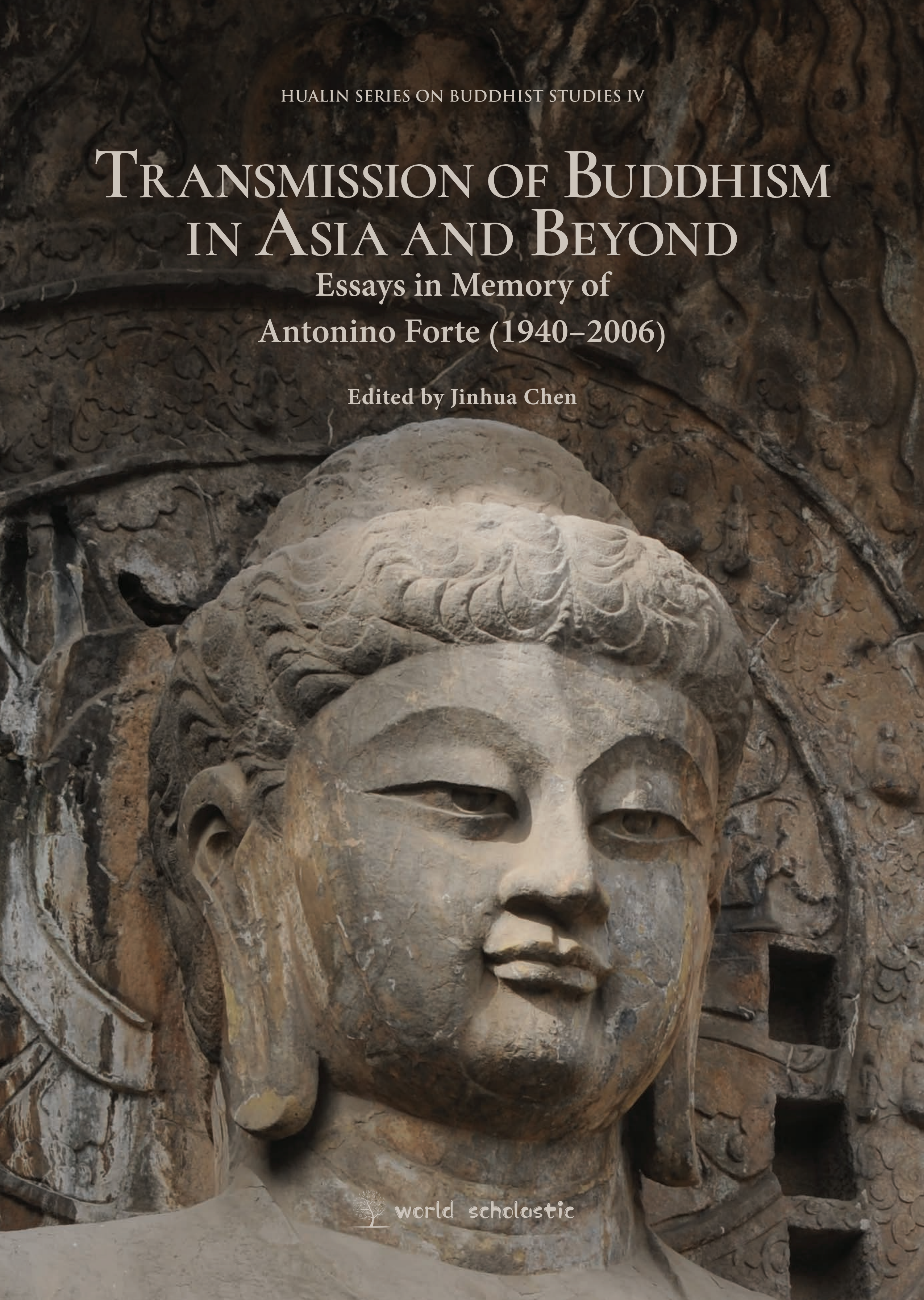

HUALIN SERIES ON BUDDHIST STUDIES IV

Transmission of Buddhism in Asia and Beyond

Essays in Memory of Antonino Forte (1940–2006)

Edited by Jinhua Chen

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Antonino Forte in his office at the Italian School of East Asian Studies (ISEAS), Kyoto, Japan.

Antonino Forte, a Biographical Note

Antonino Forte (1940–2006) was born in Cefalù in Italy and graduated from the University of Naples "L'Orientale". As a specialist in Buddhist history, Dunhuang Studies, and Oriental Studies, Forte made significant contributions in the study of the politics-religion relationship in medieval China, and many other related fields.

His main publications include *Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of the Seventh Century*, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock*, and *The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring*. Forte also edited a number of important essay collections, in addition to publishing a great number of articles, dictionary entries and book reviews. His works made pioneering contributions to many fields in Religious Studies and Oriental Studies.

Forte was deeply knowledgeable about Chinese language and Asian religions. He also inherited the long European scholarly tradition of Dunhuang Studies and Oriental Studies and was moreover influenced by some of the most prominent Japanese Buddhist scholars in the 20th century. In his research, Forte was meticulous with details, closely reading literary and historical sources, but was, at the same time, guided by a holistic vision, able to select the most cutting-edge and promising topics. Despite his untimely death, Forte defined many new research directions for later scholars.

During the middle and later phase of his academic career, Forte dedicated himself to developing a public platform that transcended nations, cultures, disciplines and specializations. In 1984, he created the Italian School of East Asian Studies in Kyoto, Japan and acted as its director. Under his direction, the school became an important bridge between Eastern and Western scholarship, and an academic centre that continues fostering new scholars in Religious Studies and Oriental Studies.

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慷慨支持，謹表謝忱！

Hualin Series on Buddhist Studies: Preface

Ru Zhan 湛如

釋迦文佛捨世迄今，已逾兩千餘載，余生也晚，宿世障重，徒嘆世間失此昏衢之明燈，度世之慈航。然每思佛陀駐世之際，龍象並出，未嘗不神馳心往，恨不得親炙之祚。是以雖自惟駑鈍無擬，猶且遠慕半偈捨身之喻，不憚疲極，志求寂定，故每於禪關戒守之餘，奮力於學，潛跡經藏，務窮至教。以鈍根之器，對深幽渺遠之學，雖如火中求蓮，欲以漸門熏習，冀僥得悟其萬一也。

Since Buddha passed into *nirvana*, more than two millennia has elapsed. Heavy with past karma, I was borne too late and could only lament the loss, in the present world, of the bright lamp that once illuminated the murky path, and the ark of compassion that ferried the sentient beings. Still, each time I envisage a world where Buddha was living and great masters abounded, I could not help but pine for it and moan for the blessing that eluded me to hear Buddha's teaching in the flesh. Hence, though my ignorance monstrous, I aspire to the example of Buddha who, in a past life, sacrificed his body in exchange for half a verse. So, unremittingly, I am resolved to persevere. In whatever time allowed to me outside meditation and observance of precepts, I dedicate myself to learning. I vanish into the ocean of scriptures, striving to approach the supreme teaching. With my retarded faculty,

I pursue a teaching profound and subtle—this is not unlike beseeching a lotus in a blaze of fire, but I hope, by the perfuming of the gradualist path, I could somehow fathom a one-millionth of it.

僕不敏於思，未敢妄言上續慧命，下作津梁，然法運興衰，實繫乎人。故匪敢徒求乎自證，尚且望能襄助群倫，得超生死。剎土纖塵，往還古今，法門開闔，應幾擇人。若且大道難行，則化教導，拯世情，移易風俗，亦為濟世之一方。故廿載之初，余糾集群好，以華林嘉名，槧版為刊，期以翹誠渴仰，搜綴貝經；虔心佇望，擷採樞要。務使明解達源，三界無明，一時得頓盡於前；能仁古道，永世免斯淪沒。匪空綴翰墨，抑亦為世發顯圓教。今值學報重刊之際，又藉此新辟《華林佛學研究書系》，期以暢百世之凝滯，通永惑之迷情。

I, unwieldly in mind, do not dare to claim to be the bearer of the *dharma* past and the guide for the generations ensuing. And yet, the rise and fall of the *dharma* is incumbent on me. So, how could I seek only self-realization? It is my hope rather to assist beings of all kinds to be liberated from the cycle of life and death. In all lands, and across all times, the gate of the *dharma* closes and opens contingent on the capacity of the practitioner. Such rarity of chances parallels the difficulty for the Great Path to gain currency. Yet, by teaching, by elevating the spirit of the world, and by transmuting the propensity of the epoch, we are benefiting the world. Hence, with some cordial fellows, we convened; under the name of *Hualin*, we created the journal. Earnestly, we collected and edited *pattra* scriptures; devotedly, we polished their essence. So that their clear insights could evoke the truth, thus rendering the ignorance in all Three Realms instantly apparent and preventing the ancient way of Buddha from receding to oblivion. Such is not eloquent frill nor vain erudition: it is for revealing the Round Teaching. In this occasion

of the reprint of the journal, we created the 'Hualin Series on Buddhist Studies.' We hope it could remove the stagnancy encumbering the future generations and rectify the bewitching doubts that forever confuse men.

當今東西學界，限於時地，各拘一方，執見參差，自闡其旨，疑端莫決。故本書系務以會通為基，力求東亞佛教研究之諸多領域，如佛教文學丶史學、哲學、社會學丶人類學丶宗教學丶藝術學等皆能兼包，斯堪參校於異同，決疑而釋滯。直旨趣歸，免其局狹之惑。

Nowadays, the academics in the East and the West are each bounded by their own province. Each preaches their own tenets, yielding doubts that are left un-resolved. Thus, this book series sets out to bridge the gap by encompassing in itself a multitude of disciplines in the East Asian Buddhist Studies—Buddhist literature, history, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, religious studies, arts, et cetera, so as to measure how they diverge and how they converge, and to sever doubts and release blockage. It points to the kernel of an issue, unaffected by the confusing delimitation of disciplines.

我佛金口一音，弟子隨類各解。法無偏執，因機設教，故天台淨土、相性二宗，漸頓二門，禪講顯密，萬法歸趣，皆離生死而得涅槃。佛門廣大，未許有我他之見，而為涅槃深解之障。佛門亦以斷除二障，五明洞達為尚。所謂先諳於內，兼令知外。務使徧知，以辯巧而利弘化故。本書系亦大闢四攝之門，廣納於諸有，容受無厭。凡各東亞佛教相關各

The Buddha adapted his sacred utterance to the diverse composition of his disciples, for the *dharma* is not petty-minded but remains flexible in response to the individual. For this reason, we have both Tiantai and Jingtu, both Madhyamaka and Yogâcāra, both gradualist and suddenist approach, and both exoteric and esoteric Chan Buddhism. Because ten million teachings coincide in the same cause: to be liberated from *saṃsāra* to enter Nirvana. The gate of the *dharma*, being so vast, dissolves any egotistical preference and reveals

領域之研究，尤以宗教史、佛教義理、佛教制度、敦煌學等，皆為吾等之所樂取，圖為東亞、歐美各地學者設一溝通之津樑，濟度之舟筏。

it to be the hindrance to the profound attainment. Buddhism seeks the removal of the Two Hindrances and honours broad knowledge across Five Sciences. One shall, therefore, be deeply versed in the Internal (Buddhist) Teachings, all the while cognisant of the External (non-Buddhist) learnings, for it is by extensive knowledge that one could be agile in benefiting all beings. This book series opens broadly its vast gate, welcoming all and shunning nothing. It takes delight in drawing from all disciplines of the East Asian Buddhist Studies. For instance, the religious history, Buddhist doctrines, Buddhist institutions and Dunhuang Studies. It aspires to be a bridge of communication for scholars from East Asia, Europe, North America and all places, and be a ferry that carries us to another shore.

本叢書由北京大學藝術與典籍研究中心督辦，英屬哥倫比亞大學之佛教與東亞宗教研究項目（https://frogbear.org/）襄助，而惠陽良井楊公釗為大檀越，諸方共相勸助而興立焉。旭日諸善士，皆弘道之人，雅以曠濟為懷，欲拯滯溺於沈流，救迷塗於失性。吾亦願法燈長耀，佛光永暉。鷲峰之音再傳，竹林之風更暢。後來賢哲，睹斯文不絕於今！

The Book Series is hosted by the Research Center for Buddhist Texts and Arts at the Peking University, administered by the Frogbear project at the University of British Columbia (https://frogbear.org). It is generously sponsored by His Honorable Yang Zhao of Liangjing in Huiyang, and helped by numerous others. Gracious ones of the Glorious Sun Group are those knowing and promoting the *dharma*. Bearing in heart the desire to benefit all, they extricate stagnant souls from viscous quagmire, and salvage confused beings from losing true nature. I share their

desire: may the lamp of the *dharma* beam perennially and the light of Buddhism shine evermore. May the sound of the Vulture Peak resound again and may the wind blow from the Bamboo Grove circulate ever more freely. May the savants who come after us, upon reading this, feel the affinity with us today.

愚辭乏清麗，道無可揚，恐世君子未知其緣由，姑聊記鄙懷，兼序其始末云爾。

My humble words lack clarity and grace and contains no profundity worth showing. And yet, fearing that people in the world would not know the circumstances that gave rise to this Book Series, I wrote down this preface, recounting its origination and development.

會稽龍華衲子湛如
庚子歲辜月序於京師

Ru Zhan of the Longhua Monastery, Kuaiji
December 2020, Beijing

Conventions

1. Reign dates are presented in the following way:

NAME OF REIGN-ERA REIGN-YEAR. LUNAR-MONTH.DAY

E.g., "Zhenguan 3.9.20" is day 20 of the 9th lunar month of the 3rd year of the Zhenguan 貞觀 reign/era. The conversion of traditional Chinese lunar dates into western ones is based on the service provided by the Academia Sinica Computer Center. See Academica Sinica Computer Center, *Liangqian nian Zhong-Xili zhuanhuan* 兩千年中西歷轉換 [Multi-directional conversion of the two thousand years of Chinese and Western calendar systems]: http://www.sinica.edu.tw/~tdbproj/sinocal/luso.html (June 10, 2006).

2. Citation Style

References to texts in *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, edited by Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaikyoku 渡邊海旭 (Tokyo: Taishō issaikyō kankōkai, 1924–1932), are indicated by the volume number, followed by *juan* number (when the work is of multiple *juan*), page, register, and, when appropriate, line.
References to texts in (Wan) xu zangjing (卍) 續藏經, the Xin wenfeng 新文豐 reprint of *Dai Nihon zokuzōkyō* 大日本續藏經 (compiled by Nakano Tatsue 中野達慧, Kyoto: Zōkyō shoin, 1905–1912), are indicated by volume number, *juan*, page, register, and line.

3. Abbreviations

Abbreviations exclusively used in the bibliography and footnotes are given at the beginning of Bibliography, while those used throughout the book include:

a.k.a. also known as
annot. annotator (or annotated by)
anon. anonymous(ly)
c. century
Ch. Chinese
Cha. Chapter
coll. collator (or collated by)
comp. compiler (or compiled by)
d.u. dates unknown
ed. editor (or edited by)
intro. introduced by
Jp. Japanese
Ko. Korean
P. Pāli
r. reigned
Skt. Sanskrit
suppl. supplement (or supplemented by)
trans. translator (or translated by)
vol(s). volume(s)

Foreword
In Memory of Antonino Forte*

CHEN JINHUA
The University of British Columbia

In the summer of 2006 the eminent Sinologist, Buddhologist, and Dunhuang scholar Antonino Forte (August 6, 1940–July 22, 2006) passed away, constituting a major loss to the international study of East Asian religion and culture. In this short essay I will touch upon a few of the highlights of his long and productive career.

The tradition of Sinology in Italy stretches back many centuries. Two of the early figures in this tradition are the prominent Jesuit missionaries Michele Ruggieri (1543–1607) and Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), both of whom resided in China during the late Ming Dynasty (1368–1644). Ruggieri was the first Western missionary to enter the Chinese hinterland, and he made the earliest translations of Confucian classics into a Western language.[1] In addition to disseminating Western religion, astronomy, mathematics, art, and geographical knowledge to the Far East, the better-known Ricci also introduced Chinese culture to the West.[2] Among the European missionaries and Sinologists active in China in the early Ming dy-

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* English translation by Ken Kraynak.

[1] For more on Ruggieri's translations, see Lou, 'Yesu huishi Luo Mingjian Zhongyong Ladingwen yiben shougao chutan'; Ferrero, 'Lunyu zai Xifang de diyige yiben'; and Meynard & Wang, 'Yesu huishi Luo Mingjian yu Rujia jingdian zai Ouzhou de shouci yijie.'

[2] For more on Ricci's introduction of Western science into China, see Mei & Zhou, 'Li Madou chuanbo Xixue de wenhua shiying celüe'; Lin, 'Li Madou shuru ditu xueshuo de yingxiang yu yiyi'; and Gong, 'Li Madou zai Nanchang

nasty, Italians were the largest group, establishing the earliest bridges between China and the West, and laying the groundwork for the modernization of China.

Another prominent Italian Sinologist was the missionary Matteo Ripa (1682–1746), who worked as a copper engraver at the court of Emperor Kangxi 康熙 (r. 1661–1722) at the beginning of the Qing dynasty (1636–1912).[3] Also serving at the Qing court around the same time was the Italian Jesuit and accomplished painter Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766).[4] In 1723, at the behest of Pope Clement XII (1652–1740), Ripa returned to Europe with four young Chinese Christians to be trained as missionaries, which led to the establishment of the Chinese College (Collegio dei Cinesi) in Naples—the first center in Europe for the study of Oriental languages and cultures.[5] Upon the unification of Italy in 1861, the school was transformed into the Royal Asian College (Reale Collegio Asiatico), gradually added a wide range of other Asian languages to the curriculum, and eventually became today's University of Naples 'L'Orientale' (Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale'). This secular university is where Antonino Forte earned his degree in Asian Languages and Culture in 1964, and where he taught until his death, carrying on a tradition of Sinology and Asian studies that has continued unbroken for nearly three centuries.

Forte was born on August 6, 1940 in the Sicilian coastal city of Cefalù, known for its quaint scenery and ancient history. Having acquired an extensive knowledge of oriental languages and cultures during his university studies, at the age of thirty-six he wrote his first book—*Political Propaganda and Ideology in China at the End of*

qijian zhizuo de rigui.' For more on the dictionary compiled by Ruggieri, see Wang, 'Luo Mingjian, Li Madou *Pu Han cidian* cihui wenti juyu.'

[3] For more on Ripa, see Han, 'Ma Guoxian yu Xifang tongban yinshua de chuanru.'

[4] For more on Castiglione, see Beurdeley & Beurdeley, *Giuseppe Castiglione*; Musillo, 'Reconciling Two Careers.' Also Yang, 'Lang Shining zai Qing neiting de chuangzuo huodong jiqi yishu chengjiu.'

[5] For more on the College, see Feng, 'Chuanjiaoshi bentuhua de changshi.'

the Seventh Century—a masterful piece of academic research which has had a lasting impact on our understanding of the interaction between the political and religious institutions of medieval China.[6] According to the author himself, the book began as a paper he wrote for an elective course he taught at the University of Naples 'L'Orientale' during the 1971–72 and 1972–73 academic years. Prior to writing this paper, Forte had been researching the famous *Jin shizi zhang* 金師子章 [Golden Lion Treatise], written by Fazang 法藏 (643–712) during the Great Zhou 周 dynasty (690–705), which led him to make an in-depth study of the political and intellectual history of this period, eventually stimulating his interest in the Dunhuang versions of the apocryphal *Dayun jing shenhuang shouji yishu* 大雲經神皇授記義疏 [Commentary on the Interpretation of the Prophecy Regarding the Divine Sovereign in the Great Cloud *Sūtra*; hereafter *Commentary*], fascicles S.2658 and S.6502 collected by Aurel Stein (1862–1943).

The Zhou dynasty is generally considered an interregnum in the middle of the long Tang dynasty (618–907), brought about when Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705; r. 690–705) usurped the throne with the help of Buddhist ideology.[7] However, Wu Zetian was the only

6 Forte, *Political Propaganda*.

7 See Xue Huiyi's 薛懷義 (662–695) official biography:

> Huaiyi, together with Faming and the others, fabricated the *Dayun jing* and set out a series of 'signs [concerning the Heavenly] Mandate' (*fuming* 符命) saying that Zetian was Maitreya, who had descended to be born and act as head of Jambudvīpa, and that the clan of the Tang ought to collapse. Accordingly, Zetian changed the Mandate and proclaimed the Zhou [dynasty]. 懷義與法明等造《大雲經》, 陳符命, 言則天是彌勒下生, 作閻浮提主, 唐氏合微. 故則天革命稱周 (*Jiu Tang shu* 183.4742; trans. Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 5).

See also the report by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) and his team, on the events happening in the seventh month of Zaichu 載初 1 (690):

> The monk Faming of the Eastern Weiguo Monastery and others, having compiled the *Dayun jing* in four *juan*, presented it with a memorial. [Therein] it was said that the Empress Dowager was no other than the

empress regnant in the long history of China, and soon after her death the Tang dynasty was restored and the Confucian orthodoxy set about rewriting the official history of this period. This makes it very difficult to gain an accurate picture of the politics and religion of this period, since we are easily misled by the whitewashed histories, and much of the related records have been lost in time. Following in the footsteps of Paul Pelliot (1878–1945) and Paul Demiéville (1894–1979), Forte adopted a sociopolitical approach to the study of religion, and applied it with much success in using the Dunhuang materials to shed new light on this period of Chinese history. Forte received much academic inspiration and guidance from Demiéville, visiting him in Paris in 1972 and 1973.

Political Propaganda is based on two fascicles of the *Commentary* amongst the Dunhuang materials at the British Library—S.2658, a short fascicle edited by Yabuki Keiki 矢吹慶輝 (1879–1936),[8] and S.6502, a longer fascicle studied and translated by Forte. Both of these fascicles are important source material for research on the religious and political propaganda of the Zhou dynasty, as they were intended to lend it legitimacy. These two fascicles have also been studied by Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969), the results of which are presented in his article 'Wu Zhao yu Fojiao' 武曌與佛教 [Wu Zhao and Buddhism];[9] as well as by Tang Yongtong 湯用彤 (1893–1964),

> Buddha Maitreya, who had descended to be born, that she had to take the place of the Tang and be head of Jambudvīpa. By edict the [*Dayun jing*] was distributed throughout the empire. 東魏國寺僧法明等撰《大雲經》四卷, 表上之. 言: 太后乃彌勒佛下生, 當代唐為閻浮提主. 制頒於天下 (*Zizhi tongjian* 204.6466; trans. Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 5).

For a relatively recent discussion of these two passages, see Lü, 'Mingtang jianshe yu Wuzhou de huangdi xiang.'

[8] The beginning and end of this fascicle are missing, and Yabuki refers to it as 'The Commentary on the Enthronement of Empress Wu' 武后登極讖疏. For more on this fascicle and related research, see Yabuki, *Sangaikyō no kenkyū*, 686–742.

[9] Chen, 'Wu Zhao yu Fojiao.'

who argued that S.6502 is an expanded version of S.2658.[10]

Political Propaganda is divided into two parts, the first part of which discusses the nature of fascicle S.6502, its political functions, and those who played a role in its production, including a number of Buddhist monks at the Da Fuxian 大福先寺 and Foshouji 佛授記寺 Monasteries, and, of course, Wu Zetian herself. In the last chapter of the first part, Forte deals with Wu Zetian's claims to be a universal monarch and an incarnation of the bodhisattva Maitreya. In the second part of the book, Forte provides a critical translation of S.6502, including a meticulous and erudite analysis of the text. Amongst the many important issues he raises in the book are the textual complexity of the *Commentary*, the religious and cultural diversity of its source material, and the complex nature of Wu Zetian's political agenda; he pays particular attention to the class basis of her political power, especially the conflict between the nobility and the rising new class. It would be no exaggeration to say that Forte's specialized research from half a century ago brought to fruition the pioneering research of his predecessors, and that it continues to inspire Buddhist research up to the present. In the 2005 revised edition of this book he makes numerous amendments to his source material and his interpretations of it.

Continuing his focus on the workings of political power in the Zhou dynasty, Forte published a monograph on the *Mingtang* 明堂 [Hall of Light] constructed in the imperial compound during this period, which is actually an expansion of his discussion on the *Mingtang* and the armillary sphere (*dayi* 大儀) earlier presented in *Political Propaganda*. The *Mingtang* was one of the important symbols of the authority and legitimacy of the rulers in ancient times, and in 688, when Wu Zetian was in her final sprint to the peak of power, she had the Qianyuan Hall 乾元殿 demolished and had its foundations expanded for construction of the *Mingtang*.[11] Soon after it was completed the following year, this is where Wu Zetian performed the imperial sacrifice to heaven, thereby demoting Emperor Ruizong 睿

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[10] Tang, *Sui Tang Fojiao shigao*, 198–199.

[11] See the section on the year 688 in *Zizhi tongjian* 204.6448.

宗 (r. 684–690 and 710–712; i.e., Li Dan 李旦 [662–716]). It should be noted that the *Mingtang* was closely associated with Buddhism, for its construction was overseen by the monk Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義 (662–694), and directly behind it was a huge Buddhist statue, such that an understanding of its construction and function sheds much light on this period of Chinese history.[12] This monograph was published in 1988 as *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias in the History of the Astronomical Clock*.[13]

This work remains a leading sourcebook on the subject. In his preface, Forte states that he began writing this book in 1982, as part of his investigation of a Buddhist building called *Tiantang* 天堂 (Heavenly Hall), built in Luoyang in 689. Eventually, however, his research on this building came to include a number of related topics, including the history of science and technology, and the interaction of politics and religion. Forte served as a full-time researcher at the French École Française d'Extrême-Orient (of which he was a member from 1976 to 1985) from 1978 to October 1981 and then again, from November 1983 to October 1985, during which time he was based in Kyoto, primarily engaged in writing this book. It was also during this period that he had an in-depth academic exchange with the noted Sinologist and historian of science Joseph Needham (1900–1995). The book is divided into four chapters and a conclusion. In the first chapter, he mentions the mechanical clocks produced in ancient China, including one produced during the Tang dynasty by Liang Lingzan 梁令瓚 (690–?) and the Buddhist monk Yixing 一行 (673–727), and one produced during the Song Dynasty (960–1279) by Su Song 蘇頌 (1020–1121); he also discusses the famous armillary sphere, an instrument for making astronomical observations that may have contained a clock with a balance wheel, which he conjectures may have been made in 691–692, during the reign of Empress Wu, or else a few years

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[12] For an account of the archaeological excavation of the *Mingtang*, see Wang, Yang, & Feng, 'Tang dongdu Wu Zetian mingtang yizhi fajue jianbao.' For more on the *Mingtang*, see Sun, 'Fojiao yu yinyang zaiyi.' Also see Su, 'Wu Zetian Mingtang kaoyi.'

[13] Forte, *Mingtang*.

earlier, in 686–689. Forte also discusses the history of the *Tiantang* mentioned above, which was located in the imperial compound and housed a large, dry-lacquered Buddhist statue. According to records, this building was five stories high and located to the north of the *Mingtang*, which was visible from its third floor. During the reign of Empress Wu, both buildings were destroyed by fire. In the second chapter he discusses in detail these mechanical clocks produced in ancient China, and continues the discussion of the *Tiantang* and its relationship with the *Mingtang*.

Based on his textual research, Forte concludes that the *Mingtang* complex built in the imperial compound at Luoyang in 686–689 consisted of three main buildings on a central north-south axis, with the *Lingtai* 靈臺 (Spirit Terrace) in the middle, the *Biyong* 辟雍 (a moated mound) in the north, and the two-story *Mingtang* in the south. On the *Lingtai* were two pagodas; the taller one was the abovementioned *Tiantang*, and the smaller one was called the 'armillary sphere,' since it served as an observation tower housing various astronomical instruments. Openly flouting Confucian tradition, the buildings in the *Mingtang* complex had obvious Buddhist elements, and were intended to legitimate Wu's ascension to the throne.

In the third chapter, Forte compares the first *Mingtang* with the second one. The first *Mingtang* was built by Xue Huaiyi on the site of the demolished Qianyuan Hall; the south side was completed in February 686, a convocation of ministers was held there in 688, and it was completed in early 689. Construction of the second *Mingtang* commenced immediately after the first one was burnt down, but was immediately suspended for some reason. Forte makes a detailed comparison of these two *Mingtang*s, in the process correcting several misunderstandings concerning them.

The fourth chapter is a detailed discussion of the social background of their construction, especially their political and religious significance, including their connection with the Maitreya cult in Buddhism. In this connection he also discusses the pavilion built at the Baimasi 白馬寺 (White Horse Temple) in 685, the *Tiantang* Pagoda 天堂塔 built in 689, the pagoda built at the Shengshan Temple 聖善寺 between 705 and 710, and how two of them were destroyed by marauding Uyghur troops in 762. From this brief

account, we can see how Forte's research was characterized by a rigorous attention to the historical details which shed much light on the relationship between religion and state.

Forte was still engaged in writing this book when he established the Italian School of East Asian Studies in Kyoto in 1984, and began serving as its director, from 1987 to 1997, from 1998 to 2000 and finally, from April 2006 to his untimely death in July of the same year. Although he continued teaching at the University of Naples 'L'Orientale,' he spent much of his time in Kyoto, where he passed away in 2006.

In 1995 Forte published another important work on the Tang dynasty—*The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring*[14]—the publication of which drew considerable attention to the issue of textual authority in Buddhist and Dunhuang studies.[15] An Shigao 安世高 (fl. c. 148–180) hailed from the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia (the inhabitants of which are generally considered to have been of Sogdian stock), and his ethnikon An is the standard Chinese transcription of the first syllable of his place of origin. As Forte points out, another well-known figure of Sogdian and Turkic descent was An Lushan 安禄山 (703–757), who led a devastating rebellion against the Tang dynasty during the middle of the 8th century. The Parthians, however, were mainly known for their devout religiosity and skill in trade, both of which led to extensive contact with China, facilitated by the ancient Silk Road that connected China and the Middle East. An Shigao arrived at the Chinese capital Luoyang in 148, remained there for 20 years, and is the earliest known major translator of South Asian Buddhist texts into Chinese. In this book Forte makes a meticulous study of a number of epigraphs and related historical materials, in an attempt to show that An was actually sent to China as a hostage, and that amongst his descendants were An Tong 安同 (?–429), An Xing-

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14 Forte, *An Shigao*.

15 Amongst the many reviews written in English on this book, see Teiser, '*Antonino Forte, The Hostage An Shigao and His Offspring*'; Zürcher, 'Review'; Welter, '*The Hostage An Shigao*.' For a review in Chinese, see Rong, 'Fuandun Zhizi An Shigao ji qi houyi.'

gui 安興貴 (c. 600), and possibly also An Lushan. Forte's conclusions may seem somewhat speculative, yet the primary value of this book lies in the masterful way in which he makes use of a large number of Chinese source materials, with a degree of depth and skill matched by very few non-Chinese sinologists.

In his preface, Forte traces the origins of this book back to a revised version of a paper he presented at a conference in October 1991.[16] The purpose of this book is twofold. Firstly, by making a meticulous investigation of a small and a seemingly unrelated issue, Forte raises many important questions. For example, exactly what is known for sure about the mysterious An Shigao, this legendary figure who plays such a pivotal role in the early history of Chinese Buddhism? What impact did those who considered themselves to be descendants of An Shigao have on Chinese history? Was An Lushan one of his descendants? This way of insightfully raising key questions by thinking outside of the box is essential in ground breaking academic research. Secondly, Forte meticulously gathers a wide range of materials and subjects them to a rigorous analysis. As he mentions in the preface, rather than coming to any final conclusions, in this book he is mainly concerned with raising essential questions, and then clarifying them for the benefit of future research on related topics. In this way, Forte draws attention to a number of critical issues, especially the multiple roles played by Sogdians in Buddhism and the political history of medieval China. As for whether or not An Lushan was actually a descendant of An Shigao, it is not quite as important as raising the issue itself.

This book consists of an introduction, three chapters, a conclusion, and two appendices. In the first chapter, Forte presents the extent material he makes use of, which consists of biographical material, genealogies, and rhyme dictionaries (*yunshu* 韻書, an ancient type of Chinese dictionary that collates characters by tone and rhyme rather than by radical). Forte's approach is as follows. First, in dealing with the biographical material, he considers the information on An Tong 安同 (d. 429) and his son An Yuan 安原 (d. 435) in the *Weishu*

16 Forte, 'An Shigao.'

魏書 [Book of Wei] and the *Beishi* 北史 [History of the Northern Dynasties]. Regarding An Tong, the *Weishu* states, 'His ancestor was Shigao who at the time of the Han had entered Luo[yang] as an 'attending son' (*shizi* 侍子) of the King of Anxi [at the court of Chinese emperor]. Throughout the Wei (220–265) and into the Jin (265–317, 317–420) [the descendants of An Shigao] fleeing from the turmoil [brought about by wars], they migrated to Liaodong, where they settled' (其先祖曰世高, 漢時以安息王侍子入洛. 歷魏至晉, 避亂遼東, 遂家焉).[17] Forte then turns to the genealogies, amongst which the entry on the surname An in the *Yuanhe xingzuan* 元和姓纂 [Compendium on Family Names of the Yuanhe Reign (806–820)] states,

> An [family]. The *Fengsu tong* 風俗通 [Comprehensive Discussion of Traditional Practices] [says that] during the Han dynasty there lived An Cheng. The *Lushan ji* [says that] An Gao was the son of the king of Anxi who entered [the court] to be in attendance (*rushi* 入侍). [Family origin]: Guzang, Liangzhou. [The family] derives from [the king of] the country of An[xi] who during the Han sent to the Court his son who then lived in the Liang territory. From An Nantuo of the later Wei (386–556) to his grandson [An] Pansuoluo, for generations they lived at Liangzhou and served as *sabao* [leaders of the Sogdian community]. Pansuoluo fathered Xinggui (…) who fathered Heng'an and Shengcheng; [Sheng]cheng fathered Zhongjing (…) Zhongjing fathered Baoyu upon whom was bestowed the surname Li (…). [Pansuoluo] also fathered Xiuren (…). 安:《風俗通》: '漢有安成.'《廬山記》: '安高, 安息王子, 入侍.' 姑臧涼州. 出自安[息]國. 漢代遣子朝, 因居涼土. 後魏安難陀至孫盤婆羅, 代居涼州, 為薩寶. 生興貴. (…). 生恒安, 生成; 成生忠敬. (…). 忠敬生抱玉, 賜姓李氏. (…). 修仁 (…).'[18]

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[17] *Weishu* 30.712/*Beishi* 20.751. Translation modified on the basis of Forte, *An Shigao*, 14–15.

[18] *Yuanhe xingzuan* 4.500–502. Translation by Forte, *An Shigao*, 18–20.

It was through this chain of evidence that Forte constructed the general hypothesis that the An clan of Wuwei (later given the surname Li) had descended from An Shigao.

In the second chapter Forte studies the biographical information inscribed on a number of steles, including the epitaphs of An Yuanshou 安元壽 (607–683), An Lingjie 安令節 (645–704), and An Zhongjing 安忠敬 (661–726), the last of which was written by Zhang Yue 張說 (667–730). The epitaph of An Yuanshou mentions a certain An Luo 安羅, believed by Forte to be the Panpoluo mentioned above (a.k.a. An Pansuoluo 安盤娑羅; style name: Fang Da 方大). The epitaph of An Zhongjing states,

> The taboo name of His Honor was called Zhongjin, his style was so and so, and he was from Wuwei. The descendent of the Emperor Xuanyuan (that is, Huangdi, the Yellow Emperor) went to live in Ruoshui. The son of the king of Anxi adopted his family name according to the [name of his] country. At the time of the Han Shigao moved away, and from Henan [the family] went to Liaodong. During the Wei Gaoyang was enfeoffed and from Yinshan [the family] established itself at Liangtu. (...) His great grandfather was Luo Fangda. ... his grandfather was Xinggui. (...) his father was Wensheng. 公諱忠敬, 字某, 武威人也. 軒轅帝孫, 降居弱水. 安息王子, 以國為姓. 世高之違漢季, 自河南而適遼東; 高陽之受魏封, 由陰山而宅涼土. ......曾祖羅方大......祖興貴....... 考文生.[19]

This establishes the ancestral line from An Pansuoluo (a.k.a. An Luofangda) onwards. An Zhongjing is also mentioned on a stele at the Dayun Monastery 大雲寺 in Liangzhou. The epitaph of An Lingjie states, 'He originally resided at Guzang in Wuwei. He was [descended from] a Parthian prince who came to China as a hostage during the Han dynasty, and remained [in China]' (先武威姑臧人, 出自安息國王子, 入侍於漢, 因而家焉).[20] By collating these steles with

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[19] *Quan Tangwen* 230.2331b; Translation by Forte, *An Shigao*, 51–52.

[20] 'An Lingjie muzhi' 安令節墓誌, Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi (ed.), *Shike shiliao xinbian*, Series 1, 11.8183–8184.

the related extent material, Forte succeeds in identifying the descendants of An Shigao.

In the third chapter, Forte discusses the canonical material relating to An Shigao, focusing on the Buddhist records which seem to identify Jiaxiang Jizang 嘉祥吉藏 (549–623) as a descendant of An Shigao. He also presents evidence indicating that An was an adherent of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism, rather than a follower of the Sarvāstivāda, as is widely believed; he also argues that An was a layman and not a monk, which would have to be the case for him to have descendants, unless he had children prior to becoming a monk. In the two appendices that follow, Forte discusses the Tang dynasty edict of the early eighth century on the repatriation of court hostages, some of whom may have been distant relatives of both An Lushan and An Shigao. At the end of the book is an extremely detailed and clear family tree showing An Shigao's descendants. In dealing with such a wide variety of ancient materials, discrepancies in their details are inevitable, yet in this book, even by the most demanding standards, Forte exhibits an amazing degree of proficiency in distilling the essence of these knotty texts. Such skill and expertise in ancient Chinese literature is rare even amongst native speakers of Chinese. Undoubtedly, this book will continue providing much insight and inspiration to scholars studying the history of Buddhism for a long time to come.

In addition to several erudite monographs, Forte also wrote a large number of articles, dictionary entries, and book reviews, and also edited numerous compilations, covering a wide range of fields, all related to his core interest in the relationship between politics and religion in medieval China.[21]

Forte's knowledge of ancient Chinese language, culture, and religion was truly extensive, and was shaped by his roots in the Italian and European traditions of Sinology and Dunhuang studies. While living in Japan for many years, he collaborated with both local and foreign Buddhist scholars on various projects, including the *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique de bouddhisme d'après les sources chi-*

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[21] For a complete list, see E. Forte, 'Antonino Forte: List of publications.'

noises et japonaises 法寶義林, an encyclopedia of Buddhism in French which has been released in fascicles since 1929; the previous editors of this important reference work were Paul Demiéville (1894–1979), Jacques Gernet (1921–2018), Hubert Durt (1936–2018), and Anna Seidel (1938–1991).[22]

From this brief description of Forte's research, we can see that he had a knack for dealing with complex topics; starting from the macroscopic level, he would determine the most important elements of a particular era, and then deeply enter into his material to identify the relevant details. Thus his research has provided a general sense of direction to those currently studying related topics, while simultaneously demonstrating how to insightfully deal with these types of historical source materials when investigating a particular question.

During his long residence in Kyoto, Forte became a kind of bridge connecting East and West, and under his directorship the ISEAS was where numerous young Western scholars became acquainted with such eminent Japanese Buddhologists as Makita Tairyō 牧田諦亮 (1912–2011) and Yanagida Seizan 柳田聖山 (1922–2006); by following in Forte's footsteps, these international scholars have begun to make their own contributions to Buddhist studies in the West. Also worth mentioning are the large number of excellent research works on Buddhism published by the ISEAS under Forte's directorship.

Antonino Forte (affectionately referred to as 'Nino' by all those who knew him) was a true trailblazer in both Buddhist and East Asian studies. I first met Nino in Kyoto in the spring of 1994, when the cherry blossoms were just beginning to bloom. At that time I was still writing my doctoral dissertation on East Asian Esoteric Buddhism, and had gone to Japan to seek some guidance from various authorities on the topic. I initially began working with Yanagida Seizan, the eminent scholar of Zen studies at Hanazono University 花園大學 in Kyoto, but a few months later he retired, whereupon I began working with Aramaki Noritoshi 荒牧典俊 (1936–) at Kyoto University. Since Kyoto University was nearby the ISEAS established

22 Amongst Forte's many contributions to this dictionary are: 'Chōsai'; 'Daiji'; 'Daishi'; 'Daisōjō'; 'Daitoku.'

by Nino, I went to visit him, taking with me a letter of recommendation given to me by Robert Sharf, one of my supervisors at McMaster University at the time. I found Nino to be very personable and amiable; the first time we met he expressed keen interest in my dissertation topic, and offered quite a few practical and detailed suggestions.

I also found the ISEAS to be a kind of mecca for young scholars, especially its small library packed from floor to ceiling with academic publications on Buddhist and Oriental Studies. In addition to an extensive collection of materials on ancient bronzes and stone tablets, the library had a large number of important Western journals and reference works which could be freely consulted by visiting scholars. But what made the deepest impression on me was the open and welcoming atmosphere. Apart from providing easy access to its excellent collection, the library had computers which visitors could use for free—a real bonus in the 1990s, when laptop computers were still prohibitively expensive. Having noticed how I had been spending long hours in the library pouring over its collection, Nino actually entrusted me with a set of keys, so that I could get in on weekends and holidays. In fact, Nino treated all the young scholars affiliated with the ISEAS with the same amount of trust and confidence. As a result, the ISEAS became one of the favorite places for Western graduate students living in Kyoto to hang out and share ideas.

Under Nino's directorship, the ISEAS became a bridge between East and West, where young scholars from around the world came to carry out their research projects and exchange ideas, and where quite a few lifelong academic friendships began; it also served as an academic social hub, providing an intellectually stimulating atmosphere conducive to original thought. Nino typically spent his mornings at home writing, and his afternoons at the ISEAS taking care of administrative business. His office was right next to the library, and even when he had lots of work to attend to, he was always happy to be of assistance when young scholars came to him seeking advice, such that his office was often packed full of visitors.

In my estimation, one of Nino's greatest contributions was the way in which he turned the ISEAS into an open platform for exchanges between scholars from a wide range of fields, specializations,

cultures, and nations. Looking back, I can see how Nino's dignified bearing and personal example has had a lasting impact on my own way of thinking and how I manage academic venues. Although he passed away some years ago, his open mindedness and enthusiasm for academic research live on in the younger generations of scholars who have had the pleasure of knowing him. Moreover, Nino always had one eye on the future, and some of the projects he proposed decades ago are only now beginning to materialize, due to advances in technology and facilities. Most of all, despite his unmatched erudition and impressive contributions to Buddhology and beyond, Nino was impeccably modest—a quality truly worth emulating.

In commemoration of Antonino Forte, whose work constitutes a major contribution to the study of Buddhism in medieval China and Japan, the religions of the Silk Road, and East Asian art and archaeology, from July 4 to July 6, 2021, the fifteenth anniversary of his passing, a series of international conferences was jointly held by the Glorisun Global Network, the University of British Columbia's (UBC) 'From the Ground Up: Buddhism and East Asian Religions' (FROGBEAR)' project (https://frogbear.org/), the University of Naples 'L'Orientale' (his alma mater), the Italian School of East Asian Studies in Kyoto, Princeton University, and Geumgang University 金剛大學 in South Korea. The first conference, titled 'The Transmission of Buddhism in Asia and Beyond,' was co-organized by the UBC-based FROGBEAR Project and Princeton University, and covered a variety of areas in which Forte conducted research, including Dunhuang studies, the translation of Buddhist scriptures, textual and historical research methodologies, Buddhist institutions, and Buddhist archaeology. Most of the twelve articles collected in this volumes were originally presented at this conference.

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Cross-border Doctrinal Transmission: *Abhidharma* and Chan

Chapter One
From Huisong 慧嵩 (fl. 511–560) to Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664): The 'Borderland Complex' in the Transmission of Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma*

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Abstract: Born in Gaochang 高昌 and already a specialist in the *Heart of Scholasticism with Miscellaneous Additions* (Skt. **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*; Ch. *Za apitan xin lun* 雜阿毘曇心論) at a young age, Huisong was sent by his king to Northern China. Later, despite repeated invitations from the king of Gaochang, Huisong refused to return to his homeland, which he considered as 'peripheral and barbaric' (*bianbi* 邊鄙). Huisong's determination to stay in China contributed to the transmission of Abhidharma. An examination of

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Huisong's social network reveals that there are two lines that connect Huisong to Xuanzang. However, in the *Study Notes on the Treasury of Abhidharma* (*Jushe lun ji* 俱舍論記), a text compiled by Xuanzang's student Puguang 普光 (fl. 645–664), the arguments of the two most significant figures on these lines of transmission were refuted with evidence from the Indian texts newly translated by Xuanzang. This shows not only the doctrinal linkage, but also the differences between Huisong and Xuanzang. While for Huisong China was indeed a center of Buddhist studies as opposed to the 'barbaric' Gaochang, Xuanzang and Puguang most likely regarded China as a Buddhist borderland as opposed to India. These 'Borderland complexes' motivated both scholarly exchange and the construction of religious orthodoxy.

Keywords: Huisong, Xuanzang, Puguang, Borderland Complex, Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma

INTRODUCTION

It is well known that around 628, the Tang pilgrim Xuanzang arrived at Gaochang (in present–day Xinjiang) and was warmly received by Qu Wentai 麴文泰 (r. 619–640), the king of Gaochang.[1] Less well known is the story of another monk, who traveled in the opposite direction around 100 years earlier,[2] but shared a similar interest with Xuanzang in Abhidharma scholasticism. This monk, Huisong,[3] was born in Gaochang, an oasis state on the northern

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[1] *Da Tang Da Cien si sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 6. 255b15–26.

[2] Most likely in 531. See the following section.

[3] Huisong, the Abhidharma scholar, should not be confused with another Huisong 慧嵩 (362/420?–440/459?), who participated in the translation project of *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* (*Da boniepan jing* 大般涅槃經) led by Dharmakṣema 曇無讖 (385–433). *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *T* no. 2145, 55: 14.103a28–b1. The Huisong from Gaochang has not been widely studied in modern scholarship. Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1896–1989) mentions Huisong's contribution to Abhidharma

route of the Silk Road.[4]

> Gaochang, the former territory of the King of Anterior Jushi Kingdom (*Jushi qian wang* 車師前王),[5] used to be administered by the Han Empire. It ranges two hundred *li* from east to west, five hundred li[6] from south to north, and is surrounded by many great mountains. Some say that the Emperor Wu of Han 漢武帝 (156 BCE–87 BCE) sent troops on a punitive expedition toward the west. Exhausted from the journey, the most fatigued soldiers thence settled [in Gaochang]. The terrain is high but spacious and has a large population. Therefore, it was named Gaochang ['high and prosperous']. Others say that there was a Gaochang Garrison[7] (*Gaochang lei* 高昌

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studies in northern China. Lü, *Zhongguo Foxue*, 128. Lai Yonghai 賴永海 discusses Huisong and the Abhidharma scholastic tradition (*Pitan xuepai* 毗曇學派) in Northern Dynasties. Lai, *Zhongguo Fojiao*, 74. Elizabeth Kenney describes Huisong description of 'the little wisdom of rotten Confucians' as 'dregs' as an example of the portrait of Confucianism in Daoxuan's 道宣 (596–667) *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*. Kenney, 'The Portrait,' 15.

[4] One of the earliest studies of Gaochang Buddhism was in the sixth chapter of Ryōtai Hadani's *Xiyu zhi Fojiao*. More research followed with the archaeological discoveries in Turfan, such as Ogasawara, 'Kōshō Koku no Bukkyō Kyogaku,' 136–47; Oda, 'Kikushi Kōshō Koku Jidai no Butsuji nitsuite,' 68–91. Yan, 'Qushi Gaochangguo siyuan yannjiu,' 129–42; Wang, 'Gaochang zhi Xizhou,' 79–83; Wang, 'Gaochang Buddhism,' 23–45.

[5] This refers to the king of Anterior Jushi kingdom (*Jushi qianguo* 車師前國). This kingdom is one of the eight kingdoms after the split of Gushi 姑師 at around 108 BCE. According to Wang Su 王素, Gushi was the name of the place before the split, while Jushi was used afterwards. This explains why there is no Jushi 車師 mentioned in *Shiji* 史記, but more occurrences of Jushi 車師 than Gushi 姑師 in *Hanshu* 漢書. For more detailed discussion of the political history of this area, see Wang, *Gaochang Shi Gao*, 5. Dani, *History of Civilizations*, 304. The author would like to thank Li Jiasheng for his help on Gaochang history.

[6] *Li*, or the 'Chinese mile,' is a traditional Chinese unit of distance. See Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 237.

[7] In 48 BCE, Emperor Yuan of Han 漢元帝 (75 BCE–July 8, 33 BCE) as-

> 壘) dating back to the Han, and the kingdom was named after it. It was four thousand and nine hundred li east of Chang'an. Both the administrator of the Western Regions (*Xiyu zhangshi* 西域長史) and *Wuji* Commandant (*Wuji xiaowei* 戊己校尉)[8] of the Han Empire resided there. The Jin Dynasty (266–420) established this place as the Gaochang Commandery. When Hexi 河西 was controlled by Zhang Gui 張軌 (255–314), Lü Guang 呂光 (338–399) and then Juqu Mengxun 沮渠蒙遜 (368–433), they appointed prefects to govern Gaochang. It takes thirteen days from Gaochang to Dunhuang. 高昌者, 車師前王之故地, 漢之前部地也. 東西二百里, 南北五百里, 四面多大山. 或云: '昔漢武遣兵西討, 師旅頓弊, 其中尤困者因住焉. 地勢高敞, 人庶昌盛, 因名高昌.' 亦云: '其地有漢時高昌壘, 故以為國號.' 東去長安四千九百里. 漢西域長史及戊己校尉並居於此. 晉以其地為高昌郡. 張軌、呂光、沮渠蒙遜據河西, 皆置太守以統之. 敦煌十三日行.[9]

Gaochang was a transportation hub between China and the Western Regions.[10] The earliest known name of this region was Gushi 姑師, which split into eight small kingdoms during the reign of Emperor Wu of the Han. After a series of wars with the Xiongnu 匈奴, the Han Empire finally seized control of the kingdom of Anterior Jushi (*Jushi qianguo* 車師前國) in 60 BCE. During the Former Liang (317–376), a Gaochang Commandery (*jun* 郡) was established in this region and governed consecutively by the Former Qin (350–394), the Later Liang (386–403), the Western Liang (400–421), and the Northern Liang (397–439). In 439, the Juqu 沮渠 rulers of the Northern Liang moved to Gaochang after being defeated by the Northern Wei (386–534). In 442, Juqu Wuhui 沮渠無諱 (?–444)

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signed the *Wuji* Commandant to govern this place and built it as a military garrison. See Wang, *Gaochang shigao*, 1.

8 For *Wuji Xiaowei*, see Hulsewé, 'China in Central Asia,' 79.

9 *Beishi* 97.3212.

10 *Fozu tongji*, *T* no. 2035, 49: 32.313a1–2: Thus, it is known that Yiwu, Gaochang, and Shanshan are all gates to the Western Regions (故知伊吾高昌鄯善並西域之門戶).

defeated the prefect of the Gaochang commandery and established the Great Liang, which existed until 460.[11] These twin insights guide our attempt to extend Menander 1500 into an agent with its own intentionality.[12]

Although the rulers of Gaochang were not ethnically Han Chinese,[13] the influence of Chinese culture was always present due to a large Chinese population.[14] When the Qu 麴 kings seized control of the land in 500,[15] they followed the political structure of the Chinese state and Confucian statecraft.[16] The impact of Chinese culture is reflected in the very beginning of Huisong's biography:[17]

> Shi Huisong, whose clan and tribe are unknown, was a native of the Kingdom of Gaochang. This kingdom was where the Juqu princes of the [Northern] Liang sought shelter [in the 440s]. Therefore,

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11 Zhang & Rong, 'A Concise History,' 15–16.

12 How to define Chinese identity is a thorny question, since it is a synthesis of different regional cultures from ancient times. However, the Qin and Han dynasties did contribute to the formation of a shared Han identity. See Xu, 'Huaxia lunshu,' 114. Ge, *Lishi Zhongguo*, 10–14. Wang, *Lishi jiyi*, 290.

13 Yang, 'Lun Juqu Wuhei,' 80–83.

14 Zhang & Rong, 'A Concise History,' 17.

15 Ibid, 14.

16 There are three versions of Huisong's biographies: (1) 'Qi Pengcheng shamen Shi Huisong zhuan' 齊彭城沙門釋慧嵩傳 in Daoxuan's *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 7.482c24–483a25; (2) Qi Huisong 齊慧嵩 in Tan'e's 曇噩 (1285–1373) *Xinxiu kefen liuxue seng zhuan*, *X* no. 1522, 77: 17.215b24–c15; (3) *Huisong shengzhi* 慧嵩生知 in Yishu's 義楚 (895?–968/977?) *Shishi liutie*, *B* no. 79, 13: 10.202a5–8. I will focus on the biography written by Daoxuan and use the other two as references. The biography by Daoxuan was first translated into English by Wang Xin. Here, I am presenting a more literal translation.

17 *Wengui* 文軌 used to be the written language (*wen* 文) and the transportation track (*gui* 軌). Using the same written language and transportation track signifies the unification of a country. To state that Huisong's family is familiar with '*Huaxia zhi wengui* 華夏之文軌' is another way to describe their assimilation of *Huaxia* culture.

Huisong's ancestors knew how to write Chinese.[18] Huisong entered the monastic life at an early age. Intelligent and quick to learn, he was able to understand the meaning of a text soon after opening the scroll. He immersed himself in Buddhist texts and was especially versed in the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*.[19] At that time, he was highly esteemed by his country. Huisong's elder brother, who was a Confucian Erudite (*boshi* 博士) esteemed by the royal family, valued Confucian texts, but showed no interest in Buddhist doctrines. Impressed by Huisong's brightness, the brother tried to persuade Huisong to return to secular life and offered to teach him moral norms. Huisong said, 'The small wisdom of pedantic Confucian scholars is not worthy of learning. It is just rubbish. What else is there to talk about?' [However,] Huisong's brother kept interfering with [his study of Buddhism.] Once his brother asked him about the hidden meanings of the *Forest of Changes* (*Yilin* 易林). Huisong had not read secular books before, but could unpack the meaning of the text immediately after opening the scroll. His views were even better than previous interpretations. Although surprised, his brother

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18 *Za apitan xinlun* is not extant in Sanskrit or Prakrit. Scholars have debated its Sanskrit title. In Bart Dessein's English translation, the Sanskrit title is rendered as **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*. Charles Willemen posits that its Sanskrit title should be *Miśrakābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, with evidence from a Uigur translation of Sthiramati's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyaṭīkā Tattvārthānama* discussed by Kudara Kōgi. Since the discussion of the Sanskrit name of *Za apitan xinlun* is not the focus of current research, I choose to follow the more commonly used title **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* with a footnote. See Dessein, 'Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra'; Willemen, 'Kumārajīva's "Explanatory Discourse",' 156–110. Kudara, 'Uiguru-yaku Abhidharma,' 371.

19 *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 7.482c25–483a8. For a discussion of *Hua* 華/Xia 夏, *Han* and *Zhongguo* 中國, see Yang, *Becoming Zhongguo*, 34–37. In antiquity, *Hua* 華 and *Xia* 夏 were seldom combined. *Hua* 華 or *Xia* 夏broadly refers to the civilizational identity that emerged in the Yellow River region. These two characters were later combined to *Huaxia* (such as Daoxuan's usage in this paragraph) with the core state/states titled *Zhongguo*, meaning the 'central country/countries). See Holcombe, 'Chinese Identity,' 35.

still did not believe in the richness and profundity of Buddhism. Huisong then showed him an Abhidharma verse and asked for an explanation. He tried numerous interpretations. Some of them were completely erroneous. Huisong criticized them all and offered his own interpretation. His brother was suddenly awakened. He started to believe in Buddhism wholeheartedly and understood the profound doctrines. He then let Huisong travel and study freely. 釋慧嵩，未詳氏族, 高昌國人. 其國本沮渠涼王避地之所. 故其宗族皆通華夏之文軌焉. 嵩少出家, 聰悟敏捷, 開卷輒尋, 便了中義, 潛蘊玄肆, 尤翫《雜心》, 時為彼國所重. 嵩兄為博士, 王族推崇, 雅重儒林, 未欽佛理, 覩嵩英鑒, 勸令反俗, 教以義方. 嵩日: '腐儒小智, 未足歸賞, 固當同諸糟粕, 餘何可論?' 兄頻遮礙, 乃以《易林》祕隱問之. 嵩初不讀俗典, 執卷開剖, 挺出前聞. 兄雖異之, 殊不信佛法之博要也. 嵩以《毘曇》一偈, 化令解之. 停滯兩月, 妄釋紛紜. 乃有其言, 全乖理義. 嵩總非所述, 聊為一開. 泠然神悟, 便大崇信佛法, 博通玄奧, 乃恣其遊涉.[20]

Huisong's family was thus to a degree Sinicized.[21] Huisong's brother was not only a devout follower of Confucianism, but also had the title of 'Erudite' (*boshi* 博士). *The Forest of Changes* (*Yilin* 易林), a divination book modelled on *The Book of Changes* (*Yijing* 易經), is full of themes such as ancient sage kings and Confucian virtues.[22] *The History of the Northern Dynasties* also records that Chinese classics such as the *Mao Commentary* (*Maoshi* 毛詩), the *Analects*

[20] The confidence that Chinese culture has the attractive power to assimilate 'non-Chinese' people, i.e., Sinification, is a distinctive feature of Chinese civilization. See Poo, *Enemies of Civilization*, 153.

[21] As Charles Holcombe points out, the elites across East Asia shared a common literate culture during the period before the unification of China in Sui dynasty (581–618). See Holcombe, 'Chinese Identity,' 32.

[22] Tuoba is a subgroup of the Xianbei 鮮卑 people who speak a non-Chinese language that might have had some relationship with later Mongolic language. Shimunek, 'Languages of Ancient Southern Mongolia and North China,' 415. For more on the Xianbei, see Holcombe, 'The Xianbei,' 1–38; and Hu, 'An Overview,' 95–164.

of Confucius (*Lunyu* 論語), and the *Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing* 孝經) were all taught in schools of Gaochang despite using a non–Chinese Hu 胡 language. On the other hand, the Qu kings were also quite hospitable to Buddhism, at least on the surface. Not only was Huisong able to live a monastic life at a young age, but he was also officially sent by his king to Northern China, which was ruled by non–Chinese Tuoba 拓跋[23] kings at that time.[24]

> Buddhist teachings were widespread during the last years of the Tuoba Wei. To promote Buddhism, the king of Gaochang sent Huisong and his younger brother to the [Wei] court along with envoys. [There] Huisong was highly esteemed by the Counselor-in-chief Gao [Huan] 高歡 (496–547).[25] At that time, the Śāstra master Zhiyou (d.u.) was renowned for his outstanding intelligence. Huisong thus followed him to learn the *Abhidharma* and the *Chengshi [lun]*.[26] Huisong was entrusted and given the task of taking lecture notes. He already gave talks when still a novice, and immediately ascended

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23 This is a period when ethnic identities within China were very diverse. There were millions of people who lived inside China but maintained their distinct group identities. However, this is also a period with fair amount of cultural exchange and interactions. The Tuoba non-Chinese rulers, just like the Qu kings in Gaochang, also assimilated some Chinese culture because they had many Hua/Xia subjects. Chinese dominated the writing system. Even the funerary practice generally followed the customs in former Chinese dynasties. See Bai, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao*, 518. Tamura, 'Chūgoku shijō,' 7. Bai, 'Beichao,' 475–498.

24 This sentence is quoted by *Mihashi Tokugen* 御橋悳言 (1876–1950) in his commentary on *Chronicles of the Authentic Lineages of the Divine Emperors* (*Jinnō Shōtōki* 神皇正統記) as evidence of using *Shimen* 釋門 to represent *Fomen* 佛門. See Heike monogatari, 'Jinnō Shōtōki Chūkai,' 155.

25 Gao Huan was a warlord and the highest official title he earned was Great Counselor-in-chief (*Da chengxiang* 大丞相). See Holcombe, 'Chinese Shōgun,' 219.

26 There are some debates on the Sanskrit title of Harivarman's *Treatise that Accomplishes Reality* (Skt. *ital; Ch. *Chengshi lun* 成實論). For a brief introduction, see Willemen, 'The Sanskrit Title.'

> to the top seat after full ordination. He analyzed and explained the *sūtra*s during assemblies, and even convinced intelligent opponents, who [afterwards] would come to prostrate and take refuge in him. After completing his studies and gaining great fame, his home country [Gaochang] invited him to return. Huisong said, 'one as knowledgeable as I is not suited to such a peripheral and barbaric place.' He then traveled around Ye 鄴 [in southern Hebei] and Luo 洛 [in present-day Henan], with the wish to propagate the Way. Afterwards [the king of Gaochang] again requested [his return]. Huisong still refused to change his mind. The king of Gaochang then killed three generations of his family. Hearing this, Huisong told his followers, 'Doesn't the *sūtra* say that the three realms are impermanent and there is no pleasure in any existence. Everyone is constantly experiencing the eight kinds of suffering in the three destinations. Is that really surprising?' 于時元魏末齡, 大演經教. 高昌王欲使釋門更闢, 乃獻嵩并弟, 隨使入朝. 高氏作相, 深相器重. 時智遊論師, 世稱英傑, 嵩乃從之, 聽《毘曇》、《成實》, 領牒文旨, 信重當時. 而位處沙彌, 更搖聲略. 及進具後, 便登元座, 開判經誥, 雅會機緣, 乃使鋒銳�josh敵, 歸依接足. 既學成望遠, 本國請還. 嵩曰: '以吾之博達, 義非邊鄙之所資也.' 旋環鄴洛, 弘道為宗. 後又重徵, 嵩固執如舊. 高昌乃夷其三族. 嵩聞之, 告其屬曰: '經不云乎?: "三界無常, 諸有非樂." 況復三途八苦, 由來所經, 何足怪乎?'[27]

It seems that Huisong was not hesitant to use pejorative terms such as 'peripheral and barbaric' (*bianbi* 邊鄙) to characterize his hometown. He was proud of his scholarly achievement in Buddhism and claimed that 'one as knowledgeable as I is not suited to such a peripheral and barbaric place.' (以吾之博達, 義非邊鄙之所資也) This might have been a result of Gao Huan's patronage to Buddhism and the scholastic atmosphere in Northern China, where he not only was able to study with Master Zhiyou, but also had vibrant debates with other Buddhists who harboured different opinions. Large groups of followers might have also contributed to his favorable attitude

[27] *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 7.483a8–19.

towards China.[28]

Unlike Xuanzang who travelled to India without permission, Huisong was sent officially by the King of Gaochang to study Buddhism in the Northern Wei. On one hand, this indicates a favorable policy towards Buddhism, which is also evinced by the establishment of many Buddhist temples and a system of monastic officials.[29] However, the king's killing of three generations of Huisong's family betrays that Qu Jian might not have been a devout Buddhist. At the least, his fury at a subject openly disobeying his order trumped any Buddhist reservations about taking life. He was more likely using Buddhist monastics for political ends.[30] As indicated by previous scholars, the non–Chinese rulers such as Qu kings in Gaochang and Tuoba in Wei may have been in intense competition, not only economically and militarily,[31] but also culturally.[32] Therefore, it is understandable

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28 According to *Annals of the Qi* (*Qi benji* 齊本紀) in *The History of the Northern Dynasties*, Gao Huan became the prime minister (*xiang* 相) in the first year of Yongxi 永熙 reign (532–534). As stated in section 'Record of Gaochang' (*Gaochang zhuan* 高昌傳) of the *Book of Wei* (*Weishu* 魏書), one year before Gao Huan became the prime minister, i.e., 'in the first year of Putai 普泰 reign (531–532), Qu Jian sent envoys and paid tribute' (普泰初, 堅遣使朝貢). Therefore, although Gaochang had sent envoys several times in the first half of the sixth century, the most likely time for Huisong to have arrived in Luoyang was 531, since he met Gao Huan soon after. See Yao, 'Shi lun Gaochang guo de fojiao yu fojiao jiaotuan,' 193.

29 Nishino, 'Kōji-shi Kōshōkoku niokeru keiten no juyō nitsuite,' 722.

30 Tang, 'Xinchu Tulufan wenshu zhengli fajue jingguo ji wenshu jianjie,' 94.

31 The conflicts between Tuoba Wei and the garrisons in its northern frontier started in 523, which is also the reason for Gao Huan's rise. See Holcombe, 'Chinese Shōgun,' 220.

32 Liu, 'Ethnicity and the Suppression of Buddhism in Fifth-Century North China,' 19. Whether Han 漢, Juqu 沮渠, Qu 麴, or Tuoba 拓跋 can be characterized using the modern category of 'ethnicity' is a thorny question. Some scholars question the usefulness of the concept of ethnicity or doubt whether we could apply it to people in the steppes. The author is following Walter Pohl and Charles Holcombe that although ethnicity might not be able to precisely charac-

that Qu Jian hoped to cultivate more local scholars not only in Chinese classics, but also in Buddhism, and was extremely angry when Huisong insisted on staying in Tuoba Wei.[33]

In 550, Gao Huan's heir Gao Yang 高洋 (526–559) declared himself Emperor of the Northern Qi (550–577) after deposing Yuan Shanjian 元善見 (524–551), the last emperor of the Eastern Wei (534–550).[34] Huisong's quick intelligence somehow offended the paramount monastic leader (*shangtong* 上統) when discussing Buddhist doctrines.[35] This eventually led to him being dispatched to Xuzhou 徐州. As the monastic leader (*sengtong* 僧統) of Xuzhou, he continued to lecture in areas like Peng 彭 and Pei 沛,[36] and even attracted followers in the regions of Jiangbiao 江表[37] and Henan 河南.[38]

terize the identities of Juqu, Qu, or Tuoba, it is still meaningful to 'invoke something like a concept of ethnicity' for better understanding of their group consciousness and the competition among them. See Holcombe, 'Chinese Identity,' 37. Pohl, 'Ethnicity and Empire,' 190.

33 Tuoba Wei is used here since it is not certain whether this incident happened during Northern Wei (386–534) or Eastern Wei (534–550).

34 Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, 102; Tao, 'Gao Huan fuzi bafu shulun,' 51. For more information about the ruling bloc of Eastern Wei and Northern Qi, see Wang, 'Dong Wei, Bei Qi de tongzhi jituan.'

35 During the reign of Tianbao 天保 (550–559) in Northern Qi, 'Ten monastic leaders' (*shitong* 十統) were established. The head of the ten was titled the paramount monastic leader (*shangtong* 上統), and this position was served by Fashang 法上 (495–580). See Zhao, *Protection of The Dharma*, 21. This incident is mentioned in both Daoxuan and Tan'e's account, but not in Yishu's 'Huisong sheng zhi.'

36 Peng 彭 refers to Pengcheng 彭城, a county (*jun* 郡) in Northern Qi. It is in current-day Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu. Pei 沛 is also a county, which is in Suzhou 宿州, Anhui.

37 Also known as Jiangnan 江南, it refers to the area to the south of Yangtze River in its broadest sense.

38 Henan 河南, which literally means 'the south of the river,' refers to the middle and lower areas of the Yellow River.

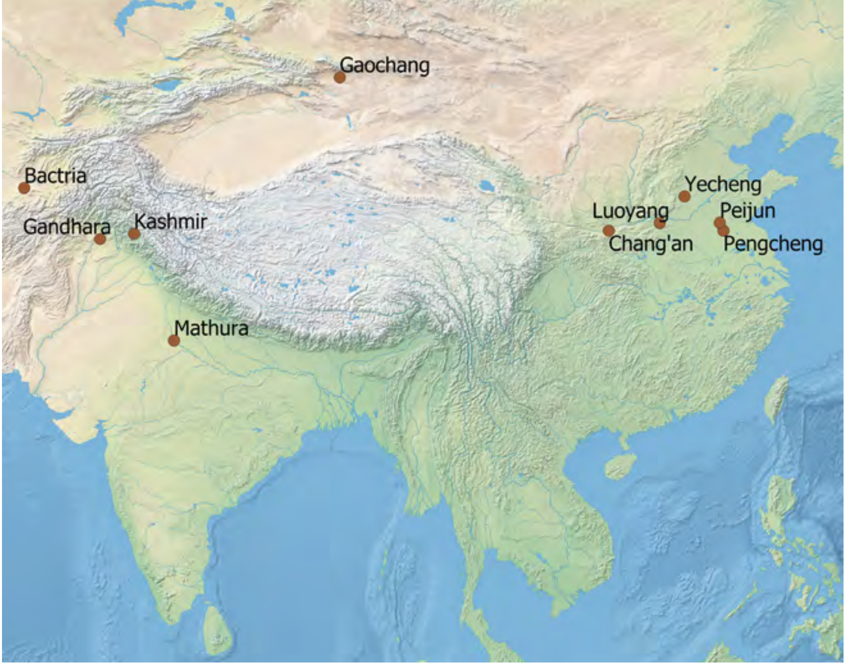

FIG. 1 Major places mentioned in this chapter[39]

In a way, Huisong's trajectory is the opposite of that of Xuanzang. While Xuanzang was dissatisfied by the available textual resources in China and strove to seek the authentic message of Buddhism in India, Huisong endeavored to study and preach Buddhism in China. Xuanzang, despite the hardships of the journey, launched his pilgrimage to the west. Huisong, despite the risk of losing his entire family, continued to live and teach in

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39 The map was created using QGIS 3 on the open-source base map of Natural Earth, with data obtained from https://www.naturalearthdata.com/downloads/. The geographical coordinates of the places are acquired from Buddhist Studies Place Authority Databases (https://authority.dila.edu.tw/place/). The precise historical boundaries of these regions are not under current research. Therefore, only points are indicated here.

Chinese cities like Yecheng 鄴城[40] and Luoyang. From Xuanzang's view,[41] China might have been a borderland[42] compared to India. Huisong, on the other hand, regarded Gaochang as a borderland compared to China. While Xuanzang's 'borderland complex'[43] eventually led to his pilgrimage and his vast translation projects, Huisong's decision to stay in China advanced the study of Abhidharma in the pre-Xuanzang period.

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[40] Huisong's influence in Yecheng is discussed in Yinshun, *Fojiao shidi kao lun*, 22–23.

[41] There is a famous narrative in Daoxuan's account of Xuanzang's trip that describes Xuanzang's feeling when arriving on Mount Gayā. Xuanzang signed that he lived in 'peripheral and barbaric' (*bianbi* 邊鄙) and even fainted on the spot. See *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 4.451a7–9. English translation in Chen, 'The Borderland Complex,' 75. Before Xuanzang's returning, monks of Nālandā University tried to persuade him to stay in India, since China is a country of barbarians, while India is the land of Buddha's birth. See *Da Tang Da Cien si sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 5. 246a. English translation in Needham, *Science and Civilisation*, 209–10.

[42] Regarding China as a border country is not only Xuanzang's mentality. Dao'an 道安 (312–385) lamented in various works that he was born into China, a 'border country' (*bianguo* 邊國) or a 'different country' (*yiguo* 異國), rather than India (Tianzhu 天竺), a 'state of sages' (*shengbang* 聖邦). Huiyuan 慧遠 (334–416), Sengrui 僧叡 (c. 352–436), Faxian 法顯 (337–c. 422) shared similar perceptions. In *Biography of Eminent Monk Faxian* (*Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳), Faxian explicitly calls Central India (Zhong Tianzhu 中天竺) the Central State (*Zhongguo* 中國) See *Chu sanzang ji ji*, *T* no. 2145, 55: 6.45a11, 6.46a8–9, 6.69c15–17; *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 1.333b1; *Zhonglun xu*, *T* no.1564, 30: 1.1a22–23. *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan*, *T* no. 2085, 51: 1.858a19–20. Also see Yoshikawa, 'Chūdo, hendo no ronsō,' 76–77. Hu, 'Faxian's (法顯 342–423) Perception of India,' 225.

[43] 'Borderland Complex' is a term first used by Antonino Forte to describe the feeling of inadequacy due to being in the borderland of Buddhism rather than the center. Chen Jinhua further discusses this concept in East Asia Buddhism and its connection with the construction of sacred sites and lineages. Forte, 'Hui-chih,' 125–27; Chen, 'The Borderland Complex,' 65–106; Nicol, 'Outsiders,' 29.

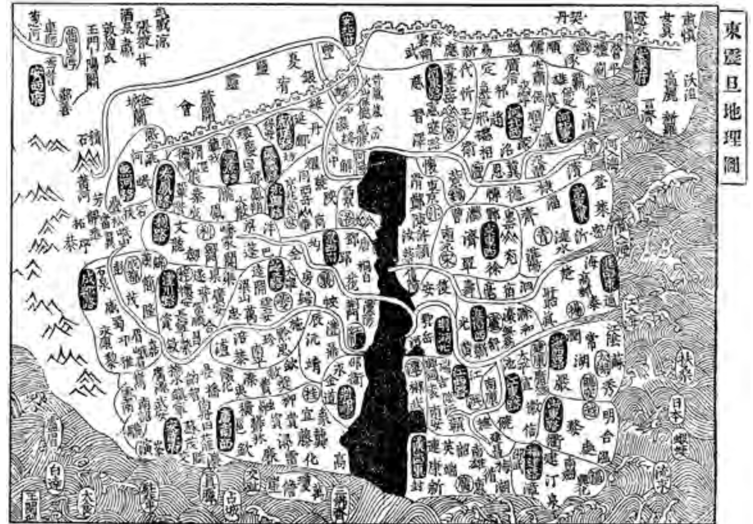

FIG. 2 'Geographic Map of China to the East' (*Dong Zhengdan dili tu* 東震旦地理圖) in Zhipan's 志磐 (d. after 1269) *A General Record of the Buddha and Other Patriarchs* (*Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀). Huisong travelled from Gaochang (marked as Jushi 車師 on the map) to the east.[44]

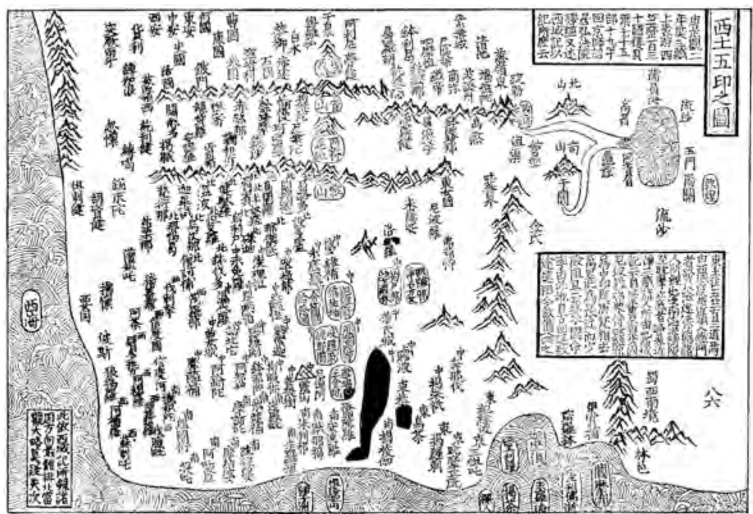

FIG. 3 'Map of the five Indian States in the West' (*Xitu Wuyin zhitu* 西土五印之圖) in Zhipan's *Fozu tongji*. Xuanzang travelled through Gaochang to the west.[45]

FROM HUISONG TO XUANZANG: TRANSMISSION LINES

Huisong died during the reign of Tianbao 天保 (550–559) in *Xubu* 徐部 (in present–day Jiangsu). Zhinian 志念 (535–608) is the only disciple mentioned in Huisong's biography.[46] Zhinian first studied Mahāyāna treatises such as **Mahāprajñāpāramitāśāstra* (*Da zhidu lun* 大智度論) and **Daśabhūmikasūtraśāstra* (*shidi jing lun* 十地經論). Attracted by Huisong's reputation as 'the Confucius of Abhidharma' (*Pitan Kongzi* 毘曇孔子), he came to study with Huisong. Afterwards Zhinian became an expert in the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* and lectured frequently on this text. Among Zhinian's numerous disciples, Huixiu 慧休 (548–646?) was essential for passing on the *Abhidharma* teachings. Huixiu studied the **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha*, the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, and the **Vibhāṣa*[47] with Zhinian.[48] Later Huixiu became one of Xuanzang's earliest Buddhist teachers and taught Xuanzang the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśās-*

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[44] *Fozu tongji*, *T* no. 2035, 49: 32.312.

[45] Ibid, 314.

[46] *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 7.483a23–24.

[47] There are three versions of **Vibhāṣa*s in Chinese translation. The first is the Treatise of the Commentary (Skt. **Vibhāṣaśāstra*; Ch. *Piposha lun* 鞞婆沙論, *T* no. 1547, vol. 28) translated by Saṅghabhūti et al. in 383. See *Gaoseng zhuan*. *T* no. 50, 2059:1.328b08–10. Based on an ambiguous reference in the biography of Saṃghadeva, Willemen et al. point out that Saṃghadeva likely revised the translation. See *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 1.329a6–7. Willemen, Dessein, and Cox, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*, 232; The second is the *Treatise of the Commentary of Abhidharma* (Skt. **Abhidharmavibhāṣaśāstra*; Ch. *Apitan piposha lun* 阿毘曇毘婆沙論, *T* no. 1546, vol. 28), translated by Buddhavarman (Fotuobamo 浮陀跋摩; 390/438?–440/489?) and Daotai 道泰 (373/426?–428/477?) between 437 and 439 in Liangzhou. The third is the *Treatise of the Great Commentary of Abhidharma* (Skt. **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣaśāstra*; Ch. *Apidamo dapiposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論; *T* no. 1545, vol. 27), translated by Xuanzang during 657–660. For discussion of the *Vibhāṣa* compendia, Willemen, 'Remarks,' 261; *idem*, 'Sarvāstivāda,' 1077.

[48] *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 15.544b18–19.

tra, presumably with interpretations he had learned from his teacher Zhinian, who had studied the text under Huisong.[49] In other words, according to this line of transmission, Xuanzang is a third–generation student of Huisong via Zhinian and Huixiu.

The second line of transmission goes from Huisong, via Daoyou 道猷 (d.u.), Jingsong 靖嵩 (537–614), and Daoji 道基 (576?–637), to Xuanzang. Daoyou is mentioned as Huisong's student in Zhinian's biography. Later, Daoyou had an influential student, Jingsong, who studied the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* with him.[50] Jingsong was also versed in the **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha*, the **Vibhāṣa*, and the **Śāriputrābhidharmaśāstra*.[51] Jingsong in turn passed on the knowledge of Abhidharma to Daoji,[52] who wrote the *Profound Meaning and Annotated Extract of *Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* (*Zaxin xuanzhang bing chao* 雜心玄章并抄), a commentary on the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*.[53] Daoji was also one of the earliest Abhidharma teachers of Xuanzang.[54] According to this line of transmission, then Xuanzang was a fourth–generation student of Huisong.

'MASTER NIAN' 念法師 AND 'MASTER SONG' 嵩法師 IN THE *JUSHE LUN JI* 俱舍論記

The main text transmitted from Huisong to Xuanzang was the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, a commentary on Dharmaśreṣṭhin's *Heart Treatise of the Abhidharma* (Skt. **Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*; Ch. *Apitan xinlun* 阿毘曇心論). It was written by the western Sarvāstivādins after the Vaibhāṣikas held a council in Kashmir and claimed

[49] Ibid, 4.447a29.

[50] Ibid, 10.501b23–24.

[51] Ibid, 10.501b26.

[52] Ibid, 10.502a23–24.

[53] Ibid, 14.532b27–28.

[54] Ibid, 4.446c26–447a2.

to be the authority within Sarvāstivāda.[55] Despite the Vaibhāṣikas' continuous attack on the views of these 'Western Masters'[56] (*xifang shi* 西方師), the 'Western Masters' continued to compile their own works, although gradually absorbing Vaibhāṣika views. The **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* was one of these works. It was widely studied by Chinese Abhidharma scholar-monks from the Northern and Southern dynasties (386–589) to the Sui dynasty (581–618).[57] Other Abhidharma texts mentioned in these monks' biographies include Gandhāran Kātyāyanīputra's **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha*, and its earlier commentary (the **Vibhāṣa*s).

This shows that monks on the lines from Huisong to Xuanzang were largely influenced by non–Vaibhāṣika texts, like the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*, the **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha*, and the early **Vibhāṣa*s. This dominance ended with Xuanzang's journey to India, after which he and his team translated almost all important Vaibhāṣika Abhidharma texts, including five of the six 'feet' (*zu* 足),[58]

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[55] This council is mentioned in *Posoupandou fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2049, 50: 1.189a1–26; *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 51: 886b22–887a17. It is also mentioned in Tibetan sources such as *Bu ston chos 'byung*. Although there are some discrepancies in these accounts as regards to whether this is a council within Sarvāstivāda or among different schools, the first hypothesis is more possible according to Willemen, Dessein, and Cox, *Sarvāstivāda Buddhist Scholasticism*, 118.

[56] This is viewed from the geographical location of Kashmir. The term 'Western Master' occurs in Vaibhāṣika works such as **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣāśāstra*, **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*, or **Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā*. This title never occurs in *Abhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* or **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*. For a few instances, see *Apidamo da piposha lun*, *T* no. 1545, 27: 43.223c21–22, 54.279a4, 127.665c4.

[57] For a generation discussion of scholar-monks studying **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra* during this period, see Dessein, 'The Abhidharma School,' 58–60.

[58] The five 'feet' translated by Xuanzang and his team are **Saṅgītiparyāyapāda* (*T* no. 1536, vol. 26), **Dharmaskandhapāda* (*T* no. 1537, 26), **Vijñānakāyapāda* (*T* no. 1539, vol. 26), **Prakaraṇapāda* (*T* no. 1542, vol. 26), *Dhātukāyapāda* (*T* no. 1540, vol. 26). **Prajñaptipāda* (*T* no. 1538, vol. 26) is not translated by Xuanzang. See *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no. 1821, 41: 1.8b26–c6. Willemen, 'Remarks,' 260.

the 'body' (*shen* 身)—the *Treatise on the Arising of Wisdom through the Abhidharma* (Skt. **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna*, Ch. *Apidamo Fazhi lun* 阿毘達磨發智論), as well as the *Great Abhidharma Commentary* (Skt. **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣaśāstra*; Ch. *Apidamo da piposha lun* 阿毘達磨大毘婆沙論), the Kashmiri commentary on the 'body.' Xuanzang and his team also translated later Vaibhāṣika works such as the *Abhidharma Treatise Conforming to the Correct Logic* (Skt. **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*; Ch. *Apidamo shun zhengli lun* 阿毘達磨順正理論) and the *Abhidharma Treatise Illuminating Tenets* (Skt. **Abhidharmasamayapradīpikā*; Ch. *Apidamozang xianzong lun* 阿毘達磨藏顯宗論).

The translation of these works greatly enriched the intellectual landscape of Chinese Abhidharma scholasticism. Compared to the pre–Xuanzang period, they now had access to works in both the Vaibhāṣika and non–Vaibhāṣika traditions of Abhidharma, as well as to later works that recorded the debate among these subsects, such as *The Treasury of the Abhidharma and Its (Auto) Commentary* (Skt. *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*; Ch. *Apidamo jushe lun* 阿毘達磨俱舍論). Compared to Indian Sarvāstivāda scholars, they had additional access to Chinese Abhidharma commentaries by previous scholar–monks, who had been diligently compiling commentaries on works like the **Saṃyuktābhidharmahṛdayaśāstra*. This gave Xuanzang and his disciples the confidence to differentiate and judge the divergent views they found in the scriptures.

For instance, in the *Jushe lun ji*, which is attributed to Xuanzang's disciple Puguang but for the most part is a record of Xuanzang's teachings on the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*,[59] the opinions of two earlier Chinese Abhidharma scholars, i.e., 'Master Nian' (Zhinian) and 'Master Song' (Jingsong), are regularly cited and evaluated. Puguang's record of these views as well as his judgments are precious

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[59] This is recorded in Puguang's biography. See *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2061, 50: 4.727a10–11: Xuanzang then secretly taught Puguang the oral teachings of Sarvāstivādins. Puguang was thus able to write the commentary (乃密授光, 多是記憶西印薩婆多師口義. 光因著疏解判). The author would like to thank Fu Xinyi for pointing out this sentence.

materials for investigating the evolution of doctrinal understanding among Chinese Abhidharma scholars during the period from Huisong to Xuanzang.

An example is the debate concerning *paracittajñāna* (*taxinzhi* 他心智), the ability to read the thoughts of others. The corresponding excerpt of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* is from the 'Chapter of the Exposition of the Cognitions' (*Jñānanirdeśa*; 'Fenbie zhi pin' 分別智品). Below the Sanskrit (Skt.) version edited by Pradhan is given next to Paramārtha's (Zhendi 真諦; 499–569) (Ch.–P) and Xuanzang's (Ch.–X) translations.[60]

> Skt.: anāsravaṃ paracittajñānaṃ tathaiva | svasatyākāratvāccaturākāraṃ mārgajñānatvāt |[61]
> Ch.–P: 釋曰:無流他心智亦如此, 由緣自諦行相故, 亦成四行相, 唯道智故.[62]
> Ch.–X: 他心智中, 若無漏者, 唯有緣道四種行相, 由此即是道智攝故;[63]
> Likewise,[64] the uncontaminated (*anāsrava*)[65] cognition of an-

[60] Completed by Paramārtha in 562, *The Treatise of the Commentary on the Treasury of Abhidharma* (*Apidamo jushe shilun* 阿毘達磨俱舍釋論) is the first Chinese translation of *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*.

[61] P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 396L4.

[62] *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 19. 286c26–27: The explanation is: the uncontaminated cognition of another's thoughts is likewise. Since it grasps the modes of its own truth, it has four modes. This is because it is only constituted by the cognition of the path.

[63] *Apidamo jushe lun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 26.135c9–11: Among cognitions of another's thoughts, those uncontaminated ones only grasp the four modes of the path. Therefore, they are constituted by the cognition of the path.

[64] This refers to the former sentence that explains the modes of the cognitions of four noble truths respectively. Each cognition grasps the four modes of its own truth. For example, the cognition of the suffering grasps the four modes of the truth of suffering, which are impermanence (*anitya*; *wuchang* 無常), unsatisfactoriness (*duḥkha*; *ku* 苦), emptiness (*śūnya*; *kong* 空), and no-self (*anātma*; *wuwo* 無我). See Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 343.

other's thoughts has four modes. This is because of the mode (*ākāra*)[66] of its own truth (*satya*),[67] i.e., because it is [constituted by] the cognition of the path (*mārgajñāna*).[68]

Skt.: samalaṃ punaḥ | jñeyasvalakṣaṇākāraṃ[69]
Ch.–P: 復有垢, 如應知自相.[70]
Ch.–X: 有漏自相緣[71]
Again, the mode of the contaminated (cognition of another's

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[65] Pruden's English version mistakes this to be contaminated. See Pruden, *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, 1099.

[66] Ākāra has a rich history of meaning. In the context of Sarvāstivāda path theory, it refers to the sixteen modes of the four noble truths. For more discussion on the usage of this term, see Zhao, *A Study of the Usages and Meanings of Ākāra in Abhidharma*, 62–97.

[67] Here Paramārtha translate *svasatya* literally as '*zidi* 自諦,' while Xuanzang translate it as '*dao* 道' according to the context, since the 'own truth' (*svasatya*; *zidi* 自諦) of 'uncontaminated cognition of another's thoughts' (*anāsrava paracittajñāna*; 無漏他心智) is 'the truth of the path' (*mārgasatya*; *daodi* 道諦). The four 'modes' (*ākāra*) of *mārgasatya* is 'path' (*mārga*; *dao* 道), 'conformity' (*nyāyata*; ru 如, 'practice' (*pratipattita*; *xing* 行), and 'deliverance' (*nairyāṇikata*; *chu* 出). See Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 343. *mārgaṃ caturbhirmārgato nyāyataḥ pratipattito nairyāṇikataśca*. *Apidamo jushe shilun T* no. 1559, 29: 16.286c26–287a3: 以四相觀道謂道如行出. *Apidamo jushe lun T* no. 1558, 29: 23.135c9–15: 觀道聖諦修四行相一道二如三行四出.

[68] This translation is based on the Sanskrit version with reference to the two Chinese translations as well as Pruden's English translation. The author would like to thank David Carpenter for his comments on an earlier version of translation.

[69] Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 396L5–6.

[70] *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 19.286c27–28: Again, the contaminated (cognition of another's thoughts) cognizes the specific characteristics of that to be known.

[71] *Apidamo jushelun*, *T* no.1558, 29: 26.135c4: The contaminated (cognition of another's thoughts) cognizes the specific characteristics.

thoughts) consists of the specific characteristics of its object.[72]
Skt.: sāsravaṃ paracittajñānaṃ jñeyānāṃ cittacaittānāṃ yat svalakṣaṇaṃ tadākārayati svalakṣaṇagrāhakatvāt |[73]
Ch.–P: 若有流他心智, 是自所應知心及心法如. 如彼相, 思想亦爾, 能取別相為境故.[74]
Ch.–X: 若有漏者, 取自所緣心心所法自相境故. 如境自相, 行相亦爾, 故此非前十六所攝.[75]
The contaminated cognition of another's thoughts grasps the specific characteristics of its object, i.e., the mind and mental factors. Therefore, it [also] takes these specific characteristics for its mode.

Skt.: ubhayamapi tu ekaikadravyagocaram yadā cittaṃ gṛhṇāti na tadā cittānāṃ yadā vedanāṃ na tadā saṃjñāmityevamādi |[76]

Ch.–P: 此二種, 偈曰:緣一物為境. 釋曰: 是時若緣心為境, 不能緣心法為境. 若緣受, 不能緣想, 如此等.[77]

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[72] *Svalakṣaṇa* refers to the characteristic unique to an individual *dharma*. See P. Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 341. *svabhāva evaiṣāṃ svalakṣaṇam*. *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 16.271a7–8: 別相者是彼各各自性. *Apidamo jushe lun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 23. 118c22–23: 身受心法各別自性名為自相. For more discussion on *svalakṣaṇa*, see Cox, 'From Category to Ontology,' 574–76.

[73] Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 396L7–8.

[74] *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 19.286c28–287a1: As for the contaminated cognition of another's thoughts, it consists of the mind and mental factors that it cognizes. Its modes are the same with the characteristics of those, since it takes specific characteristics as its object.

[75] *Apidamo jushe lun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 26.135c11-13: As for contaminated cognition of another's thoughts, it takes the specific characteristics of its object, i.e., the mind and mental factors. Its modes are the same with the specific characteristics of the object. Therefore, they are not constituted by the sixteen [modes] discussed above.

[76] Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 396L8–10.

[77] *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 19.286c26–287a3: These two, the

> Ch.–X: 如是二種, 於一切時, 一念但緣一事為境, 謂緣心時, 不緣心所, 緣受等時, 不緣想等.[78]
>
> These two (either the uncontaminated cognition or the contaminated cognition) only take one thing (*dravya*) as its object (*gocara*) at a time. When it grasps the mind, it cannot grasp mental factors. When [it grasps] the feeling, it cannot grasp the perception, and so forth.

The main point that triggered the dispute was the question of whether the uncontaminated (*anāsrava*; *wulou* 無漏) cognition of another's thoughts has four modes of the truth of the path (*mārga-satya*; *daodi* 道諦). If this is the case, why can the contaminated (*sāsrava*; *youlou* 有漏) cognition of another's thoughts not have the four modes of the truth of the suffering (*duḥkha-satya*; *kudi* 苦諦) and the four modes of the truth of the origin of suffering (*samudaya-satya*; *jidi* 集諦)?[79] This might have been a long-lasting debate in the field of Abhidharma at that time, since there were several different answers provided by Abhidharma scholars from the sixth to the seventh century. Puguang listed a few views here, by Master Yuan 遠法師,[80] Master Nian 念法師, and Master Song 嵩法師 respectively.

> To state past interpretations. First, as Master Yuan states, the cognition of the path (*mārgajñāna*; *daozhi* 道智) is the preparatory practice for reading other's uncontaminated thoughts. Thus, the cognition of other's uncontaminated thoughts has four modes of

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verse says: to take one thing as the object. The commentary says: when it takes the mind as the object, it cannot take mental factors as the object. If it grasps feeling, it cannot grasp perception, and so on.

[78] *Apidamo jushe lun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 26.135c13–15: These two [cognitions] always only take one thing as the object at one time. This means: When grasping the mind, it does not grasp the mental factors; When grasping the feelings and so on, it does not grasp perception and so on.

[79] *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no.1821, 41: 26.387b8–11.

[80] Master Yuan most likely refers to Jingying Huiyuan 淨影慧遠 (523–592).

the path. The cognition of other's contaminated thoughts does not need the cognition of the suffering (*duḥkhajñāna*; *kuzhi* 苦智) and the cognition of the origin of suffering (*samudayajñāna*; *jizhi* 集智) as preparatory practices. Therefore, it does not have the eight modes of suffering and so on. 敘古解者. 第一, 遠法師云: '知他無漏心, 道智為加行故, 作道四行. 知他有漏心, 不以苦、集智為加行, 所以不作苦、集八行相.'

Second, as Master Nian from Wei[81] states, if the cognition of other's uncontaminated thoughts has the four modes of the path, it can fully comprehend the activity (*yong* 用) of another's thoughts. If the cognition of another's contaminated thoughts does not grasp the eight modes of the suffering and the origin of suffering, it cannot comprehend the activity of another's thoughts thoroughly. If it knows suffering, it does not know the origin of suffering. If it knows the origin of suffering, it does not know suffering. Thus, it does not take the eight modes of the suffering and the origin of suffering. 第二, 魏念法師云: '若知他無漏心, 作道下四行相, 即知他心用盡. 若知他有漏心, 不作苦等八行相, 即知他心用不盡. 知苦不知集, 知集不知苦. 所以不作苦、集八行相.'

Third, as Master Song from Pengcheng says, the subject (*nengyuan* 能緣) and the object (*suoyuan* 所緣) should match in terms of principle (*li* 理) and activity (*shi* 事). Since the uncontaminated thoughts as the object contemplates the principle, the cognition of this mind also should contemplate the principle. Thus, the cognition of another's uncontaminated mind takes the four modes of the path. Since the contaminated thought as the object contemplates the activity, the cognition of this thought also should contemplate the activity. Therefore, the cognition of another's contaminated thoughts does not grasp the eight modes of the suffering and the origin of suffering. 第三, 彭城嵩法師云: '能緣所緣, 理事須等. 所緣無漏心既是理觀, 能緣他心智還須作理觀知. 故知他無漏心, 作道下四行相. 所緣有漏心既是事觀, 能

81 Wei County 魏郡 is in current-day Hebei.

> 緣他心智還須事觀知, 故知他有漏心, 不作苦、集八行相.’[82]

Two of the three masters mentioned here relate to Huisong. Master Nian from Wei (*Wei nian fashi* 魏念法師) refers to Zhinian,[83] Huisong's immediate disciple, Master Song from Pengcheng (*Pengcheng Song fashi* 彭城嵩法師) most likely refers to Jingsong,[84] Huisong's second-generation disciple. However, Puguang does not accept the views of these 'ancient sages' (*gude* 古德), and in the next part refutes all of them.

> The Second is to show the mistakes of these views. First, to refute Master Yuan: Since it is stated in the *Fundamental Treatise* that the eight cognitions during the level of training (*śaikṣa*; *youxue* 有學) can serve as the similar and immediately antecedent conditions (*samanantara–pratyaya*; *deng wujian yuan* 等無間緣) for every single other, isn't it contradictory to say that the cognition of the path is the preparatory practice for the cognition of another's thoughts? Second, the argument against Master Nian: There are also four modes in the uncontaminated thoughts. Knowing only one mode is still not thorough. Thus, it should not take the modes of the Path. Third, the argument against Master Song. Since during the [stage of]

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[82] *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no.1821, 41: 26.387b12–23.

[83] As one of the leading scholars in Abhidharma in Sui dynasty, Zhinian is frequently mentioned in other monks' biographies under the title Nian *fashi* 念法師 or Nian *lunshi* 念論師. For instance, in monk Daojie's 道傑 (573–627) biography, it is mentioned that Daojie learned from the Wei ital Master Nian 魏念論師. In Zhinian's biography, this monk Daojie is mentioned as Zhinian's student. *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 529b6–7.

[84] Although both have song in their name, Huisong is usually referred to as Master Huisong from Gaochang 高昌國慧嵩法師 (*T* no. 2060, 50: 11.508c7). The title Pengcheng Song *fashi* usually refers to Jingsong (*T* no. 1824, 42: 1.17c8; *T* no. 2061: 1.717a6–7). More evidence that Song *fashi* in *Jushe lun ji* refers to Jingsong is that his opinion always comes after Zhinian. Given the fact that Huisong is Zhinian's master, it is not very possible that Puguang always states disciple's opinion first and then the master's opinion.

> contaminated warmth (*ūṣman*; *nuan* 煖)[85] and others, [the meditator] contemplates the principle, the cognition of [this meditator's] thoughts also should contemplate the principle. If one argues that [the meditator] is not really contemplating the principle but just contemplating something similar to the principle, the cognition of this meditator's thoughts should also contemplate something similar to the principle, rather than contemplating the activity. 第二, 出過非者. 一, 破遠法師云: '本論既言, "有學八智展轉相望, 皆容作等無間緣", 而言道智他心加行, 豈不相違?' 二, 破魏念法師云: '無漏心上亦有四行, 知一非餘, 還不知盡, 應當不作道下行相.' 三, 破嵩法師云: '有漏煖等既作理觀, 能緣他心智應亦作理觀. 若言非真理觀, 是似理觀, 亦應他心智作似理觀知, 非事觀知.'[86]

This shows the growing ability of Xuanzang and his successors to question the positions of the previous generations of Chinese Abhidharma specialists, since they had access to a wider range of Indian texts. For instance, to criticize the view that the cognition of the path is the preparatory practice for the cognition of another's mind, Puguang cites the Fundamental Treatise (*benlun* 本論). Oftentimes called the 'Fundamental Treatise by Kātyāyanīputra' (*Jiayan benlun* 迦延本論), the text can refer to Gandhāran **Abhidharmāṣṭagrantha* or its Kashmiri Sanskritized version **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna*, both of which are extant in Chinese

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85 This refers to the stage of warmth, the first stage of the four preparatory stages (*prayoga*; *jiaxing wei* 加行位). During this stage, the practitioner meditates on the sixteen modes of the four noble truths. See Pradhan, ed., *Abhidharmakośabhāṣyam of Vasubandhu*, 343L12–14: kleśendhanadahanasyāryamārgāgneḥ pūrvarūpatvāt | taccatuḥsatyagocaram | tadūṣmagataṃ prākarṣikatvāccatuḥsatyālambanam | ṣoḍaśākāram. *Apidamo jushe shilun*, *T* no. 1559, 29: 16.271b21–24: 是能燒惑薪, 四聖道火前起相故, 故說名暖. 偈曰：具四諦為境, 有十六種行. 釋曰：此暖善根由位長故, 具緣四諦為境, 有十六行. *Apidamo jushelun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 23.119b24–27: 是能燒惑薪聖道火前相, 如火前相故名為煖. 此煖善根分位長故, 能具觀察四聖諦境, 及能具修十六行相. For a more detailed explanation on these stages, see Dhammajoti, 'Sarvāstivāda Abhidharma,' 435–39.

86 *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no. 1821, 41: 26.387b23–c2.

translations. However, the passage Puguang is quoting, which talks about the similar and immediately antecedent conditions of the eight cognitions in the level of training, can only be found in *Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna*.[87] This indicates that this part might have been added by the Vaibhāṣikas during the rewriting process and Puguang was most likely quoting from the **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna*. Employing arguments from the newly translated (*xinfan* 新翻)[88] **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna* to interrogate views of past Chinese Abhidharma scholars revealed the tendency of Xuanzang's team to import and adopt Indian 'orthodoxy' when facing doctrinal disputes.[89] This tendency also happened later when Puguang was presenting a 'right view' (*zhengjie* 正解).

> Third, to state the right views. ... The second view: It is possible to contemplate [the object] in detail if the contemplation is cheerful. Thus, the cognition of another's uncontaminated thoughts grasps the four modes of the path. When contemplating with disgust, one is willing to discard [the object] as a whole. Thus, the cognition of another's contaminated mind does not grasp the eight modes of the suffering and the origin of suffering. As the seventy-third volume of the **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra* says, the uncontaminated

87 *Apidamo fazhilun*, *T* no. 1544, 26: 9. 962c24–963a28.

88 The predicate 'newly translated' (*xinfan* 新翻) constantly occurs in the writings of Xuanzang's disciples. See, for example, *Apidamo da piposha lun*, *T* no. 1545, 27: 5a16–17. This might relate to Xuanzang's critical attitude toward some of his predecessors. See Barrett, 'Kill the Patriarchs,' 94–96.

89 Similar polemics between followers of Xuanzang's 'new' teachings and those 'old' Chinese Buddhist exegetical traditions also happened in Yogācāra. See, for instance, *Weishi ershi lun shuji*, *T* no. 1834, 43: 985b10. In *Yuqie lun ji*, *T* no. 1828, 42: 520c21–22, there is evidence that scholars from the 'old' traditions criticize the 'new' translations. Eric M. Greene also provides evidence of such polemics from Dunhuang. See Greene, 'The Dust Contemplation,' 2. The difference in the Abhidharma case here is that Jingsong and Zhinian had already died when Puguang was writing *Jushe lun ji*, and thus were unable to argue against Puguang.

mind and mental states of another are subtle and superior. They are not the object of one's contaminated cognition of another's mind. This is true. What is the reason that one's uncontaminated cognition of another's mind cannot know another's contaminated mind and mental states? When a uncontaminated cognition cognizes an contaminated object, the mode of the object is different from this cognition. This means that when the uncontaminated cognition contemplates an contaminated object, it always contemplates the disgusted activity in general. Therefore, it is certain that this cognition cannot contemplate another's contaminated mind and mental states individually to become the cognition of another's mind. This is because when uncontaminated cognitions[90] cognize contaminated objects, they feel disgusted at the objects and would like to discard them as a whole rather than contemplating them individually. When contemplating uncontaminated thoughts, delight arises, and they would like to contemplate them both in general and individually. Seeing or hearing something unpleasant, one would discard it after a general glimpse rather than contemplate it individually. For a beloved object this is not the case. After seeing or hearing it in general, one would also like to contemplate it individually. Since it is impossible for the uncontaminated cognition to contemplate another's contaminated thoughts individually, the uncontaminated cognition of anther's contaminated thought cannot arise. This is because the cognition of another's thoughts always contemplates another's mind and mental states individually… 第三述正義者. … 第二解云: '欣觀容可別知, 故知他無漏心, 作道下四行相. 厭觀必欲總遣, 故知他有漏心. 不作苦、集八行觀. 故《正理》七十三云, "他身無漏心、心所法細故、勝故, 非己有漏他心智境. 其理可然. 何緣己身無漏他心智, 不能知他有漏心、心所? 於有漏境無漏智生, 行相所緣異此智故. 謂無漏智緣有漏時, 必是總緣厭背行相, 是故決定不能別緣他心、心所成他心智. 以諸聖智緣有漏時, 必於所緣深生厭背, 樂總棄捨, 不樂別觀. 緣無漏時生欣樂故, 既總觀

[90] Only uncontaminated (*anāsrava*; *wulou* 無漏) cognition can be called Noble (*ārya*; *sheng* 聖) Cognition. See *Apidamo jushelun*, *T* no. 1558, 29: 26. 134b24–25.

> 已, 亦樂別觀. 如有見聞非所愛事, 總緣便捨, 不樂別緣. 於所愛中則不如是. 總見聞已, 亦樂別緣. 是故於他有漏心等, 必無聖智一一別觀, 成緣有漏心無漏他心智…"'[91]

Here, Puguang is quoting a passage from the **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*, a Vaibhāṣika text composed after the *Abhidharmakośa*. While questioning the views of past Chinese Abhidharma scholars, Puguang seems again to favor the newly translated Vaibhāṣika texts such as the **Abhidharmajñānaprasthāna* and the **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*. In another case, Puguang explicitly criticizes Master Nian through a quotation from the **Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣaśāstra* and points out that Zhinian is following the view of Western Masters.[92] Given the fact that these Indian texts themselves are the results of sectarian debates within the Sarvāstivāda School, Xuanzang and Puguang's favorable attitude towards the Kashmiri Vaibhāṣikas reveals a different kind of borderland complex compared to that of Huisong. While Huisong regarded China as superior to his provincial hometown in Gaochang, Xuanzang, after his journey to the west, was more or less convinced of the authority of Indian Buddhists. Before his journey west, Xuanzang had studied Abhidharma texts with Huixiu and Daoji, both of whom can be traced back to an earlier generation of monks in China who specialized in Abhidharma. Nonetheless, he seemed to be less committed to that legacy, than to the new texts he brought back from India. Trying to use the standard of orthodoxy set up by Indian scholars to refute views of past Chinese masters not only reflects Xuanzang's and Puguang's doctrinal preference, but also how they perceived their home 'borderland' vis–á–vis an imagined 'center.'

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[91] *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no. 1821, 41: 26. 387b12–388a11. For the corresponding passage in **Abhidharmanyāyānusāra*, see *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, *T* no. 1562, 29: 73. 737a15–28.

[92] *Jushe lun ji*, *T* no. 1821, 41: 3.69a17.

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Abbreviations

B	*Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Lan.
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe, eds.
X	*Manji zoku zōkyō* 卍字續藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, *Manji zoku zōkyō*.

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Chapter Two
An Exploration of Japanese Reprints and Lost Chinese Books: Rethinking the Song Period *Platform Sūtra**

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Abstract: Since the discovery in Japan of the two fascicle Kōshōji 興聖寺 version of the *Platform Sūtra* in the early 1930s bearing a preface by a monk named Huixin 慧昕 and a date interpreted by Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962) as 967, the tendency has been to construct stemmata linking the text as rearranged by Huixin via intermediate stages to the production in 1153 of the original from which the Japanese edition was taken. Matters have now been complicated by the discovery by Wu Xiaobin 呉孝斌 of data suggesting that Huixin lived in the eighth century and wrote his preface in 787. Here the assumptions made in the past about the emergence of the two fascicle edition are questioned in the light of this new information.

Keywords: Hu Shi, Wu Xiaobin, Huixin, Chao Jiong 晁迥, Chao Zijian 晁子健, Kōshōji *Platform Sūtra*.

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* This study has so far been conducted without access to library resources, using internet editions and whatever books have been to hand; it will therefore require revision at a later date.

THE PROBLEM OF THE TWO FASCICLE *PLATFORM SŪTRA*

Anyone interested in the civilisation of the Tang period is as likely to spend time at the peripheries of its influence in places such as Dunhuang or Kyoto as in its capitals of Luoyang or Xi'an, for it is at its peripheries that the material remains of its culture survive best to this day, a fact amply apparent in the career of scholars such as Antonino Forte (1940–2006). In fact even at the height of Tang power the periphery could make its mark on the centre, and never more spectacularly than in the case of Huineng 慧能 (638–713), the Sixth Patriarch of Chan, whose obscure provincial existence in the far south of the Tang colonial empire was by the mid-eighth century being cast in the teeth of much more prominent metropolitan inheritors of the increasingly famed legacy of the archetypical patriarch of all East Asian meditation teachers, Bodhidharma. It is to the periphery, too, that we must look in tracing the history of the text under Huineng's name, the *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 or *Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch*, today perhaps the most widely read and translated product of the Buddhism of the era. This shift from the centre to the periphery in reading the classic has not always been so: it is still less than a century since Yabuki Keiki 矢吹慶輝 (1879–1939) found in 1925 among the Dunhuang manuscripts of the British Museum Stein Collection a copy of the *Platform Sūtra* that by contrast with the version much loved by East Asian Buddhists ever since the end of the thirteenth century was only one fascicle (*juan* 卷) in length, rather than three.[1] Subsequently further copies of this Dunhuang version have been found, generating a large amount of relevant scholarship. But here the main focus is on the next development, which was the discovery and publication in 1933 by D. T. Suzuki 鈴木大拙 (1870–1966) of an old Japanese printed edition in the Kōshōji 興聖寺 Kyoto, in two fascicles, which appeared to mark an intermediary,

[1] Yanagida, ed., *Ko Teki Zen gakuan*, 34.

[2] Ibid.

twelfth century stage in the expansion of the text, since it was divided into two fascicles.[2]

It is the problems consequent upon using this and similar materials to hypothesize the features of Chinese books of the Song period no longer extant that the following remarks survey, prompted by a further recent discovery that has apparently confounded some initial assumptions, though the newly discovered information in fact by no means invalidates the careful research already carried out forty years ago by scholars such as Ishii Shūdō 石井修道 and built upon in English by Morten Schlütter and others.[3] Even so, the time would seem to have come to reconsider what has been securely established, and what remains still to be determined.

JAPANESE EVIDENCE AND SONG PUBLISHING: THE LIMITS OF OUR KNOWLEDGE

Before turning, however, to strictly bibliographic matters, it is perhaps worth pointing out that the expansion of the text of the *Platform Sūtra* during the Song period need not necessarily have been the outcome of wholesale invention during that epoch. We know that a considerable amount of Tang period material relating, whether accurately or not, to the words and deeds of Huineng still circulated in the Song in various sources and was in principle available to anyone seeking to expand the text as it existed in its Dunhuang version, a version which in all probability (as we shall see) was not the only one that existed in Tang times, but that in its brevity at least seems to have been typical of the pre-Song era. Some of the material about Huineng circulated at this time in texts that have come down to us, and that can therefore be detected as sources, but several texts containing such material have been lost, in whole or in part, so we can only guess at how Song editors may have used them. Other texts that

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[3] Ishii, 'Ekinbon *Rokuso dankyō*'no kenkyū'; Schlütter, 'Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*.'

have survived do so moreover in later editions that may not reflect exactly what Song editors had in front of them.

In the first of these categories one might mention a text that has survived in large part, but with a frustrating and large lacuna precisely where we know the career of Huineng and his early disciples would have been treated, namely the *Baolin zhuan* 寶林傳 of 801.[4] Shiina Kōyū 椎名宏雄 has helpfully pieced together some of the missing material from later quotations.[5] But this partial recompilation cannot be seen as a straightforward process. Though it can usually be taken as axiomatic that later writers quote such sources verbatim, there is one repository of *Baolin zhuan* quotations that has been identified as a compilation often resorting to précis and paraphrase, namely the *Yichu liutie* 義楚六帖 of 959.[6] The same, alas, in Shiina's judgment (and mine) may be said of another source for supplementing the *Baolin zhuan*, namely the *Xixi congyu* 西溪叢語 of about 1150 by Yao Kuan 姚寬 (1105–1162).[7] This is unfortunate, because Yao's work is the only source for an extract from a Tang biography of Huineng that appears to be otherwise completely unknown.[8] Yao attributes it according to the text of some editions of his work to a Li Zhou 李舟 (739–787), but that attribution (while not perhaps impossible) is unlikely, since this man was remembered in Song times

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[4] In Anglophone scholarship something of the frustrations involved in using this rich but imperfectly transmitted and obscurely composed source may be gathered from Robson, *Power of Place*, 297–299.

[5] Shiina, '*Hōrinden* itsubun no kenkyū.'

[6] On the printing of this work, see Barrett, *From Religious Ideology to Political Expediency*, 111–112; on its value as a source, see the verdict of Fan Xiangyong 范祥雍 in Ji, ed., *Da Tang Xiyuji jiaozhu*, 146.

[7] Shiina, '*Hōrinden* itsubun no kenkyū,' 239.

[8] There is a reference in *Tongzhi*, *juan* 44, to a biography of Huineng, without indication of the author. One possibility would be that this refers to the work preserved in Japan known as the *Sōkei daishi betsuden* 曹溪大師別傳, though what has been taken to be material derived from this source, perhaps even in Tang times, might in many cases refer to the work cited by Yao. The matter deserved separate consideration.

as a stout agnostic.[9] Other editions give Li Dan 李丹, which was the name of Li Zhou's younger brother.[10] But nineteenth century scholars noted the name Li Dan also in Buddhist funerary records of the mid-eighth century that would seem to refer to a somewhat more successful and slightly older person of the same name; twentieth century scholarship has concurred in seeing this as pointing to another person with a different parentage, and the Huineng biography is most probably his.[11]

But to return to the 801 compilation, Shiina has also detected among the fragments of the *Baolin zhuan* that he has collected indications that more than one version of the text was in circulation, although the details are necessarily far from clear.[12] This problem of missing early editions of texts that may not have been the same as the later ones we now possess extends, of course, even to sources we think we know well. A short and very early manuscript fragment of the standard Chan history of 1004, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈録 [Jingde Era (1004–1007) Record of the Transmission of the Lamp], that would seem to date to shortly after its composition, was collated some years ago with current printed texts by the late Alfredo Cadonna (1948–2020), and though the differences he found were slight, they did nevertheless occur.[13] Chen Yuan 陳垣 (1880–1971), after a careful reading of the earliest surviving printed editions, also identified in them a number of features that cannot have been in the original text.[14]

In general, unlike the situation in Europe, where the move from manuscript to printing took place at a time when our plentiful sources allow us to locate printed first editions of texts with relative ease, the move towards printed editions in East Asia is by no means so well documented, and is furthermore sometimes obscured by

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9 McMullen, 'Li Chou.'

10 McMullen, 'Li Chou,' 62, at notes 16, 17.

11 Cen, *Langguan shizhu timing xin kaoding*, 78.

12 Shiina, '*Hōrinden* no ihon.'

13 Cadonna, 'Il frammento manoscritto del *Jingde chuandeng lu*.'

14 Chen, *Zhongguo Fojiao shiji gailun*, 95–96.

continuities of language that blur the print/manuscript distinction. Both may be referred to as *ben* 本, 'versions' of a text, but it is often unclear whether that indicates one amongst a variety of manuscripts, or a single exemplar from a multiple printed edition. It is sometimes possible to see textual commentary across the Tang-Song transition distinguished by a slightly different type of usage: manuscripts, in principle unique and *sui generis*, are generally not named by provenance, whereas printed editions attract some such indication, in the form of tags such as '*guanben*' 官本, 'government edition,' or the like. But such clues are not always present.[15]

Finally, scholars interested in bibliography who work in European languages have started to deploy the useful contrast between the text of a work and its 'paratext,' the materials with which that work is surrounded, and which can derive from interventions unconnected with the author of the work. This is useful in the Chinese context, because basic texts could attract not only annotation of various kinds, including in the broadest sense punctuation, paragraphing, titles, and subheadings, but also attachments in the form of prefaces, post-faces, and other appreciative pieces that might be culled by editors from their original places within, or attached to, unrelated editions of the same work, or even unrelated works. A good example of attached materials of this type may readily be found in the translation of the 'canonical' *Platform Sūtra* of the late thirteenth century made by John McRae (1947–2011), who unlike his predecessors provides translations for all the materials preceding and following the work itself in the edition incorporated into the *Taishō* Canon, text no. 2008.[16] While studies comparing different editions of main texts can produce useful results allowing relationships between different editions to be tentatively established, it is very hard to draw any inferences from the presence of absence of other features, since it is usually unclear how they have ended up associated with the text in question. At the

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15 Barrett, 'Reading the *Liezi*,' 22.

16 McRae, *Platform Sūtra*. In fact, the edition used by the *Taishō* incorporates paratextual material from both thirteenth century editions, that of 1290 and of 1291; cf. Schlütter, 'Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*,' 79–80.

same time, they can provide valuable materials for historical research. Yet paying attention to such matters is not the universal practice of editors in East Asia, or indeed elsewhere, as may be seen in the case of the Dunhuang copies. Three of them include at the end a sequence of numbers paired with names, the meaning of which is unclear, but many editors, with the notable exceptions of Ishii Shūdō 石井修道 and Lin Ch'ung-An, completely ignore this material.[17]

THE NEW EVIDENCE FROM GUANGXI

With these difficulties in mind, we should now turn to the question of the surviving evidence for the Song forms of the *Platform Sūtra*. Simply put, the printed edition found in Kyoto by Suzuki, though it was soon followed by the discovery of other early Japanese reprints derived from Chinese originals, determined the direction of future research by introducing two prefatory documents, transcribed in at the start of the printed text as a single continuous piece of text, that gave vital clues about the transmission of the text before the appearance of the late thirteenth century editions such as that translated by McRae. The first of these bore the name of Huixin 慧昕, a monk resident on Luoxiushan 羅秀山, Yongzhou 邕州, present-day Nanning 南寧, Guangxi. Huixin commends the thought of Huineng, and notes the impact of his words on his students, who 'regarded them as a *Platform Sūtra*' 目之曰《壇經》. But 'the old version was stylistically lacking in concision' (古本文繁), not suitable for sustained reading, so he had divided it into two fascicles and eleven sections 門. He appends a date given in cyclical terms for the year and the day, the

[17] Ishii's work has been mentioned above, n. 3, already; for Lin, see http://www.ss.ncu.edu.tw/~calin/altar.html, a resource under the general title *Lin Chongan jioashou wenji* 林崇安教授文集 gathering materials and research on the *Platform Sūtra* that has proved invaluable at a time when libraries have not been accessible, even if some of his editorial decisions may be open to question. The lists at the end of these Dunhuang texts, which are not entirely identical, are on the Stein, Dunhuang Museum, and Beijing (longer incomplete copy) texts.

latter also indicated as the twenty-third day of the fifth lunar month. The eminent scholar Hu Shi 胡適 (1891–1962), a keen follower of Suzuki's work, in 1934 quickly worked out using historical tables of chronology compiled by Chen Yuan that the only point at which the year and day cycles given would coincide in this way was in 967.[18] This then provided a date at the start of the Song dynasty for the emergence of the two fascicle editions of the *Platform Sūtra*, and we therefore find Huixin stands at the head of any typical stemma tracing subsequent developments during the dynasty.[19]

In 2019 however a county chief (*xianzhang* 縣長) from the Nanning area involved in promoting local culture named Wu Xiaobin 吳孝斌 published research showing that the hitherto obscure Huixin was mentioned in the 1227 national gazetteer *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 [Exhaustive Description of the Empire], fascicle 106, as having moved to Mount Luoxiu in 744; a funerary inscription for him, listed as item 1655 in fascicle 6 in the epigraphic catalogue *Jinshi lu* 金石録 [Catalogue of Metal and Stone Inscriptions] of Zhao Mingcheng 赵明誠 (1081–1129) by a calligrapher known from other sources, Qi Tui 齊推 (d.u.), is given the date 801; and a *Huixin zhu Tanjing* 慧昕注壇經 [*Platform Sūtra* Annotated by Huixin] in two fascicles is even listed in the bibliography of the *Songshi* 宋史 [Song History], 205.[20] Since though it is conceivable that another monk might bear the name Huixin, it is beyond belief that both would have lived in separate eras at the same very obscure provincial monastery, the only realistic solution is to date him three sixty-year cycles earlier, in 787. The day cycle does not fit, but in that year, and in no other

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[18] Yanagida, *Ko Teki*, 77, reproducing p. 303 in Hu's Collected Works (*Hu Shi wencun* 胡適文存). Chen's chronological tables, first published in 1926, were reissued in revised form in 1962 as *Ershi shi shuorun biao*.

[19] See for example Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra*, 103.

[20] Wu, 'Huixin ben *Tanjing* chukao.' I am grateful to Jinhua Chen for this reference to Wu's research, which was also cited in a Nanning evening newspaper on 8 February 2021. Wu also notes a reference to Huixin as a Tang monk in a Song bibliography, to be treated below, and a quotation from his preface in the early Ming.

in between, the preceding year had that exact cyclical indicator: evidently Huixin mistook the indication of the day, perhaps by looking at the calendar for the year before by mistake.[21] Such mistakes are not unknown: the Lüshun copy of the Dunhuang *Platform Sūtra* also bears a date that is plainly mistaken.

But if Huixin polished the language of the Huineng material he received and also extended it (if that is what is implied by the *Songshi*) as well as re-divided it into two fascicles, then there is no trace of this in the Dunhuang copies, nor yet in the records of the *Platform Sūtra* in early catalogues. Even the earliest of these, the list of books brought back by the Japanese monk and diarist Ennin 円仁 (793–864), must date to at least half a century after Huixin, but despite the elaborateness of the title given the *Platform Sūtra* he acquired in China, it is still listed as only one fascicle in length.[22]

HUIXIN AND THE NAMING OF A '*SŪTRA*'

How and when the Huixin version reached wider notice is something of a puzzle, even if the two fascicle, eleven-fold division of the text is found not only in the Kōshōji edition published by Suzuki but also in at least three other Japanese reprinting discovered later; one (the Shimpukuji 真福寺 edition) even gives his whole preface as a separate item.[23] One possible trace of his influence may be found in his cautious way of referring to the very name of the *Platform Sūtra*, in which as pointed out above the words of Huineng are said to have been regarded by his students as constituting a '*platform Sūtra*' 目日《壇經》. This is not an overtly pejorative phrase: the preface by Wendeng 文僜 (884–972) to the *Zutang ji* 祖堂集 [Collection of the

[21] Cf. Chen, *Ershi shi shuorun biao*, 100. Only Lin Ch'ung-An seems to have noticed Wu's revision of Huixin's date so far.

[22] For a possible background to Ennin's copy see Barrett, 'Buddhist Precepts in a Lawless World,' 116–117.

[23] These editions are listed in Schlütter, 'Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*,' 59–61.

Hall of the Patriarchs] of 952 refers to the work of his students in compiling that text by saying that they 'regarded it as a *Collection of the Patriarchal Hall*' (目之祖堂集), which might possibly be a verbal echo of Huixin.[24] But it does slightly distance the writer from the nomenclature used, perhaps suggesting an unease about attributing scriptural authority to the spoken word of Huineng. One notes a similar distancing effect in another critical eighth century comment, which speaks of 'that *Platform Sūtra*' 他壇經.[25] A more palpable quotation of Huixin is to be found in the *Jingde chuandeng lu*, 5, at least as we have it now, in a passage translated by Yampolsky.[26] Perhaps the same reluctance to endorse the bold claim implicit in its title that the *Platform Sūtra* has scriptural authority may also be seen in the alternative title for the work as the *Liuzu fabao ji* 六祖法寶記 [Record of the Dharma Treasure of the Sixth Patriarch] as an abbreviation of the much longer title used in the Tang, according to Ennin, though these words do not appear in the Dunhuang copies; this title in one fascicle is certainly attested in the eleventh century.[27]

Now a turn of phrase in the *Jingde chuandeng lu* is slightly slender evidence for knowledge of the Huixin version outside its remote

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24 *Zutang ji*, preface, 1. There are other examples of this turn of phrase that might also be worth considering in future.

25 Note the translation of Anderl, 'Was the *Platform Sūtra* Always a *Sūtra*?,' 136, n. 50. There is however a possibility that this remark is not about the *Platform Sūtra* of Huineng: cf. Barrett, 'Buddhist Precepts in a Lawless World,' 115; this would then make Huixin our earliest witness to the existence of any such text.

26 Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra*, 81: 'His disciples recorded his sermons and they have been given the name of *T'an ching*'; here the original says 門人紀録, 目為壇經.

27 *Chongwen zongmu* 4.323; an anonymous one fascicle *Tanjing* is also listed earlier in the same section, 310. The *Liuzu fabao ji* reading at least is confirmed by Zheng Qiao, *Tongzhi*, 44; for the relationship between these two works, see van der Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period*, 6–8, 15–17, and 8–9 for the *Xin Tangshu* of 1060, which probably reflects the same source. Cf. *Xin Tangshu* 49.1529.

place of origin, but it is apparently not possible to find any explicit mention of his work that can be firmly dated to the Northern Song. The library catalogues upon which the mention in the *Songshi* of his allegedly annotated *Platform Sūtra* are believed to have been based date back to the late Northern Song, as well as the Southern Song up to 1224, but it is unfortunately not possible to tell for this entry when the record in question was first created.[28] Since the Kōshōji copy runs Huixin's preface together with another document concerning an edition dated 1153, it has apparently been assumed that they existed in tandem from that time, but the Ming reference unearthed by Wu Xiaoming and the Shimpukuji copy of Huixin's preface, which stands on its own, suggest that this assumption is not entirely safe. Even so the 1153 document does indirectly link the edition of that year with a reference to Huixin's work from 1151.

THE ROLE OF THE CHAO FAMILY

The document does this by linking the 1153 *Platform Sūtra* to the famous Buddhist and bibliophile Chao 晁 family. Its author, Chao Zijian 晁子健 (d.u.), is not numbered amongst the most eminent to carry the Chao name during the Song, but he was certainly well connected, and indeed spends much of his time telling us how he was prompted in his creation of a new *Platform Sūtra* edition by his admiration for the work done on the text by an illustrious ancestor, Chao Jiong 晁迥 (951–1034), who passed his *jinshi* examination in 980 and went on to establish the fortunes of the family for the rest of the dynasty. At the end of this encomium Chao Zijian quotes from the text he is publishing: 'If in future people are able to encounter the *Platform Sūtra*, it will be like receiving teaching from me in person' (後人得遇《壇經》, 如親承吾教), and since this form of words is confined to the Kōshōji copy and the closely related but later Kan'ei 寛永 copy, the assumption must be that what Chao printed was the basis

[28] Van der Loon, *Taoist Books in the Libraries of the Sung Period*, 17–20.

for the Japanese text.[29] But this does not necessarily mean, as many seem to have concluded, that what Chao printed was a version of the *Platform Sūtra* that derived from a manuscript created by his ancestor that transmitted the Huixin arrangement of the text. There is, in fact, no evidence in Chao Zijian's remarks that such was the case, and there is even some good evidence to the contrary.

