

Pojo Chinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210), the *Fabao ji tanjing* 法寶記壇經, and the Evolution of the *Platform Sūtra*

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Abstract: The *Platform Sūtra* 六祖壇經 is famous as a signature scripture of Chinese Chan 禪 Buddhism. The *Platform Sūtra* also has held an important role in Korean Buddhism, and the Buddhist reformer Pojo Chinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210) considered it central to his own practice and cited it a number of times in his writings. However, the *Platform Sūtra* has had a long history of evolution, appearing in a number of quite different versions from the beginnings of Chan in the eighth century to the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) and beyond. Modern scholars have paid little attention to the question of what version(s) of the *Platform Sūtra* Chinul and other Korean Buddhist thinkers at his time had access to. In this essay, partly through a close examination of Chinul's citations from the *Platform Sūtra*, I argue that an early version of the *Platform Sūtra* known as the *Fabao ji tanjing* 法寶記壇經 was likely the text that Chinul used. The *Fabao ji tanjing* is no longer extant, but through Chinul's quotations we can make several deductions about the text and its important place on the evolutionary tree of the *Platform Sūtra*.

Keywords: Evolution of the *Platform Sūtra* 六祖壇經, Pojo Chinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210), *Fabao ji tanjing* 法寶記壇經, Chan 禪 Buddhism, Korean Buddhism

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Introduction

The *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 [Platform *Sūtra* of the Sixth Patriarch], purported to contain the autobiography and teachings of the Sixth Patriarch of Chan 禪, Huineng 惠能 (638–713), is one of Chinese Buddhism's most beloved and widely known texts, and a signature scripture of Chan Buddhism. However, the *Platform Sūtra* is also unique in that several quite different versions of it have been preserved, the longest and latest of which is almost twice as long as the shortest and earliest, revealing how the text significantly changed and evolved over time. We now have at least seven different extant versions of the *Platform Sūtra* available to us dating from the eighth to the thirteenth centuries, and we know that several other versions have existed as well. It seems clear that as notions about the persona of Huineng and his teachings evolved in important ways over time, the *Platform Sūtra* changed accordingly.

I have been engaged in a long-running project to establish how the different versions of the *Platform Sūtra* are related to each other in order to make the changing text of the *Platform Sūtra* serve as a sort of laboratory where a number of crucial changes and developments in Chan can be observed diachronically over a period of more than 500 years.¹ The study in this essay represents part of my efforts to create a 'family tree' of the various known versions of the *Platform Sūtra*.²

¹ For a discussion of different theories about the development of the *Platform Sūtra* see Jorgensen, 'The *Platform Sūtra* and the Corpus of Shenhui'. However, Jorgensen does not seem to fully appreciate the usefulness of a genealogical methodology and textual criticism in understanding the relationship between the different versions of the *Platform Sūtra*.

² I am currently working on a monograph that will discuss the historical development of Chinese Chan through an examination of the different versions of the *Platform Sūtra*. My working title is *The Evolution of the Platform Sūtra and the Changing Notions of What Zen Should Be*.

The *Platform Sūtra* was transmitted at an early point in its history to Japan and no doubt to Korea as well. Several unique versions of the text have been preserved in Japan, although the *Platform Sūtra* was never really embraced there and it did not become important in Japanese Buddhism. But while the *Platform Sūtra* was largely dismissed and ignored in Japan, in Korea it became an important scripture of Seon 禪 Buddhism. A number of Korean Buddhist monks studied with early Chinese Chan masters, and Korea was closely in touch with developments in Chan. Huineng was quickly recognized as a key figure in Chan/Seon Buddhism, and it is likely that the *Platform Sūtra* was known in Korea early on even though few, if any, references to the text can be found.³

However, in later Seon Buddhism, the *Platform Sūtra* found an enthusiastic and vocal promotor in the famous Korean monk Pojo Chinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210), who seems to have often lectured on the text and whose surviving writings have a number of references and quotations from it. Scholars of Korean Buddhism have frequently pointed to Chinul's special affinity with the *Platform Sūtra*, but it seems that little attention has been paid to what version (or versions) of the *Platform Sūtra* he had access to. It has often been overlooked that he could not have known the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) version of the *Platform Sūtra* that eventually became the orthodox one in Korea.

In this paper I will explore the question of what version of the *Platform Sūtra* Chinul used, by carefully examining his quotations from it and comparing them word-for-word to known versions of the text. It turns out that the study of Chinul's quotations can help us understand the evolution of the *Platform Sūtra* in significant ways and cast light on an important early version of the text. My main focus here is the textual history of the *Platform Sūtra*, and not being an expert of Korean Buddhism I shall make no pronouncements about the consequences of my findings for the study of Chinul.

³ For a discussion of Korean Seon monks who travelled to China in the late Tang, see Sørensen, 'Buddhist Identity and the Need to Travel Abroad'.

However, since the different versions of the *Platform Sūtra* do contain meaningful differences in terms of Chan ideology and Chan teachings, a better understanding of what version of the *Platform Sūtra* it was that Chinul cherished ought be relevant for the study of his thought. Furthermore, this examination also shows that in some cases when Chinul cites Huineng he is not quoting from the *Platform Sūtra* at all—as scholars seem to have generally assumed—, but rather from the Chinese Chan collection, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 [Record of the transmission of the lamp from the Jingde era (1004–1008)], compiled in 1004.⁴

It has to be kept in mind that, like other pre-modern writers, Chinul may at times have quoted freely from memory. We therefore should not be surprised if there are instances where Chinul's quotations from the *Platform Sūtra* do not exactly match the texts we have. It is also possible that Chinul mixed the texts from several versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, although the evidence suggests that he likely did not. In any case, we may assume that it cannot be pure coincidence when phrases in Chinul's quotations closely match a particular version of the *Platform Sūtra*.

The *Platform Sūtras*

The *Platform Sūtra* was traditionally thought to accurately depict the words and deeds of the Sixth Patriarch, Huineng, and it is the only Chinese Buddhist text that is honored with the title of *sūtra* (*jing* 經).⁵ However, it has been quite conclusively shown by modern scholarship that the *Platform Sūtra* cannot be accepted as an actual record of the life and teachings of the Sixth Patriarch, and that it was probably first composed decades after Huineng's death. Almost nothing is known for certain about the historical figure of Huineng;

⁴ *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T no. 2167, vol. 51.

⁵ This section draws on Schlütter, 'The Transformation of the Formless Precepts', and 'Textual Criticism and the Turbulent Life of the *Platform Sūtra*'.

much of the information on him found in *Platform Sūtra* appears to have originated with the monk Shenhui 神會 (684–758), who claimed to be Huineng's disciple, although the two likely never met.⁶ It was Shenhui who first promoted Huineng as the Sixth Patriarch of Chan, and it seems clear that he himself hoped to be recognized as the main heir to Huineng and the Seventh Patriarch. Although prominent in his own time, in later Chan history Shenhui was only remembered as a minor figure, while Huineng came to be universally accepted as the Sixth Patriarch of Chan and the ancestor to the entire subsequent Chan tradition. Thus, ever since the mid-ninth century, all branches of Chinese Chan, as well as those of the Korean Seon and Japanese Zen schools, trace their lineages directly back to Huineng.

The story of Huineng and his teachings became enshrined in the *Platform Sūtra* which was widely disseminated. However, the *Platform Sūtra* is not a single well-defined text, but rather a flexible textual entity that profoundly changed and evolved with shifting times and places, and that today is available to us in several different versions. Even after the *Platform Sūtra* became relatively fixed with the Yuan-dynasty version in the thirteenth century, the text continued to change in minor and not-so-minor ways. Other Buddhist texts may possibly have had similar changing life-histories, but the fact that a number of different versions of the *Platform Sūtra* have survived makes it unique among Chinese Buddhist texts.

The earliest extant version of the *Platform Sūtra* is clearly the one that was found at the Mogao Caves of Dunhuang in the early twentieth century,⁷ which has the captivating title: *Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng mobeboluomi jing Liuzu Huineng dashi yu Shazhou Dafansi shifa tanjing yijian bing shou wuxiangjie hongfa dizi Fabai jiji* 南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經六祖惠能大師於韶州大

⁶ See Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, 23–45.

⁷ The theory that the Dunhuang *Platform Sūtra* represents an abbreviated version of the complete text that is better represented by the Yuan-dynasty version still persists. However, the evidence is overwhelmingly against this idea and I have shown in earlier publications that it is an untenable position.

梵寺施法壇經一卷兼受無相戒弘法弟子法海集記’ [The *Sūtra* of the Perfection of Wisdom of the Supreme Vehicle of the Sudden Teaching of the Southern Tradition: The *Platform Sūtra* Preached by the Great Master Huineng, the Sixth Patriarch, at the Dafan Monastery in Shaozhou].⁸ In addition to the well-known Stein manuscript held in the British Library, two other Dunhuang manuscripts of the *Platform Sūtra* have in recent decades been discovered in Chinese museum libraries.⁹ Although there are some interesting differences between them, they represent the same version of the text and likely all stem from a single edition of the *Platform Sūtra*.

In the 1930s, several other editions of the *Platform Sūtra* were discovered in Japan, and together with two closely related Yuan-dynasty versions from 1290 and 1291, there are now at least seven distinct versions of the *Platform Sūtra* available to us.¹⁰

I have previously written several essays aimed at determining how the different editions of the *Platform Sūtra* are related to each other, employing the methodology of textual criticism.¹¹ In the present essay I also employ this approach, which entails a careful word-for-word comparison of the texts in question. It is in this context important to be mindful of the fact that prefaces and postscripts can often be found attached to editions with which they did not originate, an editor may have chosen to retain or restore the name of an earlier

⁸ For a very different interpretation of the title see Anderl, ‘Was the *Platform Sūtra* Always a *Sūtra*?’.

