

From Chang'an to Nālandā: The Life and Legacy of the Chinese Buddhist Monk Xuanzang (602?–664)

Edited by SHI Ciguang, CHEN Jinhua, JI Yun and SHI Xingding



*From Chang'an to Nālandā:
The Life and Legacy of
the Chinese Buddhist Monk
Xuanzang (602?–664)*

*Proceedings of the First International Conference
on Xuanzang and Silk Road Culture*

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COVER IMAGE: Map showing Xuanzang's travels from Sogdians website. Courtesy of Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., Map by CHIPS.

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Preface

SHI CIGUANG 釋慈光

Guiyuan Temple, Xi'an, China

How time flies! It has been almost two years since the first International Conference on Xuanzang and Silk Road Culture. The conference gathered close to one hundred specialists and scholars from many provinces in China and from over ten countries and regions, as well as over three-hundred attendees from all walks of life. We received academic papers from 52 scholars, among whom 28 are foreign scholars. This high rate of international participation speaks to the international character of the conference, as well as the enormous influences of Xuanzang and the Chinese Buddhist culture that he represents, as well as the cultural heritage of Xi'an, on both China and abroad alike.

The success of the conference is more than the result of our individual efforts, but is inseparable from China's rapid development that began 40 years ago. Guiyuan Monastery 歸元寺 in Chang'an, built during the Zhenguan reign (627–649) of the Tang dynasty, is an ancient and renowned monastery. To the west, the monastery borders on Feng River 灃河 and to the south, it faces Mount Zhongnan 終南山. It was the last monastery that Xuanzang visited before returning to Chang'an after his journey to Central and South Asia. Therefore, the karmic connection between Guiyuan Monastery and Xuanzang was formed as early as the days of Xuanzang's return to China. Even nowadays, every year on the 23rd day of the first lunar

month, people in the outskirts of Xi'an still gather and host grand festivals in memory of this historic event. During the pre-modern period, China became weakened and the monastery also suffered the fate of damage from incessant warfare, especially after the reign of Daoguang (1820–1850). Only the Hall of Resting Buddha 臥佛殿 survived. The monastery was not restored until after the late 1970s. In 2002, I assumed the role as the abbot of the monastery and I have since restored not only the Hall of Resting Buddha, but also built several new buildings, including the Hall of Merits 功德樓, the Chanting Hall 念佛堂 and the Lecture Hall of Guiyuan 歸元講堂. Meanwhile, the monastery also hosts a wide range of cultural activities: courses on the traditional culture, a winter/summer camp, lectures, meditation retreats, cultural and artistic festivals, cultural forums, memorial events, and more. Upholding the Buddhist spirit of compassion, we are also active in charitable causes. For instance, even at the time of penury, we still managed to run our care home, so that elders with special needs could enjoy a peaceful end of life.

Beginning in 2016, I also became the abbot of Xinglong Monastery 興隆寺 at Mount Jingtai 金臺山 in Zheng'an County 鎮安縣. The monastery can trace its founding to the Western Jin (266–316), and it prospered during the Tang (618–907). Emperor Xuanzong (r.712–756) ordered a Longxing Monastery 龍興寺 to be built in each state; Longxing Monastery in Zheng'an was thereby expanded and became a state monastery. For the next thousand years, the monastery experienced countless difficulties and was damaged by war on several occasions, only to be re-built each time. In 1944, just before the victory of the anti-Japanese war, Master Taixu 太虛 (1890–1947) issued an appeal by the media and thereby laid the foundation of the Buddhist Association in Zheng'an. Since then, the monastery changed its name to 'Xinglong', which is in use still today. But the true revival of the monastery became possible only recently, thanks to the support of the local government of Zheng'an of Shanxi Province. The monastery was then able to be expanded on its original site along the hill by adopting the ancient architecture style of the Tang dynasty.

During the three-day conference, I put forth a proposal. With scholars abroad, we signed a so-called 'Chang'an Declaration' 長安宣言 together. In this declaration, we acknowledge that the true

spirit of the ancient Chang'an lies in its inclusiveness and its calibre of optimism, tolerance and openness. By reviving the spirit of the old Chang'an, we hope that there will be plenty of opportunities for cultural exchange and merging, fostered by both specialists and the general population of different countries, who come from different social classes and varied ethnic, religious and cultural backgrounds. As the inheritor of the traditional Chinese culture, we have the responsibility to promote this spirit of inclusiveness to the world. This conference is only the beginning of our long-term mission to combine the promotion of the Chinese traditional culture with the promotion of the Chinese Buddhist culture, as well as to further support the in-depth studies of Chinese Buddhist culture initiated by the international academic circle of Buddhist Studies.

Lastly, I want to use this opportunity to express my gratitude to people of all walks of life who have selflessly supported us. No matter the change of international climate, we wish to continue cultivating this ecological sphere, in which we can mutually benefit and learn from each other across nations, across the academia-religion divide, and across the monastic-secular distinction. Our goal is to establish long-term collaboration and obtain a win-win outcome, and to encourage the force of peace in the world for the betterment of humanity's well-being.

1

Doctrinal Studies

A Hypothetical Reconsideration of the ‘Compilation’ of *Cheng Weishi Lun**

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Abstract: *Cheng weishi lun*, or **Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi* [Establishment of Mental-Representation-Only], is a systematic work on Yogācāra Buddhism that has been treated as a fundamental text in the East Asian Yogācāra (Ch. Faxiang/Jp. Hossō) tradition. Traditionally, this work is thought to be a compilation by Xuanzang (600/602–664) based on ten separate commentaries on Vasubandhu’s *Triṃśikā vijñaptimātratāsiddhiḥ* [Thirty Verses for the Establishment of Mental-Representation-Only]. If one examines the content of *Cheng weishi lun*, one often finds a juxtaposition of plural opinions concerning a single issue; this indeed gives the impression that they were taken from separate commentaries. Relatively late Indian Yogācāra texts, such as *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* [A Condensed Explanation of the Revealed Secred Meaning] and *Yogācārābhūmivyākhyā* [An Explanation of *Yogācārābhūmi*], however, similarly contain different interpretations of a single issue given side by side. Sometimes these Indian texts and *Cheng weishi lun* even contain comparable arguments. This makes me somewhat suspicious of the traditionally accepted notion that *Cheng weishi lun* is a ‘compilation’. Perhaps *Cheng weishi lun* is based on an Indian original that had a similar format to the current Chinese text. It is

* This article is an English translation (with modification) of a revised version of a Chinese draft I read at the First International Conference on Xuanzang & Silk

difficult to be conclusive at this stage, but I would like to present a hypothetical argument that reconsiders the textual nature and background of this important work.

Keywords: *Cheng weishi lun*, *Vivṛtaguhyārthapaṇḍavyākhyā*, *Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā*, Xuanzang, compilation theory, *bīja*

Introduction: *Cheng Weishi Lun* as a ‘Compilation’

Cheng weishi lun 成唯識論 (**Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi*, T no. 1585, [Establishment of Mental-Representation-Only]) is a highly important treatise in East Asian Yogācāra. According to the tradition of the Faxiang School (Ch. Faxiang zong/Jp. Hossō shū 法相宗), Vasubandhu himself never composed a commentary on his *Triṃśikā vijñaptimātratāsiddhiḥ* (*Weishi sanshi song* 唯識三十頌 [Thirty Verses for the Establishment of Mental-Representation-Only]), and commentaries on this text were instead written by the ‘ten great masters’ (*shi dalunshi* 十大論師). Fearing that translating these com-

Road Culture, 2018. I thank Professors Chen Jinhua and Ji Yun for their invitation and support. I also thank Meghan Howard for her help with the interpretation of Tibetan passages, and Lin Weiyu and Jack Hargreaves for their assistance in preparing this English version. My thanks are also due to Professor Robert Kritzer, who has thoroughly checked the English and the content of this paper. I also thank Yanoshita Tomoya for his assistance with proofreading. An earlier discussion of the similarities between *Cheng weishi lun* and *Vivṛtaguhyārthapaṇḍavyākhyā* regarding the origin of seeds (corresponding to §§2–4 of this article) is found in my Japanese article ‘Shūji no honnu to shinkun no mondai ni tsuite (II)’ (1991). The present article offers a revised and enlarged discussion in English. The similarities between *Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* and *Cheng weishi lun* (§5 of this article) is a new finding I have not discussed before. The research for this article was funded by the JSPS KAKENHI grant (number 17K02218).

mentaries separately into Chinese would lead to a confusion, Cì'en 慈恩 ([Kui]ji [窺]基,¹ 632–682) advised his master Xuanzang 玄奘 (600/602–664) to compile them into a comprehensive text giving the correct interpretation of *Trīṃśikā*. See the following passage from *Cheng weishi lun zhangzhong shuyao* 成唯識論掌中樞要 [Essentials of *Cheng weishi lun* in the Palm of Your Hand] by Cì'en:

My mediocre capacity notwithstanding, I finally joined the translation team. Holding wooden tablets (i.e., writing material), I received this treatise. When we first started to work, [Master Xuanzang set out to] translate the ten commentaries separately. [Shen]fang [神]昉, [Jia]shang [嘉]尚, [Pu]guang [普]光, and [Kui]ji [窺]基 received them together as embellisher, scribe, editor, and compiler [respectively]. They furnished good examples when they executed their own duties. After a few days, [I, Kui]ji asked to withdraw [from my duty]. Master naturally asked [the reason]. [I, Kui]ji respectfully entreated: ‘[Since the time Emperor Ming 明帝 (r. 57–75)] dreamed of the golden body [of the Buddha] in an evening and [Jiashe Moteng 迦葉摩騰 {Kāśyapa Mātanga} and Zhu Falan 竺法蘭] came [to Luo-yang 洛陽] on a white horse in the morning, talented people emerged from time to time, and wise ones followed one after another. Hearing about the five-part [Dharma body],² people prayed mentally, and holding the “eight chapters” (**Aṣṭagrantha*, i.e., *Jñānaprathāna*, [Giving Rise to Wisdom]) in thier hands, they looked toward [India] from afar. Even though they obtained the dregs of Dharma, they lost the essence of the profound origin. Now, texts were presented in the East, and [people] all witnessed the profound teaching. Also, fortunately [Master Xuanzang is] peerless anywhere and surpasses [anybody who has lived] since long ago. If he does not show his achievement by compiling [these commentaries], it should be said that a chance is missed. Furthermore, many sages

¹ For the name of this master, see He, ‘Whence Came the Name “Kuiji”’. I thank Robert Kritzer for referring me to this article.

² Namely, morality, concentration, wisdom, deliverance, and the awareness of deliverance.

compose [texts] and spread their fame in all over India. Although the writings are fully transmitted on palm leaves, the meaning is not available through a single text. Each view is different, and the reader has no recourse. In addition, people are presently becoming weaker, their lifespan shorter, and their intelligence more confused. [Their] discussions are unfocused and biased. They [may] grasp the initial message but cannot convey [what they have understood]. Please put the statements [of the ten masters] together and compile them into a single text, determining what is right and wrong and measuring the sublime law'. After a long time, [Master] finally accepted [my proposal]. Thus, it has become possible for this text to circulate. Master dismissed the three learned people with reason and bestowed it only on such a mediocre person [like me]. That is this treatise.

不以散材之質，遂得隨伍譯僚。事即操觚，餐受此論。初功之際，十釋別翻。昉、尚、光、基，四人同受。潤飾、執筆、檢文、纂義，既爲令範，務各有司。數朝之後，基求退迹。大師固問，基懇請曰：‘自夕夢金容，晨趨白馬。英髦間出，靈智肩隨。聞五分以心祈，攬八蘊而遐望。雖得法門之糟粕，然失玄源之淳粹。今東出策賚，並目擊玄宗。幸復獨秀萬方，穎超千古，不立功於參糴。可謂失時者也。況群聖製作，各馳譽於五天。雖文具傳於貝葉，而義不備於一本。情見各異，稟者無依。況時漸人澆，命促惠舛。討支離而頗究，攬初旨而難宣。請錯綜群言以爲一本，指定真謬，權衡盛則。久而遂許，故得此論行焉。大師理遣三賢，獨授庸拙此論也。’ (T no. 1831, 43: 1.608b28–c14)³

See also the excerpts from the preface to *Cheng weishi lun shuji* 成唯識論述記 [A Commentary on *Cheng weishi lun*], also by Ci'en, quoted below:

The Thirty Verses is one of the ten subordinate texts⁴ composed by Bodhisattva Vasubandhu. ... Before he composed a commentary, he passed away. ... Here, there were ten great bodhisattvas such as Dharmapāla (530–61?). ... Uttering beautiful sounds, spreading excellent

³ Emphasis added by the author (here and below).

⁴ See Dhammajoti, 'Introduction', 29 and note 8.

commentaries, and purifying the true consciousness, they composed this refined treatise. It is entitled *Cheng weishi lun* [Establishment of Mental-Representation-Only] and is also called *Jing weishi lun* [Purification of Mental-Representation-Only]. ... Only my own master, the Tripiṭaka Master Xuanzang [has compiled these commentaries into a single text]. ... This text is a compilation of various portions of the ten commentaries. Now [Xuanzang] has collected the full translations and compiled them into a single text. [While compiling this text, he] has examined Chinese and Sanskrit, selected the important from the trivial, and organized the differences among various opinions. Thus, the text is like one composed by a single master.⁵ ‘Establishment of Mental-Representation-Only’ is a comprehensive title denoting the entirety of the text.

唯識三十頌者，十支中之一支。天親菩薩之所製也。……釋文未就歸真上遷，……爰有護法等十大菩薩，……振金聲而流妙釋，淨彼真識，成斯雅論，名曰‘成唯識論’，或名‘淨唯識論’。……惟我親教三藏法師玄奘，……斯本彙聚，十釋群分。今總詳譯糅爲一部，商榷華、梵，徵詮輕、重。陶甄諸義之差，有叶一師之製。成唯識者，舉宏綱旌一部之都目。(T no. 1830, 43: 1.229a12–b18)⁶

⁵ Cf. a partial English translation of this passage by Dhamajoti, ‘Introduction’, 29.

⁶ Cf. also the following passage from ‘*Cheng weishi lun houxu*’ 成唯識論後序 [Postface to *Cheng weishi lun*] by Chen Xuanming 沈玄明 from Wuxing 吳興 (Tang period):

I think Vasubandhu was an arhat of our period (賢劫, *bhadrakalpa*)... *The Thirty Verses on Mental-Representation-Only* was Vasubandhu’s last work before his decease. ... Afterwards, there were ten great bodhisattvas, like Dharmapāla and Sthiramati, etc. ... They all contemplated these root verses and respectively composed their commentaries, entitled, ‘*A Treatise for Establishing [the Doctrine of] Mental-Representation-Only*,’ or ‘*A Treatise for Purifying [the Doctrine of] Mental-Representation-Only*.’ Now, the Great Preceptor, Tripiṭaka Master Xuanzang ... turned a white horse back to the Shaanxi area (in this context, Chag’an). ... He combined these ten commentaries consisting of four thousand and five hundred lines. He collected

Based on these accounts, *Cheng weishi lun* is usually considered to be a ‘compilation’ by Xuanzang of the ten great masters’ commentaries on *Triṃśikā vijñaptimātratāsiddhiḥ*, centering on Dharmapāla’s position. When one looks into this text, one finds that plural opinions on a single issue are frequently juxtaposed, which gives one the impression that these opinions indeed derive from separate commentaries. Thus, the structure of *Cheng weishi lun* seems to support the accounts of its compilation.⁷

1. *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* and *Cheng Weishi Lun*: On the Origin of Seeds

Indian Yogācāra commentaries that are apparently relatively late, such as *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* (*Don gsang ba rnam par phye ba bsduṣ te bshad pa* [A Condensed Explanation of the Revealed Secret Menīng]⁸, Derge No. 4052; Pek. No. 5553) and *Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* (*rNal ’byor spyod pa’i sa rnam par bshad pa* [Explanation of *Yogācārabhūmī*], Derge No. 4043; Pek. No. 5544 [An Explanation of *Yogācārabhūmī*]), also arrange examples of different opinions about the origin of seeds of consciousness side

various portions, each conforming to the original texts, into a single text, and compiled ten fascicles. ... He used the same style even for [describing] different views, so that it looks as if composed by a single master. This conforms to the method of ancient saints and modern sages.

茲惟世親，寔賢劫之應真。.....《唯識三十偈》者，世親歸根之遺製也。.....後有護法安慧等十大菩薩，.....咸觀本頌，各裁斯釋。名曰《成唯識論》，或名《淨唯識論》。.....粵若大和上三藏法師玄奘，.....旋白馬於三秦。.....糴茲十釋四千五百頌，彙聚群分，各遵其本。合爲一部，勒成十卷。.....遂使文同義異，若一師之製焉。斯則古聖今賢，其揆一也。 (Tno. 1585, 31:59b13–60a1)

⁷ In addition to these historical accounts, modern scholars have often suspected that Xuanzang has contributed significantly to *Cheng weishi lun*, for example, Sakuma, ‘Genjō’, 22–23. Dhammajoti, ‘Introduction’, 31–49.

⁸ I follow the English translation of the title in Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, vii.

by side. More pertinently, some of these juxtaposed opinions that are found in the Indian texts are similar to those presented in *Cheng weishi lun*.

First, I look at *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā*, a highly technical but incomplete commentary on Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasamgraha* [Compendium of Mahāyāna],⁹ the author, translator, and date of which are all unknown.¹⁰ The Tibetan translation remains the only extant version. Nagao Gadjin 長尾雅人 suspected that there are elements within this text that suggest the influence of Chinese Buddhism.¹¹ However, recent Japanese scholars in general do not doubt the text's Indian (or Central Asian) origin.¹²

In the detailed discussions of seeds (called *yinsō kōshaku* 因相廣釋 in the Japanese Hossō tradition) found in the section on the 'first agent of transformation' (*chunengbian* 初能變, i.e. *ālayavijñāna*) of *Cheng weishi lun*, there is a discussion of the origin of the seeds (*zhongzi* 種子, *bīja*) of all elements (*fa* 法, dharmas), namely, whether they are 'primordial' (*benyou* 本有) or 'engendered anew through infusion' (*xinxun* 新熏). Three positions are recorded in *Cheng weishi lun*: (1) there are only primordial seeds, (2) there are only newly generated seeds, and (3) there are both primordial and newly generated seeds. In Ci'en's *Cheng weishi lun shuji*, the first theory is attributed to 'Huyue 護月 (Candrapāla), etc.', the second to 'Shengjun 勝軍 (Jayasena), Nantuo 難陀 (Nanda), etc.', and the third to 'Hufa 護法 (Dharmapāla) himself'.^{12a} *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* also contains three similar theories.

First, I translate the relevant portions in the original order, as

⁹ This commentary covers only up to *Mahāyānasamgraha* §I.49. See Nagao, *Shōdaijōron*, 50–51.

¹⁰ See Hakamaya, 'Mahāyānasamgraha', 281; Chiba, 'Higi funbetsu shōsho (1)', 209. Ōtake, 'Inyō bunken', 126 suggests that *Vivṛtapīṇḍārthaguhyavyākhyā* is earlier than *Cheng weishi lun*.

¹¹ Nagao, *Shōdaijōron*, 51.

¹² For example, Ōtake, 'Inyō bunken', 125–26; Ōtake, 'Buha Bukkyō setsu', 94.

^{12a} See *Shuji*, T no. 1830, 43: 2.304b5–305c25. On this discussion, see Yamabe, 'Shūji no honnu to shinkun', 'Shūji no honnu to shinkun (II)'.

explained in *Cheng weishi lun* and *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā*. Following the translations, I compare the individual elements of these theories in tables.

2. First Theory: All Seeds are Primordial

2.1. Translations

2.1.1. *Cheng weishi lun*:

Regarding this, some [Yogācāras] maintain that all seeds exist by nature (*benxing you* 本性有, **prakṛtistha*). They do not arise through infusion (*xun[xi]* 熏[習], *paribhāvanā*) but can only be fostered through infusion. As is said in a *sūtra*: ‘From time immemorial, all sentient beings have various kinds of *dhātus* (*jie* 界). They exist naturally like a heap *akṣa* nuts (*echa* 惡叉, ‘myrobalan’).¹³ Here the word *dhātu* is another appellation for seed (*zhongzi* 種子, *bīja*). Another *sūtra* (*Mahāyānābhīdharmasūtra*) says: ‘*Dhātu* from time immemorial is the support for all dharmas’.¹⁴ The word *dhātu* here means cause (*yin* 因, *hetu*). *Yogā[cārabbūmi]* also says: ‘Although the seeds themselves exist by nature, they are infused anew (by pure and defiled [dharmas])’¹⁵; ‘sentient beings destined for *nirvāṇa*’ (*boniepan fa* 般涅槃法, *parinirvāṇadharmaka*) are, from time immemorial, endowed with all the seeds; but those who are not destined for *nirvāṇa* (*bu boniepan fa* 不般涅槃法, *aparinirvāṇadharmaka*) are devoid of the seeds of the three kinds of bodhis (*sanzhong puti* 三

¹³ On this *sūtra*, see Yamabe, ‘Shoki Yugagyōha’.

¹⁴ *anādikāliko dhātuḥ sarvadharmasamāśrayaḥ | tasmin sati gatiḥ sarvā nirvāṇādhigamo ’pi ca ||* (Buescher, ed., *Triṃśikāvi-jñaptibhāṣya*, 116.1–2).

¹⁵ *sa ca bījasantānaprabandho ’nādikālikaḥ | anādikālikatve ’pi śubhāśubha-karmaviśeṣaparibhāvanayā punaḥ punar vipākaphalaparigrahān navī bhavati |* (Bhattacharya, ed., *Manobhūmi, Yogācārabbūmi*, 25.20–26.1).

又種子體，無始時來，相續不絕。性雖無始有之，然由淨不淨業差別熏發。望數數取異熟果，說彼為新。(*T* no. 1579, 30: 2.284b19–21).

種菩提, *trividhabodhi*).¹⁶ Thus, the textual passages confirming [the existence of primordial seeds, both defiled and undefiled] are many. In addition, [regarding the undefiled seeds, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* says:] ‘Sentient beings primordially have five distinct *gotras* ([the undefiled seeds that determine] spiritual lineage)’.¹⁷ Thus, there definitely are natural seeds (*fa’er zhongzi* 法爾種子, **dharmatābija*), which are not generated through infusion. Also, according to *Yogā[cārabhūmi]*: ‘hell beings (*diyu* 地獄, **nāraka*) are endowed with three undefiled faculties (*gen* 根, *indriyas*). These refer to faculties in the seed [state], not to activated [faculties]’.¹⁸ In addition, [*Bodhisattvabhūmi* states:] ‘The [bodhisattva-]*gotra* that is present by nature (*benxingzhu* 本性住, *prakṛtistha*) has been transmitted in succession since time immemorial and has been acquired naturally (*fa’er suode* 法爾所得, *dharmatāpratilabdha*)’.¹⁹ Based on these scriptural passages, [we can conclude that] the undefiled seeds exist naturally and primordially.

¹⁶ See the passage from *Manobhūmi* (Bhattacharya, ed., *Yogācārabhūmi*, 25.1–2) quoted below in this paper.

¹⁷ punar aparāṃ mahāmate pañcābhisamayagotrāṇi / katamāni pañca yad uta śrāvakayānābhisamayagotraṃ pratyekabuddhayānābhisamayagotraṃ tathāgata-yānābhisamayagotraṃ aniyataikataragotraṃ agotraṃ ca pañcamam / (Nanjio, ed., *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, 63.2–5).

復次大慧，有五種種性。何等爲五？謂聲聞乘種性，緣覺乘種性，如來乘種性，不定種性，無種性。（T no. 972, 16: 2.597a29–b2）。

¹⁸ sems can dmyal bar skyes pa du dag dang ldan zhe na / smras pa / ... gsum dang ni ku tu ’byung ba las ni mi ldan pa la sa bon las ni gal te yong su mya ngan las ’da’ ba’i chos can ni ldan no // gal te yong su mya ngan las ’da’ ba’i chos can ma yin na ni mi ldan no // (*Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*, *Yogācārabhūmi*, Pek. Zi. 95b8–96a2).

問，生那落迦，成就幾根？答：...三約現行不成就，約種子或成就，謂般涅槃法；或不成就，謂不般涅槃法。（T no. 1579, 30: 57.615a27–b1）。

¹⁹ tatra prakṛtisthaṃ gotraṃ yad bodhisattvānāṃ śaḍāyatanaviśeṣaḥ. sa tādrśaḥ paramparāgato ’nādikāliko dharmatāpratilabdhaḥ (Wogihara, ed., *Bodhisattvabhūmiḥ*, 3.2–4).

本性住種姓者，謂諸菩薩，六處殊勝。有如是相，從無始世，展轉傳來，法爾所得，是名本性住種姓。（T no. 1579, 30: 478c13–15）。

They are not generated through infusion. Defiled seeds must also exist naturally. They are fostered through infusion, but they do not come into being specifically through infusion. In this way, causal links are established without confusion.²⁰

此中有義，一切種子，皆本性有，不從熏生。由熏習力，但可增長。如契經說，一切有情，無始時來，有種種界。如惡叉聚，法爾而有。界即種子差別名故。又契經說，無始時來界，一切法等依。界是因義。瑜伽亦說，諸種子體無始時來，性雖本有，而由染淨，新所熏發。諸有情類，無始時來，若般涅槃法者，一切種子皆悉具足。不般涅槃法者，便闕三種菩提種子。如是等文，誠證非一。又諸有情，既說本有，五種性別故，應定有法爾種子，不由熏生。又瑜伽說，地獄成就三無漏根，是種非現。又從無始展轉傳來，法爾所得，本性住性。由此等證無漏種子，法爾本有，不從熏生，有漏亦應法爾有種。由熏增長，不別熏生。如是建立，因果不亂。(T no. 1585, 31: 2.8a20–b6)

2.1.2. *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā*:

Some [Yogācāras] say: ‘Imprints (*bag chags*, *vāsanā*) do not depend on infusion but are present naturally (*chos nyid kyis gnas*). They are merely fostered through arising and perishing simultaneously with desire, etc.; they are not [newly] generated’.²¹ It is thus: [Imprints are not newly generated] because the causes (*rgyu mtshan*, *nimitta*) of *ālayavijñāna* and of the arising of the noble paths (i.e., undefiled wisdom) are primordial *gotras*. If one maintains that the imprints are generative causes (*rgyu’i rkyen*, *hetupratyaya*), it is impossible for these [*ālayavijñāna* and the noble paths that should infuse their imprints] to arise and perish simultaneously [with the *ālayavijñāna* that receives the infusion] and generate their own imprints. This is because no two *ālayavijñānas* can meet [which is a prerequisite for

²⁰ Cf. Sangpo and Chödrön, trans., *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, 226–29.

²¹ Cf. ‘dod chags la sogs pa la spyod pa rnams kyī ‘dod chags la sogs pa’i bag chags ‘dod chags la sogs pa dang lhan cig ‘byung zhing ‘gags kyang sems ni de’i rgu mtshan nyid du byung ba dang / ... (Nagao, ed., *Mahāyānasamgraha*, §I.15, 23).

She dashenglun ben 攝大乘論本, T no. 1294, 31: 1.134c5–7: 又如所立貪等行者，貪等薰習，依彼貪等，俱生俱滅。此心帶彼生因而生。

the simultaneous arising and perishing of the infuser and the infused that is necessary for the infusion of imprints], and because the noble paths are not experienced [by unawakened beings, and thus it is impossible for undefiled wisdom to arise and infuse its imprints]. [On the other hand], what fosters [naturally existent imprints] can be dissimilar [to what is fostered], and thus this [type of fostering] is not contradictory.²²

kha cig na re bag chags ni sgo bar byed pa la²³ mi ltos²⁴ par chos nyid kyis²⁵ gnas la 'dod chags la sogs pa²⁶ lhan cig skye ba dang 'gag pas ni yongs su gso ba 'ba' zhig tu zad kyi skyed pa²⁷ ni ma yin no²⁸ zhes zer ro // de ni de ltar²⁹ yin te / 'di ltar kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa dang / 'phags pa'i lam skye ba'i rgyu mtshan nyid ni rang bzhin gyi rigs te / rgyu'i rkyen nyid du bag chags yin par khas len na / de dag ni lhan cig skye ba dang 'gag pas rang gyi bag chags skyed par mi srid de / kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa gnyis 'phrad³⁰ pa med pa'i phyir dang³¹ 'phags pa'i lam yang 'dris pa ma yin pa'i^{31a} phyir ro // yongs su gso bar byed pa ni³² mi 'dra ba³³ yang 'gyur bas de ni mi 'gal lo / (Derge Ri 328a7–b3; Pek. Li 394a6–b1)

²² An English translation is found in Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 871–72. Although the translation of this text in the present paper is made by myself, I have referred to Brunnhölzl's English translation throughout.

²³ D. adds *ni*.

²⁴ Pek. *bltos*.

²⁵ D. *kyi*.

²⁶ D. adds *la*.

²⁷ D. *skye ba*.

²⁸ Pek. adds *//*.

²⁹ Pek. adds *de ltar*.

³⁰ D. *phrad*.

³¹ Pek. adds */*.

^{31a} D. *ba'i(?)*

³² D. *na*.

³³ D. *bar*.

2.2. Comparative Tables

Now I shall compare individual elements of these theories. Since the discussion in *Cheng weishi lun* is already widely known, the tables below follow the sequence in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā*. Not all the elements in the relevant portion of *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* have direct counterparts in the corresponding portion of *Cheng weishi lun*. However, comparable arguments are sometimes found in other parts of *Cheng weishi lun* or in Chinese commentaries belonging to the Faxiang tradition. When I refer to these arguments, I mark them ‘Elsewhere’.

TABLE 1 First Theory: Primordial Seeds, Thesis³⁴

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
Some [Yogācāras] say: ‘Imprints (<i>bag chags, vāsanā</i>) do not depend on infusion but are present naturally (<i>chos nyid kyis gnas</i>). They are merely fostered through arising and perishing simultaneously with desire, etc.; they are not [newly] generated’. <i>kha cig na re bag chags ni sgo bar byed pa la mi ltos par chos nyid kyis gnas la ’dod chags la sogs pa lhan cig skye ba dang ’gag pas ni yongs su gso ba ’ba’ zhiḡ tu zad kyī skyed pa ni ma yin no zhes zer ro //</i>	Regarding this, some [Yogācāras] maintain that all seeds exist by nature (<i>benxing you</i> 本性有, * <i>prakṛtistha</i>). They do not arise through infusion (<i>xun</i> [熏] 熏 [習]) but can only be fostered through infusion. 此中有義一切種子, 皆本性有, 不從熏生。由熏習力, 但可增長。

In Table 1, ‘present naturally’ (*chos nyid kyis gnas*) in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* corresponds to ‘exist by nature’ (*benxing you* 本性有) in *Cheng weishi lun*. ‘They are only fostered through arising and perishing simultaneously with desire, etc.’ in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* must have the same meaning as ‘they

³⁴ In the tables in this paper, in principle I omit the page references to the quoted passages, because most of them have been already quoted above. When I quote passages not quoted before, I give the page references. Here and below, emphases are added by the present author.

do not arise through infusion but can be only fostered through infusion’ in *Cheng weishi lun*. *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* uses the word ‘imprint’ (*vāsanā*), while *Cheng weishi lun* uses ‘seed’ (*bīja*), but in the established Yogācāra system, these two terms are used synonymously.³⁵ Therefore, the relevant discussions in these texts agree well.

TABLE 2 First Theory: Primordial Seeds, Explanation

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
It is thus: [Imprints are not newly generated] because the causes (<i>rgyu mtsban, nimitta</i>) of <i>ālayavijñāna</i> and ... <i>de ni de ltar yin te / 'di ltar kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa dang /</i>	(<i>Elsewhere</i>) The second [agent of transformation] is [consciousness as] a result that transforms itself [into various dharmas]. Namely, due to the power of the two types of imprints mentioned above, when the eight types of consciousness arise, they manifest in various forms. Due to the homogeneous imprints as generative cause (<i>yinyuan</i> 因緣, <i>hetupratyaya</i>), distinct bodies and attributes of the eight [types of] consciousness arise. They are called homogeneous results, because the results are similar to [their] causes. 二果能變，謂前二種習氣力故，有八識生，現種種相。等流習氣，為因緣故，八識體相，差別而生，名等流果，果似因故。(T no. 1585, 31: 2.7c4–7)
the causes (<i>rgyu mtsban, nimitta</i>) of the arising of the noble paths (i.e., undefiled wisdom) are primordial <i>gotras</i> . <i>'phags pa'i lam skye ba'i rgyu mtsban nyid ni rang bzhin gyi rigs te /</i>	‘sentient beings destined for <i>nirvāṇa</i> ’ (<i>boniepan fa</i> 般涅槃法, <i>parinirvāṇadharmaka</i>) are, from time immemorial, endowed with all the seeds; but those who are not destined for <i>nirvāṇa</i> (<i>bu boniepan fa</i> 不般涅槃法, <i>aparinirvāṇadharmaka</i>) are devoid of the seeds of the three kinds of <i>bodhis</i> (<i>sanzhong puti</i> 三種菩提, <i>trividhabodhi</i>)... ‘The [bodhisattva]- <i>gotra</i> that is present by nature’ (<i>benxingzhu</i> 本性住, <i>prakṛtistha</i>) has been transmitted in succession

³⁵ See Yamabe, ‘Shūji no honnu to shinkun’, 53–54.

since time immemorial and has been acquired naturally (*fa'er suode* 法爾所得, *dharmatāpratibaddha*). Based on these scriptural passages, [we can conclude] that the undefiled seeds exist naturally and primordially.

諸有情類，無始時來，若般涅槃法者，一切種子，皆悉具足。不般涅槃法者，便闕三種菩提種子。……又從無始展轉傳來法爾所得本性住性，由此等證無漏種子，法爾本有，不從熏生。

In Table 2, *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* makes two points concerning the imprints of *ālayavijñāna* and the imprints of the noble paths (i.e., undefiled wisdom): (1), *Ālayavijñāna*, as a kind of consciousness, arises from imprints. These imprints must be present by nature. (2) The undefiled (*anāsrava*) imprints of the noble paths must also be present by nature.

There is no direct counterpart for these arguments in the ‘detailed explanation of seeds’ in *Cheng weishi lun*. As part of the explanation of ‘[consciousness as] a result that transforms itself [into various dharmas]’ (*guonengbian* 果能變, *phalapariṇāma*), however, *Cheng weishi lun* indicates that the ‘distinct bodies and attributes of the eight [types of] consciousness’ (*bashi tixiang* 八識體相; including the body and attributes of *ālayavijñāna*, the eighth type of consciousness) arise from ‘homogeneous imprints’ (*dengliu xiqi* 等流習氣, *niṣyandavāsanā*). The idea that *ālayavijñāna* arises from its own seeds is therefore also found in *Cheng weishi lun*.

As for the explanations of the second argument, the ‘noble paths’ (*āryamārga*, which are tantamount to undefiled wisdom in Buddhist doctrinal system) in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* corresponds to bodhi (*puti* 菩提) in *Cheng weishi lun*, and the *gotra* of *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* corresponds to the ‘undefiled seeds’ (*wulou zhongzi* 無漏種子, *anāsrava-bīja*) in *Cheng weishi lun*. In this regard, the two texts agree.

TABLE 3 First Theory: Infusion

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>If one maintains that the imprints are generative causes, it is impossible for these [<i>ālayavijñāna</i> and the noble paths that should infuse their imprints] to <u>arise and perish simultaneously</u> [with the <i>ālayavijñāna</i> that receives the infusion] and generate their own imprints. This is because no two <i>ālayavijñānas</i> can meet [which is a prerequisite for the simultaneous arising and perishing of the infuser and the infused that is necessary for the infusion of imprints], ...</p> <p><i>rgyu'i rkyen nyid du bag chags yin par khas len na / de dag ni lhan cig skye ba dang 'gag pas rang gyi bag chags skyed par mi srid de / kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa gnyis 'phrad pa med pa'i phyir dang</i></p>	<p>(<i>Elsewhere</i>, in the section on the four requirements to be infusers [<i>nengxun</i> 能熏]) Infusion (<i>xunxi</i> 薰習) becomes possible if the infuser and the infused <u>arise and perish simultaneously</u>. [Thus, the infuser] generates and fosters seeds in the infused, like scenting sesame [oil with flowers]. For that reason, [this process] is called infusion (lit., scenting). When consciousness as the infuser arises from its seed, it can again infuse its seed. The three factors (seed that generates an active dharma, the active dharma thus arisen, and the seed deposited by that active dharma) mutually cause each other simultaneously. It is just like a wick that generates a flame, and the flame that burns the wick. It is also like bundles of reeds that support one another. [Thus] the principle of simultaneous causality is unshakable.³⁶</p> <p>(能熏四義) 如是能熏, 與所熏識, 俱生俱滅, 熏習義成。令所熏中種子生長, 如熏苴藤, 故名熏習。能熏識等, 從種生時, 即能為因, 復熏成種。三法展轉, 因果同時。如炷生焰, 焰生焦炷。亦如蘆束, 更互相依, 因果俱時, 理不傾動。(T no. 1585, 31: 2.10a2–7)</p>

The first argument in the passage from *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* shown in Table 3 is as follows: In order to infuse imprints into *ālayavijñāna*, there must be a simultaneous arising and perishing of both the infuser (corresponding to *nengxun* 能熏 in *Cheng weishi lun*) and the infused (corresponding to *suoxun* 所熏). In order for imprints of *ālayavijñāna* to be newly generated, there must be a second *ālayavijñāna* that infuses its own imprints. In fact, there is

³⁶ Cf. Sangpo and Chödrön, trans. *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, 253–54.

no such second *ālayavijñāna*. Therefore, other than the primordial and pre-existing imprints, no other imprint can give arise to *ālayavijñāna*.

There is no direct counterpart to this argument in the corresponding portion of *Cheng weishi lun*, but the idea that in order to infuse imprints in general, the infuser and the infused must arise and perish simultaneously is found in the section on ‘the four requirements to be infusers’ of this treatise (quoted in the right column; see also n. 21).

TABLE 4 First Theory: Undeified Seeds

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>... and because <u>noble paths</u> are unexperienced [by unawakened beings, and thus it is impossible for undeified wisdom to arise and infuse the imprints of the noble paths].³⁷ [On the other hand], what fosters [naturally existent imprints] can be dissimilar [to what is fostered], and thus this [type of fostering] is not contradictory.</p> <p><i>’phags pa’i lam yang ’driś pa ma yin pa’i phyir ro // yongs su gso bar byed pa ni mi ’dra ba yang ’gyur bas de ni mi ’gal lo /</i></p>	<p>In addition, [regarding the undeified seeds, <i>Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra</i> says:] ‘Sentient beings primordially have five distinct <i>gotras</i> (the undeified seeds that determine the spiritual lineage)’. Thus, definitely <u>there are natural seeds</u> (<i>fa’er zhongzi</i> 法爾種子, *<i>dharmatābija</i>), which are not generated owing to infusion. Also, according to <i>Yogā[cārabhūmi]</i>, hell beings (<i>diyu</i> 地獄, *<i>nāraka</i>) are endowed with three undeified faculties (<i>gen</i> 根, <i>indriyas</i>). These refer to faculties in the seed [state], not to actual [faculties]. In addition, [<i>Bodhisattvabhūmi</i> states:] ‘The [bodhisattva-]<i>gotra</i> that is present by nature (<i>prakṛtistha</i>) has been transmitted in succession since time immemorial and has been acquired naturally (<i>dharmatā-pratilabdha</i>).’ Based on these scriptural passages, [we can conclude] that the <u>undeified seeds exist naturally and primordially</u>. They are not generated</p>

³⁷ I think the underlying idea is that the infuser and the infused seed must agree in terms of their nature. According to the six requirements for seeds (*zhongzi liuyi* 種子六義) in *Cheng weishi lun*, what have distinct nature of good, bad, etc., corresponding to the original infuser can be seeds. 四性決定。謂隨因力生善惡等功能決定方成種子。此遮餘部執異性因生異性果有因緣義。 (*Cheng weishi lun*, T no. 1585, 31: 2.9b19–22).

through infusion. Defiled seeds must also exist naturally. They are fostered through infusion, but they do not come into being specifically through infusion. In this way, causal links are established without confusion.

又諸有情，既說本有，五種性別故，應定有法爾種子，不由熏生。又瑜伽說，地獄成就，三無漏根，是種非現。又從無始展轉傳來，法爾所得，本性住性，由此等證無漏種子，法爾本有，不從熏生。有漏亦應，法爾有種。由熏增長，不別熏生，如是建立，因果不亂。

The purport of the second argument in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapaṇḍavyākhyā* shown in Table 4 should be as follows: Unawakened people (ordinary people, *prthagjanas*) who have not yet reached the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*) have not experienced the noble paths (or undefiled wisdom).³⁸ Therefore, the simultaneous arising and perishing of the noble path as infuser and *ālayavijñāna* as the infused is impossible. Neither is it reasonable for an unawakened person to be able to infuse imprints of the noble paths in his *ālayavijñāna*. For these reasons, the undefiled imprints of the noble paths must be pre-existing. What fosters pre-existing undefiled imprints can be something dissimilar (in this context it must refer to defiled [*sāsrava*, *youlou* 有漏] mundane wisdom). *Cheng weishi lun* also seems to presuppose a similar view (see also Tables 7, 13 and 17).³⁹

³⁸ See the discussion of Table 2.

³⁹ Here, too, the terminological difference between the subjects in these two texts is noteworthy, namely, ‘seed’ (*zhongzi* 種子, *bīja*) in *Cheng weishi lun* and ‘imprints’ (*bag chags*, *vāsanā*) in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapaṇḍavyākhyā*, but I will not delve into it here. See also the discussion of Table 1 above. As I have already discussed in my ‘Shūji no honnu to shinkun no mondai ni tsuite’, the word *xiqi* 習氣 (*vāsanā*) is closely associated with the second theory in *Cheng weishi lun* (‘newly infused seeds’). For this reason, ‘the imprint that exists naturally’ sounds somewhat unnatural to me. The expression *benyou xunxi* 本有熏習 (primordial imprint) is found also in the Faxiang tradition (*Yuguilun ji* 瑜伽論記, T no. 1828, 42: 13.615a1; quoted in Schmithausen, *Genesis*, 591). In any case, in the relevant

3. Second theory: All Seeds are Newly Deposited

3.1. Translations

3.1.1. *Cheng weishi lun*:

Other [Yogācāras] maintain that all seeds are generated as a result of infusion. The infuser and the infused both have existed from time immemorial. Therefore, seeds have been established from time immemorial. ‘Seed’ is another appellation for ‘imprint’, and imprints always await infusion (lit. scenting), just like the fragrance in sesame [oil] that is generated because it has been scented by flowers.⁴⁰ As is said in a *sūtra*: ‘Because the minds of sentient beings are infused by defiled and pure dharmas, boundless seeds are accumulated therein’. The treatise (*Mahāyānasamgraha*) says: ‘Internal seeds always presuppose infusion. External seeds sometimes do and sometimes do not’⁴¹; ‘The three kinds of imprints, those of verbalization, etc., encompass all seeds of defiled dharmas.’⁴² These three exist due to infusion. Therefore, defiled seeds are always generated through

portion, *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* consistently uses *bag chags* (*vāsanā*), and I follow the usage of this text.

⁴⁰ Cf. *bag chags zhes bya ba 'di ci zhig / ... dper na til dag la me tog gis bsgos pa til dang me tog lhan cig 'bung zing 'gags kyang til rnam de'i dri gzhan 'byung ba'i rgyu mtshan nyid du 'byung ba dang / ...* (Nagao, ed., *Mahāyānasamgraha*, §I.15, 23).

She dashenglun ben, T no. 1594, 31: 1.134c2–5: 復次何等名為薰習?...如苾芻中, 有花薰習。苾芻與華, 俱生俱滅。是諸苾芻, 帶能生彼香因而生。

⁴¹ *phyi rol sa bon ma btab pa'am //*

nang gi 'dod pa ma yin te // (Nagao, ed., *Mahāyānasamgraha*, §I.25, 30).

She dashenglun ben, T no.1594, 31: 1.135b5: 外或無熏習 非內種應知。

⁴² *de la bag chags rnam pa gsum gyi bye brag gis rnam pa gsum ste / (1) mngon par brjod pa'i bag changs kyi bye brag dang / (2) bdag tu lta ba'i bag chags kyi bye brag dang / (3) srid pa'i yan lag gi bag chags kyi bye brag bis so //* (Nagao, ed., *Mahāyānasamgraha*, §I.58, 32).

She dashenglun ben, T no. 1594, 31: 1.137a29–b2: 此中三種者, 調三種熏習差別故, 一名言熏習差別, 二我見熏習差別, 三有支熏習差別。

infusion. Undefined seeds are also generated through infusion. It is stated [in *Mahāyānasamgraha*] that the ‘imprints of hearing’ are infused and generated through hearing the true Dharma, which is a homogeneous outflow from the purest Dharmadhātu. These are the seeds of supramundane mind.⁴³ The original *gotra* distinctions among sentient beings are not [determined] by the presence or absence of undefined seeds. These [distinctions] are established due to the presence or absence of hindrances. As [the *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* (The Collection of Doctrinal Exegeses) section of] *Yogā[cārabbūmi]* states: If [beings] have seeds of the two [kinds of] ultimate hindrances to *tathatā* as object, they are not destined for *nirvāṇa*. If [beings] have seeds of the ultimate hindrance to the knowable but do not have [seeds of the hindrance of] defilements, some of them are called [those who have] *śrāvaka-gotra*, while the others are called [those who have] *pratyekabuddha-gotra*. If [beings] have no seed of either [kind of] ultimate hindrance, they are called [those who have] *tathāgata-gotra*.⁴⁴ Therefore, it is known that the

⁴³ chos kyi dbyings shin tu rnam par dag pa'i rgyu mtshun pa thos pa'i bag chags kyi sa bon las de 'byung ngo. / (Nagao, ed., *Mahāyānasamgraha*, §I.45, 45).

She dashenglun ben, T no.1594, 31: 1.136c3–4: 從最清淨法界等流, 正聞熏習種子所生.

⁴⁴ smras pa / sgrib pa dang / sgrib pa med pa'i bye brag gi phyir te / gang dag la de bzhin nyid la dmigs pa'i rkyen rtogs par bya ba la gtan du sgrib pa'i sa bon yod pa de dag ni yongs su mya ngan las mi 'da' ba'i chos can gyi rigs dang ldan par rnam par gzhaḡ# la / gang dag de lta## ma yin pa de dag ni yongs su mya ngan las 'da' ba'i chos can gyi rigs dang ldan par rnam par gzhaḡ go // gang dag la### shes bya'i sgrib pa'i#### sa bon gtan du ba lus la zhen##### pa yod la / nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa'i sa bon ni med pa de dag las kha cig ni nyan thos kyi rigs can yin la / kha cig ni rang sangs rgyas kyi rigs can yin par rnam par gzhaḡ go // gang dag##### de lta ma yin pa de dag ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs can yin par rnam par gzhaḡ ste / de'i phyir nyes pa med do // (*Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*, D. Zhi 27b6–28a2; Pek. Zi 30b3–6).

Pek. *bzhag*.

Pek. omits *lta*.

D. adds *de*.

original *gotra* distinctions are determined based on the hindrances and not on undefiled seeds. The statement [in *Yogācārabhūmi*]: ‘[hell beings] are endowed with undefiled seeds’⁴⁵ refers to seeds that can arise in the future and not to those that already exist.⁴⁶

有義種子，皆熏故生。所熏能熏，俱無始有。故諸種子，無始成就。種子既是習氣異名，習氣必由熏習而有。如麻香氣，花熏故生。如契經說，諸有情心，染淨諸法所熏習故。無量種子之所積集，論說內種定有熏習；外種熏習或有或無。又名言等三種熏習，總攝一切有漏法種，彼三既由熏習而有。故有漏種，必藉熏生。無漏種生，亦由熏習。說聞熏習，聞淨法界等流正法而熏起故，是出世心種子性故。有情本來種性差別，不由無漏種子有無。但依有障，無障建立。如瑜伽說，於真如境，若有畢竟二障種者，立為不般涅槃法性。若有畢竟所知障種非煩惱者，一分立為聲聞種性，一分立為獨覺種性。若無畢竟二障種者，即立彼為如來種性。故知本來種性差別依障建立，非無漏種。所說成就無漏種言。依當可生，非已有體。(T no. 1585, 31: 2.8b6–23)

3.1.2. *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā*:

Here, I have broken this long passage into shorter portions. The original Tibetan text follows my English translation of each portion.

Other [Yogācāras] see that imprints (i.e., residue of fragrance) in sesame [oil], etc., depend on infusion, and they acknowledge the generation of previously non-existent [imprints] through infusion

Pek. *ba'i*.

Pek. *zhin*.

D. adds *la*.

Yuqieshi di lun, T no. 1579, 30: 52.589a21–28: 答：由有障無障差別故，若於通達真如所緣緣中，有畢竟障種子者，建立為不般涅槃法種性補特伽羅。若不爾者，建立為般涅槃法種性補特伽羅。若有畢竟所知障種子布在所依，非煩惱障子者，於彼一分建立聲聞種性補特伽羅，一分建立獨覺種性補特伽羅。若不爾者，建立如來種性補特伽羅，是故無過。

⁴⁵ See n. 18.

⁴⁶ Cf. Sangpo and Chödrön, trans., *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, 229–33.

and fostering of [imprints] that were previously generated through infusion. They also think that since the mental consciousness (*manovijñāna*) that cognizes the [six] inner *āyatana*s is also similar to *ālayavijñāna* subsumed in these [six inner *āyatana*s, because it is] a cognitive object [of mental consciousness], [the mental consciousness] generates imprints as generative causes that give rise to *ālayavijñāna*.

gzhan dag ni til la sogs pa la bag chags sgo bar byed pa la bltos pa⁴⁷
mthong nas sgo bar byed pas sngon med pa skyed pa⁴⁸ dang / sgo bar
byed pas sngon bskyed pa yongs su gso bar yang 'dod de nang gi skyed
mched la dmigs pa'i yid kyi rnam par shes pa de'i khongs su gtogs
pa kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa la yang dmigs par 'dra bas kun gzhi'i
rnam par shes pa bskyed par bya ba la bag chags rgyu'i rkyen du gyur
pa skyed par yang sems so // (D. Ri 328b3–4; Pek. Li 394bl–4)

Furthermore, they say: “The *gotra* of the noble paths does not have the nature of the undefiled path either. Rather (as explained in the *tathatālambanapratyayabīja* section of *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*), because the seeds of the hindrance of defilements and of the hindrance to the knowable (*nyon mongs pa dang shes bya'i sgrub pa, kleśajñeyāvarāṇa*) are attenuated in some people's [mental] continuities, they can be eliminated. These people have bodhisattva-*gotra*. People who have the seeds of the hindrance of defilements⁴⁹ [in their mental continuities] have *śrāvaka*- and *pratyekabuddha*-*gotras*. People who have [in their mental continuities] the seeds of both hindrances that cannot be eliminated because they are powerful have no *gotra*.^{49a} The first moment of the noble path has no generative cause, because the [doctrine of] the ‘four conditions’ is a provisional teaching (and thus all four are not necessarily required for something to arise).⁵⁰

⁴⁷ D. *ltos pas*.

⁴⁸ D. *skye ba*.

⁴⁹ This must be a copyist's error for ‘the hindrance to the knowable’.

^{49a} For this quotation, see n. 44.

⁵⁰ This portion corresponds to Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 872.

'phags pa'i lam gyi rigs kyang zag pa med pa'i lam gyi bdag nyid ma yin gyi / 'on kyang rgyud gang la nyon mongs pa dang⁵¹ shes bya'i sgrib pa'i sa bon srab pa'i phyir spang du rung⁵² ba de ni byan chub sems dpa'i rigs yin la / gang la nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa'i sa bon yod pa de ni⁵³ nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas kyi rigs yin / gang la gnyi ga'i sa bon che ba'i phyir spang du mi rung ba yod pa de ni rigs med pa yin no // 'phags pa'i lam gyi skad cig ma dang po la ni rgyu'i rkyen med do // rkyen bzhi⁵⁴ zhes bya ba ni ji ltar srid par gsungs pa'i phyir ro zhes zer ro // (D. Ri 328b4–6; Pek. Li 394b4–6)

3.2. Comparative Tables

Again, I compare the two texts following the sequence in *Vivṛtagubhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā*.

TABLE 5 Second Theory: Newly Deposited Seeds, Thesis

<i>Vivṛtagubhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
Other [Yogācāras] see that <u>imprints [of fragrance] in sesame [oil], etc., depend on infusion</u> , and they acknowledge the <u>generation</u> of previously non-existent [imprints] through infusion and fostering of [imprints] that were previously generated through infusion. <i>gzhan dag ni til la sogs pa la bag chags sgo bar byed pa la bltos pa mthong nas sgo bar byed pas sngon med pa skyed pa dang / sgo bar byed pas sngon bskyed pa yongs su gso bar yang 'dod de</i>	Other [Yogācāras] maintain that <u>all seeds are generated as a result of infusion</u> . The infuser and the infused both have existed from time immemorial. Therefore, seeds have been established from time immemorial. 'Seed' is another appellation for 'imprint', and imprints always await infusion (lit. scenting), just like the <u>fragrance in sesame [oil] that is generated because is has been scented by flowers</u> . 有義種子，皆熏故生。所熏能熏，俱無始有。故諸種子，無始成就。種子既是習氣異名，習氣必由熏習而有。如麻香氣花熏故生。

⁵¹ Pek. adds /.

⁵² Pek. *rang*.

⁵³ D. *nyid*.

⁵⁴ D., Pek. *gzhi*, but in this context it should be *bzhi*.

To prove the second theory (newly deposited imprints), the second theory in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* quoted in Table 5 maintains: Residue (imprints) of fragrance in sesame (oil), etc., presupposes infusion. In other words, before infusion, there is no imprint. The second theory in *Cheng weishi lun* states: ‘all seeds are generated as a result of infusion ... just like the fragrance in sesame [oil] that is generated because it has been scented by flowers’. On this point, the two commentaries agree completely.⁵⁵

TABLE 6 Second Theory: Mental Consciousness Depositing the Seeds of *Ālayavijñāna*

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>They also think that since the <u>mental consciousness</u> (<i>manovijñāna</i>) that cognizes the [six] inner <i>āyatana</i>s is also similar to <i>ālayavijñāna</i> subsumed in these [six inner <i>āyatana</i>s, because it is] a cognitive object [of mental consciousness], <u>[the mental consciousness] generates imprints as generative causes that give rise to <i>ālayavijñāna</i>.</u></p> <p><i>nang gi skyed mched la dmigs pa'i yid kyi rnam par shes pa de'i khongs su gtogs pa kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa la yang dmigs par 'dra bas kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa bskyed par bya ba la bag chags rgyu'i rkyen du gyur pa skyed par yang sems so //</i></p>	<p>(Elsewhere: <i>Cheng weishi lun shuji</i>) Regarding the portion of the treatise (<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>) from ‘only the seven [types of] active consciousness (<i>zhuanshi</i> 轉識, <i>pravṛttivijñāna</i>)’ to ‘can be the infuser’, the commentary (<i>shuji</i>) says: This is the conclusion. Namely, from among the cognizing subjects, the seven [types of] active consciousness and their mental functions are the infusers. If [one asks:] ‘What is struck by the image portion?’ (I.e., what is the cognitive object of the image portion?), [the answer] is that, because the <u>eighth [type of] consciousness</u> is a cognitive object of the <u>sixth and seventh [types of] consciousness</u>, the <u>image portions</u> [of the two types of consciousness] <u>infuse</u> [the seeds of <i>ālayavijñāna</i>].</p> <p>(《成唯識論述記》) 論：唯七轉識，至可是能熏。述曰：總結也。即能緣中七轉識、心所等爲能熏。若爲相分，何法爲障？即第八</p>

⁵⁵ ‘Other [Yogācāras] ... acknowledge ... fostering of [imprints] that were previously generated through infusion’ in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* has no direct counterpart in the corresponding portion of *Cheng weishi lun*. Nevertheless, fostering existing imprints is not at odds with the point of view of the second theory of *Cheng weishi lun*.

識爲六、七識之所緣，故爲相分熏。(T no. 1830, 43: 3.314c12–15)
 (Elsewhere) The eighth consciousness can be the cognitive object of the first seven [types of] consciousness, because they can infuse the seeds of the image and cognizing portions of that [*ālayavijñāna*].
 前七於八，所緣容有，能熏成彼相見種故。(T no. 1585, 31: 8.42c17–18)
 (Elsewhere: *Shuji*) If the sixth [type of] consciousness cognizes the image and cognizing portions of the eighth [type of] consciousness, it infuses their seeds. Namely, it infuses the seeds of both portions [of *ālayavijñāna*].
 (《成唯識論述記》) 第六識若緣第八見·相而熏種，即雙熏彼二分種子。(T no. 1830, 43: 8.512c27–28)

To prove the second theory (newly deposited imprints), the *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* offers two arguments. Table 6 shows the first one: As the first theory (preexisting imprints) maintains, there is no second *ālayavijñāna* that can infuse the imprint of *ālayavijñāna*. Nevertheless, since the mental consciousness cognizes *ālayavijñāna*, the mental consciousness and *ālayavijñāna* as its cognitive object are similar. Since it is a general principle that an infuser and the infused imprint or seed must be homogeneous,⁵⁶ the imprint of *ālayavijñāna* can be infused by mental consciousness.

While there is no direct counterpart within the corresponding portion of *Cheng weishi lun*, in terms of content, the idea expressed in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* closely resembles the doctrine of the Faxiang School, as stated in *Cheng weishi lun shuji*, of ‘infusing imprints by way of the image portion [of consciousness]’ (*xiang-fenxun* 相分熏).

⁵⁶ See n. 37.

TABLE 7 Second Theory: Depositing the Seeds of Undefined Wisdom

<i>Vivṛtagubhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>Furthermore, they say: ‘The <u>gotra</u> of the noble paths does not have the nature of the undefiled path either. Rather (as explained in the <i>tathatā</i> <i>lambanapratyayabīja</i> section of <i>Viniścayasamgrahaṇī</i>), because the seeds of the hindrance of defilements and of the hindrance to the knowable are attenuated in some people’s [mental] continuities, they can be eliminated. These people have bodhisattva-<i>gotra</i>. People who have the seeds of the hindrance of defilements⁵⁷ [in their mental continuities] have <i>śrāvaka</i>- and <i>pratyekabuddha</i>-<i>gotras</i>. People who have [in their mental continuities] the seeds of both hindrances that cannot be eliminated because they are powerful have no <i>gotra</i>. The first moment of the noble path has no generative cause, because the [doctrine of] the ‘four conditions’ is a provisional teaching (and thus all four are not necessarily required for something to arise)’.</p> <p><i>’phags pa’i lam gyi rigs kyang zag pa med pa’i lam gyi bdag nyid ma yin gyi / ’on kyang rgyud gang la nyon mongs pa dang shes bya’i sgrib pa’i sa bon srab pa’i phyir spang du rung ba de ni byan chub sems dpa’i rigs yin la / gang la nyon mongs pa’i sgrib pa’i sa bon yod pa de ni nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas kyi rigs yin / gang la gnyi ga’i sa bon che ba’i phyir spang du mi rung ba yod pa de ni rigs med pa yin no / ’phags pa’i lam gyi skad cig ma dang po la ni rgyu’i rkyen med do /</i></p>	<p>Undefiled seeds are also generated through infusion. It is stated [in <i>Mahāyānasamgraha</i>] that the ‘imprints of hearing’ are infused and generated through hearing the true Dharma, which is a homogeneous outflow from the purest Dharmadhātu. These are the seeds of supramundane mind. The original <i>gotra</i> distinctions among sentient beings are not [determined] by the presence or absence of undefiled seeds. These [distinctions] are established due to the presence or absence of hindrances. As [the <i>Viniścayasamgrahaṇī</i> (The Collection of Doctrinal Exegeses) section of] <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i>⁵⁸ states: If [beings] have seeds of the two [kinds of] ultimate hindrances to <i>tathatā</i> as object, they are not destined for nirvāṇa. If [beings] have seeds of ultimate hindrance to the knowable but do not have [seeds of the hindrance of] defilements, some of them are called [those who have] <i>śrāvaka</i>-<i>gotra</i>, while the others are called [those who have] <i>pratyekabuddha</i>-<i>gotra</i>. If [beings] have no seed of either [kind of] ultimate hindrance to <i>tathatā</i> as object, they are called [those who have] <i>tathāgata</i>-<i>gotra</i>. Therefore, it is known that the original <i>gotra</i> distinctions are determined based on the hindrances and not on undefiled seeds. The statement [in <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i>]: ‘[Hell beings] are endowed with undefiled seeds’, refers to seeds that can arise in the future and not to those that already exist. 無漏種子，亦由熏習。說聞熏習，聞淨法界等流正法，而熏起故，是出世心種子性故。有情本來種姓差別。不由無漏種子有無。但</p>

⁵⁷ As pointed out above (n. 49), this must be a copyist’s error for ‘the hindrance to the knowable’.

⁵⁸ See n. 44.

依有障，無障建立。如《瑜伽》(《攝決擇分》真如所緣緣種子段)說，於真如境，若有畢竟二障種者，立為不般涅槃法性。若有畢竟所知障種非煩惱者，一分立為聲聞種性，一分立為獨覺種性。若無畢竟二障種者，即立彼為如來種性。故知本來種性差別依障建立非無漏種，所說成就無漏種言，依當可生，非已有體。

(Elsewhere: The third theory) If only newly generated seeds existed, conditioned but undefiled [dharmas] (i.e., undefiled wisdom) could not arise because they have no generative cause. Defiled [seeds] cannot be the seeds of undefiled [dharmas]. [If that were the case,] undefiled seeds would give rise to defiled [dharmas]. If we accept that, defiled [dharmas] would arise again to Buddhas, and good [seeds], etc., would be the seeds of evil [dharmas], etc.
(本有、新熏合生義) 若唯始起，有為無漏，無因緣故，應不得生。有漏不應為無漏種，勿無漏種生有漏故。許應諸佛有漏復生，善等應為不善等種。(T no. 1585, 31: 2.8c15–18)

The second argument in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* quoted in Table 7 is that the generative cause of the noble paths is not pre-existing undefiled seeds (tantamount to *gotra*), either. According to the discussion of *tathatālambanapratyayabīja* (Ch. *zhenru suoyuan-yuan zhongzi* 真如所緣緣種子)⁵⁹ in *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* section of *Yogācārabhūmi*, even the Yogācāra School's traditional theory of *gotra* distinctions (i.e., the spiritual predisposition predetermined by the primordial undefiled seeds [i.e., *gotra*] in the *ālayavijñāna*) is explained away by the presence or absence of the hindrance of defilements (*klesāvaraṇa*, Ch. *fannaο zhang* 煩惱障) and the hindrance to the knowable (*jñeyāvaraṇa*, Ch. *suozhi zhang* 所知障). Here, if

⁵⁹ For the significance of this portion, see Yamabe, 'Shinnyo shoennen shūji'.

the *klesāvaraṇa* in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* is indeed a copyist's error for *jñeyāvaraṇa* (see n. 49), then the views expressed in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* and *Cheng weishi lun* match perfectly.

The 'noble paths' of *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* also correspond to the idea of 'conditioned but undefiled [dharmas]' (*youwei wulou* 有爲無漏, *anāsravasamskṛta*) found in the third theory of *Cheng weishi lun*, since both the noble paths and conditioned, undefiled dharmas are equivalent to undefiled wisdom. Therefore, the discussions in the two texts convey the same idea.

4. Third Theory: Seeds are Primordial and Newly Deposited

4.1. Translations

4.1.1. *Cheng weishi lun*:

Yet other [Yogācāras] maintain that there are two types of each seed. One type is primordial. Namely, it is the distinct capacity, which exists naturally in the karmic retribution consciousness (*yishoushi* 異熟識, *vipākavijñāna*, i.e., *ālayavijñāna*) from time immemorial, to generate *skandhas*, *āyatanas*, and *dhātus*. Referring to [this kind of seed], the Blessed One said [in a *sūtra*]: 'From time immemorial, all sentient beings have various kinds of *dhātus*. They exist naturally like a heap of nuts of *akṣa* (*echa* 惡叉, 'myrobalan').⁶⁰ Other scriptural testimonies are as quoted before. These [seeds] are called seeds that are present by nature (*benxingzhu* 本性住, *prakṛtistha*).⁶¹

有義種子, 各有二類。一者本有, 謂無始來, 異熟識中, 法爾而有, 生蘊處界, 功能差別。世尊依此, 說諸有情, 無始時來, 有種種界, 如惡叉聚, 法爾而有。餘所引證, 廣說如初。此即名爲 '本性住種'。(T no. 1585, 31: 2.8b23–28)

The other [type] is newly generated. Namely, [these seeds] exist

⁶⁰ See n. 13.

⁶¹ See n. 19.

having been infused again and again since time immemorial by active [dharmas]. Referring to them, the Blessed One stated [in a *sūtra*]: ‘Because the minds of sentient beings are infused by defiled and pure dharmas, boundless seeds are accumulated therein.’ Various treatises also say that defiled and pure seeds are generated due to having been infused by defiled and pure dharmas. They are called enhanced (*xi-suocheng* 習所成, *samudānīta*) seeds.⁶²

二者始起，謂無始來，數數現行熏習而有。世尊依此，說有情心，染淨諸法，所熏習故，無量種子之所積集。諸論亦說，染淨種子，由染淨法，熏習故生。此即名為‘習所成種’。(T no. 1585, 31: 2.8b28–c3)

If [seeds] were only primordial, active [types of] consciousness would not be a generative cause for *ālayavijñāna*, as is said in [*Mahāyānābhīdharmasūtra*]:

Dharmas adhere to the consciousness, and, similarly, consciousness to dharmas.

They are always each other’s result and cause.⁶³

The message of this verse is as follows: *Ālayavijñāna* and the active [types of] consciousness always generate and mutually cause each other. *Mahāyānasamgraha* says: ‘*Ālayavijñāna* and defiled dharmas are the generative cause of each other. It is just like a wick that generates a flame and a flame that burns the wick. It is also like bundles of reeds that support one another. Only with regard to these two is generative cause established, because it cannot be found elsewhere’.⁶⁴

⁶² tatra samudānītaṃ gotraṃ yat pūrvakuśalamūlābhyāsāt pratilabdham / (Wogihara, ed., *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, 3.4–6)

Yujiashi di lun pusa di 瑜伽師地論菩薩地, T no. 1579, 30:478c15–17: 習所成種姓者，謂先串習善根所得，是名習所成種姓。

⁶³ See n. 14.

⁶⁴ kun gzhi rnam par shes pa dang / kun nas nyon mongs pa’i chos de dag dus mnyam du gcig gi rgyu nyid du gcig ’gyur bar ji ltar blta zhe na / dper na mar me’i me lce ’byung ba dang / snying po tshig pa phan tshun dus mnyam pa dang / mdung khyim yang dus mnyam du gcig la gcig brten nas mi ’gyel ba# bzhin du ’dir yang gcig gi rgyu nyid du gcig ’gyur bar blta’o // ji ltar kun gzhi rnam par

If seeds are generated without infusion, how can active [types of] consciousness be the generative cause for *ālayavijñāna*? [Something that merely] fosters [something else] through infusion cannot be called a generative cause. [If it could,] good and bad karmas would be the generative cause for the resulting karmic retribution (*vipākaphala*).⁶⁵ Also, various scriptural passages say: ‘Seeds are generated through infusion’. All this goes against their argument. Therefore, [arguing that there are] only primordial seeds contradicts reason and scriptures.

若唯本有，轉識不應與阿賴耶爲因緣性，如契經說：

諸法於識藏 識於法亦爾。

更互爲果性 亦常爲因性。

此頌意言，阿賴耶識，與諸轉識，於一切時，展轉相生，互爲因果。《攝大乘》說，阿賴耶識，與雜染法，互爲因緣。如炷與焰展轉生燒。

shes pa kun nas nyon mongs pa'i chos rnam ky i rgyu yin pa de ltar kun nas nyon mongs pa'i chos rnam kyang kun gzhi #rnam par shes pa'i rgyu'i rkyen du### rnam par bzhag ste / rgyu'i rkyen gzhan mi dmigs pa'i phyir ro // (Nagao, ed., *Mahāyānasamgraha*, §I.17, 24).

D. adds *de*.

##—### Lamotte reads: *rnam par shes pa'i rgyu <yin pa'o> / de ltar rgyu'i rkyen* following *Upanibandhana*. D. *rkyen nyid du* replaces *rkyen du*.

She dashenglun ben, T no. 1594, 31: 1.134c15–20: 復次，阿賴耶識與彼雜染諸法，同時更互爲因。云何可見？譬如明燈，焰炷生燒，同時更互。又如蘆束，互相依持，同時不倒。應觀此中，更互爲因，道理亦爾。如阿賴耶識，爲雜染諸法因。雜染諸法，亦爲阿賴耶識因。唯就如是安立因緣。所餘因緣，不可得故。

⁶⁵ From the point of view of *Cheng weishi lun*, karmas are ‘supporting condition’ (*adhipatipratyaya*) for their retribution (*vipāka*). See also the following passage from *Mahāyānasamgraha*:

gal te rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba dang po la rnam par shes pa de dag phan tshun du rgyu'i rkyen yin na / 'o na rten cing 'brel par 'byung ba gnyis pa la gang gi rkyen ces bya zhe na / bdag po'i rkyen to // (Nagao ed., *Mahāyānasamgraha* §I.28, 31–32)

She dashenglun ben, T no. 1594, 31: 1.135b17–18: 若於第一緣起中，如是二識互爲因緣，於第二緣起中，復是何緣？是增上緣。

又如束蘆互相依住。唯依此二，建立因緣。所餘因緣，不可得故。若諸種子，不由熏生，如何轉識，與阿賴耶，有因緣義。非熏令長，可名因緣。勿善惡業，與異熟果，為因緣故。又諸聖教，說有種子，由熏習生，皆違彼義。故唯本有，理教相違。(T no. 1585, 31: 2.8c3–15)

If [seeds] were only newly generated, conditioned but undefiled [dharmas] (*youwei wulou* 有為無漏, *anāsravasamskṛta*, i.e., undefiled wisdom [*anāsravajñāna*]) could not arise because they would have no generative cause. Defiled [seeds] cannot be the seeds of undefiled [dharmas]. [If they could,] undefiled seeds would give rise to defiled [dharmas]. Admitting that, defiled [dharmas] would arise again to Buddhas, and good [seeds], etc., would be the seeds of evil [dharmas], etc.

若唯始起，有為無漏，無因緣故，應不得生。有漏不應為無漏種，勿無漏種生有漏故。許應諸佛，有漏復生。善等應為不善等種。…… (T no. 1585, 31: 2.8c15–18)

The real intention of the statement [in *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*] that the *gotra* distinctions are established by means of the hindrances⁶⁶ is to demonstrate the presence or absence of undefiled seeds. Namely, if [people] completely lack undefiled seeds, they can never eliminate the seeds of the two [kinds of] hindrances. They are defined as not being destined for *nirvāṇa*. If [people] have only the undefiled seeds of the two vehicles, they can never eliminate the seeds of the hindrance to the knowable. Some [of these people] are defined as having *śrāvaka-gotra*, while the others are defined as having *pratyekabuddha-gotra*. If [people] further have the undefiled seeds of Buddhas, they can ultimately eliminate these two [kinds of] hindrances. They are defined as having *tathāgata-gotra*. Therefore, due to the presence or absence of undefiled seeds, the hindrances can or cannot be eliminated. Nevertheless, undefiled seeds are subtle, hidden, and hard to know. Therefore, the *gotra* distinctions are revealed by these distinctions of hindrances. Otherwise, what differences are there

⁶⁶ See n. 44.

among these hindrances that would make them subject to elimination or not? If [the proponents of this theory] say that there naturally are these distinctions of hindrances, how do they not accept the same [argument] regarding undefiled seeds? If originally there were absolutely no undefiled seed, the noble paths could never arise. Who could eliminate the seeds of the two [kinds of] hindrances, and how could one say that the *gotra* distinctions are established by means of the hindrances? Since the noble paths would never [be able to] arise, arguing that they could arise in the future definitely does not make sense. Moreover, various scriptural passages concerning the existence of primordial seeds all contradict this argument. Therefore, the theory that only admits newly generated [seeds] contradicts reason and scriptures. Accordingly, one should know that each of the seeds of various dharmas is twofold: primordial and newly generated.⁶⁷

依障建立種性別者，意顯無漏種子有無。謂若全無無漏種者，彼二障種，永不可害。即立彼為非涅槃法。若唯有二乘無漏種者，彼所知障種，永不可害。一分立為聲聞種姓，一分立為獨覺種姓。若亦有佛無漏種者，彼二障種，俱可永害。即立彼為如來種姓。故由無漏種子有無障有可斷不可斷義，然無漏種微隱難知，故約彼障顯性差別。不爾彼障，有何別因，而有可害不可害者，若謂法爾，有此障別，無漏法種，寧不許然？若本全無無漏法種，則諸聖道，永不得生。誰當能害二障種子，而說依障，立種性別。既彼聖道，必無生義，說當可生，亦定非理。然諸聖教，處處說有，本有種子，皆違彼義。故唯始起，理教相違。由此應知，諸法種子，各有本有，始起二類。(T no. 1585, 31: 2.9a21–b7)

4.1.2. *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā*:

Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā also acknowledges that there are two kinds of seeds.

Still other [Yogācaras] say that imprints are [both] present naturally, to be fostered, and previously absent, to be [newly] generated. Many

⁶⁷ I have referred to Sangpo and Chödrön, trans., *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, 243–45.

generated imprints are, by way of being cooperative causes (*lhan cig byed pa'i rgyu, sahakārihetu*), supporting conditions (*bdag po'i rkyen, adhipatipratyaya*) for the natural imprints (*chos nyid bag chags, *dharmatāvāsanā*). They think that the natural imprints and the many generated imprints that did not exist before are, like the homogeneous cause (*skal pa mnyam ba'i rgyu, sabhāgahetu*) imputed by Vaibhāṣikas, the generative cause for giving rise to a result of one moment.⁶⁸

gzhan dag na re bag chags ni chos nyid kyis⁶⁹ gnas pa yongs su gso bya ba⁷⁰ dang / sngon med pa bskyed par bya ba yang yin te / bskyed pa'i bag chags du ma ni lhan cig byed pa'i rgyu nyid kyis⁷¹ chos nyid bag chags kyi bdag po'i rkyen yin la / chos nyid kyi bag chags gang yin pa dang / sngon med pa bskyed⁷² pa'i bag chags du ma yang bye brag tu smra ba brtags pa skal pa mnyam ba'i rgyu bzhin du skad cig ma gcig pa'i 'bras bu skye ba'i yang rgyu'i rkyen nyid du sems so // (Derge Ri 328b6–329a1; Pek. Li 394b6–395a1)

Now, the first theory is to be criticized. [According to this position,] because desire, etc., only foster [pre-existing imprints], they are not established as generative causes.⁷³ [What fosters another dharma is only a supporting condition.] For example, in the phrase [within the dependent origination formula], 'consciousness (*rnam par shes pa, vijñāna*) is conditioned by mental formations (*'du byed, saṃskāra*)', because mental formations foster the seed of consciousness, [mental formations] are [considered to be] supporting conditions [for the seeds of consciousness]. [In *Mahāyānasamgraha* §I.28, it is said:]

⁶⁸ I understand this means that a single dharma is generated by both natural and generated imprints. This paragraph corresponds to Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 872–73.

⁶⁹ Pek. *kyi*.

⁷⁰ Pek. omits *ba*.

⁷¹ D. *kyi*.

⁷² D. adds *ba*.

⁷³ See n. 21.

‘Then, in the second [type of] dependent origination (i.e., the dependent origination of the twelve links), which condition is referred to? It refers to supporting condition’.⁷⁴ Therefore, [according to the first theory, there can be only supporting conditions between active dharmas and *ālayavijñāna*, but this] contradicts [another statement in *Mahāyānasamgraha* §I.17:] ‘Like *ālayavijñāna*, defiled dharmas also are generative causes’.⁷⁵

de la rnam par rtog pa dang po la gleng bar bya ste / 'dod chags la
sogs pa ni yons su gso ba tsam du nye bar gnas pa'i phyir rgyu'i rkyen
du mi 'grub ste / dper na 'du byed kyi rkyen gyis rnam par shes pa
zhes bya ba 'di la 'du byed rnam par shes pa'i sa bon yongs⁷⁶ su gso
bar byed pa yin pa'i phyir bdag po'i rkyen nyid yin pa lta bu'o // 'o na
rten cing 'brel bar⁷⁷ 'byun ba gnyis pa la gang gi rkyen zhes⁷⁸ bya zhe
na / bdag po'i rkyen to⁷⁹ zhes 'byung ba'i yang phyir te / des na kun
gzhi'i rnam par shes pa ji lta ba de bzhin du kun nas nyon mongs pa'i
chos rnams kyang rgyu'i rkyen yin no zhes bya ba 'di 'gal lo // (Derge
Ri 329a1–3; Pek. Li 395a1–4)

[Proponents of the first theory may counter:] That is not the case. [Desire, etc.], by fostering homogeneous seeds (i.e., seeds corresponding to respective dharmas), are generative causes [of seeds]. For example, something is, [according to] the Vaibhāṣikas, a homogenous cause of something else due to their homogeneity. [A dharma is called] a supporting condition because it fosters a heterogeneous imprint.⁸⁰

de ni ma yin te / rigs mthun pa'i sa bon yongs su gsos pas rgyu'i rkyen
nyid yin te / dper na bye brag tu smra ba'i skal pa mnyam pa'i rgyu

⁷⁴ See n. 65.

⁷⁵ See n. 64. Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 873.

⁷⁶ Pek. *yong*.

⁷⁷ D. *par*.

⁷⁸ Pek. *ces*.

⁷⁹ *Sic* D., Pek.

⁸⁰ Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 873.

rdzas gzhan nyid skal pa mnyam pa'i phyir rdzas gzhan gyi yin pa lta bu'o // bdag po'i rkyen ni mi 'dra ba'i bag chags yongs su gsos pa'i phyir yin no // (Derge Ri 329a3–4; Pek. Li 395a4–5)

Also, if [proponents of the second theory] ask, 'Since nothing similar (i.e., imprints of fragrance without infusion) can be found in sesame [oil], etc., how can imprints exist naturally (before being infused)?',⁸¹ it is not reasonable. Even when garlic, stones, etc., come together with flowers, it is observed that the fragrance of these [flowers] is not retained. Therefore, we know that it is precisely due to their nature that sesame [oil], etc., are capable of retaining the fragrance [of flowers]. Furthermore, since nothing is real apart from mind and mental functions, sesame [oil], etc., definitely do not exist. Since it is accepted in worldly consensus that [sesame oil, etc., are] the basis for the residue [or 'imprint' of fragrance], how could it follow that they are [really] like those [imprints] if they are simply taken as mere similes for the arising of imprints, etc.?⁸²

'on te til la sogs pa la de lta bu ma mthong pa'i⁸³ phyir ji ltar chos nyid kyis⁸⁴ gnas pa'i bag chags su 'gyur zhe na / de ni rigs pa ma yin te / sgog skya dang⁸⁵ rdo la sogs pa la me tog dang phrad kyang de'i dri mi 'dzin pa snang ba'i phyir til la sogs pa la chos nyid kho nas dri 'dzin pa'i nus pa yod do zhes bya bar shes so // gzhan yang sems dang sems las byung ba la⁸⁶ ma gtogs pa'i dngos po med pa'i phyir til la sogs pa ni med pa kho na'i / 'jig rten gyi grags par bag chags kyi rten nyid du grags pas bag chags 'byung ba la sogs pa'i dpe tsam du byas pa 'ba' zhig tu zad na⁸⁷ ji ltar de dang 'dra bar thal bar 'gyur / (Derge Ri 329a4–7; Pek. Li 395a5–8)

⁸¹ Cf. n. 40.

⁸² Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 873.

⁸³ Pek. *ba'i*.

⁸⁴ D. *kyi*.

⁸⁵ D. *sgos skya'i*.

⁸⁶ D. *las*.

⁸⁷ Pek. omits *na*.

Some criticize the second theory [as follows]: ‘Since *ālayavijñāna* does not arise and perish simultaneously with another *ālayavijñāna*, there cannot be a imprint that causes the arising of the [*ālayavijñāna*]’.⁸⁸ If [proponents of the second theory object, saying], ‘Did we not say that the mental consciousness that is similar to [*ālayavijñāna* as its] cognitive object generates the imprint [of *ālayavijñāna*]?’⁸⁹ it is not reasonable.⁹⁰

rnam par rtog pa gnyis pa la yang kha cig gleng ba / kun gzhi’i rnam
par shes pa ni kun gzhi’i rnam par shes pa gzhan dang lhan cig skye ba
dang ’gag pa med pa’i phyir de skye ba’i rgyu mtshan gyi bag chags su
mi ’gyur ro zhe’o // dmigs pa ’dra ba’i yid kyi rnam par shes pas bag
chags bskyed do zhes bshad pa ma yin nam zhe na / de ni rigs pa ma
yin te / (Derge Ri 329a7–b1; Pek. Li 395a8–b2)

Cognitive objects are twofold: substantial [dharmas] that have the nature of mind and mental functions and insubstantial [dharmas] that have the nature of matter. Of these, the mental consciousness that cognizes minds and mental functions generates the imprints of only these [mind and mental functions], while the [mental consciousness] that cognizes matter generates imprints that give rise only to these [material dharmas]. Since neither of them can be established as cognitive objects (*ālambana*) or modes of cognition (*ākāra*) by the theory of mind-only, how can [*ālayavijñāna*] be similar to [mental consciousness] as its cognitive object?⁹¹

⁸⁸ Cf. n. 21. This sentence is a little difficult to understand. A literal translation of the original *de skye ba’i rgyu mtshan gyi bag chags su mi ’gyur ro* would be something like: ‘[The *ālayavijñāna*] would not become an imprint that causes the [*ālayavijñāna* itself]’. This may be possible, since *vāsanā* and *ālayavijñāna* are not separable. However, if we assume that the underlying Sanskrit was something like: **tannimittavāsanā na syāt*, ‘there cannot be an imprint that causes the arising of the [*ālayavijñāna*]’ might be another possible interpretation. For the time being, I would like to follow this interpretation.

⁸⁹ See Table 6 and its discussion.

⁹⁰ Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 873–74.

⁹¹ Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 874.

dmigs pa ni rnam pa gnyis te / sems dang sems las byung ba'i ngo
 bo nyid rdzas dang / gzugs kyi bdag nyid rdzas su med pa'o // de la
 sems dang sems las byung ba la dmigs pa'i yid kyi rnam par shes pa
 gang yin pa des ni / de dag kho na bskyed par bya ba'i phyir bag chags
 skyed la / gzugs la dmigs pa gang yin pa des⁹² de kho na bskyed par
 bya ba'i phyir ro // sems tsam nyid kyi lugs kyis ni gnyi ga ltar yang
 dmigs pa dang⁹³ rnam pa ma grub pa'i phyir ji ltar na dmigs pa'i sgo
 nas 'dra bar 'gyur / (Derge Ri 329b1–3; Pek. Li 395b2–5)

Alternatively, cognitive objects are also twofold in terms of direct and indirect cognitive objects. Of these, the direct cognitive object [of mental consciousness] is the apprehended aspect [of mental consciousness itself]. The indirect object is *ālayavijñāna* because, due to its power, the apprehended aspect [of mental consciousness] appears.⁹⁴

'on te mngon sum du dmigs pa dang brgyud pa'i sgo nas gzhan du
 rnam pa gnyis te / de la mngon sum gyi dmigs pa ni gzung pa'i⁹⁵
 rnam pa gang yin pa'o // brgyud pa'i dmigs pa ni kun gzhi'i rnam par
 shes pa ste / de'i dbang gis gzung⁹⁶ ba'i rnam par snang ba'i phyir ro
 // (Derge Ri 329b3–4; Pek. Li 395b5–6)

Therefore, if [you] think, 'Why is [the mental consciousness], which cognizes the substantially existent [*ālayavijñāna*] as an indirectly object, not similar to [*ālayavijñāna*] as its cognitive object?', this position also [has the following problem:] Due also to the power of minds and mental functions of other [people], mental consciousness apprehending the cognitive object and the cognizing mode arises. Therefore, since the imprints generated by that [mental consciousness] would be the generative causes of the

⁹² D. adds *kyang*.

⁹³ Pek. adds /.

⁹⁴ Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 874.

⁹⁵ Pek. *ba'i*.

⁹⁶ Pek. *bzung*.

minds and mental functions of other beings, it would follow that all sentient beings are reduced to [just] one mental continuity. Even if only [one's own] mental continuity is the cognitive object, [according to the mind-only theory mentioned above] neither the cognitive object nor the cognitive mode is established. Therefore, neither the cognitive object nor the cognitive mode is similar [to *ālayavijñāna*], [and] the seeds of that [*ālayavijñāna* can] exist [only naturally].⁹⁷

de bas na brgyud pa'i dmigs pa'i sgo nas rdzas su yod pa la dmigs pa ni ji ltar na dmigs pa'i sgo nas mi 'dra snyam du sems na / rtog pa 'di la yang gzhan gyi sems dang sems las byung ba'i dbang gis kyang yid kyi rnam par shes pa dmigs pa dang rnam pa yongs su 'dzin par skye ba'i⁹⁸ phyir / des bskyed pa'i⁹⁹ bag chags gzhan gyi sems dang sems las byung ba rnams kyi rgyu'i rkyen du 'gyur bas sems can thams cad rgyud gcig pa nyid du thal bar 'gyur ro // rgyud¹⁰⁰ de dmigs pa nyid yin na yang dmigs pa dang rnam pa yongs su ma grub pa'i phyir dmigs pa dang rnam pa mi 'dra ba de'i son¹⁰¹ 'dug go // (Derge Ri 329b4–6; Pek. Li 395b6–396a1)

Moreover, [the second theory] argues as follows: 'The *gotra* [that is present] by nature [means that] the hindrance of defilements and the hindrance to the knowable are thin. The noble paths have no generative cause'.¹⁰² [This] is not reasonable either because the following [statement] appears in [*Bodhisattvabhūmi*]: 'The *gotra* that is present by nature is the distinctive [state] of the six *āyatana*s'.¹⁰³ [This argument of the second theory is unreasonable] also because, according to all [Buddhist] schools, all minds and mental functions

⁹⁷ Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 874.

⁹⁸ D. *skyed pa'i*.

⁹⁹ Pek. *ba'i*.

¹⁰⁰ Pek. *rgyu*.

¹⁰¹ D., Pek., *so na* but this must be a copyist's error for *son* (i.e., *sa bon*).

¹⁰² See Table 7.

¹⁰³ See n. 19.

arise depending to the four conditions. [Therefore, we] can consider that [the mention of] ‘the attenuated seeds of hindrance’ found in *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* has the hidden intention of showing the existence of the undefiled natural seeds.¹⁰⁴

gang yang rang bzhin gyi rigs nyon mongs pa dang shes bya'i sgrib pa srab pa yin no // 'phags pa'i lam la rgyu'i rkyen med do¹⁰⁵ zhes smras pa gang yin pa de yang rigs pa ma yin te / rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs ni skye mched drug gi khyad par ro zhes 'byung ba'i phyir dang¹⁰⁶ / sde ba thams cad las kyang sems dang sems las byung ba thams cad rkyen bzhis skye bar 'byung ba'i phyir ro // rnam par gtan la dbab pa bsdu ba las 'byung ba ni sgrib pa'i sa bon srab pa nyid kyis¹⁰⁷ chos nyid kyī sa bon zag pa med pa yod pa nyid du bstan pa yin no zhes bya bar dgongs pa yongs su brtag par nus so // (Derge Ri 329b6–330a1; Pek. Li 396a1–4)

4.2. Comparative Tables

TABLE 8 Third Theory: Thesis

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
Still other [Yogācāras] say that imprints are [both] <u>present naturally</u> , to be fostered, and previously absent, to be [newly] generated. Many generated imprints are, by way of being cooperative causes (<i>lhan cig byed pa'i rgyu</i> , <i>sabakāribetu</i>), supporting conditions (<i>bdag po'i rkyen</i> , <i>adhipatipratyaya</i>) for the natural imprints (<i>chos nyid bag chags</i> , <i>*dharmatāvāsanā</i>). They think that the natural imprints and the many generated imprints that did not exist before are, like the homogeneous cause (<i>skal pa mnyam</i>	Yet other [Yogācāras] maintain that there are two types of each seed. One type is <u>primordial</u> . Namely, it is the distinct capacity, which exists naturally in the karmic retribution consciousness (<i>yishoushi</i> 異熟識, <i>vipākavijñāna</i> , i.e., <i>ālayavijñāna</i>) from time immemorial, to generate <i>skandhas</i> , <i>āyatanas</i> , and <i>dhātus</i> . Referring to [this kind of seed], the Blessed One said [in a <i>sūtra</i>]: ‘From time immemorial, all sentient beings have various kinds of <i>dhātus</i> . They exist naturally like a heap of nuts of <i>akṣa</i> (<i>echa</i>

¹⁰⁴ Brunnhölzl, *A Compendium of the Mahāyāna*, 874–75.

¹⁰⁵ Pek. adds //.

¹⁰⁶ See n. 19.

¹⁰⁷ D. *kyi*.

ba'i rgyu, sabhāgahetu) imputed by Vaibhāṣikas, the generative cause for giving rise to a result of one moment.
gzhan dag na re bag chags ni chos nyid kyis gnas pa yongs su gso bya ba dang / sngon med pa bskyed par bya ba yang yin te / bskyed pa'i bag chags du ma ni lhan cig byed pa'i rgyu nyid kyis chos nyid bag chags kyī bdag po'i rkyen yin la / chos nyid kyī bag chags gang yin pa dang / sngon med pa bskyed pa'i bag chags du ma yang bye brag tu smra ba brtags pa skal pa mnyam ba'i rgyu bzhin du skad cig ma gcig pa'i 'bras bu skye ba'i yang rgyu'i rkyen nyid du sems so //

惡叉, 'myrobalan'). Other scriptural testimonies are as quoted before. These [seeds] are called seeds that are present by nature (*benxingzhu* 本性住, *praktistha*). The other [type] is newly generated. Namely, [these seeds] exist having been infused again and again since time immemorial by active [dharmas] and exist. Referring to them, the Blessed One stated [in a *sūtra*]: 'Because the minds of sentient beings are infused by defiled and pure dharmas, boundless seeds are accumulated therein'. Various treatises also say that defiled and pure seeds are generated due to having been infused by defiled and pure dharmas. They are called enhanced (*xisuocheng* 習所成, *samudānīta*) seeds.

有義種子, 各有二類。一者本有, 謂無始來, 異熟識中, 法爾而有, 生蘊處界, 功能差別。世尊依此, 說諸有情, 無始時來, 有種種界, 如惡叉聚, 法爾而有。餘所引證, 廣說如初。此即名為本性住種。二者始起, 謂無始來, 數數現行, 熏習而有。世尊依此, 說有情心, 染淨諸法, 所熏習故, 無量種子之所積集, 諸論亦說, 染淨種子, 由染淨法, 熏習故生, 此即名為習所成種。

The naturally existent imprints in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* in Table 8 correspond to the primordial seeds in *Cheng weishi lun*. The imprints that 'were previously absent and are to be [newly] generated' in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* correspond to the seeds that are 'newly generated' (*shiqi* 始起, i.e., newly infused 新熏). Thus, the basic arguments in the passages quoted from both texts agree.

TABLE 9 Third Theory: Critique of the First Theory (Fostering Imprints and Generative Cause)

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
Now, the first theory is to be criticized. [According to this position,] because desire, etc., <u>only foster</u> [pre-existing imprints], <u>they are not established</u>	If [seeds] were only primordial, active [types of] consciousness <u>would not be a generative cause</u> for <i>ālayavijñāna</i> , as is said in [<i>Mahāyānābhīdharma</i>] <i>sūtra</i> :

as generative causes. [What fosters another dharma is only a supporting condition.] For example, in the phrase [within the dependent origination formula], ‘consciousness (*rnam par shes pa*, *vijñāna*) is conditioned by mental formations (*’du byed*, *saṃskāra*)’, because mental formations foster the seed of consciousness, [mental formations] are [considered to be] supporting conditions [for the seeds of consciousness]. [In *Mahāyānasamgraha* §I.28, it is said:] ‘Then, in the second [type of] dependent origination (i.e., the mutual causation of *ālayavijñāna* and the active types of consciousness), which condition is referred to? It refers to supporting condition’. Therefore, [the first theory is] contradictory to [another line from *Mahāyānasamgraha* §I.17:] ‘Like *ālayavijñāna*, defiled dharmas also are generative causes’.

[Proponents of the first theory may counter:] That is not the case. [Desire, etc.] are generative causes [of seeds] by fostering homogeneous seeds (i.e., seeds corresponding to respective dharmas). For example, something is [considered by] *Vaibhāṣikas* [to be] a homogenous cause of something else due to their homogeneity. Supporting condition is [called so] because [some dharma] fosters a heterogeneous imprint.

de la rnam par rtog pa dang po la gleng bar bya ste / ’dod chags la sogs pa ni yons su gso ba tsam du nye bar gnas pa’i phyir rgyu’i rkyen du mi ’grub ste / dper na ’du byed kyi rkyen gyis rnam par shes pa zhes bya ba ’di la ’du byed rnam par shes pa’i sa bon yongs su gso bar byed pa yin pa’i phyir bdag po’i rkyen nyid yin pa lta bu’o // ’o na rten cing ’brel bar ’byun ba gnyis pa la gang gi rkyen zhes bya zhe na / bdag po’i rkyen to zhes ’byung ba’i yang phyir te / des na kun gzhi’i rnam par shes pa ji lta ba de bzbin du kun nas nyon mongs pa’i chos rnams kyang rgyu’i rkyen yin no zhes bya ba ’di gal lo //

Dharmas adhere to the consciousness, and, similarly, consciousness to dharmas.

They are always each other’s result and cause.

The message of this verse is as follows:

Ālayavijñāna and the active [types of] consciousness always generate and mutually cause each other.

Mahāyānasamgraha says: ‘*Ālayavijñāna* and defiled dharmas are the generative cause of each other. It is just like a wick that generates a flame and a flame that burns the wick. It is also like bundles of reeds that support one another. Only with regard to these two is generative cause established, because it cannot be found elsewhere. If seeds are generated without infusion, how can active [types of] consciousness be the generative cause for *ālayavijñāna*? [Something that merely] fosters [something else] through infusion cannot be called a generative cause. [If it could,] good and bad karmas would be the generative cause for the resulting karmic retribution (*vipākaphala*). Also, various scriptural passages say: ‘Seeds are generated through infusion’. All this goes against their argument. Therefore, [arguing that there are] only primordial seeds contradicts reason and scriptures.

若唯本有，轉識不應與阿賴耶爲因緣性，如契經(=《大乘阿毘達磨經》)說，

諸法於識藏 識於法亦爾。

更互爲果性 亦常爲因性。

此頌意言，阿賴耶識，與諸轉識，於一切時，展轉相生，互爲因果。《攝大乘》說，阿賴耶識，與雜染法，互爲因緣。如炷與焰展轉生燒。又如束蘆互相依住。唯依此二，建立因緣。所餘因緣，不可得故。若諸種子，不由熏生，如何轉識，與阿賴耶，有因緣義。非熏令長，可名因緣。勿善惡業，與異熟果，爲因緣故。又諸聖教，說有種子，由熏習生，皆違彼義。故唯本有，理教相違。

de ni ma yin te / rigs mthun pa'i sa bon
 yongs su gsos pas rgyu'i rkyen nyid yin te
 / dper na bye brag tu smra ba'i skal pa
 mnyam pa'i rgyu rdzas gzhan nyid skal pa
 mnyam pa'i phyir rdzas gzhan gyi yin pa
 lta bu'o // bdag po'i rkyen ni mi 'dra ba'i
 bag chags yongs su gsos pa'i phyir yin no //

Next, the *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* passage quoted in Table 9 raises the following question regarding the first theory (primordial imprints): if dharmas such as desire merely foster already existing imprints, then these dharmas can only be supporting conditions (*adhipatipratyaya*) and cannot be generative causes (*hetupratyaya*). *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* points out that this argument contradicts the following line of *Mahāyānasamgraha*: 'Like *ālayavijñāna*, defiled dharmas also are generative causes'.

Based on a verse in *Mahāyānābhīdharmasūtra* (*Dasheng apidamo jing* 大乘阿毘達磨經 [Sūtra on Mahāyānist Abhidharma]), *Cheng weishi lun* states: '*Ālayavijñāna* and the active [types of] consciousness (*zhuanshi* 轉識, *pravṛttivijñāna*) always generate and mutually cause each other.'

In response to these arguments, those who accept the existence of primordial imprints in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* state: If a dharma fosters its homogeneous seed, it is a generative cause (*hetupratyaya*). If a dharma fosters a heterogeneous imprint, it is a supporting condition (*adhipatipratyaya*). In this case, desire, etc., foster homogeneous imprints, and therefore there is no problem for desire, etc., to be regarded as the *hetupratyaya* of pre-existing imprints.

On the basis of the same verse in *Mahāyānābhīdharmasūtra*, *Cheng weishi lun* states: All dharmas and *ālayavijñāna* function as the generative cause of each other. If the active types of consciousness (tantamount to all dharmas in the *cittamātra* framework) do not generate but simply foster seeds, then these types of consciousness cannot be *hetupratyaya*. The purport of this argument aligns exactly with that of *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā*.

TABLE 10 Third Theory: Critique of the First Theory: (Imprint without Infusion [Scenting])

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapaṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>Also, if [proponents of the second theory] ask, ‘Since <u>nothing similar</u> (i.e., imprints of fragrance without infusion) can be found in sesame [oil], etc., how can imprints exist <u>naturally</u> (before being infused)?’, it is not reasonable. Even when garlic, stones, etc., come together with flowers, it is observed that the fragrance of these [flowers] is not retained. Therefore, we know that it is precisely due to their nature that sesame [oil], etc., are capable of retaining the fragrance [of flowers].</p> <p><i>’on te til la sogs pa la de lta bu ma mthong pa’i phyir ji ltar chos nyid kyis gnas pa’i bag chags su ’gyur zbe na / de ni rigs pa ma yin te / sgog skya dang rdo la sogs pa la me tog dang phrad kyang de’i dri mi ’dzin pa snang ba’i phyir til la sogs pa la chos nyid kho nas dri ’dzin pa’i nus pa yod do zhes bya bar shes so // gzhan yang sems dang sems las byung ba la ma gtogs pa’i dngos po med pa’i phyir til la sogs pa ni med pa kho na’i / ’jig rten gyi grags par bag chags kyī rten nyid du grags pas bag chags ’byung ba la sogs pa’i dpe tsam du byas pa ’ba’ zbig tu zad na ji ltar de dang ’dra bar thal bar ’gyur /</i></p>	<p>Cf. (Second Theory) Other [Yogācāras] maintain that all seeds are generated as a result of infusion. The infuser and the infused both have existed from time immemorial. Therefore, seeds have been established from time immemorial. ‘Seed’ is another appellation for ‘imprint’, and imprints always awaits infusion (lit. <u>scenting</u>), just like the fragrance in sesame [oil] that is generated because it has been scented by flowers.</p> <p>有義種子，皆熏故生。所熏能熏，俱無始有。故諸種子，無始成就。種子既是習氣異名，習氣必由熏習而有。如麻香氣，花熏故生。</p> <p>(T no. 1585, 31: 2.8b6–9)</p>
<p>Furthermore, since nothing is real apart from mind and mental functions, sesame [oil], etc., definitely do not exist. Since it is accepted in worldly consensus that [sesame oil, etc., are] the basis for the residue [or ‘imprint’ of fragrance], how could it follow that they are [really] like those [imprints] if they are simply taken as mere similes for the arising of imprints, etc.?</p> <p><i>gzhan yang sems dang sems las byung ba la ma gtogs pa’i dngos po med pa’i phyir til la sogs pa ni med pa kho na’i / ’jig rten gyi grags par bag chags kyī rten nyid du grags pas bag chags ’byung ba la sogs pa’i dpe tsam du byas pa ’ba’ zbig tu zad na ji ltar de dang ’dra bar thal bar ’gyur /</i></p>	

The counterargument by proponents of the second theory in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* shown in Table 10 is as follows: Sesame oil cannot have fragrance without infusion (scenting). In the same way, there is no naturally existing imprint. Proponents of the first theory respond: Sesame oil has the natural ability to retain fragrance, unlike scallions and stones, which do not have that capacity. Therefore, the notion of naturally existing imprint is not unreasonable. Also, sesame oil is only a metaphor for infusion of fragrance; it cannot fully illustrate the doctrine of infusion. In brief, the existence of imprints without infusion is not a problem.

This argument has no direct counterpart in the corresponding portion of *Cheng weishi lun*. However, the idea that ‘imprints must be infused to exist, just as sesame oil must be infused to have a fragrance’ in *Cheng weishi lun* resonates with the argument in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* that there is no fragrance without infusion.

TABLE 11 Third theory: Critique of the Second Theory (Seeds of *Ālayavijñāna*)

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>Some criticize the second theory [as follows:] ‘Since <i>ālayavijñāna</i> does not arise and perish simultaneously with another <i>ālayavijñāna</i>, there cannot be an imprint that causes the arising of the [<i>ālayavijñāna</i>]’.</p> <p><i>rnam par rtog pa gnyis pa la yang kha cig gleng ba / kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa ni kun gzhi'i rnam par shes pa gzhan dang lhan cig skye ba dang 'gag pa med pa'i phyir de skye ba'i rgyu mtshan gyi bag chags su mi 'gyur ro zhe'o //</i></p>	
<p>If [proponents of the second theory object, saying], ‘Did we not say that the mental consciousness that is similar to [<i>ālayavijñāna</i> as its] cognitive object generates the imprint [of <i>ālayavijñāna</i>]?’ it is not reasonable.</p> <p><i>dmigs pa 'dra ba'i yid kyi rnam par shes pas bag chags bskyed do zhes bshad pa ma yin nam zhe na / de ni rigs pa ma yin te /</i></p>	<p>(Elsewhere: <i>Cheng weishi lun shuji</i>) Regarding the portion of the treatise (<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>) from ‘only the seven [types of] active consciousness (<i>zhuanshi</i> 轉識, <i>pravṛttivijñāna</i>)’ to ‘can be the infuser’, the commentary (<i>Shuji</i>) says: This is the conclusion. Namely, from among the cognizing subjects, the seven [types of] active consciousness</p>

and their mental functions are the infusers. If [one asks:] ‘What is struck by the image portion?’ (i.e., what is the cognitive object of the image portion?), [the answer] is that, because the eighth [type of] consciousness is a cognitive object of the sixth and seventh [types of] consciousness, the image portions [of the two types of consciousness] infuse [the seeds of *ālayavijñāna*].

(《成唯識論述記》) 論：唯七轉識，至可是能熏。述曰：總結也。即能緣中七轉識、心所等爲能熏。若爲相分，何法爲障？即第八識爲六、七識之所緣，故爲相分熏。(T no. 1830, 43: 3.314c12–15)

(Elsewhere) The eighth [type of] consciousness can be the cognitive object of the first seven [types of] consciousness, because they can infuse the seeds of the image and the cognizing portions of that [*ālayavijñāna*].

前七於八所緣容有能熏成彼相見種故。(T no. 1585, 31: 8.42c17–18)

(Elsewhere: *Shuji*) If the sixth [type of] consciousness cognizes the image and cognizing portions of the eighth [type of] consciousness, it infuses their seeds. Namely, it infuses the seeds of both portions [of *ālayavijñāna*].

(《成唯識論述記》) 第六識若緣第八見・相而熏種，即雙熏彼二分種子。(T no. 1830, 43: 8.512c27–28)

The argument of the first theory of *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* quoted in Table 11 is as follows: since there is nothing that can infuse the imprints that serve as the *hetupratyaya* of *ālayavijñāna*, these imprints must be pre-existing. To this argument, proponents of the second theory counter: *ālayavijñāna* and the mental consciousness that cognizes *ālayavijñāna* are similar, therefore the mental consciousness can infuse imprints of *ālayavijñāna*. However, proponents of the first theory disagree.

As we saw regarding the second theory, this section of *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* closely resembles the the Faxiang

School's doctrine of 'infusing imprints by the image portion [of consciousness]' (*xiangfenxun* 相分熏).

TABLE 12 Third Theory: Two Types of Cognitive Objects

<i>Vivrtagubhyārtthapīṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>Cognitive objects are twofold: <u>substantial</u> [dharmas] that have the nature of <u>minds</u> and mental functions and <u>insubstantial</u> [dharmas] that have the nature of <u>matter</u>. Of these, the mental consciousness that cognizes minds and mental functions generates the imprints of only these [minds and mental functions], while the [mental consciousness] that cognizes matter generates imprints that give rise only to these [material dharmas]. Since <u>neither of them can be established as cognitive objects</u> (<i>ālambana</i>) or modes of cognition (<i>ākāra</i>) by the theory of mind-only, how can [<i>ālayavijñāna</i>] be similar to [mental consciousness] as its cognitive object?</p> <p><i>dmigs pa ni rnam pa gnyis te / sems dang sems las byung ba'i ngo bo nyid rdzas dang / gzugs kyi bdag nyid rdzas su med pa'o // de la sems dang sems las byung ba la dmigs pa'i yid kyi rnam par shes pa gang yin pa des ni / de dag kho na bskyed par bya ba'i phyir bag chags skyed la / gzugs la dmigs pa gang yin pa des de kho na bskyed par bya ba'i phyir ro // sems tsam nyid kyi lugs kyi ni gnyi ga ltar yang dmigs pa dang rnam pa ma grub pa'i phyir ji ltar na dmigs pa'i sgo nas 'dra bar 'gyur /</i></p>	<p>(<i>Elsewhere</i>) [Objection:] <u>External matter does not exist substantially</u>, and therefore it is admissible [to say] that it is not the object of inner consciousness. <u>Other people's minds exist substantially</u>. How can they not be <u>the cognitive objects of one's [consciousness]</u>?</p> <p>[Response:] Who said that the minds of others are not the <u>object of one's own consciousness</u>? We merely do not say that they are <u>direct cognitive objects</u>. Namely, when consciousness arises, it has no substantial function, unlike hands, etc., which directly grasp external objects, and the sun, which emits rays and directly illuminates the external objects. Just like mirrors, etc., [consciousness] appears like the external objects. This is called cognizing others' minds. It is not that [consciousness] can directly cognize them. What [the consciousness] directly cognizes is [the images] developed by one's own [consciousness]. Therefore, [<i>Sandhinirmocana</i>] <i>sūtra</i> says: 'There is not a single dharma that can grasp other dharmas. When consciousness arises, it merely appears like the image of the [object]. This is called grasping objects. Cognizing other minds, matter, etc., is just the same.</p> <p>外色實無可非內識境。他心實有，寧非自所緣。 誰說他心非自識境。但不說彼是親所緣。謂識生時，無實作用。非如手等親執外物，日等舒光親照外境。但如鏡等，似外境現，名了他心。非親能了。親所了者，謂自所變。故契經言：無有少法，能取餘法。但識生時，似彼相現，名取彼物。如緣他心、色等亦爾。(T no. 1585, 31: 7.39c9–16)</p>

Alternatively, cognitive objects are also twofold in terms of direct and indirect cognitive objects. Of these, the direct cognitive object [of mental consciousness] is the apprehended aspect [of mental consciousness itself]. The indirect object is *ālayavijñāna*, because due to its power the apprehended aspect [of mental consciousness] appears.

*'on te mngon sum du dmigs pa dang
brgyud pa'i sgo nas gzhan du rnam pa
gnyis te / de la mngon sum gyi dmigs pa ni
gzung pa'i rnam pa gang yin pa'o / brgyud
pa'i dmigs pa ni kun gzhi'i rnam par shes
pa ste / de'i dbang gis gzung ba'i rnam par
snang ba'i phyr ro //*

(*Elsewhere*) The third condition: cognitive objects. Namely, if an extant dharma is cognized and relied on by minds or mental functions that have the image of that [dharma, it is a cognitive object]. There are two [types of cognitive objects]: One is direct, and the other is indirect. If something is not substantially apart from the cognizing subject and is an internal object to be cognized and relied on by the cognizing portion, etc., it should be known as the direct cognitive object. If something, even if it is substantially separated from the cognizing subject, acts as an external object and produces an internal object to be cognized and relied on, it should be known as the indirect cognitive object.

A direct cognitive object exists for all cognizing subjects, because without an inner object to be cognized and relied on, no [cognizing subject] arises.

An indirect cognitive object in some, but now all, cases exists and for a cognizing subject, because even without an external object to be cognized and relied on, [a cognizing subject] can also arise.¹⁰⁸

三所緣緣，謂若有法，是帶已相，心或相應，所慮所託。此體有二，一親二疎。

若與能緣，體不相離。是見分等，內所慮託。應知彼是親所緣緣。

若與能緣，體雖相離，為質能起，內所慮託，應知彼是疎所緣緣。

親所緣緣，能緣皆有。離內所慮，託必不生故，疎所緣緣，能緣或有。離外所慮，託亦得生故。 (T no. 1585, 31: 7.40c14–21)

Therefore, if [you] think, ‘Why is [the mental consciousness], which cognizes the substantially existent [*ālayavijñāna*] as an indirectly object, not similar to [*ālayavijñāna*] as the cognitive object?’, this position also [has the following problem:] Due also to the power of minds and mental functions of other [people],

(*Elsewhere: Yuqielun ji*) In the western country (i.e., India), there are two interpretations. The first maintains that when ordinary beings, practitioners of the two vehicles, and bodhisattavas, who have attained the supernatural power of mind-reading wisdom, cognize another person’s mind, the image portion as a

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Sangpo and Chödrön, trans. *Vijñapti-mātratā-siddhi*, 722–26.

mental consciousness apprehending the cognitive object and the cognizing mode arises. Therefore, since the imprints generated by that [mental consciousness] would be the generative causes of the minds and mental functions of other beings, it would follow that all sentient beings are reduced to [just] one mental continuity. Even if only [one's own] mental continuity is the cognitive object, [according to the mind-only theory mentioned above] neither the cognitive object nor the cognitive mode is established. Therefore, neither the cognitive object nor the cognitive mode is similar [to *ālayavijñāna*], [and] the seeds of that [*ālayavijñāna* can] exist [only naturally].

*de bas na brgyud pa'i dmigs pa'i sgo nas
rdzas su yod pa la dmigs pa ni ji ltar na
dmigs pa'i sgo nas mi 'dra snyam du sems
na / rtog pa 'di la yang gzhan gyi sems
dang sems las byung ba'i dbang gis kyang
yid kyī rnam par shes pa dmigs pa dang
rnam pa yongs su 'dzin par skye ba'i phyir
/ des bskyed pa'i bag chags gzhan gyi sems
dang sems las byung ba rnams kyī rgyu'i
rkyen du 'gyur bas sems can thams cad
rgyud gcig pa nyid du thal bar 'gyur ro //
rgyud de dmigs pa nyid yin na yang dmigs
pa dang rnam pa yongs su ma grub pa'i
phyir dmigs pa dang rnam pa mi 'dra ba
de'i son 'dug go //*

reflection [of the object] resembles the external object because cognitions with mental discrimination are unclear and, in many cases, do not match the external object. Even though Buddhas' mind-reading wisdom also has reflected images, they precisely match the external object, and [the wisdom] clearly perceives it. Therefore, it is said that Buddhas can recognize things as they are.

