosophy, 2010), and later confirmed by Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音, "Xixia wen 'Huayan sanjie kao'" 西夏文華嚴三偈考, *Xixia xue* 西夏學 8.2 (2011), pp. 1–8. Since study of the text is ongoing, it will suffice to mention merely that Bensong had not been associated with the general Northern Song Huayan represented by Jinshui Jingyuan and Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (965–1038). Despite his inferior position in Song Buddhism, Bensong was recognized as one of the patriarchs of the Tangut Huayan by Yixing Huijue. See Suo Luoning 索羅寧 [K. Solonin], "Yixing Huijue jiqi *Dafang Huayan jing haiyin daochang shizhong xingyuan changpian lican yi*" 一行慧覺及其大方廣佛華嚴經海印道場十重行願常徧禮懺儀, *Taida Foxue yanjiu* 台大佛學研究 23 (June 2012), pp. 1–76.

Xixia period, we are compelled to investigate the texts with the hypothesis that neither Song-dynasty Chan nor Tiantai had been widespread among the Tangut during the Xixia period.

It will benefit us to break this problem down into a smaller example that deals with Song influences that are in fact seen in the Khara-Khoto texts. The Song doctrines of the Huayan School in Xixia are represented almost solely by Jinshui Jingyuan's 晉水凈源 (1011–1088) recensions of Xianshou Fazang's 賢首法藏 (643–712) compilations: *Huayan jin shizi zhang* (*The Golden Lion of Huayan* 華嚴金獅子章) and *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuanguan* 修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀.[9] The rest of the Huayan repertoire among the Khara-Khoto texts is occupied by a variety of works by Guifeng Zongmi, or heavily influenced by his thought.[10]

Generally, there is hardly any reason to doubt the overall Chinese cultural domination of Xixia culture, but the exact forms and channels of this domination were diverse, and some Chinese influences upon Xixia might have originated not from within the political boundaries of Song-era China, but from areas beyond direct Chinese control.[11] This is especially true for the types of Sinitic Buddhism whose various denominations had long before spread into non-Chinese areas and evolved into specific local traditions with distinct national makeup. That is, for the purposes of the present study, 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. One example is the legacy of

9 For a study of the Tangut text of Fazang's *Huanyuan guan*, see Sun Bojun 孫伯君, "Xixia wen *Xiu Huayan aozhi wangjin huanyuan guan* kaoshi" 西夏文修華嚴奧旨妄盡還源觀考釋, *Xixia xue* 6 (2010), pp. 57–69; Sun Bojun 孫伯君, "Heishuicheng chutu *Huayan jinzhizi zhang yunjian leijie* kaoshi" 黑水城出土華嚴金獅子章云間類解考釋, *Xixia yanjiu* 1 (March 2010), pp. 60–74.

10 Sun Bojun argued that popularity of Huayan teaching in Xixia and works of Zongmi in particular is connected with the activities of the White Cloud school 白雲宗 leaders in Xixia. The conclusion is based on an intentional reading of several Tangut texts and arbitrary identifications of several personalities mentioned there. However, there is little reason to doubt that White Cloud teachings were known in Xixia, but in general Sun's argument in many cases is unconvincing; see "Yuandai Baiyun zong yikan Xixiawen wenxian zongkao" 元代白雲宗譯刊西夏文文獻綜考, *Wenxian* 文獻 2 (2011), pp. 146–57. For criticism of this point of view, see Suo Luoning [K. Solonin], "Baiyun Shizi *Sanguan Jiumen* chutan" 白雲釋子三觀九門初探, *Xixia xue* 8 (October 2011), pp. 9–22.

11 E.g. Lü Jianfu 呂建福, *Tuzu shi* 土族史 (Beijing; Zhongguo shehui kexue 2003), pp. 305–10, once suggested that the Tangut borrowed specific facets of Chinese culture not directly from China, but from the Tu 土 people – descendants of the *tuyuhun* 吐谷渾 in the Ordos area. However, Lü's ideas should be treated with reserve, since he tends to attribute almost all Tangut achievements to the activities of the Tu people in Xixia.

Tang Buddhist thought, which became largely preserved outside of China. The Tangut had close contacts with several such strongholds of Chinese culture and Sinitic Buddhism outside of China proper, an important one being the Kitan empire (that is, the Liao dynasty). This source could not have formed a full and complete substitute for contact with China, especially due to the ban on the book trade between the Kitan-Liao state and the Song state.

As cursory scans of the various Tangut collections have revealed, there is no possible way to discern a single source tradition of Sinitic Buddhism responsible for the doctrinal makeup of Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia. Available textual evidence discovered from Khara-Khoto and other repositories of Xixia texts confirms that at least some Buddhist traditions popular in the Tangut state, including a specific version of Huayan teaching, originated not from the Song but from the Kitan-Liao. By the same token, several Chan Buddhist texts discovered in Khara-Khoto that from the perspective of contemporary Song-era Chan contain seemingly "anachronistic" topics, might also be considered as indicators of a close Buddhist relationship between Liao and Xixia. The "anachronism" in part can be explained by the inaccessibility of Chinese publications in the Liao. A more important reason was the direction of doctrinal evolution: the Liao and Xixia were developing their Buddhist systems on the basis of a Buddhist heritage from the Tang, and could adopt only such outside elements that could fit a certain general scheme. This scheme I will provisionally identify as the "perfect teaching."[12]

LIAO BUDDHISM AND THE "PERFECT TEACHING"

The more general system of Liao Buddhism deserves a deep study; thus, here I would limit myself to several observations that may prompt further discussion. Originally, scholarly consensus concerning the nature of Liao Buddhism was based on the idea that cohesion between Huayan thought and Esoteric Buddhism formed its core tenet.[13] Parts of the esoteric repertoire known from the Liao are in fact traceable to the works of Qingliang Chengguan, especially his *magnum opus* titled *Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 (referred to below as *Yanyi*

[12] The term "perfect teaching" translates the Chinese "yuanjiao 圓教." Its usage in the modern academic context was first introduced by Robert Sharf; see n. 17, below.

[13] A brief introduction to Liao "Huayan esoterism" is in Henrik H. Sørensen, *"Esoteric Buddhism under the Liao,"* in Orzech et al., eds., *Esoteric Buddhism and the Tantras in East Asia*, pp. 458–61.

chao), as well as to other Tang works.[14] The Great Master Qingliang was such a towering figure in the Liao Buddhist world that the repertoire of the Liao texts discovered under Timber Pagoda (Mu ta 木塔) in Ying county 應縣 is largely comprised of various copies of *Yanyi chao* and texts associated with it.[15] By this token it would seem appropriate to suggest that the Liao idea about what Buddhism actually was evolved under the dominant influence of Chengguan's version of Huayan teachings.

One more factor in the evolution of Liao Buddhism might have been a rediscovery of the *Treatise Expounding the Mahāyāna* (*Shi moheyan lun* 釋摩訶衍論) sometime in the middle of Daozong's 道宗 reign (1055–1101). In sum, the "esoteric evolution" of Liao Buddhism as well as the emergence of a specific version of Chan were heavily determined by the nature of received Huayan tradition in general and Chengguan's ideas in particular.

One of Chengguan's basic intentions was the creation of a harmonious Buddhist whole, which could hierarchically structure various doctrinal elements on the basis of the core teaching of "mind," equally recognized by all the schools and denominations of contemporaneous Chinese Buddhism. In the famous conclusion to the second *juan* of *Yanyi chao*, Chengguan specifically urges a harmonious combination of diverse traditions, including Southern and Northern Chan, and Tiantai – based on a common tenet of "mind."[16] Liao Buddhists shared the ideal of a "perfect teaching" (*yuanjiao* 圓教), but considered it from a broader perspective as a universal framework that could accommodate various doctrines and practices according to their progress in understanding the "mind." This would mean that Liao Buddhist masters really did try to create a comprehensive Buddhist doctrine intended to consolidate elements of theoretical discourse, methods of contemplation, and various bodhisattva practices into a coherent system where each element would occupy its appropriate place.

[14] Endō Junichirō 遠藤純一郎, "Chōkan to Mikkyō: *Daihōkō butsu Kegonkyō* so ni mirareru Mikkyō teki yōso" 澄觀と密教, 大方廣佛華嚴經疏に見られる密教的要素, *Chisan gakuhō* 智山學報 53 (2004), pp. 319–55; and idem, "Chōkan to Mikkyō: *Daihōkō butsu Kegonkyō so zuiso engi shō* ni mirareru Mikkyō teki yōso" 澄觀と密教, 大方廣佛華嚴經疏隨疏演義鈔に見られる密教的要素 55 (2005), pp. 79–103.

[15] Timber Pagoda was built in 1056 (Qingning 清寧 2, of the Liao). Discovery of the text trove was made during the inspection in July, 1974, and the discovered texts were published in Dept. of Cultural Relics of Shanxi Province and the Museum of Chinese History 山西省文物局, 中國歷史博物館, *Yingxian Muta Liaodai mizang* 應縣木塔遼代秘藏 (Beijing: Wenwu 1991), vols. 1–2.

[16] T 36, no. 1736, pp. 17a9–13. In this paragraph Chengguan is addressing the Tiantai idea of "mind contemplation" and challenges Tiantai claims for doctrine uniqueness.

Among a variety of taxonomical concepts introduced by Liao Buddhist masters, those of "perfect revelation" (*xian yuan* 顯圓, i.e. Huayan teaching) and "perfect secrecy" (*mi yuan* 密圓) are of crucial importance. These two aspects form two complementary sides of the ideal harmonious "perfect teaching." Both concepts, although generally associated with Liao Buddhist thought, in fact evolved from a creative interpretation of Fazang's and Chengguan's ideas by Liao Buddhist masters.[17] The concept of the "perfect teaching" frequently emerges in various Liao compilations, both esoteric and otherwise, and it seems to have dominated the Liao version of Huayan Buddhism. One of its most straightforward expositions is a work entitled *Four Questions and Answers about the Perfect Teaching* (*Yuanjiao simen wenda* 圓教四門問答), discovered among the texts from Timber Pagoda.[18] The text discusses the relationship between a set of traditional taxonomical categories of "perfect" (*yuan* 圓), "common" (*tong* 同) and "separate" (*bie* 別) teachings in a manner traceable to Chengguan's discussion of the relationship between the teachings in the first *juan* of his *Yanyi chao*.[19] Quotations from *Yanyi chao* which constitute the extant part of *Yuanjiao simen wenda* had probably been arranged into a separate text during Liao times, but its basic doctrinal tenor and exegetic metaphors applied to doctrine (e.g., representation of the *Huayan jing* as of the sea, which "absorbs the water of a hundred rivers," or of Huayan doctrine as "complete cohesion endowed with full virtue, *yuanrong jude* 圓融具德") are all discovered in Chengguan's works. The focus of the Liao composition is to demonstrate the nature of the relationship between the three teachings, especially in terms of "inclusiveness" (*shou* 收), "generality" (*zong* 總), and "separation" or "selectiveness"(*jian* 揀). *Yuanjiao simen wenda* is not the only example of "taxonomical literature" known from the Liao: an almost similar paragraph is found in *Dafangguang Fohuayan jing tanxuan jueze* 大方廣佛華嚴經談玄決[抉]擇 by Wuli Xianyan 悟理鮮

[17] A major Liao work that discusses the relationship between revealed and secret doctrines is *Xianmi Yuantong Chengfo xinyao ji* 顯密圓通成佛心要集 by Daoshen. For discussion of its contents, see Endō Junichirō, "'Kenmitsu entsū jōbutsu shinyō shū' ni okeru ganmitsukan" 顯密圓通成佛心要集に於ける顯密觀, *Rengeji butsugaku kenkyūjo kiyō* 蓮花寺佛學研究所紀要 1 (2010), pp. 63–90. For an exposition of Daoshen's "doctrinal taxonomy" and his view of the relationship between esoteric and exoteric teachings, see R. Sharf, *Coming to Terms with Chinese Buddhism* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), pp. 273–74.

[18] *Yingxian Muta Liaodai mizang* 2, pp. 520–22.