⁹ Besides Stein no. 5474, there is the manuscript known as the Dunhuang Museum edition (*Dunbo ben* 敦博本), first published in Yang, *Dunhuang xinben Liuzu Tanjing*. More recently yet another manuscript was found in the Lüshun Museum in Liaoning Province in China (known as the *Lüshun ben* 旅順本), see the color reproductions in Guo & Wang, eds., *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben Liuzu tanjing*, which also includes reproductions of the Stein and *Dunbo* manuscripts.

¹⁰ Many of these texts can be found reproduced in Yanagida, ed., *Rokuso dankyō shōhon shūsei*.

¹¹ Schlütter, ‘A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*’ and ‘Textual Criticism and the Turbulent Life of the *Platform Sūtra*’.

editor and himself remain anonymous, and references to a text with a specific title could be to a version completely different from an extant text with this title. It is therefore crucial to study the texts themselves, independently of any such paratext.

Here I can only present a brief outline of the main points of my earlier research relevant to the current investigation. After the one-fascicle Dunhuang version, the oldest extant version of the *Platform Sūtra* is represented by several editions in eleven chapters and two fascicles, that were found in temple libraries in Japan in the 1930s. The texts of these editions are very close to each other and a textual analysis makes it clear that they all are ultimately based on the same edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, a text that was somewhat different from each of them.¹² Two of the versions preserved in Japan have a preface appended written by the monk Huixin 惠昕 (d.u.) in which Huixin states that he took an ‘old version’ (or perhaps several versions) of the *Platform Sūtra* and revised the text in certain ways as well as divided it into eleven chapters and two fascicles.¹³ Scholars have therefore made the reasonable assumption that Huixin’s edition must have been the *urtext* of the extant editions in eleven chapters and two fascicles that were found in Japan. Huixin’s preface bears a cyclical date of year, month, and day which only be matched to the year 967, as Hu Shih has pointed out.¹⁴

However, recently, the Chinese scholar Wu Xiaobin 吴孝斌 has suggested that Huixin actually lived in the Tang (618–907) dynasty, and that the date in the preface should be read as 787 (assuming that Huixin got the cyclical month and date wrong, but not the year).¹⁵ Wu notes that a Song-dynasty book catalogue that lists

¹² See Schlütter, ‘A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*’ for details.

¹³ See Ishii, ‘Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū’, Huixin sec. 2, p. 100.

¹⁴ The date is given as 太歲丁卯、月在蕤賓、二十三日辛亥 (see Hu, ‘Tanjing kao di er’, 78). See also Yampolsky, *The Platform Sūtra*, 100n28.

¹⁵ See Wu, ‘Huixin ben *Tanjing chukao*’, and ‘*Liuzu tanjing yu* Nanning Luoxiu shan’. I am grateful to the anonymous reviewer of an earlier version of this essay who introduced me to this interesting research. The same reviewer also suggested that the year 786 would be a better fit for the cyclical date; in this case

Huixin's *Platform Sūtra* calls him a Tang monk, and has found a reference in another Song-dynasty work to a Huixin who founded a monastery in 744 in the same place Huixin of the *Platform Sūtra* was from. Wu also found a Song-dynasty reference to an epitaph for a Huixin from 801.

It is not possible to address the issue fully here, but we cannot know at this point if these references are all to the same Huixin who edited the *Platform Sūtra*. I believe the evidence found by Wu is highly intriguing but not conclusive.¹⁶ In any case, whether Huixin's edition date to the Song or the Tang, it is extremely likely that the common textual ancestor to the Japanese eleven chapters and two fascicle editions ultimately was the version prepared by Huixin.¹⁷ Through a comparison of the texts of the extant editions it is possible to reconstruct their common ancestor, although we cannot be certain if this ancestor was the actual edition Huixin prepared, or if it was an edited version of it. However, in the following I will for convenience cite this reconstructed text as the 'Huixin version'.¹⁸ I will return to the issue of the dating of Huixin's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* in the conclusion to this essay.

In addition dividing the text of the *Platform Sūtra* into eleven chapters and two fascicles, and probably editing and expanding it in various ways, Huixin must also have introduced the famous line, 'Fundamentally not a single thing exists' 本來無一物, into Huineng's poem in his famous poetry contest with his rival Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706) while at the monastery of the Fifth Patriarch, Hongren

the year would be wrong but the month and day correct (the only other year the month and day is correct is 967).

¹⁶ I plan to address this fully in a future publication.

¹⁷ Or else we would have to assume that another editor prepared an edition in eleven chapters and two fascicles that was completely different from that of Huixin.

¹⁸ This version has been reconstructed by Professor Ishii Shūdō in two consecutive articles; see Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū' and 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)'.

弘忍 (601–674); the poem is what convinces the Fifth Patriarch that Huineng rather than Shenxiu should become the Sixth Patriarch.¹⁹

I have shown in my earlier work that the so-called Kōshōji version, one of the Japanese versions of the *Platform Sūtra* likely based on Huixin's edition, became the direct basis for the Yuan-dynasty version of the *Platform Sūtra*. Two variants of this version, both with the title *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* 六祖大師法寶壇經 [The Dharma Jewel Platform *Sūtra* of the Great Master, the Sixth Patriarch] and in ten chapters and one fascicle exist. In China, most important was the 1291 edition associated with the monk Zongbao 宗寶 (d.u.) which is now included in the modern Buddhist canon.²⁰ Another edition, from 1290 and associated with Mengshan Deyi 蒙山德異 (1231–?) became especially important in Korea.²¹ The Kōshōji version was probably first edited by Chao Jiong 晁迥 (951–1034)²² in 1031, or by his descendant Chao Zijian 晁子健 (d.u.)²³ who wrote a preface for it in 1153 and had it published. It is now primarily known from a Japanese printed edition found at the temple Kōshōji 興聖寺 in Kyoto.²⁴ Among the editions of the *Platform Sūtra* that are based on Huixin's text the Kōshōji version often is more elaborate or have other differences with the others; this means it is the most remote

¹⁹ See the verses in the Dunhuang version, *T* no. 2007, 48: 338a7–8; and in the Huixin version, Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Huixin sec. 12, p. 113, line 16–17. The verse in this form was already included in the 952 *Zutang ji* (*B* no. 144, 25: 341a3–4).

²⁰ *T* no. 2007, 48: 345–65. This edition includes notes that show variant readings in the Deyi edition (marked as 宮).

²¹ A 1316 Korean edition of Deyi's text can be found appended to Ōya, 'Gen En'yū Kōrai kokubon Rokuso daishi hōbō dankyō ni tsuite'.

²² See Chang, *Songren chuanji*, vol. 3: 1946, for a list of biographical references to him.

²³ See Chang, *Songren chuanji*, vol. 3: 1947, for a list of biographical references to him.

²⁴ Reproduced in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, 49–66, and is also the edition used in Nakagawa, *Rokuso dankyō*.

from Huixin's edition.²⁵

There is no doubt that the compiler of the orthodox Yuan-dynasty edition mainly used the Kōshōji text rather than any of the other editions of the *Platform Sūtra* that was based on Huixin's version, because in the vast majority of instances where the Huixin versions differ, the Yuan edition follows the text of the Kōshōji edition.²⁶ However, the material from the Kōshōji text has been completely rearranged in the Yuan-dynasty edition, and much material on Huineng's encounters with various disciples was added from the 1004 *Jingde chuandeng lu* and other sources. I have shown in my earlier publications that it was the Yuan edition of the *Platform Sūtra* that borrowed from the *Chuandeng lu* and not the other way around.

Most scholars have assumed that a three-fascicle edition of the *Platform Sūtra* prepared by the scholar-monk Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072) in 1056 was the ancestor of the current Yuan-dynasty orthodox editions; however, this is unlikely to be the case because, if so, Qisong would have had to have based his edition on the Kōshōji text, which almost certainly was not published until 1153. At this point, we do not know who compiled the edition of the *Platform Sūtra* on which the Yuan editions were based, nor exactly when it was compiled (other than it is likely to have been after 1153). There is, of course, no space here to fully present my previous research, but the chart in Appendix A summarizes my findings.²⁷

²⁵ For this reason, it is unfortunate that Philip Yampolsky and others have used the Kōshōji edition to emend the Dunhuang text of the *Platform Sūtra*.

²⁶ A relatively simple word-for-word comparison shows this to be undeniably true, as I first demonstrated a number of years ago in 'A Study in the Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*'.

²⁷ Amended from Schlütter, 'Textual Criticism and the Turbulent Life of the *Platform Sūtra*'.

The *Fabao ji tanjing* 法寶記壇經

As indicated above, there is evidence of several important editions of the *Platform Sūtra* that appear to be no longer extant. One of the most intriguing of these is a text with *Fabao ji tanjing* 法寶記壇經 [The Dharma-Jewel Record Platform *Sūtra*] in its title, which must have been a fairly early version of the *Platform Sūtra*, and that very possibly was a crucial link in the evolution of the text as I will argue in the conclusion to this paper.²⁸ As we shall see, Chinul several times referred to a *Fabao ji tanjing*.