(《瑜伽論記》) 西國二解。一云，凡夫二乘及諸菩薩，他心智通，緣他心時，相分影像，似彼本質。以有分別，見不明了，不多稱質。佛他心智，雖有影像，極稱本質，名了了知，故名諸佛如實能知。(T no. 1828 42: 9.519a13–17)

In Table 12, proponents of the first theory (pre-existing imprints) of *Vivrtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* counter: From the point of view of mind-only, there can be no cognitive object. Therefore, mental consciousness and its cognitive object, *ālayavijñāna*, cannot be similar. In response, proponents of the second theory (newly infused imprints) argue: Cognitive objects are twofold: direct and indirect. *Ālayavijñāna* is an indirect object of mental consciousness and is real even according to the principle of mind-only. Therefore, *ālayavijñāna* and mental consciousness can be similar. Accordingly, mental consciousness can infuse imprints of *ālayavijñāna*.

According to *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā*, the response in support of the first theory is as follows: If this is the case, because another person's mind can also be an indirect object of one's mental consciousness, that person's mind and one's own mental consciousness are similar. It should follow that one's own mental consciousness can infuse imprints of the other person's mind. Thus, infused imprints must be the generative cause of the other person's mind. If so, there should be no distinction between people's minds. This is clearly unreasonable. Therefore, mental consciousness cannot infuse the imprints of *ālayavijñāna*. The imprints that serve as the generative cause of *ālayavijñāna* must be pre-existing ones.

While there is no direct counterpart to this argument in the relevant portion of *Cheng weishi lun*, this argument in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* presupposes that there are two kinds of cognitive objects. This corresponds to the theory of direct cognitive object (*qin suoyuanyuan* 親所緣緣) and indirect cognitive object (*shu suoyuanyuan* 疏所緣緣) in *Cheng weishi lun*. *Cheng weishi lun* also states that another person's mind is an indirect cognitive object of one's own consciousness. *Yuqielun ji* 瑜伽論記 also records 'two interpretations in the western country (i.e., India)'. According to the first interpretation, when one cognizes another person's mind, the reflection (*yingxiang* 影像, *pratibimba*), which is the image portion (i.e., the direct cognitive object) of the cognizing mind, resembles the external object (*benzhi* 本質, *bimba*, i.e., the indirect cognitive object). This argument is also relevant to the theories presented in both *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* and *Cheng weishi lun*.

TABLE 13 Third Theory: *Tathatālabhanapratyayabīja*

<i>Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
Moreover, [the second theory] argues as follows: 'The <i>gotra</i> [that is present] by nature [means that] the hindrance of defilements and the hindrance to the knowable are thin. The noble paths have no generative cause'. [This] is not reasonable either because the following [statement] appears in	If [seeds] were only newly generated, <u>conditioned but undefiled</u> [dharma]s (<i>youwei wulou</i> 有爲無漏, <i>anāsravasamskrta</i> , i.e., undefiled wisdom [<i>anāsravajñāna</i>]) could not arise because <u>they would have no generative cause</u> . Defiled [seeds] cannot be the seeds of undefiled [dharma]s. [If they could,]

[*Bodhisattvabhūmi*]: ‘The *gotra* that is present by nature is the distinctive [state] of the six *āyatana*s’. [This argument of the second theory is unreasonable] also because, according to all [Buddhist] schools, all minds and mental functions arise depending on the four conditions. [Therefore, we] can consider that [the mention of] ‘the attenuated seeds of hindrance’ found in *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* has the hidden intention of showing the existence of the undefiled natural seeds.

*gang yang rang bzhin gyi rigs nyon mongs
pa dang shes bya'i sgrib pa sraḥ pa yin no
// 'phags pa'i lam la rgyu'i rkyen med do
zhes smras pa gang yin pa de yang rigs pa
ma yin te / rang bzhin du gnas pa'i rigs
ni skye mched drug gi khyad par ro zhes
'byung ba'i phyir dang / sde ba thams cad
las kyang sems dang sems las byung ba
thams cad rkyen bzhis skye bar 'byung ba'i
phyir ro // rnam par gtan la dbab pa bsdu
ba las 'byung ba ni sgrib pa'i sa bon sraḥ pa
nyid kyis chos nyid kyī sa bon zag pa med
pa yod pa nyid du bstan pa yin no zhes bya
bar dgongs pa yongs su brtag par nus so //*

undefiled seeds would give rise to defiled [dharmas]. Admitting that, defiled [dharmas] would arise again to Buddhas, and good [seeds], etc., would be the seeds of evil [dharmas], etc., ...

The real intention of the statement [in *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*] that the *gotra* distinctions are established by means of the hindrances is to demonstrate the presence or absence of undefiled seeds. Namely, if [people] completely lack undefiled seeds, they can never eliminate the seeds of the two [kinds of] hindrances. They are defined as not being destined for *nirvāṇa*. If [people] have only the undefiled seeds of the two vehicles, they can never eliminate the seeds of the hindrance to the knowable. Some [of these people] are defined as having *śrāvaka-gotra*, while the others are defined as having *pratyekabuddha-gotra*. If [people] further have the undefiled seeds of Buddhas, they can ultimately eliminate those two [kinds of] hindrances. They are defined as having *tathāgata-gotra*. Therefore, due to the presence or absence of undefiled seeds, the hindrances can or cannot be eliminated. Nevertheless, undefiled seeds are subtle, hidden, and hard to know. Therefore, the *gotra* distinctions are revealed by these distinctions of hindrances. Otherwise, what differences are there among these hindrances that would make them subject to elimination or not? If [the proponents of this theory] say that there naturally are these distinctions of hindrances, how do they not accept the same [argument] regarding undefiled seeds? If originally there were absolutely no undefiled seed, the noble paths could never arise. Who could eliminate the seeds of the two [kinds of] hindrances, and how could one say that the *gotra* distinctions are established by means of the hindrances? Since the noble paths would never [be able to] arise, arguing that they could arise in the future definitely does not make sense. Moreover, various scriptural

passages concerning the existence of primordial seeds all contradict this argument. Therefore, the theory that only admits newly generated [seeds] contradicts reason and scriptures. Accordingly, one should know that each of the seeds of various dharmas is twofold: primordial and newly generated.

若唯始起，有爲無漏，無因緣故，應不得生。有漏不應爲無漏種，勿無漏種生有漏故。許應諸佛，有漏復生。善等應爲，不善等種。……

(《瑜伽師地論·攝決擇分》) 依障建立種姓別者，意願無漏種子有無。謂若全無無漏種者，彼二障種，永不可害，即立彼爲非涅槃法。若唯有二乘無漏種者，彼所知障種，永不可害。一分立爲聲聞種姓，一分立爲獨覺種姓。若亦有佛無漏種者，彼二障種，俱可永害。即立彼爲如來種姓。故由無漏種子有無障，有可斷、不可斷義，然無漏種，微隱難知，故約彼障，顯性差別。……然諸聖教，處處說有本有種子，皆違彼義。故唯始起理教相違。由此應知，諸法種子，各有本有，始起二類。

This last argument in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* quoted in Table 13 refutes the argument found in the *tathatālambanaprāyaḥ* section of *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* and posits instead the naturally existing *gotra*, i.e. the primordial undefiled seed. *Cheng weishi lun* also rejects the theory in the same section of *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* and advocates instead the existence of the pre-existing (undefiled) seeds. In this regard, the views presented in both texts clearly align.

Thus far, we have confirmed that *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* and *Cheng weishi lun* contain three very similar arguments on the origin of seeds or imprints. Regarding this, one possible scenario might be that the Chinese text of *Cheng weishi lun* somehow influenced *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* (*Don gsang ba rnam par phyce ba bsdus te bshad pa*) in Tibet.

However, as I have pointed out,¹⁰⁹ Vinītadeva's *Triṃśikaṭīkā* (*Sum*

¹⁰⁹ Yamabe, 'Shūji no honnu to shinkun (II)', 95, note 3.

cu pa'i 'grel bshad) also enumerates three similar theories.

Yogācāras have three accounts.

Some say that previously nonexistent imprints arise.

Others say that imprints exist all the time. Defiled dharmas foster them, and owing to the fostering they can give rise to their result.

Yet others say that previously existent imprints are fostered, and previously nonexistent imprints are also generated.

rnal 'byor spyod pa rnams kyi lo rgyus rnam pa gsum ste /
 kha cig ni sngon med pa nyid kyi bag chags skyed do zhes zer /
 gzhan dag na re bag chags ni dus thams cad na yod pa de ni kun nas
 nyon mongs pa'i chos rnams kyis yongs su brtas¹¹⁰ par byed par zad
 de yongs su brtas¹¹¹ nas de'i 'bras bu mngon par bsgrub nus so zhes
 zer /
 gzhan dag ni snga ma nas yod pa'i bag chags kyang yongs su brtas¹¹²
 par byed la sngon med pa dag kyan skyed do¹¹³ snyam du sems so //¹¹⁴

This independently confirms that these three theories were current in Indian *Yogācāra*. We should also note, however, that, as has been indicated above, there are arguments in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* that do not directly correspond to *Cheng weishi lun*. For this reason, too, it is less likely that the relevant portion of *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* was copied from *Cheng weishi lun*.

It is thus more likely that the similarities between the three theories found in *Vivṛtaguhyārthapīṇḍavyākhyā* and *Cheng weishi lun* cast doubt on the 'compilational' origin of *Cheng weishi lun*.

¹¹⁰ Pek. Narthang, *rtas*.

¹¹¹ Pek. Narthang, *rtas*.

¹¹² Pek. Narthang, *rtas*.

¹¹³ A note in Chibetto Butten Fukyūkai's edition claims that Derge edition here has *de*, although as a matter of fact the Derge edition (Hi, 13b3) also has *do*.

¹¹⁴ Chibetto Butten Fukyūkai, ed., *Chibetto bun*, 40; for Japanese translation, see Yamaguchi and Nozawa, *Seshin yuisiki no genten kaimei*, 198.

5. *Yogācārabhūmividyākhyā* and *Cheng Weishi Lun* Regarding *Tathatāmbanapratyayabīja*

To approach this question from a broader perspective, let us now examine *Yogācārabhūmividyākhyā* (*rNal 'byor spyod pa'i sa rnam par bshad pa*, Derge No. 4043; Pek. No. 5544) below. *Yogācārabhūmividyākhyā* is an Indian commentary on *Yogācārabhūmi* extant in a partial Tibetan translation (and an abridged Chinese translation, entitled *Yugieshi di lun shi* 瑜伽師地論釋 [T no. 1580]). *Yogācārabhūmividyākhyā* gives a detailed analysis of the following line from *Manobhūmi* of the Basic Section of *Yogācārabhūmi*:

And the consciousness that contains all seeds (*sarvabījakam vijñānam*) of those who are destined for *nirvāṇa* (*parinirvāṇadharmaka*) has complete seeds. But the [consciousness] of those who are not destined for *nirvāṇa* (*aparinirvāṇadharmaka*) lacks the seeds of the three kinds of bodhis.

復次，此一切種子識，若般涅槃法者，一切種子，皆悉具足。不般涅槃法者，便闕三種菩提種子。(T no. 30: 2.284a29–b2 [No. 1579])

tat punaḥ sarvabījakam vijñānam parinirvāṇadharmakāṇaṃ paripūrṇabījam aparinirvāṇadharmakāṇaṃ punas trividhabodhibījavikalam || (*Manobhūmi*, *Yogācārabhūmi*, V. Bhattacharya ed., 25.1–2)

5.1. Translations

Yogācārabhūmividyākhyā (Derge 'i 92b3–93b5; Pek. Yi 112b4–114a2) discusses the phrase, ‘complete seeds’ (*paripūrṇabījam*) as follows:

Regarding [the expression,] ‘complete seeds’;

Some say: This refers to the potentialities of defiled and undefiled dharmas that exist [in the consciousness that contains all seeds].

Others say: Seeds of supramundane dharmas do not exist in *ālayavijñāna*, because it is said in the treatise (*Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*) that supramundane dharmas arise from *tathatāmbanapratyayabīja* and not from the seeds that are accumulated imprints.¹¹⁵

sa bon yongs su tshang¹¹⁶ ba yin no¹¹⁷ zhes bya ba ni
 kha cig na re zag pa dang bcas pa dang zag pa med pa'i chos rnam kyī
 nus pa yod pa la bya'o¹¹⁸ zhes zer ro //
 kha cig na re kun gzhi rnam par shes pa la ni 'jig rten las 'das pa'i
 chos kyī sa bon med de / 'di ltar 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos rnam ni
 de bzhin nyid la dmigs pa'i rkyen gyi sa bon las byung ba yin gyi /
 de'i bag chags bsags pa'i sa bon¹¹⁹ las byung ba ma yin no¹²⁰ zhes
 bstan bcos las 'byung ngo¹²¹ zhes zer ro // (Derge 'i 92b3–5; Pek. Yi
 112b4–7)

Regarding this, proponents of the former position respond: The purport of the treatise (*Viniścayaśaṃgrahaṇī*) is as follows: Seeds fostered by *tathatālabhanapratyaya* are the causes [of supramundane dharmas], but the accumulated imprints of *daṣṭhūlyas* are not,¹²² because these [accumulated imprints] belong to the class of *daṣṭhūlyas*.¹²³

¹¹⁵ smras pa / 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos rnam ni de bzhin nyid la dmigs pa'i rkyen gyi sa bon dang ldan par skye ba'i bag chags bsags pa'i sa bon dang ldan pa ni ma yin no // (*Viniścayaśaṃgrahaṇī*, D. Zhi 27b4–5; Pek. Zi 30a8–b1)

Yuqieshi di lun 瑜伽師地論, T no. 1579, 30: 52.589a16–17: 答: 諸出世間法, 從真如所緣緣種子生, 非彼習氣積集種子所生. See Yamabe, 'Shinnyo shoennen shūji'.

¹¹⁶ Pek. *tsha nga*.

¹¹⁷ Pek. adds //.

¹¹⁸ Pek. adds //.

¹¹⁹ Pek. *sa* instead of *sa bon*.

¹²⁰ Pek. adds //.

¹²¹ Pek. adds //.

¹²² Depending on the context, *gnas ngan len* (*daṣṭhūlyas*, 麤重) can mean active defilements, their seeds, or inertness of body and mind.

¹²³ gal te bag chags des sa bon thams cad bsdus la# / de yang kun du 'gro ba'i gnas ngan len zhes## bya bar gyur na / de ltar na 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos rnam skye ba'i sa bon gang yin / de dag skye ba'i sa bon gyi dngos po gnas ngan len gyi rang bzhin can yin par ni mi rung ngo zhe na / (D. Zhi 27b3–4; Pek. Zi 30a7–8).

D. pa.

de la phyogs snga ma smra ba dag gis lan btab pa / bstan bcos kyi don
ni 'di yin te / de bzhin nyid la dmigs pa'i rkyen rnams kyi¹²⁴ sa bon
rtas¹²⁵ par bya ba ni de dag gi rgyu yin gyi gnas ngan len gyi bag chags
bsags pa ni ma yin te / 'di ltar de ni gnas ngan len gyi skabs yin pa'i
phyir ro // (Derge 'i 92b5–6; Pek. Yi 112b7–8)

If there were no undefiled seeds in [*ālaya*]*vijñāna*, then it would
be unreasonable to say that, from the beginning, these [people]
have *śrāvaka*-, *pratyekabuddha*-, and *tathāgata-gotra*-, while those
[people] have no *gotra*. Therefore, *gotra*, which is another appella-
tion for the seed that causes the arising of undefiled dharmas, exists.

rnam par shes pa la zag pa¹²⁶ med pa'i sa bon med na ni dang po nyid
nas 'di ni nyan thos dang rang sang rgyas dang de bzhin gshegs pa'i
rigs can dang / de dag gi rigs med pa'o¹²⁷ zhes rnam par gzhaḡ pa kho
na yang mi rigs par 'gyur bas / de'i phyir zag pa med pa'i chos rnams
'byung ba'i rgyus sa bon gyi rnam grangs kyi rigs yod do // (Derge 'i
92b6–7; Pek. Yi 112b8–113a2)

[If there were no *gotra*,] the three types of bodhis as distinct results
[of the three vehicles] would not exist either, because [*tathatā* as]
cognitive object is not differentiated [for the three vehicles].¹²⁸ When

Pek. *ces*.

Yugieshi di lun, T no. 1579, 30: 52.589a13–16: 問: 若此習氣, 攝一切種子, 復
名遍行龐重者, 諸出世間法, 從何種子生? 若言龐重自性種子為種子生, 不應道
理.

¹²⁴ D. *kyi*.

¹²⁵ D. *bṛtas*.

¹²⁶ Pek. omits *pa*.

¹²⁷ Pek. adds //.

¹²⁸ gal te bag chags bsags pa'i sa bon dang ldan par skye ba ma yin na / de lta na
ni ci'i phyir gang zag yong su mya ngan las 'das pa'i chos can gyi rigs gsum rnam
par gzhaḡ# pa dang / gang zag yong su mya ngan las mi 'da' ba'i chos can gyi rigs
rnam par gzhaḡ pa mdzad de / 'di ltar thams cad la yang de bzhin nyid la dmigs
pa'i rkyen yod pa'i phyir ro zhe na / (D. Zhi 27b5–6; Pek. Zi 30b1–3).

something that makes one yearn for *tathatā* (i.e., *gotra*) exists, some [people] thus undertake to remove [the hindrance of] defilements (i.e., *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*), and other [people] undertake to remove the hindrance to the knowable (i.e., bodhisattvas). Therefore, it should be accepted that there is a cause (i.e., *gotra*) in a [mental] continuity.

'bras bu'i bye brag byang chub rnam gsum yang med par 'gyur te / dmigs pa tha dad pa ma yin pa'i phyir ro // de bzhin nyid la 'dod pa bzhin byed pa ci zhig yod na 'di ltar gcig la ni nyon mongs pa spang ba'i phyir nye bar gnas la / gcig ni shes bya'i sgrib pa spang ba'i phyir nye bar gnas par 'gyur te / de'i phyir rgyud la gnas pa'i rgyu yod par 'dod par bya'o // (Derge 'i 92b7–93a2; Pek. Yi 113a2–4)

Proponents of the second theory say: A treatise cannot be interpreted in a different way (i.e., should be understood literally). It is taught forcefully [in *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*]: 'If all seeds are subsumed under *dauṣṭhulya*, what seeds will give rise to supramundane dharmas? It is not reasonable that their cause is the seed of *dauṣṭhulya*'.¹²⁹ The establishment of *gotra* is also taught in the same text [*Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*]: 'If people's [mental] continuities contain the seed of an ultimate hindrance to the penetration to *tathatā* as cognitive object, they have the *gotra* not destined for *nirvāṇa*. If there is no seed of the hindrance of defilement in the [mental] continuities but there is a seed of an ultimate hindrance to the knowable, some [people] are established as having *śrāvaka-gotra*, and the others as having *pratyekabuddha-gotra*. If they have neither of them, they have *tathāgata-gotra*'.¹³⁰ The establishment of the results [of the three vehicles] is also taught in the same [treatise].

Pek. *bzhag*.

Yuqieshi di lun, T no. 1579, 30: 52.589a17–21: 問: 若非習氣積集種子所生者, 何因緣故, 建立三種般涅槃法種性差別補特伽羅, 及建立不般涅槃法種性補特伽羅. 所以者何? 一切皆有真如所緣緣故.

¹²⁹ See n. 123.

¹³⁰ See n. 44.

phyogs gnyis pa smra ba dag gis smras pa / bstan bcos ni gzhan du
 drang bar mi nus te / gal te gnas ngan len gyi bag chags des sa bon
 thams cad bsdu pa yin na 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos rnam 'byung bar
 'gyur ba'i sa bon gang yin te / de dag gi rgyu gnas ngan len gyi sa bon
 yin par mi rigs so¹³¹ zhes rab tu bsgrims¹³² te bstan to zhes zer ro //
 rigs rnam par gzhaḡ pa yang de nyid las bstan te / gang dag gi rgyud
 la de bzhin nyid la¹³³ dmigs pa rtogs^{133a} par mi 'gyur ba¹³⁴ gtan du ba'i
 sgrib pa'i sa bon yod pa de dag ni yongs su mya ngan las mi 'da' ba'i
 rigs rgyud la nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa'i sa bon ni med la / gtan du
 ba'i shes bya'i sgrib pa'i sa bon yod pa de dag ni kha cig nyan thos kyi
 rigs can yin pa dang /¹³⁵ kha cig rang sangs rgyas kyi rigs can yin par
 rnam par bzhaḡ¹³⁶ go // gang dag la de gnyis ka med pa de dag ni de
 bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs can yin no¹³⁷ zhes 'byung ba¹³⁸ ste¹³⁹ / 'bras bu
 rnam par bzhaḡ¹⁴⁰ pa yang de nyid kyi bstan to // (Derge 'i 93a2–5;
 Pek. Yi 113a4–8)

Other people say: If seeds of bodhis do not exist at all, since the three kinds of [bodhis] do not exist, the seeds of the three kinds of bodhis do not exist.¹⁴¹ Accordingly, [all sentient beings must be beings] not destined for *nirvāṇa*, because it is stated in *Bodhisattvabhūmi*: 'Keen capacities (or sense faculties), etc., are the cause'¹⁴² and '[Seed]

¹³¹ Pek. adds //.

¹³² D. *bsgribs*.

¹³³ D. omits *la*.

^{133a} D. *rtog*.

¹³⁴ Pek. *pa*.

¹³⁵ D. //.

¹³⁶ D. *gzhaḡ*.

¹³⁷ Pek. adds //.

¹³⁸ Pek. omits *ba*.

¹³⁹ See n. 44.

¹⁴⁰ D. *gzhaḡ*.

¹⁴¹ The translation of this sentence is uncertain.

¹⁴² Cf. *tatrāyaṃ indriyakṛto viśeṣaḥ / prakṛtyaiva bodhisattvas tīkṣṇendriyo bhavati pratyekabuddho madhyendriyaḥ śrāvako mṛdvindriyaḥ* / (Wogihara, ed.,

is recognized to be ability and *gotra*'.¹⁴³ Just after 'the seeds of faith, etc.,' [are mentioned, *Manobhūmi*] says: 'They are not called *dauṣṭhulya*'.¹⁴⁴ The Āgama (*Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra*) says: 'Undetermined *gotra* exists'.¹⁴⁵ [These passages from *sūtras* and treatises that accept a distinction among *gotras* cannot be explained.] Undefined *citta* and *caittas* arise from the seeds that stay in *vipākavijñāna*,

Bodhisattvabhūmi, 3.23–4.2).

Yuqieshi di lun, T no. 1579, 30: 35.478c29–479a2: 言根勝者，謂諸菩薩本性利根，獨覺中根，聲聞軟根，是名根勝。

¹⁴³ Cf. tat punar gotraṃ bījaṃ ity apy ucyate dhātuh prakṛtir ity api. (Wogihara, ed., *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, 3.6–8).

Yuqieshi di lun, T no. 1579, 30:35.478c17–18: 又此種姓，亦名種子，亦名為界，亦名為性。

¹⁴⁴ yāni punaḥ śraddhādikuśaladharmapakṣyāṇi bījāni teṣu naivānuśayasamjñā dauṣṭhulyasamjñā | tathā hi | teṣāṃ utpādāt karmaṇya evāśrayo bhavati nākarmanyah | ataś ca sakalam āśrayaṃ dauṣṭhulyopagatatvād dauṣṭhulyamayāt# tathāgatā duḥkhataḥ prajñāpayanti yad uta saṃskāraduḥkhatayā || (Bhattacharya, ed., *Manobhūmi*, 26.14–17).

#Bhattacharya, ed., dauṣṭhulyasvabhāvāt; MS: dauṣṭhulyamayāt.

Yuqieshi di lun 瑜伽師地論, T no. 1879, 30: 284c6–10: 若信等善法品所攝種子，不名龜重，亦非隨眠。何以故？由此法生時，所依自體，唯有堪能非不堪能，是故一切所依自體，龜重所隨故，龜重所生故，龜重自性故，諸佛如來安立為苦。所謂由行苦故。

¹⁴⁵ See n. 17.

Cf. nyan thos byang chub tu yongs su 'gyur ba gang yin pa de ni ngas rnam grangs kyis byang chub sems dpa' yin par bstan te / 'di ltar de ni nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa las rnam par grol nas / de bzhin gshegs pa rnam kyis bskul na / shes bya'i sgrib pa las sems rnam par grol bar byed pa'i phyir ro // de ni dang por bdag gi don la sbyor ba'i rnam pas nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa las rnam par grol te / de'i phyir de bzhin gshegs pas de nyan thos kyi rigs su 'dogs so / (Lamotte, ed., *Sandhinirmocanasūtra*, §7.16).

Jie shenmi jing 解深密經, T no. 676, 16: 2.695b3–8: 若迴向菩提聲聞種性補特伽羅，我亦異門說為菩薩。何以故？彼既解脫煩惱障已，若蒙諸佛等覺悟時，於所知障，其心亦可當得解脫。由彼最初為自利益，修行加行脫煩惱障，是故如來施設彼為聲聞種性。

because they are endowed with [the nature of] arising just like all the defiled *citta* and *caittas*. A dissimilar dharma is space (*ākāśa*).¹⁴⁶ *Tathatālabhāna* is the seeds of supramundane dharmas, because they are the path (*lam*, *mārga*) like the mundane path. A dissimilar dharma is space (*ākāśa*).

gzhan dag gis smras pa / gal te byang chub ki sa bon med pa kho na
yin na¹⁴⁷ //¹⁴⁸ rnam pa gsum po gang¹⁴⁹ med pas byang chub rnam
pa¹⁵⁰ gsum gyi sa bon gang med cing yongs su mya ngan las mi 'da'
ba'i chos can yin zhe pa¹⁵¹ / byang chub sems dpa'i sa las ni dbang
po rnon po la sogs pa ni rgyu yin te nus pa dang rigs yin par 'dod
do // dad pa¹⁵² la sogs pa'i sa bon mjug thogs kho nar gnas ngan len
zhes bya ba yang med do¹⁵³ zhes kyang 'og nas 'byung ba'i phyir ro
// lung ni gcig tu ma nges la rigs pa ni yod de / zag pa med pa'i sems
dang sems las byung ba rnam ni rnam par smin pa'i rnam par shes
pa la gnas pa'i sa bon las byung ba yin te / 'byung ba dang ldan pa'i
phyir ro // zag pa dang bcas pa'i sems dang sems las byung ba thams
cad bzhin te / chos mi mthun pa ni nam mkha'o // de bzhin nyid la
dmigs pa ni 'jig rten las 'das pa'i sa bon yin te / lam yin pa'i phyir ro
// 'jig rten pa'i lam bzhin te / chos mi mthun pa ni nam mkha'o //
(Derge 'i 93a5–b1; Pek. Yi 113a8–b5)

The literal [meaning of the] treatise cannot be interpreted [in a different way] because it is revealed very clearly and in detail. Therefore, both (pre-existing undefiled seeds and *tathatālabhanapratyayabīja*) can be posited, just as [both] *tathatā* and the realization of the four

¹⁴⁶ This seems to refer to *vaidharmya-dṛṣṭānta*, i.e., an example of a dissimilar element.

¹⁴⁷ D. *no*.

¹⁴⁸ Pek /.

¹⁴⁹ Pek. *grang* (?).

¹⁵⁰ Pek. omits *pa*.

¹⁵¹ D. *na*.

¹⁵² Pek. *ba*.

¹⁵³ Pek. adds //.

nobles' realities (*bden pa bzhi, catvāri āryasatyāni*) [can be] posited. There is no contradiction, as the argument has been presented in the end of *Pañcaviṃśānakāyasamprayuktā bhūmiḥ*.¹⁵⁴

ji ltar bkod pa'i bstan bcos ni drang bar mi nus te / shin tu gsal bar rgya cher rnam par phye ba'i phyir ro // de'i phyir gnyis ka¹⁵⁵ yang rnam par bzha¹⁵⁶ tu rung ste / de bzhin nyid dang bden pa bzhi mngon par rtogs pa rnam par bzha¹⁵⁷ pa bzhin no // 'gal ba yang med do // rnam par shes pa'i tshogs lnga dang ldan pa'i mjug tu gtan tshigs smras zin pa'i phyir ro // (Derge 'i 93b2-3; Pek. Yi 113b5-7)

Some people say: If both (pre-existing undefiled seeds and *tathatā-lamba-napratyayabīja*) are posited, one should be provisional, while the other should be ultimate. This is because, for example, in this very teaching (*Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*), although the four nobles' realities are posited from the point of view of detailed positing, it is stated that the positing of *tathatā* is real.¹⁵⁸ That (*tathatā*)

¹⁵⁴ Cf. de'i dang por bden pa mngon par rtogs pa la 'jug par bya ba'i phyir bsgom ste / bden pa ma mthongs ba bden pa rnams la mig ma thob pas ni kun gzhi rnam par shes pa sa bon thams cad pa yang rtogs par mi nus pa'i phyir ro // de de ltar zhugs shing nyan thos kyi yang dag pa nyid skyon med pa la zhugs sam / byang chub sems dpa'i yang dag pa nyid skyon med pa la zhugs te chos thams cad kyi chos kyi dbyings rtogs par byed pa na / kun gzhi rnam par shes pa yang rtogs par byed de / ... de bzhin nyid la dmigs pa'i shes pas kun tu brten cing goms par byas pa'i rgyus gnas 'gyur bar byed do // gnas 'gyur ma thag tu kun gzhi rnam par shes pa spangs par brjod par bya ste // (Hakamaya, *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*, 405-6.

Yujiashi di lun, T no. 1579, 30: 51.581b24-c7: 能入最初聖諦現觀，非未見諦者，於諸諦中，未得法眼，便能通達一切種子阿賴耶識。此未見諦者，修如是行已，或入聲聞正性離生，或入菩薩正性離生，達一切法真法界已，亦能通達阿賴耶識。……由緣真如境智，修習多修習故而得轉依。轉依無間，當言已斷阿賴耶識。

¹⁵⁵ Pek. *gnyi ga*.

¹⁵⁶ D. *gzha*.

¹⁵⁷ D. *gzha*.

¹⁵⁸ *She dashenglun ben*, T no. 1579, 30: 72.697c15-17: 諦有二種：一安立諦，二非安立諦。安立諦者，謂四聖諦；非安立諦者，謂真如。

is the highest [truth], and likewise here [in the Basic Section of *Yogācārabhūmi*] also, somewhere something is said to be the highest [truth]. Because there are passages of Āgama and reasoning, here it is impossible to be definite.¹⁵⁹ This absurd statement will be settled in *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*.

kha cig gis smras pa / gal te gnyis ka rnam par bzhag¹⁶⁰ na de gnyis
las gcig ni drang ba yin la gcig ni gtso¹⁶¹ bo yin par 'gyur te / dper
na bstan pa 'di nyid la bden pa bzhi dag rab tu rgya cher rnam par
bzhag¹⁶² pa las brtsams te rnam par bzhag¹⁶³ kyang de bzhin nyid
rnam par bzhag¹⁶⁴ pa ni bden pa'o¹⁶⁵ zhes gsung pas na¹⁶⁶ / de ni
gtso bo yin pa de bzhin du 'di la yang gang gtso bo yin par gang nas
gsungs te / lung dang rigs pa dag gi skabs kyang yod pas 'di la ni nges
par 'byung ba'i thabs med do // ha cang thal bar 'gyur ba'i brjod pa
'di¹⁶⁷ ni rnam par gtan la dbab pa bsdu ba las nges par bya ba'o //
(Derge 'i 94b3–5; Pek. Yi 113b7–114a2)

5.2. Comparative Tables

A comparison of this discussion with the corresponding portions of *Cheng weishi lun* follows:

¹⁵⁹ The meaning of these two sentences is not very clear to me.

¹⁶⁰ D. *gzhag*.

¹⁶¹ D. *gco*.

¹⁶² D. *gzhag*.

¹⁶³ D. *gzhag*.

¹⁶⁴ D. *gzhag*.

¹⁶⁵ Pek. adds //.

¹⁶⁶ bden pa ni rnam pa gnyis te / rnam par bzhag pa dang / rnam par ma bzhag
pa'o // de la 'phags pa'i bden pa gzhi ni rnam par bzhag pa'i bden pa yin no //
de bzhin nyid ni rnam par ma bzhag pa'i bden pa yin no // (D. Zi 5a5–6; Pek. 'i
5b3–4)

¹⁶⁷ D. *pa'i di* instead of *ba 'di*.

TABLE 14 Both Defiled and Undeiled Seeds

<i>Yogācārabhūmivivākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>Regarding [the expression,] ‘complete seeds’; Some say: This refers to the <u>potentialities of defiled and undeiled dharmas</u> that exist [in the consciousness that contains all seeds]. <i>sa bon yongs su tshang ba yin no zhes bya ba ni</i> <i>kha cig na re zag pa dang bcas pa dang zag pa med pa'i chos rnams kyi nus pa yod pa la bya'o zhes zer ro //</i></p>	<p>(The first theory) Regarding this, some [Yogācāras] maintain that all seeds exist by nature (<i>benxing you</i> 本性有, *<i>prakṛtistha</i>). They do not arise through infusion (<i>xun[xi]</i> 熏[習]) but can only be fostered through infusion.... Based on these scriptural passages, [we can conclude] that the <u>undeiled seeds</u> exist naturally and primordially. They are not generated through infusion. <u>Defiled seeds</u> must also exist naturally. They are fostered through infusion, but they do not come into being specifically through infusion. (唯本有義) 此中有義, 一切種子, 皆本性有, 不從熏生。由熏習力, 但可增長。..... 由此等證, 無漏種子, 法爾本有, 不從熏生。有漏亦應, 法爾有種。由熏增長, 不別熏生。 (T31: 8a20–b6)</p>
<p>Others say: <u>Seeds of supramundane dharmas</u> do not exist in <i>ālayavijñāna</i>, because it is said in the treatise (<i>Viniścayasamgrahaṇī</i>) that supramundane dharmas arise from <i>tathatā</i> <u>lambanapratyayabīja</u> and not from the seeds that are accumulated imprints. <i>kha cig na re kun gzhi rnam par shes pa la ni 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos kyi sa bon med de / 'di ltar 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos rnams ni de bzbin nyid la dmigs pa'i rkyen gyi sa bon las byung ba yin gyi / de'i bag chags bsags pa'i sa bon las byung ba ma yin no zhes bstan bcas las 'byung ngo zhes zer ro</i></p>	<p>(The second theory) The original <i>gotra</i> distinctions among sentient beings are not [determined] by the presence or absence of undeiled seeds. These [distinctions] are established due to the presence or absence of hindrances. As [<i>Viniścayasamgrahaṇī</i> (The Collection of Doctrinal Exegeses) section of] <i>Yogā[cārabhūmi]</i>¹⁶⁸ states: If [beings] have seeds of two [kinds of] ultimate hindrances to <i>tathatā</i> as object, they are not destined for <i>nirvāṇa</i>. (唯新熏義) 有情本來, 種姓差別。不由無漏種子有無, 但依有障無障建立。如瑜伽 (《攝決擇分》) 說於真如境, 若有畢竟二障種者, 立為不般涅槃法性。</p>

¹⁶⁸ T no. 1579, 30: 52.589a.

In Table 14, *Yogācārabhūmivijākhyā* offers two interpretations. The first is that both defiled and undefiled seeds are retained in the *sarvabījakam vijñānam* (i.e., *ālayavijñāna*). The first theory (pre-existing seeds) in *Cheng weishi lun* also states that both defiled and undefiled seeds exist originally. On this point, the two texts completely agree.

The second interpretation is that *sarvabījakam vijñānam* contains no seeds of supramundane dharmas, because all supramundane dharmas arise from *tathatālabhanapratyayabīja*. This view denies the existence of undefiled seeds in *ālayavijñāna*. According to proponents of this theory, the generative cause of the noble paths is *tathatālabhanapratyayabīja*. This theory is evidently based on the section on *tathatālabhanapratyayabīja* in *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* of *Yogācārabhūmi*. The relevant discussion in *Cheng weishi lun* is also based on the same section. Here again, the arguments in the two texts are closely related.

TABLE 15 Interpretation of *Tathatālabhanapratyayabīja*

<i>Yogācārabhūmivijākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>Regarding this, proponents of the former position respond: The purport of the treatise (<i>Viniścayasamgrahaṇī</i>) is as follows: <u>Seeds fostered by <i>tathatālabhanapratyaya</i></u> are the causes [of supramundane dharmas], but the accumulated imprints of <i>dauṣṭhulyas</i> are not, because these [accumulated imprints] belong to the class of <i>dauṣṭhulya</i>.</p> <p><i>de la phyogs snga ma smra ba dag gis lan</i> <i>btab pa / bstan bcos kyi don ni 'di yin te /</i> <i>de bzhin nyid la dmigs pa'i rkyen rnam</i> <i>kyis sa bon rtas par bya ba ni de dag gi</i> <i>rgyu yin gyi gnas ngan len gyi bag chags</i> <i>bsags pa ni ma yin te / 'di ltar de ni gnas</i> <i>ngan len gyi skabs yin pa'i phyr ro //</i></p>	

If there were no undefiled seeds in [*ālaya*] *viññāna*, then it would be unreasonable to say that, from the beginning, these [people] have the of *śrāvaka*-, *pratyekabuddha*-, and *tathāgata*-*gotras*, while those [people] have no *gotra*.

Therefore, *gotra*, which is another appellation for the seed that causes the arising of undefiled dharmas, exists.

rnam par shes pa la zag pa med pa'i sa bon med na ni dang po nyid nas 'di ni nyan thos dang rang sang rgyas dang de bzbin gshegs pa'i rigs can dang / de dag gi rigs med pa'o zhes rnam par gzbag pa kho na yang mi rigs par 'gyur bas / de'i phyir zag pa med pa'i chos rnams 'byung ba'i rgyus sa bon gyi rnam grangs kyi rigs yod do //

The real intention of the statement [in *Viniśayasamgrahaṇī*] that the *gotra* distinctions are established by means of the hindrances is to demonstrate the presence or absence of undefiled seeds. Namely, if [people] completely lack undefiled seeds, they can never eliminate the seeds of the two [kinds of] hindrances. They are defined as not being destined for *nirvāṇa*.

(本有・新熏合生義) [《攝決擇分》真如所緣緣種子段] 依障建立種姓別者，意顯無漏種子有無。謂若全無無漏種者，彼二障種，永不可害，即立彼為非涅槃法。(T31: 2.9a21–23)

[If there is no *gotra*,] the three types of bodhis as distinct results [of the three vehicles] would not exist either, because [*tathatā* as] cognitive object is not differentiated [for the three vehicles]. When something that makes one yearn for *tathatā* (i.e., *gotra*) exists, somebody thus undertakes to remove [the hindrance of] defilements (i.e., *śrāvaka*), and somebody else undertakes to remove the hindrance to the knowable (i.e., *bodhisattva*). Therefore, it should be admitted that there is a cause (i.e., *gotra*) in a [mental] continuity.

'bras bu'i bye brag byan chub rnam gsum yang med par 'gyur te / dmigs pa tha dad pa ma yin pa'i phyir ro // de bzbin nyid la 'dod pa bzbin byed pa ci zbig yod na 'di ltar gcig la ni nyon mongs pa spang ba'i phyir nye bar gnas la / gcig ni shes bya'i sgrib pa spang ba'i phyir nye bar gnas par 'gyur te / de'i phyir rgyud la gnas pa'i rgyu yod par 'dod par bya'o //

If [people] have only the undefiled seeds of the two vehicles, they can never eliminate the seeds of the hindrance to the knowable. Some [of these people] are defined as having *śrāvaka-gotra*, while the others are defined as having *pratyekabuddha-gotra* of. If [people] further have the undefiled seeds of Buddhas, they can ultimately eliminate those two [kinds of] hindrances. They are defined as having *tathāgata-gotra*. Therefore, due to the presence or absence of undefiled seeds, the hindrances can or cannot be eliminated. Nevertheless, undefiled seeds are subtle, hidden, and hard to know. Therefore, the *gotra* distinctions are revealed by these distinctions of hindrances. Otherwise, what differences are there among these hindrances that would make them subject to elimination or not. If [the proponents of this theory] say that there naturally are these distinctions of hindrances, how do they not accept the same [argument] regarding undefiled seeds? If originally there were absolutely no undefiled seed, the noble paths can never arise. Who could eliminate the seeds of the two [kinds of] hindrances, and how could one say that the *gotra* distinctions are established by

means of the hindrances? Since the noble paths would never [be able to] arise, arguing that they could arise in the future definitely does not make sense.

(本有、新熏合生義) 若唯有二乘無漏種者, 彼所知障種, 永不可害。一分立為聲聞種姓, 一分立為獨覺種姓。若亦有佛無漏種者, 彼二障種, 俱可永害。即立彼為如來種姓。故由無漏種子有無障有可斷不可斷義, 然無漏種微隱難知, 故約彼障顯性差別。不爾彼障, 有何別因, 而有可害不可害者, 若謂法爾, 有此障別, 無漏法種, 寧不許然? 若本全無無漏法種, 則諸聖道, 永不得生。誰當能害二障種子, 而說依障, 立種姓別。既彼聖道, 必無生義, 說當可生, 亦定非理。(T31:99a23–b5)

In Table 15, the proponents of the first theory (both defiled and undefiled seeds in *ālayavijñāna*) counter the second theory (no undefiled seeds in *ālayavijñāna*) with the suggestion that the true meaning of the relevant section of *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* is that the pre-existing undefiled seeds fostered by the *tathatālabhanapratyaya* serve as the generative causes of supramundane dharmas. Without pre-existing undefiled seeds, the *gotra* distinctions are impossible. The corresponding section of *Cheng weishi lun* proposes the same idea.

TABLE 16 Literal Interpretation of *Tathatālabhanapratyayabīja*

<i>Yogācārabhūmivivākhyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
Proponents of the second theory say: A treatise cannot be interpreted in a different way (i.e., should be understood literally). It is taught forcefully [in <i>Viniścayasamgrahaṇī</i>]: ‘If all seeds are subsumed under <i>dauṣṭhulya</i> , what seeds will give rise to supramundane dharmas? It is not reasonable that their cause is the seed of <i>dauṣṭhulya</i> .’ <i>phyogs gnyis pa smra ba dag gis smras pa / bstan bcos ni gzhan du drang bar mi nus te / gal te gnas ngan len gyi bag chags des sa bon thams cad bsdus pa yin na ’jig rten las</i>	

'das pa'i chos rnams 'byung bar 'gyur ba'i
 sa bon gang yin te / de dag gi rgyu gnas
 ngan len gyi sa bon yin par mi rigs so zhes
 rab tu bsgrims te bstan to zhes zer ro //

The establishment of *gotra* is also taught in the same text [*Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*]: 'If people's [mental] continuities contain the seed of an ultimate hindrance to the penetration to *tathatā* as cognitive object in some people's [mental] continuities, they are the *gotra* not destined for *nirvāṇa*. If there is no seed of the hindrance of defilement in the [mental] continuities but there is a seed of an ultimate hindrance to the knowable, some [people] are established as having *śrāvaka-gotra*, and the others as having *pratyekabuddha-gotra*. If they have neither of them, they have *tathāgata-gotra* of.' The establishment of the results [of the three vehicles] is also taught in the same [treatise].

*rigs rnam par gzbag pa yang de nyid las
 bstan te / gang dag gi rgyud la de bzbin
 nyid la dmigs pa rtog par mi 'gyur ba gtan
 du ba'i sgrib pa'i sa bon yod pa de dag ni
 yongs su mya ngan las mi 'da' ba'i rigs
 rgyud la nyon mongs pa'i sgrib pa'i sa bon
 ni med la / gtan du ba'i shes bya'i sgrib
 pa'i sa bon yod pa de dag ni kha cig nyan
 thos kyī rigs can yin pa dang / kha cig rang
 sangs rgyas kyī rigs can yin par rnam par
 bzbag go // gang dag la de gnyis ka med
 pa de dag ni de bzbin gshegs pa'i rigs can
 yin no zhes 'byung ba ste / 'bras bu rnam
 par bzbag pa yang de nyid kyis bstan to //*

The original *gotra* distinctions among sentient beings are not [determined] by the presence or absence of undefiled seeds. These [distinctions] are established due to the presence or absence of hindrances. As [the *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* (The Collection of Doctrinal Exegeses) section of] *Yogā[cārabhūmi]* states: If [beings] have seeds of the two [kinds of] ultimate hindrances to *tathatā* as object, they are not destined for *nirvāṇa*. If [beings] have seeds of the ultimate hindrance to the knowable but do not have [seeds of the hindrance of] defilements, some of them are called [those who have] *śrāvaka-gotra*, while the others are called [those who have] the *gotra* of *pratyekabuddha*. If [beings] have no seed of either [kind of] ultimate hindrance, they are called [those who have] *tathāgata-gotra*. Therefore, it is known that the original *gotra* distinctions are determined based on the hindrances and not on undefiled seeds. (唯新熏義) 有情本來，種姓差別。不由無漏，種子有無。但依有障，無障建立。如瑜伽說，於真如境，若有畢竟二障種者，立為不般涅槃法性。若有畢竟所知障種非煩惱者，一分立為聲聞種性，一分立為獨覺種性。若無畢竟二障種者，即立彼為如來種性。故知本來種性，差別依障，建立非無漏種。

In Table 16, the proponents of the second theory (no undefiled seeds in *ālayavijñāna*) respond that the relevant section of *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī* requires a literal interpretation. Namely, the differences among *gotras* are explained by the presence or absence of the seeds of hindrances, not the presence or absence of undefiled seeds. This discussion is identical to the argument of the second theory in *Cheng weishi lun*.

TABLE 17 Both Pre-existing Undefined Seeds and *Tathatāmbanapratyayabīja*

<i>Yogācārabhūmivākyā</i>	<i>Cheng weishi lun</i>
<p>Other people say: If seeds of bodhis do not exist at all, since the three kinds of [bodhis] do not exist, the seeds of the three kinds of bodhis do not exist. Accordingly, [all sentient beings must be beings] not destined for <i>nirvāṇa</i>, because it is stated in <i>Bodhisattvabhūmi</i>: ‘Keen capacity (or sense faculties), etc., are the cause.’ and ‘[Seed] is recognized to be ability and <i>gotra</i>’. Just after ‘the seeds of faith, etc.’ [are mentioned, <i>Manobhūmi</i>] says: ‘They are not called <i>daṣṭhulya</i>’. The Āgama (<i>Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra</i>) says: ‘Undetermined <i>gotra</i> exists’.</p> <p><i>gzhan dag gis smras pa / gal te byang chub ki sa bon med pa kho na yin na // rnam pa gsum po gang med pas byang chub rnam pa gsum gyi sa bon gang med cing yongs su mya ngan las mi 'da' ba'i chos can yin zhe pa / byang chub sems dpa'i sa las ni dbang po rnon po la sogs pa ni rgyu yin te nus pa dang rigs yin par 'dod do // dad pa la sogs pa'i sa bon mjug thogs kho nar gnas ngan len zhes bya ba yang med do zhes kyang 'og nas 'byung ba'i phyir ro // lung ni gcig tu ma nges la rigs pa ni yod de /</i></p>	<p>(thesis) Undefined <i>citta</i> and <i>caittas</i> arise from the seeds that stay in <i>vipākavijñāna</i>, (reason) because they are endowed with [the nature of] arising (simile) just like all the defiled <i>citta</i> and <i>caittas</i>. A dissimilar dharma is space (<i>ākāśa</i>).</p> <p>(thesis) <i>Tathatāmbana</i> is the seeds of supramundane dharmas, (reason) because they are the path (<i>lam</i>, <i>mārga</i>) (simile) like the mundane path. A dissimilar dharma is space (<i>ākāśa</i>).</p> <p><i>zag pa med pa'i sems dang sems las byung ba rnams ni rnam par smin pa'i rnam par shes pa la gnas pa'i sa bon las byung ba yin te / 'byung ba dang ldan pa'i phyir ro // zag pa dang bcas pa'i sems dang sems las byung ba thams cad bzhin te / chos mi</i></p>

mtshun pa ni nam mkha'o //
de bzhin nyid la dmigs pa ni 'jig rten las
'das pa'i sa bon yin te / lam yin pa'i phyir
ro // 'jig rten pa'i lam bzhin te / chos mi
mtshun pa ni nam mkha'o //

The literal [meaning of the] treatise cannot be interpreted [in a different way] because it is revealed very clearly and in detail. Therefore, both (pre-existing undefiled seeds and *tathatā*lambanapratyayabīja) can be posited, just as [both] *tathatā* and the realization of the four nobles' realities (*bden pa bzhi*, *catvāri āryasatyāni*). There is no contradiction, as the argument has been presented in the end of *Pañcavijñānakāyasamprayuktā bhūmiḥ*. *ji ltar bkod pa'i bstan bcos ni drang bar mi nus te / shin tu gsal bar rgya cher rnam par phye ba'i phyir ro // de'i phyir gnyis ka yang rnam par bzbag tu rung ste / de bzhin nyid dang bden pa bzhi mngon par rtogs pa rnam par bzbag pa bzhin no // 'gal ba yang med do // rnam par shes pa'i tshogs lnga dang ldan pa'i mjug tu gtan tshigs smras zin pa'i phyir ro //*

Cf. (The third theory [omitted portion in the quotation in 2.1 of this paper]) For these reasons, one should believe that sentient beings have had undefiled seeds from time immemorial. These [seeds] do not rely on infusion and are naturally established. In later advanced stages, they are fostered through infusion. These are the causes of undefiled dharmas. Once undefiled dharmas arise, they infuse their own seeds.

(本有、新熏合生義) 由此應信，有諸有情，無始時來，有無漏種，不由熏習，法爾成就。後勝進位，熏令增長。無漏法起，以此為因。無漏起時，復熏成種。(T no. 1585, T31: 2.9a7–10)

Some people say: If both (pre-existing undefiled seeds and *tathatā*lambanapratyayabīja) are posited, one should be provisional, while the other should be ultimate. This is because, for example, in this very teaching (*Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*), although the four nobles' realities are posited from the point of view of detailed positing, it is stated that the positing of *tathatā* is real. That (*tathatā*) is the highest [truth], and likewise here [in the Basic Section of *Yogācārabhūmi*] also, somewhere something is said to be the highest [truth]. Because there are passages of Āgama and reasoning, here there is no way to be definite. This absurd statement will be settled in *Viniścayasamgrahaṇī*. *kha cig gis smras pa / gal te gnyis ka rnam par bzbag na de gnyis las gcig ni drang*

ba yin la gcig ni gtso bo yin par 'gyur te /
 dper na bstan pa 'di nyid la bden pa bzhi
 dag rab tu rgya cher rnam par bzhag pa
 las brtsams te rnam par bzhag kyang de
 bzhin nyid rnam par bzhag pa ni bden
 pa'o zhes gsung pas na / de ni gtso bo yin
 pa de bzhin du 'di la yang gang gtso bo yin
 par gang nas gsungs te / lung dang rigs pa
 dag gi skabs kyang yod pas 'di la ni nges
 par 'byung ba'i thabs med do // ba cang
 thal bar 'gyur ba'i brjod pa 'di ni rnam
 par gtan la dbab pa bsdu ba las nges par
 bya ba'o //

The third theory given in *Yogācārabhūmivākyā* (Table 17) is that the undefiled mind arises from both pre-existing undefiled seeds within the *vipākavijñāna* (the consciousness as karmic retribution, i.e., *ālayavijñāna*) and *tathatālambanapratyayabīja*. *Cheng weishi lun* explains that the undefiled wisdom (in the first moment of *darśanamārga*, 'the path of vision') arises from the pre-existing undefiled seeds, but upon entering the *darśanamārga*, undefiled seeds are newly deposited as well. These theories do not match exactly, but their approaches are perhaps somewhat similar.

Thus, in the relevant portion of *Yogācārabhūmivākyā*, we have seen four different views:

1. *Ālayavijñāna* contains (pre-existing) undefiled seeds as well as defiled seeds.
2. *Ālayavijñāna* does not contain (pre-existing) undefiled seeds. Supramundane dharmas arise from *tathatālambanapratyayabīja*.
- 3a. Pre-existing undefiled seeds and the *tathatālambanapratyayabīja* both exist.
- 3b. If pre-existing undefiled seeds and the *tathatālambanapratyayabīja* both exist, one must be expedient, and the other must be ultimate.

Thus, though not everything agrees, the debate concerning the presence or absence of pre-existing undefiled seeds in *Yogācārabhūmi-*

vyākhyā shares many similar elements with the discussion in *Cheng weishi lun*. Both *Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* and *Cheng weishi lun* again refer to the discussion of *tathatālabhanapratyāyabīja*. This shows that there is definitely a connection between the discussions in the two texts.

Particularly important to note is that *Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* also juxtaposes distinct views on *bīja*, which it records in detail. Therefore, we can see that the inclusion of plural views in a single text does not seem to be uncommon in relatively late Indian Yogācāra texts.

6. Conclusion

Above, I have shown that *Vivṛtaguhyārthapiṇḍavyākhyā* and *Yogācārabhūmivyākhyā* both contain examples of different views given side by side. These views are closely tied to those recorded in *Cheng weishi lun*. This gives us the impression that juxtaposing different opinions on a single issue in the same text may have been a standard practice in later Indian Yogācāra treatises.

According to the tradition of the Faxiang School, the divergent views given within *Cheng weishi lun* are respectively derived from different commentaries on *Triṃśikā*. Based on the above discussions, however, we cannot dismiss outright the possibility that there was an Indian original similar to *Cheng weishi lun* in its current form. Needless to say, my research has examined only limited portions of *Cheng weishi lun*, and this is not sufficient for drawing a definitive conclusion. For a more comprehensive picture, much more research is required.

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Abbreviations

D	Derge. (<i>sDe dge bsTan 'gyur</i> Canon)
Pek	Peking Edition of the Tibetan Buddhist Canon
T	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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Survivability: Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra on the Continuity of the Life of a Sentient Being as Translated by Xuanzang

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Abstract: This paper presents the doctrinal argumentation on the continuity of the life of an individual sentient being found in the Abhidharma Buddhist texts translated by Xuanzang and his Tang Dynasty (618–907) collaborators. Vasubandhu, in the *Treasury of the Abhidharma*, and Saṅghabhadra, in his two commentaries on this text, the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic*, and the *Treatise Clarifying Abhidharma Tenets*, enlist the doctrines of the continuum (Skt. *saṃtāna*; Ch. *xiangxu* 相續) and the aggregates (Skt. *skandha*; Ch. *yun* 蘊) to support the idea that the life of an individual sentient being does not end with the death of the body. The conceptualization of survivability, articulated by Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra in these three Abhidharma masterworks, is that an individual sentient being continues in life, and survives death, the afterlife, and reincarnation, in the form of aggregates bundled together in the continuum. This paper enlists a source criticism methodology to compare the translations of the *Abhidharma* texts by Xuanzang and his coterie, with earlier recensions of the texts in Chinese, and received versions in Tibetan and Sanskrit, to describe the definitions, examples, and logic employed by Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra in their argumentation in defense of the doctrine that the life of an individual sentient being persists throughout the four stages of the Buddhist life cycle: life, death, the afterlife, and reincarnation. Ultimately, for Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, as well as for Xuanzang, the individual life constituted by the continuum of

a sentient being persists in the face of constant change and radical impermanence.

Keywords: Xuanzang, Vasubandhu, Saṅghabhadra, *Abhidharmanyānanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, 阿毘達磨順正理論, **Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā śāstra*, *Apidamo zang xianzong lun*, 阿毘達磨藏顯宗論

Introduction

In their doctrinal works composed during the fifth century, the Indian philosopher, Vasubandhu (fl. fifth century C.E.), and his prolific commentator and rival, Saṅghabhadra (fl. fifth century C.E.), address questions posed by Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist theorists regarding the survivability, or the continuity, of the life of a sentient being. How does a sentient being maintain continuity in a changing material world? What qualities of a sentient being survive death, transmigration, and reincarnation? In the face of constant change in the Buddhist cycle of death and rebirth, what aspects of a sentient being survive, if not an *ātman*, or a self? In their efforts to uphold the Buddhist tenets of impermanence and no-self in their doctrinal masterworks, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra engage in thematic questions regarding the survivability of a sentient being through four stages of the Buddhist life cycle: life, dying, the afterlife, and reincarnation.

Two centuries after Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664 C.E.), the intrepid Silk Road traveler, scholar-monk, and polymath, with a team of researchers and scribes, undertakes a massive translation and exegesis of the Indic Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist texts on dying, death, transmigration, and reincarnation. While ensconced in a capacious and Imperially-financed translation studio in the capital City of Chang'an during the early years of the Tang dynasty (618–907 C.E.), Xuanzang and a legion of exegetes translate the works of the Indic Buddhist thinkers Vasubandhu and Saṅgh-

abhadra from Sanskrit into Chinese. During this effort they render a comprehensive translation of the *Treasury of the Abhidharma* by Vasubandhu, into thirty fascicle rolls,¹ and two lengthy translations of the criticism and exegesis on the *Treasury of the Abhidharma*, composed by Saṅghabhadra: the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic* (Skt. *Abhidharmanyānanusāra śāstra*; Ch. *Apidamo shun zhengli lun* 阿毘達磨順正理論)² into sixty fascicle rolls, and the *Treatise Clarifying Abhidharma Tenets* (Skt. **Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā śāstra*; Ch. *Apidamo zang xianzong lun* 阿毘達磨藏顯宗論)³ into forty fascicle rolls.

In the process of translating the treatises of Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, Xuanzang and his team of exegetes examine the Abhidharma doctrine of survivability, the capacity of a sentient being to withstand the states of living, dying, transmigration, and rebirth. In their exegeses of the scriptures, Xuanzang and his coterie locate the doctrinal evidence and argumentation for the Abhidharma Buddhist explanation of survivability: how a sentient being survives the changing conditions of the material world, the dissolution and loss of the corporeal body, the process of transmigration into the afterlife, and reincarnation into a new living form. In the *Treasury of the Abhidharma*, and in the two commentarial works on this text, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra enlist the Buddhist theory of the *skandhas* to conceptualize the survivability of a sentient being. They present examples and logical arguments to defend the idea that a sentient being withstands the continuous developmental changes of life, survives the demise of the corporeal body, continues into

¹ *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29. Translated between June 3rd, 651 C.E. and September 13th, 654 C.E. at his translation studio (Ch. Fanjing yuan 翻經院) in the Great Compassion Temple (Da cien si 大慈恩寺) in Chang'an. For dating, see chronology in appendix of Lusthaus, *Buddhist Phenomenology*, 565.

² *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29. Translated between 653 C.E. and 654 C.E.

³ *Apidamo zang xianzong lun*, T no. 1563, 29. Translated between April 30, 651 C.E. and November 26, 652 C.E.

the afterlife, and is reincarnated, in the form of *skandhas* carried by *saṃtāna*. This study investigates the explanations, articulated by Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra in three doctrinal masterworks, for how a sentient being maintains continuity, or survives, the four stages of the Abhidharma Buddhist life cycle. These stages include the previous life (Skt. *pūrvabhava*; Ch. *benyou* 本有),⁴ the time of becoming deceased (Skt. *maraṇabhava*; Ch. *siyou* 死有), the afterlife or intermediate state (Skt. *antarābhava*; Ch. *zhongyou* 中有),⁵ and the time of reincarnation (Skt. *upapattibhava*; Ch. *shengyou* 生有).

Employing a source criticism research methodology, this study compares the arguments for survivability within the four stages of the Buddhist life cycle, preserved in the seventh-century Chinese translations of the *Treasury of Abhidharma*, the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic*, and the *Treatise Clarifying Abhidharma Tenets*, by Xuanzang and his team of exegetes and scribes, with the received versions of the same texts in Sanskrit and Tibetan. Versions of the *Treasury of the Abhidharma* exist in Sanskrit, in Tibetan, and in Chinese translations from the sixth century. The full commentarial works by Saṅghabhadra, however, are extant only within the Chinese translation corpus of Xuanzang. While a work that has been catalogued as a Tibetan translation of *Treatise Clarifying Abhidharma Tenets* by Saṅghabhadra exists in the Derge canon (D no. 4091, 141), Mejer⁶ found that it appears to be ‘a simple

⁴ The Sanskrit word *pūrvabhava* means ‘previous existence’. The Abhidharma Buddhist analysis starts with life in the previous existence and takes *pūrvabhava* as the time of living in a corporeal body. Xuanzang’s translation of the Sanskrit terminology *pūrvabhava* means literally, ‘fundamental existence’ and clearly indicates the time of living. From the perspective of the next life, the *pūrvabhava* is the previous existence in a corporeal body.

⁵ See Brian Cuevas’s article on the subject of *antarābhava*: ‘Predecessors and prototypes’, 263. The first sentence of his paper provides a succinct gloss on the hotly debated term: ‘The Buddhist Sanskrit term *antarābhava* refers quite literally to existence (*bhāva*) in an interval (*antarā*) and designates the temporal space between death and subsequent rebirth’.

⁶ See Mejer, *Vasubandhu’s Abhidharmakośa and the Commentaries*, 37.

abridgement of the *Abhidharmakośa*, without polemics'. Because the original doctrinal discussions on the topic of survivability by Saṅghabhadra survive only in the Chinese renditions put together by Xuanzang and his team, these discussions are deserving of close examination. This paper counterbalances Saṅghabhadra's doctrinal discussions with those presented by Vasubandhu, as the two authors developed their respective doctrinal stances in continuous dialogue with one another.

This research builds upon prior scholarship on the Abhidharma Buddhist conceptualization of the continuity and survival of the sentient being in terms of the *skandhas* and *saṃtāna*. Von Rospatt uses a doctrinal historical approach to describe how Vasubandhu employs the theory of the *saṃtāna* to explain how a sentient being maintains continuity, while undergoing growth and development, in the absence of an unchanging core, self, or *ātman*.⁷ Watson describes how Vasubandhu enlists the theory of the *saṃtāna* in his explication of how a sentient being survives death and persists into the afterlife without a self, soul, or *ātman*.⁸ Located within this body of scholarship, this paper describes the definitions, examples, and logic employed by Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, and preserved in Chinese translations by Xuanzang and his collaborators, to formulate the survival of the sentient being in terms of the *saṃtāna* and the *skandhas*.

Mejor identifies this commentary, found in the Derge Tengyur canon as the **Abhidharmakośa-vṛtti sūtrānūrūpā [-nāma]*, based upon correspondences with a fragmentary Tibetan manuscript from Dunhuang (Stein No. 591). Mejor (Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa and the Commentaries*, 36) thus summarizes the contents of D no. 4091, 141: 'It seems that we have here an example of an old, anonymous translation of an Indian text of a *śāstra*-commentary type, very early incorporated into the Tanjur and not subject to further revision or correction'.

⁷ Von Rospatt, *The Buddhist Doctrine of Momentariness*.

⁸ Watson, *The Self's Awareness of Itself*.

Momentariness, Impermanence, *Samtāna*, and the Five *Skandhas*

The Buddhist doctrine of momentariness (Skt. *kṣaṇabhāṅga*; Ch. *cha'na mie* 刹那滅), as developed in Abhidharma philosophy, postulates that every conditioned dharma (Skt. *samskṛta-dharma*; Ch. *youwei fa* 有爲法) or factor comes to cease immediately upon arising.⁹ Each and every factor is conditioned by a myriad of causes and conditions (Skt. *hetu-pratyaya*; Ch. *yinyuan* 因緣) that precede its coming into being (Skt. *bhāva*; Ch. *you* 有, *xing* 性, *ti* 體).¹⁰ All conditioned factors are impermanent (Skt. *anitya*; Ch. *wuchang* 無常) by nature. As one conditioned factor arises, it gives rise to the next, and then immediately perishes. The continuum, or the *samtāna*, as defined in the Abhidharma texts, is the series of discrete events that links one moment to the next in an uninterrupted flow. The theory of *samtāna* explains, for example, why a time-lapse video of the seed of a plant sprouting, emerging from the earth, and then flowering, appears to the viewer as the continuous movement of a singular entity. For the Abhidharma theorists, the concept of *samtāna* provides an explanation for the continuity of an entity or a living thing, that also embraces the Buddhist notions of momentariness and the impermanence of being.

The earliest recorded teachings of the Buddha, found in the *Āgamas*, describe the sentient being as comprised of five *skandhas*, or aggregates, that arise, abide, and cease from one moment to the next. The doctrine of no-self (Skt. *anātman*; Ch. *wuwo* 無我), also attested in the *Āgamas*, asserts that there is no singular or permanent

⁹ See Siderits, *Buddhism as Philosophy*, 119–23, for a discussion of some of the Abhidharma arguments intending to ‘prove’ the doctrine of momentariness.

¹⁰ Xuanzang frequently translates the Sanskrit word *bhāva*, meaning ‘being’, using the Chinese character *xing* 性, meaning ‘nature’, or *ti* 體, meaning ‘body’. See Hirakawa, *Dictionary*, 14 for one of numerous examples of the former and Hirakawa, *Dictionary*, 17, for an example of the latter. *Xing* also renders *svabhāva*, meaning something’s abiding ‘own-being’ or ‘intrinsic nature’, as in *zixing* 自性. Another word for *svabhāva* is *ziti* 自體, meaning something’s body—see Hirakawa, *Dictionary*, 84.

self to be found either inside, or outside, of the five *skandhas*. The five *skandhas* constitute the physical and mental existence of the sentient being and are comprised of one corporeal or bodily form (Skt. *rūpa*; Ch. *se* 色) and four mental or psychological states: feeling and sensation (Skt. *vedanā*; Ch. *shou* 受), perception (Skt. *sañjñā*; Ch. *xiang* 想), mental formations (Skt. *saṃskāra*; Ch. *xing* 行), and consciousness (Skt. *viññāna*; Ch. *shi* 識). Watson, in describing the Buddhist positions on momentariness and impermanence that are implicit in the theory of the *skandhas* writes: ‘for Buddhism, we are not one thing but an association of five: a bodily state and four mental states’.¹¹ He adds: ‘what we are in one moment is not what we are the next’. According to the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness, the continuous, moment-to-moment evanescence and dissolution of the five *skandhas* in the *saṃtāna* creates the continuity of the physical and mental existence of a sentient being.

In their translations of the works of Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, Xuanzang and his collaborators render the Abhidharma Buddhist description of the survival of a sentient being throughout the cycle of living, death, the intermediate state, and reincarnation, in terms of the *skandhas* and *saṃtāna*. Saṅghabhadra and Vasubandhu posit that a sentient being endures in life, survives in death, perseveres in the afterlife, and is reincarnated in a continuous *saṃtāna* of the *skandhas*, rather than in the form of a permanent or perduring self, soul, or *ātman*. On the position held by Vasubandhu on the five *skandhas* and rebirth, Stone writes:

Vasubandhu, who theorized the notion of interim being in explaining how the rebirth process continues in the absence of an unchanging soul or self, made quite clear that the intermediate being is decidedly not an *ātman* but a temporary karmically conditioned collection of the five aggregates (five *skandhas*).¹²

Essentially what survives death is not a unitary, permanent self,

¹¹ Watson, ‘The Self as a Dynamic Constant’, 175.

¹² Stone, *Right Thoughts at the Last Moment*, 12.

but rather a continuum made up of multiple, impermanent aggregates that once having arisen, are constantly abiding, changing, and ceasing during each present moment in time.¹³

In the Abhidharma depiction of survival in the Buddhist cycle of life, immediately following corporeal death, the four psychological *skandhas* of a deceased sentient being are carried in the *saṃtāna* from the previous life, into an intermediate state, and then reincarnated into another life form. The psychological aspects of a sentient being, such as dispositions, memories, and states of consciousness, survive the death of the body, transmigration, and reincarnation bundled within the *saṃtāna* of the four *skandhas*. While the corporeal body is discarded at death, the mental constituents of a sentient being thus endure in the *skandhas* throughout life cycle of living, death, the intermediate state, and reincarnation. Hewing closely to the Abhidharma Buddhist doctrine, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra posit that the mental elements of a sentient being survive in the *skandhas* without a permanent self, soul, or *ātman*. The conceptualization of the survivability of a sentient being, in the treatises of Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, and preserved in the translations by

¹³ The editors of the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, the foundational compendium of the Vaibhāṣika tradition of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism, appear to maintain that a discrete entity or dharma undergoes four discrete stages (Skt. *avasthā*; Ch. *fenwei* 分位) during a present moment in time (see *T* no. 1545, 27: 39.200a9 and Cox, *Disputed Dharmas*, 96 for translation and analysis). These four stages are: arising (Skt. *jāti*, *upapatti*; Ch. *sheng* 生), abiding (Skt. *sthiti*; Ch. *zhu* 住), change (Skt. *anyatā*; Ch. *yi* 異; literally, ‘becoming otherwise’), and cessation (Skt. *vyaya*; Ch. *mie* 滅). However, it is important to point out that for Saṅghabhadra, the initial action of arising, the gathering up of causal power by the entity, takes place during the future (T^0), such that by the outset of a present moment (T^1), the entity has already arisen, before it abides, changes, and ceases in rapid succession during the course of a present moment in time. This is noted by Cox, *Disputed Dharmas*, 150. Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma thinkers envision of a moment as consisting in a finite temporal duration equal to 0.01333 of a second. Thus, for Sarvāstivāda theorists, a single moment is divisible into discrete stages. See Sanderson, ‘Sarvāstivāda and its Critics’, 42.

Xuanzang and his collaborators, thereby demonstrates an adherence to the Buddhist concepts of momentariness, impermanence, and no-self.

Surviving the *Pūrvabhava*, the World of Fundamental Being

In the doctrinal treatises translated into Chinese by Xuanzang and his Tang cohort, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra posit the survival of the sentient being in the material world, the *pūrvabhava*, as contingent upon the continuous being of the *skandhas*. Drawing deeply from the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma traditions of Buddhism, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra defend the position that the sentient being is comprised of momentary physical and mental states that are manifested by one corporeal (Skt. *rūpaskandha*), and four psychological *skandhas* collected together in *saṃtāna*. To Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, the theory of the *skandhas* in *saṃtāna* provides an explanation for how a sentient being survives in an impermanent and inconstant material world. The theory of the momentariness and impermanence of the *skandhas* is congruent to the Buddhist assertion that physical and mental events are not metaphysically real.

In his study of the Buddhist explanations of continuity, Garfield responds to the question of why objects, and sentient beings, appear continuous and enduring in the face of constant change. He offers the Buddhist theory of the continuum of momentary events to explain the apparent continuity of an entity, a living thing, or a sentient being, over time. Garfield writes:

Given the obvious utility of discursive and other practices that take identity over time for granted, not only of persons, but of all middle-sized dry goods around us; and among these discursive practices are specifically Buddhist discourse about personal development, about the composite nature of entities, and even about gross impermanence, we need some account of why we can talk about continuants in our world. The Buddhist reply to this demand is to argue that what we usually take to be things that endure over time are in fact continua of momentary, causally interacting events.¹⁴

According to the theory of momentariness, the five *skandhas* of a sentient being arise, and then cease in one place, and then, arise and cease again, in a neighboring location. This gives the appearance of a sentient being moving, as a unitary and continuous entity, from one place to another. In his description of this phenomenon, Watson writes:

During life, each moment of consciousness (which is one of the four kinds of mental constituents of a person) is linked to the next moment of consciousness in that it causes it to arise. The same goes for the other three kinds of mental constituent, and the physical constituent.¹⁵

To Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, the linking of the momentary evanescence and dissolution of the *skandhas*, through the continuity of *saṃtāna*, provides the explanation for how the physical and psychological aspects of a sentient being appear continuous or enduring in the *pūrvabhava*.

Continuity in the *Pūrvabhava*: Causal Efficacy, Causal Capacity, and Momentariness

In their doctrinal works, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra link the Abhidharma theories of causal efficacy (Skt. *kāritra*; Ch. *zuoyong* 作用), the present energy of an entity, or dharma, and causal capability (Skt. *sāmarthya*; Ch. *gongneng* 功能), the potential energy of dharma over time, in their explanations for how a living entity maintains continuity in the *pūrvabhava* while undergoing development and change.¹⁶ The actions, or karma, that are performed in the past, pres-

¹⁴ Garfield, *Engaging Buddhism*, 45.

¹⁵ Watson, 'The Self as a Dynamic Constant', 76.

¹⁶ Xuanzang's translation of Saṅghabhadra's *Nyāyanusāra śāstra* (*Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 52.631c5–11) explains the difference between causal efficacy (Skt. *kāritra*) and causal capability (Skt. *sāmarthya*) by adducing the example of a pair of eyes in the dark being unable to detect an object shrouded in

ent, and future by a dharma are determined by both causal efficacy and causal capability. Causal efficacy applies to an action taken by a dharma in the present moment, while causal capacity applies to actions taken in either the past, or the future, of a dharma. Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra fundamentally agree that while causal efficacy and causal capability are distinctly different, together they comprise the essence of a dharma (Ch. *fati* 法體).¹⁷ For example, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra posit that the seed of a plant contains the causal efficacy to produce a sprout but does not possess the causal efficacy

darkness. In the case of the pair of eyes in the dark room, it is due to the darkness impeding the inherent causal capability of the eyes to see things that the object shrouded in darkness remains unseen. Saṅghabhadra emphasizes that the situation of being unable to detect the object when the eyes are within a dark room is *not* due to the darkness impeding the exercise of causal efficacy necessary to detect the object. In order for an able-bodied pair of eyes to detect an object in a dark room, the causal efficacy in the eyes must be sufficient to draw forth an effect even under the conditions of darkness. Saṅghabhadra writes: ‘there are two kinds of power (Skt. *śakti*) in conditioned factors: firstly, causal efficacy; and secondly, causal capability. Causal efficacy denotes the causal capacity to draw forth an effect. But it is not the case that causal efficacy can be completely subsumed under causal capability. And causal capability is distinct from causal efficacy. For example, the capability of seeing something is impeded by darkness when the eye is within darkness. What is impeded is not the causal efficacy. That is to say that the impediment of darkness impedes the capability to see things. For this reason, when the eye in the darkness is able to draw forth the effect (of seeing an object), it means that in the present position the causal efficacy is not lacking’. 諸法勢力總有二種：一、名作用；二、謂功能。引果功能，名為作用。非唯作用，總攝功能，功能異於作用。且闇中眼見色功，能為闇所違，非違作用。謂有闇障，違見功能。故眼闇中，不能見色。引果作用，非闇所違。故眼闇中，亦能引果。無現在位，作用有關。 See analysis of this passage in Cox, *Disputed Dharmas*, 142–3; also see Frauwallner, *Studies in Abhidharma*, 201.

¹⁷ Cox, *Disputed Dharmas*, 143: ‘Saṅghabhadra’s assertion that factors in the past and future have only intrinsic nature (*svabhāva*) is intended to suggest simply that they do not have activity, which characterizes factors only when they are present’.

to produce a flower in the present moment. The seed, however, *does* possess the causal capability to engender the flower at a future time and place.

Vasubandhu determines the Brāhmaṇical interpretation of causal efficacy, in terms of a static and permanent essence that ensures the identity of a living entity through change, to be incongruent with the Buddhist doctrine of the impermanence of all conditioned factors. According to the Abhidharma theorists, the intrinsic nature (Skt. *svabhāva*; Ch. *zixing* 自性) of a conditioned factor, has a causal efficacy that is exercised in one location, and at one point in time, within a living continuum. Saṅghabhadra elaborates on the momentary essence of conditioned factors in the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic*. He writes:

The individual essences of the dharmas exist in a perpetual series, although they are not permanent by nature, as they undergo transformation.

法體恒有，而非是常性變異故。¹⁸

The Abhidharma theorists posit that the causal efficacy of a dharma provides the energy that enables an insentient or sentient entity to initiate an activity. The causal efficacy within a dharma initiates a sequence of causally interacting momentary events; each event is empowered by a causal capacity that is specific to a dharma. Together, the causal efficacy and the causal capacity within a dharma generate a series of linked moment-to-moment actions that form a continuum or *saṃtāna*. The continuum of linked momentary actions of the dharmas creates the appearance of the singular unity of an entity as it undergoes continuous material change in the *pūrvabhava*, the world of fundamental being.

In the *Treasury of Abhidharma*, Vasubandhu adduces the example of a seed maturing into a fully-leafed plant to demonstrate how a living entity retains continuity during the material transformations

¹⁸ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 52.633.c26.

that occur during growth and development. Vasubandhu begins by positing that the seed of a plant contains the causal capacity, or the generative energy, to initiate the production of the sprouts and leaves of the plant. In fascicle ten of chapter three of the *Treasury of Abhidharma*, Vasubandhu states:

The sprout and leaves, etc., [of a plant] are generated from the seed.

從種子芽葉等生。¹⁹

Vasubandhu avers that the process of growth of the plant is initiated by the causal efficacy that is embedded within the seed. As the plant matures, each material alteration in the development in the plant is engendered by a specific causal capacity within the continuum of the plant.²⁰ For example, the causal capacity that stimulates the germi-

¹⁹ *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 10.54c01.

²⁰ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhenqli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 51.629c18–630a6: ‘The seed and the sprout, etc., form a single continuum (Skt: *saṃtāna*). Since the flower has the causal capacity of the seed, the sprout also has the causal capacity of flowering. There is no difference between their causal capabilities. There is no separate entity of the flower from these causal capacities. Since the flower contains the causal capacity [of being able to draw forth the fruit], the flower provides the contributory conditions that engender the fruit. It is in this very way that the sprout, etc., grow. However, at that time, the flower only engenders the fruit, and not the sprout, etc.’ 又種芽等是一相續。既執花有種子功能。芽等功能，花亦應有。此彼差別不可得故。是則芽等、及種功能。一切與花，無別體故。既從花內所有功能，花為助緣，能生於果。即由此故，芽等應生。然於爾時，唯能生果，不生芽等。

But for what reason is there a not minute part of the seed that resides within the flower and has causal capacity [to be able to draw forth a fruit]? It is because at that time [that the flower and sprout has arisen], it is only that which a seed can draw forth. The flower provides the contributory conditions that draw forth and engender the fruit. A sprout, etc., is not something that a flower can draw forth’. 此有何因非於花中，可有細分種等所引功能別居？由此爾時唯種所引。花為緣助能引果生。非於花中芽等所引。

nation of the seed initiates a series of causally-linked events that are empowered by the causal capacities that promote the generation of the sprout, the emergence of the stalk, the leafing of the plant, and the bearing of the flower and the fruit. Vasubandhu elaborates upon the specific stages in the continuum of the plant bearing fruit in the discussions located in fascicle thirty of chapter nine of the *Treasury of Abhidharma*. He writes:

The ordinary folk in the world say that the fruit arises from the seed, but the fruit does not follow immediately from the seed, which has already ceased when it (i.e., the fruit) arises. Nor does the fruit arise from the seed without an intervening period of time. But if that is the case, then where does the fruit come from? The fruit arises from the specific transformations of the continuum of the seed—that is to say, it (i.e., the fruit) arises from the sequence of the sprout, the stalk, and the fully-leafed plant. The fruit is ultimately engendered by the flower. But in that case, why do they (the ordinary folk) say that the fruit arises from the seed? They say this since the operations of the sprout draw upon the causal capability (Skt. *sāmarthya*) of the flower to engender the fruit.

世間說果從種生，然果不隨，已壞種起。亦非從種無間即生。若爾從何？從種相續轉變差別果方得生，謂種次生芽莖葉等。花為最後方引果生。若爾，何言從種生果？由種展轉引起花中生果功能故作是說。²¹

In the above passage, Vasubandhu relies upon the distinction between causal efficacy and causal capacity to explain the bearing of the fruit of a plant in terms of a continuum of discrete and separate events that begin with the existence of a seed. In the picture laid out by Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, the causal capacity of the seed determines the future causal efficacies to be exerted in subsequent

²¹ *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 30.158c25–159a01. For corresponding Sanskrit text, see Pradhan, *Abhidharmakosa-bhāṣya*, 176.

moments during the life of the plant. As one moment comes into being and then dissolves, another moment comes into being and ends, thus creating an uninterrupted chain of causally-linked events that form the continuum of the fruit bearing plant.

In stanza eleven of chapter three of the *Treasury of Abhidharma*, Vasubandhu notes that the dharmas composing the seed and the sprout occupy successive locations in space. He writes:

The continuum of the rice kernel (Skt. *vṛīḥī*), etc., arises and continues in successive places without interruption.²²

如穀等相續，處無間續生。²³

In this example Vasubandhu avers that while the germination of the seed and the emergence of the sprout belong to the single living continuum of the plant, they are qualitatively distinct events, both temporally and spatially. Moment-to-moment temporal and spatial disruptions occur as the causal bases, the causal efficacy and capacity, in the seed potentiate the emergence, abiding, and cessation of the stages of the life of the plant. These momentary events comprise the *saṃtāna* of the seed that gives the appearance of the single entity of the plant continuing through time and space.

Continuity in the *Pūrvabhava*: Material replacement and impermanence

In the *Treasury of Abhidharma*, Vasubandhu takes the example of the seed transforming into a plant to demonstrate that even as the

²² de la Vallée Poussin, trans., *L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, 33: 'Étant semblable à la série du riz, l'existence ne se reproduit pas postérieurement après avoir été interrompue'. The corresponding Sanskrit based upon Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa*, 120, reads: *vṛīhisantāna-sādharmyād-avicchinna-bhava-udbhavaḥ ||* (AK 3.11).

²³ *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 8.44b18.

causal efficacy within the seed engenders the parts of the seed to mature, decay, and ultimately, to be cast aside, the causal capacity in the seed survives in the plant. Through the processes of germination and the sprouting of the seedling, the seed undergoes a gradual replacement of its parts. While the seed is materially transformed through the process of growth and development, it perdures nonetheless. According to the Abhidharma principle of material replacement, the seed, while transformed into a fledgling sprout, survives the process of change. As the constituent parts of the plant are gradually transformed and replaced, the identity of the seed perseveres in the continuum of the *saṃtāna*.

In the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic*, and the *Treatise Clarifying Abhidharma Tenets*, Saṅghabhadra uses the example of the seed of rice to illustrate how the identity of a living entity is retained through material transformation (Skt. *parināma*; Ch. *zhuanbian* 轉變)²⁴ in the *pūrvabhava*. In his argument, Saṅghabhadra conceptualizes the life cycle of the seed of rice as consisting of five stages of material transformation: the rice seed germinates into the plant that produces the seeds; the seed is ground into flour; the seed is consumed by an animal; the seed is digested by an animal; and the seed is scattered back into the terrain.²⁵ The cycle restarts as

²⁴ In *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 72.733c21–22, Saṅghabhadra rejects the Sāṅkhya notion of transformation (*parināma*) as the transformation of one thing characterizable by an essential nature. He writes: ‘all conditioned dharmas arise and cease in accordance with causes and conditions. They do not undergo transformation according to the causes and conditions of an essential nature’. 又諸有為法，隨因緣生滅，不隨因緣本性轉變。

²⁵ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.474b6–10, reads: ‘We liken it [the continuum] to a one seed of rice that serves as the causal basis for five things: what grows into the sprout, the flour, the food, the dessicated grain, and the scattered grain. In this way, one continuum of the sentient being in one transmigratory realm (Skt. *gati*) serves a causal basis in five ways. This refers to the sprout that is capable of serving as causal basis in five ways. If it meets with congenial conditions, then it gives rise to its own kind of fruit. In

the causal bases, embedded within the seed of rice, initiate a series of events, beginning with the germination of the seed and terminating with the maturation and dissemination of the seeds of the new plant. The seed that initiates the five stages of material transformation survives as it provides the causal bases necessary to renew the cycle of growth and development of a new plant.

In his commentarial works, Saṅghabhadra is at pains to disabuse his Brāhmaṇical interlocutor (Skt. *pūrvapakṣin*; Ch. *lundi* 論敵) of the idea that the continuity of the plant through changes in the life cycle is due to a permanent quality (Skt. *guṇa*; Ch. *de* 德) that is inherent to the seed. The theorists of the Brāhmaṇical Sāṅkhya tradition hold that, although parts of the seed are altered during growth, the plant retains a continuous identity throughout all stages of development because the *guṇa* of the seed remains unchanged.²⁶

this way, the continuum of a sentient being possesses five causal bases. Thus, we avoid the error of the person (Skt. *pudgala*), having ceased, only gives rise to its own kind of thing (i.e., another human).’ 如一稻種，為芽粃飯灰散五因。如是有情一趣相續，為五因故。謂一稻種，能為五因。若遇順緣，便生自果。如是一趣有情相續，具為五因。若遇如是順緣和合，便生自果。故無人等滅，唯生自類過。

By speaking of things able to become a certain type of thing, only in meeting with conditions congenial to it becoming that sort of thing, Saṅghabhadra attempts to avoid the error of things only being able to bear *sui generis* effects. For example, humans can be reincarnated as animals, and vice versa. Thus, having ceased, one thing does not necessarily arise as the same type of thing.

²⁶ The modern scholar-monk, Yinshun, describes the Sāṅkhya theory of cause-and-effect in his lecture notes on the stanzas of the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* of Nāgārjuna (Yinshun, *Zhongguan lun song jiang ji*, 360): ‘The Sāṅkhya masters postulate that the effect pre-exists in the cause. For instance, they say that there is oil in the vegetable dish. The oil is the effect and the vegetable dish is the cause. If there is no effect already pre-existing in the cause, then why does oil come from the cooked vegetable? Supposing that where there is no oil, oil can emerge, then the stone does not contain oil, so why does oil not emerge from it? Hence, we can see that the effect pre-exists in the cause’. 一、數論師主張因中有果，如說菜子中有油，油是果，菜子是因。如因中沒有果，菜子中為什麼會出油？假使無油可以出油，石頭中沒有油，為什麼不出油？可見因中是有果的。

Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra endorse the Abhidharma tenet that the casual bases in the dharmas potentiate the developmental changes in the plant. They contend that the continuity of the plant can be explained by the causal efficacy and the causal capability of the seed rather than by a permanent or enduring quality within the seed. The temporal and spatial discontinuities that result from the material transformations of development are contained within the *saṃtāna* of the plant, and thereby produce the appearance of the ongoing being of the living entity.

Saṅghabhadra recognizes the spatial and temporal aspects of the dharmas of the seed and the sprout, and notes that when the dharma of a seed perishes, the dharma of the sprout emerges in a different location and time. In his analysis of the example of the seed becoming the sprout, Saṅghabhadra invokes the Abhidharma principle that two dharmas, such as a seed and a sprout, cannot occupy the same place at the same time.²⁷ In the *Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic of Abhidharma* Saṅghabhadra writes:

It is a mistake to say that the seed and the sprout grow and terminate in the same locus. The continuum of the seed engenders the sprout. Although the seed and sprout are in an uninterrupted continuum, the seed and the sprout do not occupy the same location.

種芽同處生滅失，以種相續生芽等時。雖無間斷，非無處異。²⁸

Vasubandhu uses the idea that the seed and sprout occupy different spatial loci to articulate the relationship between a dead body and the intermediate being that survives death. He avers that the *saṃtānas* of

²⁷ *Abhidharmakośa*, 12a–b, reads: ‘Two things do not occupy the same place; since it arises from two causes, it does not arise as a *saṃtāna*’. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośa*, 120–1: *sabaikatra dvayābhāvāt asantānād dvayodāyāt*. Xuanzang, trans., *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 44.b20: 一處無二並; 非相續二生. In Tibetan, D no. 4089, 140: 7a.6–7a.7: *gcig na lhan cig gnyis med phyir / rgyun min phyir gnyis las byung phyir /*

²⁸ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.474.b11.

a dead body, and the *saṃtānas* that form the intermediate being that arise from a dead body and continue after death, arise in two places and times, and are therefore temporally and spatially separate.²⁹ Like the seed and the sprout, the body that decays after death, and the intermediate being that arises in the moment after death, are distinct from one another.

Surviving *Marāṇabhava*, the Time of Becoming Deceased

Throughout their doctrinal masterworks, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra maintain the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma tenet that a sentient being survives corporeal death, or *marāṇabhava*, the time of becoming deceased, and continues into the afterlife. In their discourses on *marāṇabhava*, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra posit that the demise of the material *skandha*, or the *rūpaskandha*, of a sentient being results in the death of the material body. Corporeal death, however, does not mark the end of the continuum of a sentient being.

In the *Treasury of the Abhidharma*, and in the commentarial works on this text, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra define the death of the body as the moment when the *skandha* of the material corporeal body (Skt. *rūpaskandha*; Ch. *seyun* 色蘊) becomes disaggregated from the four mental *skandhas* of sensation, perception, impulse, and consciousness.³⁰ Saṅghabhadra, in the Chinese translation of

²⁹ The corresponding Tibetan text in *Sūtrānūrūpā-vṛtti*, D no. 4091, 141: 135b.2, reads: ‘Because it suddenly exists as an entity, where it dies is not where it is reborn’. *Cig car du yod pa’i phyir ’chi ba dang skye ba’i srid pa ji lta ba bzhin du ni ma yin no /*

³⁰ Xuanzang’s translation of Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 10.52.b05, reads: ‘Having deserted this body, the four non-physical *skandhas* transmigrate towards the next rebirth’. 四無色蘊捨此身已，轉趣餘生。 *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.474b02–3, reads: ‘The four immaterial aggregates (i.e., the four mental *skandhas*) continue uninterruptedly and without any hiatus. When they are pro-

the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic*, employs the doctrine of momentariness to articulate how a sentient being survives *maraṇabhava* in terms of the continuous arising and ceasing of the *skandhas*. He defines the ‘moment of death’ (Skt. *marañakṣaṇam*; Ch. *si cha’na* 死剎那), as the specific time when the *skandhas* of the ‘final dying consciousness’ (Ch. *sishi* 死識) of the deceased being cease, and the *skandhas* of the ‘new living consciousness’ (Ch. *shengshi* 生識) of the intermediate being arise.³¹

Surviving *Maraṇabhava*: The Transformation of the Fruit-Bearing Plant

In the *Treatise Clarifying Abhidharma Tenets*, Saṅghabhadra employs the example of the transformation of a seed into the sprout, the flower, and the fruit of a plant, to illustrate the Buddhist teaching of how a sentient being survives *maraṇabhava* by assuming different forms.³² Within this analogy Saṅghabhadra depicts the transforma-

jected forth they provide the conditioning power (for the *saṃtāna*). In the realm of sensory desire (Skt. *kāmadhātu*) and the *rūpadhātu* it (the *saṃtāna* qua conditioning power) causes the *skandhas* to arise simultaneously with a *rūpa*. 四無色蘊。無間無斷，為緣引發。欲色界中，與色俱生。諸蘊令起，故彼色起。

³¹ Saṅghabhadra, *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.474a23–25: ‘Thus, in the state of becoming deceased (Skt. *maraṇabhava*), consciousness ceases in the very same place that consciousness arises anew in the intermediate being. Each moment of consciousness arises, one after another, in one place ahead of another, up until the point that the intermediate being ceases, and is reborn into the state of becoming reincarnated (Skt. *upapattibhava*). At that point, there is nothing that further becomes reborn as an intermediate being’. 如是死有於此處滅，即於此處中有復生。後後念生，即前前處，乃至中有滅，即此生有生，是則應無往餘生義。

³² In the *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.474b13–15, Saṅghabhadra states that the seed survives the ‘time of cessation’ by transforming into the seedling and sprout: ‘When it [the seed] is destroyed and perishes, the conditions of the water, etc., which blend and assimilate

tion of a plant during the four stages in the life of the fruit-bearing plant: the seed, the sprout, the flower, and ultimately, the fruit, as equivalent to the transformation of a sentient being during the Buddhist cycle of: *pūrvabhava*, *marañabhava*, *antarābhava*, and *upapattibhava*. Saṅghabhadra avers that a sentient being, like a plant, survives the stages of life, albeit in different forms, within the continuous arising and ceasing of the *skandhas* in *saṃtāna*. According to Saṅghabhadra, insentient life forms, including plants, and sentient life forms, including non-human animals and humans, are composed of *skandhas*. Insentient life forms bear only one type of *skandha*—the *rūpaskandha*—while sentient beings bear all five types of *skandhas*.³³ Although the Abhidharma Buddhist tradition does not consider a plant to be a fully-fledged sentient being with a mind and sensory faculties,³⁴ the fundamental principle of growth and development

together [with the material of the seed], enable the capacity [for the seed] to serve as the generative cause for the much bigger sprout-aggregation. So, at the time that the seed has perished, it has already emerged as the sprout in a distinct location'. 於滅壞時，由水等緣和合攝助，能為龐大芽聚生因。於種滅時，芽異處起。

³³ Saṅghabhadra says in his *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 12.402c11, and *Apidamo zang xianzong lun*, T no. 1563, 29: 7.807c21, that: 'insentient beings only bear one [type of] *skandha*'. 無有情唯具一蘊。

³⁴ As elucidated in Schmithausen's study, *Problem of the Sentience of Plants in Earliest Buddhism*, plants are not considered to be sentient because they do not evince sensory faculties or *indriyas*. The reviewer for *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JRAS), Karel Werner, summarizes Schmithausen's major findings: 'defining the problem from the angle of ethical precepts which require followers of Buddhism to abstain from killing or injuring living beings, he bases his understanding of what is a living or animate being on whether it is capable of "sentience", i.e., of perception and sensation. As the prevailing Buddhist position does not admit plants as sentient beings, they are not included in the above restrictive precept. However, since the Vedic, Jaina and post-Vedic Hindu sources admit sentience in plants and even seeds and elements, such as water and earth, the author wonders whether perhaps the earliest Buddhist position was not the same or similar, especially because explicit positions in the matter were formulated comparatively late'. See Werner, 'Book Review', 183.

through material transformation in the continuum, holds true for sentient beings as well as for insentient living things.

For Saṅghabhadra, the remarkable transformation of a seed into a fruit-bearing plant illustrates the discernable and discrete stages of a continuum of a living entity. Each stage in the life cycle of the plant is distinct and impermanent: beginning with the initial seed, to the germination of the sprout, to the blossoming of the flower, to the fructification, and then to the dispersal of the seeds as the process of germination of the sprout begins anew. The causal efficacies and capacities that are inherent in the initial seed sustain and potentiate each moment of transformation and change. The survival of the seed in the form of the sprout, the leafy plant, the flower, and the fruit illustrates the broader principle of the continuation of life of through dramatic material transformations.

In his example of the continuity of the seed in the development of a plant in the *Clarification of Abhidharma Tenets*, Saṅghabhadra illustrates how the theories of momentariness and the continuum explain the survival of a living entity throughout all stages of a life cycle. During each stage of the development of the plant, the *rūpaskandhas* that make up the continuum of the plant arise, abide, and cease from moment to moment. Each of the bundles of *rūpaskandhas* that comprise the seed exist for a moment in a specific location, cease in the same location, and then arise in an immediately neighboring place. The continuity of *rūpaskandhas* in *saṃtāna* provides a rationale for why a time-lapsed video of the transformation of the seed into a fruit-bearing plant appears seamless to the viewer, without temporal or spatial gaps. The discontinuities between the stages of the seed taking sprout, the stem leafing out, the leafy-plant forming pedals, and the flower bearing fruit are not discernable because of the continuous flow of the *saṃtāna*. The Abhidharma theorists employ this evocative metaphor to prove that a sentient being survives the material deprivation of the body of *marāṇabhava* and continues into the afterlife, albeit in other forms.

Surviving the *Antarābhava*, the Intermediate State

Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra uphold the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma tenet that a sentient being survives the moment of dying, the *marāṇabhava*, and transitions into an intermediate state of being, the *antarābhava*, prior to becoming reincarnated into a new corporeal form. In their exegeses on the nature of the continuum located in chapter three, ‘On the Discrimination of Worldly Things’ (Skt. *Lokanirdeśa*) in the *Treasury of Abhidharma*, and in their commentaries on this text, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra stipulate that after corporeal death, a *saṃtāna* of five *skandhas* exists in an intermediate state.³⁵ Vasubandhu defines the intermediate state of the *antarābhava* as the spatial-temporal location of the *skandhas* between bodily incarnations.³⁶ In the Chinese translation of chapter three, verse ten of the *Treasury of Abhidharma* by Xuanzang and his coterie, Vasubandhu states:

死生二有中 There is an interval between the states of becoming deceased and of becoming reborn;
五蘊名中有 The five *skandhas* describe this intermediate state.

³⁵ For instance, Saṅghabhadra comments in *Clarification of Tenets*, in a discussion of *Abhidharmakośa* 3.10, *Apidamo zang xianzong lun*, T no. 1563, 29: 13.834a28: ‘after *marāṇabhava* and before *upapattibhava*, an entity arises. It is complete in the five *skandhas* and reaches the place of rebirth’. 死後生前有自體起，具足五蘊為至生處。

³⁶ **Mahāvibhāṣā*, fascicle 68, states that there is no *antarābhava* in the interim between dying out and becoming reborn in the *arūpadhātu*. Neither is there an *antarābhava* between dying out in one of the two other realms and becoming reborn into the *arūpadhātu*. See **Mahāvibhāṣā*, *Apidamo fazhi lun*, T no. 1545, 27: 68.353.a0–8, which reads: ‘Dying out from the *rūpadhātu* and becoming reborn in the *arūpadhātu* means living and becoming reborn again, since there is no intermediate state in the *arūpadhātu*. This extends to both ordinary humans (Skt. *prthagjana*) and sages (Skt. *ārya*)’. 色界歿生無色界者，調生生有以無色界無中有故。此通異生及諸聖者。

未至應至處 The future location of the *skandhas* of the deceased being is called the intermediate state.

故中有非生 This is the location where the *skandhas* of the deceased being have not become reincarnated.³⁷

In the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic*, Saṅghabhadra explains that, following the demise of the *rūpaskandha* that results in the death of the corporeal body, the remaining *skandhas*, carrying the mental constituents of the deceased being in a *saṃtāna*, arise in a location apart from the dead body. In a process described by the Abhidharma theorists as a ‘spontaneous rebirth’ (Skt. *upa vṛpad*; Ch. *huasheng* 化生),³⁸ the four psychological *skandhas* of the deceased being latch onto an intangible or ‘extremely subtle’ (Skt. *accha*; Ch. *ji weixi* 極微細)³⁹ *rūpaskandha*. The four *skandhas* of the deceased being, and the ephemeral *rūpaskandha*, are collected together in a *saṃtāna* to form an *upapāduka*, an intermediate being.⁴⁰

³⁷ Xuanzang, trans., *Abhidharmakośa*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 13.468a27. The corresponding Sanskrit text reads: *gamyā-deśa-anu-petattvān-na-upapanno’ntarābhavaḥ* || 3.10. See Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa*, 120.

³⁸ Xuanzang’s Chinese translations of Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra’s lengthy discourses on the topic of the *upapāduka* within the context of four modes of rebirth (Skt. *catasro-ṣṇayab*; Ch. *sisheng* 四生) make use of a clever, but untranslatable pun on the two senses of the word—*huasheng*—as both, *upapāduka* and ‘to spontaneously become reborn’.

³⁹ As both Vasubandhu’s *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 9.45c19, and **Mahāvibhāṣā*, *Apidamo da piposha lun*, T no. 1545, 27: 70.362.a11, describe: ‘the body of the intermediate being is of utmost subtlety’. 以中有身極微細故. *Ji weixi* 極微細 is the Chinese term that Xuanzang also uses to render the Sanskrit word *sūkṣma*—see his translation of Vasubandhu’s *bhāṣya* on chapter 2, verse 22 (T no. 1558, 29: 4.18b22) of *Abhidharmakośa*. For the Sanskrit text of this auto-commentary, see Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa*, 52.

⁴⁰ Under *upapāduka*, Sir. Monier-Williams Sanskrit Dictionary gives: ‘a superhuman being, a god, demon’. Xuanzang’s Chinese designation for this class of beings is *huasheng* 化生—transitional beings. This is the same word that Xuanzang uses for the fourth kind of mortal rebirth—*via* karmic transformation.

Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra describe an *upapāduka*, as the evanescent being that abides in the intermediate state between death and reincarnation. In the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic* Saṅghabhadra writes:

We grant that the intermediate being arises in a neighboring location from the dead body. The intermediate being does not overlap with the dead body, nor is it at a distance from the dead body. It continues in a series of arising and ceasing moments until it is associated with a new body (Skt. *pratisaṃdhi*). The *saṃtāna* of the reincarnated being perpetually arises in a continuous series in neighboring locations.

許隣死處中有生故，謂許中有於前死處非隔・非即，隣次而起。如是後後，乃至結生，恒隣次起。⁴¹

The spontaneous rebirth of an *upapāduka* differs markedly from the births of beings who gestate in an egg (Skt. *aṇḍaja*; Ch. *luansheng* 卵生) or in a womb (Skt. *jarāyuja*; Ch. *taisheng* 胎生). The Abhidharma theorists posit that the body of *upapāduka* is composed of transparent *bhautika* (Ch. *suozao se* 所造色) matter, rather than the tangible, crude (Skt. *audārika-rūpa*; Ch. *cuse* 麤色) matter of a body in the *pūrvabhava*.⁴² Because an *upapāduka* comes into being without a *rūpaskandha* comprised of tangible matter, it does not bear the fleshy viscera associated with other forms of life.

While the attenuated form of an intermediate being is fragile, an *upapāduka* survives in the *antarābhava* for a minimum of seven, and a maximum of forty-nine, days.⁴³ An *upapāduka* in the intermediate

⁴¹ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 23.468c23–25.

⁴² For a discussion of the intangible *bhautika* matter making up the body of the intermediate being, see Kritzer, ‘An *Ātman* by Any Other Name’, 8.

⁴³ Xuanzang’s translation of the **Mahāvibhāṣā* gives two diverging opinions on the duration of the *antarābhava*. Vasumitra 世友 says that it lasts for a maximum of only seven days, while Śarmadatta 設摩達多 says that it lasts for a full period of forty-nine days or ‘seven weeks’ (Ch. *qiqi* 七七). The editors of the **Mahāvibhāṣā* are agnostic on the question of the full duration of the *antarābhava*,

state can take the form of: a winged *apsarā* (Ch. *feitian nüshen* 飛天女神), a *kalavinka* (Ch. *jialingpiqie* 迦陵頻伽), a *gandharva* (Ch. *qiantapo* 乾闥婆; 捷闥婆),⁴⁴ a *garuḍa* (Ch. *qielouluo* 迦樓羅; *jielucha* 揭路荼), or a *nāga* (Ch. *naqie* 那伽). According to the estimates provided by Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, *upapādukas* are the most populous form of life in the great trichiliocosm (Skt. *trisāhasramahāsāhasralokadhātu*; Ch. *sanqian daqian shijie* 三千大千世界), the entirety of the known universe.⁴⁵ This view holds that *upapādukas* are even more numerous than insects.

although they endorse Vasumitra's view that there is no determinate duration for the intermediate state within the timeline of either one, or seven, weeks. They cite the view: 'Bhadanta (Vasumitra) is of the opinion that there is no determinate limit [to the duration of the intermediate state]. This means that if the conditions of life converge swiftly, then the body of the intermediate being abides for only a short time. If the conditions of life take a longer time to coalesce, then only when those conditions have converged, does the being become reincarnated (*pratisamdhī*). Thus, there is no determinate limit [to the duration of the *antarābhava*]. 大德說曰, 此無定限. 謂彼生緣, 速和合者. 此中有身, 即少時住. 若彼生緣, 多時未合. 此中有身, 即多時住. 乃至緣合, 方得結生. 故中有身, 住無定限. (*Apidamo da piposha lun*, T no. 1545, 27: 70.361b14–17).

⁴⁴ Bhikku Anālayo writes: 'The Buddhist conception of a *gandhabba* appears to have its roots in the Vedic *gandharva*, which had the particular function of transmitting things from one world to another'. See his article, 'Rebirth and the *Gandhabba*', 96. Lamotte, *La Traité de la grande vertu de sagesse*, 614, writes: 'Les Gandharva sont des artistes divins qui jouissent D'un Bonheur égal à celui des dieux; ils possèdent la sagesse (*prajñā*) et savent distinguer le beau du laid'.

⁴⁵ Xuanzang, trans., *Abhidharmakośābhāṣya*, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 8.44a14: 'What is the most predominant form of birth? It should be said that the most predominant form of birth is the *upapāduka*'. 一切生中, 何生最勝? 應言最勝, 唯是化生. For the corresponding Sanskrit text, see Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, 116. *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 22.467c03–4, and *Apidamo zang xianzong lun*, T no. 1563, 29: 13.834a08–9, read: 'The *upapādukas* are the most populous. That is to say, it is because of the fact that the minority of beings in both the two (i.e., humans and devas) and

The Body of the *Upapāduka*

The **Mahāvibhāṣā*, the *Great Abhidharma Commentary*, a touchstone work of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma, and a key source for the doctrinal masterworks composed by Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, defines the intermediate *saṃtāna* as the continuum of *skandhas* that perseveres from the moment after *marāṇabhava*, to the moment of reincarnation (Skt. *pratisaṃdhikṣaṇa* 結生剎那).⁴⁶ Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra agree that the *saṃtāna* of the ephemeral *upapāduka* is comprised of five *skandhas*: the four psychological *skandhas* of the deceased being, and the subtle *rūpaskandha* that is acquired in the moment after death.

In their translation of verse eleven in chapter three of the *Treasury of Abhidharma*⁴⁷ by Vasubandhu, Xuanzang and his team of translators interpolate the phrase, ‘body of the intermediate being’ (Ch. *zhongyou shen* 中有身), to underline the point that an intermediate being, because it possesses a subtle *rūpaskandha*, maintains the semblance of a bodily form. The *upapādukas* who abide in the liminal state between corporeal incarnations are considered by Vasubandhu

three (i.e., non-human animals, *pretas*, and *narakas*) destinies of rebirth, as well as all of the intermediate beings, are born through spontaneous generation’. 化生最多, 謂二趣全三趣少分及諸中有. 皆化生故.

⁴⁶ **Mahāvibhāṣā*, *Apidamo da piposha lun*, T no. 1545, 27: 192.310a18–9: ‘The intermediate *saṃtāna* refers to the arising of the intermediate *skandhas* from the cessation of the *skandhas* of *marāṇabhava*. These intermediate *skandhas* continue upon the *skandhas* of the *marāṇabhava*, hence they are called the intermediate *skandhas*’. 中有相續者, 謂死有蘊滅中有蘊生, 此中有蘊續死有蘊. 是故名為中有相續.

⁴⁷ Xuanzang’s translation of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* AKBh 3.13cd, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 9.46a24, reads: ‘the intermediate body being of a generic type is visible (in the intermediate state)’. 此中有身同類相見. The corresponding Sanskrit text (Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, 124) reads: *samā-najātiyair eva antarābhavair dṛśyate*. Paramārtha’s (T no. 1559, 29: 6.202c29) Chinese contains no mention of the ‘intermediate body’: ‘intermediate beings in the same transmigratory path are visible to one another’. 若同生道中陰. 定互相見.

and Saṅghabhadra to be ‘barely alive’⁴⁸ in that they exist in extremely attenuated apparitional forms.

Although an *upapāduka* persists in an attenuated bodily state, without the viscera associated with a fleshy body, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra are adamant that the sensory and vital functions of the *upapāduka* are sustained by a collection of *indriyas* that are clustered within the *saṃtāna* of the five *skandhas*.⁴⁹ Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra determine that an intermediate being bears the faculties (Skt. *indriya*; Ch. *gen* 根), the sensory, physical, psychological, and spiri-

⁴⁸ In his ‘Refutation of the Theory of the Ātman (*Ātmavāda*)’ (*Ātmavādapratishedha*), Vasubandhu classifies the view that *upapādukas* represent fully-fledged ‘sentient beings’, as heterodox and lacking scriptural corroboration (*T* no. 1558, 29: 30.155b6–14). He writes: ‘The foregoing words from the cited scripture are meant to induce understanding that the *pudgala* can be described as impermanent and not real in nature. Rather, it is identified with the five appropriating *skandhas* that beset one with heavy burdens. The bearer [of this heavy burden] what draws forth the *skandhas* from preceding to subsequent moments. Thus, the *pudgala* does not really exist. The *pudgala* does not really exist since the *sūtras* reject it, just as they reject the heterodox view that *upapādukas* are fully-fledged sentient beings. Who says that the *upapādukas* are fully-fledged sentient beings? If the Buddha spoke about it, then I will proclaim it to be real. To negate the *upapāduka*, so defined, would be classified as a heterodox view, because the *skandhas* of the *upapāduka* are real’. 如上所引經文句。為令了此補特伽羅可說無常非實有性。即五取蘊自相逼害得重擔名。前前剎那引後後故名為荷者。故非實有補特伽羅。補特伽羅定應實有。以契經說諸有撥無，化生有情邪見攝故。誰言無有化生有情？如佛所言，我說有故。謂蘊相續能往後世不由胎卵濕名化生有情。撥此為無故邪見攝。化生諸蘊理實有故。 For corresponding Sanskrit text, see Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, 468. Reference has been made to the English translation of Pruden, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, vol. 4, 1330.

⁴⁹ In the Abhidharma taxonomy of twenty-two faculties, the mental faculties of mind and aversion are grouped together under the four psychological *skandhas*, while the seven physical faculties (Skt. *sapta-rūpēndriyāṇi*; Ch. *qi youse gen* 七有色根), a rubric including the five ordinary senses (1–5), procreation (6), and vitality (7), are grouped together under the *rūpaskandha*.

tual capacities, that sustain all sentient beings.⁵⁰ To undergird their theoretical position regarding the bodily composition of *upapādukas*, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra enumerate the precise number of faculties that are possessed by an *upapāduka* to maintain the state of being ‘barely alive’ in the *antarābhava*.

In their translation of the ancient *Abhidharma Treatise on the Basis of Gnosis* (Skt. *Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna śāstra*; Ch. *Apidamo Fazhi lun* 阿毘達磨發智論), a primary source for the later Abhidharma work of Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, Xuanzang and his collaborators postulate that ‘the intermediate beings possess a minimum of thirteen, and a maximum of nineteen, faculties’.⁵¹ The thirteen faculties enumerated in the *Jñānaprasthāna śāstra* are the five ordinary senses of vision: (1), audition (2), olfaction (3), gustation (4), tactition (5), a coordinative mind to direct the senses (6), the two embodied faculties of male or female procreation (7), vitality (8), together with the five hedonic faculties of joy (9), suffering (10), pain (11), pleasure (12), and aversion (13). The nineteen faculties also include the five spiritual faculties of faith (15), vigor (16), recollection (17), concentration (18), and wisdom (19).

While supporting the theory that the ‘barely alive’ *upapādukas* possess *indriyas*, located within the *Jñānaprasthāna śāstra*, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra agree with more attenuated assignment of faculties of the *upapādukas* found in the **Samyuktābhidharmahṛdaya* (Ch. *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論) rendered into Chinese

⁵⁰ Vasubandhu states that all intermediate continua with supranormal powers (Skt. *ṛddhī*), such as the ‘divine eye’ (Skt. *divyacakṣur*), are constituted in a ‘bundle of five faculties’ (Skt. *samagrapañcēdriya*)—namely, vision, tactition (*kāyēndriya*), mind, aversion, and vitality. For the Sanskrit text of this passage, see Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, 3.14c, 125.