Chao tells us that he availed himself of an official trip from his post in local government in Qichun 蕲春, Hubei, to Sichuan, the Chao family ancestral home, to examine and presumably transcribe a manuscript by Chao Qiong written in his eighty-first year (1031) upon reading the *Platform Sūtra* for the sixteenth time, which his ancestor had punctuated and equipped with sub-titles (點句標題). Back in Qichun, his superior Gao Shisou 高世叟 (d.u.), a devout Buddhist, had suggested that since his jurisdiction was right in the region where Huineng had received the robe of transmission from the Fifth Patriarch, Shenxiu 神秀 (606?–706), that is, at Mount Huangmei 黄梅, it would be appropriate to publish their own edition of the *Platform Sūtra*. This Chao Zijian did, presumably with Gao's financial support, incorporating his ancestor's punctuation.

There are several possible deductions from this information. First, the text upon which Chao based his new edition was apparently not that used by his ancestor, since he does not say that his Qichun edition incorporated Chao Qiong's subheadings, probably indicating that it had its own subheadings already, as we know Huixin's arrangement did. Secondly, if he wished to incorporate his ancestor's punctuation, ideally he needed a *Platform Sūtra* not significantly bigger than the one which his ancestor had used, rather than a three fascicle one, a type that as we shall see had already been produced in the eleventh century not long after Chao Qiong's time.[30] An addi-

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[29] Ishii, 'Eshinbon,' part 2, 110–111. For the Kan'ei copy, see Schlütter, 'Genealogy,' 61, who notes that this 1631 edition was said to derive from a Chinese printing of 1195–1200, in which case we may be dealing with a reprint of a Chinese reprinting of Chao Zijian's edition.

[30] Given the date of Chao Jiong's work, the likelihood is that he used a one fascicle text as his source. But Chao Zijian, even if he had to add some further

tional factor that would have encouraged a shorter text might have been the limits to Gao's generosity as the head of a prefecture, not an unusually lofty and lucrative post. Finally, if Chao Zijian was trying to incorporate paratextual features displaying his ancestor's superior reading of the text, they have vanished: the Kōshōji text substitutes Japanese reading-marks that obliterate all the original Chinese text reading indications.

WHAT DID CHAO QIONG READ?

As it happens, there are in the writings of Chao Qiong indications that the *Platform Sūtra* as known to him was neither directly derived from manuscript family of the Dunhuang copies nor a manuscript ancestral to the text of the Kōshōji as created by Chao Zijian. The former point may be established from the passage that states 'in this teaching of mine…non-abiding is the basis' (我此法門以無住為本).[31] Chao cites this correctly in his writings, where the Dunhuang versions in every case have wrongly transcribed 我自法門.[32] The latter difference comes out in the transmission verses assigned to earlier patriarchs towards the end of the text, in the verse ascribed to Bodhidharma: 'I originally came to China/To transmit the teaching and save deluded beings./One flower opens five petals,/And the fruit ripens of itself.'[33] Chao cites this verse in the form 吾本来此土，傳教救迷情，一花開五葉，結果自然成.[34] Here the exact form of words matches neither the Dunhuang versions nor any of

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punctuation to passages not incorporated into that source, could still claim to be reproducing Chao Jiong's expert reading on the whole.

[31] Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra*, 137–138.

[32] Deng and Rong (transcribed and collated), *Dunbo ben chanji lujiao*, 259, 260. This collation does not include the Lüshun copy, but the photographs on Lin's website confirm that the mistake is present there too. For Chao, see his *Fazang suijin lu* 法藏碎金録, 5 and 9 [Wikisource, pro tem.]

[33] Yampolsky, *Platform Sūtra*, 176.

[34] Chao, *Fazang suijin*, 9.

the two fascicle texts that have since the 1930s been retrieved in early Japanese editions. If anything, this wording seems as it stands closest in its first line to the later three fascicle texts of the *Platform Sūtra*.[35] The second line by contrast seems to be closer to the Dunhuang texts than to any two fascicle version. Chao's text as provisionally consulted here might conceivably have been regularised to conform its quotation to its source as known in later times, but in fact no seventeenth or eighteenth century *Platform Sūtra* provided by Lin Ch'ung-An gives an exact match either. On the other hand, the differences are not likely to be due to quotation from memory on the part of Chao Jiong: as a *jinshi* graduate with a well trained memory who had read his source multiple times, he is unlikely to have been careless about recalling a passage that was evidently important to him. So Chao Zijian, for all his pride in his illustrious ancestor, does not seem to have wished to publish the manuscript he saw. And as it happens, again, we know that he did not lack for alternative versions; we are indeed quite well informed about the bibliographic resources of the family home at the time, because an uncle compiled a detailed catalogue of their library.

WHAT WAS IN THE CHAO FAMILY LIBRARY?

The *Junzhai dushu zhi* 郡齋讀書志 [Treatise on Books Read in the Prefectural Studio] of 1151 was compiled in the main by Chao Gongwu 晁公武 (1105–1180), and has come down to us in two arrangements; both involved work by other scholars, but the contribution of Chao in the form of annotations to every title mentioned is clear enough.[36] A modern synthetic edition combining all the materials flowing from this bibliographic exercise reveals many details of the Chao family copy of the *Platform Sūtra*. Since bibliophiles of

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[35] Cf. Deng and Rong, *Dunbo ben chanji*, 405, 406; Ishii, 'Eshin bon,' part 2, 114.

[36] The basic facts concerning the compilation and transmission of the work may be found in Teng and Biggerstaff, *Selected Chinese Reference Works*, 15.

the age, unlike Ming and Qing scholars with their appreciation of old Song editions, seem to have preferred to create bespoke copies for their libraries incorporating the best of any manuscript or printed edition they came across, we should perhaps bear in mind that what Chao Gongwu describes might be a unique copy, but his entry does at least provide some evidence as to some characteristics of the versions of the *Platform Sūtra* that he saw.[37]

Chao's main entry describes a *Liuzu tanjing* in three fascicles, with its authorship ascribed to Huixin of the Tang dynasty; the text is said to have been divided into sixteen sections 門.[38] This information is so completely at variance with what might be expected—as far as I am aware, no version known today has a sixteenfold division, and one might have expected two fascicles rather than three from our knowledge of the Japanese editions—that the text has been suspected of faulty transmission. But in both cases this is what Chao wrote: the exact same readings may be found in the transcription of this entry into the *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 [Comprehensive Examination of Written Sources] of Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1245–1322).[39] There is one final remark that because of copying errors is effectively clarified in neither of these sources; this concerns the existence of a preface or perhaps a 'post-face' 後序 composed by one Zhou Xi or Zhou Xifu 周希復, or perhaps Zhou Xihou 周希後.[40] Very fortunately, however, the Shimpukuji copy turns out to have preserved the entire document itself, so now we know precisely what Chao Gongwu had before him.[41]

The piece is actually entitled 'Afterword to the *Platform Sūtra*,'

[37] See Egan, 'To Count the Grains of Sand on the Ocean Floor,' 41, on the Song bibliophiles' preference for creating for themselves carefully collated and edited manuscript copies.

[38] Sun, *Junzhai dushuzhi jiaozheng*, 16, 796.

[39] Huadong shida guji yanjiusuo (ed.), *Wenxian tongkao jingji kao* 54.1230; here, however, the second character of Huixin's name is given incorrectly.

[40] For the last-named possibility, see Sun, *Junzhai dushu zhi*, 797, n. 4.

[41] A punctuated typeset version of this piece is available e.g. in Yang, *Dunhuang xinben Liuzu tanjing*, 150.

'*Liuzu tanjing* houxu'《六祖壇經》後叙, and its author gives his name as Zhou Xigu 周希古, describing himself with a long title indicating that his substantive post was as an Assistant Director of State Farms in the central government, *tuntian yuanwai lang* 屯田員外郎, and the date is given as 1012. The place of publication is presumably the capital of Kaifeng. A man named Zhou Xigu was a *jinshi* of 988 according to a gazetteer of Sanshan 三山 in Fujian published in the late twelfth century, and it seems that this is the same person.[42] Zhou's publication would presumably have been the *edition princeps* of the work, but since a generation later there were still complaints about the style of the text, it presumably was a single fascicle text more similar to that of the Dunhuang copies than to the version as revised by Huixin, which was in all likelihood unknown in Kaifeng at this point. Whether a copy was available to Chao Zijian is also unclear: it seems that what Chao Gungwu wrote was in fact 'Zhou Xigu has an afterword' 周希古有後叙, and this might well imply that what he saw was Zhou's remarks as an independent piece unattached to any printed copy; its independent circulation might likewise account for its getting tacked on to the end of the Shimpukuji manuscript.

But despite these uncertainties about Chao Gongwu's primary entry about the *Platform Sūtra*, the alternative catalogue of the family holdings, the so-called Yuanben 袁本, does offer some very significant information about the source of Chao Zijian's edition. It actually lists the *Platform Sūtra* twice, each time in two fascicles, and the second time gives a brief summary, ending 'his disciples recorded it (sc. his speech) and regarded it as the *Platform Sūtra*' (門人紀録, 目日《壇經》).[43] This wording would seem to confirm that among the resources of the Chao family in 1151 was a copy of Huixin's work in its original two fascicle form, suggesting that it was indeed this document to which Chao Zijian subsequently transferred his ancestor's punctuation, publishing the result in Qichun. And even though longer versions of the text were available, no doubt Chao

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42 Liang Kejia 梁克家, *Chunxi Sanshan zhi* 淳熙三山志 26.7a, in the copy of the Seikadō bunko 静嘉堂文庫 (not seen).

43 Sun, *Junzhai dushu zhi*, 796, n. 1.

Qiong's punctuation was a help, most particularly to Japanese readers, who could construe its meaning more easily and so create their own reprinted editions in which Chao Jiong's work was converted into Japanese reading marks – and so obliterated. Or were matters perhaps not quite so simple?

WHAT WAS PUBLISHED IN HANGZHOU?

So far nothing has been said about an edition of the *Platform Sūtra* one hundred years earlier than that of Qichun that has left no physical traces whatsoever, even in the form of Japanese reprints, despite its evident importance. Qisong 契嵩 (1007–1072) was one of the great clerics of his age, and the edition that he produced was sponsored by a good friend Lang Jian 郎簡 (968–1056), a retired bureaucrat of some distinction, whose preface explaining their venture is preserved in Qisong's *Collected Works*, so where it is found attached to a later edition of the *Platform Sūtra* the likelihood is that it was lifted thence and re-attached to an unconnected form of the text, rather than that someone had stumbled upon an old Song copy of Qisong's publication.[44] The date of publication was 1056, and the location was Qisong's then base of Hangzhou, Lang Jian's 'retirement' home, though for fifteen years until very shortly before his death he sustained a fully active life.[45]

Lang's remarks open with a summary of the place of Huineng in the history of Chan, but then states that while he himself had always held his doctrines in the highest esteem, 'I regretted that they were altered through addition and subtraction by the unlearned, whilst their style was uncouth and imprecise' (患其為俗所增損, 而文字鄙俚

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[44] Qisong, '*Liuzu fabaoji xu*' 六祖法寶記叙, *Tanjin wenji*, *T* no. 2115, 52: 11.703–c (though at the end of the piece Lang writes *xu* 序). For the much later recycling of Lang's remarks, see Yang, *Dunhuang xinben Liuzu tanjing*, 158, drawing on an edition of 1676.

[45] For the context within Qisong's career, see Morrison, *The Power of Patriarchs*, 120–121.

繁雜). This, it must be said, looks as if he had been reading Huixin, and certainly suggests that Zhou Xigu's product in his view did not measure up to his preferred stylistic standard. He then goes on to say that he noticed that Qisong shared his enthusiasm for Huineng, and that he had told him that if he could sort out the text, he would be prepared to spend money on it and print it so that it could reach a wider readership: 若能正之, 吾為出財, 模印以廣其傳. Two years later Qisong had obtained an 'old copy from Caoxi' 曹溪古本 and collated it, printing it up in three fascicles.

Now this may suggest to some that Qisong had actually stayed home in Hangzhou and confected his edition from the various elements of Huineng lore that as we have noted were certainly in circulation in the Northern Song. But in fact as Lang Jian was doubtless aware from his own earlier career in the southern provinces, Qisong had grown up in the east of Guangxi, in between the homes of Huixin and Huineng, and he furthermore maintained continued contacts with his home region.[46] He was as well placed as anyone to obtain fresh material from the far south. That it should have taken two years to locate a copy of Huixin's work, which given that it derived from sources emanating from Caoxi might without straining the truth too much be called 'an old copy from Caoxi,' is as it turns out not at all suspicious. The whole of Guangxi and eastern Guangdong were between 1052 and 1054 embroiled in a short but hard-fought and destructive war, as a leader from among the Tai peoples of the area attempted to carve out an independent state between Song territory and that controlled by the newly risen power then occupying the north of present-day Vietnam; Huixin's home area was particularly badly affected.[47] Retrieving old manuscripts from the region at this point would not have been a straightforward matter, but there is no reason to doubt Lang's account.

[46] Morrison, *Power of Patriarchs*, 99, 102'

[47] Anderson, *The Rebel Den of Nùng Trí Cao*, 100–113.

WHAT WAS REPRINTED IN 1116?

There is even perhaps some evidence other than the copy that ended up in the hands of the Chao family to show that from this point on the Huixin arrangement of the text circulated beyond the far south, as well as acting as a resource for Qisong. Two of the two fascicle copies found in Japan, that of the Daijōji 大乘寺 and that of the Tenneiji 天寧寺, carry a preface by a Chinese monk, Cunzhong 存中 (d.u.) dated 1116, stating that he was reprinting the text, though what version he does not say.[48] For otherwise the bibliographic information he provides is decidedly scant, so it is not beyond the realm of possibility that his preface was originally attached to a very different sort of text and transferred to the Japanese manuscripts simply concerned to suggest more distant antecedents in China than any text emanating from Chao Zijian. But it could be that he was reprinting an edition that had already been created using Huixin's work, and his mention of the composition of the *Platform Sūtra* does in a way echo that of Huixin: 'His disciples recorded the substance of his words, and called it the *Platform Sūtra*' (門人録其語要命曰《壇經》); equally this may just be echoing the *Jingde chuandeng lu*.

But the foregoing remarks have not been designed to construct any new stemma for the evolution of the *Platform Sūtra*: such an enterprise can only be securely based on careful textual scholarship of the type exhibited by Morten Schlütter, though there is doubtless more that can be done through the study of early quotations of the text, and also perhaps through a consideration of recurrent forms of paratext such as subheadings, which deserve separate treatment. Consideration of the title of the work itself can be helpful, but the different ways in which it is cited or listed in bibliographies, themselves of quite variable quality, means that the surviving record on this score could well have been somewhat mutable. So here the aim is precisely to play the role of 'Devil's advocate' and use the occasion of the input of fresh historical information about the identity of Huixin

[48] On these sources, and on the preface, see Schlütter, 'Genealogy of the *Platform Sūtra*,' 59–60.

in order to test the robustness of the type of stemma that has been constructed in the past. The following assertions, then, do not accord with past constructions, and may be falsifiable in the light of close study and further evidence; their aim is simply heuristic.

SOME CONCLUDING SUGGESTIONS

First, though the manuscripts found at Dunhuang have not been the focus of this survey, I see little reason for deeming them to be in any way directly ancestral to any of the later printed editions or manuscripts of the *Platform Sūtra*. Rather, they give us valuable insight into an early stage of the text as it existed on the fringes of the Chinese cultural area, to which area their influence if any was probably confined.[49] If Huixin is placed as now seems undeniable in the eighth century in Guangxi, the more than regional influence of his work also becomes an issue: boldly placing him at the head of all Song period developments, as in many older stemmata, would seem to be unwarranted. Chao Jiong, for his part, on close inspection appears to have been using a manuscript unlike any other so far discovered, and his influence on later developments in the light of a close reading of the remarks of Chao Zijian would also appear to have been minimal. Of the edition printed by Zhou Xigu we know next to nothing, but given later criticisms voiced by Lang Jian it may well have not exhibited the stylistic improvements introduced by Huixin. There are grounds for believing that Qisong did introduce Huixin's work to a wider readership, but his own Hangzhou edition incorporated it into a larger synthesis. Chao Zijian did use a source formatted in the arrangement of Huixin, though whether printed or in manuscript we do not know, and incorporated into it the understanding of the text achieved by Chao Jiong by adopting his punctuation, which has not been preserved. The painstaking efforts of Ishii in reconstituting

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49 The fragments of the *Platform Sūtra* in Tangut studied by K. J. Solonin and others lie beyond the scope of this survey, but would seem to confirm this verdict.

Chao Zijian's Qichun edition from its Japanese reflection does establish what a two fascicle *Platform Sūtra* of the Song period looked like. But many questions still remain.

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

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Abstract: The *Platform Sūtra* 六祖壇經 is famous as a signature scripture of Chinese Chan 禪 Buddhism. The *Platform Sūtra* also has held an important role in Korean Buddhism, and the Buddhist reformer Pojo Chinul 普照知訥 (1158–1210) considered it central to his own practice and cited it a number of times in his writings. However, the *Platform Sūtra* has had a long history of evolution, appearing in a number of quite different versions from the beginnings of Chan in the 8th century to the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) and beyond. Modern scholars have paid little attention to the question of what version(s) of the *Platform Sūtra* Chinul and other Korean Buddhist thinkers at his time had access to. In this essay, partly through a close examination of Chinul's citations from the *Platform Sūtra*, I argue that an early version of the Platform *Sūtra* known as the *Fabao ji tanjing* 法寶記壇經 was likely the text that Chinul used. The *Fabao ji tanjing* is no longer extant, but through Chinul's quotations we can make several deductions about the text and its important place on the evolutionary tree of the *Platform Sūtra*.

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

INTRODUCTION

The *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 [Platform *Sūtra* of the Sixth Patriarch], purported to contain the autobiography and teachings of the Sixth Patriarch of Chan 禪, Huineng 惠能 (638–713), is one of Chinese Buddhism's most beloved and widely known texts, and a signature scripture of Chan Buddhism. However, the *Platform Sūtra* is also unique in that several quite different versions of it have been preserved, the longest and latest of which is almost twice as long as the shortest and earliest, revealing how the text significantly changed and evolved over time. We now have at least seven different extant versions of the *Platform Sūtra* available to us dating from the 8th to the 13th centuries, and we know that several other versions have existed as well. It seems clear that as notions about the persona of Huineng and his teachings evolved in important ways over time, the *Platform Sūtra* changed accordingly.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

However, since the different versions of the *Platform Sūtra* do contain meaningful differences in terms of Chan ideology and Chan teachings, a better understanding of what version of the *Platform Sūtra* it was that Chinul cherished ought be relevant for the study of his thought. Furthermore, this examination also shows that in some cases when Chinul cites Huineng he is not quoting from the *Platform Sūtra* at all –as scholars seem to have generally assumed–, but rather from the Chinese Chan collection, the *Jingde chuandeng lu* 景德傳燈錄 [Record of the transmission of the lamp from the Jingde era (1004–1008)], compiled in 1004.[4]

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

THE *PLATFORM SŪTRAS*

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

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

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

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

The story of Huineng and his teachings became enshrined in the *Platform Sūtra* which was widely disseminated. However, the *Platform Sūtra* is not a single well-defined text, but rather a flexible textual entity that profoundly changed and evolved with shifting times and places, and that today is available to us in several different versions. Even after the *Platform Sūtra* became relatively fixed with the Yuan-dynasty version in the 13th century, the text continued to change in minor and not-so-minor ways. Other Buddhist texts may possibly have had similar changing life-histories, but the fact that a number of different versions of the *Platform Sūtra* have survived makes it unique among Chinese Buddhist texts.

The earliest extant version of the *Platform Sūtra* is clearly the one that was found at the Mogao Caves of Dunhuang in the early 20th century,[7] which has the captivating title: *Nanzong dunjiao zuishang dasheng moheboluomi jing Liuzu Huineng dashi yu Shazhou Dafansi shifa tanjing yijian bing shou wuxiangjie hongfa dizi Fahai jiji* 南宗頓教最上大乘摩訶般若波羅蜜經六祖惠能大師於韶州大梵寺施法壇

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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12 See Schlütter, 'A Study in the Genealogy of the Platform Sūtra' for details.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

from Huixin's edition.[25]

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

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

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

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

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

THE *FABAO JI TANJING* 法寶記壇經

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

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

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

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

[29] Reading *tan* 檀 (*dana*) as *tan* 壇 (platform).

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

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

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

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

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

[33] The calculation is obviously wrong.

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

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

Finally, Mujaku cites several postscripts that indicate that the text was printed in Korea in 1214, and reprinted in 1463.[38] Very interestingly, the first of these postscripts indirectly links this edition of the *Fabao ji tanjing* to Chinul, as I will discuss below. The present whereabouts of Mujaku's copy, if it has survived, are not known.

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE *PLATFORM SŪTRA* IN KOREA

Huixin's edition of the *Platform Sūtra* may never have been transmitted to Korea, and instead it appears that the *Fabao ji tanjing* became the standard version of the *Platform Sūtra* in Korea for centuries. This is already suggested by the fact that Mujaku's copy of the text was printed in Korea in 1214, and reprinted there in 1463. The second date is especially remarkable, because the expanded Yuan dynasty version of the *Platform Sūtra* associated with Mengshan Deyi from 1290 seems to have been first printed in Korea already in 1300.[40] So even after what must have been a much more elaborate

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

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

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

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

In the same 1883 Korean edition of the *Platform Sūtra* there is also included a postscript to another edition of the text by the monk An'gi 安其 (1215–1286),[42] dated with the astrological name for the cyclical date *bingchen* 丙辰, which must refer to 1256.[43] An'gi notes how important this text was to Chinul, giving the impression that this was a reprint of Chinul's edition. An'gi's copy also had the title *Fabao ji tanjing* but to it An'gi adds the following sentence: 'This is the Sixth Patriarch from Caoxi explaining the Dharma of seeing one's own nature and becoming a Buddha definitely and without doubt' (法寶記壇經是曹溪六祖說見性成佛決定無疑法),[44] which seems like a

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

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

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

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

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

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

In fact, the edition of the *Fabao ji tanjing* described by Mujaku Dōchū may well be linked to Chinul's edition. The 1214 postscript reported by Mujaku states that the military ruler Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn 崔忠獻 (1149/50–1219) had this edition of the *Fabao ji tanjing* printed for the blessing and protection of his family.[45] Ch'oe Ch'unghŏn was known as a supporter of Chinul's meditation school[46] and it is quite possible that the edition of the *Fabao ji tanjing* in Mujaku's possession was directly related to the editions of Chinul and An'gi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Platform Sūtra.[48]

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

> 心地但無不淨, 西方去此不遠, 心起不淨之心, 念佛往生難到.[49]

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

> [不斷十惡之心] 何佛即來迎請?[50]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

than the original 念佛往生難到.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

真如自性起念, 非眼耳鼻舌能[念].[57]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> ~~[真如自]~~性起念, 雖即見聞覺知, 不染萬境, 而~~[真性]~~常自在.[60]

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

> 真如自性起念, 六根雖見聞覺知, 不染萬境, 真性而常自在.[61]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[64] Buswell, 'The Identity of the *Popchip pyorhaeng nok*.'

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

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

> 吾所說~~[一切]~~法, 不離自性. 離體說法, 自性常迷.[66]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

> ~~[吾]~~心地無非自性戒、心地無癡自性惠、心地無亂自性定.[70]

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

> 心地無疑非自性戒, 心地無亂是自性定, 心地無癡是自性惠.[71]

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

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

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

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

> 學道之人作意: 莫言先定發惠, 先惠發定, 定惠各別, 作此見者, 法

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

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

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

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

> 有二相.[74]

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

> 諸學道人: 莫言先定發慧、先慧發定, 定慧各別. 作此見者, 法即有二相[75]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

若~~[真]~~不動者, 見一切人[時, 不見一切人]過患, ~~[及一切善惡是非,]~~

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE *FABAO JI TANGJING* IN KOREA AFTER CHINUL

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

However, there are surprisingly few references to the *Platform Sūtra* in the century after Chinul passed away. Searching the *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ*, I have found only one other passage in a Korean source prior to the 14th century that appear to quote any version of the *Platform Sūtra*. Given Chinul's enthusiasm for the *Platform Sūtra*, it seems rather odd that the generations after him in the Seon school do not appear to have followed his example. Chinul's most prominent disciple, Hyesim 慧諶 (1178–1234), quotes and refers to Huineng a number of times in his surviving writings, but none of the instances can be traced back to an extant version of the *Platform Sūtra*, only to other sources.

The one 13th century source post-Chinul that quotes the *Platform Sūtra* confirms the pattern we have seen earlier in Chinuls' quotations. In a collection compiled the Korean Seon master, Yŏn 連禪師 (d.u.), published in 1248[101] we find a quote from the *Platform Sūtra* as follows:

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

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

102 *Nam-myŏng ch'ŏn hwa-sang song chŭng-do-ga sa-sil*, *HPC* 6: 133b08–12.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONCLUSION: THE *FABAO JI TANJING* AND ITS PLACE IN THE 'FAMILY TREE' OF THE *PLATFORM SŪTRA*

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

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

However, Chinul's quotations appear very consistently as a mix of text from the Dunhuang and Huixin versions of the Platform Sūtra (as does the quote by Soen master Yŏn). These quotations come from different works written at different periods of Chinul's life, and

even if he had access to several versions of the *Platform Sūtra* that he valued equally, it does not seem likely that he would mix texts from two or more editions almost every time he quotes the text, whether purposefully or inadvertently.

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

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

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

Whether Chinul preferred the *Fabao ji tanjing* over other versions of the *Platform Sūtra* that he had access to, or whether it was the only *Platform Sūtra* he knew, remains a bit of a mystery. It is clear he had several other sources to the teachings and sayings of the Huineng, and especially if the *Fabao ji tanjing* had the archaic features discussed above one would think Chinul must have wondered about the discrepancies between it and the depiction of Huineng in, e.g., the *Chuandeng lu* (even the Huixin version of the *Platform*

Sūtra seemed out of sync with prevailing ideas about Huineng and Chan by the twelfth century, which no doubt is why it was updated in the Yuan-dynasty versions). Nevertheless, we are told in his funerary inscription that Chinul was devoted to the *Platform Sūtra* and always preferred it whenever he has asked to lecture.

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

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

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

> 1. Dunhuang version: 若不動者, [不]見一切人過患, 是性不動. 迷人自身不動, 開口即說人是非, 與道違背. 看心看淨, 却是障道因緣.[105]
> 2. *Fabao ji tanjing*: 若真不動者, 見一切人時, 不見一切人過患, 及

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

一切善惡是非, 即是性不動也. 迷人自身雖不動, 開口說一切人是非, 與道違背. 看心看淨不動者, 却是障道因緣.[106]
3. Huixin version: 若修不動者, 但見一切人時, 不見人之是非善惡過患, 即是自性不動. 善知識, 迷人身雖不動, 開口便說他人是非長短好惡, 與道違背. 若看心看淨, 即障道也.[107]

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

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

Huixin writes in his surviving short preface to his edition of the *Platform Sūtra*, as a justification for preparing a new edition, that the old text of the *Platform Sūtra* was 'disorderly' (*guben wenfan* 古本文

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106 *HPC* 4: 758b16–21.

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

繁)[108] and students who first picked it up with delight soon came to dislike it. If we think of Huixin as having used a text like the Dunhuang version of the *Platform Sūtra* as the basis for his own edition, it is easy to believe his claim that the old text turned off its eager readers since all surviving copies of the Dunhuang *Platform Sūtra* contain numerous miswritten, missing, or superfluous characters. However, now it appears that Huixin primarily worked from a text closely related to the *Fabao ji tanjing*. It is quite possible that this text also contained a number of problems, or that Huixin was talking more generally about the different editions of the text that was circulating.

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

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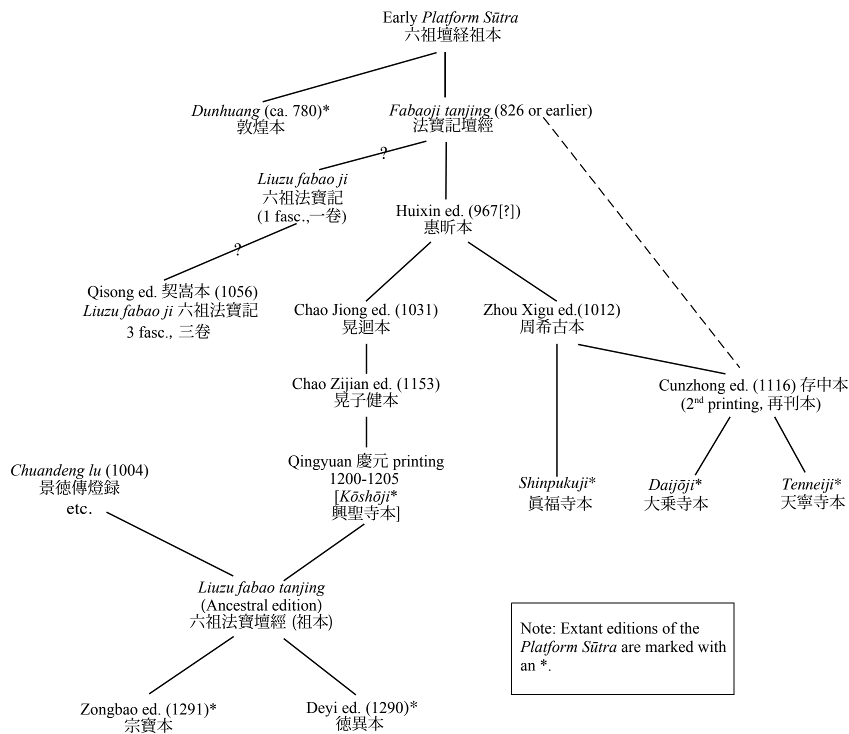
108 This phrase has been interpreted in different ways, see John Jorgensen, 'The *Platform Sūtra* and the Corpus of Shenhui.' I have previously translated 繁 as 'vexatious,' see e.g. Schlütter, 'Textual Criticism and the Turbulent Life of the *Platform Sūtra*.'

APPENDIX: Different Editions of the *Platform Sūtra*



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Abbreviations

B — *Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編. See Secondary Sources, Lan (comp.).

HPC — *Han'guk Pulgyo chŏnsŏ* 韓國佛教全書; See Secondary Sources, Tongguk Taehakkyo Han'guk Pulgyo Chŏnsŏ P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe (comp.).

T — *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經; see Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe, et al (eds.).

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

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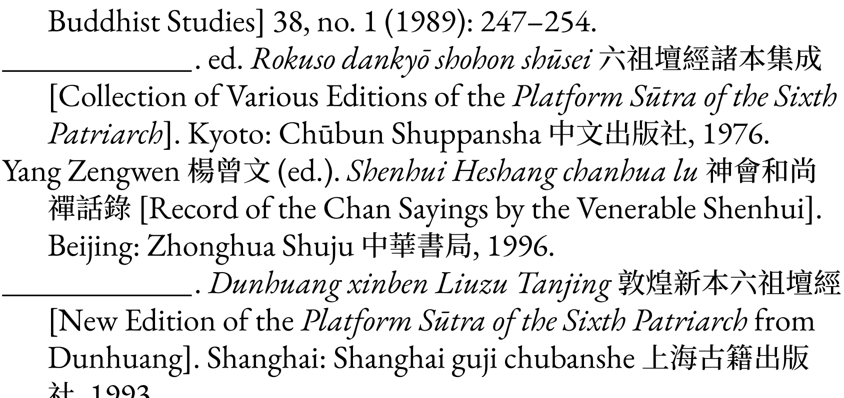

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Political Ideals

Chapter Four
A Chinese 'Hitopadeśa'——Or: A Ruler's Mirror: The Didactic Aspects of the *Da Tang Xiyu Ji*

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Abstract: This article discusses several aspects of Xuanzang's *Da Tang Xiyu ji* that can be subsumed under the didactic genre of *specula regis*, 'mirror for kings.' This type of literature, well known from Western antiquity and the medieval period, was meant to influence rulers and to give them advice about the most ideal and best way of ruling the realm. In this article, I discuss examples from the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* of such attempted educational influence on the Tang emperor Taizong, some of them quite indirect and subtle (e.g., in the general description of India), some of them more concretely referring to (e.g., Taizong's campaigns against Koguryŏ). I argue that Xuanzang skilfully addressed Taizong's own interest in ideal rulership to propagate Buddhist idea[l]s about rulership and governance.

Keywords: Mirrors for Princes, didactic literature, rulership, Xuanzang, *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, Taizong, Harṣa, Gaozong

INTRODUCTION

When I agreed to write an article at relatively short notice, but under the personal urge to contribute to a volume in memory of Antonino Forte as someone who impressed me as a student of the

history of Buddhism and as a young scholar, I had to think about in what respect Nino's research has influenced me most. While there are some other overlaps of interest, like the Christians in Tang China, the answer was simple for me: it was the interrelation between Buddhism and the state or, more specifically, the court, through which I encountered the work of Antonino Forte first, actually after previously already having met him in the Italian Institute in Kyoto. To be more specific, it was, beyond his interest in the connection between Tang-China and the Western Regions (Persia and India), his research on Wu Zetian's 武則天 (624–705; r. 690–705) political propaganda and self-staging[1] which I first read when I wrote an article on the same subject.[2] Since then, an interest in and fascination of the interface of Buddhism and state, particularly in China, never left me completely, not least because I was working with and on material where this aspect of textual intentionality played a considerable role: the so-called 'Nestorian' stele of Xi'an,[3] of which Antonino Forte has made available Paul Pelliot's masterly but unfinished French translation and commentary, to which he added some article-length notes on specific topics related to the same main topic of the relation between religious or ethnic groups and the Tang state.[4]

The subject came to the fore again and again when I had the naivety and hubris of taking on the task of translating and writing a commentary to Xuanzang's 玄奘 (600/602–664; travelled 629–645) *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Record of the Western Regions of the Great Tang; hereafter *Record*], which, in a way, was a logical continuation of my work on Xuanzang's predecessor Faxian 法顯 (337?–422?; travelled 399–413)[5]. One of the striking features of Xuan-

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[1] Forte, *Mingtang*, and Forte, *Political Propaganda* (the latter I read in its first edition from the year 1976).

[2] Deeg, 'Der religiöse ‚Synkretismus' der chinesischen Kaiserin Wu Zetian.'

[3] Deeg, *Die Strahlende Lehre*.

[4] Pelliot, *L'inscription nestorienne de Si-ngan-fou*, with four articles by Forte: see E. Forte, 'Antonino Forte: List of Publications,' 25.

[5] Deeg, *Das Gaoseng-Faxian-zhuan als religionsgeschichtliche Quelle*.

zang's text is the frequency with which it refers to the paradigmatic Indian Buddhist 'emperor'[6] Aśoka. But there are also references to other Indian kings like Kaniṣka, or the most powerful ruler at the time of Xuanzang's stay in India, the Puṣpabhūti-king Harsavardhana Śīlāditya of Kanyākubja (present Kannauj). When trying to contextualize and interpret some of these 'royal' stories—asking the question why Xuanzang referred to them at all when, after all, most of the stories referred to are from the biography of the Buddha—I realized that some of these narratives were obviously specifically placed, coined and presented to convey, in a quite subtle way, a message to the Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649; i.e., Li Shimin 李世民 [598–649]), who had given the order for the compilation of the Record. One of the functions of the text was, as it were, to hold in front of the emperor a mirror of right or wrong royal or imperial conduct and action; one of the purposes was, in short, to educate him.[7]

DIDACTIC LITERATURE AND PRINCELY MIRROR

In a very general sense one could argue that there is no literature which is not didactic—intentionality presumes that almost anything structurally and complex said or written is meant to convey a message, therefore invoking a reaction which is an adequate answer to the original communicated content. It is particularly in the early Chinese context that a large part of literary production was, more or

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[6] It should be noted that Chinese texts never use a title other than 'king' (*wang* 王) for Aśoka, and this is also the case in Indian material. The title 'emperor' in modern literature is mainly owed to historically superficial comparisons of the great Mauryan with, for instance, Constantine the Great, mainly based on their assumed greatest action, the introduction of Christianity or Buddhism as state religion – which is not correct in the case of Aśoka.

[7] In a way, the present chapter is an attempt to systematize and expand my ideas presented in earlier articles like Deeg, 'Writing for the Emperor'; 'The Political Position of Xuanzang.'

less, didactic and had to be concerned with morality,[8] explicitly or implicitly either recommending or condemning certain behavior or actions of all strands of society, but particularly of the ruling class. Didacticism is found in a variety of forms and types of texts, from philosophical treatises and ethnographic texts to more narratively structured literature like historiography or biography. Since didactic texts tend to be driven by the intention to convey a certain ethical or moral standpoint, they can, but must not necessarily, draw on religious concepts and ideas.[9] The audience of didactic literature can be more general—a people, but it also can be addressed to a specific social group or to a real or fictive individual.

A sub-'genre'[10] of didactic literature of the last category is a group of texts called *specula regis* (var. *regum*)[11] or *specula principum* ('Mirrors for Princes'; German: 'Fürstenspiegel'), normally discussed in the context of texts from the Greek and Roman classical and the medieval periods, but also from later periods.[12] These *specula*[13] are written with the intention to educate or to influence (to admonish,

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[8] See, e.g., Puett, 'Philosophy and Literature in Early China,' 84f.

[9] The double aspect of Chinese Buddhist biographies, their indebtedness to Chinese historiographical (biographical) writing and their idealizing Buddhist agenda has been highlighted by Kieschnick, *The Eminent Monk*, 6ff.

[10] Anton, *Fürstenspiegel des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, 3, points out that the term has been used for too many different kinds of texts to really speak of a proper and uniform genre.

[11] *Speculum regum* first occurs as a title for a work of this 'genre' in a text of the medieval author Godfrey of Viterbo (Gotifredus Viterbiensis) as a didactic manual (composed around 1183) to educate the Staufian emperors Frederic I and Henry VI: see Langosch, 'Gottfried von Viterbo,' 175ff. The book is a narration of the activities (*gesta*) of rulers from the period of the Old Testament up to Charlemagne.

[12] See Biesterfeld, *Die literarische Utopie*, 65ff. For a discussion of a German example from the second half of the 18th century (Christoph Martin Wieland), see Jacobs, *Der Fürstenspiegel im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus*.

[13] On the medieval genre of *speculum* see e.g. Franklin-Brown, *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age*, 272ff.

to exhort) rulers. The German medievalist Hans Hubert Anton defines 'Mirrors for Princes' as: 'a [literary] elaboration composed with a paraenetic[14] intention, addressing a king, ruler or a regent either as a person or a (fictional) office bearer as the representative of a certain group.'[15] Wolfgang Biesterfeld discerns two basic types of *specula regis*: discourses or treatises based on philosophical or theological principles, and novels which depict the lives of a historical or legendary ruler in an idealized way.[16] It is the last category which found, in my opinion, its way into Xuanzang's *Record*, not in the form of complete biographies of kings, but through references to them or episodes about them.

Referring to the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann, Manuel Schulte has nicely pointed out that mirrors, including the literary one, do not create a double facticity[17] but that they 'reproduce their counterpart as a mirror-image,' i.e. as an inverted shape.[18] This means that the *speculum*-function of a text or a narrative normally, but not necessarily, reflects or produces a tension and/or discrepancy between an 'as it should be' and an 'as it is.' Something is presented in a specific way which the ruler is expected either to follow or to correct his own actions or behaviour accordingly.

Although most prominently discussed by Western classicists and medievalists, this type of 'royal' didactic literature was by no means restricted to the West. In the Chinese context, historical writing had,

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14 I.e., admonishing or exhorting.

15 Anton, *Fürstenspiegel des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, 3ff. (my translation from the German). See also Peil, 'Fürstenspiegel.'

16 Biesterfeld (*Die literarische Utopie,* 65) mentions the Arthaśāstra as an example of the first category from India but gives no example of the narrative 'genre.'

17 This is taken from Luhmann, *Theory of Society*, 198: 'Ethics could therefore use the metaphor of the mirror—not to double up facticity but to confront the human being with what he really was according to his position in society, but could not see without a mirror' (original German: Luhmann, *Die Gesellschaft der Gesellschaft*, 915).

18 Schulte, *Speculum Regis*, 9.

from the very beginning, an educating and didactic purpose or, at least, aspect,[19] one of its major characteristics being 'its strong moral didacticism, with the historian's duty to bestow *baobian* 褒貶 (praise and blame), using Confucian moral tenets as the yardstick.'[20] The great Song-period historiography *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 [Comprehensive Mirror in the Aid of Governance; date of publication: 1084] by Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–1086) even reflects the aspect of the 'mirror' in its title,[21] but Tang Taizong's own *Golden Mirror* (see below) is an earlier and, in relation to Xuanzang's *Record*, contemporary example of the adaptation of this metaphor.

In the Indian context, didactic texts belong to the category of *nīti* (*nīti-śāstra*) the best-known example of which is Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[22] In a more specific sense as a 'princely mirror' of the narrative type, the most prominent examples of this type of literature are collections of fables in the tradition of the *Pañcatantra*. In its 'Introduction' (*kathāmukha*), the *Pañcatantra* itself, whatever the original purpose of telling stories of friendship (alliance) and deception was, introduces itself clearly as a 'mirror for princes' when the 'narrator' Viṣṇuśarman attempts to instruct the three stupid sons of king Amaraśakti of Mahilāropya in the essence of politics (*arthaśāstrasāra*).[23]

To be sure, the title of this chapter does not make any claim that Xuanzang in particular, or Chinese culture in general, was directly influenced by Indian didactic literature of the kind of the *Pancatantra* or the later *Hitopadeśa*. It only draws on the notion that there are texts which were written to influence and to educate the ruling class or the ruler himself—and the *Hitopadeśa*, its predecessor

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[19] Durrant, 'The Literary Features of Historical Writing,' 493ff.

[20] Wilkinson, *Chinese History*, 491.

[21] On Sima Guang, see Ji, 'Mirror for Government' & Ji, *Politics and Conservatism in Northern Song China*.

[22] On the Arthaśāstra, see Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India, and McClish, The History of the Arthaśāstra*.

[23] Text: Kale, *Pañcatantra of Viṣṇuśarman*, 1; translation; Olivelle, *Pañcatantra*, 3. In the case of the *Hitopadeśa*, the stage of the frame narrative is shifted to a more 'real' place, to Pāṭaliputra.

and its related texts are good examples of texts intending exactly this. Historically, I should and could have chosen the *Pañcatantra*, being the *textus princeps* of this genre, as a point of reference,[24] but its title does not lend itself as nicely to my purpose as 'good instruction' or 'beneficial advice' (*hitopadeśa*) does. The very fact that these Indian texts are using narratives, to be more precise fables, rather than blunt, straightforward advice in the Macchiavellian style, or admonition from the author to a specific individual, as in the case of the Persian *Qābus-nāma*,[25] points us to an important aspect of this kind of didactic literature: narratives usually do not come with an almost normative (as, for instance, in the case of the *Arthaśāstra*) or paraenetic pragmatism ('this is how it's to be done,' 'this is not how one should act,' etc.)—they rather give their advice or critique indirectly and subtly through the parallelism which the reader or listener has to understand and read/hear through the similarity of the text to the 'real' scenario.

I, of course, do not claim here that Xuanzang's Record should be read exclusively as a didactic text or even as a *speculum regis*, but I still would insist that there are layers of intentionality which reflect aspects of this 'genre,' and naturally these aspects are to be looked for in passages or episodes where princes or kings are involved, or in the context of topics related to the administration of the state or rulership.

THE *DA TANG XIYU JI* AS A DIDACTIC TEXT

As is well known, the *Record* was written by Xuanzang after his return from India in the year 645 on the request of the second Tang emperor Taizong. Xuanzang finished the extensive text in less than a year's time, probably without much help, although the *opinio communis* is that his disciple Bianji 辯機 (619–649) was quite involved in the process. Taizong's order certainly implied the delivery of logistic

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[24] On the dating of the *Pañcatantra*, see Olivelle, *Pañcatantra*, xii.

[25] See de Bruijn, 'Kaykāvus B. Eskandar.'

and geographical information the imperial court and administration was interested in, and Xuanzang provided this information in a form similar to the geographical chapters (*zhuan* 傳) of the standard historiographies[26] and in a longer part of the second chapter in the general description of India (see below). But the monk also infused into the *Record* his own agenda which was, of course, a Buddhist one, and therefore led and dominated by attempts of conveying Buddhist messages (ethical) and possibly generate courtly support for Buddhism.

As the emperor, Taizong naturally was interested in politics and was, quite vividly, engaged in political discussions and discourse with his high court officials.[27] As Jack Chen reminds us: 'For Taizong, the reading of literary works is like that of historical works; the text is a *speculum* that provides moral instruction.'[28] And reading the *Record* certainly was not an exception to this. Early in his reign, in the year 628, the emperor published a text called *Jinjing* 金鏡 [Golden Mirror] on good governance,[29] a kind of auto-*speculum regis*—as far as I know the first one of this kind—for himself and his court officials.[30] And shortly before his death, in the year 648, he authored *Difan* 帝範 [Plan for the Emperor], a kind of manual for an enlightened ruler (*mingjun* 明君) on behalf of his son and heir Gaozong 高宗 (r. 649–683; Li Zhi 李治 [628–683]),[31] probably bearing in mind

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26 Deeg, 'Describing the Own Other.'

27 Wechsler (*Mirror to the Son of Heaven*; idem, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*) has dealt with a lot of aspects of these discourses in the inner circles of Taizong's court; for a more recent study of Taizong approach to ruling and politics, see Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*.

28 Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 354ff.

29 Twitchett, 'How to Be an Emperor,' 8ff., where a full translation of the text is included (18ff.); see also Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 81ff.

30 Twitchett ('How to Be an Emperor,' 8, n5) traces the metaphor of the mirror back in ancient Chinese literature and draws a clear parallel with the *speculum regis* genre: 'The idea of a mirror as providing a referent for one's behavior goes back to the earliest pieces in the Book of Documents, and has a parallel with the use of the term *speculum* in our own classical and medieval literatures.'

31 Twitchett, 'How to Be an Emperor,' 33ff. (translation of the preserved text:

his own failing to completely live up to the standard set for himself, not least of all in the *Jinjing*, as well as the moral instability and political inexperience of the crown prince. But holding a 'mirror' in front of the emperor was not only done by himself. Some of his advisors and high officials, not least the influential advisor and official Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643),[32] were quite ready to remind the emperor of the danger of turning away from his own ideal of rulership[33].

As to be expected from a monk of his position, Xuanzang was not completely disinterested in politics. As far as his own religious activities (including the translation project) were concerned, he definitely wanted and needed the support of the court or, even better, of the emperor himself. That he was indeed ready to give advice about good and ideal rulership according to Buddhist principles is shown by the fact that, in the year 649, not long after Taizong had written his *Plan for the Emperor*, Xuanzang extracted a *speculum*-like text passage from his translation of the extensive *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* and published it as a separate text exactly at the time when Taizong's successor Gaozong, who was not necessarily known for his quality as a potentially competent ruler, succeeded his father Taizong after the death of the latter.[34]

This text, obviously a quotation from or a paraphrase of an unknown *sūtra*, in the 61st fascicle of the Chinese translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi-śāstra* (*T* no.1579, 30: 638a19ff.; not contained in

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50ff.); see also Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 91ff., Deeg, 'The Politicial Position of Xuanzang,' 125. On Gaozong's own writing of similar texts see Twitchett, *The Writing of Official History Under the T'ang*, 99.

32 Taizong himself used the metaphor of the 'mirror' for Wei Zheng after his death: Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven*, 161.

33 Twitchett ('How to Be an Emperor,' 5) suggests that the extremely negative depiction of the Sui emperor Yangdi 隋煬帝 (569–618, r. 604–618) in the dynastic history of the Sui, the *Suishu* 隋書 [Book of the Sui; submitted 636], the compilation of which was directed by Wei Zheng, was a similar example of 'mirroring' (see below).

34 Jan, 'Rājadharma Ideal in Yogācāra Buddhism,' 222ff.

the Sanskrit version and the Tibetan translation of the text[35]), was published by Xuanzang as *Wangfa zhengli lun* 王法正理論 (T no. 1615), the Sanskrit title of which was reconstructed by Jan Yunhua as **Rājadharma-nyāya-śāstra* [Treatise about the Regulation of Royal Dharma]. It describes how a bad king and a good king behave and act. Already, the frame story reminds one of a *speculum regis*: king Udayana of the Vatsa (Chuai 出愛)[36] of Kauśambī visits the Buddha and complains that *brāhmaṇas* and *śramaṇas* blame him for shortcomings in his rule when there are none, and only praise his governance when there is no real reason for doing so; the king wants to know from where his critics know all of this. Thereupon, the Buddha teaches him what makes a bad and what makes a good king.[37] It is striking that there is not much Buddhist ethics in the text, but rather general advice, such as to listen to one's advisors, to control one's temper, or not to lead a too luxurious lifestyle. It seems as if the text tries 'to offer rulers and powerful figures a pattern of behaviour by which they could understand their own position and role as a realization of Buddhist spirituality'[38] through reference to the *bodhisattva* ideal.[39]

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[35] The episode is also referred to in the Saṅghabhadra's *Apidamo shun zhengli lun*, *T* no. 1562, 29: 604c27ff.

[36] Literally 'Rising Love': a translation for Skt. *Vatsānām Udayana[ḥ] (*rājā*): Jan, 'Rājadharma Ideal in Yogācāra Buddhism,' 223. This is the famous king Udayana of Kauśambī who had an image of the Buddha when he preaches the *dharma* to his diseased mother in Trayastriṃśa-heaven. The name is fully explained in *Yujia shidi lun lüezuan*, *T* no. 1829, 43: 219c21ff and *Yuga rongi*, *T* no.1828, 42:692a4ff.

[37] Jan, 'Rājadharma Ideal in Yogācāra Buddhism'; and Zimmermann, 'Only a Fool Becomes a King,' 230.

[38] Schmithausen, 'Einige besondere Aspekte der 'Bodhisattva-Ethik' in Indien und ihre Hintergründe,' 45: 'auch Herrschern und Mächtigen ein Verhaltensmuster anzubieten, nach welchem sie ihre Stellung und Rolle als Verwirklichung buddhistischer Spiritualität verstehen konnten[.]'

[39] Schmithausen, 'Einige besondere Aspekte der 'Bodhisattva-Ethik' in Indien und ihre Hintergründe,' 42ff; Zimmermann, 'Only a Fool Becomes a King,' 229ff.

IMPLICIT CRITIQUE OF TANG POLITICS IN THE *RECORD*

Moral or didactic messages can be conveyed in different ways. In more concrete terms, and from a Buddhist standpoint, there are two areas of rulership which are prone to transgress the basic precepts against killing and are therefore potential targets for an ethical lesson: executive law and war/military, which may be brought in line with the two aspects of imperial power, the 'cultivating' (*wen* 文) and military (*wu* 武), discussed in some more detail later in this chapter. And it is exactly in these areas that Xuanzang seems to hold the 'mirror' in front of his emperor when he deals with an idealized India in the first half of the second chapter (fascicle or *juan*) of the Record dedicated to a general description of India, which in function and content, may be compared to the monograph (or treatise) sections (*shu* 書 or *zhi* 志) of traditional Chinese historiography.

The *Record* describes punishment and penalties in India as follows:

> [Even if] a violent, low-ranked mob at times destroys the order of the state and conspires against the ruler, [and the] plotting becomes manifest, [the culprits] usually are thrown into jail, [and] are not executed, [but assigned] to lifelong labour, [and their] social relations are disregarded. [If they] violate etiquette and righteousness [and] pervert loyalty and piety, [their] noses, ears, hands or feet are cut off, [and they] are either exiled or sent into remote borderlands. 凶悖群小, 時虧國憲, 謀危君上, 事迹彰明, 則常幽囹圄, 無所刑戮, 任其生死, 不齒人倫. 犯傷禮義, 悖逆忠孝, 則劓鼻、截耳、斷手、刖足, 或驅出國, 或放荒裔.[40]

In the passage about Indian law, the general Buddhist approach is in accordance with the precept of not killing sentient beings. It is certainly not a coincidence that, according to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi-śās-*

[40] *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, 51: 2.877b23–27.

tra, a text translated by Xuanzang into Chinese (*T* no.1579), a king is not supposed to inflict the death penalty but only exile as the most severe penalty permitted:

> Then what is the *bodhisattva*'s method born from determination [to use force][41]? Here, a *bodhisattva* has become a master, has become a king who has achieved control and rightfully instructs his entourage or his realm: 'Whoever in my entourage or [my] realm will be without restrain,[42] acts fully in violence against the rules[43] —I will take away from him, deprive him of the privilege of [my] protection, will beat [him], or will separate [him] from all that is his, will ban him from the whole realm.' And then he leads [people] to [become] good, correct, human in [their] action. And these beings are afraid of this big punishment and give up evil and practice the good. And against their desire these beings are brought to the good through this determination [to use] force, through this very method. Therefore, it is called method born from determination. *tatra katamo bodhisattvasyāvaṣṭambhaja upāyaḥ? iha bodhisattvaḥ svāmibhūto vā rājabhūto vā ādhipatyaprāptaḥ svaṃ vā parijanaṃ svaṃ vā vijitam evaṃ samyak samanuśāsti: 'yo me kaścit parijane vā vijite vā 'mātṛjño bhaviṣyati vistareṇa yāvad dauśīlyaṃ samādāya vartiṣyate tasyāham ucitaṃ vā bhaktāc chādanaṃ samucchetsyāmi vārayiṣyāmi vā tāḍayiṣyāmi vā sarvasvena vā viyojayiṣyāmi sarveṇa vā sarvavijitāt pravāsayiṣyāmīti' tatra ca karmaṇi kuśalān dakṣān pauruṣeyān viniyojayati. te ca sattvās tasmān mahato daṇḍakarmaṇo bhītāḥ pāpañ ca prajahati kuśalañ ca samādāya vartante. akāmakā api tena balāvaṣṭambhena kuśale sanniyojyante te sattvā anenopāyena. tasmād ayam avaṣṭambhaja upāya ity ucyate*.[44]

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[41] Ch. *bipo suo sheng* 逼迫所生.

[42] The text's *amātṛjña* should be corrected into *amātrajña*? But see Xuanzang's translation: 於父母不知恩報 ('who knows no piety towards [his] parents') which obviously reflects the term as it stands in the preserved Skt. text.

[43] Skt. *dauśīlya* which should be *daurśīlya*.

[44] Edition Dutt, *Bodhisattvabhumi*, 183 (= *Yujia shidi lun*, *T* no. 1579, 30: 542a21ff.); see also Schmithausen, 'Einige besondere Aspekte der 'Bodhisat-

The passage reflects with remarkable closeness what Xuanzang has to say about the basic principles of Indian law: beating and exile are allowed, but no death penalty. This is then exemplified in the Record when Xuanzang emphasizes that Harṣa, after an assassination attempt on the king planned by *brāhmaṇas* jealous of the favours which the king gives to the Buddhists, is merciful and only sends the plotters into exile.[45] The presentation of the Indian legal system in the Record indeed seems to be tailored according to the Buddhist ideal of non-killing, but also sits well in the context of the legal discourse at the Tang court at the time of the Record's publication, where a reduction of the number of crimes punishable by the death penalty was discussed.[46]

Xuanzang's basic notion of the Indian legal system mirrors, in its extreme points, exactly the method of the *bodhisattva*-ruler described in the *śāstra*. In the idealized Buddhist India of Xuanzang—but also of his predecessor Faxian and the Sino-Korean monk Ch. Huichao/ Ko. Hyecho 惠超 (704–787; travelled 723–729)—even the worst criminals were not killed but only sent into exile, while in Tang China, the death penalty still was used as a punishment for quite a large number of offenses.[47] As mentioned before, Xuanzang's hint at a 'better' Buddhist legal system was timely, as at that time the question of reducing the death penalty or even of abolishing it completely was indeed discussed in court circles around Taizong.[48]

The second area where a Buddhist would naturally have a strong opinion because the killing of human beings was involved was military violence and war. In the Record, the respective section about military affairs and the army comes just before the discussion of

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tva-Ethik' in Indien und ihre Hintergründe,' 42. Deeg, 'Indian Law from a Seventh-Century Chinese Buddhist Perspective,' 21.

[45] *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, 51: 5.895c15ff.; Li, trans., *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 149ff.

[46] For a detailed discussion, see Deeg, 'Indian Law from a Seventh-Century Chinese Buddhist Perspective.'

[47] Deeg, 'Indian Law from a Seventh-Century Chinese Buddhist Perspective,' 37.

[48] Ibid, 34ff.

Indian law, and both sections could be subsumed under the heading 'sanctioned violence'[49]. Apart from the quite general observation that the rulers belong to the caste of warriors (Ch. *chadili* 刹帝利; Skt. *kṣatriya*) and the description of the fourfold structure of an Indian army and its weaponry, the passage gives the following information:

> The warriors of the kingdoms are fierce and bold and many in number; the profession is passed on from father to son, [and] therefore [they] have an expertise in the martial arts. When in residence, [they] defend the palace and the houses, in battle [they] attack as the vanguard. 國之戰士, 驍雄畢選, 子父傳業, 遂窮兵術. 居則宮廬周衛, 征則奮旅前鋒.[50]

Here, the Indian military system is described as based on a standing army of hereditary warriors or soldiers. These did not necessarily come from the *kṣatriya* caste, since, according to Xuanzang initial statement in this section, one of the characteristics of that caste was its status as a ruling class. In fact, professional soldiers are attested to in the classical Sanskrit literature,[51] and although they are, of course, mostly described as *kṣatriyas*, it is hard to imagine that the big armies needed to conquer territories like Harṣa's would be recruited only from that social caste. *Arthaśāstra* 9.2.21ff. clearly shows that soldiers could come from all four castes, and that there were different opinions about their respective value:

> [21.] 'Among Brāhmaṇa, Ksatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra troops, it is better to equip for battle each preceding one based on the predominance of spirit,' say the teachers. [22.] 'No,' says Kauṭilya. [23.] 'An enemy may win over Brāhmaṇa force by humble prostrations. [24.] A Kṣatriya force that is trained in the science of weaponry, however, is better, or a Vaiśya or Śūdra force with a large number of strong men' [21.] *'brāhmaṇakṣatri-*

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49 For a full discussion of the whole section see my forthcoming translation and commentary of the second fascicle of the *Record*.

50 *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, 51: 2.877b12ff.

51 Scharfe, *The State in Indian Tradition*, 179f.

> *yavaiśyaśūdrasainyānāṃ tejaḥprādhānyāt pūrvaṃ pūrvaṃ śreyaḥ saṃnāhayitūm' ity ācāryāḥ.* 22. *neti Kauṭilyaḥ.* 23. *praṇipātena brāhmaṇabalaṃ paro 'bhihārayet.* 24. *praharaṇavidyāvinītaṃ tu kṣatriyabalaṃ śreyaḥ, bahulasāraṃ vā vaiśyaśūdrabalam iti*.[52]

Some of these soldiers were recruited from the same families, especially as elite guards for the king, and insofar could be called hereditary, as *Arthaśāstra* 10.3.39 implies: '[39]A plain formation without flags and consisting of soldiers related to each other as fathers, sons, and brothers is the location for the king' (*pitṛputrabhrātṛkāṇām āyudhīyānām adhvajaṃ muṇḍānīkaṃ rājasthānam*).[53]

These soldiers, called by the special term *āyudhīya*,[54] lived (or should live) in special villages (*Arthaśāstra* 2.35.1)[55] and could therefore be compared to the Chinese militia (*fubing* 府兵) who were also recruited as imperial guards. That Xuanzang does not point out this obvious similarity may be due to the relatively low number of this kind of soldier in reality but may also indicate another specific reason. It is clear that hereditary military careers were not the only ones in India—and practically could not be at the time of competing polities and kingdoms—since most of the soldiers were recruited in other ways. In a way, Xuanzang's own description of Harṣa's campaigns after ascending to the throne with a constant increase of troops[56] speaks against the significance of a hereditary military class

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[52] Translation Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India*, 354.

[53] Ibid, 379.

[54] Scharfe, *The State in Indian Tradition*, 187n132; or *maula*. These are the *āyudhīyas* which a king is to inspect in the afternoon according to *Manavadharmasastra* 7.222 (Olivelle, *Manu's Code of Law*, 166). According to *Āpastambadharmasūtra* 2.17.21 the status of a son of an *āyudhīya*—Olivelle translates as 'a son of a Brahmin soldier'—is very low (Olivelle, *Dharmasūtras*, 100f.), and *Baudhāyanadharmasūtra* 1.2.4, subscribing to the low status, states that *āyudhīyas* were particularly frequent in the north (*uttarataḥ*; Olivelle *Dharmasūtras*, 198f.).

[55] Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India*, 173.

[56] Deeg, 'The Politicial Position of Xuanzang,' 111ff.

of soldiers, instead implying the presence of other armed forces or militia, of tribal units, or of mercenaries.[57] This may have varied according to the situation, the branch of the army and the respective expertise and expensive animals (elephants, horses), equipment (war chariots) or weaponry required in each case. *Arthaśāstra* 2.33.7f. reflects the variety of recruitment only in case of the infantry (*patti*) in a clear order of value:

> [7]The above explains also what pertains to the Superintendent of the Infantry. [8]He should have a thorough knowledge of the following: the strengths and weaknesses of the hereditary, hired, corporate, ally's, enemy's, and tribal troops …[58] *7. etena pattyadhyakṣo vyākhyātaḥ 8. sa maulabhṛtaśreṇimitrāmitrāṭavībalānāṃ sāraphalgutāṃ vidyāt*.

A similar list, however, for the whole army, without the enemy (*amitra*) and with the tribal troops (*aṭavī*) left out as obviously more unreliable, is found in *Arthaśāstra* 7.8.27ff.; this ranking is even made clearer in 9.2.1ff., where the king is advised to match the enemy's respective quantitative distribution of differently recruited troops.[59] The *Harṣacarita* and contemporary royal inscriptions know a term, *(cāru)cārabhaṭa(sainya)*,[60] or *cāṭabhaṭa/bhaṭacāṭa*,[61] that seems to point out two different kinds of soldiers, regular and irregular (hired mercenaries?).[62]

So why then did Xuanzang describe Indian armies as consisting exclusively of hereditary soldiers and why, for instance, does he not

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57 Scharfe, *The State in Indian Tradition*, 187

58 Translation Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India*, 171

59 Olivelle, *King, Governance, and Law in Ancient India*, 352ff.

60 Kane, *The Harshacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa*, 109, line 30.

61 See, e.g., Bühler, 'The Madhuban Copper Plate of Harsha,' 72, l.9, and 74: 'regular and irregular soldiers.'

62 Devahuti, *Harsha*, 221. Is *bhaṭa* to be taken as a Pkt. form of Skt. *bhṛta* (as, for instance, found in the *Arthaśāstra*), as the Petersburger Wörterbuch, vol.5, 188, s.v., suggests?

even note the difference between the professional/standing part of the army and the ones recruited on occasion? There may indeed be a special agenda at work when Xuanzang describes the Indian armies as consisting of hereditary soldiers: the emperor he wrote for, Taizong, was a military man,[63] and in the last years of his reign he pushed, sometimes against the will of his ministers and advisors, for—in the end not very successful—military expeditions, especially against the North-Korean kingdom of Koguryŏ/Gaoli 高麗 (see below).

While, in the Tang empire, conscription of recruits from the male population (*bingmu* 兵募) was in place to fill up the ranks of the professional militia soldiers (*fubing*)[64] when needed, and especially for the purpose of populating the ranks of an expeditionary army (*xingjun* 行軍),[65] Xuanzang's claim is that Indian armies consisted only of professional soldiers and the rest of the male population was exempted from military service. Such an old ideal(ized) pattern of Indian armies—peasants ploughing their fields while armies slaughtered each other, as reported by the early Greek observer Arrian (Indica 11)—,[66] the restriction of fighting exclusively to a professional body of soldiers, may be seen as another idealization of India and, more important in the present context, as a recommendation towards the emperor Taizong to follow the Indian examples and not to draft the male population for military service in imminent cases of 'punitive expeditions.'

AŚOKA AND OTHER KINGS IN THE *DA TANG XIYU JI*

Anecdotes about and conversations with kings are important elements of Chinese biographical literature,[67] one function of which is

[63] Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, 160ff.

[64] Ibid, 189ff.

[65] Ibid, 191ff.

[66] McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 210; see also Scharfe, *The State in Indian Tradition*, 185.

[67] Nienhauser, 'Early Biography,' 511ff.

moral didacticism. The Record draws on these features as well when it tries to convey an exhortative message to its foremost reader, emperor Taizong.

The most obvious motif for a *speculum regis* in the Indian Buddhist context is the paradigmatic and idealized Buddhist ruler, king Aśoka. His hagiographical life-story, known as *Aśokāvadāna* in Sanskrit,[68] was well-known in China through two translations, the *Ayuwang jing* 阿育王經 (*T* no. 2043; translated by *Saṅghabhara/ Sengjiapoluo 僧伽婆羅 [460–?]) and the *Ayuwang zhuan* 阿育王傳 (*T* no. 2042; translation ascribed to An Faqin 安法欽 [d.u.]).

For the Buddhist tradition, Aśoka is, of course, the paradigmatic king. Therefore, referring to him or his actions as such—as recounted in the Aśoka legend—often comes with a potential or deliberate *speculum regis* intention, with the message being to emulate certain actions of the famous Buddhist king; these episodes or anecdotes implicitly recommend, for instance, visits to the sacred sites linked to the biography of the Buddha (Aśoka's tour with Upagupta after his conversion), the protection of these sites (Bodhgayā) and the distribution of relics, the building of *stūpa*s and monasteries and lavish donations to the *saṅgha*, as, for instance, in Aśoka's *pañcavārṣika*, a potlatch-like donation competition which, according to the *Record*, has been mirrored and copied by the most powerful king in Northern India during Xuanzang's stay, Harṣa Śīlāditya.[69]

There are other episodes about Aśoka in the Record which ask, by the way in which they are presented (points emphasized, length), for the reader's special attention and are highlighted as bearing a special meaning. An example which I have discussed in a different article[70] is the story of Aśoka's son Kuṇāla, whose eyes were gouged as a result of the plotting of Aśoka's queen and Kuṇāla's stepmother Tiṣyarakṣitā when the prince had declined to have an affair with her, his

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[68] Incorporated in the narrative collection *Divyāvadāna*. For a translation and study of the Skt. text see Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*; for a study of the Chinese versions see Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Açoka*.

[69] Deeg, 'Origin and Development of the Buddhist Pañcavārṣika I,' 79ff.

[70] Deeg, 'Show Me the Land Where the Buddha Dwelled …,'' 103ff.

own stepmother, which Xuanzang presents in an unusually elaborate and detailed way.[71] I have argued that this may have been a warning or exhortation to both Taizong and his son and heir Gaozong to avoid a similar situation about rumours of an affair of the latter with Taizong's concubine and Gaozong's later empress Wu Zhao 武曌 or Wu Zetian 武則天 (624–705).

However, there may have been limits to what Xuanzang could use as *speculum* episodes directed at certain personal shortcomings or moral mistakes of the emperor. As is reflected in the Tang sources, the emperor was particularly sensitive when it came to his ascension to the throne and its legitimacy.[72] In this context, it is striking that Xuanzang omits the most obvious parallels of similar actions of Indian (Buddhist) kings, namely king Ajātaśatru's imprisonment (and even attempted) killing of his father Bimbisāra and Aśoka's killing of his elder brother to usurp the throne of Magadha. When he describes the cruel Aśoka (Caṇḍāśoka), Xuanzang restricts himself to the episode of the hell-prison which leads to the conversion of the king;[73] the killing of Aśoka's brothers is not mentioned at all. The absence of the well-known narrative of king Ajātaśatru throwing his father Bimbisāra into jail, and eventually attempting to kill him,[74] is suspicious as well.[75] In relation to Taizong's own 'career,' that is not,

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[71] See also Li, trans., *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 95ff.

[72] See Twitchett, 'How to Be an Emperor,' 4. Taizong even tried to interfere in the writing imperial history about this incident: Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 26ff.

[73] Li, trans., *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 223ff.

[74] This topic recently has attracted some scholarly attention: see Radich, *How Ajātaśatru Was Reformed*; see also Wu, 'Ajātaśatru,' and other recent publications by Wu in that article's bibliography.

[75] In her study of Ajātaśatru's destiny in hell after the patricide, Wu Juan discusses the specific point in Xuanzang's translation of the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣā* according to which Ajātaśatru suffers briefly in hell and then is reborn in heaven; Wu, 'The Rootless Faith of Ajātaśatru,' 129. This is in line with an attempt to diminish the terrible act of the king in favour of his supportive attitude towards Buddhism.

however, completely surprising. Both stories combined would have resembled too closely Taizong's own *coup d'état*, which involved killing the crown-prince Li Jiancheng 李建成 (589–626) and his younger brother Li Yuanji 李元吉 (603–626) during the notorious Xuanwu gate 玄武門 incident (626),[76] forcing his own father Gaozu 高祖 (r. 618–626; Li Yuan 李淵 [566–635]) to abdicate in his favour and then putting him under strict custody until his death.[77]

Didactic literature works with good (to be copied or emulated) and bad (to be avoided) examples, and *speculum*-stories or -narratives about kings are no exception. There are 'bad' and 'evil' kings in the *Record*, and again their narratives are given in quite some detail. Once more, Aśoka is a good example of a cruel tyrant who turns into a good Buddhist king.[78] The brutal and treacherous actions and the punishment of the Gauḍa ruler Śaśāṅka are recounted in the long story of Harṣa's early career. Another 'evil' (and semi-historical) king enters the stage in the already mentioned story of the fight between the legendary (Gupta) ruler Bālāditya (Ch. Poluoadieduo 婆羅阿迭多 [EMC **ba-la-ʔa-dɛt-ta*; Youri 幼日 'Youthful Sun'])[79] and the Hūṇa / Hunnic king Moxiluojuluo 摩醯邏矩羅 (EMC **ma-xɛj-la^h-ku'-la*; Skt. *Mahirakula [= Mihirakula; Chin. 大族, 'Great Clan']) in the fourth fascicle of the *Record*.[80] The relatively long narrative,

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76 Twitchett, 'The T'ang Imperial Family,' 19ff; Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 21ff.

77 Wechsler, 'The founding of the T'ang dynasty,' 186ff. For a different reading of the events, assuming that Gaozu was in control of the whole process, see Eisenstein, *Kingship in Early Medieval China*, 167ff.

78 *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, vol. 51: 911aff.; Li, trans., *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 223ff.

79 On a discussion of the possible identity of this 'Buddhist' king Bālāditya see Deeg, 'How to create a great monastery,' 238ff.

80 *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, vol. 51: 888b24ff.; translation in Balogh, *Hunnic Peoples in Central and South Asia,* 93ff; see also Li, trans., *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 114ff. A detailed analysis of this narrative will be given in my forthcoming translation and commentary of the fourth fascicle of the *Record*.

which has no direct parallel in any other text mentioning the Hūṇa king (e.g. the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* or the *Rājatāraṅgiṇī*[81]), relates how *Mahirakula attacks king Bālāditya of Magadha, who then flees to an island in the ocean (*haidao* 海島) where he lures *Mahirakula into an ambush and captures him. *Mahirakula is ashamed because of his defeat and always covers his face during his imprisonment. He is condemned to death, but Bālāditya's mother[82] asks her son to spare his former enemy. *Mahirakula is then re-established, but because his brother has usurped his kingdom, he has to flee to Kaśmīr where he kills the king, destroys monasteries and *stūpa*s and slaughters a huge part of the population and enslaves the rest. For these actions, he falls into hell.

There are two elements in the story which sit oddly in the narrative thread. One is the fact that *Mahirakula is described in quite positive terms at the beginning of the whole story:

> [*Mahirakula] was able and wise, his character was brave, and all the neighbour kingdoms had no choice but to submit [under his rule]. In state matters and during his leisure time, he wanted to study the *dharma* of the Buddha and foster the great virtues of the monks. 有才智, 性勇烈, 鄰境諸國, 莫不臣伏. 機務餘閑, 欲習佛法, 令於僧中推一俊德.[83]

The turn comes when the king wants to have a monk to instruct him, and the *saṅgha* sends him a monk who had been his former slave; this obviously offends the king in such a way that he issues an order to destroy all followers of the *dharma* and to expel the monks from the realm.[84]

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81 Balogh, *Hunnic Peoples in Central and South Asia*, 303ff.

82 Bālāditya's 'Buddhist' mother also plays a role in the *Posoupandou fashi zhuan* 婆藪槃豆法師傳 [Biography of Dharma-master Vasubandhu] (*T* no. 2049), 'translated' by Paramārtha: see Deeg, 'How to create a great monastery,' 248ff.

83 *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, vol. 51: 888b.26ff.

84 This is slightly strange because *Mahirakula's scorn should have affected the *saṅgha* more than other followers of the *dharma*.

The other oddity is the strange topographical setting of king Bālāditya's retreat to an island where he lures *Mahirakula into a trap and captures him. In the historical, and probably also the narrative-legendary setting of the conflict between the Hunnic and the Indian ruler there is no room for an island. Both points taken together may suggest that, although—or exactly because—the parallelism is not a complete one, the story of a powerful king who wants to attack a king in an isolated (island) position was a hint to Taizong's obsession with military campaigns against the Korean kingdom of Koguryŏ in the years between 646 and his death in 649 (see the discussion below). The first attack included a fleet of five hundred vessels sailing from the north-eastern tip of the Shandong peninsula to the Korean side.[85] Xuanzang's description of *Mahirakula's attack on Bālāditya could have invoked the memory of the recent unsuccessful Tang campaign of 645, but could also have referred back to the catastrophic military expedition against Koguryŏ by the notoriously unlucky last Sui-emperor Yangdi in 611/612.[86]

A MIRROR IN THE MIDDLE: KING HARṢA AND EMPEROR TAIZONG

Instead of 'bad' parallel examples of Indian kings, there was still a way to remind the emperor, very carefully, of his own shortcomings and failings. In the *Record*, the king ruling over most parts of North India at the time of Xuanzang's visit, Harṣavardhana Śīlāditya, is depicted as a Buddhist model ruler, a feature which is elaborated on even more in Xuanzang's *Biography*.[87] The 'story' of king Harṣa is positioned at

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85 That Xuanzang was quite well informed about this becomes clear by what is possibly an allusion to the Korean campaign in his letter sent to the emperor on the occasion of the official submission of the *Record* when he states that the emperor 'carved boats and stringed [bow]wood' (see below)—the Korean campaign was the only one in which a fleet or ships were involved.

86 Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, 145ff.

87 In this chapter, *Biography* refers to the *Da Tang Da Ciensi sanzang fashi*

a prominent position in the *Record*, at a central position of the whole text in the fifth fascicle; it is divided roughly into three parts: the early career and the ascension to the throne, the meeting with Xuanzang, and the grand festival of the golden Buddha image and ancillary episodes.

As I have argued elsewhere, the narrative of Harṣa's coming to the throne in the *Record*—an unusually long story for a contemporary king in the text and only equalled by the story of the fight between king Balāditya and *Mahirakula (Mihirakula) (see above)—was used as an exhortative 'mirror'-story in relation to Taizong's own grip of power through an act of usurpation: Harṣa, instead of accepting the throne which is offered to him by the high officials of the kingdom after the killing of his brother and king Prabhākaravardhana through the Gauḍa-ruler Śaśāṅka, refuses proper kingship—ascending to the 'lion seat'—until he has pacified the realm.[88] In contrast to Taizong, who seizes the throne only a couple of days after having been made crown prince after the killing of his brother, Harṣa, according to the *Record*, resists the temptation of grasping full official power until he has taken revenge for the murdering of his brother—a well-set counterpoint to Taizong's own fratricidal action—and has pacified and regulated the empire again after the chaos and turmoil created by the violent conflict with Śaśāṅka.

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zhuan (*T* no. 2053). Although there are, with Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, a handful of inscriptions and plays attributed to Harṣa, an unusual number of sources available for a historical Indian ruler, it is a tricky matter to read this material together with (or sometimes rather against) the information contained in the *Record* and the *Biography*, the two other sources on Harṣa (see Deeg, 'The Politicial Position of Xuanzang,' 100ff). A purely historicist and simplistic reading of the sources with the attempt to discern 'historical' from 'unhistorical' parts or aspects, as done, for instance, by Devahuti, *Harṣa*, is not taking into account the complex and different situatedness (genre, intentionality, context) of the material; a similar approach is taken by the most recent Chinese study of Harṣa (Zhang, *Jieri wang yanjiu*).

[88] Deeg, 'The Politicial Position of Xuanzang,' 111ff.

The next passage then turns to the encounter of king Harṣa and Xuanzang—one of the two passages in the *Record* where the monk enters the stage himself.[89] Xuanzang uses this moment skilfully to launch a *laudatio* on the achievements of the Tang emperor. The meeting with Harṣa happens when the king is on an inspection tour in *Khajuṅghira (Jiezhuwenqiluo 竭朱嗢祇邏/**gɨat-tɕuǎ-ʔwən-tɕi-la*^{h});[90] Xuanzang has been summoned by king Harṣa and arrives from Kāmarūpa (Assam) together with king Kumāra (Bhāskaravarman):

> [King 'Sun of Virtue'[91]] said: 'From which kingdom did you come, and what do you want [here]?' 曰: '自何國來? 將何所欲?'
>
> [Xuanzang] answered: '[I] have come from the kingdom of the Great Tang, [and I] am seeking the *dharma* of the Buddha.' 對曰: '從大唐國來, 請求佛法.'
>
> The king said: 'In which direction is the kingdom of the Great Tang situated? Where does [one] have to pass, [and] how far is it from here?' 王曰: '大唐國在何方? 經途所亘, 去斯遠近?'

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[89] The other 'appearance' of Xuanzang in the *Record* is his meeting with the ruler of Kāmarūpa, Kumāra (Bhāskaravarman), in fascicle ten (description of Kāmarūpa) in which Kumāra praises the Tang ruler in a similar way as Harṣa (*Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, vol. 51: 927b18ff.; Li, trans., *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 300ff; for a translation and a discussion see Deeg, 'Show me the land,' 107 ff.); Xuanzang seems to insist in the *Record*—the dialogue is missing in the *Biography*—that the virtues of emperor Taizong are very well known in India. The meeting with Kumāra is located earlier in terms of 'real' time but related later in the *Record* which follows, of course, the logic of geographical progress rather than sticking to a narrative thread of time as the one given in the fifth fascicle of the Biography (*Da Tang Da Ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, vol. 50: 245c25ff.; Li, trans., *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 137ff.).

[90] The Sanskrit reconstruction of this toponym is hypothetical; it probably corresponds to Pāli Kajaṅghara (*Aṅguttaranikāya* 5.54 and *Majjhimanikāya* 3.298). The place has been identified in the region of modern Rājmahāl (Jharkand) and is described in some detail in the tenth fascicle of the Record.

[91] Ch. Jieri 戒日; Skt. Śīlāditya.

[Xuanzang] answered: 'It is several ten thousand miles in north-eastern [direction]. It is the kingdom which in India is called Mohezhina.'[92] 對日: '當此東北數萬餘里, 印度所謂摩訶至那國是也.'

The king said: 'I have already heard that there is the Son of Heaven, the king of Qin[93] in Mahācīna. When he was young, he had a high spirit, [and] when he had grown up, he was a gifted warrior. Before, when the former dynasty was collapsing in disorder and parts of the land were divided, fighting had arisen and the people were tormented, the king of Qin early had conceived a strategy and sensed great compassion, rescued the sentient beings, pacified the region between the oceans, cultivation was far spread, the [imperial] kindness was harmoniously [established] in far [regions], distant regions and foreign countries took refuge and submitted to him, all the people carry along his well-balanced instruction, all perform the 'Music of the King of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines,' and his cultivated eulogy has been heard here since long (as) the praise of his great virtues, does he really possess them? Isn't this the Great Tang?' 王日: '嘗聞摩訶至那國有秦王天子, 少而靈鑒, 長而神武. 昔先代喪亂, 率土分崩, 兵戈競起, 劾生荼毒, 而秦王天子早懷遠略, 興大慈悲, 拯濟含識, 平定海內, 風教遐被, 德澤遠洽, 殊方異域, 慕化稱臣. 氓庶荷其亭育, 咸歌《秦王破陣樂》. 聞其雅頌, 于茲久矣. 盛德之譽, 誠有之乎? 大唐國者, 豈此是耶?'

[Xuanzang] answered: 'What is called Zhina is the former name of the kingdom, [but] Great Tang is the name of the kingdom of our [present] ruler. Before he had ascended to the throne, he was called king of Qin. Now that he has already ascended to the throne, he is

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[92] Mohezhina 摩訶至那 (**ma-xa-tɕi^h-na*); Skt. Mahācīna.

[93] I translate Qinwang 秦王 as 'king of Qin' although in a Chinese context and in terms of hierarchy *wang* 王 is normally rendered as 'prince.' In an Indian context, however, *wang* would indeed have been taken as 'king' (Skt. *rājan*) and *tianzi* 天子, 'son of heaven' would have naturally corresponded to Skt. *devaputra*; while or because Harṣa uses the two terms without discerning them, Xuanzang, in his response, feels obliged to explain the difference: *wang* is the title before the ascension to the throne, and *tianzi* the title for the fully enthroned ruler.

> called Son of Heaven. When the fortune of the previous dynasty came to an end, the living beings had no ruler, fighting and turmoil arose and people were cruelly injured. The king of Qin, [endowed with] heaven's grace, opened his mind with compassion, and stimulated by his dignity the calamities of the people were exterminated. The eight directions were in peace, and ten-thousand kingdoms paid tribute to him. He loves and cultivates the four kinds of living beings and venerates the three jewels. He levied taxes and issued amnesty on capital punishment. The national expenditure achieved a surplus; the etiquettes of the people are flawless, [and] their behaviour has undergone a great change [in a way] that is difficult to describe in detail.' 對日: '然. 至那者, 前王之國號; 大唐者, 我君之國稱. 昔未襲位, 謂之秦王, 今已承統, 稱日 "天子." 前代運終, 群生無主, 兵戈亂起, 殘害生靈. 秦王天縱含弘, 心發慈愍, 威風鼓扇, 群凶殄滅, 八方靜謐, 萬國朝貢. 愛育四生, 敬崇三寶, 薄賦斂, 省刑罰, 而國用有餘, 氓俗無宄, 風猷大化, 難以備舉.'
>
> King 'Sun of Virtue' said: 'How magnificent! The people of this land are blessed [and should] be grateful to their sacred ruler!' 戒日王日: '盛矣哉! 彼土尣生, 福感聖主!'[94]

The way in which Xuanzang presents this dialogue in the Record shows significant differences to the equivalent dialogue in his *Biography*[95]:

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[94] *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, 51: 5.894c24–895a18. Cf. Li, trans., *The Great Tang Dynasty Record of the Western Regions*, 145ff.

[95] The whole dialogue is much shorter in Daoxuan's biography of Xuanzang in *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 4.453b15–19:

> [The king] also said: 'There is a dance music with songs [called] "Music of the King of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines" in that kingdom of Zhina. What kind of man is the king of Qin to attract such a hymn?' [Xuan]zang said: 'He is the present son of heaven [who] has ordered the realm. This great saint has turned turmoil into proper governance, has bestowed the six cardinal directions with his favour—that is why such a hymn is [dedicated to him].' The king said: 'Because Heaven has admitted him, he became the ruler of all.' 又日: '彼支那國有《秦王破陣樂》樂歌舞曲. 秦王

The king also asked: 'The master came from the kingdom of Zhina; [your] disciple has heard that there is a dance piece with songs [called] 'Music of the King of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines' in that kingdom, [but I] still do not know who this king of Qin is. [I] also [do not know] what his merits are to attract such praise.' 王又問曰: '師從支那來, 弟子聞彼國有《秦王破陣樂》歌舞之曲, 未知秦王是何人? 復有何功德, 致此稱揚?'

The *dharma*-master told [him]: '[When people] in the land of origin of Xuanzang see a man who cherishes the virtues of a sage, someone who is able to remove violence and wipe out brutality for the sake of the common people, to protect and bring favour to the masses, then [they] sing his praise. Those on top [of society] prepare music for [his] ancestral temples, [and] those below bring [his] praise into the villages. The king of Qin is the present son of heaven of the kingdom of Zhina. Before he ascended the throne, he was enfeoffed with [the status] as king of Qin. At that time, heaven and earth were in chaos,[96] the common people were without a ruler, the fields were covered with human flesh, the river valleys were flooded with human blood, inauspicious stars gathered in the night, poisonous vapours condensed in the morning; the three

何人致此歌詠?' 奘曰: '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.'

[96] *Bandang* 版盪 (var. 板盪): the locus classicus are two poems of bearing the title Ban and Dang in the *Daya* 大雅 chapter of the *Shijing* 詩經 criticizing the immoral and chaotic rule of king Li of the Zhou 周厲王; the term is also used in Taizong's poem 'Ci Xiao Yu' 賜蕭瑀 [Bestow to Xiao Yu], with which he addressed one of his high high official, Xiao Yu 蕭瑀 (575–648), when he, for a second time, made him chancellor:

疾風知勁草	Through a strong wind [one] recognizes the strong grass,
板蕩識誠臣	In chaos [one] knows a sincere servant.
勇夫安識義	How can the brave realize righteousness?
智者必懷仁	The one who knows certainly cherishes benevolence. (*Quan Tangshi* 1.19)

> [regions of] the river[97] suffered from the greed of the big boars,[98] [and] the four oceans were hard-pressed by the poison of the large snakes.[99] As a close relative of the son of heaven, the king [of Qin], following the order of the rules of heaven, raised the weapons and summoned the armies to exterminate and to uproot the cruel enemy and as commander of the arms cleansed ocean and the counties,[100] brought peace to the realm again and let shine once more the three luminaries. The six cardinal directions cherished [his] favours, and that is why there is this hymn.' 法師報曰: '玄奘本土見人懷聖賢之德, 能為百姓除兇剪暴, 覆潤群生者, 則歌而詠之. 上備宗廟之樂, 下入閭里之謳. 秦王者, 即支那國今之天子也. 未登皇極之前, 封為秦王. 是時天地版盪, 蒼生無主, 原野積人之肉, 川谷流人之血, 妖星夜聚, 沴氣朝凝, 三河苦封豕之貪, 四海困長蛇之毒. 王以帝子之親, 應天策之命, 奮戎振旅, 撲剪鯨鯢, 杖鉞麾戈, 肅清海縣, 重安宇宙, 再耀三光. 六合懷恩, 故有茲詠.'
>
> The king said: 'Such a man is indeed sent by heaven to be the ruler of all.' 王曰: '如此之人, 乃天所以遣為物主也.'[101]

The dialogue in the Record is clearly designed as what is called in classical rhetoric *captatio benevolentiae* 'catching the benevolence (of the audience, or here: the ruler).' As Peil points out in the context of the western textual tradition, the *speculum regis* 'genre' can indeed be emulated through a panegyrical address to the ruler;[102] one important aspect of this form of panegyric approach, to flatter the ruler by what is called *captatio benevolentiae*, may indeed play an important role—

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97 *Sanhe* 三河 refers to the regions north, east and south of the Yellow River (Huanghe 黃河): Henei 河內, Hedong 河東, He'nan 河南.

98 *Fengshi* 封豕: for greedy and brutal men.

99 *Changshe* 長蛇: metaphorically the same as *fengshi*.

100 *Haixian* 海縣: China.

101 *Da Tang Da Ciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, vol. 50: 5. 247a8–21. The dialogue in *Da Tang gu sanzang Xuanzang fashi xingzhuang* (*T* no. 2052, 50: 217b29ff.) is an abridged version of the Biography.

102 Peil, 'Fürstenspiegel,' 640.

in the sense of a 'therapy of the audience'[103]—in implicitly asking the ruler to live up to the ideal of rulership: 'act the way you were praised for,' and this seems to be implied by the dialogue between Harṣa and the Chinese monk.

What makes the suggestive exhortative message in this passage even stronger is the fact that it sits at the very centre of the whole part of king Harṣa's exemplary actions—the Harṣa-'chapter,' as it were—as a prince (see above) and as a fully enthroned king in terms of state affairs and his support for Buddhism. Furthermore, the actions which Xuanzang highlights as strengths and virtues of his own emperor after the pacification of the realm not only 'mirror' the actions of the Indian king—suppressing the less flattering parts such as, for instance, the incident at the Xuanwu Gate—but also take into account Taizong's own self-perception and ideal of a ruler.

While, in the *Record*, Harṣa knows quite a bit about the achievements of the Chinese emperor, the complete eulogy on Taizong in the *Biography* is presented by Xuanzang himself. Although this makes more sense in terms of the narrative logic—one may ask where the Harṣa of the Record gets his detailed information about the Chinese emperor from and why he still has to ask the monk about more—, the dialogue in the *Record* can be construed more readily as a moral instruction: the reader still has in mind Harṣa's own achievements in pacifying the realm and ascending to the throne when this very Harṣa praises the virtues of the Chinese emperor. Having the Chinese ruler being addressed by another great and competent king is more to the point of the message—'this is how you are known in the world—live up to your fame!'—than putting the complete eulogy into the mouth of a Chinese monk (as in the *Biography*).

An important role for the functioning of the whole dialogue is ascribed to the *Qinwang pozhen yue* 秦王破陣樂 [Music of the King of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines] which is found in all versions of the conversation between Xuanzang and the Indian

103 Wessel, 'Captatio benevolentiae,' 121.

king.[104] According to the Record and the biographies of Xuanzang, it is through this piece of music and dance performance[105] that Taizong's fame has spread to India and that Harṣa has heard of the Chinese ruler, and it is this piece of information which triggers the conversation in the first place. Historically, it is very unlikely that much concrete and specific information about the Mohezhina 摩訶脂那 (Skt. Mahācīna) of the Tang and its ruler had spread to North India before the start of regular diplomatic activities between the Tang court and the Harṣa's court at Kanyākubjā with the first Indian mission in 641.[106] Although the exact chronology of Xuanzang's sojourn and his meeting with Harṣa cannot be established with certainty,[107] it is normally assumed that it was the meeting between Harṣa and Xuanzang which triggered the Indian king to dispatch a mission to the Tang court.[108] It is even more unlikely still

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[104] Elsewhere (Deeg, 'Has Xuanzang really been in Mathurā,' 41ff.), I have called the dialogue 'a fictional utilisation of the Chinese emperor-cult applied by Xuanzang in the framework of Indian culture' and have highlighted the inherent inconsistencies. But at that time I did not make an attempt to explain the structure and purpose of the dialogue.

[105] As Gimm (*Das Yüeh-fu Tsa-lu*, 216) points out, it is not exactly clear what the original form of this piece was until its reshaping in the year 633 as a dance performance with music and songs.

[106] On these missions, see Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 19ff.; and Zhang, *Harṣa and China & Jieri-yanjiu*, 233ff.

[107] Mayer, *Xuanzangs Leben und Werk*, 308, n1103, rightly points out that 'the dates of Xuanzang's vita before 645 are partly not verified.'

[108] *Xin Tangshu* 221A.6237:

> When the Buddhist saint (*futu* 浮屠, literally: a Buddha) had arrived in this kingdom [of Central India], Śīlāditya invited him and said: 'In [your home] kingdom a sage has appeared [who] composed the *Music of the King of Qin Breaking the Battle Lines*; may you tell me what kind of man this is.' Xuanzang roughly told [the king] in simple word about the divine military [power] of Taizong, [how he] had appeased the turmoil and the barbarians of the four [borders] had submitted to the court. The king happily said: 'I will send a mission eastward to his court.' In the fifteenth

that Harṣa really knew about the *Music of the King (Prince) of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines.*[109] The Record, submitted to the throne in the year 646, is the earliest evidence of Harṣa's 'knowledge' about this Chinese piece of dance music, which by then has a history of more than a quarter of a century. This history has to be taken into account when trying to explain why this piece plays such an important role for Xuanzang in a dialogue positioned in a crucial passage in the record.

According to Tang sources, the *Qingwang pozhen yue* originated from Li Shimin's (Taizong's) victory over the rebel Liu Wuzhou 劉武周 (?–622) in the year 620.[110] Almost all relevant historical Tang sources contain relevant information about the piece which I here give in the version of the *Xin Tangshu*:

> The *Dance of the Seven [Military] Virtues*[111] originally was called *Music of the Prince of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines*. When Taizong was prince of Qin and smashed Liu Wuzhou, [soldiers] in the army composed the musical piece *King of Qin's Breaking the Battle-lines*.[112] When [Taizong] ascended the throne,[113] [the piece]

> year [of the era] Zhenguan (641), the self-proclaimed king of Magadha dispatched an envoy with a diplomatic note. 會唐浮屠玄奘至其國, 尸羅逸多召見曰: '而國有聖人出, 作《秦王破陣樂》, 試為我言其為人.' 玄奘粗言太宗神武, 平禍亂, 四夷賓服狀. 王喜, 曰: '我當東面朝之.' 貞觀十五年, 自稱摩伽陀王, 遣使者上書.

The older *Jiu Tangshu* (198.5307) only states that Śīlāditya dispatched a mission in the year Zhenguan 15. Both records in the Tang histories are clearly based on Xuanzang's *Record*.

109 I cannot agree with Zhang (see, e.g., Zhang, *Jieri-yanjiu*, 257ff.) who insists that this piece, the name of which she even reconstructs into Skt. as *Cīna-Rāja-Vijaya-Gītā* (Zhang, *Jieri-yanjiu*, 268ff.), has already made its way to India by the time of the meeting.

110 Gimm, *Das Yüeh-fu Tsa-lu*, 214ff.; Wilhelm & Knetchges, 'T'ang T'ai-tsung's Poetry,' 9ff; Zhang, *Jieri-yanjiu*, 261ff.

111 See below.

112 According to *Tang huiyao* (33.612), Taizong himself says that these orig-

was performed at the [imperial] banquet [and Taizong] said to [his] officials: 'Although [this] glorifies and emulates [our military achievements], is this not different from the way of culture? But [our] achievements result from these [military exploits], it will be added to the repertoire of music to point out that the origin [of our success] is not forgotten.' 七德舞者, 本名 '秦王破陣樂.' 太宗為秦王, 破劉武周, 軍中相與作 '秦王破陣樂曲.' 及即位, 宴會必奏之, 謂侍臣曰: '雖發揚蹈厲, 異乎文容, 然功業由之, 被於樂章, 示不忘本也.'

The Right Vice Director of the Department of State Affairs (*you puye* 右僕射) Feng Deyi 封德彝 (568–627) said: 'Your majesty has suppressed disaster by [your] august military [prowess], [and] to display [this] by music portraits [your] virtues—how can the cultural manner (*wenrong* 文容) be sufficient [for] the Dao?' The emperor was shocked and said: 'Although I have prospered through military achievements, the whole realm is finally pacified through cultural virtues.[114] To say that the way of culture is inferior to the emulation [of military power] is a mistake.' Then[115] he created a plan for the dance, round on the left, square on the right, with twenty-five war-chariots at the front and 125 war-chariots at the rear, interlocked [but] flexible like the 'fish' [formation or] the goose-heron [formation].[116] He ordered Lü Cai 呂才 (606–665) to instruct 128

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inally were popular songs: 世間遂有此歌 ([I was on my military campaign, and then] there were these songs around) (*Jiu Tangshu* 32.1045 has 世間遂有此樂 instead of 世間遂有此歌).

[113] *Tang huiyao* 33 gives the date for this as the third day of the first month of the Zhenguan era (Zhenguan 1.*zheng*.3 =January 25, 627).

[114] *Tang huiyao* (33.612) adds: 文武之道, 各隨其時 (The Way of culture (*wen*) [and the Way] of military force (*wu*) each have their time).

[115] The *Tang huiyao* again specifies the date as the seventh day of the first month of the seventh year of the Zhenguan era (Zhenguan 7.*zheng*.7 = February 20, 633). It also states that the first performance was eight days later (Zhenguan 7.*zheng*.15 = February 28, 633).

[116] The two formations (or modes) of battle have their *locus classicus* in the *Zuozhuan* and mostly occur together as a topical expression relating to battle formations. The fish formation has the chariots in front and the infantry behind,

musical performers[117] in this plan [who] protected [themselves] with silver shields and yielded halberds while dancing; [there were] three changing [units] with four battle lines for each changing [unit] so that it looked like an advance and retreat of the stabbing and hacking [of the weapons], [all] in harmony with the songs, [and this] was called *Music of the Prince of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines*. 右僕射封德彝日: '陛下以聖武戡難, 陳樂象德, 文容豈足道也!' 帝矍然日: '朕雖以武功興, 終以文德綏海內, 謂文容不如蹈厲, 斯過矣.' 乃製舞圖, 左圓右方, 先偏後伍, 交錯屈伸, 以象魚麗、鵝鸛. 命呂才以圖教樂工百二十八人, 被銀甲執戟而舞, 凡三變, 每變為四陣, 象擊刺往來, 歌者和日: '秦王破陣樂.'

Afterwards, [the emperor] ordered Wei Zheng 魏徵 (580–643), the supernumerary policy adviser (*yuanwai sanji changshi* 員外散騎常侍) Chu Liang 褚亮 (560–647), the supernumerary policy adviser Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–638) and the grand secretary of right of the crown-prince (*taizi you shuzi* 太子右庶子) Li Baiyao 李百藥 (564–647) to compose another text for the songs which was called *Dance of the Seven Virtues*. When the dance was ready, the spectators all wrung their wrists and jumped in excitement and presented a toast for long life [while] the officials wished 'ten thousand years' [to the emperor], and the [different groups of] barbarians at court invited each after to dance. The chamberlain for ceremonials (*taichangqing* 太常卿) Xiao Yu 蕭瑀 (575–648) said: 'Music can [only] beautifully display the [outer] appearance of deep virtue, but there are still parts which are not fully shown. Your majesty has broken Liu Wuzhou, [but also] Xue Ju 薛舉 (?–618), Dou Jiande 竇建德 (573–621), Wang Shichong 王世充 (567–621),[118] may you [make a] plan so that [everybody] knows [about these victories as well].' 後令魏徵與員外

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while the goose and crane formation refers to the spreading and retreating of the battle lines, spreading and folding like wings.

117 *Yuegong* 樂工: here this rather means dancers than musicians in the stricter sense. It is difficult to make sense of the number 128, but it is exactly the double of the 64 performers used for the *Jiugong wu* a couple of months before.

118 For an overview of these military campaigns see Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, 162ff.

散騎常侍褚亮、員外散騎常侍虞世南、太子右庶子李百藥更製歌辭, 名日 '七德舞.' 舞初成, 觀者皆扼腕踊躍, 諸將上壽, 羣臣稱 '萬歲,' 蠻夷在庭者請相率以舞. 太常卿蕭瑀日: '樂所以美盛德形容, 而有所未盡, 陛下破劉武周、薛舉、竇建德、王世充, 願圖其狀以識.'

The emperor said: 'As long as the whole realm is not stable, [we] have to make military expeditions to settle the disorder and the making of music is only to display a gist [of the actions]. If [I] were to fully compose [a piece on those whom I] have captured and the military leaders and officials who once were their servants were to see it, some of them would not bear it—[therefore] I will not do this.' From then on, [this piece] was performed on festive audiences on New Year day and the winter solstice, together with the *Dance of the Nine Merits*. 帝日: '方四海未定, 攻伐以平禍亂, 製樂陳其梗槩而已. 若備寫禽獲, 今將相有嘗為其臣者, 觀之有所不忍, 我不為也.' 自是元日、冬至朝會慶賀, 與九功舞同奏.[119]

This chapter on the history of the *Music of the Prince of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines* reveals Taizong's attitude towards and appreciation of this very complex piece of performance. Until January 627, it obviously had not been performed officially at the court and was only added to the official repertoire of musical pieces after the first official performance in January 627, a couple of months after Taizong's official enthronement in September 626.

The change of title of and the award of an even more official status to the piece in the first month (end of February) of the year 633 also reflects this concern: after having composed the *Qinwang pozhen yue* the emperor had it renamed into *Qide wu* 七德舞 [Dance of the Seven (Military) Virtues]. This happened only two months after another musical piece had been drafted on the basis of lyrics of a song in honour of Taizong's father Gaozu called *Gongcheng qingshan yue* 功成慶善樂 [Music of Winning Merits and Celebrating Goodness], authored by the emperor himself in early November of the year 632; Emperor Taizong then ordered Lü Cai to compose the music

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119 *Xin Tangshu* 21.468.

for this piece, which was performed under the title *Jiugong wu* 九功舞 [Dance of the Nine Merits], representing cultural virtues (*wende* 文德) of governance and rule, and which was to become the complementary dance music to the military *Qingwang pozhen yue*, renamed *Qide wu*.[120]

As Denis Twitchett (1925–2006) observes, the two terms *jiugong* and *qide* used in the titles of the most important official pieces of musical performance during Taizong's rule 'held great importance for T'ai-tsung, in his perception of legitimizing imperial authority.'[121] The nine merits refer back to the *Plan of the Great Yu* (*Dayu mo* 大禹謨) of the Shangshu 尚書 [Classic of Documents], where they are divided into two groups, the 'six stores (or treasuries)' (*liufu* 六府: water, fire, gold, wood, soil and grain), and the 'three matters (of dealing with the people)' (*sanshi* 三事: rectifying virtues, facilitating goods and esteem for life) as the basis of good governance and rule.[122] The seven virtues have their *locus classicus* in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 [The

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[120] Gimm, *Das Yüeh-fu Tsa-lu*, 119; Wilhelm & Knechtges, 'T'ang T'ai-tsung's Poetry,' 10ff.

[121] Twitchett, 'How to be an emperor,' 89n436.

[122] The original suggests that the nine merits should be praised by songs (Legge, *The Chinese Classics, Vol. III, Part I*, 55ff):

> Yu said: 'Oh, the ruler may ponder [about this]! Virtue makes good governance, and governance consists in nurturing the people. Water, fire, gold, wood, soil and grain should be cultivated; rectifying virtue, facilitating goods, favouring life should be harmonized. [These] nine merits create order, and the order of [these] nine [merits] should be made into songs. Correct them by using praise, regulate them by using force and encourage them by songs so that they may not decline.' 禹日: '於!帝念哉!德惟善政, 政在養民. 水、火、金、木、土、穀惟修; 正德、利用、厚生惟和. 九功惟敘, 九敘惟歌. 刑之用休, 董之用威, 勤之以歌俾勿懷.'
>
> The ruler said: 'Oh! The earth is levelled and heaven is complete, the six stores and the three matters are fully regulated, will be beneficial for myriads of generations to come—and this is your merit.' 帝日: '俞! 地平天成, 六府三事充治, 萬世永賴, 時乃功.'

Zuo Tradition]: 1. 'ending violence' (*jinbao* 禁暴), 2. 'withdrawing troops' (*jibing* 戢兵), 3. 'preserving the state' (*baoda* 保大), 4. 'establishing merit' (*dinggong* 定功), 5. 'securing the people' (*anmin* 安民), 6. 'harmonizing the populace' (*hezhong* 和眾), and 7. 'making plentiful material wealth' (*fengcai* 豐財).[123] As can be seen, these virtues are quite different from what one usually associates with military virtues like courage, fighting skills, strategic knowledge; rather, they are 'resultative,' i.e. addressing the goals of military action and the transition to civil stability. To rename the music piece in this way[124] shifts its focus from the sanctioned violence of war (*wu*) to the sphere of culture (*wen*).

A conclusion from the story about the origin of the piece (or the two pieces, if the *Jiugong wu* is included), is that Taizong obviously was very aware of and concerned about the balance between his fame as a military leader and his reputation as a successful ruling emperor: the two concepts of *wu* 武 and *wen* 文 are clearly addressed in the emperor's response to Feng Deyi, but also in his declining of Xiao Yu's suggestion to produce a more comprehensive piece (or several pieces) celebrating his other military successes as a prince. Taizong

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[123] *Zuozhuan*, Xuangong 宣公 12, Legge, trans., *The Chinese Classics, Vol. V*, 320; Durrant, Li & Schaberg, *Zuo Tradition,* 660ff; Wilhelm & Knetchges, 'T'ang T'ai-tsung's Poems,' 9ff; Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 194, n97 & 98. I am using Chen's translations of the terms.

[124] One wonders how much this change of name was influenced by some of Taizong's advisers, like Wei Zheng, who tried to atone the military inclinations of their ruler. The attempt of 'demilitarizing' most aspects around this piece is also reflected in the anecdote in *Zizhi tongjian* 194.6101 on the occasion of the first performance of the renamed piece in 633:

> Wei Zheng wanted the emperor to cease military activities and practice culture [instead], and every time when they attended a banquet and saw the *Dance of the Seven Virtues* [he wanted the emperor] to bow his head and not look [at the performance, but when they] saw the *Dance of the Nine Merits* [he wanted him] to watch it attentively. 魏徵欲上偃武修文. 每侍宴, 見《七德舞》輒俯首不視; 見《九功舞》則諦觀之.

See also Twitchett, 'How to be an emperor,' 89, n436.

also addresses the importance of a balance between these two basic principles of rule in his *Golden Mirror*:

> Confucius said: 'If the influence exerted through civil culture (*wen*) is profound, then those who submit to your military strength (*wu*) will be great; if your virtue (*de*) is spread broadly, then the territories that can be controlled through military might will be wide.'[125] It is not possible to bring peace to the people by awesome military power alone, and impossible to defend the frontiers by civil virtue. When the whale leaves the water, it must relinquish its ability to roam the waves, when the wild goose is stuck in the mud, it will certainly lose its ability to ride through the sky. But if each is allowed to follow his own natural inclinations, then [the prince] will not lose his abilities. 孔子曰: '夫文之所加者深, 則武之所服者大; 德之所施者博, 威之所制者廣.' 不可以威武安民, 不可以文德備塞. 大鯨出水, 必廢遊波之功; 鴻鵠沈泥, 定無淩空之效. 若使各令遂志, 不失其能.[126]

The emperor himself expresses his own concern with the two imperial principles, war (*wu*) and culture (*wen*), in a poem called *Zhiqi jing sanbian* 執契靜三邊 [Grasping the Tallies,[127] the Three Borders Are Calmed], which may have been composed 645 after the failed first Korean expedition. Here again, the emperor directly refers to the

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[125] Twitchett, 'How to Be an Emperor,' 22, n62, states that he could not find this quotation, but it is found, word by word, in the *Hanshu* 23.1091, after an original quotation from *Lunyu* 論語 15.10, 'Weiling gong' 衛靈公:

> Any craftsman who wants to do his job well must first sharpen his tools.' 工欲善其事, 必先利其器 (trans. Slingerland, trans., *Analects*, 178)

Obviously, Taizong took the sentences following the original quotation as being part of it and quoted accordingly.

[126] *Quan Tangwen* 10.127a (translation Twitchett, 'How to Be an Emperor,' 21ff.).

[127] My translation differs from Chen's and takes *qi* 契 in the dual, each of the tallies probably alluding to the two principles *wen* and *wu*, whose balance the poem directly addresses.

seven virtues (*qide* 七德) and the nine merits (*jiugong*):[128]

> I withdraw martial force: the Seven Virtues shine, I exalt cultural power: the Nine Merits are radiant 戢武耀七德, 升文輝九功.[129]

It is certainly not by chance that the last two chapters (11 and 12) of his *Difan* 帝範 [Plan for an Emperor], which Taizong wrote for his son and heir Gaozong in the early year 648, are called 'Yuewu' 悅武 [Taking Delight in Military Prowess], and 'Chongwen' 崇文 [Respecting Culture], and that the resume at the end of the main part of the text is dedicated exactly to these two concepts, the seven virtues representing military prowess, and the nine merits (Twitchett: 'nine perfections') standing for cultural and civic principles:

> These two principles (inquiring into military matters, and honoring learning) are to be applied by the state side by side. When the 'long ethers' (foretelling war) envelop the land, victory and defeat are decided by the weapons' point. When great waves threaten to engulf Heaven, success or oblivion is decided by the outcome of a single engagement. At such times, men will place the highest value on shield and lance, and little value on the schools. But when we reach an era when the seas and border peaks are already enjoying quiet, when the waves and dust of battle have already calmed down, we can cease the awesome exercise of the seven military virtues, and instead display the grand transformation wrought by the nine perfections. At this juncture, we may consider lightly armor and helmet, and give weight to the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of Documents*. Thus, we know that the literary and the military are two paths, neither one of which may be discarded. According to the circumstances of the times either may be suitable or unsuitable; each has its appropriate [conditions of employment]. How can one do away with either the military officer or the Confucian scholar? 斯二者, 遞為國用. 至若長氣亙地, 成敗定

[128] Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 193ff.

[129] Text and translation following Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 194.

> 乎筆端; 巨浪滔天, 興亡決乎一陣. 當此之際, 則貴幹戈而賤庠序. 及乎海嶽既晏, 波塵已清, 偃七德之餘威, 敷九功之大化. 當此之際, 則輕甲胄而重詩書. 是知文武二途, 舍一不可, 與時優劣, 各有其宜. 武士儒人, 焉可廢也.[130]

To return to Xuanzang's *Record*: the actual discourse and the political context in the Tang empire seems to be crucial for an understanding of Xuanzang's intention when he has the Indian king Harṣa refer—with an intentional anachronistic title—to the *Music of the King of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines* and thereby injures a young prince Li Shimin on his height as a military leader rather than the mature emperor who is supposed to rule the empire without venturing into military adventures. The situation on the fifth day of the seventh month of the twentieth year of the Zhenguan era (Zhenguan 20.7.5=August 21, 646), when the *Record* was officially submitted to the throne,[131] was quite different: almost one year before, in October 645, Taizong had to order the retreat of his troops from the Koguryŏ campaign,[132] but the emperor still had not given up his plan of conquering Koguryŏ, still sending smaller expeditionary units to harass the neighboring kingdom and probably already giving first thoughts to the next greater campaign—by land and by sea—in the year 647.[133]

In his letter sent to the emperor together with the submission of the *Record* to the throne, Xuanzang uses the opportunity to present the emperor with a laudation of his achievements, in which the balance between *wu* and *wen* of the leaders of antiquity—in this case the mythological female Nüwa 女媧—is alluded to as including the concept of the seven virtues so closely linked to the piece of performance which, originally, was called 'Music of the Prince of Qin's Breaking the Battle Lines':

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[130] Translation Twitchett, 'How to Be an Emperor,' 88ff.

[131] Li, trans., *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 183.

[132] Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, 195ff.

[133] Ibid, 198.

> I humbly am of the opinion that your majesty has grasped the [right] time and used the opportunity to hold up the balance[134] and establish the [imperial] plan, to carve boats and string the [bow] wood,[135] yielding power in the realm and saving living beings; the turtle legs built up the square chariot (earth) and the ashes of the reed filled the round cover (heaven);[136] clarifying the military classic by the seven virtues and expounding the teaching of culture by the ten ethical rules. 伏惟陛下握紀乘時, 提衡制範. 刳舟絃木, 威天下而濟群生; 鼇足蘆灰, 堙方輿而補圓蓋. 耀武經於七德, 闡文教於十倫.[137]

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[134] *Tiheng* 提衡: together with the reference to the seven virtues (see note 123), this reminds one of Taizong's poem '*Zhiqi jing sanbian*' (see above) where the emperor also uses the almost synonymous term *chiheng* 持衡 for his reign (Chen, *The Poetics of Sovereignty*, 193, n92).

[135] *kuzhou xianmu* 刳舟絃木: because of the explicit mentioning of the boats, I take this as an allusion to the Korean campaign of 645.

[136] This is a reference to *Huainanzi* 淮南子, 'Lanmingxun' 覽冥訓 [Peering Into the Obscure] 9:

> Thereupon, Nü Gua [*sic*] 女媧 fused together stones of five colours with which she patched up the azure sky. She cut off the feet of the turtle with which she set up the Four Pillars. She slaughtered the black dragon in order to save the land of Chi. She piled up reed ashes with which to check the flooding waters. 於是女媧煉五色石以補蒼天, 斷鼇足以立四極. 殺黑龍以濟冀州, 積蘆灰以止淫水 (translation Le Blanc, *Huai-nan tzu*, 159)

Li, trans., *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 183, takes the whole passage as referring to Nüwa, while this is clearly applying the metaphoric of the root-text to Taizong.

[137] *Da Tang Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 6.254b9–12. This is one of the two passages with a reference to the seven military virtues (*qide* 七德). Obviously, the usual complimentary nine merits (*jiugong* 九功) are replaced by the ten moral rules (*shilun* 十倫), and this may not have been done without reason: *shilun* refers to the correct social relations on all levels, also called *shiyi* 十義, 'ten human relationships' (e.g., benevolence of the ruler and loyalty of the subjects). From a Buddhist point of view this was probably more important than the material achievements of the emperor highlighted through the nine merits.

Soon after the first unsuccessful campaign against Koguryŏ / Gaoli 高麗 in 845, Taizong already had his mind on a second campaign. It was particularly Taizong's obsession with the conquest of the North-Korean kingdom of Koguryŏ which was the target of some of his chief advisors' criticism,[138] and it is not impossible that Xuanzang, being well aware of these discourses, took a similar approach. According to the *Biography*, when Xuanzang visited Taizong in Luoyang in the spring of 645 (February 24), when the emperor was in full preparation for his campaign and even tried to persuade Xuanzang to join him, the monk declined his offer by indicating his own uselessness in military affairs and referring to the Buddhist regulation that monks cannot be part of military operations.[139] Although he certainly was aware that he had to tread very carefully, Xuanzang probably was not very supportive of the military action—not very different from his attitude at his last meeting with Taizong in 648 when the emperor, very close to his death, had already started to plan yet another invasion of Koguryŏ. After declining one last time the emperor's offer to defrock and join him as a high official and adviser, Xuanzang uses the opportunity to eulogize the emperor's rule with five rightful aspects (*yi* 義) of Taizong's rule, like creating order and prosperity[140] in the realm, subduing barbarians, and with the last point clearly refers to recent political events and their fatal parallels in the near past, the campaigns against Koguryŏ under the Sui and Taizong himself:

> Kaoli (Koguryŏ) is a foreign petty kingdom which has breached etiquette to its suzerain state. The emperor of the Sui, the master of the whole realm, went on punitive military campaigns three times,[141]

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[138] Wechsler, *Mirror to the Son of Heaven*, 138ff.

[139] *Da Tang Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 6.253b; Li, trans., *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 178ff.

[140] Some of the points raised here, like levying taxes and introducing a mild penal system (*Da Tang Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 6.255b10: 賦遵薄制, 刑用輕典) remind one of the points brought up in the *Record* in the eulogy of Taizong's rule by Xuanzang to king Harṣa.

[141] If a second attack in 647, which was supported by a massive seaborne force

> attacked cities [but] did not [even] damage half a battlement and when looting the countryside[142] did not catch one man; [he] lost six armies in vain and returned in a predicament. Your majesty marched [there only] for a short time with several ten thousand of cavalry [and still] destroyed the strong battle lines during a brief imperial stay, broke the city walls of Liao[143] and Gai[144] [and then] made an orderly return in triumph with three hundred thousand prisoners of war. [Although] the way of deploying the soldiers and directing the generals was not different, the Sui lost this way, [while] the Tang won through it—from [this we] know that this is because of the leader without the need of anybody else; this is the fifth rightful aspect [of your rule]. 高麗小蕃, 失禮上國. 隋帝總天下之師. 三自征罰, 攻城無傷半堞, 野掠不獲一人, 虛喪六軍, 狼狽而反. 陛下暫行, 將數萬騎, 摧駐蹕之強陣, 破遼、蓋之堅城. 振旅凱旋, 俘馘三十萬眾. 用兵御將, 其道不殊. 隋以之亡, 唐以之得. 故知由主, 無假於人, 其義五也.[145]

Despite some exaggeration (number of prisoners of war) and silence about the failure of the Tang armies to take the city of Ansi-sŏng/Ch. Anshi cheng 安市城 and the catastrophic retreat in a blizzard, Xuanzang's 'description' of the campaign[146] is quite well-informed. But what is more important is the way in which he contrasts the disastrous campaign of Sui Yangdi with the one by Taizong. There is, in my view, a clear message contained in Xuanzang's fifth point: 'You

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but not led by the emperor (Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, 198), is included, mentioning the three expeditions of Yangdi here may have the suggestive message to Taizong to give up the third campaign planned for 649 in the sense of: 'two are enough—a third one may lead to the same downfall as in the case of the Sui.'

142 This is in stark contrast to Taizong's relocation of 70,000 people and the ransom and release of 14,000 war prisoners (D'Haesseleer, 'Taizong in Korea,' 4).

143 The city of Ko. Yodong-sŏng/Ch. Liaodong-cheng 遼東城 was actually taken after Kaemok-sŏng.

144 The city of Ko. Kaemok-sŏng/Ch. Gaimu-cheng 蓋木城.

145 *Da Tang Daciensi sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, 50: 6.255b26–c4.

146 D'Haesseleer, 'Taizong in Korea,' 3ff.

were lucky last time, but next time the same may happen to you as to the unfortunate Sui ruler.'

Such an interpretation is not far off the court discourse of the period. As Twitchett has pointed out, the obsession of contemporary officials and historians like Wei Zheng and others to depict a morally declined and militarily unsuccessful Sui-emperor Yangdi may be linked to the fact that 'T'ai-tsung was beginning to show strong signs of following his example, so that Yang-ti was perhaps also being held up as a warning example to him.'[147] In this context, pointing out Yangdi's catastrophic expedition was certainly exhortation enough—with an implied criticism against potential further military campaigns.[148]

To return to the Harṣa-'chapter' in the *Record* and its function and intentionality: The seeking for a balance between *wu*, 'military force,' and *wen*, 'cultivation,' in the contemporary imperial context—in a way represented in the posthumous title of Taizong, Wenwu dasheng da guangxiao huangdi 文武大聖大廣孝皇帝 (Great Holy and Great Pious Emperor)—seems to have influenced Xuanzang's presentation of Harṣa and of his own meeting with the Indian king. While the first half of this 'chapter' is dedicated to *wu*, the military exploits and final success of Harṣa and the king's reference to Taizong's parallel actions by referring to the 'Music,' the second half elaborates on *wen*: Xuanzang explains to the Indian king the cultural achievements of the Chinese emperor and then continues with the religio-cultural activities of Harṣa, his support of Buddhism but also lenience in terms of prosecution.

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[147] Twitchett, 'How to Be an Emperor,' 5.

[148] This seems to have been the understanding of Yancong as well when he compares, in a note (*jian* 箋) following this episode, the successful 'strategy' of Xuanzang with the unsuccessful attempts of Daoan 道安 (312–285) and Daoheng 道恒 (346–417) and Daobiao 道標 (d.u.) to prevent rulers, Fu Jian 苻堅 (338–385) in the first case (*Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 353a16ff.), and Yao Xing 姚興 (366–416) in the second (see *Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2059, 50: 364c2ff.), from going to war: *T* no. 2053: 255c14ff.; Li, trans., *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 192.

Schematically, the Harṣa-'chapter' can be analysed as follows:

1st half: (a). Harṣa's military success / (b). Taizong's military success (*wu* 武);
2nd half: (a). Taizong's cultural achievements / (b). Harṣa's cultural achievement (*wen* 文).

Xuanzang's 'trick' consists in presenting the praise (*laudatio* and *captatio benevolentiae*)—with its implied exhortation—of Taizong in the very centre of the 'chapter,' divided between the Indian king who addresses the military achievements of the emperor and the monk who elaborates on Taizong's cultural virtues; at the same time, Xuanzang still presents Harṣa as the ideal ruler who ascends the throne after a successful military campaign (against Śaśāṅka) and not through a fratricide, and whose cultural activities include the furthering of religion, particularly of Buddhism.

CONCLUSION

The multifaceted *Record* has been read mainly as a source for the study of Indian Buddhism and its history, and not as a Chinese text to be read and interpreted at first in its Chinese historical context. One of these Chinese contextual facets, I have claimed and continue to claim, is the didactic nature of some parts of the text which goes beyond the usual attempt to convey general moral or religious messages; such parts are rather tailored for a specific readership, the Tang court and, particularly and individually, at the emperor Taizong, with the purpose of giving 'beneficial advice' (*hitopadeśa*) in the way an idealized Buddhist *kalyāṇamitra*, a 'spiritual friend' to the ruler, would pursue. The intention is to benefit both sides, the ruler representing the state and the monk representing the *saṅgha*. This agenda dovetails astonishingly well with some of the political discourses at the time, when the most versatile and successful emperor of the Tang dynasty was in the critical final period of his reign.

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe, *et al*., eds.

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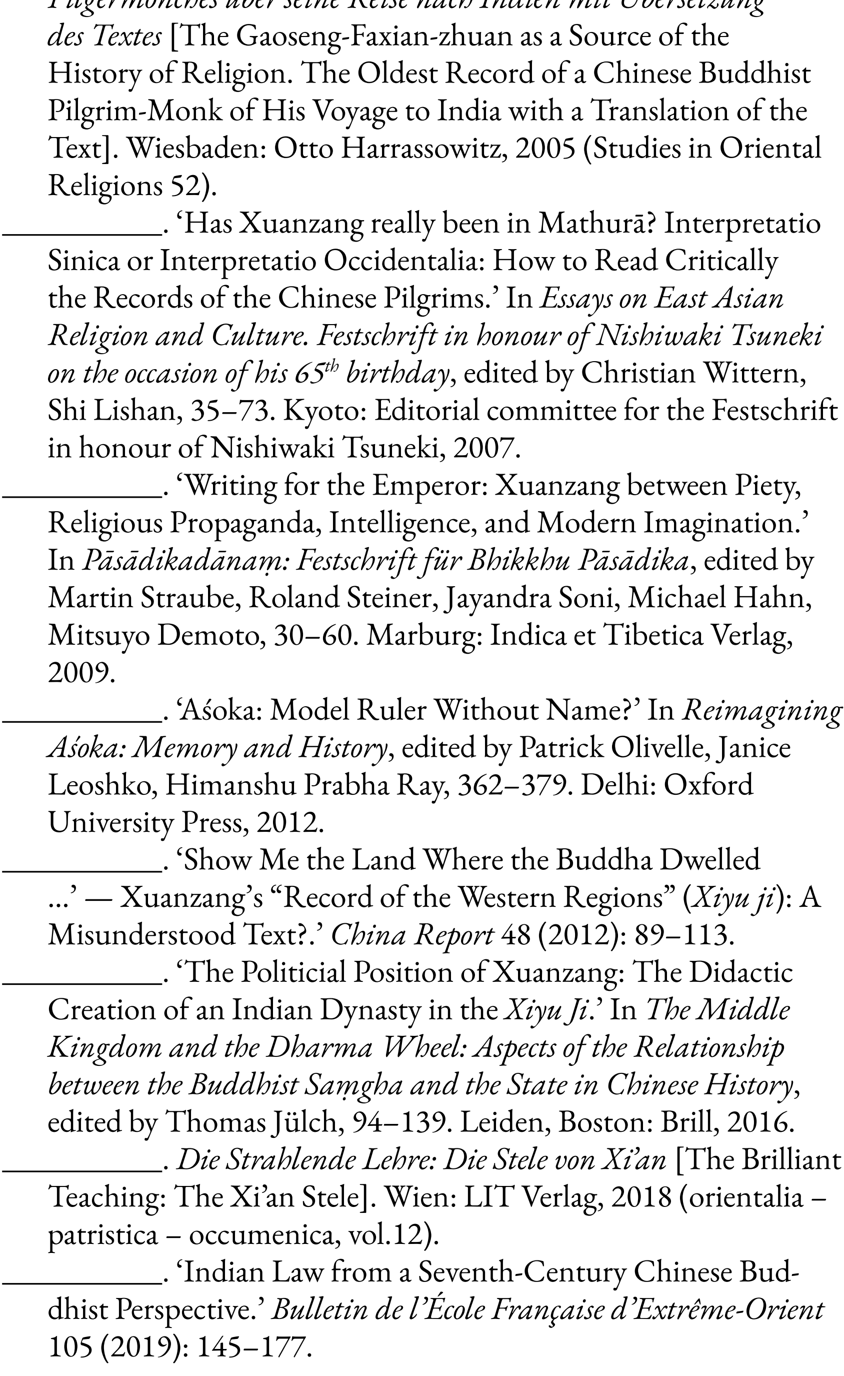

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Chapter Five
Religious Reform under Western Wei/Northern Zhou

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Abstract: In this article I first reassess a common assumption that the Buddhist order was given a free rein by the central government since the late Northern Wei (386–534) period until a ruler of one of its succeeding regional states, Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou (r. 560–578), radically proscribed Buddhism in 574. I focus on an office known as 'siji' 司寂 (the Supervisor of Buddhist clergy) and discuss how the establishment of this office might have allowed the predecessors of Emperor Wu to regain control of the Buddhist order long before Emperor Wu's persecution of Buddhism. This brings me to my next point: the central government of Western Wei/Northern Zhou managed to put the *saṃgha*'s wealth, at least potentially, at their disposal and thereupon might have allowed the *saṃgha* to amass resources under their close watch so as to counterbalance the economic power of the local magnates. I have discussed elsewhere the resources competition between the central government and the local magnates during the Western Wei/Northern Zhou period. I have also proposed to rethink the state-Buddhism economic struggle within the triangle of central government-*saṃgha*-local magnates. In this article I hope to demonstrate that the *saṃgha* was economically strong yet politically weak under a support-cum-control religious policy implemented by Emperor Wu's predecessors. They thus bequeathed Emperor Wu a well-controlled rich *saṃgha* as a reservoir of both human and material resources.