The earliest mention of a text with *Fabao ji tanjing* in its title is found in the Japanese monk Ennin's 圓仁 (794–864) list of books he brought back from China, prepared in 847. Here we find a work in one fascicle entitled *Caoxishan diliuzu Huineng dashi shuo jianxing dunjiao zhiliao chengfo jue ding wuyi fabao ji tanjing* 曹溪山第六祖惠能大師說見性頓教直了成佛決定無疑法寶記壇經 [The Dharma-Jewel Record Platform *Sūtra*,²⁹ in which the great master, the Sixth Patriarch Huineng of Mount Caoxi, preaches the sudden teaching of seeing one's own nature, directly becoming a Buddha, definitely and without doubt]. To the title is added, presumably by mistake, the note 'translated by the monk Ruhai' 沙門入海譯, although an alternative edition has Fahai's name instead of Ruhai.³⁰

A record of a text with an extremely similar title is found in another Japanese work, compiled about eight hundred years after that of Ennin. In a manuscript by Japanese scholar Mujaku Dōchū 無著道忠 (1653–1744) discussing the *Platform Sūtra*, there is an entry on

²⁸ Several other works of early Chan has *Fabao ji* 法寶記 in the title, such as: *Chuan fabao ji* 傳法寶記 [here 紀=記] (*T* no. 2838, vol. 85), *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (*T* no. 2075, vol. 51), and *Qizu fabao ji* 七祖法寶記 (*ZW* no. 17, vol. 2). 'Fabao ji' may indicate biographical (hagiographical) content, see Jorgensen, 'The *Platform Sūtra* and the Corpus of Shenhui', 418.

²⁹ Reading *tan* 壇 (*dana*) as *tan* 壇 (platform).

³⁰ *Nittō shin gushōgyō mokuroku*, *T* no. 2167, 55: 1083, b7–8. A note tells us that the *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 has 法海 instead of 入海, see p. 68b, line 4–5.

‘An old version of the *Platform Sūtra* from Koryō (Korean dynasty 935 to 1392)’ (高麗古本).³¹ Mujaku reports that he had a work in his possession and that it was entitled *Fabao ji tanjing* 法寶記壇經, in one fascicle, with the subtitle *Caoxishan diliudai zushi Huineng dashi shuo jianxing dunjiao zhiliao chengfo jue ding wuyi fa* 曹溪山第六代祖師慧能大師說見性頓教直了成佛決定無疑法 [The Dharma of the great master, the Sixth-generation Patriarch Huineng of Mount Caoxi, preaching the sudden teaching of seeing one’s own nature, directly becoming a Buddha, definitely and without doubt]. Mujaku also reports that the work was not divided into subsections, and that Huineng’s verse when he was at the Fifth Patriarch’s temple on Huangmei was completely different from that of the version current in Mujaku’s day.³² As noted above, one of the most striking differences between the Dunhuang text and all later versions of the *Platform Sūtra* is in the poem Huineng composes in response to that of Shenxiu; furthermore, only the Dunhuang version is not divided by subheadings. This indicates that Mujaku’s Korean version of the text in significant ways must have been close to the Dunhuang version.

Mujaku also reports that to the end of his copy of the *Fabao ji tanjing* the following sentence was added: ‘The great Master had the surname Lu, he passed into *nirvāṇa* in Xiantian 2, *renzi* year (712 or 713), which already is separated from Baoli 2, [*bing*]wu year (826) by 127 years’ (卷末云: ‘大師俗姓盧, 先天二年壬子歲滅度, 至寶曆二年 [丙] 午歲得一百二十七年矣’).³³ First of all, this suggests that the text in question was originally published or copied in 826, not long before Ennin would have obtained his copy of the *Fabao ji tanjing* (Ennin was in China from 838 to 847).³⁴ Also, very interestingly, this

³¹ *Hōbō dangyō shōtaisō*, manuscript, 31–32. Mujaku’s entry is partially cited in Nakagawa, *Rokuso dankyō*, 237–8. I am grateful to John Jorgensen and Thomas Yuho Kirchner who both enabled me to examine copies of the entire manuscript.

³² *Hōbō dangyō shōtaisō*, manuscript, 31–32; Nakagawa, *Rokuso dankyō*, 237.

³³ The calculation is obviously wrong.

³⁴ Of course, we cannot be certain that this note was not simply preserved from an earlier version of the text that could have been substantially different from the one in Mujaku’s possession.

note ultimately seems to be lifted from the *Caoxi dashi zhuan* 曹溪大師傳 [Biography of the great master of Caoxi (Huineng)], a text of obscure origins probably written around 781,³⁵ which early on was lost in China but brought back to Japan by the famous monk Saichō 最澄 (767–822) who travelled in China from 804 to 805. In the *Caoxi dashi zhuan* we find the following note: ‘When the Master was in this world he gave the precepts, taught the Dharma, and liberated people for thirty-six years. He passed into *nirvāṇa* in Xiantian 2, *renzi* year, which is separated from the Tang (dynasty)’s Jianzhong 2 (781) by a total of seventy-one years’ (大師在日, 受戒開法度人三十六年. 先天二年壬子歲滅度, 至唐建中二年, 計當七十一年).³⁶ The date of Huineng’s death is written in exactly the same way in the two texts, and it seems clear that the note in Mujaku’s text must ultimately derive from the *Caoxi dashi zhuan*, because 先天二年壬子 is garbled: it should be either Xiantian 1, *renzi* year (先天一年壬子 [712]), or Xiantian 2, *guichou* year (先天二年癸丑 [713]). This cannot be a coincidence; it strongly suggests a connection between the *Fabao ji tanjing* and the *Caoxi dashi zhuan*,³⁷ whereas the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* shows no influence from, or even any awareness of, the *Caoxi dashi zhuan*.

Finally, Mujaku cites several postscripts that indicate that the text was printed in Korea in 1214, and reprinted in 1463.³⁸ Very interestingly, the first of these postscripts indirectly links this edition of the *Fabao ji tanjing* to Chinul, as I will discuss below. The present whereabouts of Mujaku’s copy, if it has survived, are not known.

The evidence from Ennin and Mujaku indicates that a one-fascicle version of the *Platform Sūtra* with the title *Fabao ji tanjing* must

³⁵ Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-Neng*, 335.

³⁶ *Caoxi dashi zhuan*, X no. 1598, 86: 52c16–17. See also the translation of the *Caoxi dashi zhuan* in Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 699.

³⁷ Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 637–638, notes this connection and suggests that the *Fabao ji tanjing* was written as a response to the *Caoxi dashi zhuan*.

³⁸ 又題云, 高麗晉康府乳母, 特為晉康公及妃主王氏福壽無疆, 厄會頓除云云. 募工雕板印施无窮良緣者, 貞祐二年甲戌二月日誌 (1214). 又云天順六年壬午歲, 朝鮮國刊經都監奉教重修 (1463).

have been in circulation in China in the early ninth century, and that this text was at least in some ways close to the Dunhuang version. No Chinese sources mention a *Fabao ji tanjing*, and there seems to be no trace of it in China.³⁹ Like other early one-fascicle versions of the *Platform Sūtra* it must have been displaced by Huixin's two-fascicle, 11-chapter version that had the new version of Huineng's verse and that in many other ways updated the text. However, it is quite possible that Huixin worked from a text related to the *Fabao ji tanjing* to create his own version, as I will discuss in the conclusion to this paper.

The *Platform Sūtra* in Korea

Huixin's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* may never have been transmitted to Korea, and instead it appears that the *Fabao ji tanjing* became the standard version of the *Platform Sūtra* in Korea for centuries. This is already suggested by the fact that Mujaku's copy of the text was printed in Korea in 1214, and reprinted there in 1463. The second date is especially remarkable, because the expanded Yuan dynasty version of the *Platform Sūtra* associated with Mengshan Deyi from 1290 seems to have been first printed in Korea already in 1300.⁴⁰ So even after what must have been a much more elaborate

³⁹ However, towards the end of the Huixin version there seems to be an echo of this title when Huineng names the text himself; here the Shinpukuji edition has 名法寶記, the Daijōji edition 名法寶壇經, and the Kōshōji edition 名法寶壇經記. See Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 58, p. 114, line 4, and the notes on p. 115. Also, from the Song dynasty (960–1279) onwards we find frequent references in Chinese sources to a 六祖法寶記 although no text with this title is extant.

⁴⁰ As already noted, a 1316 Korean edition of Deyi's text was reproduced and described in Ōya, 'Gen En'yū Kōrai kokubon Rokuso daishi hōbō dankyō ni tsuite'. However, it seems Deyi's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* made its way to Korea even before 1316. A postscript to the *Platform Sūtra* by a Korean monk Manhang 萬恆, dated Dade 4 (1300), has been preserved in a Korean edition

version of the *Platform Sūtra* became available in Korea, the *Fabao ji tanjing* was still printed and read.

The title *Fabao ji tanjing* is mentioned several times by Chinul. Thus, in a 1883 Korean edition of Deyi's *Platform Sūtra* there is a section at the end with 'Postscripts by the ancients' (古者刊跋), which collects several postscripts to earlier Korean editions of the *Platform Sūtra*. One of these is by Chinul. His postscript has no title, but he begins by noting that in 1207 his disciple Tammuk 湛默 (d.u.) obtained a copy of a *Fabao ji tanjing* and was about to make a reprinting of it, asking Chinul to write the postscript. Chinul noted that he very happily agreed, because this text had been important to him throughout his life.⁴¹ Chinul then discusses the text and quotes a passage from it, to which I will return below.

In the same 1883 Korean edition of the *Platform Sūtra* there is also included a postscript to another edition of the text by the monk An'gi 安其 (1215–1286),⁴² dated with the astrological name for the cyclical date *bingchen* 丙辰, which must refer to 1256.⁴³ An'gi notes how important this text was to Chinul, giving the impression that this was a reprint of Chinul's edition. An'gi's copy also had the title *Fabao ji tanjing* but to it An'gi adds the following sentence: 'This is the Sixth Patriarch from Caoxi explaining the Dharma of seeing one's own nature and becoming a Buddha definitely and without doubt' (法寶記壇經是曹溪六祖說見性成佛決定無疑法),⁴⁴ which seems like a

from 1558. In this postscript, Manhang states that he received a copy of Deyi's edition in 1298, whereupon he had it published (Quoted in Kuroda, *Chōsen kyūsho kō*, 95–94). This would mean that the Deyi edition appeared in Korea only eight years after it was first published in China.