⁵¹ *Jñānaprasthāna śāstra*, *Apidamo fazhi lun*, T no. 1544, 26: 15.997a26–7: ‘The intermediate being possesses nineteen [faculties], at the maximum, and thirteen [faculties], at the minimum’. 中有，極多十九，極少十三。 Also see Saṅghadeva’s translation of *Jñānaprasthāna*, which corroborates the assignments of maximum and minimum faculties found in Xuanzang’s translation, *Apidamo baqiandu lun*, T no. 1543, 26: 15.874a8.

by Saṅghavarman (Ch. Sengqiebaluo 僧伽跋摩) during the fifth century.⁵² In the **Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, the *upapādukas* are depicted as possessing a minimum of three faculties: mind, vitality, and tactition (Skt. *kāyēndriya*), and a maximum of eight faculties: the female and male procreative faculties, five physical senses, and vitality.⁵³ This enumeration of faculties is congruent with the concep-

⁵² Saṅghavarman, trans., *Samyuktābhidharmahrdaya*, *Za Apidamo xin lun*, T no. 1552, 28: 8.940c21–22 reads: ‘The androgynic *upapāduka* contains six [faculties], namely the five physical faculties [vision, hearing, taste, touch, and smell] and vitality. The monadically gendered [*upapāduka*] contains seven; the bimodally gendered, eight. This description applies uniformly across the *kāmadhātu*’. 化生無形六，謂五色根、及命根。一形七，二形八。此一向說欲界。Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra come to accept these specific figures as well, with only minor modifications. In summary, the *upapāduka* necessarily possesses at least one three vital faculties of mind, vitality, and tactition (*kāyēndriya*). Their continued existence ranges from a minimum of three to a maximum of eight. The maximum of eight includes all five ordinary senses. **Mahāvibhāṣā*, *Apidamo da piposha lun*, T no. 1545, 27: 147.751c22–24, gives slightly different figures: ‘*upapādukas* have either six, seven, or eight, faculties. The androgynic *upapādukas* have six faculties: namely, vitality, hearing, smell, and taste. The bimodally-gendered have seven: namely, the six previous, including one of the gendered procreative faculties. The hermaphroditic *upapādukas* have eight: namely, the aforementioned six along with both male and female gendered procreative faculties’. 化生得六，或七或八。無形者六，謂眼耳鼻舌身命根。一形者七，謂前六及男女根隨一。二形者，八謂前六、及男女根。

⁵³ Earlier works of Abhidharma prior to Xuanzang had stated at least two, but it is not clear that Xuanzang endorses this doctrine. In the *Jñānaprasthāna śāstra*, *Apidamo fazhi lun*, T no. 1544, 26: 15.994b11–2, forming the most ancient stratum of the Abhidharma literature transmitted by Xuanzang, the view is found that ‘in the realm of sensory desire, how many faculties are born within the continuum at the outset of its life? Reply: those born vivipariously, ovipariously, or born by spawning in moisture, obtain the two (namely, tactition and vitality)’. 欲有相續，最初得幾業所生根？答：卵生、胎生、濕生得二。A quatrain enumerating the numbers of faculties born by *upapādukas* in the **Samyuktābhidharma-hrdaya śāstra* (Ch. *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論), T no. 1552,

tualization by Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra of the *upapādukas* as living, but apparitional, beings.

The Karma of the Intermediate Being

The physical and mental faculties that are required for the survival of the *upapāduka*, are contained within the *saṃtāna* of the five *skandhas*: subtle material form, sensation, perception, mental formation, and consciousness. While fragile and evanescent, the *saṃtāna* of the *upapāduka* carries psychological traces of the deceased sentient being, including the states of consciousness and the karma accumulated

28: 8.940c15–16, attributed to the Sarvāstivādin council member Dharmatrāta. The forth hemistich of this quatrain reads that ‘[when the *upapādukas* are initially born]...they have six [faculties] in the *rūpadhātu* and one [faculty] in the *arūpadhātu*’. 色六無色一. The six faculties pertaining to *upapādukas* in the *rūpadhātu* are the ‘five physical [sensory] faculties, vitality, and one faculty of procreation, if bimodally gendered; if hermaphroditic, eight’. 五色根及命根; 一形七二形八. This treatise also says in the previous line of verse that non-human animals and *upapādukas* in the *kāmadhātu* can survive while bearing only the two faculties of *kāyēndriya* and *jīvitēndriya* (*T* no. 1552, 28: 940.c15). The *Abhidharma Heart Treatise* (Skt. **Abhidharmahṛdaya śāstra*; Ch. *Apitan xin lun* 阿毗曇心論), *T* no. 1550, 28: 4.829c16, of Saṅghadeva characterizes certain *upapādukas* in the *arūpadhātu* as ‘solely bearing the one (i.e., the faculty of vitality)’. The *Treatise Containing the Essential Juice of the Abhidharma* (Skt. **Abhidharmāmṛtarasa śāstra*, **Abhidharmāmṛta śāstra*; Ch. *Apitan ganluwei lun* 阿毘曇甘露味論), *T* no. 1553, 28: 1.972a1, a text in two fascicle rolls translated into Chinese during the Northern-Wei Dynasty, attributed to the Sarvāstivādin Master Ghoṣaka 瞿沙, one of the members of the Great Sarvastivadin Council of 318 C.E., posits that the most attenuated form of *upapāduka* can survive between bodies with ‘solely the one’. **Abhidharmāmṛtarasa śāstra* reads: ‘in the immaterial realm (*arūpadhātu*) initially it [the *upapāduka*] obtains a single faculty of vitality’. 無色界最初得一命根. In short, the idea that some spectral *upapādukas* are ‘singularly endowed with vitality’ is found in some earlier Abhidharma works transmitted into China, but Xuanzang abjures it.

in the *pūrvabhava* by a sentient being, into the next life. Karma is defined as the latent effects of the good and the bad actions taken by a sentient being in prior incarnations. After a course of up to forty-nine days in the intermediate state, the *saṃtāna* imparts the mental constituents, including the karma of the previous sentient being, into a new body at the time of reincarnation.

Vasubandhu writes in his auto-commentary to chapter three, verse fifteen of the *Treasury of Abhidharma*:

the movement of the *saṃtāna* from one life to the next is motivated by karma, *kleśas*, and force of habit, which cause the *skandhas* of the intermediate being to continue onto [the next life] entering a womb.⁵⁴

Here, *kleśas* refers to the negative psychological aspects of the sentient being, such as mental disturbances, afflictions, attachments, negative emotions such as greed and anger, and unwholesome cravings that trap a sentient being in *saṃsāra*. *Saṃsāra*, the endless cycle of birth and death, results in suffering. Vasubandhu avers that karma, *kleśas*, and force of habit propel the *saṃtāna* of the sentient being

⁵⁴ Xuanzang, trans., *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* 3.18, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 47.c07–11: ‘This arises, and thus that arises (*Samyuktāgama* 262) And so it is said, etcetera, with respect to dependent arising (*pratītya-samutpāda*). But if that were the case, is there an *ātman* that you do not reject? There are only the *skandhas*. That is to say that we do not reject the *ātman* that exists in name only as a provisional designation for the *skandhas*. Granted that is the case, it should be granted that the *skandhas* move from one life to another. But the *skandhas* are momentary, and thus incapable of transmigrating amidst this cycle. It is because the intermediate being is made up of afflictions (*kleśa*) and actions of the force of prior habit, that the intermediate being continues on to enter into the womb’. 此生故彼生，廣說緣起。若爾何等我非所遮。唯有諸蘊。謂唯於蘊假立我名非所遮遣。若爾應許諸蘊即能從此世間轉至餘世。蘊剎那滅於輪轉無能。數習煩惱業所為故。令中有蘊相續入胎。 Reference has been made to Pruden’s English translation, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 399, and to the French translation of de la Vallée Poussin, *L’Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, 57.

through the intermediate state, and into a new reincarnation, thereby sustaining the cycle of death and rebirth.

Proofs of the Existence of an Intermediate State

According to Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, there is a distinct temporal and spatial interval between the loss of the *rūpaskandha* of the dead body and the arising of the five *skandhas* that constitute an intermediate being. The presence of a spatial interstice and temporal interval between the place and time of the death of the body, and the ‘rebirth’ (Ch. *sheng* 生) of an intermediate being, provides the Abhidharma theorists with a rationale for the existence of a transitional space and time between life in the *pūrvabhava*, survival of *marañabhava*, and the locus (Skt. *deśa*; Ch. *chu* 處) of the intermediate state, or *antarābhava*.⁵⁵

In their Chinese translations of the *Treasury of Abhidharma*, the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to Correct Logic*, and the *Treatise Clarifying Abhidharma Tenets*, Xuanzang and his team dedicate one and one-half folio rolls to a discussion regarding the existence of a distinct spatial and temporal state between the death of a living

⁵⁵ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 23. 468b20–25, contains the objection that if the *rūpaskandha* of the dead body arises in the same place as the living *skandhas* of the intermediate continuum, there should be no interstice between death and life, and hence, no intermediate state: ‘If the previous set of aggregates ceases in a different place, then, the subsequent set of aggregates should arise in a different place, and there should be no intermediate state. But how can one grant that the subsequent set of aggregates arise in a different place, and yet that there is no gap between the state of being dead and the state of being alive? It should be granted that what is subsequently born in this very same place from which the previous set of aggregates terminated, lacks an intermediate state because whether or not it is reborn, it would always lack causal efficacy’. 若異處前蘊滅已。異處後生，則無中有。如何不許死有無間，即於異處生有蘊生。若於此處，前蘊滅已，此處後生，亦無中有，是則應許。若生不生，皆無用故。

corporeal entity and the reincarnation of an entity into corporeal form. In their extensive treatises affirming the existence of an intermediate state, Saṅghabhadra and Vasubandhu adduce the example of the image of the moon on the surface of a mirror.⁵⁶ In this metaphor the Abhidharma scholars aver that the ‘interstice’ (Ch. *zhongjian* 中間) of space between the surface of the mirror, and the image of the moon that is reflected onto the surface of the mirror, is analogous to the interstice of space that exists between a dead being and a reincarnated being. This space is conceptualized as the temporal and spatial location during which the *saṃtāna* of four *skandhas* abide between bodily incarnations. It is within this interstitial space that the intermediate being, or the *upapāduka*, abides.

In making their case for the existence of an intermediate state, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra draw upon the Abhidharma principle that two *saṃtānas* cannot occupy the same space. As the image of the sun reflected on the water and the surface of the mirror are composed of different materials, they are, by definition, two separate *saṃtānas*. Therefore, the image of the sun that is reflected on the surface of the mirror and the surface of the mirror itself do not occupy the same spatial or temporal locus. The Chinese translation by Xuanzang and his cohort of the auto-commentary by Vasubandhu on chapter three, verse eleven of the *Treasury of Abhidharma* reads:

Again, shade and sunlight never occupy the same locus. Now, if one hangs a mirror in the shade [in a shed situated close to a pond lit by the sun], one would vividly see in the surface of the mirror the reflection [of the sun on the surface of the water]. There should not be two [*saṃtānas* of the surface of the mirror and the reflection] coinciding with one another when they arise.

⁵⁶ Xuanzang’s translation of *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* 3.11, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 8.44c08–9, reads: ‘The reflection of the moon and the surface of the mirror are two separate continua’. 鏡面月像，謂之為二。For the corresponding Sanskrit text see Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, 120.

又影與光未嘗同處。然曾見鏡懸置影中，光像顯然，現於鏡面。不應於此，謂二並生。⁵⁷

Like the image that occupies a different space from the surface of the mirror, the *saṃtāna* of a dead body occupies a different space from the *saṃtāna* of a reincarnated being. The conclusion that a dead body and a reincarnated being cannot occupy the same space at the same time is taken by Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra as support for an interstitial afterlife, or an intermediate state.

The rival Abhidharma traditions of Sthaviravāda (Ch. *Shangzuo bu* 上座部) and Vibhajjavāda (Ch. *fenbie lun zhe* 分別論者)⁵⁸ deny the existence of an intermediate state between death and rebirth. In the discourses on the *antarābhava*, found in the *Treasury of Abhidharma* and commentarial works on this text, Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra construct lengthy defenses of the venerable Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma doctrine of the intermediate state.⁵⁹ In his *Clarification of Abhidharma Tenets*, Saṅghabhadra mounts a spirited defense against the Sthaviravādin and Vibhajjavādin denial of the existence of an intermediate state between the moment of death and time of reincarnation. He begins by describing the interpretation of metaphor of the caterpillar enlisted by his rivals in their rejection of the intermediate state between. Saṅghabhadra writes:

⁵⁷ *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 8.470a27–8. This is basically the translation of Pruden, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyam* of Vasubandhu, 384, from the French of de la Vallée Poussin, *L'Abhidharmakośa*, 35, with modifications.

⁵⁸ For the identity of the Vibhajjavādins, see Bareau, *Les sectes bouddhiques du petit véhicule*, 165–71.

⁵⁹ The Sarvāstivādin editors of the **Mahāvibhāṣā*, the *Great Abhidharma Commentary*, rejoin the Vibhajjavāda view which denies any hiatus between *marāṇabhava* and *upapattibhava* by pointing to one unwarranted consequence of maintaining such a view. In short, if ‘one must abandon *marāṇabhava* before entering *upapattibhava*’, then when when a hell borne being is due to become reborn into the Avīci Hell, s/he must first abandon the *rūpaskandha* of the dead body before s/he obtains the new *rūpaskandha* of the rebirth destiny in hell.

We liken [the continuity of the *saṃtāna*] to the continuous movement of the caterpillar. To move forward the caterpillar first moves its front legs and then moves its back legs. In this very way, the state of becoming deceased (Skt. *maraṇabhava*) is separate from the state of becoming reincarnated (Skt. *upapattibhava*). The caterpillar initially uses the front legs, and then retracts them as it reaches other locations. So why should an intermediate state exist?

猶如尺蠖，前安前足，後足後移。如是死生，方所雖隔。先取後捨，得至餘方，中有何用？⁶⁰

The Vibhajyavādins argue that when viewed from above, the movement of caterpillar appears continuous, even though the forward movement of the caterpillar is initiated by the front legs and followed by the back legs.⁶¹ If one were not to notice the legs rapidly

However, if there were no hiatus between the state of becoming deceased and the state of becoming reincarnated, then a sentient being becoming reborn into the Avīci Hell would simultaneously belong to two transmigratory realms (*gati*) at once—the realm of the human and the realm of the hellish beings. This is granted to be an impossibility, for such a sentient being, not yet having abandoned the dead body, would possess a mind simultaneously belonging to two transmigratory realms at once. The editors of **Mahāvibhāṣā* regard this unwarranted consequence of a hell borne being belonging to two transmigratory realms at once, as grounds to reject the view that there is no interval between *maraṇabhava* and *upapattibhava*. In their words: ‘it is impossible that two sentient minds [belonging to different realms] could simultaneously arise within one body’. 一身內二心俱生 (*Apidamo da pīposha lun*, T no. 1545, 27: 69. 358a16).

⁶⁰ *Apidamo zang xianzong lun*, T no. 1563, 29: 13.837a04; argument also found in *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Za Apidamo xin lun*, T no. 1552, 29: 24.474c08–10.

⁶¹ **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdaya śāstra*, *Za Apidamo xin lun*, T no. 1552, 28: 11.963a18–20: ‘If one initially takes up the living *skandhas*, and then abandons the dead *skandhas*, then the example of the twists and turns of the caterpillar is not logically appropriate. Why? Because there is the error that the transmigratory realms (*gati*) [of living and being dead] are not separate and the two consciousnesses [of the time of living and the time of being dead] would be combined. For

moving and exchanging the burden of the weight of the creature, the slithering of the caterpillar across the ground would appear as a seamless vector of forward movement. The Vibhajyavādin argue that the unbroken movements of the caterpillar are analogous to the continuous movement of a sentient being transitioning from death to rebirth.⁶² The Sthaviravādin and Vibhajyavādin theorists state that, just as the back legs of the caterpillar follow the front legs, rebirth, or *upapattibhava*, follows immediately after corporeal death or *marañabhava*.⁶³ The existence of an intermediate stage, or *antarābhava*, is not evident in the movement of the caterpillar. In his analysis of the metaphor employed by the Sthaviravādin and Vibhajyavādin, Kritzer writes: ‘just as a caterpillar moves along by placing its front foot down and then immediately moving its rear foot, so does a person give up the *marañabhava* immediately upon obtaining *upapattibhava*’.⁶⁴

In his defense of the existence of the *antarābhava*, Saṅghabhadra poses a rhetorical question to his Vibhajyavādin interlocutor: If the front and back legs of the caterpillar succeed one another in enabling the caterpillar to move forward, how can the gap between the front

this reason, we should say that there exists an intermediate state [between death and rebirth]’. 若先取生陰，而捨死陰。如折樓虫者不然。何以故？趣不別及二識合過故。是故說有中陰。

⁶² Xuanzang’s translation of the **Mahāvibhāṣā* reports the Vibhajyavāda interpretation of the simile of the caterpillar as follows: ‘Whenever a sentient being moves from *marañabhava* to *upapattibhava*, it must abandon *marañabhava* before entering *upapattibhava*. We liken it to a caterpillar climbing up a blade of grass or a tree, etc. First the caterpillar places its front legs forward, and only then does it move forward on the back legs. By this reasoning, there is no error of the interruption between *marañabhava* and *upapattibhava*’. 諸從死有至生有時，要得生有，方捨死有。如折路迦緣草木等，先安前足，方移後足。是故死生中無斷過。 (*Apidamo da piposha lun*, T no. 1545, 27: 69. 358a10–13)

⁶³ For the Sthaviravāda arguments against the intermediate state, see Cuevas, ‘Predecessors and prototypes’, 282–3. For the Vibhajyavādins against the intermediate state, see Kritzer, ‘*Rūpa* and the *Antarābhava*’, 237–9.

⁶⁴ Kritzer, ‘*Rūpa* and the *Antarābhava*’, 237.

and back legs serve as an example supporting the non-existence of the intermediate state? In his interpretation of the simile comparing the movement of caterpillar to the relationship between *marañabhava* and *upapattibhava*, Saṅhabhadra understands the gradual movement of the caterpillar along the ground as involving the smooth movement through the spatial interstice and temporal interval between where and when the *marañabhava* ends, and *upapattibhava* begins.⁶⁵ For Saṅhabhadra, the non-interruption in the movement of the caterpillar, even within the time that the front legs have ceased moving, and back leg have not yet set into movement, is an example of this smooth transition from one life to another through the intermediate state. Based upon this reasoning, Saṅhabhadra concludes that the Vibhajyavādin interpretation of the metaphor of the caterpillar is flawed. Like the caterpillar moving forward along the ground, first, by engaging its front legs, and then, by engaging its back legs, the distinct stages in the lifecycle of the sentient being succeed one another without hiatus or interruption.

⁶⁵ Saṅhabhadra rejects the Vibhajyavādin theorists' conclusion that the uninterrupted movement of the caterpillar presupposes that there cannot exist any gap or hiatus between where and when the front legs cease action, and the back legs take up action. His criticisms of the Vibhajyavādin interpretation of the metaphor of the caterpillar in the *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29:24, 474.c13–4, rest on the idea that the metaphor of the caterpillar is consistent with the notion of a locus (*deśa*) or interstice between where the front legs retract, and the back legs set into motion. Saṅhabhadra concludes: 'Moreover, the logical reasoning [of the Vibhajyavādins] with the metaphor of the caterpillar is unestablished. Due to its insect-body the caterpillar continues without interruption—initially placing the front legs forward and later moving forward on the rear legs, it is logically possible that the spatial locations [of the front and rear legs] are separated by a space (i.e., the intermediate state). Having a body in becoming deceased (in *marañabhava*) and becoming reborn (in *upapattibhava*) are separated by a spatio-temporal interstice'. 又尺蠖喻，其理不成。以彼蟲身，中無間絕。安前移後，處隔可然。死生有身，中間隔絕。

Surviving Reincarnation: The *Pratisaṃdhikāla*

In their argumentation for the survival of the sentient being Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra describe reincarnation (Skt. *pratisaṃdhikāla*; Ch. *jiesheng shi* 結生時) as the time when a new corporeal *rūpaskandha* is bundled with the four *skandhas* carried within the *saṃtāna* of the *upapāduka*. The event of the merging of the four *skandhas* of the intermediate being with the *rūpaskandha* of an embryo, marks the beginning of the initial *kalala* stage (Ch. *jieluolan* 羯羅藍) of embryogenesis.⁶⁶ When the *rūpaskandha* of an embryo becomes associated with the *skandhas* of the intermediate being from a past life, the process of reincarnation begins.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Saṅghabhadra, *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo zang xianzong lun*, T no. 1563, 29: 24.480a27, and *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 15.839c06–9, contain the description of how the intermediate being terminates in the insemination of the new embryo: ‘while the physical basis and consciousness cease at death, they are capable of providing the generative condition for the intermediate being’s consciousness, etc. The intermediate continuum is composed of *skandhas* whose karma consists in the delusion left over from a prior life. The *saṃtāna* moving towards the place it arises is like an illusion. When it reaches the mother’s womb, the intermediate *saṃtāna* terminates. It is further capable of providing the causal conditions for the arising [of the *skandhas*] in the state of becoming reincarnated (Skt. *upapattibhava*)’. 死識與依，俱至滅位。能為中有，識等生緣。中有諸蘊，由先惑業。如幻相續，往所生處。至母腹內，中有滅時。復能為緣，生生有蘊。

⁶⁷ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 48.478a1–3): ‘The impurities of the father and mother beget the *kalala*. It [the *kalala*] is born from impurities. There is no error here as far as contradicting the *sūtras*. Other masters say: the *mahābhūtas* of the [uterine] blood and semen in the state of transformation, form the faculties and their physical bases. The previous faculties of the intermediate being cease and the later faculties [of the reincarnated being] arise without interruption. The principle is the same as the seed ceasing when the sprout arises’. 父母不淨，生羯刺藍，依不淨生，無違經失。有餘師說：精血大種，於轉變位，即作根依。謂前無根，中有俱滅。後有根者，無間續生。如種與芽，滅生道理。

Saṅghabhadra writes that the cessation of the subtle *rūpaskandha* of an intermediate being leads to the arising of the four aggregates of sensation, perception, impulses, and consciousness into a newly sentient embryo. The ceasing of the consciousness and the psycho-physical basis (Skt. *āśraya*; Ch. *suoyi* 所依) of the *skandhas* of the intermediate being provides the generative conditions (Ch. *shengyuan* 生緣) for the arising of a new set of *skandhas* in the embryo.⁶⁸

Saṅghabhadra writes that the consciousness of the first moment of the new life form is informed by both the consciousness of the intermediate being and the innate (Skt. *sababhū*; Ch. *jusheng* 俱生) consciousness of the new embryo.⁶⁹ In the *kalala* stage, the embryo is

⁶⁸ *Apidamo zang xianzong lun*, T no. 1563, 29: 13.839.c04–8, and *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.480a26–b1, describe how the cessation of consciousness and the psycho-physical basis (*āśraya*) of the continuum at death provide the generative conditions for the arising of the continuum of the intermediate being: ‘This continuum (*samtāna*) of psycho-physical aggregates experiences factors such as lifespan, drawn forth by karma of delusion from previous lifecycles. With the power of the maturation (*vipāka*) of that karma, up until the time that it is exhausted, the consciousness at the time of becoming deceased, and its psycho-physical basis, in the stage of their concurrent cessation, are capable of providing the generative conditions for consciousness, etc., in the intermediate being (*antarābhavin*). The various aggregates of the intermediate state persist on, like an illusion, due to previous karma, and head towards the locus of rebirth, until they reach the mother’s womb. When the intermediate state has ceased, it [the continuum] is capable of engendering the aggregates of the state of becoming reincarnated (*upapattibhava*)’. 此蘊相續，領納先世，惑業所引，壽量等法。彼異熟勢，至窮盡時，死識與依，俱至滅位，能為中有，識等生緣。中有諸蘊，由先惑業。如幻相續，往所生處，至母腹內，中有滅時，復能為緣，生生有蘊。

⁶⁹ *Apidamo zang xianzong lun*, T no. 1563, 29: 13.838b15–17: ‘when the *skandhas* of the intermediate being cease, the *skandhas* of the reincarnated being arise. The *rūpaskandha* of the reincarnated being are engendered by the proper cause in the intermediate being. The blood and semen of the mother and father only serve as the generative condition. We liken it to the fertilizer, etc., that serves

a droplet, yet possesses five *skandhas*. The living *rūpaskandha* of the *kalala* embryo nurtures the ‘seeds’ (Skt. *bījas*, *aṅkula*; Ch. *zhongzi* 種子) of the seven physical faculties.⁷⁰ Although it does not possess fully-fledged sensory *indriyas*, the *kalala* embryo is endowed with the capabilities required for a sentient being to survive and thrive.

The Exposition of the Example of the Flame of a Candle

Vasubandhu invokes the metaphor of the wick of a burning candle to describe how the *saṃtāna* of an intermediate being survives reincarnation. In this metaphor, the flame of an existing candle is used to light the wick of another candle. The transfer of the flame from one candle to another is analogous to the transfer of the *saṃtāna* of the five *skandhas* the intermediate being, to a new embryo.⁷¹ In his

as the supporting basis for the growth of the sprout from the seed’. 中有蘊滅，生有蘊生。生有色生，正因中有。父母精血，但作生緣。如種生芽，依地糞等。

⁷⁰ The explanation that the seeds of the seven physical faculties is found in **Mahāvibhāṣā, Apidamo fazhi lun*, T no. 1545, 27: 147.751b26–c6: ‘Question, for what reason do the loci of those [i.e., physical faculties of procreation] only come to be during the stage of infancy?’ 問：如何於少時，頃便得爾所根耶？

‘Reply: at that time (in the prenatal stage), although there are none of the salient features of the physical faculties, although the seed is already there. We liken it to mixing distilled saline-water, ghee, sweet honey, and rum, etc., together and then storing them in a single vessel. If you pick up a single drop with a blade of grass, all of the variegated flavours are present within that [single drop]. We should understand the *kalala* stage in this way, since the seeds of the physical faculties are already all present’. 答：爾時雖無諸色根相，而已具得彼根種子。如清鹽水酥·蜜·沙糖酒等，和合貯在一器。若以草端，露取一滴，於中具有鹽等諸味。羯邏藍位應知亦爾，一切色根種子皆具。

⁷¹ **Abhidharmakośa-vṛtti sūtrānūrūpā*, D no. 4091, 141: 137b.7–a.1, reads: ‘momentary *skandhas*, referring to the feeble afflictions saturating the intermediate being that consists only in *skandhas*, as a continuum, transmigrate into the womb. We liken this to the momentary flickers of the lamp which are constantly transforming. In this there is absolutely no fault, because there is no *ātman*. What

description of the process of reincarnation, the *skandhas* transfer the information from the previous life, carried by the intermediate being, into a new embryo. This includes the genetic information imparted to the embryo by the biological father and mother, as well as the karma imparted to it by the intermediate being with which it merges during the moment of reincarnation. Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra maintain that the transfer of the mental constituents and karma from one life to the next occurs within the moment to moment action of the *saṃtāna*, and without the presence of an *ātman*.

In the *Treasury of Abhidharma* chapter three, verse eighteen, Vasubandhu illustrates that the process of the transference of the *saṃtāna* of the intermediate being into an incarnated form occurs without an *ātman*. In his Chinese translation, Xuanzang renders the *śloka* verse written by Vasubandhu as follows:

The *saṃtāna* is made up of the previous karma and afflictions (Skt. *kleśas*) and is only *skandhas*. It is not an *ātman*. The intermediate being, existing in the form of the *saṃtāna*, enters the womb. The *saṃtāna* is like the [arising and ceasing] of the flames of a candle.

無我唯諸蘊，煩惱業所為。由中有相續，入胎如燈焰。⁷²

goes into the womb is a *saṃtāna* of the assemblage of plural *skandhas* consisting in psycho-physical formations (*samskāra*) of karma and affliction (*kleśa*). *phung po skad cig ma de dag la ni / 'pho ba'i mthu med kyi nyon mongs pa dang las kyis yongs su bsgos pa'i phung po tsam srid pa bar ma zhes bya ba ni rgyun gyis ma'i mngal du 'gro ste/ dper na mar me skad cig ma'i rgyun gyis yul gzhan du 'gro zhes bya ba bzbin pas / 'di la nyes pa med do /de bas na bdag ni med kyi / nyon mongs pa dang las kyi mngon par 'dus byas pa'i phung bo rnam kyi rgyun ma'i mngal du 'gro zhes bya ba 'di grub po /*

⁷² Xuanzang, trans., *Abhidharmakośa* 3.18, *Apidamo jushe lun*, T no. 1558, 29: 9.47b27–28. For the corresponding Sanskrit verse, see Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa*, 129. Corresponding Tibetan translation by Jinamitra, et al., found at D no. 4090, 140: 123a.1.

Saṅghabhadra elaborates on the analogy of the flame of the candle in his explanation of the *saṃtāna* that survives biological death:

We liken the *saṃtāna* to the flame of a candle. Although the *saṃtāna* functions as the momentary [arising and] ceasing stream of preceding and subsequent causes and effects, without interruption, the *saṃtāna* is capable of reaching the next life. Therefore, although there is no *ātman*, and the *skandhas* cease from moment to moment, it is established that the *skandhas* move towards the transmigratory realm of the next life.⁷³

譬如燈焰，雖剎那滅，而能前後因果無間展轉相續，得至餘方。故雖無我剎那滅，而能往趣後世義成，即此諸蘊。⁷⁴

Within the Brāhmaṇical Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika traditions of doctrinal thought, the teachings on the survival of death require the existence of an enduring and substantial *ātman* that works invisibly within the body to animate a sentient being and survives death and reincarnation. To Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra however, the Buddhist conceptions of momentariness and the *saṃtāna* provide a robust and plausible explanation for continuing physical and cognitive actions of a sentient being throughout the Buddhist life cycle. Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra endorse the conceptualization of the survivability of the sentient being in the *skandhas* without the presence of a Brāhmaṇical *ātman* or self.

⁷³ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.480b01–2: ‘We liken it to the flame of a candle that ceases from moment to moment, yet is capable of moving to and from. Since the causes and effects are uninterrupted in their cooperation, the *saṃtāna* moves to other places. Hence, even without a self, it is established that the *skandhas* move from one life to the next, while ceasing from moment to moment’. 譬如燈焰，雖剎那滅，而能前後因果無間，展轉相續，得至餘方。故雖無我，蘊剎那滅。而能往趣，後世義成。 Passage also found in *Clarification of Tenets*, T no. 1563, 29: 13.839c9–11.

⁷⁴ Passage appears also in *Apidamo xianzong lun*, T no. 1563, 29: 13.839c9–11.

Saṅghabhadra Contends That the Brāhmaṇical *Ātman* Is Not the Locus of Transmigration

Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra take the example of the flickering of a candlewick to dispute the claims of the rival Brāhmaṇical theorists that the locus of transmigration is a singular and enduring entity. The flickering glow of a candle appears as a continuous and unitary flame. The flame, however, consists of multiple small units of flame that follow one another in a quick succession of moments. The metaphor of the flame draws a stark contrast between the Buddhist view of no-self (Skt. *anātman*) and the Brāhmaṇical view that a substantial self (Skt. *ātman*; Ch. *shiwo* 實我) or psychic person (Skt. *puruṣa*; Ch. *shifu* 士夫, *shenwo* 神我)⁷⁵ constitutes the locus of transmigration.

Based upon the hallowed verses of the classical Sāṅkhya tradition, the *Sāṅkhyakārikās* of Kāpila, the *puruṣa*, or psychic person, comprises the essence of the *ātman*. In the sixty-eighth stanza of the seminal *Sāṅkhyakārikās*, the biological death of a sentient being is depicted as when the *puruṣa* is liberated from its bodily fetters.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Radich, 'Ideas about Consciousness', 480, shows that in fifth- and sixth-century Chinese Buddhist debates, 'the *shenwo* had emerged as a technical term for the *ātman*'. However, in the seventh-century, Xuanzang avails himself of the term *shenwo* to refer to the *puruṣa*, *simpliciter*, the first of the twenty-five elements (Skt. *tattva*; Ch. *di* 諦) posited in Sāṅkhya teaching. See Xuanzang's translation of Dharmapāla's **Catuhśataka-vṛtti* (Ch. *Dasheng guang bailun shilun* 大乘廣百論釋論), T no. 1571, 30: 2.197b23, for one such example. The *puruṣa*, *simpliciter*, is utterly inactive and consists in pure sentience. It is not an agent of physical action. Only when the *shenwo* becomes embodied in its material covering of *prakṛti* (Ch. *zixing* 自性), the second element, and the faculties of physical action (Skt. *karmēndriya*; Ch. *zuoye gen* 作業根), does the psycho-physical organism become an agent of physical action. As such, physical actions such as breathing, walking, and talking happen not to the *puruṣa*, but to the embodied psycho-physical organism. See Bryant, 'Agency in Sāṅkhya and Yoga', 21, for an investigation of the nature of agency in Sāṅkhya teaching.

⁷⁶ Reference has been made to the Sanskrit edition of Dutt, *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, 79, who translates the entire stanza as follows: 'After having deserted the body

In this process, the *puruṣa* is extricated from the body and released into space within the cocoon of an ‘ethereal body’ (Skt. *guhyaśarīra*; Ch. *xīshen* 細神). Concealed in life, the *guhyaśarīra* emerges during process of dying and provides the *puruṣa* with a container by which it transmigrates into the ether (Skt. *ākāśa*) for reincarnation into another corporeal body.

Saṅghabhadra rejects the idea that a *puruṣa* or an *ātman* is required to explain the process of transmigration and reincarnation. To disabuse his Brāhmaṇical antagonist of the postulate that a *puruṣa*, or spiritual core of the *ātman*, survives death, Saṅghabhadra targets the doctrine of the substantial *ātman*. He writes:

Why do you posit that there exists an internally-functioning person (Skt. *puruṣa*)? The World-Honored One (Skt. *Bhagavat*) has already excluded the substantial *ātman* posited by you—this is both the agent and patient of actions and is reborn into the next life (Skt. *paralokam*). It is for this reason that when Bhāgavan said: ‘There exists karma and there exist the effects of matured karma (Skt. *vipāka*)’,⁷⁷ he referred

and after the cessation of the Nature, the Spirit (i.e., *puruṣa*) acquires the salvation which is both certain and final’.

⁷⁷ In the Ninth Chapter of his *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, Vasubandhu identifies this passage as coming from the *Paramārtha-śūnyatā-paryāya* 勝義空契經 (*T* no. 1558, 29: 30.155b26, corresponding to Pradhan, *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, 468). The full passage cited in *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* 3.18a reads: ‘There exists karma and there exists the effects of matured karma, but there is no agent who abandons these *skandhas* here and take up those *skandhas* there, independently of the causal relationship of the dharmas. Namely, if this exists, then that exists; through the arising of this, there is the arising of that, and so forth, etc.—[that is,] dependent arising’. This is Pruden’s (*Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣyam* of Vasubandhu, 399) translation, with modifications, based on the French translation of de la Vallée Poussin (*L’Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu*, 57). The Sanskrit passage reads: *Asti karmāsti vipākaḥ kārakas tu, na upalabhyate ya imāms’ ca skandhān; nīkṣipaty anyāms’ ca skandhān; pratisaṃdadbhāty anyatra dharmaṣaṃketāt. tatra ayaṃ dharmasamketo yad tasmin sati idaṃ bhavati iti vis-tareṇa pratītyasamutpādaḥ*. See Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, 129;

to the capability of deserting this corporeal aggregate (Skt. *rūpaś-kandha*) along with the capability of continuing the other [four] aggregates, and so forth in detail (Skt. *iti vistareṇa*).

Again, how do we know this? You posit the substantial *ātman* as the agent (Skt. *kartr*), etc. However, in fact, it is unobservable (Skt. *anupalabdhī*), since it does not exist as a [tangible] entity.

Insofar as the *ātman* exists as a substantial entity, it possesses an unexperienced instrumental cause (Skt. *karaṇa*), because its causal basis is unobserved.

如何執有內用士夫？世尊亦遮所執實我。是作受者，能往後世。故世尊言：‘有業有異熟，作者不可得。’謂能捨此蘊，及能續餘蘊，乃至廣說。

復如何知？所執實我，是作者等，實不可得，為體無故。

為體實有，有不得因，無得因故。⁷⁸

In this passage, Saṅghabhadra takes issue with the doctrines of the psychic person and the substantial *ātman* defended by the Brāhmaṇical theorists of the classical Sāṅkhya tradition. By the ‘substantial *ātman*’, Saṅghabhadra specifically refers to the Sāṅkhya doctrine of the spiritual core of the sentient being that is believed to depart the body at death, transmigrate through the ether, and eventually become reincarnated in a new corporeal body. However, Saṅghabhadra remains suspicious of the *puruṣa*, as it is described negatively as ‘inactive’ (Skt. *niṣkriya*) and ‘detached’ (Skt. *kaivalya*) from material reality. According to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, the *puruṣa* alone exists in an inert, static state of pure sentience (Skt. *caitanya*). Hence, the *puruṣa* requires the dynamic powers of the embodied *ātman* in order to accomplish actions.⁷⁹ According to the

Shastri, ed., *Sphuṭārthā Abhidharmakośa-Vyākhyā of Yaśomitra*, vol. 2, 432. The corresponding passage in the Tibetan translation is found at D no. 4090, 140: 122b.6.

⁷⁸ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.479c4–9.

⁷⁹ Watson, *The Self's Awareness of Itself*, 95, describes how, by conflating the *puruṣa* with the ‘true soul’, Sāṅkhya assigns active agency to the faculties:

doctrinal schema laid out in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, although *puruṣa* cannot execute actions without the embodied *ātman*, a *puruṣa* constantly directs the physical and cognitive actions of the *ātman* in an executive capacity.⁸⁰ While the *puruṣa, simpliciter*, is described as immutable and eternal, the *puruṣa* is said to play a provisory role in coordinating the ephemeral physical operations of the body, along with the cognitive operations of the mind such as walking and talking, thinking, and remembering.

The argument against the existence of the *puruṣa* presented by Saṅghabhadra hinges on the premise that if the *puruṣa* were the executive operator coordinating the actions of the body and mind, then the *puruṣa* would be directly observable in sense perception. The *puruṣa*, which is postulated by the Sāṅkhya theorists as the initiating cause of bodily and mental action, is described as imperceptible to the naked eye. Saṅghabhadra therefore concludes:

Our tradition maintains that the *ātman* cannot exist as a real entity, because it is unobserved. It is not for any other reason (that the *ātman* does not exist).

The arisings of attachment to the *ātman* do not go beyond the following four possibilities.

‘Sāṅkhya souls are completely inactive experiences (*bhoktr*) in the form of pure sentience (Skt. *caitanya*): mental occurrences such as pleasure, pain and cognition thus happen not to them but to the psycho-physical organism, in particular, its mental faculties’.

⁸⁰ Bryant, *Agency in Sāṅkhya and Yoga*, 21, pinpoints an issue surrounding the source of agency in Sāṅkhya philosophy: ‘...Agency in the Sāṅkhya perspective, has to be consigned to an entity other than *puruṣa*, which must be “unmixed” with such changeable qualities such as agency, and Sāṅkhya assigns this function either to *buddhi*, its covering of discrimination, or to the second evolute emanating from *prakṛti*, *ahaṅkāra*, *ego* (literally: “I-maker”), defined as the function of conceit or ego (*abhimāna*)’. As Stcherbatsky, *Soul Theory of the Buddhists*, 3, writes: ‘the position of an eternal passive Soul alongside with an active but unconscious intellect (*buddhi*) is indeed a very weak point in the Sāṅkhya system, a point which invites criticism’.

我宗定許，由我體無，故不可得，非餘因故。
諸起我執，無過四種。⁸¹

At this point in his *Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic of Abhidharma*, Saṅghabhadra presents a *catuṣkoṭi* (Ch. *siju* 四句), or tetralemma:

Either the *ātman* you posit is, by nature, identical to [one of] the *skandhas*;

Or, secondly, the *ātman* you posit is distinct from the particular *skandhas*, while residing in the collection of *skandhas*;

Or, thirdly, the *ātman* you posit resides in the different *skandhas* and factors belonging the different *skandhas*;

Or, fourthly, the *ātman* you posit is different from the *skandhas* as it exists entirely independently of them.

一執有我，即蘊為性。
二執異蘊，住在蘊中。
三執異蘊，住異蘊法。
四執異蘊，都無所住。⁸²

In the above quatrain, Saṅghabhadra lays out the four possible ways that the *ātman* can be related to the five *skandhas*. They are: firstly, that the *ātman* is identical to one of the individual *skandhas*;⁸³ secondly, that the *ātman* is separate from the individual *skandhas*, while residing in the collection made up of more than one *skandha*; thirdly, that the *ātman* is distinct from the individual *skandhas*, while it is equivalent to the specific factors categorized under the taxonomy of five *skandhas*; and fourthly, that the *ātman* is entirely

⁸¹ *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.479c9–10.

⁸² *Nyāyanusāra śāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 24.479c11–12.

⁸³ Kramer, *Pañcaskandhakavibhāṣa*, xix: ‘Sāṅkhya only regard *rūpaskandha* as *ātmīya* (“mine”), and all the other four *skandhas* as *ātman*. He [Sthiramati] thus claims that for the Sāṅkhyas the self is not only identical to *vijñāna* but also consists of the factors accompanying the mind’.

unrelated to any of the five *skandhas* or to their collection. The four possibilities are meant to express the full range of ways that the *ātman* could relate to the individual *skandhas* and to their collection in *saṃtāna*.

The argument summarized in the tetralemma sets up a basic dilemma for the opponent who proposes an enduring *ātman* that survives the process of reincarnation: Is the *ātman* fundamentally the same, or different, from the *skandhas*? If the *ātman* is the same as the *skandhas*, then, presumably, it is equivalent to one or more of the five *skandhas*. According to the Buddhist teaching, the five *skandhas*, are, by definition, momentary and impermanent. Hence, if the *ātman* is associated with one or more of the five *skandhas*, then the *ātman* must also be impermanent by nature. Thus, the first horn of the dilemma is meant to be unacceptable to the Brāhmaṇical antagonist who maintains the doctrine of the eternality of the *ātman*. If, however, the *ātman* is separate from the five *skandhas*, then, it would follow that the *ātman* has no observable effects, as the five *skandhas* make up the entire gamut of the personality that is perceptible to the five senses. Thus, the second horn of the dilemma is intended to be equally unpalatable to the Brāhmaṇical antagonist who maintains that the existence of the *ātman* can be inferred from its outward bodily activity and visible effects. In sum, Saṅghabhadra's dilemma is meant to pose a thorny difficulty for the proponent of the *ātman* as the locus of reincarnation. Both horns of the dilemma—namely, that the *ātman* is equivalent to one or more of the *skandhas*, or, that the *ātman* is separate from the *skandhas*—pose unwarranted consequences for the *ātmavādin* or proponent of the *ātman*.

In his *Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic of Abhidharma*, Saṅghabhadra adduces the example of the 'whirling firebrand' (Skt. *alāta-cakra*; Ch. *xuan huolun* 旋火輪) to illustrate the tenet of no-self (Skt. *anātman*).⁸⁴ The whirling firebrand consists of the moment

⁸⁴ *Nyāyanusāra sāstra*, *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, T no. 1562, 29: 50.622a19. Dhammajoti (*Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma*, 356) tracks the example of the optical illusion of a fire-wheel (*alāta-cakra*) resulting from the whirling firebrand to the 'Sautrāntikas, represented by Śrīlata'.

to moment arising, abiding, and ceasing of flames that give the appearance of a continuous and enduring circle of fire. The image of the circle of fire is an optical illusion. Like the whirling firebrand, the enduring *ātman* is an illusion.

Conclusion

This paper finds that Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra, in their investigations into the survivability of life, death, the intermediate state, and reincarnation, deploy the Abhidharma theory of the *saṃtāna* to conceptualize the continuity of a sentient being without relying on the existence of enduring self, soul, or *ātman*. This study examines the Chinese translations by Xuanzang and his cohort, and the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions of the *Treasury of the Abhidharma* by Vasubandhu, and the two earliest commentaries on this text, the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic* and the *Treatise Clarifying Abhidharma Tenets*, by Saṅghabhadra.

Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra conceptualize the survivability of a living entity in terms of the perseverance of *saṃtāna*. To the Abhidharma theorists, the *saṃtāna* is not an *ātman*, *puruṣa*, or enduring self, but a dynamic flow of causally-related dharmas. Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra contend that the fundamental units of existence in Abhidharma Buddhism, the dharmas, are constantly arising, abiding, and ceasing from one moment to the next. Although each dharma perishes, the causal efficacy and causal capacity imparted by one dharma to the next creates the *saṃtāna*, the continuum of dharmas, that persists over time. Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra hold that the *saṃtāna* links the momentary dharmas together in a continuous flow, thus enabling a living entity to persevere in the face of radical momentariness.

This study finds that Vasubandhu and Saṅghabhadra remain deeply sensitive to the challenges posed by the rival Brāhmaṇical teachings on the survivability of death. The theory of the *saṃtāna* as the bearer of the *skandhas* represents a reasoned response to the problem of survivability that maintains fidelity to the core Buddhist tenets of momentariness and no-self. The causal efficacies and causal

capacities of each dharma enable the *saṃtāna* of a sentient being to survive the vagaries of the changing environments of the *pūrvabhava*, *marañabhava*, *antarābhava*, and *upapattibhava*. The *saṃtāna* accounts for the continuous identity of a sentient being in a world of constant change.

A more detailed study of the Buddho-Brāhmaṇical polemics on the question of what constitutes the agent of karma and the locus of transmigration, preserved in Abhidharma corpora of Saṅghabhadra and Vasubandhu remains a matter for further research. While attention has been given to a critique of Sāṅkhya and views of karma and transmigration found in the ninth chapter of the *Treasury of Abhidharma* by Vasubandhu, the contents of the Abhidharma corpus of Saṅghabhadra remains unmined. The Chinese and Tibetan recensions of the Abhidharma masterworks of Saṅghabhadra contain rich discussions of the fifth-century Buddhist anti-Brāhmaṇical polemics on karma and transmigration and are deserving of further examination.

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Abbreviations

- D Derge Tengyur Canon. (*sDe dge bsTan 'gyur* Canon).
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Apidamo shun zhengli lun 阿毘達磨順正理論 [Skt.

**Abhidharmanyānanusāra śāstra*; Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic of Abhidharma]. 80 *juan*. By Saṅghabhadra, trans. Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664) in 654 C.E. *T* no. 1562, vol. 29.

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**Abhidharmakośaśāstrakārikāvibhāṣya*,

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The Transformation of the Theory of *Zhongxing* 種姓 (Skt. *Gotra*) before Xuanzang's Translations: With a Focus on the *Pusa Yingluo Benye Jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經

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Abstract: Although the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* [Ch. *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經; Sūtra of Lanka] and the *Mahāparinirvāṇa-Sūtra* [Ch. *Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經; Nirvana Sūtra] are perhaps the most well-known texts when discussing the theory of *gotra* (Ch. *Zhongxing* 種姓; caste), the first classical Chinese translation manuscript which introduced and classified the theory of *zhongxing* is the *Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經 [Sūtra of Stages of Bodhisattvas]. In this article, I will investigate the history of the comprehension regarding *zhongxing* theory, from the translation of the *Pusa dichi jing* to Xuanzang 玄奘's (600?–664) translations.

I argue that although the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 瓔珞本業經 [Sūtra of the Diadem of the Primary Activities of the Bodhisattvas] utilized the theory of *zhongxing* in the *Pusa dichi jing*, the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* changed the explanation concerning the *zhongxing*. The reason is that the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* combined the *xing zhongxing* 性種性 (principle *gotra*) and the *xi zhongxing* 習性

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種 (habit *gotra*) with the stages of a bodhisattva and minimized the importance of the *xing zhongxing* in order to deny the existence of the beings who cannot achieve enlightenment.

Importantly, although there was some criticism regarding the theory of *zhongxing* in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* from the fifth century, it is very likely that this kind of theory was mainstream in Chinese Buddhism before Xuanzang's translations.

Keywords: *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, 瓔珞本業經, *zhongxing* (Skt. *gotra*), bodhisattva-stages

As is widely known, the theory of five types of *zhongxing* 種姓 (Skt. *gotra*; caste) gained prominence largely owing to the translations of Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664), such as the *Fodi jing lun* 佛地經論 [Commentary on the Sutra of stages of Buddhahood] and *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 [Discourse on the Perfection of Consciousness-only]. In this article, I intend to investigate the theory of *zhongxing* prior to these translations.

To the best of my knowledge, although the *Lankāvatāra-sūtra* [Ch. *Lengqie jing* 楞伽經; Sūtra of Lanka] and the Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra [Ch. *Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經; Nirvana Sūtra] are perhaps the most well-known texts when we talk about the *zhongxing* theory, the first classical Chinese translation manuscript which introduced and classified the *zhongxing* is the *Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經 [Skt. *Bodhisattvabhūmi-sūtra*; Sūtra of Stages of Bodhisattvas].¹ As a first

¹ The related portion of Sanskrit is ‘tatra gotraṃ katamat / samāsato gotraṃ dvividham / prakṛtisthaṃ samudānītaṃ ca / tatra prakṛtisthaṃ gotraṃ yad bodhisattvānāṃ śaḍāyatanaviśeṣaḥ / sa tādrśaḥ paraṃparāgato anādikāliko dharmaṭāpratīlabdhaḥ / tatra samudānītaṃ gotraṃ yat pūrvakuśalamūlābhyāsāt pratīlabdham / tad asminn arthe dvividham apy abhipretam / tat punar gotraṃ bijam ity apy ucyate dhātuḥ prakṛtir ity api / (BBh,2)’. That of classical Chinese translation is ‘云何為種性? 略說有二. 一者性種性, 二者習種性. 性種性者, 是菩

step, therefore, I will investigate the history of the comprehension regarding the *zhongxing* theory coming from the translation of the *Pusa dichi jing*. After that, I will concentrate on the relationship between the *zhongxing* and the bodhisattva stages emphasized by the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 瓔珞本業經 [Sūtra of the Diadem of the Primary Activities of the Bodhisattvas].

1. The Bodhisattva-stages and the *Pusa Yingluo Benye Jing* 瓔珞本業經

The theory of bodhisattva-stages is extremely significant for Chinese Buddhism, especially regarding practice and meditation. The bodhisattva-stages gradually grew from forty-two to fifty-two. It was believed that terms like *shizhu* 十住 (ten stages of development), *shixing* 十行 (ten stages of transcendence), *shi huixiang* 十迴向 (ten types of reward), *shidi* 十地 (ten stages of development), *dengjue* 等覺 (equal enlightenment), and *miaojue* 妙覺 (ultimate enlightenment) came from the *Da Fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經 [Skt. *Avatamsaka sūtra*; Sūtra of Flower Garland]. However, according to recent research, the twelve stages, such as *shixin* 十信 (ten kinds of faith), *dengjue* and *miaojue*, are first found in the *Renwang jing* 仁王經 [Sūtra of Benevolent King] and *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 瓔珞本業經 [Sūtra of the Diadem of the Primary Activities of the Bodhisattvas].²

It has been suggested that the *Renwang jing*, *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 [Brahma's Net Sūtra], and *Pusa yingluo benye jing* were written, in that order, in the fifth century.³ What is more, these three scriptures were written in the Northern Liang 北涼, alternatively written by the monks who came from the Northern Liang by the second half of the

薩六入殊勝，展轉相統，無始法爾，是名性種性。習種性者，若從先來修善所得，是名習種性。又種性名為種子，名為界，名為性' (*Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經 [Sutra of Stages of Bodhisattvas], T no.1581, 30: 888b2–888b7).

² Mizuno, 'Gojūnii no bosatsu kaiisetsu'.

³ Funayama, 'Jironshū to Nanchō kyōgaku', 137.

fifth century in order to revive Buddhism.⁴ On the other hand, the theory has also been put forward that *Pusa yingluo benye jing* was created in the Southern dynasty by the second half of the fifth century, because the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* was recognized in the Southern dynasty before its prevalence in the Northern dynasty.⁵

As noted above, both the *Renwang jing* and *Pusa yingluo benye jing* were created in China in the fifth century, and asserted the theory of bodhisattva-stages. It is interesting that there is no other scripture known in Indian Buddhism which asserts *shixin* 十信, *shizhu* 十住, *shixing* 十行, *shi huixiang* 十廻向 except for the *She Dasheng lunshi* 攝大乘論釋 [Commentary on the Compendium of the Great Vehicle] translated by Paramārtha 真諦 (499–569). That is to say, it is clear that the *She Dasheng lunshi* translated by Paramārtha was influenced by the theory of bodhisattva-stages in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. Concerning this, Mizuno Kōgen 水野弘元 shows the possibility that Paramārtha adopted the theory of bodhisattva-stages from the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* because of the suggestions of his Chinese disciples.⁶ We can therefore recognize the influence of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* on Chinese Buddhism.

2. The Establishment of the *Pusa Yingluo Benye Jing*

According to recent research, the *Renwang jing* was created by 482.⁷ Although there was a certain degree of suspicion harbored toward the *Renwang jing* in ancient China, for example in the *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 [Collected Records concerning the Tripiṭaka] of Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), the text began to enjoy greater popularity, and was particularly valued by the time of Zhiyi 智顗 (538–597).⁸

⁴ Mizuno, 'Gojūnii no bosatsu kaiisetsu'.

⁵ Funayama, 'Gikyō bonmōkyō seiritsu no shomondai'.

⁶ Mizuno, 'Gojūnii no bosatsu kaiisetsu'.

⁷ Funayama, 'Gikyō bonmōkyō seiritsu no shomondai'.

⁸ Regarding the establishment of the *Renwang jing*, see Mochiduki, 'Ninnō hannya haramitsu kyō no shingi'; Funayama, 'Gikyō bonmōkyō seiritsu no shomondai'; Mizuno, 'Ninnō hannya kyō no seiritsu katei nitsuite'.

Matsumoto Fumizaburō 松本文三郎 points out that the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* imitated the *Avatamsaka sūtra* and the *Fanwang jing* directly.⁹ As noted above, the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* was influenced by the *Renwang jing* and was prevalent before the establishment of the Dilun tradition 地論宗.¹⁰ In this paper, therefore, I will primarily discuss the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, with reference to its theory of *zhongxing*.¹¹

In the doctrine of Tiantai 天台, the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* is used as the basis for the fifty-two stages. Satō Tetsuei 佐藤哲英 states that the fifty-two stages for a bodhisattva were established by the time of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*.¹² Furthermore, Satō arranges eight kinds of texts which had influenced the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*.¹³

Da Fangguangfo huayan jing 大方廣佛華嚴經 by Buddhābhaddra (Fotuobatuoluo 佛陀跋陀羅; 358–429);

Pusa benye jing 菩薩本業經 (= *Pusa yingluo benye jing* 菩薩瓔珞本業經), translated by Zhiqian 支謙 (fl. 223–253);

Shizhu jing 十住經 [Sūtra on the Ten Stages], translated by Buddhayaśas (Fotuoyeshe 佛陀耶舍; of the 5th c.) and Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什; 344–413)

Pusa dichi jing 菩薩地持經, translated by Dharmakṣema (Tanwuchen 曇無讖; 385–433)

Mohe boreboluomi jing 摩訶般若波羅蜜經 [Skt. *Pañca-vimśatisāhasrikā-prajñā-pāramitā*] or *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 [Skt. **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sāstra*], translated by Kumārajīva;

⁹ Matsumoto, *Butten hihyo ron*, 408.

¹⁰ Regarding the period of establishment of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, Satō Satō Tetsuei states that it was written from 420 by 515. See Satō, *Zoku tendaidaisshi no kenkyū*, 109.

¹¹ Regarding the establishment of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, see Sakaino, *Shina Bukkyōshi kōwa ue*, 490–491; Satō, *Zoku tendaidaisshi no kenkyū*; Funayama, ‘Gikyō bonmōkyō seiritsu no shomondai’, 54–78.

¹² Satō, *Zoku tendaidaisshi no kenkyū*, 92.

¹³ Satō, *Zoku tendaidaisshi no kenkyū*, 100.

Zhonglun 中論 [Skt. *Madhyamaka-sāstra*], translated by
Kumārajīva;
Renwang bore jing 仁王般若經, by an unknown author;
Fanwang jing 梵網經, by an unknown author.

It is worth emphasizing that, with the exception of the *Renwang jing*, the *Pusa dichi jing* is the only text that clearly presents the *zhongxing* theory. That is, it is extremely possible that the theory of *zhongxing* as presented in the *Pusa dichi jing* is utilized by the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. Regarding this, Satō points out that the translated terms in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* are the same as those in the *Pusa dichi jing*. Therefore, we can conclude that the author of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* drew on the thought and terms of the *Pusa dichi jing*.¹⁴

3. The Theory of Gotra in the *Pusa Yingluo Benye Jing*

Let us return to the discussing about the *zhongxing*. The *Pusa yingluo benye jing* utilizes the *xi zhongxing* 習種性 (natural caste) and *xing zhongxing* 性種性 (habit caste), which come from the *Pusa dichi jing*, and states the *xi zhongxing* 習種性, *xing zhongxing* 性種性, *dao zhongxing* 道種性 (path caste), *sheng zhongxing* 聖種性 (saint caste), *dengjue xing* 等覺性 (equal enlightenment), and *miaojue xing* 妙覺性 (ultimate enlightenment). For this reason, at least from the perspective of *zhongxing*, it is clear that the purpose of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* is to inherit and transform the theory concerning *zhongxing* in the *Pusa dichi jing*.¹⁵ I will therefore investigate the depiction of *gotra* as found in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* first.¹⁶

¹⁴ Satō, *Zoku tendaidaishi no kenkyū*, 103–104.

¹⁵ For instance, the ‘*shixin*’ 十心 of ‘*xi zhongxing*’ 習種性 in the *Renwang jing* influenced the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. See Satō, *Zoku tendaidaishi no kenkyū*, 107.

¹⁶ As is widely known, *gotra* was translated as both *zhongxing* 種姓 and *zhongxing* 種性 before Xuanzang’s translations. The *Pusa yingluo benye jing* utilizes *zhongxing* 種性 mainly.

The explanation that the *xi zhongxing* is the lower stage for practice, and meditation is as the following:

It is not right that all buddhas and bodhisattvas can achieve *xian-sheng guo* 賢聖果 (fruit of wisdom and sage) without *shijie famen* 十戒法門 (gate of ten precepts). The *chuzhu xiang* 初住相 (feature of first development) is the first one in habit *zhongxing*. The following nine beings gradually expand and achieve the *jiuzhu* 九住 (nigh types of stableness), *shixing* 十行 (ten types of transcendence), *shi buixiang* 十廻向 (ten types of reward), *shidi* 十地 (ten stages of development), and *wugou di* 無垢地 (the pure stage). The unimaginable practice will also expand.

若一切佛、一切菩薩不由此十戒法門得賢聖果者，無有是處。是初住相習種性中第一人，如是下九人法行漸漸增廣，乃至九住、十行、十廻向、十地、無垢地，亦漸增廣不可思議行。¹⁷

That is to say, the *xi zhongxing* is the first step for the feature of first development, followed by the *jiuzhu* 九住 (nigh types of stableness), *shixing* 十行 (ten types of transcendence), *shi buixiang* 十廻向 (ten types of reward), *shidi* 十地 (ten stages of development), *wugou di* 無垢地 (the pure stage). The *xi zhongxing* is the lowest stage for the practice of beings.

It is extremely important to note that the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* identifies six kinds of *zhongxing*:

Buddha's disciples! Six kinds of *zhongxing* include 1. *xi zhongxing* 習種性 (natural caste), 2. *xing zhongxing* 性種性 (habit caste), 3. *dao zhongxing* 道種性 (path caste), 4. *sheng zhongxing* 聖種性 (saint caste), 5. *dengjue xing* 等覺性 (equal enlightenment), and 6. *miaojue xing* 妙覺性 (ultimate enlightenment). They are also called *liujian* 六堅 (six types of persistence), namely, 1. *jian xin* 堅信 (faith persistence), 2. *jianfa* 堅法 (rule persistence), 3. *jianxiu* 堅修 (practice persistence), 4. *jiande* 堅德 (virtue persistence), 5. *jianding*

¹⁷ *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, T no. 1485, 24: 1.1012b10–1012b14.

堅頂 (worship persistence), and 6. *jianjue* 堅覺 (enlightenment persistence); also named *Liuren* 六忍 (six types of patience), including 1. *xinren* 信忍 (faith patience), 2. *faren* 法忍 (rule patience), 3. *xiuren* 修忍 (practice patience), 4. *zheng ren* 正忍 (original patience), 5. *wugou ren* 無垢忍 (pure patience), and 6. *yiqiezhi ren* 一切智忍 (the whole wisdom patience). They are also called *liuhui* 六慧 (six types of wisdom), namely, 1. *wenhui* 聞慧 (hearing wisdom), 2. *sihui* 思慧 (considering wisdom), 3. *xiuhui* 修慧 (practice wisdom), 4. *wuxiang hui* 無相慧 (no feature wisdom), 5. *zhaoji hui* 照寂慧 (quiet wisdom), and 6. *jizhao hui* 寂照慧 (lightening wisdom); alternatively, *liuding* 六定 (six types of meditation): namely, 1. *xixiang ding* 習相定 (habit meditation), 2. *xingding* 性定 (natural meditation), 3. *daohui ding* 道慧定 (meditation of the wisdom on path), 4. *daozhonghui ding* 道種慧定 (meditation of the wisdom on seeds of path), 5. *dahui ding* 大慧定 (immense wisdom meditation), and 6. *zhengguan ding* 正觀定 (observation meditation); alternatively *liuguan* 六觀 (six types of observation), namely, 1. *zhuogan* 住觀 (stableness observation), 2. *xingguan* 行觀 (transcendence observation), 3. *xiangguan* 向觀 (reward observation), 4. *diguan* 地觀 (stage observation), 5. *wuxiang guan* 無相觀 (observation without feature), and 6. *yiqiezhongzhi guan* 一切種智觀 (observation on the wisdom of all seeds). Buddha's disciples! There is no buddha or bodhisattva who does not enter these six kinds of *shixiang famen* 實相法門 (dharma gate of reality) of *ming guanjuding liaoyi* 明觀決定了義 (clarifying ultimate meaning).

佛子! 六種性者, 所謂習種性、性種性、道種性、聖種性、等覺性、妙覺性; 復名六堅, 亦名堅信、亦名堅法、亦名堅修、亦名堅德、亦名堅頂、亦名堅覺; 復名六忍: 信忍、法忍、修忍、正忍、無垢忍、一切智忍; 復名六慧: 聞慧、思慧、修慧、無相慧、照寂慧、寂照慧; 復名六定: 習相定、性定、道慧定、道種慧定、大慧定、正觀定; 復名六觀: 住觀、行觀、向觀、地觀、無相觀、一切種智觀。佛子! 一切菩薩及佛, 無不入此六種明觀, 決定了義實相法門。¹⁸

¹⁸ *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, T no. 1485, 24: 1012b25–1012c5.

The *xing zhongxing* and *xi zhongxing* are stated in the *Pusa dichi jing*. They are utilized by the author of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* and added with *dao zhongxing*, *sheng zhongxing*, *dengjue xing* and *miaojué xing*. In these six kinds of *zhongxing*, *xi zhongxing* is the lowest *zhongxing*.

Regarding the relationship between the *xi zhongxing* and the bodhisattva stages, the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* states:

Buddha's disciples! The being who usually draws back and goes forward awake three Bodhi-hearts before *shizhu*. A great number of beings study and practice Buddhist teaching. They are called *tuifen shangen* 退分善根 (good root with withdrawal). Pious men! You can enter *shizhu* if you continued *shixin* practice for *yijie* 一劫 (one *kalpa*), *erjie* 二劫 (two *kalpas*) or *shijie* 十劫 (ten *kalpas*). *Zhengguan* will appear if this person practiced *diliu boreboluomi* 第六般若波羅蜜 (the sixth wisdom) at this moment. One will stay in the seventh stage and never draw back again if he met a buddha or bodhisattva. It is called *tuifen* 退分 (withdrawal) before the seventh stage. Buddha's disciples! The *butui* 不退 (without withdrawal) is to enter the sixth wisdom, practice and enter *dingwei* 定位 (meditation position) in *kongwuwo* 空無我 (emptiness with selflessness). Buddha's disciples! One will draw back from Bodhi-heart if he did not meet a buddha or bodhisattva. There are 80,000 people who drew back in the people whom I first met. For instance, although Jingmu tianzi 淨目天子 (Prince of Pure Eyes), Facai wang 法才王 (King of Dharma-treasure), Shelifu 舍利弗 (Sariputra) wanted to enter the seventh stage, they met bad causes so that drew back from the stage of *xi zhongxing*.

佛子! 若退若進者, 十住以前一切凡夫法中, 發三菩提心. 有恒河沙衆生, 學行佛法, 信想心中行者, 是退分善根. 諸善男子! 若一劫二劫, 乃至十劫, 修行十信, 得入十住, 是人爾時從初一住至第六住中, 若修第六般若波羅蜜, 正觀現前, 復值諸佛菩薩善知識所護故, 出到第七住, 常住不退. 自此七住以前, 名為“退分”. 佛子! 若不退者, 入第六般若修行, 於空無我人主者, 畢竟無生, 必入定位. 佛子! 若不值善知識者, 若一劫、二劫、乃至十劫, 退菩提心, 如我初會衆中, 有八萬人退. 如淨目天子、法才王、舍利弗等, 欲入第七住, 其中值惡因緣故, 退入凡夫不善惡中, 不名習種性人, 退入外道.¹⁹

It means ‘*xi zhongxing* = above the seventh stage’, and one can enter *shizhu* if he continues *shixin* practice for one *kalpa*, two *kalpas* or ten *kalpas*. Furthermore, one will stay in the seventh stage and never draw back again if he met the a buddha or bodhisattva. This explanation means that all beings can enter and surpass the seventh stage, and enter the stage of *xi zhongxing* if they continued their practice.

Through the investigation above, it is clear that, according to the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, all beings can achieve not only *xi zhongxing*, but *xing zhongxing* if they continue their practice. In this way, the *xing zhongxing* asserted by the *Pusa dichi jing* is considered to exist in all beings.²⁰

4. The Theory of *Zhongxing* in Chinese Buddhism and the *Pusa Yingluo Benye Jing*

Through the prior discussion, we can recognize that the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* inherited the forty-two bodhisattva-stages in the *Renwang jing*, and combined ‘*xi zhongxing*, *xing zhongxing*, *dao zhongxing*, *sheng zhongxing*’ with ‘*shizhu*, *shixing*, *shihuixiang*, above the first stage’ to demonstrate that all beings can achieve the stage of Buddhahood. In this section, I will investigate the influence of this particular *zhongxing* theory on later Chinese Buddhism.

As noted above, the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* was created in the fifth century in China. I will therefore discuss the case in the first half of the sixth century. Firstly, let us see the relative portion in the *Jingangxian lun* 金剛仙論 [Treatise written by Diamond sage]:²¹

We can divide bodhisattvas into two types from a wide stand. They

¹⁹ *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, T no. 1485, 24: 1014b27–1014c12.

²⁰ As is widely known, *xing zhongxing* 性種性 in the *Pusa dichi jing* (*benxing zhu zhongxing* 本性住種性 in the *Yuqieshi di lun* translated by Xuanzang) is considered to be the possibility of becoming a buddha. Namely, this kind of *gotra* exists only in some beings, not all beings.

²¹ Takemura and Ōtake, *Kongōsen ron*.

are bodhisattvas above the first stage and those before the first stage. There are two types of bodhisattvas before the first stage, namely from the perspectives of outside and inside respectively. There are two types of inside bodhisattvas, namely mature and unmatured ones. *Tathāgata* usually protects grown bodhisattvas who are at the stage of *xingzhong jiexing* 性種解行 (nature of caste). It is called *shan hunian* 善護念 (being good at protecting). Furthermore, attaching immature bodhisattvas who are at the stage of *xi zhongxing* is called *shan fuzhu* 善付屬 (being good at relying). The reason why they are called protecting and relying is that these bodhisattvas cannot enter stage of nature if *tathāgata* did not protect and attach them.The grown beings are those people who sight three kinds of two essences and two kinds of selflessness at the stage of *zhongxing jiexing*.It is called ‘mature root’ because one will not draw back again when he achieves the first stage.Immature beings are those people who are at the stage of *xi zhongxing*. However, there are also two types of *xi zhongxing*, namely decided and undecided castes. Although the beings called undecided caste practiced various merits and wisdoms, they cannot enter stage of nature or the first stage so that there are still expanding and drawing back in them. These beings are called unmatured root.They will not draw back if they met buddhas and bodhisattvas. If not, they will draw back from Bodhi-heart and fall on the stage of outside two vehicles. Thus, there are both withdrawal and no withdrawal in the *xi zhongxing* beings.

汎論菩薩有二種：一者，初地以上出世間菩薩；二者，地前世間菩薩。地前菩薩復有二種：一者外凡，二者內凡。就內凡菩薩，復有二種：一根熟，二者根未熟。今言善護念者，嘆如來善護地前性種解行根熟菩薩。善付屬者，嘆付屬習種性中根未熟菩薩。此二種菩薩，所以言護念付屬者，若如來不護念付屬者，此菩薩起心發行所觀境界，容有錯謬退失，不能決定入於性地。...(中略)...根熟者，性種解行中，觀三種二諦、二種無我。...(中略)...初地永不退失，故名根熟。...(中略)...根未熟者，習種性中，然此習種性人，亦有二種：一者一往決定，二者不定。不定者，雖習世間聞思修等功德智慧諸波羅蜜行，未能決定入於性地，乃至初地，容有進退故。名此退人為根未熟也。...(中略)...若遇諸佛菩薩善知識，則不退轉；若不遇善知識，退菩提心，轉入外凡二乘之地。此是習種性人有退不退。²²

The theory of *zhongxing* in *Jingangxian lun* is extremely significant for *zhongxing* thought in Chinese Buddhism in the sixth century because this manuscript is the lecture notes of Putiliuzhi 菩提流支 (Skt. Bodhiruci; active 508–535). The conclusion is that the theory of *zhongxing* in the *Jingangxian lun* was strongly influenced by that in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. Namely, the beings who are at the stage of *xi zhongxing* or *xing zhongxing* are at the stage before the first stableness stage. They cannot enter stage of nature if there is no protection from *tathāgata*. It is clear that this assertion is very similar to the theory of *zhongxing* in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. In particular, terms such as ‘*diquan zhongxing jixing* 地前姓種解行’ and ‘*jueding ru yu xingdi* 決定入於性地’ are related to those in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. For this reason, we can recognize the influence on the Dilun tradition in the earlier period of the theory of *zhongxing* in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*.

We also find the influence of this theory of *zhongxing* in the treatises written by Huiyuan 慧遠 (523–592) of the Jingying temple 淨影寺, as below:

It is interpreted that there are three meanings about *diquan* 地前 (before stableness stages). The first one is *youduan yi* 有斷義 (disruption meaning), namely delusion could be cleared up gradually in four kinds of stableness and ignorance. Thus, as is said in the *Pusa dichi jing*, because *erzhang* 二障 (two types of obstacle) is pure in the stage of *zhongxing*, one can enter the stage of happiness by cutting various delusion at stage of nature. The second one is *youfu yi* 有伏義 (hidden meaning). That is, although one can control delusion at the stages of four kinds of slight stableness, he cannot cut them entirely forever. It is called *furen* 伏忍 (being hidden) in the *Renwang jing*. The third one is *weiduan weifu yi* 未斷未伏義 (the meaning without disruption and being hidden). It cannot be extinguished in four kinds of slight influence. Therefore, as is said in the *Xiangxu jietuo jing* 相續解脫經 [Skt. *Samdhinirmocana Sūtra*; Noble Sutra of the Explanation of the Profound Secrets], as for the bodhisattvas at the

²² *Jingangxian lun*, T no.1512, 25: 1.830a19–830b13.

stages before stableness stages, there is still worry and good dharma, so that we cannot call it prior wisdom (*shang boluomi* 上波羅蜜).

釋言：地前具有三義：一有斷義，謂於四住增上及中并龐無明，漸次斷除，趣入歡喜。故《地持》中說，種性地二障清淨，解行住中斷諸過相，入歡喜地。二有伏義，於細四住及中無明，但能遮伏，未能永斷故。《仁王》中說為伏忍。三有未斷未伏之義，於彼四住微細習氣及善煩惱并細無明，未能斷伏故。彼《相續解脫經》說，地前菩薩煩惱亦行，善法亦行，是故不名上波羅蜜。²³

This is Huiyuan's interpretation concerning the stage of *zhongxing*. It is very important that Huiyuan considers the *zhongxing* in the *Pusa dichi jing* to be at the stages before stableness stages. What is more, *zhongxing* which is stated in the *Pusa dichi jing* is at a lower level because a bodhisattva at the stages before stableness stages is still in delusion. In trying to establish the basis for Huiyuan's explanation, we find that it is not his own creation, but rather is influenced by the theory of *zhongxing* in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*.

On the other hand, Jizang 吉藏 (549–623) has a different interpretation from that of the Dilun tradition in his article, the *Fabua yishu* 法華義疏 [Commentary on the Lotus Sūtra]:

The third one is as following. *Xi zhongxing* is said the step without withdrawal, and *dao zhongxing* is said transcendence without withdrawal. It is called mind without withdrawal because one can achieve the step without generating and stop his thinking above the first stage. The third one is as following. One said, there are four steps without withdrawal. The *shixin*, *shizhu* is faith without withdrawal. The *shixing* is the step without withdrawal. The *shihuixiang* is transcendence without withdrawal. The *shidi* is mind without withdrawal. It is difficult to integrate them because manuscripts differ from each other. The *Pusa yingluo benye jing* states that there is still drawing back at the sixth stage, let alone two vehicles. Because the sixth faith is said the heart without withdrawal, we can know it

²³ *Dasheng yizhang*, T no.1851, 44: 6.593b20–593c14.

comes to the step without withdrawal above six kinds of faith. The *Pusa dichi jing* states that there are drawing back and expanding for bodhisattvas of *zhongxing*. It is the same with the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*.According to Nāgārjuna's explanation, the six stages of stableness with withdrawal said in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* are just for bodhisattvas before stableness, and help them to enter the first stage. There is no drawing back in fact.

三云，習種性名位不退，道種性解行純熟謂行不退。初地已上得無生忍，不復生心動念，名念不退也。四有人言，有四種不退。十信、十住是信不退，十行是位不退，十迴向是行不退，十地是念不退。今謂經論不同，難可詳會。《本業瓔珞經》云，十住第六住猶退，作五逆，況復二乘。而十信第六信，名為不退心。則知六信以上，便是不退。《地持論》云，種性菩薩，或進或退。則與《本業》大意略同。...(中略)...而《瓔珞經》云，六住退者，龍樹釋此語云，欲怖地前菩薩，令速入初地，故云退耳。其實不退。²⁴

Jizang collected and arranged a variety of thoughts and doctrines of Chinese Buddhism from that period. It is clear that the terms '*xi zhongxing*' and '*dao zhongxing*' come from the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, and this theory of *zhongxing* is also similar to that of the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. Jizang also definitively identifies the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* by name. We can therefore conclude that the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* had been very influential in Jizang's period, at least as far as its theory of *zhongxing* is concerned.

Next, we can see the case of Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668), a famous Huayan master. Zhiyan states as below in the *Huayan jing neizhangmen deng za kongmu zhang* 華嚴經內章門等雜孔目章 [= *Huayan kongmu zhang* 華嚴孔目章; An Essay on the Outline of Huayan]:

The *zhongxing* can be divided into *xing zhongxing* and *xi zhongxing*. The *xing zhongxing* is based on the standpoint of essence. The *xi zhongxing* is based on the standpoint of practice. It is not the happiness of Buddhist dharma. It will come to be the gate of cause if

²⁴ *Fabua yishu*, T no.1721, 34: 1.461c3–461c19.

we talk about *zhongxing*. For this reason, the *xing zhongxing* cannot be seen as principle existence. What is more, the *xi zhongxing* is not practice. Causes will increase if there was practice beyond dharma's nature. Hence, the meaning of *zhongxing* is the reason of Buddha. It is wide and not partial to any side. It will not be partial to reason or conclusion, principle or practice. Establishing principle and habit is based on the stand of the whole of *zhongxing*. *Xing zhongxing* is so-called from the standpoint of essence. The *xi zhongxing* is so-called from the standpoint of practice. This interpretation comes from the *Pusa dichi jing*. On the other hand, according to the *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, the *zhongxing* can be divided into six types. They are the *xi zhongxing*, *xing zhongxing*, *dao zhongxing*, *sheng zhongxing*, *dengjue xing* and *miaojue xing*. This interpretation is based on the standpoint of position, so the meaning of this is the same as that of the *Pusa dichi jing*. If we want to take the standpoint of body (*ti* 体), we can make *benyou* 本有 (origin), *xiusheng* 修生 (generation), *yuanqi* 緣起 (arising), *fubui* 福慧 (merits), *dinghui* 定慧 (meditation) as body. This is the standpoint of three vehicles. In contrast, the meaning of one vehicle takes the standpoint of Samantabhadra meditation (Ch. *puxian yuanxing* 普賢願行).

種性義者，謂性種性、習種性。性種性者，約本性說。習種者，約修習說。亦有解者，性種性者是本有性，習種性者是修生性。此非佛法所樂。何以故？夫論種性者，順因緣門說。豈容不對因緣而說種性。故今性種性，不得為本有。又習種性不得修生。何以故？若法性外有修生者，緣起可增，是故不得說修生。故今種性義者，是其佛因。其義廣大，非偏在解，非偏在行，非偏在位，非偏在比，非偏在證，非偏因果，非偏本有修生故。今立性習二種者，約總說之。性種性約本性說，位在種子。習種性者，約修生說，義即廣大。此依《地持》文。若依《瓔珞經》，有六種性：一習種性、二性種性、三道種性、四聖種性、五等覺性、六妙覺性。此約位說，義即是通。若欲出體，即用本有修生緣起福慧定慧等門為體，此順三乘。若一乘別教義者，謂六決定及住十相，即順普賢願行。²⁵

²⁵ *Huayan jing neizhangmen deng za kongmu zhang*, T no.1870, 45: 2.549c26–550a11.

Zhiyan arranges several kinds of theory regarding the *zhongxing* in that period. That is, the *xing zhongxing* is based on the standpoint of essence, and the *xi zhongxing* is based on the standpoint of practice. It goes without saying that this explanation originates from the *Pusa dichi jing* and *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. Furthermore, Zhiyan states that these two kinds of explanation are the same. Incidentally, Zhiyan criticizes this theory of the *zhongxing* from the Huayan perspective of one vehicle thought.

Finally, I will discuss the cases after Xuanzang's translations, especially the interpretations of the Weishi Buddhism during the Tang dynasty. Let us see the summary in the *Yugie lun ji* 瑜伽論記 [Commentary of the Treatise on the Foundation for Yoga Practitioners], which was written by Dullyun 遁倫 (i.e., Doryun 道倫; ?-?):

Someone asserted that there is still no difference during the stage of ten types of faith. This is not a correct assertion. For example, the *Renwang jing* states that there are three hearts before stages. They are the *xinxin* 信心 (heart of faith), *zhuxin* 住心 (heart of stableness), and *jianxin* 堅心 (heart of persistence). It is called *xi zhongxing* in the stage of faith. The *zhu* 住 (stableness) is *shijie* and *shixing*. It comes to the *zhuxin* if we combined the two kinds of *shixin*. The *jianxin* is the heart of ten rewards. So far, we cannot find the Sanskrit text of the *Renwang jing* and *Pusa yingluo benye jing* in the western areas. But I will explain their assertion here. The *Renwang jing* states there are several types of *zhongxing*. Namely, the *xi zhongxing* is faith, and the *xing zhongxing* is *zhuxin*. The *zhuxin* is the *shijie* and *shixing*. The *shijie* and *shixing* are called *xing zhongxing*. One asked, why does the *Renwang jing* say the *zhongxing* at first, and state essence after that? Another one answered, the initial practice is called *xi zhongxing*, and the higher practice is called *xing zhongxing*. The assertion in the *Renwang jing* is not correct, because there are many differences between these kinds of *zhongxing*. Admitting and utilizing both of the two kinds of *zhongxing* is not visible in old translations such as the *Pusa dichi jing*. I will therefore discuss this according to Xuanzang's translations. We can consider the two kinds of *zhongxing* to be stableness of *zhongxing*, and call it *erzhong jiequ*

二種皆取 (adopting both of these two types). It can be called feed if we interpret it with a different name. It can be called *jie* 界 (realm) because it contains fruits. It can be called nature because there is *xing zhongxing* with considerable merits. According to the *Pusa dichijing*, the fruit of no influence is narrow and far, in contrast to that of influence, which is rough and near. One states in the past that *xing zhongxing* is unconditioned (*wuwei* 無為) and not the dharma of practice, so it is called *buxi* 不習 (no influence). This *xing zhongxing* has surpassed any name and posture, so it is called narrow fruit (*guoxi* 果細). It is also called far-fruit (*guoyuan* 果遠) because it is extremely difficult to comprehend it by normal knowledge. The *xi zhongxing* is conditioned (*youwei* 有為), so it is called influence. It is also called rough-fruit (*guocu* 果麤) because there are names and postures. In other words, the old theory is that there is the *xi zhongxing* at first, and the *xing zhongxing* comes out after that. I must confess that this old assertion entirely differs from Xuanzang's new translations. I will just explain this from the perspective of *xing zhongxing*. Xuanzang states that the fruit of *zhongxing* is narrow when it has not grown. Its fruit will become rough if the *xi zhongxing* grew. The reason is that it will be brighter and brighter because of the effect of *xi zhongxing*.

有人云，護法十信時未別種者。不然。如《仁王經》有差別，地前三心：一信心、二住心、三堅心。信位中名習種姓。住者即十解、十行，二十心合為住心。堅心即十迴向心。西方尋訪彼經，未聞有本。雖爾，今且會之。如彼經意，總說種姓為衆多姓。即彼經云習種姓者，調在信心，即十信位也。性種姓者，調在住心。住心彼經，即十解、十行、十解、十行，名性種姓。問曰，何故彼經先明種姓，後明本姓？釋云，初修習時，名為習姓；後習已成性名性種姓。...(中略)...是彼經意，今此論意，理必不然。姓各異故。此中義意二種皆取者，若依旧《地持》無此文。今三藏依梵本具說此文。今總收二性為種姓持，故云二種皆取。釋異名中，二種種性能生果，故名種子。能持果，故名界。恒沙功德性種類，故名姓。辯麤細中。旧《地持》言，又不習者，果細果遠。習者，果麤果近。古人有云，性種無為，非修習法，故言不習。離名絕相，故言果細。非近情測，故言果遠。習種有為，可修之法，故名為習。有名有相，故導果麤。情慮可擬，故言果近。有說先有習種，能證名麤名近。後有所證性種，名細名遠。今所翻譯與舊全別。文意但就性種姓解。三藏云，又此種姓未習成，果說名為細者，調未習種姓，

果說名為細。若成習種姓，果即為麤。所以爾者，發心已去由習種姓故，漸增轉明，故名為麤。²⁶

There are several important points in Dullyun's summary. Firstly, according to the *Renwang jing* and *Pusa yingluo benye jing*, the *xi zhongxing* is at the stage of *shixin*, and the *xing zhongxing* is at the stage of *shijie* and *shixing*. Both of them are the low stages, relatively. Secondly, because every *zhongxing* is single and independent, it is impossible that there are both *xi zhongxing* and *xing zhongxing* in the same system. This assertion in the *Renwang jing* and *Pusa yingluo benye jing* cannot be found in the *Pusa dichu jing*. Thirdly, in the system of Indian Buddhism, the *xi zhongxing* can be achieved by practice because it is a conditional dharma. In contrast, the *xing zhongxing* cannot be achieved by practice and meditation because it is an unconditional dharma. Fourthly, the theory of *zhongxing* which is asserted by the *Renwang jing* and *Pusa yingluo benye jing* entirely differs from that of Xuanzang's new translations.

Through this discussion, we can recognize that although the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* utilized the theory of *zhongxing* as found in the *Pusa dichu jing*, *Pusa yingluo benye jing* changed the explanation concerning the *zhongxing*. The reason is that the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* combined the *xing zhongxing*, *xi zhongxing* with the stages of a bodhisattva and minimized the importance of the *xing zhongxing* in order to deny the existence of the beings who cannot achieve enlightenment.

It is important to note that although there was some criticism of the theory of *zhongxing* in the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* from the fifth century, it is highly likely that this kind of theory was the mainstream in Chinese Buddhism before Xuanzang's translations.

Conclusion

The theory of the stages of a bodhisattva is extremely significant for Chinese Buddhism, especially with regards to practice and medita-

²⁶ *Yugie lun ji*, T no.1828, 43: 8.488a10–488b8.

tion. The stages of a bodhisattva gradually increased to fifty-two from forty-two. It was believed that the terms like *shizhu*, *shixing*, *shihuixiang*, *shidi*, *dengjue*, *miaojue* came from the *Avataṃsaka sūtra*. On the other hand, the twelve stages can be found firstly in the *Renwang jing* and *Pusa yingluo benye jing*. It is very likely that the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* is the first textual source asserting the forty-two bodhisattva-stages. Although the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* utilized the theory of *zhongxing* that was presented in the *Pusa dichu jing*, the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* changed the explanation concerning the *zhongxing*. The reason is that the *Pusa yingluo benye jing* combined the principle of *xing zhongxing* and *xi zhongxing* with the bodhisattva stages and minimized the importance of the *xing zhongxing* in order to deny the existence of the beings who cannot achieve enlightenment.

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Abbreviation

- BBh *Bodhisattvabhūmi* [Being the XVth Section of Asaṅgapada's Yogācārabhūmi]. Nalinaksha Dutt, ed. Tibetan Sanskrit Works Series vol. 7. Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1966.
- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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What is ‘New’ in Xuanzang’s New Translation Style?

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Abstract: Xuanzang is one of the rare translators of Indic material into Chinese who was himself Chinese, and the most prolific of any translator. His translations cover all Buddhist genres, including *āgamas*, Mahāyāna sutras, devotional sutras on specific buddhas and bodhisattvas (e.g. Maitreya, Avalokiteśvara, Amitābha, and Kṣitigarbha), *avadāna*, *dhāraṇīs*, *abhidharma*, Indian commentaries, Madhyamaka, Yogācāra, *hetu-vidyā*, and his famous travelogue, *Xiyu ji* 西域記. His translation of the *Mahā-Prajñāpāramitā-sūtras* (600 fascicles in three entire Taishō volumes) is by far the largest translation in the Chinese canon, followed by his 200-fascicle translation of the Sarvāstivādin *Mahāvibhāṣa*. His *Heart Sūtra* translation is still recited daily throughout the East Asian Buddhist world. His translations are often labeled the ‘New Translation’ style, indicating a break or change with his predecessor’s efforts. This presentation will examine what is ‘new’ in his translations.

Xuanzang introduced new Chinese equivalents for Indic terms that had already acquired standard Chinese renderings, though this was a gradual process, as I will illustrate with a few examples (e.g., his treatment of *śūlpa* terms). He is also frequently credited with being a more literal translator, which turns out to not always be the case (e.g. his translation of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*), though often his translations are more accurate than earlier translations of the same texts (e.g. *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa sūtra*). But these technical details are only part of the story. What was truly new and revealing about his

philosophical orientation were his choices of texts to translate, which included numerous texts previously translated by others that he felt needed newer, more accurate translations, as well as new texts that introduced new facets of Indian thinking to a Chinese audience previously unaware of these Indian developments. Taking all of this into account, I will attempt to shed some light on Xuanzang's thinking and orientation beyond the usual stereotypical accounts.

Keywords: Xuanzang, translation, Yogācāra, *Heart Sūtra*, *Yogācārabhūmi*, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, body

Overview

Xuanzang 玄奘 (600–664) is credited with having introduced a ‘new translation’ style. Usually, this is taken to mean that he replaced previously established Chinese equivalents that had been used for Sanskrit and Indic terms with new equivalents, many of which became the new standard equivalents. That is certainly part of what was new about his translations. Also, frequently Xuanzang is acclaimed as a more ‘literal’ translator, meaning that unlike many of his predecessors, his translations more literally reproduced Sanskrit texts in Chinese idiom, even, at times, following Sanskrit syntax rather than the normative Chinese syntax of the day. While Xuanzang did provide a wealth of new equivalents, and some of his translations are closer to Indian originals than were the efforts of earlier translators, some of his translations take liberties, introducing glosses and interpretive extrapolations; he was not the literal translator he is often imagined to be. I shall illustrate that with some examples later. However, while not a strict literalist, his translations were usually ‘accurate’, in the sense of conveying the meaning of the Indian texts, even when he took liberties, made tacit implications in the Sanskrit explicit in Chinese, rearranged the order of passages, dropped superfluous phrases, and in other ways produced a Chinese text that was not an isomorphic representation of its Sanskrit original.

What has received less attention is the contextual agenda that guided his choice of which texts to translate. Xuanzang was driven to make the perilous journey to India due to a strong desire to resolve the multitude of conflicting understandings of Buddhism that were roiling in early seventh-century China. Buddhism in sixth-century China had largely been a battleground of competing Yogācāra schools—the so-called northern and southern Dilun 地論 schools, several texts and commentaries by Vasubandhu translated in the mid-sixth century by Vimokṣaprajñā (Pimu zhixian 毘目智仙) and Gautama Prajñāruci (Qutanboreliuzhi 瞿曇般若流支),¹ and of course the Yogācāra translations by Paramārtha (Zhendi 真諦, 499–569). During Xuanzang's early training in China, Paramārtha's works, especially the *Mahāyānasamgraha* (*She Dasheng lun* 攝大乘論, *T* no. 1592; *Shelun* for short), and for the more studious, the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (*Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論, *T* no. 1558) dominated discussions. Harivarman's *Tattvasiddhi* (*Chengshi lun* 成實論, *T* no. 1646) was also still well studied at that time. Xuanzang's *Biography* by his contemporary colleagues, Huili 慧立 and Yancong 彥悰, the *Da Cien si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (*T* no. 2053; hereafter *Sanzang fashi zhuan*), reports that before he went to India, Xuanzang studied and lectured on the *Shelun*, and an *abhidharma* text, and studied well the *Abhidharmakośa* and *Tattvasiddhi*.² Since none of the central Asian monasteries he encoun-

¹ Among their translations, jointly or together: Vasubandhu's *Karmasiddhi-prakarāṇa* (*Yechengjiu lun* 業成就論, *T* no. 1608), Vasubandhu's *Sanjuzujing-upadeśa* 三具足經憂波提舍 (*T* no. 1534), Vasubandhu's *upadeśa* on the *Ratnacūḍa sūtra* 寶髻經四法憂波提舍 (*T* no. 1526), all translated in 541, Vasubandhu's *Viṃśikā-vṛtti* (*Weishi lun* 唯識論, *T* no. 1588, tran. ca. 538–543), etc.

² On Xuanzang's early education, the *Biography* says:

...the Master attended the lectures given by Daoji and Baoxian on the *Mahāyānasamgraha Śāstra* and he studied abhidharma with instruction by Dharma master Daozhen on Kātyāyana's (or Katyāyanīputra 迦多衍尼子) *Jñānaprāsthana*. Not wasting a moment of time, he studied with full effort tirelessly; and within two or three years he thoroughly mastered the Buddhist texts of different schools.... 諸德既萃, 大建法筵, 於是更聽基, 遍《攝論》, 《毘曇》及震法師《迦延》, 敬惜寸陰, 勵精

無怠，二三年間，究通諸部。 (T no. 2053, 50: 1.222a17–20)

[At the age of twenty, f]rom summer to winter, the Master lectured on the *Mahāyānasamgraha* and the *Jñānaprāsthana*, each three times.... 法師為講《攝論》、《毘曇》，自夏及冬，各得三遍。 (T no. 2053, 50: 1.222b10–11)

Then he went to Zhaozhou and visited the reverend teacher Daoshen, from whom he learned about the *Satyasiddhi* (i.e. *Tattvasiddhi*) *Śāstra*. Then he entered Chang'an and stayed at the Great Enlightenment Monastery, where he learned about the *Abhidharmakośa Śāstra* from the reverend teacher Daoyue. 又到趙州，謁深法師學《成實論》。又入長安，止大覺寺，就岳法師學《俱舍論》。 (English translation from Li, *Record of the Western Regions*, 15–17, modified; T no. 2053, 50: 1.222b18–20)

Note that Li, in his translation of this passage, misunderstood 毘曇 (modern pronunciation *pitan*, medieval probably closer to *bhidham*), an abbreviation for 'abhidharma', as referring to Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, that text had not been translated into Chinese yet, so he would have been unable to study it prior to encountering it later in Sanskrit; it was Xuanzang himself who first translated it after returning to China. There is some speculation that a translation by Paramārtha of the *Abhidharmasamuccaya* might be one of his works no longer extant, but if Paramārtha didn't translate the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, then we can probably rule that out. 毘曇 by itself is insufficient to identify a specific text, it seems, unless one takes the whole phrase 《毘曇》及震法師《迦延》 as 'he studied abhidharma with instruction by Dharma master Daozhen on Kātyāyana's (or Kātyāyanīputra 迦多衍尼子) *Jñānaprāsthana*'. If so, then it may refer to the *Jñānaprāsthana* 阿毘曇八犍度論 (T no. 1543), a core Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma text attributed to *Kātyāyana 迦旃延, translated by Saṃghadeva (Sengqietipo 僧伽提婆) and (Zhu) Fonian 竺佛念 in 383 CE. Xuanzang later served up another translation of this text: *Apidamo fazhi lun* 阿毘達磨發智論 (T no. 1544). Also known by the titles *Apitan jing ba jiandu lun* 阿毘曇經八犍度論, *Jiazhangyan apitan* 迦旃延阿毘曇; this is the seventh volume of the Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma piṭaka, often considered—along with the *Mahāvibhāṣa* which is a commentary on it—the central canonical text of the Sarvāstivādins.

In general, Li Rongxi's translation is good at the Chinese idioms and syntax, but less reliable at identifying Sanskrit terms, names, titles. The punctuation framing 毘曇 as a text title is from CBETA. 毘曇 is sometimes used as a shorthand title of the *Abhidharmakośa*, but since the *Biography* identifies the *Kośa* a short bit later as 俱舍論, when it says Xuanzang was first introduced to it, 毘曇 would have to be something else.

tered on his way to India were Mahāyāna, his discussions and debates with their scholars focused on *abhidharma* topics, and, according to the *Biography*, in debate he was invariably victorious, indicating his mastery even then of the intricacies of *abhidharma* doctrines. Even later in life, as a full-fledged Yogācāra, he was at heart an ābhidharmika and understood Yogācāra theory through an abhidharmic lens.

Usually it is said that he went to India to obtain the complete *Yogācārabbūmi* (*Yuqieshi di lun* 瑜伽師地論), which Paramārtha had only partially translated (*Shiqi di lun* 十七地論, no longer extant), believing its comprehensive overview of Buddhist doctrine and practice would resolve the discrepancies and disputes raging in China at that time. That is partially true, but while in India he came to recognize that Indians understood Buddhism quite differently from what had developed in China. After many years in India, he had a dream which he took as a portent that Buddhism would disappear from India. That disturbed him, but when he spoke about it with alarm to his Indian colleagues, their calm resignation that all things are impermanent disturbed him further. Since the full and correct range of Buddhist teachings had not reached China yet, if it disappeared from India then China and East Asia would always be following an incomplete and, in some ways, misunderstood Buddhism. Asking a Jain fortune teller whether he should stay in India, where he had achieved prestigious status, or return to China by the difficult central Asian route, the fortune teller told him he would live a long and successful life if he remained in India, but if he returned to China, his health would suffer, and his life would be shortened. Alarmed that Buddhism might disappear from India, and concerned that the proper context and understanding of Buddhism was yet to be implanted in China, he decided to make the journey back, bringing over 600 texts from various Buddhist and non-Buddhist schools, as well as Buddhist artworks. As the fortune teller predicted, Xuanzang did suffer health problems at various times after his return, sometimes temporarily impacting his productivity and output, but he endeavored to provide China with as much of the context of Indian Buddhism as he could, becoming the most prolific translator in Chinese Buddhist history. One text alone, his translation of the *Prajñāpāramitā* corpus, is 600 fascicles, fills three entire Taishō volumes, and he ac-

completed this during his final years, when his health continued to decline, while simultaneously translating numerous other texts.

His prolific activity was driven by his wish to provide Chinese Buddhists with a fuller and more accurate context for understanding Buddhism. He didn't write original philosophical treatises of his own,³ so trying to determine his own thoughts on things is challenging. One type of source for discovering what he himself thought and said would be to examine reports from his contemporaries, such as Kuiji and Wōnch'ūk 圓測 (613–696), being cautious to gauge their

³ His travelogue, *Record of Western Lands* (*Datang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記, *T* no. 2087), was compiled by Bianji 辯機 (?–649) from meticulous notes Xuanzang had taken during his travels, indicating distances and directions so accurately that Aurel Stein and others found forgotten sites in Central Asia by following his directions and descriptions. It contains geographic, ethnographic, anthropological and religious accounts of different localities and their people, but provides legendary anecdotes of key figures rather than philosophical depositions. The *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (*T* no. 1585) is mistakenly considered a compendium of ten Sanskrit commentaries on the *Trīṃśikā* championing the opinions of Dharmapāla, since that is how Kuiji 窺基 (632–682) claimed it was composed, but actually, its core structure is Sthiramati's commentary on the *Trīṃśikā*, embellished with a wide variety of other sources, not just *Trīṃśikā* commentaries. This is the only translation he produced that was not a direct translation of a text, but an edited compendium, which he produced at Kuiji's insistence, despite his own intention to translate each text individually. Xuanzang felt guilty about producing this hodgepodge, which is why he determined to not omit a single word or phrase, no matter how redundant, in his Prajñāpāramitā translation which he started the year after finishing the *Cheng weishi lun*. Cf. Lusthaus, *Buddhist Phenomenology*, ch. 15. While Kuiji promoted the *Cheng weishi lun* as the catechism for his Weishi school, the extent to which it reflects Xuanzang's own thinking, rather than a survey of Buddhist theories is unclear. It is Kuiji, not the *Cheng weishi lun* that attributes positions to various authors, invariably claiming which is the correct interpretation and attributing that to Dharmapāla. The only *Trīṃśikā* commentary that has survived in the original Sanskrit is Sthiramati's, and it turns out that many of the positions Kuiji attributed to Dharmapāla are actually Sthiramati's. Cf. Keenan, 'A Study of the *Buddhabhūmyupadeśa*', 306.

reliability. Another, sounder, way to investigate Xuanzang's priorities and agenda would be to survey what he selected for translation and the order in which they appeared.

His Agenda and Motivations: Xuanzang's Early Translations

What does his early translation activity reveal about Xuanzang's motives and agenda? If we assume, as we probably should, that his order of translation was not random, but cumulative, so that earlier translations were intended to provide context and requisite background to profitably work through later works, then the order may be viewed as a systematic syllabus of sorts. That he may have modified his subsequent efforts based on how earlier ones were received should also be considered. Also, it was common for translators to accede to requests by patrons and disciples, so that too would have affected his choices over the years. We are told in his *Biography* that his last major translation was to be the *Ratnakūta sūtra*, which he began, and then, his failing health overcoming him, he stopped after a few lines.⁴ In any

⁴ From Huili's *Biography* of Xuanzang:

On the first day of the first month, in the spring of the first year of Linde (664), the monk-translators and other monks of Yuhua Monastery earnestly requested that the Master translate the *Maha-ratnakūta Sūtra* into Chinese. Upon seeing the sincerity of the monks, he exerted himself to translate the sutra; but after doing just a few lines he closed the Sanskrit text and stopped the task. He told the monks, 'This sutra is as voluminous as the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitā Sūtra*. Estimating my own strength, I shall not be able to complete this work. I am approaching my time, and it is not far-off. Now I wish to go to the Lanzhi Valley and other places to pay my last homage to a *koṭi* of Buddha's images.' Then he went out with his disciples, and the monks looked at one another with tearful eyes. After worshipping the images, he returned to the monastery and engaged exclusively in practising the Way, doing no more translation. 麟德元年春正月朔一日, 翻經大德及玉華寺眾慇懃啟請翻《大寶積經》。法師見眾情專至, 俛仰翻數行訖, 便攝梵本停住, 告眾曰: '此經部軸與《大般若》同, 玄奘自量氣力不復辦此, 死期已至, 勢非賒遠。今欲往蘭芝等谷, 禮拜辭俱胝佛像。' 於是與門人同出, 僧眾

case, his translations provide his idea of what constitutes the necessary orientation, and where he wanted to intersect with and modify the trajectory of Chinese Buddhism. Let us examine the order of translations during his first years back in China.

First Year

In 645, freshly returned from India via the Silk Road, the first text he produced was a translation of the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra* (*Da pusa zang jing* 大菩薩藏經, *T* no. 310, fascs. 35–54),⁵ which at some point was incorporated into the *Ratnakūta sūtra* compilation as the twelfth *sūtra* of that collection. It provides a detailed overview of the bodhisattva project, taking up topics such as the six *pāramitās*, the Four Immeasurables, the four methods for converting people to Buddhism, and so on—a perfect choice for an introductory text on pursuing the bodhisattva path.

This was followed by Asaṅga's (Wuzhu 無著) *Root Verses of the Exposition of the Ārya Teachings* (*Xianyang shengjiao lun song* 顯揚聖教論頌, **Prakaraṇāryavākā?*, *T* no. 1603), a summary extract of important themes in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, sometimes with verbatim passages, sometimes with slight variations.⁶ To prepare Chinese readers for the full-fledged *Yogācārabhūmi*, he first offers these selections.

Next, he translated a sutra that clearly was of great importance for him, the *Buddhabhūmi sūtra* (*Fodi jing* 佛地經, 1 fasc., *T* no.

相顧，莫不潛然。禮訖還寺，專精行道，遂絕翻譯。(Li, *Record of the Western Regions*, 331; *Sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 10.276c2–9)

⁵ On the *Bodhisattva-piṭaka-sūtra*, cf. de Jong's review of Ulrich Pagel's *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*.

⁶ Since this text is unknown apart from Xuanzang's translations, it is impossible to determine whether the discrepancies are simply due to different translation choices on Xuanzang's part or substantial differences in the underlying Sanskrit, or even whether and how this text might have circulated in India. Perhaps it had served as a students' primer, or perhaps even compiled by Xuanzang himself while in India during his studies of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.

680). But this *sūtra* was overshadowed in subsequent tradition by later works, possibly since this early work long preceded Kuiji's involvement (Kuiji, born in 632, was only twelve or thirteen years old at the time, and would not join the *saṅgha* for at least another five years, and some years after that came into Xuanzang's inner circle). While much later Xuanzang obviously encouraged Kuiji to study the *Yogācārabhūmi*, which Kuiji wrote a commentary on, his knowledge of the *Buddhabhūmi sūtra* and its composite commentaries, the *Buddhabhūmyupadeśa*,⁷ was much weaker judging by his scant and largely uninformative remarks on them.⁸ The *sūtra*, like Asaṅga's verse text noted above, consists of a single fascicle, but is necessary for following the commentaries on it contained in the *Buddhabhūmyupadeśa*, which Xuanzang was eager to introduce to the Chinese audience.

His next translation was a single fascicle *dhāraṇī* text, *Sanmukhī-dhāraṇī* (*Liumen tuoluoni jing* 六門陀羅尼經, *T* no. 1360).⁹ This was intended in part, perhaps, to commemorate his return to China.

This was quickly followed by Asaṅga's prose autocommentary to the root verses that Xuanzang had recently translated, this one titled *Exposition of the Ārya Teachings* (*Xianyang Shengjiao lun* 顯揚聖教論, 20 fascs., *T* no. 1602), which he began in October of 645 and completed in February 646. Again, these are excerpted summaries of important themes in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, such as *pramāṇa* theory.

To sum up Xuanzang's first year of translation, he began with an introductory summary of the bodhisattva project; a summary of im-

⁷ *Buddhabhūmyupadeśa* (*Fodi jing lun* 佛地經論, *T* no. 1530, 7 fascs.), a rich commentary on the *Buddhabhūmi sūtra* attributed to 'Bandhuprabha (Qinguang 親光), etc.', translated between November 12, 649 and January 2, 650.

⁸ For instance, he seems to not have noticed that large passages are quoted in the *Cheng weishi lun* verbatim.

⁹ Katsumi Mimaki published a critical edition of the Sanskrit text along with the Tibetan and Chinese and his French translation: 'La *Ṣaṇmukhī-dhāraṇī* ou "Incantation des SIX PORTES"', and 'La *Ṣaṇmukhī-dhāraṇī* ou "Incantation des SIX PORTES"'. Davidson, 'Studies in *dhāraṇī* literature II', 5–61, includes excerpts from this text.

portant themes in the *Yogācārabhūmi*; a key sutra important to the Yogācāra of that day, which envisions what a Buddha land entails and how things look through awakened cognition; and a *dhāraṇī* text designed to open the six gates, i.e., one's cognitive apprehension of reality.

Second Year

In April of 646, Xuanzang's translation of Sthiramati's (Anhui 安慧) commentary on Asaṅga's *Abhidharmasamuccaya* (*Dasheng apidamo zaji lun* 大乘阿毗達摩雜集論, 16 fascs., *Abhidharmasamuccaya-vyākhyā*, T no. 1606) appeared.¹⁰ Let's pause to take note of what this indicates. We are in the second year of his translation activity, and so far nothing from Vasubandhu (Shiqin 世親) has been tackled, but we now have three Asaṅga texts (albeit one is a prose fleshing-out of another). Also, nothing from Dharmapāla has been presented. Instead, Sthiramati's commentary on an important Asaṅga text is delivered. Also, he has presented this commentary *before* having translated Asaṅga's own root text (which he translated in 652). Much later, Kuiji, certainly at Xuanzang's urging, did study this Sthiramati commentary well, and wrote his own commentary on it.¹¹ Notably, this text further introduces the abhidharmic approach to Yogācāra and vice versa in great detail.

Next, Xuanzang's famous ethnographic travelogue, the *Record of Western Lands*, appeared. Not long after, Bianji, who had compiled it, was caught up in a sex scandal involving the emperor's daughter, and was summarily executed. That Xuanzang had entrusted such an important task to Bianji suggests that he was grooming him to be a key disciple; that Bianji had connections with the court, and lived on the grounds of the emperor's sister rather than a monastery, is a

¹⁰ The Sanskrit for this text was rediscovered in the twentieth century, and published by N. Tatia, *Abhidharmasamuccaya-bhāṣyam*.

¹¹ *Zaji lunshu ji* 雜集論述記, *Dasheng Apidamo zaji lun shuji* 大乘阿毗達摩雜集論述記 (X no. 796).

reminder of Xuanzang's own frequent diplomatic successes with rulers in India and Central Asia, almost all of whom took pains to accommodate him and grant him favors. That the sex scandal did not tinge his own reputation indicates the power of his personality and the prestige accorded him.

Third Year

An important Vasubandhu text finally appeared the following year, in April 647: *Pañcaskandha-prakarana* (*Dasheng wuyun lun* 大乘五蘊論, 1 fasc., *T* no. 1612). This text is a proto-Yogācāra work; it still retains many elements eventually jettisoned in mature Yogācāra, such as the concept of *rūpa-prasāda* (*qingjing se* 清淨色), but gives an early version of *ālayavijñāna* while discussing the fifth *skandha*, *vijñāna*. Its approach, like the *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, was primarily abhidharmic: defining terms with brief examples and exposition.

This was followed by working on a text that should shed important light on Xuanzang's agenda. As mentioned previously, Paramārtha's translation of Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasamgraha* had become a dominant text among Chinese Buddhists. Surveys of what study groups of all sects at that time were reading invariably include the *Shelun* on their lists, including early Chan schools. Xuanzang's experience in India indicated to him that Paramārtha's text had engendered a variety of faulty, even pernicious ideas, that were detrimental to a proper understanding of Buddhism and especially Asaṅga's Yogācāra. Since he himself had lectured in China on Paramārtha's translation of the *Shelun*, he was closely familiar with its contents, and therefore must have been all the more surprised to discover how differently the text itself read in Sanskrit and how Indians understood it. Rather than write a critique disputing Paramārtha's interpretation, he chose instead to re-translate it in a way that would provide a superior rendering and representation of the ideas in the original. However, instead of merely offering up his own translation of the *Shelun*, or even his own translation of Vasubandhu's *bhāṣya* on it, both of which Paramārtha had translated (*T* no. 1593 and no. 1595, respectively), he began to address the

misconceptions that had developed in China by translating *Āsvabhāva's (Wuxing 無性) sub-commentary on Vasubandhu's commentary, to make sure that readers could clearly see how Indians understood these texts. This was the **Mahāyānasamgrahopani-bandhana* (*She Dasheng lun wuxing shi* 攝大乘論無性釋, 10 fascs., *T* no. 1598). This translation was finished in 649, taking more than two years to complete (April 10, 647–July 31, 649).

He had begun working on the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuqieshi di lun* 瑜伽師地論, 100 fascs., *T* no. 1579) in July 646 and finished it in June 648. The finished text as it has come down to us contains two colophons that give conflicting details on dates, translation assistants, etc., but over twenty monks assisted. The emperor drafted monks from their home temples to work with Xuanzang on this project; some taking dictation, some serving as copyists, copy-editors, proof readers, etc. The Chinese version attributes authorship to Maitreya, while the Tibetan tradition attributes authorship to Asaṅga.

While the *Yogācārabhūmi* project continued, he tackled the *Samdhinirmocana sūtra* (*Jie shenmi jing* 解深密經, *T* no. 676), the key Yogācāra sutra credited by historians with introducing signature Yogācāra doctrines, such as *vijñapti-matra* 唯識, *ālayavijñāna*, and *trīsvabhāva* 三自性. This sutra had been translated several times before.

Of the texts translated by Xuanzang up to this point, while the Āsvabhāva's commentary to the *Shelun* had not been translated before, Paramārtha had translated the *Shelun* itself; and Paramārtha had also partially translated the *Yogācārabhūmi*, so now it was clear that Xuanzang was dedicating himself to revising the Chinese understanding of texts Paramārtha had made important with translations that, in Xuanzang's understanding, had led to misconceptions. Prior to Xuanzang, translations of the *Samdhinirmocana* were made by Guṇabhadra (partial), Bodhiruci, and Paramārtha.¹²

¹² *Xiangxu jietuodi boluomi liaoyi jing* 相續解脫地波羅蜜了義經, *T* no. 678, tran. btw. 435–443 by Guṇabhadra (Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅 [394–468]), which corresponds to the tenth chapter of the *Samdhinirmocana*; *Xuangxu jietuo rulai suozuo shuishunchu liaoyi jing* 相續解脫如來所作隨順處了義經

In September of 647, Xuanzang introduced something that had yet to appear in China: Buddhist *hetuvidyā* reflecting the sharpening of Buddhist logic engineered by Dignāga. The *Nyāyapraveśa* (*Yinming ru zhengli lun* 因明入正理論, 1 fasc., *T* no. 1630), which was written by Śaṃkarasvāmin (Shangjieluo zhu 商羯羅主), provided a concise manual of Dignāga's logic system (with a few slight variations).

To sum up so far, Xuanzang is building a foundation for bodhi-sattva practice, based on foundational Yogācāra texts and concerns, from how to understand the five aggregates that comprise a person, to the progression of practice and understanding, to tools such as *dhāraṇīs* and logic. He is introducing new materials to Chinese Buddhists, but also starting to 'correct' previous translations—especially those of Paramārtha, in whose texts he had been immersed before leaving China—to bring Chinese Buddhists closer to what he had witnessed and absorbed of Indian Buddhism.