[19] Chengguan's concept of the "perfect teaching" is partially discussed in Imre Hamar, "The Doctrines of Perfect Teaching in Ch'eng-kuan's *Introduction to His Commentary on the Hua-yen-ching*," *Foxue yanjiu zhongxin xuebao* 佛學研究中心學報 3 (1998), pp. 331–49. In fact Chengguan returns to the teaching classification throughout *Suishu yanyi chao*, and paragraphs traceable in the Liao text are found in different places of his major work.

演 (1048–1118), whose work in turn is an exposition of Chengguan's *Huayan jing shu* 華嚴經疏 and *Yanyi chao*.[20]

Four Questions and Answers are mainly concerned with establishing a general framework which could accommodate a variety of doctrines and practices. The propagation of the "perfect" teaching in its esoteric and exoteric dimensions had been a major concern for Liao emperors, especially for Daozong 道宗 (reign 1055–1101), who, in order to parallel the merit-worthy works of Nāgārjuna, thought of spreading the perfect doctrine throughout his realm:

> Now these two schools: According to the *Notes on the Miracles*[21] and what had been transmitted by Yijing, since the time when Tathāgata attained Nirvāṇa, the people have not heard and did not know (have not heard about the "perfectly revealed" and did not know about "perfectly secret.") Since the time when Nāgārjuna bodhisattva appeared in the world seven hundred years ago, he started to spread both esoteric and exoteric teachings, so that they became widespread in the human realm. Now, in the period of the final dharma there appeared Emperor Bodhisattva king Heavenly Assistance,[22] who promoted the two teachings throughout his realm. 今此兩宗: 准《纂靈記》并義淨傳說，自如來密度已後，時人不聞不知 (不聞顯圓不知密圓)[23] 。至龍樹菩薩七百年中出世，雙弘顯密宗，方乃流行人世。今居末法之中，得值天佑皇帝菩薩國王，率士之內, 流通二教。[24]

Ideally the "perfect" system was supposed to guide a practitioner through various stages of spiritual progress culminating in the realization of the dharma realm of the universal Buddha Vairocana and the fulfillment of the "sea of practices of Samantabhadra." The classical form of the Liao "perfect teaching" was presented by a famous Kitan Buddhist master, Daoshen 道殿 (1056?–1114?); it appears in his treatise *Xianmi Yuantong Chengfo xinyao ji* 顯密圓通成佛心要集 (hereafter *Chengfo*

[20] Xianyan's biography and Buddhist activities are discussed in Wang Weixiang 王未想, "Liaodai Shangjing faxian Lioadai Xianyan mubei" 遼上京發現遼代鮮演墓碑, *Liaohai wenwu xuekan* 遼海文物學刊 1 (1987); and Zhi Zifang 朱子房 and Wang Chengli 王承禮, "Liaodai fojiao de zhuyao zongpai he xueseng" 遼代佛教的主要宗派和學僧, *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu* 世界宗教研究 1 (1990), pp. 122–34. The work of Xianyan is to be found in ZZ 8, no. 235. Kimura Kiyotaka 木村清孝 provides a synopsis of some of Xianyan's teachings in his *Chūgoku Kegon Shisōshi* 中國華嚴思想史 (Tokyō: Heirakuji shoten, 1992). The paragraph identified as the source of the Timber Pagoda text of *Yuanjiao Simen Wenda* is found in ZZ 8, no. 235, pp. 72B9–22.

[21] Namely, *Huayan jing Zuanling ji* 華嚴經纂靈記, a work traditionally ascribed to Fazang.

[22] This was one of the honorary titles of Daozong.

[23] The parenthetical phrase exists in the original texts as a small-character comment.

[24] T 46, no. 1955, pp. 1004B15–19.

xinyao), which was also available in Xixia, and also in his less well-known *Jingxin lu* 鏡心錄 (*Record of the Mirror Reflecting the Mind*, which is now widely known under the abridged Tangut title 𢧐, and is currently available only in Tangut translation).[25] The discovery of several fragments of other Liao Buddhist works associated with the "perfect teaching" among the Khara-Khoto texts suggests that the idea of a "perfect teaching" had not been foreign to the Tangut Buddhists. When the "perfect teaching" was transmitted to Xixia, it underwent substantial evolution, and at its height, during the late-twelfth and early-thirteenth centuries, it incorporated elements of all Buddhist doctrines available in East Asia, including the practices of Tibetan tantras and Mahāmudrā, whereas its main doctrinal tenet remained the late-Tang version of Huayan developed by Qingliang Chengguan and Guifeng Zongmi. These combined forms of Buddhist practice retained their vitality and survived at least until the early-Yuan period, as demonstrated by the works of Yixing Huijue, mentioned above.

The "perfect teaching" was not practiced in its entirety or exclusively: its complex structure easily allowed certain elements to be extracted and practiced independently. Thus, during the later years of Tangut history "the perfect teaching" became dominated by the "teaching of *dhāraṇī*," which was considered the summit of all Buddhist practices – a point of view originally proposed by Daoshen and maintained in the writing titled *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* 密咒圓因往生集.[26]

The *Mizhou yuanyin wangsheng ji* is one of the few Tangut Buddhist compilations that was included in the Chinese Buddhist canon, or *Tripiṭaka*.[27] There, its "Preface" informs us that it was compiled in honor of the health and eventual happy rebirth of a high Tangut official named He Zongshou 賀宗壽, in the seventh year of the Tianqing 天慶 reign-period (1200) of the Tangut state.[28] The exposition of the "perfect teaching" or "perfect vehicle" occurs in the "Afterword" (*luwen* 錄文) to the Khara-Khoto version of this text and is not found in the *Taishô Tripitaka* version. The "Afterword" specifically discusses "the

[25] K. J. Solonin, "Khitan Connection of Tangut Buddhism," in Shen Weirong et al., eds., *Humanity and Nature in Khara-Khoto* (Beijing: Renmin University Press, 2007). This brief paper contains a preliminary analysis of the text of *Jingxin lu* and arguments for its attribution to Daoshen.

[26] T 46, no. 1956.

[27] Khara-Khoto versions of *Mizhou yuanyin wangcheng ji* (Catalog no. TK 271) and *Xianmi Yuantong* (TK 270); see *ECHCW* 4, pp. 358–63 (quotation on p. 363). An alternative version is available in Kozlov's holdings in St. Petersburg.

[28] T 46, no. 1956, p. 1007A15–B13.

teaching of *dhāraṇī*" as the "perfect essence outside of the teachings" (*jiaowai yuanzong* 教外圓宗).[29] The text reads:

> Only the teaching of *dhāraṇī* is the Dharma gate of the mind-seal of all Buddhas, and is the short way of perfection for both sages and profanes. Secret among secrets, it seals the "Three Collections" so as to guide [sentient beings according to] their abilities. It is the profoundest of the profound; it uses sounds and signs to present the substance. It encompasses five parts [of esoteric teaching] and is the only one which is called "perfect essence outside of teachings". It includes One-Vehicle and exhausts the deepest essence of yoga. 唯此陀羅尼者是諸佛心印之法門，乃聖凡圓修之捷徑。秘中之密, 印三藏以導機。玄中之玄，加聲字而詮體。統該五部，獨稱"教外之圓宗。包括一乘以盡瑜伽之奧旨。

The terminology used might be interpreted as an indication of a certain correspondence with Huayan teaching (*yisheng* 一乘) as well as the esoteric teaching, which was said to constitute the "perfect essence" of Buddhism and transmitted orally ("outside the teachings"). The above passage might serve as one more testimony for the continuous interwoven flow of Buddhist ideas between the Liao and Xixia: it is in fact an abridged version of the so-called "Preface" to *Zuishang sheng Mimizang tuoluoni ji* 最上乘秘密藏陀羅尼集 by the Great Master Chaowu Xinglin 超悟行琳 (d.u.), "the holder of the purple robe, monk propagator of the Secret teaching from Daanguo monastery in the Upper Capital" (*Shangdu Daanguo si chuan Mijiao Chaowu Dashi cizi Sanzang shamen* 上都大安國寺傳密教超悟大師賜紫三藏沙門). The "Preface" originates from Fangshan and is dated 898, shortly before the Tang lost control of the area to the Kitan.[30] This instance of textual borrowing indicates a certain exchange of Buddhist ideas which was occurring between Liao and Xixia Buddhist circles.

Beside this "esoteric dimension," another aspect of the "perfect teaching" was the so-called "Southern Chan" (*nanzong* 南宗), or "Bodhidharma Chan" (*Damo Chan* 達摩禪), which sometimes was called the "Dharma Gate of the Mind-ground of the Southern School" in Tangut texts (*Nanzong xindi famen* 南宗心地法門; Tangut: 𗍫𗣼𗹦𗥤𗤶𗢳).[31] The

[29] For Khara-Khoto versions of *Mizhou yuanyin wangcheng ji* and *Xianmi Yuantong*, see *ECHCW* 4, pp. 358–364, esp. 364

[30] See Lin Guangming 林光明, ed., *Fanshan mingzhou ji* 房山明呪集 (Taibei: Jiafeng chubanshe 2008) 1, pp. 2, 4.

[31] This last term is used in the Tangut translation of the collected sayings of Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 (?–775) recovered from Khara-Khoto. See K. J. Solonin, "Collected Sayings of Nanyang Huizhong (?–775) in Tangut Translation," in Nathan W. Hill, ed., *Medieval Tibeto-Burman Languages, IV* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 267–347.

idea of Bodhidharma Chan as the true Chan teaching (transmitted by seven generations of patriarchs, that is, free from later deviations and corruption), emerged during the late Tang and seems to have survived through the Five Dynasties period. The advocates of the tradition were Qingliang Chengguan and his disciple Guifeng Zongmi, but the revival of the tradition was connected with the reemergence during the Liao of Bodhidharma's *Treatise of the Two Entrances and Four Practices* (*Erru sixing lun* 二入四行論). In the Liao state, according to the version preserved by Daoshen in *Chengfo xinyao*, a slightly different version of the treatise was circulating at least during the last decades of the eleventh century. Thus, Daoshen maintained the idea that the Huayan theory of "original enlightenment" should be combined with Chan practices of the Southern School of Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (670–762) precisely because such a combination would result in further deepening of the understanding of "mind." Due to both historical and doctrinal reasons modern scholarship denominates this version as Chan, designed by Zongmi and later continued by the Liao masters as "Huayan Chan."[32] It is characterized by a specific set of doctrinal authorities, specifically the recognition of Shenhui as the Seventh Patriarch, and a peculiar set of scriptures and technical vocabulary. These are widely found in Tangut Buddhist texts but are usually thought to be connected with *Chinese* Buddhism.

BUDDHIST CONNECTIONS BETWEEN LIAO AND XIXIA

The origins of Kitan-Liao Buddhism are beyond the scope of present study; however a few generalizing observations are due. Although the Liao authorities established the cult of Confucius at the dawn of Kitan statehood, Buddhism was extremely widespread among the Liao population, so that recognition of Confucius instead of the Buddha as the main figure in the state cult met certain resistance at the imperial court.[33] The exact nature of the Kitans' initial interest in Buddhism can only be speculated about: namely, that there is an implication

[32] This term was originally suggested by Yoshizu Yoshihide 吉津宜英 in his seminal work *Kegon-Zen no shisōshi teki kenkyū* 華嚴禪の思想史的研究 (Tokyo: Daito Shuppan 1985).

[33] The standard history *Liao shi* 遼史 importantly records the process of choosing Confucianism as the official religion: "Once Taizu (i.e. Abaoji) asked: 'The king, who has accepted the mandate of Heaven, must serve Heaven and revere the spirits. I am willing to make sacrifices to those who have accumulated great merit; [among those,] who should come first?'" The advisers all replied that it should be the Buddha. Taizu then said: "Buddhism is not the teaching of the Middle Kingdom 非中國教 ("Middle kingdom" here does not refer to China, and probably has cultural rather than political implications)." Yizong Bei 義宗倍, also known

that Wutaishan, adjacent to the Kitan lands, was the main source and object of Buddhist devotion among the earliest Kitans. The long-time reverence of Wutaishan further resulted in the building of Liao's own Wutaishan, known as Jinhe si 金河寺.