Keywords: Buddhism under Western Wei/Northern Zhou, Supervisor of Buddhist clergy, the triangle of court-*saṃgha*-local magnates, support-cum-control of Buddhism

INTRODUCTION

Research Question

This chapter deals with the religious policy of the Western Wei 西魏/ Northern Zhou 北周 (535–581) ruled by the Yuwen 宇文 family before the 574–578 persecution of Buddhism.[1] On this issue, most scholars follow two assumptions. First, they believe that by the late Northern Wei 北魏 (386–534) period, the imperial government had lost much of its control over the Buddhist order. As a result, Buddhism continued to expand at the expense of the state in Northern Wei's two successor polities, Western Wei/ Northern Zhou and Eastern Wei 東魏/Northern Qi 北齊 (534–577), until Emperor Wu proscribed Buddhism altogether in 574. Note that although Western Wei was replaced by Northern Zhou in 557, the de-facto sovereign power was possessed by the Yuwen lineage from 535 to 581. Therefore, 'Western Wei/Northern Zhou (hereafter Wei-Zhou)' has become a common term in historical research, denoting a single continuous polity under

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[1] Yuwen rulers were of Xianbei 鮮卑 ethnicity. The Xianbei were originally a nomadic people residing in what is today's eastern Mongolia, Inner Mongolia, and Northeast China. The Yuwen were the largest of the eastern Xianbei clans that came from the central part of the present day Liaoning province and eastward. A descendant of the Yuwen lineage, Yuwen Tai 宇文泰 (507–556), established the Western Wei/Northern Zhou state in Chang'an in the sixth century. For a detailed discussion of the early history of the Yuwen lineage, see Pearce, *Yü-Wen Regime*, 2–34.

Emperor Wu ordered a proscription of both Buddhism and Daoism in 574 (*Zhoushu* 5.85), and the proscription was apparently not lifted until 579, i.e., the first year following Emperor Wu's death. It would thus be more accurate to reckon the ending year of the persecution to be 578 rather than 577 as it is usually put; cf. Li, 'Sanguo Liangjin Nanbeichao,' 771.' Chen, 'Bodhisattva-monks,' 10-11 suggests that Emperor Wu's prohibitive measures were strictly observed until his successor appointed Bodhisattva monks sometime between October sixth and November fourth of 579.

the house of Yuwen. Similarly, 'Eastern Wei/Northern Qi (hereafter Wei-Qi)' denotes a single polity under the Gao 高 lineage that lasted from 534 to 577. Both designations will be constantly used in this chapter. Second, scholars speak of the excessive veneration of the *saṃgha* by Emperor Wu's predecessors, presuming that the Buddhist order was given a free rein during their rule.[2]

Xie Chongguang 謝重光, as far as I know, is the only scholar who has clearly pointed out that the central government of Wei-Zhou since the time of Yuwen Tai had reasserted its authority over the religious affairs.[3] Shigeo Kamata 鐮田茂雄 (1927–2001) and Li Gang also speak of Western Wei's religious reform but make no mention of how it might have influenced the state-Buddhism relation under Wei-Zhou.[4] Xie's study on the Buddhist monk officials in pre-Tang China reveals that whereas there was a powerful and highly autonomous Buddhist church under Wei-Qi in the east, the *saṃgha* in Wei-Zhou in the west was largely weakened and regulated by the Yuwen government. Xie's research reminds us that Buddhism may have followed two very different trajectories in these two states, contrary to a widely held view that what happened in the east must also have taken place in the west.[5]

I shall expand on Xie's analysis. I seek to demonstrate that by laying hands on religious affairs, Yuwen rulers of Wei-Zhou maintained Buddhism in an inexpensive fashion—i.e., they probably made the Buddhist establishment in large part self-sufficient instead of financing

[2] See, for example, Wang, *Beizhou liudian*, 213; Li, 'State Religious Policy,' 266; Ren, *Zhongguo fojiao shi*, 64–65.

[3] Xie, *Zhonggu fojiao sengguan*, 81–86.

[4] Li, 'State Religious Policy,' 265-69; Kamata, *Zhongguo Fojiao*, 518–19.

[5] This view was probably first proposed by Wang Zhongluo and then adopted by many scholars. After depicting the *saṃgha*'s staggering wealth in Wei-Qi, Wang states: 'This was the situation to the east of the Mountains (i.e., in Northern Qi), so to the West of the Passes (the Wei River valley, Yuwen's territory) it was probably not different (Wang, *Beizhou liudian*, 210: 山東如此，關西也未必有異也). See also Shi, 'Three Persecutions of Buddhism,' 115 and Li, 'State Religious Policy,' 267.

it from the state treasury. And more importantly, it is very plausible that the Yuwen rulers expediently allowed the *saṃgha* to grow rich and strong under the state supervision so as to balance the local magnates' economic power and reclaim the *saṃgha*'s resources when the situation would require it. If these observations can be substantiated, we can learn two things: First, Emperor Wu's predecessors bequeathed him a vast fortune deposited in the monasteries, which functioned as a sort of bank where property and manpower were accumulated. Second, Emperor Wu was not confronted with a politically powerful Buddhist institution, meaning that he did not face the same difficulty in dealing with the Buddhist clergy as faced by other contemporaneous regimes.[6]

One should note that the focus of this study is the political power of the Buddhist order under Wei-Zhou, which was greatly limited in comparison to such power under Northern Wei and Wei-Qi. However, this is not to say that the *saṃgha* under Wei-Zhou was totally powerless when confronted with government constraints on

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[6] The power of the *saṃgha* was strongly felt in both the Southern Chen 陳 (557–589) and Wei-Qi. Regarding the latter, I shall go details later in this chapter. Here, we can look at an example of the *saṃgha*'s power in Southern Chen. In 577, Emperor Xuan of Southern Chen 陳宣帝 (r. 569–582) sought to draft the *saṃgha* to perform certain military services due to the continuing warfare with Northern Zhou along the Huai 淮 and Fei 肥 Rivers (in modern Henan and Anhui) (*Zizhi tongjian* 173.5384–86). Monks rejected the emperor's request, enquiring how the emperor, knowing the transgression committed by Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou in purging Buddhism, would still choose to transform the sublime field of the *saṃgha* into a vile and vulgar pool of corvée labor. It is reported that Emperor Xuan then bitterly regretted ever making this request of the *saṃgha* and ordered those who proposed or supported the idea of requiring the monks to do labor services be heavily punished (*Fozu tongji*, *T* no. 2035, 49: 37.353a17–24). It is very likely that instead of being convinced by the Buddhist ideology of the sublime realm of the monkhood, the emperor simply had no power to confront the monks. The throne in the south was too weak to wield the full of its authority over the *saṃgha*. This for sure allowed the *saṃgha* to enjoy and abuse its privileges.

them. Instead, before and during the persecution, not a few eminent monks were granted an audience with Emperor Wu, debating with him whether it was right to purge Buddhism.[7] Although these monks failed to dissuade the emperor from outlawing Buddhism, the fact that they were able to oppose the emperor's decision without being executed or punished was indicative of their power not only within the *saṃgha* but in their relations with the imperial authority. The ideological debates between Emperor Wu and the eminent monks and how those monks were treated by the court afterwards will not be touched upon here but definitely deserve serious study.

In addition, as a response to the depredations of the state, prominent monks under Northern Zhou also deployed some extreme protest activities such as self-immolation and self-disembowelment. This topic has been systematically studied by James Benn, who believes that by the late sixth century Buddhist monks had appeared confident of using their body to bargain over the safety of the *saṃgha* and the restoration of Buddhism.[8] Yet what is also pointed out by Benn is that the biographies of the self-immolators during the Northern Zhou persecution should not be read as entirely ingenuous accounts.[9] These texts may in fact represent a kind of moral blackmail used by the compiler, Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667), to remind his ruler, Emperor Tang Taizong 唐太宗 (r. 626–649) about the dire consequence of suppressing the *saṃgha*. For the current discussion, we just need to bear in mind that despite the eminent monks' efforts to defend Buddhism, the persecution was perpetuated until Emperor Wu's death. And this by itself can testify to the political weakness of the *saṃgha* as a whole under Wei-Zhou.

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[7] These debates are recorded only in the Buddhist texts. See, e.g., *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 24.279b15–21.

[8] Benn, *Burning for the Buddha*, esp. 79–81.

[9] Ibid, 86–87.

Economic Ebbs and Flows of the Wei-Zhou Regime

In order to understand the economic rationale behind Yuwen rulers' support-cum-control of Buddhism, especially to understand how a rich *saṃgha* might have functioned to help the Yuwen central government to compete for the human and material resources with the local magnates, we shall have an overview of Wei-Zhou's economic situation from 535 to 578. From 535 to 547, Western Wei was in acute financial difficulty and at an absolute competitive disadvantage in the confrontation with Eastern Wei. The constant warfare hollowed out state revenues and Yuwen Tai could hardly feed his army when the great famine struck.[10] During the following nine years (547–556), far-reaching reforms in economy, military, bureaucracy, and management of religion, carried out by Yuwen Tai and his courtiers, allowed Western Wei to address the fiscal crisis, strengthen the army and exert a firmer central control over the local magnates. These reforms laid the foundation for the establishment of Northern Zhou in 557.[11] It is worth briefly mentioning here that the reform of the Buddhist institution we shall examine in detail also took place in this period as

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[10] In my MA thesis (Tan, *Reappraising the Economic Rationale behind the Northern Zhou Persecution of Buddhism*), I devoted a section to the discussion of the fiscal crisis of Wei-Zhou from 535 to 547. Here I offer a few examples. *Zhoushu* (34.595) records that in 548, Gao Cheng 高澄 (521–549) of Eastern Wei sought to convince a captured Western Wei officer, Pei Kuan 裴寬 (fl. 535–568), that Yuwen must eventually be defeated, because the economy of the 'poor and cramped' Guanzhong region was not extensive enough to support a strong regime. The military disparity between the Eastern and Western Wei was also indicative of their different economic situation. The majority of the former Central Army of the Northern Wei, the Xianbei soldiers, migrated to the capital of Eastern Wei, Ye 鄴, whereas less than 10, 000 of them went to the west (*Suishu* 24.675). Upon the split of Northern Wei in 535, Eastern Wei seemed to be an obvious choice for the fighting men, since Gao Huan 高歡 (496–547) was at the time dominating Hebei, Shanxi, and Henan, the regions which were agriculturally productive and were most populous throughout the sixth century China. Eastern Wei could therefore offer richer rewards and better livelihood.

an integral part of the bureaucracy Reform which gave the Yuwen government stronger control over the Buddhist order.

The ensuing fifteen years from 557 to 572 were the prolonged period of Yuwen Hu's political tutelage. Yuwen Hu tried to preserve Yuwen family's controlling position among Wei-Zhou's founding generation of elites and consolidate the achievements of the last decade of Western Wei.[12] However, his regency became in due time associated with negative phenomena, such as political corruption and excessive construction works, which led to the loss of regular taxpayers.[13] When Emperor Wu assassinated Yuwen Hu and assumed full power in 572, Wei-Zhou's economic situation had been greatly improved thanks to the rule of his predecessors. But Emperor Wu's ambition to forge his personal political base and build his armies into a force capable of defeating Northern Qi forced him to look for effectives way to

[11] These reforms can be summarized in three points: First, establishing the state-owned agricultural colonies (*tuntian* 屯田) (*Zhoushu* 35.624; cf. Pearce, *Yü-Wen Regime*, 477). Second, reorganizing the central armies in ca. 550. This military make-up is widely known as the establishment of Twenty-four Armies (*ershisi jun* 二十四軍), or the *fubing* system 府兵制 (territory militias) (Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, 108–110). Third reorganizing the officialdom according to the model associated with the *Zhouli* 周禮 [Zhou Rites] text, the so-called *Zhouguan* Reform 周官改制. For details, see Pearce, *Yü-Wen Regime*, 468–474; cf. Liu, 'Beichao shizu de xingshuai,' 319.

[12] Dien, *Biography of Yü-wen Hu*, 11–15; Pearce, *Yü-Wen Regime*, 674–675.

[13] Economically speaking, opinions are divided as to whether the regime was weakened during Yuwen Hu's time. On the one hand, we read that several decrees were issued during his regency to release criminals, captives and slaves, who would very likely be returned to the regular taxpayer's roll (*Zhoushu* 4.54). On the other hand, both *Tongdian* (7.157) and *Zhoushu* (11.175–77) record the desperate economic situation in the aftermath of Yuwen Hu's reign due to the peasants' flee to the magnates' protection. However, it should be noted that since Yuwen Hu was eventually ambushed by his third puppet, Emperor Wu, his image was smeared forever (Dien, *Biography of Yü-wen Hu*, 35–38). It's thus very likely that *Zhoushu* exaggerated Yuwen Hu's responsibility of Wei-Zhou's economic calamity.

quickly increase the state's revenue and manpower.[14] Frequent natural disasters hitting Guanzhong 關中 in Jiande 建德 era (572–577) also created the urgent need for the augmentation of the food storage.[15]

Under such circumstances, Emperor Wu did not choose to directly assault the local magnates by claiming their wealth. These magnate families under Yuwen had since the time of Northern Wei or even as early as the Latter Han, accumulated substantial landed estates and possessed large number of dependents who were either used as agricultural laborers or private soldiers.[16] The most prominent among the local were largely coopted by the Yuwen regime, who assigned these magnates positions of authority and allowed their economic power to further expand or at least to prosper without fears of the government's assault. There were also less prominent yet still very wealthy local magnates who spelled trouble for the central regime and were suppressed. Being aligned with Yuwen or not, economically speaking, these local magnate families competed with the central

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[14] In the second year of Jiande (573), several months before the proscription of Buddhism, Emperor Wu introduced a major change into the Wei-Zhou military system, which enticed a large number of peasants into the central armies (*Suishu* 24.680). The persecution of Buddhism launched several months after this military reform must have made up for a major peasant-soldier shift by returning immense amount of monastic population into the regular register.

[15] In the eighth lunar month of 573, there was a great plague of locusts in Guanzhong (*Zhoushu* 5.82). In the first lunar month of 574, the court proclaimed: 'the yearly grains did not ripe in the past years, many of people are impoverished. We order that whoever stores millet and wheat—be it official, private person, clergy or laymen, to keep [grains] by 'the mouth' and sell the extra [to the government]' (*Zhoushu* 5.83). Earthquakes occurred in Liangzhou annually after 574 (*Zhoushu* 5.86). In 575, people starved in two provinces, Qi 岐 and Ning 寧, and the state opened granaries to relieve the victims. In 576, the capital area suffered from drought (*Zhoushu* 6.95). These events to be sure aggravated the financial problems of Northern Zhou.

[16] Records of the economic and military power of the local magnates in the Wei-Zhou are numerous, see, for examples, *Beishi* 49.1808, 64.2274; *Suishu* 41.1185; *Zhoushu* 35.626, 44.793.

regime for human and material resources. However, it was not politically feasible to reallocate their wealth, especially due to the fact the Wei-Zhou seems to be unable to maintain an effective population census and land registration system.[17] As such, a workable and effective solution to the financial problems facing Northern Zhou's imperial cause was needed. Appropriating the *saṃgha*'s resources, in this situation, proved to be a viable option for Emperor Wu. This is mainly because the *saṃgha* in Wei-Zhou was in a politically vulnerable position despite the enormous resources they possessed. These two characteristics of the *saṃgha* under Yuwen, as I shall demonstrate in the succeeding discussion, made them an ideal object of the government's plunder.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SUPERVISOR OF THE BUDDHIST CLERGY (*SIJI*)

It is a widely held assumption that since the end of Zhengguang 正光 era (520–525), the imperial government in North China failed to rein in Buddhism, which rapidly evolved into a major strain on the state economy. Jacques Gernet (1921–2018), among others, comments that it was mainly the heavy imperial patronage that led to a sharp rise in monks and monasteries.[18] However, we should bear in mind that while it was possible for Wei-Qi, which inherited the most productive and populous regions of the Northern Wei, to lavishly patronize Buddhism, it was not financially feasible for Wei-Zhou to invest much in Buddhist establishment. In Northern Qi we have a statement by

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[17] The only mention of the number of the taxpayers in Northern Zhou is in *Tongdian* (7.147), saying there were 3,590,000 households and 9,000,000 individuals in Daxiang 大象 era (579–580). Wang, *Sui Tang shi lungao*, 30–31 has taken pains to demonstrate *Tongdian*'s figure is misleading, and is not drawn from any primary sources like the administrative survey and population census. He estimates that there were around 1,400,000 households in the Yuwen territories before Zhou's conquest of Qi.

[18] Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese society*, 7.

Emperor Wenxuan 文宣帝 (r. 550–559; i.e., Gao Yang 高洋 [526–559]): 'The state reserves should now be divided into three parts: one for the state, one for our [imperial] own use, and one for the Three Jewels [i.e. the Buddha, the Dharma and the *saṃgha*]' (今以國儲分為三分: 謂供國、自用、及以三寶).[19] Such instances of lavish imperial patronage of Buddhism are absent from the Wei-Zhou records. This latter regime had too limited resources to share them with the monastic order.

So I shall investigate a different mode of State-Buddhism relation in Wei-Zhou. Xie Chongguang's research shows that prior to Emperor Wu, the Yuwen rulers introduced a significant reform of the religious institution. This reform occurred between 544 and 556, i.e., during the period of extensive reforms in all walks of life, aiming to strengthen the Yuwen family's control of the army, economy, and bureaucracy.[20] As part of the administrative reforms (the so-called '*Zhouguan* Reforms'), two civil offices in charge of religious affairs were set up. A record in *Tang liudian* 唐六典 [Six Canons of Tang, comp. 738], quoted also by *Tongdian* 通典 [Encyclopedic History of the Institutions of Government, comp. 801], reads:

> Later Zhou established the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy (*siji* 司寂) with the rank as senior and ordinary serviceman (上士、中士) to manage the affairs of the Dharma gate (法門之政). Also established was the Supervisor of the Daoist Clergy (*sixuan* 司玄) with rank as senior and junior serviceman (中士、下士) to manage the affairs of the Daoist gate (道門之政). 後周置司寂上士、中士, 掌法門之政. 又置司玄中士、下士, 掌道門之政.[21]

'The affairs of the Dharma gate' as Xie Chongguang and Shigeo Kamata observe, probably covered all religious affairs except for the Dharma teaching: the ordination, clergy registration, construction

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[19] *Xu gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 16.554b25–26.

[20] *Zhoushu* 19.313, 35.624; *Zizhi tongjian* 165.5098, 5117–23; cf. Pearce, *Yü-Wen Regime*, 477–479.

[21] *Tongdian* 25.704; cf. Wang, *Beizhou liudian*, 207.

work, the collection and distribution of the *saṃgha* grain, and other monastic economic activities.[22] Therefore, the establishment of the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy indicated the Yuwen rulers' intent to monitor religious affairs through the civil administration system. Unfortunately, however, we have little evidence of how exactly this Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy managed the affairs of the Dharma gate. This is perhaps the reason why this office has not received much scholarly attention. My goal is to understand this office, which, I believe is essential for grasping Wei-Zhou's control of religious activities. Furthermore, since the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy was in all likelihood on duty until the laicization was ordered in 574, paying due attention to this office may allow us to contextualize Emperor Wu's proscription of Buddhism as part of Wei-Zhou's religious policies rather than as a stand-alone event. But before analyzing the significance of this office, let us briefly understand the main aspects of the religious affairs of the Buddhist order. I focus on two of them: ordination and the *saṃgha* households.

AFFAIRS OF THE DHARMA GATE

Ordination

Buddhist ordination is an act or ceremony of making a person a member of Buddhist clergy. Many scholars share the view that the ordination would free an individual from his or her responsibilities as a layman, meaning that monks and nuns were granted tax immunity. However, the most recent study on this issue by Antonello Palumbo repeatedly reminds us that the tax exemptions for the *saṃgha* should not be taken for granted.[23] Besides, what is important for our discussion is that since receiving ordination meant the removal of one's name from the civil registers, the government normally would not allow free rein to this matter. In Northern Wei, for example, the Tuoba rulers issued

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[22] Xie, *Zhonggu fojiao sengguan*, 85; cf. Kamata, *Zhongguo fojiao*, 518–19.

[23] Palumbo, 'Exemption not Granted,' 122–31.

the ordination laws in 453, 492 and 517, which restricted both the size and status of the population allowed to join the Buddhist clergy. The 517 ordination law also mandated that the provincial governor, state-appointed monk officials (Chief Buddhist Deacon [*duweinuo* 都維那]) and the secular officeholders at all the levels, be careful in selecting the candidates to be ordained. If the wrong person was selected, all the officials mentioned above would be heavily punished.[24]

No ordination law has been discovered from the Wei-Zhou period, and it is unlikely that the Wei-Zhou rulers strictly observed the Northern Wei law, which in any case was not respected from ca. 517 on,[25] i.e., since the time when Northern Wei started to decay. Nonetheless, like in the Northern Wei, the central government of Wei-Zhou had directly intervened in the Buddhist ordination. Falin 法琳 (572–640) records in his *Bianzheng lun* 辯正論 [Treatise on Determining Orthodoxy; comp. 626] that in 545, Zhou Taizu 周太祖 (Yuwen Tai) ordained 1,000 people as Buddhist priests.[26] In the early Northern Zhou period (ca. 557–560), the state yearly performed the ordination on a grandiose scale. In 560, Emperor Wu ordained 1800 people as monks and nuns.[27] These suggest that the state-directed Buddhist ordination persisted well into Emperor Wu's nominal rein in 560s, and perhaps continued until the end of Yuwen Hu's regency in 572. I hope to interpret the Yuwen rulers' enthusiasm for making their subjects Buddhist clergypersons as the discussion advances in this chapter.

The *Saṃgha* Households

By far the most detailed study on the establishment of the *saṃgha* households was conducted by Tsukamoto Zenryū 塚本善隆 (1898–1980). I rely on his research to understand the background for and the characteristic of these households. Then I go on to explore the parallels

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24 *Weishu* 114.3042–43.

25 *Weishu* 114.3043.

26 *Bianzheng lun*, *T* no. 2110, vol. 52: 3. 508b1.

27 Ibid, 508b17–18.

between the households of the agricultural colonies (*tuntian hu* 屯田戶) and the *saṃgha* households. This discussion will help illustrate how the agricultural activity organized by the Buddhist order not only contributed to the revival of Buddhism in the fifth and sixth centuries but also served the state's interests. According to Tsukamoto, the *saṃgha* households were established in ca. 476 when monk Tanyao 曇曜 (fl. ca. 435–490) petitioned Emperor Xiaowen 孝文帝 (r. 471–499) to designate 'the households of Pacified Qi' (*Pingqi hu* 平齊戶)[28] as the *saṃgha* households (*sengqi hu* 僧祇戶). These households were required to furnish sixty *hu* 斛 (*shi* 石) of grain each year to the Bureau of Buddhist Order (*sengcao* 僧曹); the grain they produced became the *saṃgha* millet (*sengqi su* 僧祇粟), which was to be distributed to the starving in years of dearth.

A very important background to the establishment of the *saṃgha* households was that during the previous decade of 476 (i.e., 466–476), there was widespread famine in the Northern Wei territories.[29] Mobilizing people for agriculture and storing food for famine relief were thus high on the Northern Wei rulers' agenda. Tanyao's petition apparently served this agenda, given that people on the roll of the *saṃgha* households were to farm to the full extent so as to pay sixty *hu* of grain, nearly half of their yields. 'Shilao zhi' 釋老志 [Treaties on

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[28] Tsukamoto, 'Sengqihu fotuhu,' 262–69. In 469, Emperor Xiaowen of Northern Wei conquered Qing 青 and Qi 齊 from Southern Song (*Weishu* 43.977). *Weishu* (24.630) records that 'Several hundred aristocratic families of these Qing and Qi who defended the city together with Cui Daogu were then moved to Sanggan 桑乾 (an area in the vicinity of Pingcheng, then the capital of Northern Wei)' (乃徙青齊士望共道固守城者數百家於桑乾). The Northern Wei government soon established there 'Pacified Qi' commentary 平齊郡 (*Weishu* 24.630). The aristocratic families were registered as 'Pacified Qi' households 平齊戶 (*Weishu* 43.966, 971, 972, 976–77). The ordinary people of Qing and Qi, however, were reduced to the position of slaves (*Weishu* 50.1119).

[29] Evidence of the continuous famine within the Northern Wei's territory between 466–476 is recorded in *Weishu*. See *Weishu* 6.127, 129, 130; cf. Tsukamoto, 'Sengqihu fotuhu,' 264–65.

Buddhism and Daoism, the 114th and last chapter of *Weishu*] reports that Emperor Xiaowen of Northern Wei granted Tanyao's petition and thenceforth, the *saṃgha* households and millet were to be found throughout the prefectures and garrisons of Northern Wei.[30] In what follows I shall examine why this activity aiming to bring relief to the chronic famine was entrusted to the Buddhist order rather than to the civil government.

On this issue, both Tsukamoto and Gernet hint at the local government's incapability of managing famine relief and quelling the resultant peasant rebellions. In contrast, the Buddhist order demonstrated capacity to do these jobs. On the one hand, the Buddhist order had amassed riches to be used for the clearing of new lands and the purchase of farming equipment; should the government have paid for these, it would add to its onerous fiscal burden. On the other hand, holding the belief that serving the *saṃgha* meant gaining religious merit, the peasants would show greater enthusiasm for the agricultural activity when working under the Buddhist institution. These are two main reasons why the Buddhist institution was ideal for the job of mobilizing people to work the land.. The currently available documents do not discuss the situation of the *saṃgha* households in the Wei-Zhou period. But not a few scholars think these households existed until the eve of the persecution.[31] What remains to be discussed is who actually took charge of the *saṃgha* households and the *saṃgha* grains: the civil administration or the Buddhist institution? This question will be addressed after discussing the power of the Buddhist institution under Zhou and Qi respectively.

There are notable parallels between the *saṃgha* households and the agricultural colonists. First, both were instituted by the court and worked under the state supervision, meaning that the local government had no regulatory authority over them. The state institutions

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[30] *Weishu* 114.3037. For the study of 'Shilao zhi,' see Hurvitz, 'Wei Shou, Treatise on Buddhism and Taoism,' 25–103 and Ware, 'Wei Shou on Buddhism,' 100–81.

[31] Tsukamoto, 'Sengqihu fotuhu,' 286; Zhang 'Tanyao xingfo,' 5-6; Wang, *Beizhou liudian*, 209.

overseeing the agricultural colonists and the *saṃgha* households were respectively known as the Court for the State Treasury (*sinong si* 司農寺) headed by *sinong qing* 司農卿 (Minister of the State Treasury) and the Bureau of Buddhist Clergy (*sengcao* 僧曹). These institutions would also purchase oxen, seeds and various agricultural implements for the peasants under their control. Second, both were exempted from the regular obligations to the government. The annual taxes in grain imposed on them were sixty *hu*, nearly half of their yields. Third, the grain harvested by both the *saṃgha* households and agricultural colonists were used as a reserve for the years of famine or used for other imperial tasks.[32] Bearing in mind this analogy shall help us understand the Wei-Zhou rulers' support of the swell of the Buddhist population (including monks and the *saṃgha* households) under their supervision. This point will be clearer as our discussion progresses.

With this background in mind, we can go back to assess the significance of the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy office. In what follows we should examine three things: First, how did the monastic institutions function in Northern Wei and Qi? Insofar as Western Wei initially continued the late Northern Wei's religious policy prior to setting up the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy, understanding the former will shed some light on the latter. Second, what happened to the authority of Buddhist institution under Wei-Zhou since the establishment of the Supervisor office? Third, how should we understand an apparent increase in imperial religious activities (e.g., construction works in the capital and other areas) after this office had been established?

32 Tsukamoto, 'Sengqihu fotuhu,' 269–273; Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese society*, 100–102; Palumbo, 'Exemption not Granted,' 125.

THE BUDDHIST CHURCH IN THE LATE NORTHERN WEI DYNASTY AND UNDER WEI-QI

In the late Northern Wei and throughout the whole of the Wei-Qi period, all the affairs of the Dharma gate mentioned above were in the hands of the Office for the Clarification of Buddhist Profundities (*zhaoxuan* 昭玄), the supreme change 'monastic' to 'Buddhist' institution. *Zhaoxuan* was established around the year 497, when it replaced Overseeing Merit Bureau (*jianfu cao* 監福曹), one of the 36 sections of Department of State Affairs (*shangshu sheng* 尚書省) established around 399 by the first emperor of Northern Wei, Tuoba Gui 拓拔圭 (r. 386–409).[33] To understand the composition of *zhaoxuan*, we can refer to *Suishu*'s record of its functioning under the Northern Qi. Since Northern Qi for the most part inherited the Buddhist institutions from Northern Wei, the situation of *zhaoxuan* under the latter can be inferred from the former.[34] The record says that at the head of *zhaoxuan* was the Controller of the *Saṃgha* (*shamen tong* 沙門統) and subordinate to him served three Buddhist Deacons (*duweinuo* 都維納). These two ranks were conferred by the emperor on prominent monks[35] and they constituted the central Buddhist administration, which comprised the Bureau of Personnel Evaluation (*gongcao* 功曹) and the Recorder office (*zhubu yuan* 主簿員). Under the central administration, there were the Offices of Buddhist clergy in the provinces and prefectures. Their organization was similar to their capital counterpart, *zhaoxuan*, and in turn had provincial controller and overseer of the *saṃgha*.

Overseeing Merit Bureau was a civil office in charge of religion. It was clearly subject to the throne and supervised by Department of

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33 *Weishu* 114.3040; cf. Ware, 'Wei Shou on Buddhism,' 157.

34 *Suishu* 27.758.

35 See, for examples, Faguo 法果 (fl. 396–419), Shixian 師賢 (fl. 439–460), Tanyao 曇曜 (fl.453–476) and Sengxian 僧顯 (fl. ca.476–493) (*Weishu* 114.3030, 3036, 3037, 3040). The imperial edict appointing Sengxian as the controller of the *saṃgha* can be found in *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 24.272b14–272b24.

State Affairs.

In distinction, *zhaoxuan* was a religious institution answerable directly to the throne and was not under the supervision of any civil administration. Xie Chongguang's study shows that *zhaoxuan* in Northern Wei and Qi exercised enormous authority over the Buddhist affairs. For example, it could promote or dismiss monk officials at provincial level, select the candidates for the ordination, decide whether a monastery could be established, supervise the agricultural activity of the *saṃgha* households and manage the *saṃgha* grains, etc.[36] *Zhaoxuan* gained further autonomy from the Tuoba government and increased power after the year 508, when the government's jurisdiction over the Buddhist clergy was largely yielded to *zhaoxuan*.[37] Thereafter, for example, in the year of 511, high-ranked monk officials were accused of 'violating the imperial decrees when entering [the court] and disobeying their own discipline (*vinaya*) when retreating [into the monasteries]' (進違成旨, 退乖內法).[38] Abuses abounded in the management of the *saṃgha* households and *saṃgha* grain. During the last twenty-five years of Northern Wei (ca. 510–535), as the administration fell apart, *zhaoxuan* was notorious for its abuse of power in almost every aspect of religious affairs, especially through proliferation of private ordination and unauthorized construction activities.[39]

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36 *Weishu* 114.3040–47; cf. Xie, *Zhonggu fojiao sengguan*, 61–67.

37 The imperial order giving *zhaoxuan* such power reads: 'From today whenever the monks commit the crime of murder or a more serious [crime] they shall, as is usual, be judged like a layman. All other offences shall be submitted to *zhaoxuan* and shall be decided according to the *vinaya* and the special code for the monks' (*Weishu* 114.3040: 自今已後眾僧犯殺人已上罪者, 仍依俗斷, 餘犯悉付昭玄, 以內律僧制治之). This translation is from Ware, 'Wei Shou on Buddhism,' 157–158.

38 *Weishu* 114: 3042.

39 The proliferation of private ordination 私度, as opposed to official ordination increased between 508 and 510. In 517 the Empress Dowager Ling 靈太后 (d. 528) issued this order:

> Monks and nuns in many instances raise the children of the slaves owned by their relatives, acquaintances or the others. When they grow up,

We are told that Northern Qi mostly inherited the religious policy of late Northern Wei and perhaps gave Buddhism even greater financial support—as mentioned above, one third of the state income would allegedly be used for the development of the 'Three Jewels.' As a result, the size of Buddhist establishment in Northern Qi surpassed that of Northern Wei, with roughly 4,000 monasteries and 80,000 resident monks in the capital Yecheng 鄴城 alone.[40] And just like in the final years of the Northern Wei, the monastic establishment under Wei-Qi retained its high degree of autonomy. Fashang 法上 (495–580), the Controller-in-Chief (*datong* 大統) of *zhaoxuan* in Northern Qi, for example, commissioned about 50 clerks (*lingshi* 令史) to assist him in the management of clergy register (*senglu* 僧錄), on which there were more than two million monks and nuns in around 554, and the number rose to three million by 577.[41] The appointment of approximately 50 clerks for a single position, as Xie Chongguang observes, was actually very rare to see in any secular institutions at the time. This number alone suggests that the task of registering more than 2 million Buddhist monks, which constituted well above 10% of the taxable population[42]

> [monks and nuns] will privately confer the tonsure upon them and make them their disciples. Henceforth, this is forbidden. The violators shall be defrocked; those being raised returned to their original status.' 僧尼多養親識及他人奴婢子, 年大私度為弟子, 自今斷之. 有犯還俗, 被養者歸本等 (*Weishu* 114.3043)

Excessive construction activities proliferated under the leadership of Empress Dowager Ling, greatly upsetting the state economy. A memorial presented by Yuan Cheng 元澄 (Tuoba Cheng 拓跋澄 [467–520]) in 518 says:

> For the last ten years, the building [of monasteries] on one's own accord has increased, but punishments and exiles have not been heard of. 爾來十年, 私營轉盛, 罪擯之事, 寂爾無聞 (*Weishu* 114.3044)

40 Guo, colla. & annot., *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, 337.

41 Guo, colla. & annot., *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, 261.

42 *Weishu* records that the taxpayers of Northern Qi ca. 550 numbered around 2 million households. The figure 2,005,676 is the sum total calculations made by Hans Bielenstein of the Eastern Wei's population. See Bielenstein, 'Chinese Historical Demography,' 18.

in Northern Qi, was arduous, and that the Buddhist establishment in the Northern Qi reached extraordinary power. Note that Fashang was only one of ten monk controllers (*shitong* 十統) assigned by the Gao rulers to manage Buddhist affairs during the Tianbao 天保 era (550–560).[43] This indicates that there were at least ten branch offices in *zhaoxuan* which controlled the whole of the affairs of the Buddhist order in Northern Qi.

A WEAKENED BUDDHIST CHURCH UNDER WEI-ZHOU

The situation of leading official monks under Yuwen was very different. This can be seen from the position of *sanzang* 三藏 (*Tripiṭaka* Master or *Trepiṭaka*),[44] the top-ranked Buddhist official in Northern Zhou, whose authority over monastic order was much smaller than that of their Northern Qi counterpart, the ten monk controllers of *zhaoxuan* 昭玄十統. While the latter's reach was extended to almost every affair of monastic order, the *Trepiṭaka*'s duties were confined to the teaching of the Dharma gate, i.e., the education and transformation of Buddhist clergy. The biography of Tanchong 曇崇 (ca. 515–594) says:

> Emperor Wu of Northern Zhou (then still under Yuwen Hu's regency) particularly admired [Tanchong]. He issued a decree

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[43] *Suishu* (27.758) records there were two monk controllers under Northern Qi. But *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* and many other texts reveal that there were actually ten of them. See Guo, colla. & annot., *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, 34–35, 256, 261, 376–7; *Beiqi shu* 9: 126; *Zizhi tongjian* 170.5298; *Lidai sanbao ji* 12: 102c20–26; cf. Xie, *Zhonggu fojiao sengguan*, 74–77.

[44] Xie Chongguan finds out that this title indicates nothing about the monks' expert on the three main categories of the Buddhist scriptures, namely, *Sūtra-pitaka* (*jingzang* 經藏 [*sutras*]), *Vinaya-pitaka* (*lüzang* 律藏 [*vianya*]), and *Sāstra-pitaka* (*lunzang* 論藏 [treatises]). In other words, under Yuwen, the Tripitaka Master was not an honorific title but an official post held by the top-ranked monks.

> saying: '*Dhyāna*-master Chong's moral and conduct are spotless; [his] excellent understanding [of Dharma] is incomparable. I have never heard of his disciples violating [laws]. It must be that [Chong] has instructed [them] in the ways of virtue and propriety, so the multitude's performances are extremely pure. [Master Chong] can be made *sangzang* 三藏 (*Trepiṭaka*) of the state of [Northern] Zhou and the abbot (*sizhu* 寺主; Skt. *vihārasvāmin*) of Zhihu Temple 陟岵寺主.' [Chong] therefore engaged in teaching and guiding [clergy]. Monks and nuns were kept in order, [Chong]'s name became glorious. Whenever obstructed by the duties of his monastic office, [Chong] was not allowed to itinerate. Only by pretending that he has other problems, was he relieved of [his post]. 周武皇帝特所欽承. 乃下敕云: '崇禪師德行無玷精悟獨絕. 所預學徒未聞有犯. 當是尊以德義. 故則衆絕形清. 可爲周國三藏年任陟岵寺主.' 即從而教導. 僧尼有序響名稱焉. 每為僧職滯蹤, 未許遊涉, 乃假以他緣, 遂蒙放免.[45]

Another two examples are Sengwei 僧瑋 (ca. 513–574), the *Trepiṭaka* of An Prefecture 安州三藏, and Senghuang 僧晃 (ca. 542–627), the *Trepiṭaka* of Mian Prefecture 綿州三藏. Both of them, like Tanchong, took up their appointment during Yuwen Hu's regency. Their job was also to maintain the discipline within monastic order, as expressed in that '[Sengwei] pacified four groups[46] and perfected six harmonies' (綏理四衆, 備盡六和),[47] and that '[Senghuang] rectified [the situation of the *saṃgha*] in its own city. Upright and resolute, [he] strictly [carried

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[45] *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 17.568a29–b6/Guo, colla. & annot., *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, 638–39.

[46] There are four groups or orders (*varga* 四衆) in the *saṃgha*: monks (*bhikṣu* 比丘), nuns (*bhikṣuṇī* 比丘尼), male novice (*śrāmaṇera* 沙彌) and female novice (*śrāmaṇerikā* 沙彌尼). 四種出家人. 即比丘、比丘尼、沙彌、沙彌尼.

[47] *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 16.558b14/Guo, colla. & annot., *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, 593–94. The *saṃgha* is exhorted to achieve six kinds of harmony (*liuhe* 六和): harmony in observation of the precepts (*jiehe* 戒和), harmony in understanding (*jianhe* 見和), harmony in sharing a residence (*shenhe* 身和), harmony in sharing the requisites (*lihe* 利和), harmony in verbal activity (*kouhe* 口和), and harmony in mutual goodwill (*yihe* 意和).'

out] punishments and rewards' (匡禦本邑, 剛決方正, 賞罰嚴肅).[48]

Unlike the official-monks in Northern Qi who managed the most important religious affairs such as clergy registration, maintaining the *saṃgha* grain, and supervising monastic construction work, the leading monks in Northern Zhou, as Xie suggests, were responsible only for keeping clergy in order in conformity with both the monastic discipline and the imperial law. We find no evidence of Northern Zhou monks' participation in the affairs of the Dharma gate. We thus have good reasons to suggest that after the establishment of the Supervisor of the Buddhist clergy, the administration of the Dharma gate and the teaching of the Dharma gate were separated. The government started to take an active role in the former, whereas the latter was left to the monk officials.

AN INCREASE IN IMPERIAL RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES AFTER THE WEI-ZHOU RELIGIOUS REFORM

Once the Yuwen government reasserted the authority over the administration of the *saṃgha*, notably after 556, when the office of the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy was fully at work, there was an apparent rise in the religious activities of the state and the imperial family. *Bianzheng lun* reflects such increase from 556 to 574, especially in comparison with the period 535–547 when Western Wei's financial situation was exceptionally tough, and when there were probably only two monasteries established by the imperial house. *Bianzheng lun* reports that Yuwen Tai built six monasteries in Chang'an but offers no date of them.[49] We tentatively date them between 550 and 556 when the Yuwen regime was less economically pressed thanks to the

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[48] *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 17. 694c23–24/Guo, colla. & annot., *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, 638–39.

[49] *Bianzheng lun*, *T* no. 2110, 52: 3.508a29–b4. On the building of Zhihu Monastery 陟岵寺 under Yuwen Tai, see Chen, 'Bodhisattva-monks,' 13–17; cf. Kamata, *Zhongguo fojiao*, 508–10.

sweeping reform that started in 544, and, more specifically, thanks to the conquest of Hanzhong in 552, Sichuan in 553 and Jiangling in 554.[50] The most evident increase of Buddhist construction works came between 560 and 574, during Yuwen Hu's regency, when there were dozens of monasteries established by the imperial family and the most prominent officials.[51]

Bianzheng lun has a detailed description on the imperial religious activities in 560 when Yuwen Hu just installed Emperor Wu as the third figurehead emperor of Northern Zhou. From this record we can know how lavish the imperial Buddhist constructions were.

> In the 2nd year of Wucheng 武成 era (560), [Emperor Wu] created a brocade Śākyamuni Buddha image 1 *zhang* and 6 *chi* (472 cm) in height for Emperor Wen (Yuwen Tai). [Weaved] together with [the Buddha] were 220 images of Bodhisattvas, sage monks and Simhas that all revolve around pagodas. All these were painted like clouds that come from the dragon's vapor. Shortly [the brocade] was woven, and as water was rinsed by waves of the river, [the brocade] was made without [any superfluous] tailoring. [The brocade] revealed the pure land (*sukhāvatī* 淨土) in the majestic halos (*anubhāva-prabha* 神光) and showed the incarnate Buddhas (*nirmāna-buddha* 化佛) in the circle of light (*prabhāmaṇḍala* 圓影). [Emperor Wu] also built in the capital Ningguo Temple 寧國寺, Huichang Temple 會昌寺, Yongning Temple 永寧寺 and the like. Covered walkways 飛閣 connected terraces (*tai* 臺) which were half the height of heaven; multiple gates led to the shrines of various celestial beings (*ṛṣi* 仙). The cloud purlins, alga-figured posts, ornate pillars and well-patterned crossbeams, the summer-door and autumn-window, the lotus pools and plum-garden—everywhere was pure and each [of them] was magnificent. Those who saw them forgot to leave and who gazed

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[50] *Zhoushu* 19.313, *Zizhi tongjian* 165.5098, 5117–23; cf. Pearce, *Yü-Wen Regime*, 477–479.

[51] Tsukamoto, *Chosakushū*, 543 and Kamata, *Zhongguo Fojiao*, 508–10 and 533–35 examined the number of monasteries built during Yuwen Hu's regency and made some corrections to *Bianzheng lun*'s record.

> at them were dazzled. 1,800 people were ordained to be monks and nuns; more than 1700 *sūtra*s and *śāstra*s were written. [Only] later when he met Zhang Bin 張賓, he started to follow the unwholesome path (*akuśalebhyaḥ* 不善業道). 武成二年為文皇帝, 造錦釋迦像. 高一丈六尺, 並菩薩聖僧. 金剛師子周迴寶塔二百二十軀. 莫不雲圖龍氣, 俄成組織之工. 水濯江波, 非假操刀之製. 照淨土于神光開化佛于圓影. 仍於京下造寧國會昌永寧等三寺. 飛閣跨中天之臺, 重門承列仙之觀. 雲甍藻梲繡柱文榱. 夏戶秋窗, 蓮池柰苑. 處處精潔一一妍華. 見者忘歸, 覩之眩目. 凡度僧尼一千八百人. 所寫經論一千七百餘部. 後遇張賓, 始為不善.[52]

In the meantime, evidence shows there was a Buddhist construction boom in society at large during Yuwen Hu's regency. Wu Hong dates seven major grottoes within the Wei-Zhou territory established between the end of the Western Wei and before the start of the Buddhism suppression, i.e., in 556–574. They are all located to the northwest of the capital Chang'an (see map). In the capital and its vicinity, the vast majority of Buddhist statues or towers (around 240 of which are listed by Wu Hong, mainly made of stone and copper, were also erected between 557 and 574.[53] These were mostly built by local magnates or ordinary devotees rather than imperial family, but it is certainly no coincidence that the people showed great enthusiasm for Buddhist constructions parallel to the rise in the imperial religious activities. The 'Shilao zhi' in the Wei dynastic histories confirms this pattern: 'as the superiors adored the *saṃgha*, the inferiors all the more venerated it' (上既崇之, 下彌企尚).[54] It is reasonable to infer that popular support for the Buddhism-related activities was reflective of the imperial attitude toward the Buddhist establishment. It is likely that a visible growth in construction of the Buddhist statues by people at large was indicative of the Yuwen government's active support for

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[52] *Bianzheng lun*, *T* no. 2110, 52: 3.508b10–19.

[53] Wu, *Beizhou shiku zaoxiang*, 234–315.

[54] *Weishu* 114.3042. Into Yanchang 延昌 (512–515) era, for instance, there had been overall 103,720 monasteries throughout the whole Northern Wei empire (*Weishu* 114.3042), up from just 6,478 in 476 (*Weishu* 114.3039).

religious construction in 560s.

Map: Grottoes built in Northern Zhou (556–574); locations marked by the author.

All the above suggests that the Yuwen government became more active in the Buddhist affairs after 556, when they regained regulatory power over the *saṃgha*. Note that despite the improvement of Western Wei's economic situation between 547 and 556, the Northern Zhou government was still suffering from the shortage of revenue and manpower.[55] It is thus very unlikely that the lavish spending on

[55] This was attested to by an extremely high taxation imposed on the Zhou population, the highest among four Northern regimes in the 5th and 6th centuries. In *Beizhou liudian* 北周六典 [Six Institutes of the Northern Zhou], Wang Zhongluo states that: 'Tax on land for growing hemp (or ramie [*ma* 麻]) in Northern Wei was that one husband and one wife (one household 一戶) should pay one bolt of [hemp] cloth. The sources are silent about the regulations to collect extra hemp. Northern Qi's *zudiao* was close to Northern Wei. Western Wei was told to have imposed a levy of an additional two catty of hemp. However, in Northern Zhou, apart from paying one bolt of cloth (1 bolt = 40*chi* = 40×30 = $1200cm^2$ in Northern Zhou), one household had to pay an additional ten catties

Buddhism presented above was all paid by the state treasury. It may rather be averred that the Yuwen rulers of Wei-Zhou, through the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy, used the wealth of the *saṃgha* and the population at large to support the state religious activities. Otherwise it is difficult to believe that the government had enough revenue to support this outburst of religious activism.

Apart from utilizing the *saṃgha* resources to support the imperial religious activities, the administrative power over the *saṃgha* could have in the long run brought some significant economic benefits to Wei-Zhou. For one thing, the registered monastic population, including Buddhist clergy and its dependents, the so-called *saṃgha* households, was a manpower reservoir. As discussed above, there was a close resemblance between the *saṃgha* households and the agricultural colonists. Since the latter was a major expedient means taken by the central government to compete for the manpower with the local magnates,[56] so could be the former. This observation enables us to suggest that the Yuwen rulers had good reasons to allow the swell of the *saṃgha* households, or any type of the monastic dependents, which the rulers could appropriate as soon as they saw fit. In other words, the Yuwen rulers might get less concerned when a large number

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of hemp. This can be considered extremely heavy (Wang, *Beizhou liudian*, 115). The official weights and measures are calculated according to Wilkinson, *New Manual*, 556.

[56] Western Wei established the state-owned agricultural colonies around Huazhou 華州 area, its military capital (*Zhoushu* 35.624). When Western Wei conquered Hanzhong 漢中 in 552, Shu 蜀 in 553 and Jiangling 江陵 in 554, these fertile and productive regions were soon also turned into massive agricultural colonies (*Zhoushu* 19.313; *Zizhi tongjian* 165.5098, 5117–23). Pearce (*Yü-Wen Regime*, 480–81) remarks that without the means of running agricultural colonies, which allowed the state's direct control over as many arable lands as possible, Wei-Zhou could not have developed into the paramount power in sixth-century China. The composition of the colonists under Wei-Zhou is not specified in extant sources. But it is in all likelihood that people working the colonies in Hanzhong, Sichuan and Jiangling were the war-captives and local peasants reduced to servile condition after the Wei-Zhou conquest.

of peasants attached themselves to the *saṃgha* than to the local magnates. The growth of the monastic population, in this way, might have helped make the mass of labors potentially more controllable for the state.

Moreover, the *saṃgha* grain could also be placed at the central government's disposal. It could be utilized for relief operations during the famine years, functioning in a similar way to the traditional price-regulating granaries (*Changping cang* 常平倉).[57] Alternatively, this grain could be used to provide for public sermons during monastic rains retreat (Ch. *jiexia* 結夏; Skt. *varsa*), when hundreds of thousands of monks would gather together in the state monasteries.[58] Furthermore, as suggested by Ōmura Seigai 大村西崖 (1868–1927), the *saṃgha* grain served to defray the cost for the Yungang Grottoes 雲岡石窟 (in Datong, Shanxi): an immense Buddhist construction project initiated by the Northern Wei emperors in mid-fifth century.[59] For sure, when the throne weakened, as happened in the late Northern Wei, it would lose its grip over the *saṃgha* grain and the *saṃgha* households. But once the power of the central government was resurrected, as in the Wei-Zhou in the aftermath of the 547–556 reforms, the *saṃgha* riches could be re-possessed once again. As mentioned earlier, no solid evidence is available for the situation of the *saṃgha* households and grain in the Wei-Zhou period and we can only draw inference about it from the situation in the fifth century. Nevertheless, all the analyses above indicate that the office of the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy,

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[57] This type of granary has a long history in China. In Han, it was under the control of *da sinong* 大司農. See *Hanshu* 24a.1141. In Tang, it was subordinated to price-controlling offices. In bumper harvest year, the institution will buy in grain, while selling grain during a lean period (豐年則糴, 歲儉則糶). Generally speaking, one of the most important functions of the price-regulating granaries was to bring relief against the famine. See more in Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese society*, 101–102.

[58] *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 24.272c16–23; *Fozu tongjii*, *T* no. 2035, 49: 38.355b12–13; cf. Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese society*, 102–103.

[59] Ōmura, *Shina bijutsushi*, 176.

the representative of the state authority over the religious affairs, did its job to manage the *saṃgha*'s material and human resources to the state's benefit.

CONCLUSION: WEI-ZHOU'S RELIGIOUS POLICIES

The establishment of the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy demonstrates that the Yuwen rulers of Wei-Zhou before Emperor Wu had attempted to monitor religious affairs, and probably managed to supervise the Buddhist establishment by the end of Western Wei and in early Northern Zhou. They confined the authority of the prominent monks to the affairs concerning the teaching of Dharma and keeping the Buddhist clergy in order. The major rival of the Yuwen family, the Gao rulers of Wei-Qi, meanwhile, still allowed the *saṃgha* to enjoy considerable administrative autonomy and excessive imperial financial support. In distinction, the Yuwen government had placed the *saṃgha*'s resources—at least potentially—at its disposal. The dramatic increase in the imperial religious activities during the closing years of Yuwen Tai's rule and through the whole of Yuwen Hu's regency was probably financed by the *saṃgha* and by other devotees, but not by the state revenues.

Given the paucity of evidence about the activities of the Supervisor of the Buddhist Clergy and how exactly this office monitored religious affairs, we cannot conclude that the state authority over Buddhist order had been completely reasserted prior to Emperor Wu's persecution. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to argue that Yuwen Tai and Yuwen Hu implemented a strategy of simultaneous support and control of the *saṃgha* by keeping a close watch on its growth. By allowing the *saṃgha* to become rich under the government's supervision, the Yuwen government figured out an effective measure in its competition with local magnates for the control of the taxable population. When Emperor Wu assumed real power, he faced a Buddhist institution which was economically powerful but politically weak. This situation allowed Emperor Wu to appropriate the *saṃgha*'s wealth when he felt the need to do it.

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe, *et al.*, eds.

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Chapter Six
Empress Wu's Impact Beyond China: Kingship and Female Sovereigns

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Abstract: Despite many scholarly tomes, Empress Wu 武后 (Wu Zhao, written 武照 or 武曌; also Wu Zetian 武則天, 624–705) remains an enigmatic figure in Chinese or East Asian history. Empress Wu skillfully crafted a hybrid system of kingship that incorporated Buddhist ideology into traditional Chinese kingship with both Daoist and Confucian origins. The Buddhist realm she envisioned and implemented provided a model of governance/kingship as well as the kind of state-sponsored institutions, rituals, and arts for neighboring polities to follow. While Wu's reign ended in 705, her court's influences lasted well beyond this date. This essay focuses on Wu's impact on Japan, primarily on the topics of kingship and female sovereigns, along with their visual and ritual dimensions.

Keywords: Empress Wu/Wu Zhao/Wu Zetian, Buddhist kingship, female sovereigns, Shōmu Tennō, Kōmyō, Kōken-Shōtoku Tennō, ritual architecture

Despite many scholarly tomes, Empress Wu 武后 (Wu Zhao, written 武照 or 武曌; also Wu Zetian 武則天 [624–705]), remains an enigmatic figure in Chinese or East Asian history.[1] She ruled as regent after Emperor Gaozong's 高宗 (r. 649–83) death from 684 to 690 and as emperor of the Zhou 周 dynasty that she founded from 690 to 705. One of Antonino Forte's key contributions is his investigation of the incorporation of Buddhist ideology in Wu Zhao's ascension to the throne and her rule as a thearch.[2] The strategy was multifacetted, including selection of passages in Buddhist texts that include prophecies of a ruler in female form; association with *cakravartin* (the wheel-turning king or universal monarch) in Buddhist kingship; invocation of Maitreya and messianic beliefs in achieving a utopia on earth; deployment of cults of relics, *dhāraṇīs*, and deities (especially esoteric deities) for state protection; creation of a network of Buddhist institutions that paralleled the state bureaucracy; expansion of the functions of palace chapels and the participation of Buddhist clerics in state affairs; and patronage of Buddhist monuments, images, and rituals.[3]

Traditional Chinese kingship and theory of government were informed with both Daoist and Confucian philosophies (see below). Buddhism, however, introduced a different worldview and set of expectations in political thought and practice. In Buddhist cosmology, there exist numerous universes or 'world systems' in infinite space. Humans live in one of these worlds, which is still impure, while a Buddha field or Buddha land (Skt. *buddhakṣetra*) denotes a realm or

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[1] Dora Shu-Fang Dien summarized, 'Because of the paucity of factual material and overabundance of hearsay and rumor, there are as many versions of her life as there are writers' (Dien, *Empress Wu Zetian in Fiction and in History*, 28). A review of scholarship on Wu Zhao can be found in Dien's work, and also in the more recent volume by Rothschild, *Emperor Wu Zhao and Her Pantheon of Devis*.

[2] Forte, *Political Propaganda*.

[3] Other important works on Wu Zhao and Buddhism include: Barrett, 'Stūpa, Sūtra and Śarīra in China'; Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 55–101.

a cosmos where a Buddha exerts his spiritual influence and purifies it.[4] Buddhists also believe that the world that humans live in revolves cyclically; the land is prosperous and there is no crime when the Buddha's dharma (teachings) is in ascendance with a *cakravartin* as sovereign, but the world deteriorates when the Buddha's dharma declines. The belief that Maitreya the Future Buddha will be born into an ideal kingdom on earth, one that is ruled by a *cakravartin*, and offers salvation to beings who attend his assemblies thus provides devotees with hopes of the realization of a utopia on earth.[5] In her rule as a Buddhist sovereign, Wu Zhao has invoked both *cakravartin* and Maitreya in her reign titles. As Sun Yinggang 孫英剛 summarized, 'Buddhism puts political order in a divine and harmonious frame of reference, extends the sacred order of the universe to human beings and thus bestows the rulers with some necessity, certainty and eternity.'[6]

Wu's reign, however, was not only informed with Buddhism. The country's diplomatic and domestic affairs continued to be administered through established Tang policies and the state bureaucracy. Although known for her cruelty in eliminating enemies at court, by all counts Wu was capable in selecting administrators with talents, including women, and was credited for instituting a more merit-based system to recruit officials.[7] She harmonized Buddhist kingship with the traditional Chinese concept of divine kingship vested in the notion of the ruler being the *tianzi* 天子 (Son of Heaven).[8] The convergence of divine and secular roles of the ruler was common in many traditional societies,

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[4] Williams, *Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 214–18.

[5] A collection of essays on Maitreya faith is in Sponberg & Hardacre, eds., *Maitreya, the Future Buddha*.

[6] Sun, 'Foguang xia de chaoting,' 197.

[7] Guisso, *Wu Tse-T'ien*, 51–69; Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire*, 36–39, 202–3. A more comprehensive assessment of Wu's achievements and weaknesses as a ruler is in Guisso, *Wu Tse-T'ien*, 155–59.

[8] Charles D. Orzech discussed the fusion of Buddhist and Chinese notions of divine kingship and the metaphors of sovereignty in Chinese Buddhism in 'Metaphor, Translation, and the Construction of Kingship.'

in what David Summers called the 'appropriation of the center.'[9] In addition to the well-known event of her participation in *feng* 封 and *shan* 禪 rituals on Mt. Tai 泰山 in 666 with then emperor Gaozong,[10] a most vivid visual symbol is her construction of a ritual complex that juxtaposed buildings with Buddhist and traditional Chinese symbolism side by side inside the imperial palace at Luoyang (see below). Works by Stephen Bokenkemp, Norman Harry Rothschild, and others also shed light on Wu's marshalling of Daoist divinities to bolster her rule.[11] In short, Wu's status as a sovereign successfully integrated all three traditions of Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism. The ideas and gods of all three traditions assisted her rule at various times and in different situations, and the performance of rituals and display of visual symbolism were all part of the language of kingship and power.[12] As Peter Skilling pointed out, in societies where a hybrid system of multiple ideals of kingship and religions coexisted, words like 'legitimation' do not adequately capture the complexity of social and conceptual forces at play.[13] In the discussion of Wu Zhao's rule as the only female ruler in China, scholars have often used terms

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[9] Summers noted, 'Many rulers have identified with dominant heavenly bodies, usually the sun or the Pole Star, and it cannot be overemphasized that this identification was not simply symbolic or allegorical, but was rather an assertion of authority, and of authority more or less sanctioned by the order of the world itself' (Summers, *Real Spaces*, 201).

[10] See Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 183–89.

[11] Stephen R. Bokenkamp noted that in Wu's fashioning her role as a creator/savior, 'Daoism, through its explorations of the fertile, primordial Dao, proved more productive than did Buddhism of appropriate metaphors for woman as creator' (Bokenkamp, 'A Medieval Feminist Critique of the Chinese World Order,' 389). See also Rothschild, *Emperor Wu Zhao and Her Pantheon of Devis*, 145–90.

[12] On kingship and ritual in traditional societies, see Cannadine and Price, 'Introduction,' in their edited volume *Rituals of Royalty*.

[13] Peter Skilling's discussion is of the dual Buddhist and Hindu institutions in Thailand; he also preferred the term 'hybrid' over 'synthesis'; see Skilling, 'King, Sangha and Brahmans.'

such as 'legitimation,' 'appropriation,' and 'usurpation,' and these terms seem less than neutral, if not inadequate.

Albeit Wu's deployment of the ideologies of all three traditions and their gods as intermediaries, in the realm of visual arts it was Buddhist art and architecture that trumped the other two traditions. Some aspects of this research have been presented in this author's recent monograph, with discussions of how the kind of Buddhist art developed in China in the latter part of the seventh to early eighth century spread to neighboring polities, and the agents and mechanisms for the circulation of art forms, subjects, visual styles, and rituals. The accepted norm of visual style became known as the Tang International Style or The International Buddhist Art Style in East Asia. The mobility of the visual and performative language, I argued, accompanied the transmission of ideals of implementing a Buddhist state, and in turn this border-crossing material and non-material idiom of state Buddhism became 'cosmopolitan.'[14] Most of the findings will not be repeated here, and the present essay focuses on Wu's impact on Japan, primarily on the topics of kingship and female sovereigns, along with their visual and ritual dimensions.

Because of Wu Zhao's devout Buddhist faith and sponsorship of Buddhism, the religion flourished during her reign. As she became the de facto ruler after Gaozong's death in 683, she left Chang'an and ruled from the secondary capital Luoyang, which she named the *shendu* 神都 (Divine Metropolis). A key element in Buddhist clerics' participation in court affairs was the institution of *neidaochang* 內道場, or Palace Chapel. Established within the compound of the imperial palace, the palace chapel provided space for Buddhist observances for members of the court, *sūtra* copying, and other devotional activities. While there were historical precedents, the institution of *neidaochang* greatly expanded during Wu's reign.[15] For example, in 690 the ten

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[14] Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, especially chaps 2 and 5.

[15] Jinhua Chen's study identified four possible palace chapels during this Wu' reign: Biankongsi 遍空寺, Foguangsi 佛光寺, and a palace convent in Luoyang; and Changshengdian 長生殿 in Daminggong 大明宮 in Chang'an; see Chen, 'The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels,' 113–20.

bhadanta-monks (*dade* 大德) were in residence at the palace chapel when they presented to the court the 'Dayunjing Shenhuang shouji yishu' 大雲經神皇授記義疏 [Commentary on the Meanings of the Prophecy about the Divine August One (i.e., Wu Zhao) in the *Great Cloud Sūtra*], a key document preparing for Wu's ascension as sovereign. A study of this momentous event was the central focus of Forte's book *Political Propaganda*. Forte's body of research enables us to understand how the palace chapels, along with the great Buddhist monasteries, became state apparatuses that served the interests of the state. Forte also closely studied the background and activities of many international Buddhist monks at the two capitals—the prime movers in planning and realizing a Buddhist realm in China.[16]

The transformation of Buddhism into a state religion included the creation of the Dayunsi 大雲寺 (also known as 'Dayunjing si' 大雲經寺, named after the *Great Cloud Sūtra*) state monastery network in 690 and a much greater role played by Buddhist clerics as advisers, with the most notable one being Fazang 法藏 (643–712).[17] Alongside the state monasteries, Wu designated a number of privately sponsored monasteries in the two capitals as *dasi* 大寺 (great monasteries), which functioned as institutions that served the interests of the state.[18] These great monasteries became repositories of Buddhist texts, centers for translation and learning, and ritual or artistic centers where ceremonies were performed for the well-being of the state.[19] Considering the purposes of the activities and the vast resources invested, these institutions constituted the loci where political, religious, and

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[16] See E. Forte, comp., 'Antonino Forte—List of Publications.'

[17] One of Wu's closest monk advisers was Fazang, who advised Wu on the Avataṃsaka doctrine; see Chen, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician*. The pseudo monk Xue Huaiyi was often mentioned in connection with Wu for his promotion of Maitreyism; his influence on Wu, however, was short-lived.

[18] Forte, 'Chinese State Monasteries in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries.' The privately-sponsored monasteries in early Tang primarily received patronage from members of the imperial family and the aristocracy, reflecting the aristocratic nature of Buddhism at that time.

[19] Chen, 'Monastic Learning and Private Education.'

economic power converged. A stellar group of international Buddhist monks congregated at the Tang capitals of Chang'an and Luoyang. They translated Buddhist texts, and introduced new tenets, cults, and deities, notably those of esoteric character. Coinciding with the decline of Buddhism in India, Tansen Sen noted that within the Buddhist community, there was a sense that China under a Buddhist sovereign (Wu) was now the center of the Buddhist realm.[20]

After the golden age of translation of Buddhist texts in mid-seventh century, which occasioned the great translator Xuanzang's 玄奘 (ca. 600–64) return to Chang'an in 645 and his voluminous work in the next two decades, the period of Wu's reign represented another high point in translation activities largely because of imperial support.[21] Along with the translation of many texts newly brought to China, Wu also supported new translations of texts important for state Buddhism, notably the *Flower Ornament Sūtra* (Skt. *Avataṃsaka Sūtra*; Ch. *Huayan jing* 華嚴經) and the *Golden Light Sūtra* (Skt. *Suvarṇaprabhāsa Sūtra*; Ch. *Jin'guangming jing* 金光明經).[22] These texts and their contents also informed state-sponsored Buddhist art and rituals. In addition to established translation centers in Chang'an such as Ci'ensi 慈恩寺 and Ximingsi 西明寺, some of the most important monasteries in Luoyang during Wu's reign included Da Foshoujisi 大佛授記寺 (renamed from Jing'aisi 敬愛寺), Da Fuxiansi 大福先寺 (renamed from East Taiyuan Monastery 東太原寺), Tiangongsi 天宮寺, and Da Biankongsi 大遍空寺, one of the palace chapels.[23]

David Chidester, who observed that all world religions were also imperial religions, also noted the importance invested in the production, authentication, and circulation of knowledge, for *sacred* knowledge, or scriptural authority, was tied to *political* power in any

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[20] Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 55–101.

[21] Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 44–45. Among the prominent translators Wu supported were Divākara (613–88), Bodhiruci (d. 727), Yijing 義淨 (635–713), and Śikṣānanda (652–710), to name a few.

[22] For background of these texts, see *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*, 84–85, 877, respectively.

[23] The prefix *da* 大 designated 'great' monasteries.

imperial religion.[24] The translation bureaus and libraries in the great monasteries with imperially sponsored translation projects were centers for learning as well as loci for the production of sacred knowledge essential for state Buddhism. At the Tang capital of Chang'an, they in fact paralleled the state university and academies for the education and training of scholars and officials to staff the government, with the Confucian canon of classical texts as the basis of the curriculum.[25] The coexistence of Confucian and Buddhist canonical texts and associated libraries and academies/translation bureaus provided the basis of dual or hybrid kingship in Wu's time.[26]

Wu Zhao's patronage of Buddhist monuments began long before she became the de facto ruler. Emperor Gaozong was supportive of Buddhism and had built two of the grandest monasteries in Chang'an—Ci'ensi and Ximingsi, but there is evidence that Wu was the principal driving force behind a number of Buddhist initiatives, including the making of the colossal Buddha statue at Longmen 龍門 (Fig. 1; also see below). Although the inscription attributes the dedication of the colossal statue to Gaozong and mentions Wu's contribution of funds to complete the project in 675, Hida Romi 肥田路美 pointed out that Gaozong was already incapacitated after a stroke in 660, and that Empress Wu was likely the main force behind the project.[27] As the transcendent, principal buddha of the Avataṃsaka doctrine (Ch. *Huayan jiaoyi* 華嚴教義), Vairocana Buddha (Buddha of Great Sun or Great Illumination; Ch. Rushena fo 盧舍那佛 or Piluzhe'na fo 毗盧遮那佛) presides over all other buddhas in the universe. It is not a coincidence that about the time the Vairocana Buddha was completed at Longmen that Gaozong and Wu Zhao adopted the title *tianhuang* 天皇 (Heavenly Sovereign) and *tianhou* 天后 (Heavenly Consort) in

24 Chidester, *Empire of Religion*, 309.

25 Lewis, *China's Cosmopolitan Empire*, 203–6, 225–38.

26 It would be relevant to investigate and contrast the social background of the individuals who became Buddhist intellectuals and those who became Confucian scholars and officials, although the topic would be beyond the scope of the present article.

27 See discussion in Hida, *Shotō bukkyō bijutsu no kenkyū*, 224–26.

FIG. 1 Fengxian Monastery with colossal statue of Vairocana in center, Longmen, Tang dynasty, completed in 675; Limestone, H. of Vairocana 17.14 m. After Wen Yucheng and Li Wensheng, eds. *Longmen shiku diaosu*, pl. 151.

674, heavenly rulers who reference Taiyi 太一 (the Pole Star, also called *tiandi* 天帝, the heavenly emperor), the Great One who controlled *yin* and *yang*, was transcendent, and was considered the single origin of universe in Han 漢 (220 BCE–220 CE) cosmology.[28] Before the founding of Wu's Zhou dynasty, the harmonizing of Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist ideologies of kingship already set the stage for her ascendancy.

At Luoyang, the most audacious religio-political complex Wu built within the imperial palace was the five-story Celestial Hall (*tiantang*

[28] The reference to the Daoist god Taiyi indicates the harmonizing of Confucian and Daoist beliefs and rituals in Han kingship; for the Taiyi worship that began with the Han emperor Wudi 武帝 (r. 141–87 BCE) of China, see Li & Harper, 'An Archaeological Study of Taiyi (Grand One) Worship'; Puett, *To Become a God*, 160–64, 304–7.

FIG. 2 Reconstruction of Bright Hall (right) and Celestial Hall at Luoyang, constructed between 2019–13.

天堂) and the Bright Hall (*mingtang* 明堂).[29] The Celestial Hall was a large, five-story building built to the north of the Bright Hall (Fig. 2). Installed inside was a colossal Buddha statue made in dry lacquer (*jiazhu daxiang* 夾紵大像). Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義 (662–694), the controversial monk who advocated Wu Zhao as the Maitreya Incarnate, was in charge of the whole project. Construction began in 689, but before completion it was blown down during a windstorm. A second Celestial Hall was commissioned, and the dry lacquer statue would be placed inside it, accompanied by a so-called Great Regulator (*dayi* 大儀) in bronze.[30] Because Xue Huaiyi was involved, the statue

29 Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*.

30 Some scholars thought it was a bronze bell; Forte originally thought it was a mechanical clock though later he also considered the object to be an astronomical tower for the observation of the celestial vault; see Forte's introduction to the second edition of his *Political Propaganda*, xi. Note that an observatory tower called Cheomseongdae 瞻星臺 (Tower for Observing Celestial Bodies), built by

likely represented Maitreya Buddha.[31]

The Bright Hall was a religious-political complex built according to ancient Zhou 周 (c. 1046 BCE–256 BCE) ritual texts. It is described as a building with a base as square as the earth and a roof as round as the sky, surrounded by a round moat. The structure has five rooms, associated with the theory of the five elements. The king performs ceremonial circumambulations connected to the rhythm of the seasons and the twelve months to harness cosmic energy. As pivot of the center, the king achieves harmony between the world and the universe through his ritual actions in space and time as he moves through the building. The Bright Hall is thus viewed as an architectural symbol of traditional Chinese kingship, and the ritual performed there together with the *feng* and *shan* rituals were considered the most august ceremonies performed to Heaven by the ruler.[32] Wu's construction of a Bright Hall alongside a Buddha hall was to create a new architectural language stating her rule as both a rightful Chinese ruler and a Buddhist universal monarch.[33] In addition, there was the visual emblem of an octagonal bronze pillar called the Celestial Axis of the Sky (*tianshu* 天樞), which was approximately 33 meters tall and was surmounted by dragons and a pearl.[34]

A disastrous fire broke out during the festivities in 695 and destroyed the complex. Wu Zhao ordered the reconstruction of the Bright Hall in reduced size, but the Celestial Hall was not rebuilt. The colossal

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Queen 善德 (r. 632–47) of the Silla Kingdom, still stands in Gyeongju. Built of granite blocks, the tapering round tower rests on a square platform and has a square block at the top, with circles and squares alluding to symbols of heaven and earth.

[31] Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, 177–79. For discussion of Wu Zhao and Xue Huaiyi, see Rothschild, *Wu Zhao*, 144–53.

[32] Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, chap. 10; Corradini, 'Ancient China's "Ming Tang" between Reality and Legend.'

[33] Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*. Puay-peng Ho has compared Wu's Bright Hall to that built by Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE – 23 CE) of the Eastern Han; see Ho, 'Architecture and Legitimacy in the Court of Wu Zhao,' 106–9.

[34] Forte, *Mingtang and Buddhist Utopias*, 233–46.

Buddha statue, in reduced size, was moved to another monastery in Luoyang but did not survive the An Lushan 安祿山 rebellion (755–63). Toward the end of her rule, Wu Zhao again attempted to make another colossal Buddha statue, this time a bronze statue on the slope of Baisima 白司馬 northwest of Luoyang. Wu asked that monks and nuns all donate money each day in order to raise funds for the statue, or so that the coins collected could be melted for the casting. Facing opposition from her ministers, however, the project was aborted.[35] Not long after that, Wu Zhao returned to Chang'an in old age, and a palace coup restored the Tang dynasty, with her son Zhongzong 中宗 (r. 684, 705–10) on the throne.

Gaozong's predecessor, Emperor Taizong (r. 626–49) vastly expanded Tang's territories through military campaigns as a way to re-envision the glory of the Han Empire. Securing smooth traffic on the Silk Routes facilitated international trade and cultural exchanges, which in part accounted for the intensified transmission of new Buddhist doctrines to China in the seventh century. It was this vast, cosmopolitan empire that Gaozong and Wu Zhao inherited and which both strove to preserve. Before the watershed moment of the An Lushan Rebellion that marked the beginning of the downturn of the Tang, elements of Tang civilization—from political, social and economic institutions to philosophy, religious beliefs, arts, and literature—were widely emulated in vast territories of East Asia. Some scholars use the term 'Sinosphere' to designate the regions that adopted the Chinese written script along with other aspects of Chinese culture, a process that began as early as the Han dynasty.[36] Another term is 'world-system,' an analytic tool which in its early use by Immanuel M. Wallerstein and other scholars employed a political

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[35] Hida, 'Fengxiansi dong dafo yu Baisimaban dafo'; Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, 179.

[36] Richard J. Smith noted that the use of the term preserves a sense of early Chinese cultural influences but that it is not intended to privilege China or Chinese culture in any way. Smith, 'Introduction' for Qian, Smith, and Bowei Zhang, eds., *Reexamining the Sinosphere Transmissions and Transformations in East Asia*, xxii.

and economic approach pivoted toward the study of the modern world.[37] Increasingly, however, historians and scholars of culture at large have adopted the concept to argue for the existence of a world system (or world systems) connected and interwoven through networks of exchange in the pre-modern period.[38] Hypothetically the Buddha realm in China with Wu Zhao as the sovereign can be considered such a world system (not to be confused with the world system in Buddhist cosmology), a system demarcated by the common adoption of Buddhist kingship as a mode of governing ideology that transcended political boundaries.

During the seventh and eighth centuries, the efforts of the royal courts in the Korean peninsula and Japan to import and partake of the 'Sinic/Tang civilization' contributed to the dissemination of Buddhism. Among the schools of Buddhist thought transmitted was Avataṃsaka Buddhism. Vairocana as a supreme being in the center of the cosmos is an apt metaphor for a ruler presiding over a vast empire, and it is no wonder that Avataṃsaka Buddhism became the chief doctrine linked to Buddhist state ideology in China and later in Japan. It is well known that Avataṃsaka Buddhism (K. Hwaeom) also flourished in the Korean peninsula in the seventh and eighth centuries, and that some of the most important exegetes in this school were Korean monks who had studied in China and later returned to Korea or resided in Japan. Well-known figures included Silla scholar monks Wonhyo 元曉 (617–86), Uisang 義湘 (625–702), and also Simsang/Jp. Shinjō 審祥 (?–742), who lectured on the *Flower*

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[37] Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*, vol. 1, 348.

[38] A recent work is Beaujard's two-volume *Worlds of the Indian Ocean*. With China's recent rise on the world stage, scholars have expressed renewed interest in the ancient Chinese concept of *tianxia* 天下 (all under heaven), comparing it to terms and concepts such as nation-states and empires in the discourse of political history. However, contemporary discussions focus on Confucian universalism and omit Buddhist universalism in pre-modern China; the edited volume by B. Wang, *Chinese Visions of World Order*, for example, does not include a single chapter on Buddhism and the state.

Ornament Sūtra in Nara and was instrumental in guiding the court's adoption of the doctrine. Hwaeom Buddhism received royal and aristocratic patronage in Silla, but unlike China and Japan (see below), the Buddhist establishment did not become a state apparatus, such as the creation of a state monastery system. Instead, the philosophical accomplishments of Korean clerics contributed to synthesis with other Buddhist beliefs and cults, and the creation of an *imaginaire* of Korea as a Buddha-land.[39]

In Japan, Shōmu Tennō's 聖武天皇 (r. 729–49) adoption of Buddhism as a state religion represented the apex of the century-long development of the importation of Sinic civilization. At the same time, however, the country also implemented the *ritsuryō* 律令 (law and penal codes) government modeled after that of Tang China, which was based on Confucian political theory. Shōmu's daughter, Princess Abe, ruled twice as *tennō*—Kōken-Shōtoku 考謙-稱德 (r. 749–58, 765–70)—and as a Buddhist sovereign as well. As the Japanese historian Joan Piggott described the character of Wu's reign as 'Buddho-Confucian,' she similarly considered the Japanese rulers Buddho-Confucian, though adding to that was the Japanese rulers' claim to be descendants of the sun goddess Amaterasu. Indigenous Japanese gods and beliefs would later became known as the Shinto tradition.[40] In that sense Wu's Japanese counterparts followed the hybrid form of kingship that she practiced, synthesizing Buddhist kingship with local traditions of kingship and governance—Confucianism and Daoism in Wu's case and Confucianism and Shinto in the case of the Japanese sovereigns.

The Japanese use of the term *tennō* 天皇 (Heavenly Sovereign) began in the late seventh century, and it probably was inspired by the titles of *tianhuang* and *tianhou* (heavenly sovereign and heavenly consort) that Gaozong and Wu Zhao adopted from 674 until

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[39] McBride, *Domesticating the Dharma*, 93–101.

[40] Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 236–79; idem, 'The Last Classical Female Sovereign,' 47–74. The name Amaterasu is rendered in the Chinese characters 天照; note the solar symbolism in the names Wu Zhao, Kōmyō, and also Vairocana, the Buddha of Great Illumination.

Gaozong's death in 683. As noted earlier, the term *tianhuang* was associated with Taiyi, the god of all heavenly spirits and a Daoist deity incorporated into Han cosmology and notions of kingship. The first Japanese ruler to use *tennō* as title was Tenmu 天武 (c. 631–86), and this occurred at a time when, after the Taika reforms of 645, Japan began in earnest to directly import Tang civilization, from modes of government to culture, and religions,[41] facilitated by the many diplomatic missions called *kentōshi* 遣唐使 sent to China.[42] By the time when Shōmu declared himself a Buddhist sovereign, Piggott wrote, 'Shōmu Tennō—presenting himself contemporaneously as living god, sage ruler, heavenly heir, and Servant of the Buddha—engaged in all sorts of majestic performances.'[43] For Shōmu's daughter, who ruled twice as *tennō*, Piggot noted, 'Her frequent edicts demonstrate that Shōmu's daughter placed her greatest faith in Heaven, with the gods and buddhas as intermediaries. Historians have usually described her as an exclusively Buddhist monarch, but in fact a close reading of the records of both her reigns shows that Kōken-Shōtoku should be characterized as a "Buddho-Confucian" for whom the ways of Heavenly rulership exemplified by Tang monarchs, especially the exemplary female sovereign Wu Zetian, were focal.'[44] One should note, however, that for Kōken-Shōtoku Heavenly rulership also referenced her descendance from Amaterasu the sun goddess.

At the Nara court, it was perhaps Kōmyō 光明 (701–60), Queen Consort (*kōgō* 皇后) of Shōmu and mother of Princess Abe 阿倍 (the future Kōken-Shōtoku), who most explicitly modeled herself after

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[41] See Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Symbolics in Ancient Japan*, 64–66. Ooms' work also gives more attention to influence of Daoism and yin-yang hermeneutics in the crafting of religious rituals during the formative period of Japanese kingship in the seventh century. The names of many ceremonial halls in palaces in Japan also allude to the polestar myth, suggesting the influence of Chinese Daoist cosmological thinking; see Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories*, 50–54.

[42] For Japanese Buddhist monks who went on the diplomatic missions to China, see Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, 98–99.

[43] Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 278

[44] Piggot, 'The Last Classical Female Sovereign,' 59.

Wu Zhao.[45] Both Wu Zhao and Kōmyō came from families of strong Buddhist faith and both exercised their support of Buddhist activities while they were consorts to reigning monarchs. Wu's mother came from the Yang 楊 family of the Sui imperial line known for their Buddhist faith.[46] Kōmyō was daughter of the powerful court minister Fujiwara Fuhito 藤原不比等 (659–720), who was an architect in establishing the *ritsuryō* government as well as institutional Buddhism in Japan, and her mother, Tachibana Michiyo 橘三千代 (d. 733), was also a devout Buddhist.[47] During the time when Wu and Kōmyō were consorts to their respective reigning monarchs, they both asserted their support of Buddhism through their spouses.

In Japan's court, the *daiiri* 内裏 (residence of the monarch in the imperial palace) was the Japanese equivalent of the *neidaochang*, or palace chapel, for court members' devotional activities. Because of her active participation in court affairs and fervent support of Buddhism, Kōmyō established the Queen Consort's Household Agency in 727, which morphed into the Queen Consort's Palace Agency (*Kōgō kūshiki* 皇后宮職) when she obtained the title of queen consort as chief spouse of Shōmu upon his enthronement in 729. Drawing upon the vast resources available to her from her natal family, the household agency was located at the residence she inherited from her father Fujiwara Fuhito; it was south of the Nara palace and later became the site for Hokkeji 法華寺 (see below).[48] The agency included ateliers staffed with carpenters and craftsmen for temple building activities and a scriptorium with scribes copying Buddhist *sūtra*s.[49]

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[45] Japanese historians have long made comparisons of Kōmyō with Wu, see summary in Inoue Kaoru, *Nara chō bukkyōshi no kenkyū*, 263–75.

[46] The Chinese historian Chen Yinke 陳寅恪 (1890–1969) first brought attention to Wu Zhao's lineage and her Buddhist faith; see Chen, 'Wu Zhao yu Fojiao.'

[47] For Kōmyō's family background and Buddhist faith, see Mikoshiba, 'Empress Kōmyō's Buddhist Faith,' 22–30.

[48] For the development of Kōmyō cult centering on Hokkeji in medieval Japan, see Meeks, *Hokkeji*.

[49] Historians considered the agency extracodal and extralegal, because it was

Similar to Wu's support of translation of Buddhist texts, Kōmyō funded copying of sūtras brought from China to Japan, which were already translated into Chinese, as acts to accrue merit and to demonstrate her piety. Furthermore, the body of Buddhist texts constituted the canonical knowledge for state Buddhism; as material and ritual objects they also possessed magical efficacy to protect the country. Kōmyō first installed a scriptorium at her household agency, and soon after the creation of the Queen Consort's Palace Agency in 729, 'the scriptorium initiated an unprecedented project that would continue to the next twenty-four years: a herculean effort to copy an authoritative canon.'[50] Genbō 玄昉 (d. 746), who returned from China in 735 with a large set of Buddhist texts, became adviser to Kōmyō; he resided at Sumidera 隅寺 (also Kairyūoji 海龍王寺), which was close to Hokkeji and was also one of the *sūtra*-copying halls. Some of the *sūtra*s copied at the scriptorium have survived at the Shōsōin 正倉院, with luxurious examples using gold or silver ink on indigo-dyed paper (Figs. 3, 4).[51]

Occasioning her daughter, Princess Abe, being named the crown princess in 738 and Shōmu's planning for Tōdaiji 東大寺, Kōmyō's scriptorium became merged with the Tōdaiji scriptorium and also the

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not part of the *ritsuryō* government bureaucracy, but as Joan Piggott pointed out, the sizable agency also enabled Shōmu and Kōmyō an alternative channel to rule free from the state bureaucracy; see Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 246–47, 252–53. Hongō Masatsugu made a distinction between court Buddhism (Buddhism practiced privately by members of the court such as palace women) and state Buddhism (Buddhism promoted by the state government for the country's peace and welfare) and noted Kōmyō's Buddhist activities crossed the boundary from the private/individual to the public/state domain in advancing Buddhist institutions for state interests, in 'State Buddhism and Court Buddhism.'

[50] Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*, 124–25. A discussion of Kōmyō's scriptorium is in idem, 122–26.

[51] Kōmyō dedicated some 600 items to the Great Buddha of Tōdaiji to commemorate Shōmu's death in 756, and these artifacts and documents were housed in the Shōsōin, on the grounds of Tōdaiji.

FIG. 3 Copy of *Golden Light Glorious King Sūtra*, detail, Nara period, 8th century, gold ink on indigo-dyed paper, H. 26.2 cm. Nara National Museum. Photograph courtesy of ColBase (https://colbase.nich.go.jp/).

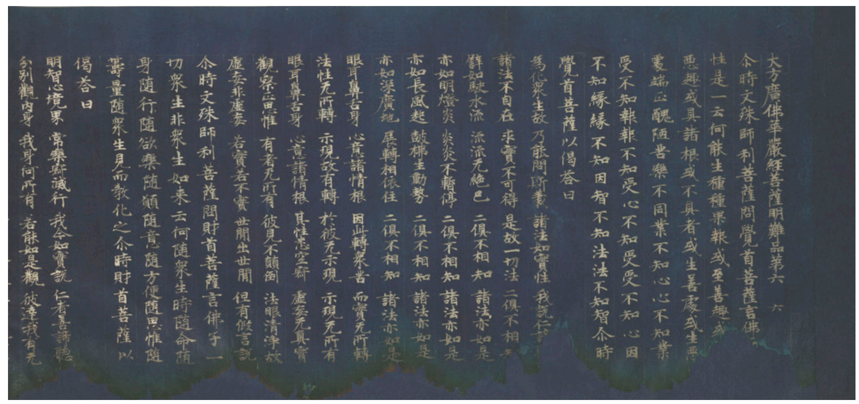

FIG. 4 Copy of *Flower Ornament Sūtra*, detail, Nara period, 8th century, silver ink on indigo-dyed paper. Nara National Museum. Photograph courtesy of ColBase (https://colbase.nich.go.jp/).

FIG. 5 Great Buddha Hall, Tōdaiji, Nara, dedicated in 752, rebuilt in early 18th century.

overarching Tōdaiji Construction Agency (Zo Tōdaijisi 造東大寺司), which was responsible for every aspect of temple building activities.[52] The construction of Tōdaiji and the casting of the colossal Vairocana statue, to be installed in the Great Buddha Hall (Daibutsuden 大仏殿, Fig. 5), represented Shōmu's quest to entreat Buddhism and its deities to support his regime and as an alternative to the ritsuryō government, which was found wanting at a time when the country was beset by epidemics, natural disasters, and domestic turmoil.[53] Shōmu also endorsed Avataṃsaka Buddhism (J. Kegon) and the colossal Vairocana statue shared the same iconography as that of the stone

52 Lowe, *Ritualized Writing*, 126–29.

53 For an overview of the art and ceremonies of Tōdaiji see Rosenfield, 'Tō-dai-ji in Japanese History and Art.'

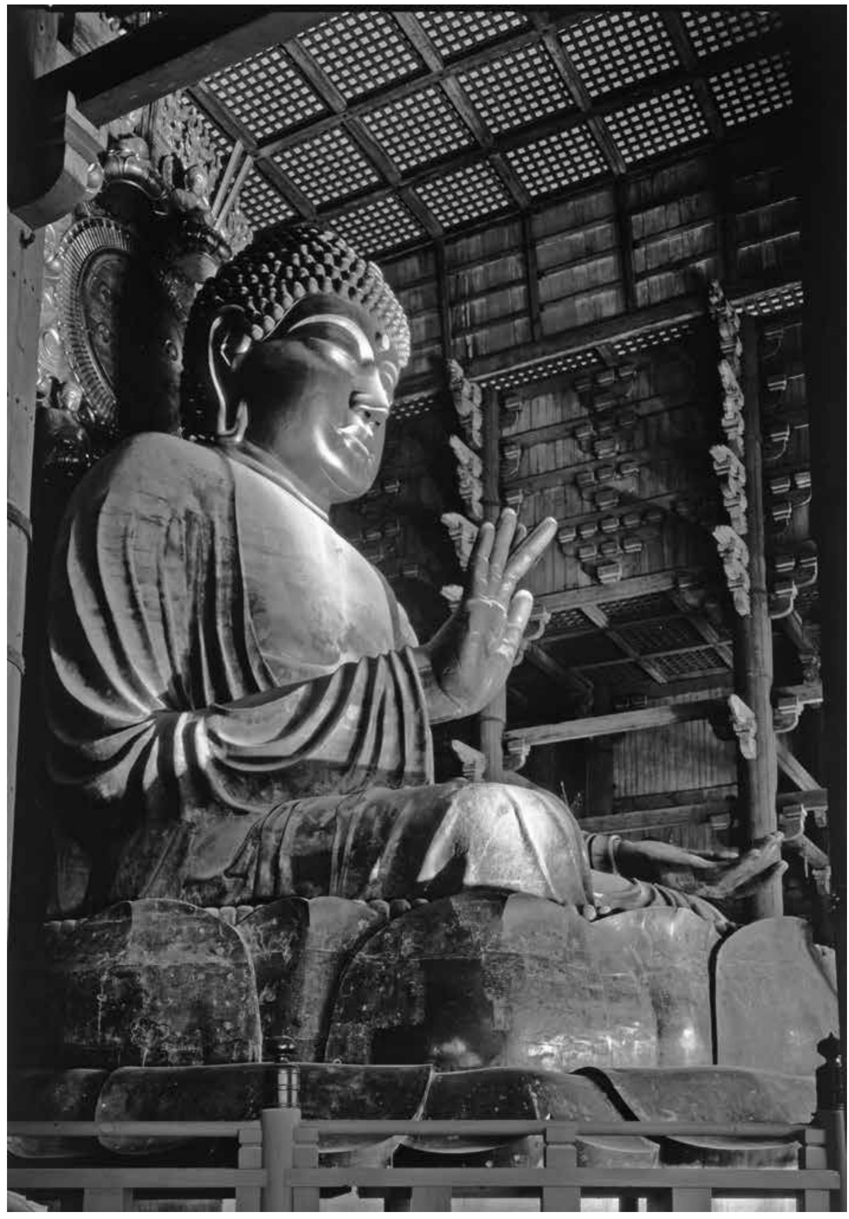

FIG. 6 Vairocana Buddha, Tōdaiji, Nara, Nara period, ca. 752 (recast in 1185, repaired in the sixteenth century, and the head recast in 1692), gilt bronze, H. 14.73 m above pedestal. After Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, Fig. 5.6.

statue at Longmen (Fig. 6).[54] Monk Gyōki 行基 (668–749) assisted in raising funds for the making of the great Buddha by going around to ask for donations from his followers, and historians observed that the practice might have been inspired by Wu's edict to cast a colossal bronze Buddha statue on the slope of Baisima, which asked for monks and nuns to donate money each day.

In 741, Shōmu's court established the state monasteries (*kokubunji* 国分寺) and state nunneries (*kokubunniji* 国分尼寺) system. Modeled after the Dayunsi state monasteries network that Wu established, historians attributed this initiative to Kōmyō.[55] Tōdaiji, named after the *Golden Light Sūtra*'s four heavenly kings (*sitianwang* 四天王) as protectors of the country, became headquarters of state monasteries, while Hokkeji, a nunnery Kōmyō founded on land that she inherited from her father, became head convent for state nunneries. The full name of Tōdaiji and all state monasteries was Konkōmyō shitennō gogoku no tera 金光明四天王護國之寺 (Monastery for the protection of the country by the four heavenly kings of the *Golden Light [Sūtra]*), and the full name for Hokkeji and state nunneries was Hokke metsuzai no tera 法華滅罪之寺 (Nunnery for the expiation of sin by means of the *Lotus Sūtra*). Shōmu also asked that each state monastery build a seven-story pagoda and keep a copy of the *Golden Light Glorious King Sūtra* as its principal text, and that each state nunnery keep a copy of the *Lotus Sūtra*. These two texts thus became vital to the new state monastery/nunnery system.

Both the *Lotus Sūtra* and the *Golden Light Glorious King Sūtra*, along with a few other Buddhist texts, were deemed essential for the

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[54] The Vairocana statues at Longmen and Tōdaiji both depict a giant buddha sitting atop a large lotus, with each petal showing cosmoses presiding over by buddhas. The textual source of the iconography is from the *Fanwang jing* 梵網經 [*Sūtra* of Brahmā's Net], an apocryphal text composed in China in the fifth century. The description of Vairocana's Lotus Repository World in the *Fanwang jing* is derived from the *Flower Ornament Sūtra*, and thus is not a departure from the Avataṃsaka doctrine; see Elisséeff, 'Bommōkyō and the Great Buddha of the Tōdaiji'; Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, 175–77.

[55] Mikoshiba, 'Empress Kōmyō's Buddhist Faith,' 30–37.

protection of the state.[56] Prior to the establishment of Tōdaiji and Hokkeji as the chief official monastery and nunnery, respectively, the building of Heijōkyō 平城京 (Nara) as the capital in 710 already included the rebuilding of four monasteries: Daianji 大安寺, Gangōji 元興寺, Yakushiji 薬師寺, and Kōfukuji 興福寺. Of these, Kōfukuji was associated with the Fujiwara kinship group, while Daianji was the first official monastery of Japan. Daianji later was dedicated in 742, but its importance was soon eclipsed by the Tōdaiji, dedicated a mere decade later.[57] These monasteries joined Tōdaiji and Hokkeji as the grand Buddhist establishments in the capital. Buddhist rituals and artworks, especially those based on state-protecting texts, were performed and displayed for the prosperity and well-being of the state. This was not different from the use of both performative and visual language to convey the role of Buddhism for the country at Wu Zhao's court.

When Shōmu retired and her daughter ascended to the throne as Kōken Tennō in 749, Kōmyō became Queen Mother (*kōtaigō* 皇太后), and the palace agency was renamed Shibichūdai 紫微中台 (Central Court of Purple Tenuity); the name combined the Central Court (中台) office of Wu Zhao and the Purple Tenuity (紫微) of Xuanzong's 玄宗 (r. 712–756) court, again providing evidence of continental inspirations for Kōmyō.[58]

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[56] During the seventh century, the *Benevolent Kings Sūtra*, the *Golden Light Sūtra*, and the *Lotus Sūtra* were recognized in Japan as state-protecting texts (*gokoku sanbukyō* 護国三部経). By the mid-eighth century, the *sūtra*s most revered for state-protection included the *Great Perfection of Wisdom Sūtra* (Xuanzang's translation), the *Flower Ornament Sūtra*, the *Golden Light Glorious King Sūtra* (Yijing's new translation), and the *Lotus Sūtra*; see Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, 111–30. See also Orzech, 'Metaphor, Translation, and the Construction of Kingship.'

[57] For discussion of the rebuilding of Daianji and Dōji 道慈 (d. 744), the monk charged to supervise the project, see Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, chaps. 3 and 4.

[58] Takikawa, 'Shibi chūdai kō'; Piggott, *The Emergence of Japanese Kingship*, 269. In the Daoist cosmology of Han times, one of the stars is visualized as the abode of a heavenly thearch, called Ziwei gong 紫微宮 (Purple Tenuity Palace).

Kōmyō was also well-known for being a champion of social welfare, including the establishment of an infirmary and a pharmacy in her household agency that cared for the sick, an aspect that might also have been modeled after Wu Zhao's similar efforts. The Dayun state monasteries Wu founded operated almshouses to care for the weak and the indigent, and Stanley Weinstein pointed out that while private almshouses existed before, this was probably the first publicly funded social welfare program informed by the Buddhist notion of *beitian* 悲田, meaning the fields of compassion (for reaping merit).[59] At Hokkeji, Kōmyō also built a bathhouse in response to a visionary experience and as a way to accrue merit. Open to the local community, the bathhouse was associated with the healing power of sacred waters; the bathing rituals introduced by the Indian river goddesses in the *Golden Light Sūtra* might have provided impetus for the creation of a bathhouse.[60]

While it was Wu Zhao who commissioned Yijing 義淨 (635–713) to retranslate the *Golden Light Sūtra*, with the new version known as the *Golden Light Glorious King Sūtra* 金光明最勝王經, the latter proved to be far more consequential in Nara Buddhism and Buddhist art. It was due to the fact that not long after Wu's reign, Xuanzong favored Daoism and no longer gave Buddhism the premier position it received under Wu. In Japan, however, Buddhism received steady support from the rulers in the seventh century, reaching a peak in the eighth century when Shōmu instituted Buddhism as a state religion. As a result, art forms related to the *Golden Light Sūtra*, long considered a realm-protecting text, were much more prominent in Nara period Buddhist art than in China at the same time. First, there was widespread worship of the protective and benevolent deities introduced in the *sūtra*, from the four heavenly kings (Fig. 7) to the Indian river goddesses now incorporated into the Buddhist pantheon, such as Kichijōten 吉祥天 (Skt. Śrimahādevī or Śrī Lakṣmī; Fig. 8) and Benzaiten 弁才天 (Skt. Sarasvatī). At monasteries such as Kōfukuji and Daianji, the sculpture group comprising the Buddha, bodhisattvas, ten great disciples, eight

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[59] Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 131.

[60] Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, 202; Ludvik, Sarasvatī, 162–83.

FIG. 7 Tamonten (Heavenly King of the North), Ordination Hall, Tōdaiji, Nara, ca. 740s, clay with pigments, H. 164.5 cm. National Treasure. After *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu*, vol. 4, pl. 25 left.

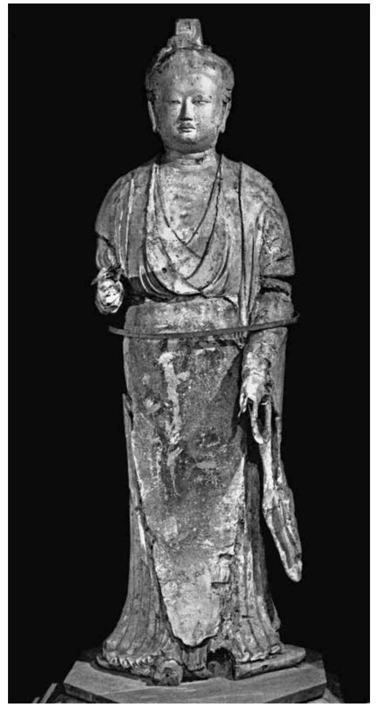

FIG. 8 Kichijōten, Hokkedō, Tōdaiji, Nara, 2nd quarter 8th century, clay with pigments, H. 202 cm. Important Cultural Property. After Tōdaiji Museum, ed., *Nara jidai no Tōdaiji*, p. 28.

classes of beings, and other protective and benevolent deities likely represented a transformation tableau (*bianxiang* 變相) of the preface of the sūtra: the mythic scene of the Buddha's Assembly on Vulture Peak (Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa) where the teachings of the *Golden Light Sūtras* unfold (Figs. 9, 10).[61] After Dōji's lecture on the *Golden Light Glorious King Sūtra* at the imperial palace in 737, rituals called the Misai-e 御斎会 (also Gosai-e) gathering or assembly, which focused on

[61] Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, 115–26.

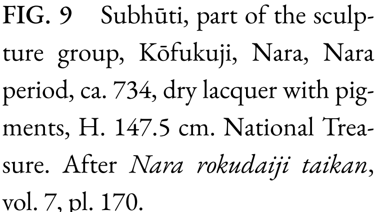

FIG. 9 Subhūti, part of the sculpture group, Kōfukuji, Nara, Nara period, ca. 734, dry lacquer with pigments, H. 147.5 cm. National Treasure. After *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 7, pl. 170.

FIG. 10 Asura, part of the sculpture group, Kōfukuji, Nara, ca. 734, dry lacquer and pigments, H. 153.4 cm. National Treasure. After *Nara rokudaiji taikan*, vol. 7, pl. 137.

the *sūtra*, were established and were performed at court annually.[62]

Court women and nuns were active in the courts and palace chapels of both Wu Zhao and Kōmyō. They participated in recitation of *sūtra*s, chanting of Buddha names, confession rituals, and patronage of Buddhist images and monuments. For example, the Buddhist nun Zhiyun 智運 from the palace convent, together with a eunuch called Yao Shenbiao 姚神表, dedicated the Cave of Ten Thousand Buddhas (Wanfodong 萬佛洞) at Longmen in 680 for Gaozong,

[62] Sango, *The Halo of Golden Light*, 10.

FIG. 11 Interior of Wanfodong (Caves of Ten Thousand Buddhas), south wall, Longmen, Tang dynasty, dated 680. After Wen Yucheng and Li Wensheng, eds. *Longmen shiku diaosu*, pl. 145.

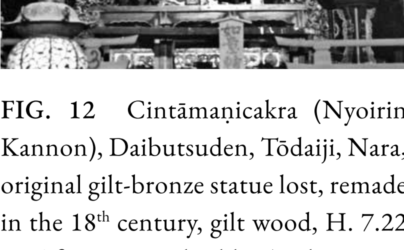

FIG. 12 Cintāmaṇicakra (Nyoirin Kannon), Daibutsuden, Tōdaiji, Nara, original gilt-bronze statue lost, remade in the 18th century, gilt wood, H. 7.22 m. After postcard sold at Tōdaiji.

FIG. 13 Ākāśagarbha (Kokūzū bosatsu), Daibutsuden, Tōdaiji, Nara, original gilt-bronze statue lost, remade in 18th century, gilt wood, H. 7.1 m. After postcard sold at Tōdaiji.

Empress Wu, the crown prince, and other princes and princesses (Fig. 11).[63] At Tōdaiji, Shōmu was the royal patron of the colossal gilt-bronze Vairocana statue, while Kōmyō dedicated the two flanking bodhisattvas—Cintāmaṇicakra (Avalokiteśvara with the Wish-Granting Jewel; J. Nyoirin Kannon 如意輪觀音) and Ākāśagarbha (Bodhisattva of Boundless Space; J. Kokūzō bosatsu 虛空藏菩薩; Figs. 12, 13), with two prominent nuns, Shinshō 信勝 and Zenkō 善光 (head nun of Hokkeji), raising money for the bodhisattvas statues.[64] During

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[63] Chen, 'The Tang Buddhist Palace Chapels,' 111–12; see also McNair, 'On the Patronage by Tang-Dynasty Nuns at Wanfo Grotto, Longmen.'

[64] Konno, 'Kokūzō bosatsuzō no seiritsu (III)'; Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, 194–95.

Wu's reign, a number of transformed Avalokiteśvara bodhisattvas—Eleven-Headed Avolokiteśvara, Amoghapāśa, and Thousand-Armed Avalokiteśvara—were introduced and became popular as protective deities. While they were promoted and have appeared at sites from Longmen to Dunhuang and as individual images, they appeared to have been separate cults. At Tōdaiji and a number of other Buddhist establishments in Nara, the configuration of Vairocana Buddha with transformed Avalokiteśvara bodhisattvas and deities of esoteric strands, I argued, demonstrated a synthesis of the Avataṃsaka doctrine with the deity cults and spells popular in eighth-century Nara, and represented a further trajectory and divergence from what first appeared in the Buddhist art of Wu's time.[65] The Hokkeji that Kōmyō built also featured Buddhist art themes related to the *Flower Ornament Sūtra* and images of transformed Avalokiteśvara, augmented by devotion to and study of other Mahāyāna *sūtra*s such as the *Lotus*, *Amitābha*, and *Vimalakīrti sūtra*s. The performance of Lotus assemblies began at Hokkeji, and Katsuura Noriko 勝浦令子 suggested that the ritual might have been influenced by the performance of Lotus assemblies by Tang nuns in Luoyang.[66]

Within the context of the *ritsuryō* government and continuing 'Tangification' in eighth-century Japan, it was remarkable that Shōmu's daughter, Princess Abe, could be enthroned as *tennō* twice, with the second time as Shōtoku Tennō and a nun monarch.[67] When she first ascended to the throne in 749 as Kōken Tennō, inheriting her father's title could reference female deities and precedents of female sovereigns in Japan. The edict she issued in 757, Joan R. Piggott noted, 'reflects a new synthesis of the Sun-line myth, strong belief in Buddhist realm protection, and emphasis on the Chinese classical discourse,'[68] Thus it seems that Kōken-Shōtoku had taken to heart closely how Wu Zhao skillfully assembled the various ideologies and gods at her disposal to formulate a hybrid form of religious

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[65] Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, chap. 5.

[66] Katsuura, 'Hokke metsuzai no tera to Rakuyō Angokuji Hokke dōjō.'

[67] Piggot, 'The Last Classical Female Sovereign.'

[68] Ibid., 57.

kingship. In the domain of Buddhist monuments, in her second reign she initiated the building of Saidaiji 西大寺 as a counterpart to Tōdaiji, and dedicated bronze statues of the four heavenly kings for the protection of the country, which no longer exist. As noted already, the worship of four heavenly kings was associated with the realm-protecting *Golden Light Sūtra*.[69] The building of Saidaiji was entrusted to Dōkyō 道鏡 (700–72), the healer monk who became Shōtoku's close adviser. After the suppression of a rebellion against Dōkyō, in the 760s Shōtoku commissioned the making of Hyakumantō Darani 百万塔陀羅尼 (*dhāraṇīs* of a million miniature pagodas, Figs. 14, 15). The printed spells encased in the miniature pagodas come from the *Wugou jingguang da tuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經 (Skt. *Raśmivimala Viśuddhaprabhā dhāraṇī*; *Sūtra* of the *dhāraṇī* of pure unsullied light). It was translated into Chinese by the Tokharian monk Mituoshan 彌陀山 (Mitraśānta; d.u.), together with Fazang, during the reign of Wu Zhao. Wugou jingguang 無垢淨光, or Wugouguang 無垢光, is the name of a *devī*, the Pure Unsullied Light goddess; her name is similar to Jingguang tiannü 淨光天女, or Goddess of Pure Light, who received a prophecy to become a female *cakravartin* in the *Great Cloud Sūtra*.[70] The *sūtra* includes a number of spells, noting that practitioners of the spells would obtain long life, have their sins and hindrances removed, and be able to be reborn into pure lands or meet with buddhas. Printed texts from the *sūtra* have also been found beneath a pagoda in Bulguksa 佛國寺 in Gyeongju 慶州, South Korea, dating to 751.[71] The dissemination of the *dhāraṇī* text to neighboring Korea and Japan again attests to the broad reach of Buddhist ideology developed at Wu Zhao's court. Whether it was the specimen in South Korea or Japan that proved to be the earliest printed text in the world,

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[69] Katsuura Noriko noted a copy of the *Golden Light Sūtra* in Shōtoku's private library, 'Shōtoku tennō no 'Bukkyō to ōken,' 87–88.

[70] Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, 217–19.

[71] McBride discussed the sūtra's central role in Silla Buddhism, maintaining that it represented a ritual text in the mainstream of Sinitic Mahāyāna Buddhism rather than belonging to the 'Tantric' tradition; see McBride, 'Practical Buddhist Thaumaturgy.'

FIG. 14 Miniature pagoda, one of a million pagodas, Nara period, ca. 764–70, wood, H. 21.3 cm. Hōryūji, Nara. After Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, Fig. 5.35.

FIG. 15 Details of *Sūtra of the Dhāraṇī of Pure Unsullied Light* encased in miniature pagoda, Nara period, ca. 764–70, printed text on paper, H. 5.45 cm. Hōryūji. After Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-monks*, Fig. 5.36.

FIG. 16 Main Hall of Inner Shrine dedicated to Amaterasu, Ise Shrine, Mie Prefecture, Japan. Rebuilt every 20 years since the late seventh century.

T. H. Barrett has long argued that the context and conditions for the realization of the printing technology first occurred during the reign of Wu Zhao.[72]

As Chinese notions of kingship, or Wu's hybrid kingship, reached Japan, Herman Oom speculated that, rather than building a Bright Hall like the one in China, the construction of the Grand Ise Shrine (Ise Jingū 伊勢神宮; Fig. 16) in late seventh century was Japan's answer to having a ritual center that honored the sun goddess Amaterasu, the primogenitor of the Japanese royal line.[73] If that were the case, the Ise Shrine together with the grand Buddhist monasteries in the capital, Tōdaiji in particular, articulated the dual or hybrid system of kingship in Japan. By the time Shōtoku ascended to the throne the second

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[72] Barrett, *The Woman Who Discovered Printing*.

[73] Ooms, *Imperial Politics and Ancient Symbolics in Ancient Japan*, 188–90.

time as a nun (with no heir) and with Dōkyō's attempt to usurp the throne, the crisis of succession that ensued would henceforth tilt the balance of ritual authority to Ise, or what would later be called the Shinto tradition, and the *ritsuryō* government established after Tang models.[74] Unfortunately, that also meant there would be no more female rulers in Japanese history![75]

The present discussion demonstrates that the hybrid system of religious kingship crafted by Wu Zhao, when adopted in the Nara court with local modifications, established a cultural norm shared by both countries in what can be called a 'world system' or Buddha realm. In this Buddha realm with Wu Zhao and Shōmu and Kōken-Shōtoku as sovereigns, imperial support of Buddhist kingship and Avataṃsaka Buddhism contributed to the 'cosmopolitan' character of Tang and Nara Buddhist art and rituals, and to some extent in the Korean peninsula as well. The longer period of state Buddhism practiced in Japan also accounted for more diverse subject matter further developed from the Buddhist art formulated at Wu's time. The ideal of a Buddhist state enabled Wu Zhao to reign as a female sovereign; in turn, she provided Kōmyō (a pious queen consort of Shōmu) and her daughter Kōken-Shōtoku with the model of a female Buddhist ruler. In his discussion of the mobility and materiality of

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[74] Piggott, 'The Last Classical Female Sovereign,' 62–65; Piggott wrote of the end of enthronement of female sovereigns in late Nara times, 'First, growing familiarity with the Chinese classics and *ritsuryō* prescriptions resulted in broader acceptance of male-dominant gender hierarchy, patriarchy, and patrilinearity.... Second, the historical experience of Kōken-Shōtoku's two unstable reigns led court leaders to the conclusion that female succession resulted in problems for court and throne that were best avoided' (ibid., 65). Ryūichi Abé also commented, 'The government of Empress Shōtoku paralyzed the court bureaucracy and seriously disrupted *ritsuryō*, the official legal procedures of the state.... Shōtoku's court, as well as the Buddhist clergy that supported it, failed to produce a governing principle that would have replaced the *ritsuryō* system' (in *The Weaving of Mantra*, 22).

[75] Piggott, 'The Last Classical Female Sovereign.'

religions, David Chidester observed the impulses of colonialism and imperialism in the contexts of the more recent globalizing world.[76] During the time when Wu's China was considered the center of the Buddhist realm, a domain that transcended political boundaries, there was widespread dissemination of Buddhist ideals, rituals, and visual art forms. Nevertheless, colonialism and imperialism would not apply here because the dissemination of Buddhism to Japan and Korea was sought after by those countries, with Buddhist monks among the instrumental agents of transmission, and this phenomenon draws attention to alternate forms of cosmopolitanism or partial 'globalization' in pre-modern times.

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[76] Chidester cited examples of religious encounters between European colonizers and indigenous peoples of Africa and the Pacific islands; See Chidester, *Religion: Material Dynamics*, 79–88, 152–65, 195–202.

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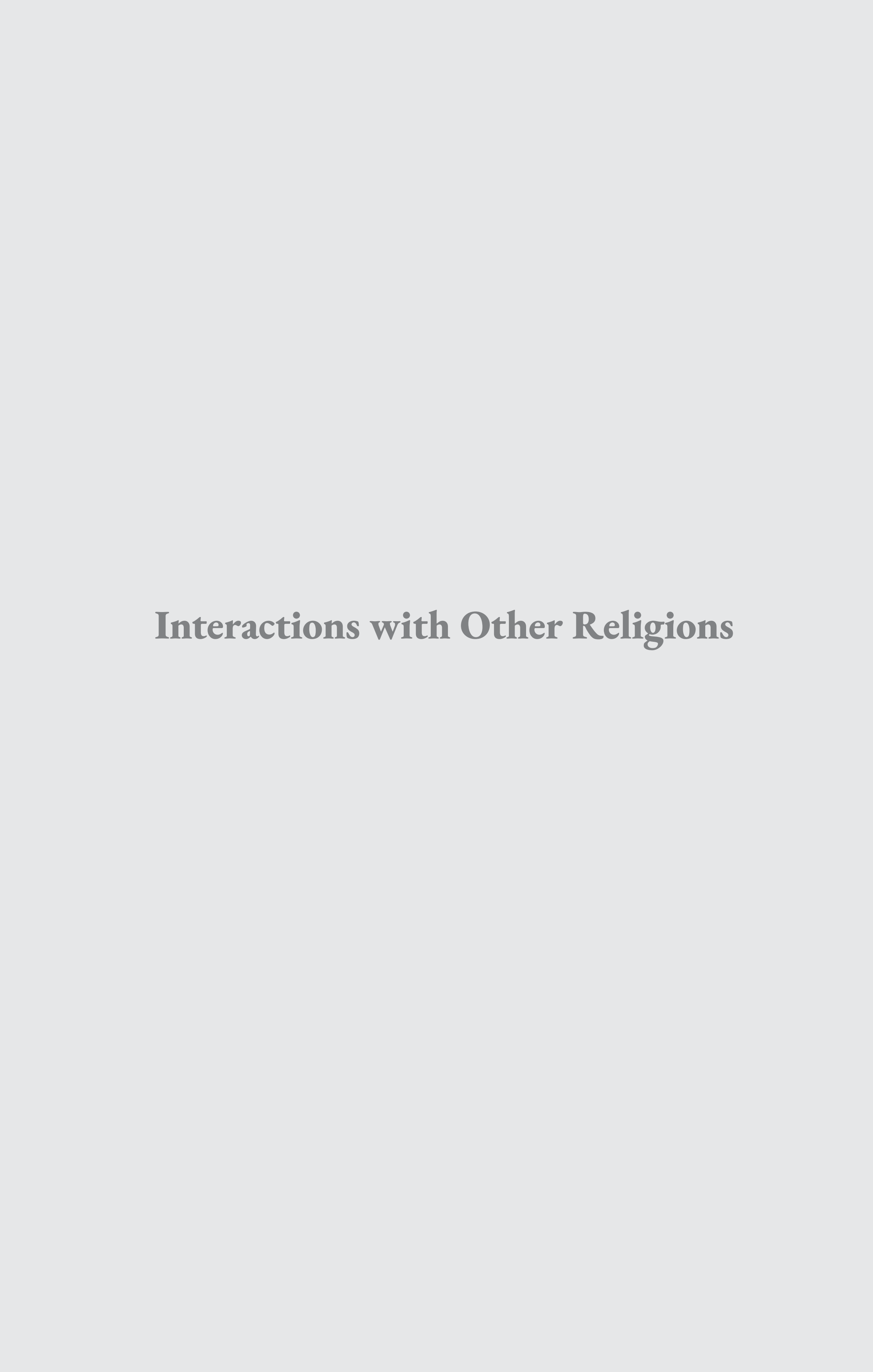

Interactions with Other Religions

Chapter Seven
What Was the Destination?: Burial System and Buddhist Influence Found in Tao Hongjing's Tomb

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Abstract: According to the bricks with inscriptions from Tao Hongjing's 陶弘景 tomb, this chapter presents the four-creature (*siling* 四靈) tomb guarding method and Buddhist elements in Tao Hongjing's tomb and the possibility that Fan Youchong 范幼沖 brought this method to southern China during the Eastern Han Dynasty. This chapter also examines the influence of this method, especially on eunuchs in Ming Dynasty and related archaeological findings.

Keywords: Tao Hongjing; four-creature tomb guarding method; Fan Youchong; eunuch

Mount Mao 茅山, located at Gourong 句容 and other counties in Jiangsu Province, as a famous mountain of Daoism, was considered the site of the first Blissful Land (*diyi fudi* 第一福地) and the eighth Grotto-Heaven (*diba dongtian* 第八洞天). Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536), who inherited the Shangqing scriptures (*Shangqing jingfa* 上清經法) and established the tradition of Mount Mao 茅山宗, renounced his official career and retired to Mount Mao in 492. He had been living on the mountain for over forty years when he passed away in the Abbey of Vermilion Yang (Zhuyang guan 朱陽館) on the north of the mountain in 536. He was buried

at Mount Leiping 雷平山, a hill in the north of Mount Mao, 200 meters southeast from the Abbey of Vermilion Yang.

Some tomb bricks with inscriptions date from the period of Tianjian 天監 (502–519) of Liang Dynasty were discovered at the site of the Abbey of Vermilion Yang in 1986. Most of the characters are identical with those discovered in Northern Song Dynasty,[1] so they are believed to be from Tao Hongjing's tomb.[2] The structure of his tomb has been unknown. We can analyze the burial system only by means of the bricks and historical records.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE BRICKS WITH INSCRIPTIONS

Annotations in *Yi jianlü shishi zhuanming* 瘞劍履石室磚銘 [Brick Inscriptions in the Stone Chamber Where Sword and Shoes Were Buried] in *Tao Zhenbai ji* 陶貞白集 [Collection of Tao Zhenbai (i.e., Tao Hongjing)] says: 'During the Xining 熙宁 era (1068–1077), a madman excavated the master's (i.e., Tao's) tomb and discovered bricks with inscriptions' (熙寧中, 有狂人發先生 (陶弘景) 墓, 於磚上隱起此銘). The inscriptions are as follows:

> Huayang Yinju's tomb, being sacrificed Shengli Bodhisattva, disciple of the Buddha, minister of the Highest Lord of the Dao, practicing the six perfections of Mahāyāna, cultivating the three authentic scriptures of the Shangqing Daoism, being secluded on beautiful mountains, reposing spirit in space. 華陽隱居幽館, 勝力菩薩捨身. 釋迦佛陀弟子, 太上道君之臣. 行大乘之六度, 修上清之三真. 憩靈嶽以委跡, 遊太空而棲神.[3]

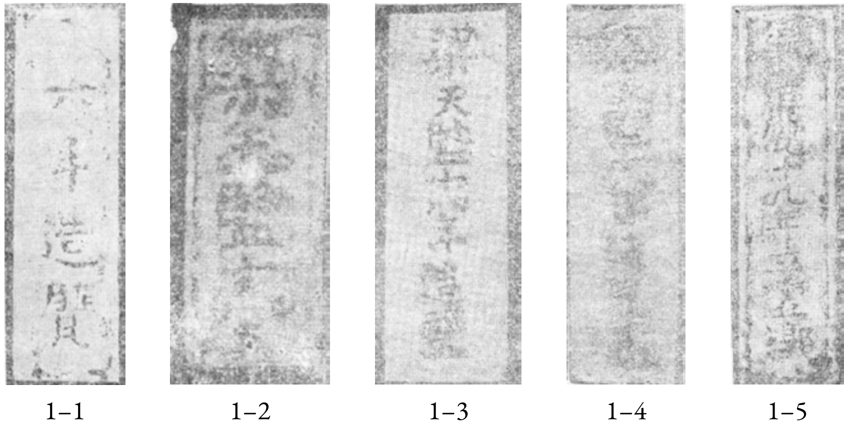
Hence, Tao Hongjing's tomb was resurrected in the Xining era.

Some of the inscriptions discovered in 1986 were not mentioned

1 Chen, *Faxian ji kaozheng*, 54–59.

2 Mugitani, 'Muzhuan he Tao Hongjing,' 80–97.

3 *Tao Zhenbai ji*, 40.



1–1 1–2 1–3 1–4 1–5

Fig. 1 Inscriptions on the Tomb Bricks. (1–1. Making bricks in the 6th year 六年造甓 ; 1–2. The 18th year of the Tianjian era of the Liang Dynasty 梁天監十八年 ; 1–3. Making bricks in the 18th year of Tianjian era of the Liang Dynasty 梁天監十八年造甓 ; 1–4. Making bricks in the 18th year of the Tianjian era of the Liang Dynasty, in the 19th year 梁天監十八年造甓十九 ; 1–5. Making bricks in the 8th year and building an empty tomb in the 19th year 八年造甓十九年立虛塚 .)[4]

by people in Song Dynasty. All the inscriptions can be classified into five groups. Group A is related to date. The inscriptions read:

> Making bricks in the sixth year 六年造甓
> the eighteenth year of the Tianjian era of the Liang Dynasty 梁天監十八年
> Making bricks in the eighteenth year of Tianjian era of the Liang Dynasty 梁天監十八年造甓
> Making bricks in the eighteenth year of the Tianjian era of Liang Dynasty, in the nineteenth year 梁天監十八年造甓十九
> Making bricks in the eighth year and building an empty tomb in the nineteenth year 八年造甓十九年立虛塚 (fig. 1)

[4] From Chen, ' Faxian ji kaozheng,' 56.

These inscriptions were too long to print, so they were taken apart. Put them together, and we could get the original 'Making bricks in the eighteenth year and building an empty tomb in the nineteenth year of the Tianjian era of the Liang dynasty' (梁天監十八年造甓十九年立虛墎).[5] These inscriptions were not recorded by people in Song Dynasty. From the inscription 'Bricks made in the sixth year' 六年造甓, we know that Tao Hongjing had been preparing his own funeral affairs since at least 507 when he was reclusive on Mount Mao for fifteen years. He departed in twenty-nine years.

Group B is related to Daoism. The inscriptions remain intact and read: 'Minister of the Highest Lord of the Dao' 太上道君之臣 (fig. 2). The inscription '太▭' (fig. 3), therefore, must have been '太上道君之臣.' Another inscription related to Daoism, '修上清£真' (fig. 4) must have been '修上清三真.'

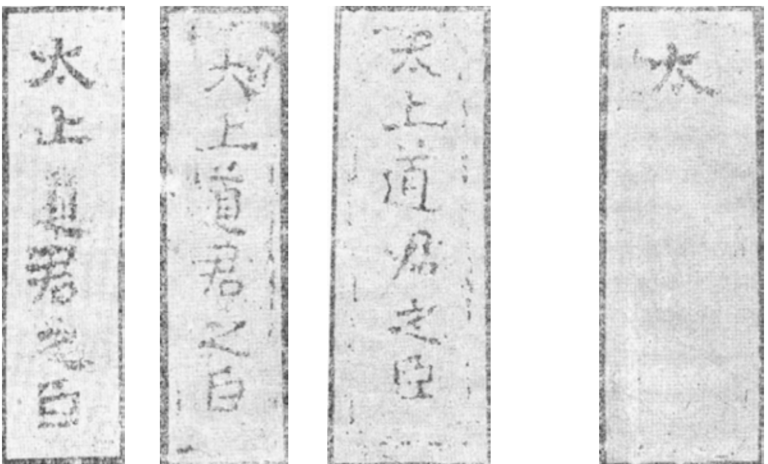


Fig. 2 Minister of the Highest Lord of the Dao 太上道君之臣 [6]

Fig. 3 Most▭ 太▭ [7]

[5] Chen, *Faxian ji kaozheng*, 54–59.

[6] From Chen, 'Faxian ji kaozheng,' 56.

[7] Ibid.

Fig. 4 Cultivating authentic scriptures of the Shangqing Daoism 修上清□真 [8]

It is reported in *juan* 5 of *Maoshan zhi* 茅山志 [Records on Mount Mao]: Yinju youguan 隱居幽館 was located in the southwest of Mount Leiping 雷平. In the beginning of the Yuanyou 元祐 era (1086–1093) of Song Dynasty, Luo Chunyi 羅淳一 (d.u.), an honored palace eunuch, studied the Dao on the mountain. He doubted that there were rare books written in cinnabar in Yinju's tomb, so he went there to visit. To his disappointment, there was only an empty coffin hung by iron chains, in which there was only a sword, a pot and a mirror. The tomb was surrounded by brick walls. Characters arranged in order were inscribed on the bricks. The inscriptions read: 'Huayang yinju's tomb, being sacrificed Shengli Bodhisattva, disciple of the Buddha, minister of the Highest Lord of the Dao, practicing the six perfections of Mahāyāna, three authentic scriptures, being secluded on beautiful mountains, reposing spirit in space.' The handwriting was miraculous. They must have been from the hands of Yinju. Now that the tomb had been opened, Daoist priests were tracing these talismans to show common people. Luo also mastered the method of releasing by means of a corpse. This was

[8] From Chen, 'Faxian ji kaozheng,' 56.

> reported by Lin Xi 林希 (Lin Zizhong 林子中 [active 1086–1098]) from Changle 長樂 in the sixth year of the Yuanyou 元祐 era (1091). 隱居幽館, 在雷平山西南. 宋元祐初, 中貴人羅淳一學道山中, 嘗意 (陶) 隱居之藏有丹砂異書, 一日穴墓往觀焉. 唯鐵繩懸一空棺, 內有一劍並盂、鏡各一而已. 其壙甃甓環繞, 相次成文, 隱其甓上. 其文曰:'華陽隱居幽館'、'勝力菩薩捨身'、'釋迦佛陀弟子'、'太上道君之臣'、'修上乘之六度'、'□□□之三真'、'憩靈嶽以委跡'、'遊太空而棲神.' 書跡神妙, 當是隱居手書. 墓既開, 道士輩遂摹此符文以示世人, [羅] 淳一後亦得尸解之道. 元祐六年, 長樂林希子中所傳如此.[9]

According to the record in *Tao Zhenbai ji*[10] and Tao Hongjing's tomb bricks, we may conclude that '修上乘之六度' and '□□□之三真' in *Maoshan zhi* should be '行上乘之六度' and '修上清之三真.'