Fourth Year

In 648, he expanded the contextual framework. The *Devatā sūtra* (*Tian qingwen jing* 天請問經, 1 fasc., *T* no. 592) recounts how Buddha responded to questions from various devas, its main theme being to replace the three poisons of greed, hatred and delusion by practicing Buddhist ethics and following the precepts. This dimension of Xuanzang's project, perhaps best appreciated by his contemporary and sometimes associate, Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667),

(*T* no. 679) translated by Guṇabhadra, corresponding to the ninth chapter; *Shenmi jietuo jing* 深密解脫經 (*T* no. 675) translated by Bodhiruci (Putiliuzhi 菩提流支 [d. 527]) in 514; *Foshuo jiejie jing* 佛說解節經 (*T* no. 677) translated by Paramārtha in 557. Guṇabhadra's Chinese apparently was not up to the task of translating these texts, so the actual translators were probably Baoyun 寶雲 along with Bodhi 菩提, Fayong 法勇, and Tanwujie 曇無竭. Cf. *Chu sanzang ji ji* 出三藏記集 by Sengyou 僧祐 (445–518), *T* no. 2145, 55: 2.12.c19–13a8. And Radich, 'Text T. 0679'.

considered one of the founding figures of the East Asian vinaya tradition, is often neglected in favor of either his travel writings or more scholastic works. However, ethics and precepts were important for Xuanzang, and the early Weishi 唯識 and Japanese Hossō 法相 groups engaged in social services of various kinds, from caring for the ill to building bridges. They are also something emphasized repeatedly in the *Yogācārabhūmi* and a variety of other texts that Xuanzang translated over the years.

Next he introduced a non-Buddhist text, **Daśa-padārtha* (*Shijuyi lun* 十句義論, 1 fasc., *T* no. 2138), a Vaiśeṣika text by Candramati (Huiyue 慧月) that was eventually forgotten in India.¹³ Early Vaiśeṣika posited six *padārthas* (fundamental components of reality), while a key Vaiśeṣika reformer, Praśastapāda, increased that to nine *padārthas*, but, aside from this Candramati text preserved for us by Xuanzang, no trace of a ten *padārtha* system is found in the extant Vaiśeṣika literature. Why did Xuanzang choose this unusual Vaiśeṣika text to translate? There are several possibilities. First, this may have been the Vaiśeṣika manual that Indian Buddhists at that time studied to prepare for debates with Vaiśeṣikas. Another obvious reason is that the primary polemical targets of many Buddhist texts during the centuries leading up to Xuanzang's time were Vaiśeṣika and, and while Paramārtha had translated a Sāṃkhya text,¹⁴ no one had provided a Vaiśeṣika text in Chinese. Chinese Buddhists must have been curious about the actual tenets of that school, being only familiar with the narrow arguments focused against them. Also, Xuanzang valued debate as an important tool for sharpening the mind and overcoming misconceptions; to debate, the better one knows the opponent's framework, the more effectively one can recognize and exploit its weaknesses. Additionally, most Buddhist ābhidharmikas accepted some version of atomic theory, and the Vaiśeṣika held the most developed non-Buddhist atomic theory in India. So this text

¹³ This was translated into English by Ui Hakuju with the Chinese text on facing pages, *Vaiśeṣika Philosophy*, 93–119. A later, improved translation can be found in Miyamoto, *Daśapadārthī*, 7–25.

¹⁴ *Jin qishi lun* 金七十論 (*Sāṃkhya-kārikā*), *T* no. 2137.

was probably translated to sate the curiosity of his students as well as to help provide some understanding of the context in which Indian Buddhism operated.

Next, he translated Vasubandhu's *Triṃśikā* (*Weishi sanshi lun* 唯識三十論, 1 fasc. *T* no. 1586), which would later become the underlying foundation for the *Cheng weishi lun*. The version that has come down to us includes a variety of deviations from the Sanskrit, as well as framing interpolations.¹⁵ Paramārtha had produced an unusual rendering of this text, the *Zhuanshi lun* 轉識論 (*T* no. 1587), in which Vasubandhu's text is inextricably intermingled with a commentary of uncertain authorship (some speculate it was Paramārtha's own commentary). That would have been the only exposure East Asian Buddhists had to this important Vasubandhu text prior to Xuanzang's new translation. Compared to the *Zhuanshi lun*, Xuanzang's rendering is much closer to the Sanskrit original, despite his deviations and interpolations, and many of those are accounted for and explained in the *Cheng weishi lun*, so they were neither inadvertent nor accidents nor mistakes, but deliberate interpretive overlays.

He next translated the *Diamond Sutra* (*Vajracchedikā sūtra*; *Jin'gang banruo jing* 金剛般若經, 1 fasc., *T* no. 220), which had been previously translated by Kumārajīva (in 401), Bodhiruci (in 509), and Paramārtha (in 558). While Xuanzang's translation continued to receive attention, Kumārajīva's version remained the traditional favorite.

This was followed by his translation of Vasubandhu's *Introduction to the One Hundred Dharmas* (*Baifa mingmen lun* 百法明門論, 1 fasc., *T* no. 1614), a listing of the Yogācāra *abhidharma* system of 100 dharmas, divided into categories.¹⁶

And then finally he completed his translation of Vasubandhu's *bhāṣya* to Asaṅga's *Mahāyānasamgraha* (*She Dasheng lun Shiqin shi* 攝大乘論世親釋, 10 fascs., *T* no. 1597). So now he had translated Āśvabhāva's subcommentary on the *Mahāyānasamgraha*

¹⁵ Some of this is discussed in Lusthaus, *Buddhist Phenomenology*, Part IV.

¹⁶ Cf. Lusthaus, ed. 'The One Hundred Dharmas'. <http://www.acmuller.net/yogacara/outlines/100dharmas.html>.

and Vasubandhu's commentary, reinforcing that he was correcting Paramārtha's version by pointing out how Indian Buddhists understood the text.

Fifth Year

It is not until the following year, 649, that he finally tackled Asaṅga's root text without the commentaries, *Mahāyānasamgraha* (*She Dasheng lun* 攝大乘論本, 3 fascs., *T* no. 1594). Having instructed his readers on *how* to read the text by providing the expositions of Vasubandhu and his sub-commentator, Āsvabhāva, they were now ready to enjoy Asaṅga's text without the distortions and misconceptions introduced by Paramārtha's popular translation. As history has shown, however, his versions never fully eclipsed the Paramārtha versions, since, after his death there was a concerted movement by a variety of leading figures, such as Fazang 法藏 (643–712) and Wōnhyo 元曉 (617–686), et al., to return to the Paramārtha approach.

At this point, in 649, Xuanzang produced the following translations:

Five sutras:

Yuanqi Shengdao jing 緣起聖道經, 1 fasc. (*T* no. 714, *Nidāna sūtra* [Sutra on the Noble Way of Conditional Co-arising]), a sutra on *pratītya-samutpāda*.

Shen xiyou jing 甚希有經, 1 fasc. (*T* no. 689, **Adbhūta-dharmaparyāya sūtra* [Sutra on the Miraculous Acts of the Buddha]).

Wangfa zhengli jing 王法正理經, 1 fasc. (*T* no. 1615, Sutra of [Maitreya's] Correct Principles of Royal Rule), a sutra derived from the *Yogācārabhūmi*, authorship therefore attributed to Maitreya 彌勒 (rather than Śākyamuni or Asaṅga). Actually a combination of two sutras, the first advising on how to govern, how to correct faults, and pursue the wholesome; the second divides people into three types and how to help each make progress.

Zui wubi jing 最無比經, 1 fasc. (*T* no. 691, Supreme

Incomparable Sutra), extolling the benefits of faith in the three jewels (Buddha, Dharma, and Saṅgha), which, according to this sutra is superior to following precepts.

Rulai shijiao Shengjunwang jing 如來示教勝軍王經, 1 fasc. (T no. 515, *Rājavavādaka sūtra*, Sutra in which the Tathāgata Reveals Teachings to King Prasenajit), encouraging the king to pursue the Dharma rather than wealth or power.

The primary audience for these texts is the emperor, whose health was fading at this time. He died either this year or the next (depending on which source one consults), and according to several sources turned devotedly to Buddhism at the end of his life, in part due to Xuanzang's influence. For the more 'professional' or scholarly readers he produced the following.

One Madhyamaka text:

Bhāviveka's (Qingbian 清辯) *Dasheng zhangzhen lun* 大乘掌珍論, 2 fascs. (T no. 1578, **Karatala-ratna* or **Hasta-maṇi*? Jewel in the Palm).

One Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma text

Shishen zu lun 識身足論, 16 fascs. (T no. 1539, *Vijñāna-kāya pāda*), the third member of the Sarvāstivādin *abhidharma* canon, attributed to Devakṣema (Tiposhemo 提婆設摩).

Two texts on Bodhisattva Precepts related to the *Yogācārabhūmi*

Pusa jie jiemo 菩薩戒羯磨, 1 fasc. (T no. 1499, The Rituals and Customs for Bodhisattvas), excerpted from fasc. 40 of the *Yogācārabhūmi*; 羯磨 = *karma*, in the technical sense of rituals, precepts and customs. It deals with ordination, repentance, and what happens when precepts are violated.

Pusa jie ben 菩薩戒本, 1 fasc. (T no. 1501, **Bodhisattva-śīla sūtra*), excerpts from the *Yogācārabhūmi* on forty-two precepts guiding a monastic's behavior.

Since drawn from the *Yogācārabhūmi*, the authorship of these two texts is attributed to Maitreya. These again highlight Xuanzang's

concern with ethics, and the orderly and proper behavior expected of sincere practitioners, especially in the context of Yogācāra practice.

One important Yogācāra commentary:

Fodi jing lun 佛地經論, 7 fascs. (T no. 1530,

Buddhabhūmyupadeśa), attributed to Bandhuprabha (Qinguang 親光), etc. A commentary on the *Buddhabhūmi sūtra* which he had translated during his first year back in China. This composite of what appear to be at least three or four distinct commentaries was already mentioned above. Many key Yogācāra ideas are explained here with details not found in other texts. Since Bandhuprabha was apparently active at Nālandā when Xuanzang was there, this represents the state of the art in Yogācāra thinking among Xuanzang's Indian contemporaries.

That brings us to the year 650—he goes on to translate more *abhidharma*, Yogācāra and *Prajñāpāramitā* texts, and more *dhāraṇī* texts—but we can stop this survey here, and turn to another issue already raised but played out in another series of texts.

The Case of the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* (and *Mahāyānasamgraha*)

First, to quickly summarize what has been shown so far. What is new in Xuanzang's approach includes not only new texts (and the new terminology they introduced, which we haven't discussed yet), but a reframing of Buddhism to align Chinese Buddhism with the theories and practices of Indian Buddhists, for whom, for instance, logic was key, and for whom there were Mahāyānic precepts (not just the Dharmagupta, etc. vinayas that had been adopted by East Asian Mahāyāna Buddhists), and, of course, a more precise and accurate presentation of Yogācāra ideas. In order to challenge the popular translations by Paramārtha, he approached that by first translating Indian commentaries on those texts to make clear how Indians read those texts, and only then re-translating the root texts themselves.

As mentioned above, even prior to leaving China, Xuanzang was

considered an expert in the *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya*, which he had studied in Paramārtha's translation.

...he entered Chang'an and stayed at the Great Enlightenment Monastery, where he learned about the *Abhidharmakośa Śāstra* from the reverend teacher Daoyue. He grasped the essential meanings of all these texts by studying them only once, and could memorize whatever had passed his eyes, an ability unsurpassed even by senior scholars of deep learning. He studied with such profundity that he could comprehend subtle meanings and reveal what was hidden in the texts when others failed to reach it. *On more than one abstruse point he had his own particular views.*

又入長安，止大覺寺，就岳法師學《俱舍論》。皆一遍而盡其旨，經目而記於心，雖宿學者年不能出也。至於鉤深致遠，開微發伏，眾所不至。獨悟於幽奧者，固非一義焉。¹⁷

He continued to study and learn, and when he reached Kashmir he studied with Saṃghakīrti, who was over seventy at the time.

But as he [Saṃghakīrti] was glad to have met an intelligent person, he exerted himself to the utmost to teach him by lecturing on the *Abhidharmakośa Śāstra* before noon, the *Nyāyānusāra* in the afternoon, and *hetuvidyā* [logic] and *śabdavidyā* [grammar] after the first part of the night. Thus all the scholars in the locality assembled to attend the lectures. The Master comprehended whatever was spoken by the teacher without missing anything. He studied the subtle teachings with appreciation and thoroughly mastered the mysteries.

彼公是時年向七十，氣力已衰，慶逢神器，乃勵力敷揚。自午已前講《俱舍論》，自午已後，講《順正理論》，初夜後講《因明》、《聲明論》。由是境內學人，無不悉集。法師隨其所說，領悟無遺，研幽擊節，盡其神祕。¹⁸

¹⁷ Here from Li Rongxi's English translation, see Li, *Record of the Western Regions*, 17, italics added; *Sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2053, 50: 1.222b19–23.

In Kashmir further study of the *Kośa*, in Sanskrit, not Chinese, was taught by Saṃghakīrti in tandem with Saṃghabhadra's (Sengqiebatuoluo 僧伽跋陀羅; i.e. Xianzhong 衆賢) *Nyāyānusāra*, a detailed critique of the *Kośa*, defending the orthodox Kashmiri Vaibhāṣika positions from the *Kośa*'s misrepresentations and fallacies. Xuanzang eventually also translated the *Nyāyānusāra* in 80 fascicles (*Apidamo shun zhengli lun* 阿毘達磨順正理論, *T* no. 1562). Saṃghakīrti also gave Xuanzang instruction in Buddhist logic and Sanskrit grammar, so at this point Xuanzang was learning the *Kośa* in its original Sanskrit, along with the fuller context of the Vaibhāṣika disputes it engaged. Discrepancies between what he knew from Paramārtha's Chinese translation and what he was now learning encouraged him to dig more deeply and critically into not only new sources but the sources he thought he already knew.

Just as was the case with the *Mahāyānasamgraha* in which Xuanzang first translated the sub-commentary, then the commentary, and finally the basic text itself, in the case of the *Abhidharma-kośa-bhāṣya*, he first set out to translate Indian contextual material before attempting to replace the earlier Paramārtha translation with his new version. Saṃghabhadra had written two critiques of the *Kośa*. First Xuanzang translated Saṃghabhadra's *Revealing the Tenets of the Abhidharma piṭaka* (*Apidamo zang xianzhong lun* 阿毘達磨藏顯宗論, *T* no. 1563) in 40 fascicles which he worked on between April 30, 651 and November 26, 652. He then translated Saṃghabhadra's more detailed and comprehensive critique, the aforementioned *Nyāyānusāra* in 80 fascicles, between February 3, 653 and August 27, 654. He was working on his translations of the *Kośa* verses and the *Kośa* with Vasubandhu's autocommentary during the same period (*T* no. 1560 and *T* no. 1558, respectively; June 3, 651–September 13, 654), but they were released only after the Saṃghabhadra critiques. Again, this illustrates that for Xuanzang context is necessary for proper reading and understanding. The message for modern scholars is that the *Kośa* should be read in

¹⁸ English translation quoted from Li, *Record of the Western Regions*, 62, with modifications; *Sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 2.231b4–8.

tandem with the *Mahāvibhāṣa* and *Nyāyānusāra*, which, since they only survive in Chinese have been largely ignored by scholars who work with Sanskrit and/or Tibetan materials.

Literal, Non-literal: Contextual

At the beginning, I mentioned that Xuanzang was not the strictly literal translator he is often imagined to be, which may have surprised some of you if you have never carefully read a Xuanzang text in tandem with its Sanskrit counterpart. Examples to illustrate this would fill volumes, so the examples to follow are only a very brief sampling which could be multiplied many times over. It would also go beyond what this current paper can address to sort the ‘deviations’ from received Sanskrit counterparts into various types and further analyze, on a case by case basis, how and why Xuanzang’s texts don’t exactly match the Sanskrit—is it because our received Sanskrit version(s) are later redactions that differ from what Xuanzang was working with? Was he drawing on an exegetical tradition or principle, written or oral, that guided his modifications? Did he misunderstand the original text? Was he unduly influenced by prior translations and/or translators in ways he failed to overcome? Since the translation process often involved the main translator *orally* reciting and *orally* translating the Indic original, with others, namely assistants, transcribing by dictation, and still others polishing, proof-reading, and comparing what was being captured in writing against prior related texts, and, in the case of Xuanzang, often turning the Chinese into neat four- or eight-character phrases, which requires padding here and abbreviating there, could deviations inadvertently have entered in this ‘transmission’ process?

I am confident that given his prodigious output and the pace at which he worked, he rarely proof-read the final products, perhaps at most spot checking, or addressing concerns assistants would bring to his attention. He was too busy translating to explain the texts to his assistants in detail, trusting them to make sense of the texts they were working on with minimal explanation from him.

The most famous example of this, leading to divergent com-

mentaries and subsequently a major political conflict, concerned his translation of Dignāga's *Nyāyamukha*, a logic manual. His ten assistants on that translation each wrote their own commentary, but their lack of clear understanding is evident in the fact that each had a different interpretation from the other, often missing key points in the logic system, so that a court Daoist, Lü Cai 呂才, to one-up the Buddhists and prove he could understand anything no matter how arcane or obscure, arrogantly claimed to have outsmarted all of them and offered his own commentary. Buddhists and Daoists in the capital fought over it, outraged Buddhists submitted memorials to the emperor to censure Lü, and rancor between Buddhists and Daoists intensified throughout China until the emperor forced Xuanzang to declare one way or another whether Lü's commentary had merit. After unsuccessfully trying to avoid passing judgement, Xuanzang finally conceded that Lü's interpretation was baseless, so Lü lost face. Xuanzang never translated another logic text, to the detriment of the East Asian Buddhist tradition. The entire eighth fascicle of Huili's *Biography* of Xuanzang documents that controversy, Huili himself being one of the people who petitioned the emperor against Lü Cai.

To provide quick and clear examples in which Xuanzang can be shown to be doing something other than faithfully reproducing the Sanskrit, rather than wade into technical and complicated philological waters (such as his use of *xingxiang* 性相 in his *Triṃśikā* translation when nothing corresponds in the Sanskrit, though he unpacks this in the *Cheng weishi lun* as shorthand for *zixing* 自性 and *xingxiang* 行相, *svabhāva* and *ākāra*, i.e., what something is and what it does, which he uses to analyze types of consciousness, though neither term appears in the Sanskrit *Triṃśikā*), I will instead offer two types of illustrations. First, there are some significant differences between Xuanzang's *Heart Sūtra* and the Sanskrit versions that have come down to us. Second, it can be easily shown that Xuanzang deviates from the Sanskrit when lists are given, and even something as basic as the number of items in Sanskrit and Chinese is not the same, and further the order of items do not match all the way through. Two lists from the *Yogācārabhūmi* will be used to illustrate this, both from the *Śrāvakabhūmi* section.¹⁹

Heart Sūtra Discrepancies

Turning to the *Heart Sūtra*, in the Sanskrit, when Avalokiteśvara looks down at the world, he ‘sees that the five *skandhas* are empty of *svabhāva*’ (*pañca-skandhās tāṃś ca svabhāva-sūnyān paśyati sma*), while Xuanzang’s Chinese says only that he sees that the five *skandhas* are all empty (*zhaojian wuyun jie kong* 照見五蘊皆空). Philosophically, failing to mention *svabhāva* is a significant omission while adding ‘all’ 皆 is a trivial gloss. Additionally, the Sanskrit term for ‘looks down’ is a pun on Avalokiteśvara’s name: *Ārya Āvalokiteśvaro bodhisattvo gambhīraṃ prajñāpāramitā-cāryāṃ caramāṇo vyavalokayati sma*. The pun is lost in Chinese: 觀自在菩薩行深般若波羅蜜多. Instead of ārya Avalokiteśvara, the Chinese entitles him ‘bodhisattva’ 菩薩.

In the next section, the Sanskrit gives three paired phrases, while Xuanzang’s Chinese gives only two (see detailed analysis in Appendix I):

Iha Śāriputra

rūpaṃ śūnyatā, śūnyat’ aiva rūpaṃ,

rūpān na prthak śūnyatā, śūnyatāyā na prthag rūpaṃ,

yad rūpaṃ sā śūnyatā, yā śūnyatā tad rūpaṃ.

Here, Śāriputra,

form is emptiness, emptiness is only form;

form is not different than emptiness, emptiness is not different than form;

what is form is emptiness, what is emptiness that is form.

¹⁹ Deviations in lists between Sanskrit and Chinese versions of a text is not unique to Xuanzang, but we are solely concerned with his translations in this paper. For an example of Kumārajīva deviating from the received Sanskrit *Pañcaviṃśatikasāhasrikā*, cf. Orsborn, ‘Something for Nothing,’ 179.

舍利子!

色不異空, 空不異色.

色即是空, 空即是色.

Śāriputra,

form is no different than emptiness, emptiness is no different than form.

Form precisely is emptiness, emptiness precisely is form.

The Chinese omits the first line of the Sanskrit.

Further down, the Chinese says: 'No suffering, no origination [of suffering], cessation [of suffering], nor way [to end suffering]. No wisdom and no attainment, and nothing to be attained.' 無苦集滅道, 無聖亦無得以無所得. The Sanskrit contains an additional phrase: 'no non-attainment' (na duḥkha-samudaya-nirodha-mārgā na jñānaṃ na prāptir n'āprāptiḥ).

Citt'āvaraṇa-nāstitvād atrasto viparyās'ātikrānto niṣṭhā-nirvāṇaḥ.

Because an obstructed mind does not exist, he is not frightened. He has stepped over the conceptual perversions, finally attaining Nirvāṇa.

故心無罣礙。無罣礙故，無有恐怖。遠離一切顛倒夢想，究竟涅槃。

Because the mind has no obstructions, having no obstructions therefore there is no fear. Completely detached from conceptually-perverted dream thoughts, this is final Nirvana.

The Chinese adds 'dream' 夢.

Whether one considers such deviations significant or trivial, at the least they indicate that Xuanzang's text is not a strictly literal rendering of the Sanskrit as that has come down to us, and that even is such a short text which was one of Xuanzang's own most treasured recitation texts, deviations from the Sanskrit are present.

Lists, Terms, and Discrepancies

We now will look at two sets of lists found in the *Śrāvakabhūmi* of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. While this can seem tedious, they are useful for simply and unambiguously highlighting non-literal renderings, since for the most part grammar and syntax become irrelevant and it becomes simply a matter of matching equivalents—until they fail to match.

The first is a list of body parts considered impure. The Sanskrit list and Xuanzang's translation begin in alignment, and then things grow increasingly harder to align. The Tibetan varies from both. We will not dwell on all the specifics and complexities, but just take note of their more obvious non-alignments. First, here are the texts, the Sanskrit followed by the corresponding Chinese and then Tibetan.

Śrāvakabhūmi, list of internal (= in the body) impurities
 -II-3-b-(1)-i-(a) Ms.72a1L, Sh.203-1, P.95b5, D.79a5, N.83b1, Co.84a5, Ch.428c22
 tatra pratyāsubhatā katamā / āha / pratyāsubhatādhyātmam
 upādāya bahirdhā copādāya veditavyā //
 tatrādhyātmam upādāya / tadyathā keśā, romāṇi, nakhā,
 dantā, rajah, (Śbh II 60) malam, tvak, māṃsam, asthi, snāyu,
 sirā, vṛkkā, hṛdayam, plīhakam, klomam, antrāṇi, antraguṇaḥ,
 āmāśayam, pakvāśayam, yakṛt, purīṣam, āśru, svedaḥ, kheṭaḥ,
 śiṅghāṇakam, vasā, lasikā, majjā, medaḥ, pittaṃ, śleṣmā, pūyaḥ,
 śoṇitam, mastakam, mastakaluṅgam, prasrāvaḥ //²⁰

Numbering the items for cross-referencing purposes:

tatrādhyātmam upādāya / tadyathā keśā1, romāṇi2, nakhā3,
 dantā4, rajo5, malam6, tvak7, māṃsam8, asthi9, snāyu10,
 sirā11, vṛkkā12, hṛdayam13, plīhakam14, kloman15, an-
 trāṇi16, antraguṇaḥ17, āmāśayam18, pakvāśayam19, yakṛt20*,
 purīṣam21, āśru22, svedaḥ23, kheṭaḥ24, śiṅghāṇakam25,

²⁰ Matsunami, *Śrāvakabhūmi*, 58–60.

vasā26, lasikā27, majjā28, medaḥ29, pittam30, śleṣmā31, pūyaḥ32, śoṇitam33, mastakam34, mastaka-luṃgam35, pras-rāvaḥ36 /

**The Shukla edition has *mūtram* (water from the kidneys, urine) here instead of *yakṛt*.²¹

The corresponding Chinese passage in Xuanzang's translation reads:

云何依內朽穢不淨謂內身中髮毛爪齒塵垢皮肉骸骨筋脈心膽肝肺大腸小腸生藏熟藏肚胃脾/脾腎膿血熱痰肪膏肌髓腦膜洩唾淚汗尿尿如是等類名為依內朽穢不淨²²

This is sometimes parsed this way:

云何依內, 朽穢不淨? 謂內身中, 髮、毛、爪、齒、塵、垢、皮、肉、骸、骨、筋、脈、心、膽、肝、肺、大腸、小腸、生藏、熟藏、肚、胃、脾 [or 脾]、腎、膿、血、熱、痰、肪、膏、肌、髓、腦、膜、洩、唾、淚、汗、尿、尿. 如是等類、名為依內朽穢不淨.

While the Sanskrit lists 36 items, this way of parsing the Chinese yields 40 distinct items. The Tibetan text seems to contain 35 items.

བརྟེན་པ་ཡིན་པར་རིག་པར་བྱའོ། །དེ་ལ་ནང་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་མི་གཙང་བའི་མི་སྤྱག་པ་ཉིད་གང་ཞེ་ན། འདི་
ལྟ་སྟེ། སྤྱ་དང་། སྤྱ་དང་། སེན་མོ་དང་། སོ་དང་། སྒོག་པ་དང་། ཇི་མ་དང་། བགས་པ་དང་། ཤ་དང་།
རྩས་པ་དང་། རྩུ་རྩུས་དང་། ཅ་དང་། མཁལ་མ་དང་། སྦྱིང་
དང་། མཆིན་པ་དང་། སྒོ་བ་དང་། རྩུ་མ་དང་། གཉེས་དང་། ཐོ་བ་དང་། ལོང་ཀ་དང་། མཆེར་བ་དང་།
ཕྱི་ས་དང་། མཆིམ་དང་། རྩལ་དང་། མཆིལ་མ་དང་། སྤྲུམས་དང་། ཞག་དང་། རྩུབས་དང་། ཀང་དང་།
ཆོལ་དང་མཁྲིས་པ་དང་། བད་ཀན་དང་། རྩག་དང་།

²¹ Shukla, *Śrāvakaḥbūmi of Acarya Asanga*, 203.

²² *Yugieshi di lun* 瑜伽師地論, T no. 1579, 30: 26.428c24–28.

ཐག་དང་། སྒྲ་སྒྲི་དང་། སྒྲ་རྒྱས་དང་། གཅིན་དང་། དེལ་བྱ་དང་མཐུན་པ་དག་ནི་ནང་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་
མི་གཙང་བའི་མི་སྤྱད་པ་ཉིད་ཡིན་པར་རིག་པར་བྱའོ་དེ་ལ་ཕྱི་རོལ་ལ་བརྟེན་པའི་མི་གཙང་བའི་མི་སྤྱད་
པ་ཉིད་གང་ཞེ་ན། འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ། རྣམ་པར་བསྟོས་པ་དང་། རྣམ་པར་རྟགས་

Additionally, while the Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan lists initially begin with corresponding items in the same order, they soon go out of easy alignment.

The numbering, S for Sanskrit (e.g., S1 = Sanskrit 1); C for Chinese (C1, etc.); T for Tibetan:

pratyasubhatādhyātma upādāya	依內朽穢不淨， 謂內身中	nang la brten pa gang zhe na	Inner bases of impurity
S1. <i>keśā</i>	C1. <i>fa</i> 髮	T1. སྐྱ་ <i>skra</i>	fine hair, head hair
S2. <i>romāṇi</i>	C2. <i>mao</i> 毛	T2. སྐུ་ <i>spu</i>	body hair
S3. <i>nakhā</i>	C3. <i>zhao</i> 爪	T3. སེན་མོ་ <i>sen mo</i>	nails
S4. <i>dantā</i>	C4. <i>chi</i> 齒	T4. སོ་ <i>so</i>	teeth
S5. <i>rajas</i> (impurity, dirt, dust, any small particle of matter; the dust or pollen of flowers)	C5. <i>chen</i> 塵 (dust particles)	T5. སྐྱོག་པ་ <i>glog pa</i> , (ulcer, sore, see T22)	specks of dirt
S6. <i>malam</i>	C6. <i>gou</i> 垢	T6. དྲི་མ་ <i>dri ma</i>	stain, taint
S7. <i>tvak</i>	C7. <i>pi</i> 皮	T7. ཕགས་པ་ <i>pags pa</i>	skin
S8. <i>māṁsam</i>	C8. <i>rou</i> 肉	T8. ཤ་ <i>stha</i>	flesh
S9. <i>asthi</i>	C9. <i>hai</i> 骸 (and 10. 骨 <i>gu</i>)	T9. རུས་པ་ <i>rus pa</i>	bones
S10. <i>snāyu</i>	C10. <i>jin</i> 筋	T10. རྩུགས་ <i>chu rgyus</i>	muscles, tendons, sinews, ligaments
S11. <i>śirā</i>	C11. <i>mai</i> 脈	T11. རྩ་ <i>rtsa</i> (channels, vessels)	blood vessels

pratyaśubhatādhyātmam upādāya	依內朽穢不淨， 謂內身中	nang la brten pa gang zhe na	Inner bases of impurity
S12. <i>vrkkā</i> (kidneys)	[Ch. includes kidneys as C24 <i>shen</i> 腎]	T12. མཁལ་ མ་ <i>mkhal ma</i> (kidneys)	**
S13. <i>hrdayam</i>	C12. <i>xin</i> 心	T13. སྙིང་ <i>snying</i>	heart
S14. <i>plihakam</i> (spleen)	--- [but cf. C22, alternate]	T14. མཁིན་པ་ <i>mchin pa</i> (liver, midriff); but cf. T20 below	**
---	C13. <i>dan</i> 膽 (gall bladder)	---	**
S15. <i>kloman</i>	C15. <i>fei</i> 肺	T15. གློ་བ་ <i>glo ba</i>	lungs
S16. <i>antrāṇi</i>	C16. <i>dachang</i> 大腸	T17. གཉེ་མ་ <i>gnye ma</i>	large intestine
S17. <i>antraguṇaḥ</i>	C17. <i>xiaochang</i> 小腸	T16. རྩུ་མ་ <i>rgyu ma</i>	small intestine
S18. <i>āmāśayam</i> (digesting nutrients)	C18. <i>shengcang</i> 生藏 “raw- storage”	---	<i>āma</i> is an technical Indian medical term; <i>āmāśayam</i> digestive action associated with the stomach and upper torso
S19. <i>pakvāśayam</i> (digested nutrients)	C19. <i>shucang</i> 熟藏 ‘processed- storage’	---	<i>pakva</i> is a related technical term; <i>pakvāśayam</i> is assoc. with the large intestine and lower torso
---	C20. <i>du</i> 肚 bowels/abdomen	T19. རོང་ཀླ་ <i>long ka</i> , intestines, entrails, guts	bowels, abdomen

pratyaśubhatādhyātmam upādāya	依內朽穢不淨, 謂內身中	nang la brten pa gang zhe na	Inner bases of impurity
---	C21. <i>wei</i> 胃 stomach	T18. ཤོན་ <i>pho ba</i> , (stomach, ruminating stomach)	stomach
---	C22. <i>bi</i> 脾 buttocks/thigh [more likely: <i>pi</i> 脾, spleen]	---	[if 脾, then this would be ‘spleen’ corresponding to S#14 <i>plīhakam</i> . Stomach and spleen 胃脾 are commonly paired in Chinese medicine.]
S20. <i>yakṛt</i>	C14. <i>gan</i> 肝	T20. མཆེར་བ་ <i>mcher pa</i> (spleen)	liver
S21. <i>purīṣam</i>	C38. <i>shi</i> 屎	T21. ཕྱི་ས་ <i>phyi sa</i>	excrement
S22. <i>aśru</i>	C36. <i>lei</i> 淚	T22. མཆིམ་ <i>mchi ma</i>	tears
S23. <i>svedaḥ</i>	C37. <i>han</i> 汗	Tib has T23. རྩལ་ <i>rdul</i> , dirt particle (<i>rajas</i>) here, but since it had 4. གློག་ <i>glog pa</i> , ulcer, sore, for <i>rajas</i> above, it is unclear how the translator duplicated <i>rajas</i> here or mistook <i>sveda</i> for <i>rajas</i> . This should probably be amended to རྩལ་ནང་ <i>rngul</i> ‘perspiration’.	sweat
---	C35. <i>tuō</i> 唾	T24. མཆིལ་མ་ <i>mchil ma</i>	saliva
S24. <i>kheṭaḥ</i>	C34. <i>ti</i> 洩	T25. ལྷགས་ <i>snabs</i>	nasal mucuous

pratyaśubhatādhyātmam upādāya	依內朽穢不淨, 謂內身中	nang la brten pa gang zhe na	Inner bases of impurity
<i>How the next few items align is unclear. These are only suggestions.</i>			
S25. <i>śiṃghāṇakam</i>	C29. <i>gao</i> 膏	T26. རྩ་གྲ་ <i>zhag</i> (grease, oil [liquid] fat/ butter; 2) body oil; 3) blood clot)	greasy fat (in Ch. medicine, 膏 can be the fatty tissue surrounding organs, or stuff that lubricates joint capsules)
S26. <i>vasā</i> (marrow; fat, grease, lard, melted fat, any fatty or oily substance)	C31. <i>sui</i> 髓	T28. རྩ་རྩ་ <i>rkang</i>	marrow
S27. <i>lasikā</i> (watery humour in the body, lymph, serum; a tendon, muscle)	C30. <i>ji</i> 肌 (muscle) / [alt: <i>fei</i> 肥 (fat)]	T27. <i>chu sar</i> (lymph; several types of disease involving fluids in the joints causing arthritis or itching, sores, e.g. leprosy)	lymph; watery humour
S28. <i>majjā</i> (marrow, urinary, semen producing)	C23. <i>shen</i> 腎 kidneys/testes Urogenital system. <i>neishen</i> 內腎 = kidneys, <i>waishen</i> 外腎 =testes	[T27a. If རྩ་ཆུ་ <i>chu sa</i> is amended to <i>chu so</i> , 'bladder, external and internal urinary organs', then it would correspond with the meaning of <i>majjā</i> as urinary, semen producing, and the Chinese 腎 with similar meaning. 'Marrow' was already expressed by <i>vasā</i> / 髓 / <i>rkang</i> (cf. S26; C31; T28)	??
S29. <i>medaḥ</i>	C28. <i>fang</i> 肪	T29. རྩ་ཤ་ <i>tshil</i>	fat

pratyaśubhatādhyātmam upādāya	依內朽穢不淨, 謂內身中	nang la brten pa gang zhe na	Inner bases of impurity
S30. <i>pittam</i>	C26. <i>re</i> 熱 (heat/ fever)	T30. མཁའ་པ་ <i>mkhris pa</i> (bile)	‘heat’ doṣa, ‘bilious humor’
S31. <i>śleṣmā</i>	C27. <i>tan</i> 痰 (phlegm/mucous)	T31. བདྟན་ <i>bad kan</i> (phlegm)	‘phlegmatic’ doṣa
S32. <i>pūyaḥ</i>	C24. <i>nong</i> 膿	T32. རྩ་ <i>rnag</i>	pus
S33. <i>śoṇitam</i>	C25. <i>xue</i> 血	T33. རྩ་ <i>kbrag</i>	blood
S34. <i>mastakam</i>	C32. <i>nao</i> 腦	T34. སྤྱི་ <i>glad spri</i>	brain
S35. <i>mastaka-lumgam</i>	C33. <i>mo</i> 膜 (membrane)	T35. སྤྱི་ <i>glad rgyas</i>	brain membrane
S36. <i>prasrāvaḥ</i>	C39. <i>niao</i> 尿	T36. གཅིན་ <i>gcin</i>	urine

What happens at S18 and S19, *āmāśayam* and *pakvāśayam*, is interesting. Xuanzang’s Chinese translation first offers neologisms for each, *shengcang* 生藏 and *shucang* 熟藏, respectively, and then, in addition offers two glosses on them, *du* 肚 bowels, abdomen and 胃 stomach. *Āma* is food in initial stages of digestion, i.e., ‘raw’ and being broken down, associated with the stomach but understood to disperse esp. in the upper body. *Pakva*, meaning ‘matured food’, is food further digested, ‘mature’, ‘processed’, and nearing time of expulsion from the body; it is associated with the large intestine and lower torso. *Āśaya* means a vessel or receptacle in the body. In Chinese, the contrast between *sheng* 生 and *re* 熟 similarly signals ‘raw’ vs. ‘processed’. So those terms are apt; and *cang* 藏, ‘storage’ was used in Chinese medical literature for organ systems, so that too is apt. The Tibetan does not attempt to generate a technical neologism for these distinctly Indian medical terms, but instead glosses them in the same manner as Xuanzang’s gloss, but while Xuanzang’s glosses reversed the order from the Sanskrit, the Tibetan retains the Sanskrit order.

If, as some recensions record, C22 is *pi* 脾 spleen, instead of *bi* 脾

buttocks/thigh, then the Chinese has a corresponding term for S14, *plihakam* (spleen); the Tibetan counterpart at T20, *mcher pa*, is closer to the place in the Sanskrit order than the Chinese, but still not precisely aligned.

For purposes of further comparison, first a list gives the Sanskrit terms in the order they appear in the extant Sanskrit text, with likely Chinese and Tibetan equivalents alongside. Then another list, this time with the Chinese order, and the Sanskrit and Tibetan bracketed alongside. Finally, the Tibetan list, with Sanskrit and Chinese bracketed alongside. Certain terms only appear on one or two of the lists; e.g. Chinese and Tibetan have ‘saliva’, but the Sanskrit has no corresponding term; ‘gall bladder’ only appears in Chinese, etc.

List in order of Sanskrit terms (with attempted Chinese matching):

1. *keśā*; *fa* 髮, fine hair; T1. སྐྱ་ *skra*, head hair
2. *romāṇi*; *mao* 毛, coarse hair; T2. སྤྱ་ *spu*, body hair
3. *nakhā*; *zhao* 爪, nails; T3. སེན་མོ་ *sen mo*
4. *dantā*; *chi* 齒, teeth; T4. སྟོ་ *so*
5. *rajo*; *chen* 塵, dust; T5. སྒྲེག་པ་ *glog pa*, ulcer, sore [cf. T23. སྒྲེ་ *rdul*, dirt particle (*rajas*)]
6. *malam*; *gou* 垢, dirt; T6. སྒྲི་མ་ *dri ma*, stain, taint
7. *tvak*; *pi* 皮, skin; T7. བྲག་པ་ *pags pa*
8. *māmsam*; *rou* 肉, flesh; T8. ལྗ་ *stha*
9. *asthi*; *hai* 骸, skeleton (and 10. 骨 *gu*) bones; T9. རྩ་པ་ *rus pa*, bone
10. *snāyu*; *jin* 筋, muscles/tendons; T10. རྩ་རྒྱུ་ *chu rgyus*, sinews, ligaments
11. *sirā*; *mai* 脈, blood vessels; T11. རྩ་ *rtsa*, channels/vessels
12. *vrkkā*; (can mean ‘kidneys’ or ‘heart’, so either C24. *shen* 腎 kidneys/testes, or compound with next term, *hṛdayam*; the Tibetan treats it as ‘kidneys’ – T12. བཀའ་མ་ *mkhal ma*)
13. *hṛdayam*; *xin* 心, heart; T13. སྤྱི་ *snying*
14. *plihakam* (spleen); (no obvious corresponding term here in Chinese, which has 14. *dan* 膽, gall bladder and 15. *gan* 肝, liver; though, as mentioned above, if C22 is *pi* 脾, spleen, instead of *bi* 脾, buttocks/thigh, then ‘spleen’ does appear in Chinese, but in a different location on the list. ‘Liver’ is S20 [*yakṛt*] below, so the numbering and order between the differ-

- ent versions is beginning to diverge at this point. Tibetan has T14. མཚིན་པ་ *mchin pa*, liver)
15. *kloman*; [C15] *fei* 肺, lungs; T15. གློ་བ་ *glo ba*
 16. *antrāṇi*; [C16] *dachang* 大腸, large intestine; T17. གཉེ་མ་ *gnye ma*, colon
 17. *antraguṇaḥ*; [C17] *xiaochang* 小腸; T16. རྩུ་མ་ *rgyu ma*, intestines, bowels
(Tibetan reverses the order of large and small intestine)
 18. *āmāśayam* ‘digesting nutrients’; [C18] *shengcang* 生藏 ‘raw-storage’; T18. ཕོ་བ་ *pho ba*, stomach, ruminating stomach
 19. *pakvāśayam* ‘digested nutrients’; [C20] *shucang* 熟藏 ‘processed-storage’; T19. རྩང་ཀ་ *long ka*, intestines, entrails, guts
(It might be that the Tibetan interprets *āmāśayam* and *pakvāśayam* as basic and secondary stomachs, like a ruminating animal! But the Chinese has terms meaning ‘stomach’ and ‘bowels, entrails’ that do not correspond to anything in Sanskrit, so *pho ba* and *long ka* might be intended as parallels to those Chinese terms instead of shaky renderings of *āmāśayam* and *pakvāśayam*. If so, that might suggest that the Tibetan translators had an eye on the Chinese as well as the Sanskrit, or that a later redactor consulted the Chinese and modified accordingly. See below.)
 20. *yakṛt*; [C14] *gan* 肝, liver; cf. S14. *plīhakam*; Tibetan has T20. མཚོར་པ་ *mcher pa* here meaning spleen
 21. *purīṣam*; [C38] *shi* 屎, excrement; T21. ཕྱི་ས་ *phyi sa*
 22. *āśru*; [C36] *ti* 淚, tears; T22. མཚིམ་ *mchi ma*
 23. *svedaḥ*; [C37] *han* 汗, sweat (Tibetan has T23. རྩུ་ལ་ *rdul*, dirt particle [*rajas*] here, but since it had T5 གློ་བ་ *glog pa*, ulcer, sore, for *rajas* above, it is unclear how the translator duplicated *rajas* here or mistook *sveda* for *rajas*.)
(The Tibetan has T24. མཚིལ་མ་ *mchil ma*, saliva, here; the Chinese has C35. *tuō* 唾, saliva later; but the Sanskrit lacks any term for ‘saliva’)
 24. *kheṭaḥ*; [C34] *ti* 涕, nasal mucous; T25. སྩུབ་ས་ *snabs*
(How the next few items align is unclear)
 25. *śiṃghāṇakam*; [C30] *gao* 膏, greasy fat; T26. རྩག་ *zhag*, 1) grease, oil [liquid] fat/ butter; 2) body oil; 3) blood clot

26. *vasā* = marrow, fat, grease, lard, melted fat, any fatty or oily substance; [C31] *sui* 髓, marrow; T28. ཀྲང་ *rkang*, marrow
27. *lasikā* = watery humour in the body, lymph, serum; a tendon, muscle; [C30] *ji* 肌, muscle tissue (alt. *fei* 肥 = fat); T27. ལུས་ཅུ་ *chu s[e]r* = lymph fluid
28. *majjā* = marrow, urinary, semen producing; [C23] *shen* 腎, kidneys/testes (?)
29. *medaḥ*; C28. *fang* 肪, fat; T29. ཚེས་ *tshil*, grease, fat
30. *pittam* = 'heat' *doṣa*, 'bilious humours'; [C26] *re* 熱, heat/fever; T30. མཁྲིས་པ་ *mkhris pa*, bile
31. *śleṣmā* = 'phlegmatic' *doṣa*; [C27] *tan* 痰, phlegm/mucous; T31. བདུག་པ་ *bad kan*, phlegm
32. *pūyaḥ*; [C24] *nong* 膿, pus; T32. རྩ་གྲ་ *rnag*
33. *śoṇitam*; [C25] *xue* 血, blood; T33. ཁྲ་གྲ་ *khrag*
34. *mastakam*; [C32] *nao* 腦, brain; T34. བླ་སྤྱི་ *glad spri* = brain
35. *mastaka-luṅgam* = membrane of the brain; [C33] *mo* 膜, membrane; T35. བླ་སྤྱི་གྲ་ *glad rgyas*, brain membrane
36. *prasrāvaḥ*; [C39] *niao* 尿, urine; T36. བུའི་ཕྱི་ *gcin*, urine

The Chinese order, with attempted Sanskrit and Tibetan equivalents:

1. *fa* 髮, fine hair (*keśā*; T *skra*)
2. *mao* 毛, coarse hair (*romāṇi*; T *spu*)
3. *zhao* 爪, nails (*nakhā*; T *sen mo*)
4. *chi* 齒, teeth (*dantā*; T *so*)
5. *chen* 塵, dust (*rajo* = *rajas* = impurity, dirt, dust, any small particle of matter; the dust or pollen of flowers; T *glog pa* = ulcer, sore)
6. *gou* 垢, dirt (*malam* = [in med.] any bodily excretion or secretion (especially those of the *dhātus* q.v., described as phlegm from chyle, bile from the blood, nose mucus and ear wax from the flesh, perspiration from the fat, nails and hair from the bones, rheum of the eye from the brain); T *dri ma* = stain, taint)
7. *pi* 皮, skin (*tvak* = *tvac* = skin; T *pags pa*)
8. *rou* 肉, flesh (*māṁsam* = flesh, meat; T *stha*)
9. *hai* 骸, skeleton (*asthi* = a bone; T *rus pa*)

10. *gu* 骨, bones
(While the Chinese seems to list two separate ‘bone’ items, since the Sanskrit and Tibetan both only offer one ‘bone’ term, we should probably take *haigu* 骸骨 as a compound for ‘bones, skeleton’. That would reduce the count by one, but for this exercise we will follow the standard parsing and retain the non-compounded numbering. In the chart, I have treated *haigu* 骸骨 and renumbered accordingly, so the following numbers will be one number higher than the chart.)
11. *jin* 筋, muscles/tendons (*snāyu* = any sinew or ligament in the human and animal body, tendon, muscle, nerve, vein; [T10] *chu rgyus*)
12. *mai* 脈, blood vessels (*sirā* = any tubular vessel of the body, a nerve, vein, artery, tendon; [T11] *rtsa*, channels/vessels)
13. *xin* 心, heart ([*vrkkā*?]-*hrdayam* = the heart; [T12] *snying*)
14. *dan* 膽, gall bladder
(No term in Sanskrit or Tibetan corresponds. Sanskrit has *plihakam* = spleen; the Chinese alternate for C22 *bi* 脾 (thigh/buttocks) is *pi* 脾, spleen, and [T20] is *mcher pa*, spleen.)
15. *gan* 肝, liver ([S20] *yakṛt* = the liver; [T13] *mchin pa*, liver)
16. *fei* 肺, lungs ([S15] *kloman* = lungs; [T15] *glo ba*)
17. *dachang* 大腸, large intestine (*antrāṇi* = intestine, entrails; [T17] *gnye ma*)
18. *xiaochang* 小腸, small intestine (*antragunah*; [T16] *rgyu ma*)
19. *shengcang* 生藏, raw-storage (*āmāśayam* = latent nutrients being digested [no Tib])
20. *shucang* 熟藏, processed-storage (*pakvāśayam* = digested nutrients [no Tib])
21. *du* 肚, bowels/abdomen [no Skt, but [T19] *long ka*, intestines, entrails, guts]
22. *wei* 胃, stomach [no Skt, but [T18] *pho ba*, stomach]
23. *bi* 脾, buttocks/thigh [if *pi* 脾, then this would be spleen]
24. *shen* 腎, kidneys/testes (*majjā* ? = urinary, marrow producing semen [S28]; if intended as a translation for 12. *vrkkā* [S12]; [T12] *mkhal ma*, then the Chinese appears in an odd location.)
25. *nong* 膿, pus (*pūyaḥ* = pus [S32]; [T31] *rnag*)
26. *xue* 血, blood (*śoṇitam* = blood [S33]; [T33] *khrag*)

27. *re* 熱, heat/fever (*pittam* = the bilious humour (one of the three humours [cf. *kapha* and *vāyu*] or that secreted between the stomach and bowels and flowing through the liver and permeating spleen, heart, eyes, and skin; its chief quality is heat [S30]; [T30] *mkbris pa*, bile)
28. *tan* 痰, phlegm/mucous (*śleṣmā* = phlegm, mucus, rheum, the phlegmatic humour (one of the three humours of the body [S31]; T[31] *bad kan*, phlegm)
(The list includes two of the three *doṣas*: *pitta* and *śleṣmā*, but omits *kapha*. Both the Chinese and Tibetan offer interpretive translations: *pitta* = Chinese ‘heat’, Tibetan ‘bile’; *śleṣmā* = Chinese and Tibetan ‘phlegm’)
29. *fang* 肪, fat (*medaḥ* = fat [S29]; [T29] *tshil*)
30. *gao* 膏, greasy fat (*śiṃghāṇakam* [S25]; [T26] *zhag*)
31. *ji* 肌 [alt. *fei* 肥 = fat] muscle tissue (*lasikā* = watery humour in the body, lymph, serum; a tendon, muscle [S27]; [T27] *chu sar*)
32. *sui* 髓, marrow (*vasā* = marrow, fat, grease, lard, suet, melted fat, any fatty or oily substance; brain [S26])
(Tibetan has three terms indicating ‘fat, grease’, etc. and it is unclear which of the Sanskrit or Chinese terms indicating something similar each is meant to indicate: T26 *zhag*, T27a *chu sa*, T29 *tshil*)
33. *nao* 腦, brain (*mastakam* = the head, skull [S34]; [T34] *glad spri*)
34. *mo* 膜, membrane (*mastaka-lumgam* = the membrane of the brain [#35]; [T35] *glad rgyas*)
35. *ti* 涕, nasal mucous (*khetāḥ* = snot [S24]; [T25] *snabs*)
36. *tuo* 唾, saliva (Not in Sanskrit, but [T24] *mchil ma* = saliva)
37. *lei* 淚, tears (*asru* = tears [S22]; [T22] *mchi ma*)
38. *han* 汗, sweat (*svedaḥ* = sweat [S23]; omitted in T)
39. *shi* 屎, excrement (*purīṣam* = feces, excrement [S21]; [T21] *phyi sa*)
40. *niao* 尿, urine (*prasrāvaḥ* = urine [S36]; [T36] *gcin*)

如是等類, 名為依內朽穢不淨. These are what is called the basis of internal decay and impurity.

Two of the three *doṣas* appear, but *kapha* is omitted.

S30. *pittam* = ‘heat’ *doṣa*, ‘bilious humours’, [C27] *re* 熱, heat/fever

S31. *śleṣmā* = ‘phlegmatic’ *doṣa*, [C28] *tan* 痰, phlegm/mucous

Tibetan order:

(omits 1. *keśā*, *fa* 髮, fine hair)

1. སྤྱ་ *spu*, body hair (*romāṇi*)
2. སྐྱ་ *sen mo*, nails (*nakhā*)
3. སྐ་ *so*, tooth/teeth (*dantā*)
4. གློག་པ་ *glog pa*, ulcer, sore (for *rajas*)
5. དྲི་མ་ *dri ma*, stain, taint (for *malam*)
6. པག་པ་ *pags pa*, skin (*tvac/tvak*)
7. སྤ་ *stha*, flesh (*māṁsam*)
8. རུས་པ་ *rus pa*, bone (*asthi*)
9. ཇུ་རྒྱུས་ *chu rgyus*, sinews, ligaments (*snāyu*)
10. རྩ་ *rtsa*, channels/vessels (*sirā* = blood vessels)
11. མཁལ་མ་ *mkhal ma*, kidneys (*vṛkkā*)
12. སྙིང་ *snying*, heart (*hrdayam*)
 ([14] *dan* 膽, gall bladder: Neither the Sanskrit nor Tibetan mention gall bladder; gall bladder was an important organ system in Chinese medicine since ancient times, but unknown in Indian medicine until late medieval times.)
13. མཚན་པ་ *mchin pa*, liver (*yakṛt*)
14. གློ་བ་ *glo ba*, lungs (*kloman*)
15. རྩུ་མ་ *rgyu ma*, intestines, bowels (18. *xiaochang* 小腸, small intestine [*antragunah*])
16. གཤེན་ *gnye ma*, colon (17. *dachang* 大腸, large intestine [*antrāṇi* = intestine, entrails] reversing order of small and large intestines)
17. ཕོ་བ་ *pho ba*, stomach, ruminating stomach (replaces: [19] *shengcang* 生藏, life-store [*āmāśayam* = latent nutrients being digested]; [20] *shucang* 熟藏, maturation-store [*pakvāśayam* = digested nutrients])
18. རྩང་ཀ་ *long ka*, intestines, entrails, guts (*pakvāśayam*?)
 (Again, it might be that the Tibetan interprets *āmāśayam* and *pakvāśayam* as basic and secondary stomachs, like a ruminating animal. However, the Chinese lists, apart from *āmāśayam*

and *pakvāśayam*, have two items not found in Sanskrit, but that correspond to *pho ba* and *long ka*: C20. *du* 肚, bowels/abdomen and C21. *wei* 胃, stomach. This raises the possibility that the Sanskrit list as now extant is incomplete and that it originally contained terms for stomach and bowels, preserved in both Chinese and Tibetan, albeit is slightly different locations on the list. If so, then the Tibetan translation failed to include any equivalents for *āmāśayam* and *pakvāśayam*, which, given their somewhat unique technical application to Indian medical theory, may simply be a matter of prudently choosing to ignore terms too difficult to successfully translate. Comparable lists of ‘unpleasant’ body parts are already given in several *Nikāyas* (e.g. 29. *Udāyīsutta* of *Āṅguttara Nikāya* 6.3.29, *Bhāradvājasutta* of *Saṃyutta Nikāya* 35.13.127, etc.), which tend to include *udariyaṃ*, ‘undigested food’ or ‘stomach contents’, but do not list *āma* and *pakva* as distinct items, so *udariya* may have expanded into differing Sanskrit expanded versions.)

19. མཚེན་པ་ *mcher pa*, spleen
20. ཕྱི་སྤྱི་ *phyi sa*, excrement (*purīṣam*) (S21. in Sanskrit, C38. in Chinese)
21. མཚིམ་ *mchi ma*, tears (*aśru*)
22. རྩལ་ *rdul*, dirt particle (*rajas*) (This is where S23. *svedaḥ*, [C37] 汗 sweat appear)
23. མཚིལ་མ་ *mchil ma*, saliva
24. སྤྲུལ་སྤྱི་ *snabs*, nasal mucous (*kheṭaḥ*)
25. རྩམ་ *zhag*, grease, oil (liquid) fat/ butter; 2) body oil; 3) blood clot (*śiṃghāṇakam?* *lasikā?* *vasā?*)
26. རྩམ་ཅེ་ *chu ser* (S27. *lasikā* = watery humour in the body, lymph, serum)
27. རྩམ་ *rkang*, marrow (S26. **vasā?* S28. *majjā?*)
28. རྩམ་ *tshil*, grease, fat (S29. *medaḥ*; or *śiṃghāṇakam?* *lasikā?* *vasā?*)
29. མཚིམ་པ་ *mkhris pa*, bile (S30. *pitta*)
30. བད་ཀླ་ *bad kan*, phlegm (S31. *śleṣmā*)
31. རྩམ་ *rnag*, pus (S32. *pūyaḥ*)
32. རྩམ་ *khrag*, blood (S33. *śonitam*)
33. རྩམ་པ་ *glad spri*, brain (S34. *mastakam*)

34. གླེན་རྒྱུ་ *glad rgyas*, brain membrane (S35. *mastaka-luṅgam*)
 35. གཅིན་ *gcin*, urine (S36. *prasrāvah*)

Why the discrepancies? Some can be attributed to accommodating differences in medical and anatomical understandings between the three cultures during the times of translation. While the gall bladder played an important role in Chinese medicine as one of the internal organ systems, Indian sources fail to mention it at all until much later than the time when the *Yogācārabhūmi* was written. Why would Xuanzang add the gall bladder when the Sanskrit never mentioned it? Perhaps to meet expectations of his Chinese audience, with their knowledge of medicine and anatomy, so that they wouldn't raise doubts about limitations in Indian medical knowledge, and by extension, of other basic components of reality. That of course doesn't explain the other discrepancies, and the rearrangement of the order. Similar lists of bodily impurities appear in other Buddhist texts, and they tend to vary from each other in some details, so it is not inconceivable that Xuanzang's Sanskrit text was different from the version that came down to us. But there are too many to simply attribute it to that. Again, to find a Sanskrit text mentioning a gall bladder would have been anomalous at that time.

Our task here is not to solve the incommensurables between these three lists, but merely to point out that Xuanzang's version is not a one-for-one strictly literal version of what he read in Sanskrit. In addition to listing items in a different order, he included an item important in Chinese medicine at that time but unknown in Indian medicine: the gall bladder.

Turning to the next list, which is shorter, discrepancies again appear, and, once again, the Chinese list is longer than the Sanskrit.

These are types of *vyāyāma*, 'exertions', or, as the context makes clear, forms of strenuous exercise. Xuanzang renders *vyāyāma* with the unusual term *juewu* 角武 (combative martial exercises). One presumes he intends *jue* (second tone) rather than *jiao* ('horn') meaning 'dispute, contend, fight over', rather than 'horn', so that the compound *jue wu* would mean something like physical competitions that might have applications in combat. We will return to the 'martial' implication once the list has been presented.

The passage reads:

隨力隨能，食噉肥膩。增房補益，色香味具，精妙飲食。過今夜分，至於明日，於角武事，當有力能。所謂按摩，拍毬托石，跳躑蹴蹋，攘臂扼腕，揮戈擊劍，伏弩控弦，投輪擲索。依如是等，諸角武事。當得勇健，膚體充實。長夜無病，久時少壯。不速衰老，壽命長遠。能多噉食，數數食已。能正消化，除諸疾患。如是為於無病憍逸，少壯憍逸。長壽憍逸，而食所食。既角武已，復作是思。²³

But here we are only concerned with the actual list of exercises. 於角武事，當有力能。所謂按摩、拍毬、托石、跳躑、蹴蹋、攘臂、扼腕、揮戈、擊劍、伏弩、控弦、投輪、擲索。依如是等，諸角武事。 The corresponding Sanskrit passage reads: *pratibalā vyāyāmakaraṇaḥ, yadutātatikriyayā vā, nirghātena, vyāyāmasilayā vā, ulloṭhanena vā, pṛthivikhātena vā, bāhuvyāyāmena vā, pādāvaṣṭambhanena vā, plavanena vā laṅghanena vā cakravvyāyāmena vā / taṃ ca punar vyāyāmaṃ...*

The following chart aligns them to the extent they can be aligned.

	Sanskrit	Sanskrit meaning	Wayman's rendering	Chinese meaning	Chinese
1	<i>vyāyāmakaraṇaḥ</i>	Combative strenuous exercise	the skill of athletic exercise ²⁴	Combative martial activities / exercises, by which one becomes strong	<i>Juewu shi dang you linceng</i> 角武事當有力能
2	<i>yaduta ātatikriyayā vā</i>	Drawing a bow Cf. L and M	drawing [the bow]		B
3	<i>nirghātena</i>	'destroying' (sic) (<i>nirghāta</i> 'destroy' > <i>nirgharṣaṇa</i> ? 'rubbing, friction' ²⁵)	rubbing [the body]	massage	<i>anmo</i> 按摩

²³ *Yuqieshi di lun*, T no. 1579, 30: 23.409c8–17.

²⁴ This column follows Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakabhūmi Manuscript*, 156.

	Sanskrit	Sanskrit meaning	Wayman's rendering	Chinese meaning	Chinese	
4	<i>vyāyāmaśīlayā vā</i>	<i>vyāyāmaśīlayā</i> = exercising with a stone, Cf. E	lifting the contest stone		[see E]	
5	<i>ulloṭhanena vā</i>	Rolling on the ground?		Kicking a ball to prevent it from dropping	<i>paiju</i> 拍毬	D
6	<i>prthivikhātēna vā</i>	Excavating, digging up the ground	digging the soil	Carrying stones (weight lifting)	<i>tuoshi</i> 托石	E
7	<i>bāhuvyāyāmena vā</i>	Exercising arms (or upper body) = H 攘臂	contesting with arm	Leaping, jumping	<i>tiaozhi</i> 跳躑	F
8	<i>pādāvaṣṭambhanena vā</i>	Kicking (lit. resolute foot) (= I stomping)	running	Kicking and stomping	<i>cuta</i> 蹴蹋	G
9	<i>plavanena vā</i>	swimming	swimming	Raising hands (to fight); roll up sleeves to fight, to force others, cf. WB-DDJ 38	<i>rangbi</i> 攘臂	H
10	<i>laṅghanena vā</i>	Leaping, jumping over = F 蹴蹋	jumping	Stomping = <i>pādāvaṣṭambhana</i> ?	<i>ewan</i> 扼腕	I
				Brandishing a spear	<i>huige</i> 揮戈	J
				Fencing (lit. striking with a sword)	<i>jijian</i> 擊劍	K
				Loading a crossbow	<i>funu</i> 伏弩	L

²⁵ Wayman suggests *nirghātēna* > *nirghaṭṭēna*.

Sanskrit	Sanskrit meaning	Wayman's rendering	Chinese meaning	Chinese
			Drawing a bow	<i>kongxian</i> M 控弦
11 <i>cakravyāyāmena vā</i>	Wheel exercise	or contesting there	Throwing a wheel, discus?	<i>toulun</i> N 投輪
			Casting a rope	<i>zhisuo</i> O 擲索

Alex Wayman's translation of the relevant portion:²⁶

Not for the purpose of intoxication, not for the purpose of smartening, not for the purpose of embellishment means—a case in point—those with enjoyment of passions, who eat food thinking: ‘Today we are eating food that is of large quantity, has oily power as satisfying as possible, is nourishing, nutritious, has perfect color, perfect odor, perfect taste, is heated. When night is past, we shall be capable, be powerful, have the skill of athletic exercise, namely, for drawing [the bow], rubbing [the body], lifting the contest stone, digging the soil, contesting with arm, running, swimming, jumping, or contesting there; and, furthermore, having taken recourse to that athletic exercise, we shall be strong, have athletic bodies, be free from illness for serious purposes (*dīkṣam*); and for a long time that strength will cleave to us, and not speedily will disfigurements overcome the body of old age; and we shall live for a very long time, and we shall be able to eat much; and there will be proper transformation of what is eaten, and there will be effected a reduction of faults.’ Thus one eats for the purpose of intoxication with freedom from illness, intoxication with youth, intoxication with life.

Wayman seems to understand *pādāvaṣṭambhanena* as ‘running’

²⁶ Wayman, *Analysis of the Śrāvakaḥūmi Manuscript*, 156.

and, I think perhaps correctly, *plavana* as ‘swimming’ (one of its meanings, others being jumping, stooping over, etc.), though Xuanzang doesn’t mention swimming (he has two different compounds which each suggest jumping, so he seems to have read *plavana* and *laṅghana* as two types of jumping). Wayman seems to ignore *cakra-vyāyāmena* (wheel exercise?) or simply takes it as ‘contesting’.

Now, for contrast, we offer a chart that follows the Chinese order of items. That, as with the example of the body parts, the lists are so misaligned that cross-referencing the Sanskrit and Chinese is not simple, is the main point.

The chart follows Xuanzang’s order:

於角武事 當有力能	One will become strong through combative ²⁷ martial activities	<i>pratibālā</i> <i>vyāyāmakaraṇaḥ</i> ,	One is strengthened by strenuous exercise
所謂 1 按摩	<i>anmo</i> massage	<i>Nirghātena</i> (2) (<i>nirgharṣaṇa</i> ?) ²⁸	‘massage’ (rubbing the body)
2 拍毬	<i>paiju</i> Kicking a ball to prevent it from dropping		
3 托石	<i>tuoshi</i> Carrying a stone (weight lifting)	<i>vyāyāmaśīlayā vā</i> , (3)	
		<i>ullothanena vā</i> , (4) <i>prthivīkḥātena vā</i> (5)	Rolling around, digging
4 跳躑	<i>tiaozhi</i> leaping, jumping	<i>plavanena</i> (8) <i>vā</i> <i>laṅghanena</i> (9) <i>vā</i>	Swimming, jumping

²⁷ As explained above, 角 when pronounced *jue* rather than the more common *jiao*, means ‘dispute, contend, fight over’; sv. 角 in Kroll, *Student’s Dictionary*.

²⁸ *Nirghātena* (‘destruction’) is clearly an error, probably for something like *nirgharṣaṇa*, since the Chinese and Tibetan suggest the term means massage or body rub. Wayman suggests that *nirghātena* be changed to *nirghaṭṭena*, I’m guessing to derive from *āghaṭṭana*, friction, rubbing. *lus mnye ba* means to rub the skin, i.e., massage and *anmo* 按摩 clearly means ‘massage’.

於角武事 當有力能	One will become strong through combative martial activities	<i>pratibalā</i> <i>vyāyāmakaraṇaḥ</i> ,	One is strengthened by strenuous exercise
5 蹴蹋	<i>cuta</i> kicking and stomping	<i>pādāvaṣṭambhanena</i> <i>vā</i> (7)	Running?
6 攘臂	<i>rangbi</i> Bare arms to fight	<i>bāhuvyāyāmena vā</i> (6)	Exercising arms (or upper body)
7 扼腕	<i>ewan</i> grabbing the wrists		Grappling?
8 揮戈	<i>huige</i> Brandishing spears		
9 擊劍	<i>jijian</i> Striking with a sword (fencing)		
10 伏弩	<i>funu</i> Pulling a crossbow	<i>yadutātatikriyayā</i> <i>vā</i> , (1)	
11 控弦	<i>kongxian</i> Drawing a long bow	ditto	
12 投輪	<i>toulun</i> Throwing a wheel	<i>cakravyāyāmena vā</i> (10)	Wheel exercise
13 擲索	<i>zhisuo</i> Casting rope		

Xuanzang lists twelve things, the Sanskrit only has ten. The order in the Sanskrit is in parentheses after the Sanskrit term. But with this list, the additional Chinese items are easier to explain. The extra two can be attributed to Xuanzang splitting two items into two separate items: ‘drawing a bow’ he splits into drawing a crossbow and drawing a longbow, and the upper-body or arm work he breaks into what may be boxing and wrestling. There are items with no parallels — the Sanskrit terms for rolling around and digging have no Chinese counterpart, and the Chinese *paiju* 拍毬 has no obvious Sanskrit counterpart. *Plavana* has several meanings, including to jump and to swim.

Xuanzang seems to have perhaps taken the former meaning, while it is possibly the latter was implied by Asaṅga.

For good measure, here is the Tibetan counterpart:

༄༅། འདོད་པ་ལ་ལོངས་སྤྱོད་པར་བྱེད་ལ། དེ་དག་ཉིད་ལྟར་བདག་ཅག་དེང་འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ། ཟས་སྦྱས་
པ་འདོད་པའི་འདོད་ཆགས་སྦྱེད་པ། འཕེལ་བར་བྱེད་པ། བསོད་པ། ལ་དོག་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚྏགས་པ། ཇི་
ཕུན་སུམ་ཚྏགས་པ། རོ་ཕུན་སུམ་ཚྏགས་པ་མངའ་པོ་དག་གཡོས་བྱོད་ཀྱིས་ཅི་རྣམས་སུ་བློས་ཏེ། ཆོས་
པར་བྱས་ནས་ངན་སངས་ལངས་པར་བྱུང་པ་ན་མཐུ་དང་ལྡན་པར་འབྱུང་ཞིང་འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ། གཞུ་དག་པ་བཟུ་
ལུས་མཉེ་བཟུ། རྟོག་དེག་པ་བཟུ། ཇི་ལ་བཟུ། ས་བཞོ་བཟུ། སྟོབས་བཞུ་བཟུ། ཀླང་འབྱོག་
བྱ་བཟུ། རྒྱག་པ་བཟུ། རྒྱལ་བཟུ། མཆོང་བཟུ། འཁར་ལོ་འཕང་བའི་བཟུ་བ་བྱེད་རྣམས་པར་
འབྱུང་ཏེ། བཟུལ་བ་དེལ་བརྟེན་ནས་མཐུ་དང་ལྡན་པ་དང་། ལུས་ཤིན་ཏུ་བཅགས་པ་དང་། ཡུན་རིང་
དུ་ནད་རྣམས་མེད་པར་འབྱུང་བ་དང་། བདག་ཅག་གི་ལང་ཆོ་ཡུན་རིང་དུ་རྩེས་སུ་འཕྱག་པར་འབྱུང་བ་
དང་། མི་སྦྱག་པར་བྱེད་པའི་རྒྱ་བས་ལུས་སྦྱར་དུ་བྱིས་མི་ལོན་པར་འབྱུང་བ་དང་། ཤིན་ཏུ་ཡུན་རིང་
དུ་འཆོ་བར་འབྱུང་བ་དང་། མང་དུ་བློས་ན་ཡང་ཤིན་ཏུ་སྟོབས་དང་ལྡན་པར་འབྱུང་བ་དང་། བློས་སོ་ཅོག་
ཀྱང་ལེགས་པར་ཡོངས་སུ་འཕྱུང་བར་འབྱུང་བ་དང་། སྦྱོན་རྣམས་ཀྱང་སེལ་བར་བྱེད་པར་འབྱུང་རོ་ཞེས་
དེའི་དོན་དུ་བས་བར་བྱེད་པ་དེ་ནི། ནད་མེད་པས་རྒྱགས་པ་དང་། ལང་ཆོས་རྒྱགས་པ་དང་། གསོན་
པས་རྒྱགས་པའི་དོན་དུ་བ་ཡིན་ནོ། དེ་དག་ཡང་འདི་སྦྱུམ་དུ་སེམས་ཏེ། བདག་ཅག་གིས་བཟུལ་
བར་བྱས་ཟིན་པས། ལུས་ཀྱི་ཆོག་དག་བྱས་ཏེ། འདི་ལྟ་སྟེ། རྒྱག་ཅང་མས་ལག་པ་དག་བཟུ་བར་བྱ་
ཞིང་། ལུས་དག་བཟུས་ནས་སྒྲ་དག་ཀྱང་བཅོས་པར་བྱ། རྒྱག་པ་སྦྱ་ཆོགས་ཀྱིས་ལུས་དག་བྱུགས་ལ།
གོས་སྦྱ་ཆོགས་དང་། མེ་ཏྲོག་ཕྱེང་བ་སྦྱ་ཆོགས་དང་། རྒྱན་སྦྱ་ཆོགས་དག་གིས་ལུས་བརྒྱན་པར་བྱའོ་
སྦྱུམ་དུ་སེམས་ཏེ། དེལ་ལུས་དང་། བཅོས་པ་དང་། རྒྱགས་པ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ནི་དེ་དག་གི་སྒྲིག་པ་ཡིན་
ནོ། དེ་ལྟར་སྒྲིག་པར་བྱུང་པ་དག་གོས་དང་། མེ་ཏྲོག་ཕྱེང་དང་། རྒྱན་དག་ཐོགས་པ་གང་ཡིན་པ་དེ་ནི་
བརྒྱན་པ་ཞེས་བྱ་སྟེ། དེ་ལྟར་ན་སྒྲིག་པའི་དོན་དང་བརྒྱན་པའི་དོན་²⁹

²⁹ D 4036: vol. 128, folio 34a.

Extracting the terms we are concerned with:

gzbu dgang ba = *ātati-kriyā*
lus mnye ba = *nirgata. aṅga-prapīḍana*
rdo gdeg pa = *vyāyāma-śilā*
dril ba = to roll/ twirl/ spin; to roll/ coil up; to blend
sa brko ba = excavation
stobs = strong, power
brgal ba = overcoming
rkang 'khyog bya ba (lit. 'activities lifting the foot') =
pādāvaṣṭambhana
rgyug pa = to run, a stick
rgyal ba = conqueror, *jina*; winning
mchong ba = *laṅghana* = jump, rush, dash, hop, leap, plunge,
 pounce, skip, vault, leap up, bathe in water

I am not sure what to make of *rkang 'khyog bya ba* which seems more to suggest carrying bundles of earth than 'running'. Could *brgal pa* means something like leaping over, jumping over? *rgyal ba* seems to simply mean 'winning' (in sports, betting, war, etc.). *rgyug pa* would mean to run. *rdo gdeg pa* clearly means to lift stones. If *brgal pa* and *mchong ba* both mean types of jumping, then the Tibetan, like Xuanzang, sees two types. The Tibetan obviously omits the wheel toss.

The Tibetan list of exercises seems to contain ten items, like the Sanskrit, and tracks closer to the Sanskrit than Xuanzang's version. It is obvious that Wayman was relying on the Tibetan for help with his Sanskrit.

What is curious is that Xuanzang's version is more 'martial' than the other two, and explicitly declares itself such by using the term *wu* 武, 'martial, war'. While the Sanskrit is not devoid of martial mentions (it does mention drawing a bow), Xuanzang frames the exercise as 'martial' (武) and competitive fighting (*jue* 角; 角武 = martial arts), and includes martial items with no Sanskrit counterparts: raise hands to fight (*rangbi* 攘臂), grabbing the wrists (grappling?) (*ewan* 扼腕), brandishing a spear (*huige* 揮戈), strike with a sword (*jijian* 擊劍), pull a crossbow (*funu* 伏弩), drawing a bow (*kongxuan* 控弦), throwing a wheel (?) (*toulun* 投輪), casting a rope (*zhisuo* 擲索).³⁰ Per-

³⁰ One possible explanation for Xuanzang tilting the passage toward a martial account might be the following passage from the *Mahāparinirvāṇa sūtra* which prohibits a variety of activities, including visiting military camps or engaging in martial-like competitive or strengthening sports (I wish to thank Mark Blum for generously sharing his soon to be published translation of this passage, along with his annotations, though I present my own translation here):

...[Do not use fancy pillows]. Finally, don't watch elephant competitions, horse competitions (i.e., races), cart competition (races), weapons competitions, men competing, women competing, or bull fights, sheep fights, competitions between water buffalos, or cock fights, or pheasant fights, nor should you go to watch military encampments. You shouldn't therefore listen to the musical tones (*jīyue zhisheng* 伎樂之聲) of clattering shells (*chuíbei* 吹貝), drum and horn (*gǔjué* 鼓角 [used in military activities, like drum and bugle], *qín* 琴 and *se* 瑟 (stringed musical instruments), *zhēng* 箏 (zither with from 5 to 16 strings; Jp: *koto*), flute 笛, *konghou* 箏篳 (Chinese harp), or sing songs of praise (*gējiao* 歌叫), except when making offerings to the Buddha.

Competitions (*dou* 鬪) between game-masters (*shizi* 師子) of games (*xi* 戲) like playing dice (*chupu* 擲蒲 = Indian dice game *chaupar*), entrapment chess-like games (*weqi* 圍碁), and Indian chess (*boluosai* 波羅塞 = *prāsaka*, *prasena*?), shooting chess (*danqi* 彈碁, Mark Blum explains this is 'Described as a game of two opposing teams each originally having 6 pieces, white and black, that are laid out facing each other and pebbles are tossed or rolled to knock over the opponent's pieces. The number expands to 16 in the Wei period, and 24 in the Tang. The edge of a hand-towel is used in some manner to brush away the chips'; involving polished stones *dan* 彈 and a board *qi* 碁), Six stacks (*liubo* 六博, a board game played with 15 white and black pieces pitted against each other. Six sticks were thrown to determine each move, performing the function of dice. It came to Japan from China prior to the Nara period.), *paiju* 拍毬 kicking a ball, *zhishi* 擲石 hurling stones, *toubu* 投壺 (ancient banquet game of throwing arrows into a pot, the winner determined by the number of arrows thrown in, and the loser required to drink as punishment), *qiandao* 牽道 sport of pulling/dragging (probably 道 here is like the *dō* in *ken-dō*, *ju-dō*, *karate-dō*, etc.), *badao xingcheng* 八道行成 practicing to perfect the eight sports. One shouldn't watch or engage in any such games.

haps the Sanskrit upper body and arm exercises could be paired with *rangbi* 攘臂, but the Sanskrit only mentions drawing a bow without distinguishing between cross-bows and long bows, and there is nothing in the Sanskrit about spear/halbert or sword forms or sparring. Exactly what the ‘wheel exercise’ or ‘wheel toss’ was—whether something like a discus, or doing something with a larger wheel or something like a medicine ball, etc.—is unclear. I am not familiar with any specific exercise in either Chinese or Indian traditions by that name. It may be that Xuanzang is drawing on contemporary martial exercises. If so, then the vocabulary for such things likely changed over time, so later texts would designate these or similar exercises with different labels. Clearly the fuller passage begins with a discussion of food, moves to exercise, then talks about getting strong and fit, being free from disease and living a long time as a result.

As for translation stylistics, Xuanzang seems willing to adjust his translation for his intended audience, and even editorialize and embellish for affect. His renderings are usually ‘accurate’ in the sense of conveying the basic meaning, but may stray from strict adherence to the details of original Sanskrit. All translators into Chinese did so to varying degrees as well.

Finally, one shouldn’t examine physical features such as hand and foot or face (i.e. fortune telling by examining physical features; physiognomy and phrenology). ... [then names and prohibits types of divination]. And no gazing at the stars in admiration (i.e. astrology 亦不仰觀虛空星宿), except when one wishes to go to sleep. [No tales of royalty, etc.]. Finally, no self-aggrandizement through flattery or nefarious plots against others’ lives... 其床兩頭, 不置二枕. 亦不受畜妙好丹枕, 安黃木枕. 終不觀看象, 鬪馬、鬪車、鬪兵、鬪男、鬪女、鬪牛、鬪羊、鬪水、牛、鷄、雉、鸚鵡等鬪; 亦不故往觀看軍陣, 不應故聽吹貝、鼓角、琴瑟、箏笛、箜篌、歌叫、伎樂之聲, 除供養佛. 搏菹園碁波羅塞戲、師子象鬪、彈碁六博、拍毬擲石、投壺牽道、八道行成. 一切戲笑, 悉不觀作. 終不瞻相手脚面目, 不以抓鏡、芝草、楊枝、鉢盂、觸體而作卜筮. 亦不仰觀, 虛空星宿, 除欲解睡. 不作王家往返使命, 以此語彼, 以彼語此. 終不諛諂, 邪命自活. (*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經, T no. 374, 12: 11.433a7–21)

Important Terms

The prior examples, with the possible exception of ‘empty of *svabhāva*’, are more a reflection of cultural differences than issues with implications for core Buddhist ideas. The new vocabulary introduced by Xuanzang, on the other hand, frequently signaled philosophical nuances that he sought to express more clearly with better semantic equivalents. One way that the differences and overlaps between Paramārtha and Xuanzang’s equivalents can be studied is to work through Hirakawa’s *Abhidharmakośa-bhāṣya* indexes. There are hundreds of terms to examine, and it becomes clear that for both translators, one-to-one equivalences were not their desideratum, since both rendered Sanskrit terms with varying Chinese terms, as well as using the same Chinese term for different Sanskrit words. What does become evident, however, when one compares Xuanzang’s rendering of *Kośa* passages against Paramārtha’s previous translations, Xuanzang sometimes echoes Paramārtha even when he seems to know a different rendering is in order, reflecting the lasting influence of Paramārtha’s version on his own understanding of the *Kośa*. Scholars have noted that at times Paramārtha’s translation of the *Kośa* adheres more closely to the Sanskrit than Xuanzang’s. As his Biography points out when discussing his early studies of the *Kośa* in China: ‘He studied with such profundity that he could comprehend subtle meanings and reveal what was hidden in the texts when others failed to reach it. On more than one abstruse point he had his own particular views’ (see fn. 17 above). But nothing as complex or in depth as analyzing the gamut of terminology in Hirakawa’s index will be attempted here. Instead a few well known examples will have to suffice.

Earlier translators, such as Paramārtha, did not clearly distinguish between various cognates and derivatives of the root *√kṣp* which forms important terms such as *vikalpa*, *kalpanā*, *kalpita*, *parikalpa/parikalpita*, etc., using *fenbie* 分別 for all of them on many occasions, despite the different connotations and implications of each. Since *fenbie* graphically evokes ‘knives’, it is often taken to mean ‘discrimination’, ‘cutting apart’ something whole. So many passages that criticize *fenbie* come to be understood and translated as advocating ‘non-discrimination’, a kind of thoughtless or less-than-discerning

fuzziness to replace recognizing distinctions. But *vikalpa* often *doesn't* mean discrimination in Buddhist and especially Yogācāra contexts, but something more akin to misguided imagining, superimposing a mistaken presupposition. *Kalpanā* means conceptualizing. *Parikalpa/parikalpita* takes the prefix *pari-* which means to encircle, surround, to emphasize that this kind of *vikalpa* becomes immersive, ubiquitous. So when Paramārtha translates *parikalpita-svabhāva* or *parikalpita lakṣaṇa* as 分別(自)性, it gives the impression that the problem is making distinctions, which is not the case. The problem is imposing erroneous misconceptions, false imagining, not the ability to distinguish a door from a wall, or healthy from unhealthy food, or wholesome from unwholesome behaviors. To bring this out, Xuanzang replaced that translation with *bianji suozhi xing* 遍計所執性 ‘pervasive presuppositions that are held’ or ‘immersed in speculative (erroneous) opinions to which one is attached’. For *parikalpita* Bodhiruci had used 分別虛妄(體相), which at least had the merit of signaling that something ‘erroneous’ (*xuwang* 虛妄) was involved, but again implying to a Chinese reader that the problem was discrimination rather than false imagination.

Comparing Xuanzang’s rendering of the *trisvabhāva* terms brings out some of their differences as well as their affinities:

parikalpita-svabhāva = XZ 遍計所執性 = P. 分別性
paratantra-svabhāva = XZ 依他起性 = P. 依他性
pariniṣpanna-svabhāva = XZ 圓成實性 = P. 實實性

Their rendering of *paratantra* is close. Paramārtha’s incidentally is more literally accurate, since *para-tantra* literally means ‘dependent on other’, which 依他 captures. Xuanzang adds 起 (依他起) to emphasize that the dependence is causal, ‘produced in dependence on an other’. This is in line with Yogācāra’s associating *paratantra* with *pratītya-samutpāda*. Paramārtha’s 實實性 for *pariniṣpanna-svabhāva* certainly emphasizes its superlative nature, but loses the sense of achievement or the fulfilling of a process which the grammatical suffix *-anna* signals in Sanskrit, whereas the *cheng* 成 in Xuanzang’s version captures that, as well as the sense of bringing something to perfection, becoming consummate.

A simpler example is replacing *yin* 陰, which earlier translators used for *skandha*, with *yun* 蘊. Even when not viewed as the counterpart to *yang* 陽, *yin*'s meanings (dark, hidden, etc.) do not correspond very well with *skandha*, which means an aggregate or heap, like a pile of straw neatly stacked. *Yun* on the other hand means to gather, collect, etc., which is much closer. *Yun*'s meanings include: collect; bring together; raise; contain; hide; deep; hidden; mysterious; abstruse; (Traditional Chinese Medicine) unhealthy fermentation inside the body. Altogether a very evocative rendering for *skandha*, containing both the literal sense and the more Buddhist connotations.³¹

Earlier translators had used *yin* 陰, *ru* 入, *jie* 界 for the basic categories *skandha*, *āyatana*, *dhātu*, i.e., the five aggregates, twelve sense-spheres, and eighteen basic factors of experience (six sense faculties, six corresponding sense-spheres, and six-corresponding consciousnesses). Xuanzang's equivalents for the three categories are *yun* 蘊, *chu* 處, *jie* 界. The earlier *ru* 入 (lit. 'enter') for *āyatana* probably was meant to imply that the senses are the means by which information 'enters' one's awareness. But *āyatana*, which in Sanskrit means a sphere or domain, indicates both the sense faculties (*indriya*) and their corresponding sense-fields (*viśaya*), a notion better envisioned by 處, a *locus* in which sensation occurs.

Transcriptions

Like his predecessors, Xuanzang proposed new transcriptions for the sounds of Indic words. If one reads the travel accounts of Buddhist pilgrims over the centuries, they invariably 'correct' the transcriptions of place names and personal names that their predecessors had used, often declaring the predecessors' renderings 'false', unaware that the phonetic value of Chinese characters altered over time and from region to region. Kūkai 空海 (774–835), in his commentary on the *Heart Sūtra*, evaluates the various Chinese versions available to him,

³¹ Cf. Ricci Association, '蘊'.

his main criticism of Xuanzang's version being that its concluding mantra is useless since it mispronounces the power-sounds of the Sanskrit. Nonetheless, if one listens even today to Koreans chanting the *Heart Sūtra* using Xuanzang's version, one will hear something very close to *gate gate paragate parasamgate bodhi svāhā*, whereas the modern mandarin pronunciation of the mantra is, as Kūkai complains, far from the Sanskrit sounds it is meant to invoke.

I will only discuss one example of a transcription change since, as far as I can tell, no one has addressed this adequately yet. The term *ālayavijñāna* is a signature Yogācāra concept. Prior to Xuanzang there was either the translation used by Guṇabhadra in his translation of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*: *zangshi* 藏識 which he presumably used to highlight its relation in that text to the *tathāgatagarbha* (*rulaizang* 如來藏), the latter being covered over (*zang*) by the *ālaya* which receives the coarse obscurations from the *vāsanās* produced by the other consciousnesses. Or, it was transcribed, as by Bodhiruci and Paramārtha, as 阿梨耶識 or 阿黎耶識, the latter the more frequently occurring.³² At some point, apparently around the time of the Sui or early Tang, the pronunciation of the second character shifted. It had originally been *lai* or something close—and that pronunciation is still preserved in Cantonese and some other dialects. It had drifted from *lai* to *li*. So it was no longer an adequate phonetic sign. Some were now sounding out 阿黎耶識 as 'ā-li-ye shi', instead of approximating *ālaya*. Xuanzang replaced 黎/梨 with *lai* 賴. Thus 阿賴耶識 phonetically renewed rather than replaced its predecessors, so Chinese would continue to pronounce it as *ālaya* rather than *aliya*.

However, since the phonetic value apparently shifted around the beginning of the Tang, texts that preserved the earlier graph were read with the shifted value and that was preserved in Korean and

³² 阿梨耶, which most standard modern discussions use, actually appears only once in Paramārtha's version of the *Shelun*: 復次此識於聲聞乘由別名如來曾顯, 如增一阿含經言, '於世間喜樂阿梨耶、愛阿黎耶、習阿黎耶、著阿黎耶, 為滅阿黎耶'. (T no. 1593, 31: 1.114b26–29)

Note the variants for *li* 梨 here, 阿黎耶識 or 阿黎耶 are found many times in this text.

Japanese. That led to some confusion over the centuries, reflected not just in the continued use of ‘aliya’ even today by some when discussing the eighth consciousness, but it even motivated certain scholars to attempt to derive a Sanskrit etymology for *ālīya*—although no such word exists in Sanskrit.

A most pronounced form of this misconception—this *parikalpita*—is demonstrated in an early essay by D. T. Suzuki, titled ‘Philosophy of the Yogācāra’ that appeared in 1904 in *Le Muséon*.³³ In this essay, Suzuki posited that the original Sanskrit term was *ālīya-vijñāna*, and only later became *ālaya-vijñāna*, apparently misled by the history of the transcriptions and their modern Japanese (and Mandarin) pronunciations. Interestingly, L. de la Vallée Poussin, an editor of the journal, adds in a footnote in French that no such Sanskrit term as *ālīya* is known to him. He apparently urged Suzuki to defend the claim, so Suzuki added a ‘note additionelle’ at the end of his essay (page 385) spelling out his theory of *ālīya* > *ālaya*. Tellingly, in his later writings the term *ālīya* never appears; he had learned that *ālaya* was always the Sanskrit term. It is not clear if he knew that 阿黎耶識 had, at least during the sixth century, been pronounced *ālaya shi*, and not *ālīya-shi*, even though one of the popular ways 黎 is still pronounced in Japanese is *rei* (= Ch. *lai*).

³³ Suzuki, ‘Philosophy of the Yogācāra’.

Appendix I

Heart Sūtra Discrepancies Analysis

The issue of the missing phrase gets complicated when one compares the various Chinese editions. It is also missing in the Kumārajīva version, and neither Kuiji nor Wōnch'ūk mention it in their commentaries, though Wōnch'ūk in particular in several places not only compares Xuanzang's with Kumārajīva's, but also says that he consulted the Sanskrit original. However, the Dunhuang version (Stein collection, S. 700, included in *T* no. 256), which transcribes the Sanskrit in Chinese characters, and claims this is the version of the Cī'en master, i.e., Xuanzang (not Kuiji, as some have claimed), does include the first phrase.³⁴

If we compare how the different Chinese translations of the *Heart Sūtra* present these two or three lines, similarities and differences become evident. In addition to the *Heart Sūtra* versions by Kumārajīva and Xuanzang, there are:

Pubian zhibang bore boluomiduo xin jing 普遍智藏般若波羅蜜多心經 (*T* no. 252) translated by Dharmacandra (Fayue 法月 [653–743]) in 738;

Boreboluomiduo xin jing 般若波羅蜜多心經 (*T* no. 253) translated by Prajña (Bore 般若 [fl. 741–798]) and Liyan 利言 (*Candra [?], c. 707–788+), etc., ca. 790;

Boreboluomiduo xin jing 般若波羅蜜多心經 (*T* no. 255) translated by Facheng 法成 in the early ninth century;

Boreboluomiduo xin jing 般若波羅蜜多心經 (*T* no. 254) translated by Prajñācakra (Zhihuilun 智慧輪 [?–876]) in the mid-ninth century;

Foshuo shengmu boreboluomiduo xin jing 佛說聖佛母般若波羅蜜多經 (*T* no. 257) translated by Dānapāla (Shihu 施護 [fl. 970s]) ca. 1005.

³⁴ Cf. Hurvitz, 'Hsüan-tsang and the Heart Scripture'; and Chen, 'On Xuanzang's Transliterated Version of the Sanskrit *Prajñāpāramitābhāṣyaśūtra*'.

To quickly compare the passage in question, the translated by Dharmacandra reads:

Addressing *Śāriputra*: ‘Bodhisattvas and Mahāsattvas should learn as follows: The nature of form [= **rūpatva*] is emptiness, the nature of emptiness is form. Form is not different from emptiness; emptiness is not different from form. Form precisely is emptiness, emptiness precisely is form. Hedonic tone, associative thinking, embodied-conditioning and consciousness are also like this.’

於斯告舍利弗，“諸菩薩摩訶薩應如是學。色性是空，空性是色，色不異空，空不異色。色即是空，空即是色。受、想、行、識亦復如是。”³⁵

So Dharmacandra includes all three lines found in the received Sanskrit, including the first line, omitted by Kumārajīva and Xuanzang.

Prajña and *Candra has:

Śāriputra, form is not different from emptiness, emptiness is not different from form. Form precisely is emptiness, emptiness precisely is form; also likewise for hedonic tone, associative thinking, embodied-conditioning and consciousness.

舍利子！色不異空，空不異色。色即是空，空即是色。受、想、行、識亦復如是。³⁶

Both the Dharmacandra and Prajña versions reflect the longer *Heart Sūtra* version, so they are not drawn from the same source as the Kumārajīva or Xuanzang versions, and would have been translated afresh from Sanskrit. While Dharmacandra includes the line otherwise only in the Sanskrit, Prajña’s version omits that line, like Kumārajīva and Xuanzang.

Prajñācakra arrived in China in mid-ninth century. One of the monasteries he worked at was the Da Xingshan Monastery, the one

³⁵ T no. 252, 8: 849a27–b1.

³⁶ T no. 253, 8: 849c6–8.

associated with the transcribed *Heart Sūtra* cited above. Being an Esoteric monk, he would have been associated with the Amoghavajra lineage; Hurvitz does comment that some of the preface has tantric overtones. Starting in 855, he transmitted, in the Da Xingshan Monastery, teachings and new translations to Ennin 圓仁 (794–864), the famous Japanese pilgrim. His version of the passage in question reads:

Śāriputra, form (is) empty, emptiness is seen to be form; form is not different from emptiness, emptiness is not different from form; it is form that is emptiness, it is emptiness that is form; the same applies to hedonic tone, associative-thinking, embodied conditioning and consciousness.

舍利子! 色空, 空性見色. 色不異空, 空不異色. 是色即空, 是空即色. 受、想、行、識亦復如是.³⁷

So Prajñācakra also includes the first Sanskrit line.

Facheng, a Dunhuang scholar and translator, including of Chinese texts into Tibetan; mid-ninth century.

Form precisely is emptiness, emptiness precisely is form; form is not different from emptiness, emptiness is not different from form; the same applies...

色即是空, 空即是色. 色不異空, 空不異色. 如是受、想、行、識亦復皆空.³⁸

So he omits the first Sanskrit line.

Dānapāla (Shihu 施護), *T* no. 257, tran. ca. 1005. Dānapāla was virtually the last translator of Indian texts into Chinese.

³⁷ *T* no. 254, 8: 850a20–22.

³⁸ *T* no. 255, 8: 850c4–5.

Why is the *svabhāva* of the five *skandhas* called emptiness? It is referred to that way [because] precisely form is emptiness, precisely emptiness is form; form is without difference from emptiness, emptiness is without difference from form. Likewise...

何名五蘊自性空耶? 所謂即色是空, 即空是色; 色無異於空, 空無異於色。受、想、行、識, 亦復如是。³⁹

He appears to reverse the phrases, omitting the last line from both the Sanskrit as well as from the Kuiji and Xuanzang Chinese versions.

³⁹ T no. 257, 8: 852b20–22.

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Abbreviation

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- T *Taishō shinsū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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- Boreboluomiduo xin jing* 般若波羅蜜多心經, 1 fasc. Trans. Facheng 法成 in the early ninth century. *T* no. 255, vol. 8.
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- D. 4036 = Derge edition of the Tibetan translation of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* of Asaṅga's *Yogācārabhūmi*: *rnal 'byor spyod pa'i sa las nyan thos kyi sa* (ནལ་འབྲུར་སྤྱད་པའི་ས་ལས་ཐོས་ཀྱི་ས།). Translation into Tibetan attributed to Jinamitra and Ye-shes-sde.
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How Did Xuanzang Understand *Dhāraṇī*?: A View from His Translations

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Abstract: Xuanzang's 玄奘 (ca. 602–664) chanting the *Heart Sūtra* and its spell for protection throughout his famed journey to the Indian kingdoms is well known. What is not well known is that in his biography recorded by his colleague Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) in *Further Lives of Eminent Monks* (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳), his translation of the *Sūtra on the Six Approach Spirit Spell* (*Liumen shenzhou jing* 六門神呪經; aka *Sūtra on the Six Approach Dhāraṇī* [*Liumen tuoluoni jing* 六門陀羅尼經; Skt. *Ṣaṃmukhīdhāraṇī*]) is listed among his important works and translations. Not counting his translation of the *Heart Sūtra*, Xuanzang translated nine *dhāraṇī* texts that have been preserved in the *Koryō Buddhist Canon* (and hence the *Taishō Canon*). Among these are arguably the earliest translations of the *dhāraṇīs* associated with Amoghapāśa, the lasso-wielding form of Avalokiteśvara, and the Eleven-Headed form of Avalokiteśvara. Because all translations are interpretations, something of Xuanzang's view of *dhāraṇī* is preserved in these materials. Just as important, Xuanzang's understanding of *dhāraṇī* was shaped by the translations he made. As his disciple Yancong's 彦宗 (d. after 688) preface emphasizes, *dhāraṇī* (spell techniques or spellcraft; *zhoushu* 呪術), along with the practice of meditation and the observance of monastic discipline, is but one of the myriads of mainstream Buddhist ways leading to the one goal of dispelling illusion and benefiting living beings.

Keywords: Xuanzang, *dhāraṇī*, *dhāraṇī sūtras*, translations, this-worldly benefits, healing rituals, fire rituals (*homa*), bodhisattva practices

Xuanzang's constant recollection of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara and chanting of the *Heart Sūtra*, including its spell for protection, throughout his famed journey to the Indian kingdoms is well known.¹ What is not well known is that in his biography recorded by his colleague Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) in *Further Lives of Eminent Monks* (*Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳), his translation of the *Sūtra on the Six Approach Spirit Spell* (*Liumen shenzhou jing* 六門神呪經; aka *Sūtra on the Six Approach Dhāraṇī* [*Liumen tuoluoni jing* 六門陀羅尼經; Skt. *Ṣaṣṭhāraṇī*]) is listed among his important works and translations.² Xuanzang's disciple and biographer, Yancong 彦宗 (d. after 688), mentions the *Sūtra on the Six Approach Dhāraṇī* three times, attesting to its importance to Xuanzang and his school. In addition, Xuanzang reportedly made a thousand hand copies of his translations of the *dhāraṇī*, the *Diamond Sūtra* (*Nengduan bore* 能斷般若), and the *Bhaiṣajyaguru Sūtra* (*Yaoshi* 藥師), along with a thousand painted images and ten clay images of Maitreya.³ Not counting his translation of the *Heart Sūtra* (*Bore boluomiduo xin jing* 般若波羅蜜多心經, T no. 251), Xuanzang is associated with nine *dhāraṇī* texts that have been preserved in the *Koryō Buddhist Canon* (and hence the *Taishō Canon*). Because all

¹ *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2053, 50: 1.224b7–8; cf. Li, trans., *A Biography*, 26. Waley, *The Real Tripitaka and Other Pieces*, 17, 19, and 98; Ch'en, *Buddhism in China*, 235; Wriggins, *Xuanzang*, 119–20; Nattier, 'The Heart Sūtra'.

² *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 4.455a24; cf. it is referred to as the *Liumen tuoluoni jing*, T no. 1360, 21: 1.878a.

³ *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2053, 50: 6.254a6–11; T no. 2053, 50: 6.254a24–28; and T no. 2053, 50: 10.276c24–277a10.

translations are interpretations, something of Xuanzang's views on *dhāraṇī* are preserved to a certain extent in these materials. Just as important, Xuanzang's understanding of *dhāraṇī* was shaped by the translations he made.

How did Xuanzang, the famed pilgrim, translator, proponent of Yogācāra Buddhism, and devotee of the bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya, understand *dhāraṇī*? To accomplish this purpose, I translated seven of the eight extant translations of *dhāraṇī sūtras* by Xuanzang. For this study I did not translate the **Amoghapāśahṛdaya* or *Sūtra on the Heart of the Spirit Spell of Amoghapāśa* (*Bukong juansuo shenzhou xin jing* 不空罽索神呪心經, T no. 1094). One other remaining spell text, *Five Spells* (*Zhou wu shou* 咒五首, T no. 1034), is a list of five *dhāraṇī* re-transliterated by Xuanzang in 664, as his last translation prior to his death. Because there are no procedures or explanations of the benefits of use, only the names of spells, I do not examine it in this study.

A close reading of these seven spell *sūtras* translated by Xuanzang suggests that the famous translator recognized three interrelated purposes of *dhāraṇī*: (1) providing benefits and bliss to living beings; (2) furnishing a proficient means of dealing with demonic, illness-causing entities; and (3) producing conditions conducive to advancement on the bodhisattva path. All of Xuanzang's translations of *dhāraṇī* texts function like simple ritual manuals that emphasize the efficacy of the *dhāraṇī* introduced in the text. In Xuanzang's translations, *dhāraṇī* did not function as codes that encapsulate the doctrine of a *sūtra*, they were powerful and efficacious spells and incantations. His translations are primarily straight-forward and simple ritual texts that encourage the preservation and recitation of a particular *dhāraṇī*. Of these, Xuanzang's translations of the **Avalokitesvaraikādaśamukha-dhāraṇī* or *Sūtra on the Heart of the Spirit Spell of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara* (*Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing* 十一面神呪心經, T no. 1071) and the *Sūtra on the Heart of the Spirit Spell of Amoghapāśa*, however, preserve more detailed observances. Xuanzang's understanding of *dhāraṇī* ritual for treating demonic and other forms of illness was broad enough to include elementary fire rituals (*homa*). Xuanzang's understanding of *dhāraṇī* fleshes out my previous research and provides important

insight and evidence supporting the view that *dhāraṇī* were mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism in seventh-century East Asia.⁴

As one of the most important proponents of doctrinal Buddhism in seventh-century East Asia, Xuanzang was certainly familiar with the classification of a *dhāraṇī* that might function like a mnemonic device to encapsulate or encode the doctrinal significance of a *sūtra*. *Dhāraṇī* are defined broadly in mainstream Mahāyāna literature as being comprised of four types: ‘dharma *dhāraṇī*’ (*fā tuoluoni* 法陀羅尼), ‘meaning *dhāraṇī*’ (*yì tuoluoni* 義陀羅尼), ‘spell or spell-technique *dhāraṇī*’ (*zhōu tuoluoni* 呪陀羅尼), and ‘acquiescence *dhāraṇī*’ (*rěn tuoluoni* 忍陀羅尼). Xuanzang deploys this set of four types of *dhāraṇī* in his seminal Chinese translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuqie shidi lun* 瑜伽十地論, *T* no. 1579), following earlier translations and exegesis, including Dharmakṣema’s (Tanwuchen 曇無讖, 385–433) translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (*Pusa dichi jing* 菩薩地持經, *T* no. 1581) and Bodhiruci’s (Putiliuzhi 菩提流支, fl. 508–527) translation of **Daśabhūmika-sūtra-śāstra* (*Shidijing lun* 十地經論, *T* no. 1522) (See Table 1: Classifications of *Dhāraṇī* in Exegesis). Of these four classifications employed commonly and conventionally by Xuanzang and others, the first two correspond to the strict definition of *dhāraṇī* commonly held by some modern scholars who regard *dhāraṇī* as mnemonic codes that enable one to maintain or preserve large amounts of the Buddhist teaching in one’s memory.⁵ In this respect they are powerful because of the link forged with the preservation of Buddhist *sūtras*, the word of the Buddha. The fourth, acquiescence *dhāraṇī*, are the adornment of all bodhisattvas since they abide peacefully with all dharmas, knowing the great secret—which is the esoteric teaching of the Mahāyāna and which is only intelligible to true bodhisattvas—that all dharmas

⁴ See, for instance, McBride, ‘Dhāraṇī and Spells in Medieval Sinitic Buddhism’; ‘Practical Buddhist Thaumaturgy’; and ‘Wish-fulfilling Spells and Talismans’.

⁵ See Braarvig, ‘Dhāraṇī and pratibhāna’; Davidson, ‘Studies in *Dhāraṇī* Literature I’ and ‘Studies in *Dhāraṇī* Literature II’.

are neither produced nor destroyed and that they are all originally quiescent (nirvāṇa). The third kind, ‘spell technique’ *dhāraṇī*, or *mantra-dhāraṇī* in Sanskrit, is important because, in my opinion, it demonstrates that in early medieval Sinitic Buddhism (ca. 317–907) the concept of *dhāraṇī* had subsumed mantra, which are found in all Indian religions. All of the *dhāraṇī* translated by Xuanzang fall into this third category.

Benefits and Bliss

The most prominent recurring theme in Xuanzang’s translations of *dhāraṇī* is the idea that *dhāraṇī* are preached and their associated procedures are explained for the benefit of and to invoke or cause peace and bliss for all living beings. The *Sūtra on the Six Approach Dhāraṇī* (*Liumen tuoluoni jing* 六門陀羅尼經, *T* no. 1360), for instance, begins with the Buddha making the following assertion: ‘O good sons, if you desire to benefit and give peace and bliss to living beings, you should receive the procedure of this *dhāraṇī* in six approaches’ (爾時世尊告諸菩薩。善男子若欲利益安樂眾生。汝當受此六門陀羅尼法).⁶ Further developing this theme, Xuanzang’s translation of the *Sūtra on the Dhāraṇī for Bearing Banners and Seals* (*Sheng chuangbeiyin tuoluoni jing* 勝幢臂印陀羅尼經, *T* no. 1363) reports that Mahābrahmā and a heavenly throng respectfully addressed the Buddha with the following question:

O World-Honored One, because we desire [to give] benefits and bliss to all sentient beings, we seek to realize unsurpassed, perfect bodhi, to have compassionate vows pervade our thoughts, and accomplish equal enlightenment (*dengzhengjue* 等正覺). Having great spiritual powers endowed with great compassion, how can we manifest [this compassion] to all categories of sentient beings who have fallen into [paths of rebirth as] denizens of hell, hungry ghosts, and beasts of burden, as well among the humans and gods, who endure all manner

⁶ *Liumen tuoluoni jing*, *T* no. 1360, 21: 1.878a8–9.

of severe suffering and not set up skillful means to relieve them? We only desire to take pity [on these living beings] and liberate them from their tribulations.

世尊在昔，為欲利樂諸有情故，求證無上正等菩提。悲願熏心，成等正覺。有大神力，具大慈悲。何故現見，諸有情類？墮在地獄，餓鬼傍生，及人天中，受諸劇苦。不設善巧，方便濟拔。惟願哀愍，令脫苦難。⁷

The *dhāraṇī* called ‘Victory Banners and Arm Seals’ (*shengchuang biyin* 勝幢臂印), which is said to be a ‘wholesome method for relieving tribulations’, is the solution to this problem.⁸ Thus, the idea that benefits and bliss for living beings can be brought to pass by relying on *dhāraṇī* pervades several of Xuanzang’s translations. A few more examples will more fully flesh out Xuanzang’s position on *dhāraṇī* being beneficial for all living beings. In the *Sūtra on the Heart of the Spirit Spell of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara*, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara says:

I have a spirit spell heart (*shenzhou xin* 神呪心) called ‘Eleven Headed’, endowed with great majestic power, which has been preached by all eleven *koṭis* of buddhas. I will now preach it because I desire to benefit and cause peace and bliss for all sentient beings, eliminate all illnesses, and eradicate all unwholesomeness, put a stop to all inauspiciousness, hold off all unwholesome dreams, and hinder all untimely deaths. I desire to cause the calming and purifying of all people with unwholesome minds, give peace and bliss to those who have anxieties and suffering, provide reconciliation for those who have adversaries (*yuandui* 怨對), eradicate all demonic hindrances, and accomplish all one mentally desires and seeks. O World-Honored One, I have not seen a god, or demon, or Brahmā, or śramaṇa, or brāhmaṇa, and so forth, who protected his body by means of this spell, who preserved (*shouchi* 受持), verbally recited, copied, and

⁷ *Sheng chuangbeiyin tuoluoni jing*, T no. 1363, 21: 1.882c16–21.

⁸ *Sheng chuangbeiyin tuoluoni jing*, T no. 1363, 21: 1.882c25–26.

distributed, who was able to be injured by any manner of calamities, demonic hindrances, swords and staves, poison, imprecations (*yandao* 厭禱),⁹ and spell techniques (*zhoushu* 呪術). By means of this spirit spell wherever one dwells, if boundaries have been made either near or far, I also do not see something being able to cross over and vex them, it only removes the response and ripening of determined unwholesome karma.

我有神呪心，名‘十一面’，具大威力。十一俱胝諸佛所說，我今說之。欲利益安樂一切有情、除一切病故，滅一切惡故；為止一切不吉祥故；為却一切惡夢想故；為遮一切非時死故；欲令諸惡心者得調淨故；有憂苦者得安樂故；有怨對者得和解故；魔鬼障礙皆消滅故；心所願求皆稱遂故。世尊！我不見世間，若天、若魔、若梵、若沙門、若婆羅門等，以此神呪，防護其身。受持讀誦，書寫流布，而為一切災橫、魔障、刀杖、毒藥、厭禱、呪術所能害者，我亦不見，以此神呪隨所住處，若遠若近，結作界已。有能越之，來相燒害，唯除決定，惡業應熟。¹⁰

Thus, Avalokiteśvara preaches his *dhāraṇī* called ‘Eleven Headed’ because of his desire to provide benefits and bliss to all living beings. Xuanzang’s translation emphasizes that the possession and preservation of the spell renders the one who chants it or carried it on his body invincible and unassailable to natural calamities, demonic infestations, weapons, poisons, curses, and unsolicited spells used against someone. In essence, the power of the *dhāraṇī* establishes a cordon of protection and prosperity around the person who preserves, chants, copies, and distributes it. The final passage of the *sūtra* reiterates the purpose of this *dhāraṇī* as promoting peace and bliss among living beings:

⁹ An imprecation is a kind of curse. Sometimes the compound *yandao* 厭禱 is used to translate *vetāla*. *Vetāla* are ghost-like beings or spirits of Indian mythology who haunt or inhabit cadavers and charnel grounds. The *vetāla* has the power to make the cadaver move and it can enter or leave such a body at will. Here, however, I think ‘imprecation’ is more appropriate.

¹⁰ *Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing*, T no. 1071, 20: 1.152a24–b7.

At this time the Bodhisattva-Mahāsattva Avalokiteśvara explained this sūtra, all in the great assembly simultaneously uttered praise: ‘Well done! Well done, great beings. You have been able to desire benefits and peace and bliss for all sentient beings; hence, you have explained this spirit spell. We will follow it joyfully and also desire to receive and retain it’.

爾時觀自在菩薩摩訶薩說此經已，一切大眾同時讚言，‘善哉，善哉，大士！乃能為欲利益安樂諸有情故，說此神呪，我等隨喜，亦願受持’。¹¹

In Xuanzang’s translation of the *Sūtra on the Dhāraṇī for Maintaining the World* (*Chishi tuoluoni jing* 持世陀羅尼經, T no. 1162), the Buddha says that ‘the power of the spirit spell [viz. *dhāraṇī*] is inconceivable, for it will cause all sentient beings to obtain benefits and bliss’ (此神呪力，不可思議；令諸有情，皆獲利樂).¹² Then, after the transliteration of the *dhāraṇī*, Xuanzang’s translation further describes the beneficial and blissful matters associated with mastery of this *dhāraṇī*:

This *dhāraṇī* is endowed with great spiritual power. If good sons and good daughters preserve [this *dhāraṇī*] and preach it for others with an utmost mind (sincere mind), all unwholesome ghosts, gods, dragons, yakṣas, humans-yet-not-humans, and so forth, will not be able to harm [them]. All manner of beneficial and blissful matters will increase day and night. If they are able to make offerings to the three jewels with utmost sincerity and chant (*niansong* 念誦) this kind of *dhāraṇī* for the space of seven days and nights without any momentary lapses, all the gods, dragons, and spirits will rejoice, and the wealth and grain they need will appear by itself as unseen rain. Famines and plagues will all be eradicated, and the sinful hindrances people possess will be utterly annihilated. All that is dangerous and fear-invoking will be pacified, and blessing and wisdom will gradually increase, and that which is sought after will

¹¹ *Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing*, T no. 1071, 20: 1.154c23–36.

¹² *Chishi tuoluoni jing*, T no. 1162, 20: 1.667a8–9.

be as one wishes. They will speedily realize unsurpassed, perfect enlightenment and bodhi.

