

On the Authorship of the **Śūraṃgama-sūtra* Ascribed to *Pāramiti

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Abstract: Research presented in this paper is primarily based upon two manuscripts from the Kongōji 金剛寺 manuscript set of the Buddhist canon *Zhenyuan xinding Shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教錄 [Buddhist Catalogue Newly Revised during the Zhenyuan-era (785–805); *T* no. 2157; henceforth *Zhenyuan lu* and abbreviated as *Z*] (1) *Z* no. 0502-007(a&b)–008 and (2) *Z* no. 1181-001. The first manuscript is a late-Heian period copy of what appears to be a Nara-era manuscript of the apocryphal *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 [Skt. **Śūraṃgama-sūtra*; Book of the Hero's March], *T* no. 945. The second manuscript is a Kamakura-era copy of a Nara period manuscript of the *Xu gujin yijing tuji* 續古今譯經圖紀 [Supplement to the Portraits and Records of Translated Scriptures, Past and Present, *T* no. 2152], which is an account of nineteen translators compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 (active 700–740), in 730. Both of our earliest accounts of the composition of the *Shoulengyan jing*, the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [Catalogue of Buddhist Texts Made during the Kaiyuan-era (713–741)] and *Xu gujin yijing tuji* agree that Huaidi 懷迪 and an anonymous 'Indian monk', rather than *Pāramiti, compiled the *Shoulengyan jing*. Yet almost all later sources in China and modern secondary studies of this important scripture ascribe the **Śūraṃgama-sūtra* to *Pāramiti in error.

Keywords: Chinese Buddhist, History of the *Shoulengyan jing*,

Śūramgama-sūtra, Apocryphal Buddhist Scriptures, Huaidi, *Kaiyuan Era Catalogue*, Old Japanese Manuscript Buddhist Canons, Kongōji, Dunhuang manuscripts

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It is by now well known that the rich cache of manuscripts found in Cave No. 17—the so-called Library Cave—of the Mogao Grottoes 莫高石窟, near Dunhuang 敦煌, in 1900, as well as additional discoveries of manuscripts at Turpan 吐魯番 and other locations across western China during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, stimulated the study of Chinese manuscripts, particularly in the fields of Buddhist and Daoist studies, apocryphal texts (*weijing* 偽經 or *yijing* 疑經), philology (*wenxian xue* 文獻學), and the broader disciplines of Chinese political studies and social history.¹ Recent discoveries during the late 1980s and 1990s of manuscript sets of the Buddhist canon in Japan, however, have not led to commensurate attention by researchers beyond Japan.² This is surprising because these manuscripts may very well be the closest textual witnesses we have today to show what Tang Chinese (618–907) or Silla Korean ([57 BCE] 668–935) manuscript texts might have actually looked like.³ This is because most of the scriptures contained within seven of the eight extant manuscript sets of the Buddhist canon in Japan appear to have been copied from the eighth and oldest collection, the *Shōgozō* 聖語藏, which contains 715 titles in 4,063 scrolls, hand-copied at the

¹ Rong, ‘The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave’, 247–48; *idem*, ‘Dunhuang zangjingdong’; and Robson, ‘Brushes with Some “Dirty Truths”’, 324–26, especially footnote 27, where Robson provides a nearly comprehensive survey of secondary literature on Dunhuang studies.

² Robson, ‘Brushes with Some “Dirty Truths”’, 326 (see footnotes 28 and 29). Cf. Ochiai et al., *The Manuscripts of Nanatsu-dera*.

³ Deleanu, ‘The Transmission of Xuanzang’s Translation’, 627(6).

behest of the imperial family during the Nara period (710–794).⁴ The seven principal sets of the Buddhist canon, copied in Japan during the Nara, Heian (794–1185), and Kamakura (1185–1333) periods, can also be considered highly accurate and reliable because they were often proofread multiple times by copyists working in a relatively limited geographical area. In terms of the comparative significance between Dunhuang manuscripts and manuscript sets of the Buddhist canon in Japan, Bryan Lowe suggests that ‘While Dunhuang materials only contain about thirty-percent of the [contents of the Taishō Buddhist] canon, Nara and Heian manuscripts can be gathered together to comprise nearly the entire canon’.⁵

Despite the fact that scholars have been well aware of the limitations of the Taishō-era Buddhist canon almost since its publication between 1924–1935, specifically because it relies chiefly upon the second printing of the Korean canon (ca. 1236–1251), we are still a long way from completing the gigantic project of developing a critical edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon.⁶ Thanks to pioneering efforts by members of the Academic Frontier Project of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies (ICPBS) in Tokyo, Japan, directed by Ochiai Toshinori, we are getting closer to that eventual goal, even if the progress seems to be somewhat piecemeal.

⁴ Lowe et al., ‘Guide to Shōsōin Research’. Cf. Iida, ‘Shōgōzō kyōkan “Jingo keiun ni nen gōganyō” ni tsuite’, and Sakaehara, *Shōsōin monjo nyūmon*. It is worth noting here that the entire contents of the Shōgōzō are currently available on 10 DVDs released by Kunaichō Shōsōin Jimusho shozō Shōgōzō kyōkan 宮内庁正倉院事務所所蔵聖語藏経巻 (Tokyo: Maruzen 丸善, 2000–) for between ¥900,000–¥1,400,000 (approx. US\$8,000–14,000) per DVD.

⁵ Lowe et al., ‘Guide to Shōsōin Research’.

⁶ See Zacchetti, *In Praise of Light*; Deleanu, ‘Xuanzang’s Translation’, 626(7)–23(10) provides the most complete list with analysis I have seen in English of extant printed canons in woodblock (1–24), metal-moveable type (25–33), facsimile reproductions (34–42), and digital versions (43–47) of the Chinese Buddhist canons. On the history of the development of the printed Chinese Buddhist canons, see Chikusa, *Chūgoku bukkyō sbakaishi kenkyū*; Fang, *Fojiao dazang jing shi*; Li, *Fojing banben*; cf. Shiina, ‘Daizōkyō no kaipan’.

The ICPBS has digitized more than 1,200 texts and provides access to more than 5,500 scrolls, primarily of the manuscript set of the Buddhist canon which can be dated to between 1086 and 1192 and was once held at Kongōji 金剛寺 in Osaka, Japan, as well as of the Nanatsudera 七寺 in Nagoya, Japan.⁷

Research presented in this paper concerns the textual history of an especially important eighth-century Chinese apocryphon, known by several names, including the *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴經 [Book of the Hero's March; *T* no. 945], hereafter, *Book of the Hero's March*—also known as the pseudo- or larger-*Śūramḡama-sūtra—or Book/Sūtra of the Buddha's Crown, Sinciput, or Top-knot (*Foding jing* 佛頂經). There are three points of scholarly consensus among scholars of East Asian Buddhism regarding the apocryphal status of this scripture. Premodern and modern scholars, including Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200), Lü Cheng, Mochizuki Shinkō, Makita Tairyō, Paul Demiéville, Robert Buswell, James Benn, and others, are in agreement that, first, the provenance of the *Book of the Hero's March* is dubious.⁸ Second, our scripture contains a long spell—or *dhāraṇī*

⁷ Ochiai, 'The Digital Archives of Old Japanese Manuscripts'. There are eight extant manuscript sets of the Buddhist canon in Japan, which include: *Nanatsudera issaikyō* 七寺一切經, *Chūsonji issaikyō* 中尊寺一切經, *Kōshōji issaikyō* 興聖寺一切經, *Saibōji issaikyō* 西方寺一切經, *Natori jingūji issaikyō* 名取新宮寺一切經, *Ishiyamadera issaikyō* 石山寺一切經, *Matsuosha issaikyō* 松尾社一切經, and *Shōgozō*.

⁸ Cf. *Z* no. 1181-001 in Deleanu, 'The Transmission of Xuanzang's Translation', 2: 186, 398. ICPBS recently digitised the Nanatsudera manuscript of *Z* no. 1181-001, but I have not yet read it.

T no. 945 should not be mistaken for *T* no. 642, the *Śūramḡama-samādhi-sūtra* 首楞嚴三昧經, translated by Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (344–413). Lamotte's French translation has been translated into English: Lamotte, *Śūramḡamasamādhisūtra*; Lamotte and Kumārajīva, *La concentration de la marche héroïque Śūramḡamasamādhisūtra*.