Group C is related to Buddhism. They are '釋迦佛陀弟子' (fig. 5), '勝力菩薩捨身' (fig. 6) and '□上乘之六度' (fig. 7), and '行▭' (fig. 8), which should be '行上乘之六度.'

Group D '華陽□□幽館' (fig. 9) should be '華陽隱居幽館.' *Nanshi* 南史 [History of Southern Dynasties] documents that 'Tao, known as 'Huayang yinju' (The Hermit of Flourishing Yang), styled himself 'Yinju' (The Hermit) in his letters' (華陽隱居, 人間書劄, 即以隱居代名).[11] Huayang Yinju was an alternative name given by himself, so Huayang Yinju's tomb must be his.

It is reported in *juan* 7 of *Maoshan zhi*:

> Tao Hongjing, with the style name Tongming 通明, was the nine-generation master, right minster, destiny manager and directorate of Penglai 蓬萊 waterways of the Golden Portal (Jinque 金闕), preceptor and grand master of palace leisure of Liang Dynasty, posthumous title 'Upright White' (Zhenbai 貞白), the first enlightenment-auxiliary Daoist saint. His ancestor Tao Jun 陶浚 (?–280), a native of Moling 秣陵 in Danyang 丹陽, designated as regional

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9 *Maoshan zhi* 8.168.

10 *Tao Zhenbai ji* 2.40.

11 *Nan shi* 76.1879.

Fig. 5 Disciple of the Buddha 釋迦佛陀弟子

Fig. 6 Bodhisattva Shengli 勝力菩薩捨身

Fig. 7 The six perfections of Mahāyāna □上乘之六度

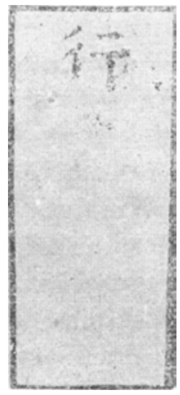

Fig. 8 Practicing □ 行 □

Fig. 9 Huayang's tomb 華陽□□幽館 [12]

governor of Jingzhou 荆州 in the Wu Dynasty. Tao Hongjing was born in the fourth lunar month of the third year of the Xiaojian era 孝建 (454–456) in the Song Dynasty. [...] In the eleventh year of the Yongming 永明 era (493), at the age of thirty-seven *sui*, he presented a memorial to the emperor to resign from the government and re-

[12] Figs. 5–9 are all from Chen, 'Faxian ji kaozheng,' 56.

> tired to Mount Mao, styled 'Huayang Yinju,' where he founded the Three Abbeys of Flourishing Yang (Huayang sanguan 華陽三館) in the west of Mount Mao. The upper abbey had three floors. Tao lived on the top, and disciples on the middle. The ground floor was the reception area. He was valued more by Emperor Wu of the Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–549) and thus gained the appellation of the 'Prime Minister living in the Mountains' (*shanzhong zaixiang* 山中宰相). 九代宗師, 金闕右卿司命蓬萊都水監梁國師中散大夫謚貞白先生宗元翊教真人, 姓陶, 諱弘景, 字通明, 吳荊牧浚七世孫, 丹陽秣陵人也. 生宋孝建三年丙申四月三十日甲戌. ......永明十一年, 乃拜表辭職, 時年三十七. 遂來 [茅] 山, 自稱 '華陽隱居,' 嶺西立華陽三館, 上館建層樓, 身居其上, 弟子居中, 接賓於下. 梁武 (帝) 即位, 彌加欽重, 時人謂為 '山中宰相.'[13]

Juan 8 of *Maoshan zhi* documents that 'Yinju Youguan was located at the southwest of Mount Leiping' (隱居幽館, 在雷平山西南) and 'alchemy furnace relics of Yinju were situated at the upper abbey of Flourishing Yang' (隱居煉丹爐跡, 在華陽上館). The upper abbey was one of the three abbeys established in the west of the mountain by Tao. Tao lived here in seclusion. Yinju Youguan was the special name of Tao's tomb.

Group E is '玄武延□' (fig. 10). The meanings will be discussed in the following.

Fig. 10 Dark Warrior Keeping 玄武延 □[14]

[13] *Maoshan zhi* 7.198–199.

[14] From Chen, 'Faxian ji kaozheng,' 56.

BURIAL SYSTEMS FOUND IN THE INSCRIPTIONS

Juan 10 of *Zhengao* 真誥 [Declarations of the Perfected] says:[15]

Green dragon holding breath (*qinglong bingqi* 青龍秉氣)

Method to build auspicious tombs, removing blocks and taking nine steps and nine *chi* 尺, is called 'Shangxuan bird exorcising evil spirits' (*shangxuan pifei* 上玄辟非). Wang Qi 王氣, Zhao Zidu 趙子都 and other deities in Huagai Palace (*huagai gong* 華蓋宮), deities in charge of evil in the tomb, get together and take orders. It could subdue the essence of the five soils and turn disaster into happiness. Aristocrats' tombs should be hidden. Dig down nine *chi*, inscribe the words on a three-*chi*-radius stone, and bury the stone three *chi* under the earth. 夫欲建吉塚之法, 去塊後正取九步九尺, 名日 '上玄辟非.' 華蓋宮王氣神趙子都, 塚墓百忌害氣之神, 盡來屬之. 能制五土之精, 轉禍為福. 侯王之塚, 招搖欲隱. 起九尺, 以石方圓三尺題其文, 埋之土三尺也.

Shangxuan bird exorcising evil spirits (*shangxuan pifei* 上玄辟非)

Stupid men in the world made thousands of ineffectual attempts to do this. Who could understand the four auspicious and ominous images? Both the success and failure of the tomb under *pifei* 辟非 (exorcising evil spirits) depended on it. Ordinary persons could hardly understand this. If one was clear about this method, his or her descendants would have no risk of tombs. Know the tomb method, and all the taboos would be suppressed and ominous affairs would turn to auspicious. 世間愚人徒復千條萬章, 誰能明吉凶四相哉? 辟非之下塚墓, 由此而成, 亦由此而敗. 非神非聖, 難可明也. 必能審此術, 子孫無復塚墓之患. 能知墳墓之法, 千禁萬忌, 一皆厭之, 必反凶為吉.

Dark warrior keeping body (*xuanwu yanqu* 玄武延軀)

If you get the method, auspicious tombs would last forever. This could not be declared. 能得此法, 永為吉塚, 不足宣也.

This paper was different from the green writing paper. Use this method, and evils would also be released. Nine steps and nine chi in tombs, rather than ten steps and three chi, were exactly the center. 此一紙異手書青紙. 依如此法, 亦為可解. 其九步九尺, 而不云十步三尺者, 是九尺入塚裏, 正取中心為數也.

Tiger roaring at scars (*huxiao bachui* 虎嘯八垂)

However, *pifei* should be the vermilion bird in the back of the tomb. If the zhi 徵 tomb was towards jia 甲, the vermilion bird would be in the southwest, *yu* 羽 tomb towards *geng* 庚, the vermilion bird in the northeast. Here did not discuss this.

但辟非應是朱鳥而云塚後, 若徵家 (塚) 甲向, 朱鳥在西南; 羽家 (塚) 庚向, 朱鳥在東北, 所不論耳.

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15 Yoshikawa & Mugitani, *Zhengao jiaozhu*, 331.

Fig. 11 Inscriptions "this is *Pifeishou* 此名辟非守 " on Zhai Mensheng's 翟門生 couch (photograph and rubbing)[16]

Therefore, the inscription '玄武延□' (fig. 10) must be '玄武延軀.'[17] According to the record above, this was a four-creature burial method, which was the special tomb-protecting way of Shangqing Daoism. 'Shangxuan pifei,' as an image of the four, was also the name of the burial method.[18]

What was *pifei* in *Zhengao*? Images with inscriptions on Zhai Mensheng's 翟門生 couch dated 543 and collected in the Shenzhen Wangye Museum 深圳望野博物館 convince us (fig. 11). The inscription, 'this is called *pifeishou*' (此名辟非守), showed what was *pifei*. This image was also found in the back wall of the No. 3 Cave in the Gongxian Stone Grottoes 鞏縣石窟 3 (fig. 12), above the gate

16 Fig 11 is from Zhao, 'Jieshao Huke Cui Mensheng mumen zhiming ji shi pingfeng,' vol. 2: 681, plate 5.

17 Zhang & Bai, *Daojiao kaogu*, 1476.

18 Ibid, 1476–1479.

of Xu Xianxiu's 徐顯秀 (502–571) tomb (fig. 13),[19] on the top of the passage of Jiuyuan Gang 九原崗 tomb (fig. 14),[20] and on the gate lintel of rear chamber in the pictorial stone tomb of Han Dynasty in Yinan 沂南 (fig. 15).[21] The three images were above the entrance to the tomb chamber, so *pifei* was painted to guard the tomb.

Fig. 12 Back wall of No. 3 Cave in the Gongxian Stone Grotto Complex 鞏縣石窟 [22]

Fig. 13 Part above the gate of Xu xianxiu's 徐顯秀 tomb[23]

[19] Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Taiyuan shi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, 'Xu Xianxiu mu,' 24, plate 36.

[20] Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Xinzhou shi wenwu guanlichu, 'Jiuyuan Gang mu,' 51–74. The date of the tomb was the early period of Northern Qi Dynasty. It will be examined in another paper.

[21] Zeng, Jiang & Li, *Yinan baogao*, 14, plates 29–8.

[22] Taken by the author.

[23] From Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, et al, 'Taiyuan Beiqi Xu Xianxiu mu fajue jianbao,' 24.

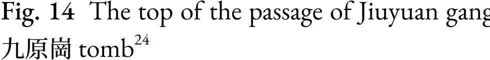

Fig. 14 The top of the passage of Jiuyuan gang 九原崗 tomb[24]

Fig. 15 Details of the gate lintel of rear chamber in the pictorial stone tomb of Han Dynasty in Yinan 沂南 [25]

Vermilion birds (*zhuque* 朱雀) were usually at the entrance of chamber or on the north wall of passage of ancient Chinese mural tombs. The location was similar to *pifei*'s in the three above-mentioned tombs. Therefore, vermilion birds were likely to be painted to guard tombs. This is attested in some degree by the later imperial edicts, in which *shangxuan pifei* was replaced with *zhuque pifei* 朱雀辟非.

Tao Hongjing's comments on *Shangxuan pifei*, according to Fan Youchong 范幼沖 (d.u.), stated: 'Four-creature tomb guarding method was identical with those recorded in books on tomb method. But I didn't know their appearance or the reason why the vermilion bird was replaced with Shangxuan' (四靈雖同墓法, 而形相莫辨. 又以朱鳥為上玄, 亦所未詳也). In light of archaeological data, *Shangxuan* might be the mysterious bird of the Nine Heavens (*jiutian xuanniao* 九天玄鳥).

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[24] From Shanxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo, et al, 'Taiyuan Beiqi Xu Xianxiu mu fajue jianbao,' 72.

[25] From Zeng, et al, 'Yi'nan gu huaxiang shimu fajue baogao,' plate 29–8.

Fig. 16 Painted wooden plate from the tomb M2 in cemetery dated from the Eastern Jin Dynasty at Nanchang Railway Station 南昌火車站 [26]

Jiangxi Provincial Institute of Archaeology (Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 江西省文物考古研究所) and Nanchang Museum (Nanchang bowuguan 南昌博物館) discovered a site of a family cemetery dated from the Eastern Jin Dynasty at Nanchang Railway Station (Nanchang huochezhan 南昌火車站) in 1997. Six tombs had been excavated. A painted wooden plate (fig. 16) in tomb M2, 21.4 cm in diameter,[27] depicts that:

> Two crocodiles with long tails and eight feet lying face to face separate the picture into two parts. In the upper part, the Queen Mother of the West (Xiwang mu 西王母) with square crown and plump cheek is playing *qin* 琴 lyre, while human-face and bird-body Mysterious Lady of the Nine Heavens (Jiutian xuannü 九天

[26] From Jiangxi sheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, et al, 'Nanchang huochezhan Dongjin muqun fajue jianbao,' 16.

[27] Jiangxi sheng kaogu yanjiusuo & Nanchang shi bowuguan, 'Nanchang huochezhan muqun,' 12–41.

> 玄女) with crown, spreading wings and long tail feather is standing opposite and listening. In the lower part, the *qiu* dragon (*qiulong* 虯龍, a kind of dragon with small horns) with a single horn, big eyes, ears, opening mouth, protruding tongue and raising head is flying in the clouds, four feet sticking out from the clouds while two of the *fenglian* 風廉 animal (the mythical animal in charge of wind), with leopard-shaped head, big round eyes, two ears, four feet, long tail and fierce appearance, are running on both sides. An animal is depicted under the mythical animals. Blue birds with dots and yarrow patterns are also painted.[28]

This is the only reliable representation of the Mysterious Lady of the Nine Heavens in archaeological material.[29]

Tomb M3 in the cemetery, namely the tomb of Lei Gai 雷陔 (266–352) and his wife, consists of a front chamber and a rear chamber. Marks of small chambers are seen on both sides of the front chamber. It must be like a cross in plain view. Family Lei in Nanchang 南昌 area had many branches in Western and Eastern Jin Dynasties. Lei Gai might be an official in Eastern Jin Dynasty. The wooden pieces, on which Lei Gai's name and list of burial clothing and other articles were recorded, were burial objects of Daoist priests and believers. Given the wooden pieces and depiction of plate in tomb M2, the clan of the six tombs of the Eastern Jin Dynasty at Nanchang Railway Station was probably a Daoist family.[30]

The Mysterious Lady of the Nine Heavens, as a goddess specializing in subduing demons, was one of the important deities in Lingbao 靈寶 Daoism.[31] She was powerful in taming evils, namely 'guarding.'[32] It was possibly because of her prominent status in Lingbao Daoism that she was absorbed in the burial system. Lingbao Daoism, also known as the tradition of Gezao 閣皂宗 and Gejia Dao

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28 Ibid, 16, fig. 8.

29 Zhang & Bai, *Daojiao kaogu*, 1004–1005.

30 Ibid, 1004.

31 Ibid, 1030.

32 Ibid, 1018–1026.

葛家道, was founded by Ge Xuan 葛玄 (164–244) and popular in Jiangnan 江南 area, especially in Jiangxi area. Mount Gezao 閣皂山 was considered the center of Lingbao Daoism. Nanchang, not far from the mountain, must be under the influence of Lingbao Daoism. Therefore, Lei's family probably had the religious faith of Lingbao Daoism.[33] This was the reason why the Mysterious Lady of the Nine Heavens was depicted in the plate from tomb M2.

Then what was the purpose of this burial system? *Juan* 4 of *Zhengao* stated:

> A man, during a death of short while, went to the Great Darkness (*taiyin* 太陰), after being interrogated by the Three Offices (*san'guan* 三官), despite his flesh decayed, blood sunk and energy channels dispersed, five viscera were still alive, bones as white as jade, seven Yin souls attending, three Yang souls guarding, three primes closing up and supreme spirit closing in. He would leave at will, maybe in thirty or twenty years, or ten or three years. When he was reborn, blood would be collected, flesh would grow, saliva and body fluid would be produced, which made him return to the condition better than that when having not been dead. This was Daoist saint's form-refining in the Great Darkness and disguise in the Three Offices. Heaven Emperor (*tiandi* 天帝) said, 'refining form in the Great Darkness, better than taking nine transmutation elixir, having straight and regular features, complexion looking like delicately beautiful clouds, ascending the Great Ultimate Gate-Tower (Taiji que 太極闕), being designated saint.' 若其人蹔 (暫) 死適太陰, 權過三官者, 肉既灰爛, 血沉脈散者, 而猶五藏自生, 白骨如玉, 七魄營侍, 三魂守宅, 三元權息, 太神內閉. 或三十年二十年, 或十年三年, 隨意而出. 當生之時, 即更收血育肉, 生津成液, 復質成形, 乃勝於昔未死之容也. 真人煉形於太陰, 易貌於三官者, 此之謂也. 天帝曰: '太陰煉身形, 勝服九轉丹. 形容端且嚴, 面色似靈雲. 上登太極闕,

[33] Zhang and Bai thought that Lei Gai was layman of the Way of the Five Pecks of Rice (Wudoumi dao 五斗米道). But they also pointed that *jiutian xuannü* depicted on the plate from the tomb M2 was related to the Lingbao Daoism. See Zhang & Bai, *Daojiao kaogu*, 1026, 1030.

受書為真人.'

Someone walked in a mountain at night five or six years after Zhao Chengzi's 趙成子 death. He saw Zhao's corpse in a stone chamber. The flesh had been decayed while the bones still been. He also found that Zhao's five viscera were still alive, with blood wrapped inside and purple placenta interconnected outside. 趙成子死後五六年, 後人晚山行, 見此死尸在石室中, 肉朽骨在. 又見腹中五藏自生如故, 液血纏裹於內, 紫包結絡於外.

When a man who had attained the Dao visit in the realm of Great Darkness, the Great Monad (*taiyi* 太乙) would guard his corpse, three Yang souls attend his bones, seven Yin souls protect his flesh, embryo spirit assist his breath. 夫得道之士暫游于太陰者, 太乙守尸, 三魂營骨, 七魄衛肉, 胎靈[掾] (錄) 氣.

The above three items were about the Aide (*zhangshi* 長史) hand-copying the Nine Real Scripture (*Jiuzhen jing* 九真經) and then taking five-mineral cream. 右三條是長史抄寫《九真經》後服五石腴事.[34]

Juan 4 in *Zhengao* also stated:

Baoming 保命 said, 'Xu Yuan 許掾 (a.k.a. Xu Xun 許珣 [d.u.]) could keep himself naturalized, following Zhang Zhennan's 張鎮南 (i.e., Zhang Lu 張魯 [?–216]) night-releasing method. Thus, he nourished the *yang* soul in the Great Darkness, stored the *yin* soul underground. Four Spiritual Creatures guarded his essence, and Five Ancients protected his viscera. Sixteen years later, you could see me in the East Prosperity (Donghua 東華).' 保命告云: '許子 (掾) 遂能委形冥化, 從張鎮南之夜解也. 所以養魂太陰, 藏魄於地, 四靈守精, 五老保藏, 復十六年, 殆覩 (睹) 我於東華矣.'[35]

Details were recorded in *juan* 8 of *Zizhi shengguo gongde jue di sanshiliu* 自知升過功德訣第三十六 [Instructions on How to Accumulate Merits No. 36] in the later scripture *Dongzhen taishang taxiao*

[34] Yoshikawa & Mugitani, *Zhengao jiaozhu*, 159.

[35] Ibid, 154.

langshu 洞真太上太霄琅書 [Precious Writ of the Highest Great Empyrean of the Great Cavern]:

> Having studied the Dao for years, one will have an extraordinary talent. Although moral integrity is yet fully developed, he will be cognizant of the total effects of his conducts that he has done since his birth, to his youth and his aging. There is good and evil in the action and stillness. He can distinguish whether he has repented the evil deeds and whether he has accumulated the good deeds, even perceiving the extent and whether they are manifest or secret. Dao is sufficient in mind and technique is sufficient in practice. Body will decay while mind and spirit live forever. His meritorious deeds benefit the society. The best situation for him is one death and rebirth. Three deaths and rebirths comes second, and then five deaths and rebirths, then seven deaths and rebirths, then nine deaths and rebirths. If one can reach this, he will be unnecessary to feel sad at the time of death. He can anticipate the departing day, his scriptures and pictures will be given to related persons and all the accessories returned to his master. If the master has ascended into heaven, those will be placed into a cave and an abyss. Properties will be passed to his descendants and disciples. Retreat rituals and will be five refinements performed to guard his corpse. Then he will cast off his own self and be reborn. This is due to his ancestors' virtue. After refinements and donations, great tasks will be accomplished in a very short time. This is consistent with Dao. If one cannot reach this, namely ten deaths and births, a hundred deaths and births and a thousand deaths and births, descendants will perform retreat rituals, give alms, do good deeds and often expiate sins for him. If one's mind can reach this and technique is different from the five items, both his body and spirit will disappear or be replaced with a sword and a stick. There is implicitness and explicitness. He will win a reputation for making scriptures and canons to benefit the posterity. It is unnecessary for this kind of people to perform retreat rituals by others. 上學積年, 必與眾異, 精識妙解, 久應出群, 德雖未備, 所作必知, 知其生來, 自少及長, 動靜之為, 有善有惡, 惡者悔與不悔, 善者積與不積, 多少隱顯, 分別識之. 道足乎心, 術足乎驗, 體應糜散, 心神當知, 功行濟世, 一死一生, 次者三死三生, 又次

五死五生, 又七死七生, 又九死九生. 品應此者, 死不須悲, 當克日時, 與眾分別, 經圖付授, 各得其人, 躬所佩帶, 悉還本師. 師已升度, 付洞及淵, 所居所服, 付物生資, 約敕子孫, 爰及弟子, 貨營齋請, 五煉鎮尸. 尸後更生, 生或托胎, 化生之由, 由於先德, 加以鎮煉, 施散立功, 功轉必速, 與道合同. 若不及此品, 十死十生, 百死百生, 千死千生, 萬死萬生, 子子孫孫, 為之齋請, 布惠行仁, 常存拔度矣. 若心同上品, 術異五條, 或身神俱去, 或劍杖代留, 有隱有顯, 垂軌立譽, 出經制法, 廣濟後生, 不假令人, 為其齋請也.

One who has studied the Dao, if his body and spirit do not all disappear, body-sacrificing technique will be used in all the transporting systems. Spirit will be refined to ascend while corpse be left to bury. The place to bury is the tomb. Ordinary people are not surprised at this custom and call it 'full of talent' (*heguang* 和光). As for the secret method, hiding in mountains and rivers, taking spirits together, guarding corpse from being decayed, and then being reborn, it will finally merge with the spirits. The universe is fair to all and deities are untied. On the ground, a green dragon holding his breath, a Shangxuan bird exorcising evil spirits, a dark warrior keeping his body and a tiger roaring at scars, after having been buried for a short time, flesh will be put on the dry bones, withered viscera will revive and haggard face will regain vitality. Spirits are reborn first, then the body, finally both merge together. This is the best way to practice Daoism and become a Daoist saint. Follow it very proficiently and you will benefit generation after generation. 上學之曹, 身神未得俱去, 運應轉輸, 皆用捨身之術, 煉神上升, 留尸下瘞. 瘞之卜地, 同墓. 凡人不駭於俗, 是謂和光. 至於密法, 潛候山川, 施置會神, 鎮尸不朽, 朽即又生, 終與神合. 天地不偏, 靈祇歸一, 地有青龍秉氣, 色 (上) 玄辟非, 玄武延軀, 虎嘯八垂, 則藏尸少時, 枯骸更肉, 凋藏生華, 瘁形又鬱, 先神後身, 混合為一, 煉易之妙方, 成真之要術, 精能遵行, 福流萬葉矣. Green Dragon holding breath, Shangxuan bird exorcising evil spirits, Dark Warrior keeping body, the Tiger roaring at scars. 青龍秉氣, 上玄辟非, 玄武延軀, 虎嘯八垂.

Method to build auspicious tombs, removing blocks and taking nine steps and nine *chi*, was called 'Shangxuan pifei.' Wangqi, Zhao Zidu and other deities in Huagai Palace, deities in charge of evil in the tomb, get together and take orders. It could subdue the essence

of the five soils and turn disaster into happiness. Aristocrats' tombs should be hidden. Dig down nine *chi*, inscribe the words on a three-*chi*-radius stone, and bury the stone three *chi* under the earth. Stupid men in the world made thousands of ineffectual attempts to do this. Who could understand the four auspicious and ominous images? Both the success and failure of the tomb under *pifei* depended on it. Ordinary persons could hardly understand this. If one was clear about this method, his or her descendants would have no risk of tombs. Know the tomb method, and all the taboos would be suppressed, and ominous affairs would turn to auspicious. If you got the method, auspicious tombs would last forever. This could not be declared. 欲建吉塚之法, 去魂後正取九步九尺, 名日上玄辟非, 華蓋宮王氣神, 趙子都塚墓百忌, 害炁之神, 盡來屬之, 能制五土之精, 轉禍為福. 侯王之家, 招搖欲隱, 起九尺, 庶人五尺, 以石方圓三尺, 題其文, 埋之入土三尺. 世間愚人, 徒復千條萬章, 誰能明吉凶, 識四相哉. 辟非之下, 塚墓由此而成, 亦由此而敗, 非神非聖, 難可明也. 必能審此術, 子孫無復塚墓之患, 能知鎮墓之法, 千禁萬忌, 一皆厭之, 必反凶為吉. 能得此法, 永為吉塚, 不可宣也.

The inscriptions three *chi* to the right say, 'Orders from the Heaven Emperor to Wang Qi 王炁, deities of five orientations (*wufang zhu shen* 五方諸神), Zhao Gongming 趙公明 etc: there is a such-and-such emperor or king or duke or marquis or official or ordinary man or woman, a certain years old, being of a pure and unadorned nature, returning to the spirit palace after death, being buried in the nether area and resting in a tranquil and empty world. All the taboos should be expelled for him or her. Do not allow them harm his or her *qi*. Let his or her descendants flourish, succeeding in literature or military achievement and be nobles from generation to generation, as long as the universe. This is in accordance with the statutes and ordinances underground.' 右三尺, 題其文日: 天帝告土下塚中王炁、五方諸神、趙公明等, 某國帝王公侯官、生民男女甲乙, 年如干歲, 生值清真之炁, 尸歸神宮, 翳身冥卿 (鄉), 潛寧沖虛, 辟斥諸禁諸忌, 不得妄為害炁, 當令子孫昌熾, 文詠九功, 武備七德, 世世貴王, 與天地無窮, 一如土下九天律令.

Use the method and you will be careful that other people don't know it. If a tomb is built, elements being mutually exclusive or insufficient should be suppressed by guarding inscriptions. Thus,

> those will be compelled to submit and ominous affairs will turn to auspicious. Fan Youchong, secretarial court gentleman in Han Dynasty, understood geomancy, especially focusing on tombs. He attained the Way at the end of Wei Dynasty. At the prefecture of Tongchu 童初, he said, 'there is a green dragon holding its breath, Shangxuan bird exorcising evil spirits, Dark Warrior keeping body and the Tiger roaring at scars in my tomb. This is immortals' home and destination of refining form, namely auspicious tomb.' 夫施用此法, 慎不可令人知. 若立塚墓, 王相刑害, 諸不足者, 一以鎮文厭之, 無不厭伏, 反凶為吉. 范幼沖, 漢時尚書郎, 解地理, 乃以塚宅為意, 魏末得道, 在童幼中, 其云: 我今墓有青龍秉炁, 上玄辟非, 玄武延軀, 虎嘯八垂, 殆神仙之丘窟, 煉形體之所歸, 乃上吉塚也.[36]

Thus, it could be seen that the function of four spiritual creatures in Shangqing Daoism was refining form in the Great Darkness, keeping the corpse from being decayed and then being reborn and being united with the spirit finally. This kind of burial system was indeed the five-fold refinement guarding method.

Although the *Zhengao* was compiled by Tao in 499,[37] it mainly reflected Shangqing Daoism before the middle of the fourth century. Actually, this kind of tomb guarding method existed in Han Dynasty. How did this spread to Shangqing Daoism in the Six Dynasties? The book *Zhengao* documented a key figure—Fan Youchong, who probably took this method from the Central Plain to the east area of the Yangtze River.

Juan 10 of the *Zhengao* says:

> Fan Youchong, secretarial court gentleman in Han Dynasty, an expert on geomancy, especially focusing on tombs, came to Tongchu

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36 *Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu* 8.692–693. Zhang and Bai thought that the date of the book *Dongzhen langshu* was later than Tao's time and it originated from the *Zhengao*. Cf. Zhang & Bai, *Daojiao kaogu*, 1479.

37 Liu, 'Ziming lunkao,' 162–163. Wang thought that the *Zhengao* had been compiled sometime between 496 and 499. Cf. Wang, *Tao Hongjing congkao*, 204–222.

> mansion at the end of Wei Dynasty. He said, 'there is a green dragon holding its breath, Shangxuan bird exorcising evil spirits, dark warrior keeping body and tiger roaring at scars in my tomb. This is immortals' home and destination of refining form, namely auspicious tomb.' This was Supervisor Fan who took three pneumas. Although the four-creature method was identical with the tomb method, we could not distinguish them. And we did not understand the reason why vermilion bird was replaced with Shangxuan either. 范幼沖, 漢時尚書郎, 善解地理, 乃以塚宅為意, 魏末得來 (得道?) 此童初中. 其言云: '我今墓有青龍秉氣, 上玄辟非, 玄武延軀, 虎嘯八垂, 殆神仙之丘窟, 煉形之所歸, 乃上吉塚也.' 其言如此. 此猶是前所服三氣之范監也. 四靈雖同墓法, 而形相莫辯. 又以朱鳥為上玄, 亦所未詳也.[38]

'This was Supervisor Fan who took three pneumas' 此猶是前所服三氣之范監也 referred to the record in the same *juan*, 'Fan Youchong, from the west of Liaoning, having cast off his own self and changed the form, came here now and fasted on three pneumas constantly. The practice of Three-pneuma Ingestion was to keep the green pneuma, the white pneuma and the red pneuma all like threads' (范幼沖, 遼西人也. 受胎化易形, 今來在此, 恒服三氣. 三氣之法, 存青炁、白氣、赤氣各如綖).[39] The inscription 'dark warrior keeping body' 玄武延軀 on Tao's tomb brick proves that the four-creature guarding method said by Fan was used in Tao's tomb. According to the record, Fan immigrated from the Central Plain to the east area of the Yangtze River in the end of Wei Dynasty and claimed his tomb was guarded by the four spiritual creatures. Although his ascending to the Heaven documented in the book *Zhengao* was not taken as credible, a group of Daoists immigrated from the Central Plain to the east area of the Yangtze River to seek refuge in the period between the end of Han Dynasty and Jin Dynasty. They brought with them the cultural tradition of the Central Plain.[40] This is also reflected in archaeological discoveries.

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[38] Yoshikawa & Mugitani, *Zhengao jiaozhu*, 330. Zhang and Bai thought that '*delai*' 得來 ('came here') was an error for '*dedao*' 得道 ('ascended to the Heaven'). Cf. Zhang & Bai, *Daojiao kaogu*, 1476.

[39] Yoshikawa & Mugitani, *Zhengao jiaozhu*, 309.

[40] Liu, 'Wang Ningzhi zhi si,' 74.

Tomb M1 in the Wanshou Village 萬壽村 in Nanjing excavated in 1957 is an example of this practice before Tao's time.[41] The tomb was in a convex shape, with a vault and a short passage. It is identical with tomb M1 in the Xinning Brick and Tile Factory (*xinning zhuanwa chang* 新寧磚瓦廠) in Nanjing in plane view (fig. 17). Inscription 'the tenth month of fourth year of the period of Yonghe, Gui from Chengyang' (永和四年十月城陽炅氏) on the brick of Tomb M1 in the Wanshou Village indicates that the date of the tomb is 348 (fig. 18).

There are rope pattern, pattern made of cross and lotus petals, dragon pattern, tiger pattern animal mask pattern and geometrical pattern on the tomb bricks. Dragon patterns are printed separately on the sides of two bricks, and the inscriptions 'dragon' (*long* 龍) are printed beside it. Tiger patterns are printed separately on the ends of three bricks, and the inscription 'tiger roaring at a hill' (虎嘯丘山) is printed around it (fig. 19).[42]

'Tiger roaring at scars,' replaced here with 'tiger roaring at a hill,' is similar to 'dark warrior keeping body,' 'green dragon holding breath' and 'tiger roaring at scars' being replaced with 'perfected warrior keeping body' (真武延軀), 'green dragon staying in the left' (青龍居左), and 'white tiger guarding in the right' (白虎守右) in the later imperial edicts. Flat-roofed and vault-roofed tombs outside the Zhonghua Gate 中華門 in Nanjing dated from the Six Dynasties were common structures in northern China in the Han and Jin periods.[43] Tomb M1 in the Wanshou Village is one of the tombs.

The ancestor of the Gui clan, Gui Heng 炅橫 (d.u.), was the governor of Chengyang 城陽 (now Puyang 濮陽) in the reign of Han Mingdi 漢明帝 (r. 58–75). The occupant of tomb M1 was an immigrant from the north. This is why animal mask patterns in the tomb M1 are in northern styles (fig. 20). This further strengthens that the graveyard outside the Zhonghua Gate in Nanjing was one of the burial areas of immigrants from the north.

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41 Nanjing shi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, 'jianbao,' 232.

42 Ibid, 232.

43 Ibid, 236.

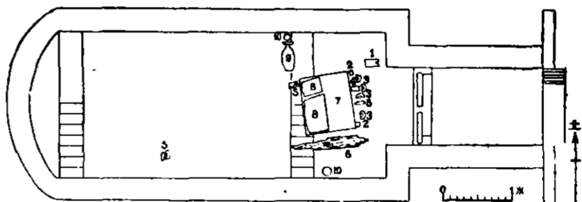

Fig. 17 Plan of tomb M1 in the Xinning Brick and Tile Factory 新寧磚瓦廠 in Nanjing[44]

Fig. 19 Pictorial tomb brick with inscriptions 'Tiger Roaring at a Hill' 虎 嘯 丘 山 from the tomb M1 in the Wanshou Village 萬壽村 in Nanjing[46]

Fig. 18 Brick with inscriptions 'the 10th month of 4th year of the Yonghe Era, Gui from Chengyang' 永和四年十月城陽炅氏 [45]

[44] From Nanjing shi wenwu baoguan weiyuanhui, 'Nanjing liuchao mu qingli jianbao,' 231.

[45] Ibid, 232.

[46] Ibid.

Fig. 20 Brick with mask pattern from the tomb M1 in the Wanshou Village 萬壽村 in Nanjing [47]

Burial system of Tao Hongjing's tomb and tomb M1 in the Wanshou Village is in accordance with the record 'inscribe the words on a three-*chi*-radius stone and bury the stone three *chi* under the earth' (以石方圓三尺, 題其文, 埋之入土三尺) in the *Zhengao*.

BUDDHIST INFLUENCE AND APPEARANCE OF BUDDHIST INSCRIPTIONS

Although Tao Hongjing inherited the scriptures of Shangqing Daoism and established the tradition of Mount Mao, he was proficient in scriptures of Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism and was in favor of religious integration. Inscriptions related to Buddhism on his tomb bricks were a reflection of his Buddhist faith. As a Daoist saint, Tao always took the position of Daoism to assimilate Confucianism and Buddhism: 'Take the three religions together and integrate them into Dao' (總括三教, 與道合一).[48] There is a consensus among scholars that Tao Hongjing's attitude toward Buddhism was a common strategy of Daoists and Confucianists during the Six Dynasties.

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Liu, 'Tao Hongjing yanjiu,' 22. Wang holds that Tao was reluctant to accept Buddhism. Cf. Wang, *Tao Hongjing congkao*, 15–40.

Tao Hongjing's biography in the *Liangshu* 梁書 [History of the Liang Dynasty] says, '[Tao Hongjing] dreamed that the Buddha predicted him to be a bodhisattva named Shengli. Then he went to the *stūpa* of King Aśoka in the Mao county 鄮縣 to make vows and took the five monastic precepts' (曾夢佛授其菩提記, 名為 '勝力菩薩.' 乃詣鄮縣阿育王塔自誓, 受五大戒).[49] *Juan* 7 of *Maoshan zhi* states:

> In the fourth year of the Tianjian era (505), [Tao Hongjing] moved to the east of the ridge and was engaged in alchemy. In the seventh year (508), considering that the forest and mountain were adjacent to the world, he thought about travelling far away again, so he renamed himself 'Wang Zheng' 王整, formally called 'Waibing' 外兵, and left the mountain at midnight for Mount Qingzhang 青嶂 in the Nan River (*nanjiang* 楠江) area in Yongjia 永嘉 where he dreamed that the Buddha predicted him to be a Bodhisattva named Shengli 勝力. Then he went to Daruoyan 大若岩 where he compiled the book *Zhengao*. Then he went to Mount Huo 霍山 by boat. A year later, he returned to the Island Muliu 木溜嶼. Emperor Wudi issued an edict to welcome him to return to the former mountain. He visited Mao county on the way, worshiped the *stūpa* of King Aśoka, made vows, and received the five monastic precepts. On his return, he lived in the East Ravine (*dongjian* 東澗). In the winter of the following year, he moved to the Abbey of Vermilion Yang and then to the Study of Lush Ridge (Yugang zhai 鬱岡齋). He wrote over 200 *juan* of books and the disciples receiving his scriptures and methods during his lifetime exceeded 3,000. 天監四年, 出居嶺東, 有事於爐燧. 七年, 以為林岩淺近, 復思遠遊, 乃改名氏曰 '王整,' 官稱 '外兵,' 夜半出山, 至永嘉楠江青嶂山, 夢佛授記, 名 '勝力菩薩,' 住大若岩, 修所著《真誥》. 復泛海, 詣霍山. 經年, 還木溜嶼. 武帝有敕, 迎還舊山. 因詣鄮縣, 禮阿育王塔, 自誓, 受五大攝戒. 既歸, 入住東澗. 明年冬, 徙朱陽館, 又移鬱岡齋室. 先生山世所著書二百余卷, 弟子受經法者三千餘人.[50]

[49] *Liang shu* 51.743; *Nan shi* 76.1899.

[50] *Maoshan zhi* 10.198–199.

'Yinju Zhenbai xiansheng Tao jun bei' 隱居貞白先生陶君碑 [Inscriptions of Master Zhenbai] by Xiao Lun 蕭綸 (507–551) says:

> [Tao Hongjing] built many Buddhist statues, copied scriptures, built *stūpa*s, recruited monks, and prepared all the offerings. He swore on his own to devote himself to Buddhism, accepted Bodhisattva's teachings, dreamt of ascending to the seven *bhūmi* and received a good name. He reported all these to the emperor and obtained imperial permission. [陶弘景] 大造佛像, 爰及寫經、起塔、招僧, 備諸供養. 自誓道場, 受菩薩法, 夢登七地, 又得嘉名, 具以啟聞, 蒙敕許可.[51]

Tao Hongjing practised both Buddhism and Daoism, established Buddhist and Daoist halls in Mount Mao, and worshiped them every other day. *Tao Yinju neizhuan* 陶隱居內傳 [Intimate Biography of Tao Hongjing] cited from *Bianzheng lun* 辨正論 [Treatise to Discuss the Correct] by Falin 法琳 (572–640) says, '[Tao Hongjing] established a Buddhist hall and a Daoist hall on Mount Mao and worshiped them every other day. There were statues in the Buddhist hall, but not in the Daoist hall' ([陶弘景] 在茅山中立佛、道二堂, 隔日朝禮. 佛堂有像, 道堂無像).[52] There were both monks and Daoist priests in his attendants.

Concerning Chonghe zi 沖和子 (d.u.) and Tao Hongjing in *juan* 6 of *Bianzheng lun* says:

> [Chonghe zi and Tao Hongjing] were often engaged in venerating the Buddhist doctrines. They worshiped all the monks they met and install Buddhas' images in all caves. They, as well as their disciples and other followers, often confessed at dawn and dusk and read Bud-

51 *Wenyuan yinghua* 873.4605.

52 *Bianzheng lun*, *T* no. 2110, 52: 6.535a, 547c. Also found in *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 13.185a. There are no such words in *Huayang Yinju neizhuan* by Jia Song 賈嵩 (?–727) in Tang Dynasty. If it was not included in the missing part of Jia Song's work, it was possibly from another work of the same name. Cf. Xu, *Xingshi yu meixue*, 193.

dhist scripture constantly. Note: *Xuanji chaowen* 璇璣抄文 was composed by Chonghe zi, to criticize the Daoist priests at the time who did not value Buddhism. Therefore, Tao Yinju replied to the Dharma Master Daluan 大鸞 (i.e., Tanluan 曇鸞 [476–542]), 'I heard your voice last month and read your words this morning. Probably due to having paid homage to the Buddha for years, a worthy true on (*arhat*) like you is eventually to come! I shall tidy my cane and pouf, spread out the flower and water, straighten my clothes and behave in dignified way to respectfully listen to the vibrating sound of your staff. Respectfully your disciple Tao Hongjing.' 常以敬重佛法為業, 但逢眾僧, 莫不禮拜, 岩穴之內, 悉安佛像. 自率門徒, 受學之士, 朝夕懺悔, 恒讀佛經. 案:《璇璣抄文》, 沖和子所制. 以非當世道士不敬佛者. 故陶隱居答大鸞法師書云: '去朔耳聞音聲, 茲晨眼受文字. 或由頂禮歲積, 故致真應來儀. 正爾整拂藤蒲, 采汲花水, 端襟儼思, 佇聆警錫也. 弟子華陽陶弘景和南.'[53]

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[53] *Bianzheng lun*, *T* no. 2110, 52: 6.534a. Also found in *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 13.184c. 'Dharma Master Daluan 大鸞' here obviously refers to Tanluan 曇鸞 (476–542), whose interactions with Tao Hongjing on the one hand and with Emperor Wu of Liang on the other, are featured in his biography at *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 6.470b9–17:

> Emperor Wu of the Liang descended from the [palace] steps to greet [Tao Hongjing], inquiring of him from where he had come. Tanluan said, 'Though eager to study Buddhadharma, I regret the brevity of my life. I have therefore come from afar to visit Tao Yinju in pursuit of the art of immortality.' The emperor said, 'A hermit uninvolved with the world, he has rejected Our repeated summons. Proceed to visit him.' Tanluan therefore sent [Tao Hongjing] greetings with a letter, which Tao [Hongjing] replied: 帝降階禮接, 問所由來. 鸞曰: '欲學佛法, 恨年命促減. 故來遠造陶隱居, 求諸仙術.' 帝曰: '此傲世遁隱者, 比屢徵不就, 任往造之.' 鸞尋致書通問. 陶乃答曰:
>
>> I heard your voice last month and read your words this morning. Probably due to having paid homage to the Buddha for years, a worthy true one (*arhat*) like you is eventually to come! I shall tidy my cane and pouf, spread out flowers and water, straighten my clothes and behave in a dignified way to respectfully listen to the vibrating sound of your staff. 去月耳聞音聲, 茲辰眼受文字. 將由頂禮歲積, 故使應真來儀. 正爾整拂藤蒲, 具陳花水. 端襟斂思, 竚

Zhenzheng lun 甄正論 [Treatise to Distinguish the Correct] by Shi Xuanni 釋玄嶷 (fl. 684–704) records,

> Tao Hongjing from Danyang was very well-informed and exceedingly clever. As a Daoist priest, he lived a reclusive life in the Abbey of Vermilion Yang in Mount Mao and was indifferent to worldly matters. He was also named 'Zhenbai xiansheng' 貞白先生 or 'Tao Yinju.' Plenty of his works were popular in his time. He clothed himself in Daoist garment and venerated the Buddhism in mind. He built *stūpa* on the grounds of his residence, painted the Buddha's image, and presented offerings by himself. He named himself 'Bodhisattva Shengli.' The *stūpa* was located in the Abbey of Vermilion Yang on Mount Mao and has not been polluted by birds' droppings up to now. 其時丹陽陶弘景, 性多博識, 聰睿過人. 身為道士, 居於茅山之朱陽, 靜退無為, 不交時事. 時號 '貞白先生.' 又號 '陶隱居.' 多所著述, 並行於代. 躬衣道服, 心敬佛法, 于所居地起塔, 圖佛容像, 親自供養, 號曰 '勝力菩薩.' 其塔見在茅山朱陽觀中, 於今不為鳥雀所汙.[54]

> 聆警錫也.
>
> After arriving at [Tao Hongjing's] mountain residence, they conversed to their mutual pleasure. [Tao Hongjing] therefore sent [Tanluan] a ten-fascicle scripture of immortality to repay his endeavor to come to visit him from afar. 及屆山所, 接對欣然. 便以仙經十卷, 用酬遠意.

Note the significant differences between the two versions of Tao Hongjing's letter to Tanluan as presented in *Bianzheng lun* and *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, highlighted below (my thanks to Professor Jinhua Chen for bringing this to my attention on April 4, 2021):

Bianzheng lun 辯正論	*Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳
去朔耳聞音聲, 茲晨眼受文字. 或由頂禮歲積, 故致真應來儀. 正爾整拂藤蒲, 采汲花水, 端襟儼思, 佇聆警錫也. 弟子華陽陶弘景和南.	去月耳聞音聲, 茲辰眼受文字. 將由頂禮歲積, 故使應真來儀. 正爾整拂藤蒲, 具陳花水. 端襟斂思, 竚聆警錫也.

[54] *Zhenzheng lun*, *T* no. 2112, 52: 3.568b.

Tao Hongjing's biography in *Nanshi* records his last words:

> After my death, [you] need not bathe me, need not lay me on a bed, just put two mats on the ground, let me in my old clothes, wear a skirt, sleeves, stockings, headdress and Daoist clothes, put a register bell on the left elbow and a medicine bell on the right elbow, a talisman should be bound under the left armpit. Twist a rope round my waist, tie a knot in front, and insert a talisman in my hair bun. The whole body, including the head and feet, should be covered in a large *kāṣāya*. Carriages and horses should be included in the burial objects. Buddhist monks and Daoist priests should be present, monks in the left and priests right. Lamps should be always lighted at night and incense burned in the daytime for a hundred days. 既沒不須沐浴, 不須施床, 止兩重席於地, 因所著舊衣, 上加生裓裙及臂衣韈冠巾法服. 左肘篆鈴, 右肘藥鈴, 佩符絡左腋下. 繞腰穿環結於前, 釵符於髻上. 通以大袈裟覆衾蒙首足. 明器有車馬. 道人, 道士並在門中, 道人左, 道士右. 百日內夜常然燈, 旦常香火.[55]

His disciples did as he instructed. Record in *Liangshu* says, '[Tao] Hongjing left his last words making a simple burial. His disciples followed his words' (弘景遺令薄葬, 弟子遵而行之).[56] Tao Hongjing named himself 'Bodhisattva Shengli.' He dreamt that the name was conferred by the Buddha and claimed that he was Bodhisattva Shengli in a previous incarnation, hence the inscription of 'disciple of the Buddha' on his tomb bricks. The records above are confirmed and supplemented by the inscriptions discovered in 1986.

INFLUENCE OF THE BURIAL SYSTEMS OF TAO HONGJING'S TOMB

Building tombs with bricks bearing Daoist and Buddhist inscriptions was common in the Liang Dynasty. Tao Hongjing's tomb was just

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[55] *Nan shi* 76.1899–1900.

[56] *Liang shu* 51.743.

one of these.[57] He created both Daoist and Buddhist atmospheres in his tomb. From the archaeological data, however, influence of the burial systems of his tomb focused on Daoist elements, including the four-creature guarding method and burial system of hanging the coffin with an iron chain.

Zhao Hongda's 趙洪達 tomb dated to the period before the reign of Tang Xuanzong 唐玄宗 (r. 712–756) was excavated in Fugou 扶溝 County, Henan Province in 1964. It was built with bricks and there was a single chamber in it (fig. 21). Zhao Hongda's couple were buried together. An imperial edict was found in the tomb. Nine-line imperial edict is surrounded by inscriptions, 'the Green Dragon holding breath, Shangxuan bird exorcising evil spirits, the Dark Warrior keeping body, the Tiger roaring at scars' (青龍秉氣, 上玄辟非, 玄武延軀, 虎嘯八垂), which is inscribed in regular script with double outline (fig. 22).[58] There is no frame between the edict and the inscriptions. Four spiritual creatures corresponded to the inscriptions inscribed outside. This was not found in the tombs in the Western Sichuan area of Northern and Southern Dynasties.[59] Although there is no absolute date in the inscriptions, the date of the tomb could be deduced from the objects in the tomb. It was earlier than the reign of Tang Xuanzong.

Two square stones were discovered in the central part of the tomb. One has a cover, but both the stone and its cover bear nothing. The other has no cover and is roughly made, 36×38×8–10 cm. There is a nine-line imperial edict inscribed on the stone. Each line consists of twelve characters. The edict states thus:

> Orders from the Heaven Emperor to Wangqi, deities of four orientations, Zhao Gongming, etc: Zhao Hongda, from Fugou County, Xuzhou 許州, Tang country, died at forty, his wife *née* <lacuna>, who died at seventy-two, being of a pure and unadorned nature,

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[57] This will be studied in another paper.

[58] Henan Sheng Wenhua Ju Wenwu Gongzuo Dui, 'Zhao Hongda mu,' 368–388.

[59] Zhang & Bai, *Daojiao kaogu*, 1473.

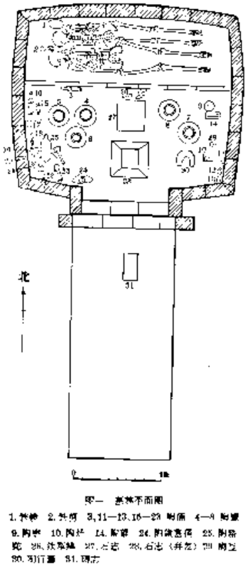

Fig. 21 Plan of Zhao Hongda's 趙洪達 tomb[60]

Fig. 22 Imperial Edict from Zhao Hongda's 趙洪達 tomb[61]

returning to the spirit palace after death, being buried in the nether area and resting in a tranquil and empty world, all the taboos should be expelled for them. Not allow the taboos to be harmful. Let them have plenty of descendants. All descendants will succeed in both literature and/or military affairs and be nobles from generation to generation, as long as the universe. This is in accordance with the statutes and ordinances underground.

天帝告主(土)下塚中王氣、四方諸
神、趙公明等: 唐國許州扶溝縣
□川公趙洪達, 四十; 夫⃞人⃞□
氏年七十二. 生⃞直清⃞真⃞之⃞

[60] From Henan sheng wenhua ju wenwu gongzuo dui,'Henan Fugou xian Tang Zhao Hongda mu,' 386.

[61] Ibid, 387.

> 氣, 死歸神宮, 翳身冥卿(鄉), 潛宁
> 沖虛, 辟斥(斥)諸禁忌, 不得忘為
> 害氣. 當令子孫昌熾, 文咏九功,
> 武備七德, 世世貴王, 與天地
> 無窮. 一如主 (土) 下九天律令! [62]

'[illegible]' is a strong evidence that this edict originated from the words in *Zhengao*.[63] Zhang and Bai pointed out that Huagai Palace edicts (*huagai gong wen* 華蓋宮文) and Heaven-earth edicts (*tiandi chigao wen* 天地敕告文) found in the tombs dated from the Song Dynasty in the Western Sichuan area were also affected by this.[64]

Tao Hongjing's tomb became a famous site where Daoist priests in later times probed into the abstruse after it had been excavated in the Xining 熙寧 era (1068–1077) of Song Dynasty. Palace eunuch Luo Chunyi visited Tao's tomb. The burial system of hanging coffin with an iron chain in eunuchs' tombs probably originated from Luo Chunyi, as indicated by a report in *Juan* 5 of *Maoshan zhi* quoted, translated and discussed above.[65]

Likewise, it is also worthwhile to mention the following two relevant reports. *Juan* 7 in *Maoshan zhi* reports,

> Tao Hongjing wrote a poem named *Gaoshi pian* 告逝篇 [Departure] and showed this to Huan Fakai 桓法闓, etc. on the twelfth day of the third lunar month of the second year of the Datong 大同 era (Datong 2.3.12=April 18, 536). Tao Hongjing released that day by means of corpse at the age of eighty-one. A sweet smell had scented the room for days. The emperor sent a drafter in charge of his funeral affairs. An empty coffin was buried in Mount Leiping on the fourteenth day of that month (Datong 2.3.14=April 20, 536). He

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62 The lacuna in the imperial edict of Zhao Hongda were filled according to the *juan* 8 of *Zizhi shengguo gongde jue di sanshiliu of Dongzhen taishang taixiao langshu*. Cf. *DZ* no. 33, 692–693.

63 Zhang & Bai, *Daojiao kaogu*, 1480.

64 Ibid, 1452–1472.

65 *Maoshan zhi* 8.168 (see Section 1); Shao, 'Chubu renshi,' 62–63.

was good-looking and outstanding, with bright eyes, slim figure and long neck. He once said that his mind was always clear like a mirror, so he had no block when dealing with anything. Ziyang Wang Jun 紫陽王君 said, 'Venerable Tao has been the leader of lower immortal for long times. His rank was the same as Fan Youchong's.' Prime Minister Zhao 赵丞 said, 'Directorate of Penglai waterways Gao Guang 高光 has been removed for failure to tame the flood. Tao was asked to replace him. But recruitment has stopped afterwards. Another will be elected.' This happened during the *yiwei* year (515) and was recorded in *Zhoushi xuantong ji* 周氏玄通記 [Records of Mr. Zhou's Communications with the Unseen]. Tao passed away in twenty-five years and gained a higher position in the heaven. 大同二年三月十二日, 作《告逝篇》示桓法闓等, 即日尸解, 年八十一. 屋中香氣積日不散. 敕遣舍人主書監護喪事, 十四日窆虛柩於雷平山. 先生神儀明秀, 盼睞有光, 形細長項, 耳間矯矯, 顯然異眾矣. 嘗言心中恒如明鏡, 觸形遇物不覺滯礙. 紫陽王君曰: '陶公久入下仙之上, 乃范幼沖等也.' 趙丞曰: '蓬萊都水監高光, 坐治水事被責, 以陶代之. 既且停召, 當更選耳.' 按此乃乙未年中事, 見《周氏玄通記》, 後二十一年, 先生始去世, 仙位當更升也.[66]

Huayang Tao Yinju neizhuan 華陽陶隱居內傳 [Intimate Biography of Tao Hongjing] by Jia Song 賈嵩 (?–727) reported thus:

Tao passed away on the twelfth day (a *kuichou* day) of the third lunar month of the second year (a *bingchen* year) of the Datong era of the Liang Dynasty. He wrote a poem named *Gaoshi pian* 告逝篇 to show his disciples in the early morning of the day. The content of the poem is seen in the collection of his works. He departed peacefully in the period of *si* 巳 (9 a.m. – 11 a.m.). His body was not stiff, and his complexion did not change. Rare fragrance and supernatural signs filled the valley were full of the valley. The clothes-releasing method was seen when the encoffining ceremony was started. The corpse existed at the beginning. After a while, only the hat, the sword and clothes were left. The coffin was buried in Mount Leiping

66 *Maoshan zhi* 10.199.

> on the fourteenth day of the third lunar month. 以梁大同二年丙辰三月十二日癸丑解駕違世. 其日: 詰朝, 做《告逝篇》示其門人. 其篇云云具集中. 巳時恬然乃去, 支體柔弱, 顏色不變, 異香奇靈繚繞山谷, 將斂乃見空衣變解之道. 初宛然見尸存, 存未幾, 但冠劍及空衣存耳. 十四日窆靈柩于雷平山.[67]

'It was like Xuanyuan's 軒轅 burying hat and clothes and Ziqiao's 子喬 burying sword and shoes. He released on the day and magic figures could be gained' (若軒轅之葬衣冠, 如子喬之藏劍舄, 比於茲日, 可得符焉).[68] It is probable that Tao Hongjing's disciples hung the coffin with iron chains, set a sword, a pot and a mirror in the coffin, and 'left shoes to indicate release and the sword to gather spirits' (留舄表化, 棄劍凝神) in the tomb in order to create an illusion of releasing by corpse. This is the inside story of burying the empty coffin and the clothes-releasing method. In other words, it is possible that Tao had not been buried in the tomb, but elsewhere in Mount Leiping. Luo Chunyi found the tomb under the influence of religious faith and considered that Tao Hongjing had released by corpse.[69] So, Luo arranged his burial affairs according to this method. This method had become one of the burial schemes among eunuchs.

According to the current archaeological findings, the burial system of hanging a coffin with an iron chain was popular in eunuchs of the Ming Dynasty,[70] such as Yang Qing 楊慶 (buried in 1430),

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[67] *Huayang Tao Yinju neizhuan* 2.508–509.

[68] *Maoshan zhi* 21.304.

[69] Daoist priests in the Yuanyou era of Song Dynasty took the inscriptions on the tomb brick as talismans and showed these to other people. In addition, Luo Zongzhen 羅宗真 visited Mount Mao twice during 1993–1994 and found that many printed bricks had been laid on the walls of farmhouses in the west of the site of the Abbey of Vermilion Yang. He thought that these bricks were probably from the Tao's tomb, abbeys or the tombs of Tao's disciples because they were discovered near the site of the Abbey of Vermilion Yang and Mount Leiping. Cf. Luo, 'Kaozheng,' 83–84.

[70] The burial system has not been found in the tombs of eunuchs of Song Dynasty. We should pay more attention in the future.

Hong Bao 洪保 (buried in the period of 1436–1499), Niu Yu 牛玉 (buried in 1500) and Zhao Fen 趙芬 (tomb M1 in Beijing Technology and Business University).[71] These tombs were of high rank, most of which were built of brick and with two chambers. Tomb M4 at the Shooting Range of Shijingshan District (Shijingshan sheji chang 石景山射擊場) in Xiangshan South Road (Xiangshan nanlu 香山南路) in Beijing even imitated the structure of mausoleums of the Ming Dynasty. Their tombs were the place where they continued to practice Daoism after death. The inscriptions on the gate of the rear chamber in Zhao Fen's tomb, the 'Cave of Nourishing the Inner Nature' (Yangxing dong 養性洞), indicates the connection of the burial system and Daoism. Unfortunately, they have not become immortals by corpse releasing and have left dry bones all the same.

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Abbreviation

DZ *Zhengtong daozang* 正統道藏. See Primary Sources, *Zhengtong daozang*.

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經; see Bibliography 3, Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe, *et al* (comps.).

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[71] Cf. Shao, 'Chubu renshi,' 52–64; Nanjing shi bowuguan et al., 'Hong Bao mu,' 41–52; Baoding diqu bowuguan, 'Niu Yu mu,' 76–80; Beijing shi wenwu yanjiu suo, *mingdai taijian mu*; Xu, 'Fajue yu renshi,' 58–74. These tombs in Nanjing date from the same period. Tomb M3 was started to build around 1476 and the occupant was buried in 1494.

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Chapter Eighth
From *Jingguan* 京觀 to Buddhist Temples: Dealing with Providing Salvation to Fallen Soldiers during the Sui and Early Tang *

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Abstract: In the political culture of ancient China, there were two traditions for dealing with corpses on the battlefield. The first was the 'Jingguan' 京觀 tradition, which involved piling up the bodies of defeated and slain commanders and soldiers and then covering them with dirt; this expressed martial dominance and aimed to deter enemies. The other tradition was that of a benevolent monarch. It involved burying the remains and skeletons of the defeated, thereby forming the image of a benevolent monarch blessing the bones of his enemies. From the Sui Dynasty to the early Tang Dynasty, Buddhism came to intersect with these two traditions. Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty built a Buddhist temple on the battle-

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field of Xiangzhou 相州 to pray for his own fallen commanders and soldiers, and it also prayed for the souls of the enemy army, which had never been done before.

The climax of this shift occurred with Emperor Taizong of the Tang Dynasty. Under the influence of a monk named Mingshan 明贍 (559–628), Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649) set up Buddhist temples at the sites of the seven major battles that led to him founding the Tang Dynasty. He also had Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–638), Xu Jingzong 許敬宗 (592–672), and Yan Shigu 顔師古 (581–645) make inscriptions on these stelae, which became visible to the world. Like Emperor Wen of the Sui Dynasty, these temples were built to give blessings to both 'the righteous soldiers and the murderers who fell on the battlefield.' The names of these seven temples — Zhaoren 昭仁 (Projecting Benevolence), Puji 普濟 (Universal Relief), Dengci 等慈 (Equal Benevolence), and so on—truly reflected Taizong's concept of 'comprehensive and equal Buddhist compassion for all.' By using such Buddhist terms as 'compassion,' 'equality,' and 'salvation,' Emperor Taizong transcended the tradition of 'burying the remains and skeletons of the defeated.' When Emperor Taizong built the seven temples to save the souls from the battlefields, he also demolished the new and old *jingguan* mounds across the whole nation, as he had completely transcended the tradition. This was because building temples and erecting stelae also achieved the *jingguan*'s objective of projecting martial dominance. From Emperor Wen in the Sui Dynasty to Emperor Taizong in the Tang Dynasty, and from the erecting of Buddhist temples to the abolition of the *jingguan* tradition, we can clearly see one aspect of the profound effect that Buddhist had on traditional Chinese political culture during the medieval period of Chinese history.

Keywords: *Jingguan* 京觀, Buddhist Temples, Chang'an, Tang Emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–649), Mingshan 明贍 (559–628)

Life and death is likely the greatest matter confronted by humanity. In the field of medieval Chinese history, discussions related to death have already been developed from several different perspectives. For example, the system of funeral rites has been studied from the perspective of the history of state ritual,[1] attention has been paid

to mausoleums and graves from the perspective of archaeology,[2] post-mortem worldviews have been inspected,[3] and, of course, integral explanations have been provided from the perspective of new cultural history.[4] In recent years, with the development of the history of the human body and medical treatment history, the human corpse has become an important research topic. For example, Li Jianmin 李建民 has researched the ancient Chinese custom of 'burying the body,'[5] and Chen Hao 陳昊 has researched corpses and epidemics during the Sui and Tang dynasties.[6] In addition, Xie Shiwei (=Hsieh Shu-wei) 謝世維, Liu Yi 劉屹, and others have conducted in-depth research on the Daoist tradition of post-mortem cultivation.[7] It can thus be said that these studies have provided diverse and plentiful perspectives from which to understand the questions of death and the body in medieval China. This chapter mainly discusses the influence Buddhism had on the treatment of dead bodies on the battlefield and the salvation of deceased souls during the Sui and Tang dynasties.

There is little doubt that war and epidemics are forces that often produce the largest number of corpses, and the number of deaths caused by wars is particularly alarming. The way in which corpses from the battlefield are handled, especially the corpses of the defeated faction, is particularly interesting. In ancient China, there were rather special ways for handling these corpses. Namely, the victorious side often gathered the corpses or heads of their fallen soldiers, piled them

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1 E.g., Iwami, 'Tōdai kyōre no kōzō'; Egawa, 'Tōdai no jōbo kirei'; Wu, *Zhongji zhi dian*. Regarding first-hand materials on the Tang Dynasty funerary system for emperors, see Kaneko, annot., *Daitō Gennyō gichū shinshyaku*.

2 E.g., Pu, *Muzang yu Shengsi*; Shen, *Tangling de buju: Kongjian yu zhixu*; Cheng, *Guanzhong diqu Tangdai muzang yanjiu*.

3 E.g., Yu, *Donghan shengsi guan*; Gong, *Lianghan lingming shijieguan tanjiu*.

4 Lu, *Beiwei Tang Song siwang wenhuashi*; Tu, *Shenhun*, *shihai yu zhongmu*.

5 Li, 'Shiti, Kulou, Hunpo'; 'Zhongguo Gudai 'Yanci' Lisu Kao.'

6 Chen, 'Ruoyinruoxian de Chengshi Zhong bei Yiwang de Shiti?'

7 Xie, 'Lianxing yu Liandu.' Regarding Daoist *liandu* 煉度, also consult Liu, 'Sihou Chengxian.'

on two sides of a major road or the battlefield itself, and then covered the remains with soil so that they formed a large mound. This method was known as '*jingguan*' 京觀 or '*wujun*' 武軍. In recent years, a good deal of research has been carried out on the *jingguan*.[8] This has consisted of rather meticulous examinations of its basic connotations, historical development, and functions. However, previous research did not pay attention to the fact that during the Sui Dynasty and the early Tang Dynasty, the *jingguan* method was criticised. This relatively cruel method was essentially no longer applied to enemy soldiers; instead, victorious armies began building Buddhist temples on battle sites where they prayed for the deceased from both sides of the battle. This chapter provides a short discussion of this shift.

JINGGUAN BEFORE THE SUI DYNASTY

The *jingguan* phenomenon emerged quite early. The majority of the academic world currently traces it back to an account from the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 [The Commentary of Zuo], which dates back to 597 BCE. This was the year that the Chu 楚 army defeated the army of Jin 晉 in the Battle of Pi 邲. Minister Pan Dang 潘黨 (of 7th c. BCE) suggested the following to King Zhuang of Chu 楚莊王 (r. 614 BCE – 591 BCE): 'Why did you not build a *wujun* (*jingguan*)? Why did you not collect the corpses of Jin soldiers to create a *jingguan*? It's said that we should provide proof for our grandsons of the enemies we triumphed over so they don't forget about our military victories' (君盍築武軍而收晉尸以爲京觀? 臣聞克敵必示子孫, 以無忘武功). King Zhuang of Chu rejected this suggestion and said, 'Ancient, sagely monarchs suppressed their enemies who treated them without respect. They then collected their fallen bodies and covered them with dirt to send a warning to the world. As a result, the *jingguan*

[8] E.g., the series of essays by Zhou Jianjiang 周建江: Zhou, 'Zatan 'Jingguan''; ''Jingguan' Jiqi Wenhua Biaoxian.' Also consult: An, 'Manhua Jingguan'; Wang, ''Jingguan' he 'Fenyu''; Zhu, *Zhongguo Gudai de Jingguan Xianxiang Jiqi Wenhua Jiexi*, 57–61.

forewarned evildoers. But today they've demonstrated no criminal behaviour. They simply gave their all to perform an order of their emperor, offering loyalty and death. How can we build a *jingguan*?' (古者明王伐不敬，取其鯢鯨而封之，以爲大戮，於是乎有京觀以懲淫慝. 今罪無所, 而民皆盡忠以死君命, 又可以爲京觀乎?)[9] Here, Du Yu 杜預 (222–285) provided an annotation to the word '*jingguan*' that read: 'Piling up the bodies and covering them with dirt' (積屍封土其上). It is obvious that covering enemies' bodies with dirt to form a mound that served as a *jingguan*, thereby demonstrating martial dominance and deterring future enemies, existed long before this instance. It is just as the Song Dynasty contemporary Gao Cheng 高承 (active 1078–1086) said in his *Shiwu jiyuan* 事物紀原 [Originations of Things]: '*The Commentary of Zuo* [recorded]: The king of Chu said, 'The sagely emperor sent troops to crush the disrespectful enemies. They collected their bodies and covered them with dirt. As a result, they had a *jingguan*.' According to this, as long as there have been wars, such a phenomenon has also occurred.'[10] That is to say that when a war occurred in human history, there has been a possibility that a *jingguan* was formed.

In fact, we can still find remains of *jingguan* from the pre-Qin period to this day. For example, 2.5 kilometres south of the Yan Xiadu site 燕下都 (the Yan Auxiliary Capital) in Yi County 易縣, Hebei Province, there are 14 circular rammed earth mounds. A large number of skulls are buried within them. In one of the mounds that archaeologists excavated, the area with human skulls buried in it measured 300 square metres, and it contained more than 2,000 human skulls. A site 50 square meters in size was also excavated, and more than 300 human skulls were cleaned. A portion of the skulls had obvious signs of being hacked to death, and some skulls had evidence that they had been pierced by bronze arrows.[11] It is speculated that

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9 Yang, annot., *Chunqiu Zuozhuan zhu*, 744–747.

10 *Shiwu jiyuan* 9.509–510: 《左傳》: '楚子日: "明王伐不敬, 取其鯨鯢而封之, 於是乎有京觀".' 推此而言, 則是有征伐以來則有其事.

11 Zhou, 'Tuduntai nei maizhe daliang rentougu Zhuanjia'; Hebei wenwuju, ed., 'Yan xiadu'; Hao, 'Heibei Yixian Yan Xiadu "Rentoudun" mituan daijie.'

there are about 30,000 of these skulls in total. They may be skulls from Qi 齊 army soldiers that the Yan general, Yue Yi 樂毅 (active 280s BCE), brought back with him in 284 BCE from his punitive expedition against the state of Qi. This is clearly a classic example of *jingguan* remains, and to witness these scarred human skulls from over 2,000 years ago sends chills down one's spine.

There are not many materials that mention the *jingguan* phenomenon from the Han Dynasty period. Only two instances have been found thus far. The first is from late in the Western Han Dynasty; the other is from the Yellow Turban Rebellion 黃巾起義 (184–205) during the late Eastern Han Dynasty. Of course, the former instance is more famous. At that time, Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE – 23 CE) was in power during the Jushe 居摄 Era (6–8), and Zhai Yi 翟義 (?–7 CE), the son of former prime minister Zhai Fangjin 翟方進 (?–7 BCE), rose up with an army in rebellion in the Eastern Prefecture: '[Zhai Yi] issued a national proclamation of condemnation, which said, "Wang Mang poisoned Emperor Xiaoping, thereby receiving the title of "emperor" by way of deceit. Now, the Great Han already has a new emperor. We should carry out heaven's will and punish Wang Mang." The whole nation was shocked by this incident. When Zhai Yi's soldiers arrived in Shanyang, he had already amassed over 100,000 troops. Wang Mang knew this, and he was petrified' (移檄郡國, 言莽鴆殺孝平皇帝, 矯攝尊號, 今天子已立, 共行天罰. 郡國皆震, 比至山陽, 衆十餘萬. 莽聞之, 大懼). After being defeated, 'All three [of Zhai Yi's] clans were killed' (夷滅三族). Wang Mang issued the following edict:

> It is said that in ancient times, when suppressing disrespectful enemies, the victors would kill the particularly vicious foes and pile them up to demonstrate martial dominance before covering the bodies with dirt. As a result, the *jingguan* served as a warning against evil persons. Not long ago, the traitors Liu Xin 劉信 (?–7 CE?) and Zhai Yi created chaos in the east; robbers from Mangzhu 芒竹, such as Zhao Ming 趙明 (?–8 BCE?) and Huo Hong 霍鴻 (?–8 BCE?), rose up in rebellion in the west; I ordered forces to set out to suppress them and make them all pay. Liu Xin and Zhai Yi began by dispatching troops from Puyang. At Wuyan, they formed a coa-

> lition of traitors; later, at Yu, our forces killed them all. Zhao Ming gained favourable terrain along the curved earthen embankment of Huaili; Huo Hong did the same by going to Zhouzhi and Mangzhu. However, both were defeated and unable to flee. Now, we select the corpses of the rebel leaders and piled them on the side of major roads, placing them at Puyang 濮陽, Wuyan 無鹽, Yu 圉, Huaili 槐里, and Zhouzhi 盩厔—five places in total. The earthen mounds are all six *zhang* wide and six *chi* tall. A large number of corpses are contained within them, along with tree thorns. A large piece of wood was erected to the side that reads: 'Bodies of Rebels.' The officials of the regions near the *jingguan* make a trip to inspect them every fall to ensure they are not damaged or destroyed. They serve as a warning against evildoers. 蓋聞古者伐不敬, 取其鯨鯢築武軍, 封以爲大戮, 於是乎有京觀以懲淫慝. 乃者反虜劉信、翟義誖逆作亂於東, 而芒竹群盜趙明、霍鴻造逆西土, 遣武將征討, 咸伏其辜. 惟信、義等始發自濮陽, 結姦無鹽, 殄滅於圉. 趙明依阻槐里環隄, 霍鴻負倚盩厔芒竹, 咸用破碎, 亡有餘類. 其取反虜逆賊之鯨鯢, 聚之通路之旁, 濮陽、無鹽、圉、槐里、盩厔凡五所, 各方六丈, 高六尺, 築爲武軍, 封以爲大戮, 薦樹之棘. 建表木, 高丈六尺, 書曰 '反虜逆賊鯨鯢.' 在所長吏常以秋循行, 勿令壞敗, 以懲淫慝焉.[12]

This piece of evidence is very likely the most specific historical document discussing the *jingguan*. It is not difficult to see that the five *jingguan*s established by Wang Mang were all located at key points of Zhai Yi's rebellion: Puyang, Wuyan (now south of Wuyan 無鹽 Village, Dongping 東平 Town, Dongping 東平 County, Shandong Province), Yu County 圉縣 (now 50 miles south of Qi County 杞縣, Henan Province), Huaili 槐里 (now southeast of Xingping 興平, Shaanxi Province), and Zhouzhi. Judging from the above records, these *jingguan*s can be classified as a square platform 方臺. According to conversions of Xin Dynasty (9–23) weights and measurements,

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[12] See Zhai Yi's biography attached to that of Zhai Fangjin, *Hanshu* 84.3439. Regarding the uprising initiated by Zhai Yi, there are also related records contained within newly released Han bamboo slips. See Liu, 'Jinguan Hanjian zhong de Zhai Yi Tongdang Chen Boyang ji Xiangguan wenti.'

one *chi* is roughly equivalent to 23.1 centimeters,[13] and one *zhang* corresponds to 2.31 meters, so six *zhang* is equal to 13.86 metres. This means that the base of each *jingguan* was 192 square metres, and they were six *chi* tall, which corresponds to 1.39 metres. These were clearly much smaller in terms of scale than those at Yan Xiadu, especially in terms of height. However, Wang Mang also specifically ordered a 'biaomu' 表木, which was about one *zhang* and six *chi* tall (approximately 3.7 metres), to be built in front of these *jingguan*s, making up for the lack of height to some extent. It is worth noting that local governments officials were required to inspect these *jingguan*s each year in the fall to prevent them from falling into disrepair. There is no doubt that these structures that are commemorative of punitive actions had a strong visual impact, and they had a powerful deterrent effect upon areas where rebellions had occurred. Up to the Tang Dynasty, you could still see the remains of these *jingguan*s that had been built by Wang Mang. Li Jifu 李吉甫 (758–814) of the middle Tang Dynasty wrote an account of a *jingguan* in Weicheng County 韋城縣, Huazhou 滑州: 'This *jingguan* is located about 200 paces to the north of Weicheng County. Wang Mang usurped the throne of the Han Dynasty, and Zhai Yi, the prefect of the Eastern Prefecture, rose up with troops in revolt. Wang Mang sent eight generals including Wang Yi 王邑 (?–23) there to defeat Zhai Yi, and they built a *jingguan* there. This *jingguan* is known as the "platform of the skull"' (京觀, 在縣北二百步. 王莽簒漢, 東郡太守翟義舉兵. 莽遣將王邑等八將敗義於此, 乃築焉. 俗號 '髑骨臺').[14] This *jingguan* is obviously the one in Yu County that recorded in the *Han shu* biography of Zhai Fangjin.

Beginning at the end of the Eastern Han Dynasty and throughout the Three Kingdoms period, the two Jin dynasties, the Southern and Northern Dynasties, and clear unto the reunification of the Sui Dynasty, China experienced a turbulent period in history during which there were frequent dynastic changes. There were countless wars during this time, both large and small, and the term '*jingguan*'

[13] Guo, *San dao sishi shiji Zhongguo de quanheng duliang*, 231.

[14] *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 8.199.

appeared with greater frequency in historical records. For the sake of simplicity, these appearances will be detailed in the table below (Table 1):

Table 1: Table of Materials on *Jingguan* between the Han and Sui Dynasties

No.	Date	Relevant Record	Source	Remark
1	Zhongping 中平 1 of Eastern Han (184)	Huangfu Song 皇甫嵩 (?–195), 'along with Guo Dian 郭典 (d.u.) of Pingyi 馮翊 (the governor of Julu 鉅鹿), jointly attacked and killed Zhang Bao 張寶 (?–184), the little brother of Zhang Jiao 張角 (?–184), at Xia Quyang 下曲陽 . They acquired 100,000 more heads and used them to build a *jingguan* outside the south wall of Xia Quyang' (與鉅鹿太守馮翊郭典攻 [張] 角弟寶於下曲陽 , 又斬之 . 首獲十餘萬人 , 築京觀於城南).	Huangfu Song's biography at *Hou Hanshu*, *juan* 71.2302	In Gucheng County 鼓城縣 , Heng Prefecture 恒州 . See *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi*, *juan* 21.
2	Jingchu 景初 2 of Emperor Ming of Wei 魏明帝 (238)	In the seventh month, Sima Yi 司馬懿 (179–251) went on a punitive expedition against Gongsun Yuan 公孫淵 (?–238). 'After entering the city, a new banner was raised to distinguish between the original banner. All the men over 15 years of age, numbering at more than 7,000 in total, were killed and a *jingguan* was formed' (既入城 , 立兩標以別新舊焉 . 男子年十五已上七千餘人皆殺之 , 以爲京觀).	Xuandi's 宣帝 Annal in *Jinshu* 1.12	

3	Yanxing 炎興 1 (263) of the Last Ruler of Shu (Shu Houzhu 蜀後主)	After Deng Ai conquered Shu, 'he ordered to build a *jingguan* in Mianzhu 緜竹 to show his military dominance. His soldiers who died in the war were buried together with those of Shu' (使於緜竹築臺以爲京觀，用彰戰功．士卒死事者，皆與蜀兵同共埋藏).	*Sanguo zhi* 28.779	The *jingguan* was located in Deyang County 德陽縣, Han Prefecture 漢州. See *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi*, *juan* 32; *Tongdian*, *juan* 176.
4	Guangxing 光興 1 (310) of Former Zhao 前趙	When Liu Cong 劉聰 broke through enemy lines at Luoyang, Liu Yao 劉曜 'killed numerous nobles and bureaucrats, numbering greater than 30,000 people. They built a *jingguan* at the north shore of the Luoshui 洛水 River. (害諸王公及百官已下三萬餘人，於洛水北築爲京觀).	*Jinshu* 102.2659	*Taipin yulan*, *juan* 119, which quotes Cui Hong's 崔鴻 (478–525) *Qianzhao lu* 前趙錄 [Record of Former Zhao] from *Shiliuguo chunqiu* 十六國春秋 [Spring and autumn of the Sixteen States]
5	Yixi 義熙 3 (407)	Helian Bobo 赫連勃勃 (381–425) led his troops to attack Tufa Rutan 禿髮傉檀 (365–415). 'Tufa Rutan was dealt a tremendous defeat. They chased down his troops for more than 80 li, killing and injuring over 10,000 people. They also beheaded more than a dozen of his generals. Heilian Bobo used these bodies to build a *jingguan*. People referred to the *jingguan* as a "skull platform"' (大敗之，追奔八十餘里，殺傷萬計，斬其大將十餘人，以爲京觀，號'髑髏臺').	*Jinshu* 130.3204	

6	Yixi 14 (418)	Helian Bobo entered Chang'an and ordered Crown Prince Helian Gui 赫連璝 (?–424) and Grand General Wang Maide 王買德 (d.u.) to hunt down Liu Yizhen 劉義真 (407–424). 'They stacked human skulls to build a *jinggguan*' (積人頭以爲京觀).	*Jinshu* 130.3209	Still intact during the Tang period. See *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi*, *juan* 7.
7	Yuanjia 元嘉 20 (443) of Liu Song	In Hechi 河池 County, Fengzhou 鳳州 , there existed a '"skull pile". It was 43 *li* to the north-east of Hechi County. There, the Northern Wei fought the Chouchi 仇池 polity. They decimated the Chouchi army and built a *jingguan*. A folk name of this *jingguan* is "skull platform"' (' 髑髏堆 .' 在縣東北四十三里 , 後魏討仇池於此 , 大破其軍 , 築爲京觀 , 俗號其地爲 ' 髑髏堆 ').	*Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 22.10a	
		Emperor Xiaowu 孝武帝 (r. 453–464), personal name Liu Jun 劉駿 (430–464), went on a punitive expedition against the Prince of Jingling 竟陵 , personal name Liu Dan 劉誕 (433–459). 'It took a great deal of time to defeat him, but once he did, he had the skull of Liu Dan sent to Jinling. Liu Dan's mother, of the surname Yan 殷 , and his wife, of the surname Xu 徐 , committed suicide at this time. Several thousand		

8	Daming 大明 3 (459) of Emperor Wu of the Song 宋孝武帝	people within the city were killed; the majority of these people were whipped first and then killed, and their corpses were then butchered. They transported their skulls to Stone City 石頭城 on the south bank of the river, where they were piled up and used to build a *jingguan*. When the wind picked up at morning or when it rained at night, you could hear their tragic howling' (久乃拔之 , 斬誕傳首 . 誕母殷、妻徐並自殺 . 城內誅者數千人 , 或先鞭殺而行戮 . 並移首於石頭南岸 , 以爲京觀 . 至於風晨雨夜 , 輒聞哀號之響).	*Weishu* 9.2144	Liu Dan's biography at *Songshu* 97.2144
9	Hou Jing 侯景 (503–552) Riot (548)	'After crossing the Yangtze River, Hou Jing performed a massacre at the East Gate [of Yangzhou 揚州]. Everyone inside the city was killed. Their heads were piled up by the Ximing Gate to form a *jingguan*' (侯景渡江 , 先屠 [揚州] 東門 , 一城盡斃 . 置其首於西明門外爲京觀焉). The *ling* 令 of Jiangning 江寧 by the name of Chen Si 陳嗣 (d.u.) and the *Huangmen shilang* 黃門侍郎 [Huangmen Assistant Minister], Cao Lang 曹朗 (d.u.), rose up at Gushu 姑蘇 in revolt against the imperial court. Emperor Wu of Chen 陳武帝	*Taiping guangji* 91.599	

10	12th month of Shaotai 紹泰 1 (December 29, 555-January 27, 556)	(r. 557–559; i.e., Chen Baxian 陳霸先 [503–559]) ordered 'Hou Andu 侯安度 (d.u.) and Xu Du 徐度 (509–568) to quash the uprising. They decapitated several hundred soldiers and used their remains to build a *jingguan*' (命侯安都、徐度等討平之 , 斬首數千級 , 聚爲京觀).	*Chenshu* 1.9	
11	Heqing 河清 3 (564) of Northern Qi	This winter, the Northern Qi Grand General Hulü Guang 斛律光 (515–572) defeated the Northern Zhou at Mount Mang 邙山 . He then 'beheaded over 3,000 soldiers… They took all of their weapons and arms, and they piled up the bodies to form a *jingguan*' (斬捕首虜三千餘級 , … 盡收其甲兵輜重 , 仍以死者積爲京觀).	*Bei Qi shu* 17.223	
12	Tianhe 天和 1 (566) of Northern Zhou	In 566, two barbarian clans rose up in revolt along the Yangtze River. Lu Teng 陸騰 (?–578) led an army on a punitive expedition against them. 'Lu Teng's army was invincible. As a result, they piled up their bodies to build a *jingguan* in an expression of their military dominance' (所向摧破 , 乃築京觀以旌武功); 'Lu Teng piled up their bones beside Shuiluo City 水邏城 to form a *jingguan*. When	*Zhoushu* 28.472, 49.889–890	

		the barbarians saw the *jingguan*, they wailed tearfully. Thereafter, their desire to revolt began to evaporate' (騰乃積其骸骨於水運城側爲京觀 . 後蠻、蜑望見 , 輒大號哭 . 自此狼戾之心輟矣).		
13	Northern Zhou	When Prince Zhao 趙 (i.e., Yuwen Zhao 宇文招 [540?–580]) of [Northern] Zhou was in Yizhou 益州 , he befriended people from Pi 郫 . The Pi people wanted to revolt ... At that time, Prince Zhao was at the West Gate of Yizhou City. He led 3, 000 cavalry units to conquer the Pi People... When they reached Pantuo 盤陀 , they killed and beheaded 1,000 Pi soldiers and built a *jing-guan*. The tall platform that is at the east side of the tower stands on the site where that *jingguan* was built' (周趙王在益州 , 有郫人與王厚 , 便欲反 . ... 時趙王據西門樓 , 令精兵三千騎往 . ... 至盤陀 , 斬郫兵千餘爲京觀 . 今塔東特高者是).	*Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* 2060: 50: 30. 657b/ Guo (colla. & annot.), *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, 1043–1044	

The above table shows 13 examples of *jingguan*s being constructed from the late Han Dynasty to the Sui Dynasty. The number of bodies involved is quite shocking, as the smallest number is in the thousands, and three instances exceed ten thousand corpses. The number of bodies in the first example of the *jingguan* erected by Huangfu Song exceeded one hundred thousand. One can easily

imagine the great scale of this *jingguan*. Among these examples, most do not clearly record whether entire bodies were used to build the *jingguan* or just the heads. That said, four instances clearly recorded that the skulls of enemy soldiers were used to build the *jingguan*s. For example, in number 6, Helian Bobo 'stacked human skulls to build a *jingguan*'; in number 8, Emperor Xiaowu of Song also 'transported ... skulls to Stone City on the south bank of the river, where they were piled up and used to build a *jingguan*'; in number 9, Hou Jing took 'their heads [and] piled [them] up by the Ximing Gate to form a *jingguan*'; and in number 10, at Gushu, Emperor Wu of Chen also 'decapitated several thousand soldiers and used their remains to build a *jingguan*.' In this respect, these *jingguan*s are analogous to the *jingguan* of piled human skulls that was discovered at Yan Xiadu.

During the Wei, Jin, Southern and Northern Dynasties, issues related to ethnic groups were always central problems. In the above table that details instances of *jingguan*s being built, more than half of the instances involve ethnic minority regimes. For example, number 4 involves Liu Yao, who was a descendant of Modu 冒頓, the *chanyu* 單于 of the Xiongnu 匈奴 ethnic group; instance 5 and 6 involve Helian Bobo, who came from the Tiefu 鐵弗 tribe of the Xiongnu ethnic group; number 7 involves the Xianbei 鮮卑 ethnic group during the Northern Wei; example 9 involves Hou Jing, a member of the Jie 羯 ethnic group, which had at that time already been completely assimilated into the Xianbei ethnic group; instance 11 involves Hulü Guang of the Gaoche 高車 ethnic group; and example 13 involves the political power of King Zhao of the Northern Zhou, who came from the Yuwen 宇文 tribe of the Xianbei ethnic group. This shows that the ethnic minorities from the northern grasslands indeed played a leading role on the political stage during this period. On the other hand, this also seems to indicate that the *jingguan* method has some degree of connection to the ethnic groups that were at a relatively primitive point in their development. The fruits of anthropological research have shown that in many ancient ethnic groups, killing prisoners of war or even dismembering them to provide sacrifices was a common behaviour. In the tradition of the Scythians, warriors peeled off the right hands of enemies to

cover their arrowheads, drank the blood of enemies, and decapitated corpses. It was said that such acts could enhance the strength of the warriors who performed them.[15] After primitive ethnic groups won wars, they feared that the ghosts of their deceased enemies would return to seek revenge, so they adopted many measures, such as isolating or purifying themselves, making offerings to the heads of the enemies they killed, or drumming and making noise to scare away the souls of the deceased.[16] The phenomenon of burying the bodies or heads of enemy soldiers to form a platform can also be considered from such an anthropological perspective. In fact, as Wang Yalin 王亞林 said, *jingguan*s were inherently about more than just exerting martial dominance — they were also a form of sorcery intended to solidify one's victory. That is to say, they suppressed the souls of enemy troops, preventing them from coming out to seek revenge or haunt people. Thus, *jingguan*s can be said to reflect an influence and accumulation of traditions derived from mystical elements of primitive society.[17] With respect to the living, the *jingguan* also provided a form of warning and punishment. For example, in number 12 from the form above, after the renowned general Lu Teng of the Northern Zhou suppressed the barbarians, he built a *jingguan* at Shuiluo City, and 'when the barbarians saw the *jingguan*, they wailed with tears. Thereafter, their sentiments to revolt began to evaporate.' It is clear that a *jingguan*'s potential to frighten people was quite great.

During this period, building a *jingguan* came to serve as proof of an emperor or military general's achievements. In 557, Xu Ling 徐陵 (507–583) wrote 'Ce Chenwang jiuxi wen' 冊陳王九錫文 [Account of Conferring the Nine Bestowments to King Chen] for Chen Baxian:

> In the final year of the Liang Dynasty Datong Era (546), [control over] the political situation and governance of border areas was not

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15 Lincoln, *Death, War, and Sacrifice.*

16 Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Chap. 5 ('Tabooed Persons'), Sec. 5 ('Manslayers tabooed').

17 Wang, '"Jingguan" he "Fenyu",' 60–61.

> strict enough, to the point that Li Ben/Vt. Lý Bí 李賁 (503–548) had a wild ambition to claim Jiaozhou and Aizhou. He even had the audacity to self-proclaim himself a monarch. His hubris even surpassed that of Zhao Tuo 趙佗 (?–137). Li Ben/Lý Bí occupied Lianzhou. His army was grander and more arrogant than that of Liang Shuo 梁碩. Your Majesty made use of wise plans and marvelous strategies to act like thunder and wind, personally driving large ships and troops across the sea to attack Li Ben/Lý Bí. Xinchang and Dianche were attacked by a great army and suffered heavy losses; *Jingguan*s were built all over Suli and Jianing. The barbarians here live in lands crisscrossed by rivers and surrounded by volcanoes. Even Ma Yuan 馬援 (14 BCE – 49 CE) has never been to such distant places, and Tao Huang 陶璜 (?–290) has never heard of them. They all fear Your Majesty's dynasty. Day and night, they await news from you. They offer treasures and praise our governance. All of this goes to your credit. 大同之末, 邊政不修, 李賁狂迷, 竊我交、愛. 敢稱大號, 驕恣甚於尉他; 據有連州, 雄豪熾於梁碩. 公英謨雄算, 電掃風行, 馳御樓船, 直跨滄海. 新昌、典徹, 備履艱難; 蘇歷、嘉寧, 盡爲京觀. 三山獠洞, 八角蠻陬, 逖矣水寓之鄉, 悠哉火山之國. 馬援之所不届, 陶璜之所未聞, 莫不懼我王靈, 爭朝邊候, 歸賧天府, 獻狀鴻臚. 此又公之功也.[18]

In Xu Ling's 'Quanjin Liang Yuandi biao' 勸進梁元帝表 [Text of Exhorting Liang Yuandi (r. 552–555) to access to Throne], it states, 'The bodies of the Qingqiang 青羌 and Chidi 赤狄 people were gnawed on by jackals and wolves. The people who wore the clothes of barbarians and spoke the language of the Yi ethnic group have been turned into a *jingguan*' (青羌赤狄, 同畀狼豺; 胡服夷言, 咸爲京觀).[19] It is clear that the construction of a *jingguan* served as an illustrious demonstration of the emperor's military exploits. Of course, a *jingguan* was also a monument to the meritorious service of military generals. As a result, it was somewhat common to find Northern and Southern Dynasties period epitaphs that mention a *jingguan*, and

[18] Xu (colla. & annot.), *Xu Ling ji jiaojian* 4.1494.

[19] Ibid.

this was done to flaunt the martial merits of the person in question. For example, in 528, the memorial inscription for Yuan Duan 元端 (493–528) in 'Wei gu shi chijie yitong sansi dudu Xiangzhou zhu junshi cheji da jiangjun Xiangzhou cishi Yuangong muzhiming' 魏故使持節儀同三司都督相州諸軍事車騎大將軍相州刺史元公墓誌銘 read, 'He attacked fierce foes with ease. It was as simple as snapping a twig. The strong enemies were destroyed like snow with scalding water poured on it. The fallen bodies were piled up and used to form a *jingguan* in the wild. The generals and captured soldiers, numbering over 1,000, were beheaded. Such an outstanding feat was achieved because sheer chance had aligned; it answered the call of fate, and thus victory was attained' (功堅易於折枯, 摧强甚於湯雪, 偃骸積尸, 野成京觀, 獲將獻俘, 千有餘級. 實乃殊機異詭, 應時尅捷也).[20] In addition, in 'Qi gu Qi Cang erzhou cishi Gao Gong muming' 齊故齊滄二州刺史高公墓銘, the epitaph for Gao Jian 高建 (496–538) reads, 'He (Gao Jian) participated in the planning and led the army to defeat enemies. Their bodies were piled up to form a *jingguan*' (入參謀畫, 出摧妖旅, 殲彼鯨鯢, 迺爲京觀).[21] This makes it clear that regardless of whether or not a *jingguan* was actually built at the time, rhetoric regarding these structures had become important for displaying military merits within burial epitaphs.

However, different stances also began emerging at this time. During the Eastern Jin Dynasty in 416, Liu Yu 劉裕 (363–422) led forces on a northern expedition. He ordered the famous general Tan Daoji 檀道濟 (?–436) to oversee the troops at the frontline:

> After Tan Daoji's troops reached Chenggao 成皋, the illegitimate prefectural governor of Yanzhou, Wei Hua 韋華 (d.u.), surrendered. After the troops entered Luoyang, Yao Guang, who was the self-proclaimed General of Pingnan and the Duke of Chenliu 陳留公, surrendered to the imperial court. Tan Daoji's great army breached the city and its ramparts, and they captured more than 4,000 people.

[20] Zhao, comp., *Hanwei Nanbei chao muzhi huibian*, 234.

[21] Ibid, 400.

> Some suggested that these people be killed and a *jingguan* be built with their bodies. Tan Daoji said, 'We ought to suppress the thieves and save the people; now is a time for such an action.' As a result, all were released and allowed to return home. The *rongyi* 戎夷 people were moved by this action, and many people came to pledge their allegiance to the Eastern Jin Dynasty. 至成皋, 偽兗州刺史韋華降. 徑進洛陽, 偽平南將軍陳留公姚洸歸順, 凡拔城破壘, 俘四千餘人, 議者謂應悉戮以爲京觀, 道濟日: '伐罪弔民, 正在今日.' 皆釋而遣之. 於是戎夷感悅, 相率歸之者甚衆.[22]

From the line that reads, 'Some suggested that these people be killed and a *jingguan* be built with their bodies,' we can see that people of that time were already quite accustomed to the *jingguan* phenomenon. That said, Tan Daoqi was not dealing with enemy soldiers who had already been killed on the battlefield; rather, he was dealing with more than 4,000 prisoners. Killing them to build a *jingguan* was obviously an excessively cruel action, so he decided to let them go. Such a display of magnanimity caused him to win over the hearts of all the ethnic groups in the north.

An emperor who was more benevolent with respect to the *jingguan* question is undoubtedly Xiao Yan 蕭衍 (464–549), who is also known as Emperor Wu of Liang 梁武帝 (r. 502–549). In the twelfth month of 501, after emerging victorious in the campaign against the Marquess of Donghun 東昏侯 of the Southern Qi 南齊, he issued the following order: 'The bodies of righteous troops who died on the battlefield or from diseases incurred during the campaign should be collected, and their orphans should be provided for' (以義師臨陣致命及疾病死亡者, 並加葬斂, 收恤遺孤). This was an order to ceremonially bury the soldiers and officers of his side who died in the battle. As for the fallen enemy soldiers, Xiao Yan issued the following decree: 'As for enemy rebel troops who were defeated on the battlefield at Zhuque 朱雀, a special allowance should be made for their families to bury their bodies. If they do not have family members, or their

[22] See Tan Daoji's biography at *Songshu* 43.1342.

family members are too poor, then the magistrate and sheriff from the two counties should dispatch people to perform the burial. In the city of Jiankang, those who perished by virtue of not heeding the will of heaven should also be taken care of in the same manner' (朱爵之捷, 逆徒送死者, 特許家人殯葬; 若無親屬, 或有貧苦, 二縣長尉即爲埋掩. 建康城內, 不達天命, 自取淪滅, 亦同此科).[23]

In the early Tang work *Wenguan cilin*/Jp. *Bunkan shirin* 文館詞林 ['Forest of Officials' Poems and Prose], which was compiled by Xu Jingzong 許敬宗 (592–672), the original text of these two orders of Xiao Yan, as written by Ren Fang 任昉 (460–508), appears in full. The complete text is as follows:

> Edict: At the resounding victory at Zhuque, the courage and righteousness of our troops was unparalleled. It was a surprise that those rebellious scoundrels dared to fight Our army. When the great army arrived on the scene, they kicked up dust as they fled in every direction. The River Sui 睢水 were blocked by the corpses of enemies, and even a single war chariot could not escape. The officers begged to punish them, and We permitted them to massacre the rebels. However, they had yet to surrender, and they still fought ferociously. They were forced to act as they did, and they did not act out of malicious intentions. As for enemy rebel troops, a special allowance should be made for their families to bury their bodies. If they do not have family members, or their family members are too poor, then the magistrate and sheriff from the two counties should dispatch people to perform the burial. Magnanimously giving alms to their dried-up bones is certainly not what we seek to do; that said, treating these bodies benevolently is something we can provide. In the city of Jiankang, those who perished by virtue of not heeding the will of heaven should also be taken care of in the same manner. 令: 近朱雀之捷, 義勇爭奮, 離心之衆, 敢距王師. 鉦鉞一臨, 望塵奔陷. 睢水不流, 隻輪莫反. 求之政刑, 允茲孥戮. 但于時白旗未懸, 凶威猶壯, 驅逼所至, 非有禍心. 凡厥逆徒於陣送死者, 可特使家人收葬. 若無親

23 See Wudi's Annal at *Songshu* 1.14.

> 或有貧苦無以斂骸, 二縣長尉即爲埋掩. 仁及枯骨, 非所敢慕, 尚或瑾之, 庶幾可勉. 凡建康城內諸不逆 (=達) 天命自取淪亡者, 亦同此科, 便可施行.[24]

It is clear that early in the campaign of building a nation, Xiao Yan treated the bodies of enemy soldiers compassionately. Not only did he refrain from building *jingguan*s, he even allowed family members to bury the bodies or had local officials manage burials. After capturing Jiankang, this was obviously a tactic he used to appease public sentiment.

Later on, similar scenes appeared repeatedly. In the twelfth month of Tianjian 天監 10 (January 4-February 2, 512), the Liang army broke through Northern Wei forces at Qushan 朐山 (modern day Haizhou 海州, southwest of Lianyungang 連雲港, Jiangsu Province), realising a success wherein they 'killed more than 100,000 people, recapturing the city of Qushan' (斬馘十餘萬, 剋復朐山城).[25] In the fourth month of 512, Emperor Wu of Liang issued the following edict:

> In last year's Battle of Qushan, we won a resounding victory and killed countless vile enemies. It is reasonable to form a *jingguan* out of their bodies to proclaim our martial strength. However, in the course of punishing the vile to save the masses and express the emperor's might, we should bury their bodies to demonstrate our virtue. I hereby order Qingzhou to make arrangements for all of their bodies and have them buried. 去歲朐山大殲醜類, 宜爲京觀, 用旌武功. 但伐罪弔民, 皇王盛軌, 掩骼埋胔, 仁者用心. 其下青州, 悉使收藏.[26]

[24] Ren Fang, 'Liang Wudi Yange Maizi Ling Yi Shou' 梁武帝掩骼埋胔令一首 [Emperor Wu of Liang's Decree Oder to Bury the Bodies], collected in Luo, colla. & annot., *Ricang Hongren ben Wenguan cilin jiaozheng*, 446.

[25] See Wudi's Annal at *Liangshu* 2.51.

[26] Ibid, 2.52.

In terms of military achievements, the battle at Qushan was undoubtedly a resounding success. Given a context in which the *jingguan* phenomenon appeared frequently, building a *jingguan* to assert one's martial might was a perfectly reasonable thing to do at that time. Emperor Wu of Liang's edict admitted this by saying, 'It is reasonable to form a *jingguan* out of their bodies to proclaim our martial strength.' However, he emphasised the ancient Chinese political and cultural tradition among benevolent monarchs of 'burying the remains and skeletons of the defeated.' This is because not burying bodies produces diseases, and it also has the potential to transform them into fierce ghosts that will cause harm to the human realm.[27]

In the second month of Tianjian 12 (513), Emperor Wu of Liang issued another edict:

> Collect their bones and bury their bodies; the classics of the Zhou Dynasty recorded such a rule. Each person who died at war was given a coffin and buried; such a virtuous matter was recorded in the Han Dynasty's bamboo slips. Our heart is heavy, and it is often out of anxiety that I act with haste. The order to collect their bodies and bones was given hastily out of empathy; but given the size of the realm beneath the sky, abiding by Our edict will certainly not satisfy the requirement. One can see bones lying on the roadside wherever they go; We sympathise for those dried bones, and We unconsciously feel a surge in grief and compassion. Thus, We order every prefecture and all places under their jurisdiction; if they find remnant bodies that have not been buried, or if they find bodies that are only covered in bark, then these remains should be immediately collected, given a coffin, and buried. Coffins should be provided according to circumstances, bring comfort to the wandering ghosts that wail at night, and offer their dried bones a place to return to in winter frosts. 掩骼埋胔, 義重周經; 槥櫝有加, 事美漢策. 朕向隅載懷, 每勤造次, 收藏之命, 亟下哀矜; 而宇縣遐深, 遵奉未洽, 髐然路隅, 往往而有, 言愍沉枯, 彌勞傷惻. 可明下遠近, 各巡境界, 若委骸不葬, 或蔯衣莫改,

27 Li, '"Yanci" lisu yu jibing xiangxiang,' foreword.

即就收斂, 量給棺具. 庶夜哭之魂斯慰, 霑霜之骨有歸.[28]

Emperor Wu of Liang obviously wanted to spread the benevolence of 'burying the remains and skeletons of the defeated' from the battlefield of Qushan to the rest of the country. We can speculate that his action seems to have possibly been influenced by Buddhism. It is well-known that throughout the history of the Wei, Jin, and Northern and Southern dynasties, Emperor Wu of Liang was the emperor who was most reverent of the Buddha. He not only personally received Bodhisattva precepts, but he also took refuge four times at Tongtai Temple 同泰寺, where he gave up his imperial title to act as a servant. In addition, he tried to establish a 'Buddhist Empire' in the genuine meaning of the term.[29] Although neither of the two edicts explicitly state that his decision to bury the remains and skeletons of the defeated and not erect a *jingguan* was influenced by Buddhism, the Buddhist factors behind these decisions cannot be ignored. This point becomes more obvious when we inspect the Sui Dynasty and the early Tang Dynasty.

TRANSFORMING *JINGGUAN*S INTO PLATFORMS OF PROFOUND WISDOM: THE ACTIONS OF EMPEROR WEN OF SUI

Like Emperor Wu of Liang, Emperor Wen of Sui (r. 581–604; Yang Jian 楊堅 [541–604]) was one of the emperors who most forcefully worshipped the Buddha in ancient China. Seeing as he was brought up by the mysterious Nun Zhixian 智仙 (?–574+), Yang Jian naturally had an affection for Buddhism. After establishing the Sui Dynasty and ending China's 300-year-long schism, Yang Jian did not go to Mount Tai to offer sacrifices to heaven and earth, an act prescribed

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[28] Wudi's Annal at *Liangshu* 2.53.

[29] Regarding the relationship between Emperor Wu of Liang and Buddhism, see Yan, *Liang Wudi*.

by traditional Confucian political culture. Rather, he established himself as a sacred *cakravartin* emperor who protected Buddha Dharma. He even imitated the most famous *cakravartin* emperor in history — Aśoka. He distributed *śarīra*s and built pagodas across the country.[30] Under his diligent efforts, Daxing 大興, the new capital of the Sui Dynasty, became the new national mecca of Buddhism.[31] The truth is that during this time, the influence of Buddhism had already permeated all aspects of the Sui Dynasty, and a few special Buddhist temples had already appeared on the sites of former battlefields.

According to Fei Zhangfang's account in *Lidai sanbao ji* 歷代三寶紀 [Record of the Three Gems of Dynastic History], in the seventh month of 581, shortly after Yang Jian had ascended the throne, he issued an edict proclaiming that at each of the places where his father had fought battles — Xiangyang 襄陽, Sui Prefecture 隋郡, Jiangling 江陵, and Jinyang 晉陽 — the nation had to 'establish a temple and erect a stone tablet extoling virtue' (立寺一所, 建碑頌德).[32] The edict was written by Li Delin 李德林 (532–591), and the entirety of the text was preserved in the *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 [Expanded Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism], which was compiled by the imminent early Tang Dynasty monk Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667). The beginning of the edict recalls the life of Yang Zhong 楊忠 (507–568), a major general of the Northern Zhou Dynasty who fought battles far and wide. It reads:

> You have accumulated merits and made great achievements; these blessings will be carried on to your descendants. They induced an empty, superficial person such as myself to become the emperor of this nation. When I reflect on your grand strategy, I find your deeds

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[30] There is a great deal of research on the relationship between Emperor Wen of Sui and Buddhism; important instances include Yamazaki, *Shina Chūsei Bukkyō no tenkai*, chap. 6; Wright, 'The Formation of Sui Ideology'; Chen, *Monks and Monarchs*.

[31] Tsukamoto, 'Zui Buntei no shūkyō fukkō.' Regarding this question, the most recent research was Sun, 'Cong "zhong" Dao "Si".'

[32] *Lidai sanbao ji*, *T* no. 2034, 49: 12.107c11–12.

> begin to become obscured, and the truth grows silent. That you were born into this world and could flexibly handle matters is quite unusual. You led the troops of a *cakravartin* emperor and exercised the will of such a sagely person. In a hundred battles you had a hundred victories, and you diligently performed the ten goodnesses. As a result, an instrument such as a weapon was even sweeter than fragrant flowers when in your hand. After the battles, the battlefields were just like the Pure Land. I have considered having Buddhist Temples built to increase the causes and conditions of meritorious virtues and even propagate the profound wisdom that is Buddha Dharma. In ancient times, the Xia Dynasty even engraved commemorations about their prevention of floodwaters in the mountains; the emperors of the Zhou Dynasty toured far and wide, and it is said that they made engravings and erected steles. Such acts by emperors have occurred for a considerable amount of time. In four places, Xiangyang 襄阳, Suizhou 随州, Jiangling 江陵, and Jinyang 晋阳, a temple shall be built, and a stele shall be engraved that extols your merits. It is my hope that these solemn temples can be as stable as the world of emptiness and that the extolments of your great merits will last as long as heaven and earth. 積德累功, 福流後嗣. 俾朕虛薄, 君臨區有, 追仰神猷, 事冥真寂. 降生下土, 權變不常. 用輪王之兵, 伸至人之意. 百戰百勝, 爲行十善. 故以干戈之器, 已類香華; 玄黃之野, 久同淨國. 思欲崇樹寶剎, 經始伽藍; 增長福因, 微副幽旨. 昔夏因導水, 尚且銘山; 周日巡遊, 有聞勒石. 帝王紀事, 由來尚矣. 其襄陽、隨州、江陵、晉陽, 並宜立寺一所, 建碑頌德. 庶使莊嚴寶坊, 比虛空而不壞; 導揚茂實, 同天地而長久.[33]

To commemorate his father's merits, Emperor Wen of Sui ordered that Buddhist temples be built at all four of the most important battlesites of his father, Yang Zhong. Not only did he want to build steles to praise virtue, he also wanted to have Buddhist Temples built

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[33] Li Delin, 'Sui Wendi wei Taizu Wuyuan Huangdi Xingxing Sichu Lisi Jianbei Zhao' 隋文帝爲太祖武元皇帝行幸四處立寺建碑詔 [Emperor Wen of Sui Erects Temples and Tablets across the Country for Emperor Taizu Wuyuan of Sui], in *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 28.328a26–b6.

to ‘increase the causes and conditions of meritorious virtues and even propagate the profound wisdom that is Buddha Dharma’ (增長福因,微副幽旨) to pray for the good fortune of Yang Zhong.

If it is said that the four temples built by Emperor Wen of Sui were primarily erected to laud his father’s achievements, then the edict he issued the following month to have a Buddhist temple erected in Xiangzhou was clearly related to the *jingguan* phenomenon. The *Lidai sanbao ji* provides an account of this matter,[34] but it only provides an excerpt. The entire text was also preserved in the *Guang Hongming ji*:

> Chancellery: In the early years, destiny of the Zhou Dynasty grew feeble and died, causing rebels to rise up and wreak havoc. Yecheng 鄴城 was the source of the disaster. The rebels oppressed people of goodness. These wicked people joined together. Among all the people in the world, the wicked ones represented half of them. The common people were the larger group, and We were worried that all would be swallowed by the wicked. We dispatched war chariots and soldiers to stamp out the wickedness and evil. Although there were also enemies who surrendered, We also experienced the difficulties of many battles. The officers and soldiers relied on their might to defeat the enemies like a fire burning the hair off a person’s skin. Even the ashes could not escape. At that time, We served as the prime minister of the imperial court. When We watched the common people sink into such suffering, We could only blame ourselves and feel deep remorse. Our tears of guilt flowed. But weapons of war are lethal. Such are the dangers of war. Those of integrity and justice disregarded their life and death. On the battlefield, they constantly tossed away their lives. We were shocked when We heard these words spoken, and it had been a long time since We felt such pain. We were always concerned about the suffering of the people during war. In Our heart, We have the sacred wish to extricate the people from the suffering of life and death. The external world and the self should be watched, and whether they are foolish or wise, We pity them all.

[34] *Lidai sanbao ji*, *T* no. 2034, 49: 12.107c4–13.

Therefore, We want to rely on the blessings of the gods to establish a temple. We hope that those who died from warfare will increase their wisdom; and We hope that those who rebelled will come from the darkness to the light, deeply understand the principles of suffering and emptiness, and transcend life and death. The [*jing*]*guan*s that were formed out of bodies and bones should all be transformed into platforms of profound wisdom, reforming the battlefields of scattered weapons into eternal, crystal mirrors. Countless sentient beings with a Buddha nature will enter into Buddhism's gates to enlightenment. A Buddhist temple shall be built on the battlefield at Xiangzhou, and a stone stele recording these affairs shall be erected. As for how they should be built, how many monks should be placed there, and what name it should be given, relevant departments should discuss these matters in detail and then speak with Us. 門下: 昔歲周道既衰, 群兇鼎沸. 鄴城之地, 寔爲禍始. 或驅逼良善, 或同惡相濟, 四海之內, 過半豺狼. 兆庶之廣, 咸憂吞噬. 朕出車練卒, 盪滌妖醜. 誠有倒戈, 不無困戰. 將士奮發, 肆其威武. 如火燎毛, 始無遺燼. 于時朕在廊廟, 任當朝宰, 德慚動物, 民陷網羅. 空切罪己之誠, 唯增見辜之泣. 然兵者凶器, 戰實危機. 節義之徒, 輕生忘死. 干戈之下, 又聞徂落. 興言震悼, 日久逾深. 永念群生, 蹈兵刃之苦;有懷至道, 興度脫之業. 物我同觀, 愚智俱愍. 思建福田, 神功祐助. 庶望死事之臣, 菩提增長. 悖逆之侶, 從闇入明. 並究苦空, 咸拔生死. 鯨鯢之觀, 化爲微妙之臺; 龍蛇之野, 永作頗梨之鏡. 無邊有性, 盡入法門. 可於相州戰地建伽藍一所, 立碑紀事. 其營構制度、置僧多少、寺之名目, 有司詳議以聞.[35]

[35] 'Sui Gaozu yu Xiangzhou Zhancahgn Lishi Zhao' 隋高祖於相州戰場立寺詔 [Emperor Wen of Sui's Edict to Erect a Temple on the Xiangzhou Battlefield], in *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 28.328b8–23. The punctuation of the quoted material here has been modified; in addition, on the basis of *Lidai sanbao ji* (*T* no. 2034, 49: 12.107c15–108a6), two lines in the edict as presented by the *Guang Hongming ji* — 'External phenomena and I met with one another, while the stupid and wise both deserve pity' (物我同遇, 觀智俱愍) — have been changed to 'Both external phenomena and myself are treated equally, while the distinctions between the stupid and the wise are extringuished' (物我同觀, 愚智俱愍).

Xiangzhou is located in the area of modern day Anyang, Henan Province. This place holds special significance over the course of Yang Jian's path to establishing the Sui Dynasty, because just one year after he took charge of the country on account of his status as the grandfather of Emperor Jing of Northern Zhou 北周靜帝 (r. 579–581), Yuchi Jiong 尉遲迥 (516–580), a nephew of Yuwen Tai 宇文泰 (505–556) who was a famous general from the Guanlong region 關隴 and had been placed in charge of Shandong, assembled troops at Xiangzhou to denounce Yang Jian. Yunzhou's 鄖州 *zongguan* 總管 (governor) Sima Xiaonan 司馬消難 (?–589) and Yizhou's *zongguan* Wang Qian 王謙 (?–580) quickly responded by staging uprisings of their own, and the three sides fell into a state of chaos for some time, inducing 'half of the country [to fall] into disarray.' Among these three forces, Yang Jian directed the brunt of his troops towards Yuchi Jiong in Xiangzhou. He appointed the famous general Wei Xiaokuan 韋孝寬 (509–580) to attack with all his strength, he quickly broke through Yecheng, and Yuchi Jiong committed suicide. It can be said that this victory cleared the greatest obstacle that stood between Yang Jian and the throne.

However, for Yang Jian, the massive casualties brought about by warfare stirred pity in his heart. As a result, he issued the edict to build a Buddhist temple on the battlefield of Xiangzhou and erect a stele that chronicled the affair. It is especially worth noting that setting up the Buddhist temples did not merely serve to offer blessings to the officers and soldiers on his own side: 'As for the officials who died because of the war, I hope their wisdom increases.' He also had another wish, stating, 'But I am willing for those who revolted to come from the dark to the light.' This was clearly a big step forward when compared to the act of 'burying the remains and skeletons of the defeated,' as performed by Emperor Wu of Liang, because he also wanted to provide salvation to their deceased souls. Not only that, but Yang Jian also consciously made this Buddhist temple serve a role oppositional to the former political-culture tradition of the *jingguan*. His edict clearly and forcefully declared, 'Transform those bodies and bones piled up as *jingguan*s into platforms of profound wisdom; turn those battlefields scattered with discarded weapons into eternally crystalline mirrors.' Transforming *jingguan*s into Buddhist

temples was perhaps an event brought about by the influence of the Buddhist worldview, as this was the first time that the idea to provide salvation for the deceased souls of enemies emerged in Chinese history. The edict said, 'They are completely awoken to the principles of suffering and emptiness, and they have transcended life and death'; and it also stated, 'Countless sentient beings with a Buddha nature will enter into Buddhism's gates to enlightenment.'

Emperor Wen of Sui's attitude towards the *jingguan* phenomenon was quite influential. Although he emerged victorious from several major wars over the course of the Sui Dynasty's short, 30-something-year lifespan (for example, the war with the Turkic people, the war to conquer the Chen Dynasty, and the war to suppress the southwest barbarians), as of yet there remains no record of him establishing a *jingguan*. However, in the last years of the Daye 大業 Era (605–617) of the Sui Dynasty, over the course of suppressing rebelling peasants, the *jingguan* phenomenon once again appears in the annals of history. For example, during the Daye Era, 'The thieves of the Pengcheng rebellion, Zhang Dabiao 張大彪 (?–614) and Zong Shimo 宗世模 (?–614?), amassed several tens of thousands of people to occupy Boshan and invade Xuzhou and Yanzhou' (彭城賊帥張大彪、宗世模等衆至數萬，保懸薄山，寇掠徐、兗), and the great general Dong Chun 董純 (?–616?) led troops on a punitive campaign following the emperor's orders. He 'battled them at Changlü, defeated them and beheaded over ten thousand people and used their heads to form a *jingguan*' (合戰於昌慮, 大破之, 斬首萬餘級, 築爲京觀).[36] Similarly, during the Daye era, Qutu Tong 屈突通 (557–628) served as Grand General of Left Xiaowei (*Zuo xiaowei da jiangjun* 左驍衛大將軍):

> At that time, the thieves of Qin 秦 and Long 隴 (modern-day Shaanxi and Gansu provinces) formed into armies; the imperial court appointed the official Qutu Tong to set out on a punitive mission to these regions. An Anding resident by the name of Liu Jialun 劉迦論 (?–614) rose up with an army and conspired against

[36] See Dong Chun's biography at *Suishu* 65.1540.

> the state. He occupied Diaoyin Prefecture, declared himself emperor, and set up his own bureaucratic system. More than 100,000 people followed his cause. Liu Yaozi 劉鷂子 (?–614), the leader of the Jihu 稽胡 ethnic group, also amassed people in rebellion; he and Liu Jialun mutually supported each other. … Qutu Tong took advantage of the time before they had been able to set up defences and dispatched elite soldiers to raid Liu Jialun under the cover of darkness. Liu Jialun's forces were defeated and scattered. Qutu Tong's troops beheaded Liu Jialun along with more than ten thousand more people. These heads were used to form a *jingguan* at Nanshan Mountain, Diaoyin Prefecture. Qutu Tong captured an additional several tens of thousands of people before returning. 時秦、隴盜賊蜂起, 以通爲關內討捕大使. 有安定人劉迦論舉兵反, 據雕陰郡, 僭號建元, 署置百官, 有衆十餘萬. 稽胡首領劉鷂子聚衆與迦論相影響. … 通候其無備, 簡精甲夜襲之, 賊衆大潰, 斬迦論并首級萬餘, 於上郡南山築爲京觀, 虜男女數萬口而還.[37]

Another example occurred in 615, when Li Yuan 李淵 (565–635) was the *fuwei dashi* 撫慰大使 (Minister for Suppressing Rebellions) of Hedong 河東, Shanxi Province:

> Later, when Li Yuan was in Longmen 龍門 County, a rebel by the name of Mu Duaner 母端兒 assembled several thousand people and suddenly came to the gates of the city. Nobody had anticipated that an enemy army would come to attack, so the rebels had the upper hand. Li Yuan personally led about a dozen cavalrymen out of the city to attack the rebels. Of a hundred arrows shot by the cavalrymen, a hundred hit their targets, and the enemies were knocked down to the ground. The rebels fled in a state of confused disorder. Their bodies littered the road for several *li* where they had fled. Li Yuan shot 70 arrows, and the next day they decapitated the rebels and built a *jingguan*. All of the arrows Emperor Gaozu had unleashed were found in bodies. Such was this miraculous occurrence. 後至龍門縣，有賊母端兒衆數千人奄至城下，時諸軍無備，爲賊所

[37] See Qutu Tong's biography at *Jiu Tangshu* 59.2320.

> 乘, 高祖親率十餘騎横出擊之, 所射應弦而倒, 賊大潰, 逐北數十里, 伏屍相繼於道. 時高祖射七十發, 明日斬首, 築爲京觀, 於屍上盡得所射箭, 其妙如此.[38]

We can see that during the Daye Era, along with the surge of armed forces rebelling against the Sui Dynasty, the dynasty began utilising the *jingguan* tradition as a tool for deterring enemies. Although Emperor Yang of Sui deeply praised Buddhism just like his father, he differed with his father when it came to the *jingguan* question. Faced with the cruel reality of military struggles, he could no longer treat the enemy magnanimously — let alone build Buddhist temples to pray for the fallen souls of enemy combatants, as his father had done.[39]

BUILDING SEVEN TEMPLES AND DESTROYING *JINGGUAN*S: THE EFFORTS OF EMPEROR TAIZONG

The Tang Dynasty inherited the institutions employed by the Sui Dynasty in many respects. Emperor Taizong of Tang continued the institutions of governance set in place by Emperor Wen of Sui during the Kaihuang 開皇 Era (581–601). This extended to his policy of

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[38] *Cefu yuangui* 44.499. For a specific time, see Gaozu's Annal at *Xin Tangshu* 1.2.

[39] According to his own annal in *Suishu* 4.86, on the *wuzi* day 戊子 of the second month of Daye 10 (April 4, 614), Emperor Yang of Sui issued an imperial edict to bury the remains of officers and soldiers that were killed in the first campaign into Liao but had not been buried; in addition, he ordered them to 'make offerings in Liaoxi Prefecture and erect a site for practising Buddhism' (設祭於遼西郡,立道場一所). In the document, he had previously ordered 'Buddhist temples' (*Fosi* 佛寺) to be referred to as 'site for practising Buddhism' (*daochang* 道場), and he also ordered Buddhist temples to be built atop sites of battlefields; that said, by looking over these imperial edicts, it seems the object of the prayers offered certainly did not include the fallen officers and soldiers of Goryeo.

turning *jingguan*s into Buddhist temples. An important event in early Tang Dynasty history happened in the early years of the Zhenguan 貞觀 Era (627–649) when Emperor Taizong issued an edict ordering that seven Buddhist temples be built on the battlefields instrumental to the founding of the nation. Li Song generally sorted out the related materials,[40] but the argument wasn't very rigorous, and he didn't link the founding of temples and the destruction of *jingguan*s. Here, we will discuss this issue further.

The Background to Emperor Taizong's Founding of Seven Temples on Battlefields

After more than a decade of warfare at the end of the Sui Dynasty, numerous unburied corpses remained scattered across the country's various battlefields. In the sixth month of 620, Emperor Gaozu issued the following edict:

> Since the Sui Dynasty, the political body has fallen into chaos, and governance and punishment have been neglected. The corvée forced upon the common people has become increasingly great and warfare increasingly frequent; the bodies of the innocent people massacred have been tossed into gullies, and over time their bones have become exposed to the world. In certain places, clans have been completely wiped out, people have fled to and fro, no one attends to graves, and wandering souls on the roadsides have nowhere to go. As the emperor, We are the parent of the people. As long as there are people on the soil of this land, all should be nurtured by my person. However, burying remains has not been done well; thus, We cannot sleep easy at night — constant thoughts of the unburied dead along the roadside fill my mind. We wish to visit and pay respects to their souls. Al-

[40] Li, 'Tang Taizong jian qisi zhi zhao yu Binxian Dafosi shiku de kaizao'; Zhao Heping 趙和平 cast strong doubt upon this article's assertion that the Great Buddhist Temple in Bin County and the Zhaoren Temple 昭仁寺 in Binzhou 豳州 were related. See Zhao, 'Binxian Dafosi dafo diaosu niandai tantao.'

> though long ago We issued a decree to have the exposed bodies across all of the land buried, We remain concerned that certain officials had not done enough, and, as a result, some remains are yet to be buried. Therefore, We order the governments of all prefectures and counties to set out on tours and continue collecting the remains. This decree must be made clear to every corner of the country. In this way, wherever there is a posthouse in the country, there will no longer be wandering souls. 自隋室不綱, 政刑荒廢, 戍役煩重, 師旅薦興, 元元無辜, 墮於塗炭, 轉死溝壑, 暴骨中原, 宗党淪亡, 邑居散逸, 墳隴靡託, 營魂無歸. 朕受命君臨, 爲民父母, 率土之內, 情均亭毒, 一物失宜, 寢興軫慮, 念茲道殣, 義先弔恤, 雖復久已頒下, 普遣葬埋, 猶恐吏不存心, 收葬未盡, 宜令州縣官司所在巡行, 掩骼埋胔, 必令周悉, 使郵亭之次, 無復遊魂, 窀穸之下, 各安所厝.[41]

After Emperor Taizong ascended the throne, he issued multiple edicts to bury the remnant skeletons on the battlefields. In the fourth month of 628, he issued the following edict:

> As the Sui Dynasty floundered, the country descended into chaos. Treacherous persons committed all manner of madness, warfare was incessant, the common people sunk into hunger and poverty, blood flowed as if from a river, and deceased bodies showed up all over the wilderness. Formerly, when We were in the army, Our great force traversed all four corners of our land. Whenever We saw such sights, We felt grief and great concern. From the time We accepted heaven's will and became the emperor, We have mourned the deceased even more deeply. As a result, We adopted a benevolent guiding principle of King Wen of Zhou and buried the dried bones. As for the skeletons that remain exposed in the wild, We've ordered local governments to bury their remains. This is Our wish. 隋運將盡, 群凶鼎沸, 干戈不息, 饑饉相仍, 流血成川, 暴骸滿野. 朕往因軍旅, 周覽川原, 每所臨視, 用傷心慮, 自祗膺寶命, 義切哀矜, 雖道謝姬文, 而情深掩骼. 諸有骸骨暴露者, 宜令所在官司收斂埋瘞, 稱朕意焉.[42]

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[41] *Cefu yuangui* 42.476.

[42] Ibid; *Zizhi tongjian* 102.6049.

It is clear that all the way into the early years of the Zhenguan Era, the scars left behind by the wars of the late Sui Dynasty had yet to fully heal. 'Exposed bodies in the wild' remained scattered across the land. As a result, Emperor Taizong still had to order local officials to take care of burials.

At the same time, Emperor Taizon ordered the construction of Buddhist temples at the sites of the seven most important battlefields he had experienced in his life. Some scholars have said that when placing these seven temples, he received guidance from eminent monk Mingshan.[43] During the Sui Dynasty, Mingshan was the monastic manager and leader of Great Chanding Monastery 大禪定寺. During the Daye era (605–618), there was a question as to whether monks should pay respects to emperors. Mingshan once stood, refusing to kowtow, in the face of Emperor Yang of Sui. As a result, he became famous as a protector of Dharma. An account is provided by Daoxuan in *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* 續高僧傳 [Further Biographies of Eminent Monks]:

> In the early years of the Zhenguan era, because Master Mingshan provided many effective methods for governing the nation, he became particularly famous within the imperial court. As a result, Emperor Taizong officially requested his presence. The two sat on the emperor's bed conversing. After eating, Master Mingshan listed to Emperor Taizong all of the methods of governing employed by all of the wise and incompetent rulers since the beginning of time. He also explained Buddhism's great path of using compassion to save the world. Emperor Taizong was delighted. And as a result, he issued the following decree: 'On the first, fifth, and ninth month of every year along with the 8th, 14th, 15th, 23th, 29th, and 30th day of each month of every year, the entire nation will stop committing slaughter. Wherever wars took place, temples shall be built.' At the same time, seven Buddhist temples were established — namely, Zhaoren Temple in Bin Prefecture, Ciyun Temple in Jin Prefecture, Puji

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[43] Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 13; Li, *Chang'an yishu yu zongjiao wenming*, 22.