此陀羅尼，具大神力。若有善男子、善女人，至心受持，廣為他說。諸惡神鬼、天龍、藥叉、人、非人等，皆不能害。諸利樂事，晝夜增長。若能至誠供養三寶，念誦如是大陀羅尼，經七晝夜，時無暫闕。諸天龍神，皆生歡喜。自末冥雨所須財穀，飢饉疫癘，皆悉消除。所有罪障，無不殄滅。一切危懼，並得安寧。福慧漸增，所求如意。速證無上正覺菩提。¹³

The translation then goes on to describe how if people preserve the *dhāraṇī*, remember it, think about it, chant it, maintain it, and preach it widely to others, the benefits and bliss they seek will absolutely be brought to pass.¹⁴ The simple compound ‘benefits and bliss’ (*lile* 利樂) appears six times in the *Sūtra on the Dhāraṇī for Maintaining the World*. There is nothing particularly special or unique about Xuanzang’s use of this compound, however, because ‘benefits and bliss’ is a conventional stock phrase used in numerous *sūtras* translated before and after Xuanzang’s time, as well as in Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna Buddhist texts.

Dhāraṇī and Disease Treatment

In India and Central Asia, as well as China and East Asia, illness and disease were generally believed to be caused by all manner of spirits, demons, and creatures.¹⁵ Although some scholars seem to hold the opinion that the treatment of demon-induced disease is somehow Esoteric or Tantric, we must remember that the names of many of these sickness-causing spirits are also found in such mainstream

¹³ *Chishi tuoluoni jing*, T no. 1162, 20: 1.667a28–b6.

¹⁴ *Chishi tuoluoni jing*, T no. 1162, 20: 1.667b7–8: 爾時佛告妙月長者。汝應信受此陀羅尼。憶念誦持廣為他說。所求利樂無不諧遂。

¹⁵ See, for instance, Smith, *The Self Possessed Deity*; Strickmann, *Chinese Magical Medicine*.

Mahāyāna *sūtras* as the *Lotus Sūtra*. These same illness-invoking imps also pervade Xuanzang's translations of *dhāraṇī*. In this section I will examine the efficacy of *dhāraṇī* in treating disease. For instance, the *Sūtra on the Heart of the Spirit Spell of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara* reports:

O World-Honored One, although these kinds of spirit spells are incomplete, they are yet able to bring about several kinds of undertakings. If one chants them with a sincere mind, he will absolutely obtain his desires. If one suffers from malaria, and suffers feverish fits once a day, once every two days, once every three days, or once every four days; or if one suffers from a ghost-induced illness, something caused by a *pūtanā*,¹⁶ something caused by a *dākiṇi*,¹⁷ something caused by a *piśāca*,¹⁸ something caused by a *kaṭapūtanā*,¹⁹ something caused by a madness-inducing ghost (*diangui* 癡鬼), something caused by an epilepsy-inducing ghost (*xiangui* 癇鬼), or something caused by all manner of other unwholesome ghosts, all of these, if one makes incantations over patients by means of this spell one hundred and eight times they will be able to be healed.

¹⁶ A *pūtanā* (*buduogui* 部多鬼), also transliterated as *fuchagui* 浮茶鬼 or *fudanna* 富單那, is translated into Chinese as a 'putrid hungry ghost' (*xiu'egui* 臭餓鬼). Among hungry ghosts, the *pūtanā* is said to be the happiest and most prosperous. In Hinduism, *Pūtanā* (Putrification) is the name of a *rākṣasī* (demoness) who is killed by the infant god Krishna. *Pūtanā* is also considered to be foster-mother of Krishna because she breast-fed him, although the demoness fed him with the purpose of killing him with poisoned milk. Thus, *Pūtanā* is usually described as an infantile disease or bird, symbolizing danger to infants and children—and it is even symbolic of a bad mother.

¹⁷ A *dākiṇi* (*chazhini* 茶耆尼, also written *chazhini* 茶枳尼) is a demon in the following of the goddess Kali who feeds on human flesh. They can be understood generally as vengeful female spirits, deities, imps, or fairies.

¹⁸ A *piśāca* (*bisbezhe* 畢舍遮) is a meat-eating demon.

¹⁹ A *kaṭapūtanā* (*jietuobudana* 羯吒布怛那, also written *jiazhaifudanna* 迦吒富單那) is a kind of hungry ghost. It has been translated into Chinese as 'awful smelling ghost' (*qixiugui* 奇臭鬼) and 'extremely putrid ghost' (*jixiugui* 極臭鬼).

世尊! 如是神呪, 雖不成立, 而亦能作種種事業。至心念誦, 無不獲願。若患瘡病, 或一日一發、或二日一發、或三日一發、或四日一發。若患鬼病, 或部多鬼所作、或荼耆(上聲呼)尼所作、或畢舍遮所作、或羯吒(平聲呼)布怛那所作、或癩鬼所作、或癘鬼所作、或餘種種惡鬼所作、皆以此呪, 呪彼患者, 一百八遍, 即得除愈。²⁰

Xuanzang's translation asserts that this *dhāraṇī* will efficaciously treat all manner of illnesses and discomforts induced by a wide variety of spirits, ghosts, and demons. Malaria, madness, and epilepsy are the only illnesses referred to by name, but Xuanzang's translation asserts that any illness caused by a *pūtanā*, *dākiṇi*, *piśāca*, *kaṭapūtanā*, and other spirit beings will be cured by the *dhāraṇī*. What is also significant is that any practitioner, and so one assumes that this includes laymen and laywomen, can invoke the power of the *dhāraṇī* to cure illness and disease by following the simple procedure described by Xuanzang in the *sūtra*.

In his translation of the *Sūtra on the Heart of the Spirit Spell of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara*, Xuanzang articulates how to make an eleven-faced or eleven-headed image of Avalokiteśvara and various ritual practices associated with it to accomplish various purposes. Some of the faces are wrathful and some compassionate. Some of the *dhāraṇī* presented in the *sūtra* are used to empower substances, such as spell-knots and threads, that are tied on different faces of the image, burned in front of the image, and so forth. One such image ritual describes the use of five-colored thread to make spell-knots to get control of an illness afflicting an individual:

If one with serious hindrances uses a five-colored thread, intones the spell, and makes a knot, one time [chanting the spell] per one knot, and all together makes one hundred and eight knots, and he fastens them on the sick person's neck or fastens them on his arms, his sinful hindrances will be eradicated, his illnesses will immediately be healed. If one suffers from boils, tumors, ulcerous skin sores, small-pox, gangrenous ulcers, and so forth, all manner of unwholesome

²⁰ *Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing*, T no. 1071, 20: 1.153c13–19.

illnesses, or if one is injured by a blade, an arrow, a lance, or so forth, or if one is stung by a snake, scorpion, centipede, poisonous wasp, or so forth, all of these, if one incants this spell seven times, they will be able to be healed. If one has serious hindrances, enchant yellow earthen clay seventeen times, apply it to the sores, and his suffering will be healed. If one's skin becomes inflamed, or one suffers from paralysis, blindness, deafness, a chronically stuffy nose, or dimwittedness, he should chant this spell with a sincere mind and if he incants it over a patient one hundred and eight times, the illness will immediately be healed. If one with serious hindrances lightly fries birch tree bark and laurel tree incense in oil or butter, and throughout the process incants [the spell] seven times, and then applies it to his body or drips it into his ears or nose, or causes it to be swallowed, that which he suffers from then be healed. If one suffers from all manner of other illnesses, all of them should be treated by chanting this spell over it with a sincere mind, or one should chant by oneself and one will be healed immediately.

若障重者，用五色縷，誦呪作結。一遍一結，凡一百八結。以繫病人頸上，或繫臂上，罪障消滅，病即除愈。若患丁腫、癰腫、癰瘡、疱瘡、疽瘍、癬等種種惡病，若被刀箭、牟稍等傷，蛇蠍、蜈蚣、毒蜂等螫，皆以此呪，呪之七遍，即得除愈。若障重者，呪黃土塗至一七遍。用塗病處，所苦得除愈。若患緩風、偏瘻風、耳聾、鼻塞、癰風等病，皆應至心念誦此呪。呪彼患者一百八遍，病即除愈。若障重者，以油或酥，煎樺皮及青木香，每呪七遍，即用塗身，或滴耳鼻。或令服之，所患便愈。若有所餘種種疾病，皆應至心，以此呪之。或自念誦，即得除差。²¹

One scholar asserts that Xuanzang's translation of the *Sūtra on the Heart of the Spirit Spell of the Eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara*, being the shortest of the extant translations, is the most basic recension of the *dhāraṇī* on the eleven-headed Avalokiteśvara. Being primarily concerned with healing, he asserts it contains only mantras and suggests that it either represents a variant or an earlier version of the

²¹ *Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing*, T no. 1071, 20: 1.153c19–154a2.

dhāraṇī than Yaśogupta's translation, which was translated in the mid-sixth century (between 564 and 572).²² Other scholars more fruitfully recognize that Xuanzang's translations corresponds to the first roll (*juan* 卷) of Amoghavajra's translation of the *Shiyimian Guanzizai pusa xinmiyan niansong yigui jing* 十一面觀自在菩薩心密言念誦儀軌經 (Ritual Manual Sūtra on the Recitation of the Heart-Mantra of the Eleven-headed Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, *T* no. 1069), but they do not emphasize that it includes basic procedures for fire rituals.²³ In his translation of the *Sūtra on the Heart of the Spirit Spell of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara*, Xuanzang articulates three elementary fire rituals (Skt. *homa*; Ch. *humo*; Jp. *goma* 護摩). These fire rituals, not called *homa* in the text, are presented in the context of rituals associated with an eleven-headed image made by the practitioner and used for various purposes. Let us briefly examine the procedures of the three fire rituals:

Furthermore, if people or beasts within the country are afflicted with an epidemic, [a practitioner should] burn *zhupo* wood²⁴ in front of this image. Again, he specifically selects that wood and cuts it into a thousand and eight inch-length segments, applies mustard seed oil to each and every segment, enchants them one time [each], and casts them into the fire until they are all consumed. And again, [if] he selects a dark red thread and makes seven spell-knots, binding one spell

²² See Sørensen, 'Introduction', esp. 98.

²³ Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 167; Shinohara, *Spells, Images, and Maṇḍalas*, 16. Abé recognizes the existence of fire rituals, but does not emphasize them; but Shinohara glosses over its existence. Granted, Abé's purpose in discussing the text is to problematize the concept of 'mixed esoteric Buddhism' by advancing a theory that *dhāraṇī* texts that function primarily as ritual manuals is a better way to differentiate 'exoteric' and 'esoteric' *dhāraṇī*. See Abé, *The Weaving of Mantra*, 167–68. However, because all of Xuanzang's translations are simple ritual texts, strict adherence to this theory must be used as evidence that Xuanzang was an 'esoteric' monk.

²⁴ *Zhupo* wood (*zhupomu* 住婆木) is elsewhere written *renpomu* 任婆木; but what it refers to is not known.

per one knot, and places them on the crown of the highest Buddha head, he will be able to cause the epidemic to be eradicated and once the epidemic is eliminated, loose a spell-cord.

復次，若國土中，人畜疫起，於此像前，然住婆木火。復別取彼木，寸截以為一千八段，每取一段，塗芥子油。呪之一遍，擲置火中，乃至皆盡。復取緋纒，作七呪結。一呪一結，繫置最上佛面頂上。能令疫病，一切消除。疾疫除已，解去呪索。²⁵

The brief procedures described concisely by Xuanzang are a standard procedure for a fire ritual. The wood cut into 1,008 segments or pieces seems to be amplification of the 108 defilements—the underlying cause of the epidemic or illness—which are symbolically burned away or eradicated through the ritual. Mustard seed oil is commonly used in Hindu and Jain fire rituals, as well.²⁶ After the figurative cleansing of the individual's hindrances through the fire ritual, the spell-knot empowered by means of the *dhāraṇī* bind the epidemic to Avalokiteśvara. Here, Xuanzang clearly draws upon one of the standard definitions and explanations of the efficacy of *dhāraṇī* that was also known to Xuanzang's contemporary, the monk-encyclopedist Daoshi 道世 (ca. 596–683). In the first of two chapters on 'Spell Techniques' (*zhoushu* 呪術) in his influential and imperially-sponsored, *A Grove of Pearls in the Garden of the Dharma* (*Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林), Daoshi describes the power of *dhāraṇī* to bind and hold as follows:

Dhāraṇī (*tuoluoni* 陀羅尼) are the sounds of the Brahmā heaven of the West and, translated [into the language of] the Chinese people of the East, they are called *chi* 持 (to hold, to support). They are chanted to hold on to what is wholesome (*shan* 善) and not lose it and to hold on to what is unwholesome (*e* 惡) so it will not be produced. According to the words [of the spell], which are spoken, you may rule completely over all transformations. If you administer

²⁵ *Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing*, T no. 1071, 20: 1.154b18–23.

²⁶ Cort, *Jains in the World*, 165–66.

the performance in accordance with [its prescribed] methods (*fa* 法), merit and effects will be experienced immediately. [Hence, you will be able] to smash rocks or pluck out trees, remove illness and eradicate disease. Suffering is removed following the pronunciation of the sounds, and things happen right when the tones flutter in the wind.

然‘陀羅尼’者，西梵天音；東華人譯，則云‘持’也：明‘持善不失，持惡不生’。據斯以言，彌綸一化，依法施行，功用立驗。或碎石拔木，或移痛滅痼，隨聲發而苦除，逐音颺而事舉。²⁷

The second elementary fire ritual described by Xuanzang in this translation is specifically for an individual who is not getting better from a chronic illness.

Furthermore, if one is ill for a long time and does not seem to be getting better, or if unwholesome ghosts come into his house, he should select a hundred and eight grains of *kunduruka* incense,²⁸ and before this image enchant each grain one time and casts them into the fire until they are all consumed. And again, one selects a white thread and makes twenty-one spell-knots, [chanting] one spell per one knot, binds it on the crown of the compassionate face just as before, and after one night loosen it. If it is bound to the neck of an afflicted person, he will be cured of his affliction and the evil spirits (unwholesome ghosts) will be dispersed.

復次，若有長病，困苦不差。或惡神鬼，來入宅中，應取薰陸香一百八顆，在此像前顙呪一遍。擲置火中，乃至皆盡。復取白縷，作二十一呪結。一呪一結，繫置當前慈悲面頂上，經一宿已解取。以繫病者頸上，所患除愈，惡鬼退散。²⁹

²⁷ *Fayuan zbulin*, T no. 2122, 53: 60.734c22–26.

²⁸ *Kunduruka* incense (*xunluxiang* 薰陸香) is made from the resin of the plant *Boswellia thurifera*, an aromatic tree.

²⁹ *Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing*, T no. 1071, 20: 1.154c1–6.

This *dhāraṇī* is chanted over 108 grains of incense, which, as before, is symbolic of the 108 defilements. As before, these enchanted and empowered grains of incense are cast into fire, and then to make doubly sure of the success of the ritual, a spell-knot is bound to the compassionate face of image of Avalokiteśvara made by the practitioner of this text; a spell-knot is also bound to the neck of the afflicted. What is significant here is that anyone is able to perform this ritual. No restrictions are described in the text; although it is likely that monks were among the more frequent performers. The third fire ritual responds specifically to the possibility that somebody has been imprecated, or cursed, by another person.

Furthermore, if an enemy seeks an occasion to dispute with or imprecate you, and seeks to harm you, you should take all manner of incense and flowers, present them as offerings to this image, and burn a *vārṣika* tree³⁰ before the image. [A practitioner] selects one hundred and eight seeds of the rape plant, chants [the spell] one time each [over each seed] and casts them into the fire. And again, he selects a white thread and ties one hundred and eight knots, [chanting] one spell per one knot. Binding [the knots] on the crown of the wrathful face on the right side of this image, after one night has passed, he loosens this cord, invokes the name of his enemy, and cuts the knots one by one, and casts them to a different place. If he makes one invocation per one cut until they are all exhausted, he will cause his enemy to not achieve his works and naturally/spontaneously submit to him.

復次，若為怨讎，伺求其便，鬪諍厭禱，欲作衰害。應以種種香花等物，供養此像。以婆鑠迦木，像前然火。取芸薹子一百八顆，各呪一遍，擲置火中。復取白縷結作一百八結。一呪一結，繫著此像左邊瞋面頂上。經一宿已，解取此索。稱怨讎名，截一一結，各令異處。一稱一截，乃至都盡。今彼怨讎，所作不遂，自然歸伏。³¹

³⁰ *Vārṣika* tree (*poshuojiamu* 婆鑠迦木) refers to a flower that blooms in the rainy season.

³¹ *Shiyimian shenzhou xin jing*, T no. 1071, 20: 1.154c7–13.

As above, the practitioner selects 108 seeds of the rape plant and enchants them with the *sūtra*. Rape plant seeds are also a commonly used object in the fire rituals. As before, the 108 seeds are figurative of the 108 defilements commonly referred to in all Buddhist literature. The practitioner makes 108 spell-knots, which also seem to be symbolic of the defilements, and these are bound one at a time to wrathful faces of the image. As before, the power of the *dhāraṇī* binds the curses cast on the practitioner to the wrathful personification of Avalokiteśvara, and as they are cut and dispersed in different places, the *dhāraṇī* dissipates the power of the imprecation away from the practitioner. Thus, Xuanzang understands the efficacy of *dhāraṇī* to be closely intertwined with the basic function of *dhāraṇī* to grasp, hold, or bind unwholesomeness so that the unwholesome thing (imprecation, curse, counter spell, injury) will not be produced and can be disposed of safely.

Dhāraṇī and the Bodhisattva Path

The final important theme in Xuanzang's translations of *dhāraṇī* is the assertion that certain *dhāraṇī* are conducive to practice and fruitful advancement on the bodhisattva path. The *Sūtra on the Dhāraṇī for Relieving Tribulations* (*Baḥi kuan tuoluoni jing* 拔濟苦難陀羅尼經) prescribes the practice of preserving (*shouchi*) the *dhāraṇī* as being beneficial for making what Buddhists would typically describe as 'seminal progress' (*jingjin* 精進) on the path toward Buddhahood.

If there are good sons and good daughters who with utmost sincerity respectfully worship the Tathāgata Destroyer of the Unwholesome Destinies, Arhat, and Samyak-saṃbuddha and preserve this spell, for fourteen thousand *kalpas* they will constantly remember their past lives, wherever they will obtain a man's body, they will be fully endowed with all senses, and they will have deep faith in cause and effect. They will be good at [religious] techniques and have a sublime understanding of all treatises. They will like practicing giving and forsake all the passions. They will not create unwholesome karma

and abandon all perilous fear. They will be endowed with correct life wisdom and be loved and respected by the masses. They will always be close to spiritual mentors and constantly hear the true dharma. They will seek the bodhicitta (*putixin* 菩提心) and will never even momentarily forsake it. They will adorn themselves with all the meritorious virtues, be endowed with wholesome *vinaya* and decorum, and fear all unwholesome karma. They will always be devoid of deficiencies [in means] and be harmonious, flexible, blissful, and calm. They will always receive joy and bliss when among gods and humans. They will quickly realize unsurpassed, perfect bodhi. At the end of their lives, they will not regress in [their practice] of the ten perfections (*shi daobi'an* 十到彼岸). They will always desire benefits and bliss for all sentient beings, and all that they have cultivated and practiced will not solely be for their own personal benefit. Wherever they are reborn they will always be able to see the Buddha, they will protect and maintain the true dharma, and have a place for themselves in the throngs of the worthies and saints.

若有善男子、善女人，至誠禮敬滅惡趣王如來應正等覺，受持此呪，萬四千劫，常憶宿命。所在生處，得丈夫身。具足諸根，深信因果。善諸技術，妙解諸論。好行惠施，厭捨諸欲。不造惡業，離諸危怖。具正命慧，眾所愛重。常近善友，恒聞正法。求菩提心，曾無暫捨。以諸功德，而自莊嚴。具善律儀，怖諸惡業。恒無匱乏，調柔樂靜。於天人中，常受快樂，速證無上正等菩提，終不退於十到彼岸。常願利樂，一切有情。諸所修行，非專自利。在所生處，常得見佛。護持正法，預賢聖眾。³²

This *dhāraṇī* promises that if someone ‘preserves’ it, he or she will possess all the qualities of a bodhisattva who is making seminal progress on the path toward Buddhahood. All the spiritual benefits of preserving (and chanting) this *dhāraṇī* are the conventional promises found in many mainstream Mahāyāna *sūtras*: always receive a male body, always be able to find spiritual mentors, not regress on the bodhisattva path, practice for the benefit of self

³² *Baḥi kuanan tuoluoni jing*, T no. 1395, 21: 1.912c15–25.

and others, not regress in the practice of the ten perfections, and so forth.

The *Sūtra on the Dhāraṇī of the Heart of All Buddhas* (*Zhufoxin tuoluoni jing* 諸佛心陀羅尼經, T no. 918) contains similar promises of progression on the bodhisattva path for one who recites the *dhāraṇī*:

If one has an utmost mind, preserves and verbally recites [this *dhāraṇī*], he will transcend the severe suffering of birth and death for hundreds of thousands of *kalpas*, he will be absorbed in the bodhi of unsurpassed perfect enlightenment, and he will be able to quickly cultivate eternal non-retrogression until he attains the bodhi of unsurpassed perfect enlightenment. He will never be born in vain in a world system without buddhas, and he will always comprehend all *dhāraṇīs* well. He will constantly see Tathāgatas, be in close proximity and make offerings to them. He will always remember his previous lives and deeply believe in [karmic] cause and effect. He will be able to cause the offenses of humans, non-humans, and so forth, in the present-world to be completely eradicated. Sickness and injury will not attack one, and one will not die young. The affairs of all unwholesome demons will all be utterly annihilated. All the unwholesome karma one possesses will be eradicated, and all the demonic forces will be surprised and scatter.

若有至心，受持讀誦。超百千劫，生死劇苦。定於無上，正等菩提。能速修行，永無退轉，乃至無上正等菩提。終不枉生無佛世界。恒善悟解諸陀羅尼。常見如來，親近供養。恒憶宿命，深信因果。能使現世人非人等，怨害皆除。疾病不侵，無有中夭。諸惡魔事，皆悉殄滅。所有惡業，無不消除。一切魔軍，驚怖退散。³³

The only procedure one must follow to receive these significant spiritual blessings of always being born in times and places where buddhas are present—always being able to make offerings to buddhas, attaining non-retrogression on the bodhisattva path, being able to expurgate all the offenses of living beings, being immune to sickness

³³ *Zhufoxin tuoluoni jing*, T no. 918, 19: 1.1a14–21.

and illness avoiding death as a child, and able to disperse the forces of evil—is to preserve and recite the *dhāraṇī*.

Xuanzang's most famous *dhāraṇī* translation, the *Sūtra on the Six Approach Dhāraṇī in Six Approaches* (*Liumen tuoluoni jing* 六門陀羅尼經, T no. 1360), however, is instructive because of Xuanzang's diction. The 'procedure' or 'method' (*fa* 法) one must receive (*shou* 受) to draw on the power of this *dhāraṇī* is to make six vows that resonate with standard bodhisattva vows. If one holds the well-established position that Xuanzang was a representative of normative Mahāyāna Buddhist doctrine and its concomitant ritual, one can easily understand why Xuanzang would be drawn to this *dhāraṇī*:

At that time, the World-Honored One addressed all the bodhisattvas, 'O good sons, if you desire to benefit and give peace and bliss to living beings, you should receive the procedure of this *dhāraṇī* in six approaches and say, [1] 'I will transmigrate in the cycle of rebirth and death, receive all manner of suffering, and never cause living beings to receive these same sufferings. [2] All the riches, honor, and worldly bliss one can receive, I vow that all living beings will receive this same bliss. [3] Regarding unwholesome [acts] I have committed, if I have not yet repented of them, in the end I will not utter the unsurpassed dharma. [4] Regarding all the masses of demonic karma I possess, if I do not at first awaken, in the end I will not raise the thought and lay hold of the unsurpassed dharma. [5] Regarding *pāramitās* I possess [that] which I have embraced, extensive wholesome roots in all mundane and transmundane [realms], I vow that all living beings will speedily realize the fruit [fruition reward] of unsurpassed knowledge. [6] Regarding the liberation I have realized, I also vow that living beings will all obtain liberation and will never allow [living beings] to abide in attachments [or to be attached] in *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*'.

爾時，世尊告諸菩薩，‘善男子！若欲利益，安樂眾生，汝當受此六門陀羅尼法。謂我流轉於生死中，諸所受苦。勿令眾生，同受斯苦。諸有所受，富貴世樂。願諸眾生，同受斯樂。我所作惡，若未先悔，終不發言，稱無上法。我諸所有眾魔之業，若未先覺，終不舉心，緣無上法。我諸所有，波羅蜜多所攝。一切世及出世，廣大善根，願諸眾生，皆

當速證無上智果。我證解脫，亦願眾生，皆得解脫。勿令住著，生死涅槃’。³⁴

Each of these six approaches or vows is a common bodhisattva vow: to stay in the cycle of rebirth and death to liberate all living beings; to help all living beings achieve bliss and happiness in this life; to repent of one’s unwholesomeness and not preach the dharma if one does not repent; to vow to arouse the *bodhicitta*; to vow to help all living beings achieve the fruits of the bodhisattva’s perfections; and to vow to not attain liberation until all living beings are liberated from the cycle of rebirth and death. Considering that Xuanzang held the position that there were *icchantikas* (*wuming* 無明), living beings who were unable to attain enlightenment because they were troubled by and mired in various kinds of mental defilements, we may conjecture that passages such as this and the preceding quotation may have served to provide hope to Xuanzang that dark mental forces that keep living beings in ignorance could be held at bay by the power of *dhāraṇī*. Also note that providing benefits and peace and bliss is emphasized significantly in this passage.

Conclusion

The preface to Xuanzang’s biography, *Life of the Dharma Master Sanzang of Da Ci’en Monastery of the Great Tang dynasty* (*Da Tang Da Ci’en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳), compiled by his disciple Yancong, emphasizes that *dhāraṇī*, literally ‘spell techniques’ or ‘spellcraft’ (*zhoushu* 呪術), along with the practice of meditation and the observance of monastic discipline, is but one of the myriads of mainstream Buddhist ways leading to the one goal of dispelling illusion and benefiting living beings.³⁵ A direct examination of the *dhāraṇī sūtras* translated by Xuanzang supports this assertion. As we have observed above, the position that *dhāraṇī* ben-

³⁴ *Liumen tuoluoni jing*, T no. 1360, 21: 1.878a8–16.

³⁵ *Da Tang Da Ci’en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2053, 50: 1.220c.

effit and cause bliss for ordinary living beings is a theme that pervades Xuanzang's translations. These benefits are described as both temporal and spiritual, eminently mundane as well as transcendent. The efficacy of *dhāraṇī* in the elimination of illnesses caused by and used for protection from the gamut of ghosts, spirits, goblins, and demons that were believed to inhabit the mundane world also permeates Xuanzang's translations. Because most of Xuanzang's translations are very short texts, the procedures concomitantly are simple in their construction. Yet, Xuanzang's translation of the *Sūtra on the Heart of the Spirit Spell of the Eleven-Headed Avalokiteśvara* shows that he was familiar with *dhāraṇī* procedures used in empowering images and using those images in rituals to eliminate illnesses and other maladies. *Dhāraṇī* preserved and chanted promise to induce or promote seminal progress on the bodhisattva path were also extremely important to Xuanzang. Xuanzang's disciples, as exemplified by Yancong, understood *dhāraṇī* as one of the three primary ways of overcoming the delusions of the world and providing benefit to living beings.

Xuanzang epitomizes the quintessential conventional or mainstream Mahāyāna monk in East Asia. However, all eight of Xuanzang's translations of *dhāraṇī* are simple ritual texts. Xuanzang's translations of *dhāraṇī* clearly demonstrate that ritual activity, or the mere existence of *dhāraṇī*, cannot be used to define, differentiate, or postulate the existence of 'esoteric Buddhism', without severe qualifications. For instance, none of Xuanzang's translations describe *dhāraṇī* in rituals of initiation or consecration, which I, in agreement with Gregory Schopen, assert is a significant component of a truly functional definition of 'esoteric' or 'tantric' Buddhism.³⁶

³⁶ Gregory Schopen, for instance, asserts that most *dhāraṇī* are not Tantric: 'if by "Tantric" we mean that phase of Buddhist doctrinal development which is characterized by an emphasis on the central function of the *guru* as religious preceptor; by sets—usually graded—of specific initiations; by esotericism of doctrine, language and organization; and by a strong emphasis on the realization of the goal through highly structured ritual and meditative techniques. If "Tantric" is to be used to refer to something other than this, then the term must be clearly defined and its boundaries must be clearly drawn. Otherwise the term is mean-

Dhāraṇī rituals, which typically include the preservation, memorization, chanting, or wearing on the body of *dhāraṇī*, or even the use of *dhāraṇī* to empower images, which are then used in more detailed rituals, are mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism. In Xuanzang's view, *dhāraṇī* do not require initiation or a guru; they can be performed by monks and lay people, and the texts themselves encourage widespread use by all manner of living beings. If Xuanzang did not think that *dhāraṇī* were functional and efficacious for all living beings, what was he doing translating them? One would have to assert that Xuanzang translated them without knowing what they really were or how they functioned. Such a position is absurd because few Chinese monks spent the amount of time in India and Central Asia that Xuanzang did. Xuanzang spoke the language and knew what authentic Indian Buddhism was in his time more than any other Chinese monk.

Other relevant questions can only be answered with speculation: What was the source of Xuanzang's *dhāraṇī* texts? Was Xuanzang drawn to these texts because they were prevalent in India or Central Asia? These questions cannot be answered in a satisfactory manner, but raising them must force us to accept the possibility that *dhāraṇī* and the rituals for their use were indicative of mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism in India and Central Asia. Furthermore, Xuanzang was only able to translate seventy-six of the more than six hundred *sūtras* he brought home to China. That nine of these seventy-six were *dhāraṇī* strongly suggests that *dhāraṇī* held a significant place in Xuanzang's personal Buddhist practice and devotions. The simple and effective Mahāyāna ritual associated with *dhāraṇī sūtras* should not be mistaken for a separate system. Xuanzang is the poster boy of mainstream Mahāyāna Buddhism, and his interest in and understanding of *dhāraṇī* must be viewed as evidence for their functionality and widespread popularity in conventional medieval East Asian Buddhism.

ingless and quite certainly misleading'. See Schopen, 'The Text of the "Dhāraṇī Stones from Abhayagiriya"', esp. 105; see also Schopen, 'Bodhigarbhāṇīkāraṇī and Vimaloṣṇīṣa Dhāraṇī in Indian Inscriptions', esp. 147.

Appendix

Table 1: Classifications of *Dhāraṇī* in East Asian Exegesis

Text Name	1	2	3	4
<i>Sanskrit</i> <i>Yogācārabhūmi</i>	<i>dharma-</i> <i>dhāraṇī</i>	<i>artha-dhāraṇī</i>	mantra- <i>dhāraṇī</i>	bodhisattva- <i>kṣānti-</i> <i>labhāya ca</i> <i>dhāraṇī</i>
<i>Da zhidu lun</i> 大智度論 (T no. 1509, 25: 28.268a–b) trans. ca. 402–406 by Kumārajīva	<i>fenbie zhuba</i> <i>tuoluoni</i> 分別諸法陀 羅尼 (<i>dhāraṇī</i> for discriminating all dharmas)	<i>wenchi tuolinni</i> 聞持陀鄰尼 (<i>dhāraṇī</i> for the maintanance of what one has heard)	<i>ruyinsbeng</i> <i>tuoluoni</i> 入音聲陀羅尼 (<i>dhāraṇī</i> entering into sounds)	<i>zirumen</i> <i>tuoluoni</i> 字入門陀羅尼 (<i>dhāraṇī</i> that penetrate letters/ phonemes)
<i>Pusa dichī jīng</i> 菩薩地持經 (T no. 1581, 30: 8.934a–b) trans. ca. 414–421 by Dharmakṣema	<i>fa tuoluoni</i> 法陀羅尼 (<i>dharma</i> <i>dhāraṇī</i>)	<i>yi tuoluoni</i> 義陀羅尼 (meaning <i>dhāraṇī</i>)	<i>zhoushu</i> <i>tuoluoni</i> 呪術陀羅尼 (spell- technique <i>dhāraṇī</i>)	<i>ren tuoluoni</i> 忍陀羅尼 (acquiescence <i>dhāraṇī</i>)
<i>Shidijing lun</i> 十地經論 (T no. 1522, 26: 11.191c–192c) trans. ca. 508 by Bodhiruci	<i>fa tuoluoni/</i> <i>fachi</i> 法陀羅尼/法持 (<i>dharma</i> <i>dhāraṇī</i> ; <i>dharma</i> maintenance)	<i>yi tuoluoni/</i> <i>yichi</i> 義陀羅尼/義持 (meaning <i>dhāraṇī</i> ; meaning maintenance)	<i>zhoushu</i> <i>dstuoluoni</i> 呪術陀羅尼 (spell- technique <i>dhāraṇī</i>)	<i>ren tuoluoni/</i> <i>renchi</i> 忍陀羅尼/忍持 (acquiescence <i>dhāraṇī</i> ; acquiescence maintenance)
<i>Dasheng yizhang</i> 大乘義章 (T no. 1851, 44: 11.685a–686a) composed ca. 592 by Jingying Huiyuan	<i>fa tuoluoni/</i> <i>fachi</i> 法陀羅尼/法持 (<i>dharma</i> <i>dhāraṇī</i> ; <i>dharma</i> maintenance)	<i>yi tuoluoni/</i> <i>yichi</i> 義陀羅尼/義持 (meaning <i>dhāraṇī</i> ; meaning maintenance)	<i>zhoushu</i> <i>tuoluoni</i> 呪術陀羅尼 (spell- technique <i>dhāraṇī</i>)	<i>ren tuoluoni/</i> <i>renchi</i> 忍陀羅尼/忍持 (acquiescence <i>dhāraṇī</i> ; acquiescence maintenance)
<i>Yugie shidi lun</i> 瑜伽十地論 (T no. 1579, 30: 45.542c–543b) trans. ca. 646–648 by Xuanzang	<i>fa tuoluoni</i> 法陀羅尼 (<i>dharma</i> <i>dhāraṇī</i>)	<i>yi tuoluoni</i> 義陀羅尼 (meaning <i>dhāraṇī</i>)	<i>zhou tuoluoni</i> 呪陀羅尼 (spell- <i>dhāraṇī</i>)	<i>ren tuoluoni</i> 忍陀羅尼 (acquiescence <i>dhāraṇī</i>)

Text Name	1	2	3	4
<i>Zongshi tuoluoni yizhan</i> 總釋陀羅尼義讚 (<i>T</i> no. 902, 18: 1.898a–b) apocryphal text attributed to Amoghavajra	<i>fachi</i> 法持 (dharma maintenance)	<i>yichi</i> 義持 (meaning maintenance)	<i>sanmodi chi</i> 三摩地持 (samādhi maintenance)	<i>wenchi</i> 文持 (word or pattern maintenance)

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Abbreviations

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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Historical and Biographical Studies

Biography as Narrative: Reconsideration of Xuanzang's Biographies Focusing on Japanese Old Buddhist Manuscripts

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Abstract: A biography is not only a record of a person's life, but also what Hayden White calls a 'narrative'. Xuanzang's biographies, such as the *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [*Biography of Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty*], should be also criticized as narratives based on Xuanzang's personalities imagined and/or idealized by the authors or editors. For example, the biographies found in the Japanese old Buddhist manuscripts, e.g. the Kongōji 金剛寺 version of the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [*Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*], show some different plots, and the differences are useful to understand the authors/editors' view of Xuanzang. In this paper, I would like to show the differences between Xuanzang's biographies, especially focusing on the variants of Japanese old Buddhist manuscripts, and investigate the intentions of the authors/editors.

Keywords: *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks*, Kongōji manuscript, Kōshōji manuscript, mythicization of Xuanzang

Introduction

A biography, as well as other historical works, is not only a record of a person's life but also what Hayden White calls 'story' or 'narrative,' which is constructed literarily through 'selection and arrangement of data from the *unprocessed historical record*'¹ based on the biographer's historical imagination. A biographer arranges events in a person's life into 'a hierarchy of significance by assigning events different functions as story elements in such a way as to disclose the formal coherence of a whole set of events considered as a comprehensive process with a discernible beginning, middle, and end.'²

The biographies of Xuanzang 玄奘 (600?–664), such as *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 or the *Biography of Tripitaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery of the Great Tang Dynasty* (hereafter *DDSFZ*), should be also criticized as narratives based on Xuanzang's personalities imagined and/or idealized by the author(s) or editor(s). For example, the biographies found in the Japanese old Buddhist manuscripts, e.g. the Kongōji 金剛寺 (Osaka) and Kōshōji 興聖寺 (Kyoto) manuscripts of *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 or the *Further Biographies of Eminent Monks* (hereafter *XGZ*), show some different stories, and the differences are useful to understand the authors/editors' view of Xuanzang. In this paper, I would like to show the differences between Xuanzang's biographies, especially focusing on the variants found in *XGZ* of Japanese old Buddhist manuscripts, and investigate the intentions of the author(s) or editor(s).

Xuanzang's Different Biographies

There are some texts which include Xuanzang's biography. *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 or *The Great Tang Record of Travels to Western*

¹ White, *Metahistory*, 5.

² White, *Metahistory*, 7.

Lands (hereafter *DXJ*) is not known as a biography but some kind of a travel record or topography. However, it includes some biographical descriptions about Xuanzang, which may be his oldest biography. The fourth volume of *XGZ* is, for the most part, Xuanzang's biography. *DDSFZ* is the most detailed version and was completed after Xuanzang's death.

These texts have been studied based on the *Taishō* canon. At the meeting of Japan Association of Indian and Buddhist studies in 1979, however, Ogata Kōshū 緒方香州 introduced a different version of *XGZ* preserved in Kōshōji temple in Kyoto, Japan.³ Focusing on Xuanzang's biography in *XGZ* of Kōshōji temple, Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤善真澄 revealed that *XGZ* had been revised gradually, and the Kōshōji manuscript version of Xuanzang's biography, which was based on the first draft of *XGZ* written in 645, was older than the *Taishō* canon version.⁴ Yoshimura Makoto also compared Xuanzang's biographies, including the Kōshōji version of *XGZ*, and pointed out that the arrangement of the events in the Kōshōji version was quite different from other biographies and it seemed to have a complete story in itself.⁵

In recent years, the Kokusai Bukkyōgaku daigakuin daigaku 國際佛教學大學 (International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies; ICPBS) has led the studies of old manuscripts preserved in Japanese temples, such as Nanatsudera 七寺 temple in Nagoya 名古屋, Kongōji temple in Osaka, Kōshōji temple in Kyoto and so forth,⁶ and demonstrated their importance. There seems to be no established theory to explain the formation of *XGZ* and the relationship between these manuscripts. Roughly speaking, *DXJ* and the Japanese old manuscript versions of *XGZ* were written during Xuanzang's lifetime, but the others were completed and revised after Xuanzang's

³ No paper of this introduction has been published.

⁴ Fujiyoshi, *Dōsen*.

⁵ Yoshimura, '*Daitō daijionji*'. For the formation of *XGZ*, see also Chi, '*Zoku kōsō den kenkyū josetsu*' and Chi, '*Dōsen no zenhansei*'.

⁶ ICPBS is publishing the catalogue database of 'Old Buddhist Manuscripts in Japanese Collections' (<https://koshakyo-database.icabs.ac.jp>).

death. While Kongōji and Kōshōji version of Xuanzang's biography in *XGZ* are almost identical, Saito Tatsuya states that the former seems to be the oldest among the existing versions.⁷ Saito claims that the original of the Kongōji version of *XGZ* could have been edited mainly in the Yonghui 永徽 period (650–656) and it seemed to last until the Xianqing 顯慶 period (656–661).⁸

Characteristics of Japanese old Manuscript Version of Xuanzang's Biography Different Arrangement of the Events

The arrangement of the events, especially of during Xuanzang's stay in India, in the Japanese old manuscript version is quite different from other biographies. Table 1 shows the main difference of narrative structure between the old manuscript version and newer *Taishō* canon version.⁹ Although there are many differences, I would like to deal with four differences below.

⁷ Saito, 'Features of the Kongō-ji version'; and Saito, 'Kongōji bon *Zoku kōsō den*'.

⁸ Saito, 'Kongōji *Zoku kōsō den*'.

⁹ A meticulously compared table can be found in Moro, *Ronri to rekishi*, 58–60.

TABLE 1

Old Mss. of <i>XGZ</i>	<i>Taishō</i> version of <i>XGZ</i> & <i>DDSFZ</i>
	→ Attacked by bandits on a boat in the Ganges
Arrival at Nālandā	Arrival at Nālandā
18-day Debate with Nālandā scholar monks	
	→ Śīlabhadra's teaching
	→ Tour around South India
	Debate with Śiṃharaśmi of Madhyamaka
	Debate with Prajñāgupta of Sāṃhitīya
Debate with a scholar of Lokāyata	Debate with a scholar of Lokāyata
Debate with non-Buddhist scholars	Debate with non-Buddhist scholars
	→ 18-day Debate with Non-Buddhists and Hīnayāna Buddhists in Kanauj
Buddhist Service in Kanauj	Buddhist Service in Kanauj
Śīlabhadra's teaching	
Tour around South Indiae	
Attacked by bandits on a boat in the Ganges	
Leaving India	Leaving India

The first is the change of the role of Śīlabhadra (Jiexian 戒賢), regarded as the most important Indian Yogācāra teacher of Xuanzang. In the newer biographies, Xuanzang learned *Yogācārabhūmi* and *vi-jñapti-mātratā* scriptures from Śīlabhadra, and argued Madhyamaka and Hīnayāna scholars down, based on the teaching of Śīlabhadra. In the Japanese old manuscript version, however, Xuanzang learned

from Śīlabhadra just before returning to China. He defeated scholars of other schools without Śīlabhadra's teaching.¹⁰ It is reasonable to think that the Japanese old manuscript version tried to express the preeminence of Chinese Buddhism which Xuanzang had learned, while the *Taishō* canon version stressed the excellence of the Indian Yogācāra Buddhism.

Second, Xuanzang and his companion were attacked by bandits on a boat in the Ganges and about to be sacrificed to deities. According to the *Taishō* canon version of *XGZ*, they were attacked before arriving at Nālandā and survived because of the miracle occurred by 'meditating *Maitreya Tathāgata* and the three treasures maintained in China' (注想慈尊彌勒如來及東夏住持三寶) and making a vow.¹¹ The description in the Japanese old manuscript version of *XGZ*, however, is suggestively different since Xuanzang's party was attacked before leaving India and survived because of the miracle that occurred by 'meditating the three treasures maintained in China' (注想東夏住持三寶).¹² The event of bandits in the *Taishō* canon version seems to express a difficulty in reaching India, while the Japanese old manuscript version seems to use the event as a barrier to return to China. In other words, the former seems to show Xuanzang's yearning for India or Indian Yogācāra Buddhism, which was legendarily established by Maitreya. It is reasonable to say that this editorial direction was shared by *DDSFZ*, which describes Xuanzang's firm determination to reach India:

Master (Xuanzang) says: 'I, poor in virtue, departed for the West to acquire the great teaching. If I would not reach the land of Brahmin, I never returned to the East. Even if I would die during this journey, I would have no regrets.'

貧道為求大法，發趣西方。若不至婆羅門國，終不東歸。縱死中途，非所悔也。¹³

¹⁰ Moro, 'Xuanzang's proof of idealism'.

¹¹ *XGZ*, T no. 2060, 50: 4.449c14–15.

¹² Nihon Koshakyō Kenkyūjo, *Zoku kōsō den maki yon maki roku*, 35.

In contrast, it is probable that the latter represents Xuanzang's strong will to bring Indian scriptures to China.

Third, more debates were added to the newer versions. In *DDSFZ* and the *Taishō* version of *XGZ*, Xuanzang debated with Śiṃharaśmi 師子光 of Madhyamaka, Prajñāgupta 般若瓊多 of Sāṃitīya, a scholar of Lokāyata 順世外道, and so forth. Yoshimura Makoto pointed out that the relationship between the description of these debates and the theory of the three turnings of the wheel of dharma was based on the *Samdhinirmocana sūtra*:¹⁴

Then the Bodhisattva Paramārthasamudgata said to the Buddha: 'Initially, in the Vārāṇasī area, in the Deer Park called Sage's falling site, the Bhagavan turned the wheel of dharma [by teaching] the four [noble] truths only for those who aspired the Śrāvaka vehicle. Although [the wheel of dharma] was very rare and uncommon, and no gods and humans could turn dharma appropriately before in the world, this wheel of dharma turned [by the Bhagavan] in this period is surpassable, provides an opportunity [for refutation], is of unfinished meaning, and serves as a basis for dispute.'

爾時勝義生菩薩復白佛言，‘世尊，初於一時，在婆羅痾斯仙人墮處施鹿林中，惟為發趣聲聞乘者，以四諦相轉正法輪。雖是甚奇甚為希有，一切世間諸天人等先無有能如法轉者，而於彼時所轉法輪，有上有容是未了義，是諸諍論安足處所。

'In the second period, only for those who aspired the Great vehicle, the Bhagavan turned the wheel of dharma [by teaching] obscurely that all phenomena lack self-nature and any marks of arising or cessation, are originally quiescent, and are naturally in a state of *nirvāṇa*. Although [the wheel of dharma was] much rarer and more uncommon, the wheel of dharma turned [by the Bhagavan] in this period is surpassable, provides an opportunity [for refutation], is also of unfinished meaning, and serves as a basis for dispute.'

¹³ T no. 2053, 50: 1.223b19–21.

¹⁴ Yoshimura, 'Genjō no daijō kan'. See also Moro, 'Obōsan'.

世尊，在昔第二時中，惟爲發趣修大乘者，依一切法皆無自性無生無滅，本來寂靜自性涅槃，以隱密相轉正法輪。雖更甚奇甚爲希有，而於彼時所轉法輪，亦是有上有所容受，猶未了義，是諸諍論安足處所。’

‘Now in the third period, for those who aspired all vehicles, the Bhagavan turned the wheel of dharma [by teaching] obviously that all phenomena lack self-nature and any marks of arising or cessation, are originally quiescent, and are naturally in a state of *nirvāṇa*. [The wheel of dharma is] the rarest and most uncommon. The wheel of dharma turned [by the Bhagavan] now is unsurpassable, does not provide an opportunity [for refutation], is of definitive meaning, and does not serve as a basis for dispute.’

‘世尊，於今第三時中，普爲發趣一切乘者，依一切法皆無自性無生無滅，本來寂靜自性涅槃無自性性，以顯了相轉正法輪。第一甚奇最爲希有。於今世尊所轉法輪，無上無容是眞了義，非諸諍論安足處所。’¹⁵

The theory states that the teachings of Buddha’s lifetime can be divided into three major periods. This theory has been interpreted as the classification of the history/doctrines of Buddhism; the doctrine of Early Buddhism, such as the Four Noble Truths as the first period; the theory of Emptiness (*śūnyatā*), as typified by the *Prajñāpāramitā sūtras*, as the second period; and the Mahāyāna *sūtras*, such as *Samādhinirmocana sūtra* as the third period. It would be reasonable to think that the debate with Lokāyata seems to correspond to the first wheel of dharma, the debate with Prajñāgupta to the second wheel, and the debate with Siṃharaśmi to the third wheel.¹⁶ It is reasonable to suppose that the revision of the biography mythologized

¹⁵ T no. 676, 16: 2.697a23–b9. English translation is based on Powers, *Wisdom of Buddha*.

¹⁶ Moro, *Ronri to rekishi*, states that the theory of the three turnings of the wheel of dharma could be regarded as *basso ostinato* of the discourses on various controversies that involved the East Asian Yogācāra tradition.

as if Xuanzang's controversial activities in India followed Buddha's three-period teachings.

And finally, the record of the eighteen-day debate in Kanauj was rewritten from that in Nālandā. Table 2 clearly shows the rewriting (underlined parts are parallels). The problem of the record of debate in Kanauj will be discussed below.

TABLE 2

Debate with Nālandā scholars	Debate with Non-Buddhists and/or Hīnayāna Buddhists in Kanauj
<p>柴初達寺, 義學有股, 諸有內外, 聞皆歸起。十有八日, 豎大論場, 邪正翕集, <u>乃萬數</u>。思欲讎擊, 三千餘人。既登坐, 以已舊解, 用相抗對, 得無殿後。僧眾大悅, 各稱慶快。佛法興矣, <u>乃令邊僧, 權智若此</u>。¹⁷</p>	<p>是日發敕, 普告天下, 總集沙門婆羅門一切異道, 會曲女城。自冬初泝流, 臘月方到。爾時四方翕集, 乃有萬數, 能論義者數千人, 各擅雄辯, 咸稱克敵。先立行殿, 各容千人。安像陳供, 香花音樂。請柴昇座, 即標舉論宗, 命眾徵覈。竟十八日, 無敢問者。王大嗟賞。施銀錢三萬, 金錢一萬, 上氎一百具。仍令大臣執紼袈裟, 巡眾唱言, ‘支那法師論勝, 十八日來無敢問者, 並宜知之。’於時僧眾大悅曰, ‘佛法重興。乃令邊人權智若此!’¹⁸</p>

Debate in Kanauj and the Proof of *Vijñapti-mātratā*

According to *Yinming ruzhengli lun shu* 因明入正理論疏 [Commentary on *Nyāyapraveśa*; YRLS] authored by Kuiji 窺基 or Ji 基 (632–682), Xuanzang, during his studies in India, was at a large Buddhist service held by the king Śīlāditya 戒日王, and on the king's request, established an inference to prove the *vijñapti-mātratā* (hereafter the *proof*):

After traveling around India and completing his study, our master [i.e. Xuanzang], wanted to return to China. At that time, Śīlāditya,

¹⁷ Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures, *Zoku kōsō den maki yon maki roku*, 31.

¹⁸ XGZ, T no. 2060, 50: 4.453b25.

who was the king of India, held a large and uninterrupted Buddhist service that lasted for eighteen days and asked our master to spread his interpretation of Yogācāra all over India. The king chose those who have wisdom and goodness, called them to the service. He sent non-Buddhists and Hīnayāna Buddhists to dispute with Xuanzang. Our master had made the following inference, and no one could make an argument against it

且如大師，周遊西域，學滿將還。時戒日王，王五印度，爲設十八日無遮大會，令大師立義。遍諸天竺簡選賢良，皆集會所，遣外道小乘，競申論詰。大師立量，時人無敢對揚者。大師立唯識比量云：

Thesis: In truth (真故, **tattvatas*),¹⁹ colors and forms (色, **rūpa*), which are mutually accepted [by proponent and opponent] (極成, **lokaprasiddha*), are not separate from the visual consciousness.

真故極成色不離於眼識宗。

Reason: Because, [based on the ground] I accept (自許), they are included in the first three [*dhātus*], but are not included in the eye.

自許初三攝眼所不攝故因。

Example: Like as the visual consciousness.

猶如眼識喻。²⁰

The record of the *proof* in *YRLS* is the oldest and cannot be found in any biographies (Table 3). The record was edited after Qianfeng 乾封 period (666–668), since it includes a criticism on the *proof* sent by Sun'gyeong 順憬 (d.u.) of Silla. According to Zenju 善珠 (724–797) in Nara Period, Sun'gyeong's criticism was based on *Pan biryang non*

¹⁹ He, 'Xuanzang, Bhaviveka, and Dignaga' discusses the Sanskrit term candidate of *zhengu* 真故.

²⁰ T no. 1840, 44: 2.115b21–27.

判比量論 [*Critical Discussion of Inference*] written by Wonhyo 元曉 (617–686), in which the postscript states that it completed in ‘Xianheng year 2’ 咸亨二年 (671).²¹ In addition, I claim that Xuanzang seemed not to be an author, but rather an introducer of the *proof*, and that Kuiji invented Xuanzang’s authorship of the *proof*, since Wengui/Mungwe 文軌 (d.u.), who introduced himself as a direct disciple of Xuanzang, did not regard demonstrations like the *proof* as correct.²²

TABLE 3

	Buddhist Service in Kanauj	Debate with Non-Buddhists and/or Hīnayāna Buddhists	The <i>Proof</i>
<i>DXJ</i>	Yes	No	No
Old MS of <i>XGZ</i>	Yes (very short)	No	No
<i>Taishō</i> Edition of <i>XGZ</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>DDSFZ</i>	Yes	Yes	No
<i>YRLS</i>	Yes	Yes	Yes

Although all main biographies have the record of the Buddhist service in Kanauj held by King Śīlāditya, the description of the debates around the Buddhist service between Xuanzang and the Indian audience of non-Buddhists and/or Hīnayāna Buddhists seemed to be added afterwards (Table 4), probably based on the description of the different debate in Nālandā found in the Japanese manuscripts of *XGZ*.

²¹ Fukihara, *Han biryō ron*, 5.

²² Moro, ‘Proof of *viññaptimātratā* and Mungwe’; see also Tang, ‘Wōnhyo’s Antinomic Inference’.

TABLE 4

Events	Old MS of <i>XGZ</i> ²³	Taishō Edition of <i>XGZ</i> ²⁴
Visiting Kāmarūpa and Meeting with King Kumara (Bhaskaravarman)	便往東印度境，迦摩□多國童子王所。以彼風俗並信異道故，其部眾乃有數萬，佛法雖弘，未至其土。王事天神，受重教義，但聞智人，不問邪正，皆一奉敬其人。初染佛法，將弘聖化。故於此國，創開釋典，以事達王，嘆獎勝度。童子初聞，即使迎引，既達相見，宛若親賓，言議接對，又經晦朔。斯國東境，接蜀西蠻。聞之途路，兩月應至。	遂往東印度境，迦摩縷多國。以彼風俗並信異道故，其部眾乃有數。佛法雖弘，未至其土。王事天神，愛重教義。但聞智人，不問邪正，皆一奉敬其人。創染佛法，將事弘闡，故往開化，既達於彼。王歎獎勝度，神思清遠。童子王聞欣得面歛，遣使來請，再三乃往。既至相見，宛若舊游。言議接對，又經晦朔。於時異術雲聚，請王決論。言辯纓交，邪徒草靡。王加崇重，初開信門，請問諸佛，何所功德。獎讚如來三身利物，因造《三身論》三百頌，以贈之。王曰，‘未曾有也。’頂戴歸依。此國東境，接蜀西蠻。聞其途路，兩月應達。
Invitation of Śīlāditya	戒日大王聞臣告曰，‘東蕃印度童子王所，有大脂那沙門大乘天者，道德弘遠，彼所奉事。請往致之。’其大乘天號，即印度諸僧美獎之日也。戒日既聞，即遣召與但□，會中印度。	於時戒日王臣告曰，‘東蕃童子王所，有支那大乘天者，道德弘被，彼王所重。請往致之。’其大乘天者，即印度諸僧美獎之目也。王曰，‘我已頻請，辭而不來，何因在彼？’即使語拘摩羅王，‘可送支那法師，來共會祇羅國。’童子王命象軍二萬船三萬，與獎泝伽河，以赴戒日。
Meeting with Śīlāditya	自與宮屬百餘萬眾，順河東下，同集摩伽。一與面對，歡然合從，爾長參正，論諸理義。	戒日與諸官屬百餘萬眾，順河東下，同集羯朱祇羅國。初見頂禮，鳴足盡敬，散花設頌，無量供已，曰，‘弟子先請，何為不來？’答，‘以聽法未了，故此延命。’又曰，‘彼支那國，有《秦王破陣樂》歌舞曲。秦王何人，致此歌詠？’獎曰，‘即今正國之天子也。是大聖人，撥亂反政，恩霑六合，故有斯詠。’王曰，‘故天縱之，為物主也。’乃延入行宮，陳諸供養。

²³ Research Institute for Old Japanese Manuscripts of Buddhist Scriptures, *Zoku kōsō den maki yon maki roku*, 32–33.

²⁴ *XGZ*, T no. 2060, 50: 4.453a22–c7.

Events	Old MS of <i>XGZ</i>	Taishō Edition of <i>XGZ</i>
Publication of <i>Zhi ejian lun</i> 《制惡見論》. ²⁵		乃述《制惡見論》。顧謂門師曰， ‘日光既出，燄燭奪明。師所寶 者，他皆破訖。試救取看。’小 乘諸僧，無敢言者。王曰，‘此 論雖好，然未廣聞。欲於曲女城 大會，命五印度能言之士，對眾 顯之，使邪從正，捨小就大。不 亦可乎。’
18-day Debate with Non-Buddhists and Hinayāna Buddhists in Kanauj	(See Table 2)	是日，發敕普告天下，總集沙門 婆羅門一切異道，會曲女城。自 冬初泝流，臘月方到。爾時四方 翕集，乃有萬數。能論義者數千 人，各擅雄辯，咸稱克敵。先立 行殿，各容千人。安像陳供，香 花音樂。請樊昇座，即標舉論 宗，命眾徵駁。竟十八日，無敢 問者。王大嗟賞。施銀錢三萬， 金錢一萬，上氎一百具。仍令大 臣執樊袈裟巡眾唱言，‘支那法 師論勝，十八日來無敢問者，並 宜知之!’於時僧眾大悅曰，‘佛 法重興，乃令邊人權智若此!’
Buddhist Service in Kanauj	時月經久，延還本邑，曲女王 都，觀其所設五年 <u>大施</u> 。	便辭東歸，王重請住觀七十五 日 <u>大施</u> 場相。事訖辭還。

Conclusion

Why does the Japanese old manuscript version of *XGZ* have such a different structure from other major biographies? For what reason had the Japanese old manuscript version been revised? One reason may be that Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), the author of *XGZ*, did not have enough or accurate information on Xuanzang’s journey when he was writing the first draft of *XGZ*, on which the Japanese old manuscripts were based. However, it is reasonable to think that Daoxuan aimed to express the image of Xuanzang through selecting

²⁵ Fu, ‘Xuanzang fashi’, as with other studies, regards the proof as a part of *Zhi ejian lun* 制惡見論.

and arranging the events so far as he knew. Originally, the image of Xuanzang, found in the Japanese old manuscript version, could be an acknowledged Chinese Buddhist master superior to Indian masters who contributed to Chinese Buddhist society by bringing back Indian scriptures. That in the *Taishō* canon version would be a seeker of the Indian Yogācāra Buddhism and one who proved the superiority of the Yogācāra Buddhism under the guidance of Śīlabhadra. The latter image seems to be influenced by the theory of the three turnings of the wheel of dharma, which claims that the Yogācāra Buddhism is the most excellent teaching of Buddha. The revision contributed to the mythicization of Xuanzang's biography, which regards Xuanzang as the Yogācāra master like Śākyamuni.

What is now needed is critical investigation of Xuanzang's biographies based on new materials such as the Japanese old manuscripts. We also need to consider Xuanzang's biographies from a narratological point of view.

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Abbreviations

<i>DDSFZ</i>	<i>Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan</i> 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳; see Bibliography, Primary Sources.
<i>DXJ</i>	<i>Da Tang Xiyu ji</i> 大唐西域記; see Bibliography, Primary Sources.
<i>XGZ</i>	<i>Xu Gaoseng zhuan</i> 續高僧傳; see Bibliography, Primary Sources.
<i>T</i>	<i>Taishō shinshū daizōkyō</i> 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
<i>YRLS</i>	<i>Yinming ruzhengli lun shu</i> 因明入正理論疏. See Bibliography, Primary Sources.

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Chinese State and Buddhist Historical Sources on Xuanzang: Historicity and the *Da Ci'en Si Sanzang Fashi Zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳

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Abstract: This paper explores the historicity of state and Buddhist accounts of the monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664), arguing that in the reconstruction of Xuanzang's life and career we ought to utilize the former to help adjudicate the latter. It is specifically argued that the *Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (*T* no. 2053), a biography of Xuanzang sometimes cited by modern scholars, was produced as Buddhist propaganda to advance the standing of certain monks under the reign of Wu Zetian 武則天 (r. 690–705). It is further argued that the objectivity of the Buddhist account that describes Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) embracing Buddhism in his twilight years under the influence of Xuanzang ought to be reconsidered.

Keywords: Xuanzang, Historiography, Histories, Taizong, Yancong, Huili

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Introduction

This paper explores the value of utilizing state and secular sources alongside Buddhist accounts in the reconstruction of the life and career of the eminent Buddhist monk and translator Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664). I will argue that these non-Buddhist sources can and ought to be employed to help adjudicate the accounts we read in Buddhist sources. Utilizing these resources, this study takes a particular interest in a part of Buddhist history that has uncritically painted a relationship between the emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) and Xuanzang based upon what I will argue is imaginative material found in the *Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (*T* no. 2053; hereafter *Ci'en zhuan*),¹ a biography of Xuanzang purportedly produced by Huili 慧立 (615–ca. 677) and thereafter expanded by Yancong 彦宗 (fl. 688). The title is translated as *Biography of the Tripitaka Dharma Master of Great Ci'en Monastery*. Accounts of Xuanzang and Taizong in other available sources from the medieval period, however, provide a different narrative, and one that in my estimation is closer to an objective 'positivistic' historical reality, as I will show.² In particular, I will contrast the *Ci'en zhuan* with the

Council of Learned Societies). I am grateful to James A. Benn and Jayarava Attwood for providing feedback on drafts of this paper.

¹ All Buddhist canonical texts are cited according to the index numbers and pagination in the following collections: *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* (abbreviated as *T*) and *Xuzangjing* (abbreviated as *X*).

² No history is entirely neutral in its composition. This extends to my own work presented in this study. I will primarily utilize a philological framework under the assumption that we can and ought to attempt to reconstruct a past reality as objectively as possible. There are, of course, alternative approaches to writing history. Carl R. Trueman notes that 'one of the popular clichés of contemporary culture is that all truth is relative. ... This relativism has manifested itself within the historical profession over recent decades in terms of a rising epistemological skepticism, if not nihilism, that has tended in the most extreme cases to make all narratives simply projections of the present-day circumstances and opinions of the historian.' See Trueman, *Histories and Fallacies*, 25.

biography of Xuanzang penned by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), whose work is arguably more reliable in terms of historicity.

The present study specifically argues that the *Ci'en zhuan* represents a form of Buddhist propaganda from the year 688—a time when Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705) was the *de facto* ruler of the Chinese court—produced by Yancong with the aim of advancing the status of the *Yogācārabhūmi* and the Chinese monks associated with this text at court, while also rewriting some aspects of Emperor Taizong's life in order to advance the contemporary rise of Buddhism.

Despite the issues with this document, which we will explore at length below, the *Ci'en zhuan* has been used in the reconstruction of Xuanzang's life in modern scholarship. Kuwayama Shōshin 桑山正進 and Hakamaya Noriaki's 袴谷憲照 chronology of Xuanzang's career, and Liu Shufun's 劉淑芬 study, for instance, all accept the *Ci'en zhuan* as a valid source of objective historical knowledge about Xuanzang in their writings. The latter understands this work to be the most important historical resource regarding the life of Xuanzang, and she bases many of her arguments concerning Xuanzang's life on this document.³

Here we might recall John Kieschnick, who observes that 'scholars have concentrated on winnowing out such fabulous elements in an attempt to uncover a factual core.' He further notes that this process 'is crucial if we are to understand what a given monk really said and did at a particular place and time.'⁴ With respect to Xuanzang specifically, Moro Shigeki suggests that his biographies 'should be also criticized as narratives based on Xuanzang's personalities imagined and/or idealized by the author(s) and editor(s).'⁵ This salient point highlights the need to remain constantly aware of the agendas of Xuanzang's biographers or those who simply wrote about him to any extent—Buddhist or otherwise—which is a topic to which we shall pay close attention.

³ Kuwayama and Hakamaya, *Genjō*; Liu, 'Xuanzang de zuihou shi nian,' 4, 11–13.

⁴ Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk*, 1.

⁵ Moro, 'Biography as Narrative', 477.

The present study additionally argues that utilization of secular and state sources—i.e., dynastic histories and encyclopedic compendia—will furnish elements for use within a critical apparatus with which historians of Chinese Buddhism might better compare and contrast accounts of Buddhist monks. One would similarly not reconstruct the history of Christianity using Church sources alone, and likewise we scholars of Chinese Buddhism ought to read *all* available premodern materials when carrying out our excavation of Chinese Buddhist history. Of course, secular and state sources have their own prejudices and biases, but I will show that they can and ought to be used to help gauge the veracity of accounts of Xuanzang in Buddhist writings.

The Primary Chinese Buddhist Sources on Xuanzang's Life

The *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (*T* no. 2087) is Xuanzang's travelogue written upon his return to China at the request of Emperor Taizong in 646. This text is an account of Xuanzang's journey to the 'Western Regions' (*Xiyu* 西域, i.e., Central and Inner Asia, and India) and back between the years 627/629–645. The travelogue also provides details about the cultures, folklores, customs, and measurements of India and neighboring regions. The content of this work has some issues, such as its descriptions of places in India that Xuanzang might not have actually ever visited himself, but nevertheless this document still aids us in judging the credibility of a later work often mined for biographical information about Xuanzang's life, namely, the *Ci'en zhuan*.⁶

I would, however, suggest that the *Ci'en zhuan* ought not be utilized as a credible source of objectively historical knowledge about Xuanzang without careful comparisons to other sources. The preface to the work by the monk Yancong, who appears to be the actual

⁶ Deeg, for example, suspects that Xuanzang might not have actually visited Mathurā in India despite having written a description of it. See Deeg, 'Has Xuanzang Really Been in Mathurā?', 426–388.

author of the text as it presently exists, includes an inscription with the date of the fourth year of Chuigong 垂拱 (688). The preface explains that the monk Huili of Weiguo Xi si 魏國西寺 (the 'Western Temple Weiguo') originally produced a biography (*zhuan* 傳) of Xuanzang in five fascicles, but the 'author feared that some of the virtuous points might have been overlooked, and so he had it stored in an underground chamber' 慮遺諸美遂藏之地府.⁷ Huili is then said to have ordered his disciples to fetch the manuscript from the chamber while on his deathbed, but it was 'scattered in segments to various places. Sometime later, after several years of searching and purchasing, it was recently brought together again in its complete form' 流離分散他所, 累載搜購近乃獲全. Yancong then explains that he used this recompiled text as a basis for his extended ten-fascicle version.⁸

There are comments attributed to Huili appended to the end of the text, in which he relates that Xuanzang 'in the spring of the nineteenth year of the present reign of the Tang dynasty [645] on the twenty-fifth day, returned to Chang'an 以今唐十九年春正月二十五日還至長安'.⁹ This mention of the present reign-era (i.e., Zhenguan 貞觀) would presumably indicate that Huili was writing between 645, when Xuanzang returned to China, and 649, when the emperor Taizong died. Yoshimura Makoto 吉村誠 makes this observation and interprets this date to be the approximate time when Huili produced his version of Xuanzang's biography, suggesting that Huili produced his manuscript before 649.¹⁰ Did Huili actually produce a five-fascicle version sometime between 645–649? The first problem with this account of Huili's activities is that the monastery Weiguo si existed

⁷ The suffix *xi* 西 ('western') can be explained by the fact that there were five temples called Taiyuan si in Tang China. There was also a sister temple with the same name, but referred to as 'Eastern Weiguo Temple' (東魏國寺) in Luoyang, between 4 February 688 until before 690. See Forte, 'On the Origins of the Great Fuxian Monastery', 68.

⁸ T no. 2053: 50.221a27–b14. For an English translation, see Li, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 8–9.

⁹ T no. 2053: 50.279a18–19. Li, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 343–44.

¹⁰ Yoshimura, 'Dai Tō Daijion-ji Sanzō Hōshi den', 81.

with this specific name only between the years 687/88–690. Wang Pu's 王溥 (922–982) *Tang huiyao* 唐會要, compiled in 961, relates the following:

Chongfu si—Linxiang Ward [i.e., Xiuxiang Ward 休祥坊]—was originally the estate of Director Yang Gongren [d. 639]. On the second day of the ninth lunar month in the second year of Xianheng [October 10, 671], Taiyuan si was established using the estate of Empress Wu's maternal family. In the twelfth lunar month in the third year of Chuigong [January 9 to February 6, 688], it was renamed Weiguo si. On the sixth day of the fifth lunar month in the first year of Zaichu [April 20, 690], it was renamed Chongfu si.

崇福寺，林祥坊，本侍中楊恭仁宅。咸亨二年九月二日，以武后外氏宅立太原寺。垂拱三年十二月，改為魏國寺。載初元年五月六日，改為崇福寺。¹¹

The earliest mention of Xuanzang's biography attributed to Huili and Yancong is in 730. Zhisheng 智昇 (?–740+) in his *Kaiyuan shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 (T no. 2154) associates Huili with the Taiyuan si and *not* Weiguo si. Zhisheng relates that Huili ordained as a monk in 629. He was later ordered by imperial decree to assist in translations at Ci'en si (the institution with which Xuanzang was affiliated), before becoming rector of Ximing si 西明寺, and later abbot of Tai-

¹¹ *Tang huiyao*, 48.846. Forte argues that this dating is incorrect, but 'it is certain that the monastery existed by July 3, 671 (Xianheng 2.5.22), because it is mentioned twice in a manuscript copied on that very day'. Forte points out that a different source, the *Gangmu bieji* 綱目別記 (not extant), gives the date of the name change as the second lunar month of the 3rd year of Chuigong (March 19 to April 17, 687). A separate source, the non-extant *Diwang niandai li* 帝王年代曆, gives February 19, 687. Forte concludes that February 19, 687 was the actual date of the renaming. Forte further notes that the monastery was called Chongfu si on December 23, 689 or January 9, 690. The point to take away from Forte's discussion is that the monastery in question was called Weiguo si approximately between 687–690. See Forte, 'The Chongfu Monastery', 457–60.

yuan si.¹² These monasteries were all located in the capital Chang'an. Also, Antonino Forte notes that the 'last colophon in which he [Huili] is mentioned as chief of the Taiyuan Monastery is dated January 29, 677.'¹³ Huili's latest date is 677, a time when he is still associated with Taiyuan si. This is still a decade before 687/88, when Taiyuan si was renamed to Weiguo si.

According to Yancong's preface, Yancong himself was asked to edit and expand Huili's manuscript, although there is no mention of whom specifically made this request. Zanning's 贊寧 (920–1001) *Song Gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 (*T* no. 2061) includes an account of Yancong that states it was Huili's disciples who made this request to Yancong, rather than Huili himself.¹⁴

Even if we assume that Huili had lived until around 687/88 when Taiyuan si was renamed Weiguo si, Yancong still states that the scattered pieces of Huili's manuscript had only been fully collected after 'several years of searching and purchasing'. The monastery's renaming—and apparently Yancong's work—date to circa 688. We are therefore left to wonder why Yancong would associate Huili with the contemporary name of the monastery in question.

Another issue that arises is that court and Buddhist chroniclers in medieval China faithfully recorded dates of important events together with the deaths of eminent figures, hence the absence of dates in Yancong's outline of Huili is suspicious. There are no contemporary records of Huili's biography of Xuanzang, which could be conveniently explained away by the traditional account that Huili hid his manuscript away before it ended up scattered in pieces, only to be restored 'several years' later. Yoshimura, however, argues that some structural features apparent in the text, such as a great many petitions to the emperor included in fascicles six to ten, are reflective of Yancong's editing.¹⁵ If Yancong did, in fact, have access to a manuscript by Huili, then perhaps Zhisheng's brief account is most plausible, in

¹² *T* no. 2154: 55.564b27–c3 and 624c24.

¹³ Forte, 'The Chongfu Monastery', 457, note 12.

¹⁴ *T* no. 2053: 50.221b8–9 and *T* no. 2061: 50.728c25–26.

¹⁵ Yoshimura, 'Dai Tō Daijion-ji Sanzō Hōshi den', 84–85.

that he states Huili simply died before his work was completed, and Yancong finished it.¹⁶ The story in the extant preface about Huili's manuscript being hidden away and then painfully reconstructed remains suspect in my opinion. Liu Shufen, in contrast, accepts the traditional narrative about Huili's manuscript and suggests that Huili did not dare show his biography to anyone because it recorded politically sensitive contemporary matters, but such a conclusion might have to be reconsidered if we cannot conclusively establish that Huili's work was really incorporated into the *Ci'en zhuan*.¹⁷

In any case, the main problem with identifying material from Huili, I contend, is that we simply do not have adequate manuscript evidence, and we may only realistically speak of the extant recension, i.e., Yancong's work from 688 (assuming, of course, this date is genuine). I will therefore only speak of Yancong's work.

What sort of material formed the foundation for Yancong's work? It is clear that Yancong's work adapts material from Xuanzang's travelogue. For instance, with respect to the dietary customs of the monks of Kucha, Xuanzang states, 'As they eat the three kinds of pure meat together with other foodstuffs, they are still stagnating in the stage of the gradual teaching' 尚拘漸教食雜三淨.¹⁸ Yancong, however, imagines from this brief comment that Xuanzang rejected an offering of meat from the king, which appears to constitute an attempt at emphasizing a Mahāyāna identity:

On the following day, the king invited the Master to the palace and offered him various kinds of food, among which were the three kinds

¹⁶ T no. 2154: 55.564c10–13.

¹⁷ Liu, 'Xuanzang de zuihou shinian', 97.

¹⁸ T no. 2087: 51.870a26. See English translation by Li, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 17. The three types of pure meat (also *sanzhong jingrou* 三種淨肉) refer to three types of meat that a Buddhist monastic may consume without penalty. The monastic must not have seen, heard, or suspected that the meat was consumed for their benefit. If otherwise, the meat is said to be impure and must not be consumed by the monastic. This rule is stated in the Vinaya. See *Sifen lü*, T no. 1428, 22: 872b11–13.

of 'clean meat'. These the Master refused to take. The king was quite amazed by it, and so the Master said in explanation, 'It is permissible to take meat in the gradual teaching of Buddhism, but I follow the Mahāyāna teaching, which prohibits the eating of meat.' Thus, he took some other kind of food.

明日, 王請過宮備陳供養, 而食有三淨. 法師不受, 王深怪之, 法師報: '此漸教所開, 而玄奘所學者, 大乘不爾也.' 受餘別食.¹⁹

Xuanzang in his travelogue only reports a few details about the king of Kucha, but does not mention ever meeting him, let alone dining together. This and other examples demonstrate that the *Ci'en zhuan* is only loosely *based upon* true events.

There exists an arguably more historical account of Xuanzang available from a Buddhist hand, which postdates Xuanzang's travelogue by only a few years. This was written by Daoxuan sometime between 646–649. The earliest recensions of this text were preserved in Japan at the Kōshō-ji 興聖寺 and elsewhere. Separate manuscripts of Xuanzang's biography by Daoxuan are from Kongō-ji 金剛寺 and Nanatsudera 七寺. Saitō concludes that the Kongō-ji version is the oldest text.²⁰ The Kōshō-ji manuscript was copied during the Heian period (784–1185). Fujiyoshi Masumi 藤善眞澄 dates the original recension of Xuanzang's biography in this manuscript to 648.²¹ This recension was later updated by Daoxuan before 667, and then it was further revised in 669 by unknown persons following Daoxuan's death.²² The latter recension became part of the standard edition of

¹⁹ T no. 2053: 50.226c13–16; Li, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, 39.

²⁰ The text from Kōshō-ji is reproduced with critical annotations in Yoshimura, 'Kōshō-ji-bon *Zoku kōsō den*', 190–216. I have based my study of Daoxuan's biography upon Yoshimura's critical edition, given its clarity and accessibility. Although the Kongō-ji version is older, the Kōshō-ji recension still dates to the lifetime of Daoxuan. There do not appear to be substantial differences between these two recensions. See table 3 in Saitō, 'Features of the Kongō-ji Version', 87.

²¹ Fujiyoshi, *Dōsen den no kenkyū*, 200–01.

²² Daoxuan died in 667, but reference is made to the reburial of Xuanzang's

the *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 (*T* no. 2060), which was reproduced in the xylographic Korean (Goryeo) canon, and later twentieth-century typeset Taishō canon.²³ Daoxuan's biography as recorded in the Kōshō-ji manuscript, as I will show below, is a far superior source of historical facts than Yancong's work, in light of how the former generally accords with state accounts, which we will discuss below.

The Uncertain Origin of the *Da Tang Gu Sanzang Xuanzang Fashi Xingzhuang* 大唐故三藏玄奘法師行狀

There is another Buddhist work which we must discuss that is accepted by some modern scholars as an authentic account of Xuanzang from shortly after his death in 664, titled *Da Tang gu Sanzang Xuanzang Fashi xingzhuang* 大唐故三藏玄奘法師行狀 (*T* no. 2052), purportedly produced by a certain Mingxiang 冥詳, whose identity is otherwise unattested anywhere else apart from this work, in which he is said to have been present at Xuanzang's funeral.²⁴ Liu Shufen dates this text to sometime before 664, since it mentions Xuanzang's funeral, although such a dating is highly problematic when we consider elements within this work and its first mention in the historical record.²⁵ First, the title of *T* no. 2052 is not cited in Chinese catalogs from any time period. Yoshimura assigns a date of 664 or thereafter, which is when Xuanzang died, hence the prefix *gu* 故 ('the late') in the title of the text.²⁶ The closest title cited in Chinese works reads *Tang Zang Fashi xingzhuang* 唐奘法師行傳, which is found in the

remains in 669. See *T* no. 2060: 50.458b9; Chi, 'Dōsen no zenhansei', 90. Yancong gives the precise date of this ceremony as the eighth day of the fourth lunar month in the second year of Zongzhang (總章二年四月八日; *T* no. 2053: 50.278b8–9).

²³ Yoshimura, 'Genjō no nenji mondai ni tsuite', 187. For Xuanzang's biography in the Taishō edition, see *T* no. 2060: 50.446c8–458c13.

²⁴ *T* no. 2052: 50.220a1.

²⁵ Liu, 'Xuanzang de zuihou shinian', 15.

²⁶ Yoshimura, 'Genjō no nenji mondai ni tsuite', 184.

Fayuan zhulin 法苑珠林 (*T* no. 2122) produced in 668 by Daoshi 道世 (d. 683), who was a contemporary of Xuanzang. This reference, however, is to Xuanzang's travelogue.²⁷

The Taishō editors consulted two manuscripts from the Heian period (from Kanchi-in 觀智院 and Hōbodai-in 寶菩提院) when producing the typeset version of *T*. no. 2052. The absence of dates or any other details here indicate that the editors were estimating the date of the manuscripts at hand. The identity of the purported author of *T* no. 2052 is actually not derived from the title, but rather from the inscription at the bottom of the document.²⁸ From the details of the Japanese postscript we can ascertain that the original copy of *T* no. 2052 by Genbō 賢寶 (1333–1398) was made in 1391, and then another copy was produced in 1687, followed by another copy being made in 1743.²⁹ The earliest date directly attested in *T* no. 2052 is therefore 1391. It is still uncertain, however, from where Genbō acquired his copy.

We can infer that Genbō was *not* the author, since *T* no. 2052 is cited in earlier Japanese works with the abbreviated title *Xuanzang xingzhuang* (Jp. *Genjō kōjō* 玄奘行狀). The earliest citation of *T* no. 2052 is in the *Mishū kyōsō shō* 祕宗教相鈔 (*T* no. 2441) by Chōyō 重譽 (fl. 1139–1143), in which an argument for the legitimacy of esoteric or Mikkyō lineages is made on the basis of this document,

²⁷ Compare *T* no. 2122: 53.780a4–6 and *T* no. 2087: 51.907b5–6.

²⁸ The first line reads as follows: ‘This chronicle was obtained on day ... of the eighth lunar month in the second year of Meitoku. Compiled by Mingxiang (etc., etc.)’ 明德二年八月日, 感得了此, 記冥詳撰云云. Here 明德二年 could also correspond to a Chinese reign-era (the year 935), but this is from a Japanese hand, thus it would refer to the second year of Meitoku (1391). As noted earlier, Mingxiang 冥詳 is not a name attested anywhere else, but an alternate authorship will be proposed below.

²⁹ There is a date of the fourth year of ‘Enkyō’ (延亨), *hino-tō* 丁卯 on the sexagenary cycle, but this is a scribal error for the fourth year of Jōkyō 貞享 (there was no ‘Enkyō’ era), which landed on a *hino-tō* year (1687). The last date given is the third year of Kahō 嘉保 (1096), but again this is a scribal error, likely for the third year of Kanpō 寛保 (1743).

which explains why it was hidden away before the time of Genbō:

Scholars of the exoteric teachings have long since greatly doubted the heritage of Mantra, perhaps even saying that it was not taught by the Buddha, yet in the *Account of Xuanzang*, clearly there is the Long-Lived Brahmin, who was a disciple of Nāgārjuna from whom Dharma Master Xuanzang learnt the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* and *Catuḥśataka* etc. Now the exoteric teaching has Tripiṭaka Xuanzang following the teachings of Nāgabodhi Ācārya, yet how is it that the scholars of the exoteric teachings make light of the Mantra transmitted by Nāgabodhi?³⁰ That *Account [of Xuanzang]* is cited to clarify this meaning. Having thus cited the text of the account and contemplated it, Tripiṭaka Xuanzang was also a disciple of Nāgabodhi Bodhisattva.

謂顯教學者，從昔已來大疑真言稟承，恐言非佛說，然《玄奘行狀》中，明有龍猛之弟子長命婆羅門，玄奘法師就已受學《中》、《百》論等。今顯教法，將玄奘三藏既隨龍智阿闍梨教，然者豈顯教學者輕傳智所傳之真言乎？爲顯此意方引彼傳說也。故引行狀文畢云以此觀之，玄奘三藏亦是龍智菩薩弟子也。³¹

The names of Nāgārjuna 龍猛 and Nāgabodhi 龍智 are conflated here, but it seems that the former was meant. If *T* no. 2052 had been available during the formative years of Mikkyō (ninth and tenth centuries), we might imagine that someone would have noticed what Chōyo is pointing out here. The Kōshō-ji recension of Xuanzang's biography does not actually mention this encounter.³² *T* no. 2052

³⁰ Read *den* 傳 as *ryū* 龍.

³¹ *T* no. 2441: 77.647c12–c20. See *T* no. 2052: 50.215c6–9.

³² We see the following therein: He arrived in the country of Ṭakka, its land located amongst flat rivers, being more than ten-thousand *li* in circumference. The two rivers divided into flows from which plants and trees flourished. He gradually moved onward to the southeast, passing through six countries, in which there were many ruins. 至磤迦國，土據平川，周萬餘里，兩河分注，卉木繁榮。漸次東南，路經六國，多有道迹。 See text reproduced in Yoshimura, 'Kōshō-

gives the following account of Xuanzang in Ṭakka, which is what Chōyo cites. *T* no. 2052 reads as follows:

He then went onward to the eastern frontier of Ṭakka. There was a great mango grove. Within the grove was a seven-hundred-year-old brahmin. Looking at his face, one could reckon him to be about thirty. He was learned in the *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* and *Catuhśataka*, as well as the Vedas. He was said to be Nāgārjuna's disciple. The Dharma Master [Xuanzang] stayed one month to study scriptures and the *Catuhśataka*. Next, he went eastward to Cīnabhukti.

次到磤迦東境。有大菴羅林，林中有一七百歲婆羅門，觀其面貌，可稱三十許。明《中》、《百》論及吠陀書。云是龍猛弟子。法師就停一月，學經《百論》。又東到那僕底國。³³

The Goryeo recension of Daoxuan's biography of Xuanzang gives a similar account.³⁴ Hence, this account of Xuanzang studying under Nāgārjuna's aged disciple was not part of Daoxuan's original biography as preserved in the Kōshō-ji recension, but it appears in *T* no. 2052 and thereafter in the Korean recension reproduced in the Taishō.

Yoshimura accepts the veracity of these later sources and in his chronology of Xuanzang's life places this purported period of study in the year 631.³⁵ However, the remarkable gap in years—at least four or five centuries—between this figure and Nāgārjuna is not addressed anywhere. Mikkyō monks in Japan presumably would have noticed the purported connection between Xuanzang and Nāgārjuna's lineage had the relevant account been known in Japan during the ninth

ji-bon *Zoku kōsō den*', 196. The rivers here refer to the Vipāśā to the east and Indus to the west. See Xuanzang's description in his travelogue: *T* no. 2087: 51.888b14–21. Li, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 97.

³³ *T* no. 2052: 50.215c6–9.

³⁴ *T* no. 2060: 50.449a16–26.

³⁵ Yoshimura, 'Genjō no nenji mondai ni tsuite', 201.

or tenth centuries. This point stands to cast suspicion on the dating of *T* no. 2052 to ca. 664.

Another factor to consider in this respect is that the earliest reference in Japan to *T* no. 2052 is found in the *Tōiki dendō mokuroku* 東域傳燈目錄 (*T* no. 2183), produced by the monk Eichō 永超 (1014–1096) of Kōfuku-ji 興福寺 in 1094. We see the following two entries therein:

Account of the Cien Tripitaka [Master]. One fascicle. (Compiled by Shi Yixiang 慈恩三藏行狀一卷(釋宜祥撰))

Encomium of the Cien Grandmaster Ji. One fascicle. (Produced by Emperor Wen of the Great Song) 慈恩基大師讚一卷(大宋文皇帝御製)³⁶

It is uncertain to which Song emperor the latter refers, since the character *wen* 文 was used in all of their posthumous names, but this biography of the monk Ji would have been composed sometime between the start of the Song in 960 and 1094, when Eichō produced his bibliography. Although the earlier text by Yixiang is not stated to be from the Song, Eichō grouped these two works together, which possibly indicates that they were brought to Japan together between 960–1094 (the former is not found in any earlier Japanese or Chinese catalog), and kept together in the repository that Eichō surveyed. We might therefore speculate that the former work was also produced during the early Song or perhaps somewhat earlier. Finally, it is important to note that the author of *T* no. 2052 could have been, it seems, a certain Shi Yixiang 釋宜祥 (or possibly Shi Mingxiang 釋冥祥), and *not* Mingxiang 冥詳 (note the latter character).

Historians have generally relied upon the biographical literature produced by Daoxuan, Yancong, and Yixiang/Mingxia when reconstructing the life of Xuanzang, but there are additional sources that we might consult for the purposes of crosschecking primary sources. One such set of underappreciated sources in the present context to which we can refer are state sources produced by court historians.

³⁶ *T* no. 2183: 55.1163b17–18.

State Accounts of Xuanzang

The state accounts of Xuanzang serve as a means to compare the aforementioned Buddhist accounts against another set from non-Buddhist authors. I argue that these state accounts assist the modern historian in inferring which details from Buddhist sources are suspect or—more importantly—ought to be considered plausible in our reconstruction of Xuanzang's life.

We need to be aware, however, that court historians, like Buddhists, had their own agendas when producing histories. For instance, the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書, a revised dynastic history of the Tang produced by Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) and Song Qi 宋祁 (998–1061) in 1060, omits all of the biographies of monks that Liu Xu 劉昫 (887–946) had included in fascicle 191 of the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書, compiled in 945. The omission of biographies of monks by Ouyang Xiu and Song Qi was likely the result of anti-Buddhist sentiments on the part of these two men and their wider literati community. Song Qi, for instance, severely criticizes Buddhism in his other writings.³⁷ Although some non-Buddhist authors indeed had their prejudices toward Buddhism, this was likely to result in omission of information, rather than any glorification of past monks. Apart from the work of Song Qi, the non-Buddhist sources at hand generally appear to describe Buddhist persons in an unsympathetic and ordinary—if not neutral—manner. Little ink, in any case, was spent on Buddhist figures compared to the emperors and statesmen that received the primary attention of court authors, yet even these small accounts dealing with Buddhist figures are invaluable as references with which we can crosscheck accounts written by Buddhists.

The most important state source in this regard is the *Jiu Tang shu*, which provides a brief overview of Xuanzang's life, which noticeably differs from Yancong's biography in several significant details. The first example concerns Xuanzang's departure and return to China:

³⁷ See the third *juan* of *Song Jingwen gong biji* 宋景文公筆記 (*SKQS*), 862: 547a8–b4. For extensive details on the writing of history during the Chinese medieval period, see Twitchett, *Writing of Official History*.

The monk Xuanzang was of the Chen family, being a man of Yanshi in Luozhou. During the later years of the Daye reign era [605–616] he renounced the home life to become a monk, and then extensively read scriptures and treatises. He thought that translators had made many errors, hence he would travel to the Western Regions to extensively search for alternate versions to consult. Early in the Zhenguan reign era [627–649], accompanying merchants he ventured to the Western regions. Xuanzang could always explain and resolve difficulties in debate wherever he was, owing to him being outstanding in terms of breadth of learning. Foreigners [i.e., non-Chinese people] far and wide all respected him. He was present in the Western Regions for seventeen years, where he travelled through more than a hundred states, allegedly always understanding the languages of those countries. He also collected [information on] their geographies, folk customs, and what their lands possessed, compiling the *Account of the Western Regions* in twelve fascicles. In the nineteenth year of Zhenguan [645], he returned to the capital. Taizong [r. 626–649] met him and was greatly delighted. They spoke together. As a result of this, [Taizong] ordered that the 657 Sanskrit texts that had been brought be translated at Hongfu si.

僧玄奘，姓陳氏，洛州偃師人。大業末出家，博涉經論。嘗謂翻譯者多有訛謬，故就西域，廣求異本以參驗之。貞觀初，隨商人往游西域。玄奘既辯博出群，所在必為講釋論難，蕃人遠近咸尊伏之。在西域十七年，經百餘國，悉解其國之語，仍采其山川謠俗，土地所有，撰《西域記》十二卷。貞觀十九年，歸至京師。太宗見之，大悅，與之談論。於是詔將梵本六百五十七部於弘福寺翻譯。³⁸

Liu Xu and the earlier team responsible for compiling the history, despite postdating Yancong by close to three centuries, were in privileged position to Yancong with respect to writing history, since they had access to court records from the Tang state.³⁹ We might therefore

³⁸ *Jiu Tang shu* 191.5108. The remark about Xuanzang's remarkable linguistic abilities was likely overstated.

³⁹ Twitchett, *Writing of Official History*, 191–97.

imagine that this account was directly extracted from or based upon court records.

Another relevant state source is Wang Qinruo 王欽若 (962–1025) and Yang Yi's 楊億 (974–1020) *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜, completed in 1013, which provides the following outline of Xuanzang's accomplishments:

Xuanzang returned from India with over six-hundred Sanskrit texts. Taizong was amazed by this and ordered learned *śramanas* to translate them with him. Providing comments on the holy teachings of the Tripiṭaka, Taizong produced a preface for the treatises. The crown prince again explained their virtues by writing an account of the holy to expand on their meaning.

玄奘於中天竺國將梵本經論六百餘部而歸。太宗奇之，召高業沙門與之翻譯。出三藏聖教，太宗為其論序。皇太子重闡斯美，乃著述聖記以廣其義。⁴⁰

This preface of Taizong refers to the *Da Tang sanzang shengjiao xu* 大唐三藏聖教序. The latter item refers to a preface penned by the crown prince, who would later become Emperor Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683). Daoxuan preserved both of these documents in his *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集, a compilation of political and other assorted documents related to Buddhism, produced in 664.⁴¹ Daoxuan in his biography also mentions that Xuanzang's request for a preface and the responses he received.⁴²

Li Fang's 李昉 (925–996) *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, produced between 977–983, cites a text titled *Gaoseng zhuan* 高僧傳 of the Tang, which could only refer to Daoxuan's work, although he seems to have also consulted the memorial inscription of Xuanzang. Li Fang gives the following account:

⁴⁰ *Cefu yuangui*, SKQS 903: 51.43b2–5. Read *chu* 出 as *xu* 叙.

⁴¹ T no. 2103: 52.258a27–c16 & 259a11–b17.

⁴² See Kōshō-ji manuscript in Yoshimura, 'Kōshō-ji-bon *Zoku kōsō den*', 212.

The *Biographies of Eminent Monks* from the Tang dynasty states that Tripiṭaka Dharma Master Xuanzang was from Chenliu, being of the Chen family. Early in the Zhenguan period, leaving the capital, he vowed to travel to the Western countries to visit the holy sites. After six years he arrived in the city of Magadha. For around twelve years, he visited sages. He fully mastered and probed the depths of the texts from the Nāga Court and the mysteries of Vulture's Peak.⁴³ He also travelled to the cave in which Mahākāśyapa had convened an assembly, and the tree under which a thousand sages attained the Way [i.e., the Bodhi Tree], sincerely prostrating himself, burning incense, and scattering flowers.⁴⁴ Great feasts were organized. Thus, the masses of the five realms of India and the eighteen kings offered [to Xuanzang] felts, and cast unto him pearls, which amassed like a mountain. They all called the Dharma Master 'Mahāyāna[-deva]'. Upon returning to the east, Taizong commanded him to stay at the Hongfu temple, whereupon he summoned twenty virtuous monks, such as Lingrun, to [assist in] translating Sanskrit.

唐《高僧傳》曰：三藏法師玄奘，陳留人，姓陳氏。貞觀初，肇自咸京，誓往西國，窮覽聖跡，經六載至摩伽陀城。凡十二年，備歷聖君，龍庭之文，就嶺之秘，皆研機睹奧矣。又造伽葉結集之墟，千聖道成之樹，虔心頂禮，焚香散花。設大施會。於是五天億眾、十八國王獻氎投珠，積如山岳，咸稱法師為大乘也。及東歸，太宗詔留於弘福道場，乃詔名德僧靈潤等二十人譯梵。⁴⁵

⁴³ 'Dragon Court' (*longting* 龍庭) is in reference to the 'Dragon Palace' (*long-gong* 龍宮), i.e., the Nāga Palace, which refers to the location from which Nāgārjuna retrieved the Mahāyāna teachings. Although Xuanzang records legends about palaces of *nāgas* in his travelogue, the term here is simply an allusion to Mahāyāna scriptures.

⁴⁴ Read *zao* 造 ('create') as *you* 遊 ('travel'). Read *xu* 墟 ('mound') as *ku* 窟 ('cave'). Xuanzang's travelogue and Yancong's narrative both describe this cave. The latter appears to have adapted text directly from the former. See *T* no. 2087: 51.922b14–18 and *T* no. 2053: 50.238a7–11.

⁴⁵ *Taiping yulan*, *SKQS* 899: 655.5b8–16.

This account glorifies Xuanzang in a manner atypical of the other state sources. The middle of this outline appears to be adapted—albeit with some modification of the original text—from Xuanzang’s memorial inscription, which extols Xuanzang in the same manner as Yangcong’s biography of him.⁴⁶ According to the colophon of the inscription, the authors of the inscription were Liu Ke 劉軻 (fl. eighth century) and the monk Jianchu 建初. According to the preface, the monk Lingjian 令檢 produced the inscription itself at Xuanzang’s pagoda. The date given at the end of the inscription is from the fourth year of Kaicheng 開成 (839), hence it postdates Xuanzang’s death by nearly two centuries, at a time when a legendary image of Xuanzang detached from the earlier historical figure was already well-established.⁴⁷ For instance, the memorial inscription states that ‘the Dharma Master’s name flowed throughout the five realms of India. Men of the three disciplines looked up to him like the sky, hence the Mahāyāna teachers called the Dharma Master *Mahā-deva [‘Great Deva’], while the Hīnayāna teachers called him *Mokṣa-deva [‘Liberation Deva’] 法師既名流五印, 三學之士, 仰之如天, 故大乘師號法師為摩訶天, 小乘師號解脫天.⁴⁸ No known Indian source, however, ever mentions Xuanzang, hence we ought to resist

⁴⁶ Xuanzang’s memorial inscription is titled *Da Tang Sanzang Dabianjue Fashi taming* 大唐三藏大遍覺法師塔銘. See X no. 1651: 88.375a18–377b8. The original stone tablet is extant. For photographic reproduction, see ‘<http://coe21.zinbun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/djvuchar?4E8E,95D0,7B49>. This inscription differs from the stele inscription produced by Emperor Gaozong at Ci’en si in lunar month four of 656: ‘He graced Anfu men, where he watched the formal welcome of the monks and Xuanzang. He ordered the construction and inscription of a stele for Ci’en si. The procession was carried out with Indian rituals. There were a great many following it’ 御安福門觀僧玄奘迎, 御製並書慈恩寺碑文, 導從以天竺法儀, 其徒甚盛. *Jiu Tang shu* 4.75. This event is also recorded in the *Taiping yulan*, SKQS 898: 589.441a7–11.

⁴⁷ X no. 1651: 88.377b8.

⁴⁸ X no. 1651: 88.375c24–376a2. Li Fang, or the source he cited, appears to have misread *mobe* 摩訶, a phonetic transliteration of Sanskrit *mahā* as meaning *dacheng* 大乘, the Chinese semantic translation of Mahāyāna.

reading these descriptions as representing any historical reality from Xuanzang's own time, although it is indeed conceivable that he was at least known and respected amongst Buddhist circles in India when he lived there, especially in light of his fluency in Sanskrit and status as a resident Chinese monk.

The inscription mentions that Xuanzang's activities were recorded in the national history (*guoshi* 國史) and the *Ci'en zhuan*, the latter referring to Yancong's biography, and thus indicating it was considered a credible source of history by Buddhists by this time. Nevertheless, Xuanzang's own travelogue and Daoxuan's biography of him paint Xuanzang as a considerably humbler figure than what we read here, a point that illustrates how fictionalized tales of his life—which appear to have been written solely by Buddhists—became inseparable from more objective historical accounts, a process that seems to have commenced around the time of Yancong's work in 688.

Daoxuan's Account in Relation to State Sources

If the aforementioned memorial inscription and Yancong's account are generally unreliable as objective historical accounts, then what of Daoxuan's account, which was also produced as a Buddhist document? Daoxuan's account is generally in accord with most of the state accounts and moreover, in my estimation, reads as realistic and plausible, a point best explained by the fact it was written while Xuanzang was still alive, which would have prevented excessive glorification.

With respect to some specific parallels with state sources, Daoxuan's biography, for example, gives the following account of Xuanzang's exit from China:

At the age of twenty-nine, he had become upstanding and independent. He presented a memorial to the court, but a bureaucrat would not permit him transit, so he stayed in the capital, widely familiarizing himself with foreign lands, and extensively studying scripts and languages. Walking or sitting, he sought instruction, spending days in exchanges. He sat on the edge of his seat facing west, waiting to

hear of a chance. In the third year of Zhenguan [629], there was a harvest shortage due to frost. An imperial decree was issued instructing clerics and laypeople to disperse to the four directions in search of bounty. Owing to these fortunate circumstances, Xuanzang ventured to Guzang, before gradually going to Dunhuang. The route was by sky and guard posts [i.e., it was an unmarked route]. With dry rations on his person and pity for his own shadow, he looked forth into the expanse, only seeing flat desert devoid of human tracks. He left his fate to uncertainty and moved ahead, entrusting himself to *karma* as he wandered about. He [eventually] arrived at the border of Gaochang. At first, Xuanzang was in Liangzhou, lecturing on *sūtras* and treatises. Chinese and foreigner alike, noble and common, gathered around and held him in esteem. Merchants were passing through and came to hear of [Xuanzang's interest in] the foreign regions.

時年二十九也，遂厲然獨舉，詣闕陳表，有司不為通引，頓迹京阜，廣就諸藩，遍學書語，行坐尋授，數日傳通，側席面西，思聞機候。會貞觀三年，時遭霜儉，下敕道俗，逐豐四出，幸因斯際，徑往姑臧，漸至燉煌。路由天塞，裹糧弔影，前望悠然，但見平沙，絕無人徑。迴遑委命，任業而前。展轉因循，達高昌境。初，樊在涼州，講楊經論，華夷士庶，盛集歸宗。商客通傳，預聞蕃域。⁴⁹

Based on the above account, it appears that Xuanzang attempted to petition the throne for permission, and presumably funding, to travel west, but a bureaucrat simply did not permit his paperwork to be processed, hence the monk resigned himself to remaining in the capital, where he could study Sanskrit and other languages until such time he could venture westward. Crop failure resulted in the state granting monks such as himself permission to travel freely—presumably with minimal paperwork—which was an opportunity that Xuanzang seized. He travelled to the region of modern Gansu province, where he appears to have stayed for a time. Although not explicitly

⁴⁹ Chinese text adapted from Yoshimura, 'Kōshō-ji-bon *Zoku kōsō den*', 192. English translation mine.

stated, I would infer that the passing merchants ferried him across the desert in a typical caravan. The *Jiu Tang shu*, cited above, explicitly states that Xuanzang headed West accompanying merchants.

Yancong's narrative, in contrast, relates that Xuanzang made the journey alone across the desert with an old horse, only surviving due to miracles. It is far more realistic to suggest Xuanzang accompanied a merchant caravan to Gaochang and then onward to Agni. Although Xuanzang was already a learned monk at the time he left China, there is no record of him possessing sufficient knowledge of desert navigation. Yancong was also unaware, it seems, that crossing a desert (especially with a horse and not a camel) would have required substantial amounts of water and provisions.

Yancong also tells of Xuanzang having to dodge arrows at watch-towers at the frontier.⁵⁰ The other accounts, however, indicate that Xuanzang did *not* surreptitiously exit China. He would have presumably had to file some paperwork when crossing the border posts with his companions, as was standard procedure, but clearly this was not an issue in the end, since he arrived in Gaochang, where he received material support.

Yancong's *Ci'en zhuan*, I argue, constitutes a fiction *based upon* a true story, whereas Daoxuan's biography can be treated as a far more credible source of positivistic historical facts. The former does, nevertheless, tell us how a Buddhist author in the late seventh-century imagined Xuanzang's journey. Buddhists in China presumably would have appreciated a story about one of their own countrymen standing as a celebrated equal among Indian Buddhist scholars. The memorial inscription for Xuanzang similarly glorifies the monk, making him larger in legend than he ever probably was in real life.

Xuanzang's life story is not limited to a single person, since it also relates an account of his relationship to Emperor Taizong. Scholars of Buddhist Studies have often accepted the Buddhist account of their relationship. Dorothy Wong, for instance, states: 'To the merits of Xuanzang's piety and dauntless efforts must be added the personal charisma by which he gained the attention and admiration of Emper-

⁵⁰ T no. 2053: 50.224a1-4.

or Taizong.⁵¹ The nature of this relationship, however, must also be subjected to critical evaluation, in light of the above discussion.

Xuanzang and Taizong

Yancong wrote that in 649, Taizong arrived at the Cuiwei Palace 翠微宮, accompanied by Xuanzang. The subsequent narrative paints Taizong as especially sympathetic toward Buddhist doctrine during his final days:

After his arrival, the Emperor, besides attending to state affairs, only discussed metaphysics and the Way with the Master. He asked him about the law of causation and retribution, as well as about the holy traces left by former sages in the Western Region. The Master answered all the questions with quotations from scriptures, which the Emperor accepted with deep faith; he often pushed up his sleeves and remarked with a sigh, 'We met the teacher too late, so that we did not perform Buddhist affairs more extensively.'

既至，處分之外，唯談玄論道，問因果報應，及西域先聖遺芳故迹。皆引經訓對。帝深信納，數攘袂嘆曰：‘朕共師相逢晚，不得廣興佛事。’⁵²

In light of the above discussion concerning the credibility of Yancong's work as a source of historical facts, it would be unwise to assume this account reflects any actual change of heart on the part of Taizong. Medieval Chinese court historians, in fact, never used this account in constructing the life of Taizong, yet some modern historians of Buddhism have done just this. Tansen Sen, for instance, accepts Yancong's biography as a valid source of historical knowledge, arguing that 'the emperor's interaction with Xuanzang kindled his

⁵¹ Wong, 'The Making of a Saint', 44.

⁵² T no. 2053, 50: 260a8–11. For English translation, see Li, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 221.

interest in Buddhist activities.⁵³ Sen cites Stanley Weinstein, who writes that 'T'ai-tsung [Taizong] is reported to have expressed regret that his preoccupation with politics and military affairs had deprived him of the chance to study the doctrines of Buddhism in any detail. Performing a volte-face, he now proclaimed Buddhism to be superior to both Confucianism and Taoism as well as to the other schools of Chinese philosophy.'⁵⁴ This is in reference to Yancong's biography, in which Taizong is said to have read Xuanzang's translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* 瑜伽師地論 (*T* no. 1579)—a key work of the Yogācāra corpus—and proclaimed that Confucianism, Daoism and the Nine Schools of Chinese thought 'are merely a small pond in contrast with the great sea. It is ridiculous that the world should say that the three religions are equal in value' 其儒道九流比之, 猶汀滢之池方溟渤耳, 而世云三教齊致, 此妄談也.⁵⁵

Some historians have correctly questioned this purported relationship between Xuanzang and Taizong. Howard Wechsler, for example, expressed doubt about Taizong having developed Buddhist convictions during his final days. Wechsler explains as follows:

T'ai-tsung is said to have regretted not having met Hsüan-tsang [Xuanzang] earlier so that he could have encouraged the spread of Buddhism. Whether he ever made such a statement is doubtful; if he did it must have been a death-bed conversion, totally at variance with his life-long hostility towards the Buddhist church and Buddhist doctrine.⁵⁶

Did Xuanzang and Taizong interact? If so, what sort of relationship existed between them? To answer this question, we can again turn to the work of Daoxuan. Daoxuan records that after crossing the Congling 葱嶺 range, Xuanzang sent a messenger ahead to the Chinese state. An imperial decree was returned, ordering a meeting between

⁵³ Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 47.

⁵⁴ Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 25.

⁵⁵ *T* no. 2053: 50.256a9–11; Li, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 194.

⁵⁶ Wechsler, 'T'ai-tsung', 219.

the emperor and Xuanzang. The elephant carrying the texts and images that Xuanzang had brought back from India died, and so Xuanzang was forced to request assistance. The local king of Khotan 遁國 was ordered to assist Xuanzang, who was then able to cross the desert with camels and horses, the expenses of which were covered by the Chinese court.⁵⁷

There is nothing here that would indicate Xuanzang was especially concerned about the response he might receive from the court. Yancong records a memorial purportedly sent by Xuanzang to the court, in which it is said: 'Thus in the fourth month of the third year of Zhenguan [April 29 to May 27, 629], I ventured to act against the law and the regulations, and I set out privately for India' 遂以貞觀三年四月, 冒越憲章, 私往天竺.⁵⁸ The same memorial text is reproduced in the *Quan Tang wen* 全唐文 (fasc. 906), produced in 1814 by Dong Hao 董誥.⁵⁹ As outlined above, Xuanzang left Chang'an following a regional food shortage, and thereafter was able to secure passage to Gaochang in the company of merchants, so we are left to wonder whether Xuanzang actually wrote this line. As an item of evidence that would suggest, in fact, Xuanzang did not write this line, we can look to a compilation of Xuanzang's memorials that were preserved in Japan as an individual text, which according to the Taishō editors was Tang Chinese in origin (*T* no. 2119).⁶⁰ This document contains

⁵⁷ See text reproduced in Yoshimura, 'Kōshō-ji-bon *Zoku kōsō den*', 209.

⁵⁸ *T* no. 2053: 50.251c18–19. Li, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 168. One possible issue here is that Xuanzang preferred to use the term *Yindu* 印度 when referring to India, rather than *Tianzhu* 天竺, since the former was closer to the proper pronunciation according to him. Xuanzang himself stresses this point in his travelogue. In the opening lines of his travelogue, in which he praises the emperor, Xuanzang employs *Tianzhu* once—and this is the only time he does so in this work apart from the other instance in which he advocates the alternative term—but this is clearly done to produce prose that rhymes (越自天府, 暨諸天竺). Xuanzang otherwise exclusively used the term *Yindu*. See *T* no. 2087: 51.875b16–17 and 869a14–15.

⁵⁹ *Quan Tang wen* 906.9448a6–b3.

⁶⁰ *Si shamen Xuanzang shangbiao ji* 寺沙門玄奘上表記, *T* no. 2119. The

some memorials that we also find in Yancong's text, but there is no line therein corresponding to 冒越憲章, 私往天竺. Dong Hao appears to have extracted his collection of memorials from Yancong's work or some intermediary materials, whereas *T* no. 2119 appears to be the original collection memorials written by Xuanzang.

Moving on, Daoxuan's account records that Xuanzang arrived in Chang'an during the first lunar month of the nineteenth year of Zhenguan (February 2 to March 2, 645), where a large number of onlookers prevented him from proceeding into the city. One can imagine that Xuanzang, who at the time was an otherwise unknown monk, returning with a sizeable baggage train from the Western Regions, would have attracted much attention from locals in the capital and particularly from pious Buddhists who would have wanted to worship the numerous images and scriptures.

At this time, Emperor Taizong was in Luoyang. Xuanzang deposited his texts and statues in Hongfu si and proceeded onward to Luoyang, where he met Taizong and spoke with him at length. Taizong invited (or ordered) Xuanzang to accompany him on his military expedition against Goguryeo, but Xuanzang adamantly refused. Taizong relented and provided what was necessary for Xuanzang to commence his translation work, including a staff of laymen and monks to assist his work. Xuanzang also produced his travelogue shortly thereafter with the assistance of his disciple Bianji 辯機 (d. 649). Xuanzang also requested of Taizong the preface discussed earlier. Xuanzang was asked to translate the *Daode jing* 道德經 into Sanskrit, although this was wrought with many challenges, given the linguistic and cultural differences between Chinese and Sanskrit.

In light of the above, we ought to be hesitant in accepting any narrative that would paint Taizong as being especially favorable toward

Taishō editors consulted two manuscripts: one from the Tang period and a copy from the Nara period stored at Chion-in 知恩院 in Kyōto. Another title given is *Da Tang Sanzang Xuanzang fasbi biaoqi yi juan* 大唐三藏玄奘法師表啟一卷. The *Tōiki dendō mokuroku* lists a *Biaoqi ji yi juan* 表啟記一卷 (*T* 2183: 55.1163b22) alongside other texts related to Xuanzang, but provides no further details.

Buddhism, or even toward Xuanzang. Wong claims that the ‘personal bond he eventually developed with Taizong was instrumental to his project’s success’.⁶¹ It is easy to speculate about Taizong’s personal motivation—assuming he even had one—in funding Xuanzang’s translation project. It might have simply been politically expedient, especially when he was engaging in an expansionist military project to the east against a state that posed no threat to China. It also would have been in Buddhist interests to depict a personal bond between Xuanzang and Taizong, and it is only Yancong’s biography of Xuanzang that depicts such an endearing relationship, whereas neither the state sources nor Daoxuan’s work present their relationship in such a manner.

The preface that Taizong wrote and his funding of Xuanzang’s project might lead one to think that, in fact, Taizong held or eventually came to possess a strong interest in Buddhism, but even if this were so, his purported comments in Yancong’s narrative seem far too extreme, especially given the fact that no other source confirms his sudden profound appreciation for Buddhadharma after reading the *Yogācārabhūmi*. I think it is more realistic to suggest that Taizong simply saw the political expediency of sponsoring Buddhist projects, especially given that his family’s dynasty had only been established within living memory after the Sui.

So why would Yancong write such a story about Taizong into his narrative? To figure this out, we have to look at the time when he produced his work.

Yancong in 688: A Connection to Wu Zetian?

Why would Yancong produce such a lengthy fantastical narrative about Xuanzang’s life? The date of 688 and the aforementioned association with Weiguo si are significant in this respect, since not only was Wu Zetian the *de facto* autocrat ruling over the Chinese court at this time, but Weiguo si was also connected to her regime. This con-

⁶¹ Wong, ‘The Making of a Saint’, 47.

nection between the biography and Wu Zetian's regime was already noticed by Forte, who explained this connection as follows:

Yancong's preface is dated to 20 April 688 (Chuangong 4.3.15). The publication of the work took place, then, in a time of great Buddhist expansion, with a Buddhist *mingtang* under construction and a huge octagonal pagoda at its center being completed by 23 January 689 (Chuangong 4.12.27), less than nine months after the publication of the biography. It is evident that if Xuanzang were not considered extremely important by Wu Zhao's Buddhist supporters at that time, his biography would not have been published.⁶²

Chinese Monks affiliated with Yogācāra were important among the ideologues of Wu Zetian.⁶³ This point offers a clue as to why Xuanzang's biography specifically was effectively rewritten despite the earlier publication of both his travelogue and Daoxuan's biography of him. This connection to Yogācāra also helps to explain why, according to Yancong, Taizong was purportedly intrigued by the *Yogācārabhūmi* enough to proclaim that Buddhādharma was superior to Confucianism, Daoism, and the Nine Schools of traditional Chinese thought. Yancong even writes that Xuanzang was initially driven to travel westward in search of the *Yogācārabhūmi*.⁶⁴ Yancong, it seems, had an interest in promoting this text specifically, rather than other translations by Xuanzang, such as the *Cheng weishi lun* 成唯識論 (*T* no. 1585; *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-sāstra*), which likely indicates that he was attempting to promote the interests of those with expertise in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Kieschnick suggests that Buddhist biographical literature in medieval China was directed toward an elite audience, which

⁶² Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology*, 169.