On the title 'pseudo-*Śūramḡama*', see Benn, 'Another Look at the Pseudo-*Śūramḡama sūtra*', 57–58 note 2 provides a recent, up to date synopsis of scholarship concerning the fabrication of the **Śūramḡama-sūtra/Shoulengyan jing*, including several sources mentioned here: von Staël-Holstein, 'The Emperor

(*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼)—in roll seven that may or may not be apocryphal. And third, the *Book of the Hero's March* promotes ideas and practices that cannot easily be corroborated using Indian Buddhist textual precedents (e.g., self-immolation).⁹ Yet it has been considered a ‘masterpiece of Chinese philosophy with a Buddhist flavor’ by Arthur Waley, Paul Demiéville, and James Benn because it alludes to indigenous Chinese cultural concepts and contains vocabulary that clearly refers to Chinese literature.¹⁰ Benn also points out that

Ch'ien-lung and the Larger Śūraṃgama Sutra'; Mochizuki, *Bukkyō kyōten seirit-su shinron*, 493–505; Tokiwa, 'Daibucchō shuryōgongyō ni kansuru shomondai'; Lü, 'Lengyan baiwei'; Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, vol. 7: 43–52 note 3, and 358 and 72–73; Luo, 'Shoulengyan jing'; Jørgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 510–17; Wu, 'Knowledge for What?'; *idem*, *Enlightenment in Dispute*. See also Tang, *Han-Wei Jin Nanbeichao fojiao shi*; Mizuno, 'On the Pseudo-Fa-kiu-king'; Brough, 'The Chinese Pseudo-translation'; discussed in Buswell, 'Introduction', 9–14. Epstein, 'The Shurangama-sutra' concludes that the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra may be an authentic scripture.

⁹ On self-immolation and the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra, see Benn, 'Where Text Meets Flesh'. At the very least, commentaries written on the *Śūraṃgama-sūtra indicate growing intellectual interest in this apocryphal scripture: four commentaries to it were completed during the Tang dynasty; twenty during the Song (960–1279); four during the Yuan (1271–1368); thirty-four during the Ming (1368–1644); and six during the Qing (1644–1912). See Ch'oe, *Tonkōbon Ryōgongyō no kenkyū*, 193, 94–254. The North American Dharma Realm Buddhist Association, which ministers to Chinese speaking communities in China, Taiwan and across the Chinese diaspora, also publishes a commentary of sorts—with DVD—composed by Master Hsüan Hua [Xuanhua] 宣化上人 (1918–1995). Cf. Xuanhua and Dharma Realm Buddhist Association, *Lengyan zhou xiuxue shouce*.

¹⁰ Benn, 'Another Look at the Pseudo-Śūraṃgama sūtra', 64–70 and 80; where Benn cites both Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, 47; and Waley, *Yuan Mei*, 78–79. Some of the items covered by Benn include references to: flowers in the sky [or void] (*konghua* 空化), jellyfish with shrimp for eyes (*shuimu mu xia* 水母目蝦), narrow-waisted sphecid wasps (*pulu* 蒲盧), 'broken-mirror' birds (*pojing-niao* 破鏡鳥), and ten types of immortals (*xian* 仙) and demons (*gui* 鬼), among other things.

the **Śūraṃgama-sūtra* seems to have appeared during the ‘vibrant ideological scene’ toward the end of the reign of Empress Wu Zhao 武曩 (Wu Zetian 武則天, r. 690–705), and certain ‘parts of the text may have been written in response to certain statements concerning matters of correct practice contained in an influential work by a Chinese Vinaya master who visited India around the end of the seventh century—Yijing 義淨 (635–713)’.¹¹

In order to flesh out the dubious provenance of the *Book of the Hero’s March*, I show that the traditionally accepted dating and attribution for the ‘translation’—or composition—of this scripture need to be emended because of information found in MS Z no. 1181-001, a medieval Japanese copy of the *Xu gujin yijing tuji* 續古今譯經圖紀 [Supplement to the Portraits and Records of Translated Scriptures, Past and Present, T no. 2152], which is a short account of nineteen translators compiled by Zhisheng 智昇 (active 700–740) in China in 730.¹² The reason why MS Z no. 1181-001 of Zhisheng’s *Xu gujin yijing tuji* is important is because it presents the same account of the *Book of the Hero’s March* as in the *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures made during the Kaiyuan-era (713–741), T no. 2154], also compiled by Zhisheng and also completed in 730. It stands to reason that two books written or edited by the same author and ostensibly finished in the same year ought to accord with one another on matters related to the same scripture. Yet the well-known and normative account of the translation and dating of the *Book of the Hero’s March* depends almost entirely on the notion that Zhisheng’s *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* and *Xu gujin yijing tuji* do not concur about the authorship or composition of the *Book of the Hero’s March*. Traditional accounts of the *Book of the Hero’s March*, which attribute its translation to a team of four—two Indians and two Chinese—who worked together in the southern port

¹¹ Benn, ‘Another Look at the Pseudo-*Śūraṃgama sūtra*’, 58–60.

¹² Gakujutsu Furontia jikkō iinkai, ed., *Nihon genson hasshu issaikyō taishō mokuroku tsuke Tonkō bukkō bunken*, is arranged according to the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* (Z no. 1184). For a list of the nineteen translators, see Appendix 3.

city of Guangzhou 廣州 at Zhizhi monastery 制旨寺 on June 18, 705 (Shenlong 神龍 1.5.23), are repeated in nearly all later catalogs of Chinese Buddhist scriptures, biographies of eminent monks (*gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳), and hagiographical literature—especially those works written by Chan 禪宗 monastics. One plausible way to explain the apparent pressing need medieval—and many modern, as we shall see—Chinese Buddhists may have had to embellish the story of the translation and dating of the *Book of the Hero's March* is to follow two of Antonino Forte's propositions about the relativity of the concept of textual orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhism, particularly during the eighth century. Medieval Chinese Buddhists maintained the illusion that the absence or existence of a Sanskrit text was sufficient to confer canonical status. Second, foreign teachers—even fake ones—symbolised orthodoxy for the Chinese.¹³ It is interesting to note, therefore, that several versions of the *Book of the Hero's March* from Dunhuang and in Japanese manuscript sets of the Buddhist canon assign no translator whatsoever. Forte's remarks about the relativity of the concept of orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhism also explain how several Chinese and Japanese scholars have attempted to assign textual legitimacy to the *Book of the Hero's March* today, mishandling many of the same sources discussed in this article.

Zhu Xi and the Authorship of the *Book of the Hero's March*

It surprises me the extent to which scholarship on the *Book of the Hero's March* seems to strongly reflect many of the infamous things Zhu Xi had to say about this Buddhist book. In the section on 'Buddhists' (*Shishi* 釋氏) of the *Zhuzi yulei* 朱子語類 [Classified Conversations of Master Zhu], he probably had the proverb 'draw a snake and add feet' 畫蛇添足—adapted from the *Zhanguo ce* 戰國策 [Strategies of the Warring States]—in mind when he wrote the following denunciation of the **Sūramgama-sūtra*:¹⁴

¹³ Forte, 'The Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy', 243.

¹⁴ *Zhanguo ce* 9.356.