⁴¹ See Chinul's postscript in the 1883 Korean edition in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, 160d–161b, and in *HPC* 4: 739b–c, where it appears with the title 六祖法寶壇經跋, probably a later addition. See also Pak, 'Yukjo tan'gyōng', 165–170.

⁴² Also known as Ch'ōnyōng 天英, or Chajin Wōno 慈真圓悟 (1215–1286). See Vermeersch, *The Power of the Buddhas*, 406–407.

⁴³ See Komazawa Daigaku zenshū kenkyūkai, ed., *Enō kenkyū*, 410: 柔兆執徐宿月清明二日.

⁴⁴ See the postscript in Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, 161a–b.

slightly abbreviated version of the title in Ennin's list and the subtitle of Mujaku's copy. This strongly suggests that the full title of this edition, and probably of Chinul's edition as well, was very similar to those of Ennin and Mujaku.

In fact, the edition of the *Fabao ji tanjing* described by Mujaku Dōchū may well be linked to Chinul's edition. The 1214 postscript reported by Mujaku states that the military ruler Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn 崔忠獻 (1149/50–1219) had this edition of the *Fabao ji tanjing* printed for the blessing and protection of his family.⁴⁵ Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn was known as a supporter of Chinul's meditation school⁴⁶ and it is quite possible that the edition of the *Fabao ji tanjing* in Mujaku's possession was directly related to the editions of Chinul and An'gi.

Years before he wrote his postscript to Tammuk's edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, Chinul referred to the *Fabao ji tanjing* and quoted from it. In his *Kwŏnsu Chŏnghye kyŏlsa mun* 勸修定慧結社文 [Encouragement to Practice: The Compact of the Samādhi and Prajñā Society] from 1190 we find the following passage:

The *Fabao ji tanjing* says: 'If the mind-ground is simply free from impurities, the Western Region will be near at hand. But if the nature generates impure mental states, what the Buddha will ever come to welcome you?' 《法寶記壇經》云: '心地但無不淨, 西方去此不遠. 性起不淨之心, 何佛即來迎請?'⁴⁷

To determine the relationship between this quotation and known editions of the *Platform Sūtra* a word-for-word analysis must be undertaken. Here and in the following, I will compare Chinul's quotations against reconstructed Dunhuang and Huixin versions of the

⁴⁵ Jung, 'Fushō Chitotsu to Rokuso Danyō'. 又題云, 高麗晉康府乳母, 特為晉康公及妃主王氏福壽無疆, 厄會頓除云云 募工雕板印施無窮良緣者, 貞祐二年甲戌二月日誌 (1214). 又云天順六年壬午歲, 朝鮮國刊經都監奉教重修 (1463).

⁴⁶ See *Changboksa tamsŏn pang* 昌福寺談禪榜 by Yi Kyu-bo 李奎報 (1168–1241), cited in Jung, 'Fushō Chitotsu to Rokuso Danyō'.

⁴⁷ HPC 4: 705a14–16. Translation following Buswell, *Chinul: Selected Works*, 173.

Platform Sūtra.⁴⁸

Analyzing the quotation above, we find that it corresponds quite closely to the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* (in the following, characters that differ from Chinul's quotations are underlined):

心地但無不淨, 西方去此不遠, 心起不淨之心, 念佛往生難到.⁴⁹

The last phrase part 'what Buddha will come and welcome you?' is found in a different context several lines later in the Dunhuang version:

[不斷十惡之心] 何佛即來迎請?⁵⁰

The Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra* is here rather different: 心地但無不善, 西方去此不遙. 若懷不善之心, 念佛往生難到,⁵¹ and several lines later: ...[不斷十惡之心] 何佛即來迎請?⁵²

It seems likely that Chinul simply picked the phrase 何佛即來迎請 from later in the text he was using because he felt it was a better fit

⁴⁸ For the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra*, I have emended the text using all available manuscripts and fragments, with reference to Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*. For the Huixin version, I use the reconstruction by Ishii Shūdō (see note above), noting any significant differences between the different editions based on Huixin's text.

⁴⁹ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 51 (*T* no. 2007, 48: 341b14-TML). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Dunhuang sec. 37, p. 86, line 7–8.

⁵⁰ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 52 (*T* no. 2007, 48:341b18-TML). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Dunhuang sec. 37, p. 86, line 10.

⁵¹ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 44, p. 86, line 10–11. Cf. *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*, *T* no. 2008, 48: 352a26–27: 心地但無不善, 西方去此不遙. 若懷不善之心, 念佛往生難到.

⁵² Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 44, p. 87, line 1–2.

than the original 念佛往生難到。

Anyway, in this instance it is clear that the *Fabao ji tanjing* as Chinul is quoting it here is much more similar to the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* than to the Huixin version. It cannot be a coincidence that Chinul's phrase 性起不淨之心 is almost identical to the Dunhuang version's 心起不淨之心 (where 心 is probably a mistake for 性), while all the Huixin versions (as well as the Yuan-dynasty versions) have 若懷不善之心 in the same place; and that 淨 and 遠 in the first two phrases is a match between Chinul's version and the Dunhuang text, while all other editions have 善 and 遙 in this position.

Now, let us turn back to Chinul's 1207 postscript to the *Fabao ji tanjing*. After noting how he happily agreed when his disciple Tammuk asked him for a postscript to the edition of the *Fabao ji tanjing* that he (Tammuk) was about to publish, Chinul shifts his tone and states that there is something he has doubts about. He then refers to the criticism of certain Chan teachers and their version of the *Platform Sūtra* by Nanyang Huizhong 南陽慧忠 (?–775), who is usually understood to be a disciple of Huineng:⁵³

National Teacher Nanyang [Hui]Zhong said to a visitor inquiring about Chan: 'For me here the body and mind are one Thusness, for there is nothing besides the mind. Therefore, the entirety does not rise or cease. For (you) southerners, the body is non-eternal, but the soul-nature is eternal. Therefore, half rises and half ceases, and half does not rise or cease'.⁵⁴ He also said, 'I recently travelled around and often saw this tendency, which has of late flourished even more. They take their *Platform Sūtra* and say it is the purport of the south-

⁵³ For Huizhong's criticism, see his entry in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T no. 2076, 51: 437c17–439b19. It is not at all clear what 'Platform Sūtra' Huizhong actually meant to criticize. See, e.g., Ishii, 'Nanyō Enchō no nanpō shūshi no hihan ni tsuite', and Yanagida, 'Kataku Jinne to Nanyō Echū'.

⁵⁴ Chinul is here citing the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T no. 2076, 51: 28.438c5–7: '此則身心一如，心外無餘，所以全不生滅。汝南方身是無常，神性是常。所以半生半滅，半不生滅'.

ern lineage, [but] they have added to it and mixed in vulgar talk, removing the saintly intent and confusing later followers'.⁵⁵ Now the text you (Tammuk) has obtained is truly the original, proper text, and not this corrupted record. Therefore, it is exempt from the National Teacher's criticism. But if one examines the original text carefully, it also has the sense of the body rising and ceasing, and the mind not rising and ceasing, such as where it says, 'the nature of suchness by itself gives rise to thought, it is not that the eyes, ears, nose, and tongue are able to think', which is exactly what the National Teacher criticized. 南陽忠國師謂禪客曰：'我此間身心一如心外無餘，所以全不生滅，汝南方身是無常，神性是常，所以半生半滅，半不生滅'。又曰：'吾比遊方，多見此色，近尤盛矣。把他壇經云是南方宗旨，添糶鄙談，削除聖意，惑亂後徒。子今所得，正是本文，非其沾記，可免國師所訶。然細詳本文，亦有身生滅心不生滅之義，如云：“真如性自起念，非眼耳鼻舌能念”等，正是國師所訶之義’。⁵⁶

Chinul goes on to a rather convoluted defense of the *Platform Sūtra*, arguing that Huineng had to accommodate the interests of laypeople and therefore taught a lesser truth to them.

Here Chinul's quotation from the *Fabao ji tanjing*, 'the nature of suchness by itself gives rise to thought, it is not that the eyes, ears, nose, and tongue are able to think' 真如性自起念，非眼耳鼻舌能念, stands in contrast to the passage discussed above when compared to the Dunhuang and Huixin versions of the *Platform Sūtra*. In this instance, the passage has no parallel at all in the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra*, but it is found in a very similar form in the Huixin version (in the following, characters that are present in Chinul's quotations, but missing in the *Platform Sūtra* are bracketed and strikeout):

⁵⁵ This passage roughly follows the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T no. 2076, 51: 28. 438a1-3: '比遊方多見此色，近尤盛矣。聚却三五百眾。目視雲漢云，“是南方宗旨，把他《壇經改換》，添糶鄙譚，削除聖意，惑亂後徒”’。

⁵⁶ Yanagida, *Rokuso dankyō*, 160d-161b, and *HPC* 4: 739b. Translation follows Jorgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 598-599, with changes.

真如自性起念, 非眼耳鼻舌能[念].⁵⁷

So, in this case, the situation is the opposite from the case of the previous quote. In both cases Chinul states he is quoting from the *Fabao ji tanjing*, but in the first case his quotation is clearly much closer to the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* than it is to the Huixin version, while in the second his quote does not even appear in the Dunhuang version, but only has a parallel in the Huixin version. If Chinul is quoting from the same text in both instances, as he certainly seems to be, we have to make the tentative conclusion that the text of the *Fabao ji tanjing* he was using in some respects must have been like the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra*, while in other respects it was like the Huixin version.