The bulk of currently available Liao texts dates back to the final period of Liao history, specifically to the reign of Liao Daozong, who took personal interest in Buddhist affairs, attended various Dharma assemblies and authored several Buddhist compositions, including, as already mentioned, the "Imperial Commentary" to *Shi moheyan lun*. Only a very few original Liao compilations were discovered among the stone sūtras at Fang Mountain 房山.[34] Important Liao Buddhist texts, including *Chengfo xinyao*, were incorporated into various versions of the Chinese Tripitaka as late as the early-fourteenth century through the mediation of certain monks of Tangut origin (especially Guanzhuba 管主八, who flourished around the late-thirteenth to mid-fourteenth centuries). This implies a continuity between Liao and Xixia Buddhist complexes.

Huayan Buddhism, along with a version of the Chinese Vijñānavāda School (*weishi zong* 唯識宗), dominated the doctrinal agenda of Liao Buddhism.[35] It existed there in its later, early-ninth-century, form developed by Qingliang Chengguan and Guifeng Zongmi. This later form emerged as a combination of actual Huayan teachings with doctrines borrowed from various apocryphal writings, specifically the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* and the apocryphal *Shouleng yan jing* 首楞嚴經; moreover, it absorbed elements of Tiantai ritual practice, as was common during the Tang. Most of this textual repertoire apparently made its way to the Tangut kingdom where it evolved into a main strand of what later became a complex known as "Tangut Buddhism." The ultimate representation of late Huayan ideas is found in the numerous works of Chennguan and Zongmi, and the Tangut collection from Khara-Khoto offers a stunning example of the popularity of these ideas in the Tangut state: Zongmi's works such as *Zhushuo Chanyuan zhu quan jidu xu* 諸說禪源諸詮集都序 (hereafter, *Chan Preface*) and *Zhonghua chuan*

as Yelü Bei 耶律倍 (899/900–937, official heir to Abaoji) then said: "Confucius is the great Sage, revered by ten thousand generations; he should be the first." Taizu rejoiced greatly and had the Temple of Confucius established and ordered the heir-apparent to arrange sacrificial ceremonies in spring and autumn"; *Liao shi* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju: 1978) 72, p. 1209. This paragraph was discussed by P. Marsonne, "A Divine Ruler: Yelü Abaoji Politics and Religion at the Foundation of [*sic*] Kitan-Liao Empire," in Solonin and Lin, eds., *2009 nian Heishuicheng huiyi lunwenji*, pp. 307–19.

[34] Survey of original Liao texts is provided in Masaaki, *Sō-Gen Bukkyō bunkashi kenkyū*.

[35] Ibid., pp. 4–12

Xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 (hereafter, *Chan Chart*), as well as barely-known commentarial literature, are all found in P. K. Kozlov's holdings from Khara-Khoto, sometimes in a variety of copies (reflecting both Chinese originals and Tangut translations).[36] The Tangut translations of Chengguan's *Yanyi chao* were not discovered until recently; thus now at least one text from Khara-Khoto has been identified as a fragment of such a translation, which is interestingly combined with the above-mentioned *Huayan jing tanxuan jueze* by the Liao monk Xianyan.[37] The popularity of Zongmi's works in the north, including Xixia, did not cease with the collapse of Liao but continued even into the Yuan dynasty, when the *Chan Preface* was published under the imperial auspices during the Zhiyuan 至元 (1264–1294) reign.[38] Thus one might suggest that Liao Buddhism developed as an alternative to the Buddhism of the Northern Song, and the "revived" (*zhongxing* 中興) version of Huayan teaching represented by the works of Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (965–1038) and Jinshui Jingyuan probably also made its way into the Liao. From such works as the reconstructed version of the *Golden Lion of Huayan* made their way to Xixia.

The Buddhist agenda of the Liao state was further characterized by the growing influence of another major Huayan work – the *Treatise*

36 For a general survey of Zongmi's works in Tangut collections, see K. J. Solonin, "The Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism," *CAJ* 52.1 (2008), pp. 75–79. Nie Hongyin's research into the Tangut translation of the *Chan Preface* has revealed that the text probably underwent some sort of redaction or editing in the process of translation. The most important alteration to the Chinese text, made either by Tangut translators or the editors of the original Chinese, was that the sequence of paragraphs in the Tangut translation was changed (relative to the extant text of Zongmi's work); see Nie Hongyin, "*Chanyuan zhuquan jidu xu* Xixia yiben," 禪源諸詮集都序西夏譯本, *Xixia xue* 5 (October 2010), pp. 23–28. This however is true not only for the *Chan Preface*, but for other Tangut texts as well, e.g., regarding the Tangut translation of *Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* 占察善惡業報經, see Dai Zhongpei 戴忠沛, "Fazang Xixiawen *Zhancha shan'e yebao jing* canpian kao" 法藏西夏文占察善惡業報經殘片考, *Ningxia shehui kexue* 寧夏社會科學 2006.4, pp. 94–96; and a similar feature in the Tangut translation of the so-called *Bodhidharma's Treatise on the Contemplation of Mind* 達摩大師觀心本母, a Tangut translation of the work by Yuquan Shenxiu 玉泉神秀 (606–706), a one-time rival of Huineng.

37 The translation fragment is known as Tang 346, no. 7211, according to E. I. Kychanov's *Catalog of the Tangut Buddhist Monuments from the Collection of St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Studies* (*Katalog Tangutskikh Buddiiskikh pamiatnikov Istituta Vostokovedeniya R.A.N.)* (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 1999), item 481. According to Kychanov's reading, the Tangut title is 𗥤𗍊𗤁𗥤𗁅𗍫𗥤𗍊𗤁𗥤𗍊𗤁𗥤𗍊𗤁𗥤𗍊𗤁, clearly a translation of 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, 卷第 13. However, the text is not a translation of only Chengguan's work, but a fragment of a bigger compilation: the part preceding the text by Chengguan is tentatively identified as a fragment from Xianyan's *Huayan jing tanxuan jueze*, whereas Chengguan's actual text corresponds not to *juan* 13 but to *juan* 1 of *Yanyi chao*.

38 The events surrounding the rediscovery of the text of *Chan Preface* during the Zhiyuan period are presented in the minute detail in various prefaces to the modern edition of the text in Taisho Tripitaka, especially "Chongke Chanyuanquan xü" 重刻禪源詮序 by Deng Wenyuan. (See: T48, no. 2015, pp. 397B29–398A1).

Expounding the Mahāyāna (*Shi moheyan lun*) – which, according to Kitan claims, remained obsolete for three hundred years and was brought back to prominence through the Dharma-protecting efforts of the emperor Daozong.[39] Numerous fragments of this text as well as parts of Liao commentaries have also been discovered among the Khara-Khoto findings recovered by Kozlov.[40] The above observations allow a definite conclusion: that Tangut Buddhism emerged under substantial Liao influences, so that one can even suggest that Buddhist traditions in Xixia which were traditionally believed to originate from China had, in fact, penetrated from Liao.

CHAN BUDDHISM IN THE LIAO

During the late-eleventh century, the final years of Daozong, if not also earlier, Kitan Buddhist circles and certain state officials were suspicious about various forms of Chan current in the Song state. The suspicion was such that they refused to accept these teachings as real Buddhism, and this attitude finally resulted in an imperial edict (extracts of which were preserved by the Korean "Presiding monk" Ŭich'ŏng (Yitian 義天, 1055–1101). Discussing *Biezhuan xinfa yi* 別傳心法議, by Feishan Jiezhu 飛山戒珠 (985?–1077), the Korean monk wrote the following:

> Oh! How far are the fame and real doings of the modern Chan [followers] of the Chan [masters] of the past. What was called Chan in the past was "relying on the teaching and entering the Chan" (*jijiao ruchan* 藉教入禪者). And what Chan is now is "preaching

39 As it is clear from the Preface (*yinwen* 引文) to *Shi Moheyan lun tongxuan chao* 釋摩訶衍論通玄鈔 by Zhifu 志福, Liao Emperor Daozong took particular interest in this text and thus authorized compilation of a number of commentaries and broad distribution of the text; see ZZ 46, no. 775, p. 110a6–22.

40 Among the Liao texts identified among the St. Petersburg Institute of Oriental Manuscripts holdings of Khara-Khoto items, of interest are several works in Tangut and Chinese attributed to a once prominent Buddhist leader Tongli Hengce 通理恒策 (1049–1098). See K. J. Solonin, "Khitan Influences and Formation of Tangut Chan Buddhism: Case of the Great Master Tongli" (unpub. ms); L. Ledderose, "Carving Sutras into Stone before the Catastrophe: The Inscription of 1118 from the Cloud Dwelling Monastery near Beijing," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 125 (2004), pp. 381–454, esp. 409–12. Moreover, texts in Chinese were identified as Liao commentaries to *Shi Moheyan lun*, or as otherwise directly inspired by it. Text TK 74, known by its abbreviated title *Long lun* 龍論, is an abridgement of *Shi Moheyan lun zanxuan shu* 釋摩訶衍論贊玄疏 (ZZ 45, no. 772) by the Liao monk Fawu 法悟. For a discussion, see Zongshun 宗舜, "*Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian* zhi hanwen fojiao wenxian niti kaobian" 俄藏黑水城文獻之漢文佛教文獻擬題考辨, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 敦煌研究 1 (2001), pp. 82–92; and idem, "*Ecang Heishui cheng wenxian* zhi hanwen wenxian xükao" 俄藏黑水城文獻之漢文佛教文獻續考, *Dunhuang yanjiu* 5 (2004), pp. 90–93. Another text is the so-called *Zhongsheng xinfa tu* 眾生心法圖 (Дх-591; *ECHCW* 6, p. 131), a brief exposition of the teaching of mind, according to *Shi Moheyan lun*.

Chan outside of the teachings" (*lijiao shuochan* 離教說禪). "Abandoning the teaching" is attachment to its name and losing its true essence. "Relying on the teaching" means attaining of the essential meaning through explanation, thus saving the contemporaries and correcting their errors and misunderstandings and thus restoring the pure Way of the ancient sages. And the Prince Zhu discusses this in the most profound manner.

Recently the Liao empire issued an order to the holders of the offices, instructing the learned monk Quanxiao to once again verify the catalogs of sūtras; and the texts which are known in the world as *The Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch* and *Baolin zhuan* were discarded and burnt, and the [relevant] entries [in the catalogs] had been rewritten. The third *juan* of *Continued Zhenyuan Catalog* explains this in detail. Thus, the mind transmitted by our [Lord] Buddha and the Dharma-protecting spirit of the emperor are clearly seen. The texts and phrases of the modern Chinese Chan School in their majority deviated [from the correct teaching] and fell into heresy. That is why the people and masters from the Eastern Sea were in doubt [saying] that among Huaxia there is no one [who is worthy of being followed]. Now I have seen the profound discussion by Feishan and thus I know that there really are enlightened protectors (bodhisattvas) of the Dharma [in China]. Yesterday, respectfully following the king's order, I had the [text by Jiezhu] cut on the tablets of green jade, but being afraid that its circulation will not be wide, I had it also carved on the wooden blocks [for printing]. After a hundred generations, maintaining the Dharma which is in decline, can we not rely on the power of Reverend Zhu? [Prince of Koryo, Presiding Monk Ŭich'ŏng].[41]

摧顯有功，文曰：甚矣！古禪之與今禪，名實相遼也。古之所謂禪者，藉教習禪者也，今之所謂禪者，離教說禪者也。 說禪者執其名而遺其實。 習禪者因其詮而得其旨。救今人矯詐之弊，復古聖精醇之道。珠公論辨，斯其至焉！近者大遼皇帝詔有司，令義學沙門詮曉等，再定經錄， 世所謂《六祖壇經》、《寶林傳》等皆被焚，除其僞妄。條例則重修，《貞元續錄》三卷中載之詳矣。有以見我佛付囑之心，帝王弘護之志。而比世中國所行禪宗章句，多涉異端。此所以海東人師疑華夏無人。及見飛山高議，乃知有護法菩薩焉！昨奉王旨刊諸翠琰，而恐流通未廣，勒之方板。噫！百世之下住持末法者，豈不賴珠公力乎？高麗王子僧統義天。

[41] *Biezhuan xinfa yi* 別傳心法議 (ZZ 57, no. 953, p. 53).