⁶³ Forte, *Political Propaganda and Ideology*, 168.

⁶⁴ *T* no. 2053: 50.222c4–6. Li, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, 18. Modern scholars, such as Yoshimura, repeat this and state Xuanzang travelled to India in order to acquire this text specifically, although this emphasis on his interest in the *Yogācārabhūmi* seems to stem from Yancong's account alone. Yoshimura, 'Genjō no Daijō-kan to sandenbōrin-setsu', 57.

was especially so in the case of Daoxuan.⁶⁵ In the case of Yancong—a contemporary of Daoxuan—he was likely writing with Wu Zetian in mind, if not under her direction or one of her subordinates, apparently in order to promote the interests of a group of monks.

We might indeed speculate that Yancong's biography was produced as a form of soft propaganda with the intention to ease China's transition from a pro-Daoist court under the Li family to a pro-Buddhist court under Wu Zetian and her Buddhist allies. For instance, it is highly unlikely that the Tang court under normal circumstances would have allowed Buddhists to reconfigure the history of Taizong's later years to make him appear uncharacteristically sympathetic to Buddhism, yet this rewriting of history could have *only* occurred under Wu Zetian. Taizong's purported relationship with Xuanzang and interest in Buddhism during his final years conceivably would have bolstered the status of the Yogācāra lineage that emerged from Xuanzang's time, which around the year 688 was active in court politics.⁶⁶

The aforementioned connection between Weiguo si and Yancong also points directly to influence by Wu Zetian or her close supporters, since this is also the same location and period (687–690) in which the Huayan patriarch Fazang 法藏 (643–712) was resident, and where he produced his commentary on the bodhisattva precepts.⁶⁷ This commentary, the *Fanwangjing pusa jieben shu* 梵網經菩薩戒本疏 (*T* no. 1813), is anomalous in that it offers a moral dispensation to possessing weapons 'if it is to defend the Buddhadharma or placate sentient beings' 為護佛法及調伏眾生.⁶⁸ That Fazang would

⁶⁵ Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk*, 7–8.

⁶⁶ There were competing lineages within Faxiang 法相 / Yogācāra affiliated groups in Chang'an. Xuanzang's disciple Ji 基 (632–682), otherwise known as Kuiji 窺基, favored the work of the Indian teacher Dharmapāla, whereas the Korean monk Wōnch'ūk 圓測 (613–696) sought to make available the opinions of other Indian authors. Chinese and Japanese Buddhists histories subsequently painted the latter as unorthodox. Jørgensen, 'Representing Wōnch'ūk,' 74–78.

⁶⁷ Yoshizu, *Kegon ichijō shisō no kenkyū*, 597; *T* no. 1813: 40.602a25.

⁶⁸ *T* no. 1813: 40.639b5–6.

condone violence in this manner during the years in question likely reflects an anticipation of civil unrest and loyalist retaliation that would accompany the imminent founding of a new dynasty. Weiguosi, it seems, was a major monastery in which Buddhist material favorable to a rising Wu Zetian was in production before 690. Yancong's biography of Xuanzang, I contend, was one of these works. This argument is only strengthened by the fact that Fazang relied upon the interpretation of bodhisattva ethics in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, which, in fact, expressly condones violence and even homicide if carried out to save beings from ending up in hell due to their own transgressions.⁶⁹ The promotion of the *Yogācārabhūmi* evidently served the interests of the *saṃgha* and the state under Wu Zetian.

If, as I have proposed, Yancong's biography was indeed produced under the influence of Wu Zetian's regime, this likely explains why court historians of later times did not consult it even after the Tang. Medieval Chinese historians, such as Liu Xu and others, would have noticed the considerable discrepancies between the works of Yancong and Daoxuan, as well as the former in relation to the official historical documents from the Tang court.

Further Implications: Xuanzang and the *Heart Sūtra*

The implications of the present study can be extended into modern discussions on the origins of the *Heart Sūtra*. In 1992, Jan Nattier proposed that this *sūtra* was produced in Chinese before being translated into Sanskrit, rather than a Sanskrit text having been translated into Chinese.⁷⁰ The latter explanation is still generally held to be the case among Japanese scholars, such as Kōsei 石井公成, who rejects

⁶⁹ The relationship between Fazang and the *Yogācārabhūmi* has been discussed in Kotyk, 'Can Monks Practice Astrology', 513–15.

⁷⁰ Nattier, 'The Heart Sūtra', 153–223. The *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* lists among Xuanzang's work the *Boreboluomiduo xin jing* [*Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya*] in one fascicle 般若波羅蜜多心經一卷 that was translated in year 23 of Zhenguan 貞觀 (649) at Cuiwei gong 翠微宮 at Zhongnan shan 終南山, with the monk Zhiren

Nattier's theory. The *Ci'en zhuan* mentions the *Heart Sūtra* in two places, a point that has been brought up to support specific arguments in this discussion.⁷¹ The first mention of the *Heart Sūtra* reads as follows:

Now the Master had only his lonely shadow travelling with him, and all he could do was repeat the name of Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva and recite the *Prajñāpāramitā-hṛdaya Sūtra*. Formerly, when the Master was in the region of Shu, he once saw a sick man suffering from a foul skin ulcer and dressed in rags. With a feeling of pity, he took the man to his monastery and gave him money to purchase clothes and food. Being ashamed of himself, the sick man taught the Master this *sūtra*, which he often recited.

是時顧影唯一，但念觀音菩薩及《般若心經》。初，法師在蜀，見一病人，身瘡臭穢，衣服破污，慙將向寺施與衣服飲食之直。病者慚愧，乃授法師此經，因常誦習。⁷²

If we treat Yancong's biography as fictional, as I have proposed, then it would be unreasonable to suggest Xuanzang actually learned the *Heart Sūtra* from this mysterious figure. Part of Nattier's argument rests on this account. For instance, she states that 'it is noteworthy that Hsüan-tsang's [Xuanzang's] biography speaks not of his translation of the text, but of his being given the text by a sick man he befriended.' She then remarks that this 'account provides concrete evidence, then, both of Hsüan-tsang's love for the text and his transport of its content (at least in oral form) to India.' She also theorizes that 'the story of Hsüan-tsang's receipt of the text becomes ever more detailed in the course of its transmission, acquiring evidently hagiographic elements along the way.'⁷³ She refers to the following line in

知仁 as scribe. The issue in present scholarship, however, is whether the Chinese text in question was ever a translation.

⁷¹ Ishii, '*Hannya shingyō wo meguru shomondai*', 492–99.

⁷² T no. 2053: 50.224b7–10. Li, *A Biography of the Tripitaka Master*, 26.

⁷³ Nattier, 'The Heart Sūtra', 174, 180, 209 fn. 43.

the *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄, produced by the monk Yuanzhao 圓照 in 800:

This *sūtra* was translated by Kumārajīva [344–413], called the *Sūtra of the Great Luminous Dhāraṇī*. A divine man bestowed it upon Dharma Master Xuanzang when he was headed to the West. While crossing the desert and encountering perils, he would recite it with utmost sincerity, and thereby he remained free from disasters and obstacles. The words of this Great Dhāraṇī are not false. Later he obtained the Sanskrit text and translated it without any variation [from the original meaning].

此經羅什翻譯, 名曰大明呪經。玄奘法師, 當往西方臨發之時, 神人授與。路經砂磧, 險難之中, 至心諷持, 災障遠離。是大神呪, 斯言不虛。後得梵夾, 譯出無異。⁷⁴

Kumārajīva in reality never translated this *sūtra*, since it is first attested in China during the seventh century. We need to recognize that Yancong's biography of Xuanzang is already full of stories of miracles and other fantastical elements. The biography in question was already a fantastical hagiography from the beginning, hence it is unnecessary to speak of the story in question 'acquiring evidently hagiographic elements along the way.'

The second mention of the *Heart Sūtra* in Yancong's biography is found in a memorial by Xuanzang, in which he offers a copy of this text in gold letters (金字般若心經) to the imperial family when a prince had reached one month following birth.⁷⁵ This memorial is also reproduced in fasc. 906 of the *Quan Tang wen* collection. The event is also described in the memorial inscription to Xuanzang.⁷⁶ We also see it in the compilation of Xuanzang's memorials preserved in

⁷⁴ T no. 2157: 55.893c11–15.

⁷⁵ T no. 2053: 50.272b12. Li, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 305. Li translates this as 'Prajñāpāramitā Sūtra', but the Chinese is clearly *Bore xin jing* 般若心經 (i.e., the *Heart Sūtra*).

⁷⁶ X no. 1651: 88.376c8.

Japan, a point that could indicate that this early witness to the *Heart Sūtra* is authentic.⁷⁷ Yancong's narrative places it on the fifth day in the twelfth lunar month of the first year of Xianqing 顯慶 (26 December 656). We might speculate that, if in fact Xuanzang produced the *Heart Sūtra*, it might have originally been in a format such as this—inked in gold letters and presented to the imperial family as a nominal *sūtra* (*jīng* 經)—even though it was not a translation, as several modern scholars have already argued. It is unlikely that anyone would have objected to the text's production while labelling it apocryphal if it had been produced by Xuanzang himself and then given as a gift to the imperial family.

To sum up this section, I argue that Xuanzang did not receive the *Heart Sūtra* from a mysterious figure before leaving for India. However, it does appear that he possessed this work (or produced it in Chinese) at some point only after returning from India. He furthermore utilized it in formal circumstances, a point that hints at the early prominence of the *Heart Sūtra* even during Xuanzang's own later years.

Conclusion

This study has attempted to demonstrate the value of utilizing a diverse range of texts, especially those from non-Buddhist sources, in verifying the veracity of accounts of Xuanzang with a focus on the *Ci'en zhuan*, arguing that its historicity is highly suspect in many respects.

We primarily focused on the biographies of Xuanzang written by Daoxuan and Yancong. The original recension of Daoxuan's biography, which was preserved in Japan, appears to be a more authentic and realistic account of Xuanzang's early life and the first several years following his return to China, especially when we compare it to the secular sources we surveyed. For instance, Daoxuan's work and the account of Xuanzang in the *Jiu Tang shu* both indicate

⁷⁷ T no. 2119: 52.825a16–17.

that Xuanzang left China through normal procedures, rather than surreptitiously. Yancong's biography, the *Ci'en zhuan*, in contrast, has Xuanzang riding an exhausted horse through the desert alone and dodging arrows at the Chinese frontier. This text was produced in 688 under the influence of Wu Zetian's rising regime. It is evident that it constitutes an adaptation of the life story of Xuanzang, and one that could only have been produced under her reign. I would suggest that this biography, which has at times been uncritically mined for historical facts about Xuanzang by some modern scholars, ought to be treated as a narrative or imaginative reconstruction *based upon* true events. Although the *Ci'en zhuan* incorporates some of Xuanzang's memorials, which appear to be authentic (not all of them, however, can be confidently established as such), at the same time there are numerous fantastical elements that cannot be treated as objective historical realities.

As to Yancong's motivations, he possessed a clear interest in promoting the *Yogācārabhūmi*, and did not shy away from putting words into the mouth of the late emperor Taizong (again, this could have only been done under Wu Zetian). His story was essentially produced as a form of Buddhist propaganda promoting the interests of his own community, specifically those clerics who possessed expertise in the *Yogācārabhūmi*. Modern scholars ought to reconsider the extent to which Xuanzang was invested in this particular text, especially in light of the other large works he translated.

I would not, however, argue that Yancong's biography of Xuanzang must be *entirely* dismissed because of its fictional elements, since it was clearly *based upon* a true story. Nevertheless, even the less fantastical components in the narrative, which are tempting for the modern historian to excavate, ought to be subject to critical scrutiny. Taking the agreeable parts while ignoring all the miracle stories is an unwise approach toward a primary source. We should recall a comment by Kieschnick, who cautions that 'attempts to strip stories of legendary materials meet with only limited success.'⁷⁸

Xuanzang and Taizong indeed interacted with one another, and

⁷⁸ Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk*, 2.

the latter provided state funding for the translation of Sanskrit texts into Chinese, but any suggestion that Xuanzang provided pastoral care to the emperor, or that the emperor had a positive change of heart toward Buddhism during his twilight years, are untenable in my estimation. Historians of Taizong, such as Wechsler, are wise to cast suspicion upon Buddhist works that would portray a religious conversion by an emperor that is otherwise unattested in state and secular documents. Buddhist sources from the Tang era, apart from the *Ci'en zhuan* and those citing it, also do not attest to any such deep interest in Buddhism on the part of Taizong. He might have written a preface, but that does not mean he also wholeheartedly endorsed the *Yogācārabhūmi* as the pinnacle of philosophy.

The implications of this study are finally extended to the contemporary discussion regarding the origins of the *Heart Sūtra*, specifically the two references to the text in the *Ci'en zhuan*. In light of the many fantastical elements in this narrative, we ought to dismiss the story that Xuanzang received the text from an ill man before travelling to India. This means that Xuanzang did not have access to this text before travelling to India. The second reference in the *Ci'en zhuan* is included within a letter addressed to Gaozong, in which Xuanzang offers a copy of the *Heart Sūtra* written in gold ink. This later letter is also included in the collection of memorials of Xuanzang preserved in Japan, which likely indicates that it is authentic. If this is true, then Xuanzang clearly felt this text was important, a point that highlights its early significance, even during the life of Xuanzang.

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Abbreviations

- SKQS* *Siku quanshu* 四庫全書 [Complete Library of the Four Treasuries]. *Yingyin Wenyuange Siku quanshu* 景印文淵閣四庫全書 [Photocopy of the Wenyuange edition of the *Siku Quanshu*]. 1,500 vols. Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu Yinshuguan 台灣商務印書館, 1983.

- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. [*Taishō* edition of the Buddhist Canon]. 100 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭 et al., eds. Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai 大正一切經刊刻會, 1924–1934. Digitized in CBETA Online Reader (<http://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw>) and SAT Daizōkyō Text Database (<http://21dzk.l.u-Tōkyō.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php>).
- X* *Xinzuan wanzi xuzang* 新纂卍續藏 [*Wanzi* Newly Compiled Supplement to the Buddhist Canon]. CBETA Online Reader (<http://cbetaonline.dila.edu.tw>).

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- the Bodhisattva Precepts of the *Brahma New Sūtra*]. 6 *juan*. By Fazang 法藏 (643–712) c. 687–690. *T* no. 1813.
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Context and Text: Historicizing Xuanzang and the *Da Tang Xiyu Ji*

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Abstract: The content of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, or *The Great Tang Records of the Western Regions*, drew upon Xuanzang's long-term interest in secular things and its compilation was a response to the imperial order of Li Shimin, or Tang Taizong, with the main goal of finding facts about the Western Regions, which Li Shimin was planning to conquer and govern. The book's style and focus inherited traditional Chinese geographical books, local gazetteers and the official history's section on the western borderlands by recording the regions' products and customs, and it passes moral judgments on local people. The book's ethnographical character and Xuanzang's concern with secular affairs and his interest in empirical studies, as well as its goal of providing information to the emperor, are the important aspects that need to be grasped to achieve an in-depth and multifaceted understanding.

Keywords: Tang Taizong, Li Shiming, Xuanzang, Tang Dynasty, Western Regions

A great Buddhist philosopher and pilgrim, Xuanzang's 玄奘 (602?–664) learning and concerns were inseparable from his time. He 'inherited "scholarly monk's" (*xuewen seng* 學問僧) academic tradition of emphasizing history and geography', and it is believed that prior to Xuanzang's journey he had read the earlier works on India and the Western Regions by monks of past dynasties such as Faxian 法顯 (338–423), Daoan 道安 (314–385), and Huisheng 惠生 (d.u.), although except for Monk Faxian's *Foguo ji* 佛國記 [An Account of the Buddhist Kingdoms], other works have been missing.¹ The book's style has been deeply influenced by the Chinese tradition of official historical writing and the genre of local gazetteer. In the official *Han shu* 漢書 [History of the Former Han Dynasty], there was a section titled the *Xiyu zhuan* 西域傳 [Record of the Western Regions]. While the author, Ban Gu 班固 (32–92) of the Later Han, adopted the name '*zhuan*' 傳 (biography) for this section, it was in fact a geographical survey of the Western Region states. Local gazetteer as a style of historical-geographical writing appeared in the Later Han Dynasty, and it developed greatly during the Wei, Jin, and Southern and Northern Dynasties. There were twelve kinds of local gazetteers that appeared during the Three Kingdoms period, and nine during the Northern and Southern Dynasties. Among them, Chang Qu's 常璩 (291?–361?) *Huayang Guozhi* 華陽國志 [Record of the States South of Mount Hua] had the greatest impact.² In this period, the genre of local gazetteer also underwent changing trends: during the Eastern Han, Wei and Jin Dynasties, the authors paid attention to the 'foreign objects'. After the Jin and Song Dynasties, they paid attention to natural landscape. After the Sui and Tang Dynasties, with the re-emergence of the centralized state, the purpose of writing gazetteers became more and more practical.³ During the Tang Dynasty, scholars reflected on the past local gazetteers and criticized the Six Dynasties for ignoring the 'useful content of the national economy and the people's livelihood'.⁴ With the founding of the

¹ Ma, *Xuanzang yanjiu*, 129–30.

² Liu, *Huayang Guozhi yanjiu*, 97–98.

³ Hu, *Han Tang jian shixue de fazhan*, 160.

centralized multi-ethnic empire, geography, which had been affiliated to the section of historiography in traditional Chinese scholarship, became prominent in the Tang dynasty and was increasingly related to the Tang's rising national power and increasing military expeditions. Xuanzang inherited the extensive record of local economy, geography, customs, and local produces, which had emerged in the gazetteers of the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern Dynasties.⁵ In fact, he mentioned the word *fangzhi* 方志, local gazetteer, in the preface of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Great Tang Records of the Western Regions], in which he critiqued past geographical writings and gazetteers for not 'recording' or not 'reaching' enough of the vast world and various peoples.⁶

The production of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* had an explicit official character. Its completion was primarily for satisfying Taizong's desire of understanding the Western Regions and his patronage accounted for the writing. For Taizong, the purpose of ordering such a gazetteer book to be written was 'to obtain the data of the Western Regions for the reference of future military action against the Turks'.⁷ Here, there was not much difference between the purpose of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* and that of other local gazetteers for they were all related to the Confucian ideal of Great Unity. This symbolic meaning was conveyed very well later on in a Qing scholar's preface dedicated to a county gazetteer: 'A locality might have its gazetteer and then there will be Great Unity'.⁸ To be sure, Xuanzang was not indigenous to the Western Regions while the authors of local gazetteers were usually indigenous scholars to the localities under study. However, the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* was also not following the established biographical style used in the *Shiji* 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian], or the style of the dynastic chronicle in the *Han shu* 漢書 [History of the Han].

⁴ Hu, *Han Tang jian shixue de fazhan*, 176.

⁵ For the stylish evolution of the Chinese local gazetteers, see Dai, *Zhongguo difang zhi jingdu*, 27–28.

⁶ Ji et al., annot., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 1.

⁷ Lin, *Difang wenxian yanjiu yu fenlei*, 9.

⁸ Li and Xu, *Liancheng Xianzhi*, 6.

Instead, it was a miscellaneous account primarily based on the geographical studies of the regions that Xuanzang passed through. The *Da Tang Xiyu ji* was thus included in the category of the 'Geographical Records of the Western Regions' by Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 in which he listed eight works by Buddhist monks, and three of them, including the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, were explicitly written to observe the order of imperial governments, as indicated by Tang Yongtong.⁹

The conventional wisdom that the Taizong emperor, Li Shimin 李世民 (599–649, r. 626–649), might be a devout Buddhist who not only facilitated the writing of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, but also the massive translations of Buddhist scriptures might be misleading for Taizong was more a political and military leader than a Buddhist. As Tang Yongtong points out: 'Tang Taizong is not known as a faithful Buddhist', and his patronage of Xuanzang 'was only an embellishment for his governance, and it seems to have political implications'. Tang Yongtong also analyzes in detail the two main reasons why Emperor Taizong did not fully believe in Buddhism: first, he advocated for Confucian literary governance, and thus he 'recognized that Buddhism had no benefit to the world'. Second, Tang Taizong attached more importance to Daoism and he saw himself as the descendent of Laozi, and for this he 'prioritized Daoism over Buddhism'. In addition, Tang Yongtong notes that Tang Taizong's attitude towards various religious beliefs is practical and often contingent upon political needs.¹⁰

Compared with Buddhism, Taizong's respect for Confucianism seemed to be deeper. According to the records of *Zhenguan zhengyao* 貞觀政要 [Discourse on the Governance of the Zhenguan Reign], in the first year of Taizong's reign, 626 AD, the emperor decreed to establish 'the Expanding Culture on the left side of the main imperial hall' and 'carefully select Confucian scholars nationwide and give them treatment of food on a par with officials with the fifth official rank'. In 627, Taizong 'rejected the Duke of Zhou as the first and foremost sage and began to establish Confucius Temple in the

⁹ Tang, *Sui Tang Fojiao shigao*, 80–81.

¹⁰ Tang, *Sui Tang Fojiao shigao*, 10–12.

National Academy... with Confucius as the first sage and (Confucius' disciple) Yan Hui as the first teacher...'.¹¹ Consequently, 'Thousands of Confucian scholars flocked to the Academy with their books'.¹² If there was a pragmatic political consideration for the attitude toward Buddhism, then it was a non-utilitarian position and effort to establish a pedigree of the orthodox Confucianism. In addition, Taizong's thoughts did have a peaceful and anti-war side. He claimed that 'the weapon is the last resort for it kills people', and 'the weapon and armor are the killing devices of the country'.¹³ This was obviously influenced by the *Daode jing* 道德經 [Scripture of Dao and De] which says: 'As for weapons—they are instruments of ill omen'.¹⁴ Taizong's attitude towards Xuanzang, who was four years younger than him, was not so much out of a belief in Buddhism as it was a reward for Xuanzang's talent and perseverance. Arthur Wright even suggests that despite Taizong's patronage of Buddhism, he harbored 'standard anti-Buddhist biases', and Buddhist sources overstated 'both the intimacy of Tai'zong with the monk (i.e. Xuanzang) and the depth of his belated interest in Buddhism'.¹⁵ To begin with, when Xuanzang left the Tang Empire in 629, the ban of exit was very strict due to the threat of the Turks. Without the imperial endorsement, 'Xuanzang illegally sneaked out of the Yumenguan 玉門關 pass'.¹⁶ Tang Yongtong admits that Taizong might be 'more inclined to Buddhism than before' because of Xuanzang's influence after his return, but in general, Taizong's favorable treatment of Xuanzang was 'actually because of his appreciation of Xuanzang's talent'.¹⁷ Returning to China in 645, Xuanzang hoped that Taizong could sponsor a Sanskrit translation team to render Buddhist scriptures, yet the proposal 'was rejected by Taizong'. Not only that, according to Tang Yongtong, Taizong

¹¹ Pian, *Zhenguan zhenyao*, 229–30.

¹² Pian, *Zhenguan zhenyao*, 230.

¹³ Pian, *Zhenguan zhenyao*, 292–93.

¹⁴ Henricks, trans., *Te-tao Ching*, 83.

¹⁵ Wright, 'T'ang T'ai-tsong and Buddhism', 254–55.

¹⁶ Wang, *Sui Tang Wudai shi*, 934.

¹⁷ Tang, *Sui Tang Fojiao shigao*, 10–12.

tried to persuade Xuanzang to 'be secularized to attend to state affairs along with him'.¹⁸

A late recent biographical study of Xuanzang by the Chinese scholar Fu Xinyi provides more insights in understanding the true relationship between Taizong and Xuanzang: 1) Taizong contributed a preface to Xuanzang's translation and granted his wish of ordaining a large number of Buddhist monks, partially out of Taizong's concern with his own accumulation of virtues; 2) Taizong was much more interested in the information in the pragmatic *Da Tang Xiyu ji* than the translated Buddhist scriptures; 3) it was after reading the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* that Taizong affirmed Xuanzang's potential of becoming a government official and offered him a position.¹⁹ These are tenable assertions.

In the interaction between Xuanzang and Taizong, it was Xuanzang who took the initiative. In 644, while on this way back to China and staying in Khotan, Xuanzang wrote a letter of self-introduction and had it delivered to Taizong by a layman messenger from Gaochang.²⁰ It is conceivable that it was this letter that attracted Taizong's serious interest in Xuanzang and his journey. In *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [Sequel to the Biographies for Eminent Monks], the author, Tang monk Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), provided an alternative account of the writing process of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*. First, Daoxuan explained Taizong's lukewarm attitude towards Xuanzang's proposal of scripture translation better by citing Taizong as expressing his concern about the potential lowering of the quality if other monks were invited to join the project. In other words, Taizong did not oppose Xuanzang's single-handed translation yet he doubted the viability of collective translation. According to Daoxuan, Xuanzang's response emphasized the necessity of collaborative translation by citing the precedence of Kumarajiva, and eventually convinced Taizong. Second, Daoxuan never suggested that the writing of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* was a task charged to Xuanzang by Taizong.

¹⁸ Tang, *Sui Tang Fojiao shigao*, 13.

¹⁹ Fu, *Xuanzang pingzhuan*, 58–61.

²⁰ Wang, 'Xuanzang's Helpers from Turfan', 375.

Instead, Daoxuan's narrative places the writing in the larger context of translation of multiple scriptures, and he went as far as to say that '[When Xuanzang] had a little spare time, [he] presented a twelve-chapter *Xiyu zhuan*', as if Xuanzang did it as an interlude of his grand translation project. Third, Daoxuan did not suggest that Xuanzang dictated and his assistant, Bianji 辯機 (619–649), recorded because he said Bianji only edited the manuscript and polished it, while he used the word '*luwen*' 錄文 to explicitly express the meaning of Zhizheng and other Buddhist assistants' recording Xuanzang's dictation of *Dacheng duifa lun* 大乘對法論 [Exegesis on the Collection of Mahāyāna Abhidharma; Skt. *Mahāyānābhidharma-samuccaya-vyākhyā*].²¹ It is probable that to highlight Xuanzang's intellectual autonomy and personal charisma, Daoxuan skirted the fact that Taizong commissioned Xuanzang to write the book, but Xuanzang's passion for writing as suggested by Daoxuan was consistent with his proactive contacting of Taizong in 644. In addition, Daoxuan's narrative about the roles Xuanzang and Bianji each played, namely, Xuanzang was the author while Bianji was the editor, was more accurate.

Contemporary scholar of Buddhism, Fu Xinyi, emphasizes that Xuanzang wrote the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* purely as an obligation to Taizong to repay his generous patronage and took Taizong as the sole reader, while Xuanzang tried to maintain his own intellectual autonomy by avoiding spending too much time accompanying Taizong and Gaozong 高宗, or Li Zhi 李治 (628–683) as a 'literary jester' in the court.²² As a book written with the emperor as his target audience, Xuanzang purposefully traced Chinese history to the legendary cultural heroes such as Fuxi 伏羲, Xuanyuan 軒轅, Yao 堯, and Shun 舜 in the book's preface, saying that 'Our great Tang Dynasty's august power can reach heaven. It took the rules into its hands by taking advantage of the good times...and founded a great enterprise by inheriting the great cultural tradition and rectifying the past wrongs. That was why (the great Tang) can surpass previous kings and dynasties'.²³

²¹ *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, T no. 2060, 50: 4, 455a19–22.

²² Fu, *Xuanzang pingzhuan*, 61.

²³ *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 32.

In the introductory part, Xuanzang emphasized that the purpose of writing the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* was to accomplish the goal of 'accommodating and transforming' (*huaqia* 化洽) the people of the Western Regions: 'If (the great Tang's military merits and literary virtues) were not told, how could we consider transformation'?²⁴ Arthur Wright makes an interesting yet sensible speculation here regarding Xuanzang's real and pragmatic purpose: to cultivate in Taizong a more favorable attitude towards Buddhism by 'flattering' this imperial patron.²⁵

An important primary source written in the Uyghur-Turkic language, however, provides a new glimpse into the real relationship between Xuanzang and the two Tang emperors, Taizong and mainly his son Gaozong. First, in 637, Taizong openly declared that the Daoist master Laozi with the alleged name Li Er 李耳 was his ancestor, and '[Laozi's] status should be placed above the Buddha'.²⁶ Thus, Xuanzang needed to rectify this upon his return to China after other monks had tried yet failed, and he also petitioned to Taizong to abolish the decree that punishes the monks and nuns who violated law with secular penal code.²⁷ Second, Xuanzang wrote a large number of letters to petition Gaozong begging for the emperor's handwritten text for stone inscriptions in the temple, and then he thanked the emperor for doing it. In another instance, Xuanzang asked the emperor to approve his request of moving his parents' tombs, which he had not swept, to a better place. Xuanzang also never ceased to flatter the Gaozong emperor with nice words and he promised to repay the kindness of the emperor.²⁸ To win the trust and secure the support from the two generations of the Tang emperors by advising them was a main strategy used by Xuanzang.

Early Tang Dynasty's political and military conditions indeed required exact knowledge about the Western Regions. As Chen

²⁴ *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 32.

²⁵ Wright, 'T'ang T'ai-tsung and Buddhism', 255.

²⁶ Barat, ed. and trans., *Uyghur-Turkic Biography*, 74.

²⁷ Barat, ed. and trans., *Uyghur-Turkic Biography*, 78.

²⁸ Barat, ed. and trans., *Uyghur-Turkic Biography*, 16, 40, 120.

Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969) points out: ‘The Li-Tang Dynasty was a period when our country had many contacts with foreign peoples, and there were many glorious accomplishments...there were four peoples that had frequent confrontations with China: Turks, Tibetans, Uighurs, and Yunnan’.²⁹ As we noted above, Tang Taizong was deeply influenced by both Confucian and Daoist ideologies. Having learned the lesson from the fall of the Sui Dynasty, Taizong was not strongly aggressive, his military actions against Eastern Turks, Gaochang 高昌, Yanqi 焉耆, and Qiuci 龜茲 were taken for self-defensive purposes, and the main goal was to secure a sound transportation route for the Tang Empire’s trade with the West. The historian Cen Zhongmian 岑仲勉 (1885–1961) was fair-minded when saying that the early Tang’s expedition against the Western Regions’ kingdoms could not be simply seen as aggression because the main goal of Tang Taizong was not merely for territorial and political dominance, but for the dynasty’s ‘economy and survival’.³⁰

Ji Xianlin 季羨林 (1911–2009) correctly remarks that ‘Xuanzang was a very careful observer and he provided particularly detailed account of religious phenomena. Wherever he went and no matter how brief was his stay, he detailed the power relations of the various sects’.³¹ However, this was not complete. A close reading of the text of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* shows that Xuanzang showed no less interest in secular affairs. Although Xuanzang did not accept Tang Taizong’s offer of leaving the monastery life and taking a government position and wrote the book as a duty, the rich content of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* itself does show that Xuanzang was by no means apathetic to secular and state affairs during the journey, otherwise it would have been impossible for him to write out all the detailed data. Before he embarked on the writing of the book, Xuanzang must have accumulated enough materials to write this twelve-chapter book, and Xuanzang’s

²⁹ Chen, *Tangdai zhengzhi shi shulun gao*, 128.

³⁰ Cen, *Sui Tang shi*, 96–97.

³¹ Ji, ‘Xuanzang yu *Da Tang Xiyu ji*’, 76. The page number is counted again from one when the preface of Ji Xianlin ends and the main text by Xuanzang starts.

interest in local knowledge was voluntary and genuine, with or without the later imperial order.

The large amount of sources collected for writing the book suggests that Xuanzang's journey was fraught with political and ethnographic concerns, yet he was not alone. He was preceded by official Song Yun 宋雲 (fl. early sixth century) and monk Huisheng, envoys of the Northern Wei to the Western Regions and India to grasp the conditions of the kingdoms *en route*. These two envoys' notes of the kingdoms, which had been lost and could be partially read in the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 [An Account of the Buddhist Temples in Luoyang] by Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 (fl. 547) of Eastern Wei, were very close to Xuanzang's. For instance, in the record left by Song Yun and Huisheng, the two authors noted:

After travelling to the west of Shanshan 鄯善 for one thousand six hundred and forty *li*, we arrived at the Zuomo 左末 City. The city had about one hundred households. Its land was dry and short of rainfall and people did not know the use of ox.

They went on to say:

We entered the Bohe 钵和 Kingdom in the ninth moon. There were high mountains and deep valleys, and the precarious roads are everywhere. The place where the king resided was a city built by the mountain. Their peoples' clothing was exclusively made of felt.³²

It is safe to extrapolate that Xuanzang had read the *Luoyang qielan ji* prior to his travel, and his kingdom-by-kingdom record of the journey was similar to Song Yun and Huisheng's record. What distinguishes Xuanzang's writing was that his record was more detailed and systematic, and his semantic style was freer than Song Yun's, which was the four-character *pianwen* 駢文 genre popular in the Southern Dynasties.

Xuanzang's observation and record of secular society also resembles the narrative of Faxian in the *Foguo ji*, a predecessor of the *Da*

³² Ji, 'Xuanzang yu *Da Tang Xiyu ji*', 76.

Tang Xiyu ji completed in the Eastern Jin Dynasty, as well as that of Confucian orthodox histories. For instance, in the *Foguo ji*, Faxian described the people in Yanqi Kingdom (i.e. Agni Kingdom) as ‘not cultivating rituals and righteousness, and treating guests with disrespect’, which was close to what Xuanzang said of the same people in the same kingdom about two hundred years later: ‘(They are) brave yet short of strategy, and fond of waging expeditionary wars’.³³ Faxian also paid adequate attention to local agriculture, as he recorded the Jiecha Kingdom (Kuci Kingdom in Xuanzang’s time) that he passed through as: ‘Its land is mountainous and cold and it does not produce surplus grains except wheat’.³⁴

To fulfil the goal of providing comprehensive empirical knowledge for understanding and potential governance, the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* spilled a lot of ink on the geographical, cultural, and economic conditions of the kingdoms that Xuanzang passed by. To illustrate the key objects that attracted Xuanzang’s attention and that he wanted to demonstrate to Taizong, I created a chart below (‘+’ means there is record about the phenomenon; ‘-’ means there is no mention of it).

	Territory/ Terrains	Local products	Language and written scripts	Currency	Politics	Buddhist Temples	Mine Ores	Clothing	Physical Looks/ Social Customs
Agni	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
Kuci	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
Bālukā	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Kasanna	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Tukhāra	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
Afrasiab	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Kapīśaya	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
Bārānasi	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
Maghada	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+

³³ Faxian, *Foguo ji*, 50.

³⁴ Faxian, *Foguo ji*, 75.

The chart shows that to serve Xuanzang's purpose of writing, it was less a significant question whether the kingdoms he passed and visited had Buddhist temples, while the territory, area, and terrains that he mentioned the most were also the subjects that were usually placed at the forefront of an official local gazetteer.

The next thing that both local gazetteers and the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* emphasized were local customs. Xuanzang's appraisal of local customs was not much different from secular and Confucian judgements. For instance, Xuanzang commented on Agini Kingdom by saying: 'the kingdom has no order and discipline, and its law is not implemented'.³⁵ He also paid attention to whether the region he visited had a 'monarch' or not and their political affiliation. When describing Sūyāb, part of the Bālukā Kingdom, Xuanzang emphasized that: 'To the west of Sūyāb there are dozens of lonely cities, each having its chief; although they do not control each other, they are all subjugated by Turkey'.³⁶ Here the emphasis on the political connection between these cities and Turkey appealed to the needs of Taizong. For social customs, Xuanzang very often extolled with the words 'crude' (*zhi* 質) and 'simple' (*chun* 淳) and the words and expressions that he used to lash the local people included 'their nature is impulsive and irritable', '(they are) 'often treacherous and greedy', 'their nature is timid and looks ugly', and '(their) speech is low and licentious and marriages are in disarray'. Another two phrases, 'the customs are short of rituals and righteousness' (*su wu liyi* 俗無禮義) and 'the customs are short of rituals and laws' (*su wu lifa* 俗無禮法), were also often used by Xuanzang to pass judgement on the residents living in the countries that he visited. At the same time, Xuanzang seemed to appreciate the chivalrous spirit among the people of the Mahārāstra kingdom:

(The residents') appearance is imposing, and they have liberal and proud nature. If people give them a favor, they will return it, but if they have grievances, they will straighten them out. If they feel insulted, they will seek revenge by sacrificing their lives, but if someone

³⁵ Faxian, *Foguo ji*, 48.

³⁶ Faxian, *Foguo ji*, 72.

needs their urgent help, they will provide aid without thinking about themselves.³⁷

As Bryan Van Norden, a specialist in classical Chinese philosophy, correctly points out: 'An important part of wisdom [in Confucianism] is being able to judge the character of others'.³⁸ I argue that Xuanzang's judgmental comments can be considered as a manifestation of essentially Confucian wisdom, and they served the purpose of fact-finding for the emperor when writing the book. Moreover, the on-site, matter-of-fact recording of his observation and judgement was another sign of Xuanzang's spirit of remaining true to himself.

Xuanzang's judgmental comments on non-Chinese politics and culture based upon the orthodox institutions of the Central Plains were also not alone. In *Han shu*'s account of the Western Regions, there was a comment that goes: 'Each of the Western Region states has its own monarch. Their troops are numerous yet not strong and they are not unified'.³⁹ In Wei Yuan's 魏源 (1794–1857) *Shengwu ji* 聖武記 [An Account of the Sacred Prowess], 'Being without monarch and mutual affiliation' and 'fragmentary government under various tribal chiefs' were the two criteria for defining the Miao and Man 'barbarians' of the southwest, respectively.⁴⁰ When these quintessential Confucian official languages were invoked by a Tang monk, however, the Buddhist observer Xuanzang had wittingly or unwittingly internalized Confucian values and perspectives, as well as the style of orthodox historical writing, to judge the foreign states and societies he witnessed. In the *Analects*, Confucius was recorded as saying 'only a man of benevolence can like or dislike people', and the commentary of Zhu Xi 朱熹 (1130–1200) added that the judgement must be made with impartial mind and in accordance with the rational principle, *li* 理.⁴¹

³⁷ *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 891.

³⁸ Van Norden, *Introduction to Classical Chinese Philosophy*, 40.

³⁹ Ban Gu, *Han shu*, 3230.

⁴⁰ Wei Yuan, *Shengwu ji*, 283.

⁴¹ Zhu Xi, *Sishu zhangju jizhu*, 69.

Therefore, the book fulfills its dual mission: to become a truly personal account of local conditions based upon first-hand observation and to serve as an official local gazetteer for the information of higher authorities. If the writing of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* is regarded as a communicative process between Xuanzang and Taizong, then this context-dependent activity was steered by its purpose: providing the information and assessment that the emperor wanted to hear. Some parts of the book suggest Xuanzang's clear awareness for whom he was writing. In chapter 2 of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, Xuanzang elaborated on India, the destination of his journey. The section titled 'Revenue' was particularly intriguing. Here, Xuanzang stressed that in India:

people have no obligation of providing uncompensated *corvée* labor... taxes and surcharges are low, and the expenditure is frugal; people are comfortable in what they are doing for the farm is distributed based on the headcount in a household.

In India, he reiterated, 'when the government undertakes construction projects, it will not hire labor to work for free. Workers will be paid according to their workload'.⁴² Born in the Sui Dynasty and deeply immersed in historical books, Xuanzang should know too well that the heavy taxes were one main reason of the Sui's downfall. Prior to writing this account, Xuanzang had admirably described Taizong to the Indian king Harsavardhana as a benevolent ruler who 'reduced taxes and mitigated punishments', and Tang China was a country with 'surplus revenue' where 'nobody attempts to violate the laws'.⁴³ Apparently, Xuanzang was deeply concerned about people's livelihood and he wanted to communicate to Taizong, the receiver of the message, his own endorsement of the policies of land equalization, reduction of taxes, and paid government labor, which he knew Taizong would appreciate. Evidently, Tang Taizong himself also knew very well that it was because 'people could no longer stand the suffer-

⁴² Ji et al., annot., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 68.

⁴³ Sen, 'The Travel Records of Chinese Pilgrims', 30.

ing and then they gathered together to rebel', and thus he said he 'did not dare to employ manpower lightly' and he 'only wants the people to be quieted and stay at ease'.⁴⁴ Xuanzang's elucidation of India's tax and *corvée* labor system should be aimed at reinforcing Taizong's consciousness of caring for the people by citing a foreign example.

Another part also shows Xuanzang's awareness of his reader. He stayed in Gaochang Kingdom, where he received very warm treatment, for more than one month after his departure from the Tang territory and before he entered Agini. Nevertheless, in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, Xuanzang skipped his Gaochang experience by merely mentioning it briefly: 'After leaving the old land of Gaochang, the closest kingdom was Agini'.⁴⁵ The reason for Xuanzang's seemingly pragmatic omission of Gaochang was obviously because the Tang government had annihilated Gaochang in 640 and set up the Anxi Frontier Command (Anxi duhufu 安息督護府). Therefore, when Xuanzang was writing his gazetteer in 646, it was unnecessary for him to depict the conditions of Gaochang, which had been put under Tang government's rule.

There is no doubt that, the primary motivation of Xuanzang's journey to India was pursuing independent research to gain the Buddhist truth. As the *Old Tang Dynasty History* points out, Xuanzang was not happy with the translated Buddhist scriptures that he read and hoped to find other versions to compare and proofread. Yet the process itself was also identical to the textual criticism and emendation to Confucian classics as done by Confucian classists. Tang Yongtong also notices this aspect while hinting at the difference between scholarly endeavors and religious and ritualistic piety. When discussing Monk Zhu Shixing 朱士行 (203–282) of the Northern Wei who embarked on the trip to search for Buddhist scriptures in 260 AD, Tang remarks that 'Zhu's (pursuit) of Buddhist doctrines was more inclined to scholarship, rather than the Buddhist rituals as popular in the Eastern Han dynasty'.⁴⁶ After this statement, Tang

⁴⁴ Pian, *Zhenguan zhengyao*, 313.

⁴⁵ Ji et al., annot., *Da Tang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 46.

⁴⁶ Tang, *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao Fojiao shi*, 138.

immediately cites the example of Xuanzang, around four hundred years later than Zhu Shixing, to strengthen his argument by saying Zhu Shixing and Xuanzang ‘were very close in terms of their merits and contributions’.⁴⁷ It is arguable that Tang Yongtong believes that both Zhu and Xuanzang were more scholarly than ritualistic in their approaches to Buddhism.

Xuanzang’s intrinsic scholarly and empirical bent was pertinent to his genuine interest in many non-Buddhist life details. Reading the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* would not convince the reader that Xuanzang could write out all the content merely from his memory. The journey lasted more than ten years and Xuanzang traveled in or at least mentioned about one hundred countries with surprising details. For instance, for the Agini Kingdom alone, the book recorded six local grains: proso millet (*mishu* 米黍), wheat that matures in the next year (*sumai* 粟麥), fragrant date (*xiangzao* 香棗), grape (*putao* 葡萄), pear (*li* 梨), and crab apple (*nai* 柰). Presumably, no one could write a whole book with so many details without keeping a travel journal and paying close attention to the secular affairs. As I argued earlier, since Xuanzang met with Tang Taizong only after he returned, the initial recording or memorizing of these details *en route* was highly personal and voluntary and should have been possible through his persistent keeping of travel journal. While the tradition of Buddhist monks’ observing and recording natural and social conditions of foreign countries had influenced him, his family tradition and personal background played a crucial role. Born into a ‘multi-generation Confucian lineage’ and a ‘decendent of Chen Shi, a famous minister of the Eastern Han Dynasty’, Xuanzang was profoundly influenced by the Confucian cultural tradition prior to his ordainment. He was able to respond to his father at the early age of eight when instructed with the Confucian *Classics of Filial Piety*.⁴⁸

To conclude, as Ji Xianlin points out, ‘the Chinese nation is a nation that deeply loves history, and it is also a nation that deeply loves geography’, and ‘Chinese monks fully embodied these Chinese

⁴⁷ Tang, *Han Wei Liangjin Nanbeichao Fojiao shi*, 138.

⁴⁸ Zhang and Rui, *Da Tang Xiyu ji*.

characteristics: they loved history and they loved geography'.⁴⁹ As a scholarly monk equipped with the spirit of positivism and secular concerns, Xuanzang was also an early ethnographer, let alone a great geographic explorer. His travel was both religious and secular and the text of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* was the result of several layers of drafting, selecting, and editing. Here we should bear in mind that travel does not only mean the destination, but also 'the self-realization of man' in itself, as well as 'every man's source of philosophical, secular knowledge'.⁵⁰ During this process, Xuanzang subconsciously observed and recorded many details in the social and political life of the West Regions and India, and his ethnographical and judgmental style did not depart much from the local gazetteer tradition of China, which had been entrenched by the time Xuanzang was writing. In terms of the readership, Xuanzang first and foremost gathered the information to fulfill his personal interest, but when the opportunity presented itself, i.e. the emperor wanted to read a completed book for his reference, Xuanzang ornamented the draft with flattering political rhetoric and also wrote in an undertone of advising the emperor.

In this sense, the book as a text blended two segments that match its dual roles: the factual and judgmental part based on the initial observation of Xuanzang himself, and the rhetorical and advising part targeting Taizong. The final work was a result of rewriting from Xuanzang's memory and travel journals and then to the completed book with purposeful embellishments. The political dimension was also integrated because the tailored narrative based on the draft was designed to serve the purpose of future conquest and governance, as in the cases of skipping Gaochang and emphasizing the tax system of India. There is no doubt that Xuanzang was a great, dedicated Buddhist monk, translator, and profound philosopher, yet his deeply ingrained secular sentiments and superb political skills, as reflected in the content of the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* and its writing, complicates and enriches his image as a well-rounded ancient Chinese intellectual.

⁴⁹ Ji, 'Xuanzang yu *Da Tang Xiyu ji*', 123.

⁵⁰ Fabian, *Time and the Other*, 6, 8.

That was the reason why Taizong offered Xuanzang a position in his government two times: he must have seen in Xuanzang the political talent that he needed.

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3

Transborder and Transcultural Perspectives

How to Create a Great Monastery: Xuanzang's Foundation Legend of Nālandā in Its Indian Context

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Abstract: Xuanzang's *Datang Xiyu ji* has been and is notoriously used for the reconstruction of South Asian history and the history of Buddhism in India. Very often Xuanzang's information is either dismissed because it does not corroborate or even contradicts the 'facts' in Indian sources (epigraphic or literary sources), or is used to overwrite these sources. Both approaches usually do not take into account the wider context in which the different sources are situated. This paper will take up as a case study Xuanzang's description of the foundation of Nālandā Mahāvihāra through the Gupta kings and the available South Asian material to show how a comparative analysis can lead to a new approach to the *Datang Xiyu ji* as a source for the study of cultural history instead of reading it exclusively in a simplistically and uncritically positivist way.

Keywords: Xuanzang, Nālandā, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, Vasubandhu, Gupta, foundation story, genealogy

Inscription overrules anything else!

This could be the conclusion when reading scholarly literature about Indian history, particularly of dynastic and political history. Admittedly, inscriptions have been important from the very beginning of historical research on the Indian subcontinent, reaching as far back as the beginning of the nineteenth century when the inscriptional material found on coins and other artefacts could be read due to the decipherment of the Brāhmī script through James Prinsep (1799–1840), and others, and the fanciful dynastic family trees found in the Purāṇas were replaced by more accurate and reliable material which reflected rather the self-identity of the rulers than later and idealized lineages.

A good example for the absolute predominant treatment of inscriptions in the sense of my introductory statement, which at the same time introduces my own sources, is given by the famous Indologist Ramachandra Narayan Dandekar in his well-known *History of the Guptas* (1941). Dandekar first states: '[The] sources are mainly of three kinds—literary, epigraphic and numismatic'.¹ Of the first group he is quite skeptical and displays a certain bias in favour of Indian sources:

Among the literary sources referring to the history of the Guptas, mention must first of all be made of the Purāṇas, which form perhaps the only source providing any information regarding the origin and the earlier exploits of this illustrious dynasty. We have, however, to utilise the Purāṇas, in this connection, subject to certain reservations, because these literary works are generally characterized by some serious defects from the historical point of view, such as, the absence of dates, the lack of general agreement among themselves, and their usual tendency to treat contemporary dynasties as successive. ... The momentous discovery of 'Mañju-śrī-mūlakalpa' (...), a remarkable Mahāyāna chronicle of the succession of imperial powers in India, from 700 B.C., to 750 A.D., without a break, has

¹ Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, 1.

adequately supplied the account of the Early Gupta and Later Gupta periods, which had been a blank in the history of ancient India so far written. In addition to these and other Indian texts, we possess the very interesting account of the travels of Fa Hein [sic!] and Hiuen Tsang, the two Chinese pilgrims, who visited India in the 5th and the 7th centuries A.D., respectively.²

Dandekar then starts a long discussion of the second and third strand of sources with the following remarks:

Far more useful and reliable than the literary sources are the archaeological sources, mainly consisting of inscriptions and coins, belonging to the Gupta period, the discovery, publication, and historical interpretation of a large number of which worthily stand to the credit and amply testify to the industry and the historical acumen of several scholars, ...³

I would turn my eyes now to the sources which Dandekar calls 'addition' to the other Indian sources and 'very interesting accounts'. I will show that these, particularly Xuanzang's 玄奘 (c. 602–664) *Datang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Record of the Western Regions from the Great T'ang (Dynasty)], should be studied in their own right and not only as appendices, where suitable, to inscriptional and other Indic sources and for the purpose of reconstructing positive history, in most cases consisting of the study of dynastic lineages and inter-dynastic conflicts. Although Xuanzang gives information about Indian rulers, his motivation certainly is not to present dynastic history and lineage.

I have dealt elsewhere in detail with an example of Xuanzang's dynastic narrative of the contemporary Indian ruler Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya.⁴ This narrative is partly corroborated by the inscriptions and by a rare example of Indian 'biography', Bāṇa's Harṣacarita; it

² Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, 1ff.

³ Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, 3.

⁴ Deeg, 'The Political Position of Xuanzang'.

does, however, also show differences with the dynastic lineage presented by Harṣa in his own inscriptions.

In the opinion of scholars, the inscriptions would overrule the 'Record': since neither the length of the lineage nor the religious affiliation of the rulers given by Xuanzang fit the inscriptional material, Xuanzang's witness is usually dismissed as faulty. While this may be acceptable for an epigraphist and historian of India who is only interested in the dynastic history the Indic sources normally can deliver, the historian of Buddhism may (and should) not be happy to discard the given information that easily. It seems legitimate to ask the question of why these differences exist. After all, self-reflective and -constructed dynastic lineages are not equivalent to positive history. One may even go so far as to question the higher degree of reliability of inscriptional lineages in the light of the problems in details scholars encounter in their interpretation. On the other hand, the Buddhist sources may not only reflect a somewhat biased, idealized, and historically distorted viewpoint, but may, in fact, contribute to the understanding of other historical sources.

Harṣa Śīlāditya's Puṣyabhūti lineage, however, as I have concluded, was 'streamlined' by Xuanzang to match the dynastic lineage of the Tang. Since the Tang were only in the second generation of rulers, Taizong 太宗 (599–649, r. from 626) having assumed power from his father, Gaozu 高祖 (566–635, r. 618–626), after killing his brother, crown-prince Li Jiancheng 李建成 (589–626), the Indian dynasty could not possibly be presented with a longer lineage than the Chinese dynasty and was therefore reduced to the same structure and length as the Tang.

I think the answer to the question of historical reliability and credibility in the case of Xuanzang's description of Indian 'history' lies in the context of the 'Record'. As I have tried to show on different occasions, Xuanzang wrote for the Tang emperor Taizong and tried to educate him by presenting an idealized Indian and Buddhist world. Rulers (e.g. Aśoka⁵) and rulership played an important role

⁵ The example of the narrative of Aśoka and Kuṇāla is discussed in Deeg, 'Show Me the Land Where the Buddha Dwelled', 103ff.

in this ‘educational program’,⁶ and were presented as idealized and paradigmatic Buddhist kings.

In order to substantiate this view and interpretation, I will contextualize the foundation story of Xuanzang’s own ‘home’ monastery in India, Nālandā Mahāvihāra,⁷ given in the ‘Record’ according to which rulers of the Gupta dynasty supported Buddhism over generations, leading the monastery to its actual importance and greatness at the time when Xuanzang was residing and studying there. In other words, the original function of giving a successive line-up of Gupta rulers, patrons and donors who made Nālandā great in what we may assume as Xuanzang’s Buddhist source was to give the monastery political legitimation. Xuanzang then uses this narrative for his own educational purpose to show the Chinese emperor how a great monastery should be founded and sustained by royal or imperial support:

Going more than thirty miles from there (i.e. Rājagṛha) in northern [direction one] arrives at the monastery of Nalantuo⁸ (in the language of the Tang [this is] ‘Giving-Not-Enough’). [One can] hear old people say that south of this monastery, in a mango-grove, there is a lake, and the *nāga* in it is called Nālanda, and because the monastery was built close to it, it has received its name. [But] as a matter of fact [it is because] the Tathāgata in the past, [when he] practiced the Bodhisattva path and was the king of a great kingdom, was compassionate with the living beings and found pleasure in giving

⁶ Deeg, ‘Writing for the Emperor’.

⁷ On the question of the historical origin of Nālandā and the Chinese sources about the monastery see Deeg, ‘Setting the “Records” Straight’. I was not able to consult Prasad, *Nalanda, its Mahāvihāra and Xuan Zang*, but suspect that no real new contribution to our problem is contained in that publication.

⁸ 那爛陀/**na'-lan^h-da* (all EMC reconstructed forms are marked by * and are taken from Pulleyblank, *Lexicon of Reconstructed Pronunciation in Early Middle Chinese, Late Middle Chinese, and Early Mandarin*), Skt. Nālanda, Ch. Shiwuyan 施無厭. The name is etymologized as Skt. *na* (*wu* 無) + *alam* (*yan* 厭) + *√dā-* (*shi* 施).

generously, [so that people] praised [him] for [his] virtue and called [him] ‘Giving-Not-Enough’. And from [this name] the monastery received its name.

This land originally was a mango-garden [which] five hundred merchants bought for one billion gold coins in order to donate it to the Buddha. There the Buddha preached the *dharmā* for [a period] of three months, and all the merchants realized the fruit of sainthood. Not long after the *nirvāṇa* of the Buddha, the former king of this kingdom, Shuojialuoadieduo⁹ (in the language of the Tang [this is] ‘Ruler-Sun’), honored the One Vehicle, venerated the Three Jewels, formally declared [this] a site of merit¹⁰ and built this monastery. [When] the construction work was begun, the body of the *nāga* was pierced. A *niqian*-heretic,¹¹ who was good at divination, saw [this] and recorded:¹² ‘This is a sacred place, [and] the monastery built [here] will certainly be prospering and will become a model for

⁹ 鑠迦羅阿迭多/**ciak-kia-la-ṛa-det-ta*, Skt. Śakrāditya, Ch. Dirī 帝日. The transliteration of the names of the king displays some deficiencies, as here in this case and in Bālāditya (note 9; see also Silāditya) the two *akṣaras*/syllables *-ditya* are rendered as if the pronunciation of the underlying name had been **-ditta*, as reconstructed by Mizutani, *Daitō-saiki-ki*, 163, note 2. I have no explanation for this form (see also below the transliteration of Kumārāditya in Paramārtha’s biography of Vasubandhu); the underlying Indic cannot be a Prakrit form of *-ditya* which would be **-dic(c)a* (see Pāli *ādicca*, or Ārdhamāgadhī *ā’icca*: Ratnacandraji, *An Illustrated Ardha-Magadhi Dictionary*, 3b); see von Hinüber, *Das ältere Mittelindisch im Überblick*, 192, §247. See also below, note 13, the remark on the *-gupta* names.

¹⁰ *shizhan fudi* 式占福地: I do not take *zhan* 占 here in the meaning of ‘divinizing’ (Li, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record*, 281), but in its secondary meaning of (*HDC*, s.v.); *fudi* 福地 here probably has a double connotation, the concrete one of the place and another one of ‘field of merit’ (Skt. *puṇyakṣetra*).

¹¹ *niqian-waidao* 尼乾外道: *niqian* 尼乾/**nri-gian*, stands for *ni(r)grāṇ(ṭha)*, and the term means a Jain.

¹² *jī* 記: it is difficult to say in which form this was supposed to have been done in an Indian context: it could be in written form, and this seems to be meant here.

the monasteries in the Five Indias. It will be thriving more than one thousand years. Scholars joining it in the future will easily succeed in [their] work, but [they] often will spit blood, because the *nāga* has been damaged’.

[Śakrāditya’s] son Fotuojuduo¹³ (in the language of the Tang [this is] ‘Awakened-Protection’) followed [him] on the throne and continued [his] superb work, and built [another] monastery further to the south of the [former] one.

King Datajieduojuduo¹⁴ (in the language of the Tang [this is]

¹³ 佛陀毬多/**but-da-kuwk-ta*, Skt. Bu(d)dhagupta, Ch. Juehu 覺護. The name *Buddhagupta seems to be a ‘buddhisized’ form for the Budhagupta of the inscriptions and there is no need to correct the inscriptional name on the basis of Xuanzang. The transliteration of the name element *-gupta* as EMC **kuwk-ta* is odd. Older, phonetically more suitable transliterations of the name element *-gupta* were well known: Dharmagupta/Tanmojuduo 曇摩崛多/**dam-ma-gut-ta* (probably Pkt. Dhammagutta) (fl. 384–417), Dharmagupta/Damojjiduo 達摩笈多/**dat-ma-giap-ta* (fl. ca. 590–619)—but see in Huijiao’s *Gaoseng zhuan* [Biographies of Eminent Monks]: Tanwujuduo 曇無毬多 for Dharmagupta (*T* no. 2059: 403a.23–24)—Jñānagupta/She’najueduo 闍那崛多/**dzia-na’gut-ta* (probably Pkt. *Jānagutta*) (523–600). Other characters or syllables would have been more suited to represent the final *-p* of *gupta*: e.g. *jia* 英, 頰, 鋏, et.al./**kep*, *jie* 劫/**kiap*, etc. On the other hand the transliteration *juduo* 毬多 for *gupta* was already in use, as for instance in Aśvaghōṣa’s *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* (*Sūtrālamkāraśāstra*, *Da zhuangyan lunjiing* 大莊嚴論經), translated by Kumārajīva (*T* no. 201, passim: Youbojuduo 優波毬多 for Uggupta, or Shilijuduo 尸利毬多 for Śrīgupta), or the *Ayu wang zhuan* 阿育王傳 [Biography of King Aśoka], translated by An Faqin 安法欽 (fl. 281–306) (*T* no. 2042, passim: Juduo 毬多 for Gupta, Youbojuduo 優波毬多 for Upagupta, Natijuduo 羅提毬多 for Nadīgupta). Despite its shortcoming Xuanzang seems to follow this established transliterational tradition—followed e.g. by Śikṣānanda (652–710) for the Gupta dynasty in his translation of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (*T* no. 672: 638b.16)—when he himself renders names like Śrīgupta (Shilijuduo 室利毬多), Upagupta (Wubojuduo 鄔波毬多), or Dharmagupta(ka)-nikāya (Damojuduo bu 達摩毬多部) in the *Datang Xiyu ji* and in his translations of Abhidharma texts (*T* no. 1545, *T* no. 1558, and *T* no. 1562).

‘Thus-Come’) seriously practiced [like his] predecessors, and built [another] monastery further to the east of the [former] one.

When King Poluoadieduo¹⁵ (in the language of the Tang [this is] ‘Infant-Sun’) ascended the throne, [he] built [another] monastery further to the northeast of the [former] one. After these matters were achieved, [the king summoned] an assembly of merit¹⁶ to offer congratulations, showed sincerity to this world and to the yonder world, and invited commoners and saints. For this assembly monks from the Five Indias, from tens of thousands of miles [away], flocked together like clouds. When the community was finally seated, two arrived late, and were led into the third floor of a pagoda. Some [of the others] asked: ‘[When] the king wanted to set up the assembly, [he] first invited commoners and saints; where are [you] *bhandantas* from [that you] arrived as the latest?’ [They said]: ‘We [are from] the kingdom of Zhina.¹⁷ [Our] master¹⁸ [is suffering] from infant measles;¹⁹ when [he] just had eaten [his] meal, [he] received the king’s invitation from afar; therefore [we] came to attend the assembly’. The ones [who] had asked were startled and quickly told the king [about this]. In [his] mind the king knew that [they] were saints, and [he] went himself to ask them. [But since he] went up to the pagoda too late, nobody knew where [they] had left for. The king gained deep faith, gave up [his] kingdom and left the household.²⁰ After [he]

¹⁴ 担他揭多耆多/**tat-tha-kiat-ta-kuwk-ta*, Skt. Tathāgatagupta, Ch. Rulai 如來: the translation of the name is incomplete and should rather be Rulaihu 如來護 (Mizutani, *Daitō-saiiki-ki*, vol. 3, 164, note 5; Ji, *Datang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 755, note 4). In Xuanzang’s biography the name is shortened to Tathāgata: Datajieduo 怛他揭多/Rulai 如來 (*T* no. 2053, 237b.11–12).

¹⁵ 婆羅阿迭多/**ba-la-ḍa-det-ta*, Skt. Bālāditya, Ch. Youri 幼日.

¹⁶ *fubui* 福會, Skt. **puṇyapariṣad*.

¹⁷ 至那/**tei-na*, Skt. Cīna.

¹⁸ *beshang* 和上/**ywa-dzian*’, originally a transliteration of *ācārya* and here used in this sense.

¹⁹ *yingzhen* 嬰疹; or, with the variant reading *yingji* 嬰疾, some skin disease (s. *HDC*, s.v. *yingji*).

²⁰ *chujia* 出家, i.e. he became a novice (took the *pravrajā*).

had left the household, [he] was positioned at the [lower] end of the monks' community,²¹ was constantly in a disgruntled state of mind and felt not very happy [saying]: 'Formerly I was the king and [held] the most respected and highest position, [but] now [that I] have left the household [I] am the [most] inferior at the lower [end] of the monks' community!' [He] went to the community [of monks] and told [them the] situation [he was in]. Thereupon the community agreed that those who had not taken the [full] precepts²² could establish [their] position according to [their] age. Therefore, only this monastery has this regulation.²³

After the son of this king, Fasheluo²⁴ (in the language of the Tang [this is] 'Diamond Bolt'), had ascended the throne, [his] faith

²¹ *seng* 僧, here corresponding to Skt. *saṅgha*. The full term here is *sengmo* 僧末. The latter term occurs in connection with two young novices (*shami* 沙彌) in the *Asokāvadāna* (*Ayu wang jing* 阿育王經 [Sūtra of King Aśoka], T no. 2043: 141a12) there as *zhongsengmo* 眾僧末, and in the legend about a monkey and five hundred *ṛṣis* (*xianrenshi* 仙人師) in *Jinglü yixiang* 經律異相 [Differences and Similarities in the Sūtras and Vinayas] (T no. 2121: 47.252a10).

²² *weishoujie zhe* 未受戒者, lit.: 'who has not yet taken the precepts (*sīla*)', Skt. *anupasampada*.

²³ There is, of course, no historical evidence of the described events—monks from China and a Gupta-king retiring as a monk. Xuanzang may have had access to a Buddhist version of a regional historiography of the Nālandā-monastery, and that also may explain the Buddhisized version of the kings' names.

²⁴ 伐闍羅/**buat-dzia-la*, Skt. Vajra, Ch. Jin'gang 金剛; could this be an abbreviated form of an unattested *Vajragupta or *Vajrāditya (see below)? Xuanzang uses this transliteration in a short text for an *arhat* called Vajraputra (Fasheluo-fuduoluo 伐闍羅弗多羅). Nothing is known of a Gupta king of this name either from inscriptions nor coin legends. In the light of this lack of other sources the identification of Vajra with the *va-kārākhyā*, '[king whose] name [starts] with *va-*', in *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* 53.779 (see below), as proposed by Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 55–56 and 67; and Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 525, note 2, and followed by Mizutani, *Daitō-saiki-ki*, vol. 3, 164–65, note 7; and Ji, *Datang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 756, note 7, is at best hypothetical. According to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* this king is the successor (*anuja*) of

was really strong, and [he] also built a monastery to the east of the [former]. Later again [another] king of Central India built [another] monastery to the north of the [former]. Then [he] encompassed [everything] by a strong wall [with] one and the same gate [for all the monasteries]. Since continuous generations of rulers were [involved] in constructing activities and employed [all their] efforts in carving [stones for the buildings], [this] really is a magnificent view. A statue of the Buddha is nowadays placed in the first great monastery of ‘Ruler-Sun’, and each day forty different monks from the community go there and take [their] meal to pay back the favor of the donors²⁵.²⁶

Prakaṣāḍitya (*pa-kārākhyā*) and is ruling at the beginning of the *kāliyuga* as one of the last of his lineage.

²⁵ *shizhu zhi en* 施主之恩.

²⁶ *Datang Xiyu ji*, T no. 2087, 51: 8.923b13–c19: 從此北行三十餘里，至那爛陀(唐言施無厭)僧伽藍。聞之耆舊曰：此伽藍南菴沒羅林中有池，其龍名那爛陀，傍建伽藍，因取為稱。從其實議，是如來在昔修菩薩行，為大國王，建都此地，悲愍眾生，好樂周給，時美其德，號施無厭。由是伽藍因以為稱。其地本菴沒羅園，五百商人以十億金錢買以施佛。佛於此處三月說法，諸商人等亦證聖果。佛涅槃後未久，此國先王鑠迦羅阿迭多(唐言帝日)敬重一乘，遵崇三寶，式占福地，建此伽藍。初興功也，穿傷龍身。時有善占尼乾外道見而記曰：‘斯勝地也，建立伽藍，當必昌盛，為五印度之軌則，逾千載而彌隆。後進學人，易以成業，然多歐血，傷龍故也。’其子佛陀毘多王(唐言覺護)繼體承統，聿遵勝業，次此之南又建伽藍。咀他揭多毘多王(唐言如來)篤修前緒，次此之東又建伽藍。婆羅阿迭多(唐言幼日)王之嗣位也，次此東北又建伽藍。功成事畢，福會稱慶，輪誠幽顯，延請凡聖。其會也，五印度僧萬里雲集。眾坐已定，二僧後至，引上第三重閣。或有問曰：‘王將設會，先請凡聖，大德何方，最後而至？’曰：‘我至那國也。和上嬰疹，飯已方行，受王遠請，故來赴會。’問者驚駭，遽以白王。王心知聖也，躬往問焉。遲上重閣，莫知所去。王更深信，捨國出家。出家既已，位居僧末，心常怏怏，懷不自安：‘我昔為王，尊居最上，今者出家，卑在眾末！’尋往白僧，自述情事。於是眾僧和合，令未受戒者以年齒為次。故此伽藍獨有斯制。其王之子伐闍羅(唐言金剛)嗣位之後，信心貞固，復於此西建立伽藍。其後中印度王此北復建大伽藍。於是周垣峻峙，同為一門。既歷代君王繼世興建，窮諸剞劂，誠壯觀也。帝日本大伽藍者，今置佛像，眾中日差四十僧就此而食，以報施主之恩。

The unnamed king at the very end of the description should have been one of the rulers of the period between the decline of power and territory of the Guptas and Harṣa's reign/Xuanzang's visit. He has been identified by some scholars as Yaśodharman²⁷ who ruled in the first half of the sixth century, another rather unlikely identification being Śilāditya of Kanauj.²⁸

The successive lineage of rulers founding monasteries at Nālandā given by Xuanzang are clearly referring to the Guptas, but this is, as has been stated by several scholars when comparing it with the 'standard' dynastic genealogy extracted from Gupta inscriptions, puzzling and asks for explanation. Using the reconstructed Sanskrit names the direct dynastic lineage is as follows:

Śakrāditya—Bu(d)dhagupta—Tathāgatagupta—Bālāditya—Vajra

Anybody knowing anything about the Guptas will recognize one or two historical names, Budhagupta and Bālāditya, the latter being the epithet or *biruda* of Narasimhagupta.

For comparison I give the succession lineage of the Guptas as reconstructed, *mutatis mutandis*, by modern historians; kings are listed in sequence of their rule (with their epithets without taking into account the family relation):²⁹

Abbreviated versions are found in Huili's 慧立 biography, the *Datang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [Biography of the Tripitaka *dharma* master of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang (Dynasty)] ('Biography') (*T* no. 2053: 237b.9ff.), and in Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方志 [Record of the Regions of Śākya(muni)] (*T* no. 2088: 964b.23ff.).

²⁷ For example, see Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 525.

²⁸ Heras, 'The Royal Patrons of the University of Nalanda', 13ff.; Kuwayama, 'How Xuanzang Learnt About Nālandā', 11.

²⁹ Following Willis, 'Later Gupta History', 135, slightly more complex Bakker, 'A Theatre of Broken Dreams', 180; and Bakker, *The World of the Skandapurāṇa*, 27. Skandagupta may be inserted between Kumāragupta I and Purugupta: Tandon, 'The Succession After Kumāragupta I'.

[Ghaṭotkaca *mahārāja*—Candragupta I *mahārājādhirāja*—
 Samudragupta *mahārājādhirāja dauhitra*—Candragupta II
paramabhāgavata vikramāditya—] Kumāragupta I *mahārājādhirāja*
mahendrāditya—Purugupta *mahārājādhirāja*—Narasimhagupta
bālāditya paramabhāgavata—Budhagupta *paramadaivata*
mahārājādhirāja—Kumāragupta II *mahārājādhirāja śrīkramāditya*—
 Vainyagupta *bhagavān mahādevapādānudhyāta*

Already from a first comparison and as discussed below it becomes clear that Xuanzang does not reflect the dynastic lineage as given in the inscriptions³⁰ when presenting the *paramparā* of the Gupta kings. The ‘unhistorical’ treatment of the Guptas is evident when the Chinese monk places the first king, Śākṛāditya, not long after the time of the Buddha’s *parinirvāṇa* (*fō niepan hou wei jiu* 佛涅槃後未久). Such a dating is, of course, impossible because such early archaeological evidence at Nālandā does not exist, but also in the light of the fact that a ruler name Śākṛāditya is not known before the Guptas.³¹

As has been observed very early by scholars, the second *membra* of the royal names or epithets in Xuanzang’s list, *-āditya* and *-gupta*, clearly refer to the Gupta rulers. However, as Michael Willis states correctly, the obsession of historians to identify each of Xuanzang’s kings with one Gupta ruler has led to rather questionable historical results and has created some mess in the reconstruction of the Gupta lineage.³² My suggestion is that one should, instead, keep the two

³⁰ Ji, *Datang Xiyu ji jiaozhu*, 755, note 2.

³¹ The name (Śrī) Śākṛāditya on a seal found at Nālandā definitely has nothing to do with Xuanzang’s king. Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, 38.

³² Willis, ‘Later Gupta History’, 140: ‘The link between the coins, seals and Xuan Zang’s testimony is just the kind of connections historians love to make. And it is, equally, just the kind of connections they are loath to renounce’. One example, among many, is Raychaudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, 526, who uncritically relies on Xuanzang and creates a dynastic family tree from conflating inscriptions and Xuanzang’s data. See similarly Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 34–35; Gokhale, ‘Buddhism in the Gupta Age’.

strands of sources separated and neither force Xuanzang's narrative nor the inscriptional lineage into the Procrustes bed of the respective other. In Xuanzang's case, I would work with the hypothesis of an 'idealized' lineage of rulers³³ and would focus on the explanation of the irregularities of the names—the deficiencies in transliteration and translation (see below)—and the particularities of his narrative before comparing it with other sources.

Some historical links may be made, however, but strictly for the purpose of understanding how the Gupta lineage as reflected in the inscriptions transformed into the one reported by Xuanzang, and not the other way around. A starting point is Bu(d)dhagupta who can, without too many problems, be identified with the Gupta ruler of the same name.³⁴ Budhagupta's father, however, was Purugupta³⁵ and not Śākṛāditya/Kumāragupta I (*mahendrāditya*) who was Budhagupta's grandfather. The epigraphic and numismatic evidence does not refer to such a ruler name but it has since long been observed that Kumāragupta I uses the name Mahendrāditya in the legends (*biruda*) on his coinage. Since Śakra and (Mahā-)Indra both are the names for the same god—Śakra rather being used in a Buddhist context—Śākṛāditya³⁶ has been taken as a variant of the *biruda* Mahendrāditya and been identified with Kumāragupta I.

The name of Budhagupta's successor in Xuanzang's lineage is a Tathāgatagupta, and again, such a name does not appear at all in any of the historical sources. If we give up the idea that Xuanzang presents us with a historically sound dynastic lineage, but rather a 'buddhisized' and idealized one in which all kinds of amalgamation or exchange processes could have happened, Tathāgatagupta may

³³ This includes truncation of longer lineages; in Tārānātha's history the Gupta dynasty is reduced to one ruler, Candragupta. See Chattopadhyaya, *Tārānātha's History of Buddhism in India*, 123.

³⁴ On the historical Budhagupta, see Bakker, *The World of the Skandapurāṇa*, 28–29.

³⁵ Willis, 'Later Gupta History', 142.

³⁶ See, for example, Heras, 'The Royal Patrons of the University of Nalanda', 3–4, while Sastri, 'Nālandā', 154, argued against such an identification.

have been a phantasy-produced ‘offspring’ of Buddhagupta, both names meaning semantically the same: ‘Protected by the Buddha/by the Tathāgata’ and originally referring to the same ruler, Budhagupta. One can speculate if the source(s) which Xuanzang used—or Xuanzang himself—mixed up Tathāgatagupta with Bālāditya, who ranges so prominently in Xuanzang’s report, in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and in the (Chinese) Biography of Vasubandhu as a Buddhist king because of his Buddhist name.

Another problem is the last Gupta king mentioned by Xuanzang, Vajra. First of all, the name does not seem to be complete but is missing a second membrum, probably the regular final element *-gupta*. But even if we restore to *Vajragupta no source mentions this name. The only guess I can offer to address this riddle is that Vajra(gupta) may be a corrupt form of the historical Vainyagupta.

It is evident that in Xuanzang’s narrative Vajra’s predecessor, Bālāditya, plays the major role. The identification of this Bālāditya, on whom will be the focus of the rest of this paper, with one of the attested Gupta rulers is problematic as Michael Willis has pointed out.³⁷ Most scholars have identified this Bālāditya with Narasiṃhagupta since in the epigraphic material this king uses the same *biruda*.³⁸ But if we accept for a moment that Budhagupta

³⁷ Willis, ‘Later Gupta History’. I will not discuss here the narrative of the king Bālāditya who subdued the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (Mahirakula) in the ‘Record’ (*T* no. 2087: 888b.22ff) which is difficult to reconcile with the earlier Bālāditya from the Nālandā foundation story; for a discussion of such attempts see Deleanu, *The Chapter on the Mundane Path*, 187ff. The defeat of Mihirakula is otherwise clearly claimed by the Aulikara ruler Yaśodharman around 532, see Bakker, *The World of the Skandapurāṇa*, 38ff.; Bakker, *Monuments of Hope*, 19–20. It seems that the Buddhist tradition which Xuanzang had access to either conflated two rulers with the same name Bālāditya (Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, 73) or ascribed the protection of the *dharma* against the barbarian Mihirakula anachronistically to the earlier Gupta ruler.

³⁸ But see Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 54–55, who identifies this king as the late Gupta ruler, Bhānugupta, whose epithet was Bālāditya as well. Bālāditya was the name of several rulers after the Guptas, for example, the king men-

and Tathāgatagupta are referring to the same historical ruler, Xuanzang's Bālāditya would then rather be Kumāragupta II and not Narasiṃhagupta,³⁹ who ruled before Budhagupta, and this could stand despite the fact that Kumāragupta II in the inscriptions has different *birudas*.

Bālāditya is the only of the Gupta kings named by Xuanzang who develops considerable construction activities outside of the complex monastery and builds a huge temple for an image of Śākyamuni Buddha.⁴⁰ It seems as if this point is supported, even in some detail,⁴¹ by the inscription from the reign of king Yaśovarmadeva found at Nālandā, which highly praises the temple (*prāsāda*) built for the image of Śākyamuni Buddha (Śauddhodani) by king Bālāditya as outstanding in the world.⁴²

tioned in the eighth century Deo Bavanark inscription of Jīvitagupta II (Bakker, *The World of the Skandapurāṇa*, 67). For a non-royal Bālāditya in the reign of Mahīpāladeva (r. 988–1038) see Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, 107.

³⁹ Insisting on this identification is Heras, 'The Royal Patrons of the University of Nalanda', who is, as far as I know and compared with other scholars, the only author going the opposite interpretative direction by 'pressing' the inscriptional and numismatic date into the Procrustes bed of Xuanzang's description. See also Sastri, 'Nālandā', 152.

⁴⁰ T no. 2087: 924a.29ff: 觀自在菩薩精舍北有大精舍，高三百餘尺，婆羅阿迭多王之所建也，莊嚴度量及中佛像，同菩提樹下大精舍。 ('To the north of the temple of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara is a great temple, more than three hundred *chi* high [and] built by king Bālāditya; its ornaments and size and the Buddha image inside are the same as that of the great temple underneath the *bodhi* tree'.) The importance given to this temple by Xuanzang is reflected by the fact that the description is also included in Huili's 'Biography', T no. 2053: 238b.23ff.

⁴¹ Xuanzang equals temple and image with those at Bodhgayā, and the inscription seems to do the same when it speaks of the statue as a 'victor residing on the diamond seat' (... *vajrāsanastho jina* ...): Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, 80, line 19 of the inscription.

⁴² Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, 79, line 8–9: *Atrāsa[hya] parākramapraṇayinā jītvākhilān vidviṣo V[B]ālādityamahānṛpeṇa sakalam bhuktvā ca bhūmaṇḍalam / prāsādaḥ sumahān ayam bhagavataḥ Śauddhodhaner*

The importance of Bālāditya in the Buddhist pool of information from which Xuanzang obviously drew is also reflected in Huili's biography of the master: when Xuanzang had passed a test of his knowledge of the Yogācāra teaching by Śīlabhadra, he was housed in the fourth floor of a multi-stored structure built by king Bālāditya,⁴³ probably inside of the monastery, which once was inhabited by the eminent Buddhist master Dharmapāla.⁴⁴ The building obviously reflected the appreciation the monastic community had for their most prominent royal patron.

There is another important point I should make with respect to the religious affiliation of the rulers. Despite the fact that under the Guptas the major public and imperial religion was Hindu,⁴⁵

adbhutaḥ Kailāśābhībhāvecchayeḥ dhavalō manye samutthāpitaḥ ('This large, magnificent and shiningly white temple for the venerable son of Śuddhodana (i.e. the Buddha) was erected by the great king Bālāditya, desiring unrivaled power, after he had been victorious over all enemies and had enjoyed [the rule over] the circle of the earth, as it was meant [to be constructed] with the desire to supersede [mount] Kailāśa'. [translation by Deeg]). It should be pointed out that the rather peculiar attribute *dhavala*, 'shining white', may be an allusion to a Gupta queen called Dhavalā, wife of a king V[B]ālāditya who both are referred to in the Sārnāth inscription of Prakaṭāditya: Deleanu, *The Chapter on the Mundane Path*, 191.

⁴³ A seal found at Nālandā speaks of a Bālāditya-gandhakuḍī: Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, 38; this could well refer to the 'pavilion' (*chongge* 重閣) inhabited by Xuanzang.

⁴⁴ T no. 2053: 237a.19ff.

⁴⁵ As a typical, slightly contradictory, statement on the religious situation under the Gupta R.S. Sharma, *India's Ancient Past*, 243, may be quoted: 'Buddhism ceased to receive royal patronage during the Gupta period. Fa-hsian gives the impression that this religion was flourishing, but in reality it was not as important during the Gupta period as it had been in the days of Ashoka and Kanishka. However, some stupas and *viharas* were constructed, and Nalanda became a centre of Buddhist education'. To resolve this contradiction Sharma emphasizes: 'The Gupta kings followed a policy of tolerance towards different religious sects. We find no example of persecution of the followers of Buddhism and Jainism.'

a point can be made that this does not mean that there was no support for Buddhism under their rule.⁴⁶ In fact, Hans Bakker has pointed out the religious tolerance under the dynasty.⁴⁷ The inscriptions of Budhagupta at least reflect some royal support for the religion.⁴⁸ Narasiṃhagupta, according to a later inscription, donated a temple to Nālandā⁴⁹—which admittedly would make him again a candidate for Xuanzang's Bālāditya. Of the later Gupta kings, Viṣṇugupta supported Buddhism as shown by an inscribed seal from Nālandā, and Vainyagupta approved of the donation to a Buddhist *ācārya*.⁵⁰

Xuanzang's information may originate from an un preserved Buddhist historiography,⁵¹ possibly related to Nālandā, which created an idealized narrative of a direct Gupta patronage reflecting the historical memory of the monastery's foundation, in several phases, under the rule of this dynasty, which does not necessarily stick to historical reality but is more interested in presenting a continuous royal patronage of the monastery by one of the most famous Indian dynasties. For comparison, one may look at the narrative of the

This was also due to the change in the character of Buddhism which had come to acquire many features of Brahmanism and Hinduism' (244).

⁴⁶ See, for example, Willis, 'The Dhanesar Kherā Buddha'; see also Narain, 'Religious Policy and Toleration in Ancient India', 38ff.

⁴⁷ Bakker, 'Royal Patronage and Religious Tolerance'; see also Narain, 'Religious Policy and Toleration in Ancient India', 34ff.

⁴⁸ See also the royal seal of Budhagupta from Nālandā: Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, 64.

⁴⁹ Narain, 'Religious Policy and Toleration in Ancient India', 43. One seal with Narasiṃhagupta's pedigree has been found at Nālandā: Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, 65.

⁵⁰ Narain, 'Religious Policy and Toleration in Ancient India', 44. For a Vainyagupta seal from Nālandā see Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, 67.

⁵¹ Willis, 'Later Gupta History', 141, assumes that a text like Vasubandhu's biography and 'oral traditions which accompanied them' was the basis of Xuanzang's record. I would rather assume that Xuanzang had access to a Nālandā record similar in its Buddhist historiographical tenets to the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*.

Gupta dynasty in another Indian sources, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, a text from the eighth century. The fifty-third chapter (*parivarta*) of this text is called Rājavyākaraṇaparivarta, ‘Chapter of the Prophecy of Kings’, whose historical value is overestimated by Jayaswal in the typical hyper-positivist way:

The author or the authorities of the MMK had a true history of the Gupta times. The account, where verifiable, is very correct. It is sober and fuller. ... There are some most valuable details which illuminate the confused portions of the Gupta history and help us in coming to a decision on debated and doubtful points. It is not a matter of small satisfaction to recover an actual Indian record in the form of a written history of the Great Gupta epoch. The character-estimate of the Gupta emperors by the Buddhist historian is very valuable and it is fortunately very sound even when the kings were not Buddhists. The account really constitutes true history.⁵²

This high praise may be brought back to the ground by Michael Willis’ assessment of the text’s historical value:

A second source [beside the Pāli *vamsas*] which occupies a problematic place in the historiography of the Gupta period is the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*. ... The agendas of the text, one hardly needs to say, were substantially different from those of modern historians. We must also note that the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which is consciously cryptic, has acquired historical meaning in the modern sense *only* through inscriptions and coins. The flow of information in the other direction, i.e. from text to epigraphic and numismatic material, is so contested and problematic that it can only be judged as consistently unreliable for chronological and genealogical purposes.⁵³

While in general I agree with Willis’ statement, I still would try to link the text not only in one direction, the epigraphic and numismatic

⁵² Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 34.

⁵³ Willis, ‘Later Gupta History’, 141, note 47.

material, but also with the other Buddhist sources available, one of them being Xuanzang, and would try to make sense of them as much as possible. The purpose of doing this is then not for reconstructing chronological and genealogical history, but to get insight into the otherwise lost processes of composing Buddhist historiography in the first millennium. Hardcore historians may call this ‘wrong Gupta genealogies’, but these genealogies still have their value, I would claim, for the understanding of how Buddhists looked at their own history in relation to the worldly power in a similar way as the Pāli *vaṃsas* or the Chinese Buddhist chronicles.

The lineage of Gupta kings in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, partly reconstructed and not completely clear, is:⁵⁴

Samudra(-gupta)—Vikram(āditya)—S(kandagupta)—
Mahendrāditya (Kumāragupta I)—Bāl(āditya)—Kumāra(gupta)—
U(kārākhyā) (= Budhagupta?⁵⁵ or Viṣṇugupta)—Deva(gupta)

There are some interesting parallels between the *Datang Xiyu ji* and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* which may shed some light on the sources of Xuanzang’s report. The most striking one is that, like Xuanzang’s report, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* highlights one king as particularly supportive of Buddhism, Bālādhyakṣa—not the king mentioned as ruling the East afterwards, Bālākhyā, ‘the one called Bāla’ whom Jayaswal⁵⁶ identifies with the previous Bālādhyakṣa, but who is, according to the text, a reincarnation of the first Bālāditya—who can be equated with Xuanzang’s Bālāditya, while the other kings are more or less mentioned in passing:

Listen carefully [about] the intermediate well-dwelling (?⁵⁷) kings

⁵⁴ Modified from Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 33ff.

⁵⁵ According to Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 38–39, whose manipulation of the Gupta lineage is, however, not necessary since the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* is not much more historical than Xuanzang’s list.

⁵⁶ Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 33.

⁵⁷ *Samāsvāsā?*

in the middle period following the middle *dharmā*⁵⁸ in the infinite *yuga*. Both the king having the name [part] Samudra (Samudragupta) and [the king] Vikrama (Vikramāditya = Candragupta II) [are] famous; [then] the best of rulers and kings, the most eminent with the syllable *sa-* (Skandagupta) as the first [part of his name], focused on the highest [goal]. The one who has the name [part] of the ‘Lord of the gods’ in his name (*devarāja* = Mahendr[āditya] = Kumāragupta I?) will be, in the most inferior of the *yugas*, the best king, will be wise and fond of the *dharmā*. His offspring, the overseer of power (Bālādhyakṣa = Bālāditya), will be devoted to the blissful teaching [of the Buddha] and will then, without any doubts, make the whole eastern earth reaching to the ocean adorned and embellished with *caityas*; monasteries, monastic dwellings, ponds, gardens with lofty pavilions⁵⁹ will always be [there]. The noble one will then build a passage across the river [Gaṅgā], the builder of bridges, so that he may venerate the images of the Teacher, purified by him, and cause [them] to be venerated. After having ruled without opponent and without resistance, the protector of the earth, the king, may live for thirty years and thirty days and [then] come forth [as a monk]. Then the king may kill himself, in contemplation⁶⁰ and stunned, tormented by the pain [about the loss of] his son and taking refuge to the practice of asceticism. And then, after his death, he avoided the hells, dwelling in three and one heavens, after his body was thrown out of a hellish [form of] existence he may go to heaven forever. The world of the blessed gods is called the ‘Pure Abode’ (Śuddhāvāsa). The divine king may be there with a purified and deep inclination to awakening (*bodhi*). And having been reborn hundreds, thousands of times in divine bliss he will be again reborn as a human being, closer to being a Buddha [than before]. Through the deeds he had done, [he] then [was born] among other reborn living beings in the city

⁵⁸ Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 33, translates this as: ‘Listen about the Mediæval and Madhyadeśa kings (...) who will be in a long period emperors (...) and who will be confident and will be followers of the *via media*’.

⁵⁹ *Udyānā maṇḍavakāṃ = udyānān maṇḍapakāṇ?*

⁶⁰ *Dhyāyantaḥ* as a wrong vowel-stem present participle instead of *dhyāyān?*

called Ujjayanī among the people of Kālava. There [he will be] a merchant, overseeing the coming [and going],⁶¹ who has a lot of wealth. In a time in which there are no Buddhas, an empty world without places [for Buddhas] Pratyekabuddhas with a lot of magical power [will] dwell in that world, will act for the sake of the bliss of the living beings on the great earth. After they reach the city of Ujjayanī [they] enter it for the sake of alms-begging. Walking on their path the great-spirited ones appear⁶² on the main road. When the merchant then looks towards the wise man⁶³ he invites [him] to eat and may lead him to his house. After having led [him to his house] he may quickly invite the wise man [to take] a seat [saying]: ‘Oh Venerable Ones, may you form an assembly! The time for food has come’. And the great-spirited was silent and did not speak a word, lowered his alms-bowl in front of the merchant the whole time. Thereupon the merchant, recognizing the gesture, may become wise and fill the alms-bowl with all kinds of food and give [them] carefully with his own hand. After they have taken [the food] they go everywhere in the sky, are seen like garlands of lamps, their shapes clinging at the firmament. But he, his hair risen and full of agitation, falls to the ground, his mind twisted by the [display] of magical power. And he then made a vow as if in conversation [with himself]:⁶⁴ ‘It is through that root of merit that [this will] be obtained by me from today [in the future]’. Those best of wise men may become a best, unsurpassed Buddha, [while the merchant] may then, [after] ten thousand of births, become a wheel-turning king. But then this [king], after briefly having attained the body among sixty of *koṭīs* of heavenly residents [as] declared [before] and having abandoned the blissful birth among

⁶¹ I am not sure how to separate *tatrāyanīmukhyaḥ*; I tentatively take *āyanī* in the translated meaning.

⁶² I take the corrupt (reading?) *avataratat* as a finite verb, 3rd pl.

⁶³ *vāṇyājeyas tustadā saiva duṣṭvā tu saṃmukhāṃ munim*. This and some of the following sentences—see the constant switch between singular and plural when referring to the Pratyekabuddhas—seem completely corrupted to me; I have translated as well as I could make sense of it.

⁶⁴ *pravyābhāravabha > pravvyābhārabhava?*

the heavenly residents, [according to] another willful [decision] may attain rebirth among human [beings] here [in this world], and continuously his rebirth is here [in this world] in a royal family. He will be king with the name [part] Bāla in the eastern regions. For thousands of rebirths this noble king obtained short [but] irreversible bliss and the final omniscience. Thus considering [it] manifold there were many lucky coincidences such as: ‘Who thus may request the acts of veneration for the Teacher (i.e. the Buddha) and commit oneself to the best and suitable [ways of] liberation on the path to enlightenment?’ After him there will be a king of the Gauḍa (i.e. Bengal), called by one name part Kumāra,⁶⁵ and he also will be full of the *dharmā* [which] leads to happiness. After him a noble one will be widely known as having the syllable U as part of his name. After that, separation [of the different parts of the empire] from each other was initiated. Since [they] had [that] great separation these Gauḍas [became] full of brutal thoughts. Then a king of Magadha with Deva as part of his name will be remembered.^{66 67}

⁶⁵ Kumāragupta of the Late Guptas. Cf. Thaplyal, *Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puṣpabhūti and Yaśovarman of Kanauj*, 38.

⁶⁶ One of the two Devaguptas of the Late Guptas, on whom see Thaplyal, *Inscriptions of the Maukharis, Later Guptas, Puṣpabhūti and Yaśovarman of Kanauj*, 42–43, or 46 (Devagupta II)?

⁶⁷ Online version by GRETEL of the edition Śāstri, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, 593: *madhyakāle samāsvāsā madhyamā madhyadharminah; anante va yuge nṛpendrā śṛṇu tattvataḥ*. 594. *samudrākhyo nṛpaś caiva vikramaś caiva kīrttitaḥ, mahendranṛpavaro mukhya sakārādyo mataḥ param*. 595. *devarājākhyanāmā-sau jugādhamē; nirddhākhye nṛpaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ buddhimān dharmavatsalaḥ*. 596. *tasyāpy anuḥ balādhyakṣaḥ śāsane ca hite rataḥ; prācīm samudrapary-antām caityālānkr̥tāśobhanām*. 597. *kariṣyati na sandehaḥ kṛtsnām vasumatīm tadā; vibhārārāmavāpīś ca udyānā maṇḍavakām sadā*. 598. *kariṣyati tadā śrīmām saṅkramām setukārakaḥ; śāstur bimbān tadā pūjet tatprasannāms ca pūjayet*. 599. *kṛtvā rājyaṁ mahīpālo nihsapatnam akanṭhakam; jīved varṣām ṣaṭtrīṃśat trīṃśaḥ pravraje nṛpaḥ*. 600. *tato ‘tmānam ghātayed rājā dhyāyan-taḥ sampramūrccitaḥ; putrasōkābhisanaptaḥ yativr̥ttisamāśṛtaḥ*. 601. *tato ‘sau bhinnadehas tu narakebhyo ‘papadyata; trīṇi ekaṁ ca divasāni uṣitvā narakam*

gatim. 602. *deham utsrjya diviṃ gacchet sadā nṛpaḥ; devānāṃ sukr̥tināṃ lokāḥ śuddhāvāsa iti smṛtaḥ; devarājā bhavet tatra śuddhātmā bodhinimnagaḥ.* 603. *śataśaḥ sahasraśaś caiva anubhūya diviṃ sukham; punar eva mānuṣyaṃ prāpya buddho bhūyo bhavāntare; tenaiva kāritaṃ karma anyajanmeṣu dehinām.* 604. *purīm ujjayanīm khyātā kālavānām jane tadā; tatrāyanīmukhyaḥ vaṇijo yo mahādhanāḥ.* 605. *buddhānām asambhave kāle śūnye loka nirāspade; pratyeka-buddhā loka 'smiṃ viharanti maharddhikāḥ.* 606. *sattvānāṃ hitakāmāya vicaranti mahātale; purī ujjayinī prāpya praviṣṭā piṇḍacārikā; vargacāriṇo mahātmānaḥ rathyāyāmavataratat.* 607. *vāṇyājeyastustadā saiva duṣṭvā tu saṃmukhāṃ munim; nimantrayāmāsa tadā bhaktena svagrhaṃ caiva nayet tadā; nītvā munivarāṃ kṣipramāsanena nimantrayet.* 608. *saṅghībhavadbha bhavataḥ bhaktakālo 'yamupasthitaḥ; te 'pi tūṣṇīm mahātmāno na vācāṃ bhāṣire tadā.* 609. *pātraṃ ca nāmayāmāsa vāṇije yasya sarvadā; vaṇijā iṅgitajñāś ca buddhimanto bhavet tadā.* 610. *pātraṃ ca pūrayāmāsa vīvidhākārabhojanaiḥ; tadāsau svabhastenaiva teṣāṃ prāyaccha yatnataḥ.* 611. *grhītvā tu tataḥ sarve prajagmuḥ sarvato nabham; dīpamāleva dṛśyante vyomamūrttisamāśritāḥ.* 612. *tato 'sau hr̥ṣṭaromas tu saṃvegababulas tadā; bhūmyāṃ ca patitas tatra ṛddhyaḥ varjitamānasāḥ.* 613. *praṇidhiṃ ca tadā cakre pravṛyābhāravabhaṃ yathā; anena kuśalamūlena yanmayā prāptamadyataḥ.* 614. *eṣā munivarā magra bhaved buddho hy anuttaraḥ; daśajanmasahasrāṇi cakravartī tadā bhuvi.* 615. *tato 'sau vyuktadehas tu koṭiṣaṣṭidivaukasām; anubhūya ciraṃ saukhyaṃ tyaktvā janma divaukasām.* 616. *mānuṣāṇāṃ tadā janma prāpnuyāt paravaśā iha; tasya rājakule janma bhavatiha tu sarvadā.* 617. *bālākhyo nāma 'sau nṛpatir bhavitā pūrvadeśakaḥ; ājanmasahasrāṇi cirasaukhyam anāvṛtam; prāpnuvanti yā nṛpatiḥ śrīmāṃ sarvajñatvaṃ ca paścimam.* 618. *evaṃ bahuvidhaṃ matvā saṃpado vipulās tathā; ko nu kuryāt tadā śāstuh pūjanādhyeṣaṇāṃs tathā; kārāṃś ca śreyasīm yuktāṃ bodhimārgaviyojanīm.* 619. *tasyāpareṇa nṛpatiḥ gaudānāṃ prabhaviṣṇavaḥ; kumārākhyo nāmataḥ proktaḥ so 'pi ratyantadbharmavām.* 620. *tasyāpareṇa śrīmāṃ ukārākhyeti viśrutāḥ; tataḥ pareṇa viśṣeṣa teṣāṃ anyonyateṣyate.* 621. *mahāviśeṣaṇā hy ete gaudā raudracetasāḥ; tato deva iti khyāto rājā māgadhbakaḥ smṛtaḥ.*

The parallels between the two Buddhist sources are obvious. Both Xuanzang and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* not only make Bālāditya, to whom they dedicate the longest passage in their description of rulers, a supporter of Buddhism but also agree in having him become a monk, or rather a novice. The *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* even goes so far to have the king be reborn after several rebirths with obviously the same name, Bālāditya, thus stretching the timeline of the Guptas in a similar way as Xuanzang's lineage does it backwards in the case of Śakrāditya.

The strong support of Buddhism through the king Bālāditya—whoever the historical ruler figure behind this name may have been originally—is also particularly highlighted in another Buddhist narrative, in the biography of Vasubandhu, *Posoupandou fashi zhuan* 婆藪槃豆法師傳 [Biography of the *dharma* master Vasubandhu], translated into Chinese by Paramārtha/Zhendi 真諦 (499–569). Here, Bālāditya is the son of Vikramāditya (*T* no. 2049: 189c.21–22 Bikeluomoazhiduo 毘柯羅摩阿祇多/**bjit-ka-la-ma-ṛa-drit-ta*, translated as Zhengleri 正勒日, 'Pure-Force-Sun'), who rules in Ayodhyā (Ayushe 阿綸闍/**ṛa-juā-dzia*: Pkt. Ayujjhā?) and supports the master Vasubandhu by giving him three *lakṣa* (*luosha* 洛沙/**lak-ṣe*;) of gold which Vasubandhu uses to build three monasteries, one for nuns, one for the Sarvastivādin, and one for followers of the Mahāyāna (*T* no. 2049: 190b.2ff.). Vikramāditya's son and crown prince Bālāditya temporarily becomes a novice or monk (*shoujie* 受戒, Skt. *upa-sam-vṛpad-*)⁶⁸ before he ascends the throne himself, whereupon his mother becomes a nun (*chujia* 出家, Skt. *pra-vṛraj-*):

King 'Pure-Force-Sun's' (Vikramāditya) crown prince's name was

⁶⁸ Dalia, 'Biography of Dharma Master Vasubandhu', 49, wrongly translates *shoujie* as 'to receive the Vinaya'. Very strangely, Takakusu, 'A Study of Paramārtha's Life of Vasubandhu', 44 (Takakusu, 'The Life of Vasubandhu by Paramārtha', 288: 'receive his (i.e. Vasubandhu's) instructions'), did not recognize the technical nature of both terms referring to ordination: '[Vikramāditya] sent his Crown Prince (Bālāditya) to Vasubandhu to learn Buddhism, and the Queen too became one of his disciples'. See also Deleanu, *The Chapter on the Mundane Path*, 187.

Poluozhidiye. *Poluo* is translated as ‘new’, [and] *zhidiye* is translated as ‘sun’.⁶⁹ Originally the king had ordered the crown prince to go to the *dharmā* master [Vasubandhu] and to take the precepts. The royal consort left the household and also became the *dharmā* master’s disciple. When the crown prince later ascended the throne, mother and son both asked the *dharmā* master to stay in the kingdom of Ayodhyā and to accept their offerings. The *dharmā* master accepted.⁷⁰

The conclusion one may draw from all of this is that Xuanzang’s story of Bālāditya becoming a novice (*śrāmaṇera*) seems to be based on a Buddhist historiographical narrative about certain rulers of the Gupta. Xuanzang’s story is more Nālandā-specific and explains how the tradition of Nālandā monastery ranking novices by their real age rather than their ‘monastic’ years came into being, a point which is not confirmed by other sources.

Taking the Buddhist sources, Xuanzang, the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* and the biography of Vasubandhu, together it looks as if they reflect a Buddhist view of Gupta history that focuses on Bālāditya as a fervent Buddhist king who may be an amalgamation of different Gupta rulers. This may also explain why the position of Bālāditya in

⁶⁹ There are some problems with the transliteration of the name and its (inserted) explanation. First of all the second element (*-āditya*) in Poluozhidiye 婆羅祇底也/**ba-la-drit-tej’-jia*’, differs from the corresponding name part of the royal father, *azhiduo* 阿祇多/**ʔa-drit-ta*. The analysis of the name shows some flaws: Skt. *bāla* does not mean ‘new’ (*xin* 新), but Hans Bakker (verbal communication) reminds me that Bālāditya in the sense of the ‘youthful sun, raising sun’ may justify the interpretation of *bāla* as ‘new (= young)’. See also Deleanu, *The Chapter on the Mundane Path*, 190. What weighs more, however, is that the compositional structure of the Skt. name is falsely analyzed by not transliterating the initial *ā* of *āditya*, and the syllable *di* 底/**tej’* is either superfluous or represents a proclitic pronunciation **āditya*.

⁷⁰ 正勒日王太子，名婆羅祇底也。婆羅譯為新，祇底也譯為日。王本令太子就法師受戒。王妃出家，亦為法師弟子。太子後登王位，母子同請留法師住阿綸闍國，受其供養。法師即許之 (*T* no. 2049: 190b.18ff).

the Gupta lineage is not identical in the different Buddhist sources: Xuanzang makes him the grandson (or son, in case Budhagupta and Tathāgatagupta are referring to the same ruler) of Budhagupta, in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* Bālāditya is the son of Kumāragupta and father of Budhagupta, and in the ‘Life of Vasubandhu’ the king is the son of Vikramāditya (Candragupta II).⁷¹ Thus none of these lineages agrees with the lineage reconstructed from the inscriptions nor do they with each other, but for the purpose of the Buddhist narrative historical correctness in this respect probably was not the most important part of the story. What unites the Buddhist sources is that they all give a king called Bālāditya a prominent role in the Gupta lineage of protecting the Buddhist *dharma* and *saṅgha*, a role which cannot be ignored.

So are we entitled to assume that the silence of the inscriptions on such an important king as Bālāditya overwrite the Buddhist voice, including Xuanzang? I am tempted to take a middle stance and claim some historical reality behind the fragments of a Buddhist narrative about a Gupta king Bālāditya which is just not reflected in the inscriptions, but whose historical identity may be unearthed at some point in the future with a higher degree of certainty as yet. For the time being, however, the comparison of sources clearly speaks in favor of Xuanzang as a relatively reliable witness of a Buddhist historiographical tradition which linked the Gupta kings in general, and Bālāditya in particular, with the sponsorship and patronage of the greatest Buddhist monastery in India at the time of Xuanzang’s visit.

⁷¹ For a discussion of the identity of Bālāditya in the Vasubandhu ‘tradition’, see Anacker, *Seven Works of Vasubandhu*, 8ff., who suggests that *bālāditya* is a title given to Gupta crown princes (*yuvārāja*) and identifies Bālāditya with Govindagupta, the oldest son of Candragupta II/Vikramāditya.

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Abbreviations

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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The Mahābodhi Temple: Centre of Indo-Chinese Cultural Exchange

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Abstract: The accounts of ancient Chinese pilgrims like Faxian, Xuanzang, Yijing (I-tsing) and Chinese Buddhist texts concerning the Buddhist sites and practices in India are an invaluable treasure trove containing information that is not available even in Indian texts of classical antiquity. Owing to the details of places mentioned in these accounts, several places of Buddhist heritage have been located and have become major pilgrimage sites for not only the Chinese, but also travellers from all over the world. I propose in this paper that a proper study of these texts will clear the cobwebs from many ancient Buddhist beliefs and practices, such as the five/seven weeks of the Buddha's sojourn during his *Bodhi*. These documents will not only help excavate many significant sites of Buddhist pilgrimage which can help boost Indo-Chinese ties, but will also unearth many hidden facts and facets about the lives of the Buddha which are still ambiguous due to their varied accounts in Indian Buddhist literature.

Keywords: Buddha, Faxian, Xuanzang, Mahabodhi, Bodhgaya

The Mahābodhi temple, along with the bodhi tree of Bodhgaya in Bihar, is not only a centre of great devotion in the Buddhist world, but the centre of faith for Buddhists as well as the whole world. The bodhi tree is the world's holiest tree, under which Siddhārtha Gautama turned into a *Samayaka Sambuddha* (enlightened one). Because of this event, this tree gained so much importance that it is possibly the most celebrated and protected tree in the world. Several countries have the fortune to have saplings of this tree in their own land—a tree of any other species would not likely have attained this type of importance. We also see this kind of respect in the case of Mahābodhi Temple. Since the life of the Buddha, many other important sites related to the Buddha were developed in this Mahābodhi temple zone.

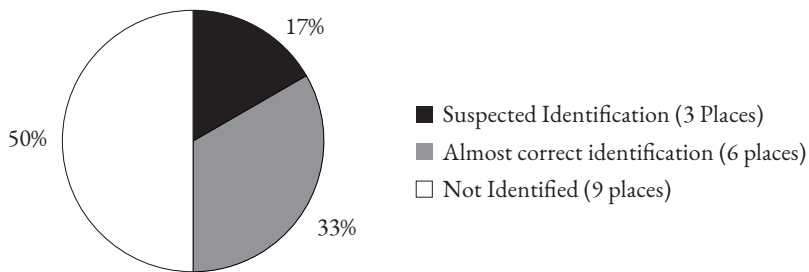
Since ancient times, the Mahābodhi temple zone has witnessed pilgrims from various countries, along with Chinese pilgrims. Mahābodhi Temple has stood in Bodhgaya for centuries as an important centre of Indo-China relations. We can understand the ancient relationship between China and the Mahābodhi Temple from the plentiful information scattered in Chinese Buddhist literature that is not available in Indian Buddhist literature. Although most of the texts of Chinese Buddhist literature were translated from the ancient Indian languages, most of them are still unavailable in India. Apart from this, many works from original Chinese writers are available in Chinese language which provides cultural and historical information about India.

In fact, this type of cultural tradition had long been practiced. However, the first Chinese pilgrim in recorded history is Faxian 法顯 (337–422), who had visited this place in the fifth century and wrote many documents of historical significance. In the same sequence, Xuanzang had not only completed his seventeen-year long historical journey of India but also gave detailed information about the seventh century in his diary known as *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [The Great Tang records of the Westerns Regions]. Shortly after this, the third famous Chinese traveller Yijing 義淨 (635–713) mentioned this place in his travel records, but he does not provide a detailed description of this place, similar to the records made by Faxian and Xuanzang.

Faxian and Xuanzang gave information on the Mahābodhi Temple zone of their time that is not even available in Buddhist literature. After comparing the records of Chinese travellers along with Buddhist literature, the fact emerges that the present Mahābodhi temple zone is still missing so many important places. We are also curious about tracing these missing places on the basis of the information provided in those pilgrims' travel records. The information from Chinese travellers is very important because Buddhist literature presents related stories but does not provide the information about distance and direction of those places. We can attempt to trace them only by the travel records of these Chinese travellers.

Chinese traveller Faxian has described about eighteen places around the Mahābodhi zone in his travelogue,¹ in which approximately nine places have been identified at present, of which at least three places are suspected. This means that to date, 50% of those places have been discovered, 17% of which are in the circle of doubt, and 50% of the identification has not been done (Graph 1).

GRAPH 1 Faxian's Description and its Present Status



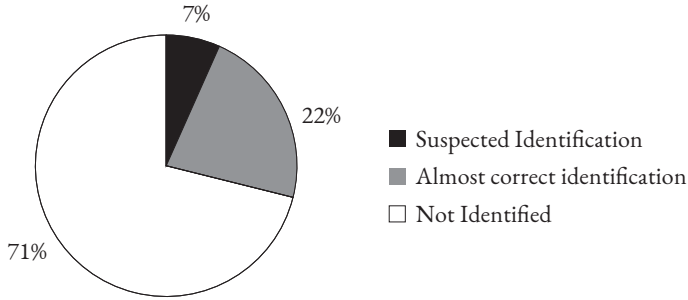
At the same time, Xuanzang has described approximately forty-five places around the Mahābodhi zone in his travelogue,² of which approximately nine places have been identified, and of which three places are suspected. In this way we see that the description of Xuanzang is more detailed: 22% of places have been discovered but

¹ Legge, *Buddhist Kingdom*, 87–90.

² Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 112–39.

7% is in the circle of suspicion, while 71% have not been discovered (Graph 2).

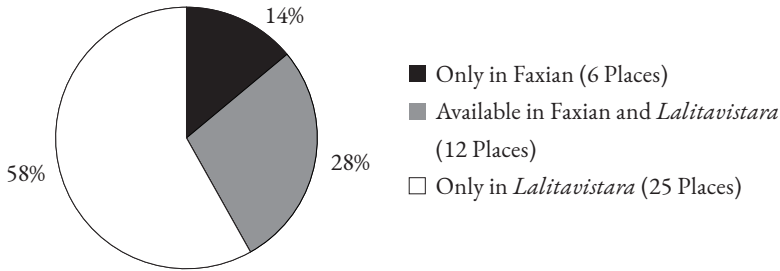
GRAPH 2 Xuanzang's Description and its Present Status



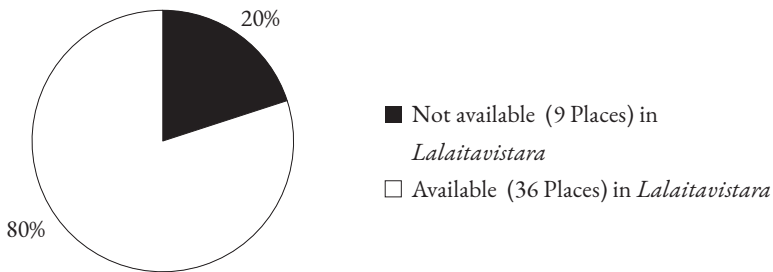
If we compare the descriptions of these two Chinese travellers with best available Buddhist literature that comprises the stories and places of the Buddha around the Mahābodhi zone, we will find that there is a huge difference. After comparing the *Lalitavistara* text (around thirty-six places)³ with Faxian's travelogue, we can identify about twelve places in the *Lalitavistara* out of eighteen places mentioned in Faxian's descriptions, although the *Lalitavistara* does not mention the distance or direction. It means around 28% percent of places which Faxian described are available in the *Lalitavistara* (Graph 3). 58% are not available in the *Lalitavistara*, but 14% of new descriptions are available in Faxian's diary (around six places) which are not available in the *Lalitavistara*.

³ Shastri, *Lalitavistara*, 485–764.

GRAPH 3 Xuanzang's Description and its Present Status



Details from Xuanzang and the *Lalitavistara* give us mixed feelings. The description of Xuanzang is very close to the *Lalitavistara*: almost all thirty-seven places in the *Lalitavistara* match those in Xuanzang's diary. On a positive note, we can confirm all the places (about 100%) in the *Lalitavistara*.⁴ More painfully, we only find only nine out of forty-five places, though Ven. Xuanzang provides 20% more new information than the *Lalitavistara* (Graph 4).