[68] People from later times have made [superfluous] additions to many of the Buddhists' books. When Buddhism first entered China there was only the [apocryphal] *Sishier zhang jing* 四十二章經 [Scripture in Forty-Two Sections; T. no. 784]. Yet this book is filled with these sort of [superfluous] additions. How much more so the case with regard to poetry [allegedly] composed by the Twenty-eight Patriarchs from India whose poems rhyme; clearly, these are additions [composed] by [Chinese] people from later ages. How strange it is, then, that Yang Wengong 楊文公 (Yang Yi 楊億, 974–1020) and Su Ziyou 蘇子由 (Su Zhe 蘇轍, 1039–1112) were not, in fact, awakened by [these verses]? Both of their writings contain many clumsy citations [to these poems]. And as for the **Śūramgama-sūtra*, from the front to the back there is merely the spell; in between is entirely comprised of [superfluous] additions. In fact, people in China who adore the Buddha realized it was corrupt, which is why they added to it. 佛書多有後人添入。初入中國，只有《四十二章經》。但此經都有添入者。且如西天二十八祖所作偈，皆有韻，分明是後人增加。如楊文公蘇子由皆不悟此，可怪！又其文字中至有甚拙者云云。如《楞嚴經》前後，只是說呪，中間皆是增入。蓋中國好佛者覺其陋而加之耳。可學。以下論佛經。¹⁵

It is hardly shocking to see posturing by Zhu Xi condemning eminent scholars and politicians of the Northern Song dynasty (960–1127), including Yang Yi and Su Shi's 蘇軾 (1037–1101) brother, Su Zhe, because they, like Zhang Shangying 張商英 (1043–1122) and even Wang Anshi 王安石 (1021–1086), had famously cultivated ties with Buddhist teachers, carefully pondered their ideas, and painstakingly read their books.¹⁶ In terms of monastic ritual, doctrinal

¹⁵ *Zhuzi yulei* 126.3025; cited in Chen, ed., *Lengyan jing chuanyi jiqi zhenwei bianzheng zhi yanjiu*, 49.

¹⁶ An exegetical monk named Jiehuan 戒環 (active 1100s–1120s) from Kaiyuan monastery 開元寺 in Wenling 溫陵 (Quanzhou 泉州, Fujian province) wrote the *Lengyan jing yaojie* 楞嚴經要解 [Essential Explanations of the **Śūramgama-sūtra*] and provides evidence of Wang Anshi's commentary to the **Śūramgama-sūtra*: XZJ no. 17: 342a. Qian Qianyi's 錢謙益 (1582–1664) *Lengyanjing shu*

teachings, and political connections to influential literati, by the time Zhu Xi wrote these words it was the Chan tradition of Chinese Buddhism that was legendarily tied to the **Śūramgama-sūtra*. Yet what strikes me about his remarks above is how one could read his statements ‘from the front to the back there is merely the spell; in between is entirely comprised of [superfluous] additions’ as reflecting Benn’s statement that it is a ‘masterpiece of Chinese philosophy with a Buddhist flavor’.

Zhu Xi’s knowledge of what Song-era Chan Buddhist masters may have done with this spurious scripture is related in more detail in two additional selections from the *Zhuzi yulei*:

[76] There are only two or three good chapters of the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 [Book of Consummate Enlightenment; *T* no. 842]; what remains after that are compelling additions by an unnamed source from later times. It is similar to the *Book of the Hero’s March*. At first, it is merely about that one matter concerning Ānanda, followed by the single spell [recited] while burning cow dung;¹⁷ the rest [of the book] was appended by a scholar. For the sake of convenience, one could substitute something like Chinese mugwort instead of cow dung. Recently, there have been those who pray for rain and afterwards burn it; they too disseminate this meaning. 《圓覺經》只有前兩三卷好，後面便只是無說後強添。如《楞嚴經》，當初只有那阿難一事，及那燒牛糞時一呪，其餘底皆是文章之士添。那燒牛糞，便如蕪蕭樣。後來也有人祈雨後燒，亦出此意也。

[77] The *Book of the Hero’s March* was originally only a spell-text. In later times, Fang Rong 房融 (d. 705) added to this text many discus-

jiemeng chao 楞嚴經疏解蒙鈔 [Notes to Explain the Confusion among the Commentaries of the **Śūramgama-sūtra*], *XZJ* no. 13: 853a esp. on Zhang Shangying. See also Ch’oe, *Tonkōbon Ryōgongyō no kenkyū*, 212–13; Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, 197–98 and Chen, *Lengyan jing chuanyi ji qi zhenwei bianzheng zhi yanjiu*, 138. See also Sun, *Chan sixiang yu shiqing*; Egan, ‘Looking-On Curiously’, 1992; *idem*, *Word, Image*; Grant, *Mount Lu Revisited*.

¹⁷ According to the entry on *aibao* 艾蒿 in *Erya zhushu* 8 (*Shisan jing zhushu*, 143), *ruoxiao* 蕪蕭, the term Zhu Xi uses, is a synonym for *aibao*, or Chinese mugwort.

sion points about the natural ordering [of things, *daoli* 道理]. Even though the ideas presented by the spell are simple and close at hand, there were those followers who were afraid to translate it, which is how Fang Rong changed the text, leaving the spell alone. This spell was created by the Buddha to prevent animals, snakes, gods, and demons from harming him when he was living deep in the mountains. It was because of his intelligence that he was able to know their temperaments, and thereby capture these frightening creatures. Spells are really just a method of thinking. People of the western regions recite spells [that sound] like shouts or cries, considering them to be of strong and resolute design with the capacity to arrest and subdue gods and demons, similar to rituals employed by spirit mediums (*wu* 巫).《楞嚴經》本只是呪語。後來房融添入許多道理說話。呪語想亦淺近，但其徒恐譯出，則人易之，故不譯。所以有呪者，蓋浮屠居深山中，有鬼神蛇獸為害，故作呪以禁之。緣他心靈，故能知其性情，制馭得他。呪全是想法。西域人誦呪如叱喝，又為雄毅之狀，故能禁伏鬼神，亦如巫者作法相似。¹⁸

It is precisely what Zhu Xi says here about Fang Rong and the fishy provenance of the **Śūramḡama-sūtra*, in addition to the fact that it contains a spell evidently created by the Buddha to cope with ‘things at hand’—such as injury from snakes, gods, and demons—that directed me to look closely at Dunhuang manuscript fragments and Kongōji manuscript Z no. 0502-007 (a&b) of the *Book of the Hero’s March*.¹⁹ Setting aside Zhu Xi’s condemnation for spell practices,

¹⁸ *Zhuzi yulei* 126.3028.

¹⁹ Fang Rong was an official during Empress Wu Zhao’s Zhou dynasty interregnum between 690–705, when he held the title of Joint Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery, just as reported by the *Xu gujin yijing tuji*. But the Chinese characters for this office were changed during the Great Zhou dynasty to reflect different names for the Secretariat (*Fengge* 鳳閣, ‘Phoenix Pavilion’) and Chancellery (*Luantai* 鸞臺, ‘Phoenix Hall’), which were changed back to reflect Tang nomenclature by Zhisheng in 730, thereby suggesting that Fang Rong may have held the post under the weak, fourth Tang emperor Zhongzong (656–710; r. 684, and r. 705–710) after he was reinstated following the forced retirement/

and whether or not the **Śūramgama-sūtra* prescribes burning cow dung while reciting its long spell for the moment, what seems clear from what one can only assume is a widely read text by one of China's most famous medieval intellectuals is that what conferred authenticity or canonicity to the scripture by the twelfth-century was wholly the presence of a Sanskrit-sounding spell in roll seven. Zhu Xi also seems to know more about the text than he lets on here.

Southern Exposure: Kongōji MS Z no. 1181-001 on Śramaṇa Huaidi

Zhu Xi's attribution of the *Book of the Hero's March* to Fang Rong suggests that the version of the transmission and translation narrative of this scripture he was most familiar with probably comes from the *Xu gujin yijing tuji* compiled by Zhisheng in 730. Based on my analysis of MS Z no. 1181-001, it appears that another monastic bibliographer, Yuanzhao 圓照 (fl. 778), who compiled the *Zhenyuan lu* in 800, significantly embellished the account of the *Book of the Hero's March* to the extent that the translation and transmission of this book is almost always repeated as follows:²⁰

A Sanskrit original text was brought to the ritual hall (Ch. *daochang* 道場, Skt. *bodhimāṇḍa*) at the monastery of Zhizhi in Guangzhou on June 18, 705 by *Pāramiti, whose name in Chinese means

abdication of Empress Wu Zhao. Cf. *Xin Tangshu* 4.105 (壬午, 懷州長史房融為正諫大夫、同鳳閣鸞臺平章事) and Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles*, nos. 1998 and 3867. See also Ch'oe, *Tonkōbon Ryōgongyō no kenkyū*, 20–21 citing Mochizuki, 'Tō Kaiteki yaku to den herareru Daibucchō shuryōgongyō', 496 and Tokiwa, 'Daibucchō Shuryōgongyō', 18. This has led several scholars to question whether it may have been Fang Rong, or perhaps his son, Fang Guan 房瑄 (697–763), who submitted the translation of the **Śūramgama-sūtra* to court, and furthermore, whether it may have been presented to the Great Zhou or Tang court.

