

The Tangut Versions of the *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* by Guifeng Zongmi*

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Abstract: The paper deals with the issue of transmission of the *Chan Chart*, i.e. *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 in the Tangut state. Comparing the Tangut translation of the text with the existing versions of the text, we conclude that the Tangut translation was based on the Liao version of the text. This is in tenor with the general framework of Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia, which belonged to the same mainstream as Buddhism in the Liao.

Keywords: Xixia, Liao, Chan Chart, Zongmi, Chan Buddhism

DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.15239/hijbs.07.01.07>

* I am grateful to the anonymous reviewers of the paper, whose comments were most helpful, and the journal staff for spending so much time on this publication.

For the history of the transmission of Chan Buddhism in Xixia (1038–1227), the study of the Tangut version of the *Zhonghua chuan xindi chanmen shizi chengxi tu* 中華傳心地禪門師資承襲圖 [The Chart of Transmission of the Chan Teaching of the Mind-Ground between Masters and Disciples in China, henceforth *Chan Chart*, X no. 1225], is of crucial importance, since this text together with the *Chanyuan zhuquan ji du xu* 禪源諸詮集都序 [Preface of the Collections of the Explanation of the Sources of Chan, henceforth the *Chan Preface*] was formative for the Tangut version of Chan Buddhism. The *Chan Chart*, a record of the discussion between Guifeng Zongmi 圭峰宗密 (780–841) and Pei Xiu 裴休 (791–864), is a fundamental taxonomic composition identifying the Heze lineage 荷澤 of Zongmi as the most adequate representation of the Chan teaching of the Sixth Patriarch, inherited by Heze Shenhui 荷澤神會 (688–760). As such, it is opposed to the so called ‘Hongzhou teaching’ (洪州宗), representing the lineage and tenets of Mazu Daoyi 馬祖道一 (709–788). The Tangut version of the text is available as a full translation and in quotations in a composition known as *The Mirror* (*tjj*² 曼).¹ Fragments of this Chinese publication from the Tangut period survive as well. *The Mirror* is identified as a translation of a Liao period (907–1125) doctrinal taxonomy or doxographical text called the *Jingxin lu* 鏡心錄 [The Mirror of the Mind] by Yuantong Daochen 圓通道殿 (1056–1114). The Tangut versions of both the *Chan Preface* and the *Chan Chart* have been studied by Kirill Solonin, Nie Hongyin 聶鴻音, Sun Bojun 孫伯君, and other scholars, but various smaller details continue to emerge during the process of reexamining these texts. For the purpose of clarifying the lineages of textual transmission of the Chan Buddhism in Central Asia, the examination of the existing versions of the text is imperative. The text should be considered together with the *Chan Preface* by Zongmi. This brief study is an attempt in this direction.²

¹ Both works by Zongmi are available in English: Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, 101–80 for the *Chan Preface* (*Chan Prolegomenon*); and 69–100 for the *Chan Chart* (*Chan Letter*). *The Mirror* is translated in Solonin, ‘The Teaching of Daoshen’.

² Textual history of the Chinese originals of the compositions in Qiu, ed.

Identified fragments of the composition include *Tang* 407 nos. 2261 and 2865 and *Tang* 421 no. 2893 (*Catalogue* nos. 759, 760). Apart from these, there is a woodblock fragment of the Chinese version of the *Chan Chart* preserved in IOM RAS,³ and unspecified fragments in the National Library of China. The origin of the Chinese printed fragment from Khara-Khoto is obscure, but one observation seems unassailable: as initially observed by Jan Yün-hua 冉雲華 (Ran Yunhua), the Tangut edition contains ‘taboo characters’ (*bibui zi* 避諱字), namely *ming* 明 (written without inner strokes in the 月) and *zhen* 真 (missing the right lower part). This practice, known as *quebi* 缺筆, was widespread in the Liao, and *ming* and *zhen* are among the Liao ‘taboo characters’.⁴ This conclusion is further developed by Masaaki Chikusa 竺沙雅章 in several publications.⁵ This indicates the Liao provenance of the texts, but the textual evidence is meager. The Liao connection is again suggested for the Chinese version of the *Zhu Qingliang xin yao* 注清涼心要 [Commentary to the