> Temple in Lü Prefecture, Hongji Temple in Fen Prefecture, Zhaofu Temple in Ming Prefecture, Dengci Temple in Zheng Prefecture, and Zhaojue Temple in Luo Prefecture 洛州. Officials will provide craftsmen, construction materials, and a large amount of labour. All of this occured as a result of Master Mingshan's advice. 貞觀之初, 以贍善識治方, 有聞朝府, 召入內殿, 躬昇御床. 食訖對詔, 廣列自古以來明君昏主制御之術, 兼陳釋門大極, 以慈救爲宗. 帝大悅, 因即下敕: '年三月六, 普斷屠殺. 行陣之所, 皆置佛寺.' 登即一時七處同建, 如豳州昭仁、晉州慈雲、呂州普濟、汾州弘濟、洺州昭福、鄭州等慈、洛州昭覺, 並官給匠石, 京送奴隷, 皆因贍之開發也.[44]

In other words, the establishment of these seven temples was realised at the suggestion of Mingshan. However, the fact that Taizong complied with his suggestion requires us to consider the stance of the emperor himself.

Regarding this matter, the most basic historical record is obviously 'Wei yunshen rongzhen zhe li sicha zhao' 爲殞身戎陣者立寺剎詔 [Edict to Build a Temple for Martyrs]. This edict was recorded in many documents. For example, it is recorded in *juan* 48 of *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 [Institutional History of Tang],[45] *juan* 51 of *Cefu yuangui*,[46] *juan* 113 of *Tang da zhaoling ji* 唐大詔令集 [Collection of Edicts and Decrees from the Tang Period],[47] and *juan* five of *Quan Tangwen* 全唐文 [Complete Collection of Tang Proses];[48] but there are certain discrepancies between these versions. The most complete versions of edicts are included in *juan* 28 of *Guang Hongming ji*, as compiled by Daoxuan in the early Tang, under the title 'Tang Taizong yu xingzhen suo li qisi zhao' 唐太宗於行陣所立七寺詔 [Tang

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44 See Mingshan's biography at *Xu Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2060, 50: 24. 633a6–14.

45 *Tang huiyao* 48.994–995.

46 *Cefu yuangui* 51.574.

47 'Wei Yunshen Rongzhenzhe Li Sicha Zhao' 爲殞身戎陣者立寺剎詔 [Edict to Build a Temple for Martyrs], in *Tang da zhaoling ji* 113.586.

48 'Wei Zhanzhenchu Li Si Zhao' 爲戰陣處立寺詔 [Edict to Build a Temple at the Site of a Battle], *Quan Tangwen* 5.59–60.

Taizong Edict to Erect Seven Temples on Battlefields]. The full text is as follows:

> Chancellery: Sages value humility. They have a vast mind within which no discrepancies exist between people. The foundation of Buddhism is compassion; it treats all things equally. As a result, we are able to know that wise sages all have merciful hearts. They treat all things equally. Great compassion is wide and provides salvation to all within the world. There is no word more important than 'one.' The Sui Dynasty lost hold of morality, and the world fell into chaos. I personally served as a general who led troops to suppress rebel armies. Since the pledge came to dispatch troops, there hasn't been a year of peace. Among the chaos, unscrupulous and stupid people have died. Righteous and stern officers and soldiers have upheld their integrity up to the point that they died; they all held to their beliefs until they died, and all deserve to be commended for this. Time passes away one day at a time, but these things passed away some time ago. Although Xiang Yu 項羽 (232 BCE–202 BCE) disobeyed, great trees were planted around his grave to serve as a commemoration; Ji Xin 紀信 (?–204 BCE) sacrificed his life, and this deed was recorded in the annals of history. Yet We still worry that the souls of the deceased continue to suffer under the netherworld; those who die within the eight difficulties are eternally tormented by ice and fire. Such thoughts cause Us to feel sad and blame Ourselves. They keep Us from sound sleep. Therefore, We want to build Buddhist temples to provide the deceased souls with liberation. Wherever We rose in revolt and engaged in battle, We can build temples for both the righteous soldiers and murderers who fell on the battlefield, and We can invite eminent monks to come. We hope the drums of temples can turn the fires of hell to lotus flowers and the sound of Dharma can transform the sea of suffering to sweet dew. The department responsible for this task should select a suitable location, determine the names of the temples, construct them, and assign monks to them. Report the details of such work to Us so that Our wish may be realized: 門下: 至人虛己, 忘彼我於胸襟; 釋教慈心, 均異同於平等. 是知上聖惻隱, 無隔萬方; 大悲弘濟, 義猶一子. 有隋失道, 九服沸騰. 朕親總元戎, 致茲明罰. 誓牧登陑, 曾無寧歲. 其有桀

犬愚惑, 嬰此湯羅; 銜鬚義憤, 終于握節. 各殉所奉, 咸有可嘉. 日往月來, 逝川斯遠. 雖復項藉放命, 封樹紀於丘墳; 紀信捐生, 丹青著於圖像. 猶恐九泉之下, 尚淪鼎鑊; 八難之間, 永纏冰炭. 愀然疚懷, 用忘興寢. 思所以樹立福田, 濟其營魄. 可於建義已來交兵之處, 爲義士、凶徒隕身戎陣者, 各建寺刹, 招延勝侶. 望: 法鼓所振, 變炎火於青蓮; 清梵所聞, 易苦海於甘露. 所司宜量定處所, 并立寺名、支配僧徒及修造院宇, 具爲事條以聞, 稱朕矜愍之意:

1. Where Xue Ju 薛舉 (?–618) was defeated, Bin Prefecture 豳州 shall build Zhaoren Temple 破薛舉, 於豳州立昭仁寺;
2. Where Song Laosheng 宋老生 (?–617) was defeated, Tai (=Lü) Prefecture 台 (=吕) 州 shall build Puji Temple 破宋老生, 於台 (=吕) 州立普濟寺;
3. Where Song Jin'gang 宋金剛 (?–620) was defeated, Jin Prefecture 晉州 shall build Ciyun Temple 破宋金剛, 於晉州立慈雲寺;
4. Where Liu Wuzhou 劉武周 (?–622) was defeated, Fen Prefecture 汾州 shall build Hongji Temple 破劉武周, 於汾州立弘濟寺;
5. Where Wang Shichong 王世充 (?–621) was defeated, Mount Mang 邙山 shall build Zhaojue Temple 破王世充, 於邙山立昭覺寺;
6. Where Dou Jiande 竇建德 (573–621) was defeated, Zheng Prefecture 鄭州 shall build Dengci Temple 破竇建德, 於鄭州立等慈寺;
7. Where Liu Heitai 劉黑泰 (d.u.) was defeated, Ming Prefecture 洺州 shall build Zhaofu Temple 破劉黑泰, 於洺州立昭福寺.

All seven of these temples shall be built entirely by the government, which will also supply servants, ox carts, and manors. In addition, stone stelae will also be erected to praise merits. 右七寺並官造. 又給家人車牛田莊, 并立碑頌德.[49]

Unfortunately, *Guang Hongming ji* 廣弘明集 [Expanded Collection for the Propagation and Clarification of Buddhism] didn't list the time at which this edict was issued. Furthermore, in other historical

[49] *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 28.328c13–329a6.

records, different dates are recorded. For example, *Tang huiyao* lists the first day of the twelfth month of the third year of the Zhenguan era (Zhenguan 3.12.1=December 20, 629), *Cefu yuangui* and Taizong's Annal ('Taizong Benji' 太宗本紀) in *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書 [History of the Early Tang Dynasty] both list the *guichou* 癸丑 day of the twelfth month of the third year of the Zhenguan era, 'Taizong's Annal in *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書 [New Book of Tang] records the intercalary twelfth month of the third year (of the Zhenguan era), and *Tang da zhaoling ji* lists the eleventh month of Zhenguan 3. Reviewing these dates, we are generally able to deduce that the edict was issued on the *guichou* day (17th) of the intercalary twelfth month of the third year of the Zhenguan era (Zhenguan 3.12 [run].17=February 4, 630).[50]

In addition, *Guang Hongming ji* did not either specify as to the stelae set up at the seven Buddhist temples. *Tang huiyao* provides

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[50] Li Song 李凇 has performed some analysis as to when this was released, and he generally suggested it came out in early 628. See Li, *Chang'an yishu yu zongjiao wenming*, 17–26. The brunt of his argument is based on epigraphical work regarding Song Dynasty texts, such as *Jigu lu* 集古錄 [Collection of Ancient Records], *Jinshi lu* 金石錄 [Records of Metal and Stone], and so on. However, his work ignores differences in the intrinsic nature of these various historical materials. As long as there is no strong evidence to suggest that this edict was not released in 628, we should believe the bureaucratic records provided by *Jiu Tangshu*, *Tang huiyao*, and *Cefu yuangui*; the edicts and decrees of emperors, in particular, often come directly from local records and national historical records. As for the date of the edict's publication that was provided by the inscription collections like *Jigu lu* and *Jinshi lu*, a few contradictions exist, meaning that there is a good chance that the date they offered is not reliable. In fact, Wang Shuanghuai 王雙懷 and Wu Xiucheng 武秀成 have both pointed out that the date of the edicts release, as put forth by the Taizong's Annal in the *Jiu Tangshu* (the so-called 'Jiuji' 舊紀 [Old Annal]), was the *guichou* day of the intercalary twelfth month of Zhenguan 3 (貞觀三年閏十二月癸丑) (February 4, 630). See Wang, 'Liang Tangshu jiumiu san ze,' 73; Wu, *Jiu Tangshu bianzheng*; Zhan, *Dianjiao ben Liang Tangshu jiaokan huishi*, 11.

supplementary materials for this dearth. According to this information, we can assemble the following table (table 2) whilst making use of some other materials to provide further clarification:[51]

It is plain to see that the people commissioned to write the stele inscriptions were such first-class civilian court officials as Yu Shinan, Xu Jingzong, Yan Shigu, and Cen Wenben. This is a clear demonstration of the importance Taizong attached to the matter. The mid-Tang individual Li Jifu recorded four of the temples in *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* — namely, Zhaoren Temple, Dengci Temple, Puji Temple, and Zhaofu — but the other three were not recorded. Perhaps they had already been dissolved by that time. In the Song Dynasty, Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修 (1007–1072) recorded three inscriptions in *Jigu lu* 集古錄 [Collection of Ancient Records] — namely, 'Tang Youzhou Zhaoren si bei' 唐豳州昭仁寺碑 [Tang Dynasty Youzhou's Zhaoren Monastery Stele], 'Tang Lüzhou Puji si bei' 唐吕州普濟寺碑 [Tang Dynasty Lüzhou's Puji Monastery Stele], and 'Tang Yan Shigu Dengci si bei' 唐顏師古等慈寺碑 [Tang Dynasty Dengci Temple Stele by Yan Shigu];[52] in *Jinshi lu* 金石錄 [Records of Metal and Stone Inscriptions], Zhao Mingcheng 趙明誠 (1081–1129) recorded all

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[51] *Tang huiyao* 48.994–995, where the author of 'Ciyun si bei' 慈雲寺碑 [Stele of Ciyun Temple] is given as Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596–658). However, according to the records in Taizong's Annal in *Jiu Tangshu* and 'Diwang bu chong Shishi' 帝王部・崇釋氏 [Section of Emperors: Worship of Buddhism] in *Cefu yuangui* (*juan* 51), the authorship shall be attributed to Chu Liang 褚亮 (560–647). In addition, the records of *Tang huiyao* do not provide an account of the defeat of Xue Ju and the establishment of Zhaoren Temple. See *Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 3.64:

> Zhaoren Monastery is located in Quanshui yuan 淺水原, which is ten paces to the west of county. The imperial army defeated Xue Rengao 薛仁杲 (?–619) here, where the emperor decreed that a monastery was to be built. The inscription on the stele here was produced by the remonstrator (*jianyi daifu* 諫議大夫) Zhu Zishe 朱子奢 (?–641). 昭仁寺, 在縣西十步淺水原上, 王師討平仁杲, 詔於此置寺. 碑, 諫議大夫朱子奢之詞也.

[52] *Jigulu bawei*, *Shike shiliao xinbian*, Series 1, 5: 17877.

Table 2: The Seven Temples Built on Battlegrounds by Emperor Taizong

Name	Location	Battle Achievement	Author of Stele Inscription	Comment
Hongji Temple 弘濟寺	Fen Prefecture 汾州	Defeated Liu Wuzhou	Li Baiyao 李百藥 (564–648)	
Puji Temple 普濟寺	Huoyi County 霍邑縣 , Lü Prefecture 呂州	Defeated Song Laosheng	Xu Jingzong 許敬宗 (592–672)	*Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 12.340
Ciyun Temple 慈云寺	Jin Prefecture 晉州	Defeated Song Jingang	Chu Liang 褚亮 (560–647)	*Tang huiyao*, *juan* 48, where the inscription author is incorrectly listed as Chu Suiliang 褚遂良 (596–658).
Zhaojue Temple 昭覺寺	Mount Mang 邙山 , Luo Prefecture 洛州	Defeated Wang Shichong	Yu Shinan 虞世南 (558–638)	
Dengci Temple 等慈寺	Sishui County 汜水縣 , Zheng Prefecture 鄭州	Defeated Dou Jiande	Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581–645)	*Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 5.147. Full text of the inscription preserved in *Tang huiyao*, *juan* 148.
Zhaofu Temple 昭福寺	Yongnian County 永年縣 , Ming Prefecture 洺州	Defeated Liu Heita	Ceng Wenben 岑文本 (595–645)	*Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 15.431
Zhaoren Temple 昭仁寺	Yongshou County 永壽縣 , Bin Prefecture 豳州	Defeated Xue Ju	Zhu Zishe 朱子奢 (?–641)	*Yuanhe junxian tuzhi* 3.64. The complete text of inscription (along with the foreword) preserved in *Quan Tangwen*, *juan* 135.

three of these inscriptions along with one additional inscription — 'Tang Hongji si bei' 唐弘濟寺碑 [Tang Dynasty Stele of Hongji Monastery], which was written by Li Baiyao. It is just that where the age is listed as 'Zhenguan year fourteen, month seven' (貞觀十四年七月).[53] I have strong suspicions that the character of 'ten' (十) here is redundant; this age roughly lines up with the text stating, 'was up in Zhenguan year four, month five, construction was completed' (已上並貞觀四年五月建造畢), which is contained in *Tang huiyao*. It is a shame that of the seven temple stelae erected in the early Tang Dynasty, only Zhu Zishe's 'Zhaoren si beiming' 昭仁寺碑銘 [Zhaoren Temple Stele Inscription] and the rubbing of Yan Shigu's 'Dengci si bei' 等慈寺碑 [Dengci Monastery Steles] still remain today. As for the other five stelae, there is no way for us to see them.

Building Seven Temples and Destroying *Jingguan*s

As stated in the edict, Taizon set up seven temples on seven battlefields to 'build temples for both the righteous soldiers and murderers who fell on the battlefield.' That is to say, he not only wanted to pray for the fallen officers and soldiers of the Tang Dynasty, but he also wanted to do so for the officers and soldiers of his enemies who had died in battle. This point also reflects the 'based on compassion, Buddhism treating all sentient beings equally' notion contained within the edict, which is exactly the same as the notion proposed by Emperor Wen of Sui when he built a temple in Xiangzhou. Under the guidance of Buddhism's perspective on life and death, this edict

53 Jin (colla. & verified), *Jinshi lu*, 3.52, 54: 'Di Wubaiwushiwu Tang Youzhou Zhaoren si bei' 第五百五十五唐幽州昭仁寺碑 [Tang Dynasty Stele Number 555 of Youzhou's Zhaoren Monastery], 'Di Wubaiwushiliu Tang Lüzhou Puji si bei' 第五百五十六唐呂州普濟寺碑 [Tang Dynasty Stele Number 556 of Lüzhou's Puji Monastery], 'Di Wubaiwushiqi Tang Dengci si bei' 第五百五十七唐等慈寺碑 [Tang Dynasty Stele Number 557 of Dengci Monastery], and 'Di Wubaiwushiba Tang Hongji si bei' 第五百八十四唐弘濟寺碑 [Tang Dynasty Stele Number 558 of Hongji Monastery].

became chock-full of Buddhist ideas and expressions. For example, Taizong was concerned for these departed souls, 'Yet We still worry that under the netherworld the souls of the deceased continue to suffer; those who die within the eight difficulties are eternally tormented by ice and fire.' As a result, he stated, 'Therefore, We want to build Buddhist temples to provide the deceased souls with liberation.' That is, he used the establishment of these temples to release the departed souls, declaring, 'We hope the drums of temples can turn the fires of hell to lotus flowers and the sound of Dharma can transform the sea of suffering to sweet dew.' These were, obviously, exactly the same details — 'He also explained Buddhism's great path of using compassion to save the world' — that the eminent monk Mingshan described to Taizong. The notion of 'compassion' refers to compassion and salvation; specifically, it refers to the compassion of all sentient beings and the salvation of departed souls.

The concepts expressed in Taizong's edict were echoed and further developed in the connected inscriptions by Zhu Zishe and Yan Shigu. Zhaoren Temple was built on the Qianshui Field of the battlefield where Xue Ju was suppressed. Today, it still stands tall on East Street of Changwu 長武 County, Xianyang 咸陽 City, Shaanxi Province. The great hall of the temple retains the same appearance it had during the Tang Dynasty. The 'Zhaoren si bei' was kept under a pavilion, and it has also been preserved to the present day. The stele is 4.56 metres tall, with the head of the stele being 1.26 metres tall, the body 2.64 metres tall, and the base 0.66 metres tall; the stele is 1.1 metres wide at the top and 1.22 metres wide at its base. Regarding how this great battle relates to the success or failure of the newly established Tang Dynasty, Zhu Zishe provides a description that exceeds 3,000 characters worth of content. This description is extremely informative, imbued with majestic vigour, and of a magnificent literary quality. The content further highlights the difference between this instance of building a temple to offer prayers and the Chinese tradition of burying the remains and skeletons of the defeated. He uses ornate language to praise Taizong, saying, '[He] conforms to the way of heaven, cherishes life, and even had the magnanimity to bury the deceased, just as King Wen of Zhou did' (順天道好生之德, 體周王掩胔之仁). And in the article, he states that the

Taizong should worship heaven and earth and erect stone stelae for commemoration. The stele reads:

> Nevertheless, these things are but things of the world, and the lofty nature of the Way vastly transcends this world. If we were to not have heard of the sage from the west, or of the Buddhist paths to enlightenment, then we would still have plenty of work to do. Regarding the truth, my knowledge is quite limited. If one gallops towards the mount of celestials, this is certainly not the path that leads to nirvana; and riding on clouds is inferior to galloping on the path towards *nirvāṇa* ... We currently use such exceptional causes and conditions to praise the name of the Buddha, along with the merits of our military, and the reason why we do this stems from the two-fold truths of the divine and secular. The emperor was born into the *Sahā* world on account of previous causes and conditions, and he made a grand vow to shoulder all sentient beings. Seeing the immense pain produced by the numerous wars, the worry in his heart spread across the plains like a great fire. But does the turbulent forest have static trees? Are the undulating waters of the sea crystal clear? Accordingly, Emperor Taizong fought in the east and the west, and he battled in both the north and the south. Wherever the flag of his army emerged, fierce battles took place. As an emperor, rewarding officers and soldiers with a thousand taels of gold is but a trivial affair; these men, in turn, have no concern for life or death as they set out to repay their emperor's benevolence. All the officers and soldiers charge forth on the frontlines of the war; they fight valiantly on the perilous fields of war. Although the crucial point of the emperor's plot was attaining victory, weapons were sharp, the war was treacherous, and officers and soldiers often died in its pursuit. Their battledresses scattered the plain, and their helmets were cast into the wilderness. Their devotion was their virtue, but in the end, the might of heroes fades away. In order to jointly face difficulties and mutually share joy as we did in the past, we harbour the glorious will of martyrs; and under the decree of the emperor, we will build dwellings for souls where battles were once fought. Havens of treasure were built on the dirty land, allowing a lotus to bloom in a burning home. The flames of war will not be ignited again; instead,

> the compassionate candles of temples shall be lit. The military flag will not be raised again, as Buddhist prayer flags will take its place. Ignorance should be plucked out from the brambles, and warm water should be poured into the wells of the thirsty. Hopefully, this can drive away all afflictions and allow the deceased to be eternally free of suffering. Although those who followed the example of rebels are not the same as our soldiers, they still followed their respective leader and perished on account of morality. The supreme Buddha Dharma does not distinguish between sandalwood and the blades of warriors; compassion reaches extremely far and wide: whether one is a rebel or a righteous soldier, compassion treats them equally. Let the rain of Buddha Dharma irrigate them. Let them board the great vehicle of Dharma together. Pay respect to the profound mystery of Dharma's wisdom, as here all souls are equal. 然則事止寰中, 道流物外, 未辨西方之聖, 莫知東被之法. 求真之理, 我則未聞. 雖御辨崆峒, 非趨涅槃之岸; 乘雲谷口, 寧遊波若之門?......今我所以仰勝緣於千號, 紀武功於七德, 真俗二諦, 兼而兩之. 皇上昔居因地, 早宏誓力, 應跡忍土, 荷負群生. 屬憂火燎原, 稽天方割, 飆林無自靜之木, 震海豈澄源之水? 東戡西翦, 南征北怨, 旄鉞所次, 酣戰玆邦. 君輕散千金之賞, 士重酬九死之命. 莫不競淩鋒鏑, 爭蹈水火. 雖制勝之道, 允歸上略, 而兵凶戰危, 時或殞喪. 褰裳不顧, 結纓荒野, 忠爲令德, 沒有餘雄. 同艱難於昔晨, 異歡泰於玆日. 有懷亮烈, 用切旒扆, 仍於戰地, 爰構神居. 變穢土於寶城, 開蓮花於火宅. 高烽罷照, 慈燈載朗, 戴旌綴警, 勝幡斯立, 拔無明於棘林, 導焦熱於渴井, 盡諸有結, 永除苦際. 雖復去順效逆, 同歸各徒, 中涓穎從, 實惟義重. 而上忍所被, 旃檀與利刃兼忘; 大慈所覃, 怨賊將義夫齊指. 俱潤法雨, 同乘大輮, 迴向菩提, 無上平等.[54]

Taizong was clearly under the influence of Buddhism when he decided to treat slain enemy officers and soldiers in the same way that

54 *Quan Tangwen* 135.1362–1366. Note: the rubbings of the 'Zhaoren sibei' has already been published; see Tianjing Renmin Meishu Chubanshe, ed., *Zhaoren si bei Song taben*. These Song Dynasty rubbings are not complete, so missing content was supplemented with rubbings from the Ming Dynasty. The printing quality is quite exquisite.

he treated the fallen ones from his own army. As the stele says, 'The supreme Buddha Dharma does not distinguish between sandalwood and the blades of warriors; compassion reaches extremely far and wide: whether one is a rebel or righteous soldier, compassion treats them equally.' The ultimate goal of this was to enable the departed souls of both sides to 'become eternally free of suffering' and to allow 'the rain of Buddha Dharma [to] irrigate them.'

In fact, it was not easy for Taizong to do this, because the worst defeat he suffered in his life was handed to him by Xue Ju. According to the account from *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 [Comprehensive Mirror to Aid in Government], in the seventh month of 618,

> Xue Ju's army advanced toward Gaozhi, and some of his troops reached the region of Bin 豳 and Qi 岐. Li Shimin 李世民 (598–649), the Prince of Qin 秦王, dug deep ditches and built towering walls to serve as defences so that they would not have to engage in battle head-on. At just that moment, Li Shimin contracted malaria. He handed the reins of his military over to Liu Wenjing 劉文靜 (568–619), a military adviser (*zhangshi nayan* 長史納言), and Yin Kaishan 殷開山 (?–622), a martial minister (*sima* 司馬) ... On the day of *renzi* 壬子, the two armies fought at Qianshui Field 淺水原. The eight generals [of the Tang army] were all defeated by Xue Ju's troops. Fifty to sixty per cents of the Tang army was killed. Several great generals like Murong Luohou 慕容羅睺 (d.u.), Li Anyuan 李安遠 (575–633), and Liu Hongji 劉弘基 (582–650) were captured. As for the remaining troops [of the Tang army], Li Shimin brought them all back to Chang'an with him. Xue Ju seized the opportunity and captured Gaozhi. He used the bodies of fallen soldiers from the Tang army to build a *jingguan*. 薛舉進逼高墌, 遊兵至于豳、岐, 秦王世民深溝高壘不與戰. 會世民得瘧疾, 委軍事於長史納言劉文靜、司馬殷開山, ...壬子, 戰於淺水原, 八總管皆敗, 士卒死者什五六, 大將軍慕容羅睺、李安遠、劉弘基皆沒, 世民引兵還長安. 舉遂拔高墌, 收唐兵死者爲京觀.[55]

[55] *Zizhi tongjian* 185.5800–5801.

It was the only *jingguan* built out of the bodies of officers and soldiers from the Tang army in the course of the founding the Tang Dynasty, and it was assuredly a painful memory for Li Shimin (Emperor Taizong). According to the *Jiu Tangshu*, after Xue Ju dealt this massive defeat to the Tang army, and just as he was about to victoriously enter Chang'an, something unexpected happened: 'When Xue Ju's troops were set to take off, Xue Ju fell ill. They found a shaman to come and check on him. The shaman said that the illness was brought about by the Tang army turning into evil ghosts. Xue Ju hated this, but he died shortly thereafter' (臨發而舉疾, 召巫視之, 巫言唐兵為祟, 舉惡之, 未幾而死).[56] It is thus evident there was a rumour that Xue Ju's sudden death from an illness was caused by the souls of the Tang army that had been turned into the *jingguan*. This very likely left an extremely deep impression on Li Shimin. Ten years later, when Taizong built a Buddhist temple on the site where Xue Ju was defeated, he not only prayed for the 'righteous soldier' of his own side, but also for the 'rebels' of the enemy army. This was perhaps directly motivated by the thoughts of Xue Ju's fate; and as for Taizong's later decision to completely dismantle *jingguan*s, this also could have been related.

In this elaborate text, Yan Shigu's 'Dengci si bei' is extremely similar to Zhu Zishe's 'Zhaoren si Stele Inscription.' First it highly praises the merits of Taizong, then it narrates the victorious battle that suppressed Dou Jiande, and finally it explains the background of establishing Dengci Monastery:

> When the great ship sets sail, it will not cut off the living or the dead. Those silent officers and soldiers hold on to their integrity, and they died on account of their loyalty. As the sad army marches on, wheels lie buried in the undergrowth. [The emperor] shows compassion for the karma they created and concern for their wandering souls that can't find a way to come back; [I] worry that they are just as Xingtian 刑天[57] and that their souls have found no peace despite

[56] See Xue Ju's biography at *Jiu Tangshu* 55.2247.

[57] A General of the semi-legendary Emperor Yandi 炎帝.

> descending into the darkness. In order to pluck out profound suffering, I believe we must rely on exceptional causes and conditions and that by hoping to enhance their roots of benevolence, they will lead towards the Pure Land. As a result, the emperor ordered Buddhist temples to be built wherever we had fought battles with enemies in the past. Whether it is a soldier or an officer from my army who was killed in action, or one from an enemy faction, all should be treated equally without differentiation. Accordingly, in establishing this temple, it shall be given the name 'Dengci Temple.' It is located in Zhengzhou, within Sishui County 汜水 ... How can it be that at the fields where enemies were punished, their bodies are allowed to be exposed to the wilderness and contaminated with filth? When punishing evil enemies, pardon their bodies from being degraded to a *jingguan*. The method we are employing allows their souls to deeply grasp dependent origination and eternally gain liberation from the cover of afflictions. With the support of the Buddhadharma, their souls can return to divine happiness. 思廣舟航, 無隔幽顯. 靜言官首, 或握節以殉忠; 追悼行間, 有䕻輪而棄野. 愍疏屬之罪, 方滯迷塗; 念刑天之魂, 久淪長夜. 以爲拔除苦累, 必藉勝因; 增益善根, 實資淨土. 乃命克敵之處, 普建道場, 情均彼我, 恩洽同異. 爰立此寺, 俾號 '等慈.' 境實鄭州, 縣稱汜水. ... 豈惟致罰之野, 獲免汙豬, 淫慝所懲, 赦其京觀. 乃令深入緣起, 永脫蓋纏; 普賴法財, 同歸妙樂.[58]

As Yan Shigu said, this temple was called 'Dengci' [Equal Benevolence] in order to realize the following ideal: 'Whether a soldier or officer from my army who was killed in action, or one from an enemy faction, all should be treated equally without differentiation.' It was clear that the name of this temple most purely reflected the original notion of the phrase from Taizong's edict that read, 'The foundation of Buddhism is compassion; it treats all things equally.' From Yan Shigu's perspective, these battlefields where their enemies had been defeated should intrinsically be a place where 'enemies were punished.' But as for magnanimous Emperor Taizong, he believed

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[58] *Quan Tangwen* 148.1497–1499. These stele rubbings have also been published, see Tianjin Guji Chubanshe, ed., *Dengci si bei*.

that 'When punishing evil enemies, [we should] pardon their bodies from being degraded to a *jingguan*,' and he used the merit of building temples to 'pluck out profound suffering' from these departed souls, inducing them to 'eternally gain liberation from the cover of afflictions' and allowing 'their souls [to] return to divine happiness.' On the backside of the stele text, the sixth inscription seems to express something similar. It reads: 'Now that the evil multitudes have been defeated, we can raise the Buddhist prayer flags. Pardon them from their crimes; release their souls from their captivity. With fearless Buddha Dharma, their evil habits can be broken. Transform the desolate battlefields into wonderful sites for practising Buddha Dharma.' This is obviously comparing the deceased officers and soldiers of the enemy army to 'evil multitudes.' Taizong built a temple in order to 'pardon them from their crimes; release their souls from their captivity'; that is, he did so to pardon their sins and pray for their good fortune in the afterlife. It is not difficult to see that just as Yang Jian had hoped to transform *jingguan*s into temples, Taizong and his ministers consciously used the act of building temples to draw contrast with the *jingguan* tradition.

On the 14th day of the second month of Zhenguan 5 (Zhenguan 5.2.14=March 22, 631), Emperor Taizong officially issued an edict to destroy all the *jingguan*s throughout the nation. The text stated the following:

> Establishing an army is done as a last resort. The intention of establishing an army is ending warfare; the purpose is to keep away from killing. At the end of an era, people chase fame and fortune; they rely on their force to wantonly exhibit their power. With sharp blades, soldiers cut off the heads and ears of enemies as they please [to gain tokens of their merits]. As flowing blood covers the land, their weapons seem to float; this is what makes soldiers feel at ease. As bodies pile up everywhere, soldiers proclaim themselves valiant. Exposed corpses are buried simply with dirt, and many *jingguan*s are erected on the fields. Among such kinds of burials, one can only see the pomposity of those involved, but these burials fail to realise the etiquette of burying body and bones. This thought causes [Us] to sigh with emotion for a long time. Wherever there is a *jingguan* in

> any prefecture, whether new or old, it shall be taken down. Cover it with earth so it forms a burial mound. Bury those dried bones that lay exposed in the wild. Don't let them experience the wind or the rain. In these places, wine, meat, and dried food shall be used to making offerings to the deceased souls. 甲兵之設, 事不獲已, 義在止戈, 期於去殺. 季葉馳競, 恃力肆威. 鋒刃之下, 恣情翦馘. 血流漂杵, 方稱快意; 屍若亂麻, 自以爲武. 露骸封土, 多崇京觀, 徒見安忍之心, 未宏掩骼之禮, 靜言念此, 憫歎良深. 但是諸州有京觀處, 無問新舊, 宜悉剗削, 加土爲墳, 掩蔽枯朽, 勿令暴露. 仍以酒脯, 致祭奠焉.[59]

This time, the policy put forth to abolish the *jingguan*s was clearly of a national scope, and with the text reading 'whether it be new or old, all [*jingguan*s] shall be taken down,' we can see this policy was very thorough. Among the *jingguan*s that were torn down, the one built by Xue Ju that held the remains of bodies from the Tang army was likely included, because for Li Shimin this *jingguan* could be said to have been a pillar of his shame. In addition, the record from 'Taizong's Annal' in *Jiu Tangshu* reads: 'On the *jiachen* 甲辰 day of the eighth month of autumn, people were dispatched to destroy the *jingguan* erected by the Goryeo kingdom. The skeletons of those from the Sui Dynasty were collected, and the envoys buried them after making offerings' (秋八月甲辰, 遣使毀高麗所立京觀, 收隋人骸骨, 祭而葬之).[60] It is thus evident that the scope of this effort to destroy *jingguan*s was vast, and it transcended the borders of the Tang Dynasty. This move even caused alarm within Goryeo (modern-day Korea). History tells us, 'The king of Goryeo, Geonmu 建武 (r. 618–642), feared that the Tang Dynasty would lead a punitive expedition against their nation. As a result, he built a great wall. It started

[59] Li Shimin, 'Ling zhuzhou chanxue jingguan zhao' 令諸州剗削京觀詔 [Edict to Remove the *Jingguan*s in different Prefectures], *Quan Tangwen* 5.62. For the specific time that this edict was released, see *Cefu yuangui* 42.477; *Zizhi tongjian* 193.6086–6087.

[60] Taizong's Annal at *Jiu Tangshu* 3.41. 'Gaoli zhuan' 高麗傳 [Account of Goryeo] in *Jiu Tangshu* 199.5321, which records that the envoy dispatch at that time was Zhangsun Shi 長孫師 (d.u.), the Councilor of Guangzhou military governor.

from Buyeo 扶餘 County in the northeast and extended down to the southwest where it stopped in the sea. It was over 1,000 *yi* long' (建武懼伐其國, 乃築長城, 東北自扶餘城, 西南至海, 千有餘里).[61]

Within Taizong's edict to demolish *jingguan*s, there is no explicit mention of a Buddhist influence. However, when we link this matter to the establishment of the seven temples that occurred just over a year prior, the connection becomes plainly obvious. Ouyang Xiu says the following in the epilogue of Zhu Zishe's 'Tang Binzhou Zhaoren si bei':

> At all of the sites where the Tang fought against other forces since the time it first rose, it later built Buddhist temples, declaring that it aimed to pray for the fallen generals and soldiers. Tang of Shang 商湯 (d. 1646 BCE) defeated Jie of Xia 夏桀 (1818 BCE – 1766 BCE), King Wu of Zhou (1046 BCE – 1043 BCE) defeated Zhou of Shang 商紂王 (r. 1075 BCE? – 1046 BCE?), both killing an exceptional amount of people, but both the Shang and Zhou dynasties lasted for several hundred years. They were able to obtain the blessing of heaven because they had justice and fairness in their hearts. They dispelled all manner of disasters from society for the common people. When the Tang Dynasty built the temples, although they announced to the world that they were built to pray for fallen soldiers, the act was actually done because over the course of founding the dynasty, they slaughtered too many and wanted to atone for their sins. The establishment of the Tang Dynasty ended the chaos set off by the end of the Sui Dynasty. This, in itself, was a great event, but the rulers of the Tang Dynasty were obsessed with building temples to gain personal salvation, which is actually a superficial form of behaviour! 唐自起義與羣雄戰處, 後皆建佛寺, 云爲陣亡士薦福. 湯武之敗桀紂, 殺人固亦多矣, 而商周享國各數百年, 其荷天之祐者, 以其心存大公, 爲民除害也. 唐之建寺, 外雖託爲戰亡之士, 其實自贖殺人之咎爾. 其撥亂開基, 有足壯者, 及區區於此, 不亦陋哉![62]

[61] 'Gaoli zhuan,' *Jiu Tangshu* 199.5321.

[62] *Jigulu bawei*, *Shike shiliao xinbian*, Series 1, 5: 17877.

It is clear that, to some extent, Ouyang Xiu disagreed with Taizong's decision to build the seven temples. He believed that he was only nominally praying for the soldiers who had died, but in truth he was seeking redemption for the people he had killed. Indeed, over the course of Taizong's campaigns to rid the land of warlords, he killed an exceptionally large number of enemies. Yan Shigu's 'Dengci si bei' depicted his suppression of Dou Jiande, saying, '[His Majesty] conquered fortified cities, defeated ferocious enemies, killed every enemy [His Majesty] encountered, let blood run across the land, and piled up enough bodies to fill valleys to the brim; After seizing the prime culprits, [His Majesty] also instantly captured enemies, with none escaping by chance' (陷堅挫猛, 刮野掃地, 喋血僵尸, 填坑滿谷. 禽茲元惡, 未及旋踵, 仍執醜虜, 曾靡孑遺). Zhu Zishe's 'Zhaoren si bei' described the battle in which Taizong suppressed Xue Ju, saying, 'Enemies were defeated, corpses covered the land, armour piled up like a mountain — these things blocked the flow of the Jing River 涇 in the Qin Region 秦; if they're thrown down a ravine, they fill the whole mountain valley. They completely crushed their enemies, and across all the wilderness there wasn't a single enemy that slipped away.' Although there is some degree of exaggeration within these accounts, the cruelty of warfare that they describe is the truth. In these wars, Li Shimin personally killed nearly 1, 000 enemies, so in the third month of 628 CE, he held a ceremonial religious fast with specifically providing a path to salvation for these departed souls:

> Chancellery: The purpose of punishment is making it so nothing under the sky needs punishment; this is the purpose of the emperor's decree. The purpose of war is bringing an end to warfare; this is the custom established by sages. Accordingly, Tang of Shang and Wu of Zhou 周武 (the founders of their respective dynasties) dispatched armies to bring an end to the world's turmoil. Perhaps they did not treasure the people but were rather recklessly slaughtering? The fact is that they acted as they did to end revolts and stop warfare — such behaviour was a last resort. From the end of the Sui Dynasty when forces were dispatched against the Sui, Our intention was to save the world. Expeditions and battles in the North and East were intended to suppress chaos. However, throughout this process, the lives that

> were taken by the blades of soldiers were difficult to count. Although they went against heaven's order of the world, We and deserved to be killed. We are regretful, as life is precious — how could one not feel grief-stricken? Deep in my heart lies a silent feeling of shame; at no moment can We forget. Buddhism upholds kindness. Among her precepts, slaughtering constitutes the most serious of crimes. For these reasons, I feel even more regretful and afraid. We should now make offerings and fast for the nearly 1,000 enemies who I personally killed since we rose up to fight against the Sui Dynasty. We will pray for their liberation, and my heart will piously repent. All of the clothing and items We use shall be donated to the temple. We hope that all the deceased souls caught in the cycle between beasthood, being a hungry ghost, and hell are able to attain liberation on account of this. Countless disasters led many to die in the wars, but they can gain salvation on account of these activities that provide prayers. They can eliminate feelings of hatred and enter the realm of the bodhi. 門下: 刑期無刑, 皇王之令典; 以戰止戰, 列聖之通規. 是以湯武干戈, 濟時靜亂. 豈其不愛黔首, 肆行誅戮, 禁暴戢兵, 蓋不獲已. 朕自隋未 (=末) 創義, 志存拯溺. 北征東伐, 所向平殄. 然黄鉞之下, 金鏃之端, 凡所傷殪, 難用勝紀. 雖復逆命亂常, 自貽殞絕, 惻隱之心, 追以愴恨, 生靈之重, 能不哀矜? 悄然疚懷, 無忘興寢. 且釋氏之教, 深尚慈仁. 禁戒之科, 殺害爲重. 承言此理, 彌增悔懼. 今宜爲自征討以來, 手所誅剪, 前後之數, 將近一千, 皆爲建齊行道, 竭誠禮懺. 朕之所服衣物, 並充檀捨. 冀三途之難, 因斯解脫. 萬劫之苦, 藉此弘濟. 滅怨障之心, 趣菩提之道.[63]

It is very possible that, in this text, Taizong is seeking redemption for killing others; but such an act is not in conflict with offering prayers to departed souls to help them gain salvation, as building a temple to offer prayers is the best way to gain redemption for his sin.

Besides seeking redemption, in Taizong's heart there was perhaps

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[63] 'Tang Taizong wei Zhanwangren Shezhai Xingdao Zhao' 唐太宗爲戰亡人設齋行道詔 [Edict of Emperor Taizong of Tang to Hold sacrificial rites for those Killed in Battle], *Guang Hongming ji*, *T* no. 2103, 52: 28.329a7–20. For the specific time of this edict, see Shi, colla. & annot., *Fozu Tongji jiaozhu* 40.908.

another deep, latent factor that led him to build the seven temples. More specifically, he used this act to justify his ascension to the throne. It is known to all that Taizong ascended the throne and became emperor by killing his brothers and pressuring his father. In order to stifle the numerous voices at the time, on one hand he revised the history of the nation, writing that Gaozu's original intention was to make him, Taizong, emperor; and on the other hand, he widely propagated his military achievements, highlighting the central role he played in the process of founding the Tang Empire. Given this context, establishing a temple and erecting large stelae at these seven battlefields jointly constitute evidence of his exceptional achievements. And the act of destroying all the *jingguan*s under the sky serves as an important step in establishing his image as an emperor of virtue. The acts of destroying and creating thereby complement one another. After all, Taizong was the only emperor in Chinese history to issue an edict that explicitly called for the destruction of all *jingguan*s throughout the whole country.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS: *JINGGUAN*S AFTER EMPEROR TAIZONG OF TANG

However, the *jingguan* tradition was a deeply rooted one, and Taizong's new way of dealing with it had an insufficiently wide-reaching effect, for *jingguan*s reemerged on a few battlefields not long after. For example, in the tenth month of 654, the Khitan people delivered a great blow to the Goryeo army and 'collected their remains to build a *jingguan*' (聚其屍, 築爲京觀).[64] Of course, this doesn't count as a *jingguan* built by the Tang army. In the fall of 700, Liangzhou 涼州 military commander Tang Xiujing 唐休璟 (627–712) and the Tibetan general Khu Mangpoje Lhasung 麴莽布支 (?–705) fought at Changsong County 昌松縣. 'When fighting the enemy, over six battles, victory was attained six times, and in the end the enemies

[64] *Cefu yuangui* 995.11686.

were dealt a great defeat. Both of the enemy deputy generals were decapitated, over 2,500 heads were acquired, and a *jingguan* was built before they returned' (與賊六戰六克, 大破之, 斬其副將二人, 獲首二千五百級, 築京觀而還)[65] This might be the first *jingguan* to have been built by the Tang army 70 years after Taizong issued his edict in 631 to destroy all the *jingguan*s under the sky.

By the time of Emperor Xuanzong 玄宗 (r. 712–756), the famous eunuch Yang Sixu 楊思勗 (654–740) perennially led troops to fight and built *jingguan*s on several occasions. For example, in the eighth month of 722, 'Mei Shuyan 梅叔焉 (670–722), the leader of the thieves from the Annan region 安南, besieged prefectures and counties. Yang Sixu, a *piaoji jiangjun* 驃騎將軍 (*piaoji* general) and *neishi* 內侍 (interior official), was dispatched [by the imperial court] to suppress the rebellion. Yang Sixu recruited a large number of barbarians, in the end amassing a force one hundred thousand strong. They attacked the thieves and crushed them. [Mei] Shuyan was decapitated, bodies were piled up, a *jingguan* was built, and then they returned' (安南賊帥梅叔焉等攻圍州縣, 遣驃騎將軍兼內侍楊思勗討之, 思勗募羣蠻子弟, 得兵十餘萬, 襲擊, 大破之, 斬叔焉, 積屍爲京觀而還).[66] In 726, 'Liang Dahai 梁大海 (?–726?), the leader of the Yongzhou 邕州 thieves, staged an insurrection. They occupied Binzhou 賓州, Hengzhou 横州, and several other prefectures. Sixu led troops to suppress the rebellion. They captured Liang Dahai and more than three thousand others alive. They beheaded more than 20,000 from his factions and used their corpses to build a *jingguan*. Then they returned' (邕州賊帥梁大海擁賓、横等數州反叛, 思勗又統兵討之, 生擒梁大海等三千餘人, 斬餘黨二萬餘級, 復積屍爲京觀).[67] These *jingguan*s were mainly established in the southwest region. In the epitaph of Yang Sixu, the establishment of *jingguan*s is clearly an act done primarily to provide evidence of glorious heroic feats performed by the person for whom they were erected: 'On seven occasions, Yang served as the chief commander of the army. On the other occasion, he acted

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[65] Tang Xiujing's biography at *Jiu Tangshu* 93.2979.

[66] *Zizhi tongjian* 212.6751.

[67] See Yang Sixu's biography at *Jiu Tangshu* 84.4756.

to suppress an internal strife. [Yang Sixu's] force spread through the Wuling region 五岭, and rebellions in six prefectures were suppressed. Over 20,000 enemies were beheaded, and 81 *jingguan*s were built. This is deserving of being called an act of suppressing revolt, stopping warfare, and bringing stability to the world' (七總戎律, 一勘內難; 鷹揚五嶺, 武鎮六州. 斬級二十萬, 京觀八十一. 可謂 '禁暴戢兵, 保大定功' 者也).[68] The expression 'and 81 *jingguan*s were built' is clearly a great exaggeration, but Yang Sixu was known for often 'cruelly killing people.' As history records, 'Yang Sixu was a decisive man. He often peeled off the faces of those he captured while they were still living or used knives to cut off their hair and scalp' (性剛決, 所得俘囚, 多生剝其面, 或剺髮際, 掣去頭皮).[69] Given such cruelty, it is reasonable to surmise that Yang Sixu used the corpses of enemy soldiers to build *jingguan*s on several occasions.

After Emperor Xuanzong, *jingguan*s appeared again numerous times on the stage of history. For example, during the reign of Emperor Daizong 唐代宗 in 773, the general Gushu Huang 哥舒晃 (?–775) of the Lingnan 嶺南 region rose up in rebellion. and Lu Sigong 路嗣恭 (710–780) was appointed military governor of Lingnan and was responsible for dealing with rebellions: 'He killed Geshu Huang along with tens of thousands of his accomplices and built a *jingguan*. Those who had wreaked havoc on the Lingnan region for a long time were all killed, and complete stability was brought to the Wuling region' (遂斬晃及誅其同惡萬餘人，築爲京觀，俚洞之宿惡者皆族誅之, 五嶺削平).[70] In 784, during the rule of Emperor Dezong 德宗 (r. 779–805), the Jiangxi military governor Li Gao 李皋 (733–792) attacked Huaixi 淮西 general Du Shaocheng 杜少誠 (d.u.). In the ensu-

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[68] 'Tang Gu Biaoji Dajiangjun jian Zuo Xiaowei Dajiangjun Zhi Neishi Shi Shang Zhuguo Guoguo Gong Yanggong Muzhiming Bing Xu' 唐故驃騎大將軍兼左驍衛大將軍知內侍事上柱國虢國公楊公墓誌銘并序 [Epitaph of Yang Sixu: Passed Away Tang Dynasty Contemporary, Grand General of Biaoji and Concurrent Grand General of Left Xiaowei, Supervisor of Palace Affairs, Pillar of the State, and Duke of Guoguo], included in Zhou, ed., *Tangdai muzhi huibian*, 1509.

[69] *Jiu Tangshu* 184.4756.

[70] Li Sigong's biography at *Jiu Tangshu* 122.3500.

ing carnage, 'Tens of thousands were beheaded. Corpses were buried to build a *jingguan*' (斬首萬級, 封屍爲京觀).[71] During the time at the end of the Tang Dynasty and the Five Dynasties, which was marked by the flames of war, *jingguan*s appeared with greater frequency; in fact, a *jingguan* was built after nearly every single major battle. Until the Song Dynasty, *jingguan*s continued to appear frequently. The most famous instance belongs to Di Qing 狄青 (1008-1057) from when he went on a punitive mission against the rebellion set off by Nong Zhigao (Sawcuengh: Nungz Ciqgau) 儂智高 (1025–1055). In the north of the Yongzhou 邕州, he used the remains of 5,341 bodies from the enemy army to build a *jingguan*.[72] Although *jingguan*s were built during the Yuan, Ming, and Qing dynasties,[73] the number at which they occurred was significantly less, as the tradition slowly faded away. When we look at these historical materials, we cannot help but regret that the benevolent model of government set out by Emperor Taizong that built Buddhist temples and demolished *jingguan*s was not adopted by later generations. At any rate, this shows that he did use foreign Buddhist materials to make an effort to transcend Chinese political culture traditions.

Regarding how to deal with corpses on the battlefield, we see two ancient political traditions of Chinese culture that are oppositional to one another. The first is the tradition of building a *jingguan*, which involves using dirt to cover the bodies of fallen enemy officers and soldiers to form a platform that announces one's military dominance and to deter enemies; the other tradition is that of the benevolent emperor who buries the remains and skeletons of the defeated, thereby forming the image of a ruler of benevolence who blesses the bones of his enemies. From the Sui Dynasty to the early Tang Dynasty, Buddhism came to intersect with these two traditions. Yang Jian established a Buddhist temple on the battlefield of Xiang-

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[71] Li Gao's biography at *Jiu Tangshu* 131.3639.

[72] *Xu Zizhi tongjian changbian* 174.4192–4193.

[73] In the fourth month of 1575, after the Ming Dynasty army suppressed the rebellion of the Luzhai 鹿寨 people in Guangxi, they used more than 510 heads to build a *jingguan*. The tablet inscription still exists today.

zhou, hoping that the '*jingguan*s ... formed out of bodies and bones [could] all be transformed into platforms of profound wisdom.' He also stressed that the merit accumulated from building these temples would bring 'those who rebelled [back] from the darkness to the light,' ultimately allowing those departed souls to attain salvation.

The influence of such notions undoubtedly reached their apex during the early years of the Zhenguan era of Emperor Taizong's rule. Under the influence of the eminent Buddhist monk Mingshan, Taizong issued an edict to have Buddhist temples established at the sites of the seven major battlefields he experienced that led to the foundation of the Tang Dynasty.[74] He even had top-ranking ministers, such as Yu Shinan, Xu Jingzong, and Yan Shigu, write texts for stelae that were erected at these sites, making his intention clear to the world. Just like the Buddhist temples built during the time of Emperor Wen of Sui, these Buddhist temples prayed for 'the righteous soldiers and murderers who fell on the battlefield.' This included the departed souls of the enemy army, as well as the officers and soldiers of the Tang army who were killed. Moreover, the names of these seven temples —

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[74] On the 14th day of the fifth month of Zhenguan 15 (June 27, 641), Taizong met with five eminent monks at Hongfu temple. He explained to them the 'Daoism Precedes Buddhism' 道先佛後 policy that he had promoted. He comforted these monks, saying,

> Ever since the founding of the Tang Dynasty, where have new Daoist temples been constructed? All of our merits can be traced back to Buddhism. After the civil war began, there has been not a one that hasn't given their fate to the Buddha. Now, stability has been brought to the land. Buddhist temples shall be built at sites where battles took place.' It is evident that he intentionally attributes the virtue of praying for the souls of those killed on battlefields to Buddhist temples and not Daoist ones. 自有國已來, 何處別造道觀? 凡有功德, 並歸寺家. 國內戰場之始, 無不一心歸命於佛. 今天下大定, 戰場之地, 並置佛寺.

See 'Wendi xing Hongfu si liyuan chongshi xu Fo Dao xianhou shi diba' 文帝幸弘福寺立願重施敘佛道先後事第八 [Item Eight: Regarding How Tang Taizong Visited Hongfu Temple to Pray, Make Offerings, and Explain the Sequence of Buddhism and Daoism], *Ji gujin Fo Dao lunheng*, *T* no. 2104, 52: 3.386a10–13.

Zhaoren 昭仁 (Projecting Benevolence), Ciyun 慈雲 (Cloud of Compassion), Puji 普濟 (Universal Relief), Hongji 弘濟 (Great Relief), Zhaofu 昭福 (Bright Fortune), Dengci 等慈 (Equal Benevolence), and Zhaojue 昭覺 (Bright Enlightenment) — undoubtedly reflected the notion from Taizong's edict of 'comprehensive and equal Buddhist compassion for all.' By utilising such Buddhist terms as 'compassion,' 'equality,' and 'salvation,' Taizong was able to transcend the tradition of 'burying the remains and skeletons of the defeated.' Taizong didn't just abstain from building *jingguan*s, he also built seven temples to provide salvation for the deceased souls from the battlefield, and he even destroyed new and old *jingguan*s throughout the entire country. Such practical steps allowed Taizong to transcend the *jingguan* tradition, because building temples and erecting stelae fulfilled a function similar to that of building *jingguan*s — that is, it made his martial dominance clear to the world. From Emperor Wen of Sui to Emperor Taizong of Tang, and from building Buddhist temples to demolishing *jingguan*s, we are able to clearly see one aspect of the deep effect Buddhism had on traditional Chinese political culture during the medieval period of Chinese history.

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Abbreviations

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō*; see Bibliography 3, Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe, *et al*.

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Chapter Nine
Heroic Śāktism with Chinese Characteristics: The Female Warrior Sovereign Prophecy, the Navarātri, and a Trio of Devīs of War in the Accession of Female Emperor Wu Zhao *

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Abstract: In a previous publication, I argued that China's first and only female emperor Wu Zhao 武曌 (624–705) developed an assemblage of female divinities and dynastic mothers from Buddhist, Confucian, and Daoist traditions that she tactically deployed at different stages of her half-century career in governance to enhance her visibility and political amplitude; this strategy effectively imbued herself with the aggregate cultural resonance, maternal potency, demiurgic energy, and traditional charisma of these female ancestors. It seems that I overlooked several important devīs

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from the Hindu tradition: the indomitable radiant warrior queens Durgā, Cundī (Ch. Zhunti 准提/準提/准胝), and Mārīcī (Ch. Molizhi tian 摩利支天).[1] This chapter argues that the timely confluence of 'heroic Śāktism'[2] and esoteric Buddhism—newly arrived and nascent yet influential religious and cultural currents in late seventh century China—which, in conjunction with the opportune circulation of a cryptic prophecy concerning a 'female ruler and martial king,' enabled Wu Zhao to use this trio of Hindu goddesses as an integral part in the construction of her sovereignty— including playing a particularly central role during her accession in 690. The late Antonino Forte's brilliant translation of the *Commentary on the Great Cloud Sūtra* contains a number of prophecies that provide vital clues and insights into the roles that these devīs played.[3]

Keywords: Heroic Śāktism, Wu Zhao (Wu Zetian), Navarātri, Durgā, Mārīcī, *Commentary on the Great Cloud Sūtra*, *vyākaraṇa*

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[1] Rothschild, *Emperor Wu Zhao and Her Pantheon* (p.74, fn.2) , does briefly acknowledge the possibility that Cuṇḍī was another Buddhist figure in the female sovereign's eclectic assemblage of female goddesses. See 301 fn. 30.

[2] This central concept in this chapter is lifted from Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*.

[3] Forte, *Political Propaganda*.

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1. WARRIOR GODDESS RISING: INDIC ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF HEROIC ŚĀKTISM AND THE NAVARĀTRI

This chapter hypothesizes that both an autumnal Hindu festival, the Navarātri, and the warrior devī Durgā (Ch. Tujia 突伽 or Yongmeng 勇猛), the primary goddess celebrated in that festival, along with her other Śāktic incarnations Cundī (Ch. Zhunti 准提), and Mārīcī (Ch. Molizhi tian 摩利支天), played important roles in the timing of the enthronement of Wu Zhao 武曌,[4] China's first

[4] While in most secondary scholarship she is known as Wu Zetian 武則天 or Empress Wu 武后, throughout this work I use the self-styled designation Wu Zhao that she assumed in 689. For historical records of her assumption of the name Zhao, see *ZZTJ* 204.6263; and *XTS* 76.3481.

and only female emperor, and the inauguration of her Zhou dynasty in 690. The timely arrival of nascent yet influential religious and cultural currents Śāktism and esoteric Buddhism enabled this trio of intertwined Indic warrior-goddesses to play an integral part in Wu Zhao's unprecedented ascendancy to the imperial throne. The timing of their arrival coincided with and was likely related to a prophecy of the ascendancy of a female warrior-king (a *kṣatriya*). Wu Zhao's coronation took place on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, the climactic day of Navarātri, an autumnal festival that celebrates and honors the divine feminine goddess/principle *śakti* and Durgā.

To this end, Part One of this chapter examines the emergence of an Indic tradition that contemporary scholar of Religious Studies Bihani Sarkar terms 'heroic Śāktism'; once it reached its mature phase between the sixth and eleventh centuries, this tradition of 'warrior-centric goddess worship' was closely linked to kingship and legitimation. This chapter explores the cultic backgrounds of Durgā, Caṇḍī/Cundī, and Mārīcī—the trio of deities most closely linked to heroic Śāktism. All three can be viewed as manifestations of the divine feminine goddess/principle *śakti* or as incarnations of the Mahādevī, the Great Goddess. In the tradition of heroic Śāktism, goddess worship found its most potent ritual expression in the Navarātri, an autumnal festival offering the warrior devī Durgā praises and seeking her protection. The second section of Part One investigates the origins, development, and political significance of this annual celebration. The final sub-section of Part One briefly presents pivotal elements of heroic Śāktism and the Navarātri that are connected with the accession of Wu Zhao.

Part Two of this chapter presents a number of compelling pieces of evidence that connect both heroic Śāktism and the Navarātri to Wu Zhao's sovereignty and imperial enthronement. First, this section presents a short review of the extensive Sino-Indian commerce and interaction in the seventh century is presented to argue that both rising and popular Indian currents like 'heroic Śāktism' and the Navarātri festival were widely recognized in Tang China and greater East Asia.

The following sub-section (2.2) investigates the emergence and ongoing presence of the prophecy of a 'martial female sovereign' that circulated in both Tang China and Silla Korea during the early-

to-mid seventh century. A little more than a half century before Wu Zhao took the throne, a related prophecy aided the ascendancy of a Sillan queen, a Korean of the kṣatriyan caste, strongly indicating the prophecy's connection to heroic Śāktism. Next, this section scrutinizes the respective roles that two famous seventh-century prognosticators—Grand Astrologer Li Chunfeng and physiognomist Yuan Tianwang—played in prophecy's development. Finally, this section examines the rapid rise and precipitous fall of Chen Shuozhen, a self-proclaimed female sovereign and mystic who led a rebel army against the Tang.

Part 2.3, 'Cuṇḍī Enters Wu Zhao's Pantheon,' examines the role that Indian Buddhist monk Divākara played in transmitting and promoting the cult of Cuṇḍī at a critical juncture in the mid-to-late 680s, a period of incubation when Wu Zhao, as grand dowager and regent presiding over court, explored political and ideological paths by which she might assume the throne. Divākara translated and presented several renditions of the *Cundī dhāraṇī*, an incantation that celebrated an esoteric Buddhist form of one of the Indic warrior goddesses.

The subsequent section examines the textual presence of Mārīcī in Wu Zhao's era and explores the connection between this Indic goddess of light and dawn and the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

A variation of a hymn addressed to Durgā from the *Harivaṃśa*, a Hindu text originally dating from the third or fourth century, appears in the Buddhist monk Yijing's 義淨 (635–713) Chinese translation of the *Golden Light Sūtra* that was presented at Wu Zhao's court. Part 2.5 examines the implications of this text in the context of Wu Zhao's idiosyncratic brand of heroic Śāktism.

Building on the work of Antonino Forte to translate and meticulously analyze Dunhuang document S.6502, the *Commentary on the Great Cloud Sūtra*, Part 2.6 briefly reviews the significance of this source and the pivotal role that it played in Wu Zhao's legitimation. This sets the stage for subsequent sections, which present the argument that in addition to the two cardinal purposes of the *Commentary*—to identify Wu Zhao as the prophesied bodhisattva in a female body and as a *cakravartin*—the document also contained a number of related elements contained in the document that support the related 'female warrior sovereign' prophecy and that are consonant with

heroic Śāktism.

Wu Zhao's surname, Wu 武, means 'warrior' or 'martial.' Part 2.7 examines the manifold ways in which Wu Zhao amplified the power vested in her name by using it to name places, eras of reign, and in many other contexts, to broadcast an image of her rising success and power which dovetailed with a concerted effort to engineer and work toward the fruition of the prophecy of a female warrior sovereign prophecy.

Part 2.8 looks further at the late seventh century Chinese female ruler's calculated engineering of the warrior queen prophecy with close attention paid to the manner in which it is imbedded in the *Commentary on the Great Cloud Sūtra*, a piece of purposefully-engineered Buddhist propaganda that played a critical role in her accession and enthronement. This section focuses on the idea of the 'Two Nines' (*erjiu* 二九), which served as both a reference to Wu Zhao and Gaozong and, tacitly, to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

Part 2.9 investigates the coincidental timing of Wu Zhao's ascendancy to the throne and the inauguration of the Zhou dynasty with the Navarātri festival, both of which occurred on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month in 690. On a number of additional occasions during her short-lived Zhou dynasty, Wu Zhao inaugurated new eras and assumed titles on the ninth, culminating day of the Navarātri. This festival marked the fruition and realization of the 'female martial king' prophecy, providing further evidence of the significant part that 'Heroic Śāktism with Chinese characteristics' played in Wu Zhao's ascendancy and sovereignty.

1.1. The Rise of 'Heroic Śāktism' in Sixth and Seventh Century India

The story of goddess Durgā's victory over buffalo demon Mahiṣāsura, Bihani Sarkar contends, developed into an expansive belief system of 'warrior-centric goddess worship' closely linked to political power, kingship and legitimation. Sarkar has dubbed this belief system 'heroic Śāktism.'[5] From its origins in 'officially sanctioned royal inscriptions'

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[5] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 1.

from the second to sixth centuries, Sarkar traces heroic Śāktism through textual accounts of 'the investiture of kingship by a supernatural female being' in 'Puraṇīc and Buddhist scriptures' dating from the seventh to ninth centuries to illustrate the burgeoning centrality of this tradition in medieval Indian courts and royal cults; indeed, she claims that the development of this tradition was germane to and concomitant with the rise of the early Indian kingdoms.[6]

Over time, Sarkar explains, 'tribal cults' of regional female deities evolved into 'court cults centered in temples.' In the 'kaleidoscopic "new world" born from the Gupta demise [mid-sixth cent.],' with competing medieval kingdoms, 'the goddess was a much more centrally positioned, indefinably protean and pragmatic symbol'; seeking to extend their power and gain local tribes' acceptance of local tribes, rulers worked to cultivate 'connection with, and elevation of, autochthonous devī cults.' Following a long period of coalescence that Sarkar painstakingly charts, 'the Gupta era cult of a single goddess "Durgā" with roots in the Kuṣāṇa period [the Kushan dynasty, first–third cent. AD] transformed, from the sixth century onwards, into a multi-layered cult formed of particular local goddesses, many from an indigenous background, in whom she was thought to inhere and for whom she served as a grander, classical symbol.'[7] By the end of the sixth century, as 'tribal-pastoral warrior communities came into contact with larger urbanized kingdoms...the ancient monarch of the terrain, the tribal patroness' took on a new form, one 'amalgamated with the established Brahminical warrior-goddess Caṇḍī/Durgā/Bhavānī, worshipped by means of the same ritual systems, and received elite patronage from royal palace'; these kingdoms patronized and sponsored 'local royal goddesses,' integrating 'them with forms of Caṇḍī enshrined in Purāṇic scripture.'[8] 'From the 6th century

[6] Ibid., 178.

[7] Ibid., 10–11, also chap. 5, 'Regional Cults of Goddesses Merged with Durgā,' 137–74.

[8] Sarkar, 'The Heroic Cult of the Sovereign Goddess in Mediaeval India,' 16–17. Sarkar argues that this 'incorporation of indigenous goddesses' is 'part of a larger social process of state formation' (*Heroic Shāktism*, 138). This is consis-

onward,' Sarkar observes, Durgā effectively became 'a metonym enfolding goddesses of particular locales…the face of these formerly faceless sylvan deities with whom she shared similarities of personality, notably her control over crises and her…interfusion of mild and wild aspects, of light and dark.'[9] In short, Durgā became the most visible and widely recognized 'brand name' of a Mahādevī, a composite mother and warrior goddess, an amalgam of regional cults, a deity with a 'cohesive nature,' whose tremendous appeal and reach spanned violence and civilization, destruction and creation, darkness (moon) and light (sun), and resonated with Brahman and outcaste alike.

During the late sixth and seventh century, a pivotal juncture in the maturation of heroic Śāktism, 'literature on devīs in Sanskrit, the language of the cultivated, began to appear in voluminous quantities,' bringing about, in the Indian intellectual and cultural sphere a proliferation 'of formulations on the subject of who or what Śakti was, and the appropriate method of her propitiation, formulations that appeared in esoteric Tantric and exoteric Purāṇic writings.' As Sarkar capably frames it, in the *Devīmāhātmya*, a text discussed in detail below, 'Purāṇic myth and popular religion viewed Śakti as incarnated in a singular female god-head who adopts various regional forms and whose primary agency is a valiant king or warrior.'[10]

Sarkar's coined 'heroic Śāktism' evokes a vision of triumphant sovereignty featuring a strong ruler who was invested by and who

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tent with Liu Xinru's observation that the development of Śāktism was accelerated as the 'female deities of tribal societies, especially the matriarchal ones, were assimilated into the Brahmanical pantheon' (Liu, *Silk and Religion*, 29).

[9] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 138.

[10] Sarkar, 'The Heroic Cult of the Sovereign Goddess,' 18. In another publication, Sarkar notes that, 'though Purānic passages on the festival of the goddess abound, they are dispersed, patchy and difficult to date given that the Purānas themselves are mostly protean and composite texts that have mutated and grown over periods of time.' See Sarkar, 'The Rite of Durgā in Medieval Bengal,' 328. This underscores the difficulty involved in tracking the transmission and spread of the cult of the Mahādevī.

identified with the goddess—a leader capable of protecting her or his realm and engaging in effective military action. This idea that a female divinity invested the first ruler and granted 'all the emblems of sovereignty,' as Sarkar frames it, 'guided the way royal power was commonly expressed by forming the main conceptual patterns for medieval kingship.' In essence, the goddess served as the wellspring and rallying point of royal authority.[11]

Although on the surface the goddess at the heart of 'heroic Śāktism' 'present[ed] a "Durgā" identity, there are other layers embedded in their syncretic personalities.' To assume the goddess is Durgā, Sarkar cautions, 'would be to disregard these other forms. However, what is common among all these goddesses is that they seem to have been always connected to royal power.'[12] Durgā and two other primary forms of the goddess, Caṇḍī and Mārīcī, will be examined in Part I.3 below.

1.2. The Navarātri and the Warrior Goddess

Rising in popularity and prominence at the same time as the warrior goddess it celebrates, the Navarātri—literally 'nine' (Skt. *nav*) 'nights' (Skt. *rātri*)—is an autumnal festival that celebrates and honors the divine feminine goddess/principle *śakti* and/or the potent deity that is its embodiment. Calendrically, the Navarātri is situated at 'an astrologically auspicious time to worship the goddess.'[13] In its eventual mature form, the festival begins with the onset of Āśvina, the seventh month, with 'a burst of creative energies and a celebration of life,' on the day of the new moon at the conclusion of the 'most inauspicious time of the year…the dark, waning phase of the moon' when funerary rites are performed and the Sun is moving southward. From a season of withering crops, a deathly ebb-tide, Durgā's rise and triumph over the buffalo demon Mahiṣāsura marks a renewal, a transition from

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[11] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 177–78.

[12] Ibid., 206.

[13] Wilson, 'Kolus, Caste, and Class,' 241. Wilson's study examines Tamil celebration of the festival.

'the period of death, chaos, and disorder into one of creation, life, dharma, and order.'[14]

Sarkar traces the festival's origins and early development back to an autumnal popular apotropaic ceremony from the third century AD 'that pacified danger and publicly exhibited the heroism of rulers,' placating harmful demons and spirits. Beginning in the sixth century, elements from the 'Brahminical military festival of Āśvina' were incorporated. Sources on the Navarātri (or Navarātra), like the later *Devīpurāṇa,* remark that the goddess is honored to 'acquire sovereignty' and to 'increase the kingdom's prosperity and power.'[15] Sarkar characterizes the early development of the Navarātri—a syncretic celebration with 'Tantric and Purāṇic ritual features'[16] —in the following manner:

> From a relatively small-scale festival in the Gupta empire it developed into a rite of civil sanctification performed by upcoming kingdoms around the 6th century, from which time Purāṇic accounts of the Śākta Navarātra begin to emerge. This was the time when, in the process of kingdoms forming, local goddesses thought to hold territorial power over them were merged into Durgā and attained their classical identity.[17]

By the seventh century, with this emergent notion of 'heroic Śāktism' at its core, the Navarātri emerged as the single-most important festal ritual of kingship—a critical annual consecration of the king—in medieval India. Sarkar argues that the cult of Nidrā, the goddess of sleep and death, also known by the Rātri (night) of Navarātri, was enfolded into the growing cult of Durgā between the third and fifth centuries. This goddess of darkness was born on the ninth day as the ninth portion of Viṣṇu; she received sacrifices on the Navamī, the

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14 Narayanan, 'Royal Darbār and Domestic Kolus,' 292–94.

15 *Devīpurāṇa*, 50.81, see Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 221 fn. 27.

16 Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 226.

17 Ibid., 270.

ninth day.[18] This day also marks Durgā's great victory over buffalo demon Mahiṣāsura—who had vanquished all of the other gods and usurped their preeminent position.[19] Sarkar notes that the myth cycles that recount Durgā's annihilation of and triumph over demons 'collectively embody the symbolic language of Indian kingship and royal power.'[20] In some regions, on this culminating victorious day, kings invoked the goddess and ceremonially undertook 'symbolic conquests of other lands.'[21]

Over time, as the 'royal goddess became more sanitized and subsumed by caste,' she 'was made into a *kṣatriya* deity,' associated with warrior-kings. The *Sahyādrikhaṇḍa* (part of the Skanda Purāṇa) records an ancient genealogy that identifies goddesses as the source of a lineage of kṣatriyas.[22] Most important for the rulers of new competing medieval kingdoms in India, she represented heroic power and promised to sanctify kingship, warding off danger, bringing about civic order, and leading ruler and nation in the military conquest of enemies. Indeed, the king effectively transformed into a conduit channeling the energy, the *śakti*—the female potency, capability, and power—of the goddess. For rulers and earthly worshippers of

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[18] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 56. For the larger evolution of Nidrā into Durgā, see chap. 1, 'The Cult of Nidrā-Kālarātri,' 41–69.

[19] Roy, *Traditional Festivals*, 1:304; Shah, *Hindu Culture and Lifestyle*; Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses*, 96. In different places, the festival is known by different names. In Bengal and other parts of North India, it is known as Durgā pūjā (Durgā worship); in Karnataka (southwestern India) the final day is called Dasarā. See Fuller and Logan, 'The Navarātri Festival in Madurai,' 79.

[20] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 13.

[21] Narayanan, 'Royal Darbār and Domestic Kolus,' 288. Numerous regional variations of the Navarātri came to be celebrated. This is one of the fundamental underlying ideas in the collection of essays on this seasonal celebration. For example, Ute examines the Navarātri as 'an event that displays and negotiates cultural values relevant' to different performers and audiences, one that is 'understood in different ways' in different regions. See Hüsken, 'Ritual Complementarity and Difference,' 190.

[22] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 129.

the goddess, the Navarātri marked the perfect time to connect with her immeasurable potency and power. At this particular auspicious calendrical and astrological junction, Durgā and other forms of the goddess were most approachable; the proximity, or even the interpenetration of the earthly and celestial realms made this the optimal time to contact this divine presence.[23]

The 'profoundly intimate and revelatory experience' conjoining goddess and ruler was best achieved on the ninth day of the Āśvina, the Navamī, on what became the culminating day of the Navarātri festival. This personal connection between sovereign and deity became a critical part of the 'celestial power' that formed the basis of the ruler's authority.[24]

C. J. Fuller and Penny Logan also assert the paramount religio-political importance of the festival, arguing that the Navarātri 'reiterated the king's role in maintaining an ordered society and cosmos, and renewed and re-emphasized his personal relationship with the deities.' They contend that, 'there can be no doubt that the festival

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[23] Luchesi, 'Navarātra and Kanyā Pūjā,' 310. Though his study is focused on more recent times, Hillary Rodrigues describes the collective sense of awe and reverence that marks this arrival of the goddess: 'everyone, both male and female, is made unmistakably aware—through her ubiquitous embodiments on display—of the presence of the Divine Feminine.... all celebrants are akin to her children, able to play freely and securely under the watchful and protective presence of the Cosmic Mother'; see Rodrigues, 'Conclusion,' 325.

[24] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 1–40, 'Introduction,' and her dissertation, 'The Heroic Cult of the Sovereign Goddess,' 8–11 and 109–10. Sarkar ('Heroic Cult,' 12–15) identifies a 'premature phase' from the second to sixth centuries, when this tradition of heroic Śāktism was taking nascent shape, evidenced, for instance, by the presence of stone images of the sovereign-goddess slaying the buffalo demon or the coins under Candragupta, a fourth century ruler of the Gupta dynasty, featuring a lion-riding goddess. This image of Durgā as a lion-riding goddess may well be understood as an evolution of the cult of the Kushan/Iranian protector-goddess Nana; for more on this possible prototype of Durgā, see Ghose, 'Nana,' 97–112. Ghose suggests Nana was assimilated into the cult of Durgā during the later stages of the Kuṣāṇa period (97).

of Navarātri…is centrally concerned with the themes of kingship and sovereignty…. [it] eclipsed any other single event as the most prominent ritual of kingship across India.'[25] In a similar vein, Hillary Rodrigues contends that the invocation of the devī at the festival held 'the promise of expanded or successful sovereignty, as well as auspicious beneficence or fertility for the patron, and for one's community or kingdom.'[26]

Under royal patronage, 'the goddess-centric Navarātra,' the autumnal festival that venerated this composite goddess, progressively grew in significance. Sarkar characterizes this seasonal celebration as a:

> rite of heroic and civic glory par excellence. Annually celebrated, for if not disaster would strike, the Navarātra marked the occasion when the ritual of the court was publicly shared by all citizens, when goddess, king, and state were constituted as one energized entity. The regular performance of this rite, its association with cyclical patterns of time and seasons, fertility, abating the hunger of primeval spirits, its inclusion of tribal celebrations…suggest that systems of mediaeval state devīpūjā were but transformed continuations of the older, tribal goddess-centric modes of honouring kingship…rising from local cults of clan goddesses.[27]

Like the great warrior devī it celebrated, a deity at once the provider and the slayer, the Mother and the Warrior, the Navarātri festival developed into an amalgamation of elements from the Brahminic-Sanskrit center and the 'wild, occultic, and dangerous' periphery, through this process becoming the 'grandest and most complete expression' of the Pan-Indic imperial cult of Śakti.[28]

Among the competing kingdoms in sixth and seventh century India, the cult of the Great Goddess politically and culturally became mainstream Indic culture: as Sarkar frames it, 'heroic Śāktism had

25 Fuller & Logan, 'The Navarātri Festival in Madurai,' 99 and 108.

26 Rodrigues, 'Bengali Durgā Pūjā,' 207.

27 Sarkar, 'The Heroic Cult of the Sovereign Goddess,' 34.

28 Ibid., 34–36, 43, and 46–47.

crystallized from a peripheral faith to a religion of state or Imperial power where political might was figuratively understood and ritually cultivated by a kingdom as Śakti.' In essence, Śakti—which had grown to 'pan-Indic eminence'—was an integral component of political power.[29] Without the sanction of the goddess—whom Devadatta Kālī describes as a 'beneficent and awesome deity' possessing an immeasurable 'universal creative power,' a powerful divinity who can be 'conceptualized only as the creator, sustainer, and destroyer of the universe'[30]—a ruler's sovereignty and legitimacy were compromised.[31]

To gain this vital divine sanction, during the Navarātri, the king would perform 'rites of self-identification whereby the body of the worshipper was transformed into the body of the goddess'—so that the ruler, her or his person invested with the divine potency of the goddess, effectively became a '*mahābala*, a man [or woman] of super-human might, unvanquished in the onslaught of battle, or indeed under any duress.'[32] Thus, Sarkar terms the Navarātri, 'the politically most important enactment of the cult of the sovereign goddess.' She explains that this annual ceremony served as a 'public expression' of the relationship between devī and ruler, a festival that marked the ceremonial transference of 'power and kingship from sovereign-goddess to king.' Helping to bring military success and protect the realm from disaster and disease, 'the autumnal nine nights festival of the cult of the sovereign goddess was therefore essential for the periodical rejuvenation of the entire kingdom…[a] time that the affinity between Śakti and the ruler was singularly evoked, and temporal power was made sacred.'[33]

The festal veneration of Durgā in the Navarātri has its origins in the early Puranic classics, and is connected to the *Rāmāyana*,

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[29] Ibid., 20.

[30] Kālī, trans., *In Praise of the Goddess*, 11.

[31] Sarkar, 'The Heroic Cult of the Sovereign Goddess,' 18–20.

[32] Ibid., 10 and 10 fn. 6.

[33] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 211. The entire seventh chapter, 'Navarātra,' is devoted to exploring the connection between heroic Śāktism and historical, political, social, and cultural dimensions of the festival.

the story of Prince Rama's victory over the demon-king of Lanka, Rāvaṇa; in the epic story, Rāma only gains victory after worshipping Durgā and being granted a boon from the goddess. According to Hindu ritual calendars, the culminating victorious day of the Navarātri marks both the day that Rāma killed Rāvaṇa and Durgā triumphed over Mahiṣāsura the buffalo demon. In an appendix to the *Mahābharata*, a hymn to the goddess called the 'Durgā Stava,' the Pāṇḍava brothers praise and worship Durgā, and perform a rite in which they store their weapons and battle gear in a *śamī* tree; the goddess grants them a boon and as a result, they ultimately gain victory over their rival cousins. In another appendix to the *Mahābhārata*, a hymn known as the 'Durgā Stotra,' Prince Arjuna praises Durgā, who ultimately grants him victory in battle.[34] Thus, in both of these seminal Hindu classics Durgā is a warrior goddess associated with a benevolent warrior's triumph over evil, with a warrior-king's righteous recovery of lost territory; invocation and adulation of the goddess that lead to martial triumph developed into an integral part of the Navarātri.[35]

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[34] Simmons & Sen, 'Introduction,' 3–4; Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Praises of a Goddess*, 7–8 and 7–8 fn. 19. For a full description of the ruler's ritual victory march to the *śamī* tree on the culminating day of Navarātri that 'inaugurated the medieval military season by re-enacting the *Mahābhārata* Paṇḍava ritual after their period of exile,' see Simmons, 'The King of the Yadu Line,' 64; and the sub-chapter 'Royal and Military Background,' in Einarsen, 'Navarātri in Benares,' 141 and 153 fn. 3.

While the Vījayadaśamī is technically the tenth victorious day, in some textual traditions (the *Kālikā* and the *Bṛhaddharma*) it is on the Navamī, the ninth day of the ninth lunar month that Rāma would kill Rāvana thanks to a boon from Durgā, and the tenth day, Daśami, that his victory would be celebrated.

[35] In *Hindu Goddesses*, Kinsley remarks, 'Durgā's association with military prowess and her worship for military success undoubtedly led to her being associated with both sets of epic heroes [Rāma and the Pāṇḍava brothers] in the medieval period' (109). For more on Durgā in the *Mahābhārata* and *Ramayana*, see also Manna, *Mother Goddess Caṇḍī*, 81–83, and Sarkar, 'The Heroic Cult of the Sovereign Goddess,' 122–25. It is difficult to date these two hymns in the

Given that one of the major contentions in this essay is that Wu Zhao, influenced by heroic Śāktism, framed herself as a female warrior-sovereign it is important to emphasize that the Navarātri was not just a harvest festival; it was also closely associated with the kṣatriya (warrior-king) class and connected to Durgā's role as a warrior queen and Goddess of Battle. On the culminating day of the festival, there was often a 'review of arms,' marking the ninth day of Āśvina as 'the beginning of the traditional military campaigning season, coinciding with the end of the south-west monsoon.'[36] Reflecting on the military assemblage and triumphant parade, Sarkar explains:

> Stimulated by this courtly appropriation [of the festival], military rituals either blessing the army and weapons or prognosticating victory emerged as the most important feature of the goddess's Navarātra, performed with great pomp on Navamī [the ninth day]. However, in contrast to sanguinary sacrifice, these rituals were not it seems an archaic constituent of the Navarātra. They appear rather to be derived from Brahmanical military traditions performed annually in the month of Āśvina. Such calendrically performed military rituals blessing the king's army and weapons, such as the lustration

Mahābhārata, the 'Durgā Stava' and 'Durgā Stotra.' Rather than calling them 'appendixes,' Kālī remarks that they were 'interpolated into' the text (*In Praise of the Goddess*, 21). For more on these hymns, see Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, subchapter 'The Eulogy to Durgā in the *Mahābhārata*,' 53–56. Sarkar remarks that while it is 'difficult to ascertain the date of composition,' the hymns in the *Mahābhārata* likely date to the fourth century (56). Sarkar also remarks that from the sixth century onward, especially in the Deccan, Kashmir, and Bengal, Durgā generally appears 'in royal crises when indeed her powers were most sought after' (190).

[36] Fuller & Logan, 'The Navarātri Festival in Madurai,' 99. Zotter, 'Conquering Navarātra,' 496–97, remarks that this ritual inauguration of the 'season of warfare' is set on Vijayadaśamī, the 'Victorious Tenth' (day) following the ninth and final night of the festival, and that 'achievement and maintenance of victorious rule through worship of Durgā formed part of the master narrative' of the Śāha dynasty in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Nepal (509).

> of the troops and state animals (nīrajana), which would later become necessary components of Caṇḍī's autumnal worship, were already well-established as civic ceremonies performed on Navamī in Āśvina, before the appropriation of the Sākta Navarātra by the early mediaeval kingdom.[37]

Clearly, from an early juncture, military muster developed into an important component of the Navarātri.

Sarkar acknowledges that the Navarātri was the 'politically most important enactment of the cult of Durgā' because the festival's ceremonies that marked Durgā's triumph over Mahiṣa served to transfer 'power and kingship from sovereign goddess to king and thence to all citizens,' a public expression and 'the visible climax of the relationship between goddess and ruler.'[38] A central festival in South Asian courtly life, the Navarātri served as an annual ceremonial confirmation of the king's sovereign authority—power that the goddess conferred.[39] As the 'prime festival of kings, rulers, and warriors,' there were, and still are, wide-ranging traditions associated with the Navarātri—it was a harvest festival, a martial celebration inaugurating the season of warfare, a festal celebration of *śakti*—divine, demiurgic female power, and an annual marker of the triumph of good over evil.[40] Primary festal elements included the killing of demons, elevation of daughters and mothers, veneration of the goddess, celebration of the military force, and amplification of royal authority.[41] In their study of festival, Moumita Sen and Caleb Simmons claim that the Navarātri 'served as the yearly affirmation

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37 Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 222.

38 Ibid., 210.

39 Simmons & Sen, 'Introduction,' 4–5.

40 Ibid., 1.

41 Ibid., 1. For a basic review of these festival elements, with a particular emphasis on the military aspect, see Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses*, 106–15. The goddess Caṇḍī, another name/form of Durgā, see below, is invoked at the outset of autumnal hunting expeditions—hunting being closely connected to military exercises (Manna, *Mother Goddess Caṇḍī*, 88–91).

of the king's power to rule, which was granted from the goddess.'[42] How much more poignant if the ruler to whom this divine authority was granted was a woman who might be understood as an incarnation of the goddess![43]

1.2a. Connecting the Warrior-Goddess Durgā to the *Devīmāhātmya* and the Navarātri

Dating to the fifth or sixth century AD, the *Devīmāhātmya*, a work that Devadatta Kālī terms 'the primary text of the Śākti tradition'—one that 'united many and diverse strands of Indian myth, cult practice, and philosophy' to fashion a 'great hymn of glorification that proclaimed an all-encompassing vision of the Great Goddess'—marked the realization of a longer process that brought this Mahādevī to the Indian cultural mainstream.[44] According to Thomas Coburn, who translated the *Devīmāhātmya* into English, the text represents an effort to develop an integrated Sanskrit account of various regional myths and conceptions of cults of a Mother Goddess,

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42 Ibid., 4–5.

43 Indeed, in modern Indian politics, several female candidates have been represented/represented themselves as incarnations of Durgā. Artist M.F. Husain portrayed Indira Gandhi as Durgā. And within the last decade, in West Bengal Mamata Banerjee was—in keeping with the theme of the Durgā pūjā, 'change'—represented as standing for 'śakti, the embodiment of divine feminine energy. The LED tableaux laid out in the street leading up to the pandal showed portraits of Mamata Banerjee in blinking lights...the ultimate portrait...was the goddess herself' (in Sen, 'Politics, Religion, and Art in the Durgā Pūjā of West Bengal,' 108–09).

44 Kālī, *In Praise of the Goddess*, 12. In *Heroic Shāktism*, Sarkar—who terms the text 'the locus classicus of the Durgā-myth' (138)—remarks that the *Devīmāhātmya* 'implicitly articulated the myth of civilization through its metaphor of the goddess, the king, and the merchant' (132). She dates this text from a slightly later era: 'most likely the eighth century' (138). Although the text came to exist independently, the *Devīmāhātmya* also appears as a thirteen-chapter section of one of the Purāṇas.

effectively 'crystallizing' earlier traditions.[45]

The text—an interwoven fabric of 'diverse threads of an already ancient memory' to create 'a dazzling verbal tapestry' redounding to the glory of the great Hindu goddess[46]—features a great autumnal pūjā (prayer of devotional worship) for Durgā, where these deeds of the goddess are recited (i.e. the *Devīmāhātmya* is ritually chanted) for the nine nights of the Navarātri. The impressive deeds include three separate mythic triumphs over demons, including the well-known account of the Great Goddess's victory over the buffalo-demon Mahiṣa.[47] While a Great Goddess with many names wages battle to defeat demons, maintain order in the cosmos, and grant boons to those who offer praise and adulation, 'Durgā emerges as the supreme savior.'[48] Emphasizing the importance of this text, Sarkar has remarked that the hymn ultimately conveys 'the idea of war goddess as

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[45] Coburn, *Devī Māhātmya*. This text forms a thirteen-chapter section (chaps. 81 to 93) of the *Mārkaṇdeya*, generally accepted as one of the eighteen great early Sanskrit Purāṇic texts (Coburn, 1 and 51). Coburn remarks that the 'text has an independent life of its own' appearing in numerous contexts outside and beyond the *Mārkaṇdeya* (51–52). The *Devīmāhātmya* is often viewed as a text created as the 'culmination of a long, earlier process' involving 'integration of fragmented evidence for Goddess-worship in archaeological remains and in Vedic and epic literature' (53). For a succinct review of Coburn's translation and work, see Erndl, *Victory to the Mother*, 22–30.

Kālī offers a similar remark on the composite 'mosaic-like' nature of this text, observing that the *Devīmāhātmya* 'encompass[ed] the beliefs and practices of prehistoric agriculturalists, tribal shamans, ancient city dwellers, and nomadic pastoral clans....' Kālī has also recognized the widespread popularity of the *Devīmāhātmya* compared to the rest of the *Mārkaṇdeya*. See Kālī, *In Praise of the Goddess*, 4 and 12.

[46] Kālī, *In Praise of the Goddess*, xvii. Kālī remarks that the authorship is unknown and that the text originated in northwest India (xvii).

[47] For a detailed account of these triumphs in the *Devīmāhātmya*, see, *Devī Māhātmya*, 'The Myths,' 211–49.

[48] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses in India*, 313. Shaw dates the text to the sixth century.

imperial metaphor,' with savior and demon-queller Durgā presented as 'an image of the king himself in his most potent form, the cakravartin,' the universal, wheel-turning monarch.[49]

The public declamation of the text was also called 'reciting the Caṇḍī' (*caṇḍīpaṭhā*), as the goddess at the center of the text—most often referred to as Caṇḍī or Durgā—represents the female embodiment of 'divine power and truth.'[50] Underscoring the overlap of these two goddesses, the *Devīmāhātmya* is also called both the *Seven Hundred Verses Dedicated to Durgā* (*Durgāsaptaśadī*) or the *Seven Hundred Verses Devoted to Caṇḍī* (*saptaśadī*).[51]

As mentioned above, the Navarātri marks the most effective time for a ruler to access, through ritual and worship, the goddess Durgā, and to invoke her 'primordial, universal, all-pervading' *śakti* to reinforce her or his sovereignty.[52] The *Devīmāhātmya*, Sarkar claims, 'was regularly recited in court during the festival, and the values of heroism presented in it, along with the image of the king and the deeds of Durgā, the king-of-all-kings, were viewed as glorified reflections and reinforcements of the monarch's own values and image.'[53] The connection made through this invocation of the goddess, served as a renewal and confirmation of the ruler's sovereignty.

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[49] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 13 and 132–34.

[50] Manna, *Mother Goddess Caṇḍī*, 74. In the following sub-section the connection between Durgā and Caṇḍī will be amplified.

[51] See Shankar, 'The Internal,' 219 and 230 fn. 1.

[52] Einarsen, 'Navarātri in Benares,' 141.

[53] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 184. Rodrigues (*Ritual Worship of the Great Goddess*, 296) identifies Durgā as the primary deity toward whom both ruler and subjects offer their devotion at the Navarātri:

> The monarch for whom the people have gathered in a display of service, loyalty, and devotion. In their numbers, and in their visible and verbalized sentiments of revelry and unity, they have a vision (darśana) of their own power, and with it the certitude of being victorious in any undertaking. This vision of the victorious power (vijayā śakti) that permeates the community of worshippers, binding them in a union characterized by joy and fearlessness, is implicitly a view of the manifest form of the Goddess.

Because of the association of both text, *Devīmāhātmya*, and festival with victorious conquest, Astrid Zotter terms the Navarātri 'the paradigmatic festival of the warrior/royal estate.'[54] In traditional Indian groupings of festival and caste, the *yajñopavīta* renewal of the sacred cord was the festival of the Brahmins, Diwali the celebration of the Vaiśya (merchants), Holī for the Śūdras, and Durgā's Navarātri for the Kṣatriyas.[55] In essence, both the signature text of the Navarātri and the celebration itself bear out the claim of Fuller and Logan that, 'The goddess is self-evidently a warrior and, in the myths, if she is not exactly a monarch herself, she is none the less acting for the king of the gods, whose place has been usurped by the king of the demons.'[56] Durgā and the other deities associated with the Mahādevī and worshipped in the festival—clearly fierce goddesses of triumphant conquest—conferred upon and transferred to earthly rulers a measure of their aura of invincibility and power.

1.3a. Durgā

The 'bewilderingly composite deity' Durgā developed over centuries through a curiously eclectic commingling of 'traditions usually taken to be mutually distinct—the Tantric, the tribal, the Purāṇic, the Śaiva, the Vaissṇava, the Jaina, the Buddhist, [and] the local.'[57] David Kinsley characterizes Durgā as a 'great battle queen' who combats and bests demons to 'protect the stability of the cosmos.' Images of Durgā in battle became common around the fourth century and by the beginning of the seventh century the 'cosmic queen, warrior goddess, and demon slayer' became 'a well-known and popularly worshipped deity.'[58] In keeping with this chronology, Thomas Coburn

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[54] Zotter, 'Conquering Navarātra,' 493.

[55] Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. 5.1*, Vratas, Utsavas, and Kāla etc.,* 200.

[56] Fuller & Logan, 'The Navarātri Festival in Madurai,' 92.

[57] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 272–73.

[58] Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses*, 95–96 and 105. In *Heroic Shāktism,* Sarkar records three known inscriptions of Durgā from seventh century India, one in Kudarkot (a Harṣa vassal in modern-day Uttar Pradesh in North India) and one

argues that there is strong evidence for a 'flourishing cult of Durgā' around the time the *Devīmāhātmya* first circulated (sixth century), including a temple devoted to her at Aihole (modern-day North Karnataka) and a late Gupta era seal of a lion-riding goddess.[59]

A scene in the *Skandapurāṇa*, a sixth century text, makes manifest Durgā's emergence as a mainstream devī, subsuming the martial function of the older Vedic war god Skanda:

> Holding her scepter with none but the king of gods, Indra, bearing the parasol behind, fanned by the Guardians of the Directions, she [Durgā] sat resplendent as Empress on the throne, the picture of the paradigmatic ruler, the *cakravartin* at the centre of all life and divinity.[60]

The eclectic nature of the goddess, though, elevated her to something greater than a mere goddess of war: she became a sovereign-protector capable of 'safeguarding a community from death-giving dangers such as drought, cataclysms, earthquakes, and the onslaught of harmful demons.'[61]

Benefitting from its wide-ranging powers and growing cultic influence, rulers patronized the 'expansive cult of Śakti' and the potent goddess at its nexus, Durgā, with her 'all-encompassing, pluralistic personality.' Between the seventh and eleventh centuries, as 'heroic Śāktism' grew to 'pan-Indic resplendence,' imperial lineages wor-

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in Badami (southwest coast, Cālukya kingdom) (22), and one from Rajasthan, dated 625 (p. 193). And early eighth century ruler in Himachal, Maruvarman, commissioned a statue in a form of Durgā represented as a triumphant 'scepter-bearing regent' (121).

[59] Coburn, *Devī Māhātmya*, 120.

[60] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 83. For more on the process of Durgā supplanting war god Skanda, see Sarkar's chap. 3, 'Taking over Skanda (c. 6th to 7th Century),' 97–114. Sarkar's chart on 107 illustrates how Skanda's roles and deeds—including the triumphant consecration by Indra and the signature victory over buffalo demon Mahiṣa—in the *Āranyakaparvan* (fourth cent. BCE to 1st cent. CE) became attributed to Durgā (Kauśikī) in the sixth century *Skandapurāṇa*.

shipped the devī and grew her cult with their enthusiastic patronage. Warrior-kings from around the Indian subcontinent paid reverence to the goddess, who was represented as a 'scepter-bearing regent.'[62]

In the *Devīmāhātmya*, Durgā is the 'supreme form' of the goddess. She is the primary source to whom the ruler appeals, the goddess he or she invokes, for—as Thomas Coburn puts it—Durgā is unassailable, 'the great protectress from worldly adversity.'[63] One hosanna in the text reads; 'Protect us from terrors, O Goddess; O Goddess Durgā, let there be praise for you!'[64] Another calls out, 'O Durgā, called to mind, you take away fear from every creature.'[65] Overall the text, as David Kinsley frames it, 'underlines Durgā's role as the upholder and protector of the dharmic order.'[66]

In Sarkar's analysis, the frame-story in the *Devīmāhātmya* of a disenfranchised king who—after hearing an ascetic relate the story of Durgā's triumphs over demons, fashions an idol in her likeness and worships her—recovers his kingdom, 'had as much of an impact as, if not greater than, the tale of the goddess itself.' In short, the *Devīmāhātmya* communicates the idea that rulers who show due admiration to the devī through hymns and worship can conquer territories and achieve universal sovereignty. 'Investiture by the goddess,' the belief in Durgā granting kingdoms or land, Sarkar explains, became 'a staple of proper kingship.'[67]

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[61] Ibid., 113.

[62] Ibid., 116–17 and 121. This idea is revisited throughout chap. 4, 'Patronage, Civilization, and Heroic Śāktism.'

[63] Coburn, *Devī Māhātmya*, 116.

[64] *Devī Māhātmya*, chap. 11.22 (91.22 in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*), translation from Coburn, *Devī Māhātmya*, 116.

[65] *Devī Māhātmya*, chap. 4.16 (84.16 in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*), translation from Coburn, *Devī Māhātmya*, 116.

[66] Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses*, 101.

[67] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 112–15. Remarking upon the frame-story within the text, Sarkar observes, 'The *Devīmāhātmya* presents the goddess as restoring power not only to a king but also to a merchant, Samādhi. In this way the agents representing the main processes behind building kingdoms, governorship and

1.3b. Caṇḍī

Like Durgā, Caṇḍī underwent a process of 'domestication' and mainstream Hinduization to evolve from a 'disorderly devī' to the 'deification of the female principle,' Śakti.[68] Sarkar argues that in the era of warfare that followed the fall of the Gupta dynasty in the early 540s, the 'need for a religion and ritual system particularly benefiting military state-expansion…was fulfilled by the rise and spread of the cult of the martial Caṇḍī and royal goddesses assimilated with her who blessed the onset of battle, in particular the potentially dangerous march (yātrā) leading to armed confrontation.' Thus, 'a number of royal dynasties…saw in the Imperial Caṇḍī's conquering exploits the apotheosis of the ideal Hindu sovereign.'[69] In the *Devīmāhātmya*, dating from this era, Caṇḍī (or Caṇḍikā, 'the violent and impetuous one'), a term previously absent from Sanskrit texts, appears in this guise as a powerful martial goddess twenty-nine times.[70]

While Durgā is 'historically the most important' of the names borne by the Mahādevī, Sarkar notes that Caṇḍī or Caṇḍikā are among her most popular epithets.[71] Indeed, as that text exalting the Great Devī spread eastward to Bengal, it became—eponymous to the goddess—known as the *Caṇḍī*.[72] Caṇḍī was closely connected to—and was often thought of as another incarnation of or name for—Durgā. Sibendu Manna, in his comprehensive study *Mother Goddess Caṇḍī*, repeatedly refers to the devī as 'Durga alias Caṇḍī' or 'Caṇḍī alias Durgā,' reflecting the interchangeability of the two goddesses.[73]

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commerce are shown to profit from the goddess' (183–84).

[68] Sengupta, 'Domestication of a Disorderly Devī,' chap. 12.

[69] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 19.

[70] Coburn, *Devī Māhātmya*, 94–95 (also see his larger sub-chapter on the epithet Caṇḍikā). Sarkar remarks that Caṇḍīkā is a 'Śaiva name for the goddess,' indicating that she is more closely associated with Shiva worship (*Heroic Shāktism*, 65).

[71] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 14.

[72] Kālī, *In Praise of the Goddess*, 13.

[73] See Manna, *Mother Goddess Caṇḍī*.

Her name Caṇḍī, derived from Caṇḍa, means 'fierce' or 'violent.'[74] Catherine Ludvik, in a similar vein, notes that Caṇḍī, 'fierce one,' is another name for Durgā.[75]

Like Durgā, Caṇḍī is a cultic goddess, a potent devī, the embodiment of female primordial cosmic power, *śakti*, who represents the syncretic 'assimilation of broad-based heterogenous elements' of center (Brahminic and Vedic tradition) and periphery (fierce goddesses of mountain tribes of the Himalayas and Vindhyas). Both are ever-victorious war deities, often depicted with eighteen arms, who destroy demons and benevolent mother goddesses who succor devotees, bringing happiness and relief in times of peril and distress.[76] In early medieval India, 'amazonian Caṇḍī' is often iconographically represented 'as a tempestuous demon-slaying sovereign.'[77] In origin, Durgā and Caṇḍī essentially share roots as one and the same devī—as the great goddess celebrated in the *Devīmāhātmya* and other Vedic and early medieval texts. Over time, however, Durgā remained predominantly a Hindu goddess, whereas Caṇḍī, particularly in her Chinese incarnation, became incorporated into esoteric Buddhism.

1.3c. Mārīcī

Mārīcī, meaning 'shining' or 'mirage' in Sanskrit, is 'the proper name of the Indian goddess of the sun.'[78] The name, originally appearing in the *Rg Veda*, can also be understood as 'ray of light of the sun or

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[74] Ibid., 91.

[75] Ludvik, '*Harivaṃśa* Hymn,' 716.

[76] Manna, *Mother Goddess Caṇḍī*, 75–76, 80, and 222–223. Manna remarks, 'the primitive form of Caṇḍī is the result of the syncretism of a mountain-goddess, worshipped by the forest-born dwellers of the Himalaya and Vindhyan regions; a distinct but remarkable goddess usually propitiated by the nomadic shepherds; the vegetation spirit conceived as a female; and lastly a victorious war-goddess' (222).

[77] Sarkar, 'The Heroic Cult of the Sovereign Goddess in Mediaeval India,' 8.

[78] Buswell and Lopez, 'Marīcī,' 533.

moon.'[79] Miranda Shaw describes the goddess in evocative fashion:

> Mārīcī, 'Lady of Brilliant Light Rays,' rises on the horizon as dawn each day. At first blush, she appears to be a delicate, gentle maiden, but on approach she reveals her full glory as a dazzling battle queen, brandishing flashing weapons.... relentless and invincible, pursuing all that threatens well-being—destructive demons and humans, aggressive foes, and mortal perils of every kind.[80]

In David Hall's study of the goddess, he convincingly argues that the two identifying traits of Mārīcī are her strong association with brilliant light ('sometimes expressed in stellar or solar symbolism') and her martial character.[81]

A radiant goddess associated with sun, moon, and stars, Mārīcī was called 'the Buddhist Caṇḍī'—indeed she was, according to David Hall, 'so closely associated with the cult of the warrior goddess Caṇḍī, that the character and names of the two goddesses became practically interchangeable.' In addition, she became amalgamated with Durgā, and seems to have emerged from the same prolific wellspring, the rising matrix of Śāktism, in fifth and sixth century India.[82] Miranda Shaw observes that 'the Hindu goddess Durgā, in her all-conquering Mahiṣāsuramardinī form' likely served as a 'divine prototype' for Mārīcī, inspiring her development into a 'battle queen': in textual description and iconography, they both brandish a similar array of weapons in their many arms and share a similar 'martial pose.'[83] Indeed, Shaw even speculates that the 'hierophany of Mārīcī—armed for battle against demons, dangers, and delusion,'

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[79] Chaudhuri, *Hindu Gods and Goddesses in Japan*, 116–17. Chaudhuri notes that initially Mārīcī was a male deity, one of the ten mind-born sons of Brahma, in India.

[80] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 203. Shaw devotes an entire chapter to Mārīcī, 203–23.

[81] Hall, *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 19.

[82] Ibid, 21–22 and 25–26.

[83] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 215.

might be understood as 'a Buddhist response to the strong appeal of Durgā.'[84]

Borne by currents of Śāktism, Mārīcī rapidly ascended from a regional cultic god/goddess in fifth-century north and northwest India to become a pan-Asian esoteric Buddhist devī by the late seventh century. Dhāraṇī, spells that connected the worshipper to the goddess and her abilities through repetitive invocation, helped spread her popularity.

1.4. Key Elements of Heroic Śāktism and the Navarātri related to Wu Zhao's Accession

As China's first and only female emperor Wu Zhao explored the viability different conceptions of sovereignty in the decades leading up to her accession to the imperial throne in 690, looking to disparate sources to become China's first and only female emperor. This chapter argues that heroic Śāktism provided one of those sources of inspiration. This sub-chapter provides a brief introductory description of the five aspects of heroic Śāktism that Wu Zhao drew upon to help amplify her claim to the throne. The specific manners in which she utilized and deployed these elements will be explored in Part 2.

1.4a. Heroic Śāktism: Warrior-goddess Connected to Sovereignty and Legitimation

Heroic Śāktism—worship of female warrior goddesses that helped to legitimate and amplify sovereignty in early medieval India—had much to offer Wu Zhao, both in her idiosyncratic campaign to become emperor and as female sovereign. Bihani Sarkar explains that during the formative period (fourth to seventh centuries) of heroic Śāktism:

> The figure of the sovereign-goddess in the period simply represented a deity for all kings. Their sectarian affiliation did not seem to have

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[84] Ibid., 218.

> mattered much, for only one specific spiritual credential was demanded...—the worship of a devī, identified under various names and appearing in common in several religious traditions.[85]

Therefore, it is important to recognize the syncretic, blurry nature of the nascent wave of Śāktism, of worship of this great amalgamated devī, that arrived in Tang China and during Wu Zhao's short-lived Zhou dynasty in the second half of the seventh century. Early Chinese reception of heroic Śāktism was complicated further by the dominant and multi-layered presence of Buddhism in this era. Still, this chapter will show that Wu Zhao was aware of the trio of devīs—Durgā, Caṇḍī, and Mārīcī—at the heart of heroic Śāktism, and employed the religious and political energies to amplify her sovereignty.

1.4b. Warrior Class/identity

'It was in war,' Sarkar contends, 'both in its defensive and combative aspects, that a goddess's potency was most sought after.' Numerous literary and inscriptional accounts attest to the practice of worshipping the Mahādevī at the time of the Navarātri just before embarking on military expeditions.[86] Although scripture, Sarkar maintains, indicates that 'democratic' Durgā reached out to all castes, 'even those deemed outsiders or reprehensible,' in practice worship of the goddess tended to bring the greatest benefit to the kṣatriya, particular to a warrior-sovereign.[87]

While Wu Zhao never served as a general, her surname Wu 武 means 'martial' or 'warrior,' a fact that she repeatedly employed to her religio-political advantage, often to show that she fulfilled a prophecy with origins connected to heroic Śāktism.

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[85] Sarkar, 'The Heroic Cult,' 21–22.

[86] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 193.

[87] Sarkar, 'The Rite of Durgā in Medieval Bengal,' 337.

1.4c. The Cakravartin

The idea of the cakravartin—'the universal monarch who possesses the seven jewels of sovereignty and sets in motion the wheel of righteous rule'[88] —is at the heart of Indic kingship. In the sixth-century *Skandapurāṇa*, Durgā is depicted as 'the cakravartin at the centre of all life and divinity.' Indra, the King of the Gods, 'adopted her as his sister, commanding her to protect the entire universe, to favour devotees, to conquer the foes of the gods, to roam the worlds praised by the hordes of Siddhas.' Bihani Sarkar noted that the *Devīmāhātmya*, the elaborate hymn of praise to Durgā chanted on the Navarātri, 'conveyed the idea of the war-goddess as imperial metaphor: she is an image of the king himself in his most potent form, the cakravartin "the one at the centre of the circle"—unifying vassal states as she unifies smaller goddesses, granted power and light by the gods and appointed by them to restore Dharma, the pristine true order.'[89]

1.4d. Luni-solar Light

Set at a seasonal juncture when the sun begins to wane, the Navarātri, Raj Balkaran observes, 'pays homage to the cycles of dark and light upon which the cosmos was founded, cycles expressed through the rhythms of nature, oscillating between night and day, summer and winter, full and new moon.'[90] Balkaran demonstrates that the Navarātri celebrates the strong connection between the goddess, Durgā, and the Sun, pointing out that the waning autumnal solar disc 'is ameliorated by the grace of the Goddess, whose role it is to keep darkness' (which, paradoxically, she also represents).' In the *Devīmāhātmya*, which begins and ends with an invocation of the Sun, one of Durgā's feats involves securing a *manu*, an heir and

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[88] Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 74. Though post-Vedic in origin, cakravartin is not a distinctively Buddhist term. There is also a long history of its wide utilization in Hinduism and Jainism.

[89] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 13 and 132–34.

[90] Balkaran, 'The Splendor of the Sun,' 23.

successor, for the Sun. 'Like the Goddess,' Balkaran explains, 'both sovereign and Sun are charged with supporting the realm.'[91] An Indian astrological treatise, the *Bṛhat Parāśara Hora* (c. 600–750) remarks that 'the Sun and Moon are of royal status.'[92]

Light plays a pivotal role in Durgā's investiture of power: in the *Devīmāhātmya* the goddess is 'formed from a mass of *tejas* from the gods,' a 'universal pervasion' of divine light from multitudinous sources that coagulates and takes the radiant and bedazzling shape of a woman; ablaze with fire and light, this indomitable warrior—amidst a clamor of calls for her inevitable victory—then heads forth to engage Mahiṣa in battle.[93] In the *Taittiriya Āranyaka*, one prayer reads, 'I seek as my refuge the goddess Durgā, who is the color of fire, burning with austerity, daughter of the Sun, who is sought after for the reward of rites.'[94] The royal power that the goddess conferred through ritual was something substantial, a hot light (*tejas*).[95]

The Zhao 曌 of Wu Zhao—a novel self-designation she assumed in 689 shortly before taking the throne—contained both lunar 月 and solar 日 components. Part 2 will demonstrate how Wu Zhao and her rhetorician utilized radiance and luni-solar light to amplify her sovereignty.

1.4e. Gender

Simmons and Sen describe the transformative spaces in which Navarātri is celebrated as 'Multi-layered and co-existing spaces imbued with power and embroiled in issues of status.' Not only are status and power re-negotiated, but gender roles and dynamics are also inverted, 'upended or reversed.'[96] As a goddess, Durgā possesses a number of distinct characteristics that 'violate the model of a Hindu

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[91] Ibid., 33–35.

[92] Ibid., 'The Splendor of the Sun,' 34–35.

[93] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 140.

[94] *Taittiriya Āranyaka*, Muir, trans., *Original Sanskrit Texts*, 4: 427.

[95] Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 130.

[96] Simmons & Sen, 'Introduction,' 11–13.

woman.' Kinsley describes this deity as possessing the following combinations of gender-defying 'world-supporting qualities and liminal characteristics':

> She is not submissive, she is not subordinated to a male deity, she does not fulfill household duties, and she excels at what is traditionally a male function, fighting in battle. As an independent warrior who can hold her own against any male on the battlefield, she reverses the normal role of females and therefore stands outside normal society. Unlike the normal female, Durgā does not lend her power or śakti to a male consort, but takes power from the male gods in order to perform her own heroic exploits.[97]

In this sense, this composite warrior-goddess of Indian origin who is neither subordinate nor submissive, who 'reverses the normal role of females,' and who performed 'her own heroic exploits,' served as the perfect role model for female emperor Wu Zhao.

1.4f. Numerology: The Power of Nine

The Navarātri was held on the ninth day of the month, the Navamī. In India, as in China, nine was a number that held tremendous numinous potency. There is a nine-syllable mantra of the goddess in the *Devīmāhātmya*.[98] In the Navarātri and devotion to Durgā/Cundī, there is a tradition that developed of worshipping nine plants (Navapatrikā).[99] In Indian science at the time, there were nine planets—the sun, the moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Saturn, Jupiter, Rāhu (associated with nodal eclipses), and Ketu (comets).[100]

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97 Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses*, 97.

98 Erndl, *Victory to the Mother*, 29.

99 Manna, *Mother Goddess Caṇḍī*, 46–58. This may represent an effort to fuse the image of Durgā/Caṇḍī as a fierce warrior with the notion that this same deity is the agrarian 'mother of the world' bringing the 'life-sustaining vegetables grown on earth' (49).

100 Kotyk, 'Early Tantric Hemerology in Chinese Buddhism,' 17.

Wu Zhao, as Part 2 will make manifest, took advantage of cryptic numerology involving the number nine to verify prophecies that were either explicitly or implicitly connected to heroic Śāktism.

2. PROPHECY FULFILLED: HEROIC ŚĀKTISM AND THE NAVARĀTRI IN THE ACCESSION OF WU ZHAO

2.1. Setting the Context: Sino-Indian Connections in the Early Tang

After the decline and after the fall of the Gupta Empire (320–540), competing regional kingdoms emerged. King Harsha's (r. 606–47) northern Indian empire, Puṣyabhūti, based in Kanauj; the ascending Chālukya dynasty on the Deccan plateau and southwest coast, emerging as a formidable rival to Harsha under the capable Pulakeshin II (r. 610–42); Shashanka, who established a unified polity in the Bengal region in the late sixth and early seventh century; the Tamil Pandya dynasty based in Madurai; and powerful Pallava kings Mahendravarman (c. 600–30) and Narasimhavarman (r. 630–38) of Kanchipuram in the Tamil Nadu.[101] It was in these kingdoms that the cults of regional goddesses were harnessed and reshaped into what Sarkar terms 'heroic Śāktism' and state cults focused on the Mahādevī; Durgā and her other powerful bellicose forms rose in prominence. The rise of these kingdoms coincided with the reunifi-

[101] Kulke & Rothermund, *A History of India*, 72–73; Thapar, *A History of India,* vol. I, chaps. 7 and 8, 136–93; and Keay, *History of India*, 155–79. This is just a short list of some of the more prominent regional leaders and states in the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Keay notes that in this tumultuous time there were roughly 'three dozen royal houses' (155). His eighth chapter, 'Lords of the Universe,' 155–79, provides a review of the rapidly rising and falling kingdoms in sixth and seventh century India. Also see Sen, 'The Establishment of Tang-Kanauj Diplomatic Ties,' 16–25, for more on Sino-Indian embassies during Harsha's empire. There were more than 50 official embassies between 619 and 753.

cation of China after a protracted period of disunity.

Building on long-existing Sino-Indian maritime and continental routes of trade, these regional states had significant diplomatic, commercial, technological, intellectual and cultural intercourse with Sui and Tang dynasties.[102] Though there was significant intercourse between the two civilizations well before the seventh century, this was truly the time when what Tansen Sen terms 'a connected history' developed between India and China.[103] The return to China of celebrated Buddhist pilgrim Xuanzang 玄奘 (602?–664) in 645 and the multiple missions of Tang diplomat Wang Xuance 王玄策 (fl. late-640s) in the mid-seventh century both ushered in an 'Indian boom,' and helped foster new cosmopolitan and international artistic currents.[104] By land and sea, with the incessant flow of caravans and argosies along maritime routes via the continental Silk Road, the seventh century marked an era of extensive and constant diplomatic, commercial, and cultural exchange between the recently reunified Chinese empire and the competing kingdoms of medieval India. Valerie Hansen remarks that during the cosmopolitan and flourishing early Tang, 'anything Indian or Central Asian was all the rage.'[105]

In addition to the constant stream of Buddhist monks from India, Indian knowledge of manufacturing techniques, geography, medicine, and astrology were coveted. Tang emperors frequently consulted horological specialists, a number of whom became officials and served in the Bureau of Astronomy, and Brahman physicians, masters

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102 Sen observes that China and India, at this pivotal juncture, the seventh century, 'had a tremendous impact on intermediary states.' At this time, he argues, 'most of Asia, China, India, and their respective spheres of influence, were fully integrated into this network of religious and commercial intercourse between India and China' (see Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 2; and *idem*, 'Buddhism and Maritime Crossings').

103 Sen, *India, China, and the World*.

104 Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 18, 23–24, and 251. The mid-seventh century marked a time when an 'East Asian International Art Style' developed, with 'vast temporal and spatial reach.'

105 Hansen, *The Open Empire*, 173.

of Ayurvedic medicine including alchemical rejuvenation therapy. Tang Taizong enthusiastically sought access to Indian sugar-making technology and was treated by Hindu physician Nārāyaṇasvāmin.[106] Based in part on the popularity of these experts in medicine and technology, Prabodh Chandra Bagchi opined that 'it is not improbable that small Hindu colonies grew up in China' during this era.[107] During this period, Richard McBride observes, esoteric Buddhism proliferated as '[n]umerous gods, beings, spirits, and creatures that populated the Hindu and Buddhist pantheons and pan-Indian cosmology were introduced in various stages into China first and then into Korea and Japan, where they... eventually came to dominate East Asian demonology' and 'were gradually assimilated into Mahāyanā Buddhism.'[108] Indeed, Alan Watts advanced the idea that 'Buddhism was Hinduism stripped for export.'[109] As part of this burgeoning exchange, it is not surprising that elements of developing 'heroic Śāktism' and its signature festival, Navarātri, were transmitted to China.

Wu Zhao's reign, Tansen Sen contends, was 'the most vibrant era in the history of Sino-Indian interactions, and a phase that perhaps marked the highest point in Indic influences on Chinese society.'[110] In 692, Indian rulers from different kingdoms, territories known in medieval China as the Five Indias (Ch. Wu Tianzhu 五天竺), as well as the Kushan king, visited the court of Wu Zhao, personally leading

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[106] See Sen, *India, China, and the World*, chap. 1, 'The Circulation of Knowledge,' 29–110; 97–101, on sugar-making; Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 'The Search for Longevity Physicians,' 43–54; and Bagchi, *India and China*, 158–59, and his essays 'Indian Sciences in the Far East,' esp. 194–96, and 'Indian Hindu Culture and Religion in China,' 213–16.

[107] Bagchi, *India and China*, 214.

[108] McBride, 'Wish-Fulfilling Spells and Talismans,' 57; *idem*, 'Esoteric Buddhism and Its Relation to Healing and Demonology,' 208.

[109] Though this quote is often casually attributed to Murti, in 'Esoteric Buddhism,' 208, fn. 1, and 'Wish-Fulfilling Spells and Talismans,' 57, McBride credits Watts, citing *Buddhism, the Religion of No-Religion*, 6.

[110] Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, 101.

[111] *Cefu yuangui* 970.11403; *THY* 100.1787; and *JTS* 198.5308 (this text suggests that the embassies from India arrived in the second year of Tianshou 天授

embassies to present tribute to the female sovereign.[111] At different junctures during her reign, Wu Zhao used calendrical specialists from three separate schools, including Qutan Luo 瞿曇羅 (active 665–98), whose surname is a Sinicization of the royal kṣatriyan name Gautama, served her for decades, and designed a new calendar of state.[112] In 693, kṣatriyan Kashmiri monk Maṇicintana 寶思惟 (d. 721) arrived in her capital, Luoyang, bringing vast knowledge in Tantric (esoteric) Buddhism in the form of 'highly effective dhāraṇī and esoteric rituals affording protection from a wide range of dangers'; he collaborated with other Buddhist monks to support the woman emperor.[113] Some of Wu Zhao's most important translation projects, involving a collaborative multinational team of Buddhist monks like Maṇicintana, were undertaken at temples in Luoyang.[114] Maṇicintana, as we will see below, worked with famous Chinese pilgrim Yijing as part of a translation project that led to the presentation of a Buddhist *sūtra* to Wu Zhao that contained the *Harivaṃśa* Hymn, a song of Indic origin redolent of heroic Śāktism.[115]

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era [691, rather than 692]). For a thorough analysis of the rulers and kingdoms involved on these embassies, see Forte, 'The Five Kings of India and the King of Kucha who According to the Chinese Sources Went to Luoyang in 692,' 261–83. While the Chinese sources maintain that the Indian representatives visited Wu Zhao's court in 692, other scholars have suggested that the representatives were ambassadors rather than kings; based on the names given in the *Cefu yuangui*, Forte identifies four of the six rulers from greater India who visited on this occasion.

112 Sen, *China, India, and the World*, 84–85 and *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade*, on Wu Zhao's employment of Indian astrologers (100–01). For more on the Qutan (Guatama) family that served Wu Zhao and Tang emperors as Royal Astronomers for a century, see Rothschild, 'Rhetoric, Ritual, and Support Constituencies,' 286–87 and 291.

113 Forte, 'Manicintana,' 302.

114 Ibid., 308–10 and 331.

115 Yijing worked with a 'translation team' of 16 monks including two Indian monks from Kashmir, Maṇicintana and Śrīmata (in China from 700 to 707). For more on the translators, see Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Goddess*, 13–14. This text will be discussed extensively below.

Scholars have devoted a great deal of energy to examining the transmission of Buddhism from India to medieval China and the indelible influence it exerted on Chinese society and culture; far less attention has been focused on Hinduism. Yet there is clear evidence of a Hindu presence in Tang China. This presence, Catherine Ludvik remarks, 'not particularly surprising, given that the Indic Buddhist cosmos is populated with numerous Indic deities of Vedic, Brahminical, and Hindu, as well as folk origin.'[116] Indeed, an array of Hindu deities have a routine place in Buddhist scripture.

Durgā, Ludvik observes, 'was not unknown to the Chinese' in the mid-to-late seventh century. Transliterated at times as Tujia 突伽, her name appears during Wu Zhao's time in several Buddhist texts.[117] On his pilgrimage to India (roughly 629 to 645), the celebrated seeker of scriptures Xuanzang reportedly was nearly sacrificed to Durgā, when pirates along the Ganges captured the boat transporting the Buddhist master—a jarring incident he included in his account of his travels.[118] If the paramount goddess in heroic Śāktism was known, it stands to reason, then, that currents of this movement and of the Navarātri—both Indic cultural phenomena in their early phases—began to become culturally recognizable in early Tang China. As it arrived in Tang China and the rest of East Asia in the early-to-mid seventh century, heroic Śāktism took the form of a prophecy foretelling the rise of a ruling warrior queen.

2.1a. Female Ruler as Mahādevī

There is evidence that queens and female rulers (or regents) in seventh century India drew on the power of heroic Śāktism and the ascending visibility and power of the great Indic warrior goddesses to amplify their visibility and influence. Beginning with the *Devīmāhātmya* in the sixth century, David Kinsley has noted the

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[116] Ludvik, '*Harivaṃśa* Hymn,' 707.

[117] Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Praises of a Goddess*, 24.

[118] Li, trans., *A Biography of the Tripiṭaka Master*, 76; *T* no. 2053, 50: 3.233c29–234a1.

'tendency in many texts, myths, and rituals concerning goddesses to subsume them all under one great female being'—of *śakti*, divine female energy coalescing into a Mahādevī, a great goddess with many names.[119]

Around this time, Mahādevī became a common component in titles of Indian queen consorts. A number of Gupta queen-consorts were known as Mahādevī.[120] Mahādevī Yaśomati was queen consort of a Puṣyabhūti king in the late sixth and early seventh century.[121] The Jain queen of Chālukyan king Vishnuvardhana (r. 624–41) was known as Ayyana-mahādevī.[122] In the middle of the seventh century, a female regent, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā (reign c. 649–55), presided over the Chālyuka state, one of the contending kingdoms in medieval India. The Vijaya in her name means 'victorious' or 'victory,' a quality and a term often used in conjunction with the Durgā and the other goddesses. One of the titles she was known by was Śri Vijaya Mahādevī, the Revered Ever-Victorious Great Goddess.[123] In the late seventh century, one of the queens of Vikramaditya I was known as Gaṅga Mahādevī.[124] At roughly the time Wu Zhao ruled her Zhou dynasty as emperor or slightly thereafter, in the Piṭhāpuram inscription, the queen of a later Chālukyan ruler,

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119 Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses*, 132.

120 Sinha, *Dynastic History of Magadha, 450 AD–1200*, 2–6. Sinha suggests that Mahādevī was a fairly regular term for queens-consort.

121 Agrawal, 'A New Copper-Plate of Harṣavardhana from the Punjab, Year 8,' 221.

122 Sen, *Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, 394.

123 Mahalingam, 'Āditya and Vikramāditya,' 114; Dikshit, *Political History of the Chālukyas of Badami*, 116–21; and Rice, *Mysore, a Gazetteer Compiled for Government,* vol. I, *Mysore in General*, 323. Much of the information on Vijayabhaṭṭarikā, including her title, come from land grants to Brahmans from Nerūr and Kochare.

For a brief account of dowager queens in early and medieval India, including Vijayabhaṭṭarikā, see Alketar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, 187–90; and Raman, *Women in India*, vol. I, 159.

124 Naik & Naik, 'Inscription of the Deccan,' 75.

Vijayāditya, is referred to as Vijayāmahādevī, the Ever-victorious Great Goddess.[125] In early eighth century southern India, the queen of Telugu, Chola ruler Vikramaditya II, who played an active role in governance, had the title Mahādevī-Chola.[126]

While the term had earlier origins, the growing tendency of Indian queen consorts (or queen-regents) to assume the title Mahādevī, Great Goddess, presumably to amplify their status or sovereignty, coincides with the rising tide of heroic Śāktism in the seventh century. Indeed, these titles can be understood as a celebration of the burgeoning cultural power of *śakti*. This indicates that, to some degree, queens in seventh century India, assuming the title Mahādevī, represented themselves as earthly incarnations of the Great Goddess. This tendency presented an opportunity to Wu Zhao; the titles provided a template for her.

2.2. Prophecy of a 'Warrior Queen' in East Asia

2.2a. A Korean Kṣatriyan

Carried along Buddhist winds, a prophecy of the ascent of a ruling warrior queen reached Silla Korea by way of Tang China, arriving during the reign of Queen Sŏndŏk 善德 (r. 632–47). In the mid-seventh century, the Sillan 新羅 ruling family (r. 57–935)—most notably the two female rulers Sŏndŏk and Chindŏk 真德 (r. 647–54)—relied on a fusion of Buddhism and Hinduism (among other ideological elements) to amplify their sovereignty. Richard McBride points out that these female sovereigns both belonged to the 'Sillan holy-bone royal family…[that] identified themselves as being of the kṣatriya caste.'[127] Her name Sŏndŏk (Ch. Shande) was likely drawn from the Buddhist story of a Brahmin whom the Buddha predicted would—aided by possession of Buddhist relics—be reborn as Indian

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125 Padma, *The Position of Women in Mediaeval Karnataka*, 167.

126 Sen, *Ancient Indian History and Civilization*, 472.

127 McBride, *Domesticating the Dharm*a, 19.

cakravartin of the Maurya empire Aśoka.[128] This story appears in the *Dayun jing* 大雲經 [Great Cloud Sūtra], a key Buddhist text for Wu Zhao that contained the Buddha's prophecy of a devī who would 'reign over the country as a ruler with the body of a woman' and obtain a 'part of the great sovereignty of a cakravartin ruler.' Wu Zhao and her Buddhist propagandists utilized this text as the basis for writing an elaborate *Commentary on the Great Cloud Sūtra* (see much more on this text in 2.6–2.8 below) geared to proving that she was the prophesied warrior-sovereign (cakravartin) and a bodhisattva with a female body.[129] With her name echoing that of the Brahmin destined for Buddhist kingship, Sŏndŏk was seemingly familiar with this text as well.

The female Sillan sovereign proved to be an ardent patron and sponsor of the Buddhist faith. The posthumous title Sŏndŏk chose for her father, long-ruling and revered King Chinp'yŏng 真平王 (r. 579–632), was Clear Purity (Ch. Baijing/Ko. Paek Chŏng 白淨), a name often used in the Buddhist canon for Śākyamuni's father Śuddhodana. Sŏndŏk's mother was known as Lady Māyā (Ch. Moye furen/Ko. Maya puin 摩耶夫人), echoing the name of the Buddha's mother.[130] The idea that Sŏndŏk was the child of Māyā enhanced

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[128] Pankaj, 'The Buddhist Transformation of Silla Kingship,' 28.

[129] This story is contained in *T* no. 387, 12:1096c4–1097c25, and translated in Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 336–42. It also appears in other sources in the Buddhist canon.

[130] Schulz et al., trans., *The Silla Annals of the Samguk Sagi* (by Kim Pusik), 5.147. Sŏndŏk's personal name was Tŏngman 德曼, an 'example of a Buddhist-style royal name that frequently was used in middle and late Silla' (147 fn. 1). Kim Pusik's 金富軾 (1075–1151) source, relying heavily on Chinese standard histories, does not include as much material on Buddhism as Iryŏn's *Samguk yusa* (see below). Also see Whitfield ed., *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism,* vol. 10, 210–11 fn. 107 and 215 fn. 117.

This naming convention did not begin with Sŏndŏk and her parents. There is a longer history of names drawing on Buddhist kingship and the Śākya clan being interwoven with royal politics in the late Three Kingdoms (Samguk 三國) era of Korean history. Sŏndŏk herself was heir to a longer Buddhist lineage. The

her credibility as a sovereign who championed the Buddhist faith, intimating that the Sillan queen came from the kṣatriyan Śākya clan of warrior-kings and thus was, herself, the Buddha incarnate. Significantly, like Wu Zhao almost six decades later, she was the first female ruler in her country's history.

This claim to being a Buddhist warrior king was based on (and/or corroborated by) a prophecy that their Kim 金 family kinsman, Buddhist monk Chajang (Ch. Cizang 慈藏, 590–658), brought back from Mount Wutai after an encounter with Mañjuśrī during Sŏndŏk's reign. Mañjuśrī, the patron deity of Mount Wutai, foretold that: 'Your nation's sovereign belongs to the Indian kṣatriya caste (天竺刹利種) and has already received the Buddha's prophecy of her future Buddhahood 王預受佛記.'[131] While this story appears only in

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name Pŏphŭng 法興 (r. 514–40) of Silla means 'propagating the dharma,' and his successor, Chinhŭng 真興 'True Propagator' [of Buddhism] (r. 540–76) named his two sons Dongryun 銅輪 and Kŭmryun 金輪, after the Bronze Wheel and Golden Wheel of the Cakravartin, the universal Buddhist wheel-turning king, respectively. Her successor Chindŏk was known as Śrīmala, after the famous Buddhist queen. Kang, in *Korean Buddhist Sculpture*, 209, mentions that the convention of Buddhist terms appearing in the names of Sillan kings dates back to King Jabi (Compassionate King; Ch. Cibeiwang 慈悲王) in the mid-fifth century. See also Pankaj, 'The Buddhist Transformation of Silla Kingship,' 15–35, and Lee, 'The Contemplating Buddha Images in Asia, with Special Emphasis on China and Korea,' 123–26.

131 *Samguk yusa*, *T* no. 2039, 49:3.990c5–6. Translation is from McBride, *Domesticating the Dharma*, 19. In 'Silla Buddhism and the Hwarung,' 77, McBride contends that this account in the *Samguk yusa* came from 'more detailed narratives recorded in an "unofficial biography" (pyŏlchŏn 別傳) of Chajang that probably circulated independently from the late Silla (57–935).' This passage is also translated in entry 4.6, 'The Nine-Story Pagoda of Hwangnyong sa' 皇龍寺九層塔 in Whitfield ed., *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism,* vol. 10, 218–19.

When he returned to Silla with the Buddha's robe, alms bowl, and *śarīra* (contact relics reputedly from the body of the original Buddha), Chajang had the nine-story pagoda built in Hwangnyung Monastery and installed some of these sacred relics there; the pagoda became one of the 'Three Treasures of Silla.' The

establishment of this nine-story pagoda was inspired by Mañjuśrī (and a conversation with a helpful dragon spirit and the prompting of another mysterious Buddhist monk, Wŏnhyung), who told Chajang that these acts of enshrining the relics (he also placed them in two other temples) would help protect Silla and enable it to vanquish its enemies. See also Jung, 'The Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa,' 13–14; Mohan, 'Wŏn'guang and Chajang in the Formation of Early Silla Buddhism,' 51–64; McBride, 'The Vision-quest in Narrative Literature on the Buddhist Traditions of Silla,' 16–43.

A footnote in the translation of this section of the *Samguk yusa* contained in the *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism,* vol. 10, explains that the term for kṣatriya (Ch. *chali* 刹利) in Iryŏn's text was a shortened form of *chadili* (Kr: *chaljeri* 刹帝利) that 'originally meant "ruler of the land" and was the second of the four *varnas* (social orders) in the ancient Indian caste system and designated the royal lineage and military class responsible for political rule and military leadership. Here it is a reference to the Śākya clan, which was the royal family of Kapilavastu' (219 fn. 128).

This is only one of three major accounts of Chajang in the *Samguk yusa*: of the other two, in one Chajang set up the Vinaya (Buddhist monastic rules) in Silla and in the other, 'Fifty Thousand Dharma Bodies on Mount Odae,' Chajang established Silla's own Mount Odae (Wutai) in Myŏngju 溟州 in present-day Kangwoŏn Province. Richard McBride has translated all three in 'The Vision-quest in Narrative Literature on the Buddhist Traditions of Silla.'

The other major source on Chajang is Daoxuan's *Xu Gaoseng zhuan* (*T.* no. 2060, 50:639a8–640a8): composed around 645 (redacted later; the text was published in 667). Mohan, 'Wŏn'guang and Chajang,' 60–64, has translated Daoxuan's 'Biography of Chajang.' Daoxuan was a Buddhist chronicler familiar not only with Chajang's deeds in China, but also with his reputation and accomplishments in his homeland of Silla. In this biography, Daoxuan notes that Chajang was a 'Grand Buddhist Leader' (*da sengtong* 大僧統) in Silla and a 'bodhisattva protector of Buddhist law' (*hufa pusa* 護法菩薩) who standardized and propagated Buddhist rules upon his return to Silla in 643. Within larger East Asian Buddhist circles, due in part to this biography, he is perhaps best known for aligning the state and the Buddhist church together and contributing to the foundation of the Vinaya School (Kr: Kyeyulchong 戒律宗), which helped legitimize Silla as part of a pan-Asian Buddhist continuum. Mohan duly cautions that as these biographies are, to an extent, hagiographies they 'overemphasize the power, privilege and political patronage of eminent monks' (53). Also see McBride, 'The Complex Origins

the late thirteenth-century century *Samguk yusa*, it is a narrative built upon the estabished belief in Mañjuśrī's presence on Mount Wutai from the period between 638 and 643, when Chajang was in China. Mount Wutai was associated with Mañjuśrī from the fifth century onward and by the seventh century his cult on 'Mount Wutai was already in full force.'[132]

Pankaj Mohan observes that as Sŏndŏk was the first female ruler of Silla and her status among elite clans was tenuous, 'Attributing Kṣatriya status to Queen Sŏndŏk would have established a direct linkage between her and Buddhism, the shared religious belief of the Silla elite in the early seventh century, and would evidently have been an effective strategy to shore up her authority.'[133] Thus, Sŏndŏk's claim to be a kṣatriya—a warrior queen—was a vital part of her legit-

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of Vinaya in Korean Buddhism,' 151–78; and Zou, *The Life of Daoxuan*, 152–54. While Daoxuan was a contemporary of Chajang, he does not record anything about Chajang's encounter with Mañjuśrī, nor does he mention any connection between the Korean monk and Mount Wutai. Jung ('The Diamond Ordination Platform of Tongdosa') has aptly observed that 'while sources contemporaneous with Jajang are likely to be the most accurate, their silence about certain events in his life does not necessarily mean that these events did not occur.... sources, contemporaneous or not, are to an extent bound by their own specific agendas, and none claim to provide an exhaustive record of Chajang's life' (52–53).

The *Samguk sagi* (*gwon* 5) just mentions Chajang in passing, mentioning his departure in 638 and return in 643. Nothing about the Buddhist monk's journey to Mount Wutai and encounter with Mañjuśrī is mentioned.

[132] Wong, 'A Reassessment of the Representation of Mount Wutai from Dunhuang Cave 61,' 33. Belgian scholar of Buddhism Étienne Lamotte argues that the Mañjuśrī cult was already flourishing by the beginning of the sixth century and reached its apogee in the seventh century; see 'Mañjuśrī,' 60–61. Raoul Birnbaum, in *Studies on the Mysteries of Mañjuśrī* (8–9) articulates a slightly later time frame: though a 'significant cult' has arisen as Mount Wutai emerged as a sacred Buddhist mountain in the early Tang, it was not until the mid to late Tang that the cult had fully matured where Mañjuśrī was a 'fourfold character': 'a mountain deity, a national (and personal) protector, a prince of penetrating wisdom, and a cosmic lord.'

[133] Mohan, 'Wŏn'guang and Chajang,' 53–54.

imation.

The term 'receiving the prophecy' (Ch. *shouji*/Ko. *sugi* 授記/受記) can also be a translation of the Sanskrit term *vyākaraṇa*, which originally meant 'assurance of attaining enlightenment.' In another pedagogical context it could mean the 'explanation of [Buddhist or Hindu] doctrines through the methods of analysis of teachings or dialogues,' but it came to indicate the prophecy of a future Buddha, the prediction of a chosen disciple's enlightenment or attainment of Buddhahood.[134] It is in this final context that it the term appearing in the *Samguk yusa* should be understood.

This prediction of Sŏndŏk's future Buddhahood reflected a shared desire of the Buddhist establishment and the Sillan rulers to meld potent resonance of pan-Asian Buddhist sovereignty to a Hindu caste system in a manner that suited indigenous Korean aristocratic hierarchies. Clearly, by the mid-seventh century on the Korean peninsula—far from the metropole Chang'an, the capital of the Tang dynasty, a cosmopolis that served as the template of civilization to the rest of East Asia—there were free-floating prophetic currents of a warrior queen belonging to the kṣatriya caste that carried social and cultural weight. Undoubtedly, the same prophecy—which, after all, originated on Mount Wutai—circulated in contemporary Tang China and in Asuka era Japan.

Mount Wutai, the site where Mañjuśrī pronounced the prophecy to Chajang, is just north of Bingzhou 并州, the ancestral home of Wu Zhao's family. Chen Jinhua contends that 'the geographical proximity between Wutaishan and the Wu family's ancestral homeland (i.e. Wenshui 文水 in present-day Shanxi)' indicates that the activity of the Two Sages (in particular, Wu Zhao) on and around

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134 Whitfield ed., *Collected Works of Korean Buddhism,* vol. 10, 219 fn. 129. In his article 'Prince Moonlight' (8), Erich Zürcher explains that in Mahayana Buddhism, 'a very frequent kind of prophecy is the *vyākaraṇa* (*shouji* 授記) formula, by which the Buddha in stereotyped terms foretells someone's religious career in future lives, culminating in the latter's achievement of Buddhahood.' Sonya Lee, in *Surviving Nirvana* (201), defines *vyākaraṇa* as 'the conferring of a prophecy of future Buddhahood by one Buddha to his designee.'

Mount Wutai 'was probably a strategy on the part of the empress and her ideologues to tout her family's divine origin by establishing its intrinsic ties to this sacred mountain and the principal Buddhist deity dwelling there, Mañjuśrī.'[135]

Wu Zhao was no doubt well aware of this female Buddhist ruler from the Sillan kingdom on the neighboring Korean peninsula. During Sŏndŏk's reign, when Wu Zhao was a young fifth-ranked concubine in the imperial seraglio of the second Tang emperor Taizong 太宗 (r. 626–49), the Sillan ruler frequently sent embassies to the Tang court in an effort to secure a military alliance against neighboring Koguryŏ and Paekche.[136] And when Sŏndŏk died in 647, Taizong sent an emissary to invest her younger sister, 'female king Kim Chindŏk' 女王金真德 as ruler.[137] This prophecy suited Wu Zhao quite nicely, for she —by birth and by her Wu name/ancestry—was a warrior, and thus, in terms of twice-born Hindu castes, a kṣatriya!

2.2b. The Warrior Queen Prophecy in the Early Tang: A Narrow Escape for Wu Zhao

Around the time that female Sillan ruler Sŏndŏk availed herself of the prophecy that Korean Monk Chajang had brought from Mount Wutai—a site close to Wu Zhao's hometown and not far from Chang'an, the Tang capital—of a kṣatriyan warrior queen's ascendancy to the throne, similar rumors swirled around the future Chinese woman emperor. Late in Taizong's reign, when Wu Zhao was a Talent (*cairen* 才人), a fifth-ranked concubine, in his inner palace, prophecies and rumors about the rise of a female warrior-sovereign reached the imperial palace. The *Chaoye qianzai* 朝野僉載 [Collected Records of Court and Country], a series of anecdotes and stories compiled by Zhang Zhuo 張鷟 (667–731) shortly after Wu Zhao's death in 705, contains a prophecy from a cryptic *Record of Secrets* (*Miji* 秘記): 'After three generations of the Tang, a female

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[135] Chen, '*Śarīra* and Scepter,' 109–12.

[136] Pan, *Son of Heaven and the Heavenly Qaghan*, 209–17.

[137] *JTS* 3.62.

ruler and martial king (*nüzhu wuwang* 女主武王) will supplant them and possess the empire.' Taizong then secretly summoned and consulted occult master Li Chunfeng 李淳風 (602–70) about how best to handle the threat. Li Chunfeng warned that, according to the mysterious patterns in the heavens and the calendar, the prophecy had already borne fruit and that the individual was 'living in Your Majesty's palace; within forty years they will possess the empire and annihilate the scions of the Tang clan to the brink of extinction.' When the alarmed Taizong asked if he might not purge the entire palace staff, the esoteric master and horological specialist cautioned against it, admonishing, 'That which Heaven decrees cannot be abrogated.' Li Chunfeng continued to dissuade the Emperor, claiming that if the sovereign were to follow such a rash course then rather than the current prophesied future woman-king who, forty years hence would be 'old and decrepit' (*shuailao* 衰老) and whose efforts to exterminate the Tang would be tempered by the 'benevolence and compassion' (*renci* 仁慈) of age, a fiery and violent, younger prophesied warrior king would arise and butcher every last member of the dynastic family. [138]

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[138] *Chaoye qianzai*, supplemental records, 179, and *TPGJ* 163.1180–81:

唐太宗之代有《秘記》, 云: '唐三代之後, 即女主武王代有天下.' 太宗密召李淳風以詢其事, 淳風對日: '臣據玄象推算, 其兆已成. 然其人已生在陛下宮內, 從今不逾四十年, 當有天下, 誅殺唐氏子孫殆將殲盡.' 帝日: '求而殺之如何?' 淳風日: '天之所命, 不可廢也. 王者不死, 雖求恐不可得. 且據佔已長成, 復在宮內, 已是陛下眷屬. 更四十年, 又當衰老, 老則仁慈, 其於陛下子孫或不甚損. 今若殺之, 即當復生. 更四十年, 亦堪御天下矣. 少壯嚴毒, 殺之為血仇, 即陛下子孫無遺類矣.'

TPGJ 215.1647 (attributed to Zhong Lu's mid-ninth century *Ganding lu* 感定錄) contains a very similar passage. In Li Chunfeng's *JTS* (69.2718–19) biography, the esoteric master tells the emperor that the prophesied individual is a member of his household (*juanshu* 眷屬). Li Chunfeng's biography, in the *juan* 'Biographies of the Esoteric Arts' (*Fangzhi* 方伎) in the *New Tang History* (*XTS* 204.5798), contains both the prophecy and the Grand Astrologer's response. Taizong obtained a secret prophecy that read: 'the center of the Tang is weak; a female warrior will supplant them as ruler (king).' Instead of thirty years, the

Clearly, this prophecy deeply troubled Taizong. There is another related account involving this prognostication of a female ruler. According to a passage in the Northern Song era *Miscellaneous Records of the Taiping Era*, putatively from a mid-Tang text, Zhao Ziqin's 趙自勤 (fl. mid-eighth century), *Dingming lu* 定命錄 [Discourses on Predetermined Fate] (mid-8th cent.), the emperor held further discussions (or, perhaps this may be understood as a more detailed account of the incident) with Li Chunfeng, who informed Taizong—at the time Wu Zhao had entered the ranks of his concubines—that an aura of the Son of Heaven (*Tianzi qi* 天子氣) emanated from within the 'rear palace' (*hougong* 後宮). Displeased, the emperor arrayed his concubines in groups of 100. Li Chunfeng indicated from which group the emanation issued. Taizong broke them into two groups of 50; again, the esoteric master informed him from which remaining group the aura of sovereign power emanated. Li Chunfeng asked Taizong to choose the woman from whom the aura exuded. The emperor could not and wanted to kill the lot of them. Li Chunfeng remonstrated: 'If Your Majesty leaves them, then although the imperial blessings will suffer a temporary blow, the imperial altars of grain and soil will long endure. If Your Majesty kills them, however, the prophesied one will become a man who will eradicate your imperial clan until no trace remains!' Chastened, Taizong did not pursue the

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prophecy read: 'After forty years, the prophesied king will slaughter the scions, the sons and grandsons of Tang to near extinction.' And when Taizong proposed seeking and killing the prophesied one, Li Chunfeng warned that such a purge would not only fail to kill the future king, but would lead to indiscriminate and wanton murder of innocents. Finally, the master of the occult opined that forty years hence the emperor's former intimate would be older and more prone to benevolence and would 'not sever the Tang line' (不能絕唐), whereas if the original prophesied king were killed, a younger, fiercer and more violent king would be reborn and butcher the scions of Tang to utter extinction.

Though I have not found any comprehensive study of the topic, Barrett, *The Woman Who Discovered Printing*, 75–76, among others, has remarked on the prophecy of the 'female martial king.'

investigation.[139]

Fortunately for Wu Zhao, Taizong's suspicion ultimately fell on another target. In the *Old Tang History*, it is recorded that early in Tang Taizong's Zhenguan 貞觀 [True Vision] era (626–649), when Venus (Taibai 太白) was visible in the daytime the Grand Astrologer (Taishi 太史) predicted that this anomaly augured the 'ascendancy of a female ruler' (*nüzhu chang* 女主昌) and rumors circulated that a 'female martial king' (*nü wuwang* 女武王) would arise. When, at a banquet, Taizong asked his generals and court officials about their nicknames, the Left General of the Militant Guard (*zuo wuwei jiangjun* 左武衛將軍) Li Junxian 李君羨 (d. 648) mentioned that his childhood nickname was 'Fifth Girl' (*wu niangzi* 五娘子). The character for martial in the Li Junxian's 'Militant Guard' title was the same as the 'martial' of martial king and the 'five' (*wu* 五) in his nickname is a homophone for 'martial' (*wu* 武); further, the man had been gifted palace girls, horses, oxen, gold, and silks for his surpassing martial valor and service. In addition, the man came from Wuan 武安 (Martial Peace), near Luoyang, and had been granted a nobility title as Duke of Wulian County 武連縣. All of these 'martials' associated with Li Junxian—in his nobility title, his nickname, his hometown, and his military office—sharpened the unsettled sovereign's suspicions. Initially, Taizong laughed it off, remarking, 'How could a woman be so brave and fierce (*yongmeng* 勇猛) as you!' However, convinced that this general of the palace guards was the 'martial king' the prophecy warned would arise, summarily demoted the unfortunate general, sending him to a post outside the capital. Then, his

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[139] *TPGJ* 224.1720–21:

> 武后之召入宮, 李淳風奏云, '後宮有天子氣.' 太宗召宮人閱之, 令百人為一隊. 問淳風. 淳風云, '在某隊中.' 太宗又分為二隊. 淳風云, '在某隊中, 請陛下自揀擇.' 太宗不識, 欲盡殺之. 淳風諫不可, '陛下若留, 雖皇祚蹔缺, 而社稷延長. 陛下若殺之, 當變為男子, 即損滅皇族無遺矣.' 太宗遂止.

This may just be a more elaborate version of the story from the previous anecdote in *Chaoye qianzai.* According Sima Guang 司馬光 (1019–86) and his colleagues (*ZZTJ* 195.6134), Wu Zhao entered Taizong's 'rear palace' as a concubine in 637 at the age of 14 (according to Chinese reckoning).

suspicion enhanced when a censor mentioned rumors that Li Junxian was plotting with a sorcerer who practiced crooked arts, Taizong ordered the man's death. Curiously, in 691, shortly after Wu Zhao established her Zhou dynasty, responding to a formal grievance from Li Junxian's descendants, ordering the former general reburied with proper ceremony and posthumously restoring the wrongly-executed 'Fifth Girl's' rank and title.[140]

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[140] *JTS* 69.2524–25:

李君羨者, 洺州武安人也. 初為王世充驃騎, 惡世充之為人, 乃與其黨叛而來歸, 太宗引為左右. 從討劉武周及王世充等, 每戰必單騎先鋒陷陣, 前後賜以宮女、馬牛、黃金、雜彩, 不可勝數. 太宗即位, 累遷華州刺史, 封武連郡公. 貞觀初, 太白頻晝見. 太史占曰, '女三昌.' 又有謠言, '當有女武王者.' 太宗惡之. 時君羨為左武衛將軍, 在玄武門. 太宗因武官內宴, 作酒令, 各言小名. 君羨自稱小名 '五娘子,' 太宗愕然, 因大笑曰, '何物女子, 如此勇猛!' 又以君羨封邑及屬縣皆有 '武' 字, 深惡之. 會御史奏君羨與妖人員道信潛相謀結, 將為不軌, 遂下詔誅之. 天授二年, 家屬詣闕稱冤. 則天乃追復其官爵, 以禮改葬.

Also see *XTS* 94.3836–37 for a similar passage. The story is also told in the *Wengyou xianping* 甕牖閒評 [Idle Comments from Inside the Earthenware Window], *juan* 2, a Southern Song 'casual jottings' (*biji* 筆記) of scholar Yuan Wen 袁文 (1119–1190). There is different wording of the prophecy: 'There was a prophecy about a woman with the surname Wu' (有一女子身姓武) who would inevitably foment rebellion and bring about the fall of the House of Tang. It goes on to explain that as a result Taizong wrongly killed Li Junxian.

I can find no indication that Venus appeared early in Taizong's reign, though it appeared on four occasions in 626 (see below). Records indicated that it appeared repeatedly in 648. It is also curious that Li Chunfeng and Yuan Tiangang (see below) co-authored a one-*juan* work on the revolutions and divinatory resonance of the retrograde movement of Venus (see *XTS* 59.1545).

Curiously, while it is not a direct reference to the planet Venus, according to the *Samguk yusa* (*T* no. 2039, 49:990c4–8; see section 2.2a above), Mañjuśrī told the Buddhist monk Cizang, who brought the kṣatriyan prophecy back to Queen Sŏndŏk in 643, to start the Korean cult of Mañjuśrī on Mount Venus (Ch. Taibai/Kr. Taebaek 太白山), which, like Mount Wutai in China, had ten thousand Mañjuśrīs. Admittedly, this is not a direct or simple connection to the

The appearance of Venus in the daytime as an omen portending the ascendancy of a female ruler pre-dates the Tang. In Sima Qian's *Shiji* 史記 [Records of the Grand Historian], the diurnal appearance of Venus or Venus crossing the meridian was understood as a sign that the planet was contending with the light of the sun, which, in turn, was taken as an omen that 'powerful states are growing weak, small states are growing powerful and female rulers are ascending' 晝

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diurnal appearance of Venus, but it still warrants mention.

The diurnal appearance of Venus was not a portent reserved for or unique to Wu Zhao. In 626, just before Taizong seized the throne from his father Tang Gaozu (r. 618–26), Li Yuan 李淵 (566–635), Venus appeared in the daytime and allegedly traversed the heavens. Daoist Grand Astrologer Fu Yi 傅奕 (554–639) among others told the ambitious future emperor that the daytime appearance of Venus (Taibai, also called the Star of Power [Dexing 德星]) presaged his ascendancy to rule the empire. Taizong's title at the time, Prince of Qin (Qinwang 秦王), corresponded with the appearance of Venus over the former Qin homeland in the west. According to the *New Tang History* (*XTS* 1.19), in the sixth, seventh, and eighth lunar months, just before Taizong seized the throne, Venus appeared four times in daytime; in the *Old Tang History* (*JTS* 33.851–52), five times. Fu Yi and several others predicted that this meant that Taizong would come to possess the empire (當有天下). While Taizong was a warrior-prince and his supporters and propagandists used this omen as a prophecy to support his ascent, there is no indication that there are any connections between heroic Śāktism and either the appearance of Venus in 626 or his enthronement. Dating back to the Han dynasty, anomalous planetary appearances had been viewed as portentous events. See *JTS* 36.1321, 79.2716, 191.5089; *ZZTJ* 191.6003; *XTS* 1.19. Also see Zhang, 'Forming the Image of Cheng Xuanying,' 33–35.

In traditional China, the appearance and movement of certain stars, planets, or comets is also connected to martial omenology. In 'Dou Jiande's Dilemma' (101), David Graff remarks that to a degree 'military-decision making was informed by cosmological and cosmographic beliefs, and medieval military commanders adjusted their plans to accord with their understanding of underlying patterns of the universe…,' though he acknowledges that the application of these cosmological elements was largely limited to 'matters of timing, particularly choice of propitious days for the inauguration of important or hazardous enterprises.'

見而經天，是謂爭明，彊國弱，小國彊，女主昌.[141] The *Han shu* 漢書 [History of the Han Dynasty] has a similar passage that elaborates, contending that the appearance of Venus in daytime is also an ominous 'sign of soldiers' (*bingxiang* 兵象).[142] In the early Tang, this long-established omen of the 'ascendancy of a female ruler' (*nüzhu chang* 女主昌) seemingly became combined with widely-circulating rumors about the rise of a 'female martial king' (*nü wuwang* 女武王), rumblings possibly connected to the contemporary 'female warrior sovereign' prophecy originating on Mount Wutai and reaching Silla.

This Li Junxian Incident is also recorded in the *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 [Comprehensive Mirror for the Advancement of Governance] in greater detail. Two further significant elements are revealed. First, it happened not at the beginning of Taizong's reign, but at the very end, in the seventh month of 648, not long before the emperor's death. Second, a young Wu Zhao was almost implicated. This Northern Song state history records the following account:

> Initially, when Left General of the Militant Guard, Duke of Wulian County Li Junxian of Wu'an reached the Northern (Xuanwu) Gate, Venus was repeatedly visible during the daytime. The Grand Astrologer prognosticated, 'A female ruler will rise and prosper.' The *Miji* [*Record of Secrets*], also circulated among the people, saying: 'After three generations of the Tang, a female ruler 女主, a martial king 武王, will possess the empire.' Finding these developments abhorrent, the Emperor gathered his military officers for a banquet in the palace, offering a command toast, and making each of the men reveal his childhood nickname. When Junxian said that he had been called 'Fifth Girl,' the Emperor was alarmed, but joked, 'What kind of girl is as brave and robust as you!' In addition, because Junxian's official title, nobility rank, and hometown all contained the character 'martial' (*wu* 武), the Emperor deeply loathed him. Later, Junxian was

141 *Shiji* 27.1327. Sima Qian's observation is repeated in a number of subsequent histories. See also Hinsch, 'The Criticism of Women by Western Han Portent Experts,' 112–13.

142 *Han shu* 26.1283.

demoted and sent to be Prefect of Huazhou. There was a commoner named Yuan Daoxin who claimed he could fast and had knowledge of Buddhist arcana. Junxian deeply respected and trusted the man; on several occasions, he dismissed his followers and spoke secretly with Yuan behind a screen. A censor memorialized that Junxian was consorting with a wicked mystic and plotting conspiracy. On the *ren-chen* day (August 7, 648), Junxian was executed and his family property was confiscated. 初, 左武衛將軍武連縣公武安李君羡直玄武門, 時太白屢晝見, 太史占云: '女主昌.' 民間又傳秘記云: '唐三世之後, 女主武王代有天下.' 上惡之. 會與諸武臣宴宮中, 行酒令, 使各言小名. 君羡自言名 '五娘.' 上愕然, 因笑曰: '何物女子, 乃爾勇健!' 又以君羡官稱封邑皆有 '武' 字, 深惡之. 後出為華州刺史. 有布衣員道信, 自言能絕粒, 曉佛法, 君羡深敬信之, 數相從, 屏人語. 御史奏君羡與妖人交通, 謀不軌妖, 於喬翻. 壬辰, 君羡坐誅, 籍沒其家.

The Emperor secretly asked Grand Astrologer Li Chunfeng, 'Are the prophecies in the *Record of Secrets* credible?' Li answered: 'I have gazed both upward to examine the configurations of Heaven and looked downward to study the machinations of the calendar: the prophesied is already in Your Majesty's palace, personally connected by marriage or blood! Within thirty years this person will rule the empire, killing nearly all the sons and grandsons of Tang. This prophecy has already been fulfilled!' The Emperor asked: 'What if everyone who is suspect is eradicated?' The Grand Astrologer responded: 'Man cannot avoid that which Heaven has decreed. If you choose this course, the [future] king will not be slain, only many innocents wrongly killed. Moreover, in thirty years, the prophesied king will already be aged and perhaps will have a measure of compassion, so the catastrophe may not be so great. If you were to kill the prophesied one, however, Heaven might send a younger chosen one with unrestrained enmity who would extinguish Your Majesty's sons and grandsons, not leaving a single scion.' Thereupon, the Emperor did not pursue this course of action. 上密問太史令李淳風, '祕記所云, 信有之乎?' 對曰: '臣仰稽天象, 俯察曆數, 其人已在陛下宮中, 為親屬, 自今不過三十年, 當王天下王, 于況翻. 殺唐子孫殆盡, 其兆既成矣.' 上曰: '疑似者盡殺之, 何如?' 對曰: '天之所命, 人不能違也. 王者不死, 徒多殺無辜. 且自今以往三十年, 其人

> 已老, 庶幾頗有慈心, 為禍或淺(幾希, 居翻). 今借使得而殺之, 天或生壯者肆其怨毒, 恐陛下子孫, 無遺類矣!’ 上乃止.[143]

Taizong seems to have acted expediently: only eight days elapsed between the diurnal appearance of Venus and Li Junxian’s death.[144]

Seemingly, then, the banquet was a staged event where imperial bodyguards might be questioned about this matter. Groups like the Militant Guard whose duty involved patrolling the palace walls and the vicinity of the Xuanwu Gate, the Northern Gate of the palace, beyond which the ruler’s ‘rear palace’ lay, were close enough that the emperor suspected the prophesied king might herald from their ranks. Taizong seized upon the nickname of unfortunate ‘Fifth Girl’ Li Junxian, leading to the man’s exile and death. More than four decades later, Wu Zhao, perhaps recalling how, waiting nervously among the final group of concubines isolated by Li Chunfeng, close she had come to meeting her demise, was very sympathetic and responsive when, shortly after she ascended the throne, the family of Fifth Girl came to the city gates requesting the rehabilitation of their deceased ancestor. Then female emperor presiding over the empire as kṣatriya queen, she happily restored rank and peerage to the disgraced general.

The prophecy is also mentioned in several later Buddhist sources, including Zhipan’s 志磐 late Southern Song *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 [Comprehensive History of the Buddhist Patriarchs] and Nianchang’s 念常 Yuan dynasty *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 [Comprehensive Record of Buddhist Patriarchs through the Ages]. To describe the prophecy, both use language almost identical to that found in the official histories and unofficial sources. The former records that ‘in the twenty-first year [of the Zhenguan era, 647] the emperor obtained a secret prophecy that said: “After three generations of the Tang, a female ruler and martial king will come to possess the empire” (二十一年, 上得密讖云: 唐三世之後, 女主武王代有天下).[145]

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[143] *ZZTJ* 199.6259–60.

[144] *XTS* 2.47, 33.853 (provides the date in the seventh month of 648 that Venus appeared in the daytime).

[145] *Fozu tongji, T* no. 2035, 49:371a20–21.

It also appears later in a catalogue of prophecies and omens (*juan* 52) in identical form, except that *di* 帝 rather than *shang* 上 is used for the emperor.[146] In the latter source, it is recorded that Taizong obtained the 'secret prophecy' in the *dingwei* 丁未 year of the sexagenary cycle (the 21st year of Zhenguan; February 10, 647 to January 29, 648).[147] In another Yuan source, the monk Jue'an's 覺岸 (1286–?) *Shishi jigu lüe* 釋氏稽古略 [A Brief Search into Buddhist Antiquity], it is recorded that sometime after Wu Shihuo's daughter [Wu Zhao] entered Taizong's seraglio as a fifth-ranked Talent at 14, the Grand Astrologer memorialized that the 'portentous air of a female ruler' (*nüzhu zhi zhao* 女主之兆) issued from the rear palace.[148] The fact that this passage is included in a number of Buddhist sources, including the catalogue of historical prophecies and auspicious omens (*lichao chenrui* 歷朝讖瑞) in the *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 [Comprehensive Record of Buddhist Patriarchs through the Ages] is a strong indication that, like the appearance of Mañjuśrī or Mount Wutai, this prophecy may be understood as Buddhist or, perhaps, Indic. In addition, the term 'martial king' (*wuwang* 武王) might be understood as a translation for the kṣatriya caste of royal warriors. In this sense, the rumor/prophecy that circulated in Taizong's time appears to be closely connected to the prophecy that Sillan monk Chajang received from Mañjuśrī on Mount Wutai.

The timely emergence of this female warrior prophecy, on the swirling multicultural winds of the early Tang, is a perfect example of how existing lore within the Chinese cultural matrix—prognostications tying Venus to an ascending female ruler with a millennium of history—might become interwoven with novel elements like the recently-arrived Indic tradition heroic Śāktism, the belief featuring a divine, all-victorious, protective martial queen who substantiates and symbolizes sovereignty, or become enfolded in a prophecy of a warrior/kṣatriya queen preordained to achieve bodhisattva-hood or Buddhahood.

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146 Ibid, 458a3–4.

147 *Fozu lidai tongzai*, *T* no. 2036, 49:572b11–12.

148 *Shishi jigu lüe*, *T* no. 2037, 49:816c20–21.

Table of Timing and Language of 'Female Warrior King' Prophecy

Source/Date	Putative Timing/ Context	Language
Zhang Zhuo, Chaoye qianzai (early 8th cent.)	During Taizong's reign (626–49), the prophecy appears in *Record of Secrets*	'After three generations of the Tang, a female ruler and martial king will supplant them and possess the empire.' 女主武王代有天下
Zhao Ziqin, *Dingming lü* 定命錄 (mid-8th cent.)	When Wu Zhao entered the palace as Taizong's concubine[149] (after 637)	'The air of a Son of Heaven emanates from the rear palace.' 後宮有天子氣
Zhong Lu, *Ganding lu* 感定錄 , mid-9th cent (in *TPGJ*)	During Taizong's reign (626–49), the prophecy appears in *Record of Secrets*	'After three generations of the Tang, a female ruler and martial king will supplant them and possess the empire.' 女主武王代有天下
Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 69, Li Junxian's bio, mid-10th cent.	At the beginning of the Zhenguan era (late 620s–early 630s)	Rumors circulate that a 'female warrior king' would arise 謠言曰：當有女武王者。
Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書 83, Li Chunfeng's bio (mid-10th cent.)	During Taizong's reign (626–49), the prophecy appears in *Record of Secrets*	'After three generations of the Tang, a female ruler and martial king will supplant them and possess the empire.' 女主武王代有天下
Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tang shu* 新唐書 204, 11th cent., Li Chunfeng's bio.	During Taizong's reign	Taizong obtained a secret prophecy that read: 'the center of the Tang is weak; a female warrior will supplant them as ruler (king).' 唐中弱，有女武代王
Sima Guang, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 , late 11th cent.	7th month of 648	The *Record of Secrets* also circulated among the people, saying: 'After three generations of the Tang, a female ruler 女主 , a martial king 武王 , will possess the empire.'

[149] According to *ZZTJ* 195.6134–35, Wu Zhao entered Taizong's inner palace as a concubine at the Chinese age of 14 in 637.

Yuan Wen, *Wengyou xianping* 甕牖閒評 , 12th century	Prophecy during Taizong's reign	There was a prophecy about a woman with the surname Wu 有一女子身姓武 who would inevitably foment rebellion and bring about the fall of the House of Tang.
Iryŏn, *Samguk yusa* 三國遺事 , 13th cent. Korea	A prophecy delivered from Mañjuśrī on Mt. Wutai to visiting Sillan monk Chajang (636–643)	'Your nation's sovereign belongs to India's kṣatriya caste (天竺刹利種) and has already received the Buddha's prophecy of her future buddhahood.'
Zhipan, *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 , 13th cent.; twice, *juan* 39 and 52	647, 21st year of Taizong's Zhenguan era	Taizong obtained a secret prophecy that read, 'After three generations of the Tang, a female ruler and martial king will supplant them and possess the empire.' 女主武王代有天下
Nianchang, *Fozu lidai tongzai* 佛祖歷代通載 , 14th cent.	647, 21st year of Taizong's Zhenguan era	Taizong obtained a secret prophecy that read, 'After three generations of the Tang, a female ruler and martial king will supplant them and possess the empire.' 女主武王代有天下
Jue'an, *Shishi jigu lüe* 釋氏稽古略 , 14th cent.	Sometime after Wu Zhao entered the palace as a concubine in 637	Grand Astrologer [Li Chunfeng] memorialized that the 'portentous air of a female ruler' (*nüzhu zhi zhao* 女主之兆) issued from the rear palace.

2.2c. Li Chunfeng and Wu Zhao

Though he is perhaps better known as an occultist, as 'China's Nostradamus,' Li Chunfeng was also a prodigiously gifted 'technocrat' who served as an historian, an astronomer, a mathematician, a calendrical specialist, an omenologist, and a prognosticator. He enjoyed a four-decade career as a court official, beginning under Taizong and continuing through fifteen years of co-rule by Gaozong and Wu Zhao.[150] He was well aware of the 'female warrior sovereign' proph-

[150] Goodman, 'Li Chunfeng,' 29–49.

ecy; it was widely known and disseminated. As the aforementioned passage from the *Zizhi tongjian* indicates, the prophecy in a cryptic *Record of Secrets* 'circulated among the people' (*minjian chuan Miji* 民間傳秘記).

There is some indication that Li Chunfeng may have become a partisan of Wu Zhao. His counsel prevented Taizong from executing Wu Zhao and scores of other concubines in his harem. Howard Goodman has noted that, perhaps because of this, 'he is perceived by some as a Wu factionalist,' an observation to which he adds, 'but this is speculative and if true seems not to have been a negative force on his career.'[151] When Wu Zhao had risen to become Gaozong's

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[151] Ibid., 42. There is some evidence that seems to counter the argument that Li Chunfeng was a Wu Zhao partisan. In the preface of the *Yisi zhan* 乙巳占 [Prognostications of the Yisi Year], a ten-*juan* compendium of heavenly omens published under Taizong in 645, Li Chunfeng's omenological views on female rule, situated amidst his commentary on 'venal usurpers' (Goodman, 'Li Chunfeng,' 41) come across as rather conventional: 'When a female ruler takes the reins of government, then the bonds of order are rent, powerful officials indulge in force, and these bring about weak tremors. Light and shadows hide flying swallows, and the earth splits apart birds and pheasants—these fall into the category of astral verification after the fact' (trans. Goodman, 'Li Chunfeng,' 41); *THY* 159.1633–34. Li Chunfeng's point, Goodman explains, 'is that the female-usurper category is especially dire because its omens allow no mitigation.'

Indeed, Li Chunfang's perspective on omenology and the machinations of *yin-yang* and the Five Elements is quite similar to that of Yu Wenjun 俞文俊, one of Wu Zhao's court officials. In 686, a 200-foot mountain reputedly jutted forth from the ground, replete with a divine pool on the mountain where a yellow dragon swam to and fro, regurgitating fist-sized pearls. Proclaiming it auspicious, Wu Zhao felt it resembled a miniature Sumeru, the sacred Buddhist marchmount, and dubbed the miraculous peak Mount Felicity (Qingshan 慶山). While some offered their congratulations, other Confucian ministers insisted it was a calamity. Yu Wenjun memorialized, 'Your Majesty, a female ruler (*nüzhu* 女主) has improperly situated in a male *yang* position, which has inverted and altered the hard and soft; therefore the earth's emanations are obstructed and separated. This mountain born of the sudden convulsion of earth represents a calam-

empress, Li worked extensively on a number of projects under the aegis of prime minister Xu Jingzong, a staunch political backer of Wu.[152] By 660, oft-indisposed Tang Gaozong and his empress Wu Zhao sat in tandem presiding over court; the empress played an increasingly visible and public political and ceremonial role. To rectify the poorly-designed *wuyin* 戊寅 calendar that Daoist Fu Renjun 傅仁均 (fl. 618) had designed for the founding emperor of the Tang, Li Chunfeng and Indian astronomer Jiashe (Skt. Kāśyapa) Xiaowei 迦葉孝威 devised a new Unicorn Virtue Calendar (*Linde li* 麟德曆) for Wu Zhao and Gaozong in 665.[153] At the same time the new calendar was promulgated, due to a protracted rainy spell, Gaozong feared that Heaven did not approve of his intent to perform the sacrosanct *feng* and *shan* rites on Mount Tai in late 665. The fretful emperor

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ity. Your Majesty may take this as 'Mount Felicity,' but your subject feels there is nothing to celebrate. To respond properly to Heaven's censure, it is suitable that you lead the quiet life of a widow and cultivate virtue, otherwise I fear further disasters will befall us.' Needless to say, Wu Zhao strenuously rejected this interpretation. Of course, she dismissed the critique that as a female ruler her authority, by its very nature, was an affront Heaven's will, throwing the elements out of kilter. Infuriated, Wu Zhao exiled him to swampy, disease-ridden Lingnan 嶺南. See *DTXY* 13.193–94; *JTS* 37.1350 and 187.4883; *XTS* 35.910 and 76.3479; and *ZZTJ* 203.6442. For Yu Wenjun's memorial, see *QTW* 235.2271.

[152] Ibid., 42–43.

[153] *ZZTJ* 201.6344. This assistance could also simply be understood as part of Li Chunfeng's job. In 633, Li Chunfeng designed an armillary sphere that included the ecliptic (*huangdao* 黃道) at Taizong's behest (*JTS* 3.43). He also compiled a text called the *Faxiang zhi* 法像志, edited the monographs on harmonics and the calendar in the Jin and Sui histories (*JTS* 35.1295, 36.1311), and compiled the *Tianwen yaolu* 天文要錄 [Essentials of Astronomy].

Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 251 fn. 42, notes that Li Chunfeng's collaborator Kāśyapa came from 'from a family of Indian astronomers active in China at the time.'

For the launch of Fu Renjun's calendar, see *JTS* 1.8. In contrast to preceding dynasties, the Tang and Wu Zhao's Zhou frequently altered their state calendars. See Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 219–23.

sought the assistance of Li Chunfeng's father, Daoist Li Bo 李播, who communed with one of the patron deities of the mountain, the Heavenly Thearch of the Jade Capital (Yujing tiandi 玉京天帝). The Daoist divinity sanctioned the performance of the *feng* and *shan*.[154] Wu Zhao argued her way into playing a pivotal role in these rites; this platform and visibility marked a major political triumph for her.[155]

Li Chunfeng's manual on numerological divination, the *Tuibei tu* 推背圖 [Illustration of Opposing Backs], as we will see below, later played a role in bringing to fruition the prophecies of a rising female warrior sovereign that circulated in the early to mid seventh century. Li Chunfeng did not create the prophecy of the ascendancy of a female warrior king; he did, however, make predictions based upon widely circulating cryptic rumblings and planetary signs.

2.2d. A Physiognomist's Initial Prediction of Wu Zhao's Future Ascendancy

There is another earlier prophecy of Wu Zhao's ascent to power. Because it does not explicitly identify her as a warrior queen, I have placed this story toward the end of Part 2.2. In an anecdote recorded in both official and unofficial sources, at some juncture during the late 620s, celebrated physiognomist Yuan Tiangang 袁天罡 (583–665) visited the Wu family in Lizhou 利州 (present-day Guangyuan 廣元, Sichuan). After examining their facial features and structures of other family members and making prognostications, Yuan Tiangang was awestruck when he saw Wu Zhao enter in the embrace of her nurse, wearing boys' clothing. Confused, he halted 'This young gentleman has divine coloring—how utterly sublime! His fate is not easy to fathom.' Curiosity piqued, he had the nurse put her down so that she might toddle around in front of the bed. With burgeoning surprise, he exclaimed, 'This child has the pupils of a dragon and

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[154] *TPGJ* 298.2321.

[155] Gaozong and Wu Zhao jointly performed the *feng* and *shan* rites on Mount Tai in 666. See *ZZTJ* 201.6346; *JTS* 5.89–90 and 23.888; also Wechsler, *Offerings of Jade and Silk*, 184–85.

the neck of a phoenix 此郎君子龍瞳鳳頸!' Slowly, he circled Wu Zhao, then prophesied, 'If this noble child were a girl, someday she would become the ruler of the empire' (必若是女…後當為天下之主矣).[156] The *Taiping guangji* 太平廣記 [Miscellaneous Records of the Taiping Era] contains a similar passage, attributed to Hu Qu's 胡璩 (d.u.) mid-ninth century *Tanbin lu* 談賓綠 [Records of Chats with a Guest], though it adds the detail that Wu Zhao as a toddler had a 'solar halo and a draconian mien' (*rijiao longyan* 日角龍顏).[157] The dragon, of course, symbolizes imperial authority. Wu Zhao possessed the distinctive phrenological characteristics to impress the famous physiognomist.

On the surface, there is nothing in this account of Yuan Tiangang's prediction that is explicitly connected to the heroic Śāktism or the female warrior queen prophecy. Nonetheless, one might understand that the persistence of the account and its appearance in many sources may attest to the presence of these currents. And, after all, Yuan Tiangang's prediction did identify a future female warrior sovereign.

In addition, along with calendrical specialist and astrologist Li Chunfeng, Yuan is one of the putative authors of the *Tuibei tu*, a cryptic manual of numerological divination that Wu Zhao and her propagandists utilized as evidence that she was the prophesied 'warrior' (see Part 2.7 below).

2.2e. The Chen Shuozhen Rebellion of 653

Another event that may be connected to the rising influence of heroic Śāktism and the related 'female warrior sovereign' occurred at this same juncture: early in Gaozong's reign, shortly after he had re-

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156 There are several variations of this anecdote. See *JTS* 191.5093–94; *XTS* 204.5801; and *DTXY* 13.193. In each of the latter two sources, the physiognomist says, 'If this child were a girl, she would be fit to be the Son of Heaven' (若為女當作天子). Yuan Tiangang composed a seven-*juan* manual on physiognomy (*XTS* 59.1557).

157 *TPGJ* 224.1720.

called Wu Zhao from a Buddhist convent to become a concubine in his rear palace. Chen Shuozhen 陳碩真 (d. 653), whom Tang officials reported have 'used magical incantations to beguile the masses' 以妖言惑眾, proclaimed herself the Civil and Splendid Emperor (Wenjia Huangdi 文佳皇帝), raised armies, staged a short-lived rebellion in the area of modern-day Hangzhou, appointed military officers and began to annex surrounding counties and prefectures including Muzhou 睦州. Before battle, she would strike a bell and burn incense. Wild stories circulated that she possessed numinous divine powers (*shenling* 神靈), had ascended to the heavens (*shengtian* 升天) and walked among the immortals, and that her guardian spirit would punish anyone who resisted her by eradicating their entire clan, bewitching locals and filling her opponents with terror. The uprising of this self-proclaimed female sovereign was quelled in the eleventh month of 653. Chen Shuozhen was executed.[158] In general terms, Chen's ability to contact divine powers, to conquer spirits and demons (*yigui* 役鬼), and to harness those powers in warfare, corresponds with the consecration of kings in heroic Śāktism, in which the sovereign, at a certain time of year, communes with the Mahādevī, and is granted power to rule and success in battle.[159]

Rebellions led by women in early medieval and medieval China are rare.[160] In short, given these multivalent influences in the cos-

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[158] *ZZTJ* 199.6282–3; *XTS* 4.72, 32.842, 109.4095–96 (the biography of Cui Yixian 崔義玄 (586–656), the prefect of Wuzhou 婺州 [modern-day Jinhua 金華] who quelled the uprising); *JTS* 3.55, 77.2688–89 (biography of Cui Yixian). In one version (*XTS* 109.4095–96), when she returns from the heavens she transforms into a man who has the ability to enslave and control ghosts and spirits.

[159] Based on rather tenuous evidence, this uprising is identified as Zoroastrian in Lin, 'Cong Chen Shuozhen qiyi kan Huoxian jiao dui Tangdai minjian de yingxiang,' 140–41. This view is rebuffed in Chen Sanping, 'From Azerbaijan to Dunhuang,' 183–84.

[160] Declaring herself a general, Mother Lü 呂母 led a rebellion during Wang Mang's Xin dynasty interregnum in 14 CE. See *Hou Hanshu* 11.477–78. In modern-day Vietnam, the Trung sisters (Ch. Zheng Ce 徵側 and Zheng Ni 徵貳), probably ethnic Vietnamese, rebelled against Emperor Guangwu 光武帝 (r.

mopolitan early Tang—Central Asia, India, the Silk Road, and Buddhism—the patriarchal Confucian center of gravity no longer held such great pull. Benefactors of this historical serendipity, Chen Shuozhen and Wu Zhao lived in a time where gender roles were in a state of flux, in the midst of a process of redefinition and renegotiation.[161] Without doubt, this cultural flux and new influences like heroic Śāktism enabled women to enjoy a more prominent social presence, greater sexual freedom, and more political influence during the early Tang.

25–57 CE) in the Eastern Han; see *Hou Hanshu* 1.66–70, 24.838–39 (the biography of the general Ma Yuan 馬爰 who quelled the uprising), and 'Biographies of the Southern Barbarians,' 86.2836–37.

[161] Heroic Śāktism is, of course, not solely responsible for the rising political and cultural influence of women in seventh century East Asia. For a look at the multiple variables, see Rothschild, 'Historical Preconditions for the Ascent of a Woman Emperor,' in *Wu Zhao*, 11–16; Gao, 'A Fixed State of Affairs and Mis-Positioned Status,' 270–314.

Another curious example of women playing untraditional roles in the late Sui and early Tang would be the 'warrior princess' Pingyang. The third daughter of founding Tang emperor Gaozu, Princess Pingyang 平陽 (598–623) raised and led a rebel 'Women's Army' (*niangzi jun* 娘子軍) of 70,000 into Chang'an to help terminate the foundering Sui dynasty in 617. Despite objections, Gaozu insisted that military music was played at her funeral. Her imperial father lovingly remarked, 'Wenmu 文母 [the wife of the celebrated founder of the Zhou dynasty of antiquity, King Wen 文王] is counted among the ten great ministers of Zhou. The Princess' contribution in assisting to gain the mandate likewise marks her as an extraordinary woman.' See *JTS* 58.2315–16; *XTS* 83.3642–43; also see Wechsler, 'The founding of the T'ang dynasty: Kao-tsu (reign 618–626),' 60; and Liu & Lee, 'Li, Princess Pingyang,' 198–200. There is no indication that heroic Śāktism played any particular role in her impressive military career.

2.3. Cundī Enters Wu Zhao's Pantheon

2.3a. Caṇḍī-Cundī Connection

After the demise of the Gupta empire, 'the Holy Land of Buddhism,' despite 'staunch royal supporters' like King Harsha (r. 606–47), the Buddhist faith in India suffered a marked decline in many regions of India. While traditional schools and elements of Buddhism withered in the homeland of the Buddha, however, esoteric (Tantric) Buddhism emerged and flourished, and, given the volume of commercial and diplomatic interaction between Indian kingdoms and Tang China, its enthusiastic and widespread transmission exerted a rising influence on Chinese Buddhist thought by the late seventh century.[162] Śāktism was deeply embedded in Tantric Buddhism and its galaxy of female divinities spread to East Asia.[163] These Tantric deities—hybrids of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Indian folk culture—gained popularity, becoming interwoven with Chinese mythology and folklore.

Though it is a matter of some contention, according to some scholars, in this complex process of transmission the late-developing Indic warrior goddess Caṇḍī was transmogrified into the Tantric Buddhist goddess Cundī.[164] Noting the considerable variations in

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162 Liu, *Silk and Religion*, 25–26. Liu Xinru remarks that 'the decline of Buddhism became obvious in the sixth century' (27). The oft-repeated assertion that the post-Gupta period marked the beginning of the decline of Buddhism is an over-simplification. For a more nuanced discussion of the timing of the decline of Buddhism in India, see Sarao, *The Decline of Buddhism in India*, which examines regional and sectarian differences, the role of class, and many other variables. Mitra (*The Decline of Buddhism in India,* 12–13) opines that the seventh century marked 'the end of original thought' in Indian Buddhism and the rise of the 'arid pedantry and mystic cobweb of Tantric Buddhism.'

163 Ibid., 29.

164 Robert Gimello, 'Icon and Incantation,' contends that the 'dubious identification' of the 'often repeated claim that she [Cundī] is the Buddhist form' of Caṇḍī/Durgā 'invites suspicion' and is founded in part on similarities of 'variant

names, Buddhist scholar Edward Conze speculated that 'Chinese and Tibetan equivalents Tchouen-t'i (T'siuen-d'ie) [準提] or Tchouen-tche, and Tsundahi or Tsundehi may go back to a Sanskrit Cundī, Caṇḍī (=Durgā!), Cunda, Chundi, or Cuṇṭi.'[165] In short, Caṇḍī and Cundī may be one and the same. Some scholars directly connect Cundī to the goddess at the core of heroic Śāktism: 'Cundī, more commonly Cundā,' C.N. Tay asserts, 'is a name for Durgā...in Brahmanic mythology.'[166] Likewise, one of the definitions for Cundī given in the Buddhist dictionary compiled by Hodous and Soothill identifies her as 'a vindictive form of Durgā,' as Caṇḍī, or, alternatively, as Mārīcī.[167]

From a 'prominent local ogress (*yakṣiṇī*)' in the Bengal and Orissa regions, Cundī rapidly evolved into first a pan-Indian, then a pan-Asian cultic deity.[168] Also having evolved from bloodthirsty, carnivorous local tribal mother-protectors, Cāṇḍī, like Cundī, is closely associated with this same greater Bengal region. Sibendu Manna, in

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spellings' and 'creative etymologies' (249–50 fn. 1). Henrik Sørensen, classifying her as another emanation of Guanyin in early esoteric Buddhism, remarks that Cundī is a female, many-armed martial divinity who may have originated in India as an off-shoot of Tāra in the sixth–seventh centuries (see 'Central Divinities in the Esoteric Buddhist Pantheon in China,' 99). In his entry on 'Cundā, Cundī' in the *Dictionary of Buddhist Iconography*, vol. 3, Lokesh Chandra goes even further, arguing that identifying Cundī with Caṇḍī is a confusion that has resulted from lack of a standard Sanskrit transcription of the devī's name, an 'error that has persisted over the years' (849). Singhal is also very skeptical, presenting an argument similar to Chandra's and adding that Cundā/Cundī, 'the name of one or more disciples of the Buddha,' was originally a powerful yakṣa from between Varanasi and Apara-gayā who was integrated into the Buddhist pantheon; see her essay, 'The Iconography of Cundā,' 385–86.

165 Conze, 'The Iconography of the Prajñāpāramitā,' 254. For another source corroborating this identification, see Niyogi, 'Cundā,' 299. Brackets containing the characters are my addition.

166 Tay, 'Kuan-yin,' 152 fn. 27.

167 Soothill & Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 405.

168 Buswell & Lopez, 'Cundī,' 204.

his monograph, *Mother Goddess Cāṇḍī*, identifies the goddess most closely with West Bengal.[169] In the *Kādambari*, a drama written by Bāṇabhaṭṭa, a poet-chronicler of Harsha, the Puṣyabhūti ruler who dominated Northern India, Caṇḍī is a fierce goddess worshipped by the Śabaras, a primitive hunting tribe in Odisha, a region bordering West Bengal.[170] Whether or not the esoteric Buddhist mother Cundī evolved from Caṇḍī or not, the spread and growth of both warrior goddesses in India and into East Asia stems from their shared matrix of heroic Śāktism.

2.3b. Esoteric Buddhism, Divākara, and the Cundī *Dhāraṇī*

In the years leading up to her accession to emperor, as grand dowager and regent (684–690), Wu Zhao deposed her feckless third son Zhongzong and relegated the nominal emperor, her tractable youngest son Ruizong, to the palace of the Crown Prince while she 'presided over court and issued edicts' (*linchao chengzhi* 臨朝稱治).[171] During this critical juncture the central Indian Buddhist monk Divākara (Dipoheluo 地婆訶羅; 613–88) translated several *sūtras* about an esoteric Buddhist devī, Cundī (Caṇḍī), a goddess with earlier Indic roots.

From his arrival at the Tang court in 676 until his death in 688, Divākara was part of a wider Buddhist 'intellectual group,' a broad-based multinational coalition of Buddhist monks, belonging to many sects, orthodox and unorthodox, who worked as propagandists to promote the vision of Wu Zhao not merely as emperor but as a universal Buddhist wheel-turning monarch, the cakravartin, and as a living bodhisattva. Antonino Forte persuasively illustrates that Divākara was an important translator and ideologue, working with

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[169] See Manna, *Mother Goddess Cāṇḍī*, chap. 4, 'Caṇḍī' and chap. 5, 'Caṇḍī in Action.'

[170] Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses*, 117. Manna, in *Mother Goddess Cāṇḍī*, notes that Cāṇḍī/Durgā was worshipped by the Śabaras (73).

[171] *JTS* 6.116; *XTS* 4.82. See Rothschild, *Wu Zhao*, 'Celestial Mother and Grand Dowager,' 65–92.

a wider community of Buddhist monks in monasteries in both capitals, Chang'an and Luoyang, to translate pivotal Sanskrit texts into Chinese.[172] Chen Jinhua enumerates Divākara among the 'contemporary major Buddhist translators' supported by Wu Zhao, a group of luminaries including Khotanese monks Devendraprajña (d. 691 or 692) and Śikṣānanda (Shicha'nantuo 實叉難陀; 652–710), and Yijing 義淨 (635–713).[173] His prolific translations included the *Foshuo zaota gongde jing* 佛說造塔功德經 [*Sūtra* Preached by the Buddha about the Merits of Constructing Pagodas];[174] a version of the *Huayan jing* in 685;[175] the *Zhuangyan jing* 莊嚴經 [Skt. *Lalitavistara Sūtra*], a twelve-*juan* biography of the Buddha, when Wu Zhao was grand dowager;[176] and two different versions of an important *sūtra* that was widely circulated throughout China on *dhāranī* pillars beginning in this era: the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅尼經 [*Sūtra* of the *Dhāraṇī* of Victory from the Buddha's Head-Summit] in 682, while Wu Zhao was co-ruling with sickly husband Gaozong;[177] and the *Foding zunsheng tuoluoni jing yezhang jing* 佛頂尊勝陀羅

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172 Forte has written extensively on Divākara and had a larger, more ambitious project planned examining the life and career of the monk. See Forte, 'Divākara' and 'Fuxian Monastery.' In *Political Propaganda*, Forte shows that Divākara worked extensively with the orthodox and unorthodox Buddhist monks who collaborated to compile the *Commentary on the Great Cloud Sūtra*, a text critical to Wu Zhao's campaign to become emperor; he observed that Divākara 'belonged to the same intellectual group' as those other monks (167).

For a thumbnail biography of Divākara, also see Dorothy Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 90.

173 Chen, '*Śarīra* and Scepter,' 76.

174 *T* no. 699, vol. 16. See Chen, '*Śarīra* and Scepter,' 116.

175 Dessein, '*Samanthābhadrācaryāprandidhānarāja*,' 322.

176 *Fangguang da zhuangyan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經 [*Lalitavistara sūtra*], Divākara trans., *juan* 3, *T* no. 187, vol. 3. This text used Sage Mother (*Shengmu* 聖母), a title Wu Zhao took as her own, for the Buddha's mother, Māyā. Pleased, Wu Zhao personally wrote a preface. See Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 44.

177 *T* no. 969, vol. 19. See Chen, '*Śarīra* and Scepter,' 104; Tay, 'Kuan-yin,' 150. This version was co-translated with Du Xingyi 杜行顗.

尼淨除業障經 [*Sūtra* of the *Dhāraṇī* of Victory from the Buddha's Head-Summit for Eradicating Karmic Obstacles]—which Divākara presented shortly before his death in early 688.[178]

Divākara's prolific production at this critical juncture—the final years of Gaozong's life and the first years of grand dowager Wu Zhao's regency—and his involvement in the projects closely linked to amplifying the female sovereign's profile as a Buddhist ruler both serve to make manifest the resounding influence of this talented propagandist. Noting that he was honored as Tripiṭaka, Dorothy Wong terms him the most important Buddhist translator apart from Xuanzang.[179]

As a pivotal player in the collaborative Buddhist campaign to elevate the grand dowager to the paramount position of emperor, Divākara proved a tireless translator and an important political ally to Wu Zhao. Of the tremendous impact of Divākara and these other Buddhist propagandists, Antonino Forte remarks, 'Their relevance in the margins of the vast Chinese cultural area is a consequence of their importance at the very centre, Luoyang, of that cultural area at a precise historical moment, the period when Wu Zhao dominated the political scene.'[180]

Wu Zhao's regency and reign (684–705) witnessed a meteoric surge in the popularity of esoteric Buddhism, featuring enthusiastic promotions of cults, practices like dhāraṇī and mantras, numerous textual translations, and construction of statuary that integrated novel iconographic elements.[181] She was an enthusiastic patron and promoter of esoteric Buddhism who 'eagerly endorsed new deities and the associated rituals and practices'; under her aegis, 'esoteric deity cults and practices received court support and flourished.'[182]

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178 *T* no. 970, vol. 19. See Chen, '*Śarīra* and Scepter,' 104–05. Divākara coauthored this sūtra with Huizhi 慧智 (fl. 676–703).

179 Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 90.

180 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 167.

181 Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 92.

182 Wong, 'The Art of Avataṃsaka Buddhism,' 225–26; *idem*, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 59.

Esoteric Buddhism incorporated a number of fierce, martial protector deities from Hinduism and earlier Indic origins into the Buddhist matrix, including the martial devīs Durgā, Mārīcī, and Cundī. This can be understood as the esoteric Buddhist-ization of heroic Śāktism.

With the aid of a 'coterie of foreign monks' like Divākara, Wu Zhao 'promoted the cults of Amoghapāśa and other esoteric Avalokiteśvaras [Guanyins]…invoking their powers to protect the state.'[183] Indeed, by mid-to-late seventh century China a number of different esoteric manifestations of Guanyin emerged, including Eleven-faced Guanyin (Shiyimian Guanyin 十一面觀音; Skt. Ekādaśmukhā), Guanyin of the Unfailing Rope (Ch. Bukong juansuo 不空羂索; Skt. Amoghapāśa), and Thousand-Armed Guanyin (Qianshou Guanyin 千手觀音; Skt. Sahasrabhujarya). During Wu Zhao's regency, another one of these manifestations of Guanyin (*Guanyin bianhua* 觀音變化) emerged: Cundī (Ch. Zhunti 准提).[184]

Divākara played an essential role in initiating and promoting a cult of Cundī. Because Cundī was identified with the celebrated bodhisattva of mercy and compassion, Avalokiteśvara, C.N. Tay observes that with Divākara's translations of the dhāraṇī *sūtra*s on Cundī in the 680s, 'the feminine aspect of Kuan-yin [Guanyin] in the form of Cundī-Avalokitasvara (Chun-t'i kuan-yin), "mother of the seven koṭīs (a huge number often represented as ten million) of

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[183] Wong, 'The Case of Amoghapāśa,' 152. Wong hypothesizes that Wu Zhao's reign marked the beginning of a trend toward fusing cults of esoteric Buddhist deities with the Huayan Buddhist ideology that reached its culmination/maturity in the Tōdaiji of Emperor Shōmu and Empress Kōgyō six decades later; see Wong, 'The Art of Avataṃsaka Buddhism,' 225 and 255–56; and Wong's 'Esoteric Deity Cults,' in *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 184–87.

[184] Keyworth, 'Avalokiteśvara,' 526–27; also see Wong, 'Early Transmission of Esoteric Images,' 1713; and Stevens, 'Images of Sinicized Vedic Deities on Chinese Altars,' 63–64. In this wider argument that seeks to link Cundī to the Hindu goddess Durgā and the Navarātri festival, it may be instructive to observe that there are a number of common denominators between the mudrās (powerful figures and gestures made with hands and fingers) used in esoteric Buddhism and those employed in Hinduism. See Chou, 'Tantrism in China,' 253 fn. 30.

Buddhas", was established in China.'[185] With significant implications for this study, another scholar refers to Cundī as 'a feminine Kannon form whose name possibly was an alternate form of the Shivite goddess Durga.'[186]

During Wu Zhao's regency, in 685 or 686, Divākara wrote the earliest known version of the Cundī *dhāraṇī*, a 'mystical incantation' reputedly of the goddess's own utterance designed to be recited in concert with visualization, with 'ritual/contemplative communion with the image of Cundī, that promised "both ultimate transcendence and manifold control of the world".'[187] This was a fruitful alliance: the grand dowager regent offered her sponsorship and support; in turn, the Indian Buddhist monk invoked the goddess Cundī to protect the state that she ruled.

While working at Weiguo Western Monastery (Xi Weiguo si 西魏國寺), Divākara translated several one-*juan dhāraṇī sūtra*s bearing the Cundī's name in 686.[188] In one, the *Saptakoṭibuddhamātṛ Cundī*

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[185] Tay, 'Kuan-yin,' 152.

[186] MacWilliams, '"Reizo" Myths of the Saikoku Kannon Pilgrimage,' 40, seemingly c.f. Iwamoto, *Bukkyō no denshō to shinkō*, 159–89. There are other different characterizations of Cundī's origin.

In his study of this 'unheralded' and new Buddhist goddess Cundī, Robert Gimello describes her as a complex and 'mysterious' deity who has 'no stories told about her; no accounts...given of her history...no particular doctrinal significance.' While the faithful might invoke Cundī with *dhāraṇī* recitations or vividly render her in a painting, she curiously lacked any clear historical, geographical, or cosmological back-story. Existing beyond the orbit of orthodox Buddhism, she was the 'object of special or discrete veneration, the central focus of her own self-contained and self-sufficient cult' ('Icon and Incantation,' 225–26).

[187] Gimello, 'Icon and Incantation,' 226 and 247 fn. 3. The date comes from McBride, 'Popular Esoteric Deities and the Spread of their Cults,' 219.

[188] There were Weiguo Monasteries in Luoyang, Chang'an and Taiyuan. See Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 111–13 and 171–73. Since the Dong Weiguosi 東魏國寺 was in Luoyang, it seems likely that the Weiguo Western Monastery where Divākara engaged in this project was in Chang'an. For more on Divākara's importance as a Buddhist propagandist, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 50 and 16–67.

dhāraṇī sūtra, she is the Buddhist mother-goddess of countless millions (seven *koṭī*, 70 million) enlightened bodhisattvas (Ch. Qijuzhi fomu 七俱胝佛母; Skt. Saptakoṭi Buddhabhagavatī). By reciting the *dhāraṇī*, one can develop a karmic connection with Cundī. The *sūtra* promises that one who recites it repeatedly could slough off evil karma and baleful influences, and, under the protection of benevolent Buddhas and bodhisattvas, could avoid harm, illness, and malevolent influences. For the state it promised to help end floods, droughts, epidemics and other disasters.[189]

Curiously, Cundī is described in the *dhāraṇī* that Divākara composed as having eighteen arms—two sets of nine—two nines (we will revisit the numerical significance of this configuration of arms in 2.7).[190] This eighteen-armed form of the goddess is called Mahacundī (Da Zhunti 大準提), Great Cundī. Her eighteen arms—described in the text—symbolize the eighteen *āveṇikadharmas*—characteristics exclusive to Buddhas like transcendent generosity and wisdom, and the capacity to teach the Buddhist law ceaselessly to all creatures.[191] The arms of the esoteric bodhisattva hold various items geared to help with the salvation of mankind.[192] *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism* remarks that 'the *dhāraṇī* attributed to Cundī is said to have infinite power because it is in continuous recitation by myriads of buddhas; hence, an adept who participates in this ongoing recitation will accrue manifold benefits and purify himself from unwholesome actions.'[193]

Divākara played a key role in the larger enterprise in esoteric Buddhism that sought to reimagine and repurpose Hindu goddesses of war in the late seventh century, fitting these divinities into the Buddhist pantheon and tailoring them to the ideological and needs of a Chinese sovereign, Wu Zhao. While the connection needs further

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[189] *Foshuo Qijuzhi Fomu xin da Zhunti tuoluoni jing*, *T* no. 1077, 20:185a10–186b3.

[190] Buswell & Lopez, 'Cundī,' 204.

[191] Gimello, 'Icon and Incantation,' 247.

[192] Fowler, 'Travels of the Daihōonji Six Kannon Sculptures,' 190.

[193] Buswell & Lopez, 'Cundī,' 204.

and more systemic investigation, the correspondence between the Indian monk's purposeful translation of a series of Buddhist spells and chants about an emergent esoteric Buddhist goddess and the grand dowager's rise was no mere coincidence.

2.4. The Presence of Mārīcī in Wu Zhao's Era

Emerging from an amalgamation of Indic warrior deities including Caṇḍī, the esoteric Buddhist war goddess Mārīcī (Ch. Molizhi tian/ Jp. Marishiten 摩利支天) came to be known in medieval China for her apotropaic powers and for her association with sunrays and light.[194] 'In the form of Mārīcī,' Miranda Shaw explains, 'this light is apotheosized as a dynamic, all-conquering warrioress who protects and liberates.'[195] In a broader study of esoteric Buddhism in East Asia, Henrick Sørensen places Mārīcī among the 'Assimilated Hindu Deities' in his chapter on 'Central Divinities in the Esoteric Buddhist Pantheon in China,' describing the 'Goddess of War' as appearing during the Tang 'in two major forms: as a standing, multi-armed martial form, and as a seated, peaceful form holding a fan.'[196]

Molizhi tian started appearing in Chinese texts in the sixth century, marking the commencement of what David Hall calls the initial phase of the Mārīcī cult in East Asia from the Liang dynasty (502–557) through the early Tang. During this time, basic components of the Mārīcī cult were introduced, anticipating the mid-Tang (eighth

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[194] Hall, *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 2–4. Other scholars like Doré (*Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, vol. VII, 303–11); Soothill & Hodous (*A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, 435), and Irwin ('Divinity and Salvation,' 64) casually conflate Cundī and Marīcī. Under his title to a chapter, 'Marichi, Goddess of the Dawn,' Doré (303) uses the Wade-Giles subtitle 'Chun-t'i 準提.' In his article, 'Images of Sinicized Vedic Deities on Chinese Altars,' Stevens characterizes Mārīcī as 'the offspring of Brahma, Candi, or Cundi,' acknowledging that 'legends of Maritchi and Cundi produc[e] an inextricably involved and complex picture' (63).

[195] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 210.

[196] Sørensen, 'Central Divinities in the Esoteric Buddhist Pantheon in China,' 97.

cent.) 'assimilation phase,' when her maturing cult spawned a greater number of texts and the deity was fully incorporated into Chinese Buddhism.[197] Appearing in the waning stages of the Liang dynasty in southern China, the *Kongquewang zhou jing* 孔雀王咒經 [Scripture of the Spell of the Peacock King] marked the first textual evidence of the assimilation of the goddess into the Chinese cultural sphere, mentioning Mārīcī/Molizhi tian in passing as 'radiant' (*guangming* 光明).[198] In many later images, she holds aloft the sun and moon in the uppermost of her many pairs of arms.[199]

Also in the Liang, the first rendition of the *Mārīcī dhāraṇī sūtra* contains an account of the Buddha illuminating merits of the goddess (*tiannü* 天女) Molizhi tian for a congregation of 1250 monks and nuns: Molizhi tian is one who is invisible, who cannot be deceived, who can neither be seized nor bound, who can protect followers from disease and illness, and who 'always preceded the sun and moon' 常行日月前. The Buddha informs the congregation that believers who chant this spell will not only receive protection from the goddess, but can even acquire her supernatural abilities themselves.[200]

A dhāraṇī master, an enthusiastic propagator, and an early systematizer of esoteric Buddhism, Central Asian monk Atiṭūka (Adiquduo 阿地瞿多) arrived in Chang'an in 652,[201] the same year that Tang emperor Gaozong recalled Wu Zhao from a Buddhist convent to enter the palace as a second-ranked concubine, a Lady of

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197 Hall, *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 34. Hall also identifies a 'late phase' in the Song, but that is outside the parameters of this chapter.

198 *Kongquewang zhou jing*, *T* no. 984, 10:451b10 and 452c8.

199 Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, 303.

200 *Foshuo Molizhi tian tuoluoni zhou jing*, *T* no. 1256, 21:261c2–4. The translator of this one-*juan* incantation is unknown. Hall, *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 40. Shaw, in *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, remarks that she is sometimes described as 'holding the sun and moon' (213).

201 Orzech, 'Esoteric Buddhism in the Tang,' 268. Orzech provides a sub-section, 'Atiṭūka,' which contains both biographical information on the monk and an account of his seminal works.

Luminous Deportment (*zhaoyi* 昭儀).[202] In 654, this pioneer in the unification and evolution of esoteric Buddhism translated the next widely-circulated rendition of the *Mārīcī dhāraṇī sūtra*, helping spur the rapid development and spread of esoteric Buddhism in early Tang China. In this text, the Buddha—speaking to a range of arhats, bodhisattvas, devas, and nāgas—holds forth on the astounding powers of Mārīcī (mostly the same as the Liang-era text, but including an expanded range of the protections that the goddess has the capacity to offer), and adds sections on fashioning images of the goddess and performing invocational rituals that offer the supernatural abilities of the goddess to the chanter. Many of these powers—such as the abilities to confound and delude enemies or to succor the devotee against enemy military commanders—are, David Hall argues, 'primarily aimed at combative use.'[203] Associated with celestial bodies and brilliant light, she could blind opponents and become invisible or help devotees remain hidden,[204] tremendously useful qualities that promised to bedazzle and confound opponents in battle.

The *sūtra* also contains the description of a consecration (Skt. *abhiṣeka*; Ch. *guanding* 灌頂) ritual where the devotee has their head anointed, crowned, thereby becoming initiated and attaining the wondrous powers Mārīcī offers. The rite was performed on a platform that is 'actually a mandala,' representing 'a royal city or palace

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[202] *ZZTJ* 199.6284; *JTS* 6.115. After Taizong's death, Wu Zhao became a Buddhist nun at Ganye Convent 感業寺. It is difficult to determine exactly when Wu Zhao was recalled brought back into the imperial palace as a second-ranked concubine, a Lady of Luminous Deportment. However, given that Wu Zhao bore Li Hong in late 652, Gaozong must have recalled her in late 651 or early 652 (or, possibly, she gave birth to the future Crown Prince in the convent. See Wang & Zhao, *Wu Zetian pingzhuan*, 28–31.

[203] Hall, *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 34 and 52–54. For Akiṭūka's translation, see *Foshuo Molizhi tian jing*, part of the larger *Tuoluoni jijing* 陀羅尼集經 [Scripture of Collected Dhāraṇī; Skt. *Dhāraṇīsaṃgraha*], *T* no. 901, vol. 18. The better part of Hall's fourth chapter, 'The Warrior Goddess in China,' 51–75, provides a partial translation and explanation of the *Foshuo Molizhi tian jing*.

[204] Orzech, 'Esoteric Buddhism in the Song,' 429.

constructed to symbolize the universe rotating around the central axis, the throne of the king,' which itself was 'identified with the Pole Star.' Her image situated at the *maṇḍala*'s center, Mārīcī is associated with the cakravartin; and the devotee/disciple/ruler performing the rite effectively becomes 'consubstantiated with the Tathāgatas,' becoming a cakravartin in her or his own right.[205]

In a ceremonial manual of eighth century Buddhist esoteric master from Samarkand Amoghavajra (Ch. Bukong 不空, 705–74)—the *Molizhi tian yigui* 摩利支天儀軌 [Ritual Guide of Mārīcī]—Mārīcī uses her powers of deception and protection to save the sun god, Sūrya, and the moon god, Candra, from the demon Rāhu.[206] Mārīcī appears in this text as 'Awesome Radiance' (Ch. Weiguang 威

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[205] Hall, *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 64–65; *Foshuo Molizhi tian jing*, *T* no. 901, 18:871a1–b8. Hall draws upon the conceptual work on *maṇḍalas* in Tucci, *Theory and Practice of the Mandala*, 24–25.

A little more than half a century after Wu Zhao's death, shortly after the Tang emperor Daizong 代宗 (r. 762–79) took the throne, the Buddhist esoteric master Amoghavajra (Ch. Bukong 不空, 705–74) consecrated the sovereign as a cakravartin in an *abhiṣeka* ceremony after presenting him with a white sandalwood image of Mārīcī and a Mārīcī *dhāraṇī* as part of such a consecration ritual. See *Zhenyuan xinding Shijiao mulu* 貞元新定釋教目錄, *T* no. 2157, vol. 55; *Daizong chao zeng sikong Dabianzheng Guangzhi sanzang heshang biaozhi ji*, *T* no. 2120, vol. 52. For more on this consecration, see also Goble, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism*, 162–64; and Weinstein, *Buddhism under the T'ang*, 77. Daizong's *abhiṣeka* did not occur on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month; rather, it seems to have been performed on the fifteenth day of the twelfth lunar month, which accords with the ceremonial instructions in Akiṭūka's *Foshuo Molizhi tian jing*.

Hall (*The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 79–84) argues that there is abundant evidence of the Mārīcī cult 'being assimilated and standardized in eighth century China,' a time when high-profile esoteric masters like Amoghajavra, Yixing, Vajrabodhi, and Śubhakarasimḥa exerted a significant influence on Xuanzong's court; Amoghavajra performed a similar consecration rite for Xuanzong, but there is no indication that Mārīcī was the deity invoked.

[206] Hall, *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 85.

光; Skt. Tejaḥ).[207] Instructions are provided for fashioning an image of Mārīcī: she should appear holding a 'heavenly fan' (*tianshan* 天扇) with 'a Western nations-style *svastika* in the middle' 於扇當中作西國卍字, a character like the *sauvastika* found on the Buddha's chest. Within each of the four quadrants of the *svastika*, there is a sun-shape. Above the heavenly fan, there is a symbol of blazing radiance (*yanguang* 焰光).[208] Iconographically, this crowned and bejeweled female divinity was often depicted seated on a lotus, bearing a fan with a *svastika* sign.[209]

Though not necessarily in connection with Mārīcī, Wu Zhao is curiously connected with the Indic *sauvastika*. Widely used among Buddhist clergy in early and medieval China, the symbol had existed for centuries and was well known in India and Central Asia. There is some indication that during Wu Zhao's reign, among the new characters she devised, the Indic *sauvastika* 卍 replaced the character for 'ten thousand'/'myriad' (*wan* 萬/万).[210] In the Buddhist monk Huiyuan's 慧苑/惠苑 (673–743) *Da Fang Huayanjing yinyi* 大方廣佛華嚴經音義 [Explication and Magnification of the *Huayan jing*], it is recorded that, 'In the second year of Changshou 長壽 (Protracted Longevity) era (693) of the Great Zhou, the Sovereign mandated that *wan* 卍 be inscribed on the Axis of the Sky (Tianshu 天樞). It was pronounced *wan* 萬 and meant the accumulation of auspiciousness and the myriad virtues' (大周長壽二年，主上權制此文，著於天樞音之爲萬。謂吉祥萬徳之所集也).[211] A Tokugawa-era Japanese source,

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[207] Ibid., 53.

[208] *Foshuo Molizhi tian jing*, *T* no. 901, 18:870b11–14; Hall, trans., *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 59.

[209] Chaudhuri, *Hindu Gods and Goddesses in Japan*, 116–17.

[210] Rothschild, 'Rhetoric, Ritual, and Support Constituencies,' 97. For more on Wu Zhao's 'new characters' (*xinzi* 新字), see Kuranaka, *Sokuten monji no kenkyū*; Rothschild, 'Drawing Antiquity in Her Own Image,' 117–70; Shi, 'Wu Zetian zao zi zhi ebian,' 58–62; Dong and Wang, 'Tang Wuhou gaizi kao,' 447–76; and Tokiwa, *Bushu shinji no ichi kenkyū*.

[211] *Fanyi mingyi ji*, *T* no. 2131, 54:1147a4–6. This Song-era text cites Huiyuan's *Da Fangguangfo Huayanjing yinyi*. Curiously, this passage does not appear

Amano Sadakage's 天野信景 (1663–1733) *Shiojiri* 塩尻 [Salt Fields] (1733), also contains a reference to a *sauvastika* sign drawn on the chest of Wu Zhao.[212]

Both Mārīcī's rising presence and her connection to cakravartin emperorship, a form of sovereignty that proved integral to Wu Zhao's eventual accession and reign (see below), indicate that this radiant warrior goddess, riding the currents of heroic Śāktism, played a part in the Chinese woman emperor's ascendancy.

2.4a. Mārīcī's Connection to the Ninth Day of the Ninth Lunar Month

Soon after the Tang—perhaps earlier, David Hall concedes—Mārīcī became a popular folk cult figure assuming the guise of the Daoist Dipper Mother (Doumu 斗母), a goddess associated with the Pole Star. For the appearance of Mārīcī, Daoists adopted the image of Indic warrior goddess Caṇḍī, which, as we have seen, may well have been the alternative name of Cundī/Zhunti in China.[213] The early Ming-era *Doumu jing* 斗母經 [Scripture of the Dipper Mother] de-

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in the transmitted versions of *Da Fang Huayanjing yinyi*. There is, however, a similar passage in the monk Zixuan's 子璿 (965–1038) *Shoulengyan yishu zhujing* 首楞嚴義疏注經 [Annotated Meaning of the Comentary on the Pseudo-*Śuraṅgama sūtra*], *T* no. 1799, 39:841a17–19.

For primary sources on the construction of the Axis of the Sky, see *JTS* 6.124 and 89.2902; *XTS* 4.95; *ZZTJ* 205.6496 and 205.6502–03; *TPGJ* 240.1850 and 236.1816. For secondary sources, see Rothschild, 'Severing Grandma's Phallus,' 51–72; Forte, *Mingtang*, 233–43; Guo, 'Da Zhou Wanguo songde tianshu kaoshi,' 73–77; Zhao, 'Zhuchi jianzao Tianshu de waifan renwu yu 'Zilai shi''; Zhang, 'Wu-Zhou Wanguo tianshu yu Xiyu wenming,' 44–45; and Rothschild, 'The Koguryan Connection,' 199–234.

212 Chaudhuri, *Hindu Gods and Goddesses in Japan*, 118.

213 Hall, *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 104 and 108. For accounts of the Daoist-ization of Mārīcī, see Kohn & Despeux, *Women in Daoism*, 64–82; Capitanio, 'Esoteric Buddhist Elements in Daoist Ritual Manuals,' 533; and Predagio, 'Doumu,' 382–83.

scribes the goddess as 'the Daoist counterpart of the Indian goddess and Tantric bodhisattva Marīcī.'[214]

The mid-Warring States era Daoist sage Pheasant Cap Master (Heguan zi 鶡冠子) intimates that the Nine Sovereigns (*Jiuhuang* 九皇), sagely and perfect Daoist rulers, are connected to the nine stars of the Dipper, the seven visible stars of Ursa Major that orbit around the North Pole, and two additional invisible stars.[215] All are sons of an archaic goddess, the Dipper Mother,[216] who, according to Livia Kohn, as 'mother of nine sons, rulers of the central constellation of the Dipper…represents the germinal, creative power behind one of the most central Daoist constellations, the Northern Dipper, ruler of fates and central orderer of the universe.'[217] The Nine Sovereigns are sometimes seen only as manifestations of the powerful Dipper Mother; collectively cosmic mother and offspring strive to ensure peace, harmony, and blessings on earth. She is often depicted with eighteen arms, two for each of the nine sons.[218]

The ten-day Festival of the Nine Sovereigns begins on the evening of the final day of the eighth month of the lunar calendar and culminates on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month. Cheu Hock Tong

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[214] Kohn & Despeux, *Women in Daoism*, 67.

[215] Wells, *The Pheasant Cap Master and the End of History*, 10, 68, and 156.

[216] Heinze, 'The Nine Imperial Gods in Singapore,' 151 and 154.

[217] Kohn & Despeux, *Women in Daoism*, 67 and 78. Though the Dipper Mother appears in Daoist literature only from the Yuan forward, she has many earlier Daoist and Buddhist incarnations. There is a Ming-era *Doumu jing* 斗母經 [Scripture of the Dipper Mother], 'extant in the Daoist canon of 1445 and in a manuscript dated to 1439.' See also Kohn, 'Doumu,' 149–51.

[218] Tong, 'An Analysis of the Nine Emperor Gods Spirit-medium Cult in Malaysia,' 197. Cheu presents a number of different origins and regional variations for the festival, some extending back as far as the Eastern Han dynasty. The current festival remains alive primarily in overseas Chinese populations in southeast Asia. His research is based extensive fieldwork done at Malaysian temple fairs. Also see Cheu, 'The Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in Malaysia,' 49–72. For more on the contemporary Festival of the Nine Emperor Gods in China and Southeast Asia, see DeBernardi, 'Commodifying Blessings,' 49–67.

describes the focal figure of worship in the following manner:

> …seated on a lotus in the same posture as that adopted by the Buddha and Guanyin… Doumu is conceived of as the Goddess of Loving Kindness and Mercy. She helps Heaven maintain the universe in equilibrium, provides for human sustenance, and judges human deeds and misdeeds. She controls life and death and bestows upon humans rank and status, luck and fortune, prosperity and happiness, health and long life. Doumu's nine pairs of arms, which represent the Nine Emperor Gods, extend in every direction of the compass to meet human needs and offer solace and comfort during times of suffering.[219]

Although this festival reached its maturity much later, the presence of Mārīcī and the celebratory date of the Double Ninth indicates that its origins may stem from Wu Zhao's era.

2.5. The *Harivaṃśa* Hymn in a Buddhist *Sūtra* during Wu Zhao's Reign

The *Harivaṃśa*, a text from the third or fourth century generally thought of as an appendix to the *Mahābhārata*, contains a hymn to a female divinity who intervenes to save Kṛṣṇa's life: Vindhyavāsinī (lit: she who dwells in in the Vindhya Mountains), a regional deity who 'evolve[d] into the great Goddess in warrior aspect popularly called Durgā.'[220] Coburn calls both the hymns of praise to Durgā in the *Mahābhārata* and this hymn 'anterior versions,' 'preliminary stages in the crystallization process' of the goddess that reached its mature expression in the *Devīmāhātmya*.[221] This hymn—which contains

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[219] Ibid., 62–63.

[220] Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Praises to a Goddess*, 1. For correspondences between the 'Durga Stotra,' mentioned above, and the hymn in the *Harivaṃśa*, see pp. 7–8 fn. 19. For more on the dating of this text, see Sarkar, *Heroic Shāktism*, 45 and 111–12 fn. 30.

[221] Coburn, *Crystallization of the Goddess Tradition*, 45 and 83.

one of the earlier references to the Navarātri—made its way to Wu Zhao's court in the guise of a Buddhist *sūtra*.[222]

A variation of this *Harivaṃśa* hymn addressed to Durgā appears in the Buddhist monk Yijing's Chinese translation of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, a text presented to Wu Zhao in 703. As has been noted above, Yijing was one of Wu Zhao's pivotal Buddhist translators.[223] This *sūtra* for the protection of the state invokes the warrior goddess, the divine embodiment of victory and a fierce defender of the dharma.[224] The appearance of Hindu divinities in Buddhist *sūtras*

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[222] Ludvik (*Recontextualizing the Praises of a Goddess*, 3–8) argues that the larger part of the *Harivaṃśa* hymn translated into Chinese and included in the Buddhist sūtra comes from a 'later addition' inserted to amplify the praise of the goddess, though one made prior to 695, the 'Āryā stava.'

[223] Also see Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 92. Wong's list of 12 notable translators who worked extensively with Wu Zhao includes Yijing; curiously, he is the only Chinese monk among them.

[224] Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Praises of a Goddess,* 1–3. For Ludvik's side-by-side comparative annotated translations of both Yijing's Chinese translation of the *Harivaṃśa* hymn and the Sanskrit version on which it was based, see Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Praises of a Goddess*, 17–70; for another translation, see Coburn, *Crystallization of the Goddess Tradition*, 279–81. For Yijing's 10-*juan Jinguangming zuishengwang jing* 金光明最勝王經 [Golden Light Sūtra; Skt. *Suvarṇabhāsottoma sūtra*], see *T* no. 665, vol. 16. For more on the the sūtra's role in protecting and maintaining peace for a state (in Nara Japan), also see Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 112–14.

In the original context the hymn, a praise of Durgā is uttered by Viṣṇu the Sustainer in connection with the birth of Kṛṣṇa (see Ludvik, '*Harivaṃśa* Hymn,' 708–09). Yijing's version has 22 stanzas rather than the 28 in the original Sanskrit version. The cultural context of Yijing's hymn is hard to pin down. As Ludvik frames it, 'We have, then, a hymn extolling Nīdra-Vindhyavāsinī [an untamed goddess dwelling in the Vindhya mountains who evolves into the warrior goddess Durgā], used in the sūtra context to invoke Sarasvatī, and rendered into Chinese to praise Biancai tiannü, whose name points to Sarasvatī's function and whose weapon-bearing form is modelled on the warrior goddess [Durgā] into whom Vindhyavāsinī has by then evolved' (Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Praises*,

is not uncommon: to cite one example contemporary to Yijing's *Golden Light Sūtra* in the final years of Wu Zhao's reign, in the *Great Dhāraṇī of Immaculately Pure Golden Light*, composed by Tokharian monk Mitraśānta (Ch. Mituoshan 彌陀山; fl. 690–704) and Sogdian Fazang 法藏 (643–712), featured 'many Indian gods, both older Vedic and newer Hindu ones' including 'heavenly gods Śakra (Indra) and Brahmā, Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) and Maheśvara (Śiva).'[225]

Ludvik identifies the hymn in Yijing's *Golden Light Sūtra* as a translation of the Sanskrit *Āryā stava* ('a praise of she who is noble'), a pivotal text in Durgā's emergence as a great devī, a warrior goddess nonpareil.[226] The primary goddess addressed in the hymn is not the

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2; the author has added brackets).

A deified personification of a great river, Sarasvatī in Vedic texts is, like Durgā, a slayer of a demon of chaos. Evolving from a primitive river deity to a goddess of learning, Sarasvatī became revered for her associations with poetry, speech, music, and culture. See Kinsley, *Hindu Goddesses*, 11 and 55. In adapting the hymn to Chinese culture, Yijing likely found her an excellent choice—trying to fashion a hybrid devī who possessing both the civil (*wen* 文) aspect of Sarasvatī while retaining the martial (*wu* 武) aspect of Durgā.

[225] McBride, 'Practical Buddhist Thaumaturgy,' 40 and 45, referencing the *Wugou Jingguang da tuoluoni jing* 無垢淨光大陀羅尼經, *T* no. 1024, vol. 19. Mitraśānta likely worked with brilliant Sogdian ideologue-thaumaturge Fazang and Khotanese Śikṣānanda to complete this work in 704 or 705; Chen, '*Śarīra* and Scepter,' 111–12. Timothy Barrett has studied this text extensively, with special attention to its role in the development of printing technology. He shows that the text built on the earlier 'Indian practice of combining text and stupa' to create mass produced stand-in for Buddhist relics. This gave these texts a talismanic force. See Barrett, *The Woman Who Discovered Printing*, and '*Stūpa*, *Sūtra*, and *Śarīra* in China, c. 656–706 CE.'

[226] Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Goddess*, 9–12. The *Āryā stava* that Yijing translates may well be a 'later insertion' rather than an integral part of the original *Harivaṃśa*, a textual addition that 'belongs to a period that is prior to 695, the date of Yijing's return from India and Southeast Asia with the Sanskrit manuscript of the *Golden Light Sūtra* on which his translation of 703 is based' (3–4). For further discussion of the problematic dating of the hymn and the evolution

indomitable warrior goddess Durgā, but Sarasvatī, known in Tang China as the Devī of Eloquence (*Biancai tiannü* 辯才天女), a Hindu devī who developed into a Buddhist goddess. Ludvik demonstrates that the emphasis in the hymn of this sūtra for the protection of the state is not on Sarasvatī's eloquence, but on her Durgā-esque 'warrior-like nature and countenance.' Therefore, she concludes that the 'eight-armed, weapon-bearing' goddess invoked in the *Golden Light Sūtra*, having no analogous antecedent form as Sarasvatī in India, 'is actually the battle goddess Durgā.'[227] Concurring with Ludvik, Miranda Shaw has also remarked on Sarasvatī's connection to Durgā and her appearance in the hymn in this sūtra:

> The association between the divine protectress and the muse, on the surface a puzzling one, is traceable to Indic connections between Sarasvatī and Durgā, a Hindu warrior goddess. In Hindu mythology Sarasvatī is sometimes cast as the knowledge aspect or speech aspect of battle queen Durgā. In the Buddhist context, too, Sarasvatī is linked with Durgā in the *Golden Radiance Scripture*.... its descriptions of Sarasvatī draws on liturgies and iconic conceptions of Durgā in her buffalo demon-slaying mode.[228]

This Sarasvatī, an eight-armed warrior goddess rather than a riparian goddess of eloquence, can be understood as a representation of Durgā. Elsewhere in the sūtra, Durgā appears, or is rendered, as the

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of the 'tribal mountain goddess' Vindhyavāsinī into Durgā, the warrior goddess at the center of the Hindu pantheon, see *Recontextualizing the Goddess*, 11–12.

[227] Ludvik, 'La Benzaiten à Huit Bras,' 293 and 295. Ludvik argues that, influenced by Yijing's version of the *Golden Light Sūtra*, the esoteric Buddhist goddess Benzaiten/Ch. Biancaitian 辯才天 (Skt. Sarasvatī) in late Nara and Heian Japan is, much like her Chinese incarnation, actually Durgā in disguise.

[228] Shaw, *Buddhist Goddesses of India*, 240–41. Shaw remarks at how easily and readily Sarasvatī was transferred from the pantheon of Hindu devīs to the ranks of Buddhist goddesses: 'Sarasvatī is the only Hindu goddess adopted into the Mahayana pantheon without a change of name or significant alteration of divine personae' (237).

Brave Fierce One (Yongmeng 勇猛); in context, this might also be understood as a reference to Caṇḍī, widely known as 'Fierce One.'[229]

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[229] For Ludvik's translation of this stanza and her annotations, see her *Recontextualizing the Goddess*, 19 and 22–28 and '*Harivaṃśa* Hymn,' 707–08 and 714–16; cf. *T* no. 665, 16:437a6–b20. The Sanskrit version of the hymn expressly mentions 'Durgā the brave, of great energy.' Ludvik renders the Chinese translation of that passage *yongmeng chang xing dajingjin* 勇猛常行大精進 as 'brave fierce (one), you constantly practice great energy' (715) or 'Brave-fierce constantly-going (one) of great energy' (2006, 19). She furnishes a detailed explanation speculating on how Yijing may have intended his translation to be understood:

> The fourth *pāda* [of the Sanskrit version] calls the goddess Durgā, qualifies her as brave, and mentions her great *tapas*. It is quite possible that Yijing had the same reading as the above Sanskrit (*durgā vīrā mahātapāḥ*) and that he may have rendered an exact Chinese translation: *yong meng* 勇猛 'brave-fierce' for *durgā virā* (or rather *virā durgā*) and *da jingjin* 大精進 'great energy,' literally 'great energy-progress,' for *mahātapāḥ*, with the intervening *changxing* 常行 'constantly practice' to further explain *mahātapāḥ* and to fill in the required number of characters. Yongmeng 勇猛 taken together means 'brave' and might lead one to think that if '*Durgā/durgā*' did in fact appear in Yijing's manuscript, it was left untranslated, perhaps under the constraints of the seven-character verse or because Yijing chose not to include her name in his Chinese rendering. If the characters are read separately, however, *yong* 勇 as 'brave' and *meng* 猛 as 'fierce,' the second character *meng* 猛 might have been intended as a translation of Durgā: literally, *durga* means 'difficult to access' and can refer to a place like wilderness, where the fierce goddess Durgā dwells, and of which she might be conceived as a personification (716).

In *Recontextualizing the Praises of a Goddess*, Ludvik notes that a 'rendering of Durgā's name through the binomial expression Yongmeng (for 'brave Durgā') does not appear in Buddhist dictionaries, or, it would seem, in the Buddhist canon' (24). Despite this ambiguity, because of the original Sanskrit—and because both Sarasvatī and Durgā can be understood as different incarnations of the Devī, the Goddess—I have translated it as Durgā. This term appears in *T* no. 665, 16:437a9.

It is not surprising that there is some confusion as to the precise name or iden-

In a number of ways, the goddess in Yijing's distinctive Chinese variation of the *Harivaṃśa* hymn differs from Durgā in the Sanskrit original. In the original, the reciter invokes the goddess for personal protection from sins; in Yijing's version, the protection of the goddess extends to all. In the Sanskrit, Durgā is a protective deity of seafarers; in the Chinese version, the goddess is recast as one capable of mastering all of the dragon deities and yakṣas. Whereas in the Sanskrit version she is the personification of night and fond of quarrel, in Yijing's translation she has a compassionate heart, yet is the 'most victorious, unsurpassable Devī' (*tiannü zuisheng wuguo zhe* 天女最勝無過者).[230]

Ludvik remarks that 'Yijing and his collaborators were translators and their main duty was to give the best possible rendering, both in terms of fidelity and readability, for their Chinese audience.'[231] While readability and an effort to be faithful to the Sanskrit original may have been important to the translators, Yijing and the other Buddhist monks were also propagandists; members of Yijing's team like Faming 法明 (fl. 690) and Degan 德感 (659?–704?) charged with 'verifying the meaning' of the hymn[232] were the self-same rhetorical masters who had worked with Wu Zhao on the *Commentary of the Great Cloud Sūtra*, a pivotal part of the campaign leading to her enthronement as emperor in 690 (see below). Many Buddhist translators actively sought patronage of rulers to help to spread their faith. The above-mentioned differences between Chinese and Sanskrit were not simply errors in translation or subtle changes; Yijing was part of a translation bureau adept at deliberately customizing, crafting, tailoring sūtras in keeping with Wu Zhao's vision of sovereignty.

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tity of the goddess, the Devī. In some regions, Durgā is not the exclusive focus of the Navarātri. In Tamil, for instance, Durgā, Lakṣmī, and Sarasvatī are all worshipped in successive three-night blocks. See Wilson, 'Kolus, Caste, and Class,' 241. Kinsley remarks that the worship of Lakṣmī during the Navarātri is significant due to Lakṣmī's association with agriculture (*Hindu Goddesses*, 33).

230 Ludvik, trans., '*Harivaṃśa* Hymn,' 723; *T* no. 665, 16:437a23.

231 Ibid., 713. Information already given in fn.116.

232 Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Goddess*, 14.

Like Durgā in the seventh stanza of the Sanskrit original, the goddess in the eighth stanza of Yijing's version of the *Harivaṃśa* hymn 'carries a sun and moon banner' (*chi riyue qi* 持日月旗).[233] She is a standard bearer, flourishing a banner of these celestial bodies. In the seventeenth stanza of Yijing's version, the Devī is praised as being 'like a great, ever all-illuminating light' (如大燈明常普照).[234] Notably, both 'sun' (*ri* 日) and 'moon' (*yue* 月) are part of Wu Zhao's chosen designation Zhao 曌, assumed in 689 shortly before taking the throne.[235] Lunisolar radiance was built into her name. It has been established in Part I that two of the three Indic warrior goddesses were connected to brilliant light. In the *Devīmāhātmya*, when Durgā was invested with power of the other gods, she was shaped from the divine *teja*s (brilliant light) of the gods into the radiant form of a woman, an unconquerable warrior ablaze with light. Radiant, preceded by the sun and moon, Mārīcī was closely associated with sunrays and light.

In this same seventh stanza it is recorded that the ninth day of the dark fortnight (*heiyue jiuri* 黑月九日) is a day designated for worshipping the goddess. Ludvik mentions that Sanskrit 'variant readings include switches among bright and dark fortnights.' Indeed, she contends that some of these Sanskrit variants 'accord with the great Durgā Pūjā (Navarātra, "nine nights") performed during the first nine lunar days in the bright fortnight in the month of Āśvin (September–October) and culminating on the ninth.'[236] In addition,

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233 Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Goddess*, 40; *T*. no. 665, 16:437a20.

234 Ibid, 62; *T* no. 665, 16:437b9.

235 *XTS* 76.3481.

236 Ludvik, trans., '*Harivaṃśa* Hymn,' 722; *idem, Recontextualizing the Goddess*, 41–42. While Yijing's Chinese version that places the days to worship the goddess in the dark fortnight, the waning moon, which would not correspond with the Navarātri, Ludvik ('*Harivaṃśa* Hymn,' 722, fn. 71) suggests that this may be the result of 'a simple copyist error'—particularly given the ambiguity between bright and dark fortnights in the Sanskrit versions of the *Harivaṃśa* hymn.

Sarkar, in 'The Rite of Durgā in Medieval Bengal,' examines some of the historical and scriptural confusion surrounding the proper days for the Navarātri

Ludvik notes that in the Sanskrit version of this same stanza of the *Harivaṃśa* hymn, the ninth, 'is the birthday of the goddess, who is considered the ninth sibling after Kṛṣṇa the eighth child.'[237] Kṛṣṇa, the eighth manu/avatar of Viṣṇu, would make the goddess—and implicitly Wu Zhao, as her earthly counterpart—the ninth. In section 2.8 below, we will revisit the significance of the idea of Wu Zhao as the ninth.

2.6. *Commentary on the Meaning of the Prophecy about Divine August in the Great Cloud Sūtra*

Before we go further, it is vital to give further attention to a text mentioned in the previous sub-section, the *Dayun jing Shenhuang*[238] *shouji yishu* 大雲經神皇授記義疏 [Commentary on the Meaning of the Prophecy about Divine August in the *Great Cloud Sūtra*; hereafter *Commentary*]. This section owes a profound debt to Antonio Forte, who, in his brilliant and meticulous work *Political Propaganda and Ideology in Late Seventh Century China*, illustrated how the *Commentary* forwarded proofs that Wu Zhao was both a cakravartin (*zhuanlun wang* 轉輪王), a Buddhist universal wheel-turning monarch, and a 'bodhisattva who will manifest and receive a female body' (*xianshou nüshen pusa* 現受女身菩薩) in order to convert countless

and for Durgā pūjā (worship). The Brahmanical lunar calendar was broken into two *tithi* (lunar fortnights), a brightening *tithi* beginning on the new moon and a darkening *tithi* beginning with the full moon. In different places and times, Durgā pūjā and the Navarātri reached its crescendo on the Navamī, the ninth day of the bright/waxing cycle in Āśvina, while at other times it marked the ninth day of the dark/waning fortnight. Indeed, other days and even other months were used to venerate Durgā (350–51).

[237] Ludvik, *Recontextualizing the Goddess*, 41.

[238] Shenhuang is a reference to the abbreviated form of Wu Zhao's title Sage Mother, Divine August (*Shengmu shenhuang* 聖母神皇) at the time the *Commentary* was completed and promulgated. She held this title from 21 June 688 to 19 October 690, during the last few years in her tenure as grand dowager and the first three days of her emperorship.

beings. This work was a collaborative composition written by Wu Zhao's notorious monk-lover Xue Huaiyi 薛懷義 (d. 695) and nine orthodox Buddhist monks working at the Palace Chapel in Luoyang. It was circulated on the eve of Wu Zhao's accession to Emperor and her inauguration of the Zhou dynasty in 690. The *Commentary* was masterful propaganda chock full of prophecies indicating that she was the chosen one who had received the *vyākaraṇa* and who thus inevitably would take the throne as a bodhisattva in a female body and as cakravartin.[239]

The original *Mahāmegha sūtra* was translated into Chinese from an earlier Sanskrit version in the late fourth or early fifth century by Dharmakṣema (Tanwuchen 曇無讖, 385–433) or Zhu Fonian 竺佛念 (fl. late fourth–early fifth cent.), as *Dayun jing* 大雲經 [Great Cloud Sūtra]; by Wu Zhao's time it had become part of the Buddhist canon.[240] 'Great Cloud' was both the name of bodhisattva Mahāmegha, one of the great preachers who helped propagate the Buddhist faith, and a metaphor for the all-encompassing, far-reaching power of Buddhism and, implicitly, the power and dominion of the Buddhist sovereign.[241] The reason Wu Zhao and her Buddhist

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239 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, based on his brilliant and layered reading of Dunhuang document S.6502. For a thumbnail account of this text, see Vermeersch, 'On Justifying Buddhism's Place in the Body Politic,' 30. Vermeersch observes that in the Commentary one of the main thrusts was 'the all-out push to make the gold-wheel cakravartin the dominant mode of rulership' (30).

For a brief background on cakravartin kingship in India and its transmission to China, see Jülch, 'Introduction,' in *The Dharma Wheel in the Middle Kingdom*, 9–11.

240 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, chap. 1, appx. A has shown that there is ongoing confusion as to the translator of the *Great Cloud Sūtra* (*T* no. 387, vol. 12)—it might be either Dharmakṣema (Tanwuchen) or Zhu Fonian. Both translated the *sūtra* independently, but it is unclear whose version survived. From the late 7th century forward, Dharmakṣema is credited as the translator of the extant rendition of the *sūtra*. For a more focused study on Dharmakṣema, see Chen, 'Dharmakṣema (385–433),' 215–63.

241 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 48 and 321.

supporters were so powerfully drawn to this sūtra was simple: the fourth fascicle contains a conversation between the Buddha and the Devī of Pure Radiance, Jingguang tiannü 淨光天女 (Vimalaprabhā), a goddess who the Buddha presaged would descend to the mortal world, a bodhisattva in the body of a woman, as a ruler with great sovereignty and a great champion of the Buddhist faith.[242] According to the Buddha's pronouncement, this devī was the incarnation of a queen Hufa 護法, Protector of Buddhist Law, and she would be reborn in the future as another earth-bound queen, Zengzhang 增長.[243] In short, contained in the *Great Cloud Sūtra* there was a lineage of female Buddhist political ancestors who moved fluidly between earthly and divine realms, a lineage connected not by blood but by a canonical prophecy and shared ardent devotion.

Availing themselves of the opportunity that the consonance between the female emperor's ascendancy and the Buddha's prediction from the original *Great Cloud Sūtra*, Wu Zhao's Buddhist propagandists skillfully constructed a text substantiating clauses lifted from that original sūtra with fragments from other eclectic texts and miraculous events to form a catalogue of prophesies foretelling Wu Zhao's imminent emergence as a cakravartin, while identifying her as the prophesied incarnation of the Devī of Pure Radiance to whom the Buddha spoke. Her reign, the Buddha claimed, would be a perfect Buddhist era of greater peace without distress or disease in which all in the vast empire would willingly convert to the Buddhist faith.[244]

In several of subsequent sections, this chapter will argue that complementing and in addition to two cardinal purposes of the *Commentary*—to identify Wu Zhao as the prophesied bodhisattva in a female body and as a cakravartin—there are also a number of related elements contained in the text that support the related 'female warrior sovereign' prophecy and that are consonant with heroic Śāktism.

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242 Ibid., 342–43, c.f. *T* no. 387, 12:1095a5–10.

243 Ibid., 215.

244 Ibid., 342–43 and 348.

2.7. Amplifying the Power of Her Martial *Wu* Name

'Power Invested in the Wu Name,' a subchapter in my dissertation on the respective roles that language, ritual, and different constituencies played in undergirding the unique political authority of Wu Zhao, noted 'the repetitive presence of the martial (*wu* 武), her clan name, in building names and place names,' a rhetorical device utilized to create compounds 'announcing the success, emergence, and prominence of the Wu family in general and Wu Zhao in particular.'[245] This sub-section will examine how the woman emperor built up the potency of that 'martial Wu,' particularly during the critical years before her accession in 690, to help make manifest her unique status as a prophesied warrior-sovereign.

This strategy was utilized most prominently in the *Commentary*, a masterful piece of Buddhist propaganda written and circulated in the months immediately preceding her assumption of the throne. In the original *Great Cloud Sūtra*, written in the sixth century, the Buddha prophesies that this goddess will 'obtain great sovereignty' and 'in reality be a bodhisattva who will show and receive a female body in order to convert beings.'[246] Building on this earlier text, the *Commentary* musters a vast accumulation of evidence to verify Wu Zhao as a prophesied sage—both a cakravartin and bodhisattva in a female body. [247] Because of the passages about a 'female ruler' in the *sūtra*, Wu Zhao considered the text to be a 'sagely enigma' (*shengbie* 聖莂) and attached 'extreme importance' (*kuzhong* 酷重) to it.[248] In

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[245] Rothschild, 'Rhetoric, Ritual, and Support Constituencies,' 136–37. This is not a unique strategy of legitimation on Wu Zhao's part. For instance, on the eve of occupying the throne and establishing his short-lived Xin dynasty 新 (8–23 CE), regent Wang Mang 王莽 (45 BCE–23 CE) used similar auspicious compounds. On Wang Mang's behalf, a craftsman fashioned a bronze box with two slots that were respectively labelled 'Wang Rising' (*wangxing* 王興) and 'Wang Flourishing' (*wangsheng* 王盛) (*HS* 99.4095).

[246] Forte trans., *Commentary*, *Political Propaganda*, 262.

[247] *JTS* 199.5336. This poem is also included in *Silla Annals*, *gwon* 5, 162.

[248] *Song Gaoseng zhuan*, *T* no. 2061, 50:863a2–3, *juan* 24, 612, biography

the *Commentary*, time and again, her surname Wu is broken into the components 'stop' (*zhi* 止) and 'halberds' (*ge* 戈), meaning in tandem 'a cessation of weapons,' a rebus for an age of great peace and harmony.

The 'stop halberds' rebus has its origins in connection with the legendary King Wu 武王, one of the founders of the Zhou dynasty of remote antiquity. In the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 [Chronicles of Zuo], on the commentary given on the 12th year of Duke Xuan 宣公 (597 BCE), Pan Dang 潘黨 (active 590s BCE) suggested that the Chu 楚 ruler gather Jin 晉 corpses of the defeated into a mound to celebrate a military achievement. The Chu ruler strenuously objected, pointing out that 'martial' was a rebus for peace composed of 'stop' and 'halberds,' and recalling that when King Wu defeated the Shang and founded the halcyon age of the Western Zhou he composed a poem titled 'Martial' (*Wu* 武), celebrating the sheathing of weapons and the advent of peace and stability.[249]

'Stop halberds' continued to be widely utilized in political rhetoric during the Tang. To cite one contemporary instance, in 648 dying minister Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 (579–648) remonstrated with Taizong to cease his endless campaigns against Koguryŏ, saying that 'nobility in martial endeavor resides in the cessation of halberds' (武貴止戈).[250] In 650, when sending newly-enthroned Tang emperor a report of Silla's victory over Paekche, female king Chindŏk wove a poem into silk including (after praising the imperial splendor of the Tang) the verse, 'halberds have ceased and martial clothing is folded; virtue is cultivated following the example of the glorious past king' (止戈戎衣定, 修文繼百王). Using this rebus that shaped her surname, Wu Zhao consciously sought to echo the titular name of and claim the normative legitimacy associated with King Wu and of celebrated sage rulers long honored for their morality, virtue, and perfect administration, thus she designat-

of the monk Huijing 慧警 of Chongfu Temple 崇福寺 in Taiyuan (not far from Mount Wutai). Wu Zhao conferred a purple robe upon him.

249 *Chunqiu zuozhuan* 23.652–53. Citing Granet, Forte mentions this passage in *Political Propaganda,* 287 fn. 150.

250 *JTS* 66.2464. For the full text of his memorial, see *QTW* 137.1383.

ed her new dynasty after the halcyon age Zhou 周.[251]

Thus, anchored in the traditional legitimacy of a sage ruler honored in Confucian lore, the Buddhist propagandists who designed the *Commentary* left no augural stone unturned in their effort to represent Wu Zhao as his latter-day prophesied 'martial' heir. For instance, one of the many augural stones included in the text bears the inscription, 'Stopping unique woman; good fortune in ten thousand directions' (止一女, 万方吉). The commentators explain that 'stopping' (*zhi* 止) is shorthand for 'stop halberds' (止戈), a reference to her martial Wu surname, with the tacit suggestion that she can bring about an era of greater peace, and 'unique woman' means Divine Sovereign (*Shenhuang* 神皇), a reference to Wu Zhao's title at the time.[252] In the *Commentary*, Wu Zhao is often referred to as the Saint/Sage (*sheng* 聖), part of her title, Sage Mother, Divine Sovereign (*Shengmu shenhuang* 聖母神皇) as grand dowager-regent at the time the text was initially promulgated in 690, shortly before her accession to the throne.[253] This is just one instance: other corroborative evidence cryptically using 'stop-halberds' to identify Wu Zhao as the prophesied warrior-ruler can be found in the Commentary.

A 'speaking bird' (*yanniao* 言鳥) appears in a Daoist oracular text, the 'Zhongyue Ma xiansheng chen' 中岳馬先生讖 [Prophecy of Master Ma of the Central Peak], imbedded in the *Commentary*.[254]

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[251] Wu Zhao is not unique in employing this strategy of trying to gain the normative power offered by tradition, of course. Yuwen Yu 宇文毓 (534–560) inaugurated the short-lasting Zhou dynasty (557–581) in north China. See *Bei shi* 9.330–36. During the tumultuous Five Dynasties, Guo Wei 郭威 established another ephemeral Zhou dynasty (951–960).

[252] *Commentary*, trans. from Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 287.

[253] For assumption of the title in 688, see *XTS* 4.87, *ZZTJ* 204.6448. For the promulgation of the *Commentary*, see *ZZTJ* 204.6465.

[254] Dunhuang document S.6502, 'Commentary on the Meaning of the Prophecy about Shenhuang in the *Great Cloud Sūtra*,' translated in Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 301. This prophecy should probably be attributed to Daoist Ma Yuanzhen 馬元貞. In 'Daojiao tu Ma Yuanzhen yu Wu-Zhou geming,' 73–80,

The Buddhist propagandists demystify the reference, explaining that the 'speaking bird' is a parrot (*wu* 鵡), a homophone for their patron's Wu surname, and thus 'corresponds to the clan of the Saint' and 'refers to the surname of the Divine Sovereign'—further evidence that Wu Zhao is the prophesied one.[255] Later, the *Commentary* cites a further passage from the 'Zhongyue Ma xiansheng chen' in which Wu Zhao's namesake parrot helps a distressed group of plum trees with withering branches and leaves; the commentators explain that the plums (*li* 李) are a reference to the Li 李 family, her in-laws who rule the Tang.[256] This Daoist text also contains the prediction that 'stop-halberds agrees with the way of heaven' (止戈合天道).[257]

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contemporary scholar Lei Wen 雷聞 has shown that Master Ma was likely Ma Yuanzhen, head of a Daoist abbey in Chang'an, and that the prophecy was composed after Gaozong's death. See also Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 300 fn. 210. In 691, shortly after Wu Zhao established her Zhou dynasty and assumed the throne, this same Ma Yuanzhen, abbot of the Golden Terrace Abbey (Jintai guan 金臺觀) in Chang'an, performed the tossing dragons ceremony at Mount Song, Mount Tai, and the Ji 濟 and Huai 淮 rivers to generate merit on her behalf and to, in these public and visible ceremonies, garner popular support for the transfer of the mandate. Although Wu Zhao defined herself as a cakravartin and formally elevated Buddhism over Daoism, and in spite of several notorious incidents where Daoists were forcibly tonsured, there is abundant inscriptional evidence that even at the height of the campaign to elevate Buddhism, Master Ma and a number of eminent Daoists (like the Daoists of the Western Marchmount, Huashan 華山) enthusiastically supported Wu Zhao during the early years of her Zhou dynasty, presenting auspicious omens, casting statues of the divine Laozi and transcendents, and staging vegetarian feasts. Lei Wen, *Jiaomiao zhi wai*, in a sub-chapter titled, 'Casting Dragons and Tablets on the Five Marchmounts and into the Four Rivers: The Political Propaganda of Wu Zetian' (岳瀆投龍與武則天的政治宣傳), 156–66, see also the chart on 207–09 indicating the frequent performance of 'tossing dragons' during Wu Zhao's reign.

[255] *Commentary*, 302–03. Translation modified by the author from Forte.

[256] *Commentary*, trans. Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 303.

[257] Ibid., 301.

There is a passage from the mysterious *Tuibei tu*, which claims that 'stop-halberds is thriving' (*zhige chang* 止戈昌) and predicts the ascendancy of a female ruler (*nüzhu* 女主) who will establish what is right, and raise up, 'transform and purify the Four Seas' 化清四海, and 'put in order and make uniform the Eight Directions' 整齊八方.[258] Contrary to scholarly claims, the inclusion of Li Chunfeng and Yuan Tiangang's cryptic text in the *Commentary* proves this text existed in the seventh century and that people believed in its prognostic authority; different apocryphal versions of *Illustrations of Opposing Backs* circulated in subsequent eras.[259]

The 'Songyue Daoshi Kou Qianzhi ming' 嵩岳道士寇謙之銘 [Inscription of Kou Qianzhi, the Daoist Master of Song Peak] included in the *Commentary* mentions the 'stop-halberds dragon' (*zhige long* 止戈龍), which the commentators explain is a reference to the Divine Sovereign (Shenhuang), Wu Zhao.[260] Zhang Zhuo's *Chaoye qianzai* contains a passage that explains that a man in Gaocheng 鄗城

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258 *Commentary*, trans. Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 297.

259 Idema, 'Review of *Das Bild in der Weissage-Literatur Chinas*,' 114. In the review, Idema comments that 'the first reference to the text [*Illustrations of Opposing Backs*] dates from the Southern Song dynasty, where it is said that the text was already prohibited during the Northern Song dynasty.' As noted above, though, the appearance of *Illustrations* in the *Commentary* is proof that it is not just an apocryphal text from later eras, but a living text with political and ideological currency in the early Tang and Wu Zhao's Zhou dynasty. See Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 295–96 fn. 192 and 373, for a discussion on how the discovery of the *Commentary* has prompted an academic recalibration of this text. He enumerates *Illustrations* as one of the many lost texts that appear in the *Commentary* (394). None of the passages from the *Tuibeitu* mentioned in the *Commentary* appear in the later apocryphal versions of *Illustrations* that hasve been passed down.

Books of prognostication, charts (*tu* 圖) like *Illustrations*, were considered subversive and had been banned since the fifth century. Bauer, *China and the Search for Happiness*, 224–25.

260 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 310–11.

prefecture of Luozhou 洛州 at the outset of the Shangyuan 上元 era (beginning September 20, 674) discovered the Northern Wei Daoist master's cryptic inscription. Corroborating the *Commentary*, this source mentions that it contains the phrase 'stop-halberds dragon' (*zhige long* 止戈龍) which 'is a reference to the Grand Dowager [Wu Zhao] presiding over the court' 言太后臨朝也. Zhang Zhuo further explains, 'stop' plus 'halberds' equals 'martial'; 'Martial' is the clan of the Heavenly Empress 止戈為武; 武天后氏.[261]

In addition, 'stop halberds' also appears in other cryptic texts mentioned in the *Commentary*: the *Yitong shi ji* 宜同師記 [Record of Master Yitong][262] and the 'Xianren shi ji' 仙人石記 [Immortal's Stone Record].[263] In each case, the compilers of the *Commentary* offer pointed interpretations to make clear that Wu Zhao is the prophesied one. For a more complete catalogue of references to 'stop halberds' and 'warrior' in the *Commentary*, mentions that serve to manifest more clearly that she is the prophesied sovereign/living bodhisattva, see Table 2 below.

Effectively branding the surface of the land with Wu Zhao's surname to create a sacred geography in her image, the Buddhist rhetoricians crafting the *Commentary* also painstakingly catalogued the presence of her martial Wu in place names:

> The title Martial Success (Wucheng 武成) pavilion is confirmation of the name of the pavilion. The denomination Befitting a Warrior (Wudang 武當) of the mount, is confirmation of the name of the mountain. As for Martial Merit (Wugong 武功), Martial Ascendancy (Wuzhi 武陟), Martial River (Wushui 武水), Immortal Warrior (Wuxian 武仙), Martial Force (Wuli 武力), Martial Vigor (Wukang 武康), and Martial Strength (Wuqiang 武強), these are conformations of her prefectures and commanderies. 殿号武成, 則殿名之應

[261] *Chaoye qianzai* 5.118. Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 329–30, translates the passage. The same passage can be found in *TPGJ* 391.3125–26.

[262] Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 304–05.

[263] Ibid., 313–14.

Table 2. Appearances of 'Stop Halberds' and other efforts to amplify the Martial Wu in Wu Zhao's Surname in Texts Mentioned in the *Commentary*[264]

Source/Date	Language	Commentators' Explanations
augural stone 瑞石 of uncertain provenance, (n.d.)	The 'stopping' *zhi* on the stone	It is an abbreviation for 'stop halberds,' which together is the martial Wu, a reference to Wu Zhao.
'Zhongyue Ma xiansheng chen' 中岳馬先生讖 [Prophecy of Master Ma of the Central Peak], after 684 (?)	1. A flying speaking bird beating its wings 2. 'Stop-halberds agrees with the way of heaven'	1. The speaking bird is a parrot (*wu* 鵡), a homophone for Wu Zhao's clan name. 2. The Saintly Virtue of the Divine Sovereign conforms with the way of heaven.
Tuibei tu 推背圖 [Illustrations of Opposing Backs]	'Stop-halberds is thriving'	'Stop halberds' is an allusion to Wu Zhao. She will prosper.
Yitong shi ji 宜同師記 [Record of Master Yitong], Wu Zhao's regency	1. A cryptic phrase that includes 'stop' and 'halberds' that culminates with the Sovereign riding on *kun* 坤 (the female essence) into the imperial pavilion 2. The 'warrior' alone will endure and prosper	1. Explains the rebus that when one removes components *bei* 貝 and wen 文 from the character *yun* 贇 , the warrior remains: 贇 – 貝 – 文 = 武 . Implicitly, this is Wu Zhao. 2. The lone enduring and prospering 'warrior' is implicitly Wu Zhao.
'Songyue Daoshi Kou Qianzhi ming' 嵩岳道士寇謙之銘 [Inscription of Kou Qianzhi, the Daoist Master of Song Peak]	1. A king with the virtue of fire will reign in the 'stop-halberds dragon' 2. A 'warrior' will promulgate the Saintly teaching and be the great gem of the Country	1. 'Here it is made clear that the Divine Sovereign [Wu Zhao] reigns over the world.' 2. With a nod to the *Book of Changes* (Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 312 fn. 260), the implication is that the 'warrior' will be a champion of the Buddhist faith.
'Xianren shi ji' 仙人石記 [Immortal's Stone Record]	'The six points and ten thousand countries will all join the stop-halberds heaven'	Stop-halberds refers to the name of the Wu Clan. The Ten Thousand Countries will all unite and rely on the guidance of the Saint (聖) [Wu Zhao].

也。山稱武當，則山名之應也。至若武功、武陟、武水、武昌、武仙、武力、武康、武強，則州郡之應。[265]

This provided the sense that the prophesied one was ubiquitous, that her inevitable advent was inscribed—in most potent fashion, with martial vigor, force, and merit—on the architecture of the capital, graven on the landscapes, written into the winding rivers.

During her time as grand dowager-regent, Wu Zhao had taken measures that allowed the compilers of the *Commentary* to bruit out her victory narrative. For instance, in the second month of 684, Martial Success Pavilion (*Wucheng dian* 武成殿) in Luoyang, one of the sites mentioned above, was the locale where Wu Zhao, as grand dowager, was invested with an honorary title, formally took charge of the court, and began to act as regent and issue edicts, dismissing her son Li Dan, the nominal emperor Ruizong, to dwell in a lesser palace.[266]

The *Commentary* contains a section of the *Songyue Daoshi Kouqianzhi ming* that includes a prognostic song with the line, 'A warrior will promulgate the Saintly Teaching and will be the great gem of the country' (武興聖教, 國之大珍). The *Commentary* explains that the 'warrior' is Divine Sovereign, Wu Zhao.[267]

As further amplification of her 'warrior' surname and verification that Wu Zhao was the chosen one, this masterful piece of Buddhist propaganda also refers to an *Guangwu ming* 廣武銘 [Inscription Amplifying the Warrior] found on a rock in the Sishui River—which she renamed Amplifying the Warrior River in 688—

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[264] Based on Forte's translation of *Commentary*, *Political Propaganda*, 287–313.

[265] *Commentary*, translation adapted from Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 316.

[266] *ZZTJ* 203.6419; *JTS* 6.116; *XTS* 4.82 and 76.3481. The Martial Success Pavilion stood inside Martial Success Gate (see *Tang liudian*, *juan* 7). For more on the respective meanings and contexts of the other auspicious compounds integrating Wu Zhao's surname, see Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 316 fns. 279, 280, and 281; and Rothschild, 'Rhetoric, Ritual, and Support Constituencies,' 138–41.

[267] Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 310 and 312.

that contains a series of cryptic linguistic riddles. These riddles speak of the 'virtues of earth' (*tude* 土德), a female element, crossed sevens (*qi* 七), which form the character for woman (*nü* 女), and the cryptic phrase 'Under the recumbent mountain invert the exit and you will find the sage' which the helpful commentators explain is a riddle for 'mistress of the house' (*fu* 婦). All of these mysterious riddles, they explain, augur the advent of the reign of female sage Wu Zhao.[268]

There is also ample evidence for Wu Zhao's elevation and amplification of her warrior surname outside of the *Commentary*. Standard histories record that just a month after Wu Zhao proclaimed herself emperor and inaugurated the Zhou dynasty, she continued to magnify her bellicose surname, re-designating her ancestral home county Wenshui 文水 as 'Warrior Rising' (Wuxing 武興) County[269] —in doing so realizing the previously-mentioned lyrics of the prognostic song from the Daoist master of Mount Song. And in 697, when she cast Nine Tripods (Jiuding 九鼎), powerful symbols betokening a sovereign's virtue and legitimacy, one of the vessels also bore the appellation 'Warrior Rising.'[270]

In this manner, Wu—the warrior, martial force—became not only a power word associated with Wu Zhao's person and the legitimation of her rule, but evidence that helped corroborate a prophecy that she was cakravartin and a living bodhisattva, and, of course, the prophesied warrior-sovereign mentioned in all of these oracular texts.

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[268] For an English translation of this inscription, which appears in the *Commentary*, see *Political Propaganda and Ideology*, 273–77.

[269] *XTS* 4.91, 38.1003, and 76.3481. Wu Zhao also made her home prefecture Bingzhou 并州 the Northern Capital (Beidu 北都). The *Commentary* mentions a well in Bingzhou known as the Warrior's Well (Wujing 武井); the talented coterie of propagandists writing the text seamlessly weave this well—further evidence of the power vested in the Wu name—into the larger prophecy. See also Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 294.

[270] *JTS* 22.807. For more on the Nine Tripods, see Chang, *Art, Myth, and Ritual*, 95–97.

2.7a. Projecting and Embodying Warrior: Military Examinations and Martial Motherhood

During her time as grand dowager-regent Wu Zhao, with the assistance of her extra-bureaucratic helpers, the Scholars of the Northern Gate (*Beimen xueshi* 北門學士)[271] composed a political treatise, *Chengui* 臣軌 [Regulations for Ministers]; the penultimate fascicle of the latter *juan*, titled 'Good Generals' ('Liangjiang' 良將), features two mothers of Warring States generals—the mother of Chu 楚 general Zifa 子發母 and the mother of the Zhao general Zhao Kuo 趙括 (d. 260 BCE) 趙將括母—from Liu Xiang's *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 [Biographies of Exemplary Women].[272] Denis Twitchett remarks that 'Good Generals' 'reminds us that the empress ruled a state in which the military played a vital role, in which her great commanders were as important to the sovereign as were her civil ministers, equally essential to the smooth exercise of power.'[273] As emperor in 693, Wu Zhao raised the *Chengui* to canonical status, placing it alongside the *Book of Rites*, the *Book of History*, and the works of Confucius as a compulsory text for all officials taking the examinations.[274]

Surrounded by powerful groups like the Tibetans, the Khitan, and a Turkish khanate, as grand dowager and emperor Wu Zhao could not afford to be perceived of as weak or soft. In 'Good Generals,' military officials are repeatedly and emphatically reminded of their duty to state.[275] The two martial matriarchs play key roles in

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[271] *ZZTJ* 202.6376. In the mid-670s, Wu Zhao's political fortunes were clearly on the rise. In 675, Gaozong suffered another stroke and drafted an edict arrogating her powers of regulating the court (*ZZTJ* 202.6375–76), though remonstrance prevented it from being issued. Wu Zhao then formed a private band of brilliant literary and poetic minds, Scholars of the Northern Gate, who, beyond the parameters of the Confucian bureaucracy, served as her personal propagandists and rhetoricians.

[272] *Chengui*, 54–58.

[273] Twitchett, '*Chen Gui* and other Works Attributed to Wu Zetian,' 92.

[274] *JTS* 24.918; *ZZTJ* 205.6420.

[275] Rothschild, *Emperor Wu Zhao and Her Pantheon*, 136–41.

delivering this reminder. When Zifa 子發 (fourth cent. BCE) failed to share rewards and spoils with his rank-and-file troops, his mother denied him entry to his household, imparting to her self-absorbed son the importance of 'sharing in sweetness and bitterness alike' 同甘共苦 with his men.[276] Lisa Raphals remarks that the mother of Zifa assumes 'the admonitory role of a Sunzi-style strategist.'[277]

The mother of General Kuo goes to even greater lengths. Repudiating her son for not distributing the spoils of war, food and gifts with his rank-and-file soldiers, she directly petitions the king of Zhao, urging him not to promote and appoint her son to lead the fight against Qin. Twitchett remarks that these back-to-back biographies in 'Good Generals' very likely 'reflect the personal input of the empress,' and that the 'two anecdotes about generals and their mothers' served to 'obliquely justify her own intervention in this masculine sphere.'[278] Like these martial matriarchs of the past, Wu Zhao was a dutiful widow with grown sons, possessing knowledge of and insight into military affairs; she, too, could offer wise instructions to generals, her political sons.

Wu Zhao is also the architect of the military examination (*wuju* 武舉), implemented in 702 to standardize skills and knowledge expected of military officers. It tested men in seven areas: archery on foot, target-shooting archery, mounted archery, mounted lance play, physical strength, leadership, and deportment.[279] In 703, she issued an edict ordering officials in each prefecture to instruct the people in the martial arts in order to recruit talent.[280]

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276 *Lienü zhuan* 列女傳 [Biographies of Exemplary Women], 8 *juan*, Liu Xiang 劉向 (79–8 BCE), Song woodblock edition with illustrations by Gu Kaizhi 顧愷之 (345–409). Cited from University of Virginia e-text database: http://etext.virginia.edu/chinese/lienu/browse/LienuImgTOC.html (accessed 30 May 2020), 1.10.

277 Raphals, *Sharing the Light*, 40.

278 Twitchett, '*Chen Gui* and Other Works,' 97.

279 *ZZTJ* 207.6558; *XTS* 44.1170.

280 *JTS* 24.715.

While she did not lead troops into battle, Wu Zhao was by name and nature a warrior, a mother warrior, a martial matriarch. The landscape, mountains, rivers, and counties all called out 'warrior.' Palaces and pavilions bearing plaques with the Wu were powerful visual reminders of the warrior. And the prominent appearance of 'warrior' in widely circulated texts like the *Commentary* and *Regulations* all helped meticulously engineer the transition from prophecy to political reality.

2.8. Wu Zhao and the 'Two Nines' in the *Commentary on the Great Cloud Sūtra*

As part of the aggregation of prophecies gathered in the *Commentary*, several passages refer to the number nine and the 'Two Nines' (*erjiu* 二九). The term 'Two Nines' serves multiple purposes. As will be further explained below, the *Commentary* calls the tandem of Wu Zhao and husband, Tang emperor Gaozong, the 'Two Nines.' In addition, 'Two Nines' could also refer to the ninth day of the ninth lunar month on the Chinese lunar calendar—a date corresponding both with the Navarātri and the inaugural day of Wu Zhao's Zhou dynasty. An example of this latter usage can be found in a poem written by Linghu Chu 令狐楚 (766–837), a late Tang poet on the occasion of the Chongyang Festival 重陽節: 'The Two Nines mark the Chongyang Festival, when the skies are clear and the wild chrysanthemums turn yellow' (二九即重陽, 天清野菊黃).[281] In this verse the Two Nines are made equivalent to the Chongyang, the Double Ninth, festival, so-called because the celebration is held on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

The term 'Two Nines' appears on a number of occasions in the *Commentary*. For instance, a passage from the 'Zhongyue Ma xiansheng chen' reads: 'The two nines shine in harmony 二九共和明 and stop-halberds agrees with the Way of Heaven. The saintly wife helps the luminous husband and her mercy spreads in all the earth.... During the 180 years of the Two Nines the world will have Great

281 *Quan Tangshi* 334.3745.

Peace…' (二九一百八十年, 天下太平). The commentators explain the riddle: 'The Two Nines means that both the Great Emperor (Gaozong) and the Divine Sovereign (Wu Zhao) are ninth, thus it is said the Two Nines' (二九者, 大帝神皇俱是第九, 故稱二九). They add that 'shine in harmony' can be understood to refer to their luminous and equitable joint government—'like the Sun and the Moon.'[282] Realizing that her position and authority rested to no small extent upon her connection to the ruling Li family, Wu Zhao (and the propagandists compiling the *Commentary*) emphasized rather than denied her roles as empress and wife. For the better part of the 28 years she was Gaozong's empress—particularly after he suffered a stroke in 660—Wu Zhao sat in tandem with her sovereign-husband presiding over court proceedings. People of the time called them the Two Sages (*ersheng* 二聖):[283] They were a power couple, a wife-and-husband team that co-ruled the empire.

In his effort to understand the meaning of the 'Two Nines,' Antonino Forte notes that Gaozong was the ninth son of Tang Taizong, while acknowledging that he does 'not understand according to which classification Wu Zhao might be the ninth.'[284]

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282 Translation modified from Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 301.

283 *ZZTJ* 202.6372–75; *XTS* 76.3475–76; *JTS*, 5.99. The 'Two Sages' was not an official title, but a popular sobriquet acknowledging Wu Zhao's political involvement. According to the *Old Tang History* (*JTS* 6.115), 'From the Xianqing reign era (656–660) on, Gaozong was often afflicted with illness. All petitions and memorials were determined by the Celestial Empress…for several decades, her prestige and influence were as great as that of the emperor. So people of the time called them the Two Sages' 帝自顯慶已後, 多苦風疾, 百司表奏, 皆委天后詳決。自此內輔國政數十年, 威勢與帝無異, 當時稱為二聖。*XTS* 76.3475–76 reads, 'When [Shangguan] Yi was executed [in 664], political power returned to behind the curtain. The Son of Heaven simply folded his hands. The officials of the four quarters who submitted memorials called them the Two Sages' 及儀見誅, 則政歸房帷, 天子拱手矣。羣臣朝、四方奏章, 皆曰二聖。*ZZTJ* 201.6242–43 contains a similar account.

284 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 301 fn. 215.

The 'Two Nines' also appear in a passage in the contemporary esoteric *Tuibei tu*, a manual of numerological divination attributed to calendrical specialist and astrologist Li Chunfeng and Yuan Tianwang. This text includes a prophecy that reads: 'There is a full platter of fruit. No one can clearly tell how many. Each fruit has a single pit; the new replaces the old' (累累碩果, 莫明其數。一果一仁, 即新即故). Then the accompanying oracular quatrain (*song* 頌) proclaims: 'For the myriad things to be born of the earth, the Two Nines must first bear fruit. When the *yin* essence flourishes, the *yang* essence must first be exhausted (and give way)' (萬物土中生, 二九先成實。一統定中原, 陰盛陽先竭).[285] Autumn is a time when the male *yang* essence, waning and depleted, gives way to the ascendant *yin* essence. Thus, the 'Two Nines' in Li Chunfeng's arcane oracle might be understood as a reference to the ninth day of the ninth month—precisely the seasonal juncture where *yang*, having reached its peak, gives way to *yin*. His prophetic words of the male yielding to the female might also be understood as a reference to Wu Zhao's eventual and inevitable accession to the throne—and to the timing of that ascendancy. As mentioned in Part 2.4 above, Li Chunfeng was intimately acquainted with the prophecy of the female warrior-king; he had advised Taizong on his handling of the matter back in 648 and predicted that four decades hence the prophecy would come to fruition. Forty years had elapsed: the time for the accession of the martial female sovereign had arrived!

To be sure, the *Commentary* did not directly associate the 'Two Nines' with the Navarātri. An explicit announcement of the annual celebration of a Śāktic rite to honor a battle goddess was too radical a proposal for the multi-national team of Buddhist rhetoricians who wove together this interpretive text to bluntly and overtly promote. Yet this tantalizing and mysterious pair of nines are not without

[285] Li Chunfeng and Yuan Tiangang, *Tuibei tu*, image 2, in Ruan, *Ancient Chinese Prophecies*, 4–5. Charles L. Lee has also written an annotated translation of the text, including this passage; see *The Great Prophecies of China*, 24. This passage does not appear among the sections of *Illustrations* cited in the *Commentary*, and may come from one of the later apocryphal renditions of the text.

purpose: Woven into the fabric of prophecies and prognostications of the *Commentary* bent on identifying Wu Zhao as a cakravartin king who would reign over the country 'with the body of a woman' (*nüshen* 女身), the 'Two Nines' are connected both to the person of Wu Zhao (and her then-deceased husband and former co-ruler Gaozong) and very possibly to a specific time or date—the ninth day of the ninth lunar month.

2.9. Wu Zhao's Enthronement and Dynastic Inauguration on the Navamī

As mentioned above, the Navarātri occurs during the first nine days of the waxing lunar fortnight of the autumn month of Āśvina (September–October). This seventh month, Āśvina, on the traditional Indian calendar corresponds with the ninth month on the Chinese lunar calendar. The ninth day of this festival, according to Hillary Rodrigues, came 'to mean, among other things, the great day of the Great Goddess.'[286] In Indian and Tantric hemerology—'the cultural practice of connecting success and failure of actions with favorable and unfavorable days defined by the calendar'[287] —each month is divided into two *pakṣas*, a bright waxing fortnight and a dark waning fortnight broken into days, *tithis*; for ritual and ceremonial actions, choosing a propitious time and date is vital.[288] This is similar to the Chinese practice of choosing auspicious days for marking significant ritual or ceremonial undertakings.

After co-ruling with Gaozong for almost a quarter century, and acting as grand dowager and Sage Mother Divine and August for six additional years, Wu Zhao had a superb sense of political timing

286 Rodrigues, 'Bengali Durgā Pūjā,' 197 and 199–200.

287 van Stuckrad, 'Hemerology,' in Brill's *New Pauly*, eds. Herbert Cancik and Helmut Schneider (accessed 30 May 2020): http//dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1128610.

288 Kotyk, 'Early Tantric Hemerology in Chinese Buddhism,' 3–10. Kotyk points out that there was 'no authoritative hemerological manual in Chinese' in the early eighth century (23).

and theater; knowing well how to seize an occasion and to stage a political event, no ceremony or rite was serendipitous. Furthermore, Wu Zhao was deeply preoccupied both with movements of celestial bodies and with the ritual calendar.[289]

As the religion developed into a greater political and ideological force, new ideas of Buddhist sovereignty proliferated, swelling into a 'pan-Asian religio-social-political phenomenon' that crested in China with Wu Zhao. The *abhiṣeka*, a rite that enthroned and consecrated a prophesied Buddha or bodhisattva as earthly sovereign, gained popularity. Dorothy Wong has observed that, 'The idea of the "crowned" or "bejeweled" Buddha was introduced to China on the eve of Wu Zhao's ascension to the throne as a Buddhist monarch.' In this novel iconographic vision of Buddhist emperorship, originally from Kashmir and Bamiyan (modern-day Afghanistan), 'the crowning of the Buddha-to-be … had taken on the paraphernalia of investiture (the crown and the robe) as well as the ritual of consecration (abhiṣeka).'[290] This ritual unction and investiture marked the ruler as a cakravartin.

When considering the manner in which Wu Zhao sought to define herself as a cakravartin with currents of heroic Śāktism, Ann Blackburn's observation that Buddhist cakravartin rulers often

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[289] For Wu Zhao's preoccupation with the armillary sphere, see Forte, *Mingtang*; for her concern with the ritual calendar, see Rothschild, 'Rhetoric, Ritual, and Support Constituencies,' 282–91.

[290] Wong, *Buddhist Pilgrim-Monks*, 251–52. For more on images of the crowned Buddha as cakravartin, curiously often in conjunction with lunisolar imagery, see Twist, 'Images of the Crowned Buddha along the Silk Road,' 11–12. Like the notion of cakravartin, abhiṣeka is best understood as more of a wider Indic rather than an exclusively Buddhist concept. In his lecture, 'Ḍākinī, the wish-fulfilling jewel, and the Japanese medieval ritual of enthronement unction,' Iyanaga Nobumi remarked that the 'Tantric unction or consecration ritual (*kanjō* 灌頂 in Japanese) is named abhiṣeka in Sanskrit, and it is based on the ancient Indian enthronement unction ritual of the same name for kings, described already in texts like the Atharva Veda or the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa.' Iyanaga, 'Under the Shadow of the Great Śiva,' 11.

tailored their visions of sovereignty to local circumstances is most pertinent.[291] Her point, Sem Vermeersch observes, 'appears to be that the model of the Wheel-Turning King as an ideal of rulership was employed creatively in ad-hoc texts.'[292]

In the Indic currents of heroic Śāktism that reached Wu Zhao's China, Durgā's abhiṣeka, the investiture and ritual anointment of an earthly sovereign as cakravartin, fell on the culminating day of the Navarātri, the Navamī. In this sense, in the late seventh century, the Hindu Great Goddess—Durgā, in all of her various incarnations and guises—was fitted and customized to suit Wu Zhao's vision of rulership. The Mahādevī and the Navarātri played vital roles both in the Chinese woman emperor's identification as the prophesied female martial sovereign and as a cakravartin.

And so it was that on the *renwu* 壬午 day of the sexagenary cycle, October 16, 690, the ninth day of the ninth lunar month of the first year of the Tianshou 天授 (Heaven Bestowed) era, grand dowager Wu Zhao assumed the throne as China's first and only female emperor and inaugurated the Zhou dynasty, publicly calling for a seven-day bacchanal feast (*pu* 脯).[293]

This choice of date was not serendipitous. Contending that Wu Zhao sought to show that her ascendancy marked the fulfillment of the prophecy in the *Great Cloud Sūtra* that the devī Vimalaprabhā (Jingguang 淨光) would descend as a cakravartin, a bodhisattva in a female body, contemporary scholar Hu Ji has suggested that Wu Zhao's distinctive reign era name Heaven Bestowed was chosen to express in abbreviated fashion that she was the 'Devī Bestowed with the Prophecy' (*Tiannü shouji* 天女授記).[294] As mentioned above, Antonino Forte has also systematically shown that the rhetorical efforts

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[291] Blackburn, 'Buddhist Technologies of Statecraft and Millennial Movements,' 72–74.

[292] Vermeersch, 'Who is Legitimating Whom?,' 24.

[293] *JTS* 6.121. Technically, Wu Zhao took the title as Divine and Sagely August Emperor (*Shensheng huangdi* 神聖皇帝) three days later, on 19 October 690.

[294] Hu, *Wu Zetian benzhuan*, 170.

made by the masterful Buddhist propagandists who wove together the *Commentary* were geared to 'demonstrate immediately and convincingly that Wu Zhao was the avatar of the goddess Vimalaprabhā,' preordained to rule a vast empire as 'a bodhisattva with a female body' and a cakravartin.[295]

But the *vyākaraṇa*/prophecy did not end there. Wu Zhao and her propagandists (Buddhist and non-Buddhist) consistently wielded rhetoric and ideas with tremendous semantic flexibility: why limit yourself to identifying with a single devī (Vimalaprabhā)? Rather than limit herself to either/or, expedient Wu Zhao inevitably chose both/all (Vimalaprabhā, Durgā, Mārīcī, Caṇḍī, Māyā, etc.). In addition to the prophecies geared toward identifying Wu Zhao as the incarnation of Vimalaprabhā in the *Commentary*, I have (above) recorded the numerous interpretations of cryptic rebuses and auguries in this piece of carefully crafted propaganda that were designed to show that Wu Zhao was the prophesied 'female warrior sovereign'—predictions connected to Indic heroic Śāktism and warrior goddesses like fierce Durgā.

Nothing Wu Zhao did was serendipitous: she chose this date to mark her public announcement that she was the recipient of the *vyākaraṇa*, the day Wu Zhao became China's first and only female emperor on the ninth day of the waxing moon in the ninth lunar month: Both the precise date and the lunar phase of Wu Zhao's coronation and the inauguration of her Zhou dynasty correspond perfectly with culmination, the final day, of the Navarātri.

Another way that Wu Zhao announced that she was the prophesied one was by establishing a pivotal Buddhist temple in her Divine Capital Luoyang called Temple of the Buddha's Prophecy (Foshouji si 佛授記寺) in 691.[296] As noted above, the term for 'prophecy' (*shouji* 授記; Skt. *vyākaraṇa*) was not merely part of the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī's prediction on Mount Wutai of the rise and attainment of

[295] Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 325. See Rothschild, *Devis, Divinities, and Dynastic Mothers*, chap. 12, 'Bodhisattva with a Female Body,' for further argument that the devī Jingguang was an important figure in Wu Zhao's pantheon.

[296] *THY* 48.848.

Buddhahood of Sillan Queen Sŏndŏk, but a broader prophecy that grew legs, spreading through East Asia, auguring the ascendancy of a female warrior sovereign.

Further investigation reveals Wu Zhao's ongoing preoccupation with the culminating day of the Navarātri. Not only did she inaugurate her Zhou dynasty on this date, but she celebrated the very same date of the lunar calendar, which corresponded with the waxing harvest moon, with ascendant *yin* essence on at least four additional occasions in the next seven years: thrice to mark new reign eras (*nianhao* 年號) and once, in 693, to mark the assumption of the title cakravartin.

In 692, two years after linking the Navarātri to the announcement of her new dynasty and the celebration of the fruition of the prophecy of the advent of a female warrior sovereign, Wu Zhao yoked the Hindu festival to the inauguration of a new reign era. By the time Wu Zhao took the throne as emperor, she was already in her mid-sixties. She took great pains to project an image of vitality and agelessness. She linked her physical self to the state ritual calendar, tying the inauguration of the Protracted Longevity reign era to her personal rejuvenation:

> Although the Grand Dowager had passed through many springs and autumns, she excelled at applying cosmetics and adornments to herself, so that even her own attendants did not feel her decrepit. On the *bingxu* day of the ninth month she issued an imperial edict declaring that because her lost teeth had regrown, on the ninth, she went to the Zetian Gate, declared a general amnesty, and changed the reign era to Protracted Longevity. The sacrifice to the earth god was changed to the ninth month. 太后春秋雖高, 善自塗澤, 雖左右不覺其衰. 丙戌, 敕以齒落更生, 九月庚子, 御則天門, 赦天下改元, 更以九月為社.[297]

[297] *ZZTJ* 205.6487; *XTS* 76.3482 contains a similar passage. *XTS* 4.93 mentions the changing date of the sacrifice to the earth god—shifted from spring to the ninth month—reversing the polarities of *yin* and *yang* of the seasons! There is no *bingxu* 丙戌 day prior to the inauguration of Changshou. This is probably an error for the *bingshen* 丙申 (i.e., the fifth) day (October 11, 692) or the *wuxu*

The sacrifice to the earth god, which had corresponded with breaking the ground and planting in the early spring, was now shifted to the final month of autumn, realigning the terrestrial and the celestial in synchronicity with her dental regeneration, springtime in her autumn years. In a concerted effort to conceal her mortal blemishes, her wrinkles and creases, Wu Zhao, like many Tang women, expertly applied powders, rouges, creams, ointments, mascara, and oils to disguise the ravages of time.[298] For woman emperor Wu Zhao, this announcement to a new era on the Navamī, a day when the goddess descends to consecrate the ruler, can perhaps be understood as an effort to project an image of vitality, timelessness, and agelessness, to reclaim youth and proclaim immortality, a gala occasion that served to fuse and confuse earthly sovereign and divine goddess.

Despite the claims made in the *Commentary* and her accession to emperor on the culminating day of the Navarātri in 690, Wu Zhao did not proclaim herself a cakravartin on this grand stage; nor did she proclaim herself a wheel-turning monarch on the Double Ninth in 692. It would seem that there was substantial opposition from the Confucian court and the Daoist establishment, and no clear consensus among Buddhists.[299] In Buddhism, the Five Impediments (*wuzhang* 五障) restricted women from the five highest tiers of political and religious power: being a cakravartin, a god-king, a Brahmā king, a non-regressing (*avaivartika*) bodhisattva, and the Buddha.[300] Blurring and rationalizing Wu Zhao's gender, the *Commentary* helped circumvent this ideological obstacle and justify her ascent to power, defining her (with the Buddha's prophetic blessing) as both bodhisattva and cakravartin. Yet the proofs offered in the *Commentary* had not proved sufficient to satisfy all of the diffuse Buddhist faithful that

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戊戌 (i.e., the seventh) day (October 13, 692).

298 For a summary of the widespread availability and use of cosmetics in Tang China, see Benn, *Daily Life in Traditional China*, 109–12.

299 See Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 212–14, for a discussion of some of the possible reasons behind Wu Zhao's three-year delay in assuming the title, cakravartin.

300 Paul, *Women in Buddhism*, 186.

Wu Zhao was the prophesied cakravartin and bodhisattva. In another instance that makes manifest Wu Zhao's deft circumnavigation of ideological strictures, her Buddhist supporters re-translated the *Baoyu jing* 寶雨經 [Skt. *Ratnamegha sūtra*; Precious Rain *Sūtra*], an interpolated rendition of a text that had arrived in China in the sixth century or earlier.[301]

On October 7, 693, the third day of the ninth lunar month, Southern Indian monk Dharmaruci (Damoliuzhi 達摩流支 = Putiliuzhi 菩提流志 (Bodhiruci; 572?–727), Xue Huaiyi and a multi-national coalition of Buddhist monks including a Sillan royal, Central Asian translators, and monks from various parts of India and Uḍḍyāna (Wuchang 烏萇), with the support of a cadre of Chinese officials, collectively presented the *sūtra* to Wu Zhao.[302] In this interpolated version, the Buddha conversed with a light-emanating, cloud-riding divinity Lunar Radiance (Yueguang 月光; Skt. Candraprabha) and prophesied that during an age in which Buddhist law had fallen that he would be reborn in a female body in Mahācīna (Great China). In this purposeful forgery, the prophetic Buddha tells this heaven-protected born king that, 'Since in reality you will be a bodhisattva, you will manifest a female body and you will be the sovereign head.... Your name will be Lunar Pure-radiance (實是菩薩故現女身爲自在主...名日月淨光).'[303] Forte reasonably suggests that the name Lunar Pure-radiance was chosen because it closely echoed Pure Radiance (Vimalaprabhā), 'the object of the Buddha's prophecy in the *Commentary*.'[304] In the capable hands of the propagandists,

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301 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, chap. 3, pt. I, 'The Interpolation of the *Baoyu jing*,' 189–203.

302 Ibid., chap. 3, especially the appendix, 'The Translators of the *Ratnamegha sūtra* in 693,' 246–53.

303 *Baoyu jing*, *T* no. 660, 16: 284b21–25; Forte, *Political Propaganda*, trans., 196. Lunar Radiance appeared in a Buddhist-related title ten years earlier. Inspired by popular millenarian Buddhism, a charismatic local leader may have taken the title Yueguang (Candraprabha) in a revolt of his Jihu 稽胡 people in Shaanbei 陝北 in the early 680s. See Rothschild, 'Emerging from the Cocoon,' 257–82.

304 Forte, *Political Propaganda*, 196 fn. 30.

the considerate Buddha then waives two of the usual Five Impediments to a woman achieving Buddhahood, allowing her to become a cakravartin and an *avaivartika*, a non-backsliding bodhisattva who proceeds straight to *nirvāṇa* despite her female body.[305]

In timely fashion, this Buddhist *sūtra* re-confirmed and re-emphasized Wu Zhao's identification as a bodhisattva—this time as the reincarnation of Lunar Pure-radiance, perhaps a cousin to Jingguang—and a cakravartin. Whereas Chinese kingship merely took the emperor as a sanctioned divine agent of Heaven, in this Buddhist tradition of the cakravartin, the universal wheel-turning monarch, the emperor was not merely a representative and a political ancestor of divinized culture heroes, she became herself an incarnation, an avatar, of Indic deities.[306] As Sarkar pointed out, court recitation of the *Devīmāhātmya* during the Navarātri conflated the 'image of the king and the deeds of Durgā, the king-above-all-kings, were viewed as glorified reflections and reinforcements of the monarch's own values and image'; the text conveys 'the idea of war goddess as imperial metaphor,' so that savior and demon-queller Durgā becomes 'an image of the king himself in his most potent form, the cakravartin.'[307] In describing the divine might of the cakravartin, recognizing the consonance between the earthly ruler's sovereignty and the celestial bodies above, André Bareau waxes rhapsodic: 'Even as the holy king alone rules the world, even as the sun and moon reign alone in the sky, one during the day and the other at night, shedding their light on all the earth's inhabitants, just so does the cakravartin spread the benefits of

[305] Ibid., 196–97. Also see Chen, *Monks and Monarchs*, 117.

[306] Chen, *Monks and Monarchs*, 114–15. Also see Tambiah, 'The Galactic Polity in Southeast Asia,' 252–86. Though this work focuses on kingship in a different region in a later era, the idea of a Buddhist (or Hindu-Buddhist), 'galactic polity' with a ruler—*cakravartin*, dharma wielder and living bodhisattva—situated at the cosmological, topographical and political center that he describes was not unconnected to developing notions of Buddhist sovereignty in early medieval and medieval China.

[307] Sarkar, *Heroic Śhaktism*, 13 and 132–34.

his wise and pacific government upon men.'[308] Cakravartin kingship was an important part of heroic Śāktism: on the Navarātri the Great Goddess would consecrate the ruler, amplifying her sovereignty, and invest her as cakravartin.

So it was, just six days after the *sūtra* was presented, on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month in 693, the primary festal day of the Great Goddess, at her Divine Palace of Myriad Images in Luoyang (Wanxiang shengong 萬象神宮), that Wu Zhao appended to her already grand imperial title the designation 'Golden Wheel' (Jinlun 金輪), broadcasting that she was a cakravartin, a wheel-turning universal monarch—the zenith in the Indic vision of sovereignty.[309] She had seven Buddhist treasures (*qibao* 七寶; Skt. *sapta-ratna*) fashioned—a golden wheel, a white elephant, a woman, a horse, a pearl, a ruler's guardian warrior, and a ruler's hidden minister. All were displayed prominently as visible symbols of her authority in the audience hall of the court.[310] In Indic lore, the alpha treasure, the golden wheel, was a symbol of the cakravartin, a magnanimous conqueror who bound and unified a disparate empire with Buddhist law.

It is also worthy of note that nine days elapsed—the duration of the Navarātri festival—between the time Wu Zhao's nephew Wu Chengsi 武承嗣 (d. 698) led a parade of 5,000 (on October 5, 693, the first day of the ninth lunar month) to petition Wu Zhao to take on the title 'Cakravartin of the Golden Wheel' and her assumption of the title.[311]

On her designated day of celebration, the great warrior goddess

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308 Bareau, 'Superhuman Personality of Buddha,' 20.

309 *XTS* 4.93; *ZZTJ* 205.6492.

310 *XTS* 76.3482. Though to an extent these seven treasures represented an innovation on Wu Zhao's part—the usual 'seven treasures' were various precious metals and stones like gold, silver, pearl, agate and amber—Chen Jinhua, in '*Śarīra* and Scepter,' 49–50 fn.32, explains that the female sovereign was 'inspired by the legend promoted in some Buddhist texts, especially the *Mile xiasheng chengfo jing* 彌勒下生成佛經 [Skt. *Maitreyavyākaraṇa sūtra*], that the cakravartin king Saṅkara possesses seven such precious materials.'

311 *XTS* 76.3482.

Durgā had the power to invest, to enthrone and consecrate, the ruler. Wu Zhao's titular elevation on the Double Ninth in 693 can be understood as a rite in which the Mahādevī consecrated and enthroned her, investing her as Cakravartin of the Golden Wheel. Finally, on the Double Ninth in 693, Wu Zhao fulfilled, with the help of the *Precious Rain Sūtra*, the prophecy delineated in the *Commentary*: she had become a Cakravartin of the Golden Wheel—a fully realized 'female warrior sovereign' of the highest order.

There is evidence that members of the Confucian court took umbrage at these unorthodox foreign celebrations. In early 695, at the zenith of Wu Zhao's Zhou dynasty, in the immediate aftermath of the conflagration that consumed the Bright Hall, a Recorder (*zhubu* 主簿)[312] from Huojia 獲嘉 (modern-day Henan, not far from Luoyang), future historian Liu Zhiji 劉知幾 (661–721), approached the throne of the female sovereign offering four points of remonstrance. First, he criticized her excessive amnesties—granted on the occasions of her frequent celebrations and reign era changes—noting unlawful and uncivil elements, the wicked and rebellious, might take advantage of the amnesties, the imperial acts of grace that accompanied these occasions. Such events, Liu pointed out, were suited to the sense of cosmic renewal accompanying the advent of a new dynasty, but staged gratuitously with undue frequency, at a juncture when peace and stability already prevailed, lost their impact and were unnecessary, offering a refuge for fractious subjects and venal officials. As part of this criticism, he noted that such bad elements only needed to wait for the calendar to turn: that despite their rebellious and lawless ways 'on New Year's Day they hopefully await imperial favor of Heaven; on the Navarātri/Double Ninth Festival (Chongyang 重陽) these rascals long attend relying upon Your Majesty's bestowal of august grace. And it is just as they anticipate: in the end, as expected they are all forgiven and granted amnesty' (而元日之朝, 指期天澤, 重陽之節, 佇降皇恩, 如其忖度, 咸果釋免). Thus, Liu Zhiji maintained, devious rascals and criminals, availing themselves of Wu Zhao's amnesties, received the benefit of imperial grace, while

312 Hucker, *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*, 82, entry 1413.

good, law-abiding citizens fell victim to their devious machinations. Moving forward, to avoid sending the wrong message—'the good fortune of petty men,' he admonished, 'brings ill fortune to the ruler' (小人之幸, 君子之不幸)—Liu urged her to grant amnesties on festal days in a far more measured fashion.[313]

Liu Zhiji's reference indicates that during Wu Zhao's reign, the festival held on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month held particular moment. Clearly, the Confucian court official's remonstrance against the Double Ninth festival was not based on concerns that he had about her celebration of traditional Chinese elements of the Chongyang Festival like ascending to high places, reciting poetry, picnicking, savoring the fragrance of chrysanthemum flowers, drinking chrysanthemum wine, and longevity.[314] Indeed, though Liu Zhiji's

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313 *ZZTJ* 205.6501–02. The other itemized points of remonstrance were related. Second, Liu Zhiji pointed out that the constant amnesties that she issued were accompanied by rank and merit increases for court officials. These promotions are not based on conduct or ability, therefore there is no distinction between the virtuous and the wicked, the capable and the stupid. Third, she drafted a superfluous number of officials, 'like grains of sand, dirt and grass.' Finally, her constant administrative shifts—high turnover and brevity of appointments—precluded good governance. Liu Zhiji's remonstrance is recorded in full in *QTW* 274.2782–83 and *THY* 40.729. *JTS* 102.3168 and *XTS* 132.4519 also refer to this text. Antonino Forte, in his *Mingtang*, also refers to Liu Zhiji's admonition, noting that it was 'a general criticism of policy…but does not discuss the construction of the *tiantang*' (68).

314 For more on poetic and cultural elements of the Chongyang Festival in early medieval and medieval China, see Davis, 'The Double Ninth Festival in Chinese Poetry,' 45–64; McMullen, 'Recollection without Tranquility,' 189–252; and Benn, *Daily Life in Traditional China*, 153–54. The webpage for Wairarapa Academy for New Sinology, edited by Barmé, 'Ninth of the Ninth Double Brightness,' http://chinaheritage.net/journal/ninth-of-the-ninth-重陽-double-brightness/, offers an excellent cross sections of poetic references to the Double Ninth from intimations in the *Elegies of Chu* (*Chuci* 楚辭) to Tao Yuanming to the iconic poets of the Tang to Li Qingzhao and Su Shi in the Song, to Crab Flower Club's poems on chrysanthemums in *Dream of Red Mansions* to Mao Zedong's musings on the festival.

ostensible objections targeted Wu Zhao's free and easy dispensation of amnesties and imperial grace, this autumnal nodal day was already strongly associated with Wu Zhao's effort to establish herself as a prophesied cakravartin, a living bodhisattva, and a female warrior sovereign. It is evident that the grandiose, Indic/Buddhist festivals geared toward the performative fulfillment of these interconnected prophecies held on the Double Ninth was the greater underlying reason for his protestations.[315]

Ignoring Liu Zhiji's remonstrance, Wu Zhao continued to stage momentous events marking personal triumphs on the Navamī in the ninth lunar month. That same year, on *jiayin* 甲寅, the ninth day of the ninth lunar month (October 22, 695), she augmented her already grand imperial title with 'Heaven Appointed' (*Tiance* 天冊) and inaugurated a new reign era, 'Appointed by Heaven for Ten Thousand Years' (*Tiance wansui* 天冊萬歲). Her new title was thus Heaven Appointed Cakravartin of the Golden Wheel, Sagely and Divine August Emperor (*Tiance jinlun shengshen huangdi* 天冊金輪聖神皇帝). She held a joint sacrifice to Heaven and Earth in the southern suburb. She offered a general amnesty and held a nine-day bacchanal feast (*dapu* 大脯).[316] This new title and the reign era name likely represent further efforts to publicly announce and display that she was the prophesied cakravartin receiving the annual sanction and consecration from the Great Goddess and the Buddhas. 'Heaven Appointed' (Tiance), similar to 'Heaven Bestowed' (Tianshou), served to broadcast that Wu Zhao was the recipient of the *vyākaraṇa*.

Wu Zhao's inauguration of the Divine Achievement era (Shengong 神功) also fell on the ninth day (*renchen* 壬辰) of the ninth lunar month in 697 (September 29). The festal event on this nodal

[315] Elsewhere, I have documented efforts made by the Confucian court to ban and disparage another non-Chinese festival at this same historical juncture. See Rothschild, '*Sumozhe* Suppressed, Huntuo Halted,' 262–300, and 'Why is it Necessary for Naked Savages to Drum and Dance?,' 65–80.

[316] *ZZTJ* 205.6503; *XTS* 13.336; *JTS* 6.124, 21.830. Forte (*Political Propaganda*, 218–19 fn. 114) has noted that the title is incorrect in *ZZTJ* 205; it reads 'Great Sage' (Dasheng 大聖) instead of Sagely and Divine.

day was marked by a general amnesty and the beginning of a seven-day grand bacchanal feast. A great sacrifice (*daxiang* 大享) was staged at Penetrating Heaven Palace (Tongtian gong 通天宮), Wu Zhao's towering Bright Hall.[317]

There is reason to believe that the inauguration of this reign era in 697 also marked the celebration of the Navarātri/Navamī. The Sogdian Buddhist monk and Avataṃsaka (Huayan 華嚴) master, Fazang, one of Wu Zhao's long-standing political and ideological allies at that juncture, played a decisive role in the conclusion of a year-long pair of campaigns against the Qidan in the northeastern part of the empire—one of the bloodiest conflicts in all of Tang and Zhou history.[318] Leading up to a pivotal battle, Wu Zhao requested that he deploy Buddhist magic to help defeat the Qidan. Fazang performed ceremonial ablutions, changed clothes, set an image of Eleven-faced Guanyin (Shiyimian Guanyin 十一面觀音; Skt. Ekādaśamukha Avalokiteśvara) on a ritual platform, and worked his magic. To resounding drums, the image of Guanyin appeared on high, marshalling the countless divine troops who materialized to combat the raiders, inspiring the Zhou forces and plunging the Qidan into despair. Wu Zhao triumphantly proclaimed, 'This is the blessed aegis of Buddha force!' (蓋慈力之加被) and changed the reign era to Divine Achievement.[319]

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317 *ZZTJ* 206.6523. These are the two reasons that commentator Hu Sanxing 胡三省 (1230–1302) gives (206.6512). *JTS* 6.126 just provides a single reason: the pacification of the Qidan. *XTS* 4.98 also mentions the feast and seven-day amnesty.

318 Chen, 'Fazang (643–712) the Holy Man,' 34–40 (37–40 provide a good account of the fierce campaigns against the Qidan in 696–97; see also, *ZZTJ* 205.6505–23. For more on Fazang and Wu Zhao, see Chen Jinhua's monograph, *Philosopher, Practitioner, Politician*, and Rothschild, 'Rhetoric, Ritual and Support Constituencies,' sub-chapter on Fazang, 259–69.

319 *Dang Daech'ŏnboksa gosaju bŏngyŏng daedŏk 'bŏpchang Hwasang jŏn,' T* no. 2054, 50:283c16–25. This text was composed in Unified Silla in the early ninth century.

Remarking on Amoghavajra's performance of war rites to protect the state during the An Lushan Rebellion and against the Tibetans, Geoffrey Goble contends that, 'Esoteric Buddhist rites were militarily important as a form of weaponized ritual promising to cause the death and defeat of enemy armies and their commanders.'[320] Esoteric Buddhism, as it enfolded and incorporated different Indic deities, came to play an important role as a 'war religion.' Fazang's battle magic—which he acknowledged to Wu Zhao was 'unorthodox' (*zuodao* 左道)[321] —can perhaps be understood as a prototype of Amoghavajra's later rites.

While Fazang's ceremony reflects the development of the esoteric cult of Avalokiteśvara under Wu Zhao,[322] it can also be seen as an event reflecting the growth of heroic Śāktism. One recalls the capacity of the dhāraṇī of war goddess Mārīcī to 'delude and confound enemies.'[323] Divākara had just translated the dhāraṇī for battle devī Cundī, another esoteric manifestation of Guanyin, a decade earlier (see 2.3b above). The goddess who helped secure victory over the Qidan was a war deity. Wu Zhao celebrated the triumph of this goddess of war and her personal victory against a powerful foe by

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The change of reign era occurred several months after Fazang's elaborate ceremony. There are no sources that directly and explicitly state the reason that Wu Zhao inaugurated the Divine Achievement. In 'Fazang (643–712): The Holy Man,' Chen Jinhua explains, 'in order to celebrate this hard-fought victory, and probably also for the casting of the *jiuzhou-ding* 九州鼎 (Tripods of the Nine Prefectures), the empress ordered on 29 September 697 a change of the reign-name from Tiancewansui to Shengong 神功 (The Divine Feat), apparently attributing the overcoming of the Khitans to divine intervention' (40).

320 Goble, *Chinese Esoteric Buddhism*, 132. For more on these subjugation rites (*abhicāra*), see also all of Goble's chap. 3, 'Esoteric Buddhism in Context,' 95–133.

321 *T* no. 2054, 50:283c18.

322 Chen, 'Fazang (643–712): The Holy Man,' 40. For the development of the cult of Eleven-faced Avalokiteśvara in the late seventh and early eighth century, see pp. 40–47.

323 Hall, *The Buddhist Goddess Marishiten*, 58.

inaugurating a new reign era on the Navamī.

Two months earlier, Wu Youyi 武攸宜 (d. 707–710), a leading general in the campaign and Wu Zhao's first cousin once removed, led back Qidan captives in a traditional military victory parade (*kaixuan* 凱旋).[324] Though this march of triumph was a traditional military rite,[325] given the involvement of an esoteric Buddhist battle goddess in the successful conclusion of the campaign and the subsequent celebration of the Navarātri, this triumphant return might also be viewed in conjunction with Durgā's role as a triumphant battle goddess and the martial pomp and fanfare associated with the ceremonial aspects of the festival.

The notion that there are both intraregional and interregional variations of this celebration is an underlying assumption of this essay. Clearly, over space and time, the Navarātri evolved as it was customized to suit different religious and political circumstances. As the *Commentary* and the *Precious Rain Sūtra* make abundantly clear, Wu Zhao's impressive coterie of Buddhist propagandists pored over the Buddhist canon in search of materials to justify and legitimate her sovereignty as a female emperor; indeed, the interpolation in the *Precious Rain Sūtra* illustrates that they were not strictly constrained by existing canon and were willing to take creative liberties to help their powerful sponsor overcome ideological impediments. Naturally, the multi-national team of propagandists—who drew heavily upon prophetic Daoist sources as well—sought to data-mine new Indic currents of Śāktism as well to further amplify and substantiate Wu Zhao's novel vision of emperorship.

324 *ZZTJ* 206.6522. Wu Youyi is the grandson of Wu Zhao's paternal uncle Wu Shirang 武士讓. For an overview of military rituals including Taizong's victorious *kaixuan* return from a campaign in 621 clad in golden armor, see Graff, 'Dou Jiande's Dilemma,' 100.

325 *Da Tang Kaiyuan li, juan* 83. The rite involved presenting captives, spoils of war, and left ears taken as trophies (*fuguo* 俘馘/䤮).

Table 3 Recorded Celebrations of the 'Navarātri' on the Ninth Day of the Ninth Lunar Month during Wu Zhao's Zhou Dynasty, 690–97

Date/Year	Form of celebration
16 October 690	Inauguration of Wu Zhao's Zhou dynasty and the Heaven Bestowed (Tianshou 天授) era; realization of 'female warrior sovereign' and 'bodhisattva with a female body' prophecy (*vyākaraṇa* 授記)
23 October 692	Inauguration of the Protracted Longevity (Changshou 長壽) reign era. Suggestion that Wu Zhao, having grown new teeth and eyebrows in her mid-60s, is timeless and deathless, like a goddess.
13 October 693	Wu Zhao invested and consecrated as a cakravartin
22 October 695	Confirmation that Wu Zhao is both the prophesied one and the cakravartin role with elaboration of title: Heaven Appointed Cakravartin of the Golden Wheel, Sagely and Divine August Emperor (Tiance jinlun shengshen huangdi 天冊金輪聖神皇帝); joint sacrifice to Heaven and Earth in the southern suburb; general amnesty and held a nine-day bacchanal feast; inauguration of Heaven Appointed for Ten Thousand Years (Tiancewansui 天冊萬歲) reign era. 'Heaven Appointed,' like 'Heaven Bestowed,' served to broadcast that Wu Zhao was the recipient of the *vyākaraṇa*.
29 September 697	Fazang's thaumaturgic deployment of image of war god Cundī/Eleven-headed Guanyin against Qidan helps win martial victory; inauguration of Divine Achievement (Shengong 神功) reign era.

2.9a. Aftermath: A Poetic Evocation of Navamī in Zhongzong's Reign?

In 708 (twice, because of an intercalary month) and 709, on consecutive autumns, Wu Zhao's son Zhongzong and his favorite, the gifted Shangguan Wan'er 上官婉儿 (664–710)—ghostwriter of imperial edicts, prodigious poet, master of political intrigue, stunning literary talent, and concubine to two rulers—accompanied by a talented coterie of literary and poetic courtiers, climbed to lofty heights, close to

the immortals and spirits, and wrote poetry on this date.[326] 'Fenghe jiuyue jiuri deng Ciensi futu yingzhi' 奉和九月九日登慈恩寺浮屠应制 [Ascending the Pagoda of Ci'en Temple on the Ninth day of the Ninth Lunar Month], a poem composed by courtier Zhao Yanzhao 趙彥昭 (d. 715?) in 708 at the imperial command of Zhongzong, may provide evidence that the Navarātri continued to be celebrated after Wu Zhao's deposal and death in 705.

Zhao's poem concludes with a reference to 'receiving the prophecy' (*shouji* 受記), a poetic intimation that Wu Zhao's son, emperor Zhongzong, on this occasion had attained a foretold Buddhahood:

出豫乘秋節	On an imperial progress, the ruler enjoys an autumnal holiday,
登高陟梵宮	Climbing the heights, he ascends the Buddhist palace.
皇心滿塵界	While the Sovereign's heart is filled with matters of the dusty world,
佛迹見虛空	A manifestation of the Buddha appears in the empty skies.
日月宜長壽	Sun and moon align in accord with longevity,
人天得大通	Only at such a juncture can men and spirits attain great communion.
喜聞題寶偈	With delight, I hear the topic set to this gatha:

[326] See Jia, 'A Study of the *Jinglong Wenguan ji*,' 231. Rebecca Doran has analyzed the role of poets like Zhao Yanzhao (among a flock of others) in aesthetically transforming the estates of princesses and elite into divine landscapes and poetically turning outings of rulers and courtier-officials such as this into celestial peregrinations of immortals; see her *Transgressive Typologies*, 84–92. The structure and composition of these poems are discussed in Luo, 'Tangdai Jinglong ernian youxing Fosi yingzhi shi shulun.'

Shangguan Wan'er played not merely a participatory, but a leading role on these outings. See Owen, 'The Formation of the Tang Estate Poem'; Wu, 'A Study of Group Compositions in Early Tang China'; Rothschild, '"Her Influence Great, Her Merit beyond Measure".'

These outings, like Wu Zhao's announcements of new reign eras on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month, were also celebrations of the Chongyang Festival.

受記[327]莫由同 Receiving the prophecy: there is nothing comparable![328]

This contemporary usage of *shouji* by a poet to laud Zhongzong as the prospective recipient of future Buddhahood is evidence that the language of prophecy that Wu Zhao and her propagandists had employed to show that she was the prophesied female warrior sovereign and a 'bodhisattva with a female body' was widely understood in court and country.[329] The timing is an indication that the Navarātri was celebrated in Zhongzong's court as well, and that perhaps he, too, sought the potent blessings and support of the warrior goddess.

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[327] The term *shouji* 受記 in this poem is a variant of and has essentially the same meaning as *shouji* 授記, the Chinese rendering of the Sanskrit Buddhist term, *vyākaraṇa*, referring to the Buddha foretelling the future Buddhahood or bodhisattva-hood of a disciple or believer.

[328] *Quan Tangshi* 882.9989. Zhao Yanzhao is wrongly identified as Zhao Yanbo.

[329] This is certainly not the only contemporary example of references to *vyākaraṇa* in and around Wu Zhao's time. In the early 660s, when Wu Zhao and Gaozong were co-ruling as the Two Sages, a Buddhist monk named Yuanze 元則 (fl. 660s) from the Tiangong Temple 天宮寺 in Luozhou 洛州 (in the Eastern Capital Luoyang) wrote the 'Preface to the Former Collection of Miraculous Records of the Forest of Chan' ('Chanlin miaoji qianji xu' 禪林妙記前集序). He mentions the Buddha's original *vyākaraṇa*; see *QTW* 908.9477. 'Receiving the prophecy' can also be used in a Daoist context. Emperor Gaozong's 'Imperial proclamation to exalt Laojun [Laozi] with the honorific title August Emperor of Primal Origin' in 666 uses the term; perhaps in reference to his own future Daoist apotheosis he remarks that 'seated in the Bright Hall he received the prophecy' 坐明堂而受記, see *QTW* 12.151. Attributed to Wu Zhao herself, the 'Preface to the sacred teachings [translated by] the Tripiṭaka' ('Sanzang shengjiao xu' 三藏聖教序), also include the term; see *QTW* 97.1001–02. The larger point is simply that the notion of one receiving *vyākaraṇa*/prophecy of future Buddhahood, bodhisattvahood, or apotheosis was insider circulation.

DISCLAIMERS ON WU ZHAO'S 'HEROIC ŚĀKTISM' AND CELEBRATIONS OF THE NAVARĀTRI

First, this chapter does not make the claim that 'heroic Śāktism' was the exclusive or primary reason that Wu Zhao inaugurated her Zhou dynasty on the ninth day of the ninth lunar month; rather, it argues that there is strong evidence her adaptation of this Indic form of 'warrior-centric goddess worship' played a significant role in her purposeful choice of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month to found her Zhou dynasty and to mark significant political and personal triumphs. While this essay focuses on Wu Zhao's utilization of the Navarātri and currents of heroic Śāktism, the female emperor's choice of the ninth day of the ninth lunar month to inaugurate her Zhou dynasty may best be understood as a carefully-engineered convergence of numerous cultural, religious, ideological, and astronomical currents. Indeed, this chapter is one part of a trilogy that examines why this unique historical personage chose the Double Ninth as her inaugural date.

One of the legs of this tripod argues that Wu Zhao's reimagined Chongyang Festival emphasized a number of Daoist elements—including circumpolar sovereignty, divine kingship, longevity, and lofty venues that placed her in proximity of divinities and immortals—geared toward enhancing her religious and political authority.[330]

The final part of the trilogy examines the way in which Wu Zhao's calculated elevation of the Double Ninth interwove traditional Chinese festal elements such as chrysanthemums and longevity with Indic notions of cakravartin kingship and Buddhist prophecies to create a novel, culturally-hybrid holiday that enhanced her religious and political authority.[331] Though each of these parts—respectively investigating folk/Daoist, Buddhist, and Śāktic aspects of Wu Zhao's Navarātri/Chongyang Festival—has been published separately, to fully apprehend her choice of this efficacious date as her holy day, her

[330] Rothschild, 'Daoist Elements in Wu Zhao's Reimagined Double Ninth Festival,' 55–98.

[331] Rothschild, 'Chrysanthemum Cakravartin.'

holiday, the entire trilogy needs to be taken into account.

Second, admittedly, there is a speculative element in this study. Wu Zhao and her propagandists never explicitly or boldly announce an agenda of heroic Śāktism linked to the Navarātri to promote her sovereignty. I acknowledge that the argument here—that the lore and aura of warrior-goddess Durgā and other Indic battle devīs contributed to the timing of the founding of Wu Zhao's Zhou dynasty and to shaping her emperorship—is largely based on circumstantial evidence. Nonetheless, taken in its totality, as the Conclusion will demonstate, this evidence is tantalizingly convincing.

CONCLUSIONS

Birani Sarkar has remarked upon the syncretic nature and the numerous faces of the great warrior Devī in 'heroic Śāktism,' a flexibility that 'led to the pan-Indic expansion of the cult of the sovereign-goddess between the sixth and the twelfth centuries.'[332] The festival that celebrated the great warrior goddess, the Navarātri was also 'a flexible ceremony' that developed 'according to the needs and customs of particular regions.'[333] Evidence has been presented in this study that this 'pan-Indic' cult had spread to Tang China and the rest of East Asia by the seventh century. Given the constant traffic of flourishing commerce, diplomatic missions, and Buddhist pilgrims, ideas of both the great warrior goddess and the autumnal festival that celebrated her had reached China and came to exert a significant and growing ideological influence during female emperor Wu Zhao's time as empress, regent, and ultimately emperor. The timely confluence of 'heroic Śāktism' and esoteric Buddhism, newly arrived and nascent yet influential religious and cultural currents in late seventh century China, enabled this trio of devīs—indomitable radiant warrior queens Durgā, Cundī, and Mārīcī—to play an integral part in the construction of Wu Zhao's sovereignty, including a particularly cen-

[332] Sarkar, 'The Heroic Cult of the Sovereign Goddess,' 90.

[333] Ibid., 145.

tral role in her accession in 690.

This study does not claim that Wu Zhao devised a vision of sovereignty based upon a clear blueprint of the Śāktic tradition of Durgā pūjā, or reverent worship of the Hindu warrior goddess; neither does it assert that the woman emperor sought to amplify her rulership by staging recognizable vision of the Navarātri festival. In the seventh century, both the tradition of heroic Śāktism and the Navarātri (part of that tradition) were in early stages of development in the competing kingdoms in India—let alone in China! Rather, this study is seeking to show that at a pivotal juncture when the powerful wave transmitting Indian culture and religion reached its zenith in Tang China, Wu Zhao and her Buddhist propagandists incorporated culturally-legible elements of heroic Śāktism and the Navarātri. Given that she was a consummate politician and that she chose to incorporate these elements into her unprecedented accession, Wu Zhao must have done so with the belief that the public and visible display of these elements would be recognized, would resonate with some constituencies, and would, ultimately, serve to buttress and amplify her sovereignty. This utilization of heroic Śāktism was not, of course, *the* sole strategy in the diverse repertoire of Wu Zhao's emperorship, nor can it stand alone as an explanation for the timing of her accession; rather, it was *a* strategy and *a* reason.[334]

For a woman-ruler who had spent decades trying to tap into the cumulative powers of eminent female paragons—Daoist goddesses, Buddhist devīs, and powerful women from Chinese folklore—'heroic Śāktism' and the Navarātri, novel ideas that she encountered through her engagement in esoteric Buddhism, through contact with Brahmanic calendrical specialists and physicians, and via Hindu elements in Buddhist sources like the *Harivaṃśa* hymn, were neither strange nor unrecognizable. The powerful warrior goddesses Durgā, Caṇḍī/Cundī, and Mārīcī could be seamlessly integrated into her larger project of building a flexible, diverse, pluralistic pantheon of female divinities.

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[334] For a synopsis of the diverse repertoire of strategies Wu Zhao employed to secure power, see Rothschild, *Wu Zhao and Her Pantheon*, 20–22.

The following list provides a review of compelling pieces of evidence that, among the diverse strategies she employed to ascend the throne to become China's sole female emperor, Wu Zhao incorporated both elements of worship of the Great Goddess from Hinduism and related aspects of the seasonal festival Navarātri to amplify her unique sovereignty:

1. From the 640s, around the time Wu Zhao was first taken into the palace as a concubine of emperor Taizong, a prophecy circulated foretelling the future rise of a female kṣatriya ruler. In name—her surname Wu means 'martial' or 'warrior'—and in essence, when she ascended to the throne as emperor, she fulfilled the prophecy. Queen Sŏndŏk of Silla can be viewed as a predecessor/prototype, both in the sense that she received the prophecy (*vyākaraṇa*) of becoming a bodhisattva/Buddha and that she was a warrior/kṣatriya.
2. The date that Wu Zhao inaugurated her Zhou dynasty, the ninth day of the ninth lunar month in 690 (October 16, 690), corresponds with the culminating day of the Navarātri, the ninth day of the waxing moon. Subsequently, between 692 and 697, Wu Zhao marked her assumption of the title cakravartin on two occasions and inaugurated three additional reign eras on this same day of the lunar calendar.
3. During Wu Zhao's six years as grand dowager and regent, a critical period of incubation and preparation leading up to her bold move of establishing herself as Emperor and inaugurating a new Zhou dynasty, an Indian monk translated a dhāraṇī invoking Cundī from Sanskrit.
4. The presence of Durgā and Sasravati in the *Harivaṃśa* Hymn that Yijing incorporated into his translation of the *Golden Light Sūtra* in 703.

Emphasizing the plasticity of cultic tradition in heroic Śāktism, Bihani Sarkar contends that there 'must have been private manuals and traditions in every kingdom customised to suit the particular needs of courts and communities. Locally influential goddesses with individual personalities and cults were worshipped as unique forms

of Durgā with distinctive versions of the Navarātra, which led to a great degree of diversity and autonomy in the rite.'[335] Wu Zhao's staging of a proto-Navarātri festival and nascent worship of a warrior Mahādevī—invariably on occasions that served to aggrandize herself and amplify her sovereignty—can be understood in a similar vein as a creative effort to customize certain useful elements of heroic Śāktism to suit her religio-political needs at the time of her accession and during her reign. Wu Zhao tactically appropriated basic contours and ideas, enfolding heroic Śāktism into her composite paradigm of rulership. Bound in grand ceremony to a female ruler, the ascending cultic force of the Mahādevī must have been all the more resonant.

Though it is well beyond the compass of this study and undoubtedly further investigation is necessary, the rise of Wu Zhao in China, ruling empresses Suikō 推古 (r. 592–628), Jitō (r. 686–97), Kōgokyo 皇極/Saimei 斉明 (r. 642–645, 654–661), Jitō 持統 (r. 686–97), Genmyō 元明 (r. 707–15), Genshō 元正 (r. 715–24), and Kōken 孝謙/Shōtoku 稱德 (749–52 and 764–70) in Japan, Sŏndŏk and Chindŏk in Korea, a matriarchy of sorts in Sufala'najujuluo 蘇伐辣拏瞿咀羅 on the fringe of Tibet, female rulers in the heavily Indicized states in southeast Asia like Linyi 林邑 (central Vietnam) and Zhenla 真臘 (Champa/Cambodia), where Wu Zhao's long-ruling contemporary Queen Jayadevī (r. 681–713) presided, may indicate a pan-Asian diffusion of heroic Śāktism—female kṣatriya-sovereign that may well help explain the proliferation of female rulers in the seventh and eighth centuries.[336]

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[335] Sarkar, 'The Rite of Durgā in Medieval Bengal,' 328.

[336] There have been some preliminary investigations of this anomalous phenomena, but none of them include any cognizance of the impact of heroic Śāktism or any other Indic influences outside of Buddhism and the cakravartin tradition of kingship. See, for instances, Jay, 'Imagining Matriarchy,' 220–29; *idem*, 'Female Rule in East Asia,' 10–12.

For the female rulers in Linyi, see *ZZTJ* 199.6281–82 and *XTS* 222.6302. For more on Jayadevī in Champa, see Jacobsen, *Lost Goddesses*, 23–26, and 'Autonomous Queenship in Cambodia,' 365–71; and Walters, 'North-western Cambodia in the Seventh Century,' 140–42.

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Abbreviations

DTXY	*Da Tang Xinyu* 大唐新語, see Primary Sources;
HHS	*Hou Han Shu* 後漢書, see Primary Sources;
JTS	*Jiu Tang shu* 舊唐書, see Primary Sources;
QTW	*Quan Tangwen* 全唐文, see Primary Sources;
T	*Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經, see Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe et al., eds.
THY	*Tang huiyao* 唐會要, see Primary Sources;
TPGJ	*Taiping guangji* 太平廣記, see Primary Sources;
XTS	*Xin Tang shu* 新唐書, see Primary Sources;
ZZTJ	*Zizhi tongjia*n 資治通鑑, see Primary Sources.

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Primer and Map

Chapter Ten
The Study of Sanskrit in Medieval East Asia: China and Japan*

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Abstract: This chapter explores the historical study of the Sanskrit language and its related systems of writing in ancient and medieval East Asia. It is argued that the varied availability of teachers and manuals in different time periods and environments led to uneven studies of Sanskrit in different generations. In some cases, we can point to significant understanding of Sanskrit in the writings of some monks. Although some monks had direct access to Indian teachers, the majority of students never had this opportunity, and instead relied on resources in Chinese, which primarily included word lists, rather than grammars. There is evidence for the systematic study of Sanskrit grammar, but this was apparently limited in time and faced a number of challenges. The script of Siddhaṃ became widely studied as a sacred system of writing, but I argue that this did not necessitate the learning of Sanskrit grammar.

Keywords: Sanskrit, China, Buddhism, Japan, Mikkyō, Jōnen, Siddhaṃ

This chapter examines the study of Sanskrit in medieval China and Japan. Knowledge of Sanskrit and Indic languages was increasingly transmitted alongside Buddhism into China from the early centuries of the Common Era onward. The Japanese, who inherited Buddhism from the mainland, also acquired knowledge of Sanskrit to some extent, but never in a systematic fashion. We might wonder about the extent to which students of Sanskrit—both in China and

Japan—comprehended Sanskrit texts, especially when native speakers of Indian languages were few in number, or otherwise simply unavailable.

Another question to ask is what happened with Sanskrit studies over the centuries in East Asia. How did it evolve? How did China and Japan differ in this regard? The latter preserved until modern times extensive Chinese Buddhist literature alongside a tradition of utilizing an Indian writing system called Siddhaṃ in formal practices, particularly within Mikkyō traditions (i.e., Shingon and Taimitsu), but we might ask what that meant in terms of literacy and understanding of grammar and vocabulary. How much Sanskrit grammar, for example, did a monk in medieval Japan understand? To work toward an answer to this question, we can look at an analysis of a Sanskrit hymn by a monk from the twelfth century. This analysis combined with a broad look at the available manuals indicate that although Japanese monks studied Siddhaṃ and its pronunciation, there are only a few examples of Sanskrit grammar being studied. There were, in contrast, more monks in China who studied Sanskrit grammar. This study points out, however, that although some Chinese monks in Tang China possessed advanced knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, such as those involved in translation projects, systematic study of the Sanskrit language faced a number of obstacles and it was not maintained over time. Although Siddhaṃ took on an important role within hieratic contexts both in China and Japan, this did not mean many Buddhist monks in medieval East Asia necessarily read Sanskrit fluently, even though Siddhaṃ script was treated as a sacred writing system.

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: INDIC LANGUAGES IN CHINA

Indic and other foreign scripts would have been seen in China as early as the beginning of the Common Era following the first translations of Buddhist texts. These included the Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī scripts early on.[1] One of earliest datable references to Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī is found in the Chinese translation of the **Vibhāṣā-śāstra* (*Piposha lun* 鞞婆沙論), produced in 383 CE: 'It is akin to quickly learning Kharoṣṭhī script when having already learnt Brāhmī script 如學梵書已速學佉樓書.'[2] The translation of the *Guoqu xianzai yinguo jing* 過去現在因果經 [Sūtra on Past and Present Causes and Effects] by Guṇabhadra / Qiunabatuoluo 求那跋陀羅 (394–468) mentions that in Jambudvīpa there exist the Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī scripts, but there also exists a 'Lotus Script' (*lianhua shu* 蓮花書).[3] M. Nasim Khan has investigated an undeciphered script in Gandhāra, which he initially called Kohi. He points out that the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara* refer to Brāhmī, Kharoṣṭhī, and Puṣkarasārī, the latter likely referring to this unique script of Gandhāra.[4] Another Chinese translation, the *Fo benxing ji jing* 佛本行集經 [Sūtra of the Collection of the Past Activities of the Buddha] translated by Jñānagupta/Shenajueduo 闍那崛多 (523–600/605?), lists sixty-four scripts, one of which is 'Script Taught by the Sage *Puṣkara 富沙迦羅仙人說書' with a Chinese note translating this as 'Lotus' (*lianhua* 蓮花).[5] The 'Lotus Script' in question, therefore, certainly refers to the

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[1] For a discussion of these scripts, see Falk, *Schrift im alten Indian*, 84–167.

[2] *T* 1547, 28: 493b7–8. 佉樓 (Middle Chinese: kʰɨa ləw). Reconstructed readings of Middle Chinese (Pulleyblank) drawn from database on Wikitionary.org.

[3] *T* 189, 3: 628a15–16.

[4] Khan, 'Kohi or Puşkarasāri,' 7–8. I must thank Henry Albery (private communication, January 21, 2021) and Andrew Nguy (private communication, February 3, 2021) for pointing out the information related to Puṣkarasārī.

[5] *T* 190, 3: 703c12. 富沙迦羅 (Middle Chinese: puw^{H} ʂaɨ^{H} kɨa la). This same text gives what appears to be the earliest Chinese reference to the Greek language. 耶寐尼書 (Middle Chinese: jia mi^{H} ɲji) appears to be a transliteration of

Puṣkarasārī script. There is no mention in said list of Siddhaṃ (Chn. *Xitan*; Jpn. *Shittan* 悉曇), which would later feature prominently in East Asia. This is in contrast to Chaudhuri who claims that 'the Brāhmī scipt used for writing Sanskrit had regional variations, and the Chinese called the script form that was introduced to them as *hsi-t'an* 悉曇, a corruption of Siddham. They commonly used this word to mean the language also.'[6] In reality, during the first five to six centuries of the Common Era, we see a Chinese awareness of Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī, but not Siddhaṃ. Siddhaṃ in these early centuries would have presumably just referred to the standard model of syllabic arrangement, rather than a specific system of writing, which came later.[7]

The Chinese would have been exposed to foreign languages and scripts during the early contacts with the 'Western Regions' (*Xiyu* 西域). This is illustrated by the introduction of foreign loanwords and characters devised to phonetically represent them from the period of the Han dynasty onward, such as, for instance, *tihu* 醍醐. Pulleyblank connected this to Mongol *čige*(*n*) (kumiss) and concluded that 'the assumption of a common borrowing from Hsiung-nu [Xiongnu 匈奴] seems to be the best way to account for this.'[8] Interest in foreign scripts, however, appears to have been largely limited to the Buddhist community. Some early translators of Indic texts, such as Faxian 法顯 (d. 418–423), who travelled to India and back between

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Yavanī ('Ionian, Greek'), which presumably would refer to Bactria. The subsequent note reads, 'In Chinese called the script of Daqin 隋言大秦國書.' *T* 190, 3: 703c13. Daqin is a reference to the Levant and/or Byzantium, or in some cases to territories in Persia. For some recent points on Daqin, see Kotyk, 'La nascita di Cristo,' 116–117.

[6] Chaudhuri, *Sanskrit in China and Japan*, 9.

[7] Salomon notes that 'the terms *siddham* and *Siddamātṛkā* later came to be applied not only to the system of syllabic arrangement, but also to a particular local and highly influential script form which was current in northern India around the second half of the first millennium CE.' Salomon, *Siddham Across Asia*, 11.

[8] Pulleyblank, 'The Consonantal System of Old Chinese: Part II,' 255.

399–414, became literate in Sanskrit and other Indic languages. Faxian, for example, in Pāṭaliputra 'studied Sanskrit texts and the Sanskrit language' 學梵書梵語 for three years.[9] The extent to which someone in China during Faxian's time could have learnt Sanskrit is unclear. We might imagine that monks in China largely learnt Sanskrit and other Indic languages through direct instruction from foreign monks or even Brahmins resident in China, but only when this was possible.

We can point to the study of foreign languages in the capital from the early part of the Tang dynasty. According to an early version of the biography of Xuanzang 玄奘 (602–664), for example, at the age of twenty-nine 'he stayed in the capital, widely familiarizing himself with foreign lands, and extensively studying scripts and languages' 頓迹京輦廣就諸藩遍學書語. Information concerning under whom he studied is not given.[10] There is no evidence that the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* by Pāṇini was ever translated into Chinese, but we can imagine that some Indian teachers in China would have possessed the background education to teach Sanskrit grammar. One of the five traditional sciences (Skt. *pañca-vidyā*; Ch. *wuming* 五明) is the study of grammar and phonology (Skt. *śabda-vidyā*; Ch. *sheng ming* 聲明). Xuanzang in his account of India mentions this as part of the general curriculum of students there from the age of seven.[11] We can indeed imagine a number of Indian monks during the Tang period offering guidance in Sanskrit studies in China. Xuanzang also relates that the Sanskrit language and script 'were created by the god Brahma 梵天所製,' and that the pronunciation of Middle India (in contrast to neighboring regions) was identical to that of the gods.[12] The sanctity

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[9] This is reported in his travelogue, the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 [Account of the Eminent Monk Faxian]. See T 2085, 51: 864b28–29.

[10] See translation in Kotyk, 'Chinese State and Buddhist Historical Sources on Xuanzang,' 529–530. This biography in question is that compiled by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) sometime between 646–649. The early recensions of this text were preserved in Japan. See details in Ibid., 520–521.

[11] *T* 2087, 51: 876c17–18.

[12] *T* 2087, 51: 876c9–14.

and divine power of the language, and the need for proper pronunciation, were instilled in the Chinese imagination through this conceptualization of Sanskrit.

In a later generation, Yijing 義淨 (635–713), another monk who studied abroad in what are now geographically the nations of Indonesia and India, was confident that one could translate Sanskrit after studying the language for a few years. He explains as follows:

> If you just learn this, you will understand all the rest of the language. It isn't the same as the older *Thousand Word Prose*. If you read Sanskrit texts together with the Siddhaṃ manual(s), you will be able to translate in one or two years. 但學得此則餘語皆通, 不同舊千字文. 若兼悉曇章讀梵本, 一兩年間即堪翻譯矣. [13]

Siddhaṃ script, which descended from Brāhmī script, became an important component within Buddhist Mantrayāna in China and later Japan. Mantrayāna became increasingly widespread in the years following Yijing's death. We can observe that here specifically Yijing does not explicitly mention grammatical forms, declensions, conjugations, etc., but Yijing does discuss Sanskrit grammar in an overview of the topic in chapter thirty-four of his account of foreign Buddhist realms from the year 691. [14]

It is evident that Sanskrit grammar was also already known to contemporary Chinese monks to some extent. For instance, the noun cases in Sanskrit were known to Fazang 法藏 (643–712). These cases were literally called the 'eight variable voices' (*ba zhuansheng* 八轉聲) in Chinese ('voice' in this context does *not* involve verbs), although the original term in Chinese was *zhuan* 囀, which means to chirp or sing. Fazang provides a relatively detailed overview of the noun cases in his commentary on the *Avataṃsaka-sūtra* (*Huayan jing tanxuan*

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13 *T* 2133A, 54: 1190a20–21.

14 See translation in Li, *Buddhist Monastic Traditions of Southern Asia by Śramaṇa Yijing*, 145–155. See *T* 2125, 54: 228b1–229c27. The Chinese title is *Nanhai jigui neifa chuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 [A Record of Buddhist Practices Sent Home from the Southern Sea].

ji 華嚴經探玄記), as follows:

> The eight 'voices' are according to the [linguistic] rules of western countries. If one wants to read Buddhist and non-Buddhist texts, one must understand the theory of voices [i.e., cases] and the rules regarding the eight variable voices. If not clearly understood, then one will be unable to know the distinctions in meaning. I. **puruṣa*[ḥ]. This is the indicative voice [nominative case], as in 'the man chops the tree' indicates that man. II. **puruṣam*.[15] This is the voice [expressing] to what / whom the action is done [accusative case], as in 'the tree to which the action of chopping is done.' III. **puruṣeṇa*. This is the voice expressing the instrument [by] which something is done [instrumental case], as in 'to chop with a hatchet.' IV. **puruṣāya*. This is the voice conveying for what something is done, as in 'to chop for the man.' V. **puruṣāt*. This is the voice that conveys a cause [ablative case], as in 'because the man builds a structure, etc.' VI. **puruṣasya*. This is the voice which conveys that which belongs [genitive case], as in 'the servant belongs to the master.' VII. **puruṣe*. This is the voice that conveys that which is dependent [locative case], as in 'the guest is dependent upon the master.' The second [fascicle] of the *Yogā*[*cārabhūmi*] calls the above seven types as the 'seven model phrases,' since with this one can understand the major models [of cases].[16] The theory of voices is of eight variants. They additionally include *[*he*] *puruṣa*.[17] This is the vocative voice. Furthermore, these eight voices include three types: the masculine voice, feminine voice, and neuter voice. These above were explained with the masculine voice, since in Sanskrit a gentleman is called *puruṣa*. Moreover, these eight further each include three: the singular voice, dual voice, and plural voice, which then comprise twenty-four voices. There are twenty-four when addressing a gentleman, and also twenty-four voices for the feminine and neuter [respectively]. There are altogeth-

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15 Read *si* 私 as *shan* 衫, as per note in Taishō.

16 This is quoting the second fascicle of the Chinese translation of the *Yogācārabhūmi* (*Yuqie shidi lun* 瑜伽師地論). See *T* 1579, 30: 289c1–3.

17 Read 醯補盧沙. Compare *T* 1831, 43: 614a2. See also *T* 2702, 84: 385a07.

> er seventy-two voices. One can understand them accordingly with reference to the rules. However, here [in China] we mostly do not have this model. 聲者依西國法, 若欲尋讀內外典藉, 要解聲論八轉聲法. 若不明知必不能知文義分齊. 一補盧沙, 此是直指陳聲, 如人斫樹, 指說其人. 二補盧私, 是所作業聲, 如所作斫樹. 三補盧崽拏, 是能作具聲, 如由斧斫. 四補盧沙耶, 是所為聲, 如為人斫. 五補盧沙頞, 是所因聲, 如因人造舍等. 六補盧殺娑, 是所屬聲, 如奴屬主. 七補盧鎩, 是所依聲, 如客依主. 瑜伽第二名上七種為七例句, 以是起解大例故. 聲論八轉, 更加補盧沙, 是呼召之聲. 然此八聲有其三種, 一男聲, 二女聲, 三非男非女聲. 此上且約男聲說之, 以梵語名丈夫為補盧沙故. 又此八聲復各三, 謂一聲, 二聲身, 三多聲身, 則為二十四聲. 如喚丈夫有二十四, 女及非男女聲亦名有二十四, 總有七十二種聲. 以目諸法可以准知, 然此方多無此例.[18]

Fazang gives the inflected forms of puruṣa (masculine, singular) transliterated into Chinese: *bulusha* 補盧沙 (**puruṣa*[ḥ]), *bulushan* 補盧衫 (**puruṣam*), *buluzaina* 補盧崽拏 (**puruṣeṇa*), etc. Students of Sanskrit in China conceivably relied on this sort of system of phonetic representation, even when learning the noun cases. Later authors were also aware of case inflections. Huilin's lexicon from 807, for example, explains that the different phonetic transcriptions of 'Magadha' in Chinese stem from the varying inflections. [19]

Staal notes that some of Fazang's examples could possibly be traced back to the grammatical tradition of India. He notes, 'The *Kāśikā*, for example, uses *paraśunā cinatti* "he cuts with an axe" to illustrate the instrumental (commenting on Pāṇini 1.4.42, 2.3.18).'[20]

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[18] *T* 1733, 35: 149a28–b16. See alternative translation in Staal, *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarian*s, 18–19. See also the earlier translation in van Gulik, *Siddham*, 19–20.

[19] *T* 2128, 54: 434b1–2. 摩竭提者, 或云摩伽陀, 或云摩揭陀, 或曰墨竭提, 此之多名由依八轉聲勢呼召致異, 然其意義大略不殊.

[20] Staal, *A Reader on the Sanskrit Grammarians*, 18. See also earlier comments in van Gulik, *Siddham*, 19–20. Bronkhorst states that the *Kāśikā*'is the oldest surviving commentary on the whole of Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. It is our earliest testimony for all those *sūtra*s of Pāṇini's text that are not cited, used or referred to

Fazang perhaps derived these similes from a Chinese commentary on the Indian treatise on logic, the *Nyāyapraveśa* (*Yinming ruzhengli lun* 因明入正理論; T 1630), in light of the Japanese monk Annen's 安然 (b. 841) citation of a certain *Qinggan yinming lun zhuchao* 清幹因明論註抄 [Notes on the Treatise on Logic by Qinggan], which provides a similar explanation:

> The 'eight variant voices' [i.e., cases] are like when you chop a tree: there is the tree [nominative], the tree to chop [accusative], the hatchet with which to chop this tree [instrumental], chopping it [the tree] to build a house [dative], chopping it because the king orders it [ablative], chopping it because one is serving an official [genitive], and chopping it on that land [locative]. This is called chopping the tree. 八轉聲者, 例如斫樹木時, 而言樹木, 而斫樹木, 是斫樹木之斧, 而爲造屋斫之, 而因王命斫之, 而屬官家斫之, 而依其地斫之, 呼爲斫樹.[21]

In light of this sort of interest in Sanskrit grammar, we might infer that systematic study of it was undertaken within a Chinese language medium, yet van Gulik was doubtful of this. He writes, 'Chinese Buddhist monks could easily have collected the references to Sanskrit grammar scattered over the various translated sutras and supplemented this information with what they could have learned in conversation with foreign monks resident in China, so as to draw up an annotated version of the rules of the ancient Indian grammarians. As

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in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. It is also the earliest text in the Pāṇinian tradition that contains a full *Gaṇapāṭha*, i.e., a complete collection of the lists (*gaṇa*) of words that accompany many *sūtras*. Being the earliest text of its kind that has survived, the *Kāśikā* is an indispensable tool for all historical research into the early history of indigenous Sanskrit grammar, Pāṇinian and non-Pāṇinian.' See Bronkhorst, 'The Importance of the *Kāśikā*,' 129.

[21] *T* 2702, 84: 385b18–21. Read *er* 而 as *suo* 所 throughout this line. The text cited appears to be the *Yinming ruzhengli lun zhuchao* 因明入正理論註鈔, which is listed in the *Tendaishū shōsho* 天台宗章疏 [Account of Tendai Texts] by Gennichi 玄日 (846–922). See *T* 2178, 55: 1137a16.

far as I know, however, this task was never undertaken in China.'[22] This conclusion might have been premature. The lexicon for Sanskrit grammar was already well-developed in commentarial literature in Chinese on Yogācāra during and shortly after Xuanzang's time, which was likely inspired by an interest in cultivating and emulating the *śabda-vidyā* in the Indian manner.[23] Fazang appears to have read Kuiji's 窺基 (632–682) commentary in particular, titled *Cheng weishi lun zhangzhong shuyao* 成唯識論掌中樞要 (Essentials of the Treatise on the Theory of Consciousness-Only in the Palm of the Hand). Therein we see an outline of the 'theory of voices, *subanta* 蘇漫多聲說,' which refers to the eight cases.[24] The following table reproduces Kuiji's presentation of eight declensions. Note that he only provides Chinese characters and I have added the proposed translated words in Latin script directly beneath the Chinese characters. Kuiji appears to decline *bhavan* ('being'), present participle *bhavat*, although in an irregular manner. Annen in his *Shittan zō* 悉曇藏 (Siddhaṃ Repository) reproduces these lines from Kuiji's work along with the Siddhaṃ letters, which might have been part of the original text, but the letters in Annen's work appear corrupted (although, again, this might have been part of Kuiji's original work and then recopied into latter manuscripts). I have included Annen's Siddhaṃ below each declension for reference.[25]

[22] Van Gulik, *Siddham*, 21.

[23] See, for example, *Yugaron gi* 瑜伽論記 [*Commentaries on the Yogācārabhūmi*] by Dullyun 遁倫: *T* 1828, 42: 414a9–22.

[24] *T* 1831, 43: 613c3. Compare Fazang's remarks with *T* 1831, 43: 613c28–614a2.

[25] For Annen's text, see *T* 2702, 84: 385a3–15. The Siddhaṃ letters and Chinese text here are extracted from The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database (https://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index_en.html).

[26] The following website was helpful in interpreting the declensions in Chinese: https://www.dharmazen.org/X1Chinese/D45Dictionary/D08Siddham001/D08-0002.htm

The Theory of Voices, *Subanta* 蘇漫多聲說 [26]			
	Masculine Voice 男聲	Feminine Voice 女聲	Neuter Voice 非男非女聲
一儞利提勢 1. nirdeśa	一婆婆那 1. bhavan bhabhana	一婆婆那帝 1. bhavantī bhabhanati	一婆婆多 1. bhavat bhabhata
二鄔波提舍泥 2. upadeśana	二婆婆那擔 2. bhavantam bhabhanataṃ	二婆婆那底摩 2. bhavantīm bhabhanatima	二婆婆纈 2. bhavat bhabhatta
三羯哩唎迦囉泥 3. kartṛkaraṇa	三婆婆多 3. bhavatā bhabhanatā	三婆婆那底夜 3. bhavantyā bhabhanatya	第三囀下稍近男聲 From third case onward, it is quite close to the masculine voice.
四三鉢囉陀儞雞 4. *sāmpradānika*	四婆婆羝 4. bhavate bhabhanate	四婆婆那帶 4. bhavantyai bhabhanate	
五褒波陀泥 5. apādāna	五婆婆多褒 5. bhavantaḥ bhabhanataḥ-ā	五婆婆那底夜褒 5. bhavantyāḥ bhabhanatya- ā	
六莎弭婆者儞 6. *svāmivacana*	六婆婆那多阿 6. bhavantaḥ bhabhanataḥ-a	六婆婆那底夜阿 6. bhavantyāḥ bhabhanatya-aḥ	
七珊儞陀那囉梯 7. *saṃnidhānārtha*	七婆婆底 7. bhavati bhabhani	七婆婆那底夜摩 7. bhavantyām bhabhanatyama	
八阿曼怛羅泥 8. *āmantraṇa*	八於初囀上加醯字 8. Add *he* ( ) to first case.	八於初囀上加醯字 8. Add *he* ( ) to first case.	

This sort of presentation of Sanskrit grammar in Chinese suggests to me that all declensions and conjugations were most likely avail-

able as part of handbooks, even if these were not widely circulated, although the garbled quality of the Siddhaṃ reproduced by Annen could indicate that precise and accurate handling of the script were lacking in the original Chinese materials. This sort of approach to learning Sanskrit—with transliteration into Chinese and unreliable Siddhaṃ spellings—appears to have been what Chinese and Japanese monks would have had available to them. In the table above, it is possible that the Siddhaṃ letters were added only after the Chinese characters were used to record the declensions. In other words, the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit came first (perhaps recorded from oral recitation) and then the Siddhaṃ letters were added afterward. We might imagine a Chinese student learning declensions and conjugations through an oral medium and then writing down what they heard in Chinese characters. Attempting to read a Sanskrit text with this sort of system would have been conceivably quite difficult, but in the majority of cases, translation from Sanskrit into Chinese was generally undertaken with the assistance of foreign scholars, although this was not always so. [27]

Another point requiring consideration is that the Chinese understanding of Sanskrit underwent further development with particular interest in Siddhaṃ as a sacred system of writing, which was further used in visualizations.[28] This was in large part due to the interest in Mantrayāna, which emphasized the orthodox pronunciation of *mantras* while also greatly utilizing the Siddhaṃ script in various contexts. This interest is represented by the *Xitanzi ji* 悉曇字記 [Account of Siddhaṃ Letters] by Zhiguang 智廣 (d.u.), which dates to sometime before 806 when Kūkai 空海 (774–835) returned with it to Japan. Zhiguang states that he wrote his work after he recited

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[27] For a study of how Sanskrit Buddhist texts were translated into Chinese, see Funayama, *Butten ha dō kanyaku sareta no ka*.

[28] The deities depicted in *maṇḍalas* are generally each assigned a seed syllable (Skt. *bīja*). These were preserved in Japan. For an encyclopedic overview of the two primary *maṇḍalas* of East Asia with their various deities, seed syllables, and other features, see Somekawa, *Mandara zuten*.

dhāraṇīs but discovered many errors when attempting to reproduce the proper pronunciation. He met the monk Prajñābodhi (Boreputi 般若菩提) from Southern India, who had brought with him *dhāraṇī* texts to Mt. Wutai. Zhiguang's work deals primarily with the phonetics of Siddhaṃ based on guidance from Prajñābodhi, but only in one brief fascicle.[29] This text appears in Kūkai's catalog of items brought back from China, although it does not appear to be mentioned in Chinese sources. Manuals on Sanskrit grammar, assuming they existed, might have also similarly remained unrecorded in the extant literature of Chinese Buddhism. Kūkai also records a text titled *Xitan shi* 悉曇釋 [Explanation of Siddhaṃ].[30] Annen in 885 cites this work in two instances, but only in one of these does the citation mention Siddhaṃ, and this is just Sanskrit letters with *kanji* (Chinese characters) used for phonetic transliteration. We cannot determine whether this was a guide to grammar.[31]

JAPAN

Looking at Japan, the first *probable* transmission of Sanskrit studies into Japan based on the extant record dates to 736 during the Nara Period, the year when Bodhisena (Bodaisenna 菩提僊那; 704–760) of India and Buttetsu 佛哲 (d.u.) of Linyi 林邑 arrived. Japan was increasingly exposed to Sanskrit in varying degrees in subsequent generations via Buddhist texts and monks returning from abroad. Hatsuzaki also points out that the study of Siddhaṃ in Japan was historically limited due to the nature of the language differing from Japanese (this was also the reality with Chinese and Sanskrit) and

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29 *T* 2132, 54: 1186a10-13. A text by Prajñābodhi (*Nan Tianzhu Boreputi xitan yishiba zhang* 南天竺般若菩提悉曇一十八章; Eighteen Chapters on Siddhaṃ by South Indian Prajñābodhi) is recorded in Annen's catalog: *T* 2176, 55: 1130c19–20.

30 *T* 2161, 55: 1064a27–28.

31 See *T* 2702, 84: 407c8, *T* 2397, 75: 541b21. Annen also lists the *Xitan shi* in his bibliography: *T* 2176, 55: 1131a5.

the relevant literature remaining largely unavailable in Japan, even though monks of Taimitsu and Shingon both studied the doctrinal and symbolic significances of Siddhaṃ letters and phrases. Monks in the early Heian period who travelled to China had advantages over their successors, since Indian teachers were available in China. There are recorded instances of Japanese monks in China who had the opportunity in China to learn Sanskrit directly from Indians and also Chinese specialists. These monks included Kūkai and others (see below).[32]

Kūkai's proficiency with Siddhaṃ and the associated lore is demonstrated in his *Bonji Shittan jimo narabini shakugi* 梵字悉曇字母并釋義 [Letters of Sanskrit and Siddhaṃ, and Their Exegesis]. Some myths surrounding Kūkai, which are often held to be true even by modern scholars, suggest that he capably understood both Chinese and Sanskrit, but Kobayashi in 2009 called into question whether Kūkai really possessed a solid grasp on Sanskrit itself. Kobayashi further challenges modern scholarship that uncritically accepts the traditional account which explains that Kūkai learnt Sanskrit under Huiguo 惠果 (746–805), and assumes Huiguo, and by extension Kūkai, *must* have capably understood Sanskrit, otherwise they could not have transmitted the esoteric teachings. Kobayashi also points out that Kūkai really did not have so much time in China—which could be counted in months—to study Sanskrit and adequately master the noun declensions and verb conjugations, and furthermore what he would have read was *dhāraṇīs*, which are merely incantations, rather than literature, that only require basic knowledge of the Siddhaṃ script.

Another figure of note was the Tendai monk Ennin 圓仁 (794–864). His travelogue written in China, the *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡禮行記 [The Record of a Pilgrimage to China in Search of the Dharma], gives the follow account on 28th of June, 842:

> I studied Siddhaṃ again and orally received the proper pronunciation from Tripiṭaka Master *Ratnacandra of India at Qinglongsi [in

32 Hatsuzaki, 'Kōbō Daishi no shittangaku,' 154.

> the capital, Chang'an]. 於青龍寺天竺三藏寶月所，重學悉曇，親口受正音.[33]

Ennin mentions this tutorial, but this does not indicate he immersed himself in the study of Siddhaṃ for more than a day. In this case, he simply reviewed the pronunciation of letters with an Indian teacher, rather than having studied Sanskrit grammar. Ennin's junior colleague, Enchin 圓珍 (814–891), in autumn of 853 studied Sanskrit and acquired related texts from *Prajñātara (Boredaluo 般若怛羅).[34] Again, the extent to which he studied Sanskrit is unclear, since Enchin only relates that he 'studied the Siddhaṃ manual of Brahma, and then received Sanskrit texts 學梵天悉曇章竝授梵夾經等.'[35]

Although Ennin, Enchin and others had opportunities to learn directly under Indian teachers in China, later Japanese monks had no such access. As we will see below, later generations of monks in Japan understood the pronunciation of Siddhaṃ letters primarily through *kanji*. The Japanese could also indicate the pronunciation of *kanji* with phonetic *kana*, but the limitations of this script would have prevented the preservation of the original pronunciation of Sanskrit. Apart from the few who studied in China, Japanese monks would have never heard or ever been able to study the 'true pronunciation' of Siddhaṃ as Ennin and Enchin had experienced.

Moving to a later century, we will focus on Jōnen 靜然 (d.u.). His *Gyōrin shō* 行林抄 [T 2409; Summary of the Forest of Practices], compiled in 1154, offers a detailed analysis of a Sanskrit stanza in an attempt to decipher the meaning of the individual words.[36] The stanza in question also appears in some ritual manuals in the Taishō canon, in Siddhaṃ and/or transliteration into *kanji*.[37] One of these

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[33] CBETA B18, no.95: 93b16–17.

[34] *T* 2172, 55: 1101c6–13.

[35] *T* 2172, 55: 1101c12.

[36] Jōnen was affiliated with the temple Mudōji 無道寺. He was a disciple of the Sōshitsu 相實, the progenitor of the Hōman-ryū 法曼流. See Dolce, 'Taimitsu,' 763.

[37] *T* 924C, 19: 32c18–22. *T* 1287, 21: 357b20–c4. *T* 1290, 21: 376a17–21.

is the *Beidou qixing humo fa* 北斗七星護摩法 [Homa Ritual for the Seven Stars of the Dipper of the North], which is nominally attributed to Yixing 一行 (673–727), but this is spurious because this sort of practice postdates 727.[38] This stanza is labelled *zhutian zan* 諸天讚 ['Hymnal Praise for the Gods'] and was, it seems, used to evoke worldly deities for their blessings toward the end of a ritual.[39] It seems this stanza was treated in East Asia as a *dhāraṇī* to be recited, although it might not have originally been regarded as a *dhāraṇī*, i.e., a sacred incantation like a *mantra*.

JŌNEN'S ANALYSIS IN GYŌRIN SHŌ OF THE 'HYMNAL PRAISE FOR THE GODS'

The following is a translation and analysis of Jōnen's commentary on the 'Hymnal Praise' that includes his citation of Sanskrit in both Siddhaṃ and *kanji*.[40] The point of this exercise is to show how Jōnen read and deciphered the lines of Sanskrit. One of the main points to which we should pay attention is the absence of reference to grammar altogether in Jōnen's analysis.

Below I include the Siddhaṃ and *kanji* provided by Jōnen for each word or phrase alongside his notes, which I have translated. The individual vocabulary cited by Jōnen does not always match up with the initial full stanza provided at the beginning (presented immediately below), which seems to reflect the fact that he was compiling his material from multiple manuscripts.

38 *T* 1310, 21: 458b3–8. Kotyk, 'Yixing and Pseudo-Yixing,' 27–30.

39 See example of this: *T* 1287, 21: 357b20.

40 *T* 2409, 76: 409c13–410a33. See also the work on this hymn by Kiyota, 'Shaka-zan (ōshin-zan) to shoten bongo zan,' 24–28.

41 The Siddhaṃ letters and Chinese text here are extracted from The SAT Daizōkyō Text Database (https://21dzk.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/SAT/index_en.html).

Siddhaṃ [41]	1. [illegible] 2. [illegible] 3. [illegible] 4. [illegible] 5. [illegible] 6. [illegible]
Latin Text	1. ayaṃtudevacagasura 2. kindaradarakṣakranaya 3. prapradharmagritadhikra 4. vidharmacapraśamaśaikhya 5. nemetabhūtametaprakaśaya 6. tanehaśramaṇayadhahaṃ
Kanji	1. 阿^{引}演^{引}都泥嚩左誐素羅^{一} 2. 緊那羅那^{上}囉鑠迦囉^{二合}那野^{二} 3. 鉢囉嚩羅達磨蘖哩^{二合}多地迦囉^{三} 4. 尾達磨左鉢囉^{二合}捨磨操企也^{二合四} 5. 儞銘多部多銘多鉢羅^{二合}迦捨夜^{五} 6. 怛儞賀室囉^{二合}麼拏也駄^{引}給^{引} ^{六}
Middle Chinese (Pulleyblank)	1. ʔa jian^{X} tɔ nɛj bwa^{H} t͡sa^{X} ŋa sɔ^{H} la 2. kin^{X} na^{X} la na^{X} la ɕɨak̚ kaɨ la na^{X} jia^{X} 3. pwat̚ la bwa^{H} la dat̚ mwa ŋat̚ lɨ^{X} ta di^{H} kaɨ la 4. muj^{X} dat̚ mwa t͡sa^{X} pwat̚ la ɕia^{X} mwa t͡sʰaw kʰjiə̆^{X} jia^{X} 5. ɲiə̆^{X} mɛjŋ ta bɔ^{X} ta mɛjŋ ta pwat̚ la kaɨ ɕia^{X} jia^{H} 6. tat̚ ɲiə̆^{X} ɦa^{H} ɕit̚ la mwa^{X} ŋaɨ jia^{X} da^{H} mam^{X}

Jōnen breaks down the hymn into individual components with reference to both the Siddhaṃ and *kanji* available to him based on a few different editions. Jōnen carried out a careful examination of the materials at hand and, as a result, was able to generally decipher the meaning of the original Sanskrit, albeit with some misunderstandings. The tone of Jōnen's writing, however, shows that he was uncertain about certain elements.

[illegible] ayāntu	句義未尋．諸請召呪有此句．大底請赴句歟．
阿^{引}演^{引}覩	I have not investigated the meaning of the phrase. Evocatory incantations [of sentient beings] have this phrase. It is perhaps generally a phrase for summoning.

Jōnen infers the meaning of the phrase in question by referring to

other *dhāraṇīs*, although he does not state which ones. [42]

deva	天也．
泥嚩	Gods.

In some instances, the meanings of individual words are apparent to Jōnen without reference to other works. In other cases, as we will see below, Jōnen guesses at the meaning.

bhūjagā	龍也．義釋云部惹誐．唐院讃一本云冐左迦．一本云胞若虎．直云左誐者謬歟
左誐	Dragons. The *Exegesis* [*of the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*] gives 部惹誐 . One edition of the *Praise* from Tō-in gives 冐左迦 , while one gives 胞若虎 . Here it is perhaps an error where it gives 左誐 .

The Siddhaṃ word here is clearly referring to *bhujaga or bhujaṃga* (snake, serpent), although the Siddhaṃ here differs from the line given at the beginning in original stanza. The Chinese transcription (*t͡sa*^{X} *ŋa*左誐) is missing a character to phonetically represent *bhu-*. Jōnen critically referred to other editions, such as those from the Tō-in 唐院, in which *kanji* representing *bhu-* are given (*maw*^{H} 冐 and *paɨw* 胞). Jōnen then notes the error in the original transcription.

The diversity of transcriptions of Sanskrit is informative with respect to the scribal practices of copyists. The Siddhaṃ and *kanji* could both be reproduced in different forms, a point which likely reflects the fact that copyists (i.e., an amanuensis) were often writing what they heard dictated. The variation in Siddhaṃ spellings is further explained by the fact that Japanese scribes did not use the original Indic pronunciation, but instead they used phonetic transcriptions based on *kanji* and *kana* (e.g., *hūṃ*, written in *kanji*

[42] There are clear examples of other *dhāraṇīs* in Chinese transliteration that commence with *kanji* phonetically representing *ayāntu*. See, for example, *T* 873, 18: 304a1 & 874, 18: 315c30.

as 吽, is pronounced *un* in Japan). Detailed works on Sanskrit grammar and phonology, such as Pāṇini or others for example, were evidently not available in medieval East Asia, although as mentioned earlier, there likely existed handbooks on Sanskrit grammar written in Chinese. In Japan, Siddhaṃ and Indic vocabulary were basically studied through a Sino-Japanese medium. There consequently existed considerable variations in spellings of Siddhaṃ in some instances, even for well-known *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs*, such as that of the *Heart Sūtra*. Dreitlein notes that 'the Siddham in Kūkai's text reads **pragate* (where the standard text has *pāragate*) and **prasugate* (instead of *pārasaṃgate*). This may be a mistake on Kūkai's part, a copyist's error, or Kūkai may be using a different text from the standard one known today. Note that, however, the oldest extant manuscript of the *Heart Sūtra* in Siddham, the Hōryū-ji manuscript, gives the standard form.'[43] Variations in Siddhaṃ spellings clearly existed from early on in Japan.

Jōnen's citation of the exegesis of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi* is important to note.[44] This work was mined for authoritative definitions of Indic vocabulary.[45] Other lexicons of Chinese-Indic vocabulary were available in Japan, such as the *Fanyu zaming* 梵語雜名 (Miscellaneous Sanskrit Words), which was compiled by a monk from Kucha named Liyan 禮言, and later brought to Japan by Ennin.[46] This text is a long list of Indic words in Siddhaṃ and Chinese characters, together with each word's meaning in Chinese. This

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[43] Dreitlein, 'An annotated Translation of Kūkai's *Secret Key to the Heart Sūtra,*' 36, fn. 127.

[44] The *Dari jing yishi* 大日經義釋 [Exegesis of the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi*] is a revised version of the commentary compiled by Yixing 一行 (673–727) on the basis of an oral testimony by Śubhakarasiṃha 善無畏 (637–735). Kano, 'Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi,' 383. For further discussion regarding the complex history of the commentaries, see Mano, 'Kan'yaku *Dainichikyō* no chūshakusho,' 218–223.

[45] Jōnen appears to be citing X 438, 23: 365c18 (部若伽龍也). See parallel line at *T* 1796, 39: 667b25.

[46] See Ennin's catalog of items brought back from China: *T* 2165, 55: 1075b18.

type of document would have been consulted by Japanese monks who studied the vocabulary of *dhāraṇīs* and verses in Siddhaṃ and even those transliterated into *kanji*.

𑖭𑖲𑖨 sura	上引𑖐𑖯字即𑖀也 . 𑖀𑖭𑖲𑖨云非天 .
素囉一	The above elongated *gā* letter is the a. An *asura* is a non-god [i.e., the Asuras who battle the Devas].

Jōnen here shows an awareness of word boundaries, specifically long vowels, which can be a feature of *sandhi*, although the concept of *sandhi* itself does not appear to have been studied or known.

𑖎𑖰𑖡𑖿𑖝𑖨𑖸𑖡𑖿𑖟𑖿𑖨 kintarendra	𑖎𑖰𑖡𑖿𑖝𑖨疑神也 . 點即𑖂也 . 𑖂𑖡𑖿𑖟𑖿𑖨王也 . 𑖨字衆本皆爾 . 唐院本或云緊駄 . 或本云緊曩哩曩捺囉 . 今直云那羅者謬歟 .
緊那[上]羅那囉	*Kintara*, I suspect, is a spirit. The mark [in the manuscript viewed by, myself, Jōnen] is *i*. *Indra* is the king. The letter re is like this in all editions. Some of the Tō-in editions give 緊駄 . Some editions give 緊曩哩曩捺囉 . Now here it is perhaps an error where it gives 那羅 . [47]

Jōnen here is grappling with multiple manuscripts. He could not, it seems, confidently identify the first word here, but we can infer that it is *kiṃnara*. Monier-Williams defines this as 'a mythical being with a human figure and the head of a horse (or with a horse's body and the head of a man ... celebrated as musicians.'[48] Normally, the word *kiṃnara* would have been transliterated into Chinese as 緊那羅, and this would have been immediately recognized, but Jōnen was perhaps confused by the following term, which through *sandhi* had modified the immediately preceding vowel (*kiṃnara* + *indra* = *kiṃnarendra*), 'Lord of the Kiṃnaras.' In the manuscript available to him, there was the letter *i* (𑖂), which perhaps was a notation to indicate that *endra* was to be read as *indra* without the *sandhi*.

47 Read 直 as 是.

48 Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 283.

śakradaya	帝釋歟 . 𑖎𑖿𑖨字或本𑖎𑖿𑖨𑖯 . 唐院本或云舍羯羅那野 . 梵字即今本也 , 或本云鑠揭羅跢夜叉 .
鑠迦羅[二合]那野[三]	It is perhaps Śakra [Indra]. The letter *kra* is *krā* in some editions. The Tō-in editions give 舍羯羅那野 . The Sanskrit letters are as in the present edition. Some editions give 鑠揭羅跢夜叉 .

The original Sanskrit here seems to have read as *śakra* (Śakra the god) + *ādayaḥ* ('others').

pravaradharma	勝上法也 . 嚩羅云二合謬也 .
鉢羅[二合]嚩羅[二合]達麼	The supreme Dharma. The merging of 嚩羅 is an error.

Jōnen displays an awareness of errors in the transliteration of Sanskrit words into *kanji*. These annotations are typically written in superscript, such as 二合 which show that the pronunciation of the preceding two *kanji* are merged. This practice was carried over from China. This would have resulted in consonant clusters that do not normally exist in the Japanese language (or Chinese for that matter). For example, the *kan'on* 漢音 reading (the borrowed pronunciations from Sui-Tang China) of 鉢羅 is *hatsu ra* (*h* was pronounced as *p* in Old Japanese). In this case, the consonant ending is dropped and the pronunciation would have approximated *p[a]ra*. There appears to have been an awareness that the vowel following the first consonant is dropped, a point that is reflected in the Siddhaṃ. The *kana* syllabary, which was designed for the Japanese language, does not allow for a consonant cluster such as *pr*.

kṛtādhikārā	此句衆本梵字皆同 . 唐院本或云紇栗多地迦囉 , 或云吃哩[二合]馱地迦跢 . 今漢字謬歟 .
蘖哩[二合]多地伽囉[三]	This phrase in the editions [at hand] all have the same Sanskrit letters. Some of the Tō-in editions give 紇栗多地迦囉 . Some give 吃哩[二合]馱地迦跢 . Here perhaps the *kanji* are erroneous.

Jōnen appears to have not understood this part of the *dhāraṇī* and how it relates to *pravaradharma*. In this case, it would refer to the aforementioned beings, who are established (*kṛtādhikārāḥ*) in the supreme Dharma.

voddhaṃvacaḥ	佛語歟．字或作．唐院本云冒淡嚩左，或云讃朕麼惹．
尾達麼左	This perhaps means speech of the Buddha. The letter *ddhaṃ* is sometimes written as *dhvaṃ*. The Tō-in edition gives 冒淡嚩左 . Some give 讃朕麼惹 .

The letter *vo* is an error for the graphically similar *bo* , although here we might normally expect *bu* , as in *buddha*.

praśama	寂也，能除也．
鉢羅[二合]捨麼	Calm. To absolve.

saukhya	安樂也．唐院本或云素契也． 梵字同今．或云鉢羅嚩囉素迦．或作，今作本，私法本同之．
操企也[二合四]	Peace. Some of the Tō-in editions gives 素契 . The Sanskrit letters are identical to the present version. Some give 鉢羅嚩囉素迦 [*pravarasukha*?]. Some give *so*. The present edition has *sau*. The edition of Kōbō[daishi Kūkai] is identical to this.

Here *shi hō* 私法 ought to be read as *kō bō* 弘法, based on the appearance of the latter below. This refers to the edition, or a copy thereof brought to Japan by Kūkai, i.e., Kōbōdaishi 弘法大師. This would presumably refer to the *Bonji tenryū hachibu zan* 梵字天龍八部讃 [Hymnal Praises of the Eight Divisions of Nāgas and Devas in Sanskrit], which is recorded in Kūkai's list of items brought back from China in 806. Jōnen, citing the bibliography of esoteric works compiled by Annen in 885–902, also mentions this text alongside three others under the same heading of 'Hymnal Praises to Worldly Deities' (*sho seten zan* 諸世天讃). These three texts were carried to Japan by Ennin and Eun 惠運 (798–869).[49] These all deal with the Eight Divisions of Nāgas and Devas (*tenryū hachi bu* 天龍八部). These may have included different versions of the Sanskrit hymn that

Jōnen investigated. [50]

nimita	相也．唐院本云儞弭多．或云儞弭馱．今[二合]謬歟．
儞銘[二合]多	Mark. The Tō-in edition gives 儞弭多. Some give 儞弭馱. The present merging of the two characters is perhaps an error.

Here *nimita* would normally be *nimitta* in standard Sanskrit. Although interpreting this word as 'mark' (*sō* 相) would not be totally incorrect, in this context it has the sense of cause, ground, or reason. [51]

bhūta	實也．唐院本云部馱儞銘[二合]多．
部多	Reality. The Tō-in edition gives 部馱儞銘[二合]多.

Again, Jōnen is not entirely incorrect to translate *bhūta* as reality. Here, however, *nimitta-bhūta* would have originally meant 'being a cause or reason or means,' specifically with regard to *praśama-saukhya*: thus, 'the speech of the Buddha is the cause for calm and peace.' [52]

metaprakāśya	歟．唐院本或云弭□ ，以迷達音，云如是歟．次句直鉢囉羯捨也，此云開示歟．
銘多鉢羅[二合]迦捨夜[五]	This is perhaps *metata*. Some of the Tō-in editions give 弭□ *metaḥ*. Perhaps the meaning is 'thus' with the pronunciation 迷達. The following phrase *prakaśya* is 鉢囉羯捨. This perhaps means 'to reveal.'

[49] For Kūkai, see *T* 2161, 55: 1063c18. For Annen, see *T* 2176, 55: 1130b19–22. For Jōnen, see *T* 2409, 76: 409c11–14.

[50] This sort of hymnal work was apparently used in the liturgy at Qinglongsi in Chang'an, based on its appearance in the liturgical prescriptions of Faquan 法全 (fl. 838–847), titled *Gongyang hushi batian fa* 供養護世八天法 (Method for Offering to the Eight Guardian Deities). *T* 1295, 21: 382c17.

[51] Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary,* 551.

[52] Ibid., 551.

The manuscript appears to have been corrupted. Here, *meta*, which Jōnen understands as 'thus' was conceivably *itthaṃ* originally. The alternative *kanji* provided by Jōnen would have been read as *miǝ̆*^{X} *dan*^{H} (弭□) in Middle Chinese (Jpn. *mi dan*). It is possible that *nimittabhūtam-ittha[ṃ]* was erroneously copied as *mettha* and thereafter *meta*. T 1287 gives *nimeta bhuta meta prakaṣaya*.[53]

[Siddham] tadiha	怛入聲音如也 . [Siddham]云如此歟 . 唐院或本云[Siddham] . 多印賀文 . 弘法本云[Siddham] .
怛儞賀	The pronunciation is like 怛 (entering tone). *I ha* perhaps means 'thus.' Some of the Tō-in editions give *ta i ha* 多印賀 . The Kōbō edition gives *i hā śra*.

Using the classical system of Chinese tones to indicate the pronunciation of foreign words or *mantra* elements is a feature of Buddhist lexicography in East Asia.[54] The resulting system of pronouncing Sanskrit might be regarded as a type of 'Sinicized Sanskrit' and this was subsequently imported to Japan. Japanese monks capably read Chinese, but their pronunciation would have been generally based on phonetic Japanese readings of Chinese characters and also *kana*. The Japanese preservation of Chinese pronunciations of *kanji* was therefore only approximate, so their pronunciation of Sanskrit vocabulary, based on borrowed Chinese conventions for representing the sounds of Sanskrit, was similarly approximate. The word *svāhā* within the *mantra* of the *Heart Sūtra* (Jpn. *Hannyashin-gyō* 般若心經), for example, is read *sowaka* 薩婆訶 in Japanese (in Middle Chinese *sat̚bwa ha*).

Moving on, Jōnen's cited variations of *tadiha* in the manuscripts available to him, together with the following lexical item, again point to scribal errors and confusion.

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[53] *T* 1287, 21: 357b27–c1.

[54] See, for example, the *Yiqiejing yinyi* 一切經音義 [Sounds and Meanings of the Scriptures]: *T* 2128, 54: 369a23.

vaṇaya	肉也．唐院本．
	Meat. The Tō-in edition [gives] *śravaṇi*.

Jōnen's interpretation here is clearly based on guesswork. Moreover, it is unclear how he derived 'meat' from *vaṇaya* or *śravaṇi* (assuming that *niku* 肉 is not an error for another *kanji*, which is certainly possible; *bun / mon* 聞, 'to hear' potentially could have been the original *kanji*). Judging from the Siddhaṃ, we might speculate that the original word was *śravaṇāya* ('for hearing'), but Jōnen does not actually suggest this anywhere.

dharma	法歟．弘法本．今云駄鉿謬歟．唐院一本云愬怛囕，此云經．唐院一本十四字爲一句，今依之．此讃集唐院梵本二本，漢字本二本，弘法梵本校定了．
駄[引]鉿[引六]	Dharma? The Kōbō[daishi] edition [gives] *dharma*. Here it gives 駄鉿 , which is perhaps an error. One of the Tō-in editions gives *sutraṃ* 愬怛囕 . This means scripture. One of the Tō-in editions has fourteen letters as one line. Here I have relied on this. This hymnal praise brings together two Sanskrit editions and two *kanji* editions from Tō-in, which were corrected based on the Sanskrit edition of Kōbō[daishi].

Based on the material provided by Jōnen and his running commentary, we can attempt to *tentatively* reconstruct the original Sanskrit as follows. Having shown this reconstruction to a few Sanskritists, I received varying opinions and critical pointers, so I concede that this attempt is flawed and problematic from the beginning, but it is still a useful exercise because we can, I argue, get an idea of what the original hymn might have been.

> āyāntu deva-bhujagāsura-kiṃnarendrāḥ
> śakrādayaḥ pravara-dharma-kṛtādhikārāḥ |
> buddhaṃ vacaḥ praśama-saukhya-nimitta-bhūtam
> itthaṃ prakāśya tad iha śravaṇāya dharmam ||
> Let come the Kings of the Gods, Snakes, Asuras, and Kiṃnaras, and Śakra and others who have been admitted to the best Dharma. The word of the Buddha, the cause of calm and happiness, having thus

shone forth, here the Dharma is to be heard. [55]

This stanza is in *vasantatilakā* meter. With regard to the second last line, Gansten writes to me, 'If you want to make this mean "the word/speech of the Buddha" (which seems reasonable) without violating the metre, you would need to emend buddhaṃ to bauddhaṃ, making it an adjective (which would be perfectly idiomatic). As it stands, it can only mean "awakened speech". Dharmam at the end would have to be taken as a neuter noun, which surprised me (dharma is normally treated as masculine), but according to Monier-Williams it is rare but not unknown, so let it stand. Another option would have been to make that, too, into an adjective -- dharmyam, qualifying "speech".'[56] One concern with this process of reconstruction is the assumption that the original stanza was, in fact, written in entirely orthodox Sanskrit, but it is possible that this was not the case and it could have been composed in a hybrid form. Ideally in the future a better version of the hymn will become available and we can investigate this matter further in order to demonstrate how the original lines changed over time as they were transmitted from India to China to Japan.

CONCLUSION

Jōnen did not approach the Sanskrit stanza with any systematic grammar, at least judging from his presentation, but instead he largely relied on definitions of words derived from an array of sources. In some instances, he was relying on guesswork, but nevertheless he

[55] I must thank Nirajan Kafle, Peter Bisschop, Jayarava Attwood, and Martin Gansten for their assistance in reconstructing these lines of Sanskrit. This reconstruction is a revision of what I presented in Kotyk, 'Yixing and Pseudo-Yixing,' 29. Any fault in this reconstruction is my own. See also Kiyota, 'Shaka-zan (ōshin-zan) to shoten bongo zan,' 24–28.

[56] Private communication (10 February 2021).

still critically approached the Sanskrit at hand. Detailed knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, however, was not unknown in East Asia, as we explored earlier, but it is unclear whether Jōnen had access to the relevant training and materials.

One tentative conclusion to take away from Jōnen's work is that, if he was in fact representative of Mikkyō scholars of his time, then perhaps study of Sanskrit had declined in Japan since the ninth century when figures such as Annen in particular carried out comprehensive studies of the Sanskrit-related materials available to them. Monks in Tendai and Shingon certainly continued to study Siddhaṃ as a sacred system of writing, but perhaps the expertise in the subject of Sanskrit had faded over time, particularly after Annen. This situation would be comparable to early Song China, where although interest in *dhāraṇīs* persisted and translation activities occurred under state supervision, local interest in Sanskrit and the opportunity to study it declined. Even when new texts were translated from Sanskrit, they were not so influential or widely read. On this point, we should note that Sen argues that 'the shifting doctrinal interest among the members of the Chinese Buddhist community towards indigenous schools and practices rendered most of the new translations and their contents obsolete in China.' [57]

We ought to recall Kobayashi's remarks concerning Kūkai, that he did not understand Sanskrit. In light of that, we might also wonder about the other monks who understood Siddhaṃ. What level of knowledge did they possess when it came to analysis of grammar? If there was no substantial tradition of Sanskrit grammar in Japan from the ninth century, then it is perhaps unsurprising that Jōnen only pieced together the meaning of the hymn in question through reference to individual terms.

When we compare the study of Sanskrit in Japan to China, it is evident that the latter, particularly during the Tang period, had a clearly existent tradition which studied the grammar of Sanskrit, albeit with a number of limitations. My present sense is that this tradition was initially strong amongst students of Yogācāra, which

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[57] Sen, 'The Revival and Failure of Buddhist Translations,' 31.

no doubt followed Xuanzang's legacy, yet the relevant literature was primarily read through Chinese translations. The Chinese lexicon for grammatical terms from Sanskrit was established, which was necessary to translate the relevant terminology as it appeared in Sanskrit works of Yogācāra. Although Yijing in a later generation encouraged the study of Sanskrit, it does not seem that such studies were widely taken up. We know that there was knowledge of declensions, but the extant table we presented above indicates that the spelling was corrupted and likely influenced by the recording of Sanskrit sounds with Chinese characters. This would have been an obstacle to accurate reading of Sanskrit texts. Nevertheless, the Chinese monks during the period in question often had access to Indian teachers who were resident in China, so their guidance was likely indispensable. The Japanese, however, did not have this opportunity apart from rare instances, such as when Bodhisena stayed in Japan during the eighth century, or when a Japanese monk stayed in China.

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Abbreviation

B *Dazang jing bubian* 大藏經補編. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Lan.

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 [Buddhist Canon Compiled during the Taishō Era (1912–26)]. 100 vols. Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 and Watanabe Kaigyoku 渡邊海旭 et al., eds. Tōkyō: Taishō Issaikyō Kankōkai, 1924–1934. Digitized in CBETA (v. 5.2) and SAT Daizōkyō Text Database (http://21dzk.l.u-Tōkyō.ac.jp/SAT/satdb2015.php).

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Chapter Eleven
A Tang Period 'Sanskrit-Chinese Thousand-Character Primer'

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Abstract: The 'Thousand-Character-Text in Sanskrit' 梵語千字文 manuscript preserved at the Oriental Library in Tokyo corresponds to the text in *Taishō Tripiṭaka* 2133A and is attributed to the famous Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yijing 義淨 (635–713). This text began as a Sino-Indic bilingual lexicon of one thousand non-repetitive words. The manuscript became trilingual in the tenth century with a Japanese hand glossing the original manuscript in the *katakana* syllabary. The text might be the fruit of the newly prevalent trend of Siddham-Chinese lexicographical compositions in the seventh century amid increasing pilgrimages from China to India. As a translational aid and Sanskrit primer to Chinese pilgrims going to India since the seventh century, it dually serves as a tool for teaching Sanskrit lexicon and as a basic encyclopedic introduction to India. This chapter introduces the structural and codicological, calligraphic, and layout features of the manuscript, hoping to shed light on how Sanskrit was imagined to be best taught in the East Asian cultural sphere.

Keywords: 9–10th century, Japanese Manuscript, Pilgrimage, Tang Dynasty, Sanskrit Language Learning in Medieval East Asia

This chapter is a preliminary examination of the earliest extant, ninth-century manuscript of the *Fanyu qianziwen*/Jp. *bongo senjimon* 梵語千字文 [Thousand-Character Text in Sanskrit].[1] *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經 [Buddhist Canon Compiled during the Taishō Era (1912–26)] includes two versions of this text in volume 54, numbered 2133A and 2133B. This manuscript corresponds to the text as it appears in *T* no. 2133A.[2] In 2014, The Oriental Library (*Tōyō Bunko* 東洋文庫), Japan's largest Asian Studies library and current home of the manuscript, published a high-resolution colour scan of it in book form, after opening the manuscript to the public for exhibition. The chief editors and bibliographers were Ishizuka Harumichi 石塚晴通 and Kosukegawa Teiji 小助川貞次.[3] According to these two scholars, the manuscript was originally stored in the Henshōshin cloister 遍照心院 at Daitsū temple 大通寺 on Mount Banshō 萬祥山 in Kyōto before the Iwasaki 岩崎 Library purchased it from the private collection of the Akahoshi 赤星 family in 1917.[4] Iwasaki's collection is the precursor of the Oriental Library. The photo scan of the manuscript in this book is the material upon which I base my study.

Fanyu qianziwen, also called the *Tang zi qianman shengyu* 唐字千鬘聖語 [The Sacred Garland of Words in One Thousand Chinese Characters], *Fan-Han liangzi* 梵漢兩字 [A Sanskrit-Chinese

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1 The name *Fanyu qianziwen* 梵語千字文 is used as the title on the first page of this manuscript. This title was adopted by the eighteenth-century Japanese monk scholar Jakumyō 寂明 (d.u.) when he first printed and published the text. It was also used by Takakusu and Watanabe, eds., *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, no. 2133A, vol. 54. The intricacies of naming the text will be explained later in this chapter. Since the text was transmitted only in Japan and mostly studied by Japanese scholars, previous studies often used the Japanese reading of its title, *Bongo senjimon*. It is a Sino-Indic text, nevertheless, and from here on in this chapter I will use the Chinese name of the text in *pinyin* spelling.

2 *Fanyu qianziwen*, *T* no. 2133A, 54:1190a–1197a.

3 Ishizuka and Kosukegawa, *Bongo senjimon*, 1–47 and 77–79.

4 Ibid, 77. The Iwasaki Library is named after its founder, Iwasaki Hisaya 岩崎久弥 (1865–1955).

Bilingual Glossary], or *Fan-Tang qianziwen* 梵唐千字文 [Sanskrit-Chinese Thousand-Character Text], is a bilingual, Sino-Indic lexicon attributed to the famous Buddhist pilgrim Yijing 義淨 (635–713).[5] The Indic portion of the text appears to have been composed primarily in Sanskrit. It is written in the *Siddhaṃ* script, which is derived from the ancient Brāhmī script, and each word has by its side its Chinese equivalent. The Chinese text is modeled on the *Qianziwen* 千字文 (Thousand-Character Text) a sixth-century reading primer composed of a thousand different Chinese characters arranged in 250 tetrasyllabic rhyming sentences. The original *Qianziwen* was penned by Zhou Xingsi 周興嗣 (470–521) in the Liang 梁 Dynasty, serving a double purpose: as a tool for teaching Chinese characters as well as a basic encyclopedia introducing a wide range of knowledge, including on such topics as animals, plants, place names, Chinese historical figures and events, traditional kinship, etiquette, and moral codes. *Fanyu qianziwen* is not a translation of the original *Qianziwen*. It borrows the classical primer's title, but its Chinese content completely differs. The subject of discussion and overall style, nevertheless, mirrors that of the *Qianziwen*.

Fanyu qianziwen may be divided into ten sections. Each section is written with one common rhyme. The common rhyme changes for each subsequent section. Each section contains twenty tetrasyllabic lines and four pentasyllabic lines, supposedly adding up to a hundred characters per section and a thousand characters among the ten sections. The twenty tetrasyllabic lines are usually narrative, while the four pentasyllabic lines serve to recapitulate the theme of the verse. Mixing tetrasyllabic and pentasyllabic lines is a prosodic pattern that does not appear regularly in indigenous Chinese verse. This issue warrants further investigation, but we will not linger on it here. While each character stands for a word in the original *Qianziwen*,

[5] The name *Tangzi qianman shengyu* 唐字千鬘聖語 appears at the end of the main text on the manuscript. For the name *Fan-Han liangzi* 梵漢兩字, see *Shin shosha shōrai hōmon tō mokuroku*, *T* no. 2174A, 55: 1110c. For the name *Fan-Tang qianziwen* 梵唐千字文, see *Sho Ajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, *T* no. 2176, 55: 1131a.

Fanyu qianziwen includes many binomes, disyllabic words, and multi-character transcriptions of Sanskrit words, so that the total number of Chinese words is fewer than one thousand. Characters are also often repeated, and the frequency of repetition increases radically within the last two sections. A literary survey of the Chinese content of *Fanyu qianziwen* as a poem awaits further discussion in later research.

Fanyu qianziwen was the fruit of the newly prevalent trend of *Siddhaṃ*-Chinese lexicographical compositions in the early Tang amid increasing inbound and outbound pilgrimages on both the Chinese and the Indian sides. What sets this text apart from such bilingual lexicographical contemporaries as *Fan Fanyu* 翻梵語 [On Translating Sanskrit, *T* no. 2130], *Fanyu zaming* 梵語雜名 [Miscellaneous Names in Sanskrit, *T* no. 2135], and *Tang-Fan liangyu shuangdui ji* 唐梵兩語雙對集 [Compilation of Chinese-Sanskrit Bilingual Correspondences, *T* no. 2136], is that the *Fanyu qianziwen* is the only glossary in which the Chinese language portion of the text is coherent by itself. Modeled after the *Qianziwen*, and itself an elementary reading primer, *Fanyu qianziwen* follows a traditional order of lemmata based on the Chinese view of the universe. It starts with Heaven and Earth, then constellations and natural phenomena, before introducing different human relationships such as lord and vassal, family bonds, and social hierarchy. This makes *Fanyu qianziwen* a unique mnemonic tool that appeals specifically to its classically educated Chinese audience. Yijing progresses to Buddhist and Indian terminology in later sections. Evidently, Yijing did not want Buddhism to be something foreign. He wished to integrate it into the traditional Chinese worldview. To this end, he adopted the style of the *Qianziwen*, popular among the literati of his day, and appended a side-by-side Sanskrit lexicon in the Siddhaṃ script.

In his preface, the author states that the text's purpose is to help Chinese who wish to go to the Western Regions to study Buddhist scholarship with the aim of translating texts into Chinese.[6] The

[6] This inference comes from the first sentence of *Fanyu qianziwen*'s preface: *wei yu xiang xi guo ren zuo xueyu yang* 為欲向西國人作學語樣. There are three

audience for the lexicon was the Chinese literati, and thus there are, with few exceptions, only one-character words for each lexical entry,

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possible parsings and interpretations of this sentence: 1) 為欲向西/國人作學語樣 (In order to go West, [our fellow] countrymen [that is, Chinese people] take up the language-learning manner; 2) 為/欲向西國人/作學語樣 (In order to show the language-learning manner to those [people] who want to go to the Western countries); and, 3) 為欲/向/西國人/作學語樣 (In order to learn from the Western-countries' people the language-learning manner). Among the three, the first punctuation and interpretation is the most adopted by traditional scholars, including van Gulik, Bagchi, and Zhou. However, the latter two renditions have been largely unproposed. The three punctuations carry very different implications, especially regarding what the purpose of this bilingual primer will be. This chapter currently follows the first and most intuitive interpretation. Concerning the second interpretation, the implication is that the Sanskrit learning method, or the method of language acquisition applied to a phonetic rather than logographic language, as well as the distinction between the former and the latter, has been recognised by polyglots such as Buddhist scholars, and was ready to be called to the attention of Chinese literati. If, instead, one adopts the third interpretation, the purpose of *Fanyu qianziwen* would be drastically different. In this case, *Fanyu qianziwen* would be a text that exposes the people from the West to the method of language learning, which means, by default, the Chinese manner of language learning—a unique tradition rooted in the monosyllabic nature and equisyllabic pursuit of Classical Literary Chinese as a specially coded language, which the *Qianziwen* primer tradition epitomizes and concretizes. This third rendition may be the best in explaining why the *Fanyu qianziwen* is written in the *Qianziwen* format that counterintuitively prioritises the Literary Chinese habit of language acquisition rather than the Sanskrit habit, regardless of the latter being the target language to be learned, because the text's purpose is to show *them* what *our* language-learning manner is, rather than teaching *us* how *their* language should be learned. The text will thus be a demonstrative exhibition rather than a learning primer, in complete contrast to its traditionally rendered purpose. Since all three are grammatically allowable punctuations and interpretations of this opening sentence, and there is not a second copy/version to corroborate one option more than the others, this chapter will currently follow the traditional route, while proposing the possibility of exploring an alternative.

in the style of Classical Chinese. This is quite unlike the disyllabic or polysyllabic words typical of Buddhist-hybrid translation. A problem arises for some binomes or disyllabic lexicalised allusions, in that each component is translated literally into Sanskrit as a calque, losing its original meaning. Buddhist technical terms are interspersed among the near thousand entries, mostly concentrated in the seventh to the ninth sections.

The text does not appear to have survived in China.[7] However, it was transmitted in Japan following its acquisition by Ennin 円仁 (794–864), also known as Jikaku daishi 慈覺大師, a Buddhist monk and *Siddhaṃ* scholar active at the beginning of the Heian 平安 period. He stayed in China as an envoy for almost ten years until he was deported and sent back to Japan in 847, as the result of the anti-Buddhism persecution. He is one of the eponymous Eight Japanese Monks (*Nittō hakke* 入唐八家) who studied in China in the ninth century. The text is not included in the three catalogues compiled by Ennin that account for the texts that he brought back from China, or his travelogue *Nittō guhō junrei kōki* 入唐求法巡礼行記 [Record of a Pilgrimage to the Tang in Search of *Dharma*].[8] The first appraisal of

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[7] Kornicki, *Book*, 85. Kornicki does not state this directly. My assumption is drawn from his implication: '….we know that by the end of the (Nara) period a considerable quantity of such works had been transmitted to Japan…. Very few, however, have survived, except for a few texts copied in the early Nara period, including part of the account by the Tang monk Yijing of his travels to India and several literary works which do not appear to have survived in China.'

[8] Ennin has three catalogues, compiled in years 839, 840, and 847: *Nihonkoku jōwa gonen nittō guhō mokuroku* 日本國承和五年入唐求法目錄 [Catalogue of Dharma-Seeking in the Tang in the Fifth Year of the Jōwa Reign of Japan] (T no. 2165), *Jikaku daishi zaitō sōshin roku* 慈覺大師在唐送進錄 [Catalogue of What Jikaku Daishi Sent in from the Tang] (*T* no. 2166), and *Nittō shingu shōgyō mokuroku* 入唐新求聖教目錄 [Catalogue of Newly Acquired Buddhist Documents in Tang] (*T* no. 2167). For Ennin's travelogue, there are two major studies: Ono Katsutoshi's 小野勝年 (1905–1988) four volumes of *Nittō guhō junrei kōki no kenkyū* 入唐求法巡礼行記の研究 (1964–1969), and Bai Huawen 白化文 et al., coll. & annot., *Ru Tang qiufa xunli xingji jizhu* 入唐求法巡禮行記集註 (1992).

the text as an acquisition of Ennin from China appears in the *Shin shosha shōrai hōmon tō mokuroku* 新書寫請來法門等目錄 [Catalogue of New Records of Acquired Buddhist Methods, *T* no. 2174A] by Ennin's contemporary, Shūei 宗叡 (809–884), who also belongs to the *Nittō hakke*. In Shūei's catalogue, there is a *Fan-Han liangzi yijuan shizhang* 梵漢兩字一卷十張 [A Bilingual Glossary in Sanskrit-Chinese, in one fascicle of ten sheets of paper] that has '字及一千餘 義淨三藏述' (more than one thousand characters, narrated by *Tripiṭaka* Master Yijing), included as one of the works Ennin brought back.[9] The catalogue was compiled in 865. Two decades later, Ennin's disciple Annen 安然 (841–915) recorded a *Fan-Tang Qianziwen yijuan* 梵唐千字文一卷 [Sanskrit-Chinese Thousand-Character Text in One fascicle] in his *Sho Ajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku* 諸阿闍梨真言密教部類總錄 [General Catalogue of the Sections and Categories of *Dhāranī*-related Esoteric Teachings by Various Ācāryas; *T* no. 2176], attributing its acquisition to *nin* 仁, short for Ennin 円仁.[10]

Shūei's record is quoted in the appendix of Ono Genmyō's 小野玄妙 (1883–1939) 1914 paper, '*Kūjaku ō kyō* no kenkyū' 孔雀王経の研究 [Study of the *Mahāmāyūrī Sūtra*]. Ono singled out all Sanskrit texts among the Eight Monks' catalogues, assembling them into a work entitled *Nittō hakke shōrai Bonbon mokuroku* 入唐八家請來梵本目録 [Catalogue of Sanskrit Texts Acquired by the Eight Monks (Who Went) to Tang China].[11] In the same year, Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866–1945), who later became the main editor of the *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, quoted Ono's finding in his paper, '*Bongo senjimon* no chosha' 梵語千字文の著者 [Author of the *Thousand-Character Text in Sanskrit*], and identified the *Fan-Han liangzi* as the same *Fanyu qianziwen* he discussed.[12] While the *Fan-Han liangzi* and *Fan-Tang qianziwen* indirectly proved the provenance of the *Fanyu qianziwen*, there has been no received historical attestation that verified Ennin's acquisition of the text under the precise name

[9] *Shin shosha shōrai hōmon tō mokuroku*, *T* no. 2174A, 55: 1110c.

[10] *Sho Ajari shingon mikkyō burui sōroku*, *T* no. 2176, 55: 1131a.

[11] Ono, 'Kujaku,' 7b.

[12] Takakusu, 'Bongo Senjimon,' 1c.

of *Fanyu qianziwen*, notwithstanding that it is the title written on the manuscript that this chapter studies. We do not know where the title originated. What we do know is that the title *Fanyu qianziwen* refers to scholarship up to its time. Shūei's *Fan-Han liangzi* and Annen's *Fan-Tang qianziwen*, nevertheless, have become alternate names.

Although we may confirm that the text was brought back by Ennin, we do not know if the manuscript we are investigating is the original text composed by Yijing, since Ennin was active more than a century after Yijing's death. We do not have any further clues as to what Yijing's original version might have looked like, as no other versions were preserved in contemporary received texts. Additionally, we do not know where Ennin's original manuscript was preserved or whether it still survives. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, we are unsure what the base text was for both the scribes who copied Ennin's manuscript or for Jakumyō's revision in 1727.[13]

Despite these uncertainties, we can nevertheless shed new light in this chapter on four aspects of the text. First, we may assume the manuscript was not the author's autograph copy, and that the scribe was not Ennin himself or someone under his supervision. There are too many rudimentary mistakes in both the Siddhaṃ and the Chinese. Second, the dissimilarity of writing style throughout clearly suggests the manuscript was written by many hands. Naitō Konan 內藤湖南 (1866–1934) claims that this manuscript was transmitted by the single writing brush of Chishō daishi 智証大師, or Enchin 円珍 (814–891), one of the *Nittō hakke* pilgrim-monks.[14] Naitō does not

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[13] Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques, Tome II*, 424. Jakumyō's revision in the Edo period will be expatiated on later in this chapter.

[14] Naitō Konan used his original name, Naitō Torajirō 內藤虎次郎, as the author's name when he published this work. It was first published in 1926 by Ōsaka shinbunsha 大阪新聞社. In 1948 it was included in Naitō's personal anthology, *Mokuto Shotan* 目睹書譚, under the title 'Iwasaki Bunko zō koshōhon "Bongo senjimon" ryakuge' 岩崎文庫藏古鈔本梵語千字文略解. See Naitō, *Mokuto Shotan*, 359–60.

give an explanation for his statement; his notion warrants further detailed investigation.

Third, the Siddhaṃ text, along with the preface and the first eight Chinese characters, was the first content added to the text. All other Chinese characters from the ninth character to the end were later additions through several revisions made throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. Therefore, it is highly likely that it was scribes in China who wrote the *Siddhaṃ* with no Chinese characters, or perhaps only the first few. The *Siddhaṃ* was written leaving proper space to accommodate the addition of the inline Chinese. Figure 1 demonstrates an example of interlinear insertions. If the Chinese characters were written simultaneously with the *Siddhaṃ* in the first sitting, then it would have been impossible to displace Chinese characters in the main text aside to a sub-interlinear position as shown in the green circles. In other words, the positions of the Chinese characters were, clearly, adjusted according to those of the Siddhaṃ, including a string of interlinear *Siddhaṃ* which was added at some point before the Chinese, which was already set in place, leading to the tighter cramming of the Chinese characters in the sub-interlinear position. In addition, these two lines, between which the insertion takes place, are the thirteenth and fourteenth lines occurring on the first page of the manuscript. If this sort of emendation occurred this close to the beginning of the text, then the later parts ought to also have been additions. It may be the case that Ennin had to return to Japan before he could obtain a full copy of the text. One or more of the copies may have contained only the *Siddhaṃ*. It was more practical to add the Chinese after their return because they were better equipped to reproduce it. This manuscript may be a member of such a batch.

Fourth and finally, as we will discuss below, the scribes of the manuscript were probably several Japanese *kyōsei* 經生 hired solely for their calligraphic skills. They may not have possessed excellent Chinese or Sanskrit proficiency.[15] As for the specific manuscript investigated in

[15] For the identity, role, and work of *kyōsei*, see Kornicki, *Book*, 81.

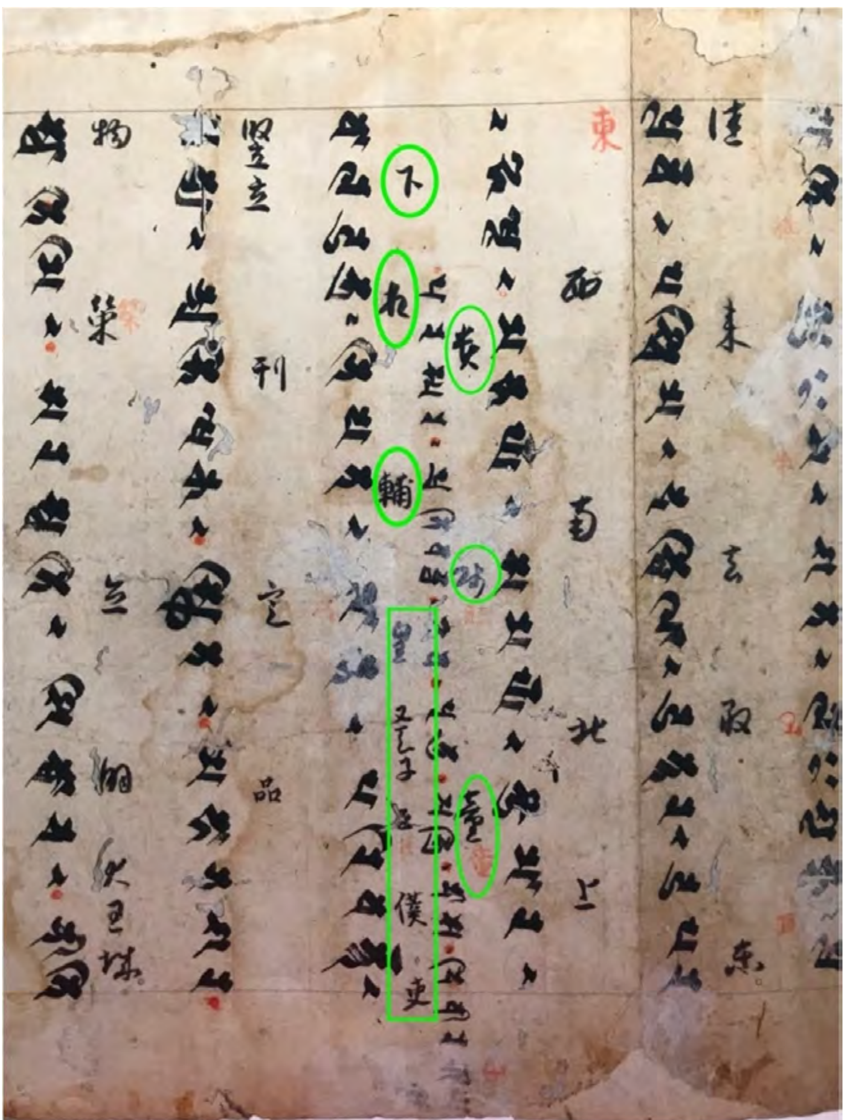

Figure 1: Interlinear insertion: the post-*Siddhaṃ* nature of the Chinese characters on the manuscript

this chapter, Ishizuka and Kosukegawa (*Bongo senjimon*) claim that the manuscript is contemporary to Ennin in the ninth century. The two scholars have drawn such a conclusion by examining the physical medium of the manuscript. The manuscript is written on *kōzo* 楮 paper made of the bark of the paper mulberry tree (*Broussonetia papyrifera*), which in the ninth century grew only in China. Coeval Japanese manuscripts, on the other hand, would have used *kaji* 梶 (*Morus papyrifera L.*) paper.[16] This piece of evidence, along with the previous assessments, collectively support the argument that it is a Chinese manuscript that was brought to Japan within Ennin's lifetime—very likely during the years of Ennin's stay in China.

The text has been copied and reproduced ever since its arrival in Japan, but not until the eighteenth century was it printed, circulated, and brought to scholarly attention. The first printed edition was a blockprint published in 1727 by Nagata Bunshōdō 永田文昌堂 in Kyōto, based on the Yogayāna monk Jakumyō's emendation of an old, deteriorated manuscript that he accidentally discovered in the Rakutō 洛東 area.[17] Because the manuscript's reproduction and the text's transmission never halted following its arrival in Japan, it is not known which manuscript the 1727 printing is based upon.[18] Jakumyō adopted the title, *Fanyu qianziwen*, on the cover of the printed book. Jakumyō filled in Chinese words that were absent to form tetrasyllabic and pentasyllabic lines. Because we cannot examine the manuscript immediately prior to Jakumyō's, we do not know if those Chinese

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16 Ishizuka and Kosukegawa, *Bongo senjimo*n, 77.

17 Details of Jakumyō's life are unknown. The Miyako area is Kyōto.

18 It is quite likely, though, that Jakumyō's base text is a manuscript written in 1698. The manuscript is now preserved at the Faculty of Letters Library, University of Kyōto. It is named *Fanzi qianziwen*/ Jp. *bonji senjimon* 梵字千字文. The archive uses 'has insect damage' (*chūson* 虫損) to describe the manuscript's condition. The archive also reports: 'The eleventh year of Genroku 元禄 (1698), the seventeenth day of the first month: copy completed based upon the manuscript [stored] at Mount Kōya 高野山, Dairoku cloister 大樂院. There are mistakes in both Sanskrit and Chinese words. As for omissions and misalignments, there is no time to correct them all. I can only emend a few of them with my galloping

words were added at Jakumyō's own discretion, or simply copied down by Jakumyō according to what had already been there in an even earlier version. Nevertheless, Jakumyō's edition leaves the *Siddhaṃ* blank in places where he is unsure of the corresponding Sanskrit. We also know that the manuscript we examine in this essay cannot be the one that Jakumyō 'accidentally found in the Miyako area,' since the manuscript is in fine condition, while the copy that Jakumyō worked on, as he wrote in his preface to the blockprint edition, was such that 'nothing was in one piece except for some deteriorated slips and worn containers.'[19] The second printing, also known as the ordinary edition (*tongxing ben*/Jp. *tsūkōbon* 通行本), was a revision of Jakumyō's work. The famous Tendai monk Keikō 敬光 (1740–1795) created this annotated, trilingual, Sanskrit-Chinese-Japanese edition in 1773. It follows the exact same format as the 1727 edition but is not its facsimile. Keikō filled out all the empty Sanskrit units that Jakumyō's edition left blank, with his annotations and preface added to the sides. His is the first attested edition to give the Sanskrit words in a format readable to modern audiences. Keikō's edition was published by Nukata Shōzaburō 額田正三郎 in Kyōto in the same year. This edition of the text was the standard text for all later printings and was also the base text for *T* no. 2133B.[20] The most widely circulated, and currently commonly available reissue of the 1773 printing, is the 1889 Yamashiroya Bunseidō 山城屋文政堂 edition, published by Fujii Sahee 藤井佐兵衛.

The first mention of the text in a Western language was by F. Max Müller (1823–1900) in the introduction to his 1881 monograph,

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brush. Thus it appears so. Judged by Yoshitake at Fudaroku cloister, Nanzan (Mount Kōya)' (元禄十一年戊寅正月十七日, 以高野山大樂院藏本寫畢. 梵漢兩字, 共有紕繆, 脱落錯乱, 不暇悉改. 馳筆之間, 稍作是正如此焉. 南山補陀洛院義剛識在判). This 1698 manuscript must be a different one from the one preserved in Oriental Library.

[19] Jakumyō, *Bongo senjimon*, page 1 of the preface: 昔在東武偶摸一本而出... 敗笥蠹簡之餘未能全矣.

[20] *Fanyu qianziwen*, *T* no. 2133B, 54:1197a–1216b.

Buddhist Texts from Japan.[21] Müller acquired a copy of the 1773 edition, which was purchased from Japan by Alexander Wylie (1815–1887), a British Christian scholar and missionary in Asia.[22] This may be the first time that a copy of the *Fanyu qianziwen* was introduced to the Western world. This copy entered the Nipponica Collection of the Bodleian Japanese Library at the Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies, University of Oxford.[23] A scholar of Indian palm-leaf manuscripts, Müller translated only one of Jakumyō's five announcements included in the beginning of Keikō's 1773 edition, one that mentioned a manuscript of the text written on two pieces of palm-leaves. He hoped later scholars would visit the Hōryū-ji 法隆寺 monastery, home of the palm-leaf manuscript, to study the remainder. Three decades later, Takakusu's 1914 paper verified Yijing's authorship of the *Fanyu qianziwen*.[24] This was the first modern study of the *Fanyu qianziwen* in an Asian language.[25] Takakusu reached this conclusion by comparing the lexical usage and style of the *Fanyu qianziwen* to Yijing's *magnum opus*, the *Nanhai jigui neifa zhuan* 南海寄歸內法傳 [A Record of Buddhist Practices Sent Home from the Southern Sea; *T* no. 2125], which Takakusu fully translated and included in his scholarly monograph in 1896, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago A.D. 671–695*. In November 1928, as one of the main editors of the *Taishō shinshū Daizōkyō*, Takakusu re-stated his 1914 paper's arguments in his postface appended to the main text of *T* no. 2133A.[26] In the postface, Takakusu also listed three extant versions of the *Fanyu qianziwen*. He correlated 2133A to the manuscript and 2133B to Keikō's 1773 blockprint.

Takakusu's work on *Fanyu qianziwen* became the basis of the first and most comprehensive study of the text, *Deux Lexiques Sanskrit-*

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21 Müller, *Buddhist Texts*, 2–3.

22 Müller refers to Alexander Wylie as Mr. Wylie and does not give Wylie's first name in his book.

23 Attar, *Directory*, 330.

24 Author of the Thousand-Character Text in Sanskrit.

25 Takakusu, 'Bongo Senjimon,' 1–5.

26 *Fanyu qianziwen*, *T* no. 2133A, 54: 1196b–1197a.

Chinois. Written by his friend, the Bengali Indo-Sinologist Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (1898–1956), the monograph is composed in French. It was released in two volumes. The first volume, published in 1929, includes a facsimile of Keikō's blockprint, after which he gives a full list of transcriptions of the Indic words. Bagchi's list consists of two textual sources. His base text, or 'A version,' is the 1773 blockprint. What he names the 'B version' is the transcription of the photo scans of a manuscript that Takakusu showed him in Paris in 1923.[27] Bagchi does not name or describe any of the details of this manuscript, but, based on a comparison between the transcription of his 'B version' and the manuscript that this paper studies, we can be certain that it is the exact manuscript that Takakusu brought to Paris to show Bagchi. Eight years later, in 1937, Bagchi published the second volume of *Deux Lexiques* as an introduction to the history and the subject matter of the text, as well as detailed linguistic analysis of the Siddhaṃ content. Bagchi's appraisal of the text is mainly a direct French translation of Jakumyō's and Keikō's prefaces and announcements as they appear on the blockprint combined with a report of Takakusu's research on the authorship. Bagchi's main contribution is his analysis of the Indic words. As a Prakritist and historical linguist, he traced the underlying form of each word and discovered not only Prakrit words, but also non-Indic forms from languages like Old Bengali and Persian. Bagchi also discovered a profusion of vernacular words in the Indic text. It is curious that such informal vocabulary would have been introduced in a primer rather than literary Sanskrit terms. However, for an unknown reason, Bagchi never mentioned the inclusion of *Fanyu qianziwen* in *Taishō shinshū Daizyokō*, which was published in 1928, one year prior to his first volume.

Since Bagchi, there has not been a comprehensive study of the text, only sporadic and brief scholarly treatments. In English scholarship, Robert van Gulik (1910–1967) wrote a two-page introduction to the text in his monograph, *Siddhaṃ* (1956). He argued that the text was compiled by a group of Indian and Chinese monks to assist travelers, and that the text is unlikely to have been composed by Yijing, since in

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[27] Bagchi, *Deux Lexiques, Tome I*, 313–30.

van Gulik's eyes the Chinese style is substandard.[28] Norwegian scholar Jens Braarvig introduced the work in his chapter, 'The Imprint of Buddhist Sanskrit on Chinese and Tibetan: Some Lexical Ontologies and Translation Strategies in the Tang Dynasty,' in the recent collection, *Studies in Multilingualism, Lingua Franca and Lingua Sacra*.[29] Braarvig did not realize the poetic and rhyming nature of the Chinese portion of the text. In Chinese scholarship, Zhou Yiliang 周一良 (1913–2001) introduced the inclusion of the text in *Taishō Shinshū Daizyokō* and summarised Bagchi's studies in his 1944 paper, 'Zhongguo de Fanwen yanjiu' 中國的梵文研究 [A Survey on the Sanskrit Studies in China].[30] Modern scholar Chen Shiqiang 陳士強 categorised this text as a Sanskrit handbook in 2007 in his compilation of synopses of each entry of the *Taishō shinshū Daizyokō*.[31]

In 2007, Matsumoto Shokei 松本照敬 published a long seventy-page paper in Japanese, called '*Bongo senjimon* no gengo hitei' 梵語千字文の原語比定 [Identification of the Original Language of the *Thousand-Character Text in Sanskrit*].[32] Matsumoto compared the words in Siddhaṃ in the 1773 blockprint with those in the manuscript at the Oriental Library, in an attempt to determine the original Sanskrit forms. Matsumoto's paleographic analysis is distinct from Bagchi's in two ways: 1) while Bagchi allows for Prakrit and non-Indic forms of those words, Matsumoto seems to imply, by adamantly seeking a 'Sanskrit' form for each word, that everything was written in Sanskrit; 2) while Bagchi keeps the grammatical form of the 'original word' consistent within its context, what Matsumoto gives is the root form of each word. Curiously, Matsumoto does not mention Bagchi or his work at all. Finally, the 2014 Oriental Library colour scan appends Ishizuka and Kosukegawa's three-page study of the manuscript as a postface. In the description, they briefly report the codicological features of the manuscripts and introduce the history of

[28] Van Gulik, *Siddhaṃ*, 31–32.

[29] Braarvig and Geller, eds., *Studies in Multilingualism*, 442–44.

[30] Zhou, 'Zhongguo de Fanwen yanjiu,' 14–15.

[31] Chen, *Dazangjing zongmu*, 277–80.

[32] Mastumoto, *Bongo Senjimon*, 35–101.

the manuscript's transmission. It looks as though all modern scholars who tried their hands at transcribing have made several variances, even mistakes, both in the *Siddhaṃ* transcription and the Chinese rendition. This seems to stem from both difficulty in distinguishing calligraphic forms and problems interpreting the forms in the *Siddhaṃ*. The *T* no. 2133A text preserves the *Siddhaṃ* script—there is no Romanised transcription of the text. Nevertheless, this type of re-creation reflects Takakusu's own understanding of the manuscript.

Based on previous scholarship, the following section of this chapter will investigate the nature and style of the manuscript in its next portion, leaving linguistically rooted issues to be tackled in future investigations. Thus, we will now turn to an examination of the structure and the codicological, calligraphic, and layout features of the manuscript.

CODICOLOGICAL EXAMINATION

Ishizuka and Kosukegawa's three-page '*Bongo senjimon* kaidai' 梵語千字文解題 [Explanation on the Title of *Bongo Senjimon*], attached to the photo scan of the manuscript as the book's postface in 2014, includes the first codicological report of the manuscript. The report includes the paper's material, decoration, current condition, binding, alternation of colours, and structure of the text.

According to Ishizuka and Kosukegawa's report, the manuscript is twenty-one pages long. It was bound in the flutter book (*senpūyō* 旋風葉) style.[33] Its new ivory roller and new blue-brocade mounting paper may suggest that the manuscript was repaired by hands of later centuries, much later than the time when the manuscript was copied. There is no colophon. Thus, we cannot know the names of the scribes or the date of the manuscript. By the same token, Ishizuka

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[33] This is a technical English translation of *senpūyō* according to the glossary provided by an online course series, 'Japanese culture through rare books' (*koshokara yomi toku nihon no bunka* 古書から読み解く日本の文化), Keio Universi-

and Kosukegawa infer the date of the manuscript from its paper. As stated previously, the leaf is a kind of *kōzo* paper that was available only in China, supporting their idea that the manuscript was brought back from China instead of created in Japan. The *Siddhaṃ* part of the manuscript is written from left to right, while the Chinese is written from top to bottom. Additionally, Japanese notes in *katakana* appear alongside the Chinese. The two scholars analyse the notes added to the preface, but do not further discuss the *kana* appended to the main text. These appear sporadically; among the approximately one thousand Chinese words, fifteen have Japanese notes. Some of the Japanese notes are semantic glosses, or *kunyomi* 訓読み, while others are *onyomi* 音読み, phonetic glosses. The *kyūkana zukai* 旧仮名遣 spelling conventions regarding intervocalic labial initials, combined with a complete lack of *dakuten* 濁点 to indicate voicing, place the addition of these notes at least before the Meiji period.[34]

The text has 292 lines in total. Its content is structured into five parts: First, the preface, attributed to Yijing (lines 1–6); second, the main text of the 'Thousand-Character Poem in Sanskrit' (lines 7–220); third, the title written at the end, saying '*Tangzi qianman shengyu* jing' 唐字千鬘聖語竟 (ends the *Tangzi qianman shengyu* [The Sacred Garland of Words in Thousand Chinese Characters]) (lines 220–221); fourth, the commentary, or postface, to the main text (*shiyu*/Jp. *shikigo* 識語) (lines 222–229); finally, the *Fan-Tang*

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ty, *Nihon no shomotsu no keijō to naiyō no sōkankankei*. English version handout (January 2017), 6. In short, *senpūyō* is a type of *orihon* 折本 (book made of folded pages) where a sheet of paper is affixed to the front, spine, and back of the book to hold it together at the spine, leaving the fore-edges of the leaves free to flutter in the wind, hence the name.

[34] There are fifteen Chinese words with Japanese explanatory notes at their sides, divided by semantic glosses and phonetic glosses. There are twelve semantic glosses, for example, to assume responsibility, to cover 蒙 カフル < カブル (*kaburu*), or feelings, mind 情 ココロ (*kokoro*), and so on. The rest are three phonetic glosses: without, to leave 離 (Jp. *li*, MC *lje*), to tear (in a binome, to encourage) 撕 セイ (Jp. *sei*, MC *sej*), and fear 懼 ク (Jp. *ku*, MC *gjuH*).

xiaoxi/ Jp. *Bon-Tō shōzoku* 梵唐消息 [Sanskrit-Chinese Information] as an appendix to the main text (lines 230–292). Both the Chinese and the Sanskrit texts have emendations by the side of some words, but the emendations alongside the Chinese characters greatly outnumber those accompanying the *Siddhaṃ*. Interestingly, while the editors emended the *Siddhaṃ* less, it does not have fewer mistakes. The scribes knew less about Sanskrit than about Chinese, thus, they were not equipped to correct as many of the problems in the *Siddhaṃ*.

Ishizuka and Kosukegawa divide the ink on this manuscript into two groups: those of black ink (*bokusho* 墨書) and red ink (*shusho* 朱書). They further subdivide the red ink into two shades, deep (*nō* 濃) and light (*tan* 淡). They believe the shades may reflect the time of writing, because the lightness of colour may have resulted from fading over time. I have observed that the black ink may also be divided into two shades. There is a deep black shade accompanying thick strokes used to write the Siddhaṃ words and some of the main text in Chinese, as well as a pale grey shade accompanying thin strokes used to write some of the emendations.

The *Siddhaṃ* characters are all written in black ink with a neat, consistent calligraphic style and all emendations made to the Sanskrit were made in red ink. The Japanese notations are also written in red ink. The Chinese characters, on the other hand, are profuse with annotations inconsistent in format, handwriting, and content. This suggests that there were multiple scribes and layers of later emendations. Based on analysis of the paper and the ink, as well as the orthography and format of the text, the manuscript was created and emended within the stretch of a century. Ishizuka and Kosukegawa report that the words in black were written in ninth-century Chinese black ink, while the words in red, no matter dark or light, were written in tenth-century Japanese red ink. Ishizuka and Kosukegawa's report provides the basis for our codicological and calligraphic analyses.[35]

To understand the information potentially encoded in the format of the manuscript, we will examine the following two aspects: first,

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[35] Ishizuka & Kosukegawa, *Taisho*, 77–79.

Figure 2: Calligraphic styles compared

the alteration of calligraphic fonts and the distinction of handwriting styles, and second, its layout, including spacing and alignment of characters.

The Chinese text is written in both cursive (*caoshu* 草書) and regular scripts (*kaishu* 楷書). Most of the characters in cursive script on this manuscript seem to be modeled after the *Zhen-Cao Qianziwen* 真草千字文 [Thousand-Character Text in Regular and Cursive Scripts] by the famous Sui Dynasty Chinese Buddhist monk and calligrapher Zhiyong 智永 (ca. 600). Monk Zhiyong was the seventh-generation descendant of Wang Xizhi 王羲之 (303–361), who is revered in China as the Sage of Calligraphy (書聖). Where there are discrepancies between Wang Xizhi's style and Zhiyong's style, the scribes of the *Fanyu qianziwen* adopted Zhiyong's variant instead of his ancestor's. Figure 2 shows two corresponding examples of the Chinese calligraphy of *Fanyu qianziwen* with Zhiyong's *Zhen-Cao qianziwen* on the one hand and Wang Xizhi's work on the other. Notwithstanding Zhiyong's own status as the establisher of the 'Yong zi bafa/Jp. *Eiji happō*' 永字八法 (Eight Principles of Writing the Character 'Yong'), the scribes of this manuscript likely adopted Zhiyong's style for two possible reasons. First, Zhiyong was a Buddhist monk, like the author of the text, Yijing. The scribes deliberately imitated the style of their Sui Buddhist predecessor.

Second, as the *Fanyu qianziwen*, content-wise, was modeled on the original *Qianziwen*, it was intuitive to resort to the most renowned calligraphic work on the *Qianziwen* itself before the ninth-century as a paradigm of proper writing. Within a century's time, scribes appended many regular-script forms to the cursive characters in the main for the sake of clarity. There are nine places where the cursive script forms were incorrectly transcribed. In order to assess the calligraphic styles and the adoption of prior models, it would be useful to study the training of *kyōsei* and examine what they did in the Hei'an period, a task that remains for future studies.

According to Ishizuka and Kosukegawa, the Chinese calligraphy of the manuscript should be divided into four parts. Their criterion for such a division is colour. Lines 1–45 and lines 55–65 are written in black; lines 46–54 and all lines after the sixty-sixth are written in red.[36] This claim seems to treat all that is written in black ink—especially the first forty-six lines—as the contribution of one scribe. I believe this may be a simplification of the actual situation. It seems that only the first eight lines, the six lines of the preface and the first eight Chinese characters in the main text up to the second character from above in the eighth line, were written by a sole scribe who was likely a contemporary of the Siddhaṃ scribe if not his collaborator. A second author seems to have produced the second half of the eighth line up to the end of the forty-sixth. For now, we cannot determine whether he was of a later generation or contemporary to the initial group of scribes. The second scribe attempted to imitate the first scribe's handwriting in terms of size and style for consistency. However, his less adroit cursive hand betrays him as a second source.

Figure 3 demonstrates this discrepancy. It shows a part of the first page of the manuscript. The interlinear insertion, seen at the bottom left corner, occurs at the beginning of the manuscript, implying

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36 When Ishizuka and Kosukegawa counted the line numbers, they missed the interlinear insertion between lines 13 and 14 on the first page. Therefore, it should be lines 46, 56, and 66 that divide the four sections. These are the line numbers that I use in the chart in Figure 4.

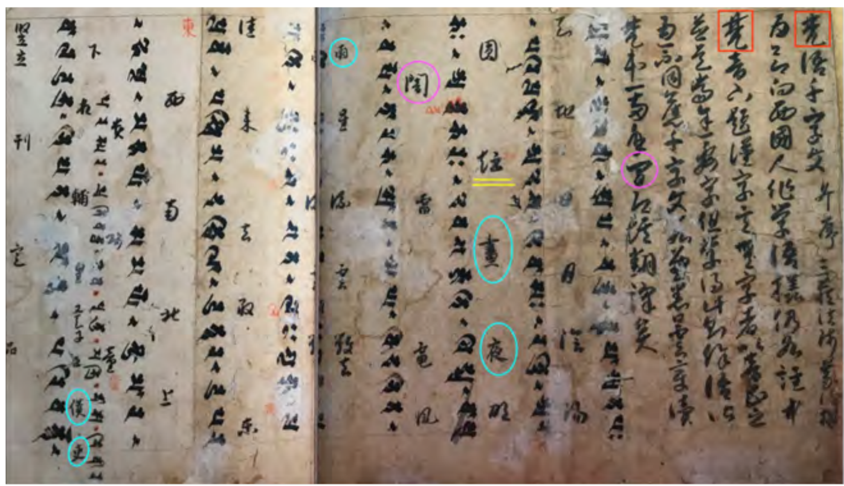

Figure 3: The various hands of the first page of the manuscript

that all the rest of the Chinese characters on this manuscript must be later additions since they are written in the same style. Three more examples of calligraphic evidence in Figure 3 corroborate our argument that there is an alteration of scribes between the second and third characters on the eighth line, that is, the second line of the main bilingual text.

First, as displayed in Figure 3, the whole preface and the first eight characters in the main text are all in the cursive script and share a consistent calligraphic style. The ninth and the tenth Chinese characters, the *zhou* 晝 (day) and the *ye* 夜 (night) that appear immediately below the double yellow lines, by contrast, are written in regular script. See the cyan circles in Figure 2. Both are very common Chinese characters and appear in Zhiyong's 'Zhen-Cao qianziwen.' If the scribe who copied the preface and the first eight characters had continued writing, it would be highly unlikely that he would have switched his script type and deviated from this calligraphic paradigm throughout the manuscript. The *Siddhaṃ* forms of 'day' and 'night' as written adjacent to the Chinese, *divasaḥ* (miswritten as *divāsaḥ* in the manuscript) and *rātrī* (miswritten as ratri on the manuscript), are also common words in Sanskrit. It is unlikely that the same scribe paused because he did not know these two words in *Siddhaṃ* alone.

In either case and either language, two such common words should not have created a special problem for him. As all Chinese characters in the regular script are circled in cyan, one can see that there is not a single cyan circle above and right of the double yellow lines while below and left of it there are many. This is the first clue that the scribe taking charge of copying words after the yellow line failed to imitate enough cursive forms as they appear in the *Zhen-Cao qianziwen*.

Second, while the preface and the first eight characters in the main text are written in large sizes with bold strokes featuring mastery of cursive calligraphy, we shall notice that everything below the double yellow lines appears smaller in font and more reserved in style.

Third, we shall compare the shapes of the two Chinese characters circled in pink: *an* 闇 ('dark') and *jian* 間 ('interval'). They are distributed on different sides of the double yellow line, our proposed watershed. The two characters look quite similar in their regular forms and share the same radical 門 (*Kangxi* radical 169). In Chinese cursive script, the 門 component that encircles the inner component always looks like 冖, and the scribe of 間 has the correct cursive. While one might empathise with the scribe who wrote 闇 for having nothing to copy from, since the character 闇 does not appear in the *Zhen-Cao qianziwen*, an adept scribe would have known how to put the requisite components together. This conjecture is further confirmed by two additional examples. First, the character *fan* 梵 ('Brahmī, Sanskrit') does not seem to be attested in cursive in pre-ninth century calligraphy, yet the scribe copying the preface makes a good cursive guess by stacking 林 above 凡. He even does it twice, as displayed in two red squares in the upper right corner of Figure 2. Second, on the later pages between line eight and line forty-six, the section in which all Chinese characters are written in black ink, whenever a character is not included in *Zhen-Cao qianziwen* and has no paradigmatic cursive forms to be emulated, the scribe is prone to write it in regular script instead of cursive. All the blue circles on the left side of Figure 3 are such specimens.

These reasons back up our argument that everything in Chinese below the double yellow lines after the eighth character, *ju* 矩 (square, rule), was produced by a second scribe, different from the scribe of the preface and the first two lines of the main text. The

significance of this complex pattern is that the switch between the scribes substantiates the hypothesis that the *Siddhaṃ* was written before Ennin's return to Japan in 847, and this manuscript may be among copies that contained *Siddhaṃ* and the first few Chinese characters only to await the addition of the rest of the Chinese upon arrival in Japan.

Expanding on the above analysis, I have created Figure 4 as a chart of calligraphic styles, colour, formatting, and quality of handwriting for each portion of the manuscript. It reveals a total of eight scribes. From Figure 4, we can observe two features of the calligraphy of the Chinese script. First, there are two sections of casual and rough handwriting intermingled with the overall highly stylistically conscious style in both cursive and regular scripts. Second, the dissimilarity of the style and frequent emendations take place only in the first half of the manuscript (lines 1–104), while the second half is in a uniform regular script with almost no emendation. In short, there is a complicated first half through various hands, with a clean-looking second half very likely to have been completed by a single scribe in one sitting.

One of the most perceptible features in regard to the layout of the text is the alignment, namely, the correspondence of each Sanskrit word and its Chinese counterpart. The text of the *Fanyu qianziwen* itself was originally a Chinese poem, adding word-to-word Sanskrit equivalents to each Chinese word to serve as a Sanskrit glossary. In theory, there should be one Chinese word, usually monosyllabic, that strictly corresponds to one Sanskrit word. However, there are misalignments in multiple places that lead one to believe this manuscript was written in the reverse order of the way it was presumably originally composed, that is, with the Siddhaṃ script first awaiting the addition of Chinese characters instead of vice versa. Hence, the scribes were required to be bilingual in order to put the Chinese characters in the correct place. However, even without perfect knowledge of both languages, the Chinese characters could usually be put down in correct places with the assistance of separative signs. Dots were placed between two words in Siddhaṃ to indicate that they were separate from each other. Figure 5 shows what a typical bilingual line looks like in the manuscript.

The three types of mistakes made in placing the *Siddhaṃ* separative

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Main Text in Chinese</th></tr>
<tr><th>Lines</th><th>Ink colour</th><th>Script</th><th>Quality of Handwriting</th></tr>
<tr><td>1–8</td><td>black</td><td>cursive only</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>8–46</td><td>black, a few later add-ons in red</td><td>cursive and regular</td><td rowspan="3">fine, elaborated</td></tr>
<tr><td>47–55</td><td>red</td><td>regular only</td></tr>
<tr><td>56–66</td><td>black</td><td rowspan="2">cursive and regular</td></tr>
<tr><td>67–84</td><td rowspan="4">red</td><td>rough, casual</td></tr>
<tr><td>85–94</td><td>cursive, a few in regular at the beginning</td><td>fine, elaborated</td></tr>
<tr><td>94–104</td><td>regular, a few in cursive</td><td>rough, casual</td></tr>
<tr><td>104–292</td><td>regular only</td><td>fine, elaborated</td></tr>
</table>

<table>
<tr><th colspan="3">Emendations in Chinese (all in regular script)</th></tr>
<tr><th>Lines</th><th>Ink colour</th><th>Position</th></tr>
<tr><td>1–46</td><td>light red, very vague</td><td>side</td></tr>
<tr><td>47–58</td><td colspan="2">No emendation</td></tr>
<tr><td>59–66, 68–73</td><td>red</td><td rowspan="2">side</td></tr>
<tr><td>67; 74–94</td><td>deep red and grey</td></tr>
<tr><td>94–104</td><td>grey</td><td>over-write</td></tr>
<tr><td>104–117</td><td>deep red</td><td>side</td></tr>
<tr><td>118–111</td><td colspan="2">No emendation</td></tr>
<tr><td>112; 125–127</td><td>grey</td><td>side</td></tr>
<tr><td>113–124; 128–292</td><td colspan="2">No emendation</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 4: Codicological and Calligraphic Summary of the Chinese Portion of the Manuscript

Figure 5: A typical bilingual line in the manuscript

signs are misidentified word boundaries, omission, and superfluous separators. There is only one case of a superfluous separator, as shown in Figure 6. The Sanskrit word for 'impoverished' (*ju* 窶), *adravya*, has an extra separative sign between *dra* and *vya*. Note the difference of the colours on the two sides of the separator; the two parts of the word are split into two different lines. Since *adravya* is written at the bottom of one line, it is likely that there was no room for the last syllable of the word. By putting the last syllable on the top of the next line, the scribe accidentally wrote one more dot. There are three cases of misidentified word boundaries. Items 7.1 and 7.2 demonstrate two such examples. In 7.1, a separator is misplaced in *gambhīra* 'deep' (*you* 幽), placing the last syllable *ra* together with the next word, *sat(t) va* 'feelings' (*qing* 情). Similarly, in item 7.2, the separator between *patita* 'fallen' (*luo* 落) and *prava*[37] 'floating' (*fu* 浮) falls between *ti* and *ta* in the first word.

Compared to the limited cases of superfluous separators and misidentified word boundaries, omission of separators is far more common throughout the manuscript, as exemplified by items 8.1 and 8.2. Such a problem on the *Siddhaṃ* side is evenly distributed on every page of this manuscript. It further implies that the *Siddhaṃ* script had little relation to the Chinese script in regard to the time of being copied and the scribes by whom it was copied.

37 The correct form for *prava* is *plava*. The *r/l* variance is one of the most prevalent Prakrit features throughout this text, which seems to reflect a feature of the Eastern dialect. Yijing spent ten years in Nālandā, located in Eastern India. This dialectal feature may substantiate Yijing's authorship.

Excessive separators	Misplacement of separators		Omission of separators	
Item 6 **adra · vya* *adravya* impoverished	*Item 7.1* **gambhī · rasatva* *gambhīra · sat(t)va* deep; feelings	*Item 7.2* **pati · taprava* *patita · prava* fall; float	*Item 8.1* **paridheṣijyeṣṭa* *paridheṣi · jyeṣṭa*[1] neighbourhood; elder uncle	*Item 8.2* **astilajjā* *asti · lajjā* there is; shame

1. In item 8.1, *jyeṣṭa* should be *jyeṣṭha* (*ṣṭ* and *ṣṭh* are often not well differentiated in these manuscripts), while the correct Sanskrit form is *pariveṣi* (as in *T* no. 2133A), and the manuscript reflects some phonetic confusions well, for example, the *dh*/*v* confusion that is very common in Brāhmī.

Figure 6: Three common mistakes

The scribes who read through the manuscript and checked the accuracy of the *Siddhaṃ* script wrote in red. When separators were needed, they added them between the two words they were trying to disambiguate by using a red dot, as in item 9 (of Figure 7). This is how they resolved the remaining nineteen cases. When corrections or clarifications were needed, they would write a corrected, or clear, version on the side of the mistaken or ambiguous form, as shown in items 10.1 and 10.2. In cases where only the vowel needed to be changed, they added a stroke to the original word so that the vowel read differently, as shown in the example in item 11. Even when no changes were needed, scribes sometimes traced the word separators one by one in red. In the chart in Figure 4, every word corresponds to three lines: the first line, with an asterisk (*), stands for the transcription as it appears on the manuscript. The second line, with no asterisk, represents the correct form(s) in Sanskrit. The third line is the word's meaning in English.

Added separators in red	Correction of Sanskrit on the side	Rewriting the Sanskrit on the side	Overwriting for vowel correction
Item 9 *nispannamaryādā niṣpanna · maryādā completed; include	Item 10.1 *aḍala Advala[1] thereupon	Item 10.2 lekhaḥ book	Item 11 *gorava gaurava reverence

1. This is one of the many cases in which the intended Sanskrit word is not clear. Possibly a mistake/dialect variant for *anvaya*, 'following,' with *ya/la* substitution.

Figure 7: The 10th-century editor's endeavor (in red) to fix the 9th-century mistakes

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Fanyu qianziwen, after having been printed and widely circulated in its blockprint form since the eighteenth century, garnered scholarly attention that attempted to analyse its languages and evaluate its translation. Thus, it may be viewed as an epitome and representative of the trend of *Siddhaṃ* studies conducted by Chinese monks in the heyday of Indo-Sinitic cultural exchange. However, neither the eighteenth-century reconstruction of the text nor the reincarnation of the text in the same formatting by *T* no. 2133A can represent and restore the manuscript's unique physical appearance. The distinction between the manuscript and its text has been unfortunately under-represented in the previous scholarship on *Fanyu qianziwen*. In order to work with a contextualised manuscript as well as an embodied text, the codicological and stylistic examination in this study is an initial procedure to enable further analysis of the verbal and translational qualities of the text integrally from its physicality. For instance, if

attention is not drawn to the differences concerning stylistic consistency between the Siddhaṃ and the Chinese scripts, or to the separate nature of the beginning part of the manuscript in black ink, readers would not correctly comprehend the extent to which the scribes understood either Siddhaṃ or Chinese; in that case, Yijing's translational intention and lexical treatment would not be discriminated from the 'pseudo-philological' problems that fall into the domain of codicology or textual transmission.

Having decoded a number of intricacies pertaining to this unusual manuscript, I believe that Yijing's text merits further research. Future scholars who work on it may wish to take on several tasks that reflect three main interests growing out of what has been established in this study. First, continued investigation of the codicological history of the manuscript is in order, including examination of the contents of the emendations in both languages, such as re-writings, clarifications, errors, misalignments between Chinese words and the corresponding Indic, and annotations. Also worthwhile are additional studies of the transmission of this manuscript in Japan prior to its first printing in 1727 in order to epitomize the transmission and preservation of Chinese Buddhist texts in pre-Edo Japan, especially those that did not survive in contemporary China. Another useful study would be an inquiry into the literary nature of the Chinese text as a poem. It would be good to have an annotated translation of the poem into English, together with an elaboration of its rhetoric and literary allusions. Third, it would be desirable to analyse the nature of the text's Indic language in three ways. First would come an assessment of the textual variations across a variety of scholars' renditions in their works to ascertain the intended Indic forms. After a paleographic examination of the *Siddhaṃ* script, it would be valuable to have a comparison of words in *Siddhaṃ* in *Fanyu qianziwen* with its coeval Sanskrit-Chinese pedagogical texts such as *Fanyu zaming*, in order to consider the ubiquity of using vernacular vocabulary in bilingual primers. A final desideratum would be to examine the Prakrit and non-Indic forms. In light of Yijing's journey through the Malay Archipelago before his ten-year residence in the Buddhist university of Nālandā in Bihar, India, an appraisal of the linguistic criteria that influenced the author's language may be applied as a testimony to Yijing's authorship.

In conclusion, it is my earnest wish that this preliminary essay on codicological, orthographical, lexicographical, and other aspects may serve as a prolegomena for the comprehensive study of *Fanyu qianziwen* as a multilingual and interdisciplinary endeavor calling for the application of a variety of approaches.

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經. See Bibliography, Secondary Sources, Takakusu and Watanabe.

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Chapter Twelve
Xuanzang à Paris: The European Reception of the Japanese Buddhist World Map*

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Abstract: This chapter examines the significance of the Japanese Buddhist cartography of Xuanzang's *Great Tang Record of [Travels to] the Western Regions* for the origins of the academic study of Buddhism in Europe. It traces the intellectual and material history of views of the Buddhist world produced in eighteenth-century Japan by monastics, intellectuals, and publishers as well as the transmission, translation, and reproduction of these views by the founding figures of the academic disciplines of Buddhist Studies and Sinology in nineteenth-century Paris. In doing so it seeks to reveal the unrecognized contributions of Japanese Buddhist cartography to the European understanding of the geography of Buddhism in China, Central Asia, and India and to the development of Buddhist Studies in the West.

Keywords: Xuanzang, Hōtan, Terajima Ryōan, Abel Rémusat, Julius Klaproth, Stanislas Julien

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Kyoto, in the year 1710, saw the publication of a map unlike any other. Titled 'Nansenbushū bankoku shōka no zu' 南瞻部洲萬國掌菓之圖 [Handy Map of the Myriad Lands of Jambudvīpa], it was the largest and most detailed Buddhist map of the world ever printed. Designed by the Kegon 華嚴 monk Hōtan 鳳潭 (1659–1738), it remained in print for over a century and spawned numerous simplified and reduced format editions, issued both as large single-sheet prints and as small book illustrations. It was notably the first Buddhist map of the world to included Europe and the Americas within its western and eastern borderlands. Yet it was also, like all other Buddhist world maps before it, deeply Indo-centric: rooted in the classical geography of Xuanzang's 玄奘 (602?–664) *Da Tang Xiyu ji* 大唐西域記 [Great Tang Record of [Travels to] the Western

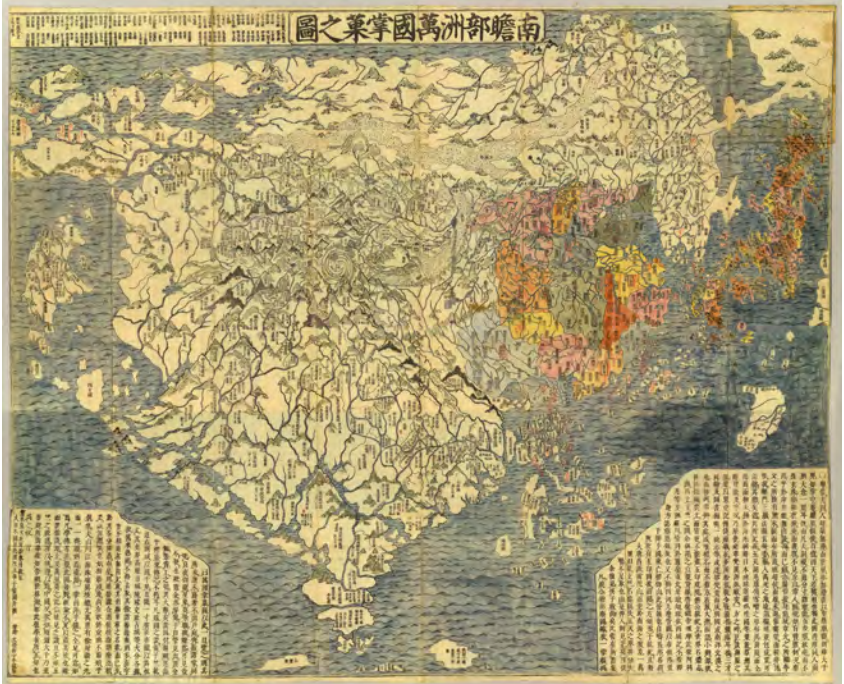

FIG. 1 Hōtan, *Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa*, 1710. Woodblock print with hand coloring, 121 × 144 cm. David Rumsey Map Collection, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA.

Regions], the written account of the Chinese monk's seventh-century pilgrimage to the Buddhist holy land.

More than one century later, three different versions of Hōtan's map were published in Paris. The first version — a French engraving based on a simplified and reduced-format edition of Hōtan's map that appeared in a popular Japanese encyclopedia of 1712 — was produced by Heinrich Julius von Klaproth (1783–1835) in 1826.[1] Ten years later, in 1836, Klaproth included a second version of the map, also drawn from the Japanese encyclopedia of 1712, in the first European-language edition of an account of the earlier pilgrimage to India by the fifth-century Chinese Buddhist monk Faxian 法顯, *Foguo ji* 佛國記 [Record of Buddhist Kingdoms], which was translated by the French savant Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat (1788–1832).[2] The third version appeared some twenty years later, in 1857, in the first European-language edition of Xuanzang's *Record*, translated by Rémusat's student and successor, Stanislas Julien (1797–1873).[3] Unlike the relatively crude maps drawn from a secondary source and published two decades earlier, Julien's map was much larger, far more detailed, and — perhaps most significantly — copied directly from Hōtan's original. Julien's translation of Xuanzang's *Record*, which contained his expanded version of Hōtan's Buddhist world map, marked a watershed moment in the study of Buddhism in Europe. It would guide the critical reconstruction of Xuanzang's pilgrimage by the geographer Louis Vivien de Saint-Martin (1802–1897) and the pioneering exploration, excavation, and plunder of Buddhist sites in India and Central Asia later undertaken by Alexander Cunningham (1814–1893) and Marc Aurel Stein (1862–1943).

Klaproth, Rémusat, and Julien — founding fathers of Sinology and Buddhist Studies in Europe — transformed the study of East Asian Buddhism in the West. They were directly responsible for establishing the learned societies, the scholarly journals, the academic

[1] Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte Chinoise et Japonaise.'

[2] Rémusat (trans.), *Foe Koue Ki ou Relation des Royaumes Bouddhiques*.

[3] Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*.

positions, the university curricula, the library collections, and the cartographic archives which provided the conditions of possibility for Sinology and Buddhist Studies as modern academic disciplines. These three scholars produced some of the earliest translations and critical studies of Chinese texts in Europe and their attention to the written records of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims provided the textual foundation for the European study of the Buddhism of India, Central Asia, and East Asia. Their work revealed the records of Faxian and Xuanzang to be more than secondary or supplemental to Indian evidence. Not only did the records of Chinese pilgrims confirm, correct, and complete Indian Buddhist sources; they served as the basis for a spatial and archeological history of Buddhism that had heretofore eluded European scholarship.[4] This chapter traces the paper trail of this little-known cartographic example of the transmission of Buddhism to ask what the European reception of the Japanese Buddhist world map can tell us about the birth of Sinology and Buddhist Studies in the West.

Hōtan's *Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa* did not arise fully-formed from the mind of a single eighteenth-century scholar-monk. It was the result of a thousand years in the East Asian study and veneration of Xuanzang's pilgrimage and of hundreds of years of transcription, experimentation, and innovation in Japanese Buddhist worldmaking long before it served as the midwife to the birth of Buddhist Studies in Europe. To fully appreciate the significance of this cartographic object we need to follow two temporal trajectories: backward from the eighteenth century to uncover the map's East Asian past and forward into the nineteenth century to explore its European future. We must consider not only how a seventh-century Chinese account of Buddhist India was envisioned in eighteenth-century Japan but also the implications of this Japanese vision for the understanding of Buddhism in nineteenth-century Europe.

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[4] Max Deeg has addressed this issue in a far more extensive manner. See Deeg, 'The Historical Turn.' My contribution to Deeg's larger project is to consider the role of a particular Japanese cartographic intervention in the process he has identified.

FROM XUANZANG TO HŌTAN

Stretching well over a meter in each direction, Hōtan's *Handy Map* is more than twice the size of previously published Japanese world maps. It resembles a wall map in scale and format and may have been intended for didactic display at temples and other sites of religious education. But if the map was produced to be studied and taught in monastic environments, the eighteenth-century boom in literacy and commercial printing meant that it reached a far wider audience and propelled the Japanese Buddhist vision of the world from the cloistered realm of the temple to the popular world of Edo print culture. In the preface to his map, Hōtan explicitly celebrates the power of mechanical reproduction, proudly announcing: 'woodblock printing has been used so that it may be propagated forever!'

Hōtan, who restored the Kyoto temple of Kegonji, played an active role in the doctrinal debates of the period and was a prolific author of Buddhist treatises and commentaries. His interlocutors included not only Buddhist scholiasts, but also leading figures from Confucian, Neo-Confucian, and Nativist schools of thought. His published writing, which number thirty-one titles in seventy-five volumes, included studies of such fundamental texts of the Kegon (Ch. Huayan) tradition as Fazang's 法藏 (643–712) commentary on the *Dasheng qixin lun yiji* 大乘起信論義記 [Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna], Fazang's *Huayan yisheng jiaoyi fenqi zhang* 華嚴一乘教義分齋章 [Essay on the Five Teachings of Huayan] and Yuanhui's 圓暉 (8th c.) commentary on Vasubandhu's encyclopedic *Treasury of Abhidharma* (Skt. *Abhidharmakośa*; Ch. *Jushe lun song shu lun ben* 俱舍論頌疏論本).

Hōtan signaled his interest in the cartographic representation of the Buddhist world by including an earlier *Map of Jambudvīpa* in his 1707 edition of Yuanhui's commentary on Vasubandhu's great work. The Buddhist world map that Hōtan included in Yuanhui's commentary was far smaller and simpler than the large and detailed map he was to publish three years later yet it bears significant points of similarity to the more expansive map of 1710. Both maps, for example, are oriented around the central lake and spiraling waterways distinctive

FIG. 2 Hōtan, *Map of Jambudvīpa, in idem., Kanchū kōen kusharon jushakusho*, 1707. Monochrome woodblock book illustration. Author's collection.

to the classical Buddhist world picture. Both of Hōtan's maps of Jambudvīpa — the book illustration of 1707 and the large-format print of 1710 — follow Vasubandhu's geography as it is described in the opening fascicle of Xuanzang's *Record*:

> At the center of Jambudvīpa is Lake Anavatapta. … from the mouth of a silver ox at the east side of the lake flows the Ganges River, which, after encircling the lake once, enters the Southeast Sea; from the mouth of a golden elephant at the south side of the lake flows the Indus River, which, after encircling the lake once, enters the Southwest Sea; from the mouth of a lapis lazuli horse at the west side of the lake flows the Oxus River, which, after encircling the lake once, enters the Northwest Sea; and from the mouth of a crystal lion at the north side of the lake flows the Sītā River, which, after encircling the lake once, enters the Northeast Sea. 則贍部洲之中地者，阿那婆答多

> 池也 [...]是以池東面銀牛口流出殑伽河, 繞池一匝, 入東南海; 池南面金象口流出信度河, 繞池一匝, 入西南海; 池西面瑠璃馬口流出縛芻河, 繞池一匝, 入西北海; 池北面頗胝師子口流出徙多河, 繞池一匝, 入東北海.[5]

Like all earlier Japanese Buddhist world maps — which were produced, transcribed, and circulated in manuscript since the fourteenth century — Xuanzang's itinerary is the sole source for all of the Indian and Central Asian place-names inscribed on the map. Indeed, Hōtan's attention to the route of the Tang pilgrim is underscored by the straight printed lines which connect each toponym following the sequence of Xuanzang's itinerary. So inspired was Hōtan by the account of the Tang pilgrim that he sought to retrace Xuanzang's journey in person but was forced to 'console himself,' in the words of Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866–1945), 'by bathing his feet in the seawater at a beach in the province of Kii and by indulging in the thought that the water extended to the shore of the motherland of Buddhism.'[6]

The sources for Hōtan's later, larger, and more detailed map of 1710, however, far exceed Xuanzang's *Record*. A box printed to the left of the map's title lists more than one hundred textual references consulted. Notably absent from this bibliography, however, is the direct source for Hōtan's geography of China and the Americas: Wang Junfu's 王君甫 (fl. c. 1650–1680) *Daming jiubian wanguo renji lucheng quantu*/Jp: *Daimin kyūhen bankoku jinseki rotei zenzu* 大明九邊萬國人跡路程全圖 [General Map of the Ming and All of the Surrounding Countries], originally published in China in 1663 and reprinted in Kyoto by Umemura Yuhaku 梅村弥白 (d.u.) sometime before 1706.[7] The topography and toponym North and South

5 *Da Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, vol. 51: 869b.

6 Takakusu, 'India and Japan,' 36.

7 The Japanese publication is not dated but the title and publisher are listed in a bookseller's catalogue of 1706. See Muroga & Unno, 'Nihon ni okonowareta Bukkyōkei sekaizu,' 139, note 28.

America on Wang's Chinese map was itself informed by elements of Jesuit cartography, in particular, the maps of Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) and Giulio Aleni (1582–1649). But if the names and forms of the Americas are drawn ultimately from Jesuit cartography in China, Hōtan's representation of Europe is copied directly from one of the many simplified versions of Ricci's world maps printed in Japan since the middle of the seventeenth century, known by the generic title, 'Bankoku no zu' 萬國之圖 (Map of the Myriad Countries).

Hōtan's map may best be understood as a work of cartographic hybridity, scholarly polemic, and innovative Buddhist worldmaking. The title, *A Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa*, combines the nomenclature of two cartographic traditions that had heretofore remained distinct. It is both a *Map of Jambudvīpa* (*Nansenbushū no zu* 南瞻部洲之圖) and also a Map of the Myriad Countries (*Bankoku no zu* 萬國之圖). At its core is Jambudvīpa, centered on Lake Anavatapta and the geography of Xuanzang's pilgrimage. But at its periphery it incorporates lands never mentioned in the *Record of Western Regions*: the Americas and Europe. Hōtan's portmanteau of a title reveals a project at once both classical and radically innovative. He appropriates the vocabulary and cartography of Ricci into a view of the world that the Jesuit father adamantly rejected.[8]

Translated more literally as a *Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa Seen Like a Fruit Held in the Hand*, the title also deploys a religious vocabulary to denote not only a Buddhist vision

[8] In the preface to his 1602 *Complete Map of Myriad Countries* (*Kunyu Wanguo Quantu* 坤輿万国全図) Ricci ridicules Buddhist claims about the location of Jambudvīpa and the height of Sumeru: 'All countries north of the equator are governed by the north pole and are thus in the northern hemispheres, while countries south of the equator are governed by the south pole and are thus in the southern hemisphere. Thus, the Buddhist claim that the Middle Kingdom is located in the southern continent of Jambudvīpa is false, as are their claims about the height of Mount Sumeru.' Translated in Akin, 'Printed Maps in Late Ming Publishing Culture,' 219–220.

of the world, but also the very quality of Buddhist vision itself: discriminative knowledge attained through meditative insight. In the preface to his map, Hōtan identifies 'a fruit held in the hand' (*shōka* 掌菓) as an object of omniscient Buddhist vision. He writes: 'The wisdom eye of the sage is far more powerful that the human eye and sees the boundless ten-thousand-fold world just like a fruit held in the hand.' The phrase, 'fruit held in the hand,' enjoys a long history in Buddhist scriptural and commentarial literature. In the *Vimalakīrti-nirdeśa-sūtra*, the Buddha asks Aniruddha, his disciple foremost in divine sight, 'How far can this heavenly eye of yours see?' Aniruddha replies, 'I can see the boundless ten-thousand-fold world as though I were looking at a fruit in the palm of my hand.'[9] The *Guan Wuliangshoufo jing yishu* 觀無量壽佛經義疏 [Commentary on the Sutra on Contemplation of Buddha Amitāyus], by Yuanzhao 元照 (1048–1116), similarly states that the 'heavenly eye sees the thousand-fold world like a fruit in the hand.'[10]

As innovative as Hōtan's map may be, it is also deeply indebted to a centuries-long tradition in Japan of manuscript maps that traced and re-traced the route of Xuanzang's pilgrimage. Indeed, the earliest extant Japanese map of the world — produced in the fourteenth century by a monastic scribe and painter associated with the Nara temples of Hōryūji and Kōfukuji — is based exclusively on Xuanzang's *Record*. Painted in colors on paper and measuring over a meter and a half square (close to the dimensions of Hōtan's

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[9] The phrase 'demonstrable in the palm of the hand' (Ch. *zhizhang* 指掌) also appears in the titles of Chinese maps from the twelfth century. de Weerdt, 'Maps and Memory,' 164, note 1. A similar phrase, 'all places in the palm of the hand' is used by Ruan Taiyuan 阮泰元 (d. after 1603) in his preface to the 1603 edition of Ricci's map. D'Elia, 'Recent Discoveries,' 144.

[10] *Guan Wuliangshou jing yishu*, *T* no. 1754, 37: 290b11. The expression is also found in Zhiyi's 智顗 (538–597) *Miaofa lianhuajing wenju*, *T* no. 1718, 34: 15c16–17; Zixuan's 子璇 (965–1038) *Shoulengyan yishu zhujing*, *T* no. 1799, 39: 848b9–17; Dharmakṣema (385–433) and Narêndrayaśas' (517–589) *Da fangdeng daji jing*, *T* no. 397, 13: 136a9, and elsewhere.

print), the map is similarly overwhelming in scale, scope, and detail. Known as 'Gotenjiku no zu' 五天竺之圖 [Map of the Five Regions of Tenjiku], it unfurls the diachronic narrative of Xuanzang's *Record* and translates a discursive sequence into a synchronic visual projection: a totalizing and encyclopedic display of spatial knowledge, cosmic order, historical demography, and ethnographic description, which memorializes the epic journey of the fabled Chinese saint and venerated patriarch of Japanese Buddhist traditions. A bright red line winds throughout the continent marking the serpentine route of Xuanzang's pilgrimage. The names of each kingdom and city through which the pilgrim passed are all dutifully listed — as is their size, their number of monasteries and monks, their climate and agriculture, and the customs and characteristics of their inhabitants — just as they appear in Xuanzang's text. To read the map is a dynamic and performative act, it is to follow the narrative of Xuanzang's pilgrimage step-by-step, and in doing so to be interpolated into the journey.

The fourteenth-century *Map of the Five Regions of Tenjiku* is framed by panels of text, most of which transcribe passages from the first two fascicles of Xuanzang's *Record*. But one of these panels identifies and celebrates hagiographic subject of the map itself:

> According to the *Record of the Western Regions*, [Xuanzang] took to the road in the autumn of the third year of the Zhenguan Era [629] and returned to Changan on the first month of the nineteenth year [645] with 657 Buddhist texts and began to translate them in mid-summer. ... According to [Huili's] *Life of the Tripiṭaka Master of the Great Ci'en Monastery*, the Master often regretted that the books obtained and used by ancient sages contained miswritten words that lead to erroneous interpretations, and that previous scholars heard and taught dubious points that gave rise to confusion. ... He therefore defied a myriad of deaths, to cross the Pamirs and the Ganges, and travel to the Āmravana Garden. On Vulture Peak, he visited the holy sites and saw the wonderful views. At the Deer Park he sought for remnant texts among moth-eaten books. Living through spring and autumn seasons, of cold and hot weather, he spent seventeen years traveling through or hearing about one hundred and eight countries.[11]

FIG. 3 Jūkai, *Map of the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, 1364. Hanging scroll; ink and color on paper, 177 × 166.5 cm. Hōryūji, Nara.

[11] Because only part of the quoted text inscribed on the map coresponds to *Da Tang Da Ci'en si sanzang fashi zhuan*, *T* no. 2053, vol. 50: 221a8–19.

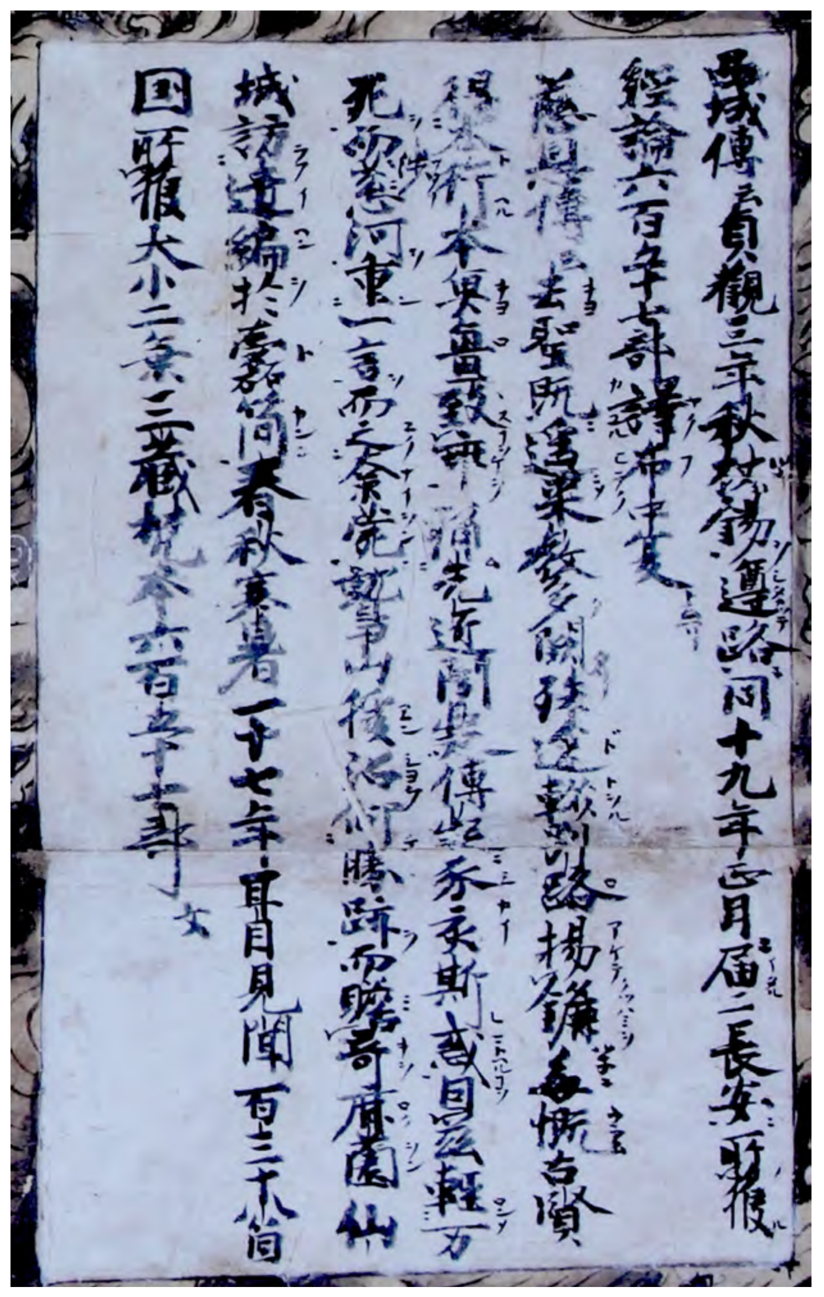

FIG. 4 Cartouche describing Xuanzang's pilgrimage. Detail from Jūkai, *Map of the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, 1364.

This fourteenth-century map of Xuanzang's travels continued to be reproduced into the late-nineteenth century, in manuscript copies made by Buddhist monks both within and beyond the temples of Nara. The Buddhist temples which served as sites of production and reproduction suggests the work's ritual context. One of the later copies, also owned by Hōryūji, is signed by an otherwise unidentified monk named Zenjō 禅成, who writes, in an inscription along the right-hand edge: 'making this copy, I feel as if I myself have traveled through Tenjiku.' By tracing the route of Xuanzang's pilgrimage, a Japanese monk living a thousand years after the Tang pilgrim felt as if he too had traveled to the Buddhist holy land. It was for him, and for other monastics who copied and venerated the map in various temple contexts, both a devotional object and a ritual means of re-enacting, by quite literally retracing, Xuanzang's journey.

Hōtan's map of 1710, however, is something more than a cartographic transcription of Xuanzang's *Record*. Unlike the map published three years earlier in his commentary on the Kośa, and unlike all earlier Japanese Buddhist world map produced in manuscript, Xuanzang's itinerary is not included. The celebrated route of the great Tang pilgrim — the ostensible subject of every earlier Japanese Buddhist world map— is notable absent. Although Hōtan has clearly based his work on the manuscript maps that take Xuanzang's journey as their subject, he also recognizes their limits. In the preface to his map of 1710, printed in the lower corners of the sheet, Hōtan writes:

> This world reaches beyond the distances travelled by such wise men of the past as Tai Zhang 太章 (d.u.) and Shu Hai 豎亥 (d.u.) or the remote regions explored by Ban Chao 班超 (32-102) and Zhang Qian 張騫 (?–114 BC). Not even the famous Buddhist monks Faxian and Xuanzang, who risked their lives traveling to Tenjiku and other distant lands in search of the Tripiṭaka, tell of it all. Although they describe the Five Regions of Tenjiku, the realms of the Barbarian Tribes, the Pamir Mountains, and the Land of Snows, they know nothing of the foreign lands overseas. They did not even visit Korea, Japan, the Ryūkyūs, Siam, or Java — countries as minor as scattered millet-seeds. Not even the successive generations of

> Indian and Chinese writers describe the entirety of this world.

Hōtan specifically criticizes the very manuscript maps of Xuanzang's journey, transcribed for centuries in Japanese temples, that served as the basis of his own cartographic efforts:

> Many errors are to be found on *Maps of the Five Regions of Tenjiku*. Such errors are not found in textual sources such as Xuanzang's *Record of the Western Regions*, Huili's *Life of Xuanzang*, or [Daoxuan's] *Shijia fangzhi* 釋迦方誌 [Account of the Regional Spread of Buddhism]. … In the past, *Maps of the Five Regions of Tenjiku* have been venerated in famous temples throughout Japan. I have examined these maps, but I have found them to be inferior to those in [Zhipan's 志磐] *Fozu tongji* 佛祖統紀 [Complete Record of Buddhas and Patriarchs]. They have even confused Mount Potalaka with Mount Putuo and have thus located Potalaka at the edge of China, rather than along the shores of the southern seas, a discrepancy of some ten thousand *li*! The place names of China and India are in disarray and the boundaries of the Five Regions of Tenjiku are obscured. It is inexpressibly lamentable. Such maps are worthless.

Hōtan asserts that Buddhist cartography is necessary not simply for an accurate and complete understanding of the scriptures, but also for the very survival of the Buddhist tradition. If Japanese Buddhist intellectuals were to compete successfully in the marketplace of ideas, then their geographic knowledge would have to equal, or surpass, that of their intellectual competition. He concludes his preface with a warning, a call to action, and a gesture toward the larger cosmic vision of the Buddhist tradition:

> If Buddhist scholars do not examine this map when they consult the scriptures, then their investigations will be incomplete. Confucian scholars have debated geography and discussed distances for generations. [If Buddhist intellectuals fail to do the same] our knowledge will be as insufficient as that of a frog in a well. There is so much still unknown about the Five Regions of Tenjiku. We must seek as much understanding of distant lands as we do our own, and even

> more so, of Mount Sumeru at the center of the universe and the vast trichiliocosm itself, just as Sudhana sought the Flower Realm and the vast world of Indra's Net.

For Hōtan, cartographic knowledge was not only the necessary foundation for Buddhist scholarship. It also assured the relevance of the Buddhism in the contemporary world and offered a path to Buddhist enlightenment and the visionary tradition of Hōtan's own Kegon lineage.

FROM HŌTAN TO TERAJIMA

If Hōtan's map represented the critical culmination of centuries of Japanese Buddhist cartography produced in manuscript that extended back to China, it was also the point of origin for printed maps that circulated throughout Japan and were later published in Europe. The reproductions began almost immediately. Less than two years after its initial publication, Hōtan's map was redrawn and reprinted in book format in what was to become the most popular and important encyclopedia of eighteenth-century Japan: Terajima Ryōan's 寺島良安 (1654–?) *Wakan sansai zue* 和漢三才図会 [Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms]. First issued in 1712, Terajima's 107-volume compendium was studiously modeled on a Chinese prototype published a century earlier: Wang Qi's 王圻 (1530–1615) *Sancai tuhui* 三才圖會 [Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms] of 1609. Terajima's expanded update of Wang's encyclopedia derived its title, structure, entries, and illustrations from its Chinese model. For example, Terajima reproduced the very same map of the world — a simplified edition of Matteo Ricci's 'Complete Geographic Map of the Mountains and Seas' — which had appeared in Wang's encyclopedia a century earlier.

Terajima, however, chose not to follow Wang's cartographic choices in every respect. Rather, allowing for a multiplicity of world maps, he opted to supplement the Jesuit's image of a spherical earth

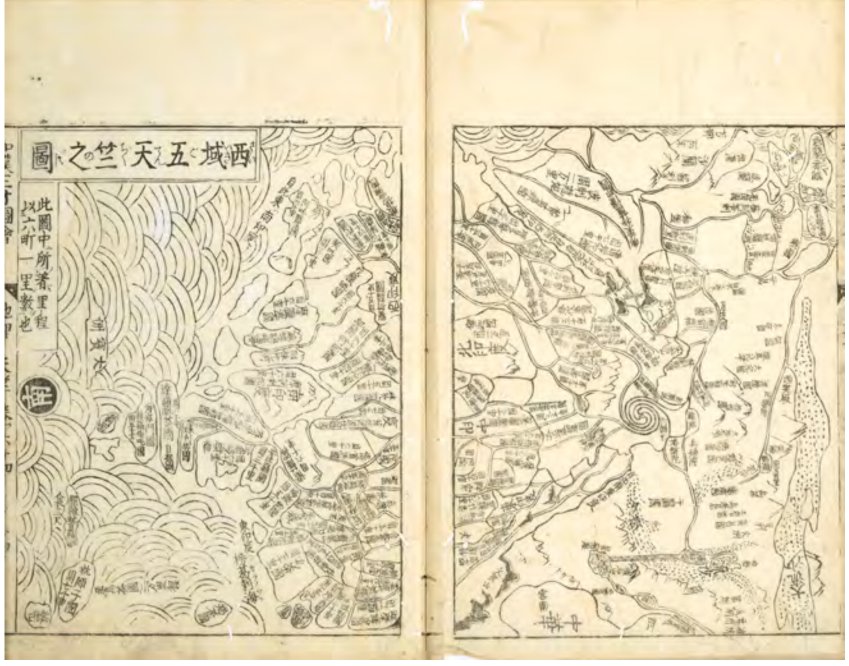

FIG. 5 Terajima Ryōan, *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, in idem., *Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*, 1712. Monochrome woodblock book illustration. Author's collection.

with Hōtan's flat Buddhist world. Volume sixty-four of Terajima's encyclopedia reproduces the central section of Hōtan's Buddhist world, redrawn and retitled 'Saiiki Gotenjiku no zu' 西域五天竺之圖 [Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku], to accompany Terajima's entries on the Western Regions and Tenjiku. From Muscovia in the northwest to Mount Lanka in the southeast, Terajima's map of Asia relies entirely on Hōtan's map of Jambudvīpa. The divisions of the Five Regions of Tenjiku, the names and size of its many kingdoms, and the four great rivers spiraling from its center all derive from the classical account of the Tang pilgrim.

Even Terajima's entry for Tenjiku opens with a citation from Xuanzang's *Record*. Indeed, Terajima cites Xuanzang even before quoting from Wang's encyclopedia, to whose authority he appeals at

the start of nearly all of his other entries: 'According to the *Record of the Western Regions*, the Great Snow Mountains lie at the center of the southern continent. China lies to the east, Tenjiku to the south, Persia to the west, and the Barbarian realm to the north. Tenjiku is comprised of five regions — east, west, north, south, and central — consisting of sixteen great countries.'[12] Only then does Terajima cite Wang, noting that Tenjiku encompasses 'the Land of the Diamond Throne in Magadha in Central India where Śākyamuni attained enlightenment.' From there he quotes passages from the *Gaosen zhuan* 高僧傳 [Biographies of Eminent Monks] and the fourteenth-century *Xiyu zhi* 西域志 [History of Western Regions] to describe the climate and calendar of the region.

Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, however, represented only one part of Hōtan's world. Terajima included other sections of Hōtan's map but in a segmented and sequential manner, interleaved throughout the following pages of the volume. A second map appears eight pages later, following the conclusion of Terajima's entry on Tenjiku. Titled 'Kitaji Shoteki no zu' 北地諸狄之圖 [Map of the Barbarian Countries of the North], it too is drawn from Hōtan's *Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa* and extends the territory covered in Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, from Europe in the west to Japan in the east. The central section of the map, comprising India and Central Asia, is rendered with minimal place names and chorographic detail. But if Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of India* is oriented vertically and laid over his *Map of the Barbarian Countries of the North*, it produces a composite map that agrees with Hōtan's cartography in every respect. Across the two pages that follow, a third map, titled *Seinan shoban no zu* 西南諸蠻之圖 , depicting the islands of South East Asia, provide the final piece of the cartographic puzzle.

It was thus in the form of a partial, simplified, retitled, and redrawn book illustration, buried in the middle of a 107-volume encyclopedia,

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12 Terajima, *Wakan sansei zue*, vol. 64: 15a.

that Hōtan's expansive vision of the Buddhist world reached European readers. But how did a Frenchman and a German living in Paris more than a century later get their hands on a copy of the Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms? And more importantly, how did they understand the significance of Terajima's version of Hōtan's world map? The answer to these questions lie in the early history of Sinology and Buddhist Studies in Europe.

HŌTAN IN EUROPE

In 1815 Rémusat was appointed to the first chair in Chinese Studies in Europe as Professor of Chinese and Manchu Languages at the Collège de France.[13] The following year, on the recommendation of Baron Wilhelm von Humboldt, King Friedrich-Wilhelm III of Prussia appointed Klaproth to the second such chair.[14] Both Klaproth and Rémusat were prodigious auto-didacts, pioneering bibliographers, vigorous and contentious linguists, and founding members of the *Société Asiatique*. They shared an abiding interest in Central Asia and they produced some of the earliest and most significant European studies and translations of Chinese Buddhist, Daoist, and Confucian texts. It is the collaborative efforts of these two foundational Asianists that led to the European debut of the Japanese Buddhist world map.

Klaproth was perhaps the more colorful of the two. Described by Peter Kornicki as 'a noisy linguist and aggressively competent' and by his contemporaries as someone known to pilfer Chinese volumes from the Bibliothèque du Roi to supplement his personal library but 'was feared [as] a man who was said to be expert with his sword,'

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[13] 'Memoir of Rémusat,' 79.

[14] 'Memoir of Klaproth,' 257. Klaproth, however, was permitted to remain in Paris for purposes of study. Klaproth had previously been made a member of the Academy of Sciences and Professor of Asiatic Languages and Literature at St. Petersburg in 1808 and later Professor at Vilnius University at the request of Prince Czartoryski. 'Memior of Klaproth,' 219, 256.

Klaproth was a close friend of Goethe, visited Napoleon on Elba, and travelled from St. Petersburg to Peking with Count Golovkin's embassy.[15] Klaproth taught himself Chinese at the age of fourteen from Chinese books and dictionaries in the Royal Library in Berlin and went on to gain expertise in Manchu, Mongolian, Tibetan, Japanese, Sanskrit, Uighur, Persian, Kurdish, Turkish, Russian, Georgian, and Armenian, in addition to most of the European languages. Klaproth's cartographic efforts were equally prodigious. He published more than forty maps of Central Asia using both Chinese and Jesuit sources and drew nearly four hundred maps in manuscript.[16] In 1802, at the young age of eighteen, he penned his first study of Chinese Buddhism, which appeared in *Asiatisches Magazin*, a journal he founded and published in Weimar.[17] He later wrote the first European-language biography of the Buddha in 1823 and lectured on Xuanzang's travels at the Geographical Society of Berlin in 1834.[18]

Rémusat, whom Stendhal called 'the most learned man in France,' taught himself Chinese at the age of eighteen after encountering Wang's *Sancai tuhui*, the Ming prototype for Terajima's later work, among the Chinese books in the collection of Abbé Charles Phillippe Campion de Tersan (1736–1819).[19] At twenty, he had compiled his own manuscript glossary of Chinese words.[20] And after another three years of study, still without access to any Chinese-European language dictionary, he published a scholarly monograph on the language and literature of China.[21] At twenty-five, he received his doctorate in medicine with a dissertation on the Chinese diagnosis

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[15] Kornicki, 'Julius Klaproth and his Works,' 81.

[16] Walravens, 'Julius Klaproth,' 183–84.

[17] Klaproth, 'Ueber die Fo-Religion in China.'

[18] Klaproth, *Leben des Buddha*.

[19] Lundbaek, 'Notes on Abel Rémusat,' 217 and idem. 'Establishment of European Sinology,' 36.

[20] Lundbaek, 'Establishment of European Sinology,' 39.

[21] Rémusat, *Essai sur la lange et la littérature chinoise*.

of disease through the inspection of the tongue.[22] After his university appointment in 1815, Rémusat would publish another thirty studies on the languages, literatures, religions, history, and geography of East Asia. Yet for our purposes the most significant result of his new academic position was that the young professor was tasked with cataloguing all of the East Asian books in the Bibliothèque du Roi (later the Bibliothèque Impériale and now the Bibliothèque Nationale).[23] This commission introduced him to Terajima's *Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*, which had entered the royal library from the personal collection of Isaac Titsingh, the Dutch scholar, merchant, and ambassador who served as the senior officer of the Dutch East India Company in Nagasaki from 1779–1784.[24] In Titsingh's copy of the *Japanese-Chinese Collected Illustrations of the Three Realms*, which Rémusat had catalogued in the Bibliothèque du Roi, Rémusat and Klaproth first encountered Terajima's reproduction of Hōtan's map.

Rémusat's relationship with Terajima's encyclopedia may have been even more consequential than his initial encounter with Wang's compendium, which had first inspired his study of Chinese. Rémusat filled nearly 900 manuscript pages with his transcription, annotation, and study of simply the names of mountain herbs listed in a single volume of Terajima's encyclopedia.[25] In 1817, he published a brief introduction to the copy of the encyclopedia in the Bibliothèque du Roi and compared it to its Chinese prototype.[26] Ten years later, in 1827, he published a detailed 187-page description of every entry, illustration, and map in the compendium's 107 volumes. In his

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[22] Rémusat, *Dissertatio de glossosemeiotica*. Rémusat's source was a Chinese text included in Michael Boym's 1682 *Specimen Medicinae Sinicae* as 'De Indiciis morborum ex Linguae coloribus & affectionibus.' See Kajdański, 'Traditional Chinese Medicine,' 393.

[23] 'Memoir of Rémusat,' 79; Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, iv.

[24] Rémusat, 'Notice sur l'Encyclopédie japonoise,' 133.

[25] Rémusat, *Table de l'encyclopédie japonaise*.

[26] Rémusat, *Mémoire sur les livres chinois de la Bibliothèque du roi*, 14.

description of volume sixty-four, Rémusat included Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku*, which he referred to as *Carte des regions occidentales et du pays de Thian-tchou [l'Hindoustan]*, and listed as well the other sections of Hōtan's map that Terajima had excerpted, segmented, and reproduced throughout the volume. He even noted that one of the maps which Terajima had excerpted from Hōtan, the *Map of the Barbarian Lands to the North*, included 'all of northern Asia and even Europe.'[27] Rémusat was thus quite familiar with Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku* as well as of Hōtan's cartography of Europe as represented in the Edo encyclopedia.

In 1826, one year before Rémusat's comprehensive description of the Terajima's encyclopedia, Klaproth published a finely detailed version of Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku* followed by twenty pages of geographic analysis.[28] Titled 'Carte des Pays occidentaux et des cinq Thian tchu' [*Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Thian-tchu*], the first French edition of Terajima's version of Hōtan's map appeared in Klaproth's *Memoirs relatifs a l'Asie*, as a four-fold quarto-sized lithograph produced by the Parisian printers, Brégeaut & Cie. The French edition represents every landform, mountain, desert, border, waterway, lake, inlet, ocean, and island that appears on Terajima's earlier woodblock-printed map with the name, size, and distance of each geographical location translated or transliterated from the Chinese characters.

In his accompanying essay, Klaproth identifies the map's bibliographic source, its title in both Chinese and Japanese, and his colleague Rémusat's forthcoming study of Terajima's encyclopedia. 'This curious map,' Klaproth writes, is inserted into the forty-sixth volume of the great Japanese encyclopedia, *Wakan sansai zue*, published in 1714. I refrain from giving a more ample description of this important work, because the detailed analysis that Mr. Abel

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27 Rémusat, 'Notice sur l'Encyclopédie japonoise,' 247.

28 Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise.'

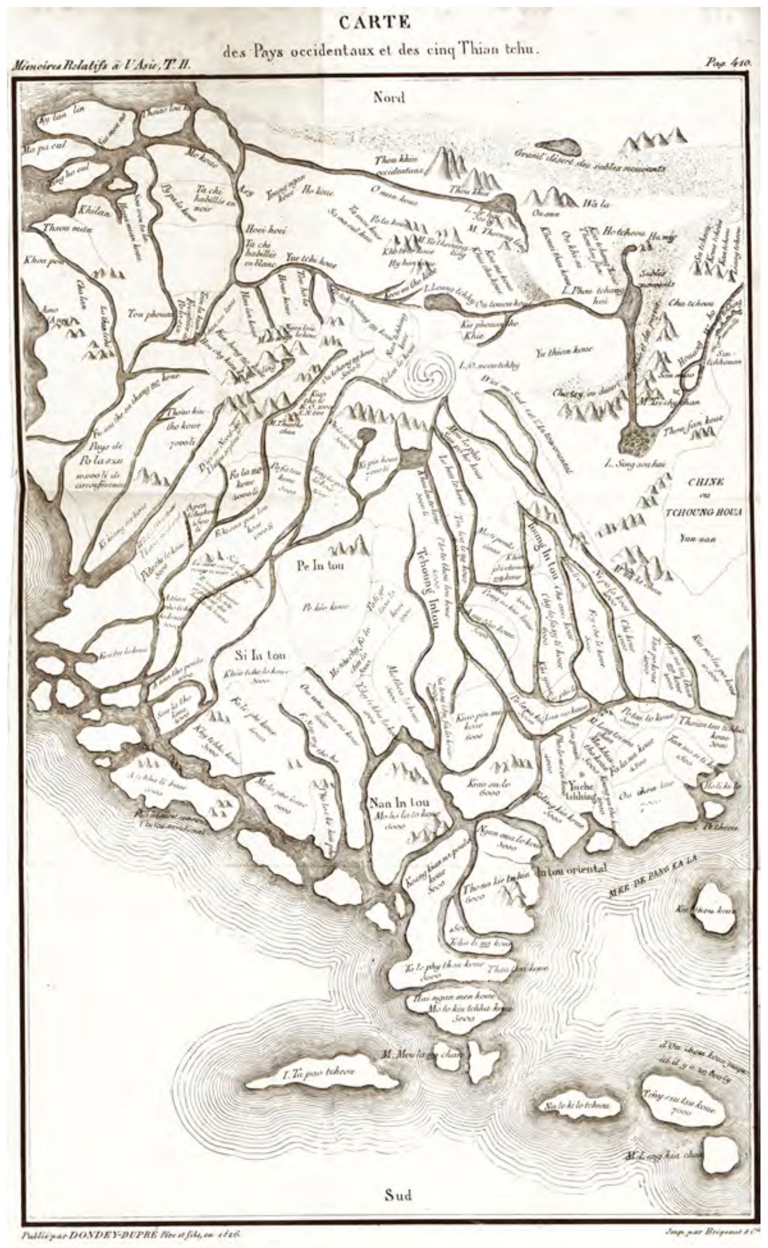

FIG.6 Julius Klaproth, *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Thian-tchu* (*Carte des regions occidentales et du pays de Thian-tchu*), in idem., *Memoirs relatifs a l'Asie*, 1826.

Rémusat has made about this work will soon appear in the eleventh volume of *Notices et Extracts des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*. The title of the map in Chinese is Xiyu Wu Tianzhu zhi tu 西域五天竺之圖, and in Japanese, *Saiiki go Tenjiku no zu*, that is to say, 'Map of the Western Lands and of the Five Regions of India.'[29]

Klaproth, moreover, posits a Chinese origin for the Japanese map and notes that the representation of India dates from the Tang:

> This map must have been composed in the fifteenth century, after the Mongols had been expelled from China, because we find terms which before this period do not appear in Chinese texts. However the source materials for this map are older and date, for India at least, to the seventh century.[30]

Ancient sources notwithstanding, Klaproth celebrates the map's superiority to even Hellenistic knowledge. He notes 'that the Chinese of the time had a better understanding of Central Asia and India than did Ptolemy and the Greek geographers.'[31] In support of this claim, Klaproth fills the following twenty pages of his essay with the identification, analysis, and comparison of the map's toponymy and topography with Chinese, Arabic, Sanskrit, and Greek sources, reproducing the names of significant sites in the scripts of each language.

In this early publication of 1826, however, Klaproth had not yet identified the subject of the map as the geography of Xuanzang. Rémusat later confirmed — in his 'Essai sur la Cosmographie et la Cosmogonie des Bouddhistes, d'apres les Auteurs Chinois' posthumously published in 1843 — it was not until after Klaproth's publication and analysis of Terajima's map, and of his own study of Terajima's encyclopedia, that he and Klaproth understood the map to represented the geography Xuanzang's pilgrimage. 'This curious map has been published by M. Klaproth in his *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, vol. 2,' Rémusat reveals, 'but when Klaproth undertook his

29 Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise,' 411.

30 Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise,' 412.

explanation we did not yet understand that it mapped the journey of Xuanzang, which I only discovered in 1831.'[32] Klaproth nevertheless views the map through the optics of Xuanzang and repeats verbatim the following passage from Terajima:

> One reads in the *Xiyu ji*: 'In the middle of the southern world continent are the highest peaks of the Great Snowy Mountains; to the east of these peaks is the empire of Shindan, or China; to the southeast, Tianzhu, or India; to the west, the kingdom of Persia; and to the north, the land of nomadic barbarians. Tianzhu is divided into five regions: east, west, south, north, and central. There are five parts, sixteen great kingdoms, and numerous small countries.' Our map shows these major divisions, without specifying their respective borders.[33]

Although he does not refer to Xuanzang's description of Lake Anavatapta in his essay, Klaproth has little difficulty identifying the unusual swirling pattern at the center of the map:

> One reads in Sinhalese works that the great Lake Anavatapta is in a vast desert, and that the four principal rivers of the world leave it by four fonts: one of which forms the mouth of a lion; another, that of an elephant; a third, that of a horse; and a fourth, that of an ox.[34]

Rémusat was equally well versed in classical Buddhist geography. As he explains in his 'Essai sur la Cosmographie et la Cosmogonie des Bouddhistes.'

> The four rivers of the southern continent of Jambudvīpa are the Ganges, flowing from the east; the Indus flowing from the south; the

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31 Ibid.

32 Rémusat, 'Essai sur la Cosmographie,' 76.

33 Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise,' 420. Cf. Terajima, *Wakan sansei zue*, vol. 64: 15a.

34 Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise,' 419.

> Oxus flowing from the west, and the Sītā flowing from the north. These four rivers flow from a square lake named Anavatapta, whose four sides are marked by animals, each made of a precious material: the Ganges flows from the mouth of a silver ox; the Indus, from the mouth of a golden elephant; the Oxus, from the mouth of a sapphire horse; and the Sītā, from the mouth of a rock crystal lion. Each of the rivers circle the lake seven times and then flows into the sea: the Ganges to the southeastern sea, the Indus to the southwestern sea, the Oxus to the northwestern sea, and the Sītā to the northeastern sea. Some also claim that the Sītā flows underground and emerged to form the Yellow River of China. Lake Anavatapta, the source of the four great rivers of Jambudvīpa is 800 li (about 80 leagues) in circumference. Its banks are adorned with gold, silver, sapphire, crystal, copper, iron and other precious materials. It is located north of the Great Snowy Mountains, that is the Himalayas, and south of the Incense Mountains, the source of fragrant substances.[35]

Klaproth also notes, as does Rémusat, the presence of Europe on Terajima's map, yet he ascribes its toponymy to Terajima rather than Hōtan. Of the four islands in the northwest corner of the map, Klaproth writes, 'it is obvious that the Japanese publisher of the map was mistakenly attempting to establish a correspondence between some Chinese names of Western countries with those of Europe, which he might have learned from the Dutch and Portuguese.'[36] Klaproth spells out the place names, in both Chinese characters and in the Japanese syllabary, and identifies the European countries as Denmark, Poland, Turkey, Muscovia, and Friesland.[37]

The version of Terajima's map that Klaproth published in 1826, however, differed significantly from the one he would later include in the 1836 publication of Rémusat's translation of Faxian's *Record of*

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[35] Rémusat, 'Essai sur la Cosmographie,' 78–79.

[36] Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise,' 418.

[37] Klaproth, 'Éclaircissemens sur une carte chinoise et japonaise,' 417. Klaproth supplies the European names, however, only for the countries of Denmark, Poland, and Turkey.

Buddhist Kingdoms. The geographer Louis Vivien de Saint-Martin (1802–1896) confirms the fact that 'Klaproth had access to the map in the Japanese encyclopedia and had it reproduced as a lithograph in the *Foguo ji*,' although Saint-Martin finds it 'too roughly executed to accurately represent' the geography of the region.[38] Unlike the finely drawn map of 1826, with its mountains, rivers, and seas rendered with the delicate linear and contour hatching characteristic of European printmaking, the map of 1836, produced by the Parisian lithographer Charles Auguste Albert Racinet, replicates the thick carved lines and the distinctive fan-shaped wave patterns (*seigaiha* 青海波) of the Japanese wood-block print.[39] Such formal adherence to the style of the map in the Japanese encyclopedia notwithstanding, Klaproth's map of 1836 marks a radical departure from the efforts of both Terajima and Hōtan. On the map he inserted in Rémusat's translation of Faxian's *Record*, Klaproth inscribed the route of Xuanzang's pilgrimage that was missing from both Hōtan's *Handy Map of the Myriad Countries of Jambudvīpa* and Terajima's *Map of the Western Regions and the Five Regions of Tenjiku* and retitled it: *Map of India, after the Chinese [in which] the Itinerary of Xuanzang is indicated with a dotted line* (*Carte de L'Inde, d'aprés les Chinois. L'itinéraire de Hiuan thsang est indiqué par le pointé*). With this singular and unprecedented cartographic intervention — marking 'the itinerary of Xuanzang with a dotted line' — Klaproth, an explorer and cartographer who dedicated years of expeditions and research to the geography of Central Asia, who had lectured and written on the route of Xuanzang's *Record*, and who had produced most detailed maps of Central Asia heretofore published in Europe, laboriously overlaid Xuanzang's route onto Terajima's map. Thus was Xuanzang's itinerary — the central subject of the manuscripts maps of the Five Regions of Tenjiku, but absent from Hōtan's map of 1710, and Terajima's version thereof — supplied by the German sinologist and his Parisian lithographer.

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[38] Saint-Martin, 'Note sur la Carte de L'Asie Centrale et de L'Inde,' 576.

[39] Racinet was the father of the more famous Parisian lithographer, also named Charles Auguste Albert Racinet (1825–1893)

FIG. 7 Julius Klaproth, *Map of India, after the Chinese [in which] the Itinerary of Xuanzang is indicated with a dotted line* (*Carte de L'Inde, d'aprés les Chinois. L'itinéraire de Hiuan thsang est indiqué par le pointé*), in Rémusat, *Foe Koue Ki*, 1836.

Klaproth had already suggested the implications of Xuanzang's pilgrimage for an historical cartography of Buddhist Asia at a meeting of Geographical Society of Berlin on November 15, 1834.[40] In a lecture titled, 'A Survey of the Journey of Xuanzang, a Chinese Buddhist Monk, in Central Asia and India,' Klaproth introduced his learned audience to the written accounts of Chinese Buddhist pilgrims and described his role in completing Rémusat's translation of Faxian's *Record Foguo ji*:

> Since the introduction of Buddhism in China, in the year 64 CE, many members of this religion have journeyed to India, by land across Central Asia, or by sea via Siam and other kingdoms of the trans-Gangetic region. The aim of these journeys was to visit with devotion the places where Śākyamuni and prior Buddhas had lived and dwelt and, especially, to obtain sacred texts in their original languages to translate into Chinese.
>
> Many of these journeys have been recorded by the travelers themselves. Among such works is the *Foguo ji or Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, of which [Joseph] De Guignes [1721–1800] has provided a short notice of the copy in the Bibliothèque du Roi in Paris. Upon my arrival in Paris, I wanted to see the copy but because it was not included in the [1737] catalogue of Chinese books in the library compiled by [Étienne] Fourmont [1682–1745], it was difficult to locate among the many Chinese books that had been acquired since Fourmont's time.[41] It was not until 1816, when the late [Louis-Mathieu] Langlès [1763–1824] invited me to catalogue [the Chinese books that been acquired since Fourmont's time], that I was happy to find the *Foguo ji* included in several volumes of the

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[40] Klaproth was deeply committed to the cartographic reconstruction of the historical geography of Asia. In 1826, the same year he produced his first version of Terajima's map, he published a 300-page historical atlas of Asia for which he drew nineteen folio maps detailing the historical geography of the continent from 530 B.C.E. to 1000 C.E. See Klaproth, *Tableaux historiques de l'Asie*.

[41] For this catalogue, see Fourmont, 'Sinicorum Regiae Bibliothecae librorum catalogu.'

> *Jindai bishu* 津逮祕書 [Secret Books to be Obtained by Crossing the Ford].[42] I had planned to translate the *Foguo ji* but other projects intervened and I left the task to my late friend, Abel-Rémusat. Unfortunately Rémusat was only able to translate, and provide an excellent and extensive textual commentary, up to the twenty-fourth chapter. After Rémusat's death, the state press of France resolved to have it printed and paid for by the government, with any profit from the publication to go to Rémusat's widow. I was tasked with completing the translation and commentary of the remaining twenty chapters. The printing of the *Foguo ji* is almost complete and the work will appear, at the very latest, next February.

After describing his role in the completion and forthcoming publication of Rémusat's translation, which included his second version of Terajima's map, Klaproth introduces Xuanzang's 'even more important account':

> I discovered, at the same time that I found the *Foguo ji*, another even more important account of a journey to Central Asia and India, by the Chinese monk Xuanzang. Chapters of this text have been inserted into the geography sections of the great Chinese encyclopedia, *Gujin tushu jicheng* 古今圖書集成 [Complete Collection of Illustrations and Writings from the Earliest to Current Times]. But because Xuanzang's text was inserted wherever the country in question was discussed in the encyclopedia, it would have been impossible for me to reconstruct the sequence of the selected fragments were I not to have found his itinerary listed in another Chinese work. Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1323) had described Xuanzang's *Record* in his famous literary encyclopedia, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 [Comprehensive Investigations of Records and Documents], the subject of a detailed article I published last year.[43] With the help of such later bibliographic materials, I have been able to reproduce Xuanzang's book in its

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[42] A collection of more than 130 volumes compiled by scholar Mao Jin 毛晉 (1599–1659).

[43] Klaproth, *Notice de l'encyclopédie littéraire*.

original form.[44]

Reconstructing Xuanzang's itinerary through the triangulation of secondary sources, Klaproth accomplished far more than what Saint-Martin described as simply republishing a 'roughly executed … map from a Japanese encyclopedia.' Not only did Klaproth redraw every line, transliterate every place name, and translate every annotation (including the distances recorded by Xuanzang) from Terajima's version of Hōtan's map. He added something absent from both Terajima's copy and Hōtan's original. By superscribing the itinerary of Xuanzang's pilgrimage on Terajima's map, a route that Hōtan had included on his 1707 *Map of Jambudvīpa* but chosen to remove from his more detailed map of 1710, Klaproth had returned his nineteenth-century printed map to the earlier function of the medieval manuscript tradition on which it was based. The map once again offered the contemporaneous viewer access to the distant landscape of the Buddhist past and the opportunity to retrace the route of China's most celebrated Buddhist pilgrim. Reprinted as a cartographic appendix to a scholarly translation of an earlier Chinese Buddhist pilgrimage account, Hōtan's Buddhist world map was restored to its earlier status as a map of Xuanzang's journey to the west.

JULIEN'S ADVANCE AND HŌTAN'S RETURN

In his 1834 'Survey of the Journey of Xuanzang ('Aperçu du Voyage de Hiouan Thsang'), Klaproth claimed 'to have been able to reproduce Xuanzang's book in its original form,' yet the earliest European-language translation of Xuanzang's *Record* was not published until 1857 by Rémusat's student and the successor to his chair at the Collège de France, Stanislas Julien. However, when Julien published his translation of Xuanzang's *Record* in 1857, rather than including Klaproth's map of Xuanzang's itinerary which had appeared in his

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[44] Klaproth, 'Aperçu du Voyage de Hiouan Thsang,' 35–37.

teacher's translation of Faxian's *Record*, he included an entirely new edition of Hōtan's original map instead.

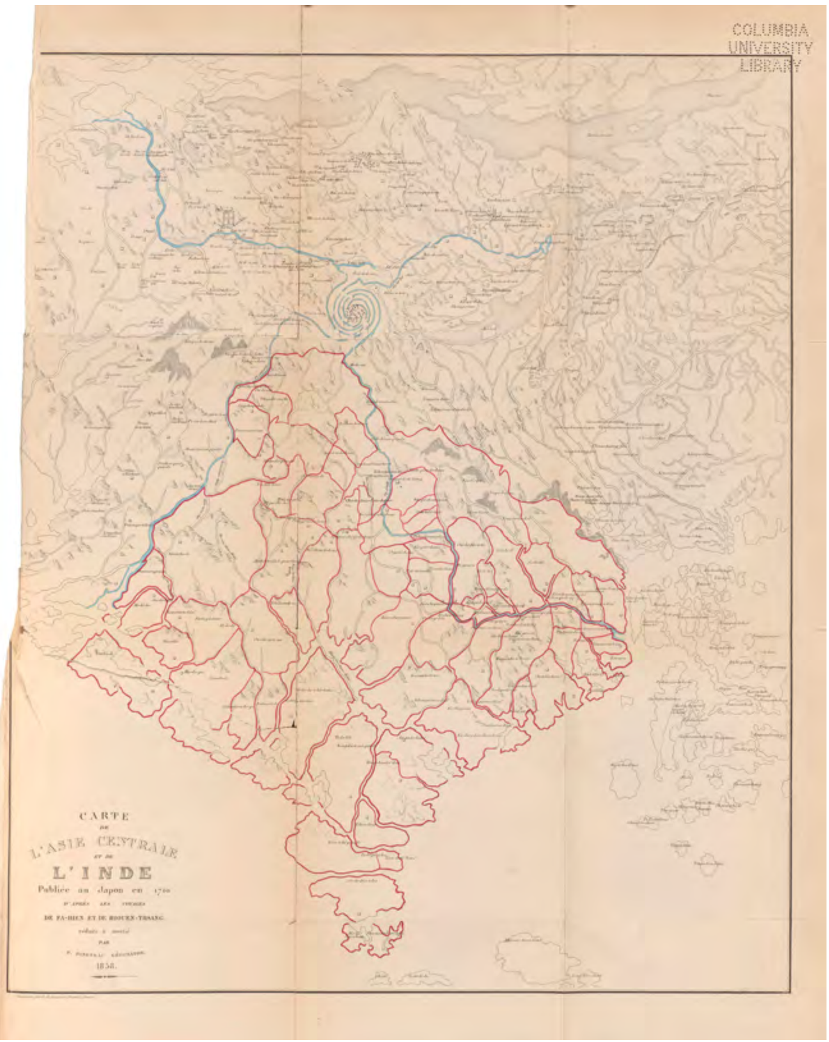

FIG. 8 Stanislas Julien, *Reduced Map of Central Asia and India Published in Japan in 1710 after the voyages of Faxian and Xuanzang* (*Carte de L'Asie Centrale et de L'Inde, Publiée au Japon en 1710, d'apres les voyages de Fa-hien et de Hiouen-thsang réduite à moitié*), 1857.

Julien's version of Hótan's map, titled 'Carte de L'Asie Centrale et de L'Inde, Publiée au Japon en 1710, d'apres les voyages de Fa-hien et de Hiouen-thsang réduite à moitié' [Reduced Map of Central Asia and India Published in Japan in 1710 after the voyages of Faxian and Xuanzang], contains the central section of Hōtan's map, now redrawn and printed by the French cartographer P. Bineteau. In the preface to the second volume of his translation, Julien explains how Hōtan's map, unknown to either Rémusat or Klaproth, had entered the state library of France and how it came to be included in the first Western language translation of Xuanzang's *Record*. Julien begins with an apology,

> I had promised, in my Notice to the Reader, to give two small maps of ancient India, one published in the Buddhist encyclopedia *Fozu tongi*, printed in 1269, and the other one from a collection titled *Tushu bian*, which dates from the last century. But, when I had traced and transcribed them, I learned of a better map, more scholarly and richer in detail, which drew on approximately one hundred works, whose titles are listed in the margin, based mainly on the accounts of Faxian and Xuanzang. It was a great map of Central Asia and India, measuring 116 cm high and 142 cm wide, published in Japan in 1710, that M. Guillaume de Sturler, son of the last Dutch ambassador to the court of Edo, had just offered, with a collection of Japanese books, to the Bibliothèque imperiale in Paris.[45]

Thus, before he had discovered Hōtan's 'better map, more scholarly and richer in detail,' Julien had planned to reproduce maps included in two important Chinese compendia: Zhipan's great Buddhist encyclopedia, *Complete Record of Buddhas and Patriarchs (Fozu tongji)*, published in 1269, and Zhang Huang's 章潢 (1527–1608) illustrated encyclopedia, *Tushu bian* 圖書編 [Compilation of Illustrations and Writings], published in 1613. Both works are included among the 'approximately one hundred works, whose titles,' Julien writes, 'are listed in the margin' of Hōtan's map. As already noted, Hōtan reserved

45 Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, vol. 2, ix–x.

the highest praise for Zhipan's cartography in the preface to his map of 1710.

The map from Zhipan's work, titled 'Xitu wuyin zhi tu' 西土五印之圖 [Map of the Western Lands and the Five Regions of India], is the earliest extant Chinese map based on Xuanzang's *Record*.[46] Although produced at the end of the Song dynasty, the sources for Zhipan's map date mainly from the Tang. Cartouches in the upper right and the lower left identify Xuanzang's *Record* as the map's principal textual source and claims to include more than 'one hundred and thirty countries and seventy-five regions' visited by the famous pilgrim. Zhipan's description of the Buddhist world continent opens with a now familiar passage lifted directly from Xuanzang's *Record*:

> At the center of Jambudvīpa is Lake Anavatapta. The Ganges River flows from the mouth of a silver ox on the east side, which, after circling the lake once, enters the Southeast Sea. The Indus River flows from the mouth of a golden elephant on the south side, which, after circling the lake once, enters the Southwest Sea. The Oxus River flows from the mouth of a lapis lazuli horse on the west side, which, after circling the lake once, enters the Northwest Sea. And the Sītā River flows from the mouth of a crystal lion on the north side, which, after circling the lake once, enters the Northeast Sea. 則贍部洲之中地者. 阿那婆答多池也 [...]是以池東面銀牛口流出殑伽河, 繞池一匝, 入東南海; 池南面金象口流出信度河, 繞池一匝, 入西南海; 池西面瑠璃馬口流出縛芻河, 繞池一匝, 入西北海; 池北面頗胝師子口流出徙多河, 繞池一匝, 入東北海.[47]

The map included in Zhang Huang's *Tushu bian* is equally significant to the history of Buddhist cartography in East Asia. Just as the Japanese encyclopedist include the Christian world map of Ricci and the Buddhist world map of Hōtan, his Chinese

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[46] On the *Fozu tongji* map, see Park, 'A Buddhist Woodblock-printed Map.'

[47] *Fozu tongji*, *T* no. 2035, vol. 49: 314a2–9. Cf. Da *Tang Xiyu ji*, *T* no. 2087, vol. 51: 869b.

predecessor included both Jesuit and Buddhist views of the world.[48] In addition to a European-style world map based on those of Ricci, Zhang Huang included another, titled 'Sihai Huayi zongtu' 四海華夷総圖 [A Comprehensive Map of Chinese and Barbarians of the Four Seas].[49] In a textual insert, Zhang notes that the map is not of his own devising but rather copied from another, titled, 'Si dahai zhong Nan zhanbu zhou zhi tu' 四大海中南瞻部洲之圖 [Jambudvīpa Amidst the Four Great Seas], which he found in an unspecified Buddhist source. Although Hōtan does not celebrate Zhang's map in his preface, as he does with the maps of Zhipan, it had a more visibly explicit influence of the map included in Julien's translation of Xuanzang's *Record*. The convoluted perimeter of the continent represented in Huang's map is markedly similar to that of Hōtan's map. And in Zhang's map as in Hōtan's the rivers that flow from Lake Anavatapta follow increasingly meandering patterns and seem to fissure the continent into multiple realms, divided by bodies of water and desert regions, such that the world seems to resemble a vast archipelago.

Julien choose to replace these simpler, smaller, and earlier Chinese maps with Hōtan's map of 1710, which he must have discovered, much like his teacher had discovered Terajima's map, when cataloging the East Asian books in the French state library. In 1853, Julien compiled a four-volume catalogue consisting of more than one thousand manuscript pages. In the second volume of this catalogue, inscribed in Julien's own hand, is item #1842, to which he gives the abbreviated title of 'Bankoku shōka no zu' 萬國掌菓之圖 and describes as a 'Map of Central Asia and India Published in Japan in 1710.'[50] As Julien notes in the preface to his 1857 translation, the 'son of the last Dutch ambassador to the court of Edo, had just offered' Hōtan's map, together 'with a collection of Japanese books, to the Bibliothèque

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[48] On the Riccian maps in the *Tushu bian*, see Ptak, 'The Sino-European Map.'

[49] *Tushu bian*, vol. 29: 50b–51a, with explanatory text on Jambudvīpa and Buddhist cosmology continuing to 51b.

[50] Julien, *Catalogue des livres chinois*, vol. 2, 65.

imperiale in Paris.' Thus the personal libraries of two senior officers of the Dutch East India Company — Isaac Titsingh, who served from 1779 to 1784, and Johan Willem de Sturler, who served from 1823 to 1826 — were the ultimate source for the maps of both Terajima and Hōtan acquired by the state library of France.

Julien's map reproduces every detail of the central section of the Japanese map of 1710, from Mount Potalaka and Mount Lanka in the south to the Gobi Desert in the north, and from the Chinese coast and Southeast Asia in the east to the margin of Europe in the west. The hundreds of place names that Hōtan rendered in tiny Chinese characters are here each phonetically transliterated (into Chinese rather than Japanese), and every landform and waterway that appears in the Japanese print is precisely rendered in the French lithograph. It omits none of Hōtan's characteristic landmarks: Lake Anavatapta, at the center of Jambudvīpa, is represented by the four animal heads — ox, elephant, horse, and lion — from which flow the four great rivers encircling the lake and extending to the four corners of the world. Julien's map includes the land forms that Hōtan identifies as Turkey, Denmark, Poland, and Muscovy, but does not transliterate their names. Nonetheless, there are some adaptations: The Oxus, which flows from the mouth of the lapis lazuli horse, is shown in Julien's map to empty into the Mediterranean Sea.

Julien notes that 'although far from having the scientific accuracy of European maps,' Hōtan's map

> was of great interest to M. Vivien de Saint-Martin, whose learned works on the geography of India are highly esteemed by the Institute, and who constituted the best judge among us in such matters. On the recommendation of this expert, I had this curious monument of Japanese geography reproduced in a reduced format, by a skillful artist, in dimensions compatible with the format of the book.'[51]

In his own commentary, included in the second volume of Julien's translation, Saint-Martin explains the reasons for his 'great interest' in

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[51] Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, vol. 2, x.

Hōtan's map:

> All those interested in eastern geography will appreciate the value of the gift that Stanislas Julien gives them by attaching to his translation of the *Memoirs* of Xuanzang a reduced, but scrupulously exact, copy of this beautiful Japanese map. We say Japanese map, because it is in Japan that it was published; but it is in fact a purely Chinese product, of Chinese origin and writing. Even if the title does not convey it expressly, it is clear to see that it was mainly, if not exclusively, composed based on the records of Buddhist pilgrims, and particularly on those of Xuanzang, from which all of the textual information is drawn. It is a graphic representation of the way in which Western countries were understood and represented by the geographers of the Celestial Empire. Better than any other extant Chinese map known in Europe, it can give us an exact picture of the level of geographical knowledge and cartographic skill of the Chinese; that is to say, it is a perfect specimen of Chinese cartography prior to any European influence. This is what gives it a particular interest, apart from its direct relationship with Xuanzang's route. … The map combines the author's own ideas about the central regions and those that the Buddhist tradition have provided for the geography of India, not only on the course of the rivers, the location of the cities, and the boundaries of kingdoms, but also on certain distinctively Indian geographic notions, such as, for example, that of the common source of the four great rivers of the world.

Saint-Martin may be forgiven his description of Hōtan's map as 'a perfect specimen of Chinese cartography prior to any European influence.' He could not have known that it was, in fact, a perfect specimen of a Japanese Buddhist critique of European cartography. His observation, however, that 'the map combines the authors own ideas about the central regions and those that the Buddhist tradition have provided for the geography of India' reveals a notable interest in a cultural rather than a purely positivist history of cartography. Saint-Martin had produced his own highly detailed map of Xuanzang's geography, measuring 60 x 40 cm, for Julien's translation as well as a 177 page 'learned geographic essay for the understanding of the

beautiful map of Central Asia and India he had prepared.'[52] The decision by Saint-Martin and Julien to include two radically different maps of Xuanzang's geography — one map, produced by the foremost French scholar of Indian geography using the latest techniques of European cartography and the another, produced a century and a half earlier by a Japanese Buddhist monk as a critical response to European mapmaking — signals a rare sort of cartographic pluralism, one that is encyclopedic yet not relativistic. It suggests an understanding of cartographic history disaggregated from teleological expectations, one that allows for multiple cultures of knowledge and ways of seeing.

A similar cartographic pluralism was already evident in the maps that Klaproth included in Rémusat's translation of Faxian's *Foguo ji*. In addition to his amended edition of Terajima's version of Hōtan's map, Klaproth produced four more pages of cartographic supplements. Immediately preceding his version of Terajima's map is another, more than twice the size, in which Klaproth offers his own meticulously precise global projection of Asia, from Arabia to Japan, complete with degrees on longitude and latitude, and marked with Faxian's itinerary.[53] Following Terajima's map are two more fold-out pages containing seven additional larger-scale maps of Northern India, Middle India, the kingdoms of Puruṣapura, Kapilavastu, Kosala, Kāśi, and Gaya in which Faxian's itinerary is also marked and in which all of the sacred sites, stupas, mountains, rivers, and groves that he mentions are named, depicted, and measured in *yojanas*.

Julien and Saint-Martin, Klaproth and Rémusat, like the Ming and Edo-period encyclopedists who served as their guides to Buddhist sources, acknowledged multiple modalities of mapping and recognized that a variety of cartographic practices could contribute to reconstructing the lost landscape of Buddhist Asia. Thus, for the founding figures of Buddhist and Asian Studies in Europe, Hōtan's

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[52] Julien, *Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales*, vol. 2, x. Saint-Martin's map appears at the end of volume one. His analytic essay on pp. 251–428 of volume 2.

[53] The full title of the map is *Carte pour server a l'intelligence des voyages entrepris par Chy Fa Hian, Prètre Bouddhiste, entre 399 et 414 de notre ère, rédigée par M. Klaproth. Dessinée par Berthe*, 1835.

Handy Map of the Myriad Lands of Jambudvīpa was more than a cartographic novelty of purely antiquarian interest. Rather than dismiss it for not 'having the scientific accuracy of European maps,' Rémusat, Klaproth, Julien, and Saint-Martin understood its cultural and historical significance to the academic fields they were seeking to establish. Hōtan's Japanese Buddhist map of the world, in both its abridged and expanded versions, was welcomed among the manifold guides followed by our academic forefathers. It found a place among the growing repertoire of sources — maps of European and Asian origin, reports of geographers ancient and modern — which contributed to a larger project of cultural history and exploration: a process to which other contemporary scholars, explorers, and archeologists would also contribute and from which they too would draw.

If the manuscript maps of Xuanzang's journey allowed Japanese monks to travel back, across time and place, to a Buddhist holy land they could not otherwise access, Hōtan's printed map of Xuanzang's world seems have offered early European scholars a similar opportunity. In identifying, tracing, transcribing, translating, and annotating the cartographic efforts of a Kegon monk whom they never knew, living in Kyoto a century before their time, a small group of Parisian savants retraced the journey of the Tang pilgrim on paper. In doing so, they helped to uncover a long-buried Buddhist past and create the condition for a Buddhist Studies of the future. They seem to have taken up Hōtan's proclamation printed in the lower corners of his map. 'There is so much still unknown about the Five Regions of Tenjiku,' Hōtan concluded in his preface. 'We must seek as much understanding of distant lands as we do our own, and even more so, of Mount Sumeru at the center of the universe and the vast trichiliocosm itself, just as Sudhana sought the Flower Realm and the vast world of Indra's Net.'

Such well-trod pathways and shared approaches serve to remind us that the transmission of Buddhism is always multiple and multidirectional; its trajectory neither unitary nor universal. The European ancestors of Buddhist Studies may have led us, much like Xuanzang's journey, full circle. After all, the founding figures of our field were — like Xuanzang — travelers, translators, and teachers as well, whose intellectual paths charted new territory and opened

new vistas in the study of Buddhism for those who came after. The Buddhist pilgrim and the Buddhist scholar may, in the end, be two sides of the same coin and the academic study of religion may lead not to the disenchantment of the world but rather to its rediscovery.

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Abbreviation

T *Taishō shinshū daizōkyō* 大正新脩大藏經; see Secondary Sources, Takakusu & Watanabe *et al*., eds.

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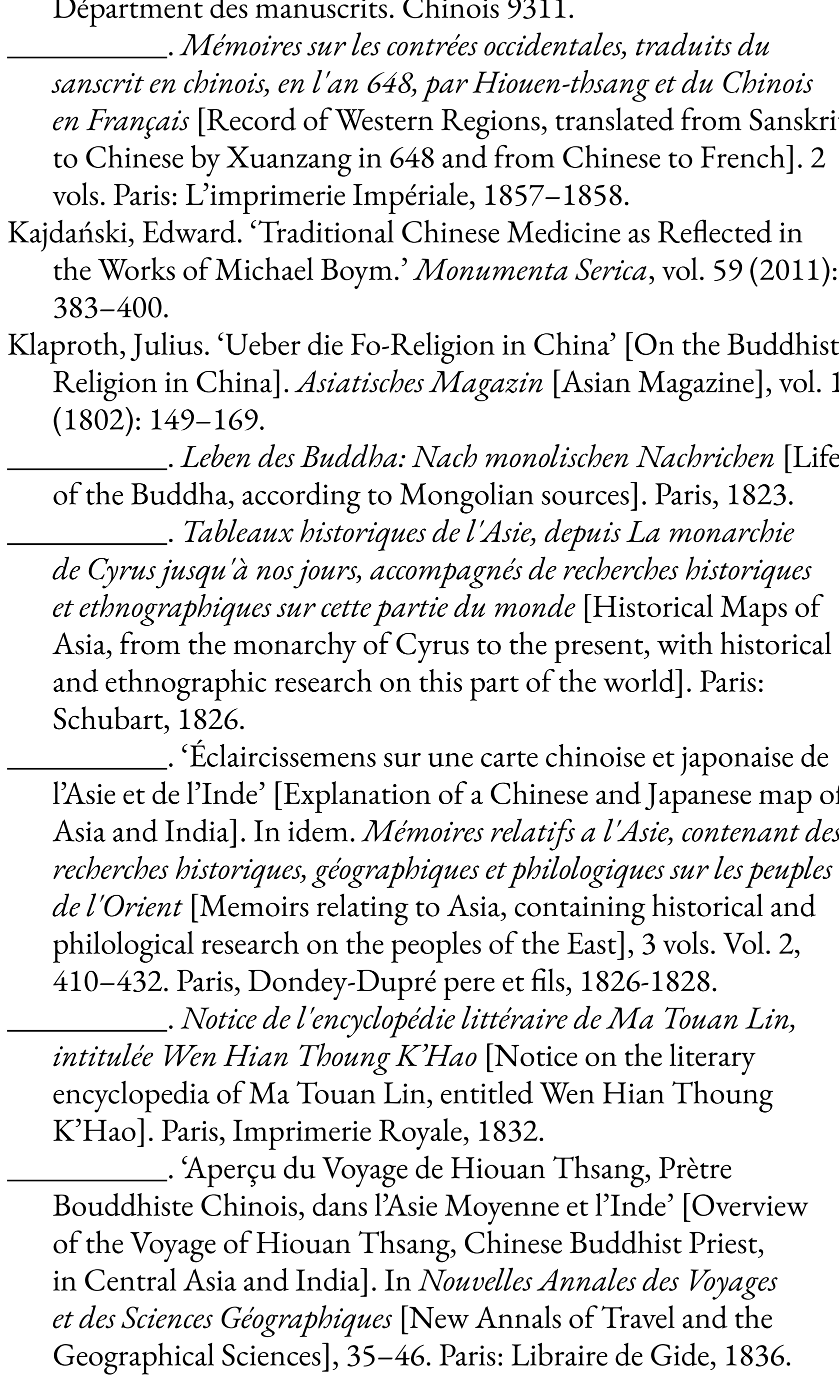

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