²⁰ For repetition of this 'standard' or normative chronicle of the *Shoulengyan jing* in western sources, see Demiéville et al., *Répertoire du canon bouddhique sino-japonais*, 945; Lancaster and Park, eds., *The Korean Buddhist Canon*, K426.

‘Ultimate Measure’, and had recently come to reside at the monastery after converting people overseas.²¹ This text was then transmitted orally by a śramaṇa named *Meghaśikha[ra] from Uḍḍiyāna to the Central Indian monk *Pāramiti, while a Chinese official with the title of Joint Manager of Affairs with the Secretariat-Chancellery named Fang Rong wrote down the text after receiving the bodhisattva precepts. This translation was then proofread by śramaṇa Huaidi of Nanlou monastery on Mount Luofu in Xunzhou (present-day Huizhou, Guangdong province). Once the monk (Pāramiti) had completed the transmission of the [Sanskrit original] sūtra he sailed back to the west. An envoy in the south transmitted it here (to the capital).²²

In both the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* and Kongōji edition of the *Xu gujin yijing tuji*—but not the Taishō or *Zhonghua da zangjing* 中華大藏經 editions—Zhisheng relates the transmission and translation of the

²¹ Zhizhisi, alt. Guangxiaosi 光孝寺, Wangyuansi 王園寺, Faxingsi 法性寺, Qianming fasi 乾明法寺, or Baoen guangxiaosi 報恩光孝寺, cf. Zengaku Daijiten Hensansho, *Zengaku daijiten*, 5, cited in Ch’oe, *Tonkōbon Ryōgongyō no kenkyū*, 44. Huaidi, whose name may have been Huidi 慧迪 according to Tokiwa, remains a peculiarly obscure figure in the historical record for a period when so many figured are much more transparent. See also Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, 44 and Jørgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 513.

²² This roughly translates the following passage in *Zhenyuan lu*, T no. 2157, 55: 14.874a16–27: 沙門刺蜜帝, 唐云‘極重 (=量?)’, 中印度人也。懷道觀方, 隨緣濟度。展轉變化, 達我支那。乃於廣洲制旨道場居止。眾知博達, 祈請亦多。利物為心, 敷斯祕蹟。以神龍元年龍集乙巳五月乙卯二十三日辛丑, 遂於灌頂部中誦出一品, 譯成十卷, 即前《萬行首楞嚴經》是也。烏菴國沙門彌伽釋迦譯語。菩薩戒弟子、前正儀(=議?)大夫、同中書門下平章事清河房融筆受; 脩州羅浮山南樓寺沙門懷迪證譯。其僧傳經事畢, 汎舶西歸。有因南使流通於此。 Taishō edition, and corresponding ZZ edition (no. 457): *Xu gujin yijing tuji*, T no. 2152, 55: 371c24–372a6, trans. in Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, note 3, 43 and Jørgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 511 (see note 255 on the name Pāramiti). Regarding Fang Rong’s title, see below and Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, no. 7480.

Book of the Hero's March with only two interlocutors:²³

The śramaṇa Huaidi, a person from Xunzhou, lived in Nanlou monastery on Mount Luofu in that prefecture. The mountain is a place where immortals and saints roamed and lived. Huaidi had long studied the sūtras and commentaries, and was very learned in the coarse teachings of the Seven Outlines and Nine Schools of Thought.²⁴ But since he lodged close to [Nan]hai and [Pan]yu (two districts in the city of Guangzhou), and there were many Indian monks who traveled and stayed there, Huaidi studied their written language with them (Sanskrit), and was able to completely comprehend their books. In the past, when Bodhiruci (II: Putiliuzhi 菩提留志, d. 727) was [leading the project to] translate the [*Mahā-*] *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra* (Ch. *Da baoji jing* 大寶積經, Heap of Jewels Sūtra, T no. 310), he summoned Huaidi from afar to come to fill the role of verifier of meanings. When the task was completed, he returned to his home town. Later, when he traveled to Guangfu 廣府 (Guangdong), he met an Indian monk [note: I did not get his name] who had brought a Sanskrit sūtra [to China], and asked him to join in translating it. When written out it came to ten rolls. This is the *Dafoding wanxing Shoulengyan jing* 大佛頂萬行首楞嚴經. Huaidi received the gist of the sūtra and also put the text into literary style. Once the Indian monk had transmitted the sūtra and the work was completed, it was not known where he went. It was due to an envoy from the south that this sūtra was circulated here (the capital). 沙門釋懷迪，循州人也。住本州羅浮山南樓寺。其山乃仙聖遊居之處。迪久習經論，多所該博；九流七略，

²³ *Zhonghua da zangjing* no. 1152, vol. 54.

²⁴ Seven Outlines (*Qilue* 七略) refers to Liu Xiang 劉向 (77–6 BCE) and his son, Liu Xin's 劉歆 (46 BCE–23 CE), lost bibliography; see Lagerwey and Kalinowski, eds., *Early Chinese Religion*, 642–43. The Nine Schools of Thought (*jiuliu* 九流) refers to Han dynasty (221 BCE–207 CE) intellectual traditions, which include Confucianism 儒家, Daoism 道家, Yin-Yang Thought 陰陽家, Legalism 法家, Moism 墨家, Logicians 名家, Diplomacy 縱橫家, Miscellaneous Theories 雜家, and Agriculturalists 農家; see Schwartz, *The World of Thought in Ancient China*.

粗亦討尋。但以居近海隅，數有梵僧遊止。迪就學書語，復皆通悉。往者三藏菩提流志譯《寶積經》，遠召迪來，以充證義。所為事畢，還歸故鄉。後因遊廣府，遇一梵僧（未得其名）。齋梵經一夾，請共譯之，勒成十卷，即《大佛頂萬行首楞嚴經》是也。迪筆受經旨，兼緝綴文理。其梵僧傳經事畢，莫知所之。有因南使，流經至此。²⁵

The received editions of the *Xu gujin yijing tuji* and the *Zhenyuan lu* present the narrative in terms of two Indian monks, *Pāramiti and *Meghaśikha[ra] acting as validators for an Indian textual source, and two Chinese amanuenses, Fang Rong and Huaidi. One point, however, is shared between the two textual narratives: the translation of the *Śūramgama-sūtra took place in or nearby the southern city of Guangzhou; this translation was then brought to the capital by someone who must have shared it with someone who eventually contributed to its notoriety. Based on what Zhu Xi had to say above, we ought to assume that this individual or persons probably has some connection to the nascent Chan tradition. As we shall see below, the individual in question is none other than Shenxiu 神秀 (d. 706), famed patriarch of the Northern School.²⁶ Appendix 1 provides comparative side-by-side editions of the first narrative with a team of four:

Appendix 2 contains comparative editions of the narrative in the Kongōji MS of the *Xu gujin yijing tuji* alongside the received *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*. I have included Zanning's 贊寧 (919–1001) *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 [Biographies of the Eminent Monks of the Song, T no. 2061], compiled roughly two centuries after Yuanzhao seems to have embellished the narrative of the transmission and translation of the *Book of the Hero's March* to include four participants, rather than two (or three, if we count Bodhiruci [II]), because Zanning included both narratives in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*.

The only significant difference between the Kongōji edition of the *Xu gujin yijing tuji* and the chronicle in the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* is

²⁵ *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, T no. 2154, 55: 9.571c17–26 and Z no. 1181-001; translation adapted from Jørgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 512–13.