Considering Ŭich'ŏng's familiarity with Liao Buddhist circles and the prolonged contact he had with Liao officials, there is no reason to doubt that Ŭich'ŏng provided a correct representation of Liao Buddhist policies. According to the above passage, the Liao did not ban all the Chan schools, but only those (and individual figures) which were "preaching Chan outside of the teachings;" that is, violating the basic tenet of compliance between "doctrinal teaching" (*jiao* 教) and essence of the doctrine (*zong* 宗) as it was formulated in the *Treatise on Two Entrances and Four Practices* (*Erru sixing* 二入四行) by Bodhidharma and further maintained by Chengguan and Zongmi. It was thought that "deviations" had occurred during the Northern Song, when excessive attention to Chan contemplation prevailed over a more balanced approach of the late Tang. This sort of Chan probably constituted the core ideology of the so-called "Southern School" (*nanzong* 南宗), which is referred to in several Liao inscriptions from Fang Mountain and nearby temples.[42]

Chan Buddhism in the Liao in fact gained new momentum sometime in the second half of the twelfth century when a group of monks headed by the Great Master Tongli (Hengce) 通理大師恒策 (1049–1099) started to propagate Bodhidharma's teaching.[43] A well-known inscription, "Daanshan Lianhuayu Yanfu si Guanyintang jibei" 大安山蓮花峪延福寺觀音堂記碑,[44] describes in a certain passage the events in the following way :

[42] The most important of these inscriptions is "Daan shan Lianhua yü Yanfu si Guanyintang jibei" 大安山蓮花峪觀音堂記碑; *Beijing Liao Jin shiji tuzhi* 北京遼金史跡圖志 (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe 2004) 2, pp. 21–22. It deals with activities of the propagators of the Southern Chan in Liao, namely, Great Master Tongli and his associates. Tongli was also famous in Xixia; numerous copies of his works (Chinese originals and Tangut translations) are among the Khara-Khoto findings; see K. J. Solonin, "Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism," pp. 113–16.

[43] The activities of Tongli are discussed in Chen Yanzhu 陳燕珠, *Fangzhan shijingzhong Tongli dashi kejing zhi yanjiu* 房山石經中通理大師刻經之研究 (Taibei: Huiyuan wenjiao jijinhui 1993), pp. 38–52; see also Ren Jie 任傑 "Tongli dashi dui Fangshan kejing shiyede zhongda gongxian" 通理大師對房山刻經事業的重大貢獻, in Lü Tiegang 呂鐵鋼, ed., *Fangshan shijing yanjiu* 房山石經研究 (Hongkong: Zhongguo fojiao wenhua yanjiusuo, 1999) 3, pp. 117–31. My discussion, supra, is based on a stele inscription from Guanyin tang at Yanfu Temple ("Daan xian lianhuayu Yanfusi Guanyin tang ji" 大安山蓮花峪延福寺觀音堂記); see Huang Chunhe 黃春和, "Liaodai 'Daan xian lianhuayu Yanfusi Guanyin tang ji' tongli shixing bukao" 遼代大安山蓮花峪延福寺觀音堂記通理實行補考 (I had access only to a summary of this article, in idem, "Liao Yanjing Chanzong chuanboshi kaoshu" 遼燕京禪宗傳播史跡考述, *Shoudu Bowuguan congkan* 首都博物館叢刊 13 (1999), pp. 1–7.

[44] For the original text of the inscription, see Mei Ninghua 梅寧華 et al., eds., *Beijing Liao Jin shiji tuzhi* 北京遼金史跡圖志 (Beijing: Yanshan chubanshe 2004) 2, pp. 20–21; also see Bao Shixuan 包世軒, "Liao 'Daanshan Lianhuayu Yanfu si Guanyintang ji' bei shuzheng" 遼大安山蓮花峪延福寺觀音堂記碑疏證, *Beijing Wenwu* 北京文博 3 (1997), pp. 72–77; Ledderose, "Carving Sutras into Stone," pp. 409–12.

> When Damo came to the Liang, the mysterious wind started to blow, and since then the Chan preaching prospered. It has long been widespread in the Tang and Song and reached our Great Liao. Since the deed was accomplished, the propagation of the Teaching flourished and three wisdoms emerged. But the doctrine did not become widespread, and teaching of one mind was missing. Thus, it so happened that the teaching which was verbally acclaimed and lauded flourished, whereas those who attained the nature and acquired the ground were [few]. During the eras of [Tai]kang and [Tai]an (1075–1100), the Southern School was set in motion, and finally appeared remarkable people who propagated the great intention. Then three people of this land: Great Master Jizhao, Tongyuan and Tongli appeared suddenly. … dragons. They transmitted the seal of the Buddha mind, accumulated 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 shine 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 people attained its root (i.e., root of the Southern School). They are descendants of Caoxi and mysterious heirs to Fayan (i.e., Fayan Wenyi 法眼文益, 885–958), founders of the [Chan] school in this land and the first in transmitting [the teaching of] the mind.
>
> 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。[… damaged text] 斯乃學□雖眾，原其根本唯三上人，乃曹溪的嗣，法眼玄孫，爲此方宗派之原，傳心之首矣”。

This passage demonstrates several important features of Liao Chan Buddhism: it started its spread in the Liao during the reign period of Daozong, who showed personal interest in Tongli's teaching and visited his *daochang* during his inspectional voyages around the empire.[45] The general tenor of the inscription is to maintain harmony and a complementary relationship between scholastic and meditative approaches to Buddhism. Thus, mentioning of Caoxi (the Sixth Patriarch Huineng) and Fayan Wenyi, who was not at all opposed to the doctrinal learn-

[45] *Liao shi* 遼史, "Xingyou biao"幸遊表 (*Ershiwu shi* 二十五史 edn. [Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe]) 9, p. 92

ing, as the progenitors of Liao Chan is indicative of the fact that this teaching was positioned not as an alternative to but as complementary to the integrated totality of the perfect teaching. A well ascertained fact of Tongli's popularity in the Tangut state confirms the observation that the Liao integrative approach made its way to Xixia.[46]

This "Southern Chan" is discussed in some detail in Daoshen's *Chengfo xinyao*. Generally this tradition tended to rely on the doctrinal authority of Bodhidharma combined with the authoritative figures of Heze Shenhui, Qingliang Chengguan, Guifeng Zongmi, and in the Tangut case Nanyang Huizhong 南陽惠忠 (?–775). As will be discussed below, the major tenet of this teaching was the idea of correspondence between contemplation and practices of bodhisattva. This approach determined a critical stance taken by its followers towards the "radical forms" of Chan Buddhism which were rising to prominence during the Song dynasty in China. This view of Chan Buddhism was inherited by the Xixia from the Liao, as is demonstrated by the Zixia Chan repertoire. These observations, although a bit imprecise, nonetheless suggest that certain Liao attitudes towards Chan had penetrated into Xixia and determined the process of appropriation of Buddhism by its Tangut devotees.

THE "PERFECT TEACHING" AND SOUTHERN CHAN

What Liao Buddhism offered instead of the "five houses and seven schools" that were a feature of Song-dynasty Chan, was the artificial religious construct called the "perfect teaching," as already mentioned. It was a modified version of late-Huayan doctrine developed by Chengguan and Zongmi on the basis of the concept of initial enlightenment and an ever-luminous self-nature – the source of all practices and merits.[47] This "perfect teaching" was based on traditional Huayan's "doctrinal taxonomy" (*panjiao* 判教), combined with the teaching of "true mind" as derived from various of Zongmi's writings on the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經).

The advantage of doctrinal taxonomy was that it turned out to be open-ended and flexible, able to accommodate various elements which would otherwise have remained incompatible. The general tenet of this

[46] Solonin, "Glimpses of Tangut Buddhism," pp. 100–27.

[47] The existence of this synthetic doctrine was first suggested by Yoshizu in *Kegon-Zen*, according to which Huayan Chan teaching is most vividly expressed in Zongmi's commentaries on the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment*, whereas its implementation in the realm of "practice" is found in Zongmi's *Chan Preface*, which proceeds from the basic tenets of "true nature" and "original enlightenment."

"perfect teaching" was the idea of compliance and "mutual promotion" between "understanding" (*jie* 解) (attained mostly through intellectual effort) and "practice" (*xing* 行). That is, the taxonomy proceeded from a universal belief about congruence between "things and principle," and tended to arrange various doctrines and practical teachings in a hierarchical order in accordance with the degree of the practitioner's progress in understanding the nature of mind. That is, based on the initial understanding of a set of certain basic ideas, specifically the concept of the ever-luminous Buddha-nature inherent in all sentient beings, the adept arrives at the understanding of mind in accordance with the "common" (*tong* 同) teaching and eventually reaches the realm of "one-mind" in accordance with the "specific teaching" (*biejiao yixin* 別教一心).

The true mind of the "common" teaching is divided into two categories: "one mind of the final teaching" (*zhongjiao yixin* 終教一心) and the "absolute true mind" (*juedai zhenxin* 絕待真心). Each of these versions of "one mind" has a set of relevant practices attached to it. In this system the position of Chan Buddhism in Bodhidharma's version is the practical dimension of the "absolute true mind": a position believed to be preparatory for the final realization of the original enlightenment within the "perfect teaching." The Buddhist Way in general would culminate in the final entry into the realm of the universal Buddha Vairocana through the practice of Bodhisattva Cundī (Zhunti 准提) and other esoteric rituals. This version of the "perfect teaching" was developed by Daoshen in his *Chengfo xinyao*. The "perfect teaching" as presented above is only a partial glimpse of a sophisticated doctrinal taxonomy elaborated by Daoshen and which eventually found its way to Korea and Japan.[48] Daoshen's scheme was developed on the basis of a specific set of scriptural authorities, therefore all the Buddhist denominations which proclaimed their independence from and superiority over the "written signs" had automatically been excluded from the classification. The system that emerged implied a great degree of integrity between the doctrinal tenets and their implementations in Buddhist practice. However, some of its elements could, as some of the aforementioned

[48] The text of *Xianmi Yuantong chengfo xinyao ji* (see n. 17, above) contains a paragraph exposing the "perfect teaching" (T 46, no. 1955, p. 990a24 ff.), which was later reproduced in the so called "first version" (*jiaben* 甲本) of Jingyuan's *Huayan Puxian xingyuan xiuzheng yi* 華嚴普賢行願修證儀. This work was originally examined by Kamata Shigeo and recently by Wang Song, who arrives to a conclusion that it was produced in Japan sometime after 1097, which is the date of the Korean publication of Daoshen's *Xianmi Yuantong chengfo xinyao ji*. See Wang Song 王頌, *Songdai Huayan sixiang yanjiu* 宋代華嚴思想研究 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe 2008), pp. 289–91.

texts demonstrate, be extracted and practiced independently. This was probably understood by Daoshen himself, who *Jingxin lu* specifically to an explication of the Chan of the "Southern School."

In the relevant section of *Chengfo xinyao* Daoshen developed a general framework of Chan, which according to him consists of three stages: "seeing the nature" (*jian xing* 見性), "calming the mind" (*an xin* 安心), and "initiating the practices" (*fa xing* 發行). It was this "threefold" teaching that, according to Daoshen, was transmitted by seven generations of Patriarchs ever since the Chan School appeared in China.[49] From such a perspective, this Chan movement should exclusively follow the "patriarchal tradition" exemplified by such figures as Guifeng Zongmi, Qingliang Chengguan, the Sixth Patriarch Huineng, Heze Shenhui, and Bodhidharma, whose discourses on the "four practices" are fully reproduced in the commentarial part of Daoshen's *magnum opus*.[50] Although Daoshen's main concern had been to ascertain the ultimate status of esoteric Buddhism as the summit of the religion, he nevertheless valued "Bodhidharma Chan," or, the "Southern School." In his understanding, Bodhidharma was able to correctly expose the combination between "the principle" and "things" (actual practices) that was crucial for the realization of the "original enlightenment." In order to clarify his views on Chan, Daoshen specifically composed a shorter text, *Jingxin lu*, mentioned earlier.