Chan yuan zhu quan jidu xu, 10–15; Ishii, ‘Dai Ei toshōkan shozō no Gozan ban *Zengen shosen shūto jo ni tsuite*’. For an introduction of available versions of Zongmi’s texts, including the ones preserved in Japan, see Broughton, *Zongmi on Chan*, 189–91. Broughton does not use Qiu’s version for his translation, and generally proceeds from the Wanli version by Kamata, but claims to have consulted all available editions. Qiu’s version of the text considers variant readings observable in Kamata Shigeo’s publication of the Korean Wanli edition. See Kamata, *Tokyo daigaku Toyō bunka kenkyū jō hōkoku Shūmitsu kyōgaku no shisōshi teki kenkyū* and other available texts, but not the Japanese variants. Qiu does not consult the Dunhuang manuscript and print layouts of various versions of the text, and thus here we refrain from discussion of it. For the study of the Dunhuang version, see Tanaka, ‘Tonkō hon *Zengen shosen shūto jo zenkan kō*’.

³ TK-254 in the collection of the Chinese texts from Khara-Khoto in the holdings of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (former Institute of Oriental Studies), Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. This text was originally studied in Ran, ‘Heishui cheng canjuan *Cheng xi tu yanjiu*’.

⁴ Chikusa, *Sō Gen bukkyō bungakushi kenkyū*, 255–56, 263–64.

⁵ Chikusa, ‘Kurosuijyō syūtsudo no Ryōdai kanbon ni tsuite’.

Nanyang Huizhong 南陽惠忠 (?–775) in the Chan lineage.⁸ This last observation is especially valuable for the Tangut text, which also includes Nanyang Huizhong. This further corresponds with the overall importance of Huizhong for Tangut Chan Buddhism in general.

No. 2893 presents an alternative layout with six lines per page, and fifteen characters per line. The surviving part generally corresponds with the section starting from: ‘...今不得已而書, 望照之於心, 無滯於文矣...’ up to ‘以喻心源雖一, 迷悟懸殊...’.⁹ Initial collation between the two available Tangut versions (i.e., *Tang* 407 and *Tang* 421) indicates that these two are based on the same translation. Therefore, the differences between the versions are limited to the print layout.

According to Nie, the Tangut version is generally close to the version preserved at *Shinpukuji* 真福寺 which was edited by Ishii Shūdō. One substantial observation here is the presence of Nanyang Huizhong in the Tangut and *Shinpukuji* versions (the master is identified as Guangzhai Huizhong 光宅慧忠), whereas this master does not emerge in the *Zokūzōkyō* 續藏經 (henceforth *X*, references given according to CBETA edition, 2020) version of the *Chan Chart*. One obvious reason for this was his disagreement with Heze Shenhui concerning the authenticity of each other’s claims of descent from the Sixth Patriarch. However, the substantial presence of Huizhong lore in Xixia is in line with the Tangut version of the *Chan Chart*.

Although Nie argued in favour of the proximity between the Tangut and *Shinpukuji* versions, no specific observations to this effect were provided in his publication. According to Jan Yün-hua, the Chinese text from Khara-Khoto (henceforth *KKCh*) demonstrates parity not with the *Shinpukuji* edition, but instead with the version from *X*. Ran lists twenty-one instances of mutual deviations between the text studied by Ishii, *X*, and the Khara-Khoto versions. Of these, there are fourteen cases in which the Khara-Khoto Tangut

⁸ Ishii, ‘*Yakuchū Hai Kyū shūi mon*’. For reference in this study we used critical edition of the text: Ishii, ‘*Shinpuku ji bunko shozō no Hai Kyū shūi mon no honkoku*’. Dates of the text and its various titles discussed in Ran, ‘Heishui cheng canjuan *Cheng xi tu yanjiu*’.

⁹ CBETA 2020.Q3, *X* no. 1225, 63: 33a3–4.

texts (*KKT*) agrees with *X*, and in three cases *KKCb* disagrees with both.¹⁰ This suggests a common archetype for both texts. We have collated some of the relevant paragraphs from the Tangut translation and collation results of Jan Yün-hua. Part of our results can be represented as follows (we have omitted examples in which the translation follows Tangut syntax and several cases we cannot interpret yet):