²⁶ McRae, *Northern School*; Faure, *Will to Orthodoxy*.

the addition of the character *wu* 無 before *zhengyi* 證義 or verifier of meanings, which suggests that, perhaps, Huaidi had no role to play in the translation project of the *Ratnakūṭa*. It may also simply be a copyists' error.²⁷

The historical lacuna in Chinese Buddhist historiography between roughly the beginning of the ninth to the middle of the

²⁷ There is good circumstantial evidence concerning the transmission and reception of the **Śūraṅgama-sūtra* in Japan that strongly suggests that the Kongō-ji *Xu gujin yijing tuji* manuscript reflects a Nara, rather than a Heian (or Kamakura) source-text. Demiéville, citing Mochizuki, op. cit., in one of the longest and most carefully researched footnotes I have ever read, in his *Le Concile de Lhasa* of 1952, recalled that the **Śūraṅgama-sūtra* first came to Japan with the return of Fushō 普照, one of the monks of the Japanese delegation led by Tajihī no Mabito Hironari 丹墀真人広成 (d.u.) from 733 to 754, which ultimately brought the Vinaya master Jianzhen/Ganjin 鑑真 (688–763) to Nara Japan. By 829, Gen'ei 玄叡 (d. 840), of the nascent Sanron school 三論宗, had written in his *Daijō sanron daigishō* 大乘三論大義抄 [Commentary on the Cardinal Principles of the Mahāyāna Three Treatises (School)] of debates that took place between Sanron and Hossō 法相宗 adherents regarding how the doctrines of the **Śūraṅgama-sūtra* both correspond and conflict with the teachings of Madhyamaka texts and the seminal *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi-sāstra*. Empress Shōtoku 称徳 (r. 749–758) presided over these debates because her parents, Emperor Shōmu 聖武 (701–756, r. 724–749) and Empress Kōmyō 光明 (701–760), had already abdicated and taken tonsure as royal patron monk and nun. Gen'ei records that the Empress declared the **Śūraṅgama-sūtra* was an authentic sūtra, but apparently she was too late since, during the Hōki 宝亀 era (770–781), an official with a recent Buddhist mission to China, led by the monk Tokusei 徳清 (d.u.), which left Japan in 772 reported that a lay official by the name of Faxiang 法詳 told Tokusei that the **Śūraṅgama-sūtra* had been composed by Fang Rong 房融 (d. 705). Therefore, in 779, a petition to destroy the **Śūraṅgama-sūtra* was circulated within the Buddhist temples in Nara. Only a monk by the name of Kaimyō 戒明 (d.u.), who had also just returned from China in 778, was able to rescue the **Śūraṅgama-sūtra* from destruction by declaring that the Emperor of China had personally invited monks to explain this sūtra. Cf. Demiéville, *Le concile de Lhasa*, note 3, 43–45. See also Ch'oe, *Tonkōbon Ryōgongyō no kenkyū*, 19–52, esp. 49–52.

tenth century is precisely the period when the *Book of the Hero's March* rose to prominence within nearly all corners of the Chinese Buddhist intelligentsia, but particularly within the ranks of the emerging Chan tradition. In the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, the monastic historian Zanning included both accounts, perhaps as a means to allow fellow monastics to continue to debate the matter further. In order to explain the inconsistencies between the *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* and *Zhenyuan lu* accounts, it appears to have become accepted fact that two, perhaps even three, manuscript traditions of the *Śūramgama-sūtra existed. We have already encountered the tradition of the first: Fang Rong presented the *Śūramgama-sūtra to the throne after having personally participated in the translation project that included *Meghaśikha[ra], who had recited the Sanskrit text, *Pāramiti had transcribed the Sanskrit, and Huaidi had proofread the finished translation, which was apparently rendered from Sanskrit into Chinese by Fang Rong. According to Zanning's biography of Huaidi in the *Song gaoseng zhuan*, however, Huaidi traveled to Guangdong *after* participating in Bodhiruci [II]'s translation project of the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra*, when he encountered 'an Indian monk' who possessed many Sanskrit sūtras written on palm leaves. Together, they translated these to produce ten rolls and called their result the *Book of the Hero's March*, which Huaidi personally copied and was brought to the capital by an official. Zanning adds two extra Trepiṭakas during the beginning of the Kaiyuan-era (713), a Buddhist monk named Prajñābala? (Boreli 般若力, d.u.) from Kaśmīra and a central Indian brāhmaṇa named Śubhūmarman? (Shanbumomo 善部未摩, d.u.) who buried the *Śūramgama-sūtra within their translations of the canon of Vairocana, resulting in official appointments for both.²⁸ Prajñābala apparently received the title of Vice Minister to the Chamberlain for Ceremonials (*Taichang shaoqing* 太常少卿); Śubhūmarman received the honour of Vice Minister of the Court of State Ceremonies (*Honglu shaoqing* 鴻臚少卿).²⁹

²⁸ On the term Trepiṭaka, or *sanzang* 三藏, see Forte, 'The Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy', 247–48 note 7.

²⁹ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 3.720c13–28.

Commentaries to the *Book of the Hero's March* and the Question of Authorship

The first commentary to the *Book of the Hero's March*—and the *Yuanjue jing*, too—is attributed to an obscure Huayan zong 華嚴宗 exegete named Weique 惟愨.³⁰ Since this is no longer extant, let me turn instead to Changshui Zixuan 長水子璿 (964–1038) and his fellow Huayan advocate, Jinshui Jingyuan 晉水淨源 (1011–1088)—known as the ‘Two Shuis’—who authored two of the most well-read commentaries on our scripture. Zixuan’s commentary, which he completed in 1030, is called the *Lengyan jing yishu zhujing* 楞嚴經義疏注經 [Commentary on the Meaning of the **Śūraṃgama-sūtra*; T no. 1799], has ten rolls, and became the foundation for nearly all other commentaries thereafter.³¹ Jingyuan’s commentary, which he completed in 1071, is called the *Lengyan jing tanchang xiuzheng yi* 楞嚴經壇場修證儀 [Manual for Cultivation of the Realization of the Altar from the **Śūraṃgama-sūtra*; XZJ no. 1477], comprises one scroll, and represents the ritual dimensions of the **Śūraṃgama-sūtra* in Northern Song dynasty Buddhism.³² Both commentators follow Zanning and attribute the translation of the *Book of the Hero's March* to *Pāramiti, *Meghaśikha[ra], and Fang Rong.

As outlandish as it may seem that the narrative of the transmission and translation of the *Book of the Hero's March* went from attributing it to one anonymous southern Chinese monk (Huaidi) and an unnamed Indian monk who allegedly brought the Sanskrit

³⁰ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 6.738b14–c10. Cf. Mochizuki, *Bukkyō kyōten seiritsu shinron*, 518–19; on Weique in *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, see Ch’oe, *Tonkōbon Ryōgongyō no kenkyū*, 30–32.

³¹ *Lengyan jing yishu zhujing*, XZJ no. 16: 219–416 and T no. 1799, 39: 823b–967c.

³² *Lengyan jing tanchang xiuzheng yi*, XZJ no. 1477, 74: 537–41; this text is also known by the name *Lengyan jing daochang xiuzheng yi* 楞嚴經道場修證儀 [Manual for Cultivation of the Realization of the *Bodhimaṇḍa* from the **Śūraṃgama-sūtra*]. On Zixuan and Jingyuan, see McBride, *Doctrine and Practice in Medieval Korean Buddhism*, 38–45.

manuscript to (only) south China (*Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* and *Xu gujin yijing tuji*, ca. 730), to four (*Zhenyuan lu*, ca. 800) and then to six (*Song gaoseng zhuan*, 988, and Song exegete Zixuan), a poet-monk and Chan monastic historian by the name of Juefan Dehong 覺範德洪 (aka. Juefan Huihong 覺範惠洪 [1071–1128]) elaborates the narrative even further in a lengthy colophon, written on May 5, 1118 (Zhenghe 政和 8.5.1), he appended to his own commentary on the *Śūramgama-sūtra:

During the Shenglong era (705–710) of the Tang, *Meghaśikha[ra] brought the Sanskrit manuscript to Guangzhou, where he and governor Fang Rong translated it together. Almost immediately, the king of Gandhārā (Jibin guo 罽賓國) dispatched an envoy to retrieve the manuscript.³³ The manuscript was almost not transmitted to this land; but it was conveyed here and translated, in the end. Fang Rong submitted it to emperor Zhongzong (r. 705–710), who had just assumed the throne. Posthaste, the emperor proclaimed that the monk Shenxiu should be summoned to the inner quarters of the palace for a meal, to receive the sūtra and take it back to Yuquan monastery in Jingzhou (Hubei province). It has been five hundred years since then, during which time more than ten experts have passed on, copied, and explained the distinguishing marks of the doctrinal tenets this sūtra sets up. These possess many similarities and differences, but their language has not penetrated the sūtra's [decisive] meaning...Worldly affairs became a heavy burden recently, as I dejectedly took up my brush to write. On the tenth month of the inaugural year of the Zhenghe period (November, 1111), as a mere descendant of the magnificent Dharma, I was exiled from the capital under difficult circumstances to Zhuya (southern Hainan island). In the second month of the following year (March, 1112), I arrived at the Hainan government office of Kaiyuan monastery on Mount Qiong (northern Hainan island). The monastery was deserted, as if everyone had suddenly fled their homes. But, upon a filthy image

³³ Jibin guo may also refer to the region of Kabul in present-day Afghanistan: Forte, 'The Activities in China of the Tantric Master Manicintana', 324.

niche, I found only this sūtra. It seemed as if it was Heaven's will to have me write a commentary on this sūtra. 唐神龍中, 彌伽釋迦持梵本至廣州, 州牧房融對譯. 俄闕賓國王遣使追取之, 幾不得傳. 傳譯畢矣, 融進御. 會中宗登極, 未暇宣布. 僧神秀飯于禁中, 得之持歸荊州玉泉寺. 自經至今, 五百餘年. 傳著箋釋者, 無慮十餘家. 然判立宗趣多異同, 而文不達義因黯昧. 余嘗深觀之, 得世尊意於諸家傳著之外. 將造論排斥異說, 端正經旨. 世緣羈縻, 未遑惜筆. 政和元年十月, 以宏法嬰難, 自京師竄于朱崖. 明年二月至海南, 館於瓊山開元寺. 寺空如逃亡家, 壞龕唯有此經. 余曰, '天欲成余論經之志乎?'³⁴

Let us recall here that Zanning mentions the connection between the newly translated *Book of the Hero's March* and the Northern Chan master Shenxiu as well, and adds that he shared it with Weiique, who apparently wrote a commentary to it in 766.³⁵

Dehong's commentary, the *Zunding falun* 尊頂法論 [Dharma Talk on the Venerable (One's) Crown/Sinciput], which is included today in Leian Zhengzhou's 雷庵正受 (1146–1208) *Lengyan jing helun* 楞嚴經合論 [Combined Discussion on the **Śūramgama-sūtra*], is not the first commentary to the *Book of the Hero's March* written by a Chan scholar-monk. Yet, of the thirty-eight primary commentaries to this scripture discussed in the most authoritative and comprehensive commentary cited most often by modern scholars, the one compiled by scholar-official and lay Buddhist Qian Qianyi 錢謙益 (1582–1664) called the *Lengyan jingshu jiemeng chao* 楞嚴經疏解蒙鈔 [Notes to Explain the Confusion among the Commentaries of the **Śūramgama-sūtra*], only Dehong's *Zunding falun* appears to have such a strange title.³⁶ We will return to this matter

³⁴ Colophon to the *Zunding falun*, *XZJ* no 272, 11: 10.94c–d. Cf. *Shuryōgongyō gōron* 首楞嚴經合論 in Ono, *Bussbo kaisetsu daijiten*, 59. See also *Lengyan jing shujie mengchao*, *XZJ* no. 287, 13: 10.844c23–845a5.

³⁵ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 6.738b14–c10. Cf. Jørgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 513–14.

³⁶ *Dafoding shoulengyan jing shu jiemeng chao* 大佛頂首楞嚴經疏解蒙鈔 [Commentary on the *Da Foding Shoulengyan Jing*] in 10 *juan* (*XZJ*) no. 287,

shortly. Dehong's colophon, however, demonstrates that on the eve of the downfall of the Northern Song dynasty in 1127, the normative account of the transmission of the *Book of the Hero's March* to China, and subsequent translation from Sanskrit into Chinese, was understood to have taken place surreptitiously in the southernmost quarter of the medieval Chinese realm by one or more Indian monks who hastened to return it to the Indian state where it apparently originated in the first place. Dehong's personal encounter with a copy of the scripture in a niche on Hainan island—the very definition of remoteness and obscurity at the time, where criminals were banished to—solidifies that *this* scripture, the *Śūramġama-sūtra, had acquired the status of a precious gem or treasure in the form of a translated Buddhist scripture.³⁷

vol. 13). Ch'oe, *Tonkōbon Ryōgongyō no kenkyū* and Chen, *Lengyan jing chuanyi ji qi zhenwei bianzheng zhi yanjiu* heavily rely on Qian Qianyi's commentary. Among the members of the 'Gong'an School' (Gongan pai 公安派) of Confucian scholars was Yuan Hongdao 袁宏道 (1568–1610), whose pen name was Middle Brother (Zhonglang 中郎), testifying to the inclusion of three Yuan brothers in this group. In addition to the three Yuan brothers, this group also included Chen Jiru 陳繼儒 (1558–1639) and Qian Qianyi. Yuan Hongdao compiled several treatises concerning the relationship between Confucian learning, Chan thought, and Pure Land practice, three categories that would eventually spread to Japan via the Ōbaku 黃檗宗 tradition. Yuan Hongdao—and Qian Qianyi—were well acquainted with Chan Buddhism through the famous late-Ming master Yunqi Zhuhong 雲棲株宏 (1535–1615), whom he met at Mount Wuyun 五雲山. See Araki, *Sangorin*.

³⁷ Jørgensen, *Inventing Hui-neng*, 495: 'the frontier nature of Ling-nan 嶺南 meant that...its very remoteness and obscurity allowed for the fabrication of texts and scriptures, as there were fewer checks, and because its main centre, Kuang-chou, was an entrepôt for product, books and ideas from the south and from India'.

Conclusion: Dubious or Difficult to Substantiate Authorship of the *Book of the Hero's March*

If we contend that the Kongōji MS edition of the *Xu gujin yijing tuji* is a copy of a Nara-period manuscript, then it appears that the earliest attribution of the *Book of the Hero's March*—in Zhisheng's records of 730—was to an almost otherwise unknown Chinese monk from south China (Huaidi) and an unknown Indian śramaṇera who brought a Sanskrit text to China from India. Since Huaidi was apparently working on the translation project of the *Ratnakūṭa* led by Bodhiruci [II] sometime during the period of 705 and 713, it stands to reason that the translation and/or fabrication of the **Śūramgama-sūtra* must have taken place after 713. Antonino Forte (1940–2006), who spent the lion's share of his remarkable career researching religion and politics during the reign of Empress Wu, provides trenchant context within which to consider matters of canonicity, textual orthodoxy, and especially the role Zhisheng played in determining both:³⁸

I need not dwell on the importance assumed by a Sanskrit text as evidence for the authenticity of a translation. For centuries, the Chinese cultivated the illusion that the existence or absence of a corresponding Sanskrit text was sufficient to establish whether a specific work written in Chinese was authentic or apocryphal. Although convenient heuristically for rejecting many would-be sūtras produced in China—as, for example, in the 705 condemnation of the *Lao-tzu hua-hu ching* [=Laozi huabu jing] [Book of Lao-tzu [Laozi] Converting the Barbarians]—such a criterion would have been of little help in determining falsifications made outside China. For this reason, the participation of foreign *Tripitaka* masters would have been essential, for only they would know whether a text was current outside of China, and therefore 'canonical'. Hence it can be said with little exaggeration that these foreign teachers symbolized

³⁸ On Empress Wu and Buddhism, see Barrett, *The Woman who Discovered Printing*.

orthodoxy for the Chinese—to the point that they were considered the guarantors, if not the very source, of translated texts. It is for this reason that translated texts were attributed to such foreign Trepitakas, and certainly not because they had actually translated anything, for, as is well known, their often inadequate knowledge of the Chinese language, especially in the early years of their tenures in China, would not have permitted them to engage in any but a modicum of translation activities.³⁹

Forte's remarks raise at least three issues that directly relate to the transmission and translation narrative of the *Śūramḡama-sūtra I have outlined thus far. First, the widely held notion that a legitimate sūtra in China need simply to have been *confirmed* by a foreign Trepitaka, and that these Trepitakas were barely competent with the Chinese language, suggests that the translation process overall may have been somewhat apocryphal, a point Buswell takes careful note of in his overview of apocryphal Buddhist literature in China.⁴⁰ Second, Forte's observations imply, by extension, that legitimate translations of Sanskrit manuscripts (Ch. *fanqie* 梵籙, Skt. *pustaka* or *poṭhi*) involving Trepitakas would not have produced readable Chinese texts, something which can be seen in many translations made during the era in question.⁴¹ Finally, because Forte was making these observations with regard to a sūtra that received sanction in 712, but lost it in 730, and was subsequently expunged from the Buddhist canon—the only traces of it to be found again in the Dunhuang cache of manuscripts discovered in the early twentieth century—he points to an example of the relativity of orthodoxy in Chinese Buddhist literature.