In addition to discussing the Southern School of Chan based on the authority of Bodhidharma, the Sixth Patriarch, and various Huayan masters, Daoshen's text contains criticisms that seem to be aimed at Song-dynasty Chan Buddhists. The main doctrinal objection to them was that the "new type of Chan" values illumination above practices (such as giving, patience, repentance, and the like), whereas according to Zongmi, Chan is only one of six *pāramitā*s and cannot be practiced independently from other "perfections." The claim of the "perfect teaching" would be that it provides both complete understanding and realization accompanied with "perfect practices" allowing attainment of the true bodhisattva state. This "principle/things" paradigm in its application to Chan practice originated from the writings of Chengguan, who advocated a conjoined implementation of "cultivation of principle" (*lixiu* 理修) and "cultivation of things" (*shixiu* 事修). This approach was widely shared in the Liao state and apparently in Xixia as

[49] T 46, no. 1955, p. 992A26.
[50] T 46, no. 1955, p. 992A28–B12.

well, and was specifically applied to the criticism of contemporaneous Chan by such prominent Liao figures as Wuli Xianyan.

In his *Extended Exposition of the Commentary to Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Yanyi chao*), Chengguan expressed his attitude towards the balanced equilibrium of "things and principles" in the following way:

> Commentary: Double cultivation of things and principle emerges from the intention (*qiu* 求) to attain the wisdom of Buddha on the basis of inherent wisdom (*benzhi* 本智). In the absence of obstruction, both (things and principle) are preserved, in the above sense of mutually exhaustive penetration without obscurity (*jiaoche buai* 交徹不礙). I am afraid that people develop erroneous attachments and talk about "disappearance of the two characteristics" (*min er xiang* 泯二相), and that is why I decided to mention this. Also there are deluded people who are attached to meditation (*huozhe zhichan* 惑者執禪), that is [they only] rely on the original nature and do not do or practice anything. [They say] that the mirror of mind is originally pure and does not have to be cleaned or polished. Those who are attached to the imitation [of the Teaching],[51] [say that it is] necessary to cultivate actual practices (*xingshi* 行事). Their intention [is to attain the fruit of] Tathāgata relying on the favorable outside conditions (i.e. rely on others instead of relying on themselves – K.S.) in order to accomplish their own virtue. This also is a biased view. In this "double cultivation," "relying on the inherent wisdom" is presented from the point of view of the principle, on the basis that the nature of "wisdom free from defilements" (*anāsravajñāna*, *wulouzhi xing* 無漏智性) is originally complete. The intention to attain Buddha's wisdom is discussed from the point of view based on the idea of "things." [That is to say:] "I strive 求 for this while there is no striving; because the originally pure mirror of mind is [covered by] old cataracts and dust; because the inherent virtues as numerous as the sands of the Ganges, are buried among the innumerable afflictions. Therefore, [in order] to comply with the dharma-nature which has no greed and other [passions], I practice giving and other [*pāramitā*s]. All the Buddhas have attained realization while I have not." Again, principle does not impede things, thus it is not obstacle for the [true] intention. Things do not impede principle, thus intention is

[51] The original Chinese here is "*zhifa zhi zhe* 執法之者"; *fa* is used in the same manner as in the famous statement in *Daodejing*: "*dao fa ziran* 道法自然"; "imitation" is a tentative rendering.

> in fact a "non-intention" (*qiu ji wuqiu* 求即無求). This kind of cultivation is called "non-cultivation." Cultivation in non-cultivation means that cultivation is in fact "non-cultivation" (*xiu ji wuxiu* 修即無修); this is the real cultivation.[52]
>
> 疏: 事理雙修依本智而求佛智者，二不礙兩存，上來交徹不礙之義。恐人誤執，謂泯二相故舉此言。亦由惑者執禪，則依本性無作無修，鏡本自明不拂不瑩。執法之者，須起事行當求如來，依他勝緣，以成己德並爲偏執故。此雙行：依本智者約理而說：無漏智性本具足故。而求佛智者，約事而論：無所求中，吾故求之。心鏡本淨，久翳塵勞故，恒沙性德。 並埋塵沙煩惱中故。以順法性無慳貪等，修檀施等故。諸佛已證，我未證故。 又理不礙事，不妨求故。 事不礙理，求即無求故。 若此之修，名爲無修，無修之修，修即無修，爲真修矣。

This paragraph might be understood as a theoretical ground for the "perfect teaching"; it encompasses doctrine, contemplation practice, as well as the actual practices of Buddhist "acts" of cultivation, and is in tune with the general tenet of Bodhidharma's *Two Entrances and Four Practices*. It clearly demonstrates that the Buddhist path consists of a combination of "inner" and "outer" practices, or expressed in genuine Huayan paradigm of "things and principle." Later, during the Liao, Xianyan's *Huayan jing tanxuan jueze* further explicated Chengguan's views and developed a focused criticism of the biased views and "illnesses" of contemporaneous Buddhism.[53] The remedy against such biases again was seen in the balanced combination between "principle and things."

While Chengguan was speaking from the point of view of the "ultimate penetration between things and principle without obstruction" (*lishi jiaoche buai* 理事交徹不礙) and not from the "threefold perspective" of the ideal form of the Chan, Daoshen was indicating complementary relationships between the three "gates" – "seeing the nature," "calming the mind," and "initiating the practices" – in order to construct a balanced system which could secure adept's advancement along the spiritual path. One can further speculate that Daoshen's "seeing the nature" and "calming the mind" correspond to Chengguan's idea of "cultivation based on inherent wisdom," whereas "initiating the practices" is congruent with "cultivation of actual practices" from the above paragraph.

[52] *Dafangguang Fo Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 大方廣佛華嚴經隨疏演義鈔, T 36, no. 1736, p. 9A15–27. The paragraphs translated above have been discussed by Chen Yongge 陳永革, "Lun Liaodai Huayan de Chan jiao rongtong sixiang" 論遼代華嚴的禪教融通思想, *Huayan xuebao* 華嚴學報 4 (December 2012), pp. 77–96.

[53] See ZZ 8, no. 235, p. 7B19–8A9.

In his *Record Reflecting the Mind*, that is, *Jingxin lu* 鏡心錄, a text that survives only in Tangut, Daoshen formulated his view metaphorically by comparing the "three gates" to the three legs of a tripod:

> These are the three gates – "seeing the nature," "calming the mind," and "initiating the practices," which were truly transmitted by Damo. [These three] are like the three legs of a tripod: if one is missing, there is no whole. If there would be no teaching of "seeing the nature," then the original mind would not be realized, initiating ten thousand practices would produce suffering and exhaustion. If there were no teaching of "calming the mind," then it would be impossible that every thought could come in harmony with the Way, and all the thoughts could not get rid of the seeds. If there were no teaching of "initiating the practices," then the four wisdoms and two types of completeness [corrupt paragraph] it would not be possible to beautifully adorn. If the three gates are complete, then miraculous completeness is attained.[54] 此者達摩自實傳見性，安心，起行等三門也。譬如鼎之三足，無一，所無。若無見性門，則不悟本心，修萬行而修功苦勞。若無安心門，則不能心心和道，念念離習。若無起行門，則四智二備?不能善之莊嚴。此三門全，則便成圓妙。

While the "perfect teaching" as seen via Daoshen's works and other Liao texts seems to form a general framework of Chinese Buddhism in Xixia, the Khara-Khoto findings demonstrate an important deviation from Daoshen's scheme. Daoshen's list of authorities is in fact limited to several personalities, all associated with Huayan or Huayan Chan teachings. However, the single most popular Chan figure in Xixia had been neither Zongmi nor Shenhui, but Nanyang Huizhong, as mentioned earlier. The latter was a self-proclaimed disciple of Huineng and a person virtually ignored by Zongmi in his numerous writings.[55] His collected sayings in Tangut translation, known as *Twenty-Five Questions and Answers by the State Preceptor Zhong on Buddhist Principles Asked by the Assembly while [the Master] Stayed in Guangzhai Temple* [illegible] (or, in Chinese rendering: 唐忠國師住光宅眾舍中時眾人問佛理二十五問答) appears to have been the most popular among the Chan texts. Rough estimation indicates that there

54 This paragraph is found in the Tangut text (Tang 413, no. 2548), pp. 16a–b, first translated in K. J. Solonin, "Tangut Chan Buddhism and Guifeng Zongmi," *Chunghwa Buddhist Journal* 11 (1998), pp. 365–424.

55 Zongmi's specific bias against Huizhong was not shared by later scholars: e.g. Yongming Yanshou 永明延壽 (904–975), otherwise very dependent on Zongmi, did not see a problem including lengthy passages of Huizhong in *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄.

are no less than seventeen copies of the text in various redactions available from St. Petersburg holdings.[56]

Generally speaking, Huizhong's collected sayings were edited in such a manner as to remove or conceal contradictions and disagreements which probably existed between Huizhong and the followers of Zongmi, thus the Tangut version of Huizhong's discourses is imbued with sayings that might be traced to the works of Chengguan, whereas several important sayings, specifically Huizhong's lamentations on the corruption of the *Platform Sūtra* by the "Southerners," were removed from the text. Considering the popularity of Huizhong in Xixia, one might further suggest that both this master and his one-time rival Heze Shenhui, whom Huizhong once compared with a "parasite eating flesh from inside the lion's body," became an integral part of the "perfect teaching" as it functioned in North China during the Song and early Yuan periods. Nanyang Huizhong's work in Tangut:

TRANSCRIPTION OF THE TEXT OF *JIEXING ZHAOXIN TU YIBEN*

We now turn to the specific text that is the primary focus of this essay. It is a short Chinese text with a message similar to that of *Record Reflecting the Mind*, namely, *Chart Illuminating the Mind through Understanding and Practice, in One Volume* (*Jiexing zhaoxin tu yi ben,* 解行照心圖一本), which, as mentioned earlier, was identified among P. K. Kozlov's findings in St. Petersburg and numbered A4V.[57]

There is no evidence as to when the manuscript was composed and/or copied in Xixia, or elsewhere. Judging by specific Chan vocabulary, one might roughly date it to the Northern Song period, but since only few of its metaphoric expressions and Chan Buddhist vocabulary can be traced to counterparts in the traditional sources with any degree of precision, there is no certainty about the date of composition. I tentatively date the only version we possess, a copy, to the end of the twelfth century, which is more or less in compliance with the bulk of the Khara-Khoto findings; its original might have been composed anytime between the ninth and twelfth centuries.

[56] For an initial discussion of Huizhong's texts in Tangut translation, see Suo Luoning 索羅甯 [K. Solonin],"Nanyang Huizhong jiqi Chan sixiang: 'Nanyang Huizhong yulu' Xixiawen ben yu Hanwen ben bijiao yanjiu" 南陽慧忠及其禪思想, 南陽慧忠語錄西夏文本與漢文本比較研究, in Nie Hongyin, Sun Bojun, eds., *Zhongguo duowenzi shidai lishi wenxian yanjiu* 中國多文字時代歷史文獻研究 (Beijing: Shehui kexueyuan wenxian chubanshe: 2010), pp. 17–41.

[57] In preparing this transcription I was greatly assisted by Dr. Nie Hongyin of the Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing; any remaining errors are my sole responsibility.

Notes to the Transcription

Here, "□" will represent missing or illegible graphs. Variant characters (e.g., 万 for 萬, 闷 for 悶) are preserved throughout the text; but some variant characters are substituted with *kaishu*-form graphs created for them without a special comment, since the original graphs may be consulted in facsimile reproductions. The originals of those quotations from traditional sources mentioned in the text are provided in their original form where available, in the footnotes, according to the CBETA electronic publication of 2011 (the electronic publication of the Taishō canon produced by the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association). In order to discriminate between the body-text and poetic fragments contained therein, the poetic pieces are extracted from the main text and are reproduced in a smaller font size.

夫見性者，復有二種：一者真見，二者妄見。何名妄見？見物逐物住生心。古人云："隨物生心，即落魔界"。何者？有物有見，無物無見，故云妄[見]。或有人云：開眼有見，合眼無見，何以故？爲所轉故。頌曰：

妄見元是非正理，碓裹搗沙要作米。
石人踏碓何曾動？木女扇糠早晚起。
對物見者是緣心，眾生迷妄以言真。
隨物□□□□□。

真見者，見物之時，見不隨物，何以故？見物同躰，無差別故。問曰："見無生滅，物有生滅，豈有同躰？"答曰："眾生不了，妄見生滅，了知万法當躰即空，本無生滅。《佛頂經》云："見與見緣並諸想相，如虛空花，本無所有。見與及緣，元是菩提妙[淨]明躰"[58]。眾生不了，妄見生滅。□悟露明，頓同佛躰，交誰生滅？"《荷澤記》云："知即知心空寂;見即見性無生"[59]。肇公云："若無知，無所不知。真心無見，無所不見"[60]故云真見是也"。

真見本自離言語，善財顧草盡是藥。
冬苽圓圓誰人摶？瓠子彎彎甚人曲？
真見本自無言說，隨緣見物無分別。
見與見緣並想相，脫躰全空似朗月。

[58] Quotation from *Dafoding Rulai miyin xiuzheng liaoyi zhu pusa wanxing shou lengyan jing* 大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經 (T 19, no. 0945, p. 112B19–20), which differs slightly: "見與見緣並所想相，如虛空花，本無所有。見與及緣，元是菩提妙[淨]明體。"

[59] Quotation from Shenhui's *Heze Dashi Xianzong ji* 荷澤大師顯宗記, as preserved in *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, T 51, no. 2076, p. 459A16–17.