A different part of the same passage in the Huixin version that Chinul criticizes above is quoted in his funerary inscription. This inscription, written in 1211 by Kim Kun-su 金君綏 (d.u.), is often used as a major source to events in Chinul's life, and in it, Kim notes Chinul's close relationship with the *Platform Sūtra* and reports that whenever Chinul lectured he would always use the *Platform Sūtra*.⁵⁸ In one version of the stele inscription, Chinul's first encounter with the *Platform Sūtra* is described as follows:

By chance one day in the dormitory as [Chinul] was looking through the *Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch*, he came across [the following passage]: 'The self-nature of suchness generates thoughts. Although the six sense-faculties may see, hear, sense, and know, they do not taint the myriad sensory objects and the true nature remains constantly free and self-contained'. Astonished and overjoyed, he gained what he had never experienced before; getting

⁵⁷ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Huixin sec. 22, p. 125, line 2. The last 'nian' 念 is in fact present in the Kōshōji edition, but is missing in the other Huixin editions. The passage is also found in the Yuan-dynasty *Platform Sūtra* where it follows the Kōshōji version (T no. 2008, 48: 353b2–5).

⁵⁸ *Chogyesan Susōnsa Puril Pojo kuksa pimyōng*, in Haeju et al., *Chōngsōn Chinul*, 355–356; and *Chōsen kinseki sōran*, vol. 2: 949–953.

up, he walked around the Buddha hall, reflecting on the passage while continuing to recite it, until he understood its meaning for himself. 偶一日, 於學寮, 閱六祖壇經至曰: ‘真如自性起念, 六根雖見聞覺知, 不染萬境, 而真性常自在’. 乃驚喜, 得未曾有, 起繞佛殿, 頌而思之, 意自得也.⁵⁹

The quotation from the *Platform Sūtra*, 真如自性起念, 六根雖見聞覺知, 不染萬像, 而真性常自在, does have a less elaborate parallel in the Dunhuang version of the text:

{真如自}性起念, 雖即見聞覺知, 不染萬境, 而{真性}常自在.⁶⁰

However, the quote is much closer to the Huixin version:

真如自性起念, 六根雖見聞覺知, 不染萬境, 真性而常自在.⁶¹

It is clear that the text the author of the inscription used at least in some ways must have been very similar to the Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra*.

However, it should be noted that there may be reason to doubt whether this quotation from the *Platform Sūtra* originally was part of the inscription. Another version of the text, found in the *Chōsen kinseki sōran* 朝鮮金石總覽 [Comprehensive Collection of Korean Inscriptions], a Japanese collection of Korean inscriptions,⁶² does not

⁵⁹ Translation following Buswell, *Chinul: Selected Works*, 371–372; the Chinese text provided by Buswell is from Haeju, *Chōngsōn Chinul*, 355–356.

⁶⁰ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 24 (T no. 2007, 48: 338c20–21). See also Ishii, ‘Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū’, Dunhuang sec. 19, p. 125, line 1–2.

⁶¹ Ishii, ‘Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū’, Huixin sec. 22, p. 125, line 3–4. In the Kōshōji edition, the 而 in the last phrase is positioned the same way as in Chinul: 而真性常自在. The passage in the Yuan-dynasty edition looks like this: *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*, T no. 2008, 48: 353b4–5: 真如自性起念, 六根雖有見聞覺知, 不染萬境, 而真性常自在.

⁶² *Chōsen kinseki sōran*, 2: 949–953.

contain the quotation from the *Platform Sūtra* although the rest of the stele text, including the description of Chinul's powerful reaction when he read the *Platform Sūtra*, is the same.⁶³ This does not seem to have been previously noticed by scholars, but it strongly suggests that the quotation from the *Platform Sūtra* in Chinul's inscription is a later interpolation, since it is common that specifics are added to a text such as this, but rare that anything is taken out.

It does not appear that Chinul referred to the *Platform Sūtra* by name outside the instances above where he quotes the *Fabao ji tanjing*. However, Chinul does cite Huineng in a number of other places, and a number of these quotations can be traced back to the *Platform Sūtra*.

Thus, in his *Pōpchip Pyōrbaeng Nok chōryo pyōngip sagi* 法集別行錄首要並入私記 [Excerpts from the Dharma Collection and Special Practice Record with Personal Notes], finished in the summer of 1209 shortly before his death,⁶⁴ Chinul appears to cite the *Platform Sūtra* in several instances.

Below is a rather long passage from this work that can be matched with the text in existing versions of the *Platform Sūtra*. In Chinul's work the quotations are found in one contiguous block of text, but they actually represent four different sections from the *Platform Sūtra* (marked from 1 to 4 below).

The first section mainly derives from Huineng's encounter with the monk Zhicheng 志誠 (d.u.) who in the *Platform Sūtra* is depicted as a spy sent by Huineng's rival Shenxiu.

- (1). Caoxi [Huineng] said: All Dharmas that I preach are not separate from the self-nature. To expound the Dharma apart from this essence would only deceive your nature. 曹溪云: '吾說一切法, 不離自性, 離體說法, 迷却汝性'.⁶⁵

⁶³ *Chōsen kinseki sōran*, 2: 950.3–4, where the quotation should have been.

⁶⁴ Buswell, 'The Identity of the *Popchips pyorbaeng nok*'.

⁶⁵ *HPC* 4: 748a20–21; translation based on Buswell, *Korean Approach*, 284.

The passage has no parallel in the Dunhuang version, but it corresponds fairly closely to the Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra*:

吾所說[一切]法, 不離自性. 離體說法, 自性常迷.⁶⁶

The last line in Chinul's quote 'would only deceive your nature' 迷却汝性 seems to be lifted from a later episode in the Huixin edition of the *Platform Sūtra* where Huineng meets the monk Fada 法達 (d.u.).⁶⁷ The phrase is included in the Dunhuang version as well, but it is not found in the Yuan-dynasty version.⁶⁸

Chinul continues to quote from Huineng's encounter with Zhicheng and picks up the story as it appears further on in the *Platform Sūtra*:

(2). For me, when the mind-ground is without error, that is the precept of the self-nature; when the mind-ground is without disorder, that is the meditation of the self-nature; when the mind-ground is without ignorance, that is the wisdom of the self-nature'. 吾心地無非自性戒, 心地無癡自性慧, 心地無亂自性定.⁶⁹

Except for the first character, 吾 'for me', this corresponds exactly to the Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra*:

⁶⁶ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 50, p. 97, line 8. *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*, T no. 2008, 48: 358c9–10: 吾所說法, 不離自性. 離體說法, 名為相說, 自性常迷.

⁶⁷ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 51, p. 100, line 9.

⁶⁸ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 63 (T no. 2007, 48: 342c14–15). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Dunhuang sec. 44, p. 100, line 9.

⁶⁹ *HPC* 4: 748a22. Chinul has the almost exact same quote elsewhere, but here the phrases are in a different order: 曹溪云: 心地無非自性戒, 心地無亂自性定, 心地無癡自性慧 (*HPC* 4: 700c14); also quoted in Komazawa Daigaku zenshū kenkyūkai, ed., Enō kenkyū, 545a. See Buswell, *Korean Approach*, 284.

{吾}心地無非自性戒、心地無癡自性惠、心地無亂自性定。⁷⁰

The Dunhuang version has a similar passage, but it is not quite as close:

心地無疑非自性戒，心地無亂是自性定，心地無癡是自性惠。⁷¹

Here the order of the phrases is also different, but interestingly, Chinul elsewhere quotes the same passage with the phrases in the order of the Dunhuang version, although his text still follows that of the Huixin version.⁷²

The third passage is very interesting. Without any indication, Chinul jumps to a completely different part of the *Platform Sūtra*, to what in the Dunhuang and Huixin versions is at the beginning of Huineng's sermon, where he discusses meditation and wisdom (*samādhi* 定 and *prajñā* 惠):

(3). Students of the Way, take heed: Do not say first develop meditation and then give rise to wisdom, or first develop wisdom and then give rise to meditation. For one who has this view, the Dharma is marked by dualism. 學道之人作意: 莫言先定發慧, 先慧發定, 作此見者, 法有二相。⁷³

This mostly parallels the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* closely:

學道之人作意: 莫言先定發惠, 先惠發定, 定惠各別, 作此見者, 法

⁷⁰ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 50, p. 98, line 1–2. Cf. *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*, T no. 2008, 48: 358c12–13: 心地無非自性戒, 心地無癡自性慧, 心地無亂自性定.

⁷¹ T no. 2007, 48: 342, b25–27. The 'normal' order is *jie* 戒, *hui* 慧, *ding* 定.

⁷² *HPC* 4: 700c14–16: 故曹溪云: 心地無非自性戒, 心地無亂自性定, 心地無癡自性慧. Also, *HPC* 4: 711c18–19: 如曹溪云, '心地無亂自性定, 心地無癡自性慧'.

⁷³ *HPC* 4: 748a22–24; translation based on Buswell, *Korean Approach*, 284.

有二相。⁷⁴

The passage is also close to the Huixin version, but here the first phrase is rather different:

諸學道人：莫言先定發慧、先慧發定，定慧各別。作此見者，法即有二相⁷⁵

I have only found the phrase ‘Students of the Way, take heed’ 學道之人作意 in the Dunhuang text of the *Platform Sūtra*, and clearly Chinul’s quote must derive from a edition of the *Platform Sūtra* that in this way was like the Dunhuang version.

In the fourth part, Chinul continues to quote from the passage on meditation and wisdom in the *Platform Sūtra*, skipping several lines:

(4). [Huineng] also said: The practice of self-awakening does not involve argumentation. If you argue about which is prior and which secondary then you are deluding people. By not cutting off [ideas of] winning and losing you will give rise to notions about dharmas and self, and cannot free yourself from the four characteristics. 又云：自悟修行，不在於諍。若諍先後，即是迷人。不斷勝負，却生法我，不離四相。⁷⁶

Again, this parallels the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* most closely:

⁷⁴ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 19 (T no. 2007, 48: 338b10). See also Ishii, ‘Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū’, Dunhuang sec. 15, p. 121, line 3–5.