GRAPH 4 Comparison of Xuanzang's description with *Lalitavistara*

If we compare these diaries with oldest texts of Buddhist literature—i.e. the Pāli Tipitaka—then we only have data from about ten places in the Bodhgaya zone,⁵ and Xuanzang and Faxian have described all of these places. Thus, 100% of the places mentioned in Pāli *Mahāvagga* are available in the texts of both travellers, while

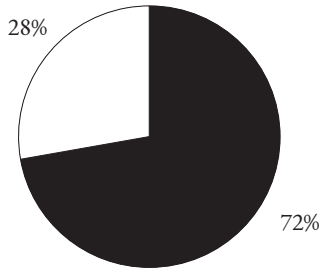
⁴ Shastri, *Lalitavistara*, 485–764.

⁵ Oldenberg, *Mahāvagga*, 1–7.

in Faxian's record we find 72% more description than in the Pāli *Mahāvagga* (Graph 5); whereas 79% more information is available in the book of Xuanzang than the Pāli *Mahāvagga* (Graph 6).

GRAPH 5

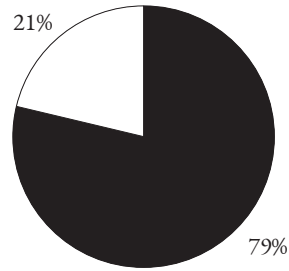
Faxian's description and
Mahāvagga Pali



■ Not available in *Mahāvagga*
□ Available in *Mahāvagga*

GRAPH 6

Xuanzang's description and
Mahāvagga Pali



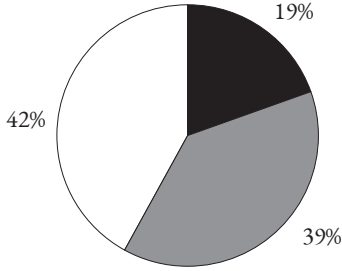
■ Not available in *Mahāvagga*
□ Available in *Mahāvagga*

At the same time, the fifth-century Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā* literature reports about twenty-five related places around the Mahābodhi zone.⁶ Again, we find 19% more information here than the Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā* in Faxian's book (Graph 7) while 42% of details are not in Faxian's book. More than 47% of new information is available in Xuanzang's book (Graph 8). It is worth noting here that the period of Faxian is almost the same as *Aṭṭhakathā* literature, but the information is more plentiful in Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā* literatures, while Xuanzang provides much more information in the seventh century than the *Aṭṭhakathās*.

⁶ Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, 951–71.

GRAPH 7

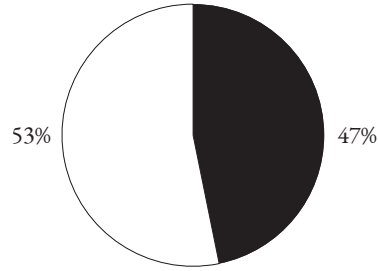
Faxian's description and
Aṭṭhakathā Pali



- Not available in *Nidānakathā*
- Available in *Nidānakathā* and Faxian
- Available in *Nidānakathā* only

GRAPH 8

Xuanzang's description and
Aṭṭhakathā Pali



- Not available in *Nidānakathā*
(22 Places)
- Available in Xuanzang and *Nidānakathā*
(25 Places)

Apart from this, Xuanzang describes about twenty-six *stūpas*⁷ and a few Ashokan Pillars around Mahābodhi zone, of which only the Sujātā *stūpa* is found in the present time. The remaining few are found (unidentified) on the Prāgabodhi hill and others are still unexplored.

In addition to this, significant information on the Prāgabodhi Mountain (also known as Duṅgeshvari in present time) has been given by Xuanzang⁸ and Faxian.⁹ Prāgabodhi is a combination of two words: 'Prāga' means 'pre' or 'early', and 'Bodhi' means enlightenment. This mountain and cave are now significant because the Buddha spent some time on this mountain and cave before attaining Buddhahood, but there is no information is available in *Pāli Tipiṭaka* or in any other important Buddhist texts (such as *Lalitavistara*, *Mahāvastu*, *Mahābhiniṣkramaṇa Sutra*) other than Xuanzang's and Faxian's travelogue. However, we can understand the signifi-

⁷ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 111–39.

⁸ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 112–13.

⁹ Legge, *Buddhist Kingdom*, 87–90.

cance of this place from the fact that there are many ancient *stūpas* at the top of this mountain,¹⁰ which confirm its historicity as well as the authenticity of Xuanzang's and Faxian's information.

Traditions and Beliefs as Described by Xuanzang in the Mahābodhi Zone

Xuanzang not only mentions places related to the Buddha in his travelogue, but also notes the traditions and beliefs of followers at that time around Mahābodhi zone, which are not mentioned in early Pāli texts. Those traditions were as follows:

Traditions:

1. On the day of Buddha's Parinirvāṇa, the Bodhi tree was worshipped by Kings, Monarch, laity with scented water, milk, curd, flowers, etc.¹¹
2. Yearly exposition of Buddha's divine relics¹²
3. Seven days and nights of special events were performed at the end of the rainy retreat (*Vassāvāsa*).¹³

Beliefs:

1. Worshipping the *Caṅkramaṇa* place (walking place) increases the age of human beings.¹⁴
2. It was considered to be auspicious to see the Shakuni bird.¹⁵
3. One can remember one's previous birth after circumambulation the statue of *Kaśhyapa* Buddha.¹⁶

¹⁰ Panth, *Legacy of Xuanzang*, 5, 2–53.

¹¹ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 115.

¹² Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 136.

¹³ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 138.

¹⁴ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 120.

¹⁵ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 122–23.

¹⁶ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 124.

4. Remembrance of Avalokitesvara helps to rid all sufferings in difficult times.¹⁷
5. Massaging the Buddha's statue with oil cures the sufferings of human being.¹⁸

The Buddha and His Seven Weeks around Mahābodhi Zone

Information related to the seven weeks after the Buddha's enlightenment is another kind of path-breaking information provided by these travellers. Those seven weeks are an important link to test the truth of the information available in Buddhist literature. A few mysterious questions arise after studying the different accounts available in Buddhist texts. As per tradition, we believe that the Buddha spent seven weeks at different places around the Bodhi tree after enlightenment, but there are huge discrepancies in Buddhist literature. The details about these days are shrouded in mystery. In these circumstances, only these travellers can help us, because they talked about Buddhism's living traditions of the time. The difference between accounts on the seven weeks and places in Buddhist literature is as follows:

Mystery of five/seven places of Bodhagaya: According to *Pāli Tipitaka*,¹⁹ after attending *Bodhi*, the Buddha spent a week at five different places in the Bodhgaya near Bodhi tree, which are as follows: 1. First week under the Bodhi tree 2. Second week under the Ajapāla tree 3. Third week under the *Mucilinda* tree 4. Fourth week under the Rājāyatana tree 5. Fifth week under the Ajapāla tree.

Here, it is worth mentioning that if the Buddha spent his fifth week again at the same Ajapāla Banyan tree (Second and Fifth week), then

¹⁷ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 125.

¹⁸ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 129.

¹⁹ Oldenberg, *Mahāvagga*, 1–7.

the Buddha had spent five weeks in only four places, and not in five places such as mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* (though at present, seven places and seven weeks agree with tradition). In fifth century *Atthakathā* literature,²⁰ the time has increased from five weeks to seven weeks²¹, and the number of places has also increased to seven.

At the time of temple restoration, the temple had been completely in the hands of Hindus and therefore there was no trace of those seven or five places. That is why the present day tradition of seven places was created after the restoration of the temple by the British archaeologists.²² The temple was a major source of information for Faxian and Xuanzang's travelogue and other few Buddhist texts, which could be seen in the book of Alexander Cunningham.

There is one another thing to note: we have no evidence, in any Buddhist literature or at least not available in Pāli literature, that after attaining enlightenment, the Buddha ever returned to the Bodhi tree. Here the question arises that if the Buddha himself did not go to those places, then how were these places marked by their disciples? One may conjecture that after the turning the wheel (*Dhammacakka Pavattana*: first teaching) at *Isipatana Migadāya* (Deer Park, present day Sarnath), in order to proceed to Bodhgaya and meet *Kashyapa* brothers, the Buddha himself would have introduced some disciples to those places.

Now one by one, we will consider those places (five and seven places) on the basis of Pāli literature. There is no difference found anywhere in any literature regarding Buddha's sojourn in the first week: it is without a doubt the Bodhi tree.²³ (Figure 1)

²⁰ Walleser, *Manorathpurani*, 99, 101; Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, 951–964; Fausbull, *Jātaka*, 77–81; Stead, *Sumangalailasini*, 572; Woodward, *Saratttha-Pakasini*, 286.

²¹ 'Bhagavatā hi mahābodhimaṇḍe sattasattāhaṃ vītināmetvā bodhimaṇḍā isipatanam āgama'

²² Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, Plate No. I.

²³ Oldenberg, *Mahāvagga*, 1–2.



FIG. 1 Bodhi tree and Diamond Throne. Photo courtesy of Manish Bhandari.

There is a dispute about the second week, as it relates to the present Mahābodhi Temple complex. According to *Aṭṭhakathā* (Pāli Commentary) literature about the second week,²⁴ a place named *Animesha Locana/ Animesha Cetiya*²⁵ (gazing the Bodhi tree) is marked and the modern inscription related to it (Figure 2) has been mounted, while in *Mahāvagga*²⁶ it is clear that the Buddha spent the second week under the *Ajapāla Vatavṛiksha* (Ajapāla Banaya Tree) which was later replaced. According to *Mahāvagga*,²⁷ he spent the third week under the *Mucilinda* tree, whereas according to the present tradition and *Aṭṭhakathā* literature,²⁸ this event took (*Mucilinda* tree and lake) place in the sixth week (Figure 3) and in the third week,

²⁴ Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, 957–59; Fausboll, *Jātaka*, 77.

²⁵ ‘*bodhirukkhaṇa animisehi akkhihi olokayamāno sattāhaṃ vītinaṃesi, taṃ ṭhānaṃ animisacetiyaṃ nāma jātaṃ*’

²⁶ Oldenberg, *Mahāvagga*, 2–3.

²⁷ Oldenberg, *Mahāvagga*, 3.

²⁸ Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, 958–59; Fausboll, *Jātaka*, 80.



FIG. 2 Animesh Lochan Temple. Photo courtesy of Manish Bhandari.



FIG. 3 Mucalinda Lake. Photo courtesy of Manish Bhandari.



FIG. 4 Cankamana (Cloister Walk). Photo courtesy of Manish Bhandari.

Buddha walked around the Bodhi tree from east to west,²⁹ which is called *Ratana Caṅkamaṇa*³⁰ (Figure 4).

According to the *Pāli Tipiṭaka*, the Buddha had spent his fourth week near the *Rājāyatana* tree³¹ where he met merchant Tapassu and Bhallika, the story is similar in the present tradition, but this incident is told in the seventh week (Figure 5). Present tradition as well as *Pāli Aṭṭhakathā* literature³² tells that the Buddha spent the fourth week near *Ratangaha Cetiya*³³ (the house of Jewels)³⁴ pondering on *Paṭṭhāna* (Figure 6).

²⁹ Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, 957; Fausboll, *Jātaka*, 78; Horner, *Buddhavaṃsa*, 9.

³⁰ ‘*Atha pallāṅkassa ca ṭhitaṭṭhānassa ca antarā puratthimato ca pacchimoto ca āyate ratanacaṅkame*
caṅkamanto sattāhaṃ vītināmesi, taṃ ṭhānaṃ ratanacaṅkamacetiyaṃ
nāma jātaṃ’

³¹ Oldenberg, *Mahāvagga*, 3–4.

³² Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, 957; Fausboll, *Jātaka*, 78.

³³ ‘*Tato pacchimadisābhāge devatā ratanagharaṃ māpayiṃsu. Tattha pal-*



FIG. 5 Rājāyatan Tree. Photo courtesy of Manish Bhandari.



FIG. 6 Ratangaha Cetiya. Photo courtesy of Manish Bhandari.

According to both Pāli literature³⁵ (*Tipiṭaka* and *Aṭṭhakathā* literature) and the present tradition, in the fifth week, the Buddha spent his time under the *Ajapāla* tree (Ajapāla Banyana Tree). However, the stories are slightly different: the Pāli *Tipiṭaka* indicates the incident where Buddha was requested by *Brahmā* for preaching for the welfare of human being, while according to the current inscription, at this place and week; responding to a question of a *Brāhminā*, Buddha said that ‘one can become *Brāhminā* (upper caste) or *Shudra* (lower caste) on the basis of karma, not on the basis of Birth’ (Figure 7).

As already mentioned, the *Pāli Tipiṭaka* only lists five weeks. This includes the second week during which the Buddha gazed upon Bodhi tree with unblinking eyes for one week; the third week in which Buddha had spent one week walking around the Bodhi tree from east to west (*Ratanacāṅkamaṇa*); in the fourth week, he spent his time near the *Ratanagaha* pondering on *Paṭṭhāna*, which is not discussed in the Pāli Tipitaka. But surprisingly, all these seven places are discussed in the story of *Mahāvagga Aṭṭhakathā* (*Vinay Pīṭitaka Aṭṭhakathā*)³⁶ and *Nidānakathā* (*Jātaka Aṭṭhakathā*)³⁷ written by Buddhaghosa in the fifth century, which is much closer to the timing of Faxian and Xuanzang. Therefore, it is very close to Xuanzang’s and Faxian’s descriptions of seven places. It seems that Faxian and Xuanzang had mentioned correct information about the living tradition of those places during his time. Therefore, later on all those seven places were marked by British people on the basis of Faxian’s and Xuanzang’s travelogues and Pāli texts, but notably, both Chinese travellers had not mentioned the places in sequence nor the number of weeks, but it is very close to the *Aṭṭhakathā* literature. The

laṅkena nisīditvā abhidhammapiṭakam visesato cettha anantanayam samantapaṭṭhānam vicinanto sattāham vītināmesi, tam ṭhānam ratanagharacetiyam nāma jātam’

³⁴ Takakusu & Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, 957; Fausboll, *Jātaka*, 78; Horner, *Buddhavaṃsa*, 9.

³⁵ Oldenberg, *Mahāvagga*, 4–7.

³⁶ Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, 951–62.

³⁷ Fausboll, *Jātaka*, 77–81.



FIG. 7 Ajapala Nigrodha. Photo courtesy of Manish Bhandari.

differences between all those places is shown through the chart below (reproduced from my article submitted for publication): (Table 1)

TABLE 1

	Pāli <i>Tipiṭaka</i>	Pāli <i>Aṭṭhakathā</i> and Xuanzang	<i>Mahābbiniṣkramaṇa</i> <i>Lalitavistara</i> <i>Sutra</i>	<i>Mahāvastu</i>
First Week	Bodhi Tree	Bodhi Tree	Bodhi Tree	Bodhi Tree
Second Week	Ajāpala Tree	Animesh Chaitya*	Animesh Chaitya*	Caṅkramaṇa Animesh Chaityat
Third Week	Muchilinda Tree	Ratana-Caṅkramaṇa*	Marichi Caṅkramaṇa*	Animesh Lochan Caṅkramaṇa
Fourth Week	Rājāyatan Tree	Ratangriha (Patthana)*	Kālanāga Gift and Teachings*	Caṅkramaṇa (Walking—East-West) Kālanāga Palace
Fifth Week	Ajāpala Tree	Ajāpala Tree	Muchilinda Tree	Muchilinda Muchilinda Nāga
Sixth Week	Not Available	Muchilinda Tree	Ajāpala Nyagrodha	Ajāpala Nyagrodha Ajāpala Nyagrodha
Seventh Week	Not Available	Rājāyatan Tree	Jālanika Tree	Tārāyaṇa (another name of Bodhi tree) Kṣirikā Tree

In this way, we see that the number of seven weeks and places started getting place in the later period in the *Aṭṭhakathā* literature³⁸ and in Chinese Buddhist literature. The description in the *Mahāvagga Aṭṭhakathā* shows that Buddhaghosa had placed the order mentioned in *Mahāvagga* in his *Aṭṭhakathās* (Commentaries), but he omitted the repetition of ‘*Ajapāla* Banyan Tree’ (second week and fifth week).

³⁸ Takakusu and Nagai, *Samantapāsādikā*, 951–62; Fausboll, *Jātaka*, 77–81; Walleiser, *Manorathapūraṇṇi*, 99; Stead, *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, 572.

Also, between descriptions of the first week to third week of the *Mahāvagga* he inserted the second week (i.e. *Animesa locana*, gazing Bodhi tree with unblinking eyes); third week (i.e. *Ratan Caṅkamaṇa*, walking toward the east and west directions near the Bodhi tree) and fourth week (i.e. the place called *Ratanagaha*, jewelled house where he pondered upon *Paṭṭhāna* of *Abhidhamma Piṭaka*). The fifth week is unchanged, and the second and third weeks, which are mentioned in *Mahāvagga*, move to the sixth and seventh week.

Owing to the varying accounts, it is very difficult to ascertain the events in those five/seven weeks. And here a burning question arises: could Buddhaghosa, who was writing the *Aṭṭhakathās* in the shelter of *Tipiṭaka*, could make such a silly mistake? The possibility of this seems unlikely because according to tradition³⁹ it is known that Buddhaghosa was a resident of Bodhgaya. He would have given account of the ongoing traditions in his texts. We may also surmise that Buddhists started considering the number seven as auspicious, which prompted Buddhaghosa to add them later in his *Aṭṭhakathās*. We have such evidence in Pāli *Aṭṭhakathā* literature such as ‘Birth of seven people, including Rahul’s Mother (*Yasodharā*: wife of Siddhartha Gautam), Bodhi tree, his horse (*Kanthaka*) etc. along with the birth of Siddhartha on same day’^{40, 41} No such discussion is available in the early Pāli *Tipiṭaka* literature. Beside Pāli tradition, Xuanzang also used the living tradition of using ‘Seven’ as auspicious number: he mentioned that if a person takes seven rounds of *Kashyapa* statue then he can recall the memories of a past life,⁴² and he also mentioned that *Mucilinda* folded the Buddha seven times.⁴³ Even today, people in India use ‘seven’ as an auspicious number. A bride and groom take seven rounds of holy fire during their wedding, and they promise to each other seven times after each round. There are many

³⁹ Upadhyaya, *History of Pāli*, 605.

⁴⁰ ‘*Sabbaññubodhisattena kira saddhiṃ rāhulamātā, ānandatthero, channo, kaṇṭako, nidbhikumbho, mahābodhi, kāludāyīti imāni satta sabhajātān*’

⁴¹ Stede, *Sumaṅgalavilāsini*, 425; Horner, *Buddhavaṃsa*, 131.

⁴² Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 124.

⁴³ Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, 128–29.

such traditions around the number seven. Thus, the information about these seven places and weeks are icebreaking and we have to focus on this area too.

Discovery of Chinese Inscription from Mahābodhi Temple

Mahābodhi Temple Complex is an integral part of Indo-Chinese friendship; about six Chinese Buddhist inscriptions (Figures 8, 9, 10, 11) have been discovered from this temple.⁴⁴ Some inscriptions had been donated by monks, some by kings, and some by wealthy traders. An inscription from these records shows that even in China, Chinese people knew of the tradition of offering robes to the Buddha in the Mahābodhi temple and they also offered robes in the temple. We know this because one of the inscriptions mentions that Chinese people offered gold-bearing robes to the Buddha.⁴⁵ Another inscription reveals that a *stūpa* was built near the Bodhi tree in memory of the king of China.⁴⁶

In this way, we can understand the Mahābodhi Temple's contribution to Chinese-Indian friendship. Perhaps this cultural exchange is a bit more ancient in terms of business, but this place first and foremost brings the people of China and India closer in term of spirituality. I think even when Chinese travel to India with a spiritual vision today, the Mahābodhi Temple is their chief attraction. The tourism of the Mahābodhi zone is based on only presently excavated sites. If the Indian government takes initiatives to excavate other sites on the basis of Buddhist texts and Chinese travelogues, then there is an immense potential for increased tourism in this area. It will not only become a major site for Chinese travellers but will be the centre of faith for people all over the world. We need to re-establish the old glory of this Indo-Chinese friendship centre with the help of eye-witness accounts from Faxian's and Xuanzang's travelogues. It will be a real tribute to the Buddha and to Indo-Chinese friendship.

⁴⁴ Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 67–74

⁴⁵ Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 71–72.

⁴⁶ Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, 71–72.



FIG. 8 Mahābodhi Temple carving. Photo courtesy of Daniela De Simone, British Museum.



FIG. 9 Chinese inscription on a carving from Mahābodhi Temple. Photo courtesy of Daniela De Simone, British Museum.



FIG. 10 Chinese inscription on a carving from Mahābodhi Temple. Photo courtesy of Daniela De Simone, British Museum.



FIG. 11 Chinese inscription. Photo courtesy of Daniela De Simone, British Museum.

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Archaeological Evidence, Cultural Imagination and Image of the Medieval World: New Perspectives on Treasures from Qiuci

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Abstract: The kingdom of Qiuci (now Kucha in Xinjiang) was a key city along the middle east-west route of the Silk Road. Many unusual treasures have been found there. This paper analyzes five of these treasures: the Quzhi pot, Qiuci board, golden glass, the silver bowl known as Polou (*patrōd*), and the Youxian (immortals' land) pillow. My study of the ways the medieval Chinese imagined a foreign culture stands at the intersection of philology, material culture studies and art history, utilizing a range of sources, including historical records (especially *The Great Tang Record of the Western Regions* attributed to Xuanzang), literary anecdotes, excavated documents, archeological finds, and Chinese rare books held abroad.

This study of the treasures from Qiuci is part of my broader interest in exploring what can be considered Chinese 'natural history' and medieval China's understanding of the world. These treasures are valuable because they show how foreign treasures, both recently excavated material objects and myths and symbols about these objects as seen in medieval sources, constitute a synthesis of history and myth; the known and the fantastic.

Keywords: Qiuchi, foreign treasures, natural history, Silk Road, world image

Introduction

Since the late nineteenth century, archaeologists and explorers from all over the world have brought to light a great many archaeological discoveries in central Asia and northwestern China. Hosts of unearthed ancient documents and cultural relics provide us new knowledge and perspectives. The new data has transformed our understanding of cultural exchange between East and West as well as the history of religion and material culture in medieval China. Although numerous scholars have successfully explored distinctive cases, vivid and in-depth studies are still largely absent.

My research intends to offer a fuller understanding of the role different source materials (historical records, archaeological evidence, bamboo slips and silk texts, Dunhuang and Turfan manuscripts, lost Chinese books preserved in Japan, and literature on Sino-foreign relations) played in the production of classical knowledge and the practice of magic. I also re-think the role of manuscripts and images in intellectual history, folk belief, and daily life. By doing so, I hope to cast new light on subjects I explored in my recent research, including historical memory, concepts of life and death, transmission of textual and visual knowledge, and religious ritual (including mortuary customs, taboos, divination, and sacrifice). Much of my work is concerned with the Silk Road, which is conceived as a network where many cultures have interacted.

Abounding in technical products and boasting economic prosperity, Qiuci was located on the vital communications hub of the Silk Road, attracting people from all parts of the world and, along with them, countless rare treasures. We can find records of the tribute paid by Qiuci to neighboring empires. However, few of these treasures have been excavated and they remain largely unknown. Neither their character and function, nor their relationship to the beliefs, festivals and social life of the Qiuci people has been clearly articulated. Nevertheless, subtle clues to these riches have survived among the Dunhuang manuscripts and transmitted literature from the Tang and Song dynasties, to be discussed below.

While most scholarly energy on Qiuci has been devoted to art, religion, ethnicity, language and the institution of *dubu* 都护

(Protectorate),¹ there has been little study of its local products. This paper examines several treasures from Qiuci from the perspective of natural history, rather than from the perspective of Sino-foreign relations, and surveys their social significance at that time.

1. *Quzhi Guan* 屈支灌 (Quzhi Pot): Buddhist Concepts of Purity

Hou Ching-lang 侯錦郎 was the first scholar to conduct research on the registers of temple property excavated from the Dunhuang manuscripts,² and Tang Geng'ou 唐耕耦 further collated them.³ However, from the perspective of natural history, the value of these registers has not been well recognized. The Quzhi pot discussed in this chapter is a case in point.

In line 31 of a document titled 'Register of the property of Shazhou temple on the fourth day of the first month [of the lunar calendar] in the fourteenth year of the Xiantong reign of the Tang Dynasty 唐咸通十四年(873)正月四日沙州某寺交割常住物等點檢曆',⁴ one finds the record: 'pig-copper pot from Quzhi 屈支'. There was originally a note in smaller writing below stating 'with the monk Zhang [Seng] zheng 張[僧]正', though this has been blotted out as the result of a transfer of ownership, or perhaps just by mistake. Line 76 on the same manuscript records: 'a one-liter copper pot with a tie',

¹ Important research on Qiuci in the twentieth century was revised and compiled by Zhang Guoling 張國領 and Pei Xiaozeng 裴孝曾 in Zhang and Pei, eds., *Qiuci wenhua yanjiu*. This book is convenient to use, but the original articles should be consulted where possible, since they were reedited and some are just excerpts.

² Hou, 'Trésors du monastère Long-hing'.


³ Tang et al. eds., *Dunhuang shehui jingji*, 1–52.

⁴ Manuscript number is Pelliot chinois (usually shortened to P.) 2613. The titles and texts of the property registers of Dunhuang temples below all refer to the *Dunhuang shehui jingji*, Vol. III, revised according to the images in IDP (International Dunhuang Project), usually citing the number and line of the manuscript.

also with a note ‘with the monk Zhang Sengzheng 張僧政’ in the same smaller writing. Most likely the latter refers to a one-liter copper pot with a tie that belonged to the monk Zhang Sengzheng, not the former pot from Quzhi.

Records of copper pots of different sizes can be found everywhere in these temple property registers, some of them with detailed descriptions. For example, ‘a copper pot’ (P. 2917, line 7); ‘a one-*dou* 斗 copper pot’ (P. 4199, line 8);⁵ ‘an eight-liter copper pot, with a five-cun 寸 crack and a small hole’ (P. 2613, line 30); ‘a copper pot, which is complete 銅灌壹, 具全’ (P. 4004+P. 4707+P. 3067+P. 4908, line 8) was classified as copper and iron ware, and then the words ‘which is complete’ were blotted out and replaced by ‘the bottom is broken’ in smaller writing.

The Quzhi pot, however, was different from common copper or ironware. It was made locally in Qiuci and was closely related to Buddhism. Many transliterations are used to refer to the place Quzhi. Chinese historical records and Buddhist sutras use Jiuci 鳩茲, Quci 屈茨, Juyi 拘夷, Guizi 歸茲, Juzhinang 俱支囊, Qiuci 丘茲, and Quci 屈茲.⁶ This copper pot was named ‘Quzhi pot’ in the Dunhuang manuscript, indicating that the term ‘Quzhi’ was an idiomatic reference to this place in the Tang dynasty. The same phrase is also used in the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 (Great Tang Record of the Western Regions). This Quzhi pot was used for ablutions in monasteries and is frequently mentioned in Buddhist sutras. ‘A copper pot’ recorded in one of manuscripts in the Stein Collection kept at the British Library, S. 1776, refers to the same type of object, and the lack of the phrase ‘Quzhi’ indicates that the pot was made locally.

⁵ ‘A one-*dou* copper pot’ should be revised to ‘銅灌壹, 受(售)壹斗’. According to Zhang Xiaoyan 張小豔, ‘受’ is ‘’ in the original manuscript, which is the vulgar form of ‘售’. Moreover, ‘售’, interchangeable with ‘受’, means ‘to be able to contain or hold’. The character was incorrectly recognized as ‘雙’ in *Dunhuang shehui jingji*.

⁶ For related studies, see Lévi, ‘*Le “tokharien B”*’; Pelliot and Lévi, *Tubuluoyu kao*, 11–42; Zhou, ‘Quzhiguo kao’, 46–48.

This kind of pot, which likely originated in India as a washbasin in daily life, became a necessity for monks and nuns as practices of purification became central to Buddhist monastic life. A variety of written sources and artifacts attest to this general historical trend.

The second chapter of *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 describes Indian hygienic practices:

They keep themselves pure and clean voluntarily and not by compulsion. Before taking a meal they always wash their hands. Remnants and leftovers are not to be served again, and food vessels are not to be passed from one person to another. Earthenware and wooden utensils must be discarded after use; golden, silver, copper, or iron vessels are polished each time after use. When the meal is over, they chew willow twigs to cleanse [their ouths], and before washing and rinsing their mouths they do not come into contact with one another. Each time after defecating or urinating they always wash themselves with bathing pots and daub their bodies with a fragrant substance such as sandalwood or turmeric. When the monarch is going to take a bath, music made by beating drums and playing stringed instruments is performed along with singing. Before offering sacrifices to gods and worshipping at temples they bathe and wash themselves.

夫其潔清自守，非矯其志。凡有饌食，必先盥洗，殘宿不再，食器不傳。瓦木之器，經用必棄。金、銀、銅、鐵，每加摩瑩。饌食既訖，嚼楊枝而爲淨。澡漱未終，無相執觸。每有溲溺，必事澡灌。身塗諸香，所謂栴檀、鬱金也。君王將浴，鼓奏弦歌。祭祀拜祠，沐浴盥洗。⁷

Using a pot filled with water to wash the body was a common custom in India, not unique to Buddhism. The *Baiyu jing* 百喻經 (Sutra of Hundred Parables) mentions that once there was a Brahman who held an empty pot to pretend that he was washing.⁸ The *Za aban jing* 雜阿含經 (*Samyuktagama*) also mentions a Brahman

⁷ Xuanzang and Bianji, *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, 181. Cf. English translations by Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, 77; Li, *The Great Tang Dynasty Record*, 54–55.

⁸ T no. 209, vol. 4: 554c.

who brought a pot along with him during a visit to the Buddha.⁹ The fact that the pot was carried by a Brahman illustrates its importance; it also indicates that unlike the eight-liter or one-*dou* vessel in Dunhuang, this pot was not very big.

As Buddhism spread across the kingdoms of the Silk Road, the use of the washing pot to maintain religious purity spread along with it. Buddhist practices for maintaining purity are elucidated in the sutra *Foshuo wenshi xiyu zhongseng jing* 佛說溫室洗浴眾僧經 (Sutra on Bathing the Sangha in the Bathhouse), translated by An Shigao 安世高 in the second century. An was a Parthian crown-prince who renounced the throne and became the most important translator of Buddhist texts in the early diffusion of Buddhism.¹⁰ A Kharoshti version of this sutra was discovered in the ruins of Niya 尼雅.¹¹ Though Niya and Qiuci were different locations along the Silk Road, the dissemination of the same text in different languages shows that Buddhist concept of purity and practices of bathing were widespread in Serindia, as evidenced through the use of the bathing pot.

Most washing pots, made out of copper, chalcopyrite and gold, were donated by to Buddhist temples by devotees. Donations fell into three categories. First, some pots were donated through royal patronage. When Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664) was in Kanauj, a golden pot was donated by its king, along with other golden wares and clothes.¹² Second, monks gave their daily essentials, including pot made of chalcopyrite, to other monks as religious gifts.¹³ Third, pots were among the possessions of devotees given to the local temple after they died. For example, a famous prime minister of the Tang dynasty, Xiao Yu 蕭瑀 (575–648), sent a pot and other vessels to the Jinliang Temple 津梁寺 as permanent offerings.¹⁴ Other records indicate that another such pot was one of the three halidoms in the

⁹ T no. 99, vol. 2: 141b.

¹⁰ Forte, *An Shigao*, 1.

¹¹ Lin, 'Canjuan kao'.

¹² Huili and Yancong, *Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, 108.

¹³ Huijiao, *Gaoseng zhuan*, 217.

¹⁴ *Hongzan fabua zhuan*, T no. 2067, vol. 51: 19c.

Nafu Temple 納縛寺: a tooth relic of the Buddha, the Buddha's broom, and a one-*dou* pot with unbelievable brightness.¹⁵ So we can conjecture that the one Qiuci pot listed in the temple property registers among the Dunhuang manuscripts may have been donated to the temple as an offering by a high official, such as the local military governor during the period of independent rule (Guiyijun jiedushi 歸義軍節度使).

In esoteric Buddhist rituals, the Quzhi pot is one of the talismans held by the goddess Cundī. In the *Foshuo qijuzhi fomu Zhunti daming tuoluoni jing* 佛說七俱胝佛母准提大明陀羅尼經 (*Cundī Dhāraṇī Sūtra*), the portraiture standards state that 'the fourth hand holds the pot'.¹⁶ The earliest record of the introduction of the pot to the Central Plain is in the Later Zhao 後趙 period (315–319), when the eminent monk Fotucheng 佛圖澄 was purported to have given an 'elephant trunk pot' to a nun named Anling Shou 安令首.¹⁷ Fotucheng was from Serindia, and his surname was Bo 帛,¹⁸ also called Bai 白, which was one of the important family names in Qiuci.¹⁹

An entry in the *Liang shu* 梁書 (*Liang shu*) shows that Qiuci pots, understood to be exotic treasures, were already being collected as antiques in the Liang 梁 dynasty (502–557). The text states that a man named Liu Zhilin 劉之遴 (478–549) collected such pots in Jingzhou 荊州, indicating that the circulation of the pot had reached as far as central China. Four of the items mentioned in this entry come with dates; the text states that the foreign bath pot bore an inscription: 'the second year of Yuanfeng 元封 (109 BCE), offered by the Kingdom of Qiuci'.²⁰ The problem is that this date was before Buddhism had spread to the Central Plains,²¹ and it is also doubtful whether

¹⁵ Daoxuan, *Shijia fangzhi*, 24.

¹⁶ *T* no. 1075, vol. 20: 178b.

¹⁷ Baochang, *Biqiuni zhuan*, 7.

¹⁸ *Gaoseng zhuan*, 345.

¹⁹ For a debate about the family name Bai, see Feng, *Xiyu Nanhai*, 158–75.

²⁰ *Liang shu*, 573.

²¹ The route and date of the introduction of Buddhism to China is still controversial. For instance, see Rong, 'Lulu haishi hailu'.

Buddhism had spread to the Qiuci region at that time.²² Therefore, these dates are most likely false.²³ It is also possible that the objects were genuine relics made in the second century BCE, but with counterfeit inscriptions added at a later time. Regardless of how we approach the earlier history of these objects, this entry demonstrates that such pots from Qiuci were regarded as high-quality treasures during the Liang or when the *Liang shu* was compiled (636).

Besides the pots from Qiuci, one of the temple property registers from the Dunhuang manuscript P. 3587 records that there is ‘a copper bottle from Quzhi (‘Quzhi tong pingzi yi 屈之銅平子壹’).²⁴ Quzhi 屈之 was one of the less commonly used transliterations for Qiuci used in the tenth century. *Tong pingzi* 銅平子 is probably a homophone for *tong pingzi* 銅瓶子 (copper bottle). Yet the use of this Qiuci bottle is unclear. ‘A pig copper bottle for sweeping and a big copper bottle’ recorded on P. 2613 may be similar to all these bottles, though its origin and quality are unknown. The bottle from Qiuci was probably mentioned specifically because it was so rare.

Copper wares from Qiuci were highly valued because of the well-developed metallurgical industry in this region, based on its rich mineral resources. Several early sources mention this fact, such as the *Han shu* 漢書 (History of the Han Dynasty),²⁵ *Wei shu* 魏書 (History of the Wei Dynasty),²⁶ and the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* in particular. The latter text records geography, products, customs and religions of Qiuci and has been used as a reliable reference by historians. It states that Qiuci ‘produces gold, copper, iron, lead and tin... and [its people] use gold, silver and copper coins as currency’ 土產黃金、銅、鐵、鉛、錫...貨用金錢、銀錢、小銅錢.²⁷

Recent archaeological finds have also confirmed large-scale mining

²² Chen, ‘Guanyu Fojiao’, 80–81.

²³ See Qiu, ‘Cong Mawangdui’; Zhao, ‘Han “jianyuan”’. For the latest research, see Xin, ‘Chongtan Zhongguo gudai’; idem, ‘Suowei Han’.

²⁴ My thanks to Zhai Minhao 翟旻昊 for reminding me of this material.

²⁵ *Han shu*, 3911.

²⁶ *Wei shu*, 2266.

²⁷ *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, 54.

and coin-casting industries in Qiuci. Located on the northern route of the Silk Road and boasting of rich mineral resources as well as its highly developed smelting and casting industry, Qiuci was selected by the Han and Tang central governments to be the administrative center of Serindia.²⁸ To date, 24 out of 37 excavated metallurgical sites are copper mines.²⁹ Numerous coins have been discovered in the Kucha district, including imitations of Wuzhu 五銖 coins of the Han dynasty, Sino-Tocharian coins, Tocharian coins, coins with cut edges, small coins without inscriptions, and some coin molds. This demonstrates that the coin-casting industry in Qiuci was deeply influenced by similar techniques developed in the central part of China.³⁰ A close examination indicates that Qiuci's coins were cast from molds,³¹ and an analysis of the coins and slag composition demonstrates that they were smelted locally.³²

The influence of the casting and smelting technology was not just limited to Qiuci's territory. Copper samples have been found in archaeological excavations at Dschumbulak Kum and Kaladun along the Keriya River in Xinjiang.³³ Metallurgical analysis detected bismuth and tellurium, characteristics shared with the copper excavated from tombs in the Kizil reservoir, indicating exchanges between the Keriya River district and the ancient kingdom of Qiuci.³⁴ In addition, some copper wares from the Habuqihan 哈布其罕 tomb in the Tarim Basin contain bismuth, suggesting that minerals used for smelting might have some connection with Qiuci.³⁵

²⁸ Li et al., 'Gudai Qiuci diqu'. A slightly revised version appears in *Qiucixue yanjiu*, 75–91.

²⁹ Li, 'Kodai Seiiki', 119–22.

³⁰ Zhang, 'Zailun Qiuci', 49–50.

³¹ Zhang and Fu, 'Qiuciwen tongqian', 221–22.

³² Qian, Zhang, Yidilisi, 'Xinjiang Qiuci qianbi', 21–24.

³³ Xinjiang wenwu kaoku yanjiusuo, *Faguo kexue yanjiuzhongxin* 315 suo Zhong-Fa Keliya kaogudui, 'Xinjiang Keliyahe'.

³⁴ Beijing keji daxue yejin yu cailiaoshi yanjiusuo and Xinjiang wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 'Xinjiang Keliyahe liuyu chutu jinshu yiwu'.

³⁵ Qian, Zhang, Yidilisi, 'Baicheng Kezier'.

Unfortunately, excavations in Qiuci to date have not uncovered the Quzhi pot that is our concern here. Perhaps its pieces exist but are too fragmentary to be recognized, or perhaps archaeologists remain unfamiliar with the pot's shape and composition. Regardless of this gap in excavated evidence, however, the records of the temple property registers among the Dunhuang manuscripts and the account of the *Liang shu* prove that Qiuci pots circulated in the Dunhuang area and the inner region of China. At the time, it was considered a rare, valuable, brightly colored product from Quzhi and was associated with Buddhist monastic purity.

2. *Qiuci Ban* 龜茲板 (Qiuci Board): The Buddhist Cult of the Holy Tree

Youyang zazu 酉陽雜俎 (Miscellany of Youyang Mountain), an important Tang dynasty miscellany attributed to Duan Chengshi (c. 800–863), the erudite scholar, traveler, and chronicler,³⁶ includes an intriguing reference to some pieces of wood called 'Qiuci boards' that were used to make something called *tusu* 屠蘇:

Fang Guan, the Grand Commandant, once asked Xing to predict his fortune. Xing said, 'If it comes from the southeast and stops at the northwest, your fortune is over. The place where your *po*-soul falls will neither be a lodging place nor a temple, neither on the road nor in a bureau. Your disease will begin with a fish dish and end with a Qiuci board.' Later, Fang took office from Yuanzhou to Hanzhou. After he was dismissed from office, he went back to Langzhou and stayed at the Ziji Shrine. The shrine hired laborers to do woodwork, and Fang was amazed by the form taken by the grain of the wood. He asked why, and a Daoist replied that these were Qiuci boards that were donated to the Ziji Shrine by a merchant several months ago, now being made into *tusu*. It was not until then that Fang recollected Xing's words. Before long, a Provincial Governor invited him to have

³⁶ For an introduction and selected translations, see Reed, *A Tang Miscellany*; idem, *Chinese Chronicles of the Strange*.

minced fish together. Fang sighed and said, 'Mr. Xing is really a supernatural.' Fang told the story to the Provincial Governor in detail, and used the Qiuci board as an excuse. That night, he died from a disease caused by minced fish.

房琯太尉祈邢算終身之事，邢言：‘若來由東南，止西北，祿命卒矣。降魄之處，非館非寺，非途非署。病起於魚膾，休於龜茲板。’後房自袁州除漢州，及罷，歸至閬州，舍紫極宮。適雇工治木，房怪其木理成形，問之，道士稱數月前有賈客施數段龜茲板，今治爲屠蘇也。房始憶邢之言。有頃，刺史具鱠邀房，房歎曰：‘邢君，神人也。’乃具白於刺史，且以龜茲板爲託。其夕，病鱠而終。³⁷

It is intriguing that the board from Qiuci plays a significant role in the career and the demise of Fang Guan. This account indicates that this kind of board was a kind of timber from Qiuci, originally donated to the Ziji Shrine by a merchant and then used as building material for *tusu*.

What, exactly, does the word *tusu* mean? The two most common interpretations of the meaning of *tusu* are that it is a kind of wine or an architectural structure like a bungalow or hut. Below I review these explanations and add my own hypothesis about the type of wood used to make Qiuci boards and *tusu*.

As a wine, *tusu* was a type of medicinal liquor infused with herbs, consumed on New Year's Day and passed between family members in accordance with age. Drinking it was thought to guard against epidemics and to invoke good fortune and social harmony. The festival canon from the Liang dynasty, *Jing-Chu suishi ji* 荆楚歲時記 (Record of Seasonal Observances in the Jing-Chu Region), writes:

The first day of the first month is the day of three primes.... Young and old all don the correct dress and headwear, and offer obeisance and felicitation in the correct order. People drink pepper and cypress wine, peach soup, *tusu* wine. People eat teeth-gluing toffee. People serve plates of the five pungent vegetables and take *fuyu* powder and

³⁷ Duan, *Youyang zazu*, 25.

ghost-repellant pills. Each person eats a chicken egg. The order for drinking wine is from the youngest upward.

正月一日，是三元之日也。……於是長幼悉正衣冠，以次拜賀。進椒柏酒，飲桃湯。進屠蘇酒，膠牙餠。下五辛盤，進數於散，³⁸ 服卻鬼丸。各進一雞子。凡飲酒次第，從小起。³⁹

According to Wang Yurong 王毓榮, the word *tusu* can refer to a type of grass, which may have been used as an herbal ingredient of the liquor; it might also refer to a type of thatched hut in which, according to one story, its inventor had lived.⁴⁰ Placing *tusu* wine in the category of pepper and cypress wine, peach soup, ghost-repellant pills, and *fuyu* powder indicates that it was believed to be a Taoist technique for life-care and a concoction designed to protect against demons.

The ingredients of *tusu* wine were first recorded in the medical work *Zhouhou fang* 肘後方 (Emergency Prescriptions) by Ge Hong 葛洪 (283–343 CE) in the Eastern Jin dynasty:

Tusu wine can get rid of epidemic disease and prevent infection from seasonal febrile diseases and typhoid fever. Drink it in the morning of the first day of the year. Prescription: *Wutou* (rhizome of Chinese monkshood) and *Fangfen* (*Saposhnikovia divaricate*), six *zhu*; *Baizu* (rhizome of large-headed *atractylodes*) and *Jugeng* (root of balloonflower), ten *zhu*; *Baqia* (chinaroot greenbrier) and *Su jiaohan* (Sichuan pepper), ten *zhu*; *Dahuang* (rhubarb) and *Guixin* (core of cassia), fifteen *zhu*. Put these eight medicinal herbs into a crimson bag, drop them in a well at noon on the last day of the twelfth month, and make sure it is in the mud of the bottom of the well.

³⁸ In his fine study of the work, Ian Chapman translates 數於散 as ‘*fuyu* powder’, adding the comment, ‘The literal meaning of this concoction’s name is uncertain’; Chapman, ‘Festival and Ritual Calendar’, 475, 488. In my opinion, ‘數于散’ should be corrected to ‘數淤散’, 淤 meaning 淤結, ‘hematoma’. ‘數於散’ is thus a medicinal powder for healing internal hematoma.

³⁹ Zong, *Jing-Chu suishi ji*, 7.

⁴⁰ Wang, *Jing-Chu suishi ji jiaozhu*, 36–37, note 5.

At dawn on the first day of the first month, take out the medicine, put it into the wine, decoct it by boiling it several times, and drink it in a house that faces east. The order for drinking *tusu* is from the youngest upwards, less or more as one wishes. As long as one person drinks, the rest of his family will not catch epidemic diseases. As long as one family drinks, the rest of the families within one *li* will not catch epidemic diseases. The date for drinking the medicinal wine is the first day of the first month. The remainder should be put into the well, and can be drunk every year; it will protect the family against illness throughout the rest of its years. Every well within or outside the family should have the medicine put in it, in order to get rid of epidemic disease.

又屠蘇酒辟疫氣，令人不染溫病及傷寒，歲旦飲之。方：烏頭、防風各六銖；白術、桔梗各十銖；菝葜、蜀椒汗，各十銖；大黃、桂心各十五。右八味，絳袋盛，以十二月晦日中時懸沉井中，令至泥。正月朔平曉出藥，置酒中煎數沸，於東向戶中飲之。屠蘇之飲，先從小起，多少自在。一人飲，一家無疫。一家飲，一里無疫。飲藥酒待三朝，還滓置井中，仍能歲飲，可世無病。當家內外有井，皆悉著藥，辟溫氣也。⁴¹

Here Ge Hong attributes to *tusu* the ability to prevent people from catching disease. Jin Jiuning 金久寧 gives a detailed pharmacological analysis of this preparation, based on ingredients listed in *Zhouhou fang*.⁴² Another recipe can be found in the agricultural treatise *Sishi zuanyao* 四時纂要 (Essentials of the Four Seasons) from the tenth century, which claims itself to be *Xuanyuan huangdi zhi shenfang* 軒轅黃帝之神方, that is, a magical recipe from Xuanyuan the Yellow Emperor.⁴³ However, neither text mentions Qiuci boards. This indicates that using Qiuci boards to make *tusu* was not common in ritual practice in the Tang dynasty. Rather, the use of

⁴¹ Ge, *Zhouhou fang*, supplemented by Tao and Yang, *Buji zhouhou fang*, 73.

⁴² Jin, 'Zhengyue chuyi yin tusu', 12–13.

⁴³ This text records a slightly different recipe for *tusu* wine; Han, *Sishi zuanyao*, introduced by Moriya, *Shiji sanyō*, 169–70.

Qiuci wood to make *tusu* probably reflects a usage unique to Taoists, who perhaps believed this exotic wood could ward off illness.

Next we need to consider the other possibility, that planks of this wood were used to make a type of bungalow.⁴⁴ Such bungalows are recorded in the *Sanguo zhi* 三國志 (*Records of the Three Kingdoms*)⁴⁵ of the late third century and the *Song shu* 宋書 (*History of the [Liu] Song Dynasty*) of the late fifth century.⁴⁶ A much later Song dynasty commentary to the *Shanghan zongbing lun* 傷寒總病論 (Discourse on Febrile Diseases) remarks that this bungalow derived its name from the fact that families would congregate there to avoid coldness when drinking their *tusu* wine during New Year celebrations.⁴⁷ Therefore, we can surmise that wealthy families would use this exotic timber from Serindia—Qiuci boards—to build their *tusu* bungalows, and perhaps the eaves.

Li Xianzhang 李獻璋 noticed that *tusu* referred to the flat roofs made from wooden boards popular among the Di and Qiang peoples to China's west. He also proposes that *tusu* wine drew its name from two Western sources. First, *tusu* was the name of a health-promoting grape beverage brought to China by Western travelers (similar words for 'grape' exist in Tibetan and Sanskrit). In China, the name was adopted for a medicinal wine. Second, the Chinese transliteration of Buddhist Tuṣita heaven, invoked in incantations for good health, included the syllables *tusu* (rendered in the same or homophonous characters).⁴⁸ Li Xianzhang bases such an explanation on the fact that several Han and Six Dynasties sources mention that *tusu* is related to the Western Regions and Buddhist concepts. I tend to agree with this Li's general proposal about the Buddhist origins of the term, and I provide further support for the hypothesis.

Although no surviving account informs us precisely what kind

⁴⁴ My thanks to Professor Tang Wen 唐雯 for bringing this to my attention.

⁴⁵ *Sanguo zhi*, 290.

⁴⁶ *Song shu*, 2353.

⁴⁷ Pang, *Shanghan Zongbing lun*, 122–23.

⁴⁸ Li, 'Toshoin shūzoku kō'. Cited by Chapman, 'Festival and Ritual Calendar', 488.

of tree the 'Qiuci board' is made from, I would suggest that the tree is most likely the *śāla* tree (*Vatica Robusta*), one of the sacred trees recorded in Buddhist scriptures, such as *Chang ahan jing* 長阿含經 (*Dīrghāgama Sūtra*)⁴⁹ and *Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (Mahāyāna *Mahāparinirvāṇa Sūtra*).⁵⁰ The *śāla* tree is supposed to be the place where the Buddha was born and achieved *nirvāṇa*, and thus it has been considered one of the most holy trees in Buddhism.⁵¹

Xuanzang visited the Śāla Garden where the Buddha entered *nirvāṇa*. The *Da Tang Xiyu ji* states:

At a place three or four *li* to the northwest of the city, I crossed the Ajitavati River.⁵² Not far from the west bank of the river is the Śāla Grove. The *śāla* tree is similar to the oak, with a greenish-white bark and very glossy leaves. Four of the trees in the grove are unusually tall, and this was the place where the *Tathāgata* entered *Nirvāṇa*.

城西北三四里渡阿特多伐底河。西岸不遠至娑羅林。其樹類櫟而皮青白。葉甚光潤，四樹特高。如來寂滅之所也。⁵³

The representation of the image of Nirvana in Gandhāran art usually features two *śāla* trees, one next to the pillow of the Buddha, and the other in front of his feet. In a few cases where the format of two Śāla trees is absent, there are more than three *śāla* trees behind the Buddha, symbolizing the Śāla Grove or the Śāla Grove in the sutra.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ T no. 1, vol.1: 24b–c.

⁵⁰ T no.7, vol.1: 198b.

⁵¹ See Zhao, 'Dunhuang bihua'. This article researches the depictions of holy trees in Chinese Buddhist art from the Northern Wei to Tang dynasties, specializing on the origin and effect of the baldachin form, mango tree form and forms of holy trees in the Central Plains. But he does not deal with depictions of the *śāla* tree in Dunhuang frescoes in any detail.

⁵² Ajitavati, in common use, means 'unsurpassed', but is mistaken for the earlier usage of Airāvati; also known as Hiraṇyavati, meaning 'possessing gold'.

⁵³ *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, 538–39.

⁵⁴ Miyaji, *Niepan he Mile de tuxiangxue*, 92–93.

Along with other exotic treasures and valuable spices, leaves of the *śāla* tree were used as sacred objects in Buddhist-style tributary gifts. For instance, the *Liang shu* records that leaves of the *śāla* tree were listed among the tributes from the Kingdom of Bnam in the eighteenth year of the Tianjian 天監 reign (519),⁵⁵ highlighting the role of the cult of the sacred tree and the importance of Buddhism to the Liang dynasty. One can also find a vivid description of the *śāla* tree in the *Youyang zazu*.⁵⁶ Hence, from the time of the Liang dynasty, when Buddhism was a central part of court culture, leaves from *śāla* trees were treated as a sacred object, fit to be among the highest of tribute items.⁵⁷

The Liang tradition of treating *śāla* products as exotic treasure continued under later dynasties. The *Youyang zazu* records the offering of *śāla* branches from Qiuci by Anxi Dao 安西道. The text provides a vivid description of the *śāla* tree:

Śāla: There is a temple in Balin. A tree grew up under the bed in a monk's house, and it grows back as soon as it is cut off. A foreign monk saw it and said, 'This is *śāla*'. At the beginning of the Yuanjia reign, a flower like a lotus bloomed. At the beginning of the Tianbao reign, some twigs of a *śāla* tree were presented to the court by the Anxi circuit, and the account says, 'Among the four garrisoned districts administered by your servant, Bahanna is the closest one. There are *śāla*, the most splendid tree. It never provides shelter to ordinary plants, and ferocious birds never perch on it. Its straight trunks are as good as pines and junipers, and the shadow cast by its branches cast is nothing less than that of peach and plum trees. I recently sent my Bahanna envoy to collect two hundred twigs of the *śāla* tree. If they can be planted in the Changle Palace, they will stand out in the Jianzhang Palace. Their leafs come out and form shade, as a neighbor

⁵⁵ *Liang shu*, 790. I suggest that *poluo shuye* 婆羅樹葉 is a mistake for *suoluo shuye* 娑羅樹葉.

⁵⁶ Duan, *Youyang zazu*, 173, 263.

⁵⁷ The conception of 'Buddhism-style tributary' and three forms division was suggested by Kawakami Mayuko 河上麻由子. See Kawakami, 'Fojiao yu chaogong de guanxi: yi Nanbeichao shiqi wei zhongxin'.

of osmanthus in the moon; branches linked and shadows connected, facing the white elms in the sky.

娑羅: 巴陵有寺, 僧房牀下忽生一木, 隨伐隨長. 外國僧見曰: ‘此娑羅也.’ 元嘉初, 出一花如蓮. 天寶初, 安西道進娑羅枝, 狀言: ‘臣所管四鎮, 有拔汗那, 最爲密近, 木有娑羅樹, 特爲奇絕. 不庇凡草, 不止惡禽, 聳幹無慚於松栝, 成陰不愧於桃李. 近差官拔汗那使, 令採得前件樹枝二百莖. 如得託根長樂, 擢穎建章. 布葉垂陰, 鄰月中之丹桂; 連枝接影, 對天上之白榆.’⁵⁸

Another entry in the same chapter of *Youyang zazhu* states:

The big *śāla* tree in the courtyard of the hall was dedicated by Anxi in the Dali reign. Four stalks of this tree were given to this temple; all of them are luminous and solid. Among the trees planted by the eminent monk Xingfeng, one has not survived.

又殿庭大莎羅樹, 大曆中, 安西所進. 其木椿賜此寺四榦, 榦皆灼固. 其木大德行逢自種之, 一株不活.⁵⁹

According to the historical records, ordinary plants are not to be compared with the *śāla* tree, which provides no roost to evil birds. This apotheosis is probably related to the Buddhist cult of sacred trees. As a high-status product from Qiuci, the *śāla* tree was valued thanks to its symbolic significance in Buddhist mythology, and it was cultivated in the temples of the Chinese capital Chang'an 長安. With the spread of Buddhist art and botanical iconography, the seeds, branches and timber of the *śāla* tree were introduced to the heartland of China as a component of the cult of Buddhist plants. Hence, the ‘Qiuci board’ was an important part of the Buddhist exotica in Serindia. There is still no direct evidence to confirm that the ‘Qiuci board’ was made from the timber of the *śāla* tree, but my argument above is intended as a plausible hypothesis.

⁵⁸ *Youyang zazhu*, 174.

⁵⁹ *Youyang zazhu*, 263.

3. *Jin Poli* 金頗黎 (Golden Glass): A Treasure from the King of Qiuci

The *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽 (Imperially Reviewed Encyclopaedia of the Taiping Era) contains a quotation from the *Tang shu* 唐書 (History of the Tang Dynasty):

In the twelfth month of the second year of the Shangyuan era of the reign of Gaozong (761), the King of Ferghana presented a jade *poli* and *shehuang*⁶⁰ (serpent's bezoar). The King of Qiuci, Bai Suji, presented a golden *poli*.

高宗上元二年十二月，拔汗那王獻碧頗黎及地黃。龜茲白王素稽獻金頗黎。⁶¹

This quotation does not appear in the received versions of the *History of the Tang* and has provoked much debate among scholars.⁶² It is, however, the only record of the golden *poli* 頗黎 in non-Buddhist documents. *Poli* 頗黎 (also written 頗梨) is a transliteration of the Sanskrit word *sphaṭika*, which had been translated as *shuijing* 水精 (rock crystal, literally 'essence of water') in early Chinese Buddhist scriptures. It remains controversial whether *poli* is same as *liuli* 琉璃 (colored glass). Some scholars suggest that *poli* is a type of naturally transparent stone or crystal, whereas colored glass is a kind of artificial glass. Kumarajiva was the first one to use *shuijing* for the translation of *poli*, and since then glass in China, especially that of Western origin, has been called *liuli* 流離 (also 琉璃). In mid-Tang Buddhist scriptures, *liuli* was used to refer to glass, which was seen as a kind of gem.⁶³ A poem by the Tang poet Wei Yingwu 韋應物 (737–792) de-

⁶⁰ Emend *dihuang* 地黃 as *shehuang* 蛇黃.

⁶¹ *Taiping yulan*, chapter 808, 3592.

⁶² For various opinions, see, Wu, *Tang shu jijiao*, 11–12; Wang, 'Tan *Taiping yulan*'; Tang, 'Taiping yulan'.

⁶³ Miyajima, 'Kaneki Butsuten'.

scribes it as highly transparent.⁶⁴ According to scholars of the history of science, glass technology makes its earliest appearance in China around 500 BCE, and Western glassblowing techniques were introduced to China in the Sui dynasty (early seventh century).⁶⁵ Golden *poli* was, therefore, probably glass inlaid with gold⁶⁶. The Chinese valued the brilliant *poli* so much that it became an item of tribute. But the specific shape of these objects and their manufacturing technology remain unknown.

The cult of golden *poli* may perhaps have originated from the belief in the *qibao* 七寶 (seven treasures) of Buddhism.⁶⁷ Some other texts also refer to the golden *poli* as *zhenjin poli* 真金頗梨 (genuine golden glass).⁶⁸ The *zhenjin poli* should be the *tianjin poli* 天金頗梨 (heavenly golden glass) recorded in *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 (A Chronicle of Buddhism in China).⁶⁹ The *tianjin poli* and *tianyin qing liuli* 天銀青琉璃 (heavenly silver green glass) were both used for building the Ritian 日天 palace and the Yuetian 月天 palace. The usage of *zhen* 真 or *tian* 天 before *jin* (gold) was presumably to illustrate the purity of the gold by emphasizing its color and quality. In a word, golden *poli*, which was presented by Bai Suji 白素稽, King of Qiuci, again highlights the influence of Qiuci's Buddhism on the Central Plains.

⁶⁴ '有色同寒冰, 無物隔纖塵。象筵看不見, 堪將對玉人。' See Sun, *Wei Yingwu shiji xinian jiaojian*, 515.

⁶⁵ Gan, 'Zhongguo gudai boli'.

⁶⁶ For detailed studies of *poli* and *liuli*, please refer to my article, Yu, 'Liuli'.

⁶⁷ *Poli* is one of the Seven Treasures in Buddhism, and is linked to use in the Dunhuang temples and the offerings of esoteric Buddhism. See Yu, *Zhonggu yixiang*, 248–66.

⁶⁸ *Zhengfa nianchu jing*, T no. 721, vol. 17: 345c.

⁶⁹ *Fozu tongji*, T no. 2035, vol. 49: 306b.

4. *Yin Poluo* 銀頗羅 (Silver Drinking Bowl): From a Ritual Vessel of Zoroastrianism to Drinking Ware

The *Cefu yuangui* 冊府元龜 (Outstanding Models from the Storehouse of Literature), completed in 1013, states: 'In the first month of the second year of the Shangyuan 上元 reign, Bai Suji, the King of Qiuci, presented a silver *poluo*, receiving silk in return'.⁷⁰ This record can also be found in the *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 (Old Standard History of the Tang Dynasty), indicating the importance attached to this event.

Poluo is a wine vessel with an open mouth, shallow belly and a ring foot. It can be written in Chinese as 頗羅, also 叵羅, or 破羅, all of which were transliterations based on medieval Chinese pronunciation. Scholars in Sogdian studies suggest that *poluo* came from the Iranian word for bowl, *padrōd*. In ancient Greek, it was written as *φάλη*, denoting a bowl or cup.⁷¹ There is an example of a cup-shaped silver bowl, engraved with the Sogdian word *patrōd*,⁷² which means silver *poluo* in Chinese.

In 1997, a small-sized open-mouth silver vessel, with 3.5 cm in depth, 14 cm in diameter, and 225 g in weight, was discovered by workers drilling in the southwest of the ruins of ancient Qiuci. The diameter of its round bottom measures 17cm. Its rim is 0.3cm thick (the mouth curves inward slightly), and its wall is 0.15cm thick. The middle of the vessel was carved with a crescent and rabbit pattern. The rabbit was on the missing part of the moon, with a hunched back, long ears and tail sticking up, as if ready to run. The crescent was engraved with 20 lines, whose major diameter is 2.9 cm, and minor diameter is 1.8 cm. The vessel was filled with copper coins, which were imitations of Han dynasty *wuzhu* 五銖 coins made after 60 CE. Researchers suggest that this vessel was a silver *poluo* from

⁷⁰ Wang Qinruo et al. ed., *Cefu yuangui*, 11233.

⁷¹ As for this question, I turned to my colleague, Professor Zhang Wei 張巍, a classicist, for advice. He pointed out that the spelling of *φάλη* should be *φιάλη* in the early period, denoting a round wine vessel with open mouth.

⁷² See the note provided by Livshits, Russian translator of E.H. Schafer's *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, 459–60. Quoted in Cai, *Tangdai jiuxing*, 12.

Qiuci dating from the Han dynasty, and that the image of the moon and the rabbit reflected the influence of Han culture on the product.⁷³ If this account holds true, then this makes it the unique earliest silver *poluo* to be identified as a product from Qiuci, indicating that the *poluo* was introduced to China at an early stage. Its form already reached quite a mature stage in the Han dynasty and was influenced by Han culture in design. Thereafter, the silver *poluo* manufacturing industry in Qiuci flourished right up into the Tang dynasty, hence *poluo* was paid as tribute at that time.

A silver *poluo* from the Tang dynasty is also found among the excavations of the underground palace of Famen Temple 法門寺. A list of the objects donated by imperial patronage is carved on a stone tablet, and reads as ‘the gold, silver or gilt offerings total thirty pieces (*jian* 件, also *mei* 枚, *Shuang* 隻 and *dui* 對)’, among them are ten pieces of *leizi* 壘子, ten pieces of *boluozi* 波(?)羅子, and ten pieces of *diezi* 疊子. Yang Zhishui 楊之水 proposes to read *bo* 波 as *po* 破, namely the *poluo* 破羅 in historical and literary records.⁷⁴ The ten pieces of *poluo* are made of sheet metal and decorated with gilding; all have a five-petal sunflower mouth, shallow belly, flat bottom, and ring foot. The wall is divided into five petals by convex edges, and every petal is carved in a posy, so is the center of the bottom. The mouth is decorated with simplified lotus petals, with the ring foot facing outward. Every piece is almost the same size, with 1.9 cm in height, 11.1 cm in diameter in its mouth, 7.5 cm foot in diameter, and 118.2 g in weight.⁷⁵ Compared with the appearance of the silver *poluo* of the Han dynasty, the manufacturing process of the gilding of the *poluo* from Famen temple is more sophisticated, and its size is smaller. Although the origin of the *poluo* from Famen temple has not been determined, it is probably from Sogdiana, Qiuci, or perhaps merely an imitational piece manufactured locally in China.

⁷³ Liu & Guo, ‘Kuche faxian de yinpoluo kao’.

⁷⁴ Yang, ‘Wan-Tang jinyin jiuqi’, 18.

⁷⁵ Shaanxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiuyuan, Famensi bowuguan, Baoji shi wenwuj, Fufeng xian bowuguan, *Famensi kaogu fajue baogao*, textual description, 115, colored image, nos. 51, 52.

The identification of the *poluo* from Famen temple is especially significant because it urges us to reassess and redefine gold and silver vessels of similar shape, such as cups, bowls, and saucers, which have not been clearly distinguished. Take a cup, for instance: due to lack of descriptions of different types of vessels in historical records, it becomes difficult to identify gold and silver cup-like vessels unearthed in recent excavations. These vessels are usually identified according to their shape and modern conception of their functions. In some cases, a bowl-shaped vessel is called a cup. Yet in fact, glass vessels that are now called ‘cup’ have a range of shapes and might have different functions in their original historical background.⁷⁶ Therefore, some vessels that have simply been labeled as cup, bowl or saucer might have been be *poluo* 頗羅.

It is noteworthy that *poluo* has a connection with ritual vessels used in Zoroastrian sacrificial ceremonies. Among the six silver wares excavated from Laocheng 老城 (old town) village in Karasahr, a silver bowl has an inscription under its mouth, which Sims-Williams has identified as Sogdian and interpreted as ‘belong[ing] to Taxsič... Druvāspa, silver in weight is 30 *sitate* 斯塔特.’ Taxsič (Dexi 得悉神) and Druvāspa (Daersimate shen 達爾斯馬特神) are the names of gods. Though the middle three words cannot be pinned down, they should also be the name of a god. The names were based on the negative suffix, which suggests that they may be goddesses.⁷⁷

A reference to Taxsič can be found in the *Sui shu* 隋書 (History of the Sui dynasty),⁷⁸ and Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生 has discovered the link between the two gods, suggesting that Taxsič was the goddess of the stars and rain in Zoroastrianism, and that the golden *poluo* is consecrated to her in the ceremony.⁷⁹ Xu Xuya 許序雅 further developed this idea. He cites the example of a Zoroastrian temple in Xi Cao 西曹 (Western Cao Kingdom), where the main object of worship was Taxsič, rather than the highest deity Mazda, reflecting

⁷⁶ Qi, *Tangdai jinyinqi yanjiu*, 38.

⁷⁷ Lin, ‘Zhongguo jingnei’.

⁷⁸ *Sui shu*, 1855.

⁷⁹ Cai, *Tangdai Jiuxing*, 11.

the overwhelming desire by the local residents of the oasis region for rain.⁸⁰ There is an image regarded as the symbol of Taxsīč on a Sogdian stone screen in the Miho museum in Shiga Prefecture, Japan, in which a man is worshipping a horse.⁸¹

However, there is no discussion on the relationship between the other deities' names and *poluo*. I suggest that the *poluo* was not only for the worship of Taxsīč, but also for the other deities. A 'silver bowl' among the silver wares unearthed from southeast of Shapo village 沙坡村, Xi'an 西安, in 1963, was supposed to be a *poluo*. According to the brief archeological report, this ware has a round mouth, ring foot, and 12 edges round the belly; it is 4 cm in height, 14.7 cm in mouth diameter, and 4.8 cm in base diameter. A deer with horns, which is 6.7 cm in height, is engraved in the middle of the bowl's bottom.⁸² According to Sims-Williams, the inscription under the mouth is also Sogdian and means 'the slave of Zrvān'. Lin Meicun 林梅村 suggests this ware was used by Zoroastrians and belonged to the Zoroastrian temple in Jinggong fang 靖恭坊, Chang'an.⁸³ The style of the signature of this ware is similar to the Sogdian 'Ancient Letters' found by Stein near the Great Wall in Dunhuang. According W. B. Henning, a specialist in Sogdian language, the name of the addresser of the second letter is *nnȳβntk*, meaning the servant of Nanai. Another name that appears in the letter is *δrw'spβntk*, meaning the servant of Dhruwasp, and *txs'yc-βntk* refers to the servant of Taxsīč.⁸⁴ Therefore, it is reasonable to speculate that the silver ware unearthed in Xi'an was used by Zoroastrians on occasions of religious rituals. The shape and the inscription of this ware resemble the silverware excavated at Kara-sahr, suggesting the two are the same kind of object, namely *poluo*, that was used by worshippers to make sacrifice to Zoroastrianism

⁸⁰ Xu, 'Xin Tang shu'.

⁸¹ Rong, 'Miho meishuguan Sute'.

⁸² Xi'an shi wenwu guanli weiyuanhui, 'Xi'an shi dongnanjiao'. For a colour plate, see Watt et al, *China*, 315.

⁸³ Lin, 'Zhongguo jingnei'.

⁸⁴ Henning, 'The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters'. For the latest research on the Sogdian Ancient Letters, see Bi, 'Sutewen guxinzha'.

deities. The size of the two *poluo* is similar to the one from Qiuci, yet is much smaller than the giant gold *poluo* recorded in the *Sui shu*. The purpose and shape of the *poluo* of two different sizes may be similar, but the difference is that they were used on different occasions.

The actual practical use of the *poluo* is rarely discussed. I suggest that it was used for offerings associated with *rhyton*. *Rhyton* is taken from the Greek word *rhéō* for ‘flow’, and it was regarded as a sacred object because it was used as a wine-pourer in sacrificial ceremonies. The types of *rhyton* are very complicated, but in general, its appearance is like an ox horn. The lower part of this vessel is always molded into the form of a head of a god, or, of an animal. Its base is pierced with a small hole to allow the liquid to flow out.⁸⁵ *Rhyton* can be made of a variety of materials, such as pottery, porcelain, gold, silver, copper, iron, ivory, agate and jade. It was circulated over a vast period of time and space, from Athens to Chang’an, from the Neolithic up to the eighth century or even later.⁸⁶ *Poluo*, probably associated with *rhyton*, was introduced by Sogdian merchants who went to China for trade.

A variety of archaeological data serves as evidence to prove that *poluo* and *rhyton* were used as a set in ritual ceremonies. In December 1974, a set of elaborate silver wine vessels dated to the fourth century BCE was excavated at Borovo, Bulgaria. It includes three *rhyton* with the ox, horse and Sphinx heads respectively, a silver bottle with luxurious decoration, and a big silver bowl with two handles, ring foot, and an image of a griffin swallowing a deer in the centre of the bottom.⁸⁷ The *rhyton* with the Sphinx head has an inscription,

⁸⁵ Research on *rhyton* is too voluminous to list here. For an important Chinese article, see Sun, ‘Manao shoushou bei’. The latest article by Liu, ‘Jiaobei yu laitong’, summarizes previous achievements and analyzes the types and stages of archeology.

⁸⁶ I investigated a great of materials on *rhyton* in the museums in Europe, US, Russia, and Japan. However, the description above is based on my impressions, rather than systematic research.

⁸⁷ The clear images of the *rhyton* with Sphinx head and the silver bottle were later published in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, 35:1 (1977), Plate 5, 62–63.

which was interpreted as ‘belonging to the Cotys from Beos’. The inscription indicates that this it was a present from Cotys I of Thrace (382–359 BCE) to the local ruler. According to historical records and archeological data, it was common practice to present ritual wares as gifts in Thrace,⁸⁸ and I suggest that the big silver bowl is a large-size *poluo*.

It is interesting that a scene involving *poluo* and *rhyton* was used in the images on the silver bottle, which was excavated in the same group. The images depicted around the bottle were of feasts to the gods, and include Dionysus, Heracles, Sphinx, Styrs, and Griffin. One of the images depicts a stalwart god, who sits on a bed, with his right leg bent and left leg dangling down. His right hand holds a *rhyton* (perhaps with a lion head) up high, and his left hand holds a *poluo*. His appearance indicates that he is Dionysus. I suggest that originally the wine flowed from the bottom of the *poluo* to the drinker’s mouth.

We can find similar scenes on Sogdian sarcophagi excavated in China. There is an image on a Sogdian sarcophagus bed of the Northern Qi 北齊 dynasty in the Museum of Fine Art in Boston. The lower part of the image depicts a musical performance accompanied by dance and sacrifice, and the upper part of the image portrays a dignitary in a crowd (who should be the *Sabao* 薩寶, a religious and commercial leader in a Sogdian community) in the finest garments, who sits in the center of a big *huchuang* 胡床 (barbarian couch) under a grape trellis and holds a *rhyton* with an ox head high in his right hand. To his right sit seven men. The two in the front were passing a *poluo*, and the second from the left of the five in the back row was passing a *poluo* to the third from the left. To his left sits seven women. The woman in the middle of the front row holds a *poluo* in front of her chest in both hands, and the fourth from the left holds a *poluo* up to her lips, as if drinking the wine. Rong Xinjiang 榮新江 suggests that the image is a representation of a large-scale festival feasting,⁸⁹ yet Jiang Boqin 姜伯勤 identifies this scene as a Zoroastri-

⁸⁸ Lewis & Boardman, *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 460–62.

⁸⁹ Rong, *Zhongguo Zhongguo yu wailai wenming*.

anism ceremony in a vineyard.⁹⁰ I would like to further point out that although this scenario has the meaning of a festival carnival, it should not be merely regarded as a Zoroastrianism ceremony. Instead, this feasting is related to the ceremony of praying for harvest in ancient Greece. It is notable that the *Sabao's* way of sitting and hand gesture of holding the *rhyton* is similar to that of Dionysus on the silver bottle excavated from Borovo, Bulgaria. This is an intentional imitation, not merely a coincidence.⁹¹ A minor difference is that Dionysus is drinking by himself, but the Sabao pours the wine into the *poluo*, then passes it on to others to drink in turn, which probably would be regarded as the important part of ritual, with the meaning of blessing for the worshippers.

A sarcophagus bed of the Sui or Tang dynasty was excavated at Tianshui 天水, Gansu 甘肅. According to its archaeological report, the ninth screen, which is the third piece on the left side, is 87 cm high and 33 cm wide. The image about brewing and fermenting wine. In the middle are two animal heads, with wine flowing out from their mouth; under each head is a big urn that collects the wine. Between the two urns stands a person who looks down as if to be checking if the urn is full and is ready to collect wine in the bottle in his left hand. The bottom part of the screen features a man who sits on his knees with an urn next to him and drinks wine from a bowl in his left hand. A second man holds a large bottle in his hands and drinks from the mouth of the bottle while walking. A third man is taking a rest on a stone. Three men above sit on a stage. A paunchy man on the right has the curly, shoulder-length hair, bulging eyes and long nose, reclining on the stage. The man in the middle has curly hair, also with bulging eyes and long nose. The man on the left is shorter than the others, and looks like he is overseeing the operation of the wine workshop.⁹²

⁹⁰ Jiang, *Zhongguo Xianjiao yishushi yanjiu*, 43–46.

⁹¹ There is another example, a gold cup with tiger-shaped handle excavated at Zhaosu 昭蘇 prefecture, which reflects the worship of Dionysus and the related shape of wine vessels spread to Inner Asia through the nomads of North and Central Asia. cf. Yu, *Zhonggu yixiang*, 251–64.

⁹² Tianshuishi bowuguan, 'Tianshuishi faxian'.

Jiang Boqin suggests that the image of the wine flowing from the animal heads is likely a sacrificial image of Zoroastrianism. The flat-bottomed oval vessel between the two kneelers is a giant *poluo* used in this kind of sacrifice. Jiang has also adopted the view of Cai Hongsheng 蔡鴻生 that the Goddess Dexi (Taxsič) is the goddess of stars and rain. He further infers that the image illustrates people offering *Sauma* to Taxsič for rain, which is recorded in the *Dunhuang Nian Yong* 敦煌廿詠 (*Twenty Chants for Dunhuang*). He explains that the wine was flowing from the animal mouths to the urn continuously like a rope between the morning and evening sacrifice. The people beside the urn and *poluo* are in charge of different jobs—fetching the wine, delivering the wine, drinking the wine, and offer sacrifice with wine. This interpretation gives us a useful insight into this image.⁹³ I would like to further suggest that the animal heads of flowing wine are giant *rhyton*, matching the normal sized *rhyton* in the drinkers' hands. From this image, we can see that *rhyton* and *poluo* were used as a set of ritual wares at the same Zoroastrian ceremonies.

The sixth stone of a Sogdian sarcophagus bed preserved in the Guimet Museum in Paris also has a similar image, which features a master lying back on a couch beneath a canopy and holding an ox-head *rhyton* in the left hand, with his left foot raised. A man performs a *buxuan* 胡旋 dance to music played by the band at the bottom left. An animal drinks wine from a large tub in the lower left corner, and on the right a kneeling man offers sacrifice with a bowl of wine in two hands. Next to him are people worshipping plants. Researchers suggest that the details of this image echo some scenes of the Bacchanalia depicted in ancient Greek art, which refers to the ancient theme of the victory of Dionysus, the symbol of natural renewal and rebirth. In Bacchanalia scenes a cat always appears to be going for a drink or drinking from a big tub frequently, and thus it has become a symbol of the Bacchanalia. The animal in the image on the Sogdian sarcophagus therefore may be an imitation of this symbol, and the big tub represents a *poluo*, matching the bowl in the

⁹³ Jiang, *Zhongguo Xianjiao yishushi yanjiu*, 157–62.

worshiper's hands, a small *poluo*. The plants being worshipped are probably ivy or vines, scandent perennial plants.⁹⁴ In sum, this image is a simulation of the Zoroastrian Bacchanalia ceremony, just like the preceding scenes.

A 'stone cosmetics tray' from the fifth to sixth centuries was found in Shufu 疏附 prefecture, Kashgar, Xinjiang, in 1972. It depicts a surrounding of a vineyard and portrays a foreigner in a sitting position pouring wine into a bowl held by another kneeling foreigner.⁹⁵ Ge Chengyong 葛承雍 suggests this is not a cosmetics tray, but instead is an intaglio seal of wine. The image depicts the leader of the foreigners or winery owner holding the *poluo* so as to drink the wine.⁹⁶ While Ge's speculation is reasonable, the sitting man under focus may not be the leader of the group.

Since its introduction to China, the term *poluo* has often appeared in poems on the theme of feasting, for instance, 'Drinking Wine' (*Duijiu* 對酒) attributed to Li Bai 李白 (701–762),⁹⁷ and 'After Getting Drunk with the Magistrate of Jiuquan' (*Jiuquan taishou xishang zuibou zuo* 酒泉太守席上醉後作) attributed to Cen Shen 岑參 (715–770).⁹⁸ These poems portray *poluo* as a luxury wine vessel with exotic features, but they do not relate it to Zoroastrian worship. It is not uncommon for the switching of a scene to result in a change in an object's function and symbolism.

Finally, one finds an interesting entry in Shao Bo's 邵博 (?–1158) *Shaoshi wenjian houlu* 邵氏聞見後錄 (A Further Record of Things Heard and Seen by Master Shao) compiled in 1157:

In recent decades, people have considered *xi* as *poluo*. If it is really *xi*, how can it be put on the hair worn in a bun? I do not know what *poluo* actually was.

⁹⁴ This analysis was inspired by Delacour and Riboud, 'Bali Jimei bowuguan', 121–22.

⁹⁵ For a color plate, see *China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200–750 AD*, 192.

⁹⁶ Ge, 'Xinjiang Kashi chutu'.

⁹⁷ Li, *Li Taibai quanji*, 1179.

⁹⁸ Cen, *Cenjiazhou shi jianzhu*, 427.

近世以洗爲巨羅, 若果爲洗, 其可置之髻上? 未知巨羅果何物也.⁹⁹

Shao was a famous scholar for his broad learning, but even he did not know what *poluo* was, indicating that it had become a rare object by the Southern Song dynasty.

5. *Youxian Zhen* 遊仙枕 (Immortals' Land Pillow): An Approach to the Exotic Wonderland

The *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi* 開元天寶遺事 (Incidents of the Kaiyuan and Tianbao Periods of the Tang), compiled by Wang Renyu 王仁裕 (880–956), records the following anecdote:

A pillow was offered by the Qiuci Kingdom. Its colour is like the agate, is as warm as the jade, yet is extremely simple and plain. If one rests on it, then he is able to see in his dreams all the wondrous dwelling places in the immortals' land: The Ten Continents and Three Islands, Four Seas and Five Lakes. Because of this, the Emperor thus named it Immortal's Land Pillow, and later he bestowed it on [the minister] Yang Guozhong.

龜茲國進奉枕一枚, 其色如瑪瑙, 溫溫如玉, 製作甚樸素。若枕之, 則十洲三島, 四海五湖盡在夢中所見。帝因立名爲遊仙枕, 後賜與楊國忠。¹⁰⁰

This story is frequently quoted in later texts without new materials or details added. Its veracity is somewhat dubious for several reasons. Firstly, in the Kaiyuan 開元 and Tianbao 天寶 reigns (713–755), Qiuci was a part of the Anxi Duhufu 安西都護府 (Anxi Provincial Military Government), which could not be called the Qiuci kingdom. Secondly, there is no strange stone among the local products of Qiuci that could be used as pillow. As for 'all the

⁹⁹ *Shaoshi wenjian houlu*, 62.

¹⁰⁰ *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi*, 14.

wondrous dwelling places of the immortals' land would be revealed in your dreams', these are, of course, all legendary. Although the story is fictitious, this anecdote still makes sense if we understand the image of Qiuci as a place of exotic cultural artifacts for the people of the Tang dynasty. This question is treated in more detail in the next section. Here I offer some interpretations of this text.

In the *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi*, Wang Renyu collects many anecdotes about the inner palace among the common people of Chang'an, many of them concerning popular or so-called 'vulgar' practice. For this reason it has been under constant attack since the Southern Song dynasty. Some scholars have even consider the text a forgery.¹⁰¹ Fortunately, Wang Renyu's preface was preserved in a Japanese block-printed edition of the sixteenth year of Kanei 寛永 (1639), which is absent in Chinese editions. It is worth considering here the historical sources and compilation process of this book.¹⁰²

I concur with some modern scholars that this is a genuine work in the sense that the text vividly reflects life stories that circulating among residents in mid-Tang and thus it retains high value as historical material.¹⁰³ Though these records are not historical facts, they represent historical memory at that time and serve as a form of 'popular hearsay evidence'. Glen Dudbridge makes a most pertinent observation on this topic:

I argue here that study of the past is continuous with this situation. It brings into play general assumptions about human society, prior assumptions which may be flawed, which can be refined, but which are necessary to make even rudimentary sense of the past. It uses documents generated by agents within a society--agents whose aims, limitations and relationship to events need to be determined. It attends, finally, to that society's own multiple perceptions of its

¹⁰¹ For instance, criticisms and debates in the following, Hong, *Rongzhai suibi*, 6–7; *Siku quanshu zongmu*, 1187; Chao, *Junzhai dushu zhi*, 380.

¹⁰² 寛永十六年仲秋京都二條通觀音町風月宗智刊行本, 序, 葉一.

¹⁰³ Takemura, 'Kaigen tenhō iji no tenhon nitsuite: Nihon densen no ōjinyū jijiyo wo megutte', 61.

activities, not to regard these as definitive, but to see them as part of the force driving the events under study, and the foundation stone of historical interpretation. That, I believe, is where 'popular hearsay evidence' takes its place.¹⁰⁴

The abovementioned story of the pillow from Qiuci is part of legends about roaming immortals which are related to the development of Taoism and internal alchemy from Six Dynasties to Tang dynasty. The legend of the *shizhou* 十洲 (ten islands) originates from myths of the promised land and the *Hetu* 河圖 (Yellow River Chart) in Han dynasty *weishu* 緯書 (augury texts), and along the way it mixed with mythology, magic and natural history at the hands of *fangshi* 方士 (experts of the occult arts). With the rise of the Daoist religion in the Han dynasty, this theory was influenced by Daoist geography and brought forth new ideas about miraculous lands where immortals dwell. Later on, under the influence of Buddhist cosmology, the pillow was woven into an even more magnificent construction, incorporating the image of *tiangong difu* 天宮地府 (heavenly palaces and halls of hell). There are two main streams of this cosmic theory in the Six Dynasties, based on two Daoist texts. One is based on the *Hainei shizhou ji* 海內十洲記 (Record of the Ten Islands within the Seas), which is closely related to *Hanwu neizhuan* 漢武內傳 (Secret Biography of the Emperor Wu of the Han Dynasty), belonging to the orthodox form of the Shangqing 上清 School of Daoism. The other is based on the *Waiguo fangpin jing* 外國放品經 (Sutra of the Distribution of the Outer Realms), which combines the doctrines of the Shangqing school and ideas about continents (*dvīpa*) borrowed from Buddhism to construct the theory of *xinzhongguo* 新洲國 (new continent country). Its function is just like the chanting of spells in the *Liupin zhengming* 六品正銘 (True Inscriptions of the Six Articles). In the late Tang and Five Dynasties, Du Guangting 杜光庭 (850–933) incorporated the idea of the *shizhou* 十洲 (ten continents) into the construction of *dongtian fudi* 洞天福地 (Grotto-Heavens and Blissful Lands), establishing a new system of Daoist sacred

¹⁰⁴ Dubrigde, *Books, Tales, Vernacular Culture*, 100.

geography.¹⁰⁵ The Taoist view of books like the *Shizhouji* was different from that of outsiders. The Taoist regarded works like *Hainei shizhou ji* as illustrations of the immortal islands, material for use in ritual and inner alchemy. Literati treated them as mythical stories that provide source of inspiration and genteel amusement, enriching their knowledge and imagination.¹⁰⁶ Correlating the pillow from Qiuci with the legends of the *shizhou sandao* 十洲三島, the *Kaiyuan Tianbao yishi* is associated with the construction of the Daoist geography in the late Tang and Five Dynasties, a part of a Chinese world image based on exotic cultural imagination and religious geography.

The legend of the immortal's land pillow is also related to the Six Dynasties concept of linking pillows with dreams. The *Youming lu* 幽明錄 (Records of the Hidden and Visible Realms), compiled by Liu Yiqing 劉義慶 (403–444) in the Southern Dynasties, is an early example that reflects such a connection. One of its stories narrates how a certain Yang Lin 楊林 was led into a pillow by a wizard and ended up living there for more than ten years. Subsequent legends derived from this early tale take on the theme of wandering in the dream, such as the *Zhenzhong ji* 枕中記 (*Record within a Pillow*) and *Qinmeng ji* 秦夢記 (*A Record of a Dream of Qin*). These dreams of immortals were an important subject, reflected in many sources of the Tang and Song dynasties. In the medieval period, the pillow was an important means through which one enters the great void of dreamland and communicates between human and spiritual worlds.¹⁰⁷ As a cultural metaphor of exotic products, the immortal's land pillow becomes a new form of expression and part of the trend of fantasy literature at that time.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Li, *Liuchao Sui-Tang xiandao lei xiaoshuo yanjiu*.

¹⁰⁶ Wang, *Hainei shizhouji yanjiu*, 43.

¹⁰⁷ Deng, 'Bie you dongtian'.

6. Reality and Imagination of Qiuci: The Exotic and Cultural Imagination

An important question remains unanswered regarding the five types of exotic products mentioned above. Why was Qiuci considered the origin of these products? I propose that we consider the practical, material foundations as well as the role of cultural imagination.

As we have seen, official histories and medieval travelogues by monks who journeyed to the west all describe Qiuci as a wondrous land that abounds in exotic products.¹⁰⁸ With a population of only about 300,000 people, the capital city of Qiuci had an impressive three-layered city wall, with an enormous palace, fine buildings, and pavilions decorated with gold and silver that would rival their counterparts in Chang'an. Furthermore, the magnificent palace in Qiuci seems to have been even better than that of Chang'an. That the king 'fled with treasure' reveals there were indeed many treasures in Qiuci. Perhaps what Shi Zhimeng 釋智猛 writes in *You waiguo zhuan* 游外國傳 (Travel Notes of Foreign Countries) is not an exaggeration, and there were many tall buildings and pavilions decorated with gold and silver.¹⁰⁹ Because Qiuci advocated for Buddhism, its Buddhist ceremonies were also extravagant. *The Great Tang Record of the Western Regions* describes the scene of the ritual procession of images:

Each year around the autumn equinox, all the monks and laymen throughout the country would come here to attend a gathering for several tens of days. From the monarch and princes above, down to the commoners, all suspend their secular affairs and observe the precepts; they study Buddhist scriptures and listen to sermons on the Dharma for an entire day without feeling fatigue. All the monasteries decorate their statues of the Buddha with jewels and gems, dress them with brocade and damask, and carry them in handcars, counted by the thousand of statues, to conduct what is known as the procession of images, flocking to the place of the gathering.

¹⁰⁸ *Liang shu*, 813.

¹⁰⁹ *Chuxue ji*, 647.

每歲秋分數十日間，舉國僧徒皆來會集。上至君王，下至士庶，捐廢俗務，奉持齋戒，受經聽法，渴日忘疲。諸僧伽藍莊嚴佛像，瑩以珍寶，飾之錦綺，載諸輦輿，謂之行像，動以千數，雲集會所。¹¹⁰

It is hard to imagine that this unprecedented occasion could have been held without a solid material foundation. Nevertheless, material abundance alone is insufficient to account for the halo that shines over the exotic products from Qiuci, above and beyond the value of the materials themselves. As Edward Schafer has argued, 'Their real life is in the bright world of the imagination, where we take our true holidays.'¹¹¹ These exotic goods always inhabited the world of fantasy, and so cannot merely be interpreted from the perspective of materiality or historical facts. We might also view these foreign scenes and records of exotic goods from the perspective of cultural psychology. In this perspective, functional wares such as washing pots considered only in their material, domestic sense, cannot inspire the imagination or become exceptional. Material objects may be rare, but that form is given spirit by cultural imagination and religious conjuring. The combination of 'form' and 'spirit' is what makes them 'exotic goods'.

The category of the exotic is not produced by the simple rarity of material objects. Rather, the otherness of the exotic is produced through a long process of cultural cognition, interpretation, and modification. Records of rare goods and writings about the allure of the foreign are neither pure descriptions of objective reality nor mere metaphors based on the imagination. Rather, they are the textual result of a process of thinking about cultural values, spurred but not limited by the expansion of contact with between cultures.¹¹² It has

¹¹⁰ *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, 61.

¹¹¹ Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand*, 1.

¹¹² Lin Ying's research on the image of Fulin 拂菻 (Byzantium) is another example of the construction of an exotic cultural image. She suggests that Fulin was a remote district that paid tribute occasionally but that came to be viewed in the Tang as a rich and exotic country. She shows that this shift from reality to imagination started in the Five Dynasties. In the Southern Song Dynasty, the Fulin depicted in paintings was totally different from the real Byzantium. Chang-

been our purpose to explore the meanings and implications of this thinking about cultural difference, as it took place through history and at different levels of society. This interpretive process would only be sidetracked by debating the empirical veracity of the texts as documents. Instead, I have focused on the observations of Chinese authors and what they understood as exotic. I have attended to the world of experience, imagination, concepts, values, and feelings, seeking to understand how different constructions of the exotic became an indispensable part of medieval Chinese society and that period's historical memory.

Despite the lack of some historical detail, the wide range of sources used above allows us to better understand the process of imagining the exotic. In Li Bai's poem *Drinking Wine* 對酒, along with the wine and a hawkbill, the golden *poluo* was seen as an exotic cultural symbol, one component of a fascinating realm.¹¹³ It is also interesting to note that the golden *poluo* was regarded as a symbol of authority in Han culture for those of later dynasties who composed the *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 (New History of the Tang Dynasty) in the eleventh century, citing the use of the ritual vessels of Xi Cao 西曹 (West Cao).¹¹⁴ Xi Cao is Kaputana, whose capital is Ishtikhan.¹¹⁵ The same golden ware, an exotic product from Qiuci, was the golden *poluo* offered to Taxisī, its glory assured by the inscription 'Granted by the Son of Heaven in Han Dynasty'.

Cultural imagination does not construct an exotic utopia merely by projecting an idealized or inverted form of a local culture. Rather, there are mutual, back-and-forth flows involved: contacts between cultural agents at all levels of society, and the flow of both material and ideal cultural forms. Objects from Qiuci during China's middle ages were not simply material treasures, but were also part of cultural ideas and practices such as music, dance and Buddhism. The close

ing from geographical knowledge to an imagined space, Fulin became a fantasy 'West' in the hierarchy of knowledge. See Lin, *Tangdai Fulin congshuo*, 176–88.

¹¹³ *Li Taibai quanji*, 1179–80.

¹¹⁴ *Xin Tang shu*, 6245.

¹¹⁵ Xu, *Tangdai sichou zhi lu*, 92–99.

study of these exotic treasures and others—such as the use of cheetahs and jungle cats in hunting, the playing of polo, and other customs analyzed by Zhang Guangda—help us to better understand the construction of cosmopolitanism within China and the interaction of cultures in the medieval period.¹¹⁶

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Abbreviation

- P. Pelliot collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Pelliot collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts.
- S. Stein collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Stein collection of Dunhuang Manuscripts.
- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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¹¹⁶ Zhang, ‘Tangdai de baolie’.

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On Xuanzang and Manuscripts of the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* at Dunhuang and in Early Japanese Buddhism

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Abstract: Xuanzang 玄奘 (Genjō, c. 602–664) is credited with translating some of the largest and most significant scriptures and commentaries in the East Asian Buddhist canons. But his behemoth translation of the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* 大般若波羅蜜多經 (Z no. 1, T no. 220) in 600 rolls seems to have been particularly important to Buddhist monastics and patrons who produced manuscript editions of the Buddhist canon at Dunhuang during the ninth century, and in Japan from the eighth to twelfth centuries. In this paper, I first survey what made the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* an object

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of exceptional reverence, and why it appears to have been critical to communities from western China to Japan that this colossal work can be connected to Xuanzang. Next, I introduce several colophons to manuscripts from Dunhuang to show how quickly Xuanzang's *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* seems to have been taken to the temples near Dunhuang to become the key component in manuscript copies of all the scriptures (*yiqie jing*, *issaikyō* 一切經). Then I introduce less well known manuscripts from eighth century Japan, along with examples of rolls with colophons from the Nanatsudera 七寺 and Matsuo shrine 松尾社 canons, and archaeological evidence from elsewhere in Heian (794–1185) Japan to demonstrate how and why the *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra* was revered above all other scriptures.

Keywords: *Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Da bore jing*, *Dai hannya kyō*, Xuanzang, Buddhist manuscripts China and Japan, Dunhuang manuscripts, old Japanese manuscript canons, Tang China, Matsuo shrine canon, Nanatsudera canon

Introduction: The *Biggest* (Or Longest) Buddhist Text in Chinese

According to perhaps the most reliable hagiographical account of the life and times of Xuanzang 玄奘 (c. 602–664), which was compiled by Huili 慧立 and Yancong 彦悰 in 688, *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [A Biography of the Tripiṭaka master of the Great Ci'en monastery of the Great Tang dynasty, Z no. 1192, T no. 2053], the translation of the last and longest Sanskrit text that Xuanzang brought back with him from India was completed on the twenty-third day of the tenth lunar month in 663 at the Yuhua palace 玉華宮 (by then a Buddhist temple): the *Da bore boluomiduo jing* 大般若波羅蜜多經 [*Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra*, **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, *Daihannya haramittakyō*, Z no. 1, T no. 220] in 600 rolls (*juan/kan* 卷).¹ No Sanskrit edition of a *Prajñāpāramitā*—or Perfection of Wisdom—*sūtra* of such magnitude has been found, nor was such a large text translated into

Tibetan.² In his ample encyclopedic anthology compiled at Ximingsi 西明寺, *Fayuan zbulin* 法苑珠林 [Jade Forest in the Dharma Garden, *T* no. 2122, 100 rolls], which contains, among other things, scriptural passages and Chinese Buddhist miracle tales, Daoshi 道世 (596?–683) reports that the Sanskrit manuscript Xuanzang and his team used to translate the first assembly (*bui* 會)—‘meeting’ or ‘sermons’—of sixteen consisted of 132,600 *ślokas* (*song* 頌) rendered into 400 rolls in seventy-nine chapters (*pin* 品; *parivarta*).³ Huili and Yancong report that the Sanskrit edition of this text had 200,000 *ślokas*.⁴ One *śloka* of a Buddhist [hybrid] Sanskrit text has thirty-two syllables.⁵

Despite being one-sixth the size of the *Da bore jing* when translated from Sanskrit into 100 rolls in Chinese, the *Yuqie* [or *Yujia*] *shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論 [*Yogacār[y]abhūmi-śāstra*, *Z* no. 690, *T* no. 1579] that was completed on 648.5.14⁶—only three years after Xuanzang had returned from India and the western regions (Xiyu 西域) to

¹ *Da Tang Da Cīensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 10.276c8–12; translated in Li, *Tripitaka Master*, 329.

² In his *Chos 'byung* [History of Buddhism in India and Tibet, comp. 1322], Bu ston (1290–1364) says that an edition of the *Prajñāpāramitā* in 1,000,000 *ślokas* is preserved in the abode of the Gandharvas; an edition with 10,000,000 *ślokas* in the land of the gods; and an abridged version [*Śatasāhasrikā-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, 100,000 *ślokas*] exists in the land of the Nāgas. See Obermillier, *History of Buddhism*, 170; Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 25, note 34.

There is, of course, a distinction to be made between a translation and a version of a text; Chinese or Tibetan translations ‘should not be regarded simply as “a translation” of the text but as “a version” representing a certain stage at which the text developed’. Karashima, *Lokakṣema*, xii; Apple, ‘*Dharmaparyāyo Hastagato*’, 27, note 4.

³ *Fayuan zbulin*, *T* no. 2122, 53: 100.1024b18–19.

⁴ *Da Tang Da Cīensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 10.275c24–26; translated in Li, *Tripitaka Master*, 327. *Fayuan zbulin*, cited above, lists the total as 200,400 *song*.

⁵ Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, VI, 27–28.

⁶ All dates in this format follow the East Asian lunar-solar calendar unless otherwise noted.

settle in Hongfusi 弘福寺 (alt. Xingfusi 興福寺) in Chang'an—is regarded by scholars of Buddhist philosophy and phenomenology as the most important of the production by Xuanzang and his team of seventy-seven works because it is ‘*the* very scripture which triggered the Chinese master’s extraordinary ability’.⁷ Yet, prior to the production of typeset [reproductions] of the Buddhist canon in Chinese in Japan during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and especially the now standard edition of the *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 (1924–1932, 100 vols.), which follow bibliographical tips concerning categories to order Buddhist literature in Zhixu’s 智旭 (alt. Lingfeng Ouyi 靈峰藕益, 1635–1655) *Yuezang zhijin* 閱藏知津 [(Buddhist) Canon Reading Guide, J. B271],⁸ Xuanzang’s *Da bore jing* came first in all editions of the Buddhist canon after 730. In his *Kaiyuan Shijiao lu* 開元釋教錄 [Record of Śākyamuni’s Teachings, Compiled during the Kaiyuan Era (713–741), Z no. 1183, T no. 2154, comp. 730, *Kaiyuan lu*], Zhisheng 智昇 calls the *Prajñāpāramitā* the ‘mother of all Buddhist *sūtras*’ and produced this ‘epoch-making work in the history of Chinese Buddhist catalogues’ because it organized and set the order of the *sūtras*, commentaries (*lun* 論, *śāstras*), *Vinaya* (*lǜ* 律) literature, and selected works compiled in China (for example, Daoxuan’s 道宣 [596–667] *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 [Expanded Collection on the Propagation and Clarification (of Buddhism), Z no. 1202, T no. 2103, comp. 664] and Xu Gaoseng *zhuan* 續高僧傳 [Continued Biographies of Eminent Monks, Z no. 1196, T no. 2060, comp. 664]).⁹ Today, the

⁷ Deleanu, ‘*Yogācārabhūmi*’, 632. On the number of translations completed by Xuanzang and his team, see the abridged appendix to Lusthaus, *Buddhist Phenomenology*. Available at: <http://www.acmuller.net/yogacara/thinkers/xuanzang-works.html>, accessed on August 1, 2018.

⁸ Li, ‘Chinese Buddhist Canon’, 121–24. See also Wu et al., eds., *Reinventing the Tripitaka*, 82, 117, 208–09.

⁹ Li, ‘Chinese Buddhist Canon’, 112. See also Tokuno, ‘Buddhist Bibliographical Catalogues’, 52–53, 71, notes 97–98; Storch, *History of Chinese Buddhist Bibliography*, 116, 28–29; Wu, ‘Cult of the Book’. Tokuno cites an entry in the thirteenth century *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀, T no. 2035, 49: 40.374c3–5, which says:

Da bore jing comprises three [massive] volumes in the *Taishō* canon (vols. 5–7). Before the first edition of the Chinese Buddhist canon was printed in Sichuan in 983 (*Shuban dazang jing* 蜀版大藏經 or *Kaibao zang* 開寶藏), more than 5,000 rolls of the texts included in manuscript editions of the Buddhist canon (*yiqie jing* 一切經 or *zhongjing* 衆經)¹⁰ were kept in bundles (*zhi*; *chitsu* 帙)¹¹ or perhaps

‘The 5,048 rolls [that the catalogue contained] became the established number for the canon’. She also points out that the *Xu Zhenyuan shijiao lu* 續貞元釋教錄, T no. 2158, 55: 1048a23–26, says that the *Kaiyuan lu* circulated widely and continued to do so during the four courts of emperors Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), Suzong 肅宗 (r. 756–762), Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–779), and Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805). There is an edition of the *Kaiyuan lu* from Nanatsudera copied from a manuscript dated to 735 (Tenpyō 天平 7) and brought back to Japan by Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746) with 1,046 titles in 5,048 rolls, in contrast to the *Taishō* edition with 1,076 titles in the same number of rolls. See Abe, *Chūsei Nihon*, 199–200.

¹⁰ The term canon literally means ‘all the *jing*’, which cannot be restricted to *sūtra* literature. In Chinese, a *jing* is a text that contains the teachings of ancient sages; hence the use of the term *shengjiao* 聖教 for Buddhism during the Tang (see below). But within the context of a canon, *jing* need not be restricted to Buddhists in China. Here is how Lewis Lancaster outlines the problem:

While the Chinese use the word *jing* in titles where the term *sūtra* appears, the meaning of *jing* in the catalogues and in the name for the canon of the Buddhists retains its Chinese meaning. This restriction of usage for the word *jing* means the exclusion of any works which could not be traced to the distant past...The word *jing* was not limited to the Confucian and Buddhist traditions, and later the Daoists, Christians, and Manicheans would also use *jing* to provide legitimacy to the title of their scriptures. It was this focus on the ancient nature of any work, which bore the title *jing*, that helped to create the situation where contemporary Buddhist works of China were denied an avenue for distribution...Later, the name for the canon was changed to *Dazang jing* 大藏經 (literally great-collection *jing*)... We know that the canon contains more than those texts designated as *sūtra*, so the term *jing* cannot be used solely as the equivalent for that one category (Lancaster, ‘Movement of Buddhist Texts’, 234–35).

Lancaster also points out that we can only date the use of the term *dazang jing*

sometimes in elaborately decorated Chinese style chests (*karabitsu* 唐櫃) that we see in Japan which contain the twelfth century scrolls (*kansubon* 卷子本, rather than *orihon* 折本) of the Nanatsudera 七寺 (Nagoya) or Matsuo shrine 松尾大社 (Kyoto) canons.¹² The *Da bore jing* came first, whether systematized in bundles in premodern

(*daizōkyō*) to mean a Buddhist canon to the Northern Song, when the first printed canon was sponsored by the state (*Shuban dazang jing* 蜀版大藏經 or *Kaibao zang* 開寶藏, comp. 983). *Dazang jing* or *dazang jing*, therefore, first meant all the *jing* from the great [monastic, private, or imperial] library. The Daoist canon (*Zhengtong dao zang* 正統道藏, comp. 1445), likewise, ought to be translated as the ‘Daoist library’ of White Cloud Abbey 白雲觀 in Beijing. See Lancaster, ‘Movement of Buddhist Texts’, 234–36.

Lancaster restricted his research to dynastic histories, which seems justifiable given post-Tang, imperial patronage for canon projects in China. See also Funayama, *Butten Wa Dou Kanyaku Sareta No Ka*, 11–12. Funayama makes an important distinction between the East Asian Buddhist terms meaning ‘all the collected scriptures’ (Ch. *yiqie jing*, Jp. *issaikyō*), which he posits can be traced to the Taihe 太和 [3] reign period (ca. 479) of the Northern Wei dynasty (386–534) and was in use during the Northern and Southern Dynasties period (420–589). ‘Collected scriptures’ (Ch. *Zhongjing*, Jp. *shukyō*) was used more prominently in southern China from the mid-sixth century on, with canon [referring to the *tripitaka*] (*dazang jing*/*daizōkyō*), which was applied by the Tang government. See also Li, ‘Chinese Buddhist Canon’, 107–08.

¹¹ On *zhi* and also ‘bundle-wrappers’ (*zhizi* 帙子), see Rong, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, 489.

¹² One hundred rolls of the *Dai hannya kyō* per box were kept for the Nanatsudera canon. The box with rolls 301–400 of this scripture from Nanatsudera has a colophon which reveals that the scripture was revolve-read—or *tendoku* 転読—for sixteen guardian deity kings (*jūroku zenjinnō*): 南無般若十六善神王 from Nara National Museum, ed., *Special Exhibit*, image 14–2, 42, 139. See also de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 515–16.

Perhaps because the chests that contained the Matsuo shrine canon are less ornate than those from either Nanatsudera or Chūsonji 中尊寺 Nakao Takashi and Ikoma Tetsurō 生駒哲郎 refer to these chests as *kyōbitsu* 經櫃: Nakao Takashi and Honmon hokkeshū daihonzan Myōrenji, eds., *Kyōto Myōrenji*

Chinese libraries that may have looked somewhat like the contents of the Buddhist texts in Chinese (rather than Tibetan or Khotanese, for instance) found in the so-called library cave (no. 17) from the Caves of Unparalleled Heights (Mogao ku 莫高窟, a.k.a. Caves of a Thousand Buddhas, Qianfo dong 千佛洞) near the city of Dunhuang, in Gansu province, at the turn of the twentieth century or 100 rolls per chest (*karabitsu*) as in premodern Japan.¹³

Bearing in mind how problematical it can be to assess the popularity of certain specimens of Buddhist literature in one location (e.g., medieval China) to deduce information about another locale about which we may know comparably much less (e.g., Middle Period India, ca. first century CE to fifth/sixth century CE),¹⁴ in the first section of this paper, I introduce colophons (*okugaki* 奥書, *shikigo* 識語), or ‘tail-pieces’,¹⁵ to rolls of the *Dai hannya kyō* from two manuscript editions of the Buddhist canon discovered—or rediscovered—in Japan in 1990 and 1993, at Nanatsudera (Tōenzan 稻園山 Nanatsudera), a small, relatively obscure and somewhat rundown temple affiliated with Chizan Shingonshū 智山真言宗, and Myōrenji 妙蓮寺, a Honmon Hokkeshū 本門法華宗 temple in Kyoto, respectively.¹⁶ For reference,

Zō, 81–82. An example of the chest for the *Dai hannya kyō* from the Chūsonji canon is included in Nara National Museum, *Special Exhibit*, xxx.

¹³ On the Dunhuang cache, see Schmid, ‘Introduction’, 964–65; Rong, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, 5, 79–108.

¹⁴ Schopen, ‘Mahāyāna and the Middle Period in Indian Buddhism’, esp. 1–4. Schopen’s remark that especially “‘Larger’ Perfection of Wisdom—that is in 18,000, 25,000, or 100,000 lines...” (2) are more evident in India and especially Gilgit may prove instructive to investigating how esteemed Xuanzang’s *Da bore jing* was in manuscript editions from Dunhuang and Japan.

¹⁵ Regarding colophons from Dunhuang, see Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, x; Huang & Wu, *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*.

¹⁶ On the canon discovered at Nanatsudera, see Nanatsudera issaikyō hozonkai, *Nanatsudera*; Ochia et al., *Nanatsu-dera*. It should be noted that a *karabitsu* from Nanatsudera is mentioned in de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 515–16.

The canon discovered in the treasury house (*bōzō* 宝蔵) at Myōrenji, a Hok-

I also mention several examples from the Amanosan Kongōji 天野山金剛寺 (in southern Ōsaka) canon, which seems to be on the whole slightly less old and certainly has far fewer colophons than we find to rolls from either the Matsuo or Nanatsudera manuscript canons.¹⁷ Old Japanese manuscript Buddhist canons are not organized according to the *Kaiyuan lu* as manuscript and printed canons appear to have been on the continent. Instead they follow the slightly

keshū 法華宗 temple, belonged to and was kept at Matsuno'o (alt. Matsuo) shrine-temple complex (see below) until 1857, when it was bought by Shimada Yasaburō 嶋田弥三郎 and transferred to Myōrenji. Cf. Risshō University Academy and Nakao, 'Maboroshi No Issaikyō' Hakken, 2; Keyworth, 'Copying for the Kami', 162–63. Sagai, *Shinbutsu Shūgō*, 71, note 6. Nakao & Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, *Matsuosha Issaikyō*, 33. Shimada was apparently a prominent lay devotee at Honnōji 本能寺 (the temple where Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 [1534–1582] had famously been forced to commit suicide), where he came to know Nagamatsu Nissen 長松日扇 (1817–1890), who is regarded as the founder of a pre-Sōka Gakkai 創価学会-like lay Buddhist *Lotus Sūtra* (*Hokkekyō* 法華經, *Saddharmapundarīka-sūtra*, *Z* nos. 146, 148–149, *T* nos. 262–264) chanting group devoted to the teachings of Nichiren 日蓮 (1222–1282) called Honmon Butsuryū-shū 本門佛立宗, coincidentally founded in 1857. Cf. Takeda, 'Nagamatsu Nissen Ni Okeru Kyōka Katsudō No Kenkyū'.

Shrine records indicate that the building to house the scriptures at Matsuo shrine, see below, was destroyed in early 1864 (Bunkyū 文久 4/Genji 元治 1); the monastics were forced to return to lay life three months later.

¹⁷ Although there are much later rolls in the Nanatsudera and Matsuo shrine collections, much of the Kongōji canon seems to have been recopied during the seventeenth century; see Ochiai, ed., *Kongōji Issaikyō*, 152–313. One notable manuscript canon that deserves careful consideration is the canon vowed by Fujiwara no Kiyohara 藤原清衡 (1056–1128) for Chūsonji 中尊寺 in Ōshū Hirai-zumi 奥州平泉. It was copied in gold and silver ink (probably on indigo paper) from 1108–1117. Also referred to as the Kiyohara vowed canon, 2,979 rolls of this canon, pledged to the newly established Kumano shrine 熊野神宮 in Hirai-zumi, is called the Natori Shingūji canon 名取新宮寺一切經 and is one of the eight—or nine—extant manuscript canons in Japan. Ochiai et al., 'Découverte de manuscrits', 370–71.

later Chinese Buddhist catalogue, *Zhenyuan xinding Shijiao lu* 貞元新定釋教錄 [Newly Revised Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures, Compiled during the Zhenyuan Era (785–805), Z no. 1184, T no. 2157, hereafter *Zhenyuan lu*], compiled in 800, which means that they were copied to include 1206 titles in 5351 rolls.¹⁸ The Matsuo shrine canon is the earliest from twelfth century Japan. It was copied on behalf of father and son shrine priests (*kannushi* 神主) Hata no Chikatō 秦親任 (*kannushi* on 1076.2.20) and Hata no Yorichika 秦頼義 (*kannushi* on 1128.8.12) for the Matsuo shrine-temple complex or multiplex (*jingūji* 神宮寺, alt. *jinkuji* 神供寺 or *miyadera* 宮寺),¹⁹ primarily over twenty-three years (1115 to 1138).