We already know that the narrative concerning the *Book of the Hero's March* is traditionally dated to 705, but was probably

³⁹ Forte, 'The Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy', 243.

⁴⁰ Buswell, 'Prolegomenon', 10–11 with specific reference to Brough, 'Chinese Pseudo-translation', who is critical of the Chinese 'translation' of this Indian text.

⁴¹ On *fanqie*, see 'Bonkyō' in Demiéville, et al, *Hōbōgirin* 2: 120.

completed later, perhaps either after 713 or even close to 719, which places it within the period Forte spent his life's research investigating, when the Buddhist religion was as directly connected to the fate of factions at the imperial court as it would ever be in the history of Buddhism in China. Because most Trepitakas in Luoyang and Chang'an between 690 and 705 would have received special indulgences from Empress Wu Zhao and her faction, and we know from the historical record carefully mined by Forte of an especially active group including Manicintana (alt. Ratnacinta?, Baosiwei 寶思惟, d. 721), Śrīmata (Miaohui 妙慧, ca. 699–707), Prajñāgupta (Borequduo 般若屈多, d.u.) and their putative leader, Bodhiruci [II], that textual orthodoxy, at this time at least, rested in the fickle sanction of Trepitakas prompting Forte to remark about Bodhiruci [II]: 'Bodhiruci [*sic*] was willing to commit the most unprejudiced actions in order to support Buddhism and the contemporary political group that had tied its fortunes to the religion'.⁴² If textual orthodoxy was really in the hands of the Trepitakas, then similar conclusions may also be true regarding the work by Divākara (Dipoheluo 地婆訶羅, 613–688), *Atikūṭa (Adiquduo 阿地瞿多, fl. 650s), the Khotanese Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀 (ca. 695–704), the legendary Fazang 法藏 (643–712) of Sogdian ancestry, as well as the Chinese Yijing 義淨 (635–713), who had just returned from a long sojourn in India from 671–695.⁴³ As we will soon see, these figures are given credit for translating several sūtras that contain sections that correspond to scroll seven of the **Śūraṃgama-sūtra*, containing the dhāraṇī known more precisely as the *Baisangai zhou* 白傘蓋呪 [Skt. **Sitātapatra-dhāraṇī*, White Canopy of the Buddha's Crown or Sinciput], **Śūraṃgama* or Hero's March Spell (Ch. *Lengyan zhou* 楞嚴呪), or simply the Spell of the Buddha's Crown or Sinciput (*Foding zhou* 佛頂呪). Several of the Trepitakas studied by both Forte and Chen Jinhua have also been

⁴² Forte, 'The Relativity of the Concept of Orthodoxy', 244; see also Chen, *Fazang*, 390, 399. On Mancintana, see Forte, 'The Activities in China of the Tantric Master Manicintana'.

⁴³ On these translators and their projects, see Forte, 'The Activities in China of the Tantric Master Manicintana'; and Chen, *Fazang*, chap. 11.

viewed as the team who brought the cult of so-called esoteric manifestations of the bodhisattva of compassion, Avalokiteśvara 觀音菩薩, to China through dhāraṇī-sūtras devoted to his/her veneration. Let us also recall that, at least by extension, Bodhiruci [II] was implicated in the cover-up of the ‘translation’ of the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra through his alleged connection to Huaidi. One of the primary reasons scholars have considered the *Śūraṅgama-sūtra to be an apocryphal scripture is precisely because it reads like a proper Chinese text—see Zhu Xi’s remarks above—but the dhāraṇī in roll seven is presented using uncommon Chinese characters to transcribe the sounds of a Sanskrit dhāraṇī, rendering it magical gibberish for anyone other than a Trepiṭaka familiar with the Sanskrit original.

Appendix 1: *Pāramiti and Associates Translate the *Shoulengyan jing*

《續古今譯經圖紀》 ⁴⁴	《貞元新定釋教目錄》 ⁴⁵	《宋高僧傳》 ⁴⁶
<p>沙門般[刺>刺]蜜帝, [*]唐云‘極量’,中印度人也。懷道觀方,隨緣濟度。展轉遊化,達我支那(印度國俗呼廣府為‘支那’,名帝京為‘摩訶支那’).乃於廣州制旨道場居止。眾知博達,祈請亦多。利物為心,敷斯祕蹟。以神龍元年龍集乙巳五月己卯朔二十三日辛丑,遂於灌頂部中誦出一品,名《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》一部(十卷)。烏菴國沙門彌伽釋迦(釋迦稍訛,正云‘鑠佉’,此曰‘雲峰’)譯語。菩薩戒弟子、前正諫(=議)大夫、同中書門下平章事清河房融筆受、循州羅浮山南樓寺沙門懷迪證譯。其僧傳經事畢,汎舶西歸。有因南使流通於此。</p>	<p>沙門般[刺>刺]蜜帝,唐云‘極重(=量?)’,中印度人也。懷道觀方,隨緣濟度。展轉遊化,達我支那(印度國俗呼廣府為‘支那’,名帝京為‘摩訶支那’).乃於廣州制旨道場居止。眾知博達[3],祈請亦多。利物為心,敷斯祕蹟。以神龍元年龍集乙巳五月乙卯二十三日辛丑,遂於灌頂部中誦出一品,譯成十卷,即前《萬行首楞嚴經》是也。烏菴國沙門[4]彌伽釋迦(釋迦稍訛,正云‘鑠佉’,此曰‘雲峰’)譯語。菩薩戒弟子、前正儀(=議?)大夫、同中書門下平章事清河房融筆受;脩州羅浮山南樓寺沙門懷迪證譯。其僧傳經事畢,汎舶西歸。有因南使流通於此。</p>	<p>唐廣州制止寺極量傳釋極量,中印度人也。梵名‘般刺蜜帝’,此言‘極量’。懷道觀方,隨緣濟物。展轉遊化,漸達支那(印度國俗呼廣府為‘支那’,名帝京為‘摩訶支那’).乃於廣州制止道場駐錫。眾知博達,祈請頗多。量以利樂為心,因敷祕蹟。神龍元年乙巳五月二十三日,於灌頂部中誦出一品,名《大佛頂如來密因修證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》,譯成一部十卷。烏菴國沙門彌伽釋迦(釋迦稍訛,正云‘鑠佉’,此曰‘雲峰’)譯語;菩薩戒弟子、前正議大夫、同中書門下平章事清河房融筆受;循州羅浮山南樓寺沙門懷迪證譯。量翻傳事畢。會本國王怒其擅出經本,遣人追攝,汎舶西歸。後因南使入京,經遂流布。有惟愨法師、寶中沆公,各著疏解之。</p>

⁴⁴ *Xu gujin yijing tuji*, T no. 2152, 55: 1.371c24–372a6.

⁴⁵ *Zhenyuan lu*, T no. 2175, 55: 14.874a16–27.

⁴⁶ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 50: 2.718c3–17.