⁷⁵ Ishii, ‘Ekinbon ‘Rokuso dankyō’ no kenkyū’, Huixin sec. 18, p. 121, line 4–5. The Kōshōji version is missing 即 in the last phrase like Chinul. Cf. *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*, T no. 2008, 48: 352c16–18: 諸學道人，莫言先定發慧、先慧發定，各別。作此見者，法有二相。

⁷⁶ See also translation in Buswell, *Korean Approach*, 284. HPC 4: 748a24–b2. Reading 靜 as 諍 twice. The first 16 characters also appear in HPC 4: 712a6–7.

自悟修行, 不在口諍, 若諍先後, 即是迷人. 不斷勝負, 却生法我, 不離四相.⁷⁷

The Huixin version is almost as close, but in different ways:

自悟修行, 不在於諍, 若諍先後, 即同迷人. 不斷勝負, 却增法我, 不離四相.⁷⁸

So, in some ways this short quotation is more like the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra*, while another way it is more like the Huixin version.

In this lengthy passage overall, the evidence once again points to Chinul using a version of the *Platform Sūtra* that was partly like the Dunhuang version and partly like the Huixin version.

Another long quote that also appears to be from different parts of the *Platform Sūtra* is found elsewhere in Chinul's *Excerpts from the Dharma Collection*. Below I divide it into three numbered sections.

(1). The Caoxi Patriarch said, 'A man who is truly cultivating the path does not notice the faults of the world; instead, he constantly notes his own faults and thereby comes into conformity with the path. If he notices the faults of others, it is as if those faults were his own'. 曹溪祖師云: '若真修道人, 不見世間過. 常自見己過, 於道便相當. 若見他人非, 自非却是左'.⁷⁹

This is actually from a poem in the *Platform Sūtra*, where each line consists of five characters. The quotation generally corresponds closely with the Huixin version, but Chinul seems to have mixed up the lines in the poem. In the Huixin version, the first two lines are found

⁷⁷ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 19 (*T* no. 2007, 48: 338b13). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Dunhuang sec. 15, p. 121, line 6–7.

⁷⁸ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Huixin sec. 18, p. 212, line 8–9. The Yuan dynasty edition follows Huixin (*T* no. 2008, 48: 352c19–21).

⁷⁹ *HPC* 4: 758b12; translation from Buswell, *Korean Approach*, 316.

together: 若真修道人, 不見世間過,⁸⁰ then Chinul jumps back five lines in the Huixin version: 常自見己過, 與道即相當,⁸¹ and he then goes back to continue the previous lines: 若見他人非, 自非却在左.⁸²

The pattern is the same in the Dunhuang version, although it does not match Chinul's quote quite as closely overall: 若真修道人, 不見世間愚.⁸³ Then, five lines earlier in the Dunhuang version: 常現在己過, 與道即相當.⁸⁴ And finally back to 若見世間非, 自非却是左.⁸⁵

(2). [Huineng] also said: If one is a man of virtue, in his heart he will not look down on others but will practice universal respect. Men without virtue consider themselves to be great, and in their hearts they constantly slight other men. 又曰: 若真功德之人, 心即不輕, 行於普敬. 無德之人, 吾我自大, 心常輕一切人.⁸⁶

This corresponds fairly well with the Huixin version, although Chinul cuts out several lines in the middle:

⁸⁰ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 45, line 8.

⁸¹ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 45, p. 91, line 3.

⁸² Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 45, p. 91, line 9. The Kōshōji version has the last stanza as 自非却是左 and this is followed in the Yuan dynasty version (*T* no. 2008, 48: 351b25–c3).

⁸³ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 56 (*T* no. 2007, 48: 342a4). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Dunhuang sec. 38, p. 91, line 8. 愚 is often emended to 過, but the Dunhuang manuscripts all have 愚, except for the Dunhuang Museum version which has 遇.

⁸⁴ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 55 (*T* no. 2007, 48: 341c28). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Dunhuang sec. 38, p. 91, line 3.

⁸⁵ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, p. 56 (*T* no. 2007, 48: 342a4–5). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Dunhuang sec. 38, p. 91, line 9.

⁸⁶ *HPC* 4: 758b14–16; translation from Buswell, *Korean Approach*, 316.

若修功德之人，心即不輕，常行普敬也 [skipping 24 characters] 無功德之人，為吾我自大，常輕一切故。⁸⁷

The Dunhuang version is here very different, and has no direct parallel to Chinul's quote.

(3). [Huineng] also said: If he is truly unmoving, he will not notice the faults of those he sees or any of their good and bad actions or proper and improper conduct. This is because his nature is unmoving. Although the body of deluded people does not move (in meditation), when they open their mouths they talk about everyone's good and bad actions and become estranged thereby from the path. Hence the immovability created by looking at the mind or looking at purity [during still meditation] produces obstacles on the path. 又曰：‘若真不動者，見一切人時，不見一切人過患，及一切善惡是非，即是性不動也。迷人自身雖不動，開口說一切人是非，與道違背。看心看淨不動者，却是障道因緣’。⁸⁸

This passage is fairly close to the Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra*:

若修不動者，但見一切人時，不見人之是非善惡過患，[及一切善惡是非] 即是自性不動也。善知識，迷人[自]身雖不動，開口便說他人是非長短好惡，與道違背。若看心看淨[不動者]，即障道也。⁸⁹

Dunhuang version is not as close overall, but the last phrase is identical to that of Chinul's quote (and different from the Huixin version):

若[真]不動者，見一切人[時]，不見一切人[過患]，[及一切善惡是非]，

⁸⁷ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū (zoku)', Huixin sec. 33, p. 84, line 12–13 and 14–15. The phrase 無功德之人 is missing from the Kōshōji version, as well as from the Yuan dynasty version (*T* no. 2008, 48: 352a6–9).

⁸⁸ *HPC* 4: 758b16–21; translation from Buswell, *Korean Approach*, 316–317.

⁸⁹ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Huixin sec. 23, p. 126, line 5–8. The Yuan edition follows the Huixin text (*T* no. 2008, 48: 353b14–17).

即]是性不動[也]。迷人自身[雖]不動，開口即說[一切]人是非，與道違背。看心看淨[不動者]，却是障道因緣。⁹⁰

This last phrase is different enough in that it is unlikely to be coincidence that the Dunhuang version matches Chinul's text. So, although this passage in Chinul is mostly like the Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra*, it is in this way closer to the Dunhuang version.

This whole section of quotations from the *Platform Sūtra* by Chinul follows the pattern we have already seen of being partly like the Huixin version and partly like the Dunhuang version, but different from both of them. It again strongly suggests that Chinul used a text of the *Platform Sūtra* that had features of both versions.

Several other passages in Chinul's writings that quote Huineng do not have any parallels in either the Dunhuang or Huixin versions of the *Platform Sūtra*. These can generally be traced back to the *Jingde chuandeng lu* which they usually match word for word. The *Chuandeng lu* was a major source for additional material in the Yuan-dynasty *Platform Sūtra*, which here is often used verbatim. Scholars have sometimes for this reason misidentified the Yuan-dynasty *Platform Sūtra* as the source of these quotations, but as already noted this version of the *Platform Sūtra* did not exist at the time of Chinul. Below I will list a few of these quotations.

In his *Wōndon sōngbullon* 圓頓成佛論 [Treatise on the Complete and Sudden Attainment of Buddhahood], published posthumously,⁹¹ Chinul quotes a line from a poem attributed to Huineng:

As the Sixth Patriarch explained, 'The three bodies are primordially my essence. The four wisdoms are originally the radiance of the mind'. 如六祖所說 故云：三身元我體，四智本心明。⁹²

⁹⁰ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, p. 25 (*T* no. 2008, 48: 338c29–339a3). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Dunhuang sec. 20, p. 126, line 6–8.

⁹¹ Buswell, *Chinul: Selected Works*, 96.

⁹² *HPC* 4: 731c6–7; translation from Buswell, *Chinul: Selected Works*, 309.

This quote matches the wording in the *Chuandeng lu* and the Yuan edition of the *Platform Sūtra* exactly.⁹³ It is not found in the Dunhuang or Huixin versions of the text.

In another posthumously published text, *Kanhwa kyōrūiron* 看話決疑 [Treatise on Resolving Doubts about Observing the Keyword],⁹⁴ Chinul quotes another poem by Huineng concerning the three bodies (三身):

As the patriarch of Caoxi explained 如曹溪祖師所謂:
 自性具三身 The self-nature subsumes the three bodies,
 發明成四智 Its discovery perfects the four wisdoms.
 不離見聞緣 Without leaving the conditions of seeing and hearing,
 超然登佛地 Leaping, one climbs to the buddha-land.⁹⁵

Again, this poem is found in exactly the same words in the *Chuandeng lu* and the Yuan edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, but not in the Dunhuang or Huixin versions.⁹⁶

A few other stories about Huineng found in the writings of Chinul and other Korean writers interestingly have no direct parallels to any Chinese sources. It is possible that some narratives involving Huineng originated in Korea, but it is also possible that these were stories from works such as the no longer complete *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 [Chronicle of Treasure-Forest (Monastery) (Baolin si)] from 801, that were lost in China but may have been known in Korea. I will here give one example that is especially relevant for our investigation into Chinul's use of the *Platform Sūtra*.

In his *Excerpts from the Dharma Collection*, Chinul includes a story about Huineng and his disciple Shenhui:

⁹³ *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*, T no. 2008, 48: 356b19; *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T no. 2076, 51: 5.238c12.

⁹⁴ Buswell, *Chinul: Selected Works*, 106.

⁹⁵ *HPC* 4: 733c16–17; translation from Buswell, *Chinul: Selected Works*, 325.

⁹⁶ *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*, T no. 2008, 48: 356b3–4; *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T no. 2076, 51: 5.238b27–28.