Today, 3,545 rolls (approx. 825 separate titles) of the Matsuo shrine canon survive with 1,236 rolls (approx. 345 titles) that have colophons with dates, collation information, the names of scribes, and information about which libraries had the texts copied for the Matsuo shrine canon. Colophons also indicate that monastic-scribes from Enryakuji 延暦寺 added, checked, or revised many scriptures between 1139.1 and 1143.5.26; it appears that several of the scribes

¹⁸ According to Cai Yunchen, *Zangjing mulu*, 267, printed canons did not include the *Zhenyuan lu* before the [second] Koryō edition, but it is mistaken to claim that printed canons were arranged according to the *Kaiyuan lu*: precisely what makes the Taishō a problematical but nonetheless invaluable resource is the fact that it incorporates so many ritual translations (*mikkyōbu* section 密教部, vols. 18–21) and ritual manuals translated after the *Kaiyuan lu* was completed, many of which are, of course esoteric or even Tantric. The same can be said for the expansive—though highly edited—inclusion of commentaries from China and Korea (*kyōshobu* 經疏部) in vols. 33–39, and ‘sectarian’ works (*shoshūbu* 諸宗部) in vols. 45–48. T no. 2157 lists an alternative 1,258 titles in 5,390 rolls.

¹⁹ On *jingūji* and *miyadera*, see Sagai, *Shinbutsu shūgō*, 105–10. For the term ‘multiplex’, see Grapard, ‘Institution, Ritual, and Ideology’. And his synopsis in Shively and McCullough, eds., *Cambridge History of Japan*, chapter 8. See below and McMullin, *Buddhism and the State*, 8–32; Kornicki, *The Book in Japan*, 252–53. Cf. Keyworth, ‘Apocryphal Chinese Books’, 1–2. On the dates for Matsuo shrine priests, see *Matsuno’o jinja bigashimoto keifu* in Matsuno’o taisha shiryōshū henshū iinkai, *Matsuno’o Taisha Shiryōshū*, 230–31.

who copied scrolls for Hata no Chikatō and Hata no Yorichika were affiliated with both Enryakuji and rival Miidera 三井寺 (Onjōji 園城寺). Furthermore, between 1159 and 1165, Ryōkei 良慶, the abbot of Myōhōji 妙法寺, one of two known temples in the southern valley (Minamidani 南谷) of the Matsuo *jingūji* precincts, vowed and added scriptures, which I presume largely came from the otherwise virtually unknown library of Bonshakuji 梵釈寺, near Ōtsu 大津 in Shiga prefecture 滋賀県.²⁰ Ryōkei was almost certainly a Miidera monastic before taking up the position of abbot of Myōhōji.

The Nanatsudera canon consists of 4,954 rolls: 378 have colophons (158 separate titles) with dates or marginalia to indicate that the scriptures were copied in rough chronological order between 1175 and 1180.²¹ Recent archaeological excavations of the old site of Kumano hongū 熊野本宮 (Tanabe 田辺, Wakayama prefecture 和歌山県) uncovered how, in the tenth lunar month of 1121, Hata no Chikatō sponsored burial in a *sūtra* mound (*kyōzuka* 経塚) of the *Dai hannya kyō* divided into fifty rolls in each of twelve containers.²² Including the *Dai hannya kyō*, fourteen titles from the Nanatsudera canon have a six-line stamp (*rokugyō inki* 六行印記) that reveal how these scriptures were also copied and vowed to the *kami* 神 of Atsuta as well as protective *gongen* 守護権現 (*avatāras*) of fifteen others in central Japan.²³ Both because they serve as representative precedents

²⁰ Keyworth, 'Production of Manuscript Buddhist Scriptures and Canons'.

²¹ Ōtsuka, 'Issaikyō Shosha to Bitten Mokuroku'.

²² Abe, *Chūsei Nihon*, 189; Kyoto National Museum, ed., *Eastward Expansion of Buddhism*, 104–05. Neither Hata no Chikatō nor Yorichika are listed in Hérail, *Cour Et L'administration*. Tokyo National Museum currently owns these relics from Sonezaki kyōzuka 備崎経塚, see image E0068598 of J-37365 and the close up image of the inscription, E0068598 of J-37365.

²³ The six-line stamp includes the names of the following *kami*: the great shining (or powerful) *kami* (*daimyōjin*) of Atsuta shrine, Yatsurugi no *daimyōjin* 八剣大明神, and the protective *gongen* of fifteen other shrines in central Japan. These include the Inner and Outer shrines at Ise 伊勢内外; Bonson who resides on Musan 梵尊土所牟山; Hakusan Myōri 白山妙理; the three shrines of Kumano 熊野三所; the Three Sages of Sannō 山王三聖; and three protective or

from Japan and because the aforementioned colophons and internal evidence assures us that the twelfth century Matsuo, Nanatsudera, and Kongōji canons were primarily copied from manuscript copies of Tang dynasty (618–907) editions kept in now mostly long-forgotten libraries (e.g., Bonshakuji), in the next section, I introduce several examples of longer, ‘dedicatory inscriptions’ (*okugaki ganmon* 奥書願文)²⁴ to eighth century manuscripts of the *Dai hannya kyō* from Japan. Next, I survey the evidence we have from Dunhuang of colophons from rolls of the *Da bore jing* copied primarily during the ninth century until the cave was probably sealed, ca. 1006.²⁵ Finally, I address the contents of the *Da bore jing* and legends about Xuanzang and his translation team’s production of it in the mid-seventh century to speculate about why it was revered above all other scrip-

tutary shrines (*chinjusha* 鎮守社) of Tado 多度, Tsushima 津嶋, Nangū 南宮 and Chiyo 千代. The Inner shrine at Ise is, of course, dedicated to Tenshō daijin (Amaterasu); the Outer shrine is dedicated to Toyouke Bime 豊宇気毘売神. I have no idea what to make of Musan Bonson. Hakusan Myōri almost certainly refers to shrines to Shirayama Hime 白山比咩, a ‘water-kami’ (*suijin* 水神) in modern Gifu prefecture mentioned in *Procedures of the Engi Era* (*Engishiki* 延喜式, 901–923, comp. 927 utilized after 967), which came under Tendai control during the twelfth century and was linked to the Mountain King (Sannō) network of shrines directed from Hiei 日吉社 (alt. Hiyoshi) in Sakamoto 坂本 (in Shiga), at the foot of Mount Hiei. Tada shrine, dedicated to Amatsuhikone 天津彦根, is located in Mie. Tsushima refers to an ancient shrine in Tsushima city, Aichi prefecture, where the *kami* of pestilence, Gozutennō 牛頭天王 (lit. ox-headed heavenly king), and Susanoo 須佐之男 reside. And the registry of official deities (*jinmyōchō* 神名帳) venerated at official shrines (*shikinaisha* 式内社) in *Engishiki* lists a Nangū dedicated to Kanayamahiko no mikoto 金山彦之命 in the Fuwa district 不破郡 of modern Gifu prefecture. See Nanatsudera issaikyō hozonkai, *Owari shiryō Nanatsudera*, 5–128.

²⁴ See Lowe, ‘Contingent and Contested’, 227; and Abe, *Chūsei Nihon no shūkyō*, 177.

²⁵ See Hansen, ‘The Tribute Trade with Khotan’. Hansen follows Rong, ‘Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave’. See also Rong, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, 5, 109–36.

tures—with the possible exceptions of the *Diamond* (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛經, *Vajracchedikā*, Z no. 15, T no. 235), *Lotus* (*Fahua jing* 法華經, *Saddharmapuṇḍarika-sūtra*, Z nos. 146, 148–149, T nos. 262–264), and *Suvarṇabhāṣottama* (*Jin'guangming jing* 金光明經, Z nos. 158–159, T no. 663–665) *sūtras*—in premodern Japan.²⁶

Manuscript Copies of the *Dai Hannya Kyō* in Twelfth Century Japan

Perhaps the most striking difference between Japanese manuscript canons from the twelfth century and either the manuscripts from Dunhuang or parallel Buddhist texts with long colophons from eighth century Japan is that there is no duplication in the manuscript canons. In other words, whereas in the case of the *Da bore jing*—and certainly other *Prajñāpāramitā sūtra*—manuscripts and manuscript fragments from Dunhuang, especially those copiously catalogued by Lionel Giles (1875–1958: 1935–1943; 1957) in the Stein collection, of which there are no fewer than 763 items and where we find duplicates of multiple rolls (e.g., roll 267: S. nos. 1579, 4830, and 5351),²⁷ in the Shōgozō 聖語藏 repository from Tōdaiji 東大寺, located next to the Shōsōin 正倉院 treasure house in Nara, Japan,²⁸ or in the Matsuo shrine, Nanatsudera, and Kongōji manuscript canons we find no duplicate texts.

Among the many things we can learn from the manuscripts or manuscript fragments of Buddhist texts in Chinese—or Tibetan, Khotanese, and so forth—from Dunhuang, Chinese Central Asia

²⁶ In neither the Matsuo shrine canon—where Kumārajīva's translation (Z no. 146, T no. 262) is entirely missing—nor the Nanatsudera canon does the *Lotus* seem to have received any special attention. Yet others have written extensively on the recognition of the *Lotus Sūtra* in medieval Japan; see McMullin, 'The *Lotus Sutra* and Politics'; Tanabe and Tanabe, eds., *Lotus Sutra in Japanese Culture*; Bielefeldt, 'The *Lotus Sutra* in Japanese Culture'.

²⁷ Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 7. For ease of finding examples digitized on <http://idp.bl.uk/> I use S. nos. rather than the serial nos. given in this catalogue.

²⁸ Jōdai bunken o yomu kai, ed., *Jōdai Shakyō Shikigō Chūshaku*.

(Xinjiang), Northwestern India (Pakistan, Afghanistan), and Japan is that many, many Mahāyāna texts that were catalogued during the eighth century in China unambiguously exalt the five practices of the preacher of the *buddhadharma* (*dharmabhāṇaka*)—preserving, reading, reciting, explaining, and copying the *sūtra* or ‘nonmeditational’ or ‘meritorious’ acts (*kuśalena karmaṇā*)—to obtain what Gregory Schopen and others have characterized as a ‘cult of the book’ [in the Mahāyāna].²⁹ Elsewhere I have examined colophons to rolls from the five great Mahāyāna sūtras or compendia (*gobu daijōkyō* 五部大乘經, 165 rolls in eighth to ninth century editions of these texts)³⁰ from the Matsuo and Nanatsudera manuscript canons, and especially to rolls from Buddhahadra’s 佛陀跋陀羅 (ca. 418–422) translation in sixty rolls and Śikṣānanda’s 實叉難陀 (ca. 699; Z no. 96, T no. 279) in 80 of the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (*Huayan jing* 華嚴經, Z nos. 95–96, T nos. 278–279) from Matsuo that have a long clan vow (*ichizoku kechien* 一族結緣), to illustrate how Chikatō had the

²⁹ Schopen, ‘The Generalization of an Old Yogic Attainment’, 114. On the ‘cult of the book in the Mahāyāna’, see Schopen, ‘Phrase Sa Pṛthivīpradeśaś Caityabhūto Bhavet’. Updated for the twenty-first century by Schopen, ‘On the Absence of Urtexts and Otiose Ācāryas’; Schopen, ‘Redeeming Bugs, Birds’; Drewes, ‘Revisiting the Phrase’; Gummer, ‘Listening to the Dharmabhāṇaka’; Apple, ‘*Dharmaparyāyo Hastagato*’. On the five practices, see Lopez, *The Lotus Sūtra*, 69.

³⁰ Mujaku Dōchū’s 無著道忠 (1653–1745) encyclopedia, chapter 21, *Mujaku, Zenrin Shōkisen*, 590–91, cites Tiantai Zhiyi’s 天台智顗 (538–597) *Fahua xuanyi* 法華玄義 5, T no. 1716, 33: 5.732c28–733a2, read as follows: 既得論悟與不悟，何妨論於淺深？究竟大乘，無過《華嚴》、《大集》、《小品》、《法華》、《涅槃》，雖明法界平等、無說無示，而菩薩行位終自炳然。 The order that Zhiyi gives corresponds to his well-known *panjiao* 判教 system in which the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* is considered the ultimate, mostly incomprehensible scripture, *Prajñāpāramitā* literature represents median difficulty in terms of apprehension, and the *Lotus Sūtra* plays the role of the most clear and lucid presentation of the *buddhadharma*. Cf. Liu, ‘P’an-Chiao System’; Liu, ‘P’an-Chiao’; Liu, ‘Advent of the Practice of P’an-Chiao’; Hu, ‘Elevation’. Cf. Sagai, *Shinbutsu shūgō*, 71, note 6. Nakao Takashi and Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, *Matsuosha Issaikyō*, 33.

merit accrued from the act of having them copied transferred to his extended family.³¹

No rolls to the *Dai hannya kyō* from Matsuo have this long clan vow. The *Dai hannya kyō* preserved at Matsuo *jingūji* within the Godokyōjo 御読経所 (the building where scriptures were read or recited)—see the undated roll 522³²—until the chests that contained the rolls of the canon were acquired by Shimada Yasaburō 嶋田弥三郎 in 1857 seems to have been mostly copied not for Matsuo at all, but instead by scribes from cloisters of Enryakuji 延暦寺 on Mount Hiei 比叡山 to be read—or recited—on specific ritual occasions. These include a ‘lecture series’ (*kaikō*)³³ within the Saitōin (Western Pagoda) section of Enryakuji (於天梯西塔院所奉開講也) held on 1063.9.11 when rolls 124, 142, 143, 146, 191, and 197 of the *Dai hannya kyō* were vowed to be recited in order to avert rebirth in the realm of hungry ghosts (*gaki, preta*) as follows: *tame ni sukū kaki no michi nari* 為救餓鬼道也.³⁴ The following year, on 1064.8.9, rolls 203, 208, and 252 were repeatedly recited (the words were infused or impregnated) during a ritual service (*kuyō* 供養; *pūjā*) held at the Shōkyōin 勝境院 in the Yokawa section of Enryakuji (於天台山横川勝境殊所熏修也) in order to prevent rebirth in the realm of animals: *tame ni rein chikushō no michi no gunrui nari* 為令引攝畜生道之群類也.³⁵ On the seventeenth day of the first lunar month of 1065, rolls 301–304,

³¹ The clan vow is translated and an overview of these 18 scriptures is presented in Keyworth, ‘Apocryphal Chinese Books in the Buddhist Canon at Matsuo Shintō Shrine’, 16. On *kechien*, see Teiser, *Ten Kings*, 160–61; Kieschnick, *Impact of Buddhism*, 158; Nakano, ‘*Kechien*’, 67–83.

³² On the reverse we find: 松尾社御讀経所. Large characters read: 大般若也. Cf. 27/377 in Nakao & Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, *Matsuosha Issaikyō*, 201.

³³ On officially sponsored lecture series in Heian Japan, see Sango, ‘Buddhist Debate’; *Halo of Golden Light*.

³⁴ See notes 93, 107, 108, 110, 148, and 153 in Nakao & Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, ‘*Matsuosha Issaikyō*’, 199–200.

³⁵ See notes 159, 164, and 195 in Nakao & Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, ‘*Matsuosha Issaikyō*’, 199–200.

306, 309, 311, 317, and 318 were vowed at another ritual service held at Kamigamo and Shimogamo 下鴨 shrine (於賀茂下御社敬以供養) to prevent rebirth in the realm of *asuras*: *tame ni nasu asura no michi nari* 為濟阿修羅道也.³⁶

In addition to rolls of the *Dai hannya kyō* preserved within the Matsuo shrine canon that can be connected to ritual occasions at cloisters on Mount Hiei or almost certainly sponsored by Tendai 天台宗 monastics at Kamo Shimogamo shrine during the late eleventh century, roll 312 bears a twelfth century dedication about how Yorichika had this roll vowed for the actual manuscript canon (*Ganshu Matsuno'o kannushi Hata Sukune no Yorichika* 願主松尾神主秦宿禰賴義).³⁷ The colophon provides information about the geographical extent of the network of shrine priests, Buddhist monastics, patrons, and scribes involved in compiling a complete copy of all 600 rolls of the *Dai hannya kyō* for Matsuo. This colophon tell us first, in red ink, that it was checked (and possibly corrected: *ikkō ryō* 一校了), and then in black in that it was copied on 1131.6.16 by a scribe named Shūsei 宗清 at Kōfukuji 廣福寺, located within the precincts of a domain owned by Ise shrine 伊勢神宮 (specifically the Naikū 內宮) then called Tōtōmi no kuni (today in Hamamatsu 浜松, Shizuoka province 静岡県) Kaba no Mikuriya 遠江國蒲 [Nagakami 長神] 御厨. The colophons also reveals that Yorichika had this roll vowed for Matsuo, along with his mother who was from the famed Minamoto clan 源氏.³⁸ I am uncertain what to make of the

³⁶ See notes 239–44, 246, and 249–50 in Nakao & Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, '*Matsuosha Issaikyō*', 200–01.

³⁷ Roll 312 (19/247) in Nakao & Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, '*Matsuosha Issaikyō*', 200.

³⁸ The narrative of how the Minamoto clan defeated the rival Ise Taira clan 伊勢平氏, and especially Taira no Kiyomori 平清盛 (1118–1181) and his son, Taira no Shigebara 平重衡 (1158–1185), who had been court retainers but usurped power in 1179, thereby forcing prominent nobility and retired emperor Go-Shirakawa 後白河 (1127–1192, r. 1155–1158) to call in the troops from Kantō 関東 from their base in Kamakura is among the best known tales in Japanese history. See Adolphson, *Gates of Power*, 125–84. That lands seized from Shigebara

line, *fu koeru ikku hōdoku ryō* 不越一句奉讀了, which means that not more than a line—or a few—was recited at Kōfukuji. Roll 347 has a colophon with the date of 1217.4.17, which tells us that because the scribe, Ryōkaku, did not [correctly] make a vow [against] his evil [karmic acts] to produce good merit [by copying this roll] to erase the [karmic seeds] and transgressions, it remained unfinished when he died at 74 *sai* (未尅書寫了 此卷亡, 仍不願惡筆, 為滅罪生善如件 僧良覺 七十四歲).³⁹ Finally, colophons to the undated rolls 519, 523, 529–530, 549–550, and 591–593 simply inform us that these rolls were checked (or corrected) using the [manuscript] canon from Shitennōji (一校了 以四天王寺本經).⁴⁰

Other than roll 312 of the *Dai hannya kyō* from the Matsuo shrine canon, of which approximately seventy percent of the 600

were donated by Yoshitsune to Enrō to construct Saifukuji means that Matsuo *jingūji*—and the Hata clan shrine priests—were receiving support from the Minamoto at a time when Japan was engaged in its first truly catastrophic war (Genpei War 源平合戦, 1180–1185). If we can trust Kokan Shiren's account in *Genkō shakusho*, then not only did Enrō perhaps save the eyesight of chief shrine priest—for only the fifth lunar month in 1184—Hata no Yoriyasu by instructing him to rebuild the primary sacred hall (*shinden* 神殿) and placing 'relics' (*shari* 舍利; *śarīra*) inside it, but he must have also made a catastrophic mistake because a tree landed on the roof damaging it during a thunderstorm in the seventh lunar month of 1196. Cf. Kokan & Fujita, *Kundoku Genkō Shakusho*, 337. Only after the relics were properly installed within a three-story pagoda (*tō* 塔; *stūpa*) and the *Lotus Sūtra* was recited were the *kami* of Matsuo appeased. An excellent reason to trust Kokan Shiren is a document preserved at Matsuo shrine, perhaps with the Buddhist canon before it was bought by Shimada Yasaburō, *Minamoto no Yoritomo geijō* 下知狀 (dated 1196.6.17), which substantiates the claims about land donated to Matsuo *jingūji* by the most powerful man in Japan during the twelfth century *Matsuno'o taisha shiryōshū henshū iinkai*, 1, 33–34. See also Blair, 'Rites and Rule'.

³⁹ See note 274 in Nakao & Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, '*Matsuosha Issaikyō*', 200.

⁴⁰ See notes 374, 378, 381–382, 389–390, 429, and 431 in Nakao & Honmon Hokkeshū Daihonzan Myōrenji, '*Matsuosha Issaikyō*', 201.

rolls are extant, we have little information with which to conclude that this massive *sūtra* was copied either at or directly for Matsuo *jingūji*. Instead, it appears that rolls were copied from as far away as present-day Shizuoka prefecture or perhaps donated to Hata no Chikatō by monastics from cloisters of Enryakuji during the first few decades of the twelfth century when he commenced the process to produce a separate canon for Matsuo. The rolls of the *Dai hannya kyō* from the Nanatsudera canon speak to a different conclusion. Excluding instances in which the first and second rolls of every ten (i.e., rolls 10–11, 20–21, 150–151, 580–581, etc.) are no longer extant, we find the six-line stamp (*rokugyō inki*) that shows how these scriptures were copied and vowed to the *kami* of Atsuta and protective *gongen* of fifteen other *kami* (or shrines) in central Japan one every tenth and eleventh roll. Most are dated and list the names of the scribe and proofreader.⁴¹ Eshun 榮俊 seems to have been the chief proofreader, but the names of Ryūkei 隆慶, Ryōgō 良豪, Eige 永藝, Ezō 榮増, Ingō 院豪, Tōin 道胤, and Keiyūshi 慶有之 also surface in the same role. Scribes names include: Keishun 慶俊, Egi 榮義, Renyū 蓮遊, Enin 榮仁, Chōshō 長昭, and many more. At this stage of my research into the history of the compilation of the manuscript canon copied for Atsuta and other *jingūji*, but rediscovered at Nanatsudera first in the mid-1960s and again in 1990, it looks like this canon was also primarily copied from Tendai libraries—or those with copies from Tendai libraries. I base this preliminary conclusion on the colophon to roll 531 of the *Dai hannya kyō* from Nanatsudera, which can also be found on roll 29 of the *Zhenyuan lu* in the same collection.⁴² This colophon has marks in red ink and notation about how the scribe who copied these rolls simultaneously checked an edition from the scriptures in gold characters at Hosshōji 法勝寺, Fushimi shrine 伏見稻荷社, and Bonshakuji; the Hosshōji edition was to the scribe's right, the Fushimi shrine edition to the left, and Bonshakuji above.⁴³ Roll 531 is dated 1175.7.28.

⁴¹ Nanatsudera issaikyō hozonkai, *Nanatsudera issaikyō mokuroku*, 202–20; Ochiai et al., *Nanatsu-dera*; and Ōtsuka, 'Issaikyō Shosha'.

⁴² Nanatsudera issaikyō hozonkai, *Nanatsudera issaikyō mokuroku*, 190–91.

There are three instructive undated rolls from the Kongōji canon with short colophons that can be used to interpret the six-line stamps on many, many rolls from Nanatsudera and the colophons from the eleventh century from Enryakuji cloisters—and Kamo shrine—in the Matsuo shrine canon, which vow to avoid injurious rebirths in the next life. Rolls 62(a) and 374(a) of the *Dai hannya kyō* from Kongōji have the following vows: *gan i shosha zen* 願以書寫善, *eshi rokudōsei* 廻施六道生, *shinso* (alt. *shinsbo*) *kechien tō* 親疎結縁等, *kyōshō mujō dō* (or *michi*) 共證无上道, *nikkō* 二交. I translate this vow as follows: I vow the good [merit accrued from the act of] copying [this text] [to be] transferred [to the] donor [on behalf of his/her next] [re-] birth, to form a karmic connection for all [his/her] imperfect relatives, to [serve as] proof of the unexcelled [Buddhist] path; proofread twice.

There are several very good reasons to presume that, as Marinus Willem de Visser (1875–1930) did in his posthumously published and encyclopedic *Ancient Buddhism in Japan: Sutras and Commentaries in Use in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries A.D. and their History in Later Time* (1935), the *Dai hannya kyō* was copied, read, and ritually recited (*tendoku* 転読) in mid- to late-Heian Japan because the *Suxidi jieluo jing* 蘇悉地羯羅經 (*Susiddhikaramahātantrasādanopāyikapāṭala-sūtra*, Z no. 509, T no. 893), translated by Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏 (in 726), told monastics and literati secular officials to.⁴⁴ If one fails to receive the desired results after following

⁴³ Ochiai et al., ‘Découverte de manuscrits’, 370. Ōtsuka, ‘Issaikyō Shosha’; Akao, ‘Koshakyō Shi’, 798–800; Keyworth, ‘Apocryphal Chinese Books’, 3. Please note that before I was generously given access to view a digital PDF of this roll (貞 1184–029) at the library of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies 国際仏教学大学院大学 in Tokyo on May 17, 2017, in that article I translated from a French translation of an article Prof. Ochiai presumably wrote in Japanese. Part 2 on page 370 states: ‘version du Hōshōji (*sic*) cochée avec un trait rouge à droit; version de Fushimi (inconnue), cochée avec un trait rouge à gauche; version du Bonshakuji, cochée avec un rond noir au centre’. In the PDF scan, one can see the red line sloping to the right of *u-ten* and a faint red circle above *sei-ten*.

⁴⁴ De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 495.

the customarily detailed ritual instructions in this ‘esoteric’ (*mikkyō* 密教) Buddhist manual,⁴⁵ in chapter 37 on ‘Rites for retrieving an article for effectuation that has been stolen’ (*Beitou chengwu quezheng fa pin* 被偷成物却徵法品), one is told to ‘beg for food, apply yourself diligently to recitation, generate great respect [for the Buddhas], and visit the eight holy sites [associated with the Buddha Śākyamuni], making obeisance as you proceed’, or just ritually ‘read the *Mahāprajñā[paramita]-sūtra* either seven times or one hundred times, or take special things and donate them to the Sangha’.⁴⁶ But coupled with rolls 124, 142–143, 146, 191, 197, 203, 208, 252, 301–304, 306, 309, 311, 317–318 and our undated colophon to rolls 62(a), 374(a), and 540(a) of the *Dai hannya kyō* from Matsuo and Kongōji, respectively, suggests that reading how to use this massive scripture may have less to do with so-called ‘esoteric’ Buddhist prac-

⁴⁵ *Mikkyō* or ‘esoteric’ Buddhism is defined in ancient and medieval Japan in terms of guided cultivation of the Diamond (*Kongōkai* 金剛界) and Womb (*Taizōkai* 胎藏界) *maṇḍalas* from the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* (*Jin’gangding jing*, *Kongōchōkyō* 金剛頂經, Z no. 517, T no. 865) and *Mahāvairocana sūtra* (*Dari jing*, *Dainichikyō* 大日經, Z no. 503, T no. 848). On these two *maṇḍalas* (*ryōbu mandara* 兩部曼荼羅) in Japanese esoteric Buddhism, see Ryuichi Abé, *Weaving of Mantra*. For philological context, see Giebel, *Two Esoteric Sutras*; ‘Taishō Volumes 18–21’. The full title of the *Vajraśekhara-sūtra* is *Jin’gangding yiqie rulai zhenzhi dasheng xianzheng dajingwang jing* 金剛頂一切如來真實攝大乘現證大經王經 (**Sarvatathāgatattvasaṃgraha-mahāyānābhi-samayamahākālpaparāha-sūtra*), attributed to Amoghavajra. See also the translation by Vajrabodhi, *Jin’gangding yujia zhonglüe chu niansong jing* 金剛頂瑜伽中略出念誦經 (Z no. 516, T no. 866), and Giebel, trans., ‘The Chin-Kang-Ting Ching Yü-Ch’ieh Shih-Pa-Hui Chih-Kuei’; *Two Esoteric Sutras*; ‘Taishō Volumes 18–21’. The full title of the *Dari jing* is *Dapiluzbena chengfo shenbian jiachi jing* 大毘盧遮那成佛神變加持經 (*Mahāvairocanaśambodhivikurvitaadhiṣṭhāna-sūtra*), in Giebel, trans., *Vairocanaśambodhi Sūtra*.

⁴⁶ *Suxidi jieluo jing*, T no. 893a, 18: 3.19–24c, in Giebel, trans., *Two Esoteric Sutras*, 306. The Chinese reads: 若不成者, 重加精進。又更念誦, 作成就法。如是經滿七遍。猶不成者, 當作此法, 決定成就。所謂乞食精勤念誦, 發大恭敬。巡八聖迹, 禮行道。或復轉讀《大般若經》, 經七遍或一百, 或持勝物, 奉施僧伽。

tices and much more to do with simply following the instructions in this and other *Perfection of Wisdom sūtras* translated into Chinese. In fact, Xuanzang's *Da bore jing* consists of nearly every version of Perfection of Wisdom literature available in either Sanskrit or Chinese translation by the mid-seventh century.

Patterns of Copying and Ritually Reciting the *Dai Hannya Kyō* from Eighth to Eleventh Century Japan

Legend has it that Xuanzang returned from India with three editions in Sanskrit of the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā-sūtra*.⁴⁷ Following Huili and Yancong's hagiographical account in *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, considerable attention is awarded to the story of how Xuanzang approached translating the *Da bore jing* in the two most widely read books about Xuanzang by Arthur Waley (1889–1966) and Sally H. Wriggins. I think that Waley rightly chose to highlight that, after moving to Yuhua palace, Xuanzang and his team of twelve 'experts in Buddhist literature', among whom were the aforementioned Huili, Daoxuan, who wrote another earlier biography of Xuanzang and compiled several large compendia, the 'philologist' Xuanying 玄應 (d. 661: composed *Da Tang zhongjing yinyi* 大唐衆經音義 [Sounds and Meanings of All the Scriptures during the Great Tang]), and nine 'phrase-connectors' (*zhuiwen* 綴文), tackled the comparatively short *Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi-śāstra* (*Chengweishi lun* / *Jōyuishikiron* 成唯識論, Z no. 734, T no. 1585) first in 659.⁴⁸ Subsequently in 661, while working on the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā*, they also completed the *Viṃśatikāvṛtti* (*Weishi ershi lun* / *Yushikiniijuron* 唯識二十論, Z no. 731, T no. 1590). Unlike when he and his team debated whether or not to produce an abridged translation of these short, seminal Yogācāra treatises, Xuanzang apparently set his mind to wrestle with each and every line of the **Mahāprajñāpāramitā*

⁴⁷ Waley, *Real Tripitaka*, 126.

⁴⁸ Waley, *Real Tripitaka*, 85. See also Li, 'Chinese Buddhist Canon', 180; Wriggins, *Silk Road Journey*, 195.

after he had nightmares about being ‘precariously poised on the edge of a frightful abyss or was being attacked by wild beasts’.⁴⁹ It would appear that the decision to persevere paid off because, according to Huili and Yancong, the abbot of Yuhua monastery and a member of the translation team had the same dream in which they saw Yuhuasi adorned with pennants, curtains, carts, and banners with musicians playing marvelous music in the courtyards while each and every monastic came to make offerings to the *Da bore jing*, just as described in the text.⁵⁰ Moreover, as soon as the *Da bore jing* was completed, Xuanzang folded his palms together and declared:

This *sūtra* has a special relationship with the land of the Han people. It is on account of this *sūtra* that I have come to this Yuhua Monastery. If I had stayed as before in the capital, where there were many miscellaneous affairs to distract my mind, how could I have finished the work in time? It is with the spiritual assistance of the Buddhas and under the protection of the dragons and deities that I have completed the task. As this is a text that will guard the nation and a great treasure of men and heavenly beings, you all should rejoice and be glad at its completion.⁵¹

Then the rector of Yuhuasi, Jizhao 寂照, prepared a vegetarian feast and a ritual offering service for the monks. On the day when the *sūtra* was taken from Sucheng Hall 肅誠殿 to Jiazhou Hall 嘉壽殿 for the feast and to be lectured on and recited, a bright light emitted from the text and flowers fell from the sky. Music was heard in the air accompanied by an unusual fragrance. Having witnessed these miracles, Xuanzang was extremely pleased and said to his disciples:

⁴⁹ Waley, *Real Tripitaka*, 125.

⁵⁰ *Da Tang Da Ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2053, 50: 10.276a16–27, translated in Li, *Tripitaka Master*, 328–29.

⁵¹ *Da Tang Da Ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2053, 50: 10.276b10–14, translated in Li, *Tripitaka Master*, 329–30.

It is recorded in the sutra itself that in this country there will be people taking delight in Mahayana teachings. All kings, ministers, and followers of the four groups who copy, receive, and keep it, as well as recite and circulate it will be reborn in the heavens and obtain ultimate emancipation. Since there is such a passage, we must not keep silent about it.⁵²

Primarily relying on the Six National Histories (*Rikkokushi* 六国史, comp. 720–901), Kokan Shiren's 虎関師鍊 (1278–1346) *Genkō shakusho* 元亨釈書 (Buddhist History of the Genkō Era [1321–1324]), and secondary studies in Japan available before the Second World War, de Visser's pioneering study delineates how certain key Mahāyāna *sūtras* were utilized as early as 735 in ancient Japan for 'state protection' (*chingo kokka* 鎮護国家) rituals that were performed with special attention to ritualized readings (either chanting [*dokuju* 読誦] or revolve-reading [*tendoku*]) of three scriptures—(1) Xuanzang's translation of the *Dai hannya kyō*, (2) the *Suvarṇabhā-sottama-sūtra*, and (3) the *Renwang jing* 仁王經 (Z no. 21, T no. 245 and Z no. 22, T no. 246: *Shin'yaku ninnōkyō* 新訳仁王經)⁵³—

⁵² *Da Tang Da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, T no. 2053. 50: 10.276b14–21, also translated in Li, *Tripiṭaka Master*, 330. The Chinese reads: 時玉華寺都維那寂照, 慶賀功畢, 設齋供養。是日, 請經從肅誠殿往嘉壽殿齋所講讀。當迎經時, 《般若》放光, 諸天雨花, 并聞空中音樂, 非常香氣。既觀靈瑞倍增嘉慰, 謂門人曰: '經自記此方當有樂大乘者國王、大臣、四部徒眾, 書寫受持, 讀誦流布, 皆得生天, 究竟解脫。既有此文, 不可緘默。' 至十一月二十日, 令弟子窺基奉表奏聞, 請御製經序。至十二月七日, 通事舍人馮茂宣勅垂許。

⁵³ See '*Chingo kokka*' 鎮護國家 and '*Chinju*' 鎮守 in Lévi et al., *Hōbōgirin*, 1 (1929), 2 (1930), 3 (1937), 4 (1967), 5 (1979), 6 (1983), 7 (1994), 8 (2003), 9 (nd) vols., 322–27. The former entry explicitly points out that protection from or for *kijin* 鬼神 (a blanket term in Chinese for 'gods') almost always involved *dhāraṇī*, and particularly from the *Ninnōkyō* (see T no. 245, 8: 829c29–830a4 [chapter 2]; and T no. 24, 8: 834c25 [chapter 1]) or *Konkōmyōkyō* (*Suvarṇabhā-sottama-sūtra*, see T no. 663, 16: 341b13–c3 [chapter 2]; T no. 664, 16: 382c3–21 [chapter 5], and T no. 665, 16: 427c6–27 [chapter 6]). Not only does de Visser pay ample attention to matters of 'state protection' Buddhism (*Chingo*

usually on behalf of the *kami* (*shinzen dokyō* 神前読経) to avert natural disasters and calamities and protect the state and powerful clans (為消除災害 安寧國家也).⁵⁴ A document preserved in the Shōsōin dated 735, *Chishiki ubasoku kōshinbun* 知識優婆塞貢進文 (Record of Tribute by Kalyāṇamitras, Upāsakas, and Aristocrats), is perhaps

kokka), but he provides the most thorough summary in English of the history of offerings of *issaikyō* [in Japan] from 651 to 1323; de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 226, 605–15. Furthermore, de Visser provides the first clue in any European language that I know of about shrines where an *issaikyō* was offered or vowed to the *kami*, ‘From the beginning of the twelfth century the *Issaikyō* festivals were often held in Shintō sanctuaries (Hiyoshi, Kumano, Iwashimizu, Gion, Kamo)’ (de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 611–12). His study also contains obliging references to how Enchin, see below, in particular, played an especially prominent role in promoting Tendai rituals—and orientated doctrines at debates and lectures—within the ritual system of Heian Japan.

On ritual readings of the *Dai hannya kyō*, see Sagai, *Shinbutsu shūgō*, 139–42; Abe, *Chūsei Nihon*, 430–50 and 196–98. The precedent for ritual readings of this large compendium in Japan comes from a hagiographical biography of Xuanzang, *Da Cien sanzang fashi zhuan* 10, T no. 2053, 50: 10.276b5–22, which says that a special lecture was delivered on this scripture and it was read at a ceremony on 663.10. Cf. Komine et al., *Hannyakyo taizen*, 372–82. On *Issaikyō-e*, see Blair, ‘Rites and Rule’, 6; *Real and Imagined*, chapter 1.2 and 1.3. See also Moerman, *Localizing Paradise*, chapter 4. (cited in Blair); and Moerman, ‘Archaeology of Anxiety’.

On the *Renwang jing* (*Ninnōkyō*) in China, see Orzech, *Politics and Transcendent Wisdom*. See below for the *Konkōmyōkō*.

‘State’ in ‘state protection’ Buddhism remains a problematical term, not only because of the European context for ‘state’ (Peace of Westphalia, 1648) in English, but also because *kuni* (*guo*) may not have meant a ‘state’ in premodern Japan or China. In Nara or Heian Japan, for example, *kuni* meant something much closer to province as in where Matsuo shrine was located: by the turn of the eighth century, the Kadono district (Kadono no koori 葛野郡) of Yamashiro [no kuni] province 山城国, which roughly corresponds to Nishigyōku 西京区 and southern Ukyōku 右京区 (wards) today.

⁵⁴ Komine et al., *Hannyakyo taizen*, 375; McCallum, *Four Great Temples*, 455–56, 495–500.

the earliest document that outlines how specific *sūtras* were recited at shrines (not yet *jingūji*) including Kamigamo 上賀茂社 (Upper Kamo shrine).⁵⁵ Throughout albeit late editions of the Six National Histories carefully mined by de Visser, we learn how meticulously it appears that members of the imperial family in Japan, as well as ministers, monastics, aristocrats, shrine priests, and others, followed the instructions given by Xuanzang according to the account in *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* to copy, receive, keep, recite and circulate the *Dai hannya kyō* with the aspiration of being reborn in one of the beneficial realms of the six realms. The *Dai hannya kyō*, in particular, was recited at the imperial palace and in sets of four, seven, ten, or fifteen temples during the Nara (710–794) and Heian periods. As of 771, the ten so-called great temples were: Daianji 大安寺, Yakushiji 薬師寺, Tōdaiji 東大寺, Kōfukuji 興福寺 (the so-called great four in Nara), Shin-Yakushiji 新薬師寺, Gangōji 元興寺, Hōryūji 法隆寺 (Ikarugadera 斑鳩寺; the great seven temples in Nara), Gufukuji 弘福寺 (another name for Kwaradera 川原寺), Shitennojō 四天王寺 (Osaka), and Sūfukuji 崇福寺 (near Ōtsu, in Shiga prefecture).⁵⁶ By the early tenth century, following the initial comprehensive inventory of 3,132 official deities (*jinmyōchō* 神名帳) venerated at 2,861 official shrines listed in rolls 9–10 of *Engishiki* 延喜式 (Procedures of the Engi Era, 901–923, comp. 927; utilized after 967)⁵⁷ Sūfukuji—and

⁵⁵ Sagai, *Shinbutsu shūgō*, 281–82. See also Keyworth, ‘Apocryphal Chinese Books’, 10–12. On the history of the development of *jingūji*, see Keyworth, ‘Sustaining Tang Chinese Buddhist Rituals’; and Kochinski, ‘Negotiations between the *Kami* and Buddha Realms’.

⁵⁶ Shikō’s 志晃 (1662–1720) *Jimon denki boroku* 寺門傳記補録 [Supplemental Record of the Transmission Record of the Temple Gate Branch] 6, NBZ 787.86.146b quotes from *Shoku Nihongi*; partially translated in de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 38–42. *Genkō shakusho* 23 cited in the same section of *Jimon denki boroku* has a slightly different list and order, which may have been more authoritative: Daianji, Gangōji, Gufukuji (Kwaradera), Yakushiji [4], Shitennojō, Kōfukuji, Hōryūji, Sūfukuji, Tōdaiji, and Saidaiji 西大寺. On Kwaradera, see McCallum, *Four Great Temples*, 156–200.

⁵⁷ The edition of *Engishiki* I consulted is from *Kokushi taikei* 国史大系

Bonshakuji—along with Saidaiji 西大寺, Hongangōji 本元興寺 (Asukadera 飛鳥寺), [Tō 唐-] Shōdaiji 招提寺, Tōji, and Saiji 西寺 made up fifteen great temples.⁵⁸

Less than forty years after Xuanzang and his team completed translating the *Da bore jing* in Tang China, in Japan emperor Gaozong 高宗 (628–683, r. 649–683) was believed to have elaborately celebrated the accomplishment and lavished Xuanzang with great honors by inaugurating the first festival to ritually read the *Da bore jing* (*Dai Hannya kyō tendoku e* or *Hannya-e* 般若会). One hundred monastics ritually read the *Dai hannya kyō* in the four great temples on 703.3.10; 600 monastics did the same in the palace on 725.1.17; and on 735.5.24, the *Dai hannya kyō* was ritually read to forestall natural disasters and calamities and protect the state and powerful clans.⁵⁹ After an earthquake in 745, the *Dai hannya kyō* was ritually read during the tenth month in all temples within the capital.⁶⁰ It was again ritually read for three days every month in 837 to protect against calamities that emanate from the sky (e.g., lightening or thunder) and earth (drought, illnesses, or plagues). It seems that adverse weather persisted because in 840, the fifteen great temples were ordered to ritually read the *Dai hannya kyō* only during the day: nighttime recitations were thought to have caused adversity.⁶¹ In [*Nihon*] *Sandai jitsuroku* 三代実録 [True History of the Three

(Tokyo: Keizai zasshi-sha 経済雑誌社, 1897–1901), available online at: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/991103>; accessed on May 22, 2018. The first ten rolls were translated by Bock, trans., *Engishiki*. Along with a digital edition of an edition printed in Kyoto in 1657, Bock's translation is searchable online at: <https://jhti.berkeley.edu/Engi%20Shiki%20editions%20and%20copyrights.html>, accessed on May 22, 2018. See also footnote 8.

⁵⁸ *Jimon denki horoku* 6, NBZ 787.86.146b quotes from *Genkō shakusho* and *Engishiki*; partially translated in de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 421–22. See also McCallum, *Four Great Temples*, 23–30.

⁵⁹ Komine et al., 375, 379–81; de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 493.

⁶⁰ De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 455–56; Komine et al., *Hannyakyō taizen*, 376–77.

⁶¹ De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 304–06.

Reigns (of emperors Seiwa 清和 [r. 858–876], Yōzei 陽成 [876–884], and Kōkō 光孝 [r. 884–887]) in Japan, comp. 901] 12 describes how a great fire that erupted in the capital on leap month (*uruziki* or *jun-getsu* 閏月) 3.10 in 866 that spread to both the Shōran 翔鸞楼 and the Seihō 栖鳳楼 towers, which lay to the southwest and southeast of the Ōden gate 応天門, lasted twenty-two days. In order to assuage this calamity, twenty monks at Sūfukuji were required to ritually revolve read the entire *Dai hannya kyō* in seven days; ‘secret rituals to the Four Heavenly Kings’ (*Shinō hihō* 四王祕法) were performed at Bonshakuji by ten monks for seven days.⁶² We also know that veneration of the *Dai hannya kyō* did not abate over the centuries because by the tenth century *Engishiki* 21 states that every year on the first day of the fourth lunar month and again on thirtieth day of the eighth lunar month, a (presumably vegetarian) feast should be held at the fifteen great temples, and the first roll of the *Dai hannya kyō* is read. And a repentance ritual was to be held at Sūfukuji on the twelfth day of fourth lunar month that lasted for three days.⁶³

A group of researchers in Japan and Bryan Lowe (Vanderbilt University) published a study in 2016 of seventy-six examples of the earliest Buddhist Japanese manuscripts with colophons.⁶⁴ The earliest one dates to 686.5; the latest to 780.4.25. The first thing one notices about this selection is how prominent vowing the *Dai hannya kyō* was in Japan by the 720s: the earliest dated roll with a very long colophon is roll 24 with a date of 712.11.15. Twenty of the seventy-six examples from the annotated study and translation into modern Japanese of these colophons are to rolls from the *Dai hannya kyō*. The second most prominent text with colophons is Xuanzang’s large translation in 100 rolls of the *Yuqie shidi lun*. Alternative evidence exists from Shiga prefecture, where Prince Nagaya 長屋王 (680–729) sponsored copying the *Dai hannya kyō* between 712–728, which appears to have been copied from scriptures once held in the Fujiwara capital 藤原京 (694–710).⁶⁵ Abe Yasurō has written extensively on

⁶² De Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 304–06.

⁶³ Cited in *Jimon denki boroku* 6, NBZ 787.86.146b–147a.

⁶⁴ Jōdai bunken o yomu kai, *Jōdai shakyo shikigo*.

the notion of ritual offerings (*kuyō*) of either Xuanzang's translation of the *Dai hannya kyō* or sets of the canon as part of ritual activities increasingly bolstered by the clergy who instructed aristocrats with rituals about how to confer merit on or placating all manner of autochthonous and allochthonous deities.

These long colophons to eighth century rolls of the *Dai hannya kyō* are markedly different from the succinct examples we saw on rolls in either the twelfth century Matsuo shrine or Kongōji canons.

The first example I translate here is a colophon to roll 267 from Prince Nagaya's vowing project, dated 728.5.15:⁶⁶

Jinki 5.5.15, disciple of the Buddha Prince Nagaya, with great sincerity makes this vow and offers a copy of a [complete] set of the *Dai hannya kyō* in 600 rolls. Line by line, every word of the columns in Chinese contain profound meaning when recited, reducing and ridding wickedness. It is an honor and exceedingly fortunate even to easily unroll and examine it. The good karma [from having it copied] is offered on behalf of my deceased parents with the following original vow: [they will be] reborn in Maitreya's (Tuṣita) Heaven where they can bow deeply to him, and amuse themselves in [his] pure abode. [If they listen to him with] reverential expressions, listen to [the teachings of] Amitābha buddha about the True Dharma, together they will realize unexcelled forbearance. The good roots [of copying this scripture] are dedicated to the current emperor and successive generations of emperors who will be enthroned for generations to come so the Three Jewels will be protected, the hundred gods will be guarded, and our current glorious ruler (emperor Shōmu 聖武天皇, r. 724–749) will achieve longevity of a thousand years [like those who ascend the Five Marchmounts in China]. As an immortal he will be reborn in the lofty heaven of a Pure Land, where he will achieve enlightenment on the path by cultivating the completion of meritorious acts. Conscious beings of the three realms who are born and die within the six realms, without vows [like the one]

⁶⁵ Iwamoto, 'Nagaya No Ōkimi Hotsugankyō'.

⁶⁶ Jōdai bunken o yomu kai, *Jōdai shakyo shikigo*, 31–56.

they cannot be fulfilled; their minds must be protected. Realizing [the law of] cause and effect, [and how it] affects everyone because of their sins and good deeds. The six perfections complete these [two types of] causes; the four kinds of wisdom cause the perfect effect.⁶⁷

神龜五年, 歲次戊辰, 五月十五日, 佛弟子長王
至誠發願, 奉寫大般若經一部六百卷. 其經, 乃
行行列華文, 句句含深義. 讀誦者蠲邪去惡,
披閱者納福臻榮. 以此善業, 奉資
登仙二尊神靈. 各隨本願, 往生上天, 頂禮彌勒, 遊
戲淨域, 面奉彌陀, 並聽聞正法, 俱悟无生忍. 又 以
此善根, 仰資 現御寓天皇并開闢以來代代
帝皇. 三寶覆護, 百靈影衛. 現在者, 爭榮於五嶽,
保壽於千齡; 登仙者, 生淨國, 昇天上. 聞法悟
道, 脩善成覺. 三界含識, 六趣稟靈, 无願不遂, 有心必
獲. 明矣因果, 達焉罪福, 六度因滿, 四智果圓.

Copied on Jinki 5.9.23 by Zhang Shangfu, Lesser Initial Rank,
Lower Grade of the Bureau of Scattered Ranks (*Sanniryō shō so-i
no ge*)⁶⁸ 神龜五年歲次戊辰九月廿三日書生散位寮散位少初位下
張上福

First checked by Elder Yamaguchi Imiki, Legitimate person (*ishi*)
without rank (*mui*) of the Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs (*Shiki-
bu-shō*)⁶⁹ 初校生式部省位子无位山口忌寸人成

⁶⁷ The six perfections are: giving, motivation, patience, energy, arresting malice, and wisdom. The four kinds of wisdom are: (1) knowledge of the one particular path to enlightenment; (2) knowledge of other paths to enlightenment; (3) knowledge that all phenomena are empty of characteristics; and (4) knowledge that phenomena are empty and remain distinct from one another.

⁶⁸ This name, which I have given as a Chinese scholar's name, could also be a Korean name. According to Hirayama Asaji, 'Nagaya no ōkimi no Shōtoku taishi', 41–42, he could have been a scholar that Dōji met when he was studying in Tang China. The *Shikibu-shō* managed both the *Daigakuryō* 大学寮 (State or Imperial University) and the *Sanni-ryō*.

⁶⁹ According to *Nihon shoki* 日本書紀 (720), a decree passed in 684 effectively

Second check by Miyake no Shima-nushi, Legitimate person, without rank of the Ministry of Ceremonial Affairs 再校生式部省位子无位三宅臣嶋主

Hadanotsune Imiki no Asaba, With Permission to Enter Lesser Palaces (*uehito*), without rank, government worker (*banjō*), Dyeing Paper Expert (Sōkō) of the Imperial Library (*Zushoryō*)⁷⁰ 裝潢圖書寮番上人无位秦常忌寸秋庭

Tsugida Akasome no Ishikane, Inspection Envoy (*Kengyōshi*) of the Saho Mansion (*Sahogū*), Junior Sixth Rank, Upper Grade (*ju rokui no jō*), Tenth Order of Merit (*kun jūni tō*) of Treasures for the Palace of the Upper Twelfth Rank 檢校使作寶宮判[官]從六位上勳十二等次田赤染造石金

Narahisashokun, Inspection Envoy and Chief Manager (*daisakan*) from the Bureau of Yin-Yang Affairs (Onyōryō), Senior Eighth Rank, Upper Grade (*shō hachi-i no jō*), Tenth Order of Merit (*kun jūni tō*) 檢校使陰陽寮大属正八位上勳十二等栖佐諸君

Checked by Monk [Ki]ben from Yakushiji 檢校藥師寺僧[基]弁

Checked again by Dōji (d. 744) from Fujiwaradera⁷¹ 檢校藤原寺僧道慈

Five sheets of *asagami* paper 用長麻紙伍張

Prince Nagaya was forced to commit suicide—his wife (Princess Kibi

standardized the aristocratic titles clan members could use into a set of 8 (*yakusa no kabane* 八色の姓): (1) Mahito 真; (2) Ason 朝臣; (3) Sukune 宿禰; (4) Imiki 忌寸; (5) Michinoshi 道師; (6) Omi 臣; (7) Muraji 連; and (8) Inagi 稻城. Rank 4 (Imiki) was primarily used to denote immigrants (see below), whereas rank 2 (Ason) was primarily awarded to Fujiwara 藤原 and later Taira 平氏 and Minamoto 源氏 clan members. Note the nearly-Daoist meanings for several of these rank titles.

⁷⁰ The rank of *uehito* can also be read as *Tenjō-bito* 殿上人, or one who has permission to enter lesser palace halls, and *banjō* denotes a lower ranking official (*kanjin* 官人) who has permission to work within palace grounds on a daily basis.

⁷¹ Although it is not translated there, significant context for this colophon and possible attribution to Dōji is discussed in Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks as Agents of Cultural and Artistic Transmission*, 100–08.

Naishin no ō 吉備内親王, 686–729) and four children followed him in death—because of a power struggle at court with the descendants of Fujiwara no Fuhito 藤原不比等 (659–720). On 729.2.10, a minor official named Nakatomi no Azumahito 中臣東人 (the Nakatomi family of ritual specialists was related to the Fujiwara) accused Nagaya of plotting a rebellion against emperor Shōmu 聖武 (701–756, r. 724–749): ‘He is secretly studying the Left Way and seeks to overthrow the state’.⁷² The ‘Left Way’ that the prince was accused of practicing concerns his *sūtra* copying project. The colophon may not provide any overt clues to the charge of ‘black magic’ against the prince, but it does illustrate three aspects of vowing *sūtras* during the eighth century in East Asia. First, copying scriptures was an expensive affair that required significant investment from the state or wealthy patrons (paper, scribes, and so forth). Second, scriptures were vowed to memorialize one’s ancestors.⁷³ Finally, rebirth in Maitreya’s Tuṣita heaven seems to have been the focus within Mahāyāna Buddhist cosmology prior to the arrival—or popularizing—of Amitābha.

Another roll of the *Dai hannya kyō*, 232, dated 739.7.10, is translated as follows:⁷⁴

Tenpyō 10.7.10, disciple of the Buddha Ishikawa no Asomi Toshitari, Lower Fifth rank, Twelfth Order of Merit, from Izumo no kuni, I bowed respectfully to the south, and to [the buddhas of the ten directions], all the bodhisattvas, sages, and others. I rely upon the profound ferry, with numerous blessings for peace and prosperity, relying on the mind of reality to look forward to the fruits of bodhi. Therefore I reverently [have] one [complete] set of the *Dai hannya kyō* copied to forever become the treasure of the monastery of Jōdo-dera. The merit will celebrate good progress, the fate will be everlasting for *kalpas* to come as numerous as grains of sand [on the banks of the Ganges]. I further vow [this copy] to my entire family, seven generations of parents [and grandparents], and boundless, lim-

⁷² Ooms, *Imperial Politics*, 237.

⁷³ Teiser, ‘Ornamenting the Departed’, 225–26.

⁷⁴ Jōdai bunken o yomu kai, *Jōdai shakuyō shikigo*, 147–63.

itless [numbers of] conscious beings form (bodies) so they can ride in the boat of *prajñā* and ascend to the path of correct awareness.

維天平十一年，歲次己卯，七月辛卯朔十日庚子，佛弟子出雲國守從五位下勳十二等石川朝臣年足，稽首和南，一切諸佛，諸大菩薩，并賢聖等。託想玄津，庶福於安樂；歸心實際，冀果於菩提。敬寫大般若經一部，置淨土寺，永為寺寶。以此功德，慶善日新，命緒將劫石俱延，壽筭與恒沙共遠。又願：內外眷屬，七代父母，無邊無境，有形含識，並乘般若之舟，咸登正覺之路。

The resolve in this colophon portrays the act of copying the *Dai hannya kyō* as an exceptional one, perhaps without equal. It is unclear if the author read the contents of this voluminous *sūtra*, but it seems transparent that he must have been aware of the legendary endorsements of it by Xuanzang in *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*.

The final example from eighth century Japan which I only partially translate—the names and titles are especially challenging—here is to roll 176. It is dated to the fifth month of 779, which makes it rather late in terms of the collection. It was kept at Mitsuki Hachimangū 御調八幡宮 (shrine, in Hiroshima 広島).⁷⁵

As for the great vehicle of *prajñā*, it is the liver and mind of all buddhas of the three ages, and the treasure storehouse of the bodhi-sattvas of the ten stages.⁷⁶ Therefore, as for those who convert to

⁷⁵ Jōdai bunken o yomu kai, *Jōdai shakyo shikigo*, 439–56. The portion that remains untranslated is: [親東父還乎感已] 盡曾參之侍奉極仲 // [尼之孝養表] 為子之至誠展物親之深 // [禮豈調四蛇] 侵命二鼠催年報遲既窮 // [奄從去世] 孝誠有關慈顏無感泉路轉 // [深終隔親見仰天] 伏地而雖悲歎都無 // [一益空] 沾領袖唯有佛法必救恩虛 // [敬以維] 寶龜十年歲次己未潤五月朔 // [癸丑母] 紀朝臣多繼并男氏成女 // [秋穗等參人同志] 結言 奉寫大般若 // [大乘壹部陸佰卷以] 為遠代之法寶也 // [仰願以此功德先同] 奉資 先考之神 //

[路般若之船淨於苦] 海速到極樂之寶 // [城大乘炬煥於閭] 衢早登摩尼之玉殿 // [永覺三界之蔓長息一如之床廣及有識] // [共出迷濱到涅槃岸].

⁷⁶ The ten stages of the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts are: (1) dry wisdom (worldly

Buddhism, who will not [be able to] ward off calamities and enjoy ease and comfort? Those who obey [the teachings], how could they not sever confusion and realize reality? I prostrate to filial son Saka no Ue no Imiki no Ujitsune, (daughter) Akihoto, deceased father Ideha, Lower Fifth rank, Fourth Order of Merit, Saka no Ue Imiki no Iwatate, *daifu* (a title, not a doctor) with great kindness as bountiful as Mount Sumeru is lofty, whose compassion is as deep as the great ocean. He has lived many lives, his body smashed and his destiny abandoned. He must be rewarded because he deserves longevity from Queen Mother [of the West]...

夫以般若大乘者，斯乃三世諸佛之肝
心，十地菩薩之寶藏。然則，皈依者，誰不
消災納福；隨順者，豈無斷惑證真？伏
惟：為孝子坂上忌寸氏成秋穗等，慈
先考故出羽介從五位下勲四坂上
忌寸石楯大夫之厚恩，撫育之慈高踰
須弥，皈依之悲深過大海。經生累劫，碎
身捨命，何得報哉？方欲西母長壽，晉於...

These colophons demonstrate two points that may very well have been known to Hata no Chikatō and Yorichika, and the scribes who copied the scriptures for Nanatsudera and other similar projects in twelfth century Japan. First, one imagines that when monastics, aristocrats, or even shrine priests read, recited, or copied Buddhist manuscripts, they were aware that '[c]opying was not a matter of simply duplicating a text. Transcribing a sacred text was one of the most potent magico-spiritual exercises: it would activate and increase the power of its words, akin to a greatly multiplied power of spells'.⁷⁷

wisdom); (2) knowledge of the four wholesome roots that give rise to awareness of one's nature; (3) awareness of the eight tolerances; (4) freedom from wrong views; (5) freedom from the first six of the nine delusions; (6) freedom from desire; (7) stage of complete discernment; (8) stage of a *pratyekabuddha* (enlightenment through one's own karma); (9) a bodhisattva; and (10) a buddha.

⁷⁷ Ooms, *Imperial Politics*, 240.

Second, because so many especially Mahāyāna scriptures instruct the reader about the efficacy of the act of copying—and perhaps even proofreading—scriptures, performing these ‘nonmeditational’ or ‘meritorious’ acts (*kuśālena karmaṇā*) was almost certainly viewed as an integral practice for the devoted. How much more so the case if one is sponsoring or actually copying the largest Buddhist scripture in Chinese?

Manuscripts and Fragments of the *Da Bore Jing* from Dunhuang

There are certainly copious examples of Buddhist texts with long colophons from Dunhuang to match these examples to several rolls of the *Dai hannya kyō* from eighth century Japan. But, to the best of my knowledge, of the more than 700 separate manuscripts or manuscript fragments just catalogued from the Stein collection or those carefully studied by Ikeda On, Ji Xianlin, or Huang Zheng, none of the colophons to the *Da bore jing* are either long or particularly revealing in terms of information about donors, scribes, or even ritual readings of this text in medieval China.⁷⁸ There is, however, intriguing information from mostly several examples to deduce that possessing a complete copy of this seminal text was important for monastics who kept libraries at temples within the Mogao grottoes complex during the ninth century.

As we saw with the Matsuo shrine, Nanatsudera, and Kongō manuscripts discussed above, most of the examples of rolls of the *Da bore jing* were checked at least once or twice. Roll 216, for example, which is S. 1594, informs us that the scribe was named Huize, and it was checked once by Lingxiu and again by Yiquan: 惠澤 靈秀一校第二校義泉.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Giles, ‘Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection, Ii’; Giles, ‘Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection, Iii’; Giles, ‘Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection, I’; Giles, ‘Dated Manuscripts in the Stien Collection Iv’; Giles, ‘Dated Chinese Manuscripts in the Stein Collection Vi’; Ikeda, *Shabon*; Ji, ed., *Dunhuangxue Dacidian*; Huang & Wu, *Dunhuang yuanwen ji*.

⁷⁹ Ikeda, *Shabon*, 363. Note 221 in Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 6.

The roll is undated. Roll 232 (S. 3841) was collated by Huaihui: 懷惠勘.⁸⁰ Roll 398 (S. 1973) may provide evidence of ritual reading of this large text in a colophon that reads: *shesi zhuan tie* 社司轉帖.⁸¹ Lionel Giles rightly, I think, carefully notes when taboo characters employed during the reign of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705; r. 690–705) are found. But what stands out most prominently from these short colophons are instances in which black stamps—similar to the six-line stamp on every tenth and eleventh roll from Nanatsudera—with the names of monastic libraries were added to these rolls. S. 296, which is roll 103, has a prominent stamp that reads: *Sanjiesi zangjing* 三界寺藏經.⁸² There is also the impression of a seal in red ink with the name of another monastic library: *Baoensi zangjing yin* 報恩寺藏經. The same seal can be found on rolls 141 (S. 2764) and 326 (S. 1566).⁸³ The same seal and stamp on roll 103 can be found on roll 343 (S. 3788) and 440 (S. 1587).⁸⁴ And there is a note to roll 23 (S. 3621) that evokes, however dimly, one aspect of the five practices of the preacher of the *buddhadharma* extolled in Mahāyāna literature and ascribed to Xuanzang by Huili and Yancong. The note reads: *biqu Jie zang xie biqu Huisu shouchi* 比丘戒藏寫惠素受持. The presence of the characters *san en* 三恩 below the title on the outside of the roll may indicate that this roll belonged to the third bundle from the library of Baoensi.⁸⁵ These are too few examples to infer any pattern of either ritual reading or study to correspond to what we can safely presume transpired with the *Dai hannya kyō* from Nanatsudera and Matsuo shrine. We know very little for certain about who closed the library cave of the Mogao grottoes or when or why or where the many, sometimes very old copies of similar Buddhist scriptures came from (possibly from Khotan [Yutian 于闐, Hetian 和田]) or who donated or collected

⁸⁰ Note 248 in Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 6.

⁸¹ Note 410 in Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 10.

⁸² Ikeda, *Shabon*, 353. Note 116 in Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 3.

⁸³ Notes 158 and 360 in Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 4, 9.

⁸⁴ Notes 360 and 443 in Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 9, 11.

⁸⁵ Note 32 in Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1–2.

them (likely Daozhen 道真 from the Three Realms monastery [Sanjiesi]).⁸⁶ Furthermore, it is difficult to speculate about why this library contained manuscripts with a span of about 500 years (S. 996: dated 479.10.28 through S. 4601: dated 985.11.28).⁸⁷

There are two additional colophons from Dunhuang that I think are particularly helpful in terms of ascertaining precedents for either the long colophons we saw from eighth century Japan or the steadfast attention to the *Dai hannya kyō* in historical records and from colophons from Matsuo shrine, Nanatsudera, or even Kongōji. The first one is a seventh century colophon on P. 2106, roll 8 of the 100 roll commentary to part of what is contained in the *Da bore jing*, *Da zhidu lun* 大智度論 (**Mahāprajñāpāramitopadeśa*, Z no. 668, T no. 1509).⁸⁸ This colophon is unsigned, and translated as follows:

In the past, when the bodhisattva of the Himālayas [vowed to] sacrifice his body to [hear the full] eight verses, Great teacher of the Fragrant City broke his skeleton apart with a single utterance.⁸⁹ I

⁸⁶ Hansen, 'Tribute Trade with Khotan'. Hansen follows Rong, 'The Nature of the Dunhuang Library Cave'. See also Rong, *Eighteen Lectures on Dunhuang*, 5, 109–36.

⁸⁷ S. 996 is roll six of the *Abhidharma-sāra-prakīrṇaka-śāstra* (*Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論, Z no. 1080, T no. 1552) translated in 434 by Saṅghavarman 僧伽跋摩; S. 4601 is the first roll of *Xianjie qian foming jing* 賢劫千佛經 (Z no. 465, T no. 447), unknown translation but probably Liang dynasty (502–557). Ikeda On's study shows that 479 is not the earliest dated Buddhist colophon from Dunhuang; cf. Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, x, 127, note 4335; Ikeda, *Shabon*, 92, note 101. Also cited in Lancaster, *Korean Buddhist Canon*, 223. For S. 4601 see Giles, 'Dated Chinese Manuscripts', 169; Ikeda, *Shabon*, 528.

⁸⁸ Ikeda, *Shabon*, 255, note 725. The Chinese text reads: 昔雪山菩薩, 八字捨身, 香城大師, 一言析骨。況我凡愚, 而不廻向。佛弟子田豐, 躬率己財, 兼勤有心。仰為: 皇帝文武百僚、七世父母、過見師尊、及法界眾生, 敬寫一切經論, 願共成佛。

⁸⁹ According to the *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經 (*Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*), T no. 374, 12: 375a27, in a previous lifetime the Buddha was a bodhisattva living in the Himālayas when Indra spoke a verse to him from the *rākṣasas*: 'All phenomena are impermanent, which is the Dharma of arising and

am so much more ordinary and foolish than [the bodhisattva] was, and I have not yet dedicated the merit [of this copy]. Disciple of the Buddha Tian Feng is personally wealthy, mindful of this advice. I reverently dedicate the copying of all the scriptures and commentaries to the emperor, one hundred civil and military ministers, seven generations of [my] parents [and grandparents], and sentient beings [so they] will [meet] the venerable Thus Come One (Tathāgata) and become buddhas.

Here we learn of a wealthy lay Buddhist who had either read or heard from a teacher about the contents of another part of the *Da zhidu lun* and the *Da banniepan jing* 大般涅槃經 ([Mahāyāna] *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtra*, Z no. 135, T no. 374). And Tian Feng may have vowed an entire set of all the scriptures and commentaries. It also may be instructive from this earlier example that it appears the donor knew quite a bit about Mahāyāna Buddhist literature. Furthermore, the *Da zhidu lun* is a commentary to a text already known in the mid-seventh century across East Asia as the *Dapin bore jing* 大品般若經 (*Daiban hannya kyō*) or the *Perfection of Wisdom* in many verses.

The second example is from the first roll of the *Da bore jing* from Dunhuang. This roll also has a black stamp like the one we saw on roll 103. S. 3755 is a long roll, which Giles measured to at 26.5 feet (8.07 meters).⁹⁰ It is not the stamp which interests me, but the two prefaces that can be found before the first chapter of the *Da bore jing* commences. The only other manuscript where I have seen these two prefaces is on the Nanatsudera edition of Xuanzang's translation of the **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā-śāstra* [*Apidamo dapiposha lun*

ceasing; arising and ceasing, already extinguished, the cessation of extinction is bliss' 諸行無常, 是生滅去; 生滅滅已, 寂滅為樂. The bodhisattva only heard half of the verse. In order to hear the second half from the *nāgāsas*, he vowed to sacrifice his body. He did not have to sacrifice himself to hear the second half. The Fragrant City refers to a buddha-land where the bodhisattva Dharmodgara 曇無竭 resides; the bodhisattva Sadāpralāpa 常啼 makes his way to the city to learn the teaching from this bodhisattva. Cf. T no. 1509, 25: 734a–b.

⁹⁰ Note 4 in Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1.

阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論, Compendium of the 500 Arhats, Z no. 1072, T no. 1545]. These two manuscripts, one from probably ninth century Dunhuang and the other from late twelfth century Japan, start with two exemplary prefaces that are supposed to have accompanied all the translations completed by Xuanzang and his team in Tang dynasty [manuscript] Buddhist canons. Apparently at Xuanzang's request, two stone steles or tablets (*bei* 碑) at Dayan ta 大雁塔 in Xi'an were carved in 653, when emperor Gaozong 高宗 (628–683, r. 649–683) had a five-story *stūpa* erected on the grounds of the temple he had converted into Da Ci'ensi 大慈恩寺 and dedicated to his deceased mother, empress Wende shunsheng 文德順聖皇后 or Zhangsun 長孫皇后 (601–636), in 648. The two steles consist of a preface that his father, emperor Taizong 太宗 (598–649, r. 626–649), wrote in 648 called *Da Tang sanzang Shengjiao xu* 大唐三藏聖教序 [Preface to the Sacred Teachings (translated by) Trepitaka of the Great Tang] to accompany all of the new translations that Xuanzang and his team completed after the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* was complete; Gaozong's own *Da Tang Huangdi shu sanzang Shengjiao xuji* 大唐皇帝述三藏聖教序記 [Commemoration of the Preface written by the Emperor of the Great Tang (dynasty) to the Sacred Teachings (translated by) Trepitaka (Xuanzang)], written in 652, is the second preface carved for Dayan ta and written out in *kaishu* 楷書 style by imperial secretary Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596–658).⁹¹ A monk by the name

⁹¹ Wong, 'The Making of a Saint', 47–49, see esp. figures 1–1a. Wu Jiang cites the thirteenth century *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 [Historical Chronicle of the (History of the) Buddhas and Patriarchs], T no. 2035, 49: 39.366b4–19, which says that these two prefaces were 'ordered to be put at the beginning of the canon'; see Wu, 'Cult of the Book', 47–48. The text reads: 因勅有司, 寫新譯經論, 頒賜九道總管(時分天下為九道). 御製《大唐三藏聖教序》, 以冠其首(今時石本行, 其文首云, '蓋聞二儀有像, 顯覆載以含生.' 即此序也). 詔皇太子撰《菩薩藏經後序》(二序具在藏經之前). 上自是平章法義, 不輟於口. I have not explored what Zhipan 志磐 (1220–1275) may mean by 'what the crown prince composed as an afterword to a collection of bodhisattva scriptures' [詔皇太子撰菩薩藏經後序. But my reading both of the translations of the two prefaces and their purpose in the mid-seventh century follows Wong, rather than Wu. It does appear that Zhipan

of Huairen 懷仁 from the temple where Xuanzang commenced his translation activities with support from Taizong in 646, Hongfusi 弘福寺, had these prefaces newly engraved in 672 using the style of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361), who was well known to be one of Taizong's favorite calligraphers.⁹² These prefaces survive on two steles in the city of Xi'an and in fragments from Dunhuang.⁹³ They do not accompany any of Xuanzang's translations in printed editions of the Buddhist canon of Chinese. They are, however, recorded in *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, in Daoxuan's *Guang Hongming ji* and *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, and glosses to odd terms are provided in Hui-lin's 慧琳 (737–820) *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 [Glossary to all the *jing* (in the Buddhist canon), *T* no. 2128, comp. 807].⁹⁴ The text is

may have believed there was a canon that either Taizong or Gaozong commissioned, but we see no evidence of this here.

⁹² Wong, 'The Making of a Saint', 48.

⁹³ S. nos. 4818 and 4612, respectively; see Giles, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1. They are understood to have been erected at Big Goose Pagoda (Dayan ta 大雁塔) in 653; see Sheng, 'Development of Chinese Calligraphy', 65. Closer confirmation comes from Xuanyi's 玄逸 (d.u.) *Da Tang Kaiyuan Shijiao guangpin lizhang* 大唐開元釋教廣品歷章 [Complete sections and extensive listing (of the contents of) the Great Tang Kaiyuan era Buddhist (canon)], of which only rolls 5–10 and 12–20 are available in the Jin dynasty (1115–1234) printed Buddhist canon: *A* no. 1276, 98 in CBETA, which reproduces the extant vols. of the Jin canon from *Zhonghua dazang jing: Hanwen bufen* 中華大藏經: 漢文部分, ed. *Zhonghua dazang jing bianji ju*; this edition from 1256 was kept at the Da Baoji si 大寶積寺 in Beijing; only 555 rolls of the Jin canon are extant. See Zhang, 'Unforgettable Enterprise', 14, notes 2–4.

On Xuanyi, see *Song gaoseng zhuan* 宋高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks, (compiled under the) Song (dynasty), 988], *T* no. 2061, 50: 734a23.

⁹⁴ *Da Tang Da Ci'ensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 7.256a28–c24 and *T* no. 2053, 50: 7.257aa25–c7, translated in Li, *Tripitaka Master*, 196–99, 203–06. Cf. *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 22.258a270c16 and *T* no. 2103, 52: 22.259a11–b17; *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 4.456a6–c1 and *T* no. 2060, 50: 4.456c25–457b5; and *Yiqiejing yinyi*, *T* no. 2123, 54: 1.4.312a11–313c5.

not reproduced in *Da Tang gu sanzang Xuanzang fashi xingzhuang* 大唐故三藏玄奘法師行狀 [Report on the career of Trepitaka Xuanzang of the Great Tang, *T* no. 2052, comp. ca 664 by Mingxiang 冥祥], but it does speak of the 780 words in Taizong's preface and 570 in Gaozong's.⁹⁵ Nor is the latter text included in *Zhenyuan lu*.

The first roll with the two extra prefaces from Nanatsudera is undated, but we know that it was copied by a monk named Sōken 相兼, sponsored by the abbot of Atsuta 熱田 *jingūji*, and the work was checked by Eishun; roll 61 is dated 1177.4.10.⁹⁶ Despite the fact that we know the compilers of the Nanatsudera [and Matsuo] canons possessed copies of the first Chinese Buddhist canon printed in 983, I believe that these two prefaces corroborate how much attention was awarded to preserving and bolstering the cultural memory of not only considerable patronage of the Buddhist church by early Tang rulers but also the state-sponsored translation projects, the most famous of which was the team led by Xuanzang. There may also be slight textual variations between these two prefaces that I have not yet awarded enough attention to. But I am certain that the reduplication of these two prefaces on the Nanatsudera edition of the *Abidatsuma-daibibasharon* attests to the fact that copying from Tang exemplars was the predilection in twelfth century Japan.

Conclusion: *Prajñāpāramitā* Texts in the *Da Bore Jing/Dai Hannyā Kyō*

Written on roll 522 of the *Dai hannyā kyō* from the Matsuo shrine canon, which I mentioned before only in passing, are large characters that read: *Dai hannyā ya* 大般若也. Based upon a separate study of Yijing's 義淨 (635–713) translation of the *Suvarṇabhāṣottama-sūtra* (*Jin'guangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經, *Z* no. 158, *T* no. 665) in the Matsuo shrine canon, it recently came to my attention that certain rolls have colophons to indicate *how* to ritually read

⁹⁵ *T* no. 2052, 50: 218a24–0b3.

⁹⁶ Nanatsudera issaikyō hozonkai, *Nanatsudera issaikyō mokuroku*, 96–99.

them. Rolls nine and ten of the *Konkōmyō saishō kyō* from Matsuo, for example, have *Matsuno'o issaikyō* 松尾一切經 written on the back of each roll in intervals to indicate where the reader should stop rolling (or unrolling) in order to ritually read the text. The large characters *dai hannya ya* on roll 522 of the *Dai hannya kyō* were probably written to indicate that a ritual reading was completed. These examples from the Matsuo shrine canon lead me to ask a question about colophons to rolls of the *Da bore jing* from Dunhuang or the *Dai hannya kyō* from Nanatsudera, Kongōji, Matsuo or almost any other manuscript Mahāyāna Buddhist text in Chinese: did the scribes, donors, or sponsors intend to have colophons written on specific rolls because they either had read that particular roll or chapter and considered it important or perhaps even salvific? In other words, do colophons tell us anything about which parts of particular texts may have been interesting—intellectually, spiritually, or ritually—to those who produced or used them? Did Fujiwara no Kiyohara 藤原清衡 (1056–1128) who sponsored a manuscript canon for Chūsonji 中尊寺 in Ōshū Hiraizumi 奥州平泉 copied in alternating gold and silver ink on indigo paper between 1108–1117, consider which parts of texts—such as rolls 345 or 460 of the *Dai hannya kyō*—should be copied in such an expensive medium?⁹⁷

The six-line stamp on every tenth and eleventh roll of the *Dai hannya kyō* from Nanatsudera probably does not suggest much more than *tendoku* was [often] performed with these manuscripts. In order to determine—or speculate—about the rolls with particular colophons from Dunhuang or ancient or medieval Japan, one would have to know something about the contents of this colossal text. Thankfully, Edward Conze (1904–1979), Hikata Ryūshō 干潟竜祥 (1892–1991), and others, have produced comparative studies of *Prajñāpāramitā* literature in Sanskrit, Chinese, Tibetan, Mongolian, and so forth. Let me begin with a few rather basic points about the *Da bore jing*. The 600 rolls comprise a text which presents sixteen

⁹⁷ Ochiai et al., 'Découverte de manuscrits', 370–71. See rolls 345 and 460 in and other examples Nara National Museum, *Special Exhibit*, notes 39–40, and 70–71.

assemblies (*hui* 會)—‘sermons’ or ‘meetings’—understood to have taken place at four key locations:

1. Assemblies 1–6 (1: rolls 1–400; 2–6: rolls 401–573), and 15 (rolls 591–592) take place at Vulture Peak (Gṛdhrakūṭa 靈鷲山) in the city of Rājagṛha 王舍城.
2. Nos. 7–9 (rolls 574–577) and 11–14 (rolls 579–590) take place in Anāthapiṇḍada’s 給孤獨 (Sudatta 須達) park in Śrāvastī 舍衛城: Jetavanavihāra 祇園精舍.
3. No. 10 (rolls 578) takes place in the abode of Parānirmitavaśavartin gods 他化自在天.
4. No. 16 (593–600) is set near Snowy Heron Pond in the Bamboo park near Rājagṛha (*Karaṇḍa-veṇuvana*).⁹⁸

Taishō vol. 5 (pp. 1–1074) has rolls 1–200; vol. 6 (pp. 1–1073) has rolls 200–400; vol. 7 (pp. 1–1100) with rolls 400–600.

The first assembly—in 400 rolls in over 2,000 pages in the Taishō edition—consists of probably a much longer version of the *Śatasahāsrikā* (Perfection of Wisdom in 100,000 lines), which is otherwise only translated into Tibetan (some ninth century examples from Dunhuang).⁹⁹ The second assembly is the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* (Perfection of Wisdom in 25,000 lines), which covers rolls 401–478 in the *Da bore jing*. T nos. 221, 222, and 223 also translate versions of this *sūtra*.¹⁰⁰ The third assembly is a slightly shorter version of the Perfection of Wisdom in 25,000 lines in only 18,000 lines (*Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*), which, like the first 400 rolls, is not translated into Chinese elsewhere. Only because Xuanzang and his team translated both the Perfection of Wisdom in 25,000 and 18,000

⁹⁸ Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 28; de Visser, *Ancient Buddhism in Japan*, 492; Hikata, *Suvikrāntavikrāmi-Paripṛcchā-Prajñāpāramitā-Sūtra*, Table II.

⁹⁹ Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 39; van Schaik, ‘The Uses of Implements’, 235–36. Each of the seventy-nine chapters in Chinese is outlined with page numbers to the Taishō edition in Komine et al., *Hannyakyo taizen*, 196–99.

¹⁰⁰ Komine et al., *Hannyakyo taizen*, 37–39; Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 41.

lines—rolls 488–537—are both versions known in Chinese as the *Dapin jing* or *Daibankyō*.¹⁰¹ The fourth assembly, which consists of rolls 538–555, is the famous *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (Perfection of Wisdom in 8,000 lines). *T* nos. 224, 225, 226, 227, and 228 also translate this text. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is known in East Asia as the Perfection of Wisdom scripture with Fewer lines (*Xiaopin bore jing*, *Shōban hannyakyō* 小品般若經). It may be instructive that Conze thought this version corresponds closely with extant Sanskrit editions.¹⁰² The fifth assembly is earlier version of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*; the *Fayuan zhulin* says this edition was translated from a version with 4,000 ślokas.¹⁰³ The sixth assembly, which covers rolls 566–573, retranslates part of the same text as in *T* no. 231: the **Devarājappravara-prajñāpāramitā-sūtra*, a part of the *Suvikrāntavikrāmī-paripṛcchā-prajñāpāramitā-nirdeśa* or *Sāddhadvisāhasrikā* (The Questions of Suvikrāntavikrāmin).¹⁰⁴ The sixteenth assembly, which is rolls 593–600, consists of the main portion of a this text, available only in Hikata's 1958 study. The seventh assembly is *Saptaśatikā* (Perfection of Wisdom in 700 lines), rolls 574–575, which was also translated in *T* nos. 232 and 233. The eighth assembly, roll 576, is another retranslation, in this case of the *Nāgaśrīpāriṇcchā-sūtra* (*Rushou pusa wushang qingjing fenwei jing* 濡首菩薩無上清淨分衛經, *Z* no. 14). The ninth assembly, roll 577, is another celebrated *Prajñāpāramitā* text, the *Vajracchedikā* (*Jin'gang jing* 金剛經). *T* nos. 235, 236, 237, 238, and 239 also translate the *Diamond Sūtra*.¹⁰⁵ Roll 578 is the tenth assembly and

¹⁰¹ There are eighty-five chapters in the second assembly and only thirty-one in the third: see Komine et al., *Hannyakyō taizen*, 196–99. For a comparative chapter list in English, see Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 45–50.

¹⁰² Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 54–55. For a comparison between the contents of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* and the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, or *Dapin* and *Xiaopin* editions, see Komine et al., *Hannyakyō taizen*, 40–41.

¹⁰³ *Fayuan zhulin*, *T* no. 2122, 53: 100.1024b18–1025a16.

¹⁰⁴ Komine et al., *Hannyakyō taizen*, 43–45. Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 60–62. See also note 132 in Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die Lhan Kar Ma Ein Früher Katalog*, 73.

¹⁰⁵ Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 64–70.

is the *Adhyardhaśatikā* or *Prajñāpāramitā-naya-śatapañcaśatikā* (*Liqu jing* 理趣經 [*Sūtra* that Transcends the Principle]; 150 lines). *T* nos. 240–244 translate this later Perfection of Wisdom treatise.¹⁰⁶ Assemblies 11–15, which comprise rolls 579–592, are only available elsewhere in the five perfections outlined in the Tibetan *Ārya-pañcapāramitānirdeśa-nāmamahāyāna-sūtra* (*‘phags-pa pha-rol-tu phyin-pa lña bstan-pa*, *T* no. 221).¹⁰⁷

I provide this overview of the contents of the *Da bore jing* because I wonder if, for example, roll 522 from Matsuo with the indication that it was ritually read could be significant because we know this is a roll from the *Aṣṭadaśasāhasrikā*? Or that several of the rolls that came from Shitennoji correspond to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*? When we acknowledge that the majority of the colophons under review in this paper to the *Da bore jing* from twelfth or eighth century Japan and Dunhuang are to rolls from the Perfection of Wisdom in *perhaps* 200,000 lines, then it appears the task ahead is to read these rolls to determine if the donors, scribes, or sponsors were thinking of particular lines of text within each roll. I suspect, however, that what was foremost in the minds of these devotees was the image of Xuanzang himself evoking the words:

It is recorded in the sutra itself that in this country there will be people taking delight in Mahayana teachings. All kings, ministers, and followers of the four groups who copy, receive, and keep it, as well as recite and circulate it will be reborn in the heavens and obtain ultimate emancipation. Since there is such a passage, we must not keep silent about it.

¹⁰⁶ Conze, *Prajñāpāramitā Literature*, 78–79.

¹⁰⁷ Note 104 in Herrmann-Pfandt, *Die Lhan Kar Ma Ein Früher Katalog*, 59–60.

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Abbreviations

- J* *Mingban Jiaxing dazang jing: Jingshan zangban* 明版嘉興大藏經: 徑山藏版 [Ming dynasty printed Jiaxing Chinese Buddhist Canon; Mount Jing edition]. See Bibliography, Primary Sources, *Mingban Jiaxing dazang jing*.
- NBZ* *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho* 大日本佛教全書 [Complete Buddhist Works of Japan]. [Complete Buddhist Works of Japan]. See Bibliography, Primary Sources, *Dai Nihon Bukkyō zensho*.
- P.* Pelliot collection of Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Pelliot collection of Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang.
- S.* Stein collection of Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Stein collection of Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang.
- T* *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 [Revised version of the East Asian Buddhist Canon, compiled during the Taishō era]. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
- Z* *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄 [Newly Revised Catalogue of Buddhist Scriptures made during the Zhenyuan-era, T no. 2157]. See Bibliography, Primary Sources, *Zhenyuan xinding shijiao mulu*.

Titles in Japanese and [reconstructed] Sanskrit in the Taishō canon follow Paul Demiéville et al., *Répertoire du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais, Édition de Taishō (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō) : [Fascicule Annexe du Hōbōgirin]*, Éd. rev. et augm. ed. (Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient, 1978) and Lewis R. Lancaster and Sung-bae Park, eds., *The Korean Buddhist Canon: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

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- Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 [Jade Forest in the Dharma Garden]. 100 *juan*. Comp. Daoshi 道世 (d. 683). *T* no. 2122, vol. 53.
- Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 [General Account of the Buddha and Patriarchs]. 54 *juan*. Comp. Zhipan 志磐 (ca. 1220–1275). *T* no. 2035, vol. 49.
- Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 [Extended Collection for Propagating and Elucidating Buddhism]. 30 *juan*. Comp. Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667). *T* no. 2103, vol. 52.
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Appendix

The Xuanzang Project at the University of Göttingen

SIGLINDE DIETZ

University of Göttingen

Abstract: Annemarie von Gabain first identified fragments of an Old Uygur translation of Xuanzang's biography of Huili 慧立 (615–675?) and Yancong 彦棕 (ca. 650–688) in 1935. The Old Uygur manuscript found in the Turfan Oasis contains fragments from almost all chapters. Since 1991, by Klaus Röhrborn and his students successively published these manuscripts in the project *Xuanzangs Leben und Werk* (Xuanzang's life and work). To this date, 11 volumes have appeared.

Keywords: Xuanzang's biography, Uygur translation, Project of German Sinologists and Turkologists

In 1935, Annemarie von Gabain first identified fragments of an Old Uyghur translation of Xuanzang's biography of Huili 慧立 (615–675?) and Yancong 彦宗 (ca. 650–688), and transcribed all identified fragments. The Old Uyghur manuscript found in the Turfan Oasis contained fragments from all chapters. The original manuscript was divided into three parts and sold to the collections in Berlin, Paris and St. Petersburg.¹ The Uyghur text is a translation of *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 [Biography of the Tripiṭaka Dharmacārya of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang (Dynasty)] that was prepared by the famous Uyghur translator Šiŋko Šäli who lived and worked in the tenth and eleventh centuries. From the translator's colophons we know the following title: The [...] chapter of the Kāvya-text² Ci-en-zhuan (Ch. 慈恩傳) with the title 'Biography of the Bodhisattva "Tripiṭaka-Master" of the Great Tang [Dynasty]' is concluded. After having collected the material on the Master's life, the Tripiṭaka authority Huili composed the biography in Chinese, which the Great Dharma Teacher Yancong Fapši enlarged and Šiŋko Šäli Tutuŋ from Bešbalık translated from Chinese into Uyghur.³

Since 1991, these Uyghur fragments were successively published by Klaus Röhrborn and his students in the project *Xuanzangs Leben und Werk* [Xuanzang's life and work]. To this date, the fragments of eight chapters have appeared. The complete biography comprises ten chapters. The publication of the last two chapters—Chapters 4 and 6—is almost ready and in press. With these publications, the Xuanzang Project at Göttingen will be completed.

Originally, the project of *Xuanzangs Leben und Werk* was a

¹ Cf. Semet, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen*, 1–4.

² Uyg. *kavi nom*.

³ Cf. chap. III: 981–91; chap. V: 2501–11, chap. VII: 2172–82; chap. VIII: 2141–53; chap. IX: 2189–202. The colophon runs as follows: *ymä kutlug ulug t(a)vgač elintä üč agılık nom ötgürmiš küilib taiši ödig alıp t(a)vgač tilinčä yaratmış gentsuŋ fabši atl(ı)g nomči açari keñürtmiš, yänä t(a)vgač tilintin beš balıklıg šiŋko šäli tutuŋ yañırtı türk tilinčä ävirmiş bodis(a)t(a)v taito samtso açarınıŋ yorıkın ukıtmak atl(ı)g tsi-in-čüen tegmä kavi nom bitig [...] ülüş tükädi.*

joint venture of the Turkologist Klaus Röhrborn and the Sinologist Alexander L. Mayer, and was intermittently funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (German Research Association) since 1986. In the same year, Mayer and Röhrborn showed the need and the purpose of such a project in their article.⁴

All volumes of this project are published in the following series: *Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica* [Publications of the Societas Uralo-Altaica]. Vol. 34: *Xuanzangs Leben und Werk* [Xuanzang's Life and Work], parts 1–13. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 1991–2018.

I. Research on Xuanzang's Biography in Chinese:

Part 1: Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Xuanzang, Übersetzer und Heiliger* [Xuanzang, Translator and Saint], 1992. Based on his doctoral dissertation,⁵ this book contains a survey of six different biographies of Xuanzang, his life, his work, and his translations.

Part 2: Alexander Leonhard Mayer, *Cien-Biographie VII, übersetzt und kommentiert* [Cien Biography VII, translated and annotated], 1991.⁶ This work contains an annotated translation of the seventh chapter of Xuanzang's biography *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* [Biography of the Tripitaka Dharmacārya of the Great Cien Monastery of the Great Tang (Dynasty)]. The Cien biography is the oldest and most comprehensive biographical account written by Xuanzang's disciples Huili and Yancong.

Part 4: Uwe Frankenhauser, *Cien-Biographie VIII, übersetzt und kommentiert* [Cien Biography VIII, translated and annotated], 1995.⁷ This is an annotated translation of the eighth chapter of the Chinese *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*.

⁴ Mayer and Röhrborn, 'Der Wert der modernen Übersetzungen der chinesischen Hsüan-tsang-Biographie'.

⁵ Mayer, *Da-Tang-daci'ensi-Sanzang-fashi-zhuan*.

Part 6: Alexander Leonhard Mayer. *Cien-Biographie VI, übersetzt und kommentiert* [Cien Biography VI, translated and annotated], 2001.⁸ This is an annotated translation of the sixth chapter of the Chinese *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*.

Most regretfully, the series of translations from the Chinese original text was discontinued after A. L. Mayer became associate professor at the University of Illinois in Urbana-Champaign (USA) and Uwe Frankenhauser left the University of Göttingen.

II. Editions and Translations of Xuanzang's Biography in Uyghur

All editions of the Uyghur text contain a detailed introduction with the research history, the transliteration and transcription of the text as well as a German translation and extended commentary on wording, translation and terms.

Part 3: Klaus Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VII, nach der Handschrift von Leningrad, Paris und Peking sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert* [The Uyghur Xuanzang biography (Chapt.) VII, according to the manuscripts of Leningrad, Paris and Beijing and the transcript of A. v. G. edited, translated and commented], 1991.⁹

Part 5: Klaus Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VIII, nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert* [The Uyghur Xuanzang biography VIII, based on the manuscripts of Paris, Beijing and St. Petersburg as well as the transcript by Annemarie v. Gabain edited, translated and commented], 1996.¹⁰

⁶ Mayer, *Cien-Biographie VII, übersetzt und kommentiert*.

⁷ Frankenhauser, *Cien-Biographie VIII, übersetzt und kommentiert*.

⁸ Mayer, *Cien-Biographie VI, übersetzt und kommentiert*.

⁹ Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VII*.

¹⁰ Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VIII*.

Part 7: Mehmet Ölmez and Klaus Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie III, nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain herausgegeben, übersetzt und kommentiert* [The Uyghur Xuanzang biography III, based on the manuscripts of Paris, Beijing and St. Petersburg as well as the transcript by Annemarie v. Gabain edited, translated and commented], 2001.¹¹

Part 9: Aysima Mirsultan, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie X, nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert* [The Uyghur Xuanzang biography X, based on the manuscripts of Paris, Beijing and St. Petersburg as well as the transcript by Annemarie v. Gabain edited, translated and commented], 2010.

Part 10: Hakan Aydemir. *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie IX, nach der Handschrift von Paris, Peking und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert* [The Uyghur Xuanzang biography IX, based on the manuscripts of Paris, Beijing and St. Petersburg as well as the transcript by Annemarie v. Gabain edited, translated and commented], 2 Vols., 2013.

Part 11: Siglinde Dietz, Mehmet Ölmez, and Klaus Röhrborn. *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie V, nach der Handschrift von Paris und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert* [The Uyghur Xuanzang biography V, based on the manuscripts of Paris, Beijing and St. Petersburg as well as the transcript by Annemarie v. Gabain edited, translated and commented], 2015.

Part 12: Mehmet Ölmez, Klaus Röhrborn, and Ablet Semet. *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie IV, nach der Handschrift von Paris sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain ediert, übersetzt*

¹¹ Ölmez and Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie III*.

und kommentiert [The Uyghur Xuanzang biography IV, based on the manuscripts of Paris, Beijing and St. Petersburg as well as the transcript by Annemarie v. Gabain edited, translated and commented], in press.¹²

Part 13: Mehmet Ölmez. *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VI, nach der Handschrift von Paris und St. Petersburg sowie nach dem Transkript von Annemarie v. Gabain ediert, übersetzt und kommentiert* [The Uyghur Xuanzang biography VI, based on the manuscripts of Paris, Beijing and St. Petersburg as well as the transcript by Annemarie v. Gabain edited, translated and commented], in press.¹³

III. Lexical Research

Part 8: Ablet Semet, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen zur uigurischen Xuanzang-Biographie* [Lexical research on the Uyghur Xuanzang biography], 2005. This dissertation contains a survey of Uyghur translations of Chinese terms in the biography.¹⁴

IV. Research on Chapters 1 and 2 of Xuanzang's Biography

The few Uyghur fragments of the first and second chapters of the *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan* were published by: Ablet Semet, 'Ein Fragment des I. Kapitels der uigurischen Xuanzang-Biographie' [A fragment of Chapter I of the Uyghur Xuanzang biography], contains an edition with commentary and German translation of the only folio (pages 237 and 238) of the first chapter kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris and transcribed by Annemarie von Gabain in 1933.¹⁵

¹² Ölmez, Röhrborn, and Semet, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie IV*.

¹³ Ölmez, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VI*.

¹⁴ Semet, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen*.

¹⁵ Semet, 'Ein Fragment des I Kapitels der uigurischen Xuanzang-Biographie'.

Peter Zieme's article, 'Xuanzangs Biographie und das *Xiyuji*' [Xuanzang's Biography and the *Xiyu ji*], contains the fragments (Nos. 170–183) of the second chapter.¹⁶ This edition with German translation comprises the fragments of another manuscript of the Uygur translation of the biography preserved in the Turfan collection at Berlin. So far no Uygur fragments of a translation of Xuanzang's *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [The Great Tang Records of the Western Regions] have been found, but the Chinese biography quotes it quite often. Zieme searched for such quotations in the Uygur translation of the biography. He investigated the interpolations in the Uygur text and verified them in the wording of the legend of the foundation of Khotan in the fifth chapter of the Uygur text (lines 1916–2054).

Mehmet Ölmez, 'Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie II (Eski Uyğurca Xuanzang Biyografisi, II)' [The Uygur Xuanzang biography II], is an annotated edition of the fragments of the second chapter kept in Beijing (HT Pek 184–200) along with the Chinese text of *Taishō* no. 2053, 232a3–233b20.¹⁷

V. Other Articles with Regard to Xuanzang's Biography in Uygur

The *Buddhistische Erzählliteratur und Hagiographie in türkischer Überlieferung* [Buddhist narrative literature and hagiography in Turkish tradition], edited by Jens Peter Laut and Klaus Röhrborn and published in 1990 contains a chapter by Alexander L. Mayer, 'Die Gründungslegende Khotans' [The Legend of the Foundation of Khotan]. It investigates, too, the traces of the *Xiyu ji* in the Uygur transmission of this legend and draws these conclusions: (1) the main storyline is identical with the *Xiyu ji* and does not agree with the *Ci'en si zhuan*; (2) the Uygur translator likes to improve the content and style of the text by means of annotations; and (3) sometimes the Uygur text deviates due to misunderstanding a Chinese metaphor.¹⁸

¹⁶ Zieme, 'Xuanzangs Biographie und das *Xiyuji*', 85–106.

¹⁷ Ölmez, 'Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie II'.

¹⁸ Mayer, 'Die Gründungslegende Khotans', esp. 60.

The same volume contains a contribution by one of its co-editors, Klaus Röhrborn, 'Zur "Werktreue" der alttürkischen Hsüan-tsang-Biographie' [On the 'faithfulness to the (Chinese) original' of the Uyghur Xuanzang biography], which examines some passages in the seventh chapter of Xuanzang's biography. He then draws the conclusion that Šiŋko Šäli could make use of only one Chinese manuscript, i.e. he had no variant readings. The only other Chinese text available to him was the *Xiyu ji*, but this work could not be used for the difficult chapters 6 to 10. On account of his religious qualm he did not abbreviate the text. Sometimes he arranges the Chinese characters according to the Turkic syntax. He tried to make sense of every phrase even if he did not understand all the allegories and literary allusions. Therefore, the Uyghur version of Xuanzang's biography is not only a translation of the Chinese original, but at those places where Šiŋko Šäli introduces his native language into the Chinese text, his Uyghur text is more like a transformation of a text written in Turkic ideograms and therefore some kind of 'Pseudo Chinese'.¹⁹

In her 2015 article, 'Xuanzang und die sechs Häretiker' [Xuanzang and the six heretics], Dietz examined the Uyghur and Chinese translations of philosophical Sanskrit terms.²⁰ In the fourth chapter of Xuanzang's biography,²¹ Xuanzang discusses six different schools of Indian philosophy with a Brahmin. In this context, new philosophical terms were adopted into the Uyghur language. Some of the terms were translated from Chinese and some were re-sanskritized and show that the translator Šiŋko Šäli had a good knowledge of Sanskrit. Thus the names of the heretic schools were transliterated in the Uyghur translation, whereas they were translated in the Chinese original:

¹⁹ Röhrborn, 'Zur "Werktreue" der alttürkischen Hsüan-tsang-Biographie', esp. 72.

²⁰ Dietz, 'Xuanzang und die sechs Häretiker', 115–17.

²¹ In the Chinese original this part is found in *T* no. 2053, 50: 245a16–b29 and in the translations of Beal, *The Life of Hiuen-tsiang*, 161–64 and of Li, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 132–34.

Names of the heretic schools (Skt. *tīrthika*)

Sanskrit	Uyгур	Chinese
Pāśupata	<i>paśupaṭṭelıg tirtilar</i>	<i>Buduo waidao</i> 鋪多外道
Nirgrantha	<i>nigrante nātiputrelıg tirtilar</i>	<i>Lixi waidao</i> 離繫外道
Kāpālīka	<i>kapalikelıg tirtilar</i>	<i>Louman waidao</i> 體鬘外道
Tārkika	<i>ṭarkakelıg tirtilar</i>	<i>Zhengjia</i> 徵伽?
Jūtaka		<i>Shuzhengjia waidao</i> 殊徵伽外道
Vaiśeṣika	<i>vaiśaṣikelıg ačarilar</i>	<i>Shenglun waidao</i> 勝論外道
Sāṃkhya	<i>sankilıg pabşilar</i>	<i>Shulun waidao</i> 數論外道

In Chinese only the name *Buduo waidao* 鋪多外道 (Bhūta heretics) is transliterated, a rendition of Sanskrit ‘Bhūta-Tīrthika’. The Sanskrit *bhūta* (that which is or exists, a spirit, ghost, demon) is according to Böhtlingk, also ‘N[ame] einer häretischen Schule, deren Anhänger sich den Körper mit Asche einrieben’ (‘Name of a heretic school, the members of which rub their bodies with ashes’)²² with the source text *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang* [History of Xuanzang’s life].²³ This quotation seems to be drawn from Xuanzang’s biography, which describes these heretics as having rubbed their bodies with ashes. The Bhūtātīrthikas are, as the Pāśupatas, a Shivaite religious group.

The Uyğur *ṭarkakelıg tirtilar* transliterates the Sanskrit *tārkika* (*tīrthika*) (dialectician, logician, philosopher).²⁴ This is remarkable in

²² Böhtlingk, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, under the heading.

²³ Julien, trans., *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-Tsang*, 224.

²⁴ According to Böhtlingk (*Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, under the heading), the Sāyādvādins, Śūnyavādins, Naiyāyikas, Sāṃkhyas, Vaiśeṣikas and Nāstikas belong to the Tārkika School.

so far as these heretics are called in Chinese *Shuzhengjia waidao* 殊徵伽外道²⁵ (Jūṭaka²⁶ heretics). This means that a third Śivaitic group is included in the Chinese list of heretics, since *jūṭā*, or *jūṭa* (twisted hair) denotes the plait of Śiva or of an ascetic. *Jūṭaka* means ‘having twisted hair’. In the Uygur translation (Z no. 1487–1492) this group is characterized by dirty, ragged clothes, by eating rotten food, and they are described as comparable to pigs. In the *Samkarakasūtra* of the *Dīrghāgama* (346v7–347v6)²⁷, however, the *tārkikas* are characterized as follows: (348r4–5): *santi ... eke śramaṇabrāhmaṇā ye tarkikā mīmāṃsakās tarkaparyāpannāyām bhūmau sthitāḥ*²⁸ ... ‘There are some *śramaṇas* and *brahmins*, who are dialecticians (*tārkikā*), examiners (*mīmāṃsakā*), who are concerned with speculative matters (*tarkaparyāpannāyām bhūmau sthitāḥ*) ...’. This description seems to contradict the description in Xuanzang’s biography. The Uygur translator could have misunderstood the transliterated Chinese *Shuzhengjia waidao* as translation and therefore re-sanskritized *tarkakelig*.

The categories of the Vaiśeṣika doctrine are translated in the Uygur translation as well as in the Chinese translation:

Sanskrit	Translation	Uygur	Chinese
<i>6 padārthāḥ</i>	category	<i>padak üzäki yöriüglär, bölök, töz</i>	<i>juyi</i> 句義
1. <i>dravya</i>	substance	<i>čin kertü</i>	<i>shi</i> 實
2. <i>guṇa</i>	quality	<i>ādrām</i>	<i>de</i> 德
3. <i>karman</i>	motion, action	<i>iş küdüg</i>	<i>ye</i> 業

²⁵ T no 2053, 50: 245a25: cf. T no. 2053, 50: 245b2: *zhengjia* 徵伽. *Zheng* means ‘to prove; evidence; seek for, inquire’. Thus, it seems that the Uygur name *tarkakelig* is a re-Sanskritizing of the Chinese term *zhengjia*.

²⁶ Cf. Li, *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 133; Beal, *The Life of Hsüen-tsiang*, 162: ‘Chingias (Chudinkas)’.

²⁷ Unpublished manuscript.

²⁸ Cf. the same wording in *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Ed. Wogihara) 37.23 ff.

Sanskrit	Translation	Uyghur	Chinese
4. <i>sāmānya</i>	universal generic property	<i>ulug bar kıltaçı</i>	<i>youtong</i> 有同
5. <i>viśeṣa</i>	ultimate particularity	<i>süzdäči adratdaçı töz</i>	<i>yixing</i> 異性
6. <i>samavāya</i>	inherence	<i>birlä kavşurdaçı töz</i>	<i>behexing</i> 和合性

Not all the terms of the Sāṃkhya School are preserved in the Uyghur translation. These terms are translated in both versions:

Sanskrit	Translation	Uyghur	Chinese
25 <i>tattvāni</i>	principles	<i>kertü</i>	<i>diyi</i> 諦義
1. <i>pradhāna, prakṛti</i>	primary matter	<i>töz</i>	<i>zixing</i> 自性
2. <i>mahat</i>	the great principle	<i>ulug</i>	<i>da</i> 大
3. <i>ahamkāra</i>	subjectifying sense		<i>wozhi</i> 我執
4.–8. 5 <i>tanmātrāṇi</i>	subtle elements		<i>weiliang</i> 唯量
9.–13. 5 <i>mahābbūtāni</i>	great elements		<i>da</i> 大
14.–24. 11 <i>indriyāṇi</i>	sense organs	<i>ärklig</i>	<i>gen</i> 根
25. <i>ātman</i>	the ātman	<i>m(ä)n</i>	<i>wo</i> 我

The three *guṇa* ‘qualities’ of the Sāṃkhya School, however, are translated into Uyghur and transliterated in the Chinese original:

Sanskrit	Translation	Uyghur	Chinese
3 <i>guṇāni, dharmāḥ</i>	qualities	<i>töz, nom</i>	<i>fa</i> 法
1. <i>sattva</i>	goodness, purity	<i>töläklänmäk</i>	<i>saduo</i> ²⁹ 薩埵
2. <i>rajas</i>	passion	<i>toz tuprak</i>	<i>ladu</i> 刺闍
3. <i>tamas</i>	ignorance, illusion	<i>karaṅgu</i>	<i>damo</i> 答摩

These quotations are only few of the results regarding the research on Xuanzang's biography *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*.

VI. The Aim of the Project

From the beginning of the Xuanzang project, Mayer and Röhrborn declared that they wanted to exemplify how the old Uyghur version of Xuanzang's biography could contribute to explaining misunderstandings in modern translations of the Chinese version.³⁰

Among the Uyghur translations of Buddhist texts, more than ninety percent are translations from Chinese, and most of them are religious texts. Xuanzang's biography, however, comprises topics from various spheres of life and therefore has a more differentiated vocabulary that is not found in other texts. The semantic clarification of many rare lexemes by means of the Chinese original is therefore one of the special tasks of Uyghur lexicography. For more than fifty years, Klaus Röhrborn has collected material for a Uyghur Dictionary of which several volumes have appeared from 1977 onwards. Since 2005 this dictionary was included in the program of the Academy of Sciences of Göttingen and first funded by the German Research Association from 2007–2016. Since 2017, the *Uigurisches Wörterbuch: Sprachmaterial der vorislamischen türkischen Texte aus Zentralasien*

²⁹ Soothill & Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 467b.

³⁰ Cf. Dietz, Ölmez, and Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie V*, 2.

³¹ Four volumes of this *Neubearbeitung* have appeared since 2010.

[Uygur dictionary: Language material of the pre-Islamic Turkish texts from Central Asia]³¹ has continued as one of the dictionary projects of the Academy of Sciences of Göttingen. In the context of the latter project, the lexicographic material from the Uygur translation of Xuanzang's biography is of eminent importance. In order to collect the material, however, a critically edited text is necessary. Many of the Uygur words are either new *lemmata* or even *hapax legomena*. Therefore the text contains challenging sections that can only be solved by comparison with the Chinese original, but the Chinese text is also difficult to understand and its different translations do not help with all details. In the context of the Xuanzang Project, the Sinologist Alexander Leonard Mayer planned to prepare a new translation of the *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, whereas Klaus Röhrborn prepared the critical edition of the Uygur translation. A. L. Mayer too benefitted sometimes from the Uygur translation, of which Ablet Semet cites several examples.³² Also A. L. Mayer gives such an example in his paper about the foundation legends of Khotan, in which he compares the legend of the foundation of Khotan in the Chinese, Tibetan and Uygur transmissions.³³ He comments on this legend in the Uygur translation (chapter five: lines 1916–2054), and characterizes the structure of this translation.³⁴

One of the important results was stated by Ablet Semet: on account of variant readings, he proves that the Chinese original used by Širko Šäli is not the same text as the one transmitted in the *Taishō* edition, and that the Uygur version agrees more with the *Jia* and *Gong* versions than to the *San* and *Taishō* versions of the text.³⁵

As Klaus Röhrborn states in the introduction of his edition of Chapter Seven³⁶, the comparison of the Uygur translation with the Chinese original is also of importance for the semasiology of Uygur

³² Semet, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen*, 16–19.

³³ Mayer, 'Die Gründungslegende Khotans'

³⁴ Mayer, 'Die Gründungslegende Khotans', 53–60.

³⁵ Semet, *Lexikalische Untersuchungen*, 12–13.

³⁶ Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VII*, 6–8.

³⁷ Röhrborn, 'Zur "Werktreue" der Hsüan-tsang-Biographie', 68–71.

language. On account of religious qualms, Šiŋko Šäli translated the original text without omissions as well as the quotations from classical Chinese texts which sometimes he did not understand correctly. In the latter cases, his Uyghur translation makes sense even when it is not an exact equivalent to the Chinese original. As mentioned above, in the paper ‘Zur “Werktreue” der Hsüan-tsang-Biographie’ Röhrborn cites examples of misunderstanding and such divergences.³⁷

Also in his edition of the eighth chapter,³⁸ Röhrborn gives an account of the Uyghur translation process from Chinese: first the Chinese text was transcribed. This is proved by two parts of transcriptions that are preserved in the final translation of the eighth chapter: lines 1489–1490 and 1537–1539. This transcription was successively replaced by the Uyghur translation. Repetitions in the text show that the text was revised by a qualified proof-reader. Šiŋko Šäli was not as proficient in Chinese as in his mother tongue. There, we can only explain the formal and textual mistakes of the Uyghur version. In the paragraph on Sino-Uyghur elements in the texts (pages 5–8), Röhrborn investigates the rendering of Chinese names and appellatives and draws the conclusion that the Chinese vernacular of the translator’s time influenced the Sino-Uyghur binomina of the Uyghur text.

Aysima Mirsultan edited the tenth chapter of the Uyghur translation.³⁹ In her introduction (pages 29–47) she summarizes her research on the Uyghur translator’s method. In 1.4.1 she deals with those parts of the translation which are abridged, in 1.4.2 with the omitted parts, in 1.4.3–4 with the parts that are extended or more detailed in comparison with the Chinese, and in 1.4.6–7 she investigates metrical elements and deviating syntax.

Hakan Aydemir comments on changes and omissions in the Uyghur translation in his introduction to the edition of the ninth chapter.⁴⁰ According to the Chinese source and Xuanzang’s letters⁴¹

³⁸ Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie VIII*, 2–8.

³⁹ Mirsultan, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie X*.

⁴⁰ Aydemir, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie IX*, 16–24.

⁴¹ In the Chinese original 24 letters are incorporated in this chapter. Not all of them are preserved in the Uyghur translation.

to and from the emperor Gaozong⁴² in the years 656–658, Xuanzang's relationship to the imperial court seems to have been politically difficult for Xuanzang, but the Uygur translation seems to give the letters a Buddhist interpretation, in so far as according to the Uygur translation Xuanzang tries to convert the emperor to Buddhism. The Uygur translation omits parts of the text with Daoist content.

Röhrborn mentions in the introduction to the edition of the fifth chapter⁴³ that among other Buddhist interpretations of the *Ci'en si zhuan*, not only the legend of the foundation of Khotan in lines 1890–2042 was translated from the *Xiyu ji*, but that the lines 0726–0743 are also a Uygur addition. In these lines we find an outline of the Yogācāra way to salvation.⁴⁴

Most regrettably, the new translation of the Chinese source *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fasbi zhuan* had to be discontinued after the publication of the sixth, seventh and eighth chapters. Uwe Frankenhauser's unpublished translation of the ninth chapter was available to Hakan Aydemir for his edition of the Uygur manuscript, and could be used in his comments on the differences between the Chinese and Uygur texts and in his introduction to examining the different Chinese versions.⁴⁵ He even constituted a stemma of the *San*-, *Gong*- and *Jia*-versions of the text. He stated that the Uygur text is shorter than all the Chinese versions. At least, the above mentioned aim of the Xuanzang Project—to clarify the relationship between the Chinese version and its Uygur translation—could be solved for the Uygur text and was commented on by all editors of the Uygur manuscripts.

⁴² The emperor Taizong and his son Gaozong (628–683) seem to have had an ambivalent relationship towards Buddhism. Cf. Aydemir, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie IX*, 17.

⁴³ Dietz, Ölmez, and Röhrborn, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie V*, 2–5.

⁴⁴ Cf. Dietz, 'Eine kurzgefasste Darstellung des Heilswegs der Yogācāra-Schule in Zentralasien'.

⁴⁵ Aydemir, *Die alttürkische Xuanzang-Biographie IX*, 25–31.

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Abbreviations

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.

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From Chang'an to Nālandā: The Life and Legacy of the Chinese Buddhist Monk Xuanzang (602?–664)

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