[60] In this particular form the quotation does not appear in any works attributed to Sengzhao; the gist of it is generally in keeping with Sengzhao's thought on *prajñâ*. In a personal communication (11/05/2012), Dr. Zhang Xuesong 張雪松 informed me that he had located the quotation in Sengzhao's Commentary to *Laozi*, collected in Meng Wentong 蒙文通, *Jin Tang Laozi guzhu sihi jia jicun* 晋唐老子古注四十家辑存 (unspecified edition).

二，安心門者，須要止觀雙融。言止者，但心不起名"止"。觀者，了性相俱空故名"觀"。獨有止即昏，單有觀即乱。止觀雙融，昏乱不生，故曰定惠。定即寂也，惠即照也。寂照雙融，故曰平等。何名定中惠，惠中定？答曰：心寂[不]昏名定中惠，照中不乱名惠中定。寂照俱泯，本自圓成。古人云：寂寂本寂，照照本照"。若起寂照，何時得了？《金剛三昧經》云："千思万慮，不依道理，徒爲動乱，法失本心王"[61]。問曰："何名理行？"答曰："道即理也，禪即行也。禪無憶想，道絕功熏，故曰理行"。《佛頂經》云："狂性自歇，歇即菩提，勝淨妙明，躰同法界"[62]。忠國師云："無功之功，功不虛契"[63]。六祖云："一切善惡，都莫思量，自然得入"[64]。荷澤云："不思一物，即是汝心"[65]。故名安心門。□□本是亦懃修。惑元空而須迷，要須備修万行矣。頌曰：

達理修行有何為？石馬鐵牛盡要行。
网來喫盡千山草，晚夜歸來無肚皮。
万心無作須要修，能即□□□□□。
無念為宗金為躰，縱修萬行有何為？

心無能所，不望福報，□□無念。《承襲圖》[66] 云："遇善修而無修，遇惡迷而無迷"。問曰："先說見性，復及安心，亦言無作，何須萬行？"答曰："眾生見性，雖本無作，從無始以來，妄認四大爲我，性以習成，[67] 卒難頓盡。前所說見性，皆是解悟，未是證悟。須要內即安心，外即備修万行"。故經云：頌曰：

止觀雙修無所用，鉤線纔起漚波動。
意在深潭少人知，不動干戈本自平。

[61] Quotation from *Vajrasamādhi sūtra* (T 9, no. 273, p. 366c21–22). Note the difference in versions: Khara-Khoto texts reads "不依道理," whereas *Taishō* reads: "不益道理."

[62] Quotation from *Shou lengyan jing* (T 19, no. 0945, p.121b25–26). Note: Khara-Khoto text reads: "勝淨妙明，躰同法界," whereas *Taishō* reads: "勝淨明心，本周法界."

[63] This is a popular saying, however in none of the Chan sources available to me is it attributed to Nanyang Huizhong. Probably the source is *Xin Huayan lun* 新華嚴論 by Li Tongxuan 李通玄. The Khara-Khoto version differs substantially from other available versions, e.g.: Li Tongxuan's version: "此乃無功之功，功不虛棄 ("merit should not be discarded in vain"; T 48, no. 2016, p. 496b26–27), whereas Khara-Khoto text reads" 功不虛契" ("merit is not attained in vain").

[64] A widespread saying by the Sixth Patriarch Huineng, however it is not attested in the Dunhuang version of the *Platform sūtra*. The earliest full version of it is probably that found in *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (T 48, no. 2016, p. 945a1–2), although it was known to Qingliang Chengguan. Khara-Khoto text uses an abridged version: "自然得入心體" ("spontaneously attain the substance of mind").

[65] Quotation originates from the collection of Shenhui's sayings contained in the *juan* 28 of *Jingde Chuandeng lu* (T 51, no. 2076, p. 439b25).

[66] This is Zongmi's famous *Zhonghua chuan xindi Chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖, however this saying is not located there.

[67] This is an altered version of a famous statememt in the *Classic of Documents* (*Shang shu* 尚書), chapter Taijia 太甲: "茲乃不義，習與性成."

寂本不乱照不昏，寂照雙融理何窮？非寂即照無言說，靈知不昧[68]
理行真。修行門者，須□備修萬行，唯以無念爲宗。[69] 問：何名無
念？凡作一切万行。《解行照心圖》一本。

Translation of Jiexing zhaoxin tu yiben

Note to the Translation: Most of the text is clear and does not pose much difficulty for translation. However the Chan verses (the fragments) incorporated into the text are sometimes enigmatic, therefore although I have risked a translation, in several cases it must remain tentative. The cases where I am especially doubtful are marked as "tentative" in the footnotes. The symbol "…" indicates a damaged or missing part of the text corresponding to the symbol "□" in the above transcription.

> In fact there are two types of "seeing the nature": one is "true vision" and the other is "deluded vision." What is deluded vision? Seeing things, following things, and attachment to the "existing mind." The masters of old used to say: "When mind arises following the things, [one] falls into the realm of Mara." Why is that? If there are things, there is vision; if there are no things, there is no vision: that is why it is called "deluded vision." Once someone said: "When the eyes are open there is vision, when the eyes are closed there is no vision. Why is that?" This is due to the transformation [between closing and opening the eyes]. The song says:
>
> > Deluded vision is originally not true, [it is like] grinding sand in the pestle [in the hope that] sand becomes rice. When "stone man" grinds in the pestle, does he ever move? If "wooden girl" fans bran, [it will] rise sooner or later.[70] What sees the things is the conditioned mind; the sentient beings are in delusion and call it "true." Following the things…
>
> The true vision is [such] that when the things are seen, the vision does not follow the things. Why is that? That is because vision and things possess the same substance. Someone asked: "Vision is not born and does not come to extinction, whereas things emerge and perish; how can they be of the same substance?" The answer: "The sentient beings lack understanding and have deluded views on birth and extinction. [If they] realize that ten thousand dhar-

68 This is a line from *Wutaishan Zhenguo dashi Chengguan da huangtaizi wen xinyao* 五臺山鎮國大師澄觀答皇太子問心要 by Chengguan, preserved in *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄, T 51, no. 2076, p. 459B23–C22.

69 A slightly altered quotation from *Chan Preface* by Zongmi: "故雖備修萬行，但以無念爲宗" (T 48, no. 2015, p. 403A5–7).

70 Tentative translation

mas have emptiness as their substance, [thus they will realize that] originally there is neither birth nor extinction. *Buddhaśekhara sūtra* says: "Vision and what is conditioned by the vision and all the characteristics and discriminations are all like flowers in emptiness, and originally there is nothing in them. Vision, and what is conditioned by it, essentially are miraculous and pure bright substance of bodhi." Sentient beings do not understand it and have deluded views about birth and extinction. If [one] had clear understanding, then in one moment [one realizes that his substance] is identical with Buddha's substance, then who would be there for birth and extinction? The *Notes of Heze* says: "To know" means to know that mind is empty and tranquil; "to see" means to see that the nature is not born." Lord Zhao (i.e. Sengzhao) said: "If there is no knowledge, then there is nothing which is not known. True mind does not see, and there is nothing which it does not see: that is why it is called true vision."

> True vision originally transcends the words, Sudhana looked at the herbs, and every single one of them was a medicine. Melon is round, who was the one who rolled it? Calabash is all curves, who made it so crooked? True vision originally does not have words, and sees things according to conditions without discrimination. Vision and what is conditioned by it and all characteristics are devoid of substance, are all empty, but as bright as the moon.

Second: tranquility of mind. Cohesion between calming and contemplation is necessary. To speak about "calming," [that is]: when mind does not arise it is called "calming." Concerning "Contemplation," that is when one realizes that both nature and characteristics are all empty. If there were only calm then [mind] would be as if in twilight. If there were only contemplation, then there will be turmoil. But when there is cohesion between calm and contemplation, neither twilight nor turmoil would emerge. This is called "concentration and wisdom." Concentration means tranquility, wisdom means illumination. Tranquility and illumination are in cohesion and thus it is called "equality." [Question:] "What is called "wisdom in concentration" and "concentration in wisdom"? The answer: "When the mind is tranquil and not in twilight, this is "wisdom in concentration." When there is no turmoil in illumination, it is "concentration in wisdom." Tranquility and illumination both disappear, and original completeness is attained. The masters of old used to say: "Tranquility is originally tranquil, illumination is originally luminous." If tranquility and illumination arise, when

is one going to get attainment? *Vajrasamādhi sūtra* says: "Thousand thoughts and ten thousand ideas do not rely on the Way and Principle, [they] are only the source of turmoil, and Dharma loses its Mind-king." Someone asked: "What is practice of the Principle?" Answer: "the Way is the Principle, Chan is the Practice. Chan does not have memory or thoughts, Way exceeds the seeds of merit. That is why it is called the practice of the Principle." *Shou Lengyan jing* says: "The nature of affections is such that they would cease by themselves, and when they cease it will be bodhi, victorious purity and miraculous wisdom, [whose substance] is identical with Dharmadhātu". State Preceptor Zhong said: "Merit of non-merit, merit is not attained in vain." The Sixth Patriarch said: "Do not think of all good and bad, and thus will arrive to the natural attainment." Heze said: "Do not think about any thing, and this will be your mind." That is why it is called "The Gate of Tranquility of Mind." … also is industrious perfection. Delusions are originally empty and require misconceptions, it is necessary to completely fulfill the ten thousand practices. The song says:

> What is it to practice by understanding Principle? Both "stone horse" and "iron ox" have to go.[71] Out of boredom[72] eat all the grass on the thousand mountains, but do not have belly when returning in the evening. [One] has to accomplish "non action" of ten thousand minds, if one can… "No mind" is the basic foundation, gold is substance, what is there to do while fulfilling ten thousand practices"?

Mind has neither subject nor object, and does not seek the happy retribution … no mind. *The Chart of Transmission* says: "Do not practice when you come across good practice, do not fall into delusion when you come across evil delusion." The question: "From what was said before about seeing the nature and tranquility of mind–everywhere [you] talk about "non action". Why is it then necessary to achieve the ten thousand practices?" Answer: "When sentient beings see the nature, although originally there is "non-action," [still] from the beginningless times [the sentient beings] in their delusion recognize "Four Greats" as their [true] selves. "Nature and habits accomplish the whole"; it is hard to eliminate [habits] at once. What was said before about "seeing the nature" implies

71 Tentative translation.

72 The text quite clearly uses the character 忘, however I cannot offer an adequate translation.

> "awakening through understanding" and not "awakening through realization." What is needed is "tranquility of mind on the inside" and "complete fulfillment of ten thousand practices" on the outside. Thus the sūtra says: (Probably text here was omitted – K.S.)

The song says:

> Double perfection of calming and contemplation is useless; hook hanging on the rope[73] produces bubbles and sets waves in motion. Mind hides in the deep waters, so that few people know it, when spears and halbards are not being moved, it is peace by itself.

> Tranquility originally without turmoil, illumination without twilight, tranquility and illumination in cohesion, how can the Principle be exhausted? This is not that tranquility is illumination, [and] there is nothing to say, but [since] spiritual wisdom is never obscure, so the practice of the principle is true. "The Gate of Fulfilling the Practices" means the ten thousand practices should be carried out completely and "no-thought" should be the sole foundation. Question: What is "no thought"? [Answer]: "Doing all ten thousand practices.