The Sixth Patriarch addressed his assembly saying: ‘There is one thing which supports the heavens above and the earth below. It exists during all activity, but it is not confined to that activity. All of you! What do you call it?’ Shenhui came forward from the assembly and said, ‘It is the original source of all the Buddhas and Shenhui’s Buddha-nature’. The patriarch said, ‘Even if I call it “one thing” it still isn’t correct. How dare you call it “original source” or “Buddha-nature”? From now on, even if you go and build a thatched hut to cover your head, you will only be a follower of the school of conceptual understanding’. 六祖示衆云：有一物，上柱天下柱地。常在動用中，動用中收不得。汝等諸人，喚作什麼？神會出衆云：諸佛之本源，神會之佛性。祖曰：我喚作一物尚自不中。那堪喚作本源佛性。汝他後設有把茅蓋頭，只作得介知解宗徒。⁹⁷

No story like this is found in the Dunhuang or Huixin versions of the *Platform Sūtra*. And the part about the ‘one thing which supports the heavens above and the earth below’ cannot be found in connection with Huineng in any Chinese source. Otherwise, the story has parallels in both the *Chuangdeng lu* and the Yuan-dynasty *Platform Sūtra*. However, Chinul’s version differs significantly from both and, interestingly, it is much more like the Yuan-dynasty *Platform Sūtra* than the *Chuangdeng lu*, which is quite short and does not include the harsh criticism of Shenhui at the end.⁹⁸ The first part of the story in the Yuan edition of the *Platform Sūtra* is rather different, but the last part is close to Chinul’s quote:

神會出曰：是諸佛之本源，神會之佛性。師曰：向汝道‘無名無字’，汝便喚作本源佛性。汝向去有把茆蓋頭，也只成箇知解宗徒。⁹⁹

In this case, the *Chuangdeng lu* cannot have been the source for the

⁹⁷ HPC 4: 764b2–7; translation from Buswell, *Korean Approach*, 334–335.

⁹⁸ *Jingde chuandeng lu*, T no. 2076, 51: 5.245a20–24: ‘他日祖告衆曰。吾有一物，無頭無尾，無名無字，無背無面。諸人還識否。師（Shenhui）乃出曰：是諸佛之本原，神會之佛性。祖曰：向汝道無名無字，汝便喚本原佛性。師禮拜而退。

⁹⁹ *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing*, T no. 2008, 48: 359c2–4.

Yuan *Platform Sūtra* nor for Chinul's quote. This might lead us to hypothesize that Chinul had access to the ancestral text on which the two Yuan editions of the *Platform Sūtra* must have been based (since he cannot have known the Yuan edition itself). However, it is very unlikely that Chinul knew the ancestral text to the two Yuan editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, even though such a text must have existed. If he did, there should be instances where Chinul's quotes follow the Yuan dynasty version of the *Platform Sūtra* against the text of the Dunhuang and Huixin versions, but no such cases can be found. Other quotations from Chinul that we have looked at in this paper occasionally match the Yuan editions, but in these cases they are always also found in the Huixin or Dunhuang versions, or else can be traced to the *Chuandeng lu*. The example above is the only one I have found where a quotation made by Chinul is close to the Yuan editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, but has no direct parallel to the Huixin or Dunhuang editions, or the *Chuandeng lu*.

There is, in fact, another Chinese text that in some ways is even closer to the last part of Chinul's story above than is the Yuan-dynasty *Platform Sūtra*. In the *Gu zunsu yulu* 古尊宿語錄 [Recorded Sayings of the Old Worthies] the story about Huineng and Shenhui is included, and although the first part of the story is different from both Chinul, the *Chuandeng lu*, and the Yuan *Platform Sūtra*, the last part is quite similar to Chinul's version:

[神會]云：是諸佛之本源，神會之佛性。祖便打云：吾喚作一物尚不中。你更喚做本源佛性。此子已後設有把茅蓋頭，只成得箇知解宗徒。¹⁰⁰

The *Gu zunsu yulu* was compiled in the Song dynasty (960–1279), based on several earlier works, and was first published in 1267, so Chinul must have used another, no longer extant, source. It suggests that now lost versions of stories about Huineng may have been in circulation at one time, in both China and Korea.

¹⁰⁰ *Gu zunsu yulu*, X no. 1315, 68: 268a5–7.

The *Fabao ji tangjing* in Korea after Chinul

As seen above, the monk An'gi wrote in 1256 a postface to an edition of the *Fabao ji tangjing*, where he invokes Chinul's passion for the text.

However, there are surprisingly few references to the *Platform Sūtra* in the century after Chinul passed away. Searching the *Han'guk Pulgyo chōnsō*, I have found only one other passage in a Korean source prior to the fourteenth century that appear to quote any version of the *Platform Sūtra*. Given Chinul's enthusiasm for the *Platform Sūtra*, it seems rather odd that the generations after him in the Seon school do not appear to have followed his example. Chinul's most prominent disciple, Hyesim 慧諶 (1178–1234), quotes and refers to Huineng a number of times in his surviving writings, but none of the instances can be traced back to an extant version of the *Platform Sūtra*, only to other sources.

The one thirteenth-century source post-Chinul that quotes the *Platform Sūtra* confirms the pattern we have seen earlier in Chinul's quotations. In a collection compiled by the Korean Seon master, Yōn 連禪師 (d.u.), published in 1248¹⁰¹ we find a quote from the *Platform Sūtra* as follows:

The *Platform Sūtra* says: 'At the third watch of the night the Fifth Patriarch called Huineng to come into his room. Then he transmitted the sudden teaching and the robe [of Bodhidharma, and said:] "You are now the sixth-generation Patriarch, be careful of being mindful yourself and broadly save deluded people. The robe will be proof, it must be handed down from generation to generation, the Dharma is exactly the transmission from mind to mind, one must awaken oneself." 《壇經》云: '五祖夜至三更, 喚慧能堂內, 便傳頓教及衣, "汝爲第六代祖, 善自護念, 廣度迷人. 衣將爲信, 稟代代相承, 法即以心傳心, 當即自悟"' .¹⁰²

¹⁰¹ Park, *The Korean Buddhist Canon*, 477–478 (K 1500).

¹⁰² *Nam-myōng ch'ōn hwa-sang song chūng-do-ga sa-sil*, HPC 6: 133b08–12.

This quoted passage from the *Platform Sūtra* have similarities with both the Dunhuang and Huixin versions. In some ways it follows the Dunhuang version quite closely (except for a passage about the *Diamond Sūtra*, crossed out below):

五祖夜至三更，喚惠能堂內，說《金剛經》。惠能一聞，言下便悟。其夜受法，人盡不知，便傳頓法及衣，以為[第]六代祖 [善自護念，廣度迷人]。衣將為信，稟代代相傳，法[即]以心傳心，當令自悟。¹⁰³

On the other hand, two phrases from Soen master Yōn's quote, 善自護念，廣度迷人, are missing from the Dunhuang version. The Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra* is here generally more different and much longer, there is a large section of 126 characters in the middle that is missing in master Yōn's quotation, but it includes both those phrases and is closer to master Yōn's quotation in a couple of other places:

五祖其夜三更，喚某甲至堂內，... 便傳頓教及衣鉢云，汝為第六代祖，善自護念，廣度迷人。將衣為信，稟代代相承，法即[以]心傳心，皆令自悟自解。¹⁰⁴

We can conclude that even though Seon master Yōn very likely abbreviated the version of the *Platform Sūtra* he was working with, like Chinul, he seems to have used an edition of the *Platform Sūtra* that had similarities to both the Dunhuang and Huixin versions, but that was not identical to either of them.

¹⁰³ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 16 (T no. 2007, 48: 338a14–19). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Dunhuang sec. 11, p. 116, line 1–3. The Stein manuscript actually has 汝為六代祖, and the Dunbo manuscript has 將衣為信.

¹⁰⁴ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Huixin sec. 13, p. 116, line 7–9.

Conclusion: The *Fabao ji tanjing* and its place in the ‘family tree’ of the *Platform Sūtra*

The evidence from the quotations by Chinul, and that of Seon master Yŏn, strongly suggests the existence in Korea of an edition of the *Platform Sūtra* that was different from any extant edition, but that had striking similarities with both the Dunhuang and Huixin versions. This edition seems to have had the title *Fabao ji tanjing*, with some variant of the subtitle ‘Caoxi Liuzu shuo jianxing chengfo jue ding wuyi fa’ 曹溪六祖說見性成佛決定無疑法 [The Sixth Patriarch from Caoxi explaining the Dharma of seeing one’s own nature and becoming a Buddha definitely and without doubt]. It seems highly likely that it was closely related to the editions of the *Platform Sūtra* with almost the same title and subtitle mentioned by Mujaku Dōchū (with the date 826) and by Ennin in his 847 catalog. Also, as reported by Mujaku, it seems the *Fabao ji tanjing* was similar to the Dunhuang edition in that it contained an old version of Huineng’s famous verse that led him to become the Sixth Patriarch, and that the text was in one fascicle and not divided into sections.

The textual data that I have presented cannot easily be explained in any other way, but let us explore some other options. We may, for example, suggest the possibility that both Chinul and Seon master Yŏn used more than one version of the *Platform Sūtra*. When a single quote seems to have features of both the Huixin and Dunhuang versions of the *Platform Sūtra* it could be because the author of the quote mixed up the texts of two or more versions of the *Platform Sūtra*. This could either be by design, or if relying on memory, by accident. It actually seems very likely that editions of Huixin’s version of the *Platform Sūtra* would have circulated in Korea in the twelfth century as it did in China, and it seems odd that the *Fabao ji tanjing* should have been the only version of the *Platform Sūtra* known in Korea until the Deyi edition was published there in 1300.