1. *KKT* 罷囈誦緇 KK Chinese 妄念本無 Ishii 妄念本無 *X* 妄念本空 (*KKT*=Ishii) ('Deluded thoughts are originally non-existent' against 'Deluded thoughts originally empty' in *X*)
2. *KKT* 教放誦禪羅羅 KK Chinese 洪州宗意者 Ishii 洪州意者 *X* 洪州宗意者 (*KKT*=*KKCb*=*X*) ('Fundamental tenet of the Hongzhou lineage', Tangut follows Chinese *zongyi* 宗意)
3. *KKT* 慨羅發 *bb* 不空之珠 Ishii 不空瑩之珠 *X* 不空之珠 (*KKT*=*KKCb*=*X*) ('Unempty pearl' against 'Unempty and bright' in Ishii)
4. *KKT* 陀羅識發羅發羅發 *KKCb* 等者諸部般若說空之經也 Ishii 者諸般若說空經也 *X* 等者諸部般若說空之經也 ('All classes of the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, which explain emptiness' in all Chinese versions against 'All classes of the Prajñāpāramitā sūtras, which are torches explaining emptiness')
5. KK Tangut 懺羅毗羅 *KKCb* 了了能知 Ishii 了了能知 *X* 了了能者 (*KKT*=*KKCb*=*X*) ('Able to understand clearly')

We can observe that *KKCb* and *KKT* agree, both with one another and with *X*, especially in the cases where *X* and Ishii disagree.¹¹

There is, however, one point of contiguity between Tangut and Ishii in the figure of Huizhong included in the transmission chart. As long as we follow the argument that the *X* version is based upon a Japanese manuscript copied during the Meiji period, its exact history remains obscure. Both Ui Hakuju and Jan Yün-hua mention that the title of the composition and the colophon mentioning Pei

¹⁰ Ran, 'Heishui cheng canjuan *Cheng xi tu yanjiu*', 84–85.

¹¹ Tangut originals in Nie and Sun, *Xixia yi Huayan zong zhuzuo yanjiu*, 298–99, 327–29.

Xiu as *xiangguo* 相國 ('prime-minister') are probably later additions, and that the text might have been altered in a number of ways. The Tangut version has a standard modern title, but addresses Pei Xiu only by name *phej¹·jir²* 焜離. This makes the Tangut version probably more authentic than the ones edited afterwards. Therefore, one can speculate that Huizhong was removed from the lineage chart when *xiangguo* was added to Pei Xiu's name, as is the case with *X*.

Generally speaking, just as in the *Chan Preface's* case, we suggest an independent original source text for the surviving Tangut translation. *KKCh* is a likely candidate as the source of the Tangut version, and thus suggests the Liao origin of the source text for the Tangut translation. Thus, Ishii's version represents an alternative tradition, which later developed into the transmission lineage of the *Chan Chart*. This textual lineage probably originated from the so-called *Daosu chouda wenji* 道俗酬答文集 [Collection of Zongmi's Miscellanea, dated around 852–856] partially found in the Korean collection *Pöpchip pyörhaengnok chöryo* 法集別行錄節要 [Dharma Collection and Special Practice Notes] by Chinul 知訥 (1158–1210), and culminated in the *X* publication widely used by Chan/Sön/Zen scholars today.¹²

Quotations in *The Mirror*

The *Mirror* contains quotations from the *Chan Chart*, which read as follows:

(7) The *Mirror*... 焜離, 焜離禪禪禪; 焜離者隨解焜離禪. 焜離, 焜離
 焜離禪; 焜離者隨解焜離禪. 焜離、焜離、焜離焜離焜離, 焜離焜離, 焜
 離焜離. 焜離焜離, 焜離焜離, 焜離焜離焜離焜離焜離焜離

Tangut *Chan Chart*: 焜離, 焜離禪禪禪; 焜離者隨解焜離禪; 焜離,

¹² Ran, 'Heishui cheng canjuan *Cheng xi tu yanjiu*', 85. On this collection see Buswell, 'The Identity of the "Pöpchip pyörhaeng nok"'; *idem*, *The Korean Approach to Zen*, 262–374.

𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎; 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎. 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎, □□□□□𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎, 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎...¹³

X version: 迷起一切煩惱,煩惱亦不離此心.悟起無邊妙用.妙用亦不離此心.妙用、煩惱、功過雖殊,在悟在迷,此心不異.欲求佛道,須悟此心.¹⁴ 故歷代祖宗唯傳此也.¹⁵

English translation: ...in delusion, then all afflictions emerge; afflictions again cannot be separated from this mind. When there is understanding, limitless miraculous function emerges; miraculous function again cannot be separated from this mind. Although miraculous function, afflictions, merits and fallings cannot be separated from the mind in the state of understanding or delusion. Those who seek the way of the Buddha must understand this mind (missing in Tangut). Generations of the founding masters transmitted this mind only.