> Chart Illuminating Mind through Understanding and Practices, in One Volume

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TEXT

In order to arrive at a complete understanding of the message and function of a text one needs to view the history surrounding its compilation and distribution, however, *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* does not bear indications of its date and its readership. Like the majority of Khara-Khoto findings, the extant copy's date is deducible as late-twelfth century, but the date of the original remains obscure. Therefore, one must proceed by means of the contents of the text and general historical framework, but any conclusions necessarily will be tentative and open to criticism. The first general observation is that the list of authorities mentioned in the text does not include anyone active later than the first half of the ninth century. Thus it fully shares the "anachronistic" nature of Liao Chan Buddhism, which operated mainly within the Huayan Chan paradigm inherited from the Tang, and was incorporated into the Liao version of the "perfect teaching."

[73] Tentative translation.

The title of the text is self-explanatory: the mind is illuminated not solely by contemplation but through a combination of contemplation and "ten thousand practices." Neither of the two is able to deliver actual enlightenment and realization independently. This appears to be the core message of the text and the source of its basic tenet: a transition from initial "awakening through understanding" (*jiewu* 解悟, i.e. "seeing the nature") to the ultimate "awakening through realization" (*zhengwu* 證悟, i.e. "final awakening based on fulfilling the practices), which is the actual goal of the adept's efforts. These two forms of awakening represent a classical reinterpretation of "seeing the nature / initiating practices" or "cultivation of principle / cultivation of things" paradigm. These two concepts are specific to the Huayan Chan version of Buddhism and occur throughout its fundamental texts. The two terms originally appear in Chengguan's *Yanyi chao*, but their complete exposition is found in the third *juan* of Zongmi's *Exposition of the Large Commentary to the Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* (*Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao* 圓覺經大疏釋義鈔), which is specifically devoted to the stages of "enlightenment and perfection." In this part of his voluminous composition Zongmi discusses various matters of the mutual relationship between "sudden and gradual" and various interpretations of these categories by various schools, especially Tiantai and Northern Chan. However, one of Zongmi's indications is of particular concern here:[74]

> Again, awakening is [divided] into "awakening through understanding" and "awakening through realization." It means that in the beginning there is awakening though understanding, [them follows] cultivation based on [this initial] awakening. When cultivation is fulfilled and merit is complete, "awakening through realization" is attained, this is the truth. 又悟有解悟證悟, 修有隨相離相。謂: 初因解悟, 依悟修行。行滿功圓, 即得證悟, 此爲真正。

Further in the same paragraph Zongmi continues:[75]

> This awakening (here Zongmi refers to "sudden awakening," compared to the sun appearing from behind the mountain, or a child born with the complete set of faculties) comes first, therefore it is referred to as "awakening through understanding." Cultivation which follows [this] awakening encompasses both "following characteristics" and "transcending characteristics." When there is cultivation of both principle and things, then merit and cultivation are complete, and will necessarily be followed by the awakening

[74] ZZ 9, no. 245, pp. 535c2–3.
[75] Ibid, p. 535c8–10.

based on realization. 此悟在初, 故屬解悟。悟後之修, 即具隨相離相。理事雙修, 故功行圓滿, 必有證後悟。

The preceding paragraph is only a part of a more general discussion by Zongmi, and is specifically devoted to the explication of the concept of "sudden awakening and gradual cultivation."[76] It appears that exposition of the relationship between practices and "seeing the nature" and the two forms of awakening found in *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* is close to the concept developed by Zongmi in *Yuanjue jing dashu shiyi chao.* This observation again allows us to identify *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* as a Huayan Chan composition and to place it within the "perfect teaching tradition."

The contents and vocabulary of the text appear to be generally contingent with the usage pertaining to the "Southern School," or Bodhidharma Chan, as presented in the above-mentioned works of Daoshen. However the text reveals characteristics allowing us to suggest that its nature is transitional between the Chan texts of the "perfect teaching" paradigm that was typical of Liao Buddhism (based on Tang sources) and Song-era Chan Buddhist "recorded sayings" (*yülu* 語錄). The main reason for this observation is the mixed vocabulary and wide usage of colloquial expressions and grammatical forms. Although the general terminology of our text is congruent with the Huayan Chan terminological inventory, the expressions from the internal poetic fragments indicate that the author had already been familiar with the style of the Chan writings. Some of these expressions are incorporated into the corpus of Chan Buddhist maxims that is found throughout the Recorded Sayings of a number of Chan masters. However, form and usage of these expressions and metaphors here seem to be different from the pattern normally seen in Chan texts of the Song, for example the specific contexts here of "stone man" (*shiren* 石人) and "wooden girl" (*munü* 木女), as well as of "spears and halbards" (*gange* 干戈) and "stone horses and iron oxen" (*shima tieniu* 石馬鐵牛). The expressions *shiren and munü* do not occur very often in the Chan texts: normal usage would be *shinü* and *muren* 石女木人. The contexts in which these personages occur in the collections of Chan lore are standardized, and to my knowledge none of these contexts is close to the one in which they emerge in the *Jiexing zhaoxin tu.*

76 A detailed exposition of Chengguan's and Zongmi's views on the relationship between sudden awakening and gradual cultivation is to be found in: Peter N. Gregory, "Sudden Enlightenment Followed by Gradual Cultivation," in: Peter N. Gregory, ed., *Sudden and Gradual: Approaches to Enlightenment in Chinese Thought* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1987), pp. 279–321, esp. 280–88, 313–14 (note 17).

By combining this doubtlessly Chan vocabulary with a Huayan Chan theoretical basis, it is possible to suggest that *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* represents a specific development of Chan Buddhism in Xixia (and maybe in the Liao): one can further speculate that its author tried to combine elements from a growing, "new" Chan literature with basic Huayan Chan theory.

In Chinese Buddhism during the Northern Song there was at least one such attempt: the text known as *Huayan qizi jingti fajieguan sanshimen song* 華嚴七字經題法界觀三十門頌 by Guangzhi Bensong 廣智本嵩, a one-time popular Buddhist author in Xixia. This latter work is a Chan exposition of the Huayan teaching of contemplating the Dharma-realm.[77] Taking all of the above into consideration, we might connect *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* to a compilation known only in Tangut translation: *Notes Explicating the Essence of Hongzhou Teachings* 𗣼𗥤𗍊𗤶𗁅𗢳𗣼 (*Hongzhou zongqu zhujie ji* 洪州宗趣注解記 in Chinese rendering),[78] which also uses Chan metaphors (especially "iron ox") to represent the ideas of "mind-ground" and "reality transformation according to circumstances." Its message is somewhat similar to *Jiexing zhaoxin tu*: both appear to pursue similar agendas, aimed at the reconciliation of the Huayan Chan heritage of Tang Buddhism with the growing mainstream of Song-dynasty Chan.

The doctrinal authorities invoked in *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* are somewhat similar to several that are referred to by Daoshen and other Kitan masters: namely, the apocryphal *Shou Lengyan jing*, the *Vajrasamādhi sūtra*, as well the teachers Heze Shenhui, the Sixth Patriarch Huineng, and Zongmi, the latter being referred to in the text through references to his *Chan Chart*. However, given the popularity of Zongmi's thought, both in the Liao and in Xixia, and the wide circulation of his texts in both countries, it is rather strange that someone found it necessary to attribute to Zongmi's famous work a saying which is otherwise not attested in any other of his works. An important addition to the list of authorities present in *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* would be a reference to Nanyang Huizhong – the master who was normally neglected in the Huayan Chan tradition of Zongmi. His association with the "perfect teaching" mainstream can probably be viewed as a specific Xixia or Liao development, probably in balance with the overall popularity of Huizhong in Xixia. The

[77] Guangzhi Bensong is discussed above, n. 8; his work is catalogued as T 45, no. 1885.

[78] This text call number is Tang 112, no. 2540; for a preliminary study and translation, see Solonin, "Hongzhou Buddhism; also Suo Luoning [Solonin], "Xixia wen Hongzhou wenxian zaikao" 西夏文洪州文獻再考, *Zhongguo Chanxue* 中國禪學 6 (2012), pp. 534–63.

overall authority for *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* is again Heze Shenhui, who is quoted twice and correctly, thus revealing that at least some version of his *Xianzong ji* 顯宗記 was current both in Liao and Xixia.[79] This again agrees generally with the list of doctrinal authorities invoked in the Tangut *Hongzhou zongqu zhujie ji*, which mentions several people in the course of discussion, but only Shenhui is definitely identifiable. Thus one might further speculate that Shenhui's teaching probably was one of the main inspirations for the "perfect teaching."

CHAN BUDDHISM IN *JIEXING ZHAOXIN TU*

As was demonstrated above, the basic tenet of *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* is traceable to the works of Chengguan and Zongmi. The approach to Buddhist practice presented in it is generally similar to the "Chan dimension" of the "perfect teaching" explicated by Daoshen in both *Chengfo xinyao* and *Jingxin lu*, and it can categorized as "sudden awakening and gradual cultivation." All three texts (the two just mentioned, plus *Jiexing zhaoxin tu*) intend to create an integrated teaching of "three gates" based on the universal "things/ principle" paradigm. According to *Jiexing zhaoxin tu*, "seeing the nature" is "awakening through understanding," and thus is not the ultimate realization of the Buddha nature, but needs to be completed through the "awakening through realization." This ultimate awakening is attained as the result of fulfilling the "ten thousand practices." The two "awakenings" are connected through the specific practice of the "calming mind." "Calming the mind" seems to be a crucial aspect of "perfect teaching" as it is found in the Liao texts, the form of practice effectively developed by Bodhidharma during his nine years of "wall contemplation". The triad of "seeing the nature," "calming the mind" and "initiating the practices" is further added by another triad comprised of "seeing," "knowledge" and "no thought."

The main point of departure for *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* probably is the concept of "seeing" or "vision" (*jian* 見). This concept, one of the most important for Shenhui's Chan teaching, is closely associated with other basic notions, which are "seeing the nature" (*jianxing* 見性), "knowledge" or "awareness" (*zhi* 知) and "no-thought" (*wunian* 無念).[80] According to

[79] In *Xianmi Yuantong Chengfo xinyao ji* Daoshen also refers to Shenhui's *Xianzong ji*. This text was definitely known in Xixia: Khara-Khoto findings include both *Jingde Chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 in Chinese and its abridgment, in the Tangut translation known as *The Most Important of the Lamp* (*Dengyao* 燈要 in Chinese rendering). Therefore, both places probably possessed some of Shenhui's lore readily available.

[80] An exhaustive discussion of "jian" in relation to Shenhui's thought is to be found in Suzuki Tetsuo 鈴木哲雄, *Tō Godai zenshū shi* 唐五代禪宗史 (Tokyo: Sankibō Busshorin, 1985),

Suzuki Tetsuo's analysis, "seeing" in Shenhui's usage is basically synonymous with "seeing the nature" and is synonymous with the "true vision." The *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* opposes this "true vision" to the deluded vision of ordinary people, who are attached to the notions of reality of both "seer" and "the seen." Thus, it complies with both Shenhui's teaching and the Huayan Chan paradigm of the "perfect teaching." If "true vision" is attained, then one realizes that both "things and seeing" originate from the same source, the difference between them being only due to the erroneous discrimination between "self" and "other." However, the idea of identity between "seeing" and "things" does not seem to originate from Shenhui's thought *per se*, but might be traced to the general notion of identity of all things as aspects of the true nature, which adapts itself to the circumstances but remains immutable (*zhenru suiyuan bu bian* 真如隨緣不變). The difference between "seer" and "seen" emerges due to the state of delusion or awakening of each particular adept and is devoid of any substantiality, as it was presented by many exponents of the Huayan Chan teaching, including Zongmi.[81]

Again, similar discussion is seen in the Tangut Hongzhou texts (described discussed earlier), which concentrate on the idea of the common origin of all dharmas. One might further speculate that an exposition of the true "seeing" in the Khara-Khoto text in fact originates from one of Shenhui's sayings: "…seeing that there are no things is the true and permanent "seeing" (…見無物即是真見常見).[82] This saying seems to be an accord with the phrase from the Khara-Khoto text that "seeing does not follow things," and "knowledge does not know anything." However, sole attainment of "seeing the nature" does not complete the process of perfection, but only constitutes the basis to secure correctness and adequacy of the practices to be carried out further. Before proceeding to actual practices one has to attain "tranquility of mind," which is featured as the second leg of the "tripod" which constitutes the "perfect teaching" both by *Chengfo xinyao* and *Jingxin lu*.