However, Chinul’s quotations appear very consistently as a mix of text from the Dunhuang and Huixin versions of the *Platform Sūtra* (as does the quote by Seon master Yŏn). These quotations come from different works written at different periods of Chinul’s life, and even if he had access to several versions of the *Platform Sūtra* that he

valued equally, it does not seem likely that he would mix texts from two or more editions almost every time he quotes the text, whether purposefully or inadvertently.

Also, we have seen that Chinul twice claims to be quoting the *Fabao ji tanjing*; in the first case the quote is clearly the closest to the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra*, while a parallel to the second quote only appears in the Huixin version. It seems unlikely that Chinul would have had two quite different versions of the *Fabao ji tanjing*, or that he would have claimed to be quoting it when in fact he was not. It is more reasonable to assume that both quotations were from the same text in his possession.

It also possible that Chinul was not quoting directly from the *Platform Sūtra* when he cites Huineng; indeed, above I have shown several examples where this is the case. But in the instances where it is possible to match Chinul's quote with text from either the Dunhuang version or the Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra* this seems unlikely. And if Chinul was quoting some other source, then that source would ultimately have been based on a text close to both the Dunhuang and Huixin versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, and therefore does not invalidate the case that a version of the *Platform Sūtra* that had features of both the Dunhuang and the Huixin editions existed in Korea.

I believe that, on the weight of the textual evidence, we have to conclude that it is likely that an early, pre-Huixin, version of the *Platform Sūtra* did circulate in Korea, that it was probably entitled *Fabao ji tanjing*, and that it was the only version of the *Platform Sūtra* that Chinul used.

Whether Chinul preferred the *Fabao ji tanjing* over other versions of the *Platform Sūtra* that he had access to, or whether it was the only *Platform Sūtra* he knew, remains a bit of a mystery. It is clear he had several other sources to the teachings and sayings of the Huineng, and especially if the *Fabao ji tanjing* had the archaic features discussed above one would think Chinul must have wondered about the discrepancies between it and the depiction of Huineng in, e.g., the *Chuangdeng lu* (even the Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra* seemed out of sync with prevailing ideas about Huineng and Chan by the twelfth century, which no doubt is why it was updated

in the Yuan-dynasty versions). Nevertheless, we are told in his funerary inscription that Chinul was devoted to the *Platform Sūtra* and always preferred it whenever he has asked to lecture.

Be that as it may, if the *Fabao ji tanjing* really had features of both the Dunhuang and Huixin versions of the *Platform Sūtra*, where should it be placed on the evolutionary tree of the text?

An analysis of the quotations in this paper suggests that the Korean *Platform Sūtra* used by Chinul and others (let us just call it the *Fabao ji tanjing*) was similar to the Dunhuang edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, yet more developed and different in many cases, strongly suggests that it represents an edited version of a text that was very close to the Dunhuang version. Furthermore, because many of the differences with, and elaborations of, the Dunhuang text that Chinul's quotes from the *Fabao ji tanjing* share with the Huixin version of the *Platform Sūtra*, it is the most reasonable interpretation that the Huixin version was based on a text that was like the *Fabao ji tanjing*.

This would mean that in the sections from the *Platform Sūtra* above, the quotations from the Dunhuang edition would represent the earliest layer of the text, while the quotations from the *Fabao ji tanjing* represent an edited version of that, and those from the Huixin edition represent an edited version of a text similar to the *Fabao ji tanjing*. To just give one example pulled from above, here is a section from each of the three texts (changes of or additions to the previous text underlined):

1. Dunhuang version: 若不動者, [不]見一切人過患, 是性不動。迷人自身不動, 開口即說人是非, 與道違背。看心看淨, 却是障道因緣。¹⁰⁵
2. *Fabao ji tanjing*: 若真不動者, 見一切人時, 不見一切人過患, 及一切善惡是非, 即是性不動也。迷人自身雖不動, 開口說一切人是非, 與道違背。看心看淨不動者, 却是障道因緣。¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Guo & Wang, *Lüshun bowuguan zang Dunhuangben*, 25 (T no. 2007, 48: 338c29–339a3). See also Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Dunhuang sec. 20, p. 126, line 6–8.

¹⁰⁶ HPC 4: 758b16–21.

3. Huixin version: 若修不動者, 但見一切人時, 不見人之是非善惡過患, 即是自性不動。善知識, 迷人身雖不動, 開口便說他人是非長短好惡, 與道違背。若看心看淨, 即障道也。¹⁰⁷

The underlined characters show what was changed or added in each step of the text. Here the text of the *Fabao ji tanjing* undeniably appears as an elaboration and clarification of that of the Dunhuang version, while the text of the Huixin version can be understood as a further refinement and clarification of the text of the *Fabao ji tanjing*. Other juxtaposed passages give us the same impression, and suggests that this pattern would have applied to the whole text. We are left with the conclusion that Huixin likely used a text very much like the *Fabao ji tanjing* to prepare his own edition of the *Platform Sūtra*. I have incorporated this hypothesis into the genealogical family tree in Appendix A below.

However, what if Huixin's edition dates to 787 or thereabouts, as Wu Xiaobin has suggested, and not to 967 as scholars have always assumed? In that case the *Fabao ji tanjing* must have been compiled before 787. This is certainly possible although it would make for a rather compressed timeline. For various reasons, based on its contents, it is thought that the text represented by the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* must have been compiled around 780. However, the compilers of the *Fabao ji tanjing* could have used a somewhat earlier version of the *Platform Sūtra* very similar to the one used by the compilers of the Dunhuang version. In any case, no matter when Huixin's edition dates to the textual analysis remains the same.

Huixin writes in his surviving short preface to his edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, as a justification for preparing a new edition, that the old text of the *Platform Sūtra* was 'disorderly' (*guben wenfan* 古本文繁)¹⁰⁸ and students who first picked it up with delight soon came to

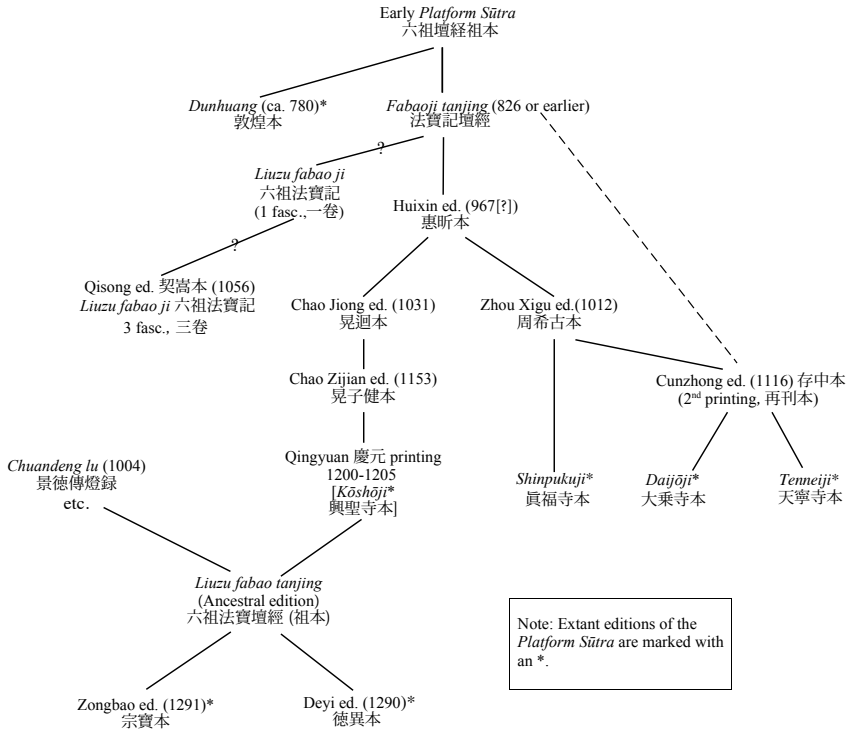
¹⁰⁷ Ishii, 'Ekinbon 'Rokuso dankyō' no kenkyū', Huixin sec. 23, p. 126, line 5–8.

¹⁰⁸ This phrase has been interpreted in different ways, see John Jorgensen, 'The *Platform Sūtra* and the Corpus of Shenhui'. I have previously translated 繁 as 'vexatious', see e.g. Schlütter, 'Textual Criticism and the Turbulent Life of the *Platform Sūtra*'.

dislike it. If we think of Huixin as having used a text like the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* as the basis for his own edition, it is easy to believe his claim that the old text turned off its eager readers since all surviving copies of the Dunhuang *Platform Sūtra* contain numerous miswritten, missing, or superfluous characters. However, now it appears that Huixin primarily worked from a text closely related to the *Fabao ji tanjing*. It is quite possible that this text also contained a number of problems, or that Huixin was talking more generally about the different editions of the text that was circulating.

In any case, it seems that Huixin had a more elaborate text to work with than previously assumed, and that many of the passages in his version of the *Platform Sūtra* that appear to be the result of his editing were, in fact, the work of the editor of the *Fabao ji tanjing*. We are fortunate that Chinul and other Korean Buddhist thinkers allow us a glimpse of this interesting early version of the *Platform Sūtra*, and we can only hope that in the future a complete copy of it will come to light.

APPENDIX: Different Editions of the *Platform Sūtra*



Bibliography

Abbreviations

- B* *Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編. See Secondary Sources, Lan, comp.
- HPC* *Han'guk Pulgyo chōnsō* 韓國佛教全書. See Secondary Sources, Tongguk Taehakkyo Han'guk Pulgyo Chōnsō P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, comp.
- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe et al., eds.

- X* (*Wan*) *Xuzang jing* (卍). See Secondary Sources, (*Wan*)
Xu zangjing.
- ZW* *Zangwai Fojiao wenxian* 藏外佛教文獻. See Secondary
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