Appendix 2: Huaidi and an Unknown Indian Monk Translated the *Shoulengyan Jing*

<i>Kaiyuan Shijiao lu</i> ⁴⁷	金剛寺一切經本 1181-001 ⁴⁸	<i>Song Gaoseng zhuan</i> ⁴⁹
<p>《大佛頂如來密因脩證了義諸菩薩萬行首楞嚴經》十卷。右一部十卷，其本見在。</p> <p>沙門釋懷迪，循州人也，住本州羅浮山南樓寺。其山乃仙聖遊居之處。迪久習經論，多所該博。九流七略，粗亦討尋。但以居近海隅，數有梵僧遊止。迪就學書語，復皆通悉。往者，三藏菩提流志譯《寶積經》，遠召迪來，以充證義。所為事畢，還歸故鄉。後因遊廣府，遇一梵僧（未得其名）。齋梵經一夾，請共譯之，勒成十卷，即《大佛頂萬行首楞嚴經》是也。迪筆受經旨，兼緝綴文理。其梵僧傳經事畢，莫知所之。有因南使，流經至此。</p>	<p>364 沙門懷迪，修洲人也。住本洲羅浮山南樓 365 寺。其山乃仙聖遊居之處。</p> <p>迪久習經論，多所 366 該博。九流七略，粗亦討尋。但以居近南隅，數 367 有梵僧遊止。由(=迪)就學書語，復皆通悉。往者，三 368 藏菩提流志，譯《寶積經》，遠召迪來，以充(=充)證義。369 所為事畢，還歸故鄉。後因遊廣府，迪(=遇?)一梵僧，370 (未得其名)，齋梵經一甲，迪遂對譯，名《大佛頂如來 371 密因脩證了義諸菩薩行首楞嚴經》一部 372 十卷。迪筆受經旨，兼緝綴文理。其梵僧傳經事 373 畢，莫知所之。有因南使，流經至此。⁴⁹</p>	<p>唐羅浮山石樓寺懷迪傳(般若力善部末摩)</p> <p>釋懷迪，循州人也。先入法于南樓寺。其山半在海涯，半連陸岸，乃仙聖遊居之靈府也。迪久探經論，多所該通。七略九流，粗加尋究。以海隅之地，津濟之前，數有梵僧，寓止于此。迪學其書語，自茲通利。菩提流志初譯《寶積》，召迪至京證義，事畢南歸。後於廣府，遇一梵僧齋多羅葉經一夾，請共讎傳，勒成十卷，名《大佛頂萬行首楞嚴經》是也。迪筆受經旨，緝綴文理。後因南使附經入京，即開元中也。又乾元元年，有闍賓三藏般若力、中天竺婆羅門三藏善部末摩、箇失密三藏舍那，並募化入朝。詔以力為太常少卿、末摩為鴻臚少卿，並員外置，放還本土。或云各齋經至，屬燕趙阻兵，不遑宣譯。故以官品榮之。</p>

⁴⁷ *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu*, T no. 2154, 55: 9.571c14–26.

⁴⁸ *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2061, 55: 3.720c13–28

⁴⁹ I am deeply indebted to research on the topic by Lin, ‘Nihon koshakyō-bon’, 1066.

Appendix 3:⁵⁰ A Comparison between the Kongōji MS and *Taishō* Editions of *Xu Gujin Yijing Tuji*

	Kongōji MS <i>Xu gujin yijing tuji</i> 續古今譯經圖紀	<i>T</i> no. 2152. Ed.
1	Śramaṇa ⁵¹ Shi Zhitong 沙門釋智通 ca. 627–649 & 653 <i>T</i> nos. 1035, 1038, 1057, 1103 dhāraṇī-sūtras	same
2	Bhavaddharma? 伽梵達摩 ca. 650–660 <i>T</i> nos. 1059, 1060	same
3	Atikūṭa / Atigupta 阿地瞿多 ca. 652–654 <i>T</i> no. 901	same
4	Nadi? 那提 or Puṇyodaya 布如伐耶, Central Indian ca. 663–664 <i>T</i> nos. 486, 487	same
5	Jñānabhadra 若那跋陀羅, Javanese, ca. 664–665 <i>T</i> no. 377	same
6	Divākara 地婆訶羅, Central Indian, 618–688 (ca. 680–688) <i>T</i> nos. 187, 295, 347, 661, 662, 674, 681, 699, 772, 773, 829, 830, 836, 969, 970, 1077, 1338, 1515, 1613	same
7	Du Xingyi 杜行顛 (Chinese official) ca. 679 <i>T</i> no. 970	same
8	Buddhatrāta? 佛陀多羅, Kaśmīra (or Kabul) <i>T</i> no. 842	same
9	Buddhapāli 佛陀波利, Kaśmīra (Kabul), ca. 676 <i>T</i> no. 967	same
10	Devaprajñā (or Devendraprajñā) 提雲般若, Khotan, 686(9)–691 <i>T</i> nos. 300, 386, 694, 1346, 1367, 1626, 1627	same
11	Shi Huizhi 釋慧智 (dad Brāhmaṇa), ca. 692 <i>T</i> no. 1052	same

⁵⁰ Following the afterward (colophon) from Jōjin and Shimazu, *Jōjin Ajari no Haba shū*, *San Tendai Godai sanki no kenkyū*, 487–89 and Fujiyoshi, *San Tendai Godaisanki shita*, 101–31; further annotation and notes can be found in Fujiyoshi, *San Tendai Godaisanki no kenkyū*, 381–81.

⁵¹ All monastics have the title śramaṇa 沙門 in the *Xu gujin yijing tuji*.

12	Śikṣānanda 實叉難陀, Khotanese, ca. 695–704 <i>T</i> nos. 279, 298, 301, 304, 310 (15), 412, 600, 672, 700, 774, 1021, 1082, 1314, 1316, 1317, 1364, 1369, 1667	same
13	Brāhmaṇa Li Wuchan 李無諂, North Indian, ca. 700 <i>T</i> no. 1096	same
14	Mitraśānta 彌陀山, Tukhāran, ca. 705 <i>T</i> no. 1024	same
15	Manicintana (or Ratnacinta) 寶思惟, Kaśmīra, ca. 693–706 (d. 721) <i>T</i> nos. 697, 788, 956, 1053, 1084, 1097, 1154, 1181, 1281	same
16	Yijing 義淨 (635–713), 671–695 India; trans. 700–712 56 works, 230 rolls	same
17	Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (d. 727), trans. 693–713 <i>T</i> nos. 305, 310, 336, 340, 357, 467, 588, 660, 920, 951, 952, 1006, 1027, 1058, 1080, 1092	same
18	Zhiyan 智嚴, Khotanese, ca. 721 <i>T</i> nos. 164, 841, 847, 1018	*Pāramiti 般刺 蜜帝
19	Huaidi 懷迪	Zhiyan
20	Vajrabodhi 金剛智 (662–732), Central India, trans. 719–730 <i>T</i> nos. 214, 849, 866, 867, 876, 904, 923, 932, 932, 980, 1061(a), 1075, 1087, 1112, 1149, 1166, 1173, 1202, 1208, 1220, 1223, 1251, 1269, 1293, 1305.	Śubhakarasiṃha
21	Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏 (d. 735), trans. 716–735 <i>T</i> nos. 848, 850, 851, 877, 893, 894, 895, 905, 906, 907, 917, 973, 1068, 1079, 1141, 1145, 1158, 1239, 1270, 1286.	Vajrabodhi

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Abbreviations

- K* *Goryeo daejang gyeong* 高麗大藏經. See Secondary Sources, *Goryeo daejang gyeong*.
- NBZ* *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho* 大日本仏教全書. See Secondary Sources, Suzuki Gakujutsu Zaidan, ed., *Dai Nihon bukkyō zensho*.
- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經; see Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds., *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*.
- XZJ* *Xinbian wanzi xu zangjing* 新編卍字續藏經; See Secondary Sources, Maeda and Nakano et al, eds., *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō*.
- Z* *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 [Buddhist Catalogue Newly Revised during the Zhenyuan-era], comp. 799 or 800 by Yuanzhao 圓照 (d.u.), *T* no. 2157. Nos. follow the Nanatsudera MS in Miyabayashi Akihiko and Ochiai Toshinori, ‘*Jōgen shinjō shakkyō mokuroku kandai* 29-30’ and Gakujutsu Furontia jikkō iinkai, ed. *Nihon genson hasshu issaikyō taishō mokuroku tsuke Tonkō bukkyō bunken*, rather than *T* no. 2157.
- ZZ* *Zhonghua Dazang jing* 中華大藏經; see Secondary Sources, Zhonghua Dazang jing bianji ju, ed. *Zhonghua dazang jing Hanwen bufen*.

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