In this instance, all Tangut and Chinese versions agree in terms of the content, but the Tangut versions deviate from each other in terms of the choice of particular words: *The Mirror* uses the conjunction *zjjj*¹ 𠄎, whereas the translation uses synonymous *ku*¹ 𠄎; the Chinese *lidai zuzong* 歷代祖宗 is alternatively translated as *sjj*¹.*o*² *dzjjj*² *newr*² 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 (Chinese loan translation: 諸先老師) in *The Mirror* and *sjj*¹ *sjjj*¹ *mər*² *dzjjj*² 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 (代代宗師) in the Tangut *Chan Chart*. Of these two, the version in the Tangut *Chan Chart* is closer to the original (Ch. 歷代宗師), whereas the version in *The Mirror* represents a more advanced stage of translation: the word *o*² *dzjjj*² 𠄎𠄎𠄎𠄎 is analogous to the more recent Chinese *laoshi* 老師, as attested in Tangut Chan texts, followed by a plural suffix *newr*² 𠄎, which is similar to the Tibetan *rnams*. In other words, here we are dealing with alternative techniques of translation, not with the alternative variants of an original source.

¹³ Nie and Sun, *Xixia yi Huayan zong zhuzuo yanjiu*, 295.

¹⁴ Ishii, 'Yakuchū Hai Kyū shūi mon', 83: 復須悟此心.

¹⁵ CBETA 2020.Q3, X no. 1225, 63: 33a7–9; X no. 15, 2: 435c7–9;

X version: 如麩作種種飲食, 一一皆麩.¹⁸ This has a different meaning: ‘From flour all kinds of food are prepared, but every one of them is flour.’

Here, two versions of the *Chan Chart* disagree with each other, whereas the version from the *Notes* generally agrees with *X*: it uses the concessive particle *tsji*¹ 𐰇, *tji*¹ *siow*¹ 𐰇𐰏, ‘grain food’ instead of *tji*¹ *thji*¹ 𐰇𐰏.

The Tangut *śjā*¹ *mər*² *śji*¹*mjjj*² *tji*² 𐰇𐰏𐰏𐰏𐰏 found in *The Mirror* produces a Chinese reconstruction, *Chan zong shizhong tu* 禪宗始終圖. This, in all probability, represents an alternative translation of the title *Chan Chart*. In the context of *The Mirror*, (6) and (7) belong to the exposition of Bodhidharma’s teaching on mind. Quotation (8) in this form is identified neither in the *X* version nor in Ishii’s text. However, the golden image simile is widely attested in Zongmi’s other writings, including in various commentaries to the *Yuanjue jing* 圓覺經 [Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment]. In Zongmi’s original compositions, this simile refers to cause and effect, without direct reference to the true mind. For example, in *Yuanjue jing dashu* 圓覺經大疏 [Expanded Commentary to the Scripture of Perfect Enlightenment], *juan* 1: 夫求果者, 必觀於因, 因若非真, 果還是妄, 如造真金佛像, 先須辨得真金, 成像之時, 體無增減. (When seeking the fruit, one should first examine the cause: if the cause is not genuine, the fruit will still be a delusion. As if one is making a Buddha image from genuine gold, one has first to discriminate and obtain the true gold. When the image is completed, the substance [of gold] will neither increase nor decrease).¹⁹ The sentence ‘夫求果者, 必觀於因, 因若非真, 果還是妄’ (When seeking the fruit, one should first examine the cause: if the cause is not genuine, the fruit will still be a delusion) in *The Mirror* follows the gold simile. Since in both *The Mirror* and in the *Yuanjue jing dashu* this quote is immediately followed by an identical quotation from *Shoulengyan jing* 首楞嚴

¹⁸ CBETA 2020.Q3, *X* no. 1225, 63: 33a24; *X* no. 15, 2: 435d6; R110, 870b6.

¹⁹ CBETA 2020.Q3, *X* no. 243, 9: 344b1–3; *X* no. 14, 1: 129a14–16; R14, 257a14–16.

經 (Skt. *Sūrangama sūtra*), we suggest that the version of the *Chan Chart* which Daochen relied upon was generally dependent on the *Yuanjue jing dashu*, and probably included fragments of it. *The Notes* (example 9) does not explicitly mark quotations. Since the phrase from *The Notes* is not attested in other sources, we can only hypothesize that it is based on the translation or a source text that is different from the ones currently available.