Jiexing zhaoxin tu deviates, however, from Daoshen's pattern: while the Liao master introduces the teaching of "wall contemplation" (*biguan* 壁觀) as the way of "tranquility of mind," our text discusses the double practice of "calming and contemplation." The pairing "calming" with

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pp. 333–40, esp. 334–35. The quotation from *Xianzong ji*, found in the Khara-Khoto text, is not included among the quotations from Shenhui on "jian" collected by Suzuki.

81 A similar idea is found in Shenhui's *Nanzong ding xiezheng wu gengzhuan* 南宗定邪正五更轉 (Suzuki, *Tō Godai Zenshū shi*, p. 341), but there is hardly any connection here because this text was in all probability unknown both in Liao and Xixia.

82 Suzuki, *Tō Godai Zenshū shi*, p. 338 (example C3).

"twilight," and "contemplation" with "turmoil," in this exact form is found in no Buddhist texts known to me. On the surface the exposition of "calming and contemplation" does not reveal any specific Tiantai connotations, and is presented in a rather conventional manner as indicating the process of suppression of discriminative thought combined with inner illumination. Neither calming nor contemplation is considered to be an ultimate practice, but rather a way to secure a certain state of mind which would further qualify adepts for fulfillment of the "ten thousand practices." Thus both of these mutually complementary categories should eventually "disappear" and unveil the "original completeness," or the enlightened mind. That is, the place which "calming and contemplation" occupy in *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* is similar to that normally assigned to the "wall contemplation" in other Liao or Xixia texts. The concept of "wall contemplation" was popular in Liao, and there are indications that there was a specific text, *Notes on the Wall* (𘓐𘓐; Chin.: *Biji* 壁記) composed by the master Wuji (𘓐𘓐; possible Chin.: 悟極), specifically devoted to the explication of this teaching. Unfortunately, only the title and brief quotations survive in *Jingxin lu* and in Tangut translations of the works of the Liao Great Master Tongli. However, the *Chart* seems to deviate from this pattern in favor of a modernized version of the Chan, whose presence is indicated by the verse fragments in the text.

In the "perfect teaching" paradigm, the combination of "seeing the nature" and "tranquility of mind" secures the attainment of the "practice of Principle." In *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* the term "practice of principle" seems to be an elucidation of the expression "the Way of Chan" (*chandao* 禪道) in such a way that "*Dao*" is the "principle" and "*Chan*" is "practice." In this connotation, "Chan" appears in a specific capacity as a way to transcending the ordinary state of mind characterized with "thoughts and memory." Cultivating the "principle" in this circumstance seems to be indicative of an attitude toward cultivation which is free from attachment to the idea of merit. However, a forged quotation from Nanyang Huizhong differs substantially from its original form; therefore the meaning of this particular aspect is not as clear as it should be. At the same time a forged quotation from *Chan Chart* in fact is very much in tune with the general message of the paragraph. At the same time, as is revealed further in the text, cultivating practices is necessary because of delusion and erroneous notions of self which are hindering sentient beings' attainment of "original completeness." This whole exposition, although very different in wording, is in fact close to

Chengguan's ideas of "perfection without perfection" (*xiu ji wuxiu* 修即無修) as presented in the paragraph translated above.

In *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* there is no separate rubric for "following the practices," but the idea of the importance of practices is presented nonetheless. According to *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* although both the gate of "seeing the nature" and "tranquility of mind" imply "non-action," due to the delusion which engulfs sentient beings, fulfillment of practices is of ultimate value. The text explicates this position through the paradigm of "completion (*cheng* 成) of nature (*xing* 性) and habits (better translated in the anthropological sense as "acquired behavior" *xi* 習)," borrowed from the *Classic of Documents.* Unlike *Jingxin lu* and *Chengfo xinyao,* which almost completely reproduce the part on "four practices" from Bodhidharma's treatise in *Jiexing zhaoxin tu,* the practices are not described in any detail, neither are references made to any doctrinal authority, except for an indirect quotation from Zongmi's *Chan Preface*, where the value of practices is validated by their relationship to "no-thought." That is, according to *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* "no-thought" is the foundation of all the practices, and in the final phrase of the text "ten thousand practices" and "no-thought" are directly identified. This identification seems to be peculiar to *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* and is not found in any available Chan sources, though it is very much in tune with the general message of the "perfect teaching": "the no-thought" is the ideal stage where "understanding" and "practices" finally merge in harmonious completeness and ultimate interpenetration. Thus maintaining the "no-thought" becomes a crucial element in the completion of the bodhisattva path. In this respect, the "practices" might be understood in a very broad sense of the bodhisattva vows which were so appealing to Far Eastern Buddhists.[83] Identification between "no-thought" and bodhisattva practices opened a broad perspective for wide popularizing of the perfect teaching and created a substantial lay and monastic following in the manner close to the one employed by Shenhui during his numerous sermons.

As it appears now the text is not free from a certain polemic charge. The final part of the text reads:

> This is not that tranquility is illumination, [and] there is nothing to say, but [since] spiritual wisdom is never obscure, so the practice of the principle is true.

This brief sentence is ambiguous and thus difficult to translate with certainty, but seems to imply criticism of those Chan teachings

[83] For this observation I am obliged to Dr. Juhn Anh.

which believe that inner illumination is the sole goal of contemplation and value it above the actual practices. In reality, the realization of the "true principle" leads one to maintain the true practice, which is the correct realization of the "no-thought" which constitutes the core of the "Southern Chan." If the above interpretation is correct, it will again place *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* within the general framework of the "perfect teaching" as it had been presented by such exponents of the doctrine as Daoshen and Xianyan.

Proceeding from the above analysis, one can conclude that the teaching presented in *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* is basically close to the doctrines expounded by Daoshen in *Jingxin lu* and other texts. Similarly with Daoshen's works, our text presents a picture of a "tripod" of "seeing the nature," "tranquility of mind," and the "ten thousand practices." The first two legs are probably responsible for providing genuine understanding, in a way not unlike the stage of "hearing and seeing" (*jianwen wei* 見聞位) as presented by Fazang in *Huayan jing tanxuan ji* 華嚴經探玄記. The "gate of the tranquility of mind" would thus correspond with the stage of "understanding and practice" (*jiexing wei* 解行位), whereas the "gate of practices" would be congruent with the stage of "final attainment" (*zhengru wei* 證入位).[84] Daoshen, however, tended to compare his "tripod" with the gates of "perfect enlightenment," "awakening bodhicitta" and "fulfilling the bodhisattva practices" as they are presented in Zongmi's *Yuanjue jing dashu* 圓覺經大疏.[85] Neither of these texts is mentioned in *Jiexing zhaoxin tu*. However Zongmi's commentaries to the *Sūtra of Perfect Enlightenment* as well as his other works are widely available among the Khara-Khoto findings and in other repositories of Xixia texts, so the Tangut Buddhists were well familiar with this peculiar mode of Buddhist thought. Thus the fact that *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* belongs to the similar mode of Buddhism is hardly surprising from both historical and doctrinal perspectives.

[84] Exposition of the three stages by Fazang in *Huayanjing tanxuan ji*; T 35, no. 1733, p. 454A10–16.

[85] K. J. Solonin "The Teaching of Daoshen in Tangut Translation," in R. Gimello, F. Girard, I. Hamar, eds., *Avataṃsaka Buddhism in East Asia: Huayan Kegon, Flower Ornament Buddhism: Origins and Adaptation of a Visual Culture* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2012), pp. 137–87.

CONCLUSION

In my understanding, *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* reveals one of many facets of the "perfect teaching" in Sinitic Buddhism. Thus, its importance is manifold: in terms of its content it definitely belongs to the Chan dimension of the "perfect teaching," whereas its structure and language combine the style of the Chan treatises of the late Tang period and the idiomatic and metaphoric mode of expression found in the later Chan genre of Recorded Sayings. In this capacity *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* can be a source for further research on the evolution of Chan Buddhism during the Song and Liao periods. Its value lays not so much in Tangut studies *per se*: the research results obtained so far have broader application in the study of the evolution of Buddhism in Northern Asia in general. As in many cases, its actual importance is revealed only in juxtaposition with other relevant textual materials.

Generally the text reproduces the overall scheme of "seeing the nature," "tranquility of mind" and "following the practices" known from the works of Daoshen. The discourse in *Jingxin lu* and *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* reveals that both these texts derive their basic doctrinal stance from the general "things/ principle" paradigm developed by the late Huayan thinkers. The Chan dimension of the "perfect teaching" further combined the "things/ principle" approach with the "two entrances and four practices" paradigm extracted from Bodhidharma's *Treatise on the Two Entrances and Four Practices.* According to *Jiexing zhaoxin tu*, cultivation culminates in the "awakening through understanding" which is substantiated with the "awakening through realization." Both these ideas are foreign to Daoshen's works, but are easily traceable to the writings of both Chengguan and Zongmi. Thus, despite the fact that *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* shares the "threefold" structure with *Jingxin lu* and *Chengfo xinyao*, the Khara-Khoto texts represents a different but no less adequate version of the "perfect teaching" Chan. Therefore, at the present stage it would be more appropriate to conclude that the authors of both texts operated within a similar doctrinal framework of the "perfect teaching" from the Liao. *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* exemplified this basic tenet in several ways, one of the most characteristic of them being the interpretation of the concept "no-thought" as the ultimate fulfillment of the multitude of the bodhisattva practices. Another formula to express the necessity of a compliance between the insight into one's innate Buddha nature and constant maintaining the state of realization in *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* is derived from the idea of "completeness of nature and habits" found in the *Classic of Documents.* Thus, from the point of view of its doctri-

nal affiliation, *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* can be related to the same category as *Jingxin lu*: that is the text belongs to the Chan dimension of the "perfect teaching" and demonstrates direct dependence on the writings of Zongmi and Chengguan.

Judging from the nature of the poetic fragments embedded in the text, one might observe that *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* deviates from the standard version of the "perfect teaching" presented by Daoshen and reveals a proximity with the emerging Song Chan in the way it utilizes specific metaphors and imagery as well as colloquial language. Regardless of this last observation, which still has to be substantiated by a more profound textual analysis, the work firmly abides within the doctrinal realm of Liao Buddhism, or more generally within the Huayan Chan tradition which had been dominating Northern Buddhism from the tenth down into the early-thirteenth centuries. Although there is strong structural and ideological proximity between *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* and the works of Daoshen, Chengguan and Zongmi, nevertheless it might be deemed as a still further development of the reconciliatory Chan-Huayan trend in Northern Asian Buddhism.

There are indications that this tradition once was more widespread than it appears to have been, especially since we must view it through a few extant texts in different languages. *Jiexing zhaoxin tu*, Tangut "Hongzhou texts," and the extant works of Bensong seem to have a similar intention and represent a similar tradition. *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* is free from esoteric implications and allusions and can thus be considered a testimony that the Southern Chan as presented in the text could not only operate as a part of an imagined "perfect teaching," but could also function independently from its other components both in Liao and in Xixia.

From the above brief exposition one can also conclude that *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* demonstrates a noticeable degree of proximity to known Liao Buddhist texts, and seems to belong to the same pattern of thought as the works of Daoshen and Xianyan. Thus one can tentatively conclude that *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* probably is a Liao Buddhist compilation. Alongside the works of Daoshen and Tongli, *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* can be deemed as one more testimony of a continuous exchange of Buddhist notions between the Xixia and Kitan empires. Together with other works discovered from Khara-Khoto in both Chinese and Tangut languages, and the surviving texts of Liao Buddhism, *Jiexing zhaoxin tu* testifies to both the existence of the "perfect teaching" and its vitality in Northern China during the period from the tenth through eleventh centuries. Still, the

level of popularity of the "perfect teaching" and the nature of its later transformations has yet to be clarified.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ECHCW	*Ecang Heishuicheng wenxian* 俄藏黑水城文獻, 11 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guiji chubanshe 1996–1999).
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經
ZZ	*Dai Nihon Zoku Zōkyō* 大日本續藏經

(T and ZZ references in the notes cite numbers for (in order): volume, text, page, page register, and line. If not indicated otherwise, they are quoted from the CBETA electronic edition of 2011.)