The existence of an alternative Liao version of the *Chan Chart* that emerges from our research fits with the idea of an alternate version of the *Chan Preface*, which also emerges in *The Mirror*. We are currently aware of the Liao publication of the *Chan Chart*, but information about this edition is limited to the observations from the Khara-Khoto texts. However, we think that it is reasonable to postulate that this text circulated in North China at the time, and given the close relationship between Sinitic Buddhism in the Liao and Xixia, we are willing to suggest that the Tangut translation proceeds from the Liao version of the text. This particular version deviated both from the variant represented by *X* text and by the Tangut translation and *Pei Xiu shi yiwen*, which was studied by Ishii. Although the evidence is scarce and may seem far-fetched, the reality of how complex Huayan Chan textual transmission was at the time ought to be clear from the examples provided above.

We can, therefore, with some confidence, collapse Tangut translations of the *Chan Preface* and the *Chan Chart* into one tradition, whereas *The Mirror* seems to represent an alternative textual lineage to the mainstream Tangut tradition. While we can safely connect Daochen's text with Liao Buddhism in Xixia, the source of the Tangut *Chan Chart* and *Chan Preface* remains to be identified. The current state of research into the Tangut text of the *Chan Preface* reveals a similar situation: the text survives both in translation and in quotations, which can be partially compared to each other and to the standard Chinese edition.²⁰ This once more reveals that the Tangut translations represent an alternative version of the Chinese original, which we again tend to connect with the version of the text circulating in the Liao controlled areas of Northern China. Circulation of

²⁰ Solonin, 'Textual Evidence for Sino-Tibetan Buddhism in Xixia'.

an independent translation of the same text in Tangut areas is a generally observed phenomenon in Tangut Buddhism: current research indicates the parallel circulation of the Tangut versions of the *Tan jing* 壇經 [Platform Sūtra], based on alternative Chinese sources²¹ and yet more alternative versions of standard Huayan compositions are revealed by the study of the Huayan fragments retrieved from *Shanzui gou* 山嘴溝, the study of which is currently underway.²² This especially concerns the *Huayan jing suishu yanyi chao* 華嚴經隨疏演義鈔 [Oral Exposition of the Commentary to the *Huayan jing*] by Chengguan, whose Tangut version appears to deviate in details from the standard version in the Taishō collection.

The above evidence together with the research results not included in the present study demonstrated that the origins of the Sinitic Buddhism in Xixia in general and of the Chan lineage associated with Zongmi should be studied in more detail. We currently suggest that the lineage of Tangut Chan Buddhism and Huayan Buddhism associated with Chengguan 澄觀 (737–838) and Zongmi originated from the version of Huayan once current in the Liao controlled areas, including the vicinity of modern Beijing. As long as we have no specific historical indications to this effect, we should rely almost solely on the textual data revealed by philological analysis.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

<i>Catalogue Katalog Tangutskib.</i>	See Secondary Sources, Kychanov.
<i>Buddhiiskib Pamyatnikov</i>	
<i>KKT</i>	Khara-Khoto Tangut version of the <i>Chan Chart</i> .

²¹ Liu and Sun, 'Xixia wen *Liuzu Tanjing* yu hanwen ben yuanyuan guanxi xinkao'.

²² Gao, 'Baisi gou fangta yu Shanzui gou shiku chutu fodian keben canpian zakao'.

<i>KKCb</i>	Khara-Khoto Chinese version of the <i>Chan Chart</i> .
<i>T</i>	<i>Taishō shinsū daizōkyō</i> 大正新脩大藏經. See Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
<i>Tang</i> with number	shelf number for the Tangut texts in the collection of Oriental Manuscripts (formerly Institute of Oriental Studies), Russian Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg. RAS.
TK	Tangut Chinese. Shelf number in the Collection of the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts.
<i>X</i>	(<i>Wan</i>) <i>xu zangjing</i> (卍) 續藏經. See Secondary Sources, Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, comp. (References are given according to the electronic publication by CBETA, 2023.)
ZW	<i>Zang wai fojiao wenxian</i> 藏外佛教文獻. See Secondary Sources, Fang, ed.

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- tsiwe*¹ *tsjiw*¹ *mər*² *tso-hwew*¹ *bjij*² *phie*² *dzju*¹ *la*² 舜攷禪羈弓爻爇戢羈 [The Notes on Basic Intentions of the Hongzhou Masters with Commentary and Discussion]. By Fayong 法勇 (d.u.). *Tang* 112 no. 